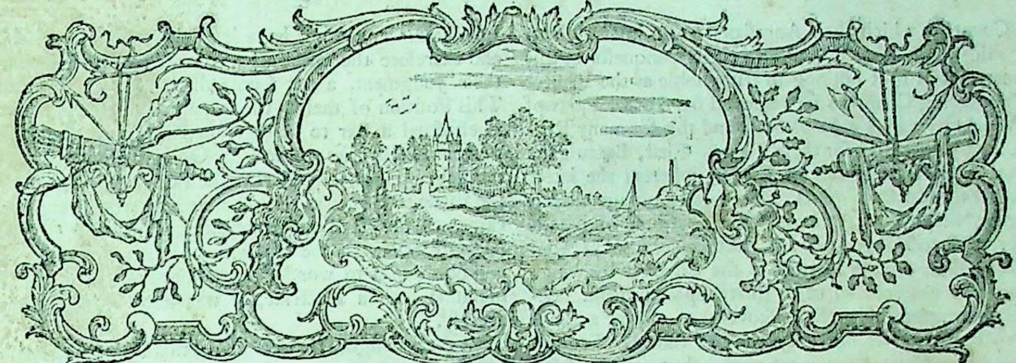


Navigantium atque Itinerantium Bibliotheca.

Or, A Complete COLLECTION of
VOYAGES and TRAVELS.

BOOK I.

An Account of the Circum-Navigators of the GLOBE, and of the Diſcoveries of the *Eaſt* and *Weſt Indies.*

CHAP. III.

Comprehending the Diſcovery, Settlement, and Commerce of the WEST INDIES.

SECTION I.

Of the Importance of the new-diſcovered Continent of America, *the Nature of that Diſcovery, the Felicities attending it, the Advantages derived from thence to the Art of Navigation, and the principal Points to be treated of in this Chapter.*

1. *All Ages and all Nations have concurred in admiring ſuch as have diſtinguiſhed themſelves by the Diſcovery of new Countries.* 2. *The Art of Navigation much improved in* Columbus's *Time, and yet he had great Difficulties to ſtruggle with in Theory and Practice.* 3. *By his Scheme he avoided the Imputation of Hereſy, which had fallen upon all who maintained* Antipodes *before him.* 4. *No juſt Imputation on him that he did not find* America *exactly as he conjectured.* 5. *A ſuccinct Account of the Subjects that are to be treated of in this Chapter.*

1. THERE are very few Points as to which the Judgments of different Times and ſeveral Nations have ſo well agreed, as in the Fame due to thoſe who firſt diſcovered diſtant Countries. In reſpect to the fabulous Hiſtory, *Bacchus* is highly celebrated for his *Indian* Expedition, and chiefly becauſe he durſt penetrate farther than any Man had ever gone before, he was reputed a Deity. The *Egyptians*, who were eſteemed to be the wiſeſt People of Antiquity, and with reaſon, ſince almoſt all the Sciences travelled into this Part of the World from thence, paid the higheſt Tribute of Praiſe to ſuch of their Monarchs as were ſuppoſed to have conquered the Eaſt, and to have penetrated into Countries where, before that Time, no victorious Armies had ever come. It was for the ſame Cauſe that the *Tyrian Hercules* was ſo much magnified by his Countrymen; and it was the Glory which thoſe Heroes had acquired, that prompted *Alexander*, the moſt ambitious and moſt daring of the *Greeks*, to undertake his famous Expedition againſt the *Indians*, that he might not fall ſhort of any whoſe Names were recorded in Hiſtory; which Vanity of his tranſported him to ſuch a Degree, that though, after the Ruin of the *Perſian* Empire, he eſteemed himſelf only the firſt of Men; yet, on his framing the Project of invading *India*, he conceived himſelf, and expected that others ſhould conceive him, ſomewhat more than Man. In ſucceeding Times, we find this Humour far from being worn out, ſince even the *Romans*, who, if not a wiſer, were moſt certainly a more moderate and better-judging People than the *Greeks*, eſteemed the Invaſion of *Britain* by *Julius Cæſar*, the moſt glorious of his Actions, and that which redounded moſt to the Honour of their Empire.

Upon the ſame Principle the famous Emperor *Trajan* was ſo extremely deſirous of following the Example of *Alexander*, and carrying the Terror of the *Roman* Arms into Countries which their Anceſtors never knew. But, after all, this Notion of puſhing their Conqueſts in this manner carries in it nothing ſo truly noble as the Project of diſcovering Countries far removed from other Parts of the World by vaſt Tracts of Sea; and this for many Reaſons, but principally for theſe Three. Firſt, Becauſe the former is the bare Reſult of Force; whereas the latter muſt be the Effect of Skill. To enjoy Courage only is common with other Animals; but Fortitude of Mind, with reſpect to Dangers not felt, but foreſeen, is peculiar to us as Men; and ſo likewiſe is the Conduct by which Providence has enabled us to guard againſt them. Secondly, In attempting the Diſcovery of diſtant and unknown Regions, we not only combat thoſe Difficulties which other Conquerors meet with; but, at the ſame Time, attempt to ſubdue Nature, and to make her, who is the Miſtreſs of Mankind, obedient to our Will, which, in ancient Times, was ſuppoſed to have ſomewhat in it of Divinity, becauſe, to ordinary Minds, it ſeemed beyond the Reach and Power of Man. Thirdly, Whereas other Conqueſts tend only to the Benefit of this or that Nation; theſe are advantageous to the Species, and add Dominion not to a ſingle People, but to the whole Race of Mankind.

2. We muſt allow that the Uſe of the Compaſs had brought about conſiderable Changes in the Art of Navigation, before any Attempt was made to diſcover new Countries by ſailing Weſtward; but, however, there were great Difficulties to be overcome, before any Deſign of that ſort could be accompliſhed. The Veſſels then in uſe were very unfit for long Voyages, in Point of Form, Capacity, and Strength. The Seamen again had very little Experience, were naturally inclined to coaſting, and knew not enough of their Art to be clearly ſatiſfied what could, or what could not, be performed by it. Add to all this, that their Skill conſiſted rather in practiſing what they had ſeen before, than in the Knowledge of any ſettled Principle of Science, capable of directing them in any extraordinary Caſes that might happen. And even as to their Obſervations, they were far enough from being exact, partly from the Meanneſs of their Inſtruments, and partly from the Narrowneſs of their Notions about the Uſe of them.

We may ſubjoin to theſe another Difficulty, as great, or perhaps greater, than any of the reſt; which was their Proneneſs to Superſtition, a Thing incident to all Arts, while indifferently underſtood, which made them, on the one hand, liable to be ſurprized and confounded by every little Accident, and, on the other, rendered them ſo obſtinate and intractable, that it was very hard, and, in ſome Caſes, almoſt impoſſible, to force them out of their ordinary Road, notwithſtanding their being directed by Perſons of ſuperior Abilities, and who, by a long Courſe of Study and Obſervation, had conquered all or moſt of theſe Difficulties. Theſe Errors and Imperfections in ſuch ſort of People might, however, be very eaſily excuſed, when thoſe who, both from their Parts and their Profeſſions, ought to have been freer from theſe Foibles and Follies, entangled themſelves, by their own Wilfulneſs and Vanity, in ſtill greater Miſtakes. Thus, for inſtance, it became a Point of Faith to deny that there were *Antipodes*, and the learned Biſhop of *Saltzburg* was condemned as a Heretic for holding the contrary Opinion.

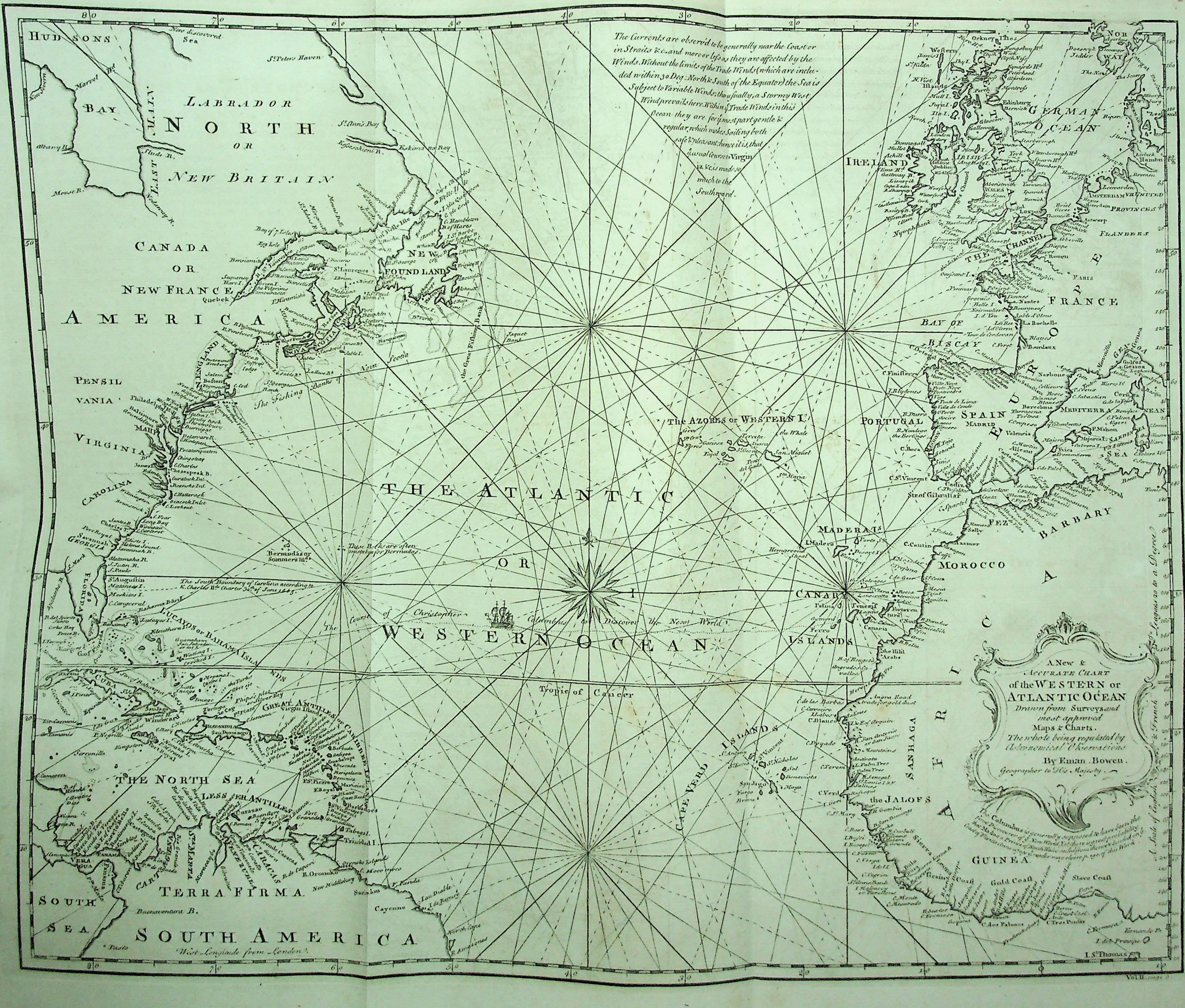
There has, indeed, been ſome Endeavours uſed to palliate this Matter, and to make the World believe that the Clergy, in thoſe Days, were not quite ſo ignorant as they have been repreſented. With this View we are told, that St. *Auguſtin*, on whoſe Authority the Prelate before-mentioned was condemned, was far enough from believing, that the Earth upon which we live was flat, like a Trencher, which may be granted; but then let us hear how they explain the Matter, and in what manner they ſtate the Caſe of the *Antipodes*, ſo as to render the Belief of them an Hereſy. Why, ſay they, though the Church acknowledged the Earth to be a Globe, and that there was an inferior, as well as ſuperior Hemiſphere; yet they denied that the latter was habitable, becauſe, as it muſt be ſeparated from us by a great Ocean, the Conſequence they thought muſt have been, that, if it was peopled, the Inhabitants could not have been deſcended from *Adam*, and therefore the aſſerting a World ſo peopled was, in their Judgment, a flat Contradiction of the Scriptures. This Poſition of theirs, though a little better Senſe, was as effectual a Bar to Science, and as much calculated to prevent Diſcoveries, as the other Opinion of the Earth's being flat; ſo that, conſidering the Power of the Church in the fifteenth Century, one cannot help wondering how it came into the Head of ſo religious a Man as *Chriſtopher Columbus* to maintain the Poſſibility of ſuch an Enterprize; and one ought to wonder much more that, after he did maintain ſuch a Doctrine, it was not condemned as a Hereſy.

3. At firſt ſight, the examining this Point may ſeem to be a little wide from our Purpoſe; but I hope, before I have done with it, to convince the ingenious Reader that nothing can contribute ſo much to the perfect underſtanding the Subject of this Section. We have already ſhewn, at the Beginning of the former Volume, that, when *Columbus* firſt propoſed his Scheme, it met with great Oppoſitions, more eſpecially from the Learned, who, either not comprehending the Force of his Arguments, were reſolved to conceal their own Ignorance the beſt Way they could; or elſe, from a Principle of Envy, were aſſiduous in maintaining that what he aſſerted was falſe and abſurd, merely becauſe they had not Penetration enough to make ſuch a Diſcovery themſelves: But we never hear that they charged him with Hereſy, and therefore I am inclined to think, that the Reaſon before aſſigned for condemning the Opinion of the *Antipodes* was the true one.

The Buſineſs then is to ſhew how *Columbus* avoided ſplitting upon this Rock, and maintained his Notion without running into that, to which the Church was, in his Time, as little reconciled as when the Biſhop of *Saltſburg* was adjudged an Heretic. In order to clear up this, the Reader is to underſtand, that though *Columbus* diſcovered that great Continent, now called *America*; yet he was very far from declaring, at leaſt, or perhaps from believing, before he undertook his firſt Voyage, that there was any ſuch Continent; by which I mean, a Continent ſeparated from *Europe* by ſo large a Part of the Ocean on one Side, and as far ſeparated from *Aſia* in like manner on the other. For, had he ſo conceived, or, at leaſt, had he maintained this Conception, however agreeable to good Senſe and Truth, he had been moſt certainly eſteemed a Heretic.

But the Principle he went upon, though not ſtrictly true, exempted him from all Imputation. It was, in few Words, this, That the Earth being globular, it was reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that the Continent and Iſlands of the *Eaſt Indies* extended themſelves in ſuch a Manner into the inferior Hemiſphere, as that they might be reached very conveniently by ſailing Weſtward. It is very evident that, by this Suppoſition, he entirely avoided the Hereſy of maintaining, that there might be another Continent, inhabited by Men that were not deſcended from *Adam*. It is very true that he might maintain and publiſh this Doctrine, without believing it; but, as the Reader will hereafter ſee, this was not the Caſe; for he really ſpoke as he thought. Nor does it appear that he was undeceived, even by the firſt Voyage that he made; but, on the contrary, firmly believed, that the Iſlands he had viſited were ſuch as lay at ſome Diſtance from the Continent of the moſt Eaſtern Part of *Aſia*.

4. There is nothing in this Error of *Columbus* which can in the leaſt prejudice him in the Opinion of a judicious and intelligent Perſon; but quite the contrary, ſince it was impoſſible for him, or indeed, for any Man, to diſcover, by the Force of his Genius only, how the Divine Providence had diſtributed the Continent and Iſlands in that unknown Hemiſphere. On the contrary, we learn from hence, that there is always ſomething magnificent and ſhining, and, if I may be allowed the Expreſſion, a ſhadowy Reſemblance of Truth even in the Miſtakes of great Men. It was the Opinion of this able Perſon, that after traverſing a wide Sea, he ſhould fall in with that Archipelago of Iſlands which *Marco Paulo* had deſcribed, and which he had called *Zipango*, or *Cipango*, which are what we call *Japan*; and, if the Continent of *America* had not lain in his Way (which, as I ſaid, it was impoſſible


A New &
Accurate Chart
of the WESTERN or
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Drawn from Surveys and
most approved
Maps & Charts.
The whole being regulated by
Astronomical Observations
By Eman. Bowen.
Geographer to His Majesty.
The Currents are observ'd to be generally near the Coast or in Straits &c. and more or less as they are affected by the Winds. Without the limits of the Trade Winds (which are included within 30 Deg. North & South of the Equator) the Sea is Subject to Variable Winds: tho usually, a Stormy West Wind prevails here. Within ye Trade Winds in this Ocean they are for ye most part gentle & regular, which makes Sailing both safe & pleasant: hence it is, that ye usual Course to Virginia &c. is made so much to the Southward.
Tho' Columbus is generally supposed to have been the first Discoverer of ye New World, Yet there is great probability that Madoc a Prince of North Wales sailed from thence & landed on ye Coast of Florida [illegible] see p. 190 of this Work
THE ATLANTIC OR WESTERN OCEAN
The Course of Christopher Columbus to Discover the New World
Tropic of Cancer
The South Boundary of Carolina according to K. Charles IId Charter 30th of June 1665.
These Rocks are often mistaken for Bermudas.
Bermudas or Sommers Ids.
HUDSONS BAY
New discovered Sea
LABRADOR
NORTH OR NEW BRITAIN
CANADA OR NEW FRANCE
AMERICA
NEW FOUND LAND
The Great Fishing Bank
Jaquet Bank
The Fishing Banks of Nova Scotia
NOVA SCOTIA
NEW ENGLAND
PENSILVANIA
VIRGINIA
MARYLAND
CAROLINA
GEORGIA
FLORIDA
LUCAYOS or BAHAMA ISLANDS
CUBA
HISPANIOLA
JAMAICA
GREAT ANTILLES or CARIBBEE ISLANDS
LESS ER ANTILLES
THE NORTH SEA
TERRA FIRMA
CARTAGENA
ST. MARTA
CARACAS
SOUTH SEA
SOUTH AMERICA
West Longitude from London
IRELAND
GREAT BRITAIN
GERMAN OCEAN
NORWAY
UNITED PROVINCES
FLANDERS
THE CHANNEL
FRANCE
BAY OF BISCAY
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
EUROPE
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
SARDINIA
BARBARY
FEZ
MOROCCO
AFRICA
The AZORES or WESTERN Is.
MADERA Is.
CANARY ISLANDS
CAPE VERD ISLANDS
SANHAGA
the JALOFS
GUINEA
Grain Coast
Gold Coast
Slave Coast
A Scale of English & French Leagues 20 to a Degree
Vol. II

P R E F A C E.

THE fowing Volume, as it makes a Part of this great Work, the Reader will find be properly divided in reſpect to Books, Chapters, and Sections; but here we ppoſe to conſider it in another Light, and according to that natural Way of Dſion ariſing from the different Subjects that are treated in it. In the Beginni, more eſpecially, we have largely conſider'd the Nature of Settlements or Pltations; in the Middle Part of the Book we have ſhewn from Examples, the Uity of Travelling through all Parts of the habitable World; and we have elſewhere diſcourſed of ie great Importance of new Diſcoveries, and the Advantages which a Trading Nation may dve from the opening freſh Channels of Communication with the Inhabitants of diſtant Counes, and conſequently of diſpoſing of their Commodities and Manufactures, in Places, where, erhaps, they were never ſeen or heard of before. In this Place we ſhall very ſuccinctly mention me of the Capital Uſes that may reſult from the Manner in which we have treated theſe ſeveralranches of our Subject, and refer the inquiſitive Peruſer, for a more copious and circumſtant View of the Diſpoſition and Connection of the ſeveral Parts of this Deſign, to the Concluſio where we have Reaſon to hope they are ſo ſtated, as to give him entire Satisfaction.

The great Point with nect to Plantations, is to ſhew, that the Riches, Power, and Happineſs of the Mother-Country, depds, in a great Meaſure, upon them; and that on the other Hand, this Connection is ſo far fromeing grievous, burthenſome, or prejudicial to the Colonies, that, on the contrary, their Peace, Were, and Proſperity, are dependant upon this, and upon this only; ſo that the Benefits and Advantagof Settlements and their Mother-Countries are always reciprocal; whence ariſes the Tie of mutual Obation, that renders it equally unnatural for one to regret the Share ſhe pays out of the Profit of her Labrs, or the other to repine at the Demands that are now and then made for Aſſiſtance and Protection.It is a Thing of the higheſt Conſequence, that theſe Notions ſhould be thoroughly deſeminated, d all the Points before inſiſted on univerſally underſtood. The ſending People abroad to ſettle for Time in a Plantation, ought to be conſidered in the Light of publick Service, becauſe ſo in Fact it iſince we have proved in the following Pages, that every Planter abroad, finds Employment for ſevl Men, perhaps for ſeveral Families at Home; there cannot therefore be any thing more unjuſt, th to give a Preference of any Kind to thoſe whom he maintains, before him who maintains them. here is alſo nothing more abſurd, than to fancy that well regulated Colonies tend to depoplate tir Mother-Countries; which is ſo far from being true, that the more populous any Plaations e, the better peopled their Mother-Countries muſt be; for the more flouriſhing the Settlement,he greater Conſumption of Manufactures and Home Commodities in that Settlement: Now theſennot be conſumed unleſs they are furniſhed, and they cannot be furniſhed without a Multitude of Has; but Employment will always procure theſe, and conſequently People in a Plantation, like Waten the Sucker of a Pump, ſets the Machine in Motion, and by a Kind of political Attraction, produs that Circulation of Induſtry which is the Health of the Conſtitution. *Laſtly*, Though all Trade isvantageous, the Trade between Mother-Countries and their Plantations is of all others moſt advaneous, becauſe wherever the Profit falls, the ſame People reap it, and little or nothing is diverted to foreign Channels. The large Hiſtory enſuing may be conſidered as a practical Commentary upothis Text, in which by innumerable Inſtances it is proved, that where theſe Notions are adverted and followed, Mother-Countries and their Plantations thrive equally, and that both pine, dwindand decay, where theſe Maxims are either neglected or deſpiſed.

In Regard to Travels by Ind, the Benefits reſulting from them are partly in common, and partly diſtinct from thoſe which ar from Voyages; we ſhall inſiſt here only upon the latter. We derive from well-written Relationſf theſe, Accounts that may be relied on as to the Natural Hiſtory of Countries, their Climate, S and Produce, whether Vegetables, Animals, or Minerals, and are thereby enabled to form ſomKind of Notion of thoſe immenſe Treaſures, which with a wiſe as well as bountiful Hand, the gre Author of the World has diſtributed through all its Parts. We are next informed concerning t State of our own Species in every Country, more or leſs diſtant, or however ſituated in reſpect to our own, their Manners, Cuſtoms, Relon, Government, Laws, Forces, Revenues, and Trade. Beſides all this, we learn the Progreſs Art in the Improvement of Nature, which is a Point of higher Conſequence than is commonly imined; ſince upon a ſtrict Review it will be found, that even amongſt the moſt uncouth and barous Nations, there are many ingenious Inventions to be met with, ſome taken from Accident, t moſt dictated by Neceſſity, which in neither Way have ever occurred, even to the moſt lively Iminations, amongſt People more civilized. As for Inſtance, The neat Cloaths of Skins, Hunting and Fing Tackle without Iron, and Boats that cannot ſink among the *Greenlanders*; their flying Prows ongſt the Inhabitants of the *Marian Iſlands*; their Feather Works amongſt the ancient *Mexicans*, &c y reading as well as ſeeing theſe Things, the human Mind is vaſtly enlarged and improved; we beme weaned and eſtranged from thoſe little, narrow, and childiſh Notions which are the Effects of ſordid Education, and by which even the brighteſt Genius is held in Chains. Neither is this the on Benefit, for the Extenſion of true Science naturally heightens and improves our moral Notions, tches us Affability, Kindneſs and Commiſeration for Strangers, and puts us in this reſpect upon ecuting the Fundamental Maxim of the Chriſtian Law, by doing unto others as we would wiſh to done by in their Circumſtances. It teaches us Wiſdom alſo, enables us to find out Means for morating our own Soil and Climate, and introducing as well foreign Fruits and Timber, as Animal and by Labour prudently directed, making them our own. In the ſame Manner we transfer their rts alſo, which though invented in particular Countries, and indiſpenſably neceſſary in ſome, are gerally ſpeaking, uſeful and convenient in all. Whatever Books of Travels therefore treat of theſe atters moſt copiouſly, circumſtantially, and correctly, deſerve moſt to be read, and beſt to be reſerved; which Rule we have ſtudied to follow for the Reader's Emolument, as well as in Diſcrge of our own Duty.

In Reference to new Diſcoveries, and opening freſh Channels of Tra, we have ſpared no Pains, nor have been deterred by any Hazards. We have conſidered every Qter of the Globe, and after enquiring how far it is already known and viſited, have pointed out homuch farther and better it might be known, and what Advantages might probably be expected om thence. We have not ſtood in Awe, upon theſe Occaſions, either of the Cenſures of haſt Criticks, of the Raillery of ſuch as deſpiſe all Projects but thoſe of Pleaſure, or of the Reſentment Men who fancy that ſuch Diſcoveries would be an Intruſion upon their Rights, though they ne attempt to turn theſe, ſo much, as to their own Advantage. What we have offered, has procled from a right Intention, from a Deſire of employing the Poor, of affording ſuitable Rewards to terprizing Minds; and in a Word, of contributing, ſo far as this Opportunity put it in our Por, to the Benefit of Society, which is a Tribute due from every Member of it, for the Protection, d other Bleſſings that he enjoys in that Capacity. We have in every Inſtance had Reaſon for o Guide at leaſt, and ſometimes alſo Experience. We have propoſed the undertaking of nothin without ſhewing that there were probable Grounds of finding the Undertaking both beneficial and acticable. We have ſtudied to be as clear in the one, and as certain in the other, as it was poſſibl neither have we pretended to dictate, but have contented ourſelves with propounding fairly wh appeared to us feaſible. To this we were chiefly encouraged by obſerving, that the ſame noble an generous Spirit, which animated our Anceſtors not only to attempt, but to perform ſo many a ſo great Actions, of which we feel the Benefit, began to revive in the preſent Age for our own Aantage, as we hope, as well as for that of our Poſterity. What was in our Power we have done cheriſh and keep alive this glorious Flame, and to enable it to mount as high at preſent as in pa Times; and if in doing this we have ſometimes digreſſed with ſome degree of Acrimony into expng the oppoſite Humour of preferring Indolence and Pleaſure to Activity and Induſtry, we hope e Warmth of our Zeal will at leaſt excuſe that of our Language. It is our Comfort however, tt if it does not, it can offend only the Idle and Taſteleſs, whom, to ſay the Truth, we never had Thought to pleaſe. They muſt look for a Library of this Kind elſewhere, for this is conſecred entirely to the Service of ingenious and intelligent Readers, who ſeek Improvement and Inſiction, and have no Notion of being entertained at the Expence of their Time and their Underſdings.

This we flatter ourſelves will be found a fair Repreſentation of th principal Matters that are to be met with within the Compaſs of this Volume; and having ſaid tl, we have nothing farther to add, than that we heartily wiſh the Peruſal of it may, in ſome Meaſe, anſwer our Aim, and contribute to diffuſe that publick Spirit which teaches Men not only to h well to the World in general, and to their own Country in particular, but to expreſs the Sirrity of their Wiſhes in their Studies, their Diſcourſes, and their Actions. We ſhall then be amp rewarded for all the Anxiety and Labour with which the atchieving ſo great a Work has been tended, and ſhall chearfully leave it as a Monument to Poſterity, that we have not been idle inr Generation, or unworthy of the Examples that have been ſet us in this Kind of Writing, by great Men in the laſt Age; in our own, and in other Countries.

last

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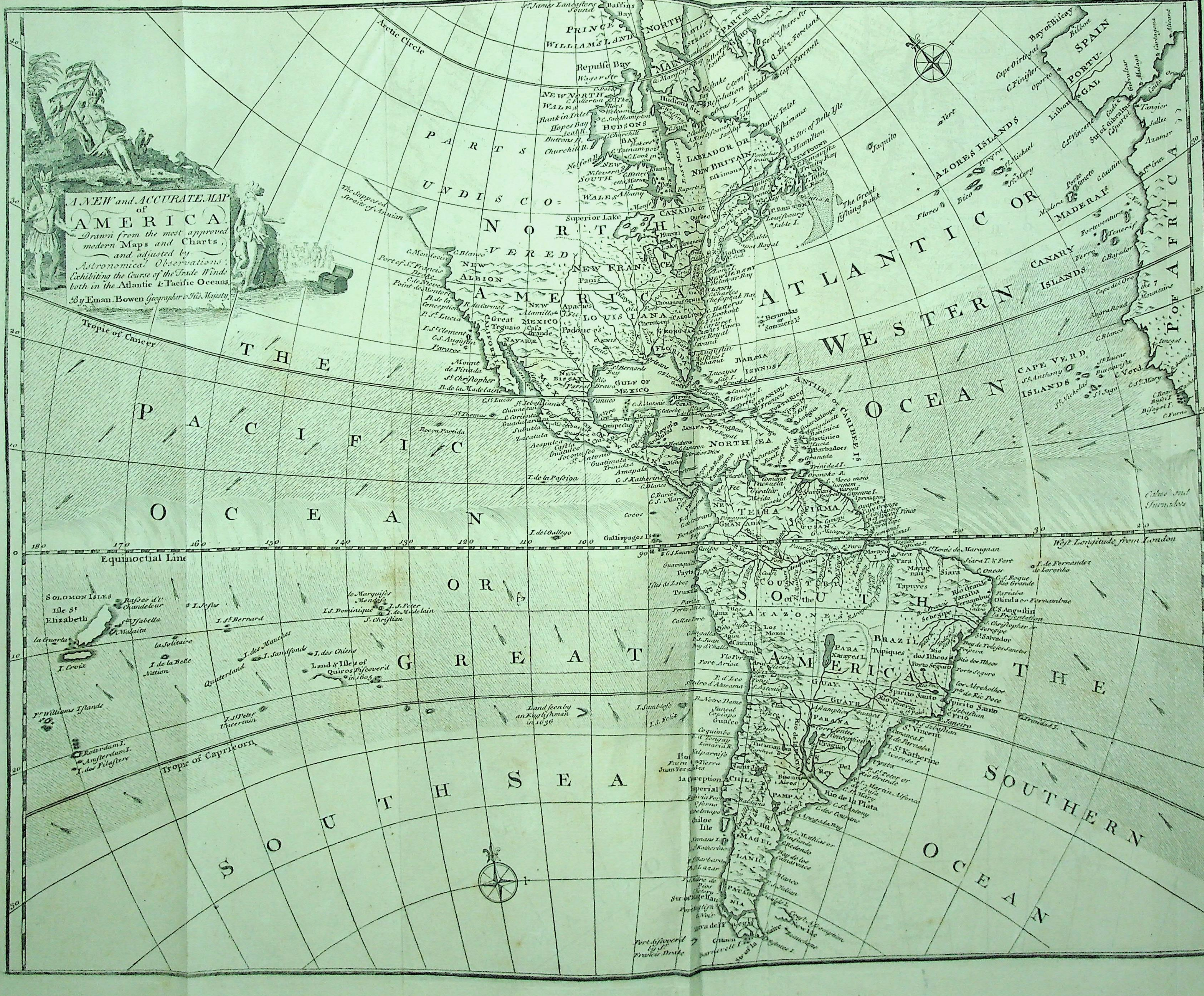
A NEW and ACCURATE MAP
of
AMERICA.
Drawn from the most approved
modern Maps and Charts,
and adjusted by
Astronomical Observations:
Exhibiting the Course of the Trade Winds
both in the Atlantic & Pacific Oceans.
By Eman. Bowen Geographer to His Majesty.
Arctic Circle
Tropic of Cancer
Equinoctial Line
Tropic of Capricorn
West Longitude from London
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NEW ALBION
NEW MEXICO
LOUISIANA
NEW FRANCE
CANADA
LABRADOR OR NEW BRITAIN
NEW NORTH WALES
NEW SOUTH WALES
HUDSONS BAY
Baffins Bay
Davis's Straits
Superior Lake
GULF OF MEXICO
NORTH SEA
BAHAMA ISLANDS
ANTILES OR CARIBEE ISLANDS
TERRA FIRMA
SOUTH AMERICA
AMAZONES
PERU
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PARAGUAY
CHILI
PAMPAS
TERRA MAGELLANICA
PATAGONIA
Rio de la Plata
THE PACIFIC OCEAN OR GREAT SOUTH SEA
THE SOUTH SEA
THE WESTERN OR ATLANTIC OCEAN
THE SOUTHERN OCEAN
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MADERA Is
CANARY ISLANDS
CAPE VERD ISLANDS
Bermudas or Sommers Is
The Great fishing Bank
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PORTUGAL
Bay of Biscay
PART OF AFRICA
SOLOMON ISLES
Gallipagos I.
Calms and Tornados
The Supposed Straits of Anian
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Land & Isles of Quiros Discover'd in 1605
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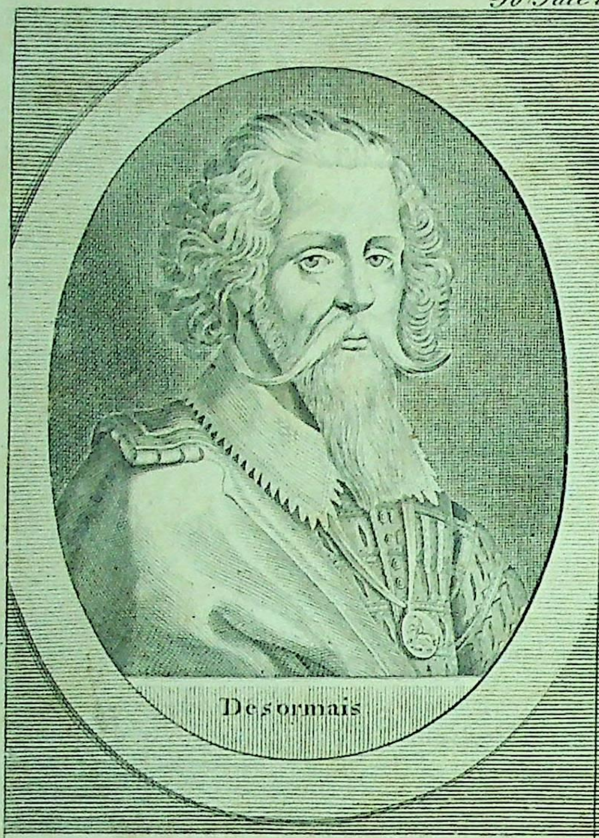

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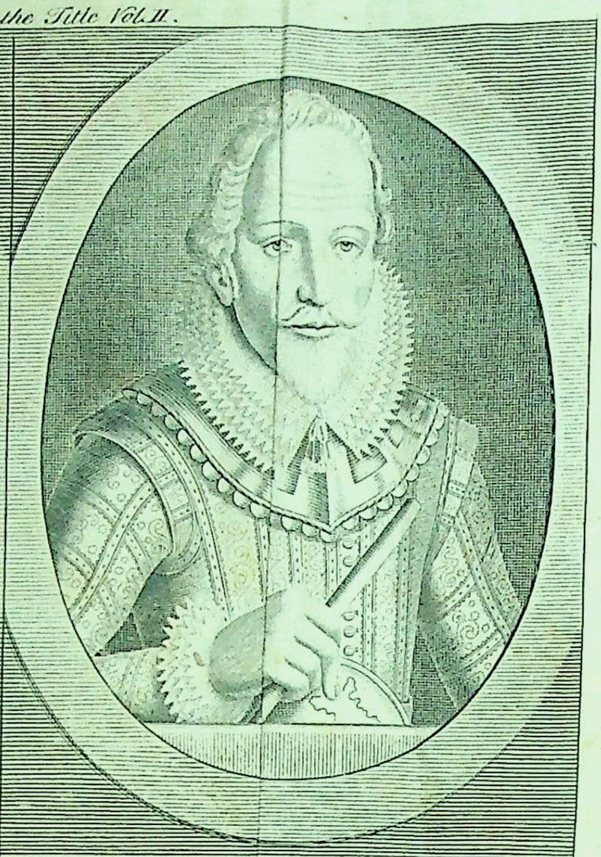

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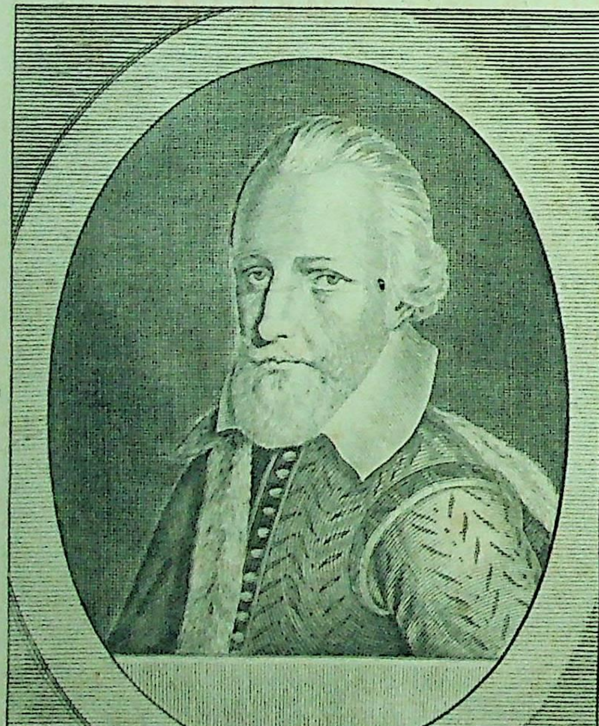

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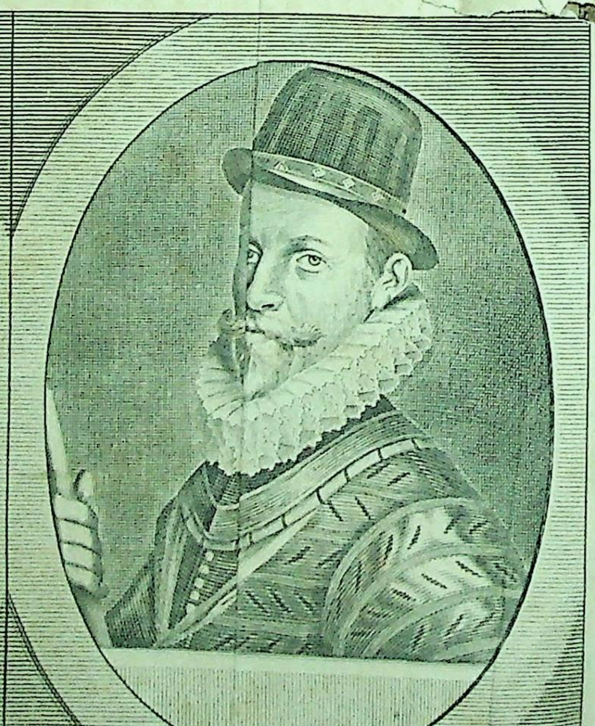

Sir John Hawkins Kt.

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far from being difficult to avoid it, provided a Man has a tolerable Preſence of Mind; for the Rhinoceros ſeeing only ſtraight forward, and turning being very troubleſome, ſtriking twice or thrice out of the Road, is ſufficient to eſcape all Danger: For this Creature very rarely turns back, or changes his Path, but deſtroys, without Mercy, whatever he finds in it[a].

The general Name of this Creature, in the *Indies*, is *Abada*; and in *Perſian*, it is called *Kerkeden*, much eſteemed for the Virtues of its Horn: And therefore, notwithſtanding the Danger of the Exerciſe, induſtriouſly hunted by the Natives of the Country, who, when they are ſo lucky as to kill it, ſuffer nothing to be loſt, but apply every Part of it to ſome Uſe or other. The Fleſh is ſaid to be hard and ſtringy, but, in other reſpects, wholſome and well-taſted; ſo that the *Europeans* eat it readily, and think it no contemptible Veniſon.

The Horn is extremely precious, and ſells at a great Rate, from the Property it is ſuppoſed to have, of diſcovering Poiſon: The Fact is univerſally believed in the *Indies*, and a Man would be as much laughed at there for doubting it, as he would be here for believing it: Yet ſome Writers of unqueſtionable Credit, have aſſerted the Truth of this from their own Knowledge, particularly Mr. *Kolben*, who aſſures us, that, at the Cape of *Good Hope*, they make Cups of this Horn, which are finely adorned with Gold or Silver; and that, upon pouring Wine into them, a great Ebullition follows; but, if there be any Poiſon mixed with the Wine, the Cup infallibly breaks, as it alſo does, if the Poiſon be put in unmixed. The Experiment, we are told, has been made ſo frequently, and with ſuch conſtant Succeſs, that Thouſands of Perſons ſettled at the Cape of *Good Hope*, might be produced, as Witneſſes to the Truth of it[b].

For my own Part, I muſt confeſs, that I think it almoſt as difficult to believe, that Mr. *Kolben* himſelf, or any other Writer of Reputation, ſhould endeavour to impoſe upon Mankind by ſuch a Report, if there was no Truth in it, as to believe the Fact. I therefore incline to think, that the Relation is only delivered in too general Terms; and that, inſtead of aſſerting, that this Horn breaks, on the pouring into a Cup made of it any kind of Poiſon, an Inquiry ought to be made, what ſort of Poiſon really breaks it? For I very much ſuſpect, that if we knew what kind of Poiſon it is, we ſhould be able to account for it from natural Cauſes: And I am the rather led to this Opinion, from what the ſame Author tells us, of the bubling or boiling of Wine, when poured into the ſame Cup.

10. The *Indians* fancy, that, in ſplitting the Horn, they diſcern, on each Side, the Figure of a Man, marked out by little white Spots; as alſo Birds of ſeveral Kinds, as we ſee in *Egyptian* Pebbles[c]: But, without doubt, this is the Effect of a very ſtrong Fancy, with regard to both. It is, however, highly probable, that, as it ſerves to raiſe the Price of this Commodity, it alſo ſerves to ſupport its Credit, for the more Wonders are reported of any thing, the more readily the common People believe them. In the Iſland of *Java*, where there are many of theſe Creatures, they are moſt valued, and the Virtues of their Horns in the higheſt Eſteem; ſo that when they are ſent to be turned, they always order a Perſon to ſtand by, to collect the Shavings, that no Part may be loſt: For of this ſort of Ivory, they give a certain Quantity, boiled in Water, or in Broth, for Convulſions, Fainting fits, and other Diſeaſes that proceed from Diſorders in the Nerves. The Blood likewiſe, of this Animal, is held to be extremely medicinal: And therefore, when it can be got freſh, they ſet it in a Cup made of the Rhinoceros's Horn, in the Sun, till it grows hard; and then they preſerve it in a Bottle cloſe-ſtopped, for the following Uſes: They conceive it to be a ſpecific for all Obſtructions, and, at the ſame time, admirable for healing and conſolidating broken Veſſels; but, above all, it is held an infallible Cure for the Spitting of Blood. The manner of taking it is, by mixing a few Grains of the Blood in a Diſh of Tea or Coffee.

It is moſt certain, that, on the firſt coming of the *Europeans* into theſe Countries, they found the People univerſally perſuaded of the Efficacy of theſe Drugs: And we are told by the famous *John Hugo Linſchoten*, one of the moſt candid Writers on this Subject, that in *Bengal* the Rhinoceros Horn was ſold at a very high Price. He tells us likewiſe ſome other Circumſtances, that deſerve to be mentioned: ‘ Theſe Horns, ſays he, are much valued throughout all *India*, as effectual Remedies againſt Venom and Poiſon; for which, likewiſe, the Teeth, Claws, Fleſh, Skin, Blood, Urine, and Dung, of this Animal, are likewiſe much valued: And that this is not an idle Notion, but an Opinion founded in Truth, I can, from my own Experience, atteſt. There is, however, one thing, which is to be remembered, that all theſe Horns are not of equal Value and Price, becauſe all of them are not of equal Goodneſs; for ſome will ſell for 200 or 300 Pardoes, while others of the ſame Size and Colour will not fetch above three or four Pardoes. The Reaſon which the Natives aſſign for this Difference, is their feeding in different Places; for they believe, that the Virtue of the Horn is derived from the Herbs by which the Creature is nouriſhed; and therefore, they have almoſt an equal Eſteem for the Horns of the wild Goats that feed in the ſame Places[d].’

I ſhall conclude this Account with the Relation of Father *Borri*, in his Account of *Cochin-China*, as to the Hunting of the *Abada*, which, however, he deſcribes as covered over with Scales; tho' this might, perhaps, ariſe, from his ſeeing him only at a Diſtance. His Account is curious; and therefore I ſhall give it in the Author's own Words, the rather becauſe it not only confirms many things before related, but furniſhes us alſo with ſome Particulars that are new. ‘ When I was at *Nuocmon*, a City in the Province of *Pulucambi*, ſays he, the Governor went out to hunt a Rhinoceros, that was in a Wood near our Dwelling-place: He had with him above an hundred Men, ſome on Foot, and ſome on Horſeback; and eight or ten Elephants. The Rhinoceros came out of the Wood; and, ſeeing ſo many Enemies, was ſo far from giving any Tokens of Fear, that it furiouſly encountered them all, who opened and making a Line, let the Rhinoceros run through, till it came to the Rear, where the Governor was mounted on his Elephant, waiting to kill it. The Elephant endeavoured to lay hold with his Trunk, but could not, by reaſon of the Rhinoceros's Swiftneſs: And leaping, to wound the Elephant with its Horn, the Governor knowing it could receive no Hurt, by reaſon of the Scales, unleſs they ſtruck it on the Side, waited, till leaping it laid open the naked Place; and, caſting a Dart, dexterouſly ſtruck it thro', from Side to Side; with great Applauſe, and Satisfaction of all the Multitude of Spectators, who, without any more to do, laid it upon a great Pile of Wood, and, ſetting Fire to it, leapt and danced about, while the Scales were burning, and Fleſh roaſting; cutting Pieces as it roaſted, and eating them. Of the Entrails, that is, the Heart, Liver, and Brain, they made a more dainty Diſh, and gave it to the Governor, who was upon a Riſing ground, diverting himſelf with their Merriment. As I was preſent at the taking of this Creature, I obtained from the Governor the Hoofs; which I eſteemed not inferior to his Horn: And this is thought as effectual in expelling Poiſon, as that of the Unicorn.’ This ſeems to countenance my Sentiment, that theſe Horns, as Alcalis, may ſerve as Remedies for a certain kind of Poiſons.

11. The Lion, of which ſo many extraordinary Stories are told us by the Antients, is alſo a Native of the *Indies*, and more common there than in any other Part of the World, except *Libya*. The Lion of the true Kind, of full Size, and with a flowing Mane of yellow Hair, is by all Authors acknowledged to be, at once, the moſt majeſtic, and the moſt dreadful Sight, that is furniſhed by the Animal Creation. The Lioneſs has no Mane; her Ears are ſhorter and wider; and ſhe has more Fierceneſs, and leſs Dignity in her Countenance, than the Lion[e].

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[a] *Deſcription du Cap de Bonne Eſperance, Vol.* iii *p.* 16.

[b] *Idem ibid p.* 17.

[c] *Herbelot Bibliot. Orient p.* 959.

[d] *Voiage aux Indes p.* 191.

[e] *Ariſtot. Hiſt. Anim. l. lib* vi. c. 31. *Ælian. lib.* xvii. c. 26.

It is poſitively inſiſted on, both by *Ariſtotle* and *Pliny*[a], that the Bones of the Lion are much firmer, and more ſolid than thoſe of any other Beaſt; which ſome Moderns have denied: But ſuch as have had the beſt Opportunities of inquiring into, and being ſatisfied as to the Matter of Fact, aſſure us, that the Antients are in the right; and that the Cavity in the Leg-bones of a Lion is not larger than thoſe of a Tobacco-pipe; ſo that when they are ſuffered to lie and dry in the Sun, that Cavity is intirely filled up; and they become ſo ſmooth, ſo ſtrong, and perfectly united, that they will ſtrike Fire like Flints. When he falls upon his Prey, he firſt brings it to the Ground, and then beats its Breath out with his Paw, before he tears or eats it; and generally accompanies this Death-ſtroke with a loud Roar[b].

Their Strength is prodigious, and much beyond their Size; which is the Reaſon, that other Beaſts fly at the Sight of them. We are told by *Pliny*, that they never prey upon Men, till they become very old, and cannot provide themſelves with other Food; in which time of Diſtreſs, they watch about the Skirts of Villages, and even of great Towns, that they may catch and devour ſuch as come out careleſly in a Morning, or are returning in an Evening.

The *Romans* thought there was ſomething ominous in the manner in which Lions were introduced into their Amphitheatres. *Sylla* the Dictator exhibited one hundred Lions, which fought all at once. After him *Pompey* expoſed ſix hundred; and his Competitor, *Julius Cæſar*, expoſed four hundred. All which, the *Romans* obſerved, happened in Times when their Liberty was declining. But what contributed to ſpread this Notion the moſt of all, was the Contrivance of *Mark Antony*, who, after the Defeat of *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, cauſed himſelf to be drawn through *Rome* in a Chariot, to which two Lions were yoked, at the ſame time that there ſat with him one *Cytheris* an Actreſs, his favourite Miſtreſs, before he became acquainted with *Cleopatra*. This, ſays *Pliny*, ſeemed to preſage, that Men of high Spirit, and noble Courage ſhould be tamed, and brought into Subjection to ſuch as were only remarkable for their Pride and Luxury: And for my Part, continues he, I conſider the very Sight of ſo monſtrous a Spectacle, as none of the leaſt of the Calamities of theſe unhappy Times[c].

It was not at *Rome* only, that ſuch Notions prevailed; the *Carthaginians* ſeem alſo to have had the ſame Sentiments; for when *Hanno*, who was one of their moſt excellent Citizens, and greateſt Generals, had found a Way to tame a Lion, ſo that he ſtroked and handled him like a Dog, they took Occaſion from thence to drive him into Baniſhment, believing that the Liberties of a People could not be ſafe, where that Man had any Power, who had Skill enough to alter the Nature of the fierceſt Beaſt, and make him tame and gentle as a Spaniel.

It is very doubtful, whether there be any Truth in what is reported of the Lioneſs bringing forth but five times in her Life, and having at firſt five Whelps, then four, and the laſt time but one: Neither is there much Credit due to what is ſaid, of their living to a great Age; ſince we know, by Experience, that they are not a very long-lived Animal. But with reſpect to its Magnanimity, and diſdaining to eat ſuch as approach in an humble and ſuppliant manner, it is affirmed as well by modern Travellers, as the Writers of Antiquity: And it is on all hands agreed, that if this Beaſt does not laſh himſelf with his Tail, or ſet up his Mane, a Man may ſafely go by him.

There are a kind of Lions that have no Manes, but are ſmooth like the Lioneſs: Theſe are ſaid to be a mongrel Breed between the Leopard and the Lioneſs. As to the Antipathy between the Lion and the Cock, and the former's flying, if he hear the latter crow, it is no better than a Fable; of which there are more related of this, than almoſt any other Animal. And, in Truth, one cannot but wonder how ſo grave a Writer as *Pliny* could bring himſelf to ſet down ſo many improbable Stories as he did, upon this Subject; which as they could only ſerve to tire, without inſtructing the Reader, I think it beſt to omit. The Fleſh of this Animal is often eaten, is not at all unpleaſant, and is not known to prove unwholſome; but, whether any Part of this Creature be of any Uſe in Phyſick, I am not able to ſay.

12. The Tyger is juſtly reported by the Antients one of the fierceſt, ſwifteſt, and ſtrongeſt of all wild Beaſts. Other Animals, of which we have hitherto ſpoken, are found in ſeveral Countries beſides the *Indies*; but the true Tyger is, in a manner, peculiar to that Part of the World: They differ from the Leopard in Size, and in Spots; for the Tyger is much bigger, having yellow Spots that are very round, with black Hair about them; whereas the Leopard is ſpotted with black, almoſt in the Shape of Horſe-ſhoes. The Female, which is called the Tygreſs, is even fiercer than the Male, as appears from what *Pliny* tells us of the Manner in which the Huntſmen caught her young ones in thoſe Times. They provided themſelves, ſays he, with a very ſwift Horſe, on which one of the boldeſt went in Search of the Tyger's Den, while the reſt remained with their Boat by the River-ſide. When he who was on Horſeback had an Opportunity, by the Abſence of their Dam, he carried away the Whelps, and rode as hard as he was able to join his Companions; but the Tygreſs, miſſing her Young, frequently came up with the Huntſman before he reached the River-ſide, who, as ſoon as he found himſelf in Danger, dropped one of the Whelps, which the Tygreſs taking up, and carrying back to her Den, gave him Time to eſcape with the reſt to his Companions, who immediately quitted the Place with the utmoſt Expedition. This Story ſhews the quick Scent, and prodigious Speed, of this Creature; of which, however, *Pliny* does not give us any particular Deſcription[d].

By comparing, however, the ſeveral Accounts we have of this Creature in modern Travels, it appears, that their Eyes are wonderful bright and ſhining, their Necks ſhort and ſtrong, their Teeth and Claws prodigiouſly ſharp, their tabby Skins of a beautiful Colour, and their Hair ſhort and gloſſy. The Kingdom of *Malabar* is, of all others, the moſt famous for theſe Animals, of which they diſtinguiſh theſe three Sorts: The firſt is ſomewhat bigger than a wild Cat, makes a frightful Noiſe, not unlike the Lowing of a Cow, and does a great deal of Miſchief. The ſecond Sort, which is moſt common, is of the Size of a ſmall Calf, wonderfully briſk and active, and, withal, exceſſively cruel. The third is called the Tyger Royal, and is very near as big as a Horſe, for the Skin of one of them will ſerve for a Coverlid for a Bed ſix Foot long; and for this they are much uſed in the *Indies*. The Furs of all the Species of this Creature are very valuable, both in the *Indies*, and in *Europe*. They are uſed there chiefly for Beds and Palankins; and here for Horſe-furniture, and for lining Cloaths in the Winter, eſpecially in the North[e].

As the Lion never eats any Creature till it is dead, ſo the Tyger tears his Prey to Pieces while it is living; and if he meets by chance with a dead Sheep, or Horſe, he will not touch them: But if, at any time, they fall in with an Herd or Flock, where they have Plenty of Cattle at their Mercy, they ſeldom eat them at all, but content themſelves with ſucking their Blood; by which it is incredible what Havock they make. A Tyger, Tygreſs, and two of their young ones, have been known to deſtroy upwards of an hundred Sheep in a Night's-time, in this manner: They generally hide themſelves behind Buſhes or Hedges, in an incloſed Country, from whence they leap at once, with almoſt incredible Force, upon whatever paſſes by: Neither are they at all afraid of Men; but, whenever they have an Opportunity, ſeize them generally in the Middle, carry them into the Woods, and there tear them to-pieces, and devour them. The Fleſh of this Creature is remarkably white and tender: Such as have eat it affirm, that it is as delicate as any kind of Veal, and much better taſted: And the Fleſh of young Tygers is ſaid to be as tender and ſweet as that of Fowls[f].

The Antients report, that Tygers often mingle with Dogs; which, having been obſerved by the *Indians*, they were wont to carry a certain Number of Bitches into the

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[a] *Pliny, lib.* viii. *cap.* 16. *Ariſtot. ubi ſup.*

[b] *Ælian. lib.* iii. *cap.* *lib.* vii. *cap* 96.

[c] *Hiſt. Nat. lib.* viii. *cap.* 16

[d] *Plin. Nat. Hiſt. lib.* vi. *c.* 20. *lib.* vii *c.* 18. *Oppian lib* 1. *Bochart. Hier P.* 1. *lib.* iii. *c.* 7 & 8.

[e] *Dictionaire de Commerce, Artic.* Tigre.

[f] *Voyage aux Indes par J. le Maire.*

W[illegible], where the Tygers frequented, and there left them tied to Trees. By this Contrivance they obtained a Species of Dogs ſo fierce and ſtrong, that they were not afraid of attacking even a Lion: And it was of this Breed that *Sopithes*, an *Indian* King, preſented ſome to *Alexander* the Great; of which we have a particular Account in the Hiſtory of *Diodorus Siculus*. *Alexander*, having a mind to make an Experiment of their Strength and Courage, let looſe a large Lion upon two of them, which not being able to manage him, he ordered two other Dogs to be let go: The Lion, being ſurrounded by theſe four, was very ſoon over-powered; upon which the *Indian* King ſent a Perſon with a Sword, who cut off the Right Thigh of one of the Dogs by little and little; and, in ſpight of all the Pain he endured, the Dog neither howled, nor let go; but held the Lion faſt, till he fell down dead. The Number of theſe Creatures, given to *Alexander* by this *Indian* Prince, was one hundred and fifty, which that Hero eſteemed a very valuable Preſent [a].

A *Dutch* Traveller informs us, that in the Kingdom of *Congo* the Tygers ſeldom or never attack white Men; and, as a Proof of it, he tells us, that when he was there, a Tyger ſurprized a white Man and a Black aſleep, and immediately tore the Negro to-pieces, but left the White untouched: And we have the ſame thing aſſerted by other Writers, but, I think, without any good Grounds, farther than as it may be ſuppoſed, that the Tygers are better acquainted with the Blacks in thoſe Countries; and, therefore, may be more apt to attack a Prey they have been uſed to [b].

In the Voyages of *Walter Schouten* we have a very curious Account of theſe Creatures; and, as that *Dutch* Writer is highly eſteemed for his ſtrict Regard to Truth, the Reader will not, probably, be diſpleaſed with the Tranſlation of what he has given us upon this Subject. ‘It is very true, ſays he, that the Tyger thirſts as much after human Blood, as after that of Beaſts. He catches a Man exactly as a Cat does a Mouſe, and carries him off with as much Eaſe. At the firſt Leap he ſticks his fore Paws into the Shoulders, or, rather, a little below them; and, having brought the Man down, he ſtrikes his Teeth, on both Sides, through his Ribs. One may very well ſay, that a Man is loſt, upon whom a Tyger ſets his Eyes: The Sight of them, and the being attacked, are, in a manner, inſtantaneous; ſo that the Fright, and the being paſt all Fright, is over in two or three Minutes. The Deſarts of *Bengal* are ſomewhat leſs dangerous in the Light than in the Dark; for then the Tygers quit their Thickets and Caverns, and come even into Houſes and Villages, where they ſeize any they find abroad, and tear them to-pieces. They have even the Boldneſs to attack Men on Horſeback; as alſo the largeſt and ſtrongeſt Buffaloes of that Country, which are of an extraordinary Size: They, generally, leap upon their Shoulders, and tear them to-pieces in an inſtant; ſome Inſtances of which happened while we were there. It is looked upon as a Thing certain among the *Indians*, that the Tyger and Rhinoceros live in great Harmony together. There are many of both Sorts of theſe Creatures in the Woods of *Bengal*, and it is never known, that they attack each other. The Reaſon which the *Indians* give for this is very ſingular: They ſay that Tygers, after gorging themſelves with the Fleſh of Men or Beaſts, grow extremely ſick, and find Relief by eating the Dung of the Rhinoceros, which, as it feeds chiefly upon green Herbs, that are of great Virtue, they are ſtill very wholſome, even when they have paſſed through his Body; of which they appear to be very throughly perſuaded, ſince they frequently make uſe of the ſame Medicine themſelves.’ The ſame Writer tells us, ‘that in this Part of the *Indies* they are forced to travel in Company, for fear of theſe merciless Creatures; and that their Dogs, when they hear the Cry of them in the Woods, tremble, and ſweat in a moſt ſurpriſing Manner. The People, however, at certain Seaſons of the Year, aſſemble in great Numbers to hunt the Tygers, and carry along with them ſeveral of their Conjurers, who pretend to inchant them; which is, at once, a ſtrong Proof both of their Folly and their Fear [c]. There are a ſmaller Sort of Tygers in *Africa*, and, it is ſaid, in *America*; but it is very doubtful whether the latter are at all of the ſame Species: And, as to the former, though they are very fierce, and do infinite Miſchief, eſpecially in the *Dutch* Settlements, near the *Cape of Good Hope*, yet they are far below the Size of an *Indian* Tyger, and are only equal at moſt to the ſecond Sort. This Difference is occaſioned, in all Probability, by ſome Mixture in the Breed; for it appears plainly, by comparing the Accounts of antient Writers with thoſe of modern Travellers, that it was the large *Indian* Tyger was known to the former, and not the ſmaller Sorts, which, if then exiſting, were called by other Names.

13. The Leopard and Panther are the Male and Female of the ſame Species, which, though not equal in Size, is very little inferior in Strength, to the Lion, and not at all leſs miſchievous. It is not, however, very common for them to attack Men, at leaſt if they are not under the Neceſſity of doing it; for, in that Caſe, there is no Creature bolder. The Skins of theſe Animals were much valued by the Antients, on account of the Beauty and Regularity of their Spots, which, as I before obſerved, were ſmall, and of a ſemicircular Figure, not unlike an Half-moon [d]: But on the Shoulder they were ſuppoſed to have a larger Mark, which not only reſembled, but was in a manner governed by the Moon, increaſing as ſhe did, and decreaſing likewiſe in the ſame manner; having now blunt Points, now ſharp, and ſometimes a complete Orb, like the Full Moon [e]. One would find it more difficult to believe, that ſuch Opinions as theſe would gain Credit with Men of Learning and Senſe, if there were not Inſtances, even in our Days, of as ridiculous Notions prevailing with Men who pretend to follow no other Lights than thoſe of Reaſon and Experience.

The Antients tell us, that theſe Creatures had a very ſingular way of hunting. They derive from Nature a kind of muſky Smell, which being agreeable to Deer, Goats, and other Animals, they were wont to frequent the Haunts of the Panthers, till at the Sight of her fierce Countenance they were frighted, and fled; which this Creature obſerving, ſhe contrived to hide herſelf behind the Buſhes, that, when theſe Animals were attracted by her Smell, ſhe might leap on them at once; by which Method ſhe eaſily ſurpriſed them. The *Indians* hunt them very aſſiduouſly, as well for their Fleſh, which they eſteem very wholſome as well as ſavoury, as for the ſake of taking their Young, which they breed up tame, and then preſent them to their Kings, who breed them up for hunting; and find them not only ſuperior to any kind of Dogs in Swiftneſs and Strength, but in Fidelity alſo; for they conſtantly bring back what they take without tearing it: And, even to this Day, it is found, that they make uſe of the ſame Method of inticing their Prey that has been before deſcribed from the Antients. The *Arabians* call this Creature *Beber*; the *Turks*, *Joz*; and the *Tartars*, *Jem*: But the general Name of them through the Eaſt, is *Pars*, which is a *Perſian* Word; and it ſignifies, alſo, the Country of *Perſia*, properly ſo called: And hence it is, that the Perſon, who has the Care of theſe Creatures that are kept for the hunting of the Grand Signor, is called *Parſigi*: And ſo jealous they are in the *Indies* of this kind of Sport, that no private Man is permitted to hunt with Leopards [f].

When the Panther has young ones, it is reported, that the Leopard, though much ſtronger, will not defend himſelf againſt her, but ſuffers himſelf to be very ill treated, till the young ones are grown up, and able to ſhift for themſelves. It is certain, that, however fierce in their Nature, the Panthers are extremely tender of their Whelps, of which *Pliny* gives us a very ſingular Inſtance. A Panther, by ſome Accident or other, had her whole Litter tumbled into a deep Pit, out of which ſhe was not able to deliver them. In this Diſtreſs ſhe went to the next

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[a] *Diodor. Sicul. lib.* xvii. *Q. Curtius, lib.* ix.

[b] *Voyage de P. van de Broek, p.* 397.

[c] *Voyage aux Indes, p.* 331.

[d] *Ariſtot. de Hiſt. Anim. lib.* viii. *Ælian, lib.* iv. *cap.* 49. *lib.* v. *cap.* 40. *lib.* xv. *cap.* 14.

[e] *Plin. Nat. Hiſt. lib.* viii. *cap.* 17.

[f] *Herbelot Bibliotheque Orientale, p.* 700.

Highway, in hopes of finding ſome Paſſenger, that might be kind enough to aſſiſt her. The firſt who came by, was the Father of *Philinus* the Philoſopher; about whom the Panther played and friſked, without offering to hurt him. The Man would willingly have eſcaped from her Careſſes, but found it impoſſible. At laſt ſhe lay down at his Feet, and ſeemed to bemoan herſelf; and then taking hold of his Robe, led him gently to the Place where her Offspring lay: By which diſcovering the Cauſe of this Change in the Nature of the Beaſt, he deſcended into the Pit, and reached up her young ones. When the Whelps were once in Safety, they fell to leaping and playing with their Dam, who, in Company with her young ones, led their Benefactor ſafely out of the Wilderneſs[a].

There are many ſtrange Things reported by the Antients, as to the Amours between the Leopard and the Lioneſs. The latter, they ſay, is exceedingly prone to the Company of the former; and fearing that the Lion ſhould detect her Infidelity by the ſtrong Smell of the Leopard, ſhe keeps, for ſome time, at a Diſtance from her Conſort; but, when ſhe finds herſelf pregnant, ſhe deſerts him intirely, and reſorts to the Haunts of the Leopard; becauſe, when the Lion finds her young ones ſpotted, he tears the ſpurious Breed to-pieces, and chaſtiſes the Lioneſs herſelf ſeverely[b]. In the Travels of *Apollonius Tyaneus*, we meet with many Inſtances of the Tenderneſs of Panthers to their Young, and of their Gentleneſs and Fidelity. *Philoſtratus* informs us, that from their natural Wantonneſs the Panthers were held ſacred to, and Symbols of, *Bacchus*; but other Authors aſcribe this to their Love of Wine, in which they differ extremely from other Beaſts[c]. But, whatever the Cauſe might be, the Fact is certain, that they were held ſacred to that Divinity; and that the Chariot of *Bacchus* is frequently repreſented as drawn by Leopards: But as it is ſometimes neither drawn nor attended by Tygers, I am inclined to think, that both were uſed for the ſame Reaſon, *viz.* to ſhew that he was the Conqueror of the *Indies*, where theſe Creatures naturally reſide; if there was not a moral Reaſon for this Repreſentation, which might be intended to ſhew, that even the fierceſt and moſt intractable Natures were ſoftened and civilized by the Charms of ſocial Mirth[d].

There was an old Law at *Rome*, which forbad the bringing any of theſe Species into *Italy*; but for what Reaſon it was made, or why they were more afraid of thoſe than of other wild Creatures, does not appear. However, when *Cneius Aufidius* was Tribune of the People, he procured a Licence, notwithſtanding this Law, to bring over Leopards for the *Circenſian* Games. *Scaurus* was the firſt Man, who in his Ædileſhip exhibited one hundred and fifty Leopards. *Pompey* the Great exceeded this very far; for he produced four hundred and ten. But, at the Dedication of the Temple of *Marcellus*, *Auguſtus* exhibited to the People four hundred and twenty Leopards, and a tame Leopard in a Cage, which was never ſeen before. But the Emperor *Claudius* produced four tame Leopards at once[e].

But this is now thought no extraordinary thing; for, in the *Indies*, they tame even thoſe of the largeſt and fierceſt Kind, and keep them at their Tables, where they feed as freely and as quietly as Dogs[f]. As to the Age to which theſe Creatures attain, we meet with nothing certain, either in old Authors, or in new; but it is probable, that as in other reſpects they reſemble, ſo in their Age they come near the Lion, which is not obſerved to enjoy a very long Life. Some report, that the Tygers and Leopards mingle; which may be true in *Africa*, but ſuch Conjunctions are not frequently obſerved in the *Indies*. It may not be amiſs to add, that in hunting with theſe Beaſts, when tame, they ſit on the Crupper of the Huntſman's Horſe, with their Eyes covered till the Game is rouſed; and then they are let go[g].

14. The Camel is, at once, as uſeful and as remarkable a Creature as any that has been yet mentioned; nor is there one that makes a greater Figure in the Works of the Antients, who ſeem to have conſidered it with greater Attention; and therefore ſpeak of it more accurately than of almoſt any other Animal in this Part of the World[h]. The Camel is cloven-footed, hath a large fleſhy Bunch on his Back, which is peculiar to the Species, another leſſer Bunch on the bending of each Knee, which appears to be of Uſe in ſupporting his Body: His Tail is like that of an Aſs in Shape, but has four Knots in it, like that of the Cow[i].

This is the Deſcription of *Ariſtotle*; but a *Chineſe* Writer that I have before cited, gives us, in my Judgment, a much better Picture of a Camel: And, therefore, I will ſubmit it to the Reader's Inſpection[k]: 'This Creature, ſays 'he, is a kind of Ship by Land; for he tranſports vaſt 'Quantities of Goods from one Country to another, in a 'ſhort Space of Time, at ſmall Coſt, ſince he eats ſeldom, and 'ſcarce ever drinks in his Paſſage. His Form is ſingular, 'and not ſo beautiful as his Qualities are valuable; for in the 'Neck and Fore-part of him he is made moſt like a Sheep: 'In his Body he reſembles a Horſe: His Back and Hindlimbs are peculiar to his Species; for ſcarce any other 'Creature has any Reſemblance to him therein. Nature 'has furniſhed this Animal with a Palate, to which Thiſtles, 'and ſuch-like harſh Food, are moſt agreeable; two Stomachs admirably contrived for Digeſtion, and ſo lined, 'as to receive a Quantity of Water ſufficient to moiſten 'his dry Food for many Days. Beſides this, he derives, 'from the ſame bounteous Hand, two Qualities, that the 'Sagacity of Man could never reach; for by his Scent he 'diſtinguiſhes Springs, how deep ſoever they lie: And 'whoever digs where a Camel ſcrapes, will never miſs of 'finding Water, let the Soil ſeem ever ſo unpromiſing. 'Their ſecond Property is, foreſeeing venomous and 'burning Winds, which fly ſwiftly, and are mortal in a 'Moment: A little while before they come, the Camels 'run together, cry, and hide their Noſes in the Earth; 'but as ſoon as they are paſt, they lift up their Heads, 'and continue their Journey.'

Ariſtotle aſſerts, that they go twelve Months, and never bring forth more than one Foal. *Pliny* either copies him, or is of the ſame Opinion: But *Suidas* holds, that they go but ten Months complete, and bring forth in the beginning of the eleventh. According to *Ariſtotle*, they are very private in their Copulation, retiring into unfrequented Shades, and remaining there whole Days; at which Seaſons they are very furious[l]. At other times they are a very gentle and tractable Creature, underſtand their Drivers perfectly, and, inſtead of a Whip, are quickened in their Pace either by a Pipe, or the Driver's Whiſtling.

Indeed all Authors agree, that, next to the Elephant, they are of all Animals the moſt ſagacious: They ſtoop, like them, to receive their Burdens, and ariſe as ſoon as they have their accuſtomed Load. But, with all this, they are very vindictive; and, if beaten, bear Malice a long time; and, whenever they have an Opportunity, fail not of taking Revenge. The *Arabians*, who are beſt acquainted with them, reckon two ſorts of Camels; the firſt they call *Hegen*, which are the larger and the ſtronger Sort, and will carry a thouſand or twelve hundred Weight, their Backs been almoſt flat. The ſecond are called *Bocheti*; they are leſs, and cannot carry above half the Weight: Theſe have two Lumps upon their Backs. The *Indians* and the *Perſians* make the ſame Diſtinction, tho' they make uſe of other Terms; for they call the ſtronger the Northern Camels, becauſe bred, for the moſt part, on the Frontiers of *Tartary*: The leſſer they call Southern Camels.

It is certain, that they will travel four or five Days without Water, and ſome ſay much longer; they go a pretty round Pace, and at the Rate of thirty or forty Miles a day, which they will continue, if Occaſion require, for thirty or forty Days together. They are a very timorous Animal; ſo that if at any time they are ſurprized by a Lion, Tyger, Leopard, or other Beaſt of Prey, they are devoured without making the leaſt Reſiſtance. It is remarked of this Creature, as well as of the Elephant, that it troubles the Water before it drinks, and, very probably, for

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[a] *Plin. Nat. Hiſt. lib.* viii. *c.* 17. [b] *Philoſt. lib.* ii. *p.* 73. [c] *Idem Icon. lib* i. *n.* 19. [d] *Pierius Hiera, lib.* xi. *fol.* 34. [e] *Plin. Nat. Hiſt. lib.* viii. *c.* 17. [f] *Voiage de P. Vanden Broek, p.* 456. [g] *Thevenot. Voiage des Indes, lib.* 1. *c.* 5. *p.* 32. *Edit. in* 4*to*, 1684. [h] *Ariſtot. Hiſt. Anim. lib.* v. *Pliny, lib.* viii. *c.* 18. *Polyæn. Stratagem. lib.* vii. [i] *Ariſtot. Hiſt. Anim. lib.* v. [k] MS. Account of *China* before cited. [l] *Ariſt. Hiſt. Anim. lib.* v. *c.* 14.

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other, eſpecially in Conſumptions. Of the Dung dried a kind of Snuff is made, which is ſaid to cure Bleeding at the Noſe.

The received Opinion amongſt the Antients, that the Camel preſerved Water in its Stomach [e], has been ridiculed by ſome of the Moderns as equally fooliſh and falſe; but
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y a ſort of gradual Conſumption in his
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uſt is over, is ſcarce able to ſuſtain a
ſual Load [e].

are at all times very ſober Feeders, ſo
o ſubſiſt on a very little Matter, which
form ſuch prodigious Journies, as, for
f Commerce, they are put upon all
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of this, that the *African* Camel, which
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amels of *Aſia*. The Moderns have
me medicinal Virtues in the Camel,
to have been known to the Antients:
the Brain of it, when dried, is in a
r the Falling Sickneſs; that its Urine
vative for the Teeth and Gums; and
ble of reſolving white Swellings, and
or green Wounds [f]. It is no wonder,
Arabs account their Camels their
Wealth; and it is the cleareſt Proof of their Firmneſs in their Cuſtoms, that they are not, in this reſpect, at all changed from what they were in the Days of *Ariſtotle*, who affirms, that ſome of them were poſſeſſed of 3000 of theſe Animals [g].

15. The Dromedary is, in the Opinion of all the Naturaliſts, a Species of the Camel; and, though it be weaker, and leſs capable of carrying Burdens, yet, in other reſpects, it is of no leſs Uſe. Inſtead of one large Bunch on its Back, as the Camel has, the Dromedary has two Lumps of Fat, ſo diſpoſed, that the Vacancy between them is a kind of natural Saddle; and, as they are lighter made than the Camel, and ſerve only to carry a Paſſenger, ſo they go much eaſier, and at a much greater Rate; for whereas the Camel has a ſhuffling uneaſy Pace, in which it goes at the Rate of ten Leagues a-day, or thereabouts; the Dromedar has a regular brisk, and not very uneaſy
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Macpherson p 173 1727-30 Co's annual sales 3000…

p 174 Co in 1744 "though the term of the privilege wanted no less than 25 yrs (including the three years of notice) being expired, they agreed to advance them much in want of money to carry on a war agst France and Spain £100,000 at 3% for which privilege was prolonged to March 25 of 1780 (3 years after last day.) debt now amounts to £4,200,000

p 180 "tedious and disgusting" to relate war of Carnatic

p 181 Godeheu's Treaty not valid unless ratified in Europe

p 182 all plunder of Gheriah shared amongst Watson & Clive [illegible]

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… it with greater At… more accurately than of … the World[h]. The … fleſhy Bunch on his … another leſſer Bunch … appears to be of Uſe … like that of an Aſs in … that of the Cow[i].

… But a *Chineſe* Writer … in my Judgment, a … d, therefore, I will … This Creature, ſays … he tranſports vaſt … ry to another, in a … he eats ſeldom, and … his Form is ſingular, … valuable; for in the … moſt like a Sheep: His Back and Hind… or ſcarce any other … therein. Nature … ſtate, to which Thiſtles, … agreeable; two Stomachs … geſtion, and ſo lined, … ſufficient to moiſten … Beſides this, he derives, … two Qualities, that the … ch; for by his Scent he … ſoever they lie: And … crapes, will never miſs of … n ever ſo unpromiſing. … eſceing venomous and … ly, and are mortal in a … e they come, the Camels … their Noſes in the Earth; … they lift up their Heads, …

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… rupees wage reckoned as 1½ at Calcutta [illegible]
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220-227 pp. Bengal Public ~~Treasury~~ Consultations [illegible] 10.1.2.
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[e] *Plin. Nat. H* … 4to, 1684.
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the ſame Reaſon. In one reſpect this Creature is very ſingular, which is in having no Teeth in its upper Jaw, and yet it feeds without any Inconvenience from hence; and, perhaps, the want of Teeth is, in ſome Caſes, rather an Advantage to it.

The Smell of this Animal is ſo diſagreeable to Horſes, that they will not endure it; and, by the Knowledge of this *Cyrus* gained a complete Victory over *Cræſus*, King of *Lydia*; for, knowing the other truſted much to his Superiority in Cavalry, *Cyrus* poſted a Body of Camels over-againſt them, and the Horſes no ſooner perceived their Scent, than they fell into Confuſion, and ran away[a]. As to the Age of this Creature Authors are much divided. *Ariſtotle* aſſerts, that they do not live much above fifty Years; but *Pliny* ſays, that if they eſcape Accidents, they often approach, and ſometimes reach, an hundred[b]. Modern Writers agree rather with the former than the latter.

There are few Creatures that are in all reſpects ſo valuable; for, beſides the Services they render by Carriage, their Hair, which they ſhed every Year, is extremely valuable; for of this Hair, Camblets, and other Manufactures, are wrought; and the very Urine of the Beaſt yields a conſiderable Profit, ſince of that the true Sal Armoniac is made. The Lump on the Back is moſt of it Fat, which, when melted, becomes an Ointment of excellent Uſe in diſcuſſing hard Swellings, and in curing all Sorts of Pains in the Limbs, from whatever Cauſe. The Fleſh is well-taſted, and the Broth much uſed by the *Chineſe* in aſthmatic Caſes: The Milk of the Camel is thinner, and therefore eſteemed more wholſome, than any other, eſpecially in Conſumptions. Of the Dung dried a kind of Snuff is made, which is ſaid to cure Bleeding at the Noſe.

The received Opinion amongſt the Antients, that the Camel preſerved Water in its Stomach[c], has been ridiculed by ſome of the Moderns as equally fooliſh and falſe; but others aſſert, that, on Diſſection, there appear four Ventricles, capable of holding a conſiderable Quantity of Water, with Holes into the Stomach, by which it is ſuppoſed this Creature forces the Water, contained in them, to mix with the dry Food that is in its Stomach, by holding its Breath. It is, on the other Side, aſſerted, that, in *Arabia*, there are a Race of Camels that never drink at all, but are ſupplied with Moiſture from the Graſs, and Tops of green Trees, on which they feed; but, with reſpect to this, I do not pretend to decide, deſiring only to report fairly ſuch Facts as I have met with.

The Camel is as much the Theme of Modern Travellers, as of the antient Naturaliſts, and they agree exceedingly well in their Deſcriptions with the former; ſo that we have all the Reaſon in the World to believe, that both may be depended on. The modern Travellers obſerve, that there cannot be any thing better ſuited than the Nature of this Animal to the Commerce of the *Indies*. They tell us, that from the very time the Camel is brought forth, it is accuſtomed to Burdens; that they take care to place its Legs in their proper Poſture under it, and then lay ſuch a Weight upon it as keeps it in that State for a certain time; and, by repeating this Method, they beget ſuch a Habit in the Beaſt, as renders it tractable and obedient for Life. This appears to be the more neceſſary, becauſe, naturally, the Camel has a great Degree of Obſtinacy; and, though it readily kneels to receive its uſual Load, yet, as ſoon as it feels that Weight upon its Back, it riſes at once, and will not ſuffer any Augmentation[d].

The Capacity of this Creature to bear Hunger and Fatigue, is very extraordinary; and the Moderns aſſert more upon this Head than the Antients. We are particularly told, by a Writer eminent for his Candour, that a Camel, in a Fit of Luſt, will go forty-two Days without eating; during which time, they are ſo furious, and ſo miſchievous, that there is no going near them, and therefore they take care to put them into Places where they can do no hurt. Some aſſert, that this Creature is enabled to faſt longer than any other, by a ſort of gradual Conſumption in his own Body, which ſupplies, for a certain time, to the Stomach, what ſhould be derived from Food; but then it weakens him exceedingly, inſomuch that a ſtrong Camel, after the Fit of Luſt is over, is ſcarce able to ſuſtain a tenth Part of his uſual Load[e].

Theſe Animals are at all times very ſober Feeders, ſo that they are able to ſubſiſt on a very little Matter, which enables them to perform ſuch prodigious Journies, as, for the Conveniency of Commerce, they are put upon all over the Eaſt; ſo that it is viſibly the Wiſdom of Providence, that deſtined this Creature to be the Native of Countries where ſuch a Beaſt was abſolutely neceſſary for the Service of the Inhabitants; and it may be regarded as an additional Proof of this, that the *African* Camel, which fares harder, and has ſtill greater and more uncouth Journies to take, is larger, ſtronger, and capable of carrying heavier Burdens, than the Camels of *Aſia*. The Moderns have likewiſe diſcovered ſome medicinal Virtues in the Camel, which do not appear to have been known to the Antients: As for Inſtance; that the Brain of it, when dried, is in a manner a Specific for the Falling Sickneſs; that its Urine is an excellent Preſervative for the Teeth and Gums; and that its Dung is capable of reſolving white Swellings, and is an excellent Cure for green Wounds[f]. It is no wonder, therefore, that the *Arabs* account their Camels their greateſt Wealth; and it is the cleareſt Proof of their Firmneſs in their Cuſtoms, that they are not, in this reſpect, at all changed from what they were in the Days of *Ariſtotle*, who affirms, that ſome of them were poſſeſſed of 3000 of theſe Animals[g].

15. The Dromedary is, in the Opinion of all the Naturaliſts, a Species of the Camel; and, though it be weaker, and leſs capable of carrying Burdens, yet, in other reſpects, it is of no leſs Uſe. Inſtead of one large Bunch on its Back, as the Camel has, the Dromedary has two Lumps of Fat, ſo diſpoſed, that the Vacancy between them is a kind of natural Saddle; and, as they are lighter made than the Camel, and ſerve only to carry a Paſſenger, ſo they go much eaſier, and at a much greater Rate; for whereas the Camel has a ſhuffling uneaſy Pace, in which it goes at the Rate of ten Leagues a-day, or thereabouts; the Dromedary has a regular, briſk, and not very uneaſy Trot, in which it will, without Difficulty, perform a Journey of forty Leagues in a Day. The Feet of this Creature are obſerved to be as ſoft as a Sponge, ſo that they are not hurt either by Stones or Sand, but travel on much at the ſame Rate, let the Road be what it will; they kneel to receive their Riders, as the Camel does for his Load, and riſe as ſoon as a Man is fixed upon their Back[h].

They are likewiſe capable of faring hard, and will endure Thriſt for four or five Days, but are not able to bear altogether ſo much Fatigue as the Camel. The *Arabians* call them *Raguahill*, or *Elmahari*; and the ſtrongeſt and beſt are bred in the Northern Countries: They make uſe of them in the *Indies* for going Poſt, and Expreſſes frequently perform a Journey of eight hundred Miles upon them in the Space of a Week. There is one thing very ſingular in theſe Animals, which is, that they go much better, and have greater Spirits in hot Weather, than if there be any Wind ſtirring; and it is obſerved, that the ſlighteſt Breeze makes them ſluggiſh and lazy[i].

We have in the Memoires of the Royal Academy of Sciences a very curious Paper in relation to this Creature; it conſiſts in the Account given by the *Perſian* Ambaſſador to Mr. *Conſtance*, who, from being a Servant in an *Engliſh* Factory, became firſt Miniſter to the King of *Siam*; and who, at the Requeſt of Miſſionaries, took upon him to inquire of that Ambaſſador what he knew in relation to the Dromedary, which is hardly known to the *Siameſe*. He told him, that they were brought originally from *Turkeſtan*, which is the only Part of *Aſia* were they are bred in Perfection; that they were very much eſteemed in *Perſia*, on account of their carrying ſo

[a] *Polyæn. Stratagem. lib.* vii.
[b] *Ariſtot. Hiſt. Anim. lib.* v. *c.* 26. *Pliny, l.* viii. *c.* 18
[c] *Ariſt. Hiſt. Anim. lib.* v & *de Part. Anim. lib.* iii.
[d] *Voyages de Thevenot, tom.* ii. *p.* 516
[e] *Id. tom.* iii. *p.* 401.
[f] *Labat Deſcription de l' Afrique Occidentalle, tom.* I. *p.* 295.
[g] *Hiſt. Animal. lib.* v.
[h] *Thevenot, tom.* ii. *p.* 517.
[i] *Baumgarten's* Travels through *Arabia*.

much eaſier than the Camel, by their having two Bunches on their Backs. That, however, theſe Bunches were not made by any Irregularity of the Spine, which was as flat and even under them as in any other Part of the Back; but that they were a kind of glandulous Subſtances, about ſix Inches in Height. He added, that, as to the common Report of their having a Supply of freſh Water in their Stomachs, which, in extreme Neceſſity, Travellers ſometimes were forced to have recourſe to in the Deſarts for the ſaving of their Lives, it was abſolutely a Fable, without the leaſt Foundation [a].

The famous *Shah Iehan*, who governed the *Indian* Empire with ſo much Reputation, contrived a Method, by which he made the Dromedaries extremely uſeful to him in time of War; which was a thing unthought of by any of his Predeceſſors, becauſe they are a timorous Animal, and cannot be brought to charge like a Horſe: But this Emperor made them uſeful in another way: A Rebellion broke out near the City of *Agra* in his Abſence, on a Suppoſition, that it was impoſſible for him to march back again before the Rebels had aſſembled Forces enough to make themſelves Maſters of his Capital. He was no ſooner informed of this, than he mounted 12,000 of his choiceſt Troops upon Dromedaries, and, in the Space of nine Days, made a March of ſeven hundred Miles; which ſo aſtoniſhed the Rebels, when they heard that the Emperor was within a few Miles of them, that they diſperſed without a Blow, and he had the Honour of ſuppreſſing, by the Quickneſs of his Invention, an Inſurrection, that, if the Chiefs of it had gained time to have executed their Purpoſe, might poſſibly have deprived him of the Government; for it was afterwards known, that ſome of the Generals of his Army had ſecret Intrigues with the Malecontents; but this ſudden Victory, gained by the Swiftneſs of his Dromedaries, diſappointed them entirely, and obliged them to lay aſide their Deſign [b].

16. The Giraffe, or Camelopardus, as it is called by the Antients, was a Creature better known to them than it is to us. According to the Accounts they give us of it, it reſembled the Camel only in its Head and Neck, which it carried more upright; and had from thence a bolder and a fiercer Aſpect. The Hair was either red mixed with white, or white mixed with red. It was of the Height of a Horſe, and ſhaped like it in the Cheſt; but towards the Reins it was ſo ſlender, as to be more like the Ape than any other Creature. All that *Pliny* tells us of it is, that the *Ethiopians* called it *Nabis*; and that the firſt time it was ſeen at *Rome*, was when the *Circenſian* Games were exhibited by *Cæſar* the Dictator. Since that time, ſays he, this Creature comes now-and-then to *Rome*, more to be gazed on for the Singularity of its Appearance, than for any Savageneſs in its Nature; of which, ſays he, it has ſo little, that ſome ſtile it a wild Sheep.

The celebrated [c] *Panchymerus*, who was at *Conſtantinople* when one of theſe was brought thither, in the Reign of the Emperor *Michael Palæologus*, towards the Cloſe of the thirteenth Century, gives us a larger Deſcription of it than is any-where to be met with; and therefore I ſhall tranſcribe it; the rather becauſe this is an Author not frequently cited: ‘ The Giraffe, ſays he, is an Animal ſo rare, and ſo wonderful, that I have thought it not improper to inſert a Deſcription of it, to refreſh the Memories of ſuch as ſaw it, and to make it known to ſuch as, perhaps, have not heard of it before. It is of the Bigneſs of an Aſs; its Colour white, ſpotted like a Panther, but with red. Its Shape reſembles that of thoſe Camels which have a Riſing in their Back from their Tails to their Shoulders: Its Fore-legs are longer than its Hinder ones; its Neck ſlender like that of a Crane, with a ſmall Head, ſhaped like that of a Camel; the Belly white; and a broad Streak of Black down its Back, from the Neck to the Tail; its Legs exceedingly thin, and its Hoofs cloven, like thoſe of the Deer. It was ſo gentle, that it ſuffered itſelf to be touched, and even to be guided, by a Child. The Food of this Animal was Herbs, Meal, and Barley. When attacked, it does not defend itſelf with its Heels, as Horſes do; nor with Horns like Oxen; nor with Tuſks, like the wild Boars; nor with its Nails, as Cats; but with its Teeth; which, however, are not very ſharp, and ſerve rather to repel an Injury than to revenge it: Nay, even theſe Teeth have nothing in them venomous, like thoſe of moſt other Animals. This Creature was brought from *Ethiopia*, and preſented to the Emperor, who ordered it to be led thro' the principal Streets of the City, for ſeveral Days, for the Diverſion of his Subjects.’ This is a clear and plain Deſcription from an Eye-witneſs; ſo that there is not the leaſt Reaſon to ſuſpect, as ſome have done, that this is an imaginary Animal, and a Creature that never had Exiſtence in Nature. I do not indeed pretend to deny, that ſome ſuch imaginary Animals are to be met with in the Writings of the Antients: On the contrary, I ſhall give ſome Inſtances of this kind hereafter. At preſent, I think it better to preſent the Reader with another Deſcription, from an Eye-witneſs likewiſe: But it will be neceſſary to premiſe, in the firſt Place, that the Author I am now going to quote, was certainly miſtaken as to his Fact; for the Creatures he mentions could not be thoſe deſcribed by *Pliny*, and by the Author I have before cited; whoſe Deſcription agrees very well with what *Pliny* ſays of them.

Bellonius deſcribe them thus [d]: ‘ I ſaw, ſays he, a Couple of them at *Grand Cairo*; each having two little Horns in the Forehead, about five Inches long; between which appeared a Bunch, like a third Horn, about two Inches high: From the Tail to the Crown of the Head, was about eighteen Feet: His Legs were much of a Length before and behind; but the Upper-joint, or Shoulder-bone, was much longer than the Thigh: His Back ſloped, like the Ridge of a Houſe; his whole Body reſembling, in Colour, that of a Deer; but ſprinkled all over with large ſquare Spots. His Feet were cloven, like thoſe of an Ox; his Upper-lip hanging over the under: His Tail ſlender, indifferently thin of Hair, and tufted at the End; his Mane like that of a Horſe: And he limped in moving, firſt on the right Leg, and then on the Left: When he eat, drank, or took any thing from the Ground, he ſtretched out his Fore-feet; for otherwiſe they would have hindered him. His Tongue, as *Joſeph Barbarus* writes, is two Feet in Length; of a dark-blue Colour, long and round like an Eel with which he gathers Herbs, Leaves, and Graſs into his Mouth, with wonderful Dexterity.’

There is, without doubt, a very wide Difference between theſe Deſcriptions, inſomuch that I very much doubt whether they belong to the ſame Animal: But the Queſtion is, which moſt reſembles the Camelopardus of the Antients: And I muſt confeſs, that, in my Opinion, it is the firſt; at leaſt it is certain, that this is the Creature which is called a Giraffe in the *Indies*, and is frequently found in the Woods of *Bengal*. As for the Creature which *Bellonius* ſaw at *Cairo*, it is an Animal common enough in *Ethiopia*; and is deſcribed by Father *Alphonſo Mendez* under the Name of *Strutho-camelus*, that is, the Oſtrich Camel; becauſe, ſays he, it reſembles, in its Shape, the Oſtrich: But this Creature is allowed by all who have ſeen it to be the talleſt Animal in the World: For, though much ſlenderer, it is higher than an Elephant. Its fore Legs are commonly twelve Hands high, ſo that a Man on Horſeback can paſs under their Belly, as many, who have ſeen them in *Ethiopia*, poſitively aſſert. But it can ſcarce be believed, that if this Creature had been ever ſeen at *Rome* by ſuch a Writer as *Pliny*, he would have given us ſo ſhort and dry a Deſcription of it as that abovementioned, when it muſt have been infinitely a greater Curioſity than any that had ever been ſeen there [e].

On the other hand, it is very clear, that *Panchymerus* ſaw the very Creature that *Pliny* deſcribes; and, therefore, we have good Reaſon to believe, that the Creatures *Bellonius* ſaw were by him only ſtiled *Giraffes*, as Mr. *Ludolf*, in his Hiſtory of *Ethiopia*, blames Father *Mendez* very much for calling the Creature he ſaw *Strutho-camelus*, and not *Camelopardus*, or *Camelopardalus*, which is the Word uſed by *Pliny* [f]. The Amount of all this Reaſoning is no more, than to ſhew, that we are in much greater Danger of being impoſed on by the Criticiſms of the Moderns, than by either the Credulity or the Negligence of the Antients; for, before we can accuſe *Pliny* of having paſſed ſlightly over ſo extraordinary a Creature as this *Ethiopian Giraffe* is ſuppoſed to be, we muſt firſt be ſure, that this was really the Creature he ſaw; whereas, I think, I have made it more than probable, that it was not: After all, if there be, as it is certain there is, a Creature called a *Giraffa*, or *Giraffe*, in the *Indies*, which agrees exactly with the Deſcription of the Animal ſeen at *Conſtantinople* between four and five hundred Years ago, and which was then allowed to be the *Giraffe* of the Antients, I cannot apprehend why we ſhould not admit this to be the Creature mentioned by *Pliny*, which involves us neither in Abſurdity nor Contradiction, rather than agree with *Bellonius* and *Ludolf*, in ſuppoſing this prodigious Animal, which Father *Mendez*, and many other Travellers, have ſeen in *Ethiopia*, to be the *Camelopardus* of the Antients; though it does not, in any reſpect, agree with the Deſcriptions they have given of this Creature.

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[a] *Hiſtoire de Moguls.*

[b] *Nat. Hiſt. lib.* viii. *c.* 18.

[c] *Panchymer. Hiſt. lib.* iii. *c.* 4.

[d] *Bellon. Obſervat. lib.* ii.

[e] *Alphonſ. Tellez Ethiop. Relation.*

[f] *Voyage du P. Lobo, tom,* 1. *p.* .292.

18. The wild Aſs, as we find it deſcribed by the Antients, is undoubtedly an imaginary Creature; and the very Deſcription of it, is, in a manner, a ſufficient Proof. *Cteſias* tells us, that it is of the Size of a Horſe; that it has a fine white Front, and on it a Horn, of the Length of a Cubit; the Upper-part of which is red, and the lower black: The Head of a purple Colour, the Eye of a bright blue, and the Body white, but ſtreaked with ſeveral Colours; and the Coat of a moſt exquiſite Beauty. When firſt purſued by the Hunters, it does not move at any great Rate; but increaſing its Speed by degrees, it flies, at laſt, with ſuch prodigious Swiftneſs, that no Horſe can come near it. The only Method of taking it, is by watching when it goes into the Meadows to feed its Young; of which it is ſo tender, that it will never abandon them, however diſtreſſed; it expoſes itſelf, in their Defence, to all Dangers, with a moſt deſperate Courage, combating the Hunters both with its Horn and Heels, till, in the End being ſtuck full of Darts, it dies through Loſs of Blood: The *Indians*, as ſoon as it falls, cut off its Horn and its Hoofs, which are of the moſt bright and beautiful Red; and next, ſeizing the young ones, they carry them home, and breed them up tame, Experience having taught them, that if this Creature once attains its full Strength, which it does in about two Years, it is impoſſible, by any Art, to conquer the Savageneſs of its Nature[a]. As *Cteſias* reſided at the *Perſian* Court, and wrote all his Account of the *Indies* from Hearſay, we need not wonder that he fell into ſuch Miſtakes: Neither is it at all improbable, that ſome of theſe Vermilion Horns and Hoofs, which were dyed of this Colour by Art, might be carried to the *Perſian* Court; and this Story of the wild Aſs invented to make them ſell at a dearer Rate; ſince many Inſtances might be given of Frauds of the like Nature, practiſed with the ſame View, in regard to other Commodities.

This Story, however improbable, ſeems to have kept its Ground for a long time, ſince *Pliny* tells us, that the *Indian* Aſs had only one Horn; and that no other Creature, that did not divide the Hoof, had Paſtern Bones[b]. But he gives us no diſtinct Deſcription of this Animal. The oriental Hiſtories ſpeak much of the wild Aſs, and acknowledge it to be the ſwifteſt and moſt beautiful of all four-footed Animals. In the old *Perſian* Language, this Creature was called *Gur*, or *Gour*. And *Baharam*, one of the antient Kings of that Country was ſurnamed *Baharam Gur*, though Authors do not well agree as to the Reaſon. Some report, that it was becauſe he once ſhot, when he was hunting, a Lion, and a wild Aſs, that were fighting, with the ſame Arrow: But others affirm, that it was becauſe he delighted much in the hunting of theſe Animals, and was at laſt killed by one of them[c]. The Circumſtances however, of this Creature's fighting with a Lion, is very ſingular, and ſhews the Opinion entertained in the Eaſt of the Courage and Strength of the wild Aſs. We may add to this another Proof of the ſame Nature, *viz.* that one, indeed the laſt of the *Khaliffs*, of the *Ommiades*, was called *Mervan Hemar*,[d] or *Mervan* the Aſs, (for the *Arabians* uſed the Word *Hemar* both for a wild and tame Aſs) on account of his great Courage and Strength. This ſingular Animal is not, however, particularly deſcribed by any who have travelled in the *Indies*. But it is alſo a Native of various Countries in *Africa*. And this affords us an Opportunity of obliging the Reader with an exact Deſcription and Print of it, from an Author of unqueſtionable Credit[e]. He deſcribes it thus:

The wild Aſs is one of the lovelieſt Animals I have ever ſeen; he is of the Size of an ordinary Saddle-Horſe; his Limbs finely turned, and well proportioned; his Coat very ſoft, and cloſe; from his Mane to his Tail there runs a large black Liſt, from whence proceed abundance of Streaks, which, falling regularly down on both Sides, meet under his Belly; theſe Streaks are of different Colours, ſome white, ſome yellow, others of a Cheſnut, which are blended and mixed on their Sides, ſo as to ſtrike the Eye exceedingly by their beautiful Mixture: The Head and the Ears are in like manner ſtreaked with very beautiful Colours: The Hair of his Mane and Tail, for the moſt part, either white or of a Cheſnut-colour, with a ſmall Intermixture of Yellow. This Creature is ſo ſwift, that no Horſe can come near him; ſo that it is with infinite Difficulty he is overtaken; and whenever they are ſo lucky as to catch one, it is ſold at a very extravagant Rate.

Father *Tellez*[f] informs us, that the Great *Mogul* gave two thouſand Ducats for one of them. Abundance of Pains have been taken at the Cape of *Good Hope* to tame them, but to no purpoſe; though they have been taken very young: And it is reported, that, of all Creatures in the World, it has the ſtrongeſt and moſt ungovernable Paſſion for Liberty. The Reader, after reading this Deſcription, which agrees exactly with that given us by another Traveller of great Reputation, will aſk why it is called an Aſs? and the only Anſwer that can be given is, that, with all its Beauty, it has the long and large Ears of that Animal, from whence it derives its Name. Mr. *Ludolf* complains of this moſt heavily, and wiſhes that, to free the Animal from this Diſgrace, it might have its Ears cut off[g]. We owe to this Writer another remarkable Proof of the Beauty and Value of this Creature; who informs us, that an *Abyſſinian* Embaſſador at *Batavia* having made a Preſent of one of them to the *Dutch* Governor-General of the *Indies*; he, by the next Ship, ſent it to the Emperor of *Japan*; who was ſo charmed with it, that he made the Company Returns in Money and in rich Silks, to the Value one hundred and ſixty thouſand Crowns.

Mr. *Thevenot* tells us, that he ſaw one in its Paſſage through *Egypt*, which was a Preſent to the Grand Signor: and was ſo exquiſitely beautiful, that he could not help ſuſpecting there was ſome Art uſed in colouring its Coat; for which, however, there does not appear to be any juſt Foundation[h]. Some of our old Travellers to the *Indies* report, that, near the Mouth of the River *Ganges*, the Natives ſhewed them abundance of Horns, which they aſſerted to be the Horns of wild Aſſes: Whence it appears, that the Author firſt-mentioned did not invent the Story he tells us concerning them[i]. There is a very extraordinary Creature, not only deſcribed, but expreſſed in a wooden Cut, by *Purchas*: He tells us, that it is bred in the Kingdom of *Congo*, and is there called *Zebra*[k]. It is, ſays he, of all Creatures the moſt comely, reſembling an

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[a] *Cteſias in Indicis, c.* 25. *Ælian de Animal. lib.* iv. *c.* 52. *Jonſton Theat. Animal. tom* ii *p.* 14.

[b] *Pliny Nat. Hiſt. lib.* viii. *c* 21.

[c] *Herbelot Bibliotheque Orientale, p.* 174.

[d] *Idem ibid. p.* 447.

[e] *Kolben Deſcription du Cap Bonne Eſperance, Vol.* iii. *p.* 22.

[f] *Hiſt Æthiop. lib.* i. *c.* 14.

[g] *Ludolf. Commentar. ad Hiſt. Æthiop. p* 150. No. 79 '*Infortunatum Animal, quod tam pulchris Coloribus* '*præditum. Aſini nomen in Europa ferre cogatur! Aures certe, quibus dehoneſtatur, abſcindi poſſunt, quod in Germania faciunt Equis.*'

[h] *Voyage de Thevenot, Vol.* ii. *p.* 755.

[i] I find this Paſſage in the 5th Volume of *Purchas's Pilgrims*, p. 436. in the Travels of one Mr. *Finch*, an *Engliſh* Merchant, who paſſed through the Territories of the *Mogul*, in the Beginning of the laſt Century; who ſays, that the *Indians* affirm them to be the Unicorn's Horn: And told him farther, that ſome of them were of a very great Price; and that it was only of the leſs valuable Horns that they made drinking Cups, and adorned their Bucklers with Pieces of them; of which he ſaw many.

[k] See his *Pilgrims*, Vol, ii p. 984. where there is a Print of the *Zebra*, or *Zabra*: But in his *Pilgrimage*, p. 623. he gives us a larger Account from the Converſation of *Andrew Battel*, who, being Serjeant in a *Portugueſe* Company, thought fit, on ſome Occaſion or other, to run away from them, and lived nine Months in the Woods, which gave him frequent Opportunities of obſerving this, and other wild Beaſts.

Horſe of the fineſt Make, and overlaid with party-coloured Laces or Girts from Head to Tail. It is very clear, from this Deſcription and from the Cut, that this *Zebra* is no other than the wild Aſs. *Purchas* had his Account from *Andrew Battel*, who lived long in the Kingdom of *Congo*, and had ſhot many of theſe Creatures wild in the Woods; for they were ſo little acquainted with Fire-Arms, that, when he had ſhot one, the reſt of the Herd ſtood gazing at him, till he had brought down three or four more: Which Account of his is the more credible, inaſmuch as it agrees perfectly with other Relations concerning this Creature.

19. The Antients mention, beſides the wild Aſs, another *Indian* Animal, which they called in *Greek* the *Monoceros*; in *Latin*, the *Licorn*, or *Unicorn*. This Creature is thus deſcribed by *Pliny:* It is, ſays he, the fierceſt and moſt furious Beaſt in the World; in its Body, reſembling a Horſe; in his Head, not unlike a Stag; his Feet having ſome Likeneſs to thoſe of an Elephant; and his Tail, reſembling that of a Boar. The Noiſe made by this Creature is hideous and terrible; in his Forehead he has a black Horn, about three Feet in Length, with which he ſo defends himſelf, that, as it is ſaid, he cannot poſſibly be taken alive. Another Writer of Antiquity contradicts the latter Part of this Account, and affirms, that the *Indians* not only take, but tame them, and make uſe of them to draw in Chariots; but he owns, that this is impracticable, if they are above two Years old when they are taken; and that they are always governed by a ſharp Bit, or rather a Bit with little Spikes in it. He mentions alſo their black Horns, and ſays, that the Cups made of them will not hold any Poiſon[a]. All theſe Stories ſeem to be founded in the admirable Properties of the Horn of the Rhinoceros, which is, perhaps, the only Unicorn that ever exiſted.

The Manticora is another Creature, which all the antient Writers have mentioned on the Credit of *Cteſias*[b]. But *Ariſtotle*[c], in ſpeaking of it, ſays, that if *Cteſias* be to be believed, there is ſuch an Animal, and then copies his Deſcription; which is this: The Manticora has a Face and Ears reſembling a Man, blue Eyes, and the reſt of its Body red, of the Size and Shape of that of a Lion. It is armed with a triple Row of Teeth, and devours both Men and Beaſts, having a Tail armed with a Sting, like a Scorpion; his Voice reſembles the Noiſe of a Flute and Trumpet ſounded together. This Beaſt is exceſſively ſwift, and one of the moſt dreadful in the World. If we conſider this Deſcription attentively, and make ſome reaſonable Abatements for the Credulity of its Author, and the Paſſion he had for Wonders, we ſhall ſee that it is no other than a Species of the Tyger; I mean that kind which has a Head like a Monkey, and which has been ſhewn in *Europe* under the Name of the Man-tyger; and it is indeed a Creature of a very horrid Aſpect, ſo that, ſeen at a Diſtance, it might well enough ſtrike the Fancy ſo, as to give Riſe to this Deſcription.

As *Cteſias* only deſcribed the Manticora, ſo *Ælian* alone[d] mentions another ſtrange Creature in the *Indies*, called *Poephagos*, of which he gives us the following Account. This Animal, which is as big again as an ordinary Horſe, is much eſteemed by the *Indians* for the exquiſite Beauty of its Hair. The Tail of this Animal is about three Feet in Length, and the Hair of it much finer and ſofter than that of a Horſe, which makes the Women of that Country eſteem it for Head-dreſſes: But few Ornaments are dearer or harder to be met with; for, notwithſtanding its large Size, there is ſcarce any Animal ſwifter than the *Poephagos*, or that is taken with greater Difficulty. It defends itſelf againſt the Hunters, and their Dogs, with wonderful Courage and Obſtinacy; and ſometimes, being too hard for the Dogs, the Huntſmen come in to their Aſſiſtance, and, by a Shower of ſmall poiſoned Arrows, quickly deſtroy the Beaſt. Its Skin is almoſt as valuable as its Tail; but as for its Fleſh, it is abſolutely uſeleſs.

No modern Writer mentions any Creature in the *Indies*, that has the leaſt Reſemblance to this Deſcription; and one might have imagined, that it was purely a Creature of Fancy, if Mr. *Kolben*, whom we have ſo often mentioned, had not aſſured us, that a Creature of this Kind has been actually ſeen in *Africa*, not far from the Cape of *Good Hope*. The Story, in his own Words, runs thus[e]: ‘ I remember to have ſeen, in the Lodgings of Captain ‘ *Olofberg*, the Picture of an Animal which exactly re‘ſembled the Deſcription given of the *Poephagos*. I took ‘ an Opportunity of inquiring after the Beaſt itſelf, and ‘ received from the Captain the following Account: That, ‘ travelling once in the Country of the *Hottentots*, at a ‘ conſiderable Diſtance from the Cape, he ſaw an Animal ‘ exactly like that repreſented in the Picture; and, having ‘ never ſeen, or indeed heard of, any thing like it before, ‘ he took ſome time to conſider it, with ſingular Atten‘tion; by which means, he ſo effectually fixed in his ‘ Mind the Shape, Size, and Look, of the Creature, ‘ that, at his Return, he drew this Picture of it. As to ‘ this Repreſentation, continues Mr. *Kolben*, it does not ‘ make it altogether ſo big as the *Poephagos* is repre‘ſented; and there are beſides ſome other little Differences, ‘ which I ſhall remark: In the firſt place, this Picture ‘ gives the Creature a Mane, like that of a Horſe; in the ‘ next the Shape and Size of it reſembles that of a large ‘ Buffalo. I could not obtain any farther Accounts of this ‘ Animal from any other Perſon, there having been no‘body that remembered the ſeeing any ſuch Creature in ‘ the Country of the *Hottentots*, except the Gentleman I ‘ have before-mentioned.’

It is requiſite to inform the Reader, that moſt of the Animals found in the *Indies* are likewiſe found in *Africa*, and more eſpecially in *Ethiopia*, and in the Neighbourhood of the Cape of *Good Hope*; and though it be true, that the proving ſuch Creatures as the Antients mention are found in theſe Parts, is no direct Proof of their being found in the *Indies*; yet, it certainly demonſtrates, that many of the Animals, mentioned by the Antients, are not Creatures of Imagination, but have a real Exiſtence. We ought likewiſe to remember, that, as the *Romans* extended their Dominions to the Frontires of *Perſia*, ſo they had an Opportunity thereby of being well acquainted with the Curioſities of the moſt inland Parts of the Northern *Indies* towards the Frontiers of *Tartary*, in which moſt of theſe wild Beaſts are bred; for, as moſt of our modern Travellers have not gone any very great Diſtance from the Sea Coaſt, and, conſequently, have not had much Opportunity to make themſelves ſo throughly acquainted with thoſe Parts, as that, on their Reports, we ſhould be able to determine poſitively, whether there are ſuch Creatures in the *Indies* or not. Add to this, that many of them are but very indifferent Judges of what they relate, as appears from their contradicting each other in their Deſcriptions, as the Reader will eaſily perceive from thoſe of the Rhinoceros. On the Whole, where the Accounts of the Antients are equally irreconcileable to Reaſon, and unſupported by modern Teſtimonies, we may very reaſonably give them up; but otherwiſe, it is certainly as adviſeable to preſerve them in Collections of this Nature, that, in proportion as our Diſcoveries increaſe, we may be the better able to diſcern how far they are contradicted or confirmed by thoſe Diſcoveries, which is a Point of great Conſequence towards perfecting natural Hiſtory; the Conſideration of which was what chiefly determined me to take ſo much Pains about it. The Reader will likewiſe find, that the Peruſal of this Chapter will greatly contribute to the perfect Underſtanding of the ſucceeding Voyages.

20. There was nothing contributed more to miſlead and diſtract the Antients, in what they have delivered concerning the Animals in the *Indies*, than the vaſt Number of Apes and Monkeys that were Natives of that Country, and of ſuch different Shapes and Sizes, that it was a very difficult thing to diſtinguiſh their various Sorts; and, for want of doing which, it was very eaſy to miſtake them for different kinds of Beaſts. There are in the *Indies* of

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[a] *Pliny Nat. Hiſt. lib.* viii. *c.* 21. *Ælian de Animal. lib.* xiii. *c.* 9, *lib.* xvi. *c.* 9.

[b] *Cteſias in Indicis, Ariſtot. de Anim. lib.* ii. *c.* 1. *Pliny Nat. Hiſt. lib.* viii. *c.* 21. *Ælian Hiſt. Anim. lib.* iv. *c.* 21.

[c] *Ariſtot. de Anim. lib.* ii. *c.* 1.

[d] *Lib.* xvi. *c.* 11.

[e] *Deſcription du Cap de Bonne Eſperance, Vol.* iii. *p.* 21.

theſe Creatures of all Colours, and almoſt of all Shades of Colours, black as well as white, red as well as grey, and ſome that with red Bodies have their Heads and Faces of a fine Sky-blue; and theſe laſt ſort are much of the Size of our common Dogs. In ſome Places there are ſuch Numbers of them, that they cover the tops of the Houſes, and by throwing Things down hinder People from going along the Street; others from a like Spirit of Miſchief poſt themſelves in hollow Ways, where they almoſt murder ſuch as paſs by, throwing down broken Rocks and Stones[f].

The antient *Indians*, as they had an Averſion to ſpilling Blood, found a Way to make theſe Creatures, which are by Nature active, not only quiet, but uſeful. In ſuch Places as produced Pepper and Cacao-trees, they were wont, in the Sight of the Monkeys, to cut the higheſt Branches within their Reach, and lay them regularly on the Ground. This they did in a Morning, and then leaving the Place, theſe natural Mimicks pulled all the Fruit that was out of Man's Reach, and laid it in the ſame Order upon the Ground, where the *Indians* coming in the Night, found their Harveſt gathered to their Hands, and carried it away. When their Numbers made them exceſſively troubleſome, the *Indians*, as *Strabo* and *Diodorus Siculus* inform us, turned this imitating Faculty upon them to their own Deſtruction, for coming to their Haunts with Baſins full of Water, or of Honey, they waſhed their Faces in the Sight of theſe Animals, and then ſubſtituting Pots of thin Glew inſtead of the Water or Honey, retired out of Sight. The Monkeys, as ſoon as they were gone, came down and waſhed their Faces likewiſe, and ſticking their Eyes together, became blind, and were eaſily taken. In other Places they brought Boots into the Woods, and putting them on and off, left them well lined with Glue, or a ſort of Bird-lime, ſo that when the Monkeys put them on, they ſtuck faſt, and hindered them from making their Eſcape. A third Method they invented of taking them was by the Help of Springs at the Back of Looking-glaſſes, which when the Monkeys came to handle, as they had ſeen the Men do before, held them faſt, and diſabled them from making a Retreat; but the moſt dangerous of their Enemies was the Lion, for finding their Fleſh equally pleaſant and wholeſome, he purſued them with greater Eagerneſs than any other ſort of Beaſts[g].

It is a very ſingular Paſſage that *Strabo* relates of their giving an Alarm to the Army of *Alexander the Great*. Every body knows that the *Macedonians* were diſtinguiſhed by the Severity of their Diſcipline, and the exact Order in which they marched; it happened, that in paſſing through that Part of *India*, which lies between the Rivers *Indus* and *Ganges*, they travers'd a Wood, and paſſed on the Edge of a Mountain, which ſerved theſe Creatures for a Retreat, and encamped in their Neighbourhood all Night. The next Morning, when the Army began to move, they ſaw at a Diſtance many thouſands of theſe Creatures drawn up in Batalia, and not doubting but that it was the Army of their Enemies, the Trumpets ſounded, and *Alexander* himſelf began to prepare for an Engagment; but the *Indian* Prince *Taxiles*, who was then with *Alexander*, ſoon informed him of his Miſtake, and aſſured him that upon his advancing theſe Creatures would again betake themſelves to their Woods and Mountains, as in Effect they did[h]. The moſt remarkable Property of theſe Animals is their Attachment to each other, and living in a kind of Society, of which the Ancients took great Notice; and as to the Truth of the Fact, a ſingle Inſtance from a modern Traveller of great Reputation may ſuffice. The famous Monſieur *Tavernier* tells us, that returning from *Agra* with the *Engliſh* Preſident to *Surat*, they paſſed within four or five Leagues of *Amenabad*, through a little Foreſt of *Mangoes*. "We ſaw there, ſays he, a vaſt Number of very large Apes, both Male and Female, many of the latter having their Young in their Arms. We were each of us in our Coaches, and the *Engliſh* Preſident ſtopped his to tell me that he had a very fine new Gun, and knowing that I was a good Markſman, deſired me to try it by ſhooting one of the Apes. One of my Servants, who was a Native of the Country, made a Sign to me not to do it; and I did all that lay in my Power to diſſuade the Gentleman from his Deſign; but to no Purpoſe, for he immediately levelled his Piece and ſhot a She-Ape, which fell through the Branches of the Tree on which ſhe was ſitting, her young ones tumbling at the ſame time out of her Arms upon the Ground. We preſently ſaw that happen which my Servant apprehended, for all the Apes, to the Number of ſixty, came immediately down from the Trees and attacked the Preſident's Coach, with ſuch Fury, that they muſt have infallibly deſtroyed him, if all who were preſent had not flown to his Relief, and by drawing up the Windows, and poſting all the Servants about the Coach, protected him from their Reſentment. I muſt confeſs I was not a little afraid, though they did not offer to meddle with me, becauſe they were very large, and of incredible Strength, and their Fury was ſo great, that they purſued the Preſident's Coach for near three Leagues[i]."

It is very natural to ſuppoſe, that from the Sight of the larger ſort of theſe Creatures the Ancients were confirmed in their Notions of Fawns, Satyrs, and wild Men; and if I might preſume to ſpeak my own Opinion freely, as to the Attendants of *Bacchus*, as they appear on the Coins, Gems, and Baſs-Reliefs of the Ancients, I ſhould ſay that theſe were no more than ſo many different ſorts of Apes thus repreſented to ſignify his Conqueſt of theſe Countries. I would not be underſtood to aſſert, that the Ancients conſidered them in this Light, the contrary of which is very certain; but what I mean is, that their Fables altered and diſtorted the original Fact, and occaſioned frequent Changes in the Figures to make them ſuit the better with the Stories they invented, whereas originally the Chariot drawn by Leopards, and followed by theſe Inhabitants of the Woods, was a very natural Picture of the Conqueror of the *Indies*. I might enlarge conſiderably on this Topick, and ſhew from a Variety of Authors, that in truth all the Satyrs and wild Men mentioned by old Writers, were no other than Apes and Baboons of an overgrown Size; and this might be likewiſe confirmed by comparing the Accounts given by thoſe Writers, with the Relations of modern Travellers; but as this would take up a great deal of Room, and as I have Reaſon to believe that the Notion is in itſelf ſo plain and ſo agreeable to Truth, that it does not ſtand in Need of any Arguments to ſupport it, I ſhall not proſecute it farther at this Time, the rather, becauſe this Chapter begins already to grow very long, and I have ſtill ſome remarkable Creatures that before I finiſh it I find it neceſſary to mention.

20 Among the other Wonders of the *Indies*, it is a little ſtrange, that the Animal, which produces Muſk, was ſo long before it was known to the Ancients; for *Pliny*, the moſt curious and the moſt diligent Collector among their Writers, has left us nothing that ſeems to have the leaſt Relation to this Subject, the firſt Notice of which we received from *Arnobius* and *Apuleius*. Yet this Perfume was always in very great Eſteem in the *Indies*, and when properly tempered, muſt be acknowledged the richeſt of its kind. It is taken from an Animal called the Moſch or Muſk, which is very common throughout all *China* and the *Indies*[k], and is about the Size of a Fawn, or rather a little leſs; this Creature is ſaid to be ſo lazy, that the Hunters are hardly able to make it ſtir, but are obliged to diſcover its Haunts, which once done, they kill it without the leaſt Reſiſtance. When this is done, they cut off a little Excreſcence cover'd with Down, which grows near its Navel, from whence they take a kind of Blood, or rather Juice, clotted, of a moſt odoriferous Smell; and then they ſkin and cut it to Pieces.

But beſides this Liquor, which is a kind of Eſſence of Muſk, there are three other Methods of making this valuable Commodity, though not in the ſame Degree of Perfection. The firſt is, by taking the Hind Quarters of the Animal from its Kidneys, and ſteeping them in its Blood; they are then bruiſed and beat in a Mortar into a ſort of Pap, which is dried and put up in little Purſes made of that Animals Skin[l]. When it is propoſed to make a greater Quantity of Muſk, though not quite ſo rich, the Fleſh of the whole Animal it taken and chopped to Pieces, and beat in a Mortar into a kind of Paſte, which is afterwards moiſtened with the Blood, and ſo put up into Purſes made of the Skin of the Beaſt, as the former. The third Sort, which is alſo tolerably good, though much ſhort in Value to either of the former, is made only of the Forepart of the Animal, from the Reins to the Head; and thus no Part of this valuable Creature is ever loſt [m]. In *China*, where all Preparations of this Kind are beſt underſtood, it is managed in quite a different Manner. They take from the Animal a little Cod or Bag, which lies under its Belly, about thrice as big as a Man's Thumb; it contains a Subſtance not much unlike Tallow, which is dried till it is fit to powder, and then it appears of a light Yellow, and has a Smell that is exceedingly agreeable. It is ſold even in *China* itſelf for its Weight in Silver; but they are prohibited from ſelling it not to Strangers, and therefore, for common Sale, they make a counterfeit Muſk in the following Manner. They take rotten Wood, which they ſteep in the Blood and Juices of the Animal, and then ſew it up in Purſes made of its Skin, and having dried it, vend it for the true Muſk [n]. They aſcribe to it many Virtues in that Country, and amongſt the reſt one that is very ſingular, which is this; they ſay, that being worn under the Stocking when People are obliged to travel through Woods or Mountains where there are abundance of Serpents, they are preſerved thereby from being attacked by them; and the Reaſon aſſigned for this ſeems to be natural and probable enough: The Animal, ſay they, which produces Muſk, feeds chiefly upon Serpents, and therefore the Smell makes them quit the Place, from an Apprehenſion of their own Danger [o]. This rich Perfume has loſt much of its Credit in this Part of the World, and is conſequently much ſunk in its Prince; the very beſt Muſk from *China* is ſold at *Amſterdam* for about nine Florins an Ounce by the *Eaſt-India* Company; and that of *Bengal*, which is eſteemed the ſecond Sort, is not worth above five Florins: The *Ruſſian* Muſk, which has the ſtrongeſt Smell, but loſes its Scent in a ſmall Space of Time, may be had for leſs than a Florin an Ounce [p]. There are ſome People who have ſtill a high Opinion of the Virtues of this Drug. They ſay that it is an excellent Remedy for almoſt all nervous Diſorders; and to confirm this they aſſure us, that though in their own Country, the *Dutch* are frequently attacked by Apoplexies, yet at *Batavia*, and other Places in the *Eaſt-Indies*, where Muſk is very much uſed [q], they do not find themſelves ſubject to theſe Diſorders. It is upon this Principle that they attribute the Increaſe of nervous Complaints within fifty or ſixty Years paſt in theſe Parts of *Europe*, to the quitting the Uſe of this Perfume, which is ſaid to have been owing to the Averſion which the Queen of *France*, Conſort to *Lewis* XIV. had to the Smell of Muſk, which firſt drove it out of that Court, and by Degrees made it unfaſhionable every where elſe [r]. I do not pretend to anſwer for the Truth of this Obſervation; but as it is certainly very curious, and the Examination of it may poſſibly be of Uſe to Mankind, I thought it might not be amiſs to report it.

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[f] *Voyages de Thevenot*, Vol. V. p. 37. 199. 202. In the Duke *de Bourbon*'s Menegerie there was one of theſe blue faced Apes ſhewn for many Years.

[g] *Strabo*, *lib.* xv. *Diodor. Sicul. lib.* xvii. *Ælian. de Animal. lib.* xv. *c.* 14. *Plin. Hiſt. Nat. lib.* viii. *c.* 21. *Philoſtrat. lib.* iii. *c.* 4.

[h] *Strabo, ubi ſupra.*

[i] *Voyage des Indes, lib.* i. *c.* 3.

[k] *Mandeſlo, p.* 81. *Le Brun. p.* 121.

[l] *Dictionaire de Commerce, Tom.* iii. *p.* 1463.

After this Hiſtory of the Beaſts of *India*, it is natural to ſay ſomewhat of the Reptiles and Inſects there, of which we have a very large Account from the Ancients, and thoſe not at all leſs remarkable than what has been already taken Notice of with regard to other Animals, the rather becauſe in their Kind they appeared much more ſurprizing, and withal more terrible to Strangers: For as there is a Kind of innate Diſlike to to the Reptiles of our own Countries, which are generally in our Eye; ſo when we ſee Creatures to which we have ſuch an Averſion, of a Size infinitely beyond what we have beheld before, it naturally inſpires us with Horror, our Antipathy riſing in the ſame Proportion that the Object becomes more dreadful; eſpecially if the Creature be fierce or venomous in its Nature, and capable as well of hurting as of frighting us. From hence, very probably, it comes to paſs, that ſuch extraordinary Relations of theſe frightful Creatures have been, in all Ages, well received; becauſe it is natural for us to hear with Pleaſure, of Miſchiefs to which we are not expoſed, the Proſpect of diſtant Dangers, adding to the Senſe of our own Safety, and gratifying our Curioſity at the ſame Time.

22. The Dragon was a Creature frequently mentioned by the old Naturaliſts, and deſcribed as one of the moſt dreadful in the World. *Ariſtotle* mentions the Dragon's living in continual Enmity with the Eagle; and alſo ſays, that when the Dragon is ſurfeited with eating Apples it has Recourſe to Lettuce for Relief [s]. *Egypt* and *Ethiopia* were Countries the moſt famous, next to the *Indies*, for producing Dragons of unuſual Size. We have, in an ancient Author, a very large and circumſtantial Account of the taking a Dragon on the Frontiers of *Ethiopia*, which was One and twenty Feet in Length, and was carried to *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, who very bountifully rewarded ſuch as ran the Hazard of procuring him this Beaſt [t]. Yet, terrible as theſe were, they fall abundantly ſhort of Monſters of the ſame Species in *India*; with reſpect to which, St. *Ambroſe* tells us, that there were Dragons ſeen in the Neighbourhood of the *Ganges*, near ſeventy Cubits in Length [u]. It was one of this Size that *Alexander* and his Army ſaw in a Cave, where it was fed, either out of Reverence or from Curioſity, by the Inhabitants; and the firſt Lightening of its Eyes, together with its terrible Hiſſing, made a ſtrong Impreſſion on the *Macedonians*, who with all their Courage could not help being frighted at ſo horrid a Spectacle [w]. The Dragon is nothing more than a Serpent of enormous Size; and they formerly diſtinguiſhed three Sorts of them in the *Indies*, *viz*, ſuch as were found in the Mountains, ſuch as were bred in Caves, or in the flat Country, and ſuch as were found in Fenns and Marſhes: The firſt is the largeſt of all, and are covered with Scales as reſplendent as poliſhed Gold. Theſe have a Kind of Beard hanging from their lower Jaw, their Eye-brows large, and very exactly arched; their Aſpect the moſt frightful that can be imagined, and their Cry loud and ſhrill; their Creſt of a bright Yellow, and a Protuberance on their Heads, of the Colour, of a burning Coal. Thoſe of the flat Country differ from the former in nothing but in having their Scales of a ſilver Colour, and in their frequenting Rivers, to which the former never come. Thoſe that live in Marſhes and Fenns, are of a dark Colour, approaching to a Black, move ſlowly, have no Creſt, or any Riſing upon their Heads [x]. *Strabo* ſays, that the painting them with Wings, is the Effect of Fancy, and directly contrary to Truth: But other Naturaliſts and Travellers, both ancient and modern, affirm, that there are ſome of theſe Species winged [y]. Yet, after all theſe terrifying Accounts, *Pliny*, and many other Writers, aſſure us that both Sorts are rather dreadful than dangerous, their Bite having nothing in it venomous [z]; the Reverſe of which is aſſerted by later Authors, and ſeveral Facts alledged in Support of their Opinion [a]. But what makes the greateſt Figure in the Works of the Antients with relation to this extraordinary Animal, is, the Stone ſuppoſed to grow in its Head, and reputed of ineſtimable Value [b]. It is ſaid to be naturally divided into Tables like a Diamond of the brilliant Cut, and to have as high a Luſtre. But, to preſerve this Quality, it is neceſſary that it ſhould be taken out of the Head of the Animal the Moment it is killed; for otherwiſe it loſes all its Virtues and all its Beauty, and yet becomes ſo extremely hard, that no Tool will touch it. *Pliny* [c] gives us a long Catalogue of medicinal and magical Properties, which he aſcribes to the Skin, Fleſh, Bones, Eyes, and Teeth of the Dragon, which are too ridiculous to be repeated; and, beſides, ſuch Stories have now entirely loſt their Credit, ſince the

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[m] *Ibid.*

[n] Account of *China* before cited.

[o] *Du Halde's China.*

[p] *Negoce de Amſterdam, p.* 119.

[q] All Kinds of high Perfumes are much in Requeſt among the better Sort of People over all the *Indies*, as appears from their prohibiting the Exportation of any unadulterated.

[r] *Memoirs de M Garcin*, who obſerves, that our not uſing ourſelves to Perfumes, occaſions their giving us the Vapours.

[s] *Ariſtot. de Hiſt Animal. lib.* ix.

[t] *Diodor. Sicul. lib.* iii.

[u] *De moribus Brachmanorum, p.* 63. *Strabo, lib.* xvi. *p.* 75. *Bochart. Hierozo. p.* 11. *lib.* iii. *cap* 13.

[w] *Ælian. de Animal. lib* xv. *cap.* 21.

[x] *Strabo, lib* xvi.

[y] *Id. ibid.*

[z] *Plin. lib.* xxix. *c.* 4.

[a] *Jonſton. Theatr. Animal. Tom.* ii. *de Serpentibus, p* 34.

[b] *Philoſtr. lib.* iii. *c.* 8. *Iſidor. Orig. lib* xvi. *c.* 13. *Solin. cap.* 30. *Marſil. Ficin. de Triplici vita.*

[c] *Plin. Nat. Hiſt. lib.* xxvii. *cap.* 10. xxix. *cap.* 4.

2 *Indians*,

Indians, at preſent, confine the Value of theſe Animals to the Stone in their Heads; which, however, no *European* could ever find, and to the Quality that their Bones are ſuppoſed to have of reſiſting Poiſon. It is for this Reaſon that they are as aſſiduous as ever in hunting Dragons; concerning which, old Writers tell us, this was their conſtant Method. They hung before the Mouth of the Dragon's Den a Piece of Stuff flowered with Gold, which attracted the Eyes of the Beaſt, till by the Sound of ſoft Muſick they lulled him to Sleep, and then cut off his Head [d].

As for the Dragons on the Mountains, they coſt them much more Pains; for they were forced to purſue them with Lances and Arrows, with great Danger to themſelves. The Dragon, in his Turn, hunted the Elephant, and, if we may credit ſome Authors of great Rank in the learned World, was from Inſtinct his mortal Enemy. In order to deſtroy him, he mounted a Tree in the Foreſt where the Elephants fed, from whence, as ſoon as one of them came by, he threw himſelf on his Back, and twiſting himſelf round him, thruſt his Head into his Noſtril, and thereby ſtrangled him. The Hate of this Animal towards the Elephant, was thought an apt Symbol of human Malice, for in his Fall, the Elephant cruſhed him to Death; ſo that the Combat was equally fatal to both [e].

The Ancients tell us further that if it was not for the annual Inundations, this Country would be infeſted with a vaſt Variety of other Serpents and deſtructive Inſects of different Kinds, which, as in all hot Climates, breed here in prodigious Numbers. Amongſt others they mention a kind of Viper of a moſt dangerous Nature, and ſome other Reptiles, the Bite of which is infallibly mortal, when the Simples, which have a ſpecifick Quality of curing theſe Wounds, are not immediately taken, with which Simples the Country through the eſpecial Care of Providence plentifully abounds. There are ſome of theſe Vipers, they ſay, twelve or fifteen Feet long, others not above half a Foot; and theſe, together with the Scorpions, are the moſt dangerous, becauſe they are ſo ſmall, that it is very difficult to guard againſt them [f]. But the annual Inundations in a great Meaſure purge the Country of thoſe dangerous and deſtructive Creatures, without which it would ſcarce be habitable. The *Macedonians* ſuffered exceedingly from theſe venomous Animals before the *Indians* acquainted them with the proper Remedies, and the only way before that by which they could defend themſelves, was by hanging their Beds between Trees, and ſleeping, as it were, in the open Air [g].

Several modern Travellers report almoſt as ſtrange Things of theſe *Indian* Serpents as the Ancients; for inſtance, *Peter Van Caerden*, who was Admiral of a *Dutch* Fleet in the *Indies*, aſſures us, that at *Calicut* they are as big about as Hogs, their Bodies ſix Feet long, and their Heads larger and longer than that of a wild Boar, yet the Natives aſſured him that theſe Animals were not venomous. It is very remarkable that he tells us, theſe monſtrous Creatures haunted chiefly their Marſhes, ſo that, according to the foregoing Diſtinction, they muſt have been the leaſt of that Species in that Country, and probably they were ſo; for the ſame Author tells us, that there were others, which, if they but drew Blood of a Man, their Bite was mortal upon the Spot. He adds, that beſides theſe he ſaw many of the Size of Water-Snakes. While he was at Anchor on the Coaſt of *Mozambic*, a Boy that was waſhing himſelf by the Ship-ſide was ſeized by the Middle by a Serpent of enormous Size, that dragged him under Water at once in the Sight of the whole Fleet [h].

Mr. *Rechteren* tells us, that while he lived in the Iſland of *Banda*, his Fowls were continually ſtolen, and on his complaining to his Neighbours, they told him they were carried away by the Serpents, which he was not very forward to believe [i]. However, having ſet ſome People to watch, they in the Night alarmed him with the Cry of the Serpent, which had got in amongſt the Fowls. They purſued it, cut off its Head and Tail with Hatchets, which they had in their Hands, and then opened its Belly, in which they found a Pig, a Duck, and five Fowls, and what is not a little extraordinary, the ſkinned theſe Creatures, and together with the Body of the Serpent, boiled, and made Broth of them.

An Author, whom we have cited more than once, aſſures us [k], that he has ſeen of theſe Animals twenty-five Foot long, and five round, their Throats ſo large, that they were able to ſwallow a Stag whole. Theſe monſtrous Serpents live both on Land and in the Water, where, when they have gorged themſelves with their Prey, they ſleep, which Opportunity the Natives take to kill and eat them, eſteeming the Fleſh excellent, and not at all venomous. The ſame Writer ſays, that at *Golconda* there are Serpents of a prodigious Size, the Bite of which is inſtantly mortal; and obſerves farther, that whenever theſe Creatures are ſeen a Sea, it is a certain Sign of their being near the *Indian* Coaſt.

Admiral *Verhoven* tells us a ſingular Story of a Sea-Serpent in the Streights of *Sincapoua*. A Seaman waſhing himſelf by the Ship-ſide was ſeized by one of theſe Creatures, upon which he roared ſo loud, that one of his Companions threw him a Rope and pulled him into the Ship; but the Serpent had tore ſuch a Piece out of his Side, that he died immediately. The Serpent continued about the Ship, till at laſt it was taken, and was the largeſt they had ever ſeen. Upon opening its Belly, they found therein the Piece of Fleſh which he had torn from the Sailor, and which they buried with him [l].

Mr. *Thevenot*, a moſt careful and candid Writer, informs us, that they Country about *Golconda* is terribly infeſted by Serpents, the Bite of which is mortal, unleſs Care be taken to apply proper Remedies immediately: Of theſe he mentions two, which are both very extraordinary; the one is holding a light Coal very near the Wound, which draws out the Venom by Degrees, and which is very ſingular, the Patient does not feel any great Inconveniency from the Heat during the Time of the Operation [m]. The other Remedy is the Snake-ſtone, or, as they call it, *Cobra*, the Manner of making and applying of which he deſcribes very particularly.

The beſt are made in the City of *Dieu*, and are compoſed of the Roots of certain Plants burnt to Aſhes, which Aſhes are mixed with a particular kind of Earth, and then burnt a ſecond Time. Of this Compoſition reduced into a Paſte, they form the Stone made of the Size of a Pigeon's Egg; this is applied in caſe a Perſon is bit by any kind of Serpent or Viper, or wounded by a poiſoned Arrow in the following manner: They firſt prick the Wound with a Needle till the Blood comes, and then clap the Stone to it, which ſticks faſt, and remains there till it falls off of itſelf. It is afterwards put into Breaſt, or, if that cannot be had, into Cows Milk, where it purges itſelf of the Poiſon; and if this be not done immediately the Stone burſts [n].

Dr. *Fryer*, who was ten Years in the *Indies*, and who, as a Phyſician, was certainly a proper Judge of ſuch Matters, ſpeaks alſo of theſe Snakes-ſtones; he ſays, they are made by the *Gioghis*, and that they are Counter-poiſon to all deadly Bites. If the Stone ſticks, ſays he, it attracts the Poiſon, and put into Milk, it recovers itſelf again, leaving its Virulency therein, which is diſcovered by its Greenneſs [o]. I have mentioned this Circumſtance of the *Cobra*, the rather becauſe the common Notion in the *Indies* is, that it is a Stone taken out of a Serpent's Head, which, as we have ſeen, is altogether fabulous.

22. In reſpect to the Dragon, the Ancients have only exceeded as far as we can judge from modern Relations in certain Circumſtances the Truth; but as to the Gryphon, all they ſay appears the pure Effect of Imagination, and ſo ſtrange an Animal they make it, that I was in ſome doubt whether it belonged to this or to the ſubſequent Section; but perceiving that it would be liable to the ſame Objections there, I thought it might be as well to diſpatch it here. According therefore to the Accounts we have of it, it is hard to ſay whether it be Beaſt or Bird, Inhabitant of the Earth, or of the Air. They ſay it has four Feet, and is of the Size of a Lion; thus far then it is plainly a Beaſt; but then they ſay farther, that it is entirely covered with Feathers, and has the Head and Beak of an Eagle.

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[d] *Ælian. de Animal. lib.* vi. c. 21.

[e] *Plin. Nat. Hiſt. lib.* viii. c. 11. 12. *Pomp. Mela, lib.* iii. *de Indicis.*

[f] *Nearchus & Ariſtobulus apud Strabonem, lib.* xv. *Arrian. de Indicis.*

[g] *Diodor. Sicul. lib.* xvii.

[h] *Voyage aux Indes, p.* 403. 327

[i] *Voyage aux Indes, p.* 152, 153.

[k] *Voyage de P. van den Broeck.*

[l] *Voyage de l'Admiral Verhoven aux Indes Orientales p.* 92.

[m] *Voyages des Indes Orientales*, Vol. V. *p.* 318.

[n] *Ibid. p.* 97.

[o] *Fryer's* Travels, *p.* 53.

It has either Wings, or ſomething like them, that is to ſay, a Membrane reſembling that which the Bats fly with. The Colour of the Body is a dark brown, or black; but the Breaſt is of a bright red, or, as ſome ſay, purple [p].

This Creature was conſecrated to *Apollo*, and faſtened to the Chariot of the Sun, becauſe among its other ſingular Properties, it was held, that the Gryphon could ſteadily look upon the Sun in its full Splendor. It was ſuppoſed to inhabit the Woods and Mountains, where the Ancients imagined it diſcovered and guarded the Gold Mines; but they do not tell us to what Uſes it converted this Metal, or why departing from the Inſtinct of Beaſts it ſhared in the Follies of Men. It is alſo affirmed, that this Animal was one of the fierceſt and moſt cruel, fearing no other Enemies than the Lion, the Tyger, and the Elephant, over which alſo it ſometimes triumphed. The *Indians*, whenever they attacked it, went in conſiderable Bodies, and generally in a Moon-light Night, in hopes of finding it aſleep, which, however, they rarely did, and were forced to buy the Treaſures, guarded by the Gryphon, at the Expence of their Blood. The Watchfulneſs of this Animal was one of its moſt remarkable Qualities; and in all the Fables that are related concerning it, it is a Circumſtance always thrown in, that the Gryphon ſeldom or ever ſleeps [q].

If there had been any ſuch Creature, it fell undoubtedly under our Cognizance, becauſe the Ancients affirm that they are no where elſe to be met with but in the Northern Part of the *Indies*, which however does not agree extremely well with the Taſk they aſſign them of guarding the Gold Mines, becauſe in truth there are no ſuch Mines there. It muſt however be acknowledged, that ſome of the Ancients themſelves have given us plainly to underſtand, that they looked upon all that had been ſaid of the Gryphon as mere Fables; but whence thoſe Fables aroſe, or why they were invented, is a Queſtion that the Reader, from the Scope of this Work, which is to leave nothing unexplained, may expect ſhould be anſwered.

On this Head I muſt ſay, that I take the Origin of it to have been an *Egyptian* Hieroglyphick; and my Reaſon for it is, becauſe taken in this Light, it has a Meaning, and otherwiſe none. In this Senſe then the Gryphon was a Figure invented, which ſignifies the Power of the Sun in the ſign of the Lion; and hence proceeded the Notion that the Gryphons guarded the Mines of Gold, becauſe according to the old Doctrines of the *Egyptian* Chemiſtry, the Sun in this Sign had an extraordinary Operation in that Reſpect; and hence alſo ſome of the old Alchymiſts, or at leaſt ſome Writers who are impoſed on us under ancient Names, make uſe of the Gryphon, and ſome other ſuch-like imaginary Creatures, for the better veiling of their Secrets; but when the *Greeks* firſt ſaw theſe Figures without being let into their Meaning they took them, as it was natural enough for them to do, for the Repreſentations of real Animals, and the *Indies* being the Place where the moſt extraordinary Creatures they were acquainted with reſided, they took the Liberty of ſuppoſing that the Gryphons came from thence, and from the Northern *Indies*, becauſe there were more wild Beaſts there than any where elſe.

This I take to be the true Account of the Riſe of this Notion, which afterwards came to be employed ſymbolically, of which Sir *Thomas Brown* [r] has given us a very rational Account. It doth well make out, ſays he, the Properties of a Guardian; the Ears implying Attention; the Wings, Celerity in Execution; the Lion-like Shape, Courage and Audacity; the hooked Bill, Reſervance and Tenacity. It is alſo an Emblem of Valour and Magnanimity, as being compounded of the Eagle and Lion, the nobleſt Animals in their reſpective kinds; and ſo it is applicable to Princes, Generals, Preſidents, and all in chief Authority, which is the Reaſon that the Heralds laid hold of it, and we ſee it borne in the Coats of Arms of the nobleſt Families in *Europe*.

In taking leave of this Subject, it will be proper for me to obſerve, that the Gryphons mentioned in Scripture [s] are no more than a kind of Eagle, and not the imaginary Gryphon; and therefore in our Tranſlation, it is very well rendered after *Tremellius*, as I conceive, the Oſſifrage, which is, properly ſpeaking, the Sea-Eagle.

23. There is no Creature of which the Ancients have talked more than of the Cameleon, and perhaps, of all the Animals they have mentioned, there is not one of which they have reported more Abſurdities, or ſhewn a leſs Regard to Truth. In all Probability, they were originally miſled by the Report of the *Indians* themſelves, who have always been inclined to exaggerate, and have ſhewn leſs Care in examining the real Nature of Creatures than in framing ſuch Stories of them as might beſt ſuit their Parables and Ænigmas. It muſt, however, be allowed, that the Ancients are not all alike faulty in this reſpect, either in believing the Dreams of others, or reporting their own; for though *Pliny* and *Solinus* [t] poſitively affirm, that the Cameleon lives wholly on Air; yet *Ariſtotle* [u], who went before them, and has written largely upon the Subject, ſays not a ſingle Word of this ſupernatural Quality. Indeed, it is wonderful that ever this Opinion prevailed at all, becauſe the very Formation of the Animal plainly refutes it, as is very well obſerved by the learned Sir *Thomas Brown* [w].

The Word Cameleon in *Greek* ſignifies a *little Lion*; and this Name muſt have been given it from ſome Reſemblance it had to that Animal, not ſurely in its Figure, for therein it approaches the Crocodile, but rather from its Vigilance in catching its Prey, a Notion irreconcilable to its living upon Air. It is for this Purpoſe certainly, I mean of catching its Prey, that it has a long ſharp Tongue, which it can thruſt out to a Length equal to one Third of its Body; and though very ſlow in its Motion, yet it manages this Memberr with extraordinary Agility; and therefore, from the eſtabliſhed Law of Nature, we may preſume: that its Tongue is of extraordinary Uſe, and as we cannot conceive that it ſhould be of any Uſe with reſpect to drawing in the Air, which might be done without, it naturally leads us to believe that it ſerves to furniſh the Animal with other Food. In the next Place, it hath very remarkable Teeth, which is another Indication of its living on Prey; and what ſeems to put it beyond all Doubt, is, the Formation of its Stomach and Guts; to which we may add its voiding Excrement, a Fact admitted by *Pliny* [x], though manifeſtly deſtructive of his own Opinion.

It is no Wonder, therefore, that this Notion was ſoon exploded, or that we find *Auguſtine*, *Stobæus*, *Forunus Licetus*, and many other great Men, oppoſing themſelves to this popular Sentiment. But *Bellonius* poſitively affirms that it feeds on Flies, Caterpillars, Beetles, and other Inſects, and that from the beſt Reaſon in the World; becauſe, upon Diſſection, he found theſe Animals in their Bellies [y]; to which we may add what other learned Writers have affirmed as to its drinking Water, and delighting to catch Meal-worms. We will therefore quit the Ancients, as inſufficient Guides in this reſpect, and have Recourſe to the Moderns, by whom this ſingular Animal has been very fully and faithfully deſcribed.

The Cameleon then, according to their Account, reſembles a large Lizard, except that it has two great wide Ears, which lie pretty far back upon its Neck. It lives commonly in the Clifts of Rocks, or in Holes of a Wall. It has four Feet and five Claws upon each Foot, which ſerve for its perching upon the Branches of Trees or Shrubs, where it likewiſe ſecures its Station, by twiſting its Tail round them. Its Motion on the Ground is as ſlow as that of a Tortoiſe, but upon Trees it moves from Branch to Branch with great Agility [z]. The largeſt of theſe Animals are about eleven or twelve Inches in Length from the Head to the Extremity of the Tail, and about three

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[p] *Cteſias in Indicis, cap.* 13. *Herodot. lib.* iii. *Plin. lib* vi. *Philoſt. lib.* iii. *Ælian. lib.* iv. *Photius Codice* 72. *Servius in Eclog.* viii.

[q] *Cteſias, Pliny, Philoſt. ubi ſupra.*

[r] Vulgar Errors, *lib.* iii. *cap.* ii.

[s] *Leviticus* xi. 13. Where among the prohibited Fowls are reckoned the Eagle, the Oſſifrage, and the Oſpray. It is however to be obſerved, that the Word Gryphon came firſt in from the *Greek* Tranſlation of the Septuagint, and therefore whether the Oſſifrage be, ſtrictly ſpeaking, that kind of Eagle which the *Greeks* called a Gryphon, is a Queſtion that has nothing to do with the Veracity of the ſacred Text; for *Moſes* undoubtedly forbad the *Hebrews* ſome Fowl that was well known and common in their Country, nor is it of any Importance to us whether we know exactly what Bird it was, or not.

[t] *Plin. Nat. Hiſt. lib.* xi. *cap.* 37. *Solinus.*

[u] *Hiſt. Anim. lib.* ii.

[w] Vulgar Errors, Book 3d, Chap. 21.

[x] *Plin. Nat. Hiſt. lib.* xi. *cap* 37.

[y] *Comment. in Ocel. Lucan.*

[z] *Mem. de l'Acad. Tom.* iii. *part* i. *p.* 53.

Inches round, that is to ſay, when they puff out and extend themſelves; for otherwiſe they have not half that Bigneſs, and, in all Probability, it was from this ſtrange Property of ſwelling and leſſening their Bodies, that the Notion of their living upon Air was firſt derived.

When they do not puff up themſelves, their Skin hangs looſe, in ſuch a Manner, that the Spine of their Back is plainly ſeen through it, their Ribs may be counted, and the Tendons of their fore and hind Limbs are plainly viſible. It was from the Conſideration of the Creature in this Condition, that *Tertullian* was led to ſay, a Camelion was no more than a living Skin [a]. It muſt be confeſſed, that this Property is not only very ſingular, but, in ſome meaſure, alſo inconceivable, for that it diſtends itſelf by receiving Air is a Point generally agreed; and yet, how this Air ſhould paſs from the Lungs into the Habitude of the Body, is a Thing not hitherto accounted for.

There is another Quality of this ſtrange Animal no leſs admirable, which is, that when it is thinneſt, and the Skin hangs as it were upon the Bones, the Motion of its Heart cannot be perceived, which one would imagine in ſuch a State muſt be very ſenſible. Its Skin is very cold to the Touch, and very uneven in its Surface, full of little Points like Shagreen; but, at the ſame Time, not at all rough, but very finely poliſhed. The Colour, when the Creature is ſtill, and in the Shade, is, for the moſt part, of a Blue-grey, about the Feet it is of a White, inclining to Yellow, and, on the Body, there are ſome Streaks of a pale Red, which is likewiſe intermixed with Yellow.

Ariſtotle ſays their Skin is black; but it is certain, that the Camelion ſeen in *Europe* hath its Skin naturally of a Blue-grey, which it likewiſe retains after it is taken off. At firſt alſo it retains the Streaks before-mentioned, but by degrees, and as it grows dry, they wear out, and are no longer viſible. When theſe Animals are placed in the Sun, they change their Colour intirely, and aſſume that which is called an *Iſabella*, compoſed of a pale yellow on the Surface, and a deep red underneath. When removed out of the Sun, this beautiful Colour goes off, and the natural Blue-grey returns by degrees. The Camelion being touch'd and diſturbed when in the Sun, there appeared immediately on its Shoulders and Legs black Spots as big as one's Nail. Sometimes again its Skin appears checquered with brown Spots, inclining to a dark green.

Upon wrapping the Camelion in Linen, it was taken out white. *Aldrovandus* ſays, that he ſaw one ſo changed in this manner, that it ſeemed to diſappear, being not diſtinguiſhable in its Colour from the very Linen it lay upon [b]; but this Deſcription ſeems to be a little exaggerated; for commonly it is obſerved to change only to a light grey, and its natural dark Colour comes on again in the Space of two or three Minutes. But notwithſtanding this, the Experiment moſt evidently refutes what *Plutarch* and *Solinus* gravely tell us, that the Camelion aſſumes all Colours except white [c]. *Ariſtotle* likewiſe ſeems to be in the wrong in affirming, that it changes its Colour through its whole [d] Body, whereas in all the modern Experiments the Skin, inſtead of being uniform, has been ſpotted with different Colours. It muſt however be confeſſed, that moſt of theſe Circumſtances have varied in different Experiments, ſo that it is very difficult to ſpeak exactly of all theſe Particulars.

It is natural to conclude with ſome Account of the Diſcoveries made by the Moderns as to its Food, which ſeems to put that Point entirely out of Diſpute. They have found that it is ſo far from living upon the Air and Sunſhine, as ſome learned Men reported, and credulous People believed, that it is in Fact a Beaſt of Prey, and more ravenous than could be expected from its Size.

The Tongue of the Camelion is the Weapon with which he does all this Miſchief. It is covered conſtantly with a kind of natural Glew, which draws to it Flies and other little Animals, which ſtick faſt therein, and are drawn back therewith into the Creature's Mouth, with ſuch prodigious Agility, that it is hardly poſſible to perceive this Motion of throwing out and recalling the Tongue. Upon examining this Member cloſely with a Microſcope, we diſcern a Multitude of very ſmall Fibres which run winding like a Screw from the Root to the Point of the Tongue, which, doubtleſs, contributes very much to that extraordinary Quickneſs of Motion with which this Creature uſeth it. Upon Diſſection, there are found in the Ventricle and in the Inteſtines the Flies and Worms which it has ſwallowed [e].

It voids from Time to Time a kind of Stones of a Size and Weight ſuperior to any thing it could ſwallow; and theſe Stones have afforded Matter for freſh Obſervations. After having examined them cloſely, and making ſome Experiments on them with diſtilled Vinegar, it has been found that they have the Head of a Fly, or ſome ſuch thing in the Centre, round which the ſtony Maſs forms itſelf, and riſes to a conſiderable Bulk before it is thrown out. I do not find that the Moderns have at all enquired into one Fact expreſly aſſerted by *Ælian* [f], which is, that this Creature is not afraid of or affected by the Bite of the moſt venomous kinds of Serpents; which perhaps might lead us into new Diſcoveries.

24. The Deſcription and Hiſtory of the Ants of *India* recorded by ancient Authors, is at once the moſt ſingular and extraordinary of any thing they have related concerning this Part of the World, and the more ſo, becauſe it is on the one hand confidently reported, not by one or two Authors only, but by almoſt all the great Writers of Antiquity [g]; and on the other, the ſtricteſt Enquiry that can be made by the Moderns, furniſhes us with no ſort of Intelligence, to prove that either there are, or ever were, any ſuch Animals as theſe in Nature. It would take up too much of the Reader's Time to enter into a particular Account of all the Stories that the old Writers tell us with regard to the *Indian* Piſmires; and therefore to cut the Matter ſhort, I ſhall report what *Pliny* ſays upon this Head, as containing the Subſtance of what other Writers have delivered.

There are ſtill to be ſeen, ſays he, in the Temple of *Hercules* at *Erythræ*, the Horns of a certain *Indian* Ant, which were there ſet up to employ the Wonder as well as Curioſity of all Poſterity. Theſe Ants in the Northern *Indies* and eſpecially in the Country of the *Dardians*, burrough in the Ground like Rabbits, and from thence throw up abundance of fine Gold from the Mines under the Earth in which they make their Holes. Theſe Creatures are of the Colour of Cats, and of the Size of Wolves or Foxes in *Egypt*. This Gold, which they throw up in the Winter Seaſon, the Natives of that Country endeavour to ſteal from them in the extreme Heat of Summer, taking that Opportunity, when the Piſmires, to ſhun the raging Heat of the Sun, lie cloſe ſhut up in their Caves. Yet this is even then performed with great Danger; for if the Creatures gain any Scent of them, they purſue with incredible Boldneſs and Speed, neither can the Swiftneſs of their Camels ſave them; but they are frequently torn in Pieces by theſe furious Animals, eager to recover that Gold in which they ſo much delight [h].

Ariſtotle hath treated largely of the Nature of Ants in general, and ſeems to have examined the Subject with great Diligence and Application [i]; yet he ſays nothing of theſe *Indian* Ants, though the Story had been told by Writers who flouriſhed long before him, and therefore in all Probability he looked upon it as a Fable. *Philoſtratus* ſays, that theſe Creatures are not only found about the Sources of the *Indies*, but alſo in *Ethiopia* [k]; and yet ſuch Travellers as have viſited that Country, ſay nothing of any ſuch Animals, which it is impoſſible they ſhould have omitted, if they had either ſeen or heard of it. It appears however clearly both from *Strabo* and *Arrian*, that this Tale, and all the Circumſtances relating to it, came originally from *Megaſthenes*, who pretends that he had ſeen the Skins of theſe Animals, which were ſpotted like the Skins of Tygers; and he alſo reports another Circumſtance not mentioned by *Pliny*, which is, that the Inhabitants, by ſeattering the Limbs of Animals, cut to Pieces near the Dens or Holes of the Piſmires, drew them to feed upon theſe; and while they were thus employed, carried away their Golden Stores. *Nearchus* alſo has aſſerted, that he likewiſe ſaw the Skins of theſe Ants in the *Macedonian* Camp; but both *Strabo* and *Arrian* ſeem to give no Credit to theſe Relations [l].

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[a] *Oper. p.* 795. [b] *Hiſt. Nat. p.* 33. [c] *Plutarch. Oper. p.* 1153. [d] *Ariſtot. de Hiſt. Anim. lib.* xi. *cap.* 11. [e] *Memor. de l'Acad. Tom.* iii. *p.* 53. [f] *Ælian. de Animal. lib.* iv. *c.* 33. [g] *Herodot. lib.* iii *c.* 102. *Strabo, lib.* xv. *Clem. Alexandrin. Pædag. lib.* ii *p.* 207. *Bochart. Hierozoici p.* 11. *lib.* vi. *c.* 4. [h] *Plin. Hiſt. Nat. lib.* xi. *c.* 31. [i] *Ariſtot. de Hiſt. Animal. lib.* v. [k] *Philoſtrat. de Vita Apollon. Tyan. lib.* vi. *c.* 1.

One might be tempted to imagine, that the original Reporters of theſe Stories miſtook the Creature of which they ſpoke, and that they ought rather to have ſtiled that a Mole than an Ant; I ſay we might ſuſpect this, if in any later Writer there was the leaſt Notice taken of this Method of coming at Gold; but as there is not, I muſt confeſs I look upon the whole as a Fable, invented by the *Indians*, to prevent Strangers from being too buſy in looking after their Gold Mines. *Pomponious Mela* [m] reports the Fact without the leaſt Mark of Diffidence. " *India*, ſays he, produces " Ants not inferior in Size to the largeſt Dogs, which, after " the manner of Gryphons, are ſaid to diſcover and watch " over Gold with incredible Sollicitude." A Thing in itſelf ſo incredible, that it is amazing any could ſpeak of it without Suſpicion.

That there are, however, vaſt Numbers of Ants in this Country, and of a large Size, is very certain; and theſe too very miſchievous; ſo that to avoid their Depredations, the Inhabitants in ſome Places are obliged to have their Cheſts fixed upon four Feet, and thoſe Feet ſet in a Veſſel full of Water to prevent the Ants from getting into them. But then the largeſt of theſe Creatures are not ſaid to be above a Finger's Length, which with reſpect to ſuch a Creature is a prodigious Bigneſs [n]. There are alſo infinite Numbers of theſe deſtructive Animals in *Africa*, which raiſe Hills of a ſurprizing Height; but theſe are not ſaid to be above half an Inch in Length [o], ſo that after all the Enquiry poſſible, I have not been able to diſcover any Fact that could be depended upon capable of giving Light into what the Ancients have related upon this Head. It is not however amiſs to preſerve even the moſt extravagant of their Accounts, becauſe future Travellers, by peruſing them, may have an Opportunity of making ſuch Enquiries as may poſſibly diſcover what gave Riſe to theſe Fables; for it would be eaſy to ſhew from many Inſtances, that a ſtrict Examination of Falſhoods has frequently led to the Diſcovery of very important Truths.

25. After the Peruſal of this Chapter, the Reader will be able to judge for himſelf as to the Capacity of the Ancients, with reſpect to the Deſcription of the *Indies*, and be able to decide wherein they deſerved Praiſe, and how far they are liable to Cenſure. It will be clear to him, that in ſome Reſpects they had the Advantage of us, though not in many. As for inſtance, in the Knowledge of the Nature, Diſpoſition and Strength of Elephants, which were much in uſe both with the *Greeks* and *Romans*, after *Alexander* had opened a Paſſage to the *Indies* [p]. This muſt have given them many Opportunities of examining carefully into all the Qualities of that Creature, which are Opportunities that we have not. *Ariſtotle* [q] has written about them with great Judgment and Accuracy; but as to the Work of *Ælian* [r], I muſt confeſs he ſeems to have ſtudied to amuſe, rather than inform his Readers.

The Terror of the *Roman* Arms was ſo great, eſpecially after they had reduced *Egypt* into the Form of a Province, that the *Indians* were extremely afraid of them, and therefore made uſe of all the different Methods they could invent to hinder them from making that Uſe they might have done of their Maritime Power. It was with this View that they ſent Embaſſadors to their Emperors, and with them Preſents of wild Beaſts and Serpents, that on the one hand they might perſuade them of their Submiſſion, and on the other fright them from undertaking Expeditions into a Country, where they were to run ſo many Hazards from Beaſts as well as Men. It was from the ſame Principle that they filled their Ears with dreadful and falſe Reports. If they had Spices, they pretended that they were obtained with infinite Difficulty, and by ſuch a dangerous Navigation, as ſcarce any Man in his Senſes would attempt; if they had Gold, it was taken from the Dens of Gryphons, and other fierce and terrible Beaſts, ſo that it appeared infinitely better to obtain this precious Commodity by Traffick, than to expoſe themſelves to the Dangers which the poor *Indians* ran in procuring it; if their Markets were furniſhed with precious Stones, they likewiſe were collected with incredible Hazard; which kind of Fables, joined to the Diſtance of the Country, and the natural Averſion which the *Roman* Legions had to ſerving in Climates different from their own, for many Ages had a good Effect in ſecuring the *Indians* from their boundleſs Ambition.

The falſe Religion of the *Romans*, and their great Proneneſs to Superſtition, was another invincible Bar to their arriving at any true Knowledge of the Countries they viſited. Their Heads were ſo full of Fables, Omens, and Prodigies, that it was very eaſy to make them believe that the *Indies* was inhabited by Giants, and that the *Ganges*, and all the other Rivers in it, ſwarmed with Monſters. We have a ſtrong Proof of this in what happened when the Learning of *Rome* was at its greateſt Height. It was found neceſſary to change the Courſe of the River *Orontes* to facilitate the bringing up their Fleet to *Antioch*; a prodigious Work, that, however, they undertook and executed; which ſhews that there was nothing that ſo enterprizing a People might not have performed, if they had not been liable to the Terrors of Superſtition. When the Waters of the River were turned out of their old Channel, they diſcovered a Sepulchre of Earth, above ſixteen Feet long, filled with Bones of an enormous Size; and which, nevertheleſs, the People of that Country perſuaded them were thoſe of a Man; upon which the Oracle of *Apollo*, at *Claros* in *Ionia*, was conſulted, and they were informed, that theſe were the Remains of *Orontes*, a Native of the *Indies*; which was enough to confirm them in the Opinion they had conceived, that the Inhabitants of that Country were much ſuperior in Size to the reſt of Mankind [s].

The great Reverence paid by them to Antiquity, was another Source of Errors. One would imagine, from reading ſome of their Writers, that they had ſworn never to be wiſer than thoſe who went before them: Almoſt all the voluminous Work of *Pliny* is taken from *Greek* Authors, and thoſe not of the beſt Credit [t]. Whoever will take the Trouble of comparing the Geography of *Pomponius Mela*, with the Hiſtory of *Herodotus*, will plainly perceive, that he has borrowed from him the beſt Part of what he has written, particularly that Paſſage relating to the Ants that dig Gold. And hence it comes to paſs, that when we diligently trace any of the incredible Stories we meet with in old Writers upwards, we find the original Author to be *Cteſias*, *Herodotus*, or *Megaſthenes*, decry'd, and yet copied in all Ages.

But for thoſe Things which fell immediately under the Eyes and Obſervation of their beſt Writers, ſuch as *Ariſtotle*, *Strabo*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Arrian*, *Plutarch*, and many others, they are very candidly and fairly reported; at leaſt, as far as the Lights they had would permit. We muſt not, therefore, either implicitly believe whatever they have delivered, for, if we do, we ſhall fall into the ſame Errors that they did from that very Cauſe, of truſting to the Ancients; and, on the other hand, we muſt not imagine that wherever they differ with the Moderns, or are not abſolutely ſupported by them, they are conſtantly in the wrong, and deſerve no Credit at all; becauſe ſuch a Notion may, and probably will betray us into new Miſtakes; becauſe, in ſome Things, the Ancients had better Opportunities of knowing than we; and Experience has ſhewn us, that, after ſeveral Things they have told us have been exploded for Fables, they have, upon further Diſcoveries, been acknowledged for Facts.

The only true Rule of judging, is, to conſider the Nature of the Thing related, the Character of the Author who relates it, and how far he is ſupported or contradicted by others; but, in ſuch Caſes as do not afford us an Opportunity of having Recourſe to theſe Rules, the beſt

[l] *Strabo, lib.* xv. *Arrian. in Indicis, c.* 15.

[m] *Geograph. lib* iii. *cap.* 7.

[n] *P. Vanden Broek Voyage aux Indes, p.* 391.

[o] *Deſcription de Cap de Bonne Eſperance, Tom.* iii. *p* 37.

[p] *Diodor. Sicul. Plin. Hiſt. Nat. Appian.*

[q] *De Hiſt. Animal. lib.* ii.

[r] *Hiſt. Animal. lib.* viii.

[s] *Pauſanias, lib.* viii. *c.* 29.

[t] As appears from the Index of Authors quoted in his Natural Hiſtory.

way is to avoid all haſty Deciſions, and to wait till new Enquiries afford us new Lights. But it is now Time to proceed to the Accounts which theſe Writers have given us of the other Animals of the *Indies*, that live either in the Water or the Air; and in regard to them as well as to the Land-Animals, we ſhall confine ourſelves only to a few of the moſt remarkable; and, even with reſpect to them, ſet down nothing more than what ſeems moſt ſtriking and worthy of Notice; which Method, if we did not purſue, each of theſe Sections might be very eaſily ſwelled into a Volume; ſo that, if any think them rather too much extended, I flatter myſelf they will alter their Opinion, when they conſider how much is omitted, in order to bring only the capital Points within Bounds.

SECTION XIV.

An Account of the moſt remarkable FISH *and* FOWL *in the* Eaſt-Indies, *as deſcribed by ancient and modern Authors, with proper Obſervations and Remarks.*

1. *The Notions of the Ancients with regard to ſeveral Kinds of Whales, Sea-elephants, and other Fiſh of enormous Size in the* Indian *Ocean, with a particular Account of the Hound-fiſh.* 2. *An exact Deſcription of the River-cow, with the Reaſon why the Teeth of this amphibious Animal are preferred to Ivory.* 3. *The fabulous Accounts of the Dolphin examined, with a ſingular Relation from* Ælian *on that Subject.* 4. *Of the Purpura, or Purple fiſh; the Hiſtory of the famous Dye made from this Fiſh by the* Tyrians; *and an Enquiry into the Cauſes of our loſing this Secret.* 5. *The Pearl-fiſhery in the* Indies, *deſcribed from ancient and modern Authors; with many Remarks upon that Subject.* 6. *Of the Flying-fiſh in the* Indies, *from ancient Writers, compared with* Martinius's *Account of a Flying-fiſh in* China, *and the Tobiwo in* Japan. 7. *The ſeveral Kinds of Tortoiſes in the* Indies, *their extraordinary Size, the Uſes and Value of their Shells.* 8. *The Crocodile deſcribed by ancient Authors; the vaſt Size of theſe Creatures in the* Indies, *and many curious Paſſages relating to them, drawn from Works of modern Travellers.* 9. *Of the Cyonoeides, or Blue-worm in the* Ganges, *a kind of Serpent that ſeems to be unknown to the Moderns.* 10. *The* Indian-*Eagle deſcribed; an Account of all the remarkable Properties of that Bird, and a diſtinct Relation of what is ſaid as to the Aetites, or Stone found in the Neſts of Eagles, and its Virtues.* 11. *A Deſcription and ſuccinct Hiſtory of the Oſtrich, in which many Errors relating to that Bird are corrected, and the Cauſes of them explained.* 12. *Of the Pelican, the ſingular Qualities of this Creature, and the many Fables that have been invented concerning it.* 13. *The Hiſtory of the Phœnix, from the Writers of Antiquity; the Fables on this Subject examined, and the true State of the Queſtion explained.* 14. *Of the* Semendal, *or* Scaliger's Phœnix, *a Bird really found in the* Indies. 15. *An accurate Deſcription of the Caſoar, one of the largeſt and moſt extraordinary Fowls in the* Indies, *and which ſeems to have been unknown to the Ancients.* 16. *Of ſome other remarkable Birds mentioned by* Eaſtern *Writers, or in the Relations of modern Travellers.* 17. *Miſcellaneous Obſervations and Remarks on the foregoing Deſcriptions, tending to the farther Illuſtration of the Subject.*

1. IT ſeems to have been an eſtabliſhed Opinion among the Ancients, that, of all the Elements, Water breeds the moſt, the largeſt, and the greateſt Variety of living Creatures, or at leaſt was inhabited by ſuch: and of all Seas, or Collections of Salt-water, that which waſhed this Shore of the *Indies* was held to be the moſt fruitful in large Fiſh, and thoſe too of the greateſt Size in their reſpective Kinds. We have already mentioned, in the Circumnavigation of *Nearchus*, how the Fleet of *Alexander* the Great was alarmed by a Shoal of Porpuſſes, and what mighty Whales were ſeen by them in thoſe Seas. *Pliny* carries the Matter much farther; he talks of Whales in the *Indian* Sea, that covered four Acres of Land; and mentions a leſſer kind, called *Priſtes*, which in all Probability, were a Sort of Fin-fiſh, two hundred Cubits, or three hundred Feet in Length; and at this, ſays he, we need not wonder, ſince, in that Country, even the Locuſts are four Cubits in Length; and that there are Eels in the River *Ganges* that meaſure thirty Feet. He farther obſerves, that, in the Red-ſea, there is a Peninſula, called *Cadara*, which runs far out into the Sea, and makes thereby a Bay ſo commodious, and ſo well covered from all Winds, that the Fiſh lie there as quiet and as ſtill as in a Mill-pond; and there, ſays he, are bred thoſe Whales of an enormous Size, which, ſometimes venturing out to Sea are caught by Storms, eſpecially about the Dog-days, and thrown on the oppoſite Coaſt of *Perſia*, where the People eat the Fleſh, and build themſelves Cabins of the Bones, as we have, long ago, heard from *Nearchus*, whoſe Voyage on that Coaſt ſeems to be the beſt Account that even in the Days of *Pliny* they had of thoſe Seas[a].

In the *Ganges* there were Fiſh reſembling Dolphins in Shape, called Plataniſtæ, which were more than twenty Feet long; and theſe I take to have been a kind of Sturgeon; but what moſt aſtoniſhed them was, the Reports they had, that in the *Indian* Ocean there were Fiſh reſembling all kinds of Land-animals; and of theſe they mention particularly the Sea elephant, which they held to be five Times as large as the Creature from which it borrowed its Name, and of theſe they had not bare Reports only, but ſome of them had been ſeen and meaſured. As for Sea-lions, Sea dogs, and Calves, they were common in thoſe Seas, and though extremely terrible in their Deſcriptions, yet appear plainly to have been nothing more than different Species of the Seal, as I take the Sea-lions in the *Weſt-Indies* to be. But of theſe, that which ſeems to have been the moſt dangerous was the Sea-hare, which Creature, *Pliny* affirms, was, in the Mediterranean, a mere Lump, or very ill-ſhaped Fiſh; but, in the *Indian* Seas, he aſſures us, that it was very like the Land-hare, and of a Nature ſo venomous, that the very Touch of it cauſed Sickneſs at the Stomach, ſtrong Vomitings, and other deadly Symptoms[b].

What is related of the Hound fiſh, or Sea-dog, ſeems very fabulous; and, one would imagine, was invented by the Pearl-fiſhers in order to ſet the higher Price upon their Commodities. It is affirmed of theſe Monſters, that they attack the Divers when under Water, who are forced to keep them off with long Poles, at the Head of which are Spears, or ſharp Points. The ſafeſt Way, as they found, by Experience, was, to attack theſe Animals firſt, for this ſtruck a Terror into them, and kept them at a Diſtance; but the Danger was not then over, ſince, when the Divers had done their Buſineſs, and began to aſcend, the Sea-dogs returned to their Charge, and followed them with greater Fury than ever, while the Man was leſs able to defend himſelf, as being obliged to employ one Hand in holding the Rope which drew him up, ſo that he had only the other, in which he held the Pole, which was to keep off his Enemy, But the greateſt Difficulty of all was, to pull him up into the Ship; for theſe furious Animals were ready, at the Inſtant he roſe from the Water, to leap after him, and devour him in Sight of his Companions. To avoid ſo cruel a Death, the Man was forced to draw up his Legs and Feet as cloſe as he could to his Body, while thoſe on Board drew him up with a quick Jerk, and ſome of them with Handſpikes, Trout-ſpears, and whatever elſe came to hand, ſtood ready to defend him from the Sea-dogs, in caſe they leaped after him out of the Water. Theſe Creatures were no leſs ſubtle than cruel; and therefore geting under the Keel of the Veſſel, they kept themſelves very ſecure, and were ready again to renew their Attack upon the next Diver that was let down [c].

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[a] *Nat Hiſt. lib.* xi.

[b] *Plin. lib.* ix. *Ælian. lib.* xvi.

Now, though many Circumſtances of this Account are very improbable, yet, it muſt be allowed, that the Pearl-divers run very great Hazards from thoſe voracious Animals, with which theſe Seas abound, as we have already ſhewn by various Inſtances of Men torn to Pieces even in the Harbours, and in the Sight of the Crews of a whole Squadron, not by the Hound-fiſh, or Sea-dog, but by Sharks, Crocodiles, or Sea-ſerpents [d]. It is highly probable that they were in all Ages liable to the like Misfortunes, and that the Reports of theſe, which, in themſelves, were true, gave Birth to this and other Stories of the ſame kind, which however fabulous in their Circumſtances, were not at the Bottem abſolutely void of Foundation.

2. It was in the ſame Manner that they magnified by miſapprehending what they were told concerning amphibious Creatures; and hence it is that they report theſe come out of the Sea and Rivers, and make ſtrange Havock in the Meadows and Corn-fields, which ſhews what an Impreſſion the Accounts they had received of the Sea-horſe, or Sea-cow, for it is called by both Names, had made upon them; for though they were in ſome meaſure acquainted with it in *Egypt*, and ſome of them had been brought to *Rome*, yet thoſe of the *Indies* were much larger; and, indeed, there were few Animals more capable of ſtriking with Aſtoniſhment by their Deſcription, ſuch as were unacquainted with them before.

The Sea-cow in the *Eaſt-Indies* reſembles in Size and in Shape the Rhinoceros; and as that Animal has Legs ſhorter than the Elephant, ſo the Legs of this amphibious Creature are ſtill ſhorter than his. When it riſes out of the Sea or River to come on Shore, it ſpouts a vaſt Quantity of Water through its Noſtrils. The Head in its Make reſembles that of a Horſe, except that it is much bigger, and therefore from thence, and from Clumſineſs of its Limbs, it derives its Name of the Sea or River *Cow*. The Coat is hairy, but very cloſe, the Skin an Inch thick at leaſt. It has on each Side two ſtrong Teeth about a Foot and half in Length, weighing each of them about ten Pounds. Theſe are eſteemed the very beſt Ivory, or rather better than any Ivory, if we underſtand that Word ſtrictly of the Elephants Teeth, becauſe they have one Property which thoſe Teeth have not, and that is, that they never loſe their Colour, which is exceedingly white, whereas the fineſt Ivory grows yellow by Degrees.

The Sea Cow hath Udders, and ſuckles her young ones in the ſame manner that the Land Cows do their Calves, and they are often found with them in the Meadows; the Feet of theſe Creatures are divided into four, and they move pretty faſt, notwithſtanding their Bulk, when they are purſued. Their Fleſh is eſteemed more delicate than any other, and the Fat is as hard and as ſweet as Butter. It is ſaid, that feeding upon this Animal will change all the Juices in the Human Body, and therefore it is held the beſt Reſtorative, and the moſt effectual Cure for Scurvys, Gouts, and other ill Habits of Body [e]. It is allowed that theſe Creatures feed moſtly upon Graſs, and may poſſibly eat Corn too if it comes in their Way; but that they come up in Droves, and breaking into Corn-fields, trample down and deſtroy the whole Fruits of a Harveſt, is a thing not to be believed. We will now proceed to the Fiſh, properly ſo called, that are taken notice of by thoſe Writers, or at leaſt of ſuch as are moſt remarkable.

3. The Dolphin ſeems to have exerciſed in a very particular manner the Attention of the Ancients, who have deſcribed it with greater Care, and preſerved more Particulars relating to it than any other Fiſh; though at the ſame time it muſt be confeſſed, that the Accounts they have given us ſerve rather to raiſe our Admiration than to increaſe our Knowledge, becauſe it ſo falls out, that with the Help of all they have told us, we are not able to affirm, with any Certainty, what Fiſh it was they diſtinguiſhed by this Name. They report that it was exceſſively ſwift in ſwimming, that it carried its Head a little above Water, and that it had an extraordinary Kindneſs for Mankind. They likewiſe ſay, that the Dolphin was very common in the *Mediterranean*, the *Atlantick* Ocean, and the *Indian* Sea [f].

It is very certain, that at preſent we meet in none of thoſe Seas with any Fiſh that reſembles the Figure of the Dolphin, as repreſented by the Ancients, neither is it known that any Fiſh has thoſe Properties which they aſcribe to the Dolphin. *Pliny* tells us a remarkable Story of a Dolphin that took a Fancy to a Boy in the Kingdom of *Naples*, and carried him on his Back acroſs an Arm of the Sea to and from School every Day, the Boy calling him *Simo*; which Fact, he ſays, he would not have related, but that he found it mentioned before in ſeveral authentick Writers as a thing ſo well known, that it could not admit either of Doubt or Diſpute [g].

I have but juſt mentioned this Paſſage, becauſe it hath been already tranſcribed by many Writers; but there is another Story in *Ælian* to the full as remarkable, which is worthy the Reader's Notice. It happened under the Reign of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, that ſome young Men were bathing themſelves in the Sea at the Mouth of the Port of *Alexandria*, when a Dolphin ſwam in amongſt them, and taking a particular Liking to one of them, encouraged him to get upon his Back, which the young Man did, and it carried him a good way out to Sea. This being ſeveral times repeated, the Spectacle at laſt became common, and was beheld by Multitudes of Spectators. The End, however, was as tragical as the Beginning had been pleaſant; for Dolphin having one Day forgot to ſhut cloſe the ſharp Finn upon his Back, one of the Spikes ran into the young Man's Thigh, and he fainted with the Loſs of Blood. The Fiſh perceiving his Diſtreſs by his not conducting him as uſual, brought him back to the Shore, and then beholding the Condition he was in remained likewiſe on the Sand, and periſhed with him [h].

It would be an eaſy Matter to collect many more Relations of this ſort from the Writings of the ancient Naturaliſts, if what has been ſaid was not more than ſufficient to ſhew, that upon certain Occaſions they ſet no Bounds to their Credulity, and their Fondneſs for wonderful Stories. They likewiſe report of this Animal, that it was of ſuch a ſocial Nature, as to ſwim in company with others of its own kind, for the ſake of reſiſting mutually with greater Strength any Attempts that might be made upon them. They likewiſe aſſure us, that the Dolphins were drawn towards the Shore, and kept there by the Sound of Muſick, which is as incredible as any of the reſt, and ſeems calculated purely for Amuſement. Some other Circumſtances they report which are more probable, ſuch as that the Dolphin was naturally an Enemy to the Crocodile, and defended itſelf from the Attacks of that furious Creature, by raiſing the ſharp Fin upon its Back [i].

Certain it is, that from a Notion of its Friendſhip to Men the Ancients forbore eating its Fleſh, and the *Cyre-*

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[c] *Plin. lib.* ix. *cap* xlvi.

[d] *Thevenot, Tom.* ii. *l. c.* 11.

[e] Almoſt all the Writers of Voyages to the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-Indies* agree in this.

[f] *Ariſtot. lib.* ix. *cap.* 48. *Strabo, lib.* xv *p.* 790 *Ælian. lib.* xii. *cap.* 12. *Plin. lib.* ix. *cap.* 8. *Athen. Deipn. lib.* xiii. *Philoſt. Icon. lib.* i.

[g] *Hiſt. Nat. lib.* ix. *cap* viii.

[h] *De Animal. lib.* vi *cap.* 15.

[i] *Ælian. lib.* v. *cap.* 6. *Plin. lib.* xi. *cap* 37. *Caſaub. in Athen. lib.* vii. *cap* 7.

nians carried their Reverences ſo far as to erect a Temple to it. It was from the ſame Notion that *Alexander the Great* appointed a Boy to execute the Office of High-Prieſt to *Neptune*, becauſe the prevailing Opinion then was, that the Dolphins had a great Tenderneſs for Youths. As for the Fiſh that is known to us by this Name, they have been deſcribed in the former Chapter, and will be mentioned in ſubſequent Voyages; and therefore, without dwelling longer on a Topic, upon which ſome learned Men have written large Treatiſes, we will proceed in our Diſcourſe to other Inhabitants of the *Indian* Seas that have exerciſed the Pens of the Writers of Antiquity[k].

4. Of the Purpura, or Purple Fiſh, many Authors ſpeak largely; and from them we gather, that there were ſeveral different Sorts, ſome fed amongſt rotten Mud, others on Sea-Weeds, a third Sort in the Gravel; but that which was the richeſt, and yielded the ſtrongeſt Dye, was called *Dialutæ*, or the *Wandering Fiſh*, that fed in all the different Soils before-mentioned. This Fiſh had a long ſharp Tongue, of the Size of one's Finger, ſo hard, and ſharp at the Point, as to be able to pierce into other Shell-fiſh, and ſuck them; and thus living on their Blood, it became, when digeſted in the Body of that Fiſh, the noble Dye which was ſo much eſteemed, and carried to ſo great a Price, that the *Tyrians* gained not only immenſe Wealth, but immortal Reputation, by their Skill in managing their Trade therein[l].

The Manner in which they carried on this Fiſhery was thus: At the proper Seaſon, which was in the Beginning of the Autumn, or the Beginning of the Spring, they let down into the Sea certain ſmall Nets, in which were Cockles, or ſome other ſmall Shell-fiſh, which had been for ſome time out of the Water. Theſe opening their Shells for Suſtenance, the Purple Fiſh, which, as we obſerved before, was a Fiſh of Prey, came preſently about them, and greedily thruſting their Tongues into the Shells of the other Fiſh, they cloſed upon them, and ſo they were drawn up together. Then, as ſome Writers ſay, the Vein of the Purple Fiſh was opened, and the Colour drawn out. But *Pliny* gives us a much clearer and more copious Account of this Matter; for he tells us, that as ſoon as the Fiſh was caught, they did not take out the Colour, but the Vein that contained it; and having obtained a ſufficient Quantity, they mixed it with Salt, and in this Condition it remained three Days; then to eight Gallons of Water they put one hundred and fifty Pounds of Colour, and boiling it over a gentle Fire, ſkimming it from time to time, it came in about five Hours to look perfectly clear and bright. In order, however, to judge the better of this Dye, and to know when it was perfectly boiled, they dipped now and then a Lock of Wool into it, by conſidering of which they knew when it required a higher and when a lower Degree of Fire[m].

After the Colour was thus prepared, they put into it ſuch a Quantity of Wool as they intended to dye, which ſoaked in it for five Hours; then it was taken out, dried and carded, and afterward thrown into the Dye-Tub again[n]; and after it was dried a ſecond time, was delivered to the Manufacturers to be ſpun, and wrought into Cloth. This was what was properly called the true Purple, which had been uſed in *Rome* Time out of Mind, when *Pliny* wrote, but not in common; for *Romulus* never appeared in this Colour, but when he put on his Robe called *Trabea*; and even in the Days of *Auguſtus* it was at a high Price; but afterwards it grew cheaper, or at leaſt it grew more common, as *Pliny* tells us at large[o].

There ſeems to be no doubt that this was the fineſt and richeſt Colour known to the Ancients, eſpecially the Dibapha, or double-dyed *Tyrian* Purple; for whatever Changes there might happen in Faſhions, that from the firſt to laſt was eſteemed the beſt. A great Queſtion has been raiſed how this Colour came to be loſt, ſince all the different kinds of Shell Fiſh, from whence it was taken, were found in various Parts of *Europe*, as well as in the *Indies*; and the loſing this Colour has been always mentioned as an extraordinary Misfortune, and as one of the Things in which we fall moſt ſhort of the Antients. But, perhaps, when this Matter comes to be more ſeriouſly examined, the Loſs will not be found ſo great, nay, I doubt, if upon the whole, we ought to account it any Loſs at all.

In the firſt place, let us conſider how it is poſſible the Art of managing this Dye ſhould have been forgot, which was in ſo many Hands, eſteemed at ſo great a rate, and in general Credit throughout *Europe*; I ſay, let us conſider this, and we ſhall plainly ſee, that it could have been loſt no other Way than by the coming in of ſome other Colour, or rather of ſome other Dye, which afforded as fine a Colour, and at a cheaper Rate. We learn from *Pliny*[p], that a Pound of the true *Tyrian* Purple was worth a thouſand Denarii, or upwards of thirty-two Pounds of our Money, which was ſurely an exorbitant Price; and therefore, if in ſucceeding Times a Method has been found of dying Purple at a cheaper Rate, there is no Ground for ſaying that we fall ſhort of the Ancients, that a valuable Colour has been loſt, or that either their Knowledge or their Induſtry, at leaſt in this Reſpect, was greater than ours.

But after all, there ſeems to be ſome Reaſon to doubt whether the Fact be true, I mean, that this Secret is loſt; ſince both our own Royal Society, and the Academy of Sciences at *Paris*, have made conſiderable Diſcoveries on this Head, that is to ſay, their Members have made ſeveral Experiments on the Purple extracted from Shell-fiſh; and if their Experiments have ſucceeded but indifferently, I do not think it can be underſtood as a Proof that the Ancients excelled us in this Particular. Father *Gage*, in his Survey of the *Weſt-Indies*, tells us boldly, that the *Spaniards* have retrieved there the Secret of the ancient Purple, and that they dye Cloths, which are ſold for twenty Crowns a Yard. I muſt confeſs this is a Fact that I do not find confirmed by later Writers, and therefore I think there is Reaſon to ſuſpect the Truth of it.

Father *Labat*, a much more careful and accurate Writer, has given us a very curious Account of the Attempts made in the *French* Iſlands in *America* to recover this kind of Dye, which is very worthy of the Reader's Notice; and therefore I ſhall give him as clear and as ſuccinct an Account of it as I can. They have in thoſe Parts a kind of Shell-fiſh, about the Bigneſs of the Top of one's Thumb, reſembling in its firſt Appearance the common ſort of Snails; but when examined more cloſely, and after the Fiſh is taken out, it appears one of the moſt curious and beautiful Shells that can be imagined[q]. It is, though very thin, of a very ſtrong Subſtance, and of a beautiful Azure Colour. The Fleſh of the Fiſh is extremely white, but its Inteſtines of ſo bright a Red, that the Colour is ſeen through its Body; and it is this Colour which tinges the Slime it throws out, when taken, of a Violet, or rather of a deep Blue. In order to oblige theſe Animals to throw out a greater Quantity of this Slime, they are put alive into a Diſh, and ſtruck one againſt another, either with the Hand, or with a little Twig, upon which the Diſh is preſently covered with this kind of Slime, in which, if a Piece of Linen be dipped, it is immediately dyed red, and by degrees becomes, as it grows dry, of a deep Purple. But Father *Labat* obſerves very cautiouſly, and like a Writer very careful of ſpeaking Truth, that if this be the Purple of the Ancients, we have not hitherto the Art of fixing it; for how deep ſoever the Colour may appear when the Linen is dried, it ſoon decays, and, if waſhed, is ſpeedily taken out[r].

This Fiſh, while admired only for its Shell, was called ſimply *le Burgau*; but ſince this Diſcovery it is called *le Burgau de Teinture*. Our Author himſelf made ſeveral Experiments toward arriving at a finer Colour from a Plant in the ſame Country, and not without Succeſs, which I think plainly proves that he had no great Hopes of obtaining any fixed and perfect Colour from the Shells. On the whole therefore, I think it as plain as any thing can well be made, that the Purple of the Ancients gave way to ſome brighter and cheaper Colour; and if ever this Secret ſhould be recovered, it would prove a Curioſity only, and never could be brought again to a Manufacture, becauſe in all the Experiments that have been made in this Country, and in *France*, it has been found, that a great Difficulty would ariſe in procuring Shells enough to furniſh a ſufficient Quantity of this Colour for Uſe: whence it follows, that after all the Improvements that could be made for fixing and perfecting this Dye, the Dearneſs of it would hinder it from coming again into Uſe, as heretofore it drove it out.

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[k] *Strabo, lib.* i. *p.* 56. *Plin. lib.* ix. *cap.* viii.

[l] *Plin. lib.* ix. *cap.* 36. *& ſequen.* *Ælian. lib.* vii. *cap.* 34. *Athen. Deipn. lib* iii. *p.* 86.

[m] *Nat. Hiſt. lib.* ix. *cap.* 38.

[n] *Idem, ibid.*

[o] *Id. c.* 39.

[p] *Id. ibid.*

[q] *Hiſtoire des Antilles, p.* 224.

[r] *Voyage de l'Amerique.*

Before I part with this Subject, I think it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that in ſome Lakes in the North, and in the Weſt of *Scotland*, there are a kind of Muſcles, which have in them a Purple Vein at the Extremity of the Shell, in which there is contained a Drop or two of a Liquor that ſtains Linen of a deep Crimſon, which is not at all apt to wear out, but continues as long as the Cloth can be worn; but I do not know whether this Fiſh be very common, or whether this Purple Vein be natural to it, or the Effect of ſome Diſeaſe, which has been ſuſpected of the true Purple[s].

5. We will now proceed from this Source of Riches, which at preſent is loſt, to another that ſtill ſubſiſts, I mean the Pearl-Fiſhery; for it is allowed that the fineſt and moſt perfect Pearls are, and in all Ages have been, brought from the *Indies*. It is true, they do not at this Day fetch ſo high a Price in *Europe* as they did formerly; but ſtill the Oriental Pearls are of conſiderable Value, and are like to continue ſo, inaſmuch as they have all the Properties that are requiſite to render them fit to be reckon'd amongſt the moſt beautiful Jewels that can be, neither are there any Counterfeits that at all approach them in their Luſtre: Though People have attained in that Art to a Degree of Perfection ſcarce to be expected.

The Fiſh that produces the Pearl is a kind of Oiſter, but much larger than the common Sort, or indeed than any that are found in our Seas; they are common on the Coaſt of *Perſia*, near *Ormus*, about Cape *Comorin*, and on the Coaſt of the Iſland of *Ceylon*[t]. The Shell-fiſh which produces them is called the Mother of Pearl. The Ancients had an Opinion that Thunder and Storms had ſome Effect in producing them; for which we ſhall be able to give a tolerable Account, without admitting any thing wonderful, in the Fact. The Fiſhing of Pearl was a Thing always attended with great Hazard and Danger; ſuch as were employed in it being obliged often to dive in Places thirty Fathom deep, where they were expoſed to many ravenous Monſters, peculiarly thirſting after human Blood. They were let down out of the Veſſel to which they belonged with a Weight of Stone, fixed either to their Side or to their Feet, that they might deſcend the quicker and remain the more ſteady under Water. In their Right-hand they had a ſharp Iron, which they uſed for removing the Oiſters from their Beds; and on their Left-arm hung a Baſket, in which they put the Fiſh when they were caught, and about this Arm alſo a Cord was tied, by which they gave Notice to thoſe in the Ship when to pull them up by another Cord that was about their Middle[u]. Some Writers ſay they carried their Baſket or Bag, into which they put their Fiſh, about their Necks.

The largeſt Sort of Fiſh were found far in the Sea; and if they were at any Time drove upon the Coaſt, it was by tempeſtuous Weather. And hence the Opinion aroſe, that great Thunders and Storms contributed to ſwell and to encreaſe the Pearl. The Fact therefore was true, that after Tempeſts the largeſt Pearls were found: But the Opinion grounded upon this, that the Thunder was the Cauſe of the Pearls Increaſe, ſeems to have no Foundation in Reaſon. So eaſy a Thing it is to miſtake Effects for Cauſes, and to introduce Errors in Natural Philoſophy, by reaſoning wrong upon Facts. When the Divers touched the Oiſters, eſpecially thoſe of the largeſt Size, they clung ſo ſtrongly to the Rock, that, very often, there was no removing them, even with the Help of their iron Inſtrument. In the Oiſters they brought up, when opened, the Pearls appeared like little Drops of fair Water or Dew, which hardened with being expoſed to the Air, and were then carefully taken off the Shell. In one Oiſter there were commonly ten or twelve, in ſome more, in ſome leſs; but the more there were the ſmaller; and if there was but one, it was generally of a very conſiderable Size, and of greater Value than many ſmall ones; ſo that theſe Shells were eſteemed the richeſt of all[w]. The Shell itſelf is alſo of ſome Value, as having a prodigious Luſtre, and being extremely fit for In-laying, and other Uſes.

Philoſtratus has a very curious Paſſage in relation to this Subject, if his Accounts could be abſolutely depended upon; but whether they be or be not, as what he relates is very remarkable, it deſerves at leaſt to be related; and then let the Reader think of it as he pleaſes. The Story, as he tells it, is this; ſome of the *Indian* Pearl-fiſhers have a Method of obtaining that valuable Commodity, without bringing up the Oiſters at all. In order to this, the Divers carry down with them a certain kind of rich Perfume, which they hold before the Mother-of-pearl; and while the Fiſh ſucks it, which it will do very greedily, they gently open the Shell, from whence a Liquor diſtills Drop by Drop, that preſently hardens into Pearls[x]. It might be alleged, in Support of this Story, that both *Athenæus* and *Pliny* ſeem inclined to believe that Pearls are at firſt liquid; which is, indeed, agreeable enough to their Form and to their Luſtre[y].

At this Day, there are four conſiderable Pearl-fiſheries in the *Eaſt*. The firſt is on the Coaſt of the Iſland of *Baharen*, in the *Perſian* Gulph, of which the *Portugueſe* were formerly Maſters, but now this Fiſhery belongs to the *Perſians*. The ſecond is near *Catifa*, on the Coaſt of *Arabia the Happy*, over-againſt *Baharen*. The Pearls taken at theſe Fiſheries are moſt eſteemed in the *Indies*, though of a yellowiſh Caſt; for they aſſert, that the Pearls of a brighter Water do not laſt, but turn of a muddy Yellow in the Space of about thirty Years; whereas thoſe which have originally a little Mixture of the Lemon-colour, are thoroughly ripened, and never abate of their Luſtre. A great Part of the Pearls taken in this Fiſhery are carried to *Balſora*; from whence they are diſtributed all over the *Indies*; thoſe again which are tranſported into *Perſia* and *Muſcovy*, are ſold at *Bandarcongo* two Days journey from *Ormus*. They fiſh twice a Year; firſt in the Months of *March* and *April*, and again in the Months of *Auguſt* and *September*. The Depth where they fiſh is from four to twelve Fathoms; and the deeper the Oiſter is found, the Pearls are the brighter, becauſe the Water is not ſo hot there, the Sun not being able to penetrate ſo deep.

The third Fiſhery is on the Coaſt of the Iſland of *Ceylon*, at a Place which is called *Manar*. The Pearls found there are of a good Water, but ſmall; and the greateſt do not ſurpaſs two Carats; nay, it is ſeldom that they are found of that Weight: But, in Recompence of this, there is great Quantity of Seed-pearl fit to powder. The fourth and laſt Fiſhing is at *Japan*; the Pearls there are of a Water white enough, and heavy, but ill-ſhaped, moſt of which fall into the Hands of the *Dutch Eaſt-India* Company; becauſe the *Japoneſe* themſelves have no Eſteem for Jewels of any Kind. The poor People employed in theſe Fiſheries live very meanly, and ſcarce get a Subſiſtence by them; even thoſe who deal in Pearls are far enough from being rich, through the Oppreſſion of their Princes on one Side, and the Art of the *Dutch*, on the other; who finding that the bright Pearls taken on the Coaſt of *Ceylon* are moſt eſteemed, and go off at the greateſt Rate in *Europe*, employ a *Brachman* to buy them up as they are caught, which he does at a very low Rate; the Perſons concerned in this Trade, launching out into greater Expences than they can afford, and thereby ſubjecting themſelves to the dreadful Neceſſity of parting with the Fruits of their Induſtry to ſuch as are poſſeſſed of Money[z].

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[s] This is the Sentiment of M. *Reaumur*, who made many Experiments on the Purple-fiſh on the Coaſt of *Provence*.

[t] *Voyages des Indes, Vol.* v. *p.* 265.

[u] *Ælian. de. Animal. lib.* x. *cap.* 13. *Lib.* xv. *cap* 8. *Ammian. Marcel. lib.* xxviii. *cap.* 12.

[w] *Plin. Nat. Hiſt. lib.* ix. *c. p.* 35.

[x] *Philoſt. in Vit. Apollon. Tyan. lib.* iii. *cap.* 57.

[y] *Athen. Deipn. lib.* iii. *p.* 93. *Pliny, lib.* ix. *cap.* 35.

[z] *Tavernier Voyages aux Indes. Tom.* iv. *lib.* ii. *cap.* 20, 21.

This

[a] This tempts ſome of them to a very baſe Practice, which is throwing a poiſonous Drug into the Sea, near the Banks where the beſt Fiſh lie; upon which they immediately remove to another Coaſt, where ſuch as are in the Secret fiſh for them, and become rich before their Roguery is found out[b]. There are now ſeveral Pearl-fiſheries eſtabliſhed in the *Weſt-Indies* and in other Parts of the World, as we ſhall ſhew in their proper Places. But, as the Value of thoſe Pearls ariſes from their approaching in their Colour and Water to the Oriental Pearl, this ſufficiently ſhews that the Excellence attributed to them by ancient Writers, is not at all prejudiced by the Diſcoveries made in latter Times, to which the Policy of the *Indian* Princes contributes not a little; for by purchaſing the faireſt Pearls at high Rates, they keep up their Price to the *Europeans*, ſo that there never came ſuch Numbers into this Part of the World as to ſink them much in their Value; hence it is whatever becomes of the Pearls of other Countries, thoſe of the Eaſt ſtill keep up their Credit, and a Pearl of the Weight of four Carrats is worth ten or twelve Pounds, and of a larger Size and well ſhaped much more[c].

6. As the Pearl-fiſh and the Pearl-oiſter were deſervedly admired for their Value and Price, ſo the *Indian*-Seas afforded other Fiſh that were held extremely remarkable for their extraordinary Properties. Amongſt theſe the Flying-fiſh were thought none of the leaſt extraordinary. The Flying-fiſh that are common in the *Weſt-Indies*, are of the Size of a Herring, with a round Head, and a Sort of large Fins, which ſerve them for Wings, and with which they fly about the Height of a Pike from the Sea, and are then forced to drop again into that Element, becauſe their Wings become dry[d]; but theſe no way reſemble the Flying-fiſh in the *Eaſt-Indies*, or at leaſt thoſe mentioned by the Ancients; for they came out of the Sea, or out of Rivers, at certain Seaſons, and leaped about in the Meadows like Graſs-hoppers[e]. The Story is ſtrange, and we have it told in very ſuccinct and general Terms by *Athenæus*, who is the only Author who reports it[f]. But *Marco Polo*, one of our moſt ancient Travellers, mentions ſomething of the like Nature, and ſays, that from its living in this Manner, the Creature is called the *Sea-locuſt*[g].

Martinius, who has written as copiouſly, and with as great Reputation of the Empire of *China*, as any Author whatever, confirms this; and informs us, that the *Chineſe* call it *Hoangcioqu*; but he is very ſhort in his Deſcription; for he tells us only that it is a yellow Fiſh, or, rather a Bird; for in the Summer, ſays he, it flies on the Mountains, but towards the End of Autumn, it throws itſelf into the Sea, and becomes a Fiſh of a moſt exquiſite Taſte[h]. He tells us, likewiſe, of another Creature that he ſaw, that had the Head of a Bird and the Tail of a Fiſh, which it was reported had ſome very ſingular Qualities[i].

It appears from theſe Citations, that we ought not, abſolutely, to reject the ſtrange Things told us by ancient Authors, without Examination; becauſe, though the Facts they relate cannot be verified, yet, as in this Inſtance, it may be plainly made appear, that they are not pure Inventions; and, therefore, it is better to preſerve even what ſeems incredible in their Writings, in order to encourage Enquiries that may, in Time, bring out the Truth. It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that, in *Japan*, they have likewiſe a Flying-fiſh of about a Foot long, which, in their Language, is called *Tobiwo*; and is ſaid to be very ſcarce, but excellent Eating[k].

It were to be wiſhed, that ſuch as travel in theſe Countries, would be more careful in examining the Animals they meet with upon the Spot, and in committing their Deſcriptions to Writing immediately; becauſe, we ſhould not then be ſo much at a Loſs as we now are, what to make of their Deſcriptions.

7. The Tortoiſe, though it cannot be ſaid to be a Creature peculiar to the *Indies*, yet the *Indian* Tortoiſes are ſo much larger than any others, that in this reſpect they deſerve to be particularly conſidered. Of theſe Creatures there are three different Sorts. The firſt live entirely on Land; the ſecond in the Sea; and the third in freſh Waters. The Figure of this Creature is very extraordinary. It has a Head ſo very ſmall that it ſeems to bear no Proportion to its Body. They have not either Teeth or Tongue, and yet the Tortoiſe not only breaks to Pieces the hardeſt Shells, but even Stones with its Lips; which, by their exceſſive Hardneſs, very effectually ſupply the ſeeming Want of Teeth. The Feet of this Animal are very ſhort, and its Motion remarkably ſlow. It has, on its Back, a Lump of Fleſh, which communicates with its Shell, by which it is entirely covered, and it even extends beyond its Body, when the Animal withdraws itſelf into it, and thereby proves a ſure Defence anainſt all Dangers from without; and are ſo ſtrong that a Waggon well laden, may paſs over them as over a Stone, without any Injury either to the Shell, or the Creature within it. They are five or ſix Foot long, which is a monſtrous Size, conſidering the Bulk of theſe Creatures in other Countries; and yet ſome ancient Writers ſpeak of Tortoiſes in the *Indies* of a much larger Size, the Shells of which are ſaid to be big enough to cover a ſmall Cabin; and it is ſaid, that in the Iſland of *Taprobana* they made uſe of no other Covering for their Houſes[l].

There were various Methods practiſed in taking theſe Creatures; for ſometimes they gorged themſelves to ſuch a Degree in the Meadows, that they were not able to retire; and then, whoever found them, turned them on their Backs. Sometimes the Sea Tortoiſes were, in like manner, left on Shore at the Time of Ebb; and ſometimes they placed round Sticks in their Road to the Meadows; and as ſoon as they ſet their fore Feet upon them, thoſe who watched for that Purpoſe, laid hold of one End of the Stick, lifting it ſuddenly up, turned the Creature over. Their Fleſh is both wholeſome and pleaſant, and their Eggs, which in Size reſemble thoſe of a Hen, are excellent[m].

Pliny reports, that their Fleſh, their Blood, and even their Excrements, are very medicinal. Among other Receipts from this Creature, he gives us that which follows. Take, ſays he, three Land-tortoiſes, he means thoſe of the ſmaller Kind, throw them on a Fire made of Vine-twigs; and as ſoon as their Shells begin to part from each other, pull them out immediately: and having taken their Shells off, boil them in a Gallon of Water, with a ſmall Quantity of Salt, till a third Part of the Liquor be conſumed; the Broth will be then, ſays he, a ſovereign Medicine for ſuch as are troubled with the Palſy, the Gout, or Rheumatiſm[n].

But that, for which this Creature is chiefly valued, is, his Shell, of which, over all the *Indies*, but particularly in *China*, they make a Multitude of uſeful Things, as well as many beautiful Toys. Theſe were Arts far from being unknown to the Ancients; for, as we learn from *Pliny*, *Carbilius Pollio*, a Man of a wonderful Invention, was the firſt who introduced the Uſe of Tortoiſe-ſhell-plates for In-laying all Sorts of Houſhold Furniture. It is reported, that the *Portugueſe* ſettled in the *Eaſt Indies*, place Sea-tortoiſes near the Fire till their Shells begin to riſe; and then taking them off in an Inſtant with a flat Knife, they afterwards throw the Creature back into the Sea, where, they affirm, that, in a ſingle Year, they gather a new Shell, as firm and as beautiful as the former[o].

Beſides the Uſes that have been already mentioned, there is another to which thoſe Tortoiſes are applied, the Fleſh of which is not fit for eating, and that is, boiling it into Oil, which Oil not only ſerves for Lamps, but alſo for many phyſical Uſes; and more eſpecially for reſtoring waſted Limbs, or ſuch as have had their Sinews ſhrunk. The Tortoiſe is exceedingly annoyed by the Sea Eagle, which taking the ſmaller ſort in his Talons, carries them a great way up into the Air, and then letting them fall on a Rock, breaks the Shells, and ſo feeds upon their Fleſh, which, but for this Contrivance, would be ſecure from his Fury[p].

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[a] *Voyages de le Brun, p.* 330.

[b] *Voyage de Thevenot, Tom.* iii. *lib.* ii. *cap.* 11.

[c] *Tavernier, ubi ſup. Vide etiam Hiſt. Nat. des Indes de Joſeph. Acoſta, lib.* vi. *Hiſt Gen. des Indes de Lopez Gomara, lib.* vi.

[d] *Hiſt. des Antilles, p.* 183.

[e] *Theophraſt. apud Athenæum, lib.* viii. *p.* 332. *Voyages Arabes donnés par l'Abbé Renaudot, p.* 15.

[f] *Deipn. Sophiſt. p.* 332

[g] *Lib.* iii. *cap.* 18.

[h] *Atlas Sin. p.* 171.

[i] *Idem, ib. p* 173.

[k] *Hiſt. du Japon. Tom.* ii. *p.* 582.

[l] *Plin. Nat. Hiſt. lib.* vi. *cap.* 22.

[m] *Strabo, lib.* xvi. *p.* 773. *Ælian, lib.* xvi. *cap.* 14 & 17. *Pliny, lib.* ix. *cap.* 10, 11.

[n] *Hiſt. Nat. lib.* xxxii. *cap.* 4.

[o] *Voyages aux Indes par P. Colin. p.* 195.

8. The Crocodile is another amphibious Creature common to *Africa* and the *Indies*; but the *Indian* Crocodiles are by far the largeſt, and thoſe that frequent the Marſhes near the River *Ganges* are believed to be the biggeſt in the World. *Ariſtotle* has given us a very large Deſcription of this Animal, which is withal very accurate and juſt: He informs us, that the Female Crocodile lays ſixty Eggs or upwards at a time, each of the Size of a Gooſe's Egg, and the Animal, when hatched, is of the ſame Proportion; but as it grows as long as it lives, it reaches in ſome Countries a larger, and in others a leſs Size; *Ariſtotle* mentions fifteen Cubits, which is two-and-twenty Feet and a half, as the largeſt Size he had heard of; but in the *Indies* there are Crocodiles of twice that Bigneſs, for which we ſhall hereafter aſſign a probable Reaſon[q].

The Crocodile is of the Lizard kind, and therefore we need not enter into a particular Deſcription of it; it has no Tongue, and moves only the upper Jaw. Its Teeth, which are very ſtrong and ſharp, ſhut into each other like the Teeth of two Combs. It is alſo armed with terrible Claws; and his Back and Legs are covered with Scales ſo ſtrong, that they are not to pierced. He paſſes the Day moſtly on Shore, and retires in the Night moſtly into the Water, where having gorged himſelf with Fiſh, he comes on Shore when the Sun is up, and ſleeps upon the Sand. *Pliny* ſays, that for four Months in the Winter the Crocodile retires to ſome Cave or Den, where it ſleeps for that Time, without receiving any Suſtenance[r].

As this Creature is only bred in hot Countries, ſo it ſeems incapable of living in colder Climates. There was one brought into *France* in 1681, and being landed at *Rochelle* was brought from thence by Land to *Verſailles*; but they were frequently obliged to lay it before the Fire, for otherwiſe it would not have ſurvived the Journey. It would eat nothing after it left the Ship, and died when it had been kept about a Month at *Verſailles.* When they diſſected it, they found in its Stomach a conſiderable Quantity of Sand, and ſome Snails with their Shells whole. It appears from hence, that the Accounts of this Creature that are given us by the Ancients are juſtified by Experience[s].

Thus far of Crocodiles in general, we will now ſpeak particularly of thoſe in the *Indies*, and compare the Accounts given us of them by the Writers of Antiquity, with the Relations of ſuch modern Travellers as are thought to deſerve moſt Credit. *Strabo* informs us, that when *Alexander* found the River *Hydaſpes* much infeſted with Crocodiles, and *Egyptian* Beans growing on its Banks, he made no ſort of Queſtion that he had found the Head of the *Nile* in the *Indies*; nay, to ſuch a Degree was he perſuaded of the Truth of this Diſcovery, that he actually directed a Fleet to be prepared in order to have ſailed that way into *Egypt*, from whence it ſeems highly probable, that before *Alexander*'s Expedition the Ancients did not know that there were Crocodiles in the *Indies*[t].

It is from *Strabo* likewiſe that we learn that theſe ravenous Creatures have an Averſion to Swine's Fleſh, which, however, is a Point that deſerves to be enquired into[u]. *Philoſtratus*, in the Life of *Apollonius Tyaneus*, enters into an expreſs Compariſon between the Rivers *Indus* and *Nilus*, which, he obſerves, have a great Reſemblance, eſpecially in theſe two Particulars, their overflowing annually, and their being full of Crocodiles; but in this as in many other things, that Writer is plainly miſtaken, for the River *Nilus* is not the only River in *Africa*, in which Crocodiles are bred, nor are theſe Creatures peculiar to the *Indus*, but infeſt generally moſt of the large Rivers in the *Indies*, and particularly the *Ganges*, where are the largeſt Crocodiles perhaps in the World; and it is obſerved by *St. Ambroſe*[w], that it paſſed for a kind of Miracle among the *Indians*, that at the Seaſon of the Year when the *Brachmans* paſſed that River to go to their Wives, they were never infeſted by theſe terrible Animals.

If we could confide in what the Miſſionaries have told us of this Subject, we might add ſome curious Particulars to the natural Hiſtory of Crocodiles. Father *Francis Colin* aſſerts poſitively, that this Creature voids no Excrement, nor has any Paſſage for it, which I doubt is not agreeable to Truth. It is likewiſe affirmed both by him and Father *Navarette*, that the Female Crocodile deſtroys her Young, ſwallowing them as they run from the Sands, where they are hatched, into the Water, which is another wonderful Circumſtance that never occurred to the Ancients, or for any thing I know to any other of the Moderns. As to what both theſe reverend Writers relate of Muſk-bags[x] being found in this Animal, it is ſingular, but not at all improbable, becauſe almoſt all Writers agree, that the Fleſh of the Crocodile has a very muſky Scent; and in the *Weſt-Indies* the Mouths of the Rivers where theſe Creatures haunt have their Waters ſo ſtrongly tinctured with this Smell and Taſte, that they are not drinkable.

Gaſper Balbi, whoſe Travels through the *Indies* are extremely curious, in his Deſcription of the City of *Pegu*, which he viſited in 1576, has the following extraordinary Paſſage[y]: "The Inhabitants of the City lead, for the moſt "part, a lazy and ſcandalous Life; they are very ſluttiſh "in their Houſes, in which, generally ſpeaking, they keep "Hogs. They drink the Water in their Ditches rather from "Superſtition or Cuſtom, than from any other Reaſon, "which is the more wonderful, ſince the Crocodiles in "thoſe Ditches are not only numerous, but of an extraordinary Size, inſomuch that many of them exceed thirty "Feet in Length, and yet the People, who ſee ſome or "other devoured by them every Day, are ſo ſtupid as to "reverence them as they do the Apes, and this from a "firm, as well as fooliſh Perſuaſion, that the Souls of ſuch "as are devoured by the Crocodiles find the direct Road to "Heaven. The Subtilty of theſe Creatures is very extraordinary. When the People come with their Pitchers to "take up Water, they conceal themſelves under the green "Weed, or under the Reeds, which grow on the Side of "the Ditch, and laying hold of the Perſon by the Hand, "or by the Foot, pull them to him. Men and Women "have been ſeen in this manner with their Heads and "Hands above Water, roaring out for Help, till ſuch "time as they were dragged to the Hole where the Crocodile lay, and who was diſtinctly heard to devour them. "Remonſtrances having been once made to the King on this "Subject, he ordered the largeſt Crocodile, and which "was known to have done moſt Miſchief, to be taken and "killed. This Creature was of an enormous Size, and of "a moſt terrible Appearance. After his Death there were "not ſo many People killed as before; and it ſeems not "a little wonderful, that they did not purſue the Extirpation of theſe Animals for the Preſervation of the Inhabitants. It is obſerved here, that though the Elephant, "which is a very hot Creature, not only drinks out of "thoſe Ditches, but frequently goes into them to cool and "refreſh himſelf; yet the Crocodiles never venture to "attack him, which is ſuppoſed to be owing to the Bigneſs of the Creature; for it is obſerved, that the Crocodile is as cowardly as it is cruel."

Peter Vanden Broek tells us, that on the Coaſt of *Coromandel* the Crocodiles are very common in all the Rivers, inſomuch that the People are afraid to paſs them, or to go by Water; and this with great Reaſon, ſince while he was there, there were ſeveral, both Men and Women, devoured by them[z]. In the Iſland of *Java*, when the *Dutch* firſt viſited it, the Rivers were full of Crocodiles, and People were often devoured by them; yet the *Chineſe*, who lived in that Iſland, had the Secret of taming them, fatted, and afterwards killed and eat them; which will appear the leſs ſtrange, when we are told, that *Ariſtotle* relates the ſame Thing as done in his Time in *Egypt*[a]. In the Iſland of *Ceylon*[b] they are much infeſted with Crocodiles, which the *Portugueze* call *Lagartos*, they are generally about eighteen Feet long, and the Inhabitants of that Country report, that they have a Stone in their Head, which is a Specifick for all gravelly Complaints, and is even capable of diſſolving the Stone.

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[p] *Hiſt. Gen. des Indes, lib.* iv.

[q] *Ariſtot. de Hiſt. Animal. lib.* v. *cap* 33. *Herodot. lib.* ii. *Cteſias*, N° 27. *Ælian. var. in locis. Voſſius de Idolat. lib.* iii. *cap* 47.

[r] *Pliny. Nat. Hiſt. lib.* viii. *cap.* 25, 26. where he tells us, that *Marcus Scaurus* was the firſt who ſhewed at *Rome* in his Edileſhip a River Horſe, and four Crocodiles, ſwimming in a Pool or Lake made for that Purpoſe.

[s] *Memoires de l'Academ. Tom.* iii. *Part* iii. *p.* 161.

[t] *Strabo, lib.* xv. *p.* 696.

[u] *Idem. ibid.*

[w] *De Morib. Brachman. p.* 63. It is obſerved in this very Paſſage, that they paſs this River in *July* or *Auguſt*, and that this was the Winter Seaſon in thoſe Countries, which helps us to an eaſy Solution of the Miracle; for according to *Pliny*'s Account, the Crocodiles were than faſt aſleep in their Dens.

[x] *Voyages aux Indes par P. Colin. p.* 83. *Navarette Hiſt. de Chine, Tom.* ii. *p.* 395.

[y] *Voyages aux Indes*, 135.

[z] *Voyage de P. Vanden Broek, p.* 495.

The *Arabians* call this Creature *Temſa*, the *Perſians Nibenk*, the *Turks Lowi*, and the *Chineſe Tchen*; they all agree, that they are as long-lived as a Man; and this ſeems to account for their monſtrous Size, ſince I do not find, that what the Antients relate of their growing as long as they live is diſputed by the Moderns; and that in *India* they ſhould be larger than in any other Country, may be accounted for from two Cauſes, the firſt is, the Heat of the Climate, which is allowed to have a great Effect on ſuch kind of Animals; the ſecond is, the prepoſterous Reverence ſhewn to theſe deſtructive Creatures in many Places, by which they are preſerved to a greater Age, and conſequently arrive at a larger Size than in other Countries, where the People have Wiſdom and Reſolution enough to rid themſelves of theſe Monſters.

9. The *Ganges*, and as ſome antient Writers report, the River *Indus* alſo nouriſhes in it a Worm or rather Serpent, of a moſt ſingular kind, conſidering either its Form or its Properties; its Skin is of a dark blue, from whence it receives its Name *Cyonoeides*; it is in Length ſix Cubits; *Pliny* by ſome Error ſure in the tranſcribing, has ſixty Cubits, and is about two Feet round; it has but one Tooth in each Jaw, which is about four Inches long, with which laying hold of whatever Animal comes to drink at the River, whether Horſe, Cow, Camel, or Elephant, it pulls them under Water, and there tears to pieces and devours them, the Entrails only excepted[c].

This dreadful Creature is caught with a Hook hid under the Belly of a Sheep or Goat, and the Uſe made of it when dead, is to the full as ſingular as what is related of it while living. The Fiſhermen after it is caught hang it up by the Tail in the open Air, where, by the Heat of the Sun, in the Space of three Weeks it conſumes into a kind of Oil, which has this ſingular Quality, that it takes Fire of itſelf if expoſed to the Air, and is abſolutely unextinguiſhable. It was for this Reaſon, that the Emperors of *Perſia*, who were Maſters of the Provinces bordering upon the River *Indus*, and the *Indian* Princes, Succeſſors to *Sandracottus*, who were in Poſſeſſion of the ſame Provinces after the Succeſſors of *Alexander* quitted their Claim to them, reſerv'd all this Oil for their own Uſe, and employ'd it in Time of War to ſet the Gates of any City on Fire, which they intended to take by Storm[d].

This Serpent appears to have been at leaſt as ſtrong, and at the ſame time much more fierce, than the Crocodile; which, as we have heard, never ventur'd to attack the Elephant. The original Writer of this ſtrange Story was *Cteſias*[e], who was told it at the *Perſian* Court, where perhaps they had ſome ſuch Oil brought from the *Indies* with this Fable tack'd to it, to make it eſteemed more valuable; which, from numerous Inſtances we have ſhewn, was a common Artifice of theſe People to fright other Nations from making any Expeditions into their Country. The Reader may perhaps be ſurpriz'd at my ſuppoſing it poſſible, that there ſhould be any ſuch Oil; and therefore I think myſelf obliged to mention my Reaſon for it: Our Chymiſts have a Secret of making a black Powder which is called *Pulvis Infernalis*, that will take Fire by being expoſed to the open Air; and therefore, I ſee nothing abſurd in admitting, that there might be an oily Compoſition which had the ſame Quality. It is alſo certain, that the *Greeks* had a kind of Wild-fire of the ſame Nature, which they employ'd in burning the Ships of the *Saracens* when they block'd up the Port of *Conſtantinople*.

It is certain, that none of our modern Travellers mention any Thing, that has the leaſt Relation to this extraordinary Creature; but in all Probability, the Accounts given us by theſe antient Writers, took Riſe from ſome of thoſe Water Serpents that are common in the Mouths of moſt Rivers in the *Indies*, of which we have ſpoken before under the Head of Dragons, and of theſe great Numbers are brought down into the Sea on the Coaſt of *China*, as they are alſo by the Rivers that run thro' the *Terra Auſtralis*, or the *Southern Continent*, as we obſerv'd before in the Account given of Captain *Abel Taſman*'s Voyage for the Diſcovery of that Country; and if there be any Probability in the Arguments drawn by *Philoſtratus*, of the Likeneſs of *Æthiopia* to the *Indies*, from the Reſemblance between the *Nile* and the *Indus*, we might from hence infer, that there is a like Correſpondence between the Climates of the *Southern-Continent* and the *Indies*.

The ſame *Philoſtratus*[f], differs from other Writers as to this Serpent in ſeveral Circumſtances; firſt, he ſays, it is found in the River *Hyphaſis*, next he affirms it to be white; and laſtly, he ſays nothing of its Teeth or of its Fierceneſs. *St. Ambroſe*[g] mentions another very ſingular Worm in the *Ganges*, which he ſays looks at firſt like a long Pipe, with the Horns of the Animal appearing at one End; then it changes to a Sort of Worm, rolls itſelf up ſoon after in a Ball or Caſe, like that of the Silk-Worm, and when it comes out from thence, puts on the Appearance of a Butterfly. He adds, that from the Ball they draw a kind of Silk, of which are made the fineſt Stuffs in in the Country; but this too, if any ſuch Creature there be, is not known to the Moderns, which is the more extraordinary, becauſe it is generally believed that we are much better acquainted with the Manufactures of the *Indies* than the Antients; ſo that upon the whole, I am apt to ſuſpect, that this is no more than a miſtaken or erroneous Account of the Silk Worm.

It cannot, however, be amiſs, to preſerve all theſe Relations, becauſe however improbable or even incredible they may appear, yet it is not impoſſible, that there may be ſomething of Truth at the bottom, even of the moſt extravagant Relations. This at leaſt is certain, that for many Ages the *Indians* concealed not only the Sources of their Riches, but the Secret of their Manufactures, and eſpecially that of Silk, as we ſhall have Occaſion to ſhew at large; and it is no leſs certain, that in order to conceal them, they invented a Multitude of Fables, with which for a long Time they impoſed upon the World. One would ſuſpect that ſomething of this Spirit remains ſtill among the *Chineſe*, from the improbable Accounts that are given us by the Miſſionaries of that Country, and every thing in it; but more of this in its proper Place; at preſent, we have done with the Animals that inhabit the Water, and are next to examine the Volatiles of the *Indies*.

10. The Eagle is generally conſidered by all Naturaliſts as the *King* of *Birds*, which Title is ſuppoſed to have been beſtowed on this Creature for its ſuperior Strength, for the natural Terror that it ſtrikes into the whole feather'd Race, and for the Boldneſs of its Flight, in which it ſoars higher than any Bird whatever[h]. It was very poſſibly the Conſideration of theſe Properties, that induced *C. Marius*, when a ſecond Time Conſul, in the Year after the Building of *Rome* 650, and the Year before *Chriſt* 103, to ſuppreſs the Figures of the Wolf, the Minotaur, the Horſe, and the wild Boar, which hitherto (as well as the Eagle) had been borne on the Roman Enſigns, in order to ſubſtitute the Figure of the Eagle, with her Wings half diſplayed, in their Stead, as an Emblem more ſignificant than any, or than all the former, and more capable of exciting the Ardour, Courage, and Emulation of the Soldiers, than any that could be deviſed; and this Alteration of his was ſufficiently juſtified by the Event[i].

Pliny diſtinguiſhes ſix kind of Eagles, among which however he allows only one to be the true Royal Eagle, of which we are now to ſpeak. It is a very difficult Thing to aſſign the true Size of this Bird, becauſe the Records of Hiſtory, and the Experience of later Ages, do not very well agree. The Antients report, that the Eagle is very long-lived, ſo as to reach a full Century, and to grow as long as he lives, which, if certain, might induce us to believe what *Athenæus* tells us, that at the Inauguration of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, there were Eagles carried in the Proceſſion, the Wings of which, when extended, meaſured thirty Feet[k]. A modern Naturaliſt aſſures us[l], that not far from *Dreſden* in *Saxony*, an Eagle's Neſt was diſcovered, in which there were three young Birds full fledged, but not quite able to fly, tho' their Wings expanded reached ſeven Yards. But in the Memoirs of the Royal Academy at *Paris*[m], there is a large Account of a She-Eagle diſſected there, which falls very far ſhort of what is mentioned in the former Relations; for this Bird meaſured but two Feet nine Inches from the Beak to the Tail; the Extent of her Wings was but ſeven Feet, and the whole Weight of the Bird no more than ten Pounds. In all Probability this was a very ſmall Eagle, and perhaps not of any of thoſe Sorts mentioned by the Antients, who agree very well in their Accounts, and particularly in this, that the *Indian* Eagles excelled the reſt in Courage and Strength, and conſequently in Size.

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[a] *De Hiſt. Animal. Lib.* ix. *cap.* 1.

[b] *Gaſpar Baldeus*'s Deſcription of the Iſland of *Ceylon*, *chap.* 3.

[c] *Ælian Lib.* v. *cap.* 3.

[d] *Item ibid.*

[e] *In Indicis* No. 27.

[f] *In Vit. Apollon. Lib.* 3. *cap.* 1.

[g] *Hexameron Lib.* v. *cap.* 23.

[h] *Ariſtot. de Hiſt. Animal. lib.* ix. *Plin. Hiſt. Nat. lib* x. *cap.* 4. *Ælian. de Animal. lib.* ii. *Horat. lib* iv. *Od.* 3. *Natal. Com. Mytholog. lib.* i. *p.* 85.

[i] *Plin. Hiſt. Nat. lib.* x. *cap.* 4. Where he obſerves, that ſeldom or never any Corps of *Roman* Troops encamped with fewer than two Eagles. But *Ariſtomenes* had long before this borne an Eagle on his Buckler, as we are informed by *Pauſanias*, *lib.* iv. *p.* 319.

The ſame Writers obſerve, that this Bird has a very briſk Eye, which is fixed pretty deep in the Head, covered in ſome Meaſure by the Bone which projects over it, and ſtrengthened by a Membrane of a ſingular Texture, being made up of ſeveral ſmall Scales. The Ball of the Eye is of a bright Iſabella, and has all the Life and Beauty of a Topaz. The Tongue of the Eagle is not pointed like that of other Birds, but in a manner ſquare, of a ſort of cartilaginous Subſtance with two hard Points at the Bottom like the Barbs of the Head of an Arrow. The Wind pipe of this Animal is prodigiouſly ſtrong, and in breathing is diſtended to ſuch a Degree, as to be near two Inches in Diameter. Its Bones are very thick and hard, and have ſcarce any Marrow: Its Brain is ſaid to be of ſo hot a Nature, as when given in Powder to occaſion Madneſs: Its Blood is very thick, and in a Manner fibrous: Its Gall ſharp, penetrating, and capable of eating into whatever it touches, and its very Feathers are of ſuch a corroſive Quality, that they deſtroy, if mixed with them, the Feathers of the other Birds[n].

The Voracity of the Eagle is ſo great, that it requires a conſiderable Extent of Country to furniſh Prey ſufficient for his Subſiſtance; and hence it is obſerved, that two Eagles never live near each other. *Ariſtotle* and *Pliny* tell us, that when the young Eagles grow up and begin to fly, the old ones not only drive them from their Airies, but alſo force them to quit the adjacent Country[o]. Theſe voracious Birds not only prey on all Sorts of large Fowl, but hunt alſo Rabbits, Hares, Sheep, Goats, and Fawns, which they kill and carry away. We have an Account from *Ælian*[p], of an Eagle of extraordinary Size, which ravaged Part of the Iſland of *Crete*, and was ſo furious, that he hunted Bulls and Oxen, as well as ſmaller Creatures: The Manner in which he deſtroy'd them was this, he fixed his Talons betwixt their Horns, and then began to tear their Heads with his Beak, and often covering their Eyes with his Wings, the Creatures, mad and blind, ran as faſt as they were able, till they either fell over Precipices, or ſtuck faſt in ſome Moraſs, where the Eagle tore out their Bellies, and having thus killed them, devour'd them at his Leiſure.

As this Creature lives entirely on the Fleſh of Animals, he taſtes no Liquid but their Blood, and never drinks Water but when he is ſick. It is ſaid that the Stork is the only Creature able to reſiſt him; and in one of the old Poets we have a large Deſcription of a Battle between theſe Birds, in which, however, there is a greater Appearance of Imagination than Reality[q]. Other Animals are ſo fearful of the Eagle, that they tremble at his Cry; and even the Dragon is ſaid to retire for Shelter to his Den. The Sea Eagles hover over that Element, or over the Lakes, and darting with prodigious Force into the Water, ſeize the Fiſh in their Talons, carry them on Shore and devour them; it is for this Reaſon that the *Indians* proſecute them with a cruel and never ceaſing War, and are ſaid to deſtroy them with burning Arrows.

One of the moſt ſingular Qualities of this Bird is, the Capacity he has of beholding without Inconvenience the Sun in his Meridian Luſtre; and of this Property he is ſo jealous, as to deſtroy (if the Antients ſay Truth) ſuch of its Progeny as wink, when in their Neſts the old one turns their Heads toward the Sun[r]. But with reſpect to the young ones that are able to bear this Trial, the Eagles cheriſh them with as much Tenderneſs as any other Bird, and defend them with the moſt obſtinate Reſolution in caſe any Attempt be made to take them. They fly round their Neſt, and vary their Flights for the Inſtruction of their Young; and afterwards taking them on their Backs, they ſoar with them aloft in order to try their Strength, ſhaking them off into the Air; and if they perceive them too weak to ſuſtain themſelves, they with ſurprizing Dexterity fly under them again, and receive them on their Wings to prevent their Fall. The Eagle is ſuppoſed to be the only ſort of Bird indued with this kind of Inſtinct, and this ſerves to explain one of the boldeſt and moſt beautiful Similes in the Sacred Writings[s].

The young Eagle, perfected by ſuch Inſtructions, wings his Flight into the ſuperior Regions of the Air, and notwithſtanding his great Bulk, frequently ſoars out of Sight, flying always directly towards the Sun. Hence is derived the Fancy of the Poets, that *Ganymede* was carried by an Eagle up to Heaven, and there became the Cup-bearer of the Gods; and hence alſo another Notion took Riſe, that the Souls of Heroes were in like manner conveyed to the Celeſtial Regions[t]. It is pretended, that the true Reaſon why ſome of the young Eagles are not able to bear the piercing Light of the Sun is their having ſome Defect in their Eye-lids; for it is ſaid, that they are furniſhed by Nature with two Membranes for this Purpoſe, of one of which we have before ſpoken, which covers the Eye, and ſhuts out the Light entirely, the other of a thinner and more delicate Texture, which being drawn over the Eye, preſerves it from being any way injured by the ſtrongeſt Rays of Light[u]. It is however very remarkable, that in the Memoirs of the Royal Academy at *Paris* relating to the Diſſection of this Bird, there is nothing ſaid of this ſecond and thinner Membrane, though the Eye and the other ſcaly Membrane are very accurately deſcribed[w].

In this, however, all Writers antient and modern agree, that the Eagle is not at all incommoded by the Sun-beams, and that it is very probable he renews his Strength, or preſerves his Youth by towering ſo near that Fountain of Light and Heat. We are particularly told by ſome Writers, that once every ten Years he makes an unuſual Progreſs in his Journey, and that for this Reaſon: He finds his Wings and other Feathers heavy and unfit for flying, which induces him to riſe with all his Force, in order to reach as near the Sun as poſſible; and having thus heated his Plumage exceſſively, he drops at once into the Sea, after which all his Feathers fall off by degrees, and others ſucceed them[x].

Ælian aſſures us, that the Eagle is exceedingly grateful[y], an Inſtance of which he gives us in a Bird of that kind, which attended the great Conqueror *Pyrrhus* all his Life, and which he was wont to feed with his own Hand; and which after the Death of that illuſtrious Perſon, refuſed to take any Nutriment from another Hand, but choſe rather to ſtarve. He mentions likewiſe another Fact ſtill more remarkable, which is, that an Eagle flew into the Funeral Pile of one by whom it was brought up, and was there conſumed with the dead Body of his Benefactor.

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[k] *Deipnoſophiſt. lib.* v. [l] *Jonſton Theatr. Animal. Tom.* i. *p.* i. [m] *Memoirs de l' Acad. Royal des Sciences, Tom.* iii. *p.* ii. *p.* 89. [n] *Ariſtot. Plin. Ælian. ubi ſupra. Aldrovand. Ornithologia, lib.* ii. *cap.* 2. [o] *Ariſtot. de Hiſt. Animal. lib.* ix. *Plin. Nat. Hiſt. lib.* x. *c.* 4. [p] *Ælian. de Animal. lib.* ii. *p.* 39. [q] *Statius, Thebaid, lib.* iii. [r] *Plin. Hiſt. Nat. lib* x. *c.* 4. *Ælian. lib.* ii. *c.* 40. *Lucan. Civ. Bel. lib.* ix. v. 902. *Iſidor. Origin. lib.* xii. *c.* 7. *Ovid. Metam. lib.* viii. [s] This occurs in the Song of *Moſes*, where he thus deſcribes the March of the Children of *Iſrael* through the Wilderneſs. "As an Eagle ſtirreth up her Neſt, fluttereth over her Young, ſpreadeth forth her Wings, and beareth them "upon them: So the LORD alone did lead him, and there was no ſtrange God with him." *Deut.* xxxii. 11, 12. [t] *Vide Kippingum, Antiq. Roman. p.* 503, *& ſeq.* [u] *P. Ange, Traite d' Optique.* [w] *Memoirs de l' Academie*, as before cited. [x] *Bochart. Hieroz.* ii. *P. lib.* ii. *c.* 1. *& ſequen.* This is thought to be alluded to *Pſalm* ciii. 5. "who ſatisfieth thy Mouth with good Things: ſo that thy Youth is renewed like the Eagles." [y] *De Animal. lib.* ii. *cap.* 40.

Ariſtotle aſſures us [a], that the Eagle lives to a great Age, and is at laſt ſtarved to Death; the upper Bill growing over the under in ſuch a manner as that the Bird can receive no ſort of Suſtenance. In the *Perſian* Language the Eagle is called *Homai*, that is to ſay, the Royal Eagle, which is held in a manner ſacred throughout the Eaſt, becauſe they are perſuaded, that though this be the boldeſt and fierceſt of all Birds, yet it injures no Creature living, but feeds upon Bones that it finds in the Deſerts [a]. But we muſt have a care to diſtinguiſh this Royal Eagle from the Oſſifrage or Bone-breaker, which is another kind of Eagle that lives chiefly on Shell-fiſh, as alſo on Carrion, and is reported to have frequented Church-yards, and to have torn open the Graves in order to feed upon the dead Bodies.

It is neceſſary before we leave this Subject to mention the Eagle-Stone, or *Lapis Aëtites*, as it was called by the Antients. This was held to be found in the Eagles Neſt; and *Pliny* ſays [b], that there were generally two without, which the Eagle could not hatch. That Writer ſays there are four ſorts of Eagle-Stones, the firſt bred in *Africa*, ſmall and ſoft, with a little Piece of white Clay included within it, which had a very pleaſant Smell; and this was ſaid to be the Female Eagle Stone. The ſecond was found in *Arabia* of the Size of a Walnut, and of a reddiſh Colour; it had alſo a little Stone in the middle, and was accounted the Male. The third was found in *Cyprus*, which reſembled thoſe found in *Africa*, but was broader and flatter. The fourth was called *Taphiuſius* from the Region in which it was found, and was ſoft like Clay. Theſe Eagle-Stones, of which I have one before me, are in truth little bigger than a Hazle-Nut, of a greyiſh Colour, and have another Stone within them which rattles. They are light, and ſeem to be ſome kind of Vegetable petrefied, having a black Spot at one End, as if they had been broken off from a Stalk. *Pliny* ſays they were much eſteemed for their Medicinal Virtue, which conſiſted in making the Female of every kind of Animal go its full Time with Young. At the Time of Delivery, however, it was to be remov'd, for otherwiſe they held that the Creature could not be delivered; and this Notion prevailed in the laſt Century, when theſe Stones were ſold at a great rate; but at preſent ſuch Notions are out of Date, and conſidered as mere Fictions.

11. After the Eagle the Oſtrich was the Bird moſt conſidered in the *Indies* on account of its large Size, the Singularity of its Shape, and other extraordinary Qualities. The Antients thought its Neck and Head reſembled thoſe of a Camel, the Eyes ſparkling, the Beak blunt, and the Noſtrils very wide [c]. The Neck, the Head, and the Thighs of this Creature, are without Feathers; the Legs remarkably ſtrong, the Feet cleft or divided into two Toes. There were ſome Years ago no leſs than eight of theſe Birds exhibited at *Paris*, of which *M. Perrault* has given us a Deſcription. They were ſeven Feet high from the Ground to the Top of the Head, that is to ſay, four from the Flat of the Back to their Feet, and three from the riſing of the Neck to the Top of their Heads, from the Rump to the Head, the Neck being extended in a right Line from the Back, they were ſix Feet in Length. The Tail about a Foot, the Wing without the Feathers a Foot and a half, and with the Feathers three Feet. It is of the Feathers of the Oſtrich that the Plumes heretofore worn on the Helmet, and the Feathers now uſed in Hats, are made. As they grow on the Bird they are alternatively white and black, or black and grey.

Almoſt all other Birds have two ſorts of Feathers, one downy and ſoft to keep them warm, and defend them from Water; the other ſtrong and ſtiff, to aſſiſt them in flying. In the Oſtrich, however, it is quite otherwiſe; for tho' the Feathers of this Bird be long, yet the Subſtance is downy and ſoft, which, notwithſtanding, does not ſeem to keep them very warm, neither do they enable them to fly. There is another thing remarkable in their Feathers, becauſe they likewiſe differ therein from thoſe of other Birds. The latter have more of the feathery Subſtance on one Side of the Quill than on the other, and on both Sides ſo ranged, as to end in a kind of Point. In the Feathers of the Oſtrich the Quill runs directly through the middle, and the End is in a manner round. To apprehend this the better, it is neceſſary to obſerve, that the former kind of Mechaniſm is of great Uſe in flying, for theſe two Reaſons; firſt, that the Air reſiſts the Stroke of the Wing powerfully, and thereby enables the Bird to riſe; the ſecond, that the Air makes the leaſt poſſible Reſiſtance in the ſhutting of the Wing for the next Stroke, ſo that the Bird loſes little of that Advantage which he gained by the former Stroke. It is for the ſame Reaſon that the Quill extends to the very Extremity of the Feathers, ſo that the Wing forms a kind of Arch when expanded, by which means the Bird preſſes upon, and is ſuſtained by the Air gathered under it. But there is nothing of this kind obſervable in the Structure of the Feathers of the Oſtrich, which are not connected to each other, but lie looſe on each Side of the Quill, and are not at all ſtiff or gummy like thoſe of other Birds.

Hence *Ariſtotle* long ago obſerved [e], that the Feathers of the Oſtrich reſembled more the Hair of Beaſts than the Plumage of other Fowls, that is to ſay, were rather contrived to cover the Body, than to aſſiſt the Bird in her Flight. To ſay the Truth, this Animal, as *Ariſtotle* rightly obſerves, is incapable of riſing itſelf from the Ground; but then it runs at a great rate, ſo that they hunt it with Grey hounds, the Huntſmen mounted on fleet Horſes bred on purpoſe to the Sport.

The Antients were of Opinion, that the Wings of the Oſtrich was one great Cauſe of its Swiftneſs; but the *French* Author before cited has taken a great deal of Pains to ſhew, from the Structure of the Feathers, that they cannot poſſibly have any ſuch Effect, becauſe they are intirely deſtitute of the Qualities requiſite for that Purpoſe, which though contrary to the Sentiments of antient Naturaliſts, was, however, a thing known long ago to ſome of the Curious [f]. It has been likewiſe aſſerted, that the Oſtrich had an Inſtinct in gaining the Wind, which by ſwelling its Wings forced the Creature along at a great rate; but modern Experience contradicts this likewiſe, and it is generally affirmed, that this Bird very ſeldom runs with the Wind, but on the contrary is often in danger of falling, by running oppoſite thereto when the Gale is briſk. It is notwithſtanding generally allowed, that the Oſtrich throws Stones behind her in her Flight with equal Agility and Force.

The Inſide of this Animal is to the full as curious and remarkable as the Out. The Stomach of this Bird is about fifteen Inches long, and eight wide, ſeparated by a muſculous Piece of Fleſh, which, in the Middle, may be two Inches thick, or ſomewhat more. In theſe two Cavities were found conſiderable Quantities of Graſs, Hay, Barley, Beans, Bones, and Flints, ſome of which were of the Bigneſs of a Hen's Egg, together with ſeventy Pieces of little Copper Money, of the Size of our Farthings. The greater Part of theſe were Three-fourths conſumed by their rubbing one againſt another, and againſt the Flints, and not by any acid Spirit which had corroded them; which manifeſtly appeared from hence, that whereas one Side was quite ſmooth and poliſhed, by continually rubbing; the other, being preſerved by its lying hollow, had the Impreſſion quite fair.

All that was contained in the Stomach of the Creature, whether Stones, Bones, or Beans, were all over of a greeniſh Colour. The antient Naturaliſts, therefore, had certainly no Idea of the true Manner in which Stones, Iron, and ſuch like Things were conſumed in the Stomach of the Oſtrich, ſince, they plainly aſſert, that this was done by ſome particular Quality in the Juices; ſo that, as the Stomachs of other Creatures were fitted for the Digeſtion of Fiſh, raw Fleſh, and Bones, that of the Oſtrich had the peculiar Power of conſuming Metals and Stones. For, if the Stomach of this Animal had any ſingular or particular Quality of digeſting Metals, they would, moſt certainly, be digeſted in the ſame Manner as other

[a] *De Hiſt. Animal. lib.* ix. *cap.* 1. [a] *Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. p.* 456. [b] *Hiſt. Nat. lib.* x. *cap.* 3. *lib* xxxvi. *cap.* 21. [c] *Ariſtot. de Part. Animal. lib.* iv. *cap* 14. *Pliny Hiſt Nat. lib.* x. *cap.* 1. [d] *Memoires de l' Academie, Tom.* iii. *p.* iii *p.* 113. [e] *De Part. Animal. ubi ſupra.* [f] *Ariſtot. de Hiſt. Animal lib* iv. *cap.* 4. yet as to its prodigious Swiftneſs, the Author of the Book of *Job* obſerves, xxxix. 18. "When the Oſtrich lifteth herſelf on high, ſhe ſcorneth the Horſe and his Rider."

Food is digeſted, that is, by melting and diſſolving them into a Liquid; whereas Experience ſhews us, that this Operation is performed in the Stomach of the Oſtrich in the ſame Manner as it would be performed out of it, if Pieces of Copper were to be rubbed and bruiſed with a Mixture of acid Herbs, and by the Help of rough Bodies. It is, therefore, highly probable, that the Oſtrich, being a voracious Animal, has occaſion to ſwallow hard Things to aſſiſt in bruiſing and conſuming its Food, and that abuſing this Inſtinct of Nature, it ſwallows Iron and Copper, which inſtead of anſwering that Intention, becomes poiſonous, and turns to the Deſtruction of the Animal. This ſeems to be put quite out of Diſpute, by a Fact which has been atteſted by thoſe who have the Care of the *Menagerie* at *Verſailles*, who affirm, that when the Oſtriches kept there, have ſwallowed conſiderable Quantities of Copper and Iron, they have died ſoon after; and therefore they have had Orders given them to hinder People from throwing Nails or Pieces of Copper to theſe Birds[g].

The hot Conſtitution of this Creature, may be very well ſuppoſed to contribute not a little to its Fruitfulneſs. The Oſtrich lays, generally ſpeaking, Fourſcore Eggs in a ſhort Space of Time, each of them weighing twelve or fifteen Pounds, ſo that one is ſufficient to ſerve ſix or ſeven People for a Meal[h]. The Shell of theſe Eggs is very near as hard as a Stone, ſo that it cannot be for fear of breaking them, that the Oſtrich abandons them, and leaves them to be hatched by the Heat of the Sun, as the common Opinion is; but either from Forgetfulneſs, as ſhe lays every Egg in a different Place, or from a certain kind of Inſtinct, which is therefore made a very proper Symbol of Cruelty[i]; not that it is really ſo in itſelf, becauſe the young Oſtriches do not ſtand in Need of their Parents Care: But that it appears ſo in the Eyes of Men; and by Compariſon with the Tenderneſs of other Animals, and of other Fowls eſpecially.

The Fact, upon which this Obſervation is grounded, is ſufficiently made out by the Multitude of Oſtriches that are ſeen in thoſe Countries where they inhabit. Such as ſeveral Iſlands in the *Eaſt-Indies*, a great Part of *Arabia*, *Syria*, *Africa*, and *South-America*, in all which Countries there are large Deſerts, in which they multiply exceedingly.

The *Arabians* are ſaid to be ſo credulous, that, as an eminent Traveller informs us, they are content to believe that the Oſtriches hatch their Young by looking at them. I will give the Reader the Story in his own Words. "We "read (ſays he) in an old *Arabian* Manuſcript, that when "this Fowl would hatch her Eggs, ſhe does not cover "them as other Fowls do, but both the Male and Female "contribute to hatch them by the Efficacy of their Looks "only; and, therefore, when one has Occaſion to go to "look for Food, it advertiſes its Companion by its "Cry, and the other never ſtirs during its Abſence, "but remains with its Eyes fixed upon the Eggs, till "the Return of its Mate, and then goes, in its Turn, to "look for Food: And this Care of theirs is ſo neceſſary, "that it cannot be ſuſpended for a Moment, for if "it ſhould, their Eggs would immediately become "addle[k]."

This Story, no doubt, is fabulous; but why do I ſay ſo, when, at the Bottom, the *Arabians* believe no more of it than we do? In reality, it is no more than a parabolical Fiction, to expreſs the perpetual Attention of Providence, in which the Egg repreſents the Univerſe, and the parental Inſpection of the Oſtrich, the continual Interpoſition of the Father of all Things for its Preſervation. Thus, in the Letter, this Story is idle and fooliſh, and ſo are moſt Fables; but the Interpretation or Moral is noble and juſt.

The *Ethiopians* eat the Eggs of this Bird, and eſteem them the moſt exquiſite Food that can be, and the common People eat the Fleſh of the Oſtrich in all Countries where they are found; though it is admitted, that it is dry, and very indifferent; but there muſt, probably, have been ſomething very exquiſite in the Reliſh of its Brains, ſince the Emperor *Heliogabalus* cauſed ſeveral Plates filled with this Sort of Food to be ſerved at one of the Entertainments that he gave to the Nobility of *Rome*[l], of which it was common for him to ranſack the whole Empire for Dainties. We learn alſo from *Ælian*[m], that to the Time in which he wrote, the *Indian* Princes eſteemed the Brains of the Oſtrich one of the greateſt Delicacies their Country produced.

12. The Phœnix is the Theme on which the *Greek* Writers ſeem to have exhauſted their Eloquence; and that with ſo good Succeſs, as, in ſome meaſure, to have impoſed on the wiſeſt of the *Latin* Writers. The Author of this Fiction, at leaſt, as high as we are able to trace it, was *Herodotus*[n]; and yet he does not deſerve to be treated as a fabulous Writer, for what he has left us upon this Subject, ſince he acknowledges fairly, that he knew nothing more of this Bird than from Report and from Picture. On his Authority, however, the Story was ſo often repeated, that, by Degrees, it gained Credit with the Learned as well as the Vulgar, inſomuch that *Pliny*[o] gives us a long and plauſible Account of it.

"The Birds of *India* (ſays he) are moſt of them of "different Colours and ſuch as a Man can hardly deſcribe. But the Phœnix is the moſt noble of all; neither "know I whether it be a Fable or a Truth, that there is "but one in the World, and that but rarely ſeen. It "is ſaid to be of the Size of an Eagle, its Neck as "refulgent as Gold, the Body of a deep Purple, the "Tail compoſed of blue Feathers, mixed with red, the "Head adorned with a beautiful Tuft of different Colours. *Manilius*, a noble *Roman* Senator, diſtinguiſhed "by his Excellence in every kind of Learning, was the "firſt who wrote at large of this ſingular Bird; and by "him it is reported, that the Phœnix is never ſeen to "eat: That, in *Arabia*, this Bird is held ſacred to the "Sun, that he lives Six hundred and ſixty Years, and "that finding himſelf old and beginning to decay, he "builds himſelf a Neſt with the Twigs of *Caſſia*; and "having filled that Neſt with Frankincenſe and other "Aromatics, he therein expires. But from his Bones and "Marrow is produced a little Worm, which, in Time, "becomes a young Phœnix; and the firſt thing it does, "is to celebrate the Funeral of its Parent, by transferring the whole Neſt to the City of the Sun, which is "near *Panchaia*, and leaving it there upon the Altar. The "ſame *Manilius* reports, that the great Year agrees exactly with the Term of this Bird's Life, when the heavenly Bodies return to their firſt Points, and the Seaſons revolve again in their former Order, this Year "commencing at *Noon*, when the Sun enters the Sign "*Aries*. According to his Computation, therefore, this "great Year began when *P. Licinius* and *M. Cornelius* "were Conſuls; but *Cornelius Valerianus* writes, that "*Quintius Plautius* and *Sextus Papinius* being Conſuls, "the *Phœnix* appeared in *Egypt*. It is alſo ſaid, that this "Bird was brought to *Rome* when *Claudius* was Cenſor, "that is, in the Year of the City Eight hundred, and was "openly ſhewn in a full Aſſembly, as the publick Records atteſt; but in this reſpect falſely, nobody at this "Time doubts."

Such is the Account given us by *Pliny*; yet in ſuch general Eſtimation was this Story grown, that Pope *Clement*[p] in his Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, written in the Name of the Church of *Rome*, makes uſe of this Hiſtory of the Phœnix to prove to them the Poſſibility of the Reſurrection; the Paſſage is very curious, and therefore I ſhall tranſcribe it for the Entertainment of the Reader. "Let "us (ſays he) conſider that Prodigy which happens in the "Eaſt, where they behold a certain Bird called the Phœnix, "which is the ſingle Bird of its Species. This Animal "lives five hundred Years, and when it perceives its End "approaching, it makes a Neſt of Myrrh, Incenſe, and "other Aromatics, in which it ſeats itſelf, and after a

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[g] Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Sciences, as before cited.

[h] *Ælian. lib.* ii. *cap* 27. and all the modern Travellers thro' Countries where theſe Birds are common.

[i] *Bochart. Hieroz. p.* 1. *lib* ii. *cap.* 3. Lamentations of *Jeremiah* iv. 3. "The Daughter of my People is become cruel, like the Oſtrich in the Wilderneſs."

[k] *P. Vanſlebe, Relat. d'Egypt. p.* 103.

[l] *Lampridius in Heliogabalo.*

[m] *De Animal. lib* xiv. *cap.* 13.

[n] *Lib.* ii. *Solin. Polyhiſt. cap* 33.

[o] *Nat. Hiſt. lib.* x *cap.* 2.

[p] *S. Clem. Epiſt.* 1. *N.* 25.

“ certain time there, finiſhes its Days. Out of its Fleſh when corrupted, there ſprings a kind of a Worm, which feeding for ſome time on the Remains of this Animal, begins at length to be covered with Feathers; and when it becomes ſtronger it carries away the Neſt, which contains the Relicts of its deceaſed Parent, and paſſing from *Arabia* into *Egypt*, bears them to the City of *Heliopolis*. There in full Day, and in the Sight of a Multitude of Spectators, it flies to the Altar of the Sun, and having thereon depoſited its Burden, immediately retires. The *Egyptian* Prieſts having conſulted their Annals, and having from them made an exact Computation, find, that this happens preciſely at the Cloſe of five hundred Years.”

This Fable was not only current in *Italy*, but in *Africa*, as appears from the Writings of *Tertullian*[q], who makes uſe of this Example with the ſame Intention as St. *Clement*. The Ancients, however, differed much about the Manner in which the Phœnix died. According to the former Accounts, it expired in the ordinary way; but a Multitude of Writers affirm, that having raiſed its funeral Pile, it ſet Fire thereto, and fanning that Fire with its Wings, was therein conſumed to Aſhes, out of which Aſhes aroſe the new Phœnix thus conſecrated to the Sun[r]. The Date of its Life was a Point no leſs controverted. An *Ethiopian* Prince, in a Letter of his to a Pope, cited by *Voſſius*, ſays, that it lives three hundred Years. *Herodotus*, *Ælian*, *Philoſtratus*, and *Aurelius Victor*, extend the Term of its Life to four hundred and forty, or five hundred Years[s]. *Pliny*, on the Authority of *Manilius*, as we have ſeen before, to ſix hundred and ſixty. *Martial* and *Lactantius* to a thouſand; but the *Arabian*, *Egyptian*, and *Rabbinical* Writers, far beyond this, in conſequence, as they pretend, of its not having taſted the forbidden Fruit[t].

In the midſt, however, of theſe Contradictions, and though ſeveral of the ancient Authors freely profeſs their Suſpicions of the whole Story, yet *Tacitus*[u] does not ſeem to queſtion the Fact, but rather to admit, that ſuch a Bird had been ſometimes ſeen in *Egypt*; and another Hiſtorian ſays, that its coming to *Rome* was conſidered as an ill Omen by the Augurs, and thought to portend the Death of the Emperor *Tiberius*. Father *Martinius*, in his *Chineſe Atlas*[w], aſſures us, that it was ſeen in *China* in the Beginning of the Reign of *Kahoar* IV. and that it was thought to come from the *Indies*. All the Circumſtances of the Story are ſo apparently fabulous, that it would be loſing time to refute them. If the curious Reader has a mind to ſee this done effectually he may conſult Sir *Thomas Browne*[x], who has handled this, as he does every other Subject, with great Learning and Capacity; but I have choſen rather to inſiſt on the Facts reported by ancient Writers, than to enter into a Detail of Arguments, which would extend this Article to an extravagant Length, and be at the ſame time quite beſide the Purpoſe.

It may not be amiſs, however, before we conclude, to ſay ſomewhat of the Origin of this Fable, which ſome have imagined aroſe, or was at leaſt ſtrengthened by the ſame Word, ſignifying in *Greek* both the Phœnix and the Palmtree[y]. Thus much is certain indeed, that a miſtake of this kind has brought this Bird into the Scriptures, the Authority of which can never be brought to juſtify ſuch Fables, though ſome, to ſhew their Learning, are for finding in them whatever Facts or Reaſons they have a mind to eſtabliſh. The true Source, however, of this Notion, lay like that of the Gryphon in the *Egyptian* Hieroglyphicks. It was from the *Egyptians* that *Plato* and the reſt of the Ancients borrowed their Notion of the great Year which they never fully underſtood; and the Reigns of their ſeveral Gods, which have given ſo much Trouble to our moſt learned Chronologers, were in truth no more than the Periods of the Planets, that is to ſay, the Spaces of Time in which they finiſhed, according to the *Egyptian* Syſtem, their Revolutions; and this is the true Cauſe why, after all the Pains that have been taken about them, the Accounts we have are almoſt as perplexed as ever.

The true Story of the Phœnix, though applied by the Chriſtian Fathers to the Reſurrection, was by the ancient *Egyptians* underſtood of another ſort of Reſurrection; for they conceived, that when the great Year of all was accompliſhed, the Univerſe was to be deſtroyed by Fire, and a new Syſtem ariſe out of the Ruins of the old. This I conceive they borrowed from the *Indians*; at leaſt thus much is certain, that this was, and ſtill is, a Principle of their Philoſophy, which, as the learned Dr. *Burnet*[z] of the *Charterhouſe* well obſerves, they explained by another Symbol, *viz.* that of a Spider, which after ſpinning various Webs, reſumes them again all into himſelf, and re-produces the ſame Matter under other Forms; and thus Philoſophical Similitudes, which imperfectly expreſſed what Reaſon could ſcarce comprehend, came by the Miſtakes of vulgar Minds to corrupt natural Philoſophy, by introducing imaginary Creatures, which never had, or could have, Exiſtence according to the Laws of Nature.

13. After the Fable of the Phœnix had been rejected by almoſt all the Learned, it was again in ſome meaſure reſumed by the great *Julius Cæſar Scaliger*[a], a Man, whoſe Eminence in all kind of Learning gave him ſo high a Reputation in the World, that his Opinions were received as a kind of Oracles. He thought that the Accounts given of a certain Bird found in the Southern Countries of the *Indies*, called *Semenda*, or *Semendal*, had ſome Relation to the Phœnix, and that conſequently all that had been advanced in relation to this Bird was not abſolutely falſe and fictitious.

In order to judge the better of this, it will be requiſite to enter into the Deſcription of this laſt mentioned Bird, and ſee how far it accords with that of the Phœnix. The *Semendal* is ſaid to have a triple Bill, or three Bills raiſed one over another, by the Help of which, when ſhe is near her Death, ſhe makes a moſt delightful Harmony. Then forming a Pile of odoriferous Wood, ſhe ſets fire thereto, and fanning it with her Wings, ſuffers herſelf to be conſumed to Aſhes, out of which a Worm is produced that afterwards changes into the ſame kind of Fowl[b].

This is viſibly nothing more than the old Fable a little varied, and yet it is true enough, that there is in the Iſland of *Java*, and in the Spice Iſlands belonging to the *Dutch*, a kind of Bird that has two Bills, and therefore is called by the Inhabitants the *Double Bill*; but as to its ſinging, I find no Evidence to that Point. As it is a Native of the *Moluccas*, it is very probable that it may make its Neſt of Spices; but that it conſumes itſelf therein there is no good Teſtimony to prove, notwithſtanding what the ſingle Traveller, on whoſe Relation the original Fact is grounded, has advanced[c].

It may indeed be alledged, that ſome Eaſtern Writers have countenanced this Notion by their Relations[d]; but then we know that ſuch Accounts as theſe are liable to great Suſpicions, and eſpecially to that of giving an Air of Matter of Fact to Parables. On the whole therefore, there is juſt as little Reaſon to credit the modern Story of the Semendal, as to yield any Belief to what the Ancients have related concerning the Phœnix, or to expreſs the thing plainly, and in few Words, they are both Fables equally deſtitute of Foundation. It is very hard to diſcover the Motive why even the greateſt Men are unwilling to give up Authority, when it is directly contrary not only to Reaſon, but the Laws of Nature; and yet that this is frequently the Caſe, many Inſtances might be brought to prove, but this before us is more than ſufficient; and therefore I ſhall trouble the Reader no farther upon this Subject.

What has been already ſaid was neceſſary to ſhew, that no Pains have been ſpared to examine theſe Points, and to ſet the Truth in a fair Light, which was thought the more requiſite, becauſe moſt Writers of Voyages are ſo much inclined to report ſtrange and wonderful things, and to call in to their Aſſiſtance the Relations of the Ancients, that without the Aid of ſuch clear and explicit Commentaries as we have given, it is ſimply impoſſible to cure the Minds of many People of that ſort of ſuperſtitious Credulity which theſe kind of Relations naturally induce. And with the Refutation of which, we ſhould have been forced to interrupt the Thread of ſubſequent Voyages, if we had not once for all diſpatched the Subject in this and the foregoing Chapter.

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[q] *De Reſurrect. Carn. cap.* xii. *p.* 387. [r] See this Matter largely diſcuſſed in Father *Harduin*'s Annotations upon *Pliny*. [s] *Voſſius de Idol. lib.* iii, *cap.* 99. [t] *Bochart. Hieroz. p.* 11. *lib.* vi. *cap.* 5. [u] *Annal. lib.* vi. *cap.* 28. [w] *Atlas Sinen. p.* 384. [x] Vulgar Errors, Book iii. Chap. xii. [y] *Bochart. Hieroz. ubi ſupra.* The *Greek* Word is Φοῖνιξ, it occurs in *Job* xxix. 18. as alſo in the *Pſalms*. [z] *Archæolog. Philoſ. p.* 31. [a] *Scalig. Exercit.* 223. [b] *Cardan. de ſubtilit. lib.* x. *e navigat. Nicola Contii a Poggio data.* [c] Sir *Thomas Brown* aſſerts, that he had himſelf ſeen ſome of the Bills or Beaks of theſe wonderful Birds, yet he declares againſt the Notion of the Phœnix. Vulgar Errors, Book iii. *c.* 12. [d] *Apud Bochart. Hieroz. p.* 823.

14. The Pelican is a very ſingular Bird, concerning which the Ancients have written largely, and yet there have been very great Diſputes among the Moderns as to the Bird which they have deſcribed, the Reaſon of which, as well as of the Fables current about this Creature, will quickly appear. *Ariſtotle*[e] and *Ælian*[f] call it by the ſame Name, *viz.* Pelican, or Pelecan; but *Pliny* deſcribes it under the Name of *Onocrotalus*[g], yet their Accounts agree ſo exactly, that there ſeems to be no Reaſon to doubt they meant one and the ſame Bird. The Author laſt mentioned tells us there is but one thing remarkable in this Creature, which is, that it has a falſe Stomach, into which it ſwallows its Prey when firſt taken, and throws it out again from thence in order to feed upon it.

There are ſome of theſe Birds that live moſtly on Land, and others that reſort conſtantly to the Waters; yet the Figure of both is the ſame. There were ſeveral of them kept for many Years in *France*, and in the Memoires of the Royal Academy of Sciences, we have a very diſtinct Account of them. According to their Deſcription the Pelican is five Foot high from the Beak to its Feet, the Wings when extended eleven Feet from one Extremity to the other. Their Beak about fourteen Inches in Length, and an Inch and an half broad at the End, its Legs fifteen Inches, the longeſt of its Claws four Inches and a half, the Length of its Neck about ten Inches[h].

There is ſcarce any Bird except the Eagle of ſo great Strength as the Pelican, which is alſo a Bird of Prey, and flies to a great Height. *Culmanus*, in a letter of his to *Geſner* the famous Naturaliſt[i], tells us of a tame Pelican that ſoared ſo high as to appear in the Air no bigger than a Swallow, and which having for a long time attended the Army of the Emperor *Maximilian*, that Prince ordered it to be maintained, and allowed for that Purpoſe four Crowns a Day, which Bird lived in *Germany* fourſcore Years. This Fact is the more credible, becauſe in the Menagery of *Lewis* XIV. there were many Pelicans, and it was obſerved, that they were the only kind of Birds of which there died not one in the Space of twelve Years. Two of them were by Order of that Prince diſſected at *Paris*. The firſt was intirely covered with white Feathers, except the Wings, in which there were ſome black, and others brown; and in the Feathers on the Body there was a little Mixture of red. The other was altogether of a Fleſh Colour, without any Mixture of black or white Feathers. Some of the reſt of the Pelicans in the Menagery were all over grey, except the Extremity of their Wings, which was white. Some had a large Tuft of Feathers behind the Head, and ſome wanted that Tuft, ſo that it may be affirmed there are few Birds more differently feathered than this.

But there is one Mark which ſufficiently diſtinguiſhes this Bird from all others: It has under its Beak a large Bag which is quite naked, and hangs down on its Neck. In this Pouch it keeps its Food till it is properly prepared for Digeſtion, and then if there be nothing hard or undiſſolved, it ſwallows the whole at once; but if there be, it diſcharges it, and picks out what is eaſieſt for Digeſtion. *Ariſtolle*[k] had obſerved this long ago; for he tells us, that the Water Pelican was wont to ſwallow Shell-fiſh, keeping them in her Stomach till they opened, and then threw them up and picked out the Fiſh. *Ælian*[l] ſays the ſame thing, which ſufficiently proves that we are not miſtaken as to this Bird, but that the Pelican known to us is the very ſame Creature which is deſcribed by the Ancients.

The old Fathers of the Chriſtian Church exceeded the *Greeks* themſelves in the Fables they reported upon this Subject; they had heard that the Pelican fed her young ones out of this Pouch, or falſe Stomach; and thi being told them either imperfectly, or with Addition of ſome fabulous Circumſtances, they from thence framed a Parable or Similitude between this and the moſt ſolemn Myſtery in the Chriſtian Religion; and to render it the more apt, they deviſed new Circumſtances, and inlarged every Part of the Story to make it anſwer their Intention the better. The Tale then ran thus; that the Female Pelican killed her young ones by careſſing them too much with her Beak, and then mourned over them for three Days, till the Male Pelican becoming ſtill more ſenſible, tore his Breaſt open with his Beak, and by the Effuſion of his own Blood, reſtored the young Pelicans to Life[m]. This, without Queſtion, is very wild and extravagant, and has nothing to countenance it in the Works of any of the Naturaliſts; whence the learned *Voſſius*[n] very juſtly concludes, that theſe Stories were invented by ſuch as were in Love with Alluſions and Hieroglyphics.

We find in the Writings of a very learned *German* Author, whoſe Name is *John-George Volkamer*[o], that he ſaw at the Fair of *Leyden* a Pelican, which the Man who kept it affirmed to have been in his Cuſtody upwards of fifty Years. It was much larger and ſtronger than an Eagle, but otherwiſe very like it both in Size and in the Colour of its Feathers, except that from its Head to its Wings it was grown quite white through Age; he aſſures us, that of all Birds it lives the longeſt, that it renews its Feathers like the Eagle, and that it often ſurvives to upwards of an hundred. He adds, that its falſe Stomach, which hangs upon its Neck, is big enough to admit one's Hand, and that he actually thruſt his own into the Pouch of the Pelican, where he felt the Food he had taken half diſſolved, and ſo hot that he was not able to endure it. He tells us likewiſe, that from thence it feeds its young ones. The Ancients having long ago obſerved the ſame thing, this, as I obſerved, gave the firſt Riſe to the Stories which have been told of this Bird's feeding its young ones with its Blood: yet in Fact there is nothing extraordinary in this, ſince the ſame thing has been obſerved of very many, and perhaps might be obſerved of moſt Birds who fill their Gizzards full of whatever they meet with when their Females are hatching, and diſgorge it again for the Support of the Hen and her Brood.

It is therefore through want of Attention to the Animals in our own Country, that we are ſo much ſtruck with the Singularities reported by Travellers of the Animals in other Countries; for without doubt, if we examined carefully what paſſes every Day under our Eyes, we ſhould not only be leſs apt to be ſurprized at ſuch Relations, but be alſo better able to judge how far they ought or ought not to be believed. It is in this Reſpect that the Study of natural Hiſtory is exceedingly uſeful, not only by guarding us againſt Credulity, but enabling us to correct the confuſed and diſcordant Accounts given us by ſuch as from a ſuperficial View of Foreign Creatures venture to deſcribe them, and often add ſuch Circumſtances from Hearſay as are not to be depended upon, but out of which an intelligent Naturaliſt will be able notwithſtanding to pick the Truth.

15. All who have viſited the moſt Southern Iſlands of the *Indies*, particularly *Sumatra*, *Banda*, and the reſt of the *Moluccas*, agree in relating ſome extraordinary Particulars of a very large Bird, common in thoſe Iſlands, and of which it does not appear that the Ancients had any Knowledge. This Bird the Natives call *Emeu*, but the *Dutch* uſually diſtinguiſh it by the Name of the *Caſoar*. This Creature is thus deſcribed by Mr. *John Nieuhoff*, a *Dutch* Traveller[p], very juſtly eſteemed for his Fidelity, and the Exactneſs of his Relations, and therefore I ſhall ſet down his Deſcription in his own Words.

“ This Bird, ſays he, carries his Head very upright,
“ and then it is about five Foot from the Ground; the
“ Length of his Body, from the Breaſt to the Tail, is
“ about three, or perhaps a little more. The Head ap-
“ pears ſmaller in Proportion than the Body, and is very

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[e] *De Hiſt. Animal. lib.* ix. *c.* 10.
[f] *De Animal. lib.* iii. *cap.* 20.
[g] *Hiſt. Nat. lib.* x. *c.* 47.
[h] *Memoirs de l'Acad. Tom.* iii. *p.* iii.
[i] *Geſner. Ornitholog. lib.* iii.
[k] *Hiſt. Animal. lib.* ix. *c.* 10.
[l] *De Animal lib.* iii. *c.* 20.
[m] *Phyſiolog. Epiphan. cap.* 8. *Aug. in Pſalm* ci. *Iſidor. Origin. lib.* xii. *c.* 7. *& Alii.*
[n] *De Idolat. lib.* iii. *c.* 84
[o] *Ephem. Nat. Decad.* iii. *An.* iv. *p.* 247.
[p] Travels through *India.*

ſmooth, and in Colour of a dark Blue; on the Cheſt there hang two Excreſcences like Bags: The Eyes are large and fierce, behind which are the Ear-holes, and almoſt at the Extremity of the Bill two Noſtrils: And from the Midſt of the Bill to the Crown of the Head grows a hard yellow Subſtance like a Cockle-ſhell, eſpecially in the Males. They have very long and groſs Legs, covered with a yellowiſh Rind; their Feet are thick, knobby, and without Spurs; inſtead of which they have on the Fore-part three long, horny Claws, in which they differ from the Oſtrich, whoſe Feet are cloven both before and behind. They are covered all over with Feathers, or rather Plumes of a dark Red, mixed with black: Theſe upon the Breaſt and Thighs grow two and two together; but thoſe on the Tail are of much greater Length, and ſtronger; underneath the Feathers which grow on both Sides, are hidden certain Pens, which ſerve them in running; for theſe Birds are ſcarce able to raiſe themſelves from the Ground. They are exceedingly greedy, devouring every Thing they meet with, even to Iron and burning Coals, all which they evacuate backwards without any Alteration; nay, they ſometimes do not throw out what they have eat till a Year after, without the leaſt Signs of any Digeſtion; for the reſt they live upon Herbage. Their Strength conſiſts in their Legs and Feet, and they run ſo faſt that no Man can overtake them; and when exaſperated, kick with their Feet backwards and ſideways like a Horſe. They lay greeniſh Eggs upon the Ground among the Shrubs, ſcarce ſo big as our Hen-eggs, ſpeckled with dark green Spots, the Yolks whereof are eaten by the Inhabitants. They have not either Tongue or Tail.”

This Bird was firſt ſeen in *Europe* in the Year 1597, when the *Dutch* brought home one on their Return from their firſt Voyage to the *Indies* [q]. It had been given them as a great Curioſity by one of the *Javaneſe* Princes, as a Mark of their Friendſhip; and the Deſcription of it having made a great Noiſe in the World, *Lewis* XIV. when he formed his Menagery at *Verſailles* had one ſent him in the Year 1671, by the Governor of the Iſland of St. *Lawrence* or *Madagaſcar*, who bought it of ſome Merchants who touched at that Iſland in their Return from the *Indies*. This was the firſt of its Kind that had been ſeen in *France*, and it lived at *Verſailles* about four Years. The King had afterwards ſeveral of theſe Birds ſent him, which gave the Members of the Royal Academy an Opportunity of examining and diſſecting ſome of them: The largeſt was five Foot and a half high, its Legs two Foot and a half, its Head and Neck a Foot and a half, the largeſt of its Claws five Inches long, and the Nail of its ſmalleſt Claw three Inches and a half. The Wing, which was compoſed only of five bare Quills, was ſo ſmall that it was entirely covered by the Feathers on its Back. The Head, Neck, and Cheſt of this Creature were abſolutely bare, and the reſt of its Body might be more properly ſaid to be covered with Hair than with Feathers: In all other Reſpects the Deſcription given by them of this Bird agrees exactly with that which we have before given, and therefore it would be tedious to repeat it, only it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that the Head and Neck are ſaid to have reſembled a Turkey-cock's, and to have been ſpotted with blue, violet, and red, a large Comb behind its Head and its Gills, inſtead of hanging immediately under its Beak, appeared on the Bottom of its Neck, where it joined the Breaſt. In its Size it came neareſt to the Oſtrich, and was, in every Reſpect, as greedy and voracious [r].

16. There are, beſides theſe, a great many remarkable Birds in the *Indies*, of which modern Travellers have given us very exact Accounts; and of theſe we will mention a few. The *Dronte* is a very ſingular Creature, and common in all the Southern Parts of the *Indies*. In Bigneſs it is betwixt an Oſtrich and a large Turky, and has ſome Reſemblance to the laſt, in his Feathers and Tail. His Head large, not unlike that of a Cuckow, but covered all over with a Skin. The Eyes are large and black, the Neck crooked and very thick, the Bill very long, thick, and of a pale Blue, except towards the Extremities; the uppermoſt thereof is blackiſh, and the undermoſt yellowiſh, but both Shape and Bent of his Body is very thick and round, covered with ſoft grey Feathers, like thoſe of an Oſtrich. The Belly and upper Parts are ſo thick as almoſt to touch the Ground, which is the Reaſon he is very eaſily caught. On both Sides he has certain Pens inſtead of Wings, of a pale Yellow Colour, and, inſtead of a Tail, five curled Plumes of the ſame Colour. His Legs ſhort and thick, with four large Claws. The Meat, eſpecially that on the Breaſt, is fat and pleaſant enough, and three or four of theſe Creatures afford a Meal for one hundred Perſons. In his Stomach is ſometimes found a certain porous hard Stone [s].

The Cormorant, which is very common in the Iſland of *Java*, and indeed in moſt Parts of the *Eaſt Indies*, ſeems to me to be the Water-pelican of the Ancients. They reſemble our Geeſe in Shape, but much exceed them in Size, and have underneath their Beaks a large Bag, which they can extend and draw together at Pleaſure, and in it keep ſuch Fiſh as they have ſwallowed. Their Feet are like thoſe of the Swan, and their Bills are crooked towards the Extremities. They are ſo greedy after Prey that they ruſh out from among the Flags with ſuch Violence, that they are eaſily taken. They ſwallow Oiſters with their Shells, and keep them in their Bags till they open, when they ſpew them up again, and pick out the Oiſter [t].

If we could depend upon the Accounts given us by the Miſſionaries of the Birds found in *China*, we might venture to yield implicit Credit to whatever the Ancients have delivered, their Stories of the Phœnix not excepted; for to ſay the Truth, the Miſſionaries affirm of their own Knowledge Things full as ſtrange; and we muſt either believe theſe or renounce their Teſtimony entirely. The Reader ſhall have an Inſtance of this from Father *Navarette* [u], and in his own Words, that we may not ſeem to juſtify the Truth of this Obſervation, by giving an extravagant Turn to what he relates.

“On the Sea-coaſts, ſays he, of the *Chineſe* Iſlands, there is a very ſingular Bird called *Tabon*; now what I, and many beſides me admire is, that being no bigger in Body than an ordinary Chicken, though its Legs are very long, it lays an Egg larger than that of a Gooſe; ſo that the Egg is really bigger than the Bird itſelf; and no Man living would judge that the Egg could be contained within it: In order to lay its Eggs, it digs in the Sand above a Yard in Depth; after laying, it fills up the Hole, and makes it even with the reſt; there the Eggs hatch with the Heat of the Sun and Sand. When the Chickens are hatched, by natural Inſtinct, they break through the Sand upwards; and ſo get out of that Dungeon their Parent put them into; then they walk directly to the Sea in ſearch of Weeds to feed on. Another Thing in it is wonderful, which is, that they are not ſtifled when they come out of the Shell with the Heat and Weight of the Sand, how they breathe till they get out, and how they have the Strength to break through ſo great a Weight. They are Prodigies of the Almighty's making. The *Indians*, to find theſe Eggs, ſtick ſharp Canes into the Ground; when they find the Sand light, they ſtop and throw it up ſomething above the Length of a Man's Arm, and there they find them. They are of a pleaſant Reliſh; one of them is enough for a Man who has a good Stomach; the ſtaler the Egg the better. One Morning, having been on ſhore, and near the Place where theſe Birds reſorted, we repaired thither carefully, and making a Noiſe, a great Company of them came out of their Holes, in which we found many Eggs, ſome hot, ſome cold, ſome white, ſome of the Colour, of the Sand, which were ſtale ones. I had before eaten of the latter, and now eat of thoſe that were freſh and warm; but, in truth, the ſtale ones were much better. There were

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[q] *Memoirs de J. le Blanc.*

[r] *Memoirs de l'Acad. Tom.* iii. *p.* 391.

[s] *Voiage aux Indes par J. le Blanc.*

[t] *Voiages de P. Vanden Broek.*

[u] *Hiſtory of China.*

“ among them ſome which had Chickens, and I obſerved, that the *Indians* eat them eagerly, and they courted me to eat, but I could not endure to look at them, and it went againſt my Stomach to ſee other People eat them. Once they preſſed me ſo much, that at laſt, not without great Averſion, I reſolved to taſte one ; I did ſo, and made an End of it, regretting very much that I had not eaten of them before. I muſt own, that, ſince I was born, I never eat any thing more pleaſant and palatable, and I am convinced, there is nothing in the World to compare to it.”

There may be, and doubtleſs there is, a great deal of Truth in this Relation ; that is to ſay, there is ſuch a Bird, its Eggs are very large, and they are eaten as the Author deſcribes ; but then every thing is ſo much exaggerated, that the whole has the Air of a Fable, which ſhews plainly to how little Purpoſe large Collections are made of ſuch kind of Writers, ſince what they relate cannot either entertain or inſtruct, becauſe it is impoſſible to read ſuch Stories without ſuſpecting and diſbelieving them. But to return to the remarkable Birds mentioned by the Moderns.

All the Writers that have mentioned *Macaſſar* inform us, that no Country in the World produces ſo many ſpeaking Birds. Amongſt theſe there is none more extraordinary than the *Lory*, which is as big as a Parrot, but infinitely more beautiful in its Plumage ; its Breaſt, which is very large and high, being covered with bright yellow Feathers; the Wings are green, the Head black, and ſhining with a yellow Bill. The *Indians* give ſometimes thirty Crowns for ſuch a Bird, becauſe they will learn and ſpeak ſeveral Languages, and are very tame. There is another with large and long Tails, ſometimes three quarters of a Yard long ; theſe are blue on the Back, and yellow under the Belly, and commonly called Kakkataws, or *Indian* Ravens. Another kind there is which is white all over, except a yellow Tuft on the Head, which they ſet upright when they are vexed : They have alſo ſome Reſemblance both in Shape and Bigneſs to our Magpies, or Black-birds ; theſe imitate a Man's Voice much more diſtinctly than Parrots, they are of a blueiſh Colour, mixed with dark purple Spots and Streaks ; they have a yellow Tuft on the Head, which is black, and as ſmooth as Velvet [w].

The Kokoy, which is common in the *Indies*, is a kind of Heron, but much exceeding ours in Beauty, being yellow before, and green over all the reſt of its Body. On the Head he has a delicate Plume ſpreading all over the Neck; the young ones eat tolerably well, but the old ones eat tough, and taſte much of Fiſh. The Kolibry is the leaſt of all Birds, being no bigger than a Horſe-Fly, it hath a very ſharp Bill, with which it ſucks its Suſtenance out of the Flowers, though ſome are of Opinion it feeds upon the Dew ; it has all the Colours of the Rainbow, and its Wings are not unlike thoſe of Pigeons or Ducks. It builds a very neat Neſt to the South, under the Branches of Orange, Lemon, or Cotton Trees, to defend itſelf againſt the Injuries of the North Winds. Its Eggs are no bigger than Peaſe. There is another which ſings exceedingly fine, but not ſo beautifully coloured ; it weighs no more than 24 Grains [x].

17. Theſe Obſervations plainly diſcover, that no Part of the World was better ſtocked with uſeful, valuable, and beautiful Creatures than the *Indies*. For domeſtic Service, beſides the Horſe and the Aſs, which are common with us in *Europe*, they had the Elephant, the Camel, and the Dromedary, fitted in every reſpect for carrying on the inland Commerce of that Country, which was in all Ages very conſiderable. They had for the Service of Agriculture a very ſtrong Race of black Cattle, and for the Pleaſure of Hunting, they had the fineſt Dogs that we read of in Hiſtory for Courage, Speed, and Strength. If their Woods were full of wild Beaſts, they had it in their Power to leſſen the Number of theſe Enemies ; and to turn this to their Profit, as well as to their Diverſion, the Skin, Horns, Teeth, or other Animal Productions, ſufficiently compenſating the Trouble they took, and the Dangers to which they were expoſed in the Chace.

The Sea that waſhed their Coaſt, and the Rivers that watered their Country, were abundantly provided with Fiſh, ſo that no People had either better or greater Plenty, which to the lower ſort was a great Relief ; they likewiſe drew a very conſiderable Profit from their Fiſheries, eſpecially thoſe of Purple and Pearl, and from the Sale of Tortoiſe-Shell, which was highly valued in thoſe Times for its admirable Clearneſs, and for the Beauty and Variety of its Colours. The Birds and Fowls in the *Indies* were likewiſe of all ſorts, and all of them the largeſt and fineſt in their reſpective kinds. The Birds of Prey, and particularly the Pelican and the Cormorant, were of great Service; for the former feeding naturally upon Snakes, Serpents, and other Vermin, cleared the Country of them in thoſe Months when they were moſt numerous and moſt dangerous ; and as for the latter, they taught them in *China*, and other Parts of the *Indies*, to catch Fiſh, and to bring them to ſuch as kept thoſe Creatures, as we ſhall ſee hereafter in its proper Place. As for Geeſe, Ducks, Hens, and other domeſtick Fowl, they were, and are ſtill as common and as cheap as in any Country in the World ; and of the beautiful Feathers of a Multitude of other Birds, they made Hats, Umbrellas, Screens, and other Utenſils of exquiſite Workmanſhip, and at the ſame time of great Price.

There is no great Wonder therefore, that all the antient Writers, ſuch as *Strabo*, *Pliny*, *Arrian*, *Plutarch*, *Ælian*, and many others, ſhould ſo highly extol this Country, and ſpeak of every thing found therein with Aſtoniſhment. But notwithſtanding all this, it muſt appear ſomewhat ſurprizing, that the Antients were acquainted with Animals, Trees, Fruits, and precious Stones, of the moſt diſtant Parts of the *Indies*, to which without doubt they never penetrated at all, notwithſtanding what we find reported in their Writings of the Iſlands of *Taprobana*, *Panchaia*, the Country of the *Seres*, and other Places, which renders it neceſſary for us to give a clear Account of that Point, which ſhall be done in the two ſucceeding Sections, which will conclude our Labours with reſpect to the antient Hiſtory of *India*.

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[w] *Hiſtoire de Macaſſar, lib.* i. *c.* 4.

[x] *Voyages de P. Vanden-Broek.*

SECT.

SECTION XV.

An Account of the Deſcriptions left us by the Ancients of the Eaſtern and Northern Parts of the Indies, *the Notions they had of their Riches, together with an Enquiry into the Reaſons which hindered the extending their Diſcoveries on that Side.*

1. *A brief Deſcription of the Country of the* Sinæ *or* Thinæ *from ancient Authors.* 2. *Obſervations on the foregoing Deſcription, proving, that this Country was the Kingdom of* Siam. 3. *Of the* Indian *Iſlands, as deſcribed by old Authors; and more particularly of the famous Iſland of* Taprobana, *and their Miſtakes about it.* 4. *This Point more particularly inquired into, and the* Taprobana *of the Ancients ſhewn to be no other than the Iſland of* Ceylon. 5. *Of the Country called* Serica, *and the Nation of the* Seres, *from the beſt Writers of Antiquity.* 6. *An Objection ariſing from the Knowledge which the Ancients had of the* Chineſe *fully ſtated, and clearly reſolved.* 7. *A ſecond Objection taken from the Commerce of the ancient* Chineſe, *ſtated and examined.* 8. *A third Objection from the ſeeming Diſcordancy of theſe Accounts, explained and refuted.* 9. *An Account of the Iſland of* Panchaia, *and a full Proof of its being abſolutely imaginary.* 10. *The high Ideas which the Ancients had of the Riches of the undiſcovered* Indies. 11. *Their Errors as to the Poſſibility of eſtabliſhing a regular Commerce with thoſe Countries.* 12. *The Cauſes which impeded their Diſcoveries, and occaſioned the Decline of that Trade which they actually had to the* Indies. 13. *The Concluſion of this Part of our Subject, with Obſervations and Remarks on the principal Paſſages therein.*

1. IN what has been delivered in the former Sections, we have confined ourſelves to ſuch Points as regard the actual Diſcoveries of the Ancients. But it is no leſs neceſſary to give the Reader ſome Account of another ſort of Diſcoveries, I mean ſuch as were made by their Geographers, who by the Help of ſuch Relations as were, from time to time, publiſhed of theſe diſtant Countries, and which are long ago loſt, compiled a ſyſtematical Account of the Regions bordering upon, and even thoſe that lay very far beyond the *Ganges*. It is however certain, that they were but very indifferently informed as to the Courſe of this River; and *Cellarius* [a] corrects the Miſtake of *Artemidorus* in *Strabo*, who ſays that, from the Mountains called *Emodi*, it runs South as far as the Town of *Ganges*, and afterwards Eaſt, becauſe it is contrary to the Diſcoveries of our Times.

The firſt remarkable Town mentioned by *Ptolemy* beyond the furthermoſt Mouth of the *Ganges* was *Pentapolis*, or rather this was the Name of a Diſtrict; next to that lay the Emporium, or Mart of *Baracura*, beyond the Mouth of the River *Toccoſanna*, then the Country called *Argentea*, with ſeveral Towns; next to that lay the Country of the *Biſyngetti*, who were Man-eaters, their Capital *Beſynga*, an Emporium. From hence Southward lay the *Aurea Cherſoneſus*, or *Malacca*. On the Weſt Side of it *Tacola*, an Emporium, and on the Eaſt Side the Cape *Malæi-Colon*, with ſeveral Towns [b]. Many are of Opinion, that this was *Solomon*'s *Ophir*, which ſeems to be favoured by *Joſephus* [c], who ſays, *Solomon*'s Veſſels ſailed into a Country of *India*, formerly called *Sophira*, but then the *Golden Land*; *St. Jerom* ſays, it was alſo in *India*, but calls it an Iſland.

Bochart [d] alledges it was the Iſland *Taprobana*, now *Ceylon*, and founds his Conjecture upon an Etymology. But *Cellarius* rejects as mere Dreams the modern Diſputes about *Ophir*, and ſees no juſt Cauſe why the latter Opinions ſhould be better than the former. He ſays, the Length of the Expedition mentioned in the ſacred Hiſtory ſhews, that *Ophir* muſt have been at a great Diſtance from *Paleſtina*, or the *Arabian* Gulph; yet he is not diſpleaſed that *Bochart* diſtinguiſhes betwixt the *Indian* and *Arabian Ophir*, becauſe the Gold of *Ophir*, mentioned in the Book of *Job* [e], could not, becauſe of the Ignorance of thoſe Times, be eaſily underſtood of the *Indian* Gold. *Bochart* places the *Arabian Ophir* near the Country of the *Sabæans*, and thinks the *Arabs* called the *Indian Ophir* by its Name when they diſcovered it. Beyond this *Cherſoneſus* to the North lay the Country of the *Læſtæ*, who were Pirates and Robbers. The River *Sobannus* runs through it. Next to that lay *Ptolemy's Sinus Magnus*, in which were *Balonga* and *Corgatha*, Metropolitan Towns; and here *Ptolemy* finiſhes the maritime Coaſt of *India* beyond *Ganges*. The inland Parts were ſo obſcure, that it is needleſs to inſiſt upon them by the Situation of the Country; theſe Places laſt-mentioned ſeem to have been in that Kingdom which is now called *Siam*.

2. The next Country deſcribed by *Ptolemy* is that of the *Sinæ*, which he places fartheſt towards the Eaſt of all the Regions mentioned by him, as lying beyond the great Bay or Opening of the Sea, which he ſtiles *Sinus Magnus*, and ſays, their Country extended very far to the South. It is well obſerved by *Cellarius*, that this Country is not to be confounded with the modern *China*, although it reaches as far North as *Serica* [f]. *Ptolemy* calls the Country beyond this to the Eaſt and South, *Terra Incognita*, and bounds it on the Weſt by *India* beyond the *Ganges*. He places about the Equator the *Ethiopes Ichthyophagi*, or Fiſh-eating *Ethiopians*, and beyond the Equator the River *Contiares* and *Catigara*, which he calls a Harbour of the *Sinæ*. *Martianus Heracleota* [g] places the *Sinæ* likewiſe at the Extremity of the habitable World towards the Eaſt, and next to the *Terra Incognita*, or Country to that time undiſcovered.

It muſt be allowed, that all this is very dark and very perplexed, ſo that it is extremely difficult to paſs any certain Judgment as to the Places mentioned. On the other hand, however, it ought to be conſidered, that even theſe dark and obſcure Accounts are infinitely better than the Fables that preceded them, and the ridiculous Stories that prevailed of theſe Countries and their Inhabitants in ſucceeding Times. If we compare what *Ptolemy* has written with the confuſed Accounts that *Pliny* has collected from ancient Authors, we may eaſily diſcern that one contented himſelf with Fables, and tranſcribed whatever came to hand, to ſhew a Variety of Reading, whereas the other examined very carefully ſuch Deſcriptions as he received from the Merchants that traded in theſe Countries, and by comparing them with each other, he gathered from them ſuch Lights as enabled him to draw up a ſhort and imperfect Account indeed, but at the ſame time ſuch an Account as appears very conformable to Truth; and would appear much more ſo, if the Manuſcripts of *Ptolemy* were not incumbered with ſo many various Readings, which renders it extremely difficult to come at the true Senſe of that learned Writer.

In the following Ages again, when *Science* once more gave way to *Fable*, the World was amuſed with wild and ridiculous Accounts of theſe Countries, and he who wrote the ſtrangeſt things was read with the greateſt Approbation.

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[a] *Geograph. Antiq. Tom.* ii. *p.* 747. The Paſſage in *Artemidorus*, which he corrects, is found in *Strabo. lib. xv. p.* 494. [b] *Geograph. lib.* vii. *cap.* 3. *Tab.* 2. *Aſiæ.* [c] *Antiquit. Judaic. lib* viii. *cap.* 2. [d] *Geograph. Sacr.* [e] Job. xxii. 24. xxviii. 16. [f] *Iſaac Voſſ. de ætate mundi, cap.* 11. *p.* 276, 277, advances an Opinion very probable and worthy of Notice, *viz.* that the *Sinæ* of theſe ancient Writers are the *Siameſe*. The very learned Biſhop *Huet* is for extending this Denomination to the *Tonquineſe*, the *Cochinchineſe*, &c. but I am for adhering to *Voſſius*'s Conjecture, becauſe *Ptolemy* owns all beyond theſe unknown. [g] *In Peripl. Maris Erythræi.*

For this is a certain and juſt Obſervation, that in Times of Ignorance, what is moſt wonderful is the beſt received, and that on the contrary in the learned Ages plain and unadorned Relations are the moſt eſteemed. The Deſign of *Ptolemy* was to improve, as far as he was able, that Branch of Knowledge, to the Study of which he had addicted himſelf, and not to report the Notions of other Men, who wrote for the ſake of ſeeming wiſer than the reſt of Mankind ; and therefore confidently ſet down as things certain what Fables ſoever they met with relating to theſe diſtant Parts of the World. But in *Ptolemy*'s Account, as we before noted, the true Method of treating the Subject is purſued, the Sea-coaſt diſtinctly deſcribed ; and if the Names only of a few Cities are mentioned, thoſe few ſeem to be all that from good Memoirs he was able to mention, ſo that the known and the unknown are not confounded ; but the Reader is clearly informed, that beyond ſuch a Tract theſe Eaſtern Countries are abſolutely undiſcovered, and therefore they were properly the Objects of future Inquiries.

This was the way, and indeed the only way of coming at real, certain, and uſeful Knowledge ; neither is it to be doubted, that the full Diſcovery of theſe Eaſtern Countries would have been purſued, if the Troubles and Diſturbances which overwhelmed the *Roman* Empire had not equally deſtroyed the Paſſion for exploring unknown Countries, and the Means of gratifying it. But beſides the Countries ſituated on the Continent, the Ancients had ſome Knowledge alſo of the Iſlands of *India*, partly from their own Commerce, and partly from the Reports of the *Indians*, with whom they traded on the Main; and therefore of theſe we are next to give ſome Account from the ſame Authorities.

3. *Ptolemy* places the Iſlands of the exterior *India* betwixt the Mouths of the *Indus* and *Ganges*. Thus, in the Bay of *Cembus* lies *Barace*, and from thence to the Bay of *Colchis*, *Milizigeris*, *Heptaneſia*, *Perperina*, *Triacadira*, *Trinecia*, *Leuce*, *Panigeris* ; and in the Bay of *Argaris* the Iſland *Cory*. *Taprobana*, which is the nobleſt and largeſt of all the Iſlands in this Sea, is placed by *Ptolemy* between the Bay of *Colchis* and *Algaris*. The Ancients differed much about its Situation, ſome placing it near the Continent, others twenty Days Sail from it; and ſome queſtioned whether it was an Iſland, or the Beginning of another Continent, particularly *Mela*[h] ; though before him it was generally reckoned an Iſland, as appears by *Dionyſius* in his *Periegeta*[i], which the learned agree to have been writ in the Time of *Auguſtus*.

Strabo[k] compared it to *Britain* for Dimenſions : *Pliny*[l], in his Account of the Embaſſy which the Inhabitants ſent to *Claudius Cæſar* (ſuppoſing the Iſland he ſpeaks of *Taprobana*) ſays, it contained five hundred Towns, and that *Palæſimundum* their Capital, and the Seat of their King, had two hundred thouſand Inhabitants, that they had a Lake called *Megiſba* of 375 Miles in Circuit, which contained ſeveral fruitful Iſlands, and ſent out two Rivers, one of which fell with three Mouths into the Harbour of *Palæſimundum*, that in ſome Places was five Stadia in Breadth, and in others fifteen ; this Harbour lay in the South Side of the Iſland, and they had another on the North called *Cidara*, four Days Sail from *India*, the Iſland of the *Sun* being in the Middle betwixt them. *Ptolemy* places it nearer the Continent, and though he makes it very long, and extends it beyond the Equator, reckons but thirty Towns in it ; nor does he ſay any thing of the great Lake, nor of the Town and River of *Palæſimundum*, all which occaſioned the Learned to doubt whether his and *Pliny*'s *Taprobana* was the ſame ; and though moſt agree now, that *Taprobana* was *Ceylon*, yet others will have it to be *Sumatra* : But *Salmaſius*, *Bochart*, and *Voſſius*, think it is *Ceylon*, it being incredible that the *Romans* or *Alexandrians* ever ſailed ſo far as *Sumatra*.

Cellarius thinks alſo that *Ptolemy*'s *Taprobana* was *Ceylon*, though he placed it too far South, and extended it beyond the Equator. It was anciently, as many Authors affirm, called *Inſula Palæſimundi*, and *Saliæ*, and the Inhabitants *Salæ*. Yet ſome, as is ſaid before, will have *Palæſimundum* to be different from *Taprobana*. The Towns and Capes mentioned by *Ptolemy* in this Iſland, were, 1. In the North Cape *Boreum*, over-againſt *Conry*, or *Conigicum* in *India*. 2. In the Weſt lay *Margana* and *Jogana*, with Cape *Anariſmundum* ; next to them the River *Soana*, the *Portus Priapeus*, Cape *Jovis*, and the Bay of *Praſodes*. On the South Shore lay the Mouths of *Hyſanus*, the Towns *Odoca*, *Dana*, or *Dagana*, ſacred to the Moon. The Promontory of the Birds of *Dionyſius*, with a Town of the ſame Name, and *Cetæum*. On the Eaſt-ſide lay the Harbours of *Mordus*, *of the Sun*, *Rhizola* and *Spatana*, with the Town of *Procurus*, and a River called *Ganges* ; and towards the North lay the great Marts of *Moduti* and *Talacori*. In the inland Parts northward were the royal Seat *Anurogramum*, and the Metropolis *Magrammum*.

Pliny's *Iſland of the Sun* is different from that which others place near *Gedroſia* and *Carmania*, and ſome think it to be *Cory*. *Ptolemy* reckons in the Bay of *Ganges* the Iſland *Bazacata* ; and far from hence ſouthward, under the Equator, the *Iſland of good Fortune*[m] ; and near the great Bay, againſt the Country of the *Sinæ*, he places the three *Iſlands of the Satyrs* ; and from hence ſouthward, the Iſland of *Jobadium*, which produced Gold, and whoſe Capital was named *Argentea*. *Cellarius* corrects *Stephanus* for making this the Metropolis of *Taprobana*. Ancient Authors mention ſeveral other Iſlands in theſe Parts ; but *Cellarius* looks upon many of them to be fabulous, and takes their *Chryſe* to be the ſame with the *Aurea Cherſoneſus*, or Peninſula of *Malacca*.

4. In the Examination of theſe Points, I have hitherto followed other Writers, and reported their Sentiments on the Subject, for the Reader's Information ; but as I am afraid that what has been hitherto ſaid will appear a little dark and perplexed, I think it may not be amiſs to endeavour, by a due Compariſon of Facts, to find out the Truth ; and, without any unneceſſary Diſplay of Learning, ſet this ſeemingly confuſed Matter in the cleareſt Light to the *Engliſh* Reader.

In the firſt Place, then, I lay it down as a Thing certain, that the Name of *Taprobana* was long known to the Ancients before they had an Opportunity of being acquainted with the Country itſelf ; and as they were told in general, that this Iſland was very large, thoroughly inhabited, abounding not only with all the Neceſſaries and Conveniencies of Life, but alſo with Spices, precious Stones, Gold, and other rich Commodities, they were very deſirous of knowing it more perfectly ; and therefore, whenever they met with any Accounts of an Iſland in the *Indian* Sea that was fertile, pleaſant, and abounding with rich Commodities, they immediately pronounced it *Taprobana*, of which they had heard ſo much.

Thus that Iſland, which was viſited by *Iambulus*, of which we have before given a large Account, was, without Heſitation, taken for *Taprobana* ; though the Author of that Voyage does not either call it ſo, or deſcribe it in ſuch a Manner as to juſtify their Suppoſition, when thoroughly conſidered. In like manner, *Pliny* makes no Scruple of aſſerting that the Iſland which *Annius Plocamus* diſcovered, and from whence Embaſſadors were ſent to the Emperor *Claudius*, was *Taprobana* ; which, however, we have diſproved, as the Reader has already ſeen. Hence it was that ſuch different Accounts were given of this Place ; one Author affirming it near the Continent, another at a great Diſtance from it, according as they affixed the Name of *Taprobana* to this or that Iſland which had been diſcovered in their Times.

I muſt confeſs, it ſeems very probable, that ſome of the more ancient Writers, ſuch as *Dionyſius*, *Strabo*, and *Pliny*, when they ſpeak as Geographers of the Iſland of *Taprobana*, mean the true Iſland ſo called, that is, the Iſland deſcribed by *Ptolemy* ; but as for the Iſland diſcovered under the Reign of *Claudius*, which was firſt called *Palæſimundus*, and afterwards *Salica*, it was not *Taprobana*, but the Iſland at the Mouth of the River *Indus*, which had been long before known to and examined by

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[h] *De Situ Orbis*, *lib.* iii. *cap.* vii. where, however, he mentions this as the Sentiment of *Hipparchus*.

[i] *Periegot. Verſ.* 252. which is thus tranſlated by *Avienus Feſtus*, *Inſula Taprobanæ gignit feros Elephantes*.

[k] *Geograph. lib.* xi.

[l] *Hiſt. Nat. lib.* vi. *p.* 22. As I have before given this Account at large, I only mention ſo much of it here as is neceſſary to connect the Diſcourſe.

[m] *Ptol. ubi ſupra.*

Alexander the Great; and I conceive that the calling of this Iſland by the Name of *Taprobana*, was the principal Occaſion of all the Miſtakes and Confuſion that have been diſcovered in ſubſequent Accounts.

But as for the *Taprobana*, which *Strabo* mentions very cautiouſly, and as a Writer afraid of offending the Truth, and which *Ptolemy* more largely deſcribes from the Accounts that were current in his Time at *Alexandria*, it is moſt likely to be the Iſland of *Ceylon*. I ſhall not trouble the Reader with a long Account of the Reaſons which other Writers have aſſigned for this Opinion, but content myſelf with giving him, as ſuccinctly as I can, the Motives which have induced me to believe that the Iſlands of *Taprobana* and *Ceylon* are the ſame. In the firſt Place, the Situation of *Taprobana*, as laid down by *Ptolemy*, agrees very well with that of the Iſland of *Ceylon*. He mentions four Places in *Taprobana*, and ſets down their Latitudes thus. The Mart or Emporium of *Talaconi* 11° 20', *Nagadiba* 8° 30', *Maugramman*, which was the Metropolis of the Iſland, 7° 20', the Bay of *Praſodes* 1° 0'. The beſt modern Maps lay down the Iſland of *Ceylon* from one to ten Degrees of North Latitude, the Capital of the Iſland lying very near in the ſame Poſition with that which *Ptolemy* has aſſigned it. In the next Place, the Ancients ſay that *Taprobana* was famous for producing the largeſt Breed of Elephants, which is true of *Ceylon*, where the Elephants are acknowledged to be the largeſt and ſtrongeſt in the *Indies*. Thirdly, *Taprobana* was celebrated for its Spices; and in *Ceylon* there are found not only Ginger, Pepper, and Cardamums, but Cinnamon alſo is the ſtaple Commodity, and is very juſtly eſteemed the fineſt in the World. Fourthly, there are ſaid to have been abundance of precious Stones in this Iſland of *Taprobana*; and, except Diamonds, all Sorts of Jewels are found in *Ceylon*, and particularly Rubies, Topazes, and Saphires, the beſt in all the *Indies*. Laſtly, *Taprobana* is celebrated for its great Fertility in various Sorts of Corn, and this too may be affirmed of *Ceylon*, where they have not only five Kinds of Rice, which ripen one after another, but alſo eight other Kinds of Grain, of which they make either Bread or Oil. On the whole, therefore, when we conſider that all the Variations in the Accounts given us by the Ancients of the Iſland of *Taprobana*, may be ſo eaſily accounted for; and that this laſt and cleareſt Deſcription by *Ptolemy* is ſo reconcileable to the Accounts we have of *Ceylon*, I ſee no Reaſon why we ſhould not acquieſce in the Sentiment of the learned *Voſſius*, that the *Taprobana* of the Ancients is the *Ceylon* of the Moderns [n].

It may indeed be objected, that *Ptolemy* extends the Iſland of *Taprobana* ſouthward beyond the Line, which does not by any means agree with *Ceylon*; but I anſwer to this, that *Ptolemy* ſometimes uſes the plural Number, and mentions the Iſlands of *Taprobana*; ſo that it is not impoſſible that he might include ſome of the *Maldives* under that Name. I do not ſay that this is certain, but that it is poſſible, and, I might add, probable too; becauſe ſince the Ancients were acquainted with the Sea in which the Iſland of *Ceylon* lies, and the Coaſt that is oppoſite to it on the Continent, it is not eaſy to conceive how they could be abſolutely ignorant of ſo conſiderable an Iſland, which lay directly in the Way of all the Commerce carried on in this Part of the *Indies*. On the other Hand, if the Ancients were really acquainted with *Ceylon*, as it is very improbable that they ſhould not, this furniſhes us with a new Argument, and indeed the ſtrongeſt Argument of all, that their *Taprobana* was our *Ceylon*; for, if it was not, it is moſt certain that the Ancients have left us no Account of any Iſland that reſembles it, which is a Piece of Negligence of a Nature directly oppoſite to their uſual Exactneſs [o].

5. It is to be obſerved farther, that, except *Taprobana*, the Ancients do not mention any Iſlands on the Coaſt of *India* of any Conſequence; and from hence it is plain, that they were not acquainted either with the larger or leſſer Iſlands that lay farther to the Eaſt. It is neceſſary, therefore, that we ſhould return once more to the Continent, in order to mention another eaſtern Nation, very famous in Antiquity. Theſe were the *Sares*; and their Country is by *Ptolemy* called *Serica*, which he repreſents as bordering upon *Scythia*; ſo that, according to his Deſcription, this Country of *Serica* lay thus. On the Weſt it was bounded by *Scythia* beyound Mount *Imaus*. On the North, and on the Eaſt, by Countries unknown; on the South by *India* beyond the *Ganges*. *Ptolemy* mentions many Regions into which this Country is divided, and abundance of Cities in them, in all which he has been copied by many ſucceeding Writers; but it is not eaſy to ſay what Part of the higher *Aſia* they have deſcribed under the Name of *Serica* [p].

Many of our Criticks are of Opinion that *Serica* is the northern Part of *China*, which may poſſibly be true; tho' in that Caſe, it is not very accurately deſcribed. But the Accounts they give us of the People are much ſtronger and better Proofs, that by the *Seres* they meant the *Chineſe*, than any that can be drawn from the Deſcription of their Country. The *Seres*, ſay they, were a People that ſpoke a Language peculiar to themſelves, and very *guttural*, which is exactly true of the *Chineſe*. They were very juſt in their Dealings with Strangers, but had a very odd Way of carrying on Commerce; for they took all the Goods that were brought them, without giving any Thing immediately in Exchange: Yet afterwards they fully ſatisfied the Strangers for what they had thus taken, in their own Commodities. This, as we ſhall hereafter ſee, was likewiſe the conſtant Practice of the *Chineſe*, as it ſtill is of the *Japoneſe*. It is alſo affirmed of the *Seres*, that they were the firſt Manufacturers of Silk, that they were, generally ſpeaking, cloathed in that Manufacture, and that they made their Exchange either in Silk or in Goods made of Silk, which agrees perfectly well with the Practice of the *Chineſe*. So that, on the whole, we have no Reaſon to doubt that the *Seres* and the *Chineſe* were the ſame People; eſpecially as all the ancient Writers agree, that the *Seres* were extremely fond of their own Country, very diffident of Strangers, and not inclined to travel, which are all of them Circumſtances very applicable to the Inhabitants of *China*, before their Country was ſubdued by the *Tartars* [q].

It muſt, however, be confeſſed, that there are ſome Variations in theſe ancient Accounts, and that ſeveral Writers mention Circumſtances that do not ſo well agree with the *Chineſe* as thoſe that have been related; and yet there ſeems to be no juſt Cauſe from the Conſideration of theſe Miſtakes, to reject the Matter of Fact, which, from the foregoing Circumſtances, appears to be ſo well founded; for if we conſider the Contradictions met with in modern Writers, and particularly ſuch as have teated of this Country, inſtead of being ſurpriſed at the Miſtakes of the old Geographers, we may juſtly wonder, that their Errors were ſo few, and of ſo little Conſequence; more eſpecially, if we reflect on the prodigious Difference between their Lights and ours [r].

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[n] I have been guided in my Remarks on this Subject, by comparing the Tables of *Ptolemy* with the beſt modern Maps, and the Particulars mentioned of this Iſland by ancient Writers, with the Remarks made by Mr. *Robert Knox*, who was many Years on the Iſland, as well as thoſe of *Ribero*, a *Portugueze*, who likewiſe reſided for a great while in *Ceylon*.

[o] In *Ptolemy*'s Catalogue of famous Cities, with their Longitudes and Latitudes, which is very accurately publiſhed in the third Volume of Dr. *Hudſon*'s Collection of the ancient *Greek* Geographers, *Ptolemy* uſes the plural Number, and ſeems to make *Taprobana* the chief of ſeveral Iſlands; and it is remarkable that our firſt Voyagers to the *Eaſt Indies* aſſert, that the little Princes of the *Maldives* were ſubject to the King of *Ceylon*.

[p] As *Ptolemy* was forced to ſupply from his own Judgment the Situation of the Regions he mentions, and as all the Maps drawn from his Tables depend likewiſe in a great meaſure on the reſpective Judgments of thoſe who drew them, the Reader cannot but diſcern the Reaſonableneſs of what I have aſſerted in the Text.

[q] All this will be fully juſtified in our ſucceeding Collection of Voyages, which, by their being placed in the proper Order of Time, will enable the Reader to underſtand the Matter perfectly, and to ſee clearly the Truth of theſe Obſervations, which are not intended to leſſen the Credit of the Ancients, but to repreſent Things as they really are.

[r] This Difference chiefly conſiſts in their Writings from Memoirs picked up by their Merchants, and from the Reports of the *Indians*; whereas we take our Accounts not only from ſuch as have actually viſited theſe Countries themſelves, but from thoſe who have reſided there many Years, and have had all poſſible Opportunities of knowing the Facts which they relate.

6. There are, however, ſome Objections that will naturally occur to the intelligent Reader, and ought not to be paſſed over in Silence, becauſe if they cannot be fully anſwered, they have a direct Tendency to overturn the beſt Part of what we have delivered, and therefore it is requiſite that we ſhould conſider them more at large. The firſt is, that if we ſuppoſe the Ancients to have been acquainted with *China* and the *Chineſe*, it abſolutely contradicts what has been before aſſerted of their knowing little or nothing of the Countries beyond the *Ganges*, and extends their Knowledge of the Eaſt to ſuch a Degree, as is abſolutely incompatible with the Sentiments of the moſt learned Writers upon this Subject, as well as with the foregoing Part of our own Work; ſo that, inſtead of clearing this Matter, we ſhould only perplex it the more, and be ſo far from making it conſpicuous to the *Engliſh* Reader, that on the contrary we ſhould entangle him in new Doubts, and leave him upon the whole in at leaſt as great Obſcurity as we found him. That this, notwithſtanding, is very far from our Intention, appears plainly from the Pains already taken, and from our ſtating this Objection fully and fairly; and it ought likewiſe to paſs for a ſtrong Teſtimony of our aiming at Satisfaction in this Point, that we ſo freely mention the Difficulties that occur in the Execution of this Undertaking.

In order to the clear Solution of this Point, it is neceſſary to remember, that in this Section we do not handle the actual Diſcoveries of the Ancients, but the Accounts given by their Geographers, which are very different Things. We ſuppoſe, agreeable to the beſt Lights that Antiquity affords, that the Ancients never actually ſailed farther than the Mouths of the *Ganges*, and that they might do by coaſting round Cape *Comorin*, and ſo along the Coaſt of *Coromandel*; neither is it very probable that they made many Voyages ſo far, but rather that the beſt Part of their Knowledge was derived by Travels made by Land through the Countries that lie between the Rivers *Indus* and *Ganges*[a].

Upon this Suppoſition, all that they have written may be very well accounted for, and the ſeeming Differences between what is related in the foregoing Sections and this very eaſily reconciled. To make this Matter clearer, we will examine in their natural Order the Seas mentioned by ancient Writers, which will in a great meaſure enable us to extricate ourſelves from theſe Doubts. In the firſt place then they navigated the *Mare Erythræum*, which lies between the *Arabian* Gulph, and the oppoſite Side of *India*; and having in their Commerce often heard of *Taprobana*, they were led into many Miſtakes about that Iſland, till by degrees their Veſſels ſailing on the Coaſt of *Malabar* in doubling Cape *Comorin*, diſcovered *Ceylon*, which is the true *Taprobana*. The Gulph of *Bengal* was their *Mare Eoum*, and the upper Part of it towards the Continent *Sinus Gangeticus*, or the Bay of the *Ganges*, becauſe the Mouths of that River fell into this Bay. The Gulph of *Siam* was their *Sinus Magnus*, or *Great Bay*; but this they knew by Hearſay only, their Navigation never extending thither.

But it may be demanded what Proof there is of this? To which I anſwer, all that the Nature of the Subject will admit affirmative and negative. As to the firſt, it is plain they never were thoroughly acquainted with the Iſland of *Taprobana*. *Strabo* makes it of the Size of *Britain*, and writes no doubt from Information only pretty near the Truth; but *Ptolemy* extends it much beyond its real Bounds, by ſuppoſing (at leaſt this is the only way of accounting for it) the *Maldives* belonging thereto, or dependent thereon. Yet the Situation of the principal Places he mentions therein are not repugnant to Truth, ſo that the Weſt and North Parts of it were tolerably known in his Time, but not the South. The *Maldives* very imperfectly, if at all; and therefore the *Romans* and *Alexandrians* had not puſhed their Commerce very far on this Side, much leſs into the *Sinus Magnus*, or Bay of *Siam*. This appears from the very Name, which undoubtedly was given it from a Notion that it was a very wide ſpreading Sea, whereas in Fact it is much narrower than the *Sinus Gangeticus*.

As to the negative Proofs, they are ſtronger and more in Number: For in order to have ſailed into the *Sinus Magnus*, they muſt have paſſed through the Streights of *Malacca*, which had opened to their View all the *Indies* that are now known, and of which there is not a Word in *Ptolemy*, or even in *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and conſequently no Colour for believing they had any other Knowledge of that Bay than from the Relation of the *Indians*, with whom they traded. Their actual Diſcoveries therefore went no farther than we before mentioned; but by the Help of theſe Diſcoveries, the Reports of Travellers, and his own Sagacity, *Ptolemy* formed his Tables, which ſeem to extend the Knowledge of the Ancients ſo much farther. We might, to verify this Matter, mention a Multitude of Errors in thoſe Tables, and in other Accounts of thoſe Times, which could ariſe from no other Cauſe than their Authors ſetting down the Names and Situation of Places from very indifferent Memoirs, and yet from the beſt they had; but that this is unneceſſary, ſince *Ptolemy* himſelf ingenuouſly owns, that beyond the Country of the *Sinæ*, or *Thinæ*, which is certainly the Kingdom of *Siam*, they knew nothing to the Eaſt at all.

It is moſt evident from theſe Obſervations, that we have done the ſtricteſt Juſtice to the Ancients, both with reſpect to the Voyages made by them, and the Uſes they made of the Knowledge derived from thence; and have ſhewn, that inſtead of treating their Geographical Deſcriptions with Contempt, as ſome have done on Account of the many Miſtakes in them, we ought rather to applaud their Diligence in making the beſt Uſe of the Materials in their Power, and thereby furniſhing to ſuch as are their profeſſed Admirers very plauſible Arguments for maintaining, that the Ancients knew almoſt as much of theſe Countries as ourſelves. Indeed, while they ſpeak in general Terms only, they ſeem to juſtify this Opinion; for they aſſure us, that this Eaſtern Part of the World is inhabited by the *Indians*, the *Seres*, and the *Scythians*; that is, in the Language of the Moderns, by the *Indians*, the *Chineſe*, and the *Tartars*, which is very true; but when they endeavoured to aſſign the Bounds of the ſeveral Countries which thoſe Nations inhabit, they ſhew us plainly that they do not underſtand what they themſelves ſaid, by their bringing the *Chineſe* almoſt as far as the *Ganges*, and placing beyond them a Race of Man-eaters in *China* properly ſo called. To ſum up all, and anſwer this Objection in few Words, the Accounts left us by the Ancients do not prove that they viſited any Part of the *Indies* beyond the *Ganges*, though the Informations they received in their Commerce enabled their Geographers to lay down Tables of a few other Countries, about which, however, they were much miſtaken in their Conjectures.

7. It may very poſſibly happen, as it very often does, in the diſcuſſing ſuch perplexed Subjects, that by removing one Objection the Means is afforded of raiſing another; and that perhaps no leſs ſpecious than the former. It may in ſhort be ſaid, that from the Account we give of the Knowledge the Ancients had of the *Seres*, which we allow to be the *Chineſe*, we admit that they had extended their Dominions very much beyond what they poſſeſs at this Day; and, as great Conqueſts are evident Proofs of extraordinary Power, it follows, that the *Seres* could not have been ſuch a diſperſed People as they are repreſented, but muſt have poſſeſſed a very large and flouriſhing Empire, which, if they had done, it muſt have been famous through the Eaſt, as the other Empires raiſed in that Part of the World were. The Force of this Objection, therefore, conſiſts in making the Deſcription given us by the Ancients inconſiſtent with itſelf, and by overturning that, our Anſwer to the former Objection will be overturned alſo.

Now to this I anſwer, that the Matter of Fact, which is, that the *Chineſe* were known to the Ancients by the Name of the *Seres*, has been clearly made out; and therefore there is no receding from that, let its Conſequences be what they will. But it ſo falls out, that we have not only the Authority of the ancient Writers before cited, to prove that the *Seres* or *Chineſe* extended themſelves very far on this Side, but alſo the Accounts of the *Chineſe* themſelves, which aſſert, that they were Maſters of *Cochin-China*, and

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[a] The Reader will naturally call to mind on this Occaſion what we have already ſaid of *Megaſthenes* and other Perſons, whoſe Negociations with the *Indian* Princes gave the Ancients not only the firſt, but the beſt Lights they had into the Situation of theſe Countries, and the Manners of the Inhabitants.

Pegu; that is, in all Probability, thoſe Countries were ſubject and tributary to them. It is likewiſe very probable, that they were Maſters of *Tibet*, or *Thibet*, from whence it will follow, that whoever traded in the Countries near the Mouth of the river *Ganges*, might very well obtain ſome ſuch dark and imperfect Relations of the *Seres* as thoſe are which the Ancients have left us; and upon this Occaſion I ſhall not ſcruple to advance, that their Darkneſs and Imperfection, inſtead of being conſidered as Marks of Falſhood, ought in reality to paſs for Proofs of their being true; for it plainly appears from a Multitude of inſtances, which we have already given in this Work, that not only the *Chineſe*, but the *Indians* alſo, were very little inclined to let Strangers into the Hiſtories of their Countries, or into the Secrets of their Governments; and therefore it was very natural for ſuch as endeavoured to make Enquiries into theſe Matters, to report Things ſlightly and imperfectly. We may be the better ſatisfied of this, if we conſider, that it appears from all the Accounts of the *Indies* publiſhed by the Ancients, that theſe Countries were extremely populous, full of large Cities well fortified, and a great Number of Sea-ports, in which a great Trade was driven amongſt themſelves; theſe Particulars plainly prove, that, however barbarous their Cuſtoms might appear to Strangers, yet within themſelves theſe Eaſtern Nations were perfectly well governed, and in the ſtrict Senſe of the Word thoroughly civilized.

What ſerves chiefly to confound us is our conſidering the *Indians* of thoſe Times in the ſame View that they are repreſented to us by modern Travellers, which is what we ought not to do; for though it be reaſonable, and in that Light we have made uſe of it often as a probable Argument, that the Accounts given us by ancient Writers of Wives burning themſelves with the dead Bodies of their Huſbands, the *Brachmans* living in a kind of Collegiate State, and the whole People being divided into Tribes, are true, becauſe in a great meaſure we obſerve the ſame things among the *Indians* at preſent, yet it does not follow that in every reſpect the modern *Indians* reſemble their Anceſtors. On the contrary, we ought to reflect, that the Accounts we have from the Ancients refer to the firſt and flouriſhing Ages of the *Indian* Principalities, when they were abſolutely free and independent, when their Philoſophy was pure and ſublime, their political Conſtitutions in their full Vigour, their Laws well ſupported, and thoroughly executed, their military Eſtabliſhments ſo well adjuſted to the Regulation of their civil Affairs, that in Times of imminent Danger they were able ſuddenly to ſet on Foot Armies ſo puiſſant, that their very Countenance was ſufficient to teach the moſt ambitious Princes Moderation; as was the Caſe of *Alexander*, and ſome of his Succeſſors. The *Indians*, therefore, in thoſe Days, were another ſort of People than the *Indians* known to us, and though the latter may ſtill retain in ſome meaſure the Manners of the former in private Life, yet in their publick Conduct they can furniſh us with no Idea of their Progenitors. In few Words, though they have preſerved ſome of their Cuſtoms, they have loſt all their Spirit.

It is the ſame thing with reſpect to the *Chineſe*, they are no longer what they have been; and if we admire the Wiſdom of their preſent Government, and the wonderful Exactneſs with which their Affairs are adminiſtered, we ought to conceive much higher and more magnificent Notions of their Power and Splendor in former Times. That Accuracy and Regularity which ſtrikes us ſo much at preſent are no more than the Remains of thoſe Inſtitutions which took place when their Empire was much greater and more glorious than at this Day. It is true, that we have received from the Miſſionaries great Lights with regard to the *Chineſe* Hiſtory; but we are very far from having any thing compleat in this kind, even at this Day. We have only general and ſhort Accounts of the Revolutions that have happened in that Country, and of the Conqueſts made of its frontier Provinces; no wonder therefore that we are not better acquainted with the Conqueſts made by them, and yet, as I hinted above, we do not want Authority to prove that the *Chineſe* actually extended their Power into Countries that might make their Fame known to the *Alexandrian* Traders; and perhaps in its proper Place we ſhall be able to account for their relinquiſhing thoſe Conqueſts.

Here, however, it is ſufficient to obſerve, that it appears very clearly from what we know of the *Chineſe* Hiſtory, that there was a conſtant Fluctuation in their Politicks, and that ſometimes a Spirit of Dominion, and at others a pacifick Diſpoſition, took Place; and there are extant, even in the modern Languages, Diſcourſes addreſſed to the *Chineſe* Emperors by their Miniſters, exhorting them to be content with their hereditary Countries, and rather contract their Power than extend it, that they might govern with greater Eaſe to themſelves, and with Effects more beneficial to their Subjects. After theſe Reflections, it will be eaſy to underſtand how the Ancients came to know ſo much, and, at the ſame Time, ſo little of theſe People. It was their penetrating Southward and Weſtward, that gave the Ancients an Opportunity of knowing any thing of them at all, ſince it is very certain, that if they had been always reſtrained within the Bounds of *China*, ſtrictly ſo called, they would never have been heard of; and therefore theſe Accounts, inſtead of diſcrediting the Facts before-mentioned, when thoroughly looked into, and coolly conſidered, carry in them the higheſt Probability, and the moſt evident Marks of Truth. That, upon Enquiry, the Ancients being informed that the Country, which is now called *Thibet*, was under the Power of the *Seres*, ſhould from thence conclude it the native Soil of thoſe People, and their Geographers be induced from thence to give it the Name of *Serica*, has nothing in it ſtrange at all, any more than that they ſhould imagine that the Metropolis of this Country was the Capital of the *Seres*, and the chief Seat of their Empire. Thus it is hoped this Difficulty is entirely taken away, the Credibility of the Teſtimonies before alledged fully eſtabliſhed, and the Difference between the ancient and modern Geography of theſe Countries rationally accounted for, without offering any Injury either to the old Writers or the new, and conſequently what is laid down in this Section, perfectly reconciled to all that has been aſſerted in the former.

8. There is a third Point in reference to this Subject which requires ſome Attention, and then I think we may ſafely proceed. As the laſt Objection reſpected the Country of the *Seres*, ſo it is very poſſible that ſome Doubts may ariſe as to the People who are deſcribed by *Pliny* and other old Writers, equally removed in their Manners from the reſt of Mankind, as ſeparated from them by the great Diſtance of their Country. It may, I ſay, be ſuggeſted, that the Cuſtoms of the *Seres*, as they ſtand recorded in ancient Writers, have no ſort of Reſemblance to thoſe of the *Chineſe*, if the Accounts I have juſt now given of them be well founded; for whereas I make them a potent, wiſe, and polite People, they paint them as a kind of Savages, differing in their Dialect from the reſt of Mankind, and ſhunning, as much as might be, all Converſation with Strangers.

Now, to reconcile theſe Contradictions, we are to conſider, firſt that the Ancients themſelves ſpeak very differently of the *Seres*, ſometimes commending them for their ſtrict Juſtice and Probity, for the Purity of their Manners, and for their having no Deſire to injure their Neighbours; and at others, as a Race of intractable People, abſolutely bent to conceal themſelves in their Woods and Fortreſſes, and trading no other Way than by Exchange, and that too by leaving and taking of Goods without any Intercourſe between the Merchants who ſold them, and thoſe who purchaſed. Secondly, it appears from the Diverſity of theſe Accounts, that the Ancients were entirely led in this Matter by Hear-ſay, and by the Hear-ſay of a People who were not much inclined to let them into all they knew. Thirdly, it is neceſſary to remember that the *Indians*, from whom the Ancients had every Tittle of what they report concerning the *Seres*, might give them ſuch Informations as were grounded on Truth, but were ſo unintelligible to the *Greeks*, that they were not able to report them without Miſrepreſentation.

As for Inſtance, the *Indians* might tell them that the *Seres* made uſe of a Language very different from that of other Men, and in this they would have told them no more than has been juſtified by Experience; but in repeating this, the Ancients have repreſented the Tongue of the *Chineſe* as if it had nothing in common with human Speech, which is a manifeſt Exaggeration. That the ancient *Seres* had a great Averſion to Strangers, and an invincible Reſolution of continuing in their own Country, is another Fact true in itſelf, but ſtrangely miſrepreſented. All the *Chineſe* Hiſtories agree, that this Nation had, as indeed they ſtill have, a great Jealouſy of Foreigners, and by their Laws forbad their ſettling amongſt them; yet the ſame Hiſtories ſhew, that notwithſtanding this Jealouſy and theſe Laws, they have always had a great many Foreigners in their Country; and theſe not only *Scythians* or *Tartars*, *Indians*, *Perſians*, and *Turks*, who were in ſome ſort their Neighbours, but *Jews*, *Chriſtians*, and *Mohammedans*; and that for ſuch a Length of Time, that it is almoſt impoſſible to account for their coming into and ſettling in *China*, as is evident from the learned Diſſertations that have been wrote expreſsly upon theſe Subjects. The Amount of all this, therefore, can be ſtretched to nothing more than our not having very diſtinct Relations of what paſſed a long Time ago in a very diſtant Country, which is not very wonderful. But however obſcure, however contradictory, theſe Accounts may be in other Reſpects, yet in this they agree perfectly well, that ſuch a Jealouſy always ſubſiſted in this Nation, though for particular Reaſons, and under particular Circumſtances, they were content to diſpenſe with thoſe Laws, which from this Spirit of Jealouſy they had enacted.

To make this Matter ſtill plainer, let us conſider the *Chineſe* in their preſent Situation, and in regard to the different manner in which they carry on Commerce at home and abroad. Their Junks ſail annually to almoſt all the different Ports in the *Indies*, but particularly to *Batavia*, where they trade as other People do, and comply with all the Regulations that are thought neceſſary in thoſe Places for the Security and right Management of Commerce, from whence they have acquired very juſtly the Character of being as active, as induſtrious, and as general Traders, as any in that Part of the World. This, one would think, might effectually purge them from the Imputation of having a Diſlike to Strangers, and an Unwillingneſs to correſpond with other Nations, and, in ſhort, of all Intractability on the Head of Commerce. Yet when we look into their Management at home, we ſhall find many things that may very well juſtify ſuch a Charge even at this Day. For there are but one, or at moſt but two, of their Ports open to Strangers, *viz. Canton* and *Amoy*; they do not ſuffer any *European* Nations to make Settlements in their Dominions, if we except the *Portugueze*, and even they are not only Subjects, but in a manner Slaves to the *Chineſe*; their Port Duties are not high only, but very extravagant; the Precautions they take againſt, and the Hardſhips they put upon Foreigners, are ſo many and ſo inconvenient, that it is plain they only tolerate Trade inſtead of encouraging it. If this therefore be, as moſt certainly it is, the Caſe, why ſhould we accuſe the ancient Accounts of Abſurdity and Contradiction?

It would be needleſs and unneceſſary to enter into a Digreſſion about the Navigation of the ancient *Seres*, how far it extended, and what the Conſequences were that attended it. I ſay, it would be needleſs and unneceſſary; becauſe, after all the Pains that could be taken, we ſhould find it very difficult, if not impoſſible, to give a tolerable Account of it; but in general, however, we know, that in very ancient Times they traded to moſt of the *Indian* Iſlands, ſettled Colonies in many of them, and, as there are good Grounds to believe, were the Anceſtors of the *Chingaleſe*, which are the moſt powerful Nation in the Iſland of *Ceylon*. Theſe Circumſtances ſeem abſolutely to contradict another Part of their general Character, which is, that they have no Inclination to leave their own Country on any Terms. In all Probability, their Settlements abroad were created by domeſtick Confuſions, when Numbers choſe rather to ſeek new Habitations, than to be expoſed to certain Death or Deſtruction from the Rage of their Adverſaries, which, nevertheleſs, implies no Alteration in the Nature of theſe People; for it is one thing to be of a roving Diſpoſition, and another to prefer Baniſhment to Death.

Upon the whole, if there be any thing certain in the *Chineſe* Hiſtory, it is this; that both the People themſelves have the moſt ſincere Love for their Country, and deſire to remain in it; and that this is nouriſhed in them by their Laws, and the Propagation of this Spirit made a capital Point of their Politicks. On ſcanning thereof this Matter as ſtrictly as it is poſſible, we ſee that, taking all Things together, the oldeſt Accounts of the *Chineſe* are not liable to more Objections, or incumbered with greater Difficulties than the modern; and therefore, if the Ancients have repreſented the *Seres* as a People of an odd Humour, and their Practice and Principles conſidered ſomewhat inconſiſtent with themſelves, we have the more Reaſon to be poſitive, that the *Seres* and the *Chineſe* are the very ſame Nation, becauſe from the Knowledge we have of them at preſent, it is impoſſible to conceive that any Character given of them in paſt Ages, ſhould come nearer the Truth than that which from a ſuperficial View ſeems incompatible therewith. In Caſes of this Nature, Nations are to be deſcribed as they really are, and of ſuch Temper and Diſpoſition as their Actions ſpeak them; other Accounts may be more plauſible, and, to ſuch as take up with the firſt Appearance of Things, more credible; but unqueſtionably the beſt way is to write the Truth, becauſe in the end, and after the ſtricteſt Examination, it will be found, that Truth will always juſtify itſelf.

9. There ſtill remains an Iſland mentioned in ancient Writers as lying in the *Indian* Ocean, though never diſcovered by any of the Moderns, of which we promiſed, and of which it is neceſſary that we ſhould give a clear Account, the rather, becauſe though ſurrounded with a Miſt of Fables, there is at the Bottom ſomething which deſerves our Notice, and which may enable us to detect ſuch kind of Relations when we meet with them elſewhere. The Name of this Iſland is *Panchaia*, and it is ſuppoſed to lie between the *Arabian* Gulph and the oppoſite Coaſt of *India*. There was but one ample and diſtinct Relation of this Country, which is ſtill preſerved almoſt entire in the Works of the learned *Diodorus Siculus*, which therefore we ſhall fairly tranſcribe for ſeveral Reaſons. Firſt, that the Nature of ſuch kind of Relations may plainly appear, and the Reader be able to judge for himſelf of the Difficulty in diſtinguiſhing between Facts faithfully related, and Fictions ſo elegantly dreſſed out. Secondly, that he may the better underſtand the Detection of this fabulous Hiſtory. And, thirdly, that he may be ſatisfied we do not impoſe upon him our own Notions and Senſe of Things, but admit him freely and fairly to the Sight of our Authorities.

There are, ſays our Author, many Things obſervable in *Panchea*, or *Panchaia*, that deſerve to be taken notice of. The natural Inhabitants are thoſe they call *Panchæi*; the Strangers that dwell among them are People of the Weſtern Parts, together with *Indians*, *Cretans*, and *Scythians*. In this Iſland there is a famous City called *Panara*, not inferior to any for Wealth and Grandeur. The Citizens are called the Suppliants of *Jupiter Triphylius*, and are the only People of *Panchaia* that live under a Democracy, without a Monarch. They chuſe every Year the Preſidents or Governors that have all Matters under their Cognizance; but what concerns Life and Death, and the moſt weighty Matters, they refer to the College of their Prieſts. The Temple of *Jupiter Triphylius* is about ſixty Furlongs diſtant from the City, in a fair, open Plain. It is in great Veneration for its Antiquity, and the Statelineſs of the Structure, and Fertility of the Soil. The Fields round about the Temple are planted with all ſorts of Trees, not only for Fruit, but for Pleaſure and Delight; for they abound with tall Cypreſſes, Plane-Trees, Laurels, and Myrtles. The Place is well furniſhed with running Water; for near the Temple there is ſuch a mighty Spring of ſweet Water ruſhes out of the Earth, ſo that it very ſoon becomes a navigable River. Thence it divides itſelf into ſeveral Currents, and waters all the Fields thereabouts. It produces thick Groves of tall and ſhady Trees, amongſt which, in Summer, abundance of People ſpend their Time, and a Multitude of Birds of all ſorts build their Neſts, which creates great Delight, both by affecting the Eye with the Variety of their Colours, and charming the Ear with the Sweetneſs of their Notes. Here are many Gardens, ſweet and pleaſant Meadows, decked with all ſorts of Herbs and Flowers, and ſo glorious is the Proſpect, that it ſeems to be a Paradiſe worthy the Habitation of the Gods themſelves. Beſides all theſe, there are a Multitude of Vines of all ſorts ſpringing up on high, and ſo curiouſly interwoven one among another, that they are exceeding pleaſant to the View, and greatly augment the Delights of the Place.

The Temple was built of white Marble, moſt artfully jointed and cemented, two hundred Yards in Length, and as many in Breadth, ſupported with great and thick Pillars, curiouſly adorned with carved Work. In this Temple were placed huge Statues of the Gods of admirable Workmanſhip, and amazing Bulk; round the Temple are built Apartments for the Prieſts that attend the Service of the Gods, by whom every thing in that ſacred Place is performed. All along from the Temple is an even Courſe of Ground, four Furlongs in Length, and one hundred Yards in Breadth; on either Side of which are erected vaſt brazen Statues, with four-ſquare Pedeſtals; at the End of the Courſe breaks forth the River from the Fountain beforementioned; from whence flows moſt clear and ſweet Water, the drinking of which conduces much to the Health of the Body. This River is called the Water of the Sun. The whole Fountain is lined on both Sides, and flagged at the Bottom with Stone at vaſt Expence, and runs out on both Sides for the Space of four Furlongs: It is not lawful for any but the Prieſts to approach the Brink of the Fountain.

All the Land about for two hundred Furlongs round, is conſecrated to the Gods, and the Revenues beſtowed in maintaining the public Sacrifices and Service of thoſe Gods beyond theſe conſecrated Lands, is an high Mountain dedicated likewiſe to the Gods, which they call the Throne of *Cælus* and *Tryphilius Olympus*; for they report, that *Uranus*, when he governed the whole World, pleaſantly diverted himſelf in this Place; and from the Mount obſerved the Motion of the Heavens and Stars; and that he was called *Tryphilius Olympus*, becauſe the Inhabitants were compoſed of three ſeveral Nations, *Panchæans*, *Oceanites*, and *Doians*, who were afterwards expelled by *Ammon*; for it is ſaid, that he not only rooted out this Nation, but utterly deſtroyed all the Cities, and laid *Doia* and *Aſteruſia* even with the Ground. The Prieſts every Year ſolemnize a ſacred Feſtival in this Mountain with great Devotion. Behind this Mount, in other Parts of *Panchaia*, they ſay there are abundance of wild Beaſts of all kinds, as Elephants, Lions, Leopards, Deer, and many other wonderful Creatures, both for Strength and Proportion. In this Iſland there are three chief Cities, *Hipacia*, *Dalis*, and *Oceanis*; the whole Country is very fertile, and eſpecially in the Production of all ſorts of Wine in great Plenty.

The Men are warlike, and uſe Chariots in Battle after the ancient Manner. The whole Nation is divided into three Tribes; the firſt is compoſed of the Prieſts, with whom are joined the Artificers; the ſecond conſiſts of the Huſbandmen; and the third of Militia and Shepherds. The Prieſts govern all, for they give Judgment in all Controverſies, and have Authority in all publick Tranſactions of State. The Huſbandmen till the Land; but the Fruit is brought into the common Treaſury, and he who is judged the moſt ſkilful in Huſbandry, receives the largeſt Share of the Fruits for a Reward in the firſt Place, and ſo the ſecond and the reſt according to that Rule, as every one merits in the Judgment of the Prieſts. In the ſame manner the Shepherds and Herdſmen carefully bring in to the public Stock the Victims and other Things both by Number and Weight, as the Nature of the Things are; for it is not lawful for any to appropriate any thing to themſelves, except a Houſe and Garden for all the young Breed of Cattle, and other Things; and all the Revenues are received by the Prieſts, and they juſtly diſtributed to every one as their Neceſſity requires, only the Prieſts have a double Proportion.

They wear ſoft Garments, for their Wool is much finer here than any where elſe; both Men and Women likewiſe deck themſelves with golden Ornaments, Necklaces of Gold, and Bracelets about their Arms, and, like the *Perſians*, have Rings hanging at their Ears; their Shoes are ſuch as others wear, and of different Colours. Their Soldiers, who are hired for Pay, defend the Country, and have their proper Poſts, and in proper Parts of the Iſland Fortreſſes, the Hills being infeſted with Thieves and Robbers, who often ſurpriſe the Huſbandmen. To conclude, theſe Prieſts, for Delicacy, State, and Purity of Life, far exceed all the reſt of the Inhabitants. Their Robes are of white Linen, and ſometimes of pure ſoft Wool. They wear likewiſe Mitres embroidered with Gold. Their Shoes are Sandals, curiouſly wrought with exquiſite Workmanſhip; and in their Ears hang golden Ear-rings, like Womens. They attend chiefly upon the Service of the Gods, ſinging harmonious Songs in their Praiſe, ſetting forth their glorious Acts and Benefits beſtowed upon Men. The Prieſts, ſay they, came originally from *Crete*, and were brought over into *Panchaia* by *Jupiter*, when he was upon Earth, and governed all the World, and alledge their Language for a Confirmation of this Aſſertion, inaſmuch as they retain many Words of the *Cretan* Tongue among them; and moreover ſay, that they derived from their Anceſtors that Civility and Kindneſs wherewith they entertain the *Cretans*, the Fame and Report of their ancient Conſanguinity deſcending continually in a perpetual Succeſſion to their Poſterity; they ſhew likewiſe a Record, written, as they ſay, by *Jupiter*'s own Hand, at the Time when he was on Earth, and laid the Foundation of the Temple.

There are in this Iſland likewiſe Mines of Gold, Silver, Braſs, and Iron, but not lawful for any to export them. Nay, it is not permitted to any of the Prieſts to go out of the Verge of the conſecrated Ground; and if any do, it is lawful for any Perſon who finds them to kill them. They have, under their Charge, innumerable Veſſels, and other conſecrated Things, both of Gold and Silver, which have been laid up there in Honour of the Gods for many Ages. The Gates of the Temple are of admirable Workmanſhip, beautified with Gold, Silver, and Ivory, and Thyne-wood. The Bed of the God is ſix Cubits long, and four broad, of maſſy Gold, moſt curiouſly wrought in every Part; and near adjoining ſtands the Table, as large, and of the like Materials and Workmanſhip with the other in every Reſpect. In the Middle of the Bed is placed a great golden Pillar, whereon are Letters inſcribed in that called by the *Egyptians* ſacred Writings, expreſſing the famous Actions of *Uranus*, *Jupiter*, *Diana*, and *Apollo*, written, as they ſay, by *Mercury* himſelf: But this may ſuffice concerning the Iſlands lying in the Ocean over-againſt *Arabia*.[t].

Such is the Account delivered to us of this Iſland by *Diodorus Siculus*, who had this Account from a more ancient Writer, one *Euemerus*, a *Meſſenian*; ſo that he is not to be charged with inventing the Fable, but with giving it a Stamp of Authority, by taking it into his Hiſtory. But if the Reader ſhould enquire what induced the original Author of the Story to frame ſo circumſtantial a Relation out of his own Head, and attempt therewith to cheat and impoſe upon Poſterity, it falls out very luckily, that we are able to reſolve this Queſtion, and to ſet the Truth in the cleareſt Light poſſible; from whence it will appear, that theſe Fictions of the Ancients were not deviſed with a malicious Intention of impoſing Fables for Matters of Fact upon credulous Readers, tho', undoubtedly they very often had this Effect; but they were contrived chiefly for another and better Purpoſe, as appears plainly from the Caſe before us.

Plutarch[u] not only knew that the whole of this Relation was an abſolute Fiction, but he likewiſe knew, and fairly informs his Reader of the End for which it was framed. He ſays, that the Author of it was an irreligious Man, or an Atheiſt, who, in delivering this Story of the Iſland *Panchæa*, aimed chiefly at inculcating his own Opinions, without running the Hazard of being puniſhed by Law. Now thoſe Opinions of *Euemerus* the *Meſſenian*, which *Plutarch* very prudently ſtiles atheiſtical, were no other than theſe, that moſt of the Deities worſhipped in his Time, ſuch as *Uranus Jupiter*, *Apollo*, and the reſt, were, in Fact, no other than Men famous in their Life-times, and, by the Flattery of Poſterity, magnified as Gods after their Deceaſe. This Opinion was certainly well founded and agreeable to Truth; but if that Author had delivered it ſimply and plainly as his own, he had probably died a Martyr for ſpeaking Truth improperly and againſt the Laws; and therefore he invented this Hiſtory of *Panchæa*, to inſinuate that the Prieſts there had a Record of this Matter written in golden Characters. By this Means he, without Danger to himſelf, intimated to his intelligent Reader, that whatever the Vulgar might believe of theſe Deities, yet, in Fact, they were no other than Men; and the Stories related of them the bare Inventions of Prieſts.

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[t] *Diodor. Sicul. lib.* v. *p.* 220.

[u] *Plutarch. de Iſide & Oſir.*

I muſt confeſs, that it is my own Opinion, *Plutarch* did not unveil this Myſtery with a Deſign of expoſing its Author, as he ſeems to do, for an impious Man, and an Atheiſt, but with an Intention to deliver this Matter more clearly, and by giving the Key of *Euemerus*'s Story more effectually to divulge the Truth: For, whoever conſiders the Drift and Deſign of his Diſſertation concerning *Iſis* and *Oſiris*, will eaſily diſcern that he wrote it with much the ſame View that *Euemerus* invented his Fable of *Panchæa*; and as for the hard Words he beſtows on that Writer, they ſerved only to cover and ſcreen himſelf; ſince, undoubtedly, had he not ſtiled theſe Notions impious and atheiſtical, he had paſſed (with the Vulgar at leaſt) for as impious and atheiſtical a Writer as *Euemerus* whoſe Fiction he unveils [w].

A great Happineſs it is, that the Chriſtian Diſpenſation has freed Mankind entirely from this Tyrannical Yoke of Superſtition, and opened a free Paſſage to Men's Thoughts, without Danger or Diſtruſt. But it has, notwithſtanding, ſo fallen out, that even under the Light of the Goſpel, Superſtition has ſometimes prevailed to ſuch a Degree, that learned Men have found themſelves under a kind of Neceſſity of making uſe of the ſame Artifice, as appears by Sir *Thomas Moor*'s *Utopia*, and other Works of the like Nature, which, however, are penned in ſuch a manner as very ſeldom to miſlead the Reader, or impoſe upon him Fictions for Truth. Thus we have at length finiſhed both the real and feigned Accounts of the *Indies*, as delivered to us by the Ancients, and are now at Liberty to take Notice of their Obſervations and Reflections upon theſe Accounts, which are of ſo much greater Importance, as they certainly kept up the Fame of theſe Countries, and in a great meaſure excited that Spirit which lead to the more perfect Diſcovery of them.

10. As ſlight as the Knowledge was which the Ancients had of the Inland Parts of *India*, yet they took great Pains to propagate a very high Opinion of its Fertility and Riches. *Diodorus Siculus* gives a very pompous Deſcription of the Advantages poſſeſſed by *India* beyond any other Country. He aſſerts, that the Air is remarkably ſettled and ſerene, the Seaſons equally regular and pleaſant, the Mountains covered with Fruit-trees of the moſt exquiſite Kinds; the flat Country ſo rich as to yield two Crops every Year, one of Wheat, and the other of Millet, Rice, or ſome ſuch Grain; the Waters ſo delicate and pure as greatly to contribute to Health and long Life, and moſt of the Rivers overflowing annually like the *Nile*, and thereby leſſening the Labour of the Inhabitants in the Cultivation of their Grounds.

After this Repreſentation of the golden Age, as ſtill remaining in *India*, we are further aſſured, that the Treaſures which the Earth contains in her Boſom, are much ſuperior to thoſe born upon her Surface, and that Gold, Silver, Braſs, Iron, and Tin, are more common there than in any other Country. Yet, after this magnificent Detail of the Plenty and Riches of the *Indies*, he plainly puts the River *Ganges* as the Boundary of all the *Indian* Regions with which he was acquainted; for, into that, he ſays, the reſt of the Rivers of *India* fall; and in the Neighbourhood of this River he places the *Gandarides*, a Nation ſo powerful that *Alexander* was glad to leave them untouched, as having four thouſand Elephants trained to War, and a proportionable Number of Horſe and Foot; which ſufficiently ſhews, that, in his Opinion, the Conqueſt of this Country was not to be attempted.

He likewiſe ſets another Bound to the Deſire of diſcovering, by affirming, that a great Part of this Country lies under the Line, for ſo he muſt be underſtood, and not under the Tropick of *Capricorn*, as ſome of his Interpreters would have it; for, he adds immediately after, that in many remote Parts of *India*, the Sun caſts no Shadow, neither is the North Pole, or any of the Conſtellations near it, ſeen there in the Night, which was ſufficient to deter the Travellers of thoſe Times from all Hopes, and even from all Wiſhes of penetrating into theſe Regions [x].

Strabo likewiſe gives us a large and magnificent Account of the Plenty and Riches of *India*, and aſſures us that it abounds with all kinds of Wealth, more eſpecially Pearls, Carbuncles, Diamonds, and other precious Stones; he mentions likewiſe Aromaticks and Spices, as Part of the Commodities brought from the *Indies*, but he does not tell us in what particular Parts of *India* [y] theſe valuable Commodities are found; and indeed all the Writers of Antiquity are alike faulty in this Point.

Pliny, who had read almoſt every Author extant on this Subject [z], is very clear in the general, as to the Plenty of all things neceſſary for the Service of Mankind in this Country, and gives us very copious Accounts of the rich Metals and various kinds of precious Stones that were brought from thence, ſome of which he tells us were found in Rivers, others in the Clefts of Rocks, and not a few in the Mines of Gold and Silver; but with reſpect to the Places where theſe Mines lay, or how they were to be reached, he is ſilent; and we may ſay the ſame thing of *Arrian*, and all the ancient Writers cited by *Athenæus*; for though they are profuſe in their Commendations of *India* and in their Panegyricks on its Wealth and Riches, yet they never diſtinguiſh where we are to look for this precious Commodity, or where that is to be found; but content themſelves with aſſuring us, that all are to be met with in the *Indies*.

This was owing, beyond all Queſtion, to the Conduct of the *Indians* in their Commerce with the Ancients; for they always pretended that things were brought to them from diſtant Countries with infinite Hazard and Danger; and theſe Pretences ſerved at once to heighten the Value of their Goods, and to deter Strangers from going in Search of them, as it likewiſe hindered them from making ſuch Enquiries as might have acquainted them with the Truth, which was, that many of the valuable Commodities of the *Indies* were actually the Produce of thoſe Countries they viſited.

It may not be amiſs to obſerve here, that in the Deſcription of the *Erythræan* Sea aſcribed to *Arrian*, and in all the other Works of the ſame Nature that are ſtill extant, the *Indians* are every-where repreſented as much given to, and extremely well verſed in, all the Arts of Commerce. It appears from thoſe Accounts, that there was a very conſiderable Trade carried on in all their Sea-ports, and that where-ever the Situation of their Rivers afforded them an Opportunity of conveying their Merchandize in ſmall Veſſels within Land, they had great Cities upon their Banks, full of Artificers and Manufacturers, where every thing was carried on with the utmoſt Regularity, ſo that the Fame of their Induſtry was equal to that of their Riches. I make therefore no Scruple of aſſerting, that theſe were the flouriſhing Times of that Country, and that the *Indians* have been ſince on the Decline, which will appear the more credible, if we conſider, that the prodigious Trade of *China*, which is the great Source of the Wealth and Happineſs of its People, is, properly ſpeaking, a domeſtick Commerce; that is to ſay, the beſt Part of it is carried on amongſt themſelves, and from one Province of that Empire to another.

It is not therefore at all wonderful, that People thus practiſed in Trade ſhould be able, by ſtudied Relations, to impoſe upon Strangers, who finding them all in the ſame Story, took this for an inconteſtible Argument of Truth; and hence it is that we are told of rich Mines of Gold in the Northern *Indies* on the Frontiers of *Scythia*, and of Diamonds and Precious Stones found there, whereas in all probability, the Gold which the Ancients met with in *India* came from the Peninſula of *Malacca*; the Diamonds were found near Cape *Comorin*, and the Rubies and other colour'd Stones were brought from *Taprobana* or *Ceylon*. We will conclude theſe Remarks on the Riches of the *Indies* with a few Lines from the Poem of the famous Geographer *Dionyſius*, whom ſome Criticks place as high as the Reign of *Auguſtus*, and which *Priſcian* has thus rendered into *Latin*. They occur towards the End of the Poem, and contain a moſt lively and elegant Picture of the Riches of the *Indies*, with as much Accuracy and Correctneſs as any Proſe Writer whatever, and may ſerve as a Specimen both of the Matter and of this Manner of Writing.

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[w] The Court of *Areopagus* at *Athens* puniſhed ſeverely ſuch as broached new Opinions in Religion, or derided the old.

[x] *Diodor. Sicul.* *lib.* ii.

[y] *Geograph. lib.* xv.

[z] See the Liſt of Authors cited by *Pliny* in his Natural Hiſtory in Father *Hardouin*'s Edition.

Reſpice nunc reliquas Aſiæ ſub finibus oras.
Perſidis ad pontum Carmani, ſolis ab ortu;
Littora pars habitant, mediæ pars limina terræ.
Gedroſi poſt hos tendunt orientis ad ignes,
Oceanum juxta: radiis proprioribus inde
Eſt Scythiæ Tellus auſtralis, flumen ad Indum,
Qui ponto rapidus rubro contrarius exit:
Gurgite nam celeri rectus decurrit ad Auſtrum,
Caucaſiis oriens primum de montibus altis:
Dividua cujus Patalene cingitur unda.
Separat innumeras & vaſto gurgite gentes.
Ad partes rapidi qua vergunt lumina Solis,
Oritas, Aribaſque ſimul, linique Arachotas
Utentes lænis, & Satraïdas ſimul omnes.
Parpanei Montis ſub celſa rupe, Arienos
Nomine communi, qui terras ubere nullo
Florentes habitant, ſquallent nam ſentibus aſpris;
Curalii lapidem qui rubrum littore carpunt,
Sapphirique decus nigri flavique coloris
Saxorum cædunt venis, hac merce beati.
Indorum Terras hinc Tethyos æquora claudant,
Quas primo Titan adſcendens lumine cernit.
Unde Color populos niger eſt flagrantibus ortu,
Atque gerunt ſimiles hyacintho fronte Capillos.
Effodiunt alii terras aurique metallum:
Aſt Alii texunt tenuiſſima tegmina lini:
Vel dentes ſtringunt elephantis ab ore revulſos,
Scrutantur ripes alii torrentibus imbri
Berylli gemmas glauci, nitidumque adamanta,
Atque aura viridi legitur quæ ſplendet Iaſpis,
Curaliique decus liquidi, gratique Topazi
Purpureoque amethyſtos ineſt ſuffuſa colore.
Divitias magnas ſic tellus illa miniſtrat.
Aſſiduiſque rigant hanc totam fontibus amnes:
Arboribuſque viget variis, milioque frequenti,
Et pretio rubræ perfloret arundinis illa.
Hic alii ſuperant procero corpore tantum,
Inſiliant equitum faciles ut more Elephantos:
Aſt alii vivunt ſapienti pectore nudi
Luminibuſque vident rectis, mirabile, ſolem:
Et radios occulis, et ſacra mente retractant,
Signaque concipiunt arcana luce futuri.
Pſittacus hic viridis decoratus torque rubenti
Naſcitur, humanæ ſimulat qui verbera linguæ.

11. The principal Hindrance that the Commerce of the Ancients met with was owing to the following Cauſes; firſt, the over-valuing their own Knowledge, and ſuppoſing all Nations at a Diſtance from them *Barbarians*, and more or leſs ſo in proportion to that Diſtance; the next was their adhering to their old Notions in Coſmography, notwithſtanding the Arguments their own Experience furniſhed to the contrary; and thirdly, their diſcontinuing their Voyages to diſtant Countries during domeſtick Confuſions, by which thoſe Routs were loſt which were known in former Times, and their Diſcoveries ſo confounded, that it is ſcarce poſſible to affirm any thing about them with Certainty.

The two former were voluntary Errors, the laſt was rather their Miſfortune than their Fault. We have an Account in *Strabo* of a very ſingular Navigation to the *Indies* performed in the Reign of *Ptolemy Euergetes*, which, if carefully purſued, might have opened to them a much ſhorter and eaſier Paſſage to the *Indies* than they had been hitherto acquainted with. The Guards that were appointed to patrol on the Shore of the *Arabian* Gulph found an *Indian* half-dead upon that Shore, and brought him to the King; all they could tell of him was, that he alone had eſcaped a Shipwreck; but as they underſtood not his Language, they were not able to ſay whence he came. The King cauſed him to be well taken care of, and to be inſtructed in the *Greek* Language, in which, when he had attained a ſufficient Knowledge to diſcourſe, he acquainted him, that in a Voyage from the *Indies*, being driven out of the uſual Courſe, he loſt all his Companions by Hunger; and the Ship being ſtranded, he eſcaped alone on Shore, where the Guards found him.

This Man offered to pilot a Ship to his own Country, which he did, and carried one *Eudoxus* with him. The Voyage was very happily performed, and they found in the Country to which this *Indian* carried them Aromaticks, and ſeveral ſorts of Precious Stones, ſome of which the *Indians* found in their Rivers, and others they dug out of the Earth in the ſame manner that Chryſtal is found. *Eudoxus* conceiving that he had acquired Experience enough by this Voyage, ſet up for a great Navigator, and undertook ſeveral Voyages to very little Purpoſe, becauſe he followed his own Notions inſtead of endeavouring to acquire proper Lights from the *Indians*, notwithſtanding it clearly appears from the Accident that befel this Man, that the *Indians* were much bolder and better Seamen than the *Greeks*.

But theſe laſt were ſo perſuaded of their own Skill, and had ſuch a Contempt for the Nations they held *Barbarians*, that nothing could induce them to change their Sentiments, or prevail on them to think of obtaining Lights from thoſe they ſo much deſpiſed. Biſhop *Huet*, ſpeaking of this Paſſage, ſeems to be of Opinion, that from the Time of *Ptolemy Philadelphus* the *Egyptians* had neglected their *Indian* Commerce, and recovered it by this Accident. I muſt confeſs this does not appear at all probable to me, and I am rather inclinable to believe, that this *Indian* carried the Ship he navigated to a Part of the *Indies* with which till then they had never been acquainted; and this by the perfect Knowledge he had of the *Monſoons*, or conſtant Trade-Winds; for I cannot believe that the *Indians*, in theſe early Ages, had any other Secret which enabled them to make long Voyages in leſs Time than other People. This is an Inſtance of the firſt Error.

As to the ſecond, one might collect many; but that I may not dwell too long upon this Subject, I will take notice only of one. They had a Notion that the Eaſtern and unknown Part of the *Indies* was bounded by the Ocean, and that this Ocean communicated with the *Hyrcanian* or *Caſpian* Sea; and upon this they grounded their Hopes of diſcovering the moſt diſtant Part of the *Indies* by the Navigation of the latter. *Strabo* declares plainly, however, that he believes this Navigation never had been performed; but at the ſame time admits that it was practicable. This he did on the Credit of *Patrocles*, who was ſent to make Diſcoveries on this Side by the *Seleucidæ*; and this he labours very earneſtly to prove by that kind of Reaſoning, which will always affect the Vulgar among the Learned, and which no great Man ever wants, to eſtabliſh what he thinks probable.

Pliny alſo mentions the Voyages of *Patrocles*, and ſeems to inſinuate that he actually diſcover'd ſome ſuch Paſſage; but what he ſays is very dark and perplexed; ſo that after all, one can affirm nothing poſitively from his Writings. The Opinion however grew common, and paſſed for current, even upon ſuch obſcure Teſtimonies; and this drew after it, as a neceſſary Conſequence, a Notion that only an inconſiderable Part of the World remained undiſcovered; and this, together with the whimſical Apprehenſion that one Zone was intolerably hot, and two as intolerably cold, damped the Spirit of Inquiring, and confined Men to the Spots where they happened to be born, or, at moſt, to thoſe which their Anceſtors had diſcovered by Accident or good Fortune, rather than Induſtry. Indeed, this circumſcribing Scheme is ſo ſtrong in the Ancients, and even in thoſe Works, which, at firſt Sight, appear calculated for a different Purpoſe, as for Inſtance, the Story of the Iſland *Atlantis*, related by *Plato*, and the famous

Expedition of *Hanno*, that they contain much more to affright and terrify, than to allure and invite Men to undertake long Voyages, and endeavour great Diſcoveries; which had this bad Effect, that it quite daſtardized common Minds, and rendered them incapable of being wrought into a Temper fit to go through the Hardſhips that muſt be met with in ſuch Undertakings.

The third Diſadvantage they laboured under was, the frequent Revolutions their own Countries were expoſed to; for this laid them under many and great Difficulties. They had this Method or that preſcribed to them by a ſuperior Power, and they were to purſue ſuch Plans only as were agreeable to the Government under which they lived, and thoſe too no longer than they were agreeable. Another Inconvenience was, the Interpoſition of the State on any Diſcovery, or ſurmiſed Diſcovery. It was to be cultivated or neglected at the Will of the Government, and not of the Adventurers, for the Spirit of Negotiation was not ſo free as it is now; but any Attempts out of the ordinary Mode of Commerce gave Jealouſies to ſuch as ought to have been beſt pleaſed with them.

Theſe Diſcouragements, at particular Times, and under particular Circumſtances, interrupted ſeveral kinds of Commerce, and kept the Whole in ſuch a Condition as hindered private Men from turning their Thoughts this Way; for, otherwiſe, no doubt, they would have thought of ſettling Colonies, and ſecuring ſome Footing in the *Indies*, in order to have examined the Whole of it, and putting the Navigation of it into a certain and irreverſible Order; ſo that nothing which happened at home might have affected thoſe Colonies: But after the Time of *Alexander*, or at leaſt of his immediate Succeſſors, we find nothing of this ſort thought of, but every thing abandoned to Chance and the Humour of the Times.

12. There were many Impediments beſides thoſe already mentioned, which hindered the Progreſs of Diſcoveries among the Ancients, and ſome of them of ſuch a Nature as to be almoſt invincible. Their Ships were built in ſuch a Manner, as did not, by any means, render them fit for long Voyages; for their Contrivance was ſuch, that they could not bear a high Sea, or go ſafely before the Wind at any great Rate. In the next place, their Ships wanted Room; and though this ſeems to be contradicted by the Accounts we have of Veſſels which carried ſeveral hundred Men, yet, when theſe come to be cloſely examined, they appear to be no other than a ſort of Barges, or rather Gallies, fit for tranſporting Men acroſs an Arm of the Sea, or for fighting, where this could be done in a few Hours after they were on board; and this will be the more evident, if we reflect on the Scenes of naval Combats mentioned in the *Greek* and *Roman* Hiſtories. The Labour of working their Ships was likewiſe intolerable in a long Voyage; and theſe Inconveniencies, taken together, appeared in the Eyes of their Seamen ſo dreadful, that they were more apt to mutiny, eſpecially when employed in Diſcoveries, than can well be imagined; ſo that if it had not been for ſome Accidents, and their being encouraged by the Examples of the *Arabians* and *Indians*, it is ſcarce credible that they would have made ſuch long Voyages as they really did.

If it ſhould be inquired how the *Arabians* and *Indians* made ſuch frequent Voyages in ſpite of theſe Inconveniencies, the Anſwer is eaſy, they made uſe of another ſort of Veſſels, which, though leſs ſtout in Appearance, were much better Sailers; nor would it be difficult to prove, even from the Accounts of *Strabo* and other ancient Writers, that the *Indians* actually made uſe in thoſe Days of the Paraos or Proes, which before a Wind are allowed to be the beſt ſailing Veſſels in the World. The Ancients wanted likewiſe the Aſſiſtance of Charts, which are ſo eſſentially neceſſary to Navigation; for it appears plainly from the Voyages already inſerted, and from the Accounts we have in *Pliny*, and in other Authors, that they were guided ſolely by a kind of Tables, containing the Names of Places on the Coaſt, and their Diſtances from each other; neither had they any Ideas of ſailing in a different manner, becauſe they knew not how to regulate their Courſe in an open Sea, which forced them upon the Choice of that ſort of Navigation which is now with Reaſon held to be the moſt dangerous, and in which they could make uſe of ſuch Veſſels only as had a ſmall Draught of Water; and this was particularly inconvenient in the Navigation of which we are ſpeaking, becauſe the *Indian* Coaſts are very foul, and by ſailing near them, they loſt the Advantage of the Trade-Winds, which, before the Invention of the Compaſs, afforded the only means of making long Voyages with Safety.

It muſt be owned that many of theſe Facts have been diſputed, and that too by very learned Men, who have endeavoured to perſuade us, that the Ancients wanted very few of the Conveniencies poſſeſſed by modern Navigators, as will be largely ſhewn in another Place; but at preſent it may be ſufficient to obſerve, that moſt of their Arguments are drawn from their own Explications of perplexed and obſcure Paſſages in Hiſtorians or Poets, whereas ours are grounded on the Scope of their general Hiſtories, and on Declarations in our Favour, as expreſs as can be deſired. For inſtance, *Vegetius* aſſures us, that the Seas were ſhut from *November* to *March*, and that it was not thought ſafe to undertake any Voyage of Conſequence before the Month of *May*. This very plainly proves the Defects of their Navigation, and that they loſt a great Part of the Year for want of thoſe Helps and Advantages, which, purely from a Spirit of Contradiction, theſe learned Men would perſuade us they enjoyed.

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In the next place, it may be obſerved, that though the Trade to the *Indies* was never carried to Perfection by the *Egyptians*, *Tyrians*, or *Romans*, yet it was known to them, and made the Subject of their Books for a long Courſe of Ages, ſince from the firſt Kingdom of *Tyre* to the Reign of *Conſtantine the Great* includes above eight hundred Years, whereas all our Diſcoveries of the *Eaſt Indies* were made within two Centuries after a Paſſage was found thither by the *Cape of Good Hope*, ſo that in this reſpect the Induſtry of the Ancients is very far ſuppaſſed by that of the Moderns.

The Third Obſervation I ſhall make is with regard to the Difference between a Land Force and a Naval Power. We have ſeen how many fruitleſs Attempts were made by the *Aſſyrian* and *Perſian* Monarchs to extend their Conqueſts towards the Eaſt ; and we have likewiſe ſeen of how ſhort a Continuance the Conqueſts were of *Alexander the Great*, and his Succeſſors, together with the Attempts made by the *Romans*, after they had reduced *Egypt* to a Province, and were Maſters of a great Part of *Aſia*, which, all of them, are nothing in Compariſon of the Empire eſtabliſhed by the *Portugueze*, or rather the Compariſon falls as far ſhort as the Power of the little Kingdom of *Portugal*, when thrown into the Balance with that of the Empire of *Rome* ; and the Eſtabliſhments of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* in thoſe Parts, but more eſpecially of the latter, plainly demonſtrate, that with reſpect to the Advantages derived from Conqueſts, a Maritime Power is infinitely ſuperior to the Strength even of the moſt extended Empires.

The *Romans* had in this reſpect in all Appearance the higheſt Advantages ; they were Maſters of the Country to the very Mouth of the *Arabian* Gulph on one Side, and had a very large Tract of Country on the other. The Terror of their Name was ſo great, that they had hardly any Oppoſition to fear by Land or Sea ; and if one Expedition had failed, they might very ſoon have repaired the Loſs ſuſtained in it, and have been in a Condition to have undertaken another. Yet we ſee nothing of this happened ; and it was not above twice or thrice thouhgt of, and then to no great Purpoſe. *Auguſtus* had formed a Deſign of reducing the *Peninſula* of *Arabia*, to which he was excited by many Reaſons ; ſuch as that the Inhabitants of the Coaſt between the *Arabian* and *Perſian* Gulphs were in Poſſeſſion of the whole Trade of the Eaſt ; there were ſome of the Nations on the Coaſt oppoſite to *Egypt* that were extremely addicted to Piracy, and greatly diſturbed the Navigation of the *Romans*, which probably happened from their having lighter Veſſels, and ſuch as ſailed better ; ſo that if at any time they met with Ships of greater Force, they were able to leave them, and make their Eſcapes ; the Situation of the Country alſo might probably be a ſtrong Inducement to the attempting this Conqueſt, becauſe it ſeemed to promiſe the intire Poſſeſſion of the Oriental Commerce without Interruption. But we have ſeen how that Expedition, undertaken with ſo great Precaution, and with ſuch a Force as was never employed in the Eaſt by any modern Potentate, was intirely defeated, The Emperors *Flavius* and *Titus Veſpaſian* had alſo ſome Thoughts of puſhing their Conqueſts on this Side ; but Hiſtory does not inform us, that they ever took any effectual Steps towards putting thoſe Deſigns in Execution. *Trajan* made the laſt Attempt upon *Arabia* from the *Perſian* Side, with a potent and victorious Army and this with no other View, than to have made himſelf Maſter of the Wealth which the *Arabians* had amaſſed by their extenſive Commerce ; but he likewiſe failed, and from a too quick Senſe of his Diſappointment broke his Heart.

Let us now conſider what Proſpect the *Portugueze* had of reaching and making Conqueſts in the *Indies*. Inſtead of croſſing from the Mouth of the *Arabian* Gulph to the Coaſt of *Malabar*, which is a Voyage only of a few Days they were to ſail round the whole Continent of *Africa*, then a Coaſt in a great meaſure unknown ; and at the ſame time the adjacent Seas were remarkable for their being almoſt conſtantly ſubject to Storms and Tempeſts, inſomuch, that when the utmoſt Cape was firſt diſcovered, the Diſcoverer called it the *Tempeſtuous Cape* ; but the King of *Portugal* foreſeeing the Advantages that would reſult from this Navigation, changed that Name for *The Cape of Good Hope*, and with a few Ships, and a very ſmall Force, attempted and ſettled not only a Commerce with the *Indies*, but raiſed a very conſiderable Empire there in ſpite of all the Oppoſition that could be given him. This manifeſtly ſhews not only the Superiority of the Moderns over the Ancients in Point of Navigation, but likewiſe that the moſt diſtant Voyages are beſt ſuited to the raiſing a Maritime Power, that is to ſay, a Power by Sea that is permanent, and not raiſed and overthrown ſuddenly, as the Maritime Powers among the Ancients frequently were. It alſo effectually demonſtrates, that it is not a mighty but a well-conducted Force that is proper for eſtabliſhing diſtant Conqueſts ; and that when a Nation is once poſſeſſed of a conſiderable Fleet, there is no Country at ſuch a Diſtance as to be out of her Reach, neither are her Settlements in any Danger of being deſtroyed, while they are worth keeping, and while the Government at home is ſufficiently attentive to their Preſervation ; ſo that the Circumſtances which ſeem at firſt Sight the moſt diſcouraging in regard to the attaining Foreign Power and Maritime Force, are, in reality, thoſe which moſt contribute to the Eſtabliſhment of it ; and to the preſerving it when eſtabliſhed, by ſecuring a conſtant Supply of all that is neceſſary for that Purpoſe.

It is by long Voyages only, made with Danger and Uncertainty, that People acquire the Means of making long Voyages with Eaſe and Safety ; the Perils they eſcape once they know how to avoid again ; they become acquainted by degrees, and by Experience, with the Nature of Things, which never could have been reached by the Penetration even of the ſharpeſt Underſtanding ; and by thus becoming acquainted with the Laws, or rather with the Courſe of Nature, they gain inſenſibly a kind of Superiority over Nature ; ſo that in ſome Senſe the very Winds and Seas may be ſaid to obey them. When the *Portugueſe* firſt undertook their *Indian* Expedition, they neither had good Ships, nor knew how to build them. It was

Expedition of *Hanno*, that they contain much more to affright and terrify, than to allure and invite Men to undertake long Voyages, and endeavour great Diſcoveries; which had this bad Effect, that it quite daſtardized common Minds, and rendered them incapable of being wrought into a Temper fit to go through the Hardſhips that muſt be met with in ſuch Undertakings.

The third Diſadvantage they laboured under was, the frequent Revolutions their own Countries were expoſed to; for this laid them under many and great Difficulties. They had this Method or that preſcribed to them by a ſuperior Power, and they were to purſue ſuch Plans only as were agreeable to the Government under which they lived, and thoſe too no longer than they were agreeable. Another Inconvenience was, the Interpoſition of the State on any Diſcovery, or ſurmiſed Diſcovery. It was to be cultivated or neglected at the Will of the Government, and not of the Adventurers, for the Spirit of Negotiation was not ſo free as it is now; but any Attempts out of the ordinary Mode of Commerce gave Jealouſies to ſuch as ought to have been beſt pleaſed with them.

Theſe Diſcouragements, at particular Times, and under particular Circumſtances, interrupted ſeveral kinds of Commerce, and kept the Whole in ſuch a Condition as hindered private Men from turning their Thoughts this Way; for, otherwiſe, no doubt, they would have thought of ſettling Colonies, and ſecuring ſome Footing in the *Indies*, in order to have examined the Whole of it, and putting the Navigation of it into a certain and irreverſible Order; ſo that nothing which happened at home might have affected thoſe Colonies: But after the Time of *Alexander*, or at leaſt of his immediate Succeſſors, we find nothing of this ſort thought of, but every thing abandoned to Chance and the Humour of the Times.

12. There were many Impediments beſides thoſe already mentioned, which hindered the Progreſs of Diſcoveries among the Ancients, and ſome of them of ſuch a Nature as to be almoſt invincible. Their Ships were built in ſuch a Manner, as did not, by any means, render them fit for long Voyages; for their Contrivance was ſuch, that they could not bear a high Sea, or go ſafely before the Wind at any great Rate. In the next place, their Ships wanted Room; and though this ſeems to be contradicted by the Accounts we have of Veſſels which carried ſeveral hundred Men, yet, when theſe come to be cloſely examined, they appear to be no other than a ſort of Barges, or rather Gallies, fit for tranſporting Men acroſs an Arm of the Sea, or for fighting, where this could be done in a few Hours after they were on board; and this will be the more evident, if we reflect on the Scenes of naval Combats mentioned in the *Greek* and *Roman* Hiſtories. The Labour of working their Ships was likewiſe intolerable in a long Voyage; and theſe Inconveniencies, taken together, appeared in the Eyes of their Seamen ſo dreadful, that they were more apt to mutiny, eſpecially when employed in Diſcoveries, than can well be imagined; ſo that if it had not been for ſome Accidents, and their being encouraged by the Examples of the *Arabians* and *Indians*, it is ſcarce credible that they would have made ſuch long Voyages as they really did.

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“ for they are quite ignorant of Perſpective.”

13. After the copious Detail we have given of the Progreſs of the Commerce of the Ancients in the Eaſt, we ſhall conclude this Section with a very ſuccinct Compariſon between their Endeavours and Succeſſes in this reſpect, and the Labours in the ſame way of the Moderns. In the firſt place then we have made it highly probable, that even in the moſt flouriſhing State of their Trade, their actual Diſcoveries did not reach farther to the Eaſt than the Peninſula of *Malacca*; for as to the *Sinus Magnus*, they could know nothing of it but by Hear-ſay, unleſs they had known all the reſt of the *Indies*. On the Continent again the *Sinæ*, which were the *Siameſe*, were the laſt People they knew on that Side. In regard to the Northern *Indies*, they knew very little with any ſort of Certainty beyond the *Emodian* Mountains; and moſt evident it is, even from their beſt Writers, that they had not ſo much as Reports of the Nations inhabiting beyond the Mountains of *Imaus*. But we have diſcovered Eaſtward the Country of *Cochin-China*, and all the Countries dependant upon it, the Kingdom of *Tonkin*, the vaſt Empire of *China*, all the Iſlands of the *Sound*, the *Moluccas*, the *Old* and *New Philippines*, and the Country of *New Guinea*, ſo that conſidered in this Light, our Diſcoveries exceed theirs by twenty Degrees of Longitude. Towards the North again, beſides what has been diſcovered by Land, the *Dutch* have moſt certainly proceeded as high as forty-five Degrees ſailing to the North-eaſt of *Japon*, ſo that without exaggerating, the Part of *Aſia* made known to us by our *Eaſt-India* Voyages is equal to all the reſt of *Aſia* that was known to the Ancients. It is not therefore at all ſtrange, that our *India* Trade ſhould ſo much exceed theirs, though carried on at ſo much greater Diſtance.

In the next place, it may be obſerved, that though the Trade to the *Indies* was never carried to Perfection by the *Egyptians*, *Tyrians*, or *Romans*, yet it was known to them, and made the Subject of their Books for a long Courſe of Ages, ſince from the firſt Kingdom of *Tyre* to the Reign of *Conſtantine the Great* includes above eight hundred Years, whereas all our Diſcoveries of the *Eaſt Indies* were made within two Centuries after a Paſſage was found thither by the *Cape of Good Hope*, ſo that in this reſpect the Induſtry of the Ancients is very far ſuppaſſed by that of the Moderns.

The Third Obſervation I ſhall make is with regard to the Difference between a Land Force and a Naval Power. We have ſeen how many fruitleſs Attempts were made by the *Aſſyrian* and *Perſian* Monarchs to extend their Conqueſts towards the Eaſt; and we have likewiſe ſeen of how ſhort a Continuance the Conqueſts were of *Alexander the Great*, and his Succeſſors, together with the Attempts made by the *Romans*, after they had reduced *Egypt* to a Province, and were Maſters of a great Part of *Aſia*, which, all of them, are nothing in Compariſon of the Empire eſtabliſhed by the *Portugueze*, or rather the Compariſon falls as far ſhort as the Power of the little Kingdom of *Portugal*, when thrown into the Balance with that of the Empire of *Rome*; and the Eſtabliſhments of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* in thoſe Parts, but more eſpecially of the latter, plainly demonſtrate, that with reſpect to the Advantages derived from Conqueſts, a Maritime Power is infinitely ſuperior to the Strength even of the moſt extended Empires.

The *Romans* had in this reſpect in all Appearance the higheſt Advantages; they were Maſters of the Country to the very Mouth of the *Arabian* Gulph on one Side, and had a very large Tract of Country on the other. The Terror of their Name was ſo great, that they had hardly any Oppoſition to fear by Land or Sea; and if one Expedition had failed, they might very ſoon have repaired the Loſs ſuſtained in it, and have been in a Condition to have undertaken another. Yet we ſee nothing of this happened; and it was not above twice or thrice thouhgt of, and then to no great Purpoſe. *Auguſtus* had formed a Deſign of reducing the *Peninſula* of *Arabia*, to which he was excited by many Reaſons; ſuch as that the Inhabitants of the Coaſt between the *Arabian* and *Perſian* Gulphs were in Poſſeſſion of the whole Trade of the Eaſt; there were ſome of the Nations on the Coaſt oppoſite to *Egypt* that were extremely addicted to Piracy, and greatly diſturbed the Navigation of the *Romans*, which probably happened from their having lighter Veſſels, and ſuch as ſailed better; ſo that if at any time they met with Ships of greater Force, they were able to leave them, and make their Eſcapes; the Situation of the Country alſo might probably be a ſtrong Inducement to the attempting this Conqueſt, becauſe it ſeemed to promiſe the intire Poſſeſſion of the Oriental Commerce without Interruption. But we have ſeen how that Expedition, undertaken with ſo great Precaution, and with ſuch a Force as was never employed in the Eaſt by any modern Potentate, was intirely defeated, The Emperors *Flavius* and *Titus Veſpaſian* had alſo ſome Thoughts of puſhing their Conqueſts on this Side; but Hiſtory does not inform us, that they ever took any effectual Steps towards putting thoſe Deſigns in Execution. *Trajan* made the laſt Attempt upon *Arabia* from the *Perſian* Side, with a potent and victorious Army and this with no other View, than to have made himſelf Maſter of the Wealth which the *Arabians* had amaſſed by their extenſive Commerce; but he likewiſe failed, and from a too quick Senſe of his Diſappointment broke his Heart.

Let us now conſider what Proſpect the *Portugueze* had of reaching and making Conqueſts in the *Indies*. Inſtead of croſſing from the Mouth of the *Arabian* Gulph to the Coaſt of *Malabar*, which is a Voyage only of a few Days they were to ſail round the whole Continent of *Africa*, then a Coaſt in a great meaſure unknown; and at the ſame time the adjacent Seas were remarkable for their being almoſt conſtantly ſubject to Storms and Tempeſts, inſomuch, that when the utmoſt Çape was firſt diſcovered, the Diſcoverer called it the *Tempeſtuous Cape*; but the King of *Portugal* foreſeeing the Advantages that would reſult from this Navigation, chânged that Name for *The Cape of Good Hope*, and with a few Ships, and a very ſmall Force, attempted and ſettled not only a Commerce with the *Indies*, but raiſed a very conſiderable Empire there in ſpite of all the Oppoſition that could be given him. This manifeſtly ſhews not only the Superiority of the Moderns over the Ancients in Point of Navigation, but likewiſe that the moſt diſtant Voyages are beſt ſuited to the raiſing a Maritime Power, that is to ſay, a Power by Sea that is permanent, and not raiſed and overthrown ſuddenly, as the Maritime Powers among the Ancients frequently were. It alſo effectually demonſtrates, that it is not a mighty but a well-conducted Force that is proper for eſtabliſhing diſtant Conqueſts; and that when a Nation is once poſſeſſed of a conſiderable Fleet, there is no Country at ſuch a Diſtance as to be out of her Reach, neither are her Settlements in any Danger of being deſtroyed, while they are worth keeping, and while the Government at home is ſufficiently attentive to their Preſervation; ſo that the Circumſtances which ſeem at firſt Sight the moſt diſcouraging in regard to the attaining Foreign Power and Maritime Force, are, in reality, thoſe which moſt contribute to the Eſtabliſhment of it; and to the preſerving it when eſtabliſhed, by ſecuring a conſtant Supply of all that is neceſſary for that Purpoſe.

It is by long Voyages only, made with Danger and Uncertainty, that People acquire the Means of making long Voyages with Eaſe and Safety; the Perils they eſcape once they know how to avoid again; they become acquainted by degrees, and by Experience, with the Nature of Things, which never could have been reached by the Penetration even of the ſharpeſt Underſtanding; and by thus becoming acquainted with the Laws, or rather with the Courſe of Nature, they gain inſenſibly a kind of Superiority over Nature; ſo that in ſome Senſe the very Winds and Seas may be ſaid to obey them. When the *Portugueſe* firſt undertook their *Indian* Expedition, they neither had good Ships, nor knew how to build them. It was not therefore in Virtue of their great naval Force, that they became Maſters of theſe Countries, but it was their Deſire of becoming Maſters of them, that put them upon raiſing one capable of atchieving it.

It is very remarkable, that the firſt Place in the *Indies* at which they arrived, was *Malabar*, a Country which, as we have ſhewn, was known to the Ancients, and that too for a long Tract of Time, but ſo imperfectly that they were not ſo much as able to give us a tolerable Deſcription of it. Whereas in the Space of fifty Years, or leſs, the *Portugueſe* were Lords not only of that, but of all the adjacent Countries, raiſed and depoſed Princes as they thought fit, and diſpoſed of Kingdoms at their Pleaſure The great Iſland of *Ceylon*, which, as we have proved, was the *Taprobana* of the Ancients, of which, after ſo many Voyages to the *Indies*, they have given us ſuch lame Accounts, was not only perfectly diſcovered within the Space of Time before mentioned, but in the Hands of the *Portugueze*, who impoſed a Tribute upon the Inhabitants, though all the Force they had then in the *Indies* was not equal to a thouſandth Part of their Number.

Theſe Reflections will lead the intelligent Reader into many more upon this Subject, and enable him to comprehend perfectly the Difference between the Attempts made by the Ancients, and the Exploits of the Modetns in this Part of the World, which, at preſent, is all our Buſineſs; and having thus travelled through the darkeſt and moſt perplexed Part of our Subject, on which we were obliged to enlarge ourſelves, in order to be perfectly underſtood, and to ſatisfy the Reader, that though every Thing within this Period of Time was confuſed and embarraſſed enough; yet it was far from being ſo utterly unintelligible, as it has been hitherto repreſented; we may have Leave to be more conciſe for the future, in reſpect to thoſe Things that are better known, and with regard to which therefore long Digreſſions are unneceſſary.

In order to connect the ancient and modern Hiſtory of the Commerce between *Europe* and the *Eaſt-Indies*, it is requiſite that we ſhould give a ſhort Account of the Intercourſe between the Subjects of the *Greek* Empire and the People of the *Indies*; for the Reader muſt naturally apprehend that after the imperial Seat was transferred from *Rome* to *Conſtantinople*, *Egypt*, remaining ſtill a Province no leſs uſeful to the latter than the former, this Commerce which had hitherto been in a manner annexed to the Poſſeſſion of *Egypt*, muſt have been not only preſerved, but encouraged and extended.

He will likewiſe, no doubt, be glad to ſee the Changes that happened in it, the new Routs that were opened to and from the *Indies*, by which the Commodities of thoſe Countries came by ſo many different Chanels into *Europe*, and which by the Riches they derived to the ſeveral Nations that intermeddled with this Commerce, excited that Spirit of Diſcovery which has ſince laid open that Trade directly to all the modern maritime Powers, and made their Eſtabliſhments in the *Indies* the moſt ſolid Proofs of their having a juſt Right to that Title. Theſe, God willing, we ſhall diſpatch within the Compaſs of two ſhort Sections, and then we ſhall enter on the Travels to the *Indies*, which firſt acquainted the northern and weſtern Parts of the World, with the Interior of thoſe Countries, the Nature of their Inhabitants, the Conſtitution of their Governments, and the Hiſtory of the moſt remarkable Events which had fallen out in them.

A Sort of Travels that, as they appeared ſtrange and ſurpriſing in the Times in which they were firſt publiſhed, ſo when exhibited ſimply and plainly as their Authors wrote them, and without the whimſical Additions by which they were disfigured in our old Tranſlations, they cannot fail of being thought equally curious and inſtructive even at this Day, the rather becauſe we love to trace Things to their Beginnings, and to ſee what ſtrange Impreſſions the Sight of Countries, People, and Manners ſo different from their own, made upon the Minds of thoſe who firſt viſited thoſe remote Regions, and that too in an Age not altogether ſo free from Superſtition and Prejudice as this in which we live.

SECTION XVI.

A conciſe Hiſtory of the Riſe, Progreſs, and Decline of the Conſtantinopolitan *Empire, together with the Commerce of its Subjects in the* Eaſt; *as alſo a brief Detail of the Riſe of the* Arabian *Empire, the Recovery of the* Indian *Commerce in* Egypt, *and the reviving the Trade of* Alexandria.

1. *A Deſcription of the City of* Conſtantinople, *and a ſhort View of the many Advantages derived to it from its commodious Situation.* 2. *The great Care taken by the Succeſſors of* Conſtantine, *for the Support of maritime Power.* 3. *The great naval Strength of that Empire, and the Diſpoſition of its Fleets.* 4. *The Ruin of the Silk-Trade under the Emperor* Juſtinian. 5. *Silk-worms firſt brought to* Europe, *and a compendious Hiſtory of that Manufacture to the preſent Times.* 6. *A large Account of the ſeveral* Indian *Commodities that were brought to* Conſtantinople. 7. *A conciſe View of the State of that Empire, from the Reign of* Juſtinian *to that of* Heraclius. 8. *The Victories of* Heraclius *over the* Perſians, *and the Embaſſies ſent him from the* Indies. 9. *The Riſe and Progreſs of the* Arabian *Empire, to the Time of the Conqueſt of* Egypt. 10. *The Foundation of* Grand Cairo, *and the Revival of the* Indian *Trade in* Egypt. 11. *The Hiſtory of the* Arabian *Commerce continued, with the Revival of that of* Alexandria. 12. *The State of* Conſtantinople, *to the Time of its being taken by the* Turks. 13. *Obſervations and Remarks upon the foregoing Hiſtory.*

1. THE beſt Writers of Antiquity differ very much as to the Reaſons which induced *Conſtantine* the Great to remove the Seat of Empire from *Rome* to the new City, which he called by his own Name. Some aſcribe it to his Care of the Eaſtern Provinces, and others to his being ſenſible that the *Romans* hated him. Whatever his Reaſons were, moſt certainly the Majeſty of *Old Rome* could not have been tranſlated to a City better ſeated for Empire than this, which the Emperor *Conſtantine* ſtiled *New Rome.* Its old Name was *Byzantium*; and it had run through a great Variety of Accidents before *Conſtantine*, who firſt thought of rebuilding *Troy*, caſt his Eyes upon it, and immediately diſcerned that no Place was ſo fit to become the Metropolis of the *Roman* Empire, and Miſtreſs of the World. It ſtands on a Point of Land on the ancient *Boſphorus* of *Thrace*, where there is a narrow Straight which ſerves to divide *Europe* and *Aſia*, and, at the ſame time, forms a Communication between the *White* and the *Black-Sea.*

The City ſtretches itſelf out in the Manner of an Amphitheatre, having on its Right-hand the *Archipelago*, and all the *Mediterranean*; and on the Left, the *Black-Sea* up to the *Palus Meotides*; ſo that it has all *Aſia* in

Front, and all *Europe* behind. It is in Virtue of this Situation that this City is very juſtly ſtiled the Key both of the Mediterranean and Black Sea. The Emperor, its Founder, took all imaginable Care to render it the moſt magnificent Place in all the World, to adorn it with Churches, Palaces, and other publick Buildings; and to provide for its Security, by all the Arts of Fortification practiſed in thoſe Days. But ſtill the Conveniency of its Situation ſeems to have had a greater Share in rendering it populous, and in preventing ſucceeding Emperors from thinking either of going back to *Rome*, or of chuſing any other Place of Reſidence, than all the Pains taken by *Conſtantine* to render it equally ſtately and commodious.

The ſpacious Fields of *Thrace* that lay immediately behind it, furniſhed Corn in Abundance, and that Part of *Aſia* which was over-againſt it, was, for many Ages, the beſt peopled and the beſt cultivated Country in the World. The Markets were always full of Fleſh and Fowl, at the cheapeſt Rates; and for Fiſh it had, and has ſtill a greater Abundance than any other City in the Univerſe, inſomuch that twenty Boats have been laden with one Net. The Inhabitants were ſupplied with Wines of the richeſt Growths, in the greateſt Plenty, ſo that in antient Times they were reproached with being continually at the Bottle; and, even to this Day, the *Greeks* lie under the ſame Imputation; though the *Turks* being reſtrained by their Religion, are leſs addicted to this Vice, though not wholly exempt from it neither. As to Timber, *Conſtantinople* is ſo plentifully ſupplied from the Woods which extended from *Propontis* quite to *Colchis*, in a Tract of more than forty Days Journey, that in the Space of ſo many Ages as ſhe has already ſtood, ſhe has never felt the leaſt Inconvenience, notwithſtanding ſhe has ſupplied all the neighbouring Parts with what was requiſite for building Ships and Houſes, and even *Egypt*, *Arabia*, and *Africa*, have likewiſe received Materials from her Stores.

But the greateſt Beauty, the greateſt Advantage, the moſt diſtinguiſhing Felicity of this imperial City, is her Port, by Nature the moſt lovely in the World, being ſix Miles in Compaſs, a full Mile over, and every where ſo deep that Ships may lie with their Heads aſhore, without Danger. This Harbour is not more ſafe and ſpacious than convenient; for when the Winds are N. N. E. or N. W. ſo that no Ships can come in from the Mediterranean, they bring in thoſe from the black Sea; and when they vere about to the oppoſite Points of S. S. W. or S. E. they bring up the Veſſels from the Mediterranean; ſo that conſidered in this Light, *Conſtantinople* ſeems deſigned by Nature to be the Centre of Commerce for *Europe*, *Aſia*, and *Africa*.

2. It was very probably the Senſe which they had of theſe prodigious Advantages that induced the Emperors, for a long Series of Time, to bend a great Part of their Endeavours to the Encouragement of Merchants and Mariners. The Emperor *Conſtantius*, for Example, exempted them from all Charges and Contributions to which the other Subjects of the Empire were liable; and this in ſo ample a Manner, that no pretended Caſes of Neceſſity could affect them. Succeeding Emperors diſtinguiſhed between Merchants and Mariners, ſubjecting the former to Duties and Impoſitions, but exempting the latter, and extending their Privileges to a very great Degree. The Reaſon of this was, becauſe that Merchants reaped all the Profits of Commerce to all the Hazards and Dangers of which the Mariners alone were expoſed. As the Emperors had frequent Occaſion to fit out Fleets for the publick Service, and as the Manning of theſe might have been very prejudicial to Commerce, a Law was provided which remedied this Inconvenience, and that in ſo ſingular a Manner, that it deſerves to be particularly taken Notice of.

There were certain Lands, in the Nature of Fiefs, granted for this Service; that is to ſay, the Owners poſſeſſed them, together with the Privileges incident to Mariners, upon expreſs Condition, that in Conſideration of theſe Eſtates they ſhould furniſh, according to their reſpective Values, a certain Number of Seamen, whenever the publick Service required them. Thus the Burthen was laid upon Lands, and not upon Perſons; and as the Circumſtances of People might change, and this Duty of providing Seamen, become inconvenient, or even impracticable; for the original Poſſeſſors of ſuch Eſtates, the Law provided that they might be at Liberty to diſpoſe of them to ſuch as might be more capable of complying with the Terms upon which they were held.

By this Method the *Greek* Emperors were able to fit out very great Fleets in caſe of Neceſſity, as appears by that of the Emperor *Leo*, in the Middle of the fifth Century, which was intended againſt the *Vandals* and conſiſted of eleven hundred Sail, which, however, were all deſtroyed on the Coaſt of *Africa* by the Treaſon of him who commanded them. This alone is a ſtrong Proof of the great maritime Power of the *Conſtantinopolitan* Empire, while it flouriſhed; but we have a much more ſignal Proof in the Eſtabliſhments made by theſe Emperors for the ſeveral Fleets appointed for the Defence and Support of their Empire, which Eſtabliſhments appear very clearly from the ſeveral Bodies of their Laws ſtill remaining, and which prove, beyond all Contradiction, that ſo long as this Empire continued in a flouriſhing Condition, the utmoſt Care was taken for the Encouragement and Protection of Commerce, by a right Application of that maritime Force we have before deſcribed.

3. The Province of *Egypt* was of no leſs Importance to the *Greek*, than to the *Roman* Empire; and the utmoſt Care was taken to regulate the annual Fleets from that Province, ſo that the City of *Conſtantinople* might be regularly ſupplied with whatever Proviſions ſhe had Occaſion for from thence, and have likewiſe the moſt valuable Returns that were made from the *Indian* Commerce by the way of the *Red-Sea*. It was by this means that immenſe Riches were regularly drawn from thence, and the beſt Part of the Profits of that advantageous Trade conſtantly conveyed to the Imperial Reſidence, as appears by a Multitude of Laws yet extant in relation to the Fleet of *Alexandria*, on Board of which thoſe Treaſures were carried to *Conſtantinople*. The next ſtationed Fleet was that of *Africa*, which was chiefly deſigned for the Benefit of *Old Rome*; for all the Commerce of *Alexandria* being diverted to *Conſtantinople*, that Supply of Proviſions, for which hitherto *Rome* had depended upon the Fleet of *Egypt*, was now to be received by this of *Africa*; and for a long Courſe of Years this Expedient anſwered the End very well.

The Third Fleet was that of the Eaſt, the principal Station of which at *Seleucia*, a City of *Syria*, ſeated on the River *Orontes*; and this Fleet ſeems to have been divided into ſeveral Squadrons, and from the many Laws made about it, appears to have been of very great Importance. It was chiefly by the help of this Fleet that the Commerce of *Perſia* and the *Higher Aſia* was carried on, which was very rich, and included ſome Branches of that of the *Indies*. Great Care was taken in the regulating this Trade, to prevent the Empire from ſuffering by the ſending of *Perſian* Spies, in the Garb of Merchants, into the *Roman* Provinces. The Places therefore to which the *Perſian* Merchants might repair, were pointed out, and ſettled by Law; as alſo the Seaſons at which Fairs were to be held, and the Time they were to laſt, by which Contrivance a Door was opened for conveying all the Trade of *Aſia* into this Channel; for when the Goods purchaſed at different Places were brought by the reſpective Fleets attending the Provinces in which thoſe Fairs were held to *Seleucia*, they were there embarked on Board the Grand Fleet for *Conſtantinople*.

Beſides theſe there was another Fleet in the *Pontus Euxinus*, or *Black Sea*, which brought annually vaſt Quantities of Corn to *Conſtantinople*, together with abundance of rich Commodities, and amongſt them ſome from the *Indies*, which were brought thither by a Rout that will be explained in the next Section. This Fleet ſerved likewiſe to awe the ſeveral barbarous Nations inhabiting the Coaſts of that Sea, and thereby contributed exceedingly to the Tranquillity of the Empire. It is very probable from the Laws that we find in the Code of the Emperor *Juſtinian*, that beſides theſe great Fleets, every maritime Province of the Empire had its peculiar Squadron ſtationed at a certain Port, which every Year carried the Revenues of the Province to *Conſtantinople*. There were likewiſe vaſt Numbers of flat-bottomed Veſſels maintained at the publick Expence on all the great Rivers that paſſed through the Empire for the tranſporting Troops, and other requiſite Services, as Occaſion required.

Whoever conſiders this Diſtribution of Things attentively, will eaſily diſcern that there never was a Government in the World, the Peace and Proſperity of which depended more immediately on the right Management of Maritime Affairs, than that of this Empire. But as it was very extenſive, and as an equal Care was neceſſary for the preſerving Order in every Part of it, we need not wonder, that in Proceſs of Time many Errors crept in, and a Multitude of Laws were made neceſſary for remedying the Inconveniencies they produced, till by degrees the new Regulations claſhing with the old ones, occaſioned greater Miſchiefs than all the reſt, and joined to a Depravity of Manners among their Governors, and the Invaſions from barbarous Nations, to which they were continually expoſed, brought on the Ruin of an Empire, which was grown too bulky to be well managed.

4. It is very certain, and we ſhall quickly have an Opportunity of making it evident, that ſo long as the *Greek* Empire was in a ſafe and flouriſhing Condition, the Subjects thereof had a general Correſpondence in the Eaſt, and carried on a conſiderable Commerce to the *Indies* by different Canals. It would take up too much Room to ſtate a Multitude of Facts from the *Byzantine* Hiſtorians which might eſtabliſh this Aſſertion; but that we may not leave this Part of our Hiſtory leſs perfect than the reſt, it ſeems reaſonable to report ſome few Inſtances which may anſwer this Purpoſe, and that too in a narrow Compaſs. The learned Hiſtorian *Procopius*, who has preſerved a Multitude of curious Paſſages in reſpect to the Reign of the Emperor *Juſtinian*, in which he flouriſhed, has among the reſt two very ſingular Facts that fall in exactly with our Deſign.

He tells us, that this Emperor, who began his Reign *A. D.* 528, and who had found a way to grant Monopolies of almoſt every ſort of Commodity, except Silks, took the following Method of getting that likewiſe into his Hands. It ſeems, this Manufacture was carried on no where but in the Cities of *Berytus* and *Tyre* in *Phœnicia*, and Silks were of a ſudden grown to a moſt extravagant Price, which was ſaid to ariſe from the Covetouſneſs of the *Perſian* Monarch, who had impoſed a heavy Duty upon Silks, which the *Roman* Merchants were obliged to pay for all they purchaſed in his Dominions; the Emperor finding this conſidered as a great Hardſhip, publiſhed an Edict, by which he pretended to ſettle the Price of Silk at eight Crowns of Gold for a Pound, and threatened with Confiſcation of their Goods ſuch as ſhould preſume to ſell it dearer.

This ruined the Merchants who dealt in that Commodity, who found themſelves obliged by this Law to ſell Silk for leſs than it coſt them; and therefore they quitted Trade, and diſpoſed privately of all the Silk they had to Perſons they could confide in. The Empreſs *Theodora*, having Intelligence of this, cauſed all their Goods to be confiſcated, and impoſed a large Fine on them beſides. By this Contrivance all the Silk in the Empire fell into her Hands; and by the Aſſiſtance of one *Peter Berſamez*, who was her Inſtrument, ſhe ſold it out publickly at the Rate of ſix Crowns an Ounce for that of an ordinary Dye; and the ſuperfine Colours were ſold at different Rates up to twenty-four Crowns an Ounce, all the Manufacturers working for them. By this iniquitous Practice the Emperor and Empreſs got immenſe Wealth, and *Berſamez* their Agent much more; but in the mean time the Merchants of *Conſtantinople* were ruined and undone, the Manufacturers at *Berytus* and *Tyre* reduced to abſolute Beggary, and Numbers of induſtrious Perſons forced to leave their Wives and Families in order to ſeek Employment in *Perſia*.

This is a very curious Paſſage, inaſmuch as it ſhews us the State of the Silk Trade at that Time, the Places in which Silk was wrought up, and the Value of that Commodity. But the ſecond Article we ſhall borrow from that Hiſtorian is ſtill more curious, becauſe it ſhews how the Price of Silk was reduced, not only throughout the *Greek* Empire, but throughout all *Europe*. Before we come to this, however, it is requiſite to obſerve, that even in the midſt of this Extortion there had been a Time when Silk was much dearer. For under the Reign of the Emperor *Aurelian* Silk had been ſold for its Weight in Gold; that is to ſay, a Pound of one was weighed againſt a Pound of the other; but as theſe Gold Crowns, or Aurei, as they are called in old Hiſtorians, were made by dividing a Pound of Gold into one hundred Parts, it is plain, that the Empreſs's Agent ſold Silk of common Colours for ſeventy-two Aurei, and Silk undyed perhaps cheaper. We may conceive from hence the Hardſhips that the Merchants were laid under by their being obliged to ſell it for twelve Aurei, which conſidering that they imported it from *Perſia*, and the *Perſians* at that time probably from *India*, it muſt have come to them at a much dearer Rate.

5. This exceſſive Price of Silk, whatever temporary Miſchiefs it might produce, had a very good Effect in the main; for the Emperor perceiving that his Subjects were chiefly tied to a continual Trade with *Perſia*, for the ſake of this Commodity, diſcovered a great Deſire to ſee them freed from this Inconvenience; upon which two *Indian* Monks, or rather two Monks that had travelled to the *Indies*, went to the Emperor, and told him, that they could very eaſily ſettle that Manufacture amongſt his Subjects, ſo as that they might never be under the Neceſſity of dealing with any Strangers, much leſs with the *Perſians*, for that Commodity. This Silk, ſaid they, which is ſo precious here, is in *Serinda*, the moſt populous and moſt civilized Country in the *Indies*, where we have ſpent many Years, ſpun by certain little Worms, which Inſtinct they receive from Nature. As for theſe Worms, it is impoſſible to tranſport them; but their Eggs may be brought from thence without any Difficulty, and hatched here by giving them a certain Degree of Heat.

Such were the Propoſals made by the Monks to *Juſtinian*, who readily cloſed with them, making them great Promiſes, in caſe they were able to bring this Matter to bear, which without much Difficulty they did; for returning to the *Indies*, they brought from thence a conſiderable Quantity of the Eggs, nouriſhing the Worms when they came out with the Leaves of Mulberries; and thus, ſays my Author *Procopius*, was the Art of making Silk introduced into the *Greek* Empire.

This Tranſaction fell out *A. D.* 550, but it was a long time before it ſpread itſelf much beyond the Bounds of the *Greek* Empire; for we find, that *A. D.* 1130, *Roger* King of *Sicily*, having conquered a Part of *Greece*, brought over into his own Country the Art of managing Silk-Worms, which was quickly transferred from thence to *Calabria*, and other Parts of *Italy*, where it flouriſhed for ſome Ages, before it was transferred to the Southern Parts of *France*, which the great Hiſtorian *Mezeray* tells us, happened under the Reign of *Francis* the Firſt, in which, however, he is miſtaken; for *Lewis* XI. *A. D.* 1470, introduced it into his Dominions, and ſent for Perſons ſkilful in the Art of managing Silk, not only from *Genoa*, *Venice*, and *Florence*, but alſo from *Greece*; and by his Letters Patent, dated in the Year 1480, granted them great Privileges. But the Price of this Commodity was ſtill kept up at a great Height.

Our King *Henry* VIII. who was a very magnificent Prince, wore commonly Woollen Hoſe, unleſs by Chance he had a Pair of Silk from *Spain*. His Son *Edward* VI. had a Pair of Silk Stockings preſented him by Sir *Thomas Greſham*, which Preſent of his was much taken Notice of. Queen *Elizabeth*, in the third Year of her Reign, had a Pair of black knit Silk Stockings given her by Mrs. *Montague*, and ſhe never wore Worſted afterwards. In the Year 1600, Mr. *William Lee*, a Native of *Nottingham*, and educated in St. *John's* College *Cambridge*, invented the Art of Frame-work Knitting, which has been ſince much improved. Having thus traced the Silk Manufacture from the *Indies* hither, we will now return to the proper Subject of this Section, and endeavour to make good what we have before aſſerted, that the *Indian* Commerce did not ſuffer by this Change of the Seat of Empire.

6. It appears clearly from hence, that under the *Greek* Emperors, Voyages to the *Indies* were become more common than in former times; but we could ſcarce have believed that ſo many different kinds of *Indian* Commodities, and almoſt from every Part of *India*, were common at *Conſtantinople*, if it were not verified to us by the publick Laws of the

Empire, collected into a Body by the Emperor *Juſtinian*; from whence it appears, that there were ſeveral Duties impoſed upon a Multitude of Goods brought from the *Indies*, ſuch as Spices of different kinds; for inſtance, Cinnamon, which came from the Iſland of *Ceylon*, but not in any great Quantity; for it was always very dear, the *Xilo Cinnamomum* was no other than the Wood of the Cinnamon Tree, on which there was alſo a Duty; but it does not appear of what Uſe it was, or whence it grew into Eſteem; perhaps it was uſed in the ſame manner that we do other Woods, in Decoctions. *Caſſia*, deſcribed at large by ſeveral antient Authors, from whom it appears to have been a ſort of milder Cinnamon; this likewiſe comes from *Malabar* and *Ceylon*. We learn from ſome very judicious Writers, and who are well acquainted with the Manner of collecting Spices in the *Indies*, that the *Caſſia Lignea* is, in truth, nothing more than the thick Bark of the true Cinnamon Tree, which has very little Flavour, by which they mean that this is the Spice known to the Antients by that Name; but the Modern Caſſia is another thing, and ſomewhat of a higher Flavour.

Pepper of ſeveral kinds, ſuch as long Pepper, white Pepper, and black Pepper, all of them from the *Indies*. *Pliny* is very angry that this Spice ſhould be ſo much admired; for, as he obſerves, other things are either pleaſant to the Sight, the Smell, or the Taſte, whereas there is nothing in Pepper agreeable to any of theſe Senſes; and yet, ſays he, what grows wild, and is of no Value in the *Indies*, is with us ſold by Weight, like Gold or Silver, for no other Reaſon, adds he, but becauſe it comes from *India*. In his Time the long Pepper was worth about nine or ten Shillings a Pound of our Money, white Pepper was of half that Value, and black about half a Crown a Pound; and it ſeems to have been as dear at *Conſtantinople*. Ginger, of which *Pliny* tells us, that many in his Time thought it the Root of the Pepper Tree; but he aſſures us, that was a vulgar Miſtake, for that in Reality it was the Root of a little Herb, which grew commonly in the Meadows of *Arabia*, and in the Country of the *Troglodites*. This Spice is likewiſe deſcribed by *Dioſcorides*, who agrees very well with *Pliny*. But after all, Ginger does not grow either in the Manner, or in the Countries they mention. It is, indeed, a kind of Lilly, the Flower of which is red mixed with green. It grows in the moſt remote Parts of the *Indies*, and over a great Part of *China*; but ſince it has been tranſplanted into the *Weſt-Indies*, we have the beſt Part of our Ginger from thence. The *Chineſe* eſteem it very much, eſpecially as a wet Sweet-meat, and tranſport a great deal of it to *Batavia*, where it is generally eat after Meals to aſſiſt Digeſtion. It did not bear a very high Price among the Antients; for in the Time of *Pliny* it was not above three Shillings a Pound; and at *Conſtantinople* it was not worth ſo much, It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that in thoſe Days they adulterated their Spices very dexterouſly; from whence it is evident, that they were much in uſe, and conſequently they muſt have been brought from the *Indies* in conſiderable Quantities.

Precious Stones of all Sorts, ſuch as Diamonds from different Parts of the *Indies*; Pearls from the Coaſt of *Perſia* and *Ceylon*; Emeralds, which were always held by the Antients for Oriental Stones, though there is great Reaſon to doubt the Truth of that Fact; but, however, they had good Cauſe to believe it, becauſe they were brought to them from the Eaſt, however they came thither. Another precious Stone, called Ceraunium, becauſe it was ſuppoſed to be found in Places where Thunder had fallen. *Pliny* mentions it, and indeed gives us a long Account of it, but ſuch a one as does not help us at all in finding out what Stone he means. He ſays, it is white, like Chryſtal, that it derives Light from the Sun and Moon, and has a ſort of Fire in it which ſeems to change its Place as the Stone is turned this Way or that, and that this Jewel comes from that Part of the *Indies* which borders upon *Perſia*. *Tertullian* mentions it among the Ornaments worn by Women, and aſſures us, that it had a glittering Appearance as if there had been Fire in it. We may venture to aſſert, that either this Stone is not known to us, or is a kind of Opal; for, except that, I know of no Stone that in any reſpect agrees with this Deſcription.

The Hyacinth or Jacinth, which was brought from *Callicut*, or *Cambaye*; it received its Name from its Reſemblance to the Flower ſo called, and muſt therefore have been of a purple Colour, inclining to a blue. The Jacinths known to us are of different Colours; but none of them reſemble the Stone known to the Antients; for ours are either of a Flame-Colour, of an amber Caſt, almoſt white, or of a pale Red. It is therefore probable, that the Jacinths of the Antients were a kind of Saphire. They were very much valued for graving, and were held to have many Virtues, which in reality were never yet to be found in any Stone.

Beryls, which *Pliny* ſays approach nearly to the Colour of an Emerald, and which owe moſt of their Beauty to their being cut hexangularly, and he diſtinguiſhes many kinds of them; ſome that had a yellow Caſt, others of a blueiſh Colour, and ſome mixed with white. He aſſures us, that the *Indians* valued theſe more than any other Stones, eſpecially when they were long, for then they bored and wore them without ſetting; and had alſo a Method of putting a gold Wire through them, which made them appear extremely beautiful at a Diſtance. One might write a large Diſſertation upon this ſingle Stone, ſince there are many very learned Naturaliſts that believe what we call the Beryl was the Diamond of the Antients. Certain it is, the Beryls we have from the *Indies*, do not at all reſemble the foregoing Deſcription, except that they are ſometimes found very long and large, but rather of a greeniſh Colour than a blue. They are moſtly to be met with in *Cambaye*, *Malabar*, or *Pegu*; but the fineſt and largeſt, of which ſometimes Cups and other ſmall Veſſels are made, come from the Iſland of *Ceylon*. There is, indeed, a Stone which ſome take to be a kind of Beryl, but which is better known by the Name of *Aqua Marina*, or *Aigue Marine*, from its Reſemblance in Colour to the Water of the Sea. Of theſe ſome are very hard, and of ſuch Beauty, that many Jewelers have been impoſed upon by them, and have taken them for Diamonds.

Saphires, about which we are more at a Loſs than about any other Stone whatever; but this ſeems to be certain, that whatever the Saphire of the Antients was, it had no Sort of Reſemblance to that Stone known to us by the ſame Name; for it appears that the Saphires of the Antients were not tranſparent, ſo that poſſibly they might be a kind of *Lapis Lazuli*. It is not, however, impoſſible that the Antients might be acquainted with the true Saphire; tho', if they were, they mentioned it by ſome other Name, and my Reaſon for ſuppoſing they might know it, is, that our Saphire comes from *Calicut*, *Cananor*, and the Iſland of *Ceylon*, from whence they had moſt of their precious Stones, and eſpecially ſuch as were coloured. We might add to theſe, many other kinds of precious Stones, of which, at this Day, we no know more than the Names: But that we are afraid of fatiguing the Reader, and therefore we ſhall only mention one Remark on this Subject, and that is, with regard to the Doubts and Difficulties that attend it. It ſeems to be a very ſtrange Thing, that we ſhould be more at a Loſs about the Jewels mentioned in old Authors than almoſt about any other Thing; but when we conſider what *Pliny* tells us, that the *Indians* were very dextrous in making falſe Jewels of all Colours; and when we obſerve that he mentions ſome true Stones, which, loſing their Luſtre, recovered it again by being put into Vinegar, in which Salt of Nitre had been diſſolved; I ſay, when we conſider, and lay theſe Circumſtances together, with the Addition of their Deſcriptions, it may very well beget a Doubt in us, whether many of the precious Stones mentioned by the Antients, might not be Compoſitions; but whatever they were, they came from the *Indies*, and this is another Proof, that even in the moſt early Times, the *Indians* were much better ſkilled in theſe Matters than any other Nation.

We likewiſe find amongſt the reſt of the *Indian* Commodities charged with Duties, all Sorts of Silk and Cotton Manufactures, which they brought as we do from thoſe Countries, and probably for the ſame Reaſon, becauſe they found that Method cheaper than bringing the Commodity and working it up at home. Ivory was alſo brought from thence as well as from *Africa*, and great Quantity of Skins and Furs which are diſtinguiſhed under the two Heads of *Babylonian* and *Parthian*; and they likewiſe brought many wild Beaſts, ſuch as Lions, Bears, Leopards, Panthers, and ſome Birds. As to Metals, we find none mentioned except Iron or Steel, under the Title of *Ferrum Indicum*; and this, we are told by *Pliny*, came from the Country of the *Seres*, and was eſteemed the very beſt in the World; and next to it was the *Parthian* Iron, but whether it came wrought or unwrought does not very clearly appear, but the former is the moſt probable. That they might, under the Reigns of the *Greek* Emperors, have this fine Iron or Steel from *China*, where that Commodity is ſtill met with in the greateſt Perfection, I will not deny; but that it came from thence in the Time of *Pliny*, is not eaſy to comprehend; and therefore I am apt to believe that they received it from the *Siameſe*, who might inform them that they had it from the *Seres*.

We find Cotton alſo, and a Sort of Mohair amongſt the Commodities that were brought from the *Indies*; and though the true Purple was to be had in *Europe*, yet it ſeems that of the *Indies* was moſt admired, and in the greateſt Eſteem, otherwiſe it cannot be imagined that they would have taken the Pains to have brought it from Countries at ſo great a Diſtance. It would take up too much Time, ſhould we endeavour to trace out the different Ways by which all theſe *Indian* Commodities were brought to *Conſtantinople*. It is ſufficient for our Purpoſe that they were brought thither, ſince this clearly ſhews that the Subjects of the *Greek* Empire had a conſiderable Trade to the *Indies*.

We might alledge, to prove this ſtill more largely, the Teſtimony of *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and ſeveral of the *Byzantine* Hiſtorians, which however would lead us into abundance of critical Diſputes, and therefore we ſhall wave their Authorities, eſpecially ſince the Account already given of the *Indian* Monk or Monks, who had travelled to the *Indies*, for with reſpect to our Subject it is much the ſame Thing which they were, is as clear a Teſtimony on this Head as we could wiſh. It is alſo very certain, and the Reader will meet with the cleareſt Proof of it in a ſucceeding Section, that by this Time, or very ſoon after, the *Syrians* had not only reached *China*, but were even eſtabliſhed there, and formed a Chriſtian Church, the Members of which were very numerous in all the Provinces of that extenſive Empire; neither can it be imagined that, upon this Eſtabliſhment, they ſhould immediately relinquiſh all Correſpodence with their Countrymen; though this might, and indeed really did happen in Proceſs of Time, and for Reaſons that will appear hereafter.

7. We have very different Characters given us of the Emperor *Juſtinian* by different Writers, according as their Humours led them; but upon the whole, it is very certain that he was one of the beſt Princes this Empire ever had, took the greateſt Pains to ſettle and ſupport the Government, to regulate the Laws, and to leave every thing in ſuch a Condition that ſucceeding Princes might be able to govern without Trouble, by adhering to the Rules which he had laid down.

He deceaſed in the eighty-third Year of his Age, *A. D.* 565, and was ſucceeded by his Nephew *Juſtin* II. in whoſe Time the Empire was ſo ſhaken by Domeſtick Confuſions, and towards the latter End of his Reign invaded by the *Perſians* on the one Side, and by the *Avares* on the other, that the Weight of Government became abſolutely inſupportable, inſomuch that he fell diſtracted. *Tiberius* had thereupon the Adminiſtration of the Empire committed to his Care, with the Title of *Cæſar*; and after the Death of *Juſtin*, he ſucceeded him in the Empire, which he governed with great Magnanimity, and had ſuch Succeſs againſt the *Perſians*, as reduced their Power very low.

He was ſucceeded, *A. D.* 582, by *Mauritius*, who married his Daughter *Auguſta*, and in the Beginning of his Reign was very proſperous, repelled the Invaſion of the *Perſians*, and when that Kingdom fell into Confuſion, and their King *Choſroes* expelled, he received that Monarch into his Dominions, and treated him with great Generoſity and Kindneſs; he likewiſe raiſed a great Army to reſtore him, which he alſo performed very happily; and by this Means the Commerce between the *Greeks* and the *Perſians* was renewed, to the great Advantage of both Empires. The Cloſe of this Emperor's Reign was not at all anſwerable to its Beginning; for the *Avares*, under the Command of their King *Chajanus*, invaded the Empire; and notwithſtanding all the Precautions the Emperor could take to prevent the Progreſs of their Arms, ravaged all *Thrace*, and were on the Point of beſieging *Conſtantinople*; but in this however they were prevented by a Plague, which ſwept off moſt of their Army, upon which their King, who had twelve thouſand of *Mauritius*'s Subjects Priſoners, offered to ranſom them for Half a Crown a piece, which not being granted, he put them all to Death. This ſo much incenſed the People of *Conſtantinople*, that they rebelled, and called the Emperor a cruel, and greedy Tyrant. He, on the other hand, was ſo afflicted with this unhappy Accident, that he begged the Prayers of all religious People, that this Offence might be pardoned, or that he might receive his Puniſhment for it in this World. In this he ſoon had his Wiſh; for *Phocas*, who from a common Soldier came to be General of his Army, rebelled againſt him, was proclaimed Emperor by the Army, and purſued *Mauritius* to *Chalcedon*, where he put him with his Wife and Children to Death, which *Mauritius* ſuffered with great Patience, uttering theſe Words, *Thou art juſt*, O LORD, *and thy Judgment is righteous*. Theſe Events fell out in the Year 602.

This *Phocas*, as he attained the Empire by Treaſon and Murder, ſo he governed with all the Circumſtances of Cruelty and Barbarity that could render a Tyrant odious; for being ſenſible at firſt that his Title was bad, he endeavoured to ſecure himſelf in the Poſſeſſion of the Empire, by deſtroying, without Mercy, all who were any way related to the Imperial Family, or who were ſo diſtinguiſhed by their Virtues, or their Employments, as to give him any Umbrage; and this leading him to ſhed the Blood of a Multitude of the Nobility, raiſed a general Abhorrence of his Government over all the Empire. But beſides theſe domeſtick Troubles, *Phocas*, almoſt from the Beginning of his Reign, was preſſed by a formidable Foreign Enemy. This was *Choſroes* King of *Perſia*, who, in Gratitude for the Kindneſs ſhewn him by the Emperor *Mauritius*, was no ſooner informed of his Murder, than he invaded the Provinces of the *Greek* Empire bordering upon his Dominions; and this War, as it grievouſly diſtreſſed a great Part of the Empire, ſerved to increaſe the Hatred of the People againſt the Monſter who had occaſioned it. As Misfortunes of this kind ſeldom come alone, and as it is natural for ambitious Neighbours to to take all Advantages over a declining Government, ſo while the Affairs of *Phocas* were in this Condition, the *Avares*, *Sclavonians*, and other barbarous Nations, broke into and ravaged his Dominions. He, in the mean time, inſtead of reforming, continued his Cruelty and Lewdneſs, till he was ſurpriſed in his Palace by *Photinus*, whoſe Wife he had raviſhed, and delivered to the Son of *Heraclius*, one of his Generals, who had taken Arms againſt him. *Heraclius*, after upbraiding *Phocas* with his Crimes, cut off his Feet, Hands, and Privities; and at laſt beheaded him. Such was the End of this barbarous and blood-thirſty Tyrant, who, notwithſtanding, was flattered by the Churchmen of his Time; crowned by the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople* while the Emperor *Mauritius* was ſtill living, and owned by the *Roman* Pontiff, on whom he beſtowed the Title of Univerſal Biſhop.

8. The general Corruption of the People, and a Succeſſion either of Tyrants or weak Princes, had ſo enfeebled the *Greek* Empire, that when *Heraclius* aſcended the Throne, which was *A. D.* 610, he found it ſcarce poſſible to make the neceſſary Proviſions for the Security of the State; and therefore, when he was attacked by *Choſroes* King of *Perſia*, he did not behave with that Conſtancy that might have been expected from a Man of his great Courage; for, inſtead of arming to oppoſe them, he endeavoured to purchaſe Peace; but when this was found impracticable, he compromiſed Matters with the *Avares*, who were Enemies no leſs formidable than the *Perſians*,

and addreſſed himſelf to the War, though his Treaſury was ſo exhauſted, that he was forced to coin the Church Plate. While he was engaged in this War, the *Avares* broke the Peace, and advanced even to the Gates of *Conſtantinople*, which they beſieged, but without Succeſs. *Heraclius* ſoon after concluded the *Perſian* War with much Honour to himſelf, after it had laſted ſix Years.

It was one of the moſt fatal of which we find any mention in Hiſtory; for it exhauſted the Strength, and in its Conſequences proved the Ruin of both Empires; for while the *Perſians* were victorious at firſt, they over-ran all *Egypt*, plundered the People without Mercy, interrupted their Commerce, and deſtroyed their Magazines. When the *Greeks* in their Turn had the better of the *Perſians*, they revenged theſe Wrongs ſo effectually, that they intirely broke the Force and Spirits of the *Perſians*, which ſcarce proved a greater Misfortune to that Nation than to the *Romans* themſelves; for if the *Perſians* had not been in ſo weak a Condition, the *Saracens* would never have been able to have over-run their Country in the manner they did, and which afterwards afforded them an Opportunity of reducing the moſt valuable Provinces of the *Greek* Empire.

It is very remarkable, that upon the firſt News of the Victories which *Heraclius* gained over the *Perſians*, one of the principal Monarchs of the *Indies* ſent to compliment him upon that Occaſion, and made him a Preſent of a conſiderable Quantity of fine Pearl, and precious Stones, and ſome Years afterwards repeated his Civility much to the Emperor's Satisfaction. This is a very ſingular Circumſtance, and ſhews that there muſt have been ſome previous Correſpondence between theſe Princes; but it was one of the laſt Inſtances of Friendſhip which paſſed between theſe States; for before the Deceaſe of this Emperor, all the Provinces from which any Correſpondence could be carried on with the *Indies*, were torn from the *Greeks*; and as this is a Circumſtance which very nearly concerns our Subject, it is requiſite, for the better underſtanding it, that we ſhould enter into a more particular Account of this remarkable Event.

9. *Mohammed*, the Author of a new Religion, and of a new Empire, ſet up for a Prophet about two Years before *Heraclius* began to reign; but the *Hegira*, or Flight from *Mecca*, which is the Æra of the *Mohammedans*, and which happened when *Mohammed* was fifty-four Years old, is fixed, according to the beſt Hiſtorians, to *July* 6, *A. D.* 622. *Mohammed* ſurvived this ten Years, and though at his firſt aſſuming the Sovereignty, he had no more than thirty Subjects; yet before his Death he had laid the Foundation of a very powerful Monarchy. He was ſucceeded by his Father-in-law *Abdallah*, ſurnamed *Abubekre*, by which Name only he is mentioned in moſt Hiſtories. The Meaning of it in *Arabic* is, *The Father of the Virgin*; and he was ſo called, becauſe his Daughter *Aiſcha* was the only one of *Mohammed*'s Wives whom he married while a Virgin.

This *Abubekre* was the firſt *Khaliff*, which is another *Arabic* Word that ſignifies a *Vicar* or *Subſtitute*, and a *Succeſſor*, and the *Khaliffs* were eſteemed both, with reſpect to *Mohammed*. In the ſecond Year of his Reign he invaded *Perſia*; and in the third and laſt he ſent *Khaled*, one of his ableſt Commanders, with an Army of 36,000 Men to invade the *Greek* Empire, which he performed with Succeſs, and defeated a great Army which *Heraclius* ſent againſt him.

Omar ſucceeded *Abubekre* in the thirteenth of the *Hegira*, in the firſt Year of his Reign he became Maſter of *Damaſcus*, and in the ſecond he reduced all *Syria*, having forced *Heraclius*, who came in Perſon to its Relief, to retire precipitately. The next Year he made himſelf Maſter of *Jeruſalem*, and all the Country of *Paleſtine*, while one of his Lieutenants intirely ſubdued *Perſia*, and put an End to that ancient Kingdom in the Perſon of *Jezdegerd*, who was the laſt of their Princes.

After this Conqueſt the *Saracens*, as they were then called, demanded Tribute of *Egypt*; and *Cyrus* Biſhop of *Alexandria*, knowing the diſtreſſed Condition of the Empire, and fearing the Conſequences of a War, conſented to pay an annual Tribute of 200,000 Aurei, with which for two Years the *Saracens* were contented, and very probably would have been ſo for a long Space of Time, if the Emperor *Heraclius* had not taken this in ill Part, and treated it as a fleecing of his Subjects to inrich the Infidels. He beſtowed therefore the Government of *Egypt* on an *Armenian*, whoſe Name was *Manuel*, with the Title of *Præfectus Auguſtalis*, who, when the Tribute was demanded next, anſwered, that they had formerly a Prieſt, but now a Soldier to deal with. *Omar* thereupon ſent *Amrou* his General with a potent Army into that Country, where, when it was too late, *Heraclius* would have renewed the Treaty made by *Cyrus*, and would willingly have paid the former Tribute. But *Amrou*, in the Space of two Years, conquered the beſt Part of the Country, and laid Siege to *Alexandria*. While he lay before the Place, which held out fourteen Months, the Emperor *Heraclius* died, and being ſucceeded by his Son, who was a Minor, the *Saracens* at their Leiſure proſecuted the Conqueſt of *Egypt*, and ſoon after annexed thereto all the adjacent Countries.

Omar the ſecond *Khaliff* reigned but ten Years and a half, and in that Space of Time ſubdued *Syria*, *Chaldea*, *Meſopotamia*, *Perſia*, *Egypt*, and Part of *Africa*; that is to ſay, as far as *Tripoli* in *Barbary*. By this Blow the *Romans*, as they ſtiled themſelves, or *Greeks*, as they were ſtiled by others, loſt all their Eaſtern Provinces, and the Trade to the *Indies* intirely, which for the preſent ſuffered an abſolute Interruption, the *Arabs* being at that time intirely addicted to War; and though they were avaritious enough, had no great Notion of Commerce. It is ſcarce to be conceived how great an Alteration the Riſe of this new Empire made in the Face of Affairs, and what prodigious Deſolation enſued before theſe Conquerors came to be ſoftened to ſuch a Degree, as to cultivate the Arts of Peace, and to endeavour, by the Rules of Policy, to eſtabliſh and maintain the mighty Empire they had acquired, the greateſt indeed and moſt extenſive that the World had ever ſeen, reaching Weſtward as far as *Spain*, and Eaſtward to the very Frontiers of the *Indies*. Our Subject obliges us to examine the Progreſs of their Power in *Egypt*, becauſe it not only opened once again the Trade through the *Red-Sea*, but alſo that of *Europe*, by the ſame Canal, to the *Eaſt Indies*.

10. That Impetuoſity and Violence which enabled the *Saracens* to make themſelves Maſters in ſo ſhort a time of ſuch vaſt Dominions, was not like to ſuffer them to continue long under one Head, which, however, was undoubtedly the Deſign of *Mohammed* their Founder. We have not room to enter here into all the Reaſons of that Diviſion which happened among the *Arab* Princes, and therefore ſhall content ourſelves with one, which was the great Diſtance of their Provinces, that naturally gave an Opportunity to ſuch as were intruſted with the Government of them to ſet up for themſelves.

We have already ſhewn how all that Part of *Africa*, which had been under the Dominion of the *Romans*, fell into their Hands; and we ſhall next obſerve, that *Abulcaſſem Mohammed Ben Abdallah*, being in Poſſeſſion of Part of *Africk*, ſet up for himſelf in the Year of the *Hegira* 296, and took the Title not of *Khaliff*, but of *Mahadi*, which ſignifies Director, or Chief Prieſt. He fixed the Seat of his Government at *Cairoan*, which is a Name the *Arabs* beſtowed on the ancient City of *Cyrene*, or rather a new City built on the Ruins of the old one. He left the Government to his Son *Cajem*, who removed the Seat of Empire to *Mahadie*, a new City which his Father had erected; and his Grandſon *Abou Temim Maad*, better known by his Sirname *Moez Ledinillah*, who ſucceeded in the Year of the *Hegira* 341, proſecuted the Deſign which his Anceſtors had entertained of making himſelf Maſter of *Egypt*.

With this View he ſent his General *Giaubar*, who was a *Greek* by birth, to invade that Country, of which he made himſelf intirely Maſter; and in the Year of the *Hegira* 358, laid the Foundation of a new City, which *Moez Ledinillah* reſolved ſhould be the Capital of his Dominions. As the *Arabs* were exceedingly addicted to Aſtrology, particular Care was taken that the firſt Stone of this City ſhould be laid, when the Planet *Mars* was in the Aſcendant; and as this Planet is by them called *Cabar*, the new City was called *Caberab*, or *Al Caberab*, that is, the Victorious; and is the ſame which the *Europeans* call *Cairo*, or *Grand Cairo*. I have been the more careful in marking the Date of this City's Foundation, which agrees with the Year of our Lord 968, becauſe many, otherwiſe accurate Writers, have been led into Miſtakes about it; particularly the learned Biſhop *Huet*, who in the forty eighth Chapter of his Hiſtory of the Commerce of the Ancients, ſays, it was built *A. D.* 795; and in the fifty-eighth Chapter of the ſame Work, tells us, it was built *A. D.* 984.

As ſoon as *Moez Ledinillah* was informed that this City was finiſhed, he removed, with all his Treaſure, from his old Capital, and made his Entry into *Cairo* in the Year of the *Hegira* 362, and there took the Title of *Khaliff*. His Succeſſors were ſtiled *Khaliffs* of *Egypt*, to diſtinguiſh them from the *Khaliffs* of *Bagdat*, who were eſteemed the true Succeſſors of *Mohammed*. This City was very conveniently ſituated on the *Nile*, and became in Time no leſs conſiderable for its Commerce, than for its being the Seat of Empire: and it was by this Means that the old Trade, by the Way of the *Red Sea*, was once more reſtored to *Egypt*, which flouriſhed exceedingly under this new Race of Princes, as appears by the Revenue which it produced to its Khaliff, and which, as *Elmacinus* tells us, amounted to no leſs than Three hundred Millions of Crowns of Gold.

The Khaliffs of *Egypt* were nine in Number, and the laſt of them was *Adhad*, who was depoſed by *Saladin* General of *Noureddin*, Sultan of *Damaſcus*, in the Year of the *Hegira* 567, *A. D.* 1171. *Saladin* entering the Palace of the Khaliff, who died immediately after he was depoſed, found there prodigious Riches, and amongſt the reſt a noble Proof of the Commerce of the *Indies*, which was the fineſt Ruby in the World, perfectly fine and bright, and weighing very near an Ounce and a half. This prodigious Wealth, and the having a great Army abſolutely at his Devotion, tempted him to ſet up for himſelf; and having made himſelf Maſter of *Egypt*, he ſoon after extended his Dominions over all the Countries of *Damaſcus*, *Paleſtine*, and *Syria*. He left, at his Deceaſe, his Kingdom of *Egypt* to his ſecond Son *Othman*, who died in the Year of the *Hegira* 595, and was ſucceeded by his Brother, who was ſoon deprived by his Uncle *Maleck al Adel*, whoſe Grandſon *Malek Al Salek* ſucceeded, in the Year of the *Hegira* 647. He enlarged the City of *Cairo*, and fortified it with a ſtrong Wall, and was victorious over St. *Lewis* of *France*, in the Year of the *Hegira* 648. But this Prince was however the laſt of his Houſe; for not long after, the *Mamlouks*, or *Mamelucs*, as they are generally called, who were a kind of mercenary Soldiers, revolted from him, and forced him to take ſhelter in a wooden Tower, which hung over the *Nile*. To this Tower the Mutineers ſet Fre, and thereby compelled the unfortunate Monarch to jump into the *Nile*, where he was drowned.

By this Accident *Egypt* once again changed its Maſters; for theſe *Mamelucs* became Sovereigns of the Country, and choſe their General, whoſe Name was *Ibek*, Sultan, who thereupon took the Name of *Almalek Al Azis*. He was the firſt Prince of the *Dynaſty* of theſe *Mameluks*, which were diſtinguiſhed by the Name of *Baharites*, or *Marines*; for theſe People were, generally ſpeaking, either young *Turks* or *Tartars*, ſold into *Egypt* by the Merchants, from whom again they were bought by the Sultan, educated at his Expence, and employed to defend the maritime Places in the Kingdom. The plain Reaſon of this Inſtitution was, becauſe the native *Egyptians* were found ſo weak and effeminate, from a long Courſe of Slavery, that they were unfit for Arms; and perhaps this is the Caſe of all Nations, when in the State of the *Egyptians*, that is to ſay, when they have no Property to fight for, are neither to be the better for Victory, nor can be worſe by any Defeat. Theſe Foundlings made excellent Soldiers; for, having no Relations or Friends, but amongſt their own Corps, they turned all their Thoughts to the excelling in their Profeſſion, as they placed all their Hopes in acquiring the principal Poſts in their Militia. This extraordinary Event fell out in the Year of the *Hegira* 648, *A. D.* 1250. They elected, on the Death of a Prince, another out of their own Body, and held the Kingdom without Interruption till the Year of the *Hegira* 784, when they were deprived of it exactly in the ſame Manner in which they had acquired it.

For, as they found it neceſſary to keep up a numerous ſtanding Army, becauſe, though they made but a Part of the Sultan's Troops, yet it was impoſſible for them to truſt either the *Arabs* or the *Egyptians*; they therefore had Recourſe to the purchaſing all the Children they could meet with, but particularly the *Circaſſians*, which inhabit a Part of the Coaſt of the *Black Sea*; and have, in all Ages, had a barbarous Cuſtom of making Merchandiſe of their Children; and for the better procuring of theſe Children, the *Mamelucs* entered into a Treaty with the *Greek* Emperors, for ſending an annual Fleet into the *Black-Sea*. Theſe Children they trained up in their own Diſcipline; but by an unaccountable Blunder in Politicks, never incorporated them into their own Corps, but diſpoſed of them in Garriſons in the Heart of their Country, in a ſort of Fortreſſes, which they called *Borge*; and from thence this new Corps of *Mamelucs* took the Name of *Borgites*; and growing more numerous than the old Corps, deprived *Kelaun*, who was the laſt Sultan of the firſt Dynaſty of the Empire, and transferred it to themſelves.

It is of this ſecond Dynaſty of the *Mamelucs*, of which moſt Authors are to be underſtood when they ſpeak of the *Mamelucs* as the Children of Chriſtians, for ſuch the *Circaſſians* were. Theſe *Borgites* remained Maſters of *Egypt* to the Year of the *Hegira* 923 *A. D.* 1517, when their laſt Prince *Thomam Bey* was defeated by *Selim* the firſt, Emperor of the *Turks*, who cauſed him to be hanged over one of the Gates of *Grand Cairo*; and to the *Turkiſh* Empire *Egypt* has been a Province ever ſince. It was under theſe *Mamelucs* that the *Eaſt India* Trade was, in a great meaſure, reſtored to its old Channel; that is to ſay, all Sorts of *Indian* Commodities were conveyed by the *Red-Sea* to the Coaſts of *Egypt*; from thence to *Grand Cairo*, and ſo by the *Nile* to *Alexandria*, where a great Part of them was purchaſed by the *Europeans*; and it was by this Commerce that *Egypt* was ſo rich in their Time, that the Predeceſſors of *Thomam Bey* gave, at his Acceſſion to the Throne, by way of Largeſs to his Soldiers, ten Millions of Ducats at once. Having thus, as briefly as poſſible, run through the Hiſtory of *Egypt*, it will be requiſite to enter more particularly into the Commerce of the *Arabians* in the Eaſt, without which, the ſubſequent Part of the Work could not be perfectly underſtood; and this likewiſe we ſhall do with all imaginable Brevity, in order to preſerve a due Proportion between this Section and the reſt, as well as that neceſſary Connection between the ſeveral Parts of this Hiſtory; ſo that the different Turns which this Trade to the *Indies* hath taken, may the more evidently appear. A Taſk difficult to accompliſh in ſo narrow a Compaſs, and the more ſo, becauſe we travel through an unbeaten Road, and are obliged to change our Guides almoſt at every Stage.

11. One would naturally imagine, from the foregoing Accounts of the *Arabians* and *Mohammedans* in general, that they were not the People in the World beſt diſpoſed for cultivating Trade, and ſettling themſelves in different Parts of the World with a View to Commerce; yet it will appear plainly in the Courſe of this Work, that they were actually diſperſed into the moſt diſtant Countries in the *Indies*, nay, and through *China* itſelf, without the Aſſiſtance of Force, and where they could not have been led by the Spirit of Ambition, for which we have ſeen them hitherto diſtinguiſhed. It is therefore neceſſary that we ſhould give the Reader a fair Account of this Matter, and make him acquainted with the Means by which they ſpread themſelves in ſo extraordinary a Manner, became ſole Maſters of the *Indian* Commerce, even in the *Indies* themſelves, and thereby drew it into ſuch Countries as were under their Dominions; from whence it was carried out into other Parts of the World, but ſtill in ſuch a Manner, that the beſt Part or the prodigious Profits ariſing from that Trade centered in them. In order to this, and that the whole may be brought into as little Room as poſſible, we ſhall, upon this Head obſerve, that, from their own Hiſtories it is clear, the *Arabs* formed their Settlements four ſeveral Ways; by Conqueſt, by Diſcovery, by Trade, and by Miſſion: By the firſt they poſſeſſed themſelves of all the Provinces, which made their

vaſt Empire; by the ſecond, they got footing in *Africa*, down to *Cape Corientes*, among the poor unarmed *Cafres*, who had it not in their Power to prevent them from ſeizing on what Parts they ſaw good. Their Colonies of *Magadoxo*, *Brava*, and *Quiloa*, were ſomewhat in the Nature of ours in theſe latter Times, but not ſo difficult to maintain, becauſe of the Proximity of the *Red Sea*, whence the *Arabs* had all Sorts of Aſſiſtance. By the two other, they ſeated themſelves in all other Parts, but more eſpecially by Commerce.

Theſe Voyages were not in thoſe Days ſo ſafe and ſo frequent, and therefore the Merchants were under a Neceſſity of making a long Stay at the principal Marts, where they took Wives; their Religion allowing Plurality. Theſe new Families brought on others, and the Princes being ſenſible it was greatly for their Advantage to draw the Trade of *Perſia*, *Arabia*, and at the ſame Time of *Egypt* and *Europe* by the *Red Sea*, into their own Ports, theſe Merchants met every where with the kindeſt Uſage they could wiſh. The Idolatrous Princes, confirmed in their old Superſtitions, were not at all ſcrupulous about Differences in Religion, but admitted all indifferently; ſo they readily allowed their Subjects to embrace *Mohammediſm*, which they preferred to the reſt, becauſe of the Hopes theſe *Arabs* gave them of Protection from the Sultans, whoſe Power was known in the remoteſt Parts of the Eaſt. Even Princes themſelves made Profeſſion of *Mohammediſm* in troubleſome Times, that the *Moors* might join them; for, in latter Days, they were ſo multiplied, that they peopled whole Cities, or at leaſt a Part of the moſt conſiderable. Thus this Religion, which has nothing very inconvenient in it, did, by little and little, obtain in many Parts; and at length received an Acceſſion of Power, when ſome of its Profeſſors being raiſed to the firſt Poſts in the Courts of *Cambaya* and *Guzzarat*, invited a greater Number of thoſe *Aſiatic Turks* called *Rumis*, and even ſeized on ſome Poſts; as *Malic Aziz*, who raiſed a conſiderable Settlement at *Diu*, from whence he a long Time infeſted the *Portugueſe*.

By Trade and Religion, the *Arabs* got footing in ſome Parts of *Malabar*; and by the ſame Means they came to be very conſiderable upon *Malacca*. They firſt went thither as Merchants, and ſome of them there fixing their Abode, gained many of the Idolaters over to *Mohammediſm*. From *Malacca* they ſailed round to the *Moluccas*; and having prevailed on the Kings of *Tidore* and *Ternate*, together with ſeveral others to join with them in Religion, they reaped great Benefits from theſe Princes, whom the Concerns of Trade, and the Protection theſe *Moors* gave them room to hope, confirmed in *Mohammediſm*. According to the *Portugueſe* Writers, they had not been long ſettled in the *Moluccas*, before this Diſcovery of the *Indies*. Thus, in a very ſhort Space of Time, and without the Aſſiſtance of any conſiderable maritime Force, the *Arabs* did more than the *Greeks* and *Romans* in the Courſe of ſo many Ages; and it is highly probable, they would have puſhed Matters ſtill farther on this Side, if they had not been hindered by the ſailing of the *Portugueſe* into this Part of the World, which put an immediate Stop to their Progreſs.

They found, however, Means to make the moſt of their good Fortune, and to become the Carriers of *Europe* with reſpect to the Commerce of the Eaſt; and this too in ſuch a manner, that they ſhut out all others from navigating thoſe Seas, and thereby drew an immenſe Profit to themſelves. For the *Indians* brought by Land to *Cabul* and ſome other Places, and by Sea to *Baſora* and *Siraf*, all the Commodities of the *Indies* and *China*. Furs were brought into *Syria* by the Provinces of *Aderbejan*, by *Curdiſtan*, and other Parts more northerly; great Quantities of the ſame they alſo had from the *Barbary* Coaſt, and by the Way of the *Red-Sea*, from whence a Trade was carried on with them all over *Egypt*. From the ſame Places they had Gold-duſt; Gold alſo they had from the Mines of *Sofala*, brought to them by the *Negroes*, who traded with *Egypt* by the Way of the *Deſart*, or from Port to Port quite to the *Red-Sea*; from *Ceylon* and the *Indies*, they by their Trade with the *Chineſe* and *Indian* Merchants, had Silk, rich Stuffs, and many other Manufactures, Drugs, and Spices.

With this Stock of Goods they drove a very conſiderable Commerce by the Way of *Caherah*, or *Cairo*, with the *Venetians*, the *Genoeſe*, the *Catalans*, and the *Greeks*, which was eaſily done by reviving the old Mart of *Alexandria*; which Port, though it was far from recovering its former Magnificence, became once more famous in the World, by becoming what it formerly was, the Centre of Commerce between the Eaſtern Parts of the World and the Weſt. This ſhews the great Conſequence of a right Situation, and is a new Proof of the Wiſdom and Penetration of *Alexander the Great*, who foreſaw, that whatever became of his Empire, the new City which he erected, and which he honoured with his Name, would continue to make a conſiderable Figure, as long as Trade was capable of giving Credit to any Place. It is true, that the Revolutions which happened in the Government of *Egypt*, after it fell under the Dominion of the *Mohammedans*, and of which we have already given a ſuccinct Account, frequently affected this City to a very great Degree; but ſtill the Excellence of her Port, and the many Conveniences that reſulted from the Commerce carried on thereby to the Maſters of *Egypt*, whoever they were, preſerved her from total Deſtruction, though in the Hands of the moſt barbarous Nations; for the Deſire of Wealth is ſo natural to Mankind, that it ſoftens the moſt rugged Natures, and diſpoſes them for the ſake of Intereſt to a kind of counterfeit Humanity.

But it was the *Portugueſe*, who by the Diſcovery of the Paſſage to the *Indies* by the *Cape of Good Hope*, that gave the laſt Blow to this Commerce, and finally extinguiſhed the Glory of *Alexandria*; which, as we have ſhewn, depended upon their Sovereigns preſerving the Monopoly of the *Indian* Trade.

It was for this Reaſon that the *Venetians* aſſiſted privately the *Mohammedans* in their Endeavours to prevent the *Portugueſe* from ſettling in the *Indies*; from whence we may diſcern, that Intereſt operates more ſtrongly than Religion, Neighbourhood, or indeed any other Principle whatever. The *Portugueſe* were *Chriſtians*, *Europeans*, and good Allies to the State of *Venice*; the *Mohammedans* were none of theſe, but their Intereſt and Trade was the ſame; and whatever affected the Commerce of the one, muſt neceſſarily be detrimental to that of the other. In ſhort, the Diſpute was, whether the Poſſeſſors of *Egypt*, and the *Venetians*, ſhould divide between them the Profits of the *Indian* Commerce, or whether it ſhould remain intirely to the *Portugueſe*; and there is no Reaſon to wonder, that when this was the Queſtion, a ſtate depending ſo much upon Commerce as that of *Venice* did, ſhould ſet all Conſiderations aſide, in order to attend more cloſely to her Intereſt.

It is not, however, to be underſtood from hence, that the *Indian* Commerce, by the Way of *Egypt*, is even at this Day entirely deſtroyed, or that the *Venetians* have no farther Concern therein; neither of which is, ſtrictly ſpeaking, true; but that this Commerce is nothing now to what it was, either with reſpect to the *Egyptians*, or the *Venetians*, is daily declining, and muſt decline more and more, the Paſſage by the *Red-Sea*, the Country of *Egypt*, and the Commerce of the Port of *Alexandria*, having now loſt thoſe diſtinguiſhing Advantages which for ſo many Ages they poſſeſſed, and which enabled them to recover as they did, after ſuch intolerable Devaſtations as they were expoſed to.

We may eaſily ſatisfy ourſelves as to the Truth of this, by comparing the Revenues of *Egypt*, when in the Hands of the *Arabians*, with what they now produce, to the *Turk*: The former amounted to three hundred Millions of Crowns, and the People were not at all oppreſſed; the latter are fixed at three Millions, and the People are beggared by the raiſing that Sum. We may add to this, that formerly there were in *Egypt*, as *Diodorus Siculus* informs us, three thouſand Cities, whereas now there are not above three hundred conſiderable Towns, and none of theſe can boaſt any thing of their ancient Splendor. It is now time for us to return to the *Greek* Empire, and to ſhew in as few Words as poſſible how it ſunk into Ruin.

12. *Conſtantine* the ſon of *Heraclius* ſucceeded his Father; but in the fourth Month of his Reign he was poiſoned by his Mother-in-law *Martina*, a Woman of great

Parts, and of bewitching Speech. She raiſed her own Son to the Throne; but the Government being in Confuſion, and all things going to Wreck, the Senate cut out the Empreſs's Tongue to prevent her deluding the People any more with her Eloquence; and cut off his Noſe, leſt he ſhould gain the People's Affection by his Beauty. *Conſtans*, the Grandchild of the old Emperor, was then raiſed to the Throne, and reigned twenty-ſeven Years; his ſon *Conſtantine* ſucceeded him, under whom *Conſtantinople* was beſieged by the *Saracens*; but they were obliged, however, to raiſe it, and he had afterwards great Succeſs againſt them. His Son *Juſtinian* was ſtill more fortunate, but withal ſo perfidious, that when he had made a Peace with them upon good Terms, he broke it when he thought it for his Advantage, which expoſed him to Hatred abroad, and Contempt at home, ſo that he was depoſed and baniſhed; but was afterwards reſtored, by the Aſſiſtance of the *Bulgarians*, and behaved with great Cruelty, after he recovered his Dominions. He even invaded the Territories of that Prince, who had protected and reſtored him, by whom his Army was totally defeated; and now being grown odious to every body, his Subjects rebelled againſt him, and cut off his and his Sons Heads.

The two ſucceeding Emperors were depoſed, and *Theodoſius* abdicated the Empire of his own accord; and then *Leo* the third became Emperor, who was the Son of a Shoemaker, in whoſe Time the *Saracens* again blocked up the City of *Conſtantinople* for three Years, but were at laſt obliged to retire: He was ſucceeded *A. D.* 741, by his Son *Conſtantine Copronimus*, who was very ſucceſsful againſt the *Saracens*, and held the Empire thirty-four Years, and then left the Throne to his Son *Leo* IV. who was likewiſe a great Prince, and defended his Dominions with equal Courage and Succeſs. He ruled the Empire only five Years, and might have eſtabliſhed both the Reputation of his Government, and the Succeſſion of his Family, if it had not been for the over-bearing Temper of his Empreſs *Irene*, who after his Death firſt governed in Conjunction with her Son *Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus*, and afterwards murdering him and all the Royal Family, reigned for ſome time alone, till in *A. D.* 802, ſhe was depoſed, and ſhut up in a Monaſtery.

Charlemagne having now aſſumed the title of Emperor of the Weſt, it ſunk the Reputation of the *Greek* Monarchs exceedingly; and the ſucceeding Emperors being moſt of them unfortunate, and many of them unworthy, there fell out nothing but Tyrannies, Rebellions, Depoſitions, Murders, and ſuch-like Confuſions, during the Space of between three and four hundred Years, till the Holy War broke out, when through the Madneſs of the Weſtern Princes the Emperors of the Eaſt might, if they had managed prudently, have recovered their former Glory; but they behaved unſteadily, baſely, and perfidiouſly, during the whole War; and beſides, they were perpetually plagued with Rebellions and Revolutions, in which the *Latins*, for their own ſakes, taking Part, ſet up *Alexis Angelus*, whom the *Greeks* murdered; which threw all that Part of the World into the utmoſt Confuſion, ſo that the Chriſtian Princes, inſtead of proſecuting their Wars againſt the *Turks*, turned their Arms upon the *Greeks*, who in the midſt of theſe Misfortunes could not agree amongſt themſelves, but divided their Empire into two under *Alexis Comnenus*, who made *Trebiſond*, a Town in *Natolia* on the *Euxine* Sea, his Capital; and *Theodorus Laſcaris*, who made *Adrianople* the Seat of his Government, while the *Latins* ſeized the greateſt Part of the Empire, becauſe the *Greeks* did not reimburſe their Charge for reſtoring young *Alexis*. By this Means the *Greek* Empire was divided into three Parts, and the *Latins* ſet up *Baldwin*, Count of *Flanders* to be Emperor at *Conſtantinople*.

This great Event happened about the Year 1200, and the *Latin* Emperors, which were five in Number, remained poſſeſſed of *Conſtantinople* for ſixty Years; and then it was recovered by the *Greek* Emperor *Michael Paleologus*, who, though a bad Prince, enlarged his Dominions, and defended himſelf bravely againſt all his Enemies; and after a Reign of twenty-three Years, left the Empire to his Son *Andronicus* II. who ruled it forty-five Years with various Fortune, till in his old Age his Grandſon *Andronicus* III. by the Aſſiſtance of the *Genoeſe*, dethroned him, and ſhut him up in a Monaſtery. It was under the Reign of this latter *Andronicus* that the *Turks* became very formidable, and threatned to compleat that Ruin which the *Saracens* had begun, to which they were encouraged by the looſe Adminiſtration of this Emperor and his Succeſſors.

John Cantacuzenus being left Guardian to *Andronicus*'s two Sons, *John* and *Manuel*. uſurped the Throne in 1338. In the Beginning of his Reign he was chaſed from *Conſtantinople*, where the People had crowned *John* the Son of *Andronicus*, which occaſioned a long War; *Cantacuzenus* made a League with the *Turks*, ſubdued *Lydia*, *Cappadocia*, and other Provinces, with the Help of the *Venetians*; but *John Paleologolus*, by the Help of the *Genoeſe*, defeated him by Sea and Land; after which he retired to a Monaſtery or Mount *Athos*, with his Son *Matthew*, whom he had aſſociated into the Empire; and his Empreſs retired to a Nunnery. During his Retirement he wrote the Hiſtory of his own Reign in four Books, which is reckoned one of the fineſt Pieces written by any of the modern *Greeks*.

John VI. of the Family of *Paleologus*, ſucceeded in 1354. He was ſucceſsful in his War againſt the *Bulgarians*, and afterwards made a League with the *Turks*; but was deſpiſed by the Sultan *Amurath* I. who took ſeveral Places from him, and made *Adrianople* the Seat of the *Turkiſh* Empire in 1362. *Andronicus*, Son to *John*, conſpired againſt his Father, for which he was impriſoned, and had his Eyes put out; but making his eſcape to *Amurath*, he by his Aſſiſtance, and that of the *Genoeſe*, dethroned his Father, and impriſoned him and his Uncle *Emanuel*, who making his Eſcape to *Bajazet* the Sultan of the *Turks*, and offering to hold the Empire of him, dethroned his Nephew in the third Year of his Reign; yet afterwards the *Turks* broke with him, and beſieged *Conſtantinople*, which obliged him to go about to the chief Courts of *Europe* for Relief. He ſtayed two Years at *Paris*, where, hearing that *Tamerlane* had defeated *Bajazet* Emperor of the *Turks*, and obliged him to raiſe the Siege, he returned to *Conſtantinople*; but being ſtill unſucceſsful, he reſigned the Empire to his Son *John*, and retired into a Monaſtery, where he died.

His Son *John* VII. ſucceeded in 1418. During his Reign the *Turks* took *Theſſalonica*, and became Maſters of moſt of the *Greek* Empire, except *Conſtantinople*. This obliged *John* to have Recourſe to the *Latins* for Aſſiſtance, and to wiſh for an Union of the *Greek* and *Latin* Churches. It was with this View that he came to *Ferrara*, where the Pope had ſummoned a Council; and there he had great Promiſes made him of Support againſt the *Turks*; and returning from thence to *Conſtantinople*, he died about ſix Years afterwards.

Conſtantine XV. ſucceeded his Brother in 1445. He had ſignalized himſelf in the War of *Peloponneſus*, and for his great Strength was ſurnamed the *Dragon*. Pope *Nicholas* V. ſent a Cardinal to renew the Agreement, wherein he ſucceeded, on promiſe of aſſiſting him; but the *Latins* being ſlow in ſending their Supplies, Sultan *Mahomet* II. ravaged *Greece*, beſieged *Conſtantinople* by Sea and Land, and carried it after fifty-eight Days. The Emperor *Conſtantine* did all that was poſſible to defend the Place; but being neglected by the *Latins*, and not ſupplied with Money by the Citizens, the *Turks* prevailed, and himſelf, after taking Leave of his Officers, went to defend the Breach, where he was killed, fighting valiantly; and being known by his Armour, the *Turks* cut off his Head, and carried it on a Lance through the City. This happened on the 28th of *May* 1453. The *Turkiſh* Emperor deſtroyed afterwards all the Imperial Family, and having totally overturned the *Greek* Monarchy, eſtabliſhed the Seat of the *Turkiſh* Empire at *Conſtantinople*, where it has ever ſince remained.

If we conſider the extenſive Dominions, the vaſt Power, and the wiſe Form of Government, originally eſtabliſhed in this Eaſtern Empire; one cannot help wondering that it ſhould be overturned, and extinguiſhed in ſuch a manner. But, on the other hand, if we reflect on the Luxury, Corruption, and tyrannical Abuſe of Power, that ſo manifeſtly appeared in the Adminiſtration of almoſt all the Emperors after *Juſtinian*, and conſider at the ſame time the mutinous and ſeditious Diſpoſition of their Subjects, we may be rather inclined to wonder how, under ſuch Circumſtances, this Empire could ſubſiſt ſo long.

On the whole, there is no room to doubt, that the Ruin of the *Greek* Power was not owing ſo much to the Force of its barbarous Enemies, as to the Weakneſs of its Government, and the diſſolute Manners of the People. The excellent Situation of its Provinces, and their happy Communication with the Capital of the Empire, rendered the *Greeks*, in Times of Peace, incredibly rich, as appears from what the Hiſtorian *Zonaras* informs us, with reſpect to the Treaſure of the Emperor *Baſilius*, who reigned in the Middle of the Ninth Century; and who, beſides vaſt Heaps of Silver, was poſſeſſed of two hundred thouſand Talents in Gold, which at the loweſt Eſtimation amount to upwards of thirty-eight Millions of our Money.

As the Empire diminiſhed, its Trade and Riches muſt ſink of courſe; but even long after this, they were ſo conſiderable, that a Traveller, who will be hereafter mentioned, reports in the thirteenth Century, that the Cuſtoms and Exciſe of *Conſtantinople* amounted to twenty thouſand Crowns a Day at the very time that it was deſtroyed; and when the People refuſed to furniſh the Emperor with Money to defend the City and themſelves, they were ſo immenſely rich, that the Fleet, which was laden with the Plunder, was ſcarce able to keep the Sea, the Ships being ſo overcharged with their Riches.

All this ſufficiently ſhews what prodigious Wealth had accrued to them by their Commerce. To ſay the Truth, it was this Abundance that proved the Ruin of the *Greeks*; for what between the vaſt Riches that flowed in upon them from all Parts of the World (for to the very laſt their City was the Centre of the Trade of *Europe*) and the mighty Plenty they had of all ſorts of Proviſions and rich Wines in their own Neighbourhood, they grew ſo inſolent and ungovernable, that the ill uſe of their Proſperity rendered the Preſervation of it impoſſible.

The *Venetians* and the *Genoeſe* aggrandized themſelves by the Fall of the *Greeks*, and preſerved for a long time the Fragments of that Empire of which they made themſelves Maſters. By this means likewiſe the *Europeans* became better acquainted with the Eaſtern Nations, and found leſs Difficulty in viſiting their Countries; ſo that by degrees a Deſire of penetrating by Land into the moſt remote Parts of the Eaſt, and which had ſcarce been thought on in former Ages, came to diffuſe itſelf through all *Europe*; the Power of the *Turks* likewiſe excited great Jealouſies in the Chriſtian Princes, who were their Neighbours, and the Wars that theſe occaſioned afforded new Opportunities of looking into the State of theſe diſtant Countries by thoſe who remained long Priſoners amongſt them, ſo that though at firſt Sight it may ſeem a Paradox, yet we may with Reaſon affirm that the Ruin of the Eaſtern Empire by the *Mohammedans*, contributed not a little to the Eſtabliſhment of that Empire which the ſeveral Nations of *Europe* now poſſeſs in the Eaſt.

This Obſervation is of greater Conſequence than may at firſt Sight appear; for whoever looks into almoſt all the great Events that have fallen out in the ſeveral Ages of the World, will very plainly perceive that they have been brought about by the moſt unlikely Means. The ſudden Riſe of the *Saracen* Empire, threatened all *Europe* with an Inundation of barbarous Tyranny; but the Humour of undertaking the Holy War, as it was called, for the Recovery of the City of *Jeruſalem* from the Infidels, proved the moſt effectual Means of preventing that Misfortune, by occupying the *Mohammedans* in the Défence of the Countries which they had already acquired, at the ſame time that it excited ſuch a martial Spirit in almoſt all the Nations of *Europe*, as rendered them capable of ſuſtaining that Shock by which otherwiſe they muſt have been overpowered.

One may carry this Reflection ſtill farther, if we advert to that maritime Power which has been raiſed in *Europe*, by the Diſcovery of the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-Indies*, and which has viſibly ſet bounds to the Ambition of all the *Mohammedan* Princes, who, notwithſtanding the vaſt Dominions they poſſeſs, and the prodigious Armies they are able to raiſe, are, notwithſtanding, very apprehenſive of the Power of the Chriſtians by Sea, who are indeed able to make them extremely uneaſy upon any Quarrel, notwithſtanding their ſeeming Superiority. This ſufficiently ſhews the Solidity of that Maxim, that whoever is Maſter at Sea, muſt be likewiſe Maſter on Land, or, which is the ſame thing, have the Power of controuling ſuch as eſteem themſelves Maſters. Theſe Remarks ariſe naturally from the Subject, and therefore claim the Attention of every Reader, eſpecially in a Country like ours, which has always affected the Dominion of the Sea, and never can be deprived of it but by want of Attention.

13. We have now run through the Hiſtory of the Commerce between the Weſtern Parts of the World and the *Eaſt-Indies* from the earlieſt Accounts, and this without ever loſing the Connection, or leaving the Subject untraced through any Period of Time. The Diſcuſſion of this Point has indeed taken up a great deal of Time, and of Room; but in return, it has furniſhed us with a great deal of uſeful Knowledge; for the Reader will eaſily perceive, that in purſuing this Topic, we have been led into a kind of Univerſal Hiſtory of Commerce, a thing of far greater Conſequence, and infinitely more inſtructive than the tacking together an incoherent Collection of Voyages, which, however, has been the Scheme of almoſt all former Writers, who perceiving their Error too late, have endeavoured to mend it by Prefaces, Diſſertations, and Extracts from antient Writers; whereas by purſuing a right Method, and being content to take the Pains of bringing what is ſcattered, through a Diverſity of Authors, into its proper Order, we have furniſhed the Reader with the Means of underſtanding this Subject perfectly, and of being able to pronounce, with Certainty, how and by whom this advantageous Commerce was managed at any Time given.

We have indeed inſiſted ſomewhat largely on the Hiſtory of the ſeveral Empires, which we were obliged to mention in the Courſe of this Work; but beſides that in doing this we have relieved the Reader from the Fatigue of reading a dry Narration of Facts, unenlivened by Circumſtances, it will be found that we have mentioned nothing that does not contribute to the better apprehending the principal Subject, and to the rendering the following Voyages and Travels perfectly intelligible, which never could have been done any other way. A particular Writer who ſits down to give the World an Account of what he has ſeen abroad in a certain Number of Years, never propoſes, and indeed it cannot be expected he ſhould propoſe delivering a general Hiſtory of the Countries and Kingdoms through which he paſſed; and yet without a competent Knowledge of theſe, his Accounts can never be thoroughly underſtood. But when we undertook to give not only a Series of the beſt and moſt authentick Pieces of this kind, but alſo to furniſh the World with a Hiſtory of the Diſcovery and Settlement of the *Eaſt-Indies*, it was requiſite to provide againſt all theſe Inconveniencies, which induced us to be more copious in theſe Sectious than otherwiſe we ſhould have been, that the Reader may come prepared in ſuch a manner for the Peruſal of the reſt of this Work, as not to be interrupted at every Turn with critical Remarks, which always diſtract and confound the Narrations with which they are intermixed.

It is with the ſame View, that after ſo large a Detail of the Progreſs of this Commerce in the Hands of its principal Poſſeſſors, we have added yet another Section to explain the ſeveral Routes by which, when the principal Channel of this Trade was interrupted, it was ſtill in ſome meaſure preſerved and carried on.

This will be found extremely uſeful for two very important Purpoſes; for in the firſt place, it will explain the Means by which ſo many different Nations came one way or other to have a Share in the Commerce of the *Indies*, and by what Accidents they have been deprived of that Share; how far it is, and how far it is not, poſſible to retrieve the Methods of carrying on this Trade, which have been formerly in uſe, or to ſupply them by ſtriking out new Routes. Secondly, in giving us great Light into the Means by which ſo many Strangers found their Way into, and ſettled themſelves in the *Indies*, as were met with there by the moſt antient Travellers, whoſe Writings have reached our Times, and whoſe Accounts might have been ſuſpected, if from the Knowledge of theſe Routes the Probability of all that they relate did not manifeſtly appear.

We may likewiſe add, that in the Deſcription of theſe ſeveral Routes to and from the *Indies*, we ſhall have frequent Occaſion to examine and compare the Induſtry of the Antients and Moderns; from whence it will fully appear, that the latter owe their Superiority over the former, rather to their Diſcoveries in Sciences, and the lucky Improvement of Lights derived by various Accidents, than to any Elevation of Genius, or extraordinary Degree of Virtue or Application. It is true, we might have found means to have inſerted many, or indeed, moſt of theſe Accounts in the foregoing Part of our Work; but then it would have led us into long and frequent Digreſſions, which would have obſcured the principal Subjects of our ſeveral Sections, and at the ſame time would have rendered the Account of theſe Routes much more perplexed; whereas by their following one another in a certain Order, the Reader will the more eaſily apprehend them, and by comparing of them with each other, will form a better Notion of their Conveniencies and Inconveniencies, will enter more eaſily into the Circumſtances attending the Riſe, and bringing on the Diſuſe of them; and in a word, will, with Facility and Pleaſure, conquer, in a ſhort Space of Time, thoſe Difficulties, which, if they had occured to him in the Peruſal of Voyages or Travels, would either have hindered his Progreſs, or have coſt him much Time and Pains to have got over them.

SECTION XVII.

An Account of the ſeveral Paſſages to the Indies *both by Sea and Land, that have been attempted, diſcovered, or practiſed by the Antients.*

1. *Of the North-Eaſt and North-Weſt Paſſages, and the Improbability of their being at all known to the Antients, notwithſtanding what ſome Authors have aſſerted on this Subject.* 2. *Of the Paſſage by Land from* Ruſſia *to* China, *and the Probability of its being antiently practiſed.* 3. *Of the Route by* Samarcand *and the* Caſpian *Sea, and of* Pompey's *Project for ſecuring the Commerce of the* Indies *by that Route to the* Romans. 4. *Of the old Route by* Bogar, *and of the Alterations that have happened to ſome of the great Rivers in* Tartary. 5. *Of the Paſſage through the Country of the* Arians, *as deſcribed by* Ammianus Marcellinus. 6. *Of another Route from the* Indies *through the Country of the* Sacæ *or* Saces, *deſcribed by the ſame Author.* 7. *Of the Route by* Cabul, *and of the great Commerce antiently carried on that way between* Perſia *and the* Indies. 8. *Of the great Route by* Candahar, *how far it was known to the Antients, and how much it has been improved ſince.* 9. *Of the Paſſage to the* Indies, *through the Country of the* Sinæ *or* Thinæ, *and of the Miſtakes of the Antients on that Subject.* 10. *Of ſome other Routes to the* Indies, *and particularly that by* Palmyra. 11. *Of the ſeveral Paſſages diſcovered or practiſed ſince the* Mohammedans *became Maſters of* Egypt. 12. *Of the Commerce carried on by the* Genoeſe *at* Caffa *in* Crim Tartary. 13. *Remarks and Obſervations tending to the farther Explanation of this Subject.*

1. THE firſt Route to the *Indies* which we ſhall mention is that by the North-Eaſt, through thoſe that are ſtiled the Straits of *Waygatz*; a Paſſage often attempted for Reaſons that will be hereafter ſhewn in their proper Place, but never hitherto performed; though, doubtleſs, of all others the ſhorteſt Paſſage to that Country, at leaſt from this Part of the World. This Route is ſuppoſed to lie through that which is generally called the *Icy-Sea*, ſteering North-Eaſt, along the Coaſts of *Lapland*, *Muſcovy*, and *Grand Tartary*, till you enter the *Indian* Ocean by the Straits of *Uries*, and ſo fall on the Coaſt of *Japan* and *China*. That the Antients never had any Notion of ſuch a Paſſage is very certain, becauſe they were not at all acquainted with the Navigation of the Northern Seas till the Time of *Auguſtus*; and even then, the utmoſt Limits of their Diſcoveries was the *Cimbric Cherſoneſe*, which is the Country now called *Jutland*; and indeed, conſidering their maritime Skill, this was a very conſiderable Diſcovery. The Reaſon that we take Notice of this Paſſage, in the firſt Place is, on Account of a Matter of Fact which has never been diſputed, and which ſome modern Writers conſider as an infallible Proof that ſuch a Paſſage is not only poſſible, but practicable.

The Fact is this: About the Year before Chriſt 57, a ſmall Veſſel, having ſeveral *Indian* Merchants on board, was ſhipwrecked on the Coaſt of *Germany*, and all the Perſons who eſcaped that Misfortune were entertained by the King of the *Suevi*, who preſented them to *Metellus Celer*, then the *Roman* Proconſul in *Gaul*[a]. The Writers beforementioned are very poſitive that theſe *Indians* came from *Japan*, or the Land of *Jedſo*, through the Straits of *Waygatz*, and ſo into the Northern Ocean, from whence they infer, that, with due Induſtry and Application, we might be able to diſcover a Paſſage the ſame Way.

But in anſwer to this it has been ſaid, that theſe *Indians* might have fallen upon the Coaſt of *Germany* by another Way, which, like the former, hath never yet been practiſed, but differs from it in this, that it is beyond all queſtion practicable; and if ever it ſhould be brought into uſe, might divert a great Part of the *Indian* Commerce from the Southern and Weſtern Parts of *Europe* into thoſe which lie moſt towards the North. This Paſſage then is thus laid down: Theſe *Indians* are ſuppoſed to have embarked on the River *Oxus*, and ſo to have paſſed through the *Caſpian-Sea*; thence up the River *Volga*, and ſo into the *Dwina*, which, falling into the *Baltic*, might well enough have brought them to the Coaſt on which they are ſuppoſed to have been ſhipwrecked. It is however very improbable that ſuch a Thing ſhould have happened, becauſe it ſuppoſes theſe *Indians* to have been perfectly acquainted with the Navigation of Rivers, which it is much more likely they never heard of, and it is very poſſible are unacquainted with ſo much as their Names to this very Day.

It is one Thing to deſcribe a Paſſage to a diſtant Country and to recommend it to Trial, and quite another Thing to inſiſt that ſuch a Trial has been actually made: If therefore any Writer ſhall inſiſt on the Poſſibility of carrying on a Commerce to *India*, by the Canal laſt-mentioned, it ought to be granted him, that the Thing is feaſible, and might turn much to the Advantage of the *Ruſſian* Empire, eſpecially at this Juncture, when it is almoſt entirely in the Power of the *Shah Nadir* to eſtabliſh ſuch a Commerce, as being poſſeſſed of the greateſt Part of the Country between the *Caſpian-Sea* and the Frontiers of *India*. But whoever would endeavour to perſuade us that in thoſe early Ages, when Geography was ſo little underſtood as then in the Eaſt or in the North, and Men were ſo timorous in navigating even known Seas, that the Inhabitants of the remoteſt *Indies* ſhould attempt, not only to ſail through the *Caſpian-Sea*, for that is not ſo improbable, but to enter the *Volga*, and pretend to ſeek a Paſſage that Way into the *Baltick*, is to bid us lay aſide common Senſe and Experience, in order to take up with Improbabilities and Fictions.

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[a] *Plin. Hiſt Nat. lib.* ii. *cap.* 67. He there affirms them poſitively to be *Indians*, and to have paſſed from *India* thither.

But it may be ſaid, you have already admitted the Fact. You own that it is not to be diſputed, that theſe *Indians* were thrown upon the Coaſt of *Germany*, and preſented by the King of the *Suevi* to the Proconſul of *Gaul*; why then ſhould you deny their coming either of theſe Ways, when it does not appear there was any other Way for them to come, at leaſt by Sea (and that they did come by Sea cannot be conteſted) becauſe you admit they were ſhipwrecked? All this is true; but with Biſhop *Huet*, and other learned Men, I very much doubt whether theſe People were *Indians*; becauſe it is very certain the Antients very frequently beſtowed that Appellation upon very remote Nations, merely becauſe they were very remote. It is therefore much more probable that theſe People, who were thus caſt on ſhore on the Coaſt of *Germany*, were *Norwegians*, or *Scritoſinnians*, which are the ſame People that we now ſtile *Laplanders*; or, it may be, they were *Icelanders*, if we ſo far credit the Northern Hiſtories, as to ſuppoſe that Iſland was ſo early inhabited. This, I ſay, is infinitely more credible than that they were *Indians* ſtrictly and properly ſpeaking; and that this is more credible, appears from hence, that Accidents of the like Nature have happened in *Scotland*[b], and elſewhere; that is to ſay, ſome of theſe People have been driven on ſhore in their little Fiſhing-boats; and when an Accident of this Sort happened in thoſe early Times, before the Northern Parts of the World were ſo well known as they are at preſent, it is no great Wonder that ſuch People ſhould be taken for *Indians*.

While we are upon this Subject, I cannot help hinting a Conjecture of my own, which is, that if they muſt needs be *Indians*, it is much more likely that they were *Weſt-Indians*, and that they came into the *Baltick* through *Hudſon*'s Bay. Yet I do not lay this down as either certain or probable, but mention it only as a Thing more agreeable to modern Diſcoveries, than the former Notion of their coming from the *Eaſt-Indies*; but with regard to the Fact itſelf, I am firmly of Opinion that they were *Norwegians*; and that for theſe Reaſons, there were many of them, and they were on board a kind of Bark or Veſſel of ſome Burthen; whereas the *Finns* and *Laplanders* are not known to make uſe of any other than ſmall Boats, which one Man can manage.

The ſame Reaſons may be applied to another Fact of the ſame Nature, ſince, it is affirmed, that under the Reign of the Emperor *Frederick Barbaroſſa, A. D.* 1160, certain *Indians* were again caſt upon the Coaſt of *Germany*[c]; but there is no more Proof that theſe were really *Indians* than the former; for in both Caſes it is acknowledged, that they were a ſtrange People, whoſe Language was not underſtood, which might be true if they were *Norwegians*, but moſt certainly is no kind of Evidence, that they came either from the *Eaſt* or from the *Weſt-Indies*, or through the North-Eaſt or North-Weſt Paſſage.

I muſt not however omit, that according to *Pliny*, they had ſome Suſpicion that the firſt mentioned *Indians*, and the ſame has been hinted with reſpect to the laſt, came on the Coaſt of *Germany* by ſurrounding the Continent of *Africa*[d]; that is to ſay, by the Route of the *Cape of Good Hope*, which is however a Thing abſolutely incredible, ſince it cannot be imagined the *Indians* ever victualed their Ships for a Voyage of ſuch a Length; neither is it to be believed, that if ſo much as one of their Veſſels had reached *Europe*, and returned, we ſhould have had ſome Account of this from them, as well as of other Points of their Hiſtory, which are well enough preſerved in ſome Places. But it is Time to quit a Subject on which we can ſay little that is either uſeful or entertaining, and therefore we ſhall paſs on to another Route to the *Indies*.

2. This was by Land, from *Ruſſia* to *China*, a Thing now commonly known, ſince the Hiſtory of the Embaſſy ſent by the *Czar* in the Year 1659, when his Miniſter paſſed to the North of the Kingdom of *Boutan*, and through the Deſarts of *Great Tartary*. There is no Reaſon to believe that there is any Thing new in this Paſſage, or that it had not been as much frequented of old as in the preſent Times; for as we have heretofore ſhewn, it was in the moſt early Ages of the World that the *Chineſe* and *Indian* Empires were in their moſt flouriſhing Condition, and carried on the moſt extenſive Commerce; whence I conceive it highly probable, that they made uſe of Caravans on this Side, in the ſame Manner as they do now; and it is not impoſſible that, by the Paſſage of theſe Caravans through the *Northern Indies*, the Antients came to hear of the *Seres*, ſince it is very certain that the Country in which they placed them, is not very far diſtant from the Route theſe Caravans muſt have taken[e].

That there muſt have been ſome Paſſages on the North appears alſo from hence, that the Antients were ſo fully perſuaded that the *Indian* Ocean communicated with the *Caſpian Sea*, a Thing that could never have come into their Heads if they had not been informed that there was ſome kind of Commerce carried on between the northern Parts of *Europe* and the *Indies*; and it is not eaſy to conceive how any Commerce of that Kind ſhould be carried on, unleſs by the Route which we have mentioned, which was always practicable, and which therefore there is no Improbability in ſuppoſing it was formerly practiſed. The only formidable Objection that can be made to this is, the Fierceneſs and Barbarity of the Nations inhabiting between *China* and *Ruſſia*; and therefore this Objection deſerves ſome Conſideration.

In the firſt Place then, I obſerve, that the Antients had no diſtinct Account of theſe People at all, and therefore whatever they have advanced ought to make no Impreſſion to the Diſadvantage of theſe Nations. In the next Place, I muſt put the Reader in mind, that what they have told us of the *Seres* does not appear to agree with the *Chineſe* Hiſtory; and though I am very far from aſſerting that we ought to give an implicit Credit to all that is advanced in that Hiſtory, yet I think there is nothing abſurd in ſuppoſing that the *Indians* or the *Chineſe* might be as knowing and as induſtrious in Commerce, as we know with Certainty, that the *Chaldeans* and the *Iſhmaelites* were, in Times much earlier than thoſe in which we conceive this Commerce to have been in uſe.

Human Nature is every where the ſame; and it appears even from the Reports of the *Greek* Hiſtorians, that the *Indians*, from the earlieſt Accounts they had of them, were as civilized and as well governed a People as any in the World, which certainly adds ſome Credit to the *Chineſe* Hiſtory, whether we believe that the *Indians* derived any Part of their Knowledge from the *Chineſe*, or which is a Notion more probable in itſelf, and much better ſupported by Authority, that the *Chineſe* were indebted for the beſt Part of their Improvements to the Lights they received from the *Indians*. The firſt Account we had of the *Tartars* repreſented them as a Race of ſtupid and ignorant Barbarians; but their own Hiſtories ſhew quite the contrary, and carry in them this intrinſick Evidence of their own Veracity, that they muſt have been ſuch a People as their Hiſtories repreſent them; becauſe, had it been otherwiſe, thoſe Hiſtories could not have been written[f].

To ſpeak my own Opinion freely and fairly, we are but too apt to treat People that have lived at a great Diſtance of Time, as we do thoſe that live at a great Diſtance in Point of Place; that is to ſay, we meaſure their Wiſdom and Civility by their Remoteneſs from our own Country, and even our own Time, which is particularly hard upon the Eaſtern Nations, ſince both Reaſon and Experience teach us, that as they were firſt ſettled, their Governments firſt formed, and Laws firſt introduced among them, there is the higheſt Probability that Knowledge of every kind came earlier to Maturity amongſt them than amongſt other Nations, though afterwards their Countries might be over-run, their Governments ſubverted, and their Manners much altered by the Interruption of other Nations, yet were truly barbarous with reſpect to them; that is to ſay, differed widely from them in point of Laws and Cuſtoms, and eſtabliſhing themſelves by Force of Arms, diſturbed that Order they found, and were a long Time before they eſtabliſhed any regular Conſtitution in its Place.

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[b] There have been ſeveral *Greenlanders*, in their little Boats, taken up on the Coaſts of the *Orkneys* and *Caithneſs*.

[c] *Lopez Gomara* in *Hiſt. Indiæ, lib.* 1. *cap.* 10. He too aſſerts theſe People were *Indians*.

[d] It is very plain, that *Pliny* meant this Paſſage, for he labours in this Chapter to prove that the Continent of *Africa* had been often ſurrounded; and aſſerts in Proof of it, that the Wrecks of *Spaniſh* Veſſels had been found in the *Indian* Seas; which, tho' it proves nothing as to the Matter of Fact, yet it ſhews clearly that the Antients had a Notion that ſuch a Paſſage was practicable.

[e] We have conſidered this Subject at large in the fifteenth Section.

[f] The Reader will find this verified, if he conſults the genealogical Hiſtory of the *Tatars*, written by a *Tartar* Prince, and of which we have a very good Tranſlation in *Engliſh*.

3. We ſhall apprehend this Matter better, if we conſider the next Route to *China*, which was by *Samarcand*, the Capital of the Country, called *Tranſoxiania*; that is, the Country beyond the River *Oxus*. It was by this River, which runs at no great Diſtance from *Samarcand*, that a Trade was carried on to the North, by ſailing down that River into the *Caſpian-Sea*, and ſo to the Mouth of the *Volga*. Biſhop *Huet*[g] hath very juſtly obſerved, that by this Route, there was no great Difficulty in paſſing from *China* to *Spain*, without ever entering the Ocean. For, as he remarks, if after entering the *Volga*, and ſailing up that River as high as the Country of the *Coſſacks*, the Merchants and Merchandiſe went by Land no greater Journey than ſix *German* Leagues, they might then ſail down the *Tanais*, and ſo into the *Black-Sea*; and paſſing the Straits of *Conſtantinople*, proceeded by the *Mediterranean* to *Gibraltar*.

Strabo[h] has pointed us out another Route by the *Caſpian-Sea*, ſtill ſhorter than that of the *Volga*, which is by turning towards *Albania*, and ſo entering the River *Cyrus*, and ſailing up as far as it is navigable, and then proceeding by Land directly to the *Black Sea*. But tho', as he obſerves, this might be a ſhorter Way, yet certainly it was not ſo commodious, or at this Time ſo practicable; however the Account he has given of it, is a plain Indication, that all theſe Things had been very well conſidered by the Antients.

But *Pliny*[i] carries the Matter much farther; for he tells us on the Authority of *Varro*, that *Pompey* the Great, during the War that he carried on againſt *Mithridates*, had actually a Deſign of opening a Commerce this Way. He was, ſays he, informed, that it was but ſeven Days Journey from the Frontiers of *India* through the Country of the *Bactrians* to the River *Icarus*, which falls into the *Oxus*; ſo that the Merchandiſe of *India* might be this Way tranſported into the *Caſpian-Sea*, and from thence carried up the River *Cyrus* to within five Days Journey of *Phaſis* in *Pontus*, which five Days Journey might be very eaſily performed over Land[k]. *Solinus*[l], indeed, ſpeaks of the Veſſels paſſing this Way; but that is a Miſtake, he muſt have meant the Merchandiſe. It is impoſſible to mention this Route to and from the *Indies*, without obſerving, that it was the neareſt and moſt convenient that could be to *Conſtantinople*; and there ſeems to be no Reaſon to doubt, that it was made uſe of, eſpecially when the Inhabitants of the *Pontus Euxinus*, or *Black-Sea*, were Subjects to the *Greek* Emperors, or in Times of Peace; and by this means it might probably happen, that the Commerce of the *Indies* was preſerved after the Eaſtern Provinces of the Empire were loſt, becauſe it was a long time after that before this Road was in any Danger of being diſturbed by the Excurſions of the *Arabs*.

This would have become ſtill an eaſier and better Method of carrying on this Trade; perhaps we ſhould not err much in ſaying the eaſieſt, and beſt of all, if the Project, which *Pliny* tells us, on no leſs Authority than that of the Emperor *Claudius*[m], was formed by *Seleucus Nicator*, had been carried into Execution, either by him, or by the *Greek* Emperors, who had a much better Opportunity of doing it, which was by cutting a Canal from the *Cimmerian Boſphorus* to the *Caſpian-Sea*, which would have ſhortened the Paſſage extremely, and would beſides have enabled the Merchants to have conveyed their Goods by Water all the Way.

The Scheme itſelf is truly great, and was originally that of *Alexander*, who, as we obſerved in the Account we gave of that great Conqueror's Deſigns, ordered the *Caſpian-Sea* to be perfectly ſurveyed, with this very View of finding ſome Communication with the *Pontus Euxinus*, that he might thereby open a Paſſage from the *Indies* to his hereditary Dominions of *Macedon*[n]. One would imagine, that this might have been more in the Power of the Grand Signor; but as the *Turks* have no great Genius for Trade, we need not wonder that it has been hitherto neglected; but if ever the *Shah Nadir* ſhould compaſs his Deſign of penetrating as far as the *Black-Sea*, there is good Reaſon to believe that he would revive this Project, as well on account of his known Attention to whatever regards Commerce, as becauſe he would then be intirely Maſter of the Country through which this Trade muſt be carried on.

4. The City of *Bogar* ſtands not far from *Samarcand*, and is much nearer to the River *Oxus*; it was formerly a Place of very great Trade, and is ſtill reſorted to by abundance of Merchants from *Cathay*, or *Great Tartary*, *China*, and the *Indies*, on this and on the other Side the *Ganges*; as alſo by the *Perſians* and *Muſcovites*, who there furniſh themſelves with all the rich Commodities of the Eaſt, ſo that it ſtill paſſes for a very great Mart in that Part of the World[o].

Our Countryman *Anthony Jenkinſon*, who was actually there in 1558, aſſures us, that in his Time the River *Oxus* did not fall into the *Caſpian-Sea*, as of old, but emptied itſelf into another River called *Ardocke*, which, he ſays, runs towards the North; and after running a thouſand Miles underground, riſes again, and falls into the Lake of *Kithay*. This is a Fact which he expreſsly affirms in one Place; but in another, he gives the following Account of the Matter. "On the 26th of *November* we departed from " the Town of *Urgence*, and having travelled by the River " *Oxus* one hundred Miles, we paſſed over another great " River called *Ardocke*, where we paid a certain petty " Cuſtom. This River *Ardocke* is great, and very ſwift; " and falling out of the aforeſaid *Oxus*, it paſſes about a " thouſand Miles to the Northward, and then conſumeth " itſelf in the Ground; and paſſing under the ſame about " five hundred Miles, iſſueth out again, and falleth into " the Lake of *Kithay*, as I have before declared[p]."

He had forgot, it ſeems, what he had before declared; for there he ſays, in ſo many Words, that it paſſes under the Ground above one thouſand Miles; but as what he relates in both Places muſt be from Hearſay, it is the leſs to be regarded. As to what he records of his own Knowledge, it deſerves Notice, becauſe he has the Reputation of being an Author of great Fidelity. He aſſures us then, that all the Country thereabouts is watered by Canals drawn from the River *Oxus*, which, in his Judgment, is a great Detriment to that River, and the Cauſe that it does not fall into the *Caſpian-Sea*, as it did in Times paſt. He adds, that in a ſhort time all that Country is like to be deſtroyed, and to become a Wilderneſs for want of Water, when the River *Oxus* ſhall fail. He likewiſe gives us an Account of the City of *Bogar*, as it was in his Time.

He ſays, that it is ſeated in a low Country, not far from the River *Oxus*, which is there navigable, and is ſurrounded with a high Wall of Earth; the City is divided into three Parts, two of which belong to the King and the Inhabitants, and the third to the Foreign Merchants; all of the ſame Trade living in the ſame Place. This City is very large, and the Houſes, for the moſt Part, of Earth; but there are alſo many of them, and all the Temples and publick Buildings, of Stone, ſumptuouſly built, and very richly gilt, eſpecially their Bagnios, which, in the Opinion of this Writer, exceed any in the World. The King had a Tenth of all Wares that were ſold; but what is more to our Purpoſe, he gives us a very copious Account of theſe Wares, and of the Trade carried on there in his Time.

There is, ſays he, yearly a great Reſort of Merchants from *Perſia*, *Balk*, *Ruſſia*, and in Times paſt from *Cathay*, when there was a Paſſage: the *Indians* bring white Cottons for Turbants; but for Gold, Silver, precious Stones, and Spices, they bring none; but all that ſort of Trade is carried on by the *Portugueze* on the Ocean. The *Indians* carry back with them wrought Silks, red Hides, Slaves, Horſes, and other Things. The *Indians* he ſaw there came from the Country of *Bengal*, and beyond it; the *Perſians* brought Woollen Cloth, Linnen Cloth, ſeveral ſorts of Silks, and carried back red Hides, other *Ruſſian* Commodities, and Slaves. As for the Cloth, he tells us, he found, upon Enquiry, they brought it from *Aleppo*. The *Ruſſians* dealt in red Hides, Sheep-Skins, Woollen Cloth, Wooden-ware, Bridles, Saddles, and other ſuch-like Goods, which they exchanged for Cotton and Silk Manufactures. He farther tells us, that the Caravans which came from *Cathay* in time of Peace, and when the Ways were open, brought Muſk, Rhubarb, Sattins, Damaſks, and other rich Commodities; but by reaſon of the Wars, there had been no Caravans in three Years; and when they did come, he tells us, their Journey took up nine Months. He left the City of *Bogar* on the 8th of *March* 1559, in a Caravan, conſiſting of ſix hundred Camels, and arrived on the 23d of *April* following on the Coaſt of the *Caſpian-Sea*.

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[g] *Hiſtoire de Commerce, & de la Navigation des Anciens, cap.* 56.

[h] *Geog. lib.* xi.

[i] *Hiſt. Natural. lib.* vii. *cap.* 17. Wherein he diſcourſes largely on this Subject, and acquaints us with abundance of curious Particulars that relate to it, and which demonſtrate the Aſſiduity of the Antients, in contriving to ſecure the Monopoly of this Commerce to the *Indies*.

[k] *Plin. ubi ſupra.*

[l] *De Mirab. Mund. cap.* 19.

[m] *Hiſt. Nat. lib.* vi. *c.* 11.

[n] See before, *p.* 409.

[o] *Hiſtoire de Commerce des Antiens, cap.* 56.

[p] *Hackluyt's* Voyages, Vol. II. *p.* 358.

It is clear from what this Writer delivers, that the Accounts we have of the ancient Commerce in theſe Parts, and particularly by the Way of *Bogar*, are exactly agreeable to Truth; and there is no doubt, that the Splendor of this City, the fine Houſes, Temples, and other publick Edifices, were owing to the Wealth which this Commerce produced; and it is no leſs plain, that in Times of Peace, and when the *Perſian* Empire, upon which the Kingdom of *Bogard* or *Bucharia* depends, is thoroughly ſettled, this Commerce may be revived to very great Advantage.

5. There is another Rout which could not differ much from that before deſcribed, mentioned by *Ammianus Marcellinus*[q], which he ſays lay through the Country of the *Arians*, ſituated, with regard to the *Oxus*, between the North and the Weſt; and which Rout likewiſe led to the *Caſpian-Sea*. According to the Deſcription he has given us, there was a River, called *Arias*, which ran through that Country, and which was navigable. He farther ſays, that the Navigation through this Country to the *Caſpian-Sea* did not exceed a hundred Leagues. According to all the ancient Maps, and even according to *Ptolemy*'s Tables, there is no navigable River to be found in this Part of the Country, except the *Oxus*, into which there might run ſome little Rivulet from the Country of the *Arians*; and indeed *Strabo* mentions ſuch a Rivulet by the Name of *Zariaſpe*. One might be tempted to think, from the Similitude of Names, that this River might be the ſame that *Jenkinſon* mentions, and which he calls *Ardoche*; but that it is evident, from his Account, that even this River does not run into the *Caſpian-Sea*; ſo that no Navigation could be carried on this Way in the Manner that *Ammianus Marcellinus* mentions. But we ought likewiſe to conſider, that it is very clear from *Jenkinſon*'s Account, that the Rivers in this Country have ſuffered much Alteration ſince the time that *Ammianus* wrote; and we muſt likewiſe conſider, that he wrote entirely from the Information of others, and not from his own Knowledge; ſo that, very probably, he may be ſomewhat miſtaken in this Matter, at leaſt in ſome of the Circumſtances. And this Rout, through the Country of the *Arians*, might be carried on by Land, and by the help of Caravans, as *Jenkinſon* aſſures us it was in his Time. After all, there does not ſeem to be any good Reaſon for diſtinguiſhing this from the former Paſſage, ſince, in all Likelihood, the *Indian* Commodities that were thus tranſported, were carried no farther than either *Bogar*, or *Samarcand*, and paſſed from thence down to the *Caſpian-Sea*.

6. We are indebted to the ſame ancient Author for the Account of another Road from the Country of the *Seres*, which lay through that of the *Sacæ*, a very fierce and barbarous People, as all the Writers of Antiquity agree that mention them[r]. *Ptolemy*, in the Account he has left us in this Country, mentions two Rivers, the one called *Araxates*, and the other *Dymas*, which, he ſays, running near each other, ſometimes over-flow the adjacent Country, and cauſe a great Tract of marſhy and fenny Ground, which from its lying near the River *Oxus*, is called the *Oxian* Marſhes.

This Paſſage is very perplexed and obſcure, and ſeems to give us an Idea of the *Oxus* very different from that which *Jenkinſon* had of it when he travelled thither in the laſt Century. In order to reconcile theſe Differences, and to give as full and fair an Account as is poſſible of this River, which upon the whole appears to have been the grand Canal in ancient Times of the Commerce of the Eaſt, we ſhall give ſuch a Deſcription of it as is to be met with in the beſt modern Accounts of theſe Parts.

The River *Oxus* is now called *Amu*. It riſes in the high Mountains on the Frontiers of the *Leſſer Bucharia*, which ſeparate the Dominions of the Great Mogul from the Country of *Great Tartary*, in the Latitude, as near as can be diſcovered, of 29° 30 N. This River paſſes thro' the Country of *Grand Bucharia*, running from Eaſt to Weſt, and about forty Leagues from its Mouth divides itſelf into two Branches. That which runs to the left continues its Courſe weſtward, till it falls into the *Caſpian-Sea*, in the Country of *Aſtarabat*, which belongs to the *Perſian* Empire, in the Latitude of 38° 20 N. As for the Right-hand Branch, which formerly paſſed by the City of *Urgence*, it fell likewiſe into the *Caſpian-Sea*, about twelve Leagues more to the North than the other Branch; but at preſent it has changed its Courſe, and running North-Weſt, falls into another River called *Khoſel*, not far from the little Town of *Tuk*. The old Channel, which paſſed by the City of *Urgence*, is abſolutely dry, and all the Country thereabouts is become a Deſert, as our old *Engliſh* Traveller foreſaw it would for want of Water[s].

This Account is taken from the Diſcoveries made in theſe Parts, by the Order of the late Czar; and if it may be depended upon, as indeed I ſee no Reaſon why it ſhould not, it frees us from all the Difficulties that ariſe from the former Deſcription, and enables us to account for the wide Difference between the ancient and modern Relations of the Commerce in theſe Parts. As for the other Branch of the *Amu*, or *Oxus*, which continues its Courſe to the *Caſpian-Sea*, it is ſtill a large navigable River; the Country about it extremely fertile and pleaſant, producing the largeſt and fineſt Melons in the World, and other excellent Fruits, which are carried not only into *Perſia* and *India*, but alſo into *Ruſſia*.

[t] 7. The next Rout, declining ſtill a little to the South, is that of *Cabul*, or *Caboul*, which derives its Name from a City of the ſame Name, ſeated in the Latitude of 34° North, on the Frontiers of *Great Bucharia*, on the South Side of the Mountains, which divide the Territories of the Mogul from that Part of *Great Tartary*. This City of *Cabul* is the Capital of a little Province, called from thence *Cabuliſtan*; it is one of the fineſt Cities in that Part of the World, large, rich, and very populous. As it is conſidered as the Key of the Great Mogul's Dominions, great Care is taken to keep its Fortifications in conſtant Repair, and a numerous Garriſon is maintained for its Security. This City is very ancient, and has been always famous, as it ſtill is, for being the great Mart or Centre of Commerce between *India*, *Perſia*, and *Great Bucharia*.

The *Uſback Tartars* drive there a great Trade in Slaves, as alſo in Horſes, of which it is ſaid, that not fewer than ſixty thouſand are ſold there every Year. It ſtands on a little River which falls into the *Indus*, and thereby affords a ſhort and ſpeedy Paſſage for all the rich Commodities in the Country behind it, which, when brought to *Cabul*, are there exchanged for Slaves and Horſes, and are conveyed from thence by Merchants of different Countries into other Parts of the World. The Neighbourhood of this City, is one of the pleaſanteſt and moſt fertile Regions that can be imagined; the Climate temperate and wholeſome, well watered, producing Fruits of all Kinds in equal Plenty and Perfection. The Inhabitants are moſt of them *Indian Pagans*, though the Officers of the Mogul and moſt of the Garriſon are *Mohammedans*.

8. A little farther to the South, lies the greateſt and moſt frequented Road to the *Indies*, by the City and Pro-

[q] *Amm. Marcell. lib.* xxiii. *cap.* 6

[r] *Ammian. Marcellin. lib.* xxiii. *cap.* 6. *Diodor. Sicul. lib* ii. *Strabo, lib.* xi. *Ptolem. lib.* vi. *c.* 13. *Plin. Hiſt. Nat. lib.* vi. *cap.* 17.

[s] *Hiſtoire Genealogique des Tatars, p.* 57.

[t] The Facts mentioned in this Paragraph will be abundantly verified in the ſucceeding Sections.

vince of *Candabar*, which has been for many Ages the Centre of Commerce between *Perſia* and the *Indies*. The City of *Candabar* is ſeated in 33° 10′ N. and is by Nature one of the ſtrongeſt Places in the Eaſt. There is great Reaſon to believe from the Compariſon of our modern Maps with the old Tables of *Ptolemy*[u], that this City is either raiſed out of the Ruins, or built very near the Place where *Alexandria* ſtood, and is a new Proof of the Wiſdom of *Alexander* the Great, in the Choice of a proper Situation for the Colonies he intended to have erected in this Part of the World. Some learned Men have thought that the modern, as well as the ancient Name of this Place, is derived from that of this great Conqueror, who is called in the Eaſt *Iſcander*; but there ſeems to be more Reaſon to believe that it derives its preſent Appellation from the *Candarians*, an ancient People that were formerly the Inhabitants of the adjacent Country[w].

This City and Province has been expoſed to many Revolutions. It was long an independent Principality, preſerved in that Condition, not ſo much by the Strength of the Place, and the Power of its Princes, though both were in paſt Times very great, as by its advantageous Situation on the Frontiers of the two great Empires of *Perſia* and the *Indies*, which ſecured it a powerful Protector on one Side whenever it was attacked on the other. It has been ſince however ſometimes in the Hands of the Mogul, ſometimes in thoſe of the *Perſians*, where it is now like to remain. It is not very large, but extremely well built and well peopled; and the Caravans from *Iſpahan* and *Agra* paſs conſtantly through it, and even continue there for ſome time for the Conveniency of Merchants of all Nations, who reſort thither to exchange the Commodities of their own Countries for thoſe of the Eaſt.

It is highly probable that this Commerce was in a very flouriſhing Condition, under the *Perſian* Kings cotemporary with the firſt Emperors of *Conſtantinople*, and that by the regular Returns of Caravans from the *Indies*, the *Perſians* were furniſhed with vaſt Quantities of the Commodities of *India*, which they afterwards carried into their frontier Provinces, in order to diſpoſe of them at the Fairs in which they traded with the *Greeks*. The Settlements of the *Europeans* in the *Indies* have certainly leſſened this Commerce by *Candabar*, as well as all the inland Trade of thoſe Parts. But, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, it is for all that very conſiderable, and muſt always continue ſo, from the natural Conveniency of the Place, which renders it the Staple of *Perſian* as well as *Indian* Commodities.

9. There is yet another Rout more to the South than any of thoſe we have mentioned, *viz.* through the Country of *Sinæ*, or *Thinæ*, whom we have mentioned before, and have ſhewn them to be the *Siameſe*. We have this Account from the Author of that Periplus of the *Red-Sea*, which goes under the Name of *Arrian*, and a very dark Account it is, though not altogether unworthy of Notice. The city of *Thina* lies, as he tells us, on the Sea-ſide in the ſouthern Part of the Country, and from thence ſilk and cotton Manufactures are carried by Land through the Country of *Bactria* to *Barygaza*, and from thence to *Limyrica* by the *Ganges*. There cannot be any thing wilder, or more abſurd than this Story; for, according to *Ptolemy*'s Tables, there is a Diſtance of 32° of Latitude between the Country of *Bactria* and *Barygaza*, and 25° of Longitude between *Limyrica* and the *Ganges*[x].

One need not, however, much wonder at theſe Miſtakes, when, in the ſame Deſcription, we find this Author placeing this City of *Thina* very near the Pole, which is ſo extravagant an Error, as plainly betrays his Want of Skill in Geography. He proceeds to inform us, that this City is exceſſively difficult of Acceſs, ſo that few People go to it; and yet he talks of its Vicinity to *Pontus* and the *Caſpian-Sea*, which renders all he ſays abſolutely unintelligible. He informs us farther, that there came annually to the Frontiers of the Country of the *Sinæ*, a People whom he calls *Seſatas*, and whom he deſcribes as a Sort of Savages, of a low Stature, broad-faced, and with flat Noſes, between whom and the *Sinæ* a very conſiderable Commerce was carried on.

The very learned Biſhop *Huet*[y], profeſſes himſelf at a Loſs to know what to make of theſe People. I muſt confeſs, that there cannot well be any thing more dark or confuſed than this Story; but, for my own Part, I believe that the Text is corrupted, and that the Meaning of the Paſſage may poſſibly be this, that there was anciently a Trade carried on over Land between the *Tartars*, for ſuch I conceive thoſe People to have been from this Deſcription, and the *Siameſe*; but whether I am right in my Conjecture or not, I muſt leave the ingenious Reader to determine. This, however is certain, that if I have gueſſed right, it will make ſome Senſe of this Paſſage, of which hitherto the beſt Commentators have been able to make no Senſe at all.

There is another ancient Writer who mentions this City in the following Terms: There lies, ſays he, in that Part of *India* which is beyond the *Ganges*, the *Golden Cherſoneſe*, beyond which is the *Sinus Magnus*, then the Country of the *Sinæ*, whoſe Capital is called *Thina*, which ſtands on the Frontiers of the Country known and unknown[z]. That is, in plain *Engliſh*, this City of *Thina* was the very laſt Place in the *Indies* of which the Ancients had any Knowledge.

Taking this therefore altogether, it amounts, I think, to this; that there was anciently a very great inland Commerce throughout the *Indies*, from the Countries that lay fartheſt to the North, to thoſe which lay in the remoteſt Parts of the South and Eaſt: Which is very agreeable to what I have before laid down, that notwithſtanding the Reports of their Barbarity, which aroſe wholly from their being unknown, the ancient *Indians* were much addicted to Commerce; which, by the Help of their Rivers and Caravans paſſing from River to River, they carried on in a manner the moſt extenſive; of which, the *Alexandrians*, by their Commerce on the Sea Coaſt, came to have ſome Knowledge, and from their natural Prejudice, reported Things in this dark and confuſed manner.

10. We have now gone through moſt of the Routs to and from the *Indies*, which are mentioned in ancient Authors, excepting ſuch as were performed both by Land and Sea; of which it will be neceſſary to ſay ſomewhat, tho' we ſhall not dwell long upon them, becauſe we ſhall have Occaſion to mention them in the ſubſequent Sections. After the Time of *Alexander*, there was always a very conſiderable Trade carried on, at leaſt in Times of Peace, through *Perſia* to the *Indies*, by the Help of regular Caravans, which there is great Reaſon to believe went annually from the Banks of the *Tygris* to thoſe of the *Indus*. But in Proceſs of Time, a great Part of this Journey was ſaved, and the *Indian* Commodities being ſhipped at *Muziris*, *Barygaza*, or at *Patala*, were carried by Sea through the *Perſian* Gulph, and then up the River *Euphrates*, within a very ſmall Diſtance of *Palmyra*, to which City they ſeem to have been tranſported by Land; where they were laid up in moſt ſtately Magazines, till, as Occaſion ſerved, they were tranſported thence to *Antioch*, and ſo over all *Europe*[a].

We have already mentioned the Riſe and Ruin of that famous City, and ſhall here only obſerve, that it is highly probable that the Commerce of this Place fell off by Degrees, and not all at once, as moſt Writers ſeem to imagine; for Want perhaps of the Hiſtories of thoſe Countries after the *Roman* Empire began to decline. It certainly required a long Courſe of Time to eſtabliſh ſo large, ſo well-built and rich a City; and therefore it is by no means credible, that it ſhould be deſerted and abandoned all at once. There are, to ſay the Truth, ſome Paſſages in Oriental Hiſtorians, which would incline one to believe, that it was ſtill a City of conſiderable Figure and Trade under the *Khaliffs*; and therefore, I think, it may be concluded, that its total Deſtruction was owing to the Trade to the *Indies* taking another Courſe, eſpecially after the Foundation of *Bagdad*; as alſo to the Wars, to which the adjacent Countries have been continually expoſed for ſo many Years laſt paſt; firſt between the *Arabs* and the *Tartars*, and ſince between the *Perſians* and the *Turks* [b].

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[u] *Ptolem. Aſiæ, Tab.* vii.

[w] *Hiſtoire de Commerce des Anciens, p.* 399.

[x] *Arrian. Peripl. Maris Erythræi, p.* 36, 37.

[y] *Hiſtoire de Commerce des Anciens, p.* 431.

[z] *Marcian. Heracleot. Peripl. Maris Erythræi, p.* 14.

[a] See the Hiſtory of *Palmyra, p.* 33. 65.

Yet ſtill the old Rout is, in ſome meaſure, preſerved by the Caravans that paſs from *Perſia* to *Aleppo*; which ſhews of how great Conſequence it is, to have the Rout of an advantageous Commerce once laid down through any Country: For though through the Alterations, and Revolutions to which all Places are, in ſome meaſure, liable, it may be for ſome Time interrupted or diſuſed, yet ſooner or later it is again revived, tho' perhaps not exactly in the old Manner, yet ſo near it, that the Inhabitants are ſeldom totally deprived of the Benefits reſulting from it [c].

It has been of late apprehended, that the preſent Monarch of *Perſia*, *Kouli Khan*, has it in View to ruin this Commerce intirely, as prejudicial to his Subjects, or rather detrimental to his Plan of Power, which is to draw the Commerce Northward, and make himſelf ſole Maſter of the Trade to the *Indies* through his Dominions. But there is good Reaſon to doubt, whether this be not a Scheme too large for him to execute in his Life-time; and whether his Succeſſors may not be brought to alter it, and to put things again upon their old Foot: Yet thus much is certain, that if this Monarch and his Succeſſors ſhould ever compaſs this Deſign, and divert the whole Trade of their Dominions to the *Caſpian-Sea*, it will have its Effects with reſpect to *Aleppo* and the other Towns on that Coaſt, and that in the ſame Manner, and to as high a Degree, as the Diſcovery of the Paſſage to the *Indies* has had on the Port of *Alexandria* in *Egypt*.

11. As the *Arabian* Empire took Riſe in the Peninſula of *Arabia*, ſo as ſoon as the Princes of that new Power had any Leiſure to form a Scheme of Politicks, they began to frame a Deſign of attracting the *Indian* Trade from the Country of *Perſia* where it then centered, as near as poſſible to the Place of their own Reſidence. It was with this View, that *Omar* the Second Khaliff, in the 15th Year of the Hegira. A. D. 636, cauſed the City of *Baſſora*, or *Balſora*, to be built a little above the Entrance into the *Perſian* Gulph.

There never was perhaps a City more happily erected, or which ſooner came to anſwer the End for which it was erected than this. The Khaliffs did not indeed make it the Place of their Reſidence, and if they had, it is highly probable it would have been rather diſadvantageous than ſerviceable to it. But they always ſent thither a Perſon of Diſtinction as Governor, and made it the grand Port of their Dominions. It became by this Means, and by the Privileges allowed to all Merchants that ſettled there, exceedingly rich and very populous; and that too in a ſurprizing ſhort Space of Time.

It was for ſeveral Ages a Place of the greateſt Concourſe, and of the greateſt Trade in the known World. The richeſt Commodities in the Eaſt, but more eſpecially Spices, precious Stones, Drugs, Silk and Cotton Manufactures were brought hither, and diſperſed from hence by Caravans, till ſuch Times as the *Portugueze* became Maſters of the City and Iſland of *Ormuz* on the Coaſt of *Perſia*; which for a long Time ſunk the Commerce of *Baſſora*. But after the Shah *Abbas*, with the Aſſiſtance of the *Engliſh*, made himſelf Maſter of that Iſland, and raiſed the famous Emporium of *Bander Abaſſi*, or *Gambroon*, on the oppoſite Coaſt of *Perſia*, the Trade of *Baſſora* began to revive, and has ever ſince conſidered as, beyond Compariſon, the greateſt Mart of this Part of the World, as ingroſſing all the Trade of the *Perſian* Gulph.

It was, as we have already ſhewn, originally in the Hands of the *Arabs*; the *Perſians* became afterwards its Maſters: But ſince the Year 1668 it has belonged to the *Turks*.

At the ſame Time that the Khaliffs ſecured to their Subjects all the Trade on this Side, by opening ſo convenient a Port as that of *Baſſora*, they took no leſs Care of the *Arabian* Gulph, and of the Trade carried on thereby; for they directed a Canal to be cut from *Cairo* to *Suez*, which is ſtill viſible, though at preſent choaked up with Sand; and partly by Shipping, partly by Caravans, eſtabliſhed ſuch a Trade there, as very near equalled that carried on in the Days of the *Romans*. Thus the Reader ſees that, for a long Tract of Time, the whole Trade of the *Indies* was in the Hands of the *Mohammedans*, and carried on by them with all the Caution and Succeſs imaginable.

It is true, that this is now in a great meaſure in the Hands of the *Europeans*, who are eſtabliſhed in all the Ports of this Part of the World, and carry on a prodigious Trade in their own Bottoms. But notwithſtanding this, perhaps we yet owe the Trade of the *Indies* more to the Weakneſs of the *Turkiſh* Policy, than to any other Cauſe whatever; for, notwithſtanding our Superiority in Maritime Skill and Maritime Force, if the Turks were a People in any degree addicted to Trade, they might ſtill drive a great Part of that to the *Indies* by the old Rout through the *Red-Sea*, in ſpight of all our Power and of all our Settlements.

This will appear clearly to the Reader, if he conſiders that *Surat* is ſo well ſituated, that it might be very eaſily made the Centre of all the Commerce of the *Indies*. From *Surat* to *Suez* is not above a Month or five Weeks Sail; and from *Suez* to *Cairo* is a Journey of no more than three Days; from *Cairo* to *Alexandria* Goods may be conveyed in the ſame Space of Time; and from *Alexandria* to *Marſeilles* is a Voyage only of a Fortnight or three Weeks. So that taking this altogether, it appears far from being an Impoſſibility for a Perſon to go from *Marſeilles* to *Surat* in the Space of two Months, or ten Weeks. It may indeed be objected, that the Voyage from *Suez* to *Surat*, and conſequently that from *Surat* to *Suez*, depends on the *Monſoons*; but, notwithſtanding this, if proper Magazines were erected at both Ports, and Fleets went regularly between them at Spring and Fall, an immenſe Quantity of *Indian* Goods might be this Way brought into *Europe* much freſher, and in much better Condition, than they are at preſent [e].

This is a Project the *French* have often had in their Heads; and if ever they ſhould prevail with the *Ottoman* Port to concur with them in carrying it into Execution, there is no anſwering for its Conſequences. It muſt be owned, that an Attempt of this ſort might in the Beginning meet with many Obſtacles; but if once the *Turks* taſted the Sweets of this Commerce, or were tempted by the Offer of a large Sum of Money to be paid annually at *Conſtantinople*, as an Equivalent for the Duties with which Goods coming this Way into *Europe* might be charged, it is not eaſy to ſay how far this might operate; for how indolent and negligent ſoever they may be with regard to Trade and Navigation, yet there is no Nation in the World more avaricious than they, or more ready to do any thing to which they are prompted for Money.

12. The laſt Rout we ſhall mention, is one not very ancient, and which nevertheleſs is now, in a manner, abſolutely forgot. The *Genoeſe* had it formerly in their Hands, and it is no other than the Port of *Caffa*, in *Crim Tartary*. This Country was anciently called the *Cherſoneſus Taurica*; and this City is very often mentioned by old Writers under the name of *Theudoſia* [f]. It was taken from the *Genoeſe*, who, while they poſſeſſed it, were Maſters of the Trade of the *Black-Sea*, by *Mohammed* the Great, A. D. 1475. It was then in a very flouriſhing Condition, and was one of the beſt-built and richeſt Places of its Size in *Europe*.

It ſtands at the Foot of a ſmall Hill upon the Sea-Shore, North and South, with long Walls ſtretching on both Sides down to the Sea; ſo that from the Port, which is very large, very ſafe, and very commodious, it makes a very agreeable Appearance: There is a Caſtle on the South Side, in which the *Turkiſh* Baſhaw reſides, with his Garriſon. The Number of Houſes in the Place is about 4000; of which 800 belong to Chriſtians, the reſt to *Turks* and *Tartars*, but the former are Maſters here, and it is the only Place the Grand Seignor has in *Tartary*.

After the *Genoeſe* were driven from hence, they carried on for a long time a very advantageous Trade with the Inhabitants, who, by the Way of the *Caſpian-Sea*, found means to enter into a conſiderable Trade in Spices, Drugs, Cotton, Silk, and other *Indian* Commodities. At laſt the *Turks* grew jealous of the Intercourſe of the *Genoeſe* in theſe Parts, and abſolutely excluded them, as well as all other Nations, from trading to, or even entering into the *Black-Sea*. Yet this did not immediately put an End to the Commerce between this Place and *Genoa*; for the *Tartars* preſerved ſo ſtrong a Senſe of the Advantages derived from this Commerce, that for ſome time they proſecuted it in their own Veſſels, and carried the Spices and other *Indian* Goods which they received by Caravans from *Aſtracan*, and which had been brought thither from the oppoſite Side of the *Caſpian-Sea* to *Genoa*; but the *Turks*, equally jealous of this, as they had been of the former Correſpondence, ſoon put an End to this Commerce likewiſe, and thereby ſecured themſelves from the Fears of ſeeing a Chriſtian Fleet in thoſe Seas.

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[b] See the Article *Balbeck* in *Herbelot*.
[c] All this Commerce has been carried one Way, though not conſtantly in the Hands of one People.
[d] *Elmacin. Hiſt. Saracen.* p. 191.
[e] I take moſt of theſe Particulars from the Deſcription of *Egypt*, compiled from the Papers of M. *Maillet*, the *French* Conſul.
[f] *Cellar. Geograph. Antiq.* Vol. I. p. 409.

Yet *Caffa* ſtill remains a Place of very great Trade, and the Staple of the *Black-Sea*, inſomuch that Sir *John Chardin*[a] tells us, he ſaw in the Space of forty Day no leſs than four hundred Ships ſail in and out of this Port. The *Venetians*, in hopes perhaps of reviving, in ſome meaſure, the old Trade, procured, at a great Expence, in the Year 1672, Leave from the *Porte* to ſend annually a Cargo of their Manufactures on board a ſmall Squadron of their own into the *Black Sea*; but this Trade did not laſt long, for the *Jews* inſinuated ſo many Dangers would ariſe from permitting this Commerce, that in a Year's time the Licence was retracted; and thus ended all Attempts for retrieving the Commerce of the *Indies* by this Rout. In Proceſs of Time, however, it is not at all incredible that it may be reſtored; for ſince the *Ruſſians* are Maſters of *Azoff*, and have a conſiderable Number of trading Veſſels in thoſe Seas, it is not impoſſible that ſome ſuch Revolution may happen, as will ſet the Navigation of the *Black-Sea* entirely open, and thereby reſtore to the *Europeans* in general, but more eſpecially to the *Italian* States, a Commerce highly profitable in itſelf, and capable of great Improvements.

13. We have now entirely done with the ancient Hiſtory of this Commerce, and ſhall add only a very few Obſervations on this, as on the former Sections, and thoſe with no other View, than to convince the Reader of the Importance of this Hiſtory, and to ſhew what an Effect it has had, and is ever like to have, in favour of thoſe who are poſſeſſed of it.

Every one of the four great Empires, which, in paſt Ages, have had the ſupreme Dominion, and the Hiſtory of which ſtill makes ſo great a Part of that Learning which is moſt valued, had each of them a large Share, and many of them the entire Monopoly of the Trade to the *Indies*.

The Accounts we have of the *Aſſyrian* Empire are very ſhort, as well as very obſcure; and yet the Attempt made by *Semiramis* to conquer the *Indies*, is the moſt conſiderable Event of which, with reſpect to that Monarchy, we have any Account. The *Perſians*, as we have ſhewn at large, owed a great Part of their Wealth to this Commerce, as it was carried on by Land, while their conſtant Allies, the *Tyrians*, derived from it much of their Maritime Power, which was almoſt all the *Perſians* had to depend upon by Sea. The Proſpect of ingroſſing it was the principal Object which *Alexander the Great* had in View, which afterwards occupied the Thoughts of his principal Commanders, and which was, at length, in a great meaſure, accompliſhed by the *Ptolemies* in *Egypt*. The *Romans* acquired it, together with the Dominions of thoſe Princes, and held it as long as they retained any Power anſwerable to their ancient Reputation. The *Arabians* became Maſters of it in conſequence of their rapid Victories, and it has ſince proved the great Source of Maritime Power in the *Weſt*.

This ſeems to be a very full and convincing Anſwer to the Objection that has been made, as if the Trade to the *Indies* was in itſelf prejudicial to the *Europeans*. For how is it poſſible to conceive there can be any Truth in this, when we plainly ſee that Riches and Empire conſtantly attended it, and have been as conſtantly loſt together with this Trade. This too will the more ſtrongly appear, when we reflect on the Riſe and on the Decline of the *Italian* Republicks, which, as they owed their Fame and their Riches, the flouriſhing State of their Affairs at home, and their great Power by Sea, to the Share they had in this Commerce, ſo together with that they loſt both, and have made a Figure ſince by Dint chiefly of the Remains of that Wealth and Strength which that Commerce procured them.

It is a Point alſo extremely worthy of Notice, that all the Routs known to, and practiſed by, the Ancients, are ſtill in ſome meaſure preſerved; ſo that almoſt all the different Nations in *Europe*, have ſtill, ſome Way or other, Views upon this Trade. In the North, *Sweden* and *Denmark* carry it on by Sea, with ſome Pains and Difficulty indeed, but, at the ſame time, with conſiderable Profit. The *Ruſſians* have three Ways at coming at the *Indies*; the firſt is, by ſailing North-about from *Archangel* to *Japan*, which though never hitherto accompliſhed, they ſtill believed practicable; and if ever that Rout ſhould be brought into Practice, it will be by them; which however could not be done without changing, in a great meaſure, the Face of Affairs in *Europe*, ſince the Wealth of the *Indies*, joined to the Force of the *Muſcovite* Empire, muſt raiſe ſuch a Power in the North, as could not but produce extraordinary Conſequences. The ſecond is, by Caravans from *Moſcow* to *China* directly; and the third, by the *Caſpian-Sea*, joined to the Caravans that are continually paſſing through the *Greater* and *Leſſer Bucharia*. Such of the *German* Hanſe Towns as ſtill preſerve any Power by Sea, ſuch as *Lubeck*, *Bremen*, and *Hamburgh*, keep up a conſtant Correſpondence with *Venice* and *Alexandria*. *Great Britain*, *Holland*, and *France*, have Settlements in the *Eaſt-Indies*, and trade thither by the *Cape of Good-Hope*. The *Spaniards* ſupply their Empire in the *Weſt-Indies* with the Commodities of the *Eaſt-Indies*, from the *Philippines*; but it does not appear that they bring much of the Merchandize of thoſe Parts into *Europe*. The *Portugueze* have yet in their Hands the Remains of thoſe vaſt Dominions which they once poſſeſſed, and conſequently have ſtill a Share in this Commerce. The *Venetians* drive yet a very conſiderable Trade at *Alexandria*, in Spices, Drugs, Perfumes, Cotton, and Silk Manufactures from the *Indies*.

It is eaſy to diſcern from this general Account of the paſt and preſent State of this important Commerce, that it ſtill ingroſſes the Attention of all the Mercantile World, that Projects are continually forming to enlarge it in Countries where it is already ſettled, and to transfer it into thoſe where at preſent it is not exerciſed: And how far any of theſe Projects are, or may be practicable, the Reader will beſt judge from what has been laid down concerning the ſeveral Routs thither in this Section, which we ſhall conclude with this Remark, That the Oriental Nations have, generally ſpeaking,, adhered cloſely to their own Maxims, and have never once been tempted, by the many Viſits made them by the different Nations of *Europe*, to fit out any Fleet, or even to ſend ſo much as a ſingle Ship beyond the *Cape of Good Hope*; though, with reſpect to their Commerce by Land, as the *Indian* Merchants formerly travelled to great Diſtances in Caravans, they do the ſame at preſent; for though Cuſtom be every where a Law, yet among the Eaſtern Nations it remains moſt inviolate; and, as the Reader will obſerve from the ſubſequent Travels, what was practiſed Ages ago, is ſtill the Uſage in thoſe Parts, or at leaſt Variations have been introduced by Force, and cannot therefore be imputed in any degree to the Genius of the People.

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[a] Sir *John Chardin*'s Travels to *Perſia*.

SECTION XVIII.

An Account of the Travels of Two Mohammedans *through* India *and* China, *in the Ninth Century.*

Tranſlated from the *Arabick* by the Abbé RENAUDOT.

1. *A conciſe Account of the original Editor of theſe Voyages, and of the Works which render him famous.* 2. *The Antiquity of theſe Relations, and of the Manuſcript from which they were tranſlated.* 3. *Of the Sea of* Herkend, *and of the Iſlands therein.* 4. *Of the Iſland of* Serandib, *or* Ceylon; *the Riches it contains, and the Manners of its Inhabitants.* 5. *Of ſeveral other Iſlands, particularly thoſe of* Andaman, *the Inhabitants of which eat human Fleſh.* 6. *Of an Iſland in which are Silver Mines, and other extraordinary Things in theſe Seas.* 7. *Of the Trade of* China, *and of the Reſpect ſhewn there to the* Mohammedans. 8. *A very clear and diſtinct Account of the Navigation of* China, *which is probably the firſt Account of it that was ever publiſhed.* 9. *Of an Iſland in which there are no Women ſeen.* 10. *Of the Port of* Canfu *in* China, *and of the Irregularity of the Tides there.* 11. *Of many remarkable Things obſerved in the Countries touched at in this Voyage to* China. 12. *The Cuſtoms and Manners of the* Chineſe *in Civil and Religious Affairs.* 13. *An Account of the four great Kings,* viz. *the* Khaliff, *the Emperor of* China, *the Emperor of the* Greeks, *and the* Balhara *of the* Indies. 14. *A ſuccinct Account of ſeveral other Kingdoms in the* Indies. 15. *The Account of* China *reſumed, the Number of the Cities in that Empire, and the extraordinary Diſcipline maintained in them.* 16. *Of the Burials of the* Chineſe, *and of their domeſtick Affairs.* 17. *Of the Power of the Vice-Roys, and of the Emperor of* China. 18. *Of the publick Revenues of the* Chineſe *Empire.* 19. *Of the Paſſes requiſite for travelling through that Country.* 20. *Of the Adminiſtration of Juſtice in* China. 21. *Their Laws with regard to Bankrupts.* 22. *Other wiſe Regulations practiſed in that Country.* 23. *Miſcellaneous Cuſtoms among the* Chineſe. 24. *Of the Methods practiſed for diſcovering Truth in Trials in the* Indies. 25. *Some other extraordinary Cuſtoms among the* Indians. 26. *The Vices of the* Chineſe, *and the Puniſhment of bad Governors among them.* 27. *Several Laws in* India *and* China. 28. *Strange Cuſtoms that prevail among the Inhabitants of both Countries.* 29. *A Compariſon between* India *and* China. 30. *Of other Countries bordering upon* China. 31. *The Preface of the ſecond Author in Confirmation of what the former had delivered.* 32. *The Hiſtory of a great Revolution in* China, *by the Rebellion of one* Baichu. 33. *The Emperor of* China *reſtored, and the Declenſion of that Empire.* 34. *Of various Puniſhments in uſe among the* Chineſe. 35. *A curious Account of the Maintenance of publick Women in* China. 36. *Of various Regulations in the* Chineſe *Empire.* 37. *Of the Excellence of the* Chineſe *Painters.* 38. *The Hiſtory of* Eben Wahab, *an* Arab, *who made a Voyage into* Perſia. 39. *His Conference with the Emperor.* 40. *Some very ſingular Paſſages in relation to the Knowledge of the Emperor, with regard to the Religions in other Countries.* 41. *Concluſion of the* Arab's *Conference with the Emperor of* China. 42. *Other Circumſtances from that Traveller's Relation.* 43. *Of the Communication between the Ocean and the* Mediterranean. 44. *Of the Province of* Zapage, *and of the Commodities it produces.* 45. *A remarkable Story of an ancient Prince of this Country.* 46. *The War between the King of* Komar *and the King of* Zapage. 47. *The Concluſion of that War.* 48. *Of the Doctrine of the Metempſychoſis, or Tranſmigration of Souls, with a remarkable Story on that Subject.* 49. *A moſt ſingular Act of Juſtice done by the Emperor of* China, *on behalf of an* Arabian *Merchant, againſt his Favourite.* 50. *The great Care taken with reſpect to the Adminiſtration of Juſtice in* China. 51. *Of the Situation of the Province of* Choraſſan. 52. *Of the Animal that produces Musk; the Reaſon why the Musk of* Thibet *is better than that of* China, *and of the ſeveral Sorts of that Perfume.* 53. *Of certain Cuſtoms in* China *that reſemble thoſe of the* Arabs, 54. *The Cuſtom of the* Indians *to burn themſelves on particular Occaſions, and of their great Conſtancy in Acts of this Nature.* 55. *An incredible Story of the deſperate Courage of a certain* Indian. 56. *Other Inſtances of the ſame Nature.* 57. *Of the immenſe Riches of* Serandib, *or* Ceylon, *and of the Laws of that Country.* 58. *Of the flagrant Vices, and exceſſive Debauchery of thoſe People.* 59. *Of the rainy Seaſon in the* Indies. 60. *Of the* Indian *Brachmans and Penitents.* 61. *Monſtrous Errors proceeding from religious Miſtakes.* 62. *Ships built, rigg'd, and laden from a Plantation of Cocoa Trees.* 63. *Of the Country of the* Zinges, *or Negroes, with an Account of thoſe People.* 64. *Of the Iſland of* Socotra, *and its Productions.* 65. *Of the different Seas omitted in the former Relation* 66. *Of the Riches of the* Indian *Ocean.* 67. *Of the Formation of Pearl, according to the Notion of the* Arabs. 68. *A very ſingular Story on the foregoing Subject.* 69. *Some farther Particulars as to the Cuſtoms of the* Indians. 70. *The Uſe of this Section with regard to the Hiſtory of the* Indies *in the Ninth Century.* 71. *Additional Remarks and Obſervations.*

1. THE moſt natural, eaſy, and certain Method of attaining a perfect Knowledge of the Diſcoveries made in the *Eaſt-Indies*, is unqueſtionably that of reading the beſt Voyages and Travels into thoſe Parts, in the Order of Time in which they were made; for by this means they illuſtrate each other, and ſerve as a kind of Commentaries, deliver the Hiſtory of Places and Perſons with the leaſt poſſible Confuſion, and ſhow us at once the different State of the Countries mentioned in them in different Periods of Time, and the Advances that were made in perfecting the Knowledge of thoſe Countries by ſuch as undertook to go thither, and to report what they had ſeen and heard, for the Information of others and of Poſterity. Of all the Travellers into theſe Parts of the World, whoſe Writings are ſtill preſerved, thoſe which are contained in this Section are beyond all doubt the moſt ancient, and in that reſpect, as well as in many others, extremely curious. To render theſe as clear and as intelligible as is poſſible to our Readers, we ſhall firſt give ſome Memoirs of that eminent *French* Critick

who tranſlated and made them publick, and ſhall next give a ſuccinct Account from the Materials he has afforded us of the Authors themſelves, the Nature of their Works, the Circumſtances which peculiarly recommend them, the Reaſons which induce us to believe they are genuine, and the Credit which on that account is due to them.

It was *Euſebius Renaudot* who delivered theſe venerable Remains of Antiquity from the Obſcurity in which they had been buried for Ages, and ſent them abroad in the *French* Language, with ſome very valuable Notes and Diſſertations of his own. He was a Perſon whoſe Family had been diſtinguiſhed for their Learning through ſeveral Deſcents. His Grandfather, *Theophraſtus Renaudot*, eſtabliſhed the *French* Gazette in the Year 1631, under the Patronage of Cardinal *Richelieu*. His Father was firſt Phyſician to the Dauphin, Son to *Lewis* XIV. This Gentleman addicted himſelf chiefly to the Study of Divinity and the Oriental Languages, which might have raiſed him to ſome eminent Station in the Church, if, from his great Modeſty and unaffected Love of Privacy, he had not ſtudiouſly declined it. He was very early taken notice of at Court, where the Politeneſs of his Manners recommended him as ſtrongly to the principal Miniſters, as the Severity of his Studies endeared him to moſt of the learned Men of his Time.

In the Year 1689 he was choſen a Member of the *French* Academy, and in 1691 became a Member of that of Inſcriptions, and of the *Belles Lettres*. He accompanied Cardinal *Noailles* to *Rome* in 1700, and was with him in the Conclave in which *Clement* XI. was raiſed to the Papal Throne, by whom the Abbé *Renaudot* was ſo much eſteemed, that he kept him at *Rome* ſeven or eight Months after the Cardinal's Departure, and forced upon him a Benefice, which he had the Modeſty to refuſe, though his Circumſtances were not ſuch as made it unneceſſary to him.

In his Return to *France*, the Grand Duke of *Tuſcany* kept him a whole Month at *Florence*, where he had an Apartment in the Palace; and during his Stay there, was received into the famous Academy of *la Cruſca*; after which the Grand Duke loaded him with Preſents, and ſent him to *Marſeilles* in his own Veſſels.

He publiſhed, after his Return to *France*, many learned Works, and particularly in the Year 1713, *The Hiſtory of the Patriarchs of* Alexandria, *from St.* Mark *to the Cloſe of the Thirteenth Century*, with an Appendix, containing the Hiſtory of the *Mohammedans* in *Egypt*, from their own Writers; which gained him great Reputation. In 1716 he publiſhed, in Two Volumes in Quarto, *The Hiſtory of the Oriental Liturgies*, which was alſo much eſteemed. And in the Year 1718 he ſent abroad theſe Voyages and Travels, which were likewiſe received with univerſal Applauſe. Beſides theſe, he publiſhed many other learned Treatiſes; and having for many Years weakened his Conſtitution by an aſſiduous Application to his Studies, he died on the 1ſt of *September* 1720, of a ſevere Fit of the Cholick, in the 74th Year of his Age, with the Reputation of being one of the moſt learned Men, and one of the exacteſt Criticks of his Time[a].

2. As to the firſt of theſe Voyages, we know not by whom it was written, the Beginning of it being imperfect; but it appears clearly that it was written in the Year of the Hegira 237, A.D. 851. The latter, which is no more than a Commentary or Diſcourſe upon the former, appears to have been the Work of *Abu Zeid al Haſan* of *Siraf*, who penned it about the Year of the Hegira 303, A.D. 915. It appears therefore, that both of them are, at leaſt, two Centuries older than any Accounts than had been publiſhed before. They were tranſlated from an original Manuſcript in the Library of the Count de *Seignelay*, the Age of which was aſcertained by the Character in which it was written. But there is ſtill a plainer Proof of its being penned in the Year of the Hegira 619, A. D. 1173, becauſe there are at the End of it ſome Obſervations in the ſame Hand, relating to the Extent of the Walls and Fortifications of the City of *Damaſcus*, under the Reign of the famous Sultan *Noureddin*, and of other Cities under his Dominion; in which the Writer ſpeaks of him as ſtill living: and therefore, as that Monarch died the ſame Year, this Manuſcript is clearly between five and ſix hundred Years old[b].

It is alſo very apparent, that there is nothing in either of theſe Works, that can create the leaſt Suſpicion that they are later than theſe Dates ſpeak them; but, on the contrary, all the Facts mentioned in them, which are capable of being examined and compared with other Hiſtories, afford the cleareſt Teſtimonies of their being genuine and authentick. The great Value of theſe Relations ariſes from their giving us a large Account of *China*, above four hundred Years earlier than the Travels of *Marco Polo*[c], who, till theſe Accounts were publiſhed, was always eſteemed the firſt Author we had on that Subject.

There are Abundance of very curious and remarkable Paſſages in both theſe Writers, that inform us of Cuſtoms and Events not mentioned any where elſe; and though it be true that ſome of theſe appear to be fabulous, yet it is no leſs true, that the greateſt Part of them are confirmed and juſtified by the beſt Writers in ſucceeding Ages. But without ſpending Time to little Purpoſe in remarking on what will be obvious to the Reader himſelf in the Peruſal of theſe Pieces, we ſhall proceed to the Relations themſelves. Obſerving only, that the firſt of them begins abruptly, on account of there being a Page or two wanting in the original Manuſcript; which very probably contained the Name and Country of its Author, and the Occaſion of his Voyage; the Loſs of which there is great Reaſon to regret.

3. The third of the Seas we have to mention, is that of *Herkend*[d]. Between this Sea and that of *Delarowi*, are many Iſlands, to the Number, as they ſay, of nineteen hundred; which divide thoſe two Seas from each other[e], and are governed by a Queen[f]. Among theſe Iſlands they find Ambergris in Lumps of extraordinary Bigneſs, as alſo in leſſer Pieces, which reſemble Plants torn up. This Amber is produced at the Bottom of the Sea, as Plants upon Earth; and when the Sea is tempeſtuous, the Violence of the Waves tears it up from the Bottom, and waſhes it to the Shore in the Form of a Muſhroom or Truffle. Theſe Iſlands are full of that kind of Palm-tree which bears the Cocoa-nut, and are from one to four Leagues diſtant from each other, all inhabited. The Wealth of the Inhabitants conſiſts in Shells, of which even the Queen's Treaſury is full. They ſay there are no Workmen more expert than theſe Iſlanders; and that of the Fibres of the Cocoa-nut they make Shirts all of a piece, as alſo Veſts or Tunics. Of the ſame Tree they build Ships and Houſes, and they are ſkilful in all other Workmanſhip. Their Shells they have from the Sea at ſuch times when they riſe up to the Surface, when the In-

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[a] *Hiſtoire de l'Academie des Inſcriptions*, Tom. V. p. 384

[b] See M. *Renaudot*'s Preface to theſe Relations.

[c] *Marco Polo* returned from his Voyage, *A. D.* 1295.

[d] By the Sea of *Herkend*, in all Probability, our Author means the Sea about the *Maldives*; which, according to the Eaſtern Geographers, divides that Part of the *Indian* Ocean from the Sea of *Delarowi*, which is the Gulph called by the Ancients *Sinus Magnus*. The Eaſtern Writers frequently ſpeak of the ſeven Seas, which ſeems to be rather a proverbial Phraſe, than a geographical Definition. The Seas, without comprehending the Ocean, which they call *Bab-Mahit*, are the Sea of *China*, the Sea of *India*, the Sea of *Perſia*, the Sea of *Kolzuma* or the *Red Sea*, ſo called from a Town which is thought to be the *Clyſma* of the Ancients; the Sea of *Rum*, or of *Greece*, which is the *Mediterranean*; the Sea called *Al-Chozar*, or the *Caſpian*; and the Sea of *Pont*, or the *Pontus Euxinus*; but theſe are not all the Names they give them, for the Sea of *India* is very often called the *Green Sea*; that of *Perſia*, the Sea of *Baſſora*; and other Names they have for particular Parts of theſe Seas.

[e] It is no wonder that the *Arabs* had but a very imperfect Knowledge of theſe Iſlands, ſince we are not very well informed about them to this Day. The Reader may probably think that our Author has multiplied them, from the Number he ſpeaks of; but the Truth is, that he rather diminiſhes them; for the moſt accurate Writers we have aſſure us that there are twelve thouſand of them; and this is ſaid to be the Signification of their Name in the *Malabar* Tongue, *viz. Male Dive*, i. e. a thouſand Iſlands; that round Number being put for the true Number of them, let it be what it will. We ſhall hereafter give the Reader a full Account of theſe Iſlands, and therefore ſhall inſiſt no longer on them here.

[f] The ſubſequent Accounts we have had of the *Maldives* do not juſtify this Particular, if the Intent of the Author was to inform us that theſe Iſlands were always governed by a Woman. It might perhaps be ſo in his Time, where, by Accident, one Woman might have ſucceeded another, as Queen *Elizabeth* did Queen *Mary* here.

habitants throw Branches of the Cocoa-nut Tree into the Sea, and the Shells ſtick to them. They call them *Kaptaje* in their Language.

4. Beyond theſe Iſlands, in the Sea of *Herkend*, is *Serendib* [g], or *Ceylon*, the chief of all thoſe Iſlands, which are called *Dobijat*. It is all compaſſed by the Sea, and on its Coaſt they fiſh for Pearl. In this Country there is a Mountain called *Rabun*, to the Top of which it is thought *Adam* aſcended, and there left the Print of his Foot in a Rock, which is ſeventy Cubits in Length; and they ſay that *Adam* at the ſame time ſtood with his other Foot in the Sea. About this Mountain are Mines of Rubies, Opals, and Amethyſts. This Iſland, which is of great Extent, has two Kings; and here are found Lignum Aloes, Gold, precious Stones, and Pearls, which are fiſhed for on the Coaſt; as alſo a kind of large Shells, which they uſe inſtead of Trumpets, and are much valued.

In the ſame Sea, towards the *Serendib*, there are other Iſles, but not ſo many in Number, though of vaſt Extent, and unknown. One of theſe Iſlands, called *Ramni* [h], is under ſeveral Princes, in which there is great Plenty of Gold. The Inhabitants here have Cocoa-nut Trees, which ſupply them with Food, and therewith alſo they paint their Bodies, and oil themſelves.

The Cuſtom of the Country is, that no one may marry till he has ſlain an Enemy in Battle, and brought off his Head. If he has killed two, he claims two Wives; and if he has ſlain fifty, he may marry fifty Wives. This Cuſtom proceeds from the Number of Enemies which ſurround them; ſo that he amongſt them who kills the greateſt Number, is the moſt conſidered. Theſe Iſlands of *Ramni* abound with Elephants, Red-wood, and Trees called *Chairzan*, and the Inhabitants eat human Fleſh.

5. Theſe Iſlands ſeparate the Sea of *Herkend* from the Sea of *Shelahet*, and beyond them are others called *Najabalus*, which are pretty well peopled; both the Men and the Women there go naked, except that the Women conceal their private Parts with the Leaves of Trees. When Shipping is among theſe Iſlands, the Inhabitants come off in Embarkations, and bring with them Ambergris and Cocoa-nuts, which they truck for Iron; for they want no Cloathing, being free from the Inconveniencies either of Heat or Cold. Beyond theſe two Iſlands lies the Sea of *Andaman*: The People on this Coaſt eat human Fleſh quite raw; their Complexion is black, their Hair frizled, their Countenance and Eyes frightful, their Feet are very large, and almoſt a Cubit in Length, and they go quite naked. They have no Sorts of Barks or other Veſſels; if they had, they would ſeize and devour all the Paſſengers they could lay Hands on. When Ships have been kept back by contrary Winds, they are often in theſe Seas obliged to drop Anchor on this barbarous Coaſt for the ſake of Water, when they have expended their Stock; and upon theſe Occaſions they commonly loſe ſome of their Men [i].

6. Beyond this there is a mountainous and yet inhabited Iſland, where, it is ſaid, there are Mines of Silver; but as it does not lie in the uſual Track of Shipping, many have ſought for it in vain, though remarkable for a very lofty Mountain, which is called *Kaſhenai*. It once ſo happened, that a Ship ſailing in this Latitude had Sight of the Mountain, and ſhaped her Courſe for it, and falling in with the Land, ſent a Boat on ſhore, with Hands to cut Wood: The Men kindled a Fire, and ſaw Silver run from it, which plainly indicated there was a Mine of this Metal in that Place; they ſhipped therefore as much of the Earth or Ore as they thought fit; but as they were proceeding on their Voyage they met with ſuch a Storm, that to lighten their Ship, they were under a Neceſſity of throwing all their Ore overboard.

Since that Time the Mountain has been carefully ſought, but it has never ſince been ſeen. To conclude, there are many ſuch Iſlands in the Sea, more in Number than can be ſet down, ſome inacceſſible by Seamen, and ſome unknown to them. In theſe Seas it often happens, that a whitiſh Cloud at once ſpreads over a Ship, and lets down a long thin Tongue or Spout, quite to the Surface of the Water, which then is turned round as by a Whirlwind; and if a Veſſel happens to be in the Way, ſhe is immediately ſwallowed up thereby. But at length this Cloud mounts up again, and diſcharges itſelf in a prodigious Rain. It is not known whether this Water is ſucked up by the Clouds, or how this comes to paſs. All theſe Seas are ſubject to great Storms, which makes them boil up like Water over a Fire. Then it is that the Surf daſhes Ships againſt the Iſlands, and breaks them to Pieces with unſpeakable Violence; and then alſo it is that Fiſh of all Sizes are thrown dead aſhore upon the Rocks. The Wind, which commonly blows upon the Sea of *Herkend*, is from another Quarter, *viz.* from the N. W. but the Sea is alſo ſubject to as violent Agitations as thoſe juſt mentioned, and then Ambergris is torn up from the Bottom, and particularly where it is very deep; and the deeper it is, the more valuable the Ambergris.

It is likewiſe obſerved, with reſpect to that Sea, that when it is thus toſſed by the tempeſtuous Winds, it ſparkles like Fire, and that it is infeſted by a certain Kind of Fiſh called Lockham, which frequently preys upon Men. This is probably no other than the Shark, which is common enough on all the Coaſts of the *Indies*. Here there is a Part of the Manuſcript loſt, wherein the Author treated of the Trade to *China*, as it ſtood in his Time, and of the Cauſes which had brought it into a declining Condition. He then proceeds thus:

7. Amongſt others, the Fires that frequently happen at *Canfu* are not the leaſt. *Canfu* is the Port of all the Ships of the *Arabs*, who trade in *China*, and Fires are there very frequent, becauſe the Houſes are built with nothing but Wood, or elſe with ſplit Cane; beſides, Ships are often loſt in going and coming, or they are plundered, or obliged to make too long a Stay in Harbours, or to ſell their Goods out of the Country ſubject to the *Arabs*, and there make up their Cargo. In ſhort, Ships are under a Neceſſity of waſting a conſiderable Time in refitting, not to ſpeak of any other Cauſes of Delay.

Soliman, the Merchant [k], relates, that at *Canfu*, which is the principal Reſort of Merchants, there is a *Mohammedan* appointed Judge over thoſe of his Religion, by the Authority of the Emperor of *China*; and that he is Judge of all the *Mohammedans* who reſort to thoſe Parts. Upon feſtival Days he performs the publick Service with the *Mohammedans*, and pronounces the Sermon or Kotbat, which he concludes in the uſual Form, with Prayers for the Sultan of Moſlems (or Muſſelmen). The Merchants of *Irak*, i. e. *Perſia*, who trade thither, are no way diſſatisfied with his Conduct or Adminiſtration in this Poſt, becauſe his Deciſions are juſt and equitable, and conformable to the Koran.

8. As for the Places whence Ships depart, and thoſe they touch at, many Perſons affirm, that the Navigation is performed in the following Order; moſt of the *Chineſe* Ships take in their Cargo at *Siraff* [l], where alſo they ſhip

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[g] This, as we have ſhewn elſewhere, is the *Taprobana* of the Ancients; and I think ſcarce any Iſland has been called by more Names than thoſe which have been beſtowed on this; but whereas in the ancient Work of *Coſmas Indopleuſtes*, it is called *Sielendiba*, it is very eaſy to account for this, and to ſhew that it is only a *Greek* Termination given to the true Name; for *b* is often put for *u*, and conſequently *Sielendiba* is the ſame with *Sielendive*; that is, *Sielen Iſland*; whence the modern Name, as we uſually write it, *viz.* the Iſland of *Ceylon*.

[h] In ſome of the *Arabian* Geographers, theſe are called the Iſlands of *Rami*; we ſhall give the Reader ſome Account of them in a ſubſequent Voyage.

[i] It is moſt certain, that upon a ſtrict Enquiry, moſt of theſe Stories of *Man-eaters* have been found to be Fables void of all Foundation; but it muſt be allowed, in regard to our Author's Account, that what he ſays has never yet been diſproved; for the very lateſt Accounts we have of the *Indies*, give theſe People the ſame Character that he does.

[k] As to this *Soliman* the Merchant, it is very probable that ſome Account was given of him in the Page that is loſt; but as to the *Mohammedan* Conſul, it is a very extraordinary Fact, and deſerves particular Notice, becauſe it plainly ſhews, that the *Mohammedans* had for ſome Time carried on a regular and ſettled Trade to *China*, which is what from other Accounts we could never have ſuſpected.

[l] It is a very difficult Thing to diſtinguiſh, at this Diſtance of Time, the Route laid down by our Author, chiefly by reaſon of the Changes of Names, of which we have particularly an Inſtance in this great Port of *Siraff*, not to be met with in any of our Maps, of which however we have ſome Mention made in other *Arabian* Writers, who ſay, that it lay ſixty Leagues from *Shiraz*, that it ſtood in the Gulph of *Perſia*, and that when it decayed, the Trade thereof was tranſported to the Iſland of *Ormus*.

their Goods which come from *Baſra*, or *Baſſora*, *Oman*, and other Ports; and this they do, becauſe in this Sea there are frequent Storms, and ſhoal Water in many Places. From *Baſra* to *Siraff* is an hundred and twenty Leagues; and when Ships have loaded at this laſt Place, they there water alſo; and from thence make ſail for a Place called *Maſcat*, which is in the Extremity of the Province of *Oman*, about two hundred Leagues from *Siraff*. On the Eaſt Coaſt of this Sea, between *Siraff* and *Maſcat*, is a Place called *Naſis Bani al Safak*, and an Iſland called *Ebn Kabowan*; and in this Sea are Rocks called *Oman*, and a narrow Strait called *Dordur*, between two Rocks, where Veſſels do venture, but the *Chineſe* Ships dare not. There are alſo two Rocks called *Koſſir* and *Howare*, which ſcarce appear above the Water's Edge: After they are clear of theſe Rocks they ſteer for a Place called *Shitu Oman*, and at *Maſcat* take in Water, which is drawn out of Wells; and here alſo they are ſupplied with Cattle of the Province of *Oman*: From thence Ships take their Departure for the *Indies*, and firſt they touch at *Kaukammali*: And from *Maſcat* to this Place it is a Month's Sail with a fair Wind.

This is a frontier Place, and the chief Arſenal in the Province of the ſame Name: And here the *Chineſe* Ships put in and are in Safety; freſh Water is to be had here, and the *Chineſe* pay a thouſand Drams for Duties, but others pay only from one Dinar to ten Dinars. From *Maſcat* to *Kaukammali* it is a Month's Sail; and then having watered at this Place, they begin to enter the Sea of *Herkend*, and having failed through it, touch at a Place called *Lajabalus*, where the Inhabitants underſtand not the *Arabic*, or any other Language in Uſe with Merchants. They wear no Cloaths, are white, and weak in their Feet.

9. It is ſaid their Women are not to be ſeen[m]; and that the Men leaving the Iſland in Canoes, hollowed out of one Piece, go in Queſt of them, and carry them Cocoa-nuts, Canes, Mouſa, and Palm-wine. This Liquor is white, and, if drank freſh, has the Taſte of the Cocoa-nut, and ſweet like Honey; if kept ſomewhat longer, it becomes as ſtrong as Wine; but if it is kept for ſeveral Days it turns to Vinegar. They give it in exchange for Iron; and in like manner they truck the little Quantity of Amber, which is thrown on their Coaſts, for Bits of Iron. The Bargain is driven by Motions of the Hand. But they are very quick, and are apt to carry off Iron from the Merchants, and leave them nothing in Return.

From hence Ships ſteer towards *Calabar*, the Name of a Kingdom on the Coaſt to the Right-hand beyond the *Indies*. *Bar* ſignifies a Coaſt in the Language of the Country; and this depends on the Kingdom of *Zapage*. The Inhabitants are dreſſed in thoſe Sorts of ſtriped Garments which the *Arabs* call *Fauta*; and they commonly wear but one at a time, which is equally obſerved by Perſons of every Degree. At this Place they commonly take in Water, which is filled from Wells fed by Springs, and which they like better than what is drawn out of Ciſterns and Tanks. *Calabar* is about a Month's Voyage from a Place called *Kaukam*, which is almoſt upon the Skirts of the Sea of *Herkend*. In ten Days after this, Ships reach *Betuma*; from whence, in ten Days more, they come up with *Kedrange*.

It is to be obſerved, that in all the Iſlands and Peninſulas of the *Indies*, they find Water when they dig for it. In this laſt mentioned Place there is a very lofty Mountain, which is peopled by none but Slaves and Fugitives: from thence in ten Days they arrive at *Senif*. Here is freſh Water, and hence comes the aromatic Wood we call *Hud al Seneſi*. Here is a King; the Inhabitants are black, and wear two ſtriped Garments. Having watered at this Place, it is ten Days Paſſage to *Sanderfulat*, an Iſland where is freſh Water; then they ſteer through the Sea of *Sanji*, and ſo to the Gates of *China*; for ſo they call certain Rocks and Shoals in that Sea, forming a narrow Strait, through which Ships paſs. It requires a Month to ſail from *Sanderfulat* to *China*; and it takes up eight whole Days to ſteer clear of theſe Rocks.

10. When a Ship has got through theſe Gates, ſhe, with the Tide of Flood, goes into a freſh Water Gulph, and drops Anchor in the chief Port of *China*, which is that of *Canfu*; and here they have freſh Water both from Springs and Rivers, as they have alſo in moſt of the other Cities of *China*. The City is adorned with large Squares, and ſupplied with every thing neceſſary for Defence againſt an Enemy, and in moſt of the other Provinces there are Cities of Strength, fortified in the ſame Manner.

In this Port it ebbs and flows[n] twice in twenty-four Hours; but with this Difference, that whereas from *Baſra* to the Iſland called *Bani Kabouan*, it flows when the Moon is at full, and ebbs when ſhe riſes and when ſhe ſets; from near *Bani Kabouan* quite to the Coaſt of *China*, it is Flood when the Moon riſes, and when ſhe is towards her Height it is Ebb: And ſo, on the contrary, when ſhe ſets it is Flowing Water, and when ſhe is quite hidden under the Horizon, the Tide falls.

11. They ſay, that in the Iſland of *Muljan*, which is between *Serendib* and *Cala*, on the Eaſtern Shore of the *Indies*, there are Negroes quite naked, and that when they meet with a Stranger they hang him with his Head downward, and ſlice him in Pieces, which they eat quite raw[o]. Theſe Negroes have no King, and feed upon Fiſh, Mauſa, Cocoa-nuts and Sugar-Canes; they have Ponds and ſome Lakes in the Country. They report alſo, that in ſome Parts of this Sea there is a ſmalliſh kind of Fiſh, which flies upon the Water, and which they call the Sea-Locuſt; and that in another Part there is a Fiſh, which leaving the Sea, gets up to the Cocoa-nut Trees, and having drained them of their Juice, takes to the Sea again: To all which they add, that in the Sea there is a ſort of Fiſh like a Lobſter, which petrifies as ſoon as taken out of its Element; they pulverize it, and it is good for ſeveral Diſeaſes of the Eyes.

They ſay alſo, that near *Zapage* there is a Mountain, called the *Mountain of Fire*, which no one can approach; that in the Day-time it ſends forth a thick Smoak, and in the Night it throws out Flames. At the Foot of this Mountain there are two Springs of freſh Water, the one hot, and the other cold.

12. The *Chineſe* are dreſſed in Silk both Winter and Summer, and this kind of Dreſs is common to the Prince and the Peaſant. In Winter they wear Drawers of a particular Make, which fall down to their Feet: Of theſe they put on two, three, four, five, or more, if they can, one over another, and are very careful to be covered quite down to their Feet, becauſe of the Damps, which are very great, and of which they are very apprehenſive. In Summer they only wear a ſingle Garment of Silk, or ſome ſuch Dreſs, but have no Turbans.

Their common Food is Rice, which they often eat; with a Broth, like what the *Arabs* make of Meat or Fiſh, which they pour upon the Rice. The Kings eat Wheat-Bread, and all ſorts of Animals, not excepting Swine and ſome others. They have ſeveral Sorts of Fruits, Apples, Lemons, Quinces, Moulats, Sugar-Canes, Citruls, Figs, Grapes, Cucumbers of two Sorts, Trees which bear a Subſtance like Meal, Walnuts, Almonds, Filberts, Piſtachios, Plumbs, Apricots, Services, and Cocoa-nuts, but they have no Store of Palms, they have only a few about ſome private Houſes.

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[m] We ſhall have an Opportunity of explaining this ſtrange Story, which is confirmed by *Marco Polo* and *Nicolo di Conti*, when we come to ſpeak of the Travels of the former, who aſſures us that there were two Iſlands, one entirely inhabited by Men, the other by Women, and that theſe People were Chriſtians.

[n] It is very probable, or rather certain, from the Account given by our Author, that this muſt be the Port of *Canton*, and the Irregularity of the Tide is a Circumſtance that ſtrongly confirms it; and a Circumſtance which ſhews, at the ſame Time, that the *Arabs* were not ſo ignorant in thoſe Matters as they are generally imagined.

[o] It muſt be allowed, that there are abundance of very odd Accounts in theſe Relations; but it muſt be owned, at the ſame Time, that there are very few of them which have been diſproved. What follows about petrified Crabs or Lobſters, is a full Proof that the Port he ſpeaks of muſt be *Canton*; for Father *Martini* tells us the ſame Thing; adding, that theſe Crabs are found only on that Part of the Coaſt of *China* which is oppoſite to the Iſland of *Haiman*, and that the *Portugueze* uſe the Powder of theſe petrified Crabs, as an Abſorbent in Fevers. The Story of this Fiſh is alſo reported by Father *Martini*.

Their Drink is a kind of Wine made of Rice; they have no other Wine in the Country, nor is there any brought to them: They know not what it is, nor do they drink of it. They have Vinegar alſo, and a kind of Comfit like what the *Arabs* call *Natef*, and ſome others.

They are not very nice in point of Cleanlineſs, and waſh not with Water when they eaſe Nature, but only wipe themſelves with Paper; they eat of dead Animals, and practiſe many other Things like the *Magians*; and in Truth, the Religion of the one and the other is much the ſame. The *Chineſe* Women appear uncovered, and adorn their Heads with ſmall Ivory Combs, of which they wear ſometimes a Score together; the Men are covered with Caps of a particular Make. The Law they obſerve with regard to Thieves is to put them to Death as ſoon as they are caught.

Our Author ſeems here to interrupt his Narration, and to take occaſion from what he has before reported (and which, in the main, is confirmed by later Writers) to compare the Cuſtoms of the *Indians* and *Chineſe*, intermixing his Diſcourſe alſo with other Matters.

13. The *Indians* and *Chineſe* agree, that there are four great or principal Kings in the World; they all allow the King of the *Arabs* to be the firſt, and to be, beyond Diſpute, the moſt powerful of Kings, the moſt wealthy and the moſt excellent every way; becauſe he is the Prince and Head of a great Religion, and becauſe no other ſurpaſſes him.

The Emperor of *China* reckons himſelf next after the King of the *Arabs*, and after him the King of the *Greeks*, and laſtly the *Balhara*, King of *Moharmi al Adon*, or of theſe who have their Ears bored [p].

This *Balhara* is the moſt illuſtrious Prince in all the *Indies*; and all the other Kings there, though each is Maſter and independant in his Kingdom, acknowledge thus far his Pre-eminence. When he ſends Embaſſadors to them they receive them with extraordinary Honours, becauſe of the Reſpect they bear him. This King makes magnificent Preſents after the Manner of the *Arabs*, and has Horſes and Elephants in great Numbers, and great Treaſures in Money. He has of thoſe Pieces of Silver called *Thartarian Drams*, which weigh half a Dram more than the *Arabian Dram*. They are coined with the Dye of the Prince, and bear the Year of his Reign from the laſt of the Reign of his Predeceſſor.

They compute not their Years from the Æra of *Mohammed*, as the *Arabs* do, but only by the Years of their Kings. Moſt of theſe Princes live a long Time, and many of them have reigned above fifty Years, and thoſe of the Country believe, that the Length of their Lives and of their Reigns is granted them in Recompence for their Kindneſs to the *Arabs*. In Truth, there are no Princes more heartily affectionate to the *Arabs*, and their Subjects profeſs the ſame Friendſhip for us.

Balhara [q] is not a proper Name, but an Appellative common to all theſe Kings, as was *Coſroes* and ſome others. The Country under the Dominion of this Prince begins on the Coaſt of the Province called *Kamkam*, and reaches by Land to the Confines of *China*. He is ſurrounded by the Dominions of many Kings, who are at War with him, and yet he never marches againſt them.

14. One of thoſe Kings is the King of *Harez*, who has very numerous Forces, and is ſtronger in Horſe than all other Princes of the *Indies*, but is an Enemy to the *Arabs*; though he at the ſame Time confeſſes their King to be the greateſt of Kings, nor is there a Prince in the *Indies* who has a greater Averſion to the *Mohammedan* Faith. His Dominions are on a Promontory, where are much Riches, many Camels and other Cattle. The Inhabitants here traffick for Silver, which they watch for, and they ſay there are Mines of the ſame on the Continent: There is no Talk of Robbers in this Country any more than in the Reſt of the *Indies*.

On one Side of this Kingdom lies that of *Tafek*, which is not of very great Extent. This King has the fineſt white Women in all the *Indies*; but he is awed by the Kings about him, his Army being but ſmall. He has a great Affection for the *Arabs*, as well as the *Balbara*.

Theſe Kingdoms border upon the Lands of a King called *Rami*, who is at War with the King of *Harez*, and with the *Balbara* alſo. This Prince is not much conſidered either for his Birth, or the Antiquity of his Kingdom; but his Forces are more numerous than thoſe of the *Balbara*, and even than thoſe of the Kings of *Harez* and *Tafek*. They ſay, that when he takes the Field, he appears at the Head of fifty thouſand Elephants, and that he commonly marches in the Winter Seaſon; becauſe the Elephants, not being able to bear Thirſt, he can move at no other Time. They add likewiſe, that in his Army there are commonly from ten to fifteen thouſand Tents. In this ſame Country they make Cotton Garments in ſuch extraordinary Perfection, that no where elſe are the like to be ſeen: Theſe Garments are for the moſt Part round, and wove to that degree of Fineneſs, that they may be drawn through a Ring of a moderate Size. Shells are current in this Country, and ſerve for ſmall Money, notwithſtanding that they have Gold and Silver, Wood Aloes, and Sable-ſkins, of which they make the Furniture for Saddles and Houſings.

In this ſame Country is the famous *Karkandan* [r], that is, the (*Rhinoceros*, or) Unicorn, who has but one Horn upon his Forehead, and thereon a round Spot, with the Repreſentation of a Man. The whole Horn is black, except the Spot in the Middle, which is white. The Unicorn is much ſmaller than the Elephant; from the Neck downwards he pretty much reſembles the Buffalo; his Strength is very extraordinary, for he excels therein all other Creatures; his Hoof is not cloven, and from his Foot to his Shoulder is all of a Piece. The Elephant flies from the Unicorn, whoſe Lowing is like that of an Ox, with ſomething of the Cry of the Camel; his Fleſh is not forbidden, and we have eaten of it; there are great Numbers of this Creature in the Fens of this Kingdom, as alſo in all the other Provinces of the *Indies*; but the Horns of theſe are moſt eſteemed; and upon them are generally ſeen the Figures of Men, Peacocks, Fiſhes, and other Reſemblances. The *Chineſe* adorn their Girdles with theſe ſorts of Figures, ſo that ſome of their Girdles are worth two or three thouſand Pieces of Gold in *China*, and ſometimes more, the Price augmenting with the Beauty of the Figure: All the Things we have here enumerated are to be purchaſed in the Kingdom of *Rahmi* for Shells, which are the current Money of the Country.

After this Kingdom there is another, which is an inland State diſtant from the Coaſt, and called *Kaſchbin*; the Inhabitants are white, and bore their Ears; they have Camels, and their Country is for the moſt part deſert, and full of Mountains; farther upon the Coaſt there is a ſmall Kingdom called *Hitrange*, which is very poor; but it has a Bay, where the Sea throws up great Quantities of Ambergris; they have alſo Elephants Teeth and Pepper; but the Inhabitants eat it green, becauſe of the Smallneſs of the Quantity they gather. Beyond theſe Kingdoms here mentioned there are others of Number unknown, and among the reſt that of *Mujet*; the Inhabitants are white, and dreſs after the *Chineſe* Mode; their Country is full of Mountains, with white Tops, and of very great Extent; here are very great

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[p] It is very highly probable, that this *Balhara*, or Monarch of the Nation which have their Ears bored, which is plainly the *Indians*, was no other than the *Samorin*, or Emperor of *Calicut*, who, according to the Reports of the moſt antient *Portugueze* Hiſtorians, was acknowledged as a kind of Emperor in the *Indies*, ſix hundred Years before they diſcovered the Paſſage to them by the *Cape of Good Hope*.

[q] This is another good Reaſon why the Monarch here mentioned ſhould be taken for the Emperor of *Calicut*, ſince he likewiſe was not called by his proper Name, but by ſuch an Appellative as this; and if we could obtain an Etymology of theſe Words that could be depended upon, it is very likely that *Balhara* and *Samorin* would be found to mean the ſame Thing.

[r] We have already given ſo large an Account of the Rhinoceros, that we ſhall not trouble the Reader with any thing on that Subject here, but content ourſelves with obſerving, that it is evident this Writer makes the Unicorn and the Rhinoceros the ſame Creature, agreeable to what we have advanced elſewhere.

Quantities of Muſk, eſteemed the moſt exquiſite in the World. They have War with all the neighbouring Kingdoms.

The Kingdom of *Mabed*[s] is beyond that of *Mujet*; therein are many Cities, and the Inhabitants have a great Reſemblance to the *Chineſe*, even more than thoſe of *Mujet*; for they have Officers or Eunuchs, like thoſe who govern the Cities amongſt the *Chineſe*; the Country of *Mabed* is bordering upon *China*, and is at Peace with the Emperor, but not ſubject to him. The *Mabed* ſends every Year Embaſſadors and Preſents to the Emperor of *China*, who on his Part ſends Embaſſadors and Preſents to them. Their Country is of great Extent; and when the Embaſſadors of *Mabed* enter *China*, they are carefully watched, and never once allowed to ſurvey the Country, for fear they ſhould form Deſigns of conquering it, which would be no difficult Taſk for them, becauſe of their great Numbers, and becauſe they are divided from *China* only by Mountains and Rocks.

15. They ſay, that in the Kingdom of *China* there are above two hundred Cities, with Juriſdiction over others, and have each a Governor, and an Eunuch, or Lieutenant. *Canfu* is one of theſe Cities, being the Port for all Shipping, and preſiding over twenty Towns. A Town is dignified with the Title of City, when it is allowed ſome of thoſe great *Chineſe* Trumpets, which are faſhioned after this Manner: They are three or four Cubits in Length, and as much about as can be graſped with both Hands; but they grow narrow towards the End, which is fitted to the Mouth; on the Outſide they are coloured with *Chineſe* Ink, and may be heard a Mile off. Each City has four Gates, at each of which are five of theſe Trumpets, which the *Chineſe* ſound at certain Hours of the Day, and of the Night. There are alſo in each City ten Drums, which they beat at the ſame time; and this they do as a publick Token of their Obedience to the Emperor; as alſo to ſignify the Hour of the Day, and of the Night, to which End they have alſo Dials and Clocks with Weights.

They coin a great deal of Copper Money, like what the *Arabs* call *Falus*: They have Treaſures like other Kings; but they have only this ſort of ſmall Money, which is current all over the Country; for though they have Gold, Silver, Pearls, Silk, and rich Stuffs in great Abundance, they conſider them only as Moveables and Merchandiſe, and the Copper-Pieces are the only current Coin; from foreign Parts they have Ivory, Frankincenſe, Copper in Pigs, Tortoiſe-ſhells, and Unicorns Horns, which we have mentioned, and with which they adorn their Girdles. Of their own Stock, they have Abundance of Beaſts of Burden, Horſes, Aſſes, and Dromedaries; but they have no *Arabian* Horſes.

They have an excellent kind of Earth, wherewith they make a Ware of equal Fineneſs with Glaſs, and equally tranſparent. When Merchants arrive here[t], the *Chineſe* ſeize on their Cargoes, and convey them to Warehouſes, where they remain ſix Months, and till the laſt Merchantman be arrived, then they take three in Ten, or thirty *per Cent.* of each Commodity, and return the Reſt to the Merchant. If the Emperor hath a Mind for any particular Thing his Officers have a Right to take it, preferably to any other Perſons whatſoever, paying for it to the utmoſt Value. They diſpatch this Buſineſs immediately, and without the leaſt Injuſtice; they commonly take Camphire, which they pay for after the Rate of fifty *Fakuges per* Man, and the *Fakuge* is worth a thouſand *Falus*, or Pieces of Copper. When it happens that the Emperor does not take Camphire, it ſells for half as much again.

16. The *Chineſe* do not bury their Dead till the Day Twelvemonth of their Deceaſe. Till the Expiration of this Term they keep them in Coffins; for having previouſly dried them with Quick-lime, that they may keep, they place them in ſome Part of their Houſes. The Bodies of their Kings are embalmed with Aloes and Camphire. They mourn for three whole Years; and whoſoever ſhould not do ſo would be chaſtiſed with the Bamboo, a Puniſhment both Men and Women are liable to; at the ſame time they are reproached, *What then, thou art not concerned at the Death of thy Parent?*

They bury their Dead in deep Pits, much like thoſe in Uſe among the *Arabs*: Till this is done they conſtantly ſet Victuals before the Corpſe; and as it is in the Evening that they thus exhibit Meat and Drink to their Dead, if the next Morning they find nothing left, they imagine that they have conſumed all, and ſay; *The Deceaſed hath eaten.* They ceaſe not from bewailing their Dead, nor from ſetting Meat and Drink before them as long as they are kept in the Houſe, inſomuch that their Expences upon thoſe Occaſions, and in thus paying their laſt Duties to their departed Relations, are ſo exorbitant as often to ruin them, and conſume their Wealth and Eſtates. Formerly they, with the dead Bodies of their Kings, or others of the Royal Blood, buried very rich Apparel, and thoſe Sorts of Girdles which we have obſerved coſt ſo much; but this Cuſtom is now out of Date, becauſe it has happened that the Bodies of ſome have been dug up by Thieves, for the Sake of what was buried with them.

The *Chineſe*, poor and rich, great and ſmall, learn to read and write; the Titles of their Kings or Governors, are varied according to the Dignity and Rank of the Cities under them. Thoſe of the ſmaller Cities are called *Tuſing*; and this Word ſignifies, the Governor of a Town; thoſe of the greater Cities, as *Canfu*, for Example, are ſtiled *Difu*; and the Eunuch, or Lieutenant, is ſtiled *Tukam*. Theſe Eunuchs are ſelected from the Inhabitants of the Cities. There is alſo a ſupreme Judge, and him they call *Lakſhima-makvan*; other Names they have for other Officers, which we know not how properly to expreſs.

17. A Man is not raiſed to the Dignity of a Prince, or Governor of a City, till he has attained his fortieth Year; for then, ſay they, he hath Experience. When one of theſe Princes, or Vice-Kings, keeps his Court in a City, he his ſeated upon a Tribunal, and receives the Petitions or Complaints of the People. Behind this Tribunal there is an Officer called *Lieu*, who keeps ſtanding, and according to the Order he receives from the Prince, indorſes his Anſwer on the Petition, for they never anſwer otherwiſe than in Writting, or admit of any Applications, but what are committed to Paper. Before the Parties preſent their Petitions to the Prince, they get them examined by an Officer, who, if he diſcovers any Fault, ſends them back again; for no Man may draw up theſe Writings which are to be preſented to the Prince, except a Clerk verſed in Buſineſs; and at the Bottom of each Writing they put, *Written by ſuch a One, the Son of ſuch a One:* And if in this Caſe there happen any Blunder or Miſtake, the Clerk is bambooed[u].

The Prince never ſeats himſelf on his Tribunal till he has eaten and drank, for fear he ſhould be miſtaken in ſome Thing; and each of theſe Princes or Governors has his Subſiſtence from the publick Treaſury of the City he commands. The Emperor of *China*, who is above all theſe Princes or petty Kings, never appears in publick but once in ten Months, fanſying, that if he ſhewed himſelf oftener to the People, they would loſe the Veneration they have for him; for he holds it as a Maxim, that Principalities cannot ſubſiſt but by Force, and that the People know not what Juſtice is; and that thus Conſtraint and Violence muſt be uſed to maintain amongſt them the Majeſty of Empire.

18. They have no Duty impoſed upon their Lands, but are ſubject to a Poll-tax, which is levied upon Men only, and that according to their Condition and Capacity. When any *Arabs*, or other Strangers, are in this Country, the *Chineſe* tax them according to their Subſtance. When any Dearth makes Neceſſaries dear, then the King opens his Store-houſes, and ſells all Sorts of Proviſions much

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[s] It would be an endleſs thing to fatigue the Reader with Conjectures about theſe Countries, the Names of which are totally unknown to us; ſo that all we can ſay of them with Certainty is, that they lie between Cape *Comorin* and *China*.

[t] This Account of the Conduct of the *Chineſe* towards the Merchants, correſponds ſo well with both with antients and modern Relations, that it leaves no room for us to doubt, either of the Truth of them, or of it, and cannot but illuſtrate, and at the ſame time confirm in the Opinion of the Reader, many Things delivered in our Obſervations on the foregoing Sections.

[u] This kind of Practice is ſtill in Uſe at *China*, ſo that there can be nothing clearer than that this Account is both genuine and exact: ſince it is impoſſible to conceive how an *Arabian* Author of the Age in which this Manuſcript was wrote, ſhould be Maſter of theſe Facts, none of which were known in *Europe* till ſome Ages after.

cheaper than they are to be had at Market: And hence no Dearth is of any long Continuance among the *Chineſe*. The Sums that are gathered from this Capitation-tax, are laid up in the publick Treaſury; and I believe, that from this Tax fifty thouſand Dinars are paid every Day into the Treaſury of *Canfu* alone, although this City is not one of the largeſt in *China*.

The Emperor reſerves likewiſe to himſelf the Revenues which ariſe from the Salt-mines, and from a certain Herb which they drink with hot Water, and of which great Quantities are ſold in all the Cities of *China*, to the Amount of great Sums; they call it *Ttcha*, that is Tea, and it is a Shrub, more buſhy than the Pomegranate-tree, and of a more pleaſant Smell, but has a kind of Bitterneſs with it. Their Way is to boil Water, which they pour upon this Leaf; and this Drink cures all ſorts of Diſeaſes. Whatever Sums come into the Treaſury, ariſe from the Poll-tax, the Duties upon Salt, and the Tax upon this Leaf[w].

19. In each City there is a ſmall Bell hung to the Wall above the Prince's or Governor's Head; and this Bell may be rung by a String, which reaches about three Miles, and croſſes the Highway, to the End that People may get at it; when the String is pulled, the Bell ſtrikes over the Governor's Head, and ſtrait he commands that the Perſon who thus demands Juſtice, be brought before him; and accordingly the Complainant ſets forth his Caſe in Perſon; and the ſame Practice is in uſe throughout all other Provinces.

If a Man has a Mind to travel from one Place to another, he muſt take two Paſſes with him, the one from the Governor, the other from the Eunuch or Lieutenant. The Governor's Paſs permits him to ſet out on his Journey, and takes Notice of the Name of the Traveller, and of thoſe alſo of his Company, the Age and Family of the one and the other; for every Body in *China*, whether a Native, or an *Arab*, or any other Foreigner, is obliged to declare all he knows of himſelf, nor can he poſſibly be excuſed.

The Eunuch, or Lieutenant's Paſs, ſpecifies the Quantity of Goods or Money which the Traveller and thoſe with him take along with them; and this is done for the Information of the frontier Places, where theſe two Paſſes are examined; for whenever a Traveller arrives at any of them it is regiſtered, That ſuch a one, the Son of ſuch a one, of ſuch a Family, paſſed through this Place on ſuch a Day, in ſuch a Month, in ſuch a Year, and in ſuch Company; and by this Means they prevent any one from carrying off the Money or Effects of other Perſons, or their being loſt: So that if any Thing has been carried off unjuſtly, or the Traveller dies on the Road, they immediately know what is become of the Thing, and they are either reſtored to the Claimant or to his Heirs[x].

20. The *Chineſe* adminiſter Juſtice with great Strictneſs in all their Tribunals. When any Perſon commences a Suit againſt another, he ſets down his Claim in Writing, and the Defendant writes down his Defence, which he ſigns, and holds between his Fingers. Theſe two Writings are delivered in together; and being examined, Sentence is delivered in Writing, and each Party has his Papers returned to him; but firſt they give back to the Defendant his Writing, that he may acknowledge it.

When one Party denies what the other affirms, he is ordered to return his Writing; and if the Defendant thinks he may do it ſafely, and accordingly delivers his Papers a ſecond time, they alſo call for that of the Plaintiff, and then they ſay to him who denies what the other affirms, Make it appear that your Antagoniſt has no Right to demand of you what is in Debate; but take Notice, if he makes out what you deny, you ſhall undergo twenty Strokes of the Bamboo upon the Backſide, and pay a Fine of twenty *Fakúges*, which make about two hundred *Dinars*. Now this Puniſhment is ſuch, as the Criminal could not ſurvive; it is ſo grievous, that no Perſon in all *China* may, of his own Authority, inflict it upon another, upon pain of Death, and Confiſcation of his Goods, and ſo nobody is ever ſo hardy as to expoſe himſelf to ſo certain a Danger; wherefore Juſtice is well adminiſtred to every one. They require no Witneſs, nor do they put the Parties upon Oath.

21. When any Man becomes a Bankrupt in this Country, they throw him into Priſon in the Governor's Palace, and he is immediately put upon the Declaration of his Effects. After he has been a Month in Priſon, he is releaſed by the Governor's Order, and Proclamation is made, That ſuch a one, the Son of ſuch a one, has conſumed the Subſtance of ſuch a one; and that if he has any Effects in the Hands of any Perſon, in any Shape whatſoever, it muſt be made known in the Term of a Month. In the mean time the Bankrupt is bambooed on the Backſide if Diſcovery is made of any Effects of his; and at the ſame time is upbraided with having been a Month in Priſon eating and drinking, though he had wherewithal to ſatisfy his Creditors. He is chaſtiſed in the ſame manner, whether he makes any Declaration of his Effects or not. They reproach him, that he has made it his ſtudy to get by Fraud the Subſtance of private Perſons into his Hands, and embezzle it; and that he ought not ſo to defraud thoſe he had Dealings with, by ſtripping them of their Property. But after all, if they cannot diſcover him to have been guilty of any Fraud, and if it is proved to the Magiſtrate, that the Man has nothing in the World, the Creditors are called in, and receive a Part of their Debt out of the Treaſury of the *Bagbun*. This is the ordinary Title of the Emperors of *China*, and ſignifies the Son of Heaven; but we commonly pronounce it after a different Manner, and call him *Magbun*. Then it is publickly forbidden to buy of or ſell to this Man, upon pain of Death, that he may not defraud any of his Creditors by concealing their Money. If Diſcovery be made that he hath any Sums in the Hands of another, and if the Perſon he intruſts makes no Declaration within the Time limited, he is bambooed to Death, and nothing is ſaid to the Proprietor or Bankrupt. The Sums that they diſcover are divided among the Creditors, and the Debtor or Bankrupt muſt never more concern himſelf with Trade[y].

22. The *Chineſe* have a Stone which is ten Cubits high, erected in the publick Squares of their Cities, and on this Stone are engraved the Names of all Sorts of Medicines, with the exact Price of each; and when the Poor ſtand in need of any Relief from Phyſick, they go to the Treaſury, where they receive the Price each Medicine is rated at. There is in *China* no Tax upon Land; they only levy ſo much *per* Head, according to the Wealth and Poſſeſſions of the Subject. When a Male Child is born his Name is immediately entered in the King's Books; and when this Child has attained his eighteenth Year, he begins to pay for his Head; but they demand it not of the Man who has ſeen his eightieth Year on the contrary, he receives a Gratification by way of Penſion from the publick Treaſury; and in doing this, the *Chineſe* ſay, That they make this Proviſion for him in his old Days, in Acknowledgment for what they received of him when he was young.

23. There are Schools in every Town for teaching the poor Children to write and read, and the Maſters are maintained at the publick Charge. The Women wear nothing on their Heads but their Hair, whereas the Men are covered. In *China* there is certain Town called *Tayu*, which has a Caſtle advantageouſly ſeated on a Hill, and all the Fortreſſes in the Kingdom are called by the ſame Name. The *Chineſe* are generally handſome, of

[w] It appears from hence, that the Cuſtom of drinking Tea in *China*, is much more antient then we have generally imagined it, for it muſt have prevailed long before our Traveller went into this Country, otherwiſe a Tax upon it would have been ineffectual. It may not be amiſs to obſerve here, that the Remarks of the Author are equally natural and judicious; for he inſiſts chiefly on thoſe Things in which the *Chineſe* differed moſt from the *Mohammedans*, as that they did not circumciſe, were not very exact in waſhing and made no Conſcience of eating Blood.

[x] The Reader will remember that this was a ſettled Regulation among the antient *Indians*, ſo that it is very probable that the *Chineſe* derived a great Part of their Policy from the *Indians*.

[y] This Fact is likewiſe confirmed by later Travellers; and though there ſeems to be a great deal of Severity in it, yet it is well adapted to the Genius of the *Chineſe*, who would not fail to become Bankrupts frequently, if they were allowed to trade afterwards; and perhaps the introducing this Law in other Countries, in caſe of a ſecond or third Bankruptcy, might be found very effectual.

comely Stature, fair, and by no means addicted to Exceſſes of Wine; their Hair is blacker than the Hair of any other Nation in the World; and the *Chineſe* Women wear it curled.

24. In the *Indies*, when a Man accuſes another of a Crime puniſhable with Death, the Cuſtom is to aſk the Accuſed if he is willing to go through the Trial by Fire; and if he anſwers in the Affirmative, they heat a Piece of Iron till it is red hot. This done, they bid him ſtretch forth his Hand, and upon it they put ſeven Leaves of a certain Tree, and upon theſe Leaves they put the red-hot Iron, and in his Condition he walks backward and forward for ſome time, and then throws off the Iron. Immediately after this they put his Hand into a Leathern Bag, which they ſeal with the Prince's Signet; and if at the End of three Days he appears, and declares he has ſuffered no Hurt, they order him to take out his Hand; when, if no Sign of Fire is viſible, they declare him innocent, and delivered from the Puniſhment which threatned him, and his Accuſer is condemned to pay a *Man* of Gold as a Fine to the Prince.

Sometimes they boil Water in a Cauldron[z], till it is ſo hot that no one can touch it; then they throw an Iron Ring into it, and command the Perſon accuſed to thruſt his Hand down, and bring out the Ring. I ſaw one who did this, and received no manner of Hurt. The Accuſer is in this Caſe alſo to pay a *Man* of Gold.

25. When a King dies in this Iſland of *Sarandib*, they lay his Body on an open Chariot, in ſuch a manner that his Head hangs backwards till it almoſt touches the Ground, and his Hair is upon the Earth; and this Chariot is followed by a Woman with a Broom in her Hand, therewith to ſweep Duſt on the Face of the Deceaſed, while ſhe cries out with a loud Voice, "O Man, behold your King, who was Yeſterday your Maſter, but now the Empire he exerciſed over you is vaniſhed and gone; he is reduced to the State you behold, having left the World, and the Arbiter of Death hath withdrawn his Soul: Reckon therefore no more upon the uncertain Hopes of Life."

This[a] Proclamation, or ſome other like it, they continue for three Days; after which, the dead Body of the King is enbalmed with *Sandal* Wood, Camphire and Saffron, and is then burned, and the Aſhes are ſcattered abroad to the Wind. It is a univerſal Cuſtom all over the *Indies* to burn the Bodies of the Dead. The Iſland of *Sarandib* is the laſt of the Iſlands of the *Indies*. When they burn a King, it is uſual for his Wives to jump into the Fire, and to burn with him; but this they are not conſtrained to do if they are not willing.

In the *Indies* there are Men who profeſs to live in the Woods and Mountains, and to deſpiſe what other Men moſt value. Theſe abſtain from every thing but ſuch wild Herbs and Fruits as ſpring in the Woods, and put an Iron Buckle upon their natural Parts, that they may not be able to have any Commerce with Women. Some of them are quite naked, or have only a Leopard's Skin thrown over them, and in this Plight keep ſtanding with their Faces towards the Sun. I formerly ſaw one in the Poſture I have deſcribed, and returning to the *Indies* about ſixteen Years afterwards I found him in the very ſame Attitude, and was aſtoniſhed he had not loſt his Eye-ſight by the Heat of the Sun[b]. In all theſe Kingdoms the Sovereign Power reſides in the Royal Family, and never departs from it; and the next Heirs of this Family ſucceed each other. In like manner their are Families of learned Men, of Phyſicians, and of all the Artificers concerned in Architecture, and none of theſe are mixed with a Family of a Profeſſion different from their own. The ſeveral States of the *Indies* are not ſubject to one King, but each Province has its own King. The *Balbara* is nevertheleſs in the *Indies* as King of Kings The *Chineſe* are fond of Gaming, and all Manner of Diverſions; on the contrary, the *Indians* condemn them, and have no Pleaſure in them. They drink no Wine, nor make any Uſe of Vinegar, becauſe it is made of Wine; and yet they abſtain not therefrom as a religious Duty, but for another Reaſon. They ſay, that if a King is given to Wine, he ought not to be deemed a King: For, continue they, as there are frequent Wars with the neighbouring States, how ſhould a Drunkard manage the Affairs of his Kingdom?

26. The Wars, in which they engage with neighbouring Princes, are not uſually undertaken with a View to poſſeſs themſelves of their Dominions; and I never heard of any but the People bordering upon the Pepper Country, that have ſeized on the Poſſeſſions of their Neighbours after Victory. When a Prince makes himſelf Maſter of ſome other Principality, he confers the Government thereof upon ſome Perſon of the Royal Family of the conquered Country; and thus he keeps it in Subjection to himſelf, from a Perſuaſion that the Natives would never agree to be otherwiſe governed. When any one of the Princes or Governors of Cities within the Dominions of the Emperor of *China* is guilty of a Crime, he is put to Death, and eaten; and in general it may be ſaid, that the *Chineſe* eat all thoſe that are put to Death. When the *Indians* and *Chineſe* are about to marry, the Parites come to an Agreement; then Preſents are made, and at laſt the Marriage is celebrated with the Sound of many Sorts of Inſtruments and Drums. The Preſents they ſend conſiſt of Money, and in this every one does what he can afford.

27. If a Man in the *Indies* runs away with a Woman, and abuſes her Body, they kill both him and the Woman, unleſs it be proved that ſhe was forced; then the Man only is puniſhed with Death: But if the Woman conſented to the evil Deed, they are both puniſhed with Death. Theft is always puniſhed capitally, as well in the *Indies* as in *China*, whether the Theft be conſiderable or inconſiderable; and particularly in the *Indies*, where, if a Thief has ſtolen but the Value of a ſmall Piece of Money, or a Thing of greater Worth, they take a long, ſtrong, and ſharp Stake, which they apply to his Fundament, and thruſt it through till it comes out at his Neck. The *Chineſe* are addicted to the abominable Vice of Sodomy, and the filthy Practice of it they number among the indifferent Things they perform in Honour of their Idols.

The *Chineſe* Buildings are of Wood, with Stone, Plaſter, Brick, and Morter. The *Chineſe* and *Indians* are not ſatisfied with one Wife, but both Nations marry as many as they pleaſe. Rice is the common Food of the *Indians*, who eat no Wheat; whereas the *Chineſe* eat of Rice and Wheat indifferently. Circumciſion is not practiſed either by the *Indians* or *Chineſe*. The *Chineſe* worſhip Idols, pray to them, and fall down before them; and they have Books which explain the Articles of their Religion. The *Indians* ſuffer their Beards to grow, and I have ſeen one of them with a Beard three Cubits long; they wear no Whiſkers; but the *Chineſe*, for the moſt part, have no Beard, and have all ſmooth. The *Indians*, upon the Death of a Relation, ſhave both Head and Face. When any Man in the *Indies* is caſt into Priſon they allow him neither Victuals nor Drink for ſeven Days together, and this with them anſwers the End of other Tortures to extort from the Criminal a Confeſſion of the Truth. The *Chineſe* have Judges beſides the Governors, who decide in Cauſes between Subject and Subject, and the ſame they have in the *Indies*. Both in *China* and in the *Indies* there are Leopards and Wolves, but no Lions. Highway Robbers are puniſhed with Death.

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[z] This Manner of finding out the Truth by appealing to God in ſo extraordinary a Manner, was in uſe in moſt Countries. *Sophocles* mentions it as practiſed by the Antients. The *Caffres* on the Coaſt of *Moſambique*, if they are accuſed of any capital Crime, lick Iron to prove their Innocence. The *Indians* of *Calicut* decide their Differences in the ſame Manner. If a Man is accuſed of Theft, he and the Accuſer are brought before the Judge; a Pint of Oil is heated till it almoſt boils, and then the Party accuſed dips in three of his Fingers, which are immediately bound up, and opened on the third Day; when, if it appears he is ſcalded, he ſuffers Death; and if not, the ſame Sentence falls upon the Accuſer. All this is the more probable, ſince this was once the common Law of our own Country, as the Reader will perceive by conſulting any of our Gloſſographers on the Word *Ordeal*.

[a] The Author of the *Arabian* Geography, and many other of the Oriental Writers, have tranſcribed this Paſſage *Verbatim*, from whence it appears evidently that they were acquainted with this Work. The Reader may remember, that the Accounts given by the Antients of the Manners of the Inhabitants of *Taprobana* agree perfectly well with this Account.

[c] Theſe Penances among the *Indians*, as ſurprizing or as incredible as they ſeem to be, are confirmed by all the Travellers that have written of thoſe Countries, whether antient or modern, as we ſhall have an Opportunity of ſhewing in the ſubſequent Part of this Chapter.

29. Both the *Chineſe* and the *Indians* imagine the Idols they worſhip ſpeak to them and give them Anſwers. Neither the one nor the other kill their Meat by cutting the Throat, as the *Mohammedans*, but by beating them on the Mouth till they die. They waſh not with Well-water; the *Chineſe* wipe themſelves with Paper, whereas the *Indians* waſh every Day before they eat.

The *Indians* touch not their Wives while their Diſeaſe is upon them, but turn them out of their Houſes, and avoid them; the *Chineſe* behave in a quite contrary Manner. The *Indians* waſh not only the Mouth, but the whole Body alſo before they eat, which the *Chineſe* obſerve not. The Country of the *Indies* is larger in Extent than that of *China*, and exceeds it by one half; the Number of Kingdoms is greater in the *Indies* than in *China*, but *China* is the more populous of the two.

It is not uſual to ſee Palm-trees either in the *Indies* or in *China*, but they have alſo other Sorts of Fruits and Trees, which we have not. The *Indians* have no Grapes, and the *Chineſe* have not many, but both abound in other Fruits; though the Pomgranate thrives more plentifully in *India* than in *China*.

The *Chineſe* have no Sciences, and their Religion and moſt of their Laws are derived from the *Indians*; nay, they are of Opinion that the *Indians* taught them the Worſhip of Idols, and conſider them as a very religious Nation; both the one and the other believe the *Metempſychoſis* [c]; but they differ in many Points touching the Precepts of their Religions. Phyſick and Philoſophy are cultivated among the *Indians*, and the *Chineſe* have ſome Skill in Medicine; but it almoſt wholly conſiſts in the Art of applying hot Irons or Cauteries. They have alſo ſome Smattering of Aſtronomy, but therein alſo the *Indians* ſurpaſs the *Chineſe*. I know not that there is ſo much as one of either Nation that has embraced Mohammediſm, or ſpeaks *Arabic*. The *Indians* have but few Horſes, and there are more in *China*; but the *Chineſe* have no Elephants, and cannot endure to have them in their Country, for they abhor them. The *Indian* Dominions furniſh a great Number of Soldiers, who are not paid by the King, but when they are rendezvouſed for War, take the Field entirely at their own Expence, and are no Charge to the King; whereas the *Chineſe* allow their Forces much the ſame Pay with the *Arabs*.

China is a pleaſant and fruitful Country; moſt of the *Indian* Provinces have no Cities, whereas in *China* there are many in Number, great in Extent, and well fortified: The Climate of *China* is more wholeſome, and the Country itſelf is leſs fenny. The Air there is alſo much better, and there is ſcarce a blind Perſon to be ſeen, or any one ſubject to the Diſeaſes of the Eyes; and the ſame Advantages are enjoyed by ſeveral Provinces of the *Indies*: The Rivers of thoſe two Countries are large, and ſurpaſs our greateſt Rivers; much Rain falls in both theſe Countries. In the *Indies* are many deſert Tracks, but *China* is inhabited and peopled throughout its whole Extent. The *Chineſe* are handſomer than the *Indians*, and come nearer to the *Arabs*, not only in Countenance but in Dreſs, in their Way of riding, in their Manners, and in their Ceremonies: They wear long Garments, and Girdles in form of Belts. The *Indians* wear two ſhort Veſts; and the Men, as well as the Women, wear golden Bracelets, adorned with precious Stones.

30. Beyond the Continent of *China*, there is a Country called *Tagazgaz*, from the Name of a Nation of the *Turks*, who there inhabit, and alſo the Country of *Kakhan*, or *Tibet*, which is bordering on the Country of the *Turks* [d]. The Iſlands of *Sila* are inhabited by white People, who ſend Preſents to the Emperor of *China*, and who are perſuaded, that if they did not ſend him Preſents, the Rain of Heaven would not fall upon their Country. None of our People have been there to inform us concerning them: They have white Falcons.

As we are now arrived to the End of this Work, it may not be amiſs to offer here ſome Remarks that may tend to enlighten the foregoing Diſcourſe, and prepare us at the ſame time for that which is to come. We are informed that the Date of this Narration was of the *Hegira* 237. *A. D.* 851. which Circumſtance, though preſerved to us in the enſuing Diſcourſe, was very probably contained in the firſt Leaf of this, which is wanting in the Manuſcript. But though it was written then, yet it ſeems highly probable, that our Author's firſt Journey to the *Indies* was, at leaſt, twenty Years before; becauſe he obſerves, that he made a ſecond Journey there ſixteen Years afterwards; and we may very well allow four Years for the Time ſpent in the firſt Journey, and the Space that might intervene between his Return and his compoſing this Treatiſe. According to this Calculation, his firſt Voyage to the *Indies* was in the Year of the *Hegira* 217. *A. D.* 833. and his ſecond *An Heg.* 235. *A. D.* 849.

As to the Occaſion of his Voyages, there is nothing occurs in this Account that can give us the leaſt Light into it; however, it ſeems moſt probable, that he underwent theſe Fatigues on the ſcore of Commerce; for it can hardly be ſuppoſed, that a Man would have made ſo long a Journey a ſecond Time purely out of Curioſity, and to ſatisfy the Deſire of being better acquainted with theſe People, which had been excited by his former Intercourſe with them. There is not much to be obſerved with reſpect to the Form of this Treatiſe, or the Stile in which it is written; and yet ſomething there is worth mentioning with reſpect to each of them. We cannot, indeed, boaſt much of the Regularity of his Method; and yet it would be unjuſt to condemn it entirely, becauſe, for want of having the Introduction to it, we cannot determine exactly what was his Plan, and conſequently cannot ſay how far he came up to or fell ſhort of it. One Thing I think is manifeſt, which is, that the Scope of his Undertaking is a Compariſon between the *Indians* and the *Chineſe*; at leaſt he falls into this immediatly after he has deſcribed the uſual Navigation from *Siraf* to *China*; and conſidered in this Light, his Treatiſe appears regular enough. As to his Stile, it is extremely ſimple and plain, and has nothing of that ſwelling hyperbolical Eloquence which is generally obſerved in oriental Writers; upon which, I beg leave to remark, that with regard to the *Arabs*, as well as other Nations, this was a Vice that prevailed in later Times, after Poetry and Rhetorick had been more cultivated than they were in the firſt Ages of their Empire, which has been the Caſe in moſt other Nations.

One cannot poſſibly doubt, that this Piece was extremely well received when it firſt came abroad, and that it had maintained its Reputation for a conſiderable Space of Time, appears from the ſecond Treatiſe, which we are about to give the Reader. It ſeems, that when the Affairs of *China* were better known, ſome Prince, or other Perſon of Diſtinction, deſired the Author of the following Pages to look over that Diſcourſe, and to inform him, how far the Facts contained therein had been confirmed or contradicted, by ſucceeding Relations. What Time this happened, we cannot with any Certainty ſay, from the Compariſon of the two Pieces, or from the Lights given us by the learned and accurate Critick who publiſhed them. The Manuſcript which the Abbé *Renaudot* made uſe of, was apparenly older than the Year of the *Hegira* 569, which anſwers to the Year of Chriſt 1173; but the Diſcourſe muſt certainly have been written long before that Time. In our Notes we have ſhewn that *Eben-Wahab* travelled into *China*, *A. H.* 285. *A. D.* 898; and the Author of this laſt Treatiſe informs us, that he had converſed with this Man after his Return, and had from him the Facts which he has inſerted in his Diſcourſe; ſo that the Book itſelf muſt have been two Centuries older than the Manuſcript from which the Abbé *Renaudot* publiſhed it, and might probably be written ſixty or ſeventy Years after the foregoing Treatiſe. Theſe are all the Lights which, from an aſſiduous Study of theſe valuable Fragments of Antiquity, we have been able to give the Reader, and therefore we ſhall detain him no longer from the Piece itſelf, which in the Original bears the following Title.

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[c] Of this Doctrine we have already ſpoken in our Account of the Philoſophy of the *Brachmans*; and in our Notes upon the ſubſequent Treatiſe, we ſhall take Occaſion to ſhew when it was firſt embraced in *China*, and with what Modifications it is ſtill taught there.

[d] We ſhall take another Opportunity of acquainting the Reader with the Hiſtory of the ancient *Turks*, and ſhall only obſerve here, that the Nations here mentioned are to be conſidered as dwelling in their native Region, before they became famous by their Irruption into *Perſia*, which is the Country every where meant in this and in the ſubſequent Treatiſe by the Name of *Irak*, and before they became *Mohammedans*; which is the more neceſſary, becauſe from the preſent State of Things it is very natural to connect the Ideas which we have of the modern *Turks*, with theſe Accounts of their Anceſtors.

The Diſcourſe of Abu Zeid al Haſan *of* Siraf, *concerning the Voyage to the* Indies *and* China.

31. Having very carefully examined the Book I was directed to peruſe, that I might confirm what the Author relates, when he agrees with what I have heard concerning the Affairs of the Sea, the Kingdoms on the Coaſt, and the State of the Countries; and that I might add upon this Head, what I have elſewhere collected concerning them, which is not to be found in this Book, I find it was written in the Year of the Hegira CCXXXVII. and that the Accounts the Author gives in regard to Things at Sea, were in his Time very true, and agreeable to what I have underſtood from Merchants, who from *Irak* failed through thoſe Seas. I find alſo, that all the Author writes is agreeable to Truth except ſome few Paſſages.

Speaking of the Cuſtom of ſetting Meat before the Dead, which he attributes to the *Chineſe*, he ſays, when they have ſerved up the Meat over Night, and find nothing in the Morning, they cry, The Deceaſed hath eaten. We had been told the ſame, and believed it, till we met with a Man of undoubted Credit, who being aſked concerning this Cuſtom, he anſwered, that the Fact was not ſo, and that this Notion was groundleſs, as well as what is vulgarly ſaid of the idolatrous Nations, that they imagine their Idols ſpeak to them.

He told us alſo, that ſince thoſe Days the Affairs of *China* wear quite another Face; and ſince much is related to ſhew the Reaſon why the Voyages to *China* are interrupted, and how the Country has been ruined, many Cuſtoms aboliſhed, and the Empire divided, I will here declare the Cauſes I know of this Revolution[a].

32. The great Troubles which have embroiled the Affairs of this Empire, which have put a Stop to the Juſtice and Righteouſneſs there formerly practiſed, and which have in fine interrupted the ordinary Navigation from *Siraf* to *China*, flowed from this Source: An Officer who was conſiderable for his Employment, though not of the Royal Family, revolted ſome time ago; this Man's Name was *Baichu*, and he began with committing Hoſtilities in the Country, marching his Armies into many Places, to the great Loſs of the Inhabitants, till, winning a Party over to him by his Liberalities, he got together a Multitude of Vagabonds and abandoned People, whom he formed into a conſiderable Body of Troops.

His Army thus ſtrengthened, and himſelf in a Condition to undertake any thing, he diſcovered his Deſign of ſubduing the Empire, and marched ſtreight to *Canfu*, one of the moſt noted Cities in *China*, and at that Time the Port for all the *Arabian* Merchants. This City ſtands upon a great River ſome Days Diſtance from the Entrance, ſo that the Water there is freſh. But the Citizens ſhutting their Gates againſt him, he reſolved to beſiege the Place, and the Siege laſted a great while. This was tranſacted in the Year of the Hegira CCLXIV. and of Chriſt 877.

At laſt he became Maſter of the City, and put all the Inhabitants to the Sword. There are Perſons fully acquainted with the Affairs of *China*, who aſſure us, that beſides the *Chineſe* who were maſſacred upon this Occaſion, there periſhed one hundred and twenty thouſand *Mohammedans*, *Jews*, *Chriſtians*, and *Parſees*, who were there on acount of Traffick. The Number of the Profeſſors of theſe four Religions, who thus periſhed, is exactly known, becauſe the *Chineſe* are exceedingly nice in the Accounts they keep of them.

He alſo cut down the Mulberry-trees, and almoſt all the Trees of other Kinds: But we ſpeak of the Mulberry in particular, becauſe the *Chineſe* cultivate it carefully, for the ſake of its Leaf, on which their Silkworms ſubſiſt. This Devaſtation is the Cauſe why Silk has failed, and that the Trade which uſed to be driven therein through all the Countries under the *Arabs*, is quite at a ſtand. Having ſacked and deſtroyed *Canfu*, he poſſeſſed himſelf of many other Cities, which he attacked one after another, the Emperor of *China* not having it in his Power to ſtop his Progreſs. He advanced then to the capital City, called *Cumdan*; and the Emperor left this, his royal Seat, making a precipitate Retreat to the City of *Hamdu*, on the Frontiers, towards the Province of *Tibet*.

The Rebel, puffed up by theſe great Succeſſes, and perceiving himſelf Maſter of the Countries, fell upon the other Cities, which he demoliſhed, having firſt ſlain moſt of the Inhabitants, with a View, in this general Butchery, to involve all the ſeveral Branches of the Royal Blood, that none might ſurvive to diſpute the Empire with him. We had the News of theſe Revolutions, and of the total Ruin of *China*, which ſtill continues.

Thus were Affairs ſituated, and the Rebel ſtood uncontrolled by any Diſadvantage that might abaſe his Authority[b].

33. At laſt the Emperor of *China* wrote to the King of *Tagazgaz* in *Turkeſtan*, with whom, beſides the Nearneſs of his Dominions, he was, in ſome Degree, allied by Marriage; and, at the ſame time, ſent an Embaſſy to him, to implore his Aſſiſtance for reducing this Rebel. Upon this, the King of *Tagazgaz* diſpatched his Son, at the Head of a very numerous Army, to fight this Oppreſſor; and, after many Battles, and almoſt continual Skirmiſhes, he utterly defeated him. It was never known what became of the Rebel: Some believe he fell in Battle, while others thought he ended his Days in another Manner.

The Emperor of *China* returned then to *Cumdan*, and although he was extremely weakened, and much diſpirited becauſe of the Embbezzlement of his Treaſures, and the Loſs of his Captains and beſt Troops, and becauſe of all the late Calamities, he nevertheleſs made himſelf Maſter of all the Provinces which had been conquered from him. However, he never laid Hands on the Goods of his Subjects, but ſatisfied himſelf with what was yet left in his Coffers, and the ſmall Remainders of publick Money, his Condition indiſpenſably obliged him to take up with what his Subjects would give him, and to require nothing from them but Obedience to his Mandates, forbearing to ſqueeze Money from them, becauſe the King's Governors had exhauſted them already.

Thus *China* became almoſt like the Empire of *Alexander* after the Defeat and Death of *Darius*[c], when he divided the Provinces he took from the *Perſians* amongſt ſo many Chiefs, who erected themſelves into ſo many Kings; for now each of theſe *Chineſe* Princes joined with ſome other to wage

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[a] The Account here given by our Author, very plainly proves, that the Trade to *China* was conſidered in his Time as very ancient, and of very great Conſequence, inſomuch that whatever affected the Peace of that Country, was looked upon as a Thing of common Concern to all the Nations of the Eaſt. But till theſe Travels were publiſhed, who could have imagined this? Who would have ſuſpected that the Affairs of *China* were ſo well known to the *Arabs*? And therefore when theſe Things are maturely weighed, who can doubt that we had Reaſon to advance it as a Thing highly probable, that long before this, the Empires of *China* and the *Indies* were in the moſt flouriſhing Condition, as well in point of foreign Commerce, as of domeſtick Oeconomy

[b] It is a very difficult thing to pretend to ſettle the Chronology of the *Chineſe* Empire; and the very learned Editor of theſe Travels, confeſſes that he is not able to give any ſatisfactory Account of this Revolution. It ſo falls out, however, that Father *du Halde*, in his Hiſtory of *China*, lately publiſhed, has enabled us to ſet this Matter right, or at leaſt very nearly right. He informs us, that in the Reign of the Emperor *Hi Tjong*, who was the eighteenth of the Dynaſty of *Tang*, the Affairs of *China* fell into very great Diſorder, from the heavy Taxes laid upon the People, and a great Famine cauſed by the Inundation of Rivers, and infinite Numbers of Graſs hoppers that deſtroyed their Harveſts. While Things were in this Situation, there happened ſeveral Revolts in the Provinces, which encouraged a certain Rebel, whoſe Name was *Hoan Tſia*, to put himſelf at the Head of the Malecontents, and that with ſuch Succeſs, as to drive the Emperor from the Imperial City, of which he made himſelf Maſter; but he was afterwards defeated, and the Emperor reſtored. It muſt be owned, that there is about twenty Years Difference between the Time mentioned by our Author, and the Date of this Revolution, aſſigned by Father *du Halde*, I ſhall not take upon me to decide where the Miſtake lies; but I conceive that the Reader will be of the ſame Opinion with me, in concluding this to be the Revolution mentioned in the Text.

[c] All the Oriental Writers agree in giving a different Account of the Diviſion of the Empire of *Alexander* the Great, from that which is given us by the *Greeks*; and that this Notion of theirs was ancient, appears from what we are told by the Author of the firſt Book of *Maccabees*, who having

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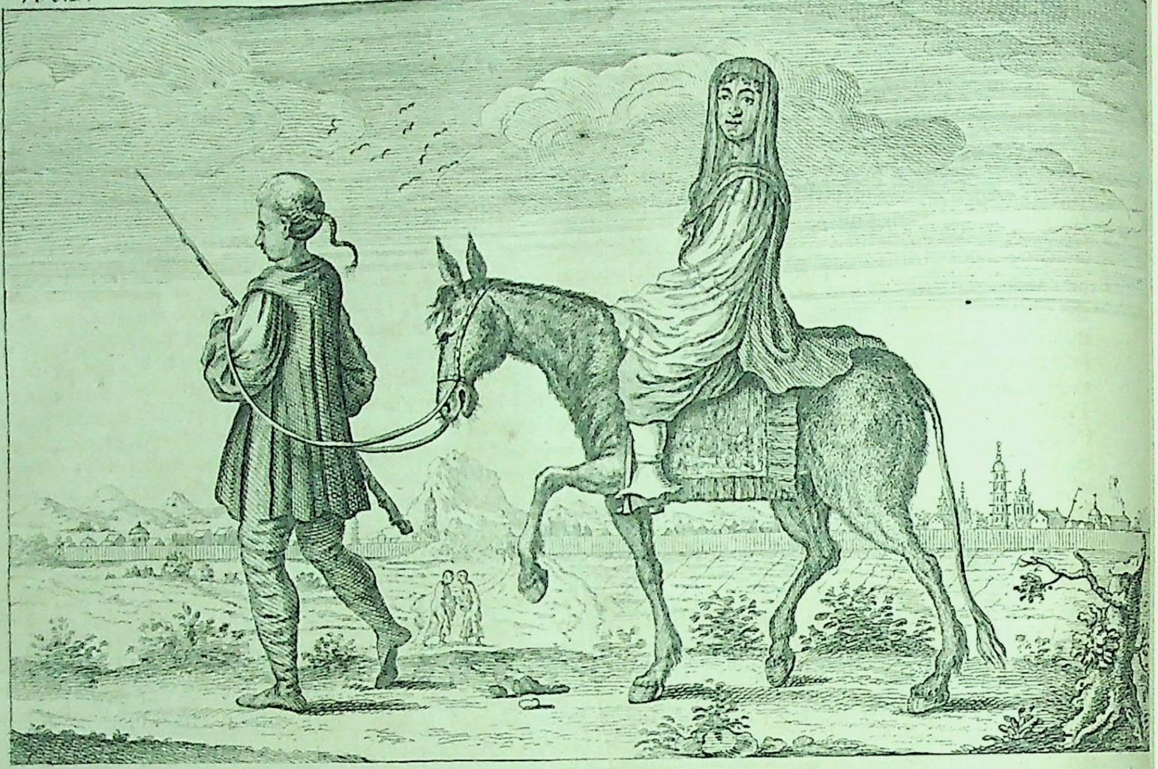

A Chineſe Proſtitute, riding in Publick, with a Man going before, who makes known her Pric

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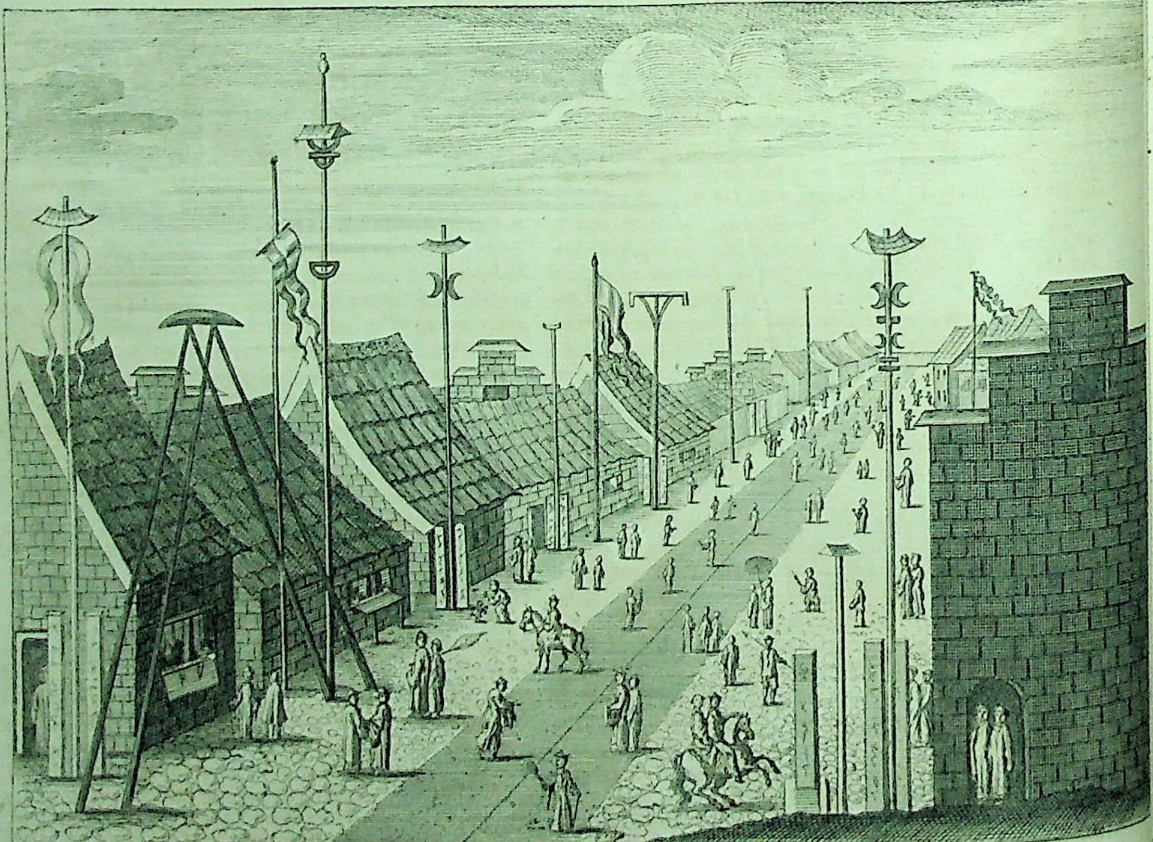

A View of a large Street in one of yᵉ Trading Cities of China shewing how their Signs are placed & Shops disp wage War againſt a third, without conſulting the Emperor; and when the ſtrongeſt had ſubdued the weakeſt, and was become Maſter of his Province, all was waſted and unmercifully plundered, and the Subjects of the vanquiſhed Prince were unnaturally devoured, a Cruelty allowed by the Laws of their Religion, which even permit Human Fleſh to be expoſed to Sale in the publick Markets.

Then aroſe, as was natural from theſe Confuſions, many unjuſt Dealings with the Merchants who traded thither, which having gathered the Force of a Precedent, there was no Grievance, no Treatment ſo bad, but they exerciſed upon the *Arabs*, and the Maſters of Ships; they extorted from the Merchants what was uncuſtomary, they ſeized upon their Effects, and behaved towards them in a Manner directly oppoſite to ancient Uſages, and for theſe Things has God puniſhed them, by withdrawing his Bleſſing from them in every Reſpect; and particularly by cauſing the Navigation to be forſaken, and the Merchants to return in Crouds to *Siraf* and *Oman*; agreeable to the all-ruling Will of the Almighty Maſter, whoſe Name be bleſſed!

34. The Author in his Book notes ſome Cuſtoms and Laws of the *Chineſe*, but mentions not the Puniſhments inflicted on married Perſons, when convicted of Adultery; this Crime as well as Homicide and Theft is puniſhed with Death, and they execute the Criminal in this Manner; they bind both the Hands together, and then force them backwards over the Head, till they reſt upon the Neck; they then faſten the Right-Foot to the Right-Hand, and the Left-Foot to the Left-Hand, ſo that both Hands and Feet are ſtrongly bound behind the Back; and thus bundled up, it is impoſſible for the Criminal to ſtir, nor wants he any Body to hold him. This Torture disjoints the Neck, makes the Joints ſtart out of their Sockets, and diſlocates the Thighs; in ſhort, the Patient is in ſo miſerable a Condition, that were he to continue therein but a few Hours, there would be no need of any thing elſe to make an End of him: But when they have bound him as we have ſaid, they give him ſo many Strokes with a Bambo, which they always uſe upon the like Occaſions, and which alone were ſufficient to kill the Criminal, and leave off when he is at the very laſt Gaſp of Life, abandoning the Body to the People, who eat it[d].

35. There are Women in *China* who refuſe to marry, and chuſe rather to live a diſſolute Life of perpetual Debauchery. The Cuſtom is for theſe Women to preſent themſelves in full Audience before the commanding Officer of the Garriſon in the City, and declare their Averſion to Marriage, and their Deſire to enter into the State of publick Women; they then deſire to be regiſtered in the uſual Form amongſt theſe Proſtitutes, and the Form is this; they write down the Name of the Woman, her Family, the Number of her Jewels, the ſeveral Particulars of her Attire, and the Place of her Abode; thus ſhe is admitted a publick Woman: After this, they put about her Neck a String, at which hangs a Copper Ring with the King's Signet, and deliver to her a Writing which certifies that ſhe is received into the Liſt of common Proſtitutes, and entitles her to a yearly Penſion of ſo many *Falus*, to be paid her out of the publick Treaſury, and threatens with Death the Perſon who ſhould take her to Wife. They every Year give publick Notice of what is to be obſerved with regard to thoſe Women, and turn out thoſe who have worn out their Charms. In the Evening theſe Women walk abroad in Dreſſes of different Colours, without any Veil, and proſtitute themſelves to all new Comers that love Debauchery; but the *Chineſe* themſelves ſend for them to their Houſes, whence they depart not till the next Morning[e].

36. The *Chineſe* coin no Money, beſides the little Pieces of Copper, like thoſe we call *Falus*, nor will they allow Gold or Silver to be coined into Specie, like the Dinars and Drams that are current with us; for, ſay they, if a Thief goes, with an evil Intent, into the Houſe of an *Arab*, where is Gold and Silver Coin, he may carry off ten thouſand Pieces of Gold, and almoſt as many Pieces of Silver, and not be much burdened therewith, and ſo be the Ruin of the Man who ſhould ſuffer this Loſs: Whereas, if a Thief has the ſame Deſign on the Houſe of a *Chineſe* Artificer, he cannot at moſt take away above ten thouſand Falus, or Pieces of Copper, which do not make above ten Meticals or Dinars of Gold. Theſe Pieces of Copper are alloyed with ſomething of a different kind, and are of the Size of a Dram, or Piece of Silver called Bagli; in the Middle they have a pretty large Hole to ſtring them by: A thouſand of them are worth a Metical of Gold, or a Dinar, and they ſtring them by thouſands, with a Knot between every hundred. All their Payments in general are made with this Money, whether they buy or ſell Lands, Furniture, Merchandize, or any thing elſe. There are ſome of theſe Pieces at *Siraf* with *Chineſe* Characters upon them.

I need ſay nothing as to the frequent Fires which happen in *China*, or the *Chineſe* Manner of Building. The City of *Canfu* is built in the manner he deſcribes, that is, of Wood with Canes interwoven, juſt like our Works of Split-cane; they waſh the whole over with a kind of Varniſh, which they make of Hemp-ſeed, and this becomes as white as Milk; ſo that when the Walls are covered therewith they have a wonderful Gloſs. They have no Stairs in their Houſes, nor do they build with different Stories, but put every thing they have into Cheſts, which run upon Wheels, and which in Caſe of Fire they can eaſily draw from Place to Place without any Hindrance from Stairs, and ſo ſave their things preſently.

As for the inferior Officers in the Cities, they commonly have the Directions of the Cuſtoms and the Keys of the Treaſury: Some of theſe have been taken on the Frontiers and caſtrated, others of them have been cut by their own Fathers, who have ſent them as a Preſent to the Emperor. Theſe Officers are at the Head of the principal Affairs of State, of the Emperor's private Affairs, and of his Treaſures; and thoſe particularly who are ſent to *Canfu* are ſelected from this Body[f].

37. It is cuſtomary for them, as well as the Kings or Governors of all the Cities, to appear abroad from time to time, in ſolemn Proceſſion; at ſuch Times they are preceded by Men, who carry great Pieces of Wood like thoſe the Chriſtians of the *Levant* uſed inſtead of Bells: The Noiſe they make is heard a great Way, and as ſoon as it is heard no body ſtands in the Road of the Eunuch, or Prince: If a Man is at his Door, he goes into his Houſe, and keeps his Door ſhut till the Prince or Eunuch of the City is gone by; ſo no Soul is to be ſeen in the Way; and this is enjoined, that they may be held in the greater Veneration, and to ſtrike a Dread, that the People may not ſee them often, and that they may not grow ſo familiar as to ſpeak to them.

The Eunuch, or Lieutenant, and the principal Officers, wear very magnificent Dreſſes of Silk, ſo fine that none of this Sort is brought into the Country ſubject to the *Arabs*, the *Chineſe* keep it up at ſo high a Rate. One of the chief Merchants, whoſe Words cannot be called in queſtion, relates, that he waited on an Eunuch, whom the Emperor had ſent to *Canfu*, in order to purchaſe ſome Things he wanted out of the Goods carried thither from the Country of the *Arabs*; and that upon his Breaſt he perceived a ſhort Veſt, which was under another Silk Veſt, and which ſeemed to be under two other Veſts of the

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having related the Conqueſt of the *Perſian* Empire by *Alexander* the Great, adds the following remarkable Words 1 *Maccab.* i. 5, 6. "And "after theſe Things, he fell ſick and perceived that he ſhould die. Wherefore he called his Servants, ſuch as were honourable, and had been "brought up with him from his Youth, and parted his Kingdom among them, while he was yet alive."

[d] As barbarous as this Cuſtom may appear, and as ſeemingly inconſiſtent as it may be with the Politneſs of the *Chineſe*, yet it is very certain that our Authors are not the only Writers that have mentioned it, as will appear hereafter, when we come to give the Reader the Travels of the famous *Marco Polo*, who aſſerts the very ſame thing.

[e] This Account of their publick Women is confirmed by a great Number of Writers ancient and modern, ſo that there appears to be no Reaſon for calling the Truth of it in Queſtion. In the Hiſtory of the *Dutch* Embaſſy to the Emperor of *China*, there is a Print of one of theſe Ladies, as ſhe is conducted through the City on an Aſs, attended by a Perſon, who cries her Price, as he would that of any other Commodity.

[f] All theſe Facts are atteſted by later Writers, ſo that notwithſtanding they ſeem at firſt Sight very ſtrange and improbable, yet it muſt be owned there is as good Evidence for them as for any other Facts in the ſeveral Relations we have had of the Cuſtoms and Manners of theſe People.

ſame kind; that the Eunuch obſerving him to look ſtedfaſtly upon his Breaſt, ſaid, "I ſee you keep your Eyes fixed upon my Stomach, what may be the Meaning of it?" The Merchant immediately cried out, *I am ſurpriſed at the Beauty of that little Veſt, which appears under your other Garments.* The Eunuch laughed, and held out his Shirt-ſleeve to him; Count, ſays he, how many Veſts I have above it: He did ſo, and counted five, one on another; and the Waiſtcoat, or ſhort Veſt was underneath. Theſe Garments are wove with raw Silk, which has never been waſhed or fulled; and what is worn by the Princes or Governors, is ſtill more rich, and more exquiſitely wrought.

The *Chineſe* ſurpaſs all Nations in all Arts, and particularly in Painting; and they perform ſuch perfect Work as others can but faintly imitate. When an Artificer has finiſhed a fine Piece, he carries it to the Prince's Palace to demand the Reward he thinks he deſerves for the Beauty of his Performance; and the Cuſtom is, for the Prince to order him to leave his Work at the Palace-gate, where it ſtands a whole Year; if, during that Time, no Perſon finds a Fault therein, the Artificer is rewarded, and admitted into the Body of Artiſts; but if the leaſt Fault be found, it is rejected, and the Workman ſent away empty.

It happened once, as the Story goes, that one of theſe Painters drew an Ear of Corn, with a Bird perched on it, upon a Piece of Silk; and his Performance was ſo admirable, that all who beheld it were aſtoniſhed. This Piece ſtood expoſed to publick View, till one Day a crooked Fellow paſſing by the Palace, found fault with the Picture, and was immediately conducted to the Prince or Governor of the City, who at the ſame Time ſent for the Painter. Then he aſked this crooked Fellow, what Fault he had to find with this Piece; to which he anſwered, "Every body knows that a Bird never ſettles upon an Ear of Corn but it bends under him, whereas this Painter has repreſented his Ear bolt upright, though he has perched a Bird upon it; this is the Fault I have to find." The Objection was held juſt, and the Prince beſtowed no Reward upon the Artiſt. They pretend by this, and ſuch other Means, to excite their Workmen to Perfection, by engaging them to be extremely nice and circumſpect in what they undertake, and to apply their whole Genius to what is to go out of their Hands[g].

38. There was formerly a Man of the Tribe of *Korkiſh*, whoſe Name was *Ebn Wahab*, deſcended of *Hebar* the Son of *Al Aſud*, and he dwelt at *Baſra*; this Man left *Baſra* when that City was ſacked, and came to *Siraf*, where he ſaw a Ship ready to ſail for *China*. The Humour took him to go on board of this Ship, and in her he went to *China*, where in the Sequel he had the Curioſity to travel to the Emperor's Court; and leaving *Canfu*, he reached *Cumdam*, after a Journey of two Months; he ſtaid a long Time at the Emperor's Court, and preſented ſeveral Petitions; wherein he ſignified that he was of the Family of the Prophet of the *Arabs*. Having waited a conſiderable while, the Emperor at laſt ordered him to be lodged in a Houſe appointed for him, and to be ſupplied with every Thing he wanted. This done, the Emperor wrote to the Governor of *Canfu*, commanding him carefully to inform himſelf among the Merchants concerning the Relation this Man pretended to bear to the Prophet of the *Arabs*; and the Governor, by his Anſwers, confirming the Truth of what he had ſaid, touching his Extraction, the Emperor gave him Audience, and made him rich Preſents, wherewith he returned to *Irak*[h].

This Man, when we ſaw him, was much advanced in Years, but had his Senſes perfectly, and told us, that when he had his Audience, the Emperor aſked him many Queſtions about the *Arabs*, and particularly how they had deſtroyed the Kingdom of the *Perſians*. *Ebn Wahab* made Anſwer, that they did it by the Aſſiſtance of God; and becauſe the *Perſians* were immerſed in Idolatry, adoring the Stars, the Sun and Moon, inſtead of worſhipping the true God.

To this the Emperor replied, that the *Arabs* had conquered the moſt illuſtrious Kingdom of the whole Earth, the beſt cultivated, the moſt opulent, the moſt pregnant of fine Wits, and of the moſt extenſive Fame. Then ſaid he, *What Account do the People in your Parts make of the other Kings of the Earth?* To which the *Arab* replied, that he knew them not. Then ſaid the Emperor to the Interpreter, "Tell him we eſteem but five Kings; that he whoſe Kingdom is of wideſt Extent, is the Maſter of *Irak*, for he is in the midſt of the World, and ſurrounded by the Territories of other Kings; and we find he is called the King of Kings. After him we reckon our Emperor here preſent, and we find that he is ſtiled the King of Mankind, for no King is inveſted with a more abſolute Authority over his Subjects, nor is there a People under the Sun more dutiful and ſubmiſſive to their Sovereign, than the People of this Country. We therefore, in this reſpect, are the Kings of the human Race; after us the King of the *Turks*, whoſe Kingdom borders upon us, and him we call the King of Lions. Next is the King of the Elephants, who is the King of the *Indies*, whom we alſo call the King of Wiſdom, becauſe he derives his Origin from the *Indians*. And laſt of all the King of *Greece*, whom we ſtile the King of Men; for upon the Face of the Earth, there are no Men of better Manners, nor of comelier Preſence, than his Subjects. Theſe, added he, are the moſt illuſtrious of all Kings, nor are others to compare with them."

Then ſaid *Ebn Wahab*, he ordered the Interpreter to aſk me, "If I knew my Maſter and my Lord, meaning the Prophet (*Mohammed*,) and if I had ſeen him?" I made Anſwer, "How ſhould I have ſeen him who is with God?" He replied, "That is not what I mean, I aſk you, what ſort of a Man he was in his Perſon?" I replied, "that he was very handſome." Then he called for a great Box, and opening it, he took out another contained therein, which he ſet before him, and ſaid to the Interpreter, "ſhew him his Maſter and his Lord;" and I ſaw in the Box, the Image of the Prophets; whereat I moved my Lips, praying to myſelf in Honour of their Memory.

The Emperor did not imagine I ſhould know them again, and ſaid to the Interpreter, "Aſk him why he moves his Lips?" I anſwered, "I was praying in Memory of the Prophets;" *How do you know them*, ſaid the Emperor? I replied, that I knew them by the Repreſentation of their Hiſtories; "There ſaid I, is *Noah* in the Ark, who was ſaved with thoſe that were with him at the ſame Time," and I made the uſual Salute to *Noah* and his Company. Then the Emperor laughed, and ſaid, "Thou art not miſtaken in the Name of *Noah*, and thou haſt named him right; but as for the univerſal Deluge, it is what we knew not. It is true, indeed, that a Flood covered Part of the Earth; but it reached not our Country, nor even the *Indies*." I made my Anſwer to this, and endeavoured to remove his Objections the beſt I could; and then ſaid again to him, "There is *Moſes* with his Rod, and the Children of *Iſrael*." He agreed with me, as to the ſmall Extent of their Country, and the Manner how the ancient Inhabitants were deſtroyed by *Moſes*. I then ſaid to him; "He there, is Jesus, upon an Aſs, and here are his Apoſtles

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[g] There is nothing very ſurpriſing in this Account, for the very ſame Method had been in Uſe among the *Greeks* long before, and has been ſince practiſed in *Italy* and elſewhere; and without doubt, it is the true Method of coming at the juſt Knowledge of the Value of ſuch Performances; and therefore ſomething of this ſort is annually practiſed at *Paris*.

[h] It ſeems a little ſtrange, that the learned *Abbé Renaudot* did not endeavour to ſettle the Time when this *Arabian* Traveller went to *China*, eſpecially when there is a Circumſtance which ſeems to fix it, *viz.* the plundering of *Baſſora*, upon which it is ſaid he took a Reſolution of going to *Siraff*. In order to ſupply this Defect, I have conſulted *Abul Pharajus*, who informs us, that *A. H.* 285. which anſwers to *A. D.* 898. there was one *Abu Said*, who revolted againſt the Khalif, and ruined *Baſſora*, which occaſioned the walling and fortifying that City, which coſt fourteen thouſand Pieces of Gold. The Khalif then reigning was *Al Mohated*, in whoſe Time *Elmacinus* informs us, Things were in great Confuſion; and he likewiſe takes notice of this Rebellion. The Date agrees very well with the reſt of this Hiſtory, and particularly with the Account given by this Man, of the Reaſons which induced him to quit his Country in his Conference with the Emperor of *China*.

“ with him. *He*,” ſaid the Emperor, “ *was not long upon* “ *Earth, ſeeing that all he did was tranſacted within the* “ *Space of ſomewhat better than thirty Months*.”

After this the ſame *Ebn Wahab* ſaw the Hiſtories of the other Prophets preſented in the ſame Manner we have already declared; and he fanſied that what was written in great Characters, under each Figure, might be the Names of the Prophets, the Countries whence they were, and the Subjects of their Prophecies. Then ſaid the ſame *Ebn Wahab*, I ſaw the Image of *Mohammed* riding upon a Camel, and his Companions about him on their Camels, with Shoes of the *Arabian* Mode on their Feet, and leathern Girdles about their Loins. At this I wept, and the Emperor commanded the Interpreter to aſk me, why I wept? I anſwered, *There is our Prophet and our Lord, who is alſo my Couſin*. He ſaid I was right, and added, that he and his People had ſubdued the fineſt of all Kingdoms; but that he had not the Satisfaction of enjoying his Conqueſts, though his Succeſſors had.

I afterwards ſaw a great Number of other Prophets, ſome of them ſtretching forth their Right-hand, and with their three Fingers bent down between the Thumb and the Fore-finger, juſt like thoſe who hold up the Hand to make Oath; others were ſtanding, and pointed to the Heavens with their Finger, and others were in different Poſtures. The Interpreter took them to be the Figures of their Prophets, and thoſe of the *Indians*. The Emperor then aſked me many Queſtions concerning the Khaliffs, their uſual Dreſs, and concerning many Precepts and Injunctions of the *Mohammedan* Religion, and I anſwered him the beſt I could.

41. After this, he ſaid, “ What is your Opinion con“ cerning the Age of the World?” I made Anſwer, that Opinions varied upon that Head; that ſome were for ſix thouſand Years, and others would not allow ſo many; and that others reckoned it at a ſtill higher Rate; but that it was, at leaſt, as old as I had ſaid. At this the Emperor and his firſt Miniſter, who was near him, broke out into Laughter, and the Emperor made many Objections to what I had advanced. At laſt, ſaid he, “ What “ does your Prophet teach upon this Subject; does he “ ſay as you do?” My Memory failed me, and I aſſured him *that he did*.

Hereupon I obſerved I had diſpleaſed him, and his Diſpleaſure appeared plainly in his Countenance. Then he ordered the Interpreter to ſpeak to me in the following Terms: “ Take heed of what you ſay, for Kings never “ ſpeak but to be informed of the Truth of what they “ would know. What did you mean by giving the Em“ peror to underſtand, that there are among you various “ Opinions concerning the Age of the World? If ſo it “ be, you are alſo divided upon the Things your Prophet “ has ſaid at the ſame time, that no Diverſity of Opi“ nions are to be admitted on what the Prophets have pro“ nounced, all which muſt be revered as ſure and infalli“ ble; take heed then how you talk at ſuch a Rate any “ more [i].”

To this he ſubjoined many other Things, which, through Length of Time, have eſcaped my Remembrance. At laſt he aſked me; “ How is it that thou haſt forſaken thy “ King, to whom thou art nearer, not only by the Place “ of thy Abode, but by Blood alſo, than thou art to us?” In Return to which, I informed him of the Revolutions which had happened at *Baſſora*, and how I came to *Siraf*, where I ſaw a Ship ready to ſail for *China*; and that having heard of the Glory of his Empire, and its Abundance in all Neceſſaries, Curioſity excited me to a Deſire of coming into his Country, that I might behold it with mine own Eyes; that I ſhould ſoon depart for my own Country, and the Kingdom of my Couſin, and that I would make a faithful Report of what I had ſeen of the Magnificence of the Empire of *China*, and the vaſt Extent of the Provinces it contains, and that I would make a grateful Acknowledgment of the kind Uſage I there met with, which ſeemed to pleaſe him very much. He then made me rich Preſents, and ordered that I ſhould be conducted to *Canfu* upon Poſt-horſes. He alſo wrote to the Governor of the City, commanding him to treat me with much Honour, and to furniſh me with the like Recommendations to the other Governors of the Provinces, that they might entertain me till the Time of my Departure. I was thus treated every-where during my Stay, plentifully ſupplied with all Neceſſaries of Life, and honoured with many Preſents till the Time of my Departure from *China*.

42. We aſked *Ebn Wahab* many Queſtions concerning the City of *Cumdan*, where the Emperor keeps his Court; he told us that the City was very large and extremely populous, that it was divided into two Parts by a very long and very broad Street; that the Emperor, his chief Miniſters, the Soldiery, the ſupreme Judge, the Eunuchs, and all belonging to the Imperial Houſhold, lived in that Part of the City which is on the Right-hand eaſtward, that the People had no manner of Communication with them; and that they were not admitted into the Places watered by Canals from different Rivers, the Borders of which were planted with Trees, and adorned with magnificent Palaces. The Part on the Left-hand weſtward, is inhabited by the ordinary People and the Merchants, where are alſo great Squares, and Markets for all the Neceſſaries of Life. At Break of Day, the Officers of the King's Houſhold, with the inferior Servants, the Purveyors, and the Domeſticks of the Grandees of the Court, come ſome on Foot, others on Horſeback, into that Diviſion of the City, where are the publick Markets, and the Habitations of ſuch as deal in all Sorts of Goods, where they buy whatever they want, and return not again to the ſame Place till their Occaſions call them thither next Morning. It is by the ſame Traveller related, that this City has a very pleaſant Situation in the Midſt of a moſt fertile Soil, watered by ſeveral Rivers, and hardly deficient in any thing except Palm-trees, which grow not there.

43. In our Times Diſcovery has been made of a Thing quite new and unknown to thoſe who lived before us. No body imagined that the great Sea, which extends from the *Indies* to *China*, had any Communication with the Sea of *Syria*, nor could any one apprehend the Poſſibility of any ſuch Thing. Now behold what has come to paſs in our Days, according to what we have heard. In the Sea of *Rum*, or the *Mediterranean*, they found the Wreck of an *Arabian* Ship which had been ſhattered by Tempeſts; for all her Men periſhing, and ſhe being daſhed to Pieces by the Waves, the Remains of her were driven by Wind and Weather into the Sea of *Chozars*, and from thence to the Canal of the *Mediterranean* Sea, and at laſt were thrown on the Shore of *Syria* [k].

This renders it evident, that the Sea ſurrounds all the Country of *China* and *Cila*, or *Sila*, the uttermoſt Parts of *Turkeſtan*, and the Country of the *Chozars*; and that then it enters at the *Streight* till it waſhes the Shore of *Syria*. The Proof of this is deduced from the Conſtruction of the Ship we are ſpeaking of; for none but the Ships of *Siraf* are ſo put together, that the Planks are not nailed or bolted, but joined together in an extraordinary manner, as if they were ſewn. Whereas the Planking of all Ships of the *Mediterranean* Sea, and of the Coaſt of *Syria*, are nailed, and not joined together in that Way [l].

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[i] This plainly ſhews, that the *Chineſe* were formerly well acquainted with the Hiſtory of other Nations, and affords us good Grounds to believe that their Records muſt have been deſtroyed in ſome ſubſequent Revolution; for, otherwiſe, it is impoſſible to account for their Ignorance in Matters of this Nature in ſucceeding Times.

[k] This is one of the moſt curious Paſſages in this Treatiſe, inaſmuch as it plainly proves, that the *Arabians* had the ſame Notions in Geography with the *Greeks*, or, to ſpeak with greater Propriety, had their Notions of Geography from them. Our Author ſays plainly, that, according to his Judgment, the *Indian* Ocean waſhed the Coaſt of *Great Tartary*, and ſo fell into the *Caſpian Sea*, by which Paſſage he ſuppoſes that this Ship was driven from the *Indian* Sea into the *Mediterranean*. The Conjecture was wrong; but there is ſtill ſomething in it very bold, and well imagined, and at the Bottom ſomething of Truth too; for though it was impoſſible that this Ship ſhould come into the *Mediterranean* in the Manner our Author imagines, yet it is not impoſſible but it might have come through the North-Eaſt Paſſage, agreeable to the firſt Part of his Suppoſition; and if by the Sea of *Chozars*, we underſtand that of *Muſcovy*, he would be quite right.

[l] I very much doubt, whether the Conſtruction of this Veſſel, as our Author deſcribes it, be ſufficient Evidence of its coming from the *Indies*. It is very poſſible that it might have been a Boat belonging to the Inhabitants of *Greenland*, or of ſome other Country bordering upon *Hudſon's-Bay*; ſince it is very certain that there are ſuch Veſſels in theſe Parts, and it is not at all impoſſible that this might have come from thence. I do not pretend, however, abſolutely to contradict him, but only to ſhew that the Argument he uſes is not concluſive, though I think, as Things then ſtood, he had ſufficient Grounds to believe it was concluſive.

We have alſo heard it reported, that Ambergris has been found in the Sea of *Syria*, which ſeems hard to believe, and was unknown to former Times. If this be as is ſaid, it is impoſſible that Amber ſhould have been thrown up in the Sea of *Syria*, but by the Sea of *Aden*, and of *Kolzum*, which has Communication with the Seas where Amber is found: And becauſe God has put a Separation between theſe Seas, if this Story be true, it muſt neceſſarily have been, that this Amber was driven firſt from the *Indian* Sea into the others, and ſo from the one to the other, till it at laſt came into the Sea of *Syria*[m].

44. We will now begin to ſpeak of the Province of *Zapage*, which is oppoſite to *China*, and diſtant from thence a full Month's Sail by Sea, or leſs, if the Wind be fair. The King of this Country is ſtiled *Mebrage*, and they ſay his Dominions are nine hundred Leagues in Circumference, and that this King is Maſter of many Iſlands which lie round about. Thus altogether this Kingdom is above a thouſand Leagues in Extent; among thoſe Iſlands there is one called *Serbeza*, which is ſaid to be four hundred Leagues in Circuit; and another called *Rahmi*, which is eight hundred Leagues in Compaſs, and produces Redwood, Camphire, and many other Commodities. In this ſame Kingdom is the Iſland of *Cala*, which is the mid Paſſage between *China* and the Country of the *Arabs*.

This Iſland, they ſay, is fourſcore Leagues in Circumference; and hither they bring all ſorts of Merchandize, Wood-Aloes of ſeveral ſorts, Camphire, Sandal-Wood, Ivory, the Wood called Cabahi, Ebony, Redwood, all ſorts of Spice, and many other Things too tedious to enumerate. At preſent the Commerce is carried on between this Iſland and that of *Oman*. The *Mebrage* is the Sovereign over all theſe Iſlands; and that in which he makes his Abode is extremely fertile, and ſo very populous, that the Towns almoſt croud one upon another. A Perſon of great Probity relates, that when the Cocks crow at their accuſtomed Hours, juſt as with us when at Rooſt, upon Trees, they anſwer each other a hundred Leagues round, and more, becauſe of the Proximity of the Villages which almoſt touch each other; and he adds, that no Part of it is uninhabited, nor any of its Land uncultivated. Thoſe who travel in this Country may ſtop at every Step, and find Shelter from the Beams of the Noon-Day Sun; and if they are tired, they may repoſe themſelves every Day at Noon, go which Way they will.

45. Yet what follows from the Teſtimony of ſeveral Perſons, is the moſt remarkable Particular we have heard concerning the Iſland of *Zapage*. There was formerly a King, or, as he is there called, *Mebrage*: His Palace is ſtill to be ſeen on a River as broad as the *Tygris* at *Bagdad*, or at *Baſſora*. The Sea intercepts the Courſe of its Waters, and drives them back again with the Flood; and during the Ebb, it ſtreams out freſh Water a good way into the Sea. This River is let into a ſmall Pond cloſe to the King's Palace; and every Morning the Officer, who has Charge of his Houſhold, brings an Ingot of Gold wrought in a particular manner, which is thrown into the Pond in the Preſence of the King. The Tide riſing, covers it with the reſt, and quite conceals them from Sight. But low Water diſcovers them, and they appear plain by the Beams of the Sun. The King comes to view them as often as he repairs to an Apartment of State, which looks upon this Pond. This Cuſtom is very ſcrupulouſly obſerved; and thus they every Day throw an Ingot of Gold into this Pond as long as the King lives, not touching them upon any Account, but regarding this as a ſacred Treaſure.

When the King dies, his Succeſſor cauſes them all to be taken out, and not one of them is ever miſſing. They count them, and melt them down; and this done, the Sums ariſing out of this great Quantity of Gold are diſtributed to thoſe of the Royal Houſhold, Men, Women, and Children, to the ſuperior and inferior Officers, each in proportion to the Rank he bears; and the Surplus is given away to the Poor and Infirm. Then they reckon up the Number of Ingots, and what they weigh, and ſay, Such a *Mebrage* reigned ſo many Years; for he left ſo many Ingots of Gold in the Pond of the Kings, and they were diſtributed after his Death to the People. It is accounted a Felicity with them to have reigned a long while, and to have thus multiplied the Number of thoſe Ingots given away at their Death.

46. Their ancient Hiſtory relates, that one of the Kings of *Komar* would have waged War with him in this Iſland. This Country of *Komar* is the ſame from whence they bring the Wood-Aloes called *Hud al Komari*, nor is there any Kingdom more populous in proportion than that of *Komar*. The Inhabitants are all very courageous, and the boundleſs Commerce with Women, and the Uſe of Wine, are forbidden among them; nor have they any Wine in their Country. This Kingdom was at Peace with that of *Zapage*, where reigned the *Mebrage*. They are divided from each other by a Paſſage of ten or twenty Days Sail, with a very eaſy Gale. They ſay, that in former Days there was a very young and high-ſpirited Prince in this Iſland of *Komar*. This King was one Day in his Palace, which looks upon a River much like the *Euphrates* at the Entrance, and but a Day's Journey from the Sea; his prime Miniſters were with him, and in the Diſcourſe they had together, Notice was taken of the Kingdom of the *Mebrage*, and its Glory, how well it was peopled and cultivated, and the Croud of Iſlands which depended thereupon.

Then ſaid the King of *Komar* to his Miniſter, I am ſeized with a Deſire which I earneſtly wiſh to ſee accompliſhed. The Miniſter, who was a wiſe and a prudent Man, and no Stranger to the Levity of his Maſter, anſwered, My Lord, what is your Deſire? I could wiſh, replied the King, to ſee in a Diſh the Head of the *Mebrage* of *Zapage*. The Miniſter, well aware it was Jealouſy that inſpired him with this impetuous Fury, rejoined, My Lord, I wiſh you would not diſturb your Mind with ſuch Thoughts, ſince nothing ever fell out between thoſe People and us, to furniſh Matter of Complaint; they never offended us by Word or Deed, or ever did us the leaſt Injury; beſides, they are divided from us, and have no manner of Communication with our Country, nor do they diſcover any Inclination of making a Conqueſt of this Kingdom. No one therefore ought to hearken to ſuch Diſcourſe, or make a Word of Anſwer upon this Head. The King was enraged at this Reply, and ſaid not a Word thereto; but without any Regard had to the good Advice of his firſt Miniſter, he opened the ſame thing to the principal Officers of State, and to ſuch of his Courtiers as he thought proper.

47. This Matter being rumoured about, at length reached the Ears of the *Mebrage*. He, who then reigned, was a wiſe and an active Prince, of conſummate Experience, and in the Flower of his Age. He called for his firſt Miniſter, and having acquainted him with what he had heard, ſaid to him, it is by no means proper to publiſh the Behaviour of this giddy Prince, or to betray how little we eſteem him, becauſe of his Youth and ſlender Experience; nor is it expedient to divulge what he ſaid againſt me; for ſuch Speeches cannot but be prejudicial to the Dignity of a King. Having thus enjoined his Miniſter to conceal what had paſſed between them, he commanded him to prepare a thouſand Ships of no extraordinary Size, and to equip them with all Things neceſſary, Arms and Ammunition, and to man them with as many of his beſt Forces as they could tranſport. Then he gave out, that he would make a Voyage through the neighbouring Iſlands under his Dominion, to divert himſelf. He wrote alſo to all the tributary Princes of thoſe Iſlands, to acquaint them, that he deſigned them a Viſit; and this being a publick Talk, each of thoſe Kings prepared for the Reception of the *Mebrage*.

[m] It is moſt evident, from our Author's Way of reaſoning, that he had no Notion of any Paſſage by the *Cape of Good Hope*; for if he had, he would moſt certainly have taken this Opportunity of inſinuating it. At the ſame time, however, I leave it to the Reader's Conſideration, whether this Veſſel, ſuppoſing it to have been built in the *Eaſt Indies*, might not have come this Way into the *Mediterranean*, more probably than by the North-Eaſt Paſſage. It is likewiſe clear from what our Author has delivered, that the *Arabians* knew no more of *Japan*, which they called *Sila*, than they learned from the *Chineſe*, ſince by the Teſtimony of the oldeſt of our Authors, no *Arab* had yet ſet Foot there in the Year of the *Hegira* 230. *A. D.* 844.

When every thing was in readineſs as he had ordered, he went on board his Ships, and with a powerful Army ſailed over to the Kingdom of *Komar*. The King and thoſe belonging to his Court were effeminate Creatures, who all the Day long did nothing but view their Faces and rub their Teeth, with Mirrors and Toothpicks in their Hands, or if they moved, had them carried after them by Slaves. So the King of *Komar* diſcovered nothing of the *Mehrage*'s Purpoſe, till he appeared in the Mouth of the River, on which ſtood the Palace of the King of *Komar*, and till he had landed his Troops, who immediately inveſted the Capital, and there took him. The King was taken in his Palace, and all that belonged to him fled without fighting.

Then the *Mehrage* cauſed Ploclamation to be made, that he granted entire Security of Life and Effects to all the Inhabitants of the Country, and ſeating himſelf on the Throne of the King of *Komar*, now a Captive, he ordered him to be brought into his Preſence, together with his firſt Miniſter. Then addreſſing himſelf to the King of *Komar*, he ſaid, Who was it filled your Head with a Project unequal to your Strength, and abſolutely impoſſible for you to compaſs ? What would you have done if you had gained your Point? This Prince, who had nothing to ſay for himſelf, made no Anſwer. Then, continued the *Mehrage*, if you had enjoyed the Pleaſure you wiſhed, of ſeeing my Head in a Diſh before you, you would have ſpoiled my Kingdom, and retained it after you had committed all ſorts of Violence. I will not ſo behave with Regard to you, but yet I will execute upon you what you wiſhed concerning me, and then will I return into my Kingdom, without touching any Thing in your Dominions, and without carrying away ought of great Value or ſmall, deſirous only that you may be recorded an Example, for the Inſtruction of thoſe who ſhall come after you, that none may exceed the Bounds of his Power, that each may be contented with his own, and that thoſe you have diſturbed may be reſtored to perfect Security [n].

This ſaid, he ordered them to ſtrike off his Head, and then turning to the Miniſter he ſaid, You have done all a good Miniſter could do ; I know you offered good Advice to your Maſter, and that he hearkened not unto you. Conſider who may beſt ſucceed this Fool for the Good of the Kingdom, and ſet him immediately upon the Throne. This done, the *Mehrage* departed for his own Territories, and neither did he or any of his lay Hands on the leaſt Thing in the Kingdom of *Komar*. When he arrived in his own Kingdom, he ſat down upon the Throne, and being in the Palace which looked upon the Pond before-mentioned, he cauſed the Head of the King of *Komar* to be put into a Baſon and ſet before him, and calling in the Chiefs of his Kingdom, he acquainted them with all he had done, and with the Reaſons which had induced him to the Expedition we have related, and they approved the Deed with Acclamations and Prayers for his Proſperity. Then he ordered the Head of the King of *Komar* to be waſhed and embalmed, and put it into a Coffer, and ſent it back to the King of *Komar*, who had been elected in the Room of him he had put to Death ; at the ſame Time writing a Letter to this new Prince in the following Terms: What inclined us to do what we did to your Predeceſſor, and your Lord, was, his known Malevolence towards us ; and that we might ſet an Example to his Equals, we have been ſo happy as to treat him as he would have treated us. But we think it convenient to ſend his Head back to you, having had no Deſign of detaining it, or of arrogating any Glory to ourſelves, from the Advantage we obtained over him. The News of this Action being reported to the Kings of the *Indies* and of *China*, it added to the Reſpect they before had for the *Mehrage*, and from that Time it has been a Cuſtom with the Kings of *Komar*, every Morning they riſe, to turn towards the Country of *Zapage*, to proſtrate themſelves on the Ground, and to make the moſt profound Inclinations in Honour of the *Mehrage*.

48. All the Kings of the *Indies* and of *China* believe the Metempſychoſis or Tranſmigration of Souls, and make it an Article of their Religion. A Perſon of Credit relates, That one of theſe Princes being newly recovered of the Small-Pox, and beholding himſelf in a Glaſs, was deeply troubled to ſee how ſadly his Face was disfigured, and that turning himſelf towards one of the five Sons of his Brother, he ſaid to him, ſure it never happened to any Man as to me, to remain in his Body after ſuch a Change ? But this Body is only a Veſſel puffed up with Wind, and when the Soul leaves it, ſhe paſſes inſtantly into another. Go mount you upon the Throne, for I am about to ſeparate my Body from my Soul, until I return into another Body: At the ſame Time he called for a ſharp and keen *Cangiar*, with which he commanded his Nephew to cut off his Head, which the other did, and he was afterwards burnt, as is the Cuſtom of the Country [o]. Our Author here quits his Subject ſomewhat abruptly, in order to return again to the Country of *China* and the Manners of its Inhabitants. The Reaſon of this is not at firſt Sight very evident, but if we conſider that he follows the former Writer, we ſhall very eaſily diſcern that this was the true Cauſe of his making ſo ſudden a Tranſition. What he had before ſaid was in Conſequence of the Facts delivered by the firſt Author in Regard to the *Indies*, and having diſcuſſed theſe, it was natural for him to follow that Author in what he ſays of *China* and the *Chineſe*, and indeed it muſt be allowed, that notwithſtanding theſe ſmall Interruptions, there are ſcarce any Books of Travels of ſo ancient a Date, written in a clearer or better Method than theſe.

49. The *Chineſe* were wonderfully regular in all Things relating to Government, before the laſt Revolution deſtroyed and reduced them to the State they are in at preſent. There was a certain Merchant, a Native of *Choraſſon*, who coming into *Irak*, there dealt to a conſiderable Amount, and having brought up a Quantity of Goods went to *China*. This Man was extremely ſelfiſh and of incredible Avarice ; it happened that the Emperor of *China* had ſent one of his Eunuchs to *Canfu*, the City of all the *Arabian* Traders, there to purchaſe what he wanted, and was to be had on board of the Ship that was arrived. This Eunuch was one of thoſe who had the largeſt Share in his Maſter's good Opinion and Confidence, and was Keeper of his Treaſure and of all that he eſteemed precious.

A Diſpute aroſe between this Eunuch and the before-mentioned Merchant, about ſome Pieces of Ivory and other Goods, and it ran ſo high that the Merchant refuſed to deal with him. But this Affair making a great Noiſe, the Eunuch puſhed it ſo far, that he forced from him the Choice of his Goods, deſpiſing whatever the other could ſay to him. The Merchant withdrawing himſelf, went privately to *Cumdan* where the Emperor reſides, and which is two Months Journey from *Canfu*, and being arrived he went to the String of the Bell mentioned in the former Book. The Cuſtom was, that whoever pulled it was thereupon ſent ten Days Journey from thence, into a kind of Baniſhment: it was ordered alſo that he ſhould be committed to Priſon, there to remain for two whole Months ; which expired, the Vice-King or Governor of the Province releaſed him, and ſaid you have involved yourſelf in an

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[n] This is a very pleaſant Story, and well related ; but with reſpect to the Country in which it happened, I think it very difficult to ſay any Thing with Certainty, and yet this does not at all leſſen the Credibility of the Fact. It is not impoſſible however, that this Hiſtory might relate to ſome of the Iſlands which are now called *Philippines* ; or perhaps ſome of the Iſlands in the Straits of *Sonda*. I pretend to determine nothing in ſuch doubtful Points, but leave the Reader to decide for himſelf, according to the Lights given him by the Author, who appears to have written with great Caution and Fidelity.

[o] This Doctrine of the Metempſychoſis is generally held among the *Chineſe*. Their Hiſtories ſay, that one *Xekia*, or *Shekia*, an *Indian* Philoſopher, who lived about a thouſand Years before Chriſt, was the firſt that taught this Doctrine of Tranſmigration ; and our Authors add, that the *Chineſe* had it from the *Indians*. It over-ran *China* in the Year of Chriſt 65, and the Chiefs of this Sect have to this Day their Abode on or near the Mountain *Tientai* in the Province of *Chekiang*. This *Xekia*, according to the *Chineſe* Tradition in *Navarette*, has been born eight thouſand Times over, the laſt Time in the Form of a white Elephant. It is he that was called *Fohes* after his Apotheoſis. The Sect of *Xekia*, as we are told by Father *Martini*, hold the Metempſychoſis ; but this Sect is divided into two Branches, the one believing the exterior Metempſychoſis, or that the Souls of Men paſs after Death into other Bodies, and theſe worſhip Idols, and abſtain from every Thing that has Life, while the other Sect has Faith in an interior Metempſychoſis, which is the principal Foundation of their Morality, which conſiſts in ſuppreſſing the Paſſions, which are as ſo many different Animals proceeding from Man ; but neither the one nor the other expect Rewards or dread Puniſhments in the World to come.

Affair which may turn to your utter Ruin, and to the Loſs of your Life if you ſpeak not the real Truth; foraſmuch as the Emperor hath appointed Miniſters and Governors to diſtribute Juſtice to you and to all Strangers, nor is there any one of them that would not right you, if when you appear before the Emperor your Wrongs are not ſuch as may entitle you to have recourſe to him, it will moſt certainly coſt you your Life, to the End that every Man who would preſume to do as you have done, may be deterred from the ſame. Withdraw therefore immediately, and be gone about your Buſineſs. Now if the Party endeavoured to fly, he was chaſtiſed with fifty Strokes of the Bamboo, and was then ſent back to the Country whence he came; but if he perſiſted in his Demand of Redreſs, he was admitted to an Audience of the Emperor.

The *Chorassanian* ſtrenuouſly perſiſted in his Demand of Juſtice, and of Leave to be admitted to the Emperor, which was at Length granted him. The Interpreter aſking him his Buſineſs, he related what had befallen him with the Emperor's Officer, and how he had forced from him a Part of his Effects. This Thing was ſoon divulged and noiſed about at *Canſu*: In the mean time the Emperor commanded the Merchant to be caſt into Priſon, and that Care ſhould be there taken that he wanted not for either Victuals or Drink.

At the ſame Time he ordered his Prime Miniſter to write to the Governor of *Canſu*, charging him to inform himſelf concerning the Complaints of this Merchant, and to examine into the Grounds thereof; at the ſame Time alſo three principal Officers received the ſame Order. Theſe Officers are called of the Right, of the Left, and of the Midſt, according to their Rank, and have the Command of the Emperor's Forces under the Prime Miniſter. He truſts them with the Guard of his Perſon, and when he takes the Field for ſome military Enterprize, or on any other Account, each of them, according to his Rank, marches near him: Theſe three Officers wrote each apart what they had upon the ſtricteſt Enquiry diſcovered of the Matter, and aſſured the Emperor that the Merchant's Complaint was juſt and well founded.

Theſe firſt Informations were followed and confirmed by many more ſent to the Emperor from divers Parts, and the Eunuch was cited to appear. He no ſooner arrived than the Emperor ſeized on all his Effects, and deprived him of his Office as Treaſurer, and then ſaid to him, Death ought to be thy Doom for giving this Man, who is come from *Chorassan* on the Frontiers of my Kingdom, Cauſe of Complaint againſt me. He hath been in the Country of the *Arabs*, whence he came into the Kingdoms of the *Indies*, and at laſt to my City, ſeeking his Advantage by Trade, and thou wouldſt have had him return croſs theſe Kingdoms, and have ſaid to all the People in his Way, I have been abuſed in *China*, where they have ſtripped me of my Subſtance. I grant thee thy Life in Conſideration of thy former Services in the Rank thou heldeſt in my Houſe, but I will confer on thee a Command among the Dead, foraſmuch as thou haſt not been able to acquit thyſelf of thy Duty in that thou holdeſt over the Living, and he ordered him to be ſent to the Tombs of the Kings, to have the Cuſtody of them, and there to remain for [p] Life.

50. One thing moſt worthy Admiration in *China* before the late Commotions, was the good Order they obſerved in the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, and the Majeſty of their Tribunals; to fill them, they made Choice of ſuch Men as were perfectly verſed in their Laws, and ſuch conſequently as were never at a Loſs, when they were to paſs Judgment, Men of Sincerity, zealous in the Cauſe of Juſtice upon every Occaſion, not be biaſſed by what the Great could offer to embroil a Diſpute, ſo that Juſtice was always adminiſtred to him who had Right on his Side.

In a word, they made Choice of upright Men, of Men who neither oppreſſed the Poor, or accepted Preſents from the Rich. When they deſigned to promote any Man to the Office of principal Judge, they previouſly ſent him to all the chief Cities of the Empire, in each of which he ſtaid a Month or two. During this Space it was his Buſineſs moſt minutely to enquire into the Affairs of the People, into all that paſſed in the City, and into the various Cuſtoms. He informed himſelf of all ſuch as deſerved to be believed upon their Teſtimony, and this Knowledge was of Uſe to him in the Sequel, as Occaſion required. After he had gone through all the Cities in the Manner aforeſaid, and made a Stay of ſome Time in the moſt conſiderable of them, he repaired to the Imperial Court, where he was inveſted with the Dignity of Supreme Judge.

To him therefore the Emperor referred the Nomination of all the other Judges, and by him were they appointed, after he had acquainted the Emperor with thoſe who in his whole Dominions were moſt worthy of exerciſing Juriſdiction, each in his own City, or in others; for he knew who were commendable for their Underſtanding; and ſo no one was raiſed who poſſeſſed not adequate Endowments, or who bore not Teſtimony according to the Truth when he was interrogated. The Emperor allows none of his Judges to write to him upon any Affair when he is informed that he has done Injuſtice, and even deprives them of their Office. The ſupreme Judge cauſes Proclamation every Day to be made before his Gate by his Officers, and in his Name they cry out, If any Man hath been wronged by the Vice-King, or Governor, who is not to be ſeen of the People, or by any one of his Relations, or Officers, or by any one of the Body of the People, I will do him ample Juſtice, ſo ſoon as the Offender is put into my Hands, and that I have Charge of him. This Proclamation is thrice repeated.

It is an ancient Cuſtom with them never to degrade a Vice-King, or Governor of a City, but by virtue of Letters iſſued out of the Council or Divan of Kings; and this is commonly executed for ſome flagrant Malverſation, or when Judgment is ſuſpended or delayed: But when the Governor avoids theſe two things, it is ſeldom he is diſturbed with Letters of Revocation, which are never drawn up but on a legal Account. The Poſts of Judicature are conferred on none but Perſons of Probity, and Lovers of Juſtice, and ſo good Order is maintained in the Kingdom.

51. The Province of *Chorassan* is almoſt on the Borders of *China*. From *China* to *Sogd*, it is of about two Months Journey through almoſt impaſſable Deſarts, and through a Country all covered with Sand, where no Water is to be found. It is not refreſhed by any Rivers, nor is there any Habitation in this Province; and for this Reaſon it is that the *Chorassanians* can make no Irruptions into *China*. That Part of this Empire which lies fartheſt Weſtward, is the Province of *Medu*, which borders upon *Tibet*, ſo that on this Side the two Nations are at War with each other.

Among thoſe of our Time who have travelled into *China*, we were acquainted with one, who told us, he had ſeen a Man that had a Veſſel with Muſk in it on his Back, and had travelled on Foot from *Samare*, and to *Canſu*, the Port for all Merchants from *Siraf*. He had by Land travelled through all the Cities of *China* one after another; which he might eaſily do, becauſe the Provinces of *China* and *Tibet*, where the Creature that affords Muſk is met with, are contiguous. The *Chineſe* carry off as many of theſe Creatures as they can; and thoſe of *Tibet*, on their Part, do the ſame [q].

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[p] This was a very extraordinary Act of Juſtice in the *Chineſe* Emperor, and very agreeable to the Maxims of that Empire, in which they are very fond, upon particular Occaſions, of doing Things of this Nature, eſpecially where Strangers are concerned; for two Reaſons: The firſt is, that theſe Stories may be blazed abroad and create an high Idea of the Equity of their Judgments, a Thing very agreeable to the natural Vanity of theſe People: The other, that it may have a good Effect at home, and ſerve to make even the greateſt and moſt powerful Perſons in *China* afraid of committing Exceſſes in their reſpective Offices.

[q] As to this Country of *Tibet*, it may not be amiſs to ſay ſomething of it here, becauſe it will occur in the ſubſequent Part of this Work. It makes at this Day a Part only of the great Kingdom of *Tangut*, which, according to the beſt Accounts that I have met with, is thus ſituated. It has the Empire of *China* on the Eaſt. The Kingdom of *Ava*, or of *Brama*, on the South. The Dominions of the Great Mogul on the Weſt, and thoſe of the Contaiſch, or Great Khan of the *Calmuc Tartars*, on the North. This Kingdom is divided into two Parts; that which lies to the North is the Kingdom of *Tangut* properly ſo called; and the South Part is the Country of *Tibet*. Both taken together, make the Patrimony of that famous Eccleſiaſtical Prince the Grand Lama, who is the Pope or Sovereign Pontiff of the *Tartars* that are not *Mohammedans*; but whether they or he ought to be eſteemed *Pagans* or *Chriſtians* is a Point that admits of much Diſpute, and ſhall therefore be diſcuſſed in another Place.

But the Muſk of *Tibet* is far preferable to that of *China* for two Reaſons; firſt, in *Tibet* this Creature feeds on Aromatic Paſtures, while in *China* he has nothing to ſubſiſt him but what is common; ſecondly, the Inhabitants of *Tibet* preſerve their Bladders or Cods of Muſk in the pure natural State, while the *Chineſe* adulterate all that come into their Hands. They dip them alſo into the Sea, or elſe expoſe them to the Dew; and having kept them ſome time, they take off the outward Membrane, and then cloſe them up; and this Muſk paſſes in the Country of the *Arabs* for Muſk of *Tibet*, becauſe of its Excellence.

The moſt exquiſite of all the ſorts of Muſk is what the Roebucks that yield it leave behind them when they rub themſelves againſt the Rocks on the Mountains; for the Humour whence it is generated, falling down towards the Navel of the Creature, it there gathers into a Quantity of turbid Blood exactly like Biles, and ſuch-like Tumours; when this Swelling is ripe, the Creature, ſenſible of a painful Itching, ſeeks out for Stones, and rubs himſelf againſt the ſame, till he opens his Sore, and the Contents run out. Now, as ſoon as this Matter falls from the Creature, it coagulates, the Wound cloſes, and the ſame kind of Humour gathers to a Head again as before.

In *Tibet* there are Men who make it their Buſineſs to collect this Muſk, and are very ready in knowing it; and having found it, they carefully collect it, and put it up in Bladders, and it is carried to their Kings. This Muſk is moſt exquiſite, when it has ripened in the Bladder of the Creature which bears it. It ſurpaſſes all others in Goodneſs, juſt as Fruit is better when it is gathered ripe from the Tree, than when it is pulled green.

There is ſtill another way of getting Muſk; they inſnare the Creature in Toils, and ſhoot him with Arrows; but it often happens, that the Hunters cut the Tumours of the Creature before the Muſk is elaborated; and in this Caſe it has at firſt an ill Scent, that prevails till the Matter is thickened, which ſometimes does not happen in a great while; but ſo ſoon as it coagulates, it turns to Muſk. This Muſk is a Creature like our Roebuck, his Skin and Colour the ſame, with ſlender Legs, a ſplit Horn, ſmooth, but ſomewhat bending withal; on each Side he has two ſmall white Teeth, which are ſtrait, and riſe above his Muzzle, each half a Finger, or ſomewhat leſs in Length, and in their Form not unlike the Teeth of the Elephant; and this is the Mark which diſtinguiſhes this Creature from other Roebucks[h].

53. The Emperors of *China* write to the Kings or Governors of Cities, to the Eunuchs, or Lieutenants, and their Letters are conveyed by Poſt-horſes, with a cut Tail, diſpoſed almoſt like the Poſts among the *Arabs*, in ſuch Order as every body knows.

Beſides what we have here related concerning the *Chineſe* Cuſtoms, it is uſual for the Princes, and even the People, to make water ſtanding. Perſons of Dignity, as the Vice Kings, and the principal Officers, have gilded Canes, a Cubit long, which are bored through; and theſe they uſe as often as they make Water, ſtanding upright all the time, and by this means the Tube carries the Water to a good Diſtance from them. They are of Opinion, that all Pains in the Kidneys, the Strangury, and even the Stone, are cauſed by making Water in a ſitting Poſture; and that the Reins cannot free themſelves abſolutely of theſe Humours, but by ſtanding to evacuate; and that thus this Poſture contributes exceedingly to the Preſervation of Health. They ſuffer their Hair to grow, for the Men will not round the Head of a Child when he comes into the World, as the *Arabs* do, for they ſay it cauſes a conſiderable Alteration in the Brain, and that their Senſes are very ſenſibly impaired thereby. They ſuffer the Head then to be all covered with Hair, which they carefully comb.

As for their Marriages, they obſerve the Degrees of Conſanguinity after this Manner: They are divided among themſelves into Families and Tribes, like the *Arabs*, and ſome other Nations; and they know each other by the Difference of their Deſcents. No Man ever marries in his own Tribe, juſt as the Children of *Thummim* among the *Arabs* take not to Wife a Daughter of the ſame Race of *Thummim*; and a Man of one Family eſpouſes not a Woman of the ſame. But, for Example, a Man of the Family of *Robayat* marries into that of *Modzar*; and in like manner a *Modzar* marries with a *Robayat*; they are of Opinion, that ſuch Alliances add to the Nobility of the Children, by increaſing their Alliances, and rendering their Families more powerful.

Here our Author makes, as it were, another Break in his Work, in order to paſs once more to the *Indians*, and their Cuſtoms. In ſpeaking of the Method purſued by the firſt Author, we obſerved, that the main Deſign of his Work was, by comparing the Manners of the *Indians* with thoſe of the *Chineſe*, to render them both better known to and more fully underſtood by his Countrymen. His Commentator therefore, with great Propriety, follows the ſame Track; and as he had conſulted both Books and Travellers to illuſtrate what had been ſaid of *China*, we ſhall find him as diligent in what regards *India*.

54. In the Kingdom of the *Balhara*, and in all the other Kingdoms of the *Indies*, there are certain Perſons who burn themſelves. This Cuſtom proceeds from their Notion of a Metempſychoſis or Tranſmigration, which they firmly believe as a Truth never to be diſputed. There are Kings, who upon their Acceſſion, obſerve the following Ceremony: They dreſs a great Quantity of Rice, and pour it upon Leaves of the Mouſa in Sight of the King; then three or four hundred Perſons come of their own Accord without the leaſt Conſtraint on the Part of the King, and preſent themſelves before him; after he has eaten ſome of this Rice, he gives a little of it to ſome of them as faſt as they come up to him one after another, and they eat it in his Preſence[i]. By eating of this Rice, they all engage to burn themſelves on the Day the King dies, or is ſlain; and they punctually fulfil their Promiſe, throwing themſelves into the Fire from the firſt to the laſt, ſo that not one of them is left behind.

When a Man is determined to burn himſelf, he firſt goes to the King's Palace to aſk Leave ſo to do, and having obtained it, he goes round the public Squares of the City, and proceeding afterwards to the Place where the Pile is heaped up with dry Wood, while round about it ſtand many Perſons who feed the Fire, ſo that it is very violent, and blazes prodigiouſly. At laſt the Perſon comes preceded by a Number of Inſtruments, and moves round the Place in the midſt of his Friends and Relations; during which ſome put upon his Head a Garland of Straw, or dry Herbs, which they fill with burning Coals, whereon they pour Sandarac, which catches Fire as ſtrongly as Naphtha; nevertheleſs, he continues the Proceſſion, although the Crown of his Head be all on Fire, and the Stench of his burnt Fleſh be ſmelt, not ſo much as changing Countenance in the leaſt, or betraying the ſmalleſt Senſe of Pain:

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[h] We have formerly mentioned the Animal which produces Muſk, the Manner in which it is prepared, and the Value of that rich Perfume. At preſent we ſhall only remark, that the beſt Writers, ancient and modern, agree perfectly with our Author in Opinion, that the richeſt and higheſt flavoured Muſk is that of *Tibet*, or, as others call it, *Tumgage*; and this becauſe of the Aromatic Paſtures in that Land, ſuch as are no where elſe to be found. That the *Indian* Muſk comes next in degree of Fineneſs, if ſo we may term it, with what was brought to *Cabul*, and the other trading Towns of the *Indies* by Merchants, who carried it from *China* by Land, and diſpoſed of it throughout the Eaſt. That the *Chineſe* Muſk is worſt of all, not only becauſe the *Chineſe* adulterate it ſeveral ways, but alſo becauſe what is produced naturally in that Kingdom is not comparable to what is in *Thibet*. All this is confirmed by the Teſtimony of the learned *Golius*; and Father *Martini Teixeira* ſays, the Muſk that does not come from *China* is always the beſt; and that the Reaſon is, becauſe the *Chineſe* cannot find in their Hearts to let that or any thing elſe that paſſes through their Hands eſcape unadulterated. At preſent the Kingdom of *Boutan* is the greateſt Mart for Muſk; and thence it is, that the *Indian* Merchants fetch the beſt ſort of this Perfume, whether in the Cod, or out of it.

[i] This was a very old Cuſtom in other Parts of the World, as appears from what *Cæſar* tells us of the Ambacti amongſt the *Gauls*. In the *Indies* this Notion generally prevailed; for in the Iſland of *Ceylon* the King had always about him certain Noblemen, who ſtiled themſelves faithful to the King in this World, and in the next, and whoſe Cuſtom it was to burn themſelves when he died. *Barboſa* obſerves the ſame thing with reſpect to the *Naires*, a ſort of *Indian* Soldiers, who always periſhed with their Chief. In the Kingdom of *Tonquin*, when the King died, many of his Nobles deſired to be buried with him. In a Word, all the *Portugueſe* Writers confirm this, and give us many Inſtances in ſupport of it. The Term they make uſe of in their Writings, to expreſs this Act of devoting themſelves in ſuch a manner to a Monarch, is *Fazer ſe Amoucos*.

At laſt he comes to the Pile, throws himſelf into it, and is ſoon reduced to Aſhes[k].

55. A certain Perſon, to whom we give intire Credit, ſays, he beheld one of theſe *Indians* burn himſelf, and avers, that when he came near to the Pile, he drew out a Cangiar, and with it ripped down his Breaſt to the Rim of his Belly; and that this done, he with his left Hand pulled out a Flap of his Liver, and with the Cangiar cut a Piece of it, which he gave to one of his Brothers, talking all the time, and diſcovering an invincible Contempt of Death, and a wonderful Patience under his Torments, till at laſt he leaped into the Fire in his Paſſage to Hell.

56. The Perſon who affirmed this added, that in the Mountains of this Country there are *Indians*, who in Opinions and Manners differ but little from thoſe we call *Kaniſians* and *Jelidians*, and who are addicted to all manner of Superſtition and Vice. There is a great Emulation between theſe Mountaineers and the People on the Coaſt, the latter continually going up to the Mountains to dare the Inhabitants there to do as they do, and the Mountaineers on their Part as frequently coming down to the Coaſt with Defiances of the ſame Nature.

Among others, there once came down a Man on this Errand, and having gathered a Number of the Inhabitants of the Coaſt about him, who came as well out of Curioſity to ſee the Sight, as with Intent to imitate him, he told them to do what he was about to perform, or if they deſpaired of doing it, to acknowledge themſelves overcome. He ſat himſelf down then in a Place planted with Canes, and directed them to bend one of them down to the Ground. Theſe Canes are like our Sugar Canes, bend like them, and have a very large Stem; when they are pulled down they lie along, but when let go they riſe again with prodigious Violence. One of the largeſt of theſe he cauſed to be bowed down to his Height, and faſtened his Hair ſtrongly thereto, when taking in his Hand his Cangiar, which ſparkled like Fire, he ſaid to thoſe about him, I am going to cut off my Head with this Cangiar. As ſoon as it is ſevered from my Body, let go the Cane, and when it flies up with my Head, I will laugh, and you ſhall hear me. The People of the Coaſt had not Courage enough to imitate him. The Perſon who related theſe Things to us did it without Emotion or Wonder; and in our Times theſe Facts are very generally known, for this Part of the *Indies* is in the Neighbourhood of the Country of the *Arabs*, and we hear from thence every Day.

57. It is a cuſtomary Thing alſo for Men and Women of the *Indian* Blood, to deſire thoſe of their Family to throw them into the Fire, or drown them when they are grown old, or perceive themſelves ſink under the Weight of their Years, firmly believing that they are to return in other Bodies. They burn their Dead. It has often times happened in the Iſle of *Sarandib*, where there is a Mine of precious Stones in a Mountain, a Pearl Fiſhery, and other rare and extraordinary Things, that an *Indian* would come into the Buzar, or Market-place, with his Kris, as they call a kind of Cangiar they wear, made after a very particular Manner, and ſeize on the moſt wealthy Merchant there preſent, and holding his Kris to his Throat, leading him by the Veſt out of the City in the midſt of a Throng of People, while not a Soul of them dared attempt his Reſcue; for if any Attempt of this kind was made, the *Indian* was ſure to kill the Merchant, and make away with himſelf: When he had got him out of the City, he obliged him to redeem himſelf with a Sum of Money. This Outrage continuing, the Kings ordained that ſuch *Indians* ſhould be ſeized; but when they came to execute this Order, the *Indian* killed the Merchant firſt, and then himſelf: The ſame Misfortune befel many other Merchants; and after this Manner a Number both of *Arabs* and *Indians* periſhed: The Merchants therefore ſought after other Means to ſecure themſelves, and the *Indians* were no longer apprehended.

58. In the Mountain of *Sarandib* they find precious Stones of various Colours, red, green, and yellow, moſt of which are at certain Times forced out of Caverns and other Receſſes by Rains and Torrents. In theſe Places the King has his Officers to keep an Eye over thoſe who pick them up: Many Times alſo they are dug out of Mines in the ſame Manner as Metals; and they ſometimes find precious Stones in the Ore, which muſt be broken to get at them.

The King of this Iſland makes Laws, which are the Fundamentals of the Religion and Government of the Country; here are Doctors and Aſſemblies of learned Men, like thoſe of the *Hadithis* among the *Arabs*. The *Indians* repair to theſe Aſſemblies, and write down what they hear of the Lives of their Prophets, and the various Expoſitions of their Laws. Here is a very great Idol of the fineſt Gold, but concerning the Weight thereof Travellers are not agreed. Here alſo are Temples, where great Sums of Money are expended in Incenſe[l].

In this ſame Iſland there is a very great Multitude of *Jews*, as well as of many other Sects, even *Tanouis*, or *Manichees*, the King permitting the free Exerciſe of every Religion. At the End of this Iſland are Vallies of great Length and Breadth, which extend quite to the Sea. Here Travellers ſtay two Months and more in that called *Gab Sarandib*, allured by the Beauty of the Country, chequered with Groves and Plains, Water and Meads, and bleſſed with a wholeſome Air. This Valley opens upon the Sea called *Harkand*, and is tranſcendantly pleaſant. You there buy a Sheep for half a Dram, and for the ſame you purchaſe as much of their Drink as may ſuffice many Perſons. This Drink is made of Palm-honey, boiled and prepared with *Tari* (*Toddi*) or Juice, which runs from the Tree.

59. Gaming is the uſual Diverſion of the Inhabitants here; they play at Draughts, and their other principal Paſtime is fighting of Cocks, which are very large in this Country, and better provided with Spurs than Cocks commonly are; and, beſides this, the *Indians* arm them with Blades of Iron in the Form of Cangiars. Upon theſe Combats they bet Gold, Silver, Lands, and Farms, which are won by the Owner of the Cock that beats. They play alſo at Draughts, and venture great Sums upon this Game, but with ſuch Fury, that thoſe who have not wherewithal, Debauchees and deſperate People, often play away the Ends of their Fingers.

While they are at play, they have a Fire by them, and thereon a Pot of Walnut or Seaſame-oil (they have no Oil of Olives) and they place a little, but very ſharp Hatchet between them; when one of them has won a Game, the other lays his Hand upon a Stone, and the Winner cuts off the End of the Loſer's Finger with the Hatchet, and the Patient dips the injured Part into the boiling Oil to cauteriſe the Wound, and yet they cannot ſhake off this evil Habit of Gaming; on the contrary, they ſometimes perſiſt in it ſo obſtinately and ſo long, that before they part, they have all their Fingers thus mutilated. Some of them will take a Wick, and ſoaking it in Oil, apply it to ſome Member, ſet Fire to it, and let it burn, ſo that the Scent of the burnt Fleſh is ſmelt by thoſe who play with them, while the Parties themſelves betray not the leaſt Senſe of Pain.

There is much Debauchery in this Country, as well among the Women as among the Men, for they are laid under no Reſtraint. It runs ſo high, that ſometimes a foreign Merchant, juſt arrived from Sea, ſhall ſend for the Daughter of a King of the Country, and ſhe ſhall come to him to the fiſhing Grounds, with her Father's

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[k] There are many modern Authors who atteſt every Circumſtance mentioned in this Account; but it muſt be acknowledged, few beſides Women burn themſelves; and that the *Bramins*, who were wont to behave with ſo much Conſtancy on ſuch Occaſions, are now content to die in the ſame way with other Men; and even the Women, generally ſpeaking, are far enough from that Spirit of Heroiſm for which they were ſo famous in former Ages. They burn themſelves, indeed, with the dead Bodies of their Huſbands, as in Times paſt, but not with ſo good a Will; nor would they do it at all, but that the Cuſtom of their Country, and the Power their Relations have over them, oblige them to it.

[l] It appears, that this Iſland, which is that of *Ceylon*, has been in all Ages famous for its immenſe Wealth and Riches. As to the Idol that our Author mentions, it is not impoſſible that the Prieſts of this Country might practiſe the ſame Art, which has been uſed at *Siam*, where they have a monſtrous Idol of Clay and Bricks, very artificially gilt, which was for many Ages ſuppoſed to be pure Gold; though it muſt be allowed, that there are few Countries where ſuch a golden Image might be looked for, with greater Probability, than in this Iſland, the People having been always equally remarkable for their Wealth and Superſtition.

Conſent and Privity; wherefore the *Mohammedan* Doctors of *Siraf* ſtrictly warn young People not to go that Way [m].

60. In the *Indies* there are heavy Rains, which the People of the Country call *Jaſara*; they laſt three whole Months during Summer, inceſſantly, Night and Day, and ſcarce does the Winter ſtop them. The *Indians*, to the beſt of their Abilities, prepare themſelves againſt theſe Rains ſome Time before they fall; and no ſooner do they come on, than they ſhut themſelves up in their Houſes, made of Wood and Cane, interwoven, and thatched with Leaves; they ſtir not out during all this Time, and no Soul is ſeen abroad, no, not even the Artificers, who now do their Work at Home; and during this Seaſon, they are ſubject to ſeveral Sorts of Ulcers in the Soles of their Feet, cauſed by the Damps. The Rains are the Life of the *Indians*; were they to fail, they would be reduced to the utmoſt Want, for their Fields, ſown with Rice, are watered only by Rains, and are rendered fruitful thereby; for if great Store of Water lie upon the Rice-grounds, they need no other Help either from Induſtry or Art; but when the Rains are plentifully poured down, the Rice flouriſhes abundantly, and even becomes much better in kind. It never Rains in this Country in the Winter.

61. The *Indians* have devout Men, or Doctors, known by the Name of *Bramins*. They have Poets alſo, who compoſe Verſes, ſtuffed with Flattery, in Praiſe of their Kings. They have alſo Aſtrologers, Philoſophers, Soothſayers, and Men who obſerve the Flight of Birds; and others who pretend to the Calculation of Nativities, particularly at *Kanuge*, a great City in the Kingdom of *Gozar* [n].

In the *Indies* there are certain Men called *Bicar* [o], who go all their Life-time naked, and ſuffer their Hair to grow till it hides their hinder Parts, and the reſt of their Body. They ſuffer alſo their Nails to grow ſo that they become pointed, and ſharp as Swords; nor do they ever cut them, but leave them to break and fall off as it happens; and this they obſerve as a religious Duty: Each of them has a String about his Neck, to which hangs an earthen Porringer, and when they are preſſed by Hunger, they ſtop at the Door of ſome *Indian* Houſe, and thoſe within immediately, and with much Satisfaction bring out Rice to them, believing there is great Merit in ſo doing, while they eat out of the Porringer and withdraw, never returning to make the ſame Requeſt, if not urged thereto by downright Want.

62. The *Indians* have many Laws and religious Precepts, by which they imagine they pleaſe God; of ſuch as theſe it is written in the Koran, *The Wicked are mighty in Pride.* One Part of their Devotion conſiſts in building of *Kans*, or Inns upon the Highways, for the Accommodation of Travellers, where alſo they ſet up a ſort of Pedlars, of whom the Paſſengers may purchaſe whatever they may happen to want [p].

They there alſo ſettle publick Women, ſuch as are in the *Indies*, who expoſe themſelves to Travellers; all which the *Indians* number among their meritorious Deeds. But they have beſides theſe in the *Indies*, publick Women called *Women of the Idol*, the Origin of whoſe Inſtitution is this; when a Woman has laid herſelf under a Vow, that ſhe may have Children, if it happens that ſhe brings forth a handſome Daughter, ſhe carries the Child to the *Bod* (ſo they call the Idol they worſhip) and there leaves her. When the Girl has attained a proper Age, ſhe takes an Apartment in this publick Place, and ſpreads a Curtain before the Door, and waits the Arrival of Strangers, as well *Indians*, or Men of other Sects, to whom this Debauchery is made lawful; ſhe proſtitutes herſelf at a certain Rate, and delivers her Gains into the Hands of the Idol's Prieſt, to be by him diſpoſed of for the Uſe and Support of the Temple [q]. We praiſe the almighty and glorious God, who hath choſen us to be free of the Sins which defile the Man involved in Infidelity!

Not very far from *Almanſin*, there is a famous Idol called *Multan*, whither they reſort in Pilgrimage from the remoteſt Parts, even from Diſtances of ſeveral Months Journey: Some of the Pilgrims bring with them ſome of the odoriferous Wood *Hud al Camruni*, ſo called from the City of *Camrun*; where they have an excellent Wood-Aloes, which they offer to this Idol, delivering it to the Prieſt of the Temple that he may burn it before his God. Some of this Wood is worth Two hundred *Dinars* the *Man* [r], and is commonly marked with a Seal to diſtinguiſh it from another Sort of the ſame Wood, but of leſs Value: It is uſual for Merchants to buy it of the Idolatrous Prieſts.

63. There are likewiſe among the *Indians* certain Men who make Profeſſion of Piety, and whoſe Devotion conſiſts in ſeeking after unknown Iſlands, or ſuch as are newly diſcovered, there to plant Cocoa-nut-trees, and to ſink Wells of Water for the Uſe of Ships that ſail to thoſe Parts. There are People at *Oman*, who croſs over to the Iſlands that produce Cocoa-nuts, carrying with them Carpenter's Tools, and having felled as much Wood as they want, they let it dry, and then ſtrip off the Leaves, and with the Bark of the Tree they ſpin a Yarn, wherewith they ſew the Planks together, and ſo build a Ship; of the ſame Wood they cut and round away a Maſt; of the Leaves they weave their Sails, and the Bark they work into Cordage: Having thus compleated their Veſſel, they load her with Cocoa-nuts, which they bring and ſell at *Oman*. Thus it is, that from this Tree alone ſo many Articles are derived, as ſuffice not only to build and rigg out the Veſſel, but to load her alſo when ſhe is compleated, and in a Trim fit to ſail [s].

64. The Country of the *Zinges* or *Negroes* is of vaſt Extent; they there commonly ſow Millet, which is the chief Food of the Negroes. Sugar Canes alſo they have, and other Sorts of Trees, but their Sugar is very black.

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[m] This is very agreeable to that Severity of Manners, for which the *Mohammedans* were remarkable in theſe early Ages; and it ſhews how careful they were to preſerve the Morals of the younger ſort of People uncorrupted. It was upon the ſame Principle that the old *Spartans* did not admit of any Commerce at all, as deſiring rather to be known to Poſterity by the Fame of their Virtues than of their Wealth; and being more aſſiduous to tranſmit to their Deſcendants Freedom, and the Power of maintaining it, than fine Palaces; and that Ability of living luxuriouſly, which ends ſooner or later in abject Poverty.

[n] The Reader has been ſo fully informed of the State of the *Brachmans* among the ancient *Indians*, and of the Communities formed by them for the promoting of Science, that there is no Need of inſiſting long upon this Settlement of the *Bramins*, which, without doubt, was a Remnant of ſome ancient Univerſity in the ſame Place. Some of the *Arabian* Geographers aſſure us, that this City of the *Kanuge* lies between two Branches of the River *Ganges* in the Latitude of 27°, and in the Longitude of 131°. Other Eaſtern Writers inform us, that *Kanuge* is alſo a Royal City, the King of which is ſtiled the *Kanuge*, according to the common Cuſtom of the *Indies*. It is very difficult to ſay when or how this Kingdom and Univerſity was ruined; but at preſent it is very clear, that there is no ſuch Eſtabliſhment as in the Text is mentioned.

[o] Theſe are no other than the aſſociated *Bramins*, or *Indian* Pilgrims, or Penitents, mentioned by moſt Travellers, who relate very extraordinary Things with reſpect to the Auſterity of their Manners, and the Severity of their Penances, as the Reader will ſee in the ſubſequent Part of this Work.

[p] There are many Foundations of this ſort in the *Indies*, as well as in *Turky*, *Perſia*, and *Mogulistan*; not to mention the many Hoſpitals in the *Indies* for ſick Animals. *Thevenot* obſerves, that the Charity of the *Indians* of *Cabul* conſiſts in digging of Pits, or ſinking of Wells, and in erecting a Number of ſmall Receptacles on the Highways, for the Accommodation of Travellers.

[q] This infamous Practice is of old ſtanding in the Eaſt. *Herodotus* has a Story of this kind of the Women, who proſtituted themſelves in Honour of *Mylittia*, who, by the Analogy of the *Chaldee*, muſt be *Venus*; and the Tents or Tabernacles of theſe Women were much like thoſe deſcribed by our Author. In *Marco Polo* we read, that the People of the Province of *Cainda* did the ſame Thing, expoſing their Women in Honour of their Idols. *Tavernier* ſpeaks of a *Pagod* near *Cambaya*, whither moſt of the Courtezans of the *Indies* repair to make their Offerings, and adds, that old Women, who have ſcraped together a Sum of Money, buy young female Slaves, whom they train up to wanton Songs and Dances, and all the Allurements of their infamous Calling; and that when the Girls have attained their eleventh or twelfth Year, their Miſtreſs conducts them to this *Pagod*, under a Notion that it is a Happineſs for them to be offered and delivered up to the Idol.

[r] As this kind of Money is very often mentioned, both in the former Treatiſe and in this, it may not be amiſs to ſay ſomething of its Value: The Dinar is of very fine Gold, and according to the Proportion which that Metal bears now to Silver, that Coin ought to be reckoned at about nine Shillings; from whence we conceive at once the Value of the Copper Money of *China*, ſince a thouſand of theſe Copper Pieces were equal only to one Dinar; from whence it follows, that nine of theſe Pieces of Copper Money, called by the *Arabs* Falus, were worth about One Penny.

[s] This Paſſage is very ſingular, but the Facts contained therein are inconteſtably true; the Cocoa-Tree furniſhes every thing neceſſary for building and rigging ſuch Ships as are uſed in the *Indies*, and for a Cargo of conſiderable Value when built. The Body of the Tree furniſhes Plank, Maſts, Anchors,

Theſe People have a Number of Kings, who are always at War with each other. About their Kings they have certain Men called *Moheramin*, becauſe each of them bore their Noſe, and wear therein a Ring: They have Chains alſo faſtened about their Necks, and when they are at War and going to fight, they each take one End of his Companion's Chain, and paſs it thro' the Ring that hangs under his Noſe; two Men holds this Chain, and ſo prevent the reſt from advancing towards the Enemy till Deputies have been from Side to Side to negotiate a Peace; which if it is concluded, they take their Chains about their Necks again and retire without fighting: But when they once begin to unſheath the Sword, not one Soul of them quits his Poſt, but remains there 'till he is ſlain.

They have all of them a profound Veneration for the *Arabs*, and when they chance to ſee any of them they fall down before him, and cry, this Man comes from the Kingdom where flouriſhes the Date-bearing Palm, for they are very fond of Dates. Among theſe People there are Preachers who harangue them in their own Tongue, nor may the Catebs or Orators of any other Nation whatſoever be compared with them. Some of theſe profeſs a religious Life, and are covered with the Skin of a Leopard or Ape. One of theſe Men with a Staff in his Hand ſhall preſent himſelf before them, and having gathered a Multitude of People about him, preach all the Day long to them. He ſpeaks of God, and recites the Actions of their Countrymen who are gone before them. From this Country they bring the Leopard Skins called Zingiet, ſpotted with red and black, very great and broad.

65. In this ſame Sea is the Iſland of *Socotra*, whence come the *Socotrin* Aloes. This Iſle lies near the Land of *Zinges*, and near alſo to the Country of the *Arabs*, and moſt of its Inhabitants are Chriſtians, which is thus accounted for. When *Alexander* ſubdued the Kingdom of the *Perſians*, his Preceptor *Ariſtotle*, to whom he had by Letters communicated his Conqueſts, wrote back to him to deſire, that by all Means he would ſeek after the Iſland of *Socotra*, which afforded Aloes, an excellent Drug, and without which they could not make up the famous Medicament called *Hiera*: That the beſt Way would be to remove the Inhabitants thence, and inſtead of them plant a Colony of *Greeks*, that they might ſend Aloes into *Syria*, *Greece*, and *Egypt*. Accordingly *Alexander* gave the neceſſary Orders to diſpoſſeſs the Inhabitants, and to ſettle a Colony of *Greeks* in their ſtead. Then he commanded the Kings of the Nations who divided his Empire after he had ſlain the Great *Darius*, to execute the Orders he had iſſued out for the Preſervation of theſe *Greeks*: They remained then as a Garriſon upon this Iſland, till God ſent JESUS CHRIST into the World. When the *Greeks* of this ſame Iſle being informed thereof, embraced the Chriſtian Faith as the other *Greeks* had done before them, and in the Profeſſion of this Faith have they perſevered to this Day, as well as all the Inhabitants of the other Iſles.

In the former Book, no mention is made of the Sea which ſtretches away to the right, as Ships part from *Oman* and the Coaſt of *Arabia*, to launch into the Great Sea; but the Author deſcribes only the Sea on the Left, and in which is comprehended the Seas of *India* and *China*, which he ſeems to have particularly had in his Eye. In this Sea, which is as it were on the Right of the *Indies* as you leave *Oman*, in the Country of *Sibar* or *Shibr*, where Frankincenſe grows, and the other Countries poſſeſſed by the Nations of *Cedd*, *Hamyer*, *Joſham*, and *Theoteba*. The People in this Country have the Sonra in *Arabic* of very antient Date, but in many Things different from what is in the Hands of the *Arabs*, and containing many Traditions to us unknown: They have no Villages, and they lead a hard and a very miſerable Life [t].

The Country they inhabit extends almoſt as far as *Aden* and *Judda*, upon the Coaſt of *Yaman* or *Arabia the Happy*; from *Judda* it ſtretches up into the Continent as far as the Coaſt of *Syria*, and ends at *Kolzum*. The Seas in this Part divide by a Slip of Land, which God has fix'd as a Line of Separation between theſe two Seas, as it is written in the *Koran*: From *Kolzum* the Sea ſtretches along the Coaſt of the *Barbarians* to the Weſt Coaſts, which is oppoſite to *Yaman*, and then along the Coaſt of *Æthiopia*; from whence you have the Leopard Skins of *Barbary*, which are the beſt of all, and moſt ſkilfully dreſſed; and laſtly, along the Coaſt of *Zeilah*, whence you have Amber and Tortoiſe-Shell.

When the *Siraf* Ships arrive in this Sea, which is to the right of the Sea of *India*, they put into *Judda*, where they remain, for their Cargoe is thence tranſported to *Kehira* (or *Cairo*) by Ships of *Kolzum*, who are acquainted with the Navigation of the *Red Sea*, which thoſe of *Siraf* dare not attempt, becauſe of the extream Danger, and becauſe this Sea is full of Rocks at the Water's-Edge; becauſe alſo, upon the whole Coaſt there is no Kings, or ſcarce any inhabited Place; and, in fine, becauſe Ships are every Night obliged to put into ſome Place of Safety, for Fear of ſtriking upon the Rocks. They ſail in the Day-time only, and all the Night ride faſt at Anchor. This Sea moreover is ſubject to very thick Fogs, and to violent Gales of Wind, and ſo has nothing to recommend it either within or without.

66. It is not like the Sea of *India* or of *China*, whoſe Bottom is rich with Pearls and Amber-gris, whoſe Mountains of the Coaſt are ſtored with Gold and precious Stones, whoſe Gulphs breed Creatures that yield Ivory, and among the Plants of whoſe Shores are Ebony, Red-Wood, and the Wood of *Hairzan*, Aloes, Camphire, Nutmegs, Cloves, Sandal-Wood, and all other Spices and Aromatics; where Parrots and Peacocks are Birds of the Foreſt, and Muſk and Civet are collected upon the Lands: In ſhort, ſo productive are thoſe Shores of ineſtimable Things, that it is impoſſible to reckon them up [u].

Amber-gris which is thrown upon the Coaſt of this ſame Sea, is waſhed to Shore by the Swell: It begins to be found in the *Indian* Sea, but whence it comes is unknown. We only know that the beſt of it is thrown upon the *Barbary* Coaſt, or upon the Confines of the Land of *Negroes*, towards *Sibar*, and Places thereabouts: It is of a bluiſh-white, in round Lumps. The Inhabitants of this Country have Camels trained up to the Buſineſs which they mount, and go in ſearch of it by Moon-ſhine, and ride for that Purpoſe along Shore. Theſe Camels are broke to this, and as ſoon as they perceive a Piece of Amber-gris, they bend their Knees, and their Rider picks it up [w].

Anchors and Oars. That Subſtance like Thread, which covers the Nut, and which may be drawn out and ſpun, makes the moſt excellent Cordage in the World, inaſmuch as it never decays in the Water. The Anchors are not to be boaſted of, but they ſerve well enough for ſuch Veſſels. The Liquor in the Nut when fermented, becomes a kind of Wine; when ſour it is an excellent Vinegar, and diſtilled, it affords a ſoft, pleaſant Brandy. It is certain, that the Inhabitants of the *Maldives*, ſubſiſt chiefly on their Trade in Cocoa-nuts, Cocoa Plank, and the Cordage, made from this Tree; the Manufacture of which, they are better ſkilled in than any other People in the *Indies*.

[t] The *Arabs* beſides the *Koran*, have made Traditions relating to the *Mohammedan* Religion, which they received from the Companions of their Prophet and his Diſciples; from theſe Traditions and Stories, they form the Body of their Sonna, which therefore is very different in different Places; ſo that not only the Sonna of the *Perſians* differs from that of the *Arabians*, but that of the *Africans* varies from that of *Mecca*, and the *Arabians* of the Deſert: In a Word, the Sonna with reſpect to the *Mohammedans*, is pretty near the ſame Thing with the Talmud among the *Jews*; and it is owing to both, that there are ſo many different Sects, and ſuch a Variety of fabulous Notions amongſt the People of both Religions.

[u] This is at once a very magnificent, and a very juſt Account of the Wealth of the *Indies*, and it proves very plainly, that ſcarce any Part of its Riches were concealed from the *Arabs* at this Time; ſo that what ſome Writers report of the Deſigns formed by the Khaliffs and Sultans of *Egypt*, for making themſelves Maſters of the Coaſts of *India*, and even of its Iſlands, hath nothing in it abſurd or incredible.

[w] Amber-gris, or as it ought to be wrote Amber griſe, is a very rich Perfume, and it is certain that there is more of it, and in greater Perfection in the *Indian Sea*, than in any other of the whole World. How it is formed, or from whence it comes, is as great a Secret to us as it was to the *Arabs*. It is of different Colours, *viz.* dark-grey, light grey, black, and red; but the firſt is the moſt eſteemed, as having by far the richeſt Scent. What our Author reports of its being found in this Manner by Camels, is not very improbable; for the beſt Ambergris in the World is driven on the Shore of the iſland of Prince *Maurice*, and the *Dutch* aſſure us, that their Hogs ſmell it out at a great Diſtance, and run furiouſly to the Shore in order to devour it.

There is another ſort, which ſwim in great Lumps upon the Surface of the Sea, almoſt like the Body of an Ox, or a little leſs, and weigh a great deal. When a certain Fiſh of the Whale-kind, called *Tal*, ſees theſe floating Lumps, he ſwallows the ſame, and is killed thereby: Then they ſee the Whale floating upon the Surface, and inſtantly the Men who are accuſtomed to this kind of Fiſhery, and know when theſe Whales have ſwallowed Amber, go out to him in their Boats, and darting him with Iron Harpoons, they tow him to Shore, where they ſplit him down the Back and take out the Amber; what they find about the Belly of the Creature is commonly ſpoiled with the Wet, and contracts an unpleaſant Scent[x].

You may buy the Bones of this Fiſh of the Druggiſts of *Bagdat* and *Baſſora*. The Amber which has not been infected by the Ordure in the Belly of the Whale, is perfectly good: It is a uſual Thing to make Stools of the *Vertebræ* of the Back Bone of this Whale, called *Tal*. They ſay, that in a Village ten Leagues from *Siraf*, called *Tain*, there are old Houſes neatly enough built, the Lintels of whoſe Doors are of the Rib of this Whale. I have heard a Perſon ſay, that formerly one was thrown upon the Coaſt not very far from *Siraf*, and that going to view him, he ſaw People getting upon the Back of this Creature with Ladders, and that the Fiſhermen expoſed him to the Sun, ſliced away his Fleſh, and having digged a Pit, gathered up the Greaſe which was melted by the Sun, and that having drained off all the Oil, they ſold it to the Maſters of Ships. This Oil mixed up with another kind of Stuff, in uſe with Seamen, ſerves for calking of Ships to ſecure the Seams of the Planking, and to ſtop up Leaks. This Whale Oil is a valuable Commodity, and produces great Sums of Money.

67. Our Author propoſing next to ſpeak of Pearls, breaks out firſt, according to the Cuſtom of the *Arabs*, into the following pious Soliloquy, which I would not omit, becauſe it is a kind of Characteriſtick in their Manner of Writing, and may enable the Reader to account for ſuch Apoſtrophes in other Pieces of this Nature. Let us, before we ſpeak of PEARLS, and the Manner of their Formation, magnify the Great GOD, who in Wiſdom has created all Things out of Earth, and ſo faſhioned living Creatures, as that they produce their like. Wherefore for theſe Things which we know, and for many more which we know not, all Glory be unto the Almighty, and all Reverence paid unto his moſt holy and tremendous Name.

Pearls begin to formed of a Subſtance at firſt ſomewhat like the Plant called Anjedana, being in Size the ſame, in Colour and Figure pretty much alike, ſmall, thin, and tender, juſt like the Leaves of this Plant; at firſt it ſwims feebly on the Surface and ſticks to the Sides of Ships under Water, where in Time it hardens, grows and gets covered with a Shell. When theſe Oiſters become heavy, they fall down to the Bottom of the Sea, where they ſubſiſt after a Manner to us unknown. They appear no other than a Piece of red Fleſh, like the Tongue towards the Root, without Bones, Sinews, or Veins.

But there are various Opinions touching the Production of Pearls, for ſome ſay when it rains the Oiſters riſe up to the Surface, and that gaping, the Drops of Water they catch turn to Pearls. Others hold, they are generated in the Oiſters themſelves, which is moſt likely, and is confirmed by Experience; for moſt that are found in Oiſters are fixed, and move not. When they are looſe, the Merchants call them Seed Pearl: God alone knoweth how this Matter is.

68. Now this is the moſt wonderful Thing we have heard concerning the Subſiſtence of Oiſters. A certain *Arab* came formerly to *Baſſora*, and brought with him a Pearl worth a great Sum of Money; he ſhewed it to a Druggiſt of his Acquaintance, and, ignorant of the Value thereof, aſked him what he thought of it? The Merchant telling him it was a Pearl, the *Arab* aſked him what he thought it might be worth? and he valued it at a hundred Pieces of Silver. The *Arab* much aſtoniſhed at his Words, aſked if any Perſon would be willing to give him what he had ſaid it was worth: Upon which the Merchant counted him out a hundred Drams, and with this Money the *Arab* purchaſed Corn to carry back into his own Country. The Merchant on the other Hand brought the Pearl to *Bagdad*, and ſold it at a very high Rate, which enabled him afterwards to deal very conſiderably. This ſame Merchant declared that he had examined the *Arab* touching the Origin of Pearls, and that he delivered himſelf to the following Effect: "I was going along, ſaid he, by *Saman* in the Diſtrict of *Bahrein*, not very far diſtant from the Sea, and upon the Sand I ſaw a dead Fox, with ſomething at his Muzzle that held him faſt. I drew near, and ſaw a white glittering Shell, in which I found the Pearl I took. Hence he gathered, that the Oiſter was upon the Shore, driven thither by Tempeſt, which very often happens. The Fox paſſing by and leering at the Meat of the Oiſter, as the Shell ſtood open, jumped thereon, and thruſt in his Snout to ſeize the Fiſh, which in its Defence cloſing, locked him faſt, as has been ſaid; for it is a Property of theirs never to let go their Hold of any thing, except forcibly opened by an Iron Inſtrument at their Edges."

This is the Oiſter that breeds Pearls, which it as carefully keeps as a Mother her Child; when therefore it was ſenſible of the Fox, it withdrew, as to avoid an Enemy, and the Fox feeling himſelf ſqueezed, beat the Ground on each Hand till it was ſtifled, and ſo died. The *Arab* found the Pearl, and God would have it that he ſhould apply himſelf to the Merchant; a very happy Thing for him[y].

69. The Kings of the *Indies* wear Ear-rings of Stones ſet in precious Gold. They wear alſo Collars, of great Price, adorned with precious Stones of different Colours, but eſpecially Green and Red; yet Pearls are what they moſt eſteem, and their Value ſurpaſſes that of all other Jewels; they at preſent hoard them up in their Treaſures with their moſt precious Things. The Grandees of their Court, the great Officers and Captains wear the like Jewels in their Collars[z]; they dreſs in a half Veſt, and carry an Umbrella of Peacocks Feathers to ſhade them from the Sun, and are ſurrounded by thoſe of their Train.

There are certain *Indians* who never eat two out of the ſame Diſh, or upon the ſame Table, and would eſteem it a very great Sin if they ſhould. When they come to *Siraf*, and are invited by any of the conſiderable Merchants who are in that City, they muſt, though they are a hundred in Number, each have a ſeparate Diſh, and without the leaſt Communication with the reſt. The Kings and Perſons of high Quality have freſh Tables made for them every Day, together with little Diſhes and Plates wove of the Cocoa-nut Leaf, in which they eat what is prepared

[x] The Abbé *Renaudot*, in his Notes upon this Treatiſe, ſpeaks very ſlightly of this Story, and ſeems to think it fabulous. There is however no ſort of Cauſe for this Suſpicion; ſince this ſort of Whale is very often found in the *Weſt-Indian* Seas, and eſpecially on the Coaſt of *Bermudas*, and vaſt Quantities of Ambergris are taken out of its Guts. It is alſo very certain, that tho' the beſt of this Perfume is found in the *Indian-Seas*, yet Ambergris has been frequently found on the Shore even of our own Iſlands, as well as in ſome other Parts of *Europe*, and in *America* it is very common.

[y] I muſt confeſs this Story ſeems to me by far the meaneſt Paſſage in the whole Work, and all the Remarks upon Pearls are very low and trifling: But at the ſame time it muſt be allowed, that we know very little more about them than either the Ancients or the *Arabs*. What ſeems moſt probable is, that Pearls are not the natural Produce of any Oiſters; by which I mean, that they are an irregular and accidental Production, occaſioned by ſome Infirmity or Diſeaſe in the Fiſh. I am led to this Notion from two Reaſons: The firſt is, that when animal Subſtances begin to corrupt, they commonly ſhine, which perhaps may be the Effect of ſome inteſtine Motion; the other, that Pearl Oiſters are not eatable, but tough, taſteleſs, and very unwholſome.

[z] The Princes and the chief Inhabitants of theſe Countries were by this Time better acquainted with the Nature and Value of all ſorts of precious Stones than formerly they had been, and of theſe they had of all kinds from the Mines in the Iſland of *Ceylon*. It is remarkable that the *Arabs* have but one Word to ſignify coloured Stones, which is *Yacut*, or *Jacut*, which ſtrictly ſpeaking ſignifies a Jacinth; but to vary this, and to render it expreſſive of Rubies, Emeralds, and Saphires, they add the Name of the Colour to the Stone. It will be proper to make two Remarks upon this Subject before we leave it: The firſt is, that our Author is perfectly in the right in his Obſervation, that Pearls are more eſteemed in *India* than many other Parts of the World, and that they are more valued there in Proportion than any other kind of Jewels. Our ſecond Obſervation is, as to the carrying Emeralds thither from *Egypt*, which is a very plain Proof of the Truth of what we have often aſſerted, *viz.* that theſe Stones are not ſtrictly ſpeaking oriental, though they may, and indeed do, very often come to us from the Eaſt.

for their Subſiſtence; and their Meal once over, they throw the Table, the Diſhes and Plates into the Water, together with the Fragments they have left. Thus at every Meal they have a new Service. To the *Indies* they formerly carried the Dinars, called *Sindiat*, or Gold Pieces of the *Sind* and the *Dinar*, which there paſſed for three of ours and even more. Thither alſo are carried Emeralds from *Egypt*, which are ſet for Rings.

70. Theſe two authentick Pieces are of very great Uſe in filling up this Period of *Indian* Hiſtory, of which, till they appeared, we had no Memoirs at all. It is plain enough from the Account given us by the firſt Author, that Voyages from *Siraf* to *China* were not very frequent, till about his Time, for otherwiſe he would not have deſcribed that Navigation ſo particularly. But it appears no leſs clearly from the ſecond Treatiſe, that theſe long Voyages were grown into much greater Uſe between the Time the firſt Voyage was made, and this Commentary upon it was drawn up, for otherwiſe the ſecond Writer would have been but indifferently furniſhed with Materials, whereas we find that he ſtood in no ſort of Want of them, but was able to mention the Voyages and Travels of four or five different Perſons into *China* and the *Indies*, excluſive of the Author, whoſe Voyage gave Occaſion to this Diſcourſe.

The moſt remarkable of theſe was *Eben Wabab*, whoſe Adventures are equally ſingular and inſtructive, ſince from them it is very evident that the *Chineſe* Emperor, to whoſe Preſence he was admitted, had, as we obſerved, very perfect Intelligence as to the *Jewiſh*, *Chriſtian*, and *Mohammedan* Religions, and as to the Hiſtory of their Founders and Propagaters. We might indeed ſuſpect the Truth of this, if there were not ſome other Circumſtances in this Diſcourſe which render them not only probable but certain. I mean the Deſtruction of the Capital of *China* at that Time, which our Author calls the City of *Cumdan*, and which without Doubt was no other than *Nankin*, and *Canfu* or *Canton*, in which ſo many Thouſand *Jews*, *Chriſtians*, and *Mohammedans* were ſlain; a clear Demonſtration that Multitudes of all theſe Religions had been long before ſettled in that Empire, and conſequently the *Chineſe* Monarch had it fully in his Power to be well acquainted with all the Particulars beforementioned.

Neither does this Fact ſtand entirely upon the Credit of this Treatiſe, ſince an ancient Monument has been diſcovered in *China*, which plainly proves that Chriſtians from *Syria* were ſettled there in ancient Times[a], though none were to be found when the firſt Travellers from *Europe* went thither, which is as ſtrong a Confirmation of the Truth of what our Author relates, as in the Nature of Things can poſſibly be expected. The Miſſionaries alſo that were firſt ſent to *China* found there viſible Marks of Chriſtianity, though they found no Chriſtians. The *Jews* have been ſettled in that Empire for Time immemorial, and many of them for the Sake of Riches and Preferment have abjured their own Religion, and embraced the Opinions of the *Chineſe*, which is alſo an unqueſtionable Argument of the Truth of theſe Relations.

We may add to this the Conformity between the Accounts given by our Travellers and the beſt *Chineſe* Hiſtories, which never could have happened, if the former had not been in every Reſpect agreeable to Truth. All this is not only ſupported by our Knowledge of many of the Cuſtoms of theſe People, which remain to this Day the ſame with thoſe reported in theſe Relations, but they are ſtill more plainly verified by ſuch as are now no longer in Uſe, becauſe many *Chineſe* Writers, and Chriſtian Miſſionaries from them, take Notice of ſuch obſolete Cuſtoms, and inform us when they were laid aſide or began to grow into Diſuſe. On the whole therefore we may ſafely affirm, that theſe Treatiſes are free from all juſt Grounds of Suſpicion, and ought to be regarded as the earlieſt and beſt Accounts we have of this Empire and its Inhabitants.

They are, conſidered in this Light, of very great Uſe in many Reſpects, but more eſpecially in correcting thoſe Errors that have been introduced by Authors who depended more upon their own Conjectures than on any Light they received from Experience, endeavouring to impoſe upon their Readers their Notions of Things as Facts of undoubted Credit, of which it may not be amiſs to give a few Inſtances. Our Author is the oldeſt, and indeed almoſt the only *Arabian* Writer that mentions the *Chineſe* Drink, ſo univerſally uſed in our Days all over *Europe*, and known by the Name of *Tea*. He ſays, that it is an Herb or Shrub, more buſhy than the Pomegranate-tree, and of a more pleaſant Scent, but ſomewhat bitter to the Taſte. That the *Chineſe* boil Water and pour it in ſcalding hot upon this Leaf, and that this Infuſion preſerves them from all Diſtempers. This, to be ſure, is an imperfect Deſcription; but it is plain enough to evince, that nothing can be meant but the Plant we know by the Name of *Tea*; the ſame with the *Tcha Catyai*, or *Sini* of the Orientals.

The Tree which bears this Leaf is but ſmall, and ought to be reckoned among Shrubs. It has a pleaſant kind of violet Scent, is bitter to the Taſte, and it is common for them who are fond of it to imagine it doth them good, and preſerveth their Health. It is certain then, that Father *Trigaut*[b] is miſtaken, when he imagines it is but of late Date among the *Chineſe*, becauſe there is not, as he ſays, any Character in their Tongue to ſignify this Drink; for by the Teſtimony of the oldeſt of our Authors (who does not ſpeak of it as any new Thing, but as an Herb very much in Vogue with them; nay, to that Degree, that the Emperor thought fit to lay a Duty upon it) it appears, that the *Chineſe* have been addicted to it above eight hundred Years. Nor is it poſſible to believe with *Piſo*[c], that it grew a long Time wild and uncultivated, or that the *Chineſe*, or *Japoneſe*, have been but lately acquainted with its Virtues and the Manner of preparing it; which, he ſays, he was told by ſome *Dutch* Commander, who had been a long Time in the Country.

Father *Martini*, who has written more accurately of *China* than almoſt any other Perſon, ſays no ſuch Thing. He aſſures us, that it grows particularly in the Province of *Kiangnan*, or *Nankin*, where the beſt of it is. It is, adds he, a ſmall Leaf, perfectly like that of the *Rhus Coriarius*, or *Sumac* of the Curriers. It grows not wild, but is domeſtic, and cultivated; nor is it a Tree, but a Shrub, which ſpreads out in little Branches, with a Bloſſom very much like that of the Sumac, except that the former inclines more to a Yellow than the latter. It blows firſt in Summer, when it emits no great Scent; then it puts out a Berry, which is firſt green, and afterwards blackiſh. In the Spring it is when they gather the Leaf to make their *Tcha*, for then it is moſt ſucculent and tender. The Preparation of theſe Leaves conſiſts in gathering them, drying them by a ſmall Fire, rolling them upon a cotton Mattreſs, and packing them up in Tin-Cheſts or Boxes, for the ſake of preſerving them, and the Conveniency of tranſporting them. Such is the Account given us by this learned and accurate Writer, whoſe Work is ſtill deſervedly eſteemed, after ſo many later Accounts of *China*[d].

But as it is natural to ſuppoſe that every Man is the beſt Judge of what regards his own Profeſſion, I perſuade myſelf that my Readers will not be diſpleaſed at my inſerting here a very curious Paſſage from the Writings of the celebrated Doctor *Kæmpfer* [e], wherein he gives us a very entertaining Account of the Manner in which the Virtues of Tea were firſt diſcovered; neither is this at all foreign to my Subject, ſince it is an additional Proof of the Veracity of our Author, and clearly points out the Time when this Plant came firſt into Uſe among the *Chineſe*, and, at the ſame time, fully refutes the Objection that had been raiſed from this Herb's not having a proper Character aſſigned it by the Learned.

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[a] This ancient Monument was firſt mentioned by the famous Jeſuit *Kircher*, who made many Miſtakes about it, and from thence there grew ſome Queſtions as to the Matter of Fact, which however upon Enquiry has been ſince clearly made out, and from thence it is evident, that the Chriſtian Religion was ſettled in *China* in *A. D.* 636. that is, upwards of two hundred Years before the Maſſacre at *Canton*, mentioned by the laſt of our Authors. We have no certain Accounts of the Chriſtians in *China* beyond the Tenth Century, and when the *Portugueze* came firſt to *Canton* under Don *Fernand Perez d' Andrada*, which was *A. D.* 1517, there was no ſort of Remembrance of Chriſtianity preſerved in that Empire; ſo that it is impoſſible to diſcover how this Religion was exterminated there, otherwiſe than for Want of Paſtors.

[b] *Lib.* 1. *p* 16. It is inconceivable how differently Writers have repreſented the Shrub that bears this Herb; for ſome ſay it is like a Roſe, others like a Currant-buſh.

[c] *Addit. ad Hiſt. Medicin. Bont.* 1. 6. Of like Credit, perhaps, is another Report current among the *Dutch*, as if they ſold the Sage of *Europe* to the *Japoneſe* at as high a Price as they gave for their Tea, and which has been received as an undoubted Truth by the Vulgar here.

[d] He reſided long in *China*, was a Man of great Fidelity and Candour, one who did not love to contradict others, or to impoſe his own Senſe of Things upon his Reader in a dogmatick Stile. His *Chineſe Atlas* is an admirable Performance, in which he has explained *Marco Polo*, corrected Father *Kircbir*, and informs us of a Multitude of Things relating to the Hiſtory of *China*, which, till the Publication of his Book, were utterly unknown.

" This Herb, *ſays he*, which the *Japoneſe* call *Tſjaa*, " has as yet no Character aſſigned it by the *Literati*, but " there are ſeveral in Uſe, ſome expreſſing only the Sound " of the Word, and others alluding to its Virtues. Among " the latter, that is to be accounted which gives it the " Likeneſs of the Eyelids of *Darma*, a holy Man, much " famed among them. There is ſomething very witty in " this Alluſion, and the Explanation of it deſerves the " greater Notice, becauſe it very plainly points out the " Time when this Herb firſt came into Uſe. Thus then " the Story is told.

" This *Darma* was the third Son of an *Indian* King, " whoſe Name was *Koojuwo*, and was the Head of a religious Order inſtituted by a famous *Indian* Saint, " called *Sjaka*, who flouriſhed in the Year before Chriſt " 1028, and to whom this *Darma* was the twenty eighth " Succeſſor in a regular Order. It ſo fell out, that in " *A. D.* 519, he was driven into *China*, where he applied " himſelf intirely to the teaching of Mankind the Knowledge of God, and, as he called it, of the only true Religion, and the ſole Means of acquiring Happineſs. He " was not content to enlighten the World only by his " Doctrine, but ſtudied to do it ſtill more by his Example, ſtriving by the Purity of his Life, the afflicting his " Body, and the bringing all his Paſſions under perfect " Subjection, to ſecure the Aſſiſtance of the Divine " Grace. He eat nothing but the wild Herbs of the " Field, and, which is eſteemed the very Perfection of " Holineſs in Man, ſpent his Nights without Sleep in " the Contemplation of the Supreme Being; for he conſidered it as the higheſt Degree of Piety to forego Eaſe " and Reſt, that his Thoughts might be wholly employed " in meditating upon God.

" It fell out, that after many Years watching, he was " ſo overcome as to fall faſt aſleep: His Vow thus violated, he was ſo afflicted when he awaked, that partly " to expiate his Crime, and partly to ſecure himſelf from " falling again into what he eſteemed ſo great a Weakneſs, " he cut off his Eyelids, as the Inſtruments of his Offence, and threw them in a Fit of holy Zeal upon the " Ground. The next Day coming to the Place where he " had inflicted this Puniſhment upon himſelf, he ſaw, with " Amazement, a moſt wonderful Transformation, for " behold each of his Eyelids had taken Root, and had " ſprung up into the Shrub called TEA, which hitherto " the World had never ſeen, or at leaſt Mankind were " unacquainted with its Virtues.

" By taking the Leaves of this Herb, but whether the " chewing them, or prepared by Infuſion, I cannot ſay, " he found a wonderful Chearfulneſs of Mind, and a Diſpoſition perfectly ſuited to his divine Meditations. As " he recommended the Uſe of this Herb to his Diſciples, " and as the Benefits derived therefrom were every- " where publiſhed, the Cuſtom of drinking Tea grew " quickly into Uſe among all ſorts of People; and the " mighty Virtues of this wonderful Herb became univerſally known and admired. Hence it is, that as hitherto no certain Character has been aſſigned for expreſſing the Herb *Tea*, and its Virtues, the Cuſtom of diſtinguiſhing it by the Figure of *Darma*'s *Eyelids* has " grown into Practice." So much ſays my Author for the Name of this Plant. The Story is plainly fabulous and extravagant [f]; but, like the Extravagancies of the Eaſt, full of Fire, and of that ſort of enthuſiaſtick Eloquence which conveys Ideas with ſuch Force as prevents their Impreſſions from ever wearing out of the Mind.

We learn likewiſe from the firſt of our Travellers, that at the Time he viſited their Country the *Chineſe* were perfectly well verſed in the Art of Pottery, and made a kind of Porcelain, as fine, as beautiful, and almoſt as tranſparent as Glaſs. It is certain, that for many Ages after this we had very dark and confuſed Accounts of this Matter; and the Stories we are told in almoſt all the Accounts we have of *China* upon this Subject have apparently the Air of Fables, and look as if they were impoſed upon their Authors by the *Chineſe*, on purpoſe to conceal from them the Truth. It is a Point now univerſally agreed, that the Porcelain formerly made in this Country was infinitely better than what has come from thence of late Years; but the *Chineſe* themſelves carry this much farther, and maintain, that the old China we ſo much admire is very far inferior to what was made in theſe early Ages.

Doctor *Kæmpfer* [g] tells us from the *Chineſe* Hiſtorians, that this moſt excellent Porcelain was made in a certain Iſland not far from *Formoſa*, or at leaſt of the Earth found in that Iſland, which, for the ſame Crimes in its Inhabitants, has long ago ſhared the Fate of *Sodom*, and lies now buried in the Sea. Yet it ſeems it is not ſunk ſo deep, but that their Fiſhermen and Divers frequently bring up Veſſels of this old Porcelain, which are ſold at a moſt extravagant Price in *China* and *Japan*, from a Perſuaſion that they not only keep Tea better, but even heighten its Qualities, and reſtore its Flavour when loſt by long keeping in other Veſſels.

I do not pretend to make myſelf anſwerable for the Truth of theſe Facts; but I mention them only to ſhew, that in the Opinion of theſe People, who are undoubtedly the beſt Judges of their own Manufactures, the Porcelain made at the Time our Author ſpeaks of was really ſuperior in Quality to any that has been made ſince. But if it ſhould be demanded, whether any Proof can be had of the Truth of this Fact, excluſive of what our Author delivers, I anſwer, there is. For in a Manuſcript preſerved in the *French* King's Library, the Credit of which cannot be doubted among the Articles of a noble Preſent ſent *Noureddin* by *Saladin*, ſoon after he became Maſter of *Egypt*, Mention is made of a Service of China-ware, conſiſting of forty Pieces of ſeveral kinds [h]. It is very true, that this Preſent was not ſent till the Year of the *Hegira* 567, which anſwers to the Year of our Lord 1171, which is ſome Ages after the Time in which our Author wrote; but then it is to be conſidered, that this China-ware had been long before brought to *Egypt*; and if it had not been much ſuperior in Beauty to what was brought from the ſame Country, even at that Time when the Trade to *Baſſora* was in a flouriſhing Condition, it would not have been thought worthy the Acceptance of ſo great a Prince; and therefore when thoroughly conſidered, this Objection proves, at leaſt in its neceſſary Conſequences, a Confirmation of the Fact.

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[e] *Amænitat. Exotic. p.* 608. We ſhall have an Opportunity of inſerting this learned Writer's Travels to *Japan* in the ſecond Volume of this Work; but the Paſſage here cited is from another Work of his, which is excellent in its Kind, notwithſtanding what ſome *French* Critics have inſinuated to the contrary.

[f] Father *Charlevoix*, in his Hiſtory of *Japan*, blames Doctor *Kæmpfer* for inſerting this Story, which he calls a ridiculous Fable: but I beg Leave to ſay, that he had not well conſidered the Intention of the Parable, the Genius of the Eaſtern Nations, or the Eaſtern Languages; for if he had, he would probably have been of another Opinion. There is a wide Difference between Fables in Religion and Fables in Natural Philoſophy, eſpecially when they are known to be ſuch, and introduced with no other View than to convey uſeful Knowledge in an eaſy, familiar, and effectual Manner, all which were viſibly conſulted in the framing of this Story or Parable, which declares the Virtues of this Herb, by whom diſcovered, and when brought into Uſe.

[g] *Amænitat. Exotic. p.* 621. Our learned Author tells us, that the *Japoneſe* Name of this fine Porcelain is *Maats ubo*, and that the Iſland in which it was made was *Mauri ga Sima*. He aſſures us, that theſe Veſſels are of different Sizes, and conſequently of different Prices; the ſmalleſt are worth from twenty to one hundred Theils; but the largeſt and fineſt, which are generally bought for the Uſe of the Emperor of *Japan*, coſt three, four, or five thouſand Thiels or Thaels, of which there are about three in a Pound Sterling. This is very moderate in compariſon of what we are told by *Mandeſloe* in his Travels, *p.* 156, where he ſays, that the *Japoneſe* have Tea pots that coſt them between ſix and ſeven thouſand Pounds. There ſeem to be two Miſtakes in this; the firſt is as to the Veſſel, which was not a Tea-pot, but a Tea caniſter; the ſecond, as to the Sum, which was not Pounds, but Thaels.

[h] The Title of this *Arabian* Manuſcript is *Makrizi*, which was probably the Surname of its Author; but as to the particular Subject of the Book I can ſay nothing, the Paſſage I have mentioned from it being related by the Abbé *Renaudot*, in his Notes on our Authors, *p.* 200.

I have dwelt the longer upon theſe Inſtances, and have taken the more Pains to ſupport and confirm the Truth of them, becauſe I am perſuaded that an intire Credit is due to the Matters of Fact aſſerted by both of our Authors, and that conſequently we may abſolutely depend upon what they have delivered as to the State of *China* and the *Indies*, within this Period of Time; that is to ſay, from *A. D.* 833, to 950, or thereabouts. This being clearly eſtabliſhed, let us ſee what will follow from it. In the firſt place, it is moſt evident that theſe Eaſtern Countries were in a very happy and flouriſhing Condition, were governed by their own Princes, and knew not, generally ſpeaking, what it was to ſuffer by ſuch ſudden and violent Revolutions as have ſince happened in thoſe Parts. It muſt, however, be at the ſame time obſerved, that though their State was far better than it is now, yet both our Authors agree that it was beginning to decline, that the Dignity of their Princes began to ſink, the Severity of their Diſcipline to relax, and the Manners of their People to become much more corrupt than they had been.

In the next place, it is very evident, that in *China*, a Country ſtill more remote than the *Indies*, the People were in this Period very well acquainted with the Condition of their Neighbours, to whom they muſt alſo have been tolerably well known; and yet within the Space of two hundred Years, the Face of Things was ſo intirely changed, that the *Chineſe* loſt almoſt all Knowledge of us in *Europe*, and we of them, as from the ſubſequent Part of this Chapter will clearly appear.

Laſtly, we ought to conclude from the Conſideration of theſe Facts, from the State of Things in *China* and the *Indies*, and eſpecially from the Superiority of their Manufactures, that this Empire was in every reſpect in a much better Situation than in ſucceeding Times; that is to ſay, was better governed, more populous, the Induſtry of the People better conducted, and their Foreign Commerce far more extenſive than in the Ages immediately preceding the Diſcovery of the Paſſage thither from *Europe* by the *Cape of Good Hope*. The fixing all this firmly in the Reader's Mind, will contribute to his apprehending rightly all that follows, and will prevent his running into the oppoſite Vice of Incredulity, to avoid being thought credulous.

He will not be amazed when he hears of potent Princes that governed in the *Indies*, or in *China*, many hundred Years before we knew any thing with Certainty of thoſe Countries; he will not be aſtoniſhed at the Extent of their Territories, or what is reported of their prodigious Revenues; he will not be at a Loſs to account for the different Condition of Places, when firſt viſited by the *Europeans*, from that reported either by their own Hiſtories, or Traditions. On the contrary, he will plainly perceive, by comparing the Facts laid down in the ſeveral Sections of this Work, that all this is not only probable, but certain; and that the Notions which ſome great Critics have advanced to the contrary, were not ſo much founded in greater Learning, or ſuperior Abilities, as in ſtrong Prejudices in favour of their own Countries, and in high Conceits of their own Abilities.

In Things of this Nature, all abſtracted Reaſoning ought to be laid aſide, and we ought to draw our Concluſions from Facts only. If the *Indians* ſtopped the Progreſs of the *Aſſyrian*, *Perſian*, *Greek* and *Parthian* Empires, this is a ſtrong, or, to ſpeak fairly, an invincible Argument to prove, that their Government was then in its full Vigour. If we ſee the *Indians* now for the moſt part a broken, diſperſed, dejected, and deſpiſed People, preſerving, however, ſtill, in their Manners and Cuſtoms, viſible Marks of that Policy aſcribed to them by the *Greek* and *Roman*, as well as theſe *Arabian* Writers, we ought to conclude, that this Difference has been owing to mighty Revolutions in theſe Parts; after the Hiſtory of which we muſt enquire, and not pretend to take up with the Aſſurances given us by fanciful Men, that theſe People were never in a better Condition.

I do not however pretend by this to eſtabliſh by any means the Opinions entertained by ſome very great Men as to the Learning of the *Chineſe*; with regard to which our Travellers ſpeak very freely, and I think there is Reaſon to believe very truly, affirming, that in regard to the Sciences the *Chineſe* had very little Knowledge, that is, in compariſon of the *Arabs*, who at the time the laſt of our Authors wrote were very ſkilful in moſt Sciences; and though their famous Commander *Muſa*, who conquered *Spain*, was the firſt that delivered it in the Form of a Maxim, yet it is very probable that the *Arabians* had long before his Time thoſe Sentiments of the Progreſs of Science which he ſo happily expreſſed. *Wiſdom, ſaid he, deſcending from above, ſettled in the* Heads *of the* Greeks, *in the* Hands *of the* Chineſe, *and on the* Tongues *of the* Arabs. It plainly appears from hence, that what they moſt admired in *China* was the Induſtry of its Inhabitants, which was chiefly the Effect of their wiſe Government, derived to them, as indeed every thing of Conſequence they knew ſeems to have been, from the *Indies* [i]. All therefore that from the Authority of our Authors I infer is, that the political State of *China* was at leaſt as perfect anciently as it is at preſent in all its Branches; and not that they were better acquainted with Sciences than they are now.

71. The Reader, I perſuade myſelf, is by this time of the ſame Opinion with myſelf as to the Value of theſe ancient Writers, and would be very well pleaſed to proceed with as good Guides during the reſt of his Journey, which is, however, more than I can promiſe; but thus far I dare undertake, that he ſhall have as good Guides as are to be procured, and that the next Stage is the worſt in the whole Road. There is, however, a Neceſſity of going through it; for it is with Learning as it is in Travelling, there is no knowing of Things with Certainty by Reports. If we would be thoroughly ſatisfied, we muſt uſe our own Eyes; and to obtain a complete View of the *Indies*, we muſt be content to read Voyages and Travels in their natural Order. It is plain from what theſe Authors tell us, that the *Indies* in their Time were not much altered from what they were in the Days of the *Greeks* and *Romans*; whereas when the *Portugueze* came thither, they were quite in another Condition; we muſt therefore learn how this came to paſs. The Thing is difficult indeed, but it muſt be done, for otherwiſe we have hitherto been doing nothing; and to leave a large Gap in our Hiſtory in order to hurry on to modern Voyages, is to prefer Amuſement to Inſtruction, which is certainly what neither I nor the Reader aims at; and therefore I flatter myſelf that he will be very well pleaſed with the Revival of the Voyages and Travels that follow, and which have never hitherto appeared in an *Engliſh* Dreſs at all ſuitable to their Merit [k].

Hackluyt, our moſt ancient Collector, whoſe Pains can never be too much commended, gave ſuch as came to his Hands in the beſt manner he could, and was therefore very commendable in that reſpect. *Purchas*, who followed him, complains, however, with Reaſon, that theſe ancient Writers were ſtrangely diſfigured, and therefore he thought it neceſſary to reviſe and republiſh them, for which alſo he deſerves Praiſe; and there is no doubt he might have ſucceeded much better than he has done, if he had not followed the Humour of the Age in which he wrote, and affected, as he has done, to give a quaint and fanciful Turn to all that he tranſlated, inſtead of keeping cloſe to his Authors. This was chiefly owing to a Notion that then prevailed, that there were many Improbabilities and Abſurdities in their Writings; which, however, the Diligence of ſucceeding Times hath, in a great meaſure, diſcovered to have been a groundleſs and injurious Charge ariſing ſometimes from their having very bad Copies of the Authors they uſed, at other Times from the Ignorance of thoſe who undertook to tranſlate them either in the Languages in which they were wrote, or as to the Subjects which were handled in them.

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[i] The Progreſs of Science from the *Indies* to *China*, and from thence to *Japan*, is very natural and agreeable to ancient Hiſtory; but it does not at all follow from thence, that the *Indians* received their Learning from the *Egyptians*. It is far more probable that they had it from the *Chaldeans*; for Mankind ſpread originally from that Country, as *Moſes* informs us, and as all ancient Hiſtory plainly proves. From *Chaldea* to the *Indies* theſe firſt Colonies might have eaſily proceeded by Land; whereas their own Writers allow, that the firſt Attempts by the *Egyptians* towards the Conqueſt of *India* were by Fleets fitted out by the *Red Sea*.

[k] We have very full Proof of the Truth of this Obſervation from what *Purchas* ſays in his Pilgrims, Vol. III. p. 65. of *M. Polo*, where he has theſe Words. "I found this Book tranſlated by Maſter *Hackluyt* out of the *Latin*. But where the Blind lead the Blind, both fall: As here the "corrupt *Latin* could not but yield a Corruption of Truth in *Engliſh*. *Ramuſio*, Secretary to the Decemviri (he means the Council of Ten) in "*Venice*, found a better Copy, and publiſhed the ſame; whence you have the Work in a manner new, ſo renewed, that I have found the Pro-"verb true, that it is better to pull down an old Houſe, and to build it anew, than to repair it; as I alſo ſhould have done, had I known that "which in the Event I found. The *Latine* is *Latten* (that is, a ſort of Tin) compared to *Ramuſio*'s Gold, and he which hath the *Latin* hath but "*Marco Polo*'s Carcaſe, or not ſo much, but a few Bones, yea, ſometimes Stones rather than Bones, Things diverſe, averſe, adverſe, perverted "in Manner, disjointed in Manner beyond Belief. I have ſeen ſome Authors maimed, but never any ſo mangled, and ſo mingled, ſo prefect, "and ſo abſent, as this vulgar *Latine* of *Marco Polo*; not ſo like himſelf as the three *Polos* were at their Return to *Venice*, where none knew "them, as in the Diſcourſe ye ſhall find, &c."

It deſerves alſo to be conſidered, that the firſt Voyagers into any remote Country muſt lie under great Diſadvantages, becauſe they report Things abſolutely unknown before, and which, for that Reaſon, appear monſtrous and incredible; whereas, in Proceſs of Time, and after various Perſons have viſited the ſame Place, the Publick begins to grow familiar with their Relations; and having received repeated Teſtimonies as to the Truth of ſtrange Facts, renounce the Prejudices that were conceived againſt them at the Beginning. It is for this Reaſon that many learned Men abroad, but particularly *Ramuſio* in *Italy*, and *Bergeron* in *France*, have taken ſo much Pains to examine, correct, and ſet forth in a moſt perfect Manner, many of theſe old Writers; which after the Care they have taken about them, appear to ſo great Advantage, that they ſcarce ſeem to be the ſame that were known to us formerly in ſo wretched a Condition [1].

But if ſuch Treatiſes are liable to a bad Reception at their firſt Appearance, their Credit increaſes with Poſterity, and there is very good Reaſon for recurring to the firſt Voyages, as we do to the firſt Editions of Books, to ſee how Things ſtood at the Beginning. Such Writers are, generally ſpeaking, the moſt curious and the moſt exact; for being extremely ſtruck with every thing they ſee and hear, they are more vigilant in their Searches, and more particular in their Relations, than thoſe that follow them, ſuch taking it for granted, that what is common in remote Countries has been already reported by others, and will not give themſelves the Trouble of ſetting down any thing that is not marvellous or extraordinary. We ought not, likewiſe, to forget that ſuch Travellers as are ſent to viſit diſtant Countries, or who go thither purely out of Curioſity, and from a Deſire of ſeeing what others have not ſeen before, are much more likely to record exactly whatever they meet with, than ſuch as go afterwards into theſe Countries purely on the Score of Trade; and on their Return, perhaps, are perſuaded to oblige the World with an Account of what they have met with, compiled at a conſiderable Diſtance of Time, and conſequently very liable to Miſtakes and other Imperfections.

We may add to all this, that the firſt Sort of Authors are, generally ſpeaking, Men of better Capacities, and more capable of ſetting forth their Diſcoveries, than the latter; ſo that on the Whole, if we mean to be thoroughly acquainted with Things, and with all the Circumſtances relating to them, we ſhall read ſuch original Writers with much greater Pleaſure than thoſe Collections which have appeared in later Times, and which are frequently no way comparable to them, either for the Importance of Facts, or the Accuracy with which they are related.

It fell out in the Eaſt, as it fell out before in the Weſt; that is to ſay, the northern Nations poured in upon them as a Deluge, and bore down all before them. It was this Inundation of the *Tartars* which overturned, and, in a great meaſure, effaced the whole Policy of the Eaſt; ſo that in the thirteenth Century, the Empire eſtabliſhed by the Great *Tartar* Monarch *Jenghiz-Khan*, extended as far as *China* on the one Side, and into *Europe* on the other. His Succeſſors augmented his Dominions, and that in ſuch a Manner as to reach as far as the *Nile* one Way, and to the *Danube* and *Viſtula* on the other. Such an Extent of Dominion muſt appear to a conſiderate Reader a more formidable Empire than any yet ſpoken of; and the ſhort Space of Time in which it was raiſed, muſt render it ſtill more amazing: To ſay the Truth, all the great Monarchies in this Part of the World, large and powerful as they are, ought, ſtrictly ſpeaking, to be conſidered as Fragments only of this enormous Sovereignty, and as the Remains and Ruins of this prodigious Structure. All the *Tartar* Principalities in *Europe* and *Aſia*, the noble Empire of *China*, with ſo much of *Tartary* as belongs to it, the wide Dominions of the Great Mogul, ſome of the Kingdoms eſtabliſhed in the *Indian* Iſlands, the Kingdom of *Perſia* as it ſtands at preſent, together with the beſt Part of the Grand Seignor's Territories, fall under this Deſcription, and were once but ſo many Parts of the *Tartar* Empire, and we may from thence eaſily diſcern how much it imports us to have a competent Knowledge of the Riſe, Progreſs, and Declenſion of this over-grown Power.

But that this, however expedient, however neceſſary, might not break in too much on the Series of our Voyages, I have taken Care to ſelect a few out of the many ancient Travels that may anſwer both Ends; that is to ſay, may preſerve the Chain of our Narrations, according to the natural Order of Time, and alſo fulfil what is requiſite with reſpect to explaining the Hiſtory of theſe People, ſo as to bring the Whole into a reaſonable Compaſs, without depriving the Reader of any thing that is neceſſary for his Information, or curtailing the Authors that are given him, ſo as to put it out of his Power to judge of the Value of each, or to know what the Writer himſelf relates, and what has been inſerted by his Editors.

The firſt of theſe ſhall be the earlieſt Traveller next to our *Arabs*; I mean the famous *Jewiſh* Writer *Benjamin* of *Tudela*, in the Kingdom of *Navarre*, who travelled through a great Part of *Europe*, *Aſia*, and *Africa*, in the twelfth Century, in which we have not one Voyage beſides; and though his chief Deſign, as plainly enough appears, was to aggrandize his own Nation, however diſperſed over the Face of the Earth, and to keep up the Hopes of his Brethren, by repreſenting them as a numerous, wealthy, and flouriſhing People, notwithſtanding their Diſperſion; yet, in doing this, he has collected ſo many curious Circumſtances with regard to the Eaſtern Nations, and interſperſed his Travels with ſuch a Variety of hiſtorical Paſſages, to be met with no where elſe, that whatever Faults may be found with him, he will be always thought an Author worthy of Notice; though, to avoid Prolixity, we have inſerted only ſo much of his Work in the next Section, as has relation to the Subject of which we are treating. It will from thence however appear, that what is ſuggeſted by *Purchas*, the only Author that has attempted to publiſh him in our Language, as to the Impoſſibility of making his Treatiſe clear and intelligible, is not over-well founded, but that with due Care and diligent Attention, his Travels might be publiſhed entire in ſuch a Manner as to ſatisfy the moſt critical and inquiſitive Reader.

The next of theſe ancient Travellers ſhall be *William de Rubruquis*, a Monk ſent by the *French* King St. *Lewis*, to the then *Khan* of the *Tartars*, whoſe Hiſtory of his Journey through ſeveral Countries, then in a Manner entirely, and even now, but very imperfectly known, is addreſſed to that Prince, and written with a Spirit of Humility and Modeſty, and with ſuch plain Evidence of their Author's Veracity, as very fully juſtifies the Eſteem that has been always had of his Work. The third is *Marco Polo*, the *Venetian*, who travelled as well as *Rubruquis* in the thirteenth Century, whoſe Work has ſtood the Teſt of Time and the ſevereſt Criticks, and riſen by ſlow Degrees from the loweſt into the higheſt Credit. There are indeed very few Books that have borne ſo many Editions, or have had ſo much Pains taken about them; and indeed hardly any have deſerved it better, ſince purged from the Errors that had crept into the old Copies, and into the ſeveral Tranſlations made into different Languages, it appears to be as well diſpoſed, as well written, as curious, as entertaining, and as correct a Performance as any of its kind: And yet, to avoid the Trouble of comparing ſo many Copies and Tranſlations, it has been wholly omitted in our modern Collections, though the peruſing it is in a Manner abſolutely neceſſary to the underſtanding the ſubſequent Voyages to the *Eaſt-Indies*.

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[1] The Quotation in the preceding Note from *Purchas*, will fully prove the Truth of this to the intelligent Reader.

The laſt of theſe old Writers taken into our Collection, ſhall be Sir *John Mandeville*, our Countryman, who, notwithſtanding all the Objections made to his Relation, deſerves much better Uſage than he has met with. This great Traveller flouriſhed in the fourteenth Century, and ſpent no leſs than thirty-three Years in travelling through the *Levant*, *Syria*, *Tartary*, *India*, *Cathay*, *Egypt*, *Libya*, *Ethiopia*, and other Countries. He compoſed the Hiſtory of theſe Travels in *Latin*, *French*, and *Engliſh*, and yet we have never hitherto had his Work ſet in ſuch a Light as might bear reading with Pleaſure; I had almoſt ſaid, and it would be no more than Truth, with Patience; and at the ſame time it has been reſpected and well eſteemed abroad. There are indeed Abundance of ſtrange Stories and incredible Paſſages in his Work, which we do not pretend to juſtify or impoſe upon the Reader, but there are others worth knowing, and to be met with no where elſe.

The Trouble which neceſſarily attends freeing theſe Authors from the Rubbiſh under which they have been buried, and recovering ſo much of their perſonal Hiſtory as is requiſite to give Light and Life, Spirit and Intelligence to their ſeveral Labours, has been not a little; but when one conſiders how pious an Act it is to vindicate the Memory of great Men deceaſed, who thought no Pains too great for the Service of Poſterity; and how ready the preſent Age is to encourage all Attempts of this kind, a Man goes through his Taſk with Pleaſure. It is our Happineſs to live in Times more enlightened, in which all the Sciences are better underſtood than when thoſe Authors lived and wrote; but the Contemplation of our Advantages ought to diſpoſe us to a charitable Condeſcenſion, and a Diſpoſition to excuſe Infirmities, not ſo properly in them as in the Ages in which they flouriſhed, and from which therefore they could not be exempt, eſpecially when we reflect, that to their Attempts we owe the Splendor that has ſucceeded, and that without the Struggles made by them we muſt have been in the ſame Region of Darkneſs ſtill.

SECTION XIX.

The Travels of Rabbi Benjamin, *the Son of* Jonas *of* Tudela, *through* Europe, Aſia, *and* Africa, *from* Spain *to* China, *from the Year of our Lord* 1160 *to* 1173.

From the Latin *Verſions of* Benedict Arias Montanus, *and* Conſtantine l'Empereur, *compared with other Tranſlations into different Languages.*

1. *A ſuccinct Account of* Benjamin *of* Tudela, *the ſeveral Editions and Tranſlations of his Work, and the Reputation it has acquired.* 2. *The Objections that have been made to the Credit of our Author, and the true State of that Queſtion.* 3. *The Manner in which we propoſe to give the Subſtance of theſe Travels to the Reader.* 4. *The Deſcription of the City of* Conſtantinople, *the Court of the* Greek *Emperor, and other Things remarkable there, in the Words of* Benjamin *of* Tudela. 5. *A ſuccinct Account of his Travels from* Conſtantinople *to* Balſora *or* Baſſora. 6. *His Journey from thence to the Frontiers of* Perſia, *to the City of* Aria; *and his Account of the Tomb of the Prophet* Daniel. 7. *The Hiſtory of the celebrated* David El Roi, *a Native of* Aria, *who ſet up for the Meſſiah, induced the* Jews *to revolt from the King of* Perſia; *of the Miracles ſaid to be performed by him, and of his deplorable End.* 8. *The Route from* Aria, *and the Mountains of* Haphton *to the Mountains of* Niſbon *and the River* Oxus, *by* Hamadan *and* Iſpahan. 9. *Deſcription of the Mountains of* Niſbon, *or* Niſbor, *inhabited by the Tribes of* Dan, Zebulon, Aſhur, *and* Naphtali. *The Hiſtory of the War between the Copheral* Turks *and the* Perſians, *together with an Account of Rabbi* Moſes. 10 *Return to* Chuzeſtan, *Deſcription of the Iſland of* Nekrokis, *of the Pearl Fiſhery, of ſeveral Countries in the* Indies, *of the diabolical Practices of the Natives, and finally of the Frozen Sea, or the Sea of* China. 11. *Route from* Gingala *into* Ethiopia, *and from thence to* Grand Cairo. 12. *A large Deſcription of the City of* Mitzraim, *or* Grand Cairo, *the State of the* Jews *in that Country, of the overflowing of the* Nile, *of the famous Column for meaſuring the Riſe of that River, the Fertility of the Country of* Egypt, *the Mouths of the River* Nile, *and the Situation of the ancient City of* Memphis. 13. *An Account of many other Cities in* Egypt, *a large Deſcription of* Alexandria, *and the principal Things therein, with the State of its Commerce at the Time of our Author's being there.* 14. *A conciſe Account of his Return into* Europe, *and going back into his native Country of* Spain. 15. *Remarks and Obſervations on the foregoing Travels.*

1. THERE are few Authors better known to the learned World than our *Benjamin*, called from the Place of his Birth *Benjamin* of *Tudela*, a very pleaſant Town in *Navarre*, on the Confines of the Kingdoms of *Caſtile* and *Arragon*. The *Jews*, who boaſt very much of our Author's Work, inform us, that he was the Son of Rabbi *Jonas*, who was ſettled at *Tudela*; but they do not acquaint us with the Year in which our Author was born, of what Profeſſion he was, or what induced him to travel. In ſhort, all that at this Diſtance of Time can be diſcovered on the Subject, amounts to no more than this, that he began his Travels, *A. D.* 1160, and that he ended them in 1173, which was the very Year in which he died.

Theſe Travels of his have been always in great Credit amongſt his own Countrymen, who never cite them but with the greateſt Applauſe; neither have there been wanting ſeveral very learned Chriſtians, who have been of the ſame Opinion, to which probably it might be owing, that from *A. D.* 1543, when it was firſt printed at *Conſtantinople*, we have had of this Book no leſs than ſixteen different Editions, and ſome of them by the ableſt Criticks.

The firſt Verſion of it that appeared in *Latin* was in 1575, by *Benedict Arias Montanus*, a Man of great Learning, and in high Reputation, who in his Preface paid great Compliments to the *Spaniſh* Nation on account of the Diſcoveries made by them in the moſt diſtant Parts of the World.

This, however, did not hinder *Conſtantine l'Empereur* from making another Tranſlation in 1633, with the *Hebrew* Text in the Margin, and the Addition of very learned Notes; notwithſtanding which, many great Criticks have teſtified an earneſt Deſire to ſee another and ſtill correcter Verſion, ſince, to ſay the Truth, there are ſome apparent Errors in this as well as in the former Tranſlation, occaſioned, as I conceive, chiefly by the Miſtakes that have been made by Tranſcribers in the Text, where we have many Names of Countries, Cities, and Princes, that never were heard of in any other Author, and therefore are with great

Reaſon believed to have come by ſome ſuch Miſtake into this; the rather, becauſe on comparing ſeveral Editions, ſome of theſe Errors have been detected and amended, which afforded us room to hope that ſome time or other ſo judicious a Critick may ariſe, as will be able to correct them all, and give us this Author in his genuine Purity.

2. But, notwithſtanding the great Reputation of our Author, ſome very conſiderable Writers, and thoſe too extremely well verſed in *Hebrew* Learning, have attacked this Work of his with much Vivacity. M. *Wagenſeil* for inſtance, who wrote a very learned Defence of the Chriſtian Religion againſt the Cavils and Aſperſions of the *Jews*, is pleaſed to ſay of this Writer, that whenever he meets with any thing that makes for the Honour of his Nation, he is not only careful to report it in its full Extent, but even ventures ſometimes to exceed the Truth [a].

The famous *Hottinger* deals as freely, or rather more ſo, with *Benjamin*; his Voyage, ſays he, is puffed up with *Jewiſh* Pride, and the ſole Aim of it is to deceive and miſlead the Ignorant into an Opinion, that obſcure and unknown Places are full of the Glory of the *Jews*. He adds farther, that there are many Fables and Contradictions in the Book, and ſtill more Stories that are reported upon very ſlender Grounds: Yet after all, he concludes, that our Author has many things in him that are not to be found elſewhere [b].

The very learned *Spanheim* gives the true Character of the Work in a few Words: It is, ſays he, pretty highly ſeaſoned with Fables; but there are many good Things in it for all that [c]. This is preciſely the Caſe; the *Jews*, and ſuch as are fond Admirers of *Rabbinic* Learning, have cried it up much beyond its real Merit; and others again have, for a particular Reaſon, run it down beyond all Meaſure; nay, they have queſtioned whether our Author ever travelled at all, and would perſuade us that he made this Book without ſtirring out of *Spain*; but they would have done well to have ſhewn us how he came by the Materials, which I think a much harder Taſk than to anſwer all their Objections.

His Countrymen, it ſeems, frequently quote this Book of *Benjamin*'s, to ſhew, that the *Jews* are not yet totally deprived of Power, but that there is ſtill a kind of Sovereignty exerciſed by ſome of their Nation over their Brethren in certain Countries of the Eaſt; which being ſuppoſed to contradict the famous Prophecy relating to the coming of Chriſt, theſe Criticks will have to be a Fable. But if *Benjamin* had never wrote, the *Jews* would be able to prove the Truth of this in ſtronger Terms [d] than it is aſſerted by him, and yet without overthrowing the Application of that Prophecy to *Jeſus Chriſt*; and therefore this is no Reaſon to me for depreciating the Work at all. He has certainly exaggerated ſome Things, and miſtaken many more. What then? we find in him many Things curious and entertaining, which we can find no where elſe.

3. Our Author in his firſt Chapter gives us an Account of his Travels by Land from *Saragoſſa* to *Marſeilles*. In his ſecond Chapter, he tells us that he embarked for *Genoa*, and proceeded from thence to *Rome*, of which he gives us a Deſcription. He went from that City through the Kingdom of *Naples* to *Otranto*, and ſailed from thence to the Iſland of *Corfu*, and then paſſed by Land through *Greece* to *Conſtantinople*, and in his Paſſage traverſed the Country of *Walachia* [e]. This takes up his fourth Chapter, but as there is nothing very extraordinary in this Part of his Work, and as we have no Room to ſpare, I thought it better to omit theſe Chapters than to abridge them, becauſe I muſt have given the Senſe of the Author in my own Words, which would not have put it in the Reader's Power to form any Judgment of the Writer's Stile or Manner of Writing. In his fifth Chapter he gives a long Account of the City of *Conſtantinople*, of the Court of the *Greek* Emperor, and of the State that Things were in at the Time of his being there, with many other curious Particulars, and therefore I have given this Chapter at large, accompanied with ſuch explanatory Notes as were requiſite, that I might afford the Reader a proper Specimen of this Performance, without treſpaſſing too much on his Time or my own.

4. “ From thence we travelled three Days Journey to
“ *Abiro*, ſeated upon the Sea-Shore; and travelling five
“ Days Journey more among the Mountains, one comes to
“ *Conſtantinople*, an exceeding great City, and the Head
“ of the Kingdom of *Javanites* [f], or thoſe called *Greeks*.
“ This is the principal Seat of the Emperor *Emanuel* [g],
“ whoſe Command twelve Kings obey; for every one
“ whereof there are ſeveral Palaces at *Conſtantinople*, and
“ they have alſo Fortreſſes and Governments, and unto
“ theſe the whole Land is ſubject. The Principal and
“ Chiefeſt is called *Apripus*, the ſecond *Mega Domeſtikutz*,
“ the third *Dominot*, the fourth *Mackducus*, the fifth *Ik-*
“ *nomus Megli*, and the reſt have Names like unto theſe [h].
“ The Compaſs of the City of *Conſtantinople* containeth
“ eighteen Miles, one half of it ſtandeth upon the Sea,
“ but the other half on the Continent, and it is ſeated up-
“ on two Arms of the Sea, into one of which the Sea
“ flows out of *Ruſſia*, but into the other from *Spain*, and
“ it is frequented by many Traders from the Provinces
“ and Countries of *Babylon*, *Senaar*, *Media*, *Perſia*, and
“ all the Kingdom of *Egypt* and Land of *Canaan*, and
“ the Kingdoms of *Ruſſia*, *Hungary*, and *Pſianki*, *Buria*,
“ *Lombardy*, and *Spain*.

“ The City itſelf is exceſſively populous, unto which
“ Merchants reſort out of all Countries, travelling thither
“ both by Sea and Land. It hath none to compare with it
“ in the World, except *Bagdat*, that mighty City of the
“ *Iſmaelites*. Here is the moſt famous Temple of *St. So-*
“ *phia*, and the Patriarch of the *Grecians* dwelleth here,
“ nor do they agree in Doctrine with the Pope of *Rome*.
“ There are in it alſo as many Altars in Number as Days
“ in the Year; but it hath an exceeding great Treaſure,
“ almoſt beyond all Eſtimation, by the Offerings and
“ Riches, yearly brought from divers Countries, Iſlands,
“ Caſtles, Forts, and Palaces, ſo that the Wealth of no
“ Temple in the whole World can be compared with the
“ Riches thereof; and in the Midſt of the Temple there
“ are Pillars of Gold and Silver, huge Candleſticks, Lant-
“ horns, Lamps, and other Ornaments of theſe precious
“ Metals, more than any Man is able to reckon. Next
“ adjoining to the Walls of the Temple, there is a Place
“ built for the Emperor's Diverſion, called *Hippodromus*,
“ where yearly, upon the Birth-day of JESUS of *Na-*
“ *zareth*, great Spectacles are publickly preſented, and

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[a] *Not. ad Lipmanni Carmen Nizzachon in Tel. ign. Sat. pag.* 374. This Writer is induced to cenſure our Author, for the Reaſons I have afterwards aſſigned; that is, becauſe he thinks what *Benjamin* has advanced derogatory from the famous Prophecy in the 49th Chapter of *Geneſis*.

[b] *Hiſt. Eccl. Sect.* XII. p. 241.

[c] *Introd. ad Hiſt. Eccl.* Part II. Sæcul. XII. Sect. XIV. p. 370.

[d] It appears evidently from the *Koran*, that there were Principalities of the *Jews* in *Arabia* at the Time that *Mohammed* ſet up for a Prophet, which is certainly as ſtrong as any thing advanced by our Author, and is, notwithſtanding, a Fact that cannot be diſputed.

[e] The Manner and Stile of this Voyage is a proper Specimen of all the *Jewiſh* Writers, who uſe exactly the ſame Terms in their Narrations; and by affecting to keep cloſe to the Names of Nations and Cities mentioned in the Holy Scriptures, render their own Writings very perplexed and obſcure.

[f] This Term is made uſe of by the *Jews* to ſignify the *Greeks*, becauſe they conceive them to be the Deſcendants of *Javan*; it is their Manner of Writing, and we muſt be contented with it. It is true we might have given all this a modern Dreſs, but then it would have been no longer the Travels of *Benjamin* of *Tudela*, which was what we promiſed.

[g] This Emperor *Emanuel* is *Manuel Comnenes*, who aſcended the Imperial Throne *A. D.* 1143, and died in 1180. He was famous for his Treachery to the Chriſtian Princes engaged in the Holy War, but it is very certain that the Time of his Reign agrees exactly with the Time of our Author's viſiting the City of *Conſtantinople*.

[h] There cannot well be any thing more confuſed than this Paſſage of our Author is at firſt Sight, and yet it is not impoſſible to make tolerable good Senſe of it. *Benjamin* thought that as *Manuel* was an Emperor, his Miniſters and Governors of Provinces ought to be conſidered as equal in State and Dignity to Kings. There is no doubt great Difficulty in tranſcribing *Greek* Words by *Hebrew* Characters, eſpecially where a Perſon is not fully Maſter of both Languages, which was certainly the Caſe of our Author; and perhaps the Errors of the Work have been heightened as well as multiplied by ſuch as have copied it. *Apripus* in the Text very probably means *Præpoſitus*, or *Prime Miniſter*. *Mega Domeſtikutz*, is plainly the Corruption of Μέγας Δομέστικος, or Great Chamberlain *Dominot* ſtands for *Dominus*. *Macaducas* is put for Μέγας Δούκας, or Great Duke, and the laſt is intended for Οἰκονόμος Μέγας, or Lord High Steward.

there all Sorts of Men in all manner of Habits of the whole World appear before the King and Queen. Lions alſo, and Bears, Leopards, and wild Aſſes, are brought forth into the Place where theſe Spectacles are to be ſeen, that they may fight together, and Birds alſo after the ſame manner: And my Opinion is that in no Country of the World ſuch princely Sports are to be ſeen.

“ But this King *Emanuel*, beſides that Palace left him by his Anceſtors, hath built him another upon the Sea Shore, which they call *Bilbernæ*, the Pillars and Walls whereof he hath overlaid with beaten Gold and Silver, whereon he hath engraved all the Wars made by him and his Anceſtors; and he hath prepared a Throne there for himſelf of Gold and precious Stones, and hath adorned it with a golden Crown hanging on high by Gold Chains; the Compoſure whereof is equal with the Throne itſelf, ſo enriched with precious Stones and Pearls, that the Price thereof no Man is able to value; of ſo great a Luſtre, that without the Aſſiſtance of Light they ſhine, and may be ſeen in the Night.

“ Moreover there are ſuch valuable Things in the ſame Place, as were incredible if told; and Tributes are yearly brought into that Palace, wherewith the Towers are filled with ſcarlet and purple Garments, and Gold; ſo that the like Example of Building and Riches can no where elſe be found in the World. And it is affirmed, that the Revenue only of this City itſelf, gathered from the Markets, Haven, and Tribute of Merchants, amounted to twenty thouſand Crowns a Day. Furthermore, the *Grecians* themſelves, Inhabitants of the Country, are exceeding rich in Gold, and have Abundance of precious Stones, and are dreſſed in moſt ſumptuous Apparel, their Garments being made of Crimſon intermingled with Gold, or embroidered with Needle-work, and are all carried upon Horſes, as if they were the Children of Kings. The Country itſelf being very large, abounds with all Sorts of Fruits, and hath great Plenty of Corn, Fleſh, and Wine; nor is there a finer Spot in the whole World to be found. They are alſo learned, and ſkilful in the Diſcipline of the *Grecians*; but giving themſelves wholly to Pleaſure, they eat and drink every one under his own Vine and under his own Fig-tree. Of all the Nations which they call *Barbarians*, they have Soldiers to fight with the *Soldan*, King of the Children of *Thogarma*, who are commonly called *Turks*, becauſe they themſelves, through Idleneſs and Luxury, are become quite unfit for the Wars, and ſeem unto me more like Women than Men, through their exceſſive Love of Pleaſure [i].

“ But no *Jews* dwell within the City, for they are excluded from thence by an Arm of the Sea of *Sophia*; they are not ſo much as permitted to come into the City but by Boats, and that for the ſake of Commerce; and here are about two thouſand *Jews Rabbanites*, beſides five hundred *Karaites* on the other Side. There is a Wall to ſeparate them from the *Rabbanites*, that are the Diſciples of wiſe Men; and among whom *Abtalion* the Great, and *R. Abdias*, and *Aaron Cuſpus*, and *Joſeph Starginus*, and *Eliakim* the Governor, have the chief Authority. Amongſt theſe ſome are Artificers of ſilken Garments; but there are many Merchants, and thoſe too very rich. No *Jew* is there permitted to be carried on Horſe-back, except *Solomon* the *Egyptian*, the King's Phyſician, through whoſe Intereſt the *Jews* are comforted and eaſed in their Captivity, which they feel to be grievous; for all the *Jews* are very much hated by the *Grecians*, without making any Difference between the good and evil: But they are worſt uſed by the Tanners, who, while they dreſs their Skins, pour out the filthy Water into the Streets before their Doors. They are general oppreſſed with a grievous Yoke, and are inſulted and beaten in the Streets, enduring from every Hand abundance of Injuries. But among the *Jews* themſelves, ſome are rich, as I have ſaid, and good Men, and merciful, and obſerve the Commandments, who patiently endure the Miſery of Captivity. The Place wherein they dwell is called *Pera*.”

5. Our Author continued his Journey from *Conſtantinople* to the City of *Tyre*, from thence to *Jeruſalem*, and from thence through the *Holy Land*, of which he gives a very particular Deſcription, to the City of *Damaſcus*; and from thence to *Balbeck*, which is in the Neighbourhood of the ancient *Palmyra*, which he calls by its old Name of *Tadmor*, and aſſures us, that there were in it, when he paſſed through, two thouſand *Jews*. He gives us next a copious Account of the City of *Bagdat*, of the Court of the Khaliff, and of the Condition of the *Jews* in that City. Then he carries us into the Country of *Thema*, where he places a whole Nation of *Jews*, about which there have been great Diſputes; and ſome would have us believe, that the Whole is a Forgery. However that Matter be, as it no way relates to my Subject, I did not think it requiſite to trouble the Reader therewith, eſpecially as there are Stories enough of the ſame kind in the reſt of the Book. In his fifteenth Chapter, he acquaints us, that he proceeded to *Botzra* on the River *Tigris*, which is plainly *Balſora*, or *Baſſora*, a Place frequently mentioned in the preceding Part of this Work; and from thence he continued his Journey through *Perſia*, as I ſhall acquaint the Reader in his own Words [k].

6. “ The River *Samoura* is eſteemed the Limits of the Kingdom of *Perſia*, and near it ſtands a City of the ſame Name, wherein dwell fifteen hundred *Jews*. There is the Sepulchre of *Eſdras* the Scribe and Prieſt, who died at this Place in his Return from *Jeruſalem* to the Court of *Artaxerxes*. Our People have built before this Sepulchre a great Synagogue; and on the other Side the *Iſhmaelites*, i. e. the *Arabians*, or *Mohammedans*, have built a Moſque; ſo great is their Eſteem for *Eſdras*, and their Reſpect for the *Iſraelites*. It is on this Score alſo that the *Iſhmaelites* reſort hither to pray.

“ It is four Miles from hence to *Chuzeſthan*, which is the ſame with *Elam*, that great City of old; but it is now in ſome meaſure ruined and uninhabited. At one End, but in the midſt of Ruins, is *Suſa*, a Caſtle, and formerly the Palace of *Ahaſuerus*; ſome Remains of which are yet ſtanding. There are here ſeven thouſand *Jews* and fourteen Synagogues, before one of which ſtands the Tomb of *Daniel*. The River *Tigris* [l] runs through the City, over which there is a Bridge. All the *Jews* that live on one Side are very rich, have Shops extremely well filled, and carry on a great Commerce. Thoſe on the other Side the River are all poor, having neither Markets, Shops, Gardens, nor Orchards. The Senſe of their Condition threw them once into an Inſurrection, from a Notion that all the Glory and Riches of thoſe on the other Side the River, ſprung from no other Cauſe than their having the Sepulchre of the Prophet *Daniel* on their Side.

“ They demanded therefore that his Tomb ſhould be transferred to their Side; but the others vehemently oppoſing this, a War began, of which both Sides growing weary, it was agreed, that the Coffin of *Daniel* ſhould remain one Year on one Side the River, and the next Year on the other. This Treaty was obſerved till ſuch

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[i] However ſharp or ſevere this Character of the People at *Conſtantinople* may ſeem, yet it is beyond all Queſtion very juſt and well founded, fully ſupports what we have delivered upon this Subject in the ſixteenth Section, and is at once a Mark of Veracity in theſe Travels, and of the Author's Capacity in judging of what he ſaw.

[k] Our Author's Travels, with the Remarks neceſſary to explain them, would, if delivered entire, take up a great many Sheets; and for this Reaſon it is, and that we may keep the Subject as much within Bounds as poſſible, that we take this Method of acquainting the Reader with the Contents of his Work.

[l] Our Author is a little out here in his Geography, for the River *Tigris* does not come near this City; the River he means was anciently called *Eulæus*, and in the modern Maps we find it deſcribed under the Name of *Coron*. It is, in all Probability, the ſame as before mentioned, which ſome Criticks will have to be a River of our Author's making; but the Truth of the Matter is, that the River *Coron* takes its Riſe near a Town called *Samira*, from whence he might hear it called the River of *Samira*, and ſuch an Error, conſidering the Times in which he lived, is not very conſiderable.

“ time as *Sanigar Shah*, Son to the great *Shah* of *Per-* “ *ſia*, who rules over forty-five Princes, cancelled it. He “ is called in *Arabic* Sultan *Phars-Al-Chabir*, which is as “ much as to ſay, great Emperor of *Perſia*. His Empire “ extends from the Mouth of the River *Samoura* to the City “ of *Samarcand*, and to the River of *Gozan*, the Province of “ *Giſhor*, including the Cities of the *Medes*, the Mountains “ of *Haphton*, and ſo to the Province of *Thibet*; in the “ Foreſts of which Country are found the Animals that “ produce Muſk. His Empire is four Months and four “ Days Journey in Extent[m].

“ When therefore this great Monarch *Sanigar* King of “ *Perſia* came to *Elam*, and ſaw them tranſporting the Coffin “ of *Daniel* from one Side of the River to the other, with a “ great Croud of *Jews* and *Iſhmaelites* upon the Bridge, he “ demanded what they were doing, and the Reaſon of their “ doing it; and being informed of what has been before “ related, he decided the Point thus. It is by no means “ decent, ſaid he, that the Remains of *Daniel* ſhould be “ treated in this manner; meaſure therefore to a Place “ that is at an equal Diſtance from both Sides, and there “ let the Coffin of *Daniel* be ſuſpended in a Glaſs Caſe, “ faſtened to the Middle of the Bridge by Chains of Iron, “ and let there be a ſpacious Edifice built in the ſame Place “ in the Form of a Synagogue, open to all People, whether “ *Jews*, or of other Nations that incline to come thither “ to ſay their Prayers[n]. As a ſtill ſtronger Mark of his “ Eſteem, that Emperor likewiſe forbad, by an expreſs Edict, “ that any Man ſhould take Fiſh out of the River for one “ Mile below, and another above, for the Reverence and “ Honour of *Daniel*.”

From hence to *Robad-bar* are three Days Journey, where dwell twenty thouſand *Iſraelites*, among whom there are very many Diſciples of the wiſe-Men, and alſo ſome of them very rich; but theſe live under the Power and Authority of a ſtrange Prince. In two Days Journey from thence you come to the River *Vanth*, where are four thouſand *Jews*, or thereabouts; but four Days Journey from the River lieth the Country *Molhat*, the Inhabitants whereof believe not the Doctrine of the *Iſhmaelites*, but they dwell in very ſtrong Mountains, and they obey an Elder, whoſe Seat is in the Country *Alcheſiſin*; and among theſe there are four Colleges of the *Iſraelites*, and they go forth to the Wars with them; nor are they ſubject to the Dominion of the King of *Perſia*, but live in high Mountains, from whence deſcending they invade the bordering Countries, and drive away Booties, and return again, fearing no Man; but the *Jews*, who dwell among them, are the Diſciples of the wiſe Men, and obey the Head of the Captivity of *Babylon*.

You travel five Days Journey from hence to *Omaria*, where are five-and-twenty thouſand *Iſraelites*; and it is the Beginning of the Synagogues of the Inhabitants of the Mountains of *Haphton*, which are known to be more than an hundred in Number; and in theſe Places the Country of *Media* beginneth; and theſe are of the firſt Captivity carried away by King *Salmanaſar*; but they ſpeak the *Chaldee* Language, and among them are the Diſciples of the wiſe Men, and the chief City *Omaria*, pertaining to the Kingdom of *Perſia*, within one Day's Journey; but they are under the Dominion of the King of *Perſia*, to whom they pay Tribute; and the Tribute appointed in all the Kingdoms of the *Iſhmaelites*, is for Males above fifteen Years old, one Golden Amir, which is in Value one *Spaniſh* Morabetine Piece of Gold and an half, or half a Crown of our Money.

7. It is now twelve Years ſince a certain Man named *David Elroi* aroſe in the City of *Omaria*, who was the Diſciple of *Chaſdai*, the Head of the Captivity, and of *Jacob* the honourable Head of the Aſſembly of *Levi*, in the Metropolitan City of *Bagdat*; he became very learned in the Law of *Moſes*, and in the Books of Doctrine, and alſo in all Wiſdom; in the Language of the *Iſhmaelites*, and in the Books of the Magicians and Inchanters; he therefore took it in his Head that he would raiſe Arms againſt the King of *Perſia*, would gather together the *Jews* who dwelt in the Mountains of *Haphton*, would war againſt the whole World, and go to *Jeruſalem* and win it by Aſſault; and that he might perſuade the *Jews* thereto, he ſhewed them lying and deceitful Signs, affirming that he was ſent from God to *Jeruſalem*, and to free them from the Yoke of the Nations, ſo that with many of the *Jews* he procured Credit unto himſelf, and was owned by them for their Meſſiah[o].

The King of *Perſia* hearing the Report of this Inſurrection, ſent for him to talk with him, to whom he went without any Fear; and it being demanded whether he was the King of the *Jews*, he boldly anſwered, that he was; and he was thereupon apprehended and caſt into the Gaol in which State Priſoners are kept all their Lives. This Priſon is in the City *Dabaſtran*, nigh the great River *Gozan*. After three Days a Council of the Princes and Miniſters being called by the King, in which they conſulted as to this Inſurrection of the *Jews*, *David* was preſent there, being eſcaped out of Priſon, no Man knowing thereof. When the King ſaw him, he demanded, *Who hath brought thee hither, or delivered thee out of Priſon?* “ Mine own Wiſ- “ dom, anſwered he, for I am not afraid of thee, or thy “ Servants.” Then the King cried out to thoſe about him, *Seize him! lay Hands on him!* To whom the Princes and Servants anſwered, that his Voice was heard by all, but he was ſeen by none[p].

The King wondering at his Wiſdom, was aſtoniſhed. *David* then cried out aloud, *Lo, I take my Way*; and he began to go before, the King following him, and all the Nobility and their Servants followed the King. When they came to the Bank of the River, *David* ſpreading abroad his Handkerchief upon the Waters, paſſed over dry, and at that time was ſeen of all. They endeavoured to purſue and take him with little Boats, which they attempted in vain; and thence concluded, that no Inchanter in the World might be compared to him. As for *David* he travelled that Day ten Days Journey, coming to *Omaria*; through the Virtue of the ineffable Name[q], he declared what had befallen unto him to their great Amazement.

But the King of the *Perſians* ſending Meſſengers unto *Bagdat*, informed the great Khaliff of the *Iſhmaelites* of this Matter, and requeſted that he would cauſe *David Elroi* to be reſtrained from ſuch Enterprizes, by the Head of the Captivity, and the chief Rulers of the Aſſemblies, otherwiſe he threatened total Deſtruction to all the *Jews* living in the Kingdom of *Perſia*. All the Synagogues of the Kingdom of *Perſia* falling thereupon into great Fear of the

[m] This pompous Account of an Emperor commanding over forty-five Kings is very ſuitable to the Genius of a *Jewiſh* Traveller; but the Difficulty is to find out who he is of whom all this is ſaid. We read in *Elmacinus* of a Prince of this Name, who was the Son of a King of *Perſia*, and flouriſhed about this Time; and therefore it is very probable, that this Deciſion is to be aſcribed to him in the Life-time of his Father, though *Benjamin* ſeems to attribute it to the Shah, or Emperor himſelf.

[n] This Circumſtance is not in itſelf very conſiderable; but in ſo large a Collection as this it was neceſſary to have a Writer ſo much talked of as our Author, and the Reader cannot think his Time thrown away in acquiring by this Inſtance the Power of judging of ſuch a Performance; for, as I obſerved before, the *Jewiſh* Authors all write alike.

[o] This Story, as extravagant as it ſeems, is really a Matter of Fact, and as ſuch is recorded by two *Jewiſh* Hiſtorians, *viz. R. Selomo Ben Virga*, and *R. David Gantz*, who place it in *A. D.* 1135, which, as ſome Criticks have obſerved, does not agree with the Date aſſigned by our Author, who ſays, it happened twelve Years before he was there. This, however, is no great Miſtake, even if we ſhould admit that it is our Author's Miſtake, tho' for my part I ſhould ſuppoſe it as eaſy for the other Writers to err in this particular. The whole, however, may perhaps be ſolved, by ſuppoſing that *Benjamin* copied the Account that he has given us from ſome Hiſtory of this Impoſtor written twelve Years after this Inſurrection. However it be, the Thing is of no great Moment, any more than the Difference between the Name mentioned by our Author, and that of *David El David*, which is uſed in the other Hiſtories.

[p] There are ſome little Variations in the Manner in which theſe Facts are told by the other Hiſtorians; but they are of no great Conſequence, and therefore I ſhall not trouble the Reader with them neither ſhould I have mentioned theſe Writers at all, but to convince the Reader, that this is not a Tale invented by *Benjamin*, as he might otherwiſe very readily imagine.

[q] Both the *Latin* Tranſlators have miſſed the Senſe as to this Name, which the *Jews* call ineffable, becauſe they are perſuaded that the true Pronunciation of the Name of God is loſt, or unknown; and they pretend, that whoever has the Secret of pronouncing it right, is able thereby to work Miracles. They likewiſe aſſert, that by this Means our Saviour wrought his; and though this be a very idle Conceit, yet it is worth the knowing, becauſe it ſhews plainly, that the *Jews* do not pretend to deny the Matters of Fact, but are forced to have Recourſe to this Evaſion, in order to juſtify their Incredulity.

Matter, ſent Letters therefore unto the Heads of the Captivity, and to the Heads of all the Aſſemblies in *Bagdat* to this Purpoſe: *Why ſhould we die before your Eyes, as well we as all the Univerſities ſubject unto this Kingdom? Reſtrain this Man, we beſeech you, leſt innocent Blood be ſhed.* Therefore the Head of the Captivity, and the chief Rulers of the Aſſemblies, wrote Letters unto *David Elroi* to the following Effect: *We give you hereby to underſtand, that the Time of our Delivery is not yet come, and that our Signs, which ought to precede that Deliverance, are not yet ſeen, and a Man is not made ſtrong through Pride; wherefore we enjoin you to abſtain wholly from ſuch Enterprizes and Attempts, otherwiſe ye ſhall be excommunicated, and cut off from all* Iſrael.

They alſo by Meſſengers advertized *Zachai Hanaſſi*, who was in the Country of *Aſſur*, and *Joſeph*, ſurnamed the *Seer*, *Burhan Alpelech* living there, that *David Elroi* might be reſtrained by Letters written from them, which was diligently purſued by them, but all in vain; for he would not forſake that wicked way, but perſiſted till a certain King of the *Togarmim* called *Zinaldin*, ſubject to the King of *Perſia*, ſent ten thouſand Pieces of Gold unto the Father-in-Law of *David Elroi*, and perſuaded him to end theſe Troubles, by privately killing his Son-in-Law, which, when he had undertaken to perform, he thruſt *David* through with a Sword in his Bed as he ſlept; and this was the End of all his Subtilty and Deluſions [r]. But even when he was dead the Anger of the King of *Perſia* was not appeaſed towards thoſe People of the Mountains, and other *Jews* ſubject to him and ſettled in his Dominion; and therefore they deſired once more Help from the Head of the Captivity, who going to the King himſelf, appeaſed him by mild and wiſe Speeches; and having preſented him with one hundred Talents of Gold, he ſo mollified him, that there was ever afterwards great Quietneſs through the whole Country.

8. From theſe Mountains before deſcribed you travel ten Days Journey to *Hamadan*, the principal City of the Country of *Media*, in which City there are about fifty thouſand *Jews*; and in that City over-againſt one of the Synagogues are the Sepulchres of *Mordecai* and *Eſther*. *Dabreſtan* is four Days Journey diſtant from hence, where four thouſand *Jews* dwell, nigh unto the River *Gozan*; but from thence you travel ſeven Days Journey to *Iſpahan*, a very great City, the Capital of this Country, and twelve Miles in Compaſs, wherein there are about twelve thouſand *Iſraelites*, over whom *Shallum* is appointed by the Head of the Captivity, as alſo over the Reſt of the *Iſraelites* who dwell in the Cities of *Perſia*. After four Days Journey you come to *Siaphaz* [s], the moſt antient in this Country, called *Perſidis* of old, from whence the Name was given to the whole Province, in which there are almoſt ten thouſand *Jews*.

From *Siaphaz*, in ſeven Days Journey, you come to the City *Ginab*, ſeated nigh the River *Gozan*, to which there reſort Merchants of all Nations and Languages, and where are about eight thouſand *Jews*. The fartheſt City of this Kingdom is the famous *Samarcand*; and five Days Journey from *Ginab*, where are fifty thouſand *Iſraelites*, over whom *Obdias* ruleth; and among them are many wiſe and rich Men. In four Days Journey from hence you come to *Thibet*, a capital City of the Province of the ſame Name, in the Foreſts of which are the Animals found that produce Muſk.

9. About twenty-eight Days Journey from thence lie the Mountains of *Niſbor*, which are ſituated near the River *Gozan*; and ſome of the *Jews* that inhabit *Perſia* affirm, that in the Cities of *Niſbor* dwell the four Tribes of *Iſrael*, carried away in the firſt Captivity by *Salmanaſar* the King of the *Aſſyrians*, viz. *Dan*, *Zebulon*, *Aſſur*, and *Naphtali*, as it is written, *And he carried them away into Lechalach and Habor, the Mountains of Gozan*, and the *Mountains of Media*. Their Country is extended twenty Days Journey in Length, with many Cities and Caſtles inhabited, all mountainous, the River *Gozan* running on the one Side; but the Inhabitants are abſolutely free, and are ruled by a certain Governor, whoſe Name was at this Time *Joſeph Amraela*, a *Levite*, and among them are the Diſciples of wiſe Men: They ſow and reap, and are at War with the Children of *Chus*, who dwell in the Deſarts. They are in League with the *Copheral Turks*, Worſhippers of the Winds, a People who lead their Lives in the Deſarts, neither eat Bread nor drink Wine, but feed on the raw Fleſh of Beaſts, as well clean as unclean; and theſe either new killed, and yet trembling with Life-Blood, or dried in the Air, but unboiled. They devour alſo the Limbs torn from Beaſts yet alive. They ſeem to want Noſes; but inſtead thereof, they have two Holes in their Faces, through which they breathe. They are Friends to the *Iſraelites* [t].

It happened about fifteen Years ſince, that invading the Country of *Perſia* with a great Army, they vanquiſhed the metropolitan City *Rei*; and having made a mighty Slaughter afterwards, utterly waſted it, and ſpoiled the Houſes and Fields, and carried away a prodigious Plunder, returning through the Deſarts, a Calamity which for many Ages was never felt in *Perſia*. The King of *Perſia*, vehemently enraged, ſaid, In the Days of my Anceſtors, no Army ever came out of this Deſart, therefore will I go in Purſuit of them and deſtroy them from the Earth. He aſſembled accordingly an Army for War, and ſeeking ſome Guide to whom the Places of that Nation were known, a certain Man offered himſelf, who affirmed, that he was of that Nation, and knew their Dwellings; but being aſked what Proviſion was neceſſary for the Army, he anſwered Bread and Water for fifteen Days, which you muſt ſpend in paſſing through the Deſarts. When they had marched theſe fifteen Days, the Army found themſelves deſtitute of Subſiſtance for Men or Beaſts, without ſeeing any thing of the Place whither they intended to go, or the leaſt Signs of an inhabited Country. The Guide was aſked for by the King, who ſaid to him, You ſee how well you have kept your Word; tell us where are our Enemies that you aſſured us you could diſcover? The Guide ſaid by way of Excuſe, I have loſt my Way; and the King thereupon loſing all Patience, ordered him to be put to Death, commanding at the ſame Time by Proclamation, that whoever had any Proviſions in his Army, ſhould bring them forth, and divide them with his Companions [u].

They then ate up all that they had, even to the Beaſts that carried their Baggage; and in this diſtreſſed Condition they proſecuted their March for thirteen Days more, till at laſt they arrived at the Mountains of *Niſbor*, inhabited by the *Jews*. The *Perſians* encamped themſelves among the Gardens and Orchards by the Side of Canals drawn from the River *Gozan*. As it was then the Seaſon of ripe Fruits, they ate what they thought fit, and made free with all they found, no body coming out to oppoſe them: But at a Diſtance they diſcovered among the Mountains ſeveral Hamlets, and ſome Forts, that looked like Places of Strength. The King of *Perſia* being informed of all this, ſent two of his Servants to diſcover what Nation it was that had ſettled in theſe Mountains, and directed them for this Purpoſe to paſs the River either by Boats, if they found any, or if not, by ſwimming.

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[r] The Authors we have before cited tell us the ſame Story as to the Death of this Impoſtor, but with a Circumſtance that *Benjamin* has omitted, which is, that the *Jews* themſelves were obliged to raiſe the ten thouſand Pieces of Gold that were given as a Bribe to the Father-in-Law of *David*, for killing him when he was aſleep.

[s] All the Tranſlators and Commentators on our Author have been at a Loſs to conceive what Place he could mean by this; and yet I think the Difficulty is not quite ſo great as they repreſent it; for to me it appears very plain that this City was *Schiraz*, which anſwers exactly his Deſcription. As for Confuſion in Names, I have already aſſigned the Cauſe of it, which was his expreſſing, in *Hebrew* Characters, Words that theſe Characters could not expreſs, and in expreſſing which Words he was entirely governed by their Sound.

[t] This, without doubt, is a very odd Deſcription of theſe People; and yet it is not very far wide of the Truth, for modern Travellers aſſure us, that the *Kalmuc Tartars* have Noſes ſo flat that they are ſcarce to be diſtinguiſhed but by the riſing of the Noſtrils; and as to their Manners, our Author is not much out of the Way. The City he ſpeaks of as ruined by the People, was the great City of *Rey*, which makes ſuch a Figure in all the Eaſtern Hiſtorians; the ſame that in the Book of *Tobit* is called *Rhages*, and of which we ſhall give an ample Account in the next Volume.

[u] This Expedition is among the Singularities which render theſe Travels valuable; for I do not know that there is any Account of it to be met with elſewhere; and our Author tells us very honeſtly how he came by it; neither do I think that the Dexterity with which his Countrymen the *Jews* made their Court to both Parties, is a Circumſtance that in the Opinion of ſuch as are acquainted with that Nation, will render it at all improbable.

Theſe Men had not proceeded far in their Journey before they met with a Bridge that was very well built, and had a good Barrier; and on the other Side of the Bridge they ſaw a very large City: They immediately called out, and the Town's People coming to the Gate, demanded who they were, and to whom they belonged; but as they underſtood not each other's Language, they were forced to wait till an Interpreter was called, who underſtood the *Perſian* Tongue; he having put the ſame Queſtion, they anſwered, We are Servants to the King of *Perſia*, and we come to know who you are, and who is your Lord. The Townſmen replied, We are *Jews*, and not ſubject to any King or Prince of the *Gentiles*, but we have a Prince of our own. The *Perſians* then informed themſelves as to the *Copheral Turks*, and the *Jews* told them, that they were their Allies, and that whoever were their Enemies, they muſt regard as Enemies to themſelves. Theſe two Men returning to the Camp, and having reported to the King what they had diſcovered, he was very much at a Loſs how to proceed. The *Jews* on the next Day collected their Forces, and the Day following offered them Battle.

The King declined fighting, and addreſſed himſelf to the *Jewiſh* Chiefs in the following Words; I do not come to make War againſt you, but only againſt the *Copheral Turks* my Enemies: But if you proceed to commit Hoſtilities againſt me, I will revenge myſelf by putting to death all the *Jews* in my Kingdom; for I know that, as Things ſtand here, you will be too hard for me: But let me adviſe you to prefer Peace to War: Suffer me to proceed in my Expedition againſt the *Copheral Turks* my Enemies, and ſupply me and my Army, for ready Money, with what we want. The *Jews* having conſidered this Propoſition among themſelves, reſolved, out of regard to their Brethren, to yield to the King of *Perſia*'s Propoſal. The King therefore being admitted with all his Army into their Country, ſpent fifteen Days there, being honourably entertained among then.

But in the mean time the *Jews* declared the whole Matter by Meſſengers and Letters unto their Confederates. The *Turks* thereupon gathering their Forces together expected the Enemy at the Paſſage of the Mountains, and in a convenient Place for that Purpoſe they attacked and gave the *Perſians* ſo mighty an Overthrow, that the King's Army being ruined, they compelled him to return into his own Country with a very ſmall Number.

But it happened that a *Jew* of this Province, named *Moſes*, being ſeduced by a certain *Perſian* Horſeman, followed the King of *Perſia*, and when they came into *Perſia*, he was made a Slave by the ſame Horſeman. But when at a Time of publick Diverſion they exerciſed their Bows in the Preſence of the King, this *Moſes* appeared the moſt excellent Archer in *Perſia*; he was thereupon examined by an Interpreter, and openly declared to the King the manner of his being ſeduced, and his Condition, whereon he was preſently infranchiſed, cloathed with purple and ſilk Garments, and enriched with Royal Gifts; and was offered likewiſe, if he would embrace their Religion, great Riches, and the Government of the King's Houſe; which, when he courteouſly denied to do, he was placed by the King with *R. Shallom*, the Prince of the Synagogue at *Iſpahan*, whoſe Daughter alſo he married by Conſent of the Father. This very *Moſes* it was who told me all that I have related.

10. When I departed out of theſe Countries I returned into *Chuzeſtan*, through which the River *Tygris* runs, falling from thence into *Hodu*, or the *Indian-Sea*; and in its Paſſage thither encompaſſes the Iſland *Nekrokis* [w], near the Mouth thereof, which Iſland is in Extent ſix Days Journey. There is in it only one Canal of freſh Water; and they drink no other than what is gathered from the Showers, which is the Reaſon that Land is neither ſowed nor tilled; and yet it is very famous through the Commerce of the *Indians* and Iſlands ſeated in the *Indian Sea*, and Merchants of the Country of *Senaar*, *Arabia the Happy*, and *Perſia*, bringing thither all ſorts of Silk and purple Manufactures, Hemp, Cotton, Flax, and *Indian* Cloth; Wheat, Barley, Millet, and Rice in great Plenty, which they barter and ſell among themſelves: But the *Indian* Merchants bring alſo exceeding great Plenty of Spices thither, and the Natives act as Factors and Interpreters; and by this they live: But in that Place there are not above five hundred *Jews*. Sailing thence with a proſperous Wind in ten Days, I was brought to *Kathipha*, where are five thouſand *Jews*.

In theſe Places Pearls are found, made by the wonderful Artifice of Nature; for on the four-and-twentieth Day of the Month *Niſan*, a certain Dew falleth into the Waters, which being ſucked in by the Oyſters, they immediately ſink to the Bottom of the Sea: Afterwards, about the Middle of the Month of *Tiſri*, Men deſcend to the Bottom of the Sea, and by the Help of Cords theſe Men bringing up the Oyſters in great Quantities from thence, open and take out of them the Pearls [x].

In ſeven Days Journey from thence I came to *Oulam*, which is the Entrance of their Kingdom, who worſhip the Sun, and are prone to the Study of Aſtrology, being the Children of *Chus*. They are Men of a dark Complexion, ſincere Tempers, and of very great Fidelity in all Reſpects. They have among them this Cuſtom, that ſuch as come to them from remote Countries, when received into the Haven, have their Names ſet down in Writing by three Secretaries, who carry their Liſts to the King, and afterwards bring the Merchants themſelves, whoſe Merchandiſe being received into his Protection, the King directs them to be landed, and left on the Shore, where they remain without any Watch to keep them. There is alſo a Magiſtrate unto whom all Things that are loſt, or caſually removed, are conſtantly brought, and of him they are eaſily received by the Owner, ſo that certain Tokens be ſhewed whereby the loſt Thing may be made known; and this ſtrict Fidelity and honeſt Dealing is common through all the Kingdom.

In this Country, from *Eaſter* to the Beginning of the ſucceeding Year, the Sun ſhines with outrageous Heat; and therefore, from the third Hour of the Day until the Evening, all Men remain ſhut up in their Houſes. But about that Time Lamps being lighted, and ſet in Order throughout all the Streets and Markets, they work and exerciſe their reſpective Arts and Callings all the Night; for, as I ſaid, they cannot do it in the Day-time by reaſon of the exceeding Heat. It is in this Country that Pepper grows upon Trees planted by the Inhabitants in the Fields belonging to every City, and their proper Gardens are particularly aſſigned and known. The Shrub itſelf is ſmall, and brings forth a white Seed, which being gathered, is put into Baſons ſteeped in hot Water, and is ſet forth in the Sun, that it may be dried and hardened, acquiring thereby a black Colour. Cinnamon and Ginger are likewiſe found there, as well as many other kind of Spices.

The Inhabitants of this Country do not bury their Dead, but having embalmed their Bodies with divers ſorts of Drugs and Spices, they place them in Niches, and cover them with Nets ſet in Order according to their ſeveral Families; but their Fleſh drieth with the Bones, and when grown ſtiff, they ſeem as if they were alive, and every one knows their

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[w] There is no Paſſage in the Travels of *Benjamin* more perplexed than this Deſcription of the Iſland of *Nekrokis*, about which all his Commentators are divided in their Sentiments. That which hitherto has been thought moſt probable is, that he means the Iſland of *Ormuz*, which, without doubt, was once a Place of great Trade, and was always deſtitute of Water. It is however more credible that he means the City and Country of *Baſſora*, becauſe he places it at the Mouth of the River *Tigris*, makes it the Centre of the *Indian* Commerce, and mentions preciſely the Commodities of which that City was the Staple.

[x] This Deſcription has alſo graveled many of the Commentators. The Word uſed in the *Hebrew* is *Bdellia*; and from the Deſcription there is no ſort of doubt that our Author means Pearls. The Account he has given of their Formation, how wild and extravagant ſoever it may appear, is however that which is embraced by the moſt learned of his Countrymen. Their Opinion, in few Words, is this; they hold, that at a certain Seaſon of the Year there is an oily, ſpirituous, and briny Subſtance, floats on the Surface of the Sea, which being ſwallowed by the Oyſters, or rather ſucked in, as our Author expreſſes it, turns afterwards to a Pearl. Thus far, without doubt, they have Truth on their Side, that ſuch a Subſtance is ſometimes ſeen floating on this and other Seas, the Drops of which, at firſt Sight, reſemble liquid Pearl.

Anceſtors from many Deſcents[y]. But as to their Religion, or rather Superſtition, they worſhip the Sun, and have many and great Altars built along the Coaſt about half a Mile without the City. Early in the Morning therefore they go in Crouds to pay their Devotion to the Sun, to whom upon all the Altars there are Spheres conſecrated, made by Magic, reſembling the Circle of the Sun; and when the Sun riſes theſe Orbs ſeem to be inflamed, and turn round with a great Noiſe[z]. They have every one a Cenſer in their Hands, as well Women as Men, and all together offer Incenſe to the Sun; ſuch and ſo great is their Folly. But among theſe People the *Jews*, who are ſettled, at the moſt amount to a thouſand Families in all; they are of as black a Colour as the Inhabitants themſelves, yet are nevertheleſs good honeſt Men, and ſtrict Obſervers of the Commandments of the Law of *Moſes*; and are not altogether unſkilful in the Books of Doctrine and Cuſtoms commonly called the *Talmud*.

From this Country in two-and-twenty Days I ſailed unto the Iſlands *Cinrag*, the Inhabitants of which worſhip the Fire, and are called *Dogbiim*, among whom twenty-three thouſand *Jews* are ſettled. The *Dogbiim* have Prieſts in every Place to officiate in their Temples; and theſe Prieſts are the moſt ſkilful Sorcerers and Inchanters in the whole World. Before every Temple there is a large Pit, in which a mighty Fire is lighted every Day, which they call *Albuta*, and they make their Children paſs through this Fire to purge them, and alſo caſt their Dead into the midſt of this Fire to be there burned: Nay, there are ſome of the Nobility who ſolemnly devote themſelves to be conſumed in this Fire alive.

When a Man, who has taken this Reſolution, declares ſuch his intended Devotion to his Acquaintance and Kindred, they preſently ſalute him in theſe Words: Bleſſed art thou, and it ſhall be well with thee. On the Day the Vow is to be performed, having firſt given an Entertainment, he is carried, if rich, on Horſe-back; but if he be poor, he is brought on Foot, accompanied with a Multitude of his Friends and others unto the Brink of the Pit, from whence beginning his Career, he leaps into the Fire, at which all his Friends and Kindred rejoice exceedingly, and with all ſorts of Muſick and Dancing, celebrate the Feaſt, until he be wholly conſumed. But the ſtrangeſt Part of the Story is to come; for three Days after two of the Chief Prieſts going unto his Houſe, command the whole Family to prepare for the Reception of their Father, who is coming to viſit them the ſame Day, and declare to them what they are to do on this Occaſion: They call to them certain Perſons to be Witneſſes out of the City, and bring ſomething reſembling the Deceaſed, of whom the Wife and Children demandeth how it fareth with him in the other World, to whom he anſwers, I came unto my Companions, by whom I am not received until I diſcharge my Duty to my Friends and Kindred. He then diſtributes his Goods to his Children, and orders all the Debts to be paid to his Creditors, and whatever is owing to him to be demanded, the Witneſſes ſitting down in Writing all his Inſtructions, of whom, notwithſtanding, he is not ſeen; and then ſaying he will go his way again, he vaniſheth[a]. By theſe Arts (in which there is nothing but Juggling and Colluſion) the Prieſts govern all.

In the Space of forty Days one may travel from hence by Land to the Frontiers of *Tzin*, that is, to the Borders of *China*, which is the very Extremity of the Eaſt. Some hold that this Country is waſhed by the *Nikpha*, or coagulated Sea, which is liable to prodigious Storms, by which when Mariners are ſurprized, they are caſt frequently into ſuch Streights, that not being able to go out, they are, after expending all their Proviſions, miſerably ſtarved to Death[b].

At firſt Sight there is nothing in this Paſſage that will ſeem very extraordinary to the Reader, and yet after a little Reflection it will appear of conſiderable Uſe. This coagulated Sea is no other than the icy or frozen Sea on the Coaſt of *Tartary* and *Ruſſia* to the North of *China*, and through which the North-eaſt Paſſage, ſo often ſought to little Purpoſe, is ſuppoſed to lie. It appears clearly from hence, that before this Time ſome Attempts had been made on that Side, and that ſeveral Ships had been frozen, and their Crews periſhed; whence the Oriental Name of *Nikpha*, or congealed Sea, which *Benjamin* gives it. It muſt be confeſſed, that our Author has a very romantick Way of expreſſing even the plaineſt Facts; but at the ſame time we ought to conſider, that this was not only the Vice of all the Writers of his Country, but of the Age in general in which he flouriſhed, ſo that he is the more excuſable; and at the ſame time the Reader will be ſo juſt as to remember, that we do not inſert his Travels as the beſt, but as the only Travels we have in this Period of Time, which muſt acquit us in the Judgment of the Impartial from all Objections that might be otherwiſe made from the Contents of this Performance. But to proceed.

11. It is three Days Journey to *Gingala*, where there are about a thouſand *Iſraelites*: From thence in ſeven Days you ſail to *Coulan*, where there are none of our Countrymen. It is from thence twelve Days Journey to *Zabid*, where there are ſome few *Jews*. It is from thence eight Days Journey to the *Indies* on the oppoſite Coaſt (by which our Author means *Ethiopia*). In this Country there are very high Mountains inhabited by Multitudes of *Iſraelites*, who are not under the Yoke of the *Gentiles*, but have here great Cities, and ſtrong Fortreſſes. They deſcend from thence in Parties into the flat Countries of *Abyſſinia*, which are under the Dominion of the *Edomites* (which is the Name the *Jews* beſtow upon all *Chriſtians*) where having acquired as much as they can by Plunder, they return with their Booty into the Mountains, where they are abſolutely ſafe from all Purſuits. Many of theſe *Jews* travel on the ſcore of Commerce into *Perſia* and *Egypt*[c].

It is from thence to the Land of *Aſvan* twenty Days Journey through the Deſarts of *Saba*, which lie on the River *Phiſon*, which comes from the Country of *Chus*; the Inhabitants of which are ſubject to a Prince, who is ſtiled *Shab-Abaſch*, i. e. the King of *Abyſſinia*. Part of the Inhabitants of this Country live like Beaſts, they feed only on the Graſs and Herbs that grow along the River-ſide, are quite naked, and as if their Miſeries had deprived them of common Senſe, they propagate their Kind with their Siſters and neareſt Relations, without the leaſt Shame or Scruple. The Climate of this Country is exceſſively hot. When the People of *Aſvan* make their Expeditions into theſe Parts for the ſake of Plunder, and what they can carry away; they conſtantly take with them Bread, Rice, dried Raiſins, and Figs. Theſe they throw in large Quantities among the half-famiſhed Blacks, whom, while they ſcramble for them like Dogs, they ſeize and carry away Priſoners, and ſell them in *Egypt* and other Countries. Theſe are the Negroes, or Black Slaves, the Poſterity of *Ham*. It is twelve Days Journey from *Aſvan* to *Chelvan*, in which there are about three hundred *Jews*.

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[y] It appears from this Account, that theſe People were *Perſees*, neither is there any thing in what he relates that is not very eaſily reconcilable to the Truth; for all Writers that pretend to give us any Account of the Religion of the antient *Perſians* agree, that they did not bury their Dead, but left them expoſed to the Elements, from this Principle, that the living Man being a Compound of all the Elements, it was but reaſonable, after he was dead, that each Element ſhould recover its own.

[z] This is another *Jewiſh* Notion agreeable to their Ignorance in thoſe Days, which made them aſcribe every thing they did not perfectly underſtand to Witchcraft. As to theſe Spheres they were really very wonderful things, being ſo contrived as to ſhew the Riſing and Setting of the Sun, and the Motions of the heavenly Bodies. They were made and kept by the Magi, who made uſe of them to ſtrike the Vulgar with Aſtoniſhment, and to inſtruct their Diſciples in the Science of Aſtronomy.

[a] This is pretty evident from the Manner in which *Benjamin* tells this Story, that he ſuſpected the Prieſts impoſed upon the People, as without doubt they did. The Witneſſes were Perſons in the Confederacy, and the Terror of the Family was probably ſo great, and their Prejudice ſo ſtrong, that with tolerable Management this Scene might be carried through, and little or nothing of the Fraud be diſcovered. Beſides, whoever had attempted to diſcloſe the Cheat, would have been conſidered as an impious Perſon, and a declared Enemy to the Religion of his Country. It would be no difficult Matter to ſhew from the Abſurdities that have paſſed upon other Nations the Poſſibility of tranſacting an Impoſture of this kind, as the intelligent Reader will eaſily conceive.

[b] Our Author has added a Story here concerning the Gryphons, ſo very ridiculous, and of ſuch an Extent, that I could not prevail upon myſelf to inſert it. It is plain enough from his Account, that he does not pretend to have travelled into *China*, but barely to relate what he had heard of it. The Extent of his Travels ſeems to have been Cape *Commorin*, or of ſome of the Countries near it, from whence he took Shipping for the oppoſite Coaſt of *Africa*.

[c] There is no doubt to be made from what *Benjamin* relates, that he followed the old Opinion, according to which *Ethiopia* was looked upon as Part of the *Indies*; and with regard to what he tells us of the *Jews* being ſettled in the Mountains there, it is fully juſtified both by the antient and modern Accounts of that Country, as is alſo the following Circumſtances in relation to the Paſſage of Caravans through the Deſarts, and the Accidents to which they are ſometimes ſubject in paſſing through them. His Readineſs to aſcribe the Slavery of the Negroes to the Curſe pronounced by *Noah* on *Ham* and his Poſterity, is very agreeable to the Divinity and Spirit of the *Jews*.

From *Chelvan* they go in Caravans fifty Days Journey through the Deſart called *Al Tſachra*, or *Zaara*, to the Province called *Zuila*, which is *Havilah*, in the Land of *Gana*, i. e. *Guiney*. In theſe Deſarts there are vaſt Mountains of Sand, which, being carried by the Force of violent Tempeſts, ſometimes overwhelm whole Caravans, and bury under them all the Paſſengers. Such of the Merchants as eſcape this perilous Journey bring with them from that Country, Iron, Copper, Salt, and all ſorts of Fruits and Pulſe; and they likewiſe bring Gold and precious Stones. This Country is Part of the Land of *Chus*, and lies to the Weſt of *Abyſſinia*. It is thirteen Days Journey from *Chelvan* to the City of *Kous*, which is the firſt in the Land of *Egypt*, where there are ſettled about thirty thouſand *Jews*. At the Diſtance of five Days Journey is *Phium*, anciently called *Pithom*. In the Neighbourhood of this City are ſtill to be ſeen the Ruins of thoſe ancient Structures that were built by our Anceſtors during their Captivity in *Egypt*.

12. Four Days Journey from thence ſtands the great City of *Miſraim*, or *Cairo*, ſituated on the Banks of the River *Nile*, in which there are ſettled about two thouſand *Jews*, who have in this City two fair Synagogues, one belonging to the *Jews* of *Paleſtine* and *Syria*, the other to thoſe of the Country of *Babylon*. Theſe two Sorts of *Jews* differ only in the Diviſion of the Law into Sections; for the *Babylonians* every Week read one Paraſcha after the Manner which is common throughout all *Spain*; and therefore once every Year they finiſh the Law: But the *Iſraelites* of *Syria* divide every Paraſcha into three Sedarim, or ſmaller Sections, and ſo they read over the Law only once in Three Years; and both theſe after a ſolemn Manner twice in the Year join in their Prayers together, *viz.* upon the Day of the rejoicing of the Law, and on the feſtival Day of the Law given. Over all theſe *Nathaniel* hath the chief Authority, being the greateſt of the Nobility, and Head of the Aſſembly, who rules all the Synagogues in *Egypt*, and appoints Maſters and Elders.

He is alſo the Miniſter of the great King, who reſides in the Palace of *Zoan* (which is a City of *Egypt*, wherein *Ali* the Son of *Abitaleb* was once *Commander* of the *Faithful*) whoſe Subjects are ſtiled *Rebels* by the other *Arabs*, becauſe they refuſe Obedience to the *Abiſſidian* Khaliff, whoſe Seat is *Bagdat*. There is an irreconcilable Enmity between theſe Princes. This Monarch appears in publick twice in the Year, *viz.* at the Time of their Feaſt of *Eaſter*, and when the River *Nile* overflows[c].

The Royal City itſelf is encompaſſed and fortified with Walls, but *Miſraim* is without Walls, ſurrounded by the River *Nile* on the one Side. This is a very large City, furniſhed with many Market-places and publick Buildings; and here are many rich *Jews*. The Country itſelf is never troubled with Rain, Ice, or Snow, but is often afflicted with outrageous Heat. It is watered by the *Nile*, which once every Year ſwelling in the Month *Elul* covers and overflows all the Land for fifteen Days Journey, the Waters continuing to riſe in the Months of *Elul* and *Tiſri*, and making the Earth fruitful: And the Policy and Diligence of the old *Egyptians* was ſuch, that in an Iſland which the River makes here, a Pillar was by them erected of fine Marble and excellent Workmanſhip, raiſed twelve Cubits above the Surface of the River. When therefore the Waters overflow and cover that Column, the Inhabitants are fully ſatisfied that the whole Extent of their Country for fifteen Days Journey is entirely overſpread. If the Water riſe but half the Height of the Pillar, they gather from thence that their Country is but half watered. There is a Man ſtands by the Pillar, and every Day at Noon proclaims in all Parts of the City the Height of the Water in this Form, *Be thankful to God, the River is riſen ſo many Cubits.*

If the Water riſes to the Top of the Column, it is a Sign that the Year will be fertile throughout all *Egypt*. At this Seaſon whoever has any Land, hires Workmen to cut a Trench through his Ground, into which as the Water riſes, the Fiſh are carried, and are left therein; when the River ſinks, then the Owners of the Lands take them out, and either ſpend them in their Families, or ſell them to ſuch as ſalt and export them. Theſe Fiſh are exceedingly large and fat, and the very beſt People in the Country make uſe of the Oil drawn from them to burn in their Lamps. If it falls out, as it frequently does, that People eat too much of theſe Fiſh, they have nothing more to do than to drink largely of the Water of the *Nile*, which immediately removes that Inconvenience. It has been an old Queſtion, and a great Diverſity of Opinions there has been concerning the Overflowing of the *Nile*, but the *Egyptians* ſuppoſe, that at the time when this River overflows, heavy Rains fall in the higher Countries, that is in the Land of *Hababs*, which we call *Havilah*; at the Time the River does not overflow, nothing is ſown in *Egypt*, and hereupon Sterility and Famine follow.

But uſually the Fields are ſowed in the Month of *September*, the *Nile* being then retired into its Channel; but Barley is reaped in the Month of *February*, and Wheat the next Month after; and in the ſame Month Cherries are ripe, as are alſo Almonds and Cucumbers, Gourds, Peaſecods and Beans, Lentils, *&c.* and divers kinds of Pot-herbs, as Purſlain, Aſparagus, and Lettice, Corianders, Succory, Coleworts, and Grapes; but the Gardens and Orchards throughout *Egypt* are watered, and Trenches filled with the Waters of the River[d].

This great River, after paſſing through the City *Miſraim* or *Cairo*, is divided into four Heads, one whereof runneth by *Damiata*, ſometime called *Caphtor*, nigh unto which it falleth into the Sea. The ſecond runneth down into the City *Raſir*, not far from *Alexandria*, and there diſchargeth itſelf into the Sea. The third paſſeth by *Aſmon*, a very great City on the Borders of *Egypt*, nigh which Heads of the River many Cities, Caſtles, and Towns, are ſeated on either Side, and People may travel to them all either by Boat or Land. No Country in the whole World can be compared to this for the Multitude of Inhabitants, and all the Country of *Egypt* is plain, fruitful, and well ſtored with good Things. *Old Miſraim* is two Leagues diſtant from the *New Miſraim*, but it is waſted and deſolate: Yet there are many Ruins of the Walls and Houſes, and not a few Monuments there of the Treaſuries and Storehouſes of *Joſeph* yet to be ſeen. In the ſame Place there is an artificial Pillar built by Art Magic, like which there is none in all the Land. Without the Compaſs of the City ſtands a Synagogue, which bears the Name of *Moſes* our Teacher, of ancient Date; to preſerve the Ruins that yet remain, a certain old Miniſter, a Diſciple of the wiſe Men, is there maintained, who from his Office is ſtiled *Sebech Albounetzar*, or *The Father of the Watch*. The Ruins of *Old Miſraim* take up a Space of about three Miles.

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[c] There is not a Paſſage in all our Author's Work which has been more conteſted than this with regard to the Khaliff then reigning in *Egypt*; and ſome have gone ſo far as to produce it as a direct Proof of his never having travelled at all: But I cannot help ſaying, that tho' the Critics have a Right to amend what is amiſs in the Copies of any Author which they publiſh, yet I cannot conceive they have any Authority firſt of all to impoſe their own Senſe upon a Paſſage, and then produce it to the Prejudice of the Author, whoſe Credit they would deſtroy. We ſhall ſhew hereafter, that in the preſent Caſe there is no Ground for ſuch a Suggeſtion; but that what our Author has delivered may be well reconciled to the Current of Hiſtory, without any Alteration whatever.

[d] In the ſubſequent Part of this Work, we ſhall have more than once Occaſion to mention moſt of the Circumſtances that our Author hath recorded, and to compare the Reports of later Travellers with his. The Reaſon of this Note is, to take Notice of a Particular which our Author has omitted, and which however the Reader may be glad to know. It is this, The *Nile* is of ſo great Conſequence to the *Egyptians*, that they have always had a very ſuperſtitious Regard to it, inſomuch that they fancied the Riſe and Fall of this River not only portended the Fertility or Scarceneſs of the ſucceeding Year, but likewiſe great Revolutions of State. It is certain that it did not overflow in the tenth Year of the Reign of *Cleopatra*, which might ſeem to predict the Conqueſt of that Country by the *Romans*, that ſoon after followed; but then the ſame Accident happened in the Time of *Trajan*, when nothing remarkable followed it. Beſides, we read of no Scarcity in *Egypt* before the Conqueſt of it by the *Arabs*, or the Deſtruction of the Khaliffs of the Family of *Ali*, which was brought about by *Saladin*; ſo that this ought to be conſidered as an abſurd and ridiculous Opinion, as moſt of theſe Notions are.

13. The Land of *Goſhen* is no more than eight Leagues from hence, and therein ſtands *Belſir Salbis*, a great City, in which there are three thouſand *Jews*. From hence you travel half a Day's Journey to *Iſkaal Lein Al Sames*, which was anciently called *Rameſes*, where now are only the Ruins of a City, in which many Works are ſeen built by our Fathers, and among theſe certain huge Edifices like Towers made of Brick. From thence you make one whole Day's Journey to *Al-Buyg*, where are two hundred *Jews*; and from hence in half a Day's Journey you come to *Manziptha*, where are two hundred *Jews*, from which City *Ramira* is four Leagues diſtant, and in it there are ſeven hundred *Jews*, from whence it is five Days Journey to *Lambhala*, were are five hundred *Iſraelites*.

Two Days Journey more bring you to *Alexandria*, a City called after the Name of *Alexander* the *Macedonian*, at whoſe Command we read it was built and ſtrongly fortified, and adorned with Walls admirably finiſhed, Houſes uniformly built, and ſtately Palaces: Without the City a great and beautiful Building is yet to be ſeen, which is reported to have been the College of *Ariſtotle*, the Maſter of *Alexander*, wherein there are almoſt twenty Schools, which were frequented in former Times by the learned Men of the whole World, who aſſembled there to learn the Philoſophy of *Ariſtotle*; and his Academy had ſtately Porticoes of Marble Pillars[e]. The City itſelf is excellently built, as well from the Pavement of the Ground, as with Vaults and Arches under Ground, through the hidden Paſſages whereof Men may come into the Market-places and not be ſeen; of which ſome are a whole Mile in Length, as from the Gate *Reſid* unto the Gate leading to the Sea, from which Gate a Way was made and paved unto the very Haven of the City of *Alexandria*, which is extended one Mile within the Sea.

In this Place a very high Tower was built, which the Inhabitants call *Hemegarah*, but the *Arabians Magar Alexandria*, that is, the *Pharos* of *Alexandria*; on the Top of which Tower it is reported that *Alexander* ſet a curious Mirror, in which all warlike Ships ſailing either out of *Græcia* or from the Weſt unto *Egypt*, might be ſeen above the Space of five hundred Leagues off[f]. This continued for a long Time after the Death of *Alexander*. It fell out however that a Ship coming hither under the command of a certain *Greek* Captain, who had a great Knowledge in the Sciences, came and caſt Anchor in that Port; and having made Preſents to the King of Gold, Silver, and very rich Silks, he thereby obtained his Favour. While he lay in the Port, he took abundance of Pains to ingratiate himſelf with the Officer, who had the Charge of this Watch-tower and Mirror; and having frequently entertained him on board his Ship, contracted with him at laſt ſuch an Intimacy, that he was permitted to go into and ſtay in the Tower as long as he thought fit. One Day having feaſted the Captain and his Men very magnificently, he doſed them at laſt ſo plentifully with ſtrong Wine, that they all fell faſt aſleep. Having thus carried his Point, the Captain and his Crew firſt broke the Mirror to Pieces, and then weighed Anchor and ſailed away in the Night.

Since that time the *Edomites*, *i. e.* the Chriſtians, have infeſted the Coaſts of *Egypt* with their Ships of War and Privateers, and have deprived the Sovereigns of this Country of the two great Iſlands of *Crete* and *Cyprus*, which remain at this Day under the Power of the *Greeks*, from whom the preſent Poſſeſſors of *Egypt* have not been able to recover them. This Watch-tower is ſtill uſed as a Beacon for the Service of ſuch Ships as are bound to *Alexandria*; for they are able to diſcern it at the Diſtance of one hundred Miles by Day or Night, in conſequence of a vaſt Fire which is kept continually burning therein for that Purpoſe.

This Country enjoys a large Share of Trade, and is frequented by almoſt all Nations for the ſake of Commerce. The Port of *Alexandria* ſwarms with Veſſels from all Parts of *Idumæa*, *i. e.* Chriſtendom; *viz.* from *Valencia*, *Tuſcany*, *Lombardy*, *Apulia*, *Malfi*, and *Sicily*; others come from the moſt Northern and ſome Inland Parts of *Europe*, as from *Cracow*, *Cordova*, *Spain*, *Ruſſia*, *Germany*, *Sweden*, *Denmark*, *England*, *Flanders*, *Artois*, *Normandy*, *France*, *Poitou*, *Angiers*, *Gaſcony*, *Arragon*, and *Navarre*. There come alſo from the Weſtern Empire of the *Iſhmaelites*, *viz.* from *Andaluſia*, *Algarve*, *Africa*, and even *Arabia*, beſides what come by the *Indian* Ocean from *Havilah* and *Abyſſinia*, and the reſt of *Ethiopia*, not omitting the *Greeks* and *Turks*. Thither are brought the richeſt Merchandizes of the *Indies*, and all ſorts of Perfumes and Spices, which are bought by Chriſtian Merchants.

The City is extremely populous on account of its extenſive Trade; and for the greater Conveniency in the carrying on their Dealings, every Nation has its Factory by itſelf. There is near the Sea-ſide a Marble Tomb, on which are engraved the Figures of all ſorts of Birds and of Beaſts, with an Inſcription in Characters ſo old, that none now are able to read them; whence it is believed, with ſome Colour of Truth, that it belongs to an old King who governed that Country before the Deluge. The Length of this Sepulchre is fifteen, and the Breadth of it ſix Spans. To conclude, there are in *Alexandria* about three thouſand *Jews*.

14. It is not neceſſary to give at large the Remainder of our *Jew*'s Travels, and therefore I ſhall acquaint the Reader in few Words, That having made a Tour from *Damietta* in *Egypt* to Mount *Sinai*, he returned back to the firſt-mentioned Place, and thence ſailed to *Meſſina* in the Iſland of *Sicily*, from whence he went by Land to *Palermo*, and croſſing the Sea to *Italy*, continued his Journey to *Rome* and *Lucca*.

He afterwards croſſed the *Alps*, and paſſed through a great Part of *Germany*, from whence he takes Occaſion to mention what Multitudes of *Jews* were ſettled in the ſeveral great Cities of that extenſive Empire. He inſiſts at large on their Wealth, their Generoſity, and, above all, their Hoſpitality to their diſtreſſed Brethren, and gives us a very particular Detail of the Manner in which they receive them. He aſſures us, that at their Feaſts they encourage each other to perſiſt in hoping for the bleſſed Advent of their Meſſiah, when the Tribes of *Iſrael* ſhall be gathered together, and under his Conduct be led back into their own Land. Until this long-expected Time ſhall come, the *Iſraelites*, he ſays, hold it their Duty to perſevere in their Obedience to the Law of *Moſes*, to lament with Tears the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* and *Sion*, to beſeech the Almighty to pity them in their Affliction, and to reſtore them in his appointed Time[g].

He aſſerts, that his Countrymen are not only ſettled in all the Provinces of the Empire, but alſo through all the Northern Countries to the very Extremity of *Ruſſia*, which he deſcribes as a Country ſo exceſſively cold in Winter, that the Inhabitants are not able to ſtir out of Doors. He tells us next, that the Kingdom of *France*, which, he ſays, is called by their Rabbins the Land of *Tzorphat*, is likewiſe full of the Diſciples of the wiſe Men, that is, of the *Jewiſh* Doctors, who ſtudy the Law Day and Night, and are extremely kind and charitable to their diſtreſſed Brethren. He concludes with an earneſt Prayer to God, to remember his Promiſe to the Children of *Iſrael*, and to return and aſſemble them from all Nations, through which in his Wrath he has diſperſed them.

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[e] Our Author had this Notion of the School of *Ariſtotle* from the *Mohammedans*, ſo that whether it be wrong or right, he is not anſwerable for it. But with regard to the Fact, it is certain, that it was not *Alexander* but *Ptolemy* that erected this famous School; in which however it is as certain that the Philoſophy of *Ariſtotle* was taught, and in which the moſt famous of his Commentators flouriſhed.

[f] It muſt be confeſſed that this Fact is abſolutely falſe, ſince, as the Reader has been before informed, the *Pharos* of *Alexandria* was built by *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, and not by *Alexander the Great*. As to this Mirror, it is mentioned by ſome other Writers as well as our *Benjamin*; but it is apparently a Fable, and a Fable ridiculous in all its Circumſtances. It is however of Uſe ſometimes to know ſuch Fables, and therefore I have preſerved it.

[g] It is very clear from hence, as well as from a Multitude of other Circumſtances, that our Author chiefly intended in this Work to celebrate his own Nation, to preſerve an Account of the different Places in which they were ſettled, and to do all in his Power to keep up their Spirits under their Captivity, by putting them in Mind of the Coming of the *Meſſiah*. I muſt confeſs, I conſider this in a different Light from moſt of the Critics, for I do not conceive that a Man's loving his Countrymen ought to prejudice him in the Opinion of his Readers; and though it may poſſibly beget ſome Doubts as to the Fidelity of his Relations with regard to the *Jews*, yet I do not ſee how this can with Juſtice be extended to the other Parts of his Book.

In the ſeveral Places he mentions, he reckons up in the whole 394687 *Jews*, from which if we ſubtract 740 *Caraites*, 1000 *Samaritans*, and 2000 other Schiſmatics, there will remain 390947, to which, if we add 350000 free *Iſraelites*, whom he found in the Kingdoms of *Thema* and *Chebar*, they will ſwell the Account of the *Rabbanites* he met with in his Travels to 740947, which, when duly conſidered, will not, perhaps, appear very improbable. Thus we have brought to a Concluſion the Travels of *Benjamin de Tudela*, which had never appeared ſo fully as we have give them in the *Engliſh* Language.

15 We have in the Introduction to this Section given ſo large an Account of our Author, of his Performance, and the Reaſon of our inſerting it, that we have not much to add here. That there may be, and indeed that there are, many Miſtakes in theſe Travels, is not to be denied, neither can we help confeſſing, that the Author was a very credulous Man, and far enough from deſerving the high Character beſtowed upon him by the *Jews*, who repreſent him as a Perſon ſkilled in all Sciences, and refer us to this Performance of his as a Proof of it. But granting that he did not merit theſe Praiſes, yet there is ſomething ſurely due to him for the Lights he has communicated to the World. It is from him, as from an impartial Perſon, that we learn the true State of Affairs at *Conſtantinople* within the Compaſs of this Period, the immenſe Wealth and Luxury of its Inhabitants, and their extenſive Commerce throughout the whole Eaſt.

His Travels from that City to *Baſſora* ſhew plainly, that the Communication was open, ſince otherwiſe it would have been impoſſible for a private Traveller to have proceeded through the whole Kingdom of *Perſia* in the Manner he did. Some Objections have been made to his Account of the *Jews* ſettled in the Mountains of *Niſbor*, which from his Relation appear to have been upon the Borders of the Kingdom of *Tibet*; yet if we reflect upon what our *Arabian* Travellers have told us of the Number of *Jews* ſettled in the Empire of *China* before this Time, and remember that the Emperor *Heraclius* had long before driven them out of all the *Greek* Empire, we ſhall ſee many Reaſons to think this Account of his probable enough. It is true, that *R. Moſes* and our Author may be ſuſpected of magnifying theſe Settlements, and of making this Colony of *Jews* more conſiderable than it really was; but that we ſhould regard the Whole as a Fiction, I muſt confeſs I ſee no juſt Grounds. It is very likely, though *Benjamin* does not ſay it, that he received from the ſame Perſon what he relates of *China*, and of the icy Sea to the North of that Country, which ſhews there had been a conſiderable Commerce carried on that Way, though *Benjamin* could give but a dark Account of it.

We are indebted to him likewiſe for a Piece of Hiſtory, which for any thing I know is not to be met with elſewhere, I mean the Settlement of the *Perſees*, who were the old *Perſians* or Worſhippers of Fire, in ſeveral Iſlands of the *Eaſt-Indies*, of which we ſhall make ſome Uſe in another Place. The Account he has given us of *Ethiopia*, and of the *Jewiſh* Colonies in that Country, is ſo conſiſtent with the ancient and modern Hiſtory of that Empire, that there is not the leaſt Reaſon to doubt the Truth of it, or of what he ſays as to the Paſſage of the Caravans through the Deſarts. It is evident from thence, that there was by this Means a large Commerce carried on between this Country and *Egypt*, in Slaves, Gold, Ivory, and perhaps alſo in ſome *Indian* Commodities; and it is likewiſe clear, that there was a great Trade between that Country and the oppoſite Coaſt of *Arabia*. If our Author had travelled as a Merchant, he might very poſſibly have given us many more curious Particulars on this Subject; but as he did not, we muſt be content with thoſe he has delivered occaſionally, and as they ſtruck him in his Paſſage.

There are great Exceptions taken at his ſhort Account of the Government of *Egypt*, when he was in it; and ſome of his Tranſlators have inclined to give him up in this Particular, though without any great Reaſon. It is plain enough from the reſt of his Work, that he did not ſet up for a great Politician, or pretend to deſcribe the Conſtitutions of the States through which he paſſed, but only to mention in general what he underſtood of ſuch Matters. It is alſo certain, that without changing his Words, we may give a clear and ſatisfactory Account of this Matter, which amounts to no more than this: That the then Maſters of *Egypt*, though they were *Mohammedans*, were yet treated as Heretics, or Rebels, on account of their diſowning the Khaliff at *Bagdat*, and that on this Account there was an inveterate Hatred between the Subjects of the Khaliff of *Babylon*, and the *Mohammedans* in *Egypt*, as to which there can be no doubt at all.

The ſingle Difficulty in this Caſe is our Author's calling the Commander of the Faithful in *Egypt Ali* the Son of *Abitalab*; from whence it is inferred, that he makes him the Monarch then reigning, which would have been a moſt notorious Abſurdity. But the Truth of the Matter is, our Author ſays no ſuch thing: He only mentions *Ali* the Son of *Abitalab* as having been once Commander of the Faithful in *Egypt*; and the Reaſon of his mentioning it is very plain, *viz.* in order to account for the Difference between the *Mohammedans* in *Aſia* and *Egypt*, and the latter being ſtiled Rebels by the former on account of their taking the Part of this *Ali*.

But the greateſt Difficulties that occur in our Author's Work, ſome of which, it muſt be owned, are not to be got over, ariſe from his uſing ſcriptural Names for the Countries and Places through which he paſſed; and theſe, according to the Notions of the Rabbins, for want of being thoroughly acquainted with which, it is impoſſible for any Tranſlator to be perfectly ſure as to his Meaning. But if we ſhould be ſomewhat miſtaken in the Names of the ſeveral Countries from which Ships came to *Alexandria*, yet we muſt be right in the main; and the Reader may reſt ſatisfied from thence, that at the Time of our Author's being there, the Port of *Alexandria* was the Centre of Commerce between *Chriſtendom* and the *Indies*. All the Fables that he relates about the magical Mirror there cannot prejudice this Truth; for though our Author might be, as to be ſure he was, a very indifferent Hiſtorian, a bad Mathematician, and a credulous Writer, yet he could not be miſtaken about Things he ſaw, or be induced to ſet down the Names of Nations never heard of at *Alexandria*. Beſides, he is remarkably accurate in this Account; and the Liſt he has given us is more methodical than any other Paſſage in his Book, which ſeems to have been owing to his making an Enquiry at *Alexandria*, as to the ſeveral Foreign Lodges or Factories eſtabliſhed there.

On the Whole, as theſe Travels plainly demonſtrate that it was both poſſible and practicable for a Perſon to travel in the midſt of the twelfth Century from *Spain* through *Italy* and *Greece* into the remote Parts of *Aſia*, and to return from thence through *Ethiopia* and *Egypt* into *Europe*, it was requiſite, that in a Collection of this kind, ſuch a Performance ſhould not be omitted; and if not omitted, it ought ſurely to appear in the beſt Dreſs we could poſſibly give it, which muſt be an Apology to the Reader for our having taken ſo much Pains therewith, and having dwelt upon it ſo long.

SECTION

SECTION XX.

The remarkable Travels of William de Rubruquis, *a Monk, ſent by* Louis IX. *King of* France, *commonly ſtiled* St. Louis, *Embaſſador into different Parts of the* Eaſt, *particularly into* Tartary *and* China, A. D. 1253, *containing abundance of curious Particulars relating to thoſe Countries.*

Written by the Embaſſador, and addreſſed to his Royal Maſter King *Louis.*

1. *A ſuccinct Account of the Empire of the* Tartars, *and particularly of the Princes to whom our Author was ſent.* 2. *The Character of* Louis IX. *of* France; *and a ſhort Hiſtory of his Expedition into* Syria *and* Egypt. 3. *The Occaſion and Deſign of his Embaſſy, together with the Character of our Author.* 4. *His dedicatory Epiſtle to the King his Maſter.* 5. *An Account of his Journey to* Conſtantinople. 6. *His Arrival at* Soldaia, *the firſt Town in* Tartary. 7. *An Account of the Habitations of the* Tartars. 8. *Of their Beds, Idols, and ſuperſtitious Ceremonies.* 9. *Of their Drinking and Merry-makings.* 10. *Of their Food and Manner of Eating.* 11. *Of a particular kind of Drink uſed by them, called* Coſmos. 12. *Of the Animals in their Country, their Rabbets, and their Manner of Hunting.* 13. *Of the Manner in which the Men ſhave themſelves, and of the Ornaments of their Women.* 14. *Of the Employments of the female* Tartars; *of their Way of Life, and of their Marriages.* 15. *The Manner of adminiſtering Juſtice among them, and of the Ceremonies uſed at their Funerals.* 16. *The Author reſumes the Account of his Voyage, and acquaints us with the Ingratitude and Brutality of the* Tartars 17. *Of the Court of* Zagatay, *and of their Adventures there.* 18. *Of the* Alans, *who came to viſit them there at the Feaſt of* Whitſuntide. 19. *An Account of a* Saracen *who deſired to be baptized, and of certain People that ſeem to be Lepers.* 20. *Of the great Hardſhips and Difficulties they went through in theſe Travels, and of the Burials of the* Comanians. 21. *Of the Country in which they found* Sartach *and his Subjects.* 22. *Of the Court of* Sartach, *and of its Splendor and Magnificence.* 23. *They are ordered to repair to* Baatu, *the Father of* Sartach. 24. *The Reſpect paid by* Sartach, Mangu-Khan, *and* Ken-Khan, *to Chriſtians, and of the Riſe and Progreſs of the* Tartar *Empire.* 25. *Of the* Ruſſians, Hungarians, Alans, *and of the* Caſpian-Sea. 26. *Of the Court of* Baatu, *and of their Reception there.* 27. *Their Journey from thence to the Court of* Mangu-Khan. 28. *Of the River* Jagag, *and of the Countries and People on that Side.* 29. *Of the Hunger, Thirſt, and other Inconveniencies by them ſuſtained in this Journey.* 30. *Of the Death of* Ban, *and of the* Germans *ſettled in that Country.* 31. *Of the ſtrange Mixture of Religions in this Country,* viz. Neſtorians, Mohammedans, *and* Idolaters. 32. *Of their Temples, Idols, and of their Manner of worſhipping their falſe Gods.* 33. *Of ſeveral Nations in thoſe Parts; and of thoſe whoſe Cuſtom it is to devour their Parents.* 34. *Of what happened to them at* Cailac, *in their Paſſage from thence to the Country of the* Naymans. 35. *A Deſcription of that Country, with an Account of the Death of* Ken-Khan, *the Princeſs, his Conſort, and their eldeſt Son.* 36. *Their Arrival at the Court of* Mangu-Khan. 37. *An Account of their meeting there with one* Sergius, *a* Neſtorian *Monk.* 38. *A Deſcription of their Audience, and what happened thereat.* 39. *They meet with a Woman of* Lorrain, *and a Goldſmith of* Paris *ſettled in theſe Countries.* 40. *An Account of ſeveral other Chriſtians they met with there.* 41. *Of a grand Feaſt given by* Mangu-Khan, *and of the Ceremonies of the* Neſtorians. 42. *Of the Faſt obſerved by thoſe People, and of a grand Proceſſion made to the Palace of the* Khan. 43. *An Account of a great Cure performed on a Lady by the Monk* Sergius. 44. *Deſcription of the Country under the Dominion of the* Khan, *and of the Cuſtoms and Manners of his Subjects.* 45. *Of the ſecond Faſt of the* Neſtorians, *which falls out in our* Lent. 46. *Of a noble Piece of Workmanſhip performed by the* French *Goldſmith, and of the Palace of the* Khan *at* Caracarum. 47. *Of ſeveral religious Ceremonies of the* Neſtorians. 48. *Of the Sickneſs of the* French *Goldſmith, and of* Jonas *the Prieſt.* 49. *A Deſcription of the City of* Caracarum, *and of* Mangu-Khan's *ſending his Brethren to make War againſt ſeveral Nations.* 50. *How our Author was ſeveral Times examined, and of ſeveral Conferences and Diſputes he had with the* Idolaters. 51. *Of our Author's being called before the* Khan *at* Whitſuntide, *and of the Confeſſion of Faith made by the* Tartars. 52. *Of the* Sorcerers *and* Conjurors *in this Country, and of the wicked Lives they lead.* 53. *The Letters written by the* Khan *to the King of* France, *by our Author, and the Reſolution taken by his Companion to remain in* Tartary. 54. *Of our Author's Departure from* Caracarum *for the Court of* Baatu, *and from thence for the City of* Saray. 55. *Of the Road from* Saray *by the Mountains of* Alania, *of the* Leſgies, Derbent, *and other Places.* 56. *The Remainder of their Journey to the River* Araxes, *the City of* Waxnam, *the Country of* Sahenna, *and other Places.* 57. *Of their Paſſage over the* Euphrates, *the Caſtle of* Samuth, *the Author's Arrival at* Cyprus, Antioch, *and* Tripoli. 58. *His Letter from thence to the King his Maſter, and other Particulars.* 59. *Remarks and Obſervations upon this Section.*

1. IT ſeems to be a Problem hitherto undiſcuſſed, how it came to paſs, that for the Space of ſo many Ages, the Inhabitants of the northern Parts of the World lay ſo ſtill and quiet, that Hiſtory ſcarce gives us any Account of them; and then of a ſudden burſt out on all Sides, and over-ran, as it were, the greateſt Part of the known World. At firſt Sight it ſhould ſeem from hence, that theſe northern Countries were firſt peopled; for otherwiſe it may appear difficult to account for their being ſo much more populous than any of the reſt. A little Attention, however, will clear this Point, and ſhew us plainly, that inſtead of contradicting, it is the ſtrongeſt Proof that can be of the World's being originally peopled from the Country of *Chaldea.* For whoever conſiders what an immenſe Tract of Land lies to the North of that original Seat of Mankind, will eaſily diſcern the Reaſon why it required a longer Space to people it throughly than the reſt of the World; and yet, at the ſame time, if he reflects on the Accounts given us by ancient Authors, of the Manners of the *Scythians,* he will eaſily perceive that

they retained the old Simplicity of living much longer than any other People, and were therefore celebrated by *Homer* and *Hippocrates*, as the juſteſt and moſt innocent of Mankind. But, in Proceſs of Time, even theſe vaſt Countries became over-peopled; and then being preſſed by each other, theſe barbarous Nations, as they were ſtiled by the *Greeks* and *Romans*, broke out like an Inundation, and ſwept all before them.

At preſent our Concern is with thoſe who broke out laſt; I mean the *Tartars*, who are generally ſaid to have derived their Name from a River ſo called; but that is a Miſtake. The original Name of this numerous Nation was *Turks*, which they derived from *Turk*, the eldeſt Son of *Japhet*. But *Alanza-Khan*, one of their ancient Princes, leaving his Dominions to his Sons, which were Twins, the one called *Tatar*, and the other *Mogul*, this gave riſe to the Diſtinction of thoſe two Nations, which hath ever ſince prevailed.

The great Conqueror *Jenghiz-Khan*, who in our old Writers is generally called *Zengis*, united both under his Dominion. He was born *A. D.* 1162, and was raiſed to the Command of his own ſmall Tribe at the Age of thirteen. He by degrees firſt eſtabliſhed his Power in his own Country, then attacked and conquered the northern Parts of *China*, but was never heard of in *Europe* till about the Year 1218, when he entered the *Great Bucharia*; he extended his Conqueſts afterwards over a great Part of *Aſia*, and died in the Year 1227, at the Age of ſixty-five, and after having held the Dignity of *Khan* twenty-five Years. His eldeſt Son *Zuzi* died ſix Months after him, and was ſucceeded by his eldeſt Son *Batu* or *Baatu*, as our Author calls him, who had a great Part of *Tartary* for his Share. *Zagatai*, Son to *Jenghiz-Khan*, had that Country which the Ancients call *Tranſoxiana*, which has been ſince called *Turkeſtan*, or the Country of the *Uſbeks*; but by the *Tartars* to this Day *Zagatai*. *Tuli*, another Son of this Conqueror, had for his Share *Choraſſan*, *Perſia*, and the *Indies*; and *Octai* all the reſt, with the Title of *Khan*. This Prince began his Reign in 1228, and died in 1241. So much as to the State of *Tartary*.

2. The Chriſtian Princes had been very often put upon the Recovery of the *Holy-Land* by the Popes; and *Louis* IX. King of *France*, called from thence St. *Louis*, took the Croſs, and engaged himſelf by a Vow to endeavour the Recovery of the City and Kingdom of *Jeruſalem* from the *Infidels*. It was with this View that he embarked at *Marſeilles*, *Auguſt* 23d. 1248, accompanied by his Queen and two Brothers. He ſailed from thence to the Iſland of *Cyprus*, where he ſpent the Winter in preparing for the War. There he received Ambaſſadors from the Khan of the *Tartars*, with an Account that he had embraced Chriſtianity, and was diſpoſed to attack the *Infidels* on one Side, while his Majeſty carried on the War on the other. This was an Affair of very great Importance to the King of *France*, who treated the Ambaſſadors with great Reſpect, and promiſed to ſend an Ambaſſador to conclude an Alliance with the Emperor their Maſter.

He was hindered however in the Proſecution of this Deſign by the unlucky Accidents of the War; for having invaded *Egypt* at firſt with great Succeſs, he was afterwards, in the Year 1250, taken Priſoner in the Battle of *Maſſora*, and remained for a long Time in the Hands of the *Infidels*, who treated him very ill, but at laſt ſet him at Liberty, upon his ſurrendering the City of *Damietta*, and paying them a Ranſom of 400,000 Livres. This cruel Reverſe of Fortune did not hinder the King from purſuing his Deſign: He paſſed immediately over into *Syria*, where he put the Affairs of the Chriſtians into as good a Condition as it was poſſible, and would very probably have accompliſhed all that he propoſed, if the Death of his Mother, whom he had left Regent of *France*, had not obliged him to return home, which he did in the Year 1254, and reigned very glorioufly for many Years, and then undertook a ſecond Expedition in the ſame Cauſe, of which we ſhall hereafter give ſome Account.

3. At preſent our Buſineſs is to obſerve, that while this Monarch was in *Syria*, and there concerted Meaſures for reducing the Power of the *Mohammedans*, he made Choice of our Author Friar *William Rubruquis* for his Embaſſador to the Khan of the *Tartars*, and that for theſe three Reaſons; firſt, becauſe he had engaged himſelf, while in *Cyprus*, to ſend ſuch an Embaſſy. Secondly, becauſe the Aſſiſtance of ſo powerful a Prince was a Matter of great Conſequence to all *Chriſtendom*. And, thirdly, that he might obtain a diſtinct and authentick Account of the Policy, Strength, and Intereſt of a Nation which, in the Space of fifty Years, had obtained an Empire of ſuch an Extent as hitherto the World had never ſeen.

The Reaſons which induced him to make Choice of our Author were many; but we ſhall content ourſelves with mentioning only a few. His Condition, as a religious Man, made him a fit Miniſter to a Prince lately converted to the Chriſtian Faith: It diſpenſed likewiſe with his having any Train of Attendance, with which ſuch an Embaſſy could not be incumbered; and it put it more into his Power to enquire into all Things that his Maſter deſired to know, than if he had gone with all that Pomp which is uſually annexed to a publick Character. But, above all, he depended on the Abilities of the Man, who was looked upon as a Perſon of admirable Parts, and great Diligence, and whoſe unaffected Piety and Probity were not to be diſputed. After his Return from this Embaſſy, he compiled this Account, which we now preſent to the Reader, and ſent it to the King. It has been always eſteemed the fulleſt and cleareſt, as well as the moſt faithful and exact Deſcription of the *Tartars* that ever was publiſhed, and therefore we have given it entire, and in the Author's own Words, together with his Dedication, which follows.

4. *To the moſt excellent and moſt Chriſtian Lord* Louis, *by the Grace of* GOD, *King of* France; *Brother* William de Rubruquis, *of the Order of* Friars Minors, *wiſhes Health, and that he may ever triumph in* JESUS CHRIST.

" It is written in the Book of *Eccleſiaſticus*, that the " wiſe Man ſhall paſs through Countries inhabited by " foreign Nations, and that he ſhall have his Share in all " Things good and evil. I have done all this, Sire, " and GOD grant that I have done it as a wiſe Man, " and not as a Fool; for many there are which do " thoſe Things which wiſe Men do, but not wiſely, " and much I fear that I am of that Number. However that Matter may be, you were pleaſed to com- " mand me, at the Time of my Departure, that I " ſhould write to you all I ſaw, and whatever I could " diſcover among the *Tartars*. You were likewiſe " pleaſed to add, that I ſhould not be afraid of writing " long Letters. I am now about to perform what " your Majeſty then gave me in Charge; yet not with- " out great Fear and Apprehenſion that the Simpleneſs " of my Thoughts, and the Homelineſs of my Stile, " may ſeem unworthy of being addreſſed unto your " Sovereign Majeſty."

5. May it pleaſe you then, Sire, to underſtand, that departing from *Conſtantinople*, on the ſeventh of *May*, *A. D.* 1253, we entered into the Sea of *Pontus*, now the *Black-Sea*, which the *Bulgarians* call the *Great-Sea*, and which, as I was informed by Merchants who have long traded there, extends in Length from Eaſt to Weſt one thouſand Miles, and is, as it were, divided into two Parts. About the Middle there are two Provinces, the one on the South, which is called *Sinople*, from a Fortreſs and Port of the ſame Name, which belongs to the Sultan of the *Turks*: The other towards the North, which the weſtern Chriſtians call *Gazaria*, now *Crimea*, or *Crim-Tartary*; but the *Greeks* who dwell therein *Caſſaria*, which I take to be the ſame as *Cæſaria*. In this Province there are two Promontories, or Capes, which run into the Sea towards the South, and the Country of *Sinople*; the Diſtance may be about three hundred Miles between *Sinople* and *Caſſaria*; ſo that theſe Points may be about ſeven hundred Miles from *Conſtantinople*, as well towards the South as towards the Eaſt, in which Quarter lies *Iberia*, which is a Province of the Country of *Georgia* or *Georgiana*.

We came then into the Country of *Gazaria*, which is in the Shape of a Triangle, having on the moſt Weſtern Point a City called *Kerſova*, where St. *Clement* Biſhop of *Ancyra* ſuffered Martyrdom; and paſſing in View of this City, we had ſight of an Iſland in which there is a Church ſaid to have been built by Angels. In the Middle, which is alſo the moſt Southern Part, ſtands the City of *Soldaia*, which is directly over-againſt *Sinople*, to which all the Merchants coming from *Turky* reſort in their Paſſage to Northern Countries, as do likewiſe ſuch as come from *Ruſſia* with Intent to go to *Turky*.

Theſe laſt bring Ermine and other rich Furs; the former deal in Cotton, Cloth, Silks of all ſorts, and Spices. Towards the Eaſt Part of this Country ſtands a City called *Matriga*, at the Mouth of the River *Tanais*, or the great River *Don*, where it falls into the Sea of *Pontus*, being there about twelve Miles over. This River, before it falls into the Sea, makes of itſelf a kind of Sea, which is near ſeven hundred Miles in Extent, but ſo ſhallow, that no Ships of Burthen can ſail therein. The Merchants of *Conſtantinople* however, when they arrive at the City of *Matriga*, ſend their Barks up the River *Tanais* to purchaſe dried Fiſh, ſuch as Sturgeons, Theoſes, Barbels, and many other ſorts of Fiſh. The Province of *Gazaria* beforementioned has the Sea on three Sides, *viz.* On the Weſt, where ſtands the City of *Kerſova*; on the South, where lies the City of *Soldaia*, or *Caffa*, where we landed; and on the Eaſt, where is the City of *Matriga*, at the Mouth of the River *Tanais*.

Beyond this Country lies *Zichia*, that is the Country about *Azoph*, which is not ſubject to the *Tartars*; to the Eaſt of which lie the Countries of the *Suevians* and *Iberians*, which likewiſe do not pay Obedience to the *Tartars*. Towards the South again ſtands the City of *Trebizond*, which belongs to its own Prince, whoſe Name is *Guido*, and he is deſcended of the Race of the Emperors of *Conſtantinople*, but is for all that ſubject to the *Tartars*. The City of *Sinople* ſtands next belonging to the Sultan of *Turky*, who is at preſent their Vaſſal likewiſe.

Beyond his Dominion lies the Country of *Vaſtacius*, the Son of whoſe King is called *Aſtar*, after his Grandfather by the Mother's Side, and he is not under their Subjection. All the Country from the Mouth of the *Tanais* Weſtward as far as the *Danube*, is at preſent under their Dominion, and even beyond the *Danube* towards *Conſtantinople*; all *Walachia*, which is alſo called the Country of *Aſſanus*, and the *Leſſer Bulgaria*, as far as *Solinia*, pay Tribute to them: And beſides this Tribute, they have of late Years impoſed a new Burthen on the Inhabitants; for they exact from every Family an Axe and a conſiderable Quantity of Corn.

This Introduction of our Author's is in itſelf very clear, and by adding the modern Names of Places, it is hoped it will be perfectly intelligible to every Reader.

The Author intended it to explain the Situation and Condition of thoſe Countries at the Time he wrote, which was the more neceſſary, becauſe great Alterations had been occaſioned by the repeated Irruptions of the *Tartars*. In regard therefore to the Situation of Commerce at this Time, as well as the perfect comprehending his Route to the Camps of the *Tartar* Princes, this explanatory Diſcourſe was very expedient; and as this Writer begins very methodically, ſo his whole Work is conducted with ſuch Order and Eloquence, as is not uſual in the Writers of thoſe Times. His Stile is agreeable to his Matter, plain and expreſſive, without any Flouriſhes, or the leaſt Deſire of heightening the Wonders which he relates: On the contrary, he every where endeavours to avoid heightening Things beyond Credit, and delivers himſelf with ſuch viſible Sincerity, as gives an intrinſick Value to his Work that no Length of Time can ever take away. This in all Probability was in ſome meaſure owing to his Attention to the Inſtructions given him by his Maſter, who was a Prince of great Abilities, had himſelf travelled into the Eaſt, and was conſequently a better Judge of theſe Particulars than moſt other Princes, either of that or any other Age. It was for the ſame Reaſon, probably, that our Author thought proper, as the Reader will ſee, to inſert his Account of the *Tartars*, their Habitations, Cuſtoms, Manners, Laws, Government, and whatever elſe was neceſſary to give a juſt Idea of theſe People, before he proceeds to his Negotiations with them; which is a clear Proof that this Treatiſe was not compoſed in a Hurry, or written as Occaſion offered while he was actually on his Travels, but after his Return out of *Tartary*, when he had Time to recollect himſelf, to compare and digeſt the Notes he had taken during his Stay in that Country, and to bring every Thing into its proper Place. So that we have no Occaſion to interrupt his Diſcourſe with Remarks or Corrections, but are able to leave his Work as it ſtands to the Peruſal of the ingenious Reader, who will find therein abundant Proofs of what we have here advanced.

6. We arrived, continues he, at *Soldaia* the twenty-firſt of *May*, and ſeveral Merchants of *Conſtantinople* who arrived before us, reported that Ambaſſadors were coming thither from the Holy Land, who were to travel to *Sartach* I had however publickly given out on *Palm-Sunday*, in the Church of *Sancta Sophia*, That I was not your Ambaſſador, or the Ambaſſador of any other Prince, but that I travelled to thoſe Princes to preach the Goſpel to them according to the Rule of our Order; and being arrived, the ſaid Merchants admoniſhed me to be very cautious in what I ſpoke, becauſe they having reported me to be an Ambaſſador, if I ſhould ſay the contrary, I could not have free Paſſage granted unto me. Then I ſpoke to the Lieutenants of the Cities, becauſe the Governors themſelves were gone to pay Tribute unto *Baatu*, and were not as yet returned. "We
" heard of your Lord *Sartach* in the Holy Land that he
" was become a Chriſtian, of which the Chriſtians were
" exceedingly glad, and eſpecially the moſt Chriſtian
" King of *France*, who is there now in Pilgrimage, and
" fighteth againſt the *Saracens* to redeem the Holy Places
" out of their Hands. I am determined therefore to go
" to *Sartach*, and to deliver unto him the Letters of my
" Lord the King of *France*, wherein he admoniſheth him
" concerning the Welfare of all *Chriſtendom*."

On this they received us with Joy, and gave us Entertainment in the Cathedral Church, the Biſhop of which Church had been with *Sartach*, who told me many good Things concerning him, which afterwards I found untrue. They then gave us our Choice, whether we would have Carts and Oxen, or a Number of Horſes to tranſport our Baggage, and the Merchants of *Conſtantinople* adviſed me not to take Carts of the Citizens of *Soldaia*, but to buy covered Carts of my own (ſuch as the *Ruſſians* carry their Skins in) and to put all our Baggage into them, becauſe if I ſhould uſe Horſes, I muſt be conſtrained at every Bait to take down my Things and to lift them up; and beſide that, I ſhould ride a more gentle Pace in the Carts. Wherefore yielding unto their evil Counſel, I ſpent in travelling to *Sartach* two Months, which I could have done in one, if I had gone on Horſe-back. I brought with me from *Conſtantinople* pleaſant Fruits, *Muſkadell* Wine, and delicate Biſcuit Bread, to preſent unto the Governors of *Soldaia*, that I might obtain free Paſſage, becauſe they look favourably upon no Man, who comes with an empty Hand.

All theſe Things I packed in one of my Carts, and the Governors being abſent when we came, I ſtill carried them on; for they told me if I could bring them to *Sartach*, that they would be moſt acceptable unto him. We took our Journey therefore about the Beginning of *June*, with four covered Carts of our own, and with two others which we borrowed of them, wherein we carried our Bedding to reſt on in the Night, and they allowed us five Horſes to ride upon, there being juſt five Perſons in Company; I, Friar *Bartholomew* of *Cremona*, and *Goſſet* the Bearer of theſe Preſents, the Interpreter, and *Nicholas* my Servant, whom I bought at *Conſtantinople* with ſome of the Alms beſtowed upon me. They allowed us beſides two Men, which drove our Carts, and looked after our Oxen and Horſes. There are high Promontories on the Sea-ſhore, from *Kerſova* unto the Mouth of the *Tanais*. Alſo there are forty Caſtles at *Kerſova* and *Soldaia*, in every one of which almoſt they uſe different Languages, amongſt whom there were many *Goths* who ſpoke the *Dutch* Tongue.

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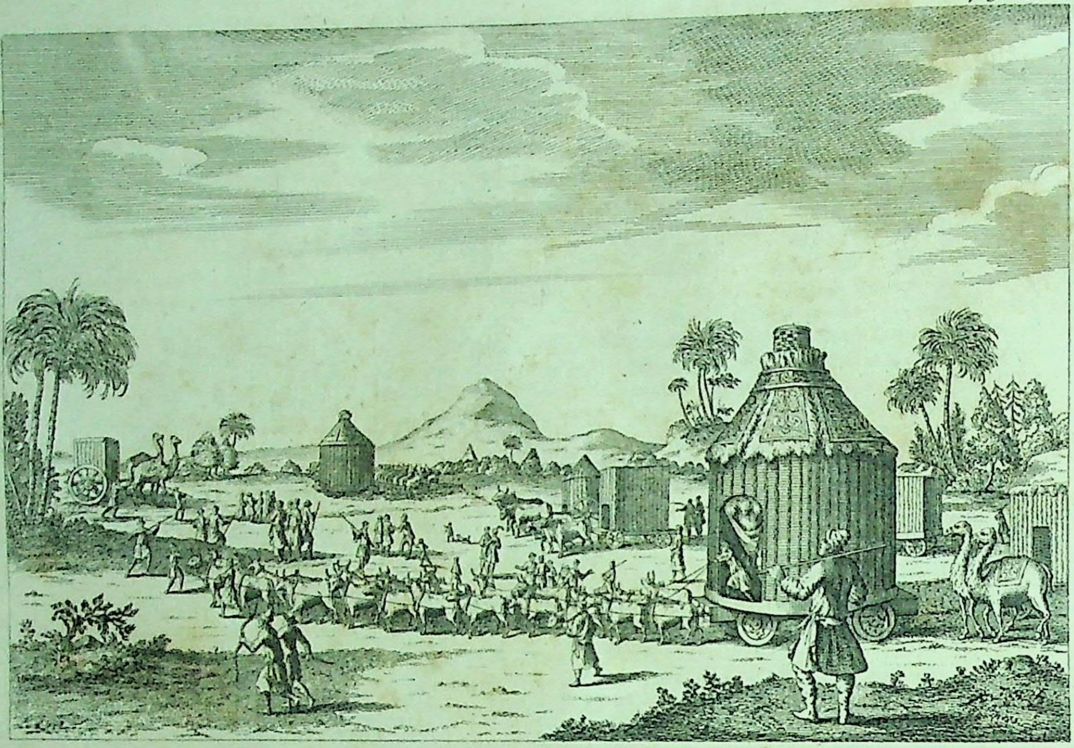

A TARTAR CAMP IN MOTION.

The Tartars have never any fixed or setled Habitations, but move up and down the vast Plains they poſseſs, according to the different Seasons of the Year, travelling Northwards in the Summer, for the sake of Fruitfull Paſture; and in the Winter, towards the South, to avoid the extremity of the Cold Weather.

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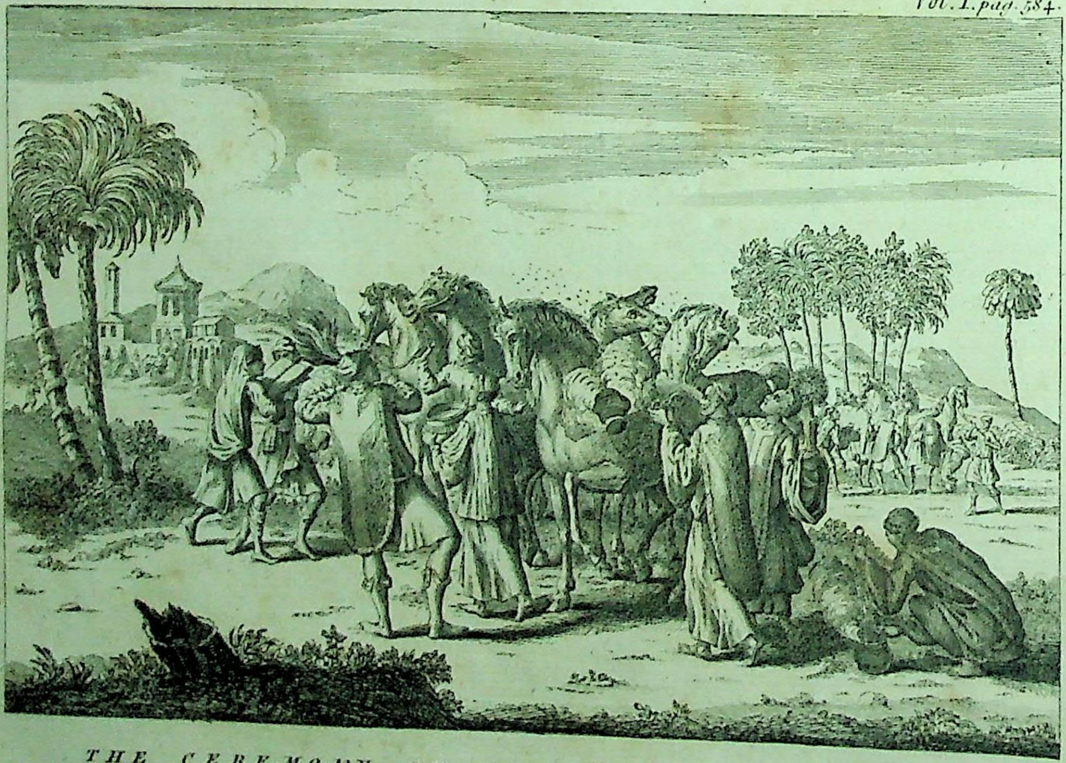


THE CEREMONY OF BLESSING THE HORSES.

The Tartars are for nothing more remarkable, than their extraordinary, & indeed extravagant Affection for their Horſes, which induces them from their Principle of Indifference to all Religions, to procure this Bleſsing of their Horſes, to be performed, by the Prieſts of all the Faiths amongst them.

Beyond theſe Mountains, towards the North, there is a moſt beautiful Wood growing on a plain pleaſant Country, full of Springs and Rivulets. Beyond the Wood there is a mighty Plain, five Days Journey, unto the very Extremity of the Province Northward; and there is a narrow Iſthmus, a Neck of Land, having the Sea on the Eaſt and Weſt Sides, which enter the Land ſo far that there is a Canal made from one Sea unto the other. On this Plain before the *Tartars* the *Comanians* inhabited, who compelled the above-mentioned Cities and Caſtles to pay tribute unto them: But when the *Tartars* came upon them, the Multitude of *Comanians* fled all of them to the Sea-ſhore, being in ſuch extreme Famine, that they which were alive were conſtrained to eat up thoſe which were dead; and, as a Merchant reported to me who ſaw it with his own Eyes, living Men devoured and tore with their Teeth the raw Fleſh of the Dead, as Dogs would gnaw Carrion.

Towards the Borders of the ſaid Province there are a great many Lakes, upon the Banks whereof are Salt-Pits, the Water of which, ſo ſoon as it entereth into the Lake, becomes hard Salt like Ice; and out of theſe Salt-Pits *Baatu* and *Sartach* have great Revenues, for they repair thither out of all *Ruſſia* for Salt, and for each Cart Load they give two Webs of Cotton, amounting to the Value of half an Yperpera. There come alſo many Ships for Salt, which pay Tribute every one according to their Burthen. The third Day after we were departed out of theſe Precincts of *Soldaia*, we found the *Tartars*, amongſt whom being entered, methought I was come into a new World, whoſe Life and Manners I will deſcribe unto your Highneſs as well as I can.

7. They have no ſettled Habitation, neither know they To-day where they ſhall lodge To-morrow. They have all *Scythia* to themſelves, which ſtretcheth from the River *Danube*, to the utmoſt Extent of the Eaſt. Each of their Captains, according to the Number of his People, knows the Bounds of his Paſtures, and where he ought to feed his Cattle Winter and Summer, Spring and Autumn; for in the Winter they remove into warm Regions Southward, and in the Summer they go up into the cold Regions Northward. In Winter when Snow lies upon the Ground, they feed their Cattle in Paſtures where there is no Water, becauſe then they uſe Snow inſtead of Water. Their Houſes in which they ſleep, they raiſe upon a round Foundation of Wickers, artificially wrought and compacted together; the Roof conſiſting of Wickers alſo meeting above in one little Roundell, out of which there riſes upwards a Neck like a Chimney, which they cover with white Felt, and often they lay Morter or white Earth upon the Felt with the Powder of Bones, that it may ſhine and look white: Sometimes alſo they cover their Houſes with black Felt. This Cupola of their Houſe they adorn with Variety of Pictures.

Before the Door they hang a Felt curiouſly painted over, for they ſpend all their coloured Felt in painting Vines, Trees, Birds, and Beaſts thereupon. Theſe Houſes they make ſo large, that they contain thirty Feet in Breadth; for meaſuring once the Breadth between the Wheel-ruts of one of their Carts or Wains, I found it to be twenty Feet over, and when the Houſe was upon the Cart, it ſtretched over the Wheels on each Side five Feet at leaſt. I told two-and-twenty Oxen in one Draught drawing an Houſe upon a Cart, eleven in one Row according to the Breadth of the Cart, and eleven more on the other Side. The Axle-tree of the Cart was of an huge Bigneſs, like the Maſt of a Ship, and a Fellow ſtood in the Door of the Houſe upon the Foreſtall of the Cart driving the Oxen. They likewiſe make certain four-ſquare Baſkets of ſlender Twigs as big as great Cheſts, and afterwards from one Side to another they frame an hollow Lid or Cover of ſuch-like Twigs, and make a Door in it before. Then they cover the ſaid Cheſt or Houſe with black Felt, rubbed over with Tallow or Sheep's Milk, to keep the Rain from ſoaking through, which they likewiſe adorn with Painting or white Feathers. Into theſe Cheſts they put their whole Houſhold Stuff, or Treaſure, and bind them upon other Carts, which are drawn by Camels, that they may paſs through Rivers, neither do they ever take down theſe Cheſts from their Carts. When they take down their Dwelling-Houſes, they turn the Doors always to the South, and next they place the Carts laden with the Cheſts here and there within a Stone's Caſt of the Houſe, inſomuch that the Houſe ſtandeth between two Ranks of Carts, as it were between two Walls.

The Women make themſelves moſt beautiful Carts, which I am not able to deſcribe to your Majeſty but by Pictures only; I would willingly have painted all Things for you, had my Skill been great enough in that Art. A rich *Tartar* hath a hundred or two ſuch Carts with Cheſts. *Baatu* hath ſixteen Wives, every one of which hath one great Houſe, beſides other little Houſes, which they place behind the great one, being as it were Chambers for their Women to dwell in, and to each of the Houſes belong two hundred Carts. When they take their Houſes off the Carts, the principal Wife placeth her Court on the Weſt, and ſo all the reſt in order; ſo that the laſt Wife's Houſe is on the Eaſt Frontier, and the Court of each Wife is diſtant from another about a Stone's Caſt.

Hence it is, that the Court of a rich *Tartar* will appear like a very large Village, few Men being to be ſeen therein; one Woman will guide twenty or thirty Carts at once, for their Country is very flat, and they faſten the Carts with Camels or Oxen one behind another; a Wench ſits in the foremoſt Cart driving the Oxen, and all the reſt of themſelves follow a like Pace: When they come to a Place which is a bad Paſſage, they looſe them, and guide them one by one, for they go a ſlow Pace, and not much faſter than an Ox can walk.

8. When they have taken down their Houſes from their Carts, and turned the Doors Southward, they place the Bed of the Maſter of the Houſe at the North Part thereof; the Womens Place is always on the Eaſt, that is, on the left Hand of the Maſter of the Houſe, when ſitting upon his Bed with his Face to the South; but the Mens Place is to the Weſt, that is, at the right Hand of their Maſter. Men, when they enter into the Houſe, never hang their Quivers on the Womens Side. Over the Maſter's Head there is an Image made of Felt, which they call the Maſter's Brother, and another over the Head of the Miſtreſs, which they call her Brother, faſtened to the Wall, and a Bow between both of them. There is a little lean Idol, which is, as it were, the Guardian of the whole Houſe. The Miſtreſs of the Houſe places at the Feet of her Bed, on the right Hand, *the Skin of a Kid*, ſtuffed with Wool, and near that a little Image, looking towards the Apartment of the Woman. Next the Door, on the Womens Side, there is another Image, with a Cow's Udder, which is the Guardian of the Women that milk the Cattle, for that is the conſtant Employment of their Women. On the other Side of the Door next the Men, is another Image, with the Udder of a Mare, for the Guardian of thoſe who milk the Mares.

When they meet to make merry they ſprinkle Part of their Drink upon the Image which is over the Maſter's Head, and afterwards upon the other Images in their Order; then a Servant goes out of the Houſe with a Cup full of Drink, ſprinkling it thrice towards the South, and bowing his Knee every time; and this is done in Honour of the Fire. He performs the ſame Ceremony towards the Eaſt in Honour of the Air; and then to the Weſt, in Honour of the Water; and laſtly, to the North, in Behalf of the Dead. When the Maſter holds a Cup in his Hand to drink, before he taſtes he pours a Part of it upon the Ground: If he drinks ſitting on Horſeback, he pours out Part upon the Neck or Mane of the Horſe before he drinks. After the Servant has paid his Reverence to the four Quarters of the World, he returns to the Houſe, and two other Servants ſtand ready with two Cups, and two Baſons, to carry Drink to their Maſter and his Wife, who ſit together upon a Bed. If he has more Wives than one, ſhe with whom he ſlept the Night before, ſits by his Side the next Day, and all his other Wives muſt that Day reſort to her Houſe to drink, and there the Court is for that Day; the Gifts alſo which are preſented that Day are laid up in the Cheſts of that Wife. One Piece of Ceremony is conſtant in all Houſes, *viz.* a Bench, on which ſtands a Veſſel of Milk, or of other Drink, and Cups for drinking it.

9. They make in Winter an excellent Drink of Rice and of Honey, ſtrong, well-taſted, and high coloured like

Wine; they have alſo Wine brought to them from other Countries. In the Summer Time they care not for any Drink but Coſmos. This Liquor ſtands always at the Entrance of the Door, and next to it a Fidler. I ſaw there no ſuch Violins as ours; but many other muſical Inſtruments which are not uſed with us. When the Maſter of the Houſe begins to drink, one of his Servants crieth out with a loud Voice, Ha! and the Muſician plays upon his Fiddle.

When they make a ſolemn Feaſt, they all of them clap their Hands and dance to the Noiſe of Muſick, the Men before their Maſter, and the Women before their Miſtreſs; and when the Maſter has drunk, then his Servants cry, Ha! as before, and the Fidler ſtops; then they drink all round both Men and Women, and ſometimes they carouſe, eſpecially for Victory, till they are drunk. When they invite a Man to drink, they pull him by the Ears to the Veſſel, and ſo lug and draw him ſtrongly to ſtretch out his Throat, clapping their Hands, and dancing before him.

When they would do Honour to any Perſon at their ſolemn Feaſting and Rejoicing, one of the Company takes a full Cup, and two others ſtand, one on his right Hand, and the other on his left, and ſo they three come ſinging to the Man, who is to have the Cup preſented to him, ſtill ſinging and dancing before him; and when he ſtretches his Hand to receive the Cup, they leap ſuddenly back, returning again as they did before; and ſo having deluded him three or four Times by drawing back the Cup, until he is eager and very deſirous to drink, then they give him the Cup, ſinging and dancing, and ſtamping with their Feet, until he hath done drinking.

10. In reſpect to their Food, give me leave to inform your Highneſs, that without Difference or Diſtinction they eat all their Beaſts that die of Age or Sickneſs; and amongſt ſo many Drovers, there muſt ſome Cattle die in Summer. However, ſo long as their Coſmos, that is, their Mares Milk laſts, they care not much for any Food; and if they chance to have an Ox or an Horſe die, they dry the Fleſh, cutting it into thin Slices, and hanging it up againſt the Sun and the Wind, it is preſently dried without Salt, and without ill Savour or Corruption. They make better Puddings of their Horſes than their Hogs, which they eat as ſoon as made, the reſt of their Fleſh they reſerve till Winter. They make of their Ox Skins great Bags, which they dry in the Smoak; of the hinder Part of their Horſe Hides they make very fine Sandals. They give fifty or an hundred Men the Fleſh of one Ram to eat; for they mince it in a Bowl with Salt and Water, having no other Sauce, and then with the Point of a Knife, or little Fork, which reſembles ſuch as we uſe to take roaſted Pears or Apples out of Wine, they reach unto every one of the Company a Morſel or two, according to the Number of Gueſts. The Maſter of the Houſe, before the Ram's Fleſh is diſtributed, firſt takes of it what he pleaſes; if he giveth unto any of the Company a particular Service, the Receiver thereof muſt eat it alone, and not impart unto any other; or if he is not able to eat it up all, he carries it with him, and delivers it to his Boy, if he be preſent, to keep it; if not, he puts it up into his Saptarget, that is to ſay, his Satchel, or Knapſack, which they carry about with them for ſuch Purpoſes, and wherein they lay up their Bones, when they have not Time to pick them thoroughly, that they may ſcrape them at Leiſure, and ſo nothing be loſt.

11. Their common Drink Coſmos, which is Mares Milk, is prepared after this Manner; they faſten a long Line to two Poſts, ſtanding in the Ground, and to the ſame Line they tie the young Foals of thoſe Mares which they intend to milk; then come the Mares to ſtand by the Foals, ſuffering themſelves to be milked; and if any of them be rude, then one takes her Foal and puts it under her, letting it ſuck a little while, and preſently carrying it away again, there comes another Man to milk the Mare. When they have got a good Quantity of this Milk together, while it is new, they pour it into a great Bag, and they beat the Bag with a piece of Wood made for that Purpoſe, having a Knot at the lower End like a Man's Head, which is hollow within; and ſo ſoon as they beat it, it begins to boil like new Wine, and to be ſour, and of a ſharp Taſte; and they beat it in that manner till Butter comes; then they taſte it, and being indifferently ſharp, they drink it, for it bites ones Tongue like the Raſberry Wine. After a Man hath taken a Draught, it leaves a Taſte behind it like that of Almond Milk, going down very pleaſantly, and intoxicating weak Brains, for it is very heady and powerful.

As for their Caracoſmos, that is to ſay, Black Coſmos, which is for great Lords to drink, they make it thus; firſt, they beat the Milk ſo long that the thickeſt Part thereof deſcends down to the Bottom like the Lees of White Wine, and that which is thin and pure remains above like Whey, or White Muſt; the Lees and Dregs, being very white, are given to Servants, and will make them ſleep exceedingly. That which is thin and clear their Maſters drink; and indeed it is a wonderful ſweet and wholeſome Liquor. *Baatu* hath thirty Farms within a Day's Journey of his abiding Place, every one of which ſerves him daily with Caracoſmos of an hundred Mares Milk, and ſo all of them together every Day with the Milk of three thouſand Mares, beſides white Milk, which the reſt of his Subjects bring: For, as the Huſbandmen of *Syria* pay the third Part of their Fruits, and carry it unto the Courts of their Lords, ſo do they their Mares Milk every third Day.

Out of their Cow's Milk they firſt churn Butter; boiling which Butter unto a perfect Decoction, they put it into Rams Skins, which they reſerve for that Purpoſe; neither do they ſalt their Butter; and yet by this boiling it never putrefies, and they keep it for Winter; the Churn Milk, which remains of the Butter, they let alone till it be as ſour as poſſible; then they boil it, and in boiling it is turned all into Curds, which Curds they dry in the Sun, making them as hard as the Droſs of Iron; and this kind of Food alſo they preſerve in Satchels againſt Winter. In that Seaſon when Milk fails them, they put the Curds before-mentioned, which they call Gra-ut, into a Bladder, and pouring hot Water upon them, they beat it till they have diſſolved them, and it is thereby made exceeding ſour; and this they drink inſtead of Milk; for it ſeems a Rule with them never to drink fair Water by itſelf.

12. The great Lords of this Nation have all of them Farms in the South Part of their Country, from whence their Tenants bring them Millet and Meal againſt Winter. The poorer Sort provide themſelves with ſuch Neceſſaries, by the Exchange of Rams, and other Beaſts Skins. As for their Slaves, they are forced to be content with Water, and that thick and bad enough. The only ſort of Animals from which I have known them abſtain, are Mice and Rats. There is, however, a little Animal which they call Sogur, which in the Winter Time lie and ſleep twenty or thirty of them together in Caves for ſix Months, where the *Tartars* find them out, and eſteem them excellent Eating; and indeed they are very tender and fat. They have likewiſe great Plenty of a ſort of Rabbits with long Tails, the outſide Hair of which is black and white; other ſmall Creatures they have, on which they freely feed. I ſaw no Deer there, and but a few Hares, but a great Number of Roes.

I ſaw wild Aſſes in great Abundance, which are like Mules: I ſaw alſo another kind of Beaſt called Artack, reſembling in its Body a Ram, with crooked Horns, and are of ſuch Bigneſs, that I could ſcarce lift up a Pair of them with one Hand; and of theſe Horns they make drinking Cups. They have Falcons, and other Hawks in great Numbers, which they carry upon their right Hands, and they put always about their Falcons Necks a String of Leather, which hangs down to the midſt of their Gorges; by which String, when they caſt them off the Fiſt at the Game with the left Hand, they bow the Heads and Breaſts of the Hawks to prevent their being toſſed up and down in the Wind, or their ſoaring too high. Being expert in this Art, they gain a great Part of their Proviſion by Hunting and Hawking. In regard to their Attire, it may pleaſe your Majeſty to know, that out of *Cataya*, and other Regions of the Eaſt, out of *Perſia* alſo, and other Countries to the South, are brought to them Manufactures of Silks, Cloth of Gold, and Cotton Cloth, which they wear in time of Summer; but out of *Ruſſia*, *Moxell*, *Bulgaria*, *Hungaria*, and out of *Kerſis*, all which are Northern Regions, and full of Woods, and alſo out of many other Countries of the North, which are ſubject unto them, the Inhabitants bring them many rich and coſtly Skins of divers ſorts, ſuch as I never ſaw, wherewith they are cloathed in Winter, and againſt which Seaſon they make themſelves two Gowns, one with the Fur inward to their Skin, and another with the Fur outward, to defend them from Wind and Snow, which for the moſt part are made of Wolves Skins, or Foxes Skins.

When they ſit in the Houſe they have a finer Gown to wear: The poorer ſort make their Gowns of Dogs or of Cats Skins. When they go to hunt wild Beaſts they meet in a great Company, and ſurrounding the Place where they are ſure to find Game, by little and little they approach on all Sides, till they have got all the wild Beaſts into the midſt in a Circle, and then they diſcharge their Arrows at them. They make themſelves Breeches of Skins. The rich *Tartars* ſometimes fur their Gowns with Silk Shag, which is exceeding ſoft, light, and warm: The poorer ſort line their Cloaths with Cotton, or Cloth, which is made of the fineſt Wool they can pick out; and of the coarſer Part of the Wool they make Felt to cover their Houſes, and their Cheſts, and for their Bedding; alſo of the ſame Wool, being mixed with one-third Part of Horſe-Hair, they make all their Cordage. They make of this Felt likewiſe Covering for their Stools, and Caps to defend their Heads from the Weather; for all which they ſpend a great Quantity of their Wool.

13. The Men ſhave a four-ſquare Spot upon the Crowns of their Heads, and from the two Corners, they ſhave, as it were, two Seams down to their Temples. They ſhave alſo their Temples, and the hinder Part of their Head, to the Nape of the Neck. They likewiſe ſhave the Forepart down to their Fore heads, and upon their Foreheads they leave a Lock of Hair, reaching down to their Eyebrows; on the two hinder Corners of their Heads they have two Locks alſo, which they twine and braid into Knots, and ſo bind and knit them one under each Ear. The Garments of their Women differ not from the Mens, except that they are ſomewhat longer. But the Day after a Woman is married ſhe ſhaves from the midſt of her Head down to her Forehead, and wears a wide Garment like the Veil of a Nun; but larger and longer in all Parts than a Nun's Veil, being open before, and they girt them under the right Side. The *Tartars* differ from the *Turks*, becauſe the *Turks* faſten their Garments to their Bodies on the left Side; but the *Tartars* always on the right Side.

They have always an Ornament for their Heads, which they call *Botta*, which is made of the Bark of a Tree, or of ſome ſuch Subſtance as they can find, which by the Thickneſs and Roundneſs thereof, cannot be held but in both Hands together; and it hath a ſquare ſharp Spire riſing from the Top thereof, being almoſt two Feet in Length, and ſhaped like a Pinacle. This *Botta* they cover all over with a Piece of rich Silk, and it is hollow within; and upon the midſt of this ſame Spire they place a Bunch of Quills, or ſlender Canes, a Foot and a half long, or more, and the Bunch on the Top thereof they beautify with Peacocks Feathers; and round about they ſtick the Feathers of a Mallard's Tail, and adorn it with Precious Stones. Alſo great Ladies wear this kind of Ornament upon their Heads, binding it ſtrongly to a kind of Hat, or Coif, which hath a Pole in the Crown, fit for the Spire to come through; and under this Ornament they comb the Hair of their Heads, which they gather up round together, from the hinder Part thereof to the Crown, and ſo lap them up in a Knot or Bundle within the *Botta*, which afterwards they bind ſtrongly under their Throats.

It is on this Account, that when a great Company of ſuch Ladies ride together, and are ſeen at a Diſtance, they look like Soldiers with Helmets on their Heads, carrying their Lances upright, for the *Botta* appears like an Helmet with a Lance over it. All their Women ſit on Horſeback like Men, and they bind their Veils or Gowns about their Waiſts with a Sky-coloured or Silk Scarf, and with another Scarf they gird it about their Breaſts; and they alſo bind a Piece of white Silk like a Muffler, or Maſk, under their Eyes, reaching down to their Breaſts. Theſe Ladies are, generally ſpeaking, exceeding fat; and the leſs their Noſes, the handſomer they are eſteemed. They daub over their Face with Greaſe too moſt frightfully, and they never keep their Beds on account of their bringing forth Children.

14. As to the Employments of their Women, they drive Carts, lay their Houſes upon Carts, and take them down again, milk Cattle, make Butter and Griat, dreſs Skins, and ſew them, which they uſually do with Thread made of Sinews; for they divide Sinews into ſlender Threads, and then twine them into one large one. They make Sandals and Socks, and other kind of Apparel; but they never waſh any Cloaths, for they ſay that God is then angry, and that dreadful Thunder will enſue, if waſhed Garments be hung out to dry. Nay, they beat ſuch as waſh, and take their Garments from them. They are wonderfully afraid of Thunder; for in the Time of Thunder they force all Strangers out of their Houſes, and then wrapping themſelves in black Felt, lie hid therein till the Thunder be over. They never waſh their Diſhes, or Bowls; yet when the Fleſh is boiled they waſh their Platter, wherein it muſt be put, with ſcalding hot Broth out of the Pot, and then pour the Broth into the Pot again. They make Felt alſo, and cover the Houſes therewith.

The Men are employed to make Bows and Arrows, Stirrups, Bridles and Saddles, to build Houſes and Carts, to keep Horſes, to milk Mares, to churn Coſmos and Mares Milk, and to make Bags to put it in; they keep Camels alſo, and lay Burthens upon them. As for Sheep and Goats, they mind and milk them, both Men and Women. With Sheeps Milk thickened and ſalted they dreſs and tan their Hides. When they waſh their Hands and their Heads they fill their Mouths full of Water, and ſpouting it into their Hands by little and little, they ſprinkle their Hair, and waſh their Heads therewith. As to their Marriages, your Highneſs is to underſtand, that no Man can have a Wife among them till he hath bought her; therefore ſometimes their Maids are very ſtale before they are married, for their Parents always keep them till they can ſell them. They abſtain from the firſt and ſecond Degrees of Conſanguinity inviolably as we do; but they have no Regard to the Degrees of Affinity, for they will marry together, or by Succeſſion, two Siſters; their Widows never marry a ſecond time, for this Reaſon, becauſe they believe that all who have ſerved them in this Life, ſhall do them Service alſo in the Life to come. Whereupon they are perſuaded, that every Widow after Death ſhall return to her own Huſband; and hence ariſes an abominable and filthy Cuſtom amongſt them, namely, that the Son marrieth ſometimes all his Father's Wives, except his own Mother; for the Court, or Houſe of the Father or Mother, falleth by Inheritance always to the youngeſt Son, whereupon he is to provide for all his Father's Wives, becauſe they are Part of his Inheritance, as well as his Father's Poſſeſſions; and then, if he will, he uſeth them for his own Wives, for he thinks it no Injury or Diſparagement to himſelf, tho' they return unto his Father after Death. Therefore when any Man hath bargained with another for a Maid, the Father of the Damſel makes him a Feaſt; in the mean time ſhe flies away to ſome of her Kinsfolk to hide herſelf. Then her Father ſays to the Bridegroom, my Daughter is yours, take her whereſoever you can find her. Then he and his Friends ſeek her till they find her, and having found her, he takes her by Force, and carries her to his own Houſe.

15. In regard to their Laws, or their Execution of Juſtice, your Majeſty is to be advertiſed, that when two Men fight, no third Man dare intrude himſelf to part them: The Father dare not help his own Son: but he that happens to have the worſt, muſt appeal to the Court of his Lord, and whoever elſe offereth him any Violence after Appeal, is put to death; but he muſt be taken preſently without Delay. They puniſh no Man with Death, unleſs he be taken in the Commiſſion of the Fact, or elſe confeſs the ſame: But being accuſed, they put him to extreme Torture to make him confeſs the Truth. They puniſh Murder with Death, and even Fornication with any other beſides his own Women. By his own, I mean his Wife or his Maid-Servant; for every Man may uſe his Slave as he pleaſes. Heinous Theft alſo, or Felony, they puniſh with Death. For a light Theft, as for ſtealing of a Ram, the Criminal not apprehended in the Fact, but otherwiſe de-

tected, is cruelly beaten; and if the Excutioner lays on an hundred Strokes, he muſt have an hundred Rods, for ſuch as are beaten upon Sentence given in Court. Frauds likewiſe of every kind they puniſh with Death. Sacrilegious Perſons they uſe in like manner (of which kind of Malefactors your Majeſty ſhall be more fully informed hereafter) becauſe they eſteem ſuch to be Witches. When a Man dies they lament and howl moſt pitifully over him, and the Mourners are free from paying any Tribute for one whole Year after: Alſo whoever is preſent in the Houſe, where one of Mans's Eſtate lies dead, he muſt not enter into the Court of *Mangu-Khan*, till one whole Year be expired. If it was a Child deceaſed, he muſt not enter into the Court till the next Month after. Near the Grave of the Party deceaſed, they always leave one Cottage. If any of their Nobles, being of the Stock of *Zingis*, their firſt Lord dies, the Place of his Burial is not known. About theſe Places where they inter their Nobles, there is a Family left to keep the Sepulchre: I could not learn that they uſed to hide Treaſures in the Graves of their Dead.

The *Comanians* build a ſtately Tomb over their Dead, and erect the Image of the dead Man thereupon, with his Face towards the Eaſt, holding a Drinking-cup in his Hand before his Navel. They erect alſo upon the Monument of rich Men Pyramids; and in ſome Places I ſaw high Towers made of Brick; in other places Pyramids made of Stone, though there are no Stones to be found thereabouts. I ſaw one newly buried, in Honour of whom they hung up ſixteen Horſe-hides unto each Quarter of the World, four between certain high Poſts; and they ſet beſide his Grave *Coſmos* for him to drink, and Fleſh to eat; and yet they ſaid that he was baptized. We beheld other kind of Sepulchres alſo toward the Eaſt, *viz.* large Floors of Pavements, made of Stones, ſome round and ſome ſquare, and then four long Stones pitched upright about the Pavement towards the four Corners of the World. When any Man is ſick, he lieth in his Bed and cauſeth a Sign to be ſet up on his Houſe, to ſignify that there lies a ſick Perſon, that no Man may enter into the Houſe; for none are admitted there to ſick Perſons but a Servant only. When any one is ſick in their great Courts, they appoint Watchmen to ſtand round about the Court, who will not ſuffer any Perſon to enter the Precincts thereof; for ſuch is their Superſtition, that they are afraid that evil Spirits or Witches ſhould come together with the Parties that enter in.

16. On my Arrival among theſe barbarous People, I thought, as I before obſerved, that I was come into a new World, for they came flocking about us on Horſe-back, after they had made us wait for them in the Shade under the Black Carts. The firſt Queſtion they aſked was, whether we had ever been with them heretofore or not: And on our anſwering that we had not, they began impudently to beg our Victuals from us: We gave them ſome of our Biſcuit and Wine, which we had brought with us from the Town of *Soldai*; and having drank off one Flaggon of our Wine, they demanded another, telling us, that a Man does not go into the Houſe with one Foot; we gave them no more however, excuſing ourſelves that we had but little. Then they aſked us whence we came, and whither we were bound; I anſwered them in theſe Words; that we had heard concerning their Prince *Sartach*, that he was become a Chriſtian, and that unto him our Determination was to travel, having your Majeſty's Letters to deliver unto him. They were very inquiſitive to know whether I came of mine own accord, or whether I was ſent. I anſwered, that no Man compelled me to come, neither had I come unleſs I had been willing; and that therefore I was come according to my own Will, and to the Will of my Superior. I took the utmoſt Care never to ſay that I was your Majeſty's Embaſſador. Then they aſked what I had in my Carts, whether it were Gold, Silver, or rich Garments to carry to *Sartach*. I anſwered that *Sartach* ſhould ſee what we had brought when we were come unto him, that they had nothing to do to aſk ſuch Queſtions; but rather ought to conduct me unto their Captain, and that he, if he thought proper, ſhould cauſe me to be directed to *Sartach*, if not, that I would return; for there was in the ſame Province one of *Baatu*'s Kinſmen, called *Zagatai*, to whom the Emperor of *Conſtantinople* had written Letters to ſuffer me to paſs through his Territories.

With this Anſwer of ours they were ſatisfied, giving us Horſes and Oxen, and two Men to conduct us. But before they would allow us thoſe Neceſſaries, they made us wait a long while, begging our Bread for their Brats, wondering at all Things they ſaw about our Servants, as their Knives, Gloves, Purſes, and Points, and deſiring to have them. I excuſed myſelf, ſaying, we had a long Way to travel, and that we could not deprive ourſelves of Things neceſſary to finiſh ſo long a journey. Then they ſaid I was a niggardly Scoundrel. It is true, they took nothing by Force from me, but they will beg all they ſee very importunately; and if a Man beſtows any thing upon them, it is but loſt, for they are thankleſs Wretches. They eſteem themſelves Lords, and think that nothing ſhould be denied them by any Man: If a Man gives them nothing, and afterwards ſtands in Need of their Service, they will do nothing for him. They gave us of their Cows-milk to drink after the Butter was churned out of it, which was very ſour, which they call *Apram*; ſo we departed from them: And indeed it ſeemed to me that we were eſcaped out of the Hands of Devils. The next Day we were introduced to their Captain. From the Time wherein we departed from *Soldai*, till we arrived at the Court of *Sartach*, which was the Space of two Months, we never lay in Houſe or Tent, but always under the Canopy of Heaven, and in the open Air, or under our Carts; neither ſaw we any Village, or heard of any Building where any Village had been; but the Graves of the *Comanians* we ſaw in great abundance. The ſame Evening our Guide which had conducted us, gave us ſome Coſmos: After I had drank thereof, I ſweated extremely, which was owing, I believe, to the Novelty of it, becauſe I never drank of it before; notwithſtanding I thought it was very pleaſant and well taſted.

17. We met the Day following with the Carts of *Zagatai*, laden with Houſes; and I really thought that a great City came to meet me. I wondered at the Multitude of Droves of Oxen, and Horſes, and Droves of Sheep; I could ſee but a few Men that guided all theſe: Upon which I enquired how many Men he had under him, and they told me that he had not above five hundred in all, and that the one half of this Number were paſs'd, as they lay in another Lodging. Then the Servant which was our Guide, told me that I muſt preſent ſomewhat to *Zagatai*; and ſo he cauſed us to ſtay, going themſelves before to give Notice of our coming. By this Time it was paſt Three, and they unladed their Houſes near a River; and there came unto us his Interpreter, who being informed by us that we were never there before, demanded ſome of our Victuals, and we granted his Requeſt. He alſo required of us ſome Garment, for a Reward, becauſe he was to interpret our Meſſage to his Maſter: We excuſed ourſelves as well as we could. Then he aſked us what we would preſent to his Lord, and we took a Flaggon of Wine, and filled a Baſket with Biſcuit, and a Salver with Apples, and other Fruits; but he was not contented therewith, becauſe we brought him not ſome rich Garment.

We were, however, admitted into his Preſence with Fear and Baſhfulneſs. He ſat upon his Bed holding a muſical Inſtrument in his Hand, and his Wife ſat by him, who, in my Opinion, had cut and pared her Noſe between the Eyes, that ſhe might ſeem to be more flat-noſed; for ſhe had left herſelf no Noſe at all in that Place, having anointed the very Scar with black Ointment, as ſhe alſo did her Eye-brows; which Sight ſeemed to us moſt ugly. Then I repeated to him the ſame Words which I had ſpoken in other Places; for we were directed in this Circumſtance by ſome that had been amongſt the *Tartars*, that we ſhould never vary in our Tale. I beſought him that he would vouchſafe to accept this ſmall Gift at our Hands, excuſing myſelf that I was a Monk, and that it was againſt our Profeſſion to poſſeſs Gold, Silver, or precious Garments, and therefore that I had not any ſuch Thing to give him, unleſs he would receive ſome Part of our Victuals inſtead of a Bleſſing. He cauſed thereupon our

Preſent to be received, and immediately diſtributed the ſame amongſt his Men, who were met together for that Purpoſe, to drink and make merry. I delivered alſo to him the Emperor of *Conſtantinople*'s Letters, eight Days after the Feaſt of Aſcenſion, and he ſent them to *Soldai* to have them interpreted there; for they were written in *Greek*, and he had none about him that was ſkilled in the *Greek* Tongue.

He aſked us if we would drink any Coſmos, that is to ſay Mares Milk, for thoſe that are Chriſtians among them as the *Ruſſians*, *Grecians*, and *Alans*, who keep their own Law very ſtrictly, will not drink thereof, for they account themſelves no Chriſtians after they have once drank of it, and their Prieſts reconcile them unto the Church as if they had renounced the Chriſtian Faith. I anſwered, that we had as yet ſufficient of our own to drink, and that when it failed us we muſt be conſtrained to drink ſuch as ſhould be given us: He enquired alſo what was contained in the Letters which your Majeſty ſent to *Sartach*. I anſwered, that they were ſealed up, and that there was nothing contained in them but friendly Words. And he aſked what Words we would deliver unto *Sartach*? I anſwered, the Words of Chriſtian Faith. He aſked again what thoſe Words were? For he was very deſirous to hear them. Then I expounded unto him as well as I could by my Interpreter, who was a very ſorry one, the Apoſtles Creed, which after he had heard he ſhook his Head. Then he aſſigned us two Men to attend upon us, and our Horſes and our Oxen, and he cauſed us to ride in his Company, till the Meſſenger he had ſent for the Tranſlation of the Emperor's Letters arrived; ſo we travelled in his Company till the Day after *Whitſunday*.

18. There came to us on *Whitſun-Eve*, ſome of the People called *Alans*, who are the Chriſtians of the *Greek* Church, uſing *Greek* Books, and were Prieſts, but they are not Schiſmatics as the *Grecians* are, ſince without Exception of Perſons they honour all Chriſtians; and they brought unto us boiled Fleſh, requeſting us to eat of their Meat, and to pray for one of their Company who was dead. I anſwered, becauſe it was the Eve of ſo great a Feaſt, we would not eat any Fleſh; and I expounded to them the Solemnity of the Feaſt, for they were ignorant of all Things relating to the Chriſtian Religion, except the Name of Chriſt.

They and many other Chriſtians, both *Ruſſians* and *Hungarians*, demanded of us whether they might be ſaved or no, becauſe they were conſtrained to drink Coſmos, and to eat the dead Carcaſſes of Things ſlain by the Infidels, which even the *Greeks* and *Ruſſian* Prieſts alſo eſteemed as Things ſtrangled or offered to Idols, becauſe they were ignorant of the Times of Faſting, neither could they have obſerved them if they had known them. I inſtructed them as well as I could, and ſtrengthened them in the Faith; as for the Fleſh which they had brought, we reſerved it till the Feaſt-day, for there is nothing ſold among the *Tartars* for Gold and Silver, but for Cloth and Garments, of which we had none. When our Servants offered them any of their Coin, called by them Yperpera, they rubbed it with their Fingers and put it to their Noſes, to try by the Smell whether it were Copper or no. They did not allow for our Food any Subſiſtence but Cows Milk only, which was very ſour: One Thing moſt neceſſary was greatly wanting to us, for the Water was ſo foul and muddy by reaſon of their Horſes, that it was not fit to be drank; ſo that had it not been for ſome Biſcuit which by the Goodneſs of God was ſtill left us, we had undoubtedly periſhed.

19. On the Feaſt of *Pentecoſt* there came to us a *Mohammedan*, to whom, as he talked with us, we expounded the Chriſtian Faith, who (being informed of God's Goodneſs to Mankind in the Incarnation of our Saviour Chriſt, the Reſurrection of the Dead and the Judgment to come, and that Baptiſm was a waſhing away of Sins) ſaid that he would be baptized; but when we prepared to baptize him, he ſuddenly mounted on Horſeback, ſaying, that he would go Home and conſult with his Wife: And the next Day he told us that he durſt not receive Baptiſm, becauſe then he ſhould drink no more Coſmos; for the Chriſtians of that Place affirm, that no true Chriſtians ought to drink it, and that without it he could not live in that Deſart; from which Opinion I could not for my Life remove him. It is ſcarce credible, how many are reſtrained from becoming Chriſtians from this Opinion, broached and confirmed among them by the *Ruſſians*, of whom there are a great many ſettled here. The ſame Day *Zagatai* gave us one Man to conduct us to *Sartach*, and to guide us to the next Stage, which was five Days Journey for Oxen to travel. They gave us alſo a Goat for Victuals, and a great many Bladders of Cows Milk, and but a little Coſmos, becauſe they love it ſo much themſelves; and ſo taking our Journey directly towards the North, I thought we had paſſed through one of Hell-Gates.

The Servants who conducted us began to play the bold Thieves, ſeeing us take little heed to ourſelves; at length having loſt much by their Thievery, Suffering taught us Wiſdom. When we came to the Extremity of that Province, which is fortified with a Ditch from one Sea unto another, without which was their Place of Lodging, into which ſo ſoon as we had entered, it appeared to us as if all the Inhabitants were infected with Leproſy, for certain baſe Fellows were placed there to receive Tribute of ſuch as took Salt out of the Salt-Pits. From that Place they told us we muſt travel fifteen Days Journey before we ſhould find any other Place; with them we drank Coſmos, and gave to them a Baſket full of Fruits and of Biſcuit, and they gave unto us eight Oxen and one Goat to maintain us in ſuch a Journey, and I know not how many Bladders of Milk, and ſo changing our Oxen we proceeded for ten Days, arriving then at another Stage, neither found we any Water all that Way, but only in ſome Ditches made in the Vallies and in two Rivers. From the Time alſo that we departed out of the Province of *Gaſſaria*, we travelled directly Eaſtward, having the Sea on the South-ſide of us, and a vaſt Deſart on the North, which Deſart in ſome Places reaches twenty Days Journey in Breadth, without Tree, Mountain, or ſo much as a Stone therein, and is a moſt excellent Paſture. Here the *Comanians*, which were called *Copthai*, were wont to feed their Cattle, and were the ſame the *Germans* ſtiled *Walani*, and the Province itſelf *Walania*. But *Iſidore* calleth all the Tract of Land ſtretching from the River of *Tanais* to the Lake of *Meotis*, and ſo far as the *Danube*, the Country of the *Alani*. And the ſame Country extends in Length from the *Danube* to *Tanais* (which divides *Aſia* from *Europe*) for the Space of two Months Journey, and it was all inhabited by the *Comanians*, called *Copthai*, and beyond *Tanais* as far as the River of *Edil* or *Volga*, the Space between which two Rivers is a long Journey to be travelled in ten Days. To the North of the ſame Province lieth *Ruſſia*, which is full of Wood in all Places, and ſtretches from *Poland* and *Hungary* to the River of *Tanais*, and it likewiſe hath been waſted by the *Tartars*, and is ſtill waſted by them.

20. The *Tartars* have more Eſteem for the *Saracens* than the *Ruſſians*, becauſe the latter are Chriſtians, and when they are able to give them no more, they drive them and their Children, like Flocks of Sheep, into the Wilderneſs, conſtraining them to keep their Cattle there. Beyond *Ruſſia* lieth the Country of *Pruſſia*, which the *Teutonick* Knights of the Order of St. *Mary*'s Hoſpital of *Jeruſalem* have of late wholly ſubdued, and, indeed they might eaſily win *Ruſſia* if they would attempt it vigorouſly; for if the *Tartars* ſhould once know that the great Prieſt, for that is the Name they give to the Pope, had cauſed the Enſign of the Croſs to be diſplayed againſt them, they would fly into the Deſarts. But to proceed;

We went towards the Eaſtward, ſeeing nothing but the Sky and the Earth, and ſometimes the Sea on our right Hand, called the Sea of *Tanais*, and the Sepulchres of the *Comanians*, which appeared unto us two Leagues off, in which their Cuſtom was to bury their Dead altogether. While we were travelling through the Deſart it went reaſonably well with us, but I cannot ſufficiently expreſs the Irkſomeneſs of their Place of Abode, for our Guide would have us go to every Captain with a Preſent, which was an Expence our Circumſtances would not bear, for we were eight Perſons ſpending our own Proviſion, for the *Tartar* Servants would all of them eat of our Victuals.

The Fleſh which they gave us was not ſufficient for us, neither could we find any thing to be bought for our Money: And as we ſat under our Carts in the cool Shadow, on account of the extreme Heat, they would importunately and ſhamefully intrude themſelves into our Company, ſo that they would even tread upon us to ſee what we had; ſuch Slovens they were, that they would lay their Tails in our Preſence while they were yet talking with us: Many other Things they committed, which were moſt tedious and loathſome unto us.

But above all, it grieved me to the very Heart, that, when I would have ſpoken what might tend to their Edification, my fooliſh Interpreter would ſay, You ſhould not make me become a Preacher now; I tell you I cannot, I will not rehearſe any ſuch Words: And true it was which he ſaid, for I perceived afterwards, when I began to have a little Knowledge in the Language, that when I ſpoke one Thing he would ſay quite another; that is, whatſoever came next to his witleſs Tongue's End. Then ſeeing the Danger I might incur in ſpeaking by ſuch an Interpreter, I reſolved rather to hold my Peace; and thus we travelled with great Fatigue from Place to Place, till a few Days before the Feaſt of St. *Mary Magdalen*, we arrived at the Banks of the mighty River *Tanais*, which divides *Aſia* from *Europe*, even as the River *Nile* of *Egypt* ſeparates *Aſia* from *Africa*. At the Place where we arrived, *Baatu* and *Sartach* had cauſed Cottages to be built upon the Eaſtern Bank of the River, for a Company of *Ruſſians* to dwell in, that they might tranſport Ambaſſadors and Merchants in Ferry boats over that Part of the River; where firſt they ferried us over, and then our Carts, putting one Wheel into one, and the other into the other Lighter, firſt binding both the Lighters together, and ſo they rowed them over.

In this Place our Guide played the fool ſtrangely; for he imagining that the *Ruſſians* dwelling in the Cottage ſhould have provided us Horſes, ſent home the Beaſts we brought with us, in another Cart, that they might return to their own Maſters. But when we demanded ſome Beaſts of them, they anſwered, that they had a Privilege from *Baatu*, whereby they were bound to no other Service but to ferry Goers and Comers; and that they received great Sums from Merchants even for that. We ſtayed there by the River-ſide three Days. The firſt Day they gave us a great freſh Turbot: The ſecond Day they beſtowed Rye-bread and a little Fleſh upon us, which the Purveyor of the Village had taken up at every Houſe for us: And the third Day dried Fiſh, which they have there in abundance. The River was as broad in that Place as the River *Seine* is at *Paris*; and before we came there, we paſſed over many fine Waters all full of Fiſh, and yet the barbarous and rude *Tartars* know not how to take them; neither do they make any Reckoning of any Fiſh, except it be ſo great that they may eat the Fleſh of it as they do the Fleſh of a Ram.

This River is the Limit of the Eaſt Part of *Ruſſia*; it riſeth out of the Fens of *Mæotis*, which Fens extend quite to the northern Ocean. It runs ſouthward, and forms a Sea of ſeven hundred Miles in Extent before it falls into the *Pontus Euxinus*, or the *Black Sea*; and all the Rivers we paſſed over ran into the ſame. This River has alſo great ſtore of Wood growing on the Weſt Side thereof. The *Tartars* remove no farther towards the North: For about the firſt of *Auguſt* they begin to return back to the South; and therefore there is another Cottage ſomewhat lower, where Paſſengers are ferried over in Winter-time. And in this Place we were driven to great Extremity, becauſe we could get neither Horſes nor Oxen for Money; at length, after I had declared unto them, that my coming was for the common Good of all Chriſtians, they ſent us Oxen and Men, but we ourſelves were forced to travel on Foot. At this time they were reaping their Rye; as for Wheat, it grows not well in that Soil: They have Millet in great abundance.

The *Ruſſian* Women dreſs their Heads like our Women: They embroider their Gowns on the outſide, from their Feet unto the Knees, with party-coloured or grey Stuff. The *Ruſſian* Men wear Caps like the *Dutchmen*; alſo they wear upon their Heads certain ſharp and high-crown'd Hats made of Felt, much like a Sugar-loaf. We travelled thence three Days together without finding any People; and when ourſelves and our Oxen were exceeding weary and faint, not knowing how far it would be to any *Tartars*, on a ſudden there came two Horſes running towards us, which we caught with great Joy: Our Guide and our Interpreter mounted upon their Backs, to ſee how far off they could deſcry any People; and upon the fourth Day of our Journey, having found ſome Inhabitants, we rejoiced like Seamen who had eſcaped out of a dangerous Tempeſt, and had newly recovered the Haven. Then having taken freſh Horſes and Oxen, we paſſed on from Stage to Stage, till at laſt, the ſecond of *Auguſt*, we arrived at the Habitation of *Sartach*, the *Tartar* Prince.

21. All the Country lying beyond *Tanais* is a very beautiful and pleaſant Region, abounding with Rivers and Woods. Towards the North Part thereof there are large Foreſts inhabited by two ſorts of People, one of them is called *Moxel*, being mere *Pagans*, and without Law; they have neither Towns nor Cities, but only Cottages in the Woods. Their Lord, and a great Part of themſelves, were put to the Sword in *Germany*; whereupon they highly commend the brave Courage of the *Alanians*, hoping as yet to be delivered out of the Bondage of the *Tartars* by their Means. If any Merchant come among them, he muſt provide Things neceſſary for him with whom he is firſt entertained all the time of his Abode among them. If any lieth with another Man's Wife, her Huſband, unleſs he be an Eye-witneſs thereof, doth not regard it, for they are not jealous of their Wives. They have abundance of Hogs, and great Store of Honey and Wax, and various ſorts of rich and coſtly Skins, and Plenty of Falcons. .

The other People are called *Merclas*, which the *Latins* call *Mardui*, and they are *Mohammedans*. Beyond them is the River of *Etilia*, or *Volga*, which is the greateſt River that ever I ſaw, and it iſſues from the North Part of *Bulgaria the Greater*; and ſo trending along Southward, diſcharges itſelf into a certain Lake, containing in Circuit the Space of four Months Travel, of which I ſhall ſpeak hereafter. The two Rivers afore-mentioned, *Tanais* and *Etilia*, otherwiſe called *Volga*, in the Northern Regions, through which we travelled, are not diſtant above ten Days Journey; but Southward they are divided a great Space one from another, for *Tanais* deſcendeth into the Sea of *Pontus*. *Etilia* maketh the foreſaid Sea or Lake, with the Help of many other Rivers which fall into it out of *Perſia*, and we had to the South of us very high Mountains; upon the Side thereof towards the ſaid Deſart, the People called *Carges*, and the *Alani* or *Arcas* inhabit, who are as yet Chriſtians, and make War againſt the *Tartars*. Beyond them, next unto the Sea or Lake of *Etilia*, there are certain *Mohammedans* called *Leſgi*, who are in Subjection to the *Tartars*. Beyond this is *Porta-Ferrea*, or the Iron Gate, concerning the Situation of which your Majeſty ſhall be further informed towards the End of this Treatiſe, for I travelled in my Return by the very Place between theſe two Rivers; in the Regions through which we paſſed the *Comanians* formerly inhabited before they were over-run by the *Tartars*.

22. We found *Sartach* lying within three Days Journey of the River *Etilia*, whoſe Court ſeemed to us to be very great, for he himſelf had ſix Wives, and his eldeſt Son alſo had three Wives, every one of which Women hath a great Houſe, and each of them above two hundred Carts. Our Guide went unto a certain *Neſtorian* named *Coiat*, who is a Man of great Authority in *Sartach* Court; he made us go a long way to one *Janna*, for ſo they call him who has the Office of entertaining Ambaſſadors. In the Evening *Coiat* commanded us to come unto him. Then our Guide began to enquire what we would preſent him with, and was exceedingly offended when he ſaw we had nothing ready to preſent. We ſtood before him, and he ſat majeſtically, having Muſick and Dancing in his Preſence. Then I ſpoke unto him in the Words before recited, telling him for what Purpoſe I was come unto his Lord, and requeſting ſo much Favour at his Hands as to bring our Letters unto the Sight of his Lord. I excuſed myſelf alſo, that I was a Monk, not having, nor receiving nor uſing, any Gold or Silver, or other precious Thing, ſave our Books, and the Garments in which, as Prieſts, we ſerved God; and this was the

Cauſe why I brought no Preſent to him, or to his Lord; for having abandoned my own Goods, it could not be expected I ſhould become a Carrier for other Men. To all which he anſwered very courteouſly, that being a Monk, in ſo doing I did well, for ſo I ſhould obſerve my Vow; neither ſtood he in need of ought we had, but rather was ready to beſtow on us ſuch Things as we ſtood in need of; and having ſo ſaid, he cauſed us to ſit down, and to drink of his Milk, and preſently after he requeſted us to ſay our Devotions for him, and we did ſo.

He enquired alſo who was the greateſt Prince among the *Franks*, i. e. the Weſtern Chriſtians? and I ſaid the Emperor, if he could enjoy his own Dominions in Quiet. No, replied he, but the King of *France*, for he had heard of your Highneſs by Lord *Baldwin* of *Henalt*. I found there alſo one of the Kinghts Templars, who had been in *Cyprus*, and had made Report of all Things which he ſaw there. Then we returned to our Lodging and the next Morning we ſent him a Flaggon of Muſcadel Wine (which had kept very well in ſo long a Journey) and a Box full of Biſcuit, which was moſt acceptable unto him, and he detained our Servants for that Evening, and they were well entertained at his Tents. The next Morning he commanded me to come to Court, and to bring the King's Letters, and my Veſtments and Books with me, becauſe his Lord was deſirous to ſee them, which we did accordingly, lading one Cart with our Books and Veſtments, and another with Biſcuit, Wine, and Fruits; then he cauſed all our Books and Veſtments to be ſpread abroad, and there ſtood round about us many *Tartars*, *Chriſtians*, and *Saracens*, on Horſeback; at the Sight of which he demanded, whether I would beſtow all thoſe Things upon his Lord or no? Which ſaying made me tremble, and threw me into an exceſſive Fright. Diſſembling our Grief as well as we could, we gave him the following Anſwer: Sir, our humble Requeſt is, that our Lord, your Maſter, would vouchſafe to accept our Bread, Wine, and Fruits, not as a Preſent, becauſe it is too mean, but as a Benediction, leſt we ſhould come with an empty Hand before him, and he ſhall ſee the Letters of my Sovereign Lord the King, and by them he ſhall underſtand for what Cauſe we are come unto him, and then both ourſelves and all that we have are at his Pleaſure, but for our Veſtments they are holy, and it is unlawful for any but Prieſts to touch them.

Then he commanded us to dreſs ourſelves in the Garments, that we might go before his Lord, and we did ſo. Then putting on our moſt precious Ornaments, I took in my Arms a very fair Cuſhion, and the Bible which your Majeſty gave me, and a moſt beautiful Pſalter, which the Queen was pleaſed to beſtow upon me, wherein there were very fine Pictures. My Aſſociate took a Miſſal and a Croſs, and the Clerk having put on his Surplice, took a Cenſor in his Hand, and ſo we came to the Preſence of his Lord, and they lifted up the Felt hanging before his Door, that he might behold us.

Then they cauſed the Clerk and the Interpreter thrice to bow the Knee; but of us they required no ſuch Submiſſion, and they diligently admoniſhed to take care that in going in, and in coming out, we touched not the Threſhold of the Houſe, and requeſted us to ſing a Benediction for him. At length we entered ſinging *Salve Regina*; and in the Entrance of the Door ſtood a Bench with Coſmos, and Drinking-cups thereon, and all his Wives were there aſſembled; alſo the Moguls, or, as they pronounce, *Moals*, or rich *Tartars*, thruſt in, and preſſed hard upon us. Then *Coiat* carried to his Lord the Cenſor, with Incenſe, which he beheld very diligently, holding it in his Hand; afterwards he carried the Pſalter unto him, which he looked earneſtly upon, and his Wife alſo that ſat by him; after that he carried the Bible; then *Sartach* aſked, if the Goſpel were contained therein? Yes, ſaid I, and all the Holy Scriptures beſides.

He took the Croſs alſo in his Hand, and aſked, as to the Image, whether it were the Image of Chriſt or no? I ſaid it was. The *Neſtorians* and the *Armenians* never make the Figure of Chriſt upon their Croſſes. Wherefore, either they ſeem not to think well of this Paſſion, or elſe they are aſhamed of it. Then he cauſed them that ſtood about us to ſtand aſide, that he might more fully behold our Ornaments. Afterwards I delivered unto him your Majeſty's Letters; with the Tranſlation thereof in the *Arabick* and *Syriack* Languages, for I cauſed them to be tranſlated at *Acon* into the Character and Dialect of both the ſaid Tongues. There were certain *Armenian* Prieſts, who were verſed in the *Turkiſh* and *Arabian* Languages, and the Knight before mentioned alſo of the Order of the Temple had Knowledge in the *Syriac*, *Turkiſh*, and *Arabian* Tongues. Then we departed, and put off our Veſtments, and there came unto us ſome Secretaries of the Court, together with the *Coiat*, and cauſed our Letters to be interpreted, which Letters being heard, he cauſed our Bread, Wine, and Fruits, to be received; and he permitted us alſo to carry our Veſtments and Books unto our own Lodging.

23. We had the next Morning betimes a Viſit from a certain Prieſt, who was Brother to *Coiat*, requeſting to have our Box of Chriſm, becauſe *Sartach*, as he ſaid, was deſirous to ſee it, and ſo we gave it him. In the Evening *Coiat* ſent for us, ſaying, my Lord, your King, wrote Kind Words unto my Lord and Maſter *Sartach*. There are, however, certain Matters of Difficulty in them, concerning which he dare not determine without the Advice of his Father, and therefore you muſt depart unto him, leaving behind you the two Carts which you brought hither Yeſterday with Veſtments and Books in my Cuſtody, becauſe my Lord is deſirous to take a more diligent View of them. I preſently ſuſpecting what Miſchief might enſue from his Covetouſneſs, made him Anſwer; Sir, We will not only leave thoſe with you, but the two other Carts alſo, which we have in your Poſſeſſion. You ſhall not, ſaid he, leave thoſe behind you; but for the two Carts firſt named, we will ſatisfy your Requeſt: I ſaid, that this could not conveniently be done, but we muſt leave all with him. Then he aſked, whether we meant to remain in the Land? I anſwered, if you have read, and underſtand the Letters of my Lord the King, you know that we are ſo determined; then he replied, that he ought to be patient, and ſo we departed from him that Evening.

The next Morning he ſent a *Neſtorian* Prieſt for the Carts, and we cauſed all the four Carts to be delivered; then came the beforementioned Brother of *Coiat* to meet us, and ſeparated thoſe things, which we had brought the Day before to the Court from the reſt, *viz*. the Books and Veſtments, and took them away with him. *Coiat* had, however, commanded, that we ſhould carry theſe Veſtments with us, which we wore in the Preſence of *Sartach*, that we might put them on before *Baatu*, if he ſhould require it; but the Prieſt took them from us by Violence, uſing theſe Words: You brought them to *Sartach*, and would you carry them to *Baatu?* And when I would have ſhewn him the Reaſon, he anſwered, Come, don't be too talkative, but go your way. Then I ſaw there was no Remedy but Patience, for we could have no Acceſs unto *Sartach* himſelf, neither was there any that would do us Juſtice. I was afraid alſo of the Interpreter, that he had ſpoken other things than I directed him; for his Will was good, that we ſhould have given away all that we had. There was yet one Comfort left to me, for when I once perceived their covetous Intent, I conveyed from among our Books the Bible, and the Sentences, and other Books, which I valued moſt. I durſt not, however, take away the Pſalter of my ſovereign Lady the Queen, becauſe it was too well known, on account of the golden Pictures therein: So we returned with the two other Carts to our Lodging; then came he that was appointed to be our Guide to the Court of *Baatu*, bidding us provide for our Journey in all haſte, to whom I ſaid, that I would in no caſe have the Carts go with me, which he declared unto *Coiat*.

Then *Coiat* commanded that we ſhould leave them and our Servant with him, and we did as he directed, and ſo travelled directly Eaſtwards towards *Baatu*; the third Day we came to *Etilia*, or *Volga*, the Stream of which when I beheld I wondered from what Region of the North ſuch huge and mighty Waters ſhould deſcend. Before we were departed from *Sartach*, *Coiat*, with many other Scribes of the Court, ſaid unto us, Do not make Report that our Lord is a Chriſtian, but a *Moal*, becauſe the Name of a Chriſtian ſeemeth to them to be the Name of ſome Nation; and ſo great is their Pride, that though they believe, perhaps, ſome things concerning Chriſt, yet they will not be called Chriſtians, being deſirous that their own Name, that is to ſay, Mogul *Moal*, ſhould be exalted above all other Names: Neither will they be called by the Name of *Tartars*, for the *Tartars* were another Nation, as I was informed by them.

24. At the Time that the *Franks* made themſelves Maſters of the City of *Antioch*, which was about the Year 1097, there reigned in theſe Northern Parts a Prince whoſe Name was *Kon-Khan*, or *Ken-Khan*. *Kon or Ken* was his proper Name, and *Khan* his Stile of Power or Dignity; for it is to be underſtood, that the Word *Khan* ſtrictly taken, ſignifies a Diviner, a Man ſkilled in ſublime Sciences, or one who can foretel future Events; and from thence it is transferred to their Princes, as if they held them to be endowed with all theſe great Qualities. The *Turks*, at the Time of that Siege, demanded Succours of *Kon-Khan* againſt the Chriſtians, as coming themſelves originally out of theſe Countries. This *Kon-Khan* was ſtiled likewiſe *Khan*, or Prince of *Cara-Cathay*, which is as much as to ſay, the *Black Cathay*; for *Cara* in their Language ſignifies black, and *Cathay* is the Name of a certain Country, which, however, is to be diſtinguiſhed from that *Cathay* which lies farther towards the Eaſt, and is a maritime Country, of which I ſhall ſpeak hereafter.

As for this *Cara-Cathay*, it lies behind certain Mountains, over which I paſſed, as alſo through a plain Country, in which dwelt formerly a certain great *Neſtorian* Prieſt, who was the Sovereign of a Nation called *Naymans*, and who were all Chriſtians of the *Neſtorian* Sect. This *Kon-Khan* being dead, the *Neſtorian* Prieſt before mentioned took upon him the Stile and Office of a King, and thence the *Neſtorians* called him the King *Preſtre John*, i. e. *John* the Prieſt, and publiſhed mighty Things concerning him, and much beyond the Truth; for it is the Cuſtom of the *Neſtorians* coming from this Country to magnify every little thing into a great Matter, juſt as they ſpread a Report that *Sartach* was become a Chriſtian, and that *Mangu-Khan*, and *Ken-Khan*, had alſo embraced our Religion, only becauſe they were indulgent to thoſe of our Profeſſion, tho' nothing is more certain than that none of them are Chriſtians. So likewiſe there went abroad a great Report concerning this King and Prieſt *John*; notwithſtanding which, when I travelled through his Territories, there was no body that knew any thing of him, but a few *Neſtorians*. In his Paſtures or Territories dwelt *Ken-Khan*, at whoſe Court Friar *Andrew* was, and I myſelf paſſed by at my Return. This *John* had a Brother who was powerful alſo, and a Shepherd like himſelf called *Unc*, and he inhabited beyond the Mountains of *Cara-Cathay*, diſtant from his Brother *John* the Space of three Weeks Journey. He was Lord of a certain Village callad *Cara-Carum*, having People alſo for his Subjects named *Prit*, or *Merkit*, who were Chriſtians of the Sect of *Neſtorius*; but their Lord abandoning the Worſhip of Chriſt, embraced Idolatry, retaining with him Prieſts of the ſaid Idols, who all of them are Worſhipers of Devils, and are Sorcerers themſelves.

Beyond his Paſtures, about ten or fifteen Days Journey, are the Paſtures of *Moal*, who were a poor and beggarly Nation, without Governor and without Law, except their Soothſayings and their Divinations, unto which deteſtable Studies all in thoſe Parts apply their Minds. Near unto *Moal* were other poor People called *Tartars*. The aforeſaid King *John* died without Iſſue Male, his Brother *Unc* thereby was greatly inriched, and took himſelf the Stile of *Khan*, and his Cattle and Herds ranged to the Borders of *Moal*. About the ſame Time there was one *Zingis* a Farrier among the People of *Moal*; this *Zingis* ſtole as many Cattle from the *Khan* as he could poſſibly, ſo that the Shepherds of *Unc* complained unto their Lord; upon which he raiſed an Army, and marched up into the Country of *Moal* to ſeek for *Zingis*: But *Zingis* fled amongſt the *Tartars*, and hid himſelf among them; and *Unc* having taken ſome Spoils both from *Moal*, and alſo from the *Tartars*, returned home; then *Zingis* addreſſed himſelf to the *Tartars*, and to the People of *Moal*, "Behold Brethren, ſaid he, becauſe we are deſ-
"titute of a Governor and a Captain, you ſee how our
"Neighbour oppreſſes us;" on which the *Tartars* and *Moals* appointed him to be their Captain.

Then having ſecretly gathered together an Army, he broke in ſuddenly upon *Unc*, and overcame him, and *Unc* fled into *Catkaya*. At the ſame Time his Daughter was taken, which *Zignis* married unto one of his Sons, by whom ſhe conceived and brought forth the *Great Khan*, which now reigneth, called *Mangu-Khan*. Then *Zingis* ſent the *Tartars* before him in all Places where he came; and thereupon was their Name publiſhed and ſpread abroad; for in all Places the People call out, *The Tartars come, the Tartars come*. Yet through continual Wars, they are now all of them in a manner conſumed and brought to nought. Whereupon the *Moals* endeavour what they can to extinguiſh the Name of the *Tartars*, that they may exalt their own. The Country wherein they firſt inhabited, and where the Court of *Zingis-Khan* yet remaineth, is called *Mancherule*. But becauſe *Tartaria* is the Region out of which they have obtained their Conqueſts, they eſteem that the Seat of their Kingdom; and there alſo, for the moſt part, do they elect their *Great Khan*.

25. In reſpect to this *Sartach*, whether he believes in CHRIST or no, I know not; this I am ſure of, that he will not be called a Chriſtian: On the contrary, he ſeems to me to deride and ſcoff at Chriſtians His Country is in the Way of the *Chriſtians*, viz. of the *Ruſſians*, the *Walachians*, the *Bulgarians*, the *Soldaians* the *Kerchis*, and the *Alans*, who all of them paſs by him as they are going to the Court of his Father *Baatu* to carry Gifts; and therefore he is more in Friendſhip with them. If the *Saracens* however come and bring greater Gifts than they, they are diſpatched ſooner. He hath about him certain *Neſtorian* Prieſts, who tell their Beads and ſing their Devotions. There is alſo another under *Baatu*, called *Berta*, who feeds his Cattle towards the Iron-gate or *Derbent*, where lieth the Paſſage of all the *Saracens* which come out of *Perſia* and out of *Turky*, to go unto *Baatu*, and paſſing by they make him Preſents, and he profeſſeth himſelf to be a *Saracen*, and will not permit Swines Fleſh to be eaten in his Dominions. At the Time of our Return, *Baatu* commanded him to remove himſelf from that Place, and to inhabit upon the Eaſt Side of *Volga*, for he was not willing that the *Saracens* Embaſſadors ſhould paſs by the ſaid *Berta*, becauſe he ſaw it was not for his Profit.

For the Space of four Days, while we remained in the Court of *Sartach*, we had not any Victuals allowed us, except once a little Coſmos; and in our Journey between him and his Father, we travelled in great Fear; for certain *Ruſſians*, *Hungarians*, and *Alans*, being Servants to the *Tartars* (of whom they have great Multitudes among them) aſſembled themſelves twenty or thirty in a Company; and ſecretly in the Night conveying themſelves from Home, they take Bows and Arrows with them, and whoſoever they find in the Night Seaſon they put him to Death, hiding themſelves in the Day-time; and having tired their Horſes, they go in the Night to a Company of other Horſes feeding in ſome Paſture, and change them for new, taking with them alſo one or two Horſes beſides to eat them when they ſtand in need. Our Guide therefore was much afraid, leſt we ſhould have met with ſuch Companions.

In this Journey we had periſhed through Famine, had we not carried ſome of our Biſcuit with us: At length we came to the vaſt River *Etilia*, or the *Volga*, which is four Times greater than the River of *Sein*, and of a wonderful Depth, falling into that which of late they call the *Hircanian-Sea*, according to the name of a certain Country in *Perſia*, lying on the Shore thereof. *Iſidore* calleth it however the *Caſpian-Sea*, for it hath the *Caſpian-Mountains* and the Land of *Perſia* ſituate on the South Side thereof, and the Mountains of *Maſibet*; that is to ſay, of the People called *Aſſaſſini*, towards the Eaſt, which Mountains are joined unto the *Caſpian* Mountains; but on the North Side thereof, lieth the ſame Deſart, wherein the *Tartars* now inhabit; in which heretofore there dwelt a Nation called *Changle*; and on that Side it receives the *Etilia*, which River riſes in Summer-time like the River *Nile* in *Egypt*. On the Weſt Part thereof it hath the Mountains of *Alan*, and *Leſgi*, and *Derbent*, or the Iron-gate, and the Mountains of *Georgia*. This

Sea therefore is encompaſſed on three Sides, with Mountains; but on the North Side hath a fine flat Country. Friar *Andrew*, in his Journey, travelled round about two Sides thereof, namely the South and the Eaſt Sides, and I myſelf about the other two; that is to ſay, the North Side, in going from *Baatu* to *Mangu-Khan*, and in returning likewiſe; and on the Weſt Side, in coming home from *Baatu* into *Syria.* A Man may travel round about it in four Months; and it is not true which *Iſidore* reports, that this Sea is a Bay or Gulph coming out of the Ocean, for in no Part it communicates with the Ocean, but is environed on all Sides with the Land.

26. All the Regions extending from the Weſt Shore of this Sea, where *Alexander*'s Iron-gate, otherwiſe called the City of *Derbent*, is ſituate, and from the Montains *Alan*, all along by the Fences of *Mæotis*, into which the River of *Tanais* falls, and ſo to the North Ocean, was of old called *Albania*, of which Country *Iſidore* reporteth, that there are in it Dogs of ſuch huge Stature, and ſo fierce, that they are able, in Fight, to match Bulls, and to maſter Lions, which is true, as I was aſſured by ſeveral, who told me, that towards the North Ocean they make their Dogs draw in Carts like Oxen, on account of their Bigneſs and Strength. On that Part of *Etilia* where we arrived, there is a new Station built, wherein they have placed *Tartars* and *Ruſſians* together to ferry over and tranſport Meſſengers going and coming to and from the Court of *Baatu*, for *Baatu* keeps his Court upon the farther Side towards the Eaſt; neither aſcendeth he in the Summer-time more northward than the Place where we arrived, but was even then deſcending to the South. From *January* to *Auguſt*, he, and all other *Tartars* aſcend by the Banks of Rivers towards cold and northerly Regions, and in *Auguſt* they begin to return back again.

We paſſed down the Stream therefore in a Bark from the above-mentioned Station unto his Court, from the ſame Place unto a Village of *Bulgaria the Greater*, ſtanding towards the North; it is five days Journey. I wonder how the Devil carried the Religion of *Mohammed* thither; for, from *Derbent*, which is upon the extreme Borders of *Perſia*, it is above thirty Days Journey to paſs over the Deſart, and ſo aſcend to the Bank of *Etilia* into the Country of *Bulgaria*, in all which Way there is no City, only certain Cottages near unto that Place where *Etilia* falleth into the Sea. Theſe *Bulgarians* are more wicked *Mohammedans* than any other Nations whatever. When I beheld the Court of *Baatu*, I was aſtoniſhed at the firſt ſight thereof, for his Houſes or Tents are as though they had been ſome mighty City ſtretching out a great Way in Length, the People ranging up and down about it for the Space of ſome three or four Leagues; and even as the People of *Iſrael* knew every Man on one Side the Tabernacle to pitch his Tent, ſo every one of them knoweth very well toward which Side of the Court he ought to place his Houſe when he takes it from off the Cart. The Court is called therefore in their Language *Horda*, which ſignifies the Midſt, becauſe the Governor, or chief Captain among them, dwells always in the Midſt of his People, except only that directly towards the South no inferior Perſon places himſelf, becauſe, towards that Region the Court-gates are ſet open; but to the Right-hand and the Left-hand they place themſelves as far as they will, according to the Conveniency of Places, ſo that they erect not their Houſes directly oppoſite againſt the Court. At our Arrival we were conducted to a *Mohammedan*, who provided no Victuals for us at all. The Day following, we were brought to the Court, and *Baatu* cauſed a large Tent to be erected, becauſe his Houſe or Tent could not contain ſo many Men and Women as were aſſembled. Our Guide admoniſhed us not to ſpeak till *Baatu* had given us Commandment ſo to do, and that then we ſhould ſpeak our Minds briefly.

Then *Baatu* demanded whether your Majeſty had ſent Embaſſadors unto him or no? I anſwered, that your Majeſty had ſent Meſſengers to *Ken-Khan*, and that you would not have ſent Meſſengers or Letters to *Sartach*, had not your Highneſs been perſuaded that they were become Chriſtians, becauſe you ſent not unto them out of any Fear, but only for Congratulation and Courteſy-ſake, in regard that you heard they were converted to Chriſtianity. Then led he us unto his Pavilion, and we were charged not to touch the Cords of the Tent, about which they are as ſuſpicious as about the Threſhold of the Houſe. There we ſtood in our Habits bare-footed, and bare-headed, and were a great and ſtrange Spectacle in their Eyes. Indeed Friar *John Du Plano Carpini* had been there before my Coming; but becauſe he was the Pope's Embaſſador, he changed his Habit, that he might not be contemned. Then we were brought into the Midſt of the Tent, neither required they of us to do any Reverence, by bowing our Knees as they uſed to do of other Meſſengers; we ſtood therefore before him for the Space wherein a Man might have rehearſed the Pſalm *Miſerere mei Deus*, and there was a great Silence kept by all.

Baatu himſelf ſat upon a Seat long and broad, like a Bed gilt all over, with three Stairs to aſcend, and one of his Ladies ſat beſide him. The Men there aſſembled ſat down ſcattering, ſome on the Right-hand of the ſaid Lady, and ſome on the Left. Theſe Places on the one Side, which the Women filled not up (for there were only the Wives of *Baatu*) were ſupplied by the Men. Alſo at the very Entrance of the Tent ſtood a Bench furniſhed with Coſmos, and with ſtately Cups of Silver and Gold, richly ſet with precious Stones. *Baatu* beheld us earneſtly, and we him, and he ſeemed to reſemble in Perſonage Monſieur *John de Beaumont*, whoſe Soul reſteth in Peace; for, like him, he had a freſh ruddy Countenance.

At length, he commanded us to ſpeak. Then our Guide gave us Direction that we ſhould bow our Knees and ſpeak; on which I bowed one Knee, then he ſignified that I ſhould kneel upon both my knees; I did ſo, being loth to contend about ſuch Circumſtances; and again he commanded me to ſpeak. Then I thinking of a Prayer unto GOD, becauſe I kneeled on both my Knees, began to pray in theſe Words; “ Sir, we beſeech the “ Lord, from whom all good Things do proceed, and “ who hath given you theſe earthly Benefits, that it “ would pleaſe him hereafter to make you Partaker of his “ heavenly Bleſſings, becauſe the former, without theſe, “ are but vain and unprofitable: And, indeed, further be “ it known unto you of a certain, that you ſhall not obtain the Joys of Heaven, unleſs you become a Chriſtian; for GOD ſaith, *Whoſoever believeth and is baptized, ſhall be ſaved; but he that believeth ſhall be* “ *condemned.*”

At this he modeſtly ſmiled, but the other *Moals* began to clap their Hands and to deride us, and my ſilly Interpreter, of whom eſpecially I ſhould have received Comfort in Time of Need, was himſelf abaſhed, and utterly out of Countenance. Then after Silence made, I ſaid to him; “ I came to your Son, becauſe we heard that he “ was become a Chriſtian, and I brought to him Letters “ on the Behalf of my Sovereign Lord the King of “ *France*, and your Son ſent me hither unto you; the “ Cauſe of my coming therefore is beſt known unto your- “ ſelf.” Then he cauſed me to riſe up, and he enquired your Majeſty's Name, my Name, and the Name of my Aſſociate and Interpreter, and cauſed them all to be put down in Writing. He demanded alſo (becauſe he had been informed that you was departed out of your own Countries with an Army) againſt whom you waged War? I anſwered againſt the *Saracens*, who had defiled the Houſe of GOD at *Jeruſalem*. He aſked alſo whether your Highneſs had ever before that Time ſent any Embaſſador unto him or no? To you, Sir, ſaid I, never.

Then he cauſed us to ſit down, and gave us of his Milk to drink, which they account to be a great Favour, eſpecially when any Man is admitted to drink Coſmos with him in his own Houſe; and as I ſat looking down on the Ground, he commanded me to lift up my Countenance, being deſirous yet to take a more diligent View of us, or elſe perhaps for a kind of ſuperſtitious Obſervation; for they eſteem it a Sign of ill Luck, or a Prognoſtication of Evil unto them, when any Man ſits in their Preſence holding down his Head as if he were ſad, eſpecially when he leans his Cheek or Chin upon his Hand. Then we departed, and immediately after came our Guide to us, and conducting us to our Lodging, ſaid unto me; “ Your Ma-

" ſter the King, requeſteth that you may remain in this " Kingdom, which Requeſt *Baatu* cannot grant, with- " out the Knowledge and Conſent of *Mangu-Khan*; " wherefore you and your Interpreter muſt, of Neceſſity, " go to *Mangu-Khan*; but, nevertheleſs, your Aſſociate " and the other Man, ſhall return unto the Court of *Sar-* " *tach*, and ſtay there for you till you come back." Then began my Interpreter to lament, eſteeming himſelf but a dead Man; my Aſſociate alſo proteſted he would ſooner loſe his Head than withdraw out of my Company: I myſelf ſaid, that without my Aſſociate I could not go, and that we ſtood in Need of two Servants at leaſt, becauſe if one ſhould chance to fall ſick we would not be without another.

Upon this, returning unto the Court, he told this to *Baatu*, and *Baatu* anſwered, let the two Prieſts and the Interpreter go together, but let the Clerk return to *Sartach*; and coming again unto us, he told us ſo; and when I would have ſpoken for the Clerk to have had him with us, he ſaid, no more Words, for *Baatu* is reſolved that ſo it ſhall be, and therefore I dare not go to the Court any more. *Goſet*, the Clerk, had the Remainder of the Alms-Money beſtowed upon him, twenty-ſix *Yperperas*, and no more, ten whereof he kept for himſelf and the Lad, and ſixteen he gave unto the Interpreter for us; and thus were we parted with Tears, he returning unto the Court of *Sartach*, and ourſelves remaining ſtill in the ſame Place.

27. On the Eve of the Feaſt of *Aſſumption* our Clerk arrived at the Court of *Sartach*, and the next Day after the *Neſtorian* Prieſts were adorned with our Veſtments, in the Preſence of the ſaid *Sartach*. Then we ourſelves were conducted unto another Hoſt, who was appointed to provide us Houſe-room, Victuals, and Horſes; but becauſe we had not any thing to beſtow upon him, he did all things untowardly for us: Then we rode on forward with *Baatu*, deſcending along by the Bank of *Etilia*, or *Volga*, for the Space of five Weeks together. Sometimes my Aſſociate was ſo extremely hungry, that he would tell me in a manner weeping, that it fared with him as though he had never eaten any thing in all his Life before. There is a Fair or Market following the Court of *Baatu* at all times; but it was ſo far diſtant from us, that we could not have Recourſe thereto, for we were conſtrained to walk on Foot for want of Horſes. At length certain *Hungarians*, a ſort of Clergymen, found us out, and one of them could as yet ſing many Songs without Book, and was accounted of other *Hungarians* as Prieſt, and was ſent for unto the Funerals of his deceaſed Countrymen.

There was another of them alſo pretty well inſtructed in his Grammar, for he could underſtand the Meaning of any thing that we ſpoke, but could not anſwer us. Theſe *Hungarians* were a great Help to us, giving us Coſmos to drink and ſometimes Fleſh to eat alſo, who when they requeſted to have ſome Books of us, and I had not any to give them (for indeed we had none except a Bible and a Breviary) it grieved me exceedingly, and I ſaid to them bring me ſome Ink and Paper, and I will write for you ſo long as we ſhall remain here; and they did ſo, and I copied out for them the Hours of the bleſſed Virgin, and the Office of the Dead. One Day there was a *Comanian* that accompanied us, that ſaluted us, ſaying *Salve Domine*; wondering thereat, and ſaluting him again, I demanded of him who had taught him that kind of Salutation? He ſaid, that he was baptized in *Hungary* by our Friars, and that of them he learned it: He ſaid moreover, that *Baatu* had enquired many things of him concerning us, and that he told him the State of our Order. Afterwards I ſaw *Baatu* riding with his Company, and all his Subjects that were Maſters of Families riding with him, and in my Eſtimation there were more than five hundred Perſons in all.

At length, about the End of *Holy-rood*, there came a certain rich *Moal* unto us, whoſe Father was a Millanary, which is a great Office among them, and told us, I am the Man that muſt conduct you to *Mangu-Khan*, and we have thither a Journey of four Months to travel, and there is ſuch extreme Cold in thoſe Parts, that Stones and Trees burſt aſunder: Therefore I wiſh you would adviſe with yourſelves whether you be able to endure it or no? I anſwered, by God's Help I hope we ſhall be able to go gothro' that which other Men can endure. Then he ſaid, if you cannot endure it, I will forſake you by the way, and I anſwered, it were not juſt Dealings for you ſo to do, for we go not thither upon any Buſineſs of our own, but by reaſon that we are ſent thither by our Lord; wherefore ſince we are committed to your Charge, you ought in no wiſe to forſake us. Then he ſaid, all ſhall be well. He cauſed us to ſhew him our Garments, and whatſoever he deemed to be leſs needful for us, he bid us leave behind in the Cuſtody of our Hoſt. On the Morrow they brought unto each of us a furred Gown made all of Ram's Skins, with the Wool ſtill upon them, and Breeches of the ſame, Boots according to their Faſhion, Shoes made of Felt, and Hoods alſo made of Skins after their Manner. The ſecond Day after *Holy-rood* we began to ſet forward on our Journey, having three Guides to direct us, and we rode continually Eaſtward till the Feaſt of *All-Saints* throughout all that Region, and beyond alſo, were the People *Changles* Inhabitants, who were deſcended from the *Romans*. On the North Side of us we had *Bulgaria the Greater*, and on the South the *Caſpian* Sea.

28. When we had travelled twelve Days Journey from *Etilia* we found a mighty River called *Jagac*, which River iſſuing out of the North from the Land of *Paſcatir*, or of the *Hungarians*, which all is one, and they are all of them Shepherds, not having any Cities; and their Country bordereth upon *Bulgaria the Greater* on the Weſt Frontier; from the North-Eaſt Part of the Country there is no City at all. Out of the ſaid Region of *Paſcatir* proceeded the *Hunnes* of old, who afterwards were called *Hungarians*. Next unto it is *Bulgaria the Greater*. *Iſidore* reporteth concerning the People of this Nation, that with ſwift Horſes they traverſed the impregnable Walls and Bounds of *Alexander*, which together with the Rocks of *Caucaſus*, ſerve to reſtrain thoſe barbarous and blood-thirſty People from invading the Regions of the South, inſomuch as they had Tribute paid unto them as far as *Egypt*, and that they waſted all Countries, even unto *France*. If ſo they were more mighty than the *Tartars* as yet are, and unto them the *Blacians* and the *Bulgarians*, and the *Vandals*, joined themſelves; for out of *Bulgaria the Greater* came thoſe *Bulgarians*. As for them who inhabited beyond *Danubius*, near unto *Conſtantinople*, and not far from *Paſcatir*, are called *Ilac*, which (ſaving the Pronunciation) is all one with black, for the *Tartars* cannot pronounce the Letter *B*: From whom alſo deſcend the People which inhabit the Land of *Haſſan*, for they are called *Ilac* (both theſe and the other) in the Language of the *Ruſſians*, and *Polonians*, and the *Bohemians*.

The *Sclavonians* ſpoke one Language with the *Vandals*, all which confederate with the *Hunnes*, and now, for the moſt part, they unite themſelves to the *Tartars*, whom GOD hath raiſed up from the utmoſt Parts of the Earth, according to that which the Lord ſaith; *I will provoke them to Envy by a People which is no People, and by a fooliſh Nation will I anger them.* This Prophecy is fulfiled, according to the literal Senſe thereof, upon all Nations, which obſerve not the Law of GOD. All this which I have written concerning the Land of *Paſcatir*, was told me by certain Friars, who travelled thither before ever the *Tartars* came; and, from that Time, they were ſubdued unto their Neighbours the *Bulgarians*, being *Saracens*; for which Reaſon many of them proved *Saracens* alſo.

Other Matters concerning theſe People may be known out of Hiſtory; for it is manifeſt, that thoſe Provinces beyond *Conſtantinople*, which are now called *Bulgaria*, *Valachi*, and *Sclavonia*, were of old Provinces belonging to the *Greeks*; alſo *Hungary* was heretofore called *Panonia*, and we were riding over the Land of *Changle* from the Feaſt of *Holy-rood*, until the Feaſt of *All-Saints*, travelling almoſt every Day, according to my Account, as far as it is from *Paris* to *Orleans*, and ſometimes farther, according as we were provided with Poſt-Horſes; for ſome Days we had Change of Horſes twice or thrice in a Day, ſometimes we were two or three Days together, not finding any People, and then we were conſtrained not to ride ſo faſt. Of twenty or thirty Horſes we had always the worſt, becauſe we were Strangers, for every one took their Choice of the beſt Horſes before us. They provided me always a ſtrong Horſe, becauſe

I was corpulent and heavy; but whether he went a gentle Pace or no, I durſt not make any Queſtion, neither durſt I complain, although he trotted very hard; for every Man muſt here be contented with his Lot as it falls. We were often exceedingly troubled, becauſe our Horſes tired before we could come at any People, and then we were conſtrained to whip our Horſes, and to lay our Garments on other Horſes, and ſometimes two of us to ride upon one Horſe.

29. Of Hunger and Thirſt, Cold and Wearineſs, there was no End, for they gave us no Fleſh-meat, but in the Evening. In the Morning they uſed to give us a little Drink, or ſome boiled Millet; in the Evening they beſtowed Fleſh upon us, as a Shoulder and Breaſt of Ram's Mutton, and every Man a Quantity of Broth to drink. When we had ſufficient of the Fleſh Broth we were well refreſhed, and it ſeemed to me moſt pleaſant, and moſt nouriſhing Drink. Every *Saturday* I remained faſting until Night, without eating or drinking; and when Night came I was conſtrained, to my great Grief and Sorrow, to eat Fleſh: Sometimes we were compelled to eat Fleſh half ſodden, or almoſt raw, for want of Fuel to boil it, eſpecially when we lay in the Fields, or were benighted before we came to our Journey's End, becauſe we then could not conveniently gather together the Dung of Horſes and Oxen, for other Fuel we found but ſeldom, except, perhaps, a few Thorns in ſome Places. Upon the Banks of ſome Rivers there are Woods growing here and there, but they are very rare: In the Beginning our Guide highly diſdained us, and it was tedious unto him to conduct ſuch baſe Fellows. Afterwards, when he began to know us ſomewhat better, he directed us on our Way by the Courts of rich *Moals*, and we were requeſted to pray for them: Wherefore had I carried a good Interpreter with me, I ſhould have had Opportunities to have done much Good.

The before-mentioned *Zingis*, who was the firſt great Khan or Emperor of the *Tartars*, had four Sons, of whom proceeded by natural Deſcent many Children, every one of which doth at this Day enjoy great Poſſeſſions, and they are daily multiplied and diſperſed over that huge and vaſt Deſart, which is in Dimenſions like the Ocean. Our Guide therefore directed us, as we were going on our Journey, to many of their Habitations; and they marvelled exceedingly, that we would not receive either Gold or Silver, or precious and coſtly Garments at their Hands. They enquired alſo concerning the Great Pope, whether he was of ſo laſting an Age as they had heard; for there had gone a Report among them, that he was five hundred Years old. They enquired alſo after our Countries, whether there was abundance of Sheep, Oxen, and Horſes, or no? Concerning the Ocean, they could not conceive of it, becauſe it was without Limits or Banks. Upon the Eve of the Feaſt of *All Saints* we altered our Courſe, which hitherto pointed Eaſt, becauſe the People were now deſcended very much South, and we went on our Journey by certain Mountains directly Southward for the Space of eight Days together. In the Deſart I ſaw many Aſſes, which they call *Colan*, being rather Mules; theſe did our Guide and his Companions chaſe very eagerly, though they did but loſe their Labour, for the Beaſts were too ſwift for them.

Upon the ſeventh Day there appeared to the South of us very high Mountains; and we entered into a Place which was well watered, and freſh as a Garden, and found Land tilled and manured. The eighth Day after the Feaſt of *All Saints* we arrived at a Town of the *Saracens* named *Kenchat*, the Governor whereof met our Guide at the Town's End, with Ale and Cups; for it is their Cuſtom, at all Towns and Villages ſubject to them, to meet the Meſſengers of *Baatu* and *Mangu-Khan*, with Meat and Drink; at this Time of the Year they went upon the Ice in that Country, and before the Feaſt of Saint *Michael* they had Froſt in the Deſart. I enquired the Name of this Province, but being now in a ſtrange Territory, they could not tell me the Name thereof, but only the Name of a ſmall City in the ſame Province; and that there deſcended a great River down from the Mountains, which watered the whole Region, according as the Inhabitants would give it Paſſage, by making divers Chanels and Sluices; neither did the River diſcharge itſelf into any Sea, but was ſwallowed up by a Gulph into the Bowels of the Earth, and it cauſed many Fens or Lakes: Alſo I ſaw many Vines, and drank of the Wine made from them.

30. The Day following we came unto another Cottage near the Mountains, and I enquired what Mountains they were, which I underſtood to be the Mountains of *Caucaſus*, which are ſtretched forth and continued on both Sides to the Sea from the Weſt unto the Eaſt; and on the Weſt they are bordering to the *Caſpian* Sea, into which the River *Volga* diſcharges its Streams. I enquired alſo of the City of *Talas*, wherein were certain *Germans*, Servants unto one *Buri*, of whom Friar *Andrew* makes mention, concerning whom alſo I enquired very diligently in the Courts of *Sartach* and *Baatu*. I could get no Intelligence of them, but only that their Lord and Maſter *Ban* was put to Death upon the Occaſion following. This *Ban* was not ſettled in good and fertile Paſtures; and upon a certain Day being drunk, he ſpoke thus to his Men: *Am not I of the Stock and Kindred of* Zingis Khan *as well as* Baatu? (for indeed he was very nearly related to *Baatu*) *Why then do I not paſs and repaſs upon the Bank of* Etilia, *to feed my Cattle there as freely as* Baatu *himſelf doth?* which Speech of his was reported unto *Baatu*; whereupon *Baatu* wrote to his Servants to bring their Lord bound unto him, and they did ſo.

Then *Baatu* demanded of him whether he had ſpoken any ſuch Words? and he confeſſed that he had. But becauſe it is the Manner of the *Tartars* to pardon drunken Men, he excuſed himſelf by ſaying, *that he was drunk at the Time.* How durſt you, ſaid *Baatu*, once name me in thy Drunkenneſs; and having ſaid this, he cauſed his Head to be chopped off.

Concerning the aforeſaid *Germans*, I could not learn any thing till I was come to the Court of *Mangu-Khan*, and there I was informed that *Mangu-Khan* had removed them out of the Juriſdiction of *Baatu* for the Space of a Month's Journey from *Talas* Eaſtward to a certain Village called *Bolac*, where they are ſet to dig Gold, and to make Armour, ſo that I could neither go nor come by them. I paſſed very near the ſaid City in going, that is, within three Days Journey; but I was ignorant that I did ſo, neither could I have turned out of my Way, if I had known ſo much. From the aforeſaid Cottage, we went directly Eaſtward by the Mountains, and from that time we travelled among the People of *Mangu-Khan*, who in all Places ſang and danced before our Guide, becauſe he was the Meſſenger of *Baatu*; for this Courteſy they do to each other, namely, the People of *Mangu-Khan* receiving the Meſſengers of *Baatu*, and ſo likewiſe the People of *Baatu* entertaining the People of *Mangu-Khan*, notwithſtanding the People of *Baatu* are more ſurly, and ſhew not ſo much Courteſy to the Subjects of *Mangu-Khan*, as in their Turn they do to them.

A few Days after we entered upon thoſe Mountains where the *Cara-Cathayans* were wont to inhabit, and there we found a mighty River, inſomuch that we were conſtrained to embark ourſelves, and to ſail over it. Afterwards we came into a Valley, where I ſaw a Caſtle deſtroyed, the Walls whereof were only of Mud, and in that Place the Ground was tilled alſo; and there we found a certain Village named *Equius*, wherein were *Mohammedans* ſpeaking the *Perſian* Language; but they dwelt a great Way off *Perſia*. The Day following, having paſſed over the great Mountains Southward, we entered into a moſt beautiful Plain, having high Mountains on our right Hand, and on the left Hand of us a certain Sea or Lake, fifteen Days Journey in Circuit. All the Plain is moſt commodiouſly watered by Trenches diſtilling from the ſaid Mountains; all which fall into the Lake in Summer Time. We returned by the North Side of the Lake, and there were great Mountains on that Side alſo. Upon this Plain there uſed to be formerly many Villages; but for the moſt Part they were all waſted in regard of the fertile Paſtures, that the *Tartars* might feed their Cattle there.

We found one great City there named *Cailac*, which was a Market, and great Numbers of Merchants frequented it. In this City we remained fifteen Days, ſtaying for a certain Scribe or Secretary of *Baatu*, who ought to have accompanied our Guide for the diſpatching of certain Affairs in the Court of *Mangu*. All this Country was wont to be called *Organum*, and the People thereof had their proper Language, and their peculiar kind of Writing: But it was now inhabited by the People called *Contomans*. The *Neſtorians* likewiſe in thoſe Parts uſe the very ſame kind of Language and Writing; they are called *Organa*, becauſe they were wont to be moſt ſkilful in playing upon Organs, as was reported unto me. Here did I firſt ſee Worſhippers of Idols; concerning whom, let me obſerve to your Majeſty, that there be many Sects of them in theſe Eaſtern Countries.

31. The firſt ſort of theſe Idolaters are called *Jugures*, whoſe Country borders upon the Land of *Organum*, within the ſaid Mountains Eaſtward; and in all their Cities *Neſtorians* inhabit, and they are diſperſed likewiſe towards *Perſia* in the Cities of the *Saracens*. The Citizens of the aforeſaid City of *Cailac* had three Idol Temples, and I entered into two of them, and beheld their fooliſh Superſtitions. In the firſt I found a Man, having a Croſs painted with Ink upon his Hand; whereupon I ſuppoſed him to be a Chriſtian, for he anſwered like a Chriſtian unto all Queſtions which I demanded of him; and I aſked him, Why therefore have you not the Croſs with the Image of Jesus Chriſt thereupon? and he anſwered, We have no ſuch Cuſtom.

I thereupon conjectured, that they were indeed Chriſtians, but that for lack of Inſtruction they omitted the aforeſaid Ceremony; for I ſaw there behind a certain Cheſt, which was unto them inſtead of an Altar, whereon they ſet Candles and Oblations, an Image having Wings like unto the Image of St. *Michael*, and other Images alſo, holding their Fingers as if they would bleſs ſomebody. That Evening I could not find any thing elſe, for the *Saracens* only invite Men thither, but will not have them ſpeak of their Religion, and therefore when I required of the *Saracens* concerning ſuch Ceremonies, they were offended thereat.

On the next Day after was the New Moon, and the *Saracens* Feaſt of Paſſover, and changing my Inn or Lodging the ſame Day, I took my Abode near another Idol Temple; for the Citizens of the ſaid City of *Cailac* courteouſly invite, and lovingly entertain, all Meſſengers, every Man of them according to his Ability and Station; and entering into the Temple, I found the Prieſts of the ſaid Idols there, for always at the New Moons they ſet open their Temples, and the Prieſts adorn themſelves, and offer up the People's Oblations of Bread and Fruits. Firſt, therefore, I will deſcribe to you thoſe Rites and Ceremonies which are common unto all their Idol Temples, and then the Superſtitions of the aforeſaid *Jugures*, which are, as it were, a Sect diſtinguiſhed from the reſt. They all of them worſhip towards the North, clapping their Hands together, and proſtrating themſelves on their Knees on the Earth, holding alſo their Foreheads in their Hands: Whereupon the *Neſtorians* in thoſe Parts will in no caſe join their Hands together in the Time of Prayer, but they pray, diſplaying their Hands before their Breaſts.

They extend their Temples in Length Eaſt and Weſt, and on the North Side they build a Chamber in the Manner of a Veſtry, for themſelves to go into, or ſometimes it is otherwiſe. If it be a Four-ſquare Temple, in the midſt of the Temple towards the North Side thereof, they take in one Chamber in that Place where the Choir ſhould ſtand, and in the ſaid Chamber they place a Cheſt long and broad like a Table, and behind the ſaid Cheſt towards the South, ſtands their principal Idol, which I ſaw at *Caracarum*, and it was as big as the Idol of Saint *Chriſtopher*; alſo a certain *Neſtorian* Prieſt, which had been in *Cathay*, ſaid, that in that Country there is an Idol of ſuch Bigneſs, that it may be ſeen two Days Journey before a Man came at it; and ſo they place other Idols round about the principal Idol, being all of them finely gilt over with pure Gold, and upon the Cheſt, which is in a manner a Table, they ſet Candles and Oblations. The Doors of their Temple are always open towards the South, contrary to the Cuſtom of *Saracens*: They have alſo great Bells like us, and that is the Cauſe, as I think, why the Chriſtians of the Eaſt will in no caſe uſe great Bells, notwithſtanding they are common among the *Ruſſians* and *Grecians* of *Gaſaria*.

32. All their Prieſts had their Heads and Beards ſhaven quite over, and they are clad in ſaffron-coloured Garments; and being once ſhaven, they lead an unmarried Life from that Time forward, and they live an hundred or two hundred of them together in one Cloiſter. Upon theſe Days, when they enter into their Temples, they place two long Forms therein, and ſo ſitting upon the ſaid Forms, like Singing-men in a Choir, one half of them directly over-againſt the other, they have certain Books in their Hand, which ſometimes they lay down by them upon the Forms, and their Heads are bare ſo long as they remain in the Temple, and there they read ſoftly to themſelves, not uttering any Voice at all. On my coming in among them at the Time of their ſuperſtitious Devotions, and finding them all ſitting mute in a manner, I attempted ſeveral Ways to provoke them unto Speech, and yet could not by any Means poſſibly. They have with them alſo, whitherſoever they go, a certain String with an hundred or two hundred Nut-ſhells thereupon, much like to our Beads which we carry about with us; and they do always utter theſe Words, *Ou mam hactavi*; *God, thou knoweſt*, as one of them expounded it unto me. And ſo often do they expect a Reward at God's Hands as they pronounce theſe Words in Remembrance of God.

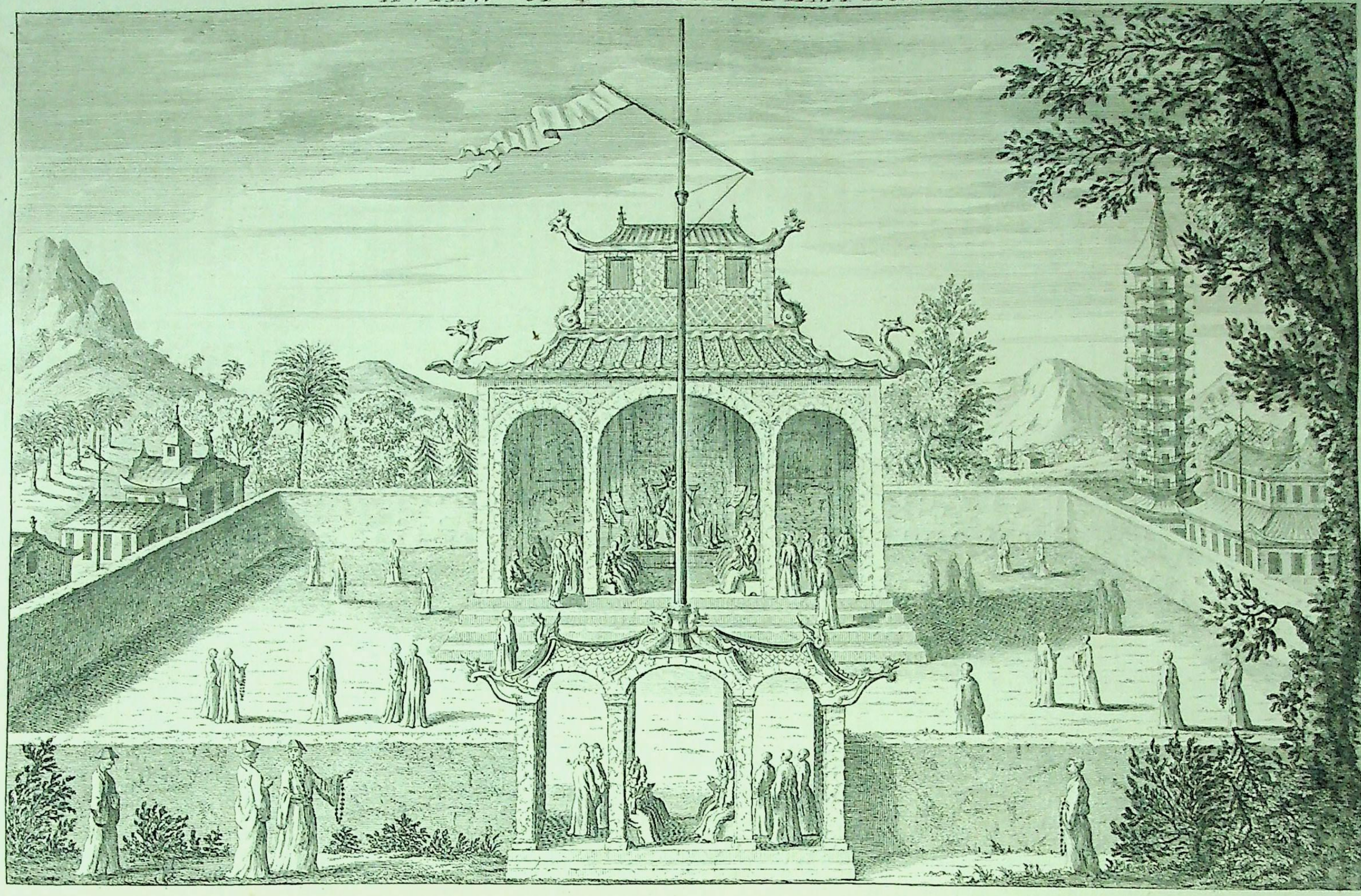
Round about their Temple they always make a fair Court like a Church-yard, which they environ with a good Wall; and upon the South Part thereof, they build a great Portico, wherein they ſit and confer together: And upon the Top of the ſaid Portico, they pitch a long Pole upright, exalting it if they can, above all the Buildings in the Town; and by the View of the ſame Pole, People may know that there ſtands a Temple of the Idols. Theſe Rites and Ceremonies are common to all Idolaters in thoſe Parts. Once I made a Viſit to this Idol-temple, and found certain Prieſts ſitting in the outward Portico, and thoſe which I ſaw ſeemed, by their ſhaven Beards, as if they had been our Countrymen. They wore certain Ornaments upon their Heads like Mitres, made of Paper. The Prieſts of the *Jugures* above-mentioned uſe thoſe Ornaments where-ever they go. They go always in their ſaffron-coloured Jackets, which are very ſtraight laced or buttoned, from the Boſom downwards, after the *French* Faſhion: and they have a Cloak upon their Left-ſhoulder deſcending under their Right-arm, like a Deacon carrying the Collector's Box in time of *Lent*. Their Letters or Writings, the *Tartars* uſe as well as they. They begin to write at the Top of their Paper, drawing their Lines right down, and ſo they read and multiply their Lines from the Left-hand to the Right. They uſe certain little Papers and uncouth Characters in their magical Practices, and their Temples are full of ſuch ſhort Scrolls hanging round about them.

Mangu-Khan hath ſent Letters unto your Majeſty, written in the Language of the *Moals* or *Tartars*; but in the Characters theſe *Jugures*, they burn the Dead, according to the ancient Cuſtom, and lay up their Aſhes on the Top of a Pyramid. After I had ſat a while with theſe Prieſts, and entered into their Temple, and ſeen many of their Images both great and ſmall, I demanded of them, *What they believed concerning God?* They anſwered, *We believe that there is only one God*; Whether do you believe that he is a Spirit or ſome bodily Subſtance? They ſaid, *We believe that he is a Spirit*. Then ſaid I, do you believe that God ever took Man's Nature upon him? They anſwered, *No*. Again, I ſaid, ſince you believe that he is a Spirit, to what end do you make ſo many bodily Images to repreſent him, ſince alſo you believe that he was not made Man? Why do you rather repreſent him by the Image of a Man than of any other Creature? Then they anſwered, *We frame not theſe Images to repreſent God; but when any rich Man amongſt us, or his Son, or his Wife, or any of his Friends dieth, he cauſeth the Image of the dead Perſon to be made, and to be placed here, and we, in Remembrance of him, do Reverence thereunto.* I replied then, Do you theſe Things only for Friendſhip and out of Flattery to Men? *No*, ſaid they, *but out of regard to their Memories.*

Then they demanded of me, in Scorn and Diſdain, where is God? To whom I anſwered, Where is your Soul? They ſaid in our Bodies: Then ſaid I, is it not in every Part of our Body, ruling and guiding the whole Body, and yet, notwithſtanding, it is not perceived?

Even

A VIEW OF A PAGAN TEMPLE. Vol.I.p.570.



Even ſo God is every-where, and rules all Things, and yet he is inviſible, being Underſtanding and Wiſdom itſelf. I was very deſirous to have had ſome farther Conference with them, but on account that my Interpreter was weary and not able to expreſs my Meaning, I was conſtrained to keep Silence. The *Moals*, or *Tartars*, are in this regard of their Sect, that is to ſay, they believe there is but one God, yet they make Images of Felt, in Remembrance of their deceaſed Friends, covering them with five moſt rich and coſtly Garments, and putting them into one or two Carts, which Carts no Man dare touch; and theſe are in the Cuſtody of their Soothſayers, who are their Prieſts, concerning whom I will give your Highneſs an Account more at large hereafter.

Theſe Soothſayers, or Diviners, always attend upon the Court of *Mangu*, and of other great Perſonages; as for the poorer, or meaner Sort, they have them not, except ſuch only as are of the Kindred of *Zingis*; and when they are to remove, or take any Journey, the ſaid Diviners go before them, as the cloudy Pillar went before the Children of *Iſrael*, and they appoint Ground where the Tents muſt be pitched; and, firſt of all, they take down their own Houſes, and after them the whole Court does the like. Alſo on their feſtival Days, or new Moons, they take out theſe Images, and place them in Order circle-wiſe within the Houſe; then come the *Moals* or *Tartars* into the ſame Houſe, bowing themſelves before the Images, and worſhip them. It is not lawful for any Stranger to enter the Houſe. And, on a certain Time, I myſelf would have gone in, but was very rudely turned out, and obliged to remove, ſo that I never after attempted to pry any further into this Matter.

32. But it is my Opinion, that theſe *Jugures*, who live among the Chriſtians and *Saracens*, by frequent Diſputes with them, have been brought to believe that there is but one God; and they dwell in certain Cities, which were brought into Subjection to *Zingis-Khan*, and he gave his Daughter in Marriage unto their King: Alſo the City of *Caracarum* itſelf is in a manner within their Territories; and the whole Country of King or Preſbyter *John*, and of his Brother *Unc*, lieth near to their Dominions, except that they inhabit in certain Paſtures Northward, and the ſaid *Jugures* between the Mountains towards the South.

The *Moals* received their Letters or Characters from them; and they are the *Tartars* principal Scribes, and all the *Neſtorians* almoſt can read their Letters. Next unto them, between the aforeſaid Mountains Eaſtward, inhabiteth the Nation *Tangut*, who are moſt valiant People, and took *Zingis* in Battle; but after the Concluſion of a Peace he was ſet at Liberty by them, and afterwards ſubdued them. Theſe People of *Tangut* have Oxen of great Strength, with Tails like Horſes, and with long, ſharp Hair upon the Backs and Bellies. Their Legs are larger than thoſe of other Oxen, and they are exceeding fierce; theſe Oxen draw the Houſes of the *Moals*; and their Horns are ſlender, long, ſtreight, and very ſharp-pointed, inſomuch that the Owners are obliged to cut off the Ends of them. A Cow will not ſuffer herſelf to be coupled to one of them, unleſs they whiſtle or ſing unto her. They have alſo the Qualities of a Buffalo, for if they ſee a Perſon cloathed in Red, they run upon him immediately to kill him.

Next to this Nation are the People of *Tibet*; Men, who had formerly a Cuſtom to eat the Bodies of their deceaſed Parents, that they might make no other Sepulchre for them than their own Bowels. But of late they have left off this Cuſtom, becauſe thereby they became odious to all other Nations; notwithſtanding which, at this Day, they make fine Cups of the Skulls of their Parents, to this end, that when they drink out of them, they may, in the Midſt of all their Jollities and Delights, call their dead Parents to Remembrance: This was told me by one that ſaw it. The ſaid People of *Tibet* have vaſt Plenty of Gold in their Land; whoſoever therefore wants Gold digs till he hath found ſome, and then taking ſo much thereof as will ſerve his Turn, he lays up the Remainder in the Earth, becauſe, if he ſhould put it into his Cheſt, or Storehouſe, he is of Opinion that God would with-hold from him all other Gold.

I ſaw ſome of theſe People, being very deformed Creatures. In *Tangut* I ſaw luſty, tall Men, but brown and ſwarthy in Colour. The *Jugures* are of a middle Stature, like *Frenchmen*. The Language of the *Jugures* is the Original and Root of the *Turkiſh* and *Comanian* Languages. Next to *Tibet* are the People of *Langa* and *Solanga*, whoſe Ambaſſadors I ſaw in the *Tartars* Court; and they brought ten great Carts with them, every one of which was drawn by ſix Oxen. They are little brown Men, like *Spaniards*. Theſe People wear Jackets, like the upper Veſtment of a Deacon, ſaving that the Sleeves are ſomewhat ſtreighter, and they have Mitres upon their Heads like Biſhops; but the Fore-part of their Mitre is not ſo hollow within as the hinder Part, neither is it ſharp-pointed, nor cornered at the Top; but there hang down certain ſquare Laps, compacted of a kind of Straw, which is made rough through extreme Heat, and is ſo trimmed, that it glittereth in the Sun-beams like a Glaſs, or an Helmet well burniſhed. On their Brows they have long Bands of the ſame Manufacture faſtened to their Mitres, which hover in the Wind as if two long Horns grew out of their Heads; and when the Wind toſſes them up and down too much, they tie them over the Midſt of their Mitre, from one Temple to another, and ſo they lie acroſs their Heads. Their principal Embaſſador to the *Tartar's* Court, had a Table of Elephants Teeth about him, of a Cubit in Length, and a Handful in Breadth, very ſmooth; and whenſoever he ſpoke to the Emperor himſelf, or to any other great Perſonage, he always looked on that Table, as if he had found therein thoſe Things which he ſpake; neither did he caſt his Eyes to the Right-hand or to the Left of thoſe with whom he talked.

Beyond them, as I was certainly informed, there are other People called *Muc*, having Villages, but no one Man of them appropriates any Cattle to himſelf, notwithſtanding there are many Flocks and Droves of Cattle in their Country, and nobody appointed to keep them; but when any of them want a Beaſt, he goes up upon a Hill, and there makes a Shout, and all the Cattle which are within hearing of the Noiſe, come flocking about him, and ſuffer themſelves to be taken as if they were tame. And when any Meſſenger, or Stranger, cometh into their Country, they ſhut him up in an Houſe, allowing him Things neceſſary, till his Buſineſs be diſpatched; for if any Stranger ſhould travel through that Country, the Cattle would fly away at the very Scent of him, and ſo become wild. Beyond *Muc* is the grand *Cathaya*, the Inhabitants of which, as I ſuppoſe, were of old called *Seres*, for from them are brought moſt excellent Stuffs and Silk; and this People are called *Seres* of a certain Town in the ſame Country. I was credibly informed, that in the ſaid Country there is a Town having Walls of Silver, and Bulwarks of Gold. There are many Provinces in that Land, the greater Part of which are not as yet ſubdued by the *Tartars*, and the Sea lieth between them and *India*. Theſe *Cathayans* are Men of little Stature, ſpeaking much through the Noſe.

This is a general Remark, that all the People of the Eaſt have ſmall Eyes. They are excellent Workmen in every Art, and their Phyſicians are well ſkilled in the Virtue of Herbs, and judge very exactly of the Pulſe, but know not any thing concerning Urine. Some of them I ſaw, for there are many at *Caracarum*, and they always bring up their Children in the ſame Trade of their Father, and therefore they pay ſo much Tribute; for they give the *Moals*, or *Moguls*, every Day, one thouſand five hundred Caſſino's, or Jaſcots (Jaſcot is a Piece of Silver weighing ten Marks) that is to ſay, every Day, fifty thouſand Marks, beſides Silks, and a certain Quantity of Victuals, and other Services which they do them. All theſe Nations are between the Mountains of *Caucaſus*; on the North Side of thoſe Mountains to the Eaſt Sea, on the South Part of *Scythia*, which the Shepherds of *Moal* inhabit, all are tributary unto them, and all given to Idolatry, and report many Fables of a Multitude of Gods, and certain deified Men, and make a Pedigree of the Gods, as our Poets do.

The *Neſtorians* are intermixed with them as Strangers, ſo are the *Saracens* as far as *Cathay*. The *Neſtorians* inhabit fifteen Cities of *Cathay*, and have a Biſhop there in a

City

a City called *Segin*; but if you proceed further, they are mere Idolaters: The Prieſts of the Idols of thoſe Nations have all broad yellow Hoods. There are alſo among them certain Hermits, living in the Woods and Mountains, of an auſtere and ſtrange Life. The *Neſtorians* there know nothing, for they ſay their Service, and have holy Books in the *Syrian* Tongue, which they know not; ſo that they ſing as our Monks do, who are ignorant of Grammar; and hence it cometh that they are wholly corrupted. They are great Uſurers and Drunkards, and ſome of them alſo, who live among the *Tartars*, have many Wives in the ſame manner as the *Tartars* have.

When they enter into the Church, they waſh their lower Parts, as the *Saracens* do; they eat no Fleſh on *Friday*, and hold their Feaſts on that Day, after the manner of the *Saracens*. The Biſhops come ſeldom into the Countries, perhaps once in fifty Years; then they cauſe all their little Children to be made Prieſts, even in the Cradle, ſo that all their Men almoſt are Prieſts, and, after this, they marry Wives, which is directly againſt the Decrees of the Fathers. They are alſo Bigamiſts, for their Prieſts themſelves, when their Wife is dead, marry another. They are all *Simoniſts*, for they give no holy Thing freely. They are very careful of their Wives and Children, wherefore they apply themſelves to Gain, and not to the ſpreading of the Faith; whence it comes to paſs, while ſome of them bring up the Nobility's Children of *Moal*, although they teach them the Goſpel, and the Articles of the Faith, yet by their evil Life and Covetouſneſs, they drive them further from Chriſtianity, becauſe the Life of the *Moals*, or *Moguls*, and *Tuinians*, who are downright Idolaters, is more juſt and upright than theirs.

34. We departed from the City *Cailac* on Saint *Andrew*'s Day, and within three Leagues found a Village of *Neſtorians*. Entering into the Church, we ſang *Salve Regina*, &c. with Joy, becauſe it was long ſince we had ſeen a Church. Departing thence, in three Days we came to the Entrance of that Province, not far from the Sea before-mentioned, which ſeemed to us as tempeſtuous as the Ocean, and therein we ſaw a great Iſland. My Companions drew near the Shore, and wet a linen Cloth therein, to taſte the Water, which was ſomewhat ſalt, but however might be drank. There was a Valley over-againſt it, between the great Mountains South and Eaſt, and between the Hills was another ſalt Lake or Sea; and there ran a River through that Valley from the other Sea into this, and there came ſuch a continual Wind through the Valley, that Men paſs along the Road with great Danger, fearing the Wind ſhould carry them into the Sea.

Therefore we left the Valley, and went towards the North, to the hilly Countries, covered with deep Snow, which then lay upon the Earth, ſo that upon Saint *Nicholas*'s Day we began to haſten our Journey, and becauſe we found no People but the *Jani*, or Men appointed from Day's Journey to Day's Journey, to conduct the Meſſengers; for in many Places in the hilly Countries the Way is narrow, and there are but few Fields; ſo that between Day and Night we met with two *Jani*, and therefore of two Days Journey we made one, and travelled more by Night than by Day: It was extremely cold there, ſo that they lent us their Goat-Skins, turning the Hair outward. On the ſeventh of *December* in the Evening, we paſſed by a certain Place, between very terrible Rocks, and our Guide ſent unto me, intreating me to pray to God, which I did. Then we ſang with loud Voice, *Credo in Deum*, &c. and by the Grace of God, we paſſed through unhurt.

After that, they began to intreat me that I would write them Papers, and I told them I would teach them Words which they ſhould carry in their Hearts, whereby their Souls and Bodies ſhould be ſaved; but when I ſought to teach them, I wanted an Interpreter, yet I wrote them the Creed and Lord's-Prayer, ſaying, "Here is written
"whatſoever a Man ought to believe concerning God;
"here alſo is that Prayer wherein we beg of God whatſo-
"ever is needful for a Man; now therefore believe firmly
"what is written here, although you cannot underſtand it,
"and aſk God to do that for you which is contained in this
"written Prayer, becauſe with his own Mouth he taught
"it his Friends, and I hope he will ſave you." I could not do any thing elſe, becauſe it was dangerous to ſpeak by ſuch an Interpreter, nay, almoſt impoſſible, becauſe he was ignorant.

35. After this, we entered into the Country where the Court of *Kon Khan* was, which was formerly called the Country of *Naymans*, who were the peculiar Subjects of *Preſtre*, that is, *Preſbyter John*, but I ſaw not that Court till my Return; yet here I ſhall briefly mention what befel his Son and Wives. *Kon Khan* being dead, *Baatu* deſired that *Mangu* ſhould be *Khan*, but I could not well underſtand in what manner happened the Death of *Khan*. Friar *Andrew* ſaid, that he died by a certain Medicine given him, and it was ſuſpected that *Baatu* cauſed it to be adminiſtred: Yet I heard it otherwiſe, for he ſummoned *Baatu* to come and do him Homage, and *Baatu* took his Journey with great Pomp and Splendor, but he and his Servants were much afraid, and he ſent one of his Brothers before called *Stichin*, who, when he came to *Kon*, and ought to have preſented him with his Cup, high Words aroſe between them, inſomuch that they ſlew one another. The Widow of *Stichin* kept us a whole Day, that we might go to her Houſe, and bleſs her, or pray for her.

Kon being dead, *Mangu* was choſen by the Conſent of *Baatu*, and was then choſen while Friar *Andrew* was there. *Kon* had among others a Brother called *Siremon*, who by the Counſel of *Kon*'s Wife, and her Vaſſals, went with a great Train towards *Mangu*, as if he went to do him Homage, and yet in reality he purpoſed to kill him, and deſtroy his whole Court; and when he was near *Mangu*, and within one or two Days Journey, one of his Waggons happened to break in the Way; while the Waggoner endeavoured to mend it, came one of the Servants of *Mangu* who helped him; he was ſo inquiſitive of their Journey, that the Waggoner revealed unto him what *Siremon* purpoſed to do. Then turning out of the Way, as if he lightly regarded it, he went unto the Herd of Horſes, and took the beſt Horſe he could, and poſting Night and Day, came ſpeedily to the Court of *Mangu*, reporting what he had heard.

The Plot being thus diſcovered, *Mangu* quickly aſſembled all his Forces, cauſed four Lines of armed Men to encompaſs his Court, that none might go in or out, and ſent the reſt againſt *Siremon*, who took him, and brought him to the Court, with all his Followers, who, when *Mangu* laid the Matter to his Charge, confeſſed it immediately. Then he and his eldeſt Son *Kon Khan* were ſlain, and three hundred of the Nobility of the *Tartars* with them. The noble Women alſo were ſent for, who were all beaten with burning Firebrands, to make them confeſs, and, having confeſſed, were put to Death. His youngeſt Son *Kon*, who was not capable of entering into the Conſpiracy, was left alive, and his Father's Palace was left him with all belonging unto it, and we paſſed by it in our Return, nor durſt my Guide turn in unto it, either going or coming: *For, the Lady of the Nations ſat there in Heavineſs, and there was none to comfort her.*

36. We now went up again into the high Countries, ſteering always towards the North. At length, on Saint *Stephen*'s Day, we entered into a great Plain, where there was not ſo much as a Mole-hill; and the next Day, on the Feaſt of Saint *John* the Evangeliſt, we came unto the Palace of that great Lord: But when we were near it, that is to ſay, within five Days Journey, our Hoſt where we lay, would have directed us much about, ſo that we ſhould have travelled more than fifteen Days; and this was the Reaſon, as I underſtood, that we might go by *Onam Kerule*, their proper Country where the Court of *Zingbis Khan* is. Others ſaid, that he did it for this Purpoſe, that he might make the Way longer, and might ſhew their Power the more, for ſo they are wont to deal with Men coming from Countries not ſubject to them; and our Guide obtained with great Difficulty, that we might go the right Way, for they held us debating this from the Morning till Three o'Clock.

By the Way alſo the Secretary told me, that it was contained in the Letters which *Baatu* ſent to *Mangu-Khan*, that we required an Army and Aid of *Sartach* againſt the *Saracens*. Then I began to wonder much, and to be greatly troubled, for I knew the Contents of the Letters, and that no mention of any Army was made therein, only you adviſed him to be a Friend to all Chriſtians, and that he ſhould exalt the Croſs; and bear Enmity to all the Enemies of the Croſs; and becauſe alſo the Interpreters were *Armenians*, of the greater *Armenia*, who greatly hated the *Saracens*, leſt perhaps they had interpreted any thing in evil Part, to make the *Saracens* more odious and hateful at their Pleaſure. I therefore held my Peace, not ſpeaking a Word for them, or againſt them; for I feared to gainſay the Words of *Baatu*, leſt I ſhould incur ſome falſe Accuſation, and without reaſonable Cauſe.

We came therefore the Day after into the ſaid Court, our Guide had a great Houſe appointed him, and we three a little Cottage, wherein we could ſcarce lay our Baggage, make our Beds, and have a little Fire. Many came to viſit our Guide and brought him drink made of Rice, in long ſtrait-mouthed Bottles, in which I could diſcern no Difference from the beſt Wine, except that it had not the Scent of Wine. We were called ſoon after, and moſt ſtrictly examined upon what Buſineſs we came; “I anſwered, that we having heard *Sartach* was a Chriſtian, “we came therefore unto him. The King our Maſter “ſent him a Packet by us, he ſent us to *Baatu* his Father, and his Father ſent us hither, he ſhould have written the Cauſe.” Whereupon they demanded, whether we would make Peace with them? I anſwered, “He had “ſent Letters unto *Sartach* as a Chriſtian, and if he had “known he were not a Chriſtian, he would never have “ſent him Letters. That as to a Treaty of Peace, there “was no Ground for it, ſince he has done you no wrong; “If he had not done any, why ſhould you war upon him “or his People? He willingly (as a juſt Man) would reform himſelf and deſire Peace. If ye without Cauſe “will make War with him or his Nation, we hope that “God (who is juſt) will help them.” At this they wondered, always repeating, *why came ye not to make Peace*. For they are now ſo puffed-up with Pride, that they think the whole World ſhould deſire to make Peace with them; whereas, if I might be ſuffered, I would preach War againſt them to the utmoſt of my Power. But I would not plainly deliver the Cauſe of my Coming, leſt I ſhould ſpeak any thing againſt that which *Baatu* commanded; I told them therefore the ſole Cauſe of my coming thither was, becauſe he ſent me.

The Day following we were brought to the Court, and I thought I could go barefoot, as I did in our Country, and therefore I laid aſide my Shoes; but ſuch as come to the Court, alight far from the Houſe, where the great *Khan* is, as it were a Bow-ſhot off, where the Horſes remain, and a Boy to keep them. When we alighted there, and our Guide went with us to the Houſe, a *Hungarian* Boy was preſent there, who knew our Order; and when the Men came about us, and ſtared at us as Monſters, eſpecially becauſe we were barefooted, and demanded whether we did not need our Feet, becauſe they ſuppoſed we ſhould by Cold have loſt them, that *Hungarian* told them the Reaſon, ſhewing them the Rules and Practice of our Order. Then the chief Secretary, who was a *Neſtorian*, and a Chriſtian, by whoſe Council and Advice almoſt all is done, came to us to ſee us, looked earneſty upon us, and called the *Hungarian*, of whom he aſked many Queſtions. Then we were directed to return to our Lodging.

37. When we returned, at the End of the Court, towards the Eaſt, as far from the Court as a Croſs-bow could ſhoot at twice, I ſaw a Houſe, upon which there was a little Croſs, at which I rejoiced much, ſuppoſing there was ſome Chriſtian there, and I went in boldly, and found an Altar there, very well furniſhed; for there, in a golden Cloth, were the Images of *Chriſt*, the Bleſſed Virgin, and Saint *John Baptiſt*, and two Angels; the Lineaments of their Bodies and Garments diſtinguiſhed with Pearl, and a great ſilver Croſs with precious Stones in the Corners, and the Middle thereof, and many other Embroiderings, and a Lamp burning with Oil before the Altar, having eight Lights; and there ſat an *Armenian* Monk, ſomewhat black and lean, clad with a rough hairy Coat to the Mid-leg having upon it a Black Cloak of Briſtles, furred with ſpotted Skins, girt with Iron under his Hair-cloth.

Preſently after we entered in; before we ſaluted the Monk, falling flat upon the Ground, we ſang *Ave Regina Cœlorum*, &c. and he riſing, prayed with us; then ſaluting him, we ſat by him, having a little Fire before him in a Pan; therefore we told him the Cauſe of our coming, and he began to comfort us, ſaying, that we ſhould boldly ſpeak, becauſe we were the Meſſengers of God, who is greater than all Men. Afterwards he told us of his Coming, ſaying, he came thither a Month before us, and that he was a Hermit of the Territories of *Jeruſalem*, and that the Lord appeared unto him three Times, commanding him to go to the Prince of the *Tartars*; and when he deferred to go the third Time, God threatened him, and over-threw him upon the Ground, ſaying, he ſhould die, unleſs he went; and that he told *Mangu-Khan*, that if he would become a Chriſtian, the whole World ſhould be obedient to him. Then I anſwered, “Brother, I will willingly perſuade him to become a Chriſtian; I will promiſe him alſo that the *French* and the Pope will much “rejoice thereat, and account him a Brother and a Friend; “but I will never promiſe that they ſhall become his Servants, and pay him Tribute, as theſe other Nations, “becauſe in ſo doing, I ſhould ſpeak againſt my Conſcience.” On which he held his Peace. We afterwards went together to our Lodging, which I found a cold Habitation.

We had eaten nothing that Day; ſo we boiled a little Fleſh and Millet, of which we made Broth for our Suppers. Our Guide and his Companions were drunk at the Court, and little Care was had of us. At that Time the Meſſengers of *Veſtace* were there, hard by us, which we knew not, and the Men of the Court made us riſe in great Haſte at the Dawning of the Day. I went barefoot with them a little way unto the Houſe of the ſaid Meſſengers, and they demanded of them whether they knew us. Then that *Grecian* Soldier calling our Order, and my Companion to remembrance, becauſe he had ſeen him in the Court of *Veſtace*, with Friar *Thomas*, our Miniſter, and all his Fellows, gave great Teſtimony of us. Then they demanded whether we had Peace or War with *Veſtace*? We have, ſaid I, neither War nor Peace; and they demanded how that might be? Becauſe, ſaid I, their Countries are far from each other, and meddle not together. Then the Ambaſſador of *Veſtace* ſaid, we had Peace, giving me a Caution; ſo I held my Tongue. That Morning my Toes Ends were ſo frozen, that I could no longer go barefoot; for in theſe Countries the Cold is extreme ſharp, and from the Time when it beginneth to freeze, it never ceaſes till *May*: Nay, in the Month of *May* it froze every Morning, but in the Day-time it thawed, through the Heat of the Sun; but in Winter it never thaws, but the Ice continues with every Wind. And if there were any Wind there in Winter, as there is with us, nothing could live there; but it is always mild Weather till *April*, and then the Winds riſe; and at that Time when we were there (about *Eaſter*) the Cold riſing with the Wind, killed Multitudes of living Creatures.

In the Winter little Snow fell there; but about *Eaſter*, which was in the latter End of *April*, there fell ſo great a Snow, that all the Streets of *Caracarum* were full; ſo that they were forced to carry it out with their Carts. Then they firſt brought us (from the Court) Ram-ſkin Coats, and Breeches of the ſame, and Shoes, which my Companion and Interpreter received; but I thought I had no need of them, becauſe I ſuppoſed my furred Garment, which I brought from *Baatu*, was ſufficient for me. On the 5th of *January* we were brought to the Court, and there came *Neſtorian* Prieſts to me, whom I knew not to be Chriſtians, demanding which Way we worſhipped? I ſaid, to the Eaſt; and this they demanded, becauſe we had ſhaven our Beards, by the Advice of our Guide, that we might appear before the *Khan* according to the Faſhion of our Country, whereupon they thought we had been *Tuinians*, or Idolaters: They made us alſo expound out of the Bible. Then they demanded what Reverence we would pay to the *Khan*, whether after our own Faſhion or theirs? To whom I made Anſwer, “We are Prieſts dedicated to the “Service of God; Noblemen in our Country will not ſuf-

“ fer Prieſts to bow their Knees before them for the Ho-
“ nour of G O D: Nevertheleſs we will humble ourſelves
“ to all Men for the Lord's ſake. We came from a far
“ Country, if ye pleaſe we will firſt ſing Praiſes unto GOD,
“ who hath brought us ſafe hither from afar, and after-
“ wards we will do whatſoever pleaſeth this Lord, with
“ this Exception, that he command us nothing which may
“ be againſt the Worſhip and Honour of G O D.” Then
they entring into the Houſe, delivered what we had ſaid; ſo their Lord was contented, and they ſet us before the Entrance of the Houſe, lifting up the Felt which hung before the Gate, and becauſe it was *Chriſtmas* we began to ſing, *A Solis ortus cardine*, &c.

38. When we had ſung this Hymn, they ſearched our Boſoms to ſee we had no Knives about us. They made our Interpreter ungird himſelf, and leave his Girdle and his Knife without, in the Cuſtody of a Door-keeper. When we came in, there ſtood in the Entrance a Bench with Coſmos, by which they made our Interpreter ſtand, and cauſed us to ſit upon a Form before the Ladies; the whole Houſe was hung with Cloth of Gold, and on a Hearth, in the Middle of the Houſe, there was a Fire made of Thorns and Wormwood Roots (which grow there very big) and Ox Dung. The *Khan* ſat upon a Bed covered with a ſpotted Skin, or Fur, bright and ſhining like a Seal's Skin: He was a flat noſed Man, of a middle Stature, about the Age of five and forty. and a little pretty young Woman his Wife ſat by him, and one of his Daughters, whoſe Name was *Cerina*, a hard-favoured young Woman, with other Children that were younger, ſat next unto them upon a Bed; for that was the Houſe of a certain Chriſtian Lady he loved, by whom he had this Daughter, and he married the young Wife afterwards; yet the Daughter was Miſtreſs of all that Court which was her Mother's.

Then he made them aſk us what we would drink, whether Wine, or Caracina, that is, Drink made of Rice, or Caracoſmus, that is, clear Cow's Milk, or Ball, that is, Mead made of Honey; for they uſe theſe four kinds of Liquor in the Winter? Then I anſwered, Sir, we are not Men who take Pleaſure in Drink, what pleaſeth you ſhall content us. Then he commanded Drink of Rice to be given us, clear and good as White-wine; whereof I taſted a little for Reverence of him, and our Interpreter, to our Misfortune, ſtood by the Butlers who gave him much Drink, ſo that he was quickly drunk; then the *Khan* cauſed Falcons and other Birds to be brought unto him, which he took upon his Fiſt, and looked upon them, and after a long time he commanded us to ſpeak. We were then to bow the Knee; and he had his Interpreter, a certain *Neſtorian*, whom I knew not to be a Chriſtian; and we had our Interpreter, ſuch a one as he was, who by this Time was drunk. Then I ſaid, “ We firſt give Thanks and Praiſe to G O D,
“ who hath brought us from ſo remote Parts of the World
“ to ſee *Mangu-Khan*, to whom G O D hath given ſo great
“ Power upon Earth; and we beſeech our Lord, by whoſe
“ Command we live and die, that he would grant him a
“ long and a proſperoos Life,” (for this they deſire, that
Men pray for their Lives) then I told him, “ Sir, We have
“ heard of *Sartach*, that he was a Chriſtian, and the Chri-
“ ſtians who heard it, but eſpecially the *French* King, re-
“ joiced; wherefore we come unto him, and our Lord and
“ King hath ſent him Letters by us, wherein were Words
“ of Peace, and amongſt other things he teſtifieth of us
“ whoſe Servants we are, and entreated him to ſuffer us to
“ abide in his Country; for it is our Office to teach Men
“ to live according to the Law of G O D, and he ſent us to
“ *Baatu* his Father, and *Baatu* hath ſent us hither unto
“ you; you are they to whom G O D hath given great
“ Dominions upon Earth, we therefore intreat your High-
“ neſs to give us Leave to continue in your Country to do
“ the Service of G O D for you, your Wives, and Chil-
“ dren. We have neither Gold, nor Silver, nor Precious
“ Stones, to preſent unto you, but ourſelves, whom we
“ preſent to ſerve and pray unto G O D for you: At leaſt
“ give us leave to continue while the Cold be paſt. My
“ Companion is ſo weak, that he cannot by any means
“ travel on Horſeback without Hazard of his Life;” for
my Companion begged me and adjured me to crave leave to ſtay. Then he began to anſwer, Even as the Sun ſpreads his Beams every where, ſo our Power and *Baatu*'s ſhews itſelf every where, ſo that we have no need of your Silver and Gold.

Hitherto I underſtood my Interpreter, but farther I could not perceive any perfect Sentence, whereby I eaſily found he was drunk; and *Mangu-Khan* himſelf was drunk too, at leaſt I thought ſo; yet he was diſpleaſed that we came firſt to *Sartach*, before we came to him. Then ſeeing the Defect of my Interpreter, I held my Peace, this only excepted; I entreated his Highneſs not to be diſpleaſed for that which I ſpake of Gold and Silver, becauſe I ſpoke it, not that he had need of ſuch things, or deſired them, but becauſe we would willingly honour him with ſpiritual things. Then he made us riſe, and ſit down again, and after ſome few Words, and paying our Duty to him, we went out, and his Secretaries, and that Interpreter of his (who had the bringing up of one of his Daughters) went with us. They began to be very inquiſitive concerning the Kingdom of *France*, whether there were many Rams, Oxen, and Horſes there, as if preſently they ſhould enter and take all? And oftentimes I was fain to bridle myſelf much in diſſembling Anger and Indignation. I anſwered, however, there are many good things there which ye ſhall ſee if you happen to come thither. Then they appointed us one who ſhould have Care of us, and we went to the Monk; and when we came out again ready to go to our Lodging, the Interpreter came to us, ſaying, *Mangu-Khan* hath Compaſſion on you, and gives you two Months Time to ſtay, then the extream Cold will be paſt; and he offers to ſend you ten Days Journey, where is a good City called *Caracarum*; if you will go thither he will cauſe neceſſary Things to be given you, but if ye will ſtay here ye may have Neceſſaries; yet it will be a troubleſome thing for you to follow the Court.

I ſaid the Lord preſerve *Mangu-Khan*, and grant him a good and long Life. We have found this Monk here, who we think to be a holy Man, and that by the good Pleaſure of G O D he came into theſe Parts; wherefore we would willingly ſtay with him, and we will pray together for the Life of *Khan*. Then he held his Peace, and departed, and we went to our Houſe, which we found very cold, and without any Fuel, as yet faſting, thought it was Night. Then he to whom we were recommended, provided us Fuel, and a little Meat. Our Guide was now to return to *Baatu*, who deſired a Carpet of us, which we left in the Court of *Baatu*, which we gave him, and he peaceably departed; ſo kiſſing our right Hand, and confeſſing his Fault, if he ſuffered us to endure Hunger and Thirſt upon the Way, we pardoned him, craving Pardon of him and his whole Family, if we had given them any evil Example.

39. A certain Woman of *Metz* in *Lorraine*, called *Paſcha*, found us, who made us good Cheer, according to her Power, who belonged to the Court of that Lady who was a Chriſtian, of whom I ſpoke before, who told us of her ſtrange Poverty which ſhe endured before ſhe came to the Court; but now ſhe was well to live, for ſhe had a young Huſband, a *Rutenian* (by whom ſhe had three very fair Children) who was ſkilful in Building, which amongſt them is an excellent Art. She told us farther, that at *Caracarum* there was a certain Goldſmith called *William*, born at *Paris*, whoſe Surname was *Bouchier*, and his Father's Name *Lawrence Bouchier*, and ſhe believed he hath a Brother yet living upon the Great Bridge, called *Roger Bouchier*; and ſhe told me that he hath a certain young Man which he brought up, whom he accounted as his Son, who was an excellent Interpreter; but *Mangu Khan* delivered to the aforeſaid Goldſmith three hundred Jaſcots, that is, three thouſand Marks, and fifty Workmen, to make a Piece of Work, ſo that ſhe feared he could not ſend his Son to me; for ſhe heard ſome ſay in that Court, the Men which came from your Country are good Men, and *Mangu-Khan* would willingly ſpeak unto them, but their Interpreter is good for nothing; therefore ſhe was careful for an Interpreter.

Then I wrote unto the Goldſmith, certifying him of my coming hither, and requeſting him, that if he could he would ſend me his Son, and he wrote me Anſwer, that he could not that Moon; but the next his Work ſhould be perfected, and then he would ſend him unto me. We ſtayed therefore with other Embaſſadors, and it is otherwiſe with Embaſſadors in *Baatu*'s Court than in the Court of *Mangu-Khan*: for in the Court of *Baatu* there is one *Jani* on the Eaſt Side, who receiveth all ſuch as come from the Weſt, and ſo of other Countries of the World; but in the Court of *Mangu* they are all together under one *Jani*, and they may ſee and viſit one another. In *Baatu*'s Court they know not one another, or whether a Man be a Meſſenger or no, becauſe they know not one another's Lodging, nor ſee one another, but in the Court; and when one is called by Accident, another is not, for they go not to Court unleſs they be ſent for. We found there a certain Chriſtian in *Damaſcus*, who ſaid he came in the Behalf of the Soldan of *Mons Regalis*, and of *Crax*, who deſired to become Friend and Tributary to the *Tartars*.

40. The Year before I came thither there was a certain Clerk of *Acon* or *Ptolemais*, in *Syria*, who called himſelf *Raimund*, but his true Name was *Theodolus*, and he took his Journey from *Cyprus* with Friar *Andrew*, and went with him into *Perſia*, and procured certain Inſtruments of *Amoricus*, then in *Perſia*, who remained after Friar *Andrew*. Friar *Andrew* returning, he went forward with his Inſtruments, and came to *Mangu-Khan*, and being demanded upon what Account he came, ſaid, “ That he was with a certain “ holy Biſhop, to whom the Lord ſent Letters from Hea“ ven, written in Golden Characters, and commanded him “ to ſend them to the Emperor of the *Tartars*, becauſe “ he ſhould be Lord of the whole Earth, and that he ſhould “ perſuade Men to make Peace with him.” Then *Mangu* ſaid unto him, If thou hadſt brought theſe Letters which come from Heaven, and the Letters of thy Lord, thou hadſt been welcome. He anſwered, that he brought Letters, but they were with other Things of his on a wild and pampered Gelding, which eſcaping, fled from him through the Woods and Mountains, ſo that he had loſt all.

Then *Mangu* demanded the Name of the Biſhop; he ſaid he was called *Odo* of *Damaſcus*, and informed him alſo of Maſter *William*, who was Clerk of the Lord Legat. The *Khan* demanded, in whoſe Kingdom it was? To whom he made Anſwer, that it was under a certain King of the *Franks*, called *Moles*; for he had heard of that that happened at *Maſſora*, and he would have ſaid, that they were of your Servants. He alſo told the *Khan*, that the *Saracens* were between the *Franks* and him, who hindered his Way; but if the Way had been open, he would have ſent Embaſſadors, and willingly have made Peace with him. Then *Mangu Khan* aſked him, if he would bring his Meſſengers to that King, and that Biſhop? He told him he would, and alſo to the Pope.

Then *Mangu* cauſed an exceeding ſtrong Bow to be made, which two Men could ſcarce bend, and two Arrows of Silver, whoſe Heads were full of Holes, which ſung, when they are ſhot, like a Whiſtle; and he choſe a *Moal*, whom he ſhould ſend with the ſaid *Theodolus*, and to whom he ſaid, “ Thou ſhalt go to the King of the “ *Franks*, to whom this Man ſhall bring thee, and pre“ ſent him with theſe on my Behalf; and if he will have “ Peace with us, we will win the Country from the *Saracens*, “ even home to him, and will grant him the reſt of the “ Country unto the Weſt; if otherwiſe, bring back the “ Bow and Arrows unto us, and tell him we ſhoot far and “ ſtrongly with ſuch Bows.” Then he cauſed *Theodolus* to go forth, whoſe Interpreter Maſter *William*'s Son was, and in his Hearing, he ſaid unto the *Moal*, “ Thou ſhalt “ go with this Man, mark well the Ways, the Countries, “ and their Caſtles, Men and Mountains.” For this Reaſon the young Man blamed *Theodolus*, ſaying, he had done ill in conducting the Meſſengers of the *Tartars* with him, for they went for no other Cauſe but to ſpy.

He anſwered, that he would ſet them on the Sea, that they ſhould not know which Way to return. *Mangu* gave alſo unto *Moal* his golden Bull or Tablet, to wit, a Plate of Gold of an Hand breadth and half a Cubit long, wherein his Orders are engraven: Whoſo carrieth that, may command what he will and it is done without Delay. So then *Theodolus* came to *Veſtacius*, determining to paſs over to the Pope, that he might deceive the Pope, as he had deceived *Mangu-Khan*. Then *Veſtacius* demanded of him, whether he had Letters to the Pope, becauſe he was a Meſſenger, and ſhould conduct the Meſſengers of the *Tartars*; but not being able to ſhew the Letters, he took him and ſpoiled him of all that he had got, and caſt him in Priſon, and the *Moal* fell ſick and died there.

But *Veſtacius* ſent back the golden Tablet to *Mangu-Khan* by the Servants of the *Moal*, whom I met at *Aſſron* in the Entrance into *Turky*, who told me what had happened to *Theodolus*. Such Sharpers run through the World, whom the *Tartars* kill when they can take them. Now the Epiphany was at hand; and that *Armenian* Monk, *Sergius* by Name, told me that he ſhould baptize *Mangu-Khan* upon that holy Day. I entreated him to labour, by all means, that I might be preſent, that I might bear Witneſs that I ſaw it; and he promiſed me he would.

41. When this feſtival Day came, the Monk called me not, but at ſix of the Clock I was ſent for to Court, and I ſaw the Monk with the Prieſts returning from the Court with his Croſs, and the Prieſts with the Cenſor, and the Goſpel for that Day. *Mangu-Khan* made a Feaſt, and his Cuſtom is, that on ſuch Days as his Soothſayers appoint him, or the *Neſtorian* Prieſts make holy Days, he held his Court; and on theſe Days the Chriſtians come firſt, with their Furniture, and pray for him and bleſs his Cup; then they departing, the *Saracen* Prieſts come and do the like: Next after them come the idolatrous Prieſts, and do the ſame. The Monk told me, that he only believes the Chriſtians, yet will have all to pray for him; but in this he lied, for he believes none; yet all follow his Court as Flies do Honey. He giveth to all, and all Men think they are his Familiars, and all propheſy Proſperity to him. Then we ſat before the Court a long Space, and they brought us Fleſh to eat; to whom I made Anſwer, that we would not eat there, but if they would provide us Meat, they ſhould provide it for us at our Houſe; to which they anſwered, Get home to your Houſe, you were invited here for nothing elſe but to eat: Therefore we returned to the Monk, who bluſhed at the Lye he had told me, and therefore would not ſpeak a Word of the Matter; yet ſome of the *Neſtorians* affirmed, that he was baptized; to whom I ſaid, that I would never believe it, nor report it to others, ſeeing I ſaw it not.

We came at laſt to our old and empty Houſe, where they provided us Bedding and Coverlids; they brought us alſo Fuel, and gave us three the Carcaſs of one little lean Ram, as Meat for ſix Days, and every Day a little Platerfull of Millet, and lent us a Caldron, and a Trivet to boil our Fleſh, which being boiled, we boiled our Millet in the Broth of the Fleſh. This was our Meat, and it had well ſufficed us, if they had ſuffered us to eat in Peace; but there were ſo many ſtarved Fellows, who were not provided with Meat, that as ſoon as they ſaw us dreſs ours, they thruſt in upon us, and would eat with us. The Cold began then to prevail, and *Mangu-Khan* ſent us three Fur-coats with the Hair outwards, which we thankfully received: They demanded alſo how we were provided with neceſſary Food; to whom I anſwered, that little Meat ſufficed us, but we have not an Houſe wherein to pray for *Mangu-Khan*; for our Cottage was ſo little, that we could ſcarce ſtand upright in it, nor open our Books for Smoak after the Fire was lighted. Of this they gave him an Account, and he ſent to the Monk, to know if he would be pleaſed with our Company, who gladly anſwered that he would. From that Time we were provided with a better Houſe, and we went down with the Monk before the Court, where none lodged but we and their Soothſayers; but they lodged nearer before the Palace of the greateſt Lady, and we at the fartheſt End towards the Eaſt, before the Palace of the laſt Lady; and that was on the Thirteenth of *January*.

On the next Morning, all the *Neſtorian* Prieſts came together before Day at the Chapel, and ſmote upon a Board inſtead of ringing a Bell, and ſang Matins ſolemnly, and put on their Ornaments, preparing the Cenſor and the Incenſe; and while they were waiting thus, behold, in the Morning the principal Wife, *Cotata-Caten* by Name (*Caten* is of the ſame Import as Lady, and *Cotata* is her proper Name) came into the Chapel with many other Ladies, and with her her eldeſt Son called *Baltu*, and other Children, and they caſt themſelves down upon the Earth, ducking after the Manner of the *Neſtorians*; and after this, they touched all the Images with their Right-hands, always kiſſing their Hands after they had touched; and after that they gave their Right-hands to all that ſtood by them in the Church, for this is the Cuſtom of the *Neſtorians* when they come into the Church; then the Prieſts ſang many Things, giving the Lady Incenſe in her Hand, and ſhe put it upon the Fire; then they perfumed her: After this, when the Day was clear, ſhe began to put off the Ornament from her Head, which is called *Bacca*, and I ſaw her bare Head; then ſhe commanded us to go forth, and as I went out I ſaw a Silver Baſon brought, whether they baptized her or no, I know not; but I know they celebrate not Maſs in a Tent, but in a ſtanding Church; and at the Feaſt of *Eaſter* I ſaw them baptize and conſecrate a Font with great Solemnity, which now they did not.

While we went into our Houſe, *Mangu-Khan* himſelf came and went into the Church or Oratory, and a golden Bed was brought, on which he ſat by his Queen, overagainſt the Altar; then we were ſent for, who knew not then that *Mangu* was come, and the Door-keeper ſearched us, leſt we ſhould have Knives about us; but coming into the Oratory, having a Bible and a Breviary in my Boſom, I firſt bowed down to the Altar, and after to *Mangu-Khan*, and ſo paſſing by we ſtood between the Monk and the Altar; then they made us ſing a Pſalm after our Manner, and chant it; but we ſang *Veni Sancte Spiritus*, &c. and *Khan* cauſed our Books to be brought unto him, the Bible and the Breviary, and diligently enquired concerning the Images, what they ſignified; the *Neſtorians* anſwered him at their Pleaſure, becauſe our Interpreter came not in with us; and when I was firſt before him, I had the Bible in my Boſom, which he commanded to be brought unto him, and he looked earneſtly on it; then he departed, and his Lady remained there, and diſtributed Gifts to all the Chriſtians there; ſhe gave the Monk a Jaſcot, and to the Arch-Deacon of the Prieſts another; ſhe cauſed a Naſſic to be ſpread before us, that is, a Piece of Cloth as broad as a Coverlid of a Bed, very large, and a Buckram, which, when I would not receive, they ſent them to my Interpreter, who had them to himſelf. He brought the Naſſic to *Cyprus*, which he ſold for eighteen Sultanines of *Cyprus*, but it was much the worſe for the Carriage. Then Drink was brought us, *viz.* Drink made of Rice and Red-wine, like a Wine of *Rochelle*, and Coſmos; then the Lady holding the Cup full in her Hand, deſired a Bleſſing upon her Knees, and all the Prieſts ſung with a loud Voice, and ſhe drank it up, and I and my Companion were obliged to ſing.

Another Time, when all of them were almoſt drunk, there was brought the Carcaſs of one Ram, which was preſently devoured, and after that great Fiſhes, which are like our Carp, without Salt or Bread, whereof I eat a little, ſo they paſſed the Day till the Evening; and when the Lady herſelf was drunk, ſhe took her Chariot, the Prieſts ſinging, and went her Way. The next *Sunday*, which was the Twenty-third of *January*, the *Khan*'s Son came (whoſe Mother was a Chriſtian) and did the like, but not with ſo great Solemnity, for he gave no Gifts, but made the Prieſts drink, and gave them parched Millet to eat. Before the firſt *Sunday* in *Lent*, the *Neſtorians* faſt three Days, which they call the Faſt of *Jonas*, when he preached to the *Ninevites*. And the *Armenians* faſt five Days, which they call the Faſt of St. *Lorkis*, who is the greateſt Saint among them. The *Neſtorians* begin their Faſt on *Tueſday*, and end it on *Thurſday*; ſo that on *Friday* they eat Fleſh: And all that Time I ſaw the Chancellor, who is there called *Bulgai*, give them ſmall Pieces of Fleſh upon the *Friday*, and they bleſſed the Fleſh with great Solemnity, as the Paſchal Lamb is bleſſed, but he eat none with them; and this I learned of the *French* Goldſmith, who was his very familiar Friend.

The Monk ſent to *Mangu* to faſt that Week, which he did; ſo that on the *Eaſter* of the *Armenians* we went in Proceſſion to the Houſe of the *Mangu*, and the Monk and we too went in with the Prieſts before him; and while we went in, one of the Servants went out, carrying out the Shoulder Bones of Rams burnt as black as Coals. I wondered at this greatly, as not knowing what it ſhould mean; but after I had enquired, I underſtood, that the *Khan* never does any thing before he has conſulted theſe Bones, which kind of Divination is thus performed: When the *Khan* undertakes any thing, or rather before he undertakes it, he cauſes three of theſe Bones to be brought to him unburnt, and holding them, he conſiders in his Mind the thing he conſults about, and whether he ſhall do it or not, and then delivers the Bones to be burnt; and there are always two little Rooms by the Houſe where he lies, where theſe Bones are burnt, which are diligently ſought for every Day thro' all the Leſkar or Camp of the *Tartars*. When they are burnt black, they bring them to him; then he looks upon them, whether the Bones, by the Heat of the Fire, be cleft Lengthways, for then he may do it; but if the Bones are cracked athwart, or round Pieces fly out of them, then he doth it not; for the Bones are always cleft in the Fire or the thin Skin which covers the Bone; and if one be cleft downright, he proceeds in his Deſign, be it what it will.

When therefore we went in before him, having a Caution to avoid touching the Threſhold, the *Neſtorian* Prieſts brought him Incenſe, and he put it upon the Cenſor, and they perfumed him; then they ſung, bleſſing his Cup; after them the Monk pronounced his Bleſſing, and we bleſſed laſt: And when he ſaw us holding up the Bible towards our Breaſts, he cauſed it to be brought to him that he might ſee it, which he earneſtly looked upon; then after he had drunk, and the chief Prieſt had waited on his Cup, they gave the Prieſts Drink, but we went out; but my Companion ſtaying laſt, when we were gone, turned his Face to the *Khan*, bowing himſelf to him, and then haſtily following us, he ſtumbled at the Threſhold of the Houſe, while we went in Haſte towards the Houſe of *Baltu*, the *Khan*'s eldeſt Son. They that obſerved the Threſhold ſeized my Companion and made him ſtay, calling one, and commanding him to be carried to the *Bulgai*, who is the Chancellor, or Secretary of the Court, who judgeth thoſe that are arraigned of Life and Death, but I knew it not; yet, when I looked back, and did not ſee him coming, I thought they kept him to give him ſome lighter Garments, for he was weak, and ſo laden with Felt-Garments that he could ſcarce go.

Then they called our Interpreter, and made him ſit with him, but we went to the *Khan's* eldeſt Son's Houſe, who had two Wives, and was lodged at the right Side of his Father's Court; who, as ſoon as he ſaw us coming, leaping from his Bed whereon he ſat, caſt himſelf upon the Earth, ſmiting his Forehead againſt the Ground, where kiſſing the Croſs, and then ariſing, cauſed it to be laid upon a new Cloth, in an high Place by him, very honourably: He hath a Schoolmaſter, a *Neſtorian* Prieſt called *David*, a Drunkard, who inſtructs him. Then he made us ſit, and gave the Prieſts Drink, and he alſo drank, receiving the Bleſſing from them; then we went to the Court of the ſecond Lady, which was called *Cota*, who followed Idolaters, whom we found lying ſick a-bed; then the Monk made her riſe out of her Bed, and worſhip the Croſs, bowing her Knees thrice, and bowing towards the Ground, he ſtanding with the Croſs at the Weſt Side of the Houſe, and ſhe on the Eaſt; this being done, they changed Places, and the Monk went with the Croſs unto the Eaſt, and ſhe unto the Weſt, and he boldly commanded her, tho' ſhe was ſo weak that ſhe could ſcarce ſtand upon her Feet, that ſhe ſhould caſt herſelf down thrice, and worſhip the Croſs, towards the Eaſt, after the Manner of the Chriſtians, which ſhe did, and he taught her to make the Sign of the Croſs upon her Forehead, after ſhe laid down upon her Bed; and praying for her, we went unto the third Houſe, where a Chriſtian Lady uſed to be, who being dead, a young Woman ſucceeded her, who, together with the Daughter of her Lord, joyfully received us; and all that whole Houſe reverently worſhipped the Croſs, and he ſet it upon a Velvet Cloth, in an high Place, and ſhe ordered Meat to be brought, which being ſet before the Lady, ſhe cauſed it to be diſtributed to the Prieſts; but I and the Monk were very weary of the Meat and Drink, for the Meat being eaten, and much Drink drunk, we were to go to the young Lady *Cerina*, who lodged behind that great Houſe, which was her Mother's, who, at the coming-in of the Croſs, caſt herſelf down upon the Earth, and worſhipped it very devoutly, becauſe ſhe had been taught ſo to do, and ſhe ſet it in a high Place, upon a Piece of Silk, and all thoſe Cloths whereon the Croſs was ſet, were given to the Monks.

A certain *Armenian* brought his Croſs, who came with the Monk as he ſaid, from *Jeruſalem*, and it was of Silver, weighing about ſome four marks, and it had four precious Stones in the Corners, and one in the Middle. It had not the Image of our Saviour, and he had preſented it to *Mangu-Khan*, and *Mangu* demanded of him what he deſired? To whom he anſwered, that he was the Son of an *Armenian* Prieſt, whoſe Church the *Saracens* had deſtroyed, and craved his Help for the Building again that Church. Then he aſked him for how much it might be built again? He anſwered, for two hundred Jaſcots, that is, for two thouſand Marks; and he commanded Letters to be given him, to him who received the Tribute in *Perſia* and *Armenia* the Greater, that they ſhould pay him the ſaid Sum in Silver. This Croſs the Monk carried with him every where, and the Prieſts ſeeing the Gain he made thereof, began to envy him. We were therefore in the Houſe of the young Lady, and ſhe gave the Prieſts much Drink; from hence we went up into the fourth Houſe, which was the laſt, for he uſed not to come often unto that Lady, and her Houſe was very old, and herſelf not over gracious; but after *Eaſter*, the *Khan* made her a new Houſe, and new Chariots. She likewiſe, as well as the Second, knew little or nothing of Chriſtianity, but followed Soothſayers and Idolaters; yet at our coming in, ſhe worſhipped the Croſs as the Monk and the Prieſt taught her. There alſo the Prieſts drank again, and from this Place we returned to our Oratory, which was not far from thence, the Prieſts accompanying us with great Howling and Outcries in their Drunkenneſs, which is not conſidered there as blameable, either in Man or Woman. A little after, my Companion was brought home, and the Monk ſharply rebuked him, becauſe he touched the Threſhold. The next Day *Bulgai* came (who was a Juſtice) and diligently enquired whether any had warned us to take Heed of touching the Threſhold; and I anſwered, Sir, We had not our Interpreter with us, and if they did, how could we underſtand? Then he pardoned him, but would never after ſuffer him to come into any of the Houſes of *Mangu-Khan*.

43. Sometime afterwards, it happened that the Lady *Cota* was ſick, almoſt to Death, and the Divination by Lot of the Idolaters did her no good at all; then *Mangu* ſent unto the Monk, demanding of him what might be done for her, and the Monk indiſcreetly anſwered, that if ſhe were not cured, he ſhould cut off his Head. Having made that anſwer, the Monk called us, declaring the Matter unto us with Tears, intreating us to watch with him that Night in Prayer, which we did; and he had a certain Root, which is called Rhubarb, and he beat it almoſt to Powder, and put it in Water, with a little Crucifix which he had, whereon the Image of our Saviour was advanced, whereof he reported, that by it he knew whether the Sick would recover or die; for if they ſhould eſcape, it ſtuck to the Breaſt of the Sick, as if it were glued; if otherwiſe, it ſtuck not all; and I ſtill thought that Rhubarb had been ſome holy Relick, which he had brought from the Holy Land of *Jeruſalem*. And he gave all ſick Perſons of that Water to drink, ſo that it could not be, but their Bowels ſhould be griped with ſo bitter a Potion; which Alteration in their Bowels they accounted a Miracle. Then I told him, he ſhould prepare ſome of that Holy Water which is made in the Church of *Rome*, which hath great Virtue to expel Devils, becauſe I underſtood ſhe was vexed of a Devil; and at his Requeſt, we made him ſome Holy Water, and he mingled Rhubarb, and put his Crucifix all the Night long in the Water to temper it. I ſaid, moreover, that if he were a Prieſt, that the Order of Prieſthood had great Power to expel Devils; and he ſaid, it was very true, and yet he lied, becauſe he had no Order, nor knew any one Letter; but was a Weaver, as I underſtood after, in his Country, when I returned.

The next Morning therefore, I and the Monk, and two *Neſtorian* Prieſts, went unto the Lady, and ſhe was in a little Houſe, behind her greater Houſe. When we came in, ſhe ſat in her Bed, and worſhipped the Croſs, and ſet it honourably by her, upon a Cloth of Silk, and drank of the Bleſſed Water with Rhubarb, and waſhed her Breaſt, and the Monk requeſted me to read a Goſpel over her; ſo I read the Paſſion of our Lord according to *John*; at length ſhe was cheared, and felt herſelf better, and ſhe cauſed four Jaſcots to be brought, which ſhe firſt laid at the Feet of the Croſs, and after gave them to the Monk, and reached me one, which I would not receive; then the Monk ſtretched forth his Hand, took it, and gave each of the Prieſts one; ſo that at that Time ſhe gave forty Marks. Then ſhe cauſed Wine to be brought, and gave it the Prieſts to drink, and I was forced to drink thrice from her Hand, in Honour of the Trinity: She began alſo to teach me the Language, jeſting with me, becauſe I was ſilent, as not having any Interpreter.

The next Day again *Mangu-Khan*, hearing that we came that Way, made us come in to him, becauſe he underſtood, that the Lady was ſomewhat better; and we found him with a few Servants, taking a ſort of Meat made of Paſte, for comforting the Head, and the burnt Shoulder-blades of a Ram lay before him, and he took the Croſs in his Hand, but that he worſhipped it, I ſaw not; he looked upon it indeed, and aſked ſome Queſtions, but I know not what. Then the Monk craved Leave to carry the Croſs aloft, upon a Lance, becauſe I had ſpoken to the Monk before concerning this, and *Mangu* anſwered, carry it as you think beſt; then paying our Duty to him, we went unto the Lady, and we found her ſtrong and chearful, and ſhe ſtill drank of the Holy Water, and we read the Paſſion over her, and thoſe miſerable Prieſts never taught her the Faith, nor adviſed her to be baptized; but I ſat there mute, not able to ſpeak any thing, yet ſhe ſtill taught me the Language, the Prieſts found no fault with any kind of Sorcery; for there I ſaw four Swords half drawn out of the Sheath, one at the Head of the Lady's Bed, another at the Feet, and two other, on either Side of the Door one. I ſaw alſo there one Silver Chalice, of our Chalices, which very probably was taken out of ſome Church in *Hungary*, and it hung againſt the Walls full of Aſhes, and upon thoſe Aſhes there was a black Stone, and concerning ſuch things, the Prieſts never teach them that they are evil; nay, they themſelves do teach ſuch things. We viſited her three Days, ſo that ſhe was reſtored to perfect Health; after that, the Monk made a Banner full of Croſſes, and got a Cane as long as a Lance, and we carried the Croſs aloft.

I honoured him as my Biſhop, becauſe he could ſpeak the Language, yet he did many things that did not pleaſe me; for he cauſed a Chair, which may be folded, to be made for him, ſuch as Biſhops uſed to have, and Gloves, and a Cap of Peacocks Feathers, and upon it a little Croſs of Gold; I was well pleaſed with the Croſs. He had ſcabbed Feet, which he endeavourd to palliate with Ointments, and was very preſumptuous in Speech; the *Neſtorians* alſo repeated certain Verſes of the Pſalter upon two Rods, which were joined together, being held by two Men. The Monk was preſent at ſuch Things, and many other Vanities appeared in him, which diſpleaſed me, yet we joined ourſelves to his Society for the Honour of the Croſs, for we carried the Croſs advanced through all the Tents, ſinging, *Vexilla Regis prodeunt*, &c. Whereupon the *Mohammedans* were much dejected.

44. From the Time we came to the Court of *Mangu-Khan* he rode but two Journeys towards the South, and from that time he began to return towards the North which was towards *Caracarum*; whereon I noted all the Way a thing of which Maſter *Baldwin* of *Hannonia* had ſpoken to me at *Conſtantinople*, that he had ſeen this only wonderful, that he always aſcended in going, and never deſcended; for all Rivers came from the Eaſt to the Weſt, either directly or indirectly, bending towards the South, or the North, and I enquired of the Prieſts which came from *Cathaya*, who teſtified the ſame. From the Place where I found *Mangu Khan* to *Cathaya* were twenty Days Journey; going towards the South and Eaſt to *Oman Kerule*, which is the proper Country of *Moall*, where the Court of *Zingis* is, were ten Days Journey right Eaſt; and in thoſe Parts of the Eaſt there was no City, yet there were People which are called *Su-Moall*, that is to ſay, *Moall* of the Waters,

for *Su* is Water. Theſe People live upon Fiſh and Hunting, having neither Flocks or Herds. Towards the North likewiſe there is no City, but a poor People feeding Cattle, who are called *Kerkis*; the *Orangin* are alſo there, who bind ſmooth filed Bones under their Feet, and thruſt themſelves forward upon the congealed Snow and Ice with ſuch Swiftneſs, that they take Birds and Beaſts; and many other poor People there are on the North-ſide, ſo far as they may ſpread themſelves for the Cold; and they join on the Weſt with the Country of *Paſcatir*, which is *Hungary the Greater*, whereof I have ſpoken before. The Bound or Summit of the North Corner is not known for the Extremity of the Cold; for in that Place there are continual Mountains of Snow.

I was inquiſitive of the Monſters, or monſtrous Men, whereof *Iſidorus* and *Solinus* make report; they told me they never ſaw any ſuch, and I therefore doubt whether it be true or no. All theſe Nations are poor, yet they muſt ſerve in ſome Trade, for it was the Commandment of *Zingis*, that none ſhould be free from Service, till he were ſo old, that he could labour no longer by any means. Once I remember a certain Prieſt of *Cathaya* ſat with me cloathed in a red coloured Cloth, and I demanded of him whence he had ſuch a Colour, and he told me, that in the Eaſt Parts of *Cathaya* there were high craggy Rocks, wherein certain Creatures dwell, having in all Parts the Shape of Men; but that they bow not the Knees, but leap inſtead of walking, which are not above one Cubit long, and their whole Body is covered with Hair, who have their Abode in Caves, which no Man can come unto, and they who hunt them, go to them, and carry ſtrong Drink with them, and make Pits in the Rocks like Wells, which they fill with that ſtrong Drink; for *Cathaya* hitherto has had no Wine, tho' now they begin to plant Vineyards; but the ſtrong Liquor before-mentioned is made of Rice. The Hunters hide themſelves, and then theſe Creatures come out of their Holes and taſte the Drink, and cry, Chin-Chin; on this they come together in great Multitudes, and drink till they are made drunk, ſo that they ſleep there. Then the Hunters come and bind them Hand and Feet, while they are ſleeping, and afterwards open the Veins in their Neck, and draw forth three or four Drops of Blood from every one, and let them go free, and that Blood, as he told me, is the moſt precious Purple.

He told us alſo as a Truth (which, however, I do not believe) that there is a Province beyond *Cathaya*, into which, at whatever Age a Man enters, he continueth in the ſame Age wherein he entered. *Cathaya* is on the Ocean, and the Goldſmith ſo often mentioned told me, that there arrived Meſſengers from a certain People which are called *Tante* and *Manſe*, who inhabit Iſlands, the Sea of which is frozen in the Winter, ſo that the *Tartars* may invade them, who offered two thouſand Tuemen or Jaſcots yearly, ſo they would let them live in Peace. Tuemen is a Piece of Money containing ten Marks. The common Money of *Cathaya* is Paper made like Paſteboard, the Breadth and Length of an Hand, upon which they imprint Lines like the Seal of *Mangu*; they write with a Pencil, like that with which Painters paint, and in one Figure they make many Letters comprehending one Word. The People of *Thibet* write as we do, and they have Characters very like ours. They of *Tangut* write from the right Hand to the left, as the *Arabians* do, and multiply the Line aſcending upwards; the *Jugures*, as I ſaid before, from above to the Bottom of the Line. The common Money of the *Rutenians* are little ſpotted and griſled Skins. When we came with the Monk, he charitably admoniſhed us to abſtain from Fleſh, and that our Servants ſhould eat Fleſh with his Servants; but he would promiſe us Meal, and Oil, or Butter, which we did, though it much grieved my Companion by reaſon of his Weakneſs; wherefore our Food was Millet and Butter, or Paſte boiled in Water, with Butter, or ſour Milk, and unleavened Bread baked on Ox-dung, or Horſe-dung.

45. When our *Quinquageſima* came, which is the *Lent* Time of all the People of the Eaſt, the great Lady *Cota*, with all her Company, faſted that Week, who came every Day to our Oratory, and gave Meat to the Prieſts, and other Chriſtians, of whom a great Multitude flocked thither the firſt Week to hear their Duty, and ſhe gave me and my Companion each a Coat and Breeches of grey Samito, furred with coarſe Hair, becauſe my Companion complained much of the Weight of his Skins, which I received for his ſake, excuſing myſelf nevertheleſs, that I would not wear ſuch Cloaths; I gave to my Interpreter what belonged to me. Then the Porters of the Court ſeeing that ſuch a Multitude came daily to the Church, which was within the Bounds of the Keepers of the Court, they ſent one of their Attendants to the Monk, to let him know, that they would not have ſuch a Multitude come within the Precincts of the Court; to this the Monk roughly anſwered, that he would know whether they commanded this from *Mangu-Khan*, and he added certain Speeches, as if he would accuſe them to *Mangu-Khan*; but they preventing him, accuſed him before *Mangu*, that he was too full of Words, and that he gathered together too great a Multitude to hear him ſpeak.

Afterwards being called to the Court, we came in before the *Khan* himſelf, who having the burnt Shoulder blade of a Ram in his Hand, looked upon it, as it were reading it, began to reprove the Monk ſeverely, telling him, that ſeeing he was a holy Man, he ſhould pray unto God, and aſked why he ſpoke ſo much with Men? but I ſtood behind with my Head bare. Then the *Khan* ſaid to him, Why doſt thou not put off thy Cap when thou comeſt before me, as that *Frank* doth? and commanded me to be called nearer; then the Monk being much abaſed, put off his Cap contrary to the Cuſtom of the *Greeks* and *Armenians*, and when *Khan* himſelf had ſpoken ſharply to him, we went out; the Monk then delivered me the Croſs to bear to the Oratory, becauſe he could not carry it for Shame. After a few Days he was reconciled to him, promiſing that he would go to the Pope, and that he would bring all the Nations of the Weſt to his Obedience. Whereupon he returning to the Oratory, after that Conference had with the *Khan*, began to enquire of me touching the Pope, if I believed he would ſee him, if he came unto him in the Behalf of *Mangu*, and if he would furniſh him with Horſes unto *Saint James* in *Galicia*. He demanded alſo of your Majeſty, if I thought you would ſend your Son unto *Mangu*? Then I counſelled him, that he ſhould take heed that he did not promiſe Falſhoods to *Mangu*, becauſe the laſt Error would be worſe than the firſt, and that God needeth not our Lies, or that we ſhould ſpeak deceitfully for him.

At that time there aroſe a certain Queſtion between the Monk and a Prieſt, a learned Man, whoſe Father was an Archdeacon, and the other Prieſts accounted him an Archdeacon. For the Monk ſaid, that Man was created before Paradiſe, and that the Scripture ſaid ſo; then was I called to be an Arbitrator of the Queſtion, but I being ignorant that they contended about this, anſwered, that Paradiſe was made upon *Tueſday*, when the other Trees were made, and that Man was made the ſixth Day. Then the Monk began to ſay, did not the Devil bring Earth the firſt Day from the four Parts of the World, and making Clay, made the Body of Man therewith, and God inſpired his Soul? Then hearing this Hereſy of the Monk, and that he ſo publickly and ſhamefully recited it, I reproved him ſharply, ſaying, he ſhould put his Finger upon his Mouth, becauſe he knew not the Scriptures, and that he ſhould take heed what he ſaid; and he began to ſcorn me, becauſe I was ignorant of the Language.

I departed therefore from him, going to our Houſe; it fell out afterwards, that he and the Prieſts went in Proceſſion to the Court without calling me, becauſe the Monk would no longer ſpeak to me as he was wont; when therefore they came before *Mangu*, he earneſtly demanded where I was, and why I came not with them? The Prieſts being afraid, excuſed themſelves, but, returning, they told me the Words of *Mangu*, and murmured at the Monk. After this, the Monk was reconciled to me, and I to him, intreating him, that he would help me with his Language, and I would help him in the Holy Scripture: *For a Brother that is holpen of a Brother, is as a ſtrong City*. After the firſt Week of Faſting, the Lady ceaſed to come unto the Oratory, and to give Meat and Drink, which we were wont to have; for the Monk ſuffered it not to be brought, ſaying, that Mutton-fat, or Suet, was put in the Sauce; and ſhe gave no Oil, but very ſeldom; ſo that we had nothing but brown Bread and Paſte, boiled in Water, though we had no Water but of diſſolved Snow, or Ice, which was exceeding bad. My Companion began to be much grieved; ſo I acquainted *David*, the Schoolmaſter of the Khan's eldeſt Son, with our Neceſſity, who made Report thereof to the Khan, and he commanded to give us Wine, Flour, and Oil.

Neither the *Neſtorians* or *Armenians* eat Fiſh by any means in *Lent*; but the Monk had a Cheſt by him under the Altar, with Almonds and Raiſins, and dried Prunes, and many other Fruits, which he eat all the Day, whenever he was alone. We eat once a Day, and that in great Affliction; for as ſoon as they knew that *Mangu* had given us Wine, moſt impudently they came in upon us like Dogs, both the *Neſtorian* Prieſts, who were drunk all the Day in the Court, and the *Moals* alſo, and the Servants of the Monk. The Monk alſo, when any came unto him to whom he would give Drink, he ſent to us for Wine; ſo that the Wine cauſed us more Trouble than Comfort, becauſe we could not deny it without Offence. If we gave, we wanted ourſelves; nor durſt we, that being ſpent, deſire any more from the Court.

4. About the Middle of *Lent* the *French* Goldſmith's Son came, bringing with him a Silver Croſs made after the *French* Faſhion, having the Image of Chriſt all of Silver faſtened upon it at the Top, which the Monks and Prieſts ſeeing, put it away. This Croſs he was to preſent in the Behalf of his Maſter to *Bulgai*, who was the chief Secretary of the Court, which when I heard I was offended. The ſame young Man alſo declared to *Mangu Khan*, that the Work, which he had commanded to be made, was finiſhed, which Work I deſcribed unto you. *Mangu* hath at *Caracarum* a great Court hard by the Walls of the City, incloſed with a Brick Wall, as the Priories of Monks are incloſed with us. In that Court there is a great Palace, wherein he held his Feaſts twice a Year, once in *Eaſter*, when he paſſeth that Way, and once in Summer, when he returneth; but the latter is the greater, becauſe then all the Nobles meet together at his Court, and then he gives unto them Garments, and ſhews all his Magnificence. There are many other Houſes there as large as our Farms, wherein his Victuals and Treaſures are ſtored. In the Entrance of that great Place, becauſe it was indecent to have Flaggons going about, as in a Tavern, *William* the Goldſmith made him a great Silver Tree, at the Root whereof were four Silver Lions, having one Pipe ſending forth pure Cows Milk; and the four Pipes were conveyed within the Tree unto the Top thereof, whoſe Top ſpread back again downward, and upon every one of them was a Golden Serpent, whoſe Tails twined about the Tree; and one of theſe Pipes run with Wine; another with Caracoſmos, that is, clarified Whey; another with Ball, that is, Drink made of Honey; another with Drink made of Rice, called *Teracina*; and every Drink had a Veſſel prepared of Silver at the Foot of the Tree to receive it. Between theſe four Pipes, at the Top, he made an Angel holding a Trumpet; and under the Tree he made an hollow Vault, wherein a Man might be hid, and a Pipe aſcending up the Heart of the Tree unto the Angel. He firſt made Bellows, but they gave not Wind enough. Without the Palace there is a Chamber, wherein the Liquors were laid, and there were Servants ready to pour it out when they heard the Angel ſounding the Trumpet; and the Boughs of the Tree are of Silver, and ſo are the Leaves and Pears that are on it; when therefore they want Drink, the Butler commands the Angel to ſound the Trumpet; he who is hid in the Vault, hearing, blows the Pipe ſtrongly, which aſcending to the Angel, he ſets his Trumpet to his Mouth, and the Trumpet ſoundeth very ſhrill; then the Servants hearing, which are in the Chamber, pour Liquor into the proper Pipe, and the Pipes pour it from above, and they are received below into Veſſels prepared for that Purpoſe. Then the Butlers draw them, and carry them through the Palace to Men and Women.

The Palace is like a Church, having the middle Iſle and the two Sides beyond two Rows of Pillars, and three Gates on the South; before the middle Gate ſtands the Tree, and the *Khan* himſelf ſits in the North Front on an high Place, that he may be ſeen of all; and there are two Flights of Steps aſcending to him; by one he that carries the Cup goes unto him; and by the other he comes down. The Space which is in the Middle, between the Tree and the Steps by which they aſcend, is void; for there ſtands he that waits on his Cup, and the Meſſengers which bring Preſents, the *Khan* ſitting there above like a God. On the right Side, towards the Weſt, are the Men; on the left, Women; for the Palace ſtretched out in Length from North to South: On the right Side are Places full of Seats, on which his Sons and Brethren ſit; on the left Side are the like, where his Wives and Daughters ſit, one Woman only ſits above by him, but not ſo high as he. When therefore he had heard that the Work was finiſhed, he commanded the chief Workman to ſet it up in its Place, and make it fit.

About *Paſſion Sunday*, he went before with his ſmall Houſes, leaving his greater Houſes behind; and the Monk and we followed him; and he ſent us another Bottle of Wine. The *Khan*, in his March, paſſed between the hilly Countries, where there was great Wind, and extreme Cold, and there fell a great Snow; whereupon he ſent abut Midnight to the Monk and us, entreating us to pray unto God, that he would mitigate the Wind and Cold, becauſe all the Beaſts which were in the Train were in Jeopardy; eſpecially becauſe all that Time they were with Young, and ready to bring forth. Then the Monk ſent him Incenſe, requiring him to put it upon the Coals, and offer it to God; which whether he did, I know not; but the Tempeſt ceaſed, which had continued two Days.

On *Palm Sunday* we were near *Caracarum* in the Dawning of the Day we bleſſed the Willow-boughs, whereon as yet there appeared no Bud; and about Nine we entered the City, carrying the Croſs aloft, with the Banner, paſſing through the Middle of the Street of the *Saracens*, where the Market and Fair are, to the Church, and the *Neſtorians* met us in Proceſſion; and, entering into the Church, we found them prepared to celebrate the Maſs; which being celebrated, they all communicated; and they aſked me whether I would communicate? I anſwered, that I had drank before, and the Sacrament ſhould not be received but faſting. Maſs being ſaid, it was Evening, and Maſter *William* the Goldſmith brought us with Joy to his Inn to ſup with him. He had a Wife who was the Daughter of *Mohammedan* Parents, though born in *Hungary* herſelf, who could ſpeak *French*, and the Language of *Comania*. We found alſo there one other Man, called *Baſſilius*, the Son of an *Engliſhman*, born in *Hungary*, who alſo was ſkilful in the ſame Languages. Supper being ended, they brought us to our Cottage, which the *Tartars* had appointed in a certain Plat of Ground near the Church, with the Oratory of the Monk.

On the next Morning the *Khan* himſelf entered into his Palace, and the Monk and I and the Prieſts went to him; they ſuffered not my Companion to go, becauſe he ſtumbled on the Threſhold. I much deliberated with myſelf what I ſhould do, whether I ſhould go or no; and, fearing Offence, if I ſhould depart from other Chriſtians, and becauſe it pleaſed him, and fearing leſt that Good might be hindered, which I hoped to obtain, I choſe rather to go, though I ſaw their Actions full of Idolatry and Sorcery; nor did I any other Thing there but pray for the whole Church with a loud Voice, and alſo for the *Khan* himſelf, that GOD would direct him to the Way of eternal Salvation. We therefore went into the Court, which was very neat, for in the Summer Rivers are coveyed into every Place, whereby it is watered. After this we entered into the Palace full of Men and Women, and ſtood before the *Khan*, having the aforeſaid Tree at our Backs, which, with the Veſſels thereof, took up a great Part of the Palace. The Prieſts brought two little Loaves and Fruit in an earthen Diſh, which they preſented unto him, bleſſing them; and the Butler brought them to him, ſitting above on a very high Place, and he preſently began to eat one of the Loaves, and ſent the other to his Son and a younger Brother of his, who was brought up by a *Neſtorian*, and knew the Goſpel, who alſo ſent for my Bible, that he might ſee it. After the Prieſts, the Monk ſaid his Prayer, and I after the Monk; then he promiſed that the next Day he would come unto the Church, which is great enough and fair, and all the Cieling above was covered with Silk wrought with Gold: The next Day he departed, deſiring the Prieſts to excuſe him, that he durſt not come to the Church, becauſe he underſtood the Dead were carried thither: But we and the Monk remained at *Caracarum* with the other Prieſts of the Court, that we might celebrate *Eaſter* there.

47. The Feaſt of *Eaſter* was now drawing near, and we had not our Veſtments; and I likewiſe conſidered the Manner how the *Neſtorians* made the Sacramental Bread, and was much troubled what I ſhould do, whether I ſhould receive the Sacrament from them, or ſhould celebrate in their Veſtments and Chalice, and upon their Altar, or ſhould altogether abſtain from the Sacrament. There was a great Multitude of *Chriſtians*; *Hungarians*, *Alans*, *Rutenians*, *Georgians*, and *Armenians*, all which had not ſeen the Sacrament ſince they were taken Priſoners, becauſe the *Neſtorians* would not admit them into their Church, unleſs they were baptized by them, as they ſaid; yet they made no Mention of that to us, and they offered their Sacrament freely to us, and made me ſtand in the Door of the Choir, that I might ſee their Manner of Conſecration. On the Vigil of *Eaſter* I ſtood by the Fount, that I might ſee their Manner of baptizing. They ſay they have of the Ointment wherewith *Mary Magdalen* anointed the Feet of our LORD; and they pour in as much as they think fit of that Oil, with which they knead their Bread; for all the People of the Eaſt put Fat in their Bread inſtead of Leaven, which Fat is Butter, or Suet out of a Sheep's Tail, or Oil.

They ſay alſo, they have of the Flour of which the Bread was made which the LORD conſecrated, and always add as much freſh as the Quantity of the Flour they lay aſide; and they have a Chamber, hard by their Choir, and an Oven, where they bake their Bread, which they next conſecrate with great Reverence. They therefore make one Loaf of an Hand's-breadth, with the before-mentioned Oil, which they firſt break into twelve Pieces, according to the Number of the Apoſtles, and after divide thoſe Pieces according to the Multitude of the People, and the Prieſts give the Body of CHRIST to every one in his Hand; and then every one taketh it out of the Palm of his Hand with Reverence, and ſtretcheth his Hand to the Top of his Head. The Chriſtians I mentioned before, and the Monks, very earneſtly entreated us, for God's Sake, that we would celebrate. Then I made them be confeſſed by an Interpreter as I could, reckoning the ten Commandments, and the ſeven deadly Sins, and other Things, for which every Man ought to be penitent and confeſſed; all of them publickly excuſed themſelves, concerning Theft, ſaying, that without Theft they could not live, becauſe their Maſters provided them neither Food nor Raiment. Then conſidering that they had taken away their Perſons and their Subſtance without juſt Cauſe, I ſaid unto them, that they might lawfully take Neceſſaries of the Goods of their Maſters, and I was ready to maintain it to the Face of *Mangu-Khan*.

Some of them alſo were Soldiers, who excuſed themſelves, that they muſt go to the Wars, or elſe they ſhould be ſlain: I forbad them to go againſt the Chriſtians, and that they ſhould not hurt them, and that they ſhould rather ſuffer themſelves to be ſlain, for ſo they ſhould become Martyrs. And I ſaid, that if any would accuſe me of this Doctrine before *Mangu-Khan*, I would be ready to preach the ſame in his Hearing; for the *Neſtorians* themſelves of the Court were preſent when I taught this, of whom I was ſuſpicious they might report ill of us. Then Maſter *William*, the Goldſmith, cauſed an Iron to be made for us to make Hoſts; and he had certain Veſtments which he had made for himſelf, for he had ſome Knowledge in Learning, and officiated as a Clerk. He cauſed the Image of the Bleſſed Virgin *Mary* to be graven after the *French* Faſhion, and engraved the Hiſtory of the Goſpel very fair; and made a ſilver Box to lay up the Body of CHRIST, and the Relicks in certain little Holes curiouſly wrought in the Side of the Box.

He made alſo a certain Oratory upon a Chariot, very fairly painted with Scripture Hiſtories; I therefore took his Veſtments and bleſſed them; and we made Hoſts after our Manner, very fair: And the *Neſtorians* aſſigned me their Fount for Baptiſm. And their Patriarch ſent them from *Baldach* a ſquare Hide like a portable Altar, made with Chriſm, which they uſe inſtead of conſecrated Stone; therefore I celebrated on the Day of the Lord's Supper, in their ſilver Chalice and Diſh, which were very great Veſſels. I did the like alſo on *Eaſter-day*, and we communicated the People with the Bleſſing of God, as I hope; but they baptized in the Vigil of *Eaſter* more than threeſcore Perſons very orderly. There was great joy for this generally among all Chriſtians.

48. After this, it happened that Maſter *William* the Goldſmith was grievouſly ſick, and when he was upon recovery, the Monk viſiting him, gave him Rhubarb to drink, ſo that he had almoſt killed him. Then viſiting him when I found him ſo ill, I aſked him what he had eat or drank? And he told me the Monk had given him the Potion, and he drunk two little Diſhes full, thinking it had been Holy Water. Then I went to the Monk, and ſaid to him, either go as an Apoſtle, doing Miracles indeed by Virtue of Prayer and the Holy Ghoſt, or as a Phyſician, according to the Art of Medicine; you give a ſtrong Potion of Phyſick to drink to Men not prepared, as if it were an innocent Thing; for which you will incur a foul Scandal, if it come to the Knowlege of Men. From that Time he began to fear and to be weary of him.

It happened at that Time, that the Prieſt too was ſick, who was as it were the Archdeacon of the reſt, and his Friends ſent for a certain *Saracen*, who was a Soothſayer, who ſaid unto them, a certain lean Man, who neither eateth or drinketh, nor ſleeps in a Bed, is angry with him; if he can obtain his Bleſſing, he may recover; then they underſtood it was the Monk, and about Midnight the Prieſt's Wife, his Siſter, and his Son came, intreating that he would come and bleſs him; they alſo raiſed us up to intercede with the Monk, who anſwered us upon this Occaſion, Let him alone, becauſe he, with three others, who likewiſe took evil Courſes, conſulted to go to the Court, to procure *Mangu-Khan*, that I and you ſhould be expelled from theſe Parts; for there aroſe a Contention among them, becauſe *Mangu* and his Wives ſent four Jaſcots, and Pieces of Silk, upon *Eaſter* Eve, to the Monk and Prieſts, to diſtribute among them; and the Monk had kept unto himſelf one Jaſcot for his Part, and of the other three one was counterfeit, for it was Copper. The Prieſts thought therefore that the Monk had kept too great a Share to himſelf, whence (it might be) that they had ſome Words among themſelves, which were reported to the Monk.

When Day came, I went to the Prieſt, who had extreme Pain in his Side, and ſpit Blood, whence I thought it was an Impoſtume; then I adviſed him, that if he had any thing that was another's, to reſtore it; he ſaid he had nothing. I ſpoke unto him alſo of the Sacrament of Extreme Unction; who anſwered, we have no ſuch Cuſtom, neither do our Prieſts know how to do it; I intreat you, that you would do it for me, as you know beſt. I adviſed him alſo, concerning Confeſſion, which they frequent not; and he ſpake a little in the Ear of a certain Prieſt, one of his Companions. After this, he grew better, and intreated me to go for the Monk; ſo I went, but the Monk would not come at firſt; but when he heard he was ſomewhat better, he went with his Croſs, and I alſo went, and carried the Body of Chriſt, which I had reſerved upon *Eaſter* Day, at the Intreaty of Maſter *William*; then the Monk began to kick him with his Feet, and he moſt humbly embraced his Feet; then I ſaid unto him, it is the Cuſtom of the Church of *Rome*, that the Sick ſhould receive the Body of Chriſt, as it is the beſt Proviſion for their Journey, and a Defence againſt all the Deceits of the Enemy; turning next to the ſick Man, I ſaid, *Behold the Body of Chriſt, which I conſecrated on* Eaſter Day, *you muſt be confeſſed, and deſire it.* Then ſaid he, with a great Faith, *I deſire it with all my Heart*; which when I had offered to him, he with great Affection ſaid, *I believe that this is my Creator, and my Saviour, who gave me Life, and will reſtore it again unto me after Death in the general Reſurrection*; and ſo took the Body of Chriſt (from my Hand) made after the Manner of the

Church of *Rome* ; the Monk then ſtayed with him, and gave him, in my Abſence, I know not what Potions.

The next Day he began to have the Pangs of Death upon him ; then taking their Oil which they ſaid was holy, I anointed him according to the Manner of the Church of *Rome*, as they entreated me. I had none of our Oil, becauſe the Prieſts of *Sartach* kept it all. When we ſhould have ſung a Dirge, and I would have been preſent at his End, the Monk ſent to me, bidding me depart, becauſe, if I were preſent, I could not come into the Houſe of *Mangu-Khan* for one whole Year ; which, when I had told his Friends, they ſaid it was true, and deſired me to depart, leſt I might be hindered in that Good which I might promote. As ſoon as he was dead, the Monk ſaid unto me, *Never mind it, I have killed him with my Prayers ; this Man only was learned, and oppoſed himſelf againſt us, the reſt know nothing : Henceforth* Mangu-Khan *himſelf, and they all will couch at our Feet.* Then he declared unto me the before-mentioned Anſwer of the Soothſayer ; which, not believing it, I enquired of the Prieſts who were Friends of the Deceaſed, whether it were true or no, who ſaid it was ; but whether he was pre-inſtructed or not, that they knew not.

Afterwards I found that the Monk called the Soothſayer and his Wife into his Chapel, and cauſed Duſt to be ſifted for him to divine to him, for he had a certain *Rutenian* Deacon who divined to him ; which, when I underſtood, I was amazed at his Fooliſhneſs, and ſaid to him, Brother, a Man full of the Holy Ghoſt, which teacheth all Things, ſhould not demand Anſwers or Counſels from Soothſayers, ſeeing all ſuch Things are forbidden, and they are excommunicated who follow ſuch Things. Then he began to excuſe himſelf, that it was not true that he ſought after ſuch Things ; but I would not depart from him, becauſe I was placed there by the Commandment of the *Khan* himſelf, nor could I remove without his ſpecial Command.

49. As to the City of *Caracarum*, your Highneſs may be pleaſed to know this ; that, excluding the Palace of the *Khan* himſelf, it is not ſo good as the Caſtle of *St. Dennis*, and the Monaſtery of *St. Dennis* is worth ten Times that Palace, and more too. There are two Streets there, one of the *Saracens* or *Mohammedans*, where the Fairs are kept, and many Merchants reſort thither, by reaſon of the Court which is always near, and for the Number of Embaſſors. There is another of the *Cathayans*, who are all Artificers. Without thoſe Streets there are great Palaces, which are the Courts of the *Secretaries* ; there are there twelve Kinds of Idolaters of divers Nations, two Moſques, where the Law of *Mohammed* is proclaimed, and one Church of the Chriſtians at the End of the Town. The Town is incloſed with a Mud Wall, and hath four Gates ; on the Eaſt Part Millet and other Grain is ſold, which, as yet, is ſeldom brought thither ; on the Weſt Sheep and Goats, on the South Oxen and Waggons are ſold ; and on the North Horſes.

Following the Court, we came thither on the *Sunday* before the *Aſcenſion* ; the next Day after we were called before *Bulgai*, who is their Juſtice and chief Secretary ; both the Monk and all his Family, and we and all the Meſſengers and Strangers likewiſe who frequented the Houſe of the Monk, and were called before *Bulgai* ſeverally, firſt the Monk, and after us, and they began diligently to enquire whence we were, and for what Purpoſe we came, and what our Errand was ? and this Enquiry was made becauſe it was told *Mangu-Khan*, that four hundred Aſſaſſins or ſecret Murderers were gone forth in divers Habits to kill him. About that Time the *Khan*'s Lady was reſtored to Health, and ſhe ſent for the Monk, and he not willing to go, anſwered, She hath ſent for Idolaters about her, let them cure her if they can, I will go no more.

Upon *Aſcenſion* Eve, we were all in the Houſe of *Mangu-Khan :* And I ſaw as often as he was to drink, they caſt Coſmos to their Idols of Felt ; then I ſaid to the Monk, *What Fellowſhip hath Chriſt with* Belial ? *What Part hath our Croſs with theſe Idols ? Mangu-Khan* hath eight Brethren, three by the Mother, and five by the Father. One of them, of his Mother's Side, he ſent into the Country of *Aſſaſſines*, who are called by them *Mulibet*, and he commanded him to kill them all. Another went to *Perſia*, and is now entered therein to go, as is thought, into *Turky*, from thence to ſend Armies to *Baldach* and *Vaſtacius*. One of the others he ſent into *Cathaia* againſt ſome that rebelled : His youngeſt Brother of the ſame Venter, he kept himſelf, whoſe Name was *Arabucha*, who holds his Mother's Court, who was a Chriſtian, whoſe Servant Maſter *William* is ; for one of the Brothers on the Father's Side took him in a certain City called *Belgrade*, where there was a *Norman* Biſhop, of *Belle Ville* near *Roan*, with a Nephew of the Biſhop's, whom I ſaw there at *Caracarum*, and he gave Maſter *William* to *Mangu*'s Mother, becauſe ſhe was deſirous to have him. But when ſhe was dead, Maſter *William* came back again to *Arabucha*, with all Things elſe pertaining to the Court of his Mother ; and from him he came to the Knowledge of *Mangu-Khan*, who, on finiſhing of the aforeſaid Work, gave unto Maſter *William* one hundred Jaſeots, that is, a thouſand Marks.

On the Eve of the *Aſcenſion*, *Mangu Khan* ſaid, he would go to his Mother's Court and viſit her, and the Monk ſaid he would go with him, and give his Bleſſing to his Mother, with which *Khan* was well contented. In the Evening of the Day of the *Aſcenſion*, the aforeſaid Lady was very ill, and the Chief of the Soothſayers ſent to the Monk, commanding him that the Table ſhould not be ſmitten. On the Morrow, when the whole Court removed, the Court of the Lady remained ſtill : and when we came to the Place where the Court ſhould ſtay, the Monk was commanded to depart farther from the Court than he was wont, which he did ; then *Arabucha* met his Brother the *Khan :* So the Monk and we, ſeeing that he was to paſs by us, met him with the Croſs ; and he calling us to Mind, becauſe ſometimes he had been at our Oratory, ſtretching forth his Hand made a Croſs unto us like a Biſhop ; then the Monk taking Horſe followed him, bearing certain Fruits ; but he alighted before his Brother's Court, waiting while he came from hunting : The Monk alighted there alſo, and offered him the Fruit, which he received ; and hard by him ſat two *Saracens* of the Nobility of the Court of *Khan* ; but *Arabucha* underſtanding of the Contention between the Chriſtians and the *Saracens*, enquired of the Monk if he knew theſe *Saracens*, and he anſwered, *I know they are Dogs, why have you them ſo near you?* But they replied, Why, ſay they, do you Wrong to us, when we do none to you? To whom the Monk ſaid, I ſpeak the Truth, and ye and your *Mohammed* are vile Dogs : Then they began to blaſpheme CHRIST, but *Arabucha* forbad them, ſaying, Speak not ſo blaſphemouſly, for we know that the MESSIAH is GOD. That very Hour there aroſe a great Wind over all the Street, and after a while there came a Rumour that the Lady was dead.

The next Morning the *Khan* returned towards the Court another Way ; for this is a Rule amongſt them, that they never return the ſame Way they come. While the Court remained here, none dare paſs that Way (neither Horſe-man nor Foot-man) where the Court ſtayed, ſo long as any Shew of the Fire made there remaineth. That Day certain *Saracens* kept Company with the Monk, upon the Way, provoking him, and diſputing with him ; and when he could not defend himſelf with Argument, and they made light of him, he would have laſhed them with the Whip which he held in his Hand, and he went ſo far that his Words were reported at the Court, and we were commanded to depart to the ſame Place with other Meſſengers, and not to abide before the Court as we were wont. I hitherto always hoped the King of *Armenia* would come. There came ſome about *Eaſter* from *Bolac*, where thoſe *Germans* are, for whoſe Sake chiefly I went thither, who told me, that the *Dutch* Prieſt ſhould come to Court ; therefore I moved no Queſtions to *Mangu* concerning our Stay or Departure ; for at the Beginning he gave us Leave to ſtay two Months, and now five Months were paſt. This was done about the End of *May*, and we had continued there all *February*, *March*, *April*, and *May* ; but hearing no News of the King or the ſaid Prieſt, and fearing leſt we ſhould return in the Winter, the Sharpneſs of which we had experienced, I cauſed it to be demanded of *Mangu-Khan*, what his Pleaſure was concerning us, becauſe we would ſtay there, if ſo he pleaſed, or if we muſt return, it were eaſier for us to return in Summer, than in the Winter.

He preſently ſent to me, commanding that I ſhould not go far off, becauſe his Pleaſure was to ſpeak with me the next Day: To which I anſwered, if he would ſpeak with me, he ſhould ſend for Maſter *William*'s Son, for my Interpreter was not ſufficient, and he that brought this Meſſage to me was a *Saracen*, who had been a Meſſenger to *Vaſtacius*, and, blinded with Rewards, counſelled *Vaſtacius* to ſend Embaſſadors to *Mangu-Khan*, and the mean while the Time paſſed, for *Vaſtacius* thought he would preſently enter their Country, ſo he ſent, and after he knew them, he little regarded them, nor made a Peace with them; neither did they yet enter his Country, nor will they be able ſo long as they dare defend themſelves; nor did they ever take any Country by Force, but by Deceit; and becauſe Men make Peace with them, under Colour of that Peace they circumvent them, and overthrow them. Then he began to be very inquiſitive of the Pope, and of the King of the *Franks*, and of the Way to go to them; but the Monks hearing this, adviſed me ſecretly not to anſwer him, becauſe he would procure that an Embaſſador ſhould be ſent. I therefore held my Peace, not willing to anſwer him; and he ſpake to me I know not what injurious Words, for which the *Neſtorian* Prieſts would have accuſed him, ſo that he had either been ſlain or beaten, but I would not agree to it.

50. The very next Day they brought me to the Court, and the chief Secretaries of the Court came to me, one of them a *Moal*, who waiteth upon the *Khan*'s Cup, and the reſt *Saracens*, enquiring on the Behalf of the *Khan*, wherefore I came? Then I told him in the very ſame Words I did before, how I came to *Sartach*, and from *Sartach* to *Baatu*, and how *Baatu* ſent me thither. Whereupon I ſaid unto him, I have nothing to ſpeak on the Behalf of any Man, unleſs I ſhould ſpeak the Words of God unto him, if he would hear them, for the *Khan* ſhould beſt know what *Baatu* hath written unto him. They ſtuck upon this, demanding what Words of God I would ſpeak unto him; thinking I would propheſy unto him ſome proſperous Thing, as many uſe to do.

To whom I anſwered, if ye will that I ſpeak the Words of God unto him, get me an Interpreter, who ſaid we have ſent for him, yet ſpeak by this Interpreter as you may, we ſhall underſtand you well, and they urged me much to ſpeak. Then I ſaid, “This is the Word of God. To whom more is committed, more is required at his Hands. Another alſo, to whom more is forgiven, he ought to love more. Out of theſe true Words of God, I ſaid to the *Mangu* himſelf, that God hath given him much: For the Power and Riches which he hath, the Idols of the *Tuinians* hath not given him, but the Omnipotent God, who hath made Heaven and Earth, in whoſe Hands all Kingdoms are, and he tranſlateth them from Nation to Nation for the Sins of Men, wherefore if he love him, it ſhall go well with him; if otherwiſe, let him know that God will require all theſe things at his Hands, even to the uttermoſt Farthing.” Then ſaid one of the *Saracens*, Is there any Man that loveth not God? I anſwered, “God ſaith, if any Man love me, he will keep my Commandments; therefore he that keepeth not the Commandments of God, loveth not God.” Then ſaid he, have ye been in Heaven, that ye might know the Commandments of God? “No, ſaid I, but he hath given them from Heaven to holy Men, and at the laſt himſelf deſcended from Heaven, teaching us, and we have theſe Things in the Scriptures, and we ſee by the Works of Men whether they keep them or no.”

Whereupon he replied, Will ye then ſay that *Mangu-Khan* keeps not the Commandments of God? To whom I ſaid your Interpreter will come as ye ſay. Then before *Mangu-Khan*, if it pleaſe him, I will recite the Commandments of God, and he ſhall be his own Judge, whether he keep them or not; ſo they departed and told him, that I ſaid he was an Idolater, or a *Tuinian*, and kept not the Commandments of God. The next Day he ſent his Secretaries unto me, ſaying, our Lord ſends us unto you, ſaying, ye are here, *Chriſtians*, *Saracens*, and *Tuinians*, and every of you ſaith his Law is better, and his Books are true: Wherefore he would that ye all come together, and make Compariſon that every one write his Words, that he may know the Truth. Then I ſaid, “Bleſſed be God, that hath put this in the Heart of *Khan*; but our Scripture ſaith, the Servant of God muſt not be contentious, but meek unto all. Wherefore I am ready without Strife and Contention to render an Account of the Faith and Hope of Chriſtians to every one that ſhall require it.” Then they wrote my Words, and brought them unto him.

Then the *Neſtorians* were commanded to provide themſelves, and write what they would ſpeak, and the *Saracens* likewiſe, and the *Tuinians* alſo. On the next Morning he ſent the Secretaries again, ſaying, *Mangu-Khan* would know wherefore ye came to theſe Parts? To whom I ſaid, he may know by the Letters of *Baatu*: To this they anſwered, *Baatu*'s Letters are loſt, and he hath forgotten what *Baatu* hath wrote to him. Wherefore he would know of you.

At this ſomewhat emboldened, I ſaid, “The Duty or Office of our Religion is to preach the Goſpel unto all. Whereupon when I heard of the Fame of the People of *Moal*, I had a Deſire to come unto them, and while I was thus minded we heard of *Sartach* that he was a Chriſtian; then I directed my Journey unto him, and my Sovereign Lord the King of the *Franks* ſent him Letters containing good Words, and other Words beſides which teſtify of us unto him what Men we are, when he made Requeſt that he would ſuffer us to remain with the People of *Moal*; then he ſent us to *Baatu*, and *Baatu* to *Mangu-Khan*; whereupon we intreated, and yet intreat him to ſuffer us to ſtay.” They wrote all, and made Relation thereof unto him. On the Morrow he ſent to me again, ſaying, the *Khan* knows well enough that ye have no Meſſage unto him, but ye came to pray for him as many other Prieſts do; but he demandeth whether ever any of your Embaſſadors were with him, or ours with you. Then I declared all unto them concerning *David* and Friar *Andrew*, ſo they putting all in Writing, reported the ſame to him.

Then he ſent again unto me, ſaying, our Lord *Khan* ſaith ye have ſtaid long here; his Pleaſure is, that ye return unto your own Country, and he further demands, whether ye would conduct his Embaſſadors with you? To whom I made Anſwer, that I durſt not carry his Embaſſadors beyond his own Country, becauſe there is a warlike Nation between us and you, and the Sea and Mountains, and I am a poor Monk, and therefore dare not take upon me to be their Guide; ſo they having ſet down all in Writing, returned, and reported it to the *Khan*. When *Whitſun-Eve* came the *Neſtorians* wrote Chronicles from the Creation of the World to the Paſſion of Chriſt; and, paſſing over the Paſſion, they ſpake of the Reſurrection of the Dead, and of the Aſcenſion and of the Coming of Judgment, wherein many Things were to be reprehended, which I told them; and we likewiſe wrote the Symbol or Creed, *Credo unum Deum*. Then I demanded of them how they would proceed? They ſaid they would firſt diſpute with the *Saracens*; I ſhewed them this was not the proper Method, for the *Saracens* in this agree with us, that they affirm there is but one God, and therefore you may have them to help you againſt the *Tuinians*, ſo they were contented. Then I aſked them, if they knew how Idolatry had its firſt Original in the World, and they could not tell? I told them, and they ſaid you ſhall clear theſe things to them, and then let us ſpeak, for it is hard to ſpeak by an Interpreter; to whom I ſaid, try how you can behave yourſelves againſt them, I will take the *Tuinians* Part, and you the Chriſtians.

Suppoſe I am of that Sect that ſay there is no God, prove ye there is a God; for there is a Sect there which ſaith, that every Virtue, in what thing ſoever, is the God thereof, and that otherwiſe there is no God. Then the *Neſtorians* knew not how to prove any thing, but only that which their Writing declareth: I ſaid they believe not the Scriptures, if ye ſhew one, they will ſhew another. Then I directed them to let me firſt talk with them, becauſe if I ſhould be overcome, they might ſtill have Liberty of Speech; whereas if they ſhould be overcome, I ſhould have no hearing: They agreed unto it.

We therefore gathered together at our Oratory, and *Mangu-Khan* ſent three Writers to be Judges, one *Chriſtian*, one *Saracen*, and one *Tuinian*, and it was firſt proclaimed, “ This is the Commandment of *Mangu-Khan*, and none “ dare ſay that the Commandment of God is otherwiſe. “ He commandeth that none ſpeak contentious or injuri- “ ous Words to another, or make any Tumult, whereby “ this Buſineſs may be hindered, upon Pain of his Head.” Then all were ſilent, and there was a great Aſſembly there, for every Party invited the wiſeſt of their Nation, and many others came flocking thither. Then the Chriſtians ſet me in the Middle of them, willing the *Tuinians* to ſpeak with me. Then they began to murmur againſt *Mangu-Khan*, becauſe never any Khan attempted thus to ſearch into their Secrets. Then they oppoſed one to me, who came from *Cathaya*, having his Interpreter, and I had Maſter *William*'s Son. And he firſt ſaid to me, Friend, if thou be brought to a Nonplus, who muſt ſeek a wiſer than yourſelf? But I held my Peace.

Then he demanded whereof I would diſpute, either *how the World was made, or what becomes of the Souls after Death?* To whom I anſwered, “ Friend, this ſhould not “ be the beginning of our Speech. All things are of God, “ and he is the Fountain and Head of all, and therefore “ we ought to ſpeak firſt of God, of whom ye think other- “ wiſe than ye ought to do, and *Mangu* deſires to know “ who believes better?” Then the Arbitrators allowed this to be reaſonable, they would willingly have begun with the following Queſtions; becauſe they hold them for the ſtrongeſt, for they are all of the Hereſy of the *Manichees*, believing two Principles, the one bad, and the other good; and concerning Souls they all think they paſs from Body to Body, inſomuch that one of the wiſeſt of the *Neſtorian* Prieſts demanded of me concerning the Souls of brute Beaſts, whether they could fly to any Place where they ſhould not be compelled to labour after Death? For Confirmation alſo thereof, as the Goldſmith told me a certain Child was brought from *Cathaya*, who by the Size of his Body appeared to be three Years old, yet was capable of any Reaſon, who affirmed of himſelf, that he had been three times in ſeveral Bodies, and knew Letters, and how to write.

I ſaid to the aforeſaid *Tuinian, we firmly believe with the Heart, and confeſs with the Mouth, that there is a God, and there is but one God, and one in perfect Unity, what believe you?* He ſaid, Fools ſay there is but one God, but wiſe Men ſay there are many. Are not there great Lords in your Country, and here is a greater Lord, *Mangu-Khan?* ſo it is of the Gods, becauſe in divers Countries there are diverſe. To whom I ſaid, you make a bad Compariſon of Men with God; for ſo every mighty Man in his own Country may be called a God. And when I would have diſſolved the Similitude, he prevented me, enquiring what Manner of God is yours, whereof you ſpeak? that he is but one, I anſwered, “ Our God, beſide whom there is no “ other, is Omnipotent, and therefore needeth not the “ Help of another. Nay, all we have need of his Help, it “ is not ſo with Men; no Man can do all things, and “ therefore there muſt be many Lords in the Earth, becauſe “ no one can ſupport all. Again, he knows all things, “ therefore he needs not a Counſellor: Nay, all Wiſdom “ is from him; moreover he is perfectly good, and needeth “ not our Good. Nay, in him we live, move, and have “ our Being: Such is our God, and therefore you muſt “ not hold that there is any other.” It is not ſo, ſaith he. Nay, there is one higheſt in the Heavens, whoſe Generation we know not yet, and ten are under him, and under them there is one inferior, and in the Earth there are infinite. Then he would have added other Fables: So I aſked him of that higheſt God, whether he thought him Omnipotent? or of any other God? and fearing to anſwer, he demanded, if your God be ſuch as you ſay, why made he the half of things evil? It is falſe, ſaid I, whoſo maketh any Evil is no God, and all things whatſoever are good. At this Word all the *Tuinians* marvelled, and ſet it down in Writing, as falſe, or impoſſible. Then he began to aſk, Whence therefore cometh Evil? You aſk amiſs, ſaid I; for firſt you ſhould demand what Evil is before you aſk whence it is. But to return unto the firſt Queſtion, whether do you believe that any God is omnipotent? and after I will anſwer you to whatſoever you demand. Then he ſat a long time and would not anſwer, inſomuch that the Writers on the Behalf of the Khan were forced to command him to anſwer. At length he anſwered, that no God was Omnipotent. Then all the *Saracens* broke out into a great Laughter. Silence being made, I ſaid therefore none of your Gods can ſave you in all Dangers, becauſe ſuch a Chance may happen wherein he hath no Power. Again, no man can ſerve two Maſters. How then can you ſerve ſo many Lords in Heaven and in Earth? The Auditory decreed him to anſwer, but he held his Peace.

Then when I was about to alledge Reaſons to prove the Truth of Divine Eſſence, and the Trinity, in every Man's Hearing, the *Neſtorians* of the Country ſaid, that it was enough, becauſe they meant to ſpeak; ſo I gave them place; and when they would have diſputed with the *Saracens*, they anſwered, we grant that your Law is true, and whatſoever is in the Goſpel is Truth, wherefore we will not diſpute with you in any thing, and they confeſſed, that they beg at the Hands of God in their Prayers, that they may die the Death of the Chriſtians. There was there a certain old Prieſt of the Sect of *Jugures*, who confeſs One God, yet they make Idols, with whom they talked much, ſhewing all till the Coming of Chriſt to Judgment, declaring the Trinity to him, and the *Saracens* by Similitudes; all of them hearkened without any Contradiction, yet none of them ſaid, I believe, and will become a Chriſtian: The Conference ended, the *Neſtorians* and *Saracens* ſang together with a loud Voice, the *Tuinians* holding their Peace, and after that, they all drank moſt plentifully.

51. On *Whitſunday*, *Mangu-Khan* called me before him, and the *Tuinian*, with whom I diſputed; and before I went in, Maſter *William*'s Son, my Interpreter, ſaid to me, that we muſt return to our Country, and that I ſhould ſpeak nothing againſt it, becauſe he underſtood it for a thing determined. When I came before him, I kneel'd, and the *Tuinian* by me, with his Interpreter. Then he ſaid unto me, tell me the Truth, whether you ſaid, when I ſent my Writers unto you, that I was a *Tuinian?* Then I anſwered, My Lord, I ſaid not ſo; but if it pleaſe Your Highneſs, I will tell you the Words I ſpake; then I recited what I had ſpoken, and he anſwered, I thought well you ſaid not ſo, for it was a Word which you ſhould not ſpeak, but your Interpreter hath ill interpreted it. So he reached forth his Staff towards me whereon he leaned, ſaying, fear not. I ſmiling, ſaid ſoftly, if I had feared, I had not come hither; then he demanded of the Interpreter what I ſaid? So he repeated my Words unto him: Afterwards he began to confeſs his Faith unto me.

“ We, *Moalians*, ſaid he, believe that there is but “ One God, through whom we live and die, and we have “ an upright Heart towards him;” then ſaid I, God grant you this, for without his Gift it cannot be, and he demanded what I ſaid, ſo the Interpreter told him; then he added further, *that God who hath given to the Hand diverſe Fingers, ſo he hath given many Ways to Men: God hath given the Scriptures to you, and the Chriſtians keep them not: ye find it not in the Scriptures, that one of you ſhall diſpraiſe another: Do you find it, ſaid he?* No, ſaid I; but I ſignified unto you from the Beginning, that I would not contend with any; I ſpeak it not, ſaid he, touching you. In like manner ye find it not that for Money a Man ought to decline from Juſtice. No, Sir, ſaid I, and truly neither came I into theſe Parts to get Money, nay, I refuſed that which was given me; and there was a Scribe preſent there, who gave Teſtimony that I had refuſed a Jaſcot, and certain Pieces of Silk. I ſpeak it not, ſaid he, for that, God hath given you the Scriptures, and ye keep them not; but he hath given us Soothſayers, and we do that which they bid us, and we live in Peace. He drank four times, as I think, before he diſcloſed theſe things; and while I hearkened attentively, whether he would confeſs any thing elſe concerning this Faith, he began to ſpeak of my Return, ſaying, you have ſtaid a long time here, my Pleaſure is therefore that you return: You ſaid, you durſt not carry my Ambaſſadors with you, will you carry my Meſſenger, or my Letters? And from that time I could neither have Place nor Time to ſhew him the Catholick

Faith; for a Man cannot ſpeak before him, ſave what he pleaſeth, unleſs he were an Ambaſſador, but an Ambaſſador may ſpeak what he will, and they always demand, whether he have any thing elſe to ſay.

But he ſuffered me to ſpeak no more; but I muſt hear him, and anſwer as to Interrogatories. Then I anſwered, that if he would make me underſtand his Words, and that they were ſet down in Writing, I would willingly carry them to my Power. Then he aſked me, if I would have Gold or Silver, or coſtly Garments? I anſwered, we receive no ſuch things; but we have not wherewith to bear our Expences, and without your Help, we cannot get out of your Country. Then ſaid he, I will provide you all Neceſſaries throughout my Country, will you have any thing more? I anſwered, it ſufficeth me. Then he demanded how far will you be brought? I ſaid let our Paſs bring me to the *Armenian* Country; if I were there, it were enough. He anſwered, I will cauſe you to be conveyed thither, and after look to yourſelf; and he added, there are two Eyes in one Head, and though they be two, yet there is one Object to both; and whither the one directeth the Sight, the other doth: You came from *Baatu*, and therefore you muſt return by him. When he had thus ſaid, I craved Leave to ſpeak; ſpeak on, ſaid he; then ſaid I, "Sir, we are not Men of War; we deſire that they have Dominion of the World, who would moſt juſtly govern it according to the Will of God; our Office is to teach Men to live according to the Will of God; for this Purpoſe came we into theſe Parts, and would willingly have remained here, if it had pleaſed you; but ſeeing it is your Pleaſure that we return, it muſt be ſo; I will return, and carry your Letters according to my Power, as ye have commanded. I would requeſt your Magnificence, that when I have carried your Letters, it may be lawful for me to return to you, with your good Liking, chiefly becauſe you have poor Servants of yours at *Balac*, who are of our Language, and they want a Prieſt to teach them and their Children their Law, and I would willingly ſtay with them." To this he anſwered, Know you whether your Lords would ſend you back to me? I anſwered, "Sir, I know not the Purpoſe of my Lords; but I have Licence from them to go whither I will, where it is needful to preach the Word of God; and it ſeems to me, as if it were very neceſſary in thoſe Parts: Whereupon, whether they ſend Ambaſſadors or no, if it pleaſe you, I will return." Then he held his Peace, and ſat a long Space, as it were in a Muſe; and my Interpreter deſired me to ſpeak no more, and I carefully expected what he would anſwer.

At length, he ſaid, you have a long Way to go, make yourſelf ſtrong with Food, that you may come luſty into your Country, and he cauſed them to give me Drink; then I departed from his Preſence, and returned not again. If I had been endowed with Power to do Wonders, as *Moſes* did, peradventure he had humbled himſelf.

52. The Soothſayers therefore, as he confeſſed, are their Prieſts, and whatſoever they command to be done, is performed without Delay; whoſe Office I ſhall deſcribe unto you, as I could learn of Maſter *William*, and others, who reported unto me Things like to be true. They are many, and they have always one Head, or chief Prieſt, who always places his Houſe before the great Houſe of *Mangu-Khan*, within a Stone's Caſt; under his Study are the Chariots which bear their Idols, the others are behind the Court, in Places appointed for them, and they who have any Confidence in that Art, come unto them from divers Parts of the World. Some of them are ſkilful in Aſtronomy, and eſpecially the Chief of them, and they foretel to them the Eclipſes of the Sun and Moon. And when they are to come to paſs; all the People prepare them Food, ſo that they need not go out of the Door of their Houſe; and when there is an Eclipſe, they play upon their Timbrels and Organs, and make a great Noiſe, and ſet up loud Shouts. When the Eclipſe is paſt, they give themſelves to Feaſting and Drinking, and make great Chear. They foretel fortunate and unlucky Days for all Buſineſs; therefore they never levy an Army, or undertake War, without their Direction: and they had long ſince returned into *Hungary*, but that their Soothſayers will not ſuffer them: They make all things that are ſent to the Court paſs between Fires, and have a due Portion of them.

They alſo purify the houſhold Stuff of the Dead, drawing them between theſe Fires; for when any one dieth, all things whatſoever which appertain to him are ſeparated, and not mingled with other things of the Court, till all be purged by the Fire; ſo did I ſee it done to the Court of the Lady who died while we were there; whereupon there was a double Reaſon why Friar *Andrew* and his Fellows ſhould go between the Fires, both becauſe they brought Preſents, and alſo for that they belonged to him who was dead, to wit, *Khon-Khan*; no ſuch thing was required of me, becauſe I brought nothing. If any living Creature, or any thing elſe, fall to the Ground while they thus make them paſs between the Fires, that is theirs; they alſo on the ninth Day of the Month of *May*, gather together all white Mares of the Herd and conſecrate them. The Chriſtian Prieſts alſo muſt come together with their Cenſors; then they caſt new Coſmos upon the Ground, and make a great Feaſt that Day, becauſe then they think they drink Coſmos firſt, as it is the Faſhion, in ſome Places with us, as for Wine, on the Feaſt of Saint *Bartholomew*, or *Sixtus*; and for Fruits, on the Feaſt of St. *James* and *Chriſtopher*.

They alſo are invited when any Child is born, to foretel his Deſtiny. They are ſent for alſo when any is ſick, to uſe their Charms, and they tell whether it be a natural Infirmity, or by Sorcery; in regard to which, that good Woman of *Metz* I mentioned before, told me a wonderful thing. On a certain time, very coſtly Furs were preſented, which were laid down at the Court of her Lady, who was a Chriſtian, as I ſaid before, and the Soothſayers drew them through between the Fires, and took more of them than was their Due, and a certain Woman under whoſe Cuſtody the Treaſure of her Lady was, accuſed them thereof unto her Lady, whereupon the Lady herſelf reproved them. It fell out after this, that this Lady herſelf began to be ſick, and to ſuffer certain ſudden Pains in divers Parts of her Body; the Soothſayers were called, and they ſitting far off, commanded one of thoſe Maidens to put her Hand upon the Place where the Grief was, and if ſhe found any thing, ſhe ſhould ſnatch it away; then ſhe ariſing, did ſo, and ſhe found a Piece of Felt in her Hand, or of ſome other thing: Then they commanded her to put it upon the Ground, which being laid down, it began to creep, as if it had been ſome living Creature; then they put it into the Water, and it was turned as it were into a Horſe-leech; and they ſaid ſome Witch hath hurt you thus with her Sorceries, and they accuſed her that had accuſed them of the Furs, who was brought without the Tents into the Fields, and received the Baſtinado ſeven Days together there, and was afterwards tormented with other Puniſhments to make her confeſs; and in the mean-time her Lady died, which ſhe underſtanding, ſaid unto them, I know my Lady is dead, kill me, that I may go after her, for I never did her hurt; and when ſhe confeſſed nothing, *Mangu-Khan* commanded ſhe ſhould live.

Then the Sorcerers accuſed the Lady's Daughter's Nurſe, of whom I ſpake before, who was a Chriſtian, and her Huſband was the chief among all the *Neſtorian* Prieſts; ſo ſhe was brought to Puniſhment, with a Maid of hers, to make her confeſs, and the Maid confeſs'd, that her Miſtreſs ſent her to ſpeak with a certain Horſe to demand Anſwers. The Woman alſo herſelf confeſs'd ſomething ſhe did, to be beloved by her Lady, that ſhe might do her Good, but ſhe did nothing that might hurt her. She was demanded alſo whether her Huſband were privy to it; ſhe excuſed him, for that he had burnt the Characters and Letters which ſhe had made. Then ſhe was put to Death, and *Mangu-Khan* ſent the Prieſt her Huſband to the Biſhop, who was in *Cathaya*, to be judged, although he was not found culpable.

In the mean time it fell out, that the principal Wife of *Mangu-Khan* brought forth a Son, and the Soothſayers were called to foretel the Deſtiny of the Child, who all propheſied Proſperity, and ſaid, he ſhould live long, and be a great Lord. After a few Days it happened that the Child died; then the Mother enraged, called the Soothſayers, ſaying, you ſaid my Son ſhould live, and he is dead. Then they ſaid, Madam, behold, we ſee that Sorcereſs,

cereſs; the Nurſe of *Chrinia*, who the other Day was put to Death, ſhe hath killed your Son, and behold we ſee ſhe carries him away. Now there remained one Son and a Daughter of that Woman, grown to full Age, in the Tents; and the Lady ſent preſently for them in a Rage, and cauſed the young Man to be ſlain by a Man, and the Maid by a Woman, in Revenge of her Son, whom the Soothſayers affirmed to be killed by their Mother. Not long after, *Mangu-Khan* dreamed of theſe Children, and demanded in the Morning what was become of them? His Servant was afraid to tell him, and he being troubled, the more demanded where they were, becauſe they had appeared to him in a Viſion by Night: then they told him; after which he, preſently ſending for his Wife, demanded whence ſhe learned that a Woman ſhould give Sentence of Death, without the Privity of her Huſband? And he cauſed her to be ſhut up ſeven Days, commanding to give her no Meat; but the Man (who ſlew the young Man) he cauſed to be beheaded, and the Head to be hung about the Woman's Neck, who had killed the Maid, and ordered her to be cudgelled with burning Firebrands through all the Tents, and after to be put to Death: He had alſo put his Wife to Death, but for the Children he had by her; and he went out of his Court, and returned not till after one Moon.

The Sorcerers alſo trouble the Air with their Charms; and when the Cold is ſo great naturally, that they cannot apply any Remedy, then they ſearch out ſome in the Camp, whom they accuſe that the Cold comes through their Means; ſo they are put to Death without Inquiry or Delay. A little before I departed from thence, one of the Concubines was ſick, and languiſhed long, and they mumbled their Charms over a certain *German* Slave of hers, who ſlept three Days, who, when ſhe came to herſelf, they demanded what ſhe had ſeen, and ſhe had ſeen many Perſons, of all which ſhe judged they ſhould ſhortly die; and becauſe ſhe ſaw not her Miſtreſs there, they judged ſhe ſhould not die of that Sickneſs. I ſaw the Maid, while her Head was yet aching, by reaſon of that Sleep. Some of them alſo call upon Devils, and gather them together (who will have Anſwers from the Devil) in the Night, unto their Houſe; and they put boiled Fleſh in the Midſt, and that *Khan* who invoketh, beginneth to ſay his Charms, and having a Timbrel, ſmites it ſtrongly againſt the Ground; at length he begins to rave, and cauſeth himſelf to be bound; then the Devil comes in the Dark, and gives him Fleſh to eat, and makes him Anſwer. Once at ſuch a time, (as Maſter *William* told me) a certain *Hungarian* hid himſelf with them, and the Devil being upon the Houſe, cried, that he could not come in, becauſe a certain Chriſtian was with them; he hearing this, fled with Haſte, becauſe they began to ſearch for him. Theſe things, and many other they do, which are too long for me to repeat.

53. After the Feaſt of Pentecoſt, they began to prepare their Letters, which they intend to ſend unto your Majeſty; in the mean time, the *Khan* returned to *Caracarum*, and held a great Feaſt about the fifteenth of *June*, and he deſired that all the Ambaſſadors ſhould be preſent. The laſt Day he ſent for us, but I went to Church to baptize three Children of a certain poor *German*, who we found there. Maſter *William* was chief Butler at that Feaſt, becauſe he made the Tree which poured the Drink, and all the Poor and Rich ſung and danced, and clapped their Hands before the *Khan*. Then he began to make an Oration unto them, ſaying, "I have ſent my Brethren far off, " and have ſent them into Danger, into foreign Nations: " now it ſhall appear what you will do, when I ſhall ſend " you, that our Commonwealth may be enlarged." Every Day, in thoſe four Days, he changed Garments, which he gave them, all of one Colour, every Day, from the Shoes to the Ornament of the Head. At that time I ſaw the Embaſſador of the *Khans* of *Bagdad*, who cauſed himſelf to be carried upon a Horſe-litter, between two Mules, to the Court, of whom ſome ſaid that he made Peace with them, on Condition that they ſhould give him ten thouſand Horſes for his Army; others ſaid, that *Mangu* declared he would not make Peace with them, unleſs they would deſtroy all their Ammunition; and the Embaſſador anſwered, when you will pluck off your Horſe's Hoofs, we will deſtroy our Ammunition.

I ſaw alſo there the Embaſſadors of a *Soldan* of *India*, who brought with him eight Leopards, and ten Harehounds, taught to ſit upon the Horſe's Buttocks as Leopards do. When I enquired of *India*, which Way it lay from that Place, they ſhewed me towards the Weſt, and theſe Embaſſadors travelled with me almoſt three Weeks together, always Weſtward. I ſaw alſo the Embaſſador of the *Soldan* of *Turky*, who brought him rich Preſents; and he anſwered, as I heard, he needed neither Gold nor Silver, but Men, wherefore he required of him an Army. On the Feaſt of St. *John*, he held a great Feaſt, and I cauſed one hundred and five Carts, and ninety Horſes to be numbered, all laden with Cows-milk; and on the Feaſts of the Apoſtles St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, in like manner. At length, the Letters being diſpatched which he ſent to you, they called me, and interpreted them, the Subſtance whereof I wrote, as I could underſtand them by my Interpreter, which is this: "The Commandment of " the Eternal GOD is this: There is but one Eternal " GOD in Heaven, upon Earth let there be but one " Lord, *Zengis Khan*, Son of GOD and *Mangu-Tingij*, " that is to ſay, the Sound of Iron. This is the Word " which is ſpoken to you; whatſoever *Moals* we are, whatſoever *Namans*, whatſoever *Markets*, whatſoever *Muſſulmen*, wherefoever Ears may hear, whereſoever Horſe may " go, cauſe it to be heard and underſtood; that ſuch as " have heard my Commandment, and would not believe " it, and would levy an Army againſt us, ſhall be as having Eyes and not ſeeing; and when they would hold " any thing they ſhall be without Hands; and when they " would walk they ſhall be without Feet. This is the " Commandment of the Eternal GOD, by the Virtue of " the Eternal GOD, by the great Monarch of the *Moals*, " the Commandment of *Mangu-Khan* is given to the " *French* King, King *Lodowick*, and all other Lords and " Prieſts, and to the great World of the *Franks*, that " they underſtand my Words, and the Commandment " of the Eternal GOD, made to *Zengis-Khan*; neither but from *Zengis-Khan*, ever came this Commandment unto you. A certain Man called *David* " came unto you as an Embaſſador of the *Moals*, he was " a Liar; and with him you ſent your Embaſſador to " *Khen-Khan*. After *Khen Khan* was dead, your Embaſſador came to his Court; *Charmis*, his Wife, ſent you " Cloth, called Naſſick. But to know Matters appertaining " to War and Peace, and to ſettle the great World in Quiet, " and to ſee to do good, that wicked Woman, more vile " than a Dog, how could ſhe know how to do it? Thoſe " two Monks which came from you unto *Sartach*, *Sartach* ſent them to *Baatu*; but *Baatu*, becauſe *Mangu-Khan* is the greateſt over the World of the *Moals*, ſent " them unto us. But now, that the great World, and " the Prieſts, and the Monks, might live in Peace and " enjoy their Goods, that the Commandment of GOD " might be heard among you, we would have ſent our " Embaſſadors of *Moal* with your Prieſts; but they anſwered, that betwixt us and you there was a warlike " Nation, and many bad Men and troubleſome Ways, ſo " as they were afraid they could not bring our Embaſſadors " ſafe unto you. But if we would deliver unto them our " Letters, containing our Commandments to their King " *Lodowick*, they would carry them. For this Cauſe we " ſent not our Embaſſadors with them; but we have ſent " the Commandment of the Eternal GOD by your ſaid " Prieſts. It is the Commandment of the Eternal GOD " which we have given you to underſtand; and when you " ſhall hear and believe it, if you will, obey us; ſend your " Embaſſadors unto us, ſo ſhall we be ſatisfied whether you " will have Peace with us or War. When by the Power " of the Eternal GOD, the whole World ſhall be in " Unity, Joy, and Peace, from the riſing of the Sun " unto the going down of the ſame, then ſhall it appear " what we will do. But if ye ſhall ſee and hear the Commandment of the Eternal GOD, and will not hearken to it, or believe it, ſaying, our Country is far off, " our Hills are ſtrong, our Sea is great; and in this Confidence ſhall lead an Army againſt us to know what

“ we can do; he that made that which was hard eaſy, and “ that which was far off near, the Eternal G O D himſelf “ knows that alone.” And as they called us your Embaſſadors in the Letters, I ſaid unto them, call us not Embaſſadors, for I ſaid to the *Khan* that we were not the Embaſſadors of the King *Louis*: Then they went unto him and told him; but when they returned, they ſaid unto me that he held it much for our good, and that he commanded them to write as I ſhould direct them: Then I told them they ſhould leave out the Name of Embaſſadors, and call us Monks and Prieſts. In the mean time, while thoſe Things were doing, my Companion hearing that we muſt return by the Wilderneſs to *Baatu*, and that a Man of *Moal* ſhould be our Guide, he ran, without my Knowledge, to *Bulgai*, the chief Scribe, ſignifying to him by Signs, that he ſhould die if he went that Way; and when the Day came wherein we ſhould have our Paſs, *viz.* a Fortnight after the Feaſt of *St. John*, when we were called to the Court, the Scribe ſaid unto my Companion, *Mangu*'s Pleaſure is, that your Companion return by *Baatu*; and you ſay you are ſick, and it appeareth ſo: *Mangu* therefore grants, if you will go with your Companion, go, but let it be your own Fault, becauſe, it is poſſible, you may remain with ſome *Jani* that will not provide for you, and it will be a Hinerance to your Companion; but if you will ſtay here, we will provide Neceſſaries for you, till ſome Embaſſadors come, with whom you may return more eaſily, and by a Way where there are Villages.

The Friar anſwered, G O D grant the *Khan* a proſperous Life; I will ſtay: Then I ſaid to my Companion, Brother, be adviſed what you do, I will not leave you. You leave not me, ſaid he, but I leave you, becauſe, if I go with you, I ſee the Death of my Body and Soul, becauſe I have no Patience under intolerable Labour. Then they brought us three Garments, or Coats, and ſaid unto us, ye will not receive Gold or Silver, and yet ye have ſtayed long here, and prayed for the *Khan*; he entreats you, that, at the leaſt, every one of you will receive a ſingle Garment, that ye depart not empty from him. Then we were forced to receive them for Reverence of him, for they account it a very evil Thing when their Gifts are contemned. Firſt he cauſed us to be aſked what we would have? and we always anſwered the ſame thing; ſo that the Chriſtians inſulted over the Idolaters, who ſeek nothing but Gifts; and they anſwered that we were Fools, becauſe, if he would give them his whole Court, they would willingly take it, and would do wiſely too; receiving therefore the Garments, they entreated us to make our Prayers for the *Khan*, which we did, and afterwards we went to *Caracarum*.

But it happened, while we were with the Monks, far from the Court with other Embaſſadors, that the Monk cauſed the Table to be ſtruck ſo hard, that *Mangu-Khan* heard it, and demanded what it was; then they told him. Upon which he aſked why he was removed ſo far from the Court; they told him, becauſe it was troubleſome to bring him Horſes and Oxen every Day to the Court; and ſaid further, that it were better that he ſhould ſtay at *Caracarum*. Then the *Khan* ſent unto him, ſaying, if he would go to *Caracarum*, and ſtay there near about the Church, he would give him all Things neceſſary: But the Monk anſwered, I came from the Holy Land of *Jeruſalem* hither by the Command of G O D, and left that City, wherein are a thouſand better Churches than that of *Caracarum*; if he pleaſe that I ſtay here, and pray for him as G O D commanded me, I will ſtay; if not I will return to the Place from whence I came. So that every Evening Oxen were brought him yoked to the Carts, and in the Morning he was brought to the Place where he uſed to be before the Court; and a little before we departed thence, a certain *Neſtorian* came, who ſeemed to be a wiſe Man; *Bulgai*, the chief Secretary, placed him before the Court, to whom the *Khan* ſet his Children that he ſhould bleſs them.

54. We came therefore to *Caracarum*, and while we were in Maſter *William* the Goldſmith's Houſe, my Guide came to me and brought me ten Jaſcots, five of which he left in Maſter *William*'s Hands, commanding him to ſpend them on the Behalf of the Khan, for the Friar's Uſe while he remained there; he alſo left the other five in the Hands of my Interpreter, commanding him to ſpend them in the Way, for my Subſiſtence; for Maſter *William* had given them ſuch Inſtructions without our Knowledge. I preſently changed one into ſmall Money, and diſtributed it to the poor Chriſtians which were there, for all their Eyes were fixed upon us. We ſpent another in buying things neceſſary for us, as Garments and other things, which we wanted. With the third my Interpreter himſelf bought ſome things, by which he gained ſomewhat. We ſpent the reſt, becauſe after we came into *Perſia* ſufficient Neceſſaries were no where given us, nor yet among the *Tartars*, amongſt whom we ſeldom found any thing to be ſold.

Maſter *William*, your Majeſty's Citizen and Subject, ſends you a certain Girdle ſet with a precious Stone, which they uſed to wear againſt Thunder and Lightening, and moſt humby ſalutes you, always commending you to God in his Prayers. We baptized there in all ſix Souls. When we departed from each other, it was with Tears, my Companion remaining with Maſter *William*, and I returning with my Interpreter, my Guide, and one Servant, who had Directions to take one Mutton in four Days for us four. We came therefore in two Months and ten Days from *Caracarum* to *Baatu*, and never ſaw a Town, nor ſo much as the Appearance of any Houſe, but Graves, except one Village, wherein we did not ſo much as eat Bread, nor did we ever reſt in theſe two Months and ten Days, ſave one Day, becauſe we could not get Horſes. We returned for the moſt part by the ſame kind of People, and yet through other Countries, for we went in the Winter, and returned in the Summer, and by the higher Parts of the North, except that fifteen Days Journey we were obliged to go and return by a certain River between the Mountains, where there is no Lodging but by the River Side. We went two Days, and ſometimes three, without taking any other Food but Coſmos. Once we were in great Danger, not being able to find any People, our Proviſion failing us, and our Horſes tired.

When I had travelled twenty Days, I heard that the King of *Armenia* had paſſed by. In the End of *Auguſt* I met with *Sartach*, who went to *Mangu-Khan* with Flocks and Herds, and with his Wives and Children, yet the Bulk of his Families remained between *Tanais* and *Etilia*. I ſent my Duty to him, ſaying, I would willingly ſtay in his Country, but *Mangu-Khan* would have me return and carry his Letters. He anſwered, that I muſt perform the Will of *Mangu-Khan*. Then I aſked *Coiac* for the Children? He anſwered, they were in the Court of *Baatu*, carefully provided for. I alſo aſked him for our Cloaths and Books again? He anſwered, did ye not bring them to *Sartach*? I ſaid I brought them unto *Sartach*, but I did not give them to him, as you know; and I put him in mind what Anſwer I made when he demanded whether I would give them to *Sartach*? Then he anſwered, you ſay Truth, and none can reſiſt Truth. I left your Goods with my Father, who remaineth near *Sarai*, which is a new Town *Baatu* hath made upon *Etilia* on the Eaſt Shore; but our Prieſts have ſome of the Veſtments. If any thing pleaſe you, ſaid I, keep it, ſo my Books be reſtored.

Then he told me he would report my Words to *Sartach*. I muſt have Letters, ſaid I, to your Father, to reſtore me all. But he was ready to be gone, and ſaid unto me, the Train of the Ladies followeth us near at Hand, ye ſhall alight there, and I will ſend you *Sartach's* Anſwer by this Man. I was very careful he ſhould not deceive me, yet I dare not contend with him: Late in the Evening the Man came unto me, and brought two Coats with him, which I thought had been all of Silk, and he ſaith unto me, behold two Garments, the one *Sartach* hath ſent unto you, and the other, if ſo it pleaſe you, you ſhall preſent to the King on his Behalf; to whom I anſwered, I wear no ſuch Garments; I will preſent them both to my King, in honour of your Lord. Then ſaid he, do with them what you pleaſe; now it pleaſed me to ſend them both unto you, and I ſend them to you by the Bearer of theſe Preſents. He delivered me Letters alſo to the Father of *Coiac* to reſtore me all which appertained unto me, becauſe he had no need of any thing which was mine, ſo we came to the Court of *Baatu*, the ſame Day I departed thence a Year before, *viz.* the ſecond Day after the Exaltation of the bleſſed Croſs, and I found our young Men in Health, yet much afflicted with Poverty, as *Goſſet* told me; and if the King of *Armenia* had not comforted them, and recommended them to *Sartach*, they had periſhed, for they thought I had been dead. The *Tartars* alſo demanded of them, if they could keep Oxen, or milk Mares; for if I had not returned, they had been brought into Servitude by thoſe People.

After this *Baatu* ordered me to come to him, and made the Letters which *Mangu Khan* ſends unto you to be interpreted unto me; for ſo *Mangu* wrote unto him, that if it pleaſed him to add any thing, or leave out, or change, he ſhould do it. Then ſaid he, ye ſhall carry theſe Letters, and cauſe them to be underſtood. He demanded alſo what Way I would go, whether by Sea or Land? I ſaid, the Sea was froze, becauſe it was Winter, and I muſt go by Land, for I thought you had been ſtill in *Syria*, ſo I directed my Journey towards *Perſia*, for if I had thought you had paſſed into *France*, I would have gone into *Hungary*; for I ſhould ſooner have come into *France*, and by a more eaſy Way than through *Syria*; then we travelled a Month with him before we could obtain a Guide; at length they appointed me a certain *Jugure*, who underſtanding I would give him nothing, and that I would go forthwith into *Armenia*, cauſed Letters to be made to conduct me to the Soldan of *Turky*, hoping he ſhould receive Gifts of the Soldan, and that he ſhould gain more that Way; then we took our Journey ſpeedily fifteen Days before the Feaſt of *All Saints* towards *Sarai*, going directly Southward, deſcending near to *Etilia*, which is there divided into Three Arms, every one whereof is almoſt twice as big as the Branch of the River of *Nile* at *Damieta*.

It divides afterwards into four leſſer Arms, ſo that we paſſed the River in ſeven Places by Boats. Upon the middle Branch is the Village called *Sumerkant*, without a Wall; but when the River overflows, it is compaſſed with Water. The *Tartars* were eight Years about it before they could take it, and the *Alani* and the *Saracens* were nine. There we found one *German* with his Wife, a very good Man, with whom *Goſſet* ſtayed in the Winter; for *Sartach* ſent him thither to eaſe his Court. About theſe Parts was *Baatu* on the one Side of the River, and *Sartach* on the other about *Chriſtmas*, and they go no farther down; and when it happens that all the River is frozen, they paſs over. Here is great Store of Graſs; and there among the Caves, Thieves hide themſelves till the Ice melt. *Cotac*'s Father receiving *Sartach*'s Letters, reſtored my Veſtments unto me, except my Albs, and an Almic trimmed with fine Silk, a Stole, a Girdle, and a Tualia, adorned with Golden Embroidery, and a Surplice. He reſtored alſo to me all the Silver Plate, except the Cenſer, and the little Box where the Chriſm was, all which the Prieſt which was with *Sartach* had. He returned my Books, except our Lady's Pſalter, which he kept with my Leave, becauſe I could not deny it him; for he ſaid *Sartach* took much Delight in it. He alſo requeſted me, that if it happen that I return unto thoſe Parts again, I would bring them a Man that knew how to make Parchment, for he had built a great Church by the Command of *Sartach* upon the Weſt Side of the River, as he ſaid, and a new Town; yet I knew that *Sartach* meant no ſuch Matter. *Sarai* and the Palace of *Baatu* are upon the Eaſt Side of the River, and the Valley through which the Arms of the River are ſpread abroad containeth more than ſeven Leagues in Breadth. There is great Store of Fiſh there, a Bible alſo in Verſe, and a certain Book in the *Arabian* Language worth thirty Sultalnes, and many other Things I never recovered.

65. After our Departure from him on the Feaſt of *All Saints*, going towards the South until the Feaſt of Saint *Martin*, we came to the Mountains of the *Alani*, between *Baatu* and *Sarai*. In fifteen Days, we found no People but one of his Sons, who went before him with Falcons and his Falconers, who were many, at one little Village; from the Feaſt of *All Saints* for five Days we met not with ſo much as a Man, and we were in great Danger by reaſon of Thirſt, one whole Day and a Night, finding no Water, till about Three of the Clock the next Day. The *Alani* in ſome Mountains yet hold out, ſo that of ten of the Subjects of *Sartach* two muſt come and guard the narrow Paſſages of the Hills, leſt they come forth of the Mountains, and carry away the Cattle in the Plain. Between the *Alani* and *Porta Ferrea*, which is two Days Journey from thence, where the Plain of the *Alani* beginneth, between the *Caſpian* Sea and the Mountains, there are certain *Saracens*, called *Leſgi*, inhabiting the Mountains, who likewiſe are free; ſo that thoſe *Tartars* who dwell at the Foot of the Mountains of the *Alani* were obliged to give us twenty Men to bring us beyond the Iron Gate, or *Porta Ferrea*; and I was glad, becauſe I hoped to ſee them armed, for I could never ſee their Armour, though I had been very deſirous of ſeeing it; and when we came to this dangerous Paſſage of the whole twenty, there were but two who had Harbergions, and I demanded of whom they had them? They ſaid, they had them of the *Alani*, who are able Workmen in ſuch Things, and excellent Smiths. I think they have ſmall Store of Armour, but Quivers and Bows, and Leather Jackets; I ſaw them preſented with Iron Plates, and Iron Skull caps out of *Perſia*, and ſaw two alſo who preſented themſelves to *Mangu*, armed with Coats made of Hogs ſkins, bent inward, of rough Leather, which were very clumſy and unweildy.

Before we came to *Porta Ferrea*, we found one Caſtle of the *Alans*, which was *Mangu Khan*'s, for he had ſubdued that Country. There we firſt found Vineyards and drunk Wine; the Day following we came to *Porta Ferrea*, or the Iron-Gate, which *Alexander* the *Macedonian* King made, and it is a City whoſe Eaſt End is upon the Sea Shore: And there is a little Plain between the Sea and the Mountains, through which the City extends in Length to the Top of the Mountain, which bordereth upon it on the Weſt, ſo that there is no Way above for the Ruggedneſs of the Mountains, nor below for the Sea, but immediately through the Midſt of the City, where there is an Iron-Gate, from whence the City hath its Name. This City is more than a Mile long, and on the Top of a Hill is a ſtrong Caſtle; and it is as much in Breadth as a Stone's Caſt. It hath very ſtrong Walls, without Trenches and Turrets, of large poliſhed Stones. But the *Tartars* have deſtroyed the Tops of the Turrets and the Bulwarks of the Walls, laying the Turrets even with the Wall. Below that City, the Country was formerly like a Paradiſe. Two Days Journey from hence we found another City called *Samaron*, wherein there were many *Jews*, and when we paſſed it we ſaw Walls deſcending from the Mountains to the Sea; and leaving the Way by the Sea by thoſe Walls, becauſe it turns towards the Eaſt, we went up into the high Countries towards the South.

The next Day we paſſed through a certain Valley, wherein the Foundations of Walls appeared from one Mountain to another, and there was no Way through the Tops of the Mountains. Theſe were in times paſt the Incloſures, or Walls erected by *Alexander* for reſtraining the fierce Nations, the Shepherds of the Wilderneſs, that they could not invade the inhabited Countries and Cities. There are alſo other Walls and Incloſures where *Jews* are. The next Day we came to a certain great City called *Samacb*, and after this we entered into a great Plain called *Moan*, through which the River *Cur* or *Cyrus* runs, from which the *Curgi* or *Curdi* have their Names, whom we call *Georgians*; and it runneth through the Middle of *Teffis*, which is the Metropolis of the *Curgines*, and comes directly from the Weſt, running to the Eaſt into the *Caſpian* Sea, and in it are excellent Salmon. In that Plain we found *Tartars* again. Alſo by that Plain runs the River *Araxes*, which cometh from the *Greater Armenia*, from betwixt the South and Weſt, from which it is called the Land of *Ararat*. Whereupon in the Book of the *Kings* it is ſaid of the Sons of *Senacherib*, that having ſlain their Father, they fled into the Land of the *Armenians*. And in *Iſaiah* it is ſaid, that they fled into the Land of *Ararat*. To the Weſt then of that moſt beautiful Plain is *Curgia*. In that Plain the *Croſmini* were ſettled formerly. And there is a great City in the Entrance of the Mountains called *Ganges*, which was their Metropolis, ſtopping the *Georgians*, that they could not come down into the Plain. Then we came to the Bridge of Boats, which was faſtened together with a great Iron Chain, ſtretched forth croſs the River, wherein *Cur* and the *Araxes* met together, but the *Cur* loſeth its Name there.

66.

56. We proceeded thence, till travelling up the *Araxes*, of which it is ſaid, *Pontem indignatus Araxis*, *Araxes* diſdains a Bridge, leaving *Perſia* and the *Caſpian* Mountains on the left Hand towards the South, having on the right Hand *Curgia* and the Great Sea towards the Weſt; going all the Way Southward, we paſſed through the Meadows of *Bacchu*, who is General of that Army which is there within the River *Araxes*; he has likewiſe made the *Curgi*, and *Turks*, and *Perſians*, ſubject to him. There is likewiſe another Governor in *Perſia*, at *Tauris*, over the Tribute called *Argon*, both which *Mangu-Khan* hath called home to give Place to his Brother, who is going into thoſe Countries. The Country which I have deſcribed to you is not properly *Perſia*, but was ſometimes called *Hyrcania*. I was in *Bacchu*'s Houſe, and he gave us Wine to drink, and he himſelf drank Coſmos, which I would willingly have drank if he had given it me; yet it was the beſt new Wine, but Coſmos is more wholſome for a half-ſtarved Man as I was. We went up therefore by the River *Araxes* from the Eve of *St. Clement* until the ſecond *Sunday* in *Lent*, till we came to the Head of the River, and beyond the Mountains where it riſeth there is a good City called *Arſorum*, which belongs to the *Soldan* of *Turky*, and near thereabouts *Euphrates* riſes towards the North, at the Foot of the Mountains of *Curgia*, to whoſe Spring I had gone, but the Snow was ſo great that no Man could go out of the common Path, and on the other Side of the Mountains of *Caucaſus* towards the South riſeth the *Tigris*.

When we departed from *Bacchu* my Guide went to *Tauris* to ſpeak with *Argon*, carrying my Interpreter with him; but *Bacchu* cauſed me to be brought to a certain City called *Naxuam*, which heretofore was the Head or Capital of a great Kingdom, and the greateſt and faireſt City in thoſe Parts, but the *Tartars* have made it a Wilderneſs; and there were anciently eight hundred Churches of the *Armenians* there; now there are but two little ones, for the *Saracens* have deſtroyed them; in one of which I held the Feaſt of *Chriſtmas* as I could with our Clerk, and the next Day following the Prieſt of the Church died, to whoſe Burial came a certain Biſhop with twelve Monks from the high Countries; for all the Biſhops of the *Armenians* are Monks, and of the *Greeks* likewiſe for the moſt part. The Biſhop told me that there was a Church near this Place where St. *Bartholomew*, and likewiſe St. *Judas Thaddæus* were martyred, but there was no Way open for Snow. He told me alſo that they had two Prophets, the firſt or chief *Methodius* the Martyr, who was of their Country, and plainly propheſied of the *Iſmaelites*, which Prophecy is fulfilled in the *Saracens*. The other Prophet is called *Acacron*, who, when he died, propheſied of a Nation of Archers that ſhould come from the North, saying, "That they ſhould conquer all the Countries of the Eaſt, "and ſhould ſpare the Kingdoms of the Eaſt, to aſſiſt "them in obtaining the Kingdoms of the Weſt; and "they ſhall poſſeſs the Countries from North to South, "and ſhall come to *Conſtantinople*, and ſhall take the Gate "of *Conſtantinople*, and one of them who ſhall be called a "wiſe Man, ſhall enter the City, and ſeeing the Churches "and Rites of the *Franks*, ſhall cauſe himſelf to be "baptized, and ſhall counſel the *Franks* how they may "kill the Emperor of the *Tartars*, and there they ſhall "be confounded. Hearing this, the *Franks* which ſhall "be in the Middle of the Land, *viz.* at *Jeruſalem*, ſhall "ſet upon the *Tartars* who ſhall border upon them, and "with the Help of our Nation, that is, the *Armenians*, "ſhall purſue them; ſo that the *French* King ſhall place "his royal Throne at *Taurinum* in *Perſia*, and then all the "Eaſt Countries and all the unbelieving Nations ſhall be "converted to the Faith of Chriſt; and there ſhall be ſo "great Peace in the World, that the Living ſhall ſay to "the Dead, Wo be unto you Wretches! that lived not "until theſe Times." And I read this Prophecy brought to *Conſtantinople* by the *Armenians* which remain there, but I made light of it. Yet when I ſpake with the Biſhop, calling it to Mind, I regarded it ſomewhat the more. But throughout all *Armenia* they as firmly believe this Prophecy as they do the Goſpel.

He ſaid to us alſo, even as the Souls in *Limbo* expect the Coming of Chriſt for their Delivery, ſo do we look for your Coming, that we may be freed from this Slavery wherein we have ſo long lived. Near the City *Naxuam* there are Mountains on which they ſay the Ark of *Noah* reſted; and there are two, one greater than the other, and *Araxes* running at the Foot of them; and there is a little Town there called *Comanium*, which is in their Language Eight; for they ſay it was ſo called of the eight Perſons which came forth of the Ark and built it. Many have attempted to climb the great Hills, and could not; and the Biſhop told me that a certain Monk being very much troubled thereat, an Angel appeared to him and brought him a Piece of the Wood of the Ark, bidding him to trouble himſelf no more. That Piece of Wood they had in their Church as he told me, neither is the Hill ſo high in Appearance but the Men might well get up it: A certain old Man gave me however this worthy Reaſon why no one ſhould climb it. They call that Mountain *Maſſis*; and as this Word is of the *Feminine* Gender in their Tongue, no Man, ſaid he, muſt climb up *Maſſis*, becauſe it is the Mother of the World.

In the City of *Naxuam*, Friar *Barnard*, a *Catalan*, of the Order of the Preaching Friars, found me, who lives in *Georgia*, with a certain Friar of the Sepulchre, who poſſeſſeth great Lands there, and he had learned ſomewhat of the *Tartar* Language; he formerly went with a certain *Hungarian* Friar, who returned with me to *Teffis*, with one Servant; but Friar *Barnard* remained at *Tauris*, with a certain Lay Friar, whoſe Language he underſtood not. We went out of the City of *Naxuam*, about the *Epiphany*, for we had ſtayed long there, by reaſon of the Snow; we came therefore in four Days to the Country of *Sabenſa*, a *Curdiſh* Prince, heretofore mighty, but now tributary to the *Tartars*, who deſtroyed all his Ammunition, whoſe Father *Zacharias* poſſeſſed himſelf of the Country of the *Armenians*, having delivered them from the Hands of the *Saracens*; and there are many fair Villages of true Chriſtians, having Churches like the *Franks*; and every *Armenian* hath in his Houſe, in an honourable Place, a wooden Hand, holding a Croſs, and ſets a burning Lamp before it; and that which we do with holy Water, ſprinkling it to drive away wicked Spirits, they do with Frankincenſe; for every Evening they burn Frankincenſe, carrying it through all the Corners of the Houſe, to rid them of all kind of Enemies. I eat with *Sabenſa*, and he did me great Reverence, both he and his Wife, and his Son *Zachary*, a very comely and wiſe young Man, who demanded of me, whether if he ſhould come to you, you would entertain him; for he is ſo uneaſy under the Dominion of the *Tartars*, that though he hath a Plenty of all Things, he had rather travel into a ſtrange Country, than endure their violent Exactions. They ſaid further, that they were true Sons of the Church of *Rome*, and if the Pope would ſend them any Aid, they would bring all the bordering Nations unto the Subjection of the Church of *Rome*.

From that Town of his, in fifteen Days, we entered the Country of the *Soldan* of *Turky*, on the firſt *Sunday* in *Lent*; and the firſt Caſtle we found is called *Marſeugen*; all in the Caſtle were Chriſtians, *Armenians*, *Curgines*, and *Greeks*: The *Saracens* only have the Dominion. There the Captain of the Caſtle ſaid, he had received Commandment, that no Victuals ſhould be given to any *Franks*, or to the Ambaſſador of the King of *Armenia*, or of *Viſtacius*; ſo that from the Place where we were the firſt *Sunday* in *Lent*, quite to *Cyprus*, whither I came, eight Days before the Feaſt of Saint *John* the Baptiſt, we were forced to buy our own Proviſion. He who was my Guide procured me Horſes, and took Money for the Victuals, and put it in his Purſe. When he came into the Fields, ſeeing a Flock, away he went, and without more to do, took one Sheep, and gave it to his Family to eat, and wondered I would not take Part of his Robbery. In the Purification, I was in a certain City called *Aym*, which was *Sabenſa*'s, whoſe Situation is ſtrong; and there are an hundred *Armenian* Churches, and two Moſques of the *Saracens*: The *Tartars* place an Officer there.

At this Place five Preaching Friars met me, whereof four came from *Provence* in *France*, and the fifth joined himſelf to them in *Syria*. They had but one ſick Boy, who could ſpeak the *Turkiſh* Language, and a little *French*; and they had the Pope's Letters to *Sartach*, and to *Mangu-Khan*, and to *Buri*, ſuch as your Highneſs gave me Letters of Requeſt, that they would ſuffer them to continue in their Country, and preach the Word of God, *&c.* But when I told them what I had ſeen, and how they ſent me back again, they directed their Journey to *Teſſis*, where there are Friars of their Order, to conſult what they ſhould do; I anſwered them, they might well paſs by thoſe Letters if they would; but they ſhould be well aſſured, to endure much Labour, and render an Account of their Coming; for ſeeing they had no other Meſſage but the Office of Preaching, they would care but little for them, and chiefly becauſe they had no Interpreter: What they did after, I know not, and cannot therefore report.

58. On the ſecond *Sunday* in *Lent* we came to the Head of *Araxes*, and paſſing beyond the Top of the Mountain, we came to *Euphrates*, by which we deſcended eight Days going to the Weſt a certain Caſtle called *Camath*; where *Euphrates* bends to the South towards *Halapia.* But we paſſing the River went through very high mountainous Countries, and through the deepeſt Snow to the Weſt. There was ſo great an Earthquake there that Year, that in one City called *Arſengan*, ten thouſand Perſons, according to their Regiſter, periſhed, beſide poor Men, of whom there was no Notice taken. Riding three Days together, we ſaw the gaping of the Earth, as it was cleft by the Earthquake, and the Heaps of Earth that came from the Mountains, and filled the Vallies, ſo that if but a little more of the Earth had been moved, that which *Iſaiah* ſpeaketh had been literally fulfilled, *Every Valley ſhall be filled, and every Mountain and little Hill ſhall be humbled.* We paſſed through the Valley where the *Soldan* of *Turky* was vanquiſhed by the *Tartars.* It were too long to write how he was overcome; but a certain Servant of my Guide's who was with the *Tartars* ſaid, that the *Tartars* were not above ten thouſand in the whole; and a certain *Curd* of the *Soldan's*, ſaid that there were two hundred thouſand with the *Soldan's* all Horſe-men. In that Plain where the Battle was, there broke out a great Lake at the Time of the Earthquake; and it came into my Mind, that all the Earth opened her Mouth to receive yet more Blood of the *Saracens.* We were in *Sebaſta* a Town of the *Leſſer Armenia* in *Eaſter* Week; here we viſited the Tombs of forty Martyrs; there the Church of *St. Blaſe* ſtandeth, but I could not go thither, becauſe it was above in the Caſtle.

On the ſucceeding *Sunday* we came to *Cæſaria* of *Cappadocia*, where there is a Church of *St. Baſil the Great.* About fifteen Days after, we came to *Iconium*, making ſmall Journies, and reſting in many Places, becauſe we could not readily procure Horſes, and my Guide did this on purpoſe, taking upon him to ſolicit his own Buſineſs three Days in every Town, at which I was much diſſatisfied, but durſt not ſpeak, becauſe he might have ſold or ſlain me and our Servants, and there was none to hinder it. I found many *Franks* at *Inconium*, and a certain Merchant called *Nicholas de Sancto Syrio*, who with a Companion of his, a *Venetian*, called *Boniface de Molandino*, carried all the Allum out of *Turky*, ſo that the *Soldan* could not ſell any but to thoſe two; and they made it ſo dear, that what was worth but fifteen Bizantines, is now ſold for forty. My Guide preſented me to *Soldan*; the *Soldan* ſaid he would willingly cauſe me to be conveyed to the Sea of *Armenia*, or *Cilicia*, though the above-mentioned Merchant, knowing that the *Saracens* made little account of me, and that I was much burthened with the Company of my Guide, cauſed me to be conveyed to *Curruma*, a Port belonging to the King of *Armenia.* I came thither before the *Aſcenſion*, and ſtayed till the Day after *Pentecoſt*; then I heard that Embaſſadors came from the King to his Father; then I went ſpeedily to the King's Father to demand whether he had heard any News from his Son, and I found him ſet with all his Sons, one excepted, called *Barum Uſin*, who reſided in a certain Caſtle, and he received News from his Son that he was returned, and that *Mangu-Khan* had much eaſed his Tribute, and had given him a Privilege that no Embaſſador ſhould come into his County; whereupon the old Man himſelf, with all his Sons, made a Banquet, and he cauſed me to be conveyed to the Sea, to the Heaven called *Aijax*; and thence I paſſed over into *Cyprus*; and at *Nicoſia* I found our Provincial, who the ſame Day carried me with him to *Antiochia*, which is in a very weak State. We were there on the Feaſt of *St. Peter* and *Paul*, and from thence we came to *Tripolis*, where our Chapter was held on the Aſſumption of the Bleſſed Virgin.

59. Our Provincial being determined that I ſhould have my Reſidence in our Covnent at *Acon*, would not ſuffer me to come to you; but commanding me to write unto you what I would by the Bearer of theſe Preſents; and not daring to reſiſt contrary to my Obedience, I did, according to my Power and Underſtanding, craving Pardon of your Clemency for my Superfluities or Wants, or for any thing that ſhall be indiſcreetly or fooliſhly ſpoken, as for a Man of little Uunderſtanding, not accuſtomed to write long Hiſtories. The Peace of God which paſſeth all Underſtanding preſerve your Heart and fortify your Mind. I would willingly ſee your Highneſs, and certain ſpiritual Friends, which I have in your Kingdom. Wherefore if it ſhould not be contrary to your Majeſty's liking, I would beſeech you to write to our Provincial, that he would let me come unto you and return ſhortly again into the Holy Land. Concerning *Turky*, your Majeſty ſhall underſtand, that the tenth Man there is not a *Mohammedan*, nay, they are all *Armenians* and *Greeks*, and Children rule over them; for the *Soldan*, who was conquered by the *Tartars*, had a lawful Wife of *Iberia*, by whom he had one feeble Son, concerning whom he charged that he ſhould be the *Soldan.* He had another of a *Greek* Concubine, whom he committed to a certain great Admiral. The third he had by a *Turk*, to whom many *Turks* and *Turcomans* being gathered together, they purpoſed to have ſlain all the Sons of the Chriſtians. They had determined alſo, as I underſtood, that after they had got the Victory, they would deſtroy all the Churches, and kill as many as would not become *Mohammedans*; but he was overcome in Battle, and many of his Men ſlain. He recruited his Army however, a ſecond Time, and then was taken, and is ſtill in Priſon. *Paceſter* the Son of the *Greek* Concubine, procured ſoon after that he might be *Soldan*, becauſe the other was weak whom they ſent to the *Tartars*; whereupon his Kindred on the Mother's Side, ſuch as the *Iberians* and the *Curds*, were angry; ſo that, at preſent, a Child ruleth in *Turky*, having no Treaſure, few Soldiers, and many Enemies. The Son of *Veſtacius* is weak, and at War with the Son of *Aſſau*, who likewiſe was a Child, and worn out with the Servitude of the *Tartars.* If therefore an Army of the Church ſhould come to the Holy Land, it were a very eaſy Thing to ſubdue all theſe Countries, or to paſs through them.

The King of *Hungary* hath not above thirty thouſand Soldiers. From *Cologne* to *Conſtantinople*, are not above threeſcore Days Journey by Waggons; from *Conſtantinople* are not ſo many Days Journey to the Country of the King of *Armenia.* In old Time, valiant Men paſſed through thoſe Countries and proſpered; yet they had moſt valiant Opponents, whom God hath now deſtroyed out of the Earth, and we need not be in Danger of the Sea, or the Mercy of Sailors; and the Price which we ſhould give for Freight were ſufficient for Expences by Land. I ſpeak it confidently, if our Countrymen would go as the King of the *Tartars* go, and be contented with ſuch Victuals, they might win the whole World. It ſeemeth not expedient, as I think, that any Friar ſhould go to the *Tartars* any more, as I did, or as the Preaching Friars do; but if our Lord the Pope would ſend a Biſhop in an honourable Manner and anſwer their Follies, about which they have thrice writ to the *Franks*, once to Pope *Innocent* the Fourth, of ſacred Memory, and twice to your Majeſty, once by *David*, who deceived you, and now by me, he might ſpeak unto them what he would, and alſo cauſe them to put theſe Things in Writing, for they hear whatſoever an Embaſſador will ſpeak, and always demand if he will ſay any more; but he muſt have a good Interpreter; nay, many Interpreters, and be at large Expences.

60. Such is the Relation of the Monk *Rubruquis*, who had the beſt Opportunity that any Man had to that Time, of looking into the Affairs of the *Tartars*, of examining their Force, of enquiring into the Form of their Government, and making himſelf perfectly acquainted with their Manners and Cuſtoms, of which he has given ſo large, ſo curious, and ſo accurate an Account. Before we proceed to our Remarks thereon, it may not be amiſs to clear up a few Difficulties that occur in this Relation, and which, for want of being clearly reſolved, may occaſion ſome Doubts in the Mind of our inquiſitive Reader; and this is the more neceſſary, becauſe hitherto nothing of this kind has been done, at leaſt in our Language; but the Relation has been left naked and unſupported to the Cenſure of the Peruſer, without the leaſt Notice taken of thoſe Facts that muſt neceſſarily embarraſs him, and in a great Meaſure affect the Credit of the Author. I am very ſenſible, that many of my Readers may be of Opinion, that I might ſpare myſelf ſome part of the Trouble I take in illuſtrating thoſe old Writers; but I beg leave to obſerve once for all, that it is not either for their Intereſt or mine, that I ſhould do ſo. If I had not been thoroughly ſatisfied that theſe Travels were the beſt in their kind, I ſhould not have inſerted them; but with reſpect to the World, this is not enough; for though I have it in my Power to give them what ſeems to be moſt proper for ſuch a Collection, yet I owe it to them, and to myſelf, to make it as evident as it is poſſible, that I diſcharge this Truſt as I ought, and that I give them nothing which is not truly worthy of their Peruſal; and this can no otherwiſe be done, than by obviating every Difficulty that may poſſibly incline them to differ from me in Sentiment, and therefore I hope this will juſtify me in the Pains I am ſtill to take with regard to this Author, who, as he was a Writer of great Candour and Sincerity, ſo he has mentioned many Particulars, which, tho' they were well known in his Time, and more eſpecially to the Prince, to whom this Work was addreſſed, yet are ſo imperfectly known to us, that without a ſtrict Search into the Hiſtories of thoſe Times, it is not eaſy to conceive, how they can be reconciled to the reſt of his Narration.

We will ſtate theſe plainly, and then the Truth of my Obſervation will be manifeſt. In the firſt Place, it ſeems extraordinary that the King of *France* ſhould be ſo much deceived with reſpect to the Embaſſy that was ſent him from the *Tartars*, which occaſioned the whole of this Tranſaction; but with reſpect to this, it appears clearly from the Hiſtorians that have written the Reign of Saint *Louis*, that theſe Embaſſadors came from a *Tartar* Prince called *Ercalthay*, and brought with them Letters which are ſtill extant, and which poſitively aſſert, that it was the Deſign of the *Khan* to co-operate with the Chriſtians, in order to reduce the Power of the *Mohammedans*. At the Head of this Embaſſy was one *David*, who is named in the Letters as one to whom the King of *France* might give entire Credit, to which his Majeſty might be more inclined, becauſe he had in his Company Friar *Andrew de Lontumal*, whom the Pope had formerly ſent into *Tartary*, and who aſſured the King, that he had known *David* there in a Poſt of Diſtinction. This Embaſſador it was, that poſitively aſſerted, that the *Khan* was become a Chriſtian, and that there was no Difficulty in procuring a cloſe Alliance between him and the Chriſtians. Upon this, the King firſt ſent Friar *Andrew* with a conſiderable Number of Perſons in his Train, back with the *Tartar* Ambaſſadors, in the beginning of the Year 1250; but as to the Succeſs of this Negociation, we have no Account. There is another thing a little dark in our Author's Account, and that is with reſpect to his Character; for tho' it appears plainly, that he was ſent by the King his Maſter with Letters to *Sartach*, yet he frequently tells us, that he did not affect to be thought an Embaſſador, but deſired rather to be conſidered as a Monk, who viſited *Tartary* from his Zeal for the Chriſtian Religion.

His Reaſon for acting thus, was to preſerve the Honour of the King, from ſuffering thro' any ill Treatment that he might meet with, to which he was induced by many Reaſons, but particularly by theſe two. In the firſt place, he was perfectly ſatisfied, that what had been reported as to the Converſion of *Sartach* was falſe; and next, becauſe he was aware the *Tartars* were informed, that the King his Maſter had been beat in *Egypt*, and taken Priſoner there by the Infidels; whence he concluded, that he ſhould not meet with a very good Reception. He therefore takes great Care to inform the King, that whatever Uſage he received, could reflect no Diſhonour upon his Majeſty, becauſe of the Precaution he had taken to aſſume no higher Character than that of a Monk, who came to preach the Chriſtian Religion to the *Tartars*. But the Readers may very probably wonder why the *Tartar* Prince *Ercalthay*, ſhould take ſuch a Step as this, in order to miſlead ſo great a Monarch, and yet, if he adverts to the Account our Author has given of the Genius and Diſpoſitions of the *Tartars*, he will eaſily perceive, that this was a Stroke of their Policy, and no very bad one. They had a Mind to be perfectly acquainted with the Deſign of the *Franks*, their Forces, and the Manner in which they intended to carry on the War againſt the *Saracens*; nor could they fall upon a Way more proper than this for accompliſhing their Ends. The Character afforded, by our Author to the *Tartars*, is juſtified by all Writers, both antient and modern; for their Policy with reſpect to foreign Countries conſiſts entirely in Cunning and Subtilty; for not having the Advantages that other Nations have of free Commerce and conſtant Intercourſe with the Inhabitants of diſtant Countries, they ſupply themſelves with Intelligence by ſuch Artifices as theſe. Some petty *Tartar* Prince takes upon him to ſend Miniſters to foreign Courts, whoſe Buſineſs it is, under Colour of a Negotiation, to get the beſt Accounts they can of the Regions in which they reſide, in order to ſerve their Countrymen whenever Occaſion offers as Harbingers or Guides; and as they depend on theſe Arts in Time of Peace, ſo they place all their Confidence in War in the Quickneſs of their Motion, and in that Rapidity with which they over-run even great Countries, before the Inhabitants have Time to take proper Meaſures for their Defence.

It was for theſe Reaſons, and to ſave the Honour of the King his Maſter, that our Author denied that any Embaſſadors had been ſent to *Mangu-Khan*, for he conſidered Friar *Andrew* as ſent only to the Prince, who wrote to the King his Maſter, and not to the great Khan, of whom it does not appear that the *French* had any juſt Ideas, till they were derived to them by this Relation. We may add to all this, that our Author was ſomething diffident as to the Character which *David* aſſumed, by his giving us to underſtand, that in thoſe Days there were a certain bad ſort of People, who in theſe remote Parts of the World, made a Practice of giving themſelves out for the Miniſters of Princes they ſcarce knew, and made a Livelihood by ſuch ſtrange Exploits. He likewiſe ſeems to be fully ſatisfied, that the Eaſtern Chriſtians in general were Men of great Vivacity, and ſo fertile in their Imaginations, that every thing they ſaw or heard appeared to them in the Light of a Wonder, and as ſuch they reported it wherever they came, to ſerve their own Purpoſes.

Upon theſe Principles he grounds the political Part of his Work, in which he ſeems to labour with all his Force to eſtabliſh theſe two Maxims. The firſt, that it was not either ſafe or honourable to aim at making Alliances with the *Tartars*, who were in his Sentiments a fierce intractable ſort of People, very proud of their extraordinary Succeſſes, and who underſtood all Applications made to them as proceeding from Fear. The ſecond, that their Power was nothing near ſo great as it had been repreſented, ſo that there was far leſs Danger like to accrue from the regarding them as Enemies, than from treating with them as Friends, into which Notion he was led by obſerving, that their Diſcipline was not exact, that they were utterly unacquainted with the regular Art of War, and no way capable of carrying it on againſt ſuch as ſtood upon their Guard, and were prepared to meet them in the Field with well diſciplined Armies. That which ſeems to be the leaſt defenceable Part of his Work, is his ſtrong Attachment to the Pope, and his high Notions of his Power, both of which, however, are in ſome meaſure excuſable, conſidering the Age in which he lived, and the Conduct of the Popes in thoſe Times, who took upon them to excommunicate and depoſe the greateſt Princes in Chriſtendom, as the Caſe then was with the Emperor, or to ſend them into the moſt diſtant Parts of the World, under Pretences of Religion, as appears from the Expeditions undertaken by his Maſter King *Louis*, which were as unfortunate in their Event, as ill founded in their Principles.

But it is now Time to add a few Obſervations with reſpect to the Uſefulneſs of this Work, as it ſtands in this Collection, and to ſhew how far the Travels of *Rubruquis* contributed to make the Weſtern Parts of the World acquainted with the Paſſages into the Eaſt, as well as with what was doing there, and the Force of the ſeveral Monarchs that were in Poſſeſſion of thoſe Countries at the Time he viſited them.

61. The Travels of *Rubruquis* are equally aſtoniſhing in whatever Light they are conſidered. Take them with reſpect to Length, and they extend to upwards of five thouſand Miles one Way, and to near ſix thouſand another. I mean from *Conſtantinople* in his going out, and to *Acon* or *Ptolemais* in his Return, which is ſuch a Space of Ground as it will not be eaſy to find any Man that has traverſed, and left us ſo diſtinct an Account of what he has ſeen. But if Travels are not ſo conſiderable from their Length as from the Nature of the Countries that are travelled through, then here again is a new Proof of the Value of this Performance, ſince it is certain no *European*, except *John Carpin*, ever travelled ſo far before, neither have we any Accounts of Travels of the ſame kind ſince, that, only excepted, which follows in the next Section, and from which we have received here in *Europe* the firſt certain Accounts of *China*, and the firſt Notice we had of there being in the World ſuch a Country as *Japan*. We ſhall apprehend this Matter better, if we take a ſhort View of the Countries through which our Monk paſſed by the Names they are known to us at preſent. It is plain, that from *Conſtantinople* he ſailed croſs the *Black-Sea* to the Port of *Caffa*; from thence he travelled by Land all the reſt of the Way, this is to ſay, firſt through *Crim Tartary*, then croſſing the great Rivers *Tanais* and *Volga*, he came in the Country of *Bolgar*, and to the Camp of *Baatu*, thence through the vaſt Country of the *Calmukes*, and ſo North-Eaſtward to the Court of *Mangu-Khan*, which, according to his Deſcription, muſt have lain in the Latitude of fifty Degrees North, or ſomewhat more, and conſiderably higher than what is now called the *Chineſe Tartary*. In his Return he paſſed through all the vaſt Deſarts of *Great Tartary*, through the Country of the *Moguls*, and ſo by the Head of the *Caſpian-Sea*, and then along the Weſt Side of it through the Countries of *Georgia*, *Armenia*, *Curdiſtan*, *Diarbeck*, and ſo into *Syria*; all which Countries then were, and moſt of them are ſtill, in the Hands of the *Tartars*, of whom he has given us ſuch an Account as is not only very conſiſtent with itſelf, and carries therein the ſtrongeſt Marks of Veracity, but is very agreeable alſo to the beſt Accounts we have ſince received of thoſe Countries.

As our Author was not acquainted with the Language of the *Tartars*, and did not remain long enough amongſt them to acquire it in that Degree of Perfection which was neceſſary to read and to underſtand their Hiſtories, we need not at all wonder at ſome ſmall Errors that have eſcaped him in Points of no great Conſequence. As for Inſtance, in what he tells us of *Zingis-Khan*, who he makes a Farrier, as other Writers have done a Blackſmith. I ſhall not trouble the Reader with Remarks of the right ſpelling of this Word *Zingis*, which I have already given them as it ought to be ſpelt, and have ſince conformed to our Author's Manner of writing it, that the Reader might find leſs Difficulty in comparing this with other Books of the ſame kind. I ſay, I ſhall not inſiſt on ſuch Trifles, but ſhall content myſelf with obſerving, that *Zingis*, however ſpelt, is an Adjective, and ſignifies properly the glittering or ſhining of Steel; whence ſprung the Notion, that this Prince was originally of ſome Trade in which Iron or Steel was employed, becauſe all the *Tartars* repreſented him as a Man who from low Beginnings had raiſed himſelf to univerſal Empire, and aſperſed him at the ſame Time from the Conſideration of his having deprived them of their Freedom and Independency; but among the *Tartars* themſelves, this Appellation was taken in an honourable Senſe, *Zingis* ſignifying with them illuſtrious, and *Zingis-Khan* ſignifies litterally, the moſt illuſtrious Monarch.

As to the Religion of this Prince, it was undoubtedly that of his Country, concerning which we have a great deal in *Rubruquis* agreeable to what he ſaw or heard, but not ſo clearly expreſſed, as that we ſhould be able to ſay preciſely what is the Faith of the *Tartars*. Our Author is certainly in the Wrong as to Preſbyter *John*, of whom ſuch a Noiſe has been made in the World, and about whom ſo little can ſtill be ſaid with any Certainty. What led him into the Miſtake was this; *Tujan* was the Khan of the *Naymans*, defeated and killed by *Zingis-Khan*, and it was from the Likeneſs of his Name to *John*, that our Author took it for granted he was that *John* the Prieſt ſo well known to the World. But after all, the Preſbyter *John* is ſtill in being, and is no other than the grand Lama, or Supreme Pontiff of the *Tartars*, who reſides, as we have before obſerved, in the Kingdom of *Tangut*, and is in the Opinion of the whole *Tartar* Nation, immortal. The Truth of the Matter is that he is an Eccleſiaſtical Prince, whoſe Fame and Credit is very extenſive, tho' his Power be very reſtrained. He reſides in a Monaſtery ſurrounded by his Monks, who, whenever he dies, ſupply his Place from among themſelves, and keep this Secret ſo religiouſly that all the *Tartars* are as firmly perſuaded that their grand Lama lives for ever, as that the Sun always ſhines. This ſerves to explain another Circumſtance, that at firſt Sight might ſeem very idle and ridiculous to the Reader, I mean the Queſtion put to *Rubruquis*, whether the Pope was not four or five hundred Years old. It is very plain from hence, that they conſidered the Pope as the grand Lama of the Weſt, and having heard the *Romiſh* Prieſts inſiſt much on the Perpetuity of the Church, they referred all this to the Perſon of the Pope, and ſuppoſed this ſpiritual Monarch to be immortal like their own.

If I durſt avow my own Sentiments plainly, I ſhould ſay, that there is no better Evidence of the Idolatry of the *Tartars*, than of the *Papiſts*; and this without intending any high Reflection on the Members of the *Romiſh* Church; for both have Images or Idols, both ſeem to worſhip them, and yet both when charged with it abſolutely deny the Fact. Our Author plainly owns, that *Mangu-Khan* told him expreſsly he worſhipped but one God, and that the *Tartar* Prieſts, whom he charges very freely with Idolatry, diſowned it themſelves, and affirmed that they reverence their Images only, and did not worſhip them. But after all, it plainly appears, that they kept the Secret of their Religion ſo well, that our Author never ſo much as heard of the Grand Lama, and conſequently could know nothing at all of the Grounds of their Religion, which, to deal plainly with the Reader, remains full as great a Myſtery to this Day.

It is a Point that the *Tartars* will never be brought to explain in any manner whatever; and after all the Pains that I have been able to take in order to obtain ſome ſort of Certantity on this Head, I am able to ſay no more of it than this, that what Doctrines the Lamas or Prieſts teach publickly, are reſtrained to theſe three Points: I. That there is one God the Fountain of Being, the Creator of all things, the Ruler of all things, and the ſole Object of Divine Worſhip. II. That all Men in general are his Creatures, and therefore ought to conſider each other as Brethren deſcended from one common Parent, and alike entitled to all the Bleſſings he beſtows, and that therefore it is great Impiety to abuſe thoſe Bleſſings, or to injure each other. III. That inaſmuch as the common Reaſon of Mankind hath taught them to eſtabliſh Property, it is neceſſary that it ſhould be preſerved, and that it is therefore the Duty of every Man to be content with his own, and to be juſt to his Neighbours. This Religion theſe Prieſts not only teach, but practiſe with irreproachable Exactneſs; and therefore *Rubruquis* very fairly owns, that the Regularity of their Manners hindered the Progreſs of the Chriſtian Religion, not becauſe the Doctrines of the latter were at all inferior in Sanctity to thoſe of the former, but becauſe in point of Purity of Manners the *Neſtorians* and other Chriſtians were very deficient.

After ſetting this Subject in the beſt Light we are able, the Reader will not find it at all difficult to apprehend a thing that extremely puzzled, not only our Author, but all who have wrote of the Affairs of the *Tartars*, and it is this; that they are abſolutely indifferent as to other Religions, entertaining all with equal Reſpect, whether *Chriſtians*, *Mohammedans*, or *Jews*, which proceeds from their finding the fundamental Principles of their own Religion taught by them all, and practiſed by none that come amongſt them better than by themſelves, or by their Prieſts.

We find in *Rubruquis*, ſome mention made of a Nation called *Albaſiſin*, of whom it will be requiſite to give the Reader ſome Account; they are the ſame that are mentioned by our antient Hiſtorians, under the ſeveral Names of *Haſſeſſins*, *Aſſeſins*, *Aſſaſins*, *Aſſanites*, and *Chaſians*, and were in Truth as odd a Sort of People as ever exiſted. They poſſeſſed a Tract of Country which contained twelve Caſtles and Villages in the Neighbourhood of *Tyre*, were a mix'd Race of Men, and for a long Time made no Profeſſion of any Religion, but practiſed a looſe Kind of *Mohammediſm*, and were Tributaries, firſt to the Knights Templars, and then to the Chriſtian Earls of *Tripoly*. In the eleventh Century, they would have declared themſelves Chriſtians, if they might have been releaſed from that Tribute; but this was refuſed, and they grew thenceforward the moſt bitter Enemies the Chriſtians had.

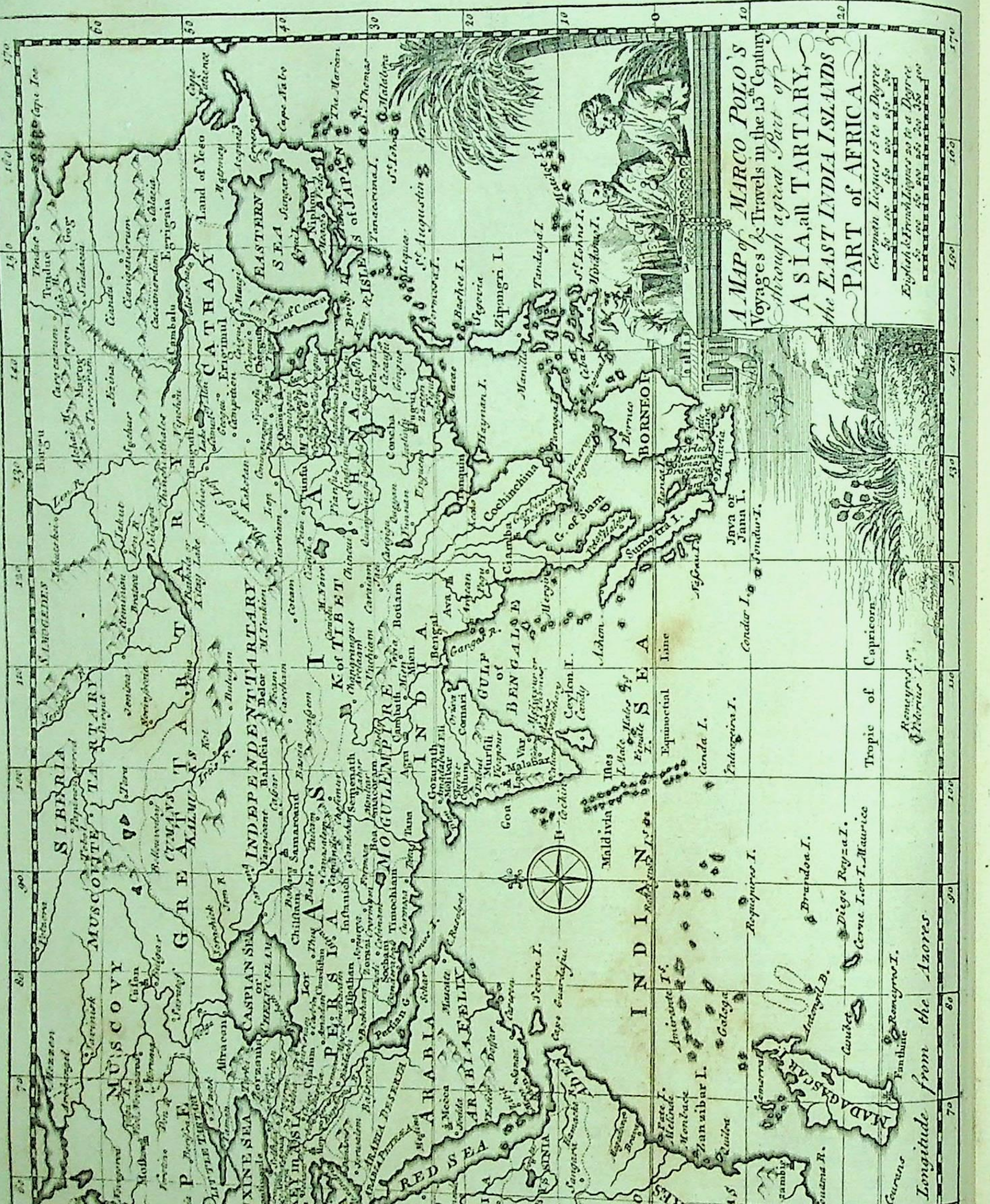
Theſe People were governed by a Prince ſtiled by our old Hiſtorians, the old Man of the Mountain, who finding himſelf ſurrounded by States much more powerful than his own, deviſed a new and ſtrange Way of making himſelf equally dreadful to his Neighbours and to Strangers. He gave out, that he only was the true Vicar of *Mohammed*, and that he had the Keys of Paradiſe in his Hands: To ſupport which Notion, he cauſed a fine Garden to be laid out, in a Valley, near his Palace, adorned in every reſpect, ſo as to reſemble the Paradiſe of that Prophet; he likewiſe provided a ſort of Opiate, and whenever he ſaw a young Man of a daring and reſolute Temper, he ſent for him, and promiſed him the perpetual Enjoyment of all ſenſual Delights, if he would execute boldly whatever he commanded; and by way of earneſt, having given him the Opiate to drink, cauſed him to be carried while aſleep into his Garden, where, when he awoke, he found every thing he could wiſh for, and many beautiful Women to attend him; when he had remained there a certain time, the Opiate was again adminiſtred, and he was conveyed back when aſleep, to the Palace, where the old Man of the Mountain promiſed him, that provided he fulfilled all his Commands during Life, he ſhould dwell after Death perpetually in that Garden.

By this Artifice, he eſtabliſhed an Order of Men ready to venture on whatever he commanded, and when any Prince made War upon him, he diſpatched three or four of theſe young Villains to this Court, or Camp, with Inſtructions to murder him, which they never failed to perform. It was by their Hands that *Louis* of *Bavaria* was killed in the Year 1231, and in 1251, he diſpatched four of them with the like Commiſſion to the Court of *Louis* IX. but ſuddenly altering his Mind, he diſpatched four more with counter Orders, who made ſuch Haſte, that they arrived at the *French* Court before the former, and diſcovering themſelves to King *Louis*, remained always near his Perſon, to preſerve him from their Companions, whom they likewiſe diſcovered at their Arrival, and for this Service, the *French* Monarch ſent them back to their Maſter, loaded with Preſents. By this Means the old Man of the Mountain became terrible, even to the moſt powerful Monarchs; and from the Practice of his deſperate Bravos, we have the Word Aſſaſſins, and the Phraſe of Aſſaſſination, for Murders of this Nature. This Practice was continued to the Time of which our Author ſpeaks, a little after which, the whole Nation was extirpated by the *Tartars*.

Theſe are all the Facts mentioned in his Writings, that ſeem to ſtand in need of Explanation, unleſs we except what he has delivered concerning the Witchcraft and Sorceries of the *Tartars*. As to theſe, we can only ſay, that they are ſtill much addicted to ſuch Superſtitions, and are thereby expoſed, as he has ſhewn us, to many Impoſtures, and abundance of Miſchiefs that attend them. But in one Particular he is miſtaken, which is in confounding the *Sorcerers* with the Lamas, or *Tartar* Prieſts, whereas they are quite different Perſons. What he relates of the Divination by the Blade-bones, is confirmed by all other Travellers, and is a Sort of Folly practiſed by the *Laplanders* and other northern Nations. A Folly ridiculous and abſurd indeed, but not more ſo than the other Arts of Divination, which have prevailed in politer Countries, and which are not perhaps wholly extinguiſhed at this Day. What he ſays in relation to the ſprinkling of Aſhes on the Floor, relates to another ſuperſtitious Cuſtom of the ſame kind, which gave Birth to that kind of Fortune-telling called Geomancy, which was transferred to *Europe*; and about which ſeveral Treatiſes have been written, and one particularly in our Tongue, not many Years ago, which I mention to ſhew not only the Probability of what *Rubruquis* has related, but likewiſe to demonſtrate, that the giving into ſuch fooliſh Practices is not peculiar to ſuch Nations as we eſteem barbarous; though I ſhall readily allow, that it is a Mark of Stupidity and Barbarity where-ever it appears.

We have no certain Account how this Relation of *Rubruquis* was received by the King his Maſter, but in all Probability it was very agreeable to him, ſince, though that Prince, after his Return to *France*, took all imaginable Pains to ſet the Affairs of his Kingdom in Order, and to reform the Abuſes that had crept into it during his Abſence, yet he ſtill retained a ſtrong Deſire of repairing alſo the Diſgrace he had ſuſtained in his former Expedition, by renewing the War againſt the Infidels, which determined him to make another Expedition againſt them, and this, notwithſtanding all the Oppoſition that could be made to it, he undertook in the Spring of the Year 1270. He tranſported on this Occaſion a numerous Army into *Africa*, reſolving to begin the Opperations of the War with reducing the Kingdom and City of *Tunis*, to which he laid Siege. But before he had made any great Progreſs towards taking the Place, the Plague broke out in his Army, and the King being infected therewith, died on the Twenty-fifth of *Auguſt* the ſame Year.

The beſt *French* Hiſtorians, as well as thoſe of other Nations, condemn theſe Kinds of Expeditions, as idle and romantick; and yet it cannot be denied, that if this Spirit of making War againſt the Infidels had not been raiſed at that Time, it is more than probable, that the *Mohammedans* would have over-run the beſt Part of *Europe*; whereas in conſequence of this Spirit, they were driven out of *Portugal* and *Spain*, to which I muſt crave Leave to add, that the Travels of *Rubruquis*, and others into different Parts of the Eaſt, firſt inſpired that Paſſion for Diſcoveries, which has ſince produced ſuch mighty Effects. Before that Time, we knew little or nothing in this Part of the World of the Situation of diſtant Countries; and thoſe who affected to be thought great Wits, laboured to diſcredit whatever was delivered in Relations of this Kind, which prevailed in ſome Places; and if it had prevailed in all, we had been, at this Day, as ignorant, as poor, and as much Slaves as our Anceſtors were before that Spirit of Commerce aroſe, that has not only diſcovered both the *Indies*, but has taught Men of Courage, that the whole World is their Country; and that he who improves uſeful Knowledge, if not properly encouraged at home, will be a welcome Gueſt where-ever he goes.



A MAP of MARCO POLO'S Voyages & Travels in the 13th Century through a great Part of ASIA, all TARTARY, the EAST INDIA ISLANDS & PART of AFRICA.

German Leagues 15 to a Degree
English & French Leagues 20 to a Degree
NORTH SEA
SIBERIA
MUSCOVY
POLAND
EUROPE
TURKEY in EUROPE
EUXINE SEA
CASPIAN SEA
TURKEY in ASIA
PERSIA
ARABIA
RED SEA
GREAT TARTARY
INDEPENDENT TARTARY
K. of TIBET
MOGUL EMPIRE
INDIA
CHINA
CATHAY
EASTERN SEA
ISLES of JAPAN
GULF of BENGAL
INDIAN SEA
BORNEO
Sumatra I.
Java or Jana I.
Ceylon I.
Maldivia Isles
MADAGASCAR
BARBARY
EGYPT
NUBIA
ABISSINIA
AFRICA
NEGROLAND
UPPER GUINEA
LOWER GUINEA
CAFRES
ZIMBAS
COUNTRY of the CAFRES
MATAMAN
Equinoctial Line
Tropic of Cancer
Tropic of Capricorn
Longitude from the Azores

SECTION XXI.

The curious and remarkable Voyages and Travels of Marco Polo, *a Gentleman of* Venice, *who in the Middle of the XIIIth Century paſſed through a great Part of* Aſia, *all the Dominions of the* Tartars, *and returned home by Sea through the Iſlands of the* Eaſt-Indies.

Taken chiefly from the accurate Edition of *Ramuſio*, compared with an original Manuſcript in his *Pruſſian* Majeſty's Library, and with moſt of the Tranſlations hitherto publiſhed.

1. *A ſuccinct Introduction to this Work.* 2. *An Account of the Author from* Ramuſio *and other Writers.* 3. *The ſeveral Editions and principal Tranſlations that have been publiſhed of theſe Travels.* 4. *An Account of the Objections that have been raiſed againſt them.* 5. *The Characters given of this Performance by ſeveral eminent Criticks.* 6. *The Author's introductory Account, containing an Abridgment of his Travels to the Time of his Return to* Venice. 7. *A Deſcription of* Armenia the Leſſer, *of the Country of the* Turks, *of* Armenia the Greater, *of the Province of* Zorzania, *the Kingdom of* Moſul, *of the City of* Baldach, *or* Bagdat, *of the City of* Tauris, *with an Account of a remarkable Earthquake.* 8. *Of the Country of* Perſia, *the City of* Jaſdi, *the City of* Cermam, *of the Town of* Camandu, *and of the Country where Rhubarb grows.* 9. *Of ſeveral other Countries, and the principal Curioſities in them.* 10. *The Hiſtory of the Aſſaſſins, and of the Manner in which their Prince was killed, together with the Deſcription of many other Countries.* 11. *Of the City of* Samarcand, *the Town of* Lop, *and of the great Deſert in its Neighbourhood, with other remarkable Paſſages.* 12. *Of the Province of* Camul, *and ſeveral other Countries to the City of* Ezina, *and another great Deſart.* 13. *Of the City of* Caracarum, *and of the* Tartars, *with a compleat Hiſtory of that Nation, and of their Monarchs.* 14. *Of the vaſt Countries to the Northward of* Tartary, *and many other curious Particulars.* 15. *Of the great Power of* Cublai Khan, *of his Government, Family, Dominions, &c.* 16. *Of his Palace in the City of* Cambalu, *a particular Deſcription of that City, and other remarkable Obſervations.* 17. *Of the Magnificence of the Court of the Grand Khan, and of the Manners and Cuſtoms of his Subjects.* 18. *A copious Account of the Countries between the Place of his Reſidence, and the Country of* Thibet. 19. *A large Deſcription of the laſt mentioned Province, and of many others, with an Account of the Obſervations made by the Author in his Progreſs through them.* 20. *Of the Province of* Mangi, *and of the Manner in which it was reduced under the Power of the* Tartars, *together with an Account of the Provinces and Cities afterwards reduced under their Dominion.* 21. *Of the noble City of* Quinſai, *and of the vaſt Revenues drawn from thence by the Emperor of the* Tartars. 22. *Of the Iſland of* Zipangri, *and of the Attempts made by the* Tartars *to conquer it, and their Miſcarriage in them.* 23. *A large Account of various Countries, Provinces, Cities, and Iſlands in the* Eaſt Indies. 24. *Of the great Iſland of* Ceylon, *of the Kingdom of* Malabar, *and the State of other Countries viſited by the Author.* 25. *Of the Kingdom of* Murſili, *the Diamond Mines there, and other Countries adjacent.* 26. *Of the Iſland of* Madagaſcar, *the Country of* Ethiopia, *and other Parts of* Africa. 27. *Of the Province of* Aden, *and of ſeveral Countries reputed to be inacceſſible.* 28. *Many obſcure Paſſages in this Performance explained.* 29. *Remarks and Obſervations.*

1. IT is with ancient Writers as with ancient Coins, ſuch as underſtand them value them above meaſure, while ſuch as will not be at ſufficient Pains to examine them, not only deſpiſe them, but alſo ſuch as admire them. Thus none are more governed by Prejudice than thoſe who declaim againſt it, and none greater Bigots than ſuch as are attached to their own Opinions, from a Notion that they think freely. Yet this Zeal for Freedom of Thought ought to be amended rather than diſcouraged, as being in itſelf commendable, though ſometimes dangerous, by being miſapplied. It may, and to ſay the Truth, to many it does ſeem a tedious and diſagreeable Labour to look ſo far back as the firſt Springs and Dawnings of Knowledge; yet, however they may colour this with Pretences to refined Taſte, it is in fact no better than an Excuſe for Idleneſs, and a Diſlike to the taking thoſe Pains which are requiſite to ſucceed in ſuch Enquiries.

The Travels of *Marco Polo* are indeed very old, and are come into our Hands with conſiderable Defects, but they are very valuable for all that, and very well worthy of our Attention. He was the *Columbus* of the *Eaſt-Indies*, the firſt that gave a certain and diſtinct Account of the Sea beyond *China*, and of the free Paſſage thereby through all the Iſlands of the *Eaſt-Indies*, back into thoſe Countries that are very well known. It is true, that a great Part of what he related, though delivered with much Solemnity, and confirmed by the ſtrongeſt Aſſeverations, was much called in Queſtion, and thought in ſome meaſure beyond all Belief. But ſubſequent Diſcoveries have baniſhed this Incredulity, and what were once eſteemed Fables have been ſince found true Relations; and the Diſcourſes of *Marco Polo*, that were rejected by the ſupercilious Wits of his own Time, have been raked out of the Duſt of old Libraries, decyphered in a manner from the barbarous *Latin* of Monkiſh Tranſlators, and brought into the Form we now have them by the indefatigable Pains of the learned *Ramuſio*; a Man whoſe Countenance alone might be ſufficient to give Credit to this, or any other Work; though from the Notes we have added, it will appear that there are intrinſick Marks of its Value in the Performance itſelf: Yet we owe to *Ramuſio* the being able to diſcover theſe, and therefore to him we willingly aſcribe all the Glory that reſults from the Vindication of this curious Piece, and the Honour of its illuſtrious Author. To the ſame excellent Perſon is due the Account we have received of ſeveral Particulars relating to the perſonal Hiſtory of *Marco Polo* and his Family, of which in as few Words as poſſible we ſhall give the Reader a Relation; which, though not abſolutely neceſſary to the underſtanding of the Book, will be found uſeful and entertaining.

2. Signior *Nicolo Polo*, the Father of our Author, and his Brother Signior *Maffio*, began their Travels from *Conſtantinople* in the Year 1250, and having proceeded to the Court of the Grand Khan of *Tartary*, reſided there for many Years, and returned, as the Reader will ſee, to *Venice* about the Year 1269, where they found the Wife of Signior *Nicolo* deceaſed, and her Son, of whom ſhe was left big at the Time of their Departure, a well accompliſhed Youth, of nineteen Years of Age. Him they carried back with them to the Court of the Khan, and after having ſpent

twenty-ſix Years more without any News being heard of them by their Friends at *Venice*, returned ſafely thither in the Year 1295. On their Arrival at their own Houſe in *St. John Chryſiſtom*'s Street, they found themſelves in a ſtrange Situation, being not only worn entirely out of the Memory of their Family and Acquaintance, but having loſt in a manner the very Tokens of their Country, being become *Tartars* in their Speech as well as their Habit, and therefore under a Neceſſity of taking ſome extraordinary Steps to recover the Reſpect and Reverence due to them, by convincing the World that they were really noble *Venetians*, and the individual Perſons who had been ſo long loſt to their Country and Friends.

It was with this View that they gave a magnificent Entertainment to their Relations, at which they all three came forth in rich Suits of crimſon Satin; of which, when the Gueſts were ſeated, they ſtripped themſelves, and gave them to the Servants; appearing next in crimſon Damaſk, theſe alſo they put off at the laſt Service, and beſtowed likewiſe on the Servants, being then dreſſed in crimſon Velvet. When Dinner was over, and all who waited withdrawn, *Marco Polo* brought out their Coats of *Tartarian* Cloth or Felt, and out of their Foldings produced an incredible Quantity of rich Jewels, among which there were ſome well known to thoſe preſent, and which indiſputably proved theſe Strangers of the *Polo* Family. Signior *Matlio Polo* became a worthy Magiſtrate of *Venice*, and lived and died in Peace.

As for our Author Signior *Marco*, a few Months after his Return, the *Genoeſe* Admiral *Lampa Doria* coming with a Fleet of ſeventy Gallies to the Iſland of *Curzola*, they fitted out from *Venice*, under the Command of *Andrea Dondalo*, a great naval Force, in which he had the Command of a Galley, and was ſo unlucky as to be taken Priſoner and carried to *Genoa*, where he remained in ſpite of all the Offers that were made for his Ranſom ſeveral Years; ſo that his Father deſpairing of his Return, and deſirous that his own Offspring might inherit his Riches, married a ſecond Time, and had three Children. In the Time of this Impriſonment all the young Nobility of *Genoa* reſorted to our *Marco* to hear the Recital of his Voyages and Adventures, which gave them ſo great Satisfaction, that one of them prevailed upon him to ſend for his Notes from *Venice*; and when thus aſſiſted, wrote from his own Mouth the following Hiſtory in *Latin*; from whence it was tranſlated into *Italian*; and this *Italian* was again tranſlated into *Latin*, and abridged; whence grew that prodigious Corruption ſo juſtly complained of in the firſt printed Copies. This Work of *Marco*'s was ſupported by the Teſtimony of his Father, and by that of his Uncle on his Death-bed. At laſt *Marco* himſelf obtained his Liberty, returned to *Venice*, married, and had two Daughters, *Moretta* and *Fautina*, but had no male Iſſue. He died as he lived, beloved and admired by all who knew or converſed with him; for with the Advantages of Birth and Fortune he was humble, and made no other Uſe of his great Intereſt in the State than to do good.

3. We have already ſhewn, that this Work was originally written in *Latin*, and if not by the Author's Hand, at leaſt from his Mouth; but after the *Italian* Verſion that was made of it, the Copies of the *Latin* Manuſcript became extremely rare, inſomuch that the *Italian* Tranſlation was taken for the Original. One *Francis Pepin*, a Monk, tranſlated it into *Latin*, and abridged it at the Command of his Superiors; and it is a Copy of this Manuſcript that is in the Library of the King of *Pruſſia*. It was printed at *Baſil* by the Care of the celebrated *Reinecius*, and afterwards in other Places. It was from one of theſe Copies that it was tranſlated by *Hakluit*, of which *Purchas* ſo heavily, and at the ſame Time ſo juſtly complains. *Ramuſio* took a great deal of Pains, as well in reſtoring the Senſe of the Text of our Author, as in juſtifying his Character, and ſupporting the Credit of his Work by his learned Diſcourſes. He was aſſiſted therein by a Copy of the original *Latin* Manuſcript, which was lent him by his Friend Signior *Chiſi*, without which it had been impoſſible for him to have brought it into ſo good Order as we now ſee it.

There has been, beſides the Tranſlations already mentioned, at leaſt two in the *German* Language. It was printed in *Portugueſe* at *Liſbon* is 1502, and it has been ſeveral times tranſlated into *Dutch*. I have been the more particular in the Account of theſe Additions and Tranſlations, becauſe they differ very much from each other; ſo that the only Way to come at a compleat View of the Author, is by collecting and comparing theſe; a Work of infinite Pains and Labour, in which however we have the Aſſiſtance of *Andrew Muller*, a learned *German* Critick, and of *Peter Bergeron*, a *Frenchman*, who, next to *Ramuſio*, was, of all others, the moſt capable of ſuch an Undertaking, and has ſucceeded in it the beſt.

There was, however, one Thing wanting, which was the juſtifying the Dates, verifying the Facts, and explaining the obſcure Names of Places which occur in theſe Travels; and this we have done to the beſt of our Ability in this Tranſlation, ſo that the Reader may be ſatisfied that he has the Work of this ancient Writer as intire, and in as good Condition as it was in our Power to give it him.

4. There have been Abundance of Objections raiſed againſt the Credit and Authority of this Writer, many of which, as they were founded on the Errors of Tranſcribers and Tranſlators, are taken away by reſtoring our Author's genuine Senſe, and therefore we need not mention them particularly; but there are others which deſerve more Regard. It is ſaid, that our Author mentioned ſome Countries and many Places that were never heard of before or ſince. A ſhrewd Objection this, inaſmuch as it ſeems to repreſent all the Pains that has been taken about his Writings, as entirely thrown away. In anſwer to this we muſt obſerve, that he wrote according to the Lights he received, and thoſe Lights were chiefly from the *Tartars*; whence it might very well happen that the Names of Places mentioned by him ſhould appear ſtrange and uncouth in this Part of the World. But it ſo happens, that we have ſince received ſuch Helps as enable us to get pretty well clear of this Difficulty; for though we have retained in the Text the Names uſed by our Author, yet we have afforded, from the Aſſiſtance given us by oriental Writers, ſuch Explanations as remove, in every reſpect, theſe geographical Obſcurities, ſo as to leave no ſort of Doubt either as to the Capacity or the Veracity of *Marco Polo*.

Another Charge againſt him is, that he does not agree with other Writers, or rather that other Writers do not agree with him; but when examined to the Bottom, this Charge will not be found to have any great Weight, as having chiefly ariſen from the Miſtakes made as to the true Senſe of what this Writer delivered; ſo that very often, what was imputed as Ignorance to him, was, in Fact, no more than Temerity in thoſe who pretended to find fault with them. The laſt, and indeed the greateſt Objection is, that he has related many Things that are abſurd, ſome that are incredible, and not a few that are impoſſible. Againſt this Charge we cannot pretend to vindicate him, though much may be ſaid to excuſe him. The Facts he tells us of his own Knowledge are ſurpriſingly verified by authentick and indiſputable Evidence; and grant that he might be impoſed upon in what he gives us on the Authority of others, we muſt be content, the rather becauſe it is our Happineſs to live in an Age when Men are leſs liable to be cheated and miſled; therefore this ought to make us the more ready to bear with Failings in one who wanted this Advantage, who lived in a Time of Darkneſs and Obſcurity, when Credulity paſſed for Faith, and when conſequently Errors of this ſort were rather a Man's Miſfortune than his Fault.

5. In ſpite however of all theſe Charges, there have been ſome great Men in all Ages who have done Juſtice to our Author's Merit. Among theſe we may reckon the famous *Voſſius*, in his Account of the *Latin* Hiſtorians, the great Geographer *Sebaſtian Munſter*, the learned Naturaliſt *Conrad Geſner*, the accurate Hiſtorian *Leunclavius*, the celebrated *Joſeph Scaliger*, and many others. The learned *German* Critick *William Schickard*, in his Hiſtory of the Kings of *Perſia*, gives our Author this Character; " *Marco Polo*, the *Venetian*, ſays he, is a very " good Writer, and thoſe things which he reports, and " were heretofore thought incredible, are now verified " daily by later Diſcoveries." But of all who have undertaken the Cauſe of our Author, none has done it with greater Capacity, with more Good-will, or better Succeſs,

than Father *Martini*, to whom we owe the beſt Deſcription of *China*, and who was conſequently a better Judge than any other of the Merit or Demerit of this Work. He aſſures us, that there is not the leaſt Reaſon to doubt the Truth of our Author's Relations on Account of the Obſcurity of the Names of Places; for, ſays he, he wrote them after the *Tartar* Pronunciation, whereas later Writers ſtudy to imitate as well as they are able the Pronunciation of the *Chineſe*.

I will add to theſe but one Teſtimony more, which is that of an Author very able to have detected him, if he had caught him in Untruths, and who was far enough from being tender of Mens Reputations if he thought them to blame. The Author I mean is *Athanaſius Kircher*, who in his Account of *China* confeſſes, that none of the old Authors have more fully or more accurately deſcribed the remoteſt Countries of the Eaſt than *Marco Polo* has done; yet he readily admits, that there are many things in him ſo very dark, that they may be in a manner ſtiled inexplicable; but then, with great good Senſe and Candour, he attributes this to the Author's Want of Skill in Geography and Aſtronomy; and if we conſider how young he was when his Father carried him into *Tartary*, and how little Opportunity he had of acquiring that ſort of Knowledge that was moſt neceſſary for preventing thoſe Miſtakes, we may eaſily concur in Opinion with ſo many eminent and learned Writers, that in Conſideration of the many curious and uſeful Paſſages in his Writings, theſe Blemiſhes, eſpecially as they were in a manner unavoidable, may very well be forgiven. After having thus cleared the Way, we will no longer detain the Reader from the Peruſal of theſe Travels, which their Author has thus digeſted. He firſt gives a ſuccinct Account of his Father's and Uncle's Peregrinations, and then of his own; after which, he enters into a more particular Deſcription of the Countries and Places through which they paſſed, and relates alſo ſuch remarkable Things as he was informed of in the Courſe of his Voyages.

6. At the time that *Baldwin* was Emperor of *Conſtantinople*, in the Year of our Lord 1250, two Gentlemen of the moſt illuſtrious Family of *Paolo* or *Polo*, at *Venice*, embarked on board a Veſſel freighted with various kinds of Merchandize on their own Account; and having traverſed the *Mediterranean* and the *Boſphorus*, they came with a fair Wind, and the Bleſſing of God, to *Conſtantinople*. There they continued for ſome Time to repoſe themſelves, and then croſſing the *Pontus Euxinus*, arrived at a certain Port called *Soldadia*, from whence they went to the Court of a great *Tartar* Prince called *Barba*, to whom they ſhewed the fine Jewels they had brought, and preſented him with ſome of the moſt valuable. That Monarch was far from being ungrateful; he kindly accepted their Preſents, and in return gave them others of greater Value. They remained a full Year at his Court, and then diſpoſed all things for their Return to *Venice*. But before they had an Opportunity of departing, there broke out a War between this Prince *Barba* and another *Tartar* King, whoſe name was *Alan*; and this Diſpute being decided by a Battle, the Army of *Barba* was defeated. This unlucky Accident exceedingly embarraſſed the *Venetians*, who knew not what Meaſures to take, or how to get ſafely back into their own Country. At length, however, they took a Reſolution of eſcaping, as well as they could, out of the Country where they were, and by ſeveral By-roads eſcaped to a City called *Gu[illegible]cam*, ſeated on the River *Tygris*. They continued their Journey from hence through a great Deſart, where there were neither Inhabitants nor Villages, till at laſt they arrived at *Bochara*, a conſiderable City in the Confines of *Perſia*. It was, at the Time of their Arrival, the Reſidence of a Prince called *Barach*, in whoſe Court meeting with a good Reception, and not knowing how otherwiſe to diſpoſe of themſelves, they remained three Years. At that Time a certain Perſon of Diſtinction was ſent Embaſſador from the ſaid Prince *Alan* to the Great Khan, who is the ſuperior Monarch of all the *Tartars*, reſiding in the remoteſt Countries of the Earth, betwixt the North-Eaſt and the Eaſt, called *Cublai Khan*; who coming to *Bochara*, and finding there theſe two Brethren, who were now well verſed in the *Tartarian* Language, he rejoiced exceedingly, and perſuaded theſe Men to go with him to the great Emperor of the *Tartars*, knowing that he ſhould gratify him in this, and that they alſo ſhould be entertained with great Honour, and rewarded with large Gifts, eſpecially ſeeing, through the Conference had with them, he perceived their pleaſing Behaviour. Theſe Men therefore, conſidering that they could not eaſily return home without Danger, conſulting together, agreed to go with the ſaid Embaſſador, and accompany him to the Emperor of the *Tartars*, having certain other Chriſtians in their Company, whom they brought with them from *Venice*, and departing towards the North-Eaſt and the North, were a whole Year in going to the ſaid Court of the ſaid King.

The Cauſe of their long Time ſpent in this Journey, was the Snows and Waters being much increaſed, ſo that they were forced in their Travel to ſtay the waſting of the Snow, and decreaſing of the Floods. Being therefore brought before the Preſence of the Great Khan, they were moſt courteouſly received by him. He queſtioned them concerning many things; as of the Countries of the Weſt, the Roman Emperor, and other Kings and Princes, how they carried themſelves in Government, and in warlike Affairs; how Peace, Juſtice, and Concord continued among them; alſo what Manner of Life and Cuſtoms were obſerved among the *Latins*, and eſpecially of the Pope, of the Chriſtians, of the Church, and of the Religion of the Chriſtian Faith; and M. *Nicholo*, and M. *Maffio*, as wiſe Men, told him the Truth, always ſpeaking well to him, and orderly, in the *Tartarian* Tongue; inſomuch that he often commanded they ſhould be brought to his Preſence, and they were very acceptable in his Sight; having well underſtood the Affairs of the *Latins*, and reſting ſatisfied with their Anſwers.

The Great Khan intending to ſend them his Embaſſadors to the Pope, firſt conſulted with his great Lords, and then calling to him the two Brethren, deſired them to go to the Pope of the *Romans*, with one of his Barons called *Chogatal*, to pray him to ſend an hundred Men learned in the Chriſtian Religion unto him, who might ſhew his wiſe Men that the Faith of the Chriſtians was to be preferred before all other Sects, and was the only Way of Salvation, and that the Gods of the *Tartars* were Devils, and that they, and others, the People of the Eaſt, were deceived in the Worſhip of their Gods. He gave them alſo in charge, to bring, in their Return from *Jeruſalem*, of the Oil of the Lamp which burneth before the Sepulchre of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, towards whom he had great Devotion, and held him to be the true God; they therefore yielded due Reverence to the Great Khan, promiſed that they would faithfully execute the Charge committed unto them, and preſent the Letters which they received from him, written in the *Tartarian* Tongue, according to his Command, unto the Biſhop of *Rome*.

He, according to the Cuſtom of the Kingdom, commanded a golden Tablet to be given them, engraven and ſigned with the King's Mark; carrying which with them, throughout his whole Empire, inſtead of a Paſſport, they might be every where ſafely conveyed through dangerous Places, by the Governors of Provinces and Cities, and receive their Expences from them; and laſtly, how long ſoever they would ſtay in any Place, whatſoever they needed, for them or theirs, ſhould be furniſhed them. Taking their Leave therefore of the Emperor, they took their Journey, carrying the Letters and golden Tablet with them; and when they had rid twenty Days Journey, the Lord who was aſſociated with them, began to fall grievouſly ſick; whereupon conſulting, and leaving him there, they proſecuted their intended Journey, being every where courteouſly received, by reaſon of the Emperor's Tablet; yet in many Places they were compelled to ſtay, occaſioned by the Over-flowings of the Rivers, ſo that they ſpent three Years before they came unto the Port of the Country of the *Armenians*, named *Giazza*; from *Giazza* they went to *Acre*, about the Year of our Lord 1269, in the Month of *April*.

But having entered into the City of *Acre*, they heard that Pope *Clement* the Fourth was lately dead, and that no other was ſubſtituted in his Place, for which they were not a little grieved. At that Time there was a certain Legate of the Apoſtolic See at *Acre*, *viz.* Maſter *Tibaldo Niſconti di Piacenza*, to whom they declared all they had in Commiſſion from the Great Khan, and he adviſed them to expect the Creation of a new Pope: In the mean ſpace therefore departing to *Venice* to viſit their Friends, Maſter *Nicolo* found that his Wife was dead, whom at his Departure he had left with Child, but had left a Son named *Marco*, who was now nineteen Years of Age. This is that *Marco* who compoſed this Book, who will manifeſt therein all thoſe things that he hath ſeen. The Election of the Pope of *Rome* was deferred two Years. They fearing the Diſcontent of the Emperor of the *Tartars*, who expected their Return, went back again to *Acre*, to the Legate, carrying with them *Marco* aforeſaid, and having gone to *Jeruſalem*, and fetched the Oil with the Legate's Letter, teſtifying their Fidelity to the great Khan, and that a Pope was not yet choſen, they went again towards *Giazza*.

In the mean time Meſſengers came from the Cardinals to the Legate, declaring to him that he was choſen Pope, and he called himſelf *Gregory*. Hearing this, he preſently ſent Meſſengers to call back the *Venetians*, and admoniſhing them not to depart, prepared other Letters for them, which they ſhould preſent to the Great Khan of the *Tartars*, with whom he alſo joined two preaching Friars, Men famous for their honeſt Converſation and Learning. The one was called Friar *Nicholo Davicenza*, the other Friar *Gulielmo de Tripoli*: To theſe he gave Letters and Privileges, and Authority to ordain Prieſts and Biſhops, and of Abſolution in all Caſes, as if himſelf were preſent, with Preſents alſo of great Value, to preſent to the Great Khan, together with his Benediction. They came to *Giazza*, a Sea-port in *Armenia*, and becauſe *Bentiochdas* and the Sultan of *Babylon*, leading a great Army, then invaded the *Armenians*, the two Friars above-mentioned began to be afraid of themſelves, and delivering the Letters and Preſents to Signiors *Nicolo*, *Maffio*, and *Marco*, deſiring to avoid the Danger of the Ways and Peril of Wars, remained with the Maſter of the Temple, and returned with him.

But the three *Venetians* expoſing themſelves to all Danger, with many Labours, and much Difficulty, travelled many Days always towards the North-Eaſt and North, till they after three Years and a half came to the Emperor of the *Tartars* great City of *Clemeniſu*; for in the Winter Time their Journey had often long Hindrances by reaſon of the Snow and extreme Cold, with Inundations of Waters. However, King *Cublai* hearing of their coming, though they were yet very far off, ſent Meſſengers forty Days Journey to meet them, who ſhould conduct them, and furniſh all Neceſſaries for their Journey. Going therefore to the King's Court, and being brought to his Preſence, they fell down before him on their Faces, yielding the accuſtomed Reverence; of whom being courteouſly received, they were ordered to riſe, and he commanded them to declare how they paſſed the many Dangers of the Ways, and what they had treated with the Biſhop of *Rome*; then they related it diſtinctly and at large, and gave the Emperor the Pôpe's Letters and Preſents, which they brought; at which the Khan wonderfully rejoicing, commended their faithful Cares. The Oil alſo brought from the Lord's Sepulchre, and offered unto him, he reverently received, commanded it ſhould be honourably preſerved, and aſking of *Marco*, who he was? Maſter *Nicolo* anſwered, that he was his Majeſty's Servant, and his Son; he entertained him with a friendly Countenance, and taught him to write among other of his honourable Courtiers; whereupon he was much eſteemed of all the Court, and in a little Space learned the Cuſtoms of all the *Tartars*, and four different Languages, being able to write and read them all.

The Great Khan, to make his Wiſdom more apparent, committed an Ambaſſage unto him to be performed in a City called *Caracban*, unto which he could ſcarcely travel in ſix Months Space; but he carrying himſelf wiſely in all things, diſcharged what he had in Commiſſion with the Commendation and Favour of the Prince, and knowing the Emperor would be delighted with Novelties in the Places which he paſſed through, he diligently ſearched the Cuſtoms and Manners of Men, and the Conditions of the Countries, making a Memorial of all that he knew and ſaw to divert the Great Khan; and in ſix-and-twenty Years which he continued one of his Court, he was ſo acceptable to him, that he was continually ſent through all his Realms and Signiories for the Affairs of the Great Khan, and ſometimes for his own, but by the Khan's Order; and this is the true Reaſon that the ſaid Maſter *Marco* learned and ſaw ſo many Particulars relating to the Eaſt, which follow in Order in theſe Memoirs; but theſe *Venetians* having ſtayed in that Court many Years, and grown very rich in Jewels of great Value, were inſpired with Deſire to viſit their Country, fearing, that if the Khan (now old) ſhould die, they ſhould not be able to return. One Day Maſter *Nicolo*, ſeeing the Khan merry, craved Licence to depart in the Name of all the three; whereat he was moved, and aſked why they would put themſelves on ſo dangerous a Journey, and if they wanted Riches, he would give them twice as much as they had, and out of pure Affection would not permit their Departure.

Yet not long after it happened, that a King of the *Indians*, named *Argon*, ſent three of his Counſellors unto the Court of the great *Cublai*, whoſe Names were *Ullatai*, *Apuſea*, and *Coza*, to treat with him, that he would deliver him a Wife; for his Wife, named *Bolgana*, being lately dead, begged this Favour of the King at the Point of Death, and left in her Will, that he ſhould not marry a Wife of another Family than her own, which was of *Catha*. King *Cublai* therefore yielding to his Requeſt, cauſed to be ſought out for them a fair young Maiden of ſeventeen Years of Age, named *Cogalin*, deſcended of the former Queen's Family, to be the Wife of *Argon*. Thoſe Embaſſadors departing, rode eight Months the ſame Way they came, but found bloody Wars among the *Tartars*, ſo that they were conſtrained to return, and acquaint the Great Khan with their Proceedings. In the mean time Maſter *Marco* had returned from thoſe Parts of *India*, where he had been employed with certain Ships, and declared to the Khan the Singularities of the Places, and the Security of thoſe Seas; which reaching the Ears of the Embaſſadors, they conferred with the *Venetians*, and agreed, that they with the Queen ſhould go to the Great Khan, and deſire Leave to return by Sea, and to have the three *Latins*, Men ſkilled in Sea Affairs, with them, to the Country of King *Argon*. The Great Khan was much diſpleaſed with their Requeſt, yet upon their Petition granted it, and cauſed *Nicolo*, *Maffio*, and *Marco* to come into his Preſence, and after much Demonſtration of his Love, would have them promiſe to return to him after they had ſpent ſome time in *Chriſtendom*, and in their own Houſe; and he cauſed to be given them a Tablet of Gold, in which was written his Command for their Liberty and Security through all his Dominions, and that Expences ſhould be given them and theirs, and a Guide or Convoy for ſafe Paſſage, ordering alſo that they ſhould be his Embaſſadors to the Pope, the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, and other Chriſtian Princes.

He cauſed fourteen Ships to be prepared, each having four Maſts, and able to bear nine Sails in ſailing, the Form of which is too long here to be related; four or five of them had from two-hundred-and-fifty to two-hundred-and-ſixty Mariners in each of them. In theſe Ships the Embaſſadors, the Queen, with *Nicolo*, *Maffio*, and *Marco*, ſet ſail, having firſt taken Leave of the Great Khan, who gave them many Rubies, and other precious Stones, and their Expences for two Years. After three Months they came unto a certain Iſland called *Java*, and from thence ſailing through the *Indian* Sea, after eighteen Months they came into the Country of King *Argon*: Six hundred Men of the Mariners, and others, and but one of the Women, died in the Paſſage; but only *Coza* of the three Embaſſadors ſurvived. When they came to the Country of King *Argon*, they found that he was dead, and that one *Chiacato* governed the Kingdom for his Son, who was under Age; they ſent to acquaint him with their Buſineſs, who anſwered, that they ſhould give her to *Caſan* the King's Son, then in the Parts of *Arbor Secco*, in the Confines of *Perſia*, with ſixty thouſand Perſons for the Guard of certain Paſſages againſt the Enemy. Having done ſo, *Nicolo*, *Maffio*, and *Marco*, returned to *Chiacato*, and ſtaid there nine Months.

After this, taking Leave, *Chiacato* give them four Tables of Gold, each a Cubit long, and five Fingers broad, of the Weight of three or four Marks, in which were written, that in the Power of the eternal God the Name of the Great Khan ſhould be honoured and praiſed many Years, and every one who ſhould not obey ſhould be put to Death, and his Goods confiſcated. In them were further contained, that theſe three Embaſſadors ſhould be honoured, and Service done them in all Lands and Countries as to his own Perſon, and that Horſes, Convoys, Expences and Neceſſaries, ſhould be given them; all which was ſo duly put in Execution, that ſometimes they had two hundred Horſes for their Safe-guard. In this their Travel, they heard that the Great Khan was dead, which took from them all Deſire of returning thither.

They rode till they came to *Trebizond*, and from thence to *Conſtantinople*, and after to *Negropont*, and at laſt came with great Riches ſafe to *Venice*, A. D. 1295.

Here ends the Hiſtorical Introduction of our Author, which ſhews us how he came to be qualified for writing the following Deſcription of the remoteſt Countries in the Eaſt. The Reader will naturally obſerve, that our Author wrote under very particular Circumſtances, as having no other Knowledge than what he acquired amongſt the *Tartars*; and therefore though the harſh and uncouth Names that occur in the ſubſequent Relation of his Travels may both diſfigure and perplex them, yet they very plainly prove the Sincerity and Authority of our Author's Writings, ſince taking Things as he has ſtated them, it was ſimply impoſſible that he ſhould have written them any otherwiſe than as they ſtand; for it was his hard Lot to travel with the *Tartars*, and to pen the Hiſtory of his Travels in a Priſon, ſo that their Imperfections ought not to be aſcribed to the Man, but to his Circumſtances.

7. There are two *Armenia's*, the *Greater* and the *Leſs*. In the *Leſſer Armenia* the King reſides, in a City called *Sebaſte*, and in all his Country is obſerved Juſtice and good Government. The Kingdom itſelf hath many Cities, Fortreſſes, and Caſtles; the Soil alſo is fertile, and the Country abounds with every thing neceſſary, nor is there any want of Game, or Wild-Fowl; the Air indeed is not very good. The Gentlemen of *Armenia*, in Times paſt, were ſtout Men, and good Soldiers, but are become now effeminate and nice, giving themſelves up to Drunkenneſs and Riot. There is a certain City in this Kingdom ſeated near the Sea, which is called *Giazza*, having an excellent Haven, whither Merchants reſort from divers Countries, and even from *Venice* and *Genoa*, on account of ſeveral ſorts of Merchandize brought thither, eſpecially Spices of ſundry Kinds, and abundance of other valuable Goods brought thither out of the Eaſt Countries; for this Place is, as it were, the ſettled Mart of all the Eaſt[a].

In *Turcomania* are three Sorts of Nations, *viz.* the *Turcomans* or *Turkmen*, who obſerve the Law of *Mohammed*: They are Men illiterate, rude, and ſavage, inhabiting the Mountains, and inacceſſible Places, where they can find Paſtures; for they live only by their Cattle. There are good Horſes in this Country, which are called *Turkiſh* Horſes: Mules are alſo in that Country of great Eſtimation. The other Nations are *Grecians* and *Armenians*, who poſſeſs the Cities and Towns, and beſtow their Labour on Merchandize and Arts. They make the beſt Carpets in the World, and they have many Cities, the chief whereof are *Cogno*, or *Iconium*, *Cæſarea*, and *Sebaſte*, where St. *Baſil* ſuffered Martyrdom for Chriſt, and they acknowledged one of the Khans, Kings of the *Tartars*, for their Lord.

Armenia the Greater is a very large Province, tributary to the *Tartars*, and hath many Cities and Towns, the chief City whereof is called *Arzugia*, and the beſt Buckram in the World is made there. Moſt wholeſome hot Waters alſo ſpring there for the waſhing and curing of Mens Bodies; and the other more famous Cities next to the Metropolis are *Argiron* and *Darziz*. In the Summer Time many *Tartars* reſort there with their Flocks and Herds, drawn thither by the Fatneſs of their Paſtures; and again in the Winter depart for a certain Time, by reaſon of the abundance of Snow. The Ark of *Noah* remained in the Mountains of this *Armenia*.

This Country hath the Province of *Moxul* and *Meridin* bordering on the Eaſt; but on the North is *Zorzania*, in the Confines of which a Fountain is found, from which a Liquor like Oil flows, and though unprofitable for the ſeaſoning of Meat, yet is very fit for the ſupplying of Lamps, and to anoint other Things; and this natural Oil flows conſtantly, and that in Plenty enough to lade Camels. In *Zorzania* is a King called *David Melic*, or King *David*; one Part of the Province is ſubject unto him, the other pays Tribute to a Khan of the *Tartars*; the Woods there are of Box trees. The Country extends to the two Seas, *Marmaggiore*, or the *Euxine*, and that of *Baccu*, or the *Caſpian*, which containeth in Circuit 2800 Miles, and is like a Lake, having no Communication with other Seas. In it are many Iſlands, Cities, and Caſtles, ſome of which are inhabited by thoſe that fled from the *Tartars* out of *Perſia*[b].

The People of *Zorzania* are Chriſtians, obſerving the ſame Rites with other Chriſtians. They keep their Hair ſhort like the Weſtern Clergy; the Inhabitants have many Cities, and their Country abounds with Silk, of which they make very fine Manufactures. *Moxul* is a Province in which there are many Sorts of People, ſome called *Arabians*, are *Mohammedans*, others are *Chriſtians*, ſome *Neſtorians*, others *Jacobites*, and others *Armenians*; and they have a Patriarch called *Jacolet*, who ordains Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and Abbots, and ſends them through all Parts of *India*, and to *Cairo* and *Baldach*, or *Bagdat*, and where-ever *Chriſtians* dwell, as is done by the Pope of *Rome*; and all the Stuffs of Gold and Silk called Muſleims are wrought in *Moxul*.

But in the Mountains of this Kingdom dwell the People called *Curdi*, of whom ſome are *Neſtorians*, others *Jacobites*, and ſome Followers of *Mohammed*; they are wicked Men, and rob Merchants. Near to them is another Province called *Mus*, or *Meridin*, wherein grow great Quantities of Cotton, whereof they make Buckrams, and other Works; they are ſubject to the *Tartars*. *Baldach*, or *Bagdat*, is a great City, in which reſided the great Khaliff, that is the Pope of all the *Saracens*; a River runs through it, from whence to the Sea is accounted ſeventeen Days Journey. They ſail by a City called *Chiſi*; but before they reach the Sea they come to *Balſora*, about which grow the beſt Dates in the World. In *Baldach*, or *Bagdat*, are many Manufactures of Gold and Silk. There are wrought Damaſks and Velvets, with Figures of various Creatures: All the Pearls in Chriſtendom come from thence. In that City is an Univerſity, where is ſtudied the Law of *Mohammed*, Phyſic, Aſtronomy, and Geomancy. It is the chief City in thoſe Parts.

When the *Tartars* began to extend their Conqueſts, there were four Brethren, the eldeſt of which, *Mangu*, reigned in *Sedia*. Theſe purpoſing to ſubdue the World, went one to the Eaſt; another to the North; to the South a third, which was *Ulan*; and the other to the Weſt. In the Year of our Lord 1250, *Ulan* having a great Army of one hundred thouſand Horſe, beſides Foot, uſed Policy, and having hid a great Part of his Men, brought, by pretending Flight, the Khaliff into his Ambuſcade, and took him and the City, in which he found infinite Store of Treaſure, inſomuch that he was amazed. He ſent for the Khaliff, and reproved him, that in that War he had not provided himſelf with Soldiers for Defence, and commanded that he ſhould be incloſed in that Tower where his Treaſure was, without other Suſtenance[c].

This ſeemed a juſt Judgment from our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt* on him; for in the Year 1225, ſeeking to convert the *Chriſtians* to the *Mohammedan* Religion, and taking Advantage from that Place of the Goſpel, *That he which*

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[a] There is nothing obſcure in this Deſcription of *Armenia the Leſs*; and I added this Note only to put the Reader in Mind, that our Author ſhews that a great Part of the Trade from *Europe* to the *Indies* was carried on this Way by the *Venetians* and *Genoeſe*.

[b] *Zorzania* is indeed a Name not to be met with in any other Author; but the Account given us by *Marco* is ſo clear and exact, that there can be no doubt about it.

[c] There is nothing gives ſo much Credit to our Author's Relation as theſe hiſtorical Facts, which are capable of being verified by other Authors. The Prince he mentions was *Halaku Khan*, who was Brother to *Mangu-Khan*; he entered theſe Countries *A. D.* 1255, with an Army of *Tartars*, and in 1251, put an end to the Empire of the *Abyſſinian* Khaliffs, by taking *Bagdat*, as our Author relates it.

hath Faith, as the Grain of Muſtard-ſeed, ſhall be able to remove Mountains. He ſummoned all the *Chriſtians*, *Neſtorians*, and *Jacobites*, and propounded to them in ten Days to remove a certain Mountain, or turn *Mohammedans*, or be ſlain, as not having one Man amongſt them which had the leaſt Faith. They therefore continued eight Days in Prayer; after which a certain Shoemaker, in conſequence of a Revelation made to a certain Biſhop, was fixed upon to perform it. This Shoemaker, once tempted to Luſt by Sight of a young Woman, in putting on her Shoe, zealouſly had fulfilled that of the Goſpel, and literally had put out his right Eye. He now on the Day appointed with other Chriſtians followed the Croſs, and lifting his Hands to Heaven, prayed to God to have Mercy on his People, and then with a loud Voice commanded the Mountain in the Name of the Holy Trinity to remove; which preſently, with great Terror to the Khaliff and all his People, was effected, and that Day is ſince kept holy by faſting alſo on the Evening before it.

8. *Tauris* is a great City in the Province of *Hircania*, and is a moſt populous Place. The Inhabitants live by the Exerciſe of Arts and Merchandize, they make Stuffs of Gold and Silk; foreign Merchants reſiding there make very great Gain, but the Inhabitants are generally Poor. They are a mixed People of *Neſtorians*, *Armenians*, *Jacobites*, *Georgians*, *Perſians*, and *Mohammedans*: Theſe laſt are perfidious and treacherous, thinking all well gotten which they ſteal from Men of other Religions; and this Wickedneſs of the *Saracens* had converted may *Tartars* thereto. If the Chriſtians kill them in their Robbery, they are reputed Martyrs. From *Tauris* into *Perſia* are twelve Days Journey. In the Confines is the Monaſtery of Saint *Baraſam*, the Monks whereof are like *Carmelites*; they make Girdles, which they lay on the Altar, and give to their Friends, who devoutly eſteem them. *Perſia* containeth eight Kingdoms, whereof the firſt is called *Caſbin*, the ſecond *Curdiſtan*, the third *Lor*, the forth *Suſiſtan*, the fifth *Spahan*. the ſixth *Shiras*, the ſeventh *Soncara*, the eighth *Timochaim*, which is near *Arboreſecco* towards the North. They have fine Horſes here, whence they are ſold into *India*; there are alſo very excellent Aſſes ſold dearer than the Horſes, becauſe they eat little, carry much, and travel far. They have Camels, but not ſo ſwift. Theſe are neceſſary in thoſe Countries, which ſometimes for a long Way yield no Graſs[d].

The People of thoſe Countries are very wicked, covetous, Thieves, and Murderers, profeſſing the Faith of *Mohammed*. Merchants are every where ſlain by thoſe Thieves, unleſs they travel in Caravans. There are excellent Artificers in the Cities, who make wonderful Things in Gold, Silk, and Embroidery. The Countries abound with Silkworms, Wheat Barley, Millet, and other Kinds of Corn, and Plenty of Wine and Fruits; and though their Law forbids Wine, yet they have a Gloſs to correct or corrupt the Text, that if they boil it, then it changeth the Taſte, and therefore the Name alſo, of Wine, and may be drank. *Jaſdi* is a great City in the Confines of *Perſia*, where there is great Trade; it hath alſo many Manufactures in Silk. *Chiaman* is a Kingdom in the Confines of *Perſia* to the Eaſt, ſubject to the *Tartars*. In Veins of the Mountains Stones are found, commonly called Turquoiſes, and other Jewels. There alſo are made all ſorts of Arms and Ammunition for War, and by the Women excellent Needleworks in Silks, with all ſorts of Creatures very admirably wrought therein. There are the beſt Falcons in the World, very ſwift of Flight, red-breaſted, and under the Train leſs than thoſe of other Countries. Proceeding further, you go through a great Plain, and having ended eight Days Journey, you come to a certain Deſcent. In the Plain are many Caſtles and Towns, but in that ſteep Deſcent are many Trees, and thoſe fruitful, but no Habitation, except a few Shepherds Huts. This Country in Winter Time is intolerably cold. After this you come into a large open Plain, where a certain City is ſeated, which is called *Camandu*, heretofore large and populous, but now deſtroyed by the *Tartars*, and the Country is called *Reobarle*. There grow Pomegranates, Quinces, Peaches, and other Fruits, which grow not in our cold Countries. It hath alſo very great Oxen, all white, thin haired, with thick, ſhort, blunt Horns, with a Camel's Bunch on the Back, accuſtomed to bear great Burthens; and when the Pack-Saddles are ſet upon the Bunch, they bow the Knee like Camels, and having received the Burthen, riſe again, being ſo taught. The Sheep of that Country are as big as Aſſes, having ſo long and broad Tails, that they weigh thirty Pounds Weight. They are very fair, and fat, and good Meat.

Moreover, in the Plain of this Country are many Cities and Towns, with high Walls of Earth to defend them from the *Caraons*, that is, *Meſtizos*, that is, a mixed ſort of People between *Indian* Women and *Tartars*, Ten thouſand of which are commanded by one *Nugódar*, the Nephew of *Zagathai*, who formerly ruled in *Turkeſtan*. This *Nugodar*, hearing of the *Malabars* ſubject to *Soldan Aſiden*, without his Uncle's Knowledge, went and took *Dely* with other Cities, erected a new Seigniory, and mixing with the *Indian* Women, raiſed theſe *Caraons*, which go up and down to rob and ſpoil in *Roobarle*, and other Countries. The Plain whereof I now ſpeak is five Days Journey, extended towards the South; but at the End thereof the Way begins by little and little to deſcend for twenty Miles together, and the Road itſelf is very bad, and not without Danger, by reaſon of Thieves. At length you come to very good Plains, which extend themſelves two Days Journey in Length, and the Place itſelf is called *Ormus*.

That Country abounds with Rivers and Palm-Trees; there is alſo Plenty of divers Fowls, eſpecially Poppin-Jays, which are not like ours. From hence you come unto the Ocean, wherein an Iſland is ſeated called *Ormus*, to which many Merchants reſort, bringing Spices, Pearls, precious Stones, Cloth of Gold and Silver, Elephants Teeth, and all other precious Things from *India*. That City is a great Mart, having Cities and Caſtles under it, and is Head of the Kingdom of *Chermain*. The King is called *Ruchined Ben Achomach*, who yields Obedience to the King of *Chermain*. He makes himſelf Heir, if any Merchant dies there. In Summer, by reaſon of the Heat, they betake themſelves to their Summer-Houſes, built in the Waters; and from Nine till Noon there blows a Wind with ſuch extreme Heat from the Sands, that it ſwallows a Man's Breath, and ſtifleth him, which makes them lie in the Water. The King of *Chermain* ſent an Army of ſixteen hundred Horſe, and five thouſand Foot, againſt the Lord of *Ormus*, for not paying his Tribute, which were all ſurprized, and ſtifled with that Wind. The Inhabitants of the Place eat no Bread made of Corn, or Fleſh, but feed upon Dates, ſalt Fiſh and Onions. They have not very ſtout Ships, for they do not faſten them with iron Nails, by reaſon the Wood is brittle, and would cleave; but with wooden Pins, with certain Threads made of the Shells of *Indian* Nuts. Theſe Shells are dreſſed after the Manner of Leather, out of which Threads are cut, of which Threads exceeding ſtrong Cords are made, which are able to endure the Force and Violence of the Waters, and are not eaſily corrupted thereby. Thoſe Ships have one Maſt, one Sail, one Beam, and are covered but with one Deck. They are not calked with Pitch, but with the Oil and Fat of Fiſhes; and when they croſs the Sea to *India*, carrying Horſes and other Freight with them, they loſe many Ships, becauſe that Sea is very tempeſtuous, and the Ships are not ſtrengthened with Iron[e]. The Inhabitants of that Country are black, and have embraced the Law of *Mohammed*. It is the Cuſtom of this Country, when any Maſter of a Family dies, that the Wife left behind him ſhould mourn for him four Years, once a Day. They have Women which profeſs the Practice of Mourning, and are therefore hired to mourn daily for their Dead. Returning from *Ormus* to

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[d] In the ſeveral Copies of this Work, there are great Variations in the Names of theſe eight Parts, into which the Kingdom of *Perſia* is divided; but as it is very apparent that they are Corruptions only of the Cities, and Provinces of that Kingdom, it is not neceſſary to trouble the Reader with a long Explanation of them.

[e] It is very evident from this Account, that our Author extends the Name of *Ormus* to the Coaſt oppoſite to the Iſland ſo called; and as to the other Country he ſpeaks of, it is plainly the Province of *Kherman*.

Chermain, is a fertile Plain, but the Bread made there cannot be eaten, but by ſuch as are accuſtomed thereto, it is ſo bitter, by reaſon of the Water put therein: Here are excellent hot Baths, which cure many Diſeaſes.

9. From *Chermain*, in three Days riding, you come to a Deſart, which extends to *Cobinham*, ſeven Days Journey from thence. In the firſt three Days you have no Water, ſave a few Ponds, and thoſe ſalt and bitter, of a green Colour in ſhew, as if it were the Juice of Herbs; and whoever taſteth but a little thereof cannot eſcape a Looſeneſs; the like alſo happeneth if any taſte the Salt made of the Water: It is therefore neceſſary that Travellers carry ſome Water with them, if they would eſcape the Inconvenience of Thirſt; the Beaſts alſo which are compelled to drink that Water eſcape not without ſcouring: In the fourth Day they find a freſh River under-ground; the three laſt Days are as the firſt. *Cobinham* is a great City, inhabited by *Mohammedans*, where great Looking-glaſſes of Steel are made. Tutia, or Tutty alſo, which cureth the Eyes, and Spodio, is prepared after this Manner. That Country hath Mines, out of which they dig Earth, which they boil, caſting it into a Furnace, an Iron Gate receiving the aſcending Vapour from above, in which the conglutinated and clammy Vapour becometh Tutia, but the groſſer Matter remaining in the Fire is called Spodio. Leaving the City of *Cobinham*, you meet with another Deſart, eight Days Journey in Length, and grievouſly barren; it hath not either Trees or Fruits, or Water, except what is very bitter, ſo that the very Beaſts refuſe to drink it, except they mix Meal therewith, and Travellers carry Water with them.

But having paſſed over this Deſart, you come to the Kingdom of *Timochaim*, in the North Confines of *Perſia*, where are many Cities and ſtrong Caſtles. There is a great Plain, in which a great Tree grows, called the Tree of the Sun, which the Chriſtians call the dry Tree. This Tree is very thick, and hath Leaves which on the one Side are white, and on the other Side green. It produceth prickly huſky Shells, like thoſe of Cheſnuts, but nothing in them. The Wood is ſolid and ſtrong, in Colour yellow, like Box. There is no Tree within one hundred Miles, except on one Side, on which are Trees within ten Miles. In this Place the Inhabitants ſay, that *Alexander* the Great fought with *Darius*. The Cities are plentifully furniſhed with good Things; the Air is temperate, the People are handſome, but eſpecially Women, the moſt beautiful in my Judgment in the World.

10. *Mulehet*, in the *Saracen* Language, is as much as to ſay, a Place of Hereticks, and of this Place they call the Men *Mulehetici*, that is, Hereticks in their Law, as with us Patarines. As I have ſpoken of the Country, the Prince of it, who is called the old Man of the Mountain, ſhall be next ſpoken of, concerning whom *Marco* heard much from many. His Name was *Aloadine*, and he was a *Mohammedan*. He had, in a lovely Valley, betwixt two Mountains, which were very high and inacceſſible, cauſed a pleaſant Garden to be laid out, furniſhed with the beſt Trees and Fruits he could find, adorned with divers Palaces and Houſes of Pleaſure, beautified with gilded Bowers, Pictures, and Tapeſtries of Silk. Through this Place, by Pipes to different Parts of theſe Palaces, run Wine, Milk, Honey, and clear Water; in them he had placed beautiful Damſels, ſkilful in Songs and Inſtruments of Muſic and Dancing, and to make Sports and Delights unto Men whatſoever they could imagine. They were alſo richly dreſſed in Gold and Sik, and were ſeen continually ſporting in the Garden and Palaces. He made this Palace, becauſe *Mohammed* had promiſed ſuch a ſenſual Paradiſe to his devout Followers. No Man could enter it; for at the Mouth of the Valley was a ſtrong Caſtle, and the Entrance was by a ſecret Paſſage. *Aloadine* had certain Youths, from twelve to twenty Years of Age, ſuch as ſeemed of a bold and dauntleſs Diſpoſition, whom he inſtructed daily as to the Delights in *Mohammed*'s Paradiſe, and how he could bring Men thither; and when he thought proper, he cauſed a certain Drink to be given to ten or twelve of them, which caſt them into a dead Sleep, and then he cauſed them to be carried into ſeveral Chambers of the ſaid Palaces, where they ſaw things as aforeſaid; as ſoon as they awaked, each of them had thoſe Damſels to ſupply them with Meats and excellent Wines, and yield all Varieties of Pleaſures to them; inſomuch that the Fools thought themſelves in Paradiſe indeed.

When they had enjoyed theſe Pleaſures four or five Days, they were caſt into a Sleep, and carried forth again; after which he cauſed them to be brought into his Preſence, and queſtioned them where they had been? Who anſwered, by your Grace, in Paradiſe; and recounted before all what hath been before-mentioned. Then the old Man anſwered, this is the Commandment of our Prophet, that whoſoever defends his Lord, he allows him to enter Paradiſe; and if thou wilt be obedient to me, thou ſhalt have this Grace; and having thus animated them, he was thought happy whom the old Man would command, though it coſt him his Life; ſo that other Lords, and his Enemies, were ſlain by theſe Aſſaſſins, who expoſed themſelves to all Dangers, and contemned their Lives. Hereupon he was eſteemed a Tyrant, feared in all thoſe Parts, and had two Vicars, one in the Parts of *Damaſcus*, and another in *Curdiſtan*, which obſerved the ſame Order with the young Men. He uſed alſo to rob all which paſſed that Way. *Ulan*, in the Year 1262, ſent and beſieged his Caſtle, which after three Years Siege they took, ſlew him, and undermined his Paradiſe, not being able for want of Proviſions to hold out longer [f].

Departing from the aforeſaid Place you come unto a Country pleaſant enough, diverſified by Hills, Plains, and excellent Paſture, in which are Fruits in great Plenty, the Soil being very fruitful: This continues ſix Days, and then you enter a Deſart of forty or fifty Miles, without Water; after this you come to the City *Sapurgan*, where Plenty of Proviſions are found, but eſpecially Melons, the beſt in the World, ſweet like Honey. Paſſing from hence we came to a certain City called *Batach*, which formerly was large and famous, having ſumptuous marble Palaces, but now overthrown by the *Tartars*.

In this City they report that *Alexander* took the Daughter of King *Darius* to Wiſe. To this City on the Eaſt and North-Eaſt continue the Confines of *Perſia*; but if you go from hence, and proceed between the Eaſt and the North-Eaſt, you cannot find any Habitation for two Days Journey, becauſe the Inhabitants of that Place having endured many great Grievances by Thieves, are compelled to fly unto the Mountains, to Places of more Safety. Many Rivers are found there, and much Game. Lions alſo are found there; and becauſe Travellers find no Food in that Journey, they carry as much Victuals with them as is neceſſary for two Days. The Two Days Journey ended, we met with a Caſtle called *Thaican*, where is great Plenty of Corn, and very pleaſant Fields; the Mountains alſo on the South are high, ſome of which are of white and hard Salt; and the Inhabitants for thirty Days Journey about fetch it from thence, being the beſt in the World, and ſo hard that they muſt break it with iron Inſtruments, ſo much that the whole World might have a ſufficient Quantity of Salt from thence. The other Mountains have Store of Almonds and Piſtaches.

Going between the Eaſt and North-Eaſt from hence, the Country is fruitful; but the Inhabitants are Murderers, perfidious *Mohammedans*, and Drunkards. Their Wine is boiled, and truly excellent. They go bare-headed, ſave that the Men bind up their Heads with a certain String of ten Handfuls long; but they make Clothing of the Skins of the wild Beaſts, ſuch as Breeches and Shoes, and uſe no other Garments. After three Days Journey is the City *Seaſſom*, ſeated in a Plain, and there are many

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[f] It is neceſſary to obſerve, that thoſe People inhabited ſeveral mountainous Countries in the Eaſt, and had much the ſame Cuſtoms in all the Countries where they were ſettled. At the Cloſe of the former Section, I gave ſome Account of this Nation, and ſhall only add here, that the Prince was called the old Man of the Mountains, becauſe they generally made choice of the oldeſt Man amongſt them for their Chief, who had his Reſidence on a Mountain, the ſtrongeſt and beſt fortified in the Country. They pretended to be the Deſcendants of the Royal Family of *Arſaces*, and from thence affected to be called *Arſacides*, from whence came the Word *Aſſaſſins*. The laſt of their Princes was called [illegible], and he and his Subjects were entirely deſtroyed by the before mentioned *Halaku-Khan*.

Caſtles in the Mountains round about it: A certain great River alſo flows through the Middle thereof. There are many Porcupines in that Country, which they hunt with Dogs, and they contracting themſelves with great Fury, caſt their prickly Quills at Men and Dogs, and wound them. That Nation hath a particular Language, and the Shepherds abide in the Mountains, having made Caves for their Habitations. You go hence three Days Journey, without meeting any Inhabitants, to the Province of *Balaxiam*, which is inhabited by *Mohammedans*, who have a peculiar Language. Their Kings, who ſucceed each other hereditarily, are reported to have derived their Deſcent from *Alexander* the Great, and from the Daughter of *Darius*, and are called *Dulcarlen*, that is to ſay, *Alexandrians*. There are found the Ballaſſas, and other precious Stones, of great Value.

No Man, on pain of Death, dare either dig ſuch Stones, or carry them out of the Country, but with the Licence and Conſent of the King; for all thoſe Stones are the King's, and he only ſends them to whom he pleaſes, either as Preſents, or in Payment of Tribute: He exchanges alſo many for Gold and Silver; and this he doth leſt the Stone, whereof there is ſo much Plenty, ſhould become too common and cheap. Other Mountains alſo in this Province yield Stones, called *Lapis Lazuli*, whereof the beſt Azure is made, the like is not found in the World. Theſe Mines alſo yield Silver, Braſs, and Lead. The Country itſelf is very cold: There are many Horſes, and thoſe excellent, large, ſtrong, and ſwift, which have ſo hard and tough Hoofs, that they need no Iron-ſhoes, although they run over Rocks. It is ſaid, that not many Years ago, there were Horſes of the Race of *Alexander*'s *Bucephalus*, which had the ſame forehead Mark as he had, in the Poſſeſſion only of the King's Uncle, who was killed for refuſing the King to have ſome of them; whereupon his Widow, in ſpite, deſtroyed the whole Race. There are alſo excellent Falcons. The Soil of this Country bears excellent Wheat and Barley without Huſk, and Oil made of Nuts, and Muſtard, which is like Flax-ſeed, but more ſavoury than other Oil. There are ſtraight Paſſages and difficult Places. The Men are good Archers and Huntſmen, cloathed in Beaſts Skins. The Hills are ſteep and high, large Plains, fine Rivers; and if any have an Ague, by living two or three Days on the Hills he recovers, which *Marco* experienced himſelf after a Year's Sickneſs. The Women, in the Skirts of their Garments put ſixty or eighty Yards of Cotton; the burlier a Women looks ſhe is in their Eyes the handſomer.

The Province of *Baſcia* is ten Days Journey towards the South from the Country of *Balexiam*. The Country itſelf is very hot, which is the Reaſon the People are brown. They have a Language of their own, and wear gold and ſilver Ear-rings, with Pearls and other Stones artificially wrought in them; they eat Fiſh and Rice, and are Idolaters, crafty and cruel. The Province of *Cheſmur* is ſeven Days Journey diſtant from *Baſcia*, the Inhabitants whereof have alſo their own Language, and are Idolaters beyond all others, cunning Inchanters, forcing their Idols to ſpeak, and darkening the Day. From hence you may go to the *Indian-Sea*. The Men and Women are brown, not wholly black; the Heat being ſomewhat tempered. Their Food is Fleſh and Rice, yet are they exceeding lean: There are many Cities and Towns in this Country; their King is tributary to none. There are certain Hermits in this Province, who in Monaſteries and Cells worſhip Idols, honouring their Gods with great Abſtinence of Meat and Drink, and obſerve great Chaſtity, are very cautious not to offend their Idols, and live long; of theſe are many reputed Saints, and the People ſhew them great Reverence. The Men of this Province kill no living Creature, and ſhed no Blood; and if they eat Fleſh, it is neceſſary that the *Saracens*, who live amongſt them, kill the Creature. Coral is here ſold dearer than any where. We will leave the Way to *India* now, and return to *Balaxiam*, and direct our Way towards *Cathay*, betwixt the Eaſt and North-Eaſt. Beyond *Balaxiam* is a certain River, whereon ſtand many Caſtles and Villages belonging to the King of *Balaxiam*'s Brother; and after three Days Journey is the Province *Vachan*, having in Length and Breadth three Days Journey, the Inhabitants whereof have a peculiar Language, and worſhip *Mohammed*. They are however ſtout Warriors and good Hunters, for the Country abounds with wild Beaſts.

If you depart thence betwixt the North-Eaſt and the Eaſt, you muſt aſcend for three whole Days together, until you come to an exceeding high Mountain, than which there is ſaid to be none higher in the World. There alſo between two Mountains is a great Lake, and through a Plain runs a very fine River, near which are excellent Paſtures, ſo that in them a lean Horſe or an Ox may be fat in ten Days. There is alſo Plenty of wild Beaſts, eſpecially exceeding great wild Sheep, having Horns, ſome of them ſix Spans long, of which they make divers kinds of Veſſels. The Plain contains twelve Days Journey in Length, and is called *Pamer*; nor is there any Habitation there; and Travellers muſt carry Victuals with them: No Bird alſo appears there, by reaſon of the Cold; and it is reported, that if Fire be kindled there it is not ſo bright nor ſo effectual to boil any thing as in other Places. From hence the Way leadeth forty Days Journey further between the Eaſt and the North-Eaſt, through the Mountains, Hills, and Valleys, in which many Rivers are found, but no Village or Herbs, and the Country itſelf is called *Palow*, and ſome Huts and Cottages of Men are ſeen on the Tops of thoſe high Mountains, but ſuch as are ſavage and wicked Idolaters, who live by hunting, and are clothed by the Skins of the Beaſts they kill. After this you come to the Province of *Chaſchar*, which is tributary to the Great Khan, and the People are *Mohammedans*. In it are Vines, pleaſant Gardens, fruitful Trees, Cotton, Flax, and Hemp, and a fertile Soil. The Inhabitants have a particular Language, and are Merchants and Artificers, ſo covetous, that they eat that which is bad, and drink worſe. Some *Neſtorian* Chriſtians are found there, who alſo have their Churches. The Country extends itſelf five Days Journey.

11. *Samarcand* is a great and famous City in that Country, where are lovely Gardens, and a fertile Plain. It is ſubject to the Nephew of the Great Khan; in it the Chriſtians dwell with the *Saracens*, whence little Agreement is betwixt them. It is reported, that on this Account a Miracle happened; the Brother of the Great Khan, named *Zagatai*, who governed that Country about an hundred Years ago, being perſuaded to become a Chriſtian, the Chriſtians, through his Favour, built a Church in Honour of *St. John* the Baptiſt, with ſuch Cunning that the whole Roof thereof was ſuported by one Pillar in the midſt, under which was ſet a ſquare Stone, which, by Favour of their Lord, was taken from a Building of the *Saracens*. *Zagatai*'s Son ſucceeded after his Death in the Kingdom, but not in the Faith, from whom the *Saracens* obtained that the Chriſtians ſhould be compelled to reſtore that Stone; and when they offered a ſufficient Price, the *Saracens* refuſed to receive any other Compoſition than the Stone; whereupon the Pillar lifted up itſelf, that the *Saracens* might take away their Stone, and ſo continued.

Departing again from this City, you come into the Province *Charahan*, about five Days Journey in Length. This Province hath Plenty of Proviſions, being ſubject to the Dominion of the Nephew of the Great Khan. The Inhabitants worſhip *Mohammed*, yet among them certain *Neſtorian* Chriſtians dwell. They are great Artificers, and have moſt of them ſwelled Legs, and a great Wen or Bunch in their Throat, by reaſon of the Waters which they drink. The Province *Cotam* follows between the Eaſt and the North-Eaſt. It is ſubject to the Dominion of the Nephew of the Great Khan, and hath many Cities and Towns. The chief City thereof is called *Cotam*. The Province extends eight Days Journey in Length. There is no Want there of any thing needful to the Maintenance of Life. It hath Plenty of Cotton, Flax, Hemp, Corn and Wine; but the People are not warlike, yet good Artificers in various Manufactures and Merchandize. They acknowledge *Mohammed* for their Prophet.

Proceeding farther through the ſame Country, you come to the Province *Peim*, extending four Days Journey in Length; it is ſubject to the Great Khan, and hath many Cities and Caſtles; the chief City thereof is called *Piem*, near which runs a River wherein precious Stones are found, ſuch as Jaſpers and Chalcedons. The Inhabitants of the Country follow the Law of *Mohammed*, and are Artificers and Merchants. There is a Cuſtom in this Province, that when any married Man goeth into another Place and returneth not home in twenty Days, it becomes lawful for the Wife to marry another Huſband; and the Men alſo, whenſoever the Women go away for the ſame time, do the like. All thoſe Provinces, *viz. Caſcha*, *Cotem*, *Piem*, to the City of *Lop*, are in the Bounds of *Turkeſtan*.

Ciaſcian is ſubject to the *Tartars*; the Name of the Province and chief City is the ſame: It hath many Cities and Caſtles; many precious Stones are found there in the Rivers, eſpecially Jaſpers and Chalcedons, which Merchants carry quite to *Oucbach* to ſell and make great Gain. From *Piem* to this Province, and quite through it alſo, is a ſandy Soil, with many bad Waters, and few good. When an Army paſſes through this Province, all the Inhabitants thereof, with their Wives, Children, Cattle, and all their Houſhold-ſtuff, fly two Days Journey into the Sands, where they know that good Waters are, and ſtay there, and carry their Corn thither alſo to hide it in the Sands, after Harveſt, from the like Fears. The Wind doth ſo deface their Steps in the Sand, that their Enemies cannot find their Way. Departing from this Province, you are to travel five Days Journey through the Sands, where no other Water almoſt than that which is bitter is any where to be found, until you come to the City called *Lop*, which is a great City, from whence is the Entrance of a great Deſart, called alſo the *Wilderneſs of Lop*, ſeated between the Eaſt and the North-Eaſt. The Inhabitants are *Mohammedans*, ſubject to the Great Khan.

In the City of *Lop*, Merchants who deſire to paſs over the Deſart, cauſe all Neceſſaries to be provided for them; and when Victuals begin to fail in the Deſart, they kill their Aſſes and Camels, and eat them. They make it moſtly their Choice to uſe Camels, becauſe they are ſuſtained with little Meat, and bear great Burthens. They muſt provide Victuals for a Month to croſs it only, for to go thro' it lengthways would require a Year's Time. They go through the Sands and barren Mountains, and daily find Water; yet it is ſometimes ſo little that it will hardly ſuffice fifty or a hundred Men with their Beaſts; and in three or four Places the Water is ſalt and bitter. The reſt of the Road, for eight and twenty Days, is very good. In it there are not either Beaſts or Birds; they ſay, that there dwell many Spirits in this Wilderneſs, which cauſe great and marvellous Illuſions to Travellers, and make them periſh; for if any ſtay behind, and cannot ſee his Company, he ſhall be called by his Name, and ſo going out of the Way is loſt. In the Night they hear as it were the Noiſe of a Company; which taking to be theirs, they periſh likewiſe. Concerts of muſical Inſtruments are ſometimes heard in the Air; likewiſe Drums, and Noiſes of Armies. They go therefore cloſe together, hang Bells on their Beaſts Necks, and ſet Marks, if any ſtay [z].

Having paſſed over the Deſart, you come into the City *Sachion*, betwixt the Eaſt and North-Eaſt, ſubject to the Great Khan, in the Province of *Tangut*, where, amongſt the Worſhippers of *Mohammed*, a few *Neſtorian* Chriſtians are found; many Idolaters are alſo there, who have their proper Language. The Inhabitants of this City live not by Merchandize, but on the Fruits of the Earth. The City hath many Monaſteries, conſecrated to divers Idols, in which many Sacrifices are offered with great Reverence: And when a Son is born to a Man, he preſently commendeth him to ſome Idol, and in honour thereof nouriſheth a Sheep that Year in his Houſe, which he preſenteth before it, together with his Son, the next Feſtival Day of that Idol, with many Ceremonies, and great Reverence. Afterwards the Fleſh of the Sheep is boiled, and left ſo long before the Idol till their Prayers are finiſhed, which they make for the Conſervation of their Son; and the Idol hath, as they ſuppoſe, ſucked the Savour of the Meat; after which, all his Kindred being gathered together, eat the Fleſh at home with great Devotion and Joy, but religiouſly keep the Bones in certain Veſſels. The Prieſts have the Feet, Head, Inwards, Skin, and ſome Part of the Fleſh, for their Share.

In celebrating the Funerals of ſuch as were Men in Eſteem, the dead Bodies are buried after this Manner; the Kindred ſend for the Aſtrologers, and tell them what Year, Month, Day, and Hour he who died was born, who, having conſidered the Conſtellation, aſſign the Day when he is to be buried; ſo that when the Planet ſuits not, they preſerve the dead Body ſometimes ſeven Days, and ſometimes ſix Months, preparing a Cheſt for it at home, and joining the Sides together with ſuch Art, that no noiſome Smells iſſue forth. They alſo embalm the Body itſelf with Spices, and cover the Cheſt, fairly painted, with embroidered Cloth; and every Day that the dead Corpſe is kept at home, at the Hour of Dinner a Table is ſpread near the Cheſt, Wine and Meat ſet thereon, for the Space in which one might eat a Meal's Meat, ſuppoſing that the Soul of the dead feedeth on the Savour thereof. The Aſtrologers ſometimes forbid to carry it out of the chief Gate, pretending ſome diſaſtrous Star, and cauſe them to carry it out another Way, and ſometimes break the Wall which is oppoſite to that Place, which the Planet makes more lucky; for otherwiſe the Spirits departed would be offended, and hurt thoſe of the Houſe; and if any ſuch Evil happen, they aſcribe it to the Dead thus wronged. When the Body is carried through the City to be buried without, wooden Cottages are erected in the Way, with a Porch covered with Silk, in which they place the Body, and ſet before it Bread, Fleſh, and delicate Meats, ſuppoſing the Spirit to be refreſhed therewith, which is held to be conſtantly preſent at the burying of the Body; and when they come to the Place where the Body is to be buried, they diligently and curiouſly paint upon Papers made of the Bark of Trees the Images of Men and Women, Horſes, Camels, Money, and Garments, all the Inſtruments of the City founding, which are burned together with the dead Body; for they ſay, that dead Men ſhall have ſo many Men-ſervants, and Maid-ſervants, Cattle, and Money in another Life, as Pictures were burned with him, and ſhall perpetually live in that Honour and Riches.

12. The Province of *Camul* lieth in the wide Country of *Tangut*, ſubject to the Great Khan, having many Cities and Towns; the chief City is called *Camul*. This Province is bounded by two Deſarts, *viz.* the Great Deſart, of which we have ſpoken before, and another that is leſs, of three Days Journey. It abounds with all Things for the convenient Support of Life. The Inhabitants are Idolaters, have a peculiar Language, and ſeem to be born for no other Purpoſe but to apply themſelves to ſporting, ſinging, dancing, writing and reading, after their Faſhion, playing on Inſtruments, and giving themſelves unto Pleaſure. When any Traveller paſſing by goes into any Man's Houſe for Entertainment, the Maſter of the Family receives him with great Joy, and commands his Wife, and all the Family, that as long as he will abide with them, they obey him in all things. In the mean time he departs, and returns not ſo long as the Gueſt remains at his Houſe; and during all this Space the Stranger lies with the Wife, Daughter, and the reſt, as with his own Wives. The Women of the Country are beautiful, and ready to obey all theſe Commandments of their Huſbands, who are ſo beſotted with this Folly, that they think it a glorious thing for them, and believe it ſo acceptable to their Idols, that, through their Favour thus obtained, they proſper, and enjoy Plenty of all things. *Mangu Khan* having heard of this Folly, commanded them not to obſerve this deteſtable Cuſtom any longer, and accordingly they forbore it for about three Years; and then not ſeeing their wonted Fertility, and troubled with ſome domeſtic Croſſes, they ſent Embaſſadors to

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[z] This Deſart mentioned by our Author, ſtill retains the ſame Name in the moſt modern Maps. His Deſcriptions of this and other Wilderneſſes are very exact; and the Hardſhips he mention in paſſing through them are not at all exaggerated. It is for this Reaſon that it is ſo extremely difficult to paſs from any Part of the Dominions of the Great Mogul to *China*, without taking a prodigious Compaſs to avoid theſe Deſarts. It is not above forty Years ago ſince a certain Rajah who had incurred the Mogul's Diſpleaſure, attempted, with a Train of thirty Followers, to paſs through theſe Deſarts, in which they all periſhed by Hunger and Thirſt, except the Nobleman himſelf, and four of his Attendants, who reached the Province of *Chinſi*, where he and one of his Men died of the Fatigue a few Days after.

the Khan, and earneſtly intreated that he would revoke ſo grievous an Edict, and not aboliſh that ancient Cuſtom which they had received from their Anceſtors. The Khan anſwered, Since you deſire your Reproach and Shame, let it be granted you; go and do herein after your Wont. The Meſſengers returning with this Anſwer, brought great Joy to all the People; and this Cuſtom is obſerved by the whole Nation to this Day.

After the Province of *Camul*, a Traveller entered the Province of *Chinchintalas*, which on the North is bounded by the Deſart, and is ſixteen Days Journey in Length, ſubject to the Great Khan. It hath large Cities, and many Caſtles; the People are divided into three Sects; ſome few acknowledge Chriſt, and theſe are *Neſtorians*; others worſhip *Mohammed*; and the third Sort adore Idols. In this Province there is a Mountain, wherein are Mines of Steel, and Andanicum, and alſo, as was reported, Salamanders, of the Wool of which Cloth was made, which if caſt into the Fire, cannot be burned; but that Cloth is in reality made of Stone, in this manner, as one of my Companions, a *Turk*, named *Curiſar*, a Man indued with ſingular Induſtry, informed me, who had the Charge of the Minerals in that Province. A certain Mineral is found in that Mountain, which yields Thread not unlike to Wool; and theſe being dried in the Sun, are bruiſed in a brazen Mortar, and afterwards waſhed, and whatſoever earthy Subſtance ſticks to them is taken away. Laſtly, theſe Threads, ſo cleanſed, are ſpun like other Wool, and woven into Cloth; and when they would whiten thoſe Cloths, they caſt them into the Fire for an Hour, and then take them out unhurt whiter than Snow; after the ſame manner they cleanſe them when they have taken any Spots; for no other Waſhing is uſed to them, beſides the Fire. But with regard to the Salamander, or the Serpent, which is reported to live in the Fire, I could find nothing of ſuch a Creature in the Eaſt Countries. They ſay there is a certain Napkin at *Rome* woven of Salamander-Wool, wherein the Handkerchief of the Lord is kept wrapped up, which a certain King of the *Tartars* ſent to the Biſhop of *Rome* [h].

After you are paſt this Province, you travel on betwixt the Eaſt and North-Eaſt ten Days Journey, in which few Habitations or Things remarkable are found, and then you come to the Province *Succir*, in which are many Villages and Towns; the chief City is called *Succir*. In this Province, among many Idolaters, a few Chriſtians are found; they are ſubject to the Great Khan. They do not addict themſelves to Merchandize, but live on the Fruits of the Earth. The beſt Rhubarb is found in this Province in great Quantities, which is carried thence by Merchants to divers Parts of the World. Strangers dare not go to the Mountains where it grows, by reaſon of venomous Herbs, which if their Beaſts ſhould eat, they would loſe their Hoofs; but thoſe of that Country know and avoid them.

The general Name of this Province, and of the two following, is *Tangut*: *Campion* is a great City, the Principal in the Country of *Tangut*. In it are Chriſtians, which have three great and fair Churches; *Mohammedans* and Idolaters. The Idolaters have many Monaſteries, where they worſhip their Idols. Thoſe Idols are made either of Stone, Wood, or Clay, ſome of which are inlaid with Gold, and very artificially wrought. Some are ſo great, that they contain ten Paces in Length; faſtened to the Earth, as if they lay upright; near which little Idols are placed, which ſeem to give Reverence to the greater, and both are much worſhipped. The religious Men ſeem to live more honeſtly than other Idolaters, abſtaining from Whoredom, and other baſe things; yet Wantonneſs is not held there any grievous Sin; for they ſay, if a Woman ſues to a Man, he may uſe her without Sin; but not if he firſt ſues to her. They reckon the whole Compaſs of the Year by Moons. In the Moons they obſerve in ſome five, in others four or three Days, wherein they kill no Beaſt, or Bird, nor eat Fleſh. The Laymen marry twenty or thirty Wives, or as many as they are able to maintain; yet the firſt is accounted more worthy, and more legitimate. The Huſband receives no Dowry from the Wife, but he himſelf aſſigns ſufficient Dowry in Cattle, Servants, or Money, according to his Ability. If the Wife becomes hateful to the Huſband, it is lawful for him to divorce her from him when he pleaſes. They take for Wives, without Scruple, their Kinſwomen, or Mothers-in-Law. Our Author, together with his Father and Uncle, remained a Year in this City for the Diſpatch of certain Affairs. From the City *Campion* you proceed twelve Days Journey to the City *Ezina*, bordering on a ſandy Deſart towards the North, being ſtill in the Province or Kingdom of *Tangut*. Many Camels are there, and many other Beaſts and Animals of ſeveral kinds. The Inhabitants are Idolaters, living on the Fruits of the Earth, neglecting Merchandize, or manual Labour, other than Huſbandry. All the Provinces and Cities aforeſaid, *Sachion*, *Camul*, *Chinchintalas*, *Succair*, *Camion*, and *Ezina*, are comprehended in *Tangut*.

13. Having paſſed over the aforeſaid Deſart, you come unto the City *Careoran*, or *Caracarum*, a large Place, which is in Compaſs three Miles, ſtrongly fortified with Earth, for Stone they have none. Near it is a great Caſtle, and in it the Governor's fair Palace. This was a Place, near which in old Times the *Tartars* aſſembled themſelves, and here therefore we will declare how they began to reign. They dwelt in the North Parts, *viz.* in *Curza* and *Bargu*, where are many vaſt Plains, without Cities and Towns, but abounding in Paſtures, Rivers, and Lakes. They had not a Prince of their Nation, but paid Tribute to a certain great King, named, as I have heard in their Language, *Umcan*, which, in ſome Mens Opinion, in our Language ſignifieth *Preſbyter*, or *Prieſt John*. To him the *Tartars* gave yearly the Tenths of all their Beaſts. In Proceſs of Time the *Tartars* ſo increaſed in Multitudes, that *Umcan* was afraid of them, and thought to diſperſe them into ſeveral Parts of the World, and therefore when any of them rebelled, he ſent three or four hundred *Tartars* into thoſe Parts, ſo diminiſhing their Power; and the like he did on other Occaſions, deputing ſome of their Nobility for that Purpoſe. They ſeeing their Ruin intended, and loth to be ſeparated one from another, went from the Places where they dwelt to the Deſart towards the North, where they might be ſafe, and denied *Umcan* their accuſtomed Tribute.

It happened, that about the Year *A. D.* 1162, the *Tartars* having continued for ſome time in thoſe Parts, choſe a King among themſelves, a wiſe and valiant Man, named *Zingis-Khan*; he began to reign with ſuch Juſtice, that he was beloved and feared of all as a God rather than a Prince, inſomuch that his Fame brought all the *Tartars* in all Parts to his Subjection, and he ſeeing himſelf Lord over ſo many valiant Men, determined to leave theſe Deſarts, and commanding them to provide Bows and other Weapons, began to ſubdue Cities and Provinces, in which Conqueſts he placed ſuch juſt Governors, that the People were not diſpleaſed. The chief of them he carried along with him, beſtowing on them Proviſions and Gifts. Seeing therefore that he was advanced to ſo great Glory and Power, he ſent Embaſſadors politickly to *Umcan*, to entreat that he would beſtow his Daughter upon him to be his Wife, which he taking in very evil Part, anſwered with Indignation, and rejecting the Embaſſadors of *Zingis*, ſaid, "Doth my Servant demand my Daughter? Get ye out of my Sight, and tell your Maſter, if he ever make ſuch Demand again, I will make him die a miſerable Death."

But King *Zingis* levying a great Army, marched boldly, and encamped in a certain great Plain named *Tanduc*, ſending unto the King, and ſignifying unto him, that he ſhould defend himſelf; but he commanding a mighty Army, deſcended to the Plains, and pitched his Tent within ten Miles of the Camp of the *Tartars*. Then *Zingis* commanded his Aſtrologers to ſhew him what Event and Succeſs the Battle ſhould have. They cutting a Reed length-wiſe, in two Parts, ſtuck the Pieces by themſelves into the Ground, and wrote upon the one *Zingis*, and the other *Umcan*, and ſaid to the King, In the mean Space while we read, it ſhall come to paſs, by the Idol's Power, that theſe two Parts of the Reed ſhall fight together, and whoſe Part ſhall fall on the other, the King ſhall obtain Victory in the Battle. The Multitude therefore running together to behold that Spectacle, the Aſtrologers began to mumble their Prayers, and read their Inchantments; when preſently the Parts of the Reed being moved, fought together, until the Part of *Zingis* aſcended upon the Part of *Umcan*; which being ſeen by the *Tartars*, aſſured of the future Victory, they were encouraged to the Battle, and *Umcan* being ſlain, the Victory and Kingdom, and *Umcan's* Daughter, remained to *Zingis*.

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[h] It appears from hence, that our Author was not quite ſo credulous as ſome other Writers, who have told us very ſtrange Stories of the Salamander: But notwithſtanding what is aſſerted of that Creature's living in the Fire is equally falſe and fabulous, yet as it is a Fable generally known in all Parts of the World, we need not wonder that in the Eaſt, where the People are ſo fond of figurative Expreſſions, they ſhould beſtow the Name of Salamander's Wool on Cloth capable of reſiſting the Fire. This is plainly the ſame kind of Manufacture with what the *Greeks* call *Aſbeſtos*, of which there all ſmall Quantities ſtill found in ſeveral Countries, and of late Years, particularly in the Iſland of *Angleſey*, as I have been informed by a very curious and intelligent Gentleman, who has made ſeveral Experiments on it.

Zingis reigned ſix Years after this, in which he conquered many Provinces; and laſtly, when he endeavoured to win a certain Caſtle called *Thaigin*, and came ſomewhat too near, being ſhot in the Knee by an Arrow, he died, and was buried in the Mountain *Altai*. The firſt King of the *Tartars* was called *Zingis*, the ſecond *Khen-Khan*, the third *Bathyn-Khan*, the fourth *Eſu-Khan*, the fifth *Mangu-Khan*, the ſixth *Kublai-Khan*, whoſe Power is greater than all his Predeceſſors, having inherited theirs, and adding by Conqueſt in a manner the reſt of the World; for he lived near ſixty Years in his Government. The Name *Khan* ſignifieth Emperor. All the great *Khans* and Princes of the Blood of *Zingis* are carried to the Mountain of *Altai* to be buried, whereſoever they die, altho' one hundred Days Journey from it; and they which carry the Corpſe to the Burial kill all thoſe that they meet in the Way, ſaying, Go and ſerve our Lord the King in another Life; they kill alſo the beſt Horſes. When the Body of the Great *Khan-Mangu*, the Predeceſſor of *Khan-Kublai*, was brought unto the Mountain *Altai* to be buried, the Soldiers accompanying the Funeral are reported to have ſlain above ten thouſand Men upon the aforeſaid Occaſion[1].

The *Tartarian* Women are moſt faithful to their Huſbands. Adultery is the greateſt Shame amongſt them; yet it is accounted lawful and honeſt that every one may marry as many Wives as he is able to maintain, altho' the firſt be looked upon as principal, and more honourable than the reſt. Theſe live together in one Houſe, without one ill Word, in admirable Concord, make their Merchandizes, buy and ſell, and procure all things neceſſary to their Huſbands and Houſhold, the Men meddling with nothing but their Hunting, Hawking, and things pertaining to Arms. They have the beſt Falcons in the World, and alſo Dogs; they live only on Fleſh and Milk, and what they take in Hunting. They eat Horſes, Camels, Dogs, if fat; and drink Mares Milk, called Coſmos, ſo managed, that it is like white Wine. If the Father dies, the Son may have all his Wives, except his own Mother and Siſters; ſo the Brother being dead, it is lawful for the Brother who remaineth alive to marry the Widow of his deceaſed Brother. The Huſbands receive no Dowry of the Wives, but they themſelves aſſign Dowry to the Wives and their Mothers. Through the Multitude of their Wives, the *Tartars* have many Children; nor is this Multitude of Wives very burthenſome, ſeeing they gain much through their Labour; beſides they are very careful for the Government of the Family, and the Preparation of their Food, and with no leſs Care execute the other Duties of the Houſe; but the Men apply themſelves wholly to Hunting, Fowling, and the Exerciſe of Arms.

The *Tartars* feed many Herds of Oxen, Flocks of Sheep, and other Beaſts and Cattle, and remain with them in Places of Paſture, in the Summer Time, in the Mountains, and colder Places, where they find Paſture and Wood; but in the Winter, they remove to the hotter Countries, where they find Paſture for their Cattle, marching forwards two or three Months together. Their Houſes are covered with Sticks and Felts, and are commonly round, which they carry with them in Carts or Waggons, with four Wheels; for they can fold and extend them, ſet them up and take them down; and they turn whereſoever they go the Door of theſe moveable Houſes always to the South. They have alſo neat Carts of two Wheels, covered with Felt ſo cloſe that the Rain cannot pierce thro' them, drawn by Oxen and Camels, wherein they carry their Wives, Children, and neceſſary houſhold Stuff with them, and defend them from the Injury of foul Weather and Rain.

The *Tartars*, if they be rich, are cloathed in Sables, Ermins, and Cloth of Gold, and all their Furniture is coſtly. Their Arms are Bows, Swords, Pole-axes, and ſome Lances; but they can beſt uſe their Bows, to which they are uſed from their Childhood: They are hardy, active, brave, but ſomewhat cruel, will continue two Days and Nights on Horſeback armed, exceeding patient, and obedient to their Lords; their Cattle alſo are ſtrong and hardy. The Law and Faith of the *Tartars* is this, they ſay, that there is one Great God, Supreme in Heaven, of whom with daily Incenſe, they deſire good Underſtanding and Health. They have another which they call *Natigay*, which is a little Image covered with Felt, or ſome other thing, which every one hath in his Houſe. To this God they make a Wife and Children, placing the Wife's Image at the Left-hand, and the Repreſentations of the Children before his Face. This they call the God of earthly things, which keeps their Children, and their Beaſts, and Corn, and give it great Reverence. Before they eat themſelves, they anoint the Mouths of the Images with Fat of the ſodden Fleſh; and they caſt the Broth out of Doors, in Honour of other Spirits, ſaying, that now their God with his Family has had their Part; and after they eat and drink at Pleaſure.

If the Son of a *Tartar* die before he has been married, and the Daughter of another die alſo unmarried, the Parents of the deceaſed meet together, and celebrate a Marriage between the Dead, and making a Draught in Writing of that Contract, they paint Men and Women for Servants, Horſes, and other Creatures, with Cloaths of all Sorts, and Monies in Paper, and burn them together with the Contract; by the Smoak whereof they ſay that all theſe things are carried to their Children in another World, where they are married; and the Fathers and Mothers conceive they are joined together in ſuch a Bond of Affinity, as if theſe Marriages had been celebrated while the married Couple were ſtill living.

When the *Tartars* go to War, their Prince conducts about a hundred thouſand Horſe, appointing Heads over Tens, Hundreds, Thouſands, and ten Thouſands, by which Subordination, Commands are eaſily maintained; every Hundred is called a *Tuc*, every Ten a *Toman*: When they begin their March, they ſend out Men every Way as Scouts, that no Enemy aſſault them unprovided. Of Horſes and Mares every Man has about eighteen. They carry alſo their Felt-houſes, under which they ſhelter themſelves in Times of Rain. When there falls out ſome important Employment, they will ride ten Days together without Victuals dry or boiled, and live on the Blood of their Horſes, cutting a Vein, and ſucking it. They have Milk dried like Paſte, which they make by boiling the Milk, and ſkimming the Cream, which ſwims on the Top, into another Veſſel, and make Butter; afterwards they ſet the Milk in the Sun, and dry it, and when they go to the Army, carry with them about ten Pounds thereof, and every Morning a Man takes about half a Pound, and puts it in a

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[1] Our Author has been charged with many Miſtakes in this Liſt of the Princes who ſucceeded *Zingis-Khan*, but he has been charged by thoſe who knew much leſs of the Matter than he did; and therefore to ſet this Matter right, we will give a ſhort Account of that Succeſſion, from the authentick Work of *Abulgaſi-Bayadur-Khan*. Two Years after the Death of *Zingis-Khan*, the *Tartar* Princes, in Compliance with the Emperor's Will, would have exalted *Ugadai-Khan* to that Dignity, which he abſolutely refuſed, becauſe he had an Uncle and two elder Brothers living. This Diſpute laſted forty Days, when at a great Council his elder and younger Brother roſe up and ſaid, You have heard our Father's Will, your Modeſty ſhall not render us guilty of Impiety, we will execute his Will, if you will not; and ſo taking him, one by one Arm, and the other by the other, they forced him into the Imperial Chair againſt his Conſent, *A. D.* 1230. This Prince died ſuddenly in 1245. He was ſucceeded by his Son *Kajuk-Khan*, whom our Author ſtiles *Khen Khan*, who died in the Year 1247, and was ſucceeded by *Mangu-Khan*, who held the Empire to the Year 1257, when he was ſucceeded by *Koplai-Khan*, the ſame with whom our Author lived, and whom he calls *Kublai Khan*. He reigned in all thirty-five Years, and died in the Year 1292, which agrees very well with *Marco Polo's* Relation.

Flaſk, or Leather Bottle, with as much Water as he pleaſes, which while he rides, mixes together, and this is his Dinner.

When they encounter with their Enemies, they ride here and there ſhooting, and ſometimes make a Shew of Flight, ſhooting as they fly; and finding the Enemy broken, rejoin their Forces, and purſue the Victory, having their Horſes ſo at command, as with a Sign to turn any Way. But now the *Tartars* are mixed and confounded, and ſo are their Faſhions. They puniſh Malefactors after this Manner; if any ſteal a Thing of ſmall Value, and is not to be deprived of Life, he is ſeven Times beaten with a Cudgel, or ſeventeen, or ſeven-and-twenty, or thirty-and-ſeven, or forty-ſeven, giving the Strokes according to the Meaſure and Quality of the Offence, and that unto an hundred: Some die through theſe Strokes. But if any have ſtolen an Horſe, or other Thing, for the which he deſerves to die, he is cut aſunder with a Sword in the Middle; but if he will redeem his Life he may, by reſtoring the Theft nine-fold. Such as have Horſes, Oxen, or Camels, brand them with their Marks, and ſend them to feed in the Paſtures without a Keeper. Leaving the City of *Caracarum* and the Mountain *Altai*, we come unto the champaign Country of *Bargu*, which extends itſelf northwards about ſixty Days Journey in Length. The Inhabitants of theſe Places are called *Medites*, and they are ſubject to the Great Khan, and in Manners like the *Tartars*; they are a ſort of ſavage Men, and eat the Fleſh of Beaſts which they take by hunting, eſpecially Stags of which they have Plenty, and they make them ſo tame that they can ride them; they have no Corn or Wine. In the Summer they chiefly practiſe hunting of wild Beaſts and Fowls, on the Fleſh whereof they may live in the Winter; for in Winter Fowls as well as other living Things fly from thence on account of the Extremity of the Cold.

14. After forty Days Journey you come to the Ocean, near which is a Mountain, where Storks and fine Falcons breed, which are carried thence unto the Court of the Great Khan. Here we muſt return unto the City *Campion*; if therefore you proceed farther five Days Journey from the City *Campion* towards the Eaſt, you come to the Kingdom of *Erginul*, in the Province of *Tangut*, ſubject to the Great Khan. In this Kingdom are many Idolaters; there are ſome *Neſtorian* Chriſtians and *Turks*; as alſo many Cities and Caſtles, of which *Erginul* is chief. From hence, if you proceed farther to the South-Eaſt, you may go to the Parts of *Cathay*. Going South-Eaſt towards *Cathay*, there is a certain famous City named *Cinguy*, the Name alſo of the Province, tributary unto the Great Khan contained in *Tangut*; the People are ſome Chriſtians, ſome *Mohammedans*, and others Idolaters. There are alſo found wild Oxen, very near as big as Elephants, very fair, having white and black Hair, ſhort in other Parts, and on the Shoulder three Palms long, fine, white, and in many Reſpects beyond Silk, of which Hair our Author brought ſome to *Venice* as a rare Thing. Many alſo of theſe Oxen are tamed, and made to couple with tame Kine, and the Breed of them are fitter for Buſineſs than any other Creatures, bear great Burthens, are yoked to the Plough, and do twice as much Service as others.

The beſt Muſk in the World is found in this Province, and is taken from a Beaſt of the Bigneſs of a Goat, having Hair like a Stag, Feet and Tail like a Gazell, but without Horns. It hath four Teeth, two above and two beneath, of the Length of three Fingers, as white as Ivory, and is a very beautiful Creature. When the Moon is at full, near the Navel, under the Belly, there grows to this Beaſt an Impoſtume or Bladder, full of Blood, and at the Full Moon they go to hunt them, and take away that Swelling, which is dried in the Sun, and is the beſt Muſk; the Fleſh is alſo good to eat: Maſter *Marco* brought to *Venice* the Head and Feet of this Beaſt dried. The Men live by Merchandize and Arts, and have Abundance of Corn. They are Idolaters, of a fat Body and little Noſe, black Hair, having no Beard but four Hairs on their Chin. The Women are wonderfully fair, and when the Men deſire to marry Wives, they rather make Choice of the Beautiful than the Noble or Rich. It often happens from hence, that a great Nobleman marries a poor Wife, if beautiful, aſſigning a Dowry to her Mother. This Province extends itſelf five-and-twenty Days Journey in Length, and is very fertile; in it are exceeding large Pheaſants, having Trains eight or ten Handfuls long; many other Kinds of Birds are alſo found there, which have very beautiful Feathers of various excellent Colours [k].

After eight Days Journey further Eaſt, you meet with the Province *Egrigaia*, in the which are many Cities and Caſtles; all but this lies ſtill in *Tangut*. The principal City is called *Calacia*, the Inhabitants thereof are Idolaters; there are three Churches of *Neſtorian* Chriſtians, who are ſubject to the Great Khan. In this City Camblets are made, woven with white Wool, and the Hair of Camels, than which there are ſcarce any better in the World. Eaſt from this Province of *Egrigaia*, lies that of *Tandach*, in which are many Cities and Caſtles, and here Preſbyter *John* reſides, who now pays Tribute to the Great Khan. The King of that Nation is called *George*, and is a Prieſt and a Chriſtian, and moſt of the People are Chriſtians. All the Great Khans after his Death (who was ſlain in Battle by *Zingis*) give their Daughters to thoſe Kings to Wife. This King *George* holds not all that the Prieſt *John* before held, and is the Fourth of that Family [l]. There is a Nation there called *Argons*, more ſightly Men, and fitter for Merchandize than the reſt, deſcended of Idolaters and *Mohammedans*. There are alſo two Regions, where they dwell, which in thoſe Parts are called *Og* and *Magog*; but they which dwell there call them *Ung* and *Mongul*; in *Ung* are *Gog*, and in *Mongul* the *Tartars*. Riding Eaſt ſeven Days towards *Cathay* are many Cities peopled with Idolaters, *Mohammedans*, and *Neſtorians*. There is one City called *Sindicin*, where very excellent Arms are made of divers ſorts fit for Armies. In the Mountains of this Province are great Mines of Silver, and much Game, and the Country of the Mountains is called *Idifa*.

Three Days Journey from the City laſt mentioned ſtands another City *Jangamur*, that is, *The White Lake*, where there is a Palace, in which the Great Khan delights, becauſe there are many Lakes and Rivers, many Swans, and in the Plains, Cranes, Pheaſants, Partridges, and other Fowls. There are five Sorts of Cranes there, ſome have black Wings like Crows, others are white and bright, having their Feathers full of Eyes like Peacocks, but of a golden Colour, the Neck black and white, very beautiful; a third ſort for Bigneſs not unlike ours; a fourth little, and very fair, intermingled with red and blue Colours; the fifth of a grizzle, or grey Colour, having red and black Heads, and theſe are very large; and near to this City lies a Valley, where are many Cottages, in which a great Number of Partridges are maintained, which are kept againſt the King's coming to lodge there for ſome Time. Three Days Journey North-Eaſtward, is the City *Ciandu*, which the Great Khan *Kublay* now reigning built, erecting therein a marvellous Palace of Marble, and other Stones, which extends to the Wall on the one Side, and the Middle of the City on the other. He included ſixteen Miles within the Circuit of the Wall on that Side where the Palace joins the City Wall, into which none can enter but by the Palace. In this Incloſure or Park are pleaſant Meadows, Springs, Rivers, red and fallow Deer, Fawns carried thither for the Hawks, of which are mewed there about two hundred Ger-Falcons, which he goes once a week to ſee; and he often uſeth one Leopard or more, ſitting on Horſes, with which he hunts the Stag and Deer, and having taken the beſt, gives it to the Ger-Falcons, and in beholding this

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[k] This Account of the Muſk Animal is very exact, and contains nothing in it liable to Exception, which ſhews that where our Author relates Things of his own Knowledge, and which fall within the Compaſs of his Underſtanding, he may very well be relied on.

[l] There is the ſame Miſtake here, as in the Relation of *Rubruquis*. The People in *Europe* were extremely deſirous of learning ſome News of this Chriſtian Monarch, as they would needs have him to be; and therefore when our Author heard that this Prince was a *Neſtorian*, he took it for granted that he muſt be Preſbyter *John*; but as we have already ſet that Matter in a clear Light, we ſhall not trouble the Reader any further with it at preſent.

Spectacle, he takes much Delight. In the midſt of a fair Wood he hath built a Royal Houſe on Pillars gilded and varniſhed, on every one of which is a Dragon all gilt, which winds his Tail about the Pillar, with his Head bearing up the Roof, as alſo with his Wings diſplayed on both Sides; the Cover alſo is of Reeds gilt and varniſhed, ſo that the Rain can do it no Injury, the Reeds being three Handfuls thick, and ten Yards long, ſplit from Knot to Knot; the Houſe itſelf alſo may be pulled in Pieces, and taken down like a Tent, and erected again; for it is ſuſtained, when it is ſet up, with two hundred ſilken Cords. The Great Khan uſeth to dwell there three Months in the Year, *viz. June*, *July*, and *Auguſt*. On the twenty-eighth Day of *Auguſt* he departeth to make a ſolemn Sacrifice. He hath an Herd of white Horſes and white Mares, about ten thouſand, of the Milk whereof none may drink, except he be of the Imperial Race of *Zingis-Khan*, and except one Family called *Boriat*, who had this granted by *Zingis* for their Valour; and theſe Beaſts, as they go up and down feeding, are much reverenced, nor dare any go before them, or hinder them in their Way.

The Aſtrologers or Sorcerers tell the Khan, that on the twentieth of the Moon of *Auguſt*, he ſhall diſperſe that Milk here and there for the Honour of all Spirits, and his Idols, that they may be careful Preſervers of all Things which he poſſeſſes. There are two ſorts of Idolaters called *Chebeth* and *Cheſmu*, which in the midſt of Storms aſcend the Palace, and ſuffer no Rain to fall thereon, which they make the People believe comes to paſs by their Sanctity, and therefore they go ſlovenly and negligent of their Perſons, never waſhing nor combing themſelves. They alſo have a horrible Cuſtom to dreſs and eat ſuch as are condemned to Death, but not thoſe which die naturally. They are called alſo *Backſi*, which is the Name of their Order, as Friars Predicants or Minors with us; they ſeem by Magick to do what they liſt. When the Great Khan in his Hall ſits at his Table, it is raiſed eight Yards high; and in the midſt of the Hall, a good Diſtance from the Table, is a great Cupboard of Plate, from whence theſe Sorcerers cauſe Wine or Milk to fill the Goblets, without any Hand touching them; this they do in the Preſence of any Man, whenever their Lord commands it. Theſe *Bachſi* alſo, when they have a mind to make Feaſts to their Idols, go to the Khan, and addreſs him thus, "Sir, You are to know that if our Idols be not honoured with Sacrifices, they will bring Plagues on Corn and Beaſts, and therefore we intreat you to give us the Fleſh of ſo many Sheep, with black Heads, and ſo many Pounds of Incenſe, and Lignum Aloes, that we may make them due Sacrifice and Honour." This they ſpake not to him themſelves, but by certain Lords deputed to that Office, who ſpeak to the Khan, and obtain it. On the Feaſt-day they ſacrifice theſe Beaſts, and ſprinkle the Broth before the Idols.

They have great Monaſteries, ſome of the Bigneſs of a City, in ſeveral of which are about two thouſand Monks, who ſerve an Idol ſequeſtrated from the Laity, as appears by their Shaving and Garments; for they ſhave their Heads and Beards, and wear a religious Garment. Theſe, in the Solemnities of their Idols, ſing with ſolemn Songs, and Lights; ſome of them may marry. There are ſome who obſerve ſtrict Abſtinence, called *Senſim*, leading an auſtere Life; for they eat nothing but Meal mingled with Water, till all the Flour be gone, and eat the Bran without any Savour. Theſe worſhip the Fire; and the Men of other Rules ſay, that theſe, which are ſo auſtere, are Hereticks againſt their Law, becauſe they worſhip not Idols as they do; and there are great Differences between them, and theſe marry not at all. They ſhave their Head and Beard, wear black hempen Garments, or of a bright yellow. They ſleep on thick Mats, and live the ſevereſt Life in the World

15. In this Book I purpoſe to write all the great and marvellous Acts of the preſent *Khan* called *Cublai-Khan*, which is, if expreſſed in our Tongue, Lord of Lords, the greateſt Prince in People, Cities, and Treaſures, that ever was in the World, he being deſcended from the Progeny of *Zingis*, the firſt Prince of the *Tartars*, the ſixth Emperor of that Country, beginning to reign in the Year of our Lord 1256, being *twenty-ſeven Years old*[m], and ruling the People with great Wiſdom and Gravity. He is a valiant Man, exerciſed in Arms, ſtrong of Body, and of a lofty Mind, for the Performance of Matters before he attained to the Dignity of the Empire, which by his Wiſdom he did, againſt the Will of his Brethren. He often ſhewed himſelf a valiant Soldier in the Wars, and carried himſelf like a wiſer and bolder Captain than ever the *Tartars* had; yet ſince he ſwayed the Kingdom, he went but once into the Field, and ſends his Sons and other Captains on Expeditions.

In the Year of our Lord 1286, his Uncle, whoſe Name was *Naiam*, being thirty Years of Age, and having the Command of many People and Countries, ſo that he was able eaſily to bring together four hundred thouſand Horſe, being puffed up through youthful Vanity, would no longer be ſubject, but would needs take away the Kingdom from his Lord *Cublai*, and ſent to another great Lord named *Caydu*, Lord of the Parts towards Great *Turky*, who was Nephew of the Emperor *Cublai*, yet hated him, who yielding to his Motion for Rebellion, promiſed to come in Perſon with an hundred thouſand Horſe.

Both of them began to gather Forces, which could not be done ſo ſecretly but *Cublai* heard of it, and preſently took order to ſet Guards on the Ways, that no Intelligence might paſs, and then aſſembled all the Forces, within ten Days Journey of *Cambalu*, with great Speed, ſo that in twenty Days were gathered together three hundred and ſixty thouſand Horſe, and one hundred thouſand Foot, a great Part of them Falconers, and Men of his Houſhold; with theſe he made Haſte Day and Night towards *Naiam*'s Country, where, at the End of twenty-five Days he arrived, altogether unlooked for, and reſted his Men two Days; then he called his Aſtrologers, and cauſed them, before all the Army, to divine who ſhould have Victory; a thing they uſe to encourage their Men, and they promiſed it to *Cublai*. One Morning whilſt *Naiam* was ſleeping negligently in his Tent, having not ſo much as ſent out any Scouts to gain Intelligence, *Cublai* made ſhew of his Army upon a Hill, himſelf ſat in a certain Caſtle of Wood, full of Archers and Croſs-bow Men, borne by four Elephants, on the Top whereof was the royal Standard, with the Images of the Sun and Moon. He divided his Army into three Bodies, of which he ſent that on the Right-hand, and the other on the Left againſt *Naiam*'s Army. To every ten thouſand Horſe were aſſigned five hundred Foot, with Lances, taught to leap up behind the Horſemen, if any Occaſion of Flight happened, and ſuddenly, on Advantage, to light and kill the Enemies Horſes with their Lances: *Caydu* was not yet come.

The Battles joined, and made a cruel Fight, which continued from Morning till Noon, and then was *Naiam* taken and brought before *Cublai*, who commanded that he ſhould be ſewed betwixt two Carpets, which ſhould be toſſed up and down till the Breath was out of his Body, that ſo the Imperial Blood might not be expoſed to the Sun or to the Air. The Remainder of his People ſware Obedience to *Cublai*, which were four Nations, *Ciazza*, *Carli*, *Barſcol*, and *Sitinqui*. *Naiam* was ſecretly baptized, and by Profeſſion a Chriſtian, but no Follower of the Works of Faith, yet he ſigned his principal Enſign with the

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[m] The Year of this Emperor's Age, at the Time of his Acceſſion, is put in a different Character, becauſe none of the MSS. have it at all, and it is alſo omitted in ſeveral of the printed Editions; we cannot therefore fairly charge the Author with the Miſtake in it, which conſiſts of ten Years, that Prince at the Time of his Acceſſion being thirty-ſeven Years old, or rather in the thirty eighth Year of his Age. There ſeems alſo to be an Error in the Year of his Reign, but that is eaſily corrected, ſince, as that Prince was raiſed to the Imperial Dignity in the Month of *January*, *Marco Polo*, who reckons according to the *Tartar* Year, places it in 1256, whereas we, computing from the beginning of the Month of *January*, make it 1257. The genealogical Hiſtory of the *Tartars* informs us of the breaking-out of a civil War upon the Election of this Emperor, though it gives us ſomewhat a different Account of the Concluſion of it, in which our Author might be eaſily miſtaken, ſince he owns what he delivers was from Hearſay. However, the Exactneſs as to Dates is truly wonderful, ſince in the Compaſs of one hundred Years after theſe Travels were publiſhed, we had no authentic Hiſtory of the *Tartars* in *Europe*, and conſequently neither *Marco Polo*, nor his Editors, could have any Opportunity of correcting their Accounts, ſo as to make them correſpond with the genealogical Hiſtory before-mentioned. This Remark is an invincible Proof of our Author's Veracity, and of the Value of his Work.

Sign of the Croſs, having with him infinite Numbers of Chriſtians, who were all ſlain.

The *Jews* and *Saracens* that were in the Army of *Cublai*, began to upbraid the Chriſtians with this Diſaſter of the Croſs, who complained of it to *Cublai*; he ſharply reproved the *Jews* and *Saracens* for this Behaviour, and then turning to the Chriſtians, he ſaid, "Surely, your God and " his Croſs would not give any Aid to *Naiam*; but be " not you therefore aſhamed, becauſe God being good " and juſt ought not to defend Injuſtice or Iniquity. " *Naiam* was a Traitor to his Lord, and contrary to " all Equity raiſed Rebellion, and ſought the Help of " your God in his miſchievous Purpoſe; but he, as a " good and upright God, would not favour his Deſigns."

He returned after this with great Triumph to *Cambalu*, and ſtaid there till *Eaſter*. On that Day he called the Chriſtians before him, and kiſſed their Goſpels, and made his Barons do the ſame. He does the like on the great Feaſts of the *Saracens*, *Jews*, and *Heathens*, that *Sego-mamber-Khan*, the God of the Idols, *Mohammed*, *Moſes*, or whoſoever is greateſt in Heaven, might help him; yet he made beſt ſhew of liking to the Chriſtian Faith, but pretended the Ignorance of the *Neſtorian* Prieſts, and the mighty Acts of the Sorcerers, hindered his profeſſing it.

For the better rewarding his Soldiers he kept twelve Barons or Counſellors, who gave him Notice of each Captain's Merit; and accordingly he raiſed them from the command of one hundred to a thouſand, and from one thouſand to ten thouſand, and ſo on, giving them Veſſels of Plate and Tablets. The Captain of one hundred hath a Tablet of Silver; and the Captain of a thouſand, of Gold or Silver gilded; the Captain of ten thouſand has a Tablet of Gold, and a Lyon's Head on it. The Weight of the Tablets differs alſo according to the Dignity. On the ſaid Tablet is written a Command in this Manner: "By the Strength " and Power of the Great God, and by the Grace which " he hath given to our Empire, the Name of Khan be " bleſſed, and let them all die and be deſtroyed which " will not obey him." All Officers who have theſe Tablets have Privileges in Writing of all things, which they are to do and demand; and the Generals when they ride in publick, have a Cloth borne over their Heads, and when they ſit, it is on a Chair of Silver. Their Tablet is of three hundred Sagi, which is equal to fifty Ounces of Gold, with the Images of the Sun and Moon; ſuch as have a Tablet with a Ger-Falcon thereon, may take with them for their Guard the whole Army of a great Commander. *Cublai* is a comely handſome Man, of middle Stature, of a very freſh Complexion, black and bright Eyes, well-faſhioned Noſe, and all the Lineaments of his Body conſiſting of due Proportion. He has four Wives, who are eſteemed lawful, and the firſt born of them is to ſucceed him in the Kingdom, and every one of them is called Empreſs, and holdeth a peculiar Court, and that in a magnificent Palace, having about three hundred Women to attend her, and many Eunuchs Servants, and at leaſt ten thouſand Perſons in their Families.

The Grand Khan hath alſo many Concubines. There is likewiſe a Nation of fair People among the *Tartars* called *Virgut*, where every ſecond Year he ſends Embaſſadors to make ſearch for the faireſt young Women for him; who returning, bring him four or five hundred more or leſs, as they ſee Cauſe. There are Examiners appointed to take a View of all their Beauties, examining Eyes, Noſe, Mouth, *&c.* apart, and ſet a Price on them at ſixteen, ſeventeen, eighteen, nineteen, twenty, or more Carats, and they bring thoſe of that Rate which their Commiſſion appoints; theſe he cauſes to be received by other Examiners, and of ſo many perhaps chuſes thirty of the chief for his Chamber, which he puts to ſome of his Barons Wives to ſee if they ſnore not in their Sleep, if in Smell or Behaviour they be not offenſive; thoſe which are approved are by Fives divided, each fifth Part waiting three Days and Nights in his Chamber by courſe, the other in the next Lodgings preparing whatſoever theſe command them. The leſs prized are put to Cookery and other Offices; and ſometimes the Khan beſtows them on Gentlemen, with great Portions. The Men of that Country eſteem it a Grace and Credit to have Daughters worthy his Liking; and think themſelves born under an ill Planet if they are not kept when ſent to Court.

Cublai had two-and-twenty Sons by his four legitimate Wives, and the Firſt-born of his firſt Wife was called *Zingis*, who would have ſucceeded him in the Empire if he had not died before his Father. He left a Son named *Timur*, a valiant Man, wiſe, and experienced in Arms, who is to ſucceed his Grandfather in the Empire, inſtead of his deceaſed Father; but by his Concubines he hath five-and-twenty Sons, all which are daily exerciſed in Feats of Arms, and are great Lords; ſeven of his Sons by his Wives are Kings of great Provinces, and maintain their States with great Reputation.

16. Three Months of the Year, that is, *December*, *January*, and *February*, *Cublai* reſides ordinarily in *Cambalu* [a], which is at the North-Eaſt Border of *Cathay*; and there, on the South Part by the new City, is ſeated a great Palace; firſt there is a great Wall, each Square being eight Miles, with a deep Ditch environing, and a Gate in the Middle of each; after which is the Space of a Mile in Circuit, where Soldiers ſtand; after this is another Court of ſix Miles ſquare, with three Gates on the South-ſquare, and three on the North; that which is in the midſt being in both the greater, and kept ſhut, except when the Khan paſſeth that Way; the other is always open to others; in each Corner of this Wall, and in the midſt is a fair Palace, eight in all, very large, in which are kept the Khan's Ammunitions, and Furniture of all Sorts; Horſes in one; in another Bows and Shooting Artillery; in a third, Caſtlets, Cuiraſſes, and Leather Armour; and ſo in the reſt.

Within this Circuit is another Walk like the former, very thick and ten Paces high, all the Battlements white, the Walls ſquare, each Square a Mile in Length, with ſix Gates as the former, and eight Palaces alſo very large, wherein are the Khan's Proviſions; between theſe two laſt Walls are alſo many fair Trees and Meadows, in which are Deer with other Game, and Store of Graſs, the Paths being raiſed two Cubits to ſpare it; no Dirt or Puddles of Water being therein. Within this laſt Wall is the Palace of the Great Khan, the greateſt that hath been ſeen, extending to the Wall on the North and South, and open where the Barons and Soldiers paſs. It hath no Cieling, but a very high Roof; the Foundation of the Pavement ten Palms high, with a Wall of Marble round about it two Paces wide, as it were a Walk. At the End of the Wall without, is a fair Turret with Pillars. In the Walls of the Halls and Chambers are carved Dragons, Soldiers, Birds, Beaſts of divers kinds, Hiſtories of Wars gilded; the Roof is ſo made that nothing is ſeen but Gold and Imagery; in every Square of the Palace is a great Hall, capable of holding a Multitude of People; the Chambers are diſpoſed the beſt that may be deviſed: The Roof is red, green, azure, and of all Colours. Behind the Palace are great Rooms and private Store-houſes for his Treaſure and Jewels, for his Women, and other private Purpoſes.

Over-againſt the ſaid Palace of the Khan is another for *Zingis* his Son, whoſe Court was in all Things like his Father's. Near this Palace towards the North is a Mount made by Hand, a Mile in Compaſs, one hundred Paces high, adorned with Trees that are always green; unto this Mountain the King commands all the Trees to be brought from remote Parts, lading Elephants with them, for they are taken up with the Roots, and are tranſplanted in this Mountain; and becauſe this Mountain is always green, it is called the *Green Mountain*: And where the Earth of the Mount was taken away, are two Lakes anſwering each other, with a ſmall River ſupplying them with ſtored Fiſh, and ſo grated that the Fiſh cannot get out.

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[a] There have been large Diſſertations written upon this Deſcription of our Author, and great Diſputes about the City here deſcribed; ſome will have it one Place, ſome another, becauſe it is a *Tartar* Appellation; and modern Writers ſpeak of this City by another Name. We have not either Time or Room to waſte in this Controverſy; and therefore we ſhall cut it ſhort. *Marco Polo* wrote by the Ear chiefly, and therefore ſet down *Cambalu* for *Khan-balick*, i. e. the Imperial City; and it is allowed, that *Khan-balick*, is the City of *Peking*, the preſent Metropolis of *China*, of which we ſhall hereafter have Occaſion to ſpeak at large in another Place; and ſhall therein take an Opportunity of juſtifying the Accounts given us in the Text by *Marco Polo*.

The City of *Cambalu* in the Province of *Cathay*, ſeated on a great River, was famous, and the Royal Seat in ancient Times; and this Name *Cambalu* ſignifies the City of the Lord or Prince. This City the Great Khan removed to the other Side of the River where the Palaces are, for he underſtood by the Aſtrologers that it would rebel againſt the Empire. This new-built City is called *Taidu*, and he commanded all the *Cathayans* to go out of the Old City into the New; which contains in Compaſs four-and-twenty Miles, every Side of the Square containing ſix Miles. It hath Walls of Earth ten Paces thick at the Bottom, and at the Top but three, as growing by little and little thinner. The Battlements are white; every Square of the Wall hath three principal Gates, which are twelve in all, having ſumptuous Palaces built over them. There are alſo certain Pavilions in the Angles of the Walls where the Arms of the Garriſon, which are one thouſand at each Gate, are kept. The Buildings are ſquared, and the Streets laid very ſtrait by Line throughout the City; ſo that from one Gate a free Proſpect opens throughout the City to the oppoſite Gate; having very ſtately Houſes built on both Sides like Palaces, with Gardens and Courts, divided according to the Heads of Families: In the midſt of the City is a certain noble Building, wherein hangeth a very great Bell; after the tolling whereof in the Night, no Man muſt go out of his Houſe until the Beginning of the Day following, except it be for ſome extraordinary Cauſe, as for a Woman in Travail, and then they are compelled to carry Lights with them.

Without the City of *Cambalu* are twelve large Suburbs three or four Miles long, adjoining to each of the twelve Gates, more inhabiting in the Suburbs than in the City; here Merchants and Strangers live, each Nation having ſeveral Store-houſes, or Burſes, in which they lodge. No dead Corpſe of any Man is burned within this City, but the Bodies of Idolaters are burned without the Suburbs, where the dead Bodies of other Sects are buried; and becauſe an huge Multitude of *Saracens* inhabit there they have above twenty-five thouſand Harlots in the Suburbs and in the City; and theſe have a chief Captain appointed over every hundred and thouſand, and one General, whoſe Office is, that when Embaſſadors come, or ſuch as have Buſineſs with the Khan, whoſe Charges he defrays, then this Captain giveth every Embaſſador, and every Man of his Family, a Change of Women every Night at Free-coſt, for this is their Tribute. The Guards, every Night, carry ſuch to Priſon whom they find walking late; and if they be found guilty, they are beaten with Cudgels, for the *Bachſi* tell them, that it is not good to ſhed Man's Blood; but many die of theſe Beatings. The Great Khan hath in his Court twelve thouſand Horſe-men, which they call *Caſitan*, faithful Soldiers of their Lord, who guard his Perſon, more for State than Fear; and four Captains have the Charge of theſe, whereof every one commandeth three thouſand. When one Captain, with three thouſand Soldiers within the Palace, hath guarded the King for three Days and Nights, another Captain with his Soldiers ſucceeds; and ſo, throughout the Year, this Courſe of watching by Turns is obſerved [o].

When on account of any feſtival Day he keeps a ſolemn Court, his Table, which is higher than the reſt of the Tables, is ſet at the North Part of the Hall, his Face is to the South, having the firſt Queen on his Left-hand, that is, his principal Wife; and his Sons and Nephews, and thoſe of the Royal Blood, on his Right; yet their Table is in a lower Place, ſo that they ſcarce touch the King's Feet with their Heads, the Seat of the eldeſt being higher than the reſt; the Princes ſit in a lower Place than that; their Wives alſo obſerve the like Order: Firſt, the Khan's Sons Wives and his Kinſmen ſit lower on the Left-hand, and after thoſe of the Lords, and of every Captain and Nobleman, each in their Degree and Order; and the Emperor himſelf, while he ſits at his Table, may caſt his Eyes upon all that feaſt with him in that Hall. There are not Tables for them all to ſit; but the greateſt Part of the Soldiers and Barons eat on Carpets. At all the Doors ſtand two gigantick Fellows with Cudgels, to ſee that none touch the Threſhold, which, if he does, they take his Garments away, which he muſt redeem by receiving ſo many Blows as ſhall be appointed, or elſe loſe them. They who ſerve the King, and thoſe ſitting at the Table, all of them cover their Mouths with Silk, leſt their breathing ſhould by any means touch the King's Meat or Drink: And when he hath a Mind to drink, the Damſel who giveth it goes back three Paces and kneels down, and then the Barons and all the People kneel, and the Muſicians ſound their Inſtruments. There is no Cauſe, ſince I would avoid Prolixity, why I ſhould write any thing concerning the Meats which are brought to the Table, how dainty and delicate they are, and with what Magnificence and Pomp they are ſerved in.

All the *Tartars* obſerve this Cuſtom, to celebrate the Birth-day of their Lord moſt honourably. The Birth-day of *Cublai* is kept the twenty-eighth of *September*, and this Day he accounteth more ſolemn than any in the whole Year, except the firſt of *February*, on which they begin the Year. The King therefore, on his Birth-day, is clothed in a moſt precious Garment of Gold, and about two thouſand Barons and Soldiers are clothed in the ſame Colour of Gold, though of Silk Stuff, and a Girdle wrought in Gold and Silver, which is given them, with a Pair of Shoes. Some wear Pearls and Garments of great Price, who are next to the Khan; and theſe Garments are not worn but on thirteen ſolemn Feaſts, according to the thirteen Moons of the Year; all are then clothed like Kings. This Cuſtom is alſo obſerved by the *Tartars*, that on the Birth-day of the Great Khan, all the Kings, Princes, and Nobles, who are ſubject to his Dominions, ſhould ſend Preſents unto him, as to their Emperor; and they who deſire to attain any Place of Dignity or Office of him, offer their Petitions unto twelve Barons appointed for that Purpoſe; and what they decree is all one as if the Emperor himſelf had anſwered them. All People alſo, of what Faith or Sect ſoever, whether *Chriſtians* or *Jews*, *Saracens* or *Tartars*, and *Pagans*, are bound ſolemnly to call upon their Gods, for the Life, Safety, and Proſperity of the Great Khan [p].

On the Firſt of *February*, which is the Beginning of the *Tartar* Year, the Great Khan, and all the *Tartars*, whereſoever they are, celebrate a very ſolemn Feaſt, and all, as well Men as Women, deſire to be clothed in white Garments as a Token of good Luck; therefore, that Fortune may favour them all the Year, they wear white at the Beginning thereof. The Rulers of Cities, and Governors of Provinces, mindful of their Duty, ſend unto their Emperor this Day Preſents of Gold and Silver, Pearls and precious Stones, many white Cloths, and other white Things, and many Horſes of a white Colour. The reſt of the *Tartars*, at the Beginning of the Year, ſend white Preſents one to another. It is the Cuſtom of thoſe who bring Preſents, if they can, of each to preſent nine Times nine; as, if they ſend Horſes, to preſent nine Nines, that is eighty-one; and ſo of Gold, of Cloths, and other Things; that ſometimes he hath, by this Reckoning, one hundred thouſand Horſes. Alſo, at this happy Seaſon, all the Elephants which the Emperor hath (five thouſand in Number) are brought unto the Court, covered with Tapeſtry, the Similitudes of divers Beaſts and Fowls being pourtrayed thereon, carrying upon their Shoulders Cheſts full of Gold and Silver Veſſels; many Camels are alſo brought, covered with fine ſilken Cloths, which bring other Things neceſſary for the Court.

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[o] This Method of poſting Guards and relieving them, was extremely ancient in the Eaſt, as appears from the Accounts given us by the *Greek* Writers of the Oeconomy in this reſpect of the *Perſian* Emperors; and it is ſtill practiſed by almoſt all the *Tartar* Princes, and particularly by the Great Mogul, as we ſhall have Occaſion to ſhew in the ſecond Volume.

[p] This Account agrees exactly with what is related from Authors of good Credit in Dr. *Hyde*'s moſt learned Treatiſe of the Religion of the ancient *Perſians*, with reſpect to the Ceremonies obſerved on the Birth-day of the Emperor, and at the Beginning of the new Year. Indeed the Conformity is ſo great, that one might be tempted to believe there is a nearer Relation between the *Tartars* and the ancient *Perſians* than is commonly imagined; and I muſt confeſs, that I cannot, for my own Part, help thinking that the Religion of the *Tartars* is very nearly the ſame with that of the old *Perſians*, that is to ſay, I apprehend the Lamas of the one correſpond with the Magi among the others.

On this Day, in the Morning, all the King's Captains, Barons, Soldiers, Phyſicians, Aſtrologers, and Governors of Provinces and Armies, and other Officers of the Empire, aſſemble in the great Hall before the King, and they who happen to have no Place there, for the Multitude ſtand in another Place, where they may ſee them, all being placed in their Order and Degree. One riſeth, who is amongſt their Clergy as a Prelate, and crieth with a loud Voice, *Bow down and adore*, and preſently all do Reverence, bending down their Foreheads to the Earth; then he ſaith, *God preſerve our Lord with long Life and Joy*; and all anſwer, *God grant*; then he ſaith, *God increaſe and advance his Empire, and preſerve his Subjects in Peace, Concord, and Proſperity*; and all anſwer, *God grant*; and this they do four Times; then the Adoration being finiſhed, the ſame Prelate goes to an Altar, richly adorned, on which is a red Table, whereon is written the Name of the Khan; and taking a Cenſer, and putting Spices therein, they perfume the Table and the Altar with great Reverence, in Honour of the Great Khan, and ſo return to their Places; after which are offered the Gifts of which we have ſpoken; and then the Tables are prepared, and a moſt ſolemn Dinner held, eating and drinking with great Joy with their Wives, in manner before deſcribed. And laſtly a tame Lion is brought to the King, which, lying at his Feet like a gentle Whelp, acknowledgeth and careſſes his Lord.

In thoſe three Months in which we ſaid before the Emperor reſides in the City of *Cambalu*, *viz.* in *December*, *January*, and *February*, all the Hunters which the Emperor hath in all his Provinces round about the Province of *Cathay*, apply themſelves to hunting, and bring all the larger wild Beaſts, ſuch as Stags, Bears, Roe-Bucks, Wild Boars, and Deer, to their Governors; who if they be diſtant from the Emperor's Court leſs than thirty Days Journey, ſend ſuch Beaſts as are taken by Waggons or Ships to the Emperor; having firſt bowelled them: But ſuch as are forty Days diſtant from his Court, ſend only the Skins, which are neceſſary for making of Armour. He hath many Leopards and Wolves for hunting, and many Lions alſo greater than thoſe which are in *Babylon*, in the Hair whereof certain little Beams appear of divers Colours, *viz.* white, black, and red, and they are bred to catch Bears, Boars, Stags, Roe-Bucks, wild Aſſes, and wild Oxen, and it is marvellous to ſee the Lion's Fierceneſs and Dexterity in this ſort of Hunting; two Lions are commonly carried in one Waggon when they go to hunt, and with them a Dog, with which they are tamed; and they carry them in this Faſhion becauſe of their Fury and Unrulineſs; and they muſt carry them contrary to the Wind, for elſe the Beaſts would ſcent them and flee. He hath alſo many tame Eagles, which are ſo taught, that they take Hares, Roe-Bucks, Deer, and Foxes; among which ſome of them fear not to ſeize upon Wolves, and vex them ſo grievouſly, that without Labour and Danger they may be taken by them.

The Khan hath in his Court two which are Brethren, one called *Boyan*, the other *Mingan*; called in the *Tartar* Language *Ciurco*, that is, Maſters of the Game; each of them hath the Command of ten thouſand Men: They which are under one of them are cloathed in Red; the others in Sky Colour; when they hunt, theſe keep diverſe Sorts of Dogs, to the Number of five thouſand Maſtiffs and others. In hunting they go with their People one on the Right-hand, and the other on the Left; and the King and they take up ſo great a Length of the Plain, that from one End to the other is a Day's Journey, ſo that no Beaſt can eſcape them; and it is great Pleaſure when the Khan goes in the midſt to ſee the Dogs follow Hares, Bears, and all other wild Beaſts. Theſe Brethren are bound by Covenant from the Beginning of *October* to the End of *March* to bring to the Court one thouſand Head of Beaſts and Birds, beſides Quails and Fiſhes, the beſt they can, in ſuch Proportion.

17. The Month of *March* coming in the Great Khan departeth from the City of *Cambalu*, and proceedeth North-eaſtward towards the Ocean, diſtant thence two Days Journey, bringing with him about ten thouſand Falconers, who have Falcons, Hawks, Ger-Falcons, and other kind of Fowls of Prey, fit for Hawking. Theſe Falcons diſperſe themſelves by an hundred or two hundred in a Company, and the Birds that are taken for the moſt Part are brought unto the King, who by reaſon of his Gout, ſitteth in a wooden Houſe, which two Elephants carry, covered with the Skins of Lions, and within hung with Cloth of Gold, having with him for his Recreation twelve choice Hawks, and twelve Courtiers; many Noblemen and Soldiers ride by, who guard the King's Perſon, who when they ſee Pheaſants or Cranes, or other Birds flying in the Air, ſpeak to the Falconers, who are near the King, and they ſignify the ſame unto the King, uncover the King's Houſe, and let their Falcons and Hawks fly, and the King ſitting on his Bed beholds the Paſtime of the Birds. Other ten thouſand Men go alſo with the King, who in that Hawking run hither and thither by two and two, and mark whither the Falcon and Hawks fly that are caſt from the Fiſt, that if need be they may help them, and theſe in the *Tartar* Language are called *Toſcaol*, that is to ſay, Watchmen, or Markſmen, being ſkilful in a certain kind of Whiſtle, wherewith they call in the Hawks that are flown; nor is it needful that the Falconer, who let the Hawks fly, ſhould follow them, ſeeing thoſe of whom I now ſpeak are buſily employed in taking up the Hawks, and are careful that by no means they are hurt or loſt; and every flying Hawk carrieth a little Table of Silver on her Foot, ſigned with the Mark of her Maſter, or Falconer, that if ſhe be loſt ſhe may be reſtored to her Owner[q].

But if the Mark cannot be known the Hawk is delivered to a certain Baron, who for this Cauſe is called *Bulangazi*, to whom are brought all loſt Things (otherwiſe the Finder would be puniſhed as a Thief) and to him Loſers reſort to enquire of Things loſt. He hath a moſt eminent Place noted by his Enſign, that in ſo great an Aſſembly of People he may always be known. While they are thus buſied in Sporting and Hawking they come into a certain great Plain called *Carzarmodin*, where the Tents of the King, and all the Courtiers are prepared, about ten thouſand in Number.

The firſt is the Khan's Pavilion, under which ten thouſand Soldiers ſtand, beſides Barons and Noblemen, with the Door to the South, ſuſtained by three Pillars, wrought with curious and excellent carved Work, and covered with the Skins of Lions, and other wild Beaſts, which keep out Rain; But within the Walls of the Pavilion are covered with moſt coſtly Skins of Ermines and Sables, although in thoſe Countries theſe Skins are accounted moſt precious, ſo that ſometimes Skins worth two thouſand Sultanines of Gold are ſcarce ſufficient for one Pair of Veſts. The *Tartars* call the Sable the *Queen* of *Furs*; the Cords wherewith theſe Pavilions are ſupported are of Silk. There are alſo other Pavilions erected, wherein the Wives, Sons, and Concubines of the King remain. Further alſo the Falcons, Hawks, Ger-Falcons, and other Birds, which ſerve for Hawking, have their Tents; for there is ſo great a Multitude of Tents, that to them that come thither it ſeems at a Diſtance as if a famous City was built there.

The King remains all *March* in that Plain, and takes innumerable Beaſts, and infinite Multitudes of Fowl; for no Man may in this time hunt in all the Provinces of that Kingdom, at the leaſt within five Days Journey one Way, ten another, and fifteen a third Way, of the Khan's Court, nor keep an hunting Dog or an Hawk from the Beginning of *March* until the Month of *October*. No Man is permitted to uſe any Device or Engine whatſoever to take Stags, Deer, Roe-Bucks, or Hares, leſt he ſhould hinder their Breed; and hence it is, that there is ſuch Plenty of Game. It is incredible what Multitudes of People, Merchants, and Merchandizes of all ſorts are ſeen in *Cambalu.* The Money of the Great Khan is not made of Gold, or Silver, or other Metal; but they take the middle Bark from the Mulberry tree, and this they make firm, and cut into divers round Pieces, great and little, and imprint the King's Mark thereon; of this Paper-Money therefore the Emperor cauſeth an huge Maſs to be made in the City of *Cambalu*, which ſufficeth for the whole Empire, and no Man under Pain of Death may coin any other, or ſpend any other Money, or refuſe it in all his Kingdoms and Countries, nor any coming from another Kingdom dare ſpend any other Money in the Empire of the Great Khan. Hence it follows, that Merchants often coming from remote Countries unto the City of *Cambalu*, bring with them Gold, Silver, Pearl, and Precious Stones, and receive the King's Money for them; and becauſe this Money is not received in their Country, they change it again, in the Empire of the Great Khan, for Merchandize, which they carry away with them. He alſo payeth Stipends to his Officers, and Army, in the above-mentioned Money. And laſtly, whatever thing he needs in his Court, he buyeth with this Money. Wherefore there is not a King to be found in the World, who exceedeth him in Treaſure, not expended on the Mint, as elſewhere.

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[q] It may not be amiſs to remind the Reader, that this Paſſage of our Author confirms what we have before met with in the Accounts of the *Arabian* Travels, and in the Relation of the Monk *Rubruquis*. It is alſo clear from the Whole of this Account, that the Notions generally received of the Barbarity, Stupidity, and want of Genius among the *Tartars*, are not extremely well founded, but are rather to be ranked among thoſe Prejudices which are the Effects of ſpeaking or thinking without juſt Motives, or, in plain *Engliſh*, are the Effects of Ignorance.

The Great Khan hath twelve Barons, as is ſaid, before which are the Council of War, who diſpoſe of martial Affairs, and the exalting or diſgracing of Captains and Soldiers. Their Office is called *Thai*, that is, the High Court, becauſe they have none above them but the Khan. Other twelve Barons are appointed Counſellors for the four-and-thirty Provinces, which have a fair Palace in *Cambalu*, in which is for every Province a Judge, and many Notaries. Theſe have Power to chuſe Governors of the ſaid Provinces, and preſent their Names to the Khan, who confirms them. Theſe alſo have the Charge of the Treaſure to collect and diſpenſe the ſame; their Office is called *Singh*, that is, the ſecond Court, ſubject to none but the Khan, yet reputed leſs noble than the former, that being a military Eſtabliſhment.

There are many publick Roads from the City of *Cambalu*, which conduct to the neighbouring Provinces, and in every one of them, at the End of five-and-twenty or thirty Miles, are Lodgings or Inns built called *Lambs*, that is Poſt-houſes, with large and fair Courts, Chambers furniſhed with Beds, and other Proviſions, every way fit to entertain great Men, nay, even to lodge a King. The Proviſions are laid in from the Country adjacent; there are about four hundred Horſes, which are in Readineſs for Meſſengers and Embaſſadors, who there leave their tired Horſes, and take freſh; and in mountainous Places, where are no Villages, he ſends People to inhabit, about ten thouſand at a Place, where theſe Lambs or Poſt-houſes are built, and they cultivating the Ground for their Proviſions. Theſe excellent Regulations continue unto the utmoſt Limits of the Empire, ſo that in the publick Ways throughout the whole Empire, about ten thouſand of the King's Inns are found; and the Number of the Horſes appointed for the Service of the Meſſengers in thoſe Inns are more than two hundred thouſand, a thing almoſt incredible; hence it is that in a little while, with Change of Men and Horſe, Intelligence comes without Stop to the Court; and if any wonder how ſo many Men and Beaſts ſhould be provided for, he muſt conſider, that the *Moors* and *Gentiles* have many Women, and by them abundance of Children, ſome having thirty Sons, which follow them, armed; and for Victuals, they ſow three kinds of Seeds, Rice, Panike, and Millet, which yield an hundred Fold. They make no Bread, but boil theſe with Milk, or Fleſh. Wheat will not ſo increaſe with them, nor ſuffer they any Ground, which will bear, to lie untilled; and the Cattle continually increaſe, ſo that each of them carries with him ſix, eight, or more Horſes into the Field, for his own Perſon. The Horſes are employed by Turns, ſo that of the four hundred, two hundred are in the Stables ready, the other two hundred at Graſs, each a Month at a time. Their Cities alſo that are adjoining to Rivers or Lakes are appointed to have Ferry-boats in Readineſs for the Poſts, and Cities on the Borders of Deſarts are directed to have Horſes and Proviſions for the Uſe of ſuch as paſs through thoſe Deſarts; but have a reaſonable Allowance for this Service of the Khan. In Caſes of great Conſequence, the Poſt rides with a Ger-Falcon Table, and is equipped ſo, that he will ride two hundred Miles in a Day, or two hundred and fifty ſometimes; alſo they ride all Night, Foot-Poſts running by them with Lights, if the Moon does not ſhine.

They ſound a Horn, that the freſh Horſes may be brought forth for them to mount preſently, and having their Bellies and Heads girded, they run as faſt as the Horſe can go; and thoſe which are able to endure this exceſſive Riding, are on that Account in great Reputation among them, who admire nothing ſo much as Horſemanſhip. There are alſo between theſe Inns other Habitations, three or four Miles diſtant one from another, in which there are a few Houſes, where Foot-Poſts live, having each of them his Girdle hung full of ſhrill ſounding Bells. Theſe keep themſelves always ready, and as often as the Khan's Letters are ſent to them, convey them ſpeedily to the Poſts at the next Village, who, hearing the Sound of the Foot-Poſt coming, when at a Diſtance, expect him, and receive his Letters, preſently carry them to the next Watch; and ſo the Letters paſſing through ſeveral Hands, are conveyed, without Delay, to the Place whither they ought to come: And it often happens, that the King by this learns News, or receives new Fruits, from a Place Ten Days Journey Diſtance, in two Days. As for inſtance, Fruits growing at *Cambalu*, in the Morning, by the next Day at Night are at *Xandu*; but all the before-mentioned Poſts are free from all Tribute, and receive a great Recompence for their Labours from the King's Rent-gatherers beſides. Some alſo are appointed to examine theſe Poſts Monthly, and to puniſh their Faults, if they are fairly convicted.

He ſends yearly to the divers Provinces of his Empire, to enquire whether any Prejudice be done to the Corn by Tempeſts, Locuſts, Worms, or any other Means; and when he hath Notice given him, that any Province or City hath ſuſtained any Damage, he remits his Tribute to that People for that Year, and ſends Grain for Victual and for Seed out of his own Granaries; for in a Time of great Plenty the King buys abundance of Corn, and keeps it with great Care by his Officers, three or four Years in Granaries, that when there happens to be a Scarcity of Corn in one Country, that Defect may be ſupplied out of the King's Storehouſes in another. He ſelleth his Grain for a fourth Part of the common Price, and always provides that his Storehouſes are kept fully ſupplied. Likewiſe when any Murrain lights among Cattle, he ſends them other Cattle, which he has for Tenths in other Provinces; and if a Thunderbolt has ſtricken any Beaſt of any Herd or Flock, he receives no Tribute from it for three Years, let the Herd be ever ſo great; neither will he receive any Cuſtom of a Thunder-ſtricken Sheep, as thinking God is angry with them that are ſo ſtricken.

Likewiſe that Travellers may diſcern all Places able to bear Trees, he hath cauſed Trees to be planted, at a convenient Diſtance one from another, near the principal Roads, and in the ſandy and deſart Places he hath cauſed Stones and Pillars to be erected for that Purpoſe, and Officers are appointed to look to theſe Things. He plants Trees the rather, becauſe his Aſtrologers tell him, that planting Trees lengthens the Life of Man. They make excellent Drink, in the Province of *Cathay*, of Rice and divers Spices, which in the Taſte thereof excels the Flavour even of Wine; and they who drink more greedily thereof than is fit, or the Nature of the Drinker can bear, become ſooner intoxicated than if they had drank Wine.

Through the whole Province of *Cathay*, certain black Stones are dug out of the Mountains, which put into the Fire, burn like Wood, and, being kindled, preſerve Fire a long time, and, if they be kindled in the Evening, they keep Fire all the Night[*]; and many uſe thoſe Stones, becauſe that though they have plenty of Wood, yet is there ſuch frequent Uſe of Stones and Laths, that the Wood would not ſerve.

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[*] The Reader will eaſily diſcern, that what our Author ſpeaks of here with ſo much Wonder, is, in truth, nothing more than a Coal-mine, which might appear very ſtrange to him, who very probably had never ſeen or heard of any ſuch thing; but ſome of the Miſſionaries ſeem to be inexcuſable, who have dreſſed up this Matter with ſuch pompous Expreſſions, as might induce unwary Readers to believe that the *Chineſe* dug Fire out of the Earth, and that they laid it up in Cellars or Vaults; whereas after all, there is nothing ſtranger in their digging and keeping Coals there, than what we ſee practiſed every Day in our own Country, and very probably, if we were to examine other Wonders that are told us, as cloſely and ſeverely as they deſerve, we might be able to diſcover that they were rather rendered marvellous by the Ignorance of Relators, than by any thing ſupernatural in themſelves.

It is not amiſs, having ſpoken of his Proviſion abroad, to mention his Care for the Poor of *Cambalu*. When he hears of any honourable Family decayed by Miſfortune, or of any which cannot work, and have no Subſiſtence, he gives to ſuch Families the whole Year's Expences, each Head of ſuch Families going to the Officer for that Purpoſe, and ſhewing their Bill of Allowance, receive Proviſions accordingly. There is a Place ſet apart for thoſe Officers; they are provided alſo with Garments for Winter and for Summer. The *Khan* having the Tenths of all Wool, Silk, and Hemp, which he cauſes to be made into Cloaths, in a Houſe for that Purpoſe appointed; for all Trades are bound one Day in the Week to work for him. He provides alſo Apparel for his Armies, and in every City cauſes Cloth to be made of his Tythe Wool. You muſt underſtand, that the *Tartars*, according to their antient Cuſtoms, beſtowed no Alms, but rather upbraided thoſe that were in Neceſſity, as hated of God; but the Idolaters, eſpecially thoſe *Bachſi*, have propounded it as a good Work acceptable unto God, and have taught him to be thus bountiful; ſo that in his Court, Bread is never denied to any who aſk it, and there is no Day in which are not given away twenty thouſand Crowns in Rice, Millet, and Panike; whence he is eſteemed as a God by his Subjects.

There are in *Cambalu*, *Chriſtians*, *Saracens*, and *Catayans*, about five thouſand Aſtrologers and Diviners, which the Great *Khan* provideth yearly in Food and Raiment, as he doth thoſe Poor aboveſaid. Theſe have an Aſtrolabe, in which are marked the Signs of the Planets, the Hours and Points of all the Year. Herein all thoſe Aſtrologers, each Religion apart, view the Courſe of the Year according to every Moon, obſerving the Diſpoſition of the Weather, referring always to God to do more or leſs after his own Pleaſure. They write alſo upon certain Squares they call *Tacuini*, the Things which are to come that Year, which they ſell to thoſe that will buy them, and ſuch as ſpeak moſt Truth are moſt honoured. If any intend any great Work, or to go a far Journey, and will know the Event beforehand, he has recourſe to theſe Aſtrologers, to ſee it with their Eyes in the Heavens, which they pretend to do, comparing the preſent Conſtellation with that of his Birth, which they demand of him; ſo foretelling him the Good or Evil. The *Tartars* reckon the Computation of their Years by Twelves, the firſt ſignified by a Lion, the ſecond by an Ox, the third by a Dragon, the fourth by a Dog, and ſo through the whole Twelve; ſo that if it be demanded of a Man when he was born, he will anſwer, ſuch a Point of ſuch an Hour of ſuch a Day, in the Year Lion. This their Fathers exactly ſet down in a Book, and when the Twelve is complete, they go over the ſame again[a].

Of their Religion, we have ſaid, that they are Idolaters; and for their Gods, have a Table ſet aloft in the Wall of their Chamber, on which is written a Name repreſenting the High God of Heaven, and there every Day with a Cenſer of Incenſe they adore it in this Manner; they lift up their Hands aloft, and ſtrike their Teeth thrice, praying it to give them a good Underſtanding and Health, and deſire thereof nothing elſe. Beſides, on the Ground they have another Statue called *Natigai*, the God of earthly Things, with his Wife and Children, whom likewiſe they worſhip with Incenſe, ſtriking or gnaſhing the Teeth, and lifting up their Hands, and deſire thereof Temperature of the Air, Fruits of the Earth, Children, and the like. They hold the Soul to be immortal, and that when a Man dies, it enters into another Body, better or worſe, according to the Merits of the former Life; as of a poor Man to become a Gentleman, and after, a Prince or Lord, and ſo higher, till it be abſorbed in God; and if it have ill deſerved, to be a poorer Man, after a Dog, always deſcending to the loweſt Rank of Baſeneſs. They have a comely Speech, ſalute chearfully and honeſtly, have a graceful Carriage, and feed cleanly. They bear great Reverence to their Parents, and if any be undutiful, or regardleſs of their Neceſſity, there is a publick Tribunal aſſigned for this Particular to puniſh ungrateful or diſobedient Children: Priſoners are releaſed at three Years End, and marked in the Cheek, that they may be known for Malefactors.

The Barons and People which go to the Grand *Khan*, obſerve theſe Rights, firſt, within half a Mile of the Place where the *Khan* is, all is ſtill and quiet, without Noiſe or any loud Speech; that every Baron carries continually a little Veſſel to ſpit in, after which he covers it, none daring to ſpit in the Hall: They have fur Buſkins of white Leather, which they put on when they enter the Hall, putting off the former, and giving them to the Servants, leſt they ſhould foul the Carpets.

18. Ten Miles off *Cambalu* is a certain great River named *Puliſangan*, emptying itſelf into the Ocean, by which many Ships with much Merchandize aſcend; and in that Place there is a very fair Bridge, all of ſerpentine Stone, curiouſly wrought, containing three hundred Paces in Length, and eight in Breadth, ſo broad that ten Men may ride abreaſt; on each Side, it is ſecured with a Wall of Marble, and Pillars ſet in a Row, and in the Height of this Aſcent is a great and high Pillar, at the Feet whereof is a great Lion, and on the Top another, and ſo quite through the Bridge: One Pace and a half Diſtance are Pillars with Lions on the Top, and a fair Wall with wrought marble Work betwixt, to keep Men from falling. Having paſſed over the River and Bridge, and proceeding thirty Miles weſtward (in which Palaces are continually ſeen, with Vineyards and fertile Fields) you come to the City *Gouza*, both fair and great, having many Monaſteries of Idols. Cloth of Gold and Silk are made there, and the pureſt and fineſt Cambricks or Lawns; and many common Inns for Strangers or Travellers are found in that City. The Citizens are Artificers and Merchants. A Mile without this City the Way parteth, one leading Weſt, the other South-Eaſt; that to the Weſt leadeth through the Province of *Cathay*, but the other towards the Country of *Mangi*, from the City of *Gouza* to the Kingdom of *Tainfu*[b].

You ride ten Days through *Cathay*, always finding many fair Cities, well furniſhed with Vineyards, and tilled Fields, from whence Wine is carried to *Cathay*, where there is none: There are many Mulberry-trees for Silk-worms, the People civil, and Cities very numerous and populous. *Tainfu* is the Name of the Kingdom, and of the chief City, which is great and fair, hath much Trade, with Store of Ammunition fit for the Khan's Armies. The Wine about this City ſerveth the whole Province. Seven Days further weſtward is a pleaſant Country, beautified with many Caſtles and Cities, in which alſo there is great Trade in different Merchandize carried on. After which you come to a City very great, named *Pianfu*, in which there is vaſt abundance of Silk and much Trade. Weſtward from *Pianfu* ſtands a very pleaſant Caſtle, named *Thaigin*, anciently built by a King called *Dor*; in it is a ſpacious Palace, wherein is a fine Hall, in which are painted all the famous Kings which have reigned there, and it is a fair Spectacle. Of this King *Dor*, they ſay, he was potent, and was attended only by young Damſels, of which he had many in his Court. Theſe alſo, when he had a Mind to take his Pleaſure, carried him in a ſmall light Chariot through the Caſtle, which was ſo fortified by Art and Nature, that the Governor thereof feared none, no not *Umcan* his Lord, againſt whom he rebelled.

But ſeven Men, profeſſing Fidelity and Service to *Dor*, took him at a Diſadvantage in hunting, and brought him

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[a] The *Tartarian* Cycle was a very good Contrivance, and, as ſuch, has been not only preſerved amongſt them, but ſpread itſelf alſo into other Countries; we ſhall hereafter have Occaſion to explain it more at large; at preſent it ſhall ſuffice to obſerve, that ſomething of the ſame kind was antiently uſed in the northern Nations of *Europe*, and is ſtill practiſed among the Savages in ſome Parts of *America*.

[b] It muſt be acknowledged, that the Deſcription here given by our Author is a little dark and perplexed, and that at the ſame time it is no eaſy Matter to ſettle the Places he mentions; but on the other hand it muſt be conſidered, that this is the firſt Account that was received here in *Europe* of the great Country of *China*, and that this Account was written by a Man little, if at all, acquainted with the Sciences, and who aimed at nothing more than tranſcribing from his Note-book the Names of Places and Provinces, their Diſtances from each other, with ſuch other Circumſtances relating to them as at ſo great a Diſtance of Time he was able to recollect.

Priſoner to Preſbyter *John*, or *Umcan*, who put him on vile Cloaths, and appointed him to keep his Cattle, and ſet over him a ſtrong Guard, till two Years were ended; after which he commanded him to be brought before him, and being dreſſed in princely Apparel, he giving him his Pardon, after a ſharp Admonition, ſent him well attended to the Repoſſeſſion of his Kingdom. About twenty Miles beyond the Caſtle *Thaigin* is the River *Caramaran*, which by reaſon of the exceeding Breadth and Depth thereof, hath no Bridge over it in all the Space from thence, till it floweth to the Ocean. On the Shore thereof are many Cities and Caſtles built, wherein great Trade is carried on. This Country abounds with Ginger, Silk, and Fowl, eſpecially Pheaſants, ſo that three of them are bought for a *Venetian* Groat. There grow Reeds in vaſt Plenty, ſo thick that ſome are a Foot, and others a Foot and a half in Compaſs, which are applied to many Uſes. Paſſing this River, after two Days Journey, is the famous City called *Carianſu*, where many Cloths of Gold and Silk are made. Here grow Ginger, Galingale Spike, and many Spices. The People are Idolaters.

Proceeding ſeven Days Journey weſtward, many Cities and Towns, lovely Fields and Gardens are found, and every where Mulberries for Silk-worms. As for the People, they are moſtly Idolaters; but there are alſo *Chriſtians*, *Turks*, *Neſtorians*, and ſome *Saracens*. There is a vaſt Abundance here of wild Beaſts and Fowl. If you proceed ſeven Days Journey farther, you ſhall come to a certain great City, named *Quenſanſu*, which is the chief City of the Kingdom, in which have reigned many famous Kings; and, at this Day, the Son of the Great Khan, called *Mangalu*, hath the Command thereof. That Country yields great Plenty of Silk, Cloth of Gold, and all other Things neceſſary for furniſhing an Army, and for the Preſervation of Man's Life. The Inhabitants worſhip Idols, and there are ſome *Chriſtians*, *Turks*, and *Saracens*. Five Miles without this City ſtandeth the Palace of *Mangalu*, ſeated in a Plain, where are many Springs, Rivulets, and Places of Game. There is a high Wall encompaſſing a Park of five Miles, where are all Sorts of wild Beaſts and Fowls. In the Midſt is an excellent Palace, having many Halls and Chambers, great and fair, all painted with Gold and Azure, and numberleſs Statues adorning it. The King, with his Courtiers, delights himſelf in hunting the wild Beaſts, and taking of Fowl, and following his Father's Examples in Juſtice and Equity, is much beloved of his People.

Proceeding three Days Journey weſtward from the ſaid Palace, through a very beautiful Plain, where many Cities and Caſtles are, which abound with ſilk Merchandize and Manufactures, you come to a Country, where in the Mountains and Vallies are frequent Habitations, and many Villages of the Province of *Chunchian*. The Inhabitants, as to Religion, are Idolaters; and as to Employment, Huſbandmen. Alſo in that Country they hunt Lions, Bears, Stags, Roe-bucks, Deer, and Wolves. The Plain is two Days Journey over, and the Country is about twenty Days Journey weſtward, well inhabited, being finely diverſified into Mountains, Vallies, and Woods. After theſe twenty Days, towards the Weſt, there lies a Province called *Achbaluch Mangi*, that is, the *White City*, on the Borders of *Mangi*, which is well peopled. This Province, for two Days Journey, hath a Plain, in which are an infinite Number of Villages: Beyond theſe lie Mountains, Vallies, and Woods, all well inhabited. It hath Plenty of wild Beaſts, and of thoſe Creatures that yield Muſk. In this Province Ginger grows in great Plenty, as alſo Corn and Rice.

After twenty Days Journey through thoſe Hills is a Plain, and a Province in the Confines of *Mangi*, named *Sindinſu*. The chief City hath the ſame Name, and is very great, and exceeding rich, being twenty Miles in Circuit. It hath had many rich and mighty Kings; but an old King dying, left three Sons Succeſſors in the Kingdom, who divided the City into three Parts, compaſſing every Part with their proper Walls; all which, notwithſtanding, were contained within the former Wall; but the Great Khan ſubjected nevertheleſs that City and Kingdom. Thro' this City run many Rivers, and many Places round about, ſome half a Mile over, ſome two hundred Paces, very deep; on them are many Bridges of Stone, very fair, eight Paces broad, ſet on both Sides with Marble Pillars, which bear up a Timber Frame that covers the Bridge, each Bridge having Streets and Shops thereupon. When the Rivers have paſſed through the City, they become one great River, called *Quian*, which runs one hundred Days Journey hence to the Ocean. Near theſe Rivers are many Cities and Caſtles, and on them innumerable Ships for Merchandize. Proceeding four Days Journey farther, thro' a very fine Plain, many Cities, Caſtles, and Villages are found, in which five Lawns extend in beautiful Order. There are alſo many Wild Beaſts there. Beyond the Plain, which we have now mentioned, is the wide Province of *Thebet*, which the Great Khan vanquiſhed and waſted; for in it lie many Cities deſtroyed, and Caſtles overthrown, by the Space of twenty Days Journey; and becauſe it is become a Wilderneſs, wanting Inhabitants, wild Beaſts and Lions are there increaſed exceſſively, and it is requiſite therefore that Travellers carry Victuals with them. Very large Cane grows in this Country, ten Paces in Length, and three Palms in Thickneſs, and as much from Knot to Knot. When Travellers therefore will reſt at Night ſecure from Beaſts, they take great Bundles of the greener Reeds, and putting Fire under, kindle them, which make ſuch a Crackling, and ſo great a Noiſe, that it may be heard two Miles off; which terrible Sound the Wild Beaſts hearing, flee away, but it has ſometimes happened, that Horſes and other Beaſts, which Merchants uſe for their Journey, hearing this Noiſe, and Cracking, have grown alſo much afraid, and betaking themſelves to Flight have eſcaped from their Maſters; and therefore wiſer Travellers binding their Feet together, detain them in their proper Places.

19. Theſe twenty Days Journey ended, having paſſed over the Province of *Thebet*, we met with Cities, and many Villages, in which, through the Blindneſs of Idolatry, a wicked Cuſtom is uſed; for no Man there marrieth a Wife that is a Virgin; whereupon, when Travellers and Strangers, coming from other Places, paſs through this Country, and pitch their Pavilions, the Women of that Place having marriageable Daughters, bring them unto Strangers, deſiring them to take them, and enjoy their Company as long as they remain there. Thus the handſomeſt are choſen, and the reſt return home ſorrowful, and when they depart, they are not ſuffered to carry any away with them, but faithfully reſtore them to their Parents. The Maiden alſo requireth ſome Toy, or ſmall Preſent, of him who hath deflowered her, which ſhe may ſhew, as an Argument and Proof of her Condition; and ſhe that hath been loved and abuſed of moſt Men, and ſhall have many ſuch Favours and Toys to ſhew to her Wooers, is accounted more noble, and may on that Account be advantageouſly married; and when ſhe would appear moſt honourably dreſſed, ſhe hangs all her Lover's Favours about her Neck, and the more acceptable ſhe was to many, ſo much the more Honour ſhe receives from her Countrymen. But when they are once married, they are no more ſuffered to converſe with ſtrange Men, and the Men of this Country are very cautious never to offend one another in this Matter. They are Idolaters, and cruel, thinking it no Sin if they rob and exerciſe Theft. They live by Hunting and the Fruits of the Earth: Many Beaſts alſo are found with them, yielding Muſk, called in this Country Gadderi. They have a Language of their own, and have no Money, not ſo much as the Paper-Money of the Khan, but uſe Corals for Money, and are cloathed with the Skin of Beaſts, or coarſe Hemp. This Country belongs to the Province of *Thebet*, for *Thebet* is a very large Province, and has been ſome time divided into eight Kingdoms, having many Cities and Towns, with Mountains, Lakes, and Rivers, where Gold is found. The Women wear Coral about their Necks, and hang it about the Necks of their Idols, as a precious thing. In this Country there are very large Dogs, as big as Aſſes, which take wild Beaſts, eſpecially wild Oxen, called *Beyamini*.

There are in this Province many ſorts of Spices, which are never brought into theſe Parts. This *Thebet* is (as all the former Provinces) ſubject to the Khan. On the Weſt of the Province of *Thebet* bordereth the Province of *Caindu*, which was formerly governed by her own King, now by the Governors of the Khan. By the Weſt, you muſt not underſtand that the Countries are in the Weſt; but that we, departing from thoſe Parts which are betwixt the Eaſt and North-eaſt, came hither Weſtward, and therefore reckon them Weſtward. The People are Idolaters, have many Cities, the chief called by the Name of the Province, *Caindu*, built on the Frontiers of the Province. There is a large Salt Lake, in which are abundance of Pearls, white, but not round, ſo many, that in point of Price they would become little Worth, if they were ſuffered to be carried away at Mens Pleaſures. It is therefore provided, upon Pain of Death, that none ſhould preſume to fiſh for Pearl in this Lake, without the Licence of the Great Khan. There is alſo a Mountain, in which is found a Mine of Turquoiſe Stones, the digging of which is reſtrained by the like Licence. Many Gadderi are alſo in this Province, which yield Muſk. That Lake alſo, which breeds Pearl in ſuch Plenty, abounds with Fiſh, and the whole Country is full of wild Beaſts, that is to ſay, of Lions, Bears, Stags, Deer, Ounces, Roe-bucks, and divers kinds of Birds. Cloves are found there in great Plenty, which are gathered from ſmall Trees, which have Boughs and Leaves like the Bay-tree, but ſomewhat longer, and ſtraiter, white Flowers, and brittle, as are the Cloves, and when they are ripe they are black and duſky. Ginger, Cinamon, and ſeveral other Spices, grow there in great Plenty, which are not brought into our Countries. Wine, however, though plentiful with us, groweth not in it, but inſtead thereof they make a moſt excellent Drink of Corn, Rice, and divers Spices.

The Inhabitants of this Country worſhip Idols, to which they are ſo beſotted, that they think they deſerve their Favours, if they proſtitute their Wives, Siſters and Daughters, to be abuſed by Travellers; for when any Stranger cometh amongſt them, every Maſter of a Houſe ſeeketh to give him Entertainment, and leaving the Females and Houſe to the Strangers, will not return until they depart, which he doth for the Glory of his Idols, hoping they will be more gracious to him. Certain Sprigs of Gold are their Money, uſing Weights, and according to the Weight of the Sprig, is the Value of the Money, and this Money is their larger ſort of Money without Stamp. They have alſo a leſſer, which they make after this manner. They boil Salt in a Caldron for about an Hour, and of this, being congealed, they make little Lumps like Two-penny Loaves, which being ſolid, is ſigned with the Prince's Stamp, and they make vaſt Profit thereof in Places remote from Cities, which have Store of Muſk, and Gold, and want Chapmen. Theſe barter their Gold for Salt, to uſe with their Meats.

Leaving this Province, they proceed fifteen Days Journey further, and in that Space meet with Caſtles, and many Villages, whoſe Inhabitants have the ſame Cuſtoms that the Province of *Caindu* hath, and at length they come unto a River called *Brius*, by which the Province of *Caindu* is bounded. In this River Gold is found in great Plenty, which they call *Di Paiola*, waſhed in Veſſels to cleanſe it from the Sand and Earth. On the Banks thereof Cinamon grows in great Abundance. This River falls directly into the Ocean. Having paſſed over the River *Brius*, they come Weſtward to the Province *Caraian*, which contains ſeven Kingdoms. It is ſubject to the Great Khan, whoſe Son, named *Sentemur*, is made Vice-King of that Kingdom, and is a young Prince, rich, wiſe, and juſt.

The Inhabitants thereof are Idolaters; you ride five Days Journey through it, and find it all well peopled: They live on their Beaſts and Fruits. The Country breeds excellent Horſes, and it hath a peculiar and difficult Language. Having finiſhed theſe five Days Journey, you come to the chief City called *Jaci*, which is both great and famous, hath in it many Merchants and Artificers, and many ſorts of People, Idolaters, *Chriſtians*, *Neſtorians*, and *Saracens*; but the greateſt Part of the Inhabitants are Idolaters. It hath Corn and Rice, notwithſtanding which they eat no Bread of Corn, becauſe it is not wholeſome, but they make Bread of Rice; they make Drink alſo of it, and ſeveral Spices, which is very pleaſant; they uſe white Porcelane inſtead of Money, and for Ornaments, Shells which are found at Sea. Much Salt is made in this City of the Water of Salt Wells, from whence the Vice-King hath great Profit. The Men of this Country care not if any Man come to their Wives, ſo they give their Conſent. There is alſo a Lake there very full of Fiſh, containing an hundred Miles in Compaſs. Theſe Men eat raw Fleſh of Hens, Beef, Mutton, and Buffaloes, but prepared after this Manner: They firſt cut it into ſmall Pieces, and after ſeaſon it with excellent Spices; but the poorer ſort ſhred it, and lay it in Garlick Sauce, and eat it as we do boiled Meat. Departing from the City of *Jaci*, having travelled ten Days Journey Weſtward, we came to the Province called, as the chief City, *Carazan*, which *Cogatin*, Son of *Cublai*, governeth. The Rivers there yield great Quantities of waſhed Gold, and alſo that which is ſolid, and on the Mountains they find Gold in the Vein, and they give one Pound of Gold for ſix of Silver. They ſpend Porcelane for Money brought thither from *India*.

The Inhabitants are Idolaters; very great Serpents are bred in this Country, ſome of which are ten Paces in Length, and in Thickneſs ten Spans. They have two little Feet before near the Head, with three Talons or Claws like Lions, and the Eyes bigger than a Loaf, ſhining very bright. They have their Mouths and Jaws ſo very wide, that they are able to ſwallow a Man, great and ſharp Teeth; nor is there any Man, or other living Creature, which can behold theſe Serpents without Terror. There are alſo ſome leſs, of eight, or ſix, ſome of five Paces long, which are taken after this Manner: In the Day-time they uſe to lie hid, by reaſon of the Heat, in Holes, out of which they go by Night to ſeek their Prey, and devour whatſoever they get, Lions, Wolves, as well as other Beaſts, and then go to ſeek Water, leaving ſuch a Track thro' their Weight in the Sands, as if a Piece of Timber had been drawn there; whereupon the Hunters faſten under the Sands great Iron Spikes, in their uſual Tracks, whereby they are wounded and ſlain. The Crows preſently proclaim the Serpent's Fate, and by their Cries, invite the Hunters, which come and flea him, taking out his Gall, which is uſed for divers Medicines, amongſt other things, for the biting of mad Dogs, a Penny-weight given in Wine; and for Women in Travail, for Carbuncles, and other Diſtempers, and they ſell the Fleſh dear, as being exceeding delicate.

There are ſtout Horſes bred in this Province, which by their Merchants are carried into *India*. They commonly take one Bone out of the Tail, leſt he ſhould bend his Tail hither and thither, and eſteem it more comely, that it hang downright. They uſe long Stirrups as the *French*, which the *Tartars* and other Nations, for their Shooting, uſe ſhort, becauſe when they ſhoot they riſe up. They uſe Targets and Armour in the Wars, made of the Hides of Buffaloes; they have Lancets and Croſs-bows, and poiſon all their Arrows. Some of them, who are Villains, are ſaid to carry Poiſon about them continually, that if they be taken they may ſuddenly ſwallow it, and ſo dying at once, prevent Torture; for which Cauſe the great Lords have Dogs Dung ready, which they force them to ſwallow, and that makes them vomit the Poiſon. Before the Great Khan ſubjected them, they uſed, when any Stranger which ſeemed of good Preſence and Parts lodged with them, to kill him by Night, ſuppoſing that thoſe good Parts of that Man would abide afterwards in that Houſe; and this ſilly Notion has proved the Death of many.

Travelling forwards from the Province of *Carazan*, after five Days Journey Weſtward, is the Province of *Cardandan*, which alſo is ſubject to the Great Khan: The chief City thereof is called *Vociam*, the Inhabitants whereof uſe Porcelane, and weighed Pieces of Gold inſtead of Money; for in that Country, and many others lying round about, Silver Mines are not found, and they give an Ounce of Gold for five Ounces of Silver, and according to this Exchange great Gain is made. The Men and Women in that Country cover their Teeth with thin Plates of Gold, which they ſo fit to them, that the Teeth themſelves ſeem, as they were, ſet in thoſe Plates. The Men about their Arms and Legs make Liſts, pricking the Places with Needles, and putting therein a black indelible Tincture; and theſe Liſts or Marks are eſteemed with them as a Mark of great Galantry. They give their Minds to nothing but Riding, Hunting, Hawking, and the Exerciſe of Arms, leaving the Houſhold

Cares to the Women, who are aſſiſted therein by Slaves, which they buy, or take in War. When a Woman is once delivered, ſhe forſakes the Bed, waſhes the Child, and dreſſes it, and then the Huſband lieth down, and keeps the Child with him forty Days, not ſuffering it to depart; is viſited all that Time by Friends and Neighbours, to chear and comfort him. The Woman looks to the Houſe, and carries the Huſband his Broths to the Bed, and gives Suck to the Child by him. Their Wine is made of Rice and Spice; their ordinary Food is Rice, and raw Fleſh, dreſſed as before mentioned. In this Province there are no other Idols, ſave that every Family adoreth the oldeſt Man in the Houſe, of whom they ſay, come themſelves and all they have; they dwell for the moſt part in wild and mountainous Places, but Foreigners come not to thoſe Mountains, becauſe the Air would kill them, being in Summer very corrupt.

They have no Letters, but make their Contracts and Obligations by Tallies of Wood, one half whereof one keepeth, and the other the other, which being afterwards paid, the Tally is deſtroyed. There are no Phyſicians in this Province, nor in *Caindu*, *Vociam*, and *Caraian*; but when any is ſick, they call the Magicians or Idol Prieſts together, and the ſick Perſon declares his Diſeaſe unto them; then the Magicians dance, and ſound certain Inſtruments, and bellow forth Songs, in Honour of their Gods, till at length the Devil entereth into one of them, ſkipping and playing in the Dance. Then leaving the Dance, they conſult with him that is poſſeſſed, for what Cauſe that Diſeaſe happened unto him, and what is to be done for his Recovery. The Devil anſwereth by him, becauſe he hath done this or that, or becauſe he hath offended this or that God, therefore he fell into this Diſeaſe. Then the Magicians intreat that God to pardon him this Offence, promiſing, that if the ſick Perſon recovers, he ſhall offer a Sacrifice of his own Blood; but if the Devil, or the Prieſt, think the Patient to be ſick of ſuch a Diſeaſe that he cannot be freed from the ſame, he uſeth to anſwer; This Man hath ſo grievouſly offended that God, that he cannot by any Sacrifices be appeaſed; but if he think he ſhall recover, he commandeth to offer ſo many Rams, having black Heads, and to prepare ſo many Magicians with their Wives, by them to offer Sacrifices, and that God may then be appeaſed towards him; which being heard, his Kinſmen quickly cauſe thoſe things to be done which the Devil commanded. They kill Rams, and ſprinkle their Blood in the Air, and the Magicians aſſembled, light great Candles, and perfume the whole Houſe with Incenſe, making great Smoke of Lignum Aloes, and ſprinkle the Broth of the Fleſh in the Air, with the Potion made of Spices; all which being duly performed, they ſkip about again, and dance in Honour of that Idol, which is ſuppoſed to have been favourable to the Sick, ſinging and making a horrible Noiſe with their Voices. Theſe Things being performed, they aſk the poſſeſſed again, whether the Idol be pleaſed? And if he anſwer, no, they preſently prepare themſelves to fulfil any other Command of his; but if he anſwer that he is ſatisfied, they ſit down at the Table, and eat the Fleſh offered to the Idol with great Joy, and drink the Liquors; and Dinner being ended, and the Magicians paid, every one returns to his own Home; and when the Sick hath thus eſcaped the Diſeaſe, thro' the Providence of God, and hath been reſtored to Health, they attribute it to the Idol, to whom they ſacrificed; but if he die, then they ſay, the Idol was defrauded, and that ſome of the Sacrificers taſted thereof firſt: This is not done to all, but by the richer, the Devil, or his Prieſts in his Name, impoſing on their Blindneſs.

The Great Khan, *A. D.* 1272, ſent an Army into the Kingdom of *Vociam* and *Gurazan*, to reduce it, his Forces being to the Number of twelve thouſand veteran Troops, under the Conduct of a *Neſtorian*, an experienced Officer. As ſoon as the King of *Mein* and King of *Bengala* heard of their coming, aſſembling their Forces, they joined Horſe and Foot together about threeſcore thouſand, and about a thouſand Elephants bearing Caſtles, and in every Caſtle twelve or ſixteen armed Men were placed; with this Army the King of *Mein* marched ſpeedily towards the City of *Vociam*, where the Army of the *Tartars* lay encamped. *Neſtardin*, however, marched forth with invincible Courage to fight the Enemy, and drawing near them, encamped near a certain great Wood, knowing that the Elephants with their Towers on their Backs were not able to enter the Wood. Then the King of *Mein* ſeeing this, reſolved to meet them; but the *Tartarian* Horſe perceiving the Elephants which were placed in the Front of the Battle were terrified, ſo that they could not by any Means be brought to charge the Elephants; the *Tartars* therefore were compelled to alight from their Horſes, and tying them to the Trees, they came to fight on Foot againſt thoſe Beaſts, and very wiſely ſhot a Multitude of Arrows againſt the Elephants, which not able to endure the Wounds received by the Arrows, betook themſelves to flight, and went all to the next Wood, broke their Caſtles, and overthrew the armed Men ſitting in them; which the *Tartars* ſeeing, run to their Horſes, and getting upon them, furiouſly fell upon the King's Army with great Violence, and many of either Army fell. At length the King of *Mein* being put to Flight, left the Victory to the *Tartars*, who haſtened to the Wood, and taking many Captives, uſed their Help to ſeize two hundred of theſe Elephants, and ever ſince the Great Khan hath uſed Elephants in his Army, to which before he was not accuſtomed: Hereupon alſo he vanquiſhed the Countries of the King of *Mein* and *Bengala*, and ſubjected them to his Empire[1].

Departing from the Province of *Caraiam*, there is a great Deſart, which continueth two Days and a half, nor is there any Habitation there, but a very large Plain, in which three Days in the Week Multitudes meet together for Trading. Many deſcend from the great Mountains of that Country, bringing Gold with them to change for Silver, that is, giving an Ounce of Gold for five Ounces of Silver, and therefore many Merchants from foreign Nations come thither, who bring Silver and carry Gold away, and bring thither Merchandize to ſell to theſe People; for to thoſe high Mountains in which they who gather Gold in the Country dwell, no Stranger can come, becauſe the Way is intricate and unpaſſable. When you are paſt that Plain, going toward the South, *Mein* bordereth upon *India*, and the Diſtance is about fifteen Days Journey through Places uninhabited and woody, in which innumerable Elephants, Unicorns, and other wild Beaſts wander.

After that fifteen Days Journey, you come to *Mein*, a great and noble City, the Head of the Kingdom, and ſubject to the Great Khan. The Inhabitants thereof have a peculiar Language, and are Idolaters. In this City there was a King, who being ready to die, commanded that near to his Sepulchre there ſhould be erected two Towers in the Form of Pyramids, one at the Head, the other at the Feet, both of Marble, of the Height of ten Fathom. On the Top was placed a round Ball; he cauſed one to be covered all over with Gold, a Finger thick, and the other with Silver; and upon the Top, round about the Balls, many little gold and ſilver Bells were hanged, which at the blowing of the Wind, gave a certain ſhrill and pleaſant Sound. The Monument or Sepulchre was alſo covered with Plates, partly of Gold, partly of Silver. He commanded this to be made in Honour of his Soul, and that his Memory ſhould never die among Men. And when the Great Khan undertook to ſubdue this City, he ſent a valiant Captain, and the greateſt Part of his Army were Cavalry, of which the better Part of his Troops conſiſts; theſe winning the City would not demoliſh that Monument without the Khan's Knowledge; who hearing that the deceaſed had erected it for the Honour of his Soul, would not ſuffer it to be injured; for the Manner of the *Tartars* is not to violate the things which belong to the Dead. In this Province are many Elephants, wild Oxen, great and fair Stags, and Deer, and other wild Beaſts of divers Kinds.

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[1] The great Conqueſts made by the *Tartars* in the Eaſt, have ſo overturned all Monuments of Antiquity among the Nations they have ſubdued, that if it were not for theſe Travels of *Marco Polo*, we ſhould be at a Loſs for any of the Particulars relating to them. The *Chineſe* Hiſtorians indeed, very fully confirm the Truth of what he has delivered, but in general Terms only; ſo that they add nothing circumſtantial, or capable of giving us a clearer or more diſtinct Idea of what he has laid down, in reſpect to which it is ſufficient for us to obſerve, that moſt of the Facts he mentions either happened at the Time when he was actually preſent in the Court of the Great Khan, or a very little before it; ſo that he could not but be well informed as to the Truth of what he aſſerts. Strange indeed to us, who live at ſo great a Diſtance from theſe Countries, and are ſo little acquainted with the Manners of their Inhabitants, but at the ſame Time very agreeable to the beſt Accounts that have been afforded us of theſe Countries by modern Travellers, and more eſpecially by the Miſſionaries, who have been at great Pains to collect and reduce into Order ſuch Paſſages as they have met with in *Chineſe* and other Oriental Writers.

The Province *Bengala* bordereth upon *India* towards the South, which the Great Khan ſubdued when *Marco Polo* lived in this Country. This Country has its own proper King and Language, the Inhabitants whereof are all Idolaters; they have Maſters which keep Schools, and teach Idolatries and Enchantments, a thing common to all the great Men of that Country. They eat Fleſh, Rice, and Milk; they have Cotton in great Plenty, and by the Manufacture thereof, much Trade is there carried on. They abound alſo with Spike, Galingal, Ginger, Sugar, and diverſe other Spices; huge Oxen alſo are there, comparable unto Elephants in Height, but not in Bulk. Many Eunuchs are made in this Province, which are afterwards ſold to Merchants. This Province continueth thirty Days Journey, in the End whereof, going Eaſtward, is the Province of *Cangigu*, which is a Country having alſo its proper King and peculiar Language, the Inhabitants whereof worſhip Idols, and are tributary to the Great Khan; their King hath about three hundred Wives; much Gold is found in this Province, and many Spices, but they cannot eaſily be tranſported, becauſe that Country is far diſtant from the Sea: There are alſo many Elephants in it, and much Game. The Inhabitants live on Milk, Fleſh, and Rice; they have no Wine, but they make very good Drink of Rice and Spices. As well the Men as the Women uſe to embroider their Faces, Necks, Hands, Bellies, and Legs, making the Images of Lions, Dragons, and Birds, and ſo firmly imprint them, that they cannot eaſily be put out; and the more ſuch Images any one has upon his Body, ſo much he is eſteemed the finer and the more gallant. And there are alſo in this Country Profeſſors of this fooliſh Art of Fleſh-Embroidery, which uſe no other Trade but this Needlwork and dying of Fools Skins.

Amu lies to the Eaſt of that Province, and is ſubject to the Great Khan, whoſe Inhabitants worſhip Idols, and have to themſelves a peculiar Language. They abound with Herds of Cattle, and have Plenty of Victuals, and many Horſes, and theſe excellent, which Merchants carry for Sale into *India*. They have alſo many Buffaloes and Oxen, becauſe there are delicate Paſtures there. As well Men as Women wear Bracelets of Gold and Silver, of great Value, on their Arms, as alſo the like on their Legs; but thoſe of the Women are moſt valuable: From *Amu* to *Cangigu* are above five-and-twenty Days Journey. The Province of *Tholoman*, is ſtill eight Days Journey farther diſtant to the Eaſt from *Amu*, ſubject to the Great Khan, having a peculiar Language, and worſhipping Idols. The Men and Women in this Country are tall, well ſhaped, and of a brown Complexion. The Country is very well inhabited, having many and ſtrong Caſtles and Cities. The Men are practiſed in Arms, and accuſtomed to War; they burn the Bodies of their Dead, and incloſing the Relicks of their Bones in a Cheſt, hide them in the Caves of the Mountains, that they cannot be touched either by Man or Beaſt. Gold is found in great Plenty there, and inſtead of Money, they uſe Porcelane brought from *India*, as alſo in *Cangigu* and *Amu*. From the Province of *Tholoman*, the high Road leads towards the Eaſt, by a River, on the Bank of which are many Cities and Caſtles, and at the End of twelve Days you come to the great City *Cintiqui*. The Country is ſubject to the Great Khan, and the Inhabitants therefore addicted to Idolatry. Excellent Cloths are made in this Country of the Bark of Trees, with which they are cloathed in the Summer. Many Lions are there, ſo that for fear of them, none dare ſleep without Doors by Night; the Veſſels which ſail up and down the River, for fear of theſe Lions, are not faſtened to the Bank. There are great Dogs in the ſame Country, ſo hardy and ſtrong, that they fear not to attack the Lion; and it often happeneth, that two Dogs, and one Archer, kill a Lion: For the Dogs, ſet on by the Man, give the Onſet, and the Lion's Nature is preſently to take Shelter from ſome Tree, that the Dogs may not come behind him, neither will his great Heart ſuffer him to run from the Dogs, leſt he ſhould ſeem afraid; but he holds his ſtately Pace, the Man mean while ſhooting, and the Dogs faſtening on his hinder Parts, but with ſuch Agility, that when the Lion turns on them, they are gone; and then this magnanimous Beaſt holds on his Way again, to ſeek a Tree for Succour, till what with Bitings and Arrows, he ſometimes comes ſhort, and, with Expence of Blood, dieth by the Way. This Country abounds with Silk, which by Merchants is carried to diverſe Provinces by the River; they live therefore chiefly by their Merchandize: Their Money is Paper; and they are valiant in Arms.

At the End of ten Days is the City of *Sidinfu*, and twenty Days from thence is *Gingui*, and four Days thence is *Palanfu*, towards the South, and is in *Cathay*, returning by the other Side of the Province. The People are Idolaters, and burn their Dead; there are alſo certain Chriſtians which have a Church, are all under the Khan, and uſe Paper Money. They make Cloths of Gold and Silk, and Lawns, very fine. By this City, which has many Cities under it, runs a great River, which carries Store of Merchandize to *Cambalu*, made by many Channels to paſs thither; but we will leave this Place, and proceeding three Days Journey, ſpeak of *Ciangu*, a great City towards the South, of the Province of *Cathay*, ſubject to the Khan. The Inhabitants are Idolaters, and burn their Dead. Their Money is the (Mulberry) Paper-Coin of the Khan. In this City, and the Territories that depend upon it, they make large Quantities of Salt, for the Earth abounds therewith, and out of it they get Salt after this Manner; they heap up the Earth in the Manner of an Hill, and pour Water upon it, which draws the Saltneſs of the Earth into it, and then runs into certain Conduits, and is boiled in Pans, till it be congealed to Salt, fair and white, to the great Gain of the People, and of the Great Khan, being carried into other Countries to ſell. There are large Peaches, high flavoured, and weigh two Pounds a-piece. Five Days Journey beyond the City *Ciangu*, in *Cathay*, Southward, ſtandeth another City named *Ciangli*, in which Road are many Cities and Caſtles, ſubject to the Khan, through the midſt of which runs a great River, very convenient for Shipping laden with Merchandize.

Six Days Journey hence to the South, is the noble Kingdom and great City of *Tudinfu*, which had formerly its proper King, before it was ſubdued by the Great Khan, *A. D.* 1272, and hath eleven royal Cities famous for Traffick under the Juriſdiction thereof. It is very pleaſantly ſeated for Gardens and Fruits, rich in Silks; their Khan ſent to be Governor thereof one of his Barons named *Lucanſer*, with eight thouſand Horſe, who rebelled againſt this Lord, but was reduced and ſlain by an Army of one hundred thouſand Horſe, under two other Barons, ſent againſt him, and the Country reduced to Obedience. Seven Days off towards the South, is the famous City named *Singuimatu*, to which on the South a great River runs, which being divided by the Inhabitants of the Place into two Rivers, flows one Branch to the Eaſt towards *Cathay*, and the other to the Weſt toward *Mangi*; by theſe Rivers innumerable Veſſels, and incredible for their Size and Wealth, bring Neceſſaries to both Provinces. If you proceed ſixteen Days Journey towards the South from *Singuimatu*, you will meet with Cities and Towns where prodigious Trading is exerciſed. The Inhabitants of theſe Countries are Idolaters, ſubject to the Great Khan. After that, ſixteen Days, you come unto a great River named *Caramoran*, which is ſaid to take its Riſe in the Kingdom of *Uncan*, or Preſbyter *John*, in the North. It is very deep, and carries Ships of great Burthen; it is alſo well ſtocked with Fiſh, within one Day's Journey of the Sea. There are in this River fifteen thouſand Sail, each of which carries fifteen Horſes, and twenty Men, beſides Victuals and Mariners. This is the *Khan's* Fleet, kept there in Readineſs to carry an Army to any of the Iſlands, if they ſhould rebel, or to any remote Region. Near the Bank of the River, where theſe Ships are kept, is *Coiganzu*, and over-againſt it *Quanzu*, one a great City, the other a ſmall one. After you are paſt that River, you enter into the noble Kingdom of *Mangi*; but you muſt not think that we have handled in Order the whole Province of *Cathay*, having not ſpoken of the twentieth Part; for *Marco Polo* paſſing by the ſaid Province, hath only deſcribed the Cities in his Way, leaving thoſe on both Hands, and thoſe betwixt theſe, to prevent Tediousneſs, and to avoid writing from Hear-ſay.

20. The Province of *Mangi* is the richeſt and moſt famous that is founded in the Eaſt; and in *An. Dom.* 1269, was governed by a certain King, called *Fanfur*, who was richer and mightier than any which had reigned there in an hundred Years, but a Man peaceable and charitable, ſo beloved of his Subjects, that thereby, and by the Strength of the Country, he ſeemed invincible. It was from a Perſuaſion of this that the King, as well as the People, loſt the Uſe and Exerciſe of War and Arms. All the City was encompaſſed with Ditches full of Water. He held in Pay no Horſes, becauſe he feared Nobody; and, in Proceſs of Time, the King, betaking himſelf to Pleaſure more than was fit, employed his whole Time in Delights. He maintained about a thouſand Concubines, with whom he paſſed his Time in Pleaſure. He maintained Juſtice, and preſerved Peace; no Man durſt offend his Neighbour and diſturb the Peace, for Fear of ſevere and impartial Puniſhment; ſo that Artificers would often leave their Shops full of Wares open by Night, and yet none would preſume to go into them. Travellers and Strangers ſafely walked Day and Night through that whole Kingdom, fearing no Man. The King himſelf was alſo merciful towards the Poor, and did not overlook them that were oppreſſed with Neceſſity, or puniſhed with Penury. Beſides, every Year he took up twenty thouſand young Infants, caſt off by their Mothers, who, through Poverty, were not able to keep them, which he brought up, and put them, when they were grown up, to ſome Trade, marrying the young Men with the Maids, which he had in like manner ſo educated [a].

Cublai-Khan was of a different Diſpoſition from *Fanfur*, and delighted only in Wars and Conqueſts; and to make himſelf great, he levied an Army of Horſe and Foot, and made one, named *Chinſan-Baian*, *i. e.* an hundred Eyes, General thereof, he therefore coming with his Army and a Fleet to the Province of *Mangi*, firſt ſummoned the City *Coiganzu* to yield Obedience to his Emperor, who refuſed the ſame; he departed without any Aſſault given to the City, and required the ſame of the ſecond City, which likewiſe refuſing, he marched forwards to the third and fourth, and received the like Anſwer of them all; but he aſſaulted the next with great Courage, and vanquiſhed the ſame by Force, and ſlew every Creature of what Sex or Age ſoever therein, which ſo frighted and terrified the reſt, that they all preſently yielded. The Great Khan ſent out another great Army after the former, with both which Armies he marched againſt the chief City *Quinſai*, where the King of *Mangi* reſided, who being mightily terrified, as never having ſeen any War, fled with his Wealth on board the Ships he had prepared, to certain impregnable Iſlands in the Ocean, where he afterwards died, committing the Cuſtody of the City of *Quinſai* to his Wife, bidding her to defend it as well as ſhe could; for being a Woman, ſhe needed not fear Death if ſhe was taken.

It is to be obſerved, that King *Fanfur* had been told by his Diviners, that his Kingdom would never be taken from him but by one who had an hundred Eyes, which the Queen knew, and therefore was ſtill in Hopes not to loſe the City however ſtraitened, thinking it impoſſible for one Man to have an hundred Eyes; but one Day ſhe heard the Commander of the *Tartars* was called *Baian Chinſan*, that is to ſay, an hundred Eyes, and was much terrified; wherefore, calling for the Commander of the *Tartar* Army, thinking him to be the Man which the Aſtrologers ſpoke of, ſhe delivered the City unto him, which, being heard, the Citizens and Inhabitants of the whole Province yielded to the Obedience of the Great Khan. The Queen was ſent unto the Court of the Great Khan, and was moſt honourably received by him, and maintained like a Queen. And now we will ſpeak of the Cities in the Country of *Mangi*. *Coiganzu* is a very fair and rich City ſituate towards the South-Eaſt and Eaſt, in the Entrance of the Province of *Mangi*, where are always great Numbers of Ships, being ſeated on the River *Carama*, and a great Quantity of Merchandize is carried thither; Salt is alſo made there in Abundance. Proceeding from *Coiganzu*, you ride towards the South-Eaſt one Day's Journey on a Stone Cauſeway, on both Sides whereof are great Fences, with deep Waters, through which they may paſs with proper Veſſels; neither is there any Entrance into *Mangi* but by Shipping, excepting this Cauſeway.

At the End of that Day's Journey is a City called *Paughin*, large and fair; the People make Stuffs of Gold and Silk, are Merchants, and Idolaters. The Paper-Money of the Great Khan is received throughout the whole Country. It is plentiful in all Neceſſaries of Life. To the City *Caim* is from *Paughin* one Day's Journey South-Eaſt; and this is alſo a famous City. The Country thereabouts abounding with Fiſh, Beaſts, and Fowl, eſpecially Pheaſants, are found in exceeding great Plenty, as large as Peacocks, of which you may have three for a *Venetian* Groat. Proceeding farther from hence one Day's Journey, you come through a well manured, moſt fruitful and well peopled Country, to the City *Tingui*, which, tho' it be not over large, yet hath in it exceeding great Plenty of Victuals. They are Merchants, and have a vaſt Reſort of Ships: There is Plenty of Beaſts and Fowls. It is ſeated to the South-Eaſt, and on the Left-hand towards the Eaſt, three Days Journey off the Ocean, and in the Country between, are very many Salt-pits, and they make great Quantities of Salt. After this is *Cingui*, a great City, whence the Country is furniſhed with Salt, whereof the Khan makes immenſe Profit, almoſt beyond Belief: They are Idolaters, and have Paper-Money. From *Cingui*, riding towards the South-Eaſt, you meet with the noble City *Jangui*, under the Government whereof are other Cities, ſeven-and-twenty in Number; and in that City reſides one of the twelve Barons, which are Governors of Provinces, choſen by that Great Khan; they are Idolaters, and live on Merchandize. They make Arms and Harneſs for War, and Maſter *Marco* had the ſole Government thereof, by Commiſſion, from the Great Khan, three Years together, inſtead of one of theſe Barons. *Naughin* is a Province to the Weſt; one of the greateſt and nobleſt of *Mangi*; a Place of great Merchandize; they are Idolaters, have none but Paper-Money, have vaſt Quantities of Beaſts and Fowl, wild and tame. They make Cloths of Gold and Silver, and are rich Merchants, and the Country is very advantageous to the Khan, eſpecially by Cuſtom of Merchandize; there is likewiſe great Plenty of Corn.

Sianfu is a noble and great City in the Province of *Mangi*, and hath twelve rich and great Cities under her Juriſdiction. They make great Quantities of Silks, and Cloths of Gold, have Plenty of Game, Fowl, and all Things pertaining to a City of Note; ſo ſtrong that it was three Years beſieged, and could not be vanquiſhed by the Army of the *Tartars*, when the Province of *Mangi* was ſubdued, for it is encompaſſed on every Side with Lakes, that there was no Way to it but on the North; ſo that Ships came and went, continually bringing Plenty of Victuals, which not a little afflicted the Great Khan. The two Brethren, Maſter *Nicolo*, and Maſter *Maffio*, then in his Court, hearing thereof, went to him, and offered him their Service, to deviſe certain Engines, after the Manner of the Weſt, able to ſhoot a Stone of three hundred Weight, thereby to kill Men and ruin Houſes. The Khan appointed Carpenters, which were *Neſtorian* Chriſtians, who made three of theſe Engines in a ſhort Space, which were proved before him, and by Ships ſent to his Army. Planting them therefore againſt the City *Sianfu*, they began to caſt great Stones into the City; and the firſt, falling upon a certain Houſe, broke the moſt part of it with the Violence thereof, which the beſiged Inhabitants ſeeing, were very much aſtoniſhed, and yielded themſelves, and became ſubject to the Great Khan, on the ſame Conditions with the reſt of *Mangi*, to the great Repute of the two *Venetian* Brethren, the one the Author's Father, and the other his Uncle.

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[a] The *Chineſe* Hiſtories agree exactly, as to the Character of this Prince, with what we find delivered concerning him by our Author; but they differ widely with reſpect to the Name; ſince, according to them, he was called *Tu*, and from the Name of his Family *Tſong*. He was the fifteenth Emperor of the nineteeth Dynaſty, and ſucceeded to the Throne in the Year 1264. It was to his Indolence, Debauchery, and exceſſive Love of Pleaſure, that the *Chineſe* attribute the Deſtruction of their Country, and the total Conqueſt of it by the *Tartars*. This Monarch died in the Midſt of his Misfortunes, and left three young Children under the Tutelage of the Empreſs their Mother. Theſe Hiſtorians give us a great Character of the *Tartar* General, mentioned by our Author; but then they give him quite another Name, *viz.* *Pe Yen*; but what the Signification of that is, I cannot inform the Reader. He is ſaid to have commanded an Army of two hundred thouſand Men, with the ſame Eaſe as if it had been only a ſmall Body of Troops, and to have ſhewn ſo great Modeſty in the Midſt of his Conqueſts, as never once to have valued himſelf on the many and great Services he rendered to his Maſter.

From the City of *Sianfu* to a certain City called *Singui*, are accounted fifteen Miles South-eaſtward, which, atho' it is not very large, yet has a prodigious Number of Ships, being ſeated upon the greateſt River in the World, called *Quian*, the Breadth of which in ſome Places is ten Miles, in others eight, and in many ſix; but the Length thereof extendeth above an hundred Days Journey from the Source of it to the Sea. Innumerable other Rivers flow into it, which run through divers Regions, and are navigable; and theſe make it ſo great, that incredible Quantities of Merchandize are brought by this River. There are alſo many other Cities, in Number about two hundred, which participate of the Advantages of this River, for it runs through the Bounds of ſixteen Provinces. The greateſt Commodity is Salt, wherewith all the Cities which communicate by theſe Waters are ſupplied. Maſter *Marco* ſaw at one time at *Singui* five thouſand Veſſels, and yet other Cities on the River have more; all theſe Ships are covered, and have but one Maſt, and one Sail, and uſually carry four thouſand, and ſo upwards, ſome of them twelve thouſand *Venetia Cantari*; neither do they uſe Cordage of Hemp, except for the Maſt and Sail, but have Canes fifteen Paces long, which they ſplit into thin Parts from one End to the other, and binding the cut Parts together, and wreathing them, make very long Ropes, ſo that ſome of them contain three hundred Fathom in Length; and thoſe Ropes are as ſtrong as Hemp, and ſerve for Halſes and Cables to draw their Ships up and down the River, each Veſſel having ten or twelve Horſes for that Purpoſe.

On that River, in many Places, are rocky Hillocks, on which are built Monaſteries to their Idols, and all the way are Vallies and Places inhabited. *Cayngi* is a little City upon the ſame River South-eaſtward, where every Year is brought Plenty of Corn and Rice, carried for the moſt part to *Cambalu*; for they paſs thither by Lakes and Rivers, and by one large Canal, which the Khan cauſed to be made for a Paſſage from one River to another, and from *Mangi* to *Cambalu*, without going to Sea; which Work is beautiful and wonderful for the Sight and Length, and more for the Profit which accrues thereby to the Cities. He hath made alſo great Cauſeways to go on Land by theſe Waters commodiouſly. In the midſt of the ſaid River is an Iſland, or Rock, on which is erected a great Temple and Monaſtery, in which are two hundred idolatrous Monks. *Cingbianfu* is a City of *Mangi*, rich in Merchandize, plentiful of Game, having all kind of wild Beaſts and Fowl, and of Victual. In it are two Churches of *Neſtorian* Chriſtians, built *A. D.* 1274, when the Great Khan ſent a Governor thither, *Marſacbis*, a *Neſtorian*, who built them. From the City *Cingbianfu*, in three Days Journey South-eaſtward, you find many Cities and Caſtles, all Idolaters, and at laſt come to *Tinguigui*, a great and fair City, abounding with all kind of Proviſions [y].

When *Baian Chinſan*, General of the Army of the *Tartars*, conquered the Province of *Mangi*, he ſent many Chriſtians called *Alani* againſt the City, which was double walled; into the inner they retired, into the other the *Alans* entered, and found there Abundance of Wine, whereof, after a bad Journey, they began to drink ſo largely, that they were all drunk, and the Citizens in their Sleep, ſuddenly falling upon them, ſlew them all, not one eſcaping; but *Baian* hearing this, ſent another great Army againſt thoſe Citizens, which in a ſhort Space of Time vanquiſhing the City, in Revenge, put them all to the Sword, leaving none alive. The great and excellent City *Singui* contains in Circuit twenty Miles: Multitudes of People are in it, it hath many rich Merchants and induſtrious Artificers, and it hath alſo very many Phyſicians and Magicians, and wiſe Men, or Philoſophers. In the Mountains of this City, Rhubarb and Ginger grow in great Plenty. This City hath ſixteen Cities under the Juriſdiction thereof, in each of which much Trade is carried on, and many curious Arts are exerciſed, many ſorts of Silk are made there. The Word *Singui* ſignifies the City of the Earth: Alſo they have another City which they call *Quinſai*, that is to ſay, the City of Heaven. From *Singui*, at the Diſtance of one Day's Journey, is *Vagiu*, where is alſo Abundance of Silk, and able Artificers, with many other Merchants, as there are in general in all the Cities in this Country.

21. In a Journey of three Days, you find Cities, Caſtles, and Villages, well peopled, and rich. The People are Idolaters, under the Dominion of the Great Khan. At the End of theſe Days you come to *Quinſai*, *i. e.* the City of Heaven, which for the Excellency thereof hath that Name; for in the World there is not the like, or a Place in which are found ſo many Pleaſures, that a Man would think he were in Paradiſe. In this City our Author *Marco Polo* hath often been, and conſidered the ſame with great Diligence, obſerving the whole State thereof, ſetting down the ſame in his Memorials, as here from them ſhall be declared briefly. This City, by common Report, is an hundred Miles in Circuit. The Streets and Lanes are very long, and very wide; there are Market-places exceeding large; on the one Side a clear Lake of freſh Water, on the other a great River, which enters in many Places, and carries away all the Filth of the City, and ſo runneth into that Lake, thence continuing its Courſe into the Ocean. This Courſe of Water cauſeth a good Air, and commodious Paſſage both by Land and by thoſe Canals. There may go both Carts and Barks to carry Neceſſaries; and the Report is, that there are twelve thouſand Bridges, great and ſmall, and thoſe on the chief Channels are ſo high, that a Ship without her Maſts may paſs under, and at the ſame time Chariots and Horſes paſs over it. On the other Side the City is a large Canal forty Miles long, which encloſes it on that Side, large and full of Water, from the River made by the ancient Kings of that Province, both to receive the overflowing of the Water, and beſides that to fortify the City, the Earth which was taken out being laid within as a Bank or Hill encompaſſing it [z].

There are ten great Market-places, beſides others in the great Streets, which are ſquare, half a Mile in each Square; and from the Great Entrance is a principal Street, forty Paces wide, running right from one End of the City to the other, with many Bridges croſſing it, and every four Miles is found ſuch a Market-Place, two Miles, as is ſaid, in Compaſs. There is alſo one large Canal, which runs againſt the ſaid Street behind the Market-places, on the next Bank whereof are erected great Store-houſes of Stone, where the Merchants from *India*, and other Parts, lay up their Merchandize, being at Hand, and commodious for the Market-places. In each of theſe Market-places the People meet three Days in a Week, to the Number of between forty and fifty thouſand, who bring thither all things that can be deſired for Man's Life, Beaſts, Game, and Fowls, that Lake yielding ſuch Advantages for bringing them up, that for a *Venetian* Groat you may have two Geeſe, and four Ducks for the ſame. Then follow the Butcher-rows, of Veal, Beef, Kid, and Lamb, which the great and rich Men eat; for the Poor eat all the Offal, and unclean Meats, without reſpect. There are all ſorts of Herbs and Fruits continually, and amongſt the reſt huge Pears, weighing ten Pounds apiece, white within like Paſte, and very fragrant. Peaches yellow and white, very delicate. Grapes grow not there, but are brought from other Places dried; very good Wine alſo, but it is not eſteemed in thoſe Parts as with us, that of Rice and Spices contenting them. Every Day from the Ocean are brought up the River, which is the Space of five-and-twenty Miles, great Quantities of Fiſh, beſides that of the Lake, ſo much that a Man would think would never be bought, and yet in a few Hours all is gone. All theſe Market-places are encompaſſed with high Houſes, and underneath are Shops for Artificers, and all ſorts of Merchandize, as Spice, Jewels, Pearls, and in ſome only Rice-Wine. Many Streets anſwer one to another in the ſaid Market-places; in ſome of them are many cold Baths, accommodated with Attendants of both Sexes, a thing to which from Children they uſe themſelves. There are Chambers alſo in the ſame Baths, with hot Waters for Strangers, which are not accuſtomed to the cold Waters; they waſh every Day, neither do they eat before they have waſhed.

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[y] This happened the Year before the Death of the Emperor *Tou Tſong*, and in about four Years more all his Children, who ſucceeded one after the other to the Empire, periſhed. The firſt was taken Priſoner by the *Tartars*, and ſent by them into their own Country, where he died in Captivity. The ſecond was driven to *Canton*, where he died of a Conſumption at the Age of eleven Years. The third, whoſe Name was *Ti Ping*, having loſt all his Country, was obliged to take Refuge on Board the Fleet, which was purſued, and forced to an Engagement by that of the *Tartars*. When the *Chineſe* Lord, who had the Care of the Emperor's Perſon, found his Veſſel ſurrounded, he took the young Prince in his Arms, and jumped with him into the Sea. The Empreſs ſeeing the laſt of her Sons thus unhappily deſtroyed, followed his Fate, and threw herſelf alſo into the Sea. One whole Squadron of the *Chineſe* Fleet forced a Paſſage through that of the *Tartars*, but was afterwards deſtroyed by a Tempeſt, ſo that not a Veſſel or a Man eſcaped of the whole Navy; and the *Chineſe* Writers ſay, that there periſhed in the whole a hundred thouſand Men. The Loſs of this Battle put an End to the *Chineſe* Empire, and left the *Tartars* totally Maſters of the whole Country.

[z] This Deſcription of the City of *Quinſay* has occaſioned many Reflections upon our Author, as if writing of Countries at ſo great a Diſtance, he took the Liberty of impoſing on his Readers the Fictions of his Imaginations for the Facts which he had ſeen. Under this Imputation he for a long time laboured, eſpecially with ſuch as were deſirous of maintaining the Reputation of ſagacious and penetrating People; but by degrees the Credit of our Author has got the better of all ſuch Inſinuations, and the Relations given by the *Portugueze*, and other *Europeans*, who went thither after the Diſcovery of the Paſſage by the *Cape of Good Hope*, have put it out of doubt that he did not invent any Part of his Relation, but repreſented things fairly as they appeared to him, though certainly with fewer Circumſtances, and leſs Accuracy, than ſucceeding Travellers, who had more Time to examine, and greater Capacities for deſcribing what they ſaw.

In other Streets are mercenary Proſtitutes, in ſuch Numbers, that I dare not report it, and not only near the Market places, where they have their Places appointed, but through all the City; they ſtand pompouſly adorned with rich Perfumes, many Servants, and their Houſes finely furniſhed. Theſe are very ſkilful in making Sports and Dalliances, and contriving Pleaſures for raviſhing Men out of themſelves. In other Streets are the Phyſicians, the Aſtrologers, they which teach to read and write, and infinite other Trades. At each end of every Market-place is a Palace, where Lords and Governors are appointed by the King to determine Difficulties which happen betwixt Merchants and others, as alſo to look to the Guards on the Bridges, puniſhing ſuch as are negligent. Along the principal Street on both Sides are great Palaces with Gardens, and near them Houſes of Artificers, and ſuch Multitudes of People conſtantly going to and fro, that a Man would wonder whence ſuch Multitudes could be provided with Victuals; and Maſter *Marco* learned of an Officer of the Cuſtom-houſe in *Quinſay*, that by a very accurate Computation, it appeared, the daily Expence of Pepper in *Quinſay* was three-and-forty Soma, and every Soma is two hundred and twenty-three Pounds. Hence may be gueſſed the Quantity of Victuals, Fleſh, Wine, and Spices, were there ſpent. The Inhabitants are Idolaters, uſe none but Paper-Money, are of a very fair Complexion, apparelled for the moſt part in Silk, which grows in all that Territory abundantly, beſides that which is brought from other Places. There are twelve principal Companies or Corporations, each of which have one thouſand Shops, and in each Shop or Standing are ten, fifteen, or twenty Men at Work, and in ſome forty under one Maſter.

The rich Tradeſmen do not work with their Hands, but ſtand in their Shops, well, or rather pompouſly dreſſed, eſpecially their Wives, with Jewels invaluable. And altho' their old Kings ordained, that the Child ſhould be of the Father's Trade, yet the Rich are permitted not to work at it, but to keep Shop, and M[illegible] working in the ſame Trade. Their Houſes are well built, and very richly furniſhed with Pictures and other Ornaments of immenſe Price. The Natives are peaceable, know not how to manage Arms, nor keep them in their Houſes, neither is ther Strife and Debate among them. They exerciſe their Trades with great Sincerity. They live in ſuch Amity, that one Street ſeems as one Houſe, without Jealouſy among their Wives, which they hold in great Reſpect, and it would be reputed a great Diſgrace to ſpeak a diſhoneſt Word to a married Woman. They entertain foreign Merchants kindly, both in their Houſes, and with beſt Advice for their Affairs; but they are not over fond of the Soldiers, and Guards of the grand Khan, becauſe by them deprived of their natural Lords and Kings. About the Lake are very fair Buildings, and great Palaces of the principal Men, and Temples of their Idols, with Monaſteries of many Monks. In the midſt of the Lake are two Iſlands, upon each of which is a Palace, with incredible Numbers of Rooms, whither they reſort upon Occaſion of Marriages, or other Feaſts, where Proviſions of Veſſels, Linen, and other things are maintained in common, for ſuch Purpoſes, one Hundred ſometimes accommodated at once, in ſeveral Rooms. In the Lake alſo are Boats and Barges for Pleaſure, adorned with fair Seats and Tables, and other Proviſions for a Banquet, covered above, and flat, upon which Men ſtand with Poles to puſh the Boat on, the Lake being but ſhallow: Within they are painted, without are Windows to open and ſhut at Pleaſure; nor can any thing in the World ſeem more pleaſant than in this Lake to have ſuch various Objects, the City ſo fully preſenting itſelf to the Eye, with ſo many Temples, Monaſteries, Palaces, Gardens, with high Trees, and on the Water Barges and People; for their Cuſtom is to work one Part of the Day, and to ſpend ſome Part in this Diverſion with their Friends, or with Women on the Lake, or elſe in Chariots, riding through the City, which is alſo another of the *Quinſay* Pleaſures; for all the Streets are paved with Stone, as alſo are all the Highways, in the Province of *Mangi* only for the Foot; Poſts are left on the Side a Space unpaved: The principal Street of *Quinſay* is paved ten paces on each Hand, and in the midſt it is full of Gravel, with Paſſages for the Water, which keep it always clean.

In this Street are innumerable long cloſe Chariots, accommodated with Cloths and Cuſhions of Silk for ſix Perſons, who divert themſelves in the Street, or go to the Gardens, and there paſs the Time in Bowers, fine Walks, *&c.* which are kept for that Purpoſe, and return at Night in the ſame Chariots. When a Child is born, the Father ſets down the exact Point of Time, and with that Note goes to the Aſtrologer, to conſult of his future Fortunes; of theſe Aſtrologers are a great Number in every Market-Place. Theſe People will not celebrate a Marriage without ſuch Conſultation. When one dies that is of Note, the Kindred cloath themſelves in Canvas, and ſo both Men and Women accompany him to the Burying-Place, playing on Inſtruments, and ſinging all the Way Prayers to their Idols, and being come to that Place, caſt into the Fire many Papers of Cotton, whereon are painted Slaves, Horſes, Camels, Stuffs of Gold, and Silk, and Monies, which they think he ſhall really poſſeſs in another World, and make a grand Concert of Muſick, in Conceit of the Joy wherewith the Idols there receive his Soul, where he beginneth, as they fancy, to live anew. In every Street are Towers of Stone, to which, when in Danger of Fire, they uſe to carry their Gods, their Timber-Houſes being very ſubject to ſuch Caſualties. The Khan hath ordered, that on the moſt of the Bridges, Day and Night, there ſtand under a Covert, ten Soldiers, five by Day, and five by Night, and in every Guard-room is a Tabernacle of Wood, with a great Baſon, whereby they know the Hours of the Day and Night, which at every Hour's End the Warders ſtrike, to ſignify what Hour, One, Two, *&c.* beginning at the Sun-riſing; and then again, at the Beginning of the Night. They walk up and down, and if any have a Light or Fire after the appointed Time, they cauſe him to anſwer it before the Juſtices, or Governors aforeſaid, or if any walk later.

If any be not able to work, they carry him to ſome Hoſpital, of which are exceeding many, founded by the old Kings, with great Revenues, through the City: When they are well again, they are compelled to work. If a Fire happen, theſe from divers Places come to and quench it, and to carry the Goods to the Iſlands, or thoſe Towers;

for in the Night none of the Citizens dare go out, but thoſe who are in Danger. The Khan always keeps here a Body of his beſt and moſt faithful Soldiery, as being the beſt and richeſt Place in the World. Within a Mile of each other, are built Ramparts of Wood, where the ſame Precautions are uſed for like Purpoſes. When the Khan had reduced all *Mangi* to his Obedience, he divided it, being before but one Kingdom, into nine Parts, and ſet them a Vice-King over each, who there adminiſters Juſtice. Every Year they give Account to the Khan's Officers of the Revenues, and other Accidents, and every third Year are changed, as all other Officers are. One of theſe Deputy Kings is reſident at *Quinſay*, who is Governor of above one hundred and forty Cities, all rich and great: Nor let this be eſteemed a Wonder, ſeeing in *Mangi* there are twelve thouſand Cities, all inhabited by rich and induſtrious People, in one of which the Khan maintaineth a Garriſon, proportionable to the Greatneſs and Occaſions, one thouſand, ten, or twenty thouſand, not all *Tartars*, but *Cathayans*; for the *Tartars* are Horſemen, and keep in ſuch Places as may be fit to exerciſe their Horſes. Into *Cathay* he ſends thoſe of *Mangi*, and *Cathayans* hither, ſuch as are fit for Arms, of which he makes choice every third Year, and ſends them for four or five Years together, into Places twenty Days Journey from their own Country, and then ſuffers them to return Home, a freſh Body ſucceeding; and moſt Part of the Khan's Revenues are this Way expended, and if any City rebel, he ſuddenly from the next Garriſon compoſes an Army to reduce or deſtroy them. The City of *Quinſay* hath in conſtant Garriſon thirty thouſand Soldiers, and that which hath leaſt, hath one thouſand regular Troops, Horſe and Foot in Garriſon [b].

I come next to ſpeak of the Palace of King *Fanfur*. His Predeceſſors cauſed to be incloſed a Place of ten Miles Circuit, with high Walls, and divided it into three Parts. That in the midſt was entered by one Gate on the one Side, and on the other were great and large Galleries, the Roof ſuſtained by Pillars, painted and wrought in pure Gold, and fine Azure. Theſe were ſmaller at the Entry, and the further the greater, the faireſt at the End; the Roof richly adorned with Gold, and on the Walls were painted the Stories of the former Kings, done very elegantly. Every Year, on certain Idol Holidays, *Fanfur* keeps his Court, and feaſts his principal Lords, the great Merchants, and rich Artificers of *Quinſay*. Ten thouſand are at a Time under theſe Terraces. This feaſting endured ten or twelve Days with incredible Magnificence, every Gueſt endeavouring to preſent himſelf in greateſt Pomp. Behind this marble Building was a Wall, which divided the Palace, in which were, as it were, a Cloiſter with Pillars, ſuſtaining the Terrace round about the Cloiſter, wherein were Chambers for the King and Queen, curiouſly wrought. From this Cloiſter was an Entrance into a Gallery ſix Paces wide, extending in Length to the Lake, all covered. On each Side of this Gallery were ten Courts, anſwering to each other like Cloiſters, each Court having fifty Chambers, with their Gardens, and in them one thouſand Concubines abode, which the King kept for his Service, who, ſometimes with the Queen, ſometimes with them, went in his Royal Barge on the Lake, for Recreation, or to viſit his Idol Temples. The other two Parts of the Seraglio were divided into Groves, Lakes, and Gardens, planted with Trees, in which were incloſed all Sorts of Beaſts, Roe-Bucks, Stags, Hares, Conies, and there the King diverted himſelf with his Damſels in Chariots, or on Horſeback, no Man entering there. There the Ladies hunted with his Dogs, and when weary, they went into thoſe Groves, which anſwered one another over the Lake, and there leaving their Garments, came forth naked, and fell to ſwimming in the King's Preſence. Sometimes he would eat a Banquet in thoſe Groves, being ſerved by thoſe Damſels, without once thinking of Arms, which ſweet Meat coſt him the four Sauce ye have heard. All this was told me by a rich old Merchant of *Quinſay*, while I was there, one who had been familiar with King *Fanfur*, and knew all his Life, and had ſeen that Palace flouriſhing, into which he would needs bring me.

The Viceroy now reſides there, and the firſt Galleries remain as they were, but the Damſels Chambers are ruined. The Walls alſo which encompaſſed the Woods and Gardens are fallen to the Ground, the Beaſts and Trees being gone, and all the other Ornaments deſtroyed. Twenty-five Miles from *Quinſay* is the Ocean, between the Eaſt and North-Eaſt, near which is a City called *Gampu*, an excellent Port, where arrive the *Indian* Ships with Merchandize. While *Marco Polo* was in *Quinſay*, Account being given to the grand Khan of the Revenues, and the Number of Inhabitants, he hath ſeen that there have been inrolled one-hundred-and-ſixty Toman of Fires, reckoning for a Fire the Family dwelling in one Houſe; every Toman contains ten thouſand, which makes ſixteen hundred thouſand Families, of all which there is but one Church of Chriſtians, and thoſe *Neſtorians*. Every Houſholder is bound to have written over his Door the Names of his whole Houſhold, Males and Females; alſo the Number of Horſes, the Names added or blotted out as the Family increaſeth or decreaſeth; and this is obſerved in all the Cities of *Mangi* and *Cathay*. Thoſe alſo that keep Inns write in a Book the Names of their Gueſts, and the Day and Hour of their Departure, which Books they ſend daily to the Lords, or Magiſtrates, who preſide at the Market-places. In *Mangi*, the Poor which are not able to bring up their Children, ſell them to the Rich. The Revenues which accrue to the Khan from *Quinſay*, and the other Cities pertaining thereto, being the Ninth Part of the Kingdom of *Mangi*, are firſt of Salt, every Year, eight Tomans of Gold, every Toman is eighty thouſand Sazzi's of Gold, and every Sazzi is more than one Florin of Gold, which will amount to ſix Millions and four-hundred-thouſand Ducats. The Cauſe is, that that Province being nigh the Sea, there are many Lakes, where the Water in Summer is coagulated into Salt, wherewith five other Kingdoms in that Country are ſerved. There is plenty of Sugar growing, which pay, as likewiſe all Spices do, three Parts, and a third in the Hundred: The like of Rice-Wine. Alſo thoſe twelve Companies, which we ſaid had twelve thouſand Shops, and the Merchants which bring Goods hither, or carry any hence by Sea, pay the ſame Price. They which come from remote Countries and Regions, as for example, from the *Indies*, pay ten *per Cent*. Likewiſe all things there breeding, as Beaſts, and growing out of the Earth, and Silk, pay Tithe to the King, and the Computation being made in the Preſence of Maſter *Marco*, beſides Salt before-mentioned, yearly amounts to two-hundred-and-ten Tomans, which will be ſixteen million eight-hundred-thouſand Ducats in Gold [c].

A Day's Journey from *Quinſay* to the South-eaſt, are all the Way Houſes, Villages, fair Gardens, and Plenty of Victuals; at the End whereof is *Tapinzu*, a fine City, in the Juriſdiction of *Quinſay*. Three Days thence, South-Eaſt, is *Uguiu*, and two Days farther you may ſtill ride that Way, finding Caſtles, Cities, and well cultivated Places, in ſuch a Neighbourhood that they ſeem to Travellers all one City, and are all in the Juriſdiction of *Quinſay*; there are great Canes fifteen Paces long and four Palms thick. Two Days Journey farther is the City *Congui*, fair and large; and travelling farther South-Eaſt, are

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[b] The *Tartars* viſibly depended upon a military Force for the Preſervation of their Empire in *China*, which whether it was an Effect of their own Policy, or a Part of the *Chineſe* Syſtem of Government, which they adopted, is uncertain; but it is moſt probable that it was the latter. However it was far enough from anſwering the End, for the *Tartar* Forces becoming a meer ſtanding Army, and having nothing to do but to make a lazy Livelihood of that Profeſſion, the Soul of which is an active State; they ſoon degenerated, and became as ſoft and effeminate as the *Chineſe*; while the latter, humbled by the *Tartar* Conqueſt, impoveriſhed by enduring the Burthen of ſuch a numerous Army, and, above all, taught the Value of Liberty by the Loſs of it, began to form Deſigns for bringing about a new Revolution, which at laſt they were ſo lucky as to effect.

[c] Theſe Particulars might very well appear (as indeed they did) abſolutely incredible, at a Time when there was not ſo much as an Idea of a well peopled and regularly ſettled Country beyond the Limits of *Perſia*, received among the *Europeans*. As the *Chineſe* were amazed, and knew not what to think of our Manners, when we came firſt among them, ſo the firſt News of ſuch an Empire as *China*, ſo extenſive, ſo well peopled, ſo admirably governed, and in ſo flouriſhing a Condition, muſt needs aſtoniſh us not a little. According to the lateſt Account of this Empire, its Revenues amount to fifty Millions Sterling annually.

Places full of People and Trades; and in this Part of *Mangi* are no Sheep, but Beavers, Buffaloes, Goats, and Swine in great Plenty. At the End of four Days Journey farther is the City *Zengian*, built on a Hill in the Midſt of a River, which, dividing into two Branches, encompaſſes it, and then runs one to the South-Eaſt, the other to the North-Weſt. This City is in the Juriſdiction of *Quinſay*, and its Inhabitants are Merchants alſo and Idolaters; this Country abounds with all Sorts of Game. Three Days Journey from thence, through a moſt pleaſant Country, exceeding well inhabited, ſtands *Gieza*, a great City, which is the laſt of the *Quinſay* Kingdom; after which you enter into another Kingdom of *Mangi*, called *Concha*; the principal City thereof is *Fugiu*, by which you travel ſix Days Journey South-Eaſt, through Hills and Dales, always finding Places inhabited, and Plenty of Game, of Beaſts and Fowl; they are Idolaters, Merchants ſubject to the Khan. There are ſtout Lions: and here grow Ginger and Galingale in great plenty, with other Sorts of Spices; eight Pounds of Ginger are ſold for a *Venetian* Groat. There is an Herb, whoſe Fruit hath the Effect, and gives the Colour and Smell of Saffron, but is not Saffron, which is uſed in their Meats. They commonly eat Man's Fleſh, if the Perſons die not of Sickneſs, as better taſted than others. When they go into the Field they ſhave to the Ears, and paint their Faces with Azure: they ſerve on Foot, except the Captain, who rides, and uſes a Sword and Lance; they are very cruel, and when they kill an Enemy preſently drink his Blood, and afterwards eat his Fleſh.

After ſix Days Journey is *Quelinfu*, a great City, with three Bridges, each eight Paces broad, and above an hundred long: Thhe Women fair and delicately ſhaped. They have abundance of Silk and Cotton, are great Merchants, have Plenty of Ginger and Galingale. I was told, but ſaw them not, that they have Hens without Feathers, hairy like Cats, which yet lay Eggs, and are good to eat. Here are many Lions, which make the Way very dangerous. After three Days Journey, you arrive in a populous Country, inhabited by Idolaters, who make abundance of ſilk Manufacturies, the chief City is *Unguem*, where is great Plenty of Sugar, ſent thence to *Cambalu*, which they knew not how to make good till they became ſubject to the Khan, in whoſe Court were *Babylonians*, which taught them to refine it with Aſhes of certain Trees, they only boiling it before into a black Paſte. Fifteen Miles farther lies *Cangiu*, ſtill in the Realm of *Concha*, and here the Khan keeps an Army in Readineſs for a Guard of the Country. Through this City paſſes a River a Mile broad, fairly built on both ſides, and abounding with Ships carrying Sugar and other Lading. This River diſembogues from hence five Days Journey South-Eaſt at *Zaitum*, a Seaport, from which the rich Ships of *India* come to this pleaſant City, as is all the Country betwixt, in which are Trees and Shrubs of Camphire. *Zaitum* is a famous Port, where all the Ships arrive with Merchandize, thence diſperſed through all *India*. There is here ſuch a Quantity of Pepper, that what comes by *Alexandria* to the Weſt is little to it, and, as it were, one of a hundred. The Concourſe of Merchants is incredible, it being one of the moſt commodious Ports in the World, exceeding profitable to the Khan, who receives Cuſtom at the rate of ten in the Hundred of all Merchandize. They pay ſo much for Hire of Ships alſo, that there is not above one half of their Merchandize remaining entire to themſelves, and yet that Moiety yields vaſt Profit to them. The Citizens are idolatrous, given to Pleaſure; in it are many Artificers on embroidered and Arras Work. The River is great, very wide, and ſwift, and one Arm of it runs to *Quinſay*, at the parting of which is *Tringui* ſituated, where *Porcelane* Diſhes are made. I was told of a certain Earth, which they caſt up in Hills, and ſo let lie expoſed to all Weathers for thirty or forty Years without ſtirring; after which, refining by Time, they make Diſhes, paint them, and then put them in the Furnace. You may there have eight Diſhes for one *Venetian* Groat. In this Kingdom of *Concha*, the Khan has as great a Revenue almoſt as that of the Kingdom of *Quinſay*. In theſe two Maſter *Marco* was, and in none of the other nine Kingdoms of *Mangi*, in all which one Language is uſed, with Variety of Dialect, and but one Sort of Writing; and therefore we will ſpeak no more of them, but in the next Book diſcourſe of *India* the Greater, the Middle and the Leſs, in which he was both in the Service of the Khan, and alſo in his Return with the Queen to *Argon*.

22. We will now enter into the Affairs of *India*, and begin with their Ships, which are made of Fir, with one Deck, on which are twenty Cabins, more or leſs, according to the Bigneſs of the Ships, each for one Merchant. They have a good Rudder, and four Maſts with four Sails, and ſome two Maſts, which they either raiſe or take down at Pleaſure. Some greater Ships have thirteen Diviſions on the Inſide, made with Boards inchaſed, ſo that if by a Blow of a Whale, or Touch of a Rock, Water gets in, it can go no farther than that Diviſion, and the Leak being found, is ſoon ſtopped. They are double, that is, have two Courſes of Boards, one within the other, and are well calked with Oakum, and nailed with Iron, but not pitched, for they have no Pitch, but anointed with an Oil of a certain Tree mixed with Lime and Hemp, beaten ſmall, which binds faſter than Pitch or Lime. The greater Ships have three hundred Mariners, the others two hundred, or one-hundred-and-fifty, as they are in Bigneſs and in Burthen, from five to ſix thouſand Bags of Pepper [d]; and they were wont to be larger than now they are, the Sea having broken into Parts and Iſlands, that the Defect of Water in ſome Places cauſeth them to build leſs. They uſe alſo Oars in theſe Ships, four Men to one Oar; and the greater Ships have with them two or three leſs Ships, able to carry a thouſand Bags of Pepper, having ſixty Mariners, or upwards, on board; which ſmall Ships ſerve ſometimes to tow the greater. They have alſo with them ten ſmall Boats for fiſhing and other Services, faſtened to the Sides of the larger Ships, and let down when they pleaſe to uſe them. They ſheath their Ships alſo after a Year's Uſage, ſo that then they have three Courſes of Boards, and they proceed in this Manner ſometimes till there be ſix Courſes, after which they break them up. Having ſpoken of the Ships, we will ſpeak of *India*, and firſt, of certain Iſlands.

Zipangu, i. e. Japan, is an Iſland on the Eaſt, one thouſand five hundred Miles diſtant from the Shores of *Mangi*, very great, the People of white Complexion, of gentle Behaviour, in Religion Idolaters, and have a King of their own. They have Gold in great Plenty, for few Merchants come thither, and the King permits no Exportation of it; and they which have carried on Commerce there, ſpeak of the King's Houſe covered with Gold, as Churches here with Lead, gilded Windows, Floors of Gold. There are alſo many Pearls. Once the Fame of theſe Riches made *Cublai-Khan* to ſend to conquer it two of his Barons, with a great Fleet of Ships, one named *Abbaca*, and the other *Venſanſin*, who going from *Zaitum* and *Quinſay*, arrived there, but falling out between themſelves, could take but one City, and there beheaded all they took, except eight Perſons, which, by an inchanted precious Stone, incloſed in the Right-arm between the Skin and Fleſh, could not be wounded with Iron; whereupon, with wooden Clubs, at the Command of the two Barons, they were ſlain. It happened one Day, that a northern Wind blew hard, which was dangerous to the Ships riding there, ſo that ſome were loſt, ſome put out farther to Sea, and others, with the two Leaders and a few principal Perſons, returned home. Out of many broken Ships ſome eſcaped by Boards and ſwimming to an Iſland not inhabited, four Miles off *Zipangu*, and were about thirty thouſand, without Proviſions or Arms, againſt whom the *Zipanguaners*, after the Tempeſt was calmed, ſent out a Fleet of Ships, and an Army. Theſe coming on Land to ſeek the wrecked *Tartars* without Order, gave Occaſion to the *Tartars* to wheel about, the Iſland being high in the Midſt, and to get unſeen to their Ships, which were left unmanned, with the Streamers diſplayed, and in them they ſailed to the chief City of *Zipangu*, where they were admitted without Suſpicion, and found few others but Women. The King of *Zipangu* beſieged them ſix Months, and they having no Relief, yielded themſelves, and their Lives were ſaved. This happened *A. D.* 1264[e].

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[d] This Account of the Ships uſed in the Trade of the *Eaſt-Indies*, agrees exactly with the modern Relations; and though, without doubt, they fall very far ſhort of our Ships for many Purpoſes, yet for ſome, the Nature of thoſe Seas conſidered, they may be, and very probably are, more convenient.

The Khan, for the ill Conduct of his two Commanders, cut off the Head of one, and ſent the other to a deſart Iſland called *Zerga*, where he cauſed Offenders to die, by ſewing them, their Hands bound in a new flay'd Hide of a Buffaloe, which drying, ſhrinketh ſo, as it puts them to vaſt Tortures, which lead to a miſerable Death. The Idols in this and the adjoining Iſlands are made with Heads of Kine, Swine, Dogs, and in other Faſhions more monſtrous, as with Faces on their Shoulders, with four, ten, or even an hundred Hands; and to theſe they aſcribe moſt Power, and do moſt Reverence, and ſay, that ſo they learned of their Progenitors. They ſometimes eat their Enemies which they take, with great Joy, and for great Dainties; at leaſt ſo it is reported of them. The Sea, in which this Iſland lies, is called the Sea of *Cin*, or *Chin*, that is, the Sea againſt *Mangi*, and in the Language of that Iſland *Mangi* is called *Chin*, or *Chint*, which Sea is ſo large, that the Mariners and expert Pilots, who frequent it, ſay, that there are ſeven thouſand four hundred and forty Iſlands therein, the moſt Part of them inhabited; that there grow no Tree which yields not a good Smell, and that there grows many Spices of divers Kinds, eſpecially Lignum Aloes, and Pepper black and white. The Ships of *Zaitum* are a Year in their Voyage, for they go in Winter, and return in Summer, having Winds of two ſorts, which keep their Seaſons, and this Country is far from *India*; but I will leave them, for I never was there, nor are they ſubject to the Khan, and return to *Zaitum*; from hence ſailing South-weſtward one thouſand five hundred Miles, paſſing a Gulph called *Cheinan*, which continues two Months ſailing to the Northward, ſtill confining on the South-eaſt of *Mangi*, and elſewhere with *Ania* and *Toloman*, and other Provinces before named. Within it are infinite Iſlands all in a manner inhabited: In them is found abundance of Gold, and they trade one with another.

22. This Gulph ſeems like another World; and after one thouſand and five hundred Miles, ſailing acroſs this Gulph, is the County *Ziambar*, rich and great, having a King and a Language of their own, Idolaters, and paying Tribute to the Grand Khan of twenty Elephants, and Lignum Aloes in great Quantities yearly. *A D.* 1268, the Khan hearing of the Riches of this Iſland, ſent thither *Sagatu* with an Army to invade it. *Acambate* the King thereof was old, and made his Compoſition by paying the Tribute, which has been mentioned. There are many Woods of black Ebony there, which are of infinite Value. Sailing thence betwixt the South and South-eaſt one thouſand five hundred Miles is *Java*, at preſent ſuppoſed by Mariners the greateſt Iſland in the World, being above three thouſand Miles in Circuit, under a King who payeth Tribute to none, the Khan not offering to ſubject it, becauſe of the Length and Danger of the Voyage. The Merchants of *Zaitum* and *Mangi* fetch thence abundance of Gold and Spices. South and South-weſt ward ſix hundred Miles from *Java*, are two Iſlands, one *Sondur*, which is the greater, the other *Condur*, leſs, both deſolate.

Fifty Miles South-eaſt from them is a Province, or firm Land, very rich and great, named *Locbae*, the People Idolaters, having a Language of their own, as well as a King. There grows Braſil Wood in great Plenty, much Gold, Elephants, wild Beaſts, and Fowl, a Fruit called *Bercias*, large as Lemons, very good; the Place is mountainous and ſavage, and the King permits not any to come thither, leſt they ſhould know his Country, and attempt to conquer it. There are abundance of Porcelain Shells for Money tranſported to other Places. Five hundred Miles Southward from *Locbae* is the Iſle *Pentan*, a ſavage Place, which produceth in all the Woods ſweet Trees; ſixty Miles in the Way, the Sea is in many Places but four Fathom, after which ſailing to the South-eaſt thirty Miles further, is the Iſland and Kingdom of *Malaiur*, which hath a peculiar King and Language to itſelf, and here a great Trade is carried on in Spices from *Pentan*. One hundred Miles South-eaſt is *Java the Leſs*, in Compaſs about two thouſand Miles, and hath in it eight Kingdoms, and the People as many Languages; they are Idolaters, have abundance of Treaſure, Spices, Ebony, and Braſil, and are ſo far to the South, that the North Star cannot there be ſeen. Maſter *Marco* was in ſix of thoſe Kingdoms, of which he gives the following Account, leaving the other two which he ſaw not.

One of theſe eight Kingdoms is *Felech*, where the Idolaters, by frequent Trade with *Saracens*, are converted to the Law of *Mohammed*. In the Cities the Mountaineers are very beaſtly, eating Man's Fleſh, and all kinds of impure Food, and worſhip all Day what they firſt ſee in the Morning: Next to that is *Baſma*, which hath a Language by itſelf; they live without Law like Beaſts, and ſometimes ſend Hawks to the Khan, who lays claim to all the Iſland. For ſavage Beaſts they have wild Elephants, and Unicorns much leſs than Elephants, like the Buffaloe in Hair; their Feet are like Elephant's Feet, they have one Horn in the midſt of the Forehead, and hurt none therewith, but with the Tongue and Knee; for on their Tongue are certain long Prickles, and ſharp, and when they hurt any, they trample on him, and preſs him down with their Knees, and then tear him to Pieces with their Tongue. The Head is like a wild Boar's, which he carries downwards to the Ground. They love to ſtand in the Mire, and are filthy Beaſts, and not ſuch Unicorns are ſaid to be in our Parts, which ſuffer themſelves to be taken by Maids, but quite contrary. They have many Apes, and of ſeveral Kinds; they have Goſ-hawks black as Ravens, great, and good for Prey. There are certain ſmall Apes, in their Faces like Men, which they put in Boxes, and preſerve with Spices, and ſell them to Merchants, who carry them through the World, ſhewing them for Pigmies, or little Men.

Samare is the next Kingdom, where Maſter *Marco* ſtaid five Months againſt his Will, forced by ill Weather. There none of the Stars of *Charles*'s *Wain* are ſeen. He once went on Shore with two thouſand People, and there fortified for thoſe five Months, for fear of thoſe brutiſh Men-eaters, and traded mean while with them for Victuals. They have excellent Fiſh, Wine of the Date-Tree, very wholeſome for Phthiſick, Dropſy, Diſeaſes of the Spleen; ſome white, ſome red, and *Indian* Nuts as big as a Man's Head, the middle whereof is full of a pleaſant Liquor better than Wine; they eat of all ſorts of Fleſh without any Difference. *Dragoian* is another of theſe Kingdoms claimed by the Khan, having a King and Language of their own I was told of an abominable Cuſtom, that when one is ſick, they ſend to enquire of the Sorcerers whether he ſhall eſcape? If the Devils anſwer no, the Kindred ſend for ſome, whoſe Office it is to ſtrangle the ſick Party; after which they cut him in Pieces, and the Kindred eat him with great Jollity, even to the Marrow of the Bones; for, ſay they, if any Subſtance of him ſhould remain, Worms would breed thereof, which would want Food, and ſo die, to the great Torture of the Soul of the Deceaſed. The Bones they afterwards take and carry into ſome Caves in the Hills, that no Beaſt may touch them. If they take any Stranger, they eat him in the ſame manner

Lambrai is the fifth Kingdom of *Java*, in which is great Plenty of Braſil, of the Seeds whereof Maſter *Marco* brought to *Venice*, and ſowed them, but in vain, the Soil being too cold. They have Unicorns in great abundance, and Choice of Beaſts and Fowls. *Fanfur*, the ſixth Kingdom, hath the beſt Camphire, which is ſold Weight for Weight with Gold. In that Province they make Meal out of great and long Trees, as thick as two Men can fathom; whence paring off the thin Bark and Wood about three Fingers thick, the Pith within is Meal, which they put in Water, and ſtir it very well, the lighteſt Droſs ſwimming, and the fineſt ſettling to the Bottom, and then the Water being caſt away, they make Paſte, of which Maſter *Marco* brought ſome to *Venice*, taſting not much unlike Barley-Bread. The

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[e] This Attempt made by the *Tartars* to conquer *Japan*, is a very curious Circumſtance, and of great Conſequence to the Hiſtory of this Country, becauſe mentioned by no other Author, which is the Reaſon that Father *Martini* refers us hither on that Head, in his moſt accurate Work of the Empire of *China*.

Wood of this Tree thrown into the Water ſinks like Iron, of which they make Lancets, but ſhort, for if long, they would be too heavy to bear. Theſe they ſharpen, and burn at the Tops, with which ſo prepared, they will pierce through Armour ſooner than if they were made of Iron. About one hundred and fifty Miles from *Lambri*, ſailing Northwards, are two Iſlands, one called *Nocueran*, in which the Inhabitants live like Beaſts, go all naked, both Men and Women, and worſhip Idols, have excellent Trees, Cloves, Sanders white and red, *Indian* Nuts, Braſil, and other Spices; the other *Angaman*, ſavage as the former, and where I was told they had Dogs Heads and Teeth.

24. Sailing hence one thouſand Miles to the Weſt, and a little to the North-weſt, is *Zeilan*, two thouſand and four hundred Miles in Circuit, and anciently three thouſand and ſix hundred Miles, as is ſeen in the Maps of the Mariners of thoſe Places; but the North Winds have made a great Part of it Sea. It is the fineſt Iſland in the World; the King is called *Sendernaz*. The Men and Women are Idolaters, go naked, ſave that they cover their Privities with a Cloth, have no Corn, but Rice and Oil of *Seſamino*, Milk, Fleſh, Wine of Trees, abundance of Braſil, the beſt Rubies in the World, Sapphires, Topazes, Amethiſts, and other Gems: The King is ſaid to have the very fineſt Ruby that was ever ſeen, as long as one's Hand, and as big as a Man's Arm, without Spot, ſhining like a Fire, not to be bought for Money. *Cublai-Khan* ſent and offered the Value of a City for it; but the King anſwered, he would not give it for the Treaſure of the World, nor part with it, becauſe it had been his Anceſtors. The Men are unfit for Soldiers, and hire others when they have Occaſion. From *Zeilan*, ſailing ſixty Miles to the Weſt, lies the great Province of *Malabar*, which is not an Iſland, but firm Continent, called *India the Greater*, the richeſt Province in the World: There are in it four Kings, the chief of which is *Sinder Candi*, in whoſe Kingdom they fiſh for Pearls, *viz.* betwixt *Malabar* and *Zeilan*, in a Bay where the Sea is not above ten or twelve Fathom; in which Divers deſcend, and in Bags or Nets tied to their Bodies, bring up the Oiſters, in which are the Pearls: And becauſe there are ſome great Fiſh which kill the Fiſhermen, they hire certain Bramins to charm them, and theſe have the twentieth, and the King the tenth. Theſe Oiſters are found through the whole Month of *April*, and till the Middle of *May*, and not at any time elſe. In *September* they find them in a Place above three hundred Miles off, and till the Midſt of *October*. The Khan goes as naked as the reſt, ſave that he wears ſome honourable Enſigns, as a Collar of precious Stones about his Neck, and a Thread of Silk to his Breaſt, with one hundred and four fair Pearls ſtrung thereon to count his Prayers by, of which he muſt daily ſay ſo many to his Idols. A ſort of Bracelets he weareth on three Places on his Arms, and likewiſe on his Legs, on his Fingers, and on his Toes. The Prayers which he ſays are *Pacauca, Pacauca, Pacauca*, one hundred and four times. This King hath one thouſand Concubines, and if any pleaſe him, he takes her as once he did from his Brother, whence Wars had followed; but the Mother threatening to cut off her Breaſts, which had nouriſhed them, if they proceeded, the Quarrel was compoſed. He hath many Horſemen for his Guard, which always accompany him, who, when the King dies, throw themſelves voluntarily into the Fire when he is burnt, to do him Service in the next World.

This Prince and his Brethren, the Kings of *Malabar*, buy their Horſes from *Ormus*, and other Parts; the Country breeds none; and if it ſometimes falls out that it does, yet are they there bred ill-favoured and naught. Condemned Perſons will offer themſelves to die in Honour of ſuch an Idol, which is performed with twelve Knives, and twelve Wounds in divers Parts of the Body, at every Blow, ſaying, *I kill myſelf in Honour of that Idol*; and the laſt he thruſts in his Heart, and is then burnt by his Kindred. The Wives alſo caſt themſelves into the Fire with their Huſbands, Diſrepute following thoſe who refuſe it. They worſhip Idols, and moſt of them adore Cows, and would not eat ſo holy Fleſh as Beef for all the World. There are ſome called *Gaui*, who eat ſuch Oxen as die of themſelves, but may not kill them, and dawb over their Houſes with Ox-dung. Theſe *Gaui* are of the Poſterity of thoſe which ſlew *St. Thomas*, and cannot enter the Place where his Body is. They ſit on Carpets on the Ground in this Kingdom: They have no Corn but Rice; are not a martial People; kill no Beaſts, but when they will eat any, get the *Saracens* to do it, or other People; waſh twice a-day, Morning and Evening, both Men and Women, and will not otherwiſe eat, which they who obſerve not are accounted Hereticks. They touch not their Meat with their Left hand, but uſe that Hand only to wipe, and for other unclean Uſes. They drink each in his own Pot, and will not touch another Man's Pot, nor ſuffer their own to touch their Mouth, but hold it over, and poor it in. To Strangers who have no Pot they pour Drink into his Hands, and oblige him to drink with them. Juſtice is ſeverely adminiſtered for Crimes, and a Creditor may in ſome Caſes encompaſs his Debtor with a Circle, which he dares not paſs till he hath paid the Debt, or given Security; if he does, he is to be put to Death; and Maſter *Marco* once ſaw the King himſelf on Horſeback thus encircled by a Merchant, whom he had long delayed and put off; neither would the King go out of the Circle which the Merchant had drawn, till he had ſatisfied him, the People applauding the King's Juſtice. They are very ſcrupulous of drinking Wine made of the Grape, and they which do it are not thought worthy or honeſt Men, or admitted to be Witneſſes, a Thing denied alſo to him who ſails by Sea, for they ſay ſuch Men are deſperate. They think Lechery no Sin. It is very hot, and they have no Rain but in *June*, *July*, and *Auguſt*; without which Refreſhing of the Air they could not live. They have many Phyſiognomers and Soothſayers, which obſerve Beaſts and Birds, and have an unlucky Hour every Day in the Week, called *Choiach*, as on *Monday*, betwixt two and three, on *Tueſday* the third Hour, and on *Wedneſday* the ninth, &c. through all the Year, ſet down in their Books. They curiouſly obſerve Nativities. At thirteen Years old they put their Boys to get their own Livings, who run up and down to buy and ſell, having a ſmall Stock given them to begin, and in Pearl Seaſon they buy a few Pearls, and ſell them again to the Merchants, which cannot well endure the Sun, for little Gain; what they get they bring to their Mothers to dreſs for them, for they may not eat at their Fathers Coſt. They have Idols, male and female, to whom they offer their Daughters, who, when the Monks or Prieſts appoint, ſing and dance to the Idols, and very often ſet Victuals before them, ſaying that they eat, leaving it the Space of a Meal, ſinging all the while, and then they fall to eating in earneſt; after which they return home. The Cauſe of theſe Sacrifices is the Houſhold Quarrels betwixt the God and Goddeſs, which, if they ſhould appeaſe, they ſhould loſe their Bleſſing. The great Men have Litters made of large Canes, which they faſten artificially to ſome upper Place to prevent Tarantulas biting, and alſo Fleas and other Vermin, and for freſh Air.

The Place of *St. Thomas*'s Sepulchre is a ſmall City, not much frequented by Merchants, but very much by Chriſtians and *Saracens* for Devotion. The *Saracens* hold him a great Prophet, and call him *Ananias*, that is, a holy Man. The Chriſtians take of the Earth where he was ſlain, which is red, and carry it with them with great Reverence, and give it, mixed with Water, to the Sick. *A. D.* 1288, a great Prince, having more Rice than Room to lay it in, made bold with *St. Thomas*'s Church, in the Room where Pilgrims were received; but by a Viſion of *St. Thomas* in the Night, was ſo terrified that he quickly left the Place. The Inhabitants are black, not ſo born, but became ſo by often anointing themſelves with Jeſſamine Oil, to obtain that Beauty. They paint the Devil white, and their Idols black. The Cow-worſhippers carry with them to Battle ſome of the Hair of a wild Ox, as a Preſervation againſt Dangers, and therefore ſuch Hairs are ſold at a high Price.

25. *Murſili*, or *Monſul*, is northward from *Malabar* five hundred Miles; the Inhabitants are Idolaters. They have Diamonds in their Hills, which they ſearch for after great Rains. Weſtward from *St. Thomas* is *Lac*, whence the *Bramins* have their Original, who are the honeſteſt Merchants in the World, and will not lye for any thing,

and faithfully keep any thing committed to their Cuſtody, or as Brokers ſell or barter Merchandize for others. They are known by a Cotton Thread, which they wear over the Shoulders, tied under the Arm croſſing the Breaſt. They have but one Wife, are great Aſtrologers, of great Abſtinence, and long Life; obſerve their own Shadow in the Sun, when they are to buy, and thence conjecture according to the Rules of their Art. They conſtantly chew a certain Herb, which makes their Teeth good, and helps Digeſtion. There are ſome Religious among them, called *Tangui*, who go altogether naked, live auſterely, worſhip Cows, of which they have little braſs Images on their Foreheads, and of the Ox Bones Aſhes make an Ointment, wherewith they anoint their Bodies in divers Places with great Reverence. They neither kill or eat any live Creature, nor Herb green, or Root before it is dried, eſteeming every Thing to have a Soul. They uſe no Diſhes, but lay their Victuals on dry Leaves of Apples of Paradiſe. They eaſe themſelves in the Sands, and then diſperſe it hither and thither, leſt it ſhould breed Worms, which muſt die for want of Food. Some of them live to one hundred and fifty Years, and their Bodies, after Death, are burnt.

In *Zeilan* I had forgot to mention a high Mountain, which none can aſcend but by Iron Chains, as I was told, in the Top whereof the *Saracens* ſay is *Adam*'s Sepulchre; the Idolaters ſay it is the Body of *Sogomon Barchan*, the firſt Idol-Founder, Son to the King of that Iſland, who betook himſelf to a ſolitary Life on the Top of this Hill, from whence no Pleaſures nor Perſuaſions could draw him; his Father made an Image after his Death to repreſent him, all of Gold, adorned with Garments, and commanded all the Iſlanders to worſhip it: And hence, as they ſay, began Idolatry. Hither they come from remote Places in Pilgrimage, and there his ſore Teeth, and a Diſh of his are reſerved, and as holy Relicks ſolemnly ſhewed. The *Saracens*, ſay they, are of *Adam*, which Report cauſed the Khan, *A. D.* 1281, to ſend Embaſſadors thither, who obtained two Teeth and a Diſh, and ſome of his Hairs, by Grant, from the King of *Zeilan*, which he cauſed to be received by the whole People of *Cambalu* without the City, and brought to his Preſence with great Honour.

Cael is a great City, governed by *Aſter*, one of the four Brethren, who is very rich, alſo very kind to Merchants; he hath three hundred Concubines. All the People have a Cuſtom to be continually chewing in their Mouths a Leaf called *Tembul*, with Spices and Lime. *Coulam* is five hundred Miles South-weſt from *Malabar*; they are Idolaters. There are alſo Chriſtians and *Jews*, who have a Speech by themſelves. They have Pepper, Braſil, Indico, Lions all black, Parrots of divers Sorts, all white as Snow, others azure, others red, and ſome ſmall Peacocks and Peahens, very different from ours, and larger, as are their Fruits; they are lecherous, and marry their Siſters and near Kindred: There are many Aſtrologers and Phyſicians. In *Camari* are Apes ſo large, that they ſeem to be Men: And here we had a Sight of the North-ſtar. *Delai* hath a King, and the Inhabitants have their own Language: The People are Idolaters, and have Plenty of Spices; the Ships of *Mangi* come thither. *Malabar* is a Kingdom in the Weſt, in which, and in *Guzerat*, are many Pirates, who ſometimes put to Sea with above an Hundred Sail, and rob Merchants. They bring with them their Wives and Children, and there remain all Summer. In *Guzerat* is abundance of Cotton, the Trees ſix Fathoms high, and laſt twenty Years; the Cotton of theſe Trees is not fit to ſpin, after they are above twelve Years old, but for Quilts: There are many Rhinoceros's. In *Canbau* is Store of Frankincenſe. It is a great City, where is great Trade for Horſes. In *Cambaia* is much Indico, Buckram, and Cotton. *Semenath* is a Kingdom of a peculiar Language, they are Idolaters, Merchants, and a good People. *Reſmacoran* is a great Kingdom of Idolaters and *Saracens*. The laſt Province of the *Greater India*, towards the North-weſt, is five hundred Miles, near which are ſaid to be two Iſlands, one of Men and the other of Women, thoſe coming to theſe, and there ſtay in *March*, *April*, and *May*. The Women keep their Sons till twelve Years, and then ſend them to their Fathers. It ſeems the Air of that Country admits no other Courſe: They are Chriſtians, and have their Biſhop, ſubject to the Biſhop of *Socotora*; they are good Fiſhermen, and have Store of Amber. *Socotora* hath an Archbiſhop, not ſubject to the Pope, but to one *Zatulia*, who reſides at *Baldach*, who chooſeth him. The *Socotorans* are Inchanters, as great as any in the World, though excommunicated therefore by their Prelate, and raiſe Winds to bring back ſuch Ships as have wronged them, till they obtain Satisfaction.

26. A thouſand Miles thence Southward is *Magaſter*, one of the greateſt and richeſt Iſles in the World, three thouſand Miles in Circuit, inhabited by *Saracens*, governed by four old Men; the People live by Merchandize, and ſell vaſt Quantities of Elephants Teeth. The Currents in theſe Parts are of exceeding Force. They report ſtrange Stories of Fowls, called *Ruch*, like an Eagle, but of incomparable Bigneſs. *Zenſibar* alſo is ſaid to be of great Length, *&c.* There are Elephants, Giraffas, and Sheep, very unlike to ours; the Men and Women very deformed. I have heard Mariners and ſkilful Pilots of thoſe Parts report, and have ſeen in their Writings, which have compaſſed the Sea of *India*, that there are in it twelve thouſand and ſeven hundred Iſlands inhabited and deſert. In *India Major*, which is from *Malabar* to *Cheſmacoran*, are thirteen Kingdoms.

India Minor is from *Ziambi* to *Murfili*, in which are eight Kingdoms, beſides many Iſlands. The ſecond, or *Middle India*, is called *Abaſcia*, the chief King a Chriſtian. There are ſix other Kings, three Chriſtians, and three *Saracens*, ſubject to him; there are alſo *Jews*. St. *Thomas* having preached in *Nubia*, came to *Abaſcia*, and there did the like, and went afterwards to *Malabar*. They are very valiant Soldiers, always in Arms againſt the Soldan of *Aden*, and the People of *Nubia*. I heard that *A. D.* 1288, the Great Emperor of the *Abiſſines* would have viſited *Jeruſalem*, but being diſſuaded by reaſon of the *Saracen* Kingdoms in the Way, he ſent a Biſhop of holy Life to perform his Devotions, who in his Return was taken by the Soldan of *Aden*, and circumciſed by Force; whereupon the *Abiſſine* Monarch raiſed an Army, diſcomfited the Soldan, with two other *Mohammedan* Kings, took and ſpoiled *Aden*. *Abaſcia* is rich in Gold; *Eſcier* is ſubject to *Aden*, forty Miles diſtant South-Eaſt, where is plenty of white Frankincenſe, very good, which drops from ſmall Trees by Inciſion of the Bark, a rich Merchandize, *&c.* Some in that Country, for Want of Corn, make Biſcuit of Fiſh, of which they have great Plenty: They alſo feed their Beaſts with Fiſh. They take them in *March*, *April*, and *May*.

27. After having ſpoken of the Provinces on the Coaſt, I will now return to ſome Provinces more to the North, where many *Tartars* dwell, which have a King called *Caidu*, of the Race of *Zingis-Khan*, but ſubject to none. Theſe obſerve the Cuſtoms of their Anceſtors, dwell not in Cities, Caſtles, or Fortreſſes, but dwell with their King in the Fields, Plains, Vallies, and Foreſts, and are eſteemed true *Tartars*. They have no ſort of Corn, but live on Fleſh and Milk, in great Peace. They have Multitudes of Horſes, Kine, Sheep, and other Beaſts. There are found great white Bears, twenty Palms long, black Foxes, very large, wild Aſſes, and little Beaſts called *Rondes*, which bear the Sable Furs, and Variarcolini, and thoſe which are called *Pharaoh*'s Rats, which the *Tartars* are ſkilful in taking. The great Lakes which are frozen, except for a few Months in the Year, are the Cauſe that in the Summer it is ſcarce to be travelled for Mire, and therefore the Merchants in going to buy their Furs, for fourteen Days Journey through the Deſart, have ſet up for each Day a Houſe of Wood, where they barter with the Inhabitants, and in Winter they uſe Sledges without Wheels, and plain on the Bottom, riſing with a Semicircle at the Top, or End, which are drawn on the Ice, by Beaſts like great Dogs, by Couples, the Sledge-Man only with his Merchant and Furs ſitting therein.

At the Extremity of the Region of theſe *Tartars* is a Country reaching to the fartheſt North, called the obſcure Land, becauſe the moſt Part of the Winter Months the Sun appears not, and the Air is thick and darkiſh, as betimes in the Morning with us. The Men there are pale and ſquat, have no Prince, and live like Beaſts. The *Tartars* often rob them of their Cattle in thoſe dark Months, and leſt they ſhould loſe their Way, they ride on Mares which have Colts ſucking, which they leave with a Guard at the Entrance of that Country, where the Light beginneth to fail, and when they have taken their Prey, give Reins to the Mares, which haſten to their Colts. In their long continued Summer, they take many of the fineſt Furs (on Occaſion of the *Tartars* going to rob them) of which I have heard ſome are brought into *Ruſſia*. *Ruſſia* is a great Country near that Northern Darkneſs. The People are *Greek* Chriſtians, the Men and Women fair, and pay Tribute to the King of the *Tartars* of the Weſt, on whom they border. On the Eaſt there is plenty of Furs, Wax, and Mines of Silver; it reaches, as I was told, to the Ocean Sea, in which are Iſlands that abound in Ger-Falcons and Falcons.

28. We are now arrived at the Cloſe of this Author's Writings, and therefore are the more capable of judging of the Particulars they contain, which was the Reaſon that I left ſome Points to be conſidered here, which I ſhould otherwiſe have thrown under the Head of Objections. Some critical Readers have affected to doubt, whether our Author, or rather his Performance, deſerves Credit, from the Account that is given of the Manner in which it was wrote, and from the different Stories that we have told of the Original. We have already accounted for the Miſtakes that have been made on this Head, and ſhall here only take Notice, that *Francis Pipin*, of the Order of Preachers, who made a *Latin* Tranſlation of our Author's Work, tells us in his Preface, that from the Report of his Domeſticks, he was ſatisfied that *Marco Polo* was a Man of great Prudence, remarkably honeſt, and one who had the faireſt Character that could be. It is not very eaſy to conceive, that ſuch a Man ſhould expoſe that Credit which he had been at ſo much Pains to eſtabliſh, by ſending into the World an indigeſted Heap of Fictions and Romances. But the ſame Perſon informs us farther, that Signior *Nicolo Polo*, the Father of our Author, was the moſt eſteemed and beſt beloved Man of his Time, and that he conſtantly reported the very ſame Facts, during his whole Life, which his Son publiſhed in his Works; and as for his Uncle Signior *Maffio*, who enjoyed ſome of the principal Offices in the Government at *Venice*, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his Wiſdom and Integrity, when he was upon his Death-Bed he took particular Care to aſſure his Confeſſor, that he had reviewed his Nephew's Work, and that he was fully ſatisfied that there was nothing in it that was not ſtrictly true, and this he gave him Leave to declare for the Satisfaction of the World. Here then are three credible Witneſſes to the ſame Facts, and therefore, according to all the Laws of Evidence, they ought to be looked upon as thoroughly eſtabliſhed.

We muſt however diſtinguiſh between ſuch Facts as our Author reports from his own Knowledge, and thoſe which are grounded only on Hear-ſay and Information. We may accuſe an Author of Credulity or Imprudence, who inſerts ſtrange and improbable Things in his Writings, but we cannot with Juſtice charge him with Infidelity or Falſhood on that Head, and we ought alſo to make ſome Allowance for the Genius of the Time in which he wrote, becauſe it cannot be preſumed, that even the wiſeſt and moſt prudent Man can be totally free from the Errors of the Age in which he flouriſhed: It may not be amiſs to give a few Inſtances with regard to our Author.

In the twenty-fifth Chapter there is an Account of Diamond Mines, in the Kingdom of *Murſili*, where we have omitted a Paſſage that is to be met with in moſt of of the Editions of our Author, becauſe it is reported on the Credit of the Inhabitants, and we were willing to examine it by itſelf, that the Reader might perceive we had no Intention to impoſe upon him thoſe Improbabilities which had been impoſed upon our Author himſelf. After having told us that Diamonds are found there at the Bottom of the rocky Mountains, after the rainy Seaſon is over, he proceeds thus: "They alſo in the Summer-Time aſcend theſe Mountains, though with great Difficulty, becauſe of the Vehemence of the Heat, and find abundance of thoſe precious Stones among the Gravel. In this they "are likewiſe much expoſed to Danger from the vaſt Number of Serpents of enormous Size, which ſhelter themſelves in the Holes and Caverns of theſe Rocks, where, nevertheleſs, they find Diamonds in the greateſt Abundance. Among other Methods of obtaining them, they make uſe of this: There are abundance of white Eagles that reſt in the upper Part of thoſe Rocks, for the ſake of feeding on the Serpents, and in the deep Vallies and Precipices, where Men are afraid to venture themſelves, they throw Pieces of raw Meat, which the Eagles perceiving, immediately ſtoop and ſeize it, with all the little Stones and Gravel that adhere to theſe moiſt Pieces of Meat. Such as ſearch for Diamonds, watch the Eagles Neſts, and when they leave them, pick up ſuch little Stones, and ſearch likewiſe for Diamonds among the Eagles Dung. The Kings and great Men in this Country keep the faireſt and fineſt of theſe Stones to themſelves, and ſuffer the Merchants to ſell the reſt."

The famous *Julius Cæſar Scaliger* was extremely offended with this Relation, which he treats with the utmoſt Contempt, and ſeems to wonder at the Aſſurance of a Writer that expects Stories of this kind ſhould gain Credit: Yet, after all, I do not ſee that there is any great Harm in our Author's relating this Tale, however improbable it may ſeem, ſince without doubt he received it from the Inhabitants, and what Motives they had to tell him ſuch a Story is not very difficult to gueſs. The native *Indians*, in all the Revolutions that have happened in the Countries where they live, have preſerved this Trade in their own Hands, and by Fables of one ſort or other kept Strangers from attempting to interfere with them. Our Author was very probably the firſt *European* that was ever at the Diamond Mines, and therefore we have the leſs Reaſon to be ſurprized at his being impoſed upon in an Affair of which he could not be a competent Judge.

But to make the Reader ſome Amends for ſo imperfect a Relation of the manner in which this valuable Trade is carried on, I ſhall take this Opportunity of inſerting the beſt Account of the Matter that I believe has been hitherto given by one who was an Eye-witneſs of it in the Year 1680, and that too in the very Country known to our Author by the Name of the Kingdom of *Murſili*. "The Diamonds are ſo ſcattered and diſperſed in the Earth, and lie ſo thin, that in the moſt plentiful Mines it is rare to find one in digging, or till they have prepared the Stuff, and ſearched purpoſely for them: They are alſo frequently encloſed in Clods; and ſome of thoſe of *Molwilleed*, and the new Mines in the Kingdom of *Golconda*, have the Earth ſo fixed about them, that till they grind them on a rough Stone with Sand, they cannot move it ſufficiently to diſcover they are tranſparent, or were it not for their Shapes, to know them from other Stones. At the firſt opening of the Mine, the unſkilful Labourers ſometimes, to try what they have found, lay them on a great Stone, and ſtriking on them with another, to their coſtly Experience diſcover they have broken a Diamond. One I know who had an excellent Stone of eight Mangellans, that is, thirty-two Grains, ſerved ſo by ignorant Miners he employed. Near the Place where they dig they raiſe a Wall, with ſuch rugged Stones as they find at hand, whereof all the Mines afford Plenty, of about two Feet high, and ſix Feet over, flooring it well with the ſame; for the laying of which they have no other Morter than the Earth tempered with Water. To ſtrengthen and make it tight they throw up a Bank againſt the Side of it, in one Part whereof they leave a ſmall Vent about two Inches from the Bottom, by which it empties itſelf into a little Pit made in the Earth to receive ſmall Stones, if by chance any ſhould run through. The Vent being ſtopp'd, they fill the Ciſtern they have made with Water, ſoaking therein as much of the Earth they dig out of the Mine as it can conveniently receive at a time, breaking the Clods, picking out the great Stones, and ſtirring it with Shovels till the Water is all muddy, the gravelly Stuff falling to the Bottom; then they open the Vent, letting out the foul Water, and ſupply it with clean, till all the earthy Subſtance be waſhed away, and none but a gravelly one remains at the Bottom. Thus they continue waſhing till about Ten of the Clock before Noon, when

“ they take the gravelly Stuff they have waſhed, and ſpread it on a Place made plain and ſmooth for that Purpoſe near the Ciſtern, which being ſo dried by the Heat of the Sun at that Time of the Day, they very curiouſly look it over, that the ſmalleſt Bit of a Stone can hardly eſcape them. They never examine the Stuff they have waſhed, but between the Hours of Ten and Three, leſt any Cloud, by interpoſing, intercept the briſk Beams of the Sun, which they hold very neceſſary to aſſiſt them in their Search, the Diamonds conſtantly reflecting them when they ſhine on them, rendering themſelves thereby the more conſpicuous.

“ Some of the experteſt Labourers are employed in ſearching, he that ſets them at work uſually ſitting by, and over-looking; but it is hardly poſſible, eſpecially where many are employed, to watch them ſo narrowly, but that they may ſteal part of what they find, as many times ſome of them do, and ſelling it privately, convert it to their own Uſe. If they find a large Stone, they carry it not preſently to their Employer, but keep on looking, having an Eye on him, till they obſerve he takes notice of it, when with the Turn of their Hand they give him a Glimpſe of it, but deliver it not till they have done Work, and then very privately, it being the general Endeavour to conceal what they find, leſt it ſhould come to the Knowledge of the Governor of the Place, and he requires a Share, which in the Kingdom of *Golconda* is uſually practiſed, without any Reſpect to the Agreement made with them. The Miners, thoſe that employ them, and the Merchants that buy the Stones of them, are uſually *Pagans*, not a Muſleman, that ever I heard of, followed the Employment. Theſe Labourers, and their Employers, are *Tellingas*, commonly Natives of or near the Place. The Merchants are the *Banians* of *Guzerat*, who for ſome Generations have forſaken their own Country to take up this Trade in which they have had ſuch Succeſs, that it is now ſolely engroſſed by them, who, correſponding with their Countrymen in *Surat*, *Goa*, *Golconda*, *Viſiapore*, *Agra*, and *Dilu*, and other Places in *India*, furniſh them all with Diamonds.

“ The Governors of the Mines are alſo Idolaters. In the King of *Golconda*'s Dominions a *Tellenga Brammee* rents moſt of them, whoſe Agreement with the Adventurer is, that all the Stones found under a *Pagoda* Weight are to be their own; all of that Weight and above is to be his, for the King's Uſe. But although this Agreement be ſigned and ſealed, he minds not at all the Performance thereof, but endeavours to engroſs all the Profit to himſelf, by tyrannically ſqueezing both Merchants and Miners, who he not only taxes very high, but maintaineth Spies among them of their own People. On the leaſt Suſpicion that they have been any ways fortunate, he immediately makes a Demand on them, and raiſes their Tax; elſe on a falſe Pretence they have found a great Stone, drubs them till they ſurrender what they have, to redeem their Bodies from Torture.

“ Beſides, the Exciſe is ſo high on all ſorts of Proviſions, Beetle, and Tobacco, which with them are eſteemed Neceſſaries, that the Price of all Things is doubled; by which Courſe there is hardly a Man to be found worth five hundred Pounds amongſt them, moſt of them dealing by Monies taken up at Intereſt of Uſurers, who reſide there purpoſely to furniſh them, who with the Governor eat up their Gains, ſo that one would wonder any of them ſhould ſtay, and not betake themſelves to Places where they might have better Uſage, as there are many in other Governments, and ſome few that have the Senſe to remove; but many their Debts, others Hopes of a great Hit, detains. Both Merchant and Miner go generally naked, only a poor Cloth about their Middle, and their Saſh on their Heads; they dare not wear a Coat, leſt the Governor ſhould ſay they have thriven much, and are rich, and ſo enlarge his Demands on them. The wiſeſt, when they find a great Stone, conceal it till they have an Opportunity, and then with Wife and Children run all away into the *Viſiapore* Country, where they are ſecure. The Government in the *Viſiapore* Country is better: Their Agreements obſerved, Taxes eaſier, and no ſuch Impoſitions on Proviſions; the Merchants go handſomely clad, among whom are ſeveral Perſons of conſiderable Eſtates, which they are permited to enjoy peaceably, by reaſon whereof their Mines are much more populous, and better employed than thoſe of *Golconda*.”

It is for the ſame Reaſon that I have omitted another improbable Story of a Bird called a *Ruc*, of ſuch a monſtrous Size as to be able to carry an Elephant into the Air; which Abſurdities our Author was probably induced to believe, by the ſtrange Things he daily ſaw in theſe Parts of the World, and of which the People in *Europe* had not ſo much as the leaſt Idea. Theſe Omiſſions I thought requiſite for keeping the Work within Bounds, as having no Inclination to try the Patience of my Readers, by inſerting any more of theſe old Travels than ſeem abſolutely neceſſary for connecting the ſeveral Parts of this Diſcourſe, and ſhewing how, in what Manner, and by whom thoſe great Diſcoveries were made, which enabled the different Nations in *Europe* to carry on ſo great a Trade as they do to all Parts of the *Eaſt-Indies*. This, without doubt, was originally owing to this Work of *Marco Polo*, who, though no Geographer or Seamen himſelf, yet left ſuch clear and evident Proofs of the Poſſibility of reaching the moſt diſtant Parts of *Aſia* by Sea, that his Work was more eſteemed in *Portugal*, where the firſt Spirit of Diſcovery appeared, than in *Italy* itſelf. It remains, in this Place, to give a ſhort Account of the Names by which he has diſtinguiſhed the Countries he viſited, and particularly to anſwer the great Objection raiſed againſt his Work, from his not making any Mention of the famous Wall in *China* for keeping out the *Tartars*, which ſhall be done in as few Words as poſſible.

Our Author following exactly the Sentiments of the *Tartars*, diſtinguiſhes all this great Country into two Parts, *viz.* *Cathay* and *Mangi*, about which many Doubts have been raiſed, and many Diſputes ſet on Foot without any juſt Grounds, ſince it is very plain, that under the Denomination of *Cathay*, *Marco Polo* comprehends the ſix Northern Provinces of *China*; and under that of *Mangi* the nine Southern Provinces, which are ſeparated from the former by the great River *Kiang*; and when we come hereafter to treat of the preſent State of the Empire of *China*, we ſhall take Occaſion to ſhew, that this Deſcription of his agrees very well with the beſt Accounts of that Empire. This will be the more intelligible to the Reader, when he is informed, that the *Tartars* ſtill preſerve theſe very Forms of Speech, that is to ſay, give the Name of *Cathay* to the Northern Parts, and that of *Mangi* to the Southern Provinces of *China*. As to this latter, it is a Name of Contempt, for *Mangi*, in the *Tartar* Tongue, implies *Barbarians*, and ſo they eſteemed the *Chineſe* to be, not from the Brutality of their Manners, but from their extravagant Haughtineſs and Pride, and eſpecially from that intolerable Hatred and Contempt with which they treated the *Tartars* themſelves. The plain Reaſon why our Author did not mention the famous Wall in *China* was, becauſe he entered it by the Southern Provinces; and as he confines himſelf to the Places he ſaw, or to ſuch as were in their Neighbourhood, and proſecutes his Deſcription from the Weſtern Parts of *China* to the Sea, it was impoſſible he ſhould take Notice of it; ſo that when we conſider this Matter attentively, it is very plain, that this Circumſtance, inſtead of leſſening the Credit of *Marco Polo*, ought, in Truth, to ſtrengthen it very much, ſince it is a convincing Proof of the Truth of what he has aſſerted in relation to his own Travels, and his Deſcriptions of the Countries through which he paſſed; and evidently ſhews he did not amuſe himſelf with Accounts of Countries and Provinces of which he could ſay nothing but from Report, to which, if he had liſtened, his Relation muſt have been much more obſcure and perplexed than we find it at preſent. But it is now Time to proceed to the Concluſion of this Section, by ſhewing the Advantages that may be obtained by the Peruſal of *Marco Polo*'s Travels, in order to the thorough Underſtanding of our Subject. And this we ſhall perform as conciſely as poſſible, and in ſuch a Manner as may diſengage us from the Neceſſity of looking into any more of theſe old Writers for the future.

29. As the Inhabitants of *Europe* received the firſt diſtinct Accounts of the vaſt Country of *China* from our induſtrious *Venetians*, ſo from them likewiſe they had the cleareſt and beſt Account of the Revolutions that had happened in that Empire by the Power of the *Tartars*; a Thing of ſuch Conſequence to the right underſtanding what ſubſequent Travellers have related, that I will be bold to ſay all the Difficulties and Diſcouragements that have been thrown in our Way, and have ſo long hindered our making a right Uſe of the many Collections of Travels already publiſhed, have ariſen in part from a Humour that for ſome time prevailed, of treating *Marco Polo*'s Relation as a Romance, and partly through the Miſtakes made by thoſe, who, for want of having ſufficient Lights, and the Materials that were requiſite, undertook to explain the Hiſtory of the Irruptions of the *Tartars* into *China*, and endeavoured to make the Dates and Facts mentioned in theſe Travels, fall in with their Accounts, accuſing, at every Turn, the Author of Errors and Faults, of which themſelves only were guilty. To remedy theſe Diſorders, and to make the Way plainer for the future, we ſhall, without running into a long Diſcuſſion of what other Writers have advanced, obſerve, that there have been three diſtinct Conqueſts of *China* made by the *Tartars*, of each of which we ſhall give a clear and diſtinct Account in very few Words. The firſt of theſe was by the Eaſtern *Tartars*, who, before the Time of *Zingis-Khan*, made themſelves Maſters of the Northern Provinces of *China*, and fixed the Seat of their Empire at *Khanbalick*, *Cambalu*, or *Pekin*; and this, as I conceive, gave Riſe to what is called the Empire of *Cathay*; concerning which, all our ancient Writers in general deliver themſelves with ſo much Confuſion, ſometimes repreſenting *Cathay* as a Part of *Tartary*, ſometimes again comprehending under that Name the whole Empire of *China*; and at others, diſtinguiſhing it from both. But from this Diſtinction, it clearly appears, that though the ancient Empire of *Cathay* was ſituated in *China*, yet it was an Empire raiſed by the *Tartars*; and that from want of attending to this, ſo many Miſtakes have been introduced.

The Prince who governed *Cathay* in the Time of *Zingis-Khan* was *Altan-Khan*, againſt whom that great Conqueror made his firſt Attempt, in the Year 1206, and that with ſuch Succeſs as to oblige this Monarch, after various Defeats, to ſhut himſelf up in the City of *Cambalu*, and to ſue for a Peace, which, with much Difficulty, he obtained; for the Confirmation of which he gave his Daughter in Marriage to *Zingis-Khan*. This Peace was but of very ſhort Continuance; for *Altan-Khan*, having a Jealouſy that ſome of his Nobility held Intelligence with his Enemy, he put many of them to Death; and finding the northern Parts of his Dominions in a manner waſted and depopulated by the late Invaſion, he retired to the City of *Nankin*, which his Father had fortified with three Walls, the laſt of which was forty Leagues in Circuit, and left his Son in Poſſeſſion of *Khanbalick* and of the adjacent Countries. The reſt of the Nobility, enraged at the Inſtances of Severity before-mentioned, and at the ſame time doubting their own Safety, had immediate Recourſe to *Zingis-Khan*, and drew him a ſecond Time into *Cathay*, where he made himſelf Maſter of the Imperial City of *Cambalu*; the News of which Accident affected *Altan-Khan* to ſuch a Degree, that he poiſoned himſelf. This happened about the Year 1210; and thus the *Tartars* became Maſters of the northern Parts of *China*. They continued their Conqueſts under the Reign of the Succeſſors of *Zingis-Khan*, till the Emperor, who reigned when our Author was in theſe Parts, *viz. Coplai-Khan*, who in the Year 1278 completed the Conqueſt of *Mangi*, or the ſouthern Parts of *China*.

The Bounds of *Zingis-Khan*'s Conqueſts on this Side, was the River *Hoang*; but his Succeſſors annexed all the Country between that River and the River of *Kiang*. All the reſt were ſubdued by *Coplai-Khan*, and his General *Pe Yen*. This was the ſecond Conqueſt made by the *Tartars*, who not only deſtroyed the Empire formerly eſtabliſhed by their Countrymen in *Cathay*, but alſo that of the native *Chineſe*, which had ſubſiſted for ſo many Ages. This ſhort Recapitulation ſets this Affair in its true Light, and not only explains what *Marco Polo* has told us, and reconciles his Accounts with thoſe of later Authors, but alſo connects his Relation with that of *Rubruquis*, and even thoſe of the *Arabian* Travellers; ſo that taking the Whole together, we have a clear and ſatisfactory View of the Affairs of *China*, to that which I call the ſecond Conqueſt by the *Tartars*; but as the Affairs of this Country were entirely changed again before the Arrival of the *Portugueſe* by the Way of the *Cape of Good Hope*, I think it will be for the Reader's Eaſe and Advantage to have this Hiſtory conducted to its Cloſe before we enter upon the Diſcoveries and Conqueſts of the *Portugueſe*; becauſe otherwiſe, when we come to ſpeak of the *Chineſe* as again in the Poſſeſſion of their Country, and again driven out and conquered by the *Tartars*, it muſt neceſſarily introduce infinite Confuſion. It is from the *Chineſe* Writers that we have the Reigns of the *Tartar* Emperors who ſucceeded *Coplai-Khan*, and of whom there is very little Mention made in the Hiſtories of the *Tartars*.

The *Chineſe*, as I before obſerved, called this new Imperial Family *Yuen*, and beſtowed the Name of *Chi-Tſou* upon *Copli-Khan*, of whom their Hiſtories ſpeak with the utmoſt Reverence, and whom they celebrate, for his having opened the great Canal mentioned by our Author, and which has been ever ſince juſtly conſidered as one of the Wonders of *China*. It is three hundred Leagues in Length, and nine thouſand Imperial Barks are conſtantly employed thereon, in tranſporting the Tributes of the ſouthern Provinces to *Cambalu* or *Pekin*, and in other Services. Theſe Writers place the Death of this Emperor ſomewhat lower than the *Tartar* Hiſtorians; for the former ſay, that he lived to the Age of fourſcore, and died *A. D.* 1295, whereas the latter place that Event in 1292. He was ſucceeded in the Empire by his Grandſon, whom our Author calls *Timur*, but in the *Chineſe* Chronicles he is ſtiled *Tching-Tſong*; and as his Grandfather excelled in Power, ſo he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his Clemency and the Love of his Subjects. After him reigned ſeven other Princes of his Family, all of whom were no leſs illuſtrious on the ſcore of their perſonal Virtues, than glorious from their poſſeſſing ſo large an Empire: And it is very remarkable, that the *Chineſe* Hiſtory renders ſo great Juſtice to this foreign Race of Princes, as to ſtile the Period in which they ruled over *China*, the *wiſe Adminiſtration.* The laſt of them was *Chun-ti*, a Prince of great natural Endowments, but who unfortunately gave himſelf up to Prieſts and Women, leaving the Management of the Affairs of the Empire entirely to his Prime Miniſter. The *Tartar* Soldiers, through ſo long a Peace, had loſt their original Diſcipline, and were become ſlothful and effeminate, which ſo raiſed the Courage of the *Chineſe*, that they began to ſhew a Diſpoſition to revolt; and one *Tchou*, an obſcure Perſon, who had been no better than a Footman, having put himſelf at the Head of a Body of Malecontents, reduced many of the great Cities in the Empire; and became, by Degrees, ſo powerful, that he twice defeated the Imperial Army, and at laſt forced the *Tartars* to abandon *China*, after they had been poſſeſſed of it ninety-nine Years. This Revolution happened in 1370; and *Tchou* having by his Succeſs in this War raiſed himſelf to the Imperial Throne, aſſumed the Name of *Tai Tſou*, and fixed his Imperial Reſidence in the City of *Nankin*. And thus it was that the *Chineſe*, having expelled their Conquerors, recovered the Dominion of their own Country.

As for the Emperor *Chun-ti*, he retired with his *Tartar* Subjects northwards, and died of Grief and Vexation about two Years after this Revolution happened. The *Tartars* that were thus expelled, having a ſtrong Tincture of the *Chineſe* Cuſtoms, did not join with the reſt of the *Moguls*, but ſettled themſelves in the Country of *Leaoton*, and were, from this Time forward, ſtiled the *Nieuchen Moguls*, or *Moguls of the Eaſt*, to diſtinguiſh them from the other *Moguls*, who were called *Moguls of the Weſt*.

This deſart Country they cultivated with the utmoſt Care, built therein ſeveral conſiderable Cities, and practiſed that Induſtry which they had learned by converſing ſo long with the *Chineſe*; yet, in ſome reſpects, they ſtill retained a Tincture of their ancient Manners; for, inſtead of remaining firm and united, which ſeemed to be the only Means left for recovering again the Dominions they had loſt, they ſplit themſelves into ſeveral little Principalities, under ſo many Khans; who, though their Territories were not very wide, maintained nevertheleſs their Independency. Among the moſt conſiderable of thoſe Cities which they erected, were *Kirin*, *Ula*, and *Kinkrita*, all three of them ſeated on the Weſt Bank of the River *Sangoro*, which falls into the great River *Amur* about twelve Days Journey above its Mouth. The City of *Kirin* is diſtant from the Province of *Leaoton* about three hundred and ſixty Miles. The City of *Ula* is in Latitude 44° 20′ N. and was conſidered as the Capital of the *Nieuchen Moguls*. The Khan of *Ula* however was far from being a conſiderable Prince, had no ſort of Superiority over the reſt of the Khans of the Eaſtern *Tartars*, was without Allies or Reſources beyond the Power of his own Subjects; and yet, as we ſhall ſhew hereafter, it was this Khan *Ula*, that had the Courage to undertake, and the good Fortune to accompliſh the third Conqueſt of *China* [g]: But at preſent we will leave the *Tartars* cultivating their Deſarts, and return to the new-founded Empire of *Tchou*, and his Deſcendants.

The Dynaſty, founded by this Prince, was called *Ming*, and the Emperor, who, as I have ſaid before, aſſumed the Name of *Tai Tſou*, reigned thirty-one Years with great Glory, and left the Empire to his Grandſon, who periſhed in a Civil War, and was ſucceeded by his Uncle, who, having been formerly King of *Peking*, transferred the Seat of the Empire thither. The ſixth Emperor of this Family was *Yng Tſong*, under whoſe Reign the *Tartars* made new Incurſions into *China*; to oppoſe them, the Emperor marched at the Head of a great Army, and purſuing them conſiderably beyond the famous Wall, they ſuddenly faced about, attacked and defeated the *Chineſe*, making the Emperor Priſoner. His Son, who was but two Years old, was advanced to the Empire, and the Brother of the captive Emperor, whoſe Name was *King Ti*, declared Protector, which Promotion gave him an Opportunity of ſeizing the Empire. The *Tartars*, ſome time after, releaſed *Yng Tſong*, who choſe however to lead a private Life, and leave his Brother in Poſſeſſion of the Empire, which he enjoyed to his Death; and then the old Emperor was again ſeated on the Throne.

The eleventh Emperor of this Race was *Chi Tſong*, who had the good Fortune to defeat the *Tartars* in ſeveral Battles; and it was under his Reign that the famous *Francis Xavier* preached the Chriſtian Religion in the Eaſt, where he died in 1552. The Emperor *Chi Tſong* reigned forty-five Years, in the latter Part of which the Government began to decline very ſenſibly, as it continued to do under all his Succeſſors, down to *Hoai Tſong*, who was the ſixteenth and laſt Emperor of the Family of *Ming*. It was under his Reign that *Zungt-hy*, who was Khan of *Ula*, formed the Deſign of making himſelf Maſter of *China*, notwithſtanding that all the Force he was able to raiſe did not exceed fifteen thouſand Horſe. He began with entering into private Intrigues with ſome of the *Chineſe* Mandarins, who were exiled into the Province of *Leaoton*, by whoſe Aſſiſtance he ſoon became Maſter of a great Part of that Province. The Emperor ſent againſt him an Army more than ſufficient to have forced him back into his own Country; but he had ſo much Addreſs, as to prevent the principal Officers of this Army from doing their Duty; ſo that by degrees he maſtered all the reſt of that Province, and at laſt took Poſſeſſion of its Capital [h].

While this Scene was tranſacted in the Eaſt, and the whole Force of the *Chineſe* Empire employed there to ſo little Purpoſe, new Troubles aroſe in the Weſtern Provinces, where ſeveral Bands of Thieves and Highwaymen committed the moſt extravagant Outrages; and, at laſt, under the Command of one *Lycoungz*, an obſcure and infamous Fellow, plundered ſeveral Cities, and even whole Provinces, which increaſing the Number of their Forces, the Rebel had at laſt ſufficient Power to attempt the Subverſion of the Empire. It was with this View that he marched directly to *Pekin*, where in three Days he became Maſter of the Place, and the Emperor finding himſelf abandoned, hanged himſelf on a Tree in his Garden. *Lycoungz* immediately took the Title of Emperor, and endeavoured, by all the Methods he could deviſe, to bring over to his Intereſt *Ou-ſan-guei*, who was General of the Army ſent againſt the *Tartars*, and the only Perſon capable of diſputing with him the Poſſeſſion of *China*. That General however rejected all his Offers with Contempt, which obliged *Lycoungz* to take the Field once again, and to march againſt him with his numerous Army: *Ou-ſan-guei*, who ſaw that it was ſimply impoſſible for him to think of making head at once againſt the Uſurper and the *Tartars*, reſolved to make Terms with the fairer Enemy of the two, and thereupon invited *Zungt-hy* to come to his Aſſiſtance [i].

This was preciſely what the *Tartar* Prince deſired, and therefore he made no Difficulty of complying with his Demand. He left five thouſand of his own Troops in the Province of *Leaoton*, and then marched with ten thouſand *Tartars*, and twenty thouſand of the Inhabitants of that Country to the Relief of the *Chineſe* General, who received him with great Joy. They marched together directly towards the Uſurper, and when they were upon the Point of giving him Battle, *Zungt-hy* obſerved, in a Conference he had with the *Chineſe* General, that, as the beſt Part of the Forces of the Empire, and eſpecially thoſe of the Southern and Weſtern Provinces, were extremely afraid of the *Tartars*, it would be very expedient for him to cut the Tails of his Horſes after their Manner; by which Means the Army of the Uſurper would take them all for *Tartars*. *Ou-ſan-guei* following the Advice of the Khan, it had ſo good an Effect, that the Rebels were totally defeated, and *Lycoungz* obliged to fly with the Remainder of his Army towards *Pekin*. The victorious Allies continued their Purſuit without the leaſt Intermiſſion; and on their drawing near the City, the *Chineſe* General made Proclamation, that all ſuch as did not take Part with the Uſurper, ſhould trim their Horſes after the Manner of the *Tartars*, that they might the more eaſily diſtinguiſh them on all Occaſions. This Stratagem had as great an Effect as a ſecond Victory: Such Multitudes declared themſelves againſt the Uſurper, that finding it abſolutely impoſſible to maintain his Ground, he firſt plundered the Imperial City, and then retired with his Army loaded with Booty. When the Allies were in Poſſeſſion of *Pekin*, it was agreed that *Zungt-hy*, with his Forces, ſhould remain there for the Security of the Place, and that *Ou-ſan guei*, with his Army, ſhould purſue the Uſurper till ſuch time as an End could be put to the War.

The ſame Arts, or rather the ſame Virtues by which the *Tartar* Prince had gained the Affections of the People of *Leaoton*, produced the like Conſequences amongſt the Inhabitants of *Pekin*; and as, on the one Hand, they were weary of living without the Support and Protection of a Governor, ſo they flattered themſelves, on the other, with enjoying all imaginable Happineſs under a Prince of ſo much Humanity and ſo great Abilities as *Zungt-hy*, and therefore, almoſt of their own Accord, they declared him Emperor in the Abſence of the *Chineſe* General, who had himſelf Views upon the Throne, in which he had very probably ſucceeded, if he had not been thus out-witted by the *Tartar Zungt-hy*, who foreſeeing how different a thing it might prove for him to maintain himſelf in Poſſeſſion of ſo great an Empire, with ſuch a handful of Forces, was no ſooner ſeated on the Imperial Throne, than he inſtantly diſpatched Advice of his good Fortune to the Khans of *Eaſt Tartary*, who were Princes of his own Family, inviting them to come, and ſhare with him in ſo rich a Conqueſt. This was certainly a good Expedient for ſecuring himſelf againſt the Fickleneſs or Infidelity of the *Chineſe*; but at the ſame Time it viſibly expoſed the new Emperor to the Danger of being undone by his Auxiliaries; for the Khans of the *Tartars*, who on the firſt Summons haſtened to his Aſſiſtance, had certainly in View the dividing the *Chineſe* Empire amongſt them; but *Zungt-hy* was a Prince of ſuch Wiſdom and Penetration, that he immediately diſcovered the Danger to which he ſtood expoſed, and provided againſt it with a Sagacity equal to his Penetration. He divided theſe Corps of *Tartars* as ſoon as they entered his Dominions, ſent for ſeveral of their Princes to *Pekin*, and in a ſhort Time ſo ſeparated them from each other, that they became abſolutely his Subjects, and were unable to act otherwiſe than was conducive to his Service. In the Conqueſt and Settlement of *China*, this *Tartar* Prince ſhewed all the Courage and Capacity of *Julius*, all the Policy and Conduct of *Auguſtus Cæſar*, by which he thoroughly accompliſhed the third Conqueſt of *China* by the *Tartars*, which happened in one thouſand ſix hundred forty and four, after the *Chineſe* had preſerved their Freedom for two hundred ſixty-ſix Years[k].

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[g] At preſent all the Eaſtern *Tartary* is ſubject to the *Chineſe* Emperors, and is divided into two Parts; the firſt contains what may be called the hereditary Dominions of the Family now reigning in *China*. It is divided into three Governments, and the Inhabitants are diſtinguiſhed by the Name of *Mantcheoux*. The Capital of this Country is called by the Inhabitants themſelves *Mougden*, but by the *Chineſe Chin Yang*, which at this Day is a well-peopled and well fortified City, where there is a ſovereign Tribunal for deciding all Affairs that relate to the Dominions of *Tartary*. The other Part of this Country is ſtill under the Dominion of its own Princes, who have the Title of Khans, which they receive from, and are Vaſſals to, the Emperor of *China*. The Inhabitants are called ſimply *Mongols*, or *Mongous*, and the Country paſſes alſo under the ſame Denomination.

[h] As it is not my Intention to give the Reader here a Hiſtory of *China*, but barely to mention ſuch Facts as may be neceſſary to explain what has been related before, and may occur in ſucceeding Voyages, I did not think myſelf obliged to mention all the Emperors of this Family, and therefore have touched only on the Reigns of ſuch as might beſt anſwer my Purpoſe.

[i] Theſe Facts are ſomewhat differently related by different Hiſtorians; but I have given them the Reader from the Collection of a Perſon who has taken great Pains to make himſelf Maſter of the *Chineſe* Hiſtory, which he may probably be prevailed upon to publiſh when he thinks it perfect enough to bear the Inſpection of the Criticks.

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This new Race of *Tartar* Princes, which ſtill continue to reign in *China*, for the twenty-ſecond Dynaſty of their Monarchs, is diſtinguiſhed by the Name of *Tſing*; it is however very remarkable, that *Zungt-hy* is not accounted the firſt of thoſe Emperors, becauſe he died almoſt as ſoon as he was ſeated on his Throne, and before he was entirely poſſeſſed of *China*, leaving the Empire to his Son *Chun-Tchi*, who was then no more than ſix Years Years old, and to whom his dying Father aſſigned his Brother *Ama-Van* for his Guardian. So early a Minority, one would have imagined, muſt have been fatal to the new raiſed Empire; but *Ama-Van*, during the Non-Age of his Nephew, conducted all things with ſo much Wiſdom and Fidelity, that when the young Emperor came to take the Reins of Government into his own Hands, he found himſelf in as full Poſſeſſion of his Dominions, as if they had deſcended to him from a long Line of Anceſtors. The Emperor *Chun-Tchi* was himſelf a Perſon of extraordinary Abilities, eaſy and affable amongſt his Soldiers, wiſe and prudent in his Councils, and ſo refined a Politician, that under Colour of executing the Laws with Exactneſs, he took off all the great Men in *China* that were capable of giving him either Jealouſy or Diſturbance, ſo that after a Reign of ſeventeen Years, he left the Empire perfectly ſettled to his Son, who was but eight Years old.

The Name of this Prince was *Cang-hi*, he was raiſed to the Throne in the Year 1662, and, during his Minority, the Empire was governed by four great Miniſters, who executed their Offices with the greateſt Wiſdom and Integrity, ſo that this ſecond Minority proved not in the leaſt dangerous to the Empire. It is true, that the famous *Chineſe* General *Ouſanguei* took the Advantage of it, and endeavoured to ſhake off the Yoke of the *Tartars*, of whom with equal Wit and Wiſdom, he ſaid, that he had called in Lions to aſſiſt him in hunting Dogs. He had ſome Succeſs at the Beginning, and might probably have ſecured at leaſt ſome Part of the Empire for himſelf and his Poſterity, if he had not been very old at the Time of his Revolt, and died not long after, which gave the Emperor's Miniſters an Opportunity of taking ſuch Meaſures, as put it out of the Power of the *Chineſe* to rebel for the future. *Cang hi* fell nothing ſhort, either of his Father or his Grandfather, ſo that it may be reckoned an extraordinary Felicity in this Family, that for three Generations there were as great Princes of it as perhaps of any other in the World. This Emperor was extreamly careful with regard to two Points, the encouraging and diſtinguiſhing his *Tartar* Subjects, and behaving with the utmoſt Juſtice and Moderation towards the *Chineſe*.

In the Beginning of his Reign, indeed, he committed ſome neceſſary Acts of Severity, but when he found that he had by this Means abſolutely broken the mutinous Spirit of the People of *China*, he changed his Conduct entirely, and applied himſelf wholly to the putting every thing in the beſt Order poſſible, for the Benefit of all his Subjects. It was with this View that he obliged the Viceroys and other Governors of Provinces to adminiſter Juſtice with Impartiality and Mildneſs, taking from them the Power of puniſhing capitally, and obliging them to ſend all ſuch Sentences to the ſupreme Tribunal of the Empire. In order to take away all Diſtinctions, and to render his *Tartar* and *Chineſe* Subjects but one People, he eſtabliſhed this Regulation; he obliged the *Tartars* to wear the *Chineſe* Habit and obliged the *Chineſe* to cut their Hair, after the Mode of the *Tartars*, and this upon Pain of Death. It may ſeem ſtrange, but it is nevertheleſs true, that many refuſed to comply with this Order, and choſe rather to part with their Lives than their Hair, and that many more abandoned their native Country, to fly into Places where they might wear their Hair as long as they were wont. But the Emperor's Edict had notwithſtanding the deſired Effect, that is to ſay, freed him from ſuch mutinous Spirits as might have diſturbed the Tranquillity of his Reign.

The moſt important Employments, and the moſt honourable Offices in the Government, he gave only to the *Tartars*; but then he made a Law, by which the Children of *Tartars* by *Chineſe* Women, or of *Chineſe* by *Tartarian* Women, who were bred up in the Cuſtoms, and were taught to ſpeak the Language of the *Tartars*, were declared capable of the higheſt Offices in the Empire. He was not more careful of the Domeſtick than of the Foreign Affairs of his Empire, which almoſt all his Predeceſſors had neglected to a great Degree; for he not only reduced all the Eaſtern *Tartars* intirely under his Obedience, but made two Journeys into that Country, where he admitted all Ranks of People freely to his Preſence, and thereby gained the Love of the *Moguls* in the higheſt Degree. As for the *Tartars* of the Weſt, he forced them to have reſource to his Protection, and not only drove the *Calmucks* from his Frontiers, but entering their Country alſo in his Turn, took from them the Provinces of *Chamil* and *Tarſan*, which ſerve as an excellent Barrier on that Side for the *Chineſe* Empire[l].

In his Perſon, and in his Manners, he had nothing of the *Tartar*, and was ſo perfectly acquainted with every Government in *Europe*, that he diſcourſed of them in a manner that ſurpriſed even the *Europeans* themſelves. The late Czar *Peter* the Firſt ſent M. *d'Iſmailoff* with the Character of his Embaſſador to the *Chineſe* Court, whom the Emperor not only received with all imaginable Politeneſs, but at the firſt Audience preſented his Excellency, a Nobleman who accompanied him, and his Secretary, each with a Gold Cup full of Mead, by which they plainly perceived that he was informed of the Czar's Cuſtom, who when he had a mind to diſtinguiſh any Foreigner, was wont to preſent him with a Glaſs of Wine with his own Hand. This Emperor *Cang-hi* reigned with great Glory ſixty-one Years, and died on the 20th of *Dec.* 1722. He left behind him ſeventeen Sons, the fourth of which he declared his Succeſſor, who at his Acceſſion to the Imperial Dignity, aſſumed the Name of *Yong-Tching*, *i. e.* Peace undiſturbed. This Prince, who is ſaid to inherit the Virtues as well as Dominions of his Anceſtors, was in quiet Poſſeſſion of the Empire in the Year 1735, ſince which we have not had any certain, or at leaſt very important Accounts from *China*.

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[k] The *Chineſe* Hiſtorians themſelves agree, that this Race of Emperors were far inferior to the *Tartars*, as giving themſelves up too much to a ſort of Studies that were by no Means ſuitable to their Dignities. Some of them were carried away by a vain Deſire of finding the Water of Life; that is, a Kind of Liquor, by drinking of which a Man might become immortal; but with ſo little Succeſs, that the Emperor *Chi-Tſong* died immediately after he drank of this pretended Water of Life, at the Age of Fifty-eight. Others were poſſeſſed with a violent Deſire of finding the Philoſopher's Stone, which induced them to ſpend too much of their Time in chimical Experiments. The Fate of theſe Monarchs ſufficiently ſhew, that the *Art* of *Government* is the only Science worthy of the Attention of Princes.

[l] This Prince took care to ſecure the Moguls of the Eaſt from the ambitious Deſigns of the *Ruſſians*, and for that Purpoſe made a very wiſe and honourable Treaty with the Czar *Peter* the Firſt, for ſettling the Limits of their reſpective Empires, in conſequence of which the Town and Fortreſs of *Albaſinſkoy* was demoliſhed.

By this Deduction of the *Chineſe* Hiſtory we learn a Multitude of things neceſſary for the underſtanding ſuch of the ſubſequent Voyages as mention that Country, which was the Reaſon that I inſiſted upon it ſo long; and we likewiſe diſcover the Uſefulneſs of this ſort of Knowledge, with reſpect to the Voyages that have gone before. We ſee that the *Chineſe*, with whom our *Arabian* Travellers converſed, were quite another ſort of People than thoſe that now inhabit *China*; for they were a pure and unmixed Nation, whereas the modern *Chineſe* are in a great meaſure incorporated with the *Tartars*; from whence it is eaſy to diſcern, that great Alterations muſt have happened in their Manners, eſpecially if we conſider the Character that *Rubruquis* gives the *Tartars*, which comes much nearer that of the modern *Chineſe* than any thing we meet with in the *Arabian* Writers. It appears likewiſe from the Compariſon of the Facts related by the *Arabians* with thoſe mentioned by *Marco Polo* of the People of *Mangi*, that both theſe Writers muſt have reported Things with great Fidelity, ſince they agree in a Multitude of Particulars. The Conqueſt of the Northern Part of *China* by the *Tartars*, though not expreſly mentioned, yet is plainly alluded to by the ſecond *Arab* Writer; and as to the intire Conqueſt of *China* by the ſame Nation, we owe the full Account of it to *Marco Polo*; for, without the Aſſiſtance of his Relations, it would have been a thing very difficult, if not impoſſible, to have diſcovered, that *Chi-Tſou* was the ſame with *Coplai-Khan*, or *Cublai-Khan*, Emperor of the *Tartars*, who before he became Maſter of their Country was called by the *Chineſe* *Ho-pi-lie*[m].

We likewiſe learn from this ſuccinct View of the *Chineſe* Hiſtory, that the *Tartars*, who now poſſeſs *China*, are the very ſame Nation that formerly poſſeſſed it, contrary to what ſome very learned Men aſſerted, and which was generally believed half an Age ago. We likewiſe ſee, that the reigning Family in *China* are direct Deſcendants of *Cublai-Khan*, and conſequently of *Zingis-Khan*, that famous Conqueror, whoſe Empire, as we have elſewhere ſhewn, was the moſt extenſive that has been hitherto known in the World. Theſe Things are of very great Conſequence, if we read Voyages for the ſake of improving and enlarging our Knowledge, and not merely for the ſake of Amuſement, which, however, is rather encreaſed than leſſened, by attending to theſe Circumſtances. We can eaſily apprehend, after a little Reflection, that in the Time of our *Arabian* Travellers, and even in that of *Marco Polo*, the *Chineſe* Empire muſt have been in a much better Condition, and its Trade much more flouriſhing than when it was firſt viſited by the *Portugueze*, *Engliſh* and *Dutch*. Before that Time it had not been expoſed to thoſe cruel Ravages that enſued firſt on the breaking out of their Civil Wars, and next from the laſt Conqueſt by the *Tartars*. Beſides, we can at any time have Recourſe to this ſhort Hiſtory, when we are at a Loſs as to the Facts mentioned in ſubſequent Voyages, and by comparing the Times in which they happened with the Dates that are therein ſet down, obtain an eaſy Solution of Doubts that perhaps we could never otherwiſe have got over.

It is from the Conſideration of theſe Advantages, and that as far as in my Power lies I might remove all Obſtacles whatſoever to the perfect underſtanding of this Subject, that I have determined to give the Reader in the next Section a conciſe Hiſtory of the other *Tartar* Empire in the *Indies*, I mean that of the Great Mogul, who was likewiſe a Deſcendant from the ſame Family with the great Conqueror I have ſo often mentioned. By purſuing this Method, which I have brought into the narroweſt Compaſs poſſible, the Reader will gain ſuch a previous Knowledge of a great Number of Facts as never to be at a Loſs in peruſing any of the Voyages to the *Eaſt-Indies*, either in this, or in any other Collection, which, without ſuch an Introduction, it would have been abſolutely impracticable for him to have underſtood, and that for many Reaſons, of which I will take the Liberty to mention only a few. In the firſt place then, every Voyage brings us not only into a new Country, but, if I may ſo ſpeak, introduces us into a new Company, with the Character of which, if we have not ſome previous Acquaintance, it is impoſſible for us to be at our Eaſe, whereas if we know in general who and what they are, we enter immediately into the true Senſe of the Relation, and hear all that is told us with Pleaſure. In the next place, it often happens, that either from the Fear of appearing tedious, or from ſome other Motive, the Writers of Voyages give us only ſhort Hints as to the Government of the Countries through which they paſs, or the Characters of Princes that reign in them, which would be utterly unintelligible to ſuch as never heard of them before, and yet may be ſufficient for the Information of thoſe who have a general Notion of the Poſture of things in that Country at the Time mentioned by the Author. Laſtly, we are by this means enabled to rectify the Miſtakes of ſuch Writers, to diſtinguiſh between the Truth and Falſhood of what they relate, and to form a clear and certain Judgment of the Merit of their Performances.

It may poſſibly be objected, that for the ſame Reaſons which have been offered in Support of theſe two Hiſtories of the *Chineſe* and of the *Indian* Empires, we might be obliged to write the Hiſtory of all the other Princes that have reigned in the *Upper Aſia*, which Objection, however, is not at all founded in Fact, ſince in the firſt place the Hiſtories of all the little Princes in *India* are very far from being ſo neceſſary as thoſe of the capital Empires; and in the next, how neceſſary ſoever we might think them, it is impoſſible for us to write any ſuch Hiſtories, becauſe the neceſſary Materials for them are not to be found. When therefore this Matter is ſeriouſly conſidered, it appears to be a new Argument in favour of our Deſign; for ſince there have been but two great Empires in this Part of the World, of which any juſt and regular Account can be given, and to which all Books of Voyages and Travels through the *Eaſt-Indies* muſt neceſſarily refer, it would ſeem very abſurd and unreaſonable, after all the Pains we have taken in the darker Ages of this Hiſtory, to decline that Period of it, which is at once the moſt uſeful, and will appear by far the moſt agreeable to a modern Reader, as there is not in the Compaſs of Univerſal Hiſtory any Branch ſo full of extraordinary Events, or in which there occur more ſurprizing Turns and Revolutions than in that which we are about to give.

Add to all this, that however deficient the reſt of the Oriental Hiſtories may be, we have abundant Materials for this, and thoſe too as excellent in the kind as can be deſired; for beſides the particular Relations afforded us by ſeveral Writers of Credit, who were actually on the Spot when thoſe Events happened which they record, we have very great Lights given us by ſuch of the Oriental Writers as have undertaken to explain the ſeveral Expeditions of the *Tartars*, and eſpecially thoſe of the famous *Timur-Bec*, known to us by the Name of *Tamerlane*, whoſe Conqueſts, though leſs extenſive, have, notwithſtanding, made a greater Figure in our general Hiſtories than thoſe of his glorious Predeceſſor *Zingis-Khan*. Beſides all which we have the ſingular Advantage of having a great Part of this Hiſtory taken from the very Records of that Empire which it concerns, by the Induſtry of Mr. *Manouchi*[n], who was forty

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[m] The Change of Names is a very clear Proof that no ſort of Blame ought to lie on *Marco Polo* for writing Places after a different Orthography than what is commonly uſed; and we have this Advantage from it, that we learn the *Tartar* Appellations, and have thereby an Opportunity of comparing them with the *Chineſe*. I cannot help remarking upon this Occaſion, that in all Probability *Ho-pi-lie* is no more than the *Tartar* Name of *Khoplai* (for ſo in that Language it is written) expreſſed in *Chineſe* Characters; but for the Name given him, after he attained the Empire, of *Chi-Tſou*, it may be rendered the firſt of his Race, for *Chi* ſignifies the Beginning, and *Tſou* a kind of Violet-coloured Plume or Feather worn in the Imperial Diadem.

[n] This Mr. *Manouchi* was a *Venetian* by Birth, but he wrote his Hiſtory of *Indoſtan* in the *Portugueze* Language, which was then, and is ſtill common in the Eaſt. We owe the Publication of it to the famous Jeſuit Father *Cartrou*, who dedicated his *French* Tranſlation to the Duke of *Burgundy*, the Father of the preſent *Louis* XV. In his Preface to that Work, he promiſes ſome farther Memoirs by the ſame Hand; but I cannot find that theſe were ever publiſhed, which is the more wonderful, conſidering the great Reputation that the firſt Part of the Work acquired. As Father *Cartrou* is lately dead, it is very poſſible thoſe Papers may fall into other Hands, and yet ſee the Light.

Years in that Country, in the Quality of Phyſician to its Emperors, and had thereby an Opportunity of having free Recourſe to thoſe Records, which for the Benefit of Poſterity, as well as his own Information, he tranſcribed, and from which in a great Meaſure we have taken the Facts that are contained in the following Section.

SECTION XXII.

A ſuccinct Hiſtory of the Empire of the Great Mogul, *from its Foundation by the Great* Tartar *Conqueror* Timur-Bec, *or* Tamerlane, *to the preſent Times.*

Taken chiefly from the Oriental Writers.

1. *The Hiſtory of* Timur-Bec, *or* Tamerlane, *from his firſt Appearance in the World, to his being declared Khan of the* Tartars. 2. *His Conqueſts in the* Indies, *and ſubſequent Victories, to the Time of his Death.* 3. *The Hiſtory of* Miracha *the Son of* Tamerlane, *and his Succeſſor in Part of his Dominions.* 4. *The Reign of* Abouchaid *the Grandſon of* Tamerlane. 5. *The Hiſtory of* Sheik-Omar, *the Seat of whoſe Empire was at* Samarcand. 6. *The Life and Reign of* Babar, *the firſt of thoſe Monarchs who aſſumed the Title of Grand* Mogul. 7. *An Account of the great Revolution which happened under* Homayum, *his Reſtoration to the Empire of the* Indies, *and his Death.* 8. *The Reign of* Akebar, *and the Acceſſions made by him to the Dominion of the* Moguls. 9. *The Reign of* Jehan-Guire, *and of the Troubles that happened therein.* 10. *The Hiſtory of* Shah-Jehan, *and of the Princes his Sons, to the Time of his Deceaſe.* 11. *A ſuccinct Account of the Reign of* Aurengzebe, *and of the ſeveral Acceſſions made by him to the* Indian *Empire.* 12. *Of the Diſputes that happened after his Deceaſe among the Princes his Sons.* 13. *Of the Reign of* Badour-Shah, *and of the War carried on by him againſt his Brethren.* 14. *Of the Troubles that have happened ſince in that Empire.* 15. *The Hiſtory continued to the Expedition of the* Shah-Nadir, *or* Kouli-Khan, *with an authentick Account of its moſt remarkable Particulars.*

1. THE Empire of the *Tartars* ſubſiſted for near two hundred Years, under the Adminiſtration of the direct Deſcendants of its illuſtrious Founder *Zingis-Khan*, when a new Conqueror was born of the ſame Race; for *Timur-Bec*, or, as he is uſually called by us, *Tamerlane*, was deſcended in a direct Line from *Cabul*, who was the Great-Grandfather of *Zingis*. His Family, though not powerful, was very illuſtrious, ſince, tho' he was the Vaſſal or Subject of *Adill-Khan*, yet he was by Birth, Prince or Chieftain of the Tribe of *Burlaſs*. The viſible Declenſion of the Power of *Adill-Khan*, gave him ſome Hopes of ſhaking off his Dominion. The Weakneſs of four Princes had ſo looſened the Foundation of their Throne, that this *Adill Khan* had little more left him than the Shadow of ſupreme Authority. Whole Tribes of the *Mongals* or *Moguls*, withdrew themſelves entirely from his Obedience, and ſet up particular Princes of their own; the Reſt, who ſtill acknowledged his Sovereignty, pretended to aſſign the Meaſure of their Submiſſion, and to fix the Bounds of that Duty they were content to pay. As for *Tamerlane*, his Deſign was to throw off the Yoke entirely; but wanting ſufficient Strength for ſo bold an Undertaking, he confederated with *Huſſein*, who had exactly the ſame way of thinking; and when they had joined their Forces together, they declared War againſt *Adill-Khan*, attacked and defeated his Army, and having taken him Priſoner, tied him Hand and Foot, and threw him into a Torrent, where he was drowned. *Tamerlane*, to give the beſt Colour poſſible to ſo full a Fact, raiſed *Cabul*, who was a direct Deſcendant from the famous *Zagatai-Khan*, to the Throne, from whom in two Deſcents it came to the Poſſeſſion of *Mohammed* his Grandſon. But he who was now powerful enough to beſtow Crowns, had ſo much of Ambition, as to preſerve the Power that attended them in his own Hands, though for certain Purpoſes he ſuffered the Title to remain elſewhere. Under the Name of *Mohammed-Khan*, he made War on the Reſt of the Princes of the Family of *Zingis*, and by his repeated Victories became ſo famous, that he was quickly conſidered as the firſt or principal *Khan* of the *Tartars*. This provoked the Jealouſy of *Huſſein*, who had been his firſt Companion in Arms, ſo that of a Friend and Ally he firſt became a ſecret Rival, and very ſoon an open Enemy. Their Armies met in the Plains of *Balk*, where a Bloody Battle enſued, in which *Huſſein* was defeated and killed, and *Tamerlane* then ſaw himſelf at the Head of the whole Power of the *Tartars*, without a Competitor, and therefore having ſummoned all the Princes of the Blood of *Zagatai* to *Samarcand*, there, by a Sort of Election, aſſumed the Title of Khan, which hitherto he had not done, put on the Imperial Crown of Gold and the Girdle, which was alſo an Enſign of that Dignity, received the Homage of all who were preſent, and very rich Preſents upon that Occaſion. It is from this Election and Coronation, that the Reign of this great Prince is uſually dated, becauſe though he had the Power long before, yet his Title was never till now acknowledged, or himſelf known to the World, as ſupreme Khan of the *Tartars*, which Title he ever after bore.

2. This great Event fell out in the Year of the *Hegira* 781, in the Year of our Lord 1379, and in the thirty-fourth Year of the Age of *Timur*. He was no ſooner ſeated on the Throne of *Zingis-Khan*, than he began to form a Deſign of uniting under his Dominion all the Countries that had formerly paid Obedience to that Conqueror, with which View he inſtantly attacked the Princes of *Choraſſan*, *Sigeſtan*, and *Kandahar*, whom he reduced in a ſhort Space of Time, and thereby opened a fair Road into the *Indies*. It was in the Year of the *Hegira* 800, and *A. D.* 1409, that he undertook the Conqueſt of that extenſive Empire, at the Entrance of which he found Abundance of little Clans of Thieves, that by the Help of the ſtrong Holds which they had erected, maintained a kind of tyrannical Power over the adjacent Country. Theſe he firſt of all rooted out, and at the ſame Time deſtroyed without Mercy a Multitude of Guebres, or Worſhippers of Fire, that had ſettled themſelves on the Confines of *Indoſtan*, when driven out of their native Country of *Perſia*. He next beſieged the famous Fortreſs of *Uldugin*, which had hitherto been conſidered as impregnable; but as this was not a Taſk that required ſo great an Army as that under his Command, he employed a Part of it in reducing the adjacent Country, then under the Dominion of Sultan *Mohammed*, who finding himſelf in ſuch imminent Danger, invited all the neighbouring Princes to join him, in order to defend themſelves againſt a common Enemy, who made no Scruple of declaring that he meant to diſpoſſeſs them of all their Dominions, in order to annex them to his own. This Application had the deſired Effect; Rajah *Rana* and the Reſt of thoſe little Princes took care to aſſemble their Forces, and at the Time appointed joined Sultan *Mohammed*, who immediately marched to give the Invader Battle. The Forces of the *Indian* Princes ſurpaſſed in Number by very far the Army of the *Tartars*, but the Conduct of *Timur*, who had

ſpent almoſt his whole Life in Arms, proved more than a Balance to their Numbers. He made choice of a ſmall Plain out of which there was a narrow Paſſage, between two high Mountains, for the Field of Battle, in which he drew up about a third Part of his Army; the Reſt he drew up in two Bodies, which he poſted behind thoſe Mountains, and as ſoon as the *Indian* Army advanced, his Horſe, that were drawn up in the Plains, as if ſtruck with a ſudden Panick, fled through the narrow Paſs, and were followed by the *Indians*, who thought that the very Sight of their Army had defeated their Enemies; but they ſoon found their Miſtake, for they no ſooner entered the great Plain behind the Mountains, than the two Bodies of Horſe attacked them in Flank and Rear with the utmoſt Fury. This Engagement proved deciſive, and *Timur*, by this ſingle Victory, became Maſter of the *Indies*; that is to ſay, he put *Tartar* Garriſons into moſt of the Fortreſſes, left a conſiderable Army at *Dehli*, the Capital of the Country, and having received the Homage of moſt of the Rajahs or petty Princes, returned in Triumph to *Samarcand*, which he made choice of for the Capital of his Empire, laden with the Spoil of the *Indies*. He had not been long returned, before he had Advice that *Achmet*, whom ſome Years before he had driven from *Bagdat*, was come back thither. This News ſoon drew him into the Field again, and his Enemy retired at his Approach. This War was ſucceeded by another of much greater Conſequence, and to which he chiefly owes his Fame in this Part of the World. *Bajazet*, Emperor of the *Turks*, one of the greateſt Monarchs of that Age, and withal, one of the braveſt and beſt Captains, gave him ſome Cauſe of Provocation. *Timur* marched againſt him with his victorious Army, and not only defeated and diſpoſſeſſed him of his Dominions, but made him Priſoner alſo, and afterwards put him to Death. On his Return, after this Victory, to *Samarcand*, he formed a new Deſign of reducing *China*, out of which, at this Juncture, the *Tartars* were expelled. He marched for this Purpoſe with a moſt puiſſant Army, and being encamped at *Otrar*, was there ſeized by a Diſtemper which put an End to his Conqueſts and his Life, in the thirty ſeventh Year of his Reign, and in the ſixty-ſixth of his Age, in the Year of the *Hegira* 807, and *A. D.* 1605.

3. The great Empire of *Timur-Bec*, or *Tamerlane*, ſunk almoſt his ſoon as it roſe. He divided his Dominions amongſt his Children; and, according to his Will, the Eaſtern Part of *Perſia*, together with *Cabuliſtan* and *Indoſtan*, fell to the Share of *Miracha*, his third Son. He was a Prince of conſiderable Courage, and did not want Capacity; but, during his Father's Life-time, had been extremely unfortunate, inſomuch that he was once in Danger of loſing that Share of the Empire which had been aſſigned him. At the Time of that Monarch's Deceaſe, *Miracha* did not find himſelf ſtrong enough to eſtabliſh himſelf abſolutely in the *Indies*, he therefore made choice of the City of *Herat*[a], in the Province of *Chorassan*, for his Capital, which was indeed very conveniently ſeated for that Purpoſe, as being almoſt in the Centre of his Dominions. He marched from thence annually, at the Head of a conſiderable Army, into *Cabuliſtan* and *Indoſtan*, in order to levy the Tribute which his Father had impoſed, and which the *Indian* Rajahs rather choſe to pay, than to run the Hazard of a War.

The King of *Caſcar* was the only Prince that refuſed to acknowledge him as his Sovereign, or to pay him any Tribute. Againſt him therefore *Miracha* made a long and cruel War, in which however he was at firſt very unſucceſsful, his forces being abſolutely defeated, and himſelf taken Priſoner by the *Indian* Prince. That Monarch, by a Stroke of extraordinary Generoſity, took no other Advantage of his Victory, than to engage *Miracha* to quit all claim to Tribute, and thereupon reſtored him to Liberty. This Treaty however was but indifferently kept, for when the *Tartar* Prince had recruited his Army, he, without Scruple, renewed the War, in which he was ſo fortunate, as to defeat his Enemy, and make the King of *Caſcar* Priſoner in his turn. He did not however behave as Gratitude, or even as Humanity required; but barbarouſly ordered the Eyes of that Prince to be put out, over-run his Dominions, and kept him, during his whole Life, a Priſoner.

This baſe Action, however, drew upon him that Puniſhment which it ſo well deſerved. His *Tartar* Soldiers exerciſed before him every Day, and hearing a Diſcourſe amongſt them of the great Dexterity of the King of *Caſcar*, notwithſtanding he was blind, he thought fit to enquire into it, and being told that this Prince ſhot with the greateſt Truth to any Corner where he heard the leaſt Noiſe, he reſolved to make the Experiment, conceiving in himſelf that the thing was abſolutely impoſſible. When the Queſtion came to be decided, the captive King declared, that he would not diſcharge an Arrow at the Command of any other Perſon than the Emperor. He accordingly gave the Word, which ſcarce had eſcaped his Lips, before the Rajah let fly a poiſoned Arrow, which ſtruck him through the Body; at the Sight of which his Guards cut the unfortunate *Indian* Prince to Pieces.

Such was then the End of *Miracha*, after he had reigned forty-ſix Years. He is juſtly eſteemed the firſt of the *Mogul* Emperors; for though the Country was conquered by his Father, yet it made only a Province of his Dominions, whereas it was, ſtrictly ſpeaking, the Main of this Monarch's Poſſeſſions, as well as his peculiar Share of his Father's Empire, and as ſuch was tranſmitted by him to his Poſterity.

He was ſucceeded in his Throne by his Son *Abouchaid*, or *Abuſeyd*, in the Year of the *Hegira* 855, *A. D.* 1451. But this Prince neither reſembled his Father or Grandfather, for he was lazy and luxurious to the laſt Degree, and withal exceſſively cruel, which irritated the *Rajahs* to ſuch a Degree, that they reſolved to depoſe him, and to ſet his younger Brother on the Throne, which they accordingly did, but had very ſoon Reaſon to repent of the Exchange. *Abouchaid*, on loſing his Crown, took the Habit of a Faquir[b], and in it travelled through the *Indies*. His Subjects ſoon found him out, though he took all imaginable Pains to conceal himſelf, and they no ſooner diſcovered him, than as they had forced him to reſign the royal Robes for the Habit of a Monk, they now with like Paſſion obliged him to a contrary Exchange. He no ſooner appeared, than he ſaw his Brother totally abandoned, by which he was peaceably reſtored to his Dignity; but that he might be ſafe from future Affronts, he ordered his Brother's Head to be ſtruck off, as the Puniſhment of his Tyranny, as he pretended; but in reality, to prevent a ſecond Uſurpation.

His Government was now preciſely the Reverſe of what it had been before, for he ſtudied nothing but the Art of pleaſing his People; and though he did not, and perhaps could not, change his Temper, yet he diſſembled it ſo well, that with reſpect to his Subjects, his Hypocriſy had the ſame good Conſequences as if he had acted from real Virtue. His Depoſition however was not the laſt Misfortune of his Life, for while he was engaged in War againſt the Khan of *Samarcand*, one of the young Princeſſes in his Seraglio ſet up a new Prince, whoſe Name was *Ibraim*, who bid fair for depriving *Abouchaid* of his Dominions; but at laſt he was defeated, and on the firſt News of this, the Princeſs, who had raiſed him to the Throne, firſt murdered the Son ſhe had by him at the Breaſt, and then deſtroyed herſelf by a Doſe of Poiſon, which for that Purpoſe ſhe had concealed in her Locket. *Abouchaid* returning in Triumph to *Herat*, reigned for ſome Time with great Succeſs and Glory; but the Violence of his Temper, joined to a high Opinion of his good Fortune, drew him into another War, which coſt him both his Crown and his Life.

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[a] This City of *Herat* is ſituated in the ſouthern Part of the Province of *Choraſſan*, in the Lat. of 34°. It is now the fineſt and moſt beautiful City in thoſe Parts, ſince the *Uſbeck Tartars* deſtroyed *Meſhed*; and the Inhabitants are very rich, chiefly through the Trade they carry on with the Subjects of the Great *Mogul*. It is in this City that the fineſt Carpets in *Perſia* are made, and the fineſt Brocades alſo; but the greateſt Advantage it enjoys is, the being a convenient Stage, in the direct Road from *Iſpahan* to *Candahar*; ſo that the Magazines of this City are not better ſupplied with their own Manufactures, than with the choiceſt and moſt valuable Merchandize of the *Indies*.

[b] This is an *Arab* Word, and ſignifies the ſame thing with the *Turkiſh* Word *Derwiſh*, that is, a mendicant Monk, one who has made a Vow of Poverty, and travels through the Country without Food, Raiment, or Shelter, but what is afforded him out of Charity. They are generally eſteemed ſacred in *Mohammedan* Countries, and every body is willing to contribute whatever Neceſſaries they want.

He had always a ſtrong Inclination to paſs for the great Diſpenſer of Juſtice amongſt his Neighbours, and therefore taking Offence at the Proceedings of *Uſum Caſſan*, a very potent Monarch of the Family of *Zingis Khan*, who had deprived one of his Relations of his Dominions, he declared War againſt him, notwithſtanding all the Pains that Prince could take to terminate the Difference between them by a Negotiation. *Uſum Caſſan*, though much inferior in Power, was much better verſed in the Art of War; and by ruining his Country, and keeping his Forces always encamped in Places that were inacceſſible, he ſo weakened the Forces of the *Tartar*, that, at laſt, he found himſelf obliged to retreat, in order to ſave the Remains of a numerous Army, worn out with perpetual Fatigue. But he was not able to conduct them, as he endeavoured, into his own Dominions, but was defeated and taken Priſoner by the ſons of *Uſum Caſſan*, who immediately conducted him to the Preſence of their Father, who received him at firſt with great Humanity, but being provoked at the inſolent Speeches of *Abouchaid*, who reproached him with not daring to meet him in the Field, at laſt ordered his Head to be ſtruck off, and put out the Eyes of his three eldeſt Sons, who were taken with him.

Such was the Fate of this inſolent and vain-glorious Monarch, equally unfortunate in the Beginning and in the Cloſe of his Reign, but in neither more ſo than he deſerved. The Chronicles of the Mogul Empire take Notice, that he left a bad Example to his Succeſſors in theſe two Points, firſt, in putting to Death his Brother, and next in his Ingratitude to his moſt faithful Servants; Circumſtances very diſhonourable for his Memory, and which ſhew how unworthy he was of ſo great an Empire, that in the Courſe of twenty-eight Years, which he ſat upon the Throne, could leave nothing but the Shame of his Vices[c] to make him remembered by Poſterity. There have ſome Doubts ariſen about the Succeſſion of this Prince, becauſe, in the great Seal of the Mogul, on which the Names of all the Emperors are engraved, there is one *Mirza-Mohammed* mentioned, whom ſome therefore would have the Son of *Miracha*, and the Father of *Abouchaid*. The firſt may be true, but not the latter, ſince it is probable, that this *Mirza-Mohammed* was his Brother, whom he put to death.

5. *Sheik-Omar*, the fifth Son of *Abouchaid*, ſucceeded his Father in the Year of the *Hegira* 874. *A. D.* 1469, and was of a quite contrary Diſpoſition: He is recorded to have been a very pious *Mohammedan*, and to have made the Study of the Khoran the Buſineſs of his Life, which is the more extraordinary, ſince his Great-grandfather *Timur* had a Religion of his own, which was a Sort of Deiſm. His Grandfather had very little Religion, and his Father none at all, though he made ſome Pretences to *Mohammediſm*. The Reign of *Omar* was a continued Peace; he never ſought to trouble his Neighbours, was contented with his own Dominions, where he ruled his Subjects with Juſtice and Moderation, and was neither diſturbed by Plots at home or Wars abroad. The only Thing remarkable in the Reign of this Monarch, is the Manner in which he amuſed himſelf; for it muſt appear ſomewhat ſingular, that a Prince, who ſeriouſly delighted in Peace, ſhould invent a new kind of War for his Diverſion.

At the End of his Garden he had a high Terras, at each Extremity of which was built a Pigeon-houſe; thither the Emperor daily reſorted, and as he fed his Pigeons with his own Hand, they flocked about him as ſoon as he appeared. He had taught theſe Creatures to live in a perpetual State of Enmity; ſo that as ſoon as the Emperor lifted up a white Sattin Standard, the Pigeons of one Houſe attacked thoſe of the other, and they with great Reſolution defended themſelves, and often ſallied out and drove away the Invaders. It one Day happened that the Emperor, deeply engaged in this Sport, flouriſhing his Standard in the Air, and having his Eyes fixed on his Pigeons, fell againſt the wooden Baluſtrade of his Terras, which, being rotten, gave way, ſo that by his Fall he broke his Skull, of which unlucky Accident he died in two Days after, having reigned happily for himſelf and for his Neighbours twenty-four Years.

6. He was ſucceeded in the Throne by his Son *Babar*, in the Year of the *Hegira* 899, *A. D.* 1493. This Prince had ſcarce taken Poſſeſſion of the Government before he found himſelf engaged in a War, for which he was every way indifferently provided. The Prince of the *Uſbeck Tartars* at that Time was *Schaibac-Khan*, who remembering that his Father had been deprived of *Samarcand* by *Abouchaid*, the Grandfather of *Omar*, he determined to lay hold of the Opportunity that offered of recovering his Dominions, knowing that the *Moguls* were much ſoftened by their Inactivity during ſo long a Peace. He made a right Judgment in this Matter; for, on his Approach, *Babar* found it impoſſible to make head againſt him, and therefore retired from Place to Place, till at laſt he took Shelter in *Cabuliſtan*[d], the Governor of which remained faithful to him, and ſoon aſſembled an Army capable of recovering what he had loſt to the *Uſbecks*.

Babar had hitherto appeared of as peaceable a Diſpoſition as his Father; but now, whether ſtung with Reſentment or rouſed by Deſpair, he ſhewed as great Courage as any of his Anceſtors, and ſeemed impatient to invade that Country which he had ſo lately abandoned. The Governor of *Cabuliſtan* however was of quite a different Sentiment, and having ſhewn his Maſter that it was infinitely more eaſy to make himſelf abſolutely Lord of *Indoſtan* than to recover the Countries he had loſt, he brought *Babar* over to his Opinion. In order however to proceed with the greater Security and Succeſs, the Emperor propoſed making a Journey through *India*, under the Diſguiſe of *Giogis*, or *Indian* Pilgrims, that they might the better judge of the Strength and Condition of thoſe whom they meant to conquer.

They executed this Reſolution almoſt as ſoon as they had formed it; and having travelled undiſcovered from one Extremity of *India* to the other, they found it inhabited by four Nations. The firſt were the native *Indians*, who ſtill kept up the Form of the ancient Conſtitution, though the Spirit of it was in a manner loſt. Their Kings ſhutting themſelves up in their Seraglios, thought of nothing but their Pleaſures, and left the great Affairs of Government to their Miniſters, who were often as indolent as themſelves, and left them in their Turn to their Domeſticks. The *Bramins* had exchanged the elevated Philoſophy of their Anceſtors for a Life of Superſtition, which amuſed the Vulgar with a falſe Religion, and ſeemed to juſtify the Men of Senſe, in having little or none at all. Their Soldiers kept their Horſes, took their Pay, and appeared at their ſtated Times in Review; but as for Service they knew it not in Practice, and the very Idea of it gave them Diſquiet. The common People were ſunk in Luxury and Sloth, miſtaking the Power of doing Evil for Liberty, and placing all Happineſs in the Purſuit of their vicious Appetites, without Danger of Reſtraint, or Fear of Reproach.

The ſecond Sort of People were the *Pattans*, a Race of *Mohammedans*, who from the oppoſite Coaſt of *Arabia* had paſſed over thither, and having firſt ſettled on the South-ſide of the River, erected there a Town, which ſtill bears the Name of *Muſilipatan*; from whence extending themſelves ſtill farther and farther, they at laſt became Maſters of the Kingdom of *Dehli*, of which they were poſſeſſed when *Tamerlane* made his Irruption into the *Indies*.

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[c] That Vice which of all others has moſt ſtained the Glory of the Mogul Race, is Ingratitude; the firſt Imputation of which was derived from the Conduct of this *Abouchaid*. When he was obliged to fly, in order to ſave his Life, after the Loſs of his Crown, two only of his Courtiers remained faithful, and ſhared with him in all his Misfortunes. After he was reſtored, theſe two worthy Men expected ſome Share in his Favour, but *Abouchaid* told them plainly he was more obliged to them than it was in his Power to repay, and therefore he hated to ſee them; neither was he contented to baniſh them his Court, but ordered their Names to be ſtruck out of the Roll of his Servants. Hence *the Ingratitude of Abouchaid* is to this very Day a Proverb through the Eaſt.

[d] This is a frontier Province between *Perſia* and the *Indies*, and has belonged ſometimes to one, and ſometimes to the other of theſe Empires, and is thought of ſo great Conſequence to the laſt, that it is a common Saying, he who is not Maſter of *Cabuliſtan*, is not Maſter of the *Indies*.

The *Perſees* were the third Sort of People; and theſe were no other than the Remains of the antient *Perſians*, who were and are certainly the moſt innocent People in the World, and perhaps the moſt pious. As the principal Part of their Religion conſiſts in worſhipping the Almighty Author of all Things under the Symbol of Fire, the *Mohammedans*, without taking any Pains to enquire into their Principles, concluded them Idolaters; and when they conquered *Perſia*, forced them to abjure their Religion or to quit their Country. They choſe the latter, and this brought Multitudes of them into the *Indies*, where, by a laborious Induſtry, they procured a bare Subſiſtence, expoſed continually to the Inſults of the other Nations, without any thing to ſuſtain them under the Weight of ſo many and ſo great Misfortunes, ſave the Teſtimony of a good Conſcience in this Life, and the Hopes of a Reward in that to come. The fourth Sort of People were his own Subjects the *Moguls*, placed there in Garriſons by his Anceſtors, and employed in levying the Tributes impoſed by them upon the *Rajahs*.

When *Babar* and his faithful Companion had examined all Things with the utmoſt Diligence and Attention, they returned to *Cabuliſtan*, and began to prepare for the Execution of their Project. They had obſerved, that the Prince of the *Pattans*, who was in Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom of *Dehli*, was the moſt powerful of any of the *Rajahs* in the Country of *Indoſtan*, and therefore they reſolved to begin with reducing him. *Babar*, having put himſelf at the Head of a numerous Army, ſummoned this Monarch, whoſe Name was *Amwixa*, to lay aſide the Stile and Title of a Sovereign, in a Country which belonged to the *Moguls* by Right of Conqueſt. *Amwixa* anſwered, that a King, though tributary, was ſtill a King, and that ſince they diſputed his Title, he was determined to pay no more Tribute to one driven out of his Dominions, and who, by his Conduct, ſeemed unworthy of Reſpect. *Babar* having received this Anſwer, proſecuted his March towards *Dehli*, and met with *Amwixa*, at the Head of an Army much greater than his own; but as the *Indians* were Soldiers only in Shew, ſo they were broke and defeated by the firſt Attack. Their King periſhed like a brave Man in the Midſt of his Enemies; the Remains of his Army took Shelter in the Mountains of *Thebet*. *Babar* remaining Maſter of the Country, made Choice of *Dehli* for his Capital, which has continued to be the ordinary Reſidence of his Succeſſors ever ſince[c].

The firſt Care of this Prince, after his Eſtabliſhment in the *Indies*, was to frame a Body of Laws, or rather to eſtabliſh a few fundamental Maxims for the Government and Security of his Empire, that his Succeſſors might not be expoſed to ſuch Accidents as he had met with, or be obliged, at every turn, to ſet their whole Dominions on the Hazard of a Battle. The Foundation on which this Structure was raiſed, was the ſole and abſolute Right of the Grand Mogul, for ſo *Babar* was firſt called, to all the Country he had acquired by Conqueſt; and this was ſo clearly underſtood, as that it ſecured all Property to him, and made even the greateſt of his Subjects Tenants at Will, or Tenants for Life at the very utmoſt. As by this Means the whole Lands in his Dominions were veſted in the Mogul, and all the great Men in the Kingdom made dependent upon his Pleaſure, ſo by another Principle, the Bulk of the People were put as much into his Power, ſince no written Laws were allowed, but the Judgment of the Emperor eſtabliſhed what was right and wrong in his Dominions. In his Capital he gave Judgment himſelf in all Cauſes that came before him; in other Cities there were Officers who decided all Things in his Name, and whoſe Decrees were liable to be reviewed by the Mogul himſelf.

Theſe Conſtitutions were deviſed by the Governor of *Cabuliſtan*, who, as he had fixed the Emperor upon the Throne by his Fidelity, now ſecured him thereon by his Wiſdom. The Effects of theſe Settlements very ſoon appeared by the Change that was perceived in the Face of Affairs; for the *Tartars*, who had been the old Subjects of *Babar* and his Anceſtors, ſwarmed to him now from all Quarters, as did alſo the *Perſians* and other *Mohammedans*, with whom the Court and the Army were filled, and upon whom all Places of Truſt and Profit were beſtowed. The great Officers, and in ſhort all who had Preferments, civil or military, were ſtiled *Omrahs*, and the old *Indian* Princes retained their antient Appellation of *Rajahs*. We ſhall meet with theſe Words very often, and therefore it may not be amiſs to fix the Senſe of them effectually. The *Omrah* is the mere Creature of his Prince, and though he often enjoys large Tracts of Land by his Favour, as well as conſiderable Appointments, yet he enjoys both but for Life, and can leave nothing to his Children, all being reſumed by the Mogul at his Deceaſe, who is the Heir-General of every Man in his Service. The *Rajahs* are hereditary Princes in their own Dominions, which they hold indeed of the Mogul, but by certain Tenures, with which, if they comply, he has no farther Demands upon them. It often happens that theſe *Rajahs* live at Court, and are honoured with Employments, in right of which they become *Omrahs*; but at their Deceaſe the Mogul reſumes all that they poſſeſs in his Dominions, and nothing but the Principality deſcends to their Children.

After all the Obligations that *Babar* owed to the Governor of *Cabuliſtan*, he became as ungrateful to him as his Grandfather had been to the Companions of his Miſfortunes, and treated him in ſuch a Manner, that he, for his own Security, turned *Faquir*, and in that Diſguiſe ſheltered himſelf in ſome diſtant Part of the *Indies*. After he left the Court all Things ran to Confuſion, and it plainly appeared, that none was able to govern the Empire, according to its preſent Conſtitution, but him who had framed it. It was ſome Time before the Emperor diſcerned this, but at length he found it out, repented of his Ingratitude, and would very willingly have recalled his Miniſter to Court, if he had known where to have found him. His Endeavours for ſome Time were fruitleſs, but at laſt he bethought himſelf of an Expedient, which was as ſucceſsful as it was ſingular; he publiſhed an Edict, by which he ordered every Market-Town in his Dominions to ſend its *Bazar* or *Market-Place* up to *Dehli*, or to return a ſufficient Reaſon for not doing it. His Motive to this was, that he believed he ſhould be able to diſtinguiſh, amongſt theſe Returns, the Place where his Miniſter had taken Shelter. When he came to look them over, he laid his Finger on the following Anſwer from a Town at a great Diſtance from his Reſidence. The Inhabitants declared, that they were ready, and willing to obey his Imperial Decree, *but that their* Bazar *did not know the Way to* Dehli, *and therefore, if his Majeſty would be pleaſed to ſend one of the* Bazar's *of his Capital to Conduct it, theirs ſhould immediately ſet out*. *Babar* directed the Deputies that brought him this Return to ſend him inſtantly to Court the Man by whoſe Advice they made it, which accordingly they did, and it proved as he expected, his old faithful Servant the Governor of *Cabuliſtan*, whom he reſtored to his former Poſt, and to his Favour, both which he enjoyed as long as he lived. The reſt of this Emperor's Reign affords us nothing remarkable, inaſmuch as he ſpent it in profound Peace, and having lived to a good Age, deceaſed in the Year of the *Hegira* 937, *A. D.* 1230, after reigning five Years at *Samarcand*, three in *Cabuliſtan*, and thirty in the *Indies*.

7. He was ſucceeded in his Dominions by his Son *Homayum*, or *Amayum*, who very ſoon experienced how difficult a Thing it is for the Succeſſor of a Conqueror to preſerve his Dominions. He had the Aſſiſtance of his Father's old Counſellor, but, like a young Man, he did not put that Confidence in him that he deſerved; but, contrary to his Advice, and in ſpite of all his Remonſtrances, promoted to the higheſt Employments the Perſon in the World moſt capable of doing him Miſchief.

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[c] The Name of this City is ſometimes called *Delli*, and the Reader will meet with a large Deſcription of it hereafter. It is very antient, and made a Part of the Kingdom of *Porus*; and it was in the Neighbourhood of this Place, that the great Battle was fought, which put *Alexander* in Poſſeſſion of his Dominions. There is ſaid to be ſtill remaining in this City a Column erected in Memory of that Event, with an Inſcription almoſt worn out, in Characters and in a Language now altogether unknown. The *Rajah Rana*, who was defeated by *Tamerlane*, is reported by all the Oriental Writers to have been a direct Deſcendant from King *Porus*.

The Thing happened thus: A young *Pattan* Lord, named *Chira*, who had been bred up with *Amayum* in his Father's Court, became his principal Favourite, and was advanced to the greateſt Poſts in the Government. Such a Confidence did this Prince place in him, that he made him his Generaliſſimo and Commander of the Guards about his Perſon. But *Chira*, on whom Ambition, or a pretended Love to his Country, had a much greater Influence than all the Favours beſtowed on him by *Amayum*, meditated how he might depoſe his indulgent Maſter, and reſtore the *Pattans* to their ancient Sovereignty. This great Miniſter firſt diſcovered his Ambition, it is ſaid, by changing his Name from *Chira*, which ſignifies a young Lion, to that of *Chircha*, which ſignifies the Royal or Imperial Lion. And being Commander of all the *Perſian*, *Tartar*, and *Mogul* Troops, among whom he had rendered himſelf very popular, by his obliging Behaviour; and his own People the *Pattans*, as well as the *Indian Rajahs*, being glad of an Opportunity of throwing off the Mogul Yoke, all Things ſeemed to conſpire to raiſe him to the Throne.

Amayum however being appriſed of this univerſal Diſaffection to his Perſon, occaſioned by his Favourite, aſſembled a ſmall Body of *Tartars* and *Perſians*, with whom he gave Battle to *Chira*; but their Numbers being very unequal, *Amayum* was ſoon compelled to leave the Field, and fled to the Shah of *Perſia* for Protection, after he had reigned in *Debly* about eleven Years, almoſt in continual Trouble and Confuſion. The Inhabitants of the Eaſt are extremely addicted to Augury, or obſerving the Flight of Birds, from whence the few Courtiers who attended *Amayum* in his Retreat, predicted his Return to his Empire; for, it fell out one Day, when the Weather was hot, and he was weary with Travel, that Prince lay down to reſt, when an Eagle, followed by her young ones, hovered for a conſiderable Time over his Head, and thereby ſhaded him from the Sun-beams. When he awaked, his Attendants complimented him on the Omen, which ſerved to keep up his Spirits; for it is obſerved, by all the Writers of his Hiſtory, that he bore his Misfortunes with great Dignity, and appeared as much a Monarch in his Exile, as he had ever done upon his Throne. The *Perſian* Prince received him with all imaginable Kindneſs and Reſpect, aſſigned him a Palace in his Capital, with a competent Revenue, and left nothing untried that might contribute to leſſen his Senſe of his Diſaſter, which had ſo good an Effect, that the *Indian* Monarch forgot his Cares, and paſſed his Time as comfortably as it is poſſible for one Prince to do in the Dominions of another[f].

In the mean time however, *Chircha* employed all his Thoughts in providing for the Welfare of that Nation, who had, in ſome meaſure, called him to the Throne. He was a Man of great Parts, and of a benevolent Nature; he ſaw that the only Means to make his People happy was, to enlarge and facilitate their Trade; and therefore to this he applied his Attention and his Power. He erected, at proper Diſtances in all the great Roads throughout his Dominions, Caravanſeras, or publick Inns, where Merchants might find all Conveniences, and proper Perſons to attend them at a very moderate Expence, and where Foot-paſſengers might be entertained at the publick Expence. His Example had ſuch an Effect on the richeſt of his Subjects, that they began to imitate him in the like Foundations, which proved of infinite Advantage to the Publick; and has therefore been practiſed ever ſince. The founding ſuch Receptacles for Strangers and Travellers, being accounted the higheſt Point of Charity in that and other Eaſtern Countries to this Day. Another Regulation with the ſame View did equal Honour to the Adminiſtration of this Prince, and contributed no leſs towards making him the Darling of his Subjects. There was, before his Time, no kind of Certainty in the Weights or Meaſures of this Country, but all Things were in a manner bought and ſold by hand, which was attended with many Inconveniencies. This Evil he remedied by a Law, which forbid the ſelling any thing but by Weight and Meaſure, and appointed the Standards of both to be kept in the great Towns throughout his Dominions. The Reign of this Prince was but ſhort, and he died without Iſſue, for otherwiſe he had, in all Probability, put an End to the Mogul Empire in the *Indies*. He was a very martial, as well as a very wiſe and prudent Prince in Time of Peace, and had a particular Turn for the Art of Engineering, which, by an Accident, proved fatal to him; for, having a Cannon of an unuſual Size ſent him from *Bengal*, he would needs make Trial of it himſelf, and the Piece burſting, he was killed by the Breech of it that ſtruck him on the Head, when he had enjoyed the Empire about nine Years[g].

All Things upon his Death fell into Confuſion; every one of the petty Princes had either Views for himſelf or for ſome greater Prince, to whom he was attached; and, in the Midſt of his Diſtraction, the Government remained without a Head, and every *Rajah* acted as an independent Prince in his own Dominions. While Things were in this Situation, a certain *Fequir*, whoſe Name was *Chadaula*, went privately to the Court of *Perſia*, and informed *Amayum* how Matters ſtood, aſſuring him that if he could produce but any Appearance of Force, he might be able to recover his Throne. He applied himſelf upon this to the Shah of *Perſia* his Protector, and offered, if he would aſſiſt him, to pay him an annual Tribute, and, as a Compenſation for the Expence he muſt neceſſarily be at in furniſhing him with an Army, he propoſed to make a Ceſſion of the principality of *Kandahar*. Theſe Terms were immediately accepted, and with a conſiderable Body of Foot, and twelve thouſand *Perſian* Horſe, he began his March towards the Frontiers of the *Indies*. The King of *Perſia*, at his taking Leave of him, gave him a ſhort Piece of Advice, which contributed no leſs to the Preſervation of his Dominions, than the Army with which he furniſhed him, did to the regaining them. His Advice was to keep up continual Enmity between the *Pattans* and the *Raſhpouts*, or *Indian* Soldiery, by which Means each of them would be weakened, and both of them kept within the Bounds of their Obedience.

On his entering the Confines of *India*, he found the whole Country open except only the Fortreſs of *Lahor*, in which a *Pattan* Lord was Governor, and had under his Command a numerous Garriſon, every way well provided. Of this Place however, he ſoon became Maſter by the following Stratagem. An hundred young *Perſians*, wholly devoted to his Service, diſguiſed themſelves in the Habits of Pilgrims juſt returned from *Mecca*; of theſe a Part got into the Fortreſs before it was dark, and the reſt preſented themſelves at the Gates juſt as the Day was ſhut in, intreating Admittance for that Night only. The Governor looking upon it as an Act of Religion, admitted them. But in the midſt of the Night, when the Garriſon, weary with Fatigue, were buried in Sleep, the pretendid Pilgrims fell upon the Governor and thoſe who were about him, and having maſſacred them without Mercy, delivered the Fortreſs to *Amayum*, who, by this Means, entered *Lahor* without the leaſt Reſiſtance. He marched on from thence with the utmoſt Diligence toward *Debly*. A ſingle Battle fought at the Diſtance of three Leagues from that City determined the Diſpute, and put him once more in Poſſeſſion of the Dominions of his Anceſtors. *Amayum*, upon his Reſtoration, ſhewed his Gratitude to the *Faquir Chadaula*, who firſt brought him the News of *Chira's*

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[f] This, probably, might be, in ſome Meaſure, owing to the perſonal Behaviour of *Amayum*, who aſtoniſhed the *Perſian* Monarch by his Preſence of Mind at their firſt Interview, which happened to be in a Summer-Houſe, where there was but one Sopha, and that too ſmall for them to ſit on together. The *Indian* Prince ſaw this with Indignation, but recollecting himſelf after he had paid his Compliments to the *Shah*, who was ſtanding, he deſired him to be ſeated; and as ſoon as he had placed himſelf on the Sopha, *Amayum* ſate down by him on his Quiver, which, after the *Tartar* Cuſtom, he had hanging at his Back, which Act of Spirit pleaſed the Shah extremely.

[g] There is one Circumſtance of this Prince's Reign which ought not to be paſſed over. When he took Poſſeſſion of the Palace of *Amayum*, he treated his Empreſs with extraordinary Reſpect; and being informed that ſhe was with Child, ordered her to be ſent to *Perſia* to her Huſband; but *Amayum*, ſeized with a fit of Jealouſy, refuſed to ſee her; of which ſhe informed *Chircha* by Letter. Upon this he wrote to *Amayum*, aſſuring him that he had never ſo much as ſeen the Empreſs, and to confirm the Truth of this Fact, he ſwore it upon the Khoran; on which the Emperor received her with great Tenderneſs and Affection; and the Son, with which ſhe was then big, ſucceeded him in the Empire.

Death, by granting him an Eſtate in Lands, to be enjoyed by him and his Poſterity for ever; and this is the only *Mohammedan* Family in *India*, it is ſaid, who can claim the Property of any Lands at this Day. His Deſcendants alſo take Place of all others, and his Tomb has great Honours paid to it; but his Gratitude ſeems to have been exhauſted, by the Returns made to this worthy Man, ſince in regard to the Shah, to whom he owed all things, he neither ſhewed Kindneſs, or Juſtice, ſince he never paid him ſo much as one Year's Tribute, nor yielded to him the Principality he promiſed. Yet he remembered his Advice, and followed it very exactly, by which Means he took away from future Malecontents all Power of giving him Diſturbance, and left it as a Maxim to his Poſterity, who have practiſed it with great Succeſs, and to this has been chiefly owing the Preſervation of the Dominions he left them[h].

Amayum was in the Flower of his Age when he recovered his Dominions, but whether it was that a ſettled Melancholy had grown upon him, while under his Misfortunes, or that he had a Mind to ſhew, that in the Poſſeſſion of the higheſt Bleſſings, he had ſtill the common Fate of Mankind in his Eye, or that he was led thereto by a Cuſtom common among the *Mohammedan* Princes of his Age; ſo it was, that as ſoon as his Government was ſettled, he began to build himſelf a Tomb, upon which he beſtowed incredible Expence. He likewiſe ſettled a large Revenue for the Maintenance of a certain Number of Mollas, or Doctors of the *Mohammedan* Law, to reſide conſtantly there, and to ſpend their Time in praying for his Soul, and reading the Khoran, near the Tomb where his Body was to be laid. When this Edifice was in good Forwardneſs, *Amayum* went one Day to ſee it, and having a Carpenter's Rod in his Hand, walked upon the Battlements, and gave the Workmen ſome Directions, when, either through Wearineſs, or that he might look about him with great Eaſe, he clapped the Rule down, and leaning upon it, which being but ſlender, broke, and the Roof being ſloping, the Emperor rolled forwards, and fell from thence to the Ground; by which Accident he was killed upon the Spot, and found his Death and his Tomb together, in the Year of the *Hegira* 966, and *A. D.* 1552. The latter was finiſhed by his Succeſſor with the utmoſt Magnificence, and adorned with a Dome, which is ſo richly gilt, that it dazzles the Eyes of the Spectator by its Splendor. It ſtands a little Way without the Gates of *Dehly*, at the End of a fine Bridge, compoſed of twelve Arches, and is eſteemed one of the nobleſt Monuments in the Empire of *Indoſtan*. This Monarch ſurvived his Reſtoration two Years nine Months and fourteen Days, and reigned from his firſt Acceſſion twenty-two Years.

8. *Amayum* was ſucceded by his Son *Akebar*, or *Akbar*, then but thirteen, whom all our Hiſtorians agree wanted no Accompliſhments to adorn a Throne. He had, they tell us, a moſt penetrating Judgment, an extenſive Knowledge, an intrepid Soul, and at the ſame Time was generous, tender, and compaſſionate. He ſoon perceived that the *Moguls* and *Tartars* bore no Proportion with the *Pattans* and *Indians* under his Government, and therefore inviting the neighbouring *Uſbecks* and *Perſians* to ſerve under him, he preferred them to the principal Poſts, and gave them Wives, that they might in Time be a Balance for that Part of his Subjects whom Nature and Intereſt inclined to be diſaffected to his Government. And the greater Part of thoſe who are called *Moguls*, at this Day, are a Mixture of white People of ſeveral Nations, profeſſing the *Mohammedan* Religion; but it being found, that in a ſhort Time they loſe their Complexion, and degenerate into Softneſs, like the original Natives of the Country, new Supplies of *Perſians* and *Tartars* are encouraged to tranſplant themſelves, and theſe uſually fill the greateſt Poſts in the Government. This Prince alſo, to ſtrengthen himſelf againſt the *Pattans*, whom he dreaded moſt, took ſeveral Bodies of *Raſhpouts*, or *Raſhboots*[i], into his Service. Theſe are the braveſt People amongſt the native *Indians*, who make Arms their Profeſſion, and are Pagans by Religion; and to endear them the more, it is ſaid, he took the Daughters of the principal Rajas among the Number of his Wives, and ſuffered the Rajas to match with the *Mogul* Princeſſes; though I muſt confeſs this Part of the Hiſtory is a little difficult to give Credit to, becauſe no People in the World are ſo ſcrupulous of mixing with thoſe of a different Religion, or even with a different Sect, or Employment, as the Generality of the Pagans of *India* are; though there are ſome Sects, on the other Hand, that admit of very great Liberties.

To proceed, *Akebar* having taken all prudent Meaſures to render his Government ſecure at home, began to think of extending his Dominions towards the Sea-Coaſts, that he might come in for a Share of the Trade and Riches that the maritime Places poſſeſſed; and the firſt Enterprize of this Nature, that he undertook, was againſt the Kingdom of *Guzarat*, which extends from the River *Tapte*, upon which the Town of *Surat* ſtands, to the Mouth of the River *Indus*. This Part of *India*, at that Time, enjoyed a moſt flouriſhing Trade; the *Portugueze* in particular, who had eſtabliſhed ſeveral Colonies in this Part of the Country, imported immenſe Treaſures every Year from *Europe*, in Exchange for the Manufactory of *India*. The Prince who then reigned in *Guzarat*, was Sultan *Babadar*, a *Mohammedan*. This Sultan *Badar* had maintained a long War with the *Portugueze*, who daily encroached upon his Territories, and lately made themſelves Maſters of *Diu*, a Town which lies upon an Arm of the Sea, almoſt oppoſite to *Surat*; but both the Sultan *Badar*, and the *Portugueze*, being alarmed at the Approach of the *Mogul*, united their Forces againſt him.

It was with ſome Difficulty, it is ſaid, that *Akebar* prevailed on his Troops to march againſt the *Portugueze*. They had been repreſented at *Dehly* as ſomething more than mortal, and thoſe vaſt floating Machines armed with Artillery, with which they had heard they fought upon the Water, they were apprehenſive might be made uſe of, or at leaſt ſomething of the like Nature upon the Land. They dreaded the Encounter thereof to ſuch a Degree, that they were upon the Point of turning their Backs, and quitting the Enterprize, till *Akebar*, who had fully informed himſelf of the Numbers and Strength of the Enemy, and their Manner of engaging, convinced his Troops how much inferior this little *Guzarat* Prince, and the *Portugueze*, were to the Forces he brought with him, and putting himſelf at the Head of his Troops, in one briſk Charge he routed both the *Guzarats* and *Portugueze*. Sultan *Badar* fled, but his Children were taken Priſoners, and put to Death by the Conqueror, and the whole Kingdom immediately ſubmitted to his Power, except thoſe Towns the *Portugueze* were poſſeſſed of, which being fortified after the modern Way, bid Defiance to his Forces, as indeed a very ſlight Fortification will at this Day. Their Elephants, which are their greateſt Strength, are of very little Uſe in a Siege, becauſe a Battery of great Guns would ſoon lay them in Heaps, if they could be ſuppos'd ſo intrepid, as not to be diſordered by the very Fire, or even the Report of a Cannon.

Akebar finding *Guzarat* ſo eaſy a Conqueſt, bent his Arms towards *Decan*, which lies to the Southward of it.

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[h] The intelligent Reader will eaſily perceive the Reaſon why this Empire has been more ſubject to Revolutions than any other, the *Mogul* having no Subjects that he can depend on but *Tartars* and Strangers, the native *Indians* remaining ſtill as diſtinct a Nation as ever, and abhorring the *Mohammedans* as heartily as the *Mohammedans* contemn them; ſo that this Government ſtill remains what it was at the Beginning, that is to ſay, Military, the Sword giving Law, and being the true Source of Power. This Obſervation will be found of great Uſe to the underſtanding the ſubſequent Part of this Hiſtory.

[i] It is a pretty difficult thing to fix the Manner of Writing this Word, which in all Probability is very incorrectly expreſſed by the *Europeans*. Moſt of our *Engliſh* Authors write it, *Raſhpoots*, or *Raſhpouts*, they are properly the War Tribe of the ancient *Indians*, and we find them very frequently diſtinguiſhed by the Name of *Queteries*. The Arms they uſe, are commonly Swords, Pikes and Bucklers; but when they appear with a yellow Cloak, it is a certain Sign that they have made a Vow either to conquer or die. On theſe Occaſions, it is common enough for them to heighten their Courage, by taking Opium, which inſpires them with a ſort of Military Fury, that differs not much from Madneſs. There is one thing remarkable in their Diſcipline, which is, that before they engage, they embrace each other, as if they were on the Point of departing on a long Journey, intimating thereby their Readineſs to ruſh into another State.

This was divided into ſeveral little Sovereignties. *Muſtapha*, a *Mohammedan* Prince, poſſeſſed that Part of the Country wherein the Towns of *Brampour* and *Acer* are ſituated, whoſe Subjects gave him the Title of *Melec*, or King. *Amanadagar*, and the Territory belonging to it, was ſubject to the Queen of *Cande*, and *Ambar* commanded the Diſtrict of *Doltabad*. Theſe Princes, though at other Times Enemies, united their Forces againſt *Akebar*, and gave him Battle, but were defeated by him with very little Loſs. The Reduction of the Fortreſſes which theſe Princes poſſeſſed, proved a Work of greater Labour; for now every one being to defend what was their own, exerted their utmoſt Force, and their utmoſt Capacity.

The Forces of *Acer* was the firſt that he attacked, an irregular Fortification, and which could have made no Defence againſt the *European* Army, but a Place of great Strength in the *Indies*, and very well provided with Artillery, ſome of which, it is ſaid, were caſt by the *Indians* themſelves, before the *Portugueze* viſited their Coaſts. King *Muſtapha* was there in Perſon; with a very numerous Garriſon, compoſed entirely of his beſt Troops. The Defence he made was worthy of his Reputation for Conduct, and for Courage, and the Army of the *Mogul* was ſo ruined by the Fatigue of this Siege, that the Emperor himſelf had Thoughts of raiſing it, when he was informed by ſome Deſerters, that the Garriſon began to want Water, which encouraged him to remain before the Place. King *Muſtapha* perceiving the Ciſterns dry, and knowing the Rainy-Seaſon to be at a Diſtance, reſolved to retire privately out of the Fortreſs, in order to throw himſelf into *Brampour*, and there defend himſelf and the reſt of his Dominions.

It was with this Deſign, that in the middle of the Night he quitted *Acer* in Diſguiſe, and before he had proceeded far, he was ſeized by the Advance Guards of the *Mogul* Army, who carried him immediately to the Emperor's Tent. When he came into the Preſence of *Akebar*, that Monarch aſked him who he was, and where he was going? To which, with great Spirit, he anſwered, that he was King *Muſtapha*, and that knowing him to be a wiſe and generous Prince, he came out to aſk his Advice, ſince they had now no Water left, and he could not bring himſelf, after living ſo long as a King, to become the Subject of another. *Akebar* bid him go back to the Place and be ſatisfied, that if Heaven intended to deliver him, he would meet with a Supply of Water by ſome unexpected Means. *Muſtapha* took his Advice, and returned to his Fortreſs. It was then about the middle of *May*, and as the rainy Seaſon does not uſually commence till the middle of *June*, he had not much Reaſon to expect what nevertheleſs fell out the Night following, in which it rained ſo plentifully, that his Ciſterns were all full by the next Morning. *Akebar*, aſtoniſhed at this Accident, left a ſufficient Body of Troops to block up *Acer*, and marched with the reſt of his Forces to beſiege *Brampour*, which, though a Place of conſiderable Strength, and well provided with every thing, did not hold out long, and *Muſtapha* ſeeing the beſt Part of his Dominions loſt, reſolved to make the beſt Terms he could for himſelf, in Conſideration of the Surrender of *Acer*. The *Mogul* granted him as good Conditions as he could reaſonably expect, and *Muſtapha* entering into his Service, had the ſame Reſpect paid him as the other Rajahs.

After the Reduction of *Acer*, the *Mogul* prepared next for the Siege of *Amanadagar*, which the Princeſs of *Cande* defending with great Courage, kept him two Months before the Place. At length, deſpairing to hold out, ſhe cauſed all her Treaſure to be melted into Bullets, and inſcribed with the bittereſt Curſes againſt her Enemies, ſhot them into the neighbouring Woods, to prevent his poſſeſſing it. Some of theſe Gold and Silver Bullets *Manouchi* aſſures us, were found in his Time, and he read the Inſcriptions on them with abundance of Delight, and one particularly of Gold, he ſays, weighed eight Pounds at leaſt. *Ambar* hearing the great Diſtreſs that this Princeſs was in, reſolved to make an Effort for her Deliverance, and at the ſame Time to keep the War out of his own Country. The Deſign was generous in itſelf, and well enough contrived, and on the Review of his Forces, it ſeemed not altogether impoſſible to have executed it; for this *Indian* Prince, by compelling all his Subjects to take Arms, had drawn together near fifty thouſand Men. *Akebar* however attacked him ſuddenly on his March, defeated him without the Loſs of a Man, and his own People being diſcontented with his Conduct, murdered the unfortunate *Ambar* in his Flight. The Princeſs of *Cande* ſeeing now no Hopes left, yielded her City, and herſelf, to the victorious *Mogul*, who not only treated her with all the Reſpect due to her Quality, but ſoon after received her into the Number of his Wives, and ſhe remained for many Years his principal Favourite. *Akebar* was now Maſter of beſt Part of the South Coaſt of *Indoſtan*, and almoſt all the Rajahs of that Country readily yielded him Obedience.

It was at this Time, that from a Motive hitherto concealed, he took Occaſion to deſtroy the vaſt and beautiful City of *Dehli*, the ancient Reſidence of the *Pattan* Kings, and the Capital of *Indoſtan*. He built a Moſque, and a Palace at *Fetipour*, and the Rajahs building alſo many Palaces near them, it ſoon became a very conſiderable City; but the Luſtre of this Place laſted not long, ſince the Emperor himſelf perceiving that the Air was unwholſome, removed from thence, and returned into the Neighbourhood of *Dehli*, where, out of the Ruins of the old City, he erected a new one on the Banks of the River *Jemma*; but even the Splendor of this new City could not pleaſe him long, and therefore proceeding farther on the River, he fixed on the little Town of *Agra*, for the Seat of his Empire. It is ſeated on a large Plain, and the River *Jemma* making an Elbow therein, the City lies round it in the form of a Half-moon. At one End he erected a noble Palace, round which the Omrahs and Rajahs built theirs; ſo that in a very ſhort Space of Time, from an inconſiderable Hamlet, it grew to be a large City, of nine *Italian* Miles in Circumference, and having no fewer than 660,000 ſettled Inhabitants, excluſive of Strangers.

The Palace of the Emperor, which ſerves for a kind of Citadel to *Agra*, is one of the fineſt Structures in the World. The Walls of it, which are about thirty-five Foot high, are of a fine red Stone, little inferior in Hardneſs and Beauty to Marble, and it is built in ſuch a Manner, that the joining of the Stones does not in the leaſt appear. It is adorned with rich and beautiful Balconies on every Story; and between the Palace and the River, there is a kind of Parade, where the Emperor ſees his Guard reviewed, and the Battles of his Elephants. On the other ſide the River ſtands another City, as long as *Agra*, and not much inferior to it in bigneſs. This is entirely inhabited by *Indians*, or, as they are now called, *Banians*, who are either Merchants, or Artificers; ſo that this City is no leſs remarkable for its Commerce, than the other for being the Imperial Reſidence of the Grand *Mogul*, and being the Capital of the *Indies*. When this great Work was accompliſhed, it plainly appeared, that this Emperor intended it for a Monument of his Glory to lateſt Poſterity, by his beſtowing upon it the Name of *Akebarabad*, *i. e.* the City of *Akebar*; but after his Deceaſe, this new Name was laid aſide, and the old one revived; ſo that this Capital of the *Indian* Empire is ſtill known by the Name of *Agra*.

His Attention to the raiſing of this new City, did not extinguiſh that Thirſt of Empire, which had appeared in the firſt Years of his Reign. On the contrary, having heard of an *Indian Rajah*, who was equally celebrated for his Wiſdom and Courage, and who was beſides illuſtrious on the ſcore of his Deſcent from the famous *Porus*, and whoſe Dominions lay but twelve Days Journey from his Capital, he immediately formed a Deſign of reducing them, the rather becauſe they lay between his hereditary Dominions and his new Conqueſts. This *Rajah* took the Name of *Rana*, which ſeems to have been common to all his Family, according to the ancient Cuſtom of the *Indies*. He was a Prince worthy of the Blood of *Porus*, and who, if he had been well ſeconded, might have reſtored the Liberty of his Country. As it was he made a noble Attempt, which will be ever remembered in the Chronicles of that Country.

He was ſoon obliged to quit the Field, and to ſhut himſelf up in the Fortreſs of *Chitor*, ſeated on the Top of an high Mountain, and ſurrounded by a River. The Siege of this Place coſt the Mogul two Years, though at the Head of the moſt numerous and beſt furniſhed Army that had ever been ſeen in that Country, and was endangered by the fouleſt Piece of Treachery that perhaps was ever committed [k]. *Akebar* pretended to raiſe the Siege, and deſired of *Rana* to have the Liberty only of entering the Place with fifty Attendants, which was granted him by the honeſt *Indian* without the leaſt Suſpicion; but after he had been very kindly entertained, and conducted to the Gates of the Fortreſs by the *Rajah* himſelf, he threw over his Neck a Chain of Pearl, ſtrung upon Mohair for that Purpoſe, and pulled him without the Place, where a Body of the Mogul's Troops made him Priſoner. He afterwards made his Eſcape, and the Mogul having renewed the Siege, he was killed on the Walls, and ſo the Place was forced to capitulate, and thereby all the Dominions of that once powerful *Rajah* were annexed to the Empire of *Akebar*, and proved a very conſiderable Acquiſition.

The Concluſion of this War could not but be very agreeable to the Emperor, who found his Troops ſufficiently harraſſed by a War of ſuch Continuance, and in which at the Beginning ſo many *Indian* Princes were engaged, who, notwithſtanding, retired into their reſpective Territories as ſoon as they ſaw *Chitor* inveſted; whereas if they had kept the Field, and harraſſed the Army of the Mogul, it is highly probable they might have preſerved the City of *Chitor*, and the Country of *Rajah Rana*, from being thus ſwallowed up by him, who meant to bring them all under his Subjection. But whether it proceeds from Religion, Humour, or Cuſtom, certain it is, that the *Banians* have an eſtabliſhed Principle amongſt them, that defenſive Wars againſt Foreigners are only lawful, and that they ought not to march out of their own Dominions, in order even to attack an Enemy that has often attempted their Deſtruction. This weak Notion has always given the Moguls great Advantages over them, and particularly this politick as well as enterprizing Prince, who, when he had torn from them a Part of their Dominions, ſuddenly laid down his Arms, and thereby put an End to the War, till another favourable Opportunity offered.

Akebar therefore, after he had ſubdued this Province, employed himſelf for ſome time in cultivating the Arts of Peace, in enlarging the City of *Agra*, and beautifying his Palaces; and among other great Works, he planted the Road from *Agra* to *Lahor*, and made it one continued Walk of ſhady Trees, though it be not leſs than four hundred and fifty *Engliſh* Miles from one City to the other. This ſtill remains as a Monument of this Emperor's Grandeur, and is an inconceivable Refreſhment to Travellers in ſo hot a Climate. He was a great Admirer of all robuſt Exerciſes, and took a Pleaſure in the moſt hazardous Uſes thereof, breaking unruly Horſes, and managing the War-Elephants when they fought; an Employment ſo very dangerous, that the Wives of thoſe who are obliged to do it by their Office, tear off their Cloaths, and the Pendants from their Ears, when their Huſbands are thus expoſed. Nay, it is reported of him, that the War he had with the Peaſants of the Country, the moſt obſtinate he ever engaged in, when ſome of them had ſhut themſelves up in a Town, and the Conductors of the Elephants were ordered to break open the Gates; upon their expreſſing ſome Reluctance to hazard themſelves in ſo deſperate an Undertaking, the Emperor commanded one of them to diſmount, and cloathed in a common Soldier's Coat, mounted the Elephant himſelf, and managed him with that Dexterity, that he forced open the Gate in the midſt of a Shower of Arrows which the beſieged poured upon him, and had the good Fortune to come off unhurt. This War with the Peaſants, which begun in *Akebar*'s Reign, laſted a conſiderable Time; for being acquainted with all the Defiles and inacceſſible Parts of the Foreſts, it was found exceeding difficult to drive them from their Haunts, and the Government is ſo ſevere upon this ſort of People to this Day, that if a Peaſant be found in Arms, he loſes his Head. Nothing is more common than to ſee the Heads of theſe Wretches hanging on the Road Sides *in terrorem*.

While *Akebar* was engaged in this War with the Peaſants, his eldeſt Son *Jehan Gaire* broke out in Rebellion againſt him, but his Party was ſoon defeated, and the Prince made a Priſoner. However, ſuch was his Father's Tenderneſs towards him, that he did not keep him long confined; but, to deter him from ſuch Practices for the future, upon his Enlargement, he made the Prince follow him into a Foreſt, where he ſhewed him the Heads of the principal Conſpirators hanging upon the Branches of the Trees. The Prince being taught, by ſo tragical a Proſpect, the Danger that attended ſuch Enterprizes, or moved by a Senſe of the Emperor's Indulgence to him, ever after continued unſhaken in his Loyalty and Duty to his Father. This Inſurrection was no ſooner ſuppreſſed, but the *Pattans*, who had been driven up into the Mountains by *Amayum*, began to make Incurſions into the open Country, and threatned to aſſume their ancient Sovereignty in that Kingdom of *Dehly*. Againſt theſe *Akebar* ſent an Army of eighty thouſand Men, who entered the *Pattan* Country, but were all cut in Pieces, or periſhed in the Deſarts.

This Misfortune obliged the Emperor to lay aſide all Thoughts of ſubduing theſe People, at leaſt for the preſent, and perceiving that the chief Cauſe of his Miſcarriage was, that his Artillery had not been ſo well played as it might have been, he reſolved to take ſome *Europeans* into his Service, and with this View he ſent for ſome *Engliſh* Gunners from on board their Ships that came to trade upon his Coaſts; and of one of theſe Gunners we have a very whimſical Story, which, as it has nothing in it improbable, I well venture for the Reader's Amuſement to relate. This Man was particularly ſkilful in his Profeſſion, but withal had a great Affection for his Bottle, and found himſelf much at a Loſs in a *Mohammedan* Country, where Wine was prohibited. He at laſt contrived a very ſingular Method for procuring in this reſpect a Diſpenſation for himſelf. The Emperor being deſirous to ſee a Proof of his Dexterity, ordered a large Carpet to be hung up at a reaſonable Diſtance, and directed him to fire at it, which the Fellow did, but pointed the Gun in ſuch a manner, that the Shot flew extremely wide. The Emperor called him, and gave him a pretty briſk Reproof, telling him, that it was a Shame for a Man to take upon him that Office, who knew ſo little of the Matter. The Gunner anſwered with great Humility, that ſince he had been debarred the Uſe of Wine, his Eyes were grown dim, but that if his Majeſty would order him a chirruping Cup, he durſt engage to hit a ſmaller Mark. *Akebar* immediately commanded that they ſhould give him a Quart, of which the Gunner made but one Draught, and then applying himſelf to the Taſk he had undertaken, he performed it with univerſal Applauſe. The Emperor upon this ordered it to be entered in the Annals of his Reign, *That* Wine *is as natural to* Europeans *as Water to Fiſh, and that to deprive them of it, was to rob them of the greateſt Comfort of their Lives.*

It was from this Accident that a Law was made, giving Leave to ſuch Foreigners as ſettled in the Empire to cultivate Vineyards, which they have ſince done with great Succeſs and Profit. He from this Time forward had a great Kindneſs for the *Europeans*, and took all imaginable Pains to engage them, as well as all other Strangers, to ſettle in his Dominions, that they might enlarge the Trade, and perfect the Manufactures of his Subjects. By this Means his Empire became every Day more and more flouriſhing, and the Inhabitants of it more and more induſtrious; yet with all theſe great Properties, and notwithſtanding he was certainly one of the ableſt Politicians in the Eaſt, *Akebar* had ſomething very extravagant, which diſcovered itſelf particularly in his Notions about Religion. His own good Senſe, aſſiſted by the Lights he received from the *Portugueze* Miſſionaries, brought him to diſcern many Abſurdities in the *Mohammedan* Religion, to which he had never been much addicted; but inſtead of becoming a Chriſtian, as the *Portugueze* Prieſts expected [l], he framed a ſtrange Project of introducing a new Religion, which very plainly ſhewed that he conſidered it only as a political Inſtitution, and as an uſeful Engine of Government. He was ſenſible of the great Inconveniences that aroſe from his Subjects being of different Faiths, and therefore he was willing to introduce a Syſtem that might reconcile them all, and at the ſame time place him at the Head of Eccleſiaſtical, as well as Civil Affairs. This Scheme of his he publiſhed at *Labor*, and at firſt it was tolerably well received, at leaſt among his Courtiers, who were ready enough to embrace any thing that might pleaſe their Maſter. In this new Religion he ſtudied to comprehend the principal Doctrines and moſt remarkable Rites of all the reſt. Baptiſm he borrowed from the Chriſtians, Circumciſion from the *Mohammedans*, a profound Reverence for the Sun from the *Perſees*, and with theſe he mingled ſomewhat of the Morality, and even of the Theological Notions of the *Bramins*, aſſuming, in conſequence of this Invention, the Title of *Shah Geladin*, that is, the ſupreme Pontiff of the ſovereign Law.

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[k] The Siege of *Chitor* is almoſt as famous among the modern *Indians*, as the Siege of *Troy* among the ancient *Greeks*; and an infinite Number of fabulous Stories have been thruſt into this Hiſtory. Thus it is ſaid to have had its Beginning from the Character which *Akebar* had received of the beautiful *Padmani*, the Wife of *Rana*, and the moſt lovely Woman in the *Indies*. All theſe Embelliſhments I thought requiſite to leave out, that we might keep the more within Bounds, and report as near as poſſible nothing but Matters of Fact to the Reader.

But in the midſt of his Politicks there were certain Circumſtances attended theſe Proceedings, which he had not foreſeen, and that was the diſguſting all ſuch of his Subjects as were really Men of Principles, and ſincerely attached to the Faiths which they profeſſed. The *Mohammedans*, who are, generally ſpeaking, Bigots, were provoked to the higheſt Degree by what they call his Apoſtacy. The *Indians* were by no means pleaſed, and the *Perſees* remained obſtinately fixed to their old Religion, which they thought was grievouſly profaned by this new Regulation; and thus, inſtead of pleaſing all, he pleaſed none but ſuch Men of corrupt Intentions as were leaſt to be relied or depended on. The Firſt-fruits of his new Religion was a dangerous Revolt begun in the following Manner: *Muſtapha*, one of the Decan Princes, whom he had formerly ſubdued, and who, as has been before obſerved, had lived peaceably in the Mogul's Court for a conſiderable Time, about this Time retired from thence, and found means to repoſſeſs himſelf of his Country, where many *Mohammedans*, diſguſted at the Slights the Emperor had put upon their Religion, went over to him. The Prince *Pibari*, the Emperor's beloved Son, to whom he had given the Name of *Morad*, was ſent with a gallant Army to ſuppreſs this Inſurrection; he engaged the Rajah in the Province of *Cambaya*, being conſiderably ſuperior to the Enemy in Numbers, but *Muſtapha*, who was an experienced Captain, and perfectly acquainted with the Country, gained an intire Victory over the Emperor's Forces, and the Body of young *Morad* was found in the Field of Battle among the ſlain. This Stroke of Fortune, it is ſaid, peirced *Akebar* to the Heart, and he was ſo ſenſible of the Anger of Heaven, that he never after worſhipped the Sun, nor ſuffered, as in conſequence of his Scheme he had done, divine Honours to be paid to his own Perſon.

The Emperor ſoon after returned from *Cachemire*, by the Way of *Labor*, and marched Southward till he arrived at *Agra*, where mighty Preparations were made againſt *Muſtapha*. In the mean while the Emperor grew extremely thoughtful, abandoning all ſorts of Diverſions but Hunting, which he followed chiefly for the Opportunity of retiring alone into the Foreſt, and unfrequented Places. In one of theſe Excurſions, ſitting by himſelf under a ſhady Tree, it is ſaid he obſerved a certain Kind of Caterpillars creeping near him, which he killed with the Point of one of his Arrows, and ſhooting an Antelope ſoon after with the ſame Arrow, the Beaſt expired in an Inſtant, tho' the Wound was not in a mortal Part; whereupon the Emperor commanded the Antelope to be opened, the Fleſh of which appeared black and corrupted, and the Dogs died that eat of it, by which *Akebar* diſcovered how very ſubtil the Poiſon extracted from this Inſect was, and cauſed a Quantity of Pills to be made up with it, which he compelled ſome diaffected Lords to take in his Preſence, and thereby diſpatched them out of his Way [m]. He practiſed the ſame Conduct towards all whom he eſteemed Friends to *Muſtapha*, whom he found to have Abundance of Creatures in his Court, and promiſed himſelf, by this Contrivance, a ſafe and happy Reign for the future.

But it ſo fell out, that this very Art turned upon himſelf, and ſhortened his Days in the ſame Manner that it had done thoſe of his Enemies. The Perſon to whom he confided the Secret of mixing theſe Pills, had Orders to ſupply the Emperor's Box from time to time with a certain Quantity of them. In this Box there were three Partitions, in one of which he kept his Betel, which, according to the Cuſton of his Country he chewed in the ſame manner as in *Europe* People chew Tobacco; in the ſecond he had ſome cordial Pills to help Digeſtion, and in the third were thoſe Poiſon Pills. It happened one Day, that either through Hurry or Inadvertency, he miſtook the Pills in the third Partition for thoſe of the ſecond, and by this means poiſoned himſelf. The Venom operated ſlowly, but ſurely, notwithſtanding all the Aſſiſtance he received from his own Phyſicians, and from the *Portugueze*, ſo that he ended his Days in great Pain and Miſery, after he had reigned fifty-three, and lived ſixty-ſix Years. His Corpſe was interred in a very fine Tomb of his own Building, and he left behind him the Character of one of the braveſt, wiſeſt, and moſt fortunate Princes of the Age in which he lived, and ſeemed to have merited in the Courſe of his Reign, the Title he aſſumed at the Beginning of it, *Akebar* in the Language of his Country ſignifying *inimitable*.

9. *Shâb-Selim*, i. e. *the peaceable King*, ſucceeded his Father *Akebar* on the 21ſt of *October* in the Year of the *Hegira* 1014, and in that of our Lord 1605. On his aſcending the Throne, he aſſumed, as the Cuſtom is in the Eaſt, a new Name or Title, and called himſelf *Nour'odin Mohammed Jehanguir*, i. e. *the Light of Religion*, Mohammed *Conqueror of the World*. Almoſt all the *European* Authors call him *Jehan Guire*, and therefore that we may not ſeem to affect Singularity in Matters of no great Importance, we ſhall call him ſo likewiſe, that the Reader may apply what is here delivered the more readily to what he may read of this Prince in other Authors. As to the Character of this Monarch, we are obliged to ſpeak of it more largely than hitherto we have done of any of theſe Princes, becauſe the Hiſtory of his Reign depends in a great meaſure thereupon. He fell very far ſhort of his Father in Abilities, and at the ſame time exceeded him very much in his Vices. He loved eating and drinking more than became a King, and the chief Reaſon why he inclined rather to the Chriſtian than to the *Mohammedan* Religion was, becauſe the former did not reſtain him in Meats or Drinks as the latter did. He was very brave in his Perſon, though he did not affect War ſo much as ſome of his Predeceſſors; but whenever his Affairs forced him to take the Field, he ſhewed himſelf as capable of conducting his Armies as any of them. He was naturally fond of the *Franks* or *Europeans*, becauſe he found them more inclined to that manner of Life which he liked beſt, than the *Mohammedans*, whom he treated with great Harſhneſs and Severity; for he particularly affected Feaſting at that Seaſon of the Year, when by the Precepts of their Law they were bound to faſt; and if at ſuch times they refuſed to eat and drink as freely as he would have them, he threatened to throw them out of the Window of his Dining-room, under which two fierce Lions were conſtantly chained. One would imagine

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[l] There are Abundance of ſtrange Stories related of the Conferences between this Monarch and theſe Miſſionaries, which, as I cannot believe, I will not relate, but content myſelf with obſerving, that in this Court, as well as in moſt others, the Suppleneſs of the Clergy did more Harm to Religion than their Preaching could do good. The Truth of the Matter ſeems to be, that they had one thing in View, and the Emperor another, ſo that they were continually at Croſs purpoſes, they ſtudying by Artifices, unworthy of the Chriſtian Religion, to convert him, and he labouring all he could to pick out of them ſuch things as might be of moſt Uſe to him, in which he ſucceeded much better than they.

[m] There ſeems to be ſomething contradictory in this Account of the Poiſon which *Akebar* diſcovered, ſince it is ſaid to have operated ſo ſuddenly on the Beaſt, and ſo ſlowly in Men; but if we conſider the Facts attentively, we ſhall ſoon be convinced that they are very conſiſtent. In the firſt Place the Poiſon in one Inſtance was unmixed, and in the other compounded, which muſt neceſſarily make a great Alteration in the manner of its working; and in the next the Poiſon was very differently applied; for with reſpect to the Antelope, it was thrown immediately into the Blood and Juices, whereas when adminiſtered to Men, it paſſed firſt through all the Operations of the Stomach, which, though they could not intirely deſtroy, muſt, however, much weaken its Force.

gine from hence, that he was obſtinate and cruel, and yet it is certain that no Prince was more under the Influence either of Women, or of Miniſters, than he, as will very clearly appear from the ſubſequent Part of this Hiſtory.

It has been already obſerved, that he took up Arms againſt his Father, and this Crime drew after it the Puniſhment it deſerved; for as the old Emperor *Akebar*, while his Son was under Diſgrace with him upon this Account, often threatened to deprive him of the Succeſſion, and to leave the Crown to his eldeſt Son Sultan *Khoſro*, or, as it is commonly wrote, *Coſrou*, ſo from the very Beginning of his Reign, that young Prince at leaſt ſecretly diſputed his Right to the Crown, conceiving himſelf the lawful Emperor, and his Father no better than an Uſurper; which Notion, whether well or ill founded, was the Source of thoſe Troubles and Diſturbances in the Government, which laſted for near an hundred Years. Yet it does not appear, that the Emperor ſhewed any great Jealouſy or Diſlike to this Son, before ſuch time as his Behaviour made it abſolutely neceſſary for him to treat him with Severity; and in all Probability, the Reaſon that Sultan *Coſrou* had ſo many Friends in his Father's Court, and was able to give him ſo much Diſturbance, proceeded from his own ill Management, and eſpecially from his applying himſelf too little to Affairs of State, and giving up too much of his Time to his Pleaſures. Another great Error in the Conduct of *Jehan Guire*, was his ſhewing a great Contempt for his Father's Memory, and altering almoſt every thing that he had done; whereas Sultan *Coſrou*, on the other hand, ſtudied in every thing to follow the Footſteps of his Grandfather, to ſupport the Dignity of his Character, to maintain his Intereſt with the great *Omrahs* and *Rajahs* at Court, and withal, to gain the Affections of the People. It is eaſy to diſcern from what has been ſaid, that how peaceable ſoever this Monarch's Temper might be, his Reign could not but be liable to Troubles and Diſtractions, as we ſhall ſee it was.

This Emperor removed the Imperial Seat from *Agra* to *Lahor*, which lies four or five hundred Miles to the North in a more temperate Climate, and a fine Walk of Trees from one City to the other, which was begun by *Akebar*, was finiſhed by this Prince; he made alſo large Additions to the City of *Lahor*, and built him an elegant convenient Palace, but not near ſo magnificent as that of *Agra*. Here it was that the Emperor engaged in an Amour, which occaſioned him infinite Troubles during the Remainder of his Reign; and though the Beginning of the Story have the Air of a Romance, yet as to the Subſtance of it, there is very little Reaſon to entertain a Doubt, the Diſtractions in the Royal Family, and the Wars that ſucceeded amongſt the Princes of the Blood ſufficiently atteſt the Truth of the principal Facts. His Majeſty it ſeems was walking on his Terras, under which runs a fine River, when he ſaw a Barge rowing under him, wherein was a Lady of ſurprizing Beauty ſitting under a Canopy. The Emperor let the Barge paſs by, but ſent immediately to enquire after her Name, and where her Reſidence was. The Meſſengers informed him that the Lady's Name was *Nour Mahal* [n], and that ſhe was married to an Officer who commanded five hundred Men in his Majeſty's Service; whereupon the Emperor ordered rich Preſents to be made her, and that ſhe ſhould be acquainted how much he was ſmitten with her Beauty; but the Lady vowed inviolable Fidelity to her Huſband, and would not hear any Propoſals to his Diſhonour. His Majeſty, not being able to prevail with her to alter her Reſolution, wrote to her Huſband to attend a certain General, and at the ſame time ſent to the General to put him to Death as ſoon as he ſaw him, which was executed accordingly, but not ſo ſecretly but *Nour Mahal* heard of it, and would not be put off with Accounts the Emperor ordered to be divulged, that he was killed by Accident.

When his Majeſty therefore renewed his Addreſſes, and acquainted her there was now no Difficulty in the Way, and that he deſired no more than the niceſt Virtue might comply with, to take her among the Number of his Wives, ſhe broke out into the bittereſt Invectives, and reproached him with his Treachery and Cruelty. But the Time of her Widowhood being expired, and having had Leiſure to vent her Grief, and reflect on the advantageous Offers which were made her, his Majeſty found her more complying; and upon Condition that ſhe ſhould be the firſt Queen, that her Brother ſhould be Prime Miniſter, and her Relations preſented to the higheſt Poſts, ſhe was contented to yield to the Embraces of her Huſband's Murderer. The Emperor ſolemnized his Marriage on the Arrival of the new Queen in his Palace, by a Feſtival, which laſted eight Days; and inſtead of the Name of *Nour Mahal*, which ſhe had before, he gave her that of *Nour Jehan*, or *the Light of the World*.

But, notwithſtanding one of the greateſt Emperors of the Eaſt was captivated with her Charms, and the Empire was, for ſome Time, governed by her Arts, her Parentage was but mean; and when ſhe came from *Perſia*, the Place of her Birth, with her firſt Huſband, he was no more than a Camel-Driver, though he afterwards advanced his Fortune in the Mogul's Service, and became a Commander of five hundred Men, as was obſerved before. Within the Compaſs of the firſt Year after her Admiſſion into the Haram, or Seraglio, ſhe diſpatched five of the Ladies there, who were moſt in the Emperor's Favour, by Poiſon. And ſuch was her Influence over the Emperor himſelf, that ſhe engaged him to forbear drinking, at leaſt, beyond the Bounds of Moderation, allowing him no more than nine Glaſſes at a ſitting. She had no Children by the Emperor, and but one Daughter by her former Huſband; and the great Object therefore of her Policy was, to marry this Daughter to one of the Emperor's Sons, and then advance him to the Throne. *Jehan Guire* had four Sons by ſeveral Wives, the eldeſt was born in the Life of his Grandfather *Akebar*, and was ſtiled Sultan *Coſrou*; the ſecond Sultan *Parvis*; the third Sultan *Chorrom* [o]; and the fourth Sultan *Shehriar*. It was to Sultan *Coſrou* that *Nour Jehan* intended to have married her Daughter, but this Prince, it ſeems, was prejudiced againſt her already, on account of the Influence ſhe had over his Father; and another Obſtacle was, his having married a Daughter of one of the great Rajahs, of whom he was paſſionately fond, whereupon he ſlighted the Propoſal. The Sultaneſs offered her Daughter to *Shehriar*, the youngeſt Son, Sultan *Chorrom* being already married to her Niece, the Daughter of *Aſaph Khan*. His Brother *Shehriar* was pleaſed with the Match, as the moſt likely Means to advance him to the Throne after the Death of his Father. And the Marriage was no ſooner celebrated, but the three elder Brothers were appointed to diſtant Governments. Sultan *Chorrom* was ſent to *Decan*, Sultan *Parvis* to *Bengal*, and Sultan *Coſrou*, the eldeſt, was deſigned for *Guzerat*.

But, inſtead of going to that Command, he aſſembled a Body of Troops to ſecure his Succeſſion to the Crown, which he apprehended to be his Right, even at this Inſtant, for he was bred up in a Belief that his Grandfather *Akebar* had appointed him his immediate Succeſſor; and though he was content his Father ſhould enjoy the Crown before him, he could not bear to ſee his youngeſt Brother the Favourite at Court, and with his Mother-in-law the Sultaneſs taking ſuch Steps as muſt infallibly exclude him. If this did not juſtify it, at leaſt it excuſed his Conduct, and brought many to ſide with him; but there were others who were not caught, even with this plauſible Pretence, and, among them, the very beſt Friend the young Prince had in the World.

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[n] In the Text I have followed the uſual Way of Spelling, becauſe by that this Lady is well known to us from Mr. *Dryden*'s Play of the *Great Mogul*; but her Name more accurately expreſſed was *Nour Mahl*, which ſignifies *the Light of the Haram*, or Seraglio; and therein conſiſts the Compliment of the Emperor's changing her Name to *Nour Jehan*, in which there is a double *Entendre*, ſince it ſignified at once the *Light of the Emperor*, and the *Light of the World*. She was not only the handſomeſt Woman in the *Indies*, but a great Wit alſo, and had a fine Vein in Poetry. In a word, ſhe was the moſt accompliſhed of her Sex, and if ſhe had not had too many of their Vices, would have made a very ſhining Figure in Hiſtory. There are compleat Memoirs of her amorous and political Intrigues under the Title of *Mahir Jehanguiry*.

[o] The proper Name of this Son of the Emperor was Sultan *Khourm*, i. e. the *Prince of Joy*. He was born in the Year 1592, and was the Son of an *Indian* Princeſs, the Daughter of *Rajah Oudeſung*; and though he was the third Son of the Emperor, yet ſucceeded his Father, and his Family are ſtill poſſeſſed of the Throne of *Indoſtan*.

This was *Mohammed-Khan*, his Father's Prime Miniſter, who had always ſupported him even at the Hazard of his Intereſt. The Empreſs, who hated that Miniſter for many Reaſons, and eſpecially, becauſe he was the only Rival that her Brother *Aſaph-Khan* had in the Emperor's Favour, placed Things in ſuch a Light to her infatuated Huſband, that at laſt he gave his Conſent that this great Man, who had deſerved alike well of himſelf and of his Subjects, ſhould be murdered. The Scheme laid for this Purpoſe, had as much in it of female Management as of Malice. A Company of *Indians*, who were poſted in a Hall through which he was to go to the Emperor's Apartment, had Orders to ſtab him in his Paſſage. Had this Commiſſion been given to one reſolute Man, the Thing had probably been done; but theſe People behaved in ſo cowardly a Manner, that they diſcovered the Deſign without executing it, and *Mohammed*, who had much perſonal Bravery, forced his Paſſage into the Emperor's Apartment, where, finding him ſurrounded by Officers upon whom he could depend, he ſeized upon his Perſon, forced him to mount his Elephant, and then ſeating himſelf by him under the ſame Canopy, with a Dagger drawn in his Hand, he ſent the Empreſs Word by one of her own Spies, that the Life of *Jehan Guire* ſhould anſwer for it, if any Attempt was made to hinder his Paſſage. In this Manner he conducted the Emperor to his own Palace, where he was very ſafely guarded; for *Mohammed* was not only General and Commander in chief of the Army, but had it entirely at his Devotion; ſo that notwithſtanding this ſurpriſing Accident, there was not the leaſt Stir amongſt the Soldiers, nor any Attempt made to reſcue the Emperor out of his Hands. While he had him thus in his Cuſtody, he obliged him to continue ſober, and repreſented to him, in very plain Terms, the bad State of his Affairs, and the bad Conſequences that muſt neceſſarily attend the Intrigues of the Sultana. In the mean time he directed every thing as he was wont to do, in the Emperor's Name; levied Troops, and made open Preparations for War. The young Prince, who was all this Time in the Field, collected alſo a numerous Body of Men, the beſt Part of whom however were *Indians*; for having married a Wife of that Nation, and having always ſtudied to oblige the Rajahs, his chief Intereſt lay among thoſe People, who promiſed themſelves great Things whenever he came to the Crown.

But all their Hopes were daſhed by *Mohammed*, who releaſed the Emperor, defeated *Coſrou*, and ſent him and his Family Priſoners to the Citadel of *Guallier*. While the Prince remained in the Captivity, *Nour Jehan* made him an Offer not only of his Liberty, but to aſſure his Succeſſion to the Crown, if he would marry her Daughter, whom ſhe promiſed to divorce from his younger Brother *Shehriar*, as being an unactive Prince, and never likely to maintain himſelf upon the Throne, if he ſhould be placed upon it. But ſuch was Sultan *Coſrou*'s Contempt, or Prejudice to *Nour Jehan*'s Family, or as others ſay, ſuch was his Paſſion for one of his Wives, that he refuſed to comply with her, even in thoſe wretched Circumſtances. *Aſaph Khan*, Brother to the Sultaneſs, alſo encouraged the unfortunate *Coſrou* to perſiſt in his Reſolution, having an Intereſt to manage diſtinct from that of his Siſter's; for Sultan *Chorrom*, the third Son of the Emperor, as has been obſerved, had married his Daughter; and if Sultan *Coſrou* and *Nour Jehan* ſhould be reconciled, his Son-in-law could never hope to ſucceed. But, to make all ſure, leſt Sultan *Coſrou*, induced by the Hardſhips he ſuffered, or the Hopes of a Crown, might, at length, be prevailed on to comply with the Sultaneſs, he procured the Emperor to ſend for Sultan *Chorrom* to Court, where they agreed together to cauſe Sultan *Coſrou* to be privately murdered in Priſon. It was at firſt attempted by Poiſon, but the Prince ſuſpected the Deſign, and would eat nothing but what was dreſſed by his beloved Wife; whereupon they reſolved to take the ſhorteſt Way, and ordered the Captain of the Fortreſs to ſtrangle him, which was executed without the Emperor's Knowledge.

However, a Fact of this Nature could not be tranſacted ſo privately, but it was at laſt diſcovered; and though the Murderers were Perſons of that Conſequence, that the Emperor could not puniſh it in the Manner it deſerved, yet he, from thenceforward, determined to make his Grandſon *Bolaqui*, the Son of Sultan *Coſrou*, his Succeſſor, who appeared to be a Prince of great Expectations, and then about ſeventeen Years of Age. This Prince therefore was brought to Court, and treated as the preſumptive Heir of the Crown, while Sultan *Chorrom* was commanded to retire to his Government of *Decan*. Here he ſpent his Time in making Alliances with the neighbouring Rajahs, and by Preſents and Offers of Preferment, brought over moſt of the beſt Officers in the Empire to his Party, while the old Emperor ſpent his Days in the Amuſements of the Seraglio, or over a Bottle with his Friends; for either the Sultaneſs now indulged him with it, or ſhe had not that Influence over him, as when her Charms were in their Bloom.

It was while Things remained in this Situation, that *Jehan Guire* enjoyed the pleaſanteſt Part of his Reign. He ſpent the hot Summer Months in the little Kingdom of *Cachemire*, which all the Eaſtern Writers repreſent as incomparably the fineſt Country in the World. It is the moſt Northern Part of the Dominions of the Great Mogul, and is, ſtrictly ſpeaking, no more than a Valley ſurrounded by high Mountains. The Air is temperate and wholſome, the Country rich and fruitful, and the People valiant in War, laborious and induſtrious in Time of Peace. It was in this beautiful Region that the Emperor indulged himſelf in all the Pleaſures of a rural Life. His Palace was elegant and agreeable, but, at the ſame time, rather convenient than magnificent; his Gardens large, but irregular, and remarkable, rather for their Reſemblance to a Foreſt, than for the Decorations that are derived from Art. The Empreſs, that ſhe might ſeem to comply with the Humour of ſo kind a Huſband, condeſcended to ſhare in thoſe rural Delights, and particularly diverted herſelf with feeding tame Fiſh in her Canals, ſome of which were many Years afterwards known by Fillets of Gold which ſhe cauſed to be put round them. In the Winter Seaſon, when the rainy Weather makes it very uncomfortable living in the *Indies*, *Jehan Guire* contrived a ſingular Method of amuſing himſelf at *Agra* or *Lahor*. He cauſed a kind of Fair to be kept in the Galleries of his Palace, where the Omrahs and Rajahs kept Shops, and attended them with their Wives and Daughters. The Emperor and the Royal Family were their only Cuſtomers, and amuſed themſelves in going from Shop to Shop, cheapening Goods and hagling for them as if they were in earneſt concerned about laying out their Money [p].

But theſe Kinds of Pleaſures were frequently interrupted by untoward Accidents in the Imperial Family, and ſometimes too by Cauſes of another Nature. The wiſe and potent Shah *Abbas* was, at that Time, Monarch of *Perſia*, and a formidable Neighbour to the Mogul. He revived the Pretenſions which his Predeceſſors had on the Principality of *Khandahar*; and one Summer, when *Jehan Guire* was diverting himſelf in the Kingdom of *Cachemire*, the Shah ſent an Embaſſador to demand the Reſtitution of that City and Country, agreeable to the Promiſe made by his Grandfather *Amayum*. The Emperor ſent Orders immediately to the Viceroy of *Multan*, which is the neareſt Province to *Khandahar*, to aſſemble, with the utmoſt Expedition, an Army for its Relief; but being informed that the Thing was impoſſible, he ſent Inſtructions to the Governor of the Fortreſs of *Khandahar*, which is the ſtrongeſt Place in the *Indies*, to ſet a good Face upon the Matter, and to deliver up the City and Caſtle, as ſoon as the *Perſian* Army appeared. The Governor, however, could not believe his Eyes, and being a better Subject than a Stateſman, was unable to comprehend that any Reaſons could be ſtrong enough to induce the Emperor to part with a Place of ſo great Strength, and ſo much Importance; he therefore defended it very bravely for ſix Months, and did not even ſurrender it then, till the Breach was practicable, and Shah *Abbas* on the very Point of making a general Storm. The Conduct of this Officer was very ſerviceable to the Emperor, though not agreeable to his Orders, for it gave *Mohammed-Khan* an Opportunity of drawing together ſuch a Force as put a Stop to the Progreſs of the *Perſian* Arms, and prevented Shah *Abbas* from proſecuting the Deſign he had formed of making an Irruption into *Indoſtan*.

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[p] This Diverſion has been much uſed by his Succeſſors, but eſpecially by his Grandſon; though it it has always given great Offence to the Omrahs and Rajahs, becauſe it obliges them to expoſe their Wives and Concubines, which tho' done only to the Imperial Family, is not born by them but with infinite Uneaſineſs, and the rather, becauſe this has ſometimes occaſioned the carrying their Wives into the Imperial Haram.

This Misfortune was quickly followed by a greater; the Emperor had given Orders for tranſporting the Treaſures of the Empire from *Agra* to *Lahor*, and *Aſaph-Khan* was directed to ſee this performed, of which he immediately gave Notice to his Son-in-law, Sultan *Chorrom*, and adviſed him to march with an Army and ſeize them on the Road; and he accordingly put himſelf at the Head of ſixty thouſand Men for that Purpoſe. The Deſign, however, was prevented by the Fidelity of the Officer who had the Cuſtody of thoſe Treaſures, and who abſolutely refuſed to deliver them to *Aſaph-Khan*, though he produced the Emperor's Order. Sultan *Chorrom* not meeting with them upon the Road, proceeded to *Agra*; and though he was not able to take the Citadel, plundered the City, and then returned into his own Province of *Decan*, with an immenſe Booty. The Emperor, incenſed at this outrageous Act of Diſloyalty, aſſembled all his Forces, and marched in Perſon againſt this unnatural Son. The Armies met in the Neighbourhood of the City of *Dehly*, where an obſtinate Engagement enſued, in which, however, the Emperor was at laſt victorious, and Sultan *Chorrom* was obliged to retire into the Mountains. The young Sultan *Bolaqui* was ſent by his Grandfather to lay Siege to the City of *Amadabat*, which was the Capital of his rebellious Son's Province. This he performed with all the Zeal and all the Expedition that could be expected, made himſelf Maſter of the Place in a few Days after he appeared before it, ſeized all the Treaſures that were laid up therein, broke to Pieces the Throne of Gold the Sultan had erected there, and diſtributed the Diamonds with which it was adorned amongſt his Officers. This Victory had, in all Probability, put an End to the War, if one of the Emperor's Generals, whoſe Name was *Abdul-Khan*, had not gone over to the Party of Sultan *Chorrom*, which gave him freſh Hopes, and enabled him, once more, to take the Field, though with a ſmall Army, with which he retired behind the River *Nerbda*, and fixed his head Quarters at *Brampour*. While he was in this Poſt, and endeavouring to recruit his Forces, very high Diſputes aroſe between his old Miniſter *Kanna*, and his new Favourite *Abdul-Khan*, which, by Degrees, grew to ſuch a Height that the former deſerted his Intereſt, and made his Peace with the Emperor. To do this the more effectually, he informed Sultan *Parvis* and *Mohammed Khan* of the diſtreſſed Situation of Sultan *Chorrom*'s Affairs, adviſing them to paſs the River immediately, and ſecure his Perſon. But *Abdul-Khan*, ſuſpecting that he would give this Advice, adviſed his Maſter to retire into the Dominions of *Amber Malec*, an *Indian* Prince, who was his Friend, by which he eſcaped his total Ruin: And, on the other hand, *Mohammed-Khan* believing that *Kanna* had deceived him, treated him but very indifferently. By this Time however the Empreſs began to apprehend that *Mohammed-Khan* intended to put Sultan *Parvis* on the Throne, in which ſhe was confirmed by the great Victory gained over the Sultan *Chorrom* at *Alabaſſen*, one of the moſt famous Battles that was ever fought in the *Indies*; ſhe therefore determined to ruin that great Miniſter, in the Opinion of a Maſter who owed his Life and Crown to his Fidelity.

It was with this View that ſhe ſent for the Traitor *Kanna* to Court, whoſe Eloquence, aſſiſted by the Influence of the Sultana, drew over the old Emperor to their pernicious Opinion, and induced him to ſend an Order to *Mohammed-Khan* to come to Court immediately, without any Attendance. He was too wiſe a Man not to diſcern upon what Motives this Order was founded, and therefore made no great Haſte to obey it; but that he was much perplexed, when he diſcovered that Sultan *Parvis* was not at all diſpleaſed at his Diſgrace, but rather looked upon it as a Piece of good Fortune, which left him an Army entirely at his Diſpoſal. *Mohammed-Khan* then ſaw that Loyalty and Probity were Virtues quite unneceſſary for Miniſters under an abſolute Government, and that in the Situation he ſtood, it was neceſſary to practiſe the ſame bold Meaſure which he had once before taken with ſo much Succeſs. He had Information, that the Court was removing from *Agra* to *Cabul*, and that the Bulk of the Army generally moved at ſome Diſtance before it. He aſſembled therefore with great Secrecy and Diligence, by the Aſſiſtance of ſome old Officers devoted to his Service, five thouſand *Raſhpouts*, of determined Courage, with whom he watched the Emperor's Motions, and underſtanding that the Army had paſſed the River *Nilab*, in the Grey of the Morning, he inveſted the Camp of *Jehanguire* before Sun-riſe, and almoſt without Bloodſhed, ſecured him, the Empreſs, Sultan *Bolaqui*, Sultan *Shiar*, and his two mortal Enemies, *Aſaph-Khan* and *Kanna*, which was, perhaps, one of the boldeſt Actions ever performed in the *Indies*.

The Uſe this Miniſter made of it was ſurprizingly generous; he told the Emperor, as ſoon as he ſaw him, that he did not come to make him a Priſoner, but to ſet him at full Liberty, and to leave it in his Power to place whom he pleaſed on the Throne after his Deceaſe. As for the two Princes, he ſent them Priſoners to the Citadel of *Agra*, and after having detained the Miniſters, his Enemies, for ſome Time in Cuſtody, he ſet them at Liberty, having firſt ſworn *Kanna* on the Khoran, not to bear Arms againſt him, which Oath he kept in a very miniſterial Manner; for the Empreſs having by her Intrigues recalled the Emperor's Army, he put himſelf at the Head of it, with a View to have deprived of Liberty and Life that great Man from whom he had juſt received both; but *Mohammed* had timely Notice of the Deſign, and made his Eſcape. He ſoon after ſaw himſelf in worſe Circumſtances than ever; for the Troops at *Agra* ſet the two Princes at Liberty, Sultan *Chorrom* took the Field with a freſh Army, and Sultan *Parvis* who was juſt reconciled to him, died of a Diſeaſe. His Affairs appeared now ſo deſperate, that his Son deſerted him, and took Part with the Court. In this Diſtreſs, the old Man preſerved nothing but his Loyalty, and his Spirits, retiring, for the ſake of immediate Safety, to Rajah *Rana*, a powerful *Indian* Prince, and yet ſo ſimple, and ſo bad a Politician, that he received his old Friend covered with Misfortunes, and in all Appearance without Reſource, with as much Affection as when the firſt Man in the Empire, and at the Head of its Armies and Councils. The firſt thing *Mohammed* thought of in his Retreat, was his reſtoring the publick Peace, and ſecuring the Quiet of his Maſter as long as he lived, which was all the Revenge he took for the repeated Injuries he had received.

It was with this View, that he wrote to Sultan *Chorrom*, and offered him his Service, not to act againſt his Father, but to ſecure the Crown to him after his Deceaſe. That Prince had married the Daughter, and was entirely under the Influence of *Aſaph*, the avowed Enemy of *Mohammed*, to whom he revealed the Propoſition made him, and aſked his Advice: He conjured his Son to accept the Offer; you cannot, ſaid he, have a better General or a more faithful Servant. Thus, in an Inſtant, the whole Face of Affairs was again changed; *Mohammed* reconciled the Emperor to his Son, pacified all the Troubles of the Empire, and put it in the Power of *Jehanguire* to ſpend the Remainder of his Days in Peace. That Monarch was now grown old and infirm, and therefore deſired to enjoy his Eaſe in the pleaſant and wholeſome Country of *Cachemire*, whither he retired, but had not continued there long, before he found himſelf troubled with an Aſthma. The Impatience natural to Age and Sickneſs, made him

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[a] There are many Circumſtances of this Prince's private Life that very well deſerve to be recorded, if we were not preſſed both in point of Time and Room; and theſe are known with the greater Certainty, becauſe he wrote himſelf a Treatiſe, entituled, *Vakebat Jehanguiry*, or, the Commentaries of *Jehanguire*, for the firſt thirteen Years of his Reign, *viz.* from the 21ſt of *October* 1605 to 1618. In theſe are contained Abundance of very curious and pleaſant Stories; for he was wont to diſguiſe himſelf in an Evening, in order to go and drink with the Tradeſmen of *Agra*, at the common Punch-Houſes, and kept a very exact Account of his Adventures.

long once more to change the Place of his Reſidence, and accordingly he ſet out for *Labor*, and in his Way thither died at *Bimber* on the 27th of *October*, in the Year of the *Hegira* 1038, *A. D.* 1627, having reigned twenty-two Years and ſix Days, and lived fifty-eight Years, one Month and twenty-nine Days.

He was much regretted by his Subjects, over whom he reigned with much Juſtice, and with whom he lived in a manner ſo familiar, that they loved him as a Father and a Friend, as much as they reſpected him as a Prince. He was far from wanting great Qualities or good ones; the Eaſineſs of his Temper was his greateſt Fault.

The Death of the Emperor revived the Commotions in the Empire, and raiſed them much higher than ever, as the Time was now come, when the Poſſeſſion of the Crown was the only thing that could give any of the Princes a ſecure Title to his Life. There were immediately three Parties formed, and in the Space of a very few Days, two Emperors proclaimed. The firſt of theſe was *Shehriar*, the deceaſed Monarch's youngeſt Son by a Concubine, then twenty-two Years of Age, whoſe Dominions never extended farther than the Palace, and who owed the Shadow of Empire that attended him for a little while, to the Influence of *Nour-Jehan*, whoſe Daughter, by her firſt Huſband, he had eſpouſed. Sultan *Bolaqui*, the Grandſon of the late Emperor, and the true Heir of the Crown, was proclaimed by the Army, and ſoon after acknowledged by the City of *Agra*, by which Means the Empreſs and her Son-in-law fell into his Hands; he impriſoned them both, and to ſecure himſelf more effectually, put out the Eyes of the latter; ſo that his Empire ended almoſt as ſoon as it began, and indeed, he was in every reſpect ſo weak a Prince, that his Mother-in-law had no great Hopes of him, notwithſtanding all the Arts ſhe had practiſed in his Favour. The Conteſt ſeemed now in a Manner over, and Sultan *Bolaqui* thought himſelf ſo ſecure of the Empire, that he took little or no Pains to ingratiate himſelf with the principal Omrahs, or to procure the Affections of the People, which are always a Monarch's firmeſt Support. *Aſaph* and *Mohammed*, notwithſtandiug, had their Eyes upon Sultan *Chorrom*, but the Treaſure and Forces of the Empire being in the Power of *Bolaqui*, they did not yet think it a proper Time to declare themſelves.

Bolaqui reſolving to ſound his Uncle's Intentions, ſent to demand a Tribute, and Homage, for the Kingdom of *Decan*, and the other Dominions he held of the Empire. The Omrah, who was diſpatched to Sultan *Chorrom* on this Occaſion, was acquainted, that he was in ſo ill a State of Health, that he could not poſſibly tranſact any Buſineſs; the Omrah ſtill perſiſted to ſee him, which, with ſome Difficulty, he was at length permitted to do, and found the Sultan in a very weak, languiſhing Condition, as he apprehended, and vomiting Blood in ſuch Quantities, that he did not think it poſſible he could live many Days. The Omrah thereupon immediately diſpatched a Courier to *Agra* with the News, which he knew would be very acceptable to the Court. But this Illneſs it ſeems was all counterfeit, and the Blood he ſeemed to vomit was only the Blood of a Kid he held in his Mouth: However, the Deſign was ſtill carried on, Sultan *Chorrom* diſappeared on a ſudden, and it was not only given out that he was dead, but his whole Court went into Mourning for him.

The crafty *Mohammed* alſo prevailed with the Omrah who came from *Bolaqui*, to write to his Maſter, to obtain Leave for the burying the Sultan in the royal Sepulchre at *Agra*, which was readily granted; and upon the Return of the Courier, a pompous funeral Proceſſion begun, agreeable to the Quality of ſo great a Prince. *Mohammed-Khan*, at the Head of a thouſand Officers of the deceaſed, attended the Hearſe, and Sultan *Chorrom* himſelf followed in Diſguiſe. Several Bodies of the *Rajpoots*, or *Raſhpouts*, Allies of Sultan *Chorrom*, fell in with the Proceſſion, upon the Road, under Pretence of paying their laſt Duties to be deceaſed. *Aſaph Khan*, who had not declared himſelf, but remained of *Bolaqui*'s Council in *Agra*, treacherouſly adviſed the young Emperor to meet his Uncle's Corpſe, as they drew near *Agra*, who thereupon marched out with an ordinary Guard, and ſuch an Equipage as was ſuitable to the Occaſion. He was ſurprized to ſee ſo numerous a Body of Troops attending the Hearſe, and ſuſpecting he was betrayed, turned ſhort on a ſudden, and made his Eſcape, never attempting to recover *Agra*; and, indeed, he did not ſtop till he found himſelf in the *Perſian* Dominions. He looked upon the Infection to be univerſal, and very well knew, that the Conſequence of falling into the Enemies Hands was Death, or the Loſs of his Eyes at leaſt [r]. This Tranſaction ſhews, that the Stateſmen of the Eaſt are as able and as refined Politicians as the *Italians* themſelves, and within a Trifle as wicked too. But let that paſs, and let us ſee how the Affair was conducted after this Flight of the ſecond Emperor, who reigned only a few Months.

10. Sultan *Chorrom* having thrown off his Diſguiſe, mounted the Carriage which was ſuppoſed to contain his Body, and which when ſtripped of its funeral Ornaments, appeared to be a triumphal Car, in which he entered the City of *Agra* in Splendor, where he was received with the loud Acclamations of the People, who began to be afraid of the bloody Diſpoſition ſhewn in ſo ſhort a Space by his immediate Predeceſſor. The firſt thing he did, was to enquire for *Shehriar*, and the reſt of the Princes of the Blood, and being informed, that they were all kept Priſoners in one of the Apartments of the Palace, he inſtantly gave Orders that the Gates of it ſhould be walled up, and there left a Brother and three Nephews to periſh for want of Suſtenance. This Piece of Cruelty was the more extraordinary, becauſe he had but the Moment before, and out of the very next Apartment, delivered his own three Sons, who being at Court with their Aunt the Empreſs, *Nour-Jehan*, had been impriſoned ever ſince the old Emperor's Death. Whether this Act of Severity diſpleaſed the old Miniſter, *Mohammed-Khan*, or whether he was grown ſo weary of Courts, as to wiſh he might breathe his laſt in a better Air, is uncertain; but ſo it was, that as ſoon as this great Revolution was over, he demanded Leave to retire, which was with ſome Difficulty granted him, and he paſſed the Remainder of his Days in an honourable Retreat in Peace and Quiet.

The Subjects of this Empire had now all the Reaſon in the World to hope for an happy Adminiſtration; the Prince was in the Flower of his Age, drawing towards his thirty-ſixth Year, one who had ſhewn a martial Diſpoſition, great Intrepidity, and a Soul not to be broken by the Frowns of Fortune. He aſſumed with the Imperial Diadem [s], a new Name, and cauſed himſelf to be called thenceforward, *Shababo'din Mohammed Shah Jehan*, i. e. *The bright Star, Mohammed King of the World*; but our *European* Hiſtorians generally call him by the laſt Part of this long Name, *viz. Shah Jehan*, and therefore it is by that we ſhall mention him in the enſuing Account of his Reign. The Dominions he poſſeſſed were larger in Extent, and produced much greater Revenues, than any of his Predeceſſors had enjoyed; for all the vaſt Extent of Countries between the Principality of *Kandahar* to the River *Indus*, owned him for their Monarch; neither was it barely an Acknowledgment of his Superiority, but they were content likewiſe to pay him large Tributes, the Quantities of which, as well as the Title thereto, was now, through Length of Time, effectually eſtabliſhed.

Yet he had ſtill ſome Difficulties to ſtruggle with, notwithſtanding this fair Outſide of his Circumſtances. The Rajahs, however ſubmiſſive they might be, were little to be depended on, though Subjects they were Princes, and had Dominions of their own, no way deſpicable either for their Size or their Situation. In order to underſtand this Matter clearly, it is neceſſary to obſerve, that all the flat

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[r] It was not for a long Time known where this Prince took Shelter, and ſome of the Memoirs of theſe Times ſay, that it was *Mohammed-Khan* who privately gave him a Hint to make his Eſcape, that he might have no Hand in ſhedding the Blood of any of his Maſter's Family.

[s] The Day on which he mounted the Throne, was the firſt of *February* 1628, ſo that the Confuſions, after his Death, laſted very little more than three Months. It was believed, that after the Death of *Shehriar*, the old Empreſs *Nour-Jehan*, was not diſpleaſed to ſee him mount the Throne, as he had married her Niece, and was thereby Son-in-law to *Aſaph-Khan* her Brother.

Country within the Bounds before-mentioned, was entirely and abſolutely under the Dominion of the Great Mogul. But in the Heart of theſe Territories were many little Principalities, well bounded by Foreſts and Mountains, ſo that the native Inhabitants, though no great Soldiers, were very able to defend themſelves againſt a Prince who was obliged to truſt a mercenary Army, compoſed of different Nations, and whoſe natural Subjects the Moguls, were in a manner worn out.

In the next Place, Difference in Religion was another Cauſe of Diſtraction and Diſquiet. The eſtabliſhed Faith was *Mohammediſm*, yet the Rajahs, and the greateſt Part of the People, were of the old *Indian* Religion, and there were beſides a large Mixture of Chriſtians and *Perſees.* The Difficulties that this created were ſo many, and ſo intolerable, that the two laſt Emperors were inclined to have invented a new Religion, which might have reconciled the Minds of all their Subjects; but in this, as indeed it was no great wonder, they failed; but what adminiſtered the greateſt Cauſe of Diſturbance was, the Cuſtom introduced in the Court of the Mogul, of ſending the young Princes of the Empire to govern ſeveral Provinces of it, which gave them a Habit of commanding, ſo that it was difficult, if not impoſſible, to teach them to obey even a Parent, as well as a Prince, and yet this was a Cuſtom that it was not either eaſy or ſafe to break through; for on the one Hand it was a thing very unnatural for a Father to make his Sons Priſoners in his own Palace, and on the other, it was no leſs difficult to prevent their forming Factions, if they were allowed ſuch Liberties as were ſuitable to their Birth.

The Emperor knew this by Experience in the Reign of his Father, and had conſequently much Reaſon to fear the like under his own Reign, having four Princes grown up to Mens Eſtate, and all very capable of pretending to the Crown. The eldeſt of theſe, Sultan *Dara Shekowh*, that is, *in Pomp like Darius*; the ſecond Sultan *Sujah*, that is *full of Valour*, who was a Year younger than *Dara*; the third Sultan *Auringzebe*, or as we uſually write it, *Aurengzebe*, that is, *the Ornament of the Throne*; his fourth Son was Sultan *Morad Bukkſh*, that is, *the Fulfiller of Deſires*; he had likewiſe three Daughters by his Sultanas, whoſe Names it will be neceſſary to mention, becauſe, contrary to the uſual Cuſtom, they had a great Influence over their Father, and by that Means a conſiderable Share in the Adminiſtration. The eldeſt of theſe, and indeed of all his Children, was *Jehan Ara Begum*, that is, *the Ornament of the World*; ſhe was her Father's greateſt Favourite, and entirely in the Intereſt of her Brother, Sultan *Dara.* The next was *Roſhnrai*, or *Roxana Begum*, that is, the Princeſs *of enlightened Mind.* This Lady had great Parts, and wonderful Addreſs, which ſhe employed to favour the Deſigns of her Brother *Aurengzebe.* The third was *Suria Banu Begum*; that is, the *ſhining*, or *bright Princeſs*, of an eaſy and gentle Temper, who diverted herſelf with innocent Amuſements, and had little or no Share in thoſe Intrigues, which occaſioned ſo many Diſturbances in the Empire[1]. He had beſides ſeveral other Princes and Princeſſes by his Concubines, the Names of which, as they are not neceſſary to our Purpoſe, we ſhall omit.

In regard to his Neighbours, this Emperor had not much to fear. The Kingdom of *Perſia* was at that Time governed by a weak and very inactive Prince, not capable of giving him any Uneaſineſs or Diſturbance. The *Tartars* were much altered from what they were, and beſides, their Strength was ſo much exhauſted, that he had nothing to apprehend from them. The *Indian* Nations in the South of his Territories were, generally ſpeaking, peaceable and puſillanimous People. The *Portugueze* were the only Nation with whom he was like to have any Quarrel, and that not from any Diſturbance they gave him or his Subjects, but from a natural Averſion he had to them, which aroſe from different Motives. He had ſolicited their Aſſiſtance when he was in Arms againſt his Father, and was not only refuſed it, but reproached for having deſired it againſt his Parent and his Prince, a Thing he could not either forget or forgive. His Empreſs alſo was a bitter Enemy of the *Portugueze*, on the ſcore of their Religion. She was the Niece of the old Empreſs, and the Daughter of *Aſaph-Khan*; her Name was *Tagge Mahl*, that is, *the Crown of the Seraglio*, a Woman of a violent Spirit, and yet of ſo much Art, that ſhe entirely gained the Affection of her Huſband, and is ſaid to have put him upon this War.

When it was once reſolved on, he ſent his General *Coſſam Khan* with a Body of Forces, in order to make himſelf Maſter of *Ougli*, a Place near the Mouth of the River *Ganges*, where the *Portugueze* had a Garriſon of ſix or ſeven hundred Men, who were all taken Priſoners, becauſe it ſo happened, that the Place was inveſted at that Seaſon of the Year when the Waters of the *Ganges* were ſo low that they were not able to make uſe of Boats; for, otherwiſe they might have eſcaped very eaſily. They were moſt of them conducted to *Agra*, where they were treated with great Severity; many of them obliged to turn *Mohammedans*, while ſome choſe rather to ſuffer Death, and thereby obtained the Reputation of Martyrs. Some Prieſts and Jeſuits that were taken here had, after a Time, their Liberty given them, and were ſuffered to return to the *Portugueze* Colonies. It was very happy for them that the Empreſs *Taage Mahl* was dead before the War ended; for otherwiſe they had, undoubtedly, all ſuffered. She was regretted by none but the Emperor himſelf, who, in a great meaſure, owed his Crown to her Arts, and to her Intereſt.

He built, to perpetuate her Memory, a noble Tomb, at the Expence of about ſixty Lacks of Rupees, or 750,000 Pounds Sterling. After the Cloſe of this War, and of her Death, Shah *Jehan* changed his Manner of living entirely, and gave no farther Signs of a martial Diſpoſition. His Father had been particularly fond of *Labor*, as his Grandfather had been of *Agra.* This Prince choſe rather the City of *Dehly* for his Habitation; and not far from it he erected a very fine Caſtle for his own Reſidence, built at a vaſt Expence, and adorned it with two very magnificent Gardens, laid out by a *Venetian*, who was extremely ſkilful in his Profeſſion. He was ſo delighted with this Place, and with the Improvements he had made, that he affected to call it *Shahjehanabat*, i. e. *the Dwelling-place of Shah Jehan*[2]. The enlarging and beautifying, the laying out and peopling this City, employed him for ſeveral Years, and, by Degrees, gave him ſuch a Turn for building, planting, and ſuch like Pleaſures, that he ſpent his whole Time in them and in the Delights of his Seraglio, for he was exceſſively addicted to Women, and that in a Manner ſcarce known to any of his Predeceſſors; for not content with a vaſt Number of Ladies, and thoſe the moſt beautiful the Eaſt could afford in his own Seraglio, he fell to debauching the Wives of his principal *Omrahs*, particularly thoſe of *Jaſer-Khan* and *Kalil-Khan*, which were attended with fatal Conſequences.

By degrees, he formed his Pleaſures into a kind of Syſtem, and every ſort of Diverſion had its proper Seaſon, and the Meaſure of its Expence ſettled. In this voluptuous Manner of living he ſpent upwards of twenty Years, and then the Heat of his Paſſions abating, and the Vigour of his Conſtitution being worn out, he grew, from being the moſt expenſive and profuſe, the narroweſt and moſt miſerly Prince in the World. To gratify this unkingly Thirſt of Money, he altered the whole Courſe of his Proceedings; and having cauſed two large Vaults or

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[1] It will be neceſſary to ſet down here the Age of theſe Princes and Princeſſes, to which the Reader may have recourſe, for the better underſtanding what is ſaid of them. It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that theſe were all the Sons and Daughters of the Sultana mentioned in the Text, whoſe Name was originally *Arjemund Banu Begum*; that is, *the moſt noble Princeſs*. *Jehan Ara Begum* was born in the Year 1614, Sultan *Dara* in 1615, Sultan *Sujah* 1616, *Roſhnrai Begum* in 1617, Sultan *Aurengzebe* in 1618, *Suria Banu Begum* in 1622, and Sultan *Morad* in 1624.

[2] I follow, in the Text, the Obſervations made by other Hiſtorians, as to the Vanity of theſe Princes, in giving their own Names to the Cities they erected; but, I muſt, for my own part, obſerve, that I think the Fact is, in itſelf, a little doubtful; and I am rather inclined to think that it is the People themſelves that give theſe Names to the Cities, in order to diſtinguiſh which were the Capitals of the Empire under the Reign of particular Monarchs; and I am confirmed in this, by obſerving that theſe Names are ſtill in uſe, at leaſt in all the Court Writings.

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Cellars to be made under his Palace, in one of which he kept his Gold, and in the other his Silver, caſt into ſuch large Ingots, as could not be eaſily removed or embezzled; and one great Pleaſure of his Life was to viſit theſe Receptacles of his Riches, and delight his Eyes with gazing upon them. This ſingle Vice of Covetouſneſs abſorbed and ſwallowed up all the reſt of his Deſires, inſomuch that though in the firſt Years of his Reign he had particularly piqued himſelf upon doing ſtrict Juſtice to his Subjects, yet now he gave them up to be plundered by all the Governors of Provinces, and other great *Omrahs*; and when he found they were grown exceſſively rich by ſuch Practices, he turned the Edge of his Reſentment ſuddenly upon them; and, under a Colour of puniſhing their Oppreſſions, put them to death and ſeized their Effects.

His three Sons he ſent to govern the moſt diſtant Provinces of his Empire, and kept only the eldeſt Sultan *Dara*, to ſhare with him the Cares of Government, and to be the nearer that Throne which he was one Day to poſſeſs. Sultan *Sujah* was made Viceroy of *Bengal*; his youngeſt Son *Morad*, was eſtabliſhed in *Guzerat*; and *Aurengzebe* was Viceroy of *Decan*; all of them were obliged to pay their Tribute exactly; and for their Subſiſtance in a manner that became their Rank, were compelled to have Recourſe to the ſame unjuſt Meaſures which other Governors practiſed. It was this, and the earneſt Deſire of obtaining Poſſeſſion of the Diamond-Mines, that put the laſt-mentioned Prince upon attacking the King of *Golconda*, a very unjuſt War in itſelf, but ſo remarkable for the Iſſue of it, and for the Conſequences attending it, that it is neceſſary we ſhould enter into a more particular Account of it. It took Riſe therefore in the following Manner; *Mirza Mula*, a Perſon who came into *India* in the Service of a Merchant, entering afterwards into that of the Mogul, was advanced by Degree to the moſt conſiderable Commands in the Army; but finding himſelf ſlighted by Sultan *Dara*, he went over to the King of *Golconda*, who gave him a Poſt in the Treaſury, and the Direction of the Trade of his Country; in which Employment *Mirza Mula* having amaſſed together conſiderable Sums, he endeavoured to diſtinguiſh himſelf at Court by a magnificent Equipage, and the Curioſities he purchaſed and preſented to his Majeſty and the Royal Family; and amongſt the reſt the King's Mother, the Dowager Queen, who was ſo ſmitten with the Gallantry of the *Perſian*, that ſhe denied him no Favours; which the King having an Intimation of, without taking any farther Notice of her Majeſty's irregular Paſſion, ſent *Mirza Mula* out of the Way, to the Government of *Carnate*, in which were the famous Diamond-Mines. Here he took Care to lay by the moſt curious Stones for his own Uſe; and one among the reſt he happened on, ſo large and fine, that it was not to be matched in the *Indies*, either for its Size or Luſtre, which he afterwards preſented to *Aurengzebe*. *Mirza-Mula* was not contented with what he found in the Mines, but he forced the People under his Power to bring in their Gold and Jewels, under pretence of the Neceſſities of the Government. He plundered the very Temples, and pulled off the precious Stones with which the Images were adorned; of which the King of *Golconda* being informed, determined to call *Mirza Mula* to a ſevere Account for his Rapine and Extortions; but the good old Queen let her Favourite know the Dangers that threatened him: Whereupon *Mirza Mula* immediately diſpatched a Courier to *Aurengzebe*, whoſe Government lay contiguous to *Golçonda*, to let him know that if he would march with his Army into that Kingdom, he would join him with a Body of Troops from *Carnate*, and that his Intereſt was ſo conſiderable in the Palace itſelf, that he might depend upon an eaſy Conqueſt; and to convince him of the Advantage of the Enterprize, made him a Preſent of the large Diamond above-mentioned [w].

This was the moſt agreeable Meſſage that *Aurengzebe* could have received; for he did not doubt that if he was once poſſeſſed of the Riches of *Golconda*, he ſhould bid fair for the Empire of *Indoſtan*; he marched therefore, without Delay, and joined the treacherous *Mirza Mula* with his Army. The King of *Golconda* hereupon retired, in the utmoſt Conſternation, from his Capital of *Bagnagur*, aud ſhut himſelf up in the Fortreſs of *Golconda*, which ſtands about three Miles from it. The Confederates plundered *Bagnagur*, and afterwards inveſted the Fortreſs, of which *Aurengzebe* ſent Advice to the Emperor. Sultan *Dara* was alarmed at the Progreſs of *Aurengzebe*'s Arms, and repreſented to the Shah *Jehan*, that if his Brother was once Maſter of the Diamond-Mines, his next Attempt would be infallibly againſt the Crown; whereupon Orders were immediately diſpatched to *Aurengzebe* to deſiſt from the Enterprize, and retire to his Government of *Decan*. As things were not yet ripe for the Execution of his great Deſign, *Aurengzebe* obeyed the Orders of the Court, and concluded a Treaty with the King of *Golconda*; the principal Articles whereof were, that the Mogul ſhould be reimburſed his Charges in the War; but the King's Daughter ſhould be given in Marriage to the Prince *Mohammed*, *Aurengzebe*'s eldeſt Son, who ſhould ſucceed to the Crown of *Golconda*, after the Demiſe of his Majeſty, and that *Mirza Mula* and his Family ſhould be at Liberty to retire, with their Effects, out of the Kingdom. Thus was *Golconda* delivered from the Danger that threatened it at this Time. But *Aurengzebe* had ſuch a Taſte of the Riches that Country afforded, that he fully determined to make it a Province of the Empire, if ever he ſucceeded to the Crown.

Aurengzebe, finding his Friend *Mirza* wanted neither Courage nor Conduct, and that he had a confirmed Averſion to his Brother, the Sultan *Dara*, and above all, that he was Villain enough to execute whatever he ſhould command, without Remorſe, looked upon him as a proper Inſtrument to promote the ambitious Deſigns he had in View; he took him therefore into his moſt intimate Confidence, and made him General of the Forces againſt the Kingdom of *Viſiapour*, while he himſelf ſpent his Time in amuſing the People with extraordinary Shews of Devotion, moſt exact Juſtice, and uncommon Benevolence to the Poor, which rendered him exceeding popular. In the mean time the Emperor Shah *Jehan* was taken dangerouſly ill, and it was reported in *Dehly*, and even in the remoteſt Provinces of the Empire, that he was dead; whereupon the three youngeſt Sultans, his Sons, began to make Preparations in their reſpective Provinces to puſh for the Empire. Sultan *Sujah*, or *Chuia*, Viceroy of *Bengal*, was the firſt that appeared in Arms, directing his March towards *Dehly* with an Army of forty thouſand Horſe. When he firſt ſet forward, it is ſaid, he laid his Hand on his Scimitar, crying out, "Now for a Throne, "or for a Grave." He gave out, upon the March, that Sultan *Dara* had poiſoned the Emperor, and that he was going to revenge his Father's Death: But Shah *Jehan* recovering from his Indiſpoſition, wrote his Son Word with his own Hand, that he was now perfectly in Health, and that his Brother *Dara* had not contributed to his late Illneſs, and therefore he would do well to return to his Government of *Bengal*, and repair the Over-ſight his Exceſs of Zeal had induced him to commit, by a more exact Obedience for the future. But Sultan *Sujah* receiving other Letters from his Friends at the ſame Time, aſſuring him that it was not likely that his Father ſhould recover, and that his Fortune depended on his appearing immediately before *Dehly*, the Sultan thought fit to continue his March. Shah *Jehan* thereupon removed his Court to *Agra*, being a Place of much greater Strength. *Dara* followed his Father's Court; but detached his Son *Soliman Chacu*, and with him *Rajah Jaſing*, and *Dhil-Khan*, two experienced Generals, and a gallant Army to oppoſe Sultan *Sujah*, whoſe Forces, in all reſpects, were eaſily defeated, and the Sultan himſelf, with ſome Difficulty, eſcaped to *Bengal*, where he endeavoured to recruit his Army.

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[w] The Kingdom of *Golconda* is a maritime Country, on the Eaſt Coaſt of the Peninſula of *India*, on this Side the *Ganges*. *Aurengzebe* would never be eaſy, after he had obtained this large Diamond, till he was likewiſe poſſeſſed of the Country, which, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, he annexed notwithſtanding this Peace, to the Mogul Empire, under the Name of the Province of *Hyderabad*, which is only another Name for the Capital of this Country, called in the Text by its old Name *Bagnagur*; and that this Country was very well worth acquiring, appears from the annual Revenue which it produces to the Great Mogul, of 3,711,000 Pounds.

The Confuſions in the Empire did not end here. The two younger Sons of the Emperor were alſo in Arms, in order to diſpute the Poſſeſſion of the Empire with Sultan *Dara*. And now it was that the profound Diſſimulation of *Aurengzebe* paved the Way for his mounting the Imperial Throne, while he pretended to aſſiſt the Ambition of his youngeſt Brother. The old Pretence was that of Religion: Sultan *Dara*, he ſaid, was an Infidel, Sultan *Sujah* a Heretick, and therefore the Crown ought to be ſecured to Sultan *Morad*; for, as to himſelf, the utmoſt of his Deſire was to ſpend the Remainder of his Days near the Tomb of *Mohammed* in Acts of Mortification and Devotion. But to ſhew, that as much a Saint as he was, he underſtood the Affairs of this World as well as any of them; he aſſembled a very numerous Army, compoſed of veteran Troops, that had been employed in his former Wars, extremely well provided with every thing neceſſary, with which he joined his Brother *Morad*, and his Troops, not far from *Dehly*. The firſt Step he took was, to perſuade that Prince to aſſume the Title of Emperor, in which Quality he received and obeyed his Orders, which, however, were ſuch as himſelf dictated in his Council. As ſoon as Sultan *Dara* was informed that the two Brothers had joined their Forces, he ſent a Trumpet with a Letter from the Emperor, his Father, to each of them, aſſuring them that he was in perfect Health, and commanding them to retire and diſband their Troops, on pain of being treated as Rebels. This ſurpriſed Sultan *Morad* exceedingly, and he would willingly have attoned for his firſt Offence, by yielding the Emperor, his Father, immediate Obedience: But *Aurenzebe* prevented his Return to his Duty, by ſuggeſting that Obedience now came too late; that though the Emperor might be ſatisfied, Sultan *Dara* would be revenged, and that to ſeparate their Armies now, would be doing his Buſineſs, and giving themſelves up to Deſtruction. Theſe Arguments ſoon got the better of Sultan *Morad*'s Loyalty, eſpecially when it was farther inſinuated to him that his Father was now ſuperannuated, and that Sultan *Dara* only made uſe of his Name. *Morad* conceiving with himſelf that it was better for him to impoſe Law upon his Brethren, than be obliged to receive it from them, determined to proceed, and to acquire, if poſſible, by Arms, a Crown, to which he was not entitled either by the Laws of Nature, or the Cuſtom of his Country.

But as we are now to enter on that War which has made ſo great a Noiſe in *Europe*, as well as the *Indies*, it will be neceſſary to ſay ſomething of the Characters of theſe Princes; and the rather, becauſe ſome of them have been much miſrepreſented, and, in *Europe*, generally miſunderſtood. Sultan *Dara* was always happy in the Enjoyment of his Father's Favour, in conſequence of which he received an Education truly Royal; he enjoyed, from Nature, a very graceful Perſon, and a ſtrong Conſtitution; his Parts were not only ſolid, but bright and ſparkling, ſo that before he reached the Flower of his Age, he was Maſter, not only of all the Sciences which are uſually taught in the Univerſities, but moſt of the Languages likewiſe that are ſpoken in *Europe*. His ſuperior Knowledge, and the great Quickneſs of his Wit, joined to a philoſophical Virtue, were the Sources of his Ruin. He was, beyond Compariſon, the greateſt Prince that ever drew Breath in the *Indies*, and the moſt unfortunate; the wiſeſt Man of the Age in which he lived, yet unaccountably weak in his Conduct; one of the beſt Men that ever was bred up in a Court; and withal, the worſt qualified to live in one. Theſe Paradoxes ſhall be in few Words explained. His Wiſdom drew upon him the Hatred of ſuch as affected to be thought wiſe; his Quickneſs and Penetration rendered him leſs capable of being adviſed by ſuch as were moſt able: He had ſpent much of his Time in Books, knew the Duties of every Profeſſion, and expected that Men of every Profeſſion ſhould diſcharge thoſe Duties. He had no ſort of Craft, and deſpiſed it too much; he was ſo truly virtuous, that he knew too little of bad Deſigns to guard againſt them; and he was ſo open and ſincere, that he never ſuſpected any Man of Diſſimulation. He had a great Reſpect for the Miſſionaries, and they, in return, had taken a great deal of Pains to perſuade the World that he was a Chriſtian in his Heart; and that the Knowledge of this was one great Cauſe of his Misfortunes, which, however, is ſo far from being true, that I venture to affirm, they flowed from quite a different Fountain. He had, indeed, ſtudied Religion more than became a Prince, and left behind him a Teſtimony of it, which plainly proves the Truth of what I have aſſerted; and yet not one of the Miſſionaries have mentioned it, for Reaſons that I cannot aſſign. In ſhort, he revived the old Scheme of his Anceſtors, and had a Mind to become the Legiſlator, as well as the Monarch of the *Indies*. It was with this View that he compoſed a large and learned Work, to prove that the Principles of the old *Indian* Religion were the ſame with thoſe of Mohammediſm; and, in Support of this, he collected, with great Labour all that was worth collecting from the Works of the ancient *Bramins*, and compared theſe with the principal Paſſages of the Khoran, to demonſtrate that theſe Religions were not ſo far from each other as thoſe who profeſſed them imagined, and that there wanted nothing but a little Temper and good Senſe to bring them to a good Underſtanding[x]. This armed the Bigots againſt him, as the Steadineſs of his Conduct, and his Contempt for the Arts of a Court, ruined him, with thoſe who placed their Hopes and their Credit in being well verſed in them.

Sultan *Sujah* was the very reverſe of his Brother, except that he had a fine Perſon, a happy Conſtitution, and great Parts, for he was a finiſhed Courtier, underſtood the Art of Intriguing perfectly, and practiſed it with ſuch Succeſs, that *Jaconſing*, upon whom his Brother *Dara* had chiefly depended, was privately his Creature, and betrayed the Maſter, to whoſe Favour he owed all Things. This Prince had Spies in every Part of the Court, knew every thing that was done there, and the Sentiments of all who compoſed it. He held likewiſe private Intelligence with the principal *Rajahs* throughout the Empire, had a private Correſpondence with the King of *Perſia*; and that he might not want a religious Party to eſpouſe his Intereſt, he declared for the Sect of *Ali*, which is the eſtabliſhed Faith of the *Perſians*.

The Character of *Aurengzebe*, though directly oppoſite to thoſe of his Brethren, was very probably formed upon theirs. He had ſtrong Senſe, much Application, and a deep Reach of Thought; the greateſt Hypocrite, and the moſt profound Diſſembler in the World. Humble in Appearance, in Reality exceſſively ambitious; covetous in the higheſt Degree, and yet affecting to deſpiſe Money; devout in Shew, without the leaſt Tincture of Faith or Goodneſs in his Heart. He ſaw that his Brethren had courted Men of other Religions, and therefore he placed all his Hopes in the bigotted *Mohammedans*, whom he knew to be a powerful Party, and moſt capable of ſerving him in the Way that he deſired to be ſerved. He knew very well, that if he could not attain the Throne by his Cunning, he was not likely to preſerve his Life, and therefore he ſpent his whole Time, and applied all his Thoughts in meditating how to acquire the Imperial Diadem, and in hindering the reſt of the World from perceiving his Deſign, which he believed, and which Experience ſhewed to be the ſureſt Method of effecting it.

Morad, the youngeſt of *Shah Jehan*'s Sons, was an honeſt generous Prince, one who profeſſed *Mohammediſm* from his Heart, and was really as much a Believer as any of the Clergy could wiſh him. He loved Hunting, and other Exerciſes of that Kind, and was much given to Women. In all other reſpects he was a very amiable and worthy Prince, and if he appeared from ſome Parts of his Conduct in a different Light, it was owing to the Influence that *Aurengzebe* acquired over him, and in which he acted againſt his own Sentiments. Let us now return to Matters of Fact, and diſcuſs them in as few Words as poſſible. All the Hopes of *Aurengzebe* lay in making his Brethren deſtroy each other. His Schemes were in ſome Meaſure accompliſhed with reſpect to Sultan *Sujah*, and from his Intelligence, he knew very well, that Sultan *Dara* was not an equal Match for the Forces they had in the Field againſt him, and this gave him as much Diſquiet in one Senſe, as it did Pleaſure in another; for, as he ſaw very clearly that his Brother's Safety and Intereſt depended upon taking him off, ſo notwithſtanding the Difference of their Characters, he was afraid his Brother might ſee it himſelf, or at leaſt be ſhewn it by ſome who were about him, which made him more intent upon his Deſtruction, towards whom he profeſſed both Duty and Affection, than on that of his elder Brother againſt whom he was in Arms: Yet he covered his Uneaſineſs with a Shew of great Tranquillity, and prevented any Suſpicion that might have ariſen from his Reſervedneſs, by aſcribing it to a Spirit of Religion; ſo that while he was plotting the moſt deteſtable Villanies, the far greater Part of the Camp believed him entirely taken up with religious Meditations. He employed the vaſt Treaſures he had heaped up by the moſt unjuſtifiable Means, in Practices no leſs wicked; and by that means had conſtant Advice of whatever paſſed in all the Courts; ſo that if his Hypocriſy had ever been detected, he would have had Leiſure ſufficient to have ſecured a Retreat, and at the ſame time his Officers and his Troops were ſo devoted to him, that he had not the leaſt Reaſon to doubt their defending him to the laſt Man: Such were the Circumſtances on his Side.

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[x] The Title of this ſingular Treatiſe is, *Mujmahal Bahrain*, that is, *the Junction of the two Seas*. Theſe ſort of Titles are, and always have been, much eſteemed in the Eaſt, as having in them ſomething of Allegory; and, at the ſame time, ſomething ſententious and very expreſſive. I cannot but inform the Reader, that theſe Lights are derived from Mr. *James Frazer*, who has not only given us the Titles and Characters of abundance of Oriental Pieces, hitherto abſolutely unknown in this Part of the World, but has likewiſe brought with him the Books themſelves, which are, indeed, an invaluable Treaſure, inaſmuch as they afford the Means of filling up that vaſt *Chaſm*, which has been ſo long left in *Univerſal Hiſtory*, for the Annals of theſe Eaſtern Countries.

Dara was not idle in the mean time, but ordered his Generals *Jacontſing* and *Caſſam-Khan*, to take a Paſs upon the River *Ugin*, which might have been maintained againſt all the Forces of the two Brothers. But *Caſſam-Khan*, one of thoſe whom *Dara* had formerly diſobliged, being in the Intereſt of *Aurengzebe*, withdrew upon the Approach of his Army, and left the Rajah *Jacontſing* to fight it out by himſelf; whereupon the two Brothers gained an eaſy Victory, making themſelves Maſters of all the Enemies Artillery and Baggage, and ſo did the Partiſans of *Aurengzebe* manage this Matter, that all the Glory of the Victory was aſcribed to him, which gave a great Diſguſt to the Miniſters and Generals of *Morad*'s Army, knowing that their Maſter's Troops had born all the Burthen of the Day, while *Aurengzebe* ſeemed to reſerve his own Forces for another Occaſion. They began now to be convinced of the ambitious Deſigns of the Diſſembler, and had, it is ſaid, without their Maſter's Knowledge, formed a Deſign to cut him off next Time he came to *Morad*'s Quarters, which *Aurengzebe*, who had his Spies in every Place, had ſome Intelligence of, and came no more to his Brother's Tent as uſual, but ſent his Son *Mohammed* to pay his Compliments, without diſcovering that he was apprized of the Conſpiracy againſt him. While the two Brothers continued their March, the Malecontents at Court came over to them every Day, and many of thoſe who ſtaid behind remained there for an Opportunity of giving Intelligence to the Enemy. Shah *Jehan* finding himſelf betrayed on every Side, and reflecting on his former Conduct, it is ſaid, in reſpect to the Omrahs, thought this univerſal Defection might proceed from a particular Prejudice to his own Perſon; he made a Ceſſion therefore of the Crown, and devolved all his Authority on his Son *Dara*, who thereupon raiſed a prodigious Army, and marched to meet the Enemy upon the 14th of *May*, 1656[y].

To ſee this mighty Army, ſays the Hiſtorian, extend itſelf on the vaſt Plains of *Agra*, would have inclined any one to believe, that *Dara* muſt have commanded Victory where-ever he went; but *Dara*'s haughty Carriage, it ſeems, had raiſed him as many Enemies as the Vices of *Shah Jehan* the Father, inſomuch that there was hardly a conſiderable Officer in the Army but had his particular Prejudices. *Dara* continued his March for four Days, till he came to the River *Chambal*, where he entrenched himſelf, and determined to wait the Motions of the two Brothers; for here his Army could be ſupplied with all Manner of Proviſions from *Agra*, and the Enemy, he knew, could not poſſibly ſubſiſt long in that barren Country, which lay to the Southward, eſpecially at this Seaſon of the Year, when the Heats are intolerable. *Aurengzebe* obſerving the Diſpoſition of the Imperial Army, and that all the Avenues to *Dara*'s Camp were fortified with Entrenchments and Batteries of Cannon, concluded it was impoſſible to face the Enemy in that Poſt. On the other Hand, he was ſenſible, that the leaſt Delay was their infallible Ruin. *Dara* would be joined in a little Time by his victorious Son, who was returning from the Purſuit of Sultan *Sujah*, and their own Troops would be diſ-heartened, and diſperſed, if their firſt Heat was a little cooled, as is uſual in all Inſurrections, where Rebels meet with unforeſeen Difficulties. In this Diſtreſs, the Rajah *Campet*, a confirmed Enemy to the Court, offered the two Brothers a Paſſage through his Country, which lay about thirty Miles higher up the River, where it was probable they would meet with no Oppoſition; for the Rajah's Territories being woody and mountainous, and the Rajah himſelf a General in the Imperial Army, *Dara* looked upon himſelf as ſecure on that Side, when, to his Surprize, Intelligence was brought him that a Body of the Enemy had actually paſſed the River, and was preparing to attack his Rear. *Dara* immediately diſpatched the treacherous *Calim-Khan* to oppoſe them, but he having a Correſpondence with *Aurengzebe*, ſuffered his whole Army to paſs the River, and form themſelves in Order of Battle, without giving them any Diſturbance; ſo that now both Armies came to a Battle on equal Terms, which was fought with very great Bravery on that Side, where *Dara* himſelf commanded; but the other Generals not doing their Duty, and ſome of them with their whole Bodies going over to the Enemy, the two Brothers, at length, obtained an entire Victory. *Dara* retired with a ſmall Body of Troops, which remained faithful to him, to *Agra*, where he ſtaid but a few Hours to refreſh himſelf, and continued his March to *Dehly*; but the Governor having heard of the Loſs of the Battle, refuſed him Admittance, whereupon he was compelled to retire to *Lahor*.

The two Brothers, with their victorious Army, advanced to the Gates of *Agra*, and inveſted the Place, which was betrayed to them in a few Days, and the old Emperor *Shah Jehan* made Priſoner. The two Brothers poſſeſſed themſelves of his prodigious Treaſures, which they found ſufficient to reward their Adherents, and ſupport their Uſurpation; and having refreſhed their Troops, and put the Government into ſuch Hands as they could depend on, they left a Garriſon in *Agra*, and continued their March towards *Dehly*, *Morad* being treated by *Aurengzebe*, and the whole Army, as their Emperor. They were encamped in the fertile Plains of *Matura*, where ſtands a noble Moſque or Temple erected by ſome of the Mogul Emperors, which *Aurengzebe* propoſed as a proper Place for the Inauguration of his Brother; whereupon great Preparations were made to perform the Solemnity on the 15th of *June* 1656. The Evening before *Aurengzebe* ſent a moſt dutiful Meſſage to his Brother, importing, that he was extremely ſorry that a ſudden Illneſs, with which he was ſeized, would not allow him to wait upon his Imperial Majeſty, in order to concert with him and his Aſtrologers the lucky Hour for his Coronation; but that if he would have the Goodneſs and Condeſcenſion to accept of a ſmall Collation at his

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[y] We have many very authentick Relations of the Tranſactions in theſe Wars, but particularly two, the firſt by M. *Bernier*, and the ſecond by M. *Manouchi*, who were both upon the Spot, and both Attendants on the unfortunate Sultan *Dara*. I have, however, chiefly followed the latter, for ſeveral Reaſons; firſt, becauſe he made the Hiſtory of the *Moguls* his Study, and procured the Materials from which his Memoirs were compoſed, at a great Expence. Secondly, Becauſe he wrote at Leiſure, and after he had taken Time to enquire into and examine the Facts which he recorded, and ſo was the leſs likely to be deceived by common Reports. Thirdly, Becauſe he was an *Italian*, had a Head well turned for Intrigues, and appears to have been much better verſed in Affairs of State, and in the Practices of the Court, than the other Hiſtorian, tho' he was a very able and faithful, as well as entertaining Writer.

Quarters, all things might be regulated there, ſo as to prevent any Delay in a Matter of ſo great Importance[*]. Some of the principal Confidents of Sultan *Morad* could not very well digeſt this Meſſage, but fancied there was ſomething concealed under it which might be prejudicial to their Maſter, and therefore they adviſed him to return a very civil Anſwer to this Compliment, but by all means to decline the Viſit. There were, however, others, who were ſecretly in his Brother's Intereſt, who perſuaded him to go, and as Sultan *Morad* was a Prince of a very open and generous Diſpoſition, he liſtened to their Advice, and went with his ordinary Guard, and a few of his principal Courtiers, at the Time appointed, to his Brother's Tent, where he was received with ſuch high Marks of Reſpect, and with ſo much ſeeming Affection, that he laid aſide all Suſpicion, and according to his uſual Cuſtom, drank freely of ſeveral ſorts of excellent Wine, which were provided for him; but as for the pious *Aurengzebe*, he, for a Principle of Conſcience, could not taſte a Drop of that prohibited Liquor, and therefore drank Water only. At laſt Sultan *Morad*, having got his full Doſe, fell faſt aſleep, and was, by his Brother's Command, immediately removed into another Tent, attended only by his faithful Eunuch, who could not by any means be perſuaded to leave him.

In the mean time the Officers and Courtiers of *Morad* were entertained in another Tent by Perſons of equal Rank with themſelves, who were known to have ſtrong Heads, and could bear drinking. The Guards all the time attended round the Tent, and all the Muſick of the Camp playing, as if the Brothers had ſpent the Night together in Feaſting. *Aurengzebe* early in the Morning went with ſix of his Guards into the Tent, where Sultan *Morad* and his Eunuch were ſtill faſt aſleep, and having cauſed them to be bound before they were well awake, he ordered them to be put into two cloſe Litters, and ſent away privately, one to the Citadel of *Dehly*, and the other to that of *Agra*. When all was over, he directed a Meſſage, in his Brother's Name, to ſuch as were to aſſiſt at the approaching Coronation, importing, that the ſolemn Proceſſion to the Moſque was to be made from the Tent of *Aurengzebe* at a certain Hour, and therefore they were to be ready by that Time in the Temple. When the Hour fixed for the Coronation came, the greateſt Part of both Armies were drawn up in perfect Order, under Colour of preventing Diſturbances, without Arms. On a ſudden they were ſurrounded by ſeveral choice Squadrons of Horſe from the Army of *Aurengzebe*, who, as ſoon as the Proceſſion began to move, made the firſt Declaration of the Change by brandiſhing their Swords, and crying out, *May the Emperor* Aurengzebe *live for ever.* The reſt of the Army were exceedingly aſtoniſhed at firſt, but they were ſoon forced to join in the Cry, from an Apprehenſion that theſe Troops might trample them down, and put them to Death, if they diſcovered the leaſt Signs of Diſobedience. As ſoon as they joined in the Acclamations, *Aurengzebe* himſelf appeared, ſat down for a Moment on the Throne prepared for his Brother, and having inveſted himſelf with the Enſigns of the Imperial Dignity, preſently withdrew, the whole Army ſhewing the greateſt Joy at his Acceſſion, which is a Proof, that in arbitrary Governments there is no ſuch thing as Loyalty; for Slaves reverence *Power*, and not *Right*, which ought to render Princes as careful of their Subjects Privileges as of their own Prerogatives, becauſe both ſtand upon the ſame Foundation.

In the midſt of all this Succeſs, *Aurengzebe* ran a great Hazard of being dethroned, or at leaſt of ſeeing the War revived from a Quarter which, with all his Cunning, he never ſuſpected. He had ſent his eldeſt Son Sultan *Mohammed* to *Agra* to execute his Orders with reſpect to Shah *Jehan*, which he performed very punctually, ſince as ſoon as he entered the Preſence of his Grandfather, he told him in a very few Words, that he was grown old, and incapable of managing the Empire, and ought therefore to leave it to him, who in ſuch a Conjuncture was beſt able to ſuſtain it; but at the ſame time informed him, that his Father intended no Hurt to his Perſon, but was content to allow him a Palace, his Seraglio, and ſuch Amuſements as might content an old Man. The Eunuchs and the Women ſet up a loud Outcry at this barbarous Meſſage; but Shah *Jehan* bore it calmly, and with great Patience. He did ſtill more, for he gave the ſtrongeſt Proof of the Falſhood of this Pretence, and of his Capacity for governing at a Time when his rebellious Children treated him as a Dotard. He retired, as Sultan *Mohammed* commanded, and as ſoon as he was fixed in his new Apartment, he ſent to deſire another Viſit from his Grandſon, whom, as ſoon as he ſaw coming at a Diſtance, he threw himſelf on his Knees. The young Man coming to lift him up, he addreſſed him in theſe Words: " Since it is ſo, ſince I muſt be dethroned " by my own Children, I ſubmit to my Fate; but be " you courageous enough to ſnatch the Crown of the *In-* " *dies* from him, who is moſt unworthy to wear it. The " City of *Agra* is yours, you have in it a powerful Army " devoted to your Service; revenge then my Wrongs, " and ſecure yourſelf from the Cruelty of a Parent who " will never ſhew Affection to his *Son*, after treating a " *Father* as he has done *me*." Sultan *Mohammed* was ſtruck with this Diſcourſe; but as he knew that all the Officers under his Command were entirely devoted to *Aurengzebe*, he durſt not purſue his Grandfather's Advice, which, however, made ſuch an Impreſſion on him, that he never forgot it, or obeyed his Father afterwards but with Reluctance.

The People however, more ſuſceptible of Pity than of Duty, could not help murmuring at the harſh Treatment of ſo great a Monarch. *Aurengzebe* was no ſooner informed of it, than he cauſed a Letter to be written in his Father's Hand, addreſſed to Sultan *Dara*, in which he directed him to march with all the Forces he could gather, towards *Agra*, promiſing him to engage *Aurengzebe* to make him a Viſit, and cauſe him to be murdered in his Apartment. The forged Letter had its Effect upon the Mob, who immediately pronounced the Uſage of the old Emperor to be what he deſerved, and admired the Wiſdom and Humanity of *Aurengzebe*. That artful Prince, having thus ſettled all Things behind him, and having, out of the Treaſures of his Father, rewarded, even beyond their Hopes, all who had hitherto aſſiſted him in his Enterprizes, found himſelf at Leiſure to purſue Sultan *Dara*, who had again drawn a formidable Army together in the Neighbourhood of *Lahor*. That Prince was now happy in a faithful and able General, whoſe Name was *Daut-Khan*. *Aurengzebe* attempting to corrupt him, failed for the firſt Time; upon which he cauſed a Letter to be forged in the Hand of *Daut-Khan*, importing a Deſign to betray his Maſter, and contrived the Matter ſo, that it fell into the Hands of Sultan *Dara*, who, having ſuffered ſo much through ill-placed Confidence before, became now unreaſonably ſuſpicious. On the Sight therefore of this Letter, he diſmiſſed his faithful General; upon which the reſt of his Officers, and ſoon after his whole Army abandoned him, and he was forced to fly into the Province of *Guzerat*, from whence he propoſed retiring into *Perſia*.

Aurengzebe took this Opportunity of turning his Forces againſt his other Brother Sultan *Sujah*, who being informed of his March northwards, began immediately to move with his Army towards *Agra*. But *Aurengzebe* returning with a ſurprizing Celerity, prevented that Capital from falling into his Hands. However, Sultan *Sujah* had poſted his Troops ſo advantageouſly that he was not to be forced in his Camp, and kept a Communication open with ſeveral Towns, from whence he was well ſupplied with Proviſions, while his Enemies wanted all Neceſſaries, and even Water, which they were forced to bring to their Camp upon the Backs of Camels from the *Ganges*, which lay at twenty Miles Diſtance. In this Diſtreſs *Aurengzebe* ordered it to be given out, that he would decamp the next

[*] It is ſtill the Cuſtom in moſt Eaſtern Countries, but eſpecially in *China*, *Perſia*, and the *Indies*, to conſult Aſtrologers upon all great Events, and to be guided by them in the Choice of lucky Hours. Shah *Jehan* was ſtrangely addicted to theſe Superſtitions, and became thereby the Dupe of theſe Fortune-tellers to the laſt Degree. They once perſuaded him to leave his Capital, upon Pretence that the enſuing Month would be fatal to the chief Perſon in *Dehly*. He left the chief Juſtice to preſide in his Abſence, and the Aſtrologers took care to poiſon him before his Return, by which they verified their Prediction, and kept the Emperor ever after in the moſt ſlaviſh Dependance upon them.

Morning, and accordingly the Tents were ſtruck, and the Troops actually in Motion; which Sultan *Sujah* obſerving, prepared to fall upon their Rear. The Troops of *Aurengzebe* were ordered to give Way upon the firſt Attack, until they had drawn the Advance-guards of Sultan *Sujah* ſome Diſtance from their Camp, and then to make a Stand, which Orders were punctually executed; and Sultan *Sujah* obſerving his Men were over-powered, detached ſtill other Troops to ſupport them; and the Enemy doing the like on the other Side, it came at length to a general Battle. The Generals, mounted on their reſpective Elephants, advanced with the Bodies under their immediate Commands to engage each other, and the Battle was fought with great Obſtinacy, till *Aurengzebe* artfully drew his Enemy into a Field, where he had ordered Pits to be made the Night before, and covered over with Turf, ſo that they lay unperceived. Here the brave Sultan *Sujah* was advancing to engage his Brother, and perſonally decide the Fortune of the Day, when his Elephant flounced into one of theſe Pits prepared for him, from whence the Sultan found it impoſſible to diſengage himſelf ſuddenly; whereupon the Army, not ſeeing their General, imagined he was killed, and thought of nothing but making their Retreat. Sultan *Sujah* afterwards mounted a Horſe that was brought him, and endeavoured to rally his flying Troops, but it was too late; the Rout was total, a panick Fear had ſeized his Forces, and they could never be brought to make a Stand again; and *Sujah*, with great Difficulty, made his Eſcape into the Province of *Bengal*. Here he recruited his ſhattered Army, and, having poſted himſelf in an advantageous Camp, waited the Approach of the Enemy, when he underſtood that *Mohammed*, the eldeſt Son of *Aurengzebe*, was in ſome Diſgrace, and ſecretly invited him to come over to his Party, which Negotiation was ſo well managed, that he did not only deſert his Father's Court himſelf, but brought over with him ſeveral of his beſt Officers. Upon this, *Aurengzebe* had Recourſe to his old Practice of forging Letters, by which he drew Sultan *Sujah* to believe that *Mohammed* had deſerted by his Order, who thereupon treated the young Prince in ſuch a Manner that he was glad to reconcile himſelf to his Father, who fed him with fair Promiſes till he had him in his Power, and then, in a little Time, ſent him Priſoner to the Caſtle of *Gallier*[a].

Sultan *Dara*, having drawn another Army together, marched, with great Diligence, towards the City of *Amadabat*; but when he was within a few Miles of it, the Governor, who had been corrupted by *Aurengzebe*, ſhut the Gates of it againſt him; upon which, the Army he had aſſembled, ſeeing him thus betrayed, abandoned him, in order to provide the beſt they could for their own Safety. The Sultan, now entirely deſpairing of his Affairs, determined to fly for Refuge to *Perſia*; to which he was the rather induced, becauſe, *Given Khan* had the Command of a Fort upon the Frontiers, who was his Friend, and might favour his Retreat. This Man had received the higheſt Favours from the Sultan, and particularly once he ſaved his Life, when the Emperor Shah *Jehan* had commanded him to be trod to Death by Elephants for ſome Miſdemeanor he had committed. This Traitor received the Sultan with the greateſt Profeſſions of Gratitude, but immediately gave Intelligence to the General who commanded the Forces of *Aurengzebe* on that Side, that he had *Dara* in his Power, and would deliver him up. The Sultan ſuſpected the Treachery, and was meditating how he might make his Eſcape from thence, when a Detachment of *Aurengzebe*'s Forces ſurrounded the Palace, and carried *Dara* Priſoner with them to *Bakar*, which was beſieged by his Brother's Troops, being the only Fortreſs which ſtill held out for *Dara*, they compelled the unfortunate Sultan to ſend Orders to the Governor to ſurrender the Fortreſs, who obeyed, on Condition he might be at Liberty to retire into the Kingdom of *Cachemire*. When the captive Prince was brought to *Dehly*, he was ſet in an open Chair on the Back of an Elephant, with his Feet chained, and his youngeſt Children about him, which moved the Compaſſion of the People. His Brother *Aurengzebe* would not ſee his Face, but ordered him to be ſecured in a Caſtle without the Town; and, having aſſembled a Council of the principal Omrahs, he propoſed it as a Matter indifferent to him whether it were moſt adviſeable to condemn *Dara* to perpetual Impriſonment, or deprive him of his Life; by which Means he did not doubt but he ſhould diſcover which of them were in *Dara*'s Intereſt, determining with himſelf not to ſpare one of them. But theſe great Lords were all ſo wiſe as to ſave their own Lives by voting away their Maſter's, except one, who had been his declared Enemy, which, it is ſaid, gave *Aurengzebe* ſuch an Opinion of the Man, that he afterwards took him into the Number of his Friends. After long waiting the fatal Stroke, Sultan *Dara* met with it from the Hand of a common Executioner, who, with great Brutality, threw him on the Ground, and afterwards cut off his Head[b]. Some of the Miſſionaries have reported he died a Chriſtian, but as they do not produce any Evidence in Support of it, we can ſcarce credit the Fact barely on their Aſſertion.

The perſonal Hatred of *Aurengzebe* to his Brother, it is reported, was ſuch, that he ordered *Dara*'s Head to be brought him, and viewed it with great Satisfaction, and inſulting over it, ſaid, "Behold the Remains of a weak Man, who would have wreſted a Crown from me he was not able to ſuſtain." He afterwards ordered the Head to be carried to his Father Shah *Jehan*, and his Siſter *Ichan Ara Begum*, who were impriſoned in the Caſtle of *Agra*; at which melancholy Spectacle the old Emperor fell into a Swoon, but it did not break his Heart, as his pious Son *Aurengzebe* expected; nor was the Sight a leſs Affliction to the Siſter, who had always eſpouſed the Intereſt of Sultan *Dara*, and whom he had promiſed to marry, it is ſaid, if ever he poſſeſſed the Throne. Sultan *Sujah*, the ſecond Son of Shah *Jehan*, ſtill remained in *Bengal*; but upon the Approach of *Aurengzebe*'s Army, finding himſelf in no Condition to oppoſe ſo great a Force, he propoſed to retire to the Kingdom of *Arracan*, which lies to the South-Eaſt of *Bengal*, but ſeparated from it by impaſſable Mountains and Foreſts. The *Portugueze*, who were then poſſeſſed of *Chatigan*, a Port near the Mouth of the River *Ganges*, took upon them to tranſport the Sultan, with his Treaſure and Family, thither; but, it is ſaid, they ſunk the Veſſel in which the Money and Jewels were, and afterwards converted them to their own Uſe. However that be, Sultan *Sujah* arrived ſafe at *Arracan*, though it might have been as happy for him if he had periſhed at Sea with his Treaſure; for he had not been long in the Court of *Arracan*, before there happened ſome Miſunderſtanding between him and the Prince he fled to for Refuge; and not only himſelf, but his Wives and Children, were all cut to Pieces in the Year 1658. Thus miſerably died the ſecond Son of Shah *Jehan*, who firſt began the Rebellion againſt his Father.

Sultan *Chacu*, eldeſt Son of *Dara*, a Prince of great Expectation, ſtill remained ſecure from his Uncle's Cruelty in the Territories of the Rajah *Sirmager*, whom neither Threats nor Promiſes could move to deliver him up. But *Aurengzebe* ſo inſinuated himſelf into the Favour of *Sirmager*'s Son, that he prevailed with him to betray Sultan *Chacu* into his Hands; to which End, a Hunting-Match was appointed, and Intelligence given in what Part of the Country they would hunt; whereupon an

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[a] There are ſome Writers, who tell us, that he did not ſend his Son, Sultan *Mohammed*, immediately to this Priſon, but kept him ſome Time under a Guard; but when he had taken the eldeſt Son of Sultan *Dara*, he ſent them both thither, on the 14th of *January*, 1661, and kept them there many Years, till *Mohammed* died of a natural Death, as moſt Writers ſay, but, as ſome would inſinuate, by Poiſon, which, however, is improbable; becauſe, with equal Provocation from another of his Sons, this Emperor contented himſelf with a long Impriſonment, and ſet him at Liberty before his Death.

[b] This Execution was performed in the Night, on the 28th of *Auguſt*, 1659. We are told, that a little before his Death, this Prince was aſked, by *Aurengzebe*'s Orders, what he would have done with him in caſe he had obtained the Victory. As he is a Rebel, and a Murderer, anſwered Sultan *Dara*, he beſt knows what he deſerves; which anſwer occaſioned his Death. It is highly probable, that *Aurengzebe* invented this Story, and cauſed it to be inſerted in the Chronicles of the Mogul Empire, in order to excuſe this Cruelty. At leaſt this is certain, that he cauſed the Hiſtory of his Father's Reign to be penned in ſuch a Manner as might give the faireſt Colour poſſible to the foul Actions of which he had been guilty. And as he was a Perſon of prodigious Abilities, it is very eaſy to conceive that, by his Aſſiſtance, a very plauſible Account might be drawn up.

Attachment of the Mogul's Troops formed an Ambuſcade, and carried off the young Prince, who was impriſoned in the Caſtle of *Gallier*, with his Uncle *Morad*. It was not long before he removed that Prince out of his Way; ſome ſay by a Form of Law, under Pretence that he had cauſed an Officer, ſent by *Shah Jehan*, to enquire into his Conduct, to be murdered, which, if true, was a very ſingular Act in one who had committed ſo many Murders himſelf; but, however it was, all Authors agree that Sultan *Morad* was, by his Orders put to Death[c].

It was now, in the Judgment of *Aurengzebe*, a fit Time that he ſhould be more ſolemnly inveſted with the Government, and that the Omrahs and other Officers of the Court ſhould take the Oaths, and pay their Homage to him, as was uſually practiſed on every Emperor's Acceſſion. It was very wonderful that, as Things then ſtood, either this or any Thing elſe ſhould be oppoſed; and yet he met with ſome Contradiction where he leaſt expected it. In ſhort, the Cadi, or Head of the *Mohammedan* Religion interpoſed, and declared that, according to the Precepts of the Khoran, as well as the Laws of Nature, it was forbidden to acknowledge him as Emperor, while his Father was ſtill living; and the whole Empire was well acquainted with the barbarous and bloody Methods by which he had opened a Paſſage to the Throne. To remove this Obſtacle, he ſummoned an Aſſembly of Mollas, or Doctors of the *Mohammedan* Law, to whom he juſtified his Title, by ſhewing that his Father was ſuperannuated, that his Brother had been a Contemner of the Law, and a Favourer of Infidels, that he had violated their holy Religion by drinking Wine, and had a Deſign entirely to ſubvert the Conſtitution, and introduce Unbelievers into the Adminiſtration; and that it was only his Zeal to ſee the Precepts of their Great Prophet maintained, which could have induced him to take the Government upon him; but the Cadi ſtill oppoſing his Inauguration, he procured him to be depoſed, and a more complying High Prieſt ſubſtituted in his Room, who, being convinced by his Arguments, or terrified by his Troops, made no Oppoſition to his mounting the Throne. Thus this great Point was ſettled to his Satisfaction; and from this ſecond Inauguration, he, by a ſpecial Edict, directed they ſhould reckon the Years of his Reign. All Parts of the Empire ſubmitted to him, without the leaſt Diſpute, and all the Princes, his Neighbours, ſent to compliment him upon his Acceſſion, which, however, is to be underſtood of his firſt taking the Title of Emperor; and out of the Number of theſe Princes we muſt except the famous Shah *Abbas*, at that Time Monarch of *Perſia*, who, inſtead of complimenting him on the acquiring his Crown, reproached him with his many barbarous Murders, his unnatural Behaviour towards his Father, and his Treachery towards his Brethren. This Prince carried the Matter ſtill farther when *Aurengzebe* ſent a Miniſter to his Court about ſome private Affairs, and, at the ſame Time, charged with very rich Preſents, for he cauſed the Envoy's Beard to be pulled up by the Roots, and directed the Preſents to be burnt. He likewiſe granted his Protection to all the Malcontents that retired into *Perſia*, and was preparing to have invaded the *Indies* with a moſt powerful Army, when he was taken off by Death, which, perhaps, was as fortunate an Event for *Aurengzebe* as any in his whole Reign, ſince, all Things conſidered, ſuch an Invaſion might have been fatal, not ſo much from the Power of the *Perſians*, as from the general Diſcontent and Diſſatisfaction of the People throughout all *Indoſtan*, which, however, wore off by Degrees; for, after he was once poſſeſſed of the Empire, and firmly eſtabliſhed in the Poſſeſſion, *Aurengzebe* governed as well as any of his Predeceſſors, eſpecially with regard to the common People, towards whom he behaved with great Mildneſs and Moderation, at the ſame time that he adminiſtered the Government with great Wiſdom and Juſtice.

11. The ſecond Coronation of this Conqueror of his own Family, was performed on the fifteenth of *May*, but he ordered his Reign to be dated from the twelfth of that Month, in the Year of the *Hegira* 1609, and in the Year of our Lord 1669, when he was in the forty-firſt Year of his Age. He aſſumed, on this Occaſion, according to the Cuſtom of the Empire, a new Stile, and called himſelf *Moby O' Din Mohammed Aurengzebe Alumguir*, that is, *The Reviver of Religion*, Mohammed Aurengzebe, *Conqueror of the World*. This laſt Part of his Title gave great Offence to the *Perſian* Monarch, who thought that dethroning his Father, and murdering his Brothers, did not, by any means, give this new Emperor a Right to ſtile himſelf Conqueror of the World. *Aurengzebe*, however, gave himſelf very little Trouble about what other People thought; his Actions were entirely governed by three capital Maxims, which were theſe: Firſt, he ſtudied the Khoran aſſiduouſly, was extremely exact in the Exteriors of Religion, ſhewed infinite Reſpect to the Clergy, and was remarkably exact in doing Juſtice, and hearing Cauſes, by which he engaged the Eſteem of all the zealous *Mohammedans*, and preſerved the Affections of the Bulk of his Subjects. The ſecond was, to have always a numerous Army on Foot, commanded by himſelf, for it was his Opinion that, in all abſolute Governments, he who was at the Head of the Army was, in Fact, at the Head of the Empire. His third Maxim was, to be always active, that the great Officers under him might find ſomewhat to do, and not run into Cabals for want of Employment. He puſhed this laſt Principle ſo far, that falling ſoon after his Acceſſion into a dangerous Illneſs, and fearing that ſome Advantage might be taken from thence to create new Diſturbances in the Government, he cauſed himſelf to be carried to Council in his Bed, and behaved himſelf there with as much Temper and Patience as when he was in perfect Health. Some of the great Men, however, either from real Concern, or to make their Court to him, earneſtly preſſed him to ſpare this Fatigue, and to take Care of his Health, which was of ſo great Conſequence to the Empire; to which Advice he gave this remarkable Anſwer: "That the ſame good Providence "which had raiſed him to the Crown, required he ſhould "ſpend his Time in hearing and redreſſing the Grievances "of his Subjects; and that Kings ceaſed to be Kings "when they did not govern their Kingdoms themſelves, "but left their People to be devoured by rapacious Miniſters." It is very probable, that there was much of Diſſimulation, and little of Sincerity in this Anſwer, but I beg Leave to remark, that in order to be perfect, we ſhould regard the Sayings of Hypocrites, and imitate the Actions of good Men[d].

The Treatment which old Shah *Jehan* met with after this Son of his was quietly ſeated on the Throne, was much better than he had received before, which had ſuch an Effect on the old Man, that he freely gave him ſome Jewels of prodigious Value, which he had threatened to break to Pieces, and likewiſe yielded his Conſent to the Marriage of the new Emperor with his Niece, the Daughter of Sultan *Dara*, by which he was in Hopes of ſtrengthening his Title to the Empire. But in the midſt of theſe Regulations, *Aurengzebe* could not diveſt himſelf of his Suſpicions, but remained under the utmoſt Apprehenſions of his Generals, who were conſcious of thoſe wicked Arts by which he had raiſed himſelf to the Throne, and particularly of Emir *Jemla*, whom he advanced, indeed, to the higheſt Poſts. Him he employed in a diſtant War, commanding him to invade the Territories of the Rajah of *Acham*, which lie to the Eaſtward of *Bengal*. Emir *Jemla*, being a Man of ambitious Spirit, joyfully accepted the Command, propoſing to extend his Conqueſts as far as *China*; or, however, being at the Head of ſo powerful an Army, hoped to be in a Condition to give Laws to his Sovereign. The General met with great Succeſs in the Beginning of his Enterprize. The Rajah of *Acham* was defeated, his Capital *Chamdara* plundered, and that Prince forced to retire into the Mountains; but the rainy Seaſon coming on ſooner than was expected, the Country was immediately overflowed. The Army of Emir *Jemla* found it very difficult to ſubſiſt in their new Conqueſt, and not leſs difficult to retreat; however, Emir *Jemla* did at length find Means to return into *Bengal*, of which Province he was Governor, propoſing the next Year to complete his Conqueſt of the Kingdom of *Acham*; but his Army having contracted the Bloody-Flux in that wet Seaſon, were moſt of them ſwept away, and among the reſt, Emir *Jemla*, to the great Satisfaction of *Aurengzebe*, who hardly looked upon himſelf to be Emperor while he lived. As this Officer was a Man of a very enterpriſing Genius, his Maſter took the propereſt Method to be rid of him, by feeding his Vanity, and ſeeming to expect from his Zeal, Activity, and Abilities, the Conqueſt even of the Empire of *China*, though he was ſenſible that the Countries which lay between him and that Kingdom were impaſſable for great Armies, and therefore when Emir *Jemla* was dead, he made no farther Attempts on that Side; but, to encourage others to ſerve him, he gave *Mohammed*, the Son of Emir *Jemla*, all his Father's Eſtate, which by the Laws of the Empire devolved to the Crown.

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[c] The Method he took in deſtroying this Brother differed little from that which he had practiſed towards Sultan *Dara*; for he not only pretended to make a Sacrifice of him to the publick Juſtice of the Empire, but directed that he ſhould die by the Bite of a Serpent; which, for that Purpoſe, was ſent to the Place where he was confined, and, as ſome ſay, bit him in his Sleep.

[d] As much a Hypocrite, and as deep a Diſſembler as this Monarch was, he choſe to avow things after they were done, and truſted rather to the Colourings that he was able to give them, than to the Methods that might have been taken either to conceal or obſcure the Facts. His conſtant Topick was Neceſſity. I knew my own Intentions, ſaid he, were to make the People of my Empire happy; and that I might be able to fulfil thoſe Intentions, I ſaw ſuch and ſuch Steps were neceſſary: It was not therefore by Choice that I acted cruelly in this or that Inſtance, but I took off particular Men, that I might have it in my Power to ſhew Juſtice and Mercy to a whole Nation. This is what he has actually ſaid, or at leaſt cauſed to be ſaid for him, in the Hiſtory of his Reign, penned by his Order; and it is very eaſy to diſcern, that the ſame Excuſes may be made by any bad Man for any bad Actions.

The next conſiderable Expedition in this Reign, was againſt the Pirates, who infeſted the Bay of *Bengal*, and had fortified themſelves at *Chatagan*, and other Places, on the Mouths of the *Ganges*, and in the Kingdom of *Aracan*, which lies contiguous to *Bengal*. Theſe Pirates conſiſted of *Europeans*, or *Franks*, of all Nations, but chiefly of *Portugueze*, who frequently made Slaves of the Mogul's Subjects, burnt and plundered the frontier Towns, and rendered both the Seas and the Shores very unſafe. Againſt theſe, *Aurengzebe* ſent another of his Generals, who ſuppreſſed the Pirates, and brought that Part of *India* under as peaceable and regular a Government as any other Part of the Empire. About the Beginning of the Year 1666 there happened ſome Stirs in the Empire, occaſioned by the Ambition of ſome of his own Children, but coloured with the fair Pretences of Zeal for the Conſtitution of the Empire, and Pity for its lawful Monarch, the unfortunate Shah *Jehan*, which, however, had no other Conſequence than making the innocent old Man a Victim to the Terror of his cruel and unnatural Son, who, to ſpare himſelf any farther Trouble, and to take away all ſuch Pretences for the future, ordered the old Emperor to be poiſoned at the Age of Seventy-four [e].

This, however, did not make him the eaſier, or diſpoſe his Sons to greater Obedience. Of theſe, excluding Sultan *Mohammed*, who lived and died in Priſon, he had four, *viz. Mohammed Mauzm*, that is, *the Illuſtrious*, was exceſſively ambitious, and began very early to form Deſigns againſt his Father's Life: Once he was very near carrying his Point; he cauſed a Pit to be dug very deep, in the Place where his Father's Tent was to be pitched, which was ſo well covered, that *Aurengzebe* very narrowly miſſed being buried in it, for which Sultan *Mohammed* was for many Years confined in a Dungeon, where he enjoyed not ſo much as a Ray of Day-light. Shah *Azem*, *i. e. the Glorious*, had likewiſe engaged in Plots of the ſame Nature, which proving unſucceſsful, and he fearing they might come to be detected, fled to the King of *Viſiapour*, where he remained till the Edge of his Father's Reſentment was worn off. But the greateſt Hazard this Emperor ever ran, was from the Ambition of Sultan *Akbar*, whom he truſted with a great Army, in order to reduce one of the Rajahs, who had rebelled; but the firſt News that the Emperor heard, was, that his Son had joined the Rebel, and that they were marching towards him with ſeventy thouſand Horſe, and a proportionable Number of Foot. The Troops which *Aurengzebe* had about him, were in no Capacity of diſputing with ſuch a Force, and therefore he had Recourſe to his old Artifice; that is to ſay, he ſent a Letter to the Prince, which he contrived the Rajah ſhould intercept, wherein he commended his Son's Conduct, in drawing the Army of the Idolaters to that Place, aſſuring him, he would advance the next Day to ſuch a Poſt, where, having the Rajah's Forces between them, they might charge them on all Sides, and that it was not poſſible any of them ſhould eſcape. The Eunuch, by whom this Letter was ſent, being brought Priſoner to the Camp by the Rajah's Out-guards, and the Letter read among the Officers of the *Raſhpouts*, occaſioned a terrible Conſternation in the Rajah's Army, and notwithſtanding Sultan *Akbar* ſwore on the Alcoran it was a Contrivance of his Father's, he found it impoſſible to remove thoſe Jealouſies the Letter had created, which gave the Mogul Time to reinforce his Troops. The Rajah was afterwards defeated, and *Akbar* fled with a Body of four thouſand Horſe to another Pagan Prince; but being cloſely purſued by his Father's Troops, was forced to fly to the *Portugueze* at *Goa* for Protection, who tranſported him to *Perſia*, where he was very kindly entertained by the Shah, and afterwards, it is ſaid, married his Daughter; nor could the Mogul, either by Threats or Promiſes, ever procure him to be delivered up. *Aurengzebe*, however, fell upon the Rajah *Seva*, who had aſſiſted *Akbar* in his Rebellion, and, having taken ſeveral of his Towns, beſieged him in his capital City of *Gingy*, but they held out a Siege of many Years, nor was it taken while *Seva* lived, though the Mogul, in the mean time, ſubdued both the Kingdoms of *Viſiapour* and *Golconda*. The youngeſt of his Sons was Sultan *Kambukſh*, who had as much Ambition as any of the reſt, but he knew better how to conceal it, and therefore never took up Arms againſt him, but laboured all he could to gain his good Graces by Flattery [f].

In this Manner the Emperor ſpent many Years of his Life, without loſing any Part of his Authority, which was in a great meaſure owing to his florid Health, and his retaining the free and perfect Uſe of his Senſes. In order to preſerve them, he led a Life as regular as that of a religious Perſon, reſtrained by a certain Rule, and kept his Paſſions under ſuch Reſtraint, that he was never known to ſhew any Sign of an Alteration in his Temper; ſo that there was no gueſſing, either from his Countenance, the Tone of his Voice, or from his Geſtures, at what paſſed within. He loved Regularity extremely, and obſerved it himſelf with ſuch Strictneſs, that every-body about him knew his Duty, and knew when it was to be performed; and all who had any Petitions to preſent, or Complaints to make, knew when they might have Admiſſion. To gain Time for going through ſuch a Variety of Buſineſs, and that one Thing might not interfere with another, this was the Emperor's conſtant Courſe of Life. Early in the Morning, before Break of Day, he bathed, and ſpent ſome Hours in his Devotions; then having eaten a little Rice, or Sweetmeats, ſhut himſelf up with his Secretaries, and before Noon he gave publick Audience to his Subjects. After which he prayed again, and then went to Dinner, his Table being furniſhed only with Rice, Herbs, Fruits, or Sweetmeats; for neither Fleſh, or Fiſh, or any ſtrong Liquors, were ever brought before him. In the Afternoon he gave Audience again; which being over, he prayed a third and fourth Time. The Remainder of the Day, till two Hours after it was dark, he ſpent in the private Concerns of his Family, then he ſupped, and ſlept afterwards only two Hours; after which, it is ſaid, he read the Alcoran, and prayed almoſt all the remaining Part of the Night. And here we have a remarkable Inſtance of what vaſt Advantage an abſtemious regular Courſe of Living is towards the procuring Health and long Life, and rendering a Prince fit for the moſt important and intricate Affairs; for this Emperor, notwithſtanding he was an unwearied Hearer of Cauſes, and conſtantly directed the Affairs of ſo vaſt an Empire, and conquered ſeveral large Kingdoms, lived without contracting any Diſtemper, and neither his Judgment or Memory were at all impaired when he was near Ninety Years of Age. This Regularity was not at all the Effect either of Decay in his Conſtitution, or of Repentance on account of paſt Liberties. He was altogether as temperate in the Vigour of his Age as in the Decline of it, and from the ſame Principles of Wiſdom, Moderation, and Prudence; for it is related of him, that even in his Youth, having ſingled out a young Lady in the Haram to lie with him one Night, and ſhe had dreſſed and prepared herſelf to receive her Royal Lover, the King coming into the Apartments at the appointed Time, inſtead of going to Bed, fell to reading, and between his Books and his Devotions paſſed the whole Night without ever taking Notice of the expecting Lady. He gratified, however, his Appetites, when they were very ſtrong, from the very ſame Motives that induced him to reſtrain them, that is to ſay, that they might not diſturb or diſtract his Reaſon.

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[e] Authors differ very much in regard to this Fact; for ſome poſitively aſſert, that he compelled his Father to drink Poiſon; and others, that Shah *Jehan* died of old Age, and thoſe Infirmities which he had brought upon himſelf by his Vices. One Thing is certain, that his being a Bigot to the *Mohammedan* Religion, expoſed *Aurengzebe* to the Hatred and Calumnies of the Miſſionaries. They very well knew that the general Character of this Prince would make any thing they ſaid of him believed; and, in the Confidence of this, it is very poſſible they may have charged him with Crimes of which he was never guilty.

[f] The Behaviour of theſe Princes plainly ſhew how much Example goes beyond Precept; for moſt certainly there never was a Father more careful of his Children's Education than *Aurengzebe*. He did not ſuffer his Sons, according to the general Cuſtom of the Eaſt, to remain till they were grown Men, in the Haram or Women's Apartment, but took care that they ſhould not only be inſtructed in the Sciences, but alſo made acquainted with the World, and for this Reaſon called them to Council, and employed them in his Armies, though for his own Safety he very ſeldom truſted them with independent Commands. In ſhort, he was a very bad Man, with very great Abilities.

He conducted his Conqueſts in the ſame manner, contenting himſelf for many Years with the Tributes of two neighbouring Kingdoms; but at length finding it neceſſary to employ his Troops, and keep his Army in Action, he in the Years 1685 and 1686, deprived the Kings of *Viſiapour* and *Golconda*, even of that Shadow of Sovereignty which till then he had left them, and bringing them Priſoners to his Camp, annexed their Kingdoms as Provinces to his Empire, and appointed Viceroys to govern them, in which State they have continued ever ſince. Theſe Conqueſts gave *Aurengzebe* the Sovereignty of moſt of the other petty States in the South of the *Peninſula*, as far as Cape *Comorin*, for theſe were ſubject or tributary to one or other of thoſe Kings before the Great Mogul ſubdued them. There are indeed ſome Rajahs or Pagan Princes in the Mountains, who ſtill govern their own People; but theſe ſeldom think fit to attack the Mogul, and are very well ſatisfied if he will let them remain at Quiet in their little Principalities. Some of them alſo are his Allies, and aſſiſted him, in the Conqueſt of *Viſiapour* and *Golconda*, and theſe are ſuffered to retain their ancient Juriſdiction. However, it may properly enough be ſaid, that the Empire of the Great Mogul has no other Boundaries than the Ocean towards the South, for the Sea-Coaſts are generally in his Power, nor is there any Rajah now left able to meet him in the Field, though ſome few of them may ſkulk in inacceſſible Mountains, and boaſt to this Day that they have not ſubmitted to his Arms.

It was in reducing theſe Kingdoms, and making freſh Acceſſions to the Empire, that this great Monarch ſpent his Time, and ſpent it in a Camp, and in the Field. He thought that every Palace, every Caſtle, had the Air of a Priſon, and therefore he ſeldom entered one, but when his Affairs would allow him ſo much Reſt; he was content to ſtay ſometimes a conſiderable Space in the ſame Camp; as particularly in that near *Galgala*, after the Defeat of his Son Sultan *Akbar*, he remained no leſs than four Years. His Magnificence appeared, however, as great in this military Life, as if, like his Anceſtors, he had founded Cities, and erected Palaces; for when he decamped at any time, no leſs than one hundred and twenty Elephants, one thouſand and four hundred Camels, and four hundred Carts, were employed in carrying the Royal Tents, Baggage and Furniture, and theſe were always ſent away the Night before, the Emperor and every Omrah in the Army having a double Suit of Tents and Field Equipage; ſo that when they came to their Ground, the Camp was always ready pitched and Proviſions of all Kinds to be had as ſoon as the March was over. It was by theſe extraordinary Precautions, and by a ſtrict Adherence to theſe Maxims, which, from a ſteady Attention to the Situation of Things in that Country, he at firſt laid down, that for ſo many Years he governed with ſuch great Eaſe ſo vaſt an Empire, and left it not only entire, but very much extended to his Children. In one thing only his Fortune failed him, which was in the War againſt *Seva-Rajah*, commonly called by our Writers of Travels and Voyages *Seva-gi*, of whom we have hitherto had ſo dark an Account, that it may not be amiſs to take this Opportunity of ſetting it at once in a clear Light. This *Seva* was originally in the Service of the King of *Viſiapour*, and would have perſuaded him to have united with other Princes his Neighbours, when *Aurengzebe* firſt attacked their Countries before he aſcended the Throne of the Moguls: But that Prince would neither liſten to his Advice, nor believe that it was given with any other View than to put himſelf at the Head of an Army, with which he might attempt Things to his Prejudice. This unjuſt Suſpicion had a very bad Effect, for it put the Rajah *Seva* upon ſeizing a Part of his Maſter's Dominions, which with ſome of the adjacent Countries were confirmed to him by *Aurengzebe*; but when that Prince had dethroned his Father, and was eſtabliſhed in the Empire, he was for depriving Rajah *Seva* of what he had before given him, in order to annex thoſe Countries to his Dominions, which was the firſt Cauſe of the War; for this Rajah *Seva* was as great a General, and a much better Man, than the Emperor himſelf; and by his Behaviour plainly proved, that if the reſt of the *Indian* Princes had been Men of like Courage and Spirit, their Kingdoms had never become Provinces of the Mogul Empire. In order to accompliſh this Deſign, and remove ſo formidable a Prince out of his Neighbourhood, *Aurengzebe* commanded his Uncle *Chaſta-Khan*, with a numerous Army, to march againſt him; upon which Rajah *Seva* retired to his Mountains, where he bid Defiance to the whole Forces of the Mogul, and was very near ſurpriſing *Chaſta-Khan* one Night in his Tent, having killed his Son, and wounded the General himſelf; and in ſhort, he ſo harraſſed the Mogul's Troops, that *Chaſta-Khan* was glad to quit the Enterprize, and return to his Government of *Aurengabad*.

Rajah *Seva* ſoon after formed a Project of ſurpriſing *Surat*, a Port of the greateſt Trade in the Mogul's Dominions. To cover his Deſign, he marched with the greateſt Part of his Troops the direct contrary Way, and while *Aurengzebe*'s Forces were preparing to oppoſe him, he, diſguiſed in the Habit of a Faquir, travelled to *Surat* on Foot, in order to view the Avenues to that City, and finding it a Place not capable of making any great Defence, at his Return to the Camp, he took with him no more than four thouſand Men, with whom he marched with the utmoſt Secreſy and Expedition, inſomuch that the Governor had no Notice of his Approach, till he came within Sight of the Town, and then thought fit to retire into the Caſtle, with the Garriſon, and the Effects of the greateſt Value. The Inhabitants alſo forſook their Houſes, and fled into the Country, ſo that the Rajah had the plundering one of the richeſt Towns in the World four Days together, without any manner of Oppoſition, except what he met with from the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Factories, who, having Time to erect a Battery or two of great Guns before their Houſes, ſaved all their Effects; nor was he prepared to attack the Caſtles, and therefore thought fit to march off with the Plunder he had got, which was computed to amount to in Gold, Silver, and Jewels only, to the Value of three Millions Sterling at leaſt; for in the Houſe of one *Banjan* Merchant, it is ſaid, he found twenty-two Pound Weight of ſtrung Pearl, beſides a great Quantity of others unpierced [g].

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[g] The Courage and Conduct of this *Indian* General is very much magnified by moſt of our Writers, on the Credit of the Relations received from ſuch as then reſided in the *Indies*, and particularly at *Surat*, when the Thing happened. But there are two Remarks that are neceſſary, in order to ſet this Action in a true Light. The firſt is, that he had formed in his Mind a Project of becoming at once a Prince able to defend himſelf againſt his old Maſter, and againſt the Mogul. It was a bold Reſolution, but at the ſame time it was neceſſary. If he had not a Fund ſufficient for an Army equal to that of the Mogul, his Force ſignified nothing, and, from being a Prince, he muſt ſoon have ſunk into a Highwayman. The Plunder of *Surat* he judged would be ſufficient to anſwer his Purpoſes; ſo that conſidered in this Light, this appears a very different Exploit from what it does in moſt of our

Relations;

This Enterprize of *Seva*'s was undertaken in *January* 1664, and though *Aurengzebe* was piqued to the Heart to ſee a little Pagan Prince contemn his Power, and plunder his beſt Towns at Pleaſure, he was not then, it ſeems, in a Condition to call him to an Account, and therefore thought fit to ſtifle his Reſentment; nay, he extolled the ſurprizing of *Surat* as one of the greateſt Actions that ever was performed, and inſinuated to the Rajahs, who attended the Court, that he was ambitious of ſeeing ſo great a Hero, deſiring they would uſe their utmoſt Art to invite him into his Service, and gave them his Word he would protect him from all Violence. *Seva* hereupon ventured himſelf and his Son in the Mogul's Camp, where they were received at firſt with all imaginable Careſſes; but after ſome Months, obſerving a more than ordinary Coldneſs in the Mogul's Behaviour to him, and having ſome Intimation that there was a Deſign to diſpatch him, he made his Eſcape, with his Son, into *Viſiapour*, where he and his Deſcendants maintained long Wars with *Aurengzebe*. That Monarch indeed outlived him, but was never able to reduce all his Country; and during the Confuſions that happened after his Death, the Poſterity of this *Indian* Prince grew ſtronger, and more powerful every Day, and partly by erecting Forts in convenient Places, partly by their Civilities to ſuch as trade with them, have eſtabliſhed a Power, that it will not be eaſy to ſubdue. According to the very lateſt Accounts we have from the *Indies*, the preſent *Sehou Rajah*, who keeps his Court at *Settara* in *Decan*, is a Deſcendant of this *Seva Rajah*. He is a Prince of the *Mobarattas* or *Ganims*, who have of late years acquired a ſurprizing Power, making great Inroads into the Mogul's Territories, and levying a Tribute from ſeveral Provinces. They have lately taken the Iſland of *Salſet*, the Caſtle and Town of *Bachaim*, with other Places from the *Portugueze*; and have above two hundred thouſand Horſe in the Northern, Southern, and Inland Provinces.

But, to return to *Aurengzebe*, of whom we have not much more to ſay. As ſoon as he began to feel the Effects of Age, and that his Strength was on the Decay, he reſolved to ſet his eldeſt Son Sultan *Mohammed Mauzm*, at Liberty, and beſtowed upon him the Province of *Indoſtan*. He gave his ſecond Son, *Azem*, the Government of *Decan*, and the Provinces depending upon it. To his youngeſt Son he gave the new-conquered Provinces, and ſhewed himſelf extremely ſolicitous about his Preſervation. A little before his Death, he was reduced very low by a dangerous Diſeaſe, which put all his Sons in Motion, and ſhewed him plainly, that they regarded much more the Example he had left them in his Conduct, than the wiſe and peaceable Leſſons he had taught them. He quieted however theſe Diſturbances; for his eldeſt Son, in Obedience to his Command, retired into his Province, but Sultan *Azem* continued to advance, yet with a ſmall Body of Troops however; and as if he came to viſit his Father, and to enquire after his Health, which the old Emperor took very kindly, embraced him, and kept him with him as long as he lived, which was not above a few Months, for he was now in a manner worn out; and yet his Senſes remained vigorous to the laſt.

He was then incamped in the Neighbourhood of *Ahmednagur*, in the Province of *Dowlatabad*, where he expired on the Twenty-firſt of *February*, 1707, having reigned forty-eight Years, and lived eighty-nine. We are told, by many Hiſtorians, that he lived to upwards of a hundred, which is a Miſtake; but we muſt not ſay the ſame as to ſuch Eaſtearn Authors as report that he was upwards of Ninety, for they reckon by lunar Years; according to which, he alſo reigned above fifty Years. It does not appear that he intended any of his Children ſhould ſucceed him in the Whole of his Empire, not out of any Want of Affection, or through Envy of their Glory, but becauſe he judged it for their mutual Intereſt, to keep that Diviſion which had been made by him in his Life-time; yet he foreſaw that this would never take Place, and therefore contented himſelf with propoſing it as a Thing reaſonable and proper, but without any expreſs Command, which he knew would be to no Purpoſe. Some of the old Captains that were about him, were deſirous that he ſhould have declared his eldeſt Son Sultan *Mohammed Mauzm*, his Succeſſor, which, at firſt, he declined; and when urged farther, he could not help telling them plainly, I have done for him what I can, I have made him King of *Indoſtan*; if he will have any thing more, he muſt aſk it of Almighty God, in whoſe Power it is. As his Will is a very ſingular Piece, and may be of peculiar Uſe, not only to the Hiſtory of the Mogul Empire, but in explaining the Character of its Author, I thought it might not be amiſs to inſert it here, eſpecially as it is as ſhort as it is curious.

A Tranſlation *of* AURENGZEBE's Laſt Will.

" I CAME with empty Hands into the World, and " with empty Hands I quit it. Whoever of my fortunate " Children ſhall chance to rule the Empire, let him not " moleſt *Mohammed Kambukſh*, ſhould he reſt contented " with the two new Soubahs. There cannot be a better " Vizir than *Emir al Omrah* [h]. Let all the King's Ser- " vants be true and faithful to *Mohammed Azem Shah*. " Whoever ſhall chance to have the Empire, let him not " turn out, or moleſt thoſe born or bred up in my Houſe. " If the Diviſion, I formerly made, proves agreeable to " my Children, it will prevent a great deal of Confuſion " and Bloodſhed.

" There are too imperial Seats, *Agra* and *Dehly*: " Whoever ſettles in *Agra*, may have the Province there- " of, *Decan*, *Malva*, and *Guzurat*; and who reſides at " *Dehly*, may have *Cabul*, and the other Provinces. I " came naked into the World, and naked I go out of it. " Let no Enſigns, or Royal Pomp, accompany my Fu- " neral. Let *Hamid o' din Khan*, who is faithful and truſty, " convey my Corpſe to the Place of *Shah Zen al din* [i], and " make a Tomb for it in the ſame Manner as is done for " *Derveiſhes*. Let not my fortunate Children give them- " ſelves any Concern about a Monument.

" There is, in my private Treaſury, Fifty-ſeven thou- " ſand three hundred and eighty two Rupees, (which " make Seven thouſand one hundred and ſeventy-two " Pounds fifteen Shillings of our Money.) Let a thou- " ſand Rupees, which make One hundred and twenty- " five Pounds of our Money, be diſtributed among the " Poor at my Funeral."

It is very remarkable, that this Monarch perſiſted, to the laſt, in maintaining his Character of a devout *Mohammedan*, and deſpiſed, after Death, all thoſe Honours which had been paid to his Predeceſſors, as much as he did the Pomp and Magnificence, and the luxurious Pleaſures

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Relations; for they make Rajah *Seva* an able Partizan, whereas in truth he acted the Partizan only as an under Character, that was neceſſary to make him a Prince. When his Coffers were again exhauſted, he had Recourſe a ſecond time to the ſame Expedient, and, which is very extraordinary, he demanded the Sum he wanted, and ſent the Citizens of *Surat* Word of the Day and Hour when he would come to receive it, and performed it again with as much Facility as at firſt. The ſecond Remark is, that the *Indian* Rajahs going always to Court with a great number of Attendants, he ſent his Troops in ſmall Bodies, ſo that they were not ſuſpected of being in his Service, till they were actually in the Place, and then it was too late to think of Defence; for having taken their ſeveral Poſts, the People could not ſtir in any Quarter of *Surat*, without the immediate Danger of having their Throats cut. This takes off the Improbability of the Thing, which otherwiſe would be ſo great, that we could hardly credit it.

[h] This Title of *Emir al Omra*, rendered literally, is the *Prince of Princes*; for *Omra* is the Plural of *Emir*, but rendered ſignifically, and with due Regard to the Idiom of Languages, ſignifies *Prime Miniſter*. This great Officer in the Court of the Mogul, has many more Titles agreeable to the Pomp of the Eaſtern Language. He is, for Example, ſtiled, The Security of Fortune and Truſt worthy of the Empire, Chief of the Omrahs of exalted Rank; choſen among the Khans of the High Court; Manager of the Empire, and of its Riches, Director of its Fortune and Grandeur; Maſter of the Sword and Pen; Exalter of the Standard and Enſign; Vizir of true Judgment; Prop of the Empire; Supreme Manager of its Affairs; The Victorious General; The Grateful Friend, and Patron for all Vizirs.

[i] *Zen al din* ſignifies literally, *The Ornament of Religion*, and *Shah*, which ſignifies King, is a Title frequently given to *Derveiſhes*. This *Zen al din* was a remarkable *Santon*, who kept his Cell near that City, and was buried there, which being reckoned a ſanctified Place, *Aurengzebe* in his Will, directed that he ſhould be interred there. As this Prince was very zealous, or, at leaſt pretended to be ſo, for Mohammediſm, thoſe of that Religion make a great Merit of viſiting his Tomb, eſpecially on the 28th of the Month *Zeecadeh*, which was the Day he died on.

of their Palaces while living. He thought, it ſeems, that Power and Pleaſure were incompatible, and that the former ought to be preferred to the latter: How far he was in the right I pretend not to determine; but, moſt evident it is, that he took the right Method to obtain what he choſe, and to keep it when obtained. His Government, with reſpect to his Subjects in general, was exact without Severity; for, though he improved the Revenues of the Empire, and took care that the Governors of the reſpective Provinces ſhould pay into the Imperial Treaſury the Tributes levied upon the People, yet he alſo took care that there ſhould be none of that Extortion or Oppreſſion which had been practiſed under the Reign of his Father, but allowed all his Officers competent Salaries, and puniſhed them ſeverely, if they were guilty of any Exactions.

He kept up, in the ſeveral Provinces of his Empire, an Army of regular Troops, amounting, in Horſe and Foot, to upwards of Nine hundred thouſand, who were regularly paid and well diſciplined, ſo that his Sons were in Want of Soldiers, when they came, after his Death, to diſpute the Succeſſion. In his Father's Time, the Empire conſiſted of twenty-three Provinces, the Revenues of which amounted to Twenty-ſeven Millions and a half of our Money; but, in the latter End of his Father's Time, the three Provinces of *Balkh*, *Kandahar*, and *Bidduckſhan* were loſt, which produced a Revenue of Six hundred thouſand Pounds; and yet, at his Deceaſe, he left his Dominions in a better Condition than he found them, as will appear from the following ſuccinct Table of Provinces, and their Revenues, which may be depended upon, and which will be of great Uſe in underſtanding the ſubſequent Part of this Work, as well as other Books which treat of the Mogul Empire.

The Nineteen Old Soubahs, *i. e.* Provinces.

Names.	Capitals.	Revenues in Dams.
Dehli	*Dehli*	1221950137
Agra	*Agra*	1146760157
Ajmir	*Ajmir*	652345362
Alehabad	*Alehabad*	456543248
Panjab	*Lahor*	826132107
Audib	*Audib*	322327829
Multan	*Multan*	214442936
Cabul	*Cabul*	161039354
Caſhmir	*Strinagar*	229911397
Guzerat	*Almedabad*	607849135
Beba	*Patna*	407161000
Scind	*Tatta*	91816810
Dowlatabad	*Aurengabad*	1034945100
Malva	*Eugene*	403901658
Bera		614025000
Khandeiſh	*Prampore*	448630000
Bedr	*Zofferabad*	372974370
Bengall	*Dacca*	524636240
Odiſſea		142820000

The Two New Soubahs.

Hyderabad	*Hyderabad*	1113360000
Vijapore	*Vijapore*	1078305000

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12. The great Emperor, *Aurengzebe*, had no ſooner breathed his laſt, than his Sons were immediately in Motion, in order, each of them, to force his Paſſage to the Throne at the Head of an Army. His ſecond Son being on the Spot, had ſome Advantage; he aſſumed immediately all the Enſigns of the Imperial Dignity, took the Title of *Mohammed Azem Shâh*, i. e. *The glorious, or, illuſtrious Monarch*; and, at the ſame Time, by the Advice of his Miniſters, poſted Guards on the Frontiers of the Province, to prevent any Correſpondence between his elder Brother and the Grandees of the Court. He made great Preſents to the principal Miniſters and Officers of the Army, and much greater Promiſes, in which he certainly acted very wiſely. But, being naturally of a haughty Temper, he could not help ſhewing it in the Letters that he wrote the Rajahs, in which he diſclaimed their Aſſiſtance, but threatened, at the ſame time, to puniſh, with the utmoſt Severity, ſuch as ſhould preſume to take the Field againſt him.

His elder Brother, *Mohammed Mauzm*, or, as he is commonly ſtiled, by our *European* Writers (from the Title he afterwards aſſumed) *Shâh Alum*, i. e. *King of the World*, was then in *Cabuliſtan*, the moſt diſtant Part of the Empire; but he ſoon raiſed Forces ſufficient to put him in a Condition to make good his Claim to the Empire; and that Kindneſs and Alacrity with which he received every Body, did him as much Service as his Arms. He wrote ſeveral Letters to ſuch Governors of Provinces as he ſuppoſed leaſt in his Intereſt, importing his great Regard for their Perſons, and his Deſire that they would remain neuter till the Empire was eſtabliſhed on a ſettled Foundation, and make Uſe of their Troops to protect the People in their reſpective Governments, from the Miſeries incident to a Civil War. This Advice they took very kindly, and followed it very exactly. When *Shâh Alum* had advanced as far as *Debly*, that Capital, without any Scruple, opened her Gates to him, and he there ſeated himſelf on the Throne of his Grandfather *Shâh Jehan*.

He marched from thence towards *Agra*, and on the Banks of the River *Chun*, both Armies met. That of *Shâh Alum* conſiſted of 150,000 Horſe, and 178,000 Foot, excluſive of the Auxiliaries furniſhed by the Rajahs and Shah *Azem*, had very near the ſame Force. The Battle was fought in the Middle of the Month of *June*, with great Obſtinacy on both Sides, and laſted for near three Days; but, at length, Fortune declared in Favour of the elder Brother, and *Shâh Azem* loſt the Field, the Crown, and his Life together. Some Writers tell us, that when he found himſelf ſurrounded, and heard one of his Brother's Sons calling out to take him alive, he was ſo tranſported with Rage and Deſpair that he killed himſelf with his own Poniard, to avoid falling into the Hands of his Enemies, of whom he is ſaid to have ſlain twenty before he fell. This ſingle Battle put an End to the Diſpute, and the Conqueror entering *Agra* in Triumph, aſcended the Throne of his Father, and was immediately owned for their Emperor, by ſuch of his Brother's Miniſters and Generals as eſcaped from the Defeat [k].

13. Sultan *Mohammed Mauzm*, or *Shâh Alum*, aſſumed, on his mounting the Throne at *Agra*, the Title of *Koteb o' din Bahadr Shâh*, i. e. *The Axis of Religion, the moſt valiant Monarch*; thence he is called by our Writers ſimply *Badour Shâh*. He declared *Mohammed Khan* his Prime Miniſter, and *Zulſekar Khan* his High Treaſurer: So that under this Reign thoſe Offices were diſtinct, though under many of the Mogul Emperors they had been enjoyed by the ſame Perſon. As ſoon as every thing was ſettled, he formed a Deſign of attacking his ſurviving Brother, upon what Provocation is not very clear; but, if what ſome Writers relate of this Monarch be true, he was not the moſt tenacious Man in the World of his Word.

After that great Battle, which gave him the Empire, he is reported to have been ſo overjoyed, that he offered the Rajahs, who had aſſiſted him, whatever Proofs of Gratitude they could poſſibly deſire, and gave them his Conſent freely, to conſider what they would aſk. After conſulting among themſelves, they deſired him to grant them the free Exerciſe of their Religion, with leave to rebuild their Pagods, or Temples, to exempt them from the Capitation of Poll-Tax, which *Aurengzebe* had impoſed upon them, to admit them to Offices and Employments; and that with reſpect to Cuſtoms and Tolls, and generally in all other Points, they might be treated in the ſame Manner as *Mohammedans*, which Privileges were all granted them by *Bahadr Shâh*, but they did not enjoy them long.

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[k] This has been always a common Practice in the Mogul Empire, where, without Victory, no Cauſe is good, and with it none is ever queſtioned, but every Man ſubmits to the Conqueror, and acknowledges him for his lawful Sovereign To day, with whom Yeſterday it would have been Treaſon to have had the leaſt Correſpondence.

His Sons and Miniſters repreſented to him with ſo much Earneſtneſs, that he would thereby deprive himſelf of his principal Revenues, that his Finances were exhauſted, that he had Occaſion for money to maintain the War againſt his Brother, that he would make the Rajahs and Idolaters too powerful, and that they might turn their Arms againſt him: To which they added ſo many other Reaſons, that they obliged him to revoke all the Grants he had made to the Rajahs. Thoſe Princes reſenting the Violation of his Word, took Arms, not to make War upon him with their joint Forces, but to plunder and ravage the Country, as they ſtill do without any Oppoſition, about their own Territories, which are ſituated in the Mountains. In the mean time, *Bahadr Shâh*, who could not remedy it, becauſe of the War he was engaged in, advanced into the Dominions of his Brother, with an Army of fifty thouſaud Horſe, and thirty thouſand Foot.

Khamoukſh, who was in the Neighbourhood of *Hyderabad*, where he drew together the greateſt Force he was able, which, however, was far from being ſuch as might enable him to take the Field. All that he could do was to ſecure himſelf behind ſome good Retrenchments; with a Handful of Troops he made a very glorious Defence, till, at laſt, over-powered by Numbers, his Army was defeated, and himſelf mortally wounded and taken Priſoner; in which Condition, however, he continued for one Day, and then expired. Thus the whole Dominions of *Aurenzebe* were united under the Power of the eldeſt of his ſurviving Sons, of whoſe Reign no farther Particulars are recorded, except that he extinguiſhed ſome religious Diſputes at *Labor*, which, otherwiſe, were like to have excited a Rebellion. He enjoyed the Empire only ſix Years, and then died in a good old Age, univerſally regretted by his Subjects [l].

14. This Monarch was no ſooner expired than a Civil War was again kindled in the Empire; for *Jehandar Shah*, *Jehan Shah*, and *Raffeeih al Shan*, Sons to *Bahadr Shah*, having joined againſt their Brother *Azîm al Shan*, defeated and killed him. His Treaſure falling into the Hands of *Zulfecar Khan*, who was in *Jehandar Shah*'s Intereſt, they marched againſt the other two Brother, *Jehan Shah* and *Raffeeih al Shan*, and having overcome them, put them to Death. Their Deaths ſecured the Empire to *Jehandar Shah*, and *Zulfecar Khan* became his Vizir. He was a weak Prince, and ſo fooliſhly fond of one of his Wives, called *Lal Koar*, who was of an obſcure mean Parentage, and a Singer by Profeſſion, that he endeavoured to fill the Places of the greateſt Truſt and Honours in the Empire with her baſe Relations, which ſo diſguſted *Seyd Abdallah Khan*, and *Seyd Hoſſan Khan*, two Brother of great Authority in the Empire, and who had a Body of choice Troops, that they reſolved to place *Mohammed Furrukhſir* on the Throne.

This Prince, notwithſtanding he had but little Treaſure, got Numbers to join him. At firſt, he defeated *Eaz o' din*, *Jehandar Shah*'s Son; and afterwards *Jehandar Shah* himſelf was defeated near *Agra*, and was obliged to fly, though he had near 100,000 Horſe and Foot.

Mohammed Furrukhſir, Son to *Azîm al Shan*, being ſettled on the Throne, *Seyd Abdallah Khan* was made Vizir, with the Title of *Koteb al Mulück*, and *Jarba Vaſa*, that is, *Faithful Friend*, and *Hoſſan Ali Khan* made *Mir Bukhſki*, or Pay-maſter-General, with the Title of *Emir al Omrah*. The Emperor was only ſo in Name, for theſe two had the abſolute Management of every Thing; *Furrukhſir*, at laſt, with the Advice, and at the Inſtigation of *Khandoran* and *Mir Jumla*, began to contrive Means to cut off the two Brothers. They on the other Hand were intent on nothing ſo much as inriching themſelves. They turned out *Mizam al Mulluck* from his Government of *Decan*, and *Hoſſan Ali Khan* went thither himſelf. At laſt, the two Brothers finding the Emperor jealous of their Power, reſolved to remove him, and put a more paſſive Prince in his ſtead. Having got *Ajeet Sang*, the *Maha Rajah*, and the Emperor's Father-in-law, to join them, they confined him, and ſhortly after they blinded him, by drawing a red-hot Wire over his Eyes; and on the 6th of *February* 1719, offering him a thouſand Indignities and Inſults, put him to Death, after a Reign of ſeven Years. It was in this Emperor's Reign that the *Engliſh Eaſt-India* Company obtained a Firman, exempting them from paying any Duties in his Dominions [m].

The *Seyds*, after having thus traiterouſly and treacherouſly deſtroyed *Furrukhſir*, took *Reſſeeih al Darjat*, Son to *Raffeeih al Shan*, out of the Caſtle of *Selimgur*, where the Royal Family are confined, and placed him on the Throne. He had not reigned above three Months before they murdered him; and ſending for his Brother *Raffeeih al Dowlat*, placed him on the Throne, who in a few Days afterwards died a natural Death, and was ſucceeded by the preſent Emperor *Naſr o' din Mohammed Shah*, Son to *Jehan Shah*, who, being raiſed to that Dignity by the *Seyds*, *Hoſſan Ali Khan*, and *Abdallah Khan*, they kept the Power ſo much in their own Hands, that he had nothing except the Name of Emperor, which made him eagerly wiſh for an Opportunity of making himſelf independent, and revenging the Death of his Uncle's Son.

Mohammed Shah, in *October* 1720, marched with a numerous Army, from *Agra* towards *Decan*, accompanied by *Hoſſan Ali Khan*, and ſeveral Omrahs. When they came to halt, after the firſt Day's March, the Emperor called a Divan, from which, after a ſhort Stay, he withdrew. As ſoon as he was gone, *Khanderan*, and ſeveral others of the principal Omrahs, who were beſt affected to the Royal Family, drew their Swords, and falling upon *Hoſſan Ali Khan*, killed him and two or three of his Friends. When this was over the Emperor thought no more of his firſt Expedition, but marched back with his Army to *Dehli*, in order to cut off *Seyd Abdallah Khan*, the other Brother, who was in that Capital with a great Force, and who, hearing of his Brother's Murder, had taken out Sultan *Ibrahim*, Son to *Raffeeih Shan*, and proclaimed him Emperor, gathering together what Treaſure he could, and having broke to Pieces the famous Throne of *Shah Jehan*, which coſt eleven Millions of our Money, in order to raiſe wherewithal to pay his Soldiers. By the Help of this extraordinary Supply he was very ſoon in a Condition to look his Enemies in the Face, and accordingly marched with fifty thouſand Horſe to give the Emperor Battle.

It was on the ſecond of *November* 1720, that thoſe Armies came to a general Engagement, and after an obſtinate and bloody Battle *Abdallah Khan*'s Forces were defeated, and himſelf deſperately wounded and taken Priſoner. The young Sultan, whom he had brought with him to countenance his Rebellion, being taken, had no other Puniſhment inflicted on him, but being ſent back to his old Quarters the Caſtle of *Selimgur*.

Upon this Victory the Emperor made great Rejoicings, and appointed *Mohammed Amin Khan* Vizir, and returned to *Dehli*. *Abdallah Khan* being brought before him, the Emperor ſaid to him, "Traitor, ſee what thou haſt "done!" To which he anſwered, "I took you out of "Priſon, and gave you an Empire. My Brother being "murdered by your Order, as I was at the Head of an "Army, Self-preſervation directed me to make uſe of "it; Providence decreed you the Victory, uſe it as you "think proper, by treating this Clay as your Reſentment "or Intereſt may prompt you." Then the Emperor ſaid to him, "What Harm had *Furrukhſir* done to you?" To which he anſwered; "He grew jealous of mine and "my Brother's Power; and, as it was inconſiſtent with "our Intereſt to reſign it into his Hands, we thought it "dangerous to loſe any Time in removing him. Had "Providence permitted us to have been ſo prudent hitherto, we ſhould not have come to this tragical End; "but when Fate deſtines one to Ruin, it begins by blinding the Eyes of his Underſtanding." Then the Emperor

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[l] We have not, ſince this Emperor's Reign, had any diſtinct Account in *Europe*, of what has paſt in this Empire, and therefore the Reader muſt be content with a very ſummary Relation of thoſe Matters here; and indeed theſe Reigns themſelves are ſo ſhort, that, except their Beginnings and Endings, they contain little or nothing worthy of Notice.

[m] This Firman, or Imperial Decree, is dated on the 4th of the Month *Safer*, in the fifth Year of the Emperor *Mohammed Furrukhſir*'s Reign; that is, on the 6th of *January* 1716-17. It was ſolicited by Mr. *John Surman* and an *Armenian* Merchant, on Behalf of the *Eaſt India* Company, to whom it is a Thing of great Conſequence, and at the ſame time highly honourable for the *Engliſh* Nation.

peror ordered him to be confined, and four Servants allowed to attend him; and ſaid, "As for the young Sultan "he is not to blame; ſhould he be puniſhed it would diſtract his poor Mother, let him remain with her."

In Conſequence of the great Services rendered him upon this Occaſion, the Emperor preferred all who had been active, either in killing *Hoſſan*, or in the War that followed againſt *Abdallah*. *Khandoran* was made High Treaſurer, with the Title of *Emir al Omrah*, and *Sirabullind Khan*, of whom we ſhall have Occaſion to ſpeak at large hereafter, was ſent for from *Cabul*, and appointed one of the Vizirs. It was upon this ſingular Revolution that the Mother of the Emperor *Mohammed Furrukhſir* demanded that *Abdallah Khan* ſhould be delivered up to her as the Murderer of her Son; but the Emperor refuſed to comply with her Demand, telling her that his Brother had already ſuffered for that Offence, and therefore he would not ſacrifice two Lives to expiate the Life of one. But this was not all, for he treated his Priſoner not only with Humanity, but with moſt ſurprizing Kindneſs, in Gratitude, as it may be preſumed, for the Reſpect formerly ſhewn him; for he ordered that *Abdallah Khan* ſhould lodge in the Palace of *Aſof al Dowlat*, have a Penſion of three thouſand Rupees monthly, thirty Houſhold Servants, ſeven menial ones, with Proviſions of all Kinds from the Royal Kitchin, five Women to amuſe him, and proper Guards over him. He did not live long to enjoy this generous Allowance, dying a few Months afterwards of his Wounds. Five and-forty-Women, moſt of them his Wives and Concubines, and ſome of them his near Relations, burnt themſelves in one Room the Night after he died.

One cannot but obſerve here how ſtrangly even the wildeſt and worſt founded Cuſtoms ſpread, and that too againſt all the Principles of Religion Reaſon, and common Senſe. In ancient Times, none but the Wives of *Bramins*, or *Indian* Prieſts, had the Privileges of burning themſelves with their deceaſed Huſbands, but ſince the Government fell into the Hands of the *Rajapouts*, it is cuſtomary, when any their Princes die, for one or more of their Wives to be burnt with him. There is no Compulſion to this Sacrifice as ſome People groundleſly imagine, it is intirely of their own Accord, and often they are diſſuaded from it; ſometimes, indeed, when a vain-glorious Paſſion prevails over natural Affection, the Widow's Relations would gladly have her burn herſelf, as it raiſes the Character of her Family, by making it remarkable for virtuous and loving Women; yet, according to their Religion, it is more meritorious to behave chaſtely and decently in their Widowhood until Death, than burning, becauſe one is but a ſhort Pain, and the other a State of Trial. The Moguls have endeavoured to diſcourage this Cuſtom as much as poſſible; but ſince Money is omnipotent in that Country, as well as in many others, a ſmall Bribe generally purchaſes the Conſent of the Governor or commanding Officer. Lately, the *Seyd* and *Pattan* Families[*], in ſeveral Parts of *India*, have through their exceſſive Pride got into this Cuſtom; and as it is ſtrictly forbidden by their Religion (which is the *Mohammedan*) they do it privately, by ſetting an Apartment on Fire about their Ears.

In the Year 1721-2, the Emperor wrote to *Nizam al Muluck*, then at *Decan*, deſiring his Preſence at Court, and that he would appoint him Vizir; but if he declined it, he ſhould nominate whomſoever he ſhould judge to be the moſt deſerving: To which he anſwered, "I am a *Derveiſh*, and not ambitious of ſo high a Station; I was contented with the Province of *Malva*, but when the *Seyds* "intending to diſtreſs me, I was obliged to take Arms. "By the Divine Aſſiſtance I baffled their Deſigns, and "ſecured myſelf. At laſt your Majeſty, by their Inſtigations, ſet out againſt me with a mighty Army. Here "the Almighty protected me likewiſe. In the Beginning, one of my Brothers was killed, and as you knew "me to be a faithful Servant, you laid aſide the Expedition and returned to *Dehli*, where, being ſettled to the "Satisfaction of all People, you have now condeſcended "to diſtinguiſh me, the meaneſt of your Slaves, with "this extraordinary Mark of your Favour, which I only "decline, as knowing myſelf unequal thereto, and that "there are many about your Court more capable and "deſirous of ſuch an Employment than I."

But though he refuſed to come to Court, he ſtill continued in Poſſeſſion of the Government of *Decan*; and though he acknowledged himſelf a Subject, yet he made no Remittances to Court, but appropriated the Revenues to the maintaining of an Army, which he ſaid was to keep in Awe the *Maharattas*, or *Ganims*, the *Sahou* Rajahs, Subjects in *Decan*, whom notwithſtanding he permitted to plunder and lay waſte ſeveral of the Emperor's Provinces. They impoſed a Tribute of one Quarter-part of the Revenues which they call *Chot* in many Places, and many Parts they have taken entirely to themſelves. He well knew, that with the *Maharattas* Aſſiſtance, he could deſy any Attempts that could be made againſt him from Court. The Character of this Man is truly ſingular, and deſerves to be both written and read with Circumſpection; he had not only great Power, but a very comprehenſive Genius, and was not ſo much diſtinguiſhed by his Situation in the World, as by his great Merit and wonderful Capacity; but the Reader is to obſerve, that *Decan* is to *Dehli* or *Agra*, what the moſt diſtant Part of *Wales* or *Scotland* is to *London*, and ſuch as paſſed the beſt Part of their Time there, are not the fitteſt to be made Dancing-Maſters when they come to Court. Our Governor had a good Head, but ſpoke it ſeems in a Country Tone; could execute the Functions of a Stateſman or a General, but would perhaps have made a bad Figure, if obliged to open a Ball. In Compliment to his Power, he was with much ado forced up to Court, when the Emperor's Affairs were in a very declining Way, and he was preferred to the firſt Place in the Government. All this, however, was meer Shew; for behind his Back the Courtiers made a Jeſt of him, and could ſcarce forbear affronting him to his Face. He acted at firſt as became a Man of Honour; he took an Opportunity to lay before the Emperor a true State of his Affairs, and the Neceſſity of his making a thorough Change in his Adminiſtration, if he meant to enjoy the Fortune, as well as the Throne of *Aurengzebe*.

The Emperor told his Favourites of this, who made a Jeſt of this Stateſman's old faſhioned Notions, and redoubled their Impertinences, as to his clowniſh Behaviour, which piqued him at laſt to that Degree, as to make him reſolve upon ſacrificing ſuch a Neſt of Fools and Knaves, without conſidering that his Sovereign muſt be ſacrificed with them. He firſt propoſed his Scheme to the Vizir, their Families being allied; but he rejected it on this honeſt Principle, that the Publick ought not to be given up to gratify private Prejudices. *Nizam al Muluck*, however, found enough to join with him in his Scheme; for a wanton Court will never fail of raiſing a Multitude of Malecontents, and ſuch is the Nature of Men, that the far greateſt Part of them employ their Reaſon only to gratify their Reſentments. Such therefore as fell in with the Schemes of this diſguſted Stateſman, reſolved to call in *Nadir Shah*, ſo well known in *Europe* by the Name of *Thamas Kouli-Khan*, in order to rouze the Court, or in plain *Engliſh*, to rid themſelves of a weak and corrupt Miniſtry, as vain and inſolent in their Abuſe of Power, as they were incapable of managing it for the Honour of their Prince, or the Benefit of his Subjects. Thus this great Empire was betrayed, and expoſed to numberleſs Miſchiefs, purely to gratify the Reſentments of a few, who, to revenge their own Wrongs cared not what they brought upon their Country.

It muſt be allowed, however, that they choſe a fit Time and a fit Perſon for executing their wicked Purpoſe, which they accompliſhed to the utmoſt. *Nadir Shah* having fully eſtabliſhed himſelf, and ſettled his Affairs in *Perſia*, he left his Son *Reza Kuli Mirza* to command there, and ſet out with his Army towards *Kandahar*. *Hoſſein Khan*, the Governor thereof, having laid up great Stores of Proviſions and Ammunition, held out for eighteen Months; at laſt being reduced to Straits, he ſallied out with his Men, moſt of whom died bravely fighting. *Hoſſein Khan* and his Son being taken Priſoners, the *Perſians* entered the Caſtle, and took Poſſeſſion thereof. While *Nadir Shah* was buſy in ſecuring and fortifying *Kandahar*, and bringing over to him the *Zemidars* [o] of thoſe Parts, Letters came from *Nizam al Muluck*, and *Saadit Khan*, inviting him to march towards *Indoſtan*. In anſwer to which he objected to the Difficulties of getting through the Defiles, paſſing the great Rivers, and the many Encounters he muſt expect to have with the *Afghans*, and the warlike Nations of thoſe Parts. The Oppoſition he muſt expect from *Nadir Khan*, *Soubahdar* of *Cabul*, and *Zekaria Khan*, Ruler of *Lahor*; and laſt of all, his Fate to depend on his Succeſs againſt a powerful Imperial Army. They ſoon ſatisfied him how unneceſſary his Fears were, and that before he croſſed the *Attock*, he ſhould have a Proof how able they were, and how much inclined to facilitate his Paſſage. Being encouraged by thoſe Repreſentations, he ſet out with an Army of 125,000 Horſe, *Kuzzlebaſh*, *Georgians*, *Turks*, *Khoraſanians*, *Balkhis*, &c. all inured to Fatigues and Hardſhips; they were well provided for this Expedition, and greatly encouraged thereto by the Hopes he gave them not only of enriching themſelves, but of bringing Wealth and Glory to their impoveriſhed Country, by the Plunder of *India*. In the mean time, *Nizam al Muluck* and *Saadit Khan* uſed all their Endeavours ſecretly to promote his Intereſt, and wrote to *Sherzith Khan*, Governor of the Caſtle of *Cabul*, and *Maar-Khan*, *Soubahdar* of that Province, as alſo to *Zekaria Khan*, Ruler of the Province of *Lahor*, to this Purport: “ *Nadir Shah*, being thoroughly informed of “ the State of Affairs in *India*, and that his Imperial Maje-“ ſty and favourite Courtiers employ their Time in Wine “ and Women, has come to a Reſolution to ſtrike a “ Blow at this Empire. You well know that none of “ the great Ones here are fit to take the Field, much leſs “ to reſiſt a Man who is conducted by Fortune. As this “ is the Caſe you can have little Hopes of Aſſiſtance “ from hence; the beſt you can do will be to behave “ diſcretely and ſave yourſelves.” Theſe Letters cooled them pretty much, and had the deſired Effect with *Nadir Khan* and *Zekaria Khan*. *Nadir Shah* having ſubdued *Ghorbund* and *Ghoznavi*, and garriſoned them with his own People, came to *Cabul* and beſieged it. *Nain Khan* had left it, and marched to *Peiſhor*, but *Sherzib Khan* defended both the City and Caſtle for ſix Weeks with the utmoſt Bravery, and wrote repeatedly to *Nadir Khan*, and to Court, for Aſſiſtance; but none coming, both City and Caſtle were at laſt taken by Storm, and he and his Son were put to Death.

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[*] I ſhall take this Opportunity of obſerving, that the ſame People mentioned in ancient Writers by the Name of *Pattans*, are now called *Affghans*; and all the Northern Parts of *India*, but more eſpecially ſuch as are mountainous, are inhabited by Tribes of theſe People. They are not originally *Indians*, but are deſcended from the *Mohammedans*, that began to eſtabliſh themſelves in theſe Countries from *Arabia* and *Egypt*. They are a bold, brave, hardy, patient, and active People; and it was they that, under the Command of *Mir Vaez*, or, as we commonly, though very corruptedly, call him, *Mereweis*, and his Son, made themſelves in a manner Maſters of *Perſia*, out of which they were driven in the Beginning of his Glory by *Thamas Kouli Khan*, to whom, however, they gave a great deal of Trouble afterwards in the Province of *Khandahar*.

Nadir Shah found Treaſure, Jewels, Arms, *&c.* to a great Value, which, ſince the Great Mogul *Babar*'s Time, had been ſhut up in Vaults. When the taking of *Cabul* was known at Court, the Emperor gave Orders to get his Troops in Readineſs, and provide all Things neceſſary for taking the Field. As Rajah *Jeſſing* was more attached to *Khandoran* than to any of the other Omrahs, he repeatedly wrote to him to this Purport: “ *Nadir Shah*'s coming is “ a concerted Thing, you muſt be watchful over the Mo-“ gul Omrahs, who ſeem to be united in order to compaſs “ ſome treacherous Deſign. *Nadir Khan* and *Sherzib Khan* “ are gone; one has ſacrificed his Life to his Intereſt, and “ the other has fled to *Peiſhor*. If *Zekaria Khan*, Ruler of “ *Lahor*, makes any Oppoſition, it will give the Empe-“ ror's Army Time to advance pretty far, in order to check “ this Invader; as for us *Rajapouts*, we are ready to join “ the Royal Enſigns.” *Khandoran* knowing him to be well affected, repreſented this to the Emperor, and told him, it would be very imprudent in him to leave the Capital and take the Field; however, it was at laſt agreed, that the Army ſhould march to *Lahor*, that the Emperor ſhould accompany it ſo far, and that from thence it ſhould proceed towards *Cabul*, under the Command of *Nizam al Muluck*, and the other two Omrahs; for which Purpoſe the *Peiſhkhana* was ordered out to the Gardens of *Shalimar*; but after it was ſent thither, to every body's Surprize, *Khandoran* came back to the Palace, and delayed the March, whereas *Nizam* ſeemed to be for haſtening it all in his Power.

The Emperor's Servants, as they knew *Khandoran* [p] to be attached to their Maſter, contrived all the Impediments they could think of; ſo that *Nadir Shah* had not only Time to ſecure *Cabul*, but was far advanced in his March to *Peiſhor*, where the *Afghans* and Mountaineers very much incommoded him, and kept him in Play for ſeven Weeks; in which Time he had a great many Men wounded and killed; ſeeing there was no way for forcing the Paſſes without much Blood-ſhed, and that the *Afghans* had fortified themſelves on the Tops of the Hills, he ſent them Offers of Accommodation, to which they came into the more readily, as the *Soubahdars* had ſent no Aſſiſtance, and that they had been four or five Years without receiving any of their uſual Allowance from Court. Upon *Nadir Shah*'s paying them a certain Sum of Money, they not only let him paſs unmoleſted, but ſeveral of them liſted in his Army; the other *Afghans* hearing of this, followed their Example; ſo leaving the main Army behind, with ten thouſand choſen Horſe, *Kuzzlebaſh*, in ſeven Days he got to *Peiſhor*. *Nadir Khan*, who with ſeven thouſand Horſe had encamped without the City, not imagining he could get through the Paſſes ſo ſoon, upon hearing of his Approach with ſo large a Body of Horſe, was greatly perplexed, ſeveral of his Auxiliaries left him, and few beſides the King's Men ſtood by him, who, after a brave Reſiſtance, were defeated, and *Nadir Khan* taken Priſoner. Some *Afghans*, who, waiting the Event, were poſted on the Hills, ſeeing *Nadir Shah* prevail, came and offered him their Service; after this Victory he entered *Peiſhor*, and took Poſſeſſion thereof.

When the News of this Defeat came to the Court, *Nizam al Muluck*, *Khandoran*, *Zammir ô din Khan*, and the other Omrahs, according to the King's Orders, on the ſecond of *January* 1738-9, marched out with a numerous Army, a large Train of Artillery, and other Neceſſaries, in order to oppoſe this Conqueror, and halted at the Gardens of *Shalimar*. *Nizam*, who was the Contriver of this Storm, endeavoured all he could to prepoſſeſs the Minds of the Soldiers with a Terror of *Nadir Shah*'s Forces, and how vain it was to reſiſt him, and at the ſame time amuſed them, to divert their going too far forward; but the King iſſued out Orders, that *Nizam* and the other Omrahs ſhould advance with all Expedition, himſelf intending to follow ſoon after them. *Nizam al Muluck* and the reſt, according to theſe Orders, marched on, and encamped in the Plains of *Karnal*, which is fifty-five Croſs diſtant from *Dehli*. The Emperor alſo ſet out the 18th of *January* 1738-9, and on the 4th of *February* joined them. *Nadir Shah* having thrown a good Garriſon into *Peiſhor*, paſſed the River *Attok*, and marched on directly towards *Lahor*, the Governor of which had fortified the Place with great Diligence, and ſeemed diſpoſed to defend it to the laſt Extremity; but as he was in the Secret of Affairs, upon the Approach of the *Perſian* Army, he abandoned the Town, and retired into the Caſtle, which he held out no more than three Days.

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[o] It will be neceſſary to explain this Word, and in order to make the Reader perfectly comprehend it, we muſt obſerve, that *Dar* ſignifies a Poſſeſſor, that is to ſay, one who holds or enjoys any thing. *Zemin* ſignifies Land, and *Zemidar* is one who poſſeſſes Land, that is, a Rajah, or little *Indian* Prince, who pays ſome Acknowledgment to the Emperor, but who is notwithſtanding the free Lord of his Inheritance. In the ſame Manner the Word *Manſubdar* is compounded from *Manſub*, a Poſt or Office, and conſequently he who poſſeſſes it is a *Manſubdar*. If, inſtead of a Salary, he has Lands aſſigned him, thoſe Lands are called *Jaguir*, and from thence the Officer is ſtiled *Jaguirdar*. The *Zemidar* and *Jaguidar* both poſſeſs Lands, but by very different Titles; for the former is a Freeholder, and the latter a Tenant at Will, by the Grant of the Emperor.

[p] This Miniſter was ſincerely attached to his Maſter, but had a very odd Scheme of Politicks, for he thought that the moſt precarious Peace was preferable to War, and therefore he was always for Negotiations and Expedients, rather than having Recourſe to Arms; by which he ſunk his Maſter's Credit, and as we ſhall ſee after, brought on his Ruin and Death.

It was natural to expect that *Mohammed Shah* ſhould ſome way or other be acquainted with the Motives that had induced this Invaſion of his Dominions, and accordingly *Nadir Shah* wrote him a Letter, dated in the Middle of *Auguſt*, in which he tells him, that he came out of pure Friendſhip, having heard that a Handful of barbarous People had preſumed to harraſs ſeveral of the Provinces of his Empire, and to lay his Subjects under Contribution, which were Things unworthy of ſo great a Monarch to bear, and from which he was come with an Army to reſcue and relieve him. The Emperor, however, took up Arms, and ſeemed determined to meet him in the Field; but the Diſputes and Heart-burnings among his Miniſters continued. As for *Khandoran*, he was ſincerely in his Intereſt, though miſtaken in his Politicks; and now he ſaw that the Empire was to be ſaved by fighting, he did his utmoſt towards carrying on the War; but the Misfortune was that the Emperor confided moſt in *Nizam al Muluck*, as indeed he was the beſt Officer in his Service; but it cannot be ſuppoſed, that he, who had been the Author of the War, and had drawn *Nadir Shah* into his Maſter's Dominions, ſhould be forward to oppoſe him; yet he marched with the reſt, and on the fourteenth of *February* an Engagement enſued, wherein the Mogul's Army was defeated, and *Khandoran* mortally wounded. This Action, however, was far from being deciſive, though the Mogul loſt ſeveral of his great Officers, and a great many Men. On the Side of *Nadir Shah*, ſeven principal Officers, and two thouſand five hundred Men were killed, and about five thouſand wounded. The Mogul's Troops, on their Return into their Camp, fell into great Confuſion, and plundered the Tents of ſuch Officers as were either killed or taken Priſoners, which obliged the Emperor to go in Perſon to that Part of the Camp, where the Forces under the Command of *Nizam al Muluck* were poſted, in order to put Things into a better Condition, by reducing the Soldiers to their Duty. It was with the ſame View that the Emperor, with that Officer, the Vizir, and other Omrahs, went without the Mourchas or Retrenchments, and drew up their Men in a Line of Battle, with a Deſign to put a Stop to the Enemy's advancing any farther; but had not the Night come on, theſe Precautions would have ſtood them in little ſtead, and that Day would have put an End to the whole Affair. About an Hour after Sun-ſet the Emperor returned back to his Tent; ſeveral of thoſe who eſcaped out of the Field, as alſo thoſe who attended the Baggage and Carriages, fled towards *Dehli*, a great many of whom were plundered and killed by the way. The Camp in ſome Places was very thin of Men, inſomuch, that when at Midnight the Emperor ſent for *Nizam al Muluck*, the Space from his Mourcha to the Emperor's Tent, which is about three Quarters of a Coſs, was found intirely empty. *Nizam al Muluck*, *Sirbullind Khan*, *Kummir ô din Khan*, and all the other Omrahs that were left, ſtaid with the Emperor in deep Conſultation until near the Morning, when each returned to his own Quarters.

On the 16th, finding the Camp thin, and being apprehenſive of the *Kuzzlebaſh*'s attacking them, they contracted the Circuit thereof, and their Mourchas into the Compaſs requiſite to contain the Number of Troops they had left, which was the Space between the Emperor's Tent and *Nizam*'s Mourcha, and there they ſtood under Arms the whole Day, every Minute expecting the Enemy's Approach. Towards the Evening a ſmall Tent was pitched for the Emperor, and all the Troops were diſpoſed of to their reſpective Poſts, where they continued under Arms the whole Night, and their Horſes ſaddled, without either Hay or Corn. The next Day was paſt in great Fear and Apprehenſion, for the Emperor ſaw plainly his Soldiers were very much diſpirited, and his Miniſters and General in a manner at their Wits End, ſo that they were as little fit to adviſe him, as he was to act without their Advice. On the 17th of *February*, *Nizam al Muluck*, with *Azim Allah Khan*, and ſeveral Horſemen, went out and pitched a ſmall Tent betwixt the two Camps, to which *Nadir Shah*'s *Aitmauld al Dowlet*, or Vizir *Kaſſum Beg Khan* came, and from thence conducted him to his Maſter, who embraced him ſitting, and made him ſtand honourably cloſe by himſelf; he gave him a Cup of Sherbet, and made him eat at the Vizir's Houſe; after which it was agreed, that *Mohammed Shah* ſhould come and ſtay with *Nadir Shah*. This Conference laſted about ſix Hours, and was immediately followed by two very remarkable Events; the firſt was a kind of Ceſſation of Arms, which was ſo much the more neceſſary, that the Emperor might be under no Apprehenſions, and that he might be the better able to bring his Troops into good Order, who had hitherto been in a great deal of Confuſion; the next was, that *Nizam al Muluck* was declared High Treaſurer, and *Emir al Omrah*, that is, prime Miniſter, ſo that with reſpect to him the End of the War was intirely accompliſhed. All the Miniſters who oppoſed him were driven from Court, and he was not only veſted with the Title, but was in fact at the Head of the Emperor's Counſels, and had the whole Power of the Empire in his Hands [q].

It is from this Time therefore that we are to date his real Concern for the Peace of his Country, which having firſt accompliſhed, his own Views he now laboured to promote. About this Time *Khandoran*, his old Antagoniſt, died of the Wounds he had received in the Battle, and was buried with more Privacy than ſeemed conſiſtent with the great Offices he had held, and the high Favour in which he had ſtood with his Maſter. It is not eaſy to conceive by what Arguments *Mohammed Shah* was prevailed upon to quite his own Camp, and truſt himſelf to that of his Enemy; but it ſeems he was now intirely guided by his new Miniſter, who very probably told him, that in the preſent Circumſtances he hazarded little by taking ſuch a Step, ſince it was in the Power of the *Perſian* Monarch to force him to accept what Terms he pleaſed, and that therefore it was better to do with good Grace a Thing he might otherwiſe be compelled to do whether he would or not. But, however it was, this is certain, that on the 19th of *February*, in the Morning, the Emperor ſitting on a Royal Litter, with a Canopy over it, followed by a led Horſe, and a Drum, and attended only by a few of his faithful Servants, and an Eſcort of about two hundred Horſe, marched out of the Camp, and when he had gone a good Way, by a Sign he forbad the Horſemen to accompany him any farther; then with his Eunuchs, and the abovesaid Omrahs, each of whom had not above two or three Servants to attend him, he went on to *Nadir Shah*'s Camp.

When he had advanced about half Way, one of *Nadir Shah*'s Miniſters came to meet him, and paid him the uſual Honours. He likewiſe aſſured him that his Maſter waited for him with much Impatience, that due Care would be taken to make this Interview as eaſy and as agreeable to him as poſſible, and that he had no Reaſon to apprehend any Danger, or the leaſt Failure in point of Decorum or Complaiſance. All this was certainly requiſite to keep up the Spirits of a Monarch in ſuch a Situation, and under ſo many Difficulties. He continued his March therefore, and as he drew near *Nadir Shah*'s Tent, he received another and more welcome Meſſage; for there *Neſr Allah Mirza*, *Nadir Shah*'s Son, who came in a Royal Litter, having alighted, paid his Reſpects according to the Form of his Country. The Emperor ordering his own Litter to be ſet down, embraced *Neſr Allah Mirza*; after which they both marched on until they came as far as the Train of Ordnance: Here all the Attendants were obliged to ſtay behind, only the Emperor with two or three Eunuchs, and the Omrahs above-mentioned, were allowed to paſs. When they came to the Door of the Royal Tent, and the Emperor was alighted, *Nadir Shah* came forth to receive him; having embraced him, he ſeated him cloſe by himſelf on the ſame Muſnidd [r]. After the accuſtomary Forms of of Salutation, and the Enquiry after each other's Health were over, *Nadir Shah* addreſſed him thus: "It is ſtrange that yould ſhould be ſo unconcerned, and regardleſs of your own Affairs, that notwithſtanding I wrote you ſeveral Letters, ſent an Ambaſſador, and teſtified a Friendſhip for you, your Miniſters ſhould not think proper to ſend me a ſatisfactory Anſwer, and by reaſon of your want of Command and Diſcipline over your own People, one of my Ambaſſadors contrary to all Laws, has been killed in your Dominions. Even when I entered your Empire, you ſeemed under no Concern about your Affairs, nor ſo much as ſent to aſk who I was, or what was my Deſign. When I advanced as far as *Lahor*, none of your People came with a Meſſage or Salutation, nay, not with an Anſwer to my Salutation to you. Afterwards, when your Omrahs were awakened out of their Lethargy and Indolence, they prevented all Means of a Reconciliation, and coming tumultuouſly with an Intent to ſtop my farther Progreſs, they brought themſelves into one general Snare, without having the Foreſight to leave any behind, who, upon an Emergency, could make Head and retrieve their Affairs. Beſides this you have fooliſhly cooped yourſelves up in your Murchas, as not conſidering, that if your Enemy was ſtronger, you could not remain within thoſe Barricadoes, without either Water or Grain; and if he was weaker, it was both unneceſſary and diſgraceful, to ſuffer yourſelves to be beſieged by him. Beſides, if you thought lightly of him, and imagined him a raſh inconſiderate Man, without expoſing your own Perſon and Reputation ſo much, you ought to have detached a faithful and experienced Officer, who in a little Time might have found Means to diſtreſs and cut him off; but if you dreaded his Experience and Conduct, you had ſtill the leſs Reaſon (after provoking him thus far) to venture your all at one Blow. Even when you had thus entangled yourſelf, I ſent you Offers of an Accommodation, but you was ſo puffed up with your own childiſh Conceits, and fooliſh Reſolutions, that you would not give ear to any honourable Overtures, or conſult your own Intereſt, until at laſt, by the Aſſiſtance of the Creator of the World, and the Strength of the Arms of the victorious Warriors, you have ſeen what has happened. Moreover, your Predeceſſors were wont to take *Jeſiah*, or Poll-Tax from the Infidels, and you in your Reign have given it to them; having for theſe twenty Years ſuffered the Empire to be over-run by them; but as hitherto the Race of *Timur* have not injured or miſbehaved towards the *Seffi* Family, and the People of *Perſia*, I ſhall not take the Empire from you, only as your Indolence and Pride have obliged me to march ſo far, and that I have been put to an extraordinary Expence, and my Men, on account of the long Marches, are much fatigued, and in want of Neceſſaries, I muſt go to *Dehly*, and there continue ſome Days, until the Army is refreſhed, and the *Peiſhcuſh*, that *Nizam al Muluck* has agreed to, is made good to me: After that, I ſhall leave you to look after your own Affairs." *Mohammed-Shah* gave no Anſwer during the whole Speech, but continued in a fixed Silence, which teſtified a good deal of Confuſion and Shame.

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[q] We are indebted for this very exact and no leſs curious Account of this extraordinary Tranſaction, to Mr. *James Frazer*, whom I have before mentioned, and I have inſerted it here in order to render this Hiſtory of the Mogul Empire as compleat as poſſible. The Reader will perceive that at this Juncture there was a kind of Suſpenſion of the Emperor's Power, and all was at the Mercy of a Stranger. It may ſeem ſtrange, that *Nadir Shah* ſhould let ſlip this Opportunity of making himſelf Maſter of *Indoſtan*; but when it is conſidered, that the Power of the *Perſian* was chiefly owing to the Weakneſs and ill Conduct of *Mohammed Shah*, it will appear great Wiſdom and conſummate Policy in the Conqueror to act as he did. For if he had cut off the Mogul Emperor, his Subjects might have become deſperate, and *Nadir Shah*'s Army was ſo ſmall, and ſo far advanced into this Country, that he might have been ruined in his Retreat if he had not acted as he did.

There were only three of his Miniſters preſent at this Conference, and the Emperor having remained ſome Hours in *Nadir Shah*'s Quarters, returned in the Evening to his own Camp. He continued there three or four Days without well knowing what Iſſue things would come to. On the 23d, *Nizam* was ſent for to the *Perſian* Camp, where he was kept, and about Eight the ſame Night, the Vizir received a Firman from *Nadir Shah*, to this Import; "*Kummir ô din Khan Vizir*, Know, that To-mmorow, *Mohammed-Shah*, *Sirbullind-Khan*, *Mohammed-Khan Bunguſh*, and *Azim Allah-Khan*, ſhall come into the Preſence; therefore look well to your People, that they be not diſperſed, or ſtraggle abroad; when you have ſecured that Point, come you hither alſo." When the Emperor was apprized of this, he ſent for *Sirbullind-Khan*, and all the other Omrahs, with whom he held Council until Midnight. At laſt the Emperor declared, that Affairs were now gone beyond his Power, and that he muſt do one of theſe three Things; To-morrow to march out and make one deſperate Puſh, to determine his Fortune at once, or put an End to all Things and Miſery by a Doſe of Poiſon, or elſe ſubmit peaceably to what Terms might be impoſed. The Emperor's Inclination, though he did not then declare it, was for the laſt of theſe. On the 24th, *Sirbullind-Khan*, *Mohammed-Khan*, &c. were ready, each with his own Men, that in caſe the Emperor ſhould make a Puſh, they might not be unprepared, and if on ſubmitting, he ſhould go to *Nadir*, and bid them come, they ſhould follow his Fate. At Night arrived a Note from *Nadir Shah*, to this Effect; "*Sirbullind-Khan*, be of good Cheer, perfectly compoſed, get yourſelf hither, before *Mohammed Shah*, ſets out."

On the 25th, *Sirbullind-Khan*, having obtained Leave, marched towards *Nadir-Shah*'s Camp, and according to an Order, leaving his Men and Baggage on the Right-hand thereof, he with *Khan, Zad Khan*, three Horſemen, and four or five Servants, entered the Camp, and pitched a ſmall Tent for himſelf, near the *Bargah*, cloſe by *Saadit-Khan*'s Quarters. About 9 o'Clock that Morning, *Mohammed-Shah*, according to an Order, being ſeated in a royal Litter, with a Canopy and Umbrella, ſet out for *Nadir-Shah*'s Camp, attended only by *Emir-Khan*, *Iſhak-Khan*, and ſome Eunuchs. On his Arrival, he alighted at a Tent which had been pitched the Day before, by *Nadir-Shah*'s Order, for that Purpoſe, in the Front of the Camp, where he was allowed to have as many of his Domeſticks of all Sorts as were neceſſary, and 1000 *Kuzzlebaſh* Horſemen were detached as Guards round him. About Eight o'Clock in the Evening, *Mohammed* being called, went to wait on *Nadir-Shah*. After three Hours Stay he returned to the Camp, and there was an Order that none of the Omrahs ſhould be allowed to go to ſee him. In this uncomfortable Situation he paſſed all that Afternoon, and the ſucceeding Night. The next Day, all the Ordinance, and the Emperor's Baggage, were ſeized for the Uſe of the Conqueror, who ſelected out of the former two hundred Pieces of Cannon, and ſent them away; after which, out of the Treaſure he had taken, he rewarded his Army with three Months Pay by way of Gratuity, and took Care that it ſhould be diſtributed to every Man in the ſame Proportion as his Pay [s].

On the 1ſt of *March*, *Nadir-Shah* began to move towards the City of *Dehly*, having *Mohammed Shah* in his Hands, guarded by ten thouſand Horſe. On the 8th of the ſame Month, the Emperor entered the Caſtle of that Capital, under a Guard of four thouſand Horſe, before it was light, and the ſame Morning *Nadir-Shah* alſo made his Publick Entry into the City, at the Head of 20,000 Horſe, and proceeding thro' it to the Caſtle, was there received by *Mohammed Shah*, who entertained him at Breakfaſt. They ſpent the whole Day together, and *Nadir-Shah* did not retire till towards Evening, behaving all the Time towards him with much Civility and ſeeming Affection. The *Shah* likewiſe, at his Requeſt, iſſued out a Proclamation, forbidding, on very ſevere Penalties, any of his Soldiers from inſulting the Inhabitants, at the ſame Time ſtrictly enjoining the proper Officers to ſee this Proclamation duly executed, and to ſpare no Severities requiſite for that Purpoſe in puniſhing the Offenders; which Proclamation had ſuch an Effect, that very exact Diſcipline was maintained, and none of the Mogul's People ſuffered any Injury.

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[r] The *Muſuidd* is a Part of the *Divan*, which is raiſed higher than the reſt, and is large enough for two or three People to ſit upon. It is covered with a fine Carpet, and over that there lies a Quilt of fine Linen. The placing the Emperor here was a very high Mark of Reſpect, and treating him as an Equal, ſince this was a Place to which none of *Nadir-Shah*'s Miniſters were ever admitted.

[s] This was a thing conſtantly practiſed by the *Perſian* Conqueror, on his becoming Maſter of any great City. He did the ſame thing after the taking of *Kandahar*, where he found immenſe Riches, and he did much more, when he became Maſter of the whole Wealth of this Empire, as we ſhall ſee hereafter. It was by theſe Acts of Generoſity, that he kept his Army ſo perfectly attached to him, from the Conſideration, that in ſerving him, they ſerved themſelves, and that he was not more their Monarch than their Benefactor

On the 10th, an Order was ſent to open the Magazines in the Corn-Market, and to ſee that Commodity ſold at a reaſonable Rate, which was abſolutely neceſſary, as Things were then circumſtanced. A Mob, however, was raiſed upon this Occaſion, and thoſe who would not fight for their Country, took up Arms rather than part with their Corn at a fair Price. In ſhort, the *Perſian* Officers were killed, as alſo a good Number of their Men, and in a few Hours Time the whole City was in Confuſion. About Eight the next Morning, *Nadir-Shah* mounted on Horſeback, in order to quell the Tumult, and in his Paſſage through the Streets, ſeeing Abundance of his own Soldiers dead Bodies lying about, he was extremely provoked, yet he moderated his Paſſion ſo much, as to give very juſt and favourable Orders, though at the ſame Time he detached a ſtrong Body of Horſe and Foot to reduce the People that were in Arms to Reaſon. There were ſome very dirty Circumſtances in this Affair, which it is neceſſary ſhould be explained. Some of the Mogul's Miniſters had promiſed *Nadir-Shah* a Preſent of a Crore of *Rupees*, that is, a Million and a Quarter of our Money, on his coming to *Dehly*, which however they did not raiſe, but privately excited this Tumult, by giving out, that *Nadir-Shah* was killed in his Quarters, and other ſuch like Stories, calculated for the Underſtanding of a Mob, and keeping up their Fury. The Troops that were detached to reduce them, had ſtrict Orders not to proceed to Extremities, till fair Means were found ineffectual, and even then, they were ordered to be very careful in diſtinguiſhing between the Innocent and the Guilty, by firing on none but thoſe that were in Arms, and ſuffering ſuch as remained quiet in their Houſes to reſide there undiſturbed. But as Mobs are apt to miſtake Mildneſs for Fear, and gentle Perſuaſions for a Dread of their Force, ſo the People of *Dehly*, inſtead of diſperſing, aſſembled in Crowds upon their Terraſſes, and from thence they furiouſly began to throw Stones, and either from one of theſe Terraſſes, or a Window thereabouts, a Muſket was deſignedly ſhot at *Nadir-Shah*, which miſſing him, killed one of his Officers who ſtood next him. This made him give way to his Paſſion, and to order a general Slaughter to be commenced from that very Place; the Soldiers in an Inſtant getting upon the Walls and Terraſſes, began to plunder and kill.

This bloody Scene extended from the *Saraſa Ardui*, which is before the Caſtle, to the old *Eidgah*, which is three *Coſs* Diſtance, on one Side as far as *Jittli* Tomb, and on the other as far as the Tobacco *Mandavi*, and *Poul Mettai*, the whole Streets of the *Bazar*, and the Alleys and Wards on all Sides the *Khanums Bazar*, and round about the *Jamih Miſjidd*, and the Cotton and Jewellers *Bazars*, were all plundered; ſeveral Places were ſet on Fire, and whomſoever they found in the Wards and Houſes, Streets, Alleys and Shops, great and ſmall, Men and Women, they put to the Sword, even the brute Creatures did not eſcape their Fury; ſeveral Women were made Priſoners. *Loutf Ali Khan*, the Officer who was appointed to ſlaughter and plunder towards the Square of *Saad Allah Khan*, and *Dehly* Gate, when he came as far as *Sirbullind-Khan*'s Houſe, he, in a great Surprize and Fright, came out to meet the ſaid Officer, and repreſenting to him, that the People of that Quarter were not to blame, he made him deſiſt, and ſtop his Men, on promiſing they ſhould pay a Sum of Money; but in other Places the Slaughter, Plundering and Burning went on, in a moſt barbarous Manner. *Nadir-Shah*, after he had given the Orders, returned back to the Caſtle. About Two o'Clock *Mohammed-Shah*, and *Nizam al Muluck*, waited on him, who having made great Interceſſion for the City, the Soldiers were ordered to deſiſt, and it was proclaimed by Beat of Drum, that none of the Inhabitants ſhould be any longer moleſted. The Slaughter continued from Eight in the Morning till Three in the Afternoon; about 400 *Kuzzlebaſh* were killed, and of the Citizens, great and ſmall, 120,000 were ſlaughtered, others computed them 150,000; what Treaſure and Effects were plundered, ſome *Nadir-Shah* had, and a great deal was deſtroyed by the Fire.

In ſeveral of the *Hindu*[*] Houſes, where one of a Family ſurvived, he uſed to pile thirty or forty Carcaſſes a-top of one another, and burn them, and ſo they did in the Streets; notwithſtanding which, there ſtill remained ſo many, that for a conſiderable Time there was no ſuch thing as paſſing any of the narrow Lanes. When the Slaughter began, thoſe who raiſed the Commotion diſappeared in an Inſtant, and left the innocent Shopkeepers, *Bazaris*, and many honeſt Families, to be butchered by the enraged *Kuzzlebaſh*. Several, jealous of their Honour, not only killed their Women, but laid violent Hands upon themſelves. One of theſe unfortunate Wretches in particular, when the Soldiers came near his Houſe, burned about twenty Women of his Family, and was in Expectation of their entering every Minute, and killing him; by Chance they miſſed that Houſe, but he was ſo infatuated, that finding himſelf diſappointed, he went out, and bringing ſome of them back, ſhewed them the Way to his own Houſe, telling them, there was a good deal of Money and Effects therein. After they had plundered the Houſe, they went their Way without killing him, which ſo enraged him, that he diſpatched himſelf. There were great Numbers of People, eſpecially Women and Children, burnt in their Houſes. The very next Day, the Priſoners, and eſpecially the Women, were, by *Nadir-Shah*'s Order, conducted back to their own Houſes, to the Number of fifty thouſand. About ten thouſand Women, in the midſt of the Confuſion, had thrown themſelves into Wells, of whom there were many taken out alive, two or three Days after.

On the Thirteenth, *Nadir-Shah* having an Account that a Detachment of his Troops that had been ſent to ſeize the Cannon at the *Serai* of *Rouh Allah Khan*, had been cut off by the People, a ſtrong Body was ſent thither to puniſh that Offence, which they did by cutting to Pieces five or ſix thouſand of them, and bringing in three hundred of the principal Perſons Priſoners, who had their Heads ſtruck off. The ſame Day Proclamation was made that every Man ſhould retire to his Houſe and Employment, without Fear of the Soldiers. Two Days after, as the great Number of dead Bodies that lay about the Caſtle, and in the *Bazars*, and other Places, cauſed a very offenſive Stench, they preſſed moſt of the People they met with in the Streets, and employed them in removing the Bodies; ſome, by tying Cords to the Feet, they dragged without the City; ſome they threw into the River, and thoſe whom they imagined to be *Hindus*, they piled forty or fifty of their Bodies a-top of each other and burnt them, with the Timber of the demoliſhed Buildings.

On the Sixteenth, a *Firman*, to exempt the Dominions of *Perſia* from Taxes for three Years, was drawn up, and diſpatched by a Choppar, at the ſame time the Arrears formerly due to the Soldiers, as alſo one Year's Pay beforehand, and ſix Month's Pay as a Gratuity, was given to all his People, even his Servants, and thoſe who trafficked for Neceſſaries in the Camp. On the Seventeeth, *Nadir-Shah* ſent for *Sirbullind Khan*, and told him, that he apprehended his Pretenſions of old Age and Infirmity, were calculated purely to retard the raiſing of the Money, and therefore he would adviſe him, for his own ſake, to be more expeditious, becauſe it was a Thing that would admit of no Delay. On the next Day, which was the Eighteenth, *Sirbullind Khan* went likewiſe to the Dirbar, where were preſent *Nizam al Muluck*, and *Kummir o' din Khan*, and he ſtayed there until Noon. *Thamas Khan* and *Muſtapha Khan*, preſſing them concerning the Money, *Sirbullind Khan* told *Nizam al Muluck* as follows; "I "have, a long Time ago, foreſeen this Diſgrace, and fre- "quently repreſented to the Emperor, that before Things "were paſt Remedy, he ought to take ſome Meaſure, "and not through too much Security reckon any Acci- "dent unworthy his Care and Prevention. I deſired him "to employ ſome experienced and faithful Perſon, and "to give him full Power, that with a Sum of Money, "and other valuable Things, as a Peiſhcuſh, he might "make up Matters, prevent the impending Calamity, "and live, as formerly, with the Shah, in an amicable "Manner. Every Body imagined I couched ſome De- "ſigns and Self-Views under this Advice. They them- "ſelves would contrive no Expedient, nor would they re- "ly on the Contrivance of another, until, at laſt, Affairs "are come to this calamitous and diſgraceful Iſſue." To this *Nizam al Muluck* made no Anſwer. Then *Thamas Khan* addreſſing himſelf to *Kummir o' din Khan*, repeated to him the Subſtance of what *Nadir Shah* at firſt meeting reproached *Mohammed Shah* with. Afterwards he told him, "What is paſt ſhall not be remembered. Now my Shah "wants the Money, uſe all means you can to raiſe it, and "bring not yourſelves into any further Diſgrace by being "dilatory." *Sirbullind Khan* anſwered, "Undoubtedly "we will raiſe it wherever it is to be found." *Thamas Khan* aſked him, if he had not Money himſelf, *Sirbullind Khan* ſaid to him, "If I had had Money, I would have ſent "it to you to *Khandabar*, and prevented you from having "the Trouble of coming hither."

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[*] In order to underſtand this Word, it is neceſſary to obſerve, that *Hindu*, ſtrictly taken, ſignifies a ſwarthy, dark-coloured Perſon, and was therefore given to the original Inhabitants of the Country, found about *Dehli*, from whence it received, in Proceſs of Time, the Name of *Hindoſtan*, or, as we commonly write it, *Indoſtan*; that is, the Country of the *Hindu*'s, and many have believed, that from thence the *Europeans* derived the Name of *India*, which, however, ſeems more probably to have been taken from the River *Indus*. As for the Natives of this Empire, they are ſtill diſtinguiſhed by their old Name of *Hindu*'s; becauſe of that Mixture of Nations which now inhabit their Country, ſuch as *Moguls*, *Pattans*, *Perſians*, &c. They are a very harmleſs, inoffenſive People, very laborious and induſtrious, but exceedingly contemned and deſpiſed by the *Mohammedans* in general.

In ſhort, by what paſſed at this Meeting, it was known that *Nadir Shah*, after this Victory, and having eſtabliſhed his Power, had demanded of *Mizam al Muluck* twenty Crore of Rupees, or twenty-five Millions Sterling, (excluſive of the Jewels, Gold-Plate ſet with precious Stones, and other fine Goods, ſeized of the King's and other Omrahs) to be collected in the beſt Manner he could, out of the King's Treaſury, his own Effects, and all the other Omrahs, wealthy People, and Inhabitants. Such a Sum was not to be raiſed out of the King's Treaſury or the Omrahs Effects; for, in the King's all the Gold and Silver Coins did not exceed three Crore: But, in the inward Vaults, (which had been ſhut up and ſealed for many Years, no body knowing by whom they were ſealed, or what they contained) there was found of Gold and Silver a much larger Amount than the Money in the Treaſury. *Nizam al Muluck* contributed a Peiſhcuſh of one Crore and a half in Jewels, Treaſures, and Goods; as did alſo *Kummir o'din Khan* to the ſame Amount. *Saadit Khan* had formerly agreed to pay one Crore of Rupees, and made good thirty Lacks thereof, which was all that had eſcaped being plundered; he promiſed to ſend for the Remainder from his Soubah. *Sirbullind Khan*, on account of his Poverty, was excuſed from any Share; and three Crore of Rupees were appointed to be levied on ſome of *Manſubdar*, *Mutteſiddys*, Officers, and the rich Inhabitants, each in Proportion to his Circumſtances. Formerly *Saadit Khan* was ordered to collect this Money. After his Death, and the Slaughter and Plunder of the City, this Buſineſs was recommended to the Care of *Sirbullind Khan* and the other Omrahs, which *Thamas Khan*, at his Meeting, preſſed them about. Accordingly it was now agreed, that *Azim Khan*, *Chuchl Keiſhvir*, *Vakeel* of the *Sobbabdars* of *Bengal*, *Seta Ram*, and all the *Manſubdars* and Officers of the *Chaboutra*, &c. ſhould meet at *Sirbullind Khan*'s Houſe, and make an End of this Affair. All Officers, Inhabitants, &c. who were ſuſpected to be rich, were ordered to give in a Liſt of what Money and Effects they were Maſters of, to be laid before the Shah, that what he liked he might take, and what he forgave them they might keep; and whoever pleaded Poverty, ſuch Perſon ſhould declare the ſame by a Writing under their Hand and Seal, that in caſe it ſhould be afterwards proved that he had given in a falſe Account, he might be puniſhed. That Day the People before-mentioned came to *Sirbullind Khan*'s Houſe, and having ſtaid until the Evening, and enrolled ſome Names, returned to their own Houſes.

This Affair was proſecuted for ſeveral Days following with the utmoſt Diligence; during which Time alſo they were buſy in preparing Illuminations, on the Banks of the River, and Fire-works for the Wedding of *Neſr Allah Mirza*, *Nadir Shah*'s Son, who was to be married to the Daughter of *Jeſden Bukhſh*, Son of *Kam Bukhſh*. On the Night of the Twenty-ſeventh of *March*, the Marriage was conſummated: *Mohammed* Shah made the young Princeſs a preſent of Jewels to the Value of 50,000 Rupees, and, in ready Money, 50,000 more. Some Days after the Marriage, *Nadir Shah* ſent them Jewels to the Value of five Lack of Rupees, or 62,500 Pounds[u].

The Council for aſcertaining the Peiſhcuſh or Preſent, was continually held in the Caſtle, near the Divan of Juſtice, at which aſiſted *Thamas Khan*, *Muſtapha Khan*, and *Mohammed Shah*'s Omrahs, until the Eighth of *April* at Noon; and, during that Time, every Body was preſent at the ſaid Place, from Sun-riſe to Sun-ſet. All the *Vakeels* and Agents of the *Manſubdars*, and other Officers, gave conſtant Attendance; and, at Night, each returned to his own Houſe without having a Centry or Guard over them. In thoſe Days, and alſo afterwards, ſeveral People finding Affairs go hard with them, left their Effects and Families behind, and made their Eſcape out of the City in the beſt Manner they could, being glad, at any rate, to ſave their Lives. Several of *Mohammed Shah*'s Omrahs were obliged to ſtay the whole Day in the Caſtle in a mean Manner, and perpetual Fear, with but one Horſe and a few Servants to attend them, and at Night they returned to their own Houſes. The whole of this Month was paſſed by the Subjects of *Mohammed Shah* in a very melancholy Manner; for, notwithſtanding they raiſed prodigious Sums, yet new Demands were ſtill made and exacted from them in ſo rigorous a manner, that they frequently choſe Death, as a milder Puniſhment than thoſe to which they were expoſed: As, for Inſtance, the Agent of the Province of *Bengal*, was ordered to ſend for ſeven Crore of Rupees from thence, which is almoſt nine Millions of our Money. He, to demonſtrate the Impoſſibility of complying with this Order, anſwered, that ſuch a Sum of Money would fill a Line of Waggons, reaching from *Bengal* to *Dehly*. For this Freedom he was ſo ill treated, that, in Reſentment, he went home, murdered his Family, and then himſelf; and it would appear a Thing incredible, if we were to mention a few only of the many Examples of this ſort that happened[w].

On the Frſt of *May*, all the Omrahs were ordered by *Nadir Shah* to be at *Mohammed Shah*'s by Five of the Clock in the Morning, where they all received Preſents from that Conqueror, according to their ſeveral Ranks, conſiſting of Cloaths, Arms, and Pieces of Gold, and Silver-Stuff. About Eight in the Morning, *Mohammed Shah*, ſeated in the Royal Litter, with a Canopy Umbrella, and ſome red Litter, with ſeveral of the Omrahs, went towards the General Divan, the Omrahs being mounted at a ſmall Diſtance behind him; when they came near the General Divan, the Emperor ordered *Saad o' din Khan* to let none but the head Omrahs, and a few of the chief *Manſubdars* to go farther. At the Door of the General

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[u] One would imagine that this was a Marriage formed upon ſome political Motive, which, however, it is very difficult to diſcover, ſince *Nadir Shah* never ſhewed any Intention of depriving the Mogul of his Dominions. It is not impoſſible, however, that he might ſuſpect, from the Condition in which he ſaw the Empire, that it could not long ſubſiſt, and might therefore incline to have a Son or a Grandſon ſo related to the Imperial Family, as, in that caſe, to form a Pretenſion to it; for otherwiſe this is a Tranſaction, for which no rational Account can be given, eſpecially conſidering the Time when this Marriage was ſolemnized.

[w] There cannot be a ſtronger Mark of Degeneracy and Corruption, than what ſome People may miſtake for Bravery and high Spirit; I mean theſe ſort of Self-murders. We have, in this Hiſtory, the cleareſt Inſtance of it; for theſe People had ſeen their Country over-run, their Friends and Relations abuſed and murdered, their Sovereign inſulted, and their Government overturned, without ſo much as one riſquing their Perſons to prevent ſuch Miſchiefs; but now, when the Means of Luxury were to be taken away, and they were in Danger of living poor, they could pluck up a Spirit and kill themſelves.

Divan, all the Omrahs alighted, and followed on foot to the Door of the private Divan, where *Nadir Shah* was; there the Emperor came out of his Royal Litter and went in. After they had mutually embraced, they breakfaſted together, and the Omrahs likewiſe had Breakfaſt given them. A little after the following Things were brought in for *Mohammed Shah*, *viz.* a Crown richly ſet with Jewels, a Sirpeach, or Fillet, to be worn round the Turban likewiſe ſet with Jewels, a Bracelet richly adorned, a Girdle of great Value, two Swords, the Handles ſet with Jewels, an enameled Cuttarry or Dagger. The Crown *Nadir Shah* put on with his own Hands, making him an Apology at the ſame time. After giving him ſome Advice he took leave of him; the Subſtance of the Advice was to this purpoſe; "In the firſt Place, you muſt ſeize all the Omrahs and *Jaguirs*, and pay each of them according to their Manſubs and Rank, with ready Money out of the Treaſury. You are to allow none to keep any Forces of his own, but you yourſelf are conſtantly to keep ſixty thouſand choſen Horſemen, at ſixty Rupees *per* Month, one with another; every ten Men to have one Dehbaſhi, every ten Dehbaſhis one Sudival, and every ten Sudivals one Hazzari. You ought to be well acquainted with the Merit of each, their Name, their Family, and Nation, not allowing any of them, Officers, Soldiers, or others, to be idle or inactive; when any Occaſion may require, detach a ſufficient Number under the Command of one whom you can truſt for Conduct, Courage and Fidelity; and when that Buſineſs is over, recall them immediately, not letting any Perſons ſtay too long in Command, for fear of bad Conſequences. You are more particularly to beware of *Nizam al Muluck*, whom, by his Conduct, I find to be full of Cunning and ſelf-intereſted, and more ambitious than becomes a Subject." *Mohammed Shah*, knowing theſe Advices proceeded from Good will, was very thankful, and deſired him, as his Empire depended on him, that he would appoint thoſe whom he thought moſt deſerving of the principal Poſts. *Nadir Shah* ſaid, "That will not be at all for your Intereſt, ſuch Officers will have little Deference for you in my Abſence. When I am gone, diſpoſe of every Poſt to thoſe whom you think moſt worthy; and ſhould they, or any of them rebel, upon the firſt Advice, I will ſend a Perſon to chaſtiſe them; if it be neceſſary, I will ſend Forces, or, on Occaſion, I can be with you myſelf in forty Days from *Kandahar*; but, at all Events, don't reckon me far off." After this, *Mohammed Shah*, taking Leave, returned back to *Aeyſh Mahl*, from whence he gave the Omrahs Leave to go home. On the Second of *May*, *Nadir Shah* ſent for *Nizam al Muluck*, *Sirbulind Khan*, and the other Omrahs, and having enjoined Obedience to *Mohammed Shah*, and threatened them, in caſe of Rebellion, took his Leave[x]. It was whiſpered, that *Nadir Shah* declared before ſome of his Omrahs, that he had acted indiſcreetly in regard to two Things; one was, his giving the Empire to *Mohammed Shah*, who being unequal to ſo great a Taſk, the Affairs of *India* would become worſe than formerly. The other his giving Quarter to *Nizam al Muluck*, who being ſo very ſubtle and crafty, it was more than probable he would raiſe a Diſturbance; but, as according to the Decrees of Providence, and the Aſſiſtance of their own good Fortune, he had once paſſed his Word to them, he would not act contrary thereto. This ſhews the Temper and Spirit of this Conqueror, and his Reſolution to do nothing that might deſtroy that Confidence which even his Enemies repoſed in him.

On the Fourth of *May*, 1739, he began his March from *Dehly*, having firſt iſſued out ſtrict Orders to all his Soldiers to join his Army, upon Pain of Death, which, with great Severity, he inflicted upon ſuch as ſtaid behind, Sixty of whom were diſcovered, and ſent after him, by the Command of *Mohammed Shah*; a larger Number was afterwards collected, and were likewiſe to have been ſent to him; but upon Reflection, the Mogul Emperor declared in Council, that as it was morally certain theſe poor People would be likewiſe put to Death, he ſaw no Reaſon why they ſhould make themſelves acceſſary to the ſhedding of ſo much innocent Blood, and therefore ordered theſe Deſerters to be ſet at Liberty. *Nadir-Shah*, when he had once begun his March towards *Perſia*; proſecuted it with great Diligence, that he might effectually ſecure the vaſt Riches he had obtained, and to which, however, he made ſome Acceſſions. Some Days before he left *Dehly*, he ſent Part of his Army before to *Lahor*; when they approached the Place, and *Zekaria-Khan* was apprized thereof, he called together all the great Men, Merchants, Serafs, and wealthy People of the City. At their Meeting it was agreed, that the Khan and they ſhould go out of the City, and ſend a Meſſage to the commanding Officer, in theſe Words; "If your Deſign be to ſlaughter the Inhabitants, lo! we are here preſent. If Plunder be your Intent, the City is deſerted, and our Effects left there; or if Money be what you want, the Soubahdar and Citizens can raiſe no more than one Crore; ſo whatever your Intentions or Orders are, that execute. This is a ſmall City, and not able to withſtand the Fury of an Army, as *Dehly* is." On the Receipt of this Meſſage, the commanding Officer thought proper to repreſent the Affair to his Maſter, who ordered him to receive the Crore of *Rupees*, and to moleſt them no further. After the Payment of the Money, amounting to 1,250,000*l.* he drew off, and joined the main Army upon their March.

It is amazing, that ſo ſudden, ſo extraordinary, and ſo dreadful a Blow as was by this Invaſion given to the Mogul Empire, did not awaken ſuch as were intruſted with the Adminiſtration of Affairs to a juſt Senſe of their Duty; and yet we are aſſured, that for almoſt two Months after the *Shah*'s Departure, there were no Steps taken to rectify thoſe Diſorders in their Government, that had produced this melancholy Event; on the contrary, the Miniſtry perſiſted in their Ill-will to each other, and were more intent on the Means of promoting their ſeparate Intereſts, or gratifying their particular Reſentments, than in contriving any thing for the publick Good, or for reſtoring their Affairs. Neither did this ſtrange Humour prevail among the Great only, but ſpread like a peſtilential Infection through all Ranks and Degrees of People. The Inhabitants, from the Terror of this Calamity, like People poſſeſſed, and in Fits, were quite ſtupefied, and not come to themſelves; and what is ſtill more ſtrange (notwithſtanding the Oppreſſions and Diſgrace the People of this Empire have met with ſince *Nadir-Shah*'s Departure) the indecent Expreſſions and beaſtly Actions of his Soldiers were the conſtant Subjects of Diſcourſe in all Companies, related with a ſeeming Satisfaction and Pleaſure, and by way of Jeſt and Drollery, not being the leaſt affected with the Reflection on their paſt Diſgrace and Misfortunes, but on the contrary ſeemed ſorry for his going away[y].

It is impoſſible to account for this, ſince the Loſſes they ſuſtained of all Kinds were incredibly great, for in Gold and Silver Coin he carried away twenty-five Crores of *Rupees*, making upwards of thirty-one Millions of our

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[x] It is very evident, from this very ſingular and curious Converſation, that, in the Opinion of *Nadir Shah*, nothing could ſecure a Government like that of the Mogul's, but a ſtanding and well-diſciplined Army, conſtantly kept on Foot, and as conſtantly kept in good Order. The Reaſon is not hard to find out: In Countries where the People have Liberty and Property, they have no Temptations, or, at leaſt, very few, to endeavour to overturn that Conſtitution, or form a Government, by which or under which they enjoy ſuch Advantages; and in caſe their Country is invaded from abroad, they are hearty and zealous in defending it. But in ſuch Countries as are under arbitrary Princes, as none have either Liberty or Property, ſo none but ſuch as are hired will fight in Defence of that Power which belongs to one whom perhaps they fear rather than love, or, as in this Caſe, neither fear him nor love him.

[y] This is another Proof, that there is no political Diſtemper ſo hard to cure, as rivetted Luxury and total Corruption. One would naturally imagine, that there could not be in Nature a better Remedy contrived, or at leaſt one more effectual than this, which was deviſed by *Nizam al Muluck*, but even this we ſee did not operate. While the Miſchief was upon them, they ſunk under it, and groaned under the immediate Senſe of their Sufferings, but like lethargick Patients, as ſoon as the Cauſtick is withdrawn, they relapſe again into their former Condition, and ſleep as ſound as ever. We may, however, venture to predict, that the Diſſolution of this Government is at hand, and that it will not be long before we hear of *Indoſtan*'s being over-run by foreign Enemies, or a new Family raiſed to the Throne by ſome fortunate Inſurrection.

Money; in Gold and Silver Plate he carried away five Crores; in Jewels, which he took from the Emperor and the Omrahs, twenty-five Crores. He ſeized likewiſe the famous Peacock Throne, and nine others, valued at as many Crores of *Rupees*. In fine Cloths, rich Stuffs, and other valuable Commodities, he picked up ſix Crores more, ſo that in the whole, he received at leaſt ſeventy Crores, which make eighty-ſeven Millions and an half of our Money. He took with him likewiſe a thouſand Elephants, ſeven thouſand Horſes, ten thouſand Camels, and about a thouſand Artificers of ſeveral ſorts. His Officers and Soldiers acquired by Plunder ten Crores of *Rupees*, or twelve Millions and an half of our Money; the Charges of his Army, while he continued in the Territories of the Mogul, the Arrears, Pay, and Gratuities advanced them, together with the Goods they deſtroyed by Fire, and other Acts of Fury and Deſolation, could not fall much, if any thing, ſhort of twenty Crores more; and if to this we add the Loſs ſuffered by the Plunder of the City of *Dehly*, and the Ravages committed in the March to and from thence, the entire Loſs ſuſtained by the Inhabitants of this Empire, will not be exaggerated, if computed at an Arrib of *Rupees*, or an hundred and twenty-five Millions Sterling. Again, as to the Number of Perſons deſtroyed in the March from *Labor*, in the Battle of *Carnal*, in the March of *Dehly*, in the general Maſſacre there, and in the Conſequences of it, ſuch as Self-Murders, Famine, and arbitrary Puniſhments, it is believed there could not fall leſs than two hundred thouſand Perſons, of all Ranks, Ages and Sexes.

But it was not only Blood and Treaſure that paid for this Invaſion, but Dominions alſo, for *Nadir Shah* required, and obtained, an abſolute Ceſſion of all the Territories then poſſeſſed by the *Indian* Monarch on the Weſt-Side of the River *Attock*, by which Means *Peiſhor*, with its Territories, the Principality of *Cabul*, and ſeveral other Countries, were yielded to *Perſia*[1]; ſo that the Extent of that Monarchy on this Side is much larger than it was before *Nadir-Shah* came to the Crown.

Thus we have traced the Hiſtory of this *Tartar* Empire in the *Indies*, from its firſt Riſe to the preſent Times, through the Courſe of three hundred and forty Years and upwards. It is by the Help of this Hiſtory, that the ſubſequent Part of this Work will be rendered perfectly intelligible, becauſe from thence we ſee how all Parts of the higher *Aſia* changed their Government, and in a great Meaſure their Inhabitants, ſince it is certain, that from being the pureſt and moſt unmix'd People in the World, their Cities came to be filled by a vaſt Variety of different Nations, and thoſe too of different Faiths. Firſt, this was occaſioned by the utter Deſtruction of the *Perſian* Monarchy by the *Arabs*, which drove the Natives of that Country, who have ſince been called *Perſees*, and of late *Perſi*'s, into all Parts of *Aſia*, but more eſpecially into *India*, where the Manners of the People, and the Laws of their Country, very nearly reſembled their own. The *Mohammedans* next, for the ſake of Trade, came to plant themſelves in the *Indies*, where when they once found themſelves ſtrong enough, they ſeized ſuch Parts of the Country as were moſt convenient for them, and ſettled ſeveral Principalities, but particularly that under Sultan *Mohammed*, which gave the great *Timur* ſo much Trouble, when he firſt invaded *Indoſtan*, and which was afterwards ſo long famous under the Title of the Kingdom of the *Pattans*. The *Tartars*, as has been before obſerved in the laſt Section, had made ſeveral Incurſions into theſe Countries, to the great Diſturbance of the Inhabitants, who were likewiſe very much diſtreſſed by the continual Quarrels and frequent Wars among their own Princes, who by this Means weakened and deſtroyed that Force which was abſolutely neceſſary to their common Safety. It is very clear therefore, that the State of the *Indies* was much altered from what it was in the Time of the Ancients, and conſequently the Inhabitants were much leſs able to reſiſt the Attempts that were made upon their Liberties by the *Europeans*.

For, in the firſt Place, they had been totally enervated by their Luxury, which drew upon them thoſe Diviſions and Diſtractions which rendered them an eaſy Prey to the *Mohammedans* and *Tartars*. Neither was this at all cured by their Misfortunes, for though it be natural enough for a poor and hardy Nation to attain by ſlow Degrees, and unwearied Endeavours, to Wealth and Power; yet it is neither reaſonable to expect, nor does Hiſtory make it at all probable, that when once a Nation has been corrupted in its Morals, and ſoftened in its Manners, to a great Degree, it has ever recovered its former Temper and Spirit, though brought again into as great Poverty and Diſtreſs, as when it firſt ſtruggled for Empire. This was the Situation of the *Indians* preciſely, when they were firſt known to the *Portugueze*; that is to ſay, they had attained to the moſt flouriſhing Condition that perhaps ever any Nation enjoyed, and by abuſing their Wealth and Power, had ſunk into all the Depths of Luxury, by which the Yoke of Slavery had been brought upon their Necks; which though they bore with Impatience, yet they wanted both Force and Virtue to throw off, living ſtill in perpetual Feuds and Animoſities againſt each other, and delighting as much as ever in that Sloth and Love of Pleaſure which had brought them into theſe Misfortunes.

After having theſe leading Circumſtances clearly laid down to us, and our making a few neceſſary Remarks upon them, from the Lights of Reaſon and Experience, we ſhall be as well prepared as we can deſire for the Peruſal of the remaining Part of this Work, and be capable of entering fully into the Spirit and Meaning of it. We ſhall ſee how far we have Reaſon to expect, that modern Writers ſhould agree, and how far we may ſuppoſe they muſt differ from the Authors of Antiquity, though writing of the ſame Places and of the ſame People. We cannot but believe, that in the great Points of Government, and what may be called the Exteriors of a Conſtitution, there muſt be ſtill a very apparent Likeneſs between the ancient *Indians* and the modern, becauſe theſe are things permanent in their Nature, as we ſee in the Cuſtoms of the *Jews* and other Nations. Accordingly we find, that as to their Diviſion into Tribes, their Form of Government, and their ordinary Manner of living, the modern *Indians* reſemble thoſe deſcribed by the Ancients ſo much, that there can be no manner of Doubt of their being the ſame People, or of the Truth of thoſe Relations that are delivered to us from the moſt early Times.

In the next Place, we find the Religion of the *Indians* exactly in that Situation in which we might expect it, that is, exceedingly altered and corrupted, intermixed with many Notions, Fables, and Ceremonies, taken from the Doctrines maintained by the ſeveral Nations with whom they have ſince converſed. Laſtly, in reſpect to Trade, the Inhabitants of the *Indies* appear very much changed from what they were, but changed in a Manner very ſuitable to the Accidents that have befallen that Nation. They have no longer that Openneſs and Freedom in their Dealings, that Juſtice and Integrity in the Performance of their Contracts, that Regularity in their Proceedings, or that ſtrict Regard for their Words, which heretofore rendered them famous; but they are to this Day induſtrious and indefatigable, excellent in the ſeveral Manufactures to which they apply themſelves, and more attentive than ever to the concealing thoſe Secrets which relate to them. The Commodities, and the wrought Goods of this Country, are ſuch as perfectly correſpond with the ancient Accounts of them; ſo that taking things altogether, there is as much Affinity between the old and the new Relations of this Country, and its Inhabitants, as, the foregoing Particulars attentively conſidered, we can poſſibly require.

The Subject, as it has been hitherto purſued, has led us into Abundance of troubleſome Digreſſions, ſome perplexed and abſtruſe Inquiries, and through Roads into which nothing could carry an Author but the Love of Truth. If either the Search of Eaſe to myſelf, or the Deſire of acquiring falſe Fame by amuſing my Readers with pleaſant Relations, could have diverted me from the Execution of the Plan laid down at the Opening of this Chapter, I might undoubtedly have taken my Journey over plainer Ground, and through a more cultivated Country, I mean that of ſuſpicious Voyages, where we are more indebted to the Imagination, than to the Induſtry of the Writers; but I was convinced, that this kind of Hiſtory of the *Indies* was a Thing equally wanted and deſired to compleat the Univerſal Hiſtory, if I may ſo ſpeak, of Voyages and Travels; I thought I ſhould render a greater Service to the Publick in compiling what had never been digeſted before, than by tacking together Piece after Piece what had been before made publick: As this is now finiſhed, and we enter in the next Section on modern Voyages, I flatter myſelf, the Reader will, at every Step, diſcern the great Importance and ſingular Utility of the foregoing Part of this Chapter.

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[1] The River *Attock* is a little Stream, as it is repreſented in ſome Maps, which divides the Province of *Lahor* from that of *Peiſhor*; but in Truth it is a very large and rapid River, which is fordable only in one Place, which is defended by a ſtrong Caſtle, called the Caſtle of *Attock*. So that by Virtue of this Treaty, there are four Provinces cut off from the Mogul's Empire, and annexed to that of *Perſia*, the eaſtern Boundary of which is now this River and the River *Indus*.

SECTION XXIII.

A compleat Hiſtory of the Riſe and Progreſs of the Portugueze *Empire in the* Eaſt-Indies; *their* Diſcoveries *ſet forth in their natural Order*; *the Form of their* Government *in thoſe Parts explained*; *the Cauſes of the* Declenſion *of their* Power *examined*; *and the* preſent Poſture *of their* Affairs *in this Part of the World truly ſtated.*

Collected chiefly from *their own* Writers

1. *An introductory Diſcourſe, ſhewing the Deſign of this Section, and the Method obſerved therein.* 2. *The Diſcoveries made by the* Portugueze *in the Fifteenth Century, and the Motives which induced them to attempt a new Paſſage to the* Indies. 3. *The Diſcovery of the* Cape of Good Hope, *by* Bartholomew Diaz; *and the Reaſons why it was ſo called.* 4. *The glorious Expedition of* Vaſquez de Gama *to the* Indies *by this new Paſſage, and his Exploits there.* 5. *The ſecond Voyage to the* Indies, *under the Command of Don* Pedro Alvarez de Capral, *who in his Paſſage diſcovered* Brazil. 6. *The King of* Portugal *ſends Don* Vaſquez de Gama *again into the Eaſt.* 7. *Affairs of the* Portugueze *to the Arrival of the two* Albuquerques *in the* Indies. 8. *Don* Francis d'Almeyda *ſent with the Title of Viceroy.* 9. *The noble Acts and extenſive Conqueſts of Don* Alphonſo d'Albuquerque. 10. *The great Wars carried on by, and the prodigious Succeſs of, the* Portugueze *in the* Indies. 11. *A ſuccinct Account of their Affairs to the Union of the Crowns of* Spain *and* Portugal. 12. *The Reaſons which oblige us to diſtinguiſh between their Conqueſts and Diſcoveries.* 13. *The* Maldives *and* Ceylon *firſt known to the* Portugueze. 14. *They viſit* Sumatra *and the adjacent Iſlands.* 15. *The important Diſcovery of the* Moluccas, *or* Spice-Iſlands. 16. *The* Portugueze *firſt viſit the Coaſts of* China. 17. *The Iſlands* de los Ladrones *diſcovered.* 18. *The large Iſland of* Celebes *firſt viſited by the* Portugueze. 19. *They diſcover likewiſe the Iſlands in the Streights of* Sonda. 20. *The Coaſts of* New Guinea *firſt known to the* Europeans. 21. *The Diſcovery and Conqueſt of the* Philippines. 22. *The firſt Voyage made by the* Portugueze *to* Japan. 23. *Attempts made to diſcover the Land of* Yedzo *and to the North.* 24. *The Hiſtory of the* New Philippines, *never before publiſhed in our Language.* 25. *An Account of the* Caroline *Iſlands, the laſt diſcovered in this Part of the Globe.* 26. *The Hiſtory of the* Portugueze *Commerce in the* Indies *reſumed.* 27. *Several of their principal Colonies loſt, to whom and how.* 28. *The great Declenſion of their Power in the* Indies. 29. *The Cauſes of that Declenſion inquired into and explained.* 30. *The preſent State of the* Portugueze *Settlements and Commerce.* 31. *Their Importance to the Crown of* Portugal *conſidered.* 32. *Conjectures as to the future State of their Affairs.* 33. *Obſervations and Remarks upon the foregoing Section.*

1. THE Diſcoveries and Conqueſts of the *Portugueze* take up not only ſo large a Part of their own Hiſtories, but make ſo conſiderable a Figure in thoſe of *Europe*, and above all concern the Subject of this Chapter ſo nearly, that I find myſelf obliged to treat this Matter in ſuch an Extent, as that it may anſwer the Reader's Expectations, and fulfil what I have promiſed for it in the original Plan of this Work. We have already many large and well written Books in ſeveral Languages, and ſome in our own, which promiſe a compleat Hiſtory of the Exploits of this Nation in the Eaſt; but none of theſe come up to what I have in View. They take in only a certain Period of Time, and are rather calculated to inform us of the Actions of the ſeveral Admirals, Governors, and Commanders in chief, than to give us a compleat Idea of the Riſe, Progreſs, and Declenſion of the *Portugueze* Power in thoſe Parts, which is what I aim at, and which, God willing, ſhall be performed in the Compaſs of this Section.

But to keep within due Bounds, and to bring ſo vaſt a Field of Matter within Compaſs, I have found it neceſſary for my Reader's Eaſe, and my own, to have Recourſe to the following Method. In the firſt place, I ſhall give a general and ſuccinct Account, with due Regard to Perſons, Circumſtances, and Time, of the firſt Diſcoveries and Conqueſts of the *Portugueze*, the Growth of their Empire in the Eaſt, and their ſeveral Eſtabliſhments, till other *European* Nations began to interfere with them in thoſe Parts, without running into any Digreſſions as to the Diſcoveries made by particular Perſons, and by this Means I hope to give a clear and eaſy Account of that great Alteration made in the Commerce of all *Europe*, by the Diſcovery of a direct Paſſage by Sea to the *Indies*. But as in the ſubſequent Part of this Work, it will be found extremely requiſite to have Recourſe to the particular Diſcoveries and firſt Intercourſe between the *Portugueze* and ſeveral *Indian* Nations, I ſhall next endeavour to ſtate with all the Brevity that is conſiſtent with ſuch a Deſign, the particular Diſcoveries that have been made by this Nation, or by the *Spaniards*, who acquired all that they poſſeſs in the *Eaſt-Indies*, in Right of the *Portugueze*, down to the preſent Age; and when this is done, I ſhall reſume the general Hiſtory of their Empire, ſhew the true Cauſes of its Declenſion, and conclude with a fair and diſtinct Account of their preſent Poſſeſſions in thoſe Parts.

This, I conceive, will fully anſwer our Intention of repreſenting as accurately as is poſſible the Progreſs of this Trade, which with ſo much Labour we have conducted from the very earlieſt Ages; and in this manner of ſtating it, the Matter contained in this Section, though not abſolutely new in itſelf, will, however, appear in a Light very different from that in which it has hitherto ſtood in any Collection of this ſort. It will be eaſy to diſcern, that the reducing ſuch a vaſt Abundance of Materials, as the *Portugueze* Hiſtorians, and thoſe of other Nations, who have treated on different Parts of this Subject, have amaſſed, within the Bounds of one Section, and that too of no great Size, will require great Diligence, and put me under the Neceſſity of laying aſide many Things which thoſe Writers thought worthy of tranſmitting to Poſterity. But this will be ſo far from proving in any reſpect prejudicial to the Reader, that it will on the contrary turn to his Advantage, becauſe it will free him from the Trouble of running through a long Courſe of trifling Circumſtances that have little or nothing to do with the main Point.

For as to the copious and ſwelling Panegyricks on particular Captains, the long Accounts of the Travels and Labours of Miſſionaries, and that pompous Detail of Church Hiſtory, which makes up at leaſt two-thirds of what theſe Authors have delivered, they are certainly Matters that an *Engliſh* Peruſer would be tempted to hurry over as faſt as poſſible, and therefore the Omiſſion of them muſt contribute not only to the Elegance, but to the Uſefulneſs of this Performance. Indeed, when freed from theſe and other cumbrous Circumſtances, there cannot be any thing more pleaſant or entertaining, and at the ſame time more curious and inſtructive, than this Part of our Hiſtory, in which we ſee what mighty Things may be performed by Courage, Induſtry, and Application, and how ſoon even the ſmalleſt States, by cultivating a maritime Power, become potent and conſiderable.

The little Kingdom of *Portugal* is bounded on the North and on the Eaſt by ſeveral Provinces of *Spain*, and on the South and Weſt by the *Atlantick* Ocean. It extends from 37° to 42° of North Latitude, and lies between the 7° and 10° Longitude Weſt from *London*. It is in Length from North to South about three hundred Miles, and in Breadth from Eaſt to Weſt about one hundred. The Climate is pleaſant and wholeſome, the Soil fertile in ſome Places, but not in many, ſo that they are ſupplied with Corn by us and by the *Dutch*. This Country was formerly famous for Gold, but for many Ages there has been none, or at leaſt but little of that precious Metal found there. There is, indeed, a very rich Silver Mine at *Guacaldana*, ſtill wrought with conſiderable Profit; but the principal Advantage of *Portugal* is its Situation on the Sea, and the Excellence of its Harbours. That of *Liſbon*, if we extend it from *St. Benet*'s above it, to the Bay of *Caſcais* at the Mouth of the River, is four or five Leagues long; but if we only take in that Part of it about the Town, where Ships ride in the greateſt Security from Storms and Enemies in eighteen Fathom Water, it will contain ſeveral thouſand Sail; the Entry of it indeed is hazardous without a Pilot, but on the other hand, Ships ride ſecurely when they are in it, being covered by the Hills on which the City ſtands on one Side, and by the oppoſite Banks, which are very high, on the other. There are, beſides this, ſeveral other good Ports in this Kingdom, the Subjects of which have been always famous for their Application to Maritime Affairs, and after they had driven the *Moors* out of their Country, followed them into their own, and, under the Reign of King *John the Firſt*, defeated them in a great Battle, and took from them the Fortreſs of *Ceuta*, which ſtill remains in the Power of the Crown of *Spain* *.

It was to the Zeal and Magnanimity of the Infant Don *Henry*, the Fifth Son of this King *John*, that the *Portugueze* ſtand indebted for all that Glory which they have acquired by their Diſcoveries and Conqueſts in the Eaſt, and we may juſtly conſider the Attempts made by them at this Juncture as the more extraordinary, ſince their Country was but juſt recovered from a long and dangerous Civil War, the Power of their Prince very far from being great, his Finances very low, and the Country ſo indifferently peopled, that he was obliged to have recourſe to other Nations for Men to recruit his Armies, and to ſerve on Board his Fleets, which were very far from being conſiderable; I do not mean in Compariſon of the Fleets fitted out in our Times, but of thoſe that were then employed by the Crown of *Spain*, and the Republicks of *Italy*. Yet under theſe Diſcouragements this Spirit of Trade and Navigation not only ſprung up, but proſpered; and this too, notwithſtanding that many of their Stateſmen were very averſe to ſuch Undertakings, from the Danger and Difficulties that attended them; nor could they in all Probability have been carried into Execution, but from the Zeal of the Clergy, who, out of a Deſire of propagating the Chriſtian Faith, promoted them to the utmoſt of their Power.

2. The Infant Don *Henry* Count *de Viſeo* was a Prince endowed with all the great Qualities that diſtinguiſh Heroes from other Men. He had ſhewn his Courage in his Youth in the Wars againſt the *Moors*; but he was far from valuing himſelf on the Power of deſtroying or making miſerable his Fellow-creatures, and therefore thought the proper Object of Valour was the facing thoſe Dangers that hindered the Proſecution of ſuch Deſigns as might be beneficial to the human Species. He reſolved therefore to make himſelf Maſter of the *Canaries*, which were then in the Hands of *Maciot de Bethancourt*, who held them under a Grant from the King of *Caſtille*, and who for a valuable Conſideration made over his Right to Prince *Henry* about the Year 1406. He ſent *Ferdinand de Caſtro*, who was at that time Maſter of his Houſhold, to take Poſſeſſion of them, and conceiving that they might be of great Uſe in the Diſcovery of the Coaſts of the great Continent of *Africa*, which were then very little known, he began about the Year 1410, to fit out Ships for that Purpoſe, and took *Spaniards*, and others who were ſkilled in Navigation, into his Service for that Purpoſe.

The utmoſt Limits of the South-weſt Part of *Africa*, then known to the *Portugueze*, was a Cape running out from the Foot of Mount *Atlas*, the proper Name of which was *Chaunar*, but called by the Seamen Cape *Non*, ſituated in the Latitude of 28° 10 North; and theſe Veſſels proceeded along the Coaſt to Cape *Bojadore*, in 26° North Latitude, but they had not the Courage to double it. In 1418 *Triſtan-Vaz* diſcovered the Iſland of *Porto-Santo*, and gave it that Name, becauſe the firſt ſaw it on he Feaſt of *All Saints*. The next Year the *Portugueze* diſcovered the Iſland of *Madeira*, to which they gave that Name, on account of its being covered with Wood. In 1439, a *Portugueze* Captain doubled Cape *Bojadore*, which ſome think is the ſame that in the Writing of *Ptolemy* is called Cape *Canarec*. The next Year they ſailed as high as Cape *Blanco*, in the Latitude of 20°, and ſoon after diſcovered the *Rio del Oro*, with ſeveral ſmall Iſlands upon the Coaſt. In 1446, *Nuno Triſtan* doubled Cape *Verd*, in the Latitude of 14° 40'. In 1448, in the Spring, Don *Gonzalo Vallo* ſailed to the Iſlands called *Açorres*, or the *Hawk-Iſlands*, from the Word *Açor*, which in the *Spaniſh* Language ſignifies a Hawk. They were at that Time uninhabited, and were ſettled by this Commander, who did not, however, viſit at this Time the Iſlands of *Flores* and *Corvo*, which were ſettled, as we have elſewhere obſerved, by ſome *Flemings*, and from thence were called the *Flemiſh* Iſlands.

In the Year 1449, the Iſlands of Cape *Verd* were diſcovered on the Behalf of the Infant Don *Henry*; the firſt of theſe was called the Iſland of *May*, becauſe they came thither on *May day*, and at the ſame time they beſtowed the Names of *St. James* and *St. Philip* on two of thoſe Iſlands, the Reſt remaining undiſcovered till the Year 1460. The progreſs made by the Infant Don *Henry* gave great Satisfaction to the Princes that poſſeſſed the Crown of *Portugal*, inſomuch that King *Alphonſo* IV. or rather the Infant Don *Pedro*, who governed the Kingdom during his Minority, made him a Grant of the Iſlands of *Porto-Santo* and *Madeira*. The Infant, however, judged it requiſite, according to the Cuſtom of thoſe Times, to obtain the Sanction of the Holy See, and for that Reaſon ſent Don *Ferdinand Lopez d' Azevedo* as his Embaſſador to Pope *Martin* V. who, as the thing coſt him very little, made a free Grant to the Crown of *Portugal* of all that ſhould be diſcovered on that Side as far as the *Indies*. This Bull is dated in 1444, and was confirmed by his Succeſſors, *Eugenius* IV. *Nicholas* V. and *Sixtus* IV. which occaſioned afterwards high Diſputes[b].

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* It was very far from being my Intention to give the Reader either a Deſcription of the Kingdom of *Portugal*, or the Hiſtory of it, for both belong to the ſucceeding Volume. What I have ſaid in the Text was purely to render the ſubſequent Part of this Section perfectly clear, and well connected. By comparing the Force of the Kingdom of *Portugal* with the Conqueſts gained by the *Portugueze* in the *Eaſt-Indies*, he will be made fully ſenſible of the Truth of my Remarks, and by attending to the Situation of this Country, he will be ſatisfied, that there was nothing in it more than a Nation's turning their Thoughts to that for which Nature deſigned them; for with reſpect to *Eaſt India* Voyages, as the Art of Navigation then ſtood, the *Portugueze* were better ſeated than any other People in *Europe*.

In 1471, *Pedro d'Eſcovar* diſcovered the Iſland of *St. Thomas*, and *Prince-Iſlands*, and on the firſt Day of the next Year another Iſland on the ſame Coaſt, which for that Reaſon he called *Anno Bueno*, which is the ſame that is now called corruptly *Annobon*. In 1484, *Diego Cam*, a *Portugueze*, diſcovered the Kingdom of *Congo*, and having heard there of a Chriſtian Monarch, who reigned in *Ethiopia*, he magnified his Power ſo much on his Return, that *John* II. who was at that Time on the Throne, took a Reſolution to ſend by Land two Perſons he could truſt, to gain ſome certain Intelligence of this Chriſtian Prince, whom he judged to be Preſbyter *John*, and at the ſame time to gain the moſt ſatisfactory Knowledge they could of the State of the *Indies*. The Perſons who went with this Commiſſion, were *Pedro de Covillan* and *Alphonſo de Payva*, who had ſtrict Orders to commit to Writing whatever they judged worthy of Notice; but more eſpecially the Situation of Places, and the Navigation on the Coaſt of *Ethiopia*, by which it was judged ſome Diſcovery might be made of the Means of paſſing by a new Rout to the *Indies*. Our Travellers, who ſpoke the *Arabick* Tongue perfectly, went together to *Alexandria*, and from thence to *Cairo*, from which City they proceeded to the famous Port of *Aden* in *Arabia*, where they had an Opportunity of converſing with Traders of all Nations, and from all Parts of the *Indies*, from whom they learned many Things which were of great Conſequence to them, inaſmuch that they ſeemed to put it in their Power to give the King a good Account of the Commiſſion with which they were intruſted. Here they reſolved to part, in order, that while one made a Tour through the *Indies*, the other might go to the Court of the Emperor of *Ethiopia*. Accordingly, *Pedro de Covillan* went to the *Indies*, and having made a very exact Map of the Coaſts, he croſſed the *Arabian* Sea to *Africa*, and after having viſited moſt of the principal Ports there, came to *Sofala*, fully perſuaded, as well from the Reaſon of the Thing, as from the concurring Opinions of the Seamen he converſed with, that a ſhort and eaſy Paſſage might be found round the Continent of *Africa* to the *Indies*. Full of Joy from this Diſcovery, he made the beſt of his Way to *Cairo*, where he was to meet his Companion; but when he came thither, he was informed that the unfortunate *Alphonſo de Payva* had been murdered on the Road to *Ethiopia*. He was ſomewhat at a Loſs as to the Meaſures which he was next to take; but, after mature Conſideration, he reſolved to acquaint the King with the Diſcoveries he had made by Letter, and to continue his Journey into *Ethiopia*, that, at his Return to *Portugal*, he might be able to ſatisfy the King, in every Reſpect, ſo that his Majeſty might not be under a Neceſſity of ſending any other Perſon to make farther Enquiries. He executed his ſecond Journey with the ſame good Fortune that he did the former, at leaſt at the Beginning, and was extremely well received by *Alexander*, who was at that Time Emperor of *Abyſſinia*, who was extremely well pleaſed with the Offers made him of the Aſſiſtance of a powerful Prince, and promiſed to ſend *Pedro de Covillan* back again with Letters to the King his Maſter; but he dying ſuddenly, his Succeſſor *Nahu* treated our *Portugueze*, not only with Coldneſs and Diſreſpect, but with the greateſt Cruelty, refuſing him Leave to return home, and keeping him at his Court as a Priſoner for many Years; ſo that in *Portugal* they concluded him dead, though he lived afterwards to recover his Liberty[c].

3. The ſame worthy King of *Portugal John* II. while he endeavoured, by theſe his Embaſſadors, to gain a perfect Knowledge of the State of the *Indies* by Land, neglected not the Proſecution of what had been ſo long laboured with the ſame View at Sea. It was to facilitate this Deſign, that he employed *Bartholomew Diaz*, one of his Courtiers, and a Perſon remarkable for great Prudence, much ſkill in the Art of Navigation, as well as for invincible Courage, to proceed ſtill farther along the ſouth-Coaſt of *Africa*, which accordingly he did in the Year 1486, and executed his Commiſſion with equal Conduct and Succeſs He carried with him ſeveral Negroes, who had been many Years in his Service, and who, from time to time, he ſet on Shore, well dreſſed, with a ſmall Quantity of Goods, on purpoſe that they might inform the People of the Country how well they had been uſed, and how kindly treated by the *Portugueze*. He likewiſe ſet up Croſſes of Stone, with the Arms of *Portugal* engraven upon them, to aſſert his Maſter's Title to the Countries by him diſcovered.

At laſt, arriving in Sight of a high Cape, near which he met with very bad Weather, he loſt the Company of his victualing Bark; upon which his Crew mutinied, complaining that it was too much to endure at one time the Hardſhips of the Sea and of Famine. But Captain *Diaz* repreſented to them, that the former was not to be eſcaped by going back, and that the only Means they had of preventing the latter, was to proceed till they came to ſome Place where they could get Refreſhments; he prevailed upon them to double the Cape, and to ſail a good Way beyond it, to a Place where he erected another Pillar of Stone; and having obtained a ſmall Supply he returned, and, in his Paſſage homewards, met with his Bark again, in which, of nine Men that he had left, three only ſurvived, and of theſe *Ferdinand Colazza* died with Joy at the firſt Sight of the Captain. He continued his Voyage ſafely to *Liſbon*, where he arrived in *December* 1487, ſixteen Months and ſeven Days after his ſetting out, having diſcovered above a thouſand Miles along the Coaſt'd.

He gave the King his Maſter a very full Account of all that had happened to him, and inſiſted particularly on the Difficulty with which he had doubled that ſtupendous Promontory, which, from the ſtormy Sea about it, he thought fit to call *Cabo Tormontoſo*, that is, *The Tempeſtuous Cape*: But the King, who from the Lights he had received from *Covillan*'s Letters, knew how to form a right Judgment of the Importance of this Diſcovery, ſtiled it CABO DEL BUENO ESPERANZA, or, THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, which Name it has ever ſince retained: For he ſaw clearly from the Agreement between theſe Accounts, that the Paſſage was now open, and that there wanted but one Voyage more to finiſh what they had ſo much deſired, *viz.* the finding a direct Paſſage by Sea to the *Eaſt Indies*.

But while King *John* meditated this great Deſign in his Mind, and buſied himſelf in contriving the Means of executing

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[b] This Tranſaction ſhews, that Don *Henry* was a very great Politician, for by pretending that all Countries were to be diſpoſed of at the Will and Pleaſure of the Pope of *Rome*, he ſecured his Holineſs's Conſent to whatever he demanded; and he very well knew, that whatever was beſtowed upon him by thoſe Grants, would be infallibly ſupported by the Thunder of the Church. This great Prince died in the Year 1463. The Continent of *Africa* under his Auſpice having been diſcovered from Cape *Non* to Cape *Sierra Leona*, which is in the Latitude 8° North, by which the Foundation was laid of all that was afterwards performed.

[c] I cannot help owning, that it is a little out of the Road of what is propoſed in this Sectio nto dwell on the Adventures of particular Perſons, but, as I know it is natural for an inquiſitive Reader to wiſh that he might be informed of what became of ſuch remarkable Perſons as are mentioned in the Hiſtory, I have taken Occaſion in the former Note to obſerve, that Don *Henry*, the firſt Encourager of the Diſcoveries of the *Portugueze*, ſurvived to 1463; and here I ſhall obſerve, that this *Pedro de Covillan*, who was the firſt of his Nation that ever ſet Foot in the *Indies*, lived a Priſoner in *Ethiopia* to the Year 1520. when Don *Roderigo de Lima* came thither in Quality of Embaſſador from the Crown of *Portugal*, to whom he related all his Adventures, and from whom he learned what mighty Conqueſts his Letters had produced.

[d] The Remarks made upon this Tranſaction by Sir *William Monſon* in his Naval Tracts, deſerve the Reader's Notice; the rather, becauſe he has been always eſteemed a very wiſe Man, and was, beyond Queſtion, a very able Seaman, and by no means envious of the *Portugueze*, or diſpoſed to depreciate their Labours; yet he attributes their Diſcoveries to the peculiar Providence of God in theſe Words: Before I treat of any particulars of the *Eaſt-Indies*, give me Leave to put you in mind of ſome Obſervations of mine, which will not be unworthy your Peruſal, ſeeing they are only to be attributed to God, who is the Searcher of all Hearts, and the Diſcoverer of hidden Secrets. It is ſtrange and ſurpriſing, that out of ſo many flouriſhing Nations as God hath created and civilized, he ſhould elect and chuſe the Kingdom of *Portugal* to perform this great Work of his, a Country in thoſe Days of leſs Eſteem and Reputation, of leſs Renown and Fame, and of leſs Ability and Valour, than any other Chriſtian Monarchy we can call to mind, and to aſſign them ſuch a Time to effect it, when they enjoyed a happy Peace with their Neighbours, and had no Enemy to oppoſe or hinder their Deſigns.

ecuting it in ſuch a Manner as might be moſt honourable to himſelf and advantageous for his Subjects, the great Ruler of all Things diſpoſed of him otherwiſe, by calling him out of this Life. In his laſt Sickneſs he appointed his Couſin *Don Emanuel*, who alſo married his Siſter, his Heir. This Prince who ſucceeded to the Throne of *Portugal*, 1495, was in the Flower of his Age, being then about Twenty-ſeven, and poſſeſſed, in an eminent Degree, thoſe Qualities that are moſt worthy of a Monarch. He had great Parts, much Penetration, and an excellent Judgment, yet he was ſo diffident of his own Abilities, that, foreſeeing the Execution of his Predeceſſor's Projects would be attended with a larger Expence than the Diſcoveries hitherto made had induced, he declined entering upon them, without taking the Advice of his Council, before whom he laid all the Informations that either himſelf or his Couſin King *John* had received. The *Portugueze* Stateſmen were extremely divided in their Opinions, for ſome preſſed the King warmly to tread in the Footſteps of his Anceſtors, and, to compleat with Glory, what with ſo much Reputation they had begun; while others as vehemently oppoſed his Purſuit of this Deſign, each Party ſupporting their Opinion by very plauſible Arguments.

Such as were deſirous that this new Navigation might be attempted, obſerved, that the Trade to the *Indies* had been the great Source of Power and Riches to every Empire that had been poſſeſſed of it, that Providence ſeemed to have thrown it into the Hands of their Nation, in ſuch a manner that it would not only be diſadvantageous but diſhonourable to refuſe it; that all Difficulties now were in a manner overcome, ſo that there remained ſcarce any thing but the going to take Poſſeſſion of thoſe fine Countries, and that vaſt Wealth which all the World thirſted after, though none but themſelves knew how to reach; that the engroſſing ſo rich a Trade to *Portugal* would balance their ſmall Extent of Territory, and enable his Subjects to make as great or greater Figure than the Inhabitants of Kingdoms much more potent in Appearance; that, in fine, there was no leſs Danger to be apprehended from abandoning this Deſign, than Benefit to be expected by purſuing it; ſince, in all Probability, their ambitious Neighbours, the *Spaniards*, would purſue and accompliſh this great Work, which would enable them to execute, with Eaſe, whatever they might be prompted to by their boundleſs Ambition.

On the other Side it was alledged, that there were many Things more apparently neceſſary to the Kingdom than ſuch long, ſuch expenſive, and ſuch uncertain Expeditions, ſince there were ſeveral large Tracts of Land, and particularly that ſpacious Plain between the *Ebro* and the *Tagus*, that were not properly cultivated, the Improvement of which would free them from the Neceſſity of depending for their daily Bread upon Strangers; that their Country was but thinly peopled, at leaſt, in proportion to the Numbers it might be able to maintain, if, inſtead of maritime Expeditions they turned their Thoughts towards making the moſt of what was in their Power; ſo that it was very unreaſonable to ſquander away Men that might be immediately uſeful to their Country, for the ſake of diſtant, and perhaps fallacious Expectations; that all their Diſcoveries and Conqueſts hitherto, had furniſhed him only with a few Negroes, Elephants Teeth, ſtrange Birds, and other Curioſities, in procuring which they had ſuffered many Shipwrecks, and run the Hazard of many more; that, for a Century together, they had been amuſed with theſe golden Dreams, and therefore it was high Time to awake from this Deluſion; that the Kings his Predeceſſors had been at vaſt Expences, to very little Purpoſe, in Purſuit of the like Deſigns, and that this ought to render him not only the more cautious in following their Example, but oblige him alſo to conſider the Conſequence of running an exhauſted Nation into Expences ſhe was unable to bear; that beſides the Succeſs of the Undertaking, might bring ſuch Demands upon the Crown of *Portugal*, as would greatly exceed her Forces; ſo that perhaps her Intereſts at home might come to be ſacrificed to thoſe abroad. I have dwelt the longer upon theſe Arguments, to ſhew that the greateſt and moſt ſalutary Deſigns are liable to as many Objections as the moſt dangerous and the moſt deſtructive[e].

4. The Deliberations into which the King entered upon this important Affair, though they did not abſolutely carry him from his Purpoſe, or engage him to abandon a Deſign which was, in ſome meaſure, recommended to him, with his laſt Breath, by that great Prince to whom he owed his Throne, yet they, for a long Time, retarded his Preparations, and hindered him from undertaking that Project in the Manner he had firſt intended: At laſt, however, fearing that his Neighbours might take Advantage of a longer Neglect, eſpecially as he underſtood that the *Spaniards* very vigorouſly puſhed forward their Diſcoveries, he came to a final Reſolution to wait no longer, but to make a Trial of what might be done in this Way, by ſending a few Ships only with a ſmall Number of Men, in which he endeavoured to avoid Extremes, and to ſteer as it were in the Middle, between the Opinions of ſuch as were of his Council. It was in conſequence of this Determination, that in the Spring of the Year 1497, he ordered four Ships to be equipped for his Expedition; of theſe, three were armed Veſſels, with ſome Pieces of Cannon on Board, and the fourth a ſmall Store-ſhip. We may be ſure that their Force was not very great, ſince, in the whole, it conſiſted in no more than an hundred and ſixty Soldiers and Seamen[f].

The Perſon choſen to command was Don *Vaſquez de Gama*, a Man of Quality, who poſſeſſed all the Talents neceſſary for ſuch an Employment. On the 9th of *July*, 1497, he embarked on board the *Gabriel*, which was the Admiral of this little Fleet, of the Burthen of One hundred and twenty Tons, and the ſame Day put to Sea: On the Third of *Auguſt* he left the Iſland of *St. Auguſtine*, on the Twentieth of *November* he doubled *The Cape of Good Hope*; in the Beginning of the Month of *January* he put into a Port of *Ethiopia*; and, on the firſt of *March*, he entered the Port of *Mozambique*, where the Scurvy deſtroyed many of their People, and where they were in great Danger of being betrayed, as ſoon as they were known to be Chriſtians. His Artillery, however, preſerved him, and from thence he continued his Voyage to *Mombaza*, where he again met with very perfidious Dealing. He ſailed from thence to *Melinda*, the Prince of which Country received him with great Civility, and promiſed to ſend an Embaſſador by them when they returned into *Portugal*.

Don *Vaſquez*, in Obedience to his Inſtructions ſailed from thence for the Coaſt of *Malabar*, and arriving happily at *Calicut*, there firſt heard of a puiſſant Monarch in thoſe Parts, ſtiled the *Samorin*, which is a Dignity comparable to that of Emperor; there he met, very unexpectedly, with an extraordinary Act of Friendſhip; for, on the firſt going of his Officers on Shore, they were met by a *Moor* of *Tunis*, who knew them, by their Dreſs, to be *Portugueze*; and though both on the ſcore of his Country and his Religion, it was natural for him to hate them, yet he very generouſly offered them his Service, and very ſincerely fulfilled all that he promiſed. He acquainted the *Samorin*, that a certain rich, powerful, and warlike Nation, were come from the fartheſt Parts of the Earth to ſeek his Friendſhip, and to deſire Leave to trade with his Subjects: This Repreſentation had its Effects; *Gama* was allowed not only to anchor in that Port with his Ships, but was alſo admitted to an Audience, in which he was treated with all the Kindneſs and Reſpect imaginable.

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[e] It is evident from hence, that if any Accident or Shipwreck had attended this Voyage, there had been an End of the Deſign for ever, though it would have remained juſt as reaſonable and fit to have been undertaken as before, which I mention to ſhew how probable a Thing it is, that many great and glorious Diſcoveries have been prevented by ſuch groundleſs Oppoſitions.

[f] The Reader will eaſily perceive, from this Inſtance, that it is not a *great Force*, or a *vaſt Expence*, that is neceſſary to the Execution of an Important Deſign, but the Choice of a good Officer, one who knows what he is to do, and goes with a Reſolution to do what he is ſent to do. All the maritime Expeditions, from the Beginning of the World to this Period of Time, are not comparable to what was performed in the narrow Compaſs of *ſeven* Years Time by *Chriſtopher Columbus* and *Vaſquez de Gama*; for the former ſailed on the 11th of *October*, 1492, and the other on the 9th of *July*, 1497, ſo that, as I obſerved before, the Diſcovery of the *Eaſt-Indies* and the *Weſt*, were compleated in ſeven Years, at a *tenth* Part of the Expence that attended our *laſt Weſt-Indian* Expedition, and with a Force that would be ſcarce thought ſufficient for equipping, at this Day, *three Privateers*. I do not ſay this with any View of making invidious Compariſons, becauſe I am perſuaded that *our Admiral*, who commanded in the *Weſt-Indies*, had he lived in thoſe Times, and been intruſted with either of thoſe Commands, would have done as much as *Columbus* or *Gama*. But I make this Obſervation with this View, that our Countrymen may be ſatisfied, that as great Things as theſe may yet be done, whenever our Undertakings are conducted by *Publick Spirit*, and the Execution of them entruſted to *Officers* who are known to have a greater Regard to *Character* than *Fortune*.

But Things however did not remain long in this Poſture, for the *Mohammedans*, who were ſettled in great Numbers in the Dominions of this Prince, ſeeing that their own Commerce muſt be deſtroyed by the coming of the *Portugueze*, took incredible Pains to miſrepreſent them, as an ambitious, fraudulent, and cruel People, who meant nothing leſs than to depoſe the *Samorin* himſelf, and to conquer his Country; which Stories had ſuch an Effect on the *Indian* Monarch, that he began to form Schemes for the Deſtruction of *Gama* and his People. Don *Vaſquez* however, had very early Intelligence of his Deſign, and therefore haſtened on Board his Ships, and quitted the Coaſt. He wrote, however, a Letter to the *Samorin*, in which he vehemently complained of this Breach of Faith, juſtified himſelf from the Imputations thrown out againſt him, and adviſed the *Samorin* to return to his former Sentiments, aſſuring him that he would find his Account in changing his Commerce with the *Mohammedans* for that of the Subjects of the King his Maſter. The *Samorin* wrote him a very polite Anſwer, in which he threw the Blame upon his Miniſters and the *Mohammedans*, promiſing to puniſh ſuch as were guilty, aſſuring him, that, for the Time to come, his Nation ſhould meet with no Reaſon to complain. He added to theſe Compliments a very reſpectful Letter to the King of *Portugal*, in which he accepted the Propoſitions made him on his Majeſty's Behalf, and promiſed a free Trade to his Subjects, without Prejudice however to his former Allies.

Don *Vaſquez* having received the Letters, proceeded to the Iſland of *Angedive*, at the Diſtance of fifty Leagues from *Calicut*, where having repaired his Veſſels, and refreſhed his People, he ſet ſail from thence in order to return to *Europe*. In his Paſſage, he took Care to put into *Melinda*, where he was received with great Friendſhip, and the King, according to his Promiſe, ſent with him an Embaſſador to *Portugal*. He ſailed from thence to the Iſland of *Zanguebar*; but finding by the Way, that his Crew was much diminiſhed, he burnt the *S. Raphael*, which was commanded by his Brother *Paul Gama*, and took the Men on Board his own Ship: From *Zanguebar* he ſailed to *Mozambique*, where he took in a Supply of Proviſions.

On the 20th of *March* following, he doubled the Cape of *Good-Hope*, proceeded from thence to the *Azores* or *Terceras*, and in the Month of *September*, 1499, arrived ſafe at *Beline*, having ſpent two Years and two Months in his Voyage, and having loſt by Sickneſs and Fatigue about one hundred Men, and amongſt them his Brother. The Captain of his third Ship deſerted him in his Paſſage Home, with a View to get to *Liſbon* before him, in which he ſucceeded; but this proved rather advantageous than prejudicial to Don *Vaſquez*, for King *Emanuel* ſent ſome of his prime Nobility to meet him, receiving him, on his coming to Court, with all imaginable Marks of Favour and Eſteem, and rewarded him beyond every thing but his Merit. He created him Count *de Vidiguera*, gave him the royal Arms of *Portugal*, charged with two Does, in Alluſion to his Name of *Gama*, which ſignifies a *Doe*; and though he brought no great Riches home, beſtowed upon him large Appointments. He made alſo great Preſents to all his Officers, nor was there ſo much as a private Man on Board the Fleet, that did not receive the perſonal Thanks of this Prince, and with it conſiderable Marks of his Bounty.

So happy a Concluſion of the firſt Attempt, naturally paved the Way to a ſecond Expedition, for which the King cauſed immediate Preparations to be made, but at the ſame Time declared, that Don *Vaſquez de Gama* ſhould enjoy in Peace that Glory he had acquired, and not be obliged to hazard his Perſon again in ſo long and dangerous a Voyage. It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that this ſecond Expedition met with no Oppoſition, ſo much more powerful is Succeſs than Reaſon, and ſo much greater the Authority of Experience, than all the Arguments in the World. All Expences were now thought trifling, and thoſe who before had treated the Paſſage to the *Indies* as a Chimera, were now the loudeſt in applauding it when performed.

5. The Fleet therefore intended for this ſecond Expedition, conſiſting of thirteen Sail, ſome of which were large Ships, was ſo effectually victualled, manned and freighted, as to fill Strangers with a high Idea of the Courage, Power and Wealth of the People inhabiting that Country from which it came. Don *Pedro Alverez de Capral*, was appointed General and Commander in Chief, and carried with him Prieſts to inſtruct the Natives, if they were ſo inclined; but if not, and determined to make uſe of Force, he had fifteen hundred choſen Men on Board, which was thought a Force ſufficient to ſupport him. In the Month of *March*, in the Year 1500, he ſailed from the River of *Liſbon*, Experience having ſhewn, that was much the propereſt Seaſon of the Year for ſailing to the *Indies*. In his Paſſage, keeping out to Sea, in order to avoid the Storms that hitherto had been met with in doubling the Cape, he found himſelf near an unknown Continent oppoſite to that of *Africa*; and as the Coaſt made a very pleaſant Appearance, he thought fit to go on Shore, and took Poſſeſſion of it on the Behalf of the King his Maſter, which Country he called the *Land* of the *Holy Croſs*, but it has been ſince known by the Name of *Brazil*.

This Diſcovery appeared to him of ſuch Conſequence, that notwithſtanding he had loſt five Sail of his Fleet already, he thought fit to ſend *Gaſpar Lamidos* back to *Portugal* with the News, and one of the Natives on Board, as a Proof of this Diſcovery, and he likewiſe left twenty condemned Perſons who were put on Board him for ſuch deſperate Services, in this new found Country, and then proſecuted his Voyage[g].

In a ſhort Time after he left *Brazil*, he was ſurprized by a moſt dreadful Storm, which laſted twenty Days together, in which he loſt many of his People, and one of his Ships, on Board of which was the famous *Bartholomew Diaz*, who firſt doubled the Cape of *Good-Hope*, and who, by this unlucky Accident, periſhed with the reſt that were on Board that Ship. The General, notwithſtanding this Misfortune, continued his Voyage, and refreſhed at *Mozambique*, where he arrived with no more than ſix Sail, and thoſe too in a very ſhattered Condition. The Inhabitants remembering the Diſputes they had with his Predeceſſor, received him, if not with Kindneſs, at leaſt with Reſpect, and furniſhed him with whatever he demanded; he ſailed from thence to *Quiloa*, and then continued his Route to *Melinda*, where he ſafely ſet on Shore the Ambaſſador of that Prince, whom *Vaſquez Gama* had brought over.

He proceeded from thence with a fair Gale of Wind to the *Angedive* Iſlands, where he refreſhed and refitted at his Leiſure. The *Samorin* having Intelligence of his Arrival, ſent certain Perſons of Diſtinction to compliment him thereupon, and to invite him to *Calicut*, which Invitation he accepted, provided he had Hoſtages ſent him for his Security. This was in itſelf a pretty bold Demand, but when he came to explain himſelf as to the Hoſtages he expected, it appeared of a much more extraordinary Nature. He demanded the Catual, or Commiſſioner of the Cuſtoms, and ſome other of the *Samorin*'s Miniſters, on which that Prince heſitated at firſt, but at laſt yielded to it, and to all the other Demands made by the *Portugueze* General. On his Landing, he was received with all imaginable Civility, and immediately admitted to an Audience of the Emperor, at which *Capral*, who was naturally vain, made a pompous Diſplay of his Magnificence. The *Samorin*, to demonſtrate the Sincerity of his Profeſſions, made him a preſent of a Houſe, by a Deed of Gift, which was ingroſſed in Letters of Gold; he permitted him alſo to ſet up the Standard of *Portugal*, to appoint a Factor, or Conſul for his Nation, and to open Magazines for the effectual carrying on of Commerce; but all this fair Shew of good Intelligence and reciprocal Friendſhip ſoon came to nothing.

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[g] This Diſcovery of *Brazil* is a plain Proof, that if *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella* had not ſent *Columbus* to diſcover *America* at the Time they did, it would have been diſcovered by the *Portugueze*; which ſhews of how great Importance it is for every Nation that aims at maritime Power, to encourage and promote all probable Schemes for Diſcoveries, which if they do not immediately ſucceed, are neceſſarily attended with theſe excellent Conſequences, viz. Breeding up good Officers, and keeping Seamen in Action; ſo that in Time of Peace, Attention to ſuch Expeditions will always ſecure a ſufficient Number of Officers and Seamen fit for the Service of their Country in Time of War, and who, if they are duly paid, and well treated, need never be compelled to do their Duty.

The *Portugueze* Hiſtorians aſſure us, that it happened through the Imprudence of their new Factor, or Conſul, whoſe Name was *Correa*, and who, on ſome ſlight Information, acquainted *Capral*, that the *Samorin* intended him ſome foul Play. The *Portugueze* General, upon this, began to ſeize the Ships of the *Indians*, and to commit other Acts of Hoſtility; upon which the Inhabitants, as might be reaſonably expected, attacked the *Portugueze* Factory, forced open the Gates, pillaged and burnt the Houſe, and of ſixty-ſix People that were in it, murdered fifty, the reſt ſaving themſelves with great Difficulty on Board their Ships. The *Portugueze* General took a very ſevere Revenge, by burning ten rich Ships that were in the Port, making Slaves of Part of their Crews, and beating down a great many Houſes about their Ears; after which he ſailed away for *Cochin*, which lies thirty Leagues from *Calicut*.

The Prince then on the Throne of *Cochin*, was called *Trimumpara*, who having Reaſons to be offended with the *Samorin*, received him very kindly and concluded a Treaty with him, into which the Kings of *Coulan* and *Cananor* deſired to be admitted. *Capral* taking great State upon him, did not immediately liſten to this Propoſal, but offered to carry their Ambaſſadors, if they thought fit to ſend any with him, into *Portugal*, aſſuring them, that his Maſter would ſend them ſpeedy and powerful Aſſiſtance againſt the *Samorin*. They readily accepted his Offer, and the General having taken on Board a rich Cargo, paid a Viſit to the King of *Cananor*, and having received the Ambaſſadors of all the three Princes on Board, he in the Month of *January* ſailed from *Cochin*, in order to return to *Europe*.

The *Samorin* fitted out a great Fleet, on Board of which were two thouſand Men, and ſent it in Purſuit of them, but the *Portugueze* being better Sailors, eaſily eſcaped this Danger. In his Paſſage home, one of his Ships unluckily ran aſhore on the Coaſt of *Melinda*, and *Capral*, to prevent the *Mohammedans* from making any Advantage of this Accident, firſt nailed his Cannon, and then ſet the Ship on Fire; notwithſtanding which, the King of *Monbaza* found Means to weigh the Artillery, and to render them ſerviceable, to the great Prejudice of the Chriſtians.

The *Portugueze* General continued his Voyage, doubled the Cape without any great Difficulty, and arrived ſafely at *Liſbon*, on the 23d of *July*, 1501. He brought Home with him a very rich Cargo, the Ambaſſadors of three Princes, and a pompous Account of the great Exploits he had performed againſt the *Samorin*. All which, however, did not procure him a very favourable Reception from his Maſter, on account of the great Loſs he had ſuſtained in this Voyage, and the Number of gallant Men who had periſhed in it, and who were not to be repaired or replaced, by all the Wealth of the *Indies*[h].

It ſeems, Don *Emanuel* had ſome Foreſight of what might happen from the haughty Diſpoſition of this Officer, and therefore had diſpatched a Squadron of four Sail to the *Indies*, under the Command of Don *Juan Nova Colleca*, a Man of great Prudence and Courage. He miſſed of *Capral* in his Paſſage, but arriving at *Melinda*, and there learning what had paſſed at *Calicut* and *Cochin*, he continued his Voyage to *Cananor*, and having complimented the King on the Part of his Maſter, ſailed from thence for *Cochin*. He met in his Voyage, a Fleet of upwards of fourſcore Sail, which the *Samorin* had ſent to attack and deſtroy him in the Port of *Cananor*. Don *Juan*, notwithſtanding the great Inequality of their Force, fought them for a whole Day, and having ſunk ten ſail of large Ships, four Barks, and other ſmall Veſſels, and killed upwards of four hundred Men, forced them to return with Shame to *Calicut*. After this Victory, he was received with all imaginable Mark of Kindneſs and Gratitude at *Cochin*, where having at Leiſure revictualled his Ships, and taken in a very rich Cargo, he ſailed for *Europe*.

He doubled the Cape without any Difficulty, and in his Paſſage from thence touched at the Iſland of *St. Helena*, of which he made ſuch a Report on his Return to *Liſbon*, as engaged the King of *Portugal* to inſtruct his Admirals to touch for Refreſhments there for the future. But a Squadron of ſix Sail that were ſent to *Brazil* at the ſame Time Don *Juan* was diſpatched to the *Indies*, had not the like good Fortune, four of them being loſt at Sea, and the two that returned brought little with them except Monkies and Parrots.

6. The Neceſſity of ſending a greater Force into the *Indies* than had been hitherto employed, was now very apparent, and therefore King *Emanuel* ordered twenty Sail of ſtout Ships to be equipped for that Purpoſe, neither did he find it more difficult to furniſh ſo large a Force with every thing neceſſary, than to fit out the ſmall Fleets he had ſent before; for now that there was a Proſpect of great Riches being got by this Commerce, he had not only the Command of the Wealth of his own Subjects, but Foreigners alſo reſorted in Crowds to *Liſbon*, ſome in ſearch of Employment, and others to employ their Money. The Buſineſs was next to find a Perſon fit to be intruſted with ſo great a Command, and the King, after mature Reflection, determined to engage *Vaſquez de Gama* to go thither a ſecond Time. That great Officer was in every Reſpect as eaſy and as happy as he could wiſh; his Reputation was well eſtabliſhed, his Fortune larger than his Deſires, and the Affairs of his Family in the faireſt Situation. But the preſenf Poſture of things made his Preſents neceſſary abroad, and from a Senſe of this he readily quitted his Retreat, and ſacrificed all the Bleſſings of Life, as became a Man of Honour, to the Service of his Country.

In the Spring of the Year 1503, he ſailed from *Liſbon*, doubled the *Cape* without any remarkable Accident, and arriving at *Quiloa*, forced the King thereof to become tributary to his Maſter, and to agree to the annual Payment of two thouſand Crowns of Gold. He ſailed from thence to *Cananor*, where he ſet the Embaſſador on Shore, made ſeveral rich Preſents to the King in the Name of his Maſter, renewed the Alliance made with him, and then ſailed for *Cochin*. While he was there, he received a Deputation from the Chriſtians of *India*, or, as they are commonly called, Chriſtians of *St. Thomas*, to whom he promiſed all the Aſſiſtance in his Power, and that he would leave, as indeed he did, a ſtrong Squadron behind him to protect them. The *Samorin* in the mean Time neglected nothing in the Power of a great Politician, or of a puiſſant Monarch, to deſtroy his Enemies. He laboured all he could to engage *Trimumpara* to betray Don *Vaſquez* into his Hands; but that Prince anſwered, that hitherto the *Portugueze* had behaved towards him with great Honour and Generoſity, and that while they continued ſo to act, he would never abandon them.

The *Samorin* had next Recourſe to open Force, and aſſembling a Fleet of twenty-nine Sail, reſolved to attack Don *Vaſquez*, when he was ready to return with his Fleet heavy laden, and conſequently in a Condition leſs able to oppoſe him. When therefore he had Intelligence that the *Portugueze* Admiral was preparing for his Departure, he ſent this mighty Force againſt him. Don *Vaſquez de Gama* ſuffered them to come as near him as they thought fit, and then attacking two of their largeſt Ships with great Vigor, the Seamen and Soldiers, after a ſhort Reſiſtance, in which they loſt three hundred Men, jumped over-board, which ſtruck ſuch a Terror into their Companions, that they immediately ſpread all the Sail they could, and bore away in the utmoſt Confuſion. In theſe two Ships that were taken, Don *Vaſquez* found immenſe Riches; for beſides Gold and Silver Plate to a great Value, there was on board one of them an Idol of a moſt horrid Shape, which weighed ſixty Pounds in Gold. In the Head there were two Emeralds for Eyes, more perfect than any that had been ſeen in *Europe*; and in the Breaſt there was fixed a Ruby of the Size of a Cheſnut; theſe and other valuable things being taken out, together with a Robe deſigned for the Idol, embroidered with Pearls, Topazes, and Diamonds, the Ships were ſet on Fire.

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[h] I think it requiſite to add a Note here, in order to inform the Reader, that this is no Remark of mine, but taken from the *Portugueze* Writers, which is an Argument, that in thoſe Days, when a true Spirit of Virtue prevailed, it was held more honourable for a great Officer to ſerve his Country, than to inrich it; and that *Capral* was blamed, not for his want of Zeal or Courage, for he does not ſeem to have been defective in either, but for his not being ſo careful of his People as he ought to have been; for it is, and will be, a Maxim in all well governed States, that he is no Friend to his Country who is careleſs of its Subjects.

Vaſquez proceeded from thence to *Cananor*, conferred with the King on the Meaſures neceſſary to be taken in his Abſence, and then leaving behind him ſix large Ships under the Command of *Vincent Sodrez*, he ſailed for *Mozambique*, where having taken in ſome neceſſary Refreſhments, he continued his Voyage without the leaſt unlucky Accident, till he arrived at *Liſbon*, where he was received with the utmoſt Joy, and the Tribute of the King of *Quiloa*, in a Silver Baſon, was carried in Triumph before him.

As ſoon as *Gama* left the *Indies*, the *Samorin* aſſembled an Army of 50,000 Men, and marched to attack the King of *Cochin* by Land. The News of this Invaſion ſo frighted the Subjects of that Monarch, that they began to curſe the *Portugueze*, and to intreat their King to make his Peace with the *Samorin*, by delivering up ſuch of them as were in his Hands, and renouncing his Alliance with them. *Trimumpara* behaved on this Occaſion with extraordinary Firmneſs, he gave the *Portugueze* that were at *Cochin* a ſtrong Guard, and, notwithſtanding the Cowardice of his Subjects, reſolved to put all to the Hazard, rather than break his Faith.

At this Juncture *Vincent Sodrez* arrived with the Ships under his Command, to whom the King applied himſelf for Relief, and deſired he would land a Part of his Force to aſſiſt him in this Extremity. The *Portugueze* Officer was a very brave Man, and underſtood his Buſineſs perfectly; but he loved Money, and had found a very eaſy way of acquiring it, by plundering the *Mohammedan* Traders[h]: He therefore found out, that by his Inſtructions he was to act by Sea, and not on Shore, and therefore would not conſent to land ſo much as a ſingle Man. This amazed the King, and enraged the *Portugueze* that were at *Cochin* to the laſt Degree; but *Sodrez*, without putting himſelf to any Pain about their Reſentments, ſailed to the *Red-Sea*, in order to make Prizes, where his own Ship was loſt, and he and his Brother drowned.

In the mean Time the *Samorin* marched with his Army into the Territories of *Cochin*, where the King being betrayed, they forced a Paſs that led to his Capital, by which they imagined they had him intirely at their Mercy. As ſoon as *Trimumpara* was informed of this unlucky Accident, his firſt Care was to ſecure the *Portugueze*, and in order to this, he directed that they ſhould be ſent over to the Iſland of *Viapan*, which lies over-againſt *Cochin*. This Iſland was conſecrated to the moſt ſolemn Myſteries of the *Indian* Religion, and had therefore been hitherto accounted ſacred in all the Diſputes between Monarchs of that Faith; but it was alſo a Place of extraordinary Strength, and that not only from its being inacceſſible by Nature, but from the Aſſiſtance alſo of Art; and in this Iſland there were conſiderable Magazines, and a very numerous Garriſon of good Troops.

The *Samorin* carrying all before him, and a great Part of *Trimumpara*'s Subjects have deſerted their Maſter, and ſubmitted to that Tyrant, the King of *Cochin* found himſelf at laſt obliged to follow the *Portugueze*, and take Shelter in the ſame Place. The Governor of *Viapan* remained firm to his Maſter's Intereſt, and thereby preſerved him from the Rage of his Enemy; for the *Samorin* having burnt the Town of *Cochin*, ſeveral Times attacked the Iſland of *Viapan*, and was as often repulſed with great Loſs, and at laſt obliged to abandon his Deſign, and to return again into his own Dominions, the Winter Seaſon coming on, in which it is impoſſible for an *Indian* Army to keep the Field; but he left a conſiderable Garriſon in *Cochin*, and ordered ſeveral Forts to be erected, reſolving to return thither again in the Spring.

7. It was now become a ſettled Maxim in *Portugal* to ſend annually a Fleet to the *Indies*, and accordingly *Francis Albuquerque* coming with a ſtrong Force into thoſe Seas, and having joined at the *Angedive* Iſlands the Ships under the Command of *Pedro Ataida*, he ſailed directly to *Viapan*, where he comforted the King of *Cochin* on the Part of Don *Emanuel* his Maſter, and aſſured him that he ſhould receive all the Aſſiſtance from him that lay in his Power, which he performed with as much Sincerity as with Readineſs he promiſed. In the firſt place, he drove the Garriſon, which he *Samorin* had left in *Cochin* from thence, and having demoliſhed their Forts, brought the King back again in Triumph to his Capital. As this Victory, and the Uſe he made of it, gave the *Portugueze* Admiral a good Title to the King's Favour, he took Occaſion from thence to deſire the Liberty of erecting a Place of Strength for the Security of his Countrymen, that they might not be expoſed to ſuch Dangers as they had lately gone through for the future; the Propoſal was very kindly accepted, and the King of *Cochin* gave him leave to build a Fort where-ever he thought fit. In Conſequence of this Permiſſion, *Francis Albuquerque* made Choice of an Eminence, which commanded both the Town and the Fort, and the King having allowed him to cut down all the fine Palm Trees that were planted round his Palace, he quickly finiſhed the Fortreſs he had marked out in the beſt manner that ſuch Materials would permit. He likewiſe built a Chapel for the Performance of Divine Service; and thus as the *Portugueze* Writers themſelves expreſs it, their Nation became poſſeſſed of the Dominion both in Spirituals and Temporals of the *Indies*, and the King of *Cochin* without perceiving it, contributed all that lay in his Power to the introducing Strangers as Lords over himſelf and his Neighbours[i].

Under pretence of reducing ſuch as had rebelled againſt the King of *Cochin*, they made themſelves Maſters of their Countries, pillaged all their Towns and Villages at Pleaſure, and committed greater Devaſtations than the *Samorin* himſelf had done during the late Invaſion. In the midſt of theſe Proceedings *Alphonſo Albuquerque* arrived from *Portugal* with an additional Force, he ſoon added both to the Conqueſts and Alliances of the *Portugueze*. The Tutors or Guardians of the King of *Colan*, a very rich and potent Prince, whoſe Capital lay twenty-four Leagues South of *Cochin*, demanded the Protection and Friendſhip of *Portugal*, which was immediately granted, and a Factory ſettled there. The King of *Zanzibar* was ſoon after compelled to ſubmit to the Crown of *Portugal*, and the free City of *Brava*, which was a kind of Commonwealth, was obliged to pay an annual Tribute. The King of *Melinda* had Recourſe to the *Portugueze* for Aſſiſtance againſt his Neighbour the King of *Mombaza*, which ended in the Reduction of them both. Thoſe great Succeſſes terrified the *Samorin* to ſuch a degree, that in the moſt humble manner he ſought for Peace; and in order to obtain it, entered into ſuch Conditions as ſeemed ſatisfactory to the *Portugueze*, made them Reparation for the Loſſes they had ſuſtained when formerly ſettled at *Calicut*, and did every thing for them that they inſiſted upon.

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[h] This Man has a very good Character given him by the famous *Portugueze* Hiſtorian *John de Barros*, at leaſt in Point of Courage; but it ſeems his Love of Money got the better of his Virtue and his Underſtanding. He had heard of a rich Fleet of Ships in the *Red-Sea*, and he would needs ſail in the Month of *May* to intercept them. In vain the People of the Country repreſented to him, that it was dangerous putting to Sea at that Seaſon of the Year; in vain his Pilots diſſuaded him from his Purpoſe; he was ſo poſſeſſed with the Deſire of being rich, that he had no Regard to his own Safety. After his and his Brother's Death, *Pedro Ataida*, upon whom the Command devolved, endeavoured to return with the remaining Ships to *Cochin*; but finding it impracticable, was forced to retire to the *Angedive* Iſlands, where he wintered.

[i] It is not eaſy to conceive how in ſuch a Situation the King of *Cochin* could refuſe the *Portugueze* leave to build a Fort in his Dominions, and yet it muſt be allowed, that it was an Error in Policy not to be juſtified. He was preſſed by two Difficulties equally great; but the Dangers from whence thoſe Difficulties aroſe were not equally preſſing, and therefore he choſe, as indeed any other Prince would in his Circumſtances, to run the Hazard of that which was at the greateſt Diſtance. The *Portugueze* Writers, without any Ceremony avow, that the Deſign of their General's erecting a Fort was to eſtabliſh their Dominion over the Natives, to which, however, they had no ſort of Title, except what was derived from the Pope's Bull, and the Notion of converting the People from Idolatry. With regard to the Bull, it has been treated with equal and with juſt Contempt by Proteſtant and Popiſh Writers. With reſpect to Converſion, it might be eaſily ſhewn, that Force of any kind is incompatible with the Chriſtian Religion; ſo that on the whole theſe Proceedings were grounded on pure Maxims of Policy; and all that is ſaid of Religion is a mere Pretence, by which the *Portugueze* endeavour to hide their Ambition and Injuſtice.

But as great Proſperity is apt to corrupt the Minds of Men, ſo the *Portugueze* made a very ill Uſe of this extraordinary Turn of Affairs in their Favour, ſince not long after this Peace concluded with the *Samorin*, they took a Ship of his richly laden; and notwithſtanding he applied by his Embaſſadors for Satisfaction, *Francis Albuquerque*, who then acted with ſupreme Authority in the *Indies*, not only refuſed him Satisfaction, but treated him with Scorn and Diſreſpect. This irritated that Monarch to ſuch a Degree, that he determined to renew the War, in order to revenge himſelf upon theſe Strangers, and to deſtroy the King of *Cochin*, who had ſacrificed the Freedom of the *Indians* by his indiſcreet Conceſſions to theſe foreign Invaders.

He kept, however, his Deſign to himſelf, and made ſecret Preparations for War, in order to be ready to fall upon his Enemies as ſoon as the *Portugueze* Fleet ſhould return to *Europe*. But all the Precautions he uſed could not hinder *Trimumpara* from gaining early Intelligence of his Intentions, who thereupon applied himſelf to the *Albuquerques*, intreating them to leave a ſufficient Force behind to protect their Countrymen and Allies in the *Indies*. The Requeſt was Reaſonable in itſelf, and the King of *Cochin* had the juſteſt Grounds to expect it ſhould have been complied with; but notwithſtanding what he could ſay, *Francis Albuquerque* would not be perſuaded to leave him any more than three Ships, and one hundred and fifty Men, under the Command of *Edward Pacheco*, a Man of great Courage and Conduct, and of ſuch Steadineſs and Abilities, that he was an Army in himſelf. This Step once taken, the *Albuquerques* ſailed with a rich Cargo for *Europe*, but met with very different Fates in their Voyage, ſince *Francis Albuquerque* the Uncle periſhed, with all who were on Board his Ship, none knew where, or how; but *Alphonſo*, the moſt fortunate Commander of his Time, arrived ſafely at *Liſbon*, with all the Ships under his Command, having acquired as great Fame and Riches as any that had been hitherto employed in the Eaſt.

As ſoon as the *Portugueze* Fleet quitted *India*, the *Samorin* aſſembled an Army of ſixty thouſand Men, and a great Fleet, in order to attack *Trimumpara* and the *Portugueze* in his Dominions. The Subjects of that Prince acted as ill on this, as they had done on the former Invaſion; that is to ſay, they abandoned their Prince, and endeavoured to ſave themſelves without thinking of their Country. The King behaved with his uſual Firmneſs and Conſtancy, diſpoſed all things to the beſt Advantage, and left the reſt to Providence. *Pacheco* and his *Portugueze* gained great Reputation by this War; and it was chiefly by his Aſſiſtance, that the vaſt Preparations made by the *Samorin* produced nothing but Confuſion and Shame to their Author. This Commander built another Fort for the Defence of the Haven, acted with the greateſt Alacrity and Courage by Sea or Land, where-ever the common Intereſt called him; ſo that when a new Fleet arrived from *Portugal*, and the Danger being over, he teſtified a Deſire of returning home: The King of *Cochin* gave him Letters, teſtifying how well he had behaved, and how much they were indebted to him for their Security.

At his Return King *Emanuel* paid him the higheſt Honours, ordered one of the moſt eloquent Prelates in the Kingdom to write the Hiſtory of this War, which he tranſmitted to the Pope, and other Chriſtian Princes, telling them at the ſame time, that it was as great a Satisfaction to him to have ſuch a Man his Subject, as to be Maſter of the *Indies*; and to ſhew that he did not mean to reward the important Services with Fame only, he beſtowed on *Pacheco* one of the richeſt Governments in *Africa*. Such was the noble Spirit of this Prince, to whoſe ſublime Virtues *Portugal* owes her Glory, and her *Indies*; a Prince, who knew how to ſuit the Abilities of Men to the Deſigns in the Execution of which he employed them, who judged impartially of their Behaviour, never puniſhed with any degree of Severity, or ſuffered Envy to mix with the Rewards he beſtowed on Men of Merit. Such a Prince was remarkably well ſerved at home, and highly eſteemed abroad: His Fortune made him the Delight of his Subjects; his Power rendered him the Terror of his Enemies; his Fidelity gained him the perpetual Confidence of his Allies. But it is now time to purſue our Hiſtory, and to ſpeak of the firſt Viceroy ſent by the Crown of *Portugal* to direct the Affairs of the *Indies*.

8. The immediate Acquiſition of Wealth and Power did not ſo take up the Mind of this great Prince, as to engage him in an Opinion that all Difficulties were overcome, and that there was nothing now to be thought on but making uſe of what was already in the Hands of his Subjects; on the contrary, the great things they had performed, inclined him to extend his Plan, and to think of driving the *Mahammedans* entirely out of the *Indies*. It was undoubtedly a great and glorious Deſign, but at the ſame time it ſeemed, the Strength of his Kingdom conſidered, abſolutely impracticable. Don *Emanuel* had been informed that there were three great Ports in the Eaſt, in which the *Mohammedans* were eſtabliſhed, and from whence they carried on all their Commerce to the moſt diſtant Parts of the *Indies*. Theſe Ports were *Aden* in *Arabia*, *Ormuz*, in an Iſland of the ſame Name on the Coaſt of *Perſia*, and *Malacca*, near the Streights of *Sincapour*. As their Strength was divided, Don *Emanuel* judged it not impoſſible to make himſelf Maſter of all theſe Places in their Turns, and with this View it was that he began to fit out a larger and better appointed Fleet than hitherto he had ſent to the *Indies*[k].

While he was employed in theſe Preparations, there happened a new Scene of Affairs in the Eaſt, where the *Brammins*, who were about the *Samorin*, ſhewed themſelves able Politicians, by giving him the beſt Advice that the Poſture of his Affairs would admit. They obſerved to him, that the *Chriſtians* and *Mohammedans* were equally Enemies, and that therefore the wiſeſt thing he could do was to call in the one to combat the other, that by thus waſting their Forces, they might be ſo reduced, as that he might be a Match for both. He, liſtening to their Requeſt, ſent for Aid from the Sultan of the *Mamalukes*, who were at that time in Poſſeſſion of *Egypt*; the News of which greatly terrified all the Chriſtians in the *Indies*, and occaſioned their ſending immediate Advice of it into *Portugal*.

This obliged King *Emanuel* to diſpatch his Fleet ſooner than he intended, and with a leſs Force, though it was even now very conſiderable, conſiſting of thirteen large Ships, and ſix Carvels, with a great Body of Soldiers on Board. He made choice of Don *Francis Almeyda Count de Abrantes* to command it, who had ſerved King *Ferdinand* of *Caſtile* in his Wars with Great Reputation, and gave him the Title of Vice-King, and Governor general of the *Indies*. He likewiſe aſſigned him Guards for his Perſon, a certain Number of Chaplains, and whatever elſe could be thought neceſſary to give an Air of Grandeur to his Office. On the 25th of *March* 1505, the Fleet ſailed from the River of *Liſbon*, and on the 11th of *April* following reached the Iſlands of Cape *Verd*; from whence ſtretching too far to the South, in hopes of doubling the Cape with great Eaſe, the Fleet ran into ſuch high Latitudes, as that the Seamen had many of them their Fingers frozen; but varying their Courſe a Point or two to the Eaſt, they arrived ſafely at *Quiloa*, where *Abraham*, the Tyrant of that Country, refuſing to pay his Tribute any longer, the Viceroy drove him out, and ſettled *Mohammed Anconin* in his Place, building a Fort there to keep the People the better in Subjection.

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[k] This Scheme of Don *Emanuel*'s was actually executed in every Branch of it by Don *Alphonſo Albuquerque*; but I think it is very queſtionable, whether the *Portugueze* would not have found their Account much better in making two or three good Settlements in the *Indies*, without endeavouring to diſtreſs the Inhabitants, or to deprive them of their Liberty: In proſecuting of which Deſign, their own Succeſs ruined them, as in the ſucceeding Part of this Work we ſhall have Occaſion to ſhew.

Thence he ſailed to *Mombaza*, which is a ſmall City, in an Iſland well fortified with two Citadels, furniſhed with ſome Pieces of Cannon, which engaged the King to refuſe *Almeyda* Entrance. This, however, he forced, by beating their Forts to the Ground, and afterwards took the City by Storm, and made Slaves of a great Part of the Inhabitants. He continued his Voyage to the *Angedive* Iſlands, which are five in Number, not far from *Goa*, where, according to his Inſtructions, he built a Fort. He proceeded thence to *Cananor*, where, with the Conſent of the King, he built another Fort, and put a ſtrong Garriſon into it. On his Arrival at *Cochin*, he found things in a very unſettled Condition; for *Trimumpara*, worn out with Years, had reſigned the Crown to his Siſter's younger Son *Noubeador*, rejecting the elder, becauſe he had deſerted him on the laſt Invaſion by the *Samorin*, which occaſioned great Troubles; but the Viceroy put an End to them, and fixed *Noubeador* firmly on his Uncle's Throne[l].

About this Time a Squadron of eight Ships was ſent out to diſcover new Lands, by which was found the Iſland of *Madagaſcar*, otherwiſe called *St. Laurence*, becauſe it was firſt ſeen on the Day dedicated by the Church of *Rome* to that Saint. *Almeyda* alſo detached a Squadron under his Son *Laurence de Almeyda* on the ſame Service, who repaired to the *Maldive* Iſlands, from whence he was driven by a mighty Tempeſt to the Iſle of *Ceylon*, thought to be the *Taprobana* of the Ancients; where landing, he took the Inhabitants into the Protection of *Portugal*, and impoſed a Tribute on their King; nor was the Viceroy in the mean Time leſs employed, but defeated the *Calicutians* in a great Battle at Sea; then dividing his victorious Fleet, he committed one Part of it to *Emanuel Pazagno*, and the other to his Son, upon his Return from *Ceylon*, appointing the firſt to accompany the trading Ships of *Cochin* to Cape *Comorin*, for their Security againſt the Rovers in thoſe Seas, and the other to cruize at large about the Coaſt, for the Defence of the Iſlands and Ports. It became now an eſtabliſhed Rule among thoſe new Inhabitants of the *Indies*, that whoſoever came into thoſe Parts, without a Paſs from ſome *Portugueze* Admiral, or Governor of a Fort, ſhould be eſteemed as Enemies, and loſe both Ship and Goods, whereby they engroſſed all the Wealth of the *Eaſt* to themſelves; and the better to maintain their Authority, King *Emanuel* ſent out yearly new Reinforcements and Supplies.

In the Year 1508, fifteen Ships were fitted out, under the Command of *Triſtan de Cunha*, with which, repairing to the Coaſt of *Zanguebar*, he aſſiſted the King of *Melinda* againſt his rebellious Subjects, and burning the Cities of *Hoia* and *Brava*, ſailed to *Zocotara*, where, reducing the chief Town of the Iſland, he left a Garriſon in it, and made the beſt of his Way to *Malabar*, where, joining the Fleet of *Almeyda*, they repaired againſt the People of *Calicut*, who were now aſſiſted by a Fleet from *Arabia*, and before *Panan*, one of their Towns, gave them a final Defeat. Not long after they engaged off of *Chaul*, near *Bombay*, the Fleet of *Campſon* Sultan of *Egypt*, coming to the Aſſiſtance of the Enemy, which they entirely ruined, and every where came off Conquerors, excepting that the aforementioned Son of *Almeyda* falling in with a Squadron of *Cambayan* and *Egyptian* Ships, was unfortunately ſlain with an Arrow, as he bravely defended himſelf againſt them. The Body of this young Hero could not be found, but the Fleet returned with the melancholy News, which the Viceroy received with great Conſtancy of Mind, ſaying no more, than that his Son could not end his Days more gloriouſly than in the Service of his Country.

Alphonſo Albuquerque was now arrived in the *Eaſt* with a ſtrong Squadron from *Portugal*, with which, deſigning to ſubdue the Iſle of *Ormus*, at the Mouth of the *Perſian* Gulph, he firſt reduced the Cities *Curiate*, *Maſcate*, *Sobar*, and *Orſacan*, lying along the Coaſts of *Arabia*, then ſubject to the King of *Ormus*; after which, defeating the Enemy in an Engagement in the Port of that City, he landed in the Iſland, and prepared to inveſt the Place, when the King (called *Zarfadin* II.) gave leave that the *Portugueze* ſhould build a Fort on the Sea-Coaſts, and engaged not only to pay them an annual Tribute but to defray the Charges of the War. The Time of *Almeyda*'s Viceroyſhip being now on the Point of expiring, he reſolved to revenge the Death of his Son, and going out with a Squadron of nineteen Sail, attacked off *Diu* a great Fleet of *Cambayans*, *Egyptians*, *Calicutians*, and other of the Enemies of the *Portugueze*, by whoſe Hands his Son fell, and entirely routed them with great Slaughter, ſubdued all the Coaſt from *Diu* to *Cochin*, forcing the ſeveral Princes to yield themſelves tributary to *Portugal*.

His Commiſſion being now expired, he delivered the Government with great Reluctance to *Albuquerque*[m], and having paſſed the Cape of *Good-Hope*, in his Way homewards, was, with his Companions, unfortunately ſlain by ſome Barbarians on the Coaſt of *Africa*, through his own Imprudence; for he would needs go on Shore in ſearch of Proviſions and Refreſhments, in a Country abſolutely unknown; and there ſome of his Attendants having quarrelled about the Price of Proviſions with the Natives, he, with more Courage than Prudence, ran to their Aſſiſtance; but when he ſaw the whole Country pouring down upon them, he would have retired, and did his utmoſt Endeavour to make a Retreat to his Ship; but it was too late, the Barbarians diſcharging on him, and thoſe who were with him, a Shower of Arrows, by which himſelf, and twelve experienced Officers were killed upon the Spot; ſo that he loſt not only the Rewards which he might reaſonably have expected from his Maſter, but even wanted a decent Funeral, which, in the Opinion of thoſe who ſurvived him, was a much heavier Misfortune.

9. He was ſucceeded in his Command in the *Indies* by *Alphonſo Albuquerque*, whoſe Services had already merited much from his Maſter, and whoſe Character rendered him the fitteſt of all others to be entruſted with Power at this Time; yet he had not the Title of Viceroy, but that of General only, though his Authority was as extenſive as that of *Almeyda*, and his Succeſs in his Adminiſtration ſo extraordinary, that it acquired him the Surname of *Great*. *Fernand Coutigno*, Grand Marſhal of *Portugal*, who was come with a Fleet of fifteen Sail, and with three thouſand Men on Board, to put him in Poſſeſſion of the Government, engaged *Albuquerque* to begin the Exerciſe of his Authority with the Deſtruction of *Calicut*, which had given them ſo much Trouble, and which was likely to give them ſtill more, as long as it ſtood. This Expedition was very honourable for the new General, though it proved fatal to its Author; for while *Albuquerque* took the Citadel that commanded the Place, and ſet fire to the Town, the Grand Marſhal made himſelf Maſter of the Royal Palace, where finding immenſe Riches, his People fell to plundering, and the *Indians*, taking Advantage of the Diſorder they were in, fell upon them, and cut them off to a Man. *Albuquerque* did all that in his Power lay to prevent the Miſchief, but without Effect, and in endeavouring to ſave another he ran a great Riſque of being deſtroyed himſelf; for in his Paſſage towards the Palace, he received two dangerous Wounds, and immediately after was almoſt cruſhed to Pieces, by a great Stone thrown upon him from the Top of one of the publick Buildings. In this Condition his Soldiers took him up, and carried him on Board his Ship, and then they made a good Retreat, having loſt at this unfortunate Undertaking the Grand Marſhal, and fourſcore Men, and about three hundred wounded.

[l] This was a very deep Queſtion in Politicks, *viz*, Whether Rebellion in the next Heir deprives him of his Right of Succeſſion? But it does not appear that ever the *Portugueſe* conſidered the thing in this Light, the youngeſt of the two Nephews ſeemed to them moſt in their Intereſt, and therefore it was very natural for them to be in his.

[m] We learn from ſome of the *Portugueze* Hiſtorians, that *Almeyda* ſuffered his Jealouſy of *Albuquerque* to carry him ſo far, as to cauſe him to be ſeized, together with all his Papers, and conducted to the City of *Cananor*, where he kept him Priſoner, allowing him only three of his Servants to attend him; and though it was impoſſible they ſhould have Intelligence of this in *Portugal*, yet it ſeems they ſuſpected ſome ſuch Matter, and therefore ſent a Man of great Quality, and a ſtrong Fleet, to regulate Affairs in that Part of the World, without which, in all Probability, there might have been ſome Difficulty in perſuading the Viceroy to part with a Power of which he was ſo fond.

As ſoon as *Albuquerque* recovered, he formed a Deſign of making himſelf Maſter of *Ormuz*; and for that Purpoſe aſſembled a great Fleet, and a conſiderable Body of Troops, amongſt which were two thouſand veteran *Portugueze* that had ſerved long in the *Indies*. But when he was on the Point of ſailing, he received ſuch Intelligence as engaged him to alter his Deſign, and to reſolve upon attacking *Goa*, a large and rich City in the Iſland of *Tiçuarin*, with one of the beſt Ports in the *Indies*. This Iſland, which is about nine or ten Leagues in Circumference, was eſteemed, from its Situation, the moſt important Poſt on the Coaſt of *Malabar*. The King of *Decan* was the natural Lord of it, and the Perſon who commanded for him therein was one *Idalcon*, a *Moor* by Birth, and a Man of great Courage and Experience. He took all imaginable Care to put the Place into the beſt Poſture of Defence poſſible; notwithſtanding which, the Iſland was reduced, and the City of *Goa* taken by Storm by the *Portugueze*, aſſiſted by a Fleet and Army of an *Indian* Prince, called the King of *Onor*, under the Command of *Timoia*, his General. Don *Alphonſo Albuquerque* made his publick Entry into it on the 17th of *February*, 1510, with great Magnificence; and having ſettled every thing there, in the beſt Order poſſible, he appointed his Nephew *Antonio de Norogna* Governor of the City; *Gaſpar de Payva* General Director of the Commerce, and *Timoia* had the Charge of the Revenues, which amounted to Eighty-two thouſand Pieces of Gold *per Annum*. This Conqueſt was not eaſily maintained, for *Idalcan* returned with ſuch a Force as recovered the Place, and the new Governor *Antonio de Norogna* was ſlain in the Diſpute, which, however, ſerved only to increaſe the Deſire of *Albuquerque* to raiſe the Credit of his Nation, by ſecuring a Country and City of ſuch Conſequence, which, after a War of long Continuance, he accompliſhed; and this City became afterwards, *viz.* in 1559, the Seat of the Governor, and the See of an Archbiſhop, and Primate of the *Indies*.

The Conqueſt of *Goa*, though in itſelf of vaſt Importance, was far from ſatisfying the Ambition of *Albuquerque*, whoſe Mind was continually agitated with the Deſires of extending the Power of his Prince and his Reputation. It was with this View that he ſailed with a great Fleet to the Road of *Malacca*, where he demanded the *Portugueze* Priſoners the King had in his Hands[n]. The *Indian* Monarch put him off with fair Words and Promiſes, and the General being afraid that he might put the Priſoners to death, bore with this Treatment for ſome Time; but, at laſt, was ſo provoked, that he made an Attempt on the Place, and actually ſet it on Fire; upon which the King of *Malacca* immediately ſent the before-mentioned Priſoners, and offered to make Peace with the *Portugueze* upon their own Terms. Thoſe preſcribed by *Albuquerque* were extremely hard, for he demanded Leave to build a Fort where he thought fit, a Reparation of Damages done to the *Portugueze*, and a Sum of Money equivalent to the Expence of this Expedition.

The *Indian* Monarch, having conſulted with his Council, abſolutely refuſed to yield to them; and thereupon Hoſtilities were again begun on both Sides, which ended in *Albuquerque*'s attacking the City of *Malacca* by Sea and Land with great Fury, and, after an obſtinate Reſiſtance, it was taken by Storm, and given up to the Pillage of the *Portugueze* Soldiers; and we may gueſs at the Riches of the Place by the clear Fifth, which was reſerved to the King, and which was bought on the Spot by the Merchants for Two hundred thouſand Pieces of Gold. The General immediately cauſed a Fort to be erected for the Security of the Place, and putting a good Garriſon into it he gave the Command thereof to *Rodriguez Patalino*: He raiſed one *Utimut*, an *Indian* Lord, who, by deſerting the King of *Malacca*, had been very uſeful to him, to the Poſt of ſupreme Magiſtrate of the *Indians* and *Mohammedans*; and, having received the Compliments of ſeveral *Indian* Princes upon his Victory, he prepared to return to *Goa*. Before he quitted the Place a Conſpiracy was diſcovered, in which *Utimut* was principally concerned, who thought to have made himſelf Maſter of the Place. As his Letters were intercepted, the Proof againſt him was clear, and the General ordered him and his Son to be executed, notwithſtanding his great Age, and an Offer made him of an hundred thouſand Pieces of Gold to ſpare their Lives. After this, and ſtaying there near a Year, he determined to leave a very brave Man and experienced Officer Commander of the Forces at *Malacca*, with a ſufficient Number of Ships and Men. Theſe Precautions being taken, he ſailed for the Coaſt of *Malabar*; but, in his Paſſage met with ſuch a Storm, as deſtroyed the greateſt Part of his Fleet, with all the Riches on Board, and it was with very great Difficulty that the General himſelf eſcaped[o].

After a ſhort Stay at *Cochin*, and putting every thing there in the beſt Order they could, Don *Alphonſo Albuquerque* retired to *Goa*, where Things were in ſome Confuſion; but he ſoon reſtored them, and humbled all the *Indians* in his Neighbourhood to ſuch a Degree, that the *Samorin* himſelf ſent Embaſſadors to implore Peace, and to offer him Permiſſion to build a Fort at *Calicut*, wherever he thought fit. The Emperor of *Ethiopia* alſo ſent an Embaſſador to *Goa*, and from thence to *Portugal*; and, in ſhort, the Terror of the *Portugueze* Arms was now ſo great, that *Idalcan* and the Princes that had given the greateſt Oppoſition to the Settlement of that Nation in the *Indies*, were glad now to atone for their Indiſcretion. by offering to accept whatever Terms Don *Alphonſo* thought fit to preſcribe. Such a long Train of Succeſſes, and ſo ſplendid a Scene of Proſperity, would certainly have turned the Head of a Man of leſs Abilities than the Great *Albuquerque*, to whoſe Capacity the *Portugueze* were more indebted for their Conqueſts, than to the Armies and Fleets which he commanded.

He had, indeed, all the Talents requiſite for a Man in his Station, and with theſe ſuch a Degree of Diligence and Application, as would have enabled him to have performed great Things, if his Parts had been leſs ſhining.

He loved the ancient Frugality of his Country, and never ſuffered himſelf to be corrupted by the Power or Wealth that he poſſeſſed; and indeed he made no Uſe of either, but for the Service of the Crown. When he ſaw the Diſpoſition of the *Indians* to meaſure every thing by outward Pomp, he ſeemed to give into their Notion, and affected, upon publick Days, prodigious Magnificence: But in the midſt of all this he relaxed nothing of his former Severity, but lived, in the midſt of all his publick Splendor, as coarſely, in reſpect to his Perſon, as any private Man. In exacting the Dues of the Crown, he was ſomewhat ſevere; but, with regard to his own Fortune, he took ſo little Care of it, that, except his publick Appointments, he had ſcarce any thing he could call his own. His Officers were his Children, and he took as much Pains in teaching them their Duty as an affectionate Parent in the Education of his Sons. He overlooked Miſcarriages, but puniſhed Treachery, or Neglect of Duty, with inexorable Severity. He was extremely ready to reward, and all his Diſcourſe at his Table was of the great Actions performed by his Officers, while he was not only ſilent as to his own, but would not permit others to commend them. It was a common Saying of his, that he was afraid of nothing but Flattery; and it was obſerved, that he never preferred any who attempted to gain his good Graces that way. Let them ſerve their King and Country, ſaid he, if they would be beloved by *Albuquerque*; and his Actions were agreeable to his Words, for he diſtinguiſhed none but Men of Merit. It has been well obſerved by ſome of the *Portugueze* Hiſtorians, that the Vanity of *Almeyda* made him affect the State of a Prince, when the Power of the *Portugueze* was but indifferently eſtabliſhed; whereas the Modeſty of *Albuquerque* was moſt conſpicuous when his Victories had left him nothing to fear, and when the greateſt Princes of the Eaſt ſent their Embaſſadors to beg his Friendſhip.

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[n] While theſe Diſputes laſted, *Sequeria*, a *Portugueze* Officer, had the Command of a conſiderable Squadron given him, which was to be ſent in order to make Diſcoveries; and as he had taken part with the Victor againſt the General, he no ſooner knew that the latter was inveſted with the chief Command, than he immediately haſtened his Departure. Sailing from *Cochin* on the 19th of *Auguſt*, 1509, he arrived on the Coaſt of *Malacca* on the 11th of *September*, and was entertained with a Shew of Friendſhip by the King, who invited him to a grand Entertainment, with Intent to have murdered him, and all who came with him; which *Sequeria* avoided, by pretending Sickneſs; the King then attempted to ſurpriſe the *Portugueze* as they landed to carry on their Commerce, in which he ſucceeded better, killing ſome, and making a conſiderable Number Priſoners. *Sequeria* revenged himſelf by attacking and plundering ſeveral rich Veſſels that he met with on the Coaſt, and then he continued his Voyage to *Portugal*. It was this Act of Treachery that induced Don *Alphonſo Albuquerque* to make his Attempt on *Malacca*.

[o] This Storm happened on the Coaſt of the Iſland of *Sumatra*, in which *Albuquerque* found a new Opportunity of raiſing his Reputation. The Ship on which he was on board ſtriking on a Rock, the Crew hurried him into his Long-boat, and juſt as they were putting off from the Wreck, the General ſaw a young Man fall from one of the Maſts into the Sea, near his Boat. He ſprung himſelf to his Aſſiſtance, caught him in his Arms, and thereby preſerved his Life at the Hazard of his own.

Yet, with all theſe Qualities, this Hero had his Faults. His Ambition was boundleſs, and carried away by an extravagant Deſire of extending the Dominions of the Crown of *Portugal*, he very little regarded whether the Meaſures he took for that Purpoſe were juſt or unjuſt. In his private Life, he was a Man of the ſtricteſt Honour; in his public Character, Regard to Truth will not permit us to ſay ſo much [p]. What we have farther to relate of his Actions, will fully juſtify this Remark. He made himſelf Maſter of *Goa* without any other Pretence than that it was neceſſary to the Crown of *Portugal*. He had ſeized *Malacca* for the ſame Reaſon: And now he meditated the Conqueſt of *Ormuz* from the like Motive, and he effected it in the following manner: He had formerly, that is, before he was declared General of the *Indies*, attempted to raiſe a Citadel there, without being able to effect his Deſign; but the Power of the *Portugueze* being now ſo much increaſed, that all the Commerce of the Eaſt depended upon them, the King of *Ormuz* had been obliged to become tributary, becauſe his City and Nation depended upon Trade; other Places could not be rich, but his Dominions could not ſubſiſt without it.

The then King of *Ormuz* was *Torun-Shab*, a young Prince of no great Abilities, and of a weak and timorous Spirit. In the Beginning of his Reign, he was entirely governed, as all Princes muſt be, who have not Parts enough to govern themſelves, by an old Miniſter, whoſe Name was *Noradin*, a Man of great Cunning, but of no enterprizing Genius, and who, to ſupport himſelf, and ſecure the Adminiſtration to his Family, brought three of his Nephews to Court, and gave them great Poſts in the Government and in the Army. *Hamed*, the youngeſt of theſe, in a ſhort Time gained, by his Intrigues, ſuch a Share of Power, that neither the King nor his Uncle had any more than a Shadow of Authority left. Don *Alphonſo Albuquerque* being informed of this, aſſembled his Army, and gave it out that his Deſign was to attack *Aden*; but, when at Sea, he directed his Courſe to the Coaſt of *Perſia*, and appeared before *Ormuz* when he was leaſt expected. He demanded that the Citadel ſhould be immediately put into his Hands, *Portugueze* Factories ſettled in the Place, and that the King ſhould abſolutely acknowledge himſelf dependant on the Crown of *Portugal*.

Torun-Shab, thinking it better to be the Vaſſal of a foreign Prince, than the Slave of his own Miniſter, exerted his Authority to leſſen his own Dignity, admitted the General into the Citadel, aſſigned the *Portugueze* ſome of the beſt Houſes in the Town for their Factory, and ordered their Flag to be diſplayed upon the Palace. *Hamed* could not help diſcovering his Impatience at a Change ſo ſudden and unexpected, to prevent the Effects of which, he formed ſome Deſigns againſt the General's Life; of which Don *Alphonſo* was no ſooner informed, than he gave Orders to ſome of his Soldiers to cut him off, which they without Ceremony performed. If the General had ſtopped here, it had been well enough, but his Projects were not of a Nature to be bounded by any thing but the abſolute Poſſeſſion of what he aimed at, and therefore, under Pretence that a Fleet was coming from *Egypt*, to make a Deſcent upon the Iſland, he demanded all the Artillery of the Place, which, he ſaid, was neceſſary for his preſerving it from the Enemy.

Torun-Shab aſſembled his Council, who declared, that in the firſt Place they knew nothing of any ſuch Deſign; and in the next, that they thought it very imprudent to comply with the General's Deſign. The Cowardice of the King, however, got the better of the good Senſe of his Miniſters; the Artillery was put on board for the preſent Service, which the General would never reſtore; but having made *Pedro d' Albuquerque* Governor of the Citadel, he ſeized fifteen of the Princes of the Blood, with their Wives and Children, and carried them away with him to *Goa*, that he might have ſufficient Hoſtages for their good Behaviour to him, who, he was conſcious, had Reaſon enough to be diſpleaſed with his Conduct towards them; and thus, for the preſent, *Ormuz* was ſubjected to the *Portugueze* [q].

A little before the Return of *Albuquerque*, he received a magnificent Embaſſy from the King of *Perſia*, who, finding himſelf in danger of ſuffering by the new Empire, erected by this General in the Eaſt, reſolved to prevent it if he could, by offering him his Friendſhip. The General received him with all the Reſpect due to the Miniſter of ſo great a Prince, and cauſed him to be entertained during the Time he ſtaid at the publick Expence, and that too with as great Magnificence as the Circumſtances of Time and Place would allow. He likewiſe made the *Perſian* Monarch very valuable Preſents, and ſuch as he very little expected; for he ſent him ſome very fine Pieces of Braſs Cannon, and various other Utenſils of War, together with ſome able Engineers to manage them, which he did for two Reaſons; firſt, that he might ſecure the ſincere Friendſhip of ſo great a Monarch, which he knew would be of prodigious Conſequence, as Things then ſtood, to the Affairs of *Portugal*, and next, becauſe he was perfectly informed that the Advantages gained over the *Perſians* by the *Turks* were entirely owing to their Artillery; and this great Politician very rightly judged, that nothing could ſerve their Purpoſes better than keeping the Force of theſe rival Empires on an Equality.

A ſhort time after the Return of Don *Alphonſo de Albuquerque* to *Goa*, he was ſeized with an Illneſs, which in a few Days carried him off at the Age of ſixty-three. He was called by the *Mohammedans Albuquerque Malandy*, becauſe he was born at *Melinda* in *Africa*, which in all the Eaſtern Tongues is called *Malanda*; but by the *Portugueze* he was ſtiled, and that very juſtly, *Albuquerque the Great*. He was the ableſt Stateſman, and by far the moſt conſummate General they ever had in the *Indies*, and left their Affairs in the beſt Situation; and yet he performed all the great Actions of his Life with very inconſiderable Force: For with thirty Ships he took *Calicut*, with twenty-one he became Maſter of *Goa*, with twenty-three he ſurprized *Malacca*, and had no more than twenty-two in his laſt Expedition againſt *Ormuz*. At the time of his Deceaſe he was meditating two Projects, which would have raiſed his Reputation ſtill higher, if he had lived to execute them; and they are both of them worthy the Character of this illuſtrious Perſon, and ſuch as perhaps would never have entered any other Head than his own.

He had ſo firmly eſtabliſhed the Power of the *Portugueze* in the *Indies*, that he ſaw no Poſſibility of the Trade's being diverted into another Channel, but by the *Turks*, who he ſuſpected would make themſelves Maſters of *Egypt*; and he very well knew, that by a right Management, the old Channel of Commerce, by the Way of *Alexandria*, might be reſtored, and would then become more conſiderable than ever. To prevent this, he inſinuated to the Emperor of *Ethiopia*, that for his own Security againſt ſuch bad Neighbours as the *Turks*, the beſt Step he could take would be to divert the Channel of the *Nile*, by cutting a Paſſage for it into the *Arabian* Sea before it reached *Egypt*. If this Deſign had taken Effect, it muſt undoubtedly have rendered the greateſt Part of *Egypt* uninhabitable, and withal would have rendered it impracticable to renew the old Method of tranſporting *Eaſt-India* Commodities from the *Red-Sea* to *Alexandria*, which was the principal thing he had in View. His other Project was to tranſport three hundred Horſe from the Iſland of *Ormuz* to the oppoſite Coaſt of *Arabia*, which is but ſeventeen Leagues, and this Party he thought ſufficient to plunder the Tomb of *Mohammed* at *Mecca*, and to burn the Relicks of that falſe Prophet, which he imagined would have various good Conſequences. One it would certainly have had, that is, it would have ſtruck all the *Mohammedans* in the Eaſt with Terror and Amazement, and have diverted that Concourſe of People thither; I mean to *Mecca*, which made the Commerce of *Arabia* famous, and conſequently would have promoted in a great Degree his other Deſign of reſcuing the Trade of the Eaſt out of the Hand of the *Turks*, and other *Mohammedan* Nations.

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[q] This City owed both its Being and its Grandeur to its Trade, and therefore we often hear it mentioned, to ſhew that there is no Place ſo uncomfortable by Situation, that may not be rendered agreable by Commerce and the Wealth that it brings in; the worſt of it is, that Luxury never fails to accompany this Abundance; and it was to the Factions that took Riſe from their Wealth and Corruption, that the King and People of *Ormuz* owed their Deſtruction.

The Death of this excellent Commander, though at ſo great an Age, proved ſome Inconvenience to the *Portugueze* Affairs, and would have proved a much greater, if his Succeſſor had not been at that time at *Cochin* with a Squadron of ten Sail, which he had juſt brought from *Portugal*. This General *Albuquerque* left all the Settlements then made in the *Indies* in perfect Peace, and in admirable Order; and he likewiſe left ſuch a Body of regular Troops as were capable not only of maintaining what was already acquired, but alſo of adding ſuch Conqueſts as the King or his Succeſſors ſhould judge neceſſary. His Funeral was performed with great Solemnity, and his Body interred in a Chapel dedicated to the Bleſſed Virgin, which himſelf had built at *Goa*, and which was much enlarged by his Son *Alphonſo Albuquerque*, who lived to the Age of fourſcore, and gave conſiderable Aſſiſtance to ſuch Hiſtorians as have recorded his Father's Actions.

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He, on his Arrival in *India*, having quelled ſome Inſurrections there, and overcome the King of *Bintam*, whom he forced to accept a Peace on his Terms, repaired to *Ormuz*, and defeating *Mocri* King of *Boharim*, an Iſland in the *Perſian* Gulph, reduced it to the Obedience of *Portugal*. *Lopez* was ſucceeded by *Edward de Meneſes* in 1521, who reſtored the King of *Pacem*, in the Iſland of *Sumatra*, to his Dominions, on condition of his paying a Tribute, and giving Leave for the erecting a Fort upon his Coaſt. In the firſt Year of this Viceroy's Adminiſtration died *Emanuel* King of *Portugal*, the greateſt Prince that ever ſat on the Throne of that Kingdom, who, having reduced to his Obedience not only the Coaſts of all *India*, both within and without the *Ganges*, but of the Gulph of *Perſia*, and
covering with his Fleets the *Ethio-*

The account ~~of the~~ ~~Salt Society~~
second year's duties paid by the Society:
(1766 Sept. 1767 Aug.) - 295,000
220,000
5,15,000 Rupees or nearly
57,937 £ Sterling
Paid ~~in 1769 Sept. & 1770~~ March in four instalments
from 1768 Feb. to 1771 June)
[4th Secret Repts. p. 108]

~~The account~~ They were paid in four instalments from 1768 Feb. to 1771 June to the amount of Rs. 5,15,000 only or nearly 57937 £ Sterling but would not permit others to commend them. It was a common Saying of his, that he was afraid of nothing but Flattery; and it was obſerved, that he never preferred any who attempted to gain his good Graces that way. Let them ſerve their King and Country, ſaid he, if they would be beloved by *Albuquerque*; and his Actions were agreeable to his Words, for he diſtinguiſhed none but Men of Merit. It has been well obſerved by ſome of the *Portugueze* Hiſtorians, that the Vanity of *Almeyda* made him affect the State of a Prince, when the Power of the *Portugueze* was but indifferently eſtabliſhed; whereas the Modeſty of *Albuquerque* was moſt conſpicuous when his Victories had left him nothing to fear, and when the greateſt Princes of the Eaſt ſent their Embaſſadors to beg his Friendſhip.

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of Defence, ſo as to be no longer under Apprehenſions of his P

[s] It appears from hence, that the *Portugueze* were the firſt wh
the more ſurpriſed, ſince we do not hear at this time of any oth
Inhabitants to ſell Spices, might appear an unneceſſary Precauti
ſerved: In the firſt place, there was a great Trade for Nutmeg
in their own Hands. In the next place, they were very appre
dria, to their great Rivals in Trade the *Venetians*; to prevent
they were afraid of the *Spaniards* from the *Weſt Indies*, the Go
ing a regular Commerce between the Kingdom of *Mexico* and
to apprehend their having this valuable Commerce taken out o

Yet, with all theſe Qualities, this Hero had his Faults. His Ambition was boundleſs, and carried away by an extravagant Deſire of extending the Dominions of the Crown of *Portugal*, he very little regarded whether the Meaſures he took for that Purpoſe were juſt or unjuſt. In his private Life, he was a Man of the ſtricteſt Honour; in

The Society of Salt did not pay the duties which
to be paid at their own initiative were
stipulated. The ~~reason~~ for the delay is appa-
advanced It is alleged that
rently groundless. They could not collect
It is asserted that
their debts owing to the great scarcity of specie
The first year's dues (1765-1766 Sept) were
not paid even up to 1769 Sept 2nd when the balance
of 137121 Rs. was paid to complete the
dues of ~~the first~~ that year. In all the Society
1057121 ~~little that~~
paid ~~only~~ ~~[illegible]~~ Rs. for ~~the first~~
year. (G.L. 25 Sept. 1769, Paras 98, 107 Vol. 9)
23 Nov. 1769, Para 18, Ibid,
~~[illegible]~~ Beng. Gen. Cons. 2nd Oct. 1769, 31 March 1772
Search Report, pp. 203-208
The ~~second~~ year's dues were paid after
repeated remonstrances in Sept.
1769 and March 1770. (G.L. 31st March
1772, Paras 29-31, Vol. 10)

gave Orders to

they without Ceremony performed. If the General had ſtopped here, it had been well enough, but his Projects were not of a Nature to be bounded by any thing but the abſolute Poſſeſſion of what he aimed at, and therefore, under Pretence that a Fleet was coming from *Egypt*, to make a Deſcent upon the Iſland, he demanded all the Artillery of the Place, which, he ſaid, was neceſſary for his preſerving it from the Enemy.

Torun-Shah aſſembled his Council, who declared, that in the firſt Place they knew nothing of any ſuch Deſign; and in the next, that they thought it very imprudent to comply with the General's Deſign. The Cowardice of the King, however, got the better of the good Senſe of his Miniſters; the Artillery was put on board for the preſent Service, which the General would never reſtore; but having made *Pedro d' Albuquerque* Governor of the Citadel, he ſeized fifteen of the Princes of the Blood, with their Wives and Children, and carried them away with him to *Goa*, that he might have ſufficient Hoſtages for their good Behaviour to him, who, he was conſcions, had Reaſon enough to be diſpleaſed with his Conduct towards them; and thus, for the preſent, *Ormuz* was ſubjected to the *Portugueze*[q].

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He was ſucceeded by his Son *John* III. about which Time the Viceroy of *India* appointed *Lewis de Meneſes*, with a ſtrong Squadron, to keep the People of *Ormuz* in Obedience, and ſent *Garcias Henriquez* with another to the Eaſtward to make farther Acquiſitions, which latter failed round the Iſlands *Banda Mira* and *Gumanapy*, and proceeding thence to *Tidore*, there fell in with one of the Ships that had been ſent out under *Magellan* by the Emperor *Charles* V. to make new Diſcoveries, which *Henriquez* attacked, and made himſelf Maſter of, putting to Death or making Slaves of all the *Spaniards* on board. This done, he erected a Fort in the neighbouring Iſland *Ternate*, and ſtrictly enjoined the Inhabitants not to vend their Spices to any other than the *Portugueze* [s].

The next Year *Hector Silveria* being appointed Admiral of the *Indies*, was joyfully received by the Viceroy of *Goa*, from whence he proceeded to *Malacca*, then beſieged by *Laquezimenes* the King of *Bintam*'s Admiral, and having happily raiſed the Siege, detached *Alonzo de Souſa* to the Coaſt of *Bintam*, which having ravaged, he gained a great Victory over the Ships of *Pabang*, *Patana*, and *Java*, killing great Numbers of the Enemy, and taking ſeveral Priſoners;

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[r] The Fleet with which this Commander ſailed into the *Red-Sea* was by much ſuperior to any thing the *Portugueze* had ever been able to put to Sea before that time, and was intirely the Effect of Don *Alphonſo d'Albuquerque*'s Prudence and Diligence. It conſiſted of thirty ſeven large Ships, and at the ſame time he arrived before *Aden*, there was no Force in the *Indies* capable of diſputing with him. The Reaſon that the Inhabitants of that City would then have ſubmitted was, becauſe a great Part of their Walls remained unrepaired, ſo that they were not in a Condition to make any Defence; but when they obſerved the Slowneſs of the *Portugueze* General, and that he did not embrace an Offer of ſuch Importance with the Readineſs that he ought to have done, they loſt no Time in repairing their Fortifications, and putting their City in a Poſture of Defence, ſo as to be no longer under Apprehenſions of his Power, and then they treated him with Contempt.

[s] It appears from hence, that the *Portugueze* were the firſt who attempted to monopolize the Trade of Spices; at which the Reader may be the more ſurpriſed, ſince we do not hear at this time of any other *European* Nations that traded in thoſe Parts, and therefore this forbidding the Inhabitants to ſell Spices, might appear an unneceſſary Precaution. To ſet this Matter in a true Light, the three following Points muſt be obſerved: In the firſt place, there was a great Trade for Nutmegs carried on throughout all *Aſia*, and this the *Portugueze* were deſirous of keeping in their own Hands. In the next place, they were very apprehenſive of their being carried into the *Red-Sea*, and ſo through *Egypt* to *Alexandria*, to their great Rivals in Trade the *Venetians*; to prevent which, they kept a Squadron cruizing at the Mouth of the *Red-Sea*. Thirdly, they were afraid of the *Spaniards* from the *Weſt Indies*, the Governors in *America* making frequent Attempts on this Side, in hopes of eſtabliſhing a regular Commerce between the Kingdom of *Mexico* and the *Moluccas*; ſo that it is very plain the *Portugueze* Viceroys had Reaſon enough to apprehend their having this valuable Commerce taken out of their Hands.

ſoners; after which, proceeding to *Machian* and *Bachian*, two of the *Molucca* Iſlands near *Tidor*, he plundered them, and carried off a great Booty. The next Year *Vaſquez de Gama* was appointed Viceroy of the *Indies*; but as he was in a very advanced Age, it being improbable he ſhould live long, a Commiſſion was made out for *Henry de Meneſes* to ſucceed, in caſe of his Deceaſe before the three Years of his Viceroyalty ſhould be expired. There was a third Commiſſion to *Pedro Maſcarenhas*, appointing him Viceroy, if *Meneſes* ſhould die; and a fourth to *Lopez de Sampayo* to ſucceed, in caſe of the Death of *Maſcarenhas*. The *Portugueze* by this means were almoſt ſecure of providing, that their Acquiſitions in *India* ſhould not remain without a Head, and the Event ſhewed the good Effects of their Care; for *Gama* did not long enjoy his new Honour; but having firſt defeated the People of *Calicut* in an Engagement at Sea, died within a few Months after his Arrival at *Goa*, ſo that the Viceroyalty devolved upon *Henry de Meneſes*.

The Commiſſion by which he was to ſucceed was ſealed up with this Superſcription, *Not to be opened till* (which God forbid) *Vaſquez de Gama, Viceroy and high Admiral of the* Indies, *ſhall be departed this Life*. This being now opened by the next commanding Officers in the great Church at *Cochin*, *Meneſes*, who was then abſent from the Place, was proclaimed Viceroy, whoſe Adminiſtration was likewiſe of a ſhort Date, and diverſified with both good and bad Fortune; for after ſeveral Engagements with the *Calicutians* with various Succeſs, he defeated their Fleet in the Port of *Guleta*, and made himſelf Maſter of moſt of their Ships; ſoon after which he deſtroyed a Fleet of *Turkiſh* Ships off *Dabal*, another of *Moors* off *Zeila*, worſted that of the Prince of *Patana* and *Laqueximenes* the Admiral of *Bintam*, and then advancing to relieve the *Portugueze*, beſieged by the Enemy in the Fortreſs of *Calicut*, he performed the ſame, but died of a Wound he had received in his Leg by an Arrow, in the Year 1526.

This unlucky Accident had very bad Effects on the Affairs of the *Portugueze*, and as theſe were the Reſult of the very Precautions that were taken to avoid them, it may not be amiſs to examine them more at large. As ſoon as it was known at *Goa* that *Henry de Meneſes* was dead, all the great Officers aſſembled, in order to open the Billets by which the Succeſſor was appointed; and in opening theſe, the Authority of Viceroy devolved upon *Pedro Maſcarenhas*, who was then at *Malacca*. One of the Officers preſent, who took upon him to have more Wit than his Neighbours, thought proper to diſtinguiſh upon this Occaſion between a General preſent, and a General at a Diſtance; he ſaid, that the Intent and Meaning of theſe Subſtitutions was plainly, that the Government in the *Indies* might never want a Head; and that an abſent Head being in Effect no Head at all, it was neceſſary to open another Billet, in order to procure a Viceroy for the preſent, till *Pedro Maſcarenhas* ſhould arrive from *Malacca*[1].

This Propoſal was far enough from being univerſally approved by all who were preſent, becauſe many of them foreſaw, that under Pretence of providing againſt a ſlight Evil, or rather an Inconvenience, they were on the Point of running into a much greater Miſchief. However, *Alphonſo Mexias*, who firſt propoſed the opening the other Billet, preſſed it with ſuch Earneſtneſs, that at laſt it was complied with, and the Billet being opened, *Lopez de Sampayo* the Fourth, ſubſtituted Viceroy, took upon him that Charge, and gave the *Malabarians* a ſignal Defeat in an Engagement at the Mouth of the *Bacanor*: But *Maſcarenhas* highly reſenting it, that *Sampayo* ſhould uſurp the Viceroyalty out of his Turn, would by no means acquieſce with that Proceeding, but aſſumed to himſelf the Title and Office of Viceroy, and being forced to wait the proper Seaſon for coming down to *Goa*, took that Opportunity to repair with a Fleet of nineteen Sail to the Coaſt of *Bintam*, where he defeated *Laqueximenes*, the Enemies Admiral, together with the Fleet of *Pahang*, which came to their Aſſiſtance, when taking the City of *Bintam* by Storm, he burnt it; and the King dying with Grief at his ill Succeſs, *Maſcarenhas* appointed another in his Room, on condition that he ſhould maintain no Army nor Fleet without Leave from the *Portugueze*, but commit himſelf wholly to their Protection. This done, he went with his Fleet to *Goa*, where he deſired a Number of Arbitrators might be appointed to judge whether he or *Sampayo* was the proper Viceroy; but the latter at firſt refuſed to ſubmit to any Arbitration: Inſtead of which, contrary to all Reaſon and Juſtice, he ſeized and impriſoned him, ſuppoſing that this would put an End to the Conteſt, by frighting the Friends of his Competitor into Silence; but in this he took his Meaſures quite wrong, for this Violence, inſtead of leſſening the Intereſt of Don *Pedro*, increaſed it, ſo that at laſt he found himſelf under a Neceſſity of yielding to this Propoſition, and thirteen Judges were choſen to decide this difficult Queſtion, which by an Accident that happened in the mean time was made ſtill more difficult.

For, a freſh Squadron arriving from *Portugal*, brought more of theſe Billets, with an Order that ſuch of the old ones as were not opened, ſhould be ſuppreſſed and ſent back, and that the Government ſhould be determined by the new Billets; the firſt of which, by the Advice of *Alphonſo Mexias*, the firſt Mover of all theſe Troubles, was opened, contrary to the Opinion of the wiſeſt and beſt Men at *Goa*, who foreſaw, that inſtead of leſſening, it would augment the Doubts and Suſpicions that had thrown them into Factions already. This Billet being in Favour of *Lopez*, he affirmed, before the Judges, that both the former Nominations were void, and therefore he inſiſted only upon this laſt; and they being, for the moſt Part of his Faction, or elſe corrupted by *Mexias*, came into it at once, declared him Viceroy, and, to put an End to all Diſputes, ordered Don *Pedro Maſcarenhas* to return immediately to *Portugal*; with which Arbitration he complied, as plainly perceiving that he could hope for nothing by continuing in the *Indies*, when Things were in this Situation. On his Return to *Liſbon*, he laid the whole Proceedings before the King, together with a Memorial, in which he repreſented, that as all theſe Diſputes had been occaſioned from their not knowing certainly his Majeſty's Pleaſure, he humbly deſired that it might be declared, who it was his Majeſty intended to have named Viceroy, that Accidents of this Kind might be prevented for the future. The King accordingly heard and decided this Matter with great Juſtice and Wiſdom; for, in the firſt place, he cancelled the Decree of the Arbitrators, and ordered that the preſent Viceroy, *Lopez*, ſhould pay to Don *Pedro* twenty thouſand Crowns, as the Profits of his two Years Government, and, at the ſame time, made a Regulation for the future to this Effect, that, on the Opening of theſe Billets of Subſtitution, the Abſence of the Perſon nominated ſhould not prejudice him in any Degree, provided the Perſon named was in any Part of the *Indies* between *Cape Cori* and *Diu*, which taking in the beſt Part of the *Indies*, rendered it impoſſible that any ſuch Accident ſhould hereafter fall out as that which had occaſioned all this Confuſion.

But as Don *Lopez* had, in other Reſpects, behaved well, it was judged the reaſonableſt Courſe to leave him in Poſſeſſion of the Government, more eſpecially ſince he was obliged to part with all the Money he had hitherto acquired in it. As ſoon as the King's Orders arrived in the *Indies*, Don *Lopez* executed them in every Reſpect, reconciled himſelf to the Friends of Don *Pedro Maſcarenhas*, and behaved in every other Circumſtance as became a worthy Man and a good Subject. But no ſooner were theſe Troubles over, than new Diſturbances broke out, which occaſioned freſh Confuſions in the *Indies*.

Henry Garcias, who was at that Time Governor of the *Moluccas*, finding Affairs extremely embarraſſed by the Wars which his Predeceſſor had made againſt the King of *Tidor*, with very little Advantage, thought fit, on his firſt coming to his Government, to make Peace with *Almanſor*, who was then King of that Iſland, on Condition that he ſhould reſtore the Artillery and Priſoners he had taken from the *Portugueze*, which, in the Space of ſix Months, he undertook to do. But the

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[1] This was the Beginning of thoſe Factions which proved afterwards ſo fatal to the *Portugueze*; for it is certain, that if they had not fallen out amongſt themſelves, they might have preſerved their Empire in this Part of the World much longer, and much more intire; but when their Governors began to impriſon each other, and take many ſuch Steps for their private Advantage, at the Expence of the publick Intereſt of their Country, we need not wonder at the unlucky Accidents that followed, or the Deſertions of thoſe Officers and Pilots, which proved the Ruin of their Commerce, by bringing Strangers of all Nations into thoſe Seas.

Face of Affairs in thoſe Parts altering ſoon after, *Garcias* repented him of the Peace, and reſolved to renew the War, believing, that if he could reduce this Iſland, it would very much raiſe his Reputation; to furniſh himſelf therefore with ſome Pretence for breaking with the King of *Tidor*, he, before the Time limited was expired, ſent to demand the Cannon and Priſoners; to which *Almanſor* modeſtly reply'd, that he would have delivered them up when the Treaty was made, if it had been in his Power; but that having lent the Cannon to a Prince who was his Neighbour, it required ſome Time to get them back. He had ſo little Suſpicion however of the Governor's bad Deſign, that, being at this Time extremely indiſpoſed, he requeſted him to ſend a Phyſician, whoſe Advice he might make uſe of his Recovery. *Garcias* accordingly ſent one, under whoſe Direction the King put himſelf, without the leaſt Reſerve, and was by him moſt baſely poiſoned. Immediately after the King's Death, *Garcias* ſent again to demand the Cannon and Priſoners, and becauſe the People deſired a Delay till the King's Funeral was performed, he having all Things ready, expecting the Event, made a Deſcent upon the Iſland, attacked the capital City, took it, and plundered it, and treated the People with the utmoſt Inhumanity [u].

As this was done without the leaſt Provocation, in a Time of full Peace, and when there was not the leaſt Intention on the Side of the Natives to renew the War againſt the *Portugueze*, it cauſed among the People of that Iſland, and of moſt of the reſt of the *Moluccas*, an implacable Hatred againſt them; ſoon after which, a Squadron of the Emperor *Charles* V. arriving there, was welcomed by the People of *Tidor*, with all the Marks of Kindneſs, on account of the *Spaniards* equal Enmity with them to the *Portugueze*, and being received into their Port, they raiſed Works for the Defence of it, in caſe of an Attack from the Enemy. The *Spaniards*, who were under the Command of *Ignigueza*, alledged, that the *Moluccas* belonged of Right to them, as being firſt diſcovered by *Magellan*, with a Commiſſion from the King of *Spain*, and that the Diſpute having been ſubmitted to Arbitration, was determined in their Favour.

On the other Hand, the *Portugueze*, under the Command of *Henriquez*, ſaid, that the unjuſt Sentence of the *Caſtilian* Arbitration had been reverſed by the Judges in *Portugal*, and that thoſe Iſlands were diſcovered ten Years before the Voyage of *Magellan* in the *Spaniſh* Service by *Anthony Abreu*, who was ſent out to make Diſcoveries by *Alphonſo Albuquerque*, in whoſe Company was *Magellan* himſelf, before he had deſerted his Country. Thus they diſputed with Words for a while, but ſoon after came to Blows, the People of *Ternate* taking Part with the *Portugueze*, and thoſe of *Tidor* and *Gilolo* with the *Spaniards*. The latter ſtruck the firſt Stroke, by beſieging the *Portugueze* Fortreſs in *Ternate*, where, at the firſt Attack, they took one of the Enemies Ships, and now the *Spaniards* and *Portugueze* had gone near to have atoned for the Miſchiefs they had done to the *Indians* by the Deſtruction of each other, but that the Emperor being engaged in other Wars in *Europe*, neglected ſo remote an Acquiſition, and for a certain Sum of Money yielded up his Right in the *Moluccas* to the King of *Portugal* [w].

This was look'd upon at that Time as very indifferent Policy, and as the Effects of his not conſidering attentively the Advantages that might have been derived to him in *Europe*, by the prudent Management of his Affairs in *America*, and this becauſe his Thoughts were entirely turned on the vain Project of raiſing an univerſal Monarchy by Force of Arms, whereas the *Portugueze* wiſely contented themſelves with puſhing on their Conqueſts in the *Indies*, and employed their Riches they derived from thence to ſecure themſelves againſt their ambitious Neighbours in *Europe*; from which Plan, if ſhe had never varied, ſhe might have eſcaped becoming a Province to *Spain*, as ſhe afterwards did, and all the unlucky Conſequences that followed from that Conjunction [x]. But it is now time to return from theſe Reflections to the Thread of our Hiſtory. Matters being ſettled in thoſe Iſlands, the Viceroy *Sampayo*, ſent out *John Deza* with a Squadron, to cruize off *Cananor*, and at the ſame Time, diſpatched *Alphonſus Melia* to the *Sunda* Iſlands, who, juſt as he had doubled the Cape of *Comorin*, met with ſome Deputies coming to *Goa*, from the Prince of *Calecura*, on the Pearl-fiſhing Coaſt, with Offers of Tribute and Submiſſion, upon Promiſe of Aſſiſtance againſt his Enemies the *Calecutians*.

In the mean time, *Deza*, upon his Station, intercepted all Ships paſſing between *Calecut* and *Cambaya*, to the incredible Loſs of the People of both thoſe Places, and landing at *Mangalor*, the Inhabitants deſerted the Town, which he plundered and ſet on Fire; after which, falling in with *Cutial* the Admiral of *Calicut*, he engaged and defeated him, and carried him Priſoner to *Cananor*; and about the ſame Time *Anthony Miranda* ſailing to the *Red-Sea*, took great Numbers of the *Arabian* Ships, and burnt ſeveral along the Shore; *Sampayo* himſelf, off *Cananor*, deſtroyed the greateſt Part of a Fleet of one hundred and thirty Sail of *Mooriſh* Ships, bound to *Mecca* with Spices, and then repairing to *Porca* (the Prince whereof was a formidable Sea Rover) he landed there, and took the Town, forcing the Prince to betake himſelf to Flight, who left ſuch a vaſt Booty to the *Portugueze*, that the Share of the meaneſt Sailor came to a thouſand Dollars. From thence he ſailed to the Northward, and near the Iſland of *Bombay*, fell in with a Fleet of the Enemies, under the Command of *Haliſſa*, Admiral of *Cambaya*; whereupon proffering a Reward of one hundred Dollars to the firſt Man who boarded one of the Enemies Ships, he immediately engaged, and having entirely routed them, committed the Fleet to the Command of *Miranda*, who, ſoon after the Viceroy's Departure, came to another Engagement with the *Malabarians*, before the Town of *Chaul*, and gave them a ſignal Defeat, killing great Numbers, and carrying off a rich Booty in Spices to *Cochin*; ſoon after which, the *Portugueze* reduced the Town of *Tanor*, made the Prince of the neighbouring Country their Tributary, and again routed *Haliſſa*, the *Cambayan* Admiral.

In the mean Time, *Nunho de Cunha* ſet out from *Portugal* with a Commiſſion to be Governor, accompanied by his Brother *Simon de Cunha*, who was conſtituted Admiral of the *Indies*, and in his Way thither, attempting to put in at *Monbaza*, in order to paſs the Winter-Seaſon there, was refuſed Entrance by the King, but forced a Paſſage into the Port, and making himſelf Maſter of the Town, gave the Plunder to the Mariners, and ſet it on Fire. Departing thence early in the Spring, he made the beſt of his Way to *India*, where he reſolved to make himſelf Maſter of the Town and Fortreſs of *Diu*, ſituate in an Iſland of the ſame Name, near the Entrance of the Gulph of *Cambaya*; to which Purpoſe, repairing thither with the Fleet, upon his Appearance off the Place, he received an

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[u] As ſoon as this was known to the Viceroy, he ſent a new Governor to the *Moluccas*, one *George Meneſes*, between whom and *Garcias* there happened a long Diſpute, in which the latter was firſt made Priſoner, and afterwards the former: And this, notwithſtanding the *Spaniards* were actually poſſeſſed of *Tidor*, and were endeavouring to get the reſt of the Iſlands into their Hands, which ſhews the Infatuation of the *Portugueze*, who would not avoid quarelling at that very Juncture, when Union was moſt neceſſary, and when not only the Extenſion of their Commerce, but the very Being of it depended thereon, and could not be ſecured without it.

[w] We have a clear Account of this Matter, and a very good one, in Sir *William Monſon*'s Naval Tracts. The Controverſy, ſays he, to whom the *Moluccas* ſhould belong, continued between the two Crowns of *Spain* and *Portugal*, and the *Spaniards* made ſundry Attempts by Way of the *Streights*, but evermore with unfortunate Succeſs. At laſt Don *John* III. of *Portugal*, and Brother in-Law to the Emperor, willingly lent him three hundred and fifty thouſand Ducats, when he went into *Italy* to be crowned Emperor, upon Condition the King of *Portugal* ſhould no Way be moleſted in his Poſſeſſion of the *Molucca* Iſlands, till that Money was repaid; which being never done, the *Spaniards* never ſince pretended to thoſe Iſlands.

[x] I mean by this, that if the *Portugueze* had cultivated Manufactures at home, in order to ſupport and ſupply their Commerce in the *Indies*, without engaging, as Don *Sebaſtian* unfortunately did, in Wars on the Continent, and in *Barbary*, they muſt have become one of the principal maritime Powers in *Europe*, and have attained to ſuch Wealth and Strength, as would effectually have ſecured them for ever againſt the Attempts of *Spain*. But the lanching out into wild and fruitleſs Expeditions, to gratify the Humours of ambitious Princes, will prove fatal to any, but ſooneſt, and moſt ſo, to a trading Nation.

Envoy from *Badur* King of *Cambaya*, with Offers of yielding the Fortreſs into his Hands, which being accordingly performed, it was committed to the Cuſtody of *Anthony Silveira*.

Not long after the King of *Cambaya*, at the Inſtigation of the *Turks*, who were very deſirous of getting *Diu* into their Hands, made an Attempt to diſpoſſeſs the *Portugueze*, and recover the Place; but with an unfortunate Event he, with his *Turkiſh* Auxiliaries, being entirely routed, moſt of his Fleet ſunk, and himſelf received his Death's Wound in the Engagement. Soon after this, *Solyman*, the *Turkiſh* Emperor, ſent the Paſha of *Cairo* to beſiege it, with a Fleet of ſixty-two Gallies, ſix Galleons, and other ſmaller Veſſels, having on Board four thouſand Janizaries, ſixteen thouſand other Soldiers, beſides Gunners, Seamen and Pilots, which on their Arrival before the Town, were joined by eighty Sail of Ships of *Cambaya*.

The *Turkiſh* Paſha landing his Forces, battered the Fortreſs with ſixty Pieces of Cannon; but the Governor with great Bravery ſuſtained his Attack till the Arrival of *Garcias de Noronha*, the new Viceroy from *Goa*, to his Aſſiſtance, who, by a Stratagem paſſing thro' the Enemies Fleet with Drums beating and Trumpets ſounding, as if they had been ſome of their *Indian* Allies, the *Turks*, upon Diſcovery of their Miſtake, raiſed the Siege in the utmoſt Confuſion, leaving behind them their Tents, Ammunition, Artillery, and above a thouſand wounded Men, beſides the like Number that were out on Foraging; all which fell into the Hands of the *Portugueze* [y]. After the Death of *Badur* before mentioned, *Mamud* became King of the *Cambayans*, and *John de Caſtro* ſucceeded *Noronha* as the *Portugueze* Viceroy, in which Time the *Cambayans* and *Turks* made another Attempt on *Diu*, but with the like Succeſs as before, *de Caſtro* routing them both by Sea and Land, with a very great Slaughter; after which, he added ſeveral Works to the Place, and raiſed a new Citadel, in a more advantageous Situation, and of much better Materials than the former.

11. In this proſperous Manner did the *Portugueze* carry all before them in *India*, during the Reign of *John* III. who dying *A. D.* 1557, was ſucceeded by *Sebaſtian*, then an Infant. That Prince growing up, was ſo intent upon his *Indian* Acquiſitions, that he reſolved on a Voyage thither himſelf; and it was with Difficulty his Council found Means to diſſuade him from it. They did at length prevail on that Point; but could not prevent his undertaking a Deſign more hazardous than the former, *viz.* an Expedition againſt the Emperor of *Morocco*; and he embarking for that Purpoſe with a great Army, and the Flower of the *Portugueze* Nobility, on Board a numerous Fleet, landed at *Tangier*, and unadviſedly marching up into the Country, gave the *Moors* Battle near *Alcacer*, where he was cut off with the whole Army [z].

He was ſucceeded by *Henry* his Uncle, then in advanced Age, whoſe Reign is remarkable for nothing but the Diſputes about a Succeſſor to him; he dying *A. D.* 1580, *Philip* II. King of *Spain*, who had Pretenſions to the Crown, thought it moſt expedient to end all Diſputes by the Point of the Sword; and underſtanding the great Inclination the *Portugueze* had (through Hatred of a *Caſtilian* Government) to ſet *Antonio*, a natural Son of *John* III. upon the Throne, he ordered the Duke of *Alva* to march at the Head of a powerful Army into the Kingdom, who ſoon reduced it to his Obedience, forcing *Antonio* to withdraw to *England*; from whence, after ſome unſucceſsful Attempts to recover his loſt Dominions, he retired to *Paris* and died there *A. D.* 1595. The reſt of the Territories of that Crown fell, at the ſame time, into the Hands of the Conqueror, except, the *Azores*, or weſtern Iſlands, which were, at length, ſubdued to *Spain* by a great Victory obtained over a Fleet of *French* Ships ſent thither to maintain them in the Obedience to *Anthony*.

As this Subjection of the *Portugueze* to the *Caſtilians*, was very irkſome and odious to them, ſo was it attended with Conſequences very fatal to their Intereſts; for, upon the firſt Commotions in the Low Countries, *Philip* judging that one of the beſt Expedients to quell them, would be, to deprive the Inhabitants of the Advantages they received by Trade with *Portugal* and *Spain*, he prohibited all Commerce between them; for, in thoſe Times, the *Dutch* Ships made no longer Voyages than to theſe Countries, for the Commodities of *India*, with which they afterwards ſupplied the Northern Nations of *Europe*. But *Philip*'s Deſigns met with an Event very contrary to his Expectations, though they were laid very deeply, and purſued with the utmoſt Steadineſs, as well as Dexterity. The Conqueſt of *Portugal*, indeed, carried along with it the Conqueſt of the Dominions of the *Portugueze* in the *Eaſt-Indies*, and ſeemed to promiſe the *Spaniards* the entire and quiet Poſſeſſion of both *Indies*: But the Project began very ſoon to fail, for, in the firſt Place, the *Portugueze* Governors paid no more than a forced Obedience to the Crown of *Spain*; and in proportion to the Diſtance of their Settlements, the Governors were, more or leſs, circumſpect as to their Conduct. On the other hand, the *Spaniards* having many Affairs of their own to mind, and very little, if any, Concern for the true Intereſts of *Portugal*, the annual Fleets and regular Supplies were neglected, or, when ſent, proved very far ſhort of what they ought to have been. A too quick Senſe of this Relaxation of Government, induced many who were veſted with Authority in the *Indies* to make Uſe of it purely to ſerve their private Purpoſes, without regarding either the publick Welfare of their Country or the particular Benefit of ſuch as were under their Protection.

But what contributed moſt to the ſpeedy Ruin of their Affairs was, this Act of Policy, by which *Philip* II. prohibited, on their Rebellion, his Subjects in the Low Countries from trading to any Part of his Dominions, by which he abſolutely forced them on the Meaſures, by which they aggrandized themſelves at his Expence. If he had avoided this unlucky Prohibition, had treated his new Subjects kindly, and made a reaſonable Proviſion for Don *Antonio*, he might have ſecured his *Indies*, and all their Wealth, which well minded, and their Produce properly applied, would, in a ſhort Space of Time, have enabled him to put all his ambitious Projects into Execution. As it was, the *Dutch* finding an abſolute Stop put to their profitable Trade in *India* Commodities, which hitherto they had bought in the Ports of *Spain* and *Portugal*, reſolved, immediately, to try if it was not poſſible to go and fetch them from the *Indies* directly; whereas, had they been permitted to have purchaſed them in their accuſtomed Manner, this Deſign had never been thought of, but the Commerce of *India* had continued in its old Channel, without Envy or Diſturbance.

We have now conducted to its Cloſe, the firſt Part of this Section, and have ſhewn how this Navigation was opened, improved, and monopolized by the *Portugueze*, how their Conqueſts in this Part of the World were made and maintained, and how by entertaining and purſuing this Scheme of diſtant Expeditions, the ſmalleſt and moſt inconſiderable of all the Kingdoms of *Europe* became one of the richeſt and moſt potent, having it entirely in her own Power ſo to have increaſed her maritime Force as to have had no Cauſe to dread the Ambition of her Neighbours, or their united Endeavours to her Prejudice. Come we now to as clear an Explanation of the ſecond Point, which within the Compaſs of this Section we propoſed.

[y] This was one of the greateſt and moſt honourable Victories ever gain'd by the Arms of the *Portugueze*; for it was not againſt raw and unexperienced Soldiers, or againſt a General unacquainted with the Art of War, that this Effort was made, but againſt a numerous and well diſciplined Army, compleatly furniſhed with every thing neceſſary for carrying on the Siege. The Reputation of this Victory was no leſs advantageous than the Victory itſelf, ſpreading over *Aſia*, *Africa* and *Europe*; ſo that the *French* King, *Francis* I. ſent into *Portugal*, to obtain the Picture of *Silveira*, who had made this gallant Defence, in order to hang it up in his Cabinet of conſummate Officers.

[z] The Loſs of Don *Sebaſtian* was ſo fatal to the *Portugueſe*, and the perſonal Virtues of that Prince rendered him ſo much beloved by his Subjects, that they could ſcarce bring themſelves to believe (eſpecially as his Body was never found) that he periſhed in this Action: Nay, it is the ſettled Opinion of that Nation to this Hour, that he eſcaped; and it is certain, that a Perſon who called himſelf *Sebaſtian*, appeared afterwards at *Venice*, where, at the Requeſt of the King of *Spain*, he was ſeized, then examined in a full Senate, and defended himſelf ſo well, that he was ſet at Liberty. He afterwards fell into the Hands of the *Spaniards*, who impriſoned him firſt at *Naples*, and afterwards carried him into *Spain*, where he died in Confinement, affirming to the very laſt, that he was no Impoſtor, but the true King *Sebaſtian*.

12. It would require much Room, and add very little to the Reader's Satisfaction, ſhould we proſecute the Hiſtory of the *Portugueze* Empire in the Eaſt, through all the Changes and Revolutions to which it was ſubjected, from the Cauſes before-mentioned; the rather, becauſe as their Dominions increaſed, they were obliged to carry on Wars in different Places at the ſame time, with ſeveral Nations, and with great Variety of Succeſs. In order therefore to ſeparate theſe Subjects, ſo as to repreſent to the Reader what is of Importance to be known, and that in the eaſieſt and cleareſt Method poſſible, we will conſider the moſt remarkable Diſcoveries and Settlements of this Nation in the *Indies*, according to the Order in which they were made; the principal Events that happened in them during the Time they remained in their Hands, and the Manner in which they loſt them, whether to the *Indians* or *Europeans*. By this Diviſion, that Confuſion which muſt neceſſarily attend the Abridgment of a general Hiſtory, ſo pregnant with Events, will be avoided; all the Paſſages relating to the ſame Places and Perſons, will be ranged together, ſo as to give Light to each other, and render the Peruſal of them eaſy and entertaining, at the ſame time, that by being thus digeſted, every Colony, every Country will have its Hiſtory preſerved in ſuch a Manner, as that it may be eaſily compared with whatever has been ſaid before, and be with like Facility turned to, when what is hereafter ſaid may make it neceſſary.

Before we proceed to theſe Diſcoveries and Settlements, it will be neceſſary to fix the Place from which they were made [a]. *Calicut*, as we have before ſhewn at large, proved the firſt Place they viſited in the *Indies*, though the firſt Fortification they built was at *Cochin*, which lies South from it. They were ſole Maſters of the Commerce on the Coaſts of *Malabar* from the Gulph of *Cambayo* to Cape *Comorin* for about one hundred and fifty Years, which determined them to fix the Capital of their Dominions as near as poſſible to the Centre of this Coaſt, which was one principal Inducement to their ſeizing *Goa* in the manner before-mentioned. It ſtands at an equal Diſtance from *Surat* and Cape *Comorin*, in a little Iſland made by the Rivers *Mandoa* and *Quari*, about ſix or ſeven Leagues in Circumference, and at the Diſtance of about three Leagues from the Fall of theſe Rivers into the Sea. The Name of the Peninſula adjoining is *Salſette*, and the Soil is extremely rich and fertile. In the hot Seaſon the Waters are very low, ſometimes not above two Feet in Depth; but the reſt of the Year they are ſo high as to afford the largeſt Veſſels an Opportunity of entering the Port of *Goa*, which is one of the ſafeſt and moſt commodious in the Univerſe.

All the Territories adjacent to this City are held by a Treaty with the King of *Decan*, who, by yielding theſe, purchaſed a free Trade for his Subjects throughout the *Indies*, in all Commodities except Pepper, with which they were to furniſh the *Portugueze* alone. Since this Agreement many Diſputes have happened, and when their Power has been great, particularly in 1635, the Viceroys of *Goa* have treated their Neighbours with great Severity. At the Time before-mentioned, they had Intelligence of four *Indian* Veſſels bound with Pepper for *Mocha* and *Perſia*, which they chaſed and took. Their Cargoes, purſuant to the Treaty, were confiſcated; yet not ſatisfied with that, they murdered all who were on board them in cold Blood, in order to ſtrike a Terror into the Natives. This Behaviour has, as it might well be expected it would, raiſed a moſt violent Averſion in the *Indians* againſt them, which they never fail to diſcover when any Opportunity offers. There are in *Goa* many ſuperb Edifices, ſuch as the Viceroy's, the Archbiſhop's, and Inquiſitor General's Palaces; but above all, the Churches are exceedingly numerous, and ſome of them wonderfully rich. In Extent it contains about ten Miles, taking in all the Fortifications raiſed round it for its Security, which bend according to the Courſe of the River, and are ſo well furniſhed with Cannon, that hitherto they have rendered it impregnable, though it has been very hard preſſed, both by *Indians* and by the *Dutch*. It was from this City, in the Latitude of 15° 20′ North, that the *Portugueze* made their Diſcoveries, and ſent moſt of their Colonies; and having given this ſhort Account of it, we ſhall next proceed to deſcribe them.

13. The *Maldives* are ſo ſituated, that it was impoſſible the *Europeans* ſhould make many Voyages to, or be long ſettled in the *Indies*, without being acquainted with them; ſince the moſt northern of them lie but fifty Leagues from Cape *Comorin*. They extend from 8° of North Latitude to 4° of South, ſtretching in Length conſequently near two hundred Leagues; but they are not above thirty or thirty-five Leagues in Breadth in any Part of the *Archipelago*. Within this Space are contained a prodigious Number of Iſlands, ſo that even in the Time of *Ptolemy*, that is, in the ſecond Century, they were accounted 1378; but the Inhabitants maintain, that a ſmall Part of them only were then known, for their Sovereign takes the Title of Sultan of the *Maldives*, King of thirteen Provinces, and of twelve thouſand Iſles. There is in this, without doubt, a Mixture of that Pomp and Oſtentation which is ſo common in the Eaſt; but for all that, there are, unqueſtionably, many more than the Antients knew any thing of under this Monarch's Dominion. Admiral *Suarez* diſcovered them in 1507, and he made an Alliance with their King, which was confirmed by *Sequeria*, who demanded Leave to build a Fort upon the Iſland of *Male*, which is the largeſt of them, and the chief City of the ſame Name is the Capital of their Monarch.

John Gomez, who was ſent thither for this Purpoſe, met with a favourable Reception, and by dint of Preſents prevailed upon the King to agree to his Demand. He built this Fort of Wood, there being neither Stone nor Lime in the Iſland. It was extremely well ſituated, and in ſome meaſure commanded the Port, ſo that it might have been of great Service to the *Portugueze*, if he had behaved as became him; but no ſooner was the Fort finiſhed, than preſuming on the Terror of the *Portugueze* Name, he began to lord it over all the Strangers that traded thither, though his Garriſon conſiſted but of ſeventeen Men, which occaſioned a Conſpiracy of the *Mohammedans* againſt him, who attacked him when he leaſt expected it, and cut off him and all his People to a Man, levelling the Fort with the Ground. The *Portugueze* were never afterwards able to obtain any Eſtabliſhment in the *Maldives*, which is the Reaſon that ſeveral of their Authors treat them as pitiful Places, and their Inhabitants as a baſe and barbarous People, contrary, however, as we ſhall ſee, to all Reaſon and Prudence [b].

It was impoſſible for them to double Cape *Comorin*, without taking Notice of the noble Iſland of *Ceylon*, *Ceylan*, or *Ceilon*, called by the Inhabitants *Lamca*, which in their Language ſignifies the Terreſtrial Paradiſe, or Holy Land, a Name given it by its firſt King, *Vigia Rajah*, who is ſuppoſed to have flouriſhed five hundred Years before Chriſt: It was afterwards called *Ilanara*, or *Tranate*, which is as much as to ſay the Inſular Kingdom; it was alſo called *Hibenaro*, or the *Fertile Land*, and *Tenariſim*, or the *Country of Delight*. The *Arabians* call it *Serendib*, or rather *Serendive*. It is by many held to be the largeſt, and is, beyond Controverſy, in itſelf, the richeſt and fineſt Iſland in the World. The *Portugueze* ſettled here in 1506, under the Conduct of *Lawrence Almeyda*, who erected a Column with an Inſcription, teſtifying that he took Poſſeſſion of that Country on Behalf of *Emanuel* King of *Portugal*, becauſe it had no Maſter, though at the ſame time he treated with the Emperor, and promiſed him the Protection of his

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[a] The *Eaſt Indies* in general are very properly divided into the Dominions of the Great Mogul, and the adjacent Kingdoms on the Continent, the Peninſula without, the Peninſula within the *Ganges*, and the Iſlands. The *Portugueze* falling as they did at their firſt coming into theſe Parts on the Coaſt of *Malabar*, which makes the Weſt Front of the Peninſula without the *Ganges*, acquired the happieſt Station that could be deſired for extending their Commerce, and their Conqueſts on every Side; and there is Reaſon to believe, that their fixing as they did the Seat of their Empire on this Side, contributed greatly to the Preſervation of their Dominions, notwithſtanding all the Efforts made by the *Indians* and the *Mohammedans* to diſpoſſeſs them.

[b] There is but one good Deſcription of this prodigious *Archipelago* written by *Francis Pirard de la Val*, a *Frenchman*, who was a long time Priſoner in one of theſe Iſlands, and which, as it is a Work equally curious and inſtructive, and at the ſame time exactly within our Plan, the Reader ſhall have it at large in the next Section, which will give him an Opportunity of obſerving how little Cauſe the *Portugueze* had to treat the Inhabitants of the *Maldives* with Contempt, ſince it is certain that they are one of the braveſt and one of the moſt polite Nations of the Eaſt.

Maſter, in Conſideration of 2500 Quintals of Cinnamon to be paid him as an annual Tribute.

In 1520 they built a Fort here, and began to ſettle, and afterwards obtained an abſolute Power over a great Part of the Iſland, under Colour of the Emperor's Will, who made the *Portugueſe* Heirs of his Dominions. The Trade they carried on there was very conſiderable, and next to the Viceroyſhip of the *Indies*; the Captain General of this Iſland, was thought the firſt Poſt the King of *Portugal* had to beſtow. The Commodities they drew from hence were long Pepper, fine Cotton, Ivory, Silk, Tobacco, Ebony, Muſk, Chryſtal, Salt-petre, Sulphur, Lead, Iron, Steel, Copper, beſides the three grand Articles of Cinnamon, all kinds of precious Stones except Diamonds, and Elephants.

As ſoon as the *Dutch* came into the *Indies*, they formed a Deſign of making themſelves Maſters of ſo valuable a Place. They made their firſt Deſcent in the Year 1602, and carried on ſometimes open Wars, ſometimes ſecret Contrivances againſt the *Portugueze*, till in the Space of about fifty-five Years they completely drove and wormed them out of *Ceylon*, making themſelves Maſters of *Colombo* and *Negombo*, which were the principal Places in the Iſland, and of the ſtrong Fortreſs of *Punto Gallo*, which commands the beſt Haven in *Ceylon*.

The *Portugueze* held their Eſtabliſhments here for about a hundred and fifty Years under ſixteen Captain-Generals, from Don *Pedro Lopez de Souza*, who was the firſt, down to Don *Antonio d'Amaral y Meneſes*, who was the laſt. Captain *Ribeyro*, who wrote the Hiſtory of this Iſland in 1685, and preſented it to the King of *Portugal*, aſſures us, that the Country was loſt through the Covetouſneſs and Pride of the Governors, and the Luxury, Lazineſs, and Cowardice of the Soldiers, which he charges on the inactive Adminiſtration in *Portugal*, that took no care to look into the Management of ſo conſiderable a Settlement, and which brought in ſo large a Revenue to the Crown of *Portugal*, till it was too late. - A Circumſtance ſurely that ought to be remembered, and conſidered by every maritime Power.

14. The Iſland of *Sumatra*, which extends itſelf North-weſt and South-eaſt, fronting the Peninſula of *Malacca*, is divided by the Equinoctial almoſt into two equal Parts, extending to 6° of Latitude North and South. It is about two hundred and fifty Leagues in Length, ſixty in Breadth, and five hundred in Circumference. The *Portugueze* came hither in 1508, under the Command of Don *Diego Lopez de Seguira*. They found the Country very deſireable, as being extremely rich and fruitful, and under the Dominion of ſeveral petty Princes, who were continually at War with each other.

One would have imagined that this might have afforded an Opportunity to the *Portugueze* of ſubjecting it entirely, as they did other Parts of the *Indies*; but it happened otherwiſe; for the People, by their continual Diſputes among themſelves, were become ſo well acquainted with the Art of War, that they were not able to make great Impreſſion, but contented themſelves with a few Settlements on the Coaſt, which enabled them to carry on a very lucrative Trade with the Inhabitants, not only in Sulphur, Rice, Ginger, Pepper, Camphire, Caſſia, Sandal, and other rich Woods and Drugs; but alſo in fine Tin, Iron, Copper, Silver, Gold, and Diamonds[c].

The *Dutch* began to infeſt this Iſland in 1596, and ſoon after, as their Power increaſed, began, as uſual, to exclude all other Nations; but the Inhabitants ſoon ſhook off their Yoke, and are ſtill in a great meaſure free. It is for this Reaſon probably that almoſt all our *European* Writers concur in treating theſe People as the moſt cruel, barbarous, and perfidious in the *Indies*, without ever conſidering that theſe very Epithets may be juſtly retorted upon thoſe who endeavour to deprive them of their Liberties and their Poſſeſſions, without the leaſt Colour of Right.

15. The *Moluccas*, or Spice-Iſlands, were not diſcovered by the *Portugueze* till the Year 1511, and then, as it were, by Chance. *Francis Serrano* and *Diego d'Abreu*, being ſent to make Diſcoveries, were ſeparated by a Storm; the former penetrated as far as *Ternate*, but the latter diſcovered only the Iſland of *Amboyna*, and afterwards that of *Banda*. They ſpent about eight Years in theſe Diſcoveries, which coſt *Serrano* his Life in his Return. We are indebted to a *Portugueze* Writer, whoſe Name was *Argenſola*, for a large Hiſtory of theſe valuable Iſlands, which conſiſt, ſtrictly ſpeaking, of no more than five; from whence it is ſaid they received their Name in the original Language of the Inhabitants. They are not out of Sight of each other, and lie all of them within the Compaſs of twenty-five Leagues. They are famous for producing ſeveral Sorts of valuable Spices, and are governed by three Kings. Their Coaſts are very dangerous, becauſe of Sands and Shelves: They were formerly ſubject to the *Chineſe*, then fell under the *Javaneſe*, and were afterwards ſubdued by the *Malayans*; and the *Mohammedans* had begun to ſettle in them, and convert the Inhabitants to their Religion, but a very little while before they were diſcovered by the *Portugueze*. The Hiſtory we have before mentioned is equally copious and curious, but much too long to have a Place in this Collection; yet we ſhall extract from thence a diſtinct Account of theſe Iſlands, becauſe no other Writer affords us any thing comparable thereto.

Ternate, ſays he, is eight Leagues in Compaſs; the Land is high, and they have good Water, but little Proviſions, and few Cattle, except Goats. Their chief Riches conſiſt in Cloves: They have extraordinary Parrots, which exceed thoſe of the *Weſt-Indies* in ſpeaking, and many Birds of *Paradiſe*. They have Almonds, and coarſe Tobacco. During their Wars with the *Portugueze*, they burnt all their Clove-trees, retired to the Mountains and Deſerts, and forbid ſelling any thing to the *Portugueze* on pain of Death, which reduced them to great Extremity. Though they burnt the Cloves in Deſpite, our Author ſays, their Aſhes did ſo cultivate the Soil, that it produced them in greater abundance than ever in a few Years. The King of this Iſland was the moſt powerful of all the fourteen in the *Moluccas*, and boaſted of a divine Extraction, which the ſilly People firmly believ'd. He was Sovereign over ſeventy-two Iſlands that lay in the *Great Archipelago*, betwixt *Mindanao* on the North, thoſe of *Bima* and *Corea* on the South, and the *Terra Firma* of *Papoas*, or *New Guiney*, on the Eaſt, and had his Tribute in Gold, Amber, and Birds of Paradiſe.

Having made theſe great Conqueſts over his Neighbours, he called himſelf Emperor of the *Archipelago*, where there were many Colonies of Chriſtians; but moſt of them were deſtroyed, or apoſtatized by the Perſecution abovementioned. *Argenſola* gives a particular Account of the Forces which every Iſland could raiſe, and in the Whole reckons them at 120,300 Men that were liſted, beſides Multitudes of others, and a great Number of Slaves. Many of theſe Iſlands had their particular Kings, but all ſubject to him of *Ternate*, and ſerved under him, to revenge the Death of King *Aerio*, who was treacherouſly murdered by the *Portugueze*. This great King's Name was *Cachilbabu*, *Aerio*'s third Son: He allowed the *Dutch* to trade here in 1599, entered into a ſtrict Friendſhip with them, and entertained them with Fights of Gladiators, after the Manner of his Country. The *Dutch* aſſiſted him to ſhake off the Yoke of the *Spaniards* and *Portugueze*; and he was victorious over thoſe of *Tidor*. The Place where he kept his Court was *Gammalamma*, on the Coaſt, conſiſting chiefly of one Street, their Houſes being of Wood and Cane. About a League from hence, there is a Town called *Mallayo*, incloſed with Walls of Stone, without Mortar. The Road to *Gammalamma* is not good. There are ſtill ſome Remains of Churches and other Structures, built by the *Portugueze*. The firſt Fort the *Dutch* built here was *Terlucco*; the next was the Fortreſs of *Orange*, by which they fixed themſelves ſo well, that no *European* Nation has been able to diſlodge them.

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[c] The Revenue of this Iſland, while in the Hands of the Crown of *Portugal*, was annually conveyed to *Goa* on board a Galleon, maintained at the Expence of the Crown for that Purpoſe, and this Galleon was thus provided: The Officers were, a Captain, Purſer, Maſter, Pilot, Boatſwain, and Steward; the Men on board were, two Gunners, four *European* Seamen, twenty Soldiers, and forty common Mariners of the *Indies*, with a Conſtable or Provoſt Marſhal; for the Maintenance and Pay of which, the King allowed annually 980 962 Reeys, or 916. 17 l. 1 d. as appears from a State of the Revenues of the *Portugueze* Settlements in the *Indies*, compiled and publiſhed by Don *Edward de Meneſes*, who was Viceroy there in the Year 1584.

Tidor is larger than *Ternate*, is alſo a particular Kingdom, and produces the ſame Fruits: It lies a little South-Eaſt from *Ternate*, near the Line. The *Spaniards* aſſiſted the Inhabitants againſt thoſe of *Ternate* at firſt, but had War with them at laſt, and treated them barbarouſly, till expelled by the League above-mentioned. The *Dutch* attacked the *Spaniards* here in 1607, and afterwards without Succeſs; but, at laſt, took it by the Aſſiſtance of the King of *Ternate*, after an obſtinate Reſiſtance, and were kindly received by the King, who allowed them to ſettle Factories here. The Capital is of the ſame Name, and has an Harbour about a Stone's Throw from the Shore, dry at Low-water, and defended by a Chain of narrow Rocks, over which the Tide riſes from three to ſix Foot. The Town is very ſtrong by Nature.

Motir, *Motil*, or *Timor*, lies between *Tidor* and *Machian*. It was laid waſte during the inteſtine Wars; but the *Dutch* built a Fort at the North End of it, which encouraged the Inhabitants to return from *Gilolo*, continuing firm to the *Dutch*; the *Spaniards* durſt not attack it. *Machian* lies juſt under the Line South from *Motir*. The *Dutch* took it from the *Spaniards* in 1609, and built three Forts here. It is ſeven Leagues in Compaſs, and has ſeveral little Towns; the Inhabitants were then about Nine thouſand: It was reckoned the fruitfulleſt of the *Moluccas*, and produced the beſt Cloves. The Inhabitants were more induſtrious than their Neighbours. *Backian*, the laſt of the proper *Moluccas*, lies South from *Machian*, and was a Kingdom. The Country is large and deſert; it abounds with Sagu, Fruits, Fiſh, and, many other Sorts of Proviſions. It was formerly very potent, and had the beſt Cloves in the *Moluccas*, but was ruined by the Idleneſs of the Inhabitants. They had an Alliance with the *Portugueze* and *Spaniards*, who planted Garriſons there, but were diſpoſſeſſed by the *Dutch* in 1610, who built other Ports, and obtained a Liberty to trade without paying Cuſtom. The Iſle of *Labova* lies ſo near it that they frequently go by the ſame Name, though each had their particular King. The latter is very pleaſant, and abounds in Cloves. The Inhabitants rebelled againſt the *Dutch*, but were forced to ſubmit, and have been ſince kept in Awe by Fort *Barnevelt*.

The Iſland of *Bouro* was formerly ſubject to the King of *Ternate*; it is not very conſiderable; but while in the Hands of the *Portugueze*, was more conſiderable than it is at preſent. But the Iſland they chiefly depended upon was that of *Timor*, which is much larger than the other of the ſame Name before-mentioned, and was extremely fruitful, ſo that it ſupplied moſt of the *Moluccas* with Proviſions. Weſt from thence lies the Iſland of *Solor*, in which was a ſtrong Forteſs, wherein the *Portugueze* Garriſon held out a Siege of two Months againſt the *Dutch* Fleet and Army; and, when they ſurrendered, marched out near one thouſand ſtrong. There are many other Iſlands, which are commonly, ſince the *Dutch* Conqueſt, ſtiled the *Moluccas*, becauſe they make that Word ſynonymous with the Spice-Iſlands; whereas the *Moluccas*, ſtrictly ſpeaking, are no more than the five Iſlands firſt deſcribed. It was with the Spices they produced, that the *Portugueze* traded throughout the whole Extent of the *Indies*; that is to ſay, from *China* to the Coaſts of *Ægypt*[d].

16. The Viceroy *Lopez Suarez*, Succeſſor to the famous Don *Alphonſo d' Albuquerque*, was the firſt who thought of eſtabliſhing a Commerce with *China*; and in the Year 1517, ſent for that Purpoſe *Ferdinand Andrada*, with a Squadron of eight Ships, laden with Merchandize, together with *Thomas Perera*, with the Character of Embaſſador from *Emanuel*, King of *Portugal*. On their Arrival at the Mouth of the River *Canton*, the *Portugueze* Ships were ſtopped by the *Chineſe*, and only two ſuffered to proceed up the River, on board one of which was the Embaſſador, and the *Portugueze* Commodore *Andrada*, who was a Man of Quality and of ſtrict Honour, ſo that he ſoon gained very much on the *Chineſe*, notwithſtanding their natural Averſion to Strangers. By his Civility and polite Behaviour, he firſt drew them to trade with him, and then, by his Exactneſs and Probity, brought them to have a Confidence in him; but what had the greateſt Effect of all, and might have eſtabliſhed the Commerce of the *Portugueze* to the Excluſion of all other *European* Nations was, his giving Notice a little before his Departure, that at ſuch a Time he meant to ſail, and that if any body had Demands upon him, or any who belonged to him, they might, before that Time, apply and receive Satisfaction.

This, it ſeems, was a Thing new to the *Chineſe*, but withal ſo agreeable, as they made him the higheſt Proteſtations of Friendſhip, and aſſured him that they would willingly trade with his Nation, in Hopes of meeting with the like juſt Uſage: But this fair Proſpect did not continue long; and, as this was the firſt, it had alſo very near proved the laſt Voyage of the *Portugueze* hither. The Captains of the Ships that were left at Anchor at the Mouth of the River, were the Occaſion of this, for they landed and fell into Trade with the Natives; but preſuming on their Power in the *Indies*, they began to treat the *Chineſe* in the ſame Manner they had done other People; that is to ſay, they landed ſeveral Pieces of Cannon, and then took what Goods they pleaſed, and at what Rates they thought fit, committing many other Inſolences, ſuch as raviſhing Women, and trading with Pirates for ſuch Perſons as they had taken Priſoners, of whom the *Portugueze* made Slaves. The Viceroy of the Province quickly aſſembled a great naval Force, with which he ſurrounded the *Portugueze* Squadron, and had infallibly taken every Ship, if a Storm had not riſen, which ſcattered the *Chineſe* Fleet, and gave them an Opportunity of returning to *Malacca* with more Profit than Honour. As for the Embaſſador, *Thomas Perera*, he, though perfectly innocent, proved the Victim of his Countrymens bad Behaviour; for the *Chineſe* Court having received Advice of what had paſſed before his Arrival, not only refuſed him Audience, but ſent him back to *Canton* in Chains, where he was put into the common Priſon with the loweſt and vileſt Criminals, and there ſpent his miſerable Life for ſeveral Years; till, at length, worn out with Hardſhips, he expired in ſuch wretched Circumſtances, that he did not leave wherewith to bury him[e].

It was many Years before the *Chineſe* would ſuffer the *Portugueze* to have any Trade with them at all; but, at laſt, permitted them to ſend annually ſome Ships to the Iſland of *Sanchan*, where they were allowed to erect Tents on Shore, for a very ſmall Space of Time, in which they diſpoſed of their Merchandize. At length, in the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century, a favourable Opportunity offered, not only of reſtoring their Commerce, but of procuring an Eſtabliſhment in *China*, which is what no other Nation ever had to boaſt. The Thing fell out thus; A certain Pirate, whoſe Name was *Tſchang ſi Lao*, committed prodigious Ravages upon the Coaſts, and having at laſt acquired a great Force, he made himſelf Maſter of the little Iſland of *Macao*, and from thence not only blocked up the Port of *Canton*, but proceeded ſo far as to beſiege the City. The *Mandarines*, in this Diſtreſs, had Recourſe to the *Portugueze*, whoſe Ships were then at the Iſland of

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[d] The King of *Portugal* likewiſe maintained a Galleon for bringing the Tributes of the *Moluccas*, officered in the ſame Manner as that mentioned in the laſt Note; but inaſmuch as the Voyage was longer, and there were more Seamen employed, the yearly Expence amounted to 3,292,99 Reys, or 2058 *l.* 2 *s.* 5 *d.* which ſhews that the publick Revenue was adminiſtred there with great Oeconomy in thoſe Times.

[e] The famous *Portugueze* Hiſtorian, *John de Barros*, though, otherwiſe, a very candid Writer, endeavours, as far as he is able, to cover and diſguiſe this Fact; but other Writers, even of that Nation, confeſs it ingenuouſly, and ſpeak of it as it deſerves. It proved, without doubt, of infinite Prejudice to their Concerns, as indeed their Pride and over-bearing Temper did in many other Places. It may be juſtly wondered that they never employed Force while their Affairs in the *Indies* were in ſo flouriſhing a Condition; but they were reſtrained from this, by their Fear that the *Chineſe* would revenge any Injuries they did them upon the Chriſtians, which is very probable; and therefore they were in the right to proceed as they did. To ſay the Truth, the *Portugueze* ſeem, of all the Nations in the World, the leaſt fit to have any Correſpondence with the *Chineſe*, becauſe of their haughty and aſſuming Temper, and of the natural Suſpicion of the Natives of that Empire.

Sanchan. They readily offered them their Aſſiſtance, and not only forced *Tchang ſi Lao* to raiſe the Siege, but purſued him to *Macao*, and there killed him.

The Viceroy having made a faithful Report to the Emperor of this extraordinary Piece of Service, that Prince, out of juſt Gratitude, publiſhed an Edict, by which he granted the *Portugueze* this little Iſland, with the Power of making a Settlement there, which they joyfully accepted, and built a good Town, which they fortified after the *European* Manner, and furniſhed it with near two hundred Pieces of Cannon. One would imagine, that this might excite the Jealouſy of the *Chineſe*, who are juſtly eſteemed the moſt ſuſpicious People in the World; but they have provided ſo effectually for their own Security, that all the Force of the *Portugueze* is entirely at their Devotion, becauſe they have not a Day's Proviſion but what they received from the *Chineſe*, and are ſo ſurrounded by their Forces, that it impoſſible for them to undertake any thing to the Prejudice of their Empire. The Poſſeſſion of this Place has been, notwithſtanding, extreamly beneficial to the *Portugueze*; for, from thence, they carried on for many Years a moſt beneficial Commerce with *Japan*, by which *Macao* became one of the richeſt and moſt conſiderable Places in the *Indies*, and many of the Nobility of *Portugal*, who had enjoyed very high Offices, choſe, at the Expiration of them, to ſettle here, where they lived in great Splendor, and at the ſame Time acquired vaſt Eſtates by Trade[f].

We ſhall hereafter have occaſion to give ſome Account of the Cauſes which brought on the total Prohibition of their Trade with *Japan*; but at preſent, we ſhall confine ourſelves to what relates to the City of *Macao*. In the Year 1639, the *Portugueze* ſent from thence two large Ships laden with Merchandize, which came to an Anchor in the Road of *Nagazaqui*; immediately on which it was notified in Form to the Commodore, or, as the *Portugueze* ſtile him, the Captain-Major Don *Vaſco Paglia d'Almeyda*, that the Emperor of *Japan*, by his Edict, had totally prohibited all Commerce with the *Portugueze*, and that for theſe Reaſons: Firſt, becauſe, notwithſtanding the ſeveral Cautions given them, they had ſtill continued to bring over Miſſionaries into his Country. Secondly, for that they had ſupplied thoſe that were already there with Proviſions and other Neceſſaries; and Thirdly, becauſe there were juſt Reaſons to ſuſpect, that they had ſome Knowledge of, and ſome Concern in, the late Rebellion of the Chriſtians in *Arima*. They had alſo a Copy of the Emperor's Edict given them, which they were directed to make publick at *Macao*, and to inform the Inhabitants of that City, that theſe were the laſt Ships that ſhould ever be permitted to anchor in any Port of *Japan*, of which they were to take Notice, and to remain aſſured, that if ever they came thither again, they ſhould undoubtedly be treated as Enemies, and put to Death without Mercy.

On their Return to *Macao*, and making Report of theſe Facts, the whole City was ſtruck with Conſternation, being ſatisfied, that the Deſtruction of this Trade would prove the Ruin of their City; to prevent which, they reſolved to make one great Effort, and to ſend a ſolemn Ambaſſy to juſtify their Conduct, and if poſſible, engage the Emperor to recall this Edict, or at leaſt to qualify it ſo, as that they might on certain Terms have Leave to ſend ſome Ships thither. The Difficulty was to find any who would charge themſelves with ſo dangerous a Commiſſion; but at laſt the following Perſons offered, of their own accord, to run the Hazard, *viz.* Don *Lewis Potz Pacheco*, who had ſerved with Honour as Commander of the Armies in the *Indies*, and who was now ſeventy-eight Years of Age; Don *Roderic Sanchez de Pardedez*, Don *Gonzalez Montayro de Carvailho*, and Don *Simon Vaz de Pavia*; all Men of Diſtinction, and who were moved by nothing but the Deſire of juſtifying their Nation, and rendering Service to their Country. On the 6th of *July* 1640, the Ship that carried theſe Ambaſſadors arrived in the Road of *Nagazaqui*, and ſent an Account to the *Japoneſe* Governors of the Nature of the Commiſſion with which they were intruſted. Their Ship was immediately ſeized, and the Ambaſſadors, and all who belonged to them, except eight Negro Seamen, were impriſoned in the Iſland of *Kiſma*, till the Emperor's Pleaſure ſhould be known. On the Return of the Courier ſent to Court with the News of their Arrival, they were ſent for before the Magiſtrates, who treated them as a Criminals, demanding of them, what it was that could induce them, after ſo fair Warning as was given them the Year before, to return thither, in direct Breach of the Emperor's Edict. They pleaded, that they were not at all within the Meaning of that Law, becauſe the Emperor forbid thereby any Attempt to trade, which was not their Buſineſs, having no Commodities of any ſort on board their Ship, but coming thither with the Characters of Ambaſſadors, which had been always eſteemed ſacred. The Magiſtrates told them, that this would not ſerve their Turns, but that they had incurred the Penalty of the Edict; upon which they were inſtantly bound and conducted back to Priſon.

The next Day, the Embaſſadors, and all their Attendants, to the Number of ſeventy-four, *Portugueze, Spaniards, Chineſe, Canarians*, and *Indians*, were again carried before Magiſtrates, who then told them, it was his Imperial Majeſty's Pleaſure they ſhould all ſuffer Death, except thirteen; which Sentence was executed the ſame Evening, which was the 23th of *Auguſt*. The next Morning before it was light, the Governor ſent for the thirteen that were ſpared, and having aſked them whether they had ſeen their Ship burnt, inquired of them, whether they would faithfully report at *Macao*, what they were commanded by the Emperor to ſay to them on his Behalf. Being anſwered in the Affirmative, they proceeded thus; "You "are then to inform your Fellow-Citizens, that hencefor"wards the Subjects of *Japan* will not receive either Mo"ney, Merchandize, or Preſents, from them any more: "You ſee we have burnt the very Cloaths of thoſe who "were executed Yeſterday. Let your People uſe any of "ours that fall into their Hands in the ſame Manner, we "conſent to it, and deſire that you would think of us no "more than if there were not ſuch a Nation as the *Ja"poneſe* in the World. This is what we have to ſay "to you."

They then conducted theſe Mariners to the Place where the Heads of thoſe who were murdered the Day before were fixed upon Poles in three Rows; the four Embaſſadors firſt, the *Europeans* next, and the Strangers laſt of all. They likewiſe ſhewed them a great Iron Cheſt, in which they told them were the Bodies of the Perſons executed, and obliged them to read a long Inſcription, ſetting forth who they were, on what Account, and by whoſe Order they were put to Death; which Inſcription ended with theſe Words: "All this is ſet forth as a Memorial of what has "paſt, and as an Advertiſement for the Time to come.

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[f] I have taken all the Care I could to diſcover whether this Nation had ever any other Settlement in *China* than this at *Macao*, but to no Purpoſe, except that they traded for ſome Time as other Nations did, at *Canton*, and at *Ning-Po*, which is a very conſiderable Port in the Province of *Tche-Kiang*, and the firſt into which *Engliſh* Veſſels were admitted. But a late Writer, one Captain *Alexander Hamilton*, ſpeaking of this Place, which he calls *Limpoa*, inſtead of *Liampo*, by which I find it mentioned by other *European* Writers, gives us the following Story, which I believe to be true, and which therefore I ſhall relate in his own Words: "Here the *Portugueze* were once well ſettled, and had a numerous Colony, when "the *Chineſe* were Maſters of their own Country, and the *Portugueze* of the Seas. It is reported, that they had above one thouſand *Portugueze* "Families ſettled in *Limpoa*, and were governed by their own Laws. Their Trade through *China* and *Japan*, which they carried in Shipping "to *India* and *China*, made them prodigiouſly rich, which brought them into Luxury and Debauchery, and at laſt was the Cauſe of their Ex"pulſion from *Limpoa*. They began to be notorious Raviſhers of Women. They would go into the Country Villages, and carry off young "Virgins by Violence from their Parents, and when they had abuſed them as long as they pleaſed, ſent them back to their Friends. Many "Complaints had been made, but no Redreſs could be obtained. At length, when a Parcel of Virgin Hunters had gone into the Country, "upon an Expedition of that Nature, the Peaſants fell on them, and killed every Man. This Slaughter made the *Portugueze* very loud in "Complaints, and demanded Juſtice to be done on the Peaſants. The Peaſants made ſolid Replications to the Complaints of the *Portugueze*, "and deſired their Caſe might be laid before the Emperor; which was accordingly done, and the *Portugueze* were ordered to clear themſelves "of the Crimes laid to their Charge, and they not being able to do it, were baniſhed *Limpoa*, but had Liberty to carry off their Effects; and "thus ended the moſt opulent Colony at that time in the World."

" Henceforward, ſo long as the Sun ſhall ſhine upon the " Earth, let not any Chriſtian be ſo hardy as to ſet his " Foot in *Japan*; and be it known to all the World, that if " King *Philip* in Perſon, the God of the Chriſtians, or the " great *Xaca*, one of the firſt Deities of *Japan*, ſhall pre- " ſume to break this Ordinance, he ſhall pay for it with his " Head." They then gave theſe poor People an old Ship to return in to *Macao*, which they choſe rather than to be put on board any of the five *Dutch* Ships that were then on the Coaſt, and offered to ſet them ſafe on Shore in that Port[g].

In the Year 1641, arrived at *Macao* from *Europe* Don *Antonio Ferreyra*, with the News of the Revolution in *Portugal*, and that Don *Juan* Duke of *Bragança*, had mounted the Throne, and aſſumed the Title of *John the Fourth*, to whoſe Obedience they readily returned, and as a Mark of their Loyalty, preſented him with two hundred Braſs Cannon, and a vaſt Quantity of Ammunition. This Monarch, in the Year 1646, thought fit to make another Attempt in Favour of the City of *Macao*, and ſent Don *Gonzalo Sequeyra* as his Embaſſador to the Emperor of *Japan*, to inform him, that *Portugal* no longer continued ſubject to the Crown of *Spain*, which as it was the principal Occaſion of the Nation's being prohibited all Commerce with the *Japoneſe*, he hoped that a good Intelligence would now be reſtored between the Citizens of *Macao* and the Subjects of his Imperial Majeſty. The Embaſſador was very civilly received, and an Expreſs ſent to Court with the News of his Arrival. About a Month afterwards a Courier arrived with the Emperor's Anſwer, which was to this Effect: That his Requeſt could not be granted, but that he and all that belonged to him had free Liberty to depart.

In the Year 1685, another favourable Opportunity offered, which the *Portugueze*, with great Alacrity, embraced: A *Japoneſe* Veſſel being driven by a Storm from their own Coaſt, was forced to take Shelter in the Port of *Macao*, where thoſe who were on board it met with a very kind Reception, and having been entertained at the publick Expence, till they were recovered from the Hardſhips they met with at Sea, and were then put on board one of the beſt Veſſels belonging to the Port of *Macao*, and ſent back to their own Country. On their coming to an Anchor in the Road of *Nangazaqui*, and ſending the *Japoneſe* on Shore, they received a Meſſage from the Magiſtrates, importing, that they were obliged to them for this kind and generous Return, but that for the future they would adviſe them not to give themſelves the Trouble of ſending home any more of their People, ſince it would not anſwer their Ends. Since that Time the City of *Macao* has declined very much, and though it is at preſent in a better Condition than it has been, yet it is far from being ſo conſiderable as in the ſixteenth Century, as we have already ſhewn the Reader in another Place. But that it may poſſibly make a better Figure than it does, we ſhall hereafter render probable, when we come to ſpeak of the preſent State of the *Portugueze* Dominions in this Part of the World.

17. In the Year 1521, *Magellan* diſcovered the *Ladrone* Iſlands, near thoſe which he called the *Archipelago* of Saint *Lazarus*, becauſe he diſcovered them on the Feaſt of that Saint. The *Portugueze* arrogate to themſelves this Diſcovery, becauſe he was their Countryman, though in the Service of the Crown of *Spain*; and on the other hand, the *Spaniards* challenged the Diſcovery of the *Moluccas*, becauſe *Magellan* went to them from *America* in their Service; but without doubt this Title was wrong placed, ſince, as we have ſhewn, the *Portugueze* had diſcovered them long before. It cannot indeed be affirmed, on any good Authority, that the *Portugueze* had before this time viſited the *Ladrone* Iſlands; but it is very certain, they made ſeveral Voyages thither afterwards, and did not think them ſo deſpicable as they are now eſteemed; but on the contrary, drew from thence Things of great Value; and the Reaſon I have mentioned them here is, that I might have an Opportunity of acquainting the Reader, that when this Nation firſt ſettled in the *Moluccas*, they were informed by the Inhabitants, that from theſe little Iſlands they were wont to receive conſiderable Sums in Silver, and the very fineſt Emeralds they had in Exchange for Spices.

The *Portugueze* were in Hope of finding, according to this Information, Mines of Silver and precious Stones amongſt them; but on the cloſeſt Search, could meet with neither, which was the true Reaſon they never made any Settlements there. But this Account affords us room to conjecture, that before the *Portugueze* penetrated thus far into the Eaſt, there had been ſome Commerce between theſe People and the *Americans*, from whom they might receive both Silver and Emeralds. This is a Point that deſerves mature Conſideration, becauſe, if there be any Truth in this Conjecture, it will give ſome Light into the Means of peopling *America*, which hitherto has perplexed the ableſt Enquirers into ſuch Subjects. It is true, that at firſt Sight there ſeems to be no great Authority for this Conjecture, ſince it is founded on the Report of the Inhabitants of the *Moluccas*, who were, according to the beſt Accounts we have of them, a rude and barbarous People. Yet let them be ever ſo rude and barbarous they could not be miſtaken as to a Matter of Fact; they had Emeralds amongſt them, and as their Country did not produce them, they muſt know from whence they had them; and ſince this could be learned no other way but from theſe People, there ſeems to be no Reaſon why we ſhould not accept of their Account.

The Conjecture, however, does not reſt upon this alone, but upon another Fact, which cannot be diſputed; and it is this, that there are no Emeralds to be found in any of the Countries in the *Eaſt-Indies*, and yet they were ſo common there, when the *Portugueze* came firſt into thoſe Parts, that they brought conſiderable Quantities into *Europe*, from whence grew the Diſtinction of Oriental and Occidental Emeralds; whereas in Truth there never were any that could be ſtrictly and properly called Oriental, becauſe, as I obſerve, they are not the natural Produce of any Country in the Eaſt; and yet in another Senſe they might be very well ſo called, becauſe they came firſt to us from the Eaſt. I cannot help adding to this Obſervation another, which is, that there is ſome Reaſon to doubt, whether the Inhabitants of the *Ladrone* Iſlands were always ſo rude and barbarous as the *Portugueze* and *Spaniards* found them; and my Reaſon for advancing this is, becauſe I find the beſt *Portugueze* Writers agree, that the *Chineſe* had been Maſters of the *Moluccas*, and very probably of theſe Iſlands alſo, as they certainly were of ſome of the *Philippines*; and if ſo, then very probably they were more civilized while under their Dominion, and grew rude and barbarous by their being deſerted by them, and left to themſelves[h].

This will appear ſtill the more probable, if we conſider on the one hand what the *Chineſe* Writers tell us of their Emperors contracting their Dominions from Maxims of Policy; and on the other, what appears very clear to us from what we know with Certainty of their Hiſtory, which is, that the Empire had been ſubverted by the *Tartars*, and conſequently their Œconomy totally diſturbed before the *Portugueze* came into the *Indies* at all. What I would conclude from hence is, that poſſibly we may be miſtaken in our Notions of theſe Countries, and that therefore it may be worth while to enquire more narrowly into this Matter, which may poſſibly lead us to ſome kind of Evidence of an Intercourſe between the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-Indies*, before either were known to us by the Paſſages now in Uſe. But let us for the preſent return to the Diſcoveries of the *Portugueze*.

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[g] It ſeems a little extraordinary, that the Emperor of *Japan* ſhould treat theſe People with ſo much Severity, when it appears from this very Account, that Juſtice is as regularly adminiſtered in his Dominions as in any Part of the World; but in all human Probability, he was induced to uſe them in this Manner by the Repreſentations of the *Dutch*, as to the Power of the King of *Spain*, and his Intentions of reducing both the *Indies*.

[h] This Fact, that no ſuch thing as a true and perfect Emerald is to be found in any of the Countries on the Continent, or in any of the Iſlands of the *Eaſt-Indies*, is maintained by the famous *M. Tavernier*, than whom I think a better Authority cannot be produced. He was indiſputably as well ſkilled in Jewels as any Man of his Time, and had travelled more in the *Indies* than almoſt any other Writer, ſo that to controvert his Authority on this Head, is to refuſe the beſt Evidence that can be produced, in order to conclude, without any Evidence at all, that the Thing is otherwiſe. It may, and indeed it has been ſaid, that to ſupport this Opinion, we ought to ſhew that there has been ſuch a Commerce with *America*; but there is a Difference between proving a thing, and rendering it probable; and yet in the next Chapter ſomething farther ſhall be ſaid in Defence of this Opinion, which will approach very near a Proof.

18. In the Year 1525, *Antonio Britto* and *Garcias Henriquez* being ſent from the *Moluccas*, diſcovered the great Iſland of *Celebes*. This *Antonio Britto* was the very Perſon that had taken one of *Magellan*'s Ships, and put all the People that were in her to Death, which had gained him the Reputation of a bold and able Seaman; nor did he loſe it by this Expedition, ſince he actually diſcovered what he was ſent to look for. Other *Portugueze* Writers ſay, that he did not go himſelf, but fitted out Ships for that Diſcovery, and that they in their Return to the *Moluccas* ſaw certain Iſlands which they could not reach, to which they gave the Name of the Iſlands of *Mey*. But when *Antonio Galvano* was Governor of the *Moluccas*, he ſent over two of the Natives, who were baptized, into that Country, who converted ſeveral of the Princes thereof from Paganiſm to Chriſtianity[i], and eſtabliſhed a good Correſpondence between them and the Inhabitants of the *Portugueze* ſettled in the *Moluccas*.

This Iſland of *Celebes* is divided from *Borneo* by the Streights of *Macaſſar*, and lies at no great Diſtance from the *Moluccas*. *Argenſola* tells us, the Natives are of a white Complexion, and that they were formerly much given to Piracy. That Writer, and ſome others, give us an odd Account of the antient Form of Government in this Country, and which ſeems to confirm what I have before ſuggeſted, that there had been great Revolutions in theſe Parts before they were diſcovered by the *Europeans*. What they ſay on this Subject, reduced into a narrow Compaſs, amounts to this; that there were originally ſeven Kingdoms or Principalities in this Iſland, the Princes of which met together and choſe a Monarch, who had a limited Power over the whole Iſland, and whom, in caſe of Tyranny, they who elected him depoſed. This does not look like Rudeneſs or Barbarity, but ſeems to have been a very rational kind of Policy, inſtituted for the Sake of preſerving the Peace of the ſeveral Nations inhabiting that Country, and preventing thoſe Wars that muſt otherwiſe have kept them in continual Confuſion, and into which they actually relapſed, when by ſome Accident or other this ſalutary Form of Government fell into Diſuſe.

The Diſcovery of ſo conſiderable a Country was looked upon by the *Portugueze* as a Matter of great Conſequence, and Meaſures were taken to ſecure the Affections of thoſe whom it was not found eaſy to conquer; but, on the other hand, capable of being obliged, or rendered uſeful, as their Allies, by good Uſage. The People were much braver, and withal had much better Senſe than moſt of the *Indians*; and, therefore, after a little Converſation with the *Europeans*, they began, in general, to diſcern that there was no Senſe or Meaning in their own Religion; and the few of them who had been made Chriſtians by the Care of Don *Antonio Galvano*, were not ſo thoroughly inſtructed themſelves as to be able to teach them a new Faith. The whole People in general, however, diſclaimed their old Superſtitions, and became Deiſts at once[k]; but, not ſatisfied with this, they determined to ſend, at the ſame Time, to *Malacca* and to *Achin*, to deſire from the one, Chriſtian Prieſts; and from the other, Doctors of the *Mohammedan* Law; reſolving to embrace the Religion of thoſe Teachers who came firſt among them. The *Portugueze* have hitherto been eſteemed zealous enough for their Religion; but it ſeems that Don *Ruis Perera*, who was then Governor of *Malacca*, was a little deficient in his Concern for the Faith, ſince he made a great and very unneceſſary Delay in ſending the Prieſts that were deſired.

On the other hand, the Queen of *Achin* being a furious *Mohammedan*, no ſooner received an Account of this Diſpoſition in the People of the Iſland of *Celebes*, than ſhe immediately diſpatched a Veſſel full of Doctors of the Law, who, in a ſhort Time, eſtabliſhed their Religion effectually among the Inhabitants. Some Time after came the Chriſtian Prieſts, and inveighed bitterly againſt the Law of *Mohammed*, but to no Purpoſe; the People of *Celebes* had made their Choice, and there was no Poſſibility of bringing them to alter it. One of the Kings of this Iſland, indeed, who had before embraced Chriſtianity, perſiſted in the Faith, and moſt of his Subjects were converted to it; but ſtill, the Bulk of the People of *Celebes* continued *Mohammedans*, and are ſo to this Day, and the greateſt Zealots for their Religion of any in the *Indies*. This was one of the greateſt Errors in Policy that ever the *Portugueze* committed; for if all the Inhabitants of that Iſland had been made, as they very eaſily might have been, zealous Chriſtians, the *Dutch* had never became ſo abſolute in the *Indies* as they now are.

But this Difference in Religion did not hinder them from living on very good Terms with the *Portugueze*, who eſtabliſhed a better Trade here than in any other Part of the *Indies*; for, finding few rich Commodities, and no Opportunity of encroaching on the Liberties of the Nation, they were glad to treat them as a free People, and the Situation of the Country being extremely happy for that Purpoſe, made it very ſoon the Centre of Commerce. The great Iſland of *Borneo*, abounding in Gold, Diamonds, Pepper, and other rich Commodities, lay but one Day's Sail from them; *Amboyna* and the Spice-Iſlands, not above three or four; the Kingdoms of *Siam*, *Camboya*, *Cochinchina*, and *Tonquin*, the Empire of *China*, and the *Philippine* Iſlands, none of them above three hundred Leagues. We need not wonder therefore, that the Port of *Jampodan*, the beſt in that Part of the World, ſhould be always full of Ships, and the great Towns on the Coaſt become Places of great Trade, when it was ſo much the Intereſt of the *Portugueze* to promote it. The People themſelves were very capable of managing it, being very induſtrious, and as well ſkilled in Navigation as any of their Neighbours; and though they had not any very rich Commodities, except Gold, and that in no great Quantities, yet they had wherewithal to purchaſe thoſe of the greateſt Value, ſince the Rice of this Country is eſteemed the beſt in the *Indies*, as their Cotton is held the fineſt; with thoſe they traded to the *Moluccas*, and from thence brought ſuch vaſt Quantities of Spices, that they drove a very conſiderable Trade in them with the *Europeans*.

The Reaſon that this Iſland is ſometimes called *Celebes*, and at others *Macaſſar*, is, becauſe the former, which lies in the North-Weſt Part of the Iſland, and the latter which takes up all the South, were the principal Kingdoms of the Iſland, and eſpecially the laſt, the Monarchs of which were very powerful, and frequently made themſelves Maſters of the beſt Part of the whole Iſland. Their Subjects are allowed to be the boldeſt and braveſt of all *Indians*, and are likewiſe remarkable for having a conſummate Knowledge in all Sorts of Poiſons, which are ſome of them of ſo deadly a Nature, that the very Touch, or Smell of them, is inſtantly and infallibly mortal. The Men make uſe of them to tinge the Head of their Arrows, or rather Darts, which they blow through hollow Trunks, and that with ſuch Force and Dexterity, that they will hit a ſmall Mark at the Diſtance of fourſcore Yards. They likewiſe dip the Points of their Daggers in the ſame poiſonous Drugs, and the very Scratch of it, either Dart or Dagger, kills without Remedy [l]. The Women likewiſe make uſe of theſe Poiſons to gratify their Revenge; for as they are generally allowed to be extremely conſtant themſelves, ſo they have very quick Reſentments in Caſes of Infidelity, eſpecially in regard to *Europeans*, who frequently cohabit with them, and ſometimes marry them.

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[i] As this Fact is unanimouſly related by the beſt Authors on this Subject, it may not be amiſs to ſet it in the cleareſt Light of which it is capable. Two Brothers, Subjects of the King of *Seppet*, going over to the Iſland of *Ternate*, ſaw there the Ceremonies of the Chriſtian Worſhip, according to the Rites of the Church of *Rome*. They were extremely pleaſed with the Shew, and deſired therefore to know more of the Subſtance, which induced them to apply to the Governor, in order to be informed as to the Notions the *Portugueze* had of God, the Reaſons why they were called Chriſtians, and how themſelves might be made ſo. He readily diſcourſed with them on theſe Heads; they were quickly convinced of the Truth of what he ſaid, and ſo were baptized by the Names of *Anthony* and *Michael*; which, it ſeems, the Governor made no Scruple of performing with his own Hands, there being, at that Time, no Prieſt in the *Moluccas*. It is eaſy to conceive, that theſe Men, returning into their own Country, might be able to ſhew the Folly and Abſurdity of their Idolatry, without being capable of demonſtrating the Truth of the Chriſtian Faith.

[k] The ancient Religion of this Country deſerves to be taken Notice of, becauſe we ſhall then evidently ſee that the People had good Reaſon to act as they did. Their Prieſts told them, that the Heavens were eternal, and the Sun and Moon a God and Goddeſs, from whoſe Influence all Things proceed; that they had once a Quarrel, and the Sun ſtriking the Moon, ſhe thereupon miſcarried of this World; with Abundance of Stories of the like Nature. They taught them likewiſe the Tranſmigration of Souls; and that it was unlawful to kill any living Creature to eat, except Swine and Birds, becauſe the former was too naſty, and the latter too little for any human Soul to dwell in. But they adviſed them to ſacrifice their Cattle to the Sun and Moon; and, if they had none of theſe, they ſometimes made free with their Children. No wonder, therefore, that they were glad to get rid of ſuch a Religion and of ſuch Practices.

As they were rather the Allies than the Subjects of the *Portugueze*, ſo they were much more attached to that Nation than any other *Indians*, and gave a very hoſpitable Reception to ſuch of them, as on the Declenſion and Ruin of their Colonies fled thither for Protection, which was one Reaſon that the *Dutch* made ſuch a Point of reducing the King of *Macaſſar*, which they did after a long War in 1667, and preſcribed to him very hard Terms; particularly theſe, that he ſhould deliver up to them the Harbour of *Jompadan*, as too good for any but the *Dutch* to be poſſeſſed of; next he was obliged to turn all the *Portugueze* out of his Dominions, which was the more reaſonable, becauſe it was intended that he ſhould never trade with them or any other *European* for the future; and laſtly, he was to renounce all Commerce with the Spice-Iſlands, without which his Conquerors could not have monopolized them [m].

This fully proves what has been before obſerved, that if the *Portugueze* had taken Care to have converted theſe People to Chriſtianity, and had taught them the Sciences, they would have been of more uſe to the Crown of *Portugal*, than all the *Indian* Nations that were ſubjected to it; for they had very right Notions of the Conſequences of falling under the Dominion of the *Dutch*, and ſtruggled againſt their whole Power in the *Indies*, when at its greateſt Height, for many Years; and ſince their Country has been ſubdued, Multitudes of the *Macaſſars* have quitted it, and tranſported themſelves to other Places, where they are entertained as Soldiers, particularly at *Batavia*, where they are eſteemed by far the beſt *Indian* Troops in the Service of the States, and ſome of them likewiſe are in the Pay of the *Portugueze* Viceroy at *Goa*.

10. The *Sunda* Iſlands were now entirely open, and it is not eaſy to conceive how the *Portugueze* could be ſo long traverſing thoſe Seas, without gaining a proper Knowledge of them; yet it does not appear, that before the Year 1527, they were acquainted with any thing more than the Name of the Iſland of *Borneo*, and with its Situation, by reaſon of their frequently paſſing by its Coaſts. About that Time, Captain *Edward Conil* had Orders to examine it more narrowly, and being once acquainted with the Worth of the Country, they made frequent Viſits thither. This Iſland, which is almoſt of a circular Figure, lies immediately under the Equator; it is about five hundred Leagues in Circumference, and abounds with the richeſt Commodities, the Hills well ſtored with Gold, and the fineſt Diamonds in *India* are found in its Rivers, waſhed down into them probably from the Hills by the Torrents that pour into them.

All the Coaſts they found inhabited by *Malayan Moors*, who certainly had eſtabliſhed themſelves there by Conqueſt; but the original Inhabitants ſtill remain in the Mountains, and are ſtiled *Beajus*, which in the *Malayan* Tongue ſignifies a wild Man, and the *Moors* uſe the very ſame Word for the largeſt Sort of Apes, that are likewiſe common in this Country, as if they meant to ſignify, that the one had as little of Humanity about them as the other, which however is far from being true. The *Moors* are governed by ſeveral Kings, the chief of which are thoſe of *Manjar-Maſſen*, of *Succadan* (in one of whoſe Rivers there are excellent Diamonds found) of *Borneo*, and others. The *Beajuſes* have no Kings, but only Princes and other Chiefs. Thoſe that are Subjects to the King of *Manjar*, or border upon him, pay a Tribute; but ſuch as live farther up in the Country, and in Places inacceſſible to the *Moors*, are abſolutely independent, and live according to their own Cuſtoms. The *Beajuſes* are generally very ſuperſtitious, being much addicted to Augury. They do not adore Idols, but their Sacrifices of Sweet-wood and Perfumes are offered to one only God, who they believe rewards the Juſt in Heaven, and puniſhes the Wicked in Hell. They marry but one Wife, and look upon any Breach of conjugal Faith, either in the Man or in the Woman, as ſo heinous an Offence, that every one contrives the Death of the Perſon tranſgreſſing, either by themſelves or their Friends; and therefore the Women are very modeſt and reſerved, eſpecially the Maidens, who are not ſeen by their Huſbands till the Wedding-day, when the Women receive their Portion.

They are Enemies to Fraud and Theft, and grateful for Benefits received. Among themſelves they live lovingly and friendly, and therefore when every Man has gathered what he ſowed for his own Uſe, the reſt on the Mountains and Vallies is in common, without any Diſtinction of particular Right. They are alſo well inclined in their Pleaſures, and ſeek Honour in Hunting, at which Sport they endeavour to get ſome ſharp Horns to poliſh, and wear them as an Ornament at their Girdle. This Girdle is no other than a long Slip of Linen, which turns between their Thighs to cover their Privities, one End of which hangs down before, and the other behind. The Peaſants make a ſort of Cloth of the Barks of Trees, which being afterwards waſhed and beaten, are as ſoft as Cotton, and thoſe Trees being within the Dominions of the *Malay Moors*, they expoſe themſelves for the Bark to their Tyranny and Inſolence. Some of them go naked, and the reſt wear a ſmall Doublet made of the ſame Bark, which they dye of any Colour. On their Heads, to keep off the Heat of the Sun or Rain, they wear a Cap of the Palm-Tree Leaves, ſhaped above like a Sugar-Loaf, long, and with Flaps hanging down.

The Weapons they uſe are Knives, made like the Cangiers of the *Moors*, and Zampittes, that is, Trunks about ſix Opans long, out of which they ſhoot little wooden Darts, with an iron Head at the one End, and a Cartouch, or hollow Paper at the other, blowing into which they ſhoot it out with a vaſt Force, and ſometimes the Point being poiſoned, the Wound is mortal. They alſo ſhoot Birds with Pellets through them. The *Beajuſes*, as to their Perſons, are of a dark Complexion, well countenanced and ſtrong. Such is the Account given of them by the *Portugueze* Writers, who, for any thing I know, are the only Authors that can be depended upon in this Particular. Their Countrymen carried on their Trade chiefly with the *Moors*, whom they could never ſubdue; nor have their Succeſſors, the *Dutch*, been able to do any thing conſiderable againſt them, as we have already ſhewn at large in another Place.

The noble Iſland of *Java* was ſooner viſited by the *Portugueze*, on account of the Trouble given them by the Pirates, or Privateers, fitted out from *Bantam*, or as they call it *Bintam*, and other Places in the ſame Iſland, which induced *Pedro Maſcarenhas* to attack *Bantam*, which he took and plundered, though *George Albuquerque* had attempted it in vain. *Java Major* lies South-Eaſt from the *Peninſula* of *Malacca*, having *Sumatra*, *Borneo*, and *Celebes*, lying before it. Authors vary as to its Dimenſions; but the moſt moderate allow it nine hundred Miles in Circuit. The Air is generally eſteemed more wholſome than in any of the Iſles before mentioned, the Country exceedingly fruitful, and the Coaſt abounding with good Ports. It is not intended here to enter farther into the Deſcription of Places, than to render what we have to ſay as to the Hiſtory of them clear and intelligible.

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[l] When our Royal Society was firſt founded, they ſent ſome Queries to Sir *Philberto Varnatti*, who reſided at *Batavia*, the ſixteenth of which ran in theſe Words: "What Poiſon is it the King of *Macaſſar* in *Celebes* is ſaid to have particular to himſelf, which not only kills a Man immediately, that hath received the ſlighteſt Wound by a Dart dipped therein, but alſo within half an Hour's Time makes the Fleſh touched therewith ſo rotten, that it will fall like Snivel from the Bones, and whoſe poiſonous Steam will ſoon fly up to a Wound made with an unpoiſoned Dart, if the Blood be only in the ſlighteſt Manner touched with a Dart infected with the Poiſon?" To which he gave the following Anſwer? "That there is ſuch a Poiſon in this King's Poſſeſſion, is moſt certain, but what it is no Chriſtian ever knew; ſome ſay it is the Gall of a venomous Fiſh, others ſay it is a Tree, which is ſo venomous, that thoſe who are condemned to die fetch the Poiſon, but not one in a Hundred eſcapes Death. The Roots of this Tree are held an Antidote againſt the Poiſon; but our People, when we had War with *Macaſſar*, found no Antidote like to their own or others Excrements. As ſoon as they felt themſelves wounded, they inſtantly took a Doſe of the ſame, which preſently provoked to vomit, and ſo by Repulſion (as I conceive) and Sweat, freed the nobler Parts from farther Infection."

[m] I ſhould not have advanced theſe Facts on the Hearſay or Report of any Writer whatever, but the Treaty dated the 18th of *November* 1667, is before my Eyes, and the ſixth Article of it begins thus, "They, that is the Regents of *Macaſſar*, ſhall turn out the *Portugueze*, and all belonging to them, without Exception; and becauſe we are obliged to believe that the *Engliſh* are great Miſchief-makers, and the Authors of the preſent War, the ſaid Regents ſhall turn them out alſo the firſt Opportunity, and ſhall never permit either of thoſe Nations, or their Creatures, to negotiate or trade in *Macaſſar* hereafter, &c."

The *Javaneſe* pretend, that they are deſcended from the pure and unmixed Race of the old Inhabitants of *China*, who retired thither when their Country was over-run by the *Tartars*; and on this they very much value themſelves; but before the *Portugueze* came there, they had not only mixed with other neighbouring Nations, but were alſo become *Mohammedans*. The whole Iſland at that Time was cantoned out among a Number of little Princes, ſome more, ſome leſs powerful; but moſt of them Maſters of ſome Force by Sea. All this corroborates what has been before ſo often obſerved, that theſe Nations did not grow better by their Commerce with the *Europeans*, but were actually declining from what they had been when firſt viſited by them, and have been ſinking lower and lower ever ſince.

The *Portugueze* Generals ſaw plainly enough, that they had not Force ſufficient to keep this Iſland, and therefore they contented themſelves with making a new King of *Bantam*, when they had taken it, and accepted from him an annual Tribute. *Panarucan*, a ſmall City, the Capital of a little Principality of the ſame Name, and withal a commodious Port, owed much to their Protection, and was raiſed to one of the principal Marts of the whole Country, where they not only dealt in Rice, Pepper, and other Commodities of the Iſland, but alſo in Gold, precious Stones, and Spices brought from other Places, and more eſpecially from the adjacent Iſlands. But ſince the *Dutch* became Maſters of *Batavia*, and the Emperor of *Materan* and the King of *Bantam* have divided the Iſland between them, this Place is become a Fiſhing Village, and all its Trade is entirely loſt.

20. There is ſome Diſpute as to the Time, and even as to the Perſon who firſt viſited the Coaſt of *New Guiney*: Some ſay that this Coaſt was firſt diſcovered by *Alvare de Saavedra* in the Month of *May* 1529, as he was returning to *New Spain* from a Voyage he had made for Diſcoveries. He fell in with this Continent in the Latitude of two Degrees South, and ran Eaſt along by it above five hundred Leagues to the End of the Month of *Auguſt*. The Coaſt was clean, and of good Anchorage: The People black, with curled Hair, naked to the Waiſt, and covered from thence to their Feet. *Saavedra* having ſailed four or five Degrees to the South, returned again unto the Equinoctial, and having paſſed it, diſcovered towards the North an Iſland, on which he beſtowed the Name of *Iſla de los Pintados*, that is, *The Iſland of painted People*; for he found the Inhabitants white, and each of them marked in his Body with an Iron. They could not underſtand the Language they ſpoke, which was very guttural; but by the Signs they made, they apprehended that they came from *China*.

There came off a Boat full of theſe People in a hoſtile manner, threatening the *Spaniards*, and throwing Stones at them; but *Saavedra* would not ſuffer his People to fire upon them by any means. A little beyond this Iſland they diſcovered many others low and flat, covered with Palm-Trees and Graſs, ſo that they made a very pleaſant Appearance, and therefore *Saavedra* called them *Los Jardines*, or the Gardens; they were very full of People, who ſeemed to them by their Countenances, and the Manner of wearing their Hair, to be deſcended from the *Chineſe*; but by their long Continuance there were become barbarous, and even brutiſh, living without Law, that they may live without Labour, and cloathed only with a white kind of Stuff, which they make of Graſs. They eat Cocoas inſtead of Bread, pulling them before they are ripe, and burying them in the Sand, from whence, after ſome Days, they take them out, and lay them in the Sun, where they open of themſelves. They likewiſe eat Fiſh, which they take in a kind of Boats, called *Paraos*, made of Pine-wood, which is driven on that Coaſt at certain Times of the Year, they know not from whence or how. The Tools with which they make theſe Boats are made of Shells. What appeared to *Saavedra* the moſt ſtrange was, that theſe People had never ſeen, nor had any Notion of Fire, till they came upon their Coaſt, and then they ſhewed the utmoſt Terror and Apprehenſion at the Sight. *Saavedra* would have returned from hence to *New Spain*, but met with ſo many Difficulties in his Paſſage, that worn out with Grief and Care, he died, and his People brought his Ship back to the *Moluccas*.

This gave an Opportunity to the Author we have taken this Account from to learn all thoſe Particulars; and this Writer deſerves the more Credit, as he was a Man of Diſtinction, and Governor of the *Spice-Iſlands* for the *Portugueze*. His Name was *Antonio Galvano*, the ſame who took ſo much Pains to introduce Chriſtianity into the Iſland of *Celebes*, and who has written an exact Account of all the Diſcoveries made by the *Spaniards* and *Portugueze* both in the *Eaſt-Indies* and in the *Weſt*. But we muſt not apprehend from his Account, that this Southern Continent was abſolutely unknown till this Diſcovery of it by *Saavedra*, becauſe it is certain from his own Account, that the Inhabitants of the *Moluccas* were very well acquainted with it before the *Portugueze* came amongſt them, and carried on a conſiderable Trade thither; but this Part of the Coaſt on which *Saavedra* ſailed was unknown to the *Europeans* before. While this *Antonio Galvano* commanded at *Ternate*, there was a famous Pirate, who with a Squadron of *Paraos* did a great deal of Miſchief on the Coaſt of the Land of *Papoas*, which is the Country ſince called *New-Guiney*, and at laſt began to threaten the Subjects of the *Portugueze* in the *Moluccas*. To repreſs the Violences committed by this Rover, *Galvano* fitted out ſome Barks that were ſent him by the King of *Tidor*, and having manned them with a few *Portugueze*, and with the Auxiliaries from the neighbouring Iſlands, he ſent them under the Command of *Ferdinand Vinagrez*, a Prieſt, in Queſt of this Pirate, with whom they came up, and after a ſmart Engagement, in which the Pirate and his Brother were both killed, deſtroyed ſome and diſperſed the reſt of his Squadron.

After obtaining this Victory, he was ſent to the Country of *Papoas*, where he was kindly received by ſeveral Princes, and converted ſome of them and their Subjects to the Chriſtain Faith, which was ſo great a Satisfaction to the worthy Governor, that he inſtituted a kind of Seminary, in which he bred up Abundance of young Men brought from all theſe Countries, inſtructing them himſelf in the Chriſtian Religion, and in all ſorts of Literature that were at that Time ſtudied in *Portugal*.

It is obſerved by the *Portugueze* Hiſtorians, that while other Governors increaſed their Fortunes, this Man ſtudied only to increaſe his Reputation, and the Number of his Maſter's Subjects, by his wiſe and gentle Government, which had ſo good an Effect, that Multitudes of Chriſtians, expelled and baniſhed by *Mohammedan* Princes throughout the *Indies*, repaired to him in the *Moluccas*, where he was ſo entirely beloved by all the Princes of thoſe Iſlands, that they joined together in a Repreſentation to the King of *Portugal*, ſetting forth the many Advantages that would accrue to the *Portugueze*, as well as themſelves, if *Antonio Galvano* was continued in this Government for Life; but before this Repreſentation was well framed, the Governor of the *Indies* ſent *George Caſtro* to ſucceed him, which, in the Space of a few Years, produced ſuch a Change in their Affairs on this Side, that *Maffeus*, and other of their Hiſtorians, have declined giving us an Account of them.

It was the removing this worthy Man that hindered all the Southern Continent from being thoroughly known; for by his Candour, Humanity, and wiſe Government, he eſtabliſhed a new Face in that Part of the World, of which the *Portugueze* never had an Idea, either before or ſince; and if he had remained there but a few Years, would have done more towards the Converſion of thoſe Nations by his own Virtue and Piety, than ever could be effected by an Army of Miſſionaries. But what he was not permitted to effect by his Actions, he has ſketched forth in his Writings; ſo that, from them we learn, this great Southern Continent was, in his Time, well inhabited; and though theſe Inhabitants might, in ſome Parts of it, be abſolute Barbarians, yet in others, they were as much civilized as their Neighbours, and had, as we have before ſeen, not only the Uſe of Veſſels, but ſome kind of naval Force.

21. The Diſcovery of the *Philippine Iſlands*, as they are now called, was, undoubtedly, made by *Francis Magellan* in the Year 1521; and the firſt Iſland in which he landed was *Hummunun*, which is now barren and uninhabited. He took poſſeſſion of the Iſland of *Butuan*, by erecting a Croſs, as we have elſewhere ſhewn, on the *Wedneſday* in *Eaſter-Week*, in the ſame Year. But theſe Iſlands were not ſettled on the Behalf of the *Spaniards* till the Year 1565, by *Michael Lopez de Legaſpi*, a Native of *Mexico*, acting under a Commiſſion from King *Philip* II. in honour of whom they were called *Philippines*. But with this Conqueſt and Settlement I have, at preſent, nothing to do, as intending to ſpeak only of the Diſcoveries made in theſe Parts by the *Portugueze*, on whoſe ehalf Don *Antonio de Galvano*, in the Year 1538, ſent *Francis de Caſtro* to the Iſland of *Mindanao*, where he perſuaded ſix of the petty Princes to receive Baptiſm, with all their Families. This Iſland of *Mindanao* is the moſt ſouthern of all the *Philippines*, and the largeſt of them all, except *Manila*; it extends from 6° of N. L. to 10° 30′, and is eſteemed three hundred Leagues in compaſs. There are few Countries in the World better watered; for there are in it twenty navigable Rivers, and near two hundred Rivulets, beſides large Lakes, one of which is called *Mindanao*, and gives its Name to the whole Iſland.

The *Portugueze* found it inhabited by ſeveral different Nations, of which the true original Lords of the Country poſſeſſed then only the Hills and inacceſſible Places; being Negroes, with criſp and curled Hair, like thoſe in *New Guiney*; and by the way thoſe were the original Inhabitants of all the *Philippines*. The *Portugueze* and *Spaniards* call them *Nigrillos*, a Nation who have ſacrificed all the Bleſſings of Life, and all the Advantages of human Nature, to an enthuſiaſtick Love of Liberty. Thoſe who inhabit one Mountain will have no Intercourſe with thoſe who inhabit the next; nay thoſe that inhabit the Middle of a Hill will murder ſuch as live at the Top or the Bottom of it, if they find them in their Diſtrict. They have neither Lords nor Laws, but live like Brutes, for the ſole Satisfaction of being free. This ſilly Humour induced them to abandon the Sea-Coaſts on the firſt Appearance of Strangers, which have been ſince ſettled by ſeveral Nations, ſome *Mohammedans* from *Borneo*, others a whiter People, no body can well ſay from whence, only the moſt civilized Inhabitants own, when the *Portugueze* came amongſt them firſt, that theſe Iſlands had formerly been under the Dominion of the *Chineſe*, and, upon their abandoning them, were left a Prey to any Nation that thought fit to ſettle in them, and were able to defend themſelves from the Blacks in the Mountains.

The Iſland *Xolo* lies South Weſt from *Mindanao*, and is governed by a King of its own; it is far from being large, but its Situation between *Mindanao* and *Borneo* makes it the Mart of all the *Mooriſh* Kingdoms. I do not find that the *Portugueze* ever pretended to ſettle, much leſs to conquer theſe Iſlands; but they viſited them frequently for the ſake of Trade, and in thoſe Days there was a greater Commerce in theſe Parts than can be well imagined; for while the Trade was open to *Japan*, there came annually two or three Ships laden with Silver, Amber, Silks, Cheſts, Cabinets, and other Curioſities, made of ſweet-ſcented Woods, with vaſt Quantities of Silks, Muſlins, Callicoes, Quilts, and Earthen-ware from *China*. For theſe the Merchants of *Golconda* exchanged their Diamonds; thoſe of *Ceylon* their Rubies, Topazes and Saphires; from *Java* and *Sumatra* came Pepper, and Cloves, and Nutmegs from the *Moluccas*.

The native Commodities of theſe Iſlands were as valuable as any of the reſt, ſince no Country in the World, *Peru* not excepted, abounds with more Gold. In the Mountains they dig but Three Feet deep, before they meet with it in red Sand, and where they cannot come at the Mountains for the Blacks, they dig Trenches in the flat Country, and after the rainy Seaſon, they pick the Gold out of the Mud that is left in them. Cinnamon they have as good as any in *Ceylon*, but nobody having any Property in the Trees, they tear and deſtroy the Bark at all Seaſons, which is the Reaſon the World is ſo little acquainted with the Cinnamon of *Mindanao*. In the Sea, between this Iſland and *Xolo*, there is a Pearl-Fiſhery, inferior to none in the *Indies*, either in point of Colour or Shape. Ambergriſe they have in great Plenty and Perfection on their Coaſt, and Lumps are very often found of twenty or thirty Pounds Weight; nay and ſometimes larger.

It was from their Commerce with *Mindanao*, and the Reſpect, or, as they call it, Homage, paid to the King of *Portugal* by ſome of the petty Monarchs of that Country, that the *Portugueze* pretended to maintain their Claim to theſe Iſlands againſt the *Spaniards*, who aſſume to themſelves an excluſive Right over all the *Philippines*; becauſe *Luconia*, or *Manila*, which is the biggeſt of them, is in their Poſſeſſion; yet they have ſo managed their Affairs, that, though they keep theſe Settlements merely for the ſake of Trade, their Government is ſo ordered as to leſſen that Commerce which thoſe Iſlands had before they became Maſters of them; and at the ſame time the royal Revenue is ſo indifferently managed, as not to defray above Two-thirds of the Expences of the Government; though the People are ſo much harraſſed, that they fly to all Parts of *India* to avoid the Hardſhips impoſed on them at home.

Father *Navarette*, who was himſelf a *Spaniard*, and who in his Hiſtory of *China* ſhews a manifeſt Partiality for his Country, confeſſes the Truth of this, and that he never was in any Country of the *Indies* but he found *Manila Indians*, either carried away or run away from thence; and of this, he ſays, the *Spaniſh* Government complained, as being extremely detrimental to that Settlement: But he obſerves very juſtly upon that Occaſion, that Complaints lie only againſt themſelves and their own Conduct: Let them, ſays he, uſe the *Indians* well, and they will not run away; let them protect thoſe People as they ought, and no body will be able to ſteal them. The Negligence of the *Portugueze*, the Tyranny of the *Spaniards*, and the incroaching Diſpoſition of the *Dutch*, hinder theſe Iſlands from being, what they otherwiſe muſt be, the Centre of Commerce between the *Eaſt* and *Weſt Indies*; and if a free Trade were allowed to them, each of theſe Nations would get ten times as much, and that too with ten times the Eaſe with which they get what little they do get by their Commerce here at preſent.

22. There is not any Paſſage relating to the Diſcoveries made by the *Portugueze* in the Eaſt more curious or more extraordinary than what relates to the finding the Iſlands of *Japan*, which were diſcovered about the ſame time by two different Sets of Adventurers, both, in all Appearance, the pure Effects of Chance. And though, in the Account we have received of both theſe Diſcoveries, very little Notice is taken of Dates; yet, from Compariſon of Facts, it is pretty evident, that the Perſons we ſhall firſt ſpeak of arrived in that Country ſome time in the Month of *May*, *A. D.* 1542. Of the firſt of theſe, we have a very large Account written by *Mendez Pinto*, who was himſelf the Diſcoverer; but for many Reaſons we have found it neceſſary to contract that Account into as few Words as poſſible, that we may have Room to give the Reader both the Diſcoveries, and thereby enable him to judge for himſelf, as to the Controverſy that has been raiſed concerning them.

Ferdinand Mendez Pinto tells us himſelf, that being in Company with two of his Countrymen, whoſe Names were *Diego Zeimoto* and *Chriſtopher Borello*, at *Lampacao*, which is the ſame with *Macao*, they there endeavoured to get a Paſſage to ſome other Part in the *Indies*, and found it very difficult to do: At laſt a *Chineſe* Corſair offered his

Service, promiſing to conduct them to the Iſlands of *Lequios*[n]; but when they were at Sea, the Weather proved ſo bad, and the *Chineſe* Captain's Ship ſo leaky, that there was an abſolute Neceſſity of putting into ſome Port to refit; and accordingly the Captain bore away for a certain Port in the Iſland of *Japan*, which our Author tells us was that of *Niaygima* in the Iſland of *Tanuximaa*, where they ſafely arrived. Before they entered the Port, two Barks came from the Shore to know who they were, and what they wanted? The Captain anſwered, that they were come from *China*, that his Ship was full of Goods, and that his Intention was to trade, if they might obtain Permiſſion; to which the principal Perſon in the Barks anſwered, that the Lord of the Iſland was called *Nautaquim*, and that if they paid the Port Duties, they might have Leave to trade[o]. The *Chineſe* Captain inſtantly complied with this Demand; the Patron of the Barks uſed him thereupon with great Civility, and conducted him immediately into the Harbour.

About two Hours after the Lord of the Iſland came thither, accompanied by ſeveral Perſons of Diſtinction, and ſome Merchants. At the Sight of the three *Portugueze* he was very much aſtoniſhed, and demanded immediately who thoſe Strangers were, and of what Nation? The Captain anſwered, that they came from a great City called *Malacca*, and that they were of a certain Kingdom in *Europe* called *Portugal*. At theſe Words *Nautaquim* appeared more ſurprized than before, and at laſt, turning to thoſe who were about him, he ſaid, Let me die, if I don't believe theſe are the *Chinchicogis*, of whom we read in our old Books that they fly upon the Waters, and make themſelves Maſters of every rich Country they hear of: We ſhall think ourſelves very happy, if they are content to be our Allies. He then called a Woman, who could ſpeak the *Chineſe* Language, in which he was but indifferently ſkilled, and deſired her to aſk the Captain with what View he brought theſe Strangers into *Japan*. The Captain anſwered very candidly, that he found them at *Macao* much diſtreſſed for a Paſſage to ſome Port in the *Indies*, and that he, from a Principle of Humanity, took them on board his Veſſel, in hopes that Providence would raiſe him a like Friend, in caſe he ſhould fall into the ſame Diſtreſs. This ſatisfied *Nautaquim* perfectly, ſo that he made no Difficulty of going aboard the *Chineſe* Veſſel, with ſome of the principal Perſons about him, and aſked the *Portugueze* abundance of Queſtions, whom he alſo invited to viſit him on Shore, promiſing to entertain them kindly.

They went accordingly, and carried him a Preſent, which was very graciouſly received, and *Nautaquim* entered into a long Converſation with them about their Country, and particularly inſiſted on theſe three Points, which he ſaid he had been told by the *Chineſe* and *Lequians* in his Country. Firſt, that *Portugal* was bigger than *China*, and richer; the ſecond, that the King of *Portugal* had conquered the beſt Part of the World; and thirdly, that his *Portugueze* Majeſty had better than two thouſand Houſes full of Gold and Silver. *Pinto* ingenuouſly owns, that he did not ſtick exactly to Truth in his Anſwers, but contrived ſuch as were moſt likely to keep up the high Opinion that *Nautaquim* had conceived of their Monarch. All the Time they ſtayed here, they were treated with the utmoſt Civility and Reſpect, being permitted to ſee every thing they deſired, and to go where they would. *Zeimoto* had a very fine Gun, with which the *Japaneſe* were extremely taken, inſomuch that they ſpoke of it to *Nautaquim*, who deſired to ſee it, and how it was uſed; which Requeſt of his being complied with, he thought himſelf ſo much obliged thereby, that he ſet the *Portugueze* upon one of his own Horſes, and obliged him to ride through the Town with a Crier before him, who proclaimed him *Nautaquim's* Couſin, and admoniſhed the People to conſider him as ſuch: At his Return he had an Apartment aſſigned him in the Palace; upon which he made a Preſent to *Nautaquim* of his Fowling-piece, in return for which, he ſent him in ready Money a thouſand Taels, which make in our Money three hundred and thirty-three Pounds[p].

The People imitated the Generoſity of their Prince, and bought all the Captain's Goods at ſuch round Rates, that for a Cargo which coſt him two thouſand five hundred Taels, they gave him to the Value of thirty thouſand. We need not doubt that People ſo well entertained, ſpent their Days there very agreeably, and were not in any great Hurry about their Departure. After a Month's Stay, however, the *Chineſe* Captain having refitted his Ship, prepared to put to Sea; but before he was ready, an Accident happened, which changed the Face of their Affairs entirely. A Boat arrived in the Harbour, having on Board a Gentleman charged with a Letter from the King of *Bungo* to the Lord of the Iſland, ſignifying that he was informed that certain Strangers were come into his Dominions, by which it was apparent, that the World was much larger than they imagined, and that he deſired he would ſend at leaſt one of theſe Strangers to diſcourſe with him, the rather becauſe at that Time he was very much indiſpoſed, and ſuffered by repeated Fits of black Melancholy, which oppreſſed him to the laſt Degree. The Lord of the Iſland ſent immediately for the *Portugueze*, aad having informed them, that the King of *Bungo* was both his Uncle and his Father-in-Law, he moſt earneſtly deſired that they would gratify the Requeſt of that Prince. At the ſame time, however, he declared, that he could not part with his Couſin *Zeimoto*, but that the Embaſſador might take which of the other two he pleaſed; but after a little Recollection, he fixed upon *Pinto* as the moſt proper Perſon to go to his Uncle, becauſe he was of a briſk and lively Temper, and therefore the moſt likely to divert him; and at the ſame time made him a Preſent of two hundred Taels, as a Compenſation for the Trouble of this Journey.

Things being thus regulated, *Pinto* took his Leave of his Friends, and embarked with the Embaſſador for the Kingdom of *Bungo*, which lies but at a very ſmall Diſtance from the Iſland of *Tacuxima*. They arrived, without meeting with any Accident, at the Fortreſs of *Oſqui*, where they remained two Days, and then they ſet out for the Capital, where they arrived the very ſame Day. The King had no ſooner Notice of their coming than he immediately ſent one of his Sons to compliment them, to whom the Embaſſador delivered a Letter from *Nautaquim* for the King's Father, whoſe Name was **Origendo**, who, as ſoon as he received it, deſired the *Portugueze* to come to him, whom he received with all the Reſpect imaginable. The firſt Queſtion he aſked *Pinto* was whether the Gout, with which he was dreadfully afflicted, was a Diſtemper known in any of the Countries through which he had paſſed, and if he had ever heard of any Remedy that would effectually cure it? *Pinto* told him honeſtly, that he was no Phyſician, but that he had brought with him from *China* a kind of Wood, which had a Quality of relieving the moſt violent Pains, let their Cauſe be what it would, but that he had left it in the Iſland where he firſt arrived; upon which the King immediately diſpatched a Meſſenger thither to fetch it. As ſoon as it arrived, *Pinto* cauſed it to be ſteeped in Water, which he gave the King to drink, and in the Space of a few Days he found himſelf ſo well, that he was able to riſe and walk about, which he had not done for two Years.

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[n] Theſe Iſlands, of which it ſeems the *Portugueze* had already ſome Knowledge, paſs under different Names; and even at this Day we are not able to ſay much with any Certainty about them. Some Writers call them the Iſlands of *Liqueios*, others the Iſlands of *Rinku*. They lie between 26 and 30° of North Latitude, having the Iſland of *Formoſa* on the South-weſt, the Continent of *China* on the Weſt, the Iſlands of *Japan* on the North, and the Ocean on the Eaſt; on which Side they ſeem to have no Land nearer to them than *America*. The *Japaneſe* report that they are the moſt fertile Countries in the World, and that the Inhabitants are the eaſieſt, happieſt, and beſt conditioned of the Human Race. They are ſubject to the Prince of *Saxuma*, who is one of the principal Lords of the Empire of *Japan*. It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that the *Chineſe* were formerly Maſters of theſe Iſlands, and that at preſent there is ſome Commerce between them and the *Philippines*.

[o] This Iſland, which *Pinto* calls *Tanuximaa*, is, undoubtedly, *Tacuxima*, belonging to the Kingdom of *Firando*. It lies in the Latitude of 31° North, at a very ſmall Diſtance off the great Iſland of *Ximo*, which is the ſecond in Size of thoſe three Iſlands which are known in *Europe* under the common Name of *Japan*, which is not, as we generally apprehend it, the Name of a particular Country, but of a large Archipelago of Iſlands, the moſt conſiderable of which is *Niphon*. It is true, that later Authors ſpeak of no ſuch Port as *Pinto* mentions, but that is no juſt Objection to the Truth of his Relation, ſince it is on all Hands allowed, that prodigious Changes have been made in the Names of the principal Ports and Places in theſe Iſlands.

[p] One of the moſt ſingular Things in *Pinto's* Relation is this; that, notwithſtanding the Aſtoniſhment of the People on their firſt beholding the Gun which his Companion brought over, they were, however, ſo ingenious as to comprehend the whole Mechaniſm of it in a very little time; ſo that before he was ſent for to *Bungo*, they had made ſeveral of them, and in the Space of a few Years they became very expert in the Trade; which Fact, though very extraordinary in itſelf, is, notwithſtanding, confirmed by later Writers.

It is eaſy to imagine what high Effects ſo extraordinary a Circumſtance as this muſt neceſſarily produce, and what Careſſes were naturally beſtowed on a Stranger, who had ſo ſuddenly and ſo unexpectedly performed ſo great a Cure. The King ordered all the Care imaginable to be taken of him, and the whole Court was employed in contriving how to entertain and divert him; but in the midſt of all this Joy and Satisfaction, there happened an unlucky Accident, which had like to have been attended with very bad Conſequences. *Pinto* had with him his Gun, which was mightily admired by every Body that ſaw it, and the Operations of which filled them with Aſtoniſhment. The hereditary Prince was ſo taken with it, that he would needs try to ſhoot himſelf, to which *Pinto* would by no means conſent, telling him, it was an Inſtrument to be managed with great Caution, and might do unexpected Miſchief in the Hands of a Perſon who knew not how to manage it. This, inſtead of ſatisfying the Prince, made him only the more eager, inſomuch that he complained to his Father, and deſired he would prevail upon the Stranger to truſt him with his Gun; to which the *Portugueze* yielded, and promiſed to go a ſhooting with him the next Day.

The young Man was ſo impatient that he was up before it was light, and on the fifth of *Auguſt* was at *Pinto*'s Chamber-door before he awoke. He had too much Manners to diſturb him, but unluckily ſpying the Gun, took it out with him into the Court, and reſolved to make a Shot. He put in a double or treble Charge of Powder, to which giving Fire, the Gun burſt, cut his right Thumb ſo that it hung by a Thread, and at the ſame time a Piece of the Barrel ſtruck him ſo violently over the Ear, that he fell flat upon the Ground, and thoſe who were about him thought he was killed. The Noiſe of this Accident was very ſoon ſpread over the whole Town, where it was unanimouſly agreed, that the Stranger's inchanted Inſtrument had killed the Heir of the Crown. The Noiſe made round his Apartment awaked *Pinto* out of his Sleep, who coming down without knowing what was the Mattter, went directly to the Place where the Accident had happened, and ſeeing the Prince lying on the Ground, whom he took to be dead, he threw himſelf on the Body in the utmoſt Agony. A Moment after came the King, the Queen, and the two Princeſſes, all of them in a diſtracted Condition, and as ſoon as they ſaw the Prince ſwimming in his Blood, and *Pinto* lying by him, they immediately concluded that the Stranger had killed the Prince; upon which two Soldiers advanced with their Swords drawn, in order to cut off his Head; but the King called out to them to forbear, ſince he was determined he would firſt extort from him the Reaſon that induced him to commit ſo vile a Fact.

The Reaſon of this Stay of Execution was, becauſe a little before a Conſpiracy had been diſcovered, for which ſeveral Perſons had been executed the Day before; and the King apprehended, without any Reaſon, that this Action might be an Effect of that Conſpiracy. It is not neceſſary for us to dwell upon all the little Circumſtances of this Affair; and therefore it will be ſufficient to obſerve, that when they were on the very Point of torturing *Pinto*, in order to make him confeſs why he committed this deteſtable Murder, and who were his Accomplices, the Prince very luckily came to himſelf, and ſeeing how Things ſtood, declared, with great Concern, that he alone was in the Fault, and that the Stranger knew nothing of the Matter; wherefore he intreated that he might be ſet at Liberty, and have Leave to come to him, which his Father immediately granted. It was then propoſed, that they ſhould ſend for an old Bonze, who lived at ſeventy Leagues Diſtance, to dreſs the Prince's Wounds, and to try if he could ſave his Life. The young Man declared againſt this, and ſaid, he ſhould die before he came, and begged that he might be left in the Hands of the Stranger, who knew beſt how to deal with him. The King thereupon called for him, and aſked, if he would undertake his Son's Cure, which, if he performed, he ſhould think his Kingdom too ſmall a Reward. *Pinto* declared he could promiſe for nothing, but that he was willing to do all that lay in his Power, and that he had great Hopes of ſucceeding.

Upon this the Prince was left in his Hands, but not without a great Struggle on the Part of the Bonzes, who declared, that if the Stranger touched his Wounds, he would die that Night; and that the beſt thing the King could do was to offer up *Pinto* as a Sacrifice to the Gods, and to ſend an Expreſs immediately for the old Bonze before-mentioned. The Prince interpoſed, however, ſo warmly in Favour of the Stranger, and ſome of the oldeſt and wiſeſt Men about the Court thought the young Man's Deſire ſo reaſonable, that the King conſented to it, and the Prince being carried to *Pinto*'s Lodgings, he dreſſed him as he had ſeen the *European* Surgeons do, and in one Month's Time there was no other Sign of the Wounds than the Scars they had left, and a little Deadneſs in his Thumb. The King and the whole Court were quite raviſhed with Joy at his unexpected Recovery, and beſides a thouſand Bleſſings and Thanks, made the *Portugueze* abundance of magnificent Preſents, beſides fifteen hundred Taels in ready Money, which the King beſtowed upon him as ſoon as the Prince was able to go abroad.

While Things were in this Situation, they had Advice that the *Chineſe* Ship was ready to ſail; upon which *Pinto* deſired Leave to be gone, to which the King very unwillingly conſented; but as the Stranger inſiſted upon it, he ordered a Veſſel to be equipped, in order to carry him back to the Iſland of *Tacuxima*, and ſent a Gentleman with him, furniſhing him alſo with all manner of Proviſions and Refreſhments. After his Return to that Iſland, our Traveller remained there a Fortnight, waiting for a fair Wind, and then embarking, arrived ſafely at *Liampo* on the Coaſt of *China*. This is, in few Words, the Account given us by *Pinto* himſelf: Let us now proceed to the other Diſcovery of this Country made by the *Portugueze*, according to our Promiſe.

In the ſame Year 1542, three of the ſame Nation came by pure Accident into this Country, their Names were, *Antonia Mota*, *Franciſco Zeimoto*, and *Antonio Pexota*, who in a Voyage from the Iſland of *Macaſſar* to *China* were thrown upon the Coaſts of theſe Iſlands, and were exceedingly well received. Amongſt other Acquaintance, they entered into a cloſe Converſation with one *Angero*, a Man of a good Family, and conſiderable Fortune; but who was exceedingly troubled in Mind on account of ſome Irregularities committed in his Youth, who heard them with Pleaſure diſcourſe concerning the Truth of the Chriſtian Religion. About two Years after *Alvarez Vaz*, a *Portugueze* Merchant, came into the ſame Country, and became very intimate with the ſame Perſon, whom he perſuaded to go to the *Portugueze* Settlements in *India*, in order to be converted and conſoled by the holy Diſcourſes of the famous *Francis Xavier*; to which at length he yielded, and having received Baptiſm at *Goa* in the Year 1548, he the next Year accompanied Father *Xavier* and two other Jeſuits in their Voyage to *Japan*, where they immediately entered upon their Miſſion; by the Progreſs of which, this Country was made ſo thoroughly known to the *Portugueze*, that if *Mendez Pinto* had not recorded his own Voyage thither, it is very poſſible we had never heard any thing of it at all; but that he afterwards viſited *Japan* in Company with Father *Xavier*, and after the Deceaſe of that induſtrious Jeſuit, whom the Papiſts eſteem the Apoſtle of the *Indies*, he went thither again as Embaſſador from the Viceroy of the *Indies* to the King of *Bungo* in 1556, ſo that there ſeems to be no juſt Grounds for calling any thing that he has written in Queſtion.

The Converſions made in this great Empire contributed not a little to ſupport and extend the *Portugueze* Trade, which was managed with much Facility, and to a vaſt Profit: For the *Portugueze* being eſtabliſhed in *China*, carried from thence vaſt Quantities of Silk into *Japan*, where, as all Ranks of People affect to be cloathed in it, There followed a prodigious Conſumption, which enriched the *Portugueze* Merchants very ſoon to a high Degree, tho' it is ſcarce credible, that as ſome *Dutch* Writers report, they have ſometimes carried home in one ſmall Ship one hundred Tons of Gold. But this prodigious Succeſs proved the Cauſe of their being at laſt deprived of this lucrative Commerce.

It is not to be expected that we ſhould enter here into a long and particular Relation of the ſeveral Facts which drew upon them, from the Government of *Japan*, that Prohibition of which we have ſpoken ſo largely in the Article of *Macao*, and therefore we ſhall only report in general Terms, and in as few Words as poſſible, the principal Cauſes of that Excluſion. The vaſt Wealth they had acquired corrupting the Manners of the *Portugueze*, made them leſs cautious than they ought to have been, in their Behaviour towards the *Japoneſe*, inſomuch that, inſtead of the Moderation, Sobriety, and exact Conduct which they at firſt purſued, they grew proud, inſolent, and diſſolute. This prompted them to change the Places where they were wont to trade, and to prefer ſuch Ports as were in the Dominions of infidel Princes, to thoſe in the Territories of theie *Japoneſe* Lords, that had embraced the Chriſtian Religion, that they might live as they thought fit, and without being under the Controul of the Miſſionaries, who took all the Pains they could to oblige their Countrymen to advance the Credit of the Chriſtian Religion by the Regularity of their Lives. Theſe Errors had two very bad Conſequences; for, firſt, they diſguſted ſuch Princes as had embraced the Faith; and, ſecondly, they hardened the Infidels in their Averſion to it.

But it was not only the Corruption of the *Portugueze* Merchants, Officers, and Seamen, that gave Offence to the People of this Empire, the Intrigues of the Miſſionaries themſelves contributed to it as much, or more, by exciting the Jealouſy of the Emperor; for where-ever they had converted any of the Princes of *Japan*, they were continually at Court, and, inſtead of minding what was the proper Buſineſs of the Church, engaged at every Turn in Affairs of State, making the Direction of Conſcience much leſs their Care than the Direction of Councils, by which they became the Authors of many Troubles, and afforded a Handle to their Enemies of charging them with many more; ſo that the Emperor of *Japan* began at laſt to ſurmiſe, that there was more of Hypocriſy than Sanctity in their Hearts, and that they were endeavouring, under Colour of ſaving Mens Souls, to eſtabliſh a new Government in that Country.

Theſe Jealouſies, which certainly were not altogether without Foundation, were extreamly increaſed by two Circumſtances; the firſt was, the Haughtineſs and Ill-conduct of ſuch as were ſent Embaſſadors thither, eſpecially after the Union of the Crowns of *Spain* and *Portugal*; for thoſe Miniſters were wont to boaſt of the vaſt Power of the Catholick King, and of the mighty Extent of his Dominions, of which they affected to convince the *Japoneſe*, by ſhewing the Maps of the *Eaſt* and *Weſt Indies*; and the Imprudence of one of theſe Embaſſadors is ſaid to have carried him ſo far, as that on being aſked how his Maſter had acquired ſuch vaſt Territories at ſo great a Diſtance from his hereditary Dominions, he anſwered, by ſending Miſſionaries firſt to convert a Part of the Inhabitants to Chriſtianity, and then ſending Troops to aſſiſt the new Converts in ſhaking off the Yoke of infidel Princes.

The other Circumſtance was the coming of the *Dutch* Ships upon the Coaſt of *Japan*; for theſe People applying themſelves entirely to Commerce, and ſubmitting, for the ſake thereof, to whatever Terms were preſcribed by the *Japoneſe*, gained thereby ſuch a Degree of Confidence with their Princes, that it procured implicit Credit to their Repreſentations, as to the ambitious Deſigns of the *Spaniards* and *Portugueze*. Theſe Remarks will give the Reader ſo eaſy a Key to the political Contrivances for firſt reſtraining the *Portugueze* Trade to a particular Port, and then ſhutting them up as it were in a Priſon during their Stay in that Empire, as in the firſt Chapter of this Work has been largely related, that we need not run here into any Repetitions, but content ourſelves with obſerving, that notwithſtanding the many previous Signs which the *Portugueze* had of the approaching Rupture with the *Japoneſe*, yet were they ſo far from taking ſuch Steps, as in common Prudence they ought to have done, for avoiding ſo great a Miſchief, that on the contrary, they behaved daily worſe and worſe, till the Storm came upon them with ſuch a Force as was not to be reſiſted.

The particular Relation of the Subverſion of Chriſtianity in this Empire will be found in the ſucceeding Volume, when we come to treat of the Deſcription of *Japan*; at preſent we have only to obſerve, that the *Portugueze* have been deprived of this rich Commerce ever ſince the Year 1639, and that all the Attempts they have hitherto made to recover it have proved abſolutely ineffectual, nor is it probable that any they may hereafter make will be attended with any better Succeſs.

23. The Country, or Countries, lying beyond *Japan*, to the North-Eaſt, or North-Weſt, have been always regarded, at leaſt ſince Geography has been tolerably underſtood, as the very Confines of the World, and the Extremities of the Earth, which Countries the *Japoneſe* themſelves called *Jeſo*, or *Jeſſo*, the *Chineſe*, *Yeço*; from whence we have the word *Yeſſo*, or *Yedzo*, by which in the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Maps they are diſtinguiſhed. The firſt Accounts that were received of theſe Countries were from the *Japoneſe* themſelves, but according to their Skill in ſuch Sciences, extreamly dark and incorrect. They were not able to ſay abſolutely, whether their own Country was an Iſland or not; and as for the Land of *Yeſſo*, they profeſſed the utmoſt Extent of their Knowledge to be, that it belonged to the Prince of *Matſuma*, who was dependent on, and a Tributary to, the Emperor of *Japan*. In the Year 1613, Father *Conſtanzo*, who then preached the Chriſtian Religion in *Japan*, hearing that the Prince of *Matſuma* had ſent to *Japan* for a Phyſician, and that a Convert to Chriſtianity, a Man of good Senſe and quick Parts, was pitched upon to go over in that Qnality, he recommended to him the Care of inſtructing thoſe People, if a favourable Opportunity offered, in the Chriſtian Faith; which Commiſſion the Phyſician executed with ſo much Zeal and Fidelity, that he quickly gave Father *Conſtanzo* a good Account of his Miſſion, aſſuring him, that he had not only made many Converts, but that he found the People in general better inclined to the Chriſtian Religion, than could have been expected.

In 1620, Father *Angelis*, who was them at *Tzugara*, the moſt Northern Part of the Iſland of *Niphon*, to which many Chriſtians had been baniſhed, received Orders there, from his Superior, to go himſelf to *Matſuma*, in order to cultivate the Seeds of Converſion, which the *Japoneſe* Phyſician had ſown, and accordingly thither he went the ſame Year by Sea. He arrived very ſafely in the Port of *Tzugo*, and from thence travelled through very bad Roads to *Matſuma*, where he found a vaſt Number of *Japoneſe*, and amongſt them many Chriſtians. They had been ſettled there but a few Years, and had been drawn thither by the Diſcovery of very rich gold Mines in the Neighbourhood of this City, and Mines (if they may be ſo called) of a very ſingular Kind. There is a great River paſſes by the City of *Matſuma*, immenſely rich in Gold; thoſe who deſire to deal in that Commodity, purchaſe from the Prince ſuch a Part of the River, and then cut a ſemicircular Canal, well ſecured by ſtrong Banks, into which, by Sluices, the River is turned, leaving ſo much of its Channel as the Adventurers have agreed for dry; thence they take the Mud, and by frequently rinſing it obtain vaſt Quantities of Gold-duſt, and ſometimes Pieces of Gold of a conſiderable Bigneſs. When they have finiſhed their Work, and find there is no more Gold to be got, they fill up the Canal, and by that Means force the River back into its old Channel, and in the Space of a Year or two it is found as rich in Gold as ever.

Father *Angelis* informs us, that the Natives of that Country, which we call *Yeſſo*, call it in their own Language *Ainomoxori*, but were able to give but a very indifferent Account of its Extent or Situation. Theſe People were larger, ſtronger, and had much better Complexions than the *Japoneſe*, and wore Beards that reached to their Girdles. They were dreſſed in long Robes of Silk, Cotton, or Linnen, according to their Rank, which were ſet off with abundance of little Ornaments. Their Arms were Bows, Arrows, Lances, and ſhort Swords. In Point of Religion their Notions were very obſcure and confuſed, but the great Objects of their Worſhip were the Sun and Moon. They talk'd likewiſe of an inviſible King of the Mountains, Foreſts, Seas and Rivers, but they did not worſhip him. Their Government was very regular and exact, and themſelves the beſt-natured and beſt-behaved People the Miſſionary had ever ſeen. Their Commerce conſiſted chiefly in dried Fiſh, and in a ſort of Seal-ſkins, which they exchanged for Rice, Cotton, Thread, and other Neceſſaries; for as for Gold and Silver, they made little account of them, but left the Trade in them to the *Japoneze*. On his firſt going over, Father *Angelis* was inclined to believe, that this Country was the ſouthern Part of *Tartary*; but after he had made a longer Stay there, he in ſome meaſure altered his Sentiments, as appears by the following Letter he wrote upon this Subject, which is very curious and entertaining, and is, withal, the utmoſt that can be ſaid on this Subject, from the Lights given us by the *Portugueze*.

" I am at preſent perſuaded, that the Opinion entertained as to the Country of *Yeſſo*'s being an Iſland, is not without Probability, and the Reaſons upon which I go, are theſe: In the firſt Place, it is very certain, that this Country is bounded on the Eaſt, and on the South, by the Sea. On the other Hand, the Land of *Teſſoi*, which is the weſtern Extremity of *Yeſſo*, is likewiſe bounded by the Sea, where the Currents are ſo violent, that tho' there is a Country on the other Side the Strait, within Sight, and where they are able to diſtinguiſh the Horſes feeding, yet hitherto none of the Inhabitants of *Yeſſo* have paſſed over thither, becauſe great Quantities of large Canes are driven with prodigious Violence by thoſe Currents, ſo that if they were to hazard themſelves in their ſmall Boats, they muſt run an apparent Hazard of being overſet and loſt. From hence I conclude, that according to all Appearance *Yeſſo* hath a fourth Sea on the North, which conſequently ſeparates it from *Tartary*. From whence ſhould thoſe impetuous Currents come, but from a Sea to the North of *Yeſſo*, running Eaſt and Weſt, or from Weſt to Eaſt, and diſcharging itſelf to the South, through the Straits, on the Weſt of *Yeſſo*, with ſuch Rapidity, as renders them impaſſable to the People of the Country.

" The ſecond Reaſon is, that the Inhabitants of *Yeſſo* are not under the Dominion of any one Prince, nor have they amongſt them any Chief that has a Tract of Country of any great Conſequence, that is ſubject to him; they are likewiſe far from acknowledging the Supremacy of any Khan of the *Tartars*, or ſeem to be acquainted with that Title, or with any thing of the like Import; but every Family, or at leaſt every little Village, has a Chief who governs it abſolutely, and without acknowledging any Superior, which appears to me a ſtrong Proof, that they are ſeparated by a Sea from all other Countries, ſince if it were otherwiſe, they would undoubtedly be governed as thoſe Countries are. I am ſenſible, that it may be objected againſt the firſt Proof Ioffer, that the Currents of which I am ſpeaking, may poſſibly be occaſioned by the Opening of ſome great River, which diſcharges itſelf into the Sea, ſomewhat farther to the North, and thereby occaſions ſuch an Acceſſion of Water, as in paſſing through thoſe Streights, form ſuch terrible Currents. But after all, I cannot help eſteeming it more reaſonable to believe that this Country is bounded on that Side, as well as on the reſt, by an Arm of the Sea. At leaſt this is the moſt common Opinion, and I remember to have ſeen in *Sicily* an old Map of the World, in which the Land of *Yeſſo* is laid down as an Iſland. As to what the Inhabitants of the Country ſay, I have examined thoſe that came from the Eaſt, and others who came from the Weſt, but found them all alike ignorant of Geography."

Thus far this Miſſionary, who is the only *Portugueze* that has wrote ſenſibly upon this Matter. He does not, however, ſeem to have been acquainted with one Thing, which he might have learned in *Japan*, and that is, that thoſe People diſtinguiſh between the Iſland of *Yeſſo* and *Oku Yeſſo*, that is, the higher or upper *Yeſſo*; from whence it is very plain, that there is both an Iſland and a Continent of *Yeſſo*; but we ſhall have Occaſion to reſume this Subject, when we come to ſpeak of the Diſcoveries made by the *Dutch* on this Side, who were both more capable of making ſuch Diſcoveries, and more induſtrious in making them than the *Portugueze*. It may not be amiſs to obſerve here, that the *Japoneſe* informed the Miſſionaries, that there lay North-Eaſt from their Country, and to the Eaſt of that of *Yeſſo*, two Iſlands, of which the ſmalleſt, and that at the greateſt Diſtance, they call *Yenſima*, that is, the ſilver Iſland; and that which is neareſt their Continent, *Kinſima*, or the golden Iſland; but as they have been always very cautious of explaining themſelves as to the Situation of theſe Countries, ſome Doubts have ariſen, whether there were really any ſuch Iſlands or not.

However, in the Year 1620 a Ship was ſent by Order of *Philip* II. of *Spain*, to diſcover them, but without Succeſs; and the *Dutch* have likewiſe made an Expedition, with the ſame View, to as little Purpoſe. This may ſeem to juſtify the Suppoſition of their being fabulous; but then on the other hand, there are two Circumſtances equally ſtrong, that ſeem to prove the contrary: The firſt is, that there is ſuch a Plenty of Gold and Silver in *Japan*, as cannot be accounted for from the Mines known to be wrought in that Country; the other, that though the Emperors of that Country have granted ſeveral Licences to *Europeans*, and particularly to our Countryman Captain *William Saris*, for making Diſcoveries to the Weſt and North, yet they have always been extremely cautious of permitting any Strangers to examine their Coaſts on the Eaſt.

24. The new *Philippine* Iſlands are a late Diſcovery, of which we have an Account in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, in a Letter from a Miſſionary at *Manilla*, who tells us, that being accidentally at the Town of *Guivam*, in the Iſland of *Sama'*, he there found twenty-nine Palaos or Inhabitants of certain new-diſcovered Iſlands, who were driven thither by the Eaſterly Winds, which blew in thoſe Seas from *December* to *May*. They had run before the Wind for ſeventy Days together, according to their own Relation, without being able to make any Land till they came in Sight of the Town of *Guivam*, an Inhabitant of which being on the Shore, perceived them, and judging from the Make and Size of their Veſſels they were Strangers, and out of their Courſe, took a Piece of Cloth and made them a Signal of entering the Road he directed; to avoid the Shoals and Banks of Sand they would otherwiſe have run upon. Theſe poor People were ſo frightened at the Sight of this Stranger, that they began to put to Sea again; yet the Wind forced them back a ſecond time towards the Shore; when they came near, the *Guivanneſe* made the ſame Signal as before; but ſeeing they would not mind it, but would unavoidably be loſt, he threw himſelf into the Sea, and ſwam to one of the little Veſſels, on purpoſe to bring them ſafe into Shore. He was no ſooner got to them, but the Women with their Children on their Backs, and all that were in that Veſſel, threw themſelves overboard, and ſwam to the other. He ſeeing himſelf alone in the Veſſel, reſolved to follow them, and getting aboard the ſecond, ſhewed them how to avoid the Shoals, and brought them ſafe to Land; in the mean time they ſtood immoveable, and reſigned themſelves up intirely to the Conduct of this Stranger, as ſo many Priſoners.

The Inhabitants of *Guivam* running to Shore, received them very kindly, and brought them Wine and other Proviſions; they eat Cocoas very freely, which are the Fruit of the Palm-trees of this Country. Their Pulp is ſomething like that of Cheſnuts, only that it is more oily, and it ſupplies them with a ſort of ſweet Water, very pleaſant to drink; they gave them Rice boiled in Water, which is eat there and all over *Aſia* as Bread is in *Europe*; they looked on it with Surpize, and taking up ſome Grains of it, threw them on the Ground, imagining them to be Worms; upon bringing them large Roots called *Palavan*, they eat greedily of them. In the mean time they brought them two Women that had formerly been driven on Shore on the Coaſt of *Guivam*, and who underſtood a little of the Language of this Country; one of the Women found among theſe Strangers one of her Relations, and, as ſoon as they knew each other, they fell a weeping. The Inhabitants of *Guivam* ſtrove with each other who ſhould entertain theſe Strangers at their Houſes, and furniſh them with Proviſions and Cloaths, and other Neceſſaries. Of thirty-five Perſons that embarked there remained but thirty, five dying through Want of Proviſions and other Hardſhips, in ſo long a Voyage; and ſome time after their Arrival another died.

They related, that their Country conſiſted of thirty-two Iſlands, which cannot be far diſtant from the *Mariann*s, as may be judged by the Smallneſs of their Veſſels, and the Form of their Sails, which are very like thoſe of the *Marianeſe*. It is likely that theſe Iſlands may be in eleven or twelve Degrees of North Latitude, more Southerly than the *Mariann*s, and under the ſame Degree of Longitude as *Guivam*; for, ſailing directly from Eaſt to Weſt, they came aſhore at this Town. It is likewiſe probable, that it was one of theſe Iſlands that was diſcovered ſome Years ago at a Diſtance, when a Ship belonging to the *Philippines* leaving the common Courſe, which is from Eaſt to Weſt, under the third Degree of Longitude, and running farther to the South-Eaſt, firſt perceived it. Some called this Iſland *Carolina* Iſland from *Charles* II. of *Spain*, and others the Iſland of Saint *Barnaby*, becauſe diſcovered on that Apoſtle's Day; and it was again ſeen in 1695, by another Veſſel, that a Storm had driven out of its Courſe in going from hence to *Mariann*s. Theſe Strangers added, that of the thirty-two Iſlands three of them were uninhabited, unleſs with Wild-fowl, but all the reſt were well peopled. Upon aſking them the Number of Inhabitants, they pointed to a Heap of Sand, to ſhew that their Number was very great. The Names of theſe Iſlands are *Pais Lamulututup*, *Saraon*, *Yaropie*, *Valayyay*, &c.

The three Iſlands that have nothing on them but Wild-fowl, are *Piculet*, *Hulatan*, *Pagian*. The moſt conſiderable of all theſe Iſlands is *Lamurec*, where the King of the Country keeps his Court, and to him the Governors of all the other Iſlands are ſubject. Among thoſe Strangers, there was one of the Governors and his Wife who was the King's Daughter; though they went half naked, yet their Carriage, and a peculiar Air of Greatneſs, ſufficiently diſtinguiſhed them from the reſt. The Huſband had his Body painted all over with certain Lines, in ſuch a manner, that they formed ſeveral Figures: The reſt of the People were alſo painted in like manner more or leſs. The Women and Children were not painted at all; there were nineteen Men and ten Women of different Ages; the Make and Colour of their Faces were much like that of the *Philippineſe*. The Men had no other ſort of Cloaths than a Saſh wrapped ſeveral times round their Bodies, and covering their Reins and Thighs; they wore on their Shoulders about an Ell and an Half of coarſe Linen Cloth, like a Cowl, tied before, and hanging looſe behind. Both Men and Women dreſſed much alike, only that the Women had a Piece of Cloth ſomewhat longer, that hung from their Waiſt down to their Knees. Their Language is different from that of the *Philippineſe* and *Marianeſe*; their Manner of pronouncing comes neareſt that of the *Arabs*, and ſome who underſtood the Language obſerved the Women that ſeemed the moſt conſiderable amongſt them, had ſeveral Rings and Necklaces of Tortoiſe-ſhells, called here *Carey*; and others made of a Subſtance much like Ambergris, but not tranſparent. The Manner of their living at Sea, which was for ſeventy Days together, continually driven by the Wind, was thus: They caſt out a ſort of Net made of a great many Twigs of Trees tied together, with a large Mouth for the Fiſh to enter in at, and terminating in a Point, to prevent their getting out. The Fiſh they took after this manner was all the Nouriſhment they had, and Rain Water ſaved in Cocoa-ſhells, which is the Fruit of the Palm-trees, and of the Figure and Size of a Human Skull.

They have no Cows in their Iſlands, and at the Sight of them they ran away, as they did likewiſe at the Barking of a Dog; neither have they Cats, Stags, Horſes, nor, in general, any Quadruped, nor any Fowl, but Sea-fowl, excepting Hens, which they breed up, but never eat their Eggs. Notwithſtanding this their Want of every thing, they are very chearful, and contented with their Condition. Their Songs and Dances are exact and regular; when they ſing, it is all in Concert, every one obſerving the ſame Humour and Geſtures, which makes it very agreeable. They were ſurpriſed at the Government, Politeneſs, and Manners of the *Europeans*. They admired not only the Solemnities and Ceremonies of the Church in celebrating the Divine Service, but alſo the Muſick, Inſtruments, Dances, and Arms of the *Spaniards*, and Gunpowder was what ſurpriſed them moſt. They wondered at the Whiteneſs of the *Europeans*, in reſpect of whom they were perfectly tawney, as well as the Inhabitants of this Country. It did not then appear that they had any Knowledge either of a Deity, or that they worſhipped Idols. Their Life is perfectly ſavage, minding nothing but eating and drinking, in which they obſerve no ſet Time or Place, when hungry or dry, and when they can find any thing to ſatisfy Nature: Yet they eat but a little at a Time, and never enough to ſatisfy for a whole Day. They ſhew much Reſpect and Deference for their King, and the Governors of Towns, and obey them very punctually. Their Civility and Reſpect conſiſts in taking hold of the Hand or Foot of the Perſon they would honour, and gently rubbing his Face.

Amongſt their Utenſils they had ſome Saws, not made of Iron, but of a large Shell, called here Toulobo, which they rub and whet upon a certain kind of Stone. They were ſurpriſed to ſee the Number of Carpenters Tools uſed in building a Merchant-Ship at *Guivam*. They have no Metals in their Country. The Father-Miſſionary made each of them a Preſent of a large Piece of Iron, which they received with as much Joy as if it had been ſo much Gold; and for fear it ſhould be ſtole from them, they laid it under their Heads, when they went to ſleep. They have no other Arms than Lances or Darts, made of human Bones, very well ſharpened, and fixed on. They are naturally very peaceable; but if any Quarrel happens amongſt them, it is decided with ſome fiſty Cuffs on the Head, which yet very rarely happens; for when they would come to a cloſe Fight, they ſeparate them, and they are ſoon reconciled again. They are not dull and heavy, but, on the contrary, have a great deal of Livelineſs and Courage. They are not ſo luſty as the Inhabitants of the *Mariann*s; yet they are well-proportioned, and ſhaped much like thoſe of the *Philippines*: Both the Men and Women let their Hair grow long, and hang looſe on their Shoulders. When they underſtood that they were to be conducted to the Preſence of the Father-Miſſionary, they painted their Bodies all over with a yellow Colour, which is looked upon by them as a great Ornament.

The oldeſt of theſe Strangers was once before caſt on the Coaſt of *Caragan*. They are very expert at diving, and they ſaid, that in fiſhing they took two large Pearls in their Shells, but threw them into the Sea again, not knowing their Value. The New *Philippines* are eighty-ſeven in Number, and form one of the fineſt *Archipelago's* in the Eaſt, being encloſed on the North and South between the Line and the Tropic of *Cancer*; on the Eaſt and Weſt between the *Mariann*s and *Philippines*. The Natives of the Iſlands never offer any Violence to each other: Murder and Homicide are unknown to them; and they have a Proverb amongſt them, *viz.* That one Man never kills another. It is probable theſe Iſlands may abound in Gold, Amber, and Drugs, being ſituated nearly under the ſame Degree of Longitude as the *Moluccas*, whence we have Nutmegs, and other valuable Spices.

Though theſe People ſeem barbarous, yet they have amongſt them a ſort of Politeneſs and regular Government; every Iſland obeys his Chief, who is himſelf ſubject to the King of the Country. This Prince holds his Court in the Iſland of *Falu*, called likewiſe *Lamurec*. Though theſe Iſlands were never heard of in *Europe* till within theſe very few Years, it is a long Time ſince, from the high Mountains of *Samal*, thick Smokes were diſcovered on that Coaſt, which commonly happen in Summer, when theſe Iſlanders ſet Fire to their Woods and Foreſts, to clear up the Ground: Theſe Smokes the Fiſhermen of *Mindanao*, and other Iſlands, had alſo obſerved when far out at Sea.

There have been ſome Objections made to this Account by ſome of our Writers, who have reported it too ſuccinctly, and thereby embarraſſed themſelves by confounding their own Senſe of Things with that of their Authors. It has, for example, been queſtioned, whether there be not Inconſiſtencies in theſe Accounts of the *Indians?* It is ſuggeſted that, as no *European* ever was in that Country, ſo the Belief of ſuch an *Archipelago* of Iſlands cannot be eſtabliſhed on any rational Foundation; and that there is a viſible Abſurdity in the *Indians* being ſeventy Days in paſſing from a Country, the Smoak of which was ſeen from the Mountains of *Mindano*. This Humour of Reaſoning away Facts, is ſo ſtrong at preſent, that though I have already taken up more Room than I intended, yet I cannot forbear adding another Relation, with reſpect to theſe Iſlands, of a much later Date, *viz.* in the Year 1710, becauſe I think it will put this Matter out of Diſpute, and becauſe, hitherto, it has never appeared in our Language.

“ The Veſſel in which we embarked, in order to proſecute the Diſcovery of the Iſlands of *Palaos*, was called the *Holy Trinity*, and her Crew conſiſted of eighty-ſix Perſons: She was commanded by Serjeant-Major Don *Francis Padilla*, who carried with him the Reverend Fathers *Duberon* and *Cortil*, Jeſuits, accompanied by Brother *Stephen Baudin*, who were made Choice of to propagate the Faith among theſe Iſlanders. It was on the Fourteenth of *November*, in the Year 1710, that I ſailed from the *Philippine* Iſlands, in order to find the Iſlands of *Palaos*, ſuppoſing my Departure to be from the Lat. of 13° 9′, and from the Long. of 144° 22′, I navigated fifteen Days, as I have marked in my Chart; and, on the Thirtieth of *November*, we diſcovered Land to the North-Eaſt 3° towards the North, having obſerved 4 or 5° Variation to the Eaſt in this Courſe, the Land lying from us about three Leagues.

“ We made Sail again in order to approach nearer, when it appeared, that there were two Iſlands, which Father *Duberon* thought fit to call the Iſlands of *St. Andrew*, becauſe, on the Day that we diſcovered them, the Church celebrated the Feaſt of that great Apoſtle. When we were very near theſe Iſlands, we perceived a Boat coming to us, in which were ſome of the Inhabitants, who cried out, when they were within Hearing, *Mapia*, *Mapia*, which is as much as ſo ſay, Good People. A *Palaos*, who had been baptized at *Manila*, and whom we carried with us, ſhewed himſelf then, and ſpoke to them: As ſoon as they came on Board, they informed us, that theſe Iſlands were called *Sonſorol*, and that they were Part of the *Archipelago* we ſought for. They expreſſed a great deal of Satisfaction and Joy at the Sight of us, which they teſtified by kiſſing our Hands, and embracing us.

“ Theſe People are extremely well ſhaped, and of a very robuſt Conſtitution; they were naked, except that about their Middle they wore a Piece of Mat. Their Hair was curled; they had very little Beard, and, to defend themſelves from the Rain, they wore upon their Shoulders a kind of Mantle, made of a thick ſort of Mat, and, on their Heads, Hats of the ſame ſort of Stuff, round which they ſtuck Birds Feathers upright. They were extremely ſurprized to ſee our People ſmoke Tobacco: and, of all things, ſeemed moſt to eſteem Iron; and whenever they ſaw it, they gazed on it in ſuch a manner as viſibly betrayed how much they coveted it: And in caſe we did not underſtand their dumb Signs, they made no Difficulty of earneſtly and frequently demanding it. In the Afternoon there came off two other Boats, in each of which there were eight Men; as ſoon as they came near us, they began to ſing, beating Time with their Hands upon their Thighs. When they were on Board, ſome of them began to meaſure the Length of the Ship, taking it for granted, that it was made of a ſingle Tree, while others counted our Number of Men. They brought us ſome Loaves, ſome Fiſh, and ſome Herbs.

“ Theſe Iſlands were all covered with Trees to the Sea-Shore. Their Boats appeared to us very neatly made, in which they made uſe of Smack-Sails, having a Lee-Board on the other Side the Boat, in order to preſerve it from going over. We deſired them to ſhew us which was the Courſe to the largeſt of their Iſlands, or *Panloque*, and they pointed to the N. N. E. They added, that to the S. S. W. and to the S. S. E. there lay two other Iſlands, one of which was called *Merieres*, and the other *Poulo*. When we were very near the Land, I ſent my under Pilot to ſound, that I might bring the Ships to an Anchor. The Shallop being arrived within a quarter of a League of the Iſland, there came off three Boats full of People, and ſome of them going on Board our Shallop, one of the *Indians* took notice there of a Sabre, which, after he had, for ſome time, conſidered attentively, he jumped into the Sea, and took it with him. My under Pilot reported, at his Return, that there was no fit Ground for Anchorage, inaſmuch as there was a great Depth of Water, and a rocky Bottom all along the Shore. I afterwards ſent another Man on the ſame Errand, who quickly returned with the ſame Anſwer.

“ All this Time I had made a ſhift, by keeping under Sail, to ſtem the Current which ran very ſtrongly to the South-Eaſt, but the Wind failing in the Evening, we began to drive at large; the *Indians* then got into their Boats to go aſhore. Our Miſſionaries laboured all they could to keep them on Board, but could not prevail upon them by any Means. They talked with them, however, ſome Time, on the firſt Principles of our Religion, and taught them to pronounce plainly the holy Names *Jeſus* and *Maria*. We aſked them ſeveral Queſtions as to the Bigneſs of the Iſland, and the Number of its Inhabitants. They anſwered, that the Iſland was about two Leagues and a half in Circumference, and that very probably there might be eight hundred People, who lived chiefly on Cocoa, Fiſh and Salads. I obſerved the Height of the Sun at Noon, and found, that we were in the Latitude of five Degrees ſixteen Minutes North, the Variation of the Compaſs at Sunriſe being about 5° to the N. E.

“ The Currents carrying us away to the South-Eaſt with great Violence, we were not able to recover the Land till the fourth, about Six in the Morning. We then found ourſelves at the Mouth of the Channel, betwixt the two Iſlands. I then ſent the Shallop once more to look for an Anchorage; it was to no Purpoſe, for about 4 in the Afternoon they returned with an Account, that the Coaſt was an entire Rock, and that it was to no Purpoſe to let go an Anchor. On the 5th, about 7 in the Morning, the two Fathers came to a Reſolution of going aſhore, and ſetting up a Croſs. Don *Padilla*, and myſelf, repreſented to them the Dangers to which they would be expoſed, and how much they had to fear from theſe Iſlanders, with whoſe Temper we were ſo little acquainted, and how much they might be embarraſſed, in caſe the Currents carried us to ſuch a Diſtance as might put it out of our Power to ſend a Boat to bring them off, or to afford them any Aſſiſtance. Their Zeal was ſo warm, that they made little Account of theſe Difficulties, but perſiſted firmly in their Reſolution, in ſpite of all we could ſay. At laſt, therefore, leaving Brother *Baudin* on Board the Ship, they went into the Shallop, taking with them the Quarter-Maſter of the Veſſel, and the Enſign of the Land Forces we had on Board: They likewiſe carried with them the *Palaos* I have before mentioned, together with his Wife and Children.

“ The two Miſſionaries being gone, we kept near the Iſland all Day, by the Favour of the Wind, notwithſtanding the Force of the Current; but towards the Evening, the Wind ſunk, and we were driven out to Sea. We put out Lights from the Time it was dark, on the Bolt-ſprit, and alſo on the Mizen-maſt, that they might ſee where we were. During the Night, we had ſome Guſts of Wind from the North-Eaſt, the North-Weſt, the Weſt and South-Eaſt, ſo that in the Morning at Break of Day, we found the largeſt of the two Iſlands bore from us, N. N. W. diſtant about 8 Leagues. We endeavoured from that Time to the 9th at Noon, to get as near the Land as we could, but without Effect; nay, the Current drove us ſtill farther and farther, ſo that I found myſelf in the Latitude of 5° 28′ N.

“ We then held a Council of War, in order to conſider what Courſe we ſhould take. Don *Padilla*, the Lay-Jeſuit, my Sub Pilot, and myſelf, were of Opinion, that the wiſeſt thing we could do was to ſteer for the Iſland of *Panloque*, the largeſt of theſe Iſles, and which was diſtant from that we had quitted about fifty Leagues. It was about nine o'Clock in the Morning of the 11th, that we diſcovered that Iſland; at Noon we were in the Latitude of 7° 14′ North, the Land being about a League off. At Four in the Afternoon came off four Boats, which kept at the Diſtance of about half a Cable's Length, and were ſoon after followed by two other Boats; at laſt ſome of the People jumped over-board into the Sea, and ſwam on Board of us, with Intent, as it appeared, to ſteal any thing they could lay their Hands on. One of them laid hold of an Iron Chain, and pulled at it, in hopes of breaking it: another catched hold of a Hammock that was hung out to dry, and a third was endeavouring to get in at a Port-hole. Don *Padilla* conſidering the Behaviour of theſe People, thought proper to put the Soldiers under Arms, there being at leaſt fourſcore Men in theſe ſix Boats, and at the ſame time made a Sign to the Iſlanders to keep at a Diſtance.

“ Upon this they began to row towards the Shore; but at their going off, let fly a Shower of Arrows, four of which fell on Board our Ship. Don *Padilla* then thought fit to order a general Diſcharge of our Fire-Arms; upon which the *Indians* jumped over-board, leaving their Veſſels, and ſwimming towards the Shore at a prodigious Rate; but when they found that we gave over firing, they returned to their Boats, reimbarqued, and made for the Land as faſt as they were able. Theſe *Indians* were all of them naked, and ſome had painted their Bodies of different Colours. Their Skin is generally of an Olive Colour; but ſome were darker ſkinned than others; they had nothing with them that we ſaw, but a few Cocoas. On the 12th we had little or no Wind, ſo that it was as much as we could do to continue in our Station, which we did all that Day without approaching near the Land. About four in the Afternoon there came off two Boats, who made Signs, and ſpoke to us; but as we had no Interpreter, we were not able to learn what they ſaid. About Nine at Night the Wind blew South-South-Eaſt, and the Currents ſetting ſtrongly to the North, carried us away at a great Rate. I then thought the moſt prudent thing I could do was to ſail between two of theſe Iſlands, the Chanel being very open and fair, and about a League over. On the 13th, being to the Weſt of theſe two Iſlands, we held a Council, in order to conſider what Meaſures we were to take, and it was very ſoon reſolved to bear away for *Sonſoral*, in order to learn ſome News of our Miſſionaries, and of our Shallop. On the 18th, I found myſelf abreaſt of that Iſland. We lay there the whole Day without ſo much as ſeeing a Boat, though we were within Cannon-ſhot of the Shore. We coaſted round the Weſt Side of the Iſland till the 20th, when a high Guſt of Wind from the South-Eaſt drove us out to Sea.

“ On the 21ſt we again drew near the Coaſt, and by Two in the Afternoon were within three Quarters of a League of the Shore, without perceiving any Boat. In the Evening we were driven to Sea again by an Eaſt-North-Eaſt Wind, upon which we held another Council, in which, after mature Deliberation on the Circumſtances we were in, without a Shallop, in ſome want of Water, without knowing where to get any, it was reſolved to return to *Manila*, which we did with ſome Difficulty, being forced to make the Tour of *Mindanao*, carrying nothing back but the melancholy News of the Loſs of the two worthy Fathers we carried out.”

It appears clearly from this Relation, that it was penned by the Captain of the Veſſel, though he has not thought fit to inform us of his Name. Better Evidence than this of there being ſuch an Archipelago cannot be deſired, tho' at the ſame time it muſt be confeſſed, that this Account gives us a very different Notion of thoſe People from that ſuggeſted by the former Narratives. In 1711 another Attempt was made of this kind, which ended as unluckily, ſome of the Jeſuits intended for the Miſſion dying at Sea, and others periſhing in theſe Iſlands, as very probably thoſe did that are mentioned in the foregoing Voyages.

25. It has been generally believed, that theſe Iſlands of *Palaos* are near the *Philippines*, and the ſame with thoſe which were diſcovered by a *Spaniſh* Captain in the Year 1686, and who in Honour of *Charles* the Second of *Spain*, called them the *Caroline* Iſlands; but I think theſe lay more to the South. On the 19th, and on the 21ſt of *June* 1720, there arrived in the Iſland of *Guam* the largeſt of the Archipelago called the *Marianne* Iſlands, two Boats full of *Indians*, who ſaid they embarqued from an Iſland called *Sareſiop*, in order to go to another at a ſmall Diſtance from it called *Uly*, and were driven thither by a Storm. A Veſſel was fitted out to carry them home, and from the Accounts given by thoſe who were on Board that Veſſel, it very clearly appeared, that the laſt named Iſland was one of thoſe called the *Caroline* Iſlands, lying in the Latitude of 6° North. It is ſaid, that theſe Iſlands belong to a large Archipelago divided like the *Maldives* into five Provinces, and inhabited by various Nations of very different Colours: Some Negroes, ſuppoſed to be of the ſame Race with the Inhabitants of *New Guinea*, others tawny, like the *Indians* in the *Philippines*, and a third ſort perfectly white, ſuppoſed to be the Deſcendants of certain *Spaniards*, who in the Year 1566 were ſet on Shore by their Commanders for Mutiny, in a Voyage from *New Spain* to the *Philippines*.

While theſe People were on Shore at *Guam*, they ſaw ſome Silver Plate, and after conſidering it attentively, declared that they had a great deal of that Metal in their Iſlands, which gave Occaſion for the fitting out ſome Ships from *Guam*, for the Diſcovery of thoſe Iſlands, in the Year 1722; but what the Fate of that Expedition was, is not come to our Knowledge. It is certain, that a very great Diſcovery might be made on this Side, becauſe, from what is already known, it is very clear, that there is a continued Chain of Iſlands in the Longitude of about 160°; from the Line, or rather from the Continent of *New Guiney*, which lies in the Latitude of 8° S. to the Iſlands, that make a Part of the Archipelago of *Japan*, in the Latitude of 32° N. and as it is certain, that the Inhabitants of the laſt mentioned Archipelago acknowledge they received great Quantities of Silver from an Iſland which lies to the Eaſt of them, it is not at all improbable, that many rich Metals might be found in ſome of the many Iſlands which form the Chain before mentioned.

But this, however, is not the Diſcovery that I mean, and therefore I ſhall explain myſelf a little farther. If a Settlement was made on any of theſe Iſlands, or in any Iſland to the Eaſt of them, it might afford an Opportunity of viſiting the great Continent, if in Truth there be any Continent between *America* and *Aſia*, or, perhaps, it might lead to the Diſcovery of ſome conſiderable Iſlands between *America* and *Aſia*, which, from their Situation, might well be expected to abound in rich Commodities, but particularly in ſilver Mines, ſince it is confeſſed, that the richeſt of thoſe hitherto diſcovered are in the Northern Parts of *Japan* and of *America*. If it ſhould be objected, that the rich ſilver Mines of *Potoſi* lie in *South America*, I anſwer to that, this makes rather for than againſt my Opinion, becauſe they are very near the ſame Degree of South Latitude that the rich Mines of *New Mexico* are to the N. that is, a little within forty Degrees. But this is not all, for if any ſuch Iſlands could be diſcovered, they would afford us an Opportunity of ſearching with great Eaſe for a Paſſage either to the N. E. or N. W. which is a Point of very great Importance, and as ſuch, has been treated very judiciouſly by Mr. *Dobbs*, in ſome of his late Pieces, which, ſooner or later, may very probably produce ſome ſuch Diſcovery.

We have now gone through all that we propoſed with reſpect to this Part of our Subject, and the Lights given us by the Expeditions of the *Portugueze* and *Spaniards* on this Side. It next remains to ſhew how that prodigious Power which thoſe Nations had acquired in the Eaſt, crumbled, and broke to pieces, notwithſtanding the many Advantages they had for preſerving it; and what ſtill remains in theſe *Indies* under the Dominions of the Crown of *Portugal*: Which, when we have performed, the Reader will have a much more compleat Hiſtory of the *Portugueze Indies*, and that too in a much narrower Compaſs than is any where elſe to be met with. In treating of this Subject, I have, to the utmoſt of my Power, laboured to draw together ſuch Circumſtances as were moſt likely to contribute to the Reader's Information, and to connect, with the greateſt Propriety, the ancient and modern Commerce in this Part of the World; and, at the ſame time, I have been very careful to omit nothing that might entertain or divert him. As to the particular Memoirs of the *Portugueze* Governors, their Diſputes with the *Indian* Princes, and with each other, they would have ſwelled this Section to an enormous Length to a very little Purpoſe; and beſides, the Reader will meet with enough on this Head in other Places. I ſhall purſue the ſame Method in the ſubſequent Articles, and ſhall endeavour to point out briefly and truly the Cauſes of that ſtrange Revolution which has happened in the *Portugueze* Trade; the rather, becauſe I am convinced the ſame Cauſes will produce like Effects, in regard to the Trade of all other Nations.

26. The Care taken by the *Portugueſe* to eſtabliſh themſelves firmly in all the principal Ports of the *Indies*, was of great Conſequence to them, conſidering the Circumſtances under which they began their Commerce in theſe Parts; for at that Time the *Indian* Princes were engaged in cruel Wars againſt each other, and the *Mohammedans* taking Advantage of this War, endeavouring to make themſelves Maſters of every Country in which they were permitted to trade; ſo that it muſt be admitted, the *Portugueze* had, at firſt, ſome Reaſon for making Uſe of Arms, and inſiſting on a Fortreſs where-ever they eſtabliſhed a Factory, becauſe the one was neceſſary for the Security of the other; but in this they were blameable, that they affected to govern with an abſolute and uncontroulable Power every Country into which they came, inſtead of cheriſhing and ſupporting the *Indians*, as they might have done, to their own great Profit, as well as that of thoſe unhappy People, who, from their own Diſſentions and ill Management, became the Prey of every new Invader.

If the *Portugueze* had taken this Step, they had undoubtedly ſecured this rich Commerce to themſelves; whereas by their Tyranny they made the Inhabitants weary of them to the laſt Degree, and ready, whenever an Opportunity offered, to change their Maſters. It muſt, however, be allowed, that the Method they purſued ſerved to gratify their Vanity exceedingly, inaſmuch as for above a Century they governed the *Indies* at their Will, and were the ſole Lords of that rich and extenſive Trade, none of the *Indian* Nations being allowed to carry on any Trade at all but by their Permiſſion, and under the Sanction of their Paſſports. They carried this Matter ſtill farther; for with reſpect to the richeſt Commodities, they reſerved the Privilege of dealing in them to their own Subjects entirely, ſuch as in the Cinnamon of *Ceylon*, the wild Cinnamon of *Cochin*, Ginger, Iron, Steel, Lead, Tin, Copper, Planks, Timber for building, all Sorts of Arms, Honey, and Pepper. Theſe Regulations, both with reſpect to Paſſports and reſerved Commodities, together with a Power of viſiting ſuch Ships as put into any of the Ports under their immediate Dominion, continued in Force for a long Series of Time, and was not totally aboliſhed till the Year 1678, which was One hundred and fourſcore Years after their firſt Eſtabliſhment in thoſe Parts.

During the beſt Part of this Time, they diſpoſed, as the ſupreme Lords of *India*, of all the rich Commodities it afforded, ſending home annually fifteen or twenty large Ships laden with the moſt precious Merchandize of the Eaſt, excluſive of the Profits they made of their Commerce in the *Indies* themſelves, and the adjacent Coaſts of *Africa*, viz. to *China*, *Japan*, *Perſia*, *Arabia*, *Melinda*, *Moſambique*, and *Sofala*. *Liſbon* became, by this Means, the greateſt Port for Trade in *Europe*, to which the Ships of all Nations reſorted for the Commodities and Manufactures of theſe diſtant Countries, the beſt Part of which were paid for in Gold and Silver, and, for the reſt, the moſt valuable Products of theſe Nations were exchanged; ſo that the whole of this Commerce was in the Hands of the *Portugueſe*, who ſet whatever Price they thought fit upon what they imported, and ſold at exceſſives Rates to other *Europeans*, what they had purchaſed in the *Indies* for coarſe Stuffs, Needles, Knives, Glaſs-Ware, and other Things of very little Value. In conſequence of which, they became, by far, the richeſt trading Nation, and, at the ſame Time, the moſt potent maritime Power in this Part of the World; and ſo for a long Time they might have continued, if from their own Miſtakes, and the bad Uſe they made of their Power and Riches, they had not excited other Nations to a Reſolution of taking, at all Events, this rich Commerce out of their Hands; a Point that it will become every Nation to conſider, that finds itſelf in the like Circumſtances; for Trade is not to be conſtrained or monopolized: And though the contrary of this may, for ſome Time, appear true, yet ſooner or later every Nation that acts as the *Portugueze* did, will be ſenſible of the ſame Effects which happened to them in the *Indies*.

27. It was towards the latter End of the ſixteenth Century that the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* began, as we have before ſhewn, to interfere with the *Portugueſe* in theſe Parts, but they very ſoon, by the Aſſiſtance of the Natives, took from them the moſt conſiderable Places they poſſeſſed, and ſome of them they abandoned themſelves. It would take up a great deal of Room, and perhaps anſwer the Purpoſe but indifferently, if we ſhould attempt to give a large Hiſtory of the Manner in which theſe Places were reduced, and therefore we ſhall rather take them in the Courſe of their Situation, by which the Reader will clearly perceive how the Empire of this Nation in the Eaſt was broken and diſſolved [q].

We have already ſhewn how the *Portugueze* became Maſters of *Ormuz* on the Coaſt of *Perſia*; which Settlement they greatly improved, though the Iſland itſelf is one of the moſt uncomfortable Places in the World, the Country being without Water, and ſituated in a Climate where the Heats are in a manner intolerable: Yet in ſpite of all theſe Difficulties the *Portugueze* built there a very fine Town, in which the Streets were ſtrait and regular, their Houſes very high, finely adorned without, and within richly furniſhed, their Exchange rich and beautiful, their Churches ſplendid, and their Caſtle regular, well fortified, and excellently provided with Artillery. *Shah Abbas*, when Monarch of *Perſia*, had an earneſt Deſire to rid himſelf of thoſe ill Neighbours; but he wanted a maritime Force ſufficient to accompliſh his Deſign, and therefore he applied himſelf to the *Engliſh*, who had likewiſe ſuffered much by the Pride and Avarice of the *Portugueze*, and by their Aſſiſtance Part of his Forces were tranſported into the Iſland of *Ormuz*, which was attacked both by Land and Sea on the 20th of *January* 1622. The Defendants behaved with great Bravery, and good Conduct, and made a noble Reſiſtance; but the *Engliſh* having deſtroyed their Fleet, which conſiſted of five Galleons and twenty-five Frigates, and having alſo ſprung a Mine which opened a fair Paſſage into the Caſtle, the Garriſon thought fit, about the Middle of *April*, to ſurrender; which ſet all the neighbouring Coaſts at Liberty, and deſtroyed the Power of the *Portugueze* on that Side.

The rich City of *Surat*, formerly a Place of the greateſt Trade in the *Indies*, ſuffered ſeverely from the *Portugueze*, who burnt it down to the Ground on purpoſe to favour the Commerce of their own City of *Diu*, which ſtands at the Entry of the Gulph of *Cambaya*, and which they had rendered one of the ſtrongeſt and fineſt Places in the Eaſt, keeping the Monarch of that Country in the moſt abſolute

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[q] If we had purſued a ſtrict chronological Method in relating the Loſs of the Settlements made by this Nation in the *Eaſt-Indies*, we muſt have ſtarted from one Part of this Country to another, which would have occaſioned great Confuſion, without yielding any conſiderable Advantage; whereas the Method we have now taken by proceeding from Weſt to Eaſt, will ſhew the Reader, as he goes along, how theſe Settlements were loſt in the very ſame Order in which we have before ſhewn they were acquired.

Subjection. But notwithſtanding their Policy in this reſpect, and that they ſtill remained Maſters of *Diu*[1], yet the *Indian* Princes in the Neighbourhood trade freely with all *Europeans*, and *Surat*, which they took ſo much Pains to deſtroy in 1520, is now in as flouriſhing a Condition as ever, and the *Portugueze* are almoſt the only Nation that are not benefited by its Traffick. On this Coaſt they were poſſeſſed of ſeveral ſtrong Places down to *Goa*; of theſe *Daman* is ſtill in their Hands, and is a Place of pretty good Trade. *Baçaim* is lately fallen into the Hands of the *Indians*. *Bombay* they yielded to the *Engliſh* on the Marriage of Queen *Catherine* with King *Charles* II. and has continued in our Hands ever ſince. From *Goa* to Cape *Comorin* they had alſo very conſiderable Settlements, of moſt of which they have been diſpoſſeſſed by the *Dutch*, who in the Year 1663 becoming Maſters of *Cranganor*, *Cochin*, and *Coulan*, ſoon after deprived them of *Cananor*, which was the firſt Place they had ſettled at; and thus we ſee the State of their Power greatly reduced on the Coaſt of *Malabar*. Doubling this famous Cape, and proceeding along the Coaſt of *Coromandel*, we meet firſt with the Port and Fortreſs of *Nagapatan*, which, when the *Portugueze* came firſt into the *Indies*, was no more than a Village; but they conſidering the Importance of the Place, fortified it with great Care, and rendered it in every reſpect very conſiderable; but after the *Dutch* had deprived them of the Iſland of *Ceylon*, they did not long let them reſt here, but by the Aſſiſtance of an *Indian* Prince, beſieged and became Maſters of that Place in 1658.

From thence all along the Coaſt, quite up to *Bengal*, the *Portugueze* have loſt all Power; and as for Settlements they had none of any great Conſequence to loſe, having in the Time of their greateſt Power contented themſelves with a ſmall Eſtabliſhment at *Meliapour*, or *St. Thomas*, reſtraining all the reſt of the Coaſt by their Squadrons, which were continually cruizing in the Bay of *Bengal*. On the oppoſite Side of the Gulph the *Portugueze* had once very great Power in the Kingdom of *Pegu*, in conſequence of their aſſiſting the Monarch of that Country againſt the King of *Siam*, who had invaded his Territories, and would very probably have made him his Tributary, if a Body of *Portugueze* had not come to his Aſſiſtance, by whom he was enabled not only to defend himſelf effectually againſt his Enemy, but even to purſue him into his own Country.

It is very eaſy to diſcern what mighty Advantages might have accrued to the *Portugueze* from this favourable Turn, if they had known how to improve it; but we learn from a late Author, that what might have turned ſo much to their Benefit, proved, by their own ill Management, the Cauſe of their Ruin, and that in a very ſhort Space of Time. The King of *Pegu*, it ſeems, was ſo ſenſible of the Service they had done him, in driving the King of *Siam* out of his Country, that in pure Gratitude, he made one *Senhor Thomas Pereyra*, who commanded the *Portugueze* in the War, Generaliſſimo of all his Forces, which Preferment made the *Portugueze* ſo inſolent, that in a few Years they became intolerable to all Ranks and Degrees of Perſons in *Pegu*. Both Kings grew tired of War, but both were too proud to make Advances towards Peace, ſo that for many Years they had Skirmiſhes with ſmall Parties, though not ſet Battles; and where-ever the *Portugueze* Arms went, they had Victory to accompany them. The King of *Pegu*, to have his Forces nearer the Borders of *Siam*, ſettled his Court at *Martavan*, and kept the *Portugueze* near him, to be ready upon all Occaſions, either to repel or aſſault the *Siam* Forces, as Opportunity ſerved; and *Thomas Pereyra* was the great Favourite at Court: He had his Elephants of State, and a Guard of his own Countrymen to attend him.

One Day, as he was coming from Court in State, on a large Elephant, towards his own Palace, he happened to hear Muſick in a Burgher's Houſe, whoſe Daughter being a very beautiful Virgin, had been married that Morning to a young Man of that Neighbourhood. The General went to the Houſe, wiſhed them Joy, and deſired to ſee the Bride. The Parents took the General's Viſit for a great Honour done them, and brought their Daughter to his Elephant's Side. He being ſmitten with her Beauty, ordered his Guard to ſeize her, and carry her to his Houſe. His Orders were but too readily obeyed, and the poor Bridegroom, not able to bear his Loſs, cut his own Throat; and the diſconſolate Parents rent their Cloaths, and went crying through the Streets towards the King's Palace, imploring their Countrymen to avenge them on the inſolent *Portugueze*, the common Oppreſſors of their Country. Crowds of People came from all Parts of the City to hear and ſee the Tragedy; their Numbers grew ſo great that the Streets were hardly large enough for them, and their Noiſe ſo loud that it reached the King's Ears, who ſent to know the Cauſe of their Uproar. The Meſſenger returning, acquainted the King with what had been tranſacted, and he, to appeaſe the Tumult, ſent them Word, that he would puniſh the Criminal, and accordingly ſent for his General: But he made an Excuſe, that he was ſo much out of Order that he could not wait on his Majeſty till he was better; which Anſwer ſo provoked the King, that he ordered the whole Nation to take up Arms, and to make a general Maſſacre of the *Portugueze*, whereſoever they ſhould be found, in City or Country. The King's Orders were put in Execution ſo ſpeedily, that in a few Hours all the *Portugueze* were ſlaughtered, and the guilty Criminal was taken alive, and made faſt by the Heels to an Elephant's Feet, which dragged him through the Streets till there was no Skin nor Fleſh left to cover his Bones; which Spectacle appeaſed the enraged Populace. There were only three *Portugueze* ſaved, who were accidentally in the Suburbs, next the River, who hid themſelves till Night favoured their Eſcape in a ſmall Boat, in which they coaſted along the Shore, feeding on what the Woods and Rocks afforded them, and at length arrived at *Malacca*, to give an Account of this melancholy Tranſaction.

The Kingdom, or as ſome called it, the Empire of *Siam*, lies next to *Pegu*, and is a Country of vaſt Extent, the Monarch of which was too powerful for the *Portugueze* to think of making any great Conqueſt in his Dominions, and therefore they choſe to live with him upon good Terms, for the ſake of the vaſt Trade carried on in his Dominions, which are extreamly well ſituated for Commerce, having on one Side the Kingdoms of *Laos*, *Camboya*, and *Cochin China*, and on the other, the Countries bordering on the Gulph of *Bengal*. Beſides, there annually reſorted thither a Fleet of Merchant Ships from *China*, laden with all the rich Goods of that Empire. They continued to hold a fair Correſpondence with this Monarch and his Subjects as long as their Power ſubſiſted in the *Indies*; but by Degrees the *Dutch* have in a great Meaſure excluded them from their Influence here, ſince 1630, when they erected their Factory here, and have ſince wrought themſelves ſo effectually into the Confidence of this Prince, that he has granted them an excluſive Privilege of purchaſing all the Tin in his Dominions, which is a Branch of Commerce of prodigious Importance; yet the *Portugueze* are not wholly ejected, though their Trade is much fallen from what it was[2]. There are ſeveral ſmall Principalities on the Iſthmus, before one comes to the Country of *Malacca*, which were all of them formerly under the Power of the *Portugueze*, as appears by

[1] This City of *Diu* ſtands in the Latitude of 21° 20′, and is by many ſuppoſed to be the *Barigaza* of the Ancients. It ſtands upon an Iſland about a League in Length, and not a third Part of a League in Breadth. The Country about it abounds with all the Neceſſaries of Life, and the City itſelf is as well built, and as well fortified, as any in the *Indies*. It is very famous for the Siege it ſuſtained in 1538, of which we have before given ſome Account. At preſent it is in a worſe Condition than formerly, both with regard to Wealth and Strength; but to balance this in ſome meaſure, it is in leſs Danger of being attacked.

[2] It is very remarkable, that the *Portugueze* are beſt reſpected in thoſe Countries where they had no Fortreſſes; which ſhews, that where the *Mohammedans* had not eſtabliſhed their Power, the *Europeans* were under no Neceſſity of building Forts, but might have carried on their Commerce as well without them. There are a great Number of *Portugueze*, or rather Deſcendants of *Portugueze*, ſettled in this Country, where they live but poorly, and are treated with great Indignity, both by the Natives and by other *Europeans*, which can be attributed to nothing but their having lived ſo long in the *Indies*, as to have loſt all Spirit, and to become as degenerate as the *Siameſe* themſelves, who are as effeminate a People as any in the *Indies*.

their retaining ſtill a Mixture of that Language with their own. The chief of theſe Principalities are thoſe of *Ligor* on one Side, and *Quedah* on the other; but the People are ſo barbarous and perfidious, that the *Europeans* carry on ſcarce any Trade on their Coaſts.

The great Peninſula of *Malacca*, at the Time the *Portugueze* came thither, was ſubject to the King of *Johore*, and by what Means the Viceroys of the Crown of *Portugal* were led to attack, and make themſelves Maſters of that City, we have already ſhewn. After it came into their Hands, it changed its Condition entirely, and from being a Place of ſmall Account, in a ſhort Time became famous all over *India* and *Europe*, lying almoſt in the Centre of Trade, brought thither by Shipping from the rich Kingdoms of *Japan*, *China*, *Formoſa*, *Luconia*, *Tonquin*, *Cochin-China*, *Cambodia*, and *Siam*, beſides what *Johore* produced, and *Sumatra*, *Java*, *Borneo*, *Macaſſar*, *Banda*, *Amboina*, and *Ternate* Iſlands, that abound in valuable Commodities. After *Goa* and *Ormuz* this was by very far the richeſt City in the *Indies*, and a great Market for all the different Commodities that theſe Countries produced. It was the Seat of a Biſhop, and the Cathedral Church of St. *Paul* was extreamly fine. They had beſides five other Pariſh-Churches, and a noble College for the Jeſuits, together with a Seminary, in which all new Converts to the Faith were inſtructed. The Whole was encompaſſed with a ſtrong ſtone Wall, regularly fortified with Baſtions, the Place extreamly well peopled, and the Garriſon numerous, and well ſupplied, becauſe the *Portugueze* conſidered it as the Eaſtern Frontier of their Dominions.

In 1605, the *Dutch*, who were then become very potent in the *Indies*, attacked and deſtroyed the Fleet of the *Portugueze* here, conſiſting of thirty-four Sail, on board of which were three thouſand Men; but they were not able to take the Place. The next Year the King of *Johore* inveſted it with an Army of ſixty thouſand Men, in Revenge of what the *Portugueze* had done againſt him three Years before, when they took and deſtroyed his Capital; but, however, he was obliged to raiſe the Siege with great Loſs. But the *Dutch*, well knowing the Importance of the Place, and the vaſt Advantages accruing to the *Portugueze* from its Situation and Commerce, the former affording them an Opportunity of levying 10 *per Cent.* upon all Veſſels paſſing through the Streights, and the latter producing annually a large Revenue, they attacked it in the Year 1640 ſo vigorouſly, that they became Maſters of it after a Siege of ſix Months. The Walls and Fortifications they preſerved, as alſo the Church of St. *Paul*; but moſt of the other Churches they have deſtroyed, and the great Hoſpital they have turned into a Warehouſe. The Language ſpoken here is eſteemed the moſt copious and polite in the *Indies*, and therefore ſerves as a kind of general Tongue through all the Iſlands and Provinces farther towards the Eaſt. In the Kingdom of *Cambodia*, or *Camboya*, the *Portugueze* have ſtill a conſiderable Trade, and they are likewiſe well received in *Tonquin*. As to their Settlements in the ſeveral Iſlands of the *Eaſt-Indies*, in *China*, and in the Empire of *Japan*, we have ſpoke of them ſufficiently already under the Head of Diſcoveries, and there is therefore no need of our inſiſting farther upon them here, as our View, at preſent, is no more than to ſhew how their principal Settlements were loſt, and to whom, which having done, it may not be amiſs to ſay ſomewhat of the Wars carried on againſt them in theſe Parts by the *Dutch*, and the Pretences they made uſe of for carrying them on.

28. The Troubles in the Low Countries, which produced a War between the Crown of *Spain* and the Republick of the United Provinces, began about 1570, and *England* interpoſing in Favour of the States, their Power increaſed to ſuch a Degree, that they were not only able to defend themſelves againſt *Spain* by Land, but to give that potent Monarchy inexpreſſible Trouble by Sea. But this War ſeems to have no Relation to *Portugal*, and we do not hear of their attacking any but the *Portugueze* Settlements in the *Eaſt-Indies*. In order to reſolve this Difficulty we muſt remember, that the Crown of *Portugal* was united to that of *Spain* in 1579, by which Means *Philip* II. became Maſter of both the *Indies*, and conſequently the States of the United Provinces were as much at War with the *Portugueze*, who were Subjects to the King of *Spain*, as with any of the reſt of his Subjects; and conſequently this gave them a Right to attack the *Portugueze* Settlements both in the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-Indies*; which they proſecuted with ſuch Vigour, that they bid fair for becoming Maſters of all that the *Portugueze* had poſſeſſed in either *Indies*.

We have ſeen what mighty Acquiſitions they made in the Eaſt; but it is neceſſary to our Subject to obſerve likewiſe, that their *Weſt-India* Company became in that Space of Time ſo powerful, as to make almoſt an intire Conqueſt of *Brazil*. It is very evident from hence, that nothing but the Union of the Crowns of *Spain* and *Portugal* could have afforded the *Dutch* either a Pretence for attacking, or an Opportunity of reducing theſe Countries, both of which in a ſingular Degree they from this Accident obtained. For as on the one hand, his Catholic Majeſty had enough to do in defending his hereditary Dominions before this Acceſſion of the Territories of *Portugal*, ſo he was tempted to apply the Revenues of that Crown to the immediate Wants of the *Spaniſh* Government, which we may conclude were very great, ſince on his Death-bed he owned, that the Wars of the Low-Countries had coſt him five hundred and ſixty-four Millions of Ducats, which is upwards of one hundred and twelve Millions of our Money; whence it is eaſy to perceive, that he could not ſpare as much as was requiſite for the Defence of the *Portugueze* Territories. On the other hand, the *Portugueze* themſelves, though they had been always diſtinguiſhed for their Loyalty to their natural Princes, were far enough from ſhewing ſo much Zeal in the Service of the King of *Spain*; and it is very natural, when the Minds of private Men are entirely deſpoiled of publick Spirit, for the Affairs of the State to fall into Confuſion.

But one would have imagined, that after the Separation of *Portugal* from *Spain*, which happened in the Year 1640, Things would have taken another Turn; becauſe, with King *John* IV. the *Dutch* had no Pretence of making War. To give the Reader a clear Idea of this Matter we muſt remember, that the *Dutch* had taken *Brazil* from the King of *Spain*, or rather from the *Portugueze*; while they were his Subjects; but afterwards that Nation conſidering this as an Injury not to be borne, attempted to drive the *Dutch* out, notwithſtanding the Treaty concluded between the States and the King of *Portugal* in 1641, which, to ſay the Truth, had been but indifferently obſerved on both Sides[t]; that is to ſay, the *Dutch* had encroached upon the *Portugueze* in the *Eaſt-Indies*, and they, on the other hand, gave the *Dutch* little or no Reſpite in *Brazil*, out of which, in ten Years Time, they drove them entirely.

About this Time died King *John* IV. and left his Son *Alphonſo* VI. a Minor, which Advantage the *Dutch* took to declare War againſt the Crown of *Portugal*, from a Perſuaſion that this Opportunity of regaining what they had loſt in the Weſt, and proſecuted their Conqueſts in the *Eaſt-Indies*, was not to be loſt, the rather, becauſe *Portugal* was at that Time engaged in a dangerous War with *Spain*, and the *Dutch* had lately concluded a Peace with that Crown. It was in conſequence of this new War that the *Dutch* attacked the *Portugueze* again in the *Eaſt-Indies*, and even endeavoured to deprive them of *Goa*; but in this they did not ſucceed: And, on the other hand, the *Portugueze* found Means to traverſe all the Attempts that the *Dutch* made to eſtabliſh a Trade in *China*, as alſo to raiſe ſuch a Storm as deprived them of the Iſland of *Formoſa*, which they had conquered, and which was of prodigious Conſequence to them.

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[t] At the Time the *Portugueze* delivered themſelves from the *Spaniſh* Yoke, the *Dutch* were employed, as we have already ſhewn, in reducing the Iſland of *Ceylon*, and made uſe of Abundance of Artifices, in order to proſecute the Advantages they had gained, notwithſtanding the Peace concluded between the States General and the Crown of *Portugal* in *Europe*; neither did they deſiſt from their Hoſtilities, even after the Peace was proclaimed in the *Indies*, but continued to give the *Portugueze* almoſt as much Trouble as while the War continued. This they did, under Pretence of being Allies, or Auxiliaries to ſuch *Indian* Princes as were at War with the *Portugueze*; and where this Pretence was wanting, they took Care by their Emiſſaries to ſtir up new Wars, and under Pretence of reſtoring the *Indians* to their Freedom, contrived Things ſo as to engage them in long and bloody Wars, which had no other End than to oblige them to change their Maſters, with this Difference only, that whereas the *Portugueze* endeavoured to keep large Countries, and to oblige the *Indian* Princes to pay Homage to the King of *Portugal*, the *Dutch* contented themſelves with the Sea-Coaſts, and forbidding thoſe Princes to trade with any other Nation; ſo that their Slavery was equally great, though not always equally apparent, which ever Side prevailed.

But, in the mean time, the great Fleets they ſent to the *Eaſt-Indies* enabled them not only to extend their Conqueſts, but in the Year 1661 to defeat the whole naval Power of the *Portugueze* in two general Engagements. But while the Publick ſuffered exceſſively from the Conſequences of this fatal War, ſome private Merchants in *Liſbon* and in the *Eaſt-Indies* fitted out ſo many Privateers, and of ſuch Strength, that the *Dutch* ſuffered exceſſively in their Trade, and therefore both Nations began to be weary of the War, and inclined to a Negotiation. The Crown of *Great-Britain* interpoſed its Mediation, in conſequence of the Marriage between King *Charles* II. and the Infanta of *Portugal*, by which Peace was brought about in the Year 1661, and thereby the *Portugueze* were left in Poſſeſſion of *Brazil*, and the *Dutch* accepted a Sum of Money as a Satisfaction for their Pretenſions.

In the *Eaſt-Indies* Things were to remain as they then ſtood, and both Parties were to keep what, at the Concluſion of this Peace, ſhould be in their reſpective Poſſeſſions; but the *Dutch* kept this no better than they did the former Treaty; but, on the contrary, in 1663, attacked all the Places which the *Portugueze* held on the Coaſt of *Malabar*, particularly *Cochin*, which they had no ſooner taken, than they deſtroyed all the Wild or Baſtard Cinnamon, which, after the Loſs of *Ceylon*, had proved an advantageous Branch of Commerce to the *Portugueze*. There were high Complaints made of this in *Europe* to the States-General, who were either deceived by the plauſible Accounts given them by their *Eaſt-India* Company, or pretended to be deceived, that they might, with a better Grace, protract the Negotiation relating to this Affair, till their Subjects in the *Eaſt-Indies* had ſo fortified the Places they had taken, as to put it intirely out of the Power of the *Portugueze* to attempt the Recovery of them [v].

Theſe Proceedings gave the finiſhing Blow to the Ruin of the *Portugueze*, who have never ſince been able to undertake any thing of Conſequence; but, on the contrary, have exhauſted much of their remaining Strength in defending themſelves againſt their *Indian* Neighbours, who encouraged by the Progreſs of the *Dutch*, and excited thereto by ſome of their Agents, have been ſince endeavouring to tear from them the ſmall Remains of their Poſſeſſions in *India*, and have often kept *Goa* itſelf blocked up for many Months together; in which, perhaps, they have as much miſtaken their own Intereſt as prejudiced that of this Nation, the Power of which has already ſo much broken, as not to afford any juſt Ground of Jealouſy either to *Indians* or *Europeans*.

29. We have already, in the Courſe of this Hiſtory, pointed out many of the Cauſes of the Declenſion of that mighty Power which, in ſo ſhort a Space of Time, the Crown of *Portugal* acquired in the Eaſt; but as this is perhaps the moſt uſeful Part of the preſent Section, it may not be amiſs to add a few farther Obſervations on this Subject, the rather, becauſe the *Portugueze* Authors, who have treated ſo largely of the Conqueſts made by their Nation, have been, in a great meaſure, ſilent on the Means by which they were loſt. One great Cauſe of their Ruin was the Circumſtances of their Government at home, where, for many Years together, they were engaged in a long, expenſive, and dangerous War againſt the Crown of *Spain*, in Defence of their Independency, which at once employed their whole Force, and exhauſted their whole Revenue. It is true indeed, that this was rather the Misfortune than the Fault of the *Portugueze*, ſince it was what they could not avoid; but it was, nevertheleſs, the great Cauſe of their Loſſes in the *Indies*.

We may add to this their ſending over Men of too great Quality, as Viceroys to *Goa*, with a View rather to better their Fortunes than the publick Service; which is the Reaſon that, of late Years, we hear nothing more of the *Gamas*, the *Albuquerques*, the *Pereyras*, or the *Galvanos*, but are forced to ſearch for the Names of their Viceroys in the private Regiſters of the Palace, inſtead of the publick Records of Hiſtory: Beſides, as theſe Men have been, generally ſpeaking, too poor to mind any thing ſo much as mending their own Eſtates, ſo they have been too well allied to be called to any Account on their Return for their Mal-adminiſtration in the *Indies*. When their Affairs began firſt to decline in this Part of the World, it was a common Thing for the Viceroy to beſtow not only the Government of *Moſambique*, which was eſteemed the next in Conſequence after the Viceroyſhip, but all the leſſer Governments in his Power, on whom he pleaſed. I ſay, it has been common for ſuch Viceroys to make, in the Space of three Years, Five hundred thouſand Crowns; from whence we may form ſome Notion of the Profits of the Viceroy. Now as it is impoſſible ſuch exorbitant Sums ſhould be made any other Way than by oppreſſing the *Indians*, and taking large Sums from the Merchants, we may eaſily perceive, that all theſe private Fortunes were made at the Expence of the public Intereſt.

The bad Examples of the Governors had a very bad Effect on all the ſubordinate Officers; ſo that Pride, Vanity, Luxury, and a pompous Diſplay of Wealth, attained by illicit Means, took place of that generous Virtue, that laudable Ambition, that diſintereſted public Spirit, which enabled their Anceſtors to lay the Foundation of ſo large an Empire, with a very inconſiderable Part of that Power which was in the Poſſeſſion of thoſe who loſt it. The Clergy too followed the Example of the Laity, and inſtead of promoting, as at the Beginning, the Converſion of the Natives to the Chriſtian Faith, from the religious View of ſaving their Souls, they now proſecuted that Work from the meaner Motive of making them ſubſervient to their own Purpoſes, and enabling them to acquire vaſt Riches. This Corruption proceeded ſo far by Degrees, that not only many of the Jeſuits at *Goa* engaged in Trade, contrary to the Rules of their Order, and their Duty as Miſſionaries, but even deſcended ſo low as to diſguiſe themſelves in the Habits of Faquirs, or *Mohammedan* Monks, that they might have an Opportunity of viſiting the Diamond Mines, and purchaſing Stones there of extraordinary Value [w].

But what moſt of all contributed to corrupt the Inhabitants of the *Portugueze* Settlements, was the little Care taken to prevent their leaving all Things to the Care of their Negroes and other Slaves, and their inter-marrying with the People of the Country, Practices which have been and ever will be fatal to all *European* Eſtabliſhments, becauſe it not only ſoftens and effeminates the Minds of ſuch as fall into this Way of living, but alſo changes their Views, makes them loſe all Regard for their Country, and inclines them to take ſuch Meaſures as are moſt likely to preſerve them in the Enjoyment of ſuch ſervile Pleaſures. The *Portugueze* at *Goa* have been for more than a Century paſt ſo much addicted to this groſs and ſenſual kind of Life, that provided they might enjoy their fine Houſes in the City, and their Country Palaces in its Neighbourhood, they gave themſelves no Pain about what happened elſewhere, or how great Progreſs the *Dutch* made in ſubduing their diſtant Settlements. The natural Conſequence of this was, that when ſuch Settlements were loſt, thoſe who were driven from their Habitations, inſtead of repairing to *Goa*, and taking Arms in the King's Service, for the Recovery of any Part of his Dominions, went into the Territories of ſome *Indian* Prince, and there, for a pitiful Subſiſtence, entered into his Pay, or accepted of ſome low Office in his Court; ſo that while the Fleets and Armies of *Portugal* grew thin and contemptible, for want of Soldiers and Seamen, there were many thouſands of that Nation ſcattered all over the *Indies*, diſgracing their Country by the manner in which they got their Bread, when by a proper Behaviour they might have reſtored the Affairs of their Prince, as well as their own Fortunes.

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[v] The *Dutch*, though their *Eaſt India* Company gained ſufficiently by theſe Practices, ſuffered very ſeverely, as a State, from the Jealouſies they excited in their Neighbours. The *Engliſh* had ſome Experience of a like Diſpoſition towards them; and though the *French* had not, at that Time, any Grounds of Complaint in the *Indies*, yet they were far enough from being pleaſed with the Growth of the *Dutch* naval Power; and therefore readily joined in a War to humble them, as they phraſed it, which was that of 1672; and how far the Cauſes of that War were connected with the Conduct of the *Dutch* in the *Indies*, may appear from a Fact charged upon them by Mr. *Tavernier*, who in his Travels relates, that the *Dutch* Factory at *Gambron* in *Perſia* publickly burnt the Picture of King *Charles* II. in a Fire, partly made of Cinnamon; which was ſuch an Indignity as that Prince never forgot, and which gave a very bad Impreſſion of the *Dutch* to the *Perſians*, who laboured all they could to hinder it.

[w] We owe this Circumſtance to the Hiſtory of *Holland*, by M. *De La Neuville*, who tells us, that the *Dutch* being extremely piqued at the Trouble the Jeſuits gave them in *China*, diſcovered this Practice to the Governor of the Diamond Mines at *Viſapour*, who caught two of the Fathers, diſguiſed like Faquirs, with Stones about them to the Value of twenty-five thouſand Pounds, which he took from them, and after whipping them publickly for profaning the Habit of thoſe holy Men, took ſuch Meaſures as prevented their carrying on that Trade in this Shape ever after.

One may ſafely affirm, that all theſe Miſchiefs were at the Bottom owing to the Want of a right Adminiſtration in *Portugal*, where, if a Council for the *Indies* had been ſettled, compoſed of Men of real Abilities and competent Experience, who had been entruſted with the ſole Power of beſtowing Places in that Country, and had been charged to look carefully into the Conduct of ſuch as were employed by them, might, before things had gone too far, have reſtored Diſcipline in their Colonies, and recalled ſuch as from Diſcontent or Diffidence in their former Governors had taken Refuge in other Places. But their Attention to other things, and more eſpecially to their Settlements in *Braſil*, which have, indeed, accidentally compenſated in ſome meaſure their Loſſes on this Side, hindered them from thinking of their Affairs in the Eaſt, till they became paſt all Hopes, as well as paſt Recovery. In this diſtreſſed and dejected State they lie at preſent, which, however, muſt not excuſe us from giving the Reader a View of them even in this Condition, becauſe the *Portugueze* are ſtill conſidered as having ſome Intereſt in the *Indies*, though it be in a manner nothing in Compariſon of what it was, and is daily growing from bad to worſe, ſo that they really owe what little they ſtill enjoy to the Want of any Inclination, at leaſt in *European* Nations, to take it from them, which they might otherwiſe do almoſt at Pleaſure.

30. The Dominions ſubject to the *Portugueze* Viceroy of the *Indies* are very eaſily deſcribed. The City of *Goa*, of which we have ſpoken before, is ſtill the Capital, the Seat of the Viceroy, the Archbiſhop, and the Inquiſition, which are heavy Burthens on ſo exhauſted an Eſtabliſhment. In the Neighbourhood of this City, they preſerve the Iſlands of *Salſette*, *Bardes*, *Augedive*, and ſome others of no great Conſequence, farther than that they ſupply the City of *Goa* plentifully with Proviſions, which is hard to ſay, whether it be an Advantage to that Place or not; and becauſe this may ſeem a kind of Paradox, I will explain it. As Rice comes in great Quantities, and very cheap, to *Goa*, it encourages the Citizens to keep a vaſt Number of Servants, eſpecially Negroes, who are content with one Diſh of this Food at Noon, and another at Night. If theſe were kept for any kind of Labour or Manufactures, there would be no great Objection to it; but almoſt every Houſekeeper has ſix, moſt of them twelve, ſome thirty or forty, that have no other Buſineſs than carrying their Maſter's Palankin and Umbrella; ſo that in Reality they are not kept ſo much for Service as for State; and thus they rather exhauſt than increaſe the Riches of the Inhabitants.

Diu, which formerly belonged to the Kingdom of *Guzarat*, is the ſtrongeſt Place they have, and is indeed very well ſituated for Commerce. It has a very good Port, and while the *Portugueze* had any Fleets of Conſequence, they were generally laid up here; and at this City the *Moors* and other Traders in theſe Seas were obliged to take out their Paſſports before they proceeded any farther to the Eaſt. At preſent all the Trade, or at leaſt almoſt all the Trade which was carried on here, is removed to *Surat*, and what little ſtill remains at *Diu*, in the Hands of the *Portugueze*, is carried on under *Gentil* Colours; that is to ſay, the *Portugueze* think themſelves ſafer under them than under the Flag of *Portugal*, formerly ſo much reſpected in the *Indies*. The Port of *Daman*, on the Gulph of *Cambaya*, is yet in tolerable good Condition, though nothing in Compariſon of what it was, the old Town being in a manner deſerted, and the new not near ſo well peopled as might be expected from its Extent. There are, however, ſtill ſome Manufactures carried on here, particulary in Silk, with which they furniſh the Market of *Goa*, and thereby enable the Merchants ſettled there to carry on what ſmall Commerce they have left. *Chaoul* ſtands behind the Mountains on the ſame Coaſt, and has a very ſafe and good Port.

Theſe are all the Places that they have on the *Malabar* Coaſt, and in other Parts of the *Indies* they have few Factories, and no Eſtabliſhments at all, except it be in the Iſlands of *Timor* and *Solor*, not far from the *Moluccas*, which they poſſeſs jointly with the *Dutch*, and of which we have already given a large Account in the Hiſtory of Captain *Dampier's* Expedition to the South. Once in two or three Years they ſend a Ship from *Goa* to theſe Iſlands, the chief Commodities of which are Sandal Wood, much eſteemed in *China*, very good Wax, and a ſort of Medicine called *Solor* Stones, which are very little, if at all, inferior to the beſt Bezoar. On the Coaſt of *China* they have the Iſland and Port of *Macao*, from whence they carry on a conſiderable Trade to *China* and the *Philippines*.

All that remains under the *Portugueze* Dominion from the *Cape of Good Hope* in *Africa* to the City of *Macao* in *China* is governed by a Viceroy, with the Title of Captain General, who reſides at *Goa*, as the Metropolis of *India*. There are ſix, and ſometimes eight Deſembargadores or Judges that attend the Government as a Sovereign Court or Council, who wear a Gown down to their Heels over a Caſſock of the ſame Length, the Gown with wide Sleeves down half way their Arms. They wear Golillas, and huge Perukes of the *French* Faſhion. The chief Court theſe Gown-men ſit in is called a Relacaon, which adminiſters Juſtice in civil and criminal Caſes, having Power over all Miniſters, and tries all Appeals brought from all Parts of their Dominions. The Viceroy ſits as Chief of this Court, under a Canopy. The Gown-men ſit on Benches placed on the plain Floor. The Council *De facada* is like the Court of *Exchequer*, where one of the Gown-men ſits as the Viceroy's Deputy. Thus the Pomp and Splendor of this Government is ſtill kept up, though the Extent of it is much leſſened, and the Power and Credit of it in a manner decayed. There are ſtill as many Governments as ever, that is, in Title; for otherwiſe they are of no great Conſequence, and thoſe on whom they are beſtowed, have the Characters of Generals. There is, for inſtance, a General of the Gulph of *Ormuz*, who has four Ships under his Command; a General of the North, who directs the ſmall Towns on the Coaſt of *Malabar*; a General of *Salſette*, who has a Territory of about fifteen Miles, a General of *China*, who is, properly ſpeaking, Governor of *Macao*, and an abſolute Vaſſal to the *Chineſe*. There is another General in the Iſlands of *Timor* and *Solor*, to whom even the *Portugueze* there ſcarce pay any Obedience, and who lives in a miſerable Fort, the Guns of which are in no Condition for Service. There is likewiſe a General of *Goa*, whoſe Buſineſs it is to take Care of the Channels between the Iſlands, and to reſtrain Smugglers [*].

But the beſt of all the Governments that ſtill belong to the *Indies*, is that of *Moſambique*, which is an Iſland ſituated near the Coaſt of *Africa*, in the Lat. of 15° South, within half a League of the Continent. They have a ſtrong Fort there, with four good Baſtions, which commands the Chanel, and in which there are ſeventy Pieces of Braſs-Cannon; and here there is always kept a good Garriſon, and in tolerable Order. The Governor is honoured with the Title of General of the River of *Senna*, where he has his Lieutenant, which Employment was worth to him ſeveral hundred thouſand Crowns a Year. There are but a few Houſes about the Fort, the Inhabitants keeping their Effects on the neighbouring Continent: But notwithſtanding the Narrowneſs of the Place, there are Monaſteries of Jeſuits, Dominicans of St. *John De Dios*, beſides the chief Church and that of the *Miſericordia*. The Merchandize brought to this Place by the Ships of the Company are bought at a ſet Price by the Royal Factory, which afterwards ſend them to *Chelimani*, the Mouth of the River of *Senna* running three hundred Miles along the Coaſt, in Galliots and ſmall Veſſels, becauſe of the Flats from *Chelimani*; the Goods are ſent up the River, againſt the Stream, in Almandies or little Boats, which are ten Days going up, and about five coming down. It is very difficult going up for thoſe who are not well acquainted with the Shallows and Windings of the River. *Cafres*, or *Blacks*, reſort to this Port from Provinces and Kingdoms three or four Months Journey diſtant, to buy or take up Goods upon Truſt for ſo much Gold, which they never fail to bring punctually the next Year, unleſs Death prevents them. This Trade yields above *Cent.* per *Cent.* ſo that the *Portugueze* may be ſaid to have another *India* in *Africa*. *Senna* is a little Town on the Right-hand of the River, inhabited by fifty *Portugueze* Families, who make it populous enough, by the great Number of Blacks they keep. Theſe till the Ground, and dig in the Mines, and by that means maintain their Maſters, inſtead of being kept by them.

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[*] There is a very wide Difference between theſe titular Preferments and the Governments formerly in the Gift of the Viceroy of *Goa*, which were five; the firſt was that of *Moſambique*, which is ſtill in their Hands, and the only one of the old Government that is ſo; the ſecond was that of *Maſcat*, on the *Arabian* Coaſt, which was of very great Importance, and brought in a large Revenue; the third was that of *Ormus*, on the Coaſt of *Perſia*; the Captain-General of the Iſland of *Ceylon* was the fourth, and the Governor of the important Fortreſs of *Malacca* the fifth. Upon each of theſe General-Governments there depended many others of leſs Conſequence, of which theſe Generals had the abſolute Diſpoſal; but thoſe who held them were continued in them for no longer than three Years. And it was for this Reaſon they were guilty of ſo much Extortion, looking upon their Governments as Leaſes for ſo many Years, in which they were to make their Fortune.

About fifteen Days Journey from hence lies *Sofala*, where the *Portugueze* have likewiſe an Eſtabliſhment, ſubject however to the General of *Moſambique*; and here a prodigious Trade is driven on, of which the *Portugueze* are, or might be, Maſters. It conſiſts chiefly in Gold, of which there are greater Quantities here than in any other Country in the World, ſince the annual Produce of this Market is computed, by the beſt Judges, at Forty-ſix thouſand Ounces. There are vaſt Quantities of *Spaniſh* and *Canary* Wines, Oils, Silks, Linnens, Cottons, Coral, and other *European* Goods ſold here, which are carried by the Inhabitants of the little Kingdom of *Sofala*, through all the great Empire of *Monomotapa*, which the *Portugueze* ſtile the Empire of Gold, from the prodigious Quantities of that precious Metal which are brought to them from thence. There are, likewiſe, ſome other very rich Commodities brought hither by the Negroes, ſuch as the moſt excellent Ebony in the World; great Quantities of Ivory, abundance of fine Mats, which are much eſteemed in the *Indies*, and a great Number of Slaves; ſo that *Goa*, and all the reſt of the *Portugueze* Settlements, are furniſhed from hence. One may juſtly wonder that, conſidering the Value of this Settlement, and its convenient Situation, the *Dutch* had not made themſelves Maſters of it long ago, as well as of all the other Places belonging to the Crown of *Portugal* on this Coaſt.

In the Year 1605, they attempted *Moſambique* with very little Succeſs, which, however, did not diſcourage them; as it muſt be allowed, that where there is a Proſpect of Gain, the *Dutch* are not eaſily diſcouraged: And, therefore, in 1607, they attacked it a ſecond Time with greater Force, but with the ſame Ill-luck as before, except that they made themſelves Maſters of a rich *Portugueze* Fleet, which, in ſome meaſure, paid the Expence of the Expedition. This rich Trade, however, is much fallen off by the *Arabs* making themſelves Maſters of *Monbaza*, and other Places, which gives them an Opportunity of ſupplying the *Africans* with *European* Goods, which they purchaſe in different Part of the *Indies*.

As for the Share which the *Portugueze* ſtill retain, the Gold obtained thereby is ſent to *Goa* and to *Diu*, where it is coined into ſmall Pieces, called *St. Thomas*'s, which are not worth above Half a Crown of our Money; and it is obſerved that this Coin is of a worſe Touch, that is, of a baſer Allay, than any other in the *Indies*, which is another Sign of a declining Trade; for the Sarafins, which were formerly coined at *Ormuz*, when in the *Portugueze* Hands, were eſteemed the beſt Gold in the *Indies*; but they are now become extremely ſcarce; and the *St. Thomas*'s are ſaid to be coined in leſs Quantities every Year.

31. Theſe Poſſeſſions are ſaid to produce ſo little to the King of *Portugal*, that it has has been more than once debated in the Council of that Prince, whether it would not be for the Intereſt of the Crown to abandon them all together, withdrawing their Artillery and Effects; and we are likewiſe told, that it is not any political, but purely a religious Motive, that has hindered this Meaſure from being taken, the Prieſts having ſuggeſted, that in that Caſe a Multitude of Souls would be loſt to the Church. We ſhall the leſs wonder at this, if we conſider, that ſuch as are beſt acquainted with the *Eaſt-India* Trade aſſure us, that a ſingle Merchant and a ſingle Ship of a reaſonable Burthen, may carry on as great a Commerce as what, at preſent, ſubſiſts between *Liſbon* and *Goa*. This Matter however deſerves ſome Explanation. There are yet a great many Ships employed from *Goa*, *Diu*, and *Daman*, to the Coaſts of *Perſia*, *Pegu*, *Manila*, and *China*, but they are moſtly on the Account of *Indian* Merchants, there being ſcarce a *Portugueze* Trader at *Goa* able to furniſh a Cargo of the Value of Ten thouſand Crowns; and it is very much doubted, whether, in the whole of their Trade, they employ above Two hundred thouſand Crowns; ſo that it is not at all ſtrange, that one Year with another, there are not above two Ships ſent directly from *Goa* to *Liſbon*, and thoſe not a fourth Part ſo rich as when they annually ſent twenty.

Yet there has been a late Regulation made at *Goa* for the Preſervation and promoting of Trade, which thoſe who underſtand that Subject beſt agree compleated its Ruin. This is an excluſive Company, which has the ſole Right to the Commerce of *Moſambique* and *Macao*, which Company has taken upon itſelf the Payment of the Royal Officers, who are alſo Two-thirds concerned therein, which has given ſuch a Blow to the natural Commerce of *Goa*, that the beſt Part of the *Indian* Merchants that were left, are now retired from thence. To ſay the Truth, it was the great Share the Viceroys, Governors, and other Officers, always took in Commerce, without contributing any thing thereto, except protecting the Merchants from the Violence committed by themſelves on ſuch as did not admit them to a Share in their Trade, that firſt deſtroyed the extenſive Commerce they enjoyed. And, upon this Subject, the Wits of the *Indies*, have framed a very pretty Allegory: They ſay, that when the *Portugueze* came firſt there, they had a Sword in one Hand, and a Crucifix in the other; but that they might fill their Pockets the faſter, they quickly diſpenſed with the firſt, and ſoon after laid down the laſt, by which they have loſt all. But though their Power and their Commerce are ſo much declined, their Pride is as great as ever, inſomuch that they refuſe the Natives of the Country, who are called *Canarins*, the Privilege of wearing Stockings, though they employ them as Phyſicians, Lawyers, and Merchants; by which many of them are ſo rich that they keep a Dozen or Fourteen Slaves, and are in much better Circumſtances than the *Portugueze* themſelves.

The Revenues of the Church have ſuffered very little by this ſurprizing Change in the State; there is hardly a Monaſtery that does not receive four or five thouſand Crowns out of the Treaſury, at the ſame time the Soldiers ſtarve and mutiny for want of Pay, which is ſo much the harder upon the Government, becauſe the Reverend Fathers know very well how to take care of themſelves, inſomuch that it is affirmed, the Jeſuits in *Goa* have a better Revenue than the Crown of *Portugal*. It is not eaſy to know what becomes of the Money theſe Churchmen raiſe; but it is very evident, that the Wealth they poſſeſs, together with the Eſtabliſhment of the Inquiſition at *Goa*, is ſuch a dead Weight on the Settlement, as muſt ſooner or later deſtroy it. The wiſeſt of the *Portugueze* in *Europe* underſtand this very well, and would be glad to ſee ſome proper Remedy applied, not from any Prejudice againſt the Church or Churchmen, which is far enough from being the Vice of that Nation, but out of pure Regard to the Crown, and to the Nation; and one would think, that the Clergy themſelves, inſtead of graſping at more, ought to be willing to part with ſome Proportion of what is already in their Hands, in order to render the State more able to protect them in the Poſſeſſion of the Remainder. Beſides, there is nothing clearer, than that the erecting of religious Houſes is directly oppoſite to the very Scheme of planting, and muſt always ruin the Settlements where it prevails, and conſequently the religious Houſes themſelves, which is certainly an Argument that ought to prevail even with Popiſh Princes to lay ſome Reſtraint on the Miſſionaries that are ſent abroad, unleſs they prefer the Reputation of Zeal among ſuch as are no competent Judges, not only to Maxims of Policy and good Government, but to the Principles of true Religion. For, if there be any Piety in converting Pagans to the Chriſtian Faith, it follows, that there is ſtill greater Piety in doing this effectually, and in maintaining for ever the Eſtabliſhments neceſſary to ſupport them, which Reaſon and Experience ſhews, the building Monaſteries, and maintaining Numbers of idle People in them, will not do, but on the contrary will bring on in Time the Deſtruction of thoſe Colonies, in which this Humour is ſuffered to prevail.

The very laſt Advices from this Part of the World inform us, that ſeveral *Indian* Princes were driven from before *Goa*, which they had blocked up with a numerous Army, by the powerful Succours ſent by the preſent King of *Portugal*, and by the excellent Conduct of the late Viceroy, who was the Count *de Laurical*, and who, if I miſtake not, was twice in the *Indies*, and behaved there with great Reputation. Such Expeditions, however, are to be conſidered as Expedients only, which may for a time preſerve that Settlement, but can never reſtore it, or bring the Affairs of this Nation in theſe Parts into ſo good Order, as to make them worth the Attention of a Prince, who has the Honour of his Crown, and the Good of his People, at Heart. It may not therefore be amiſs, before we conclude this Section, to conſider what is like to be the future Fate of the *Portugueze* in the *Indies*, in which, if our Conjectures ſhould be juſtified by Events, they cannot but do Honour to this Performance.

32. It is morally certain, that the Eſtabliſhments which the Crown of *Portugal* ſtill has in the *Eaſt-Indies* might, in the Hands of an active and induſtrious Nation, turn to conſiderable Account; for it has been long ago obſerved by M. *Tavernier*, that the Port of *Diu* is as well ſituated for Trade, and as capable of Improvement, as any in that Part of the World, or more ſo; and if put under proper Regulations, that is, if made in ſome meaſure a free Port, it muſt neceſſarily come in for a large Share of that Commerce now carried on at *Surat*, and, in all probability, retrieve much of the *Arabian* and *Perſian* Commerce that has been ſo long loſt to the *Portugueze*. On the other hand, as they have ſtill ſome Factories at *Biſnagar* and other Places on that Coaſt, it would be no difficult Matter to re-eſtabliſh their Commerce in the Heart of *India*, at the ſame time that the Port of *Macao* would furniſh them with the Means of ſupplying the *China* Market as cheap or cheaper than any other *European* Nation, becauſe their Colony at *Moſambique* is ſo ſituated, as to ſerve them for the ſame Purpoſes that the *Cape of Good Hope* does the *Dutch*, or the Iſland of *St. Helena* the *Engliſh*.

But all theſe Advantages ſignify nothing in the Hands of thoſe who are ſo far from poſſeſſing the Virtues requiſite to ſuch Improvements, that, on the contrary, they are not only tainted with, but over-run by ſuch Vices, as muſt unqueſtionably overturn the beſt Eſtabliſhment in the World. It is neceſſary to ſupport a Charge of this Nature by Facts, that it may not appear to be the Effects of Fancy, Prejudice, or Miſinformation. I ſhall mention but one, which, as it is very ſingular in its kind, will at once anſwer my Purpoſe, and ſerve to enlighten the Subject. The *Portugueze* had, in the Cloſe of the laſt Century, an Officer capable of doing much towards the Execution of ſuch a Plan as this, inaſmuch as he was a Man of great Prudence and Virtue; but withal, he had too high a Spirit, which led him to treat the Vices of his Countrymen with ſuch Aſperity as drew upon him a diſaſtrous Death, and thereby defeated all the Hopes that had been raiſed from the great Victories he obtained over the *Arabs* and *Moors*, and that noble Zeal he had upon all Occaſions ſhewn for the Welfare of his Country.

" His ſharp Tongue, ſays my Author, had gained him
" the Ill-will of almoſt all the Gentry of *Goa*, and along
" the Coaſt; but more particularly of the Family of *Melo*,
" which was powerful in Kindred, and great by Birth. His
" Affronts becoming inſupportable, they conſpired, to the
" Number of fifty, to murder him; and having agreed on
" the Time, Place, and Manner of executing their Deſign,
" they made ſeveral Loop-holes in the Houſes of the
" Quarter and Pariſh of *St. Peter*, that they might ſhoot
" him with more Safety. The General, or rather Admi-
" ral, perſuading himſelf that Gentlemen could not har-
" bour Thoughts of taking an ungenerous Revenge, tho'
" warned to be upon his Guard, becauſe there were trea-
" cherous Practices againſt him, would never admit any
" Soldiers to attend him, and particularly two Captains
" that were willing to ſhare in his Dangers. Thus being
" carried in a Palankin alone, only with one Black that
" carried his Umbrella, a Shot was made at him from a
" Houſe, which giving him a ſlight Wound, he leaped
" out of the Palankin, and taking the Snuff he held be-
" tween his Fingers, ſaid, *Who is it you aim at? Triſ-*
" *tan de Melo* at theſe Words coming out of his Houſe,
" anſwered, *at you*, and fired a Blunderbuſs at him. He,
" with an undaunted Courage, defended it with his Cloak;
" and bowing his Body, then drawing his Sword, and
" falling on his Enemy, he ſtruck him five times, but to
" no Purpoſe, becauſe he had on a Coat of Mail; where-
" upon he cleft his Head, and with a back Stroke cut him
" over the Face, which made him fall; then taking him
" by the Hair, he ſet his Feet upon him, and was going
" to run his Sword into his Breaſt, but *Triſtan* begging
" his Life, he generouſly granted it, ſaying, he would not
" embrue his Hands in ſuch baſe Blood. In the mean
" while out came *Triſtan*'s Son, and a Mulatto, (ſo they
" call all thoſe that are got between Blacks and Whites)
" and firing two Blunderbuſſes, lodged ſeveral Bullets in the
" Admiral's Breaſt, breaking in Pieces the Croſs he wore
" as a Badge of Knighthood; but ſtill he ſtood and de-
" fended himſelf, when a Slave came up and run him into
" the Side with a Javelin; nor did he go unpuniſhed, for
" the General, with a Back-ſtroke, ripped open his Belly,
" whereof he died at Night. *Machado* being ready to ex-
" pire, drew near to the Palankin, and ſetting his Peruke
" to rights the beſt he could, laid himſelf in it. The
" Murderers fearing he might yet live, one of them, who
" was a Prieſt, came with a Blunderbuſs in his Hand to
" make an end of him; but ſeeing him ready to breathe
" out his Soul, aſked, whether he would make his Con-
" feſſion? The Admiral called him Jew, and bid him go
" about his Buſineſs: Afterwards a *Dominican* coming to
" him, he gave Signs of Repentance, and graſping his
" Hands, died with theſe Words: The Blood of Chriſt
" ſave me. They found in his Breaſt about thirty Bullets;
" whereupon People admiring his Valour, ſaid, he muſt
" needs have more vital Spirits than other Mortals, ſince
" there muſt go ſo much to the killing him [y]."

This Murder, foul and deteſtable as it was, could never be puniſhed, ſo powerful was the Family concerned in it, and ſo weak the Authority of the Viceroy, in Matters relating to Juſtice. It is true, this ſtrange Fact happened fifty Years ago, but Things are far from being mended ſince. Aſſaſſinations are ſtill common in this Country, and ſuch as would not expoſe their own Lives for the Preſervation of the Colony, are ready, on the ſlighteſt Provocation, to command their Slaves to take away the Life of another Man, let his Worth or Dignity be what it will, even at the Altar, and this without the leaſt Apprehenſion of Juſtice. We need no clearer Proof than this, that the Minds of theſe People are totally enervated and corrupted, and that as Cowards, they are cruel and revengeful, which wicked Diſpoſitions ariſe from a lazy and luxurious Life. We may therefore ſafely predict, that the Continuance even of that ſlender Power which the *Portugueze* have ſtill left, cannot continue long, and that for theſe two plain Reaſons: Firſt, becauſe it has been long, and is ſtill in a declining Condition, ſo that its Force being extreamly decayed, and at the ſame time continually employed in reſiſting the Efforts of its Enemies, it is impoſſible, in the Nature of Things, that it ſhould ſubſiſt for any Time: Secondly, the Manners of the People are entirely ruined, ſo that there is not the leaſt Probability that any ſuch Reformation will ever be effected, as might enable them to make ſuch Uſe of the convenient Ports of which they are ſtill poſſeſſed, as is neceſſary to revive and reſtore their Commerce in the *Indies*. I venture therefore to pronounce, that in the Compaſs of twenty or thirty Years, their Eſtabliſhments in theſe Parts will be quite loſt, and that in all likelihood, *Goa*, *Diu*, and *Daman*, will be loſt firſt, which will neceſſarily draw after them the Deſertion of *Macao*, which cannot long ſubſiſt by its own Force, and lies at much too great a Diſtance to receive any effectual Succour or Support from *Portugal* directly [z].

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[y] This gallant Man, Don *Antonio Machado de Brito*, was General of the North, and afterwards Admiral of the Gulph of *Ormus*, in which Character he gained immortal Reputation. In the Month of *April* 1694, he with three Ships only fought fourteen *Arabian* Veſſels of the ſame Size, in the Bay of *Surat*, for a whole Day; and when he might have retired ſafely into the Port of *Diu*, he anchored cloſe by them all Night, in order to have renewed the Fight next Morning, but the *Arabs* having had Fighting enough the Day before, ſtole away in the dark, and recovered their own Coaſt. Several Boats full of *Engliſh*, *French*, and *Dutch* Merchants, went from *Surat* to ſee this Battle, and afterwards complimented the *Portugueze* Admiral on his Victory, little ſuſpecting, that before the End of that Year, a Man, who had done ſuch eminent Service to the Publick, would fall, as he did, a Victim to private Revenge.

It is indeed poſſible, that Accidents out of the Reach of human Foreſight, may prevent, at leaſt for a Time, the Completion of what I have predicted; but without the Intervention of ſome ſuch Accidents, it will certainly come to paſs, and when it does, perhaps it may not be much to the Diſadvantage of *Portugal*; for when Colonies contribute little to the Benefit of a State, and are of no Uſe in promoting its naval Power, the Loſs of them cannot be conſidered as very detrimental, except to ſuch as are ſettled in them, which is a Conſideration well worthy the Attention of every Colony, ſince it ſhews that the Relation between it, and its Mother-Country, is the ſole Source of the Welfare of both, and cannot therefore be taken away without hazarding the Deſtruction of the Colony.

33. The Hiſtory of the Riſe, Progreſs, and Declenſion of the *Portugueze* Commerce in the *Indies* was never written before, and therefore I hope will appear the more agreeable and entertaining now. We have here, in a very narrow Compaſs, preſented the whole of it to the View of the *Engliſh* Reader, with all the Accuracy and Impartiality that lay within the Reach of our Power; and as we have, throughout the whole Section, intermixed our Remarks with the Matters of Fact, we ſhall be very ſhort in our Obſervations here. It may not, however, be amiſs to ſuggeſt, by way of Concluſion, that though this, with reſpect to the Circumſtances attending Facts, is a particular Hiſtory, yet the intelligent and judicious Reader will very eaſily perceive, that, at the Bottom, it contains a general View of the Riſe, Progreſs, and Decay of all Commerce and naval Power, which are at firſt (at leaſt, generally ſpeaking) the Effects of private Virtues, or, in other Words, are produced by the extraordinary Abilities and unwearied Labours of particular Men in Seaſons proper for ſuch Undertakings, and with due Aſſiſtance from that State in which ſuch Genii appear.

The advantageous Conſequences that ariſe from ſuch Expeditions, beget in the Body of a People a Spirit of Induſtry and Commerce, which, by giving a new Turn to their Genius, and raiſing at the ſame a virtuous Emulation, in a ſhort Space, ſhorter indeed than can be well imagined, create a naval Force, and thereby eſtabliſh a new maritime Power. But, on the one hand, the Wealth derived from Commerce, and that wonderful Flow of Succeſs which uſually attends a Nation powerful at Sea, very often produces Luxury and Indolence, which naturally lead to the Ruin both of Trade and naval Power. I do not mean, by Luxury, the Poſſeſſion of all the Pleaſures and good Things of this Life, but the affecting nothing elſe. If it were otherwiſe, we ought not to deſire Commerce at all, becauſe it is the certain Source of Riches and Affluence; but there is a great Difference between poſſeſſing and uſing good Things moderately, and being ſo bewitched with them as to dedicate our whole Time to their Enjoyment; becauſe, if there were no other Argument to prove this wrong, the Thing proves itſelf, ſince it is impoſſible to preſerve Pleaſure, ſuppoſing Happineſs to conſiſt therein, if we do not ſpend a great Part of our Time in thinking of ſomewhat elſe.

It was for want of attending to this plain Truth, that the *Portugueze* deſpiſed and contemned the *Dutch* on their firſt Appearance in the *Indies*; they conſidered their own Force as ſo much ſuperior to that of their Enemies, that they never reflected on the Means by which that Force was raiſed; I mean the Valour, Induſtry, Patience, Prudence, and publick Spirit of the firſt Adventurers; all which Qualities being now on the Side of their Competitors, and wanting in themſelves, ought to have awakened them to a Senſe of their Condition, and to a Return to thoſe Virtues which originally procured, and were alone able to preſerve, their extenſive Poſſeſſions. But continuing as they did to provoke on one hand the Natives, and to neglect on the other the neceſſary Precautions againſt the *Dutch*, they did the Buſineſs of their Enemies, and drew upon themſelves that Deſtruction which could never otherwiſe have been brought upon them.

I have before obſerved, that like Cauſes will, in all Caſes, be attended with the like Effects, and therefore there will be no Occaſion to repeat theſe Remarks in the Progreſs of this Work; though it would have been a great Overſight to have omitted them here, inaſmuch as they contribute chiefly to render our Labour uſeful and important, which otherwiſe would be no more than an agreeable Amuſement. To relieve the Reader, however, from ſo ſerious a Courſe of Study, we have, in the next Section, given him the Travels at large of a very curious Diſcoverer, and the only one who has given us a tolerable Account of that *Archipelago*, which is the Subject of his Performance.

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[z] It is very remarkable, that *Vaſquez de Gama*, whoſe Statue is over one of the Gates of *Goa*, was not only the Diſcoverer of the Paſſage to the *Indies* by the *Cape of Good Hope*, but lived to ſee the Eſtabliſhments made by his Countrymen in thoſe Parts carried to their greateſt Height; for at the Time of his Demiſe the *Portugueze* Empire in the Eaſt was in its moſt flouriſhing Condition. It is likewiſe remarkable, that the Son of the great Don *Alphonſo d'Albuquerque*, who was the Conqueror of *Goa*, lived to ſee the Declenſion of their Affairs in the *Indies*, and the prodigious Progreſs of the *Dutch* at their Expence. The whole Circle therefore of the Diſcoveries, Acquiſitions, and Loſſes of this Nation, take in no greater Compaſs than two hundred and fifty Years, which is very little in Compariſon to the Time this Trade was held by the *Tyrians*, or the *Romans*.

SECTION XXIV.

The Voyage of Francis Pirard de Laval *to the* Eaſt-Indies; *his Shipwreck amongſt the* Maldives, *and his copious Account of that* Archipelago.

Tranſlated from the Author's Original Voyage, publiſhed by himſelf in *French.*

1. *An Account of the Deſign of this Voyage, and the Author's Embarkation for the* Eaſt-Indies, May 18, 1601. 2. *The remarkable Accidents which happened in their Paſſage till their Arrival at the Iſland of* Anabon. 3. *They double the* Cape of Good Hope, *and arrive happily on the Coaſt of the Iſland of* Madagaſcar. 4. *They meet with a dreadful Storm there, and loſe a great many Men by the Scurvy and Surfeits.* 5. *Proceed from thence to the* Comorro Iſlands *on the Coaſt of* Africa, *near* Moſambique, *where they refreſh and refit.* 6. *The Ship on board of which our Author was, wrecked amongſt the* Maldive-Iſlands, *and himſelf made Priſoner.* 7. *A general Deſcription of theſe Iſlands, their Product, and the People who inhabit them.* 8. *The Diviſion of theſe Iſlands into ſeveral Provinces, with an Account of the Sea that ſurrounds them.* 9. *Of the Original Inhabitants of this Country, their Complexions, Stature, Temper, and Manners.* 10. *The vaſt Fertility of the* Maldives, *and the Nature of the ſeveral kinds of Corn and Fruits produced there.* 11. *Of the Birds, Fowl, Fiſh, and other ſorts of Proviſions, and of their prodigious Plenty and exceſſive Cheapneſs.* 12. *A very ſingular Method in uſe among the Inhabitants for weighing whatever is loſt in the Sea.* 13. *Their Language, Religion, Temples, Prieſts, and Form of publick Worſhip, with occaſional Remarks on them.* 14. *Other Ceremonies of their Religion, together with their Feaſts and Faſts, and Diverſions at ſuch Seaſons.* 15. *A large Account of their Marriages, the Manner of their ſettling Jointures, and their frequent and voluntary Divorces.* 16. *Their funeral Ceremonies, Profits accruing thereby to the Prieſts, and other curious Particulars relating to that Subject.* 17. *A Deſcription of the Dreſs of Men and Women in thoſe Iſlands, and of the Laws in relation thereto, and other Circumſtances.* 18. *Their Cuſtoms in eating and drinking, Laws for prohibiting of Luxury, and generous Concern for the Poor.* 19. *Superſtitious Cuſtoms among them in relation to the Killing of Beaſts, Uſe of Baths, Sailing, and other Caſes.* 20. *An Account of the Diſeaſes which prevail among the Inhabitants; their Skill in Phyſick, and other Sciences.* 21. *The Virtues and Vices of the* Maldivans, *with ſome curious Particulars relating to their Women.* 22. *A large Account of the Nature of their Civil Government, Power of the King, his Privy Council, Judges,* &c. 23. *Criminal Puniſhments in Uſe amongſt them; together with the Eſtate of their Military Eſtabliſhments.* 24. *A Deſcription of the King's Palace, Habit, Manner of Living, and other Circumſtances relating to his Court.* 25. *His State when he appears in Publick, the Queen's Court, and the great Reſpect paid them by their Subjects.* 26. *The Particulars of the Royal Revenue, the Nature of the Coinage here, and of the Value of their Commerce.* 27. *The Manner of the Author's Eſcape out of this Country, after he had remained a Priſoner there for ſeveral Years.* 28. *The Author's Journey to* Bengal, *and Return out of the* Indies. 29. *Remarks and Obſervations on the foregoing Particulars.*

1. THERE are ſome Voyages and Diſcoveries which never loſe their Value, becauſe never ſuperſeded by any thing more excellent in their kind; and this we may truly affirm to be the Caſe of that Voyage which we now preſent to the View of the Reader. It contains a very curious, accurate, and circumſtantial Account of Countries and People, who, tho' they lie at the very Entrance of the *Indies*, were never deſcribed before, nor has any ſubſequent Account of them appeared capable of entering into any Degree of Compariſon with this which we have before us. Our Author appears to have been a Man of good Senſe, and great Obſervation. He was led to travel from a Humour common enough in Youth; I mean the Deſire of ſeeing new and ſtrange Things; but, at the ſame time, this Humour of his was regulated by a Diſpoſition not very common in young People, which was that of looking to the Bottom of whatever appeared worthy of Notice, and of labouring to acquire whatever Talents were neceſſary to make ſo thorough an Inquiſition. It was from theſe Principles that he derived that Conſtancy and Reſolution which are ſo conſpicuous in the following Relation.

He was, doubtleſs, in hopes, when he undertook this Expedition, that all Things would have fallen out favourably, and that he ſhould have been entertained with the Sight of all the Curioſities in the *Indies*, with little Hazard, and ſome Gain to himſelf: But when it fell out otherwiſe, and he found all theſe Reſolutions overturned by the unlucky Accident of a Shipwreck, he did not loſe either his Reaſon or his Spirits; but, on the contrary, determined to make uſe of this Accident to further his Deſign of obtaining a diſtinct Knowledge of the Places and People whom it was his Fortune to viſit. It was in conſequence of theſe Notions, that he examined carefully, and recorded faithfully whatever came within the Compaſs of his Notice: And that he might enlarge the Circle of his Underſtanding, he applied himſelf with Diligence, firſt to learn the Tongue of the Country, and next to enter into a free Converſation with regard to their own Affairs of every kind with the People themſelves; ſo that his Judgment always went along with his Curioſity; and we may reſt ſatisfied that he has not reported Things barely as they appeared, but as they were.

After this Account of our Author, it is requiſite we ſhould ſay ſomewhat of the Time and Manner in which this Voyage was undertaken, and afterwards we ſhall leave him to ſpeak for himſelf. The Fame of the *Eaſt-India* Commerce in the Beginning of the ſeventeenth Century, provoked ſome *French* Merchants of *St. Malo*, *Laval*, and *Vitre*, to think of ſending two Ships into that Part of the World, which Project they executed in the Spring of the Year 1601. The biggeſt of theſe Veſſels was of the Burthen of three hundred Tons, called the *Croiſſant*; the leſſer of two hundred Tons, called the *Corbin*: The former of theſe was under the Command of the Sieur *de Bardeliere*, the other under that of *Francis Grout*, Conſtable of *St. Malo.* They ſailed from the laſt-mentioned Port on the Eighteenth of *May*, 1601, and had not proceeded above ten Leagues out to Sea before their Mizen-Maſt ſplit and broke in the Middle, which, ſays our Author, was the Beginning of our Misfortunes: And their Hiſtory he continues thus.

2. On the 21ſt we fell in with nine great *Dutch* Hoys, each of which ſaluted us with a Gun, but one of them being

ing loaded with Ball, beat the Sail of the *Corbin* to Pieces; upon which the Vice-Admiral fired two Guns on the Rigging of the Ship that had injured him; and the Admiral tacking to the Windward o. the *Dutch* Admiral, ſpread all his Sails, and fired a Gun upon them; the *Dutch* Admiral preſently ſtruck, and, having informed himſelf that the Miſchance was occaſioned by the Overſight of a Gunner that was in Drink, delivered up the Gunner to the *French* Admiral, in order to condign Puniſhment, and begged he would pardon the Miſtake. Our Admiral finding how the Matter ſtood, ſaid, he deſired no further. Satiſfaction; and having returned the Gunner, entreated the *Dutch* to vouchſafe him a Pardon. How the *Dutch* treated him afterwards I know not; though I do not much doubt but they hanged him up immediately at the Yard-arm; for the *Dutch* obſerve an exact Diſcipline among their Ships, and ſuffer no Miſtakes to paſs with Impunity; and from thence it comes to paſs, that their Navigation is more ſucceſsful than the *French*.

June the 3d we deſcried the *Canary Iſlands* in 28, 29, and 30° N. Lat. The 12th and 13th we came within Sight of the Iſlands of *Cape Verd*, which run from 20 to 14° N. Lat. On the 29th we were in 5° Lat. and diſcovered the South-Star, called the *Croſs*; at the ſame time we ſaw a prodigious Quantity of Flying-Fiſh, with Wings like thoſe of Bats, which are very plentiful near the Equinoctial Line, whether on the North or South-ſide. On the 14th of *July* we diſcovered the unhealthy Coaſt of *Guiney*, being carried out of our Courſe in a Calm by the Strength of the Currents. *Auguſt* the 24th we croſſed the Equator, on both Sides of which, for the Extent of 7 or 8 Degrees, we had very unconſtant Weather; the greateſt Calms were commonly turned into Thunderings and Lightnings (eſpecially when the Sun is near the Equinoxes) and with boiſterous Winds, which ſurpriſed us ſo ſuddenly, that we could ſcarce get our Sails down in time. The Heat was ſo great that it melted our Candles and Butter, corrupted our Water, and ſpoiled our Meat and Fiſh, though never ſo well ſalted.

We frequently ſaw great Whirl-winds riſing at a Diſtance, called by the Seamen *Dragons*, which ſhatter and overturn any Ship that falls in their Way. When theſe appear the Sailors have a ſuperſtitious Cuſtom of repairing to the Prow, or the Side that lies next the Storm, and beating naked Swords againſt one another croſſwiſe, from a vain Apprehenſion of preventing their Approach by that Means. In this Climate the Rains are very dangerous, for if one is wet and does not immediately ſhift himſelf, his Body is ſoon covered over with Blotches, and his Cloaths with Worms. In the Time of a Calm Ships roll prodigiouſly in thoſe Seas, but when they run with a freſh Gale they are more ſteady.

3. *Auguſt* the 29th our Pilot, who was an *Engliſhman*, diſcovered Land ten Leagues off; for though we endeavoured to ſtand one hundred Leagues off to Sea, the Currents drove us towards the Shore. This we found to be the Iſle of *Anabon*, poſſeſſed by the *Portugueze*, where we took in freſh Water and Fruit, and the Inhabitants, after a Shew of Civility at firſt, treacherouſly ſlew one of our Men, and took five Priſoners. This Iſland is governed by a *Portugueze* Lord, who had the Gift of it from the King of *Spain*, the other *Portugueze* who inhabit it being only his Factors and Commiſſaries. The Natives who are all his Slaves, are Negroes, and go naked, covering their Privities with Cotton. Their Women carry their Children upon their Backs, and ſuckle them over their Shoulders, their Breaſts being very long. The Iſland is ſituated in 1° 20′ S. Lat, and is five or ſix Leagues in Circumference. It is high, mountainous, and always green. The Road is on the North-Weſt Side, and is very dangerous, by reaſon of Flats and Rocks. We lay there ſix or ſeven Weeks, and, during that Time, it rained every Day, more or leſs. The Country produces great Plenty of Fruit and Cotton, in which all the Revenues to the Lord are paid. Their Fiſh is extraordinary good and very plentiful. At the Diſtance of a League and a half from *Anabon*, there is a little ſcorched Iſland, which affords no Greens, but is ſo covered with Fowl called *Penguins*, that one cannot walk any where without treading upon their Eggs. This Fowl is no bigger than a Pidgeon, and the Fleſh is black, but eats admirably well.

On the 16th of *October* we put to Sea again, and *November* the 17th we made the Iſland of *St. Helens*, which lies in 16° S. Lat. at the Diſtance of ſix hundred Leagues from the *Cape of Good Hope*. Upon the Altar of a Chapel in this Iſland we found ſeveral Letters, adviſing that the *Dutch* had paſſed that Way. Here we thought to have fitted our Mizen-Maſt, but found no Wood fit for the Purpoſe. The Air, Fruit, Fleſh, and Water of that Place are ſo healthy, that our Men, who were much oppreſſed with the Scurvy, recovered in the Space of Nine Days. On the 26th we ſet ſail, and ſtood for the *Cape of Good Hope*, and three Days after doubled *Abrollos*, which are a Bank of Shelves upon the Coaſt of *Brazil*, in 18° S. Lat. and ſeventy Leagues long. The doubling of theſe Sands is both difficult and dangerous, and in ſailing to the *Eaſt-Indies*, an expert Pilot ought to be very cautious in keeping to a juſt Diſtance from the *Guiney* Coaſt, which is very unhealthy, and incommoded with Calms and Currents, and, at the ſame time, ſtandling off from the *Abrollos*, for the doing of which there is Sea Room enough, ſince we reckon a thouſand Leagues from the Coaſt of *Africa* to that of *Brazil*. Having doubled this Cape, we continued our Courſe for the *Cape of Good Hope*, and in a few Days we knew that we approached it by the Appearance of the Reeds called Trombas, and white ſpeckled Fowls. Having weathered the *Cape of Good Hope*, we came in Sight of that of *Aguillas* or *Needles*, which ſhoots fifteen Leagues farther into the Sea, and lies in 35° S. L. This Cape derives its Name from the Obſervation, that when a Ship comes before it, the Needle of the Compaſs points directly northward, without declining to the Eaſt or Weſt.

We met *January* the 6th, 1602, with a violent Storm, in which one of our Seamen fell overboard, and his Companion would have jumped after him if we had not prevented him; though, after all, I took his Offer to be the Effect of Wine rather than true Affection; for there is but little Friendſhip among ſea-faring Men. Purſuing our Courſe, we ſteered by the Country of *Natal*, upon the Coaſt of *Ethiopia*, without any Storm, which was uncommon in thoſe Seas; for between the 33d and 28°, they are never, almoſt, without violent Storms. After that we miſtook our Courſe, thro' the Ignorance of the Pilot; and, on the 4th of *February*, finding ourſelves on the Land-ſide of *St. Laurence*, tacked about, in order to make the other Side.

4. *February* the 7th, having paſſed that Iſland, according to our Wiſhes, we were ſurprized all on a ſudden by a violent Storm from the South-Weſt, being leſs acquainted with thoſe Seas than the *Portugueze*, who make timely Proviſions for ſuch Accidents. In the Storm it was ſo dark at Noon-Day, that we could not ſee the Heavens, or one another; our two Ships were ſeparated, and our Sails were tore to Rags, ſuch was the Force of the Rain and Wind, that they wounded our Faces like ſo many Laſhes of Whipcord. The Waves ſwelled ſo high, and waſhed in upon the Ship, that we could not ſtand upon the Deck. In this Place we continued four Days and four Nights, and ſome of the Men that were on board applied themſelves to devout Exerciſes, while the Sailors redoubled their Oaths and Blaſphemies. Our ancienteſt Pilots and Seamen proteſted they never encountered ſuch a Tempeſt; but the Buſineſs was, they never had been in thoſe Seas, which ſwell higher than elſewhere.

On the 11th the Storm being over, we ſtood in for *St. Laurence*, being much diſabled. All our Men were in a manner half dead, and we had not a Man on Board, but a *Dutch* Gunner, that had ever been in the *Indies* before. When we came within forty or fifty Leagues of the Iſland, the Sea appeared yellowiſh and frothy, and was covered with Reeds and floating Herbs, which continued to appear on its Surface till the 19th, that we arrived and caſt Anchor in *St. Auguſtin*'s Bay, in 23° 30′ South Latitude. This Bay is large, and very convenient, having an excellent Ground of Clay and Sand. The ſame Day the *Croiſſant* rejoined us, after twelve Days Separation, and was more diſabled than we.

The Seamen being ſcorbutick, we marked out a Place on the Shore for the Sick, and at the ſame time a *Dutch* Ship wae forced into the ſame Harbour by Streſs of Weather, which had not one ſick Hand on Board. The Natives gave us Cattle, Fowls, Honey, and Fruit, in Exchange for Knives, Sciſſars, and Trinkets of little Value; but the Place was ſo unhealthy, that many of our Men died, partly by the Scurvy, and partly by a Phrenetick Fever. We lay directly under the Tropick of *Capricorn*, and the Sun-beams darted upon us almoſt in a perpendicular Line; ſome had their Legs ſcorched, and ulcerated through their Stockings; nay, the extream Heat would have incommoded us more, if it had not been for the Conveniency of a fine River to bathe in, and the Shades of a large Wood. We were poſted at the Foot of a great Mountain, which was covered with Infinity of large Lizards that offered no Hurt to any body. The Wood was repleniſhed with an innumerable Quantity of little Monkies and Apes, which entertained us with a continual Shew of dancing about, and ſkipping from Tree to Tree. Parrots are there very numerous, and make an agreeable Harmony, with their various and warbling Notes. Not to mention the Indiſcretion of our Men in over-feeding in ſo hot a Climate, and the pernicious Conſequences that attended it, I ſhall only take Notice farther of the unſpeakable Uneaſineſs from the Flies by Day, and the Gnats that peſtered us by Night, in piercing the Fleſh till the Blood came, and an Inflammation iſſued. This Inconvenience was ſo cutting, that ſome crept into Sacks and Bags, leaving only a ſmall Hole to breathe through, and all of us were forced to make Fires, and lie down in the midſt of the Smoak.

The Iſland of *St. Laurence* is ſeven hundred Leagues in Circumference. It lies between 26 and 14° South Latitude. It abounds in Cattle, eſpecially Sheep, which bring forth three or four Lambs at a time; the Cattle are not impropriated, but common to all that catch them; for the Inhabitants, and indeed moſt of the other *Indians*, chuſe rather to feed on Fiſh, Fowl, and Milk. 'Tis common there to ſee two or three hundred Bulls and Cows in one Herd, and when they come to croſs a broad deep River, the Cows raiſe their Heads upon the Bulls Rumps, and ſo get over. We anchored at the Mouth of a River that afforded great Plenty of Fiſh and Crocodiles, and when we killed a Crocodile and took out its Entrails, we obſerved, that like Muſk they made a very agreeable Perfume in the Air. The Natives are of a tawny olive Colour, inclining to red; they are tall, ſtrait, well made, and not only of a ready Apprehenſion, but wiſe; their Hair is long, and wreathed into Treſſes. They are naked all over, excepting that their Privities are covered with Cotton Cloth. The Women wear one Piece of Cloth, that covers them from under their Breaſt to their Girdle, and another that reaches from thence to the Knees, their Heads being bare, and ſhaved. Their Arms are Darts and Javelins, called *Azagayes*, for the Noiſe of a Gun frights them exceedingly. 'Tis ſaid that this Iſland was formerly peopled by the *Chineſe*, upon the Occaſion of a Ship's being caſt away upon that Coaſt; and indeed they reſemble the *Chineſe* very much, bating that their Complexion is not near ſo white, which perhaps may proceed from their going naked, and living in the *Torrid Zone*. At preſent the Iſland is very populous, and governed by ſeveral Kings that wage War with one another: Some of the Inhabitants are *Mohammedans*, and circumciſed, and the reſt are *Pagans*. The inland Parts of the Iſland are in great Want of Water.

5. On the 15th of *May*, having refitted our Ships as well as we could, and provided ourſelves with Water, Wood, and Fleſh, which after all would not take Salt ſo well as what we have in *Europe*, we ſet ſail, and ſteered for the *Comorro* Iſlands, from the Conſideration that our Complement of Men was very ſhort and ſickly. The 23d made theſe Iſlands, which lie in 12° 30′ South Latitude between *St. Laurence* and the Continent of *Africa*, at the Diſtance of ſeventy Leagues from *Mozambique*. There are five of them, each of which has a peculiar King, and one of them called *Malaill*, being ſurrounded by the other four. We choſe to anchor in its Road; we ſaw ſeveral Villages aſhore, the Inhabitants of which uſed us kindly, and gave us Fruits in Exchange for Trinkets made of Iron. The Inhabitants of theſe Iſlands are *Mohammedans*, being a Medley of ſeveral Nations, viz. *Ethiopians*, *Caffres*, *Arabians*, and *Perſians*. They are true Friends to the *Portugueze*, and a cunning, ſharp ſort of People, that are not fit to be confided in.

When our Men offered to land at a little Village to take in Water, the Inhabitants roſe up in Arms, and oppoſed their Landing, till they ſent them five or ſix Crowns; after which they allowed them to take as much Water as they pleaſed. All theſe Iſlands are extreamly fertile in Oranges, Citrons, Cocoes, Honey, Betel, and Rice, which we bought up at the eaſy Purchace of a few Iron Trinkets and *Flanders* Ware: Fleſh, indeed, is as dear there as here, though they have plenty of Oxen, Cows, and Sheep. They have Barks made altogether out of the Body of one Tree, in which they ſend their Fruit to *Mozambique* to be exchanged for Cotton, Cloth, Gold, Ivory, *&c.* One Day we ſaw a monſtrous Fiſh riſe above the Water, which had the Form and Figure of a Man, with a ſort of Beard towards the Chin that ſeemed to be its Fins, and a long ſcaly Head, terminating in a Point: when we offered to come near him he plunged his Head under Water, and ſo diſcovered Part of his Back, which was ſcaly. We ſtaid a Fortnight in this Road, and the Goodneſs of the Fruit and the Air cured our Men of the Scurvy to a Miracle; and indeed I have always obſerved that Citrons and Oranges, and their Juices, are of ſovereign Uſe in ſcorbutick Caſes.

6. *June* the 17th we ſet ſail, and the 24th repaſſed the Equinoctial Line, ſtanding to the Northward in the Lat. of 5°. We perceived ſome great Shelves ſurrounding little Iſlands, which were the *Maldives*, though moſt of our Maſters and Pilots miſtook them for the Iſlands called *De diego des Roes*, which we had left eighty Leagues a-ſtern to the North-Weſt. Our Admiral deſigned to paſs to the North of the *Maldives*, between them and the Coaſt of *India*; but, on the contrary, we run directly upon them, whereas we ought to have ſtood an hundred Leagues off them, if we had a Mind to be ſafe. In fine, ſuch was our Misfortune, that the *Corbin*, which ſailed a-head, ſtruck thrice upon a Rock, at the Diſtance of five or ſix Leagues from the Coaſt of the *Maldives*. In this Diſaſter we ſaw a Bark belonging to the Iſlands, which would not come near us on account of a ſtrict Prohibition in that Country to approach any Ship in Diſtreſs without the King's Leave. In the mean time the Sailors eat and drank heartily, and treated their Commanders with Inſolence, inſulting all thoſe who ſhewed any Regard for Religion, and loudly proclaiming that, ſince Death was ſo certain, they were reſolved to render its Approaches eaſy and ſoft. This filled me with Horror, and convinced me that moſt Sailors leave their Souls and Conſciences aſhore. In fine, after continuing two Days in this deplorable and deſperate Condition, we made a ſhift to refit our Galleon, and haul it over the Flats, and, with infinite Labour and Difficulty, arrived on board of it at one of the Iſlands called *Pouladon*, which is not a League in Circumference. We had carried ſome Arms along with us, but the Inhabitants diſputed our Landing till we had given up our Arms, and ſurrendered ourſelves at Diſcretion. There were not above twenty or twenty-five Inhabitants in the Iſland, but they concerted their Meaſures ſo wiſely, that they ſent off our Boat and all their own to the other Iſlands: to prevent any Inſurrection from us, they carried us to a Lodge in the Middle of the Iſland, where they entertained us with ſome Fruit, Cocoas, and Lemons, and rifled us of all we had, alledging that it belonged to their King, as being a Wreck. We had a Piece of Scarlet Cloth with us, which we pretended was deſigned for a Preſent to the King of the Iſlands, affirming at the ſame time, that the whole Cargo of our Ship was for a Compliment to him.

Upon this nobody dared ſo much as touch the Scarlet; but, after all, we cut off a Piece of two or three Ells of it, and preſented it to the Governor of this little Iſland, in order to oblige him, and he, who was a very old Man, took it very kindly, conjuring us not to ſpeak of it. Soon after the Governor ſent the Maſter and two Sailors to the King, who reſided in the Capital Iſland called *Male*, and the Maſter preſented him with the Piece of Scarlet.

immediately the King ſent for his Brother-in-law to ſave what was on Board our Ship, though the Flats were ſuch that no Boat could come near it; yet they found a Way of getting at it by Means of a Rope faſtened at one End to the Ship, and at the other to the Rock; for tho' the Waves waſhed over them, they had faſt hold by the Rope, and ſo got to the Ship; nay, they are ſo ingenious, that they took out the very Cannon and the heavieſt Goods, and laughed at any Advice we could give them. When we left the Ship, we brought with us about a thouſand Crowns in ſeveral Girdles, and buried it aſhore for a common Reſerve, to ſupply our Neceſſities; but ſome of our Men being in want of Subſiſtence, digged up the Place, and offered the Natives Pieces of Money for Food, after which the Natives would never allow us Suſtenance without Pieces of Money; and in regard that the leaſt Piece in the Bank was worth Twenty-pence, their Proviſions were much over-valued: Every Seaman hid from his Neighbour what he had got, and would not aſſiſt him even at the Point of ſtarving; nay, when any lay very ſick, the reſt came and rifled him before he died.

As for my own Part, I and two more were tranſported to the Iſland of *Pandow*, the Natives of which being acquainted with what paſſed in the other Iſlands, and thinking we had Money about us, refuſed us Suſtenance, till we gave them Pieces of Silver; but, in reality, we had none of the Money, and were reduced to great Extremities. In the mean time, I made it my Buſineſs to learn their Language, and by being able to diſcourſe with them, inſinuated myſelf into the Favour of the Governor of the Iſland, who ſent me to *Male*, with Recommendations to the King, and both the King and his Queens were ſo well pleaſed with my ſaluting them in their own Language, and according to the Cuſtom of the Country, and with the Account I gave them of the Things that were taken out of our Ship, the Manners of the *French* Ladies, *&c.* that they took particular Care of me in a Fit of Sickneſs that laſted for many Days: In a Word, I roſe, by the King's Favour and Bounty, to a Competency; and having, by Virtue of a long Stay in the Country, an Opportunity to inſpect their Conſtitution, Cuſtoms, Laws, *&c.* am now going to gratify the Publick with what I have learned upon that Subject.

7. The *Maldives* lie between one Degree N. Lat. and 4° S. Lat. being two hundred Leagues in Length, and thirty-five in Breadth. They are diſtant from *Spain*, according to the Courſe of ſailing 4500 Leagues. They are divided into thirteen Provinces, called *Attollons*, each of which comprehends a great many ſmall Iſlands, and is of a circular Form, containing about thirty-two Leagues in Circumference. The Iſlands are ſurrounded with a great Ridge of Rocks, which breaks the Shocks of the Sea, and raiſes prodigious Surges. 'Tis ſaid the Number of Iſlands amount to 12000, a great Part of which are nothing but uninhabited Hillocks of Sand; but the Inhabitants informed me, that the daily Incurſions of the Sea-Sand impaired the Number both of the Iſlands and the Inhabitants, and that the Iſles of one *Attollon* were formerly one continued Track of Land. It is plain, that the Seas which divide the Iſles of one *Attollon*, are ſo ſhallow, that at Low-water one might eaſily wade over, were it not that the Bottom is rocky and ſharp, and apt to wound the Feet, and that thoſe Seas are peſtered with Fiſh called *Paimones*, which break Mens Legs and Arms, and devour them. Another great Inconvenience that attends the going into the Water, proceeds from a rough, ſharp, porous, hard and ponderous ſort of Subſtance, not unlike white Coral, which they call *Aquicy*, and make uſe of in boiling it with Cocoa Water, for it is that which forms their Sugar or Honey. A great Part of theſe Iſlands is uninhabited, and produce nothing but Trees and Graſs, others are only a moveable Sand, without any Green, and others again are overflowed at high Water.

The reſt are covered all over with great Crabs called *Cacouue*, and Cray-fiſh, or elſe with the Fowls called Penguins, inſomuch that one cannot place a Foot in any Part without treading upon their Eggs and young ones, or upon the old Birds themſelves, which do not fly far upon the Approach of a Man. This Fowl is as big as a Pidgeon, with black and white Feathers, and is excellent Meat, though the Natives do not eat it. The uninhabited ſandy Iſlands appear at a Diſtance as if they were covered with Snow; for the Sand, which is as fine as that of an Hour-Glaſs, is extream white, and withal ſo very hot as to hatch the Penguins Eggs. Theſe ſandy Iſlands afford little or no freſh Water, but the covered Iſlands, whether inhabited or not, enjoy that Benefit, abating for a very few, the Inhabitants of which are forced to have Recourſe to the neighbouring Iſlands for Water, and make uſe of certain Inventions for the receiving of Rain-Water.

The Water of ſome Iſlands is better than that of others; their Well-Water is neither very ſweet nor very wholeſome, but is is very plentiful, and very freſh, even within four Paces of the Sea-Side; for they dig not above three or four Feet, and where the Sea makes frequent Inundations. This Water is very hot in the Night-Time, and extreme cold in the Day, eſpecially about Noon. To return to the thirteen *Attollons*, the firſt, beginning from the North, is called *Tilla Don Matis*, i. e. *the high Point*; in this lies the Head or Cape of the ſame Name, called by the *Portugueze*, *Cabexa des las il has*, ſituated in 8° N..L. The ſecond is called *Milla done Madone*, the third *Padypolo*, the fourth *Malaſmadon*, the fifth *Aratellon*, the ſixth *Male Attollon*, in which lies *Male*, the head Iſland of the *Maldives*; the ſeventh *Pouliſdows*, the eighth *Molucque*, the ninth *Nilandous*, the tenth *Collomandous*, the eleventh *Aloumàtis*, the twelfth *Souadon*, the thirteenth *Addon* and *Polo Molucque*; theſe two being reckoned but one, by reaſon of their Smallneſs. Each *Attollon* is ſeparated from the adjacent Provinces by an Arm of the Sea, which is in ſome Places narrow, and in others broad. There are only four of theſe limiting Channels, that, being much broader than the reſt, are navigable by great Ships, but not without Danger, eſpecially in the Night, by reaſon of their Flats and Rocks, which are marked very exactly in ſome Sea Charts which I ſaw in that Country. The Natives have a wonderful Dexterity in avoiding theſe dangerous Places: I have ſeen them ſail ſo nicely, as to rub upon Rocks on both Sides, without any Damage.

Both the Rich and the Poor are inured to the Sea from their Infancy, and fear not to encounter the moſt turbulent and foaming Seas, in little Boats and Barks, the Number of which is unaccountable; for the pooreſt Man that is has one, and the Rich have ſeveral. They never ſail by Night, or out of Sight of Land, unleſs it be when they undertake ſome great Voyage; and accordingly, the Proviſions they have on Board are calculated only for one Day. The greateſt Part of the Iſlands comprehended in one *Attollon*, are ſurrounded with a common Flat or Bar, that is only paſſable at one or two narrow Places, which are not eaſily obſerved, and for that Reaſon it is neceſſary for them to be very expert in the Management of their Boats, or Barks, ſince the leaſt Slip is certainly followed with Shipwreck, and the Loſs of their Goods; as for their own Perſons, indeed, they have no great Reaſon to fear, for all of them ſwim admirably well. Notwithſtanding that wonderful Dexterity in Sailing, they frequently loſe their Barks, which is occaſioned by the Currents called *Oyvacous*, which run Eaſt and Weſt, ſix Months upon the Eaſt Coaſt, and ſix Months upon the Weſt; but with ſuch Uncertainty, that the Change happens ſooner or later, at one Time than another: Though their Winds are frequently fixed, as well in the Currents in the Eaſt and Weſt Quarter, yet they ſometimes ſhift to the North and Eaſt.

8. It is to be obſerved, that the *Attollons* lie all in a Line, the End of the one facing the End of the next adjacent, and that they have two Entrances or acceſſible Places on each Side, which is a wonderful Conveniency; for if there was only one Landing-place at each End, the Impetuoſity of the Eaſt and Weſt Currents would break their Communication with one another, or, at leaſt, it would be impoſſible to practiſe it at all Seaſons. The Neceſſity of four Landing-places in each *Attollon* will be evident, if we conſider the following Inſtances; ſuppoſe a Landing-place on the Eaſt Coaſt, almoſt directly oppoſite to the Entry of the other *Attollon*, and another on the Weſt, oppoſite to that of the adjacent *Attollon*, if the Current runs from Eaſt

to Weſt, we cannot croſs directly from Entrance to Entrance, but ſet out from the Eaſt Coaſt, which is then the Head of the Current, and taking it ſideway, ſteer for the Weſt Entry of the other *Attollon*. In order to return, we ſet out from the Eaſt Entrance, and over-thwarting the Current, make to the Weſt Entry of the other *Attollon*. When the Current changes its Courſe, we obſerved the ſame Contrivance in ſetting out from the Head of the Current, and entering the other *Attollon* at the Place which lies under the Current of theſe Entrances. Some are broad, and ſome narrow, but the wideſt is not above two hundred Paces over, and ſome of them are leſs than thirty; each Entrance hath an Iſland on each Side, and if Cannon were planted on theſe Iſlands, it would be eaſy to hinder any Ships to enter.

Of the Channels that part the *Attollons*, there are only four broad ones, which are navigable by great Ships, and frequently viſited by Strangers, when the Currents carry them in againſt their Will. To begin from the North Side, the firſt of the four waſhes the *Attollon* called *Malos Madou*, and it was in this that we were caſt away. The ſecond, called *Caridou*, has *Male*, the greateſt of all theſe Iſlands in the midſt of it. The third, called *Addou*, lies to the South of *Male*. The Fourth, called *Souadon*, lies directly under the equinoctial Line, and in regard that it is the broadeſt of them all, being twenty Leagues over, the Natives do not ſail upon it without a Compaſs, though they never uſe any in the Channels. Beſides theſe, there is a narrow Channel, which ſeparates *Male* and *Pouliſtou*, in which the Sea appears as black as Ink, but the Water taken into a Veſſel, looks like other Water. That Sea boils like Water over a Fire. It ſwells into great black Surges, but is not moved from one Side to the other, which renders it very terrible. The *Maldives* lie ſo near the Equinoctial, on both Sides, that their Climate is extreamly hot. Their Day and Night are always equal, and their Nights are very cool and dewy, which renders the Heat of the Sun more tolerable, and nouriſhes exceedingly their Herbs and Trees. Their Winter commences in *April*, and continues till *October*, at which time the Summer begins, and laſts likewiſe ſix Months. In Winter they have perpetual Rains, but no Froſt, and the weſterly Winds are very boiſterous. In Summer their Winds are eaſterly, with an exceſſive Heat and no Rain.

9. It is ſaid, that the *Maldives* were in former Times peopled by the *Cingala*, or Inhabitants of *Ceylon*; but it is obſervable, that the *Cingalans* are black and ugly, whereas the Inhabitants of the *Maldives* are handſome, well made, and of an Olive Complexion; though, after all, 'tis poſſible, that the Climate and Length of Time may have altered the Complexion and Shape to their Advantage; beſides, that a great many Foreigners being caſt away on their Coaſt, are blended with them by Intermarriages, and by this Means it comes, that thoſe who live about *Male*, between it and the North Cape, where moſt Shipwrecks happen, are more poliſhed and civilized than thoſe on the South Coaſt, who are not only blacker, but much coarſer in their Language, Cuſtoms, and Shape of the Body; nay, many of their Women, eſpecially ſuch as are poor, go naked, with only a ſmall Cover for their Privities. This North Side of the Iſland is not only richer, and more civilized, as being the common Paſſage for all Ships, but the Seat of all the Nobility and Men of Fortune, and when the King puniſhes a Criminal with Baniſhment, he only ſends him to the South Parts. The Soldiers are all raiſed in the North Parts; but after all this Difference, I muſt ſay, that the Inhabitants of the South Parts are naturally as lively and quick-witted as thoſe of the North. In general, the *Maldivans* are very ingenious, they apply themſelves with great Induſtry and Succeſs to all ſorts of Manufactures, and alſo to Letters and Sciences, after this Manner, eſpecially to Aſtrology, which they hold in great Eſteem. They are a very wiſe, cautious People, and very ſharp in their Merchandize and Way of Living; they are brave, and well ſkilled in Arms, and their Policy is very regular.

Their Women are very handſome, abating for their Olive Colour, and ſome of them as white as the *Europeans*. Their Hair is black, which is reckoned a great Ornament, and in order to turn it extremely black, ſeveral Women keep their Daughters Heads ſhaved till they are eight or nine Years old, leaving only a little Hair on the Forehead, to diſtinguiſh them from Boys, who have none at all: I have ſeen ſome Children have half flaxen Hair, which has turned very black by being ſhaved every eight Days. Both Sexes affect black Hair, but the Women take a Pride in having theirs thick and long, which they waſh and dreſs very frequently. They waſh their Head and Hair with Water and Lye made for that Purpoſe; after which their Hair hangs diſhevel'd in the Wind, till it dries, and then they rub and perfume it with an odoriferous Oil, which renders their Head always moiſt and oily. Both Sexes anoint their Bodies after waſhing; but tho' they waſh their Bodies more than once in a Day, their Hair is not waſhed above twice or thrice a Week. They may waſh their Hair when they pleaſe, but they are obliged to do it on *Fridays*, which is their Sabbath for the Women, and Feſtival for the Men. After the Women have waſhed, rubbed and perfumed, they ſtretch all the Hair from before backwards, without leaving ſo much as one ſtraggling Hair, and tie it behind, in a great Tuft, or Knot, which they enlarge by a Perriwig of Man's Hair, made in the Form of a Horſe's Tail; nay, ſome of them have two ſuch Perriwigs; beſides which, they add odoriferous Flowers.

As for the Men, none but Gentlemen, and the King's Officers and Soldiers, are allowed to wear long Hair, and theſe, indeed, waſh, perfume, and dreſs their Hair after the ſame Manner with the Women, excepting that they make the Tuft not behind, but on the Crown of the Head, or on one Side, and they wear no Perriwigs. Their Hair grows much faſter than ours, by reaſon partly of the Waſhing and Perfuming, and partly of the exceſſive Heat which occaſions thick and ſtrong Hair, and for the ſame Reaſon their Hair is black. They have no Combs, but they have Sciſſars of caſt Copper, and copper Looking-Glaſſes, which they make uſe of in ſhaving themſelves, with Steel Razors made after another Faſhion than ours. There are no Barbers in the Country, every one therefore ſhaves himſelf, excepting the King, and ſome Lords, who are ſerved by Perſons who are proud of that Honour, without any Proſpect of Gain; ſo that in all thoſe Iſlands both Men and Women are provided with Utenſils for ſhaving, and are very nice in taking off their Hair, when it begins to be uneaſy to them.

The Girls have their Heads ſhaved once a Week, from their Infancy, to the eighth Year of their Age, at which Time their Hair is ſuffered to grow to its full Length and Dreſs, for then is the Seaſon here of looking out for Huſbands. Before that Age they have no Cloathes, but only a Cloth that hangs down from the Middle to the Knees; and the Occaſion of their being cloathed afterwards proceeds from the Riſing of their Breaſts, before which, they are looked upon as Children, and it is not allowable to diſcourſe to them of Love Matters. The Cloth hangs down from their Middle to the Knees as ſoon as they begin to go, but the Boys have none till they are ſeven Years old and circumciſed. Their Beards are of two ſorts; eccleſiaſtical Perſons, and thoſe who have performed Pilgrimage to *Mecca*, wear long Beards, ſhaving under the Throat, and upon the upper and lower Lips, all round their Mouth. The other ſort of People have little Beards, without Muſtaches, being ſhaved round the Mouth, and under the Chin. They are very careful in ſaving the Parings of their Nails, and the Shavings of their Hair, which they wrap up in Cotton, and bury in their Church-Yards, with a little Water, from a Notion that they being Parts of the Body, require Interment as well as the Whole, and for that Reaſon many of them choſe to be ſhaved in the Porch of the Temples, for they would not for any thing in the World either trample upon theſe Excrements, or ſee them thrown in the Fire.

10. In order to give a particular Deſcription of the *Maldives*, we ſhall begin with their Fertility. It produces great Plenty of *Millet*, called there *Pura*, and another little Grain called *Brinby*, which reſembles *Millet*, but is black like Rape-ſeed. Theſe two ſorts of Grain they ſow, and reap twice a Year; they make a ſort of Meal of them, of

which they make Pottage, with Milk, Cocoa, Honey, as well as Cakes and Fritters. The Country produces likewiſe ſeveral ſorts of Roots, which the Inhabitants feed upon, particularly one called *Nellpou*, which grows wild, being round, and as big as one's two Fiſts. They bruiſe it upon a rough Stone, and then expoſe it to the Sun, upon which it turns to a white ſort of Meal that eats admirably well in Pottage or Cakes, only it muſt be very freſh, or it is apt to lie heavy upon the Stomach. Another Root that grows there plentifully, and eats well, is called *Allas*, which muſt be ſown and cultivated, and is commonly as big as a Man's Thigh. Some of theſe ſorts of Roots are red, and others white; the Inhabitants boil them ſeveral Ways, and make them the moſt of their Food, keeping them for a whole Year, for they come to Maturity only once a Year, *viz.* in *September*. They have no Rice but what is exported from the Continent; however they have it pretty cheap, and uſe much thereof, either boiling it with Water or mixed with Spices, boiled with Milk and Sugar of Cocoas, with Pullets, Fiſh, or turned into Meal after drying and bruiſing, and then made into Cakes and Fritters, with Eggs, Honey, Milk, and the Butter of Cocoas.

This Country is likewiſe furniſhed with Herbs and Trees, ſome of which bear Fruit, and others not; though the Natives eat their Leaves, they being ſweet and well taſted. As for Fruit, they have infinite Plenty of Citrons, Pomegranate, and Oranges of *Bananas*, called by the *Portugueze Indian* Figs, and by the *Maldives Quella*, which is a large, delicious, and nouriſhing Fruit, inſomuch that it ſerves their Children inſtead of Broth. The moſt profitable Fruit is the Cocoa, or *Indian* Fruit, called by them *Coal*, which is more plentiful in the *Maldives* than any other Part of the World; ſo that the Inhabitants know how to manage it better than others. This Tree alone might ſupply all the Neceſſaries of Life, for it affords Wine, Honey, Sugar, Milk, and Butter; beſides that its Kernel may be eat as Bread, of which they have none in that Country. Further, moſt of their Utenſils are made of the Wood, Bark, Leaves, and Nut-ſhells of this Tree. In fine, the whole Country is ſhaded, and refreſhed with Trees, many of which ſerve for no other Uſe but burning; ſo that there is no Occaſion to buy Fire-wood. Beſides that, there are whole Iſlands covered with Trees, from whence they fetch what Fire-wood they pleaſe.

11. It is very remarkable, that though all the thirteen *Attollons* are in the ſame Climate, and all very fertile, yet they produce ſuch different Commodities that one cannot live without another; for what is plentiful in one, is ſcarce in another, or, at leaſt, is not ſo good. This occaſions a Neceſſity of mutual Commerce; and the Inhabitants have likewiſe ſo divided themſelves, that one Province cannot live without another; for the Weavers repair all to one Iſland, the Goldſmiths to another, and ſo on. Now, to render the Communication eaſy, theſe Artificers have little Boats with Checks, where they work, ſleep, and eat, while they are ſailing from one Iſland to another to vend their Manufactures; and ſometimes they are a Year out before they return to their fixed Habitation. As for Animals, they have prodigious Numbers of wild Pullets, which are ſold for a Penny a Piece, and the ſame Price will fetch three Dozen of Eggs; next to Fiſh, this is the moſt of their Food. They have a great Plenty of Wild-Pidgeons, Ducks, Rayls, Birds reſembling Sparrow-Hawks, black and grey Muſkets, living not upon Prey, but upon Fruit, *&c.* As for domeſtick Fowl they have none. The Crows are here very troubleſome, for they are ſo numerous and ſo bold, as to take Things out of their very Houſes before the Peoples Faces. Their Bats are as big as Ravens, and their Gnats, or Muſketoes, bite more ſeverely than in any other Part of the *Indies*.

But they are moſt incommoded by Rats, Dormice, Piſmires, and other ſorts of Vermin, which over-run all their Houſes, and ſpoil their Grain, Proviſions, Fruit, and periſhable Commodities. To obviate this Inconvenience, they build Granaries and Warehouſes on Piles, or Stakes in the Sea, at the Diſtance of two or three hundred Paces from the Land; and moſt of the King's Magazines are built after the ſame Manner. They have no poiſonous Animals, except Snakes, of which a very dangerous kind frequent the Sea. Cats, Pole-cats, and Ferrits, are likewiſe found there; but there are no great Beaſts, either wild or tame, ſave a few Sheep, and ſome three or four hundred Cows and Bulls in the Iſland of *Male*, which belong to the King, and of which they never eat but on Feſtival-Days, and ſolemn Occaſions, for theſe Kine are imported from the Continent. They have no Dogs, nay, they abhor them ſo much, that when the King of *Portugal* ſent two as a Preſent to the King, he ordered them to be drowned immediately. The Sea affords Plenty of all ſorts of Fiſh, eſpecially between the *Attollons*, where the Sea is ſhallow and calm; the Fiſhery is the moſt conſtant Exerciſe of the Natives, who feed moſtly upon Fiſh, when freſh, with Rice, or other Meat fried with the Oil of Cocoas, or boiled in Salt-water, and dried for keeping. They ſend every Day Ships loaded with Fiſh for *Sumatra*, *Achen*, and other Places. Many of the Fiſhermen have loſt Arms and Legs that have been bit off by a ſort of great Fiſh frequent in thoſe Seas. This great Plenty of all Neceſſaries cauſes an eaſy Purchaſe; four hundred Cocoas coſt but a *Larin*, which is Eight-pence; the ſame Price will purchaſe five hundred Bananas, a dozen of Fowls, or three hundred Weight of Roots, or a hundred large Fiſh, *&c.*

In fine, there is no Part of the *Indies* where a Stranger can get an Eſtate ſo ſoon as here, for it lies conveniently for Trade, and requires but an inconſiderable Charge for Maintenance. The Natives, it is true, do not grow rich, and that I take to proceed from their cheap and eaſy Living, which encourages them to Negligence and Idleneſs. *Male*, the principal Iſland, gives Name to all the reſt, *Dives* ſignifying a Cluſter of little Iſlands. This Iſland ſtands almoſt in the Middle, and is one League and a half in Circumference; it is the moſt fertile of them all, the Staple-port and Magazine of all the reſt, and the Reſidence of the King and the Court. By this Means it is better peopled, but, at the ſame time, it is not ſo healthy, for which the Natives give this Reaſon, *viz.* The King and the Court having reſided there Time out of Mind, and the Corpſes of all that died being interred a-part, the whole Surface of the Iſland becomes a continued Series of Graves, from whence the perpendicular Rays of the Sun extract pernicious Vapours; and accordingly the Water is here ſo bad, that the King and Perſons of great Quality ſend for Water to other Iſlands.

12. In all the Iſlands, even in *Male* itſelf, there is no ſuch Thing as incloſed Towns, but the Houſes lie ſcattered here and there, though not without ſome Order and Diſtinction of Streets. The common People's Houſes are built of Cocoa Wood, and covered with Cocoa Leaves ſewed double one within another. Perſons of Quality and Fortune have Houſes built of Stone taken out of and from under the Flats and Rocks. This ſort of Stone is very ſmooth and white, and ſomewhat hard to cut, but when it is wet with Rain, or freſh Water, it loſes its Hardneſs, and, at laſt, becomes all over black. The Manner of taking them out of the Sea is very remarkable. There grows in that Country a ſort of Tree called *Candou*, which is as big as our Walnut-Tree, and reſembles the Aſpin in its ſhaking Leaves and Whiteneſs, but is extremely ſoft, and bears no Fruit, and is not proper for burning; when it is dry, they ſaw it into Planks like our Fir-Deals. This Wood is lighter than Cork. This premiſed, we come to ſhew how they draw out the Stone: Being the experteſt Swimmers that can be, they dive under Water, and having pitched upon a Stone fit for their Purpoſe, faſten a great Cable to it, then they take a Piece of the Candou-wood, and having bored it, run it along the Cable quite up to the Stone; after this, they run on ſuch a Number of Pieces as they have Occaſion for, till the light and floating Wood drag up along with it a Stone of 100,000 Pound Weight. It was by this Contrivance the Natives took up the Cannon and Anchors of our Ship that was caſt away; and I was Eye witneſs to their clearing, by the ſame means, in the Space of fifteen Days, the Harbour of *Male*, which was choaked with great Rocks, inſomuch that no Ship could come in. When the Candou-wood is once ſoaked in Water, it muſt be dried in the Sun before it is uſed, otherwiſe it will not float.

Upon other Occaſions they take five or ſix large Pieces of Wood, and having ranged them all in a Line, raiſe Planks on them of the ſame Wood, to ſit upon, and ſo paſs from one Iſland to another: and it is by this Contrivance they generally manage their Fiſhery. In the Canals that run between the *Attollons* one Man can work theſe Inſtruments of Navigation, though they are not proper for the Sea; for they know how to trim their Deal-ſeats ſo well, that there is no Fear of overſetting; and if that happens, their Plank will always ſwim: all the Danger lies in disjoining the Pieces; and this ſort of Float is called *Candou-patis*, from the Wood of which it conſiſts. The Candou-tree has yet another ſtrange Property, namely, that when one Piece of it is ſtruck againſt another they will extract Fire; and this ſerves them in the Place of Tinder-boxes.

13. Our Method directs us, in the next Place, to ſpeak of their Language, which lies in two Channels; the firſt is the *Maldivan*, properly ſo called, which is very copious: the ſecond is the *Arabick*, of the ſame Uſe as *Latin* in a Popiſh Country, being the Language of their devout Addreſſes. I paſs over the *Cambaya*, *Guzaretta*, and *Portugueze* Tongues, which are derived from their Commerce, and ſhall only take Notice that in the Southern Parts they ſpeak a coarſe unpolite Language, which, after all, is the common Tongue of theſe Iſlands. Their Religion and Ceremonies come next to be conſidered. All the Inhabitants are *Mohammedans*, and the greateſt Part of the Foreigners, *viz.* *Arabians*, *Malabars*, and *Sumatrans*, are the ſame. Their Temples, or Moſches, are built of good Stone, well cemented, and have a thick Wall. They ſtand in the Middle of a ſquare walled Incloſure, where they bury their Dead, except thoſe who deſire a ſeparate Sepulchre. Their Temples are ſquare, and face the Weſt, as pointing to *Mohammed*'s Tomb. They have three Doors, each of which is faced by a broad Wall with Steps, the Bottom and Sides of which are lined with poliſhed and flat Stones, the Floor of the Temple being covered with Mats and Tapeſtry; whereas the Church-Yard is nothing but Sand. Their Temples are kept ſo clean, that if they want to ſpit or blow their Noſe, they muſt either do it in their Handkerchief or get out of Doors.

The Roof or Ceiling of the Temples is of Wood, admirably well poliſhed, and the Walls are wainſcotted, both of them being firmly joined without Nails, Pegs, or any other viſible Artifice. Upon the Walls of the Temples we met with large Tables of Stone, or of Wood, with *Arabick* Inſcriptions. They have a particular Place for the King and his Court, and Galleries for the Guards, and ſeparate Apartments for certain Dignities, Qualities, and Ages, inſomuch that any Perſon who takes up an improper Place, is fined accordingly. They conſtantly burn Lamps, for which End certain low Trees are conſecrated. Some of the Iſlands have nine or ten Temples; but that in which they ſolemnize a general Feſtival is built and ſupported at the common Charge, under the Name of *Ou coura Meſquite:* Each Moſche has its Prieſt called Moudin, and each Iſland that has forty Perſons above the 15th Year of their King's Age is dignified with a Catibe or Curate, who aſſiſts as Principal at all publick Exerciſes, and governs the inferior Prieſts. He pronounces the publick Prayers, and by Sermons and Exhortations explains and recommends the Law of *Mohammed*; under him the *Moudins* teach Children to read and write their Mother Tongue, and that of *Arabia*, for which Service their Parents give them a Reward. Every Day in the Week all above fifteen Years of Age repair, before Break of Day, to the Temple, and declare their Creed, *viz.* That the World is flat, and not round, that it is ſurrounded with a Wall of Braſs, which prevents it being drowned in the Waters that encompaſs it: That the Devil, the general Enemy of Mankind, endeavours every Night to break through and undermine this Wall, and that he is not much ſhort of compaſſing his End when the Day-light arrives. Upon this Belief they all join in Prayer, at the Break of Day, to prevent the Deſtruction of the World, which, as they believe, would otherwiſe enſue.

They repair to the Temple four Times a Day beſides, *viz.* at Noon, at Three o'Clock in the Afternoon, at Sun-ſet, and at ten o'Clock at Night, remaining each Time half an Hour. Thoſe that have no mind to go to Church may ſay their Prayers at home, or none at all if they pleaſe; but if it be known that any Perſon neglects their Duty of Prayer altogether, nobody will eat or converſe with him; from whence it comes to paſs, that almoſt all of them, whether Tradeſmen or others, ſpend a great Part of their Time in publick Service. They make uſe of Beads as well as the Papiſts; but they have no Croſſes. Before they enter the Temple they waſh their Feet, Hands, Ears, Mouth and Eyes, obſerving at the ſame time certain Ceremonies, and pronouncing Prayers ſuitable to the Sin they repent of. They are ſo ſcrupulous, that no Temptation in the World can oblige them to forbear this ſolemn Way of waſhing, upon the Apprehenſion that it certainly purges them of all Sin and Pollution. The greateſt Indecency of their Worſhip is, that they waſh and bathe publickly and promiſcuouſly, and offer their penitential Prayers with a loud Voice, and ſo diſcover to all the World all the ſecret Tranſactions of their Lives. At this Rate all the ſecret Adventures of Man and Wife are laid open to the World by the publick Prayers of both Parties; for the Women pray aloud as well as the Men, only they do it in their Houſes, in regard that they never go to Church.

14. The Male Children are circumciſed when they are ſeven Years of Age, and upon that Occaſion the Parents and Relations divert themſelves with Muſick and publick Feaſting fourteen Days. They have particular Operators for Circumciſions, who apply themſelves to nothing elſe, and the Ceremony is after this Manner: For ſix or ſeven Hours before the Circumciſion the Child is bathed in the Sea, in order to make the Yard ſhrink, and to render the Skin ſoft and tender. When the Hour comes the Child is brought to a Lodge built on purpoſe, and held by two or three Moudins or Prieſts, who in the mean time chant Verſes and Prayers ſuitable to the Occaſion. Then the Operator having drawn over the Prepuce, and tied it with a String, cuts it with a Razor; after which he heals it in fifteen Days; before Circumciſion they alledge that the Child is innocent, and cannot ſin, and for the ſame Reaſon they do not cover the Privities of the uncircumciſed Children. As for the Girls, their Circumciſion conſiſts in drawing two or three Drops of Blood, when they are two Years of Age; but it is attended with no Solemnity. When the Children are grown up, they pay a profound Deference to the Operator that circumciſed them, and call him Maſter.

They celebrate ſeveral Feſtivals in the Courſe of the Year, particularly every *Friday* with them is a Day of Feaſting, at which all the Males above fifteen Years of Age are preſent, but no Females. On the preceding Eve they pray in their Houſes, ſome for their Health, others for the dead, and for that End ſend for the Prieſts to their Houſes, where an Entertainment is provided; and as the Prieſts have no Stomach for eating, they chuſe rather to be abſent, for if they come they muſt eat, though againſt their Appetite. On *Friday* Morning the publick Crier goes round the Iſland, with a ſort of Bell in his Hand, and a Hammer of Wood to beat it withal: He is aſſiſted by three Trumpeters, who ſound often to give the People Notice of their Duty. Upon this Warning the People throw aſide all Work for that Day, and after waſhing and bathing, and putting on their beſt Cloaths, repair to the Temple. In the mean time the King's Muſicians play before his Palace on divers Inſtruments, and ſoon after the King's four Prieſts, who are Men of Quality and Learning, and never aſſiſt but at publick Solemnities, aſcend an high Stone Edifice adjoining to the Temple, where they clap their Hands upon their Ears, and with a loud and fearful Voice cry thrice, *Alla, Alla, Aquebar!* i. e. Great God, and then they add ſomething of *Mohammed.* This done, they repair to the King's Palace, and pronounce the ſame Words after the ſame manner. Upon which, if the King has a Mind to be ſeen, as he commonly is, he ſends a Carpet of Silk to be ſpread on the Place where he means to ſit. Then the Moudins do the like at the Catibe's Houſe, and he comes and waits upon the King, who walks in great Magnificence to the Temple, his Head being covered with a white Veil above a great Turban, ſo that he cannot ſee, but is led by one of the Moudins. The King comes laſt to the Church, and immediately ſays his

Prayers; after which the Catibe being mounted on a raiſed Place at one end of the Temple, takes a naked Sword in his Hand with the Point downward, and flouriſhing it about, recites his Prayers. In the mean time the People pray without ceaſing, putting themſelves in various Poſtures, and obſerving ſeveral apiſh Geſtures.

The Catibe has a new Prayer for every *Friday* in the Year, and when that Year is expired, makes uſe of the ſame Prayers for the next. He repeats all without Book, and if he happens to be out in one Word, Syllable, or Letter, the Moudins reprimand him publicly, and the Feaſt is thought to be ineffectual. This Service laſts about two Hours, and after it is over, the People ſaluting one another, and the King returning in great State to his Palace, entertains them at his own Expence. They obſerve the like Solemnity on the Day of every new Moon, and rejoice when they ſee it. Upon this Occaſion they clean their Houſes, Courts and Streets, garniſhing the Entries of the Churches, and the Gates of their Houſes with Cocoa Shells cut in the middle, and filled with white Sand, and burning Coals, upon which they burn almoſt all Night ſweet-ſcented Gums and Woods, at the ſame time the Inſides of their Houſes, their Beds, *&c.* are perfumed after the ſame manner.

Though the *Maldivans* celebrate every new Moon, yet they obſerve four beyond the reſt. Particularly in *December*, or thereabouts, they have a Faſt called *Ramedan*, which commences at the new Moon, and laſts till the next new Moon. They take their Meaſures not from the real Change, but from the Appearance of the new Moon; by which Means it ſo falls out, that ſome Iſlands begin the Faſt ſooner than others. The firſt Night of the *Ramedan* Feaſt the Men and Women viſit one another apart, and divert themſelves with Feaſting, Dancing, *&c.* till it is near Day, having prepared themſelves for eating by faſting the preceding Day, in which Cuſtom they are ſo ſuperſtitious, that for that Day they will not only avoid the taſting of any, but even the waſhing their Mouth, or putting their Fingers therein, or ſwallowing their Spittle.

The Prohibition of ſwallowing their Spittle puts them to a great Inconvenience when they are in the Church, becauſe it is not allowed to ſpit there, and ſo upon every Turn they are forced to run out of Doors. Nay, ſuch is their Superſtition upon the Feaſt-day, that the Men, who are allowed to bathe, are prohibited to plunge their Heads in the Water, leſt ſome Drop of it ſhould enter their Mouth or Ears; and the Women are forbid to bathe at all. Half an Hour before Sun-ſet, all above fifteen Years of Age repair to the Temple, and in the Space of that half Hour cleanſe their Mouths, and pick their Teeth very nicely, being furniſhed by the Moudins with Pick-tooths, and other cleanſing Inſtruments made of Cocoa-wood. This done, the Moudin makes his Cry three times, and enters the Temple at the Head of the People, who then ſay their Prayers, the Women at the ſame time being employed in ſaying theirs at home. When that Service is over they feaſt and make merry with one another. During the *Ramedan* the King entertains all the People at ſeveral times, inviting only Perſons of the ſame Quality at a time; for they are ſuch religious Obſervers of their Quality, that they will not eat with any Perſon of a different Rank. The Nobles, *&c.* entertain their Friends in like manner; and thus do the Men and Boys feaſt; but the Women, who are not allowed to go to theſe Feaſts, ſend only Preſents at Night one to another.

The Women bathe themſelves in the Evening, at which Time the Men are enjoined to avoid Bathing; during the whole Courſe of the *Ramedan* they faſt after the abovementioned manner in the Day-time, and avoid Sin and Pollution as much as they can. If any one breaks any one of the Faſt-days, he is obliged to faſt as many more after the End of the *Ramedan*. In this Month no body will work be they ever ſo poor. The Pandiare preaches every Day at Three in the Afternoon in the King's Palace, or in the Church, or in his own Houſe. After the Sermon is over they divert themſelves with the Exerciſe of Arms, and ſeveral ſorts of Plays, particularly at Foot-ball. At the ſame time the Women and Girls viſit one another, and have particular ſorts of Plays and Diverſions ſuitable to their Sex. Intrigues run higher in this Month than in any other, and the Courtſhip conſiſts in ſending to one another Songs and Verſes, inſcribed with Bodkins on Cocoa Leaves, which are as white as Paper.

The Youths likewiſe preſent their Miſtreſſes with Garlands of ſweet-ſmelling Flowers, and receive in return Preſents of Betel nicely dreſſed. In fine, they take all poſſible Meaſures to heighten their Mirth and Diverſions. Three Days before it ends the Belman and the Trumpeters go round the Iſland, requiring all the Inhabitants, whether Men or Boys, Women or Girls, to ſend their Names in Writing to the Naybo of their reſpective *Attollon*, and to pay an Offering of half a Larin a Head, which the People pay very willingly as a Tribute to God and *Mohammed*: For they imagine that without the paying of that Tribute their Faſting would not avail them. In this Tax the Parents pay for the unmarried Children, and for their Servants and Slaves; and if any poor Perſon has not the Money to lay down, the King, or any rich Perſon, pays for them very willingly. The Money ariſing from this Tax is lodged in the Hands of four Receivers, one on the Behalf of the King, a ſecond for the Clergy, a third for the new Converts, and a fourth for the Poor. One third of it goes to Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, another to the Proſelytes, and the remaining third to the Poor. About *Auguſt* and *September* they have a Solemnity of Two Days, in which they ſend about to one another boiled Wine, with Honey and Cocoa Milk. This Feſtival is ſaid to take its Riſe from a Miracle that *Mohammed* wrought on that Day.

15. There remains yet another very ſolemn Night-Feſtival called *Maulude*, which happens about the Month of *October*, being the Night on which *Mohammed* died. Upon this Occaſion they have a large Houſe, or Hall of Wood, in ſeveral Parts of the Iſland, which is hung within with the fineſt and richeſt Tapeſtry, the Floor of which is covered with white Sand, and Matts above it, and the Ceiling adorned with white Cotton Cloth, ſupported with black Strings, that run along it like Stripes. In this great Hall hang up ſo many Lamps, that it is as light as Day, and the Smell and Smoke of the Perfumes that they burn, fills the Air. In the midſt of the Hall there is a Table covered with ſeveral ſorts of Meat and mixed Liquors. The Women do not aſſiſt at this Solemnity, but the Men repair thither about eight o'Clock at Night, and ſit down in Order, according to their reſpective Stations, there being Officers appointed to rank them. All the Night long the Prieſts and other Eccleſiaſtical Perſons ſing what they call the Pſalms of *David*. When Midnight approaches, the whole Aſſembly fall down flat upon the Ground, as in an Extaſy, and continue in that Poſture for ſome time; after which the Pandiare and the Catibes ſtart up of a ſudden, and all the reſt following their Examples, ſkip about, and leap upon each other as if they were mad.

The People are ſerved with Betel well dreſſed, and Drink, by fifty Perſons choſen into that Office, which is reckoned very honourable; when the Night is almoſt over the Prieſts give over ſinging, and ſay Prayers; after which they all go to the Middle of the Hall, where the Table ſtands, and every one takes a Plate of Meat, and ſome aromatick Liquors, which they carry home with them, and eſteem very much. Afrer their religious Rites, it will be proper to ſubjoin the Ceremonies of Marriage and Funerals. Upon a Deſign of Marriage they addreſs themſelves to the Pandiare or Naybes, who, after being ſufficiently informed that things really are as they are repreſented, takes the Man by the Hand, and aſks him if he is willing to take ſuch a Woman on the Conditions propoſed, and the Woman always being abſent, he likewiſe queſtions her Parents as to their Conſent. If they all agree, he marries them, and calls the By-ſtanders to witneſs their Conſent. Then the whole Company waits upon the Woman home, and ſeveral other Perſons viſit her. All the Viſitors being entertained with Feaſting, Muſick, Dancing, *&c.* the new-married Man makes Preſents to the King, and the great Lords, and the Bride pays the like Compliments to the Queen, and the other Ladies; both make Preſents likewiſe to their Relations; but when the King is married, he does not give but receives Preſents from all his Subjects, *viz.* Cloths, Garments, Turbans, Victuals, Fruit, Flowers, *&c.* and all theſe Preſents, which ariſe to a great Value, belong to the new-marrried Queen, A Man may have three Wives if he can maintain them, but not more; and if all three live in one Iſland, he is obliged by Law to beſtow as many Nights upon one as upon the other. Tho' after all this Law is not obſerved, and indeed it is a hard Law in that Country, where the Women are ſo laſcivious.

The Bridegroom receives no Dowry with his Wiſe, and is obliged, not only to be at the Charge of the nuptial Solemnity, and to maintain her, but to ſettle upon her a Jointure equal to what her Mother and other Anceſtors had. They are ſo nice on this laſt Condition, that if the Prieſt apprehends the Huſband cannot afford ſuch a Jointure, he refuſes to marry them, notwithſtanding both Parties require it; but after all, the Bride may renounce either whole, or Part of the Jointure, after Marriage, and indeed that is frequently practiſed. Brothers and Siſters, firſt Couſins, and thoſe who by way of Friendſhip and Intimacy have uſed to call one another by the Names of Son or Daughter, Father or Mother, Brother or Siſter, theſe, I ſay, are prohibited to marry. The Males may marry when they will, but a female Orphan cannot marry till ſhe is fifteen Years of Age; indeed, if her Father be alive (for the Mother has no Power) he marries her at ten or eleven Years of Age, and that to the firſt Suitor, whether old or young, provided his Quality is in ſome Meaſure ſuitable to hers; for they reckon it a great Sin to keep the Daughters unmarried. A Man may turn away his Wife, but unleſs ſhe conſents to the Separation, ſhe may demand her Jointure: Tho' after all, that Demand is ſeldom made, as being reckoned a mean Action, and a Sign that the Woman fears that her Merit will never procure her another Huſband.

On the other Hand, the Woman cannot part from the Huſband without his Conſent. This ſort of Divorce, which is very frequent, muſt be atteſted by Witneſſes, or they cannot have the Benefit of a ſecond Marriage. The divorced Parties frequently repent of their Separation, and marry again a ſecond, third, or fourth Time; but after three Divorces, ſuch Re-marriages are not allowed; tho' ſuch is the Levity of the People, that they frequently deſire them, and in order to elude the Law, they have a common Trick of getting ſome profligate Fellow to marry the divorced Woman, and lie with her one Night without touching her; after which he quits her before Witneſs, and ſo ſhe is married again to her former Huſband. Such is the Frequency of thoſe Divorces, that a Man ſhall have an hundred Wives, and the Woman look upon the Multitude of ſeparated Huſbands as a Point which entitles them to future Marriages. When a Woman is ſeparated from her Huſband by Death, ſhe muſt mourn four Months and ten Days before ſhe can marry again; and if the Separation is accompliſhed by Divorce, ſhe muſt remain three Months ſingle before ſhe offers to marry. This Caution is uſed for fear ſhe ſhould prove with Child by her former Huſband.

16. Their funeral Ceremonies are ſuperſtitious to a great Degree; in the firſt Place, the Corpſe is waſhed by Perſons of the ſame Sex, who buy that Office of the King, and are paid for their Service; then they are wrapped up in Cotton, and covered with fine white Cotton Cloth, which goes afterwards to the Prieſt, the Right-hand of the deceaſed Perſon being laid upon his Ear, and the Left upon his Thigh. This done, the Corpſe is laid upon the Right-ſide in a Coffin of *Candou* Wood, and carried to the Burying-place, by ſix Relations and Friends, attended by the Women-waſhers, who cry and howl moſt hideouſly. Every Man in his Life-time provides for himſelf a Burying place, and all the other Neceſſaries; nay, they are ſo ſuperſtitious, that they will rather ſtarve than touch the Money they have laid up for that Purpoſe. Beſides the ſix principal Mourners, the other Relations and Neighbours are preſent without Invitation, and upon the March from the Houſe of the deceaſed Perſon to the Grave, they ſcatter Shells for the Benefit of the Poor, to whom they likewiſe diſtribute Sacks of Rice and Millet, at the ſame Time they give to the Prieſt Pieces of Gold and Silver, the Number of which is proportionable to the Eſtate of the deceaſed Perſon, and theſe Pieces are diſtributed by the Prieſt to thoſe who have aſſiſted in praying for the deceaſed Perſon. The Prieſts ſing continually during the whole Courſe of the Ceremony, and in the Proceſſion a Perſon of Quality ſprinkles the Aſſiſtants with Water made of ſweet Flowers.

The Grave is covered with a large Piece of Silk, or Cotton, which, on the Interment, goes to the Prieſts of the Temple. When the Corpſe is laid in the Grave, they turn the Face of the deceaſed Perſon to the Quarter that faces *Mohammed*'s Tomb, and then fill up the Grave with fine white Sand, ſprinkling it with Water. When the Ceremony is over, the Relations entertain all the Company with Victuals, and the three following *Fridays* they pray over the Grave, where the Prieſts ſing, eat and pray every Day, till the third *Friday* paſſes, after which, a general Feaſt is prepared for the Relations, Friends, and Prieſts, who pretend, that the Soul of the deceaſed Perſon is then conveyed to Paradiſe. This Feaſt is prepared every Year, and on *All-Souls* Day they throw freſh white Sand on the Grave, and perfume it with burnt Incenſe: The Grave is ſurrounded with wooden Pales, for they reckon it a great Sin to walk over it. They never bury two Corpſes in the ſame Place; for they have ſuch a Reverence for the Bones of the Dead, that even the Prieſts dare not touch them. If a great Lord dies, the Prieſts ſing for him a whole Year, and are entertained every Day with Diſhes of Meat and Betel; but if a King or Queen dies, the Ceremony is continued to the Death of the next Succeſſor.

In this Country, the Mourners make no Alteration in their Habit, only they go bare-headed to the Grave, and continue ſo for a few Days after the Interment. Thoſe who die fighting with Perſons of a contrary Religion are buried upon the Spot where they fall, without any Ceremony; and in regard that they are accounted holy and happy, neither the Prieſts, nor their Friends, pray for them. They never tranſport Corpſes from one Iſland to another, and even the King himſelf is buried where he happens to die. If any Perſon dies at Sea, they waſh the Corpſe, and put it into a Coffin, which they place upon a Float of *Condou* Wood; within the Coffin they put Silver, in Proportion to his Circumſtances, and a written Paper, deſcribing his Religion, and withal, praying thoſe who meet with the Corpſe to take the Money, and bury it handſomely.

17. We come near to their Apparel: The Men tie about their Privities a great Swathe of Cloth, which comes round about, to prevent any Diſcovery in working, or walking about; next that they have a Piece of blue, or red Cotton Cloth that reaches to their Knees, and then a larger Piece of Cotton, or Silk, reaching to their Ancles, and girded with a ſquare Handkerchief, embroidered with Gold and Silver, which is ſpread upon their Backs, and tied before. Above theſe they have a little Piece of party-coloured Silk, which reaches only to the middle of their Thighs. At laſt they gird themſelves with a great fringed ſilk Girdle, the Ends of which hang down before; within this Girdle, on the Left-ſide, they keep their Money and Betel, and on the Right-ſide a Knife. Theſe Knives are made of excellent Steel, the Sheaths being of Wood, and the Shafts of Fiſh-bone, for the Bone of a Land-creature they will not wear. The richer Sort have both their Hafts and Sheaths of wrought Silver. Every one wears a Knife, and eſteems it much, as being his only Arms, for none but the King's Officers and Soldiers are allowed to wear any other. Theſe, indeed, have a wrought Dagger at their Side, and when they walk along the Streets, a drawn Sword in one Hand, with a Buckler, or Javelin, in the other. The *Maldivans* place their chief Ornaments in their ſilver Chains, which hang about their Girdle, and of which every Boy or Girl has more or leſs, in Proportion to their Means; but 'tis only Perſons of Quality and Fortune that ſhew them openly. In theſe they place their chief Treaſure, and commonly they appropriate them for the Charge of their Funeral.

The common People are naked from the Girdle upwards, except on the Feſtival-Days, on which they wear Cotton and ſilk Jerkins and Waiſtcoats with gilt copper Buttons; the Sleeves of theſe Coats reach only to their Elbow; for they alledge, that if their Wriſts were tied up like ours, they could not have the free Uſe of their Arms. Perſons of Quality commonly wear ſuch Coats; but ſome have a Cuſtom of covering their Skin from the Girdle upwards, with an odoriferous Paſte, made of the Powder of Camphire and Sanders, beaten upon a ſmooth Stone, and incorporated with the diſtilled Water of ſweet-ſcented Flowers. They make their Wives or Friends anoint their Backs, *&c.* with this Paint, and draw various Figures upon them; however, they muſt not appear with that Piece of Foppery before the King, or be ſeen in his Palace. The Men of this Country wear upon their Heads red or party-coloured Turbans, ſome of which are of Cotton, for the meaner ſort of People, and others of Silk, for the Perſons of Quality. The King's Officers and Soldiers have frequently embroidered Handkerchiefs on their Heads, which other Subjects are not allowed to wear. Their Feet are always naked, excepting that within Doors they uſe wooden Sandals, which they pull off when viſited by a Perſon of ſuperior Rank; oftentimes their Legs are likewiſe naked.

The Women wear a Coat of Cotton, or Silk, which reaches from their Middle to their Ancles; above that they have a long Robe of Taffety, or fine Cotton, reaching to their Feet, withont any Slit beſides the Neck, where it is faſtened with two little gilded Buttons. This Robe they pull quite up to ſuckle their Children. Their Arms are loaded from their Wriſt to the Elbow with Bracelets of Silver, inſomuch that ſometimes they have three or four Pounds of fine Silver upon them, though indeed the poor ſort alloy the Silver with Braſs. The Women of Quality have many Chains of Gold, or Strings with little Pieces of Gold about their Necks, and rich Pendants in their Ears. They have their Ears pierced when they are young, not only in the Cap, upon which there hangs an Ear-ring, but in twenty-four Places up the Griſtle, in which they put as many gilded Nails, with precious Stones or Pearls on the Heads of them. When the Women walk in the Streets they cover their Heads with a Veil, and are very cautious in ſhewing their Faces before Men, though in the Preſence of Women of ſuperior Rank they take off their Veil. They are not allowed to wear Rings, Jewels, Bracelets, or Ear-rings, or Chains of Gold, till they aſk and obtain Leave of the Queen, as the Men do of the King, for the ſame Privilege, which commonly coſts them Money.

The different Quality of the Women is diſtinguiſhed by the Nature of their Ornaments, for none but Queens and Princeſſes are allowed to wear Gold-Bracelets, or Gold-Rings on their Arms or Legs; beſides, the Queens put Rings on their Fore fingers, the Princeſſes and Perſons of the firſt Quality upon their Middle-fingers; ſo that all other Women have their Rings upon the Ring finger and Little-fingers, and the Men have theirs upon their Thumb only. If a Man's Wife begins to wear richer Ornaments than ſhe uſed to do in former Times, the Man's Taxes are raiſed, unleſs he be one of the King's Officers, or an Inhabitant of *Male*, for theſe are exempted from all Taxes on Apparel; Foreigners and their Wives are alſo free, for they may wear what they pleaſe, as well as the Clergy. The Women place a great Part of Beauty in painting red the Nails of their Fingers and Toes, which they effect with the Juice of a certain Tree. In a Word, they are very handſome, and are very careful in ſetting themſelves off with a genteel Habit, and with frequent waſhing and perfuming: Generally ſpeaking, their Complexion is an Olive Colour, though ſome of them are brown, and others very fair.

18. The People of this Country have many peculiar Cuſtoms with reference to eating; they reckon it is very diſhonourable for a Perſon of ſuperior Rank to eat with his Inferior; and indeed they ſeldom regale one another, unleſs it be at ſolemn Feſtivals. If they mean to compliment a Friend, they ſend a covered Table with ſeveral Diſhes of Meat to their Friend's Houſe, who is thereby much honoured; but in their own Houſes they are cautious of eating in the Preſence of others. Before and after eating, they ſay Prayers; and their Table is the Floor, covered with a fine Mat, upon which they ſit croſs-legged; they feed ſo nicely, that they will not drop one Crum, nay, not ſo much as a Drop of Water, though they waſh their Mouths before and after. Inſtead of Table-cloths and Napkins they uſe Banane-Leaves. Their Diſhes are made of Earth, or *China* Porcelane, which is very common in that Country, gold or ſilver Veſſels being prohibited by Law. They are all round like Boxes, with an earthen Cover, over which they put a Piece of Silk, for the Piſmires are there ſo numerous and troubleſome, that it would be impoſſible to keep Meat without a Cover upon it; and the People are ſo nice, that they will not taſte any Meat that has been touched by a Fly, Piſmire, or any Inſect or unclean Thing, but give it to the Fowls. As for the Poor, whom they look upon as the Servants of God, they ſcorn to offer them what they will not eat themſelves, and entertain them with the beſt Victuals they have. If they ſpy the leaſt Crack in a Diſh, they eat no more out of it, holding it polluted.

All Spoon-meat they eat with their Fingers, but withal ſo nicely, that they let nothing fall, that being accounted a very natural Piece of Decency. If they have Occaſion to cough or ſpit at Time of eating, they riſe from the Table, and walk out; they never feed themſelves with their Left-hand, becauſe they make uſe of it in Waſhing their Privities. They chooſe to begin their Meals with eating a Cocoa-nut half-ripe, and drinking the Water of it, which they ſay looſens the Body. While they eat they are all ſilent. and make quick Diſpatch, for with them it is an unmannerly Thing to be long eating. They take it for a Piece of Rudeneſs and Incivility to drink before they have done eating, and even then they drink but once, either Water or Cocoa-wine freſh drawn. They drink out of Copper-cups well wrought, with Covers to them: After eating and waſhing, they ſerve up a Plate of Betel inſtead of Sweet-meats, for the Fruit is ſerved with the Meat. They have no ſet Meal-times, but eat when their Appetite provokes them; and Victuals is dreſſed only by the Women, for the Men deſpiſe the Character of a Cook in ſuch a Manner, that they will not converſe with a Man-cook, or admit him to a Share of their Exerciſes, he being doomed by his Trade to the Company of Women.

19. When they kill a Beaſt for Food, they turn their Faces towards *Mohammed*'s Sepulchre, and ſo cut its Throat in a particular Place; after which they ſuperſtitiouſly avoid the touching of it till it is quite dead. Their Butchers muſt be ancient, and the Fathers of Children. When they awake out of their Sleep they preſently waſh their Eyes and Faces, and rub them with Oil, and blacken their Eye-Lids and Eye-Brows; for before the Performance of that Duty, they muſt not ſpeak, or bid any one Good-morrow. They are very careful in waſhing and cleanſing their Teeth, to the end that the Betel and Areca may the more readily impreſs their red Colour upon them, which they are very fond of. They are always chewing Betel, which they continually carry about with them in the Plaits of their Girdle, and mutually preſent to each other upon occaſional Salutations. They bathe before they enter the Temple, and waſh with their Left-hand after natural Evacuations. When they bathe at home, they plunge their Head three Times under the Water; and in regard that they always bathe and pray in publick, and that the reſpective Crimes have peculiar Ceremonies calculated for them, every Man's Crimes or Miſdemeanors are thus expoſed to the public View; When they ſet out upon a Voyage, they avoid touching or meeting any body; for if any unlucky Accident befalls them, they impute it to the Perſon that touched them. When they go a fiſhing they muſt not ſalute any, or bid them Good-morrow. From Sun-ſet on *Thurſday*, till three or four o'Clock next Morning, they ſuffer nothing to be carried out of their Houſe, but receive all that is brought in.

If they fall out one with another, they never rail, for if they did all the World would fall upon them. When croſſed at Sea, they addreſs themſelves to the King of the Winds (for they do not call him a God); and in every Iſland there is a deſolate Bye-place, called *Siave*, where thoſe who have eſcaped Danger make Offerings of little Boats and Ships, made on purpoſe, and loaded with Guns, Perfumes, Flowers, and odoriferous Woods. They burn the Perfumes, and having ſet fire to the Boats and Ships, turn them adrift, ſo that they float upon down till they are quite burnt; and this they take for a Sacrifice that is acceptable to the King of the Winds. But when they cannot eaſily ſet their Boats and Gallies afloat, they kill Hens and Cocks, and throw them into the Sea right afore the Ship they mean to ſail in. They likewiſe pay a ſuperſtitious Deference to rhe imaginary King of the Sea, and dare not ſpit to the windward of the Ship, nor look behind them.

All their Boats and Ships are devoted to the Prince of the Winds and Seas, and they keep them as neat and clean as Temples. They place a wonderful Virtue in certain Characters called *Cavide*, which they wear under their Garments in little Boxes, and ſometimes under their Arms, Necks, Girdles, or Feet, according to the Seat of the Diſtemper; for, their imaginary Virtue is ſaid to conſiſt in curing or caſing Diſeaſes, procuring Love, Hatred, Safety, or Danger, *&c.* Theſe they buy of the Magicians. who are their only Phyſicians. They impute Death, Sickneſs, and all Affliction to the Devil, and, in order to pacify him, make him Offerings of Flowers and Banquets in a certain Place, where they let them conſume, unleſs ſome poor Body has the Senſe to take them. With the ſame View they offer him Cocks and Hens, which they kill with their Faces directed towards *Mohammed*'s Tomb.

20. To give a ſhort Account of their moſt common Diſtempers; the firſt is a Fever, which is dangerous to Strangers. An epidemical and contagious Diſeaſe called *Curiadin*, and not unlike the Small-pox, viſits them once in ten Years, and ſweeps off a great many. They are liable to Diſorders of the Eyes; many of them are quite blind, and moſt of them have little Eyes. When they have Occaſion to be long in the Sun, in the Height of the Day, they ſometimes loſe their Sight when the Sun goes down, and for a Cure of that Infirmity, they take the Liver of a Cock boiled, and after the writing of certain Words and Charms upon it, ſwallow it juſt before Sun-ſet; by this Remedy both I and my Companions received a conſiderable Benefit, through we omitted the magical Part. They are very ſubject to the Itch, which they heal with the Oil of Cocoas, and ſome of them are covered all over with incurable Tetters, which is owing to their feeding moſtly upon Salt-fiſh, and their pouring ſalt Water upon their ſalt Meat.

In the Winter, as they go barefoot, notwithſtanding that it rains continually, a ſort of Worm breeding in the Mud ſeizes upon the Soles of their Feet, and the Intervals of their Toes, where they raiſe Wheals that degenerate into Ulcers, ſo that they cannot walk; their whole Body is likewiſe infeſted with theſe Worms. Commonly their Spleens are large, and liable to Obſtructions, and their Bellies are apt to ſwell, and be hard, which they believe proceeds from their unhealthy Water. In all external Inflammatiods, or Aches, they apply Fire, which raiſes a Scar, and upon that they lay Cotton ſteeped in Cocoa Oil, which proves very ſucceſsful; their Ulcers, which happen chiefly in their Legs, are perfectly cured by the Application of Plates of Copper. As for their Wounds, they cure them very dexterouſly, by the Application of Ointments, without any Bandages or Tents; they are ſometimes troubled with Catarrhs, Defluxions, and Pains in the Bones. Venereal Diſeaſes are frequent among them; however, they cure them with China-wood without Sweating, and thoſe Diſtempers are communicated to them from the *Europeans*. They are altogether unacquainted with the Tooth-ach, which they owe to continual chewing of Betel, for that fortifies the Gums. As ſoon as the Children come into the World, they waſh them for a conſiderable Space of Time, ſix times a Day in cold Water, and then anoint them with Oil. When they void their Excrements, they waſh their Privities with Water. All Mothers, even the Queens themſelves, ſuckle their own Children, and beſides the Breaſt-Milk, feed them with a ſort of Pap made of Millet bruiſed, and ſteeped in Water, and afterwards boiled in Milk and Sugar of Cocoas. Though they never ſwaddle their Children, yet I never ſaw any of them deformed; they rock them in Hammocks of Cord, or in little Chairs hung up in the Air, which they ſwing to and again. At the Age of nine Months the Children begin to go, and when they are nine Years old, they commence the Studies and Exerciſes of the Country.

Their Studies conſiſt in learning to read and write, to underſtand the *Alcoran*, and to know their Duty. They have three ſorts of Letters, *viz.* the *Arabick*, the *Maldivan*, and a third ſort, which is commonly made uſe of in moſt Parts of the *Eaſt-Indies*. Their Leſſons are wrote down on white Tables of Wood, which they clean and whiten again after they have got their Leſſons by Heart; for durable Writings are on Paper made of the Leaf of a Tree called *Macare Queau*, that Leaf being a Fathom and a half long, and a Foot broad. To teach the Children to write, they make uſe of no Paper, but make Draughts of Letters with a Bodkin upon ſmooth, plain Boards of Wood, covered with fine white Sand. The Children have ſuch a profound Veneration for their Maſters, that they cannot marry them any more than their own Parents. Some of them, eſpecially the *Moudins*, *Naybeys*, and *Catines*, carry their Studies a great Length, and acquire great Skill in the *Alcoran*, and other Treatiſes of the Law. The Mathematicks are much eſteemed in this Country, and eſpecially that Part called Aſtrology; for they always conſult Aſtrologers, not only upon Nativities and Births, but upon all Undertakings whatſoever, as Travelling, Building, *&c.*

As for their Exerciſes, they have Schools for learning the right Uſe of a Sword and Buckler, of a Bow, of a Gun, and of a Pike; and the Maſters who teach them are much reſpected. They have no ſort of Diverſions but that of the Foot-ball, which they toſs very dexterouſly. Many of them apply themſelves to Manufactures for Houſhold-Goods and other Commodities, which they make very ingeniouſly; but the moſt univerſal and the moſt conſiderable Exerciſe they have, is that of Fiſhing, which is ſo common an Exerciſe all over the *Maldives*, that there is no ſuch thing as a particular Trade of that Nature; for Gentlemen, and even their Kings, purſue Fiſhing as we do Hunting in this Part of the World. Every Man there enjoys the natural Liberty of fiſhing where and for what he pleaſes. The Fiſh which are taken in the deep Sea about ſix or Seven Leagues off the Bars of the *Attollons* are large, and of ſeven or eight ſorts, ſuch as *Bonitos*, *Albacores*, *Guiltheads*, &c. which are all much of the ſame Taſte, and have no more Scales than a Mackrel. The Inſtruments with which they catch them are a Line of a Fathom and an half of great Cotton Thread tied to a Cane, together with its Hook, that in Form reſembles the Letter h. The Bait is not faſtened upon the Hook. but thrown about into the Sea; for they drag after their Boat a Quantity of ſmall Fiſh like our Roaches, which are very numerous among the Banks and Sands, and which are preſerved alive in Purſe-nets of Cocoa-thread; and when they come to the deep Sea they caſt theſe little Fiſhes about, and throw in their Line; upon which the great Fiſhes perceiving an unwonted Quantity of little Fiſh crowd upon them in Shoals, greedily ſwallow the whitened Hook, taking it for one of the little Fiſh. The Fiſh that ſwallows the Hook falls off as ſoon as the Line is brought into the Boat, and ſo the Line is thrown in again. At this rate they will fill their Boat with Fiſh in three or four Hours Time, and, which is very ſtrange, the Boat is all along under Sail. The Fiſh thus takes are all black, from whence they are called *Cobolly Maſſe*, i. e. the *Black-fiſh*. They have another Way of fiſhing in the Night-time upon the Banks that ſurround the *Attollons*. At every full and every new Moon they convey themſelves to the Banks upon Hurdles, and the Fiſhing laſts three Days every time. 'Tis performed by Lines of hard, coarſe Cotton Thread, ſome of which are fifty or ſixty Fathom long, and are blackened over with the Bark of a Tree that ſerves inſtead of Pitch, in order to preſerve it from Corruption. At the End of this Line they have a Hook with a Bait faſtened upon it, after the ſame manner as is uſual among us. By this means they catch a prodigious Quantity of large red Fiſh, ſuch as I never ſaw elſewhere, which eats moſt deliciouſly, and is by them called *The King of the Sea*. In fine, they have ſuch Plenty of ſeveral ſorts of Fiſh, and different Ways of taking them unknown to us, that 'tis impoſſible to diſtinguiſh them; for beſides the Lines above-mentioned, they have all ſorts of Nets of Cotton, Twine Wheels, and other Inſtruments for Fiſhing.

ing. Upon the Flats near the Shore they catch ſmall Fiſh like Pilchards with Caſting-nets.

At the two Equinoxes they have a general Fiſhing, which is very remarkable. At theſe two Periods of the Year, as the Tides flow beyond their wonted Bounds, ſo they ebb more than uſual, and diſcover ſeveral Rocks and Flats, which at other times continue under Water. Upon this Occaſion the *Maldivans* pitch upon ſeveral dry Corners, which they encompaſs with Stones raiſed like a Wall to a great Height, being forty Paces in Circumference, with a Door or Entrance left that is three Paces wide. This done, thirty or forty of them ſtretch out, all round the Flats, a large wide Circle of the great Cocoa-cords, at each Fathom of which they tie a Piece of Cocoa-ſhell dried, and that ſupplies the Place of Cork, making the Line float. Now the Fiſh incloſed within the Circle are ſo ſcared with the Shadow of the Floating-line, as if it had a Net underneath it, that inſtead of making their Eſcape by ſwimming, they fly from it, and, by the gradual Contraction of the Line, are brought into the Incloſure, the Entry of which is thereupon ſtopped with all Expedition with Faggots of the Boughs and Leaves of Cocoa compacted together of the Bigneſs of a Man; after all, the Sea runs out, and leaves the Fiſh on the dry Land. This Fiſhery, which continues fifteen Days together, produces commonly ten or twelve thouſand Fiſh. To conclude, I know of no Place in all the *Eaſt-Indies* that can vie with the *Maldives* for a rich and plentiful Fiſhery.

21. After having thus diſpatched the Learning and Exerciſes of the *Maldivans*, it will now be proper to take a View of their Temper and Inclinations. They are a lively, briſk, and at the ſame time a ſober and wiſe People, and very diſcreet in moſt of their Actions. They love Arms and Exerciſe, and are not deſtitute of Courage. They diſplay a great deal of Induſtry in Arts and Manufactures, and are polite enough in their Manners. They are religious to a very high degree, and ſuperſtitious beyond meaſure, tho' at the ſame time they are extreamly given to Wantonneſs and Debauchery. Adultery, Inceſt, and Sodomy, are their common Actions. Notwithſtanding the Severity of their Laws, Fornication is accounted no Crime, and a young Woman ſuffers no Affront for obliging a Friend before Marriage. The Impudence of the Women is unparalleled, and the Men are as vicious as they, though indeed they cannot outdo them if they would. The Men bend all their Thoughts upon their ſupporting of Nature, and would give their whole Eſtates for a Receipt to corroborate drooping Luſt. Their amorous Feats engroſs all their Diſcourſes, and their Wives or Whores are their inſeparable Companions.

Though they are impudent to the laſt Degree, yet the Regard they have for their Parents and Relations ſtifles it in their Preſence; and if a Man talks a little jocularly to a Woman before any of her Relations, they will reſent it ſo far as to proſecute him at Law, and oblige him to own in Court that he takes them for Perſons of Honour, unleſs he declares he did not know of their Affinity to the Lady. A Man muſt not enter where a Woman bathes, or is preſent without her Garment; tho' ſhe never takes off the Cloth that ſupplies the Place of a Petticoat. When a Man is in Company with a Woman, if another Man meets them, he muſt not aſk if ſhe be his Daughter or Wife, but if ſhe be his Kinſwoman, and what Degree of Affinity or Conſanguinity ſhe ſtands in to him: For if the Woman be really the Man's Daughter, and the other aſk if ſhe is his Wife, he will take the Queſtion for an Inſinuation of Inceſt.

As I intimated above, the Women ſeldom ſtir abroad in the Days, ſo that they make all their Viſits at Night, being accompanied with a Man who walks before, and when he ſees any one approaching, calls out thrice *Gas*, i. e. take care. Upon this Signal, the Man betakes himſelf to the other Side of the Street, without ſeeming to ſee or know the Woman: Nay, if one Woman meets another, ſhe takes to the other Side of the Way, and does not ſalute her unleſs ſhe be very intimately acquainted with her; the outer Gate of the Houſes being always open till eleven o'Clock at Night, at which Time every body is at home. The Viſitors have no Occaſion to knock, and indeed the Gates have no Knockers. After entering the Outer-gate, and approaching to the Door of the Houſes, which is always open, and ſpread with Tapeſtry of Cotton Cloth, or ſome other Stuff, they cough once, upon which the People of the Houſe come out. In the Iſland of *Male* the King's Officers and Soldiers cough frequently, to give Notice to one another in the dark Streets, for fear of receiving mutual Wounds from their Arms, which are always naked in their Hands.

22. We ſhall in the next place take a View of their Government, which is an abſolute Monarchy, for the King is feared and revered by all, and every thing depends upon his Pleaſure under him. Each *Attollon* has a Naybe or Governor, who is a Prieſt, and Doctor of the Law. The Naybes govern the inferior Prieſts, and are intruſted with the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, and the Management of religious Concerns. The *Cantons* or *Attollons* being ſubdivided into many Iſlands, each of theſe Iſlands, that contain above forty-one Men, is allotted a Doctor called Cantibe, who preſides there in religious Matters, and rules over the particular Prieſts of the Moſques. All the Prieſts are employed in inſtructing the People in the Law, and live upon a certain Portion of Fruits collected from every Inhabitant, and a Salary allowed them by the King, in proportion to their Dignity.

The Naybes indeed are likewiſe employed in the Adminiſtration of Juſtice; nay, they are the only Judges both in civil and criminal Caſes; and it is for the ſake of Juſtice, as well as the promoting of Religion, that they make four Circuits in the Year through all Parts within their Juriſdiction. When they go theſe Circuits, they gather their Dues, and receive Preſents from an Infinity of Perſons, ſo that Circuits furniſh by this means the beſt Part of their Incomes. The Naybes, or thirteen Judges, are under the Direction of a ſuperior called the Pandiare, and in *Arabick* the Cady, who reſides in the Iſle of *Male*, and is not only the ſupreme Judge in all Cauſes, but likewiſe the Head of the national Church. He receives Appeals from the Naybes, but does not paſs Sentence without taking the Advice of four or five Moncoris, *i. e.* Doctors learned in the Law, and divers other Sciences, who are univerſally honoured and reſpected, there being only fifteen in all the *Maldives*. The Judgment pronounced by the Pandiare may be reverſed by appealing to the King himſelf, who upon ſuch Occaſions orders Juſtice to be done by the principal Officers, of whom there are ſix Counſellors of State.

The Pandiares make a Circuit once a Year through the Iſle of *Male*, as every Naybe does in his reſpective *Attollon*, and condemns all to be whipped that cannot ſay their Creed and Prayers in the *Arabic* Tongue, and conſtrue them into the *Maldivan*. When he goes along the Street, the Women muſt not ſhew themſelves; for if he ſpies any unveiled, he orders their Hair to be ſhaven. Each *Attollon* has, beſides the Naybes, a Collector of the King's Revenues. Juſtice is diſpenſed in the Houſe of the Naybe, or elſe at the Pandiare's Houſe in *Male*, and ſometimes, in Caſes of Moment, in the King's Palace. The Defendant is ſummoned by Serjeants called *Devaints* to come before the Naybe, by Virtue of a ſpecial Letter or Writ from the Naybe; but if he lives out of the Naybe's Juriſdiction, he is ſummoned by Letters from the Pandiare, which enjoin him to come from any Part of the Realm to the Iſland of *Male*.

The Pandiare's Writ is ſerved publickly upon the Defendant by the Calibe, or Superior of the Iſland; and if he does not appear at the Place appointed, he is not only excommunicated, and excluded from eating and drinking with his Neighbours, or coming to Church, but ſeized by a Party of Soldiers. If either Plaintiff or Defendant ſuſpects the Partiality of the Naybe, they have Recourſe to the King, who orders the Cauſe to be tried before impartial Judges. The contending Parties plead their own Cauſes; in the Buſineſs of Right or Title they are judged by the Law; and in Allegations of Matter of Fact, the Plaintiff muſt have them atteſted by three Witneſſes, or elſe the Defendant's own Oath will bring him off. In adminiſtring an Oath, the Judge holds up the Book of the Law, and the Evidence is obliged to touch it with his Hand, and that not ſuperficially, but ſo that every one may obſerve a real Contract. Whatever is adjudged to the Plaintiff, a twelfth Part of it goes to the Serjeant, but nothing to the Judges.

If Women are called as Witneſſes, three of them are equivalent to one Man. Slaves can neither witneſs, nor plead, and the meaneſt of them, called *Allo*, have but one Wife, whereas the reſt are allowed three. By Slaves they underſtand ſuch only as voluntarily ſell themſelves, or are imported as Slaves from foreign Places; for a Shipwrecked Stranger, that was not a Slave before that Misfortune, continues in the Enjoyment of his Liberty. The Puniſhment of beating a Slave, is half of what they inflict for beating a Freeman.

23. An inſolvent Debtor is obliged to become a Servant to his Creditor, but not a Slave, and he and his Children after him continue in the Service till the Debt is worked out. If he thinks himſelf ill uſed, he may turn himſelf over to another Maſter, provided he lays down the Money due to the former. If a Man be murdered, his Wife cannot proſecute the Malefactor, but the Judge obliges him to maintain her Children, and bring them up to a Trade, till they are of Age, at which Time they are qualified either to forgive, or proſecute the Murderer; for the State takes no Cognizance of perſonal Injuries, unleſs the Party aggrieved complains of them. The ordinary Puniſhment for Criminals is Whipping, which, indeed, is very ſevere, and frequently mortal; but in ſome Caſes they are baniſhed to the ſouthern deſart Iſlands, and in others, they are doomed to the Loſs of a principal Member. The Whips are made of Thongs of thick Leather, which are a Fathom long, two Fingers thick, and four Fingers broad, five or ſix of them being faſtened together in a wooden Handle. Whipping is the Puniſhment for Sodomy, Inceſt, Adultery, Perjury, and Rapes; but over and above that Puniſhment, an Adultereſs has her Hair cut off; a perjured Criminal pays a pecuniary Mulct for the Benefit of the Poor, and a Raviſher is obliged to give a Dowry to the injured Woman.

The ſtealing of any thing of Value is puniſhed with the Loſs of a Hand, and the diſobeying of the Law, with publick Penance; for they are of Opinion, they can never come into Paradiſe without ſatisfying the Demands of the Law. The Sentences pronounced by the Judge are executed by the Serjeants, for they have no Hangman or publick Executioner; though Death is by Law the Puniſhment of Homicide, they never condemn a Priſoner to die, unleſs the King expreſly requires it, which ſeldom happens; and when it does, the King ſends his own Soldiers to execute the Sentence, for he reſerves the Power of Life and Death to himſelf; whereas the inflicting other Puniſhments lies in the Hands of the Judges. Their Tenderneſs in not ſentencing Criminals to die, is grounded upon Pretence of not diſpeopling the Country, there being ſo great a Number of Criminals who juſtly deſerve Death. When the King is perſonally offended, he makes the Criminal lie upon the Ground, flat upon his Belly, his Arms and Legs being held by four Men, while his Back is ſoundly beat with a *Bengala* Cane, called *Ratan*, which takes off the Skin, and leaves a perpetual Mark.

Indictments, Depoſitions, or Sentences, are never put in Writing, being all very ſhort; nay, in civil Matters, the Allegations are never written, unleſs it be in a Suit for Land of Inheritance, or Cocoa Trees, which are reckoned immoveable; then, indeed, the Judges give Letters ſealed with Ink (Wax they do not uſe) for an Evidence of the Perſon's Right, to be tranſmitted to Poſterity. The Inhabitants of this Country are divided into four Claſſes, namely, the Royal Family, Perſons inveſted with Dignities and Offices, the Nobility and Gentry, and the common People. The third Rank is diſtinguiſhed from the fourth by their Birth, and the Diſtinction is ſo nicely kept up, that the latter dare not ſit in the Preſence of the former. If a Noble Woman marries a Plebeian, ſhe retains her Rank, and upon her Account the Children are reckoned Noble; but a Woman of the loweſt Form cannot enoble herſelf by marrying a Nobleman.

Beſides the Nobles by Birth, there are ſome enobled by the King, who, upon ſuch Occaſions, gives them Letters, entitling them to that Privilege, and ſends an Officer round the Iſland to make Publication of the Promotion. The firſt Rank comprehends the King, who is called *Roſquan*, the Queen is called *Renequellague*, the Princes and Princeſſes of the Blood are called *Callans* and *Camanaz*, and all who are deſcended of the King's Predeceſſors. The next Station is allotted to the great Officers of the Kingdom, particularly to the *Quillague*, or the King's Lieutenant-General, who commands in the King's Abſence; the *Eudequerry*, who always attends the King's Perſon, as chief Counſellor; the *Velanas*, who takes Care of all Strangers, and takes the Rudder off all Ships that arrive, for fear they ſhould ſet ſail without taking Leave; the General of their Forces, called *Dorimenaz*; the *Manpas*, or Chancellor, who affixes to all Letters the King's Seal, *i. e.* the Impreſſion of his Name in *Arabick*, engraven on Silver; the Secretary, called *Carrans*, &c. Theſe Officers have, beſides the Rents of certain Iſlands allotted them, the King's Rice for their Proviſion (which is a great Honour, allowed likewiſe to the Soldiers) and the Toll of the Ships that trade to the *Maldives*. The Officers and Soldiers are ſo much eſteemed, that a Nobleman is not reſpected, unleſs he be an Officer; and a Gentleman will hardly paſs for ſuch, unleſs he be liſted into the King's Service.

The King's Guards conſiſt of ſix Companies, of one hundred Men each, commanded by the ſix Counſellors, called *Moſcoulis*: Beſides theſe, there are ten Battalions, commanded by ten of the Grandees of the Country, which ſerve the King not in Fighting, but in the Launching of Ships, building of Palaces, and ſuch other Work, being called together by the Sound of a Bell. In five of thoſe Companies none but Gentlemen are received, but the other five take in common People. Slaves are always excluded, as well as thoſe who work in a mechanical Way, as the dreſſing of Cocoa Trees, &c. and particularly ſuch as ſerve others, or cannot read or write. Whoever is liſted as a Soldier, pays twenty *Larins* to the King, and forty to be diſtributed among the Company in which he is to ſerve. To conclude; all Offices are bought of the King, and much coveted, on account of the Honour and Power that attends them; but the Perſons inveſted with theſe Offices can neither ſell nor reſign them.

24. The Iſlanders have but one Name, ſuch as *Mohammed*, *Haly*, *Haſſam*, *Aſſan*, *Ibrabim*, and are diſtinguiſhed by their Stations as Noble, Plebeian, &c. added to their Name, and ſometimes by the Addition of the Iſland in which they live. The Royal Palace is of Stone, one Story high, and has a great many fine Apartments, without the Ornaments of regular Architecture. It is ſurrounded with Gardens, in which there are great Fountains and Ciſterns of Water walled in, and paved with large ſmooth Stones, and guarded continually, to hinder People from waſhing in them, as being ſolely reſerved for the King and Queen's Uſe. The Palace is divided into ſeveral Courts, each of which has a Wall in the middle, paved with fair white Stones; and in one of theſe Courts the King has two Magazines, one for Ordnance, and the other for Ammunition. At the Palace-Gate there is a Guard, with many Pieces of Ordnance, and other Arms. The Portal is made like a ſquare Tower, and on Feſtival-Days the Muſicians ſing and play upon the Top of it. Paſſing on from the Gate, you firſt come to a Hall, where the Soldiers wait, then to another great Hall, where the Noblemen and Gentlemen attend; for none but the Officers of the Houſhold, with the King and Queen's Slaves, or Servants, are allowed to go farther. The Floor of theſe Halls is raiſed three Feet high from the Ground, to avoid the Ants, being neatly boarded with Wood, and covered with a ſort of party-coloured Mats, which they make in theſe Iſlands, and which have ſeveral Characters, and other Figures wrought upon them.

The Walls are hung with ſilk Tapeſtry as well as the Cieling, which has pretty Fringes hanging about it. The Noblemen ſit down croſs-legged on the Mats which cover the Floor of the Hall, obſerving punctually the Order of their Dignities. The Gentry of the Iſland of *Male*, and the ordinary Courtiers who are oblige to ſalute the King every Day after Noon, ſit in an outer Hall till his Majeſty comes forth. The Gentry of the other Iſlands come likewiſe to wait on the King in the ſame Manner, and always bring Preſents along with them, for no one ſalutes the

King without one. The Chambers and inner Apartments are hung with ſilk Tapeſtry, and enriched with gold Flowers and Branches of ſeveral Colours. The Beds of the Palaces, and thoſe of the great Men, are hung with Cords upon a Beam, ſupported by two Pillars, and ſo the Perſon is rocked to Sleep. It is uſual among the better Sort of People, to make the Servants rub and chafe their Bodies when they lie down, and to give them little Slaps, or gentle Blows, with both their Hands, from an Apprehenſion that it promotes Sleep, and expels the Spleen.

The King is generally cloathed in a fine white Robe, or Coat of Cotton, reaching to the Girdle, or a little lower, with white and blue Edgings, and made faſt before with maſſy gold Buttons. Then he has a Piece of red embroidered Tapeſtry reaching from the Girdle to the Heels, and faſtened with a long large Girdle of Silk, fringed with Gold, and a great Chain of Gold before, upon which there hangs a large Jewel, as big as one's Fiſt, compoſed of the fineſt precious Stones; he wears likewiſe a Knife, made after the Faſhion of the Country, and it is richer than ordinary. Upon his Head he has a Cloth of Scarlet, that Cloth being ſo much eſteemed in that Country, that none but the King preſumes to wear it. This Cap is laced with Gold, and has on the Top of it a great gold Button, with a precious Stone. The Grandees and Soldiers wear their Hair long, but the King has his Head ſhaved every Week. His Legs are naked, after the Faſhion of the Country, and his Feet are covered with Slippers of gilt Copper, imported from *Arabia*, and made like Sandals, which none beſides are allowed to wear, but the Queen and the Princes of the Royal Blood.

25. When the King goes abroad, the chief Mark of his Dignity is a white Umbrella, which none are allowed to uſe but Strangers, who may have what they will. Upon the ſame Occaſion he has three Pages near his Perſon, one carrying a Fan, another his Sword and Buckler, and a third a Box full of Betel and Arequa, which he chews every Hour. He is likewiſe attended by a Doctor of Law, who reads in his Preſence, and puts him in Mind of Religion This King does not purſue the Diverſions of going Abroad, and Fiſhing, as his Predeceſſors were wont to do, but ſhuts himſelf up in his Palace, and ſpends his Time in careſſing his Queen, giving Audience to his Courtiers, and ſeeing a great many Meçhanicks and Artificers work; for he keeps in his Palace Painters, Goldſmiths, Embroiderers, Cutlers, Joiners, Turners, Armourers, *&c.* and finds them Work; nay, he works frequently with his own Hands, and looks on it as a Sin to be idle. He is a Man of a lively quick Apprehenſion, and very curious to learn mechanick Trades. He encourages all Strangers that practiſe Arts unknown to his People, and makes Enquiry after thoſe that excel in their Way.

On a *Friday* he goes in great Pomp to the Temple, being attended by his Guards, conſiſting of an hundred Men, and his ordinary Officers, with a complete Band of Muſick of Drums, Flutes, and Trumpets. After Service is over, he returns with the ſame Retinue, the Soldiers leaping all the Way at the Sound of Muſick, and ſtriking their Swords on one another's Bucklers, and that in ſuch a ſucceſſive Manner as to avoid Confuſion. He is likewiſe attended, in his Return from Church, by all the People of the Iſland, and regales with a Dinner the Pandiare, Naybes, Catibes, Moudins, Gentlemen, and Soldiers. After Dinner he hears Cauſes, and adminiſters Juſtice. Theſe Iſlands afford neither Horſe nor Beaſt, and therefore the King walks abroad on Foot, unleſs he be carried in a Chair upon Slaves Shoulders, which happens but ſeldom, for he is a brawny ſtrong Man, and chooſes rather to go on Foot. In ſpeaking to the King, or Queen, or Princes of the Royal Blood, and in ſpeaking of them, they have peculiar Expreſſions, that they dare not apply to others; as when they ſay of another Man, he is aſleep, in talking of the King, they ſay, he takes his Reſt.

The Queens wear the ſame ſorts of Habits with the other *Maldivan* Women, only their Cloaths are richer. The Noblemen's Ladies and Daughters are obliged to wait upon them every Evening: And when the Queens go abroad (which happens but very ſeldom) all the Women in the Iſland run to meet them in their reſpective Diſtricts with Preſents of Flowers and Fruits, the She-Slaves giving Notice, at a great Diſtance before them, for all Men to get out of the Way upon that Occaſion. Four great Ladies carry over the Queen's Head a Veil of white Silk, reaching to the Ground, ſo that ſhe is not ſeen. The Queens bathe frequently in the Sea, as well as other Women, ſuch being the Cuſtom of the Country, which they reckon very conducive to Health. For this End they have an Incloſure in the Sea, covered with Cotton-Cloth, and upon the Shore a little Houſe, with a Freſh-water Bath, which they uſe as they come out of the Sea. Daylight is never ſeen in the Queen's Chambers, or thoſe of the Ladies of Quality, for their only Light is Lamps burning continually; and the Place of the Room where they uſually retire is blocked up with four or five Rows of Tapeſtry, the innermoſt of which neither Man or Woman dares to pull up without coughing or hemming firſt, and telling who they are. When they undreſs, they pull off only their Robe, for neither Men nor Women in the *Maldives* dare to throw off the Cloth that is tied round their Middle.

26. As for the King's Revenue, he has many Iſlands, which are Crown-Lands, beſides a fifth Part of all the Grain and Fruits of the Country, and a Tax on dried Fiſh, Shells called Bely, and Cords of Cocoas, which he lays upon them according to their Circumſtances, for he has no Taxes paid him in Money, abating what is paid as a Purchaſe for Titles and Offices, or for Licences to wear fine Apparel. He obliges his People to make him every Year as much Cotton Cloth as cloaths his Soldiers, for he gives them Cloaths as well as Pay. This Revenue is further enlarged by his Claim to the Goods imported by Shipping, for a Ship no ſooner arrives, than the Owners repair to him, and give him an Account of their Cargo, out of which he takes what he pleaſes, at low Rates, and obliges his Subjects to take them of him again at what Price he pleaſes, by way of Exchange, for ſuch Things as he wants, and often fits out Ships laden with the Commodities of his own Country.

All Wrecks found on the Sea-Shore are immediately brought to the King, for no Subject dares keep them; the ſame is done with Ambergris, called by the *Maldives* Gomen, which is more plentiful here than in any Part of the *Indies*, and which is ſo narrowly looked after, that whoever appropriates it to his own Uſe loſes a Hand. In a word, whatever the Sea caſts upon the Shore is the King's, particularly a ſort of Sea-nuts, called Tanacarre, as big as a Man's Head, which they fancy to grow on Trees under Water. The *Portugueze* call them Cocoas of the *Maldives*; they are uſed in Phyſick, and very dear. Their Money is Silver only, and but of one ſort, called Larins; however, all Gold and Silver is current here by Weight, as it is all over the *Indies*. Before they take it, it is tried in the Fire, and every Man keeps Weights for that Purpoſe. There is a ſort of Metal called Cabin, reſembling Tin, much eſteemed in the *Indies*, but not current there. Iron Money paſſes no where in the *Indies*, but in the Dominions of the Prince that coined it, having but one ſort of Coin; they are forced to cut it, by which they loſe a twelfth Part. Inſtead of ſmall Coins they uſe ſometimes Shells, 12000 of which make a Larin, and a Larin is worth about eight Sols, being long, like one's Finger, and folded; the King's Name is ſet upon thoſe Folds in *Arabick* Letters. Their Gold and Silver is all imported from abroad, but in their own Markets they often barter one Thing for another. The *Maldives* are well frequented with Merchants, and the Commodities they ſend abroad are chiefly the Cocoas, with which they load above one hundred Ships yearly. Of this the Cordage is made that ſerves all the Ships of *Arabia*, *Malabar*, and all the *Indies*. They make alſo Oil and Honey of that Tree, and by weaving the Leaves of the Tree make Sails. They vend alſo little Shells, that contain a Creature in them of the Bigneſs of the End of one's little Finger, white, very ſmooth, and glittering. They fiſh for them but twice a Month, three Days before and three Days after the new Moon, and ſo before and after the full Moon. The Women gather them in the Sands and Flats of the Sea, ſtanding

ing up to their Middle in Water. Theſe go only to *Bengal*, the Inhabitants of which eſteem them ſo much, that I have ſeen thirty or forty Ships laden, without any other Commodity, bound thither. Though in *Bengal* they have enough of other Metals, yet theſe Shells paſs there as Money, and the King and Noblemen hoard up prodigious Quantities of them, accounting them their Treaſure. They give twenty Meaſures of Rice for a Fardel of Shells, each Fardel containing 12000. They have, beſides theſe, a ſort of Tortoiſe-ſhell, called Cambe, which is black and ſmooth, and has many natural Figures; it is found no where but there, and in the *Philippines*, and goes off beſt in *Cambaya*. Here they make fine Reed-mats, and Cloths of Cotton and Silk; in Exchange the Merchants export ſome Cotton and Silk Cloths, a ſort of Oil, Arac, Iron, Steel, Pieces of Porcelane, and, in ſhort, all the Neceſſaries of Life; yet every thing is cheap, becauſe of the Number and Frequency of Ships. They import all their Gold and Silver, which they never ſend out again, but lay it up among their Wives Jewels as their chief Treaſure.

27. After following our Author through his large Deſcription of the *Maldives*, we are next to recur to his perſonal Adventures, in order to acquaint the Reader how he recovered his Freedom, and eſcaped from thence to the Continent of *India*, from whence he returned to his native Country. The Fact, as he relates it, runs thus: He ſays, That in the Beginning of the Month of *February*, 1607, he dreamed that he was ſet at Liberty, and found a Paſſage home to *Europe*, which made a very great Impreſſion on his Mind, inſomuch that it induced him to make a Vow of going in Pilgrimage to the Shrine of *St. James* of *Galicia*, in order to return God Thanks, if this Dream ſhould prove true; at the ſame time he was exceedingly perplexed in his Mind, and endeavoured to diſcover how this could be brought about. All his Conjectures proved vain and fruitleſs; but two Nights after the Thing diſcovered itſelf, by the unexpected News that the King of *Bengal* was preparing to invade the *Maldives* with a Fleet of ſixteen Sail of large Gallies. On the firſt receiving of this Intelligence, the King of *Male* iſſued his Orders for fitting out, with all imaginable Expedition, the large Ships, and all the Gallies, Barks, and Veſſels in his Dominions; but before this could be accompliſhed, the Enemy's Fleet appeared in Sight; upon which the King ſuddenly altered his Reſolution, and determined to fly to the Southern Iſlands, in Hopes of taking Shelter there, till ſuch Time as he could aſſemble a Force ſufficient to expel the Invaders. His beſt Goods were immediately embarked, as alſo his three Queens, each of whom was carried by a Gentleman in his Arms, as if they had been Children, covered with Veils of Taffety of different Colours; as ſoon as they were on board the King followed them, leaving his Capital altogether defenceleſs, and the Streets full of Women, crying and lamenting the Danger to which they were expoſed. The Enemy no ſooner arrived than they divided their Forces, ſending eight of their Gallies in Purſuit of the King, with whom the Wind failing, they very ſpeedily came up, engaged his ſmall Fleet, and having killed the unfortunate Monarch of the *Maldives*, who fought very bravely in his own Defence, made themſelves Maſters of his Ships, Wives, and Treaſures. As ſoon as theſe People landed in *Male*, our Author ſurrendered, and put himſelf into their Hands, declaring to them in what Manner he came thither, and how he had remained Priſoner there for ſeveral Years. They treated him very kindly, as ſoon as they were ſatisfied that he was not a *Portugueze*; for had he been of that Nation, they would, without any Ceremony, have put him to Death. The Conquerors remained about ten Days on the Iſland, in which Space they carried on board their Veſſels all the Plunder of the King's Palace, with every Thing of Value they could find, particularly one-hundred-and-twenty Pieces of Cannon, and then prepared for their Departure, leaving every body at Liberty, excepting only the King's Brother-in-Law, whom they carried with them, and our Author, who went of his own Accord, and who with ſome Difficulty got to *Bengal*, where he had Leiſure to contrive, the beſt he could, the Means of finding a Paſſage back to *Europe*. While he remained in *Bengal*, the *Mogul* declared War againſt that Prince, who immediately aſſembled a prodigious Army, in order to withſtand him, amounting, as our Author was informed, to ſeveral hundred thouſand Men, and ſome thouſands of armed Elephants; which military Preparations did not incline him to remain any longer than till he found an Opportunity of withdrawing himſelf, and this in a ſhort Time he obtained.

28. He retired from *Bengal* to the *Malabar* Coaſt, inhabited at that Time for the moſt Part by Pirates, from whence he proceeded to *Calicut*, where he remained eight Months, waiting for a *Dutch* Ship; but at laſt was perſuaded by the Jeſuits to go to *Cochin*, where, on his firſt Arrival, he was impriſoned as a Spy, and ſuffered great Hardſhips. At *Goa* alſo he was a Priſoner with thoſe who remained of ſeventeen *Engliſh* taken at the Bar of *Surat*. The Jeſuits had brought one Maſter *Richards*, and four other *Engliſhmen*, from the *Mogul*'s Court; ſome *Hollanders* alſo were there, and they were all Priſoners together; but the Jeſuits undertook for them, and procured their Liberty, *viz. Thomas Stevens* an *Engliſhman*, and Rector of *Margon* College in *Salſete*, *Nicholas Trigaut* a *Walloon*, *Stephen Croſs* a *Frenchman* of *Roan*, with *Gaſpar Almano* a *Spaniard*. This *Thomas Stevens* procured the Liberty of the *Engliſhmen* alſo, four of which became Catholicks, and two of them died there. Don *Louis Lorenço d'Eſtabla* arrived at *Goa* with the Title of Viceroy to the People's great Grief, with the more deſired Don *Andreo Furtado*: Ten Months after his coming four great Carracks arrived, each about two thouſand Tons; five had departed from *Liſbon*, but they knew not what was become of the fifth, which was ſeparated by a Tempeſt at the *Cape*; in each were embarked a thouſand Perſons, Soldiers, Mariners, Jeſuits, and other Churchmen, with Merchants and Gentlemen; but when they arrived at *Goa*, there were not above three hundred in each, by reaſon of the Sickneſs and Miſeries they endured in eight Months at Sea without Sight of Land. Theſe brought an Edict from the King, forbidding the *Engliſh*, *French*, or *Dutch* Commerce in his Dominions; and if there were any ſuch there, to ſend them away, upon Peril of their Lives. On the 26th of *December* 1609, he embarked for *Liſbon*, and on the 15th of *March* 1610, they arrived at the Iſle of *Diego Rodriguz* in 20°, about forty Leagues Eaſt from *Saint Laurence*. After a cruel Storm there five Days together, they reached the Cape, *St. Helena*, *Braſil*, the *Acore*, the *Berlings*, and having paid his Vow to *St. James* in *Galicia*, he arrived at *Rochelle* the 16th of *February* 1611. Thus we have brought this Voyage to a Concluſion without taking in the Author's Travels through the Reſt of *India*, which would have ſwelled the Section to a great Extent, and would have contributed little to the Reader's Satisfaction, as containing nothing which may not be met with elſewhere, in as good, or in a better Dreſs, as the Reader will perceive in the next Section, wherein we ſhall give one of the exacteſt and beſt written Voyages to the *Eaſt-Indies* that is any where extant. But with regard to the *Maldives*, *Pirard*'s Account is beyond a Queſtion preferable to any, for the Reaſons we have aſſigned at the Beginning of the Voyage. It may not, however, be amiſs, conſidering our Author went thither one-hundred-and-fifty Years ago, to conclude the preſent Section with ſome Remarks on the State thoſe Iſlands are now in, that we may give the Reader, as near as poſſible, a compleat View of the Subject at once, without fatiguing him with needleſs and impertinent Repetitions; for want of which Caution, moſt of our old Collections of Voyages ſwell to ſuch bulky Volumes, and at the ſame time are, in many material Points, extremely defective.

29. One would imagine, from the Account given us by this Writer, that in the Courſe of ſo many Years as have elapſed ſince his being ſhipwrecked on thoſe Iſlands, many of them muſt have been ſwallowed up entirely, and many more rendered uninhabitable and deſart, which, however, does not appear to be the Caſe. On the contrary, the Iſland of *Male*, according to the lateſt Accounts we have, is in a better Condition than ever, and the *Dutch* carry on there a very conſiderable Commerce, the Natives themſelves alſo trading in their own Veſſels to *Cylon*, where they are well uſed by the *Dutch*, and make a very great Profit of thoſe little Shells which are called *Cauris*, *Coris*, and by our Seamen *Cowries*. Of theſe there are prodigious Quanti-

ties, not only on the Shore of the *Maldives*, waſhed thither by the Waves of the Sea, but alſo dug up in the very Heart of ſome of the Iſlands, as being very probably left there at the Time theſe Lands were deſerted by the Ocean. As the Meaſure of Things, which we call Money, is altogether arbitrary, and depends ſolely on an Agreement amongſt Men, that this or that ſhall ſtand for and be regarded as a common Meaſure, ſo in many Countries, both of *Aſia* and *Africa*, theſe Shells, by a certain tacit Agreement, are fixed as ſuch a common Meaſure, and are conſequently eſteemed, and have the Currency of Money. It is that gives them a Value even with ſuch as deſpiſe thoſe who trade with and receive them as Money, without reflecting, that Shells are to the full as capable of being conſtituted Money as either Gold or Silver, and without remembering that they are compelled to practiſe what they themſelves ſo much condemn, and to take theſe paltry Shells for Money. At *Bengal* two thouſand four hundred Cowries were, in the Year 1740, valued at a Rupee, or about half a Crown of our Money.

But the great Uſe of them is on the Coaſts of *Africa*, and particularly on thoſe of *Guinea*, where the Negroes eſteem them to the full as much as Gold and Silver, and where they paſs under the Denomination of *Bougies*. We may gueſs at the vaſt Conſumption of this Commodity or Money, by the *French* Merchants in the Kingdom of *Fidah*; who give for a Piece of the common Cloth made by the Natives, commonly eighty Pound Weight of Cowries, and ſo in proportion for the richer Commodities of that Country, ſuch as Wax, Ivory, Gold, *&c.* The *Dutch* uſually furniſh other *European* Nations with this kind of Negro Coin, if I may be allowed that Expreſſion, and the Reader will eaſily conceive from thence how beneficial that Trade is which they drive with the *Maldives*. It might be wondered how this Demand for theſe Shells is kept up upon the Coaſt of *Guinea*; but in order to account for this, we are to underſtand that, like Gold and Silver, theſe are not only the Meaſures of Commerce among the Negroes, but likewiſe the higheſt Mark of their Finery, ſince they wear them as Necklaces, Collars, and Bracelets, ſtrung upon Hair or Silk, either in ſingle or double Rows, which indeed make an odd, but at the ſame time no diſagreeable Figure on the Necks and Arms of the Natives, the ſnowy Whiteneſs of the Shell appearing to great Advantage, when compared with their jet-black Skins.

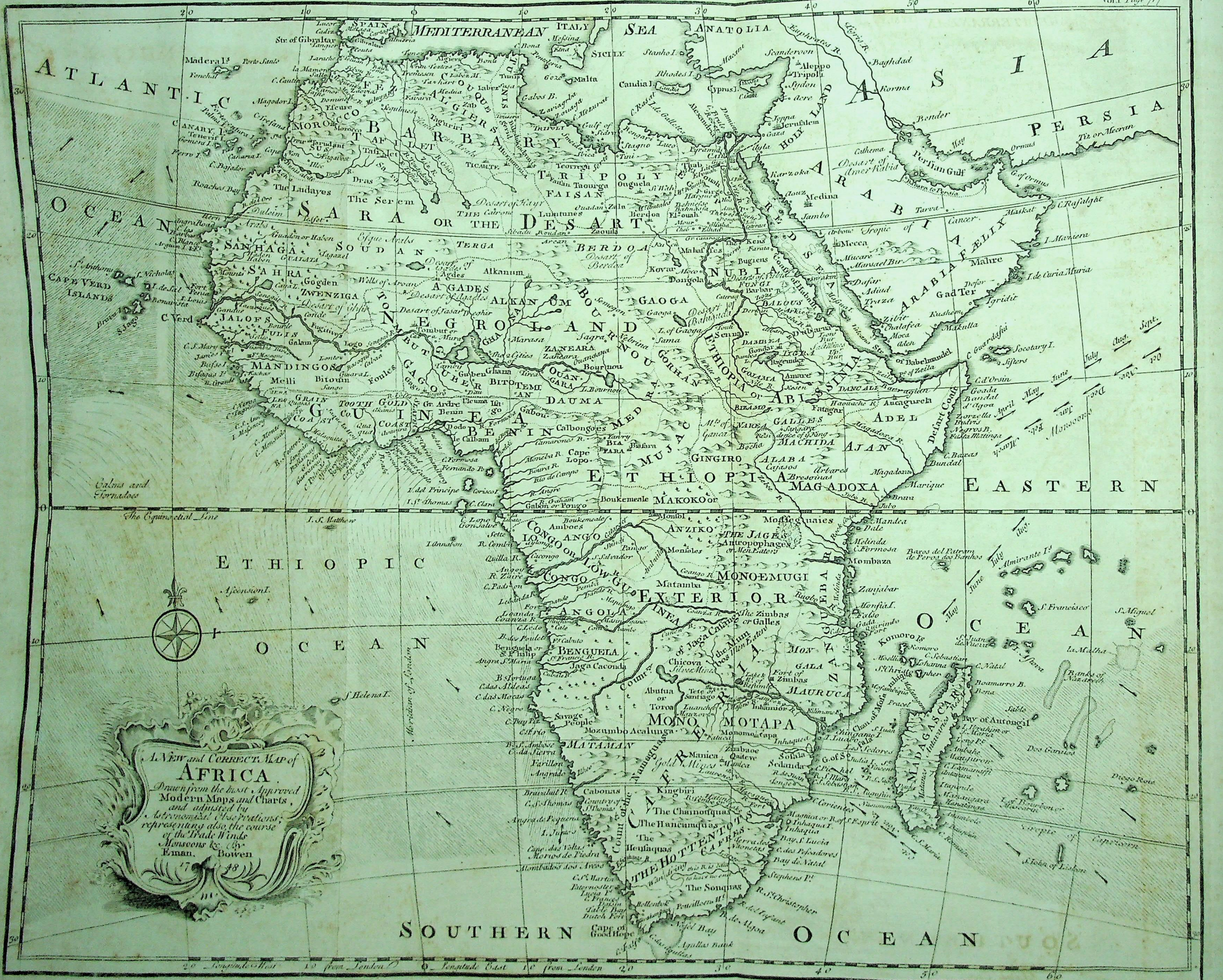
Heretofore about twelve thouſand Pound Weight of Cowries was ſufficient to purchaſe a Cargo of five or ſix hundred Negroes; but at preſent the Market is raiſed, and the Proportion between Man's Fleſh and Baubles ſo altered, that a Ship Load of Slaves cannot be bought for leſs than twelve or fourteen Ton of Cowries. As there would be a great deal of Trouble in adjuſting Payments made in this kind of Money, the Negroes, though ſo ſtupid as to ſell themſelves for Shells, have invented a kind of Copper Baſon of ſuch Size and Shape, as to hold about one hundred and eight Pounds of theſe Shells, which is a great Eaſe to the Merchants. We muſt not, however, imagine, that theſe Shells are not to be found any where elſe but in theſe Iſlands, ſince it is certain that they are likewiſe met with on the Coaſt of the *Philippines*; but theſe are of an inferior Nature, and much below the Cowries of the *Maldives* in Whiteneſs and Luſtre. The principal Mart in *Europe* for theſe Shells is *Amſterdam*, where they have of them large Magazines, and where they are purchaſed both by *French* and *Engliſh* Merchants, for the Conveniency of exporting them to *Africa*.

But to return to the Trade of the *Maldives*, which is far from being ſo inconſiderable as ſome of our modern Writers would have us believe, and that for no better Reaſon than this, becauſe the *Europeans* have not ſettled amongſt them; whereas from this Account, it is moſt evident, that it is impoſſible for them to ſettle there for a Multitude of Reaſons, which muſt naturally occur to every judicious Reader. But there is notwithſtanding a great Trade carried on there, inſomuch that ſome hundred Sail of Ships are laden annually with the Product of their Cocoa-Trees, that is, with the Oil, Honey, Cordage, and Sails made from this kind of Palm-Tree, which grows no where either in ſuch Abundance, or to ſuch Perfection, as on theſe Iſlands; neither do they want other valuable Commodities, particularly the fineſt Tortoiſe Shells in the World, ſtained naturally with very beautiful Figures, and wrought up by them in Cabinets, Combs, and other Curioſities. But what plainly proves the Riches and Induſtry of the People is, on the one hand, the Cheapneſs of Cotton, Silk, Oil, Iron, Steel, Spices, and *China* Ware, with other foreign Goods, which could not be brought about, if their own Manufactures did not enable them to balance the Account with the Foreigners, who import them; and, on the other hand, that Plenty of Gold and Silver which has been always viſible in thoſe Iſlands, and which muſt have been very ſoon carried away, if ever the Balance of Trade had been againſt them.

It ſeems alſo to be no ſmall Honour to the Country, that neither the Force of the *Portugueze*, the Ambition of the *Engliſh* on their firſt coming into the *Indies*, or the Frauds of the *Dutch*, have deprived the Inhabitants of theſe Iſlands of their Liberty. It is true, that from the Account our Author has given, this does not appear to be a very difficult Matter, ſince the King of *Bengal* was able to make ſo great an Impreſſion with ſo ſmall a Force; but at the ſame time we ought to reflect, that this Conqueror thought fit to abandon the Iſland of *Male* as ſoon as he had reduced it, which appears to me a very plain Proof that he thought it impracticable to keep it; and, indeed, where a whole Nation are ſo much uſed to live at Sea, as well as on Shore, it will be always found a very difficult, if not impoſſible Matter, to reduce them. The great Policy of the Legiſlator of theſe Iſlands, whoever he was, very plainly appears in his adjuſting, ſo nicely as he has done, the Nature of their Conſtitution to the Situation of their Country, and that Courſe of Life which from thence they are oblige to follow. To this we may juſtly aſcribe the long Continuance of their Monarchy, the Force of which does not ſeem to be at all impaired by the Settlements made by the *Europeans* in thoſe Countries; but, on the contrary, the People have encreaſed their Riches, and the King has extended his Power, by falling into Trade with them, which is more than can be ſaid of any other Country in the *Indies*.

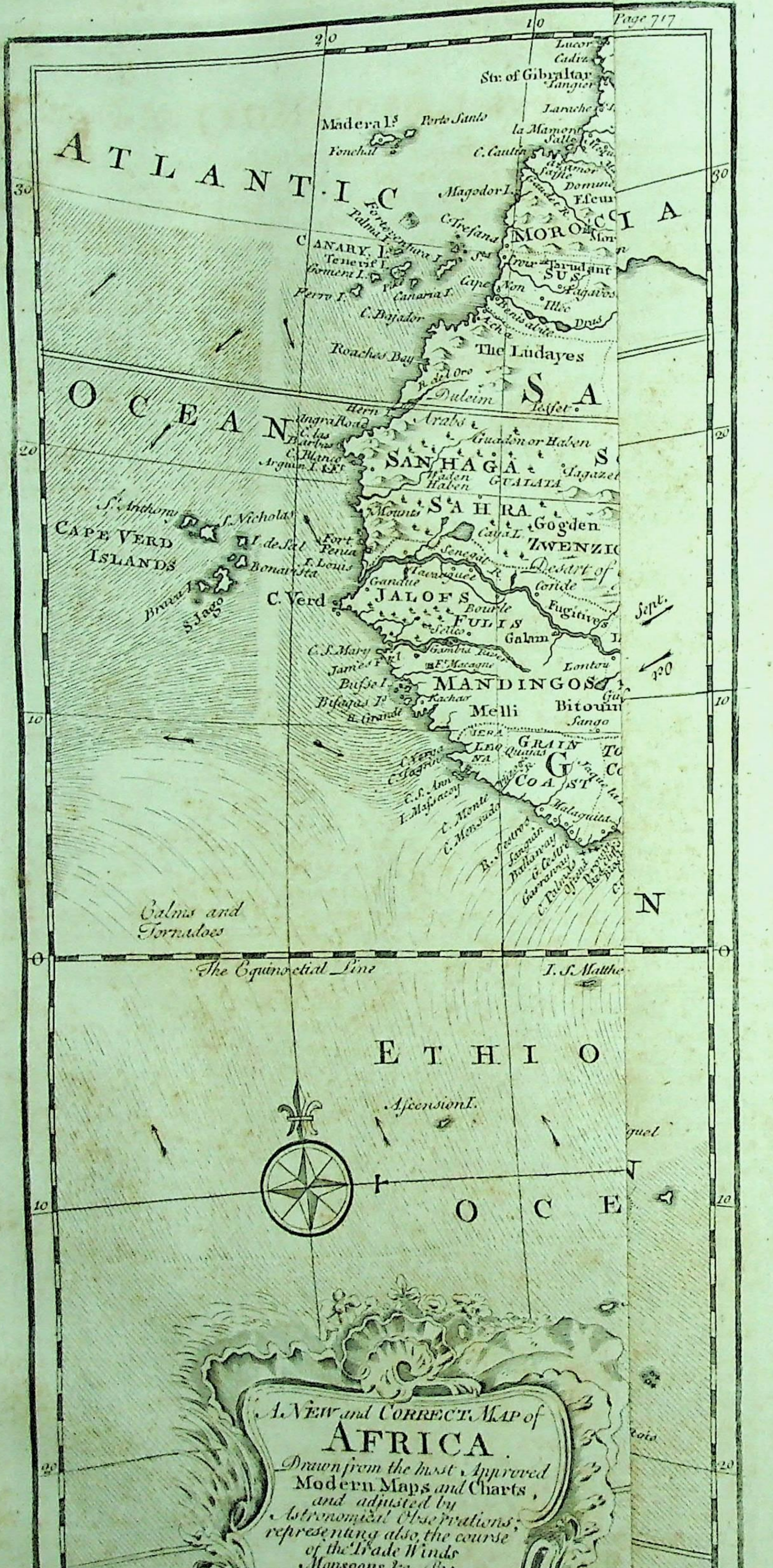
It muſt, however, be allowed, that very few Travellers or Voyage-Writers have taken the Pains to deſcribe the *Maldives*; ſo that if we had not this Account of *Pirard*'s, we ſhould ſcarce be able to ſay any thing about them, the Reaſon of which is very eaſily aſſigned; for theſe Iſlands have no Mines, either of rich Metals or precious Stones; nor do they abound with Spices, or any other highly valued Commodities; but it appears very clearly, that notwithſtanding the Want of theſe Advantages, they are much more populous, and enjoy, beyond Compariſon, more Liberty than thoſe People do who are richer, and conſequently more eſteemed. But as theſe Iſlands lie only in the Entrance of the *Indies*, it muſt appear requiſite to furniſh ſome Deſcriptions of the principal Places mentioned in the foregoing Hiſtories, by ſuch as have viſited them in Perſon, and that too within ſuch Periods of Time as may afford the greateſt Lights to thoſe Hiſtories; from which Conſideration we have been led to make Choice rather of Voyages than Travels, becauſe the latter belongs ſtrictly and properly to the ſucceeding Volume, in which the moſt curious and beſt eſteemed to all Parts of the *Indies* ſhall be included: At preſent we ſhall give a general Voyage to the *Indies* by a *French* Officer and Commander in Chief, whoſe Work has been always eſteemed more accurate in its kind than any other written by that Officer himſelf, who, like our Sir *Francis Drake*, was capable of performing every Office in his Ship, and of whom his own Pilot declared, that he was at once the moſt ſkilful and the moſt careful Man in that Profeſſion with whom he was ever acquainted. His Knowledge, however, was not bounded by his maritime Skill; but, on the contrary, was every Way as correct in other neceſſary Branches of Science, ſo that he was as capable of writing the Deſcription or Hiſtory of the Countries he viſited, as of carrying his Veſſel to them.

Theſe ſingular Properties, and the Conſidearrtion that we have not room for a Multitude of Voyages, led to the Choice of this, which may ſerve inſtead of many, and which



A New and Correct Map of AFRICA Drawn from the most Approved Modern Maps and Charts, and adjusted by Astronomical Observations; representing also, the course of the Trade Winds Monsoons &c. By Eman. Bowen 1748

ATLANTIC OCEAN
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
ASIA
PERSIA
ARABIA
ARABIA FÆLIX
RED SEA
ANATOLIA
HOLY LAND
SPAIN
ITALY
SICILY
Persian Gulf
Tropic of Cancer
BARBARY
MOROCCO
FEZ
ALGIERS
TUNIS
TRIPOLY
SARA OR THE DESART
BERDOA
SANHAGA
SAHRA
ZWENZIGA
SOUDAN
NEGROLAND
BOURNOU
GAOGA
NUBIA
FUNGI
ETHIOPIA or ABISSINIA
DAMBEA
GOJAMA
ADEL
AJAN
MAGADOXA
JALOFS
FULIS
MANDINGOS
GUINEA
GRAIN COAST
TOOTH CO.
GOLD COAST
BENIN
ZANFARA
DAUMA
MUJAC
ETHIOPIA
GINGIRO
ALABA
MAKOKO
Cape Verd Islands
C. Verd
EASTERN OCEAN
The Equinoctial Line
ETHIOPIC OCEAN
Ascension I.
S. Helena I.
Calms and Tornadoes
LOW GUINEA
CONGO
LONGO
ANGOLA
BENGUELA
ANZIKO
THE JAGES Antropophages or Men Eaters
MONOEMUGI
EXTERIOR
ZANGUEBAR
MONOMOTAPA
CAFRERIA
THE HOTTENTOTS
MATAMAN
Melinda
Mombaza
Zanjabar
Mozambique
Komoro Is.
MADAGASCAR
Tropic of Capricorn
Cape of Good Hope
SOUTHERN OCEAN
Monsoons
Longitude West from London
Longitude East from London
Meridian of London
20
10
0
10
20
30
40
50
60



A NEW and CORRECT MAP of
AFRICA
Drawn from the most Approved Modern Maps and Charts, and adjusted by Astronomical Observations; representing also, the course of the Trade Winds Monsoons &c. By
Eman. Bowen.
1748

ATLANTIC
OCEAN
ETHIO
OCE
N
MOROCCIA
SA
Str. of Gibraltar
Lucor
Cadiz
Tangier
Larache
la Mamora
Salle
C. Cautin
Magodor I.
Madera Is.
Porto Santo
Fonchal
Forteventura I.
Palma I.
CANARY I.
Tenerif I.
Gomera I.
Ferro I.
Canaria I.
C. Bajador
C. Trefana
Cape Non
Tarudant
SUS
Illa
Dras
Roaches Bay
The Ludayes
R. del Oro
Duleim
Tesset
Hern I.
Angra Road
C. las Barbas
C. Blanco
Arguin I.
Arabs
Guadon or Haben
SANHAGA
Hagazet
Haben
GUALATA
Mounts
SAHRA
Gogden
ZWENZIC
S. Anthony
S. Nicholas
CAPE VERD ISLANDS
I. de Sal
Bonavista
Fort Penia
F. Louis
Senegal R.
Desart of
Gandue
Brava I.
S. Jago
C. Verd
JALOFS
FULIS
Coride
Fugitives
Galam
Sept.
C. S. Mary
James F.
Gambia River
Ft. Macagne
Lontou
Bisse I.
Bisagas Is.
R. Grande
MANDINGOS
Kachao
Melli
Bitoum
Sango
SIERA LEONA
GRAIN COAST
C. Verga
C. Sagrin
C. S. Ann
I. Massacoy
C. Monti
C. Monsado
Malaguita
B. Sestros
Calms and Tornadoes
The Equinoctial Line
I. S. Matthew
Ascension I.
Longitude West
20
10
30
0

which the original Publiſher, the celebrated Mr. *Thevenot* declared he made publick with no other View, than that it might ſerve as a Model to his Countrymen, not in Point of Science only, but of Method alſo, eſteeming the Author as conſiderable in that Character as in the Quality of a Commander. This Apology I thought neceſſary, that the Reader might not ſuſpect me of Partiality, and in the ſucceeding Sections we ſhall put that Point farther out of Diſpute, by doing the like Juſtice to *Engliſh*, *Dutch*, and the eminent Sea-Officers of other Nations, who have not only benefited thoſe they ſerved, but have likewiſe tranſmitted Teſtimonies of their Skill to Poſterity.

I cannot diſmiſs this Subject without obſerving that it is to be wiſhed our own Countrymen would be more careful in this Particular, ſince, as there are not better Seamen, or better Officers in the World, it is very hard their great Actions ſhould not be communicated to the Publick, with all the Advantages that may be derived from Method and Language; both which might be acquired with as little Labour as is requiſite to get over the Difficulties in keeping a Sea-Journal; and therefore we may well hope, that in an Age which diſcovers greater Curioſity in regard to theſe Subjects, than has been ſhewn in any other; Gentlemen will have that regard to their own, and their Officers Characters, as not to let them ſuffer for want of a candid Repreſentation.

SECTION XXV.

The Expedition of Commodore Beaulieu *to the* Eaſt-Indies; *containing a curious and accurate Deſcription of the Sea-Coaſts and Commerce; as alſo Abundance of curious Obſervations on the Manners of the Peple, the Nature of their Governments, and the Means of eſtabliſhing Colonies amongſt them.*

Written by M. *Beaulieu* himſelf, and publiſhed by M. *Thevenot*, in his large Collection of Voyages.

1. *An Introduction to the Voyage, with an hiſtorical Account of its Author and his Work.* 2. *Their Departure* Octob. *the* 2d 1619, *and Occurrences in their Voyage to Cape* Verd, *on the Coaſt of* Africa. 3. *Remarkable Accidents and Proceedings at Cape* Sierra Liona, *where they touched for Refreſhments.* 4. *Remarkable Obſervations in thoſe Seas, with the Sentiments of the Author concerning them.* 5. *A very curious and accurate Deſcription of* Table-Bay, *under the Cape of* Good-Hope. 6. *A very candid and circumſtantial Account of the* Hottentots, *their Cuſtoms*, &c. 7. *An Account of ſome remarkable Letters found there, and the Author's Reſolution on reading of them.* 8. *A Deſcription of ſeveral remarkable Animals, and other Curioſities met with here.* 9. *A very entertaining Relation of what paſſed between Commodore* Beaulieu *and the Negroes in the Bay of* S. Auguſtine, *during his Stay there.* 10. *A farther Account of this Matter, and of the Cloſe of his Tranſactions with thoſe People.* 11. *A ſuccinct Hiſtory of the Government, Language, Manners*, &c. *of this* Negro *Nation.* 12. *The Author ſails along the Coaſt of* Africa, *and obſerves ſeveral notorious Errors in the Sea-Charts.* 13. *A large and curious Deſcription of the* Comorro *Iſlands, and their Inhabitants, with his Reception there.* 14. *Remarkable Occurrences at the Iſland of* Nangaſija, *and ſome Remarks on the* Arabian *Shipping.* 15. *The Author proſecutes his Voyage for the Cape of* Guardafu, *and meets with a great Storm in his Paſſage.* 16. *An exact Deſcription of this Coaſt, and of the Difficulties met with in procuring Refreſhments.* 17. *A very ſingular Method of obtaining freſh Water, which may be of great Uſe in long Voyages.* 18. *An Account of the Country about Cape* Guardafu, *and the Author's Reſolution to ſteer directly for the Coaſt of* Malabar. 19. *Their Arrival upon that Coaſt, and their taking a* Mooriſh *Ship richly laden.* 20. *They double Cape* Comorin, *and obtain a Pilot, who conducts them to* Ticow. 21. *Their Arrival there, and the News they received of their Vice-Admiral, and other Tranſactions.* 22. *A large Relation of what paſſed during their Stay in that Port, and of the Behaviour of the Inhabitants.* 23. *A Deſcription of the Country, its Product, and the Nature of the Commerce there, with other Obſervations.* 24. *The Author's Arrival at* Achen, *with a copious Deſcription of that Country and its Commerce.* 25. *The Author's Audience of the King of* Achen, *and of what paſſed upon that Occaſion.* 26. *A very curious and exact Account of the State of that Country, the Character of its King and his Subjects.* 27. *A farther Account of our Author's Proceedings there, and of the many Difficulties he met with.* 28. *Obtains a Licence to buy Pepper, and yet finds it extremely difficult to procure his Lading.* 29. *Our Author obtains a Letter from the King of* Achen *to the King of* France, *in Anſwer to one he preſented.* 30. *Other Tranſactions during the Time of his Stay in that Country, and his Reſolution to ſail to* Queda. 31. *Occurrences in his Voyage thither, and his Proceeding there, in order to obtain a Lading of Pepper.* 32. *A Deſcription of the Iſland of* Pulo Lada, *or* Pepper-Land, *on the* Malacca *Coaſt.* 33. *A very curious and exact Deſcription of the Manner of cultivating Pepper, and of the Value of that Commodity.* 34. *A ſuccinct Hiſtory of the Revolutions of* Queda, *and of the Reduction of that Kingdom by the Monarch of* Achen. 35. *The Author's Return to that Country, and the Reception he met with there the ſecond Time.* 36. *A large Account of what happened to the Vice-Admiral, and of the Difficulties the* French *met with in eſtabliſhing a Trade in theſe Parts.* 37. *The Author preſents a rich Diamond to the King of* Achen, *and obtains from him a Licence to trade at* Ticow. 38. *A Deſcription of the Iſland of* Sumatra, *its Climate, Soil, and Produce, with other Particulars.* 39. *The Iſlands upon the Coaſt of* Sumatra, *and their reſpective Products, together with an Account of the different Kingdoms in* Sumatra. 40. *The Character of the People of* Achen, *their Government, Cuſtoms, Laws*, &c. *as obſerved by the Author.* 41. *The Military State of that Kingdom, and of the Forces and Power of the Monarch then on the Throne.* 42. *The Nature of his naval Eſtabliſhments, and of the Means made uſe of by him to ſupport them.* 43. *Of the Riches of the King of* Achen, *his Houſes, Slaves, Revenues, and ſeveral Methods of raiſing Money.* 44. *The ancient State of the Kingdom of* Achen *to the Acceſſion of the reigning King's Grandfather.* 45. *The civil Wars that hap-*

pened from that Time, and the dreadful Conſequences attending them. 46. *The Manner in which the then King of* Achen *mounted the Throne, and his Character.* 47. *The Author ſails for* Europe, *and meets with a pleaſant Paſſage as far as the Iſland of* St. Helena. 48. *A Deſcription of the Iſland of* Aſcenſion *and a farther Account of the Voyage to their Arrival at* St. Vincent. 49. *An exact Deſcription of that Iſland, its Climates, Soil, Product, and other Particulars.* 50. *Continuation of the Voyage to the Author's ſafe Arrival at* Havre de Grace, Dec. *the 1ſt* 1622. 51. *Some farther Memoirs of Commodore,* Beaulieu, *to the Time of his Deceaſe.*

1. THE following Voyage was not only undertaken, but written alſo by one of the beſt Officers that ever was in the *French* Service, of whoſe Character and Adventurers we ſhall ſay ſomewhat at preſent, and ſupply the reſt at the Concluſion of the Section. *Auguſtin de Beaulieu* was deſcended of a good Family at *Rouen*, which has been always conſidered as one of the principal Ports in *France*. He addicted himſelf from his Youth to the Sea, and ſtudied with great Application all the Sciences neceſſary to make him an able Man in his Profeſſion, and more eſpecially Geography, Aſtronomy, and Navigation. His firſt Expedition was to the River *Gambia*, on the Coaſt of *Africa*, under the Command of the Chevalier *de Briſqueuille* of *Normandy* in 1612. The Deſign upon which the went was to erect a Fort, and eſtabliſh a Colony; but ſailing unluckily a little too late in the Year, they loſt the beſt Part of their Men before they were able to accompliſh any thing, and were therefore obliged to return home, *re infecta*, after a vaſt Expence, to very little Purpoſe.

In this Expedition our Author commanded a Sloop, and tho' he got nothing by the Voyage in Point of Profit, yet he improved himſelf exceedingly, and eſtabliſhed a juſt Reputation for Courage, Diligence and Application. About the Year 1616, the *French* formed the firſt Notion of trading to the *Eaſt-Indies*, and ſome Merchants at *Paris* and *Rouen* agreed to furniſh a Joint-Stock for that Purpoſe. They fitted out two good Ships, the Command of the biggeſt of which, with the Title of General, was given to Captain *de Nets*, who at that Time ſerved the King in the Marine. The leſſer Ship was beſtowed upon our Author, who had no other Recommendation than his Merit. The Voyage was in all Reſpects fortunate, and well conducted, though in the End it did not turn to any great Account; for the *Dutch* Preſident in the *Indies* having publiſhed an Order, requiring all the Subjects of the States-General that were on board thoſe Ships to quit them immediately, which Order they obeyed, the two Captains found it thereby out of their Power to bring home both the Veſſels, and therefore that which had been commanded by Captain *Beaulcau* was ſold to a little Prince of the Iſland of *Java*, and all their Effects brought home on Board the largeſt; notwithſtanding which Misfortune, and the great Expence with which this Undertaking was attended, they managed ſo prudently, as to make a ſaving Voyage.

It was his Care and Diligence in this Expedition, that recommended him to that Command of which he has written the following Account. He was extremely careful in the Choice of his Men, that he might not run the riſque of failing in this, as he had done in his former Voyage; and that Poſterity might be the better for the Pains he was obliged to take, he provided, before he left *France*, all the neceſſary Inſtruments of Navigation in the higheſt Degree of Perfection, and conſtantly obſerved the Variation of the Needle every Morning and Evening, on four or five different Compaſſes, that he might be the leſs liable to Miſtakes. At his Return home, he not only tranſcribed his Sea Journal, which is ſtill preſerved, but compoſed likewiſe the following Hiſtory of the Voyage from his Papers, with a Deſign to have committed them to the Preſs, but by ſome unforeſeen Accidents, and by his premature Death, of which more ſhall be ſaid hereafter, this was prevented, and theſe Papers remained for twenty Years afterwards in private Hands, till ſuch Time as the famous M. *Melchizedeck de Thevenot* formed his noble Deſign of publiſhing a curious Collection of the beſt Voyages, when theſe Memoirs were put into his Hands by M. *Dolu*, to whom they had been confided by the Relations of the Author.

That great Man was charmed with the Preſent, and no Wonder, ſince he ſeriouſly profeſſes it appeared to him as perfect a Performance as ever came to his Notice, notwithſtanding the Multitude of *Portugueze*, *Engliſh*, and *Dutch* Memoirs that he had occaſion to ſee, while employed in making that curious and excellent Collection. The principal Reaſon of his valuing it ſo much, was the high Character the Author had born in point of Integrity as well as Abilities; ſo that as he related every thing that was worth relating in the Courſe of his long Expedition, all he relates may be very ſafely depended upon; as being exactly agreeable to Truth, and to the Lights which he received. One may ſafely affirm, that the Work itſelf carries along with it enough to juſtify all that has been ſaid in its Favour, ſince there are ſo many viſible Marks of the Writer's Sincerity, in thoſe Paſſages which regard his own Conduct, that the moſt ſcrupulous Critick muſt be obliged to confeſs, there is not the leaſt Ground to ſuſpect he could entertain any Deſign of impoſing on his Reader. The Variety of Events, the curious Deſcriptions, the juſt and weighty Remarks with which it abounds, ſufficiently enhance the Value of this Performance, which therefore we have given the Reader in his own Words, and muſt at the ſame Time own, that it would be no eaſy Taſk to make Choice of better, ſince his Stile is exactly ſuited to his Subject; and he relates every thing with ſo much Modeſty and Freedom, that it is hard to determine whether his Memoirs are more inſtructive or entertaining.

2. I ſailed *Octob.* 2. 1619, from *Honfleur* Road with three Ships; the *Montmorency* of 450 Tuns, carrying 162 Men, 22 Guns, and 20 Patereroes, the *Hope*, of 400 Tuns, 117 Men, 26 Guns, and 20 Patereroes, and the *Hermitage*, an Advice-Boat, of 75 Tuns, 30 Men, 8 Guns, and 8 Patereroes, all victualled for two Years and an half. The ſeventeenth we came in Sight of *Madera*, and at Night its weſtern Point lay about 7 Leagues off to the S. E. and a quarter Eaſt. The 18th we ſtood South with the Wind at Eaſt, expecting by that Courſe to deſcry the Iſland of *Palma*. *Madera* lies very high, but the Weather was, as it is commonly, ſo foggy, that we could ſcarce deſcry it. The Commodore's Ship being deep loaden, and embarraſſed with an unwieldy Rudder, that two or three Men could ſcarce manage, we reſolved to make the beſt of our Way to Cape *Verd*, in order to have a new one made, or to put the old one to rights, which was encumbered with too much Wood.

On the firſt of *November* we made the Coaſt of *Africa*, between the River *Senegal* and Cape *Verd*, which lies very low, running N. E. and S. W. and is waſhed by a ſandy Sea. Next Day, about Eight in the Morning, we doubled Cape *Verd*, and coaſted along the Shore, in order to get into *Ruffiſque* Road; at which Place, in the Afternoon, we ſaw three *French* Ships at Anchor, and a ſmall Bark, which had Captain *Drowet's* Equipage on Board, and lay off of that Place waiting for him. In the Evening I caſt Anchor within a Cannon-Shot of the three Ships, for the Wind being contrary, I could not come up with them, and the rainy Seaſon in that Country was ſcarce over.

The fifteenth, having reſolved to ſend the Advice-Boat to the Idol Iſlands, to buy up Proviſions, I furniſhed it with Kaſſade and Knives, which were proper Commodities for that Place, and reinforced its Complement with Captain *Seyer* and ſix Soldiers, ordering Captain *Ridel*, who commanded the Pinnace, not to treat with the Natives without Hoſtages, and withal, not to ſtay there above three Days at moſt, but to come with all poſſible Expedition to rejoin us at *Tegrin*. When ſhe parted from us, we were in the Lat. of 10° 30′. From the Time we paſſed Cape *Verd*, we had but little Wind, and the Tides run againſt us W. N. W.

The nineteenth about Noon, we deſcried the Idol Iſlands, about eight Leagues off to the E. N. E. and our own Pinnace making into the Shore. Theſe Iſlands lie in 9° 30′ N. L. They are covered with Wood, and bating *Tagrin*, are the higheſt Land between Cape *Verd* and Cape *Sierra Liona*. *Great Idol* being the largeſt and moſt ſouthern of thoſe Iſlands, affords Water, and ſeveral Sorts of Fruits and Fowls; but its Inhabitants, who are very numerous, are not to be dealt with without Hoſtages. The *Leſſer Idol* affords likewiſe Water: Beſides theſe two, there are other ſmaller Iſlands, which are ſo inconſiderable, that they are not diſtinguiſhed by any Name. The Names of theſe two are taken from a River ſo called in the Continent, the Mouth of which lies oppoſite to them about three or four Leagues off. The King of this Country reſides up that River; the Natives are Negroes, Idolaters, great Hunters, and Eaters of Elephants. They have no Commerce with the Continent, and it is hard to get aſhore upon them, becauſe their Coaſt lies very high: I believe they put off their Elephants Teeth in the River of *Tagrin*. At Night we loſt Sight of thoſe Iſlands, which are diſtant 25 Leagues from Cape *Sierra Liona*, or *Tagrin*. Next Day we ſaw, about a Quarter of a League off, ſeveral Spouts, or Guts of Wind, whirling about upon the Sea, and forcing up the Water with great Violence, two of which were very formidable. As ſoon as we perceived them, we furled all our Sails, for fear of any Miſchief from them.

3. We arrived *November* the 23d at Cape *Sierra Liona*, and caſt Anchor at *Tagrin*, where ſeveral Negroes coming on Board, gave me to underſtand, that there was an *Engliſh* Veſſel about four Leagues off at *Saſana*, the Reſidence of the King of *Tagrin*. On the 28th I cauſed the Rudder to be taken off the Stern-poſt, and hauled aſhore, where having poſted a ſtrong Guard, and fortified the Place with felled Trees, I ſet the Carpenters to work. Having walked a little further into the Country, I found it very pleaſant. At the Bottom of the Creek there was a ſmall Brook of ſweet and clear Water, the Banks of which towards the Sea were decked with great Quantities of Citron Trees, Willows, and pretty thick Woods. I likewiſe found ſome Plains good for Paſture; but the Soil is nothing but Stone, or Iron-coloured Rock. Their Houſes are infinitely better than thoſe at Cape *Verd*. The Natives, who are Negroes, worſhip little horrible Images reſembling Devils, and ſmall Lumps of black Earth in the Form of Sugar Biſcuits, which I underſtood to be the Neſts of Ants. To theſe they offer Fruits, the Heads of Monkies, Baboons, and other Beaſts.

They call the Idols *Gigris*, which Name I take to be derived from the *French*; for they commonly ſalute one another in theſe Words, *Tout, Haut*; but when they ſalute a White, they cry, *Tu*. As Men, they are a much better ſort of People than the other Negroes, though they begin now to improve their Cunning, by converſing with the People of ſeveral Nations that touch there. The Place where we lay being the third Creek from Cape *Sierra Liona*, is very convenient for taking in Water, Wood, Citrons, Oranges, and Hoops for Water-Caſks, which are all to be had for little or nothing. There we had very good Rice in Exchange for equal Quantities of Salt. It affords no Fleſh unleſs Pullets, which are very ſcarce, and has little Accommodation for Hunting; but all its Creeks are well ſtored with ſeveral ſorts of Fiſh.

The Cape lies in 8° of North-Latitude, and the Needle varies there 2° 45′ North-Eaſt. One of our Trumpeters that could not ſwim was unfortunately drowned in a little River near this Place, which was nine or ten Feet deep. 'Tis preſumed he was deceived by the extream Clearneſs of the Water, which repreſented the Bottom of the River to be nearer the Surface than it was, and that thereupon going to waſh himſelf, but not meeting with the expected Ground, was ſo frightened with the Surprize, that he neglected taking hold of the Banks of the River, which was not above ten Foot broad. *December* the 3d two Negroes came on Board, one of whom was armed with a Bow, Arrows, Sword, and Knife; the other, who was the Interpreter, told me, that he who bore the Arms was ſent by the King to acquaint me that the *Portugueze* up the River had murdered the Captain and the whole Crew of a *St. Malo*'s Bark: That his Maſter was ſorry ſuch a thing ſhould happen near his Territories, and that if I had a mind to reſent it, he would furniſh me with Negroes to conduct me to the Place where the *Portugueze* had lodged the Bark. This I underſtood to be about ſeven or eight Leagues above the *Saſena*, whither the *St. Malo*'s Captain had gone to buy a ſort of Wood not unlike that of *St. Martha*, which in *France* might be worth eight or nine Livres a hundred Weight.

When I firſt heard the News, I ſuſpected that the *Portugueze*, underſtanding that my Rudder and many of my Men were aſhore, had contrived the Meſſage to induce me to ſend a Detachment out of the Land Guard, and ſo give them an Opportunity of poſſeſſing themſelves of the Rudder and Water-Caſks that were aſhore; but upon ſecond Thoughts, calling to mind the Humour of the *Portugueze* in that Country, and the Weakneſs of the *St. Malo*'s Ship, I concluded the Account not improbable, and withal ſaw that the ſlighting ſuch Intelligence might leſſen the Reputation of the *French* in that Country. At laſt, having reſolved to ſend out a Detachment, purſuant to the King's Meſſage, the Interpreter with ſeveral other Negroes offered to go along with my Men to the Place, ſaying, they would go any where to have an Opportunity of killing *Portugueze*. To carry on this Affair with more Security, I ordered the Rudder to be brought aboard, for the Carpenter's Work being then finiſhed, there wanted nothing but the Iron-work, which might be done on Board, by ſetting up a Forge in the Ship.

I reinforced the Land Guard with ten Men, ordering them to plant Barricades of Water-Caſks before the principal Avenues of the Place where they lay, and to ſuffer neither white nor black to come near them in the Night-time, and got Captain *Pile* to accompany my Men in the Expedition. Accordingly, the next Day I ſent up the River our Sloop, with an Addition of ten Men to her Complement, together with Captain *Pile*'s Bark manned with his own Men, and the *Hope*'s Long-boat, with twenty Men and four Patereroes, all under the Command of Monſieur *Monteurier*. *December* the 8th Captain *Datel* of *Dieppe* arrived in the Bay, and told me, that at the Iſle of *St. Vincent* he met a *Dutch* Ship of four hundred Tuns, manned with *Dutch* and *Engliſh*, bound for *Bantam*. in order to convey thither the News of the Agreement between thoſe two Nations. At Three of the Clock in the Afternoon M. *Monteurier* returned with the *Hope*'s Long-boat, and Captain *Pile*'s Bark, our Pinnace not being able to keep up with their Oars, and reported that he had been ten or twelve Leagues up the River, where, finding the River very narrow and rocky, inſomuch that the Bark ſtruck ſeveral times, and having no Commiſſion from me to venture the Loſs of the Bark, he returned back without meeting any *Portugueze*, or their Veſſels.

4. On the 31ſt we were in 3° 30 North-Latitude; after our Departure from *Tagrin* the Weather was various, ſometimes ſtormy, and ſometimes very calm, as it uſes to be in thoſe Seas, and we found our Rudder much more ſerviceable than before. *January* 1ſt, 1620, at Sun-riſing we found the Needle 3° 30′ North-Eaſt, and the Latitude 3° 5′ North. The 6th we croſſed the Equinoctial Line, and celebrated the uſual Cuſtom of throwing Sea-Water upon thoſe who had never paſſed it. From the third of this Month we had the Wind at South-Eaſt and South-South-Eaſt, and ſailed cloſe to the Wind, in order to raiſe the South Pole, purſuant to the common Courſe of Navigation. The 24th we were under the Tropic of Capricorn, and the Neeedle varied 13° to the North-Eaſt from our paſſing the Line; we had the Wind at Eaſt and Eaſt-South-Eaſt. On the 1ſt of *February* we began to have the weſterly and other variable Winds, being then in 13° South Latitude, and the Needle varying 13° 30 North-Eaſt.

The 3d, being becalmed, I obſerved at the Sun-riſing that the Needle was 13° N. E.; whereas at my laſt Obſervation, when I was almoſt a Degree farther from the antarctick Pole, it was 13° 30′; ſo that inſtead of increaſing it decreaſed, upon which I concluded its Variation to be irregular, and that it is not fixed on two Meridians cutting the World in four Parts, as the *Portugueze* and others imagined.

During this Calm we ſaw two great Fiſh with long Snouts, or Beaks, which ſeemed to be of that ſort that are known to pierce lined Ships. I could ſcarce have credited the Story of their penetrating through Ships, if the Governor of *Dieppe* had not ſhewed me a Piece of the Beak or Horn of ſuch a Fiſh found in the Side of a *Dieppe* Ship, when it was laid up to be caulked after an *Eaſt-India* Voyage; the Captain of which had found ſomething ſtrike againſt his Ship, as ſhe ſailed from the Coaſt of *Braſil* to the *Cape*, but did not know what it was till that Diſcovery happened. This Piece of Horn reſembled the Tooth of a Sea-Horſe, only it was ſtrait all along, and of the Colour of Ivory. Its Thickneſs was an Inch and a half Diameter. It had run five Inches into the Wood, and was broke off where the Lining joined the Wood, probably by the ſtruggling of the Fiſh, which could not recover it without breaking. Several Perſons have met with the ſame Adventure in their Voyages: But I ſhall only mention one more of a *Dieppe* Captain, who upon a Voyage to thoſe Parts had his Boat ſtaved to Pieces by a Blow from one of theſe Fiſhes; for the Fiſh endeavoured to withdraw its Horn, disjointed all the Planks. Thoſe which I ſaw on this Occaſion ſeemed to be of the ſmalleſt ſort, one of them that came juſt under me appeared to be ten Foot long, beſides its Beak. It was a fleſhy Fiſh, though not ſo big proportionably to its Length as a Porpoiſe. Its Colour was a dark blue, and its Fins and Tail, which were very large, repreſented a bright Azure in the Sea. It had a pretty high Lump upon its Back, reſembling that of a Rechien, or *Indian* Sea-Calf, which ſometimes riſes above Water. Its Head was not unlike a Porpoiſe, only it was longer, and inſtead of a Snout had this Horn, or Bill, which was very ſharp at the Point, and almoſt two Foot long, and as thick as a Boy's Wriſt. It is a very ſtiff and ſwift Fiſh, for I have ſeen it fly at Bonitoes, with which it wages continual War. I have often obſerved Bonitoes and Albacores wounded by this ſort of Fiſh, and the Sea tinctured with the Blood. I am certain there are ſome of this ſort much greater than thoſe I ſaw this Day, which attack the Whales, and probably it is their miſtaking a Ship for a Whale that occaſions their encountering with a Ship. However, I doubt not but a great Ship may be endangered by the ſplitting and gaſhing of its Planks, occaſioned by this Fiſh endeavouring to withdraw its Horn after it has ſtruck.

While the Calm and the exceſſive Heat continued, we ſaw a certain white thing about the Bigneſs of an Oſtrich-Egg floating upon the Water, which ſunk when the Ship came within fifty or ſixty Paces of it; our Pinnace's Crew ſaid they ſaw a great many of them. It reſembled a Man's Head without Hair, and ſome ſay they obſerved two black Eyes and a Mouth upon it; We likewiſe ſaw a ſtrange ſort of Fiſh, about as large as an ordinary Lamprey, and equally round, with a large Fin or Creſt, which ſeemed to be above a Foot high over its Head, and ſloped in a continued Series down to its Tail. It ſwims upon one Side, ſo that the Fin, together with the Body, repreſents a large Fiſh in a triangular Form, and it makes its Way by ſhifting from one Side to the other; but when it catches its Prey, the Fin is ſtraight, and appears above the Water to be of an aſhy Colour, though the Body of the Fiſh is as white and as round as a Tallow-candle.

5. On the Tenth we were in 31° 45′ S. Lat. the Needle varying 12° 20′ N. E. The Twentieth our Lat. was 24°, and the Variation 9° 30′. Here we ſaw a great deal of Wreck, or Sea-graſs, of a reddiſh Colour, which ſome ſay comes from the *Triſtan de Acuna-Iſlands.* The next Day there happened a violent Storm, the Wind at Weſt, which had almoſt broke down our Maſts, our Topmaſt-Sails being then out. Such Storms are common, and very violent in thoſe Seas in Winter; but it was then Summer there, and the Autumn was juſt approaching. On the 8th of *March* our Lat. was 34°, and the Variation no more than 20′, which I took for a certain Sign that we were not above Seventy or ſeventy-ſix Leagues off of the *Cape of Good Hope.*

The 11th we ſaw Trambs, or Sea-weeds, about three or four Fathoms long, Cormorants, Sea-Bears, and the Fowls called by the *Portugueze* Alcatras, which are white all over, only the Tips of their Wings are black; and all theſe were certain Signs of our approaching to the Land. We likewiſe ſaw innumerable Shoals of Porpoiſes, and a great many Whales; towards Night we diſcovered Land, and found the common Navigation to be very juſt, being then in 33° Lat. which is over againſt the Bay of *de Soldaigna.* We reſolved to ſteer our Courſe to the *Table-Bay*, which lay from us about twenty Leagues S. E. a Quarter S. in order to take in freſh-Water; but the Wind being contrary, that is, S. and the Tides being N. N. W. we did not arrive at the *Table-Bay* till the 15th at Night, at which Time we caſt Anchor there, having loſt only one Boy in the Voyage. The next Day I ſent fifty Men on ſhore with Sails to make Tents of; when the Boat returned, they told me they had found ſeveral Corpſes of dead Men and Cloaths ſcattered up and down, and a ſmall Fortification of Earth, which we gueſſed to be built by the *Danes*, for one of the Natives that ſpoke a ſort of Jargon or broken *Engliſh*, gave us to underſtand, though more by his Signs than his Language, that five Ships had ſailed from thence to the Eaſtward about three Months before.

The 19th it continued to be very ſtormy, with a North-Eaſt Wind. Some Muſqueteers, whom we had ſent in Queſt of a Soldier who had ſtraggled from us, reported, that they had paſſed along the South-Side of an inland Mountain, joining to the *Table* Mountain, where they ſaw an Infinity of very large Baboons and Monkies; and from thence continued their Courſe along the declining Part of the Mountains that bound the Weſtern Shore, till they deſcried the Sea about half a League off, which I took to be another Bay between this and the *Cape of Good Hope*, that then they turned back, and when they were upon the Mountains, deſcried the Sea to the Southward, which muſt be that to the Eaſtward of the *Cape of Good-Hope.* That they had a plain View of other Mountains, between which and theſe they were upon, there lay an open Plain about ten or twelve Leagues broad, the Soil of which was very good, and capable of producing ſeveral Fruits, the Plain terminating upon the Sea, without any Mountains between *Cape-Falſo* and the *Cape of Good Hope.* That at the Foot of the Weſtern Mountains they met with Woods and large Trees, like Apple-trees, which bore no Fruit, but were very hard Wood; and in the ſame Place were very pleaſant Paſtures, and ſome Cattle, and excellent clear Water.

This Report inſpired me with a Curioſity to ſee the Country; accordingly, the next Day, I walked out by the Back of the *Table* Mountain, and when I was got three Leagues into the Country, obſerved very good Grounds, ſprinkled with Graſs and pleaſant Flowers, with a ſmall Rivulet of freſh-Water gliding along the Plain, and loſing itſelf in the Sea at the Foot of the Bay, at a Place where there is no great Confluence of Water, which we call the River. This Rivulet riſes out of the Mountains that lie between the Point of the Cape and this Bay, and ſerve for Boundaries to the Weſtern Sea. I likewiſe obſerved that this Rivulet makes ſeveral Fens to the Northward, along the Downs or Banks of Sand, that terminate the Bay and to that Place which we call the River, where Barks of fifty or ſixty Tun may enter at high-Water. I returned along the Mountain, and, at the Foot of the *Table* Mountain to the Southward, met with a great many Trees, ſome of which afford Planks a Foot broad, and eighteen or twenty Foot long, their Trunks being ſtraight like that of a Pear-tree, their Leaves whitiſh and ſmall; their Bark about two Inches thick and reddiſh; the Heart of the Wood white and hard, and the whole Tree full of Sap.

I likewiſe obſerved Herbs of the ſame Nature with thoſe in our Country, ſuch as Sorrel, Fern, Broom, *&c.* From this Mountain I ſaw *Cape-Falſo*, and the Sea that waſhes the Eaſt Side of the Cape, which forms a large Bay as far as the Cape, where a great many Rocks ſhoot out into the Sea, that muſt needs be dangerous to Ships on a Southern Wind. Upon the Side of the Mountains of *Cape-Falſo* there runs either a great River, or an Arm of the Sea, that ſhoals very far up; and I obſerved the like upon the inland Side of the Mountains upon the *Cape of Good-Hope.* Upon all theſe Mountains there are great Quantities of Goats Fallow-Deer as big as Harts, Partridges, and all ſorts of Fowl; Baboons, Monkies, Lions, white Wolves, Foxes, Porcupines, Oſtriches, and other Animals, unknown to me. In this Day's Journey I ſaw one of the Natives, they having retired for fear of us.

6. Thoſe who lived towards the Point of the Cape, are the moſt miſerable Savages yet diſcovered, for they neither ſow nor cultivate the Ground: neither do they fiſh, or venture themſelves two Steps into the Sea. They are of a very low Stature, eſpecially their Women, and are ſo meagre, that they always look as if they were dying for Hunger. Their common Food is ſome white Roots, about the Bigneſs of Cheſnuts, which have a Stalk like a Leek, only a little narrower, and not indented, that bear a white Flower. If they find any Cockle-fiſh, or Whales, or any other dead Fiſh upon the Shore, tho' never ſo much putrified, they throw them upon a Fire, and then feed heartily upon them; nay, when the very Skins, Heads, and Entrails of the Sea-Bears and Penguins, which our Men fed upon, were thrown out of the Tents, and had lain for ſeven or eight Days, till their Stench obliged our Men to remove their Tents, and ſcared the Wolves and other wild Beaſts from touching them, even then, I ſay, the Savages would take them up; and after having put them under the Aſhes, and ſqueezed them between two Stones, would eat up every Bit of them.

When they meet an *European*, the firſt Thing they do is to ſhew their Stomach, which they throw into their Body, ſo that it makes a Hollow, or great Pit upon their Breaſt. They have Wars one with another, probably upon account of their Cattle, which they do not eat, unleſs theſe are ready to die through Leanneſs, Age, or any other Accident. They cover their Privities with Sheeps Tails, and wear the Skin of a Sheep, or ſome other Animal, over one Shoulder, like a Scarf. The better ſort have dried Tripe about their Necks, upon which there hangs a little Knife, ſhaped like a Lance, in a wooden Sheath; and this I take to be the Inſtrument with which they cut off one of their Teſticles at ten or twelve Years of Age, that being a Cuſtom among them, perhaps to qualify themſelves for running, in which Exerciſe they outdo all the Nations that ever I ſaw.

Some hang upon their Necks a Plate of Copper, as thin as a Teſtoon, and about a Hand long, and four or five Inches broad; others wear Bracelets, being Pieces of Copper or Iron, with a Hole in the Middle. Thoſe who ſeem to have ſome Command over the reſt, have commonly a Stick in their Hands, with a Fox's Tail at the End of it. I could not perceive any Religion among them. They marry indeed, and dance, and their common Salutation to us is dancing to a Song, which, from the Beginning to the End, is nothing elſe but *Hautitou*. Their Arms are an Aſſagay, with a weak ſort of a Bow and a Quiver, which they hide under ſome Buſhes when they come to our Tents. They are very apt to ſteal any thing of Iron or Copper, but Linen or Cloaths they do not covet.

They are Negroes, and have frizzled Hair, as well as thoſe in *Guinea*; but they wear no Ornament upon it. They have no Cottages to live in that I could perceive; but in the Night-Time they ſhelter themſelves, with their Wives and Children, with Buſhes, and have ſome Skins, ſtretched like an Umbrella, upon two Sticks laid a-croſs, with one in the Middle to faſten it in the Ground, under which they lie buried in the Sand quite up to their Belly. They are altogether ignorant of Agriculture, and the making of Canoes; whereas could they but tack ſome Pieces of Wood together to convey them to the Iſlands juſt by the Continent, they would find vaſt Quantities of Penguins and Sea-Bears (which to them are moſt delicious Food) not only for their own Suſtenance, but for Sale among their Neighbours.

This *Table-Bay* lies in 34° Lat. the Needle varying 1° 45′ N. W. Its Air is very wholeſome. Sometimes you may treat here with the Natives for Beef and Mutton, but that is very uncertain. It is a ſecure Road to anchor in, and has about ſix or eight Fathom Water: There is more Rain and Wind in the Bay than aſhore, for the high Mountains ſtop the Clouds and Vapours, which being driven by the Wind, break and fall down in Hurricanes upon the Bay. The Height of the *Table-Mountain*, from the Sea-Side to the Top, is 1350 Foot perpendicular.

7. Some of our Men going aſhore, happened to light upon a great Stone, with two little Packs of pitched Canvas, underneath which we afterwards found ſome *Dutch* Letters. When we opened them, we found, firſt, a Piece of pitched Canvas, then a Plate of Lead wrapped round the Packet, under that two Pieces of freſh Cloth, then a Piece of red Frize, all wrapped round a Bag of coarſe Linen, in which were the Letters very ſafe and dry. They contained an Account of ſeveral Ships that had paſſed by that Way, particularly of an *Engliſh* Advice-Boat that was gone to *England* to acquaint the Company with the Injuries the *Dutch* had done them in the *Eaſt-Indies*. They alſo gave Notice to all Ships that paſſed that Way, to take care of the Natives who had murdered ſeveral of their Crew, and ſtole ſome of their Water-caſks. Farther, they contained Advice that the *Dutch* had beſieged *Bantam* with thirty-five Ships, and that the *Engliſh* were forced to abandon it for want of Proviſions; that the King of *Bantam* and the *Dutch* committed ſeveral Acts of Hoſtilities, and many other Things too long to be inſerted.

Having read this Letter, I was at a Loſs whether I ſhould go to *Bantam* or not, for I readily imagined that *Bantam* being blocked up by the *Dutch*, they would not ſuffer us to enter, and far leſs to traffick there, ſince they always endeavoured there to keep the Trade out of our Hands: Beſides, I was apprehenſive they might carry the Place, in regard that Prince *Mataran*, who called himſelf Emperor of all *Java*, and alledges, that the King of *Bantam* revolted from him, would readily join with the *Dutch* in reducing the Rebel King. Upon theſe Conſiderations I reſolved to ſteer my Courſe to the Coaſt of *Coromandel*, to put off ſome Goods that were proper for that Coaſt, and buy up others that ſhould be ſaleable at *Achen*, and upon the Coaſts of *Sumatra* and *Java*; and, after all, to take in at *Java* a Ship's Loading of Pepper; after which, if the Siege continued, to leave there a Factory with the Pinnace to trade up and down the Coaſt; but, if the Siege was raiſed, I deſigned not to ſettle any Factory at *Achen*, but to ſend one of the Ships back to *France*, and the other, together with the Pinnace, to *Bantam*, where we might get two or three hundred *per Cent.* upon the Coaſt-Goods, and there to load the Ship, and leave a Factory, together with the Pinnace.

In the mean time I called to mind that the Directors intended I ſhould go ſtrait to *Bantam*, and ſend at leaſt one of their Ships back to *France* that Year, which I could not do if I touched upon the Coaſt of *Coromandel*: Beſides, if the Siege ſhould happen to be raiſed, I was apprehenſive the Company would blame me for not following their Orders; but even that Conſideration was counterpoiſed by this, that I could not at any rate ſend back one of their Ships that Year, ſince I could not reach the Coaſt of *Sunda* till *Auguſt*, nor get out from thence till *October* or *November*, by reaſon of contrary Winds, and upon that Score I ſhould be obliged to ſpend the whole Year without doing any thing, and eat up all my Proviſions, which in that Country are ſo ſcarce, that the *Engliſh* are forced to ſpread themſelves along the Coaſt to be ſupplied; not to mention that I ſhould be expoſed to the Diſcretion of the *Dutch*, who never meaned us well. Having maturely weighed all theſe Conſiderations, I aſked Advice of the principal Deputies, ſome of which ſaid they would ſubmit to my Judgment, and others told me, that ſince I had a poſitive Commiſſion for *Bantam*, and ſince *Bantam* was a Place of too great Importance to the *Dutch* to be long at Variance with the King, I had beſt ſteer my Courſe thither. Theſe different Opinions put me upon another Expedient of ſending the *Hope* to *Bantam*, and giving her Captain, Mr. *Grave*, an ample Commiſſion.

8. On the 3d of *April* we weighed Anchor, and being becalmed, about two Leagues off from the Bay, were driven by the great Waves coming from the South, and the Tides running North upon a little Iſland, and caſt Anchor within a League of it in twenty Fathom Water, the Ground being muddy Sand. The Iſle lay from us North one Quar-

ter North-Eaſt, and the Southerly Waves made us roll prodigiouſly, ſo that every thing in the Ship cracked. This Iſland is almoſt round, and about a large League in Circumference; within it affords nothing but Sand, and ſome Buſhes, under which the Penguins hatch their Eggs; a great many Rats and Adders live in it, as well as Cameleons and Lizards. Upon its Rocks, by the Sea-ſide, we ſaw a great many Sea-Bears, which bleat like Sheep, ſome of which are very large, and have a Skin as thick as a Wolf's, with very ſoft Hair. Both theſe and the Penguins taſte very rank of Oil, of which a great Quantity might be taken from them, if one were at the Pains. They have two Paws before, and two Fins behind; they cannot ſtay long under Water without taking Air; they live upon Fiſh, and in the Night-time retire to the Rocks.

The Penguins are Fowls without Wings, which have two Fins, and two broad Paws, upon which they walk upright, and with which they dig the Ground to make their Neſts. They are a little bigger than a Cormorant, having a white Belly, a black Back, a very thick Head, and a Bill like a Raven. In the Morning they repair to the Sea, where they ſwim, and feed upon Fiſh, and at Night they return to their Neſts; they have nothing of the Taſte of Fleſh, and for my Part I take them to be feathered Fiſh. While I was aſhore there was ſuch a Storm from the South-Eaſt, that I could not reach the Ships, but was forced to ſtay upon the Iſland all Night, notwithſtanding that it was a perfect Calm where the Ships rode; on the 7th it thundered and lightened violently, and the next Day the Weſterly Winds began to ſwell, beſides that the Fog was ſo thick, that we could not ſee from one End of the Ship to the other: Upon which, having given a Signal for the other Ships to follow me, by the Sound of Trumpets and Drums, I returned ſounding all the way, and caſt Anchor in *Table-Bay*. On the 12th we weighed Anchor again, and all that Day but little Wind, and that very variable: However, on the 14th we doubled the *Cape of Good Hope*, and the 15th were in 36° Latitude.

The Day following we had a violent Storm from the North-Eaſt at Full Moon, which we foreſaw the Night before; for at Sun-ſetting reddiſh Rays aſcended from the Sun, and underneath him was a Bank of the ſame Colour; towards the Wind there appeared, as it were, a Circle from the Centre, of which there proceeded great Rays; under the Wind there appeared a great blackiſh Cloud, and in the Middle of it we ſaw what the *Portugueze* call the Ox's Eye, which is generally taken notice of as the Forerunner of a great Storm. When the Moon came low, the Sea ſwelled mightily, and the Storm was indeed very great, notwithſtanding that the Air was ſo clear, that in the Night-time we ſaw the Riſing and Setting of the Stars. The Storm parted me from the other two Ships till the 17th, that the Wind abated, and became Southerly; after which I perceived our two Ships about a League before, and found, to my great Admiration, that none of them had ſuſtained any Harm: However, this wonderful Deliverance made me reſolve not to part with the *Hope*, but to go all in Company to *Bantam*, purſuant to my Orders; accordingly I dropped all my former Projects, and ſailed Eaſt and South-Eaſt directly for *Bantam*; but on the 12th of *April*, in 36° Latitude, and 12° North-Weſt Variation of the Needle, a violent Storm overtook us, and not only broke my Bow-ſprit, but damaged the Pinnace's Maſt; upon which I was obliged to take up my former Reſolution of ſending Captain *Grave* with the *Hope* ſtrait to *Bantam*, deſigning to carry my own Ship and the Pinnace to *Madagaſcar*, in order to have them refitted.

9. On the 1ſt of *May* I parted with the *Hope* in 37° 30′ South Latitude, and 18° Longitude, reckoning the *Cape of Good Hope* for the Meridian. The 17th in the Morning we deſcried *Tillac* about ten Leagues off, which is a running Coaſt that appears very high, and that Night had Sight of *St. Auguſtine*'s Bay.

The 17th we were oppoſite to the two little Iſlands of *Sand*, which lie about three Leagues from the Bay, which having no Trees upon them, lie very low; but in the Night-time the contrary Winds carried us Weſt-North-Weſt, where finding none, and not being able to make the Bay, I reſolved to ſtand for the Iſlands of *Comorro*. During the light Quarter of the Moon, in theſe Seas the Surface is very plain and ſmooth, and the Air very clear. While we ſtood for theſe Iſlands the Wind turned North, upon which I tacked about for the Bay, and arrived there on the 21ſt, anchoring in ſeventeen Fathom Water upon a Clay about a Quarter of a League from the Shore. On the 22d I went with two Long-boats, and fifteen Muſketeers, to obſerve the River: Upon our Approach to the Shore, we obſerved nine or ten of the Natives upon a Point of Sand, who made a Signal to come to them: Upon this we went aſhore, and though we were armed, they joined and talked with us above an Hour, ſignifying by their Language and Signs, that they were very well pleaſed with us, and would viſit us next Day on board. They were very curious in obſerving what Things we had about us, and one of them, who ſeemed to be a leading Man, ſpying a Silver Whiſtle with a Chain to it that my Mate had about him, begged it very earneſtly. I ordered the Mate to ſhew it him, though I was ſorry for the Diſcovery, for fear they ſhould inſiſt upon having that, and no other Commodity, in Exchange for theirs, and for that Reaſon had cautioned all our Men to hide them. However, they all liked it mightily, and the chief Man among them promiſed to give for it an Ox, which might be worth twenty Crowns at leaſt: Upon which I made him underſtand that we could not ſell it, becauſe we had Uſe for it; but if any of them would come aboard, I would ſhew them Things that they would like as well.

Without farther Deliberation, this principal Man and three others embarked with us, deſiring that ſo many of our Men might be left aſhore, which I agreed to. In the mean time, at one Caſt of a Sean, we drew up an infinite Number of little Fiſh, reſembling Herrings both in Form and Taſte; but I could not make any material Remarks upon the River, only that it was very great, and very rapid. The Natives of this Place are the handſomeſt Negroes that ever I ſaw; they are large, and well ſhaped, they feed well, and are neither flat noſed, nor thick lipped, neither do they ſtink like the *Guinea* Negroes. They are very curious in their Hair, which is long, frizzled, raiſed upwards, and made up in Wreaths at the Top. Their Teeth are very white, even, and ſmall, and they rub them every Minute with a ſmall Piece of Wood; their Garment is a Cotton Cloth all woven, of two or three Colours, with which they cover their Privities, the reſt of their Body being naked. As for their Ornaments, he whom we took to be the chief Man, had a large Plate, like a Piece of Bone or Ivory, perfectly white upon his Forehead, a large Ring of Copper at his Ears, about his Neck a Collar of Raſſade, beſides Glaſs Beads of ſeveral Colours, and a Necklace of fine yellow Amber, which he eſteemed very much; the reſt had Ornaments correſponding to all his, excepting the Trinkets on his Forehead. As ſoon as we came on board of the Ship the Natives were ſurprized at its Size, and mightily taken with the Sound of the Trumpets and Drums: I preſented them with ſome enamelled Rings, and others of Pearl and falſe Amber, and entertained them with Diſcourſe till Supper was ready.

But in the mean time they were ſeized with the Sea-Sickneſs, inſomuch that they would needs go upon Deck, and lie upon a Sail. One of them, who was not ſo ſick as the reſt, did nothing but jeer his Companions all Night, and imitated every Word that the Men upon the Watch ſaid to one another. In a word, theſe are very jolly Negroes, and have nothing in them that is brutiſh; they readily apprehend what is ſaid to them, and in my Opinion are much preferable to all other Negroes. Next Morning, by Break of Day, I went to look for my Gueſts, and found them upon their Legs, and much better than before: Then I ſhewed them ſeveral little Things I thought they would like, ſuch as Coral, yellow Amber cut fine, Raſſades of all Colours, (they liked the blue, red, and green, but not the white) Knives, Razors, Combs, Iron, Tin Veſſels, a Copper Baſon, and red Cloth, as well as Cloth of other Colours. They ſeemed to like every thing, and deſired the Gift of them.

But when I ſpoke of their Beeves, they always came back to the Silver Whiſtle and the Chain. Finding I could make nothing of them, I ſent them aſhore again, as well as ſome of our Men, with ſeveral of the above-mentioned Goods, to try what they could do with the other Natives. One of the Natives offered a fat large Ox, with Bunches upon his Shoulders (like to thoſe on Camels Backs) in Exchange for a Copper Baſon; but he that bore the Trinket on his Forehead ſpoke to him, upon which he gave back the Baſon, and aſked for a Silver Whiſtle with a Chain to it. In ſine, I found they reſolved not to truck with me for any thing elſe but Silver Chains. The next Day, hearing that the Natives were come down to Shore with their Cattle, I ſent our Men aſhore with Chains of Steel, Lattin, Copper, Jet, and other Things reſembling Pearl, ordering them to conceal the Silver Chain, and not exchange it till they had tried if any of the former would do; for I had no mind to make them acquainted with that Metal; but after all, they gave me to know, that they would deal in no other Thing but the Silver Chain, and would give no more than one Cow for as much of it as would go round the Neck of the talleſt of them, and meet with two Ends at his Navel.

Being unwilling to part with the Silver Chain, and at the ſame time in great Want of their Cattle, becauſe we could not live upon Fiſh, I reſolved to have a Chain made of Pewter, by a Goldſmith that we had on board, and for that End melted a Platter, hoping to do as much with a Pewter Chain as with a Silver one; for when I offered them Silver and Pewter Spoons in a Heap together, they choſe the Pewter ones, becauſe they were neweſt. In like manner, when I offered them a large Silver Baſon, and Silver Cups, and even a Chain of Gold, they would give me nothing for them, but ſtill wanted the Chain that was along with the Whiſtle. The next Day they came aboard without Hoſtages, and brought with them ſome Hens and Capons, a pretty deal of Milk, ſome Peaſe, and ſome Horn Spoons, made after their Faſhion. Theſe were very fond of our red Raſſade, but we had but very little of it; however, we exchanged what we had at a pretty good rate, for they gave us a large Capon, or ſome ſuch Poultry, for every String of it. Theſe Natives lodged all Night on board of us, and were not ſick as the others were; they fed heartily, and eat a great deal of broiled Fiſh, and thrice as much Bread as any of our Men. The Peaſe they ſold us were white, and as large as a Muſket-Ball, and the beſt I ever ſaw; they eat them raw, and next to their Milk I believe they are their beſt Food.

10. On the 26th, I ſent ſome red Raſſade and the Tin Chain aſhore, but they quickly perceived that the Chain was not the Right; they gave us Fowls for half a String of Raſſade a Piece, as well as a Weather for one String, and Aſſagays and Darts very well made for half a String apiece. Theſe Natives work very prettily in Iron and Copper, and to my Mind, their Iron, of which they have great Plenty, is as good as any in *Spain*. They ſold us a ſmall Quantity of Rice, which they valued very high. When our red Raſſade was all gone, I ſhewed them ſome red Coral, Chriſtal, and other pretty little Things, but they did not like them. On the 27th they brought down as many Cattle as covered a Quarter of a League, and ſtill demanded the Silver Chain for an Ox, the red Raſſade for their Sheep and Pullets, and the Blue for their Milk, of which they brought great Quantities for the Silver Chain. I demanded three Oxen and a Sheep for two Strings of red Raſſade. In the mean time their King, or Governor, ſent me Word to come aſhore (for I marketed in my Long-boat) and ſhew him the Chain, but I gave him to know that I could not come aſhore; but if he would be pleaſed to come on board, he ſhould be very ſafe, and I would ſend ſome of my Men aſhore for Hoſtages.

After ſome Deliberation he came on board, and I was ſorry I had no nice Thing to preſent him with; however, having four Strings of red Raſſade in my Hand, though I thought them too mean a Preſent for him, yet finding he looked upon them with an agreeable Eye, I complimented him with them, which he accepted with Pleaſure, and gave me a Sheep for my Recompence. I had a great mind to have given him the half of the Silver Chain, which was five Foot and an half long, and weighed three Ounces and an half; but conſidering, if I was prodigal of the Chain, I ſhould have nothing to fetch Beeves, or elſe I ſhould be obliged to rob the Mates of their Silver Whiſtles, I put it off till the next Opportunity. But ſome time after the King reflecting upon the Chain, ſent one of the ſtatelieſt Oxen I ever ſaw, which we bought for half the Chain; but we had a great deal of Trouble in bringing it aboard; for though it received in its Head two Piſtol-Shot, one Harquebuſe, and one Muſket-Shot, yet it was ſo ſtrong, that we were forced to ſtifle it under Water, and give it ſeveral Blows on the Head with an Axe before we could get it on board: Such an Ox might be worth an hundred Livres in *France*. Theſe Oxen are neither high, nor ſo large as thoſe in our Country; but they are ſhort and thick, their Head is ſmall, their Neck ſhort, with a large Bump or Lump of Fat upon the joining of the Neck to the Shoulder, which at a Diſtance appears as if it were a Burthen tied upon that Part. Their Sheep reſemble thoſe of *Barbary* as to their Head and Wool; but their Ears hang down like a Hound's, and their Tail contains ten or twelve Pound of pure Fat, which does not diſturb the Stomach as the Fat of the Body does; their Fowls are large, fat, and well taſted. In a word, their Men are in ſo good a Caſe, and the Cattle ſo fat, that the Iſland muſt needs be a very good Country. As to their Fruit, I queſtion whether we were there in their Seaſon, at leaſt they brought us none but a little Rice, ſome Beans, and very large white Peaſe.

They have a great many Gourds and Bottles made of them, in which they put their Milk. The 28th I was to ſee a little Iſland in the Mouth of the River, and then returned to the Place of Barter, where the Natives waited for us with a great Number of Cattle. This Day I bargained to double the Advantage of what I did Yeſterday; but having allowed ſome of our Men to go aſhore and treat for themſelves, whether they ſpoiled the Market by being too prodigal of their Commodities, I cannot tell; but ſo it was, that the Natives all of a ſudden demanded four Strings of red Raſſade for a Sheep; whereas they had ſold me ſeveral for two apiece but juſt before; upon which I called all my Men into the Boat, for I always marketed in my Long-boat from the Commencement of the Treaty.

I had no ſooner recalled my Men, but the Governor of the Natives, whom they call *Aurea*, appeared in a Paſſion, and ordered all the Natives to retire. Leſt our mutual Friendſhip ſhould be thus broke, I made a Signal that I would ſpeak with the Governor, upon which he came down to the Shore-ſide, and I going aſhore, preſented him a Cutlaſs with a Silver Hilt, aſſuring him that I was his Friend, and earneſtly deſired that I and my Men ſhould live in perfect Amity with him and his People. This done, he expreſſed a great deal of Satisfaction, the Negroes made loud Acclamations of Joy, and I cauſing the Trumpets to ſound, and the Drums to beat, ordered a Party of our Men to come aſhore, who joined in and ſhook Hands with the Natives; in the mean time the Governor made me ſit down by him, and admiring the Trumpets and Drums, offered me an Ox for one of either; but I told him I could not part with them. After that we ſold the reſt of our Silver Chain for two Heifers, and a String of Coral Beads for an Ox, and then we returned on board, giving the Natives to underſtand, that within four or five Days I ſhould be gone, which they heard with Grief. The next Day one of our Officers went on Shore, and ſold four Ounces of a Silver Chain for ſix luſty Oxen, which I ordered to be ſalted.

11. On the 1ſt Day of *June* I went into our little Skiff with twelve Men, deſigning to reach the Mountains by a ſmall Creek, and from thence to deſcry the Vallies where the River runs; but finding the Creek very inacceſſible, and ſurrounded with Buſhes, ſteep Rocks, and alſo Plants, I left it, and rowed about half a League up an Arm of the River to the Southward, where I found a Landing-Place. Having walked up a third Part of the Mountain, I diſcovered that the other Arm of the River to the Northward was yet greater, for it appeared as broad as the *Seyne* a League below *Roan*. Upon the Sea-ſide, and for two Leagues up the River, there is nothing but thick and black Woods; but beyond that, there are very pleaſant Fields. This Bay is ſo covered with Flats to the North and South, that it is only acceſſible by the N. W. and W. N. W.

I do not believe the great Storms do ever reach it, for the Coaſt does not ſeem to be much beaten by the Waves; and all the fifteen Days I obſerved but one Cloud in the

Zenith; neither is the Heat exceſſive, being tempered by the Land Breezes, that never fail blowing from the Sun-ſetting to Ten or Eleven o'Clock in the Morning, and the Sea-gales that blow from that Time to Sun-ſetting. I found the Air of that Bay very healthy, for we had not one ſick aboard, to which the Abundance we had of freſh Meat and good Water contributed not a little. As for the adjacent Country, the Valley is very pleaſant, and affords excellent Paſturage, being watered with a large River, which would render the Ground very fertile, if it were cultivated. The Sea ſwells the Mouth of the River to ten or twelve Foot running Water, ſo that ordinary Ships might enter it. The Mountains are a dry Rock, the Surface of which looks as if it were burnt. The low Country is clad with an Infinity of Buſhes and Shrubs, and the greateſt Quantity of Tamarinds I ever ſaw, as well as with Ebony, and Aloe-Roots.

Their Tamarinds were not then ripe, but I met with another Fruit, almoſt ripe, that reſembled a large Walnut, having a green Rind, which, when I opened it, gave a fragrant Smell, and the Fruit within it was black, and full of little Stones, like *Caſſia Fiſtula*, and the Pulp being of the ſame Taſte and Colour, though not ſo thick, was, as I take it, of the ſame Qualities. This Fruit is called Tamborins, and ſaid to reſemble Poppy-Heads, but without any Reaſon. We ſaw, in the Hands of the Savages, ſome ſmall Cucumbers, which ſeemed to be better than ours, which they eat as we do Pears, a great many Gourds, ſome Beans, very good Peas, and a little Rice, and only one Citron. The Natives are jolly, proper, handſome Negroes, they are very friendly one to another, and obey one Sovereign, called *Aurea*, and he was only his Deputy, to whom I made a Preſent of the Silver Cutlaſs, for they told me, with great Concern, that their Aurea had been ſtabbed. I could not perceive them guilty of any brutiſh or inhuman Action, for they dealt with us very friendly and honeſtly; they did not ſteal the leaſt odd Thing, or offer the ſmalleſt Injury to our Men.

One Day, when one of our Prieſts was ſaying Maſs, and had but very few Auditors, twenty-five or thirty of the Natives came about him, and being deſired to kneel, did ſo, and behaved themſelves very reſpectfully till the Sermon was over. As for Religion, I could perceive none they had amongſt them: Indeed they are circumciſed, and though the Inſtitution came to them Time out of mind, yet I believe they had it from the *Mohammedans* upon the Coaſt of *Ethiopia*, who have long had, and ſtill have, Traffick with that Country. Their Language ſounds pretty ſmooth, for they pronounce it very glibly. They do not reckon beyond Ten in Computations, and their ten Numbers are thus expreſſed in Order, *Iſſa*, *Rowa*, *Tello*, *Eſſad*, *Linne*, *Euning*, *Frutto*, *Virollo*, *Sinay*, *Foulo*. As for their Women, and their Houſes, I ſaw neither. Some of our Men told me, they left their Women about half a League off in the Woods, and that they ſaw three or four of them that were very handſome, being covered from their Breaſt to their Knees with a party-coloured Cloth of Cotton, and having their Ears pierced in many Places, with a great many Ear-rings and Bracelets hanging upon them.

Having refitted our Ships, and furniſhed ourſelves with freſh Proviſions, Wood, and Freſh-water, and rode fifteen Days in this Bay, which is a very proper Place for taking in freſh Proviſions, and ſheltering diſtreſſed Ships, and might be made as uſeful for thoſe who trade to the *Indies* as *Mozambique* is to the *Portugueze*; having rode, I ſay, fifteen Days in this Bay, which lies in the Iſland of *Madagaſcar* or *St. Laurence*, under the Tropick of *Capricorn*, we weighed Anchor, and ſtood North-Weſt to avoid the Flats; and, having ſailed all the Day with little Wind, at Night the Bay lay about ten Leagues off S. E. a Quarter E. at which Time we perceived another Bay about ſix Leagues off to the Eaſtward; the Coaſt runs N. and S. as far as we could ſee, and appears high, ſmooth, and all of a Piece, like the Coaſts of *Picardy*, *Normandy*, and *Bretagne*.

12. *June* the 9th we came in Sight of the *Terra Firma*, between *Sophala* and *Mozambique*, and at Night, being in 9° 10' Lat. and ſailing N. E. a Quarter E. were in Danger of being caſt away, becauſe our Sea-Charts are very defective in thoſe Parts, for the Pinnace being ordered to ſail a-head and ſound, and, if ſhe apprehended any Danger, to give us a Signal of three Guns; about an Hour and a half before Day, the Signal being given, we immediately tacked about and dropped an Anchor; and when Day came, perceived that if we had gone a little farther we had run our Ship a-ground, for, about a Quarter of a League off there lay a little Iſland, ſcarce a Mile in Circumference, covered with Buſhes and Greens, having two tall Trees together upon its Weſtern Point, and to the W. N. W. of this Iſland, which has a long Bar before it, there lies another of the ſame Bigneſs very low, and covered all over with Trees.

The Continent lay about four Leagues from the firſt Iſland to the S. W. We ſaw a high and ſandy Coaſt with a woody Country behind it, and to the Weſt we deſcried a low Land, with large Trees upon it, as if they had been planted in the Sea. I was ſurprized to ſee the Continent ſo near me, taking my Meaſure from the Sea-Charts; for over Night, when we ſaw the *Terra Firma*, and the Iſlands, we took them, according to the Latitude in the Charts, to be what the *Portugueze* call the *Primieras*, and reckoning theſe three Leagues to the Weſtward of us, the Courſe laid down in the Charts from theſe Iſlands to a large Flat, lying in 16° 30' about twelve Leagues from the *Terra Firma*, being N. E. and S. W. and the laſt of the *Primieras-Iſlands* being placed in 17°, above ten Leagues from the *Terra Firma*, we reſolved to ſtand N. E. a Quart. E. thinking to ſail nearer to the Flat than the *Primieras-Iſlands*; but we were miſtaken, for the *Primieras-Iſlands* are not above two or three Leagues from the *Terra Firma*, from which the Coaſt runs away E. a Quart. N. E. Beſides, the Charts have no Flats or Iſlands along that Coaſt, unleſs it be thoſe of *Angoxa*, which are placed more to the Southward, *viz.* 16°; though after all, I ſaw that Morning a String of Iſlands diſtant one from another, and lying 16° 40', which I took for them; ſo that the Charts miſplaced them alſo two thirds of a Degree. Being at a Loſs to know what little Iſlands theſe were, and finding the Chart ſo much out, I reſolved to ſtay there no longer; accordingly I weighed Anchor, and ſailed between the two Iſlands, the Pinnace ſounding a-head of me.

We ſailed cloſe by the Land-Side of the firſt Iſland, where we had ten or twelve Fathom Water, with a good Ground of muddy Sand, and no Banks, ſo that this Side, together with the Bar, affords a very good Road for Ships; then ſtanding E. S. E. with a freſh ſoutherly Gale, we got clear of the ſecond Iſland, between which and the Continent I doubt not but there is a good Paſſage, for I obſerved not any Banks or Shallows. Having paſſed this ſecond Iſland, we deſcried a third of the ſame Bigneſs with the former, which convinced me that theſe were the Iſlands of *Angoxa*. The next Day it was as much as we could do to ſee the Land to the North-Weſt of us, being then about ſix Leagues off; but, according to the Charts, we ſhould have been above twenty.

13. The thirteenth we deſcribed one of the Iſlands of *Comorro*, which is very high, and as conſpicuous as *Madera*. The next Day we perceived another not ſo high, which is called *Majotta*, and abounds with all ſorts of Proviſions and Fruits, lying about ten Leagues from the Iſland that is neareſt the *Terra Firma* of *Mozambique*, the South Point of which we made the next Day, but could find no Conveniency of coming to an Anchor. Notwithſtanding it is inhabited all along the Shore, this laſt Iſland is very cool, moiſt, and full of Verdure, by reaſon of its Height, which gathers a great Number of Clouds that break upon it. It has a great many Brooks of Water running down from the Top, which, in my Opinion, does not ſpring from the Rock, but are occaſioned by the continual Vapours and their Condenſation. The ſixteenth we made the North Cape, which is fifteen or ſixteen Leagues diſtant from the South. Having doubled the Cape, we perceived a ſandy Creek, which appeared like an old ruinous Caſtle, where two Ships may ride at Anchor, in ſix Fathom Water, upon a ſandy Ground: We thought to have rode there, but the Tide carried us by it.

Having doubled the Point of this Creek we came before an inhabited Place, furniſhed with Houſes like thoſe of our own Country, where we thought to come to an Anchor; but finding no Bottom but from fifty to thirty Fathom Water, upon a rocky Ground, we ſtood to Sea, deſpairing of Anchorage upon that Iſland. In the mean time the Tide carried us weſtward along the Coaſt, to a Point where we came in Sight of a Ship, and having ſent out our long Boat with ten Muſketeers, we underſtood it to be a *Mecca* Ship of forty Tuns, that upon our Appearance upon that Coaſt, had run all their Goods on Shore, taking us to be *Dutch* Ships. The Captain ſhewed me two Letters, one from an *Engliſh* Captain called *Martin*, and another from Captain *Bannar*, intimating to all their Countrymen, that they had taken in ſeveral Refreſhments at that Place, eſpecially Fruits, but little Meat; that they had found no Water there; that Linen Cloth and Paper were proper Commodities for that Place, and adviſing them to take Care of diſobliging the Iſlanders, who tho' they appeared friendly enough, were capable to do them a great deal of Injury.

Having aſked the *Arabian* Maſter where I could find the beſt Conveniency for coming to an Anchor, he told me, the Place of Anchorage lay to the Windward of their Ship, but withal adviſed me to fetch a Pilot from the Shore, by reaſon that the Road is ſurrounded with Rocks and Banks, and the Inhabitants of the Iſland being great Sorcerers, and having the Wind at their Command, could, upon Occaſion, change it to our Diſadvantage. Purſuant to his Advice, I ſent my Boat aſhore along with him, and in the Afternoon he returned with two of the Inhabitants, who were Negroes, and brought our Ship ſafe to Anchor before Sun-ſet. In the mean time I ſent the *Arabian* Maſter back to his own Ship, with full Aſſurances of the Innocency of our Deſign, and the friendly Diſpoſition of the *French*, together with a Letter to the ſame Purpoſe, addreſſed in *Spaniſh* to the King.

On the ſeventeenth, the King ſent ſome of his chief Favourites to aſſure us of his Friendſhip, and Readineſs to ſupply us with the Product of his Country. I acknowledged my Obligations to the Prince, and ſent him a Preſent of a ſilver-hilted Hanger, a couple of very pretty Knives, a Ream of Paper, and a Looking-glaſs, which he received with Pleaſure, and returned me a Compliment of a young Kid and ſome Fruit. At the ſame time I deſired the *Arabian* Captain, who was then aſhore, to buy ſome Proviſions for me, promiſing to ſend ſuch Commodities as were proper to be given in Exchange; but the Captain ſent me Word, that the Inhabitants of that Iſland were of ſuch a particular Humour, that they would not ſtrike a Bargain of half a Rial Value in a Day's Time, for that they would not buy half a Yard of Cloth without calling all their Relations and Neighbours to concert the Meaſures of the Bargain. I was likewiſe informed by a *Portugueze*, that a *Portugueze* Carrack had been loſt upon that Iſland about three Years before, and by that Means the Inhabitants were ſo over-ſtock'd with Rials, that they put no Eſteem upon that Coin.

Accordingly I found, that tho' they had vaſt Quantities of Fruits, they would not ſell them to your Men for Money, but only for Paper, white Cloth, and Knives; in fine, I perceived, that it would coſt me a Fortnight's Attendance to make up two Pipes of Peaſe, which I wanted, tho' I did not deſign to ſtay above three or four Days. The eighteenth, having deſcried a couple of Ships of that Country, I brought the Captains aboard, who acquainted me, that they came from the Iſland of *Majotta*, were laden with Rice and dried Fleſh, and bound for *Monbaze*. Next Day they ſupplied me with as much Rice, Peaſe, and hung Beef, as would ſerve us for four Months, and I was glad of the Opportunity, for I could buy nothing from the Inhabitants without an infinite Loſs of Time; beſides, I began to ſuſpect the Honeſty of their Intentions, for the Day before, when we were ſounding for Anchorage, ſome of the Inhabitants gave a Signal to come to a Place where we ſpied a long Ridge of Rocks, and had certainly been loſt, if we had anſwered the Signal; and upon that ſcore, I preſumed, that the Advantage they had made by the Shipwreck of the *Portugueze* Carrack tempted them to wiſh us the like Fate.

The twentieth I thought to have taken up ſome freſh Water on Shore, but finding it blackiſh, and hard to be put on Board, by reaſon of the great Waves, and obſerving withal that the Ship rode in the midſt of Shelves, I dropped that Deſign, and weighed Anchor on the twenty-firſt by break of Day. The *Arabian* Captain underſtanding that I deſigned to double Cape *Comorin*, had adviſed me to ſtop at the Iſle of *Soccotora* for ſix Weeks, to avoid the uſual Storms upon the Coaſt of *Malabar*. I would gladly have taken one of their Pilots along with me, to ſhew me the Coaſting of that Iſland, but they pleaded the Difference of the Religion, and our Mens eating of Pork, for an Excuſe.

14. This Iſle of *Nangaſija* extends itſelf from North to South about fifteen or ſixteen Leagues, with about three or four Leagues in Breadth. We could obſerve no Anchorage round it but that where our Ship rode, which lies upon the N. N. W. Point in 11° 10′ S. Lat. but the middle of the Iſland is in 12°. In that place we rode at 25 or 30 Fathom Water, upon a Ground of Sand; but within a Piſtol Shot of us there lay Flats, which had not above two Feet Water at low Water, and rocky Ground all about. It is a very dangerous Road, and hard to be found by Strangers. Indeed, among many Inconveniences, it has theſe Advantages, that the Tide always runs againſt the Wind, ſo that the Ships ride eaſy, and that cauſes a kind of perpetual Calm at Sea, becauſe the Wind then takes the Land. Beſides the Inconveniency of Anchorage, it is likewiſe a very improper Place to take in freſh Proviſions, for its Water is very bad, and the Inhabitants are ſo over cautious, that they will be two Hours in marketing to the Value of Five-pence; ſo that *Majotta* is upon that ſcore infinitely preferable to it.

The Iſland itſelf affords a pleaſant Proſpect, eſpecially to the Northward, for on that Side the Mountains riſe gradually, being covered with ſeveral ſorts of Trees, and below, upon a clear Creek of Sand, along the Sea-ſhore, there ſtand a great many Houſes, ſheltered with an infinite Number of Cocoa, Orange and Citron Trees. Their Oranges are very ſmall, but very ſweet and delicious, reſembling both in Shape and Taſte thoſe of *China*. The Inhabitants are Negroes, and call their Iſland *Nangaſija*. They are all very zealous *Mohammedans*, and marked with a hot Iron upon the Temples and middle of their Forehead. They are neither ſo handſome nor ſo well ſhaped as the Negroes of *St. Laurence*. The Iſland is governed by fifteen petty Kings, of whom the King of the Place where is the Anchorage, is the ſtrongeſt and beſt allied. Theſe Kings war with one another, and ſell their Priſoners of War to the *Portugueze*, and other Nations.

Their Fighting conſiſts in throwing of Stones, beating one another with Sticks burnt at the End, and flinging Sand in one another's Eyes. We ſaw no Arms among them but what the King had, and thoſe were Fuzees and Piſtols, with which the *Engliſh* preſented him ſome time ago, which he valued mightily. They are reckoned great Sorcerers, but are civil and reſpectful enough to Strangers, unleſs it be when they ſee a Stranger ſtand upright and make Water, for then they ridicule him with a prodigious Shouting. The *Arabian* Ships, which they call *Pengays*, are ſtrangely built, for the Planks are neither nail'd nor caulk'd, but ſewed together with a ſort of Thread made of the Rind of Cocoa Tree, and tarred or pitched above the Seams, ſo that they are very leaky, and there are always five or ſix Men employed to heave out the Water; beſides that they always obſerve the Trade-Winds, ſo as to ſail right before the Wind, for they won't venture to ſet their Side to the Windward. They are undeck'd, and carry about fifty or ſixty Tuns. When we weighed Anchor in this Road, we ſtood N. N. E. and without the Points of the Land met with violent Tides, bearing to the Weſtward, *i. e.* S. S. W. At Night we deſcried another ſmall Iſland to the Sea-ward, which muſt be that called in the Maps *Juan de Caſtraval*, and lies fifteen Leagues N. E. and a Quarter N. from *Nangaſija*.

15. The twenty eighth we croſſed the Equinoctial Line, and *July* the firſt, the Wind blowing very high, we ſailed fifty-five Leagues in twenty-four Hours, notwithſtanding that moſt of our Sails were furled, which gave me to underſtand, that upon that Coaſt the Tides ran rapidly before the Wind. Next Morning we diſcovered a clear and rocky Coaſt, with good Ground, a great Way from it, for at three Leagues Diſtance we had thirty Fathom Water, upon a fine white Sand. On the ſecond of *July* we ſtood againſt the Wind, hoping the Storm would bate upon the Change of the Moon; but by our Latitude found, that the Tide and Storm had carried us thirty-eight Leagues, tho' in the Night we ſtood to Sea, and by Day towards the Land, which ſeemed very wonderful.

The fourth we made Cape *Orpin*, which in the Maps is placed in ten Degrees Latitude, and dropped two Anchors, the Storm ſtill continuing. The eighth it blew ſo very hard, that a Man could not walk upon Deck. Upon which we tried all the Inventions imaginable of lowering our Topmaſt, running out above one hundred and eight Fathom Cable to every Anchor, *&c.* and our Pilots declared us loſt. At the ſame Time our Pinnace was drove from two Anchors, the Ropes being cut by the Rocks. The fourteenth, fifteenth, and ſixteenth, it blew ſtill harder, inſomuch that the Pinnace was obliged to quit the Coaſt, but the ſeventeenth ſhe returned, and caſt Anchor nearer the Shore, at ſix Fathom Water, upon very good Ground.

The high Winds continued without Intermiſſion till the third of *Auguſt*, during which Time we could neither ſend our Boats aſhore, nor hoiſt up a Sail. However, I reſolved to ſtand for Cape *Guardafu*, in order to conſider the State of our Tackling, as well as to take in freſh Water, and receive Directions from the Natives about our Coaſting on *Soccotora*, where none of us had ever been. With this View I fitted out our Long-boat with Proviſions for three Days, ordering the Men, by all Means, to make the Land, and know of the Natives where they might come at freſh Water.

16. They returned on the twelfth, and reported, that they had coaſted along the Shore to the Eaſtward of the Place, where we rode under ſteep Mountains, on the Tops of which they ſaw Perſons in mean *Arabian* Habits, who ſeemed to be Negroes, and threw ſo many Stones on them from the Tops of the Mountains, that they were obliged to ſheer off; for, notwithſtanding all the Signals they could make of Peace and Friendſhip, the Natives ſeemed to intimate by their Swords and Aſſagays, that if they came aſhore, they would cut their Throats. Upon which they ſteer'd to that Part of the Coaſt which was oppoſite to our Anchorage, where ſome of them got up the Precipice by a Gap, and found an open champain Country, as far as they could ſee, without any Trees, except it was ſome withered Buſhes, and ſome Herbs, burnt up by the Sun: They ſaw likewiſe two or three of the Natives, who fled further into the Country.

Having lain that Night under the Precipice, they ſteered next Day two or three Leagues to the Weſtward, and ſaw ſome Natives along the Shore, who marched up Hill as ſoon as the Boat offered to come near them. After they had doubled the Cape, from which a Ridge of Rocks ſhoots above half a League into the Sea, and there found a large Bay, three Leagues broad, and ſhooting very far into the *Terra Firma*, but very ſhallow; for about two Leagues from the Mouth of it they found but three and four Feet Water, the Ground Sand and thick Gravel, with a great deal of Wreck, and an Infinity of Fiſh. In this Bay they found two of the Natives a fiſhing, who fled as ſoon as they made up to them. Our Men went aſhore there, and met with a great many of the Inhabitants, who, notwithſtanding all the Signals they could make of a white Standard, ſtill fled from them, crying aloud, *Illa, Alla, Illa la Mohammed reſulala*, which is the *Mohammedan* Confeſſion of Faith.

Upon the Shore they found an *Arabian* Boat with nothing in it; a little further in the Country they met with a few ſmall Trees, and a little Lodge, with two or three very pretty Mats in it, which they did not touch. After they had re-embarked they ſaw the Natives peep out again, but could find no Opportunity of treating with them either by Friendſhip or Force. Upon this unfavourable Report, I reſolved to weigh Anchor as ſoon as the Storm abated. This Anchorage in which we encountered this Seaſon, and which is, indeed, the Winter of that Country, lies in 10° 30′ N. Lat. the Needle varying 17° 40′ N. W. and the Coaſt running E. and W. I would not adviſe any one to pitch upon that Place to lie till the proper Seaſon of Coaſting upon *Malabar*, for not only the Land is deſert and inacceſſable, by reaſon of the continued Violence of the Wind, which never varies farther than from S. S. W. to S. W. but it affords no Water, either from Earth or Heaven, as being altogether deſtitute of Rain.

17. The Storm being abated, we weighed Anchor the ſeventeenth, and the eighteenth came within a League of Cape *Guardafu*. That Night we tacked about, and ſtood to the Seas, ſteering E. a Quarter S. E. and S. S. E. in order to make the Iſles of *Curia* and *Muria*, which lie between the Iſle of *Soccotora* and the Cape, and afford good Water. But miſſing of them, we returned next Morning, ſtanding for the Cape, and in the Afternoon came to an Anchor within Cape *Guardafu*, in nine Fathom Water, upon good Ground, within one-fourth of a League of the Iſland, that runs away N. W. a Quarter W. Next Morning I ſent one Boat's Crew in queſt of ſome Spring of freſh Water, falling from the Mountains into the Sea, on its S. Side, and another to coaſt along the Shore, N. W. three Quarters W. which extends to the Mouth of the Red-Sea, in order to find Water, or to ſpeak to ſome of the Inhabitants. At the ſame Time I ſent out the little Skiff, to try what Conveniency they could have for Fiſhing.

The Skiff brought back Word, that along the Shore, for twenty or thirty Paces, the Ground was ſo rocky that they durſt not venture to bend their Scan. Thoſe who went in Queſt of Water to the Southward returned, and gave me an Account that they had travelled four or five Leagues into the Country, which was extremely deſart, dry, and unſufferably hot, the Sun being in the Zenith of the Horizon, and there being no Shade or Wind. The other Boat's Crew reported, that about three Leagues Weſt-North-Weſt from us they came to a Place which ſeemed to be pretty green in Compariſon of that dry Country, where they went aſhore, and meeting with ten or twelve Negroes, aſked them where they could have Water to drink? That one of the Negroes aſked a Piece of Cotton Cloth that one of the Seamen had, as a Reward for the Diſcovery, and upon having it, ſhewed him ſome Ditches and Wells dug out of the Ground, in which was abundance of Water; and that the ſaid Negroes aſked them, if they were *Engliſh*, and promiſed to give them Cattle in Exchange; upon this Report we weighed Anchor, and ſet Sail for that Place.

The 22d, about Noon, we came to an Anchor, at ſix Fathom Water, bad Ground, about four Leagues from Cape *Guardafu*, over againſt ſome Buſhes and Greens, which are not common upon that Coaſt. Having ſet thirty Men aſhore to dig for Water, I found that the Water, which came in great abundance, after they had digged but one Foot deep, was at firſt ſweet, but after we had filled a Barrel or two, the reſt came very ſalt, inſomuch that for twenty-two Tun of Water we were obliged to dig in above ſeventy Places, which we did in four Hours, the Soil being Sand; while we lay here it was inſufferably hot, without any Wind.

18. Cape *Guardafu* lies in 12° Degrees Latitude, the Needle varying 17° 45′ North-Weſt; 'tis the higheſt Land upon all this Coaſt, and riſes to a Precipice. All this Coaſt is wonderfully deſart, ſcorched by the Sun, inſomuch that I do not believe there is a hotter Place in the World. We ſaw no Appearance of Houſes, but there appeared to us ſome Negro Men wandering upon the Shore, who were ſo large, that we ſhould have taken them for Rocks, if we had not ſeen them move. I ſaw one of their Bows, which by its Largeneſs and Strength ſpoke the huge Stature of the Owner. I was mightily ſurprized to find no manner of Wind when we lay cloſe by this Cape; whereas it had blown very hard but a few Leagues off, in the Latitude of 10° 30′.

The Reaſon I imagine to be this, the Point of Land lying in 10° 30', being a Peninſula not above three or four Leagues broad, ſerves for a Shock to heighten and inflame the Wind, which runs along the Coaſt North-Eaſt and South-Weſt; whereas Cape *Guardafu* is very high, and the Wind paſſing over a long Tract of dry and hot Land, in Conjunction with the Rays of the Sun, does ſo heat its Surface, that the Wind is waſted above it. The 27th we weighed Anchor, and as we advanced found the Wind grow briſker; after we had ſailed about twelve Hours, we fell in with great Tides running out of the *Red-Sea*, and a few Hours after that found the Sea very much troubled, and ſtained with red Spots; ſome took it for Flats, but we could diſcover no ſuch thing by ſounding. My Senſe of the Matter was, that we then being in the Mouth of the *Red-Sea*, and that being the Day of the Moon's Conjunction, ſome great Floods, joined to the Preſſure of the Sun and Moon, occaſioned this Violence of the Tides.

Next Day a Conſultation of the Pilots being called, it was reſolved that we ſhould run ſeven or eight Days to and again in the Mouth of the *Red-Sea*, for fear the Wind we then had ſhould waft us too ſoon upon the Coaſt of *Malabar*; purſuant to this Reſolution, we ſteered North toward the Coaſt of *Arabia*. *Auguſt* the 31ſt we came within two Leagues of the Coaſt of *Arabia*, we were then in 14° 20' Latitude, over-againſt a Bay, in which, according to the vulgar Maps, there ſhould be ſome Iſlands called *Caramberumma*, and *Xael*, which produce great Quantities of Frankincenſe. I thought to have made *Caramberumma*, but the contrary Winds and Tides prevented me. I underſtood that there came to that Place every Year a great many *Mohammedan* Pilgrims, ſome of whom continued there a long time.

In the Entry of the *Red-Sea*, and along the Coaſt of the *Caffines*, or *Guardeſines*, there is a prodigious Quantity of Fiſh, eſpecially Thornbacks, ſome of which are as long as a Boat, and proportionably thick; ſome of our Men ſtruck at them with a Grapple, but it pierced their Skin no more than if it had been Iron. This Coaſt of *Arabia* is ſandy, and in ſome Places low; but in the inland Parts there are very high Mountains, which were covered with Fogs all the Time we were there. The Calm obliging me to ſtay in the Mouth of the *Red-Sea* till *September* the 10th, I began to be apprehenſive we might come too late to double Cape *Comorin*, and for that Reaſon ſtood North-Eaſt with what Eaſt and Eaſt-South-Eaſt Wind we had, till we fell in with the South-Weſt Winds, and ſo ſteered our Courſe South.

Having called a Conſultation of the Pilots and other Officers, in order to determine what Courſe we ſhould ſteer to Cape *Comorin*, whether through the Channel of *Mammale*, or along the Coaſt of *Malabar*, it was alledged, that paſſing through the Straights of *Mammale* at that Seaſon would abridge our Voyage; but on the other hand the Tides running South-Weſt were againſt us, and to ſtand to South-Eaſt we ſhould be obliged to ſail cloſe by the Wind, ſo that the Ship would make but little Way; and for that Reaſon it was alledged, that we might ſooner make the Coaſt of *Malabar* than the Latitude of that Channel, and for my Part, I was apprehenſive of being becalmed on that Coaſt, upon which we had a hundred and twenty Leagues to ſail before we could double Cape *Comorin*. It was likewiſe alledged, that we could not reach the Latitude of that Channel, which was 9°, without falling in upon the *Terra Firma*, by reaſon that ſtanding South-Eaſt would make more than an Eaſt Courſe; others again pleaded, that South-South-Eaſt would do our Buſineſs.

In this Difference of Opinions, I reſolved to put the Caſe to a Trial, by ſtanding South-South-Eaſt, and remarking from the Latitudes what Way we made: Accordingly we ſteered South-South-Eaſt till the next Day at Noon, and then having taken the Latitude, found that our Way was no better than Eaſt-South-Eaſt. After this I called together the Pilots again, the Majority of which agreed that we ſhould go directly in queſt of the Coaſt of *Malabar*, in the Latitude of 13° 20'. The chief Reaſon they inſiſted upon was, that the Channel of *Mammale* lying in 9° 30', it would be a long Time before we ſhould reach it; beſides, that in that Courſe we ſhould be in Danger of falling in with the Flats to the Northward of the Channel. Though I was very apprehenſive of being becalmed on the Coaſt of *Malabar*, yet I yielded to the Plurality of Votes, and ſtood Eaſt-South-Eaſt.

19. The 26th we came in Sight of the Coaſt of *Malabar*, which is very high and mountainous; within the Country, the 27th, we deſcried Mount *Deli*, about eight Leagues off, which lies between *Cranganor* and *Mangalar*, and appears at that Diſtance like an Iſland. In that Place the Needle varied 15° 15' North-weſt; having ſpied a Galliot about a League off, and the Wind varying about to the North, we gave her Chace, but could not come up with her. The 28th, being becalmed, we ſaw a Ship two Leagues to the Windward of us, and I ſent Mr. *Monteurier* with twenty-three Men in the Long-boat, ordering them not to board the Ship, but to command the Captain to ſend his Pilots and Purſer on board of us, and to acquaint him that I deſigned them no Harm, but only to know if it was not too late to double Cape *Comorin*; ſome time after I ſaw our Long-boat board the Ship, and ſome Muſkets fired, and after that a Boat came off from the Ship, and made towards us.

The Calm continuing, and the Boat advancing but ſlowly, I ſent our Skiff to know their News, which I was in Pain to hear: Upon its Return I underſtood that the People in the Boat were five of our Men, three of whom were dangerouſly wounded. When theſe came aboard they recounted a tragical Story, *viz.* that upon their Approach to the Ship, which was a large one, M. *Monteurier* gave them Notice to lower their Sails; that they not obeying, he fired upon them two Braſs Guns, and a Broadſide of Muſket-Shot; that thereupon they ſtruck, and told him he might board them if he would; upon which our Men boarded them upon the Quarter-deck, and having killed all the Men abaft, thought themſelves intirely Maſters of the Ship, when of a ſudden ſixty or eighty Men ſtarted up in the Forecaſtle, and with Shields and Hangers in their Hands, fell upon our Men with ſuch Fury, that they obliged them to retire to the Boat. But there happened an unlucky Miſchance, the Boat was ſo belayed, that they could not diſengage her, ſo that moſt of our Men were killed with Pick-axes, Arrows, and Hand-Granades, which were thrown into the Boat, and the reſt being forced to leap into the Sea, one of them ſwam to the *Moor*'s Boat, and having cut the Cable, ſaved himſelf, and the other four Men, without ſtaying for the reſt, who in all probability were drowned.

Next Morning I made all the Sail I could to come up with the Ship, and having boarded it, found nobody on board but fifteen poor old Wretches with white Beards reaching to their Girdle, who with Tears and Lamentations threw themſelves at my Feet, and raiſed my Compaſſion more than Revenge; beſides that, the five Men who were ſaved, unanimouſly aſſured me, that they did not ſee them in the Engagement. The Account I had from theſe Men was, that the Ship having carried a Cargo of Pepper to *Mecca*, was upon her Return to *Panama* near *Calicut*, to which Place ſhe belonged; that themſelves were poor People coming from *Mecca* to beg upon that Coaſt; that the Owners of the Ship, in Number eighty, had gone off the Night before in our Boat, with the Gold and Silver, and the Boat being almoſt overladen, had left them behind.

Upon the Whole, I conſidered that thoſe poor Men were innocent, and that the Ambition and Avarice of our Men was the Cauſe of their Death, ſince the *Moors* had ſtruck, and deſigned them no Harm, till our Men fell upon them; for theſe Reaſons I ſpared the poor old Men. I found aboard of the Ship a great Quantity of Salt, Dates, Wine, two Puncheons of Opium, ſome hundreds of Pounds of Coral, ſome Cotton Cloth of ſmall Value, Roſe-water, and Knives; and I underſtood from the old Men, that if our Men had not boarded the Ship, the Owners would have furniſhed me with forty thouſand Ducats of *Cairo*, which is a Golden Coin worth about four Livres apiece.

20. *October* the 2d we were off Cape *Comorin* in 7° 30', the Needle varying 14° 20', the Tides bearing to the South having carried us farther off than we deſigned. After that, being adviſed by our Pilots to ſtand for *Ticow* rather than *Achen*, I ſteered South-Eaſt, and South-Eaſt a Quarter Eaſt. The 11th we had a violent Guſt of Wind, which

laſted for two Hours, and ſoon after had another, which broke our Foremaſt, being then in 1° 20′ S. Lat. The 12th being in 1° 10′ S. Lat. we ſaw a few Land-Fowls, which made us hope to ſee the Land in a ſhort time; and moſt of my Ship's Crew, as well as that of the Advice Boat being then ſick, *November* the 11th we came in Sight of Land in 1° 40′ N. Lat. but the Frequentneſs of the Calms, and the Sickneſs of my Men, retarded me mightily, for the Pinnace had not above two or three Hands fit for Buſineſs; and in our Ship there were not eighteen that were able to work; beſides, both our Surgeons were dead. I deſcried ſeveral Ships of that Country under Sail, and put out a white Antient to make them ſteer towards us; at laſt, finding they would not come, I ſent out my Skiff to ſpeak with one that ſtood between us and the Shore, and tho' they endeavoured to run aſhore, yet the Skiff came up with them, and agreed to give thirty-five Pieces of Eight for a Pilot to conduct us to *Ticow*.

They were of *Prioman*, a Town about eight or ten Leagues to the Southward of *Ticow*, and told our Men that *Ticow* lay about ſeven or eight Leagues off, beyond ſome Iſlands a-head of us. Our Pilot carried us nearer the *Terra Firma* than we were; and when we came to be off of the above-mentioned Iſlands, made us put back to Sea. Having paſſed theſe Iſlands, we came in Sight of a high Promontory of the *Terra Firma*, which had two Banks, one about half a League before its outmoſt Point, and another about two Leagues to the S. E. of it; and we had certainly run foul of the laſt, if one of our Men had not given us Notice of it from the Main-Top-Maſt, for we could not ſpy it upon Deck, and our Pilot had told us nothing of the Matter. Having weathered this dangerous Place, and ſtanding S. S. E. we ſaw another a-head of us, about the ſame Diſtance from the laſt. We ſteered between theſe two, which lie S. E. and N. W. ſounding all the Way, and had all along ſixteen Fathom Water, the Ground muddy, with a little Sand.

The Night overtaking us, we were obliged to drop an Anchor between them. This Shoal lies off of a Place called *Pageman*, juſt under the Equinoctial, which affords a great deal of Pepper, making a large Creek, the Bottom of which is a low Country, covered with Woods, but in the inland Parts there ſtands an high Mountain, pointed like a Pike, which is ſeen above twenty Leagues off, and runs S. E. a Quarter E. Having weathered the Point of this Creek, we deſcried the three Iſlands of *Ticow*, and, at laſt, having ſpent two Months upon a Voyage that is commonly performed in eight Days, landed at *Ticow* the 1ſt of *December*. Between that time and the 2d of *October* I had loſt twenty-five Men, and if the Calm had continued but fifteen Days longer, I believe I had loſt all the Men in my Ship.

21. We caſt Anchor at *Ticow*, between the greateſt of the Iſlands and the *Terra Firma*, at four Fathom Water, and the Ground muddy, and ſent our Skiff aſhore, which brought us one *Pedro*, who had been Interpreter to the *Engliſh* Factory in that Place. This Interpreter told me, that the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* had been expelled by the King of *Achen* two Months before, and that there was a great deal of Pepper, but we could not buy it without a Licence from the King of *Achen*, who was Lord of all that Coaſt. He likewiſe acquainted me that the *Hope*, our ſecond Ship, had touched upon the Coaſt about twenty Leagues off, in the latter End of *July*, and had ſent their Long-Boat with fifteen Men to this Place, to take in freſh Proviſions, which they wanted mightily. That upon the Boat's Arrival, a *Dutch* Ship in the Road fired upon them, but, upon Complaint, excuſed themſelves, pleading that they took them to be *Engliſh*. That the fifteen Men having met with a kind Reception, and taken in what Proviſions they wanted, ſet out in Search of their own Ship, but could not meet with it; upon which they returned to this Place, where ſeven of them died in *October*; four went for *Achen* in a *Dutch* Ship, three for *Bantam* in another *Dutch* Ship, and one continued in the Country, and earned his Bread by gathering of Pepper.

I was infinitely grieved to hear that Captain *Grave* had been ſo inconſiderate as to ſend his Long-boat ſo far from him, eſpecially when I was informed that, among the fifteen Men he had loſt, there were two principal Commiſſaries and a Pilot. Upon farther Enquiry, *Pedro* informed me that the Place where the *Hope* had caſt Anchor was a great Iſland, about twenty Leagues to the Weſtward of that Place; that he was aſſured they had not ſuffered Shipwreck, either upon that Iſland or along the Coaſt, ſince the Praws (ſo the Ships of that Country are called) going to and fro had never diſcovered any Wreck. That the two Commiſſaries, before they died, were of Opinion that the Ship had been drove from her Anchors by Storm, and not being able to make her former Station, made the beſt of her Way to *Bantam*, expecting that I would touch at this Place, according to my Promiſe, and take up her Men. As to the Affront offered them by the *Dutch*, he told me, that the *Dutch* knew them to be *French*, having ſpoken with them before they fired: That the News of the Peace between the *Dutch* and the *Engliſh* was arrived before this happened: That the *Dutch* had repreſented to the Governor and the Inhabitants of that Place, that the *French* were Robbers, and meant only to obſerve the Landing-place, in order to ſack them: That they would not aſſiſt our two Commiſſaries any manner of way, whether in Health or Sickneſs, nor give the leaſt Relief to any of our Men, bating ſome few Sailors that they ſtood in need of; and that the *Engliſh* had ſerved our Men to the utmoſt of their Power. He added, that the Governor was very ſenſible of the Malice of the *Dutch*, who meant only to engroſs the *Indies* to themſelves, and had but lately abuſed the King of *Jacatra*, and uſurped his Territories, for which Reaſon the King of *Achen* thought fit to diſlodge them from *Ticow*.

As to the Death of our Men, he ſaid, it had been a very ſickly Year in that Place as was ever ſeen; but, after all, the *Dutch* were ſuſpected to have ſhortened their Days, conſidering thoſe who died were the Perſons they hated moſt, and were not the firſt who had received Poiſon from their Hands, witneſs the Death of ſeveral *Engliſhmen*, occaſioned by that Means. I queſtioned him about the Injury done by the *Dutch* to the King of *Jacatra*, and whether they had laid Siege to *Bantam*; he aſſured me that it was ſtill beſieged, inſomuch that there was no Commerce nor Traffick with that City; that the *Dutch* had poſſeſſed themſelves of *Jacatra*, and expelled the King; that they had razed the antient City, and built a ſtrong Fort and City after the Faſhion of their own Country, which they had peopled with all ſorts of Nations; and, in fine, that they were at that time Maſters of the Straight of *Sunda*, where nobody could ſail without their Paſſport. Having maturely weighed all the Particulars of this Advice, I reſolved to ſend both to *Achen* and to *Bantam* at any rate, to have ſome Account of Captain *Grave* and his Ship, for whoſe Condition I was greatly concerned.

22. *December* the 2d the King and Governor allowing me to come aſhore, I carried ſome Preſents along with me, without which one will ſcarce be made welcome in that Country. Upon my landing, the Governor and principal Officers gave me an honourable Reception, under a Roof, or, as they call it, Baly. Having told them my Country and Buſineſs, they informed me that I was free to buy up what Proviſions I wanted, provided I paid for them in Rials and Knives, and no other Commodity. But as for Pepper, and the other Commodities of the Country, they could not diſpoſe of any without a Licence from the King; but if I would go to *Achen* and obtain Leave of the King to erect a Factory with them, they would be glad to deal with us. I aſked Leave to hire a Houſe in the City, to accommodate my ſick Men, and to remain aſhore to buy up Proviſions; but they replied, they could not anſwer for the Safety of my Men aſhore, there being ſo many Rogues about the Town; but, if I pleaſed, I might leave two Men to buy up Proviſions, and that only for the Space of a few Days.

The next Day I ſent a Letter to *Achen*, directed for Monſ. *Grave*, Captain of the *Hope*, if he was there, having obliged the Maſter of a Praw bound thither, by ſome Preſents and Promiſes of a Reward, to carry it to the Captain. I agreed with the Maſter of a Praw that lived at *Ticow*, to give him a hundred Rials to carry one of my

Men to *Bantam* or *Jacatra*, in queſt of the *Hope*, provided he returned in twenty Days. The Articles of Agreement were drawn up in Writing, and lodged in the Hands of *Pedro*, the *Engliſh* Interpreter; and both he and the Maſter of the Praw deſired that his Voyage might be concealed from the Governor and Inhabitants of *Ticow*. The Governor having ſent me a Buffalo and ſome Fruit, I went to return him Thanks, and, by virtue of ſome Preſents I made him, obtained Leave to hire a Houſe, in which I lodged forty-three ſick Men, with three Surgeons, a Prieſt, and three more to attend on them. In the mean time, I had ſeveral Preſents made me of Fruit and young Kids, particularly from the Governor of *Priaman*, who preſſed me earneſtly to make him a Viſit: I returned him Thanks, together with ſome Preſents, and a Promiſe to wait upon him the firſt Opportunity.

The 8th an *Achen* Galliot arriving, aſſured me that no *French* Ship had touched at *Achen*; upon which I concluded that our Conſort muſt, of Neceſſity, be either at *Bantam* or *Jacatra*. The 10th there arrived three Gallies, belonging to the King of *Achen*, with an Elephant and three hundred Men in each of them; and the Inhabitants of *Ticow* acquainted me, that they expected a further Reinforcement of Elephants and Men, in order to carry on a War againſt a Prince that had revolted againſt the King of *Achen*. Upon this News, conſidering I had fifty Men at *Ticow*, and fifty more at an Iſland, with the Water-Caſks, beſides eight or ten that were always out with the Skiff; ſo that I had but few Men left on Board, tho', at the ſame time, I uſed to have eighty or a hundred of the Natives on Board, ſome by way of Viſit, and others to ſell their Eggs, Fruit, Pullets, Fiſh, and other Proviſions. Upon theſe Conſiderations I nailed down the Hatches, and run a Rail between the great Maſt and the Fore-Maſt, which was fortified by two great Patereroes mounted on Wheels, and five more upon the Bittacle, together with a Guard upon the Deck, and two Muſketeers, with as many Halberdiers ſtanding at a Door in the ſaid Rail, which I never ſuffered to be opened but when I received a Viſitant into my Cabbin; ſo that two hundred Men upon the Deck could do us no Injury, while our Men were upon their Guard.

The 13th I went aſhore, and found my Men recovering by degrees; being to wait upon the Governor to aſk Leave to ſtay fifteen Days longer, he granted my Requeſt, but withal entreated me to go to *Achen*, and obtain a Licence of the King for erecting a *French* Factory, which would be infinitely more acceptable to the Inhabitants than that of any other Nation. He likewiſe adviſed me not to be jealous of the Inhabitants or fear any Injury from them, which it ſeemed I did, ſince I had made a Fortification in my Ship, and mounted more Guns than before.

I made anſwer, that my coming ſo careleſly aſhore, and leaving fifty ſick Perſons in their Hands, was a ſufficient Evidence of the Confidence I put in the Natives; that the Deſign of the Barrier of my Ship was only to keep out thoſe I did not know from running into my Cabin, that ſo I might be capable of diſtinguiſhing an Orankay, or a noted Gentleman, from a Fiſherman; and that I had not mounted ſo many Pieces of Cannon, if I had not heard that two *Dutch* Ships were expected here, of whom I had Reaſon to be jealous. Upon this, he told me, that I had a great deal more Reaſon to miſtruſt the *Dutch* than them, and that, if I pleaſed, he would forbid the Natives to go on Board of me: But I aſſured him, they ſhould be at all times very welcome, and that I did not at all miſtruſt them. After that, I viſited the Captains of the three Gallies, who aſſured me a-freſh, that there had no *French* Ships come lately to *Achen*.

23. The nineteenth the King of *Ticow*'s eldeſt Son viſited me on Board, with a great Retinue, and I gave him the beſt Reception I could. That Night the Praw I had ſent to *Bantam* returned, in eleven Days, and the Maſter made the following Reports. Four Days after they had put to Sea, they arrived at the Port of *Sarabaya*, which lies on the Coaſt of *Sumatra*, in 4° S. Lat. there being a *Dutch* Ship in the Road. M. *Iſaac*, the Man whom I had ſent on Board the Praw, in queſt of the Vice-Admiral, would needs ſpeak with them, though he diſſuaded him. The *Dutch* Captain acquainted him, that *Bantam* was blocked up, ſo that no Ships of any Nation could get in; that the *Hope*, which was then at *Jacatra*, had been in great Diſtreſs upon that Coaſt, there being only four or five Men on Board, till a *Dutch* Veſſel reinforced her; and that the Streights of *Sonda* were infeſted with the *Java* Praws and *Caracaus*, they having, from the King of *Bantam*, a Sum of Money for every Head they kill'd, of what Nation ſoever.

Upon this Advice, M. *Iſaac* thought it not ſafe to go further in a Praw, but took the Opportunity of a Veſſel, the Maſter of which promiſed to land him in *Jacatra* in ſeven or eight Days. The Maſter of the Praw brought alſo a Letter from M. *Iſaac* concerning the foregoing Account. This News vexed me more than the former, for I had poſitively ordered *Iſaac* not to ſtop for any Ship, but to go ſtrait on. After mature Cooſideration, we reſolved not to go to *Bantam*, where our Ship and Cargo might be in Danger, in a Time of War; beſides, that we ſhould be obliged to ſpend *January* and *February* in going thither, and managing the Traffick of the Place, and *March* would be too late a Seaſon for returning along this Coaſt to *Achen*. At the ſame Time we diſpatched the Advice-Boat with a Reinforcement of twenty Men for *Jacatra*, in order to aſſiſt and ſupply Captain *Grave*, whom we ordered to return to *France*, if he could get his Lading at *Bantam*, or if he failed of it there, to return forthwith to *Achen*, where he would find us.

Ticow lies in twenty Minutes S. Lat. The inland Country is very high, but towards the Shore it falls very low, being covered with Woods, and watered with ſeveral little Rivers, which render it marſhy. It is chequered, with ſeveral pleaſant Meadows, well ſtored with Buffaloes and Oxen, which may be purchaſed for four or five Rials a-piece. It affords Plenty of Rice, Cattle, Poultry, Ducks, and ſeveral ſorts of Fruits, ſuch as Durions, Ananas, Potatoes, Mangoes, Pomegranates, Oranges, Citrons, Water-melons, Cucumbers, *&c.* The Riches of the Country conſiſt in Pepper, which it produces plentifully, and which is much more eſteemed than that of *Bantam*; as for other Rarities, Drugs and Manufactures, it affords none. The City of *Ticow* is but a pitiful Place; it lies about half a League from the Sea-ſide, upon the Shore, oppoſite to the little Iſland where the Ships ride; there are ſome Houſes, but both the City and Suburbs do not contain eight hundred Houſes, which are built of Reeds, and are neither ſtrong nor convenient: However, the Country is very populous, eſpecially at the Foot of the Mountains, where the Pepper grows.

The King of *Ticow* is ſubject to the King of *Achen*, who puts in a new Governor every three Years, without whom the King of *Ticow* cannot do any thing of Importance. So the Foreigners have more Buſineſs with the Governor than with the King; nay, the very Inhabitants pay more Reſpect to him, calling him *Bangaran Lima*. The Inhabitants of the City are *Malayans*, and no other Language is ſpoken all along that Coaſt. The inland Parts are poſſeſſed by the Natives, who diſown the King of *Achen*'s Authority, having a peculiar Language and King of their own. Theſe are Idolaters, and eat human Fleſh. They have rich Gold Mines, but do not know how to manage them, for they only gather the Gold out of ſome little Ditches, which are not very deep, and out of the Caverns made by Floods. This Gold they exchange with the *Dutch*, or the Inhabitants near the Shore, for Pepper, Salt, Iron, Cotton Cloth dyed red, and *Surat* Pearl, which they eſteem mightily; but among the *Malayans* Gold is as dear as in *France*, and in *Achen* it is dearer.

Theſe *Malayans* are all of them very ſuperſtitious *Mohammedans*, but withal, great Robbers, inſomuch that the People are not ſafe in their Houſes in the Night-time, and far leſs in the Fields. They are of an olive Colour. Their Women are all kept up, and not ſuffered to appear in the Streets. From *July* to *October* the Air is very unhealthy, being attended with Fevers that ſeldom admit of a Cure; inſomuch that if it were not for their Pepper, nobody would venture to come near them. They gather

Pepper at all Times, but eſpecially in *December*, *January*, and *February*. No Trade can be carried on at this Place without a Licence from the King of *Achen*, which they call *Chappa*, or *Chop*, and if you have that, neither the Governor, nor the King, can diſturb you. For want of it, I could neither ſell any Commodities, nor buy any Pepper, excepting about 8000 Pounds that were brought by Night from *Priaman*, and ſold me at a reaſonable Price.

The *Surat* Commodities go off very well here, as well as the *Maſſulipatan* Commodities. Rials are current enough, but the Money of *Achen* does not paſs. All their Money is ſome ſmall Pieces of Gold that come from the Mine, which they weigh with Scales; and ſell their Pepper by Bahars, a Weight containing 115 Pounds *Averdupois*, and the King of *Achen* has 15 *per Cent*. of all that is ſold, that is 7 and an half for the Export of the Pepper, and 7 and an half for the Import of the Rials, or Commodities given in Exchange for it; this Cuſtom is either paid in Commodities, or in Rials, ever valuing the prime Coſt. Beſide the above-mentioned Impoſt for every hundrd Bahars, we pay twenty-five Rials to the King of *Ticow*, and a quarter Part to the Weigher, and ſome inconſiderable Allowance to ten or twelve Perſons more. But above all, one muſt make the Governor his Friend, and have a watchful Eye over all the *Malayans*, who are apt to wet the Pepper, or to put Sand and little Stones among it.

24. *January* the firſt 1621, having brought on Board my ſick Men, who began to recover apace, I weighed Anchor, and ſteered for *Achen*. The fourteenth we were off of *Barros*, one of the moſt conſiderable Places on that Coaſt belonging to the King of *Achen*, where no Perſon can traffick without the King's Leave. This Place is half Way between *Ticow* and *Achen*, and affords Plenty of Benjamin, which ſerves the Natives for Money. It is a pleaſant Country, abounding with all ſorts of Wines and Fruits, but bears no Pepper. It affords Plenty of Camphire, which is worth fourteen or fifteen Rials the Catti, or twenty-eight Ounces. Rials will ſcarce paſs there, but the *Surat* or Coaſt Commodities go off very well. Both the Inhabitants of the Coaſt, and the *Dutch* and *Engliſh*, buy up their Camphire to carry it to *Surat*, and the Strait of *Sonda*. The twenty-third we deſcried the high Lands of *Achen*, and the Iſlands that lie to the Seaward of that Road. We ſtood directly for theſe Iſlands, but it was eight Days before we could make them, notwithſtanding that we were but four Leagues off; for, wanting a Pilot, we took the Channel that lies neareſt the Land, where the contrary S. E. Winds incommoded us very much; at laſt, with much ado, we weathered them about a League and a half from the Road, which lies oppoſite to the Mouth of a River, upon which there ſtands a Fort, very remarkable for its Moſque.

The thirtieth I came to an Anchor juſt by an *Engliſh* Ship of 600 Tons, that rode there. Immediately a Boat came off from Shore with ſeveral of the King's Officers, and one of his Eunuchs, carrying a Chappe, as they call it, which is a Dagger with a gold Handle and Scabbard, belonging to the King, made uſe of for a Badge, or Sign, that the Perſon who bears it is commiſſioned by the King. After a profound Silence, he who carried the Chappe welcomed me in the King's Name, and ordered me to come forthwith aſhore. Accordingly I made myſelf ready, but before I could come off, I was obliged to pay the Officers Dues, which amounted to above eighty Rials, beſides a great Looking-glaſs for the *Eunuch*, and another for a Friend of his, and ſome ſmall ones for his principal Officers. This done, I came aſhore, where the Captain of the *Engliſh* Ship invited me very kindly to Dinner, and to lodge in his Houſe. I accepted his Invitation to Dinner, and was very handſomely entertained. After Dinner I went to look upon a Houſe, and offered forty Rials a Month for it, but could not have it under fifty-four. In the mean Time, the *Engliſh* Captain complained heavily of the King, that he would not let them have the Pepper under fifty-four Rials the Bahar, tho' thirty Rials were as much as it was worth. Finding that I could not ſpeak with the King that Day, and that the King had ſent his Chappe twice for an Emerald I wore on my Finger, and would not be ſatisfied with my Promiſe of bringing it the next Day, I went on Board again.

On the firſt of *February* I came aſhore again, and by the Way met ſome *Portugueze*, whom the King of *Achen* had laid in Irons, and who told me, that the *Dutch* and *Engliſh* had a Deſign to poiſon me. I told them, I did not believe the *Engliſh* would do me any harm; however, I would be upon my Guard. They replied, that if I went to dine with the *Engliſh* Captain that Day, I would never return, and very affectionately begged me to avoid it, becauſe they had no Hopes of being delivered from their Captivity, but through my Means. But after all, purſuant to my Promiſe, I went and dined with the *Engliſh* Captain, Mr. *Roberts*, who treated me very kindly and handſomely, and gave me nothing to eat or drink but what he and the reſt of his Company took part of. After Dinner the King's Officers came for the Emerald, which I gave them, and told me, I could not ſpeak with the King till the Day after. Then conſidering that I was troubleſome to the *Engliſh* Captain, and that it was not my Intereſt to lodge with him, I agreed to give fifty Rials a Month for a Houſe.

On the ſecond I was taken with a violent Looſeneſs and Vomiting, and being apprehenſive of what the *Portugueze* had told me, took ſome *Maldiva* Cocoas, with Bezoar, which in that Country are reckoned a ſovereign Counterpoiſon. Next Day I went aſhore, where I met with bad News, *viz.* that the *Dutch* and *Engliſh* had taken the *Hope* off of *Bantam*, and ſhared the Cargo, and murdered moſt of the Men, and that they would do as much to me if they were able. This Diſcovery came from a *Dutchman*, who being diſobliged by his Countrymen, had taken Protection under us, and lodged in one Apartment of the Houſe I had taken. I was unwilling to take this Man on Board, by reaſon that in a former Voyage I was challenged at *Bantam* for having *Dutchmen* on Board, and thoſe I had, who were the moſt uſeful and neceſſary Officers in my Ship, were taken from me; but after all, finding that the Fellow was ready to turn *Moor*, and that he ſpoke the Language of the Country naturally, and might be uſeful to me as an Interpreter, I told him, if he would lie cloſe, without giving any Notice to the *Dutch*, or *Engliſh*, till I was ready to ſail, I would do my utmoſt to convey him on Board; for *Pedro*, the *Engliſh* Interpreter, whom I had brought from *Ticow*, had then left my Service, being checked and threatened by the *Engliſh* Factor for entering into it, and hated by the King's Officers, who, upon my ſcrupling at firſt to pay the Duties, thought he had ſuggeſted to me ſomething to their Diſadvantage.

In the mean Time, one of our Men, that had been drinking with the *Engliſh* Seamen, pumped out of them, that their Ship, in Company with the *Dutch* Ship, had given Chaſe, in the Strait of *Sonda*, to a Veſſel which they took to be *French*, and the *Dutchman* falling behind, was mad that he could not come up with her, but their Ship being the better Sailer, made up to them, and found it was an *Engliſh* Veſſel, upon which they left her; that before I came into the Road, they hearing I had not twenty ſound Men, had a Deſign to take me: but finding upon my Arrival that I was ſo ſtrong, they dropped their Deſign.

The *Engliſh* Captain told me, that the *Dutch* Admiral aſſumed the Authority of King of *Jacatra*, and ſhewed me a ſort of Money, half Silver, half Copper, that he had coined in that Country, bearing on one Side a Lion with a Hanger in one Hand, and Arrows in the other, and on the Reverſe *Trajectum*, in Roman Letters, with the Date of the Year underneath. The fourth I kept on Board, and received Advice from the Shore, that a Draught was a brewing for me in the *Engliſh* Ship. The ſixth I was invited to Dinner on Board the *Engliſh* Ship, where *Reiſembrant* the *Dutch* Factor was to be preſent. I returned Thanks for all their Civilities, and promiſed to wait upon them, if I was not obliged to go aſhore to an Interview of the King, or if I was, to ſend Captain *Riddle* to ſupply my Place; next Morning I went aſhore betimes, and ſent my Excuſe to the *Engliſh* by Captain *Riddle*, whom I acquainted with the Reaſon of my Abſence, and cautioned him to be upon his Guard.

25.

25. As ſoon as I was aſhore, I cleaned and prepared the Preſent I deſigned for the King of *Achen*, and withal, meaning to oblige him as much as poſſible, took a blank Letter which I had by me, with the King's Seal affixed to it, and having addreſſed it *To our deareſt Brother the King of* Achen, ſealed it with red Wax, bearing the Impreſſion of the Arms of *France*. That my Preſent might not be unworthy of my Prince, in whoſe Name I deſigned to preſent it, I ſet apart the following Things for that Uſe; the compleat Armour of a Horſeman carved and gilded, a *German* Hanger, with a carved and gilt Hilt; upon which hung a Piſtol, ſix Muſkets, the Barrels of which were partly carved and partly gilt, the Butt-ends enriched with Mother of Pearl, two Heads of Pikes enamelled and gilded, a very large Looking-Glaſs, which was broken; but I pretended I had received it entire, and that I durſt not but deliver it at any rate, having received the King's Orders to that Effect; two large Flaſks full of excellent Roſe-Water, and two Pieces of watered Camblet of a Crimſon Colour.

The Captain of the *Surat* Veſſel came to ſee it, and told me it was ſo magnificent a Preſent, that it was more fit for the Great Mogul his Maſter, than for the King of *Achen*. The King's Officers came alſo to our Houſe to taken an Inventory of what I deſigned to preſent to their Maſter, and gave me to underſtand, that they feared the Preſent I deſigned was not conſiderable enough for their Prince, who was a great Sovereign, and had but few Equals in the *Indies*. I replied, that I was not unacquainted with the Grandeur of the King of *Achen*, and at the ſame time I knew the Value of the Preſent, which did not come from a private Man, but from a puiſſant Prince, and merited a Reception from any Potentate whatever; and withal, that my Maſter had given me nothing elſe to preſent. The 8th I was conducted to an Audience to the King by the Sabandar, and four of the principal Orankays, with two Elephants, and that with the following Ceremonies: Upon a great Elephant ſat one of the principal Orankays in a covered Pulpit, who ſent me a great Silver Diſh covered with a Cloth, embroidered with Gold and Silk of divers Colours, in which I put the Letter, and then gave it to him. By his Command one of the Orankays mounted the other Elephant, and after him the Sabandar, then I, and after me another, ſo that four of us rode upon one Elephant, and I ſat between two Perſons.

The other two Orankays rode upon *Arabian* Horſes before the Elephant that carried the Letter. Before them were fourteen or fifteen Men, each of them carrying a Piece of the Preſent covered with yellow Cloth, without which nothing could be preſented to the King; ſix Trumpets, ſix Drums, and ſix Hautboys led the Van, which ſounded till we arrived at the Caſtle, about a League off. In the Rear followed three Sabandars, and all the Officers of the Albandeque on Foot; when we arrived at the Caſtle, we alighted at a great Palace before it, and when we entered the outer Gate, all the Men were obliged to retire: Then we paſſed two other Gates; I was ordered to put off my Shoes, without which Ceremony I could not have Audience of the King; ſome time after the Royal Chappe was brought, and being firſt put into my Hands, then raiſed above my Head, and re-delivered to him that brought it, I was ordered to follow it, being accompanied by a Sabandar and an Orankaye.

We waited ſome time at the King's Chamber-Door, which was covered with Silver Plate: At laſt an Eunuch came out, who gave the Sabandar to underſtand, that tho' the King was more indiſpoſed that Day than uſually, yet, as I was ſo near, he ſhould bring me in; upon which I was led into the Chamber by two men, one holding me by each Hand, and ſet upon a *Turky* Carpet with my Legs acroſs, according to the Cuſtom of that Country. Then the two Men retired, and I ſaluted the King in the uſual Form, *viz.* by joining my Hands, and lifting them up to my Forehead, bowing my Head a little. The Cuſtom does not oblige one to take of one's Hat, but I being unaccuſtomed to appear before People of that Quality with my Hat on my Head, choſe to put it off. The King ſat upon a Place about two Feet higher, and informed me by the Sabandar, that he was infinitely obliged to the King of *France* for the Preſent he had ſent him, which he eſteemed more than ten Bahars of Gold. Then he opened the Letter, and gave it me to interpret to the Sabandar, who underſtood a little *Portugueze*: But his Knowledge of that Language was ſo very imperfect, and the Stile of the Letter ſo uncommon amongſt them, that I could not make him underſtand it; for the very firſt Word, viz. *Moſt Illuſtrious*, put him to a ſtand; upon which I turned it to *deareſt Brother*, which the King liked mightily, ſaying, that he knew very well Chriſtian Princes uſed to uſher in their Letters by ſuch Expreſſions.

At laſt, ſince I could not make the Sabandar underſtand every Word of the Letter, I repeated the Subſtance of it in ſhort, *viz.* That his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty deſired his Mightineſs to grant me a free and undiſturbed Traffick in his Territories, and promiſed, in like manner, to protect his High Mightineſs's Subjects, if any of them ſhould happen to come into his Kingdom: That he deſired nothing more than that a Commerce between his Subjects and thoſe of *Achen* ſhould bring him to the Knowledge of ſo great a Prince, and that he had ſent him a Preſent of Arms, a Pattern of the Manufacture in which his Subjects excelled.

This done, the King acquainted me by the Sabandar, that I was both welcome and ſafe in his Territories; that as to the Buſineſs of Trade, the *Dutch* and *Engliſh* uſed heretofore to have Pepper in his Country at an eaſy rate; but now that they had ſhewn ſuch flaming Ingratitude, in making War upon the King of *Bantam*, who had formerly vouchſafed them a kind Reception, he had thereupon cauſed all the Pepper Plants to be cut down, for fear hereafter they ſhould prove the Occaſion of Trouble; that by this means the Price of Pepper was raiſed to ſixty-four Rials the Bahar, and that even at that Price he did not much care to let them have it, knowing them to be an ill Sort of People, that would rob and pillage, and do any thing in order to engroſs the Trade of the *Indies* to themſelves.

I replied, that the Inſolence of that Nation, in offering to dethrone Kings that have ſhewn them Civilities, would be a ſurpizing Piece of News in *France*; that for my part I was ſtruck with Amazement to find that a People, who pretended to nothing but fair Merchandize, and whom the King of *France* had long protected againſt the *Spaniards*, ſhould on this Side of the World ſlight us, and uſe all means to do us Injuries; and that in regard I had no Commiſſion to uſe any manner of Violence, or to fortify any Place, but only to ſell and buy in a fair Way, I ought not to be ranked with a Nation whoſe very Converſation I avoided. Upon this the King ordered ſome Sallad to be given me in a large Gold Veſſel, and a Suit of his Cloaths laid upon a Silver Platter, which he ordered me to put on. Having retired to the next Chamber, and put on his Cloaths above my own, I returned to his Majeſty, who told me, the Arms my Maſter had ſent him would be very ſerviceable to him in the Siege of *Malacca*, which he had in his View, and aſked me, if I would accompany him thither? I replied, I ſhould place my ſupreme Happineſs in doing him any manner of Service: Then he put ſeveral Queſtions to me about the Age, Puiſſance, *&c.* of my Maſter, and when I told him that my Maſter was in Peace with all the World, particularly with the Grand Seignior, he ſaid he would enter into a ſtrict Alliance with the King of *France*: This done, I was mounted upon an Elephant, and conducted home.

One thing happened upon my firſt ſetting out, in order to an Audience of the King, that I muſt not omit; juſt as I was mounted upon the Elephant, the *Dutch* and *Engliſh* Commiſſaries, with twenty or thirty of their Dependants, having hid themſelves in a Porch of the *Engliſh* Houſe that was juſt oppoſite to mine, ſeized upon the *Dutchman* I mentioned above, whom I deſigned to make uſe of as an Interpreter to the King. Being then upon the Elephant, I could not conveniently get down, but I repreſented to the Sabandar the Impudence of thoſe Men, in offering to lay Hands upon one that was carrying Preſents from his Majeſty of *France* to the King of *Achen*, and preſſed him to order the *Dutchman* to be releaſed. The Sabandar replied, he would take care of it, but could not ſtop at that Time. When I had Audience of the King, I importuned the Sabandar to let the King know my Reſentment of that Action, but he told me it was not a proper Time, and the

King perceiving I wanted to ſay ſomething, aſked the Sabandar what it was? who replied, he did not underſtand me.

Upon this I went next Day and viſited the Orankay *Laxemane*, a great Favourite of the King's, and made him a Preſent of two Arquebuzes, a Piece of watered Camblet, a gilded Head-piece, a Looking-glaſs, ſix Ear-pendents, and two Glaſs Chains. He received me very graciouſly, and after ſome Diſcourſe I mentioned to him the Story of the *Dutchman*, whom I pretended to have entertained, becauſe he ſaid he had been formerly under the Orankay's Protection; but the Orankay told me, that if the *Dutchman* ſaid any ſuch Thing, he was a Cheat and a Villain. Next Day, to prevent all further Correſpondence with the *Engliſh*, I ſhut up the Gate of our Houſe that was oppoſite to theirs, for they haunted the Houſe perpetually, ſo that I could not do or ſay any thing without their Knowledge; beſides, they frequently viſited my Commiſſaries and Purſers, which made me ſuſpect that they deſigned either to do them an Injury, or to pump out of them an Account of my Deſigns.

26. On the 11th, being called to ſpeak with the King, he ſhewed me the two Pike-heads I had preſented him with, which above the carved Work were at firſt covered with an Enamel Colour, but the King having given them to one of his own Goldſmiths to be carved and gilded, the Paint went off as ſoon as the Goldſmith put them in the Fire, ſo the King wanted to know if I could think of any body that could put them to rights as they were. I told him I knew none; upon which he cauſed the poor Fellow's Hands to be cut off that had put them into the Fire.

Then the King told me, he heard I had a Goldſmith on Board, and deſired I would order him to enamel a large Gold Ring of his that weighed above an Ounce, which he delivered to me. This Prince was very curious in all Lapidary and Goldſmiths Wares, for he had above three hundred Goldſmiths that wrought daily for him, and he ſhewed me a great Number of Stones, ſome ſet, ſome not, which for the moſt part were bored at the Ends, ſeveral Necklaces and Chains of large Emeralds, Caſſacks or Garments after their Faſhion, embroidered with Jewels, great Veſſels of Gold, covered with Jewels, a great many Swords, Hangers, and Daggers, covered all with Jewels, both upon the Hilts and Scabbards, and a vaſt Number of Gold Claſps to put upon the Caſſacks, and told me that he had above three Bahars of Gold in Caſſacks and Claſps, and that ſix Days would not ſuffice for taking a View of all his Jewels and Stones.

Whether he ſaid this out of Oſtentation or not I cannot tell; but the greateſt Part of what I ſaw were rather Stones of Shew than Value: Tho' after all, I muſt own, he ſhewed me ſome that were very rich, particularly three Diamonds that might weigh from fifteen to twenty Carats apiece, two very large Rubies, and an Emerald that he got in the Conqueſt of *Pera*, which was one of the lovelieſt Stones I ever ſaw. After that I ſet our Goldſmith to work for the King, and was ſorry I had one on board, being apprehenſive that if the King liked his Work, he would retard us to get his Jewels enamelled.

Having occaſion to build a Long-boat to ſupply that I had loſt, I went to the Orankay *Laxemane* to deſire he would obtain me a Licence for the cutting of Wood in the Iſlands oppoſite to the Road, and let me have his Boat, which carried about fifteen Tun, to bring the Wood aſhore. He granted my Requeſt, upon the Conſideration of paying him twenty Rials a Month for his Boat, which was indeed extravagantly dear; but I was obliged to give it, or elſe I had not had the King's Licence ſo eaſily.

The 19th the King ſent a Sabandar to invite me to Dinner: when I came, I found the King in a ſquare Hall, the Floor of which was covered with a *Turky* Carpet, upon which he made me ſit down; and after he had ordered ſome Sallad to be given me in a large golden Diſh, the Cover of which was ſet all over with Emeralds, and aſked ſome Queſtions concerning the Grandeur and Puiſſance of Chriſtian Princes, there came about thirty Women, each of which had a large Silver Diſh in her Arms, which they ſet on the Ground on the Carpet; each Diſh was covered with a Cloth of Gold, or half Silk half Gold, with Jewels, trailing upon the Ground. After theſe Women had ſtood for ſome Time, the King ordered them to ſet Dinner before me, upon which they uncovered the Diſhes, each of which was as big as a large Baſon, and together with the Lid were about two Feet and an half deep. Out of each of theſe Diſhes they drew ſix Plates of Gold, full of Comfitures, Meat, and Paſty, after their Faſhion; ſo that, in leſs than a Minute, I found myſelf ſurrounded with golden Diſhes, ſome containing Water, others Sauces, and one, which was very large full of Rice, beſides two other Diſhes of *Temback*, which they eſteem more than Gold, containing Rice, (made uſe of for Bread all over the *Indies*) of which the King ordered me to eat, and I found it very good, for its Taſte reſembles our Marchpane.

After that, by the King's Order, an Eunuch brought me ſome Drink in a gold Cup, ſet in a large gold Baſon: I drank to his Highneſs's better Health, and thought to have drank it up, but the Liquor was ſo very ſtrong and fiery, that it quickly baulked my Tip, and put me into a great Sweat. The King told me, as I had drank to his Health, I ſhould drink it out; and that if he were to drink the King of *France*'s Health he would not leave a Drop of it: But, upon my Requeſt, they exchanged the Liquor for a weaker Sort. They preſſed me mightily to eat and drink; but, at laſt, being quite tired by ſitting with my Legs a-croſs, I prayed the Sabandar to preſs me to eat no more; upon which the King ordered all the Diſhes to be removed, and bid me drink his Heath once more: This done, they brought a very fine Carpet, done upon a Ground of Gold, and laid between me and the King.

Then came fifteen or twenty Women, who ranged themſelves by the Wall Side, and each of them having little Drums in their Hands, ſung their King's Conqueſts, making their Voices anſwer the Drums; after that there came in at a little Door two little Girls, very oddly dreſſed, but very handſome, and whiter than any I ever ſaw in ſo hot a Country. Upon their Head they had a ſort of Hat, made of Spangles of Gold, which glittered mightily, together with a Plume about a Foot and an half high, made of the ſame Spangles. This Hat hung down upon one Ear. They had large Ear-pendants of Spangles of Gold, hanging down to their Shoulders. Their Neck was covered with Necklaces of Gold, and upon their Shoulders was a ſort of Jacket of Gold, curiouſly engraven, under which was a Shift, or Waiſtcoat of Cloth of Gold, with red Silk, covering their Breaſt, and a very broad Girdle, made of gold Spangles. Their Girdle was tied above the Haunches from which there hung a Cloth of Gold, with ſtraight Breeches underneath, which were likewiſe made of Cloth of Gold, and did not paſs the Knees, where ſeveral Bells of Gold hung upon them.

Their Arms and Legs were naked, but, from the Wriſt to the Elbow, were adorned with Bracelets of Gold and Jewels, as well as from the Ancle to the Calf of their Leg. At their Girdle each of them had a Sword, the Hilts and Scabbards of which were covered with Jewels: and in their Hands a large Fan of Gold, with ſeveral little Bells about it. They advanced upon the Carpet with a profound Gravity, and, falling upon their Knees before the King, ſaluted him, by joining their Hands, and lifting them up to their Head; then they began to dance, with one Knee upon the Ground, making ſeveral Motions with their Body and Arms; after that they danced upright with a great deal of Agility and Cadence, ſometimes putting their Hands to their Swords, another Time making as if they ſhot a Bow, and ſometimes as if they had a Shield and Hanger in their Hands. This laſted about half an Hour; after which they kneeled before the King, and, in my Opinion, were pretty well tired, for each of them had above forty Pound Weight of Gold upon her. However, they danced with a very good Grace, and if our *French* Dancing-Maſters had ſeen them, they would have owned their Performance not to have been what we account barbarous.

At laſt it grew late, and, upon my Requeſt, the King ſuffered me to go, having firſt preſented me with two hundred Pieces of Gold of his Coin, which they call Mas, and are worth about Ten-pence a Piece; then the Sabandar conducted me home by Water, and aſſured me he never ſaw the King ſhew ſo much Reſpect to any Stranger, eſpecially in ſuffering his Women to dance before me; for, during the Entertainment. the whole Company ſhut their Eyes, it being a capital Crime to look upon the King's Women, though, indeed, I looked upon them very earneſtly all the while, preſuming that they were not brought thither to make me ſhut my Eyes. This Prince told me he had above a hundred Bahars of Gold, *i. e.* 18,000,000 of Livres, beſides his Silver, Jewels, and other Treaſures, but then he keeps it cloſe, and has no Occaſion to ſpend it. Beſides, the Royal Treaſure has been handed down from Father to Son; for *Achen* was never pillaged or ſacked by any Nation, and the King often boaſts that he fears no Prince but the Grand Seignior, who, according to antient Prophecy, handed down by Tradition, ſhall, one Day, conquer that Place.

On the Nineteenth of *February* an Orankay and two Sabandars came aboard, in the King's Name, to demand two Swords that I had, one of which I had promiſed him. Before they boarded me, they were in ſome Danger in the Mouth of the River, where there lies a very dangerous Bar, eſpecially towards the Evening, when the Sea-Breezes break the Water upon it. I gave them both my Swords, but withal, prayed them to acquaint his Majeſty, that I had no more; and it being an unwonted Thing in *France* to go Abroad without a Sword, I hoped he would let me have one of them again. Next Day he returned one of them, with a Preſent of a Dagger made after the Faſhion of the Country. He who brought it ſaid, the King liked the one mightily, becauſe it did not bow when they offered to bend it, and that if this had not bowed, I had never ſeen it again. After that I went aſhore, and addreſſed the King, that he would pleaſe to order ſome of his Officers to make ſome Overtures about the Price of his Pepper, to the Merchants that were with me. He gave me no Anſwer to that Point, but aſked me what ſort of a Ship the *Hope* was, that I had ſent to *Bantam*, and what the Cargo might amount to? I anſwered him as near as I could; upon which he aſſured me, ſhe was taken by the *Dutch*, and that in a ſhort Time I ſhould have certain Intelligence of it.

He told me withal, that while I continued in his Road, he would ſecure me from receiving any Injury at their Hands, the *Dutch* and *Engliſh* Factory being worth more than my Ship; but that without the Road he would not intereſt himſelf in the Quarrel. It ſeems the King had mentioned the taking of the *Hope* at my firſt Audience, but the Sabandar did not make me underſtand it; and indeed, I was at a great Loſs both in that and many other Things, becauſe I could not make uſe of an Interpreter of my own, for without a particular Licence from the King it is not to be done. Beſides, no Interpreter is fond of appearing before the King, for if he makes but the leaſt Trip in his Diſcourſe, or ſays any thing that the King does not like, though ordered to ſpeak it, he is in Danger of being cut to Pieces.

An Inſtance of this we have in one *Pedro Lorenzo*, a Native of *Achen*, and deſcended of a very good Family, who being Interpreter for the *Dutch*, and having ſpoke ſomething by their Orders that diſpleaſed the King, was ordered by his Majeſty to be cut in two alive, and the Orders had certainly been put in Execution, if the *Engliſh* had not interceded very earneſtly by their Prayers and Preſents on his Behalf. All this while I could do nothing in the Pepper Concern, for nobody durſt ſell a Grain till the King had ſold his, and it was not proper for me to preſs the King much upon it, becauſe he was out of Humour with ſome of his Grandees, having put three of them to Death for appropriating to their own Uſe ſome Jewels they had met with in the late Conqueſt of *Pera*, and condemned the Serjeant-Major for retaining ſome Booty in the War with *Queda*, who with much Interceſſion got off for 1200 Rials. Whenever the King was in theſe Humours, no body durſt ſpeak to him upon any Subject, and the People of that Country imagine, that he is more ſubject to them about New Moon, than any other Time.

27. On the Seventh of *March*, about an Hour before Sun-riſing, we had a great Earthquake at full Moon, which the Natives ſaid was predicted about four or five Days before by the Cady, or Biſhop of *Achen*, whom they believe to be the wiſeſt of Men. I am informed, there are commonly three or four Earthquakes in this Place every Year. On the Ninth I waited upon the King with ſome Preſents, in order to obtain Leave to buy up Pepper from private Perſons, which he would not allow till his own was ſold off, which he always kept up half as dear again as the other. The next Time I waited upon him I found him at a Cock-fighting, and laying very high Wagers with his Orankays. Upon my Entrance he preſented me with a Dagger, which had about five or ſix Livres of Gold about the Handle; but I found him ſo intent upon his Bets, that it was not proper to mention my Affair at that Time. I could not but take Notice of one Inſtance of the King's Avarice, and his Readineſs to ſacrifice all Things to his covetous Temper. It was this: One of the Company pitched upon a middle-ſized Cock, offering to bet upon his Head againſt any other, of what Size ſoever. Upon which an Orankay, that had ſome of the King's Cocks in keeping, preſented a very large Cock, and upon this the King betted very high; but the little Cock beat the great one, and ſo the King loſt his Money. Being fretted by the Loſs, he aſked the Orankay, how it came to paſs that the little Cock had more Strength than the great one? The Orankay anſwering with all poſſible Humility, that he could not conceive how it was, the King replied, he could conceive it very eaſily, that it proceeded from the Cock's being ill fed, and that he had given the Cock's Rice to his Whores, or elſe eat it himſelf. This ſaid, he ordered his Right-hand to be cut off, which was immediately put in Execution.

Next Day the Sabandar came to my Houſe, and acquainted me, that the King aſked for his Pepper 64 Rials the Bahar: I told him I could not buy it at that Rate. Then he aſked me what I was willing to give. I anſwered, I could not pretend to ſet a Price upon the King's Goods, but would gladly treat with his Subjects, if his Majeſty would give me Leave. Upon which he let me know, that could not be granted till the King had ſold his. At that Time the King kept up his Pepper at 64 Rials, the private People would have ſold it for eight Taels in Gold. The common Value of a Tael is four Rials, but ſince we arrived in this Place, the Gold roſe, and the Rials fell; whereas we uſed to have ſixteen Mas for four Rials, now we cannot have above fourteen. This Alteration is occaſioned by the King's engroſſing all the Gold in his own Hands, coining lead Money to circulate among the People, who put it off at any Rate for Gold. Beſides, Rials would have no Circulation in that City, were it not for thoſe of *Surat* and *Muſilipatan*, who ſupply this Place with Commodities, that they cannot be without, and export nothing but Rials, upon which they gain conſiderably. Now there being no *Surat* Ship there at this Time to take off the Rials, their Value ſunk apace, which was an infinite Loſs to me, who had nothing elſe but Rials, at a Time when the *Dutch* and *Engliſh* had Gold enough in their Hands. To return to the Sabandar: He told me after all, that the King, out of his particular Affection to me, would perhaps let me have his Pepper at the ſame Price that the *Dutch* had offered, *viz.* forty-eight Rials the *Bahar*. I replied, that the King had given ſeveral Inſtances of his Affection to me, that I would take Care to report to the King of *France* the Reſpect that his Majeſty of *Achen* had ſhewn to his Letters, and that the Obligation I lay under to the King of *Achen* would be much ſtrengthened, if he would allow me to take in my Lading at *Ticow*, ſince I could not do it at *Achen*, where the Pepper was ſo very dear, unleſs I had a Mind to return to *France* with half my Lading.

Then the Sabandar aſked me, what Preſent I would make to the King for that Favour, and what I would give him for procuring of it? I told him, I would conſider of the Matter, and acquaint him with my Reſolutions that Night. Having communicated the Motion to our Merchants, it was unanimouſly agreed, that *Ticow* would be a Place of more Profit for us, though it coſt us 3000 Rials for a Licence to trade there. Thereupon, I ſent one to ſound the Sabandar, in order to know what his Demands might be. The Sabandar told him, the *Dutch* and *Engliſh* had offered the King two Ships laden with Goods, for the Privilege of an eight Years Factory at *Ticow*, and that if I would give him four thouſand Rials, and make the King a Preſent of 20,000 Rials, he would procure me a Factory for two Years. Hearing this extravagant Demand, I perceived the Sabandar to be a Villain, and reſolved to make my Addreſs to Orankay *Laxemane*. Accordingly I gave him a Viſit, and repreſented to him, that I had been a long Time there, without making any Progreſs in my Buſineſs; that the Pepper was ſo dear at *Achen*, that I could not buy it there without a conſiderable Loſs; that *Ticow* was the moſt proper Place for me within the King's Dominions. That foraſmuch as I could not trade at *Ticow*, without the King's Licence, I thought it the ſafeſt Way to have recourſe to him, knowing, that if he favoured me, the King would certainly grant it, and that out of a grateful Senſe of ſuch Favours, I would make him a Preſent of 400 Rials, and another to the King, of four iron Guns, weighing 3500 *lb.* each. Upon this he adviſed me not to deſire any ſuch Thing of the King, who had a great Affection for me, and was deſirous of Lading my Ship with his own Pepper. I replied, that I was infinitely obliged to the King, but could not come up to the Price that the *Dutch* had offered him. Then he told me, that I did not know what the King would do on my Behalf, and that the Guns I mentioned were not a proper Preſent for the King, who had more already than he knew what to do with.

The Twenty-third I interceded with the King for the Redemption of four *Portugueze* Chriſtians, that were his Captives at *Negapatan*. Their Ranſom came to 650 Rials, 128 of which I was forced to advance, retaining one of the Men for my Security, the reſt of the Money being gathered by a charitable Contribution from the People of *Negapatan*. There were five of thoſe Slaves for whoſe Redemption I interceded, but the King would needs detain one to bleed him, or any of his Family upon Occaſion; for all of them not only knew how to open a Vein, as indeed moſt of the *Portugueze* in the *Indies* do, but likewiſe practiſed ſome ſort of Surgery to earn their Bread in the Time of their Captivity. The Sabandar and an Eunuch came next Day to acquaint me, that the King wanted to ſpeak with me. In Obedience to his Commands I went, and found him very much out of Humour, and giving Orders for torturing five or ſix Women. To my great Mortification, I ſaw theſe poor Creatures tortured in his Preſence, to the laſt Degree, for three Hours, and the King's Wrath increaſing in Proportion to their Torment. After the torturing was over, he ordered their Hands and Legs to be cut off, and their Bodies to be thrown into the River. The Occaſion of this Execution was as follows:

On the preceding Night, there being five or ſix of his Women in a Room adjoining to his, one of them gave a hideous Shriek, upon which the King enquired into the Matter, and at firſt they all told him there was nothing in it: But after many Threats, ſhe that had cried out, confeſſed, that ſome body came in the Night-time, and pricked her in the Thigh with a Dagger through the Reeds upon which they lay. Upon which ſhe ſaid, ſhe cried out, and awaked the Reſt; but the Reſt did not agree in their Anſwers, ſome ſaying that they heard a Noiſe, and others that they heard nothing. However, the Dagger was found, but no body would own it. After all, the King having aſked them who it was that came with the Dagger, and why they did not tell him the Truth at firſt, and finding they would give him no Anſwer, was led into the Suſpicion of a Deſign againſt his Life, carried on by his own Mother, who, as he imagined, had alarmed theſe Women, that their Outcry might induce the King to come out of his Chamber, which would have afforded a favourable Opportunity to the Aſſaſſins. Thinking to extort a whole Confeſſion of the Matter by Torture, he put all the Women upon the Rack; but their Reſolution, Courage, and Conſtancy, was invincible; for notwithſtanding the King's frequent Offers of Pardon, in caſe they would diſcover the Plot, and the repeated Intreaties of the Cady of *Achen*, and the whole Court, who begged of them to be kind to themſelves, yet they did not ſhrink or relent. One of them being very old, and ſwooning away from time to time, the King took Compaſſion upon her, and graciouſly ordered her to be put to Death. Upon which ſhe aſſumed a gay Countenance, and thanked the King for his Grace and Mercy, wiſhing him, in Recompence for his Favour, a long and happy Life of one thouſand Years. In a Word, all of them ſtood out undaunted to the laſt Gaſp, and even after their Hands and Legs were cut off, one of them had the Courage to ſay, that for the Space of ten Years they had longed for this happy Hour that delivered them from the Drudgery of the Caſtle. When the Execution was over, the King aſked me what I thought of it? Though the Spectacle was very mortifying to me, yet I diſſembled upon the Matter, and anſwered, that without the Execution of Juſtice no Kingdom could ſubſiſt.

Then the King told me in a long Diſcourſe, that if the laſt Night's Action had paſſed with Impunity, his very Life had been in Danger. That his Orankays were fooliſh and unthinking Men, who charged him with Cruelty, not conſidering that it was their Wickedneſs that drew upon them the Anger of God, who made uſe of him as an Inſtrument to puniſh their Impiety; that they had no Occaſion to complain of him, who ſuffered them to poſſeſs their Wives, their Children, and Slaves, and competent Eſtates to maintain them, who maintained their Religion, and preſerved them from the Captivity of neighbouring Kings, and the Robberies of Strangers: That in former Times *Achen* was a Neſt of Murderers and Robbers, in which the weaker were oppreſſed by the ſtronger, and no Man was ſafe, all of them being obliged to keep off the Robbers with Arms by Day, and barricade themſelves in their Houſes by Night; whereas at preſent they had no Occaſion either for Arms in the Day, or Doors to their Houſes at Night. That his Nobles hated him becauſe he ſuppreſſed Extortortion, Maſſacres, and Robberies; that they longed to ſet up Kings at Pleaſure, and murder them when diſobliged: That his Mother was in the ſame Intereſt, and wanted to make away with him, in order to prefer another that would give way to their Inſolence..

This he delivered with ſo much Vehemency and Paſſion in his Looks, that all his Courtiers threw themſelves upon the Ground, imploring his Mercy, and among them even the Cady, a Man of above eighty Years of Age, for whom every body had a vaſt Veneration, and who could boaſt of the nobleſt Deſcent in *Achen*. In fine, the Cruelty of this Prince is unparalleled; notwithſtanding that all his Tortures could extort no Diſcovery, yet he impriſoned his own Mother, and put her upon the Rack, and put to Death five of the principal Lords of his Court, whom he ſuſpected of favouring his own Mother. He barbarouſly murdered his own Nephew the King of *Johor*'s Son, ſaying, his Mother meant to prefer that young Prince to the Throne. He put to Death the Son of the King of *Bantam*, as well as the Son of the King of *Pan*, who were both his Couſins.

He has not left one of the Royal Family but his own Son, who has been thrice baniſhed the Court, but now begins to return in Favour, and is only ſafe for being more cruel than his Father, and being hated by all the World. He has extirpated all the ancient Nobility, and raiſed a new Set of Orankays, who, in my Opinion, would live much happier in a meaner Capacity. In fine, his Cruelty is without a Parallel; he takes Advice of no body, and never lived a Day, while I was at *Achen*, without the Execution of one, and ſometimes ſeveral of his People.

28. The 28th the King ſent for me to ſee two Elephants fight: After I came two Elephants were brought into a large Court, each of them having a Cable faſtened about their hind Feet; then came ſeveral Men with long Pikes, barbed at their Heads. The two Elephants fell upon one another with a prodigious Roaring; but all of a ſudden the King was taken ill, and the Fight was interrupted on account of that Accident. Having preſented the Orankay *Laxemane* with an enamelled Ring, which he again pre-

ſented to his Majeſty, I at laſt obtained Leave to buy up Pepper in the City. Being ſenſible of this Favour, and meaning to oblige the King as much as I could, I proffered to buy ſix hundred Bahars of his own Pepper; but he replied, he was my Friend, and would not put it upon me, ſince it was too dear, in regard he had made an Oath not to ſell it under ſixteen Taels the Bahar. Next Day I made a Publication of the King's Licence, that the Inhabitants might not ſcruple to ſell their Pepper; but at the ſame time the King was buying up Pepper for himſelf, and the Inhabitants feared, that if they ſold me any, he would alledge they had preferred my Cuſtom to his.

To ſtifle this Apprehenſion, I firſt bought ſome of the Sabandar, thinking his Example would expel their Fears; but by an unlucky Accident, before he had delivered me any, the King took him up, and laid him in Irons, for not having ſome enamelled Work ready, which he had committed to his Care to get done by our Goldſmith by a prefixed Day, at which Time he had promiſed it to a She Favourite; though, after all, it was not the Sabandar's Negligence, but the Goldſmith's being taken ill, that occaſioned the Delay. After this, notwithſtanding I had the King's Licence, they would not ſell me one Bahar, ſome pretending they durſt not, while the King bought, others refuſing to take Rials, or any other Coin but Ænas, which is a Gold Coin current in the Country. In the mean time I ſent Don *Franciſco Carnero*, a *Portugueze*, to the Court of the Great Mogul, by the Way of *Muſilipatan*. His Errand at that Court was to obtain Leave from the Great Mogul to ſettle a *French* Factory at *Surat*, the Sovereignty of which belonged to him.

The Deſign of that Factory was to render a Factory at *Achen* more uſeful to us; for there being no Acceſs to *Bantam*, there was a Neceſſity of having a Factory at *Achen*, ſince the Rials and *French* Commodities would not be put off at *Achen* without Loſs; whereas at *Surat* the Rials are pretty high, and ſome *French* Commodities may be put off at *Cent. per Cent.* Profit; ſo that it would be our Intereſt not to ſail directly from *France* to *Achen*, but to *Surat*, where we might put off our Commodities at a good Rate, and buy up ſome Commodities at *Surat*, that the People of *Achen* can as little do without as the very Rice they eat; and this would fetch us the *Achen* Pepper at an eaſy Rate. This *Carnero* was an everlaſting Gameſter, and won great Sums by the Help of ſome falſe Dice he had brought from *France* with him, particularly from the Sabandar, whoſe Loſſes at Gaming made him very hungry in his Demands upon me, and yet I could not take off the *Portugueze* from playing with him. One Time when *Carnero* was playing, he happened, by beating his Hand againſt the Table, to break one of his falſe Dice, upon which there run ſome Quickſilver out of it, that quickly ſlipped through the Chinks of the Table; this put his Company into a horrid Conſternation, for *Carnero* quickly hid the Pieces of the broken Dice, and they imagined there was ſome Magick in the ſubtile Spirit that appeared and diſappeared ſo ſuddenly.

On the 15th of *April* I made a Diſcovery that the King had played me a Trick, and that no Recommendation or Preſents whatſoever would get the better of his avaricious Temper; for he only gave me the Licence to amuſe me, and keep me from leaving the Place, as I had threatened to do before. He knew very well, that his buying of Pepper at the ſame time would ſtifle my Market, and if any one had ſold me Pepper, he would certainly have puniſhed him under Pretence of preferring my Cuſtom to his. Beſides, the true Reaſon of the Sabandar's Confinement was not the Buſineſs of the King's, but his miſunderſtanding the King's Deſign, in giving me the Licence; and the Sabandar ſent to intreat me to intercede with the King that he might not be diſgraced, for that he had expoſed his Life to Danger by doing me Service. Next Day I went to intercede with the King on the Sabandar's Behalf; but he interrupted me, by aſking, if I had bought any Pepper? I anſwered, that I had not endeavoured to buy any, nor would till his Majeſty's Market was over. Then he laughed, contrary to his Cuſtom, and told me, he would ſell me ſome cheap. I ordered the Interpreter to offer him a Catti, or thirty-two Rials a Bahar: But the Interpreter durſt not mention the Sum, and pretended he did not underſtand me; upon which I told it myſelf in the *Malagas* Language. The King was ſilent for ſome Time; after which he gave me to underſtand, that though he had ſwore that whoſoever offered him leſs than ſixty-four Rials for his Pepper ſhould loſe his Favour, yet he would overlook it in me, and that the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* had offered him forty-eight Rials, and at that Price I might have what I would. I made Anſwer, that the *Dutch* and *Engliſh* had a larger Purſe than I, and dealt in ſeveral Branches of Trade that compenſated the Dearth of the Pepper, and that in fine I had not ſo much Money to give. However, being informed that unleſs I took ſome of his Pepper, they durſt not ſell me a Grain in the City, and conſidering withal that *Bantam* being blocked up, there was none to be had but in his Dominions. Upon theſe Conſiderations I offered to take four hundred Bahars at forty Rials; but the King would not abate any thing of his Price, ſaying, he had uſed me more kindly than the *Dutch*, ſince he would not let them have it at the ſame Price. Finding him reſolute, I offered to take three hundred Bahars at his Price, provided he would give me a Licence to buy three hundred more at *Ticow*; at laſt he agreed to it, and ordered the three hundred Bahars to be delivered. I preſſed him to ſign my Licence for *Ticow* out of hand, in regard he was about to take Phyſick for his Illneſs, ſo that I could not have Audience of him for ſome Time; but he told me that would be over before I was ready to go.

Notwithſtanding the King's Orders, it was a long Time before I could get the Pepper which the King had ordered me, by reaſon of the Avarice and Villainy of his Officers, who always found out ſome Trick or other to put off thoſe they have to deal withal, till they they are ſufficiently bribed. For, beſides that they have no Salary, they are obliged to make the King a rich Preſent once a Year. As for dealing with private Perſons, I found them all unwilling to take Rials, and for that Reaſon employed a Broker to make a Propoſal to the *Dutch* and *Engliſh* of giving them my Rials at the current Price, in Exchange for Gold; but the Broker acquainted me, that they were ſo far from liſtening to the Propoſal, that they had a great Hand in ſinking the Value of the Rials, in order to ſpoil my Market, and prevent my trading at all. Being diſappointed on that hand, I made my Addreſs to the Orankay *Laxemane*, offering him the Rials at Ten *per Cent.* Diſcount. At firſt he agreed; but next Day when I came with the Rials, he retracted, and ſaid he would give but three Mas and an half for them, ſince they went for no more in the City; finding I could not mend myſelf, I condeſcended to let them go; but after all, when I came to deliver the Rials, he retracted again.

The notorious Perfidiouſneſs of this Nation made me think of leaving them in Time before the bad Seaſon was farther advanced. In the mean time the Officer of the *Alfandeque* ſtopped twenty-one Bahars of Pepper for the King's Duty. It was a great Surprize to me to hear that the King demanded Duty for the Pepper he had ſold me himſelf, eſpecially conſidering that before I made the Bargain, my Interpreter aſſured me he never did. But when I repreſented the Matter to the Orankay, and deſired Acceſs to the King, in order to complain of the Injury done to me, he told me, that I was obliged to pay Cuſtom for it, that the *Dutch* had always paid it, and that ſuch a Complaint would be very diſagreeable to the King; and ſuſpecting that my Interpreter had miſinformed me upon the Matter, would have tied him to a Poſt, if I had not brought him off as one of my Domeſticks.

At laſt I found my Interpreter to be one of the Spies of the *Alfandeque*, and perceived he had diſcovered all my Intrigues to the King's Officers. Though this Fellow was born of Chriſtian Parents, and profeſſed Chriſtianity for forty Years when among Strangers, yet he inſtructed his Children in the *Mohammedan* Religion, a certain Evidence that he was worſe than a true *Mohammedan*, and had neither Religion nor Conſcience. The Duties upon the Pepper that I was obliged to pay were Seven *per Cent* to the King, Ten *per Cent.* of the King's Duties to the Officers, and a Mas for every Bahar to the Weigher. When I paid this Duty to the Officers they ſeized upon the Interpreter, who had made me believe there was none due, and having tied him to a Poſt, beat him ſoundly, and made him pay more than he had got in my Service to get clear.

On the 5th of *May* I could have had Pepper enough for eight Taels and a Quarter in Gold, which, as Rials went then, came to thirty-ſeven Rials and an half; ſo that the Loſs upon Rials was unſufferable. Another Miſchance that galled me mightily was, that their Mas, or Gold Coin, is often clipped by the *Chineſe*, and that there are a great many of a falſe Coin; for at *Achen* they are ſo nice, that if the Edge be but any ways ſhrunk or broke, they will not meddle with it; ſo that in the Payment of any Sum they will return a third Part, or a half. However, I bargained with one Man for three hundred Bahars at thirty-eight Rials the Bahar. The Chapman I dealt with called himſelf *Xerif Nepuen* of *Jeſus Chriſt*; he was a *Mohammedan*, and a great Doctor in the Law of *Mohammed:* He bore the Character of a Prophet, and came to this Place to make ſome Remonſtrances to the King of *Achen*, who was ſo little moved with his Remonſtrances, that he ordered him to keep within Doors, and not to meddle with his Department, ſo that the Oracle was ſtruck dumb all of a ſudden.

When I came to have my Pepper weighed, the Prophet alledged that I bargained with him for thirty-nine Rails, and offered to appeal to the Broker; but I told him roundly, that I had promiſed no more than thirty-eight, and that my Word was as much to be taken as either his or his Broker's. After ſome wranggling he yielded; but when we had weighed about one thouſand two hundred Bahars, I began to perceive ſome black Sand among the Pepper, and returned it; he pleaded for his Excuſe, that ſome of his Domeſticks had mixed Sand with the Pepper without his Knowledge, and though I might have done him an Injury, in regard that the King of *Achen* cuts off their Hands and Feet, without any Mercy, who are found guilty of that Trick, yet conſidering his Credit upon the Place, I was willing to overlook it. After that we continued to weigh till I obſerved the Pepper wet; upon which I ſtopped, and would have no more, alledging only that his Houſe was faulty, and that ſome Rain had fallen upon the Pepper. What ſort of a Doctor or Prophet this may be I cannot tell; but both he and moſt of his Followers ſeem to place their Goodneſs in cheating a Chriſtian, eſpecially about *Achen*.

29. On the 22d one of our Men waſhing himſelf by the Ship's Side, had all the fleſhy Part of his Leg, and both his Hands bit off by a great Fiſh, or Sea-Calf, which the *Portugueze* call Tiburou, and immediately expired. By this Time the Pepper was become very ſcarce; for not only the King continued to buy, contrary to his Promiſe, but an *Engliſh* Veſſel that lately arrived from *Surat*, laden with Cotton-Cloth, trucked their whole Cargo for Pepper, not to mention the *Dutch* and *Engliſh* upon the Place, who, having the Advantage of Gold and Commodities vendible in that Country, ſtill bought it up underhand.

June the 4th there happened a great Fire in the City, which, in an Hour's Time, conſumed two hundred and ſixty Houſes; and the King cauſed the Women in whoſe Houſe it began to be impaled alive. On the 10th I had Audience of the King, and repreſented, that ſince the Pepper was become very ſcarce and dear, I wanted to be gone, and prayed that he would allow me to buy three or four hundred Bahars at *Ticow*. The King replied, that I might have ſome more of his, which he had ſold me at a lower Rate than any body elſe. I told him that his Pepper was ſo dear, and the Loſs upon it would be ſo great, that, if I offered to take it at his Rates, it would diſcourage the *French* from coming again to kiſs his Hands. His Majeſty replied, that the *French* might hereafter make a more profitable Voyage, by bringing Gold, or Commodities vendible in the Country, that being infinitely more valuable to him than Silver, which he eſteemed no more than Dirt. As for the Buſineſs of *Ticow* he made me no Anſwer, neither durſt the Interpreter remind him of it, becauſe he found he did not like the Motion. However, I repreſented to him, that ſince I had no more Buſineſs in that Place, I hoped he would give me Leave to be gone: Upon which he ſaid he would firſt write a Letter to the King of *France*.

On the 15th we had a violent Storm of Wind and Rain from S. W. and W. S. W. commonly for three Days before, and three Days after the new Moon and full Moon. We had heavy Rains and Floods that ſwelled the River mightily, together with violent Guſts of Wind called Samatra. The 19th one of my Merchants died of an uncommon ſort of a Diſtemper, who, in my Opinion, was poiſoned by the *Dutch*. In this Place we loſt fourteen Men, moſt of whom were ſeized with a violent Vomiting and the Bloody-Flux, which no Remedy could ſtop. In Earneſt, this Climate is ſo much hotter than *France*, that one can ſcarce avoid Sickneſs at firſt: But a regular Diet goes a great Way, if not in preventing, at leaſt in abating the Sickneſs. For my Part, I eat little or no Roaſt-meat, but moſtly Fiſh, and drank Cyder, or, for want of that, fair Water firſt boiled, and then cooled. But the unwary Sailors filled their Bellies with Beef, and drank a great deal of Arrack, beſides other Liquors, and when they were out of Order, drank Water, and ſlept with their Stomachs expoſed to the Air; by which means the Stomach being at once overcharged, Vomitings and Fluxes enſued. The Cure for this Diſtemper is to be let Blood, and take ſome cooling Medicines, and to abſtain from Meat, Wine, and Arrack.

The 27th the King ſent his Letter for the King of *France* to our Houſe, with a great deal of Splendor, the Letter being carried upon a great Elephant by one of the principal Orankays; after which followed three of the principal Officers of the Houſe upon another Elephant, with all the Officers of the Aſendague on Foot. Before the Elephant went four Drums and four Trumpets, and four large Umbrellas ſurrounded it. But all this Splendor was to my Coſt; for I was obliged to ſatisfy not only the principal Orankay, who brought the Letter, but all thoſe who accompanied him. The Letter was carried in a Silver Baſon in a red velvet Bag, with gold Strings, being written in the *Achen* Language in Letters of Gold, upon very ſmooth Paper, with ſeveral Gildings and Colourings round it. The Form of it was thus:

"The Letter of the *Grand Siri Sultan*, Subduer and Conqueror, by God's Aſſiſtance, of ſeveral Kingdoms, King of *Achen*, and, by the Divine Favour, of all the Countries that lie to the Eaſt and Weſt; to the Eaſtward the Kingdom, Territories, and Sovereignties of *Dehli*, the Kingdom of *Ichor*, with its Lordſhips and Territories; the Kingdom of *Paham*, the Kingdom of *Queda*, and the Kingdom of *Pera*, with their Lands and Seignories; to the Weſtward the Kingdom and Territory of *Priaman*, the Kingdom and Territory of *Ticow*, the Kingdom and Territory of *Paſſuruma*; to be delivered to the Great and Puiſſant King of *France*. May the King of *France* know, that the Letter he ſent me by Commodore *Beaulieu* was delivered, and that I have ſeen all that was written in it. And foraſmuch as he recommended the ſaid Admiral, I have done him a great deal of Honour, both in the Matters of Traffick, and in allowing him the Quality and Rank of my principal Gentlemen. As for the Offer made me, in caſe I have any Buſineſs in *France*, I ſend a Memorial by the ſaid Commodore, to ſhew how much I eſteem it; ſaying, further, that if God bring this Letter ſafe to hand, I expect an Anſwer by the Ships that ſhall come to trade in this Place, which to me will be a great Satisfaction. So I pray God preſerve the States of the King of *France*. And ſince God hath made us Kings in this World, it ſeems reaſonable we ſhould live in Friendſhip, and correſpond one with another. For a Token of Friendſhip I ſend eight Bahars of Pepper, which is the Product of this Country. God preſerve the illuſtrious Perſon of the King of *France*." Given in the Month *Raab* (or *June*) in the Year 1630.

On the 28th my Goldſmith aſked Leave to ſtay at *Achen*, promiſing to find another to ſupply his Place that would me more ſerviceable than himſelf; and though he could not find one according to his Promiſe, yet, confidering that he was blinded by the Promiſes of the King and the Orankay *Laxamane*, who were mightily taken with his Work, and that he had a great Mind to ſtay, I left him in the *Engliſh* Houſe, wiſhing I had never brought him from *France*, or turned him off ſooner, for the King of *Achen* retarded my Affairs upon the Account of having more of his Work.

50. On the 1ſt of *July* the *Portugueze* Captives and ſome others, having adviſed me to go to an Iſle near *Queda*, upon the Coaſt of *Malacca*, about two hundred Leagues from hence, were I might have Pepper cheaper than any where elſe, *viz.* at ſixteen Rials the Bahar, I reſolved to follow their Advice, conſidering that I had no Proſpect of a Licenc to trade at *Ticow*; that here, at *Achen*, the Dearth and Scarcity of Pepper, the Charge of keeping Houſe, and living on Shore, the coſtly Preſents and Bribes that the King and his Officers expect out of the Profit of the Trade, made it impracticable, that I had no Hopes of ſeeing our ſecond Ship or Advice Boat there, the laſt being gone from me above ſeven Months, and there being no Poſſibility of hearing from *Bantam* or *Jacatra* till *October*, by reaſon of contrary Winds; that the preſent weſterly Winds ſtood fair for *Queda*, and in *October*, when they began to vere to the Eaſt, they would favour my Return. That tho' the King had lately conquered the Place I was bound for, and prohibits all Perſons to go there without his Conſent, yet I might manage it ſo as not to diſpleaſe him, by pretending to be forced in by the Winds which blow right upon it. Beſides, the *French* having no Factory in *Achen*, and he having uſed me unkindly, I had no great Reaſon to fear his Diſpleaſure.

Theſe Conſiderations induced me to reſolve upon a Voyage for that Iſland, where I might live more ſecurely till the weſterly Winds were over, as well as make a better Bargain for Pepper. To this End I reſolved to give two-hundred-and-fifty Rials, by way of Ranſom, for two *Portugueze* Captives, one of whom having been in that Iſland, would ſerve for a Pilot, and the other had been a Merchant at *Pera*. The Number of my Men being reduced by Sickneſs and Detachments, to a ſmall Complement, I likewiſe redeemed ſeven more Chriſtian Slaves for three-hundred-and-ſixty-one Rials, that had formerly ſerved the *Portugueze* at Sea. Some *Engliſhmen* offered to ſerve me, but, not having Leave of their Superiors, I rejected them.

The 15th I had Audience of the King, at which time the *Dabul* and *Surat* Captains preſented their Ladea, *i. e.* a Preſent of the Commodities of their Country, computed to be worth 1500 Rials. After theſe Captains had ſo done, the King aſked me if the King of *France* was ſubject to the King of *England?* I anſwered, that *France* was inferior to none of the Chriſtian Monarchies, having continued for 1300 Years under the Government of their own Kings, without ſubmitting to any foreign Power whatſoever. Upon which he told me he had ſeen a Letter from the King of *England*, in which he aſſumes the Title of King of *France.* But I ſhewed him how ſlender a Right he had to that Title, which proceeded from a Spite that one of our Kings had againſt his Succeſſor. After he had put ſeveral Queſtions about the Grandeur of Chriſtian Princes, I humbly requeſted he would ſuffer me to put into *Ticow* for one Month, in order to buy two hundred Bahars of Pepper, and to ſend a Praw from thence to *Bantam*, to enquire after my two Ships, adding, that ſuch a Favour would be a laſting Obligation upon the *French* Nation. He anſwered me very coldly, that I might diſcourſe that Subject with the Orankay *Laxemane.* This done, I took Leave of his Majeſty, who wiſhed me a good Voyage.

After that I went to wait upon *Laxemane*, who told me that the King had ſworn never to ſuffer any Nation to trade at *Ticow* after the *Dutch*, and that it was a Sign he had no Mind to give me a Licence, ſince he had put it off by ſending me to him: However, I preſſed him to ſpeak to the King about it, and let me have his anſwer. After ſome Time he ſent me Word, that the King would allow me to put into *Ticow* for a Month, provided I gave him half a Bahar (*i. e.* 3200) of Rials. At laſt, being ſo much ovoked by the inſatiable Avarice and Ingratitude of this Nation, that notwithſtanding all my Preſents, gave me ſuch Uſage, I reſolved to ſteer for *Ticow*, and if they would not deal with me in an amicable Way, to ſtop the Ships that were to come from thence, and take out of them what Pepper I wanted, allowing for it the Market-Price at *Ticow:* But if I could not weather the Point of *Ticow*, as it was probable I might not, by reaſon of the violent Winds and Tides from the Weſt, I deſigned to ſail for *Pulo Lancabuy*, or *Pulo Lada* (ſo the Pepper-Iſland near *Queda* is called) notwithſtanding the King had ſent, about two Days before, three large Gallies, and thirty Sail of other Ships to *Pera*, with Orders to return by that Iſland, and cut down all the Pepper-plants.

31. On the 24th having taken in ſeven hundred Bahars of Pepper at *Achen*, I ſet ſail for that Road, which lies in 5° 30' N. Lat. the Needle varying 5° 30' N. W. The 25th we weathered the Iſles of *Gomiſpola* and *Polloway*, which fence in this Road on the North Side. In this Seaſon the Trade-Winds blow S. W. with which I endeavoured to double the Cape of *Achen*, in order to reach *Ticow*, ſteering our Courſe W. N. W. but the Tides ſtill bringing me right before the Wind, I was obliged to ſteer directly for *Pulo Lancabuy*, though the Calms were ſo great that I could not make it till the Seventh of *Auguſt*, whereas it is commonly but four Days Sail with that Trade-Wind.

The next Day after my Arrival, the Pangoulow, or Governor of the Iſland, came on Board, and told me that he would not ſuffer me to trade with the Inhabitants without a Licence from the King of *Queda*, which, he doubted not, but I might have, eſpecially if I aſſiſted him with ſome Artillery. On the 12th the Governor, accompanied with two of my Men, (in lieu of whom he had left me his own Son, with one of the principal Men of the Iſland for Hoſtages) went in Perſon to acquaint the King with my Arrival. At that Time the King of *Queda* had retired from *Queda* to *Perleys*, about three Days Journey farther into the Country, for fear of the King of *Achen*'s Army. The 20th I received a Letter from Sieur *d'Eſpine*, (one of our Company that went along with the Governor) acquainting me, that he underſtood the King of *Queda* had but little Pepper, and that this Iſland had not much. To my infinite Regret I found this Intelligence too true; for I found that we came too late for the laſt Year's Pepper, and too early for that of this Year's, which is not gathered till *December*. *September* the 2d Sieur *d'Eſpine* ſent me Word that he could not come to ſpeak to the King, who had retired into the Woods, under the Apprehenſion that we were employed by the King of *Achen* to do him an Injury; but, in the mean time, he had ordered all the Pepper that could be had to be gathered in, in order to buy ſome Cannon of me, if I would ſell them.

Upon this Advice I ſent poſitive Orders to Sieur *d'Eſpine* to inform himſelf particularly of what Quantity of Pepper might be expected in that Place; and if it was under a hundred Bahars, to return immediately, without troubling himſelf about it; or, if it was above that Number, to ſolicit the King to ſend a Commiſſioner with full Power to treat with me, and that without any Delay. The 9th Sieur *d'Eſpine* returned in Perſon, and reported that the King had but very little Pepper in *Queda*, but had a mighty Mind for my Cannon, offering, if I would ſtay till *December* (which is the Seaſon for gathering the Pepper) to give me twice as much Pepper for my Cannon as I had aſked; and farther, to furniſh me with a thouſand Bahars more if I had occaſion for them; and if I had a Mind to eſtabliſh a Factory there, to furniſh it every Year with 2000 Bahars, and exclude all other Nations from trading in his Territories. The King ſent me a Letter, impowering me to trade freely with the Natives, and deſiring two of my Cannon for thirty Bahars of Pepper, which he ſaid was all he had. In the mean time they had detained my Purſer at *Perleys*, about ſeven or eight Leagues from this Iſland, thinking I would come and lie off of that Place to eſtabliſh a Factory in the ſame: But I underſtood that the Channel between this Iſland and that at *Perleys* was embaraſſed with Shelves and Flats; and at the ſame time obſerved that my Ship did not anſwer the Helm as it uſed to do; upon which I reſolved rather to continue where I was, threatening to ſet ſail with the Hoſtages I had on Board, if they would not return me my Man.

On the Firſt of *October* the Purſer was returned, and I delivered them their two Hoſtages. He reported that the King had only twenty Bahars of Pepper, and deſired to pay the other ten in Rials, at the Rate of twenty Rials a Bahar. That the Country was very poor, and the Rice extremely dear. That upon the Arrival of every Praw the People fled into the Country, thinking them to be the Partizans of the King of *Achen*. That about eight or ten Days before, they had received Advice that ſeventy Sail had Arrived at *Pera*, with the King of *Achen*'s Army on board, and by yet freſher Intelligence that the King of *Achen* was dead. Upon this Report, though I had reſolved not to let them have any Cannon, becauſe I meant to return by the Way of *Achen*, yet I thought fit to amuſe them with fair Words, till I had taken in freſh Water; and with that View ſent back the Purſer to acquaint them that I was very much diſpoſed to deal with them.

That I could not bring my Ship to *Perleys*, becauſe my Rudder was out of Order; and that to ſhew my Willingneſs to oblige them, I was ready to ſend one of my Cannon on Shore, provided they gave me two Hoſtages to inſure the Delivery of twenty Bahars of Pepper within eight Days, or elſe deliver the Pepper itſelf. This Offer pleaſed them ſo well that they ſent me Word there were no Occaſion for giving Hoſtages, or putting a Cannon aſhore till the Pepper was got ready, which would be in ſix or ſeven Days. In this Place I did nothing to the Purpoſe, only I cauſed to be cut down for me a Main-Top-Maſt, a Mizen-Maſt, and Boltſprit, which I could not have elſewhere. If I could have ſtaid there till *January*, I could have loaded my Ship with Pepper at a Quarter of the Price it coſt me at *Achen*, beſides that at that Time the Trade Winds came Eaſt, and ſo would have ſtood fair for returning directly to *France*, but the Men I had were ſo few, and were ſo diſcouraged, that I could not think of waiting.

32. This Iſland, called by the Inhabitants *Pulo Lanchchuy*, and by the Natives of *Achen Pulo Lada*, *i. e.* the *Iſland of Pepper*, lies in 6° 15′ N. Lat. the Needle varying 2° 30′ N. W. It is about fifteen or twenty Leagues in Circumference, and is mountainous in ſome Places, eſpecially where it faces *Pulo Botton*, where it lies three Leagues off to the Weſtward. In the middle of the Country there is a high Mountain, divided into two by a very narrow Valley, which is not obſervable but on the South-ſide. The Pepper grows at the Foot of this Mountain as well as in the intervening Plain, which extends itſelf three or four Leagues in Length. The Pepper Plants are dreſſed after the ſame Manner as our tall Vines. Were this Iſland more cultivated, it would produce many more than it does, for there are not at preſent above an hundred Perſons in the Iſland, whereas formerly it was inhabited by above ſeven hundred.

The Soil of the above-mentioned Place is very convenient for all Sorts of Drugs, Fruit, Rice, and Cattle, being enriched with excellent Paſturage and plenty of Rivers and Springs. The Reſt of the Iſland is covered with very thick Woods, in which, eſpecially upon the Mountains, there are ſome Trees exactly ſtraight, of an incredible Height and proportionable Thickneſs. On the South-Side the Shore is frequently interſected with Arms of the Sea, leaving little Iſlands and Rocks, covered with Woods. On the North there lies a large Iſland about a League off. On the Eaſt it has a Bay, covered with a little Iſland, in which Ships of two hundred Tuns may ride with Safety, and be ſheltered from all Winds. In a Word, there is a very ſafe Anchorage all round the Iſland, and any Part of it affords excellent freſh Water. From the Beginning of *July* to the End of *October* the Winds are there weſterly, at which Time it rains very much, and the Climate is unhealthy, as it happens in all other Places of the ſame Latitude.

33. The Pepper ripens in *November*; its Harveſt is from the Middle of *December* to the End of *February*. At preſent this Iſland produces every Year 500,000 Pound Weight of excellent, large, and dry Pepper, which is preferable to that of any other Place in the *Indies*. This Iſland is ſubject to the King of *Queda*, without whoſe Permiſſion no Trade can be carried on there. The *Portugueze*, who reſide at *Malacca*, come there every Year to trade, and continue there from *December* to *February*. The Commodities they bring are Guzurat Pluſh, Salt, Rice, and a few Rials, which go all of them well off there, by reaſon of the Vicinity of the *Chineſe*, a good Number of whom are ſettled at *Patavi*, a Town ſituated on the oppoſite Coaſt.

They ſell their Pepper by Meaſure, and not by Weight, which is better for the Buyer, ſince, at that Rate, he cannot be ſo eaſily injured by wetting it, or deceived by the putting Stones or Sand into it, as they commonly do at *Achen*. They ſell it by the Nali, which contains ſixteen Gautals, each Gautal containing four Chuppas, fifteen Nali make a Bahar, which is four-hundred-and-fifty Pounds *Averdupois*; ſo that the Meaſure in this Iſland is greater by one quarter than in the King of *Achen*'s Territories. The common Price of a Bahar is ſixteen Rials. The Pepper-Plants grow in a fat free Soil. They are planted at the Root of every Tree, round which they creep and twiſt like Hops. The Way is to take a Shoot or Sprig of an old Pepper-Plant, and Plant it under ſome Shrub, taking care to clean the Ground, and weed out all the Herbs about it; it will bear no Fruit till the third Year, after which it bears every Year ſix or ſeven Pounds weight of Pepper. Its firſt, ſecond, and third Yeras Crops are much at one, but the fourth, fifth, and ſixth decreaſe one third both in the Quantity and Size of the Pepper; and in the ſeventh, eighth, and ninth, the Pepper becomes very ſmall and ſcanty; ſo that after its twelfth Year it bears no more, and a new Shoot muſt be planted in its Room; for the firſt three Years the Ground about them muſt be kept very clean, or they will not bear, and even that requires a great deal of Pains, for the Climate is extremely moiſt, by reaſon partly of the Rains and partly of the Dew, which is ſo great, that if one walks among Trees or Graſs before the Sun-riſing, they will be as wet as if they waded through Water. When the Plant begins to bear, the Branches of the Tree, through which it creeps, muſt be lopped off, leſt they intercept the Rays of the Sun, which above all Things that Plant ſtands moſt in need of. When the Cluſters of this Fruit are formed, Care muſt be taken to ſupport them with Poles, leſt the Weight ſhould draw down the Plant, which of itſelf is tender enough. Care muſt likewiſe be taken that no Buffaloes, or Oxen, or large Animalsi get in amongſt them, leſt they ſhould be entangled among the Branches, and ſo break them.

They muſt be planted at a convenient Diſtance one from another, that one may get round them with a Ladder to prune them after their Fruit is gathered, for, otherwiſe, they would grow too high, and ſo bear leſs Fruit. Commonly this Plant has a white Flower in *April*; in *June* this knots, in *Auguſt* it is large, green, and ſtrong, and the Natives make uſe of it for Sallad, or make a rich Pickle of it, and other Fruits in Vinegar, which they call Achar, and which will keep for a Twelvemonth. In *October* it is red, in *November* it begins to grow black, in *December* it is all over black, and conſequently ripe. This is the moſt general Method, though, in ſome Places it is ripe ſooner or later than in others. When the Fruit is ripe, they cut off the Cluſters and dry them in the Sun, till the Grain falls off from its Stalk, which it does not in leſs than fifteen Days, though the Sun is very hot; and during that Time they muſt be turned from ſide to ſide, and covered up in the Night-time. There are ſome of the Grains that neither redden nor blacken, but continue white, which are made uſe of phyſically, and ſold for double the Price of the other. Of late Years the Inhabitants obſerving that Foreigners wanted theſe for the ſame Uſe, have found out a Way for whitening the black ones, by taking them when they are yet red, and waſhing off the red Skin with Water and Sand, ſo that nothing remains but the Heart of the Pepper, which is white.

By this Account we may perceive the Pepper does not grow ſo eaſily as many are apt to imagine, and that the Pepper-Plants require a great many Hands to dreſs them, which at preſent is mightily wanted in this Iſland, both it and the Country of *Queda* being laid deſolate by the King of *Achen* within theſe three or four Years, inſomuch that the King of *Queda* is now obliged to put himſelf under the Protection of the King of *Siam*. The Inhabitants are *Malayans*, but not ſo crafty and roguiſh as thoſe of *Achen*; their Habit is much the ſame, but not ſo rich. They are very zealous *Mohammadans*, and in their Cuſtoms and Way of Living differ but little from the Inhabitants of *Achen*. They have a Sort of Coin not unlike our *French* Sols, but of a little better Alloy, which they call Tras, and thirty-two of theſe make a Rial. They reckon by Taels, but one of their Taels make four of thoſe of *Achen*.

34. *Queda* is a good marſhy Soil, cut by ſeveral Brooks, taking Riſe from a large River, in which are many large and dangerous Crocodiles. It former Times the Country was well peopled, and abounded with all ſorts of Proviſions, eſpecially Rice and Cattle, and *Queda* was reſorted to by all ſorts of Merchants from *Pegu*, *Aracan*, *Bengal*, *Jerſelin*, the Coaſts of *Coromandel* and *Surat*, beſides the *Portugueze* reſiding at *Malacca*, and even the Merchants of *Achen*. The Cuſtoms and Impoſts at this Place were very moderate, till the Father of the preſent King came to reign, who was a perfidious and cruel Tyrant, and by Divine Vengeance (as the Natives will have it) was carried off in Captivity by the King of *Achen* about three Years ago. This Place, to ſay the Truth, bears ſeveral Marks of Divine Wrath; for about four Years before it was ſubdued, two-thirds of the Inhabitants, amounting to above forty thouſand Souls, were carried off by a Plague. The next Year after that a Murrain ſeized upon the Cattle, and carried off all the King's Elephants, and ſeven-eights of their other Cattle. The third Year there was ſuch a Scarcity of Rice, and all Manner of Fruit, that they underwent a terrible Famine.

The Year after that the King of *Achen*, who always lies in wait to pillage his Neighbours, laid Siege to *Queda*. The City held out three Months, and then the King with his Family and Retinue, conſiſting of a hundred-and-twenty Men, retired to his Palace, which he had fortified, and where he was reduced to the laſt Extremity of Want, till about two Months after that the King of *Achen*'s Officers perſuaded him to ſurrender, by alledging that the King admired him for his Valour, and would certainly reinſtate him in his Throne, if he truſted to his Clemency. This Siege was carried on by the *Achen* Army with a great deal of Vigour, inſomuch that they fought when up to the Middle in Water in Winter; for the King had ſent them word that he would cut them all in Pieces if they did not bring him the King of *Queda*; at laſt, having demoliſhed the City and the Caſtle, they carried the King and his Family, and about ſeven thouſand of the Inhabitants, to *Achen*.

The King of *Achen* gave the captive King a tolerable Reception, till he had drained him and his Friends of all they had; after which he put to Death not only him and his Children, but the principal Men among the other Captives, confining the Reſt to a remote Part of the City, where moſt of them were killed by Miſery and Want, and the ſorry Remainder, amounting to about five hundred Souls, work at preſent in little Huts one half of the Week, for their own Maintenance, ſuch as it is, and the other half in the building the King of *Achen*'s Houſes, and manuring his Grounds. The preſent King of *Queda*, the Son of this miſerable Predeceſſor, was ſhut up with his Father in the Caſtle of *Queda* before it was ſurrendered; but finding that his Father was inclinable to ſurrender, and carry all his Children and Treaſures to *Achen*, to procure a better Reception from the King, he made his Eſcape privately without his Father's Knowledge.

35. On the Twelfth of *October* I weighed Anchor, and ſtood for the Road of *Achen*, in order to try if I could hear any thing of our Ships; ſoon after the Tides carried me upon the Iſles of *Pulo-Botton*, about five Leagues off, where I was obliged to drop an Anchor to keep clear of a Rock. Theſe Iſlands are three in Number, but there are alſo a great many ſmall ones. They are inhabited and covered with Woods, in which there are ſome Trees fit for Maſts of Ships; they afford good Anchorage all round about, and the largeſt of them has good freſh Water upon a ſandy Creek. Next Day we came in Sight of *Sumatra*. The 27th we came within two Leagues of the Iſland of *Pooloway*, and I deſigned to double it, in order to caſt Anchor on the Weſt Side of the Road of *Achen*, where I might eaſily get off, in caſe the King of *Achen* ſhould uſe me otherwiſe than well.

But the Tides were ſo ſtrong, and the Winds blew ſo hard from Weſt and Weſt-North-Weſt, that I was drove above ſix Leagues before the Wind, and obliged to put into a ſmall Creek of Sand about half way between *Podor* and *Achen*. That Evening a Praw came up to me with a Commiſſion from the King of *Achen* to know who I was, whence I came, and whither I was going; for it ſeems the King had heard of a Ship cruizing upon his Coaſt fifteen Days before I came to an Anchor in this Place. By this Commiſſioner I underſtood that a ſmall *French* Ship had arrived in the Road of *Achen* about eight Days before. It happened that the King's Commiſſioner knew me to be the Perſon that had been at *Achen* before, and when he aſked me whence I came, I ordered my Interpreter to ſay, that when I went from *Achen* I was bound for *Bantam*, by the way of *Ticow*, but having loſt two of my Maſts by a Storm, I was forced to put into an Iſland to refit. I deſigned to conceal the Name of the Iſland, knowing that the King would be angry at my going thither without his Leave, and to pretend that I knew not the Iſland, and could meet with no Inhabitants upon it to inform me; but my Interpreter precipitately told him, I had been at the Iſland of *Pulo Lanchobuy*.

Next Day a Praw came on Board with an *Achenman* in her that I knew, and he aſſured me there was a ſmall *French* Veſſel in the Road, and ſome *Frenchmen* that ſaid they belonged to me, adding withal as a Secret, that the King of *Achen* detained them there againſt their Will. In the mean time I ſent my Long-boat on Shore for ſome freſh Proviſions, but the People would ſell none, alledging that the King had prohibited them to ſell without his Command. Upon the Whole, I was apprehenſive that the King of *Achen* might ſtop our Advice-Boat (for I took the *French* Ship in the Road of *Achen* to be it) to prevent their coming to an Interview with me, and thereupon I weighed Anchor, and ſtood for the Road of *Achen*; but the Wind being contrary, and very high, I was forced to come to an Anchor at the Point of a large Bay, and ſent by Land one of the Men I had redeemed at *Achen* in a *Moor*'s Habit, to carry a Letter to the People belonging to the *French* Veſſel in the Road of *Achen*, promiſing him his Freedom if he brought me an Anſwer in two Days; for we were then but four Leagues off *Achen*, and he knew the Way exactly well, for which Reaſon I ſent him aſhore in the Night-Time, ordering him to walk it before Day, leſt any body ſhould meet him, or enquire after his Buſineſs. The next Day a large Ship with *Engliſh* Colours made up to us, and when they came within a Quarter of a League, put out their Long-boat, which brought on Board of me M. *du Parr*, one of the Men belonging to the *Hope*.

36. The State of poor Captain *Grave*'s Affairs, according to *du Parr*'s Report, was as follows: This great Ship was an *Engliſh* Ship of ſix hundred Tons, and thirty-two Guns, and had on board Captain *Grave*, the Captain of the *Hope*, who was very ſick, and not finding me at *Achen*, was going to *Jacatra* to find ſome paſſage for *France*. After the *Hope* parted from me, they came to an Anchor at a long Iſland about twenty Leagues from *Ticow*, and ſent their Long-boat to *Ticow*. Twelve Days after the Departure of their Long-boat they ſtood for *Ticow* themſelves to put aſhore M. *Talier* the firſt Commiſſary, who was then ill; but the Winds and Tide being contrary, they not only loſt the Men in the Long-boat, but even thoſe they had on board were all ſick, except the Captain and five or ſix more. In this diſaſtrous Condition they met with a *Dutch* Ship of one thouſand two hundred Tons, called the *Leyden*, and commanded by *William Schouten*, and Captain *Grave* went on board them to deſire their Aſſiſtance; he was no ſooner on board, but the *Dutch* Captain ſent ſixty Men in two Long-boats to board our Ship, which accordingly they did without any Oppoſition, and not only plundered the Ship, but uſed our ſick Men moſt barbarouſly, turning them out of their Hammocks, and throwing them upon the Deck.

In the mean time the *Dutch* Captain having detained Captain *Grave*, told him both he and his Ship was a good

Prize, and if they met with me, they could ſerve me the ſame way. Some few Days after this they met another *Dutch* Ship that had a great many ſick aboard, and was going to put them on Shore on the Iſle of *Naſſau.* Captain *Grave* deſired his Men might likewiſe be ſet aſhore at the ſame Place for the Recovery of their Health, which indeed they did, but with ſo much Cruelty, that one would think that Nation had neither Humanity, Religion, or Conſcience; for they threw the ſick Men like ſo many Logs of Wood out of the Ship into the Boat, and ſome they dragged through the Water with a Rope faſtened to them, particularly one, who being ſo dragged, expired immediately upon the Rocks on the Shore. In the mean time the Commiſſary of the *Leyden* being ſenſible of his Crime, told Captain *Graves* they were miſtaken, and that upon a Review of his Commiſſion he found he had no Authority to take any *French* Ship, ſo that he was at liberty to return to his own Ship.

Captain *Grave* conſidering that he ſtood in need of their Aſſiſtance, anſwered with a great deal of Complaiſance, that the Commiſſary was not the firſt who had been miſtaken in Matters of as great Conſequence, and deſired he might have ſome of their Seamen to man his Ship; the Commiſſary granted his Requeſt, upon a Proviſo that the Captain ſhould forget what had paſſed, and give ſomething to that Effect under his Hand. Captain *Grave* receiving this Re-inforcement went on board of his own Ship; but the *Dutch* Seamen threatened every Day to throw him and his Crew over-board, and he believed they had certainly done it, if the other *Dutch* Ship, called the *Horn*, had not been in Company: Sometime after they fell in with three *Dutch* Ships near *Selibar* upon the Coaſt of *Sumatra*, one of which having a Flag upon its Maſt like an Admiral Ship, Captain *Grave* went on board of her; but as ſoon as Captain *Grave* was on Board, that Admiral's Ship fired upon his Ship, in order to make them take down their *French* Colours; upon which the Captain ſent back his Boat with Orders to take them down.

This done, they ſailed all together for *Jacatra*, where they arrived in *December*, and Captain *Grave* went to wait upon the *Dutch* Admiral, and deſired he would aſſiſt him with ſome Seamen to conduct his Ship to *Bantam*, purſuant to his Commiſſion. The Admiral promiſed to aſſiſt him, and to allow him to go to *Bantam*, provided he would there buy up all the Pepper he could get at a limited Price, *viz.* two Rials a Sack, and diſtribute two-thirds of it to the *Dutch* and *Engliſh* in that Road. The Captain conſidering his miſerable Condition, was forced to ſubmit, and ſign an Obligation of buying fifteen thouſand Sacks of Pepper, five thouſand of which ſhould be given to the *Dutch*, and five thouſand to the *Engliſh*. In the mean time the Pinnace I had ſent in queſt of him arrived at *Jacatra*, but the Bargain being ſtruck before its Arrival, Captain *Grave* was obliged to go to *Bantam*: Accordingly he went, and arrived there the End of *January*, where the King gave him a welcome Reception, but would ſell him no Pepper under four Rials a Bag.

In the mean Time, the *Dutch*, contrary to their Promiſe, ſent out armed Barks up and down *Bantam* Road, in purſuit of the *Javaneſe*, within Cannon-Shot of their Walls, returned always on Board our Ship the *Hope*, in order to make thoſe of *Bantam* believe, that the *French* gave ſhelter to their mortal Enemies. However, the King of *Bantam* reſented it no otherwiſe than by keeping the Pepper at the firſt Price; upon which Captain *Graves* reſolved to take it at the current Price, and when he had got his Lading to return to *France*; he offered Part of what he had got to the *Dutch*, but they would not have it at that Price: The *Engliſh*, indeed, took 150 Bags of him, but never paid for it. The *Dutch* and *Engliſh* paying him no Money, he had not enough to pay the King of *Bantam* for the 15,000 Bags he had bargained for, and therefore deſired he would let him have only 2000 Bags more; but the King refuſed to let him have any, unleſs he would take all that he had bargained for.

At laſt the Commiſſary of *St. Malo*'s Company at *Bantam* ſupplied him with as much as would compleat his Loading, taking the *Hermitage* Advice-Boat as a Pledge for 1500 Rials in Part of Payment. This done, he reſolved to return directly for *France*, but three Ships that lay juſt by him commanded him to go to *Jacatra*; accordingly he went, and was there ordered to unlade two Thirds of his Cargo, and notwithſtanding that he ſhewed Letters under the *Dutch* Preſident's Hand, importing, that they would not ſtand to the firſt Bargain, yet they arreſted the Captain on Shore, and made ſeven or eight of their Ships ride at Anchor round the *Hope*, and began to unload the Pepper themſelves, through none of Captain *Grave*'s Crew put their Hands to it. In the mean Time Captain *Grave* entered a Proteſt againſt the Injuſtice of the *Dutch*, declaring, that all Damages iſſuing from that Action ſhould be put to their Account. Soon after, in a very dark Night, a Praw was ſeen to come from the Place where the *Dutch* Ships lay at Anchor, and to make up to the Stern of the *Hope*, near which it continued for a little Time, and after that putting off, one of their Men cried out in the *Malayan* Language, that the *Hope* was on Fire; immediately the *Dutch* Ships were ſeen under Sail, having weighed Anchor before, which was a certain Proof that they knew of the Deſign; and when the Preſident of *Jacatra* received the firſt Advice that a Ship was on Fire in the Road, he replied, without any Concern, that he knew it was the *French* Ship. In the mean Time, the *French* Seamen finding the Fire too far advanced to be extinguiſhed, came off in the Long-boat, and abandoned the Ship. Next Morning Captain *Grave* ſent ſix Praws to ſave ſomething in the Ship, but the *Dutch* kept them off, ſo that they ſaved all the Pepper and Artillery, and put them in their own Magazines, and ſold the Hulk of the Ship by Beat of Drum.

This done, Captain *Grave* hearing I was at *Achen*, ſet out for *Achen* in the *French* Commiſſary at *Bantam*'s Pinnace, and the Reſt of the Men came in another Bark; but as ſoon as he arrived there, the Bark, and all that was in it, was ſtopped by the King of *Achen*, and Captain *Grave* being taken ill, and not meeting with me there, took the Opportunity of returning to *Jacatra* by the *Engliſh* Ships above-mentioned. Having heard this fatal Account of our Affairs, I ſent a Boat for Captain *Grave*, and received him on board. *November* the Fifteenth we weighed Anchor, and making the Road of *Achen*, came to an Anchor among five more Ships that were in that Road, in order to be in a Capacity to force the King of *Achen* to deliver up my Men, if he would not do it with good Will.

Immediately upon our Arrival, the King ſent an Eunuch on board to welcome me, and deſire me to come aſhore. I made Anſwer, that I could not truſt myſelf aſhore, ſince the King had impriſoned my Men like Robbers, and ſeized upon the ſorry Remains of a burnt Ship, contrary to what might have been expected, after the Services offered him by the King of *France*, and by me in Particular. The Eunuch replied, that the King took them to be *Portugueze* that had ravaged his Coaſts, and as ſoon as he was undeceived had ſet them at Liberty, and returned them their Money. That it was true he had hindered them from going on board the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, for fear they ſhould come to any Harm from their mortal Enemies, deſigning to put them into the Hands of the firſt *French* Captain that ſhould have arrived in that Place. To this I anſwered, that the *French* were eaſily diſtinguiſhed from the *Portugueze*, and that though I underſtood the King had returned them ſome Rials, yet he had not returned the Value of 2500 Rials he took from them, in Muſk, Jewels, Bezoar, Coral, and other Things. The Eunuch told me, the King would certainly pay that.

But after all, I gave him to underſtand, I was firmly reſolved not to come aſhore till all my Men were on board, after which, I would come and receive his Commands. Then they demanded the Duties of the King's Chappe, beſides 400 Rials of Anchorage for the King, and 200 for the Officers of the *Aiſandegue*, a late Impoſition laid upon all Ships that ſhould come into that Road; but I told them, I did not come to traffick, and therefore would not pay a Farthing. Sometime after the Chappe returned, and brought all my Men on board; upon which, purſuant to my Promiſe, I went aſhore, when I waited upon the King, who complained heavily that I did not come to ſee him ſooner, and told me that the *Dutch* and

Engliſh had ſpread falſe Reports, in order to exclude the *French* from the Trade of *Achen*. That the Men he had impriſoned were repreſented to him as Robbers and Pirates, but as ſoon as he underſtood they belonged to me, he immediately ſet them at Liberty. That he was afraid the King of *France* might have taken it ill, if he had put his Subjects into the Hands of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, who were their mortal Enemies, and that he only waited for the Arrival of a *French* Ship, in which he might ſend them Home. But after all, when I thanked him for ſending the Men on Board, he told me, he had only ſent them to viſit me, but not to ſtay with me, for that they being ſhip-wrecked and loſt Men, belonged to him, into whoſe Port they came.

This, as I took it, he ſaid to prevent me from aſking for what he had taken from them, the Value of which amounted to very near 2000 Rials. However I reſolved to play him a Trick for it, and with that View deſired M. *Limmony* (ſo the firſt Commiſſary of the *St. Malo's* Company at *Bantam* was called) who was now Proprietor in the Pinnace, to retire from *Achen* as ſoon as he could, to avoid the Danger he might incur through the Inſolence and Perfidiouſneſs of the King. But *Limmony* made Anſwer that he had ſome Goods to put off, which would require ſome Time, and he being of another Company, I could not force him to act as I would have had him. Upon this Anſwer I reſolved to put in for a Licence for *Ticow*, and for that Purpoſe I offered Orankay *Laxemane* a Diamond if he would procure it me. The Orankay told me, it might be done, provided I made a Preſent of ſome fine Diamond to the King, who was then paſſionately fond of Diamonds.

I ſhewed him a rough Diamond weighing 12 Grains, which I deſigned for the King, and another cut of five Grains for himſelf. Next Day he acquainted me, that he had ſhewed the Diamonds to the King, but the *Engliſh* having very lately preſented him with large ones, he did not value mine; but after all, that if I could find any extraordinary Rarity, I might certainly obtain my Requeſt. Upon this Advice, I bought of *Periby* the *Portugueze*, who was lately returned from *Maſulipatan*, two Diamonds, one weighing 18 Grains, cut lozenge-wiſe, and very prettily ſet, which coſt me 550 Rials, and another of nine Grains, cut point-wiſe, which coſt me 120 Rials. I ſhewed them to *Laxemane*, who adviſed me to preſent them myſelf; upon which I deſired *Quylin* the Goldſmith, who was my Interpreter, and who uſed to ſpeak very boldly to the King, to acquaint him, that I had ſome Jewels to ſhew his Majeſty, without telling him whether I meant to ſell them or give them to him.

37. Accordingly, after ſome Time, the King ſent for me, and deſired a Sight of the Diamonds he heard I had. I ſhewed him the large one which he looked upon, and when he aſked the Price of it, I told him, it was at his Service, if he would allow me to buy 300 Bahars of Pepper at *Ticow*. His Anſwer was, that if the *Dutch* ſhould offer him 30000 Rials for that Liberty he would not give it them; but to me he would give a Licence of ſtaying at *Ticow* twenty Days, provided I gave him another Diamond like that. I told him I had none ſuch, nor could poſſibly find any. Then he deſired I would preſent him with a Cannon in the room of it, but I begged his Majeſty's Pardon. Upon which he ſaid, all other Nations had preſented him with Cannons, and I ought not to refuſe him. I prayed him to excuſe me, in regard I had ſo many Enemies, and that there were ſome Ships near *Ticow*. He replied, I need not fear the *Dutch* at *Ticow*, ſince they had a Factory at *Achen*, which was more valuable than my Ship. After all, finding he was ſo bent upon the Gun, I agreed to let him have it.

Upon which he called for the Orankay *Laxemane*, and ordered him to give me a Commiſſion to trade at *Ticow*. After that, he began to queſtion me very particularly concerning M. *Limmony*'s Circumſtances, the Force of his Ship, the Value of his Cargo, and at laſt, adviſed me to carry him and his Pinnace along with me, and not leave him expoſed to the Diſcretion of the *Portugueze*, *Dutch*, *Engliſh*, and even the *Moors* themſelves, who would be eaſily tempted to fall upon ſo ſmall a Veſſel; repreſenting, that his Affection for the King of *France* moved him to give that Advice; and that tho' M. *Limmony* was not under my Command, yet out of Reſpect to my Countrymen and Acquaintance, I ought to reſcue them from the Danger they were in. *December* the 5th, having aſked *Laxemane* often for my Commiſſion, and finding he only ſhuffled and put me off, I complained of him to the King who bid me give him a Diamond, as if that had been agreed to at firſt. To make ſhort of my Story, I very ſoon diſcovered that the Orankay *Laxemane* could do nothing, for that the King diſpatched all his Commiſſions himſelf, and that the Deſign of turning me over to him, was to worm out of me another Diamond for the King's own Uſe. On this Diſcovery, I gave him another Diamond that weighed about 6 Grains, and at laſt, after many Stops and Delays, I received out of the King's own Hand a Letter impowering me to traffick in *Ticow* for twenty Days, and ordering the King and Governor of that Place to aſſiſt me in carrying on the Trade of Pepper, for which I was to pay the uſual Duties.

At the ſame Time, the King ordered me to pay the Duty of ſome Goods that I had bought up in order to ſell at *Ticow*, which I thought to have been excuſed from, in regard I meant to put them off within the Territories of the King of *Achen*: However, I was forced to pay it. I had frequently deſired my Interpreter to deſire Reſtitution of the King for what he had taken from my Men, but the Interpreter would not venture to mention it, becauſe he found it was diſagreeable to the King.

After all, I preſſed Orankay *Laxemane* to repreſent my Requeſt to the King, which at laſt he did, and then gave me to underſtand it was in vain to expect it; that the King had a Title to all the Goods of thoſe who were ſhipwreck'd upon his Coaſt, and that the King had been very favourable in delivering the Men themſelves. On the ſixteenth we weighed Anchor, and arrived in the Road of *Ticow*, the laſt Day of this Year. *January* the firſt 1622, I ſhewed the Inhabitants of the Iſland the King of *Achen*'s Letter, who received it with Pleaſure. In this Place I bought above four hundred Bahars of Pepper, which coſt me about 25 Rials the Bahar, including the Charges of my Commiſſion, and the Preſents I made at *Achen*. *February* the 1ſt we weighed Anchor in the Road of *Ticow*, in order to return Home, having on Board 75 Men, all in good Health, and Proviſions for nine Months. But before I proceed farther, I will give here a ſuccinct Deſcription of the Iſland of *Sumatra*.

38. The Iſland of *Sumatra* is larger than *Great Britain*. It extends 11 Degrees in Length, running S. E. and N. W. *i. e.* from the Point of *Achen*, which lies in 5° 30′ N. Lat. to the Straight of *Sunda*, the Lat. of which is 5° 30′, ſo that its Length may be computed 300 *French* Leagues. Its South End is broader than the North, but one with another its Breadth will make about 70 Leagues. The Coaſt for the moſt part lies low, tho' there are very high Mountains within the Country. Its Vallies afford excellent Paſturage, and are fertile in Rice, and all other Fruits. It is watered with many noble Rivers, ſome of which are very great; for Inſtance, *Cinquel*, *Baaros*, *Daya*, *Achen*, *Pedir*, *Jambi*, and *Ripoura*, beſides ſeveral ſmall Rivers and an Infinity of Brooks, by which means it is rendered very moiſt, and in ſome Places marſhy: beſides, it is ſubject to frequent Rains, for the Equinoctial cuts it directly in the Middle.

It bears very large Trees, which retain their Verdure all the Year round. The Air is unhealthy for Strangers, eſpecially near the Equinoctial Line, as in *Ticow*, *Paſſaman*, &c. nay, the very Inhabitants of *Achen* don't care to live in thoſe Places during the wet Seaſon, which laſts from *June* to *October*, and in which the weſterly Winds, mixed with Whirlwinds, Rains, Tempeſts, and ſudden Calms, blow upon the Coaſt. In theſe Calms, the Air being unmoved, and the Ground ſoaked with conſtant Rain, the Sun, by its perpendicular Rays, attracts very ſtinking Vapours, which occaſion peſtilential Fevers, that carry Strangers off in two or three Days, or at leaſt terminate in obſtinate Swellings, and Dropſies. The City of *Achen*, ſituate on the North Point, is more temperate. It ſtands upon a great River, about half a League from the Sea, in the midſt of a great Valley, that is ſix Leagues broad. The Soil is very proper for all ſorts of Grain and Fruit, but the Inhabitants ſow nothing but Rice, which is their principal Food, together with Cocoas, with which the Iſland abounds.

This Place is well ſtored with Fruit-Trees, which bear in their proper Seaſons, for there is not a Month in the Year without ſome ripe Fruit here. They ſow no Pulſe or Pot-Herbs, but they have excellent Paſturage, and Abundance of Buffaloes, which they employ in manuring the Ground, and in drawing, or carrying. They have Plenty of young Kids, and Horſes of a ſmall Breed, but their Sheep are good for nothing. The Peaſants breed up great Numbers of Hens and Ducks, in order to ſell their Eggs. Hunting is a Sport they are much accuſtomed to, for they have an infinite Number of wild Boars, though not ſo large and furious as they are in *France*, and their Stags and Does are larger than ours. They have but few Hares or Roebucks, but in the Woods, and at the Foot of great Mountains, there are Numbers of wild Elephants. Upon the uninhabited Mountains and Hills there are great Numbers of Tygers, ſome Rinoceroſſes, Porcupines, wild Buffaloes, Civet Cats, wild Cats, Monkies, Adders, large Lizards, and in ſome Rivers poiſonous Crocodiles.

The better Half of this Iſland is poſſeſſed by the King of *Achen*. If you go along the Coaſt to the Eaſtward of *Achen*, about 12 Leagues from it you meet with *Pedir*, a large and populous City, and after that *Pacem* and *Dely*; about twelve Leagues to the weſtward of *Achen* lies *Daya*, a conſiderable City, and then the King of *Achen*'s late Conqueſts, *viz. Labo, Cinquel, Barros, Batham, Paſſaman, Ticow, Priaman*, and *Padang*; the other Half of the Iſland is poſſeſſed by five or ſix Kings, who, though they are Lords of very good Countries, yet if you put them all together, they are not ſo conſiderable as the King of *Achen*. Upon the Eaſt-ſide, near the Equinoctial, lies the little Kingdom of *Andrigri*, and beyond that *Jambi*, the richeſt of them all, and a little farther *Palimbac*. To the weſtward of *Padang* lies the Kingdom of *Manimcabo*, and beyond that *Andripoura*. The reſt of the Coaſt extending to the Streights of *Sunda*, is woody and uninhabited; that Part of the Coaſt that faces thoſe Streights is ſubject to the King of *Bantam*.

Thus you have an Account of the whole Coaſt of *Sumatra*, the Inhabitants of which are *Malayans*, ſo that they all underſtand the *Malayan* Language. The inland Parts of this Iſland are inhabited by Aborigenes that ſpeak a different Language from the *Malayans*, and are under the Government of ſeveral petty Kings, of which the richeſt and moſt powerful is one that reſides between *Ticow* and *Manimcabo*, as being poſſeſſed of all the Places where the Gold of this Iſland lies.

It is very certain, there is a great deal of Gold to be found in this Iſland, but the Inhabitants are altogether ignorant of working of Mines, and what they gather is only in Torrents, and little Ditches that they dig in the Places where the Floods diſcharge themſelves. This Gold the Natives truck with the Inhabitants of *Manimcabo* for Rice, Arms, and Cotton Cloth, and with thoſe of *Priaman* for Pepper, Salt, *Surat* Cloth, and *Maſulipatan* Steel. *Ticow*, and the other Kingdoms, they have but little Commerce with. As for Strangers, they have no Dealings with them, but murder and eat them where-ever they catch them, as well as their Enemies; for when they are at War with one another, they never ranſom Priſoners, but eat their Fleſh raw with Pepper and Salt. Though they have no Religion, yet they have ſome Polity relating to Marriage, Juſtice, and their Duty to their King, which they obſerve with an inviolable Reſpect.

39. Upon the Weſt Coaſt of *Sumatra* there are a great many Iſles, ſome of them large, about eighteen or twenty Leagues off, and others but ſmall, about three or four Leagues from the Continent, which do not belong to any of the abovementioned Kings. Thoſe which are inhabited are poſſeſſed by the original Natives, whom the *Malayans* never expelled, becauſe theſe Iſlands were not for their Purpoſe. Upon the South Side of *Sumatra*, in the Latitude of 5° lies the Iſland of *Engane*, inhabited by barbarous Savages that ſpare nobody, but maſſacre all that come upon their Shore, whether white or black. They go naked, with long Hair, and have Canoes, in which they fiſh. Their Arms are Bows and Arrows. Upon the ſame Coaſt, in the Latitude of 31° 30′, lies a long Iſland called by the *Dutch Naſſaw*, which may contain about fourteen or fifteen Leagues in Length, but is not inhabited; about four or five Leagues from this, near the Equinoctial, we meet with another uninhabited Iſland about ſeven or eight Leagues long; then we come to a great Iſland in the Latitude of 1° 30′, called *Montebey*, above twenty Leagues long, the Inhabitants of which are cloathed, and trade with thoſe of *Ticow*, though they ſpeak a different Language.

Under the Equinoctial there are twenty or twenty-five Iſlands, ſome great, ſome ſmall, ſome inhabited, ſome not. Having croſſed the Line, we met with the Iſland of *Pulo Nyas*, in 2° North Latitude, which is fifteen or ſixteen Leagues long, and inhabited by a good ſort of People that hurt nobody, unleſs they be injured, and traffick with the People of *Barros*, and Strangers, to whom they ſell their Children and Slaves. In 3° 30 there are ſeveral other inhabited Iſlands, many of which are covered with Palm-trees that bear Cocoas, which the Inhabitants of the maritime Towns carry off in their Ships, and make Oil of; others are covered with very high Trees, and differ much from thoſe of *Europe*.

To return from the great Iſland of *Sumatra*, and take a circumſtantial View of what it produces, the Kingdom of *Andrigri* affords a conſiderable Quantity of Pepper, but very ſmall. Gold is cheaper there than in any other Country poſſeſſed by the *Malayans*.

The Kingdom of *Jamby* produces a great deal of Pepper, which is much better than that of *Andrigri*. The *Engliſh* and *Dutch* have a Factory in it, as well as the *Portugueze* of *Malacca*. The City, which is very unhealthy, lies fifty or ſixty Leagues up a River, which one muſt row up with a Boat. The Inhabitants drive a great Gold Trade, not only with thoſe of *Manimcabo*, but with the Natives of the Country. The Kingdom of *Polimban* abounds in Rice and Cattle, and affords but little Pepper; it is a pleaſant Country towards the Shore, and is poſſeſſed by the King of *Bantam*. *Andripoura* is ſeated on a rapid River in 3° 30′ South Latitude, and furniſhes every Year two or three Ships Loading of ſuch Pepper as we have in *Jamby*. The Inhabitants trade likewiſe in Gold with thoſe of *Manimcabo*. Next lies that Kingdom which ſhoots into the Country, but has ſome Harbours upon the Sea-ſide, particularly *Cartatinga*, where the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* come often; they have little Pepper, but a great deal of Gold, which is not above thirty or thirty-five *per Cent.* cheaper than in *France*, becauſe they deal with ſo many Countries in that Commodity; they ſell it by the Tael, of which one and a half makes barely two Ounces; it is in Duſt, and ſmall Pieces, for they make but few Bars of it.

As for the Dominions of the King of *Achen*, the Territories of his principal City are not ſufficiently cultivated for maintaining the Inhabitants, ſo that a great Part of their Rice comes from abroad. In former Times it produced a great deal of Pepper; but one of the Kings obſerving they minded nothing elſe, and neglected the manuring the Ground, cut down all the Pepper-Plants, ſo that at preſent it does not produce every Year above five hundred Bahars of Pepper, and that of the ſmalleſt ſort. Six Leagues from *Achen*, towards *Pedir*, there is a high Mountain that furniſhes great Quantities of Sulphur, as well as the Iſle of *Pooloway* in the Road of *Achen*, which ſupplies in a manner all the *Indies* with Sulphur to make Gunpowder. The Territory of *Pedir* being very fertile in Rice, is called the Granary of *Achen*. This Place affords pretty large Quantities of a yellow and hard ſort of Silk, Part of which is by the Natives made into Stuffs that are eſteemed all over *Sumatra*, and the reſt they ſell to the Inhabitants of the Coaſt of *Coromandel*. At *Dely* there is a Fountain of Oil, which is ſaid to be unextinguiſhable when once it is ſet on Fire, and with which the King of *Achen* burnt two *Portugueze* Galleons near *Malacca* about eight or ten Years ago.

Daya abounds in Rice and Cattle; *Cinquell* affords every Year a large Quantity of Camphire, which the Inhabitants of *Surat*, on the Coaſt of *Coromandel*, buy up very eagerly, for fifteen or ſixteen Rials the Catti, or twenty-eight Ounces. *Barros* is a pleaſant Place, ſeated upon a pleaſant

River, in an open and well cultivated and champaign Country, about a League from the Shore. The Benjamin of this Iſland is much eſteemed, and ſerves the Inhabitants for a Meaſure in all their Bargains, for they have no other Money. This Place affords likewiſe Plenty of Camphire. The Camphire of *Batabam* is reckoned the beſt, but there is very little of it. *Paſſaman* ſtands at the Foot of a very high Mountain, that may be ſeen in a clear Day thirty Leagues off. It has excellent large Pepper, being the firſt Place on this Coaſt where we meet with Pepper-Plants. Seven Leagues from this Place ſtands *Ticow*, which is yet more fertile in Pepper. *Priaman* has not ſo much Pepper, but has a better Air, and very well peopled, and plentifully furniſhed with all ſorts of Proviſions, and drives a great Gold Trade with the Inhabitants of *Manimcabo*. The *Dutch* had a Factory there for a long time, but the laſt Year the King of *Achen* expelled them. *Padang* has little Pepper, but deals pretty much in Gold, and has the Conveniency of a fine River, where great Ships may come up and ride ſafely. All theſe Places are well peopled and cultivated, and ſome of the Inhabitants are rich, and live happy, by virtue of their Remoteneſs from the tyrannical Court of *Achen*.

40. The Inhabitants of *Achen* are a worſe ſort of People than thoſe of *Ticow* and *Priaman*, and the other Places along the Coaſt; they are proud, envious Men, of no Faith or Conſcience, eſpecially in their dealing with Chriſtians, treacherous, and given to Robbing and Poiſoning. They deſpiſe their Neighbours, and take all other Nations but themſelves to be brutal; they are very prodigal in their Cloaths, and would be the ſame in their Houſes, Slaves, and other things, if the King did not cramp them. They ſpeak well in their own Language, and ſome of them ſet up for Orators. They are very fond of Similies, and happy enough in applying them; but the Frequency with which they uſe them would be nauſeous and impertinent in any other Country. They compoſe ſome Poems and Songs, and apply themſelves to Writing, and the *Arabian* Arithmetick, which differs but little from ours. Some of them are very good Mechanicks, eſpecially for the building of Gallies, and they make all ſorts of Iron-work as well as any where elſe, though they do not work with the ſame Facility and Dexterity as the *Europeans*. They work very well in Copper and Wood, and ſome of them are ſkilled in caſting of Artillery.

The King entertains three hundred Goldſmiths in his Caſtle, beſides a great many other Artiſans. Since this King came to the Throne, the Subjects of *Achen* have got the Name of the beſt Soldiers in *India*; for they endure Fatigue wonderfully, and are excellent Pioneers, as appeared in the Sieges of *Queda* and *Dely*, the laſt being a Place of great Strength, fortified by the Aſſiſtance and Contrivance of the *Portugueze*, and defended by a Perſon of great Valour and Reputation, which nevertheleſs the King of *Achen* took in ſix Weeks Time, by cutting Trenches, and gradually advancing them. They live very ſoberly, and for the moſt part upon Rice, to which the richer ſort may add a ſmall Matter of Fiſh, and a few Herbs; and he muſt be a great Lord indeed that in a Day's Time eats a Hen boiled or broiled upon the Coals. It is a common Saying among them, that if there were two thouſand Chriſtians in that Country, all their Beef and Fowls would quickly be conſumed. They pretend to be very ſtrict *Mohammedans*, but are great Hypocrites and Diſſemblers, eſpecially in their Reſpect to the King, whom they would ſee hanged if they could. If they ſuſpect, though without Reaſon, that any one does not love them, to prevent his being in a Capacity to miſrepreſent them to the King, they'll form an Accuſation againſt him before the King, and it is the Frequency of theſe Accuſations that makes the King ſo cruel; foraſmuch as it perſuades him that there are more Conſpiracies againſt him than there are.

In fine, they are ſuch a wicked ſort of People, that it is a common thing among them for one Brother to accuſe another, or the Son the Father, and if you charge them with Inhumanity, and Want of Conſcience, upon that Score, they'll tell you that God is far from them; but the King of *Achen* is near at hand. Purſuant to the Law of *Mohammed*, they marry as many Women as they are able to maintain, one of which is entitled to a Preference before the reſt, her Children being reckoned the lawful Heirs. They ſuffer their Slaves and Concubines to go abroad, but not their Wives; if a Man marries a young Woman, he commonly pays ſome Money for her to her Relations, and allots her a Jointure upon his own Eſtate. If a Woman has any thing of her own, ſhe lodges it in the Hands of her Huſband, and takes from him a Note, entitling her to the Recovery of it in caſe of Separation, or bad Huſbandry; and if the Huſband dies firſt, this Note, together with the Jointure ſtipulated in the Contract of Marriage, muſt be firſt ſatisfied out of the Goods of the deceaſed, to the Prejudice of all Creditors; if the Woman dies firſt, the Huſband is entitled to all that ſhe brought him. Man and Wife may ſeparate when they will, provided they both agree to it; but the Conſent of one Party is not ſufficient. In *Achen* Uſury is prohibited, and the Intereſt of Money is limited to twelve *per Cent*, *per Annum* without Pledges, whereas in *Bantam* they will give five *per Cent*. a Month, and a Pawn beſides. If the Debtor refuſe to pay, he is cited before a Court of Juſtice, where, if the Debt be made appear, he is condemned to pay it in a little time; and if he does not pay it in the appointed Time, he is cited a ſecond time, and muſt either pay it in Court, or elſe have his Hands tied behind his Back with a Wyth, in which Poſture he continues (for nobody dare to untie him) and is obliged to appear before the Court every Day that it ſits, till he ſatisfies the Debt. At laſt, if the Judge perceives that he appears every Day, and is not capable of ſatisfying the Debt, he delivers him up to the Creditor to ſerve him as a Slave, impowering the Creditor to carry him home, or ſell him, or to do with him as he pleaſes, ſo as he does not put him to Death.

This Court ſits every Morning, except *Friday*, under a great Bali near the great Moſk, and one of the greateſt and richeſt Orankays preſides in it. Under another Bali, by the Caſtle Gate, there ſits the Criminal Court, in which ſeveral of the principal Orankays preſide by turns. Under the Cognizance of this Court are all Quarrels, Murders, Robberies, *&c.* committed in the City. Any Criminal may be ſtopped, or taken up, by a Girl or Child of four or five Years of Age; for whenever Hands are laid upon him, he dares not but ſtand like a Statue, and ſuffer his Hands to be tied, in order to be dragged before the Court, where Juſtice is immediately put in Execution. I have ſeen great lazy Scoundrels dragged in that Faſhion by little Children, and condemned to receive Laſhes of a Wyth upon the Shoulders, for ſtealing the Value of a Farthing. After the Execution is over, neither Criminal nor Informer dare complain; nay, ſometimes they return together equally unconcerned. I ſaw a Man tried there for having peeped through a Hedge to ſee his Neighbour's Wife waſhing herſelf, and condemned to receive thirty Laſhes upon the Shoulders; but after the Sentence was pronounced, the Criminal capitulated publickly with the Executioner, and after ſome Words gave him twenty Meas in open Court, in Conſideration of being only whipped above his Cloaths.

It is a common Cuſtom in that Place to bargain with the Executioner for mitigating the Puniſhment; for there is never a Day but the King orders a Noſe, Eye, Ear, Hand, Foot, or Teſticle to be cut off from ſomebody or other; and upon theſe Occaſions the Executioner gets Money for doing his Buſineſs handſomely, and with little Pain; for if the Criminal does not come up to his Price, and pay him in ready Money upon the Spot, he will cut the Noſe, for inſtance, ſo deep, that the Brain may be ſeen through the Wound, or mangle a Foot or a Leg in two or three Pieces, *&c.* In all theſe cruel Mutilations, and even Gelding itſelf, ſcarce any one dies, though ſome of the Perſons thus maimed are above fifty or ſixty Years of Age; and the only Remedy they uſe is, to put the wounded Part immediately into Water, and after it has bled a little, waſh it and bind it up with Linen Cloths. After a Criminal has thus ſuffered Juſtice, whether by the King's Command, or by the Judge's Sentence, all the Ignominy of his Crime is wiped off, and if any one upbraids him with it, he may kill him with Impunity.

There is another Court, in which the Cady or Biſhop preſides, that takes Cognizance of all Infringements upon their Religion. In the Alfandague likewiſe there is a Bali for determining Differences among Merchants, whether Natives or Foreigners, the Preſident of which is the Orankay *Laxemane*, who in a manner governs the whole City. In this Alfandague they keep an exact Account of all the Cuſtoms, Gifts, Fines, and Commodities belonging to the King, with a particular Liſt of all the Perſons Names that buy of the King, or pay the Duty, or make him Preſents, to the end they may be capable to give his Majeſty a ſatisfactory Account how every thing is diſpoſed of; for if their Accounts be perplexed they can expect nothing but Death. Beſides theſe, there are four Officers called Pangoulow Cavalo, who take Cognizance of all Things done in the Night-time, ſuch as running the Goods without paying the Duty, Robberies, &c. Each of theſe has a Quarter of the City under his Juriſdiction. Farther, each of the Orankays hath a Province or Country-Diſtrict under his Juriſdiction, where he gives Orders, and adminiſters Juſtice to the Inhabitants.

Some of the principal Orankays reſiding near the City, are obliged to give Orders for a Watch of two hundred Horſe that patroles every Night in the Country and along the Shore. As for the Caſtle, or King's Palace, the inner Part is filled with three thouſand Women, which he keeps partly for a Guard, and partly for other Uſes. Theſe Women come ſeldom out of the Caſtle. They have a Market-place of their own, and traffick with one another in ſuch Manufactures as they make. They are ranged under ſeveral Captains, and have their Civil Judges, and Night-Officers as well as the City. None are allowed to enter into their Apartments but the King's Eunuchs, who are ſaid to be in Number about five hundred. Beſides theſe, the King has a great many Wives and Concubines; and of theſe his Wives, twenty are the lawful Daughters of the Kings whom he has pillaged. The laſt Wife that he had by ſuch Means was the Queen of *Pera*, who is ſaid to be very handſome, and from whom he contracted a Diſeaſe that is likely to carry him off, unleſs the Vigour of his Age, which is now in its Prime, be able to overcome it.

By all theſe Wives be has but one Son of eighteen Years of Age, who is yet more cruel than himſelf. This Prince has only the Quality of a ſimple Orankay, and is always confined to the Caſtle, except when he goes to the Moſque, and then he has a pompous Retinue. Some time ago his Father gave him the Inveſtiture of the Kingdom of *Pedir*; but his Government was ſo cruel and licentious, that the King called him home, and put him to ſtrange Torments; from which Time he hath ſtill kept him with himſelf. In the great Court, where the King's Apartments are, the Eunuchs keep Guard; beſides which there is a Guard of an hundred and fifty Slaves at one Gate, and another of the like Number at the outer Gate of all. Theſe Slaves are moſtly Foreigners, taken in young, and bred up in the Exerciſe of Arms and Shooting. They are confined within the Caſtle, and allowed to converſe with no body; ſo that the King makes uſe of them to over-awe his own Subjects, and fright them from treaſonable Deſigns. All the Puniſhments inflicted in the Caſtle are put in Execution by theſe Slaves.

To put the Orankays in the Cuſtody of thoſe Slaves, he ranges them in three Companies, one of which is obliged to keep Guard in the Caſtle Day and Night, without Arms, in a Court ſurrounded by Slaves; ſo that every third Night every Nobleman comes upon Guard; and if any ſuſpicious Plot ſhould be diſcovered, the King has always a third Part of his Nobility in his Hands. If any of the Orankays fail to obſerve the third Night, he undergoes the Loſs of his Life, together with the Confiſcation of his Goods, Wives, Children and Slaves. The Orankays dare not converſe familiarly, or have frequent Interviews one with another, for the King ſuſpects all Familiarity among them; ſo that they never converſe together, unleſs it be upon an accidental Rencounter that they ſalute each other with a great deal of Complaiſance. Whenever they, or any body elſe, enter the Caſtle, they are obliged to take off their Sword, and put it into the Hands of the Guard at the ſecond Gate.

41. The City of *Achen* is more like a Village than a City, being an open Place without Walls, and the Caſtle is no more fortified than any ordinary Gentleman's Houſe. It has about half a League in Circumference, of an oval Figure, ſurrounded with a Ditch of twenty-five or thirty Feet deep and broad, the Banks of which are almoſt inacceſſible, by reaſon of their Steepneſs, and being covered by Thickets. Before the Caſtle the Earth is caſt up in Banks, which ſerve for a Wall. On the Top of this Bank there grow a great many large Reeds as tall as Aſh-trees, and planted ſo thick that one cannot ſee through them. It is preſent Death for any one to touch the leaſt Branch of theſe Reeds; for the King of *Achen*'s Embaſſador to *Holland*, upon his Return home, having forgot this Order, and unluckily pulling off a ſmall Twig, was immediately put to Death. Theſe Reeds enjoy a perpetual Verdure, and cannot be ſet on Fire. I could obſerve no Planks or Baſtions round the Caſtle, but upon the Side which faces the Moſque; I ſaw the Beginnings of ſeveral Ramparts, but nothing yet finiſhed. Before the Gates there are neither Ditches nor Draw-bridges, but on each Side of every Gate there is a Stone-wall about ten or twelve Feet high ſupporting a Terras, on which a Couple of fine Braſs Guns are planted. The Gates are as high as the Wall, and are made of a ſtrong ſort of Wood, being ſhut on the Inſide with two great Croſs-bars fixed in the Wall, beſides other Bolts. Through the Middle of the Caſtle there paſſes a ſmall River, that deſcends from the Mountains, the Water of which is very cool and agreeable. Upon the Banks of this River there are Steps for People to go down and waſh themſelves.

Before we come to the King's Apartments we paſs four Gates, from one of which there runs a high Wall, backed with a Terras, with ſeveral Braſs Guns upon it, within which, as I take it, is the King's Arſenal. This Rampart incloſes Part of a very long Court fronting of the Houſes, in which I have ſeen three hundred Elephants at a time. The other Part of this Court is incloſed by four great Pavilions, and a ſort of a Stone Rampart, which commands the Terras, being fortified with a Parapet. As for the inner Part of the Caſtle, I can give no Account of it, being denied Acceſs. To conclude, the Fortifications of this Place are inconſiderable, but its Avenues are very difficult, for the Country about it is full of Rivers, Marſhes, Trees, and very cloſe Thickets. Where the Rivers enter the Caſtle, there is a Stone-Fort, conſiſting of a large Baſtion and two Courtines, with ſeveral Guns mounted upon them. Upon the Land-ſide theſe Courtines are joined by a Rampart made of Turf, in which there is a Gate, but without either Ditch or Draw-bridge, theſe being wanting to the whole Fort. The Walls both of the Baſtion and Courtines are eighteen Feet broad and twenty Feet high. Before this Fort the King has a Pleaſure-houſe, by which there are ſeveral Fiſh-ponds and pleaſant Walks, the whole being incloſed with an Intrenchment made of Turf, the Breaſt of which is ten or twelve Feet high, and moated about, where two or three thouſand Men may lie. Before this Intrenchment is a ſmall Fort, covered with Thickets, and ditched about, upon which there are ſeveral Pieces of Cannon.

The Country round all theſe Forts is ſo full of Marſhes, Ditches, and Trees, that they call Nippiers, that it is almoſt impracticable to march through it. Paſſing Eaſtward from the Caſtle along the Shore, we met with ſeveral little Forts of Turf, ſurrounded with Thickets, and placed at a Muſket-ſhot Diſtance one from another; on each of which there are two or three Pieces of Cannon, but ſo covered with Buſhes that they are not viſible. In theſe Forts there is no Guard by Day, but in the Night-Time the Horſe-watch, as before-mentioned, patrole round them; the Weſtern Shore is more acceſſible and deſtitute of Forts. About a Piſtol-ſhot from this Shore is a Canal above forty Feet broad, and very deep, that riſes out of the great River, and runs along the Shore to the Side of the Mountains. Having paſſed that, we met with a plain open Country, free from Ditches and Trenches.

It is computed that *Achen*, and the adjacent Places in that Valley, are able to raiſe 40000 Men; but they have no Fire-Arms or Powder, for the King keeps thoſe up in the Caſtle, as well as his Artillery. That Prince has above two thouſand Braſs Guns in his Gallies, Forts, and two Houſes, where they are heaped one above another. He is likewiſe well furniſhed with Firelocks; but they are ſhort, and ill mounted.

But his greateſt Strength he places in 900 Elephants, which are bred to tread Fire under their Feet, and to be unmoved at the Shot of a Cannon; and likewiſe to ſalute the King when they paſs by his Apartments, by bending their Knees and raiſing their Trunks three Times. The King gives a Name to each Elephant, and confers many Honours on ſuch of them as are moſt ſtout and docile, for he orders Umbrellas to be carried before them as they paſs the Streets, for ſome ſix, for others four, and for others two, in Proportion to their Merit. Now there is not a Man in *Achen*, beſides the King, that is allowed the Privilege of an Umbrella. He matches the Male Elephants with their Females, and to ſome that are deareſt to him, he allows ſeveral Concubines. The Elephants that the King commonly makes uſe of, have a great deal of Honour paid them, for as they paſs along every body ſtops and makes Way for them; for which Purpoſe a Boy goes before them with a copper Inſtrument in his Hand, with which he makes a Noiſe to give the People Notice. When the Oil drops from their Ears they are furious, and it is not ſafe to come near them; and at that Time the Boy runs above two hundred Paces before them, to give the People earlier Notice, for they will ſteal upon a Man ſtrangely; and notwithſtanding their huge Bulk, make no more Noiſe when they walk than a Rat; though, at the ſame time, upon that marſhy hollow Ground, the Trot of a Horſe makes the Earth in a manner tremble.

Sometimes the King is out of Humour with his Elephants, as well as with his Subjects, and ſhews his Diſpleaſure by robbing them of their Wives, Concubines, and other Honours, and inflicting corporal Puniſhments in the Preſence of the reſt; for exemplary Correction has the ſame Influence upon them as upon Men, as appears by the following Inſtance. The King having ordered the Embarkation of an hundred Elephants for the Siege of *Debly*, when the Elephants were brought down to the Shore, not one of them would enter the Ship. The King being acquainted with the Matter (which ſome took to be an ill Omen) came in Perſon to the Shore, and having checked and chid them with a great deal of Paſſion, and upbraiding them with the Breeding and Honour he had beſtowed upon them, cauſed one of the principal Elephants to be cut in two before their Eyes, threatening the reſt with the ſame Uſage if they did not embark immediately. This done, they embarked very peaceably, and were extreme tractable during the whole Voyage.

There never was a Prince in *Achen* that had ſuch a Dexterity in managing theſe Animals; he will ſtand upright upon their Backs while they run a full Speed: For my part, I had rather run ten Stages on Foot than ride four Leagues upon an Elephant, for it is a very uneaſy Poſture to thoſe who are not accuſtomed to it, eſpecially if one ſits behind, for the Forepart of the Shoulders is the ſofteſt. When the King was well, he uſed to hunt every other Day. In his Stables he has about two hundred Horſes, fifty of which might be worth five hundred Crowns apiece in *France*. All of them have rich and magnificent Trapping.

42. The King of *Achen* is ſtronger by Sea than any of his Neighbours, for he has about an hundred great Gallies, of which a third Part is much larger than any we build in Chriſtendom. I ſaw the Keel of an ordinary one that was an hundred and twenty Foot long, all in one Piece. They build their Gallies very prettily in that Country, but they are too heavy, for they are broader and higher than they ought to be; beſides, their Rigging is too weak for their Bulk. Their Oars have neither Length nor Weight ſufficient, being only Poles, with a Piece of Board at one End. They put but two Men to an Oar, who ſtand upright when they row. Their Sails are not made like Mizen-Sails, but ſquare, like thoſe of a Ship. The Sides or Planks of theſe Gallies are ſix Inches thick; ſo that conſidering their Dulneſs, one of our *European* Gallies might beat ten of them.

They have commonly three good Pieces of Cannon, of which that planted in the Bourſey is not leſs than a Battery-Gun; for ſome of them will carry a Bullet of forty Pound: Beſides theſe they have ſeveral Falconets, which they plant before and abaſt. The largeſt Gallies have commonly ſix or eight hundred Men. Their Crew conſiſts not of Slaves, but of poor People, that row very well. The King's Wars are not very chargeable to him, for all his Subjects are obliged to march at his Command upon their own Charges, and carry Proviſion with them for three Months. The King gives them Arms, of which a Regiſter is kept, they being obliged to reſtore them at their Return. Their Wives, and Children, and their Parents, if they have any, are anſwerable for their Behaviour; for if they ſhrink, or give way before the Enemy, not only themſelves, but theſe, their innocent Relations, ſuffer for it. By this means the King has brought them to be good Soldiers, and the Terror of their Neighbours. If they continue above three Months in the Field, the King is at the Charge of Rice to maintain them.

His Gallies coſt him as little as his Land Armies, for he divides them among his principal Orankays, obliging them to fit them out, take care of them when they return, and repair them at their own Charges, and orders a certain Number of People to be ready upon the Command of ſuch and ſuch an Orankay, to aſſiſt at theſe Services. The Orankays are very careful of the Gallies, for if theſe fail, they either loſe their Lives, or build new ones in their room. For that reaſon, when the Gallies come into the River to be laid up, they cleanſe the Dock very carefully, and then lay great Pieces of Wood acroſs it, which are ten Feet diſtant from one another, and lie upon an exact Level, leſt the Gallies ſhould bow when they lie upon them. When the Tide comes in the Elephants draw the Gallies up upon theſe Sommers, which lie above ten Feet from the Ground, that they may get underneath to view and caulk the Ship's Bottom. This done, they run a Dyke of Turf, Stone, and Planks between it and the River, and then fill the Dock with Water, to the upper Surface of the Sommers; this they do, that the Gallies may be refreſhed by the Water, but ſo as not to dip into it, leſt Sea-Worms ſhould breed in them. Having laid up the Sails and Rigging, they cover the Maſts very carefully with Palm-tree Leaves, ſo that neither Rain nor Sun can hurt them; beſides, they have a great Roof that they bring entirely over the Galley: After that, they put Water into it, to the Depth of four or five Feet, to keep the Planks freſh, and prevent their being ſplit by the Heat.

All this is done in five or ſix Days, and one cannot imagine how well they preſerve the Galley, and how readily they launch it again: For, the Dock being full of Water, there is no Occaſion for caulking, and the Rigging is at Hand, and the Roof is taken off in a Minute. The Water in the Galley being thrown out into the Dock, augments the Water there, which ſets the Sommers afloat, ſo that they are eaſily removed; upon which the Water ruſhing into the River, carries the Galley along with it. Every Morning and Evening, upon the opening and ſhutting of the Caſtle Gates, the King cauſes a Gun to be fired, and if any of the neighbouring Kings ſhould offer to do the like, he would declare War againſt him, alledging, that being the Inventor of that Cuſtom, he has a Right to engroſs it, as a Mark of his Grandeur: He prohibits the ſhooting of Muſkets, or Firelocks, in the City, on any other Days but *Mondays* and *Thurſdays*.

43. From what has been ſaid, it is manifeſt, that this King cannot but be very rich, for in War he is only at the Charge of Arms, Powder, Lead, and Rice, which is very inconſiderable, and in Peace he ſpends yet leſs; for as to the Maintenance of his Family, he has more Rice, Fleſh, Fiſh, Fowl, Oils, Sugar, and Herbs, paid him by his Subjects, than is conſumed in the Caſtle, and the Surplus is ſold in the Market for his Advantage: Beſides, he allows his Servants nothing but Rice; if they eat any thing elſe, they muſt purchaſe it by their own Labour and Induſtry. He amaſſes together great Quantities of Rice

every Year; for, having large hereditary Countries, he parcels them out among his Subjects to be manured, obliging them to furniſh him with a certain Quantity of Rice every Year, whether the Crop be good or bad, and he calculates the Product of his Land ſo very nicely, that the Farmers cannot be idle if they maintain themſelves, and pay the King, who never bates them a Grain. The Rice he puts into his Magazines, and keeps it up till the latter End of Autumn, at which Time it fetches a double Price, and drains all the poor People of their Money; if it be a plentiful Year in *Achen*, he ſends it to ſome neighbouring Country where Rice is ſcarce.

He has vaſt Herds of Cattle kept by his Slaves. His Elephants coſt him nothing, for he gives them no Rice, only the Trunks of *Banana* Trees, which being cut, a Sprout comes up next Year that bears Fruit. As for his Cocks, they coſt him nothing, for the Orankays take more Care of them than their own Children. He is at no Charge for his own or his Womens Cloaths, for one certain Day of the Year, all that have any Offices, or Places in *Achen*, are obliged to make him a Preſent of one or more Garments, according to the Incomes of their Places, or elſe of Stuffs for cloathing the Women, and every one ſtrives to out-do another in the Magnificence of his Preſent, in order either to procure a better Place, or to ſecure what he has. If he does not like the Garments, or Stuffs, he returns them back, and the Officer that gave them is ſure to be turned out of his Poſt, unleſs he quickly accommodates the Matter by a large Sum of Money; or if he be a Man of Riches, he ſhall be charged with ſome Male-Adminiſtration in his Office, and perhaps put to Death.

He cauſes a great many Houſes to be built of rough Stone, which coſt him but very little, though they would be very chargeable to another, becauſe he has ſuch large Numbers of Slaves. Though theſe Houſes are reckoned inimitable in that Country, yet they are infinitely ſhort of what we have in *Europe*. His Slaves indeed have a better Life than any Slaves I know, for he does not chain them, unleſs they endeavour to eſcape, or to rebel againſt their Maſters; and out of eight Days he allows them four to work at what Work they will for their own Livelihood; and thus the King pays nothing for their Maintenance. He employs them moſtly in cutting of Wood, making of Mortar, labouring in the Quarries and Buildings. There are three or four Overſeers of their Work, who are maintained by the Slaves; for thoſe who underſtand any Trade may live very handſomely, and be excuſed from working for the King, for Five-pence a Day, which is received by Commiſſaries appointed for that Purpoſe, and goes towards the Maintenance of the Overſeers, the buying of Iron, and all other Materials.

The King gives the Model of his Building himſelf, and very often, if a Window, or a Door, or any ſuch Thing be not exactly to his Fancy, down goes the Houſe, and another muſt be built in its Place. He appoints them a certain Time in which the Work muſt be finiſhed, which is commonly but very ſhort; for in the ſix Months that I was at *Achen*, I ſaw more Buildings reared up and pulled down again, than I could have imagined to have been done in two Years. Theſe Slaves may redeem themſelves, but their Ranſom riſes according to their Quality. The King is Heir to all his Subjects that die without Male Iſſue, and if they leave any Daughters then unmarried, he puts them into the Caſtle, which occaſions his Women to be ſo numerous. In that Country, Daughters have no Titles to any Heritage; and not only the People of *Achen*, but even all the *Mohammedans* are ſo loath to part with their Money, and ſo buoyed up with the Hopes of having male Children by one of their many Wives, that they ſeldom or never give any Thing to their Sons-in-Law in their Life-time, and after their Death they cannot have it; nay, even in their Life-time, if the King's Spies obſerve them, it may do them more Injury than Good.

The royal Treaſury is likewiſe conſiderably enlarged by the forfeited Eſtates of thoſe whom he puts to Death every Day; for to prevent their alienating their Eſtates, or Goods, he takes them at a Surprizal, and has their Wives, Children, Slaves, Cattle, Money, and all ſorts of Moveables lodged in the Caſtle before they know their Sentence. While I was there, I ſaw the Jewels, Gold, Silver, and all the moveable Goods belonging to his Mother, brought in upon the ſame Occaſion. The Perſons he thus puts to Death, are commonly the Orankays, or great Lords, and that for one of theſe two Reaſons, *viz.* either their Reputation and Intereſt among the People, or their Riches; the former giving him Occaſion of Jealouſy, and the latter awakening his covetous and avaricious Temper.

The King is Heir to all Foreigners that die within his Territories; for as ſoon as a Foreigner ſickens, the King's Officers preſently take Poſſeſſion of his Houſe, and upon his Death remove his Effects to the Caſtle, and very often his Servants, Friends, and Slaves, are put upon the Rack; to diſcover where his Gold, Silver, and Jewels are, or where any Thing is due to him; but the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* having Factories here, are exempted from this Law, as we were, while we ſtaid there, by the King's Conceſſion. The King has another bad Cuſtom of appropriating to his own Uſe all the Men and Goods of all Ships that ſuffer Shipwreck upon his Coaſt. No Foreigner can enter the Caſtle without making a Preſent to the King; it is true I went without any, being allowed the Quality and Privilege of a principal Orankay, but at the ſame Time I never could have Audience upon my own Affairs, but when I uſhered it in with a Preſent; nay, if either Foreigner or Native put in any Requeſt to the King, the former is not heard, and the latter is puniſhed; and after all, the Requeſt will not be granted, unleſs the Preſent be liked; for I have ſeen the *Dutch* and *Engliſh* Preſents frequently returned, and in that Caſe they were obliged to make more valuable Gifts, ſuch as would pleaſe the King, before they obtained their Deſire. No Foreigner can enter the King's Chamber without the Chappe, for which he pays a Rial to the Officers that bear it.

When a Ship comes into the Road of *Achen*, none of their Crew muſt go aſhore till the Chappe comes, and till the Duty of that be paid, which amounts to fifty or ſixty Rials, according to the Bigneſs of the Ship; and upon their Departure from the Road, they are obliged to pay about half as much. The *Moors* pay nothing upon the Export of Goods, but upon the Import the Duty is very heavy; for they pay 10 *per Cent.* in Gold upon the Entry of all Goods which are appraiſed by the Officers of the *Alfandeque*, and commonly over-rated 50 *per Cent.* The *Dutch* and *Engliſh* pay as much, but then they pay it in the Commodity itſelf, and not in Gold. But the greateſt Damp upon the Trade in that Place is, that the King engroſſes it all into his own Hands; for what Commodities he buys, he muſt have them under a Market Price, and what he ſells riſes to 50 *per Cent.* above it; ſo that if he continues to carry on his Commerce at this Rate, the *Dutch* and *Engliſh* will be obliged to abandon this Place, and it is with that View, as I take it, that he does it; for at preſent he is very jealous of their Strength. From what has been ſaid, we may ſafely infer, that the King of *Achen* is infinitely rich, eſpecially if we conſider, that over and above the before-mentioned Articles, he had an opulent Exchequer left him by his Father.

44. To underſtand how this preſent King of *Achen* came to the Crown, we muſt know, that before the Reign of his Grandfather, the Orankays being never oppreſſed by their Kings, nor pillaged by other Nations, were very rich in Lands and Houſes, beſides Gold and Silver, and gave a licentious Range to their inſolent and proud Tempers. In thoſe Days the City was ſix Times greater than it is now, and ſo crowded with People, that one could ſcarce paſs along the Streets. No City in *India* had ſo flouriſhing a Trade. The *Alfandeque* required no Cuſtoms but that of the Chappe; Merchants might unload and load again in 15 Days Time.

The Orankays lived in large ſtately Houſes, with Cannon at their Gates, and great Numbers of Slaves, both to ſerve and guard them. They had magnificent Garments, and pompous Retinues, and were much reſpected by the People. This Grandeur and Authority of the Orankays not only leſſened the King's Authority, but was often fatal to his Perſon, inſomuch that it was a great Matter if a King enjoyed his Crown two Years, and if he did, it was with ſo much Trouble and Dependance upon the Orankays, that nothing but the Title of his Dignity was left him. Things continued at this rate till the Extinction of the ancient Royal Line, which happened about forty Years ago.

Upon that the Orankays met, in order to chuſe a King, but every one affecting the Dignity for himſelf, they could not agree upon the Matter, and reſolved to decide it by Force. In this Ferment the Cady, or Great Biſhop, by his Authority and Remonſtrances, perſuaded them to liſten to an Expedient that would remove all their Jealouſies; namely, to put the Crown upon the Head of a certain Orankay, who in all theſe Diviſions had not ſtirred or affected any Thing for himſelf or his Family, but had lived in the Reputation of a wiſe, experienced Man, being then ſeventy Years of Age, and deſcended of one of the nobleſt Families in *Achen*. The Orankays accepted the Propoſal, in regard it did not ſink their reſpective Pretenſions, ſince they only entitled him to a Preference by reaſon of his Age and Prudence. But, after all, the old Nobleman deſired to be excuſed, alledging that he had retired for ſome Time from the Affairs of the World, and deſired to paſs the Remainder of his Life in Peace. Upon this the Orankays fell together by the Ears; but at laſt, finding that every Thing run in Confuſion, they endeavoured to threaten the old Orankay into an Acceptance of the Crown; but both their Threats and Intreaties were equally ineffectual.

At laſt they came all in a Body to his Houſe, the Cady carrying the Crown, and one of the Orankays a naked Sword. There they repreſented to the old Gentleman that they could not poſſibly find any other Remedy for their preſent Calamity, but that of making him King: That as they had frequently importuned him to accept of the Crown, ſo they came now once more to make the laſt Offer, and that if he refuſed it, they were determined to cut him off immediately, to prevent their inſiſting any longer on an uſeleſs Expedient. The old Orankay, finding himſelf in a Dilemma, told them, that though he had firmly reſolved to finiſh his Days without the Diſturbance of publick Affairs, yet ſince nothing but his mounting the Throne could prevent a pernicious War, he accepted their Offer with this Proviſo, that they ſhould reſpect him as a Father, and he ſhould treat them as his Children, and they ſhould receive his Correction as from the Hands of their own Father. This ſaid, they all thanked him, promiſing not only to honour him as their Father, but to reſpect him as their Sovereign Lord, and inveſted him inſtantly with the Royal Dignity.

45. After his Coronation he took Poſſeſſion of the Caſtle, and invited all the Orankays to a Feaſt upon an appointed Day, and made ſuch vaſt Preparations for their Reception, that the Orankays were ſtruck with Admiration. The Orankays were drawn up in Order in a Court near the King's Apartment, and conducted by the Chappes into a Hall; but as every Man entered the Hall he was immediately ſeized, and dragged into another Court behind the Buildings, where the King had cauſed a deep Ditch to be dug, upon the Brink of which their Throats were cut, and then their Bodies were thrown into it. In the mean time the Muſick played, and nothing but Songs and Mirth was heard in the Hall; and the Matter was carried on ſo warmly, that one thouſand one hundred were cut off before thoſe in the Rear could perceive any thing of the Matter; at which Time the ſmall Remainder ſlipped ſoftly out of the Caſtle, without knowing diſtinctly the Occaſion of their Miſtruſt, till the next Day that the principal Orankays were miſſing.

The King having thus cut off all he ſuſpected, and fortified himſelf with a good Body of Men in the Caſtle, he publiſhed a Declaration, ſetting forth, that this great Execution was neceſſary for the Safety of his own Perſon and the State; that as in former Times the Orankays had made and dethroned many Kings at Pleaſure, and extinguiſhed the ancient Line, ſo when they were at the Point of cutting one another's Throats, they could find no other Remedy than that of making him King by Force, in order to uſe him as they did the former Kings upon Occaſion; that ſince he was King he would not be expoſed to the inconſtant Humours of the Orankays, who, after they had maſſacred him, would have relapſed into their former Animoſities, and made the People ſuffer by their Quarrels; and in fine, that all his Deſign was to preſerve the general Peace, to reign in Equity, and execute ſevere Juſtice upon Offenders.

After this Declaration, when he ſaw that no body ſtirred, and none came near him to pay him their wonted Reſpects in the Caſtle, he demoliſhed all the Houſes of the executed Orankays, and lodged their Cannon, Arms and Goods in the Caſtle. He prohibited any to build with Stone, or to have Cannon or Intrenchments about their Houſes; he ordered the Trenches that then were to be filled up, and the Stone Walls to be pulled down. He enjoined, that all their Houſes ſhould be but one Story high, and their Walls be made of Mats, as they are at this Day. He conferred the Quality of Orankays upon his Favourites and Abettors, allowing them Part of the Lands of the executed Lords. He put to Death the ancient Orankays, and thoſe of the People that teſtified any Diſlike to his Conduct, inſomuch that in the firſt Year of his Reign he put to Death twenty thouſand Perſons, and in the ſecond ſome thouſands more.

This Prince reigned a long Time, and reduced the City to the Condition that it is now in. He uſed the *Mooriſh* Merchants very unkindly, but was extreme civil to the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, who ſettled there in his Time. He brought up this preſent King, who is the Son of his own Daughter, and for whom he had a particular Love. He died in the Year 1603, aged ninety-five Years, leaving behind him two Sons, who were already advanced in Years. To the eldeſt of theſe he left the Kingdom of *Achen*, and all his Territories along the Coaſt of *Sumatra* to the Weſtward, and to the other the Kingdom of *Pedir*, with the Territories upon the Eaſt Coaſt of *Sumatra*. The two Princes were of too meek and humble a Temper for their Subjects, ſo that Murders, Robberies, Oppreſſion, and an Infinity of Diſorders, reigned in *Achen* for want of a ſevere Execution of Juſtice. The King of *Achen* happening to give ſome ſlight Rebuke to his Nephew the preſent King, whom he entertained at his Court, the young Prince made his Eſcape out of the Caſtle, and fled to his Uncle the King of *Pedir*, who gave him a very kind Reception. The King of *Achen* deſired his Brother to ſend his Nephew to *Achen*; but his Brother made Anſwer, that he would not offer Violence to a young Prince whom their Father had recommended to their Care. Upon this the two Brethren declared War one againſt another, the Forces of *Pedir* being commanded by the Nephew, who is now King. In this War above ſixty thouſand Men were killed between them, and the Nephew had oftentimes the Advantage: But at laſt the Forces of *Achen* being more numerous, thoſe of *Pedir* refuſed to march. Upon which their King was obliged to deliver up his Nephew into the Hands of the King of *Achen*, who immediately put a ſtrong Guard upon him, and laid him in Irons.

Some time afterwards the *Portugueze* made a Deſcent upon *Achen*, and carried the firſt Turf Fort at the Entry of the River, but could not maſter the Stone one. In this Juncture the young Prince deſired his Uncle would let him go and fight againſt the *Portugueze*, remonſtrating that he had better die in Battle with the *Cafres* (ſo they call the Chriſtians) than lie in Chains to no Purpoſe. The King of *Achen* being at that Time in Conſternation, releaſed him, and ſuffered him to go upon that Deſign. The young Prince behaved himſelf with ſo much Bravery in two or three Engagements with the *Portugueze*, that he acquired a great Reputation among the People of *Achen*.

46. Upon this his Mother being an active ambitious Woman, formed a Deſign of making him King of *Achen*, and furniſhed him with large Sums of Money to be diſtributed among the principal Orankays; with the ſame View, the young Prince was very familiar in his Converſation, whatever he had was common to his Friends and Courtiers; he refuſed nothing that was aſked of him; in a word, he ſhewed himſelf liberal to the Orankays, affable to the Rich, a Companion to thoſe that profeſſed Arms, and extreme courteous to the common People. In the mean time the King of *Achen* died ſuddenly; at the Hour of his Death the young Prince gets into the Caſtle, bribes the Guards, makes vaſt Promiſes to the Officers, advances a large Sum of Money to the Governor of the Caſtle, diſtributes Money

among the principal Orankays, and threatens the Cady, who ſcrupled to crown him.

In fine, he managed the Intrigue ſo happily, that he was proclaimed King that very Night, to the great Joy of all the People who had conceived great Hopes of his Liberality, Courteſy, and Familiarity, as well as his Valour. *Pedir* being twelve Miles from *Achen*, the King of that Place was quickly acquainted with his Brother's Death, and came the next Day to receive the Inveſtiture of his Patrimony; but as he approached the Caſtle with a ſmall Retinue, he fell into the Hands of his Nephew the King of *Achen*, who, forgetting his former Favours, kept him a Month Priſoner in the Caſtle, and then, pretending to ſend him to a more agreeable Retreat at a Diſtance from the City, cauſed his Throat to be cut by the Way. Thoſe who put the Crown upon his Head were not better uſed; for he began with the Maraja, or Governor of the Caſtle, who had taken moſt of his Money, and ended with thoſe that received the leaſt. In a Year's Time they found a great Alteration; for inſtead of being humane, he was very cruel. Inſtead of Liberality, he diſplayed an extreme Avarice, and his familiar meek Temper became auſtere and inexorable.

In fine, he has ſhed more Blood than his Grandfather did in his whole Reign. He has diſpeopled the whole Territory of *Achen*, and drained not only the Natives, but the Foreigners that reſide there, of all their Money. It is true, he endeavoured to re-people this City with his Conqueſts, or rather Ravages (properly ſpeaking) for having ruined the Kingdoms of *Jor*, *Dehly*, *Pahan*, *Queda*, and *Pera*, he tranſported from thence to *Achen* about twenty-two thouſand Perſons; but at preſent there are ſcarce one thouſand five hundred of them left: So that this Policy ſerved rather for an Inſtance of his Cruelty, than any other Thing; for the People being brought naked to *Achen*, and allowed not a Grain of Rice for their Maintenance, died of Hunger in the Streets. Hitherto this King hath been ſucceſsful in all his Enterprizes, inſomuch that ſome take him for a Sorcerer.

For my part I regard him as a Man of great Judgment, one that undertakes nothing raſhly, or unſeaſonably, but after a mature Deliberation, and upon very probable Conjectures. He never aſſaulted one of his Neighbours, but when they were reduced to ſome Extremity. All his preparatory Meaſures are incomprehenſible, till the Deſign is put in Execution; for he never aſks or receives Advice of any, and being inveſted with an abſolute Authority, his Commands are immediately put in Execution; ſo that all this may be done without the Aſſiſtance of Devils. Beſides, I have often heard that Sorcerers are poor, ſorry Wretches; but I am certain that this King is by far greater and richer than any of his Neighbours.

47. *February* the 3d we were in Sight of the Iſland of *Montabay*; the 5th we came to an inhabited Iſle that lies between *Naſſaw* and *Montabay*; the 6th we paſſed between *Naſſaw* and another Iſland not marked in the Charts. This Channel is four or five Leagues broad; all theſe Iſlands lie very low, whereas the oppoſite Coaſt of *Sumatra* is very high and conſpicuous. I would adviſe all Sailors rather to put into *Sumatra*, than into any of theſe little Iſlands; for the former is peopled all along the Shore with Perſons acquainted with the Converſation of Strangers, whereas the Inhabitants of theſe are barbarous Savages, that have no Communication with any other People, and conſequently not to be truſted.

April the 20th, in 33° 30′ Latitude, the Needle varying 7° 45′ North-Weſt, we deſcried a ſmooth and uniform, but rocky Coaſt; upon which we ſtood to Sea, and next Day encountered a violent Storm, that laſted to the 23d of *May*; the 1ſt we perceived the Land between Cape *Auguilles* and Cape *Falſo*, and on the 5th we came to an Anchor in *Table-Bay*; our ſick Men did not recover at this Place, as I expected, either by reaſon of that extreme Cold, or becauſe I could not take in ſuch freſh Proviſions as I had a Mind to, there being ſome *Dutch* Ships in the Bay that I miſtruſted. I believe the Cold was the great Cauſe of it; for all the *Dutch* Sick died as well as mine. The Wind continued at Weſt North-Weſt from my firſt Arrival in this Bay to the 24th, that I weighed Anchor, and paſſing by the North-Eaſt, was becalmed within Cannon Shot. The 30th we ſet Sail, the Wind at South-South-Eaſt.

On the 21ſt of *June* we deſcried *St. Helena*, about fifteen Leagues Weſt-North-Weſt of us: Next Day I came to an Anchor over-againſt it, and ſent our ſick Men on Shore, who were ſomething benefited by the Air. This is a very convenient Place for the refreſhing Men, not only in regard to the Temperance of the Air, but by reaſon of the Plenty of young Kids and Hogs, the Facility of coming at good Water, the Conveniency of Fiſhing in the Road, and upon the Shore, the Abundance of Oranges and Citrons, which are excellent Remedies againſt the Scurvy, beſides ſeveral good Herbs, ſuch as Purſlain, a ſort of Tarragon, in large Quantities, ſome Fenugreek, Tobacco, and the Herb Mayoe: Not to mention the Partridges, Pigeons, and, as ſome ſay, Oxen, that this Iſland abounds with; for though the Country be mountainous, and very ſteep, and the Graſs withered-like, yet on the Top there is a great deal of Moiſture, and there is not a Valley without a Brook or Rivulet, the greateſt of which runs in the large Valley, where a large Chapel is built, though it is not above a hundred and fifty Paces broad, and one thouſand long. At the End of this Valley there is a ragged Cleft Ridge of Rocks, upon which there falls down a Stream of Water from a very high Mountain, inſomuch that it is beat as ſmall as Rain before it falls. This Iſle lies in 16° South Latitude, the Needle varying 5° 45′ North-Eaſt, and always has the Wind South-Eaſt.

48. On the 16th of *July*, we ſaw the Iſle of *Aſcenſion* about twelve Leagues North-Eaſt of us. It is very high, and its Anchorage lies over-againſt a ſandy Creek. This Iſland has neither Wood, nor Freſh-Water, nor any Herbs, being nothing but a hard Rock; yet it affords ſome Hogs, and a great many Fowls, ſuch as can live without Freſh-Water, upon the Rocks, and in the Road it has Abundance of Fiſh and Tortoiſe. Its Circumference may make about eight Leagues, which is as much as that of *St. Helena*'s. It lies in 8° S. Lat. After we had croſſed the Equinoctial, we had ſuch Calms, and drizling Rains, that moſt of our Men were ſeized with Dropſies and Tumours, upon which there enſued great Mortality in the Ship.

Auguſt the 6th the Calms and drizling Rains continuing, there came a ſudden Whirlwind that laſted for two Minutes, and broke all our Sails, carrying the Main-Top-Sail quite off. The next Day we ſaw ſome Swallows and Butterflies, which ſignified that we were near Land. The 13th we ſaw an Iſland to the North, in 16° Lat. which we knew to be *Saint Nicholas*, one of the *Cape-Verd* Iſlands. The 16th we made the Iſle of *Saint Vincent*, and caſt Anchor at five Fathom Water. The 17th I ſent my ſick Men aſhore, who were very numerous, and in a ſorry Condition; but, when they came upon Land, they recovered apace.

49. The ordinary Anchorage of this Iſland lies in 17° 20′ Lat. the Needle varying 2° 15′ N. E. It affords at this Seaſon great Plenty of Tortoiſes, which they call Free-Tortoiſes, and are diſtinguiſhed from the others they call Cohouanes, by the Smoothneſs, Plainneſs, and green Colour of the Shell, the Largeneſs of their Body, and the Smallneſs of their Head, and the Form of their Snout, which reſembles the Teeth of a Saw. The Fleſh of theſe eats as well as that of a young Heifer, and ſome of them are ſo large that they weigh 300 Pounds. They come out in the Night-Time, and lay their Eggs upon the Sand, which they bury a Foot deep. Thoſe who have a Mind to catch them watch them at that Time, and getting behind them turn them upon their Back; after which they cannot turn themſelves to get upon their Feet, and ſo lie there till the Morning. Moſt of them have 250 Eggs ſhelled, and as many unſhelled in their Bellies, which are very good.

In this Iſland we met with an Herb that in ſome meaſure reſembles Spinnage, but it is infinitely better; we uſed it both in Sallad and Soup, and both it and the Tortoiſe-fleſh kept our Bellies open, and cured our Men of great Dropſies, without any other Purgation, in eight Days, which perhaps could not be cured in *France* in a

Month. It is alſo well ſtocked with young Kids, but you are not ſure of catching them, unleſs you have Dogs. We ſaw no Fruit in it but wild Figs, which were all ſpoiled with Worms. To the Eaſtward, under a high Mountain, there are vaſt Quantities of Purſlain. Commonly the Water of this Iſle is brackiſh; but upon the S. W. Part of the Bay, where the Anchorage is, there is a ſmall Spring, that if it was cleanſed and dug deep, would afford pretty good Water.

It is furniſhed with a conſiderable Quantity of wild

Misfortune of loſing two of his Ships, did not hinder his making a ſaving Voyage even of this, which would have proved highly advantageous to his Owners, if the *Hope* had not been loſt, ſince it is computed that ſhe, at the Time of her being burnt, had on Board a Cargo worth ſeventy-five or eighty thouſand Pounds Sterling. There are few Pieces that let us more effectually into the Secret of Trade than this, which ſhews us perfectly the Methods made uſe of by the *Dutch* to exclude all other Nations from the Commerce of the *Indies*, and very fully

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2. *His Departure from* Iſpahan,
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9. *His Arrival at the laſt mon-*
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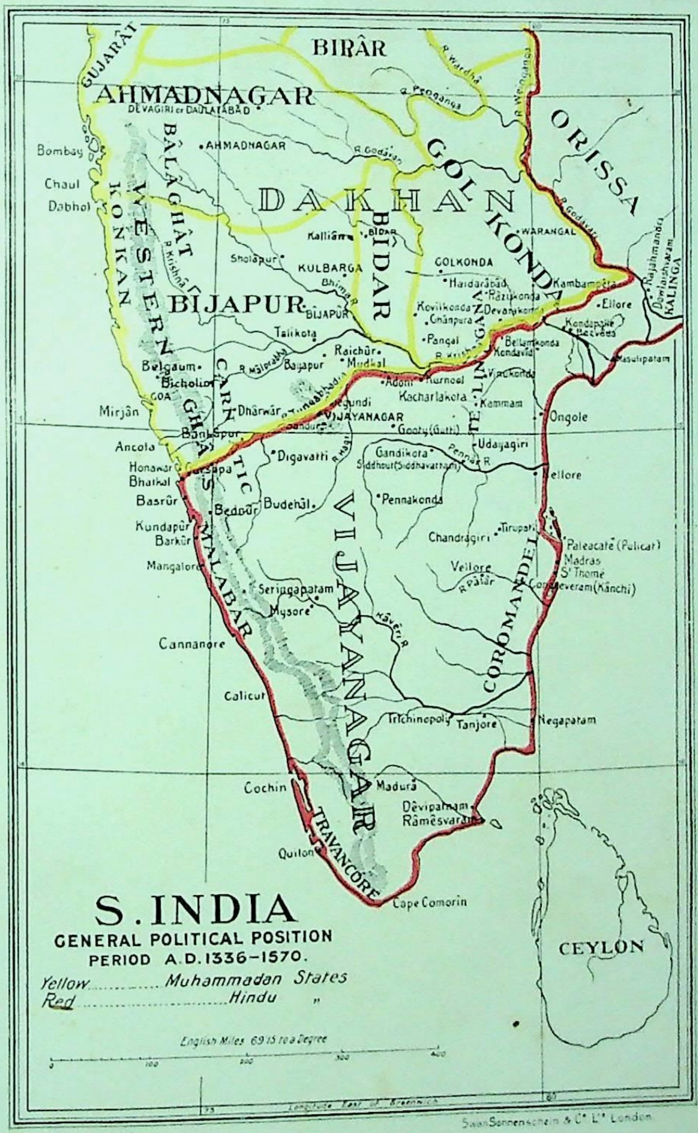

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S. INDIA
GENERAL POLITICAL POSITION
PERIOD A.D. 1336–1570.
Yellow .... Muhammadan States
Red .... Hindu "

R. Sewell, del.

Swan Sonnenschein & Cº Lᵗᵈ London

City, *and its Inhabitants.* 16. *His Journey to* Agra, *with a large Account of that Capital of the Mogul Empire.* 17. *A very full Relation of the Mogul's Court, and of the State of the Empire of* Indoſtan. 18. *The Author's Journey back from* Agra *to* Surat, *with many curious Particulars.* 19. *A ſuccinct Hiſtory and Deſcription of the Kingdom of* Guzarat, *and Provinces adjacent.* 20. *A complete View of the Religion, Cuſtoms, Manners, &c. of the* Banjans, *or native* Indians. 21. *A Continuation of that Account, together with a Deſcription of the other Nations that now inhabit the* Indies. 22. *Of the Commodities, Manufactures, and Commerce of theſe Countries.* 23. *Of the great Plenty of all Sorts of Proviſions, and of the People's Manner of living.* 24. *Of their Ships, their Trade to the* Red-Sea, Perſian *Gulph, and Coaſt of* Malabar. 25. *Remarks upon the foregoing Section.*

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In fine, he managed the Intrigue ſo happily, that he was proclaimed King that very Night, to the great Joy of all the People who had conceived great Hopes of his Liberality, Courteſy, and Familiarity, as well as his Valour. *Pedir* being twelve Miles from *Achen*, the King of that Place was quickly acquainted with his Brother's Death, and came the next Day to receive the Inveſtiture of his Patrimony; but as he approached the Caſtle with a ſmall Retinue, he fell into the Hands of his Nephew the King of *Achen*, who, forgettin
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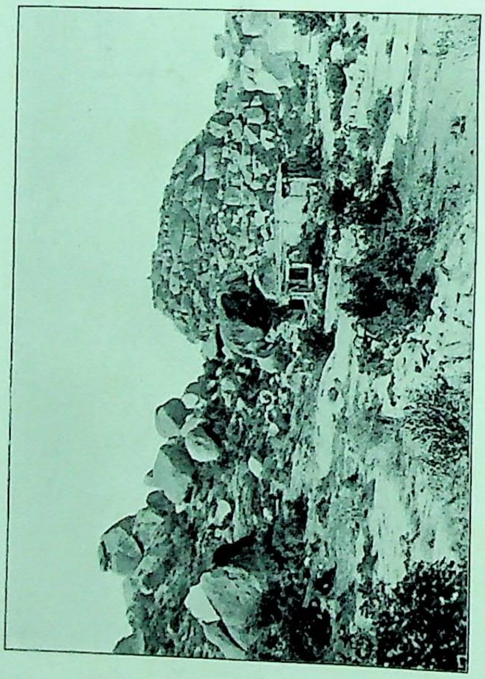
Month.



A TYPICAL BIT OF VIJAYANAGAR SCENERY
WITH TEMPLE ON SUMMIT OF HILL

Month. It is alſo well ſtocked with young Kids, but you are not ſure of catching them, unleſs you have Dogs. We ſaw no Fruit in it but wild Figs, which were all ſpoiled with Worms. To the Eaſtward, under a high Mountain, there are vaſt Quantities of Purſlain. Commonly the Water of this Iſle is brackiſh; but upon the S. W. Part of the Bay, where the Anchorage is, there is a ſmall Spring, that if it was cleanſed and dug deep, would afford pretty good Water.

It is furniſhed with a conſiderable Quantity of wild Pines, which may ſerve for Firing; beſides which it has no Wood, except ſome Shrubs, that caſt forth a white milky Juice, that is very dangerous and painful to the Eyes if it touches them. There is very good Fiſhing along the Rocks, and eſpecially at a little Rock at the Entry of the Bay, about a Quarter of a League from the Anchorage. In two Hours Time ſeven or eight may there catch Fiſh enough for two hundred Men. In fine, it is not inferior to *St. Helena* for a Place of Refreſhment, except that its Water is not ſo good. In Compenſation of which Defect, it is all over acceſſible, and furniſhed with pleaſant Walks; whereas the other is the moſt inacceſſible Country I ever ſaw. This Iſle is about nine Leagues in Circumference, and while we were there the Wind was at N. E. it has ſeveral pleaſant Bays; but that towards the Iſle of *St. Anthony* is the beſt Road for Ships that can be, for we rode at five Fathom Water, on an excellent ſandy Ground, and were ſheltered from all Winds. We ſaw neither Men nor Houſes, though we travelled over moſt Part of the Iſland.

50. After our Departure from *St. Vincent* (which happened *September* the 15th) we had ſeveral violent Storms. *October* the 12th we deſcried the *Azores-Iſlands*, but it was the 17th before we could weather them. The 19th, we had a violent Storm from N. W. that broke our Mizen-Maſt, and obliged us to bring our Main-Top-Maſt upon the Deck. The 30th we were 55° Lat. and had ſeventy Fathom Water, upon which moſt of our Pilots agreed that the *Sorlingues-Iſlands* lay about twenty Leagues to the Weſt of us. *November* the 3d we deſcried the *Lizard-Point* in *England*; and *December* the 1ſt came ſafe to *Havre de Grace*, having been out thirty-eight Months.

51. The Difficulties our Author met with, and the Misfortune of loſing two of his Ships, did not hinder his making a ſaving Voyage even of this, which would have proved highly advantageous to his Owners, if the *Hope* had not been loſt, ſince it is computed that ſhe, at the Time of her being burnt, had on Board a Cargo worth ſeventy-five or eighty thouſand Pounds Sterling. There are few Pieces that let us more effectually into the Secret of Trade than this, which ſhews us perfectly the Methods made uſe of by the *Dutch* to exclude all other Nations from the Commerce of the *Indies*, and very fully juſtifies what we have occaſionally delivered upon that Subject. It is really wonderful that the Subjects of the States-General ſhould venture, at that Time of Day, to treat the *French* in ſuch a Manner, to whom they had not only conſiderable Obligations for the Countenance they had given them in the Infancy of their Commonwealth, but were alſo in great Danger from their Power in *Europe*. But however this might affect the States, the *Eaſt-India* Company, it ſeems, gave themſelves very little Concern about it; which ſhews how dangerous it is to leave the abſolute Adminiſtration of their Affairs in theſe diſtant Parts of the World to any Company, without having ſome Check upon them from the State, which muſt be anſwerable to other Powers for the Exceſſes committed by the Agents of ſuch a Company.

As for Commodore *Beaulieu*, after his Return to *France*, he was taken into the King's Service, and behaved extremely well in the Affair of the Iſland of *Rhe*, when the *Engliſh*, under the Command of the Duke of *Buckingham*, made a Deſcent upon that Iſland, and during the long War againſt the Proteſtants. This recommended him ſo effectually to the famous Cardinal *Richlieu*, that he intruſted him with the Command of one of the beſt Ships employed in the Squadron commanded by the Count *de Harcourt* againſt the Iſlands of *St. Margaret*, and *St Honorat*, in which he likewiſe behaved with Reputation; as alſo in the Expedition againſt *Sardinia*, at his Return from which to the Port of *Toulon*, he was unfortunately ſeized with a burning Fever, which carried him off in the Month of *September*, 1637, at the Age of 48; ſo that he may be ſaid to have died in that Seaſon of Life when he was moſt capable of ſerving himſelf and his Country.

SECTION XXVI.

The Remarks and Obſervations made by John Albert de Mandelſloe, *in his Paſſage from the Kingdom of* Perſia *through ſeveral Countries of the* Indies.

Tranſlated from the Original, written by himſelf.

1. *An introductory Account of the Author, and of the Deſign of this Section.* 2. *His Departure from* Iſpahan, *in order to go to* Gambron, *or* Bandar Abaſſi. 3. *A curious Deſcription of the Ruins of the ancient* Perſepolis, *now called* Tchelminar. 4. *The Author continues his Journey to* Laar, *and from thence to* Gambron. 5. *His kind Reception, and generous Entertainment, by the* Engliſh *Merchants there.* 6. *A curious Deſcription of the City and Port of* Gambron, *with the Country adjacent.* 7. *A conciſe Hiſtory of the City and Kingdom of* Ormuz, *and of the Manner of its being annexed to the Empire of* Perſia. 8. *An Account of the Author's Paſſage from* Gambron *to* Surat, *with Remarks.* 9. *His Arrival at the laſt mentioned City, and the Reception he met with there.* 10. *A ſuccinct View of the Dominions of the Great Mogul, as they ſtood at that Time.* 11. *A Deſcription of the City of* Surat, *with a large Account of the Commerce carried on there.* 12. *The Author's Journey from thence to* Amadabat, *with his Adventures by the Way.* 13. *A View of that City, and of the Country adjacent, with various Remarks and Obſervations.* 14. *An Account of ſome memorable Tranſactions which happened during the Author's Stay there.* 15. *His Paſſage from thence to* Cambaya, *with a Deſcription of that City, and its Inhabitants.* 16. *His Journey to* Agra, *with a large Account of that Capital of the Mogul Empire.* 17. *A very full Relation of the Mogul's Court, and of the State of the Empire of* Indoſtan. 18. *The Author's Journey back from* Agra *to* Surat, *with many curious Particulars.* 19. *A ſuccinct Hiſtory and Deſcription of the Kingdom of* Guzarat, *and Provinces adjacent.* 20. *A complete View of the Religion, Cuſtoms, Manners, &c. of the* Banjans, *or native* Indians. 21. *A Continuation of that Account, together with a Deſcription of the other Nations that now inhabit the* Indies. 22. *Of the Commodities, Manufactures, and Commerce of thoſe Countries.* 23. *Of the great Plenty of all Sorts of Proviſions, and of the People's Manner of living.* 24. *Of their Ships, their Trade to the* Red-Sea, Perſian *Gulph, and Coaſt of* Malabar. 25. *Remarks upon the foregoing Section.*

1. THE Accounts afforded us in the foregoing Sections are excellent in their kind, ſo far as they go; but as it is neceſſary to our having a thorough Comprehenſion of the Affairs and Commerce of *India* that we ſhould proceed ſtill farther, and take a complete View of the ſeveral Countries in which this Commerce is carried on, ſo of conſequence it becomes as neceſſary on parting with our old Guides to look out for new. He, with whom we are next to travel, has been allowed to have all the Qualities requiſite to ſuch a Guide, that is to ſay, Knowledge, Diligence, and Fidelity. He was born *A.D.* 1615. of a good Family in the Dutchy of *Mecklenberg*, in the *Lower Saxony*, and received from the Care of his Parents a liberal Education, having before received from Nature an happy and inquiſitive Genius. Theſe good Qualities recommended him to the Notice firſt, and then to the Confidence of the Duke of *Holſtein*, in whoſe Family he lived as a Domeſtick.

When that Prince formed a Deſign of ſending an Embaſſy into *Perſia*, in order to promote a Project he had formed of eſtabliſhing an *Eaſt-India* Company in his Dominions, our Author was choſen to accompany thoſe Embaſſadors in a very honourable Quality: But before his Departure, he repreſented to his Maſter, that though the Reaſons which determined him to ſend his Miniſters no farther than *Perſia* were in themſelves very juſt, and well-founded, yet it would be extremely requiſite to the Accompliſhment of his main Deſign, that a Perſon of their Retinue ſhould make the Tour of the *Indies*, which was what he was ſtrongly inclined to do, and therefore begged his Permiſſion to gratify that Deſire, by taking his Leave of the Embaſſadors when arrived at the *Perſian* Court, and purſuing his Travels as Occaſion offered.

The Duke's Leave thus obtained, he ſet out with the Embaſſadors, in the Year 1636, and accompanied them to *Iſpahan*, or according to the *Perſian* Pronunciation, *Spahawn*, the Hiſtory of which Journey, and of their Negociation, was written at large by their Secretary, and is eſteemed one of the moſt perfect Works in its kind; for which Reaſon it will claim a Place in the ſecond Part of our Undertaking. At preſent we are concerned only with *Mandelſloe*'s Account of his Travels, after he left the Embaſſadors, and proſecuted his intended Deſign of viewing the Countries of *India*, which he executed very happily, and has no leſs faithfully recorded.

There have been few Travellers who have ſet out better furniſhed than our Author; for he had, previous to his Journey, taken great Pains to acquaint himſelf with all that had been written of thoſe Countries he was to viſit, by the beſt Authors ancient and modern, as manifeſtly appears by his excellent Performance. But though he was a Scholar, and a Gentleman, yet as the Deſign he went upon was the Improvement of Trade, he kept that Deſign conſtantly in View, and loſt no Opportunity of making ſuch Enquiries as might enable him to make a juſt and ſatisfactory Report at his Return to the Prince by whom he was employed. It was with this View that he kept a regular and exact Journal of his Travels, and took Care, in every Place where he came, to make the niceſt Enquiries in his Power; and it is for this Reaſon that his Writings have been ſo much eſteemed, and have been always conſidered as the moſt curious and correct Accounts that had been publiſhed to his Time.

He began them, as the Reader will perceive, in the Month of *January* 1638, and having happily atchieved them, returned ſafely to the Court of *Gottorp*, and made his Report of what he had obſerved in them. At the Cloſe of the next Section we ſhall ſay ſomewhat as to the Conſequences of them, and of the Cauſes which hindered the Projects of the Duke of *Holſtein* his Maſter from taking Effect, notwithſtanding they were ſo wiſely laid, and, ſo far as our Author had any Concern in them, happily executed. Thus much, however, may ſuffice by way of Introduction, the rather, becauſe the Author himſelf has been ſo clear and ſo methodical in his Relation, and has taken ſuch Care to avoid Obſcurity on the one hand, and Prolixity on the other, that there is no need of detaining the Reader any longer from his Performance, which we ſhall deliver in his own Words as near as may be.

2. The Embaſſadors of *Holſtein* having left *Iſpahan*, and being not long after followed by *Imanculi Eſcheangaſi*, a Native of *Karabath*, who was ſent in Quality of Embaſſador from the King of *Perſia*, to the Duke of *Holſtein*; I, according to the Permiſſion I had obtained from the Duke my Maſter, prepared for my Journey into the *Indies*, and being on the 12th of *January* 1638, introduced to a particular Audience of the Shah, he permitted me, with much Kindneſs, to kiſs the Hem of his Garment. I ſet out from *Iſpahan* the 16th of the ſame Month, with a Retinue of four Perſons, *viz.* a Chirurgeon, a Footman, a Groom, and one *Perſian* Servant, being conducted out of Town by Mr. *Honywood*, the *Engliſh* Agent, and ſeveral *Engliſh* and *French* Merchants. I took my Leave of them a League from thence, and travelled eight more the ſame Day, to the Village of *Majar*, where I ſtayed the next Day, and continued my Journey to *Kamſcha*, the whole Road being one continued Walk of Trees, made by the adjacent Gardens. The Caravanſera I lodged in, had nothing but bare Walls, but that wherein I was lodged the next Night, at the Village of *Machſud*, ſix Leagues from *Kamſcha*, had convenient Lodging-Rooms and Stables.

The 20th I came to the Village of *Hannabath*, ſeated upon the Deſcent of a very pleaſant Hill. The 21ſt I travelled ten Leagues, in very ſnowy and windy Weather, and lodged in a Caravanſera called *Jurgiſthan*. Between this Place and *Surma*, there being neither Village nor Caravanſera, I was forced to travel the 22d 12 Leagues, and the 23d was obliged to go 12 more, before I could reach the Village of *Guſti*, where we met with very indifferent Accommodation, ſcarce meeting with a Houſe we could put our Heads in, or preſerve our Horſes againſt the bad Weather. The next Day, being the 24th, proved rather worſe, for being forced to travel 12 Leagues through the Mountains covered with Snow, and that in very bad Weather, we, with much ado, very late at Night, reached the large and famous Village of *Meſched Madere Suleiman*, ſo called from a Sepulchre which is within Half a League of it.

This Sepulchre is to be ſeen within a little Chapel of white Marble, the Tomb itſelf being erected upon a high Square of Free-Stone, unto which you may go up by Steps on all Sides. The Air and Rain has penetrated through the Walls in ſeveral Places, and divers Pillars round the Structure are almoſt conſumed by Time. Upon the Walls of the Chapel, I found in *Arabian* Characters, theſe Words, *Mader Suleiman*. The general Opinion of the Inhabitants is, that this is the Sepulchre of *Solomon*'s Mother, but the *Carmelite* Friars at *Schiras* informed me, with much more Probability, that the Mother of Shah *Soliman*, the 14th King of the Poſterity of *Ali*, was interred here. *Elmacinus* gives her the Name of *Wallada*, and informs us, that ſhe was the Daughter of *Abbas Abbaſceam*. He tells us alſo, that this *Soliman* lived in the Year 715, and that being a very handſome Perſon, and viewing himſelf one Day in a Looking-Glaſs, he was ſo taken with his own Perſon, that he ſaid, he might with the ſame Right pretend to the Title of the King of Youth, as of the Kingdom of *Perſia*; which being over-heard by one of the Ladies of his Seraglio, ſhe anſwered, that provided it was in his Power to inſure to himſelf any Continuance of what by the Laws of Nature he might not be able to enjoy long, he might juſtly lay Claim to ſuch a Title. This ſtruck ſuch a Damp upon his Spirits, that he died within a few Days after. We met here with an *Armenian* Caravan.

3. I travelled on the 26th five Leagues to *Sivan*, and the 27th as many more to *Mardaſch*, one of the moſt famous Villages of thoſe Parts, on account of the Antiquities that are to be ſeen near it, which obliged me to take a full View of them. They are the Ruins of a very ancient Structure called *Tſchelminar*, i. e. forty Pillars, by the *Perſians*, who affirm, that this moſt magnificent Palace was built by *Szamſaid Padſcha*, Grandfather to *Alexander* the Great by the Mother's Side, though ſome among them make *Solomon*, others *Darius*, the laſt *Perſian* King, its Founder; but the *Carmelites* of *Schiras* aſſured me, that

was the general Opinion of the Learned, that this was the Place where the antient *Perſepolis* had ſtood, and that theſe were the Ruins of that famous Palace built by *Cyrus.* The Foundation or Ground-Work on which this vaſt Structure was erected, is raiſed twenty-two Geometrical Feet, having at each of its four Corners a Pair of Stairs of white Marble of ninety-five Steps, ſo flat and broad, that twelve Horſes may go up together a-breaſt. Before you come to the main Body of the Structure itſelf, you paſs through a Square, where you ſee the Ruins of a Wall, and the Remainders of two great Gates, each of which have a Horſe garniſhed and ſaddled, after a very antique Manner, carved on one Side, and on the other two Creatures reſembling a Horſe, except that they have Wings on each Side, and the Head is crowned like that of a Lion.

On the one Side you ſee the Ruins of nineteen Pillars of white and black Marble, the leaſt of which are eight, and ſome ten Ells high, without the Baſes; but whether they had been intended for the Support of ſome large Hall, or were built in the open Air, is not to be diſtinguiſhed at this Time. The Inhabitants thereabouts told me, that not many Years before, there were forty of theſe Pillars ſtanding. As you go on further, you meet with the Ruins of two Rooms indifferently large, as may be judged by the Doors and Windows, but every Thing is of the fineſt Marble. Several Figures of Men of an extraordinary Size are to be ſeen on both Sides the Doors, ſome in a ſitting, others in a ſtanding Poſture, their Hair falling down careleſly over their Shoulders, and their Garments reaching down to their Heels, with very wide Sleeves, and a Girdle round their Waiſts. They had very long Beards, and round Caps on their Heads. Not far from thence are two other Chambers much of the ſame Bigneſs with the former, but ſo ruined, that nothing but the Doors and Croſs-Bars of the Windows are left.

This Structure ſeems to have had this in common with moſt of the Buildings of a modern Date in *Perſia*, that it had many Doors, which is done here to give the more free Paſſage to the Wind to cool the Rooms. Hard by theſe two laſt Chambers, you find unknown Characters engraved upon a ſquare Pillar, which have no Reſemblance to the Greek, Hebrew, Arabick, or any other Language, being triangular, or rather pyramidal, not unlike Obeliſks. There are twelve Lines of them, ſo well proportioned, and nicely engraven, that they have not the ſmalleſt Sign in them of Barbariſm. Some believe them to be Teleſms, and to contain certain Myſteries; beſides theſe before-mentioned Rooms, there is, upon the ſame Ground-Work, a large Court of ninety Paces ſquare, with two Gates on each Side, ſome of which are ſix, others only three Paces wide. They are of the fineſt Marble; each of the Pieces are eight Feet long, and three in Breadth; you ſee alſo in another Court, very curious carved Work in Marble: Battles, Triumphs, Olympick Games, every thing in its due Proportion.

Upon each of the Gates you find a graceful Perſon carved ſitting with a Globe in the one, and a Scepter in the other Hand, tho' it is certain that the Kings of *Perſia* never ſat in that Poſture. My Curioſity led me to get up on high, where I ſaw a King repreſented paying his Devotions to the Sun, Fire, and a Serpent. As the Inhabitants at this Day carry from thence a great Quantity of Marble to carry on their private Buildings thereabouts, this, with the Length of Time, has ſo defaced, or rather ruined this noble Structure, that it is impoſſible to determine whether its Architecture was of the Ionick, Dorick, or Corinthian Order; notwithſtanding which, even its Ruins are ſo ſurprizing, that theſe would find Work for a very good Painter for above ſix Months.

If we trace the antient *Perſian* Hiſtory, we find, that according to *Ælian*, the Grand *Cyrus* laid himſelf the Foundation, and built a moſt magnificent Palace at *Perſepolis*, as *Darius* did at *Suſa*. Perhaps the Ruins belong to the famous Palace mentioned by *Diodorus Siculus*, being encompaſſed with three Walls of Marble, the firſt whereof was 19, the ſecond 32, and the third 60 Ells high; and all the Gates and Balconies of Braſs, all which, together with the ineſtimable Treaſure it contained, was in a few Hours reduced to Aſhes by *Alexander* the Great, at the Requeſt of a Harlot. Having ſpent a whole Day in viewing theſe Antiquities, I continued my Journey the 28th of *January*, and travelled that Day ten Leagues to the City of *Schiras.* Here I met with four *Carmelite* Friars, *Italians*, who were poſſeſſed of a goodly Monaſtery, and had the free Exerciſe of their Religion allowed them. Not many Years before, the *Portugueze* had here likewiſe a Convent of *Auſtin* Monks, but they were forced thence, as well as all the other *Portugueze*, after the taking of the City of *Ormuz* by the *Perſians*.

Schiras is the Capital City of the Province of *Fars*, ſituate at the Foot of a moſt pleaſant Mountain, upon the River *Bendomir* (heretofore called *Araxes*) which diſcharges itſelf into the *Perſian* Gulph. This City lies in 29° 36′. It contains about 10,000 Houſes; but the Ruins of a great Wall, at two Miles Diſtance from the City, ſhew its Extent to have been much larger than it is at this Time. It may be truly ſaid, that whatever Nature is able to produce either for Conveniency or Pleaſure, is centered in this Place, and that in great Plenty; as Wheat, Oranges, Lemons, Pomegranates, Almonds, Dates, Piſtachoes, *&c.* The Wine which grows hereabouts is the beſt in all *Perſia*; which being tranſported hence all over the Kingdom, and looked upon as the beſt Entertainment they can give to their Friends: This makes it to be ſold at a dear Rate at *Iſpahan*, where you cannot have a Pottle of good *Schiras* Wine under Half-a-Crown. Its Taſte is not unlike that of *Canary*, but is more ſprightly, and has a more pleaſant Flavour; this City being ſo much celebrated through all *Perſia* for Wine and Women.

The *Perſians* are wont to ſay, that if *Mohammed* had been ſenſible of the Pleaſures of *Schiras*, he would have begged of God Almighty to make him immortal there.

The Sheep hereabouts are of an aſh-grey Colour, with one white Eye, their Wool curled, and their Tails of ſuch a Bigneſs as to weigh ſometimes eighteen or twenty Pounds. The Woods hereabouts afford great Store of Maſtick, which is gathered in Diſhes faſtened to the Tree, and is green at firſt, but afterwards turns brown. After a Stay of eight Days at *Schiras*, I left it the fifth of *February*, and proceeded ten Leagues that Day to a Caravanſera: the ſixth I travelled ſeven Leagues, through very bad Roads; but the Proſpect I had of the many Villages, and a vaſt Number of Date-trees, made me ſome Amends for the Toil of the Day.

The 7th I travelled ten Leagues to the little City of *Sharim*, ſeated in the Middle of a Date-Wood. The 8th we could make no more than five Leagues, the Ways betwixt the ſteep Rocks on the one Side, and the Precipices on the other Side, being ſo rough and narrow that one cannot paſs them without great Danger, of which I had an Inſtance in my Paſſage, for my Horſe's Hoof (which I was leading by the Bridle) being filled with Snow, he ſlipped and tumbled upon me, which forcing me out of the Way, I had infallibly tumbled down the Precipice, had I not by good Luck catched hold of a wild Almond-tree which ſtood there. I was forced to take up my Quarters that Night at a Caravanſera, where there was not any Proviſion either for Man or Beaſt.

The 9th, after I had travelled three Leagues, I came to a Caravanſera, where we had the Opportunity of refreſhing our Horſes, and having gone five Leagues more in the Afternoon, I overtook the *Armenian* Caravan; and in their Company, rode two Leagues farther to the Village of *Berry*, near which I lodged in one of the beſt Caravanſeras I met with in my whole Journey.

4. The 10th I travelled through ſeveral bad Ways, and came late at Night to the City of *Laar*, ſituate in a ſpacious Plain at the Foot of a Mountain. There is no Wine hereabouts, but Dates in abundance. The Air is very unwholeſome here, and the Water very muddy, which breeds in them that drink it certain Worms, betwixt the Skin and Fleſh, of which we ſhall have Occaſion to ſpeak more at large hereafter. They ſay that this City owns for its Founder *Pilaes*, the Son of *Siroes*, whoſe Succeſſor was *Gorgion Meleeh*, the firſt King of *Laar*, and that the thirty-ſecond Succeſſor was one *Abraham Khan*, who was diveſted of the Kingdom in 1602, by Schah *Abbas*, King of *Perſia*. It contains about 4000 Houſes built of Brick

baked in the Sun, but is without any Walls or Gates. The Citadel, which is built by the *Perſians* ſince their Conqueſt, and advantageouſly ſeated upon a ſteep Rock, is very well fortified with a Rampart of Free-ſtone, and commands the whole City.

The Garriſon at that Time conſiſted of no more than 100 Men, a ſufficient Number to defend it againſt any ſudden Attack. The Way which leads to it being cut out of a Rock, and ſo narrow, that ſcarce two Horſes can go a-breaſt; but they have a Magazine of Arms for 3000 Men: The worſt is, that the Water within the Fort being brackiſh, they muſt in caſe of a Siege, live upon Rain-Water, which falls plentifully there at certain Seaſons, and is preſerved in Ciſterns. After a Stay of twenty-four Hours at *Laar*, I was going to leave it the twelfth, but was ſtopped by the Cuſtom-houſe Officers, who demanded half a Tumain, or forty-five Shillings for my Baggage; but having ſent my Letter of Recommendation from the Shah to the Governor of *Gambron*, or Commander in Chief of the Citadel, he ordered my Departure without paying any thing; and I went that Day no leſs than fourteen Leagues, which great Day's Journey, together with the muddy Waters I had uſed, and the exceſſive Heat, put me into a violent Griping and Looſeneſs, which made me continue in this little Village, in hopes of getting a Litter; but no ſuch thing being to be had, I was forced to get upon the Sumpter-Horſe, where I had a Conveniency made to reſt my Back, and ſo continued my Journey the 9th to a large Village within twelve Leagues of *Gambron*.

The ſame Evening we met here with two *Engliſh* Merchants, one of whom was to ſucceed the *Engliſh* Director at *Iſpahan*, who not only recruited my almoſt loſt Spirits with ſome *Spaniſh* Wine, and other Refreſhments, but alſo gave me Letters of Recommendation to an *Engliſh* Merchant at *Gambron*, deſiring him to receive me into the Houſe of their Company there, and to aſſiſt me in every Thing that might conduce towards the Proſecution of my Journey to *Surat*. They continued their Journey the ſame Evening, whereas my Indiſpoſition detained me till the 22d, when I proceeded ſix Leagues to a Caravanſera, where having reſted myſelf a little, till the Heat of the Day was ſomewhat abated, I travelled three Leagues farther to another Caravanſera, and found myſelf all that Night in a burning Fever; but there being no Stay for me here, I made the beſt of my Way to *Gambron*, where we arrived the 23d of *February*.

The *Engliſh*, *French*, and *Dutch* there took ſuch effectual Care of my Diſtemper, which was by this Time changed into a Bloody Flux, and accompanied by a violent Fever, that I was pretty well reſtored in four Days, and found myſelf in a Condition to pay a Viſit to the Governor, unto whom I had ſent Shah *Seſi*'s Letters of Recommendation immediately after my Arrival there. He no ſooner heard of my Recovery, but he invited me to Dinner, and entertained me very courteoſly, in Company of ſeveral *Dutch* Merchants. The ſame Evening arrived at *Gambron* a Veſſel from *Surat* of ſix hundred Tons, belonging to the Governor of *Surat*, that brought hither a certain Dowager Queen, Mother to the King of *Golconda*, who falling in Love with her Daughter, his own Siſter, would have married her; but the Mother refuſing to conſent to ſuch an inceſtuous Match, had been baniſhed the Kingdom with her Daughter, who came along with her; and, as it was reported, is to be married either to the King of *Perſia* himſelf, or one of the chief Princes of the Kingdom.

5. *March* the 11th, being the Naurus, or New Year of the *Perſians*, the Governor invited me again to Dinner upon this ſolemn Occaſion, with ſeveral *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Merchants. The ſame Day returned to *Gambron* Mr. *Chapman*, whom I had met, with the *Engliſh* new Preſident near *Laar*; he brought along with him another *Engliſh* Merchant, with whom having contracted a familiar Acquaintance before at *Iſpahan*, I was extremely pleaſed to meet in this Place, becauſe the *Dutch*, though in outward Shew very obliging to me, had oppoſed our Negociation at *Iſpahan*. *March* the 13th I was intreated by the *Engliſh* to take up my Lodgings at the Houſe belonging to their Company, which I did accordingly. The 21ſt, one Mr. *Hale*, an *Engliſh* Merchant, arrived at *Gambron* with two hundred and thirty-three Bales of Silk, valued at 150,000 Piſtoles, which he had received on Account of the Moiety of the Cuſtom at *Gambron* due to the *Engliſh*, of which I ſhall give a particular Account hereafter.

The ſame Day my Surgeon died of a Fever, the Loſs of whom was no ſmall Affliction to me, he having been a great Traveller, and attained the Knowledge of the *Spaniſh*, *Indian*, *Poliſh*, and ſome *Eaſt-India* Languages. As I was walking abroad one Day to amuſe myſelf a little with ſome *Engliſh*, I met with one of thoſe Trees mentioned by *Q. Curtius*, the Branches of which ſpring out of the Trunk of the Tree, and bowing down to the Earth, had taken Root there, and growing up afreſh, had produced a new Tree fifteen or twenty Foot high, which caſting forth other Branches in the ſame Manner as before, made rather a ſmall Foreſt than a Tree; that which I ſaw being two hundred and fourteen Paces in Circumference, capable of affording Shelter for two thouſand Perſons. The *Portugueze* call it *Arbo de Roys*, and it is generally known by the Name of the *India* Fig-tree, by reaſon of its Fruit, which in Bigneſs, and the Abundance of its Grains, reſembles that Fruit; but its Taſte is more unſavoury, luſcious, and its Colour red; the Leaves of the Tree are like thoſe of Quince Trees.

Near the Head Trunk of this Tree we ſaw a ſmall Chapel, and within the Sepulchre of a certain *Banjan*, we found the Tomb ſtrewed all over with Beans of divers Colours, and ſeveral Lamps, which burn Night and Day, hanging over it under a Canopy. Theſe *Banjans* adhering to the Opinion of *Pythagoras*, that the Souls of the deceaſed retreat into Beans, which Opinion is generally received among the *Pagans* both in the *Indies* and in *China*. Of the Religion of theſe *Banjans* we ſhall have Occaſion to ſay more hereafter. The Guardian of the Sepulchre treated us with ſome Almonds, Nuts, and Dates. An Envoy from Shah *Seſi* being come to *Gambron* to aſſure the Governor of the Continuance of his Favour, I, in Company with ſeveral *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Merchants, invited for that Purpoſe by the Khan, ſaw him go unarmed a Mile out of the City, where meeting with the ſaid Envoy, he received the King's Letter, the Garment, and Turbant, with a great deal of Submiſſion.

6. The City of *Gambron*, or rather *Bandar Gambron*, *i. e.* the Port of *Gambron*, is by the *Perſians* and *Arabians* put at 25°, but erroneouſly; its true Latitude, according to the Computation of the *Hollanders*, whoſe Footſteps we follow in this Point being 27°, moſt of the Maps of *Perſia* being hitherto very defective, which proceeds from hence, that by placing the *Caſpian* Sea too high, they extend the Breadth of *Perſia* from North to South, beyond its true Bounds; for they put the City *Reſch* at 41°, whereas it is in 37°; ſo that the whole Breadth of *Perſia* from *Gambron* to *Reſch* is no more than ten Degrees, which plainly ſhews the Miſtake of *Boterus*, who makes the Extent of *Perſia* eight Degrees, whereas, if according to their own Computation we ſhould grant *Ormuz* to be in 25°, the Breadth of *Perſia* would amount to more than 12 Degrees.

It is not many Years ſince this City was a mere Village, inhabited by a few Fiſhermen; but ſince the Reduction of *Ormuz*, the *Engliſh*, *Dutch*, and *Indian* Ships have found out the Conveniency of this Harbour, and the Traders of *Iſpahan*, *Surat*, and *Laar*, bring thither their Silk, and other Manufactures, which they exchange for *European* and *Indian* Commodities. Its Situation is upon the *Perſian* Gulph. The Entrance of the Haven, in which Ships may ſafely ride at Anchor without the leaſt Danger, in five or ſix Fathom Water, being defended by two ſtrong Caſtles, and a ſquare Redoubt. The Caſtle is fortified with ſome old round Baſtions, but well provided with Artillery. The Houſes of *Gambron* are of Brick, made of a Mixture of ſtiff Clay, and chopped Straw, and Horſe-dung, whereof, having ſet one Layer, they cover it with a Layer of Straw, or Faggots, and ſo alternately, till they have raiſed it to ſix or ſeven Feet high; then they ſet it on Fire and burn it to Brick. Their Morter is a Compoſition of the ſame Ingredients, mixed with Salt-water, and ſome Lime, which very ſoon becomes as hard as the Brick itſelf. The Houſes of Note are the Sultan's Palace, and the Ware-houſes, where the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* are lodged, which are ſo near the Sea-ſide, that at High-Tide the Water comes up to the very Walls of them. The lower Rooms being employed for the laying up of their Merchandize, and the upper for Lodgings, being the moſt convenient for the free Paſſage of the Air. The poorer ſort cover their Houſes only with the Sprigs and Leaves of Date-Trees.

The Streets of this City are very narrow, irregular, and not kept clean, which, together with the exceſſive Heat of the Climate, and the Changeableneſs of the Winds, renders the Air very pernicious here: For, in the Morning they are ſufficiently ſenſible of a cold Eaſt Wind, which towards Noon changes to the other Extreme, *viz.* a very hot South Wind. The Weſt Wind, which blows towards Night from the Sides of *Arabia*, continues the Heat of the Day till Midnight, when a cold North Wind coming from the Mountains, introduces a ſudden Alteration. Beſides this, it rains ſo ſeldom here, that in 1632 they ordered a public Thankſgiving for a plentiful Shower of Rain, after a continual Drought for three Years.

This is the Reaſon that all about the City you ſee no Graſs, or other Herbs, except what is produced with incredible Labour in ſome Gardens, where they have Garlick, Onions, Chibols, Radiſhes, and Cucumbers; but theſe muſt be watered twice or thrice a Day. It is the Iſle of *Kiſmiſch* which chiefly furniſhes this City with Pulſe and Fruits; it lies three Leagues from *Gambron*, being fifteen Leagues in Length, and three in Breadth. In *June*, and the reſt of the Summer Months, this Iſland produces Grapes, Damaſins, Peaches, Mangoes, Quinces, Oranges, Lemons, and Pomegranates, both red and white: And in *October*, Melons, Citrons, Cucumbers, Radiſhes, Onions, Turnips, Almonds, Piſtachoes, Apples, Pears, and divers other Fruits, and that in ſuch Quantities, that they are ſold here at an eaſier Rate than at any other Place in *Perſia*; whence it comes, that the Inhabitants feed for the moſt part on Pulſe, Fruits, and what Fiſh the neighbouring Sea furniſhes them with, the Meat hereabouts being, by reaſon of the exceſſive Heat, not very well taſted, and of little Nouriſhment, though otherwiſe they have ſufficient Store of Cattle, ſuch as Oxen, Cows, Sheep, but eſpecially of Goats, which are ſold at the rate of ſix or eight Shillings apiece. They have here alſo a kind of Rams with four Horns, but no wild Fowl. Amongſt other Fiſh, Pilchards, Smelts, Oyſters and Crabs are catched here in vaſt Quantities. Their ordinary Drink is fair Water, which being brought to the City two Leagues Diſtance, is very dear ſometimes; they drink alſo Arrack, or ſtrong Water, made of Rice or Dates.

Perſons of Note, and the beſt Merchants, have their Cloaths made after the *Perſian* Mode, but the common People take no more Care than to cover their Privities. The Women look upon it as their chief Ornament to have many Rings of Silver, Braſs, or Iron, according to their reſpective Abilities, about their Arms and Legs. To their Hair, which hangs down over their Foreheads, they faſten a kind of Bodkin of Silver gilt, or Braſs, and wear in the left Noſtril of their Noſe a gold Ring, with a Turquoiſe, a Granate, or perhaps only a gold Knob enamelled or plain. Their Pendants are ſo weighty, as to draw their Ears down almoſt to their Shoulders. Their winter Seaſon being from *October* to *May*, when the Heats are leſs violent, this is their chief Time for trading, when the *Perſians*, *Arabians*, *Banjans*, *Armenians*, *Turks*, and *Tartars*, come hither with the Caravans, which ſet out at certain Times from *Aleppo*, *Bagdat*, *Iſpahan*, *Shiras*, *Lahor*, *Herat*, and *Baſſora*, under the Convoy of certain Guards.

The *Engliſh* and *Dutch* commonly come hither by Sea, and beſides their ready Money, bring divers Commodities both out of *Europe* and the *Indies*, which they exchange for *Perſian* Tapeſtry, raw Silk, Cotton, Rhubarb, Saffron, and Roſe-water, which is made in vaſt Quantities about *Shiras*, either by Infuſion, which they call *Gullab*, and look upon it as the beſt, or by Diſtillation, and this they call *Areka gull*, *i. e.* the Sweat of Roſes: Both Kinds are much uſed all over the *Indies*, where they mix it with Perfumes, and they uſe it to ſweeten their Rooms with. Here are alſo Abundance of Callicoes made in portable Looms, which the Weavers faſten to a Tree, or ſome other Place without the City; and having finiſhed their Day's Work, carry it Home again, without any Trouble, being compoſed only of Canes faſtened to the Woof of the Cloth.

They have here a certain copper Coin which they call *Beſorg*, ſix whereof make a *Pays*, ten *Pays* a *Chay*, which is equivalent to Five pence *Engliſh*; two *Chays* make a *Mamoudy*, two whereof make an *Abas*, and three *Abas's* a *French* Crown: an hundred *Mamoudys* make a *Tumain*, which is worth five *French* Piſtoles; but *Spaniſh* Rials and Rix-dollars are preferred before all the other Coins in *Perſia*, by reaſon of the vaſt Advantage they make of them in melting them down. As to their Weights, a *Man* is ſix Pounds, a *Mancha* twelve, and the *Manſurats* thirty Pounds.

The Pearl Trade is alſo one of the greateſt in *Gambron*, and is carried on near the Iſle of *Bahram*, ſix Leagues from the City. The Fiſherman's Head is incloſed in a Bag of oiled Leather, which has a Pipe reaching up above the Water to fetch Breath through; he rakes together all the Shells he can meet with at the Bottom, and having filled his Bag, which hangs about his Neck, at a certain Signal given by him, he is drawn up into the Boat, which is waiting for that Purpoſe.

The Governor of *Gambron* has the Dignity of a *Sultan* annexed to his Office, and has under him a Vizier, or Secretary, and a Couteval, or Captain of his Guards; beſides theſe, there is a Sabandar, or a Receiver of the Cuſtoms; tho' the *Hollanders*, purſuant to a Privilege granted them by Shah *Abas*, pay none, and the *Engliſh* are ſo far from paying any Duty here, that they ought to have a Moiety of all that is received, but are forced to be contented with about a tenth Part, the *Perſians* thinking it no Crime to defraud Strangers, eſpecially if they be Chriſtians, when their Prince's Intereſt is concerned. As the *Perſian* Horſe are incomparably better than the *Indians*, the *Engliſh*, as well as the *Dutch*, pay fifty Crowns Cuſtom for every Horſe they export. However, the *Engliſh* have the Privilege of tranſporting twelve Horſes yearly, without paying any Cuſtom for them, an indifferent *Perſian* Horſe being worth 400 Crowns in the *Indies*. The Inhabitants of *Gambron* are, generally ſpeaking, *Perſians*, *Arabians*, and *Indians*, who all ſpeak the *Portugueze* Language, which was introduced into thoſe Parts whilſt the *Portugueze* were Maſters of *Ormuz*; tho' ever ſince the Conqueſt of it by the *Perſians*, they are not permitted to come to *Gambron*, which is open to all other Nations, *Chriſtians*, *Jews*, *Pagans*, and *Mohammedans*, being permitted to trade here, which is the Occaſion they live in open Hoſtility with the *Perſians*; take their Ships as Prizes, and frequently land in the neighbouring Iſlands: Unto one, which is about three Leagues off the Continent, the King of *Spain*'s Subjects are permitted to come and traffick, paying certain Duties to the Governor of the Caſtle that commands the Iſland.

7. The City of *Ormuz* was ſeated in an Iſland of the ſame Name, about two Leagues from the Continent, and ſix Leagues in Circumference, being compoſed of nothing but ſalt Rocks, not producing the leaſt freſh Water, but it was the Advantage and Goodneſs of its Harbour and Situation, which made it ſo famous for Commerce, that it was a Proverb among the *Arabians*, that if the World were a Ring, *Ormuz* ought to be conſidered as the Diamond. According to *Texira*, Shah *Abbas*, a native of *Arabia*, having in the tenth Century made himſelf Maſter of the Provinces bordering upon the *Arabian* Gulph, paſſed over into the Iſland, where he built the City of *Ormuz*. *Shabedin Mohammed*, of the Poſterity of *Mohammed* the 11th King of *Ormuz*, died 1228, and he who reigned in 1608, when it was conquered by the *Portugueze*, was named *Saffedin*, a Tributary to the King of *Perſia*.

For *Albuquerque* having been ſent to viſit the Coaſts of *Arabia*, being informed that the People of *Ormuz* lived in no good Underſtanding with their King, by reaſon of the Miſmanagement of his chief Miniſter, came the 25th of *September* before the City; and after having defeated their Fleet, obliged the King of *Ormuz* to acknowledge the King of *Portugal* for his Sovereign, to pay a certain Tribute, and permit *Albuquerque* to build a Citadel where he ſhould think it moſt proper, which was performed accordingly,

cordingly, and the Chapel called *Our Bleſſed Lady of Victory.* The *Moors,* ſoon after repenting of their Bargain, made ſeveral Efforts to rid their Hands of theſe unwelcome Gueſts; but they being conſtantly upon their Guard, not only fruſtrated all their Deſigns, but alſo engroſſed all the Commerce of thoſe Parts to themſelves, only permitting *Saffeddin* to live in the Iſle, at a good Diſtance from the Citadel. Shah *Abbas* being provoked by their Inſolence, and eſpecially by their having given Protection to a certain *Italian,* named *Gabrieli,* who was fled out of *Perſia,* engaged the *Engliſh* to join with him in reducing this Place, which was attacked and carried in 1622, and put into the Hands of the *Perſians*; the Wall of the City being demoliſhed, and *Gambron* raiſed upon the Ruins of *Ormuz.*

The *Engliſh,* as a Reward for their Service, had not only an Exemption from all Duties granted them at *Gambron,* but alſo a Moiety of all the Cuſtoms that ſhould be received there. By this Time an *Engliſh* Ship, called the *Swan,* Burthen 300 Tuns, carrying twenty-four Guns, being arrived in the Harbour of *Gambron,* bound for *Surat,* Mr. *Honywood,* the chief Agent for the *Engliſh* Company, recommended me to the Captain, to carry me, and defray all my Charges thither; but what proved very vexatious to me was, that out of eight Horſes which I had brought along with me, and could have ſold for an hundred and fifty Crowns a-piece at *Surat,* I could carry no more than two, being obliged to ſell the reſt at *Gambron* for half what they coſt me.

8. I embarked the 6th of *April* with Mr. *Manley* and Mr. *Hall,* two *Engliſh* Merchants, and went from *Gambron* to *Surat* in nineteen Days; during which Time I was very civilly entertained by the Captain, who reſigned his own Bed to me, and being very plentifully provided with Fowl, Mutton, good Sack, *Engliſh* Beer, *French* Wine, and other Refreſhments: This with the Uſe of a Ptiſan made of Cinamon, and the Rhind of Pomegranates, and of a good Quantity of Tea, reſtored me to perfect Health. The Wind proving contrary that Day, we were obliged to lie at Anchor till the next when we took our Courſe towards the Iſle of *Ormuz*; but, being ſurprized by a Tempeſt from the Weſt, were forced to come to an Anchor in Sight of this Iſland. The 8th we endeavoured, by labouring with a Weſt-Wind, to paſs between the Iſles of *Ormuz* and *Kiſmiſch,* which are four Leagues diſtant from each other. The ſame Day one of our Seamen, who died of the Bloody-flux, being thrown over-board, and I being as yet afflicted with the ſame Diſtemper, the Sight of it cauſed very melancholy Speculations in me. The next Night having paſſed between the two Iſlands, we coaſted it along the Sea-Shore of *Arabia,* which is very ſafe thereabouts.

The 10th being in the open Sea, we diſcovered a Pirate, who ſometimes came pretty near us, but finding we endeavoured to get the Wind of him, he made towards the Iſle of *Socotora,* ſituate in 21° 40′, at the very Entrance of the Red-Sea. To the W. and N. E. it has *Melinda,* or *Ethiopia,* and to the S. the Continent of *Arabia,* from whence it is not above ſixteen Leagues diſtant. Its Length is about twenty-five Leagues, and the Breadth ten, having very good Harbours and ſafe Anchorge on all Sides. The Inhabitants, who are governed by a Sultan, under the Juriſdiction of a King of *Arabia,* are of a mean Stature, inclining to Leanneſs, of a black Complexion, but very hardy. They feed chiefly upon Fiſh and Fruits; they live very friendly with their Wives, who are chiefly *Arabians,* but do no permit them to be ſeen by Strangers. As they are very crafty in their Dealings, and adulterate thoſe few Commodities they have, ſo they are always miſtruſtful of others. They uſe the Paſte of Dates inſtead of Bread. The Iſland affords ſome Oranges, but none of the beſt, Tobacco and Citruls, as alſo ſome Cocoa-Trees, but the Fruit ſeldom comes to Maturity, by reaſon of the ſtony Grounds. Their chief Commodity is Aloes, the Juice of which is gathered in Bladders or Goat-ſkins dried in the Sun. They are alſo well ſtored with the Gum called Dragon's-Blood, and keep Abundance of Civet Cats; ſo that Civet may be bought there for three or four Crowns an Ounce; but the worſt is, that they adulterate it with Greaſe. They have no wild Fowl, and but very little tame; yet are not deſtitue of Cattle, ſuch as Camels, Aſſes, Oxen, Cows, Sheep and Goats, the Hair of which about the Thighs are curled as our Satyrs are painted.

The Reſidence of the Governor is called *Tamary,* being defended by a Fort not above a Cannon-ſhot from the Sea-ſide. They make uſe of Broad-ſwords with large Hilts, without a Guard. Their Poinards, which they wear conſtantly on their Girdles, have Blades of near three Inches broad near the Hilts, but very ſharp towards the Points. They alſo underſtand the Management of Fire-arms, but do not keep them well; and are very expert in the Uſe of their ſmall Bucklers, wherewith they defend themſelves againſt their Enemies. They have no other Shipping than a few flat-bottomed Fiſhing-boats. The Torrents which fall down from the Mountains into the Sea, like a River, furniſh all the Ships that come into that Road with ſufficient Quantities of freſh Water. They eat no Swines Fleſh any more than other *Mohammedans,* but have no Moſques, or any other publick Places of Devotion, which conſiſts chiefly in adoring the Sun every Morning, and at the riſing and ſetting of the ſame, which they repeat three or four Times a Day, beſides muttering out certain Words as they make their Reverence.

The 14th of *April* we were in 23° 24′; the 15th at 22° 40′, and the 16th at 22° 40′; the 17th at 21° 55′, when our Captain fell ſick of a Fever. The 18th at 21° 8′; the 19th at 20° 42′; the 20th at 20′ 50; the 22d 20° 50; the 23d at 20° 18′, and the 25th arrived ſafely in the Road of *Surat,* where we caſt Anchor within two Leagues of the Shore, becauſe the Captain not intending to ſtay here, would be ſure of the Conveniency of going away when he pleaſed; beſides, that from *May* to *September* there is no ſafe riding at Anchor in this Road, by reaſon of the frequent Tempeſts; whereas on the Eaſtern-Coaſts of the *Indies,* in the Gulph of *Bengal,* the Seaſon is very fair and calm all that Time; for, it is to be obſerved, that the Year here has only three Seaſons. In the Months of *February, March, April,* and *May* it is exceſſive hot; in *June, July, Auguſt.* and *September,* there is nothing elſe but Rain, with Thunder and Lightening; and the Months *October, November, December,* and *January* are cold, as far as is conſiſtent with that Climate.

9. *April* the 26th the Captain having ſent Advice of his Arrival, the chief Director of the *Engliſh* Company at *Surat,* ſent two young Merchants on board to deſire us to come to *Surat*; ſo that after having teſtified my Acknowledgments to him for his many Civilities by a ſmall Preſent, I left the Ship the 29th, and no ſooner entered the River *Tape* or *Tynde,* upon which *Surat* lies, but we had a very agreeable Proſpect to many pleaſant Gardens and Summer-houſes all white, and ſurrounded with green Trees. It is ſo ſhallow at the Entrance, that it wil ſcarce carry a Bark of ſeventy or eighty Tun. We landed near the Sultan's Palace, and from thence went ſtraight away to the Cuſtom-houſe to have our Things ſearched, which is done with ſo much Rigour here, that they ſpare not your Cloaths or Pockets; and what is worſe, the Sultan, nay, and chief Cuſtom-houſe Officers, have a Cuſtom to oblige Strangers to part with any thing they like beſt at ſuch a Price as they pleaſe; accordingly the Sultan having ſeen an Amber-bracelet and a Diamond among any Things, would needs cheapen them both; but I telling him that I was no Merchant, and intended not to ſell them, but to keep them for the Sake of thoſe who had preſented them to me, I ſaved my Diamond, but he would needs take the Bracelet, under Pretence that he would reſtore it to me whenever I ſhould honour him with a Viſit.

By this Time the *Engliſh* Governor, having ſent his Coach, drawn by two white Oxen, I went to the Houſe belonging to their Company; at the Entrance of which I was received by the Director himſelf and his Deputy, one Mr. *Fleming*: As the Director underſtood *Dutch* very well, he accoſted me in that Language, telling me, that in ſuch a Country as this, he thought all Chriſtians were obliged to give Aſſiſtance one to another; but that to me he was obliged to do it more particularly in return for the Affection I had expreſſed to ſome of his Countrymen at *Iſpahan.* Having returned the Compliment, I was conducted into a Room where a Collation was ready for me;

we were no ſooner ſat down, but having underſtood my Intention was to return to *Germany* within twelve Months, he invited me very engagingly to ſtay with him five or ſix Months, becauſe no more Ships would come into that Road this Year, adviſing me to ſpend what Time I had in viewing the Country, and offering his Recommendation to the *Engliſh* Merchants living in thoſe Places thro' which I was to paſs.

His engaging Expreſſions obliged me to chooſe my Chamber in the ſame Houſe next to that of the Deputy's; in the Evening ſeveral Merchants came thither to conduct me to Supper in a ſpacious Hall, where I found the Miniſter and about twelve Merchants more. After Supper the Miniſter brought me into an open Gallery, where we found the Director and his Deputy taking the Benefit of the cool Breezes of the Sea-Air, which was our ordinary Rendezvouz after Supper. At Dinner we had commonly fifteen or ſixteen Diſhes, beſides the Deſert. Every thing was carried on in this Houſe with extraordinary good Order and Decorum. We had Prayers every Day twice, and three Times on *Sundays*. On *Fridays*, after Evening-Prayers, we had a certain Club, where we drank our Wives and Friends Healths beyond the Seas in Sack or Punch, being a Mixture of *Aqua Vitæ*, Roſe-water, Juice of Citrons and Sugar. At our ordinary Meeting we, as well as the *Dutch*, were entertained with Tea, inſtead of which the *Perſians* uſe Coffee.

The *Engliſh* have a very fair Garden without the City, where we uſed to take a Walk on *Sundays* after Sermon, and oftentimes on other Days. Our Exerciſe was Shooting at the Butt; and I made a Shift to get near five Pounds Sterling a Week among them. We ſeldom went away without a good Collation, and often bathed ourſelves in a Ciſtern which had five Feet Water. My chief Affliction was, that not underſtanding the *Engliſh* Tongue, I could not converſe with any of them to my Satisfaction, except with the Preſident, who ſpoke *Dutch*. But before I proceed to give you any further Account of what I obſerved at *Surat*, and in my Voyage, it will not be beyond my Scope to give you a ſhort View of the Mogul's Country.

10. The Country which properly challenges the Name of *India* (called *Indoſtan* by the *Perſians* and *Arabians*) begins on the Weſt-ſide from the River *Indus* or *Hindo*, and reaches to the River *Ganges*. It was known among the Ancients by the Name of *Carmania*, and it hath a Haven called *Guader* in 25°. The *Perſians* and *Indoſtans* themſelves have given the Name of *Pangab*, *i. e.* five Waters, to the River *Indus*, becauſe it is joined by ſo many Rivers before it diſcharges itſelf into the Sea. The firſt is the River *Bugal* or *Begal*, whoſe Source is near *Kabul*; the ſecond is called *Chanab*, which riſes in the Province of *Quéſmir* or *Caſſimer*, fifteen Days Journey to the North above *Lahor*; the third is that of *Ravy* or *Ravee*, which riſes not far from *Lahor*, and runs by it; the two others, *viz.* the Rivers *Via* and *Oſuid*, have their Sources at a vaſt Diſtance, their Confluence being near *Bakar*, which lies at an equal Diſtance betwixt *Lahor* and the Sea. Some Authors have confounded this River with that of *Diul*, and placed it at 24°. The vaſt Empire of the Great Mogul borders to the Eaſt upon the Kingdom of *Mavy*, to the Weſt upon Part of *Perſia* and the South-Sea; on the North-ſide it is incloſed by Mount *Caucaſus* and *Great Tartary*; and to the South it has the Kingdom of *Decan*, and the Gulph of *Bengal*. It comprehends in all thirty-ſeven Provinces, which anciently were as many Kingdoms. The Province of *Candahar*, which has given its Name to the capital City, borders upon *Perſia* as the Province of *Cabul* has received its Name from its Metropolis, and borders upon *Great Tartary*. Here riſes the River *Begal*, of which before.

The Province of *Multan*, with its chief City of the ſame Name, extends along the River *Indus* to the Eaſt, as the Province of *Haca-Chan*, or *Hangi-Chan*, has the ſame River to the Weſt. *Bacbar*, or *Buchar*, lies on both Sides of the River *Indus*. The Province of *Tatta* is a Congeries of many Iſlands made by the ſame River. *Soret* is a ſmall Province extending from the Sea-ſide to the Eaſt, as far as the Province of *Guzurat*. The Province of *Iſelmere* is incloſed betwixt the Provinces of *Soret*, *Bachar*, and *Tatta*. The Province of *Attach* is ſeated upon the River *Nibal*, and is by it divided from the Province of *Haca-Chan*; that of *Pangab* is the Chief of all the Kingdoms: Its capital City is *Lahor*. The Province of *Chiſmer*, or *Quexmer*, lies upon the River *Bezat*, or *Badt*, which after it has made a vaſt Number of Iſlands in this Province, joins its Current with the River *Ganges*. The Province of *Bankiſch* borders to the Eaſt upon that of *Chiſmer*, and the Province of *Jengopar*, or *Jemipar*, lies between the Cities *Lahor* and *Agra*. The hilly Province of *Jenba*, or *Jamba*, borders to the Weſt upon that of *Pangab*. The Province *Delly* lies between that of *Jenba* and *Agra* on the River of *Gemini*, which falls into the *Ganges*; the capital City bearing the ſame Name with the Province, was formerly the Metropolis of all *Indoſtan*. The Province of *Bando* lies on the Weſt-ſide of the City of *Agra*.

The Province of *Malway*, or *Malwa*, has for its capital City *Ratapore*, within half a League of the River *Cepra*, which falls into the Sea in the Gulph of *Cambaja*. The Province of *Chitor* borders to the Eaſt upon that of *Candiſch*, and to the South upon that of *Guzurat*. It was formerly a very flouriſhing Kingdom, its Metropolis bearing the ſame Name with the Province, being ſixty Leagues in Compaſs, which was laid deſolate by the Great Mogul *Achobar*, Great-grandfather of Shah *Chiram*. The Province of *Guzarat* (called *Cambaja* by the *Portugueze*, from its Capital City) where they drive a conſiderable Trade, is one of the nobleſt and moſt powerful Provinces in all the Mogul's Country. The Province of *Gandiſch*, the Metropolis whereof is *Burſampour*, or *Brampour*, is divided into the Country of the Prince of *Partapha*, a Vaſſal of the Great Mogul, by the River *Tabet*, or *Tapte*, which diſembogues in the Gulph of *Cambaja*. The Province of *Berar* extends to the South to *Guzarat*, and the Mountain of *Rana*.

The Province of *Gualor*, or *Guallar*, is famous for the Tower, or Caſtle, whither the Mogul commonly ſends his Priſoners of State, and lays up Part of his Treaſure. The Province of *Agra*, and its Metropolis, claims now the Precedency before all the reſt. The Province of *Sambel*, or *Saudel*, is divided by the River *Gemini*, which falls into the *Ganges* from that of *Narvar*. At the Confluence of theſe two Rivers, near the City of *Haliebas*, they make a kind of Iſle, which has given the Name of *Doab*, *i. e.* *inter aquas* to this Province. The Province of *Bakar* extends along the weſtern Bank of the *Ganges*, as that of *Navor* is divided by a very large River, which joins its Current with the *Ganges*. The Province of *Nagaracut*, or *Nakarkut*, is one of the moſt northern Provinces in the Mogul's Dominions; its chief City bears the ſame Name, where in a ſumptuous Chapel, the Floor covered with Plates of Gold, is kept the Figure of a Monſter called *Matta*, unto which the *Indians*, who flock thither from all Parts, offer a little Snip which they cut out of their Tongues. Near the City of *Kalamaka*, belonging to the ſame Province, ariſes a certain Spring out of the Rocks, which caſts forth Flames, and for that Reaſon is reverenced by the Pilgrims that come thither from all Parts. The Province of *Siba* is famous for the Source of the River *Ganges*. Both this and the Province of *Markarkut* are very mountainous, as well as that of *Kakares*, which is divided from *Great Tartary* by the Mountain *Caucaſus*.

The Province of *Gar*, which is alſo very mountainous, gives its Riſe from the River *Perſelis*, which joins its Current with the *Ganges*, as does the River *Kanda*, which divides the Province of *Pitan*, or *Partan*, bordering upon the Weſt upon that of *Jamba*. The Province of *Kanduana*, which, together with that of *Gar*, are the moſt northern Provinces of the Mogul's Dominions, extends on both Sides of the River *Inderaiis*, the Province of *Perena* being incloſed between the four Rivers of *Ganges*, *Perſelis*, *Gemini*, and *Kandach*, is very fruitful. That of *Jewal* is famous only for its City called *Raſapour*, or *Rajapor*. The Province of *Meuat*, a barren Country, extends from the *Ganges* to the Eaſt. That of *Vdeſſa*, or *Voeza*, is the uttermoſt Province in the Eaſt. The Province of *Bengal*, which imparts its Name to the Gulph in which the *Ganges* exonerates its Waters, challenges the firſt Place among all the reſt under the Mogul's Juriſdiction,

diction. It is ſubdivided into ſeveral Provinces, the chiefeſt of which are *Pula*, and *Palan*, which have formerly been dignified with the Title of Kingdoms. *Texcira* mentions a certain Province called *Utrat*, but gives us no more than the bare Name; and what he ſays of the Kingdom of *Cacche*, *viz.* that lies near *Cambaya* to the North, and is famous for the excellent Breed of Race-horſes it produces, can be underſtood of no other than the Province of *Candiſch*.

The whole Extent of the Mogul's Territories is from Eaſt to Weſt 600 *French* Leagues, and from North to South 700, its uttermoſt Frontiers to the South being at 20°, and to the North 43°. The Province of *Guzarat* lies Weſtward along the Sea-ſide, in the Form of a Peninſula, having on each Side a Gulph, or Bay, one whereof is eight Leagues broad at the Entrance, and grows narrower and narrower for forty Leagues. Thence it is bounded to the North by the Provinces of *Soret*, *Quiſmer*, and *Bando*, to the Eaſt by thoſe of *Chitor* and *Bando*, and to the South by the Kingdom of *Decan*; tho' its Extent was much larger formerly, yet does it comprehend above 20,000 Cities, Towns and Villages, the chiefeſt whereof lying near the Sea-ſide, are *Surat*, *Broitſchia*, *Gandeer*, *Goga*, *Cambaya*, *Diu*, *Patapatan*, *Mangelor*, *Gondore*, *Naſſary*, *Gandivi*, and *Balſara*. It has three noted Rivers, *viz.* the *Nadabat*, which paſſes ner *Broitſchia*, the *Tapta*, and the *Waſet*; two of the beſt Harbours of the *Indies*, *viz.* that of *Surat*, and of *Cambaya*. For Fertility this Province may alſo challenge the Precedency before any of the *Indies*, moſt of the adjacent Provinces being ſupplied thence with Fruits and Proviſions. Tho' the great Drought in 1640, and the enſuing Rains did almoſt lay this Province deſolate, which however it has ſufficiently recovered ſince; but it is Time to return to our Relation.

11. The *Perſian* Servant, whom I had brought along with me from *Iſpahan*, being born of Chriſtian *Georgian* Parents, had given me ſome Hopes of returning to the Chriſtian Faith, which was the Reaſon that I treated him with more than ordinary Civility, and allowed him four Crowns Wages *per Month*; but I was much ſurpriſed to underſtand that the young Fellow, in hopes of getting better Preferment by the Aſſiſtance of an Uncle of his, who was Maſter of the Horſe to the Great Mogul, was gone to *Agra*, and could not but be perſuaded that his Intention of leaving me thus on a ſudden, was in part to betray me into the Hands of the *Indians*, he being not ignorant of what had happened betwixt them and our People at *Iſpahan*; but I had afterwards great Reaſon to admire God's Providence in ſending him, as it were, on purpoſe thither to ſave me; for without him I had certainly been loſt at *Agra*; as will appear by the Sequel of this Relation.

In *May* we received News that the Khan of *Candahar* had revolted, and ſurrendered the Place to the Mogul, who had ſent five hundred thouſand Crowns as a Reward for him and the Garriſon. *June* the 16th we went a hunting with a *Dutch* Merchant, and another *Engliſhman*, croſs the River to a Place called *Reneal*, where the *Dutch* have a Warehouſe, and being nobly treated there that Night, went the next day to a Village called *Bedick*, where we killed divers wild Ducks, and a Hern; we alſo ſaw a great Number of Deer with grey Skins, but chequered all over with white Spots. Their Horns were very fair, and had ſeveral Brow Antlers; ſome were inclining to a dark brown, chequered likewiſe with white Spots, with very fine Horns, and of the Bigneſs of our Roe-bucks; ſome are of Opinion, that they are of the kind which produce the Bezoar.

All the Fields have a ſmall Dike raiſed about them here to keep in the Water, the Rice requiring Abundance of Moiſture. Here we alſo drank ſome Liquor they draw out of the Palm-tree, by making an Inciſion in the Bark on the Top of the Tree, unto which they faſten an Earthen Veſſel, into which the Liquor diſtils; it is very ſweet, but ſoon turns ſour.

The City of *Surat* lies in 21° 42' upon the River *Tapta*, which ariſing near *Barampour*, falls into the Sea four Leagues below *Surat*, which is built four-ſquare upon the very Banks of the River. It has no Fortifications on the River Side, but is provided with a good Stone Rampart on the Land-ſide, and the Caſtle is all of Free-ſtone. It has three Gates, one leading to the Village of *Briou*, the ſecond to *Barampour*, and the third to *Naſſary*. All the Houſes are flat on the Top, and have generally good Gardens. The Caſtle has no more than one Gate, which looks into the Great Market-place; not far thence is the Governor's Palace, and the Cuſtom-houſe. The Governor of the Caſtle has not the leaſt Dependance on the Sultan, whoſe Buſineſs is the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, and to look after the Cuſtoms. All Merchandizes exported or imported pay three and an half *per Cent.* here, except Silver coined or uncoined, which pays no more than two *per Cent.* Both the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* have very fair Houſes called Lodges, well provided with Chambers, Halls, and Galleries.

The Harbour of *Surat* is about two Leagues from the City, near the Village of *Subaly*, where Ships are unladen, and Commodities brought thence to *Surat* by Land-Carriage. The Haven lies in 21° 50' upon the Courſe of North-Eaſt and South-Weſt; the Entrance is narrow, and at high Water not above ſeven Fathom deep, at low but five: The Harbour itſelf being not above five hundred Paces broad, a ſandy Bottom, with ſharp and ſteep Banks, which are almoſt dry at low Water; it is, however, ſafe anchoring here, there being no Danger but from the South-Weſt Wind, except from *May* to *September*, when there is no ſtaying here by reaſon of the furious Tempeſts. Moſt of the Inhabitants of *Surat* are either *Banjans*, *Bramins*, or *Moguls*; the laſt are more reſpected than the reſt, as being *Mohammedans*, and becauſe they always apply themſelves to Arms, as on the contrary, the *Banjans* make Traffick their chief Buſineſs, and are much addicted to Religion, of whom we ſhall have occaſion to ſay more hereafter.

Beſides theſe, ſome *Arabians*, *Perſians*, *Armenians*, *Turks*, and *Jews*, are Inhabitants here, but the moſt conſiderable of all Foreigners here are the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, who have their Settlements, Directors, Merchants, and Clerks; eſpecially the *Engliſh*, who have made this the chief Place of their Trade in the *Indies*. All the other Factories they have at *Agra*, *Iſpahan*, *Muſilipatan*, *Cambay*, *Amadabat*, *Brodra*, and *Broitſchia*, having a Dependance on that of *Surat*, and are obliged to be accountable to their chief Director reſiding in this City; and there is ſcarce an *Engliſh* Ship, which either going or coming into theſe Parts, does not touch at *Surat*. The Country round about this City is very delightful, being adorned with a vaſt Number of Gardens and Fruit-trees, and among the reſt, I obſerved hereabouts one of thoſe Trees, the Branches of which take Root afreſh in the Ground mentioned in the Deſcription of *Gambron*. Among other things, I ſaw a large Ciſtern of Free-ſtone, eight ſquare, having at each Angle a Pair of Stairs, and in the midſt of it a moſt ſumptuous Sepulchre, in which the Founder is buried; this Ciſtern is ſo large, that it ſupplies the whole City with Water.

About the 12th of *September* then the Tempeſt began to ceaſe, two *Engliſh* Ships arrived in the Port of *Surat*, called the *Diſcovery* and the *Mary*, the firſt 1600 Tuns Burthen, 28 Guns, and 190 Men; and the ſecond of 1200 Tuns, carrying 48 Guns. We were very generouſly entertained aboard them for eight Days together, our conſtant Employment being to go aſhore every Day a Hunting, and to return on Board at Night. The 24th of the ſame Month arrived two other Ships, one a *Dutchman* of 1400 Tuns, bound from *Batavia* to *Holland*, the other an *Engliſh* Veſſel called the *Swan*. We were likewiſe very generouſly entertained on Board them, the *Dutch* Veſſel being both the biggeſt and the beſt contrived of any Ship that ever came out of *Holland*; with theſe, and ſuch like Divertiſements, I paſſed my Time pleaſantly enough at *Surat*: But underſtanding it would be ſeveral Months before the *Engliſh* would be ready for their Departure, I reſolved to take the Opportunity of a certain Caravan, ſent by the *Engliſh* to *Amadabat*, under a Convoy of ſome *Engliſh* Soldiers, to take a View of the Great Mogul's Court.

12. Thinking myſelf thus ſufficiently guarded againſt the *Raſhpoots*, I left *Surat* the laſt of *September*, and joining with the Caravan, we took our Way towards *Broitſchia*, croſſing the River at the Village of *Briu*. Four Leagues thence, we paſſed by *Cattodera*, and afterwards by *Entreliſſer*, where we killed abundance of wild Ducks,

and other Water-fowl, as alſo Roe-bucks, Deer, and wild Boars being in ſuch Plenty thereabouts, that one need not be long in want of Proviſions, eſpecially at this Time, when we had a good Cook along with us. Before we came to *Broitſchia* we croſſed a deep but narrow River, and were no ſooner arrived, but the *Engliſh* Secretary invited us to Dinner. The City of *Broitſchia* lies in 21° 56′ twelve Leagues from *Surat*, and eight from the Seaſide, upon a River, which coming out of the Mountains, is the common Boundary betwixt the Kingdom of *Decan* and that of *Baldagat*.

As it is ſituate upon a ſteep Hill, and provided with Walls of Free-ſtone, it is accounted one of the ſtrongeſt Fortreſſes in the *Indies*. It has two large Gates to the Land-ſide, and as many leſſer ones upon the River. All Merchandizes that paſs through it pay two *per Cent.* It is very well peopled, but for the moſt Part with Callicoe Weavers, who make the beſt here of any in the whole Province. The Fields for ſix or ſeven Leagues round the City are very flat, which, as well as the Mountains beyond them to the South-Weſt, called *Pindaſche*, are fertile in Rice, Barley, and Cotton. Theſe Mountains produce Abundance of Agate, which is ſo celebrated in *Europe*. Four Leagues below the City the River divideth itſelf into two Branches, which after they have made an Iſland of two Miles in Circumference, fall into the Sea by two different Channels, eight Leagues beyond *Broitſchia*. Upon the Way leading to *Cambaya* is the Village of *Janbayſar*, or *Jambowſar*, famous for the great Quantity of Indigo it produces. And in the Way to *Amadabat*, is to be ſeen the Sepulchre of a certain *Mohammedan* Saint, whither they come in Pilgrimage with Padlocks on their Mouths, and Chains on their Arms, till they have performed their Vows.

We left *Broitſchia* in the Evening, and travelled all that Night, and Part of the next Day, till the exceſſive Heat obliged us to ſeek Refreſhment near a ſtanding Pool, where we paſſed the Remainder of that Day, and Part of the Night following. The 17th of *October* we came to *Brodra*, where the *Engliſh* Merchants that belonged to our Caravan, and myſelf, were lodged, and moſt nobly entertained in the *Engliſh* Houſe, and among the Reſt, had the Diverſion of Women Dancers, who being very curious to ſee my Cloaths made after the *German* Faſhion, would fain have had me ſtripped myſelf naked, offering to do the ſame, which I refuſing to do, they went away diſcontented at it. The City of *Brodra* is ſeated in a large ſandy Plain, upon a ſmall River called *Waſſet*, about 15 Leagues from *Broitſchia*. It was built of late Years by *Rajab-gi*, deſcended from Sultan *Mohammed Bergeran*, the laſt King of *Guzurat*, out of the Ruins of the old *Brodra*. It is indifferently well fortified after the old Way, and has five Gates, one whereof is dammed up. The City, but eſpecially the weſtern Suburbs, are for the moſt Part inhabited by Callicoe Weavers, Dyers, and other Workmen belonging to that Manufacture, which are made ſomewhat narrower here, and the Pieces ſhorter than at *Broitſchia*. The Governor of *Brodra* has no leſs than 120 Villages under his Juriſdiction, ſixty-five of which are aſſigned for the Payment of the Garriſon, and the other 135 allotted for Penſions to certain Officers belonging to the Mogul's Court, and by theſe Aſſignments his Officers are maintained.

Among theſe there is a Village called *Sindickera*, which produces every Year 25,000 Pounds of Lacque: This Lacque is a red Gum, which comes from a Tree reſembling our Plum-tree, which, being dried and beaten to Powder, they give it what Colour they pleaſe, and make it into Sticks to ſeal Letters with, or for lacquering of Cabinets, *&c.* This Country affords alſo Abundance of Indigo. I went the ſame Day to rejoin the Caravan, which I found at a Corner of a Grove of Cocoa-Trees, without the City, and one of the *Engliſh* Merchants of *Brodra* would needs accompany us as far as *Waſſet*, an old ruined Caſtle, upon a very high Mountain, where is kept a Garriſon of 100 Horſe, who are maintained out of the Cuſtoms paid there; but we having a Paſs from the Mogul, and conſequently not thinking ourſelves obliged to pay it, this occaſioned a Conteſt between them and us, which was very likely to have ended in a bloody Engagement; for we forcing our Way, and having croſſed the River, where we ſtaid that Night, they would have attacked us, but a *Dutch* Caravan coming to our Aſſiſtance, after the Exchange of ſome ſmall Shot, the Matter was compoſed, and the Garriſon forced to be contented with a Preſent of three Crowns. Thence we paſſed two Leagues and a half further through the Village of *Ammenoygii*, and three Leagues and a half further through that of *Sejuntra*, and ſo to the ſmall City of *Niriad*, or *Niriaud*, nine Leagues from *Brodra*.

13. *October* the 12th, after we had travelled five Leagues, and paſſed in our Way by *Canis*, *Batova*, and *Jaſſampour*, got ſafe to *Amadu*; but we were met in a Garden within half a League from that City by Mr. *Benjamin Roberts*, the chief Merchant of the Factory there, who carried me in his Coach drawn, after the *Indian* Faſhion, by two white Oxen, which were as full of Mettle as the beſt Horſes, into the City, ordering the two *Engliſh* Merchants, that were my Fellow-travellers, to wait there for the coming up of the Caravan. The *Engliſh* Factory is a very fair Structure, in the very Heart of the City, fitted with very convenient Apartments, and ſeveral Courts for the Diſpoſal of Merchandize. Mr. *Roberts* gave me a Collation in his own Chamber, which looked into a Flower-Garden, and was very richly furniſhed. We ſupped in a ſpacious Hall, where the *Dutch* Head Factor, with ſome of his Merchants, came to pay us a Viſit.

After he was gone, I was conducted by the whole Company into my Lodging-room, which I had choſen myſelf. Mr. *Roberts* kept me Company there till Midnight, and to give me all imaginable Diverſion, ſent for ſix Women Dancers of the Country, telling me, if I liked any Thing in them beſides their Singing and Activity, I might command it; which Civility I refuſed with a Compliment. They were mightily taken with my Cloaths and Hair, and would ſcarce be perſuaded that I was not a Woman in Diſguiſe. Two Days after my noble Hoſt carried me in his Coach to view the City. The Market-place is called *Meydan-ſhah*, or the Royal-market; it is at leaſt 1600 Feet long, and above 800 broad, planted all round with Palm and Date-trees, intermixed with Orange and Citron-trees, of which there is great Plenty in the Streets, the Sight, Smell, and Shadow whereof are very deſirable and pleaſant. There are, beſides theſe, four *Baſars*, or publick Places for the Sale of Merchandizes. Not far from the *Meydan* we ſaw a Houſe built of Brick, which is the King's Palace, the Apartments whereof were ſumptuouſly furniſhed and adorned with many Pictures, more remarkable for their Diverſity of Colours, than any Exactneſs of Proportion, according to the *Indian* Way. Over the Gate of this Palace was a large Balcony for the Muſick, conſiſting of Violins, Hautboys, and Bagpipes, to play there three Times a Day, *viz.* in the Morning, at Noon, and Night, a Cuſtom obſerved in moſt of the *Mohammedan* Countries.

The Walls of the City were tolerably well built, with twelve Gates, and many Towers; but the Ditch, which is 16 Fathom broad, was ruined and dry in ſeveral Places. We took alſo a View of the Caſtle, which is very large, and built altogether of Free-ſtone. The chief Temple of the *Banjans* is one of the fineſt Structures that ever I ſaw, it being but lately built, and ſtands in the Centre of a vaſt Court, ſurrounded with a very high Wall of Free-ſtone, about which are Piazzas, divided into Cells, in each of which ſtands a Statue, either white or black, repreſenting a naked Woman ſitting with her Legs under her, according to the Eaſtern Faſhion. Some of theſe Cells have three Statues, *viz.* a great one betwixt two little ones. As ſoon as you enter the Temple, you ſee two Elephants of black Marble, done to the Life, and upon one of them the Effigies of the Founder, a rich *Banjan* Merchant, whoſe Name is *Santides*.

The Temple is vaulted, and the Walls adorned with Figures of Men and other living Creatures. There was not the leaſt Thing to be ſeen within this Edifice, except three Chapels, which were very dark, and were divided only by wooden Rails, wherein were placed Statues of Marble, like thoſe in the Cells, the Middlemoſt having a

Lamp hanging before it. We ſaw the Prieſt buſy in receiving from ſuch as were performing their Devotions, and who preſented him with Flowers, Oil, Wheat and Salt; with the firſt he adorned the Images, his Mouth and Noſe being covered with a Piece of Callicoe, for fear of prophaning the Myſtery by the Impurity of his Breath; the Oil was intended for the Lamps; and the Wheat and the Salt for the Sacrifice. He muttered out certain Prayers over the Lamp, and ever and anon put his Hands in the Smoak of the Flame, out of an Opinion they have that Fire having a greater Power of purifying than Water, they may, after this Cleanſing, without Offence, lift up their Hands to God.

Amadabat, the Capital City of the Province of *Guzurat*, is ſeated upon a ſmall River, which, not far from thence, joins its Current with the River *Indus* at 23° 32′, eighteen Leagues from *Cambaya*, and forty-five from *Surat*. It comprehends in its Circuit (including the Suburbs) near ſeven Leagues. Its Streets are very ſpacious, its private Buildings and Moſques very noble, eſpecially the Governor's Houſe. The Mogul keeps conſtantly a good Garriſon here to bridle the *Badures*, a ſort of People living not above twenty-five Leagues diſtant thence, who make frequent Incurſions into the Country. It may be ſafely ſaid, that there is ſcarce any Nation in the World, or any Commodity in *Aſia*, but may be ſeen in this City, where there is alſo a vaſt Manufacture of Silk and Callicoes, as alſo of Gold and Silver Brocades, but they are ſlight and dear, which is the Reaſon the Inhabitants conſume moſtly *China* Silks, which are both finer and cheaper. At the Time of my being here they had invented a new Kind of Stuff of Silk and Cotton with gold Flowers, which was ſold at five Crowns *per* Ell. They alſo deal much here in Sattins and Velvets, Taffeties, Carpets, Sugar candied, or in Powder, Cummin, Honey, Lacque, Opium, Borax, Ginger, Myrobalans, or *Indian* Plums dried and preſerved, Preſerves of all Sorts, Salt Petre, Sal Armoniac, and Indico. They alſo ſell Diamonds here, which are brought thither from *Viſiapour*, and Ambergris and Muſk, which they have from *Pegu*, *Bengal*, *Moſambique*, and *Cabo-Verde*, and is ſold here for eight Crowns *per* Ounce.

Some would have the Ambergris to be the Seed of the Whale congealed, but without the leaſt Probability; others would make it the Product of certain natural Mines like the Naphte, but with as little Likelihood of Truth, it being certain it is found no where but by the Sea-Side, and grows like our Muſhrooms in the Bottom of the Sea, whence it is torn off and caſt aſhore. *Peter Van Brouk* aſſures us, that, in his Time, there was found a Piece of Ambergris at *Cabo-Verde*, near the Mouth of the River *Gambi*, which weighed eighty Pounds, of which he bought a Piece. The Muſk is, by the joint Opinion of all Naturaliſts, the Product of a certain Protuberance or Swelling, riſing about the Navel of a certain Animal, which ſome make only of the Bigneſs of a Fox, others like a Roe-buck. Some call this Creature a Gazel. But the greateſt Conveniency of Traffick at *Amadabat* is, that the *Banjans* have a general Correſpondence in all Parts of *Aſia*, even to *Conſtantinople* itſelf, which makes Trading, by way of Exchange, both very eaſy and very advantageous. Add to this the Exemption from all Cuſtoms of Merchandizes exported or imported, the King's Receiver having no more than Fifteen-pence by way of Preſent for every Waggon, and the Liberty allowed to all Strangers to deal in what Commodities they pleaſe, except that of the Exportation of Lead and Salt-Petre, without the Governor's Licence, is forbidden, which, however, is obtained by a ſmall Preſent.

The City of *Amadabat* having under its Juriſdiction twenty-five large Towns and 2998 Villages, its yearly Revenue amounts to above ſix Millions of Crowns, which the Governor diſpoſes of in maintaining a certain Number of Soldiers for the King's Service, and for clearing the Highways, which are very unſafe hereabouts. The Couteval, or his Deputy, commands under him, and has the Adminiſtration, as well of the Government, as of the Courts of Juſtice, in Conjunction with the Kadi, or Judge of the Place. Among divers noted Sepulchres which are near the City, is that of a certain Kadi, built by a King of *Guzurat*, in the Village *Zirkees*, a League and an half from the City. The whole Structure is of Marble, being ſuſtained by an hundred and forty Pillars thirty Foot high, within which are to be ſeen the Tombs of three Kings that were buried there: At the Entrance of it is a large Ciſtern full of Water, the Wall about it having ſeveral Windows on all Sides; and about a League thence there is a fair Garden and Houſe, the Work of the Mogul, built in Memory of a Victory obtained by him over the laſt King of *Guzurat*. About a Leage and an half on the other Side the City, we were ſhewed another Sepulchre, erected in Memory of a certain *Moor*, a rich Merchant, named *Hajam Majom*, who, being in Love with his own Daughter, and having by fraudulent Means obtained the Kadi's Conſent, would have married his Daughter; but ſhe refuſing to comply, he raviſhed her, for which he had his Head cut off; whence it is called to this Day *Betti Chuit*, *i. e.* the Daughter's Shame diſcovered.

A little Way without the City of *Amadabat*, you may diſcover the vaſt Mountains of *Marva*, extending above ſeventy Leagues towards *Agra*, and above an hundred towards *Ouyou*, where the Rajah *Rana* had his Reſidence in the Caſtle of *Gurchitto* among the inacceſſible Rocks; ſo that the joint Forces of the Mogul and the King of *Pattan* were ſcarce able to reduce it. The *Pagan Indians* retain ſtill a great Veneration for that Prince, who, as they ſay, was able to bring 120,000 Horſe into the Field. In the Mountain betwixt *Amadabat* and *Trappe* lives ſuch another Prince, who, by reaſon of the Inacceſſableneſs of the Woods and Deſarts, maintains his Sovereignty againſt the Mogul; and the Rajah *Inder*, tho' he is his Vaſſal, yet oftentimes refuſes to execute his Commands. Among many noble Gardens which are about this City, that of *Shah-bag*, or the King's Gardens in the Suburbs, called *Bogampour*, claims the Precedency, being encloſed with a noble Wall, within which ſtands a moſt beautiful Summer-houſe richly furniſhed.

I paſſed thence over a very fine Stone-Bridge, four hundred Paces in Length, into another Garden called *Nicoinabag*, *i. e.* the Jewel, which, they ſay, is the Work of a beautiful rich Lady. The Houſe is not ſo remarkable for its Bigneſs, as for the moſt admirable Proſpect it has from the Deſcent on which it lies into a fine champaign Country. It has a very large Fiſh-pond, which, during the Winter-ſeaſon, is ſupplied with Water by the Rains; but, in the Summer, it is filled out of certain deep Wells, the Water of which is drawn up by Engines turned by Oxen. You can ſcarce ever come into the Garden, but you will find ſome Ladies bathing themſelves there: They would not allow the *Indians* to ſee them, but gave us the Liberty to come in and talk with them. The whole Country round *Amadabat*, and the City itſelf, is ſo full of Gardens and Trees, that at a Diſtance it reſembles a great Foreſt. There is among other remarkable Things here, a Walk planted with a double Row of Cocoa-trees on each Side, which reaches to a Village ſix Leagues from the City; but that which reaches from *Agra* to *Barampour* is an hundred and fifty Leagues in Length, and ſurpaſſes this beyond all Compariſon.

Theſe vaſt Numbers of Trees are the Receptacles of Multitudes of Apes, ſome of which are as big as Greyhounds, yet will rarely aſſault any body unleſs provoked. They are generally of a brown Colour, inclining to a green, having white long Beards and Eyebrows. They multiply beyond what can be imagined; becauſe the *Banjans*, who are more numerous than the *Mohammedans*, believing the Tranſmigration of the Soul, and looking upon theſe Creatures as having the greateſt Reſemblance in all Reſpects to Mankind, are ſo far from killing them, that they cheriſh them. Hence it is that you ſhall ſee the Apes come in great Numbers into Peoples Houſes; for at one Time I remember, I counted no leſs than fifty in the *Engliſh* Lodge, and I uſed to give ſome Almonds and Dates to two or three of them, which made them duly attend every Morning at my Chamber-door, in Expectation of their Breakfaſt, which they would take out of my Hand; ſometimes I uſed to catch hold of one, which made the reſt ſnarl till I had let go their Companion.

The Trees alſo harbour Abundance of Wild Fowl, and an incredible Number of Parrots of all Kinds, the biggeſt of which are called *Indian* Crows, being all white, or of a Cream-colour, with a Tuft of Feathers of a Carnation-colour on the Head: They are ſo common all over the *Indies*, that they build their Neſts under the Eaves of the Houſes, as our Swallows do: But the leſſer ſort of Parrots build their Neſts in the Woods on the Extremity of the Top-branches of the Trees; and tho' they do much Miſchief to the Fruits and Rice, the *Banjans* look upon it as a Crime to hinder them from eating it. They do the like as to the Wild Ducks, Herons, and Cormorants, of which there are Abundance in the River. Having had Occaſion to ſpeak of them before, I will only add in this Place, that they ſwallow Muſſels till they open through the Heat of the Stomach, and caſt them out again to eat the Fiſh. This Country likewiſe abounds in all kinds of Wild-Fowl and Veniſon, but Fallow-Deer, Roe-Bucks, Wild-Aſſes, Wild-Boars, and Hares, are in vaſt Plenty here. And as they are ſufficiently ſtored with tame Creatures, ſuch as Buffaloes, Oxen, Cows, and Sheep, and the River furniſhes them with Fiſh in Abundance, I ſcarce know any Place in the World where a Man may indulge himſelf with more Eaſe than here.

The only Thing they want is Wine, inſtead of which they generally make uſe of the Liquor of the Cocoa-tree; and their Water is moſt excellent; beſides that, out of Rice, Sugar, and Dates, they make a kind of *Aqua Vitæ*, which exceeds that made in *Europe*. But as they are ſufficiently furniſhed with beneficial Creatures, ſo they have their Share of others that are as miſchievous. Crocodiles are found here in Abundance, which often ſurprize Men in the River, where they lie lurking among the high Graſs. I am poſitive, that thoſe in the Ditches of *Pegu* were of above thirty Foot long; they did ſo much Miſchief, that ſcarce a Day paſſed but ſome or other were killed by them; notwithſtanding which, the *Banjans*, who believe that ſuch as are devoured by them go ſtraitway to Paradiſe, will not deſtroy them. The King having ordered one in particular, which did more Miſchief than all the reſt, to be killed, they found a Woman with all her Cloaths in his Belly. They lay about thirty Eggs, which they cover in the Sand, where being hatched, they kill moſt of their young ones, without which they would multiply infinitely.

Johnſton tells us, that near *Panama*, in the *Weſt-Indies*, are Crocodiles of an hundred Foot in Length; but I will ingenuouſly confeſs, I ſaw none that were above twelve or fifteen Foot long; the Scales on their Back being Muſket-Proof, they muſt be wounded in the Belly. This Country produces alſo Abundance of Serpents and Snakes, and, among the reſt, ſome with two Heads, as they told me, though, I muſt confeſs, I never ſaw any of them, which has induced me to believe that this Error has been introduced by ſuch as have ſeen Serpents, that, contrary to the Nature of Reptiles, were as big towards the Tail as towards the Head. The Woods are likewiſe full of Lions, Leopards, Tigers, and Elephants; but the moſt troubleſome Creatures all over the *Indies*, are a certain kind of Bats, as big as our Crows, nay, ſome of our Hens, which oblige the Country People to keep conſtant Watch in their Gardens.

The City of *Amadabat* is obliged to maintain out of its Revenues 1200 Horſe, and fifty Elephants, under the Command of their Sultan, who has the Quality of Rajah, or Prince, annexed to his Dignity. *Areb-Khan*, a Perſon of ſixty Years of Age, was Governor of this City at that Time, and, as I was credibly informed, had amaſſed a Treaſure equal in Value to fifty Millions of Crowns. Not long before my Arrival his Daughter was married to the Mogul's ſecond Son, when her Father, at her Departure, ſent her with an Equipage of twenty Elephants, and one thouſand Horſe to Court, beſides ſix thouſand Waggons laden with Riches. His Attendants conſiſted of five hundred Perſons, four hundred of which were his Slaves: The Expence of his Houſe-keeping amounted to five hundred Crowns a Month, not including his Stables, where he maintained conſtantly five hundred Horſes and fifty Elephants for his own Uſe. The chief of his Attendants were generally ſumptuouſly clad, though himſelf ſeldom wore any thing but Callicoe, except when he appeared in publick, when he was carried in a rich Chair of State upon an Elephant, being attended by a Guard of two hundred Men, with many *Perſian* Led-Horſes, and Standards, and Banners before him.

14. *October* the 18th I went with an *Engliſh* Merchant to pay a Viſit to the Khan, whom we found in a Tent looking into a Garden. Having underſtood from the Merchant that Curioſity only had led me into that Country, he aſked my Age, and I having told him that I was twenty-four Years old, three of which I had already ſpent in travelling, he wondered at my going Abroad ſo young, as well as at my Habit, which I ſtill wore after the *German* Faſhion. After an Hour's Diſcourſe, I was entertained with a very noble Dinner, ſerved up after the *Perſian* Way, and at parting, he was pleaſed to tell me in the *Turkiſh* Language, which I had told him I underſtood pretty well, *Senni dahe kurim, i. e. We ſhall ſee you again.* Being encouraged by this obliging Invitation, we went the 20th a ſecond Time, when having changed my Cloaths to the Mode of the Country, I found him very well pleaſed with it. We found him in the ſame Place, buſy in diſpatching ſome Orders, and taking a View of certain Companies of Horſe and Foot, which made us take our Leave of him; but he would needs make us ſtay to Dinner with him.

His Diſcourſe ran much upon Shah *Sefi*, concerning whom he aſked me ſeveral Queſtions, and eſpecially whether he ſtill continued his Cruelties? Unto which I having anſwered, that his Age had moderated much of his youthful extravagant Temper, he replied, that Tyranny and Cruelty was an Inheritance derived from his Grandfather *Abbas*, and that was the only Reaſon why lately the Khan of *Candabar* had put himſelf under the Mogul's Protection. He then was for exaggerating the prodigious Wealth of the Mogul, in Compariſon with that of *Perſia*, aſking my Sentiments upon that Score. Unto which I replied, that it muſt be confeſſed, that the Wealth I had ſeen in the Great Mogul's Country was, without Compariſon, much greater than what could be expected in *Perſia*; but that, on the other hand, it muſt be acknowledged that *Perſia* had one Thing which was to be valued above all the Riches of the World, *viz.* that great Number of brave *Kiſilbachs*, with whoſe Aſſiſtance he might be able to conquer all *Aſia*. Knowing the Khan to be a *Kiſilbach* by Deſcent, out of the Province of *Schirvan*, I ſaid this on Purpoſe to pleaſe his Fancy, which took ſo well with him, that he not only agreed to what I ſaid, but alſo told ſome of his Officers that ſtood hard by him, I believe this young Gentleman is brave, becauſe he ſpeaks ſo advantageouſly of thoſe that are ſo.

After Dinner we took our Leave of the Khan, who would have ſtaid us, and given us the Entertainment of the Women Dancers; but he being called aſide about earneſt Buſineſs, and we not very eager to ſee more of what we had ſeen ſo often before, we returned his Offers with a Compliment. For the reſt, the Governor was a Perſon of extraordinary Judgment, but very rigorous in his Government. One Day, having invited the two chief Directors of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Factories to Dinner, and deſirous to give them the Diverſion of the Women Dancers, they came accordingly, who, according to the Cadence of the Hautboys and Timbrels, danced with great Activity through Hoops, with great Variety of Poſtures; which done, he ſent for another Band; but theſe being employed elſewhere in the City, ſent an Excuſe, that being ſick they could not come; but the Khan, not thus contented, ſent a ſecond Time, ordering his Servants to bring them along with him, who returning without them, upon the ſame Pretence, he ordered them to be cudgelled immediately. Theſe poor Wretches, finding themſelves in ſuch Danger, caſt themſelves at the Khan's Feet, acknowledging, that it was not any Sickneſs, but the Hopes of Lucre, that had made theſe Women refuſe to obey his Commands, at which he laughed; but inſtantly ſent ſome of his Guards to fetch them, who no ſooner had brought them into the Room, but he ordered their Heads to be cut off immediately, which was executed in an Inſtant. The Governor, perceiving that the Strangers were ſtartled at his Severity, fell a laughing, and told them, that if he did not by ſuch Examples maintain his Authority, he ſhould not be long Governor of *Amadabat*.

15. *October* the 21ſt I left *Amadabat*, in the Company of a young *Engliſh* Merchant, and travelled that Day to the Garden of *Tſchirbag*. The 22d we made ſeven Leagues to the Village of *Surguntra*; and the 23d five Leagues further to *Cambaya*, where I was very well accommodated at the Houſe of a certain *Mohammedan*, the *Engliſh* Head Factor being from home. The City of *Cambaya* lies ſixteen Leagues from *Broitſchia*, upon ſandy Grounds near the River, which makes there a very great Bay, into which the River *May* diſcharges itſelf. The Haven is none of the beſt; for though at high Water there be ſeven Fathom Depth, yet at low Tide the Ships are almoſt ſwallowed up in Sand and Mud. It has a Wall of Free-ſtone, with twelve Gates, large Houſes, ſtrait and very broad Streets, and is ten Leagues in Compaſs. The Inhabitants are *Pagans*, *Banjans*, and *Raſhpoots*, the laſt of whom apply themſelves to the Exerciſe of Arms, as the *Banjans* do to Commerce. Their chief Trade is at *Achen*, *Diu*, *Goa*, *Mecca*, and into *Perſia*.

Taking a Walk out of the City, I ſaw there, among ſeveral other very curious Gardens, one, that for its Situation and Proſpect to the Sea, and into the faireſt champaign Country that could be to the Land-ſide, deſerves the Precedency of any that ever I ſaw before. It was ſurrounded by a very high Wall, which had within its Compaſs two very fine Structures, and in the midſt of the Garden was a Sepulchre of a *Mohammedan*, who was the Founder of it. Whilſt I was contemplating the Tomb, ſome *Engliſh* Merchants came in to reprove me for the Affront I had put upon them, as they interpreted it, of preferring a *Mohammedan* Houſe before theirs to lodge in; and as a Reparation, aſked me to go along with them the next Morning to a Place where an *Indian* Widow was to burn herſelf; her Huſband, who was a *Raſhpoot*, having been killed two hundred Leagues from thence.

We went accordingly to the Place of this voluntary Execution near the River-ſide, where we ſaw the Woman, who was ſcarce twenty Years of Age, coming up with ſo chearful a Countenance as is ſcarce to be imagined. It is to be obſerved, that the Governor, who was a *Mohammedan*, and conſequently would willingly aboliſh this barbarous Cuſtom of the *Pagans*, had for a long Time oppoſed her Reſolution, under a Pretence that her Huſband's Death might be uncertain at ſo great a Diſtance, in hopes that Time might have changed her Reſolution; but finding her immoveable, he gave at laſt his Conſent. In the Front of the Proceſſion marched the Muſick, conſiſting of Hautboys and Timbrels; theſe were followed by a great Number of Maids and Women dancing and ſinging before the Widow, who was dreſſed in her beſt Apparel, and had many Rings and Bracelets on her Fingers, Arms and Legs: In the Rear came a confuſed Multitude of Men, Women, and Children. She had waſhed herſelf before in the River, and coming near the Funeral Pile, which was made of the Wood of Apricock-trees mixed with ſome Sanders and Cinamon, ſhe ſtopped a little, and looking over it with a great deal of Careleſsneſs, took her laſt Farewel of her Kindred and Friends. I was very near on Horſeback, and ſhe perceiving perhaps by my Countenance that I had Compaſſion of her, ſhe caſt me one of her Bracelets, which I keep to this Day, diſtributing the reſt among her Friends. So ſoon as ſhe had placed herſelf on the Pile, and perceiving that they had ſet Fire to it, ſhe poured a Veſſel full of perfumed Oil over her Head, which the Fire taking hold of, burnt her to Aſhes immediately, without ſhewing the leaſt Sign of Reluctancy, whilſt all there preſent filled the Air with their Shouts and Acclamations.

This Cuſtom, it ſeems, was firſt introduced into the *Indies*, to prevent the Jealouſy of the Women created by Polygamy, which had this diſmal Effect, that they uſed frequently to poiſon their Huſbands, it having been found by Experience, that in one Year there uſed to be four Men buried to one Woman; to prevent which, it was thought convenient, that a certain Law ſhould be introduced for all Women that would be accounted honeſt, to accompany their Huſbands at their Deaths, as the only Way to make them careful of their Lives; yet was no Puniſhment inflicted upon ſuch as did not think to comply with this rigorous Impoſition, except that they were looked upon as infamous ever after.

This Ceremony being over, I paid a Viſit to *Myrſabeg*, one of the chief *Mohammedan* Merchants in that City, unto whom I delivered the Letter of Recommendation from the Director of the *Engliſh* at *Amadabat*. As he underſtood that Language, ſo he complimented me with all imaginable Expreſſions of Civility, endeavouring to perſuade me to remain for ſome time at *Cambaya*, and proffering his Service in every thing that might tend to my Satisfaction. Whilſt I was returning his Civilities, came up to us the King's Lieutenant, or Deputy-Governor, who, with a very engaging Air, entreated me to make him a Viſit, which I promiſed to do. I went home, and had ſcarce eat my Dinner, when the before-mentioned Merchant ſent me two Sheep, twelve Capons and Pullets, beſides ſome Fruits, and a fine Veſſel of *Agat*. I ſent back the Bearer with a ſmall Preſent, telling him, that I would return my hearty Thanks to his Maſter the next Day; but I was ſcarce got out of my Bed, when he came and told me, that the Fear of parting with me without taking his Leave, had made him come ſo early. I thanked him, and as a Pledge of the good Will I bore him, preſented him with a very fine *Engliſh* Pocket Piſtol, which he at firſt refuſed to accept, excuſing himſelf, that it was not handſome to receive a Preſent from a Stranger, were it not that his Refuſal might be miſinterpreted by me to his Diſadvantage; upon which Score he could not forbear to accept of what I had been pleaſed to beſtow upon him with ſo much Kindneſs.

I thought fit to make particular mention in this Place of theſe Civilities, to convince the World that Barbariſm, which the *Indians* are ſo often branded with by ſome Authors, is not ſo deeply rooted among them, but that they underſtand and practiſe Civility as well as ſome other Nations, who challenge the Preference upon that Account before all others, but fall ſhort in that Sincerity which is natural to the *Indoſtans*, who are as good Friends to thoſe to whom they have promiſed their Friendſhip, as they are irreconcileable to their Enemies. I cauſed a Box of Beetle to be preſented to the Merchant, a Drug as commonly uſed in the *Indies*, as Snuff is in *Europe*, of which he having taken a little, took his Leave. Soon after, as I was going to call at the Deputy-Governor's Houſe, I met him in the Street in his Coach, and he no ſooner eſpied me, but he obliged me to go back with him to his Houſe, built in one of the moſt pleaſant Parts of the City; he treated me with ſome Beetle, and ſome Palm-Wine, and ſent one of his Servants to give Orders at the Gates to let me paſs unmoleſted, without paying any Cuſtoms.

I ſtaid not above half an Hour, and immediately proceeded on my Journey; but being pretty late before I could reach *Serguntra*, the *Banjans*, who burn no Lights for fear of hurting the Flies, or other Inſects, would not open the Shops to ſell us Forage for our Beaſts, being a certain Paſte of Sugar, Meal, and ſome Butter, which is uſed here for want of Oats and Hay; but at laſt were prevailed on to let us have ſome, becauſe we threatened to break open their Shops. We travelled five Leagues the next Day before Noon to a great Village, where having baited our Beaſts, we continued our Journey to the Garden of *Tſchirbag*.

This Garden, which we had occaſion to mention before, is looked upon as one of the moſt conſiderable of all the Empire, not only in reſpect of its noble Buildings, and the vaſt Quantity of excellent Fruits, but eſpecially for the Conqueſt of *Guzurat*, in Memory of which it was founded; and thence has got the Name of *Tſchirbag*, *i. e.* the Garden of Victory. The Walks of this Garden are planted with Fruit-trees, ſuch as Oranges, Citrons, Pomegranates, Dates, Almonds, and Mulberry-trees; beſides many of theſe that bear Mangoes, Cocoas, and ſome that were unknown to us. Having taken a ſhort View of it whilſt our Beaſts were baiting, we continued our Journey, and came that Night to *Amadabat*. We were not a little troubled in the Way by Apes, of whom I ſhot two with my Piſtol, which ſo incenſed the reſt, that about twenty of the largeſt

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Size purſued us about half a League, and by their odd Looks gave us to underſtand that they were ready to do us any Miſchief, if they durſt approach us.

16. At *Amadabat* I met with a Caravan of *Engliſh* and *Banjan* Merchants bound for *Agra*, and being recommended to them by the Director of the *Engliſh* Factory of *Amadabat*, I ſet out with them the 28th of *October*. We met in five Days Journey with no more than one Village worth mentioning called *Paingot*, and came the 6th Day after our ſetting out of *Amadabat* to the ſmall City of *Heribath*, fifty Leagues thence; it is without Walls or Gates, which have been deſtroyed by the famous Conqueror *Tamerlane*, as well as the adjacent Caſtle, the Ruins of which are to be ſeen near a high Mountain.

Betwixt this City and that of *Damtiges*, which is fifty Leagues from *Heribath*, we met a Caravan of *Banjan* Merchants, who told us, that they had been ſet upon by two hundred *Raſhpoots*, who had forced them to pay a hundred Rupees; upon which we ordered our Waggons to be faſtened together, and diſpoſed our Guards in ſuch a manner as we thought might make them moſt ſerviceable; neither was it long before we got ſight of fifty of the ſame Gang that were ſent without Queſtion to view us; but finding us too well guarded, let us go unmoleſted. We travelled fifty Leagues farther before we came to the Village of *Suedeck*, which has a ſtrong old Caſtle. As we were travelling in a Bottom, ten *Raſhpoots* ſurpriſed ſome of our Waggons that were got about ſix hundred Paces before the reſt, and wounded two *Banjans*; but two of our Guards being ſent to their Relief, the Robbers were forced to betake themſelves to their Heels, and to leave the Booty behind them.

After this Rencounter we met with no farther Diſaſter, and arrived ſafely at *Agra*, where I was received with the ſame Civility by the *Engliſh* as I had been in all other Places through which I had paſſed. The City of *Agra* is, without Compariſon, the nobleſt of all *Indoſtan*, and the ordinary Reſidence of the Great Mogul. It is ſeated in 28° on this Side of the Line, in the Province of *Indoſtan*, upon the River *Gemini*, which joins its Waters with the *Ganges*, above the Kingdom of *Bengal*. It being twice as big as *Iſpahan*, a Man can ſcarce ride round it on Horſeback in a whole Day. Its Fortifications are of red Free-ſtone, and the Ditch is above thirty Fathom broad; the Streets are fair and large, there being ſome vaulted, which are a Mile in Length, and are furniſhed with Shops of all Sorts of Trades, each of which have their peculiar Streets and Quarters aſſigned them. It contains fifteen Meydans and Baſars, the moſt ſpacious of which is before the Caſtle; in the midſt of it ſtands a high Pole, where the Mogul himſelf ſhoots ſometimes at a Wooden Parrot faſtened to the Top of it. Eighty Caravanſeras are appointed for the Reception of Foreign Merchants and their Merchandize; they are provided with noble Apartments, and convenient Shops, Vaults, Stables, and other Conveniences.

As the Mogul and the chiefeſt of his Court are *Mohammedans*, ſo there are a vaſt Number of Moſques throughout the City; of which ſeventy are remarkable for their Bigneſs, and ſix of them appointed for their Devotions on Holidays; theſe laſt they call *Matſchidadine*. In one of theſe they ſhew you the Sepulchre of a certain Saint named *Seander*, of the Poſterity of *Aly*, and in another the Tomb of a Giant Saint, being thirty Feet in Length, and ſixteen in Breadth. This Tomb is ſurrounded on all Sides with little Banners, or Flags, as ſo many Tokens of his heroick Atchievements; whence it is, that his Sepulchre is frequented by a vaſt Number of Pilgrims, who bring thither daily their Offerings, out of which, and the ordinary Revenue belonging to it, are maintained ſuch a vaſt Number of Poor, that in thoſe Reſpects, it is not inferior to the Sepulchre of Sheik *Sefi* at *Ardebil*.

Theſe Moſques, with their adjacent Courts, are ſo many Sanctuaries both in criminal and civil Caſes, the Mogul himſelf never preſuming to take any Criminal, though never ſo great an Offender, thence, out of a Veneration all the *Mohammedans* have for their Saints. In the City of *Agra* are above eight hundred publick Baths, which pay a conſiderable Sum yearly to the Mogul; for as Purification is one of the main Ingredients of the *Mohammedan* Religion, ſo theſe Baths are daily frequented by a vaſt Number of People. The great Lords of the Court, who bear the Title of Rajas, or Princes, have many of them, very fine magnificent Houſes both within and without the City, where the King alſo has many Gardens and Summer-houſes to retire to upon Occaſion, with the Women Dancers, who dance before him ſtark naked.

17. But his Palace, which ſtands upon the River *Gemini*, and is four Leagues in Compaſs, ſurpaſſes all that I ever ſaw of that Kind before or ſince. It is ſurrounded with a Wall of Free-ſtone, and a broad Ditch, having a Draw-bridge at each Gate; the Gate at the Weſt Side leading to the *Baſar* is called *Ciſtei*; under this Gate is kept the Court of Judicature, and in an adjoining ſpacious Hall the Prime Vizier, or Lord-Chancellor, diſpatches all Matters relating to Civil Affairs, where the Original Records are kept. Immediately within this Gate you come into a very ſpacious Street, with Shops on both Sides, leading directly to the Mogul's Palace, the Gate of which is called *Achobarke Deſwage*, i. e. King *Achobar*'s Gate, through which all the great Lords of the Court, except the King's Sons, are obliged to go in on Foot; this being the Quarter where the dancing and ſinging Women are lodged.

There is another Gate leading to the River, where the Mogul every Morning pays his Devoirs to the Sun at his Riſing. It is on that Side that great Men pay their Reſpects to the King from a certain Eminency, where the King can take particular Notice of them. The Commanders of Horſe alſo ſtand on that Side, but at a great Diſtance, at a Place where the Mogul ſees the Engagements every Day betwixt Lions, Elephants, Bulls, &c. except *Fridays*, a Day dedicated to their Devotions. There is alſo another Gate, which brings you into the Guard-Hall; through this Hall is a Paſſage into a paved Court, at the farther End of which you ſee a Row of Silver Pillars under a Piazza, where is kept another Guard to prevent the common People from entering. Here I met with my *Perſian* Servant who had left me at *Surat*, he offered me all the Service he was able to do me, and would fain have brought me within theſe Pillars, but that the Guards would not permit it; this being the ready Way to the Mogul's Apartment, where is a Row of Golden Pillars of a leſſer Size, and within them the Royal Throne of maſſy Gold, enriched with Diamonds, Pearls, and precious Stones; and above it a Gallery, where the Mogul appears every Day at a certain time to hear and determine the Complaints of his Subjects: But this Trial is ſo dangerous, that if you do not prove the Matter of Fact by undeniable Evidence, you run the Hazard of your Life.

None but the King's Sons, who fan him, and keep off the Flies, are admitted within the Compaſs of thoſe Golden Pillars; neither is any other Perſon admitted into the innermoſt Parts of the Mogul's Lodgings, except the Eunuchs, who being one thouſand two hundred in Number, wait on the Ladies of the Seraglio. There is another Apartment in the Caſtle very remarkable for its Tower, which is covered with Gold, and the Treaſure it contains, having eight large Vaults filled with Gold, Silver, and precious Stones, the Value of which is ineſtimable. I had it from very knowing and very worthy Perſons, that Shah *Choram*, who reigned in my Time, had a Treaſure which amounted to one thouſand five hundred Millions of Crowns. I had from the ſame Hands an exact Inventory communicated to me of the Treaſure which was found at the Death of Shah *Achobar* his Grandfather, which I will faithfully communicate to the Reader.

An Inventory of the Treaſure of Achobar (*See* Akbar *in the Hiſtory of the* Mogul Emperors) *at the Time of his Deceaſe.*

	Crowns.	Pence.
In certain Sorts of Money coined by the ſpecial Order of the ſaid *Achobar* - - - -	148,790,000	
In another Kind of Money, called from his Name, *Achobar Ropees*	50,000,000	
In another Sort of Money, called *Payſes*, ſixty whereof make a Crown - - -	383,333	10
In Diamonds, Rubies, Emeralds, Saphires, Pearls, and other precious Stones - -	30,026,026	
In Statues of Gold and divers Creatures - - -	9,503,370	30
In Houſhold-ſtuff, Gold-Plate, as Diſhes, Cups, *&c.*	5,866,895	5
In Braſs and Copper Utenſils - -	25,612	30
In Porcelain or *China* Ware, and other Earthen-Veſſels, to the Value of - - -	1,253,873	30
In Brocades, and other Gold and Silver Stuffs, and in Silk and Calicoes - - -	7,654,989	30
In Woollen-Cloths - - -	251,629	
In Tents, Hangings, and Tapeſtry - - -	4,962,772	30
Twenty-four thouſand Manuſcripts richly bound, valued at -	3,231,865	30
In Artillery and Ammunition - -	4,287,985	30
His Magazine of Small-Arms, Swords, Bucklers, Pikes, Bows, Arrows, *&c.* - -	3,777,752	30
In Saddles, Bridles, and other Gold and Silver Accoutrements, to the Value of - -	1,262,824	
In Covering-Cloths for Horſes and Elephants, embroidered with Gold, and Silver, and Pearls - - -	2,500,000	
All which together amounts to	274,113,793	15

This, though, in itſelf an immenſe Sum, yet falls very ſhort of fifteen hundred Millions, which is eſteemed the Amount of the Mogul's Treaſure at preſent. Neither is it at all improbable that it may be ſo; for though it may be true, that the ordinary Revenue of the Crown is not conſiderably encreaſed, yet by the rich Preſents made annually at ſtated Times by his Grandees, and his being Heir-general to all the Officers in his Service throughout his extenſive Empire, there is no Doubt that the groſs Amount of his Receipts muſt be exceedingly augmented ſince that Time.

As there is no Inheritance of Eſtates belonging to the Children of great Perſons, ſo they can claim no Share in their Fathers Dignity. The Title of Rajah being no more inheritable there than that of the Khans in *Perſia*; the only Advantage they have is, that they are entruſted with leſſer Charges by the Mogul, till by their Merits they can raiſe themſelves to the higheſt Dignity. The chiefeſt Officers of the Court are the Vizir, or Prime Miniſter, the chief of the Eunuchs, or Lord High Steward of the Treaſury, Principal Secretary of State, General of the Elephants, and Surveyor of the Houſhold-Stuff, Tents, and Jewels. Theſe are conſtant Members of the Mogul's Privy Council, unto which is alſo ſometimes called the Couteval, who is both Chief Juſtice and Commander in chief of the Mogul's Guards. The Council commonly ſits in the Night-time from ſeven till nine.

The Mogul appears every Morning at Sun-riſing, and the Lords come to pay their Veneration to him about Noon, when he comes to ſee the Fighting of the wild Beaſts, and about Evening when he appears at a certain Window to ſee the Sun-ſetting. According to the Roll of the Kingdom, the Provinces of *Candahar*, *Dehli*, *Bengal*, *Orixa*, and ſome others, bring in a yearly Revenue of eighty-ſeven Millions two hundred and fifty thouſand Crowns. The Province of *Guzerat* is able to raiſe Ninety thouſand Horſe, *Cambaya* Twelve thouſand, and *Cabul* as many; *Orixa* Eighty thouſand, and *Dehli* One hundred and fifty thouſand; beſides thoſe of the other Provinces, of which I could learn no Certainty. His Militia is divided into certain Brigades of twelve or fifteen hundred Horſe, commanded either by the King's Sons, or the chiefeſt Lords in the Empire, ſome of whom have alſo under their Command certain Regiments of 2000, 3000, and 4000 Horſe. Certain it is, that when the preſent Mogul went in Perſon into the Field againſt *Khan-Kabaan* in 1630, his Army conſiſted of 144,500 Horſe, divided into four Brigades, beſides a vaſt Number of Elephants, Camels, Mules, and Artillery-Horſes. The Arms uſed in their Camp were moſtly Bows and Arrows, a Javelin, which they dart with great Dexterity, a Cymitar, Poniard, and Buckler, which hang about their Necks. The Horſemen uſe no Fire-arms, but their Infantry uſe the Muſquet tolerably well; their Pikemen have Pikes of ten or twelve Feet long, which they dart at the Enemy, inſtead of oppoſing the Horſe with them as we do in *Europe*: Some uſe Coats of Mail, reaching down to their Knees, but are without Head-pieces. They underſtand nothing of martial Exerciſes; the Van or Rear, Front and File, being Things never heard of among them; but fight without any Method or Order. Their chief Truſt lies in their Elephants, on the Backs of which are fixed certain wooden Towers, carrying three or four Harquebuſes, with as many Men to them, and the Elephants ſerve them inſtead of Bulwarks, to hinder the Enemy from breaking in upon them: But the worſt is, that theſe Beaſts being terrified by artificial Fire-works, or ſome other ſuch like Means, make a greater Havock among their own People than the Enemy. They commonly have a great Train of Artillery, and ſome very large Pieces. They alſo make Gunpowder, but not ſo good as ours. Their Copper-trumpets and Timbrels make a Noiſe that is not unpleaſant in the Field. Their Armies never march above five Leagues in a Day. As in their Encampments they take up a vaſt Circumference of Ground, ſo they obſerve a very good Order in them, every thing being as well regulated there as in a City; and it is obſervable, that the Mogul and the General of the Army always have their Tents pitched without the Reach of Muſquet-ſhot from the reſt.

His ordinary Guard is 12,000 Men, beſides the 600 that have the Title of the Guard of his Body, and are always attending his Perſon. The Mogul ſometimes confers the Dignity of Rajah or Prince upon his chief Vizir, who has the ſupreme Management of all civil and military Affairs throughout the Kingdom: He is not permitted to take the leaſt Preſent, but his Clerks are ſo little conſcientious in this Point, that for Money a Man may know every thing that paſſes through their Hands. The Rajahs and other great Men pay a moſt profound Veneration to their Monarch; they never approach or ſpeak to him without many Bows and Reverences, and when they are going away they do it backwards, bowing their Heads down to the Ground, putting their Hands over their Eyes, and afterwards upon their Breaſts, to ſhew their Humility. The Mogul never ſtirs abroad out of the City or otherwiſe without a Guard of ten thouſand Men, at the Head of which march one hundred Elephants covered with Scarlet, Velvet, and Brocades, each having two Men upon his Back, *viz.* one who guides the Beaſt, the other carries a Banner of Silk; upon ſeven or eight of the foremoſt are mounted the Muſicians, who play upon the Timbrel. The Mogul is either mounted upon a fine *Perſian* Horſe, or is carried in a Coach drawn by two white Oxen, or carried in a Chair. The chief Men of the Court follow immediately after, and after them the Baggage. He commonly pitches his Tents in a Field, the better to enjoy the Conveniency of the cool Air in the Summer, and he chooſes the warmeſt Places in the Winter, which is the Reaſon he commonly leaves *Agra* in *April*, and paſſes the Months of *May*, *June*, *July* and *Auguſt*, at *Lahor*, or in ſome other northerly Province.

The City of *Agra* is ſo populous, that it is able to raiſe two hundred thouſand fighting Men. Moſt of the Inhabitants are *Mohammedans*, but there is ſcarce any Nation in the World but what trade thither, and all Commodities, whether imported or exported, pay 10 *per Cent.* Cuſtom. This City has under its Juriſdiction forty ſmall Cities, and three thouſand five hundred Villages, its Territories extending above ſixty Leagues about. The adjacent Country is very fertile in Indigo, Cotton, Salt-petre, and ſeveral other Commodities. The Feſtival of the Naurus, or New-years's Day, is celebrated in this City with a great deal of Ceremony. Before the King's Palace a Theatre, or Scaffold, richly adorned, is erected, ſurrounded with ſmall Pillars in the Nature of a Balcony, where the King is ſeated upon richly embroidered Velvet Cuſhions, being attended by his ſeven Miniſters of State, the Empreſs being not far off in a Gallery where ſhe can ſee the whole Ceremony, but cannot be ſeen by any body. Near the King's Scaffold is another erected, painted and embelliſhed with Mother of Pearl, whither the principal Lords come out of their Tents, pitched and furniſhed with their moſt precious Moveables, in the uttermoſt Court in the Palace, to pay their Veneration to the King; which done, he leaves the Theatre, and being ſeated on his Throne, he receives the Preſents of his Subjects, and this he continues for eighteen Days ſucceſſively. Towards the Concluſion of theſe eighteen Days, the King, in return of the Preſents the Lords and others have made him, beſtows upon them his Preſents, which are certain Employments and Honours proportionable to the Gifts he has received from their Hands.

The Mogul's Birth-day is alſo celebrated here after a peculiar Manner. The Day is begun with all manner of Divertiſements, which done, he ſhews himſelf to the Queen-Mother, if living, in her own Apartments, where the great Lords are obliged to appear, and to bring along with them conſiderable Preſents. After Dinner he puts on the richeſt Apparel that can be contrived, laden all over with Gold, and precious Stones. Thus he goes into a Tent, and in the Preſence of the chief Lords, weighs himſelf in a pair of Scales of maſſy Gold, the Chains whereof being of the ſame Metal, are ſet with precious Stones. He is ſet in one of the Scales, and in the other are put ſeveral Bags of Silver, one of Gold, ſome precious Stones, certain Pieces of Silk, Stuffs, Callicoes, Pepper, Cloves, Nutmegs, Cinnamon, Wheat, Pulſe, and Herbs, and an exact Account is kept of the Difference of his Weight from one Year to the other. This done, the King gives the Money with his own Hands to the Poor *Mohammedans*, and the reſt is diſtributed among certain *Banjans*. Then being ſeated on his Throne, he orders to be caſt among the Lords of his Court, Nuts, Piſtachoes, Almonds, and divers other ſorts of Fruit of Gold, but ſo ſlightly made, that one thouſand of them ſcarce weigh thirty Crowns, which tho' it may ſeem incredible, yet it is certain that it has been tried by Experience, that a whole large Baſon full of this kind of wrought things, have not amounted to above ten Crowns, and it is computed, that all this great Monarch beſtows upon this Occaſion, would not amount to above the Value of one hundred Crowns. The Day is concluded with a great Feaſt at Court, unto which are invited all the principal Lords in waiting, who paſs the Night with the Mogul in drinking.

They alſo celebrate another Feſtival, which begins ten Days after the New-moon of the Month of *July*. This is obſerved to perpetuate the Memory of two Brothers named *Janze* and *Jawze*, who being holy Men or Saints, went on Pilgrimage to the Court of *Coromandel*, and were there killed by the *Bramans*, and other Pagans. They carry Coffins covered with Bows, Arrows, Turbans, Cymitars, and Garments of Silk, through the City, the People following in whole Troops with great Lamentation, ſome ſlaſhing their Arms till the Blood iſſues forth plentifully. In the Evening they make diverſe Figures of Straw repreſenting the Perſons who murdered them; at theſe they ſhoot their Arrows, and at laſt burn them to Aſhes. They perform this with ſo much Animoſity, that no Pagan dares to appear about that Time in the Streets. The *Indian Mohammedans* alſo celebrate the Feaſt of the Sacrifice of *Abraham*. It is held in *June*, when they kill a He-goat, which ſerves them to entertain their Friends with that Day. The Great Mogul deduces his Off-ſpring from the famous *Timur*, or *Tamerlane*, in a direct Line, the ſaid *Tamerlane* being deſcended from the Family of *Zingis-Khan* of *Tartary*. *Shah-Choram*, who reigned at the Time of my Travels into theſe Parts, uſurped the Crown from his Nephew Prince *Polegi*, whom, as we told you, we ſaw at *Gaſſonis*.

The Mogul was then about ſixty Years of Age. He had three Sons, the eldeſt was about twenty-five; but his Affections being moſt for the youngeſt, he intended to beſtow the Crown upon him, and to make the other two contented with the Government of certain Provinces. The Beginning of his Reign had favoured not a little of Cruelty, and even afterwards he could not but betray his Inclinations, by putting ſuch as were guilty of High Treaſon to unheard of Torments; for the reſt, he was of a pleaſant Humour enough, taking much Delight of Muſick, and the Women Dancers dance naked before him. Of theſe I heard the *Engliſh* relate a pleaſant Story, that a certain Perſon of Note belonging to the Court, in whoſe Converſation the Mogul took particular Delight, being miſſing at Court, the Mogul aſked the reaſon of his Abſence, and being anſwered, that he had taken Phyſick, the Mogul ordered his Women Dancers to go to his Houſe, to ſtrip themſelves naked, and to eaſe themſelves before him. The Gentleman hearing of their coming, and having got ſome Scent of what their Errand was, aſked them immediately after their coming into the Room, what the King had commanded them to do, and being anſwered, that they were to eaſe themſelves there, he told them, that they might put the King's Commands in Execution as ſoon as they pleaſed; but aſking them at the ſame Time, whether they had any further Commands, they having anſwered no, he bid them have a ſpecial Care not to tranſgreſs the Orders laid upon them; for, ſaid he, if any of you piſs but one Drop, I will have you all ſoundly whipped, which put them into ſuch a Fright, that not daring to run the Hazard of the Laſh, they returned to the Mogul, who underſtanding by what Invention the Gentleman had diverted them from what they were ordered to do, laughed very heartily at his Ingenuity.

His daily Diverſions were to ſee the Lions, Elephants, Tigers, Leopards, and other wild Beaſts fight one with another. He alſo often delighted in ſeeing Men engage with thoſe ſavage Creatures, but never forced them againſt their Will, there being not wanting thoſe, who in Hopes of obtaining thereby the Mogul's Favour, would hazard their Lives upon that Score. I remember the Mogul on his Son's Birth-day being preſent at the Combat between a Lion and a Tiger, which were both very much hurt, he ordered Proclamation to be made upon the Spot, that whoever had ſo much Courage as to fight with one of thoſe Beaſts with Sword and Buckler only, ſhould be, if he vanquiſhed, honoured with the Title of *Khan*. It was not long before three *Indoſtans* appeared to accept the Challenge, and having laid by their Coats of Mail, one engaged with a furious Lion, and for ſome Time made his Party good very couragiouſly, but the Beaſt preſſing very hard upon his left Hand, in which he held his Buckler, the Weight whereof at laſt forced the Buckler out of his Hand; ſo that ſeeing himſelf in unavoidable Danger of his Life, he thruſt a Dagger which he wore in his Girdle into the Lion's Jaws, who thereupon let go his Hold, and was marching off; but the *Indoſtan* followed him, and with a Blow croſs his Head, laid him dead upon the Ground. The Acclamations of the People were loud upon this Occaſion, but the Mogul was ſo far from being pleaſed with the Action, that on the contrary, being highly incenſed at his having made uſe of any other Arms except his Sword and Buckler, he commanded the Fellow's Belly to be riped up, and the Body to be expoſed to the View of the whole City. The ſecond *Indoſtan* made up with no leſs Courage than the former, to a Tyger brought in for that Purpoſe, but this fierce Creature was ſo dexterous and nimble, as to ſeize him by the Throat, and ſo killed him. The third *Indoſtan*, though a Perſon of a mean Stature, and worſe Aſpect, nothing diſmayed at the Misfortune of his

Comrade, engaged the ſame Tyger with unſpeakable Bravery, who was for playing the ſame Game with this, that he had done with the other: But as he was going to faſten on the *Indoſtan*'s Throat, he cut off both his Fore-paws at one Blow, and ſoon after diſpatched him; at which the Mogul was ſo well pleaſed, that he preſented this Man (whoſe Name was *Geily*) with a Garment of Brocade with his own Hands, and beſtowed the Dignity of a *Khan* upon him.

18. I ſhould not have left *Agra* ſo ſoon, had not an unhappy Accident made me alter my firſt Reſolution; for as I was talking one Day in the Streets with my *Perſian* Servant who left me at *Surat*, an *Indoſtan*, of a very goodly Aſpect, came up to me, aſking me what I had to do in thoſe Parts? to whom I made Anſwer, that I was a Native of *Germany*, whom Curioſity had brought thither. He told me, that unleſs he was very much miſtaken, I was the Perſon that had killed his Kinſman in the Engagement at *Iſpahan*, betwixt the *Indoſtans* and *Germans*. As I was convinced in my Conſcience that he ſpoke Truth, ſo I was not a little amazed at it. But two *Engliſh* Merchants that were along with him, proteſting that I was lately come from *England* by Sea to *Surat*, made me perſiſt poſitively in it, that I had never ſet Foot in *Perſia*. This would, perhaps, however, have ſtood me but in little ſtead, had not the ſame Servant declared, and ſworn by his *Mohammed* and *Hoſſein*, that he knew me, and that I ſaid nothing but Truth: So that with much ado we got rid of the *Indoſtan* at that Time.

But as his Sight was not very agreeable to me, ſo I made it my Buſineſs to take the next Opportunity of leaving *Agra*, which I did accordingly, taking the Advantage of a Caravan that was going thence to *Labor*, 60 Leagues further into the Country, all which Way we travelled through one continued Viſto of Palm, Date, Cocoa, and other Fruit-trees, which, with the Company of two *Dutch* Merchants, and ſome *Banjans*, made this Journey very pleaſant, tho' theſe laſt were not very well pleaſed with the Diverſion I took in ſhooting at the Apes, Parrots, and ſome other Creatures, and among the reſt at a Serpent, a thing much eſteemed by them. The City of *Labor* is ſeated upon the River *Ravy*, one of thoſe that with four more join their Waters with the *Indus*. It lies in 32° 30′ having many fair Gardens on the River-ſide, and the Country about it being fertile in Fruits of all ſorts, but eſpecially in Wheat and Rice. The Royal Palace, which lies in the middle of the City, is ſurrounded by a very high Wall, beſides that, it contains many other Palaces, belonging to ſuch Perſons of Note as generally attend the Mogul, where-ever he goes, and a great many Moſques and publick Baths. I had the Curioſity to go into one of theſe Baths, which I found to be exactly after the *Perſian* Faſhion, with ſeveral Partitions made half round, within narrow at the Entrance, and wide at the Bottom, each having its peculiar Door, and two Ciſterns for receiving the Water, which is let in by brazen Cocks, more or leſs, according as thoſe who bathe are pleaſed to order it. After bathing, I was deſired to lie down upon a Stone ſeven or eight Feet long, and four broad, where being ſoundly rubbed firſt upon my Belly, and afterwards all along the Back-bone, down towards the Side; the Fellow would have rubbed the Soles of my Feet alſo, with ſome Sand, which I not being able to endure, he aſked me immediately whether I was a Chriſtian, and I having told him that I was, he gave me the Hair-Cloth to rub them myſelf.

In this Journey to *Labor*, I rode upon four ſeveral Creatures, that is to ſay, a Camel, a Mule, an Elephant, and an Ox, which trotted ſo hard, that he carried me ſix or ſeven Leagues within four Hours. Having received Letters from *Agra*, that the *Engliſh* Director was preparing for his return from *Surat* for *England*, I took the Conveniency of a ſmall Caravan of *Indian* Merchants, that were going to *Amadabat*, where I was no ſooner arrived, but I underſtood that he expected only the coming of the Caravans of *Agra* and *Amadabat*, in order to his Voyage to *England*, deſiring me to make what Haſte I could to *Surat*, being very deſirous I ſhould be preſent at the Reſignation of his Preſidentſhip, which was to be performed in a few Days. Whilſt I was at *Amadabat*, I ſaw the *Mohammedans* celebrate a Feaſt. All the Windows of the Houſes round the great Market-place were filled with Lamps, before which ſtood glaſs Veſſels full of Water, of all ſorts of Colours, which afforded a very delightful Proſpect at a Diſtance, and the Night was concluded with Feaſting and fine Fire-works, compoſed of Squibs, Crackers, and many ingenious Inventions of that kind; among the reſt, they had faſtened certain Lamps to Wheels, which being turned round with great Violence, made a pleaſant Shew.

The Caravan of *Agra* was no ſooner arrived at *Amadabat*, but I prepared to go along with them to *Surat*. The firſt Day we travelled ſix Leagues to *Amadabat*, but the next Day the *Engliſh* Director and his Deputy, being deſirous to be at *Surat*, at the Reſignation of the chief Director there, myſelf and another left the Caravan, taking twenty-four Soldiers along with us for Guards. We croſſed the River *Waſſet* with our Banners, according to the *Indian* Cuſtom, where Perſons of any Note always have Banners, not unlike our Cornets, carried before them. At Night we took our Quarters in the Fort of *Saſalpour*, where meeting with the *Engliſh* Factor of *Borda*, we ſtaid in that Place all the next Day, but continued our Journey in the Evening, and were lodged next Night in a Garden, whence we proceeded the next Day to a noted Ciſtern for freſh Water called *Sambord*, which being at that Time guarded by a Troop of Country People, who pretended to keep us from fetching the Water we had Occaſion for, a Diſpute aroſe betwixt them and ſome of our Soldiers, which at laſt came to Blows; for whilſt our People were drawing up their Water, the Country Fellows wounded five of them with their Arrows, which ſo exaſperated the reſt, that they killed three of the Country People.

But before next Day appeared, we met with another Encounter, which was likely to have proved fatal to ſome of us; for the *Dutch* Caravan (which we had overtaken on the Road) going away about Midnight, we followed ſoon after, but were not gone far before we heard one of thoſe Trumpeters, who in the *Indies* commonly march before the Caravans found his Inſtrument in an adjacent Wood; as we had been already forewarned of the *Raſhpoots*, who had committed ſeveral Robberies, and killed divers Perſons hereabouts the Day before, ſo we did not in the leaſt queſtion, that this was the Signal of our coming given to thoſe Rogues; neither was it long before we found our Gueſs verified by their coming out of the Wood with Pikes, Bucklers, Bows and Arrows; but the beſt was, that they had no Fire-Arms. We had ſcarce Time enough to put ourſelves in a Poſture of Defence; but the *Engliſh* Merchants and I getting on Horſeback, we beſtowed the four Firelocks we had among thoſe of our Company, who were in a Coach, reſerving three Caſe of Piſtols for our own Uſe on Horſeback. Our Agreement was not to fire till we were ſure of doing good Execution, and the *Raſhpoots* gave us a fair Opportunity to employ onr Fire-arms to the beſt Advantage; for as they were coming towards us in a very cloſe Body, we diſcharged our Firelocks, which were charged with ſquare Pieces of Iron, among them, which made three drop at once; but truſting in their Number, they puſhed forward, killed two of our Soldiers, ſhot an Arrow into the Pummel of my Saddle, and another into the Turban of the *Engliſh* Merchant: Nay, they came ſo near us that I received two Thruſts with their Half-pikes upon my Buff Collar, which I was beholden to for my Life at that Time. Nay, two of theſe *Raſhpoots* got hold of my Horſe's Bridle, and were juſt going to carry me off, when the *Engliſh* Merchant came in very ſeaſonably to my Relief, ſo that I made ſhift to kill one of them by a Piſtol Shot, and to get clear of the other. By this time ten Soldiers belonging to the *Dutch* Caravan came in to our Aſſiſtance, and the Caravan itſelf being not much behind, the *Raſhpoots* did not think it convenient to ſtay much longer but made the beſt of their Way to the Wood, leaving ſix of their Comrades killed upon the Spot, beſides ſeveral others deſperately wounded, whom they carried off. We had only two Foot Soldiers killed, and about eight wounded Perſons. We expected another Viſit from them, but we heard no more of them, and ſo arrived about Noon at *Broitſchia*, and travelled eight Leagues more the ſame Day to the Village of *Onclaſſor*, and the next Day, being the 26th of *December*, to *Surat*.

19. The Day after my Arrival at *Surat*, I was preſent at the Reſignation of Mr. *Metwold*, the then chief Director of the *Engliſh Eaſt-India* Company to Mr. *Fremling*, who had been his Deputy before; there were preſent at it five Conſuls, or Head Factors of that Nation in the *Indies*; three Miniſters, two Phyſicians, and twenty-five Merchants. After he had given them Thanks for their Fidelity to the Company, and for the Affection and Reſpect they had ſhewed to his Perſon, he begged of them to continue the ſame both to the Company and Mr. *Fremling*; and thus with a ſhort Compliment he commiſſioned the ſaid Mr. *Fremling*; after which he gave us a very magnificent Entertainment, there being not any thing wanting that the Seaſon afforded; beſides that we had a good Share both of the *Engliſh* and *Indian* Muſick, as well as the Women Dancers. *December* the 28th the new Sultan or Governor of *Surat* made his publick Entry through that Place, having carried before him a certain Number of *Palanquins*, followed by one hundred and twenty Foot Soldiers, twenty of which carried Banners after the *Indian* Faſhion. His Name was *Myrſa Mohammed*, and was mounted on a moſt excellent *Perſian* Horſe. Almoſt all the Perſons of Note of the Province, and among the reſt the chief of the *Engliſh* Merchants, conducted him to his Palace. Immediately after the Eſtabliſhment of the new *Engliſh* Chief, the Factors and Merchants returned to their reſpective Places of Reſidence, and the two *Engliſh* Ships then in Harbour there, called the *Mary* and the *Swan*, were ordered to diſpoſe every Thing for their Voyage, the latter being to ſail ten Days before the other, and to expect our coming at the *Cape of Good Hope*.

But before we take our laſt Farewel of *Surat*, it will be requiſite we ſhould diſcharge ourſelves of our Promiſe of giving you ſome Account of the Province of *Guzarat*, in which it lies. The Occaſion of the Kingdom of *Guzarat* being incorporated with the Mogul's Empire, happened thus: *Hamet Khan*, a Favourite of Sultan *Mohammed* King of *Guzarat*, who died 1545, and conſtituted Guardian to the young King his Son, who was then not above eleven Years of Age, finding himſelf uneaſy in this Station, by reaſon of the Jealouſy of the chief Lords of the Kingdom againſt him, craved the Aſſiſtance of *Achobar* the then Great Mogul, or Emperor of *Indoſtan*, to maintain him in his Dignity, offering the City of *Amadabat* to him as a Pledge for his Fidelity; the Mogul, willing to accept of ſo fair an Opportunity, not only poſſeſſed himſelf of *Amadabat*, but alſo of the whole Kingdom, carrying both the young King and his Guardian away into Captivity. The King being afterwards come to Age of Maturity, found means to make his Eſcape, and to repaſs ſome Part of his Dominions; but the Mogul was ſo cloſe upon his Heels, that in leſs than a Twelve-month's Time he chaſed him thence, and the King of *Guzarat*, finding himſelf a ſecond Time fallen into an Enemy's Hands, from whom he expected no good Treatment, cut his own Throat.

Ever ſince that Time this Province is governed by a Sultan or Viceroy, who has an abſolute Authority here in managing both the publick Affairs of the Government, as well as all the Revenues thereunto belonging, which are very great, and formerly amounted to eighteen Millions of Gold, beſides the Cuſtoms of *Broitſchia* and *Brodra*, which produced eighteen hundred thouſand Crowns *per Annum*, the reſt ariſing for the moſt part out of the third Part of the Arable Lands which belong to the King's Revenues, which are aſſigned to the Governor for the Maintenance of a certain Body of Horſe and Foot, to bridle the Inſolence of certain petty Princes inhabiting the Mountains, and to clear the Highways from certain inſolent Robbers, who iſſue forth out of the Woods in Troops of three or four hundred, and make the Roads very unſafe. But as the Number of Troops that are kept thus falls very ſhort from what they ought to be, this, with the abſolute Diſpoſal of Juſtice, which the Governor is intruſted with, gives ſuch an Opportunity of amaſſing prodigious Wealth, as is almoſt inconceivable. His ordinary Reſidence is at *Amadabat*, and his Court and Equipage ſo ſplendid when he appears in publick, that ſcarce any Court in *Chriſtendom* is to be compared with it; but as theſe Governors are merely depending on the Mogul's Pleaſure, ſo they are ſure to make the beſt Uſe they poſſibly can of their Time to enrich themſelves at any Rate. Hence it is, that he who complains to them firſt, and knows how to back it with Money, ſhall ſeldom go off a Loſer; neither is any Crime ſo great, but what may be bought off with Money.

The Couteval, or Governor's Deputy, has, however, the Privilege of giving Judgment in Affairs of leſs Moment, and it is he who directs the Brothel-houſes, and receives their Taxes; for as they look upon Murder and Adultery (eſpecially if committed with a Woman of Quality) as the greateſt Crimes, ſo they not only allow, but alſo protect Proſtitutes, and that with ſo much Circumſpection, that it is both without Danger and Blame that People frequent thoſe Houſes. Having given you before a ſhort Account of thoſe Cities we paſſed through in our Journey to and from *Agra*, we will here alſo ſay ſomething of the reſt of the Cities belonging to this Province. *Goga* is an open Place, thirty Leagues from *Cambaya*, ſituated upon the Gulph, where it is ſo narrow, that it rather reſembles a River than an Inland Sea. It is chiefly inhabited by *Banjans*; the *Portugueze* Ships keep there their Rendezvous, in order to convey their Ships to *Goa*. *Pattepatan* and *Mangerol*, two large Towns, nine Leagues from *Goza*, are inhabited by Calico-Weavers; the City of *Diu* lies upon the Southern Frontiers of the Kingdom; the *Portugueze* have three conſiderable Forts there. The City of *Biſantagan* contains above twenty thouſand Houſes, and is conſequently one of the biggeſt of the whole Province. The Fertility of the adjacent Country in Rice, Wheat, Cotton, and Paſtures, and its Situation, which is in the Centre of the Province, has raiſed it of late to what it is, it being formerly but an inconſiderable Village. The City of *Pattan* was formerly one of the moſt conſiderable of thoſe Parts, having ſix Leagues in Circumference, and encompaſſed with a good Wall of Free-ſtone, which is now decayed in many Places.

Since the Trade of this Place has been deſtroyed by a certain kind of Thieves, which ſo infeſt the Roads thereabouts, that the Merchants durſt not venture their Perſons and Commodities thither. The Inhabitants live now, for the moſt part, by weaving Silk Stuffs and Calicoes; but the laſt are very coarſe. The Governor has his Reſidence in a very noble Caſtle; and in the very Centre of the City is one of the moſt ſumptuous Moſques of all the Eaſt, the Roof being ſuſtained by one thouſand and fifty Pillars, moſt of Marble. *Cheytepour* is a ſmall City garriſoned only by a hundred and fifty Men for the Security of the Caravans, ſix Leagues from *Pattan*, and twenty-two from *Amadabat*, ſituate upon the Banks of a ſmall River. The Inhabitants are *Banjans*, who live on weaving of Calicoes, and making of Cotton-yarn. *Meſſana* is an open Place, but maintains two hundred Horſe Soldiers in an old ruined Caſtle, for the ſafe Paſſage of the Caravans. Some Calicoes are made here, the Country being very fertile in Cotton. The three ſmall Cities of *Vaſſari*, *Gaudin*, and *Balſara*, are under the Juriſdiction of *Surat*, the firſt lying ſix Leagues, the ſecond nine Leagues, and the third fourteen Leagues thence, and all three not above two Leagues Diſtance from the Sea. Their Trade is in coarſe Cottons, which are made in great Quantities here: The Country thereabouts alſo affords great Plenty of Timber for the building both of Houſes and Ships.

20. The Deſcendants from the ancient Inhabitants of this Province are ſtill *Pagans*, and are called *Hindou*, or *Indou*. The *Mohammedan* Religion was firſt introduced here by *Tamerlane*, and is ſince encreaſed by the great Concourſe of Strangers of the ſame Religion; this Country being inhabited by *Perſians*, *Arabians*, *Armenians*, and ſeveral other Nations; but you ſeldom meet with any *Chineſe* or *Japaneſe* here. As moſt of the *Mohammedans* here profeſs the ſame Religion with the *Perſians*, ſo their Language is as current here as the *Indian*. The *Indian Mohammedans* indeed adhere to the Opinion of *Hembili* and *Maleki*, whereas the *Perſians* admit of no other Expoſitions of the Alcoran but thoſe of *Haly* and *Tzaferjaduck*; but they both, with the ſame Zeal, reject that of the *Turkiſh* Interpreter *Haniff*. They are generally of an

olive or yellowiſh Complexion, though thoſe to the North are not quite ſo dark as thoſe living more to the South. The Men are commonly ſtrong and well made, with large Faces and black Eyes. They ſhave their Heads and Beards, excepting only the *Muſtachoes*, like the *Perſians*; and the *Mohammedans* are clad after the ſame Way, except that they plait their Turbans in a different Faſhion; and the *Indoſtans* wear the Opening of their Garments under the Left-arm; whereas the *Perſians* wear it under the Right. The former tie their Girdle before with the Ends hanging down, and the latter wind it ſeveral Times round the Waiſt, and twiſt the Ends within it: To thoſe they faſten their Daggers, which are about a Foot long, broad towards the Handle, and very narrow towards the Point. Some Swords there are worn here, but the Soldiers generally wear Cymitars.

As the *Indian* Horſes are not very valuable, and yet very ſcarce, ſo their Oxen are frequently uſed inſtead of them, which are as ſwift as Horſes; I have ſeen whole Bodies of theſe Ox-Troopers. Their Women are ſhort, but well-ſhaped; they wear their Hair hanging down over their Shoulders, and on their Heads a kind of a Cap of Lawn, interwoven with Gold, the Ends of which come down quite to their Knees. The richer ſort are very ſumptuous in their Apparel, have Pendants of Pearls and Diamonds in their Ears, and very fine Necklaces of Pearls, which make the fairer Show upon their Necks, which are of a brown Complexion. They ſometimes alſo wear Rings in their Noſtrils. Breeches and Drawers are common to both Sexes, and are generally made of Taffaty or Calicoe, and that of ſuch a Length, as they would cover all the Body, were it not for certain Strings that are faſtened to them, that they can draw them together in Plaits like Mens Boots, though above the Ham they lie cloſe to the Body without any Folds: Over theſe they wear their Shifts, which, however, reach ſcarce to the Navel; and over theſe again a Petticoat of Taffaty or Calicoe, but ſo thin that you may ſee through it. Their Shoes are flat-ſoled and narrow towards the Toe, and commonly of red *Spaniſh* Leather. Their Breaſts and Arms, as far as their Elbows, are bare, but covered with Bracelets. Women that value their Reputation here, never appear abroad with their Faces uncovered; and thoſe of Quality ſcarce ever go out of Doors.

The Women of the *Banjans* are clad after a quite different Manner, for they, as they don't ſhave their Heads, ſo they don't wear their Hair very long; neither do they cover their Faces, but wear Pendants and very rich Jewels, eſpecially in their Ears. Black Teeth are a ſingular Ornament among them, which is the Reaſon they calls us *Europeans*, in Deriſion, *Bondia*, *i. e.* Apes. They alſo wear no Breeches, but, inſtead of them, a Piece of Silk, reaching down to their Hams, over which they put their Smocks, and over them their upper Garments, which are faſtened round their Waiſt with a kind of Girdle: Some of them wear ſmall Waiſtcoats, the Sleeves of which come no farther than the Elbow, being naked from the Breaſt down to the Navel. During the Summer-ſeaſon their Shoes are made of Wood, only faſtened with Straps to their Feet; but in the Winter they have Shoes of Velvet, Brocade, or gilt Leather, the Quarters of which are very low, that they may put them off and on with more Conveniency, when they are going in, or coming out of a Room, the Floor of which is covered with Tapeſtry. Children of both Sexes are kept naked till they are five Years old. For the reſt, the *Banjans* live with a great deal of Circumſpection among the *Mohammedans*, who treat them contemptibly, and much after the ſame Manner as the *Jews* are looked upon with us, in thoſe Places where they are ſuffered to live. Notwithſtanding which they are more ingenious and crafty than the *Mohammedans*, which is the Reaſon both the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* employ them as their Brokers, it being next to an Impoſſibility that any Stranger ſhould be able to find out all their Impoſtures without the Aſſiſtance of ſome of their own Gang.

Their Children, eſpecially their Daughters, they marry at ſeven, eight, nine, or ten Years of Age, it being very rare that they ſtay till the twelfth; for as the *Indians* arrive ſooner at Maturity than other Nations, they are of Opinion, that if a Maid ſtays any Time beyond that Age, ſhe muſt be ſubject to ſome Infirmity. The Day for the Conſummation of the Marriage being come, the Parents of both Parties ſit round a good Fire in a ſpacious Room, the Bride and Bridegroom take three Turns about them, whilſt the Braman gives them his Benediction. If a *Banjan* Bridegroom happens to die before he has taken his three Turns thus, the Bride may challenge the Privilege of marrying another, the Widows of the *Banjans* being not allowed a ſecond Marriage upon any Account, though their Huſbands ſhould chance to die before the Conſummation of the Marriage: So that thoſe who cannot diſpenſe with a ſingle Life, aſſociate themſelves to the Women-Dancers. The *Banjan* Women are not obliged to burn themſelves with their dead Huſbands (as the Wives of the *Bramans* and *Raſhpoots* are) unleſs they will do it voluntarily. The Men are permitted not only to marry a ſecond or third Time, but may have two or three Wives at a Time, provided the firſt or ſecond prove barren; but the firſt challenges, and retains the Precedency. The Sons only inherit the Father's Eſtates, but are to maintain the Mother, and are to provide Huſbands for the Siſters. As they uſe neither Baptiſm or Circumciſion, they muſt be numbered among the *Pagans*: And though they acknowledge one ſupreme Being, the Creator and Preſerver of all Things, yet they pay worſhip to the Devil, for this Reaſon, becauſe that God having conſtituted him to govern the World, he ought to be appeaſed by Offerings.

The Figure under which they adore him, is to be ſeen in all their Pagodas or Temples, ſome of Gold and Silver, ſome of Ivory, Ebony, and Marble, and others of Wood, or common Stone. The Head, which has four Horns, beſides a Triple-crown in the Shape of a Crown, or Mitre, with a grim Countenance, and two great Teeth coming out of the Mouth, like the Tuſks of a Wild Boar, and a great rough Beard all over the Chin. The Arms hang down careleſly on both Sides, and the Breaſts are extended as low as the Navel, under which, betwixt his Thighs, you ſee another Head, with two Horns more deformed than the firſt, thruſting out of the Mouth a very ugly large Tongue: The Feet are like Paws of ravenous Creatures, and behind a Cow's Tail. This Statue is always fixed upon a Stone-table, which is the Altar where the Offerings are made to the Idol. On the Right-ſide of it ſtands a Ciſtern, in which thoſe that come to ſacrifice purify themſelves beforehand; and on the Left-hand a Cheſt, into which they put their Offerings, which are always made in Money. There is another Veſſel not far from the Ciſtern, out of which the Braman, or Prieſt, takes a certain yellow Mixture, made of Water and Sandal-wood, and therewith marks the Foreheads of ſuch as have performed their Devotions. The Braman's ordinary Place is at the Foot of the Altar, but he riſes from thence frequently to ſay his Prayers, and before he goes away, he is ſure to purify his Hands, by rubbing them over in the Flame of the Lamps, which are placed before and about the Altar, and furniſh their Pagodas with Light, and conſequently are kept continually burning, being the chiefeſt, if not the only Ornaments of theſe Temples, which look more like Caves and Holes of Darkneſs than Places of Devotion, there being nothing to be ſeen on the Walls of them but the Figures of Beaſts and Devils: Notwithſtanding which theſe poor Wretches pay their Devotions with more Reſpect and Zeal than is obſerved in moſt Chriſtian Churches.

They are, like the *Mohammedans*, much addicted to corporal Purifications, which they ſeldom fail to uſe every Morning before Sun-riſing. The Bramans deduce their Original immediately from their God *Brama*, and ſay that they are the Product of his Head, whereas the reſt came ought of his Thighs, Feet, and other more ignoble Parts. Mr. *Abraham Rogers*, who lived ten Years in the *Dutch* Service, on the Coaſt of *Coromandel*, ſays, that the *Bramans* acknowledged for their ſupreme God, one *Wiſtul*, or *Etwara*, and that out of his Navel ſprung forth a Flower called *Tamara*, which produced *Brama*; the firſt of all Men who had Power given him, not only to create the World, but alſo to ſettle what Order and Government he thought beſt. They further ſay, that this *Brama*, being

God's Vicegerent, has diſtributed the Adminiſtration of the Univerſe among eight Lieutenants, the chief of whom they ſtile *Deiwendra*, and ſay he commands all the reſt of the Governors, who govern eight diſtinct Worlds, ſuch as ours are, all which they are of Opinion ſwim upon the Surface of the Water like ſo many Eggs.

They ſay farther, that there have been divers Worlds before that which is now in being, and others will be after it; though, they tell us, that the World we live in, is to continue a Million of Ages, ſince that in the Year 1693, there were no more than 4739 Years of the fourth Age of the World elapſed; and that the firſt Age had laſted 17290 Years. That in the firſt Age of the World all Men were juſt and good to ſuch a Degree, that the Devil, who was then created, had no Power to injure them; that in the next following Age, the fourth Part of Mankind became depraved; that in the third there was an equal Mixture of good and bad; and that in this laſt Age of the World, the Number of the good amount only to one fourth of the whole. But let this ſuffice concerning the Theology of theſe *Pagans*; we will only add here, that the *Bramans* have, by their Auſterity of Life and Abſtinence, gained a great Aſcendant over the *Pagans*, who look upon their Expoſitions of the Myſteries of their Religion as ſo many ſacred Oracles; for which Reaſon alſo, generally, they entruſt them with the Education of their Children. They are diſtinguiſhed from the other *Banjans* by a peculiar kind of Linen Coiffure; beſides that, they never cut their Hair, and wear three Strings of Packthread next their Skins coming from their Shoulders croſs their Breaſt to the Waiſt; and as this is the Badge of their Order, ſo they never lay it aſide: They believe the Immortality of the Soul, and its Tranſmigration from the Bodies of Men into thoſe of Beaſts, before they can be capable of the Enjoyment of the Bleſſings of the other World; for which Reaſon it is that the *Banjans* will not allow the killing of any living Creatures, even down to the Inſects; and they are ſo careful in this Point, that they will not keep any Fire, or lighted Candles in the Night-time, for fear the Flies ſhould burn themſelves; and when they do at other Times, they make it in Pits under Ground. Their charitable Inclinations to all living Creatures are ſo great, that they redeem ſuch Birds as are catched by the *Mohammedans* to be killed; nay, they have certain Hoſpitals appointed for ſick and wounded Birds.

Among the *Malabars* theſe *Bramans* are in ſuch Veneration, that they have the Firſt-fruits of all the Brides, and by the richer Sort are invited to perform this Taſk with very conſiderable Preſents; nay, there is ſcarce any body of Note there, when he is to be abſent from Home for any Time, but recommends his Family, eſpecially his Wife, to the Care of a *Braman*, to ſupply his Place.

The *Banjans* are accounted to have thirty-eight principal Caſts among them, not to ſpeak here of the leſſer ones, which are not to be numbered; they have four general Sects, under which all the reſt are included, *viz.* thoſe of *Courawath*, *Samarach*, *Biſnow*, and *Goëgay*. Thoſe of the firſt Sect are very preciſe in the Preſervation of living Creatures, for which reaſon their *Bramans* have their Mouths covered with a Piece of Calicoe, for fear any Inſect ſhould get into and periſh in their Mouths; they for the ſame reaſon ſweep their Rooms continually, and will not ſit down before they have looked, for fear of ſitting upon them; neither do they keep any Fire or Candle in their Houſes. They are diſtinguiſhed from the others by a white Staff they carry in their Hands, and walk always bare-headed and bare-footed. Their Cloathing is only a Piece of Calicoe coming down from the Waiſt to the Knee, the upper Part of their Bodies being covered only with a woollen Cloth. They don't believe an infinite Being as the reſt do, but attribute the Events of all Things to Chance, and know of no other good Deeds but Faſting and Giving of Alms. In Conſequence of this Opinion, they acknowledge in the Sun, Moon, Stars, the Earth, in all Creatures, nay, in Trees, and in Metals, and all viſible Things, the inherent Cauſes of their Production. They allow two Suns, and as many Moons, which they ſay relieve each other alternately every Day. They believe nothing of Heaven, or any Manſion of the Bleſſed, tho' at the ſame Time they acknowledge the Immortality of the Soul, and its Tranſmigration, which they ſay does, after the Separation from the firſt Body, go into another, either of Man or Beaſt, according to the Behaviour of the Deceaſed in this World; they ſay it always makes Choice of a Female, that it may return into the World, tho' in another Body. Their Temples are all four-ſquare, with flat Roofs open to the Eaſt-ſide, under which are the Chapels of their Pagods, or Idols, raiſed ten Feet from the Ground, in the Form of a Pyramid, with Stairs leading up to them, on which you ſee certain Figures of Wood, Stone, or Paper, repreſenting ſome Perſons among them, who have rendered themſelves famous by their extraordinary good Fortune. The chiefeſt Time of their Devotion is in *Auguſt*, when they mortify themſelves, eſpecially by Abſtinence, to ſuch a Degree as would paſs for fabulous, were it not that even their profeſſed Enemies in the *Indies* have unanimouſly born Teſtimony to the Truth of it, that ſome have been known for the Space of fifteen or twenty-one Days, nay, ſome for a Month, or ſix Weeks, not to take any other Nouriſhment than Water mixed with the Shaving of a certain bitter Wood. In this Month they have their general Aſſemblies in their Temples, whither they reſort to hear the *Braman*, who ſits in the Center of them, and reads certain Legends of the Lives of their Saints. Immediately after they come into the Temple they put their Offerings of Money into a Copper Baſon, placed there for that Purpoſe, in return of which the *Braman* beſtows upon them the yellow Mark, either on their Foreheads, or Cloaths: Whilſt they are hearkening to the *Braman* they are entertained with Muſick.

If any aged Perſon dies, they burn the Carcaſe; but Children, which die before they come to three Years of Age, are buried. Their Wives are not obliged to burn themſelves with their deceaſed Huſbands, but muſt live in perpetual Widowhood, and there is none belonging to this Sect, but what is capable of being received into Prieſthood, to reach which he has no more to do, than to change his Habit, vow Chaſtity, and follow the ſame Auſterity of Life preſcribed to their Order. Women are not even excluded from this Function, but they muſt be above twenty Years of Age, whereas Males may come in at ſeven, eight, or nine Years of Age; nay, if either of the married Couple embraces Prieſthood, the other is engaged to Celibacy for Life. Some of them make a Vow of Chaſtity in Marriage, but this is not ſo well kept as made. This Sect is an Abomination to the other *Banjans*, to ſuch a Degree, that they will not eat, drink, or converſe with them: Nay, if they happen to touch them, they are obliged to a very ſtrict Penance.

The ſecond Sort among the *Banjans*, which conſiſts for the moſt Part in Lockſmiths, Farriers, Carpenters, Taylors, and moſt other ſorts of handicraft Men, as alſo ſome Soldiers, Officers, and Clerks, have ſcarce any thing in common with the firſt, except that they allow not the killing and eating of any living Creature, believing for the reſt, that the Univerſe owes its Origin to a firſt Cauſe, which alſo preſerves it by certain and unchangeable Rules. They give the Name of *Permiſeer* to this Supreme Ruling, and affirm, that it governs the World by three Deputies; the firſt they call *Brama*, and attribute to him the Management of Souls, according to the Direction of *Permiſeer*, in order to their Tranſmigration into the Body of Men or Beaſts. The ſecond, named *Buſſiuna*, is appointed to inſtruct the World in their Duty to God, and manages the Wheat, Herbs, and Pulſe, in the Fields and Gardens. The third, called *Mais*, is the chief Manager of the Dead, being *Permiſeer*'s Secretary, who, after having taken an Account of the good and bad Actions of the Deceaſed, makes a Report of it to his Maſter, who, according to every one's Deſerts, ſends the Soul into the Bodies of certain Beaſts, where they muſt do more or leſs Penance, before they can be purified from their Sins. In this kind they look upon the Cow as one of the beſt, having ſomething divine in it above all the reſt. They burn the dead Bodies of their Friends, except thoſe of their Children under three Years of Age, whom they bury near ſome River or Brook, none of the *Indian* Women accompanying their Huſbands with ſo much Chearfulneſs in their laſt Journey, as thoſe of the Sect of *Samarath*; for as they are perſuaded, that ſuch as die with their Huſbands ſhall live with them in the other World ſeven Times as long, and enjoy with him ſeven Times more Pleaſure there, they are ſo fond of ſo plentiful a Bleſſing, of which they have ſo ſlender a Share in this World, that they are ready to ſacrifice their Lives in order to attain it.

This Sect of *Biſnow* agrees with the two preceding in this Point, that they do not feed upon any thing that hath Life. They are alſo much addicted to Abſtinency, and keep their general Aſſemblies in their Temples in *Auguſt*, where they ſing and dance to a Concert of Muſick, conſiſting of Drums, Pipes, and Copper Baſons, before their Pagod called *Ramram*, ſinging Hymns in his Praiſe. They repreſent him with his Wife in Statues, adorned on their Feſtivals with Gold Chains, and Collars of Pearl and precious Stones, with many Lamps, and lighted Wax Candles before them. This God acts without any Deputies; they feed upon nothing but Herbs, Pulſe, Freſh-Butter, Milk and Curds, and are great Admirers of a Pickle made of Ginger, Mangoes, Citrons, Garlick, and Muſtard-ſeed; and their Drink is Water. None but Women or Prieſts dreſs their Meats, and uſe Horſe-dung mixed with Straw, and made up into a kind of Turf inſtead of Wood, for fear ſome ſmall Worms, or other Inſects, ſhould be burnt with it. Moſt of this Sect are Merchants, Factors, or Brokers. They have this Cuſtom peculiar to themſelves, that they will not permit their Widows to burn themſelves with their deceaſed Huſbands, but oblige them to continue Widows. Not many Years ago the younger Brothers among them were obliged to marry their elder Brother's Widows, to raiſe up Seed to him; but this is now aboliſhed.

They commonly waſh themſelves every Morning in ſome Ciſtern, or a River, if any be near them, where they wallow and ſwim in it, whilſt the Braman, who ſtands hard by, mutters out certain Words, and imparts to them his Benediction, and at their coming out gives them the Mark in their Foreheads, or in ſome other Place; for which he is paid with Wheat, Rice, or Pulſe. Thoſe belonging to the Sect of *Gorephy* are a kind of Hermits, neglecting all publick or private Affairs, and dwelling in ſolitary Places, and ruined Houſes, or Woods, ſhun the Converſation of others; they worſhip a God whom they call *Bruin*, and his Servant *Mecis*; but have no particular Temples, or any other publick Aſſemblies, to perform their Devotions in. As they are forbidden to have any Poſſeſſions of their own, ſo they have nothing but a Piece of Calicoe to cover their Privities; they never ſpeak to any body, or will give an Anſwer to any, or aſk for any thing, though they were in the utmoſt Extremity, but will take what is given them; they rub their Bodies all over with Aſhes, and eſpecially their Hair, which makes them look very ſtrangely. They are in great Veneration among all the other *Banjans*, except the Sect of *Courawath*, who abhor them.

They believe that their God is the Creator of all Things, which he preſerves by his own infinite Power, by which he is able to reduce all to nothing; that he is not to be deſcribed under any Shape, being a Light, which, as it is the Cauſe of the Sun, his Brightneſs is not to be ſeen by our Eyes. They differ from all the other *Banjans* in this; that they do not believe the Tranſmigration of Souls; but that they are immediately, after they have left their Bodies, transferred to God, and united to that infinite Light. They are ſo ſtrict Adherers to their Rules, that they admit no *Mohammedans* into their Sect, or re-admit ſuch of their own as have been Priſoners among the *Mohammedans* and *Chriſtians*, and have eaten Meat without a moſt ſevere Penance, which is, to eat for ſix Months together Cow-dung mixed amongſt their Victuals. Nothing can be conceived more ſuperſtitious than the *Banjans* in general; they never ſtir out before they have paid their Devotions, and if in going out of their Houſes they meet with any thing which they look upon as ominous, they return, and undertake nothing further that Day.

The *Raſhpoots* are by ſome reckoned among the Number of *Banjans*, who allow them a Place with thoſe of the Sect of *Samarath*, as believing the Tranſmigration of the Soul; beſides ſeveral other Things affirmed and maintained by that Sect, they are further of Opinion, that the Souls of Men tranſmigrate particularly into Birds. Their Widows are obliged to burn themſelves, unleſs the contrary be provided for in the Marriage-Contract; for the reſt, they are not of that reſerved Temper as moſt of the *Banjans* are, who abhor the Effuſion of Blood, even of that of irrational Creatures; whereas theſe live upon Rapine, eat Fleſh, and addict themſelves altogether to warlike Exerciſes; and as they are a daring Generation, ſo they are employed by the Mogul in his Armies. Some Compaſſion they have for Birds, which they will feed and cheriſh. They, like other *Banjans*, marry their Children very young, which, as I have mentioned before, proceeds from hence; that the *Indians* of both Sexes come ſooner to Perfection in this reſpect than any other Nation in the World. There is beſides theſe another ſort of *Pagans* in *Guzarat* called *Parſis*, deſcended from the *Perſians* of *Fars* and *Choraſan*, who left their native Countries in the ſeventh Century, to avoid the Perſecution of the *Mohammedans*. They dwell for the moſt part along the Sea-Coaſt, and live upon planting of Tobacco, and making of Arrack or Aquavitæ out of Teddy; though many of them addict themſelves alſo to Trade. They believe one God, the Creator and Preſerver of the Univerſe, who acts by his own Power, but has committed the Adminiſtration thereof to his ſeven Servants, whom they repreſent thus: The firſt, named *Hamaſda*, has the Government of Men; the ſecond, called *Bahman*, the Sovereignty over all Beaſts and living Creatures; the third, *Ardabaſh*, takes care of the Fire; the fourth, named *Sarywar*, has the Charge of Metals; the fifth, whoſe Name is *Iſphander*, takes care of the Earth, as *Auwaerdath*, the ſixth, doth of the Water; and the ſeventh, called *Ammadath*, hath the Precedency over Fruit-trees, Herbs, and Pulſe, yet under God's Direction, unto whom they are accountable for their Tranſactions.

Beſides theſe ſeven Head Servants, God, ſay they, makes uſe of twenty-ſix others, each of which has his peculiar Function aſſigned him. The Buſineſs of the firſt is, to take Poſſeſſion of the Soul immediately after its Departure out of the Body, which he carries before two Judges called *Meer Reſos* and *Saros*, who, taking care to have the good and evil Works put into two Scales, pronounce Sentence according to their Weight, and deliver the Soul up either to the good Angels to be carried into Paradiſe, or to the evil Spirits to drag them to Hell, where they are to be tormented to the End of the World, which, according to their Opinion, will be renewed in one thouſand Years. The fourth, called *Beram*, has the Adminiſtration of all military Affairs. The fifth, *Carraſada*, is the Sun. The ſixth, *Auva*, the Water. The ſeventh, *Ader*, manages the Fire. The eighth, *Mobo*, is the Moon. The ninth, *Tiera*, or *Rain*. The tenth, named *Gas*, has the Management of Cattle. The eleventh, *Farwardy*, the Cuſtody of the Souls in Paradiſe. The twelfth, *Aram*, imports Joy or Sadneſs to Mankind. The thirteenth, *Goada*, is the head Manager of the Winds. *Dien*, the fourteenth, is he who is to inſtruct and to infuſe into Mankind the Law of God. The fifteenth, *Apirſanick*, is the Giver of Riches, as *Aſtaſt*, the ſixteenth, has the Diſpoſal of Underſtanding and Memory. The ſeventeenth, called *Aſſamant*, is chief Preſident of Commerce; and *Gamigat*, the eighteenth, has the Government of the Earth. The nineteenth, called *Marriſpan*, is Goodneſs itſelf. And the twentieth, named *Amiera*, the Manager of ready Money. The twenty-firſt, called *Hoem*, has the Management of Generation of Men, Cattle, and Fruits. The twenty-ſecond and twenty-third, called *Dima* and *Borſe*, are looked upon as two Genii appointed to watch all Men; and the three remaining, *viz.* *Dephader*, *Dephemer*, and *Dephaden*, are God's conſtant Attendants, who employs them in what Affairs he pleaſes, without Diſtinction. As the *Parſis* are of Opinion, that God has left the Adminiſtration of the reſpective Affairs in relation to their Station to their Diſpoſals, they adore them in caſe of Neceſſity. Their Teachers are in much Veneration among them, ſome of whom engage themſelves in Traffick and other Employments.

They have no publick Places of Devotion, but perform the ſame in their Houſes, ſitting without any Motion of their Bodies. They have no peculiar Days ſet aſide for their religious Worſhip, except that they obſerve particularly the firſt and twentieth Day of the Moon. Each of their Months conſiſting of thirty Days, they add five Days to the laſt Month to make up the Year three hundred and ſixty-five Days. Their Teachers are not diſtinguiſhed from the reſt by their Habit, which they have in common with the *Parſi's*, and the other Inhabitants of the Country being known only by a certain twiſted Girdle of Wool, or Camels Hair, which comes twice round the Waiſt, and ties with two Knots behind: this being the certain Badge of their Religion, and ſo eſſential to them, that he who loſes it muſt not either eat or drink, or ſtir from the Place where he is before he has bought another from the Prieſt. The Women alſo are allowed to wear them after the twelfth Year of Age. They live very meanly in little dark Houſes, poorly furniſhed, and affect much to live near one another. They have the Liberty of chooſing two of the moſt conſiderable Perſons of the Nation for their Judges. Fire is ſo ſacred a thing among them, that they would not extinguiſh it with Water, though the Houſe were in Flames, looking upon it as the moſt lively Repreſentation that can be made of the Divine Light; for which Reaſon it is that they will rather ſmother their Fire with Earth, nothing being more irkſome to them than to ſee their Fire extinguiſhed at any time. They early engage their Children in Wedlock; but the Marriage is ſeldom conſummated till the fifteenth or ſixteenth Years of their Age, and in the mean time they are committed to the Care of their reſpective Parents. As they look upon Adultery and Fornication as the moſt heinous Crimes in Nature, ſo they allow their Widows to marry a ſecond time to prevent them.

They are very particular in their Burials; for ſo ſoon as the Patient is given over, they lay him upon a little Bed of green Turf, where he yields up the Ghoſt; which no ſooner happens, than five or ſix Grave-makers come, take him from the Bank of Turfs, put a Shroud about him, and lay him upon an Iron Grate made like a Bier, and ſo carry him to their Burying-place, a League without the City, which is divided by a Wall into three Parts, *viz.* one for the Men, the ſecond for the Women, and the third for the Children. Over their Graves are laid Iron Bars like Grates, upon which they leave the Corpſe till the Birds have eaten all the Fleſh, and the Bones drop into the Grave underneath. The Friends accompany the Corpſe till they come within five hundred Paces of the Grave, where they ſtay, and make moſt doleful Cries, till the Grave-makers have laid it upon the Grate. A Month or ſix Weeks after the Burial they carry the Turfs upon which he died, as Things polluted, to the Burying-place, and every Month entertain the neareſt Friends with a Collation, in Memory of the Deceaſed.

If any one happens to touch a dead Carcaſe, or the Bones of a dead Beaſt, they are defiled, and muſt undergo a Penance of nine Days. They reckon thoſe damned whoſe Bones happen to fall into the Water. They are forbidden to eat of any living Creature: yet in Time of War they will now and then make bold with a Sheep, Goat, ſome tame Fowl, or Fiſh, and eat it; but never kill any Camels, Elephants, Horſes, or Hares; and as to the Ox and Cow, they are ſo far from killing them, that they have a Proverb, that they would rather feed upon the Fleſh of their Fathers and Mothers, than upon an Ox or a Cow. Though they are not forbid the Uſe of Wine and Teddy, their Law enjoins them a ſevere Penance for Drunkenneſs, and upon that Score, the drinking of *Aqua Vitæ*. They are but middle-ſized, but of a much clearer Complexion than the Natives of the Country, and eſpecially their Women, who, in this Point, much exceed the *Mohammedan Indoſtans*. The Men have great Beards, but ſomewhat round; ſome cut their Hair, others wear it without cutting; the firſt leave only a Lock of an Inch in Compaſs, on the Crowns of their Heads. They are very induſtrious, and an over-reaching Generation; and were it not for their avaricious Temper, would be much better natured than moſt of the *Mohammedans* are. They have two other ſorts of Pagans in *Guzarat*, *viz.* the *Hindoos* and *Jentives*; the firſt are deſcended from the Province of *Multhan*, and the Parts about *Aſſmeen*. They are ſo far from being *Banjans*, that they won't admit them to be preſent at their Meals, which they eat within a Ring, and they eat of all ſorts of Beaſts, except the Ox and Cow. They apply themſelves for the moſt Part to the Wars. The *Jentives* deduce their Origin out of the Kingdom of *Golconda*, being a ſort of poor ignorant Wretches, who pin their whole Faith upon the Sleeves of their Bramans. Their Belief is, that originally there was but one God; but as in Proceſs of Time Men deſerved well of him by their great Actions, he communicated to the beſt of them ſome Share of his Power: Theſe are their chief Saints whom they worſhip in their Temples.

There is another ſort of People here called *Theers*, being neither *Mohammedans* nor *Pagans*, living without any Religion; their Employment being the cleanſing of Wells, Sinks, Common-ſewers, and the flaying of dead Beaſts, whoſe Fleſh they eat. They are alſo frequently employed as Executioners, which is the Reaſon they are avoided by all other *Indians*, for fear of being defiled by them, and are not permitted to live any where but in the Suburbs. As the Religion of the *Mohammedan Indoſtans*, ſome few Points excepted, approaches very near to that of the *Turks* and *Perſians*, we will not enlarge here upon that Head, but will proceed to give you ſome Account of the Manner of Life of theſe *Mohammedan Indians*, foraſmuch as the ſame is very different both from the *Turks* and *Perſians*. To begin with their Marriage Ceremonies, they are performed thus; on the Day appointed for the Wedding, the Bridegroom mounted on a Horſe, whoſe Mane and Crupper are adorned with Flowers, and a Net over his Head, rides from his Houſe accompanied by his Friends and Kindred, with a Concert of Muſick before him, and certain Fellows are appointed to caſt Squibs and Crackers to the Bride's Houſe, where having given her the Diverſion of Muſick and Fire-works for half an Hour, he diſmounts, and ſits himſelf down in the Houſe, upon Tapeſtry laid upon the Floor for that Purpoſe; ſoon after the Bride, with her Friends the *Molla* and *Kadi*, or Judge of the Place, come in. The *Molla* having read certain Paſſages out of the Alcoran, and taken the Bridegroom's Oath, that in caſe of Divorce he will make Proviſion for his Wife, he gives them his Bleſſing and departs. The reſt of the Company who ſtay behind, are entertained with Betel and Pills of Amphion, or Opium, which they uſe inſtead of Wine, and produce very near the ſame Effect. If the Bride proves an undefiled Virgin by the Marks upon the Sheets, the Friends aſſemble for five, or ſix, and ſometimes eight or ten Days after; but if the Paſſage be found not ſo well guarded as it ſhould be, the Bridegroom takes his Leave of her, and returns her to her Friends. On the other hand, if the Bridegroom finds her ſo ſtrait laced, as that he cannot enjoy her in three our four Days, and conſequently is ſuſpected of want of Ability, one of the neareſt Kinſwomen to the Bride ſends him a Diſtaff, with this Meſſage, that not being made for Man's Work, ſhe has thought fit to furniſh him with ſome Womens Buſineſs. The Marriages of the *Indian Mohammedans* are not ſo ſtrict as thoſe of the other *Mohammedans*, who can't be divorced unleſs both Parties be heard, and Sentence pronounced by a Judge. But here they may be divorced with leſs Ceremony, upon a bare Averſion, or Diſtaſte, with this Proviſo, however, that purſuant to what they promiſe at the Marriage, the Men are obliged to provide for the Suſtenance of their Wives, who therefore have no other Dowries here, but as for the Jewels they bring along with them, they cannot re-claim any thing of that Nature. The Women of any Quality ſtir but ſeldom abroad, and that either in a cloſe Coach, or *Indian* Litter; and if they happen to ride on Horſeback, their Face is covered with a Scarf, none but the meaner ſort, or common Proſtitutes, being to be ſeen on Foot, and with their Faces bare, in the Streets. The *Indian* Women have generally a very eaſy Deliverance, it being a great Rarity to hear of a Woman that is above two or three Hours in Labour.

Their Children they educate with extraordinary Care in Schools, where they are taught to read and write; and ſuch as are not able to do it, they ſend either into the Wars, or into the Service of great Perſons, where their Allowance is ſo ſlender, that they lead but an unhappy Life. It is generally obſerved, that the *Indian* Children have a very tender Regard for their Parents, to ſuch a Degree, that they would ſtarve themſelves to preſerve them. Moſt Perſons of Note are very careful to build themſelves Houſes in very handſome Gardens, which ſerve them and their Families for Sepulchres; theſe Houſes have many ſmall Windows on all Sides. They uſe the following Ceremonies at their Burials; immediately after the Deceaſe of the Patient, the Kindred with great Lamentations come to aſk him what made him die; whether he wanted ſuch and ſuch Conveniencies, which they name to him. This done, whilſt the Corpſe is waſhed and put into a Coffin, the Friends divert their Sorrow by making good Cheer. Three or four *Mollas* remain conſtantly near the Body (which is wrapped in a perfumed Sheet) to pray for the Soul, till it be carried to the Burial-place, whither the Coffin with the Corpſe covered with Callico, Velvet, or ſome other precious Stuff, is carried by ten or twelve Men, the *Mollas* ſinging all the while their Hymns, and the Kindred accompanying it to the Grave. Here the Body is laid down upon the Right-ſide, with the Face to the Weſt, the Feet to the South, and Head to the North, the Coffin being covered with a Board, for fear the Earth ſhould defile the Corpſe. It is let down ſmoothly into the Grave, whilſt the Kindred mutter out certain Prayers, and ſo return to the Houſe of the Deceaſed, where the ſame *Mollas* continue their Prayers for ſeveral Days after, during which Time not a Spark of Fire muſt be ſeen in the Houſe. They ſtile themſelves *Muſſulmans*, or true Believers, looking upon all other Religions as heretical and damnable; but as they have a ſingular Averſion to Images, ſo they ſhew more Hatred to the *Roman Catholicks* than *Proteſtants*, on the ſcore of their Images.

They are generally of a good Stature, without any natural Defects. They have all lank black Hair, tho' thoſe they call *Mogollies* have a clearer Complexion than the reſt. They don't admire flaxen Hair, but hate red-haired People, out of an Opinion they have, that they are leprous, a Diſtemper very common here; one Reaſon of which is, that the Pox being ſeldom cured as it ought to be, by Degrees affects the Blood afreſh, and turns to a Leproſy. The *Mollas* let their Beards grow, but all the reſt ſhave their Beards as well as their Heads, leaving only a Lock on the Crown, by which, they ſay, *Mohammed* is to pull them up to Heaven. There is no Diſtinction in the Dreſs of Men and Women. They make their Garments of Callico, Silk, or Brocade, according to the Abilities of thoſe that wear them. They lie cloſe to their Bodies above their Waiſt, like ours, but grow wider and wider downwards to the Small of their Leg, whereabouts their Breeches, which reach to their Shoes, are gathered by a String into many Plaits. Their Shoes are of *Spaniſh* Leather, Silk, or Brocade, with very low Quarters, becauſe they have frequent Occaſion to pull them off when they go into Rooms, where the Floors are covered with rich Tapeſtry. Their Head-dreſs comes nearer to that of the *Turks* than the *Perſians*, being commonly of thin Callico, or Silk, interwoven with gold and ſilver Thread. They lay it by when they go to Bed. They have over their Garments a kind of Cloak to defend themſelves againſt the Injuries of the Seaſon. Their Garments are tied round their Waiſt with a ſilk Girdle wrought with Gold, and over this they have a kind of a Saſh of fine Callico. In theſe, Perſons of Quality wear their Daggers, the Handle and Sheath of which are generally of Gold, and ſet with precious Stones.

Their Houſes are but ſlightly built, the Walls being nothing but Plaiſter-work made of a Mixture of Free-ſtone powdered, ſome Lime, Gum and Sugar, which being very white and ſmooth, makes no diſagreeable Shew at a Diſtance. They are alſo indifferently furniſhed, eſpecially the Kitchens, where, beſides a few Diſhes and Stoves, you ſee very few other Utenſils; tho' for the reſt, the Houſes of Perſons of Quality are very large, and divided into convenient Halls, Apartments, Chambers and Cloſets; in the two laſt of which the Women take great Delight to ſet them out with their gold and ſilver Plate. When they are to receive Viſits, they place themſelves in the Hall, upon Pieces of Tapeſtry. They ſalute each other at their firſt coming in with their Salam, and an Inclination of the Head, and if the Perſons be of greater Quality, they put their Right-hand to their Heads, to ſhew their Readineſs to ſubmit to them. If they are of an equal Condition, no further Ceremony is obſerved, but a mutual Inclination with their Bodies. Sometimes they touch one another's Locks, adding theſe Words, *Grab ane meas*, be it to you according to the Prayers of the Poor. He who receives the Viſit, never ſtirs from his Place, the Viſitors being ſet on his Right and Left-hand. Their Viſits are made with a great deal of Reſervedneſs, no ſuch thing as the leaſt loud Diſcourſe being to be heard, or any Geſtures made with their Hands or Heads. If they whiſper to any body, they are ſure to hold to their Mouths a Napkin, or ſome ſuch thing, for fear of offending with their Breath him to whom they ſpeak.

Their greateſt Expence is in Cloaths, Eating, and Women; for as by the *Mohammedan* Law they are all allowed to purſue their ſenſual Pleaſures to the utmoſt, as far as may be done without Detriment to their Neighbours, they indulge themſelves in this Point to the Extent of their Power. They keep a numerous Retinue of Servants, each of which hath his Buſineſs aſſigned him. Their Footmen have great Plumes of Feathers on their Heads, and two little Bells on their Breaſts, and are ſo hardy, that they will travel fifteen or ſixteen Leagues a Day, without much Difficulty. They have all their board Wages, and ſome Vails, but both are ſo ſmall, that they can ſcarce keep themſelves from ſtarving. The many Women the *Mohammedans* marry, are very chargeable to them, together with their Eunuchs, for they are very extravagant in their Cloathing, Jewels, and Furniture; the chief Amends they have for this is, that each Woman endeavours by all imaginable Art to gain her Huſband's Affection and Enjoyment before the reſt, there being nothing to be contrived, but what they will make uſe of to excite him to Voluptuouſneſs. The common handicraft People are but in a very poor Condition here, for as every Piece of Work paſſes through ſeveral Hands before it is finiſhed, they can ſcarce get Six-pence a Day, and the worſt is, that the Children muſt be bound to no other Trade than that of their Fathers.

Hence it is that they are forced to live upon Bean-flour and a little Rice boiled in Water, in the Nature of a Haſty-pudding, into which they put a little melted Butter, and their poor Houſes are ſuitable to their Way of Living. Merchants live here in Plenty enough, and would be ſufficiently happy, were it not for the Danger they lie under of being fleeced by the covetous Governors of the Places in which they live, under ſome Pretence or other, as ſoon as they begin to diſcover their Wealth: So that the only Way to keep any thing, is to appear to have nothing.

21. Though all the *Mohammedans* in the *Indies* profeſs the ſame Religion, yet are they diſtinguiſhed into divers Sects, ſuch as the *Patans*, *Moguls*, and *Indoſtans*, beſides ſeveral others, which, as well as their ſeveral Tempers, ariſes more from the different Diſpoſitions of thoſe Countries from whence they came, than from any religious Account. Thus the *Patans*, or *Padars*, are a moſt daring, cruel, and barbarous Generation, who without any Conſideration will thruſt themſelves into hazardous Enterprizes. The *Moguls*, or *Mogulies*, on the other Hand, deduce their Origin from the Natives of *Great Tartary*, are complaiſant and diſcreet, which gains them great Reſpect among the other *Mohammedans*. The *Indoſtans*, or *Induſtans*, are ſomewhat barbarous, and though covetous, yet are not crafty enough to deceive without being found out. They are the true ancient Inhabitants of *Guzarat*, and may be eaſily diſtinguiſhed from the reſt by their Complexion, which is much more inclining to black than the two former.

There is another ſort of People in the Province of *Haca-Khan*, who, as they are very hardy and bold, ſo they are employed chiefly in carrying Merchandizes; they are called *Blottions*, their chief Employment being to let out Camels, and to conduct the Caravans, which they do with ſo much Fidelity, that they would rather ſacrifice themſelves, than ſuffer any thing to be loſt. All over the Mogul's Country, as well as in this Province, no ſuch thing is to be ſeen as publick Inns, except that in the Cities, and ſome Villages, are erected certain publick Buildings out of

Charity for the Conveniency of Travellers, and theſe Caravanſeras have no other Accommodations but four bare Walls and a Covering over Head. They travel with Camels, Horſes, Mules, and Oxen. They make uſe alſo of a certain kind of Coaches, drawn by Oxen, which will travel ten or twelve Leagues a Day; they are covered with Velvet on the upper Part, but thoſe for the Women are ſo covered on all Sides. Perſons of Quality travel for the moſt part on the Elephants, or are carried in Palanquins, or Litters, carried by two Men upon their Shoulders, with a Bar. They are very careful in breeding up their Elephants. Hawking and Hunting is their chief Sport. Their Greyhounds are leſs than ours, but they make uſe of tame Leopards and Tygers in Hunting, which are the beſt in the World at ſurprizing a wild Beaſt, but never purſue it. They catch Water-fowl by the Skin of a wild Duck, filled with Hay, which being tied to the decoy Duck, they ſwim up the Water till they get inſenſibly among the reſt without frighting them. Their Bows are made of wild Ox Horns, and their Arrows of Cane, and they manage them with ſo much Dexterity, that they kill Birds flying. Their Games are Cheſs, and ſome at Cards. They are great Lovers of Muſick, though theirs be ſo rough; but judicial Aſtrology has got ſuch an Aſcendant among them, that nothing of Moment is to be undertaken here without firſt conſulting thoſe who profeſs it. They are not quite deſtitute of Books. *Ariſtotle*'s Works, or at leaſt moſt of them, are to be met with here, tranſlated into the *Arabian* Tongue; as likewiſe certain Treatiſes of *Avicenna*, who is in great Requeſt with them, as being born at *Samarcand*, under the Juriſdiction of *Timur*, or *Tamerlane:* Their Writings are not deſpicable, and have ſomething of Rhetorick in them; and their Annals are ſo well and exactly kept, as to furniſh ſufficient Matter for a good Hiſtory.

Though their Language be divided into ſeveral Dialects, yet it is to be learnt without much Difficulty; they write from the left-hand to the right; the *Perſian* is the Court Language in *Indoſtan*, and ſome have likewiſe a Taſte of the *Arabick*, which is the learned Language. The Bloody-flux and Fevers are the moſt common Diſeaſes in the *Indies*, againſt which they uſe ſcarce any other Remedy but Abſtinence. They don't want Phyſicians, but have no Surgeons. Their Barbers let Blood, and apply Leeches, which is all the Operations they uſe. The Winter begins in *Guzarat* in *June*, and holds till *September*; but the Rains are not as at *Goa*. There are but two Winds which reign on this Coaſt, *viz.* the North and South Winds, which blow each for ſix Months without Interruption. Their greateſt Heat is in *April* and *May*, and the Beginning of *June*, but the Sultrineſs of the Seaſon is ſomewhat tempered by the frequent Breezes, which, however, bring this Inconveniency along with them, that they raiſe the Duſt to ſuch a Degree, as robs you of the very Sight of the Sun at Noon-day.

22. The chief Commodities at *Guzarat* are Calicoes, and ſilk Stuffs, as Sattins, Taffaties, Potolas, Comerbands, Orris of Gold and Silver, uſed for Veils for Women, Brocades, Tapeſtry, ſtriped Carpets, Quilts, Tents, Bedſteads, and Cabinets, Lacque Beds, Chains, Buttons, and Rings, of Ivory, Amber, Rock Chryſtal, and Agate.

In a Village called *Cherchees*, near *Amadabat*, is the beſt Indigo made. The Herb is like that of a yellow Parſnip, but ſomewhat ſhorter and more bitter. It ſprouts forth into Branches like a Reed, and ſometimes riſes ſix or ſeven Feet high. Its Flower is like that of a Thiſtle, and its Seed reſembles Fenugreek; they ſow it in *June*, and cut it in *November* or *December*. It is ſown but once every three Years; the firſt Year they cut off the Leaves within a Foot of the Ground, and after they have cleared them from the Stalk, dry them in the Sun, and afterwards lay them a ſoaking in a ſtone Trough, which has ſix or ſeven Feet Water in it, ſtirring it very frequently, till they think the Water has ſufficiently extracted all the Colour and Virtue of the Herb; then they draw that Water off into another Veſſel, which being well ſettled all Night, they take it off the next Day, and the Settlement in the Bottom is ſtrained through a coarſe Cloth, and dried in the Sun. This is the beſt Indigo, which is adulterated by the Inhabitants by the Mixture of a certain Earth of the ſame Colour, and ſome Oil, to make it ſwim upon the Water, the Goodneſs of this Drug being commonly judged by its Lightneſs.

The Stalks left the firſt Year produce Leaves the next; but theſe are not to be compared in Goodneſs to thoſe of the firſt, tho' they exceed thoſe of the wild Indigo. The ſecond Year is that which produces the Seed; the Product is never tranſported beyond the Seas, but kept by the Country People for their own Dying. The beſt Indigo, which they call *Anil*, is inclining to a Violet Colour, and has ſomewhat of that Smell if burnt. They always let the Ground lie fallow after the three Years are expired, for twelve Months.

There is alſo a great deal of Salt-petre vended at *Surat*, which is made at *Aſmer*, ſixty Leagues from *Agra*, out of the fatteſt Ground. After it has lain fallow for a conſiderable Time they dig certain Trenches, which after they have filled with ſalt Earth, they let in as much Water as is ſufficient to reduce it to the Conſiſtency of thick Mud, and to ſoak it the better, they frequently tread it with their Feet. When they judge the Water has diſſolved all the ſaline Subſtance that was in the Earth, they draw up the Water into another Trench, where in ſome time it thickens, when they boil it like Salt, ſkumming it continually, and afterwards put it into earthen Pots, where the Dregs ſettle to the Bottom; they take it out again, and dry it to a hard Subſtance in the Sun. Borax, well known for its Uſefulneſs in refining of Gold and Silver, is found near a Mountain in the Province of *Purbet*, upon the Borders of *Great Tartary*, which Country alſo produces Spikenard, Quickſilver, Muſk, and Copper, and a certain Colour which dyes the moſt beautiful Brown in the World. The Borax grows like Coral, in the Bottom of the River *Jankenckar*, which coming down from the Mountain, joins its Stream with the River *Maſnoor*, which paſſes through the ſaid Province, and furniſhes it with this Drug. The *Indoſtans* call it *Jankenckar*, from the before-mentioned River, and keep it for its Preſervation in Bags, made of Sheep-ſkins, filled with Oil.

The greateſt Part of our Aſſafœtida is brought from *Perſia*; but that which is brought from the Province of *Utrad*, in the *Indies*, is preferred before it. There are two kinds of this Plant; one grows like a Shrub, with ſmall Leaves like Rue, the other has Leaves as big as Turnips, and in Colour reſembling Fig-tree Leaves. It grows commonly in ſandy and ſtony Ground. Its Gum comes forth in the latter End of Summer, and is gathered in Autumn. The *Banjans* in *Guzarat* are ſuch Admirers of it, that they uſe it in their Sauces, and rub their eating and drinking Veſſels with it. There is abundance of Amphion, or Opium, brought from *Cairo* into *Europe*; that which comes from the Province of *Gualor* in *Indoſtan*, and is vended all over the *Indies*, is only the coagulated Juice of Poppy, which is gathered by making an Inciſion therein, when it begins to be ripe. All the Eaſtern Nations are ſo addicted to the Uſe of it, that thoſe who cannot come at the Juice, will make and uſe the Decoction of Poppy. The *Perſians* boaſt themſelves to be the firſt Inventors of it. They take every Day the Quantity of a ſmall Pea of it, made up into a little Pill, not ſo much with an Intention to make themſelves ſleep, as to raiſe Vigour in them, more eſpecially in the Exerciſe of venereal Acts, for which Purpoſe it is chiefly uſed by the *Indians*. They uſe themſelves to it by taking a little and a little by Degrees, without attending to which it is mortal. It draws this Inconvenience after it, that it quite ſtupefies the Senſes, unleſs they continue it for ever.

Of Lacque we have ſaid ſomething before, and ſhall ſay more hereafter. The Province of *Guzarat* produces abundance of Cummin, Ginger, and Mirobalans, which they preſerve with brown Sugar, beſides which they have ſeveral phyſical Drugs. Diamonds are likewiſe one of the chief Drugs of this Province, but not many, yet they have abundance of Pearls, Emeralds, Garnets, Agates, Alabaſter, red Marble, and Jaſper-ſtone, which are better poliſhed here than any where elſe.

They uſe but one kind of Weight all over *Guzarat*, which is called *Maon*, and contains forty *Ceers*, in the whole thirty Pounds and an half, at the Rate of ſixteen Ounces in the Pound, a *Ceer* containing ten *Peyſes*, a kind of braſs Money weighing twelve Ounces. Their Ells are of two kinds, the leſſer amounts to no more than half a *French* Ell, and a ſixteenth Part, and nineteen of their large Ells make thirteen Ells and three Quarters of the ſame Meaſure. They have alſo no more than two ſorts of Money, *viz.* the *Mamoudies*, and *Roupees*; the *Mamoudies* being coined of Silver, of a baſe Allay, go no farther than *Surat*, *Brodra*, *Broitſchia*, *Cambaya*, and thoſe Parts, and are worth about one Shilling Sterling; but the *Roupees Chagam*, which are worth about a *French* Half-Crown, and made of very good Silver, paſs current all over the *Indies*. The *Peyſes* we ſpoke of are their Copper Money, twenty-ſix of which make a *Mamoudy*, and forty-five a *Roupee*. They count alſo with Almonds, thirty-ſix whereof make a *Peyſe*, and with certain Shells, found by the Sea-ſide, eighty whereof make a *Peyſe*. They account *Spaniſh* Pieces of Eight and Rixdollars equivalent to five *Mamoudies*, becauſe they make great Advantage of them in their Mints. The *Perſian Larri's*, which are very good Silver, are alſo much eſteemed here. They have a golden Coin called *Xerapbins*, worth about thirteen *Roupees*. The *Chequins* and *Venetian* Ducats are current here, and are reckoned to be worth eight and a half, or nine *Roupees*, according to the Riſing or the Falling of the Change.

As there is abundance of counterfeit Money here, and all over the *Indies*, ſo ſcarce any Sum is received but in the Shops of the Changers called *Xaraffa's*, which are at the Corners of every Street. Theſe ſecure the Receipt of the Money for a ſmall Matter, and are ſo expert, that no counterfeit Money can eſcape their Hands undiſcovered. Their Way of computing Sums is by *Lacs*, which conſiſt of 100,000 *Roupees*, and two of theſe *Lacs* make a *Crore*, or *Caroa*, and ten *Caroa's* an *Arab*; a *Theil* of Silver makes eleven, twelve, or thirteen *Roupees*, one *Maſſas* and an half a *Theil* of Silver, and ten of theſe a *Theil* of Gold. No Coin, whether Gold, Silver, or Braſs, muſt be exported out of the Kingdom, on pain of Death. Beſides what we have ſaid of the Products of *Guzarat*, it is very fertile in Wheat, Rice, Peaſe, Beans, Barley, Millet, *Turky* Wheat, Flax, Muſtard-ſeed, Oil, Butter and Cheeſe, the laſt of which is ſomewhat ſalt and dry. Their Wheat is larger than ours. They don't bake their Bread in Ovens, but upon iron Plates, and the *Banjans* in Frying-pans.

23. Their Beans and Peaſe are leſs, but much more delicate than ours, eſpecially their red Chiches, wherewith in many Places they feed their Horſes, Oxen, and Buffaloes, inſtead of Oats, a Grain not much uſed in the Eaſtern Parts. They ſow in *May*, and their Harveſt is in *September* and *November*: They cut no Graſs, but conſume it green. As the Mogul is the ſole Proprietor of all the Lands in his Empire, ſo the Peaſants, when Seeding-time appears, muſt make their Application to the Governor of the Province, and agree with him for ſo much Ground as he thinks he is able to ſow for that Year, for the Uſe of which he pays a third Part, and ſometimes an half, which is the Reaſon that moſt of the Grounds lie fallow, there being but few that think it worth their while to manure them at ſo expenſive a Rate. Their Gardens are well ſtocked with Pot-herbs of all ſorts, as Lettuce, Succory, Sorrel, Parſley, Radiſhes, Cabbages, Cucumbers, Citruls, Garlick, Onions, Parſnips, and, above all, with the moſt delicious Melons in the World.

They don't value their Flowers here ſo much for their Scent as their Colour, the Roſe only excepted, the Scent of which is much admired. The Flowers called Mogaci and Scampe, have alſo a very agreeable Smell; notwithſtanding which they are admired by the Women for their Colour, the firſt being a delicious white, and the latter yellow: They hold all the Year round, as does the Graſs here, unleſs it be dried up by the exceſſive Heat of the Summer-ſeaſon. Beſides their Lemons, Citrons, Pomegranates, and other Trees ſufficiently known in *Europe*, they have thoſe called Anana, Bananees, Jaccas, Cecos, and *Indian* Fig-trees. They have alſo a kind of Vines about *Surat*, the Grapes of which are not ſo big as thoſe of *Perſia*, and are ſold at a dear Rate.

Their Foreſts in theſe Parts harbour, among other Creatures, a kind of wild Dogs called Jacalls; no body dare hurt them no more than any other Beaſts that are yellow or black, under Pain of Death, they being reſerved for the King's Sport, or the Governor's of the Province. The *Indian* Horſes are in no-wiſe comparable to thoſe of *Perſia* and *Arabia*, yet they are very careful in keeping them; they commonly feed them with thoſe Peaſe they call Chiches, which they bruiſe and boil every Morning and Evening, and give them a Paſte made of two Pounds of Barley-meal, half a Pound of Butter, and as much Sugar.

Their Oxen are not different from ours in Shape, except that they have a large Bunch betwixt their Shoulders. The poorer ſort of *Mohammedans* eat abundance of Beef and Mutton; but the better ſort feed upon Kids, either roaſted with a Pudding of Rice, Almonds, and Raiſins in the Belly, or ſtew them with Butter and Pepper. They alſo have *Perſian* Sheep with fat Tails, but they are very rare and uſed ſeldom; but at great Entertainments they have Fowls, Capons, Geeſe, wild Ducks, Peacocks, Teal, Partridges, Pigeons, Sparrows, to which we might add Eagles, Falcons, Hawks, and other Birds of Prey. They are not deſtitute of River-fiſh, ſuch as Carps, Eels, *&c.* but their Salt-fiſh is extraordinary good and cheap there, becauſe the *Mohammedans* prefer Fleſh before Fiſh, and the *Pagans* don't eat it at all: They have alſo Oiſters, Crabs, and Prawns. It is obſervable, that whereas in *Europe* all ſorts of Shell-fiſh are beſt at the Full-moon, here they are beſt at the New-moon, and empty at the Full-moon.

24. Their Veſſels are generally ſlightly built, and their great Guns kept above Deck. They ſeldom venture any farther than to *Java* and *Sumatra*, or to *Aden* and to *Mecca* upon the Red-Sea, whither they go with a vaſt Number of Pilgrims in the Beginning of *March*, and return not till the Middle of *September*, for fear of the Tempeſts, which from *June* till that Month are very violent in that Coaſt, whereas otherwiſe this Voyage might be performed in two Months. They carry to the Coaſt of *Ade* Callicoes, Indico, Camphire, Tobacco, Allum, Sulphur, Benjamin, Pepper, and many other Spices, Mirobalans, and many other Preſerves; in lieu of which they bring back Coral, Amber, a certain red Dye called Miſſet, Coffee-berries and Opium, but their beſt Returns are in ready Caſh.

Their Coaſting Veſſels, which go to *Cambaya* and *Broitſchia*, and ſometimes to *Perſia*, go away in *January* and *February*, and return in *April* or *May*, and bring along with them Brocades, Silk, Stuffs, Velvets, Camblets, Pearls, Almonds, Raiſins, Nuts and Dates, but eſpecially Roſe-water. Their Ships that go to *Achen*, in the Iſle of *Sumatra*, are of two or three hundred Tons Burthen, carrying thither the Products of their Country, in lieu of which they bring back Brimſtone, Benjamin, Camphire, Porcelain, Tin, and Pepper: They ſail in *May*, and return in *October*. The *Malabars* can alſo drive a great Trade at *Surat*, *Cambaya*, and *Broitſchia*. They bring thither Bark of Cocoa-trees, which is uſed for making Cordage, the Pith of the ſame Tree, Arreca, and Betel, a kind of Wood which dyes Red, called by them Patang and Harpus, which they uſe for caulking their Ships, beſides Rice and other Proviſions. Theſe they exchange for Opium, Saffron, Coral, Calicoes, and other Stuffs. They come to the Coaſt of *Surat* in *December*, and return in *April*. Formerly the *Portugueze* uſed to be the ſole Maſters of the Trade of *Guzarat*, by means of their Forts at *Daman*, *Diu*, and *Goa*; but ſince the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* have made their Settlements in theſe Parts, they have been forced to confine their Trade to *Goa*.

25. Theſe Travels and Voyages will ſufficiently juſtify the Character we have given of them and of their Author, at the ſame time that they will fully anſwer our Intention in affording a clear, inſtructive, and entertaining Deſcription of one of the fineſt Countries in *India*, as well as of the ſeveral Nations that inhabit it. There is a Freedom and Plainneſs in our Author's Stile, that as they are inſeparable from, ſo they are the ſureſt and moſt inconteſtable Signs of Truth, which, in Works of this Nature, is of greater

Value than any other Quality whatever. As the Writer often refers to the ancient Hiſtory of *India*, and the Cuſtoms of the People before they were at all intermixed with Foreigners, the former Part of this Work will enable even the unlearned Reader to underſtand all theſe Things perfectly, and to reap a new Pleaſure from peruſing this Performance, as we have placed it, ſince he is already poſſeſſed of all the Lights that are neceſſary to illuſtrate it. By comparing the hiſtorical Paſſages that occur in relation to the Mogul Empire with the ſuccinct Hiſtory we have already given of that Government, theſe Travels will become a Supplement to that Reign in which the Author viſited *Indoſtan*.

We cannot have a better Account of the general Situation of Trade, or of the particular Circumſtances of the ſeveral *European* Nations concerned in the Commerce of the *Indies*, for the Time in which he wrote, than our Author has given; and, therefore, as his Work is elucidated by what is contained in the preceding Sections, ſo his Accounts will ſerve to throw Light upon the following Sections, and deliver the Reader from the Toil of running through a dry Diſcuſſion of Facts, which, though tedious in itſelf, would otherwiſe make a neceſſary Part of this Performance. As to the References that occur in theſe and in the ſubſequent Relation to our Author's Travels through *Perſia*, they will be cleared up by recurring to thoſe Travels in the ſubſequent Volume. At preſent we ſhall proceed with his Voyages through and Remarks on the Reſt of the *Indies*, which will be found no leſs curious and improving than thoſe we have already peruſed.

SECTION XXVII.

The remaining Voyages of John Albert de Mandelſloe *through the* Indies, *including, his Deſcriptions of Countries, hiſtorical Remarks upon ſeveral Nations, and his Obſervations on the Commerce of the* Portugueze, Engliſh, *and* Dutch *at that Time.*

Tranſlated from the Author's original Voyage, written by himſelf.

1. *An introductory Account of the Deſign of this Section.* 2. *The Author's Departure from* Surat *in the Year* 1639. 3. *He arrives in the Port of* Goa, *and gives us a particular Account of that City, and of the Reception he met with there.* 4. *A compleat View of the Government, Manners, Cuſtoms, and Commerce of the* Portugueze. 5. *Continuation of his Voyage, including an Account of the* Malabar *Coaſt, and its Inhabitants.* 6. *A ſuccinct Hiſtory of the Iſland of* Ceylon. 7. *A particular Deſcription of that Iſland, and the Commodities it produces.* 8. *The Informations he received from the* Portugueze *Jeſuits as to the Countries he did not viſit.* 9. *A very large and particular Deſcription of the Coaſt of* Coromandel, *together with the Kingdoms of* Pegu *and* Siam. 10. *The Kingdoms of* Cambodia, Malacca, Patapan, *and* Johore *deſcribed.* 11. *A View of the great Iſland of* Sumatra, *and its Inhabitants.* 12. *A diſtinct Account of the Iſland of* Java, *its ſeveral Principalities and their Inhabitants.* 13. *Of the Iſlands of* Celebes *and* Amboyna; *together with an Account of the Spice-Iſlands, and their Commerce.* 14. *An Account of the* Philippines, *and of the* Spaniſh *Government there.* 15. *The Hiſtory of* Japan, *and the adjacent Iſlands, as delivered to the Author by the Miſſionaries.* 16. *A very ſingular Deſcription of the Iſland of* Formoſa, *and its Inhabitants.* 17. *A ſuccinct Account of the mighty Empire of* China. 18. *The Author's Voyage to the* Cape of Good-Hope. 19. *Obſervations made there, and in his Paſſage to* Madagaſcar. 20. *A very full Relation of the Iſland of* Madagaſcar, *and its Inhabitants.* 21. *An Account of the* Portugueze *Settlement in the Iſland of* Moſambique. 22. *The Author proſecutes his Voyage to the Iſland of St.* Helena. 23. *The Author's Obſervations upon that Iſland, the Iſland of St.* Thomas, *and other adjacent Iſlands.* 24. *An hiſtorical Account, together with the Author's Remarks on the* Portugueze *Settlements in* Africa. 25. *That Subject continued, with a ſuccinct Deſcription of thoſe Colonies at that Time.* 26. *An Account of* Cape Verd *and the adjacent Iſlands.* 27. *Remarks on the* Azores, Madeira, *and* Canary-Iſlands. 28. *Occurrences in their Voyage from the* Azores *to the Port of* London. 29. *Obſervations made by the Author during his Stay in* England. 30. *His Return through* Holland *to* Holſtein. 31. *Remarks and Obſervations on the before-mentioned Voyages.*

1. THE great Kindneſs and many Civilities ſhewn to Mr. *Mandelſloe* by the chief Director of the *Engliſh* Commerce at *Surat*, naturally inclined him to lay hold of the Offer that Gentleman made him of returning to *Europe* in an *Engliſh* Ship, which he the more readily accepted, becauſe it put it in his Power to execute his Commiſſion fully of gaining the beſt Intelligence he could as to the Commerce of the Eaſt. The *Engliſh* Director was to make a trading Voyage, which particularly required his viſiting the *Portugueze* Ports, where he had many Affairs to ſettle; and this could not but be agreeable to a Man who travelled from ſuch Views as our Author had, inaſmuch as it gave him an Opportunity of ſeeing whatever he wiſhed to behold, and afforded at the ſame time the faireſt Occaſions for examining all he ſaw. We ſhall diſcern, from the ſubſequent Section, that he improved theſe Advantages to the utmoſt, and that he carried back with him to his Maſter the cleareſt and moſt circumſtantial Account of the *Indies* that had till that Time appeared in *Europe*.

I cannot but obſerve, with reſpect to this Detail of Facts, that he is, of all Writers, the moſt unſuſpected, and therefore the moſt worthy of Credit. An *Engliſh*, a *French*, or a *Dutch* Writer, can never diveſt himſelf entirely of the Prejudices imparted to him by his Country; but this Gentleman could have none of thoſe Prejudices, and therefore we may ſafely rely upon what he ſays of any, or of all theſe Nations. He had not only an Inclination, but an Intereſt alſo in purſuing Truth. It was this, and this only, that could recommend him to his Maſter, and therefore of this he never loſt Sight. The *German* Probity appears no where with greater Luſtre than in his Writings; and it was the ſingular Felicity of this great Traveller, that with a Capacity equal to his Undertaking, he joined a Candour altogether unblemiſhed. Let us then reſume the Thread of his Narration, and after travelling with him through *Indoſtan*, embark with him at *Surat* for the Voyage of the *Indies*.

2. The *Engliſh* chief Director having taken Leave of the Governor of *Surat* the Firſt of *January* 1639, who received him with extraordinary Civility, and preſented him with a Garment of Brocade, beſides many other Rarities; and having ſpent two Days more in taking our Leaves of our Friends, we went on board the Third, in Company with the new Preſident, and all the other *Engliſh* Merchants, where we feaſted for three Days, and at

laſt ſailed the Fifth in the *Mary*, and came the ſame Night in Sight of the City of *Daman*, where we met with one of our Ships that had ſtaid for a *Portugueze* Veſſel that was to go with us to *Goa*. The Governor of the City ſent us a large Veſſel with Wine, and divers Refreſhments; for though the City was then beſieged by the King of *Decan*, yet the Harbour being open, they had ſufficient Supplies brought them by Sea. The Kingdom of *Decan*, or *Cuncam*, by ſome called *Viſiapour*, from its capital City, extends all along that Coaſt from *Indediva*, which is within twelve Leagues of *Goa* to the South, as far as *Siffardo*. The chief maritime Places belonging to it are *Gatapour*, *Roſſapour*, *Carrapatar*, and *Dabul*; but *Viſiapour*, the capital City, lies eighty Leagues from *Dabul*, and eighty-four from *Goa*. This City is about eight Leagues in Circumference, being encompaſſed with a very high Wall of Freeſtone, and a broad Ditch, and many Out-works, provided with a thouſand Pieces of Iron and Braſs Cannon. The Royal Palace is in the very Centre of the City, three thouſand five hundred Paces in Compaſs, being divided from the Body of the City by two Walls, and as many Ditches. The City has no leſs than five Suburbs, where moſt of the Merchants live; and in the Suburb *Champour* moſt of the Jewellers have their Habitations. The Inhabitants are for the moſt part Natives of the Kingdom of *Decan*, the reſt are *Banjans*, *Moguls*, and *Gentives*.

The City of *Dabul* is ſeated on the River *Helewacko*, in 17° 40′ on this Side of the Line, being one of the moſt ancient Cities in the Kingdom of *Decan*; but is without either Gates or Walls, defended only on the River-ſide by two Batteries. As you enter the River, you ſee to the left Hand a Wood, and near it a Caſtle, as alſo a white Tower, which ſerves for a Pagod; but is a good Direction for Pilots. Its Entrance being none of the beſt, by reaſon of a long Sand Bank at the very Mouth of it, which at low Water is quite dry, the only ſafe Way to eſcape it is to keep to the South Side; there, at low Water, you have five or ſix Fathom Water, though at the very Mouth you have not above twelve or fourteen Feet; within a League before you come to the River is very ſafe riding for Ships, though the Road, in the Bay of *Zanquizara*, four Leagues thence, is incomparably better. The Harbour of *Ceitapour*, the moſt excellent on all that Coaſt, lies twelve Leagues thence, the Veſſels being ſheltered here by an adjacent Iſland againſt all Winds. It lies in 17° 10′, and twenty Leagues from *Goa*. Three Leagues from the ſaid Harbour lies the City of *Roſſapour*, one of the beſt maritime Towns of the Kingdom of *Decan*; and nineteen Leagues thence is the Bay of *Wingurla*, a very convenient Haven. It lies three Leagues from the *Iſlas Quemedas*. We will now come to its Inhabitants, which are either *Banjans* or *Mohammedans*.

The chief Trade of the City of *Dabul* is in Salt and Pepper brought thither from *Oranubammara*. They uſed formerly to drive a conſiderable Traffick to *Perſia*, and the *Red-Sea*; but they ſend but few Ships thither now. The ordinary Cuſtom paid here is 3 *l.* 10 *s. per Cent.* but the *Engliſh* pay only one Moiety of it. Though the greateſt Part of the Inhabitants of the Kingdom of *Decan* or *Cuncam* are *Banjans*, yet are they not ſo averſe to Fleſh as the others in the *Indies*; for they will feed upon any Fleſh, except that of an Ox, Cow, Buffalo, and Swine; for the laſt they have an abſolute Abomination, and the Ox and Cow are in great Veneration with them. In their Life and Converſation, Marriages, Purifications, and other Ceremonies, they follow the Footſteps of the other *Banjans*.

Their Habitations are only Cottages of Straw, the Doors being ſo low that one cannot go in without ſtooping. Their Furniture amounts to no more than a Mat to ſleep upon, and in the midſt of the Hut you ſee a Hole in the Ground, wherein they beat the Rice. They do not differ in their Habit from the other *Banjans*, except that they wear moſtly wooden Shoes tied up over the Inſteps with Leather Straps; but their Children go naked till they are ſeven or eight Years of Age. Their Arms are the ſame with the *Indoſtans*; moſt of them are Goldſmiths by Trade, though ſome alſo profeſs Phyſick and Surgery; they have alſo ſome Carpenters, Maſons, and Barbers among them.

The chief Commerce of the Kingdom of *Decan* conſiſts in Pepper and Proviſions. The firſt is tranſported thence into *Perſia*, *Surat*, and *Europe*, as alſo Abundance of Callico; with the latter they furniſh the Provinces of *Indoſtan*, *Golconda*, and *Coromandel*, who fetch good Quantities of Stuffs there. In the Mountains of *Balagatta* much Lacque is made, but does not approach in Goodneſs to that of *Guzerat*. At *Viſiapour* are Abundance of Jewellers that deal in Pearls; but they are not ſo cheap here as in ſome other Places. The *Portugueze* have a conſiderable Trade in this Kingdom, its Frontiers reaching within four Leagues of *Goa*. There are a Sort of People called *Veneſars* in *Decan*, whoſe chief Buſineſs is to buy up vaſt Quantities of Wheat and Rice here, and then carry it in great Caravans of one thouſand Beaſts at a time to *Indoſtan*, and other neighbouring Countries. They carry their Families along with them, their Wives being ſo expert in managing of the Bow, that they ſerve them for a Guard againſt the *Raſhpoots*, and other Robbers.

Two Sorts of Money are current in *Decan*, the *Larins*, or *Laris*, which come from *Perſia*, and the *Pagodas*; eight of the firſt make a *Pagod*, which is equivalent to ten *Laris* of *Dabul*; their Copper Coin is called *Barſarinques*, nine whereof go to a *Piece*, and eighteen of theſe to a *Laris*; beſides which, each City, nay, each Village of Note, has its peculiar Coin, which, together with the counterfeit Coin, breeds no ſmall Confuſion. Their Weights are the ſame with thoſe of *Guzerat*, except that twenty *Maons* of *Surat* make twenty-ſeven in *Decan*, the ordinary *Maons* conſiſting of forty *Ceeres*, and one *Coppeyſes* make twenty-ſeven Pounds, each of which has two Marks; they have a particular Weight for Pepper called *Geomy*, weighing twelve *Maons*, four of which make an hundred Weight, and twenty a *Canday*.

The King of *Decan*, or *Viſiapour*, is tributary to the Great Mogul, though it be ſuppoſed he can raiſe two hundred thouſand Men; and theſe Kings have had conſiderable Wars with the *Portugueze*, from whom they took twice the City of *Goa* in 1586; but at laſt, finding the War deſtructive to their Commerce, came to a Compoſition with them, which laſted till 1638, when the *Portugueze* having ſeized ſome of the King of *Decan*'s Ships, which, contrary to their Agreement, were carrying Pepper to *Mecca* and *Perſia*, they came again to Hoſtilities. The King of *Decan* is famous for his great Artillery, of which he has more than any of the *Indian* Princes; and among the reſt one great Piece of Braſs Cannon, the Ball whereof weigheth eight hundred Weight, and requires five hundred-and-forty Pounds of fine Powder. The Engineer who caſt it was an *Italian*.

3. But to return to our Voyage, early in the Morning, *January* the 7th, we came before the City *Baccin* belonging to the *Portugueze*, where we ſtaid ſome Hours in Expectation of a certain Jeſuit we were to carry to *Goa*; but he not coming, we continued our Courſe, but were ſcarce got a League before we ſaw a *Portugueze* Frigate come after us; we backed our Sails till ſhe came near us, and found her to be a Veſſel that came on purpoſe to go along with us under *Engliſh* Colours, for fear of being interrupted by the *Dutch*; ſhe brought us ſome Preſents, *viz.* three Oxen, ſome Sheep, Oranges, Citrons, and Bread from the Governor. The 9th we ſailed with another Wind by the Iſles of *Bandera* and *Bombay*, which ſtretched along the Coaſt from *Baccim* to *Viſiapour*; the laſt has a good Road for Anchorage, and is of a pretty large Extent. On the 10th we ſailed by *Raſiſapour* within twenty-one Leagues of *Goa*, and in the Afternoon by the City of *Vingerla*, where the *Dutch* have a Settlement four Leagues from *Goa*, and in the Evening came in Sight of the Iſles about *Goa*, and of two Iſles that ſecure the Harbour. On the 11th we came to an Anchor under the Fort *de Guarda*, which lies not above a Mile from the City of *Goa*; we ſaw ſix Galleons and a Carrack in the Haven; ſoon after came aboard us a *Portugueze* Captain to compliment the *Engliſh* Preſident in the Viceroy's Name, and immediately after the Commodore of the Galleons. The Harbour of *Goa* was then blocked up by twelve *Dutch* Ships, notwithſtanding which we ſaw coming in a Caravan, conſiſting of three hundred ſmall Coaſting Veſſels, laden with Pepper, Ginger, Cinnamon, Sugar, Rice, Fruits, and Preſerves, beſides Abundance of Proviſions.

The *Engliſh* Preſident, whoſe Buſineſs here was chiefly with the Director of the *Exchequer*, went to pay him a Viſit, his Trumpets ſounding all the Way as he went up the River, who received him with great Demonſtrations of Friendſhip, becauſe they had known one another long before; being carried thence to his Lodgings, he deſired and had Audience given him immediately by the Viceroy. His Palace lying on the River-ſide, we found divers of his Gentlemen there to receive and conduct us into the Hall of Audience, in the Anti-chamber of which Palace we ſaw his Guards ſtanding in two Files. The Viceroy himſelf was dreſſed in black, and ſo were all his Courtiers, and at the coming in of the Preſident roſe out of his Chair till the other was ſat down: After ſome Stay the Preſident was re-conducted to the Water-ſide by the ſame Gentleman that brought us thither; as we paſſed along we were ſhewn twelve of the Viceroy's Horſes, richly accoutered, and a Biggel, a Creature much about the Bigneſs and Colour of a Rein-deer. Its Head like an Horſe, its Mane like an Aſs, with black cloven Feet, and two black Horns on his Head.

We had ſcarce dined when we were crowded with Viſitants, moſt of the Perſons of Quality among the *Portugueze*, and the Deputies of all the Monaſteries coming to compliment us, the ten Days we ſtaid at *Goa* being ſpent in nothing but Feaſts and Viſits. The moſt magnificent Entertainment of all we received from a certain *Portugueze* Lord, who was then Governor of *Mozambique*; each Courſe conſiſted of four Diſhes, but we had ſo many of them, and ſuch Variety of Meats, Fruits, and Preſerves, that I ſcarce ever ſaw the like in my Life; and to add to the reſt, we were ſerved at the Table by four very handſome *Malacca* Maids. The 16th we were invited to the profeſſed Houſe of the Jeſuits; it conſiſted of an hundred-and-fifty Fathers, and as many Students; but the Structure, which was four Story high, and very ſpacious, could have contained a much greater Number. We paſſed through the Hall, where we found Tables ſet all along the Walls with Trenchers, Drinking-Cups, and Earthen Pots. In the midſt of the Hall we ſaw another ſquare Table, intended for ſuch of their Society as were bound over to Penance, upon the Account of ſome Delinquency or other. Towards the Entry ſtood a Pillar, from whence iſſued out a Spout of Water for the Conveniency of waſhing their Hands; we were thence conducted into a noble Apartment, richly furniſhed, and adorned with Tapeſtry, where a Table ſtood ready prepared for us in the midſt of the Room, covered with Fruits and Bread in Porcelain Diſhes, which is here preferred before Silver.

The Father Provincial having placed the *Engliſh* Preſident on his right Hand, ſet down, and ſo did the Reſt of the Company; ſo that betwixt every two ſat two Jeſuits to entertain us. The Meat was likewiſe ſerved up in Porcelain Veſſels, as well as the Deſert. After Dinner we were brought into ſeveral Chambers to take our Repoſe, according to the Cuſtom of the Country; after which we paſſed into another ſpacious Hall, where we had the Diverſion of Dancing, by certain *Indian* Children brought up in the Roman Catholick Religion; there were among other Shews an Entry made by fifteen Perſons, having in their Hands ſome Pieces of a broken Pillar, and divers Garlands of Flowers, wherewith they adorned the Pillar, after they had with exact Obſervance of the Cadence, each in their ſeveral Turning put it together; and ſoon after we ſaw at the Top of the Pillar came out a Tulip, which opening of itſelf by Doors, produced the Image of the Bleſſed Virgin, with our Saviour in her Arms: beſides which, the Pillar opened in ſeveral other Places, and caſt forth perfumed Waters; after which the Dancers took the Pillar to Pieces again, and carried it off dancing as they had brought it in. We had another Entry of twelve young Lads, each playing upon a peculiar Inſtrument, ſome Morris-dancers, and the Ball was concluded with another Entry of twelve Boys dreſſed like Apes, who imitated thoſe Creatures in their Leapings and Geſtures to the Life. They farther told us, that they uſed theſe Inticements to bring over the *Pagans* and *Mohammedans* to the Church, and to divert their Diſciples after their Studies.

January the 18th we dined with the Jeſuits at their College called *Bon Jeſus*. The firſt Thing we obſerved in their Halls were the Pictures of many Princes and Perſons of Quality that had been of this Society, and the Hiſtory of their Martyrs; among whom we found thoſe of that Fraternity that were engaged in the Gunpowder Plot in *England*; upon which Account they made us an ample Relation of the Sufferings of their Brethren in *Japan*, and the unheard-of Cruelties exerciſed againſt them, as well as the *Japaneſe* Chriſtians. Thence they brought us into their Church, which for its Greatneſs and Sumptuouſneſs may, without all Compariſon, challenge the Preference before any Church the Jeſuits are Maſters of in *Aſia*. The high Altar was one of the moſt magnificent that ever I beheld of that kind; but that which was dedicated to *Saint Francis Xavier*, whom they ſtile the Apoſtle of the *Indies*, exceeds the other in Riches.

Here we ſaw his Image drawn to the Life upon Wood; and they were pleaſed to tell us, that his Body was yet to be ſeen in the ſame Church as intire as it was the firſt Minute after his Death; nay, they farther told us, that the Body of this Saint being hid in the Iſle of *Ceylon*, was diſcovered by its odoriferous Scent, which was perceived many Leagues at Sea; in which the good Fathers were not a little deceived, ſince the Scent, which is ſmelled at a great Diſtance from the Iſland of *Ceylon*, proceeds from the vaſt Number of Cinnamon-Trees which are all over that Iſland. Beſides, that this Story does not agree with what *Maffæus*, one of their Authors, tells us concerning this Saint, *viz.* that having preached the Goſpel in the *Indies*, he came to *China*, where he died immediately after his Landing; and that the Maſter of the Veſſel having put his Body into unſlacked Lime, in order to carry his Bones away, this corroding Matter did not exert its Virtue upon it, but the Body remained entire and uncorrupted, and had a very odoriferous Smell; whereupon it was reſolved to carry it to *Goa*, which was done accordingly. As we were going from the Church to the Refectory, they forgot not to entertain us with the Miracles of this Saint, of his raiſing the Dead, commanding the Sea and Winds, as well as the Sun, the laſt of which he brought back an Hour after Sun-ſet.

We ſaw in the Hall here Tables for above two hundred Perſons, but only the moſt conſiderable dined with us, the reſt waited: Our Entertainment was much the ſame as in the other College, but we had moſt excellent Canary given us; and though theſe Fathers have the Reputation of extraordinary Sobriety, yet out of Complaiſance to our Company, they were not backward in making the Cup go round when they perceived we liked the Wine. They alſo carried us up into the Steeple, whence we had a full View of all the City, the Sea, the River, and the adjacent Country, as far as the Mountains. The next Morning two of the Fathers came to our Lodgings to ſhew us the Hoſpital which is under the Inſpection of the Jeſuits. It is a very large and noble Structure, containing as many Chambers, Halls, and Galleries as will conveniently lodge and accommodate one thouſand ſick Perſons; each Bed is marked with a particular Number, and ſuch as are not taken up are diſtinguiſhed by a particular Mark. The Kitchen and Apothecary's Shop are well worth Obſervation. I found the chief Diſtempers of the Sick here to be the Bloody-flux and the Pox. They have this Cuſtom, that as ſoon as any Patient is paſt all Hopes of Recovery, he is ſhut up in a private Room with a Prieſt, that the reſt may not be diſturbed by the Groans of the dying Perſon.

Hence we went to the Convent of our Lady belonging to the *Auſtin-Friars*, which, being built upon riſing Ground, makes a moſt glorious Shew at a Diſtance. I delivered to them the Letters of Recommendation I had received from their Brethren at *Iſpahan*, which made them treat me with more than ordinary Civilities, ſhewing me all the rich Capes and Veſtments belonging to the Monaſteries, and offering me all that lay in their Power for my Service. The Preſident having by this Time received nine thouſand Pounds due, and a Promiſe of the Payment of the Reſt to ſuch of the *Engliſh* Merchants as were to ſtay behind at *Goa*, he gave a ſplendid Entertainment to all ſuch as had ſhewed us any Civilities, and after having taken his Leave, the Governor and Commodore of the Galleons ſent him a Preſent of Cinnamon, Canary, Sheep, Fruits, and among the reſt a Bottle of Oil made of the Flowers of Cinnamon.

4. On the 20th we left *Goa*, and upon the River met with an hundred ſmall Veſſels which came from the Coaſt of *Malabar*; we were no ſooner got out of the River, but we made ſtrait to the *Portugueze* Fleet, and went aboard the Flag Galleon called *Bon Jeſus*, carrying ſixty-four Guns, and ſix hundred Men; ſhe was a very noble Ship, and we were entertained with extraordinary Civility by the Commodore, who ſhewed us likewiſe all the other Ships; at parting we had the uſual Salute from the whole *Portugueze* Fleet, as alſo from the Fort *de Guarda*. As ſoon as the Preſident was come on board, he returned them twenty Guns, which the Commodore anſwered with as many, and ſo came to an Anchor in the Road betwixt the *Portugueze* and the *Dutch*.

But before we take our Leave of *Goa*, it will not be amiſs to ſay ſomething of what we found moſt remarkable in a Place which is the Capital of all belonging to the *Portugueze* in the *Indies*. It lies in the Kingdom of *Decan*, 15° on this Side the Line, in an Iſland of the ſame Name, which is divided from the Continent only by a River. The *Portugueze* conquered it the 16th of *February* 1510, but loſt it again the 30th of *May* following, and regained it once more the 12th of *November* in the ſame Year, when they took it by Storm. It was at that Time a very conſiderable Place of Trade, though it has much increaſed ſince the *Portugueze* have been Maſters of it. On the South Side is the Iſland of *Salſette*, likewiſe divided from the Continent by a ſmall River, as is the Iſle of *Bardes* to the North, where there is ſafe Anchorage for Ships with all Winds. The Fort *de Guarda* is built at the Foot of a Rock, upon which is erected a Tower in Form of a Redoubt, which in the Night-time ſerves for a Beacon to Mariners; from the Mouth of the River to the Harbour is about two Leagues, but it has the ſame Breadth all along, though in ſome Places it is ſo ſhallow, that in a dry Seaſon there is not above two Foot Water.

The Iſland of *Goa* is ſo barren, that it produces nothing fit for the Suſtenance of Men or Beaſts, except a few Fruits in the Gardens, and a ſlender Share of Graſs for Lambs and Goats; notwithſtanding which, they are ſo plentifully furniſhed with Proviſions from the two before-mentioned Iſlands, and the Continent, that in ſpight of the Blockade of the *Dutch*, a Hog was then ſold for a Crown, ſix ſucking Pigs, ten Pullets, or eight Wild-ducks, for the ſame Price; but Beef and Mutton is a great Rarity here. There is a Fountain repreſenting *Lucretia*, out of whoſe Wound iſſues forth as much freſh Water as ſupplies the whole City. The Ships provide themſelves with freſh Water out of a Rivulet, which coming out of a Rock falls into the other River near the Caſtle. The City has no other Defence but the River, having neither Gates nor Walls; the Buildings are generally very handſome, and Perſons of Note ſhew a great deal of Magnificence here both in their Buildings and Furniture.

The Inhabitants are of two Sorts, either *Caſtizes*, or *Meſtizes*; the firſt are ſuch as are born here of *Portugueze* Father and Mother; the ſecond, thoſe who were begotten by a *Portugueze*, or an *Indian*. The laſt are inclining to an olive Colour, and in the third Generation becomes as black as the Natives of the Country, which is alſo obſervable in the fourth Generation of the *Meſtizes*, though there is not the leaſt Mixture among them. The *Portugueze* are diſtinguiſhed into ſeveral Ranks; *Tituladoes* are thoſe in publick Employments; *Fidalgos da caſa del Rey*, are Gentlemen in ordinary to the King's Houſhold; *Mocas Fidalgos* are the Sons of the *Tituladoes*, admitted to Gentility by the King; the *Cavaleros Fidalgos*, and *Eſcuderos Fidalgos*, are ſimply Gentlemen; thoſe called *Mocas da Camra*, or Grooms of the King's Chamber, paſs alſo for Gentlemen. All the reſt are *Hombres*, *Honrados*, and *Soldados*; the firſt of which are Merchants, and appear as well as any Gentlemen, there being ſcarce any thing here, except Taylors and Shoemakers, but what are ſerved by Slaves; no Perſon of Quality ever goes on Foot, but either on Horſeback, in a Litter, or Gondola, one Slave among the reſt conſtantly attending him with an Umbrella.

The *Portugueze* have always had the Reputation of being a very proud Nation; but thoſe of *Goa* are ſo to ſuch an Exceſs both in their Geſtures and Actions, as is ſcarce to be expreſſed; however, they are very ceremonious to one another, to ſuch a Punctilio, that if, for Inſtance, in a Viſit any thing ſhould be omitted that is judged cuſtomary, and belonging to the Perſon that requires it, ſuch a Stain could not be wiped off without a Cudgeling, or Blood-ſhed; with the firſt they are very liberal towards inferior Perſons, if they think them to have been wanting in Reſpect due to thoſe of a better Rank.

The South-weſt Winds, which begin to blow here towards the End of *June*, bring the Winter Seaſon along with them, which continues for four Months all along that Coaſt, from *Diu* as far as the *Cape Comorin*, at which Time the frequent Tempeſts make the Sea ſo turbulent, that there are but few Havens where Ships can ride with Safety. This is the more to be admired, inaſmuch as in the ſame Months the Coaſts of *Coromandel*, which extend along the ſame Peninſula on the other Side, and lies under the ſame Degree of Latitude, nay, in ſome Places are not above twenty Leagues diſtant from the Coaſt of *Malabar*, is bleſſed with the moſt pleaſant Seaſon of all the Year.

This is manifeſt to thoſe who travel from *Cochin* by Land to *St. Thomas*, when they muſt croſs the Mountain of *Balagatta*, which divides this *Demi-Iſle* (as the *Appenine* do *Italy*) and no ſooner come to the Top of the Mountain, but they ſee on one Side a moſt clear and temperate Air, and the Country on the other Side covered with Waters, by the continual Rains and Fogs. The Ships that go from *Ormuz* to the Cape of *Roſſalgate* have made the ſame Obſervation; for no ſooner have they paſſed the Cape, but the fair Weather that has attended them thither changes on a ſudden into dreadful Tempeſts, ſo that it is evident there are but two Seaſons in this Country, and the Eaſt and Weſt Winds rule alternately once a Day; for the Therentes, or Land-winds coming from the Eaſt, blow from Midnight to Mid-day, but do not reach above ten Leagues into the Sea; whereas the Sea-Winds coming from the Weſt (call Viraſons) blow all the reſt of the Day.

This ſo ſudden Change of the Seaſon, as well as conſtant Variation of the Winds, prove the Occaſion of many Diſtempers, eſpecially that called Mordexin, which kills without Delay, beſides Fevers and Bloody-fluxes, the only Remedy againſt which here is Bleeding. The Plague is not ſo much as known in the *Indies*: but the Pox deſtroys a great Number, and above all among the *Portugueze*; for though the Country itſelf furniſhes them with Remedies againſt this Diſtemper, yet the Inclinations betwixt the Sexes are ſo ſtrong and violent here, that they wont afford themſelves a proper Time for the Cure of this Diſeaſe, which is thus propagated beyond all Bounds. As the Women in theſe Parts have an exceſſive Inclination to white Men, and are always kept under Conſtraint, they will venture very hard to encompaſs their Ends; and to purſue this End, frequently make uſe of the Herb Doutro, Doutry, or Datura (as it is called by the *Indians*) to ſtupify their Huſband's Senſes to get an Opportunity of enjoying what they ſo much delight in. This Herb, called by the *Turks* and *Perſians* Datula, is a kind of Stramonea, according to the *Garſias ab Horto*, and *Chriſtopher de Acoſta*, being ſomewhat like our Bear's Foot, and grows in the *Indies* in ſhady Places; of this they extract the Juice, whilſt it is green, or only take the Seed beaten to Powder, and mix it either with Preſerves, or in the Drink of thoſe they intend to ſtupify, which it does effectually for twenty-four Hours after he has taken it, being deprived of all Senſe or Motion, though with his Eyes open, unleſs ſome cold Water be applied to the Soles of his Feet, which recovers him, as it were, out of a ſound Sleep.

Scarce any *Portugueze* or *Meſtize* Women are ſeen to walk in the Streets; but if they go abroad upon neceſſary Occaſions, they are carried in Palanquins, or Litters, and ſo cloſely guarded, that it is impoſſible to ſpeak to them. They appear abroad richly dreſſed, in Velvets, Silks, and Brocades, adorned with Jewels, though at the ſame time they go at home in their Hair only, with nothing over them but a Calico Smock, reaching down to the Navel, and a painted Calico Petticoat. Their Fare is not much better, being Rice ſoaked in Broth, Fiſh, Mangoes, and ſuch-like Food. They have certain black earthen Drinking-Veſſels called Gorgollets, which have Pipes coming up as high as the Brim, by which they ſuck the Water out of the Bottles. As Chaſtity is a Virtue here among the Women, produced rather by Neceſſity than Inclination, ſo their Huſbands are extremely jealous of them; notwithſtanding which, they will contrive all poſſible means to have their Satisfaction, in ſpite of the Danger that attends it. This muſt be in a great meaſure attributed to an idle Life, having nothing to do to ſpend their Time but in chewing of Betel, Cloves, and Nutmegs. A remarkable Inſtance of this Affection is the Love the *Indian* Women bear to the Children begotten by an *European*, which is ſuch, that they would rather die than part with them.

The Soldiers at *Goa* live at a very odd rate, being not liſted under any certain Companies, or Officers, unleſs in Time of War; but in Time of Peace are at Liberty to ſeek their Fortune where they can, as having no other Pay but what perhaps their former Officers allow them voluntarily towards their Subſiſtence, that they may keep them at hand upon all Occaſions. You ſhall ſee ten or twelve of them live in a Hut, having not above two or three Suits of Cloaths among them all, which they wear by Turns, when they go abroad a begging, or ſeeking their Livelihood where they can meet with it. The *Portugueze* ſhew a deal of Magnificence in their Marriages and Chriſtenings. The Bridegroom, accompanied by all his Friends and Relations, goes to Church on Horſeback, the Bride following him in a Litter: Both have two Godfathers, who preſents them to the Prieſt; after the Benediction is given, they return in the ſame manner to the Houſe; but none are permitted to enter with the young Couple except the Godfathers, who go all together into a Balcony to give the Company Thanks for this Favour. Their Chriſtenings are performed with the ſame Pomp, ſave that they carry alſo an Ewer with a clean Napkin, a Saltſeller, a Silver Baſon, ſurrounded with Flowers, and a Wax Candle, in which is put a Piece of Gold or Silver for the Prieſt; but the Godfather or Midwife are always carried in a Litter.

The *Portugueze* entertain a great Number of Slaves of both Sexes. Theſe they employ both in their Retinue, and about all other Buſineſs: As for Inſtance, in ſelling of Fruits and other Things, when they will be ſure to pitch upon handſome Wenches, which draw ſooner the Cuſtomers to them, and conſequently ſell at a dearer Rate. All that the Slaves get belong to their Maſters, even their Children, whom they keep, or ſell like Cattle, unleſs the Fathers redeem them within eight or ten Days after they are born. They keep them at a very eaſy Rate, their Diet being miſerable, and their Cloathing being only a little coarſe Callico to cover their privy Parts. The Inhabitants of the neighbouring Country are *Pagans*, and generally *Banjans*, who dwell in Straw Huts, with little Doors, which ſerve alſo for Windows. Their whole Furniture conſiſts of little Mats made of Ruſhes, which ſerve both for Beds and Tables, a Drinking-Cup and Pitcher made of Fig-leaves, their daily Food being Rice. They are ſo ſuperſtitious, that if after they have ſaid their Prayers, they go abroad and meet with a Crow, they return home, and ſtir no more abroad that Day. Upon the Roads they conſtantly pay their Devotions to the Pagods, which the *Portugueze* connive at, their Inquiſition going no farther than to Chriſtians, or ſuch as have been ſo.

Their Ceremonies and Manner of Living are the ſame with thoſe of *Decan*. One Thing is remarkable among them, that their Phyſicians are in ſo great Eſteem at *Goa*, that they are generally preferred before the *Portugueze* themſelves, and are permitted to have their Umbrella's carried along with them, a Privilege allowed here to none but Perſons of Quality. They will not eat with anybody except their own Sect, not even in a Journey, though they ſhould be driven to the greateſt Extremity. There live at *Goa* many *Decanins* and *Canarins*, who keep Shops there, and exchange their Proviſions and other Commodities they bring, for Porcelane, Velvet, Damaſk, *China* Commodities, Silks and Callicoes. They have alſo many Jewellers, Goldſmiths, Gravers, and other Artiſans of this ſort at *Goa*, who exceed all the *Europeans* in that kind. The *Canarins* live either upon Huſbandry or Fiſhing. Some maintain themſelves by managing the Cocoa-trees, ſome by waſhing and whitening of Callicoes. The Huſbandmen furniſh the City with Fowl, Milk, Fruit, and Eggs. Their Wives are ſo hardy, that they never make uſe of a Midwife; and are no ſooner delivered but they waſh the Child themſelves, wrap it in a few Fig leaves, and go about their Buſineſs again as before; which makes them ſo ſtrong and healthy, that they frequently live to an hundred Years of Age. They are ſo excellent at ſwimming, that nothing is more common than to ſee them overturn in their Boats, which hold no more than one Perſon, and ſwim aſhore without any Harm or Loſs of the Boat. They burn their Dead, but their Women are under no Obligation to burn themſelves with their Huſbands, but only make a Vow of Widowhood. Here are two ſorts of *Jews*, either born in the *Indies* both by Father and Mother Side, or that come hither from *Paleſtine*, the laſt of which commonly ſpeak good *Spaniſh*: They enjoy a perfect Liberty of Conſcience, and have their own Synagogues. The *Mohammedans* here deal moſt in Spices from the *Red-Sea*.

The *Portugueze* traffick to *Bengal*, *Pegu*, *Malacca*, *China*, and *Cambaya*, in *Guzerat*. From Seven o'Clock in the Morning till Nine, when the Heat begins to increaſe, you ſee all Perſons of Quality and Gentry meet in the Market-place to divert themſelves, partly with hearing of News, or elſe to ſee what is to be bought and ſold there. Merchants and Tradeſmen have their peculiar Streets or Stations aſſigned them, according to their different Profeſſions; but their greateſt Profit is in exchanging and buying or ſelling of Money, eſpecially the *Spaniſh* Rials and *Perſian Lari's*; alſo their Coin is of divers Sorts. Their ſmalleſt Money is of Tin, having a Globe on one Side, and on the other two Arrows croſs-wiſe. Eight of theſe *Baſorinques* make a *Ventin*, five whereof make a *Tange*; five *Tanges* make a *Serafin* of Silver, which makes 300 *Reis*; ſix *Tanges* amount to a *Pardai*. The *Serafin* has on one Side *St. Sebaſtian*, and on the other a Quiver full of Arrows. There is alſo a *Serafin* of Gold, coined formerly at *Ormuz*, the Metal of which exceeds in Fineneſs any other Coin in the *Indies*. They have alſo *Santemes* of ſix *Tanges*, and *Pagods* of fourteen, fifteen, and ſixteen *Tanges*. Foreigners are obliged to pay eight *per Cent.* on all Commodities exported or imported, but great Moderations are uſed in the Taxations; beſides, that if a Merchant happen to export the ſame Commodities for want of Sale, they are allowed to export them without paying any further Cuſtom. They have alſo a Way of entering the Commodities they buy at *Goa* under the Seller's Name, and ſo they paſs Cuſtom-free.

The Viceroy who was there at our Time was one Don *Pedro de Silva*, who was of no great Aſpect, but was for the reſt ſerved in the ſame State as a King. This Office is never continued above three Years in one Perſon, which is ſufficient to enrich him even to a very high Degree; for he has the Management of the King's whole Revenue, is at the Charge of keeping his Court, and, in the Progreſs he makes once a Year, for ſixty or eighty Leagues round, he receives vaſt Preſents from the neighbouring Princes and Governors; for though he has his Council of State, and Courts of Law and Equity, yet is he the ſole Judge of all civil Cauſes, unleſs they be of very great Conſequence, when an Appeal lies to the King; but in criminal Cauſes no Appeal is admitted, if the Perſon be under the Degree of a Gentleman; for theſe muſt be ſent with the Information brought againſt them to *Portugal*. The Viceroy at his Arrival always lands firſt in the Iſle of *Bardes*, from whence he ſends his Deputies to his Predeceſſor, who thereupon quits the Place.

5. On the 22d the *Engliſh* Director having ſent away the two Ships that came along with us to *Surat*, to carry thither the Money he had received at *Goa*, we hoiſted ſail. In the Evening we ſaw the whole *Dutch* Fleet under Sail, whence we judged that the Admiral, whoſe Name was *Caulon*, would have come on board us, as he had promiſed

he would, but we loſt Sight of them by Night. On the 23d we had Sight of them again, and ſuppoſed that they ſteered their Courſe towards *Ceylon*, to aſſiſt the King againſt the *Portugueze*. About Noon we found ourſelves out of Sight of the Land, in 13° Lat. We intended to ſteer for the Coaſt of *Malabar*, upon Information that an *Engliſh* Ship, richly laden, coming from *Bantam*, was taken by theſe, after a brave Defence, in which it had blown up above 1200 of the *Moors*, after they were entered the Ship. Our Intent was to redeem the Maſter and the Mate, with fourteen Priſoners that were taken aboard her; but coming to an Anchor the ſame Night in the Harbour of *Cananor*, we found three *Engliſh* Ships, the *Dragon*, the *Catherine*, and the *Seymour*, commanded by Captain *Waddel*, a very experienced Sea Officer, who had ſerved at the taking of *Ormuz*, by whom being informed, that moſt of thoſe Priſoners were ſet at Liberty, we reſolved to leave the Coaſt of *Malabar*. The City of *Cananor* is inhabited by *Malabars*, a People that inhabit that Coaſt from the City of *Goa* as far as the Cape of *Comorin*, but the *Portugueze* have a good Fleet at *Cananor*.

All that Tract of Land is very fertile in Spices, but eſpecially in Pepper, which is eſteemed better even than that which is brought from *Sumatra* and *Java*. They go for the moſt part naked, except that they cover their privy Parts, have Holes in their Ears, and are like the *African Moors*, except that their Lips are not quite ſo thick. Their Hair they tie in a Knot upon the Crown of their Heads, and let the Beard grow without any trimming, which makes them appear more like Monſters than Men; neither is their internal Diſpoſition unanſwerable to their external Appearance, being in effect a very uncivilized and barbarous Generation, and making for the moſt part Profeſſion either of Piracy or Soldiery. They are rather fierce than brave, handle their Bows and Arrows, and alſo their Swords and Bucklers, with ſufficient Dexterity. They have their particular King, who being of the Sect of the *Bramans*, is alſo their High-Prieſt, and ſtiles himſelf *Zamorin*, or Emperor of *Cananor* and *Calicut*. The *Nayers* are the Gentlemen of the Country, who by their Bracelets and Rings are diſtinguiſhed from the *Polya's*, or vulgar Sort, theſe laſt being obliged to go out of their Way, and pay them a peculiar Reſpect as they paſs by. I was told, that at the Time of the firſt Settlement of the *Portugueze* in thoſe Parts, the *Nayers* pretended to have the ſame Honours from the *Portugueze*, which theſe (who were no leſs proud than the other) refuſing to comply with, it was agreed, the Difference ſhould be decided by a ſingle Combat betwixt a *Portugueze* and a *Nayer*, in which the firſt having got the better, the *Nayers* ever ſince pay the ſame Reſpect to the *Portugueze* as the *Polya's* do to them.

They have among other Privileges this, that they may freely enter the Houſes of their Comrades, and pleaſe themſelves with their Wives and Daughters, the Signal being to leave their Sword and Buckler at the Door; which done, no-body, not even the Maſter of the Houſe, will enter to diſturb them; but a *Nayer* will never degrade himſelf ſo far as to have any Commerce with the Wife of a *Polya*. The *Malabars* uſe Bodkins, with which they write upon the Bark of Cocoa-trees; their Characters being quite different from thoſe of the other *Indians*, are underſtood only by the *Bramans*. The King of *Calicut* never eats or drinks any thing but what has been preſented before to his Pagod, or Idol. The Inheritance to the Crown does not fall to the Son, but his Siſter's Son, ſince, as the *Bramans* here have the Firſt-fruits of the Bride's Virginity, the Children are ſuppoſed to be begotten by them. As to the City of *Cochin*, Notice muſt be taken, that there are two of that Name in the ſame Kingdom of *Cochin*, one whereof is inhabited by *Malabars*, and lies upon a great River; the laſt, of which we now ſpeak, lies upon the Coaſt, and is under the Subjection of the *Portugueze*, having the Sea to the Weſt, and being ſurrounded on the Land-ſide with a Foreſt of certain black Trees, which the Inhabitants hollow out, and make Boats of, and will go with them as far as *Goa*.

The Entrance of the Harbour is rocky and dangerous. The Rains of the Winter Seaſon, which ſwell the neighbouring Brooks, force ſo much Earth during that Time into the Mouth of the Harbour, that it is ſtopped up and quite unpaſſable, till the Wind, which changes with the Seaſon, carries the ſame into the Sea. The *Portugueze* buy the Pepper here from the King at a certain Rate, who is one of the moſt potent Princes of all thoſe Parts, being able to bring into the Field 100,000 Men, moſtly *Nayers*, who are obliged to appear in Arms at their own Charge. His Subjects are ſomething more civilized than the other *Malabars*, but obſerve the ſame Rule in their Marriages concerning the *Bramans*, and conſequently in reſpect of their Succeſſion. The chief Trade of *Cochin* is in Pepper, Ginger, and Cinnamon. The *Malabars* had formerly but one King, till *Sarama Perymal*, who alone commanded on all that Coaſt from *Goa* to *Comorin*, having embraced the *Mohammedan* Religion, and reſolved to ſpend his Days near the Sepulchre of the Prophet, divided his Dominions among his neareſt Friends, under Condition that the Kings of *Cananor*, *Cochin*, and *Chaul*, ſhould pay Homage to the King of *Calicut*, upon whom for that Reaſon he beſtowed the Title of *Zamorin*, or Emperor; but notwithſtanding this the King of *Cochin* is much more potent than he.

6. On the 26th we left *Cananor*, and the next Day diſcovered eighteen Sail of Ships, which making up towards us, we began to ſuſpect them for Pirates, as indeed they proved. We had juſt Time enough to put ourſelves in a Poſture of Defence, when they began to come pretty near us, but did not think fit to attack us till Midnight, when the Moon ſhining very bright, they ſurrounded us on all Sides, but were ſo warmly received, that we ſunk two and diſabled three or four more, which made them think of retreating. We paſſed that Night in Sight of the Fort of *Cochin*, and the 28th ſaw no more than fourteen of theſe Pirates following us at a Diſtance; we continued our Courſe with a fair Gale in Sight of the Cape of *Comorin*, to the S. E. of us, being the moſt ſouthern Part of the *Indies*, known among the Ancients by the Name of *India*, on this Side the *Ganges*. The next Night the *Malabars* made a Shew as if they intended to venture the other Bruſh with us; but a Volley of Shot, though without Bullets, ſent them a going, ſo that we heard no more of them.

The 29th we came within Sight of the Iſland of *Ceylon*, at the very Point of which we were becalmed for three Weeks. This Iſle extends from the South-Eaſt to the North-Eaſt, between the two Capes of *Comorin* and *Negapatan*, abut ten Leagues from the Continent; its Length being ſixty Leagues, and its Breadth forty; its Circumference two hundred and fifty; and, according to the Report of the Inhabitants, its Compaſs was much greater before the Violence of the Sea carried away a large Part of Land on the Side towards *Comorin*. It is the richeſt and moſt fertile of all the *Indian* Iſlands, which I ſuppoſe to be the *Taprobana* of the Ancients, though I am not ignorant that ſome of our modern Geographers mak it the Iſle of *Sumatra*, of which more hereafter. I did not without Reaſon call the Iſle of *Ceylon* the richeſt and moſt fertile of all the *Indian* Iſlands, it being unqueſtionable that it has not only great Plenty of every thing that other Iſlands produce, but, beſides, this whole Foreſts of Orange, Lemon, and Cinnamon-trees, which diffuſe their fragrant Smell at a great Diſtance into the Sea. Beſides that, there is no precious Stone but what it affords, except Diamonds: Pearls they take there in abundance, but not altogether ſo fine as thoſe of *Babaram*; in Recompence of which it affords the fineſt Ivory in the World. The firſt Diſcovery of it is owing to the *Portugueze* in 1506, when *Laurence*, Son of *Franceſco Almeyda*, made a Treaty with one of the Kings of the Iſland; ſince which Time they took Care to fortify themſelves in the Town of *Colombo*, but were chaſed thence, and conſequently from the whole Iſland, by the *Dutch*, in 1657.

The *Dutch* did not trade here till 1602, under the Reign of *Fimala Derma Suriada*, King of *Candy*, the moſt potent, and in a manner the only ſovereign Prince of the whole Iſland, who aſcended the Throne in a very extraordinary manner; for the Throne of *Candy* being become vacant by the Death of *Derma*, who, from a Baſtard, was advanced to that high Dignity, the *Portugueze* took this Opportunity to eſtabliſh themſelves in *Ceylon*; but *Fimala Derma Suriada*, Son of one of the chief Men in the Kingdom, who had been educated among the *Portugueze* and baptized, and by their Intereſt advanced to the Dignity of High-Conſtable, diſliking the Encroachments of a Nation whom he knew would be in a little Time for graſping at all, had ſo gained the Affection of the Soldiery, that he prevailed with them to kill all the *Portugueze* in the Town of *Candy*, and to declare open War againſt them; which being done, he was by the *Cingaleſe* declared King. The *Portugueze* had among them a certain Princeſs, the next Heir to the Crown, who was baptized, and named *Catharina*. *Pedro Lopez de Souſa* being the General of *Malacca* for the *Portugueze*, reſolving to enter the Country with a good Army, ſtrengthening his Intereſt, brought the ſaid *D. Catharina* along with him, and having cauſed her to be declared lawful Heireſs to the Kingdom of *Candy*, made himſelf Maſter of the capital City of the ſame Name; but being cloſely blocked up by *Fimala Derma*, who intercepted his Foragers, and cut off his Proviſions, found himſelf conſtrained to come to a Battle in 1590, in which he was put to the Rout, himſelf killed upon the Spot, and *D. Catharina* taken Priſoner by *Fimala*; who afterwards, to ſtrengthen his Title to the Crown, married her. Four Years after the *Portugueze* made a ſecond Attempt againſt *Candy*, but not with much better Succeſs; for though they were not abſolutely routed, yet were they ſo harraſſed that they did not think fit any longer to continue the War with him.

The *Dutch*, at their firſt Settlement, had not much better Fortune; for though the King received in the Year 1604 their Admiral with a great deal of Civility, yet in the next following Year, having commanded their Vice-Admiral with ſifty of his Men to be put to Death, the *Dutch* laid aſide their Deſign of trading there, till having found an Opportunity of gaining the Fort of *Punto de Gallo* from the *Portugueze*, and fortifying the Harbour of *Negambo*, they began to eſtabliſh themſelves there, and at laſt accompliſhed it by taking of *Colombo* from the *Portugueze*. The King of *Candy* is the moſt potent and moſt abſolute of all the other Princes in the Iſle of *Ceylon*. He takes great Delight, as well in the *European* Way of Building, as in their Fortifications. The Kingdom is ſituated all along upon that River, upon which lies the City of *Vintain*, which ſerves for an Harbour to the King's Ships. The Inhabitants reſemble the *Malabars*, but that they are not quite ſo black. They generally go naked, except that ſome uſe *Portugueze* Doublets. They all wear Pendants in their Ears and Poniards at their Sides. The Women likewiſe go with their Breaſts uncovered; but for the reſt, they are very modeſt both in their Cloathing and Converſation, dreſſing their Heads much like the *European* Women, with their Hair cloſe behind, and tied in Treſſes. They appear in gold and ſilver Garments, with Rings upon their Hands, Feet, and Legs, ſet with precious Stones. They live conveniently enough in their Houſes, their Wives being good Houſewives, and eſpecially well ſkilled in Cookery. The *Cingaleſe* are ſo much addicted to an idle Life and Effeminacy, that they are neither fit for War nor any thing elſe.

7. *Ceylon* is, as I ſaid before, beyond all Diſpute, the moſt plentiful Iſle of all the *Indies*; nothing can be named either of Proviſions or Fruits, but what is very cheap here; though they are *Pagans* they eat of every thing in general, even Pork (abſtaining only from the Fleſh of an Ox or Cow). The *Mohammedans* enjoy a full Liberty among them; and the *Pagan* Inhabitants abſtain from Wine as well as they. They have a great Veneration for their Bramans; they marry their Maids at ten or twelve Years of Age, and burn their Dead. *Fimala Derma*, whom we ſpoke of before, had got as much Chriſtianity as could be expected among the *Indian Portugueze*, which he ſoon laid aſide; ſo that his Succeſſors continued in their Idolatry. Some of the Inhabitants worſhip the Head of an Elephant cut in Wood or Stone, who, they ſay, out-do Mankind in Judgment, and therefore pray for Wiſdom to them.

They lay up every Day a certain Share of their Proviſions in a Baſket kept for that Purpoſe for their Pagods, and hold it as a Point of Faith, that the World will not periſh as long as their grand Temples, which may be diſcovered at a great Diſtance at Sea betwixt *Punto de Gallo* and *Monte Callo*, ſhall remain ſtanding. They have another Opinion concerning a certain Mountain in this Iſland, named *Pico d' Adam*, where they ſay the firſt Man was created, and that the Spring on the Top of the Mountain aroſe from the Tears that *Eve* ſhed for *Abel*; and that the Iſle of *Ceylon* was the terreſtrial Paradiſe. This Tincture of Chriſtianity gives us ſufficient Hopes, that among a People, docile enough in themſelves, the Chriſtian Religion might be eſtabliſhed, if People were as forward in the Work of Salvation as to gain Riches. There is ſcarce any other King in the Iſle of *Ceylon*, except him of *Candy*, but what pays ſome ſmall Tribute by way of Acknowledgment to the *Portugueze*, of which the King of *Matecale* pays no more than fifty Ducats *per Annum*.

Ceylon affords very good Pepper, but their ſtaple Commodity is Cinnamon. The Kingdom of *Candy* hath certainly both Gold and Silver Mines, but are not wrought by an expreſs Inhibition from the King; neither muſt their precious Stones be ſold to any but the King; but, as they have ſuch Plenty of them that they are found among the Gravel that is waſhed down from the adjacent Mountains, and carried along with the Current of the Water; ſo it is impoſſible to prevent their being ſold underhand to Strangers. This Iſle alſo furniſhes ſufficient Store of Timber and Stone for Building; of Corn, Oil, and Wine, if they would take the Pains to cultivate the Vines, Cotton, divers Roots for the Uſe of Dyers, Ginger, Cardamum, Mirobolans, Corcoma, Nutmegs, and divers medicinal Drugs, and of Rice they have ſuch Store that they furniſh the whole Coaſt of *Coromandel* with that Commodity. The *Dutch* buy the Cinnamon here at the rate of an hundred and twenty-eight Livres the Hundred Weight.

8. While we were becalmed near this Iſle, I had the Opportunity of making an Enquiry of our Preſident and ſome Jeſuits, who were on Board us, and had ſpent moſt of their Days in the *Indies*, concerning thoſe Parts I had not ſeen, according to whoſe Relation I thought fit to inſert the following Account. Near the Cape of *Comorin*, along the Coaſt of *Malabar*, for a Tract of near an hundred and forty Leagues by Sea, extended the Iſles (by ſome accounted One thouſand) called *Maldives* by the *Portugueze*, having the Cape to the North, ſome of which being ſo very low that they are often ſubject to Inundations are not inhabited, others are. The *Malabars* are of Opinion that they were torn from the Continent by the Violence of the tempeſtuous Waves of the Sea, which, in ſome Places, is at ſo ſlender a Diſtance from the Continent, that a briſk active Fellow might leap over it. The capital City, which has given its Name of *Maldives* to all the Iſlands, is built upon four ſmall Iſles, being the Reſidence of the King, who commands over all the reſt, and a Place of good Trade, though they produce naturally ſcarce any thing but Cocoas; but the Induſtry of the Inhabitants ſupplies, in ſome meaſure, the Defect of Nature here, there being not any Nation in the *Indies* more ingenious in making Garments of Silk and Thread than they. The Coaſt of *Coromandel* being in the moſt Eaſtern Part of the *Indies* on this Side of the *Ganges*, is divided from the *Malabar* Coaſt by the Mountains of *Balagatta*, its Extent being one hundred Leagues along the Coaſt from *Cape Comorin*, or rather the Point of *Negapatan*, as far as the River *Nagund* and the Town of *Muſilipatan*, which, as it has excellent Harbours, and the beſt Roads for Anchorage in the *Indies*, ſo it ſerves for a ſafe Retreat for ſuch Veſſels as are by the tempeſtuous Winter-ſeaſon forced from the Coaſt of *Guzerat* thither, where the Climate and Weather is very calm at that Time.

The *Portugueze* are Maſters of the Town of *St. Thomas*: On this Coaſt, they ſay, that when they firſt poſſeſſed themſelves of *Cochin* and *Cranganor*, the Inhabitants of this Coaſt, who were Chriſtians of the *Greek* Religion, implored the Protection of the King of *Portugal*. To back this Tradition, they affirm, that *St. Thomas*, one of the twelve Apoſtles, after he had taught the Goſpel in the Kingdom of *Narſinga*, petitioned the King to give him Leave to build a

Chapel for the performing of Devotion, which being ſtrongly oppoſed by the *Pagan* Prieſts, it happened that a prodigious Piece of Timber being lodged at the very Entrance of the Harbour of the City of *Maliapour*, which hindered the free Paſſage of all the Ships, a Trial was made by Elephants, and all other Ways, even by conſulting the Magicians themſelves, to remove it thence, but in vain; whereupon the King iſſued his Proclamation, by which he offered a conſiderable Reward to ſuch as would undertake to clear the Harbour. *St. Thomas* offered his Service, reſerving to himſelf no other Reward than the Piece of Timber. The Day appointed for this Purpoſe being come, and the Saint appearing without any other Inſtrument to effect it than his Girdle, which he faſtened to the Beam, all there preſent laughed at his Endeavours; but he no ſooner began to pull, than that vaſt Piece of Timber, which could not be moved before by the Strength of ſo many Elephants, followed without the leaſt Difficulty; at which the King being ſurprized to the higheſt Degree, permitted him to build the Chapel according to his Requeſt; which ſo incenſed the Bramans, that they ſet certain People to murder him whilſt he was at his Devotions in the ſaid Chapel. *Maffeus* ſays, that by the ſpecial Command of *John* King of *Portugal*, the Bones of this Saint were ſearched for, and found on the Coaſt of *Coromandel*, and thence transferred to *Goa*, where a very fine Church was erected to his Memory.

On the other hand, both *Rufinus* and *Socrates* affirm, that *St. Thomas* ſuffered Martyrdom at *Edeſſa* in *Meſopotamia*, and that they uſed to go on Pilgrimage to his Sepulchre there. The Town of *St. Thomas*, though none of the biggeſt, yet is well built, moſt of the Houſes being of Stone. The Church has no Steeple; it contains about ſix or ſeven hundred Inhabitants, *Portugueze*, and *Meſtizes*, and ſome *Armenian* Merchants; the *Indians*, *Pagans*, and *Mohammedans* living at a Place called *Maliapour*, ſeated upon a Rivulet two Leagues to the North of *St. Thomas*, which was formerly the capital City of the Kingdom, but is now reduced to a very indifferent Condition.

9. From *April* to *September*, whilſt the S. and S. W. Winds blow upon this Coaſt, the Road here is very ſafe, but all the remaining Part of the Year ſmall Veſſels are obliged to ſhelter themſelves within the River of *Paleacaſte*, and the greater in the Harbour of *Negapatan*; there is five Fathom Water within Cannon-ſhot of the Town, but makes a very ill Landing-place, by reaſon of the Roughneſs of the Sea. The *Dutch* have conſiderable Traffick on this Coaſt, but eſpecially at *Potlapouli*, or *Negapatan*, and at *Palecatte*, where they have the Fort *Gueldria*. This whole Country was formerly divided into three ſeparate Kingdoms, *i. e.* of *Coromandel*, *Narſinga*, and *Biſnagar*, which is now ſubject to one Prince, whoſe Reſidence is at *Biſnagar*, and ſometimes at *Narſinga*. The Kingdom of *Orixa* begins above the Town of *Muſilipatan*, extending from the River of the ſame Name to that of *Guenga*; the *Dutch* include this in the Coaſt of *Coromandel*. *Muſilipatan* and *Golconda* are its two chief Cities; the firſt is conſiderable for its Commerce, the laſt for being the ordinary Reſidence of its Kings. It produces abundance of Salt, and ſome Diamonds, among which all that weigh above five Carats belong to the King. To the North of *Orixa* lies the Kingdom of *Bengal*, whence the Gulph, known to the Ancients by the *Sinus Gangeticus*, has got its Name. Their Traffick is Rice, Sugar, Cottons, Calicoes, but eſpecially in Silk, which for Goodneſs exceeds all others in the *Indies*. Hence alſo are brought the fineſt Canes; and they have another ſort of Canes out of which they make Drinking-veſſels, and being lacquered, will hold any Liquid as well as Cups of Metal. Here grows a certain Herb, the Stalk of which is of the Thickneſs of a Man's Thumb, having on the Top a large Button like a Taſſel; this is ſpun out, and furniſhes Materials for an excellent kind of Stuff, much eſteemed by the *Portugueze*, who call this Shrub *Herba de Bengala*.

The Inhabitants are *Pagans*, leading a very barbarous kind of Life, Thieving and Adultery being their ordinary Vices, though ſeverely puniſhed. They worſhip the *Ganges*, out of an Opinion that its Water cleanſes them from all their Impurities, which is the Reaſon that the King of *Narſinga* ſends for the Water he waſhes himſelf with from that River. The Kingdom of *Pegu* borders to the Eaſt upon *Bengal*, owing its Name to its Metropolis; there the King keeps his conſtant Reſidence. *Gaſpar Balbi* tells us Wonders of this Kingdom, which I had not the Opportunity to ſee; and ſince others alſo have given us an Account of what they themſelves have obſerved, I will only add, that the City is divided into two Parts, *viz.* the new and old City; the firſt of which is inhabited by Merchants, the ſecond is properly the Reſidence of the King and his Court, which is exactly four ſquare, ſurrounded with a broad Moat, in which Crocodiles are kept for its better Security. The Palace Royal is ſaid to be as big as *Venice*, and ſeparated from the City by its peculiar Fortifications, which have no more than two Gates; he keeps above eight hundred Elephants within the Caſtle, among which thoſe for his own Uſe pay him Reverence, being trained to it.

If we may rely on *Balbi*'s Teſtimony, this King is next to the Emperor of *China* the moſt potent upon Earth, being able to bring 1,500,000 Men into the Field, and eight hundred Elephants, who are for the moſt part maintained at the Charge of his Lords. Among other Idols they have in their Temples, there is one of maſſy Gold in the Chapel within the Palace, with a Crown ſet with precious Stones on his Head, and one only of the Bigneſs of a Plum on his Forehead, with Pendants of an ineſtimable Value in his Ears, a Scarf about the Waiſt, and a Croſs on the right Shoulder, and under the left Arm a Chain made all of Diamonds, and other precious Stones. The ſame Chapel has two Silver Idols of the ſame Shape, but two Feet higher than the former, with Crowns ſet with Gems: and a fourth, which exceeds all the reſt, beſides a fifth made of Copper and Braſs, valued at more than the other four. *Pegu* affords more Elephants than all the reſt of the *Indies*; they are taken by means of the Females, who entice them out of the Woods into the Stables, where they have Penns that hold but one of theſe Beaſts, where they are kept till they are tamed. The Arms of the *Peguans* are generally Half-pikes made of Canes, ſhort and broad Swords and Bucklers, and Helmets made of boiled Leather laid double, and gummed over with a certain Gum called Achiran. The People are Pagans, believe one ſupreme God, who has a great many Vicegerents under him, whom they alſo acknowlege for Gods, and that they are the Authors of all Good that happens to Mankind; as on the other hand the Devil is the Author of all Evil, whom for that Reaſon they worſhip, to appeaſe his Wrath. The Day on which they hold their Devotions is *Monday*; they celebrate five Feaſts in a Year, called by them *Sapan*. The firſt, called *Sapan Giacchi*, is celebrated by a Pilgrimage, by the King and whole Court, twelve Leagues out of Town, with the utmoſt Magnificence. The ſecond, called *Sapan Carana*, is celebrated in Honour of the Statues in the Royal Chapel; as is alſo the third, called *Sapan Graioma Segianon*; the fourth, called *Sapan Daiche*, is celebrated by the King and Court, by caſting Roſe-water at one another; and the fifth, called *Sapan Donon*, is a kind of Race of Boats upon the River, in the Preſence of the King and Queen.

When the King dies, they join two Boats together, and putting a Table in the Middle of one, they lay the Corpſe upon the Table, under which they make a Fire of Sandal Wood, Storax, Benjamin, and other ſweet-ſcented Woods and Gums, which being ſent down the Stream, the Prieſts attending, rejoice and ſing; till the Fleſh be burnt to Aſhes, which they mix with Milk into a Paſte, and ſo caſt it into the Sea at the Mouth of the River; but the Bones they preſerve and lay up in a Chapel built for that Purpoſe. The Prieſts carry an empty Bottle at their Girdle, are clad in red Veſtments, coming down to their Heels, with a Cloak reaching to their Hams, and wear a Hat to ſhelter themſelves againſt the Sun-beams, their Heads being ſhaved. They go bare-footed, live by Alms, like our Mendicant Friars, eat but once a Day, and ſleep in the Foreſts in hanging Mats faſtened to the Boughs of Trees. They lead a very exemplary Life, and on *Monday* Morning early go about to invite the People to their Devotions; and in their Sermons they exhort their Auditors to Morality. They have no Averſion to thoſe who turn Chriſtians,

ans, but exclaim againſt the worſhipping the Devil, a Cuſtom ſo deeply rooted among the *Peguans*, that with all their Arguments they are not able to diſſuade them from it.

They are in great Veneration among the moſt ſenſible Men of the Nation. Their Corpſes are burnt like their Kings, with ſweet Woods, the Aſhes caſt into the River, and their Bones preſerved. *Pegu* has no other Corn but Rice, which it produces in ſuch Plenty, that great Part of it is ſent to the neighbouring Provinces. Sodomy was heretofore grown ſo general here, that one of the Queens of *Pegu*, to obviate this Vice, ordered a ſmall Pin to be faſtened betwixt the Skin and the Fleſh, by way of Inciſion; ſhe commanded alſo, that all the Boys, whilſt young, ſhould be painted of a blue Colour on their Poſteriors, thereby to create an Averſion to them; as, on the other Side, the Women take all imaginable Pains to provoke the Men to Venery. Men and Women delight in black Teeth. The King is ſole Heir to all that leave no Children behind them, and even One-third Part of the Eſtates of thoſe that have Children belongs to him. *Pegu* affords no other Spice but Ginger, and ſcarce any other Commodity is exported, except Rice and Silver, in Exchange for which they bring thither Stuffs and Callicoes, Pepper, Cinnamon, Nutmegs, Opium, and Sandal Wood. They will pledge their Children to borrow Money; but if the Creditor enjoys them carnally, they are free, and the Debt is paid.

Siam, one of the next conſiderable States in the *Indies*, confines to the North upon *Pegu* and *Ava*, to the Weſt upon *Bengal*, to the Eaſt upon *Patana*; whence the Coaſt (in which I comprehend the Gulf of *Siam*) runs North to 13° 30′, and turning to the South to twelve Degrees, extends at a great Diſtance from the Sea, making a Semicircle of four hundred and fifty Leagues. The Country is both very woody and mountainous, except towards the Sea-ſide, where it is very fertile, and has ſeveral convenient Iſles and Harbours, beſides ſome Iſlands in the Gulphs. The River *Menam* may vie for Largeneſs with any other River of the *Indies*; for though its Breadth is not very great, its Length is ſuch, that hitherto its Source has remained undiſcovered. It runs from North to South through the Kingdoms of *Pegu* and *Ava*, and afterwards through *Siam*, where it falls by three ſeveral Channels into the Gulf of *Siam*: It yearly, like the *Nile*, overflows the adjacent Country for five Months, which renders the Rice-fields very fruitful. Its Eaſtern Channel, which lies in 13° 30′ Latitude, is moſt proper for Navigation, were it not for a Shelf a League in Length, which lying juſt at the Entrance of it, has five or ſix Feet Water at low Tide; but at high Water, fifteen or ſixteen; and in *September*, *October*, and *November*, ſeventeen or eighteen Feet; for which Reaſon it is that Veſſels of any Burthen anchor in the Road two Leagues from the Shelf; but ſuch as may venture over the Shelf with a high Tide, may go freely up the River as far as the Caſtle of *Banckock*, ſix Leagues from the Sea, and thence as far as the City of *Judda*, twenty-four Leagues from the Mouth of the River, except in the before-mentioned Months, when the River is unnavigable.

This Kingdom is very populous, eſpecially thoſe Provinces bordering upon the Seas. The moſt conſiderable Cities are *Judda*, or *Odya*, the Metropolis of the whole Kingdom; next *Cambaya*, *Camfaa*, *Sincapura*, *Picelouck*, *Lygor*, *Bordalong*, and *Tanaſſerim*, where the *Portugueze* drive a conſiderable Trade; *Banckock*, *Pipry*, *Mergy*, &c. The City of *Judda* is built upon an Iſland in the River *Manam*. It is the ordinary Reſidence of the King of *Siam*, having ſeveral very fair Streets, with ſpacious Chanels regularly cut. The Suburbs are on both Sides of the River, which, as well as the City itſelf, are adorned with many Temples and Palaces; of the firſt of which there are above three hundred within the City, diſtinguiſhed by their gilt Steeples, or rather Pyramids, and afford a glorious Proſpect at a Diſtance. The Houſes are, as all over the *Indies*, but indifferently built, and covered with Tiles: The royal Palace is equal to a large City. *Ferdinando Mendez Pinto* makes the Number of Inhabitants of this City amount, improbably, to 400,000 Families. It is looked upon as impregnable, by reaſon of the Overflowing of the River at ſix Months End. The King of *Siam*, who takes amongſt his other Titles that of *Precau Salſu*, i. e. ſacred Member of God, has this to boaſt of, that, next to the Mogul, he can deduce his Deſcent from more Kings than any other in the *Indies*. He is abſolute, his Privy Counſellors, called *Mandarins*, being choſen and depoſed barely at his Pleaſure. When he appears in Publick, it is done with ſo much Pomp and Magnificence as is ſcarce to be imagined, which draws ſuch a Veneration to his Perſon from the common People, that even in the Streets, as he paſſes by, they give him god-like Titles and Worſhip. He marries no more than One Wife at a time, but has an infinite Number of Concubines. He feeds very high, but his Drink is Water only, the Uſe of ſtrong Liquors being ſeverely forbidden, by their Eccleſiaſtical Law, to Perſons of Quality in *Siam*. As the Thirds of all the Eſtates of the Kingdom fall to his Exchequer, ſo his Riches muſt be very great; but what makes them almoſt immenſe is, that he is the chief Merchant in the Kingdom, having his Factors in all Places of Trade, to ſell Rice, Copper, Lead, Salt-petre, *&c.* to Foreigners. *Mendez Pinto* makes his yearly Revenue riſe to twelve Millions of Ducats, the greateſt Part of which being laid up in his Treaſury, muſt needs ſwell to an Infinity in Proceſs of Time.

Each City has its peculiar Court of Juſtice, from whence an Appeal lies to the chief Court in the City of *Judda*, conſiſting of a Lord Chief Juſtice and twelve Judges, and ſometimes to the Privy Council itſelf, if the Parties will be at the Charge of it. They have their Counſellors, Attornies, and Solicitors, and the Cauſes are pleaded in the Preſence of both Parties. In criminal Caſes they proceed much after the *French* Way; for, upon an Information given, the Party accuſed is committed and examined afterwards, and for want of ſufficient Evidence put to the Rack, if there be very ſtrong Circumſtances; after which the Judges, either upon Confeſſion of the Fact, or ſufficient Evidence, give Sentence, which is confirmed by the King, unleſs he is pleaſed to pardon the Offender. Their Puniſhments are ſo ſevere, or rather cruel, that ſuch as are uſed among us are not ſo much as known here, for the ſlighteſt Crime is thought to deſerve Baniſhment. Theft is puniſhed with the Amputation of Hands or Feet. The common Way of executing Criminals, is to caſt them alive into boiling Oil.

They have three Sorts of Trials for want of ſufficient Evidence, by Fire, Water, and Oil. In the Water Trial both Parties are let down to the Bottom of the River, along a great Pole, and he who can ſtay longeſt under Water obtains thereby his Juſtification, as does he who can hold his Hand longeſt in boiling Oil, in the Trial of Oil. In the fiery Trial they are to make five or ſix Steps through a great Fire, very ſlowly, two Men leaning very hard upon their Shoulders. But that which they look upon as the moſt dreadful of all is, when, in order to their Juſtification, they take a Pill of Rice only, over which the Prieſt has pronounced a certain Malediction: If the Culprit ſwallow it without ſpitting, he clears himſelf to all Intents and Purpoſes, and his Friends carry him off in Triumph.

The Forces of *Siam* conſiſt chiefly of the Militia of the Country, all Subjects being obliged to take Arms when called upon; ſo that as Occaſion requires, he can ſummon the 100th, the 50th, the 20th, the 10th, or 5th Man, who, as well as the Noblemen with their Attendants, ſerve at their own Charge as long as the War laſts. The Infantry are pretty well diſciplined, but want the Uſe of Fire-Arms, being provided only with Bows, Arrows, Swords, Pikes, and Bucklers; their Horſe are alſo but indifferently mounted. Their chief Strength conſiſts in their Elephants, which are very well trained to the Wars, and carry each three armed Men. They are not deſtitute of Cannon, but have but little Skill to manage them to the beſt Advantage. They have alſo great Numbers of Frigates and Gallies, well provided with Guns, but the Gunners and Mariners are ſo unexpert in the Management of them, that they cannot encounter any *European* Fleet with the leaſt Hopes of Advantage; for which Reaſon, ſince of late Years the *Siameſe* have lived in continual Enmity with the *Portugueze*, they have highly courted the Friendſhip of the *Dutch*, who were always ready to give them Aſſiſtance againſt their Enemies. The King of *Siam*, knowing that his chief Strength conſiſts in his Elephants, keeps a greater Number than any other *Indian* Prince, the Elephants of *Siam* being both for their Strength and Quickneſs of Apprehenſion eſteemed above all the reſt. They take them after the ſame Manner as they do in *Pegu*, by ſending divers Females into the Foreſts, who decoy them into the Stables, where they are tamed, either by putting them into Pens exactly fitted to the Bulks of their Bodies, or by tying their Legs to three or four tame Elephants.

It is to be obſerved, that ſometimes they meet with white Elephants in *Siam*, but they are ſo rare, and ſo much admired in thoſe Parts, that in 1568, the King of *Pegu* being informed that the King of *Siam* had two white Elephants, he ſent an Ambaſſador to deſire he might have one of them, at what Price he would be pleaſed to ſet upon it; which the King of *Siam* refuſing to accept, the King of *Pegu* entered *Siam* with a vaſt Army, and conquered it, making the King his Tributary, tho' with the Loſs of no leſs than 500,000 Men. The *Siameſe* call the white ones the Kings of the Elephants, and attribute to them ſomething of Divinity; for which Reaſon alſo the King of *Siam*, when he meets with one, cauſes him to be ſerved in Veſſels of Gold, allows him a good Attendance, and a Canopy to be borne over his Body. The King and his Subjects are Pagans, and have an infinite Number of Idols, of Gold, Silver, Stone, Wood, and other Materials, ſome twenty, ſome thirty, and others forty Feet high. Their Temples have gilt Towers, or Pyramids. Their Eccleſiaſticks are compoſed of a kind of Hierarchy, under the Direction of a High-Prieſt, reſiding in the City of *Judda*, where are at leaſt 30,000 Eccleſiaſticks, that wear Garments of yellow Callico, and have their Crowns ſhaved. The moſt learned among them are choſen for Prieſts to preach in their Temples, and to ſacrifice. They are under a Vow of Chaſtity, upon Pain of Death, but may change their Profeſſions, and marry whenever they think fit. Each Temple has a kind of a Convent to it, for the Entertainment of a certain Number of Prieſts who attend the Service every Day Morning and Evening.

They live for the moſt part upon Alms, like our Mendicant Friars. They have alſo a kind of religious old Women, but theſe are not bound by any particular Diſcipline. They believe one Creator of the Univerſe, who governs the World by divers inferior Gods. They ſay that the Soul is immortal, and after it is purified by paſſing through ſeveral Bodies, is either condemned to eternal Torments, or enjoys Beatitude. They tell you, that this has been tranſmitted to them by Tradition, Time out of Mind; for the reſt, they hold that good Deeds, and eſpecially Charity, are the chief Means to attain Salvation, which is the Reaſon they extend their Charity even to the Beaſts, ſuch as Birds and Fiſh, which they buy to ſet them at Liberty, as believing the Tranſmigration of the Soul. This is the Reaſon why they never condemn any other Religion, or diſpute with them: But their Eccleſiaſticks preach without Intermiſſion againſt the old Cuſtom of invoking the Devil, which is ſtill retained among the vulgar Sort, They have abundance of Lamps hanging before their Idols in the Time of Service. Theſe they ſet out with Garlands of Flowers, and in ſome of them they have certain Days, each Quarter of the Moon, appointed for their general Devotions, and a Lent of three Months.

Their dead Corpſes they ſhave, waſh and perfume, and afterwards burn them near a Temple, where the Aſhes are buried under a Tomb, or Pyramid. The Relations mourn for their Friends by ſhaving themſelves, by giving Alms and Benevolences to the Prieſts, to pray for them at their Obſequies. The Corpſe is attended with Muſick and Fireworks. The *Siameſe* are ſtrong limbed, and well proportioned, but their Courage is not anſwerable to it, which makes them uſe their Victims with a great deal of Inſolence. They are baſe, and very crafty in their Dealings. They are ſo much addicted to Idleneſs, that they leave all Toils to their Wives and Slaves. They wear a painted Piece of Callico from the Middle down to the Knees, tho' the Men have alſo Shirts with Sleeves hanging down to the Elbows. The Women cover their Breaſts with a Piece of Callico faſtened about their Necks; there is ſo little Difference in the Cloathing of the People of Quality and thoſe of the inferior Rank, that they are not to be diſtinguiſhed but by their Train of Slaves. Their Houſes are built either of Timber, or Canes, covered with the Leaves of Cocoa-tree, and raiſed three or four Feet from the Ground; each Apartment has ſeveral Windows for the more commodious Paſſage of the Air; they know of no other Furniture but what is abſolutely neceſſary for their Conveniency in the Chambers and Kitchen.

They feed commonly upon Rice, Fiſh, and Pulſe; their ordinary Drink is Water; but they don't refuſe ſtrong Liquors, if they are invited to them. Perſons of any Faſhion here make no uſe of Prieſts for the Confirmation of their Marriages, which, after the Parents Conſent is obtained, and Agreement made, they conſummate, and live together as long as they like one another; and in caſe of Separation, all the Goods and Children are divided betwixt them, and both Parties are at liberty to marry again; but the Concubines are tied to the Pleaſure of their Maſters, who conſider them no otherwiſe than as Slaves, their Children having but a ſlender Share of their Fathers Eſtates, which, after their Death, are divided into three Parts; one goes to the King, the ſecond to the Prieſts, who are to bear the Funeral Charges, which are very great, and the third to the Children, who have an equal Share, except that the eldeſt is allowed ſome ſmall Advantage. People of an inferior Rank purchaſe their Wives; notwithſtanding which, both Parties are at liberty to be divorced. They don't take the leaſt Care for the Education of their Children till they are ſix Years old, when they put them to their Eccleſiaſticks to be inſtructed in Reading and Writing, afterwards breed them either to manual Arts, Commerce, or the Court.

The Peaſants lead a miſerable Life, by reaſon that Proviſions are ſo cheap here, that they can't gain any thing by their Labour. The chief Trade of the City of *Judda* lies in Stuffs, brought thither from *Surat* and the Coaſt of *Coromandel*, in all ſorts of China Commodities, precious Stones, Gold, Benjamin, Wax, Copper, Lead, Indigo, Calamba-Wood, Braſil-Wood, Cotton, and Deer-Skins, of which they export fifty thouſand every Year to *Japan*; and their Rice is tranſported in vaſt Quantities to all the neighbouring Countries. The King himſelf is a Merchant here, and has his Factors at *Pegu*, *Ava*, *Jangoma*, on the Coaſt of *Coromandel*, and in *China* itſelf. The Money is very good, being of three different ſorts, *viz. Ticals*, *Maſes*, and *Toanges*; two *Toanges* make a *Maſe*, and four *Maſes* a *Tical*, which is equivalent to a *French* Half-Crown; four of theſe *Ticals* go to a *Tael*, twenty of which make a *Catta* in Silver. Their ſmalleſt Silver Money is the *Toang*; but Proviſions being ſo very cheap here, they make uſe of certain Shells brought thither from *Manila*, eight or nine hundred of which go to a *Toang*.

The *Portugueze* being ſufficiently ſenſible what prodigious Advantage they were able to reap from this Kingdom for ſupporting their Traffick to the *Molucca's* and *Philippine* Iſles, the Viceroys of *Goa* were always very careful to cultivate a good Correſpondence with the King of *Siam*, who in Return granted them many Privileges, till ſuch time that the *Dutch* got Footing there at the Beginning of this Age. The *Portugueze* were ſo alarmed thereat, that they not only obſtructed the Trade of the *Siameſe* to *St. Thomas* and *Negapatan*, but alſo attacked a *Dutch* Veſſel in the River *Menam*, which, with ſome other Outrages, ſerved only to incenſe the King of *Siam* againſt them, who ever after encouraged the *Dutch* in their Settlement and Commerce, which is very advantageous to them in reſpect of the Iſles of *Java* and *Sumatra*, of which they are now in Poſſeſſion.

10. The Kingdom of *Cambodia* borders to the North-Weſt upon the Kingdom of *Siam*, being incloſed by the Sea on the other Side; the capital City is ſeated upon a River ſixty Leagues from the Sea-ſhore, which riſes out of a Lake, as do all the other Rivers of this Kingdom. That which runs by *Cambodia* overflows every Year like the *Nile*; its firſt Riſe is in the Beginning of *June*, increaſing by degrees to ten or twelve Feet, and in *July* or *Auguſt* it overflows the Country to that degree, that it is quite unnavigable; for which Reaſon it is that the City of *Cam-*

bodia is built upon a riſing Ground, having but one large Street. The Trade of the *Portugueze* here conſiſts chiefly in *Malacca* Stuffs, which they exchange for Benjamin, Lacque, Wax, Rice, Braſs Veſſels, and Bars of *China* Iron.

The King of *Cambodia* is only a Vaſſal of the King of *Siam*, being not able to bring above thirty-five thouſand Men into the Field. The Nobility or Officers of the Court are divided into four ſeveral Ranks, *viz.* into *Ockinas*, *Ternimas*, *Tenimnas*, and *Nampres*; the firſt of which are the only Men of Conſideration, they being admitted into the King's Preſence, and he confers with them concerning the Management of public Affairs. The *Portugueze* are ſo firmly ſettled here, that the *Dutch* have never been able to get any Footing. Proviſions of all ſorts, Veniſon, Beef, Pork, Goats, Kids, Hares, Cranes, Herons, and, in ſhort, all manner of Poultry, as likewiſe Oranges, Citrons, Mangoes, and Cocoas, are ſold exceſſively cheap; there being ſuch Plenty here of every thing, and eſpecially of Rice, that thoſe of *Quinam* alone export yearly two thouſand Copans of Rice, five of which make eight Tons, at ſeventeen or eighteen *Taels* the Copang.

That Neck of Land which extends in the Form of a Demi-Iſland, from the Kingdom of *Siam* to the S. E. to the N. W. of the Equinoctial Line, betwixt the Gulf of *Bengal* and *Siam*, is called the Iſthmus of *Malacca*, and contains the Kingdoms of *Johore* and *Patapan*. This Country was firſt diſcovered by the *Portugueze* in 1511, who eſtabliſhed themſelves there to that degree that nobody hath been able hitherto to diſlodge them. The City of *Malacca* is ſituated upon the Strait which ſeparates the Iſle of *Sumatra* from the Continent, at two Degrees thirty Minutes on this Side of the Line, at the Foot of a Mountain, which is wholly taken up by the Town, and is about 1800 Paces in Compaſs, 600 whereof extend along the Sea-Coaſt, fortified with a good Wall, as likewiſe to the River-ſide, which incloſes another third Part of the Town, being ſtrengthened to the Land-ſide by four regular-Baſtions; that of *St. Domingo* on the Point of the River-ſide, that of *St. Jago* on the Sea-ſhore, and thoſe called *Madre de Dias*, and of *Eleven thouſand Virgins.* Betwixt thoſe two the *Jeſuits* College, called *St. Paul*'s, ſtands upon the Hill, and upon riſing Ground, in the Plain without the City, a Convent of *Jacobins.* The River runs N. W. is very broad, and brackiſh at High-water, but freſh at Low-Tide; there is a Bridge over it.

It rains conſtantly here two or three Times a Week, except in the Months of *January*, *February* and *March*; the Shore is ſo muddy that there is no landing at Low-water. The two Iſles called *Ilha de Naos* and *Ilha de Pedra* lie not much above a Cannot-ſhot from the City, the Channel betwixt theſe two Iſlands affording as ſafe Harbour for the Galleons and bigger Veſſels, as that betwixt the City and the *Ilha de Naos* for the Veſſels of a middle Size; but ſmall Barks may enter the River. In the City of *Malacca*, its Suburbs, and adjacent Towns, under the Juriſdiction of the *Portugueze*, are computed to be about 1200 Inhabitants, and, among them, not above 300 fighting Men, and ſcarce 200 *Portugueze*, the reſt being either *Meſtizes* or *Malayans.* The *Portugueze* are in Poſſeſſion only of the City of *Malacca*, and its Suburbs, to the Town of *Noſtra Senhora de Guadalupe*, five Leagues thence upon the ſame River, the Territories of the King of *Johore* beginning half a League thence. This City being ſo commodiouſly ſituated for the Trade of *China* and the *Moluccas*, the *Portugueze* had, in all Probability, made this one of the chief trading Places in the *Indies*, if the *Dutch*, who beſieged it in 1606, and laid great Part of it deſolate, had not prevented them; and being by their Settlements in *Ceylon* and *Java* become Maſters of theſe Seas, quite ruined the Commerce of the *Portugueze* to *China* and the *Moluccas.*

The Kingdom of *Patapan* is not of ſo large an Extent, but much more populous than that of *Johore*, the King of *Patapan* being, according to the Computation of the *Hollanders*, able to raiſe 180,000 Men; the capital City bearing the ſame Name, is ſeated upon the Sea-ſide, though its Harbour be above 2000 Paces thence. The Houſes are handſome enough, being built of Timber and Canes. The Royal Palace is fortified only with Paliſadoes, their great Temples are of Brick. The City is able to raiſe 10,000 fighting Men. The Inhabitants are rather inclining to a brown than olive Colour, generally well ſhaped, and proud in their outward Deportment, but obliging enough in their Converſation with their Friends. The Natives are, for the moſt part, employed in Huſbandry and Fiſhing, and drink nothing but Water; Wine, and ſtrong Liquors, being odious to them. The only Pleaſure they delight in is that of Women; ſo that each Man, beſides four or five Wives, maintains as many Concubines as he is able. As they look upon Fornication as a ſlender Treſpaſs, ſo they puniſh Adultery with the utmoſt Severity, though nothing be more common among them than this Crime.

Their chief Wealth conſiſts in their Slaves, whom they feed at a ſmall Charge upon Rice and Fiſh. The Foreigners are the only People here who apply themſelves to Traffick and Navigation. The Air of *Patapan*, though exceeding hot, as lying near the Equinoctial, yet is not unwholſome. They have but three Months Winter, *viz. November*, *December*, and *January*, when it rains without Intermiſſion: The reſt, from *February* to *October*, is their Summer. They ſow nothing but Rice, and till the Ground with Buffaloes. Fruits are here in ſuch Plenty that every Month produces a new kind. Hens lay twice a-day; and Proviſions are in ſuch Quantities as cannot be imagined, as Rice, Oxen, Goats, Deer, Geeſe, Ducks, Hens, Capons, Peacocks, Hares, and all ſorts of Veniſon. Hogs they breed none; but the Foreſts are full of Wild-Boars, and though they eat them not, they kill them, becauſe they are ſo pernicious to the Rice. The Tigers, and great Apes, which are in the Foreſts here, do alſo conſiderable Miſchief; but the wild Elephants do no Damage at all; they hunt them with tame Elephants, and whilſt they are engaged with them, find Means to tie their hinder Feet together, and afterwards tame them by Hunger.

The King of *Patapan* is a Vaſſal to the King of *Siam*. *Johore* is the utmoſt Point of Land of that Peninſula called by the Ancients *Aurea Cherſoneſus*, reaching to the Streights of *Sincopura.* Its chief Towns are *Linga*, *Bintam*, and *Carymon*, and its Metropolis is named *Batuſabar*, which is however divided into two Cities, ſituate upon the River *Johore*, ſix Leagues from the Sea, the firſt of which is called *Batuſabar*; the ſecond *Cottaſabrang*; one having about 1300 Paces, the other 500 in Compaſs. As the Houſes are all built of Free-ſtone along the River-ſide, and raiſed on Piles eight or ten Feet from the Ground, they make a glorious Proſpect as you come up the River; for this City contains at leaſt 4000 Inhabitants fit for Service in the Army. The King of *Johore* is Proprietor of all the Grounds, which he beſtows on any that deſire them, to be manured: But tho' the Grounds are extremely fertile, ſuch is the Slothfulneſs of the *Malayans*, that they ſeldom cultivate them. The *Malacca*, or *Malayan* Language, as it is the moſt elegant of any in the *Indies*, ſo it has gained as much Reputation there, and is as generally uſed, as the *French* is in *Europe*; and having no Inflections in either Nouns or Verbs, it is not very difficult to learn.

11. We will now look over the Continent to the Iſle of *Sumatra*, ten Leagues diſtant from the *Malacca* Shore; it extends from about 5° on this Side to 6° beyond the Line, containing 165 Leagues in Length, and about 60 in Breadth; ſo that thoſe who inhabit the Middle of the Iſland have the Equinoctial Line juſt over their Heads; whence it may be eaſily conjectured, that the Heats are exceſſive here, which, together with the vaſt Multitude of Lakes, makes the Air very unwholſome: This Defect is recompenſed by its vaſt Riches in Gold, Silver, Copper, Iron, and Braſs (whereof they make as good Artillery here as in any Part of *Europe*) beſides Rice, Millet, and Fruits in prodigious Quantities, even in the very Foreſts. Add to this its Wealth in Diamonds and other precious Stones, and its Product of Silk, Spices, Wax, Honey, Cotton, Camphire, Caſſia, and divers other medicinal Drugs. Of white Sandal they have whole Woods, and in the Centre of the Iſle is a burning Mountain, like that of *Veſuvius*, which they ſay is conſtantly ſupplied by a River of Pitch.

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The whole Iſland is divided into ten Kingdoms, of which thoſe of *Achen*, *Peder*, *Pacem*, *Camparam*, *Zande*, and *Manambe*, lying on the Sea-ſide on this Side the Line, are only known to Foreigners. Thoſe who have travelled thither, more for Profit than Curioſity, having made but little Search into its inland Provinces, of which the *Portugueze* give us an Account only of two, *viz.* that of *Andigidan* and *Arunan*. The *Dutch* have alſo diſcovered the Kingdom of *Polymbam* beyond the Line, where they have ſettled themſelves at preſent. The Kings of *Achen* are alſo Maſters of *Peder* and *Pacem*, which includes all the Northern Coaſts of the Iſle. The City of *Achen* is ſeated in a ſpacious Plain, upon a broad but ſhallow River, being ſcarce paſſable by ſmall Boats. It has neither Fortification nor Gates; their Houſes are built upon Piles, and covered with the Leaves of Cocoa-trees. The Royal Palace ſtands in the Centre of the City, which, being well paliſadoed and flanked, commands the whole Town, and has ſeven Gates. The Natives are of an olive Colour, and very flat faced; their Garments are only a Callico Gown, a Silk Shirt, and a Turban on their Heads of the ſame Stuff. The King is ſerved by Women and Eunuchs, and is a *Mohammedan*, as well as all the reſt of the Inhabitants near the Coaſt of *Sumatra*. They begin their *Lent* at the New-moon in the twelfth Month, which ends at the ſame Time in the next. They have no Corn, but Rice in great Plenty, as alſo Beeves, Buffaloes, Goats, and Sheep; the laſt of which nobody has the Privilege to breed except the King. They alſo abound in Oranges, Lemons, Bananas, Tamarinds, Batalas, Radiſhes, Spinage, and Lettuces. Their ordinary Drink is Water, but they make a kind of *Aqua Vitæ*, or Arrack of Cocoas.

The Iſle of *Sumatra* produces a peculiar Tree called *Singadi* by the *Malayans*, and *Arbor triſte de Dio* by the *Portugueze*. It is full of Branches with Knots, and ſprouts forth two Leaves like Plumb-leaves, except that they are ſmall like Sage, and are covered with a whitiſh Down: Each of theſe Leaves hath its Bud, which thruſts forth ſmall Heads, having four round Leaves; each Head produces five Flowers in a Cluſter, the fifth being exactly in the Middle; they are as white as Snow, of the Bigneſs of an Orange-flower, and blow in the Twinkling of an Eye, as ſoon as the Sun is ſet; and when it riſes again the next Morning, the Flowers, which have continued all Night, drop in an Inſtant. Thus the Tree continues till Sun-ſet again, when it opens, and produces the Flowers in the ſame manner as before, and caſts them again at the firſt Appearance of that Planet, which invigorates all other Vegetables. The Cocoas, of which there are four Kinds, are very common in this Iſland. The Tree which bears the Cocoa-Nuts grows very high, but not above a Foot Diameter in Bulk. It has not a Branch but at the Top, where it ſpreads like a Date-tree, and theſe don't produce the Fruits, which grow ten or twelve in a Cluſter out of the Body of the Tree. The Flower reſembles that of a Cheſnut. This Tree is of univerſal Uſe in the *Indies*. In the *Maldives* Iſlands they build whole Ships without any thing but what is furniſhed by the Cocoa-tree; the outward Rind affording them a kind of Hemp for their Cordage and Cables, and the Leaves with Materials for Sails, and the Covering of their Houſes; beſides that, they uſe them for the making of Umbrella's, Fans, Tents, Mats and Hats. The Fruit is of the Bigneſs of an Oſtrich's Egg, and the outward Rind, which reſembles that of our Walnuts when dried, affords the Hemp we ſpoke of before. If they gather it before the Nut is come to full Maturity, it affords about a Quart of very pleaſant Liquor, which, if kept in the Shell, by degrees turns to a kind of a Kernel, which becomes yellow, and is of a very good Taſte, and exceeding wholſome.

Their Toddy, or Palm Wine, they draw from the Tree whilſt it is in Bloſſom, and, pulling off the Flower, they faſten it to an Earthen Veſſel well ſtopped, into which runs a Liquor, reſembling in Taſte and Colour our Whey: This when boiled is called Toddy, and, ſet in the Sun, turns to Vinegar immediately; and, if diſtilled, makes a kind of *Aqua Vitæ*. The Pith of the Tree, as it is very white, furniſhes the *Indians* with Paper. The ſecond Kind is called by the *Portugueze Arrequeiro*, from the *Araca* it produces. The Bananas, or *Indian* Fig-tree, is alſo very common in this Iſle; it may rather be called a Shrub than a Tree, as having no Body, but grows to a Man's Height. It brings forth Leaves before it comes to a Foot high, but theſe wither and fall, and others ſprout forth in their ſtead, till ſuch time the Plant arrives at its full Growth, and the Fruit to its Maturity, which is in Shape and Colour like our Figs, being of a yellow green, which being gathered, and hung on a Nail, will ripen in four or five Days. In the Middle of the Leaves comes a Flower of a Violet Colour, of the Bigneſs of an Oſtrich's Egg, whence ſprouts forth a kind of a Branch not unlike a Cabbage-Stalk, loaden with a Bunch of Figs: One Stalk produces no more than one Bunch (but of near an hundred Figs) at a Time; but being cut cloſe to the Ground, another ſprings out, and bears Fruit in one Month, and continues to do ſo through the whole Year. The Leaves of the Tree are ſix Feet long, and a Foot and a half broad, and the Fruit ſeven or eight Inches long, and as big as a good Cucumber; the Figs are incloſed in Huſks, which are very nouriſhing, and eat inſtead of Bread.

The Pepper of *Sumatra* is, next to that of *Cochin*, the beſt of all the *Indies*; it is commonly planted at the Root of Trees, or propped up with Canes as we do our Hops; the Leaves are not unlike that of the Orange-tree, but ſomewhat leſs. The Fruit grows in little Bunches like Juniper-berries. It is green whilſt upon the Tree, but grows black after it is dried, which is done in *December* and *January*. The white Pepper does not grow in ſuch abundance here, and *Bengal* is the only Country that produces long Pepper. It is certain there is more Pepper conſumed in the *Indies* than in *Europe*, becauſe the *Indians* put Handfuls of it in their Sauces, but not beaten or ground.

12. The Iſland of *Java Major* is divided from *Sumatra* to the South-Eaſt only by the narrow Streight of *Sunda*: Its Length is fifty Leagues, and ſome fanſied it Part of the Continent which extends to the Streights of *Magellan*, commonly called *Terra Auſtralis*. *Julius Scaliger* was not in the Wrong of it when he called it the Epitome of the World; it being certain that there is no Animal, Fruit, Metal, or Drug, but what is found here in greater Plenty than in any Part of the Univerſe.

The Inhabitants deduce their Origin from the *Chineſe*; and, to ſpeak Truth, their large Foreheads and Brows, and little Eyes, reſemble much that Nation. Each Town of Note in *Java* has its peculiar Prince, and now they are all Sovereigns independent one of another. The Kings of *Bantam* and *Pallambuam* are at preſent the moſt potent, the laſt of which has given the Name to the Streight that divides the Iſles of *Java* and *Bala*. Ten Leagues to the North is the City of *Panarucan*, near which is a burning Mountain. The King of *Panarucan* and *Palambuam* are *Pagans*; but the King of the City of *Paſſaracan*, ſix Leagues from *Panarucan*, is a *Mohammedan*. Ten Leagues to the Weſt is the City of *Joartam*, noted for its convenient Harbour upon a River, where the Ships going from the *Moluccas* to *Bantam* commonly touch, to take in freſh Water and Proviſions. Upon the ſame River lies the City of *Gorici*. The City of *Surabaca* has its proper King, under whoſe Juriſdiction is alſo the City of *Brandam*, ſix Leagues thence to the Weſt. He keeps his Court at *Sidaya*, which is well fortified, but deſtitute of a ſafe Harbour. Ten Leagues more to the Weſt lies the City of *Taboan*, next to *Bantam* the moſt conſiderable of the Iſle, and five Leagues farther to the North-Weſt the City of *Cajam*. *Mandalicaon* is inhabited only by Fiſhermen. Five Leagues farther to the Weſt is the City of *Japara*, upon a Neck of Land, which runs out three Leagues into the Sea. Twenty-five Leagues hence, and forty-five from *Bantam*, lies *Matram*, or *Matavam*, a great City, and the Reſidence of a powerful King, who once pretended to the Sovereignty over all the reſt of the Iſland, and ſtill ſtiles himſelf Emperor of *Java*.

Five Leagues to the Weſt of *Japara* lies the City of *Pata*, and three Leagues farther that of *Dauma*, both under the Juriſdiction of the King of *Matram*, as well as that of *Tagal* in the ſame Bay. The next is the fair and ſtrong City of *Charabaon*, ſeated upon a River, by which you paſs to the Cities of *Daunago* and *Monucadon*, and ſo thro' the

Village of *Gacon* to the City of *Jacatra*, and thence to *Bantam*, the moſt conſiderable in the whole Iſland, ſeated at the Foot of a Mountain about twenty-five Leagues from the oppoſite Coaſt of the Iſland of *Sumatra*. Three Rivers riſe out of this Mountain, two ſurrounding its Walls, and the third paſſing through the Middle of it. The Houſes are miſerably built, and the Walls very wretched, as well as the Gates, though at every hundred Paces provided with a great Piece of Cannon, which are of little Uſe in a Place where the Curtains are not defenſible, and have, inſtead of Towers, only Scaffolds. The whole City has only three principal Streets, which are not paved, but ſandy, the Channels which run through them being very ſtinking and foul, which ſend forth a very nauſeous Smell all over the City. At each Corner of the Streets ſtand Guards, as alſo at the Priſon Gate near the Palace, and each Perſon of Note keeps a Guard of ten or twelve, for his own Security, in his Houſe. Their Houſes are meanly built upon Piles; they are commonly of Reeds and Canes, and the Partitions all of Bamboes, or Canes ſlit very thin. All the Foreigners here live without the City, and the Merchants meet daily in one or other of the three great Market-places belonging to this City.

The *Bazar*, or Exchange, is chiefly frequented by Foreigners, who meet there at Break of Day, and continue till Nine of the Clock. The ſecond Market-place faces the grand Moſque, where the Women buy and ſelf Pepper, Betel, Areca, Bananas, Melons, Chiches, *&c.* and white and yellow Sandal-wood. The Armourers, who ſell Arms, Guns, Piſtols, Swords, *&c.* ſtanding higher up to the Right; and to the Left the Confectioners with their Sweetmeets: Near them is the Place where they ſell all ſorts of Beans; and next to that the Onion Market, where the Clothſellers and Uſurers have their Meeting. Hard by this you ſee the Poulterers, who deal in Geeſe, Kids, Pidgeons, Parrots, and all ſorts of tame Fowl. Thence you ſee three ſeveral Ways, one leading to the *Chineſe* Shops, the ſecond to the Herb-market, the third to the Shambles. Among the *Chineſe*, to the Right, the Jewelers, who deal in precious Stones, have their Station; and the *Bengalians* with their Toy-ſhops on the Left. The Sale of all theſe Things laſts only till Nine o'Clock, when the Markets for all ſorts of Proviſions are opened before the Palace, and about Noon the *Chineſe* Market begins. The City of *Tuban*, or *Tubaon*, challenges the next Place after *Bantam* in the Iſle of *Java*, being ſtronger than all the reſt, and though not ſo large yet better built than *Bantam*. Its Palace is very ſpacious, and remarkable for the many Apartments made here for divers ſorts of Beaſts that are kept with more than ordinary Care; ſuch as Elephants, Fighting-cocks, and Parrots, the laſt of which are much more beautiful than thoſe tranſported into *Europe*, becauſe they are too tender to endure the Fatigues of ſo long a Voyage. Their chief Traffick lies in Pepper, which they exchange in the Iſle of *Baly* for Calico, Cotton, and Silk, and carry thoſe Commodities to *Banda*, *Ternate*, and the *Philippine* Iſles, to truck for Cloves, Mace, and Nutmegs.

The Natives live moſtly upon Fiſh. They have no other Garments but a Piece of Calico wrapped round their Loins, except that the better Sort wear a kind of looſe Camblet Coats, reaching only to their Thighs. They are great Lovers of Horſes, their Saddles being made like our great Saddles. The Natives inhabiting the inland Countries of *Java* are all *Pagans*, and believing the Tranſmigration of the Soul, eat neither Fiſh nor Fleſh. To the South there are a few *Mohammedans* of the *Turkiſh* Sect. They have two great Faſts, the Chief of which is upon the 5th of *Auguſt*. There are few among the *Javans* but what have three or four, nay, ſometimes ten or twelve Wives, beſides their Concubines, who are obliged to wait upon the Wives, though their Children have the ſame Prerogative as the legitimate Offspring. Their Children go naked, the Girls having only a Plate of Silver or Gold to cover their Privities. They marry at eight, nine, or ten Years of Age. In their Marriages they uſe but few Ceremonies; certain Poles are ſtuck on the Wedding-Day before the Houſe of the Bride and Bridegroom, with Taſſels of white and red Cotton, and after Dinner the Bridegroom goes on Horſeback through the Town, where the Slaves, who are Part of his Dowry, go to meet him, and bring him ſome Preſents.

Women of Faſhion are kept under ſuch Reſtraint that they are not permitted ſo much as to ſee their own Sons in their Chambers; neither does a Man ſpeak, or approach a Woman of Rank when ſhe goes abroad, but every body gives her Way, even the King himſelf. They are known only by their Retinue, being for the reſt clad after the common Faſhion, *viz.* in a kind of Calico or ſilk Petticoat, reaching down from the Breaſt to the Middle of the Leg. They wear neither Stockings nor Head Ornaments, but tie their Hair upon the Crown, except it be at Weddings, or any other Solemnity, when they have Coronets on their Heads, and Rings and Bracelets upon their Fingers, and about their Arms. They are ſo much addicted to Cleanlineſs, that they never do any thing without waſhing and bathing themſelves, which is one of their chief Employments, and which they look upon as a proper Means to intice their Huſbands to Venery, in which they ſtrive to outvie one another.

In their Courts of Judicature, the Plaintiff and Defendant are obliged to plead both their own Cauſes. Their Puniſhment of Criminals is to tie them to a Poſt, and ſtab them with a Dagger. Foreigners have this Advantage, that provided they can make their Peace with the Party complaining, they may redeem themſelves from Death, except in the Caſe of premeditated Murder. The King's Council, which conſiſts ſometimes of five hundred Perſons, meet by Moon-light under a great Tree, where they continue till the Moon ſets. The King, when preſent, ſits in the Middle. The Natives of *Java* are a proud, perfidious, and cruel Generation, and ſo ſtubborn, that ſuch as know they have deſerved Death will rather be killed than taken. Their Hair, which is very long, is generally of a Cheſnut Colour. They have broad flat Faces, and large Jaw-bones and Eye-brows, little Eyes and thin Beards, are for the reſt middle-ſized, but very ſtrong Limbs. They ſeem not to want Courage were they bred up to all the Advantages of our modern Arms, but they are contented with their Pike, Battle-ax, Broadſwords, and a Dagger. Their Bucklers are of Wood, and ſometimes of boiled Leather. They wear alſo Armour, the Pieces of which are joined together with iron Rings. Their Soldiers receive no Pay in Time of Peace. They have a Way of blowing ſmall poiſoned Arrows through Trunks, by which the Wound is made incurable.

But thoſe inhabiting upon the Strait of *Sunda*, being tranſplanted thither from *Paſſarvaſe*, and living under their own King, are much more honeſt and open-hearted. The Grounds of *Java* are either farmed out by the King, or Lords, to certain free People, or cultivated by Slaves, and produce Rice, Pepper, and Cocoa. Some Slaves here take their Maſters Trees, and other Commodities, at a certain Rate, which they ſell to the beſt Advantage they can; others walk abroad for their Maſter's Profit at a ſet Rate *per Diem.* Others maintain themſelves, and work alternately, ſix Days for their Maſters, and as many for themſelves. They commonly adulterate their Pepper with black Gravel, as they do all other Commodities they ſell to Strangers, being very crafty in their Commerce; though very few rich Merchants venture their Perſons on any long Voyage, but traffick, like our *European* Merchants, by the Aſſiſtance of Factors. Bonds and other Securities are written upon the Bark of Trees, the Characters being engraven with a ſort of Bodkin, which is either rolled up afterwards, or laid together four-ſquare, betwixt two Boards, which they have a Way to tie neatly together with Packthread; ſometimes they uſe *Chineſe* Paper.

They have a Language peculiar to themſelves, but the *Malayan* is moſt in Uſe here, and the *Arabian* is uſed by the *Mohammedans*. The Traffick of the *Perſians* that live here is precious Stones, Stuffs, and Drugs, and the *Arabians* and *Banjans* exchange their Commodities chiefly for *China* Ware. Thoſe of *Guzerat* live for the moſt Part upon Fiſhing; all thoſe Foreigners are clad after the ſame Faſhion, in a Calico Garment, with a Turban of the ſame Stuff. At their Arrival they purchaſe a Woman, who is to ſerve for all Uſes. At their Departure they diſpoſe of her again, but muſt make Proviſion for the Children, if they leave any behind. But the *Chineſe* are of all Foreigners here the moſt induſtrious in their Trading, being looked upon in the ſame Light as the *Jews* in *Europe.* Their main Buſineſs is to foreſtal and buy up the Pepper in the Country, againſt the coming of their Fleet to *Bantam* (which conſiſts commonly in ten Ships of 50 Tuns each) in *January.* Theſe bring in a ſort of wretched Money called *Pity* by the *Javaneſe*, and *Cas* in the *Malayan* Language, being a Mixture of Lead and Braſs, ſo brittle, that if they fall upon the Ground they certainly break. They are made in the City of *Chincoa* in *China*, having each a four ſquare Hole in the Middle, through which they ſtring them upon Straw. It paſſed at firſt very current in *Java*, but ſince this Baſeneſs has been diſcovered it goes at a very low Rate. The *Chineſe* ſell their Porcelain here at cheap Rates, and bring alſo Silk, Sattin, and Damaſks of their own Manufactory, which they exchange for Pepper, Lacque, Indigo, Sandal Wood, Nutmegs, Cloves, Tortoiſhells, and Ivory. They have neither Temples nor Prieſts at *Bantam*, but they have both at *Panarucan.*

Java abounds both in wild and tame Beaſts. The Foreſts are filled with Elephants, Rhinoceroſes, Leopards, and Tygers, which make them very unſafe, and is the Reaſon why Frankincenſe, Maſtich, Myrrh, and Benjamin (which is better here than in any other Place) are not gathered in ſo great Quantities, the before-mentioned Beaſts, as well as the Serpents, Lizards, and Salamanders, making the Foreſts ſo very dangerous to paſs. The Hogs here are without Briſtles, but their Bellies hang down to the Ground. The Rivers are very well ſtocked with Fiſh, there having been Oyſters ſeen in thoſe Parts that weighed 300 Pounds, which would ſeem incredible if there were not to be ſeen to this Day two Oyſter-ſhells in the Duke of *Holſtein Gottorp*'s Cabinet, which *Olearius*, in 1675, bought of a Sea-Captain's Wife at *Enchuyſen*, and weighed 462 Pounds. Deer, wild Goats, and Boars, are likewiſe here in vaſt Plenty, but are not eaſily to be taken, by reaſon of the Unpaſſableneſs of the Woods, and the Unſkilfulneſs of the *Javaneſe* in the Uſe of Fire-arms. The Rivers feed alſo Abundance of Crocodiles; the *Chineſe* tame, fat, and eat them for a peculiar Dainty. Their Civet is not ſo white nor well ſcented as that of *Guiney.* They have two ſorts of tame Fowls, one like thoſe of *Europe*, the other of the *Indian* Breed, wild and furious; ſome have black Fleſh, but notwithſtanding this they are very good Food: The Rhinoceroes is in the ſame Eſteem with them now-a-days, as the Unicorn was with the Ancients, his Fleſh, Horn, Blood, and Teeth, nay even his Dung, being applied to medicinal Uſes.

They have alſo Ants here of a much larger Size than ours, they ſpoil every thing they come at. They have a certain kind of theſe Creatures reddiſh, and of the Length of a Man's Finger; but theſe live in the Fields upon the Barks of Trees. Among the Fruit-trees of *Java* the *Arequeco*, which bears the *Areca*, is none of the worſt; it is a Species of the Cocoa, but leſs in Bulk, and with narrower Leaves. The Fruit reſembles a Date incloſed in a Huſk, which falls off when it ripens; it is without Taſte, but taints the Lips and Teeth of a black Colour. The *Indians*, after they have mixed it with a little Lime, wrap it up in a Betel Leaf, and ſo chew it, looking upon it as a good Remedy againſt the Scurvy. It will cauſe in ſuch as are not uſed to it a Dizzineſs in the Head, but it ſoon paſſes over. The *Mango* is a Fruit growing upon a Tree not unlike our Walnut-trees; it is ſomething like our Peaches in Bigneſs and Colour, being of a red and green. The Shell incloſes an Almond, which is of a grateful Taſte when roaſted in the Aſhes; they pickle them whilſt green, and they are accounted a good Remedy againſt the Worms and Looſeneſs; the wild ones are rank Poiſon, which kill without a preſent Antidote.

The *Ananas* grow on a Shrub with Leaves like a *Sempervivum*; is green at firſt, but when ripe turns to the Orange Colour. Its Shape is like a Pine-apple, yellow within, but they are dangerous if uſed in Exceſs, tho' the Taſte is very pleaſant; they are not much larger than a good Lemon. The Stalk is like a Thiſtle, every one bearing but one at the Top; it is very apt to over-heat, and occaſion Fevers. The Fruit called *Samaca* is alſo of the Bigneſs of a Citron, juicy and tart, with black Kernels; the Leaves, which are like to but ſomething leſs than the Lemon-tree, pickled with Salt and Sugar, are accounted a good Remedy in Fevers and Inflammations, as we do our Tamarinds, which alſo grow in great Plenty here. The *Tabaxir, i. e.* a white frozen Liquor, is found in the Knots of certain Canes, of the Bigneſs of a Poplar, with ſtrait Branches and Leaves not unlike thoſe of the Olive-tree, but ſomewhat longer; it is like Starch, and in ſuch Eſteem with the *Perſians* and *Arabians* for the Virtues they attribute to it in the Cure of Fevers and Bloody-fluxes, that they buy it at a very dear Rate. Theſe Canes are ſo big that the *Indians* cleave them aſunder, and make Boats of them, leaving a Knot on each End. The Iſle of *Java* produces alſo another Fruit called *Durions*, not to be met with any where except here and in the *Moluccas.*

The Tree called *Batan* is of the Size of our Apple-trees; the Bloſſom of a pale yellow Colour, the Leaves half a Foot long, and three Inches broad, of a very lively green on the Inſide. The Fruit, both for its Colour, Bigneſs, and outward Diviſion, reſembles our Melons, but within is divided into four Partitions, which being again ſubdivided into two or three leſſer Cells, contain the Fruit, which is as big as a Pullet's Egg, and of the moſt luſcious Taſte in the World. Its Stone is rough, and as big as that of a Peach. It will not keep, and therefore muſt be uſed as ſoon as the outward Huſk opens. One thing is very obſervable, that if you lay but a few Betel Leaves near a whole Room full of *Durions*, they will all rot immediately; and if you have ſurfeited yourſelf with the exceſſive eating of this Fruit, two or three Betel Leaves applied to your Breaſt, or one of the ſame Leaves eaten, will give you Eaſe, and you may digeſt them without any farther Danger. A *Lantor* Tree, another Species of Cocoas, has Leaves five or ſix Feet long, and ſo ſmooth that the *Javaneſe* uſe them inſtead of Paper. *Cubebs* are found no where in the *Indies* but in the Iſle of *Jaca.* They grow upon a Tree not unlike the Pepper, and in Bunches. The *Javaneſe* hold them in ſuch Eſteem that they will not ſell them unboiled, nor will allow ſo much as one Plant to be tranſported into other Places. The *Magoſtan* is much of the Taſte of our Sloes, and grows wild in the Highways of *Java*; and the Herb *Talaſſe*, bearing neither Flower nor Fruit, is uſed green in Sauces, its Virtue being to fortify the Stomach: The Fruit *Java* is of the Bigneſs of a *Citrul*, having a rough Rind, within which are certain Nuts, the Kernels thereof being roaſted, are a preſent Remedy againſt a Looſeneſs. It is obſervable that this Fruit often changes its Taſte; ſometimes it reſembles a Melon, ſometimes a Peach, and at other Times a ſweet Lemon. The Nut is as big as a Date, but is not to be uſed raw, becauſe it occaſions vomiting and griping in the Guts; but roaſted, it is both pleaſant and good, and reckoned a great Reſtorative.

On the Side of the Iſland towards the Strait of *Sunda*, you meet with Abundance of wild Cinnamon, but it is never tranſported into foreign Parts. The *Carcapuli* are a kind of *Indian* Cherries, white, dark, red, and of a Carnation Colour; the Trees and Fruit are like thoſe in *Europe*: The *Coſtus Indicus*, called *Pucho* by the *Malayans*, reſembles in every reſpect, both in Height and Flower, the *European* Elder-tree, wherewith the *Perſians* and *Arabians* drive a conſiderable Trade, as they do alſo with the *Calamus Aromaticus.* There is a yellow and ſpungy Matter in its Stalk, which ſome Women make uſe of to appeaſe Fits. The *Zerumbet*, called *Canlor* by the *Malayans*, is like Ginger, except that it has ſomewhat larger Leaves; it is preſerved or dried like Ginger, but valued above it. Of *Galanga* there are two Kinds, the leſſer is brought from *China*, and is preferable to that of *Java.* The Herb grows wild, about two Feet high, with a white Flower and pointed Leaves; the *Javaneſe* uſe both the Root and Herb in their Sallads; the firſt are knotted like Canes, and of a biting Taſte, and good Scent. *Benjamin* is a Gum of a Tree reſembling a Lemon-tree; whilſt they are young, the Gum is white, but as they grow old it changes black. It is by the *Moors* called *Lovan Javy, i. e.* the

Juice of *Java*. This Iſle produces Abundance of Sandal-trees, which are of the Bigneſs of our Walnut-trees, their Fruit reſembling our Black-cherries, but is inſipid; but the white and yellow Sandal, which are much preferred before the red, grow in the Iſles of *Timor* and *Solor*; of this the *Indians* make a Decoction wherewith they rub their Bodies, looking upon it as a great Reſtorative. Ginger they have alſo in Abundance here, which they eat either green or preſerved, but never dried. *Anacardium* is uſed by the *Javaneſe* as an approved Remedy againſt the Aſthma and Worms; they boil it in Milk, or pickle it like Olives. The Wood called *Pala de Cuebra* by the *Portugueze*, of a pale yellow Colour, is uſed by the *Indians* in Wine and Water againſt Fevers and Stings of Serpents.

That by the *Indians* called *Calamba*, and by us *Lignum Aloes*, grows not only in *Java*, but alſo in *Malacca*, *Sumatra*, *Cambaya*, and other Places. It is not unlike to, but ſomewhat bigger than an Olive-tree, and whilſt green, has no Scent; but as ſoon as it dries, its Scent is perceived. Its Goodneſs is known by its Weight and Colour, which muſt be brown, from whence iſſues an Oil if held to the Fire; the wild *Calamba* is uſed chiefly in Funerals, for the Burning of the dead Corpſe of the *Indian* Prieſts and Princes, Abundance of Lacque is ſold at *Bantam*; but the choiceſt comes from *Pegu*. There certain winged Ants ſuck the Gum of the Trees, which they afterwards caſt upon the Boughs, as the Bees do the Honey and Wax; theſe are cut off, and ſet in the Sun to dry till the Lacque falls off, to which they give what Colour they pleaſe, and is uſed in Sealing-wax, and Lacque Works of China and Japan. The other Drugs of *Java* are *Pody*, which they uſe againſt Winds and Rheums. *Flors*, a Root they dye their Calicoes with. *Canjuapi* is another Root with which they rub their Bodies. *Samparantam* is another Root ſtronger than Ginger, but bitter. *Pantibu* is accounted a ſovereign Remedy againſt Fevers, and upon that ſcore ſold at a dear Rate. *Gotogamber* is a Fruit reſembling Olives, good againſt the Tooth-ach. *Ganti* is altogether like Ginger, but much dearer; they uſe it to rub their Bodies with. *Saſam* is the Name they give Muſtard-ſeed. *Doringi* is given to the Children as ſoon as they are born. The Root *Gallam*, growing in watery Places, is a great Cooler. The Fruit *Tianco* is taken at all Times whenever they find themſelves indiſpoſed. *Maidian*, *Maya*, and *Coroſſani*, are uſed in their Liquors, as having an intoxicating Quality. *Spodium* is the Aſhes of a Tree wherewith they rub their Bodies. They do the ſame likewiſe with the Flower called *Sary*, and the Roots of *Targary*, *Suraban*, and *Sedowaya* are appropriated to the ſame Uſe. *Sambaya* is a Fruit of the Bigneſs of an Acorn, which being accounted a moſt ſovereign Remedy againſt Poiſon, and eſpecially that of venomous Beaſts, is ſold at a very high Price. *Jalava* is of the ſame Uſe as *Sambaya*. The Herb *Paravas* is cooling, but ſcarce and dear. *Tomonpute* is a Root uſed againſt the Inflammations of the Spleen. The *Conduri* are poiſonous Berries, but are uſed to weigh Gold and Silver.

The *Javaneſe* being exaſperated by the ill Uſage they often received from the *Portugueze*, would not for a long time permit any Strangers to have any Settlements there, till at laſt the Hopes of Gain engaged the Kings of *Bantam* and *Jacatra* to let the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* ſet up their Factories there under certain Conditions; which being but ill obſerved by the *Indians*, the *Dutch* took this Opportunity of fortifying their Settlements at *Jacatra*, and that with ſo much Expedition, that the *Indians*, finding themſelves not in a Condition to force them thence, engaged with the *Engliſh* to aſſiſt them in the Expulſion of theſe bold Strangers. In the firſt Sea Engagement, *January* the 2d, 1619, near *Bantam*, the *Dutch* had the worſt; upon which the King of *Jacatra*, in Conjunction with the *Engliſh*, beſieged and attacked their Forts for ſix Months, till the *Dutch* Fleet being reinforced, obliged the *Engliſh* to quit both the Fort and the Straits of *Sunda*, and landing their Men, took the City of *Jacatra* by Storm, and put all to the Sword: The next thing they had to do was to complete their Fortifications, which they did ſo effectually, that in a little Time they made them very regular, with four Baſtions of Free-ſtone, well intrenched and palliſadoed, and defended by a proportionable Number of Half-moons, Redoubts, &c.

The King of *Matram* laid ſiege to it twice ſince, *viz.* in 1628 and 1629, but was forced to raiſe it as often; ſince which Time the *Dutch* remain in the quiet Poſſeſſion of their Traffick here with the *Chineſe*, *Japaneſe*, and *Siameſe*, and other neighbouring Nations, and receive Ten *per Cent.* Cuſtom upon all Commodities imported or exported, each Stranger inhabiting in the City of *Batavia* being obliged to pay a certain Monthly Tax proportionable to what Profits they make, which is very great, and conſequently the Tax not in the leaſt burthenſome; for a Porter, who perhaps gets two Rials a Day, does not pay above one and a half in the Month. The City of *Batavia* being for its convenient Situation in a Bay, which is ſheltered by many Iſlands from the Violence of the Winds, one of the beſt Roads in all the *Indies*, and the chief Place of Commerce belonging to the *Dutch* in thoſe Parts.

To the North-Weſt from *Java*, betwixt that and the Iſle of *Borneo*, lies the Iſland of *Madura*, ſubject to its own Prince, whoſe Reſidence is in the City of *Araſſabaya*; as by reaſon of its Barrenneſs it is a Place of no Trade, they live upon Piracy, eſpecially upon the Coaſt of *Pegu*. The Iſle of *Baly*, lying to the Eaſt of *Java*, has not above twelve Leagues in Circuit; but to the South jets out a Cape a great way into the Sea. The King reſides in the City, bearing the ſame Name with the Iſle; the Inhabitants are *Pagans*, and ſo ſuperſtitious, that they worſhip the firſt thing they meet with in the Morning; they are very black, with curled Hair, but wear no Beards any more than the reſt of the Iſlanders in thoſe Parts, and wear the ſame Garments; for their Women, who have an Averſion to Beards, oblige them to pull out the Hair by the Roots. They have each ſeveral Wives, whence this Iſle is ſo populous, that about ſix hundred thouſand living Souls are accounted within its Compaſs, though Abundance of Slaves are ſold from thence every Year.

They live for the moſt part upon Huſbandry and Weaving, becauſe they abound both in Cotton and Rice, but allow none to be tranſported; they are alſo ſufficiently Provided with Oxen, Buffaloes, Goats, and Hogs, and ſome Horſes, but very ſmall ones. They have whole Foreſts of Oranges, Lemons, and Citron Trees, which furniſh them with vaſt Stores of Pheaſants, Partridges, Peacocks, and Turtles, as their Marſhes do with Ducks and other wild Fowl. It produces no other Spice but Ginger; but they have ſeveral other Drugs, and a certain Fruit growing in a Shell like a Cheſnut, white, and of a delicious Taſte; and is beſides this an approved Remedy againſt the Scurvy. All along the Coaſt the Seas furniſh them with incredible Plenty of Fiſh, which, next to Rice, is their main Subſiſtence. They have but little Commerce with Strangers, except that they ſend now-and-then ſome of their Calicoes in ſmall Veſſels to the Iſle of *Java*. In this Road moſt Ships bound for the *Moluccas* take in freſh Water and Proviſions, which are to be bought here at a very low Rate. They have Iron, Copper, and Gold Mines; but the laſt are not broke up or wrought, for fear the Fame of their Riches ſhould draw thither ſome foreign Nation or other that would without Queſtion reap the Fruits of their Labour. Their King, whoſe Title is *Quillor*, i. e. High-Conſtable, is in great Veneration among his Subjects, and governs his Dominions by certain Governors appointed for each Province. They perſiſt very obſtinately in Paganiſm, as alſo in that diabolical Cuſtom of Women burning themſelves with their Huſbands.

The Iſle of *Borneo* lies farther North than *Java*, one of the largeſt in thoſe Seas, extending ſix Degrees to the North, though its greateſt Part lies on this Side of the Equinoctial Line. Some make it four hundred Leagues in Compaſs; but the *Dutch* with more Probability aſſign it no more than two hundred and fifty Leagues in Circumference; its chief Places are *Borneo*, *Succidava*, *Lanoa*, *Sambas*, and *Bangbemiſſin*. The City of *Borneo* is like *Venice*, built upon divers ſmall Iſlands, interſected with Channels, there being no Paſſage there but by Boats, according to the Account the *Dutch* have given of it; it contains about two thouſand Houſes This Iſle produces the beſt Camphire, as alſo

Gold, and Bezoar; which Stone breeds in a Maw of a Sheep, or Goat, within the Subſtance of which is alſo found a Tuft of Graſs. It is ſmooth, inclining to a greeniſh Colour, its Goodneſs being to be tried by its Weight. In the Country of *Pan*, near *Malacca*, is a certain ſmooth and ſlippery Stone found in the Gall of certain Hogs, of a reddiſh Colour and bitteriſh Taſte, which being ſteeped only in cold Water affords a moſt effectual Remedy againſt all Poiſon and infectious Diſtempers. The Iſle of *Borneo* furniſhes alſo Diamonds, Sapan-wood, uſed by the Dyers, Brazil-wood, Wax, Pepper, Frankincenſe, Maſtich, and divers other Gums. The Iſle is not deſtitute of good Harbours, among which that of *Borneo*, at the Mouth of a very good River, is the largeſt and moſt commodious. Their Cities are not very populous, and their wooden Houſes ſo ſlightly built that they remove them at Pleaſure. They are accounted very ingenious, but will rather live by Piracy than Induſtry, unto which they are ſo much addicted that their Veſſels are ſeen upon the Coaſt of *Pegu* four hundred Leagues thence. They uſe Swords, Bucklers, Lances, Darts, and Pikes. The King and moſt of the Inhabitants near the Sea-ſide are *Mohammedans*, but deeper in the Iſland they are *Pagans*. They are black, and well ſet, wear Calico wrapped about their Loins, like moſt of the other *Indians*, and Turbans on their Heade.

13. The Iſle of *Celebes* lies betwixt that of *Borneo* and *Moluccas*, under the Equinoctial Line. *Mercator* would have it to be one of theſe Iſlands called *Sindas* by *Ptolemy*. Its capital City is called *Macaſſar*, which lies in the moſt Southern Part of the whole Iſle, 5° 17′ beyond the Line. The Inhabitants are ſo induſtrious, that they leave not an Inch of Ground unmanured, and ſow with Rice what they ſtand not in Need of for their Cattle and Cocoa-trees. It is not long ſince they embraced *Mohammediſm*. They much reſemble the *Siameſe* and thoſe of *Pegu*, eſpecially in their Faces, and are of a comely Stature. The Women dreſs their Heads like thoſe of *Malacca*, and in the Street have their Breaſts open, and Breeches reaching down to their Knees. The North-weſt Winds, which blow here from *November* to *March*, make the Shore very unſafe during that Time, and the continual Rains overflow the flat Country, which is the Reaſon that moſt of their Houſes are built upon Piles, nine or ten Feet above the Ground. There are two Kings more, *viz.* one of *Telbo*, and the other of *Battergoa*, in this Iſland.

The Iſle of *Gilolo*, by the *Portugueze* called *Bato China de Moro*, produces Plenty of Rice and *Sagu*, Tortoiſes, *&c.* The Inhabitants are very well limbed, but barbarous, and not many Years ago were Canibals. The Iſland of *Amboyna* is ſo near the *Moluccas* that ſome have accounted it among their Number; its Circuit is twenty-four Leagues. The chief City has to the North-weſt of it a very fair Bay of ſix Leagues, where there is ſafe Anchorage, and good Shelter for Ships againſt the Wind; the Bay enters ſo deep into the Country, and the Sea on the oppoſite Side cuts ſo deep within the Land, that the Iſle is very near divided into two, there being only a ſmall Iſthmus of a hundred and twenty Fathom left, by which it is joined together. The leſſer Part of the Iſle, wherein is the Caſtle of *Amboyna*, contains about a hundred and twenty ſmall Towns, and the greater but four Towns and about ſeven Villages. The Inhabitants were heretofore Savages and Canibals, and applied themſelves to no kind of Agriculture, which made the Country appear a Wilderneſs; but of late Years they have applied themſelves to cultivating the Ground, which being very fertile produces great Plenty of Oranges, Lemons, Cocoas, Bananas, Sugar-Canes, beſides Cloves. They continue ſtill to be ignorant People, the only Skill they ſhew being in the Management of a Dart, which they uſe with ſo much Dexterity, that at ſixty Paces Diſtance they will hit a Crown-piece. They are famed for their Cakes made of Rice, Almonds, and Sugar, which the Inhabitants of the adjacent Iſlands take againſt the Bloody-flux; for their Rice-Bread, made in the Shape of our Sugar-Loaves; and for their ſmall Gallies, which in ſwiftneſs exceed any in *Europe*.

It was firſt diſcovered by the *Portugueze* in the Year 1515; but the *Dutch* having afterwards alſo got Footing there, the *Portugueze* being reſolved to ſpoil their Commerce, ſet upon five *Dutch* Veſſels in the Port of *Banda*; but being repulſed with Loſs, revenged their Diſgrace upon the *Amboynians*, who were ſuſpected to favour the *Dutch* in thoſe Parts. *Stephen Verhagen*, two Years after, *viz.* on the 21ſt of *February* 1603, landed a certain Number of Soldiers near *Amboyna*, in order to attack the Caſtle; but whilſt he was landing his Artillery the *Portugueze* Governor, not daring to ſtand the Shock, ſurrendered the Place without a Cannon being ſhot, though the Garriſon conſiſted of ſix hundred Men. Before *Mohammediſm* was introduced in the Iſles of *Java*, *Amboyna*, and the *Moluccas*, by the *Perſians* and *Arabians* trading hither, they were all *Pagans*; ſome of them continue ſo ſtill; others, though circumciſed, yet perſevere in their *Pagan* Superſtitions.

Nothing is more frequent here than to worſhip the Devil, though they are not able to tell you what he is. They affirm him to be an Aereal Demon; whence they give him the Name of *Lanithe*, i. e. Air, yet make him ſubordinate to another called *Lanthila*, as well as to him they call *Tautay*, who is a Degree lower than *Lanthila*. They give them one general Name, *viz. Tito*, i. e. Evil Spirits, and ſay that they appear to them in human Shape, when they are to produce their Oracles, and reveal unknown Things to them. To do this twenty or thirty of them aſſemble, and by the Help of a ſmall Drum called *Tifa*, ſome Wax Candles, and certain Conjurations, as alſo a Sacrifice of Meat and Drink, make them appear before them. As they are of Opinion that what Ill befalls them comes from the Devil, they are very careful not to neglect his Worſhip; for which Purpoſes they have Wax Candles lighted in their Houſes, where they ſacrifice Meat and Drink to theſe phantaſtick Beings.

Their Circumciſion is alſo different from that of the *Jews* or *Mohammedans*; for inſtead of cutting off the Prepuce, they only ſlit it, and that not till they are twelve or thirteen Years of Age. Their Marriages are ſoon made, and as ſoon diſſolved; for every thing being agreed upon they uſe no farther Ceremonies, except that the Bridegroom's Father gives a ſmall Preſent to the Bride, in lieu of which her Father makes the Wedding Feaſt, where they have their Muſick and Dancing. If a Wife have a mind to part from her Huſband, ſhe has no more to do than reſtore the Preſent; which done, ſhe pours Water on her Huſband's Feet, to intimate, that thereby they are both cleanſed from all Impurities they have contracted during their Marriage, which is thereby diſſolved, and either Party at liberty to provide themſelves another Spouſe as ſoon as they pleaſe When they are to take a ſolemn Oath Water is put into a Diſh, into which having caſt Gold, Earth, and a Leaden Bullet, they dip into it the Extremity of a Muſket-Barrel, the Point of a Halbert, Sword, Knife, or ſome other Weapon, and ſo give the Diſh with Water unto him who is to take the Oaths, to put him in mind that all which has been caſt or dipped into the Water, will be inſtrumental to his Deſtruction if he forſwear himſelf. They have among them a certain Gang who under Pretence of Witchcraft do Miſchief to their Neighbours, either by Poiſon or other Means; they are called *Zevangi*; but whenever they are found out, they are ſure to meet with very ſevere Puniſhment.

The Natives of *Amboyna* are naturally ſtupid, timorous, and void of Underſtanding; they commonly bury their Riches for fear of being robbed; and ſuch is their Simplicity that they are not to be brought up to any Trade. They are ſo far from any Knowledge that they have not ſo much as any Characters among them. All they apply themſelves to is Fiſhing, and cultivating their Gardens, upon the Fruit of which they live very miſerably, though it is obſervable that they are generally ſtrong and well-proportioned. The *Dutch* have three Forts in this Iſle, *viz.* the Fort *Cambella* or *Victoria*, and thoſe of *Hiten* and *Louro*.

The Iſle of *Banda*, which is three Leagues in Length and one in Breadth, lies twenty-four Leagues from *Amboyna*, extending from North to South. It has ſome new Towns, the chief of which is *Nera*. The Inhabitants are very zealous *Mohammedans*; as they are always at War with ſome of their Neighbours, ſo they keep a conſtant Guard along their Coaſts. Their Arms are a Scymitar and wooden Buckler, four Feet long, in the managing of which they are very expert, as being trained up to it in their Infancy.

They make uſe alſo ſometimes of Fire-arms, but what they put their chief Truſt in is the Lance, being eight or ten Feet long, which they caſt with ſuch Dexterity and Strength, that they will run a Man through with it: Of theſe they commonly have two, which, after they have caſt, they betake themſelves to their Swords. They make uſe of a kind of light Gallies, having on each Side, juſt above the Surface of the Water, two Seats like Wings, where the Slaves are ſet to row. There are two allotted for each Seat, every one with his Oar, which being made like a hollow wooden Shovel, they thruſt it as far as they can into the Sea, and in drawing it back, turn it about their Heads with ſuch a Slight and Swiftneſs, that there are but few Ships that can overtake them with all the Sail they can make.

The Natives of *Banda* live very often to one hundred and twenty Years of Age. When they inter their Corps they are carried by twelve Perſons upon a Bier or Coffin, covered with Calicoe, the Men firſt, and the Women following it; after it is buried, they return to the Houſe of the deceaſed, where they feaſt together, order Incenſe to be burnt over the Grave for twenty-four Hours, and ſet up a burning Lamp at Night in a Hut made for that Purpoſe. The Men lead a very idle Life, leaving all Buſineſs to the Management of the Women, who are employed in breaking the Nutmeg-ſhells, and drying the Nut and Mace, the chief Thing they rely on for their Maintenance. As far as ever I could learn, the moſt excellent Spice grows no where but in the Iſle of *Banda*, and the ſix following adjacent Iſlands, which make up the Archipelago called *Banda*, by the Inhabitants, *viz. Gunaxi*, *Pera*, and *Lanter* (which is the beſt Road for Veſſels), *Puloway*, *Pulaim*, and *Bayſingin*.

It is next to a Paradox to believe that theſe ſix ſmall Iſlands ſhould be able to produce ſuch prodigious Quantities of Nutmegs as are ſufficient for the whole World, unleſs it be conſidered, that beſides a few Durions, Bananas, Oranges, and Cocoa-trees, the Iſlands are covered all over with them like one continued Foreſt, the Trees of which are loaded with Flowers and Fruits, which are gathered three times a Year, *viz.* in *April*, *Auguſt*, and *December*; but the beſt are gathered in *April*. The Tree itſelf reſembles our Peach-tree, the Leaves whereof are ſomewhat leſs and round. The Fruit is encloſed within a Huſk as thick as that of our Wallnuts, which, being opened, you ſee a Leaf very thin upon a hard Shell, which may be diſcovered through it. This Leaf is the Flower of Nutmeg or Mace; and to come to the Fruit, you muſt break the Shell. While the Nut is green, the Flower is of a Carnation Colour, which, after it is parted from the Shell, turns to an Orange Colour. It makes a moſt excellent Preſerve, if done with Salt and Sugar. The Inhabitants make a good ſtomachick Ointment of Nutmegs or Mace, powdered and mixed with the Oil of Roſes. The Inhabitants don't amount to above 12000 in all, amongſt them not above 500 fit to bear Arms; yet are they ſo mutinous and ſtubborn, that to bridle them the *Dutch* have two Forts here, called *Naſſau* and *Belgica*, where Veſſels may anchor at nine or ten Fathom Water within Muſket-ſhot, and that without the leaſt Danger.

The *Moluccas*, properly ſo called, are no more than five in Number, *viz.* the Iſles of *Ternate*, *Tidor*, *Motiel*, *Machiam*, and *Bachiam*, known to the antient *Pagans* by the Names of *Cupe*, *Douco*, *Montil*, *Maca*, and *Saque*, and ſituated all together within the Space of 25 Leagues. The Sun-beams are ſo penetrating here that they render the Earth as dry as a Pumice-ſtone, which not only ſucks in all the Rains that fall, but alſo ſwallows the very Torrents near their Sources; but as they are not able to penetrate through the thick Foreſts, ſo the Ground here produces both Trees and Herbs; whence it is that thoſe Iſlands are ſufficiently ſtored with Bananas, Cocoas, Lemons, Oranges, Sandal, and Callamba, beſides Spices of all ſorts; but they produce neither Rice, nor any other ſort of Grain; the Defect of which is ſupplied by the Tree, called by the Natives *Laudan*, and *Seguiro* by the *Portugueze*, the Pith of which furniſhes them with a kind of Meal for Bread, as the Leaves, when come to their full Growth, ſerve them for the Covering of their Houſes, and the bigger Veins for Rafters, as the leſſer make good Cordage: While theſe Leaves are young, they are covered with a Kind of woolly Subſtance, which affords Materials for Stuffs. They are not unlike the Cocoa-leaves, the Tree which bears them being commonly twenty Feet high, and the Trunk a Fathom in Compaſs; but being compoſed only of the Bark and Pith, is eaſily cut down, the firſt not exceeding one Inch in Thickneſs. The Pith is very white, and may be eaten without any farther Preparation, after the Strings of the Wood, which are mixed with it, are removed; but if they intend to make Meal of it, they beat the Pith to Powder, put it in a Sieve, made of the Bark of the ſame Tree, over a Tub, made of its Leaves, and by pouring a ſufficient Quantity of Water upon it, ſeparate the Strings from the mealy Part, which ſettles to the Bottom of the Tub, and being ſeparated from the Water and dried, affords the Meal they call *Sagu*. This they bake in certain Moulds of Earth, made red-hot, with incredible Diſpatch. This Tree, which grows alſo in *Amboyna* and ſome other Places, affords alſo a certain Liquor called Thorack, which taſtes like Wine.

The Iſlanders, though not deſtitute of Cattle, yet live, for the moſt part, upon Fiſh. They have no Gold, Silver, or any other Mines, being furniſhed with Iron from the Iſland of *Amboyna*. They are generally black, though the Women not ſo black as the Men, with black ſhining Hair, large Eyes and Eyebrows, and ſtrong Limbs. They ſoon become grey, yet live to a great Age; are active rather than laborious, and very ſociable in Converſation, but ſomewhat inclining to Boldneſs and Inſolence, and in their Dealings crafty and deceitful: The Men wear generally Turbans, like the *Turks*, covered with Plumes. The King is diſtinguiſhed from his Subjects by a kind of Mitre, clad in Drawers only of blue, red, green, or yellow Sattin. Some of theſe Iſlanders make uſe of a cloſe-bodied Coat, faſtened round the Shoulders, and cut below like the military Garment of the antient *Romans*. The Women wear no Head-dreſſes, but lay their Hair ſmooth over their Heads, which they tie behind, and cover it with Plumes, or Flowers. Their Garments are of *China* Silk; but their chief Ornaments are their Bracelets, Rings, and Necklaces of Pearls, Diamonds, Rubies, and Emeralds. The *Chineſe* were the firſt that made themſelves Maſters of thoſe Iſlands, and after, the *Perſians* and *Arabians*, who introduced *Mohammediſm* here. Their ancient Cuſtoms are their only Law: They allow Polygamy, yet don't puniſh Adultery; but ſtealing is a capital Crime.

At Break of Day certain Perſons who are appointed for that Purpoſe, beat the Drum about the Streets to excite the People to the Performance of their matrimonial Duty. They uſe generally the *Malayan* Language, though every one of theſe Iſlands has its peculiar Tongue, which ſhews them to be deſcended from divers Nations. The Iſle of *Ternate*, the biggeſt of the *Moluccas*, is ſituated in 48° 28 Leagues from the Iſle of *Banda*. Its Compaſs is about eight Leagues. It affords but little Proviſions, except Goats and ſome Poultry; but the Almonds here are moſt excellent, the Shells being ſo hard that the Smiths uſe them inſtead of Coal. It produces alſo ſome Tobacco, but much inferior in Goodneſs to that brought from the *Weſt-Indies*. The Town of *Gamma Lamma*, the Capital of the whole Iſland, conſiſts only of one Street, 2500 Paces long, built along the Sea-ſide, the Houſes being all of Cane or Timber; the Road is not fit for Anchorage, the Bottom being all rocky, which makes the *Dutch* Veſſels always lie at Anchor near the Village of *Tellingamma*, within two Miles of *Malay*, betwixt the Iſlands of *Ternate* and *Tidor*.

But the chief Product of theſe Iſlands is the Clove, called *Clavas* by the modern *Spaniards*, by reaſon of its Reſemblance to an ordinary Nail. The Tree that bears it is by thoſe of the *Moluccas* called *Sigar*, the Leaf *Vacaqua*, and the Fruit itſelf *Champue*. The Tree reſembles the Laurel, its Leaves being however ſomewhat narrower, like thoſe of the Almond-tree, ſhooting forth its Branches at the Top, not unlike the Myrtle. The Fruit is white at firſt, grows green by degrees, and brown when it comes to Maturity, but does not turn black till it be dried in the Sun, which is done in two or three Days. The Tree grows naturally without planting or cultivating, bears

Fruit the eighth Year, and laſts one hundred Years. The Fruit of it is gathered but once every other Year, becauſe the Inhabitants break off the Buds the firſt, that they may have a more plentiful Crop the ſecond Year. The Fruit is ripe from *Auguſt* to *January.* This Tree affords no Gum, by reaſon of its exceſſive Heat, the Fruit being ſo dry that the Inhabitants, to increaſe its Weight, put a Pitcher with Water, within ten Feet of their Clove-Bags, which is ſucked up within two or three Days Time. The *Chineſe* do the ſame with their raw Silk.

As the *Moluccas* yield more Cloves than any other Iſlands hereabouts, this has miſled ſome to affirm that they grow only here, it being certain they yield yearly Six thouſand Barrels of Cloves, allowing Five hundred and an Half to a Barrel; though, at the ſame time, the Iſles of *Ires, Meytarna, Cavaly, Sabugo, Marigoron, Gamoconora, Amboyna,* but eſpecially the Iſle of *Varanula,* produce conſiderable Quantities, but not ſo good as thoſe of the *Moluccas.* In the Midſt of the Iſland of *Ternate* is a very high Mountain, full of Palms and other Trees, which has a moſt miraculous Well on the Top, which is ſo deep that 500 Fathom of Rope did not reach the Bottom, but to a very fair Spring, the Water of which no body hitherto has ventured to taſte, by reaſon of the ſulphurous Exhalations, which, eſpecially about the Equinoxes, iſſue from the Mountain, and ſometimes caſt red Stones at twenty Leagues Diſtance. This Mountain is covered with Wood near half its Height, but afterwards is exceſſive cold, having on the Top a very cold Spring, and a Lake of freſh Water, ſurrounded by Trees. They know not of any certain Difference of Seaſon in theſe Iſlands, except that it generally rains more with the North than with the South Wind.

Serpents they have of thirty Feet long, but not venomous, living for the moſt part upon Fiſh. This Iſland has alſo a peculiar Creature, called by the Inhabitants *Cuſes,* which, as it feeds on Fruits, ſo it is always ſeen upon the Trees, its Tail being of ſuch Strength, that it will hang by it to a Branch of the Tree, the better to come at the Fruit; it is in Shape not unlike our Rabbets; its Colour betwixt a Grey and a Red, with thick, curling, and ſoft Hair, round and fierce Eyes, and very ſmall Feet. As they have ſcarce any domeſtick Bird except the Parrot, ſo their Foreſts are full of wild ones. The *Moluccas* produce a certain Wood which burns, ſparkles, and flames like common Wood, but conſumes not, though you may rub it to Powder with your Fingers. Not far from the Fort of *Ternate* grows a certain Shrub, called *Catopa* by the Inhabitants, from which falls a Leaf, which, by degrees, is ſuppoſed to turn to a Butterfly. The Iſle of *Tidor* is at leaſt as large and fruitful as *Ternate,* the Inhabitants here being ſo induſtrious as to improve the Fruit of the Clove-tree, by pruning and watering it, which, by this means, becomes both fairer and larger than the reſt. Here they have alſo the beſt white Sandal-wood, and thoſe Birds called *Paxeras del Cielo* by the *Spaniards,* and by us Birds of *Paradiſe.* After they have catched them, they cut off their Feet cloſe to the Body, ſo that when the Fleſh dries the Skin and Feathers join inſenſibly together, ſo that many have been of Opinion theſe Birds are without Feet.

The *Dutch* are Maſters of *Malaya,* a well fortified Town of *Ternate,* as alſo of the Fort of *Taluco,* and that of *Marieco* and *Tidor,* of the Fort *Barnevild* in *Bachiam,* and three more in the Iſle of *Machiam,* at *Taſſaco, Tabicalo,* and *Goſſiquia*; they have alſo a Stone-Fort in *Motir.* The Kingdom of *Machiam,* which is governed by its own Sovereign, being ſo well ſtocked with Sago that the Inhabitants have ſufficient wherewith to ſubſiſt without Labour, has made them ſo idle and careleſs, that they are ſcarce able to raiſe 500 fighting Men. The Iſle of *Machiam,* which is ſubject to the King of *Ternate,* is about ſeven Leagues in Circumference; the *Dutch* made themſelves Maſters of it in 1601, ſince which Time they have erected three Forts, the firſt at *Gueſſiqui,* ſituate upon an Eminence, and ſtrengthened by four Baſtions of Stone; as is alſo the Fort of *Taſſaſo* built likewiſe upon an Aſcent at an hundred and ſixty Paces from the Sea ſhore; it is bigger than the firſt. The Fort of *Tobiliala* has only two Baſtions. Beſides theſe five Iſlands, properly called the *Moluccas,* there are about ſeventy-two more, ſubject to the King of *Ternate,* from *Mindanao* on the North Side, and *Bina* and *Corca* on the South, and between the Continent of *New-Guinea* to the Eaſt.

14. The *Philippine* Iſlands, which lie to the North of the *Moluccas,* were diſcovered by *Ferdinand Megallanus* in 1520, but no Eſtabliſhment was made there till 1565, when they got the Name of *Philippines* from *Philip* II. then King of *Spain.* The firſt Settlement of the *Spaniards* was made in the Iſle of *Zebu,* and about ſix Years after that in the Iſle of *Luocn,* now called *Manilla,* from its chief City, which is ſituate in an Iſle made by an Arm of the Sea, in the moſt Southern Part of the Iſle, the whole Compaſs of which is three hundred and fifty Leagues; it is ſeventy Leagues from *China* to the North, and two hundred and ſeventy Leagues to the North-Eaſt from *Japan* to the Eaſt; it is encompaſſed by the Ocean, and to the South by the great *Archipelago,* which is divided into five Seas, and ſtocked with a vaſt Number of Iſlands. The Fertility of the Soil, joined to the Induſtry of its Inhabitants, makes this Iſland abound in Corn, Rice, Fruits of all ſorts, and Drugs; as likewiſe in Beef, Buffaloes, Deer, Goats, and Hogs. Their Cocoa Wine they keep till it becomes as ſtrong as *Spaniſh* Wine; their Lemons, Oranges, Figs, and Pears, are the beſt in the World, and they abound both in domeſtick and wild Fowl, and Birds. They have a peculiar Way here of killing the Crocodiles, of which they have great Numbers: He who is to engage with this Creature, gantlets his left Arm to his Elbow, having in the ſame Hand a Truncheon of a Foot long, piked at both Ends, with a Dagger in the other: Thus armed, he goes into the Water up to the Waiſt, and while the Crocodile is making at him with his Jaws open, he thruſts his left Hand down his Throat, ſo as to keep them from ſhutting, and in the mean while ſtabs him with the Dagger in the Throat, till he drops down dead.

The *Philippine* Iſlands produce more Tygers, Lions, Bears, and ſuch-like wild Beaſts, than *Africk* itſelf, and abounds in Algalias, which are the Creatures that produce Muſk, and Civet Cats. The *Chineſe* drive a vaſt Trade in this Country with the *Spaniards,* who buy their Calicoes, Silks, Porcelain, Gun-powder, Sulphur, Iron, Quickſilver, Copper, Meal, Nuts, *&c.* and carry them to the *Weſt-Indies,* where theſe Things are ſold at a very dear rate. In the City of *Manilla* reſides a *Spaniſh* Archbiſhop, who has three Biſhops under his Juriſdiction, for the ſpiritual Government of the *Philippine* Iſlands; and ſuch is the Influence they have over theſe ignorant Wretches, that they keep them in Subjection without any ſtanding Forces. The Archbiſhop is alſo Viceroy of thoſe Iſlands, and has the Management of all publick Affairs, in Conjunction with the King's Council appointed in that City, which is very large, and its Houſes built of Stone, after the modern Way. Within and about it live above fifteen thouſand *Chineſe,* and vaſt Numbers of the ſame Nation reſort thither every Year for the Conveniency of Traffick. So that from *December* to *April* you may ſee in the Harbour (which is defended by two wooden Forts) near five hundred *Chineſe* Junks. This Place is alſo much frequented by the *Japaneſe,* but not in near ſo great Numbers as by the *Chineſe:* Notwithſtanding which, the *Spaniards* are much more jealous of the firſt than the laſt.

15. *Japan* is compoſed of many Iſlands, divided by ſeveral Arms of the Sea, extended from 31 to 39°, being in ſome Places ſcarce ten, in others thirty Leagues in Breadth. On the Eaſt Side it hath *New Spain,* to the North *Tartary,* on the Weſt *China,* and the Sea to the South, with Part of the *Terra Auſtralis.* The whole Empire conſiſts of ſixty-ſix leſſer Kingdoms or Provinces, fifty-three whereof are comprehended within the two great Kingdoms of *Meaco* and *Amagunce,* nine others within the great Kingdom of *Ximo,* and the remaining four in that called *Xicoum.* According to the *Japaneſe,* they are to this Day uncertain, whether the whole Empire be an Iſland, or annexed to the Continent; foraſmuch as from the Province of *Quanto* to the Borders of the Province of *Tzungaa,* is twenty-ſeven Days Journey to the Eaſt-North-Eaſt, and then they croſs an Arm of the Sea of eleven Leagues broad, which brings them into the Province of *Jeſſo,* ſo incloſed

by inacceſſible Mountains, that nobody hitherto has been able to diſcover the Extent of them. The whole Empire of *Japan* being divided into many Provinces, the ſame are committed to the Government of many Princes and Lords, who have their Secretaries aſſigned them by the Emperor himſelf, whoſe Buſineſs it is to have a watchful Eye over them, and to give an Account of their Tranſactions, and eſpecially concerning their Revenues, which are very great, and according to the Computation of the *Japaneſe*, amount yearly to eighteen Millions four hundred thouſand Kockins (each of which make four *French* Crowns) out of which they are obliged to maintain a certain Number of Forces, both Horſe and Foot, for the Emperor's Service, in proportion to their Revenues, which conſiſt chiefly in Lordſhips and Demeſnes. They have Mines of all Sorts, *&c.* ſo that he who has a thouſand Kockins *per Annum* is obliged to maintain twenty Foot, and two Horſemen; by which means the Emperor is able to raiſe an Army of three hundred and ſixty-eight thouſand Foot, and thirty eight thouſand eight hundred Horſe; beſides the hundred thouſand Foot and twenty thouſand Horſe he keeps up as a ſtanding Force, which is ſo much the leſs to be admired at, ſince ſome of theſe Lords have ſuch vaſt annual Revenues, that, according to the before-mentioned Proportion, they are obliged to furniſh one thouſand two hundred Foot, and a hundred and twenty Horſe.

All the great Lords of *Japan* have three Names, *viz.* their proper Name, that of the Family, and a Surname, which they commonly take from the Province, City, or Caſtle they govern. They have alſo a Cuſtom of changing their Names thrice in their Life-time, the firſt, given them in their Infancy, being altered at the Age of twenty-ſix, and that again at fifty or ſixty Years of Age. They have another Cuſton in *Japan* for the Slaves to offer themſelves a voluntary Sacrifice to their Maſters whenever they die, which is done by a ſolemn Engagement, and confirmed by a Bottle of Wine. As this is chiefly done by thoſe Slaves, to put an End to the Miſeries they endure in their Life-time, ſo there have been ſome who have deſired of their Maſters to bury them under the Foundation they were going to lay for ſome conſiderable Edifice. Their Pagods or Temples are of Wood, about ſeven or eight Fathom ſquare, and raiſed three or four Feet from the Ground. They have ſmall Turrets, with Lights in them on all Sides, and within certain Statues, unto whom they addreſs their Prayers. The King and great Lords have many fair Caſtles beloning to them, among which thoſe that are fortified are garriſoned by the Emperor; but their Cities are generally without any Fortifications, and if ſome few of them have any, they are only ſingle Walls. Their Cities are built after the ſame manner, each Street having two Gates, which are ſhut up, and guarded in the Night-time. They have no Revenues belonging to them, neither pay they any Impoſitions, except a very inconſiderable Rent for their Dwellings to the Governor, for whoſe Uſe they are alſo obliged to keep a man at work at certain Times; but this does not happen very often. The Governors having certain Demeſnes allotted them for their Revenues, and among others the Advantage of Fiſhing, eſpecially of the Whale, of which there are taken yearly near three hundred upon the Coaſt of *Japan*; but they are neither ſo big, nor ſo fat as thoſe in the Northern Parts.

Every *Japaneſe*, of what Condition ſoever, is abſolute Maſter of the Life of his Slave. They are ſo cruel in their Puniſhments, that the leaſt Treſpaſs is puniſhed with Death. Gaming for Money, or killing any Perſon, though in his own Defence, is capital, and ſo is Theft, though it were but for a Penny; and in Offences of a more heinous Nature, the Fathers, Brethren, and Children, are put to Death for the Crime of a ſingle Perſon; nay, the Wives and Daugthers, though ever ſo innocent, are alſo involved in the ſame Misfortune; for they are made Slaves, and their whole Subſtance is confiſcated. Thieves are faſtened with a Rope of Straw to a Croſs, and then the Executioner runs a Pike into the right Side up to the left Shoulder, and again from the left Side up to the right Shoulder; other Malefactors are faſtened only to a Poſt, with their Hands ſtretched out, and held up by two Perſons, and ſo the Executioner runs them with a Pike through the Neck into the Heart. Theſe Crimes which involve the whole Family in the ſame Puniſhment, are Extortion, Coining, Firing of Houſes, wilful Murder, and Raviſhing of Women, and are puniſhed by crucifying with the Head downwards, by boiling in Oil or Water, tearing them to Pieces by four Horſes, *&c.* Lying is alſo capital here, eſpecially if told before a Judge.

Their Princes and great Lords, if guilty of any Crimes, are baniſhed into the Iſle of *Taitſen Sima*, lying fourteen Leagues from the Province of *Jeddo*. It is all Rocks, without any Road or Harbour, producing nothing but Mulberry-trees and Silk-worms, which furniſh thoſe miſerable Priſoners with Materials for the making of Stuffs, in which they employ their Lives, and are relieved from time to time with moſt miſerable Food. It is computed that the Expence the Emperor of *Japan* is at yearly in his Court, amounts to four Millions of Kockins, and five Millions more for his Governors and military Officers. His ordinary Reſidence is in the Caſtle of *Jeddo*, which is two Leagues in Circumference, and ſtrengthened with a triple Wall, and as many Mounts all of Free-ſtone. The Gates are covered with ſtrong Iron Bars, and Lodges over them, which contain three hundred Soldiers, for a Guard to each Gate; his own Palace, with the Apartments for the Women, ſtand in the Centre, and round about it the Houſes of the Princes, and other great Lords, all richly gilt, and ſumptuouſly furniſhed, their chief Emulation being to outvie one another in this kind of Magnificence, which is amongſt them looked upon as the greateſt Mark of Reſpect they can pay the Emperor, who never ſtirs abroad but in the Company of a great Number of thoſe Lords, and their young Kindred, who are the Guard of his Body; and by applying themſelves to Muſick, Phyſick, Writing, Painting, or the Management of publick Affairs, render themſelves qualified for higher Employments. They are all clad in black, and as they march along the Streets, do not ſo much as utter a Word.

As the Revenues of the Emperor of *Japan* are ſo great, that the ordinary Income of two Months is ſufficient to defray his whole Year's Expence, his Treaſure muſt be immenſe, moſt of which conſiſting in Gold and Silver, is laid up in vaſt Cheſts, incloſed in ſeveral Towers belonging to the Caſtle, beſides what is diſpoſed of in the Country. Their Horſe are armed with Corſlets, Fire-locks, not much longer than our Piſtols, with Pikes, Bows, Arrows, and Cymitars. The Foot have only Head Pieces, two Cymitars, each a Muſket, Pike, Half-pike, and broad Knife: Each Company conſiſts of fifty Soldiers, a Captain, a Lieutenant, and ten Corporals; five of theſe Companies make a Battalion, commanded by a peculiar Officer, and ten Batalions a Brigade.

The Emperor of *Japan* has a numerous Council, tho' only four are charged with the Management of all important Affairs, and are to attend daily at Court: Some of theſe have two Millions of Crowns, others three or four hundred thouſand Crowns, others four or five hundred thouſand Crowns yearly Revenue; but their Expences are proportionable to their Revenues, being obliged to live at leaſt half the Year at Court in vaſt Splendor, maintaining perhaps a Retinue of three hundred Perſons, and above a thouſand in their Families, and that in a Place where Proviſions are exceſſive dear; not to mention the vaſt Expences they are at in their Buildings, and the Entertainments they are obliged to give the Emperor whenever he is pleaſed to honour them with a Preſent, perhaps of a Crane, which he has taken in Hunting. As great Perſons are not to marry any Wife but what is preſented to them by the Emperor himſelf, ſo they are put to vaſt Charge in giving them all the magnificent Entertainment, and all the Enjoyments they can, except their Liberty, which they muſt reſign to their Huſbands, and are not permitted to go abroad above once a Year to viſit their neareſt Relations; notwithſtanding the Wives in *Japan* have the Reputation of great Reſervedneſs, and being, beyond all others faithful to their Huſbands, of which many Inſtances might be alledged, which for Brevity's ſake I omit. There are, however, thoſe who aſcribe this Reſervedneſs rather to the Severity of their Laws, than their Inclinations, it being certain, that even the leaſt Suſpicion of Diſhoneſty after

Marriage is puniſhed here with the utmoſt Cruelty ; ſo that if a Huſband finds his Wife locked up in a Room with another Man, he may, without any farther Enquiry, kill them both. The better to allay the Heat of Youth, and the Danger ariſing from thence in reſpect of Adultery, they have in the Cities, nay, even in moſt of the Inns upon the Road, certain Proſtitutes, who are moſt of them Slaves, and expoſe themſelves to Travellers for Money ; and if a Man is to ſtay for any Time in a Place, he may hire one of theſe Concubines from their Maſters at a certain eaſy Rate, and keep her for his own Uſe.

As for their Devotion, it may be ſaid, that they have ſcarce any at all, the moſt devout among them ſeldom praying in publick above once a Month before their Idols, which ſtand in their Temples; near them are their Sepulchres covered with great Tomb-ſtones two or three Feet high, and thoſe of Perſons of Quality have a little Pillar erected near them, containing their Names, and certain other Inſcriptions, in the Nature of an Epitaph. The Eccleſiaſticks are divided into twelve different Sects, eleven of which abſtain from living Creatures, and from Women. If they break their Vow they are puniſhed with Death. Thoſe of the twelfth Sect are allowed to marry, and eat all ſorts of Proviſions; the Chief of this Sect is the Head of all their Clergy, and their Temples are endowed with many Privileges and ſettled Revenues ; whereas thoſe of the other Sects are maintained only by Alms. Some among the *Japaneſe* believe the Immortality of the Soul, and the Rewards and Puniſhments of another Life for ever ; but the moſt have ſo little ſenſe of Religion that they meet in their Temples to drink, and commit other Debaucheries ; whence it is alſo, that never any ſuch thing is heard of as Controverſy about Religion, though they are ſuch irreconcileable Enemies to the *Chriſtians*, that finding Death not to be ſufficient to ſhake their Conſtancy, they invented many cruel Methods to make them renounce their Faith, which, however, at laſt they were not ſatisfied with, unleſs they could diſcover another *Chriſtian* to releaſe them from their Torments, which are ſo various, as would almoſt fill a Volume.

Their Houſes are ſlightly built, and ſeldom above one Story high, becauſe the Country is much ſubject to Earthquakes; they are raiſed three or four Feet from the Ground, and convenient enough within, being divided into ſeveral Apartments, ſome of which are for the Men, the reſt only for the Uſe of the Women, where the beſt Part of the Furniture is beſtowed ; they are alſo very nice in their Gardens and Orchards ; they are very obliging in their Converſation, eſpecially in their Viſits, when they preſent their Gueſts with Tobacco, Tiſſue, or Tea, and with Wine, of the laſt of which they will take a very plentiful Share ; but are ſure never to quarrel over their Liquors. Except at the Inns, for the Conveniency of Travellers, no Drinking-houſes are allowed of in *Japan* ; nay, not ſo much as a publick Cook's Shop, it being their Cuſtom to make their good Cheer in their Houſes, where, among other things, they entertain one another with their Muſick, the chief of which is a kind of Lute, with four ſilk Strings, which they ſtrike with a Peg of Ivory. Their Wine, or rather Hydromell, is made of Rice, Sugar, and Honey, and is as ſtrong as any Wine whatever. Their Marriages are contracted in conſequence of the Agreement of the Relations. The Bride and Bridegroom being not permitted to ſee one another till it is to be conſummated, thoſe of a common Rank may ſoon be divorced, and if they diſlike the Wife, ſend her back to her Relations ; but People of Quality, notwithſtanding any Diſagreement, maintain them in their Houſes.

Their Children they educate with all imaginable Mildneſs, without any beating, as well at home as at School, whither they are not ſent till they be ſeven or eight Years of Age, and when they come to Man's Eſtate, the Father aſſigns to his Son a certain Part of the Houſe, and of his Employment, nay, perhaps the whole, reſerving only a certain Allowance for his Subſiſtence to himſelf ; but their Daughters have neither Dowry, nor the leaſt Share in their Father's Eſtates. They are ſo nice in Point of Honour, that they will rather die than recede an Inch from it ; and a *Japaneſe* will rather run the Hazard of the Ruin of his Family, than break his Promiſe to his Friends, which is the Reaſon moſt of their Delinquents will rather endure the moſt exquiſite Tortures than diſcover their Accomplices. The *Japaneſe* having ſuch vaſt Quantities of all things, ſeldom deal in any foreign Commodities, but leave that Commerce to Strangers, eſpecially to the *Chineſe*, who bring thither the Product and Manufactures of their Country ; though ever ſince the ancient good Correſpondence between thoſe two Empires has been interrupted, the *Chineſe* are forbidden by their Kings to ſend Goods into *Japan*, and therefore are obliged to carry on this Commerce, under Pretence of tranſporting their Commodities to ſome other Parts of the *Indies*, unto which they are the more encouraged by the vaſt Hopes of Gain. All Commodities, either imported or exported out of *Japan*, paſſing free, without paying the leaſt Duty or Cuſtom.

The whole Empire of *Japan* uſes but one and the ſame Language, which is quite different from the *Chineſe*, as well as their Characters; as they always uſe but few Words, they write every thing with Pencils in certain ſhort-hand Notes in a very little time; their Accounts they keep by the means of certain ſmall Beads, which they thread upon little Sticks like a ſquare Board. They are not deſtitute of Books nor Libraries, the *Dairo* (who formerly was the Sovereign of the Country, and ſtill retains the Supremacy over the Clergy) keeps the publick Accounts, and writes the Chronicles of the Country ; neither are any other Perſons except the Gentlemen of his Houſe, and ſuch Lords and Ladies as are deſcended from his Family, allowed to write Books, which makes them conſtantly apply themſelves to Learning. They have but one kind of Meaſure ; their Gold is of the beſt kind, but their Silver none of the fineſt : Of Gold Coin they have three Sorts, one whereof is valued at forty-eight Taals, each of which being worth five Crowns Sterling, amounts to twelve Pounds Sterling. The ſecond ſort are worth each one Taal, and a fifth Part, and the third one Taal, and a ſixth Part. Their Silver Coin goes by Weight, being in the Form of Ingots, ſo divided, that each Piece commonly amounts to fifty Taals. They have alſo a leſſer Silver Coin made in the Shape of a *French* Bean, which goes likewiſe by Weight.

The *Japaneſe* do not geld any Creature, ſo that they are well ſtored with all ſorts of Cattle, as well as Fowl, and ſmall Birds. They alſo abound in mineral and hot Waters: There is a certain hot Spring here which ſpouts forth its Waters duly twice every twenty-four Hours, with ſuch Violence, that though the Water riſes amidſt the Stones, which are laid on the Top of the Hole to the Height of twenty or twenty-four Feet, it is ſo hot that it exceeds the Heat of boiling Water, and burns every thing it touches at its firſt coming out ; but being conveyed by certain Pipes into the adjacent Houſes, it is reduced to ſuch a Degree of Heat, that it is convenient for Bathing. Theſe Mineral Waters are ſufficient Proofs that *Japan* is full of good Mines of all Sorts ; and Experience confirms it ; for they have Gold, Silver, Copper, Tin, Iron, and Lead of their own, as well as Cotton, Flax, Hemp, Silk, and all manner of Proviſions in great Plenty. Their Phyſicians have ſingular Reputation as to their Ability, but Chirurgery is uncommon among them as yet. They make frequent Uſe of *China* Root and Rhubarb, which, as well as moſt of their other Medicines, they make into Pills. The *Portugueze* and *Spaniards* found it no hard Matter to ſettle themſelves in *Japan*, and their religious Ceremonies took ſo well with the Inhabitants, that they were permitted to build divers Churches in the Kingdom ; but the *Spaniards* not being able to contain themſelves within the Bounds of Modeſty, their domineering Temper created ſuch a Jealouſy and Averſion in the *Japaneſe*, that they ſet upon them, burnt their Ships, and, in 1636, totally baniſhed them the Iſland under Pain of Death. The *Dutch* began to trade there in 1611. Some of their Relations affirm the City of *Meaco* to be twenty-one Leagues in Compaſs, and that the City of *Oſſack* and *Bungo* are for their Wealth not inferior to any of the *Indies*.

The Air of *Japan* is very moderate and healthy, but inclining rather to Cold than Heat. They ſow in *May*, but do not reap till *September*. They have neither Oil nor Butter, and have an Averſion to Milk, which they conſider as Part of the Blood and the Receptacle of the Souls of Beaſts. They will not feed upon the Fleſh of tame Beaſts, but are great Lovers of all ſorts of Wild-Fowl and Veniſon. Their Cedars are ſo big here that they make Maſts of them for Ships. The Complexion of the Natives is inclining to brown; and for the reſt, they are luſty and ſtrong limbed, hardy, and patient to undergo any Labour, as well as the Injury of the Seaſons, never changing their Cloaths either Winter or Summer, and very moderate in their Diet. The *Japaneſe* are diſtinguiſhed into five ſeveral Ranks; the firſt is that of the Prince, Lords, and chief Officers, both Civil and Military; the ſecond of the Clergy; the third of the Gentlemen and Merchants; the fourth of Tradeſmen and Seamen; and the fifth of Labourers. Once in five Years the Emperor of *Japan* has an Interview with the Dairo at *Meaco*, which is very remarkable for its Magnificence, and the great Preſents made to the Dairo, an ample Account of which being to be found in the *Dutch* Relation of the Director of the ſaid Company in *Japan*, we will paſs by the Particulars of it here, our Intention being only to give the Reader a ſhort Relation of what we have received from very good Hands, and leaving the reſt to be completed by thoſe who have ſince had the Opportunity of taking a View in Perſon of that Country.

16. After the Baniſhment of the *Japaneſe* out of *China*, the *Chineſe*, to avoid the Penalties inflicted on ſuch as ſhould trade with them, made uſe of the Iſle of *Tayovang*, whither they carried their Commodities, in order to continue their Commerce with thoſe of *Japan*. The *Dutch* being excluded from the Commerce of *China*, followed their Foot-ſteps, and, in 1632, ſettled themſelves in the ſaid Iſland, as the moſt convenient Place in all the *Indies* for carrying on Trade both with *China* and *Japan*, there being a free Paſſage here all the Year, without being obliged to ſtay for the Monſons, which in moſt other Places laſt for ſix Months. The *Dutch*, I ſay, being ſenſible of this Conveniency, built immediately a Stone-Fort of four Baſtions on the Downs, within half a League of the great Iſle of *Formoſa*, which is divided from this Iſle by a Channel only, which, though not very deep, yet affords a ſafe Harbour for Ships againſt any Winds.

For the better Defence of the Entrance of this Channel, the *Dutch* have built a ſtrong Redoubt called *Zealand*. The Iſle of *Formoſa* itſelf is about thirty-two Leagues diſtant from the River of *Chincheu*, and the *Chineſe* Iſland called *Quemoy*, extending from S. W. to the N. E. in Compaſs an hundred and thirty Leagues. It is full of Villages and Inhabitants, which are not governed by any ſingle Perſon, but ſuch as they chooſe themſelves for their Magiſtrates. It has many Rivers full of the beſt Fiſh; their Foreſts are well ſtocked with Wild-Fowl and Veniſon, and their Meadows with Cattle, beſides Deer, Wild-Goats, Hares, and Rabbits. Their Foreſts produce a kind of Horſes, with Hams like a Deer, called *Olavang* in their Language, the Fleſh of which is a great Dainty; as alſo another Creature, not unlike our Bears, but of a very large Size, the Skin of which is much eſteemed in thoſe Parts. Their Grounds are very fertile, but lie neglected, which makes Fruit very ſcarce, and, what they have, not very grateful to the Palate. It produces alſo ſome Ginger and Cinnamon, and, as the *Chineſe* relate, Gold and Silver; but the *Dutch* have hitherto found none of theſe Mines worth looking after. The Places in which the *Dutch* have their Settlements are, for the moſt part, along the Sea-ſide.

Its Inhabitants appear like Savages, being of a more than ordinary Size, black and hairy all over their Bodies, but in their Converſation obliging, honeſt, and good-natured; their Women are not ſo ſtrong and big, but inclining to Fatneſs, and yet not ill ſhaped. They wear a ſort of Garment round the Middle; but when they bathe themſelves (which they commonly do twice a-day in warm Water) they, as well as the Men, ſtrip themſelves ſtark naked, and make no great Account whether they are ſeen by one another or not; for the reſt, they are very conſtant Friends, and religiouſly obſerve the Agreements that they make with Strangers, Treachery being a Thing abominated among them. They neither want Ingenuity or Memory, being very docile in any thing they apply themſelves to. Though their Grounds be very fertile, and able to produce much more than they do, they are contented to live upon their ſmall Quantity of Rice, which is raiſed by the Induſtry of their Wives, who, inſtead of Ploughs, cultivate and dig the Ground with Spades, tranſplant and cut the Rice, and after having dried as much of it every Night in the Chimney-Corner as will ſuffice the Family the next Day, beat it early in the Morning in a Mortar; the Mens Minds being wholly taken up with hunting, eſpecially till they are forty Years of Age, before which Time they ſeldom mind any thing relating to Agriculture.

They ſow alſo three ſorts of Fruits, called by them *Ptingh*, *Quach*, and *Taraun*, not unlike Millet; and a certain ſort of Pulſe, reſembling our French-bean; ſome Roots they have likewiſe, which might ſerve them inſtead of Bread, if they were not furniſhed ſufficiently in that reſpect with Rice. Beſides this, they have Ginger, Cinnamon, Sugar-canes, Bananas, Lemons, and a great Store of Areca, not to mention ſeveral ſorts of Fruits and Pulſe not known in *Europe*. Inſtead of Cocoa-Wine, of which they are deſtitute, they make a certain Mixture of Rice, which, being ſoaked in warm Water, they beat it in a Mortar till reduced to a Paſte; this they mix with Rice-meal chewed inſtead of Leaven; and having put it into an earthen Veſſel, fill it up with Water, which, after it has fermented and ſtood two Months, affords a very pleaſant Liquor, which is ſtronger or weaker, according as it is kept, and the older the ſweeter it is, and may be kept good thirty or thirty-five Years. When they go abroad a hunting they make uſe of Snares, ſmall Pikes, Bows, and Arrows; their Nets they ſpread in the open Fields, or croſs the Highways, and then drive the Wild-Beaſts into them.

Sometimes the Inhabitants of ſeveral Villages make a Hunting-Match, and dividing themſelves into divers Parties, armed with Half-pikes and Lances, ſend their Dogs into the Woods; by which means having forced the Wild-Beaſts into the Fields, they encompaſs them on all Sides, ſometimes for a whole League, and ſo with their Pikes kill all thoſe that come within the Ring. Theſe Lances, or rather Darts, are of Cane, ſix or ſeven Feet long, with ſeveral Hooks, which, being faſtened into the Fleſh of the Beaſts, are not to be pulled out; but as the Iron is not well faſtened to the Wood, but that with the running of the Beaſts through the Buſhes it comes off, a Cord is tied to both, and a little Bell to the Iron, ſo that the Lance annoys the Beaſt, and the Bell diſcovers its Paſſage wherever it runs. By this means they catch vaſt Numbers of Deer, the Skins of which they exchange with the *Chineſe* for their Commodities, they ſeldom reſerving any thing for their own Uſe but the Umbles and the Entrails, which they ſalt and eat half corrupted, being not cleanſed of the Filth before they were ſalted.

When one Village happens to be at War with another, they firſt declare it openly againſt one another, which being the Signal to be upon their Guard, they do not attack by open Force, but dividing themſelves into ſmall Troops, perhaps of twenty-five or thirty Men, lie in Ambuſh near the Village they intend to attack till Night, when they ſet upon the Huts, which lie diſperſed in the open Country, till perhaps they can light upon an aged Man: They kill him, cut off his Head, Hands, and Feet; nay, if they have Time enough, cut the whole Body into ſmall Pieces, that every one of them may take home a Piece of it along with him as a Mark of his Bravery; but if the next Village happens to take the Alarm, they are glad to be contented with the Head alone, or perhaps a good Lock of the Hair, which they carry home in Triumph, as an undoubted Sign of their Victory; when they intend to make a very bold Attack, they enter the Village by Night, force open a Houſe, kill all they meet with, and ſo betake themſelves to their Heels, for fear of being purſued. When they engage in the open Field, their chief Aim is to draw one another into an Ambuſh; but the Death of one Man commonly decides the Quarrel, that Side which has loſt him retiring immediately. Their Arms are Pikes, but without Hooks; their Bucklers are ſo large, that they ſhelter their whole Body; but their Swords ſhort and broad. Beſides which, they alſo make uſe of Knives, or Bayonets, like thoſe of the *Japaneſe*. Sometimes certain Villages enter into a Confederacy againſt divers other Villages, in which caſe they do not chooſe a General, or any Commander in Chief; but ſuch among them as have acquired ſome Reputation of Courage, by having cut off ſome of their Enemies Heads, are followed by a certain Number of Volunteers, who go abroad in Parties, and ſurprize their Enemies.

They commonly engage in War againſt the Iſland of *Tugin*; the Inhabitants thereof are ſo ſuſpicious, that they will not let a Foreigner or others ſet a Foot on Shore, not the *Chineſe* themſelves, who come thither to trade with them, but are forced to remain on board their Veſſels, whither theſe Iſlanders come to exchange Commodities with them. If they are ſo happy as to carry off an Enemy's Head, or perhaps only a Lock of his Hair, or a Pike, they carry it in Triumph, as a Sign of their Victory, appoint a publick Thankſgiving-day, ſing Hymns, and offer Sacrifices to their Gods. He who has done the Exploit, is looked upon ever after as an extraordinary Man, has particular Reverence paid him by all the reſt, and he preſerves the Head, or Pike of his Enemy, as a moſt precious Relick in his Family, which they value beyond any Gold or Silver. No body here claims any Preference above another more than what is allowed to Age. Each Village being governed by twelve Senators, choſen every two Years out of the moſt aged Perſons, who are not inveſted with any other Power or Authority, than that of calling together the whole Village in one of their Temples, and propoſing to them what they think neceſſary to be done, making uſe of all their Eloquence (of which they have ſufficient Share beſtowed upon them by Nature) to perſuade the Chiefs of the Families there preſent to a Compliance with what has been propoſed to them, which they are at Liberty to accept of or reject according as they think fit.

The only Power thoſe Senators are inveſted with, conſiſts in this, that they ſee the Commands of their female Prieſts put in Execution, take care that Satisfaction may be given to ſuch as are injured, not by any corporal Puniſhments, but by enjoining them to give a Piece of Cloth, Deer-ſkin, ſome Rice, or Perhaps a Pot of ſtrong Liquor, as an Atonement to their Adverſaries; for thoſe Magiſtrates have no Power to puniſh Murder, Theft, or Adultery. In the firſt caſe the Matter is commonly compoſed by the Mediation of the Relations on both Sides. If any one be robbed, he goes, accompanied by his Friends; to the Houſe of him who has ſtolen his Goods, and with their Aſſiſtance forces him to make an immediate Reparation; and what is agreed upon betwixt them, he carries away with him to his own Houſe. In caſe of Adultery, the injured Huſband goes, without any farther Ceremony, to the Dwelling-place of his Wife's Gallant, takes from him two or three Pigs, in Satisfaction of the Affront put upon him. We told you before, that there is no Difference of Condition among them, which is ſo abſolutely true, that the very Names of Maſters and Servants are not ſo much as known among them. All the Reſpect they pay one to another is in regard to old Age, which is in ſo high Eſteem among them, that a young Man meeting an old one, goes out of his Way, and turns his Back to him till he is paſſed; nay, ſuch is the Reſpect the young People ſhew to aged Perſons, that they will not refuſe them eaſily any thing they deſire, though it ſhould be to go three or four Leagues upon their Buſineſs. Men are forbid to marry till they are at leaſt twenty Years of Age. They do not let their Hair grow below their Ears till after Seventeen, and inſtead of Sciſſars, or Razors, make uſe of a Chopping-knife, with which they cut it upon a Piece of Wood: The Hair of their Beards they draw out with braſs Pincers.

Maids always let their Hair grow, and may marry as ſoon as they can. The Courtſhip is performed by the young Man's female Relations, whom he ſends to the young Woman's Relations, or Friends, to ſhew them what he intends to beſtow upon his Miſtreſs, which if it be accepted of, the Match is made, and he may conſummate the Marriage the next Day if he pleaſes. The Preſents commonly offered to the Bride conſiſt in ſome Silk or Callico Scarfs the Women wear round the Waiſt; ſome Waiſtcoats, Bracelets of Cane, ten or twelve Rings of Deers Horn, four or five coarſe Cloth Girdles, ſome little Veſtments made of Dog's Hair, ſome *Chineſe* Garments, a Bag of Dog's Hair, and four or five Pair of Stockings of Deer-ſkin, amounting perhaps in all to about 140 Crowns; the poorer Sort are content with a Preſent of a few Bracelets, and two or three Garments, not amounting to above three or four Crowns. When the Marriage is to be conſummated, the Bridegroom gets into his Miſtreſs's Father's Houſe by ſtealth at Night, and without being ſeen by any body, and ſo creeps into her Bed. He continues thus for many Years after, always coming into the Houſe at Night, and going thence in the Morning before Day-light, the Wife living all this while in the Father's Houſe, till her Huſband be forty Years of Age, and never ſee one another by Day, unleſs ſhe happen to be at Home alone, or elſe in the Field. The Women are obliged not to bring any Children into the World till they are thirty-five, or thirty-ſix Years of Age, but deſtroy all their Children in the Womb, by cauſing one of their Prieſteſſes to kneel upon their Bellies till they cauſe an Abortion.

As their Marriages are ſoon made, ſo they are as ſoon diſſolved; for if they grow weary of one another, they may divorce; which Liberty is equally allowed to both Parties, with this Difference only, that if the Huſband ſends away his Wife without any Cauſe, ſhe keeps the Preſents he has given her before Marriage; but if for Adultery, or any other Affront offered to him, ſhe is obliged to make Reſtitution. No Marriages are contracted among them within the fourth Degree of Conſanguinity, or Affinity. Their Houſes are generally large, and better built than is common in the *Indies*, with four Doors to each Quarter of the Heavens: Some have two Doors on a Side; they are commonly raiſed five or ſix Feet from the Ground, and three or four Stories high. Their Furniture conſiſts in ſome wild Boars and Deers Heads, or ſome other Relicks taken from their Enemies, which are their chief Ornaments; the reſt conſiſts in Deer-ſkins, which they uſe inſtead of Feather-beds, certain Stuffs with which they cover themſelves, a Spade, Pike, Bow, Arrows, a wooden Trough inſtead of our Diſhes, or earthen Drinking-Cup, and a Pot to boil their Rice in, which is their ordinary Food; and this is all. Though they have no certain Days appointed for Devotion, yet they meet at ſet Times to make good Chear, eſpecially every Quarter, in their Temples, where the Women alſo appear in a very odd Dreſs made of Dog's Hair; for here, inſtead of Wool, they cut off the Dog's Hair once a Year, and after they have dyed it red, make certain Stuffs of it, which they value as much as we do our crimſon Velvets.

Their Ceremonies uſed after the Death of their Friends are ſcarce to be paralleled in Hiſtory; for no ſooner is any one dead, but by Beat of Drum, made of the Trunk of a great Tree, they give Notice thereof to the Village; upon which all the People repair immediately to the Houſe of the deceaſed, and among the reſt the Women, after they have plentifully drank of Arrack, fall to dancing very ſlowly, upon great empty Cheſts, which make a doleful Noiſe, to expreſs their Sorrow at the Departure of their deceaſed Friend. Eight or ten Women having thus danced for ſome Time, with their Backs turned to one another, they give Way to others, who continue the ſame Exerciſe, which laſts in all two Hours. The next Day Preparation is made for the Funeral Rites, which are performed, not by burying, or burning the Corpſe, as other Nations do, but by drying it in the following Manner. They raiſe a kind of a Scaffold of Canes, five or ſix Feet high, to which they faſten the Body by the Hands and Feet, and ſo dry it, by making a good Fire round about it, which laſts nine whole Days; during which Time they ſacrifice ſeveral Hogs, and feaſt upon the Fleſh, waſhing the Body every Day. After the Expiration of the nine Days, they place it upon another Scaffold, wrapped in a Mat, and ſeveral Garments, where it remains till the third Year; then they take out the Bones, and bury them in the ſame Houſe, in the Preſence of their Friends, who make merry again with Feaſting and Dancing.

They have ſcarce any Religion; for as they can neither write nor read, whatever they have of this kind is founded merely upon Tradition; hence it is that they believe the Eternity of the World, and the Immortality of the Soul, which they affirm ſhall find Good or Evil in the other Life, according to their Merits in this. What Actions are accounted amongſt us the moſt criminal, are taken for ſlender Treſpaſſes among them, *viz.* Murder, Theft, and Adultery; for as for Fornication, it is not ſo much as looked upon as a Sin; and if a young Man can get a Favour of his Neighbour's Wife, it is conſidered but as a very ſlight Offence, becauſe they are not permitted to marry till they are twenty, or twenty-one Years of Age. The greateſt Crimes among them, and of which the Magiſtrates take Notice, are to cover their privy Parts, at certain Times of the Year, when they ſhould not; to wear at certain Times ſilk Garments, when only Callico are allowed them, and not to deſtroy the Fruit in the Mother's Womb, before ſhe arrives to the Age of thirty-five. Among ſeveral Deities, they have two that have the Preeminency over the reſt, *viz.* one *Tamigaſanbach*, and the other called *Sariahſingh*. The firſt, whoſe Reſidence they place in the South, is the Giver of all good and profitable Things to Mankind; the other, unto whom they aſſign the North, they ſay, deſtroys all what the former is pleaſed to beſtow on Man; for which Reaſon they worſhip both, one for doing them Good, the other, that he may do them no Harm.

They have amongſt others two Gods named *Talaſulas* and *Tapuliape*, who, as they are accounted the Patrons of Warriors, are adored only by thoſe Men. They have this Peculiar, that their religious Ceremonies are performed by Women, which they call *Juibs*. Their Worſhip conſiſts in Prayers and Sacrifices of Hogs, Areca, Deer and Wild-Boars Heads, as alſo ſome of their Liquors. After they have feaſted very well, the Prieſteſſes riſe, and muttering certain Prayers, turn up their Eyes, and at laſt fall to the Ground, with dreadful Cries. Sometime after they lie immoveable, like one in a Trance, for an Hour; during which Time, they ſay, they have an Interview with their Gods. This being over, they climb up to the Top of the Temple, walk from one End to the other, and after they have ſaid their Prayers again, ſtrip themſelves ſtark-naked, expoſe their naked Bodies, and waſh them in the Preſence of all the Standers-by, of both Sexes, though but few Men aſſiſt at this kind of Devotion, and the Women have generally taken ſo much ſtrong Liquor, that they ſcarce perceive what paſſes. Theſe *Juibs* alſo pretend to foretel Things to come, and to baniſh the evil Spirits. For the reſt, each Houſe has a peculiar Place for the private Devotions of the Family, which are performed for the moſt Part by Women, who make Offerings to their Gods of what is ſpent every Day in the Houſe, as they do upon certain Altars erected for that Purpoſe upon the great Roads.

17. The *Chineſe* Empire being of ſo vaſt an Extent, that a moderate Account of it would take up a large Volume, we will content ourſelves to give only a Scheme of it here, leaving a more ample Deſcription to thoſe who of late Years have had the Opportunity of taking a full View of it. It is certain, that this vaſt Kingdom of *China* (called *Cathay* by the *Tartars*, and *Chingbou*, or *Chunque*, *i. e.* middle Kingdom, by the *Chineſe*) is the utmoſt Province of all *Aſia* to the Eaſt, having beyond it no other Borders but the Sea, for this Reaſon called by the *Chineſe Tung*, *i. e.* of the Eaſt. To the North its Frontiers extend all along the *Great Tartary*, from which it is divided by a Ridge of great Mountains; and where that fails, by the famous *Chineſe* Wall, which begins upon the Confines of the Province of *Leautung*, and extends to the yellow River upon the Frontiers of the Kingdom of *Tibet*, 300 *German* Leagues in Length to the Weſt. It borders upon the Kingdoms of *Kiang* and *Bengal*, and to the S. and S. W. upon *Cochin-China*, and the Sea, comprehending in its Length all the Southern Parts betwixt the 130° and the 160°, making 1800 *Spaniſh* Leagues in Length, and three thouſand in Compaſs.

It is divided into fifteen great Provinces, among which, ſix, *viz.* thoſe of *Peking*, *Xancung*, *Kiangnan*, or *Nanking*, *Chekian*, *Tokien*, and *Quangtung*, extend along the Sea-ſide, the other nine being inland Provinces, five of which, *viz.* thoſe of *Quangſi*, *Kiangſi*, *Huquang*, *Honan*, lie to the Eaſt, *Xamſi*, *Suchuan*, *Quechan*, and *Juanan*, to the Weſt. The Provinces of *Leautung* and *Corea*, which are on the Eaſt-ſide, do not properly belong to *China*; all which contain one hundred and forty-five great Cities, and 1263 others, which would paſs for conſiderable Cities elſewhere. Their Cities are for the moſt Part built after the ſame Faſhion, ſquare, with two large Streets, dividing the whole into four Quarters, like a perfect Croſs; ſo that from the Centre of each Place you may view the four Gates of it. They are fortified with broad brick Walls, and flanked with Towers, after the ancient *Roman* Faſhion, plaiſtered over with the ſame Earth they make their Porcelain of, which in Time grows as hard as Stone, and preſerves the Walls againſt the Injury of the Air. It has been computed that ſome of them have ſtood 2000 Years without any conſiderable Change. Their Houſes are very neatly and conveniently built, with Gardens, Orchards, Groves, Fountains, and all other Conveniencies and Ornaments, their Architecture exceeding that of the beſt Maſters of *Europe*. They are, of all Nations of the World, the moſt careful in Paving, and keeping their Highways, and providing all Neceſſaries for the Accommodation of Travellers throughout.

The whole Empire is of ſo vaſt an Extent, that the Inhabitants of the Province of *Quantung*, lying on the Torrid Zone, are as black as the *African Moors*; whereas thoſe of the Province of *Peking*, which is moſt northerly, are as white as the *Germans*; which Difference is alſo obſervable in their Fruits, the ſouthern Provinces producing all ſuch Fruits as the *Indies* afford; whereas the more northerly Parts have Plenty of *European* Fruits. Beſides this, *China* abounds in Gold, Silver, precious Stones, Muſk, Silk, Salt, rich Gums, and Drugs, Rice, and Corn, for moſt of which they are beholden to Nature; yet muſt it be withal confeſſed, that the Induſtry of the Inhabitants, and the eaſy Government they live under, is a vaſt Addition to what they are obliged to Nature for, there being not a Fen, Marſh, nay, not a Mountain, but what is planted, cultivated, or put to ſome Uſe or other, no Crime being more heinous in *China* than Idleneſs. The Country of *China* does not only produce all ſorts of living Creatures, but alſo all the Fruits and Simples we have in *Europe*, but much better, and in greater Plenty, and are conſequently ſold at a very cheap Rate; nay, even Spices are ſo cheap here, that you may buy four hundred Nutmegs for a Crown, and two Pounds of Cloves for Half a Crown; and the vaſt Quantities of Silk it produces may be gueſſed at from what is exported thence into foreign Countries. As the Country is full of Rivers, ſo they abound in Fiſh, which they catch by the Help of Cormorants, of which they have vaſt Numbers here. They tie a String round their Necks above their Stomachs; ſo that after they have filled their Bags, which hang under their Throats, with Fiſh, they are forced to diſgorge what they have taken into the Boat unto which they are faſtened.

They have alſo a peculiar Way of breeding Ducks in prodigious Quantities; of theſe they keep three or four thouſand in Cages of Canes, ſet at the Sterns of great Boats, and let them out every Day to go aſhore, and pick the Weeds from amongſt the Rice, and towards Evening call them to their Cages by a Whiſtle, the Sound of which brings them back to the very Boat unto which they belong. Their Duck Eggs they hatch in Dung, and afterwards put the young ones under the Wings of the old Duck in the Cages: This Way of Breeding makes them ſo cheap, that they ſell five or ſix for Two-pence.

The *Chineſe* Women are generally well-ſhaped, and of a good Size; but the Men are flat-noſed, with large Faces, ſmall Eyes, and very little or no Beard. They cut not either their Hair, or their Nails, on the left Side. Their Cloathing is altogether of the ſame Faſhion, with this Difference only, that in the northern Provinces they uſe Furs; whereas in the ſouthern Parts they commonly wear Silk. The Women are very magnificent in their Apparel, and wear Abundance of Jewels and Pearls. They are very remarkable for their little Feet. They ſeldom appear abroad; and whenever they viſit their Relations, it is done in cloſe *Palanquins*, or Litters. The *Chineſe* are ſo quick, not only in all ſorts of Manufactures, but alſo in their Way of Trading, that ſcarce any body is able to over-reach them. Their Money is Gold and Silver, which paſſes altogether by Weight. They are ſo careful in providing for the Poor, that in each City a Judge is appointed to provide for the Relief of ſuch as are unable to provide for themſelves, and ſet to work ſuch as are in a Capacity to get their Bread.

As there are Books extant in *China*, which have been printed above ſeven hundred Years ago, it is certain that they invented the Myſtery of Printing before us, ſince it was not diſcovered in *Europe* till 1450. Their Characters are rather Figures, ſignifying certain Words, than Letters, which they write from the Top downwards, not with Pens, but with Pencils, and that on one Side only, their Paper, which they make of the Bark of *Bamboe* Canes, being very thin. The Emperor maintains at his own Charge many Schools and Academies, the Overſight of which is committed to Viſitors, who at certain Times not only examine the Profeſſors and Scholars, and expel ſuch as are not qualified for Studies, but alſo promote ſuch as have made a ſufficient Progreſs in Learning to the Degree of a *Latia*, a Dignity like our Doctors. They are very ceremonious and obliging in their Converſation, in which Point they are ſo nice, that the firſt Rudiments of Learning given to their Youths are certain Books of Compliments. Their Entertainments are very magnificent, in which they have this Peculiar, that they ſet as many Tables as they have Gueſts. Their Meats are ſerved up either in Plates, or Porcelain. They have ſmall Cups, becauſe they drink often, but no Napkins, and they frequently ſend home to their Gueſts what Meats are left untouched upon the Tables; and are eſpecially careful in entertaining Ambaſſadors with more than ordinary Reſpect.

They allow Polygamy, but puniſh ſeverely Inceſt, which is forbidden in a direct Line to Infinity, and in the Collateral Line to Siſters and Nieces. The firſt, however, is the only lawful Wife, whoſe eldeſt Son inherits half of the Eſtate of his Father; but on his Demiſe, the eldeſt Son of the next Wife has the ſame Pre-eminency. Adultery, though it be a capital Crime here, yet is ſeldom heard of, partly by reaſon of the great Reſtraint the Women are kept under, partly becauſe the *Chineſe* are ſo wiſe, as rather to make the beſt of ſuch an Accident, by an advantageous Agreement, than to expoſe themſelves, by publiſhing their own Diſgrace. Though the Government of *China* be not only monarchical, but alſo deſpotical, yet it is obſerved, that even thoſe Nations which enjoy the greateſt Degree of Liberty in *Europe*, are much more burthened with Taxes than the *Chineſe*, which chiefly proceeds from this fundamental Maxim imprinted in their Kings, that as War is deſtructive, and the chief Means to impoveriſh a Nation, they ought not to enter upon it, in order to extend the Limits, or make any Conqueſts; for which Reaſon it is, that, to avoid all Occaſion of Conteſt with Foreigners, the *Chineſe* are forbidden to go out of the Kingdom without Licence from the Emperor, or the Governor of the Province where they dwell.

The eldeſt Son always ſucceeds the Father in the Throne, the youngeſt Sons having only certain Appenages, with the Titles of Kings allowed them; but have not the leaſt Share in the Adminiſtration of the Government, being under the Juriſdiction or rather Inſpection of the Governor of the Province where they reſide, who pays them their Allowance quarterly. The chief Council of State conſiſts of twelve Counſellors and a Preſident; beſides which, there are in moſt of the great Cities ſix Commiſſioners. The firſt for the Adminiſtration of Juſtice; the ſecond for the Revenues; the third for the Ceremonies; the fourth for martial Affairs; the fifth for ſurveying the publick Structures; and the ſixth for criminal Caſes. To prevent the Miſmanagement of the Governors, and the Corruption of Judges and other Officers, the King ſends every three Years certain Viſitors into the Provinces, who, after having taken an Account of their Tranſactions, make a faithful Report to the King, who changes the Officers of the Province every three Years, with this Circumſpection, that ſo as never any Officer of Note is ſent, but into a Province remote from the Place of his Birth. Debtors are puniſhed by moſt cruel Drubbings, which makes them rather chooſe to ſell themſelves to their Creditors, than to undergo this kind of Puniſhment.

The Priſons, wherewith all the great Cities are provided, are very ſtrictly kept; but at the ſame time want not any Conveniencies, ſuch as Courts, Gardens, Ponds, Walks, *&c.* for the Divertiſement of the Priſoners, and Drinking-houſes and Cooks-ſhops for their Conveniencies. No Sentence of Death is executed without a Warrant from the Emperor, and this muſt be done in the Preſence of the Judges, who are ſo nice in this Point, that they allow a very conſiderable Time betwixt the Condemnation and Execution, make divers Viſits to the Priſoners, and examine them whether they have any thing to alledge in their Behalf; by which Delays it happens, that more Malefactors die in Priſon than are executed. Their ordinary Puniſhments are Hanging, Impaling, and Burning alive; but the laſt is only in Caſes of High Treaſon. Thieves they lay upon their Bellies with their Hands tied back, and ſo the Executioners beat them with Canes moiſtened with Water upon the Calf of their Legs with ſuch Violence, that they frequently expire under their Hands.

The *Chineſe* are *Pagans*, though ſome Authors have taken a great deal of Pains to perſuade the World that they found ſome Remnants of Chriſtianity among them, which they ſay were introduced there by the Apoſtle *St. Thomas.* They acknowledge the Heavens for the Creator and chief Governor of the Univerſe, which is managed by a Vicegerent called *Layocan Tzantey*, unto whom they pay the greateſt Veneration next to the Sun. The next Divinity is called *Canſay*, unto whom they attribute the Government of all ſublunary Things. They allot to theſe three Divinities as many great Miniſters, *viz. Tanquam*, who preſides over the Air; *Teiquam*, whoſe Buſineſs is to look after the Generation of Men, and all living Creatures, as well as the Products of the Earth; and *Tzinquam*, the chief Patron of the Sea. They have alſo three famous Saints; the firſt called *Sicbia*, Founder of all the religious Orders of both Sexes, of which there are great Numbers in *China*; the other two are Females, called *Quanina* and *Neoma*. The *Chineſe* are alſo much addicted to Incantation, and adore the Devil. They believe the Immortality of the Soul, which is communicated to it by Heaven, and that it ſhall either enjoy eternal Felicity or Torments, according to the good or bad Actions done in this World; for which Reaſon it is that they aſſign a certain Place of Abode not unlike Purgatory to the Soul, after its Departure from the Body: There it is purged from its Sins, and, by the Interceſſion of its Relations and Friends, may be eaſed in its Sufferings. Many of them alſo adhere to the Opinion of the Tranſmigration of the Soul, which they derive from the *Indians*.

Their Orders of religious Men have one General reſiding in the City of *Xuntion*, who has under him ſeveral Provincials, and theſe under them the Superiors and Guardians of their reſpective Monaſteries. They make uſe of Beads, and keep to their conſtant Mattins and Offices, not unlike the Monks in *Europe*. The eldeſt Sons amongſt the *Chineſe* are not permitted to enter into religious Orders, and ſuch as have may quit them at Pleaſure and marry, as may all the reſt who have embraced a monaſtick Life. As to their Funeral Rites, the *Chineſe* waſh the dead Bodies, put them in a Coffin of ſweet Wood well cloſed, and ſo keep them upon a Table fifteen Days; during which Time the Prieſts, who come there to ſing and pray over the Dead, are feaſted with Wine and Fruit; their Buſineſs it is to inter them after the Expiration of theſe fifteen Days, which is commonly done in the Country near a Pine-tree; and if that be not to be found, they plant one on purpoſe. Their Mourning is very cloſe, in coarſe Cloth, and Hats, with a Cord tied about their Middle: Sons continue this for two Years, and the other Relations proportionably.

The firſt Time the *Tartars* broke through the *Chineſe* Wall was in 1206, when they made themſelves Maſters of all the Country, and remained in Poſſeſſion of it till 1368, when they were not only forced from thence, but alſo obliged to acknowledge the Sovereignty of the Emperor of *China*. About the Year 1600, ſeven powerful Colonies of the *Tartars* were joined into one Kingdom under the Name of *Niuche*, whoſe King entered *China*, in 1616, with a powerful Army. Many bloody Engagements happened among the *Chineſe* and *Tartars*, eſpecially in 1618, 1619, 1620, 1625, 1627, till at laſt in 1630 the *Tartars* were once more forced to quit the Poſſeſſion of *China*, and to content themſelves with making Incurſions, as they found Opportunity. But in 1641 no leſs than eight Armies of Robbers appearing at once in the *Chineſe* Empire, and the Grandees being divided into Factions, ſome of them called in the *Tartars* to their Aid, and at laſt betrayed the capital City and the Emperor to them, who was ſtrangled in 1644. Upon which the *Tartars*, having ſpent ſome Years in reducing other Provinces, made themſelves abſolute Maſters of the whole Empire, by the Conqueſt of the City of *Quangcheu*, in the Province of *Quangſi*, *Nov.* 14. 1650. But it is now Time to proceed with our Voyage regularly and circumſtantially.

18. We told you how we were becalmed in the Sight of the Iſle of *Ceylon*, where we continued till the 20th of *February*, when the North-Weſt Wind obliged us to ſteer our Courſe to the South-Eaſt. We found ourſelves then 2° beyond the Equinoctial Line. I took this Opportunity to aſk the Maſter of the Ship, whether (according to the vulgar Opinion) I might diſcover both the Poles here; but he ſufficiently convinced me, that the Arctick Pole was not to be ſeen till about ſix Degrees, and the Antartick not till eight beyond the Line, and that when you come to 8 or 10° the North-Weſt Wind reigns there conſtantly for ſix Months, as the South-Eaſt does the other Months of the Year. We ſaw abundance of Birds, ſome white like Pigeons, others like wild Ducks, and vaſt Quantities of certain Birds, called by the *Portugueze Garayos*, being black and white, but larger than our Magpies. Their Tails are divided like a Pair of Taylor's Sheers: All theſe live upon the flying Fiſh, who, to avoid the Purſuit of the *Albicores*, *Bonitos*, and *Dorados*, betake themſelves to the Air. The *Albicores* are white, and without Scales, and ſo are the *Bonitos*; but the firſt exceed the others in Bigneſs, and have but one Bone from the Head to the Tail, but are not extraordinary Meat. The *Dorado* is like a Salmon, but more luſcious, and has ſmaller Scales. We alſo took a Sea-Hog (ſo called from its Snout, which is like that of a Pig) which are ſeen in great Shoals near the Veſſel, and are looked upon by the Seamen as the Forerunners of a Storm, which may naturally be accounted for.

The *Dutch*, in their firſt Voyage into theſe Parts, opened one of theſe Fiſh, and found a great deal of Fat, and a young Pig in the Belly of it. There is another great Fiſh in thoſe Seas called *Hayes* by the *Dutch*, and Shark by the *Engliſh*; their Teeth are very cloſe and ſharp, and as they delight in Man's Fleſh, it often happens that they ſnatch a Limb of an unwary Seaman. Their Mouth being below their Heads, they lie upon their Backs when they are to catch a Prey. That we took had the Heart in the Head, and lived a good while after it was taken. Their Fleſh is not fit to be eaten. There are alſo abundance of that ſort of Fiſh hereabouts called by the *Portugueze Paſupuarco*, becauſe they make a Noiſe like Pigs, and are of the Bigneſs of a Bream. Tortoiſes (the Meat of which is as fine as Veal) are in ſuch Plenty here, that the Seamen draw them at Pleaſure into the Ship with Hooks. *February* the 21ſt we found ourſelves in 1° 20' of the Line, with very rainy and unconſtant Weather, which is common hereabouts. On the 23d one of our Seamen died of the Pox; the 25th we were becalmed; but the next Night there aroſe a Tempeſt, which made us continually upon our Guard, for fear of the Travados, or Whirlwinds, which are ſo ſudden here, that the Seamen have ſcarce Leiſure to furl their Sails. We could not make any Obſervation by the Sun till the 5th of *March*, when we were in 8° 6 Lat. and the 10th in 10° 14, the Wind Weſt.

The 12th and 13th it blew a great Storm, with Thunder and Lightning; but what moſt ſurprized us was, that though we were in 13°, we found not the leaſt Effects of the Monſoon, or ordinary Wind of the Seaſon, which is commonly perceived at 8 or 9°, the South Wind blowing ſo hard, that we were in fear of being forced back to the *Indian* Coaſt. It was not till *March* the 15th that we found the Wind changed to the South; when putting out all our Sail, we made two Leagues in an Hour, and took ſeveral Dolphins that ſwam near our Ship. On the 20th we were becalmed in 16°, where we found the Compaſs decline 30' to the Weſt, and ſo it continued till the 24th; but as ſoon as the *Cape of Good Hope* is doubled, the Loadſtone draws towards the Eaſt. As we were floating thus up and down, the 21ſt of *March* our Ship took Fire, by the Careleſſneſs of the Butler, who ſet Fire to a Barrel of *Aqua Vitæ* as he was removing it. Our freſh Water beginning to be ſcarce, we made uſe of an Engine to draw freſh Water out of the Sea; but its Taſte being ſomewhat nauſeous, it ſerved only for the dreſſing of Meat.

On the 22d we made, by the Help of the Monſoon Winds, two Leagues an Hour, which continued the 23d, 24th, and 25th. On the 26th the Wind held ſtill fair; but, for fear of a Change, and Want of freſh Water, we reſolved to direct our Courſe to *Maurice* Iſland, to take in Refreſhments there. We diſcovered the ſame Night the Iſle of *Diego Rodriguez* in 20° 48', which lies ſixty Leagues from the ſaid Iſland of *Maurice*, ſo called by the *Dutch* from the Prince of *Orange*, who was Admiral of the United Provinces at the Time of their firſt Voyage to the *Indies*. Its Harbour is very ſpacious, being able to contain fifty large Veſſels, and commodious by reaſon of its Depth, which is a hundred Fathom at the Entrance. The high Mountains, which are covered with Trees, may be ſeen at a great Diſtance at Sea. The Vallies produce ſome Fruit, and abundance of other Trees, ſome of which are thoſe that afford the beſt Ebony in the World, black, red, and yellow; but the two laſt are in the greateſt Eſteem, and the Sea abounds in Fiſh. The *Dutch* in their Relations ſpeak of a Thornback they catched near this Iſle, which found two good Meals for the whole Ship, and Tortoiſes of ſuch a Bigneſs, that ten Men might ſit on one Shell. The Iſle was quite deſtitute of Inhabitants at that time; but ſince 1640, the *Dutch* have erected a Fort there. It abounds in Birds; but is deſtitute of four-footed Beaſts; but as for Fruits and Water, it affords ſufficient Refreſhment to Ships that are paſſing that Way.

The Wind continuing fair, when we came within Sight of this Iſland a Council was called, in which it was agreed not to loſe any Time by putting into this Iſland, but to continue our Voyage with all poſſible Speed to the *Cape of Good Hope*, to avoid the Danger of being obliged to winter in the Iſland of *Madagaſcar*. Accordingly we loſt Sight of this Iſle the ſame Day, and paſſed the Tropick of Capricorn *March* the 30th, ſteering our Courſe Weſt-South-Weſt. *April* the 1ſt we found ourſelves in 26° 3', and after having made forty Leagues, were becalmed before Night. We ſaw the next Day divers Whales; and the Weather becoming very ſtormy, carried us to the Weſt-South-Weſt, our Buſineſs being to ſteer to the South, and conſequently to the *Cape of Good Hope*. On the 5th the Compaſs ſtill varying, we held our Courſe ſtill to the Weſt, and though we had not much Wind, made ſeventy-three Leagues in theſe two Days. From the 9th (when we were about three hundred Leagues from the *Cape*) we advanced tolerably well, but the 15th it blew very hard, and thoſe Birds called by the *Portugueze Pintados*, which keep within forty Leagues of the Land, and ſeveral other Birds, came near our Ship. On the ſixteenth theſe Signs perſuaded our Seamen that we were not far from the Shore; the 17th we continued our Voyage with a freſh Gale; but the 18th and 19th we had ſcarce any Wind, through the Roughneſs of the Sea, which proved an infallible Omen of the Tempeſt that overtook us the ſame Night from the South-Weſt in 35° Latitude. As theſe Storms are unavoidable about the *Cape of Good Hope*, we took in our Sails.

On the 20th, perceiving the Water ſomewhat more inclinable to white than before, and a great many Sea-mews, called *Mangas de Valudos* by the *Portugueze*, round our Ships, we concluded that there was Ground within an hundred, or an hundred and fifty Fathom, and, upon Trial, found it at eighty Fathom. We ſaw alſo the ſame Day Abundance of Black-Birds, with a ſmall Spot of white on their Breaſts: Theſe, according to the Opinion of the *Engliſh* Seamen, always forebode a Tempeſt, which proved true; for, before Night, a Storm aroſe from the W. N. W. with a very rough Sea, which took our Carpenter from the Deck, but he was ſaved by means of a Rope. The Ground which ſtuck to the Plummet being black at eight Fathom Depth, we concluded we were not far from the *Cape d' Aguilas*, which is ſixty Leagues diſtant from that of *Good Hope.* The 25th the Tempeſt encreaſing in 36° 20′ beyond the Line, we were in great Danger of being loſt, being forced by the Currents towards the Shore; but the Tempeſt being ſomewhat allayed, we eſcaped the Danger, but were ſoon after threatened by another, occaſioned by a Lamp in the Preſident's Room, which had ſet Fire to the Wainſcot. The 26th the Storm continued till two in the Afternoon, when the Peſcepuereos coming in great Numbers about our Ships, were the Forerunners of fair Weather, and the N. W. Wind which enſued. On the 27th, in the Morning, it was calm; but, in the Afternoon, we made two Leagues an Hour with a N. W. Wind, taking our Courſe to the N. N. W. As we ſaw that Day abundance of Trombas, or a kind of Canes, three or four Feet long, and of the Bigneſs of a Man's Arm, which float upon the Water, and are met with no where but near this Cape, we concluded that we were not far from the *Cape* of *Good Hope*; and the 28th diſcovering the Coaſt from N. to W. ſome thought it had been the Cape; but finding Ground at forty Fathom, and in 30° 40′, we were ſoon convinced it muſt be the *Cape d' Aguilas.*

The 29th the Wind turning S. E. we ſteered our Courſe N. W. along the Coaſt, and the Wind turning to the N. W. we could advance but a little: We then found ourſelves in 34° 27′, and conſequently twenty-four Leagues from *Cape d' Aguilas.* On the 30th the Wind continued againſt us; but the next Day the Wind turning to the N. E. by E. we ſailed along the Coaſt, and at laſt diſcovered the high Shore known by the Name of *Cabo Falſo* (becauſe it reſembles a Promontory) within ſeven Leagues of the *Cape* of *Good Hope. May* the 2d the N. E. Wind continued, we got Sight of the *Cape* of *Good Hope*; but ſoon after turning about to the N. W. we could not get into the Bay, ſo were forced to ſtand out to Sea, ſteering our Courſe to the South. The 3d the Wind ſtill at N. W. brought along with it a moſt furious Tempeſt; notwithſtanding which we made the beſt of our Way to the Coaſt; the 4th doubled one of the Points of the *Cape* of *Good Hope.* Ten Leagues diſtant from the Bay we diſcovered the Mountain, called by the *Dutch* the *Table-Mountain*, from its Flatneſs and ſquare Figure, in 34° 4′, within fifteen Leagues of the Cape. Our Intention was to have got in there, but the Wind proving contrary we kept along the Coaſt as well as we could: But the 5th, at Sun-riſing, we were out of Sight of the Shore, which made us change our Courſe to the N. E. ſo that we diſcovered Land again about Noon, and in two Hours after, by paſſing the Iſle of *St. Elizabeth*, got into the Bay by Night, where we caſt Anchor at ſeven Fathom Water.

19. This Cape of the Continent of *Africa*, extending to the South into the Sea, in 36° beyond the Line, received the Name of *Cabo de Bona Eſperanza* in 1493, from *John* II. King of *Portugal*, when the *Portugueze* firſt went in Queſt of the Paſſage by Sea to the *Indies*, lying as it were at a nearer Diſtance of about 2500 Leagues, betwixt *Europe* and the moſt Eaſtern Coaſts of the *Indies*; ever ſince which Time this has been the Place where Ships bound to thoſe Parts take in their Refreſhments, Water being very excellent here, and Cattle very cheap, their Oxen being very large, with Bunches on their Backs like thoſe of the *Indies*, and their Sheep very good, with long hanging Ears, and Tails as big and weighty as a good Quarter of Mutton: Neither do they want Wild-Fowl, Deer, Wild-Boars, Partridges, Quails, and, among the reſt, a kind of Geeſe, with Stumps inſtead of Wings, but their Fleſh is not eatable. They have alſo Dogs, or rather Sea-Bears, Camels, Tigers, Lions, and Lynxes. The *Dutch* are uſed to leave Letters here under a certain Stone near the Harbour, acquainting their Countrymen that come after them with all the remarkable Paſſages in their Voyages, and what Courſe they intended to ſteer.

The Inhabitants are ſavage, uncouth, and ill-ſhaped: They greaſe their Bodies with Train-Oil, and eat their Fleſh raw; nay, they ſeldom kill any Beaſt, but feed upon them when they die of any Diſeaſe. Both Men and Women go naked, covering their privy Parts only with a Piece of Skin faſtened round their Waiſt with a Leather-Girdle, ſome wrap a Lion's Skin or Ox's Hide round their Buttocks, drawing their Tail between their Legs: Some wear them over their Shoulders down to their Waiſt only, expoſing all the reſt to publick View, and disfiguring their Arms, Thighs, and Legs, by making Characters in them by way of Inciſion. The Women adorn their Arms and Legs with broad Rings of Iron or Braſs. Thoſe living farther up in the Country are no leſs ſavage than the reſt, with this Difference only, that they live a little better; thoſe near the Sea-ſide living upon Oyſters, Fiſh, and eſpecially Whales; for they know not what Huſbandry is, though their Grounds are excellent. They live in the ſame Huts with their Cattle, and ſcarce ever come to the Seaſhore, except when upon the Arrival of foreign Ships they are to truck their Commodities, which are Ox-hides, Lions, Leopards, Tigers Skins, and Oſtriches Feathers, for Knives, Looking Glaſſes, Nails, Hammers, and Pieces of Iron. They know not what Religion is, both God and the Devil being equally beyond their Comprehenſion.

On the 10th we were ready to ſet ſail again out of the Bay; but the Wind proving contrary we did not get to Sea till the 12th, with a N. E. Wind, ſteering our Courſe to the Weſt; but the Wind varying that Day through moſt of the Points of the Compaſs we could not get out of Sight of the Coaſt, and at Night were ſurprized by a Tempeſt, which continued till the 17th with ſuch Violence that our Ship had much ado to reſiſt it. The 18th the Sky began to clear up, and the Fury of the Wind being allayed, we found ourſelves in 30° 40′; whence we conjectured that the Tempeſt had forced us back 25 or 30 Leagues, between *Cabo Falſo* and the *Cape* of *Good Hope.* The Night following there aroſe ſuch a dreadful Hurricane that we gave ourſelves over for loſt, being by the contrary Winds forced to Sea. The 19th were not much better; and the 20th we found but little Alteration, though we hoped for ſome from the Change of the Moon, which happened that Day; but the Storm continued till the 22d, when the Rains having ſomewhat abated the Fury of the Winds, we made uſe of our Sails, ſteering our Courſe to the Weſt, as well as we could. On the 23d we were becalmed in Sight of the Coaſt to the N. E. of us, and finding ourſelves in 37° 6′, we ſuppoſed ourſelves on the Coaſt between *Cabo Falſo* and that of *d' Aguilas*; but another Tempeſt ariſing the ſame Evening from the W. N. W. we were forced out again to Sea.

The 24th the Wind held ſtill contrary, which grew tempeſtuous at Night. The 25th in 36° Lat. we ſteered our Courſe with a W. Wind to the S. The 26th the Wind blowing N. E. we made all the Sail we could to the W. but in the Evening the Wind turning to the N. W. brought along with it a moſt violent Storm, which continued the 28th and 29th; ſo on the 30th it was reſolved, that ſeeing our Ship was not in a Condition to proſecute the Voyage to *England* without manifeſt Danger, to put into the Iſle of *Madagaſcar:* Purſuant to this Reſolution, we tacked about at Two in the Afternoon, in ſtormy Weather, and a very rough Sea, which continued the next Day till about Noon. *June* the 1ſt we made forty Leagues in twenty-four Hours, with a Weſt Wind, ſteering our Courſe to the Eaſt. The 2d, about eleven at Night, the Wind veering about to the S. S. E. the beſt Wind we could wiſh for the Proſecution of our Voyage to *England*, we reſolved to return to the *Cape* of *Good-Hope*, and to take in freſh Water at the Iſle of *St. Helens.* The third we got with the ſame Wind to 35° 8′. On the 4th the Abundance of Birds, called *Mangas de Valudos*, and the Trombas or Canes, floating upon the Sea, gave us great Hopes that we were not far from the *Cape* of *Good Hope.*

The 6th we were becalmed at forty-three, forty-eight, fifty-four, and ſixty-three Fathom Water, and in the Evening the Wind was N. W. but turned the 7th to the W. which, by Night, turned to a violent Storm, and continued the 8th till Midnight, when coming about to the N. we took our Courſe to the N. W. The 9th the

Winds being much abated, we found ourſelves in 35° 30′; but in the Afternoon, we were ſurprized by another Tempeſt, which putting us in imminent Danger of running upon the Shore, the Maſter of the Ship, who hitherto had been the chief Inſtrument of our turning this Way, ſeeing himſelf under the Neceſſity of changing his Reſolution, declared that there was no other Way left to ſave the Ship, than to endeavour to put in at *Madagaſcar*; accordingly we changed our Courſe the 11th with fair Weather; but about Midnight were overtaken with another dreadful Storm, which laſted the 12th, 13th, and 14th. It ceaſed the 15th, and the Wind being W. N. W. we ſailed 33 Leagues in 24 Hours, to the N. E. The 23d at Break of Day we deſcried an *Engliſh* Veſſel, bound to the *Eaſt-Indies*, Captain *Hall* Commander, Burthen 500 Tuns, and it was reſolved that we ſhould make jointly all the Sail we could for *Madagaſcar*, Captain *Hall*'s Ship being much leſs than ours, with a S. E. Wind.

The firſt of *July* he was got out of Sight, and the ſame Evening we diſcovered the Coaſt of *Madagaſcar*, ſo that we were forced to keep continual Watch all the Night, for fear we might come too near the Coaſt, which is very rocky and dangerous, eſpecially on the Point of the Iſle, or might go beyond it, it being almoſt impoſſible to make the Bay if you paſs beyond the true Altitude. The ſecond we arrived in the Bay of *St. Auſtin*, where there is no Bottom till within a Mile of the Shore, where we caſt Anchor at twenty-five Fathom Water. The Day after our Arrival, having eſcaped ſo many Dangers, our joy was redoubled by meeting here, beſides Captain *Hall*'s Ship, an *Engliſh Eaſt-Indiaman*, called the *London*, Burthen 1400 Tuns, commanded by Captain *Willes*, bound for *England*. The third the Captains of theſe Ships came on board ours, to conſult the beſt Methods to prevent the being impoſed upon by the Inhabitants, in the Trucking of what Commodities they had, for their Cattle; accordingly, theſe Commodities being produced by joint Conſent, and committed to the Management of the three Supercargoes, they bought, or rather exchanged every Day four Oxen for forty Pair of braſs Bracelets, a Sheep for two, and a Calf for three Pair; and for a braſs Ring of ten or twelve Inches about, a fat Ox, worth ſix or ſeven Pounds in *England*. The fourth the Preſident and the two Captains went up the River to diſcover what Cattle was coming down towards the Bay. The ſixth the Preſident treated the two Captains and all the Officers of the three Ships aboard ours, and Captain *Willes* did the ſame ſome Days after. The 14th Captain *Hall* proſecuted his Voyage to the *Eaſt-Indies*, as Captain *Willes* did two Days after for *England*, having ſupplied us with what we ſtood in need of for the Proſecution of our Voyage.

The twenty-firſt a certain Tent with Huts being ſet up for the Preſident and Soldiers near the Sea-ſide, he took up his Lodgings there. About four Leagues from the Harbour lived a certain Lord, who had three Sons, the Eldeſt of whom was named *Maſſar*: They came all three to pay us a Viſit, with a Retinue of one hundred Perſons, well armed with Javelins, bringing along with them three hundred Oxen, beſides ſome Sheep, Goats, Poultry, Citrons, and Oranges, in order to exchange them for ſome of our Toys. After having made a little Halt, the eldeſt of the three Brothers preſented the Preſident with twelve Goats, and his two Wives each with a fat Capon; in return of which, the Preſident made a Preſent of three Strings of glaſs Coral to himſelf, two to each Brother, and a Bracelet to each of his Wives, which they ſeemed to value at a great Rate. After having fixed a great Pole in the Ground, as a Token of the Amity they intended to preſerve with us, which they deſired us to maintain alſo on our Side, they ſold us, or rather trucked with us for ten fat Oxen, ſome Sheep, and Poultry; and amongſt the reſt, we had a fat Sheep, the Tail of which weighed twenty, or twenty-four Pounds, for ſeven or eight Grains of Coral, or Agat, and a Capon for three or four Grains of counterfeit Coral. We ſtaid here ſix Weeks, which were ſpent for the moſt part in ſhooting at Buts, and Fiſhing with Angle-rods. We had great Store of Fiſh, and among the reſt Oyſters, as large and delicious as any in *England*. From the fifth to the eighth of *Auguſt* we ſaw ſuch prodigious Numbers of Graſhoppers as darkened the Skies, but one ſmall Shower of Rain diſperſed them all. The Inhabitants eat them.

The Iſle of *Madagaſcar*, called the Iſle of *St. Laurence* by the *French*, lies in the torrid Zone, extending from North to South from the 10° to the 26°. its Length being one hundred and fifty, and Breadth one hundred and eighty Leagues, and conſequently one of the greateſt Iſlands in the World. It has the Conveniency of divers good Harbours, ſuch as the Bay of *St. Auſtin*, where we lay at Anchor, *St. Jago*, *Anton*, *Gil*, *Antipera*, *St. Julian's*, *St. Mary's*, *St. Sebaſtin*, *St. Romanus*, and *Manatenga*. Moſt of their Mountains are covered with Orange and Citron Trees, and the Rocks themſelves are a pure white Marble, from whence ſpring the cleareſt Fountains in the known World. They have alſo Ebony, and Date Trees, and a certain Kind not unlike the *Braſil* Wood, of which they make their Darts and Lances. Theſe Trees ſhelter vaſt Numbers of Apes and Birds, and among the reſt, a kind of Poultry, reſembling our Turkeys, being black all over the Bodies, with little white Spots. Their Heads are of a Mixture of blue and red, with yellow Horns on their Foreheads. They feed by hundreds together in the Woods. Here you meet alſo with that Gum called Dragon's Blood, which they draw out of the Flower of a Tree no bigger than our common Pear-trees, but more branchy, and not ſo full of Leaves, which are longer, but not ſo broad as thoſe of the Laurel.

This Iſle alſo produces ſome Aloes, but not ſo good as thoſe of the Iſland of *Socotra*. They have alſo Cotton, and ſome Indigo, but they underſtand not reducing it into Paſte, as the *Indoſtans* and *Indians* do. As they do not apply themſelves to Tillage, except it be for a little Rice, Beans, Pompions, and Melons, ſo they abound in moſt excellent Paſture, and conſequently in Cattle, in which their chief Riches conſiſt. They have alſo Citron and Orange-trees, which bear Fruit twice a Year, Date-trees, Cocoa-trees, and Bananas; and there is ſcarce a Houſe but has its own Bee-hives; for though they are ignorant as yet of the Advantages of making Honey and Wax, they make a certain Drink of it, with the Addition of Rice, which ſerve them inſtead of Wine. It yields alſo a Salt and Salt-petre, and near the Sea-ſide Ambergris. Some will have it to be rich in Gold and Silver Mines, but as the Inhabitants value Tin beyond thoſe Metals, they neglect to ſearch after them.

The Iſle is very full of Inhabitants, who are well ſhaped, for the moſt part Negroes; they wear no other Garments but a Piece of printed Calico, which they wrap about their Middle, ſo that one End of it hangs down before to the Knee, the other to the Ham. Their Huts, except the little Houſes of their Princes, which are of Wood, are only made of the Branches of Trees, wherein they have no other Beds or Quilts, but ſome few Mats to lie upon. They uſed to make their Fires round about them, to diſperſe the Vapours which are very pernicious here. Their chief Ornaments are certain Strings of Glaſs-beads of different Colours round the Waiſt, and Bracelets of the ſame about their Necks, Arms, and Legs. Both Sexes have Holes in their Ears, in which they put large Copper or Braſs Rings. They have all black Hair, ſome very much curled, others not, but it is ſeldom very long; notwithſtanding which they tie it up in ſeveral Treſſes. There is no conſiderable Difference betwixt the Cloathing of the Men and Women; the laſt wear ſometimes a ſleeveleſs Coat, and the Calico which covers their middle Parts is ſomewhat longer than thoſe of the Men.

The Women are very famous for their Fidelity to their Huſbands, who place ſo great a Value upon them, that they will ſcarce undertake any Thing of Moment without their Advice. They have two Wives at leaſt, each of which hath her peculiar Hut, and though the Huſband is very compliant with both, the eldeſt of the two always claims the Preference. They purchaſe their Wives from their Parents, or Relations, for ſome Oxen, Pikes, Darts, or other Arms. Adultery and Fornication are capital; but as there is no Familiarity ſo great which is able to raiſe a Jealouſy in them, thoſe Things are ſcarce ever heard of. Some of their young Women came very frankly into our Tent, unto one of whom the Preſident preſented one of my Shirts, deſiring her to wear it for my Sake. She made not the leaſt Difficulty to receive it, and wore it two Days, after which, ſhe tore it to Pieces, for ſome other Uſe. Their Men are brave, addicted to martial Exercifes, and very dextrous in the Management of their Lances, Darts, and Pikes, which always lie near them, even when they are at work in the Field, being trained up to the Uſe of Arms in their Infancy; Perſons of Note ſeldom ſtir abroad without having twenty-five or thirty Darts, or ſmall Pikes, carried after them, tied up in a Bundle. Their Bows are four or five Feet long, and the Strings looſe. They have a Sleight of Shooting with great Strength and Activity; and as to their Javelins, they dart them with ſo miraculous a Dexterity, that they will hit a Bird at forty Paces Diſtance.

They are divided into ſeveral Tribes or Clans, of one hundred, two hundred, or three hundred, each under his own Lord, whom they call *Tſebick*. Two of theſe had their Reſidence in a Wood not far from our Tent. Their Wars among themſelves are commonly occaſioned by the want of Paſturage for their Cattle, and the Prince *Maſſar* told us, that he had joined with two neighbouring Lords, and that they intended to attack ſome on the other Side the Mountains with five hundred Men, to drive them from their Paſture Grounds, which they ſtood in need of for their Cattle. This Dignity is not hereditary, but they govern, whilſt they are in the Poſſeſſion of it, with an abſolute Authority. It is not eaſily determined what Religion they profeſs. As far as I was able to learn, they believe one God, Creator of Heaven and Earth, who will reward their good, and puniſh their bad Actions. I remember I ſaw one among them, whom I ſuppoſed to be their Prieſt, getting up on a Tree, and making his Oration to the People; but as I had not the leaſt Knowledge of their Language, I could not be ſatisfied of what he ſaid, neither what Difference there was in the outward Appearance of their Prieſts and Laicks, except that I obſerved ſome of them to carry a Piece of a Cow's Tail at the End of a Cane; and I ſaw one whoſe Nails on the two Fore-fingers of his Right-hand were as long as the Talons of an Eagle. Each Tribe has its own Prieſt, who pretends alſo to Incantations.

21. The Iſle of *Mozambique* is not above half a League from the Continent of *Africa*, and remains in the Poſſeſſion of the *Portugueze*. This ſmall Iſland is ſo beneficial to the Governor thereof, that what with the Trade to *Madagaſcar*, and that of *Soffalo*, he commonly amaſſes a Treaſure of 150,000 Pounds Sterling during his three Years Government. This Iſland was firſt diſcovered by the *Portugueze* in 1506, when a whole Boat of Negroes coming on board the *Portugueze* Veſſels, they were very civilly entertained by the Captain, who alſo gave them divers little Preſents, but they requited his Kindneſs with a Shower of Arrows as ſoon as they were got into their Boat, till the Captain by a Volley of ſmall Shot, and ſome Cannon Ball, made them ſoon give over that Sport. Another *Portugueze* Captain, named *Rodriguez Perera*, being in the ſame Year driven upon that Coaſt by Diſtreſs of Weather, ſent a certain *African* Negro, who had ſome Knowledge of their Language, to ſignify unto them, that he was come thither to ſettle a good Correſpondence and Commerce with them. They ſeemed to approve of this Propoſal, but were no ſooner got at ſome Diſtance from the *Portugueze*, than they fell upon the *Moor*, with Intention to kill him, which they had certainly done if the *Portugueze* had not diſcharged their Fire-Arms upon them, which obliged them to leave the Negro, and to betake themſelves to their Heels, leaving ſeveral of their Companions dead upon the Spot.

Perera ſailed thence to another Place upon the ſame Coaſt, where having ſurprized one of their Princes, he carried him on Board, and gave him ſuch kind Entertainment, that in Requital for his Courteſy, he offered to ſhew him a very good Harbour; accordingly he conducted them to a great Bay, at the Entrance of which was a ſmall but populous Iſland; but the Inhabitants being terrified at the Sight of theſe Foreigners, fled into another adjacent Iſland; ſo that the *Portugueze*, being become Maſters of the ſmall Iſle without the leaſt Oppoſition, they ſent to the Inhabitants, deſiring them to return to their Habitations, the Occaſion of their coming thither being only to ſettle a good Correſpondence with them. Upon this moſt of them returned, and as a Mark of their Good-will, preſented *Perera* with fifty Oxen and twenty Goats; but being nevertheleſs willing to be rid of the Strangers, they tempted the Captain with the Hopes of great Riches, which they ſaid he might meet with in the Port of *Matatana*; which was ſo well approved by him, that he was preparing to go thither, but one of his Ships being ſoon after forced upon the Coaſt of the Iſle, he retired with the other to *Mozambique*: Another Ship of the ſame Fleet being driven by tempeſtuous Weather into the Port of *Matatana*, a Boat of the Country came immediately aboard them, in which the Captain ſent the Maſter of the Veſſel, who was well verſed in the *African* Language.

The *Moors* making more than ordinary Haſte to get aſhore with the Maſter, and the *Portugueze* conceiving ſome Jealouſy at their Behaviour, they purſued them with eighty Men in their Shallop, but too late, the Negroes having reached the Shore before them. However, after they were landed, they got Sight again of the Maſter, who told them he had been treated with much Kindneſs by their Prince, who was deſirous to ſee the Captain himſelf, in order to enter into a ſtrict Correſpondence with him; which the Captain being not unwilling to comply with, went accordingly aſhore, where he was kindly received, and magnificently treated by the Prince, according to the Faſhion of that Country; but in the Evening, being ready to return aboard in the Shallop, there aroſe a violent Tempeſt, that he durſt not venture to commit himſelf to the mercileſs Waves in ſo ſmall a Boat, which continued for four Days ſucceſſively; and there being no Poſſibility to get on board, his Ship's Crew imagining that he had been maſſacred by theſe Barbarians, thought it moſt adviſeable to ſave themſelves, and to return to *Mozambique*, which they did accordingly. The Captain finding the Ship gone was ſo diſcontented that he died not long after, as did eight others of his Retinue. The reſt thinking it better to run the Riſque of the Sea than to periſh without the leaſt Hopes of Relief, embarked in the Shallop, and having by good Fortune met with a *Portugueze* Veſſel, commanded by *John Tonſeca*, he carried them to the next *Portugueze* Port in *Africa*. The firſt Time of the Landing of the *Dutch* in the Iſle of *Madagaſcar* happened rather by Chance than any Deſign, for their Seamen being miſerably infeſted with the Scurvy, ſo that they were no longer able to manage the Ship, they were forced to ſeek for Refreſhment in this Iſland, but loſt ſeventy Men out of the four Veſſels, of which their Fleet conſiſted, before they could get at any. Theſe Men were buried in a ſmall Iſland, which to this Day is called the *Dutch* Church-yard. Some will have the *Madagaſcarians* to be *Mohammedans*; but certain it is, that in their outward Demeanour they do not ſhew the leaſt Sign of it.

22. The Winter Seaſon being pretty well over we began to think of our Voyage; for which Purpoſe having bought, *Auguſt* the 19th, of Prince *Maſſar*, and ſome other neighbouring Lords, twenty-five Oxen and a hundred Sheep, we embarked our Baggage the 20th, and the 21ſt ſet ſail out of the Bay of *Saint Auguſtine* with a South-weſt Wind, which proving favourable all that Night we ſoon loſt Sight of *Madagaſcar*.

The 22d being rejoined by the Monſoon, or Wind of the Seaſon, which happened ſooner than ordinary, we briſkly purſued our Courſe to Weſt-South-Weſt; and the 23d the Wind blowing a briſk Gale from the Eaſt in our Stern, we ſailed briſkly a little more to the South, with an Intention to avoid the *Cape of Good Hope*. The 24th and 25th the Wind was not ſo briſk, but being ſeconded by a freſh Gale, the 26th we advanced bravely, and found ourſelves that Day in 27° 27′ Latitude, and on the 28th in 28° 12′. The 29th we were ſurprized by the Travados, or Whirlwinds, in 31° 15′; but they did not continue long. The 30th it blew aſtern; notwithſtanding which we made the beſt of our way, and the laſt of *Auguſt* found ourſelves in 33° 34′. On the 1ſt of *September* we made fifty Leagues in twenty-four Hours, though the Wind blew very hard; and the 2d we got thirty Leagues farther,

ther, with a South-weſt Wind. The 3d being becalmed, we killed a Cow we bought at *Madagaſcar*, and a Goat. In the Belly of the firſt we found three Calves, and in the laſt four Kids, from which a Judgment may be made of the Fruitfulneſs of this Country. On the 6th we were terribly ſhaken by a moſt dreadful Tempeſt, ſo that our Ship beginning to be leaky, we were forced to pump without Intermiſſion. We found ourſelves in 35° Latitude. On the 7th the Wind being tolerably fair, we ſteered our Courſe to the Weſt-North-Weſt; though the Sea continued very rough. The 8th and 9th we had abundance of Rain, with a South-Weſt Wind, with which we made four Leagues with a moderate Gale, and ſeeing many of the Birds called *Mangas de Valudo*, concluded that we were not far from the *Cape of Aguilas.*

The 11th the Eaſt Wind hindered us from making any conſiderable Progreſs, and finding a ſandy Bottom at twelve Fathom of Water, we were more and more perſuaded that we were near the *Cape of Aguilas.* The 12th we were forced to make the beſt of our Way, ſometimes with a North-North-Weſt, ſometimes with a South-Weſt Wind, which continuing in the Afternoon, we continued our Courſe to the Weſt-North-Weſt, and in the Evening found a yellow Sand at a hundred and ninety Fathom Water. The 13th, the Wind being at South-Eaſt, we continued our Courſe to the Weſt-North-Weſt, and finding a Whale floating upon the Water in the Latitude of 35°, we believed ourſelves to be in the Height of the *Cape of Good-Hope*, where abundance of Whales are commonly ſeen. The 14th, at Sun-riſing, finding the Declination of the Needle 4° 50′, we concluded that we had compaſſed the *Cape of Good-Hope*; the 15th we had a fair Wind and Weather, and found the Declination of the Compaſs to be 1° 5′, and preſently after the Declination of it, near the *Cape of Good-Hope*, is 4°, though ſometimes it does not decline ſo much; and as ſoon as you have paſſed the *Cape*, you find the Compaſs to vary to the Eaſt. At 33° 15′ Lat. lies the Iſle of *St. Elizabeth*, not above twenty Leagues on this Side of the *Cape of Good-Hope*, being not above two Leagues from the *African* Coaſt, on which Side it has a very good Harbour at ſixteen Fathom Water.

The whole Coaſt is but one continued Rock; but the Country is ſo fertile in ſeveral ſorts of the beſt Herbs, that there is ſufficient Reaſon to believe, that if it were cultivated, it would not in its Products be behind the Iſle of *St. Helens*, or any other in thoſe Parts. The worſt is, that it wants freſh Water, except what is ſupplied by the Skies when it rains, which makes this Iſle not to be much frequented; though they have ſuch vaſt Numbers of Sea-Wolves here, that in a few Days they may catch as many, that the Fat would freight a Veſſel of ſix hundred Tons. They call theſe Creatures Sea-Wolves, though both in Colour and Shape of their Heads they rather reſemble our Bears, except that their Snout is not ſo ſharp. They have only two Paws beneath the Breaſt, by which means they draw the other Part of their Body after them, and that with ſo much Swiftneſs, that the nimbleſt Man can ſcarce overtake them. This Beaſt is very fierce, its Teeth being ſo cloſe and ſtrong, that it will bite through the Handle of a Partiſan. This Iſle alſo produces a kind of Badger, the Fleſh whereof is very delicious. The 16th we made the beſt of our Way with a ſmall Wind at 32°, and the 17th and 18th made ſixty-four Leagues with a North-North-Weſt and a South-Weſt Wind, and came the 19th into 29° 16′, when with a South-South-Weſt Wind we made forty Leagues to the North-Weſt, and in the Evening found ourſelves in 28° Latitude. The 6th of *October* a South-Eaſt Wind carried us fifteen Leagues farther to the Iſle of *St. Helens.*

23. The Situation of this Iſland, called *St. Helens* by the *Portugueze*, is in 16° 12′. It is diſtant from the Cape of *Angola* 350 Leagues; from that of *Good-Hope* 550; from *Brazil* 510. It being very ſurprizing, that an Iſland of no more than ſeven Leagues in Compaſs ſhould be found at ſo great a Diſtance from the Continent. It is ſo plentiful in moſt excellent Fruits, and all ſorts of Creatures, that it ſurpaſſes moſt of the Provinces of *Europe*. Some were of Opinion, that there were neither to be ſeen when the *Portugueze* firſt diſcovered it, and that thoſe few Trees and Cattle they brought thither, have received ſuch vaſt Improvements from the natural good Conſtitution of the Ground, that, at preſent, it is able to ſupply whole Fleets with Refreſhments. Figs, Pomegranates, Citrons, Oranges, Goats, Hogs, *Barbary* Hens, Pheaſants, Partridges, Quails, Peacocks, and Pigeons, being to be had here at all the Seaſons of the Year; not to mention the Fiſh which are found here in vaſt Quantities, and Salt ſufficient for the Curing them. The Ground naturally produces ſo many wholſome Herbs, that the *Portugueze* frequently leave there their ſick Men, which are ſure to recover againſt their coming back again that Way the next Year.

The Mountains of this Iſle are ſo high, that they are diſcovered fourteen Leagues off at Sea. The *Portugueze* thought it a Piece of Prudence not to make any Eſtabliſhment in this Iſland, conſidering the Jealouſy which its Poſſeſſion might raiſe in other Nations trading into theſe Parts, which its vaſt Diſtance from the Continent would make it very difficult to keep; whereas its being free would afford a certain Retreat to all Veſſels; and thoſe Refreſhments, eſpecially of freſh Water, which they would be obliged to ſeek for as far as the Coaſt of *Guinea*, where they muſt be forced to ſtay for the Rains, to the great Inconvenience of the Seamen, many of whom muſt in the mean while periſh for want of it. The Fertility of the Iſle ought chiefly to be attributed to the daily Showers of Rain which fall there, which, being animated by the Sun-Beams, ſhining preſently after by Intervals, incredibly advances the Maturity of Things in a Climate like this. It has alſo three Places where Ships may provide themſelves with freſh Water, *viz.* where the three Rivers, which have their Sources among the Mountains, diſcharge themſelves into the Sea. Theſe produce abundance of Snakes, which are eaten by the *Dutch*, who prefer them to Eels. At 190 Leagues to the N. W. of the Iſland of *St. Helens*, you ſee the Iſland of *Aſcenſion*, ſo called from its being diſcovered upon *Aſcenſion-Day* by the *Portugueze*, lying 8° 30′ S. of the Line. It is a very mountainous Iſland, affording neither freſh Water, nor any other Proviſions, except Fiſh, of which there is great Store on that Coaſt. *October* the 17th, the ſame Wind carried us forty Leagues forward; and the 18th forty-two to the 5th Degree.

The Heats were almoſt inſupportable this Day, and we ſaw Millions of Flying-fiſh, and great Numbers of the Birds called *Mangas de Valudo.* The 19th, the Wind blowing from the S. E. we made 40 Leagues to 3° 19′ Lat. and the 20th the ſame Wind continued us 40 Leagues farther to 1° 18′ Lat. The ſame Wind carried us the 21ſt 35 Leagues, when we paſſed the Equinoctial Line. At 1° beyond the Line, we diſcovered the Cape *de Lopez Gonzales*, upon the Coaſt of *Guinea*, which has a ſafe Harbour for Ships, which ſometimes provide themſelves with Proviſions here. The Iſle of *St. Thomas* is ſituate under the Line, the Air of which is ſo unwholſome, and the Heats ſo exceſſive, that few *Europeans* live there to fifty Years of Age, though ſome of the Natives arrive to an hundred. Here is a conſtant Equality of Day and Night throughout the whole Year, and it never rains, except in *March* and *September*; the Defect of which is ſupplied by the Dew, which falls conſtantly every Night, moiſtens the Ground, and renders it very fruitful. When it was firſt diſcovered, a certain kind of Tree was found here, the Branches whereof were exactly ſtrait. And, formerly, this Iſle produced ſuch vaſt Quantities of Sugar, that above forty Ship Loads might be tranſported thence every Year; but the Worm, being got among the Canes, has ever ſince made ſuch Havock among them, that it ſcarce affords now Loading for ſix Ships. Beſides which, this Iſland produces Wheat, Wine, Millet, Rye, Barley, Melons, Cucumbers, Figs, Ginger, red Parſnips, Cabbages, Navews, Lettuce, Parſley, and all ſorts of Roots, Pulſe, and Pot-herbs; and amongſt the reſt, a certain kind of Muſhrooms, the Rind whereof is black, but the Meat white, and ſhoots forth divers Branches below. The Inhabitants look upon it as a great Dainty, and, when baked in the Embers, eat them as we do Cheſnuts, but they have a better Flavour. The *Spaniards* have planted ſome Olive, Peach, and Almond-trees here: They thrive well enough, but bear no Fruit.

This Iſle alſo affords a ſort of Land-Crabs, which live under Ground, and work like Moles; Partridges, Quails, Black-birds, Parrots, and other Birds in abundance. The Sea produces vaſt Quantities of moſt excellent Fiſh, and, among the reſt, Whales of a vaſt Bulk. In the very Centre of the Iſle is a Mountain, covered on the Top with a Cloud, which furniſhes Water ſufficient for the conſtant watering the Sugar-Canes; and what is moſt obſervable is, that the higher the Sun comes above the Horizon, the more Water falls from the Cloud. The Natives are Negroes, but ſuch Foreigners as ſettle there continue their natural Colour to the third and fourth Generation. They affirm, that Lice and Fleas, wherewith the Negroes are much peſtered, never afflict any Stranger. At thirty-five Leagues Diſtance from the Iſland of *St. Thomas* to the South, you ſee another Iſland, called *Rolles* Iſle by the *Portugueze*. It produces ſuch Plenty of Oranges, Citrons, Bananas, Ananas, Ginger, Poultry, Hogs, and other freſh Proviſions, that it is one of the moſt convenient Places for Ships to refreſh themſelves in; its Haven being very commodious at ten Fathom Water.

The Iſle of *Cariſco* lies cloſe to the Continent, and affords nothing but freſh Water. The 25th a S. E. Wind advanced us thirty-two Leagues on our Courſe to the N. N. W. It was very rainy, and we were frequently troubled with the Travados, or Whirlwinds, which are ſo often met with on the Coaſt of *Guinea*, from whence we might be an hundred and fifty Leagues diſtant. The 26th the Wind continued the ſame, and we made twenty-five Leagues to the 7° Lat. N. We obſerved here the Heats to be more intenſe than we had felt them on the other Side of the Equinoctial, notwithſtanding the Sun was 10° farther from our Hemiſphere; the Reaſon of which I conceived to be, that the Sun-beams, which had ſo lately warmed the Septentrional Hemiſphere, had not had ſufficient Time to produce the ſame Effect in the Meridional. The 27th the Wind changing to the N. and by E. we were alſo obliged to alter our Courſe, and made only thirteen Leagues that Day. About Noon we found ourſelves at 7° 50′ Latitude, and it was obſervable, that the further we ſteered from the Coaſt of *Guinea*, the leſs we were troubled with bad Weather, which had ſufficiently afflicted us for ſome Days paſt. The 28th the Wind turned to the N. E. which is the ordinary Wind between the 10 and 20°, which afterwards changes, as it does in our Seas. We made thirty Leagues that Day; and on the 29th thirty Leagues more with the ſame Wind, in 10° Lat. about Noon. On the 30th we made twenty-eight Leagues with the ſame Wind and Courſe to 11° 13′ Lat. and the 31ſt twenty-three Leagues with the ſame Wind, and rainy Weather.

On the 1ſt of *November* the Wind continued the ſame, and carried us twenty-ſix Leagues forward; the 2d we made twenty-four Leagues with the ſame Wind, ſteering our Courſe to the N. W. The 3d we continued our Courſe with the ſame Wind, which brought us about Noon into 14° 41′, and conſequently near the Cape *Verde*, being a Point of Land ſtretching out into the Sea from the *African* Continent between the Rivers of *Gambia* and *Senega*: *Ptolemy* calls it *Promontorium Arſinarium*. The Inhabitants here are *Moors*, large ſized, and not ill ſhaped, but very miſchievous and treacherous. They are *Pagans*, worſhipping the Moon and the Devil; ſome among them call themſelves *Mohammedans*; but ſetting aſide Circumciſion, they have no Marks of that Religion, or any other. They are embroiled in continual Wars with their Neighbours, and very good Horſemen, their Horſes, which are very ſwift, being brought thither from *Barbary*. Their Arms are only Bows and Arrows, and a kind of Lance or Pike, which they manage with marvellous Dexterity. The Privy-Parts of their Enemies are the Trophies they moſt eſteem; thoſe they preſent to their Wives, who make Necklaces of them, and wear them as the greateſt Ornament. They allow Polygamy, and their Wives are forced to do all their Work, both at home and abroad.

Whilſt the Huſband is in his Hut he is attended by his Wives, and then goes a hunting, or about ſome other Sport, at his own Pleaſure. Their Women are very hardy; they are no ſooner delivered, but they waſh their Children themſelves in the Sea or next River. The Men are generally addicted to Drunkenneſs to ſuch a Degree, that ſome of them will take off a whole Quart of *Aqua Vitæ* at a Draught. Their chief Times of Merriment are at the Funerals of their Friends and Relations, where they drink and howl by Turns, and that for four or five Days together, to the Sound of the Drum and Pipe. They believe the Reſurrection of the Dead, and ſay they ſhall then be white, like the *Europeans*. They have a conſiderable Trade with the *French*, *Spaniards*, and *Dutch*, in Ox-Hides, Buffaloes, Elks, Elephants Teeth, Wax, Rice, and Ambergris, which is to be found in its Perfection; for here one Mr. *Peter Van Brouck*, a *Dutch* Merchant, bought 1606 Pieces of Ambergris of eighty Pound Weight.

The Diſcovery of this Coaſt is likewiſe owing to the *Portugueze* in the Year 1417; but this firſt Voyage meeting but with indifferent Succeſs, *Anthony Gonſales*, in 1441, having diſcovered the Cape *del Cavellero*, carried off certain Negroes, who being ſent by the Infant of *Portugal* to Pope *Martin* V. he was willing enough, under the ſpecious Pretence of planting Chriſtianity in thoſe Parts, to grant him all what he ſhould diſcover on the *African* Coaſt, under Condition, that after his Death it ſhould be annexed to the Crown of *Portugal*. The Infant having already diſcovered the whole Coaſt betwixt *Cabo de Noam*, and 100 Leagues beyond the *Cabo Verde*, happened to die in 1453; but King *Alphonſo*, in 1457, granted all thoſe Conqueſts to D. *Ferand*, Duke of *Viſco*, Heir apparent of the Infant, and in 1461, ordered a Fort to be built in the Iſle of *Argoin*, for the Security of Commerce. It was in the ſame Year farmed out to one *Ferdinand Gomez*, under Condition that he ſhould be obliged to diſcover every Year one hundred Leagues on this Coaſt; by which means the *Portugueze* had in 1497 diſcovered the Iſles of *Fernando del Po*, *St. Thomas*, *Anno Bueno*, thoſe of *del Principe*, and the *Cape of St. Katharine's*. King *John* II. was no ſooner come to the Crown, but he ſent, in 1481, *Diego d'Azambuja*, who, on the 19th of *January* 1482, made the firſt Diſcovery of *Mina*, caſting Anchor near a Place called *Aldea de dos Partes*, then under the Command of a certain Prince named *Coramanſa*.

This Place, unto which the *Portugueze* gave the Name of *Mina*, from the great Quantity of Gold found there, is ſituate upon the Coaſt of *Guinea*, in 5° 40′ S. of the Equinoctial Line, between the two Kingdoms of *Acben* and *Cara*, bordering to the N. W. upon *Camana*, and to the N. E. upon *Afuto*, ſmall Countries under the Juriſdiction of thoſe of *Abarambues*. Hereabouts too, *viz.* within the Compaſs of fifty Leagues, is managed the chief Trade of all this Coaſt. They have built a Fort here, upon an Aſcent, on a Point of Land which jets out into the Sea, like a Demi-Iſle, having on one Side, *viz.* to the North, the *Ethiopian* Sea, and to the South a ſmall River. The Town, which is ſituate juſt below the Foot of the Fort, has about 800 Inhabitants, and its Situation is ſuch, that 1500 Men may maintain it againſt a conſiderable Force, being fenny all about, and withal ſo barren, that the Inhabitants are forced to be ſupplied with Proviſions from *Camana* and *Afuto*. The Natives here are ingenious enough, and much more pliable than the Negroes, but are extremely ignorant in Matters of Religion, for they adore every thing they ſee, that is the leaſt ſurprizing to them. At that Time they offered their daily Sacrifices of Water and Meat by their Prieſts to a certain Tree, of an extraordinary Bigneſs, incloſed for that Purpoſe with a high Wall. They adored the Bones of a Whale, and paid Divine Worſhip to a certain Rock, becauſe it exceeded all the reſt in Height. They are extremely addicted to Divination, and therefore ſet a very high Eſteem upon thoſe who profeſs themſelves Sorcerers, but in Effect are nothing elſe but Cheats, who improve the Weakneſs of thoſe ignorant Wretches to their Advantage. They are the moſt religious People in the World in the Obſervance of their Oaths, it being their Opinion, that ſuch as violate them, will be ſnatched away by a ſudden Death. And hence it is, that their Law-Suits are determined in a few Hours, upon a ſolemn Affirmation or Denial of either of the Parties. All Crimes, even capital ones, may be commuted with Money, unleſs the ſame be reiterated ſeveral Times by the ſame Perſon. They have no other Cloathing but a Piece of Cloth, or an Ape's Skin, wherewith they cover their Privy Parts, all the reſt of their Bodies being naked. For Ornament ſake they wear Bracelets of Gold about their Arms and Legs, and twiſt their Hair and Beards with golden Chains. They conſtantly rub their Bodies with Oil, or Fat, to make them ſhine. Their Wars are no more than confuſed Skirmiſhes, without the leaſt Order or Diſcipline. They make uſe of Darts and ſhort Lances; and for their Defence cover themſelves with the Skins of Tygers, Lions, or Leopards. Their *Hidalgo's*, or chief Men, are attended by two Pages when they are going to the Wars, and one carries the Buckler, the other a Stool for his Maſter to reſt himſelf upon, as Occaſion ſerves. They marry as many Wives as they are able to buy and maintain, the Purchaſe of a Wife being commonly ten Rials, which paid, the Marriage is conſummated without any further Ceremony, except that they get heartily drunk. The *Dutch* have erected a Fort called *Bourio*, within four Leagues of *Mina*, beſides which they have their Factories at *Cara*, *Caramantin*, and *Aldea del Puerto*, whence they return vaſt Quantities of Gold yearly, having much undermined the *Portugueze* Traffick with the *Ethiopians*, by their mild Way of Dealing, and being contented with a much leſs Profit than the other.

25. King *John* the IId of *Portugal*, having refuſed the Offer made him by *Chriſtopher Columbus*, of diſcovering the *Weſt-Indies*, bent all his Thoughts upon the Conqueſts of the *Eaſt*; for which Purpoſe he ſent *Diego Can*, and *Juan Alonſo de Avero*, into thoſe Parts. The firſt, directing his Courſe towards *Mina*, came to the *Cape Lopez Gonſales*; and having afterwards doubled the *Cape of St. Catherine*, entered the River *Zaire*, in 7° S. of the Line into the Kingdom of *Congo*, this Kingdom extending from the *Cape of St. Catherine* to the South of the *Cape de Ledo*, is incloſed on the Weſt Side by the *Ethiopian* Sea, to the South by the Mountains of the Moon, and the *Capes*, as it is to the Eaſt by *Mantabas*, and borders to the North upon the Kingdom of *Beny*, reaching in Length from 20° 30' to the 13° beyond the Line, and conſequently near 160 Leagues. It is divided into ſix great Provinces, *viz.* *Bamba*, *Soango*, *Sunda*, *Pango*, *Botta*, and *Pamba*. The Province of *Bamba* extends along the Sea-ſhore betwixt the two Rivers of *Ambriſi* and *Coanſo*, its chief City bearing the ſame Name of the Province, lying twenty Leagues from the Sea-ſide, betwixt the Rivers of *Loſa* and *Ambriſi*. The Province of *Soango* is incloſed betwixt the two Rivers of *Zaire* and *Soango*, reaching from the River *Ambriſi* to the Foot of the Mountains, which ſeparates it from the Kingdom of *Soango*.

The Province of *Sunda* is only eight Leagues in Compaſs, comprehending all the Country about the City of *Congo*, named *St. Salvador* by the *Portugueze*, to the River *Zaire*. Its Metropolis has given its Name to the Province. The Province of *Pango*, formerly under the Juriſdiction of its own Kings, borders to the North upon the Iſland of *Sunda*, and to the South upon that of *Batta*; to the Weſt it has the City of *Congo*, and on the Eaſt-ſide is ſurrounded by the Mountain of the Sun. The Province of *Batta* lies to the North-Eaſt, betwixt that of *Pango* and the River *Barbella*, extending to the burnt Mountains. The Province of *Pamba* has for its Metropolis the City of *Congo*, which is built upon a Mountain, at leaſt fifty Leagues from the Sea-ſide. Another Mountain belonging to this Province, which is above ſix Leagues in length, is ſo well ſtocked with Villages, that its Inhabitants are computed to amount to near one hundred thouſand Perſons. *Duarte Lopez*, who lived ſeveral Years in thoſe Parts, declares, that the Climate here is as agreeable in Winter, as it is in *Italy* in *October*; and that the greateſt Inconveniency they are ſubject to here, are the hot Rains which fall every Day two Hours before, and as many Hours in the Afternoon, during the Months of *April*, *May*, *June*, *July*, and *Auguſt*, being their Winter, which begins the 15th of *March*, and ends the 15th of *September*. The Days and Nights here are of a Length, both Winter and Summer.

The River *Zaire* ariſes out of the ſame Lake whence the *Nile* derives its Riſe: it is beyond all Queſtion the largeſt River in all *Africa*; for being joined with the Rivers *Vambo* and *Barbella*, as it paſſes through the Country, it is at the Mouth, where it diſembogues into the Sea, at leaſt twenty-eight Leagues broad. The River *Goauze* is the common Boundary betwixt the two Kingdoms of *Congo* and *Angola*, and the River *Lelonda* abounds in Crocodiles and Sea-horſes. This Creature is of a duſkiſh Colour, with very little Hair; its Head is without Ears, broad Noſtrils, and in his Jaw two Teeth like the Tuſks of a wild Boar; its Hoof has the Shape of a three-leaved Graſs; it neighs like a Horſe, and will run a great Pace. The hot Rains, which fall in the wet Seaſon, rendering the Grounds very fertile, they produce Herbs, Corn, and Fruit, in prodigious Quantities. The Province of *Pamba* has divers Gold Mines. All the Foreſts are full of Elephants of an extraordinary Size, the Teeth having been found to weigh two hundred Pound Weight. They produce alſo a peculiar Creature called *Zebra*, in Shape not unlike a Mule, but is capable of engendering: It is marked with three Liſts round the Back, reaching down to the Belly, of about three Fingers Breadth; of which one is black, the other white, and the third yellow. This Beaſt is famous for its marvellous Swiftneſs. They have alſo a kind of Oxen called *Empalenges*, but ſomewhat leſs than ours. Wolves, Foxes, Wild-Buffaloes, Wild-Goats, Deer, and Rabbets, being never ſought after here, they are ſeen in prodigious Quantities, the only Thing they hunt being the Civet-Cat, by reaſon of the great Advantages it affords to the Owners. They abound alſo with Birds, ſuch as Pheaſants, Partridges, Hens, Turkeys, Ducks, Geeſe, Turtles, Pigeons, Hawks of all ſorts, and Eagles. Serpents they have of fifteen Feet long, which will ſwallow a Sheep at once; and ſome amphibious Creatures, the Fleſh of which is eaten by the Inhabitants; whereas ſome others are ſo venomous, that ſuch as are bitten by them infallibly die within twenty-four Hours.

The Mountains of *Pamba* are abundantly productive of Citrons, Oranges, Bananas, and divers other Fruits, as plentifully as in moſt Parts of the *Indies*; and the Vallies produce a kind of Wheat called *Seuco*, not much bigger than Muſtard-ſeed, which makes better Bread than any common Wheat, and is reſerved for the Uſe of the better ſort; the Poor being here fed with Rice, and *Turky* Wheat. Of Cocoa-Trees they have two ſorts; ſome are Date-Trees, the other produce Cocoas, and a certain Juice, which is accounted an extraordinary Clearer of the Reins, and conſequently a ſovereign Remedy againſt the Gravel. Their Fruits, as well as Pulſe and Herbs, are, without Compariſon, more excellent here than in other Countries. Their Mountains, which for the moſt part are covered with Fruit-Trees, are green all the Year round; and the Rocks produce white Marble, Alabaſter, Jaſper, Porphyry, and ſometimes Hyacinths.

The Inhabitants are black; but the Women are not ſo dark as the Men; they have neither ſuch thick Lips, nor flat Noſes, as commonly the Negroes have, and their Hair curls naturally. Thoſe of *Bombay* are famous for their Strength. As every Man here is his own Architect and Phyſician, ſo their Houſes are ſmall, low, and ſlightly built; they cure Fevers with Powder of Sandal Wood, and Head-ach by Bleeding; and when they are to procure an Evacuation by Purging, they do it with a certain Bark of a Tree beat to Powder; they generally appear bare-headed, but ſuch as do not, wear a kind of Hats made of the Barks of Trees, or Nut-ſhells. Some have a Way of faſtening with Pack-thread Plumes to their Hair, and both Sexes have Holes in their Ears, in which hang very weighty Rings of Gold ſet with Stones. About their Arms and Legs they wear Rings, or rather Plates of Iron, Tin, or Braſs; but the better ſort are clad after the *Portugueze* Faſhion. They ſleep and eat upon Matts ſpread upon the Ground. Beſides the vaſt Wealth in Gold, Silver, Copper, Cryſtal, Iron, and other Metals this Country produces, a great Traffick is carried on here in Ivory, Civet, and Slaves, whom the *Spaniards* and *Portugueze* employ in their Mines and Sugar-Mills of *Braſil*. They uſe certain Shells, which they fiſh out of the Sea near the Iſle of

Lunda, inſtead of Money, there being a particular Governor appointed there for that Purpoſe, who has the Overſight of it.

The King of *Congo* governs with an arbitrary and uncontroulable Power, both the Lives and Eſtates of his Subjects being at his own Diſpoſal; the Provinces are under the Juriſdiction of certain Governors, among whom the Batta is the head and conſtant chief Miniſter of State, being of the Blood-Royal, which is the Reaſon he ſometimes eats at the King's Table (a Thing not allowed even to the King's Sons) but never ſits down, but ſtands all the Time. He has alone the Privilege of having the ſame Pipers and Muſicians the King has, and of the Uſe of the Fire-arms for his Guard, of whom he keeps a good Number, to bridle the Inſolence of a certain People living upon the *Nile*, called *Giaquer*, who make frequent Inroads into the Territories, of which Notice is given into the Country by the diſcharging of a Muſket. The Province of *Bombay*, however, is accounted the Bulwark of this Kingdom; for though the Province of *Batta* is able to raiſe above ſeventy thouſand fighting Men, whereas that of *Bombay* is only able to raiſe 40,000, yet are the firſt not to be compared to the laſt. They uſe great broad Swords like the *Swiſs*, and handle them with as much Activity as we do our Rapiers. They make uſe alſo of Darts, and Bucklers, the laſt of which are made of the Barks of Trees. They have no Cavalry; their Armies, which are divided into Brigades, conſiſt only of Foot, who engage all at a Time. The General keeps in the Centre, and by the Help of their warlike Inſtruments, called *Manigio*, gives the Signals to the Commanders when to attack, to retreat, to cloſe, or to open. Their Trumpets are of Wood, and make a moſt dreadful Noiſe. Their Drums are made of the Barks of Trees, and are covered with Skin, and are beat with great Ivory Sticks; beſides theſe, they have another kind of Inſtrument, being only an iron Plate of a triangular Form, which they beat with Sticks; they have alſo a Way of hollowing the Elephant's Teeth, and then blow them as we do our Bugle Horns; with thoſe Inſtruments the Commanders of the Army anſwer the Signal given them by the General.

The *Portugueze* were the firſt who introduced the Chriſtian Religion here, under the Reign of *John* II. the King, who, as we told you, ſent *Diego Can* and *John Alonſo d'Avero* into thoſe Parts. It was about that Time that *Caramanſo*, King of *Congo*, ſent *Caſula* his Ambaſſador to the King of *Portugal*, who, being baptized there, was ſent back with three *Portugueze* Ships, commanded by *Gonſalo de Sonſo*; but in touching at *Cape de Verd*, both died there of the Plague. *Ruy de Sonſa*, who ſucceeded in the Command, being forced into the Port of *Finda*, in the Province of *Songo*, the Governor of the Place, who was Uncle to the King of *Congo*, was baptized with all his Family, whoſe Footſteps were followed by the King and Queen, being named *John* and *Eleanor*. *Emanuel*, King of *Portugal*, ſent another Squadron thither in 1504; but, ſoon after, the Diſcovery of the *Indies*, and Proſpect of greater Advantages to be reaped from thence, occaſioned the Diſcontinuance of thoſe Voyages to the *African* Coaſt; the Foundations of Religion were alſo neglected by the *Portugueze*, which the *Dutch* improving to their Advantage, introduced their Traffick, and with it the Proteſtant Religion.

We told you before, that *Diego Can* diſcovered *Congo*; let us now ſee what became of his Comrade *John Alonſo d'Avero*. He, about the ſame Time, made a Diſcovery of the Kingdom of *Beny*, betwixt *Mina* and *Congo*. Its Length is eighty Leagues, and its Breadth forty. The City of *Angatoe* is at twelve Leagues Diſtance from the Sea, and ſomewhat further in the Country, upon the River called *Rio Formoſo* by the *Portugueze*, its capital City bearing the ſame Name with the Kingdom. The King of *Beny*, having engaged in a Treaty with *Alonſo*, was alſo baptized; but this Converſion being not founded upon any real Knowledge of the Principles of the Chriſtian Religion, was of no longer Continuance than the Traffick of the *Portugueze* in thoſe Parts, which was neglected as ſoon as they had mede a Diſcovery of the Paſſage by Sea to the *Indies*.

26. *Cape de Verde* is by *Ptolemy* called *Promontorium Arſinarium*, and put in 10° 40 on this Side of the Line; whereas, by our own Obſervation, we can poſitively affirm it to be in 14° 20′, betwixt the two Rivers of *Senega* and *Gambra*, or *Gambia*, called by *Ptolemy Durago*, and *Stachiris*, and which, according to his Opinion, are very ſmall ones, the Sources of which are unknown; whereas it is beyond all Queſtion, that they ariſe out of two Lakes, one of which is by the ſaid *Ptolemy* called *Palus Chelondies*, now the Lake of *Goaga*, and the other that of *Naba*, though ſome of the Inhabitants are of Opinion, that they have their Riſe from the *Nile*. It is called the *Cape de Verde* from the many Trees near it, and their conſtant Verdure. *Ptolemy* alſo mentions nothing of theſe two Rivers falling into the Sea; whereas it has been found ſince, that the River *Gambia*, after being joined by the Waters of divers other Rivers in the Province of *Mandiga*, diſembogues into the Ocean in 13° 30′, and that the River *Senega* running directly from Eaſt to Weſt falls in 15° 30′ into the River *Geny*, which has imparted its Name to that Country we call *Guinea*. As it is certain that *Ptolemy* had no Knowledge of the Inhabitants betwixt thoſe two Rivers, ſo we muſt rely entirely upon the Credit of thoſe modern Authors, who have given us their Relations concerning them.

They tell us, that a certain People called the *Budumays* inhabit the Eaſtern Part of it as far as the *Cape de Verde*. The *Foules* and *Berbecines* they place deeper in the Country, upon the River *Banaga* to the North of the *Jaloſes*, ſome of which are ſubject to the *Foules*, others to the *Budumays*. It is a plain Country, producing Abundance of Cattle, Wine, Cotton, Wild-Fowl, Ivory, and Horſes; Gold and Silver they have none, but Iron in vaſt Quantities: The Air is accounted very wholſome, and the Inhabitants near the *Cape de Verde* good Horſemen. They are *Pagans*, and very famous for adminiſtring Juſtice, in publick Affairs, with a great deal of Equity, Prudence, and Secrecy, thoſe that are admitted into their Council, or Courts of Judicature, being generally choſen by their Age and Experience. Though they are ignorant of what belongs to martial Diſcipline, ſuch as is practiſed in *Europe*, yet is their Manner of diſpoſing and ordering their Forces not to be paſſed by in Silence; for all ſuch as are able to bear Arms, being divided into certain Regiments under their reſpective Commanders, have alſo their particular Diviſions or Quarters allotted them; ſo that in caſe of Neceſſity, their Orders for appearing together in a Body being diſpatched from one Diviſion to another, the Army is ready in a little Time to be at the Rendezvous appointed, without the Trouble of any new Levies, the Sons ſucceeding conſtantly in their Father's Places, if they happen to die, ſo that their Number is always complete. They are not altogether ignorant of the Degrees of Nobility and Peaſantry; for their Grandees they call *Thubala's*, unto whom they pay more than ordinary Reverence, their King being always choſen out of their Number, but he muſt be thirty Years of Age at leaſt.

Not long after the Diſcovery of the Country of the *Jaloſes* by the *Portugueze*, one *Beomi* reigned in thoſe Parts; but being got into the Throne by ſiniſter Means, and forſaken by moſt of his Subjects, ſought for Aid by *John* II. King of *Portugal*, who had him inſtructed in the Chriſtian Religion, and baptized, and ſent him back with a good Squadron of Ships, under the Command of *Pedro Vaz de Cogna*, who had poſitive Orders to erect a Fort at the Entrance of the River *Senega*, to facilitate their Penetration deeper into the Country. A Fort was built accordingly, but was by the ſaid *Vaz* (but for what Reaſon is unknown) demoliſhed again, and being ſeverely upbraided upon this Account by King *Beomi*, he killed him with his own Hands, and ſo returned to *Portugal*, where he was never called to an Account for his treacherous Proceedings.

Thoſe Iſlands which the *Portugueze* call *Ilhas Verde*, and the *Dutch Salt Iſlands*, lie directly oppoſite to *Cape de Verde*, yet ſo that the neareſt of them is ſeventy, and the moſt remote one hundred and ſixty Leagues diſtant from the Continent, which makes me imagine that thoſe, who would have them to be the *Gorgonides* of *Ptolemy*, are under a Miſtake, ſince it is not very probable that he, who

who has left us ſo confuſed an Account of the *African* Coaſt, ſhould have any Knowledge of thoſe Iſles, at ſo great a Diſtance. They are in all ten, extending from the 15° to the 19° of N. L. The *Portugueze* have given them the Name of Green Iſlands, either from the *Cape*, or elſe from a certain green Weed, called by them *Sargaſſo*, which is like our Water-Creſſes; of this you ſee ſuch prodigious Quantities floating upon the Surface of the Sea, from the 20° to the 24°, that without a ſtrong Gale Ships are ſometimes ſtopped in their Paſſage; but what is moſt ſurprizing is, that the Sea having no Bottom here, and this Herb not being ſeen in any other Part of the Sea, at leaſt not within 150 Leagues of the *African* Shore, how ſhould this Verdure come to this particular Tract? Some alledge, that it is waſhed from the Rocks in the *Weſt-Indies*, and forced thither by the Winds; but as the N. E. Winds reign here all the Year round, there is but little Probability in this Opinion.

When theſe Iſlands were firſt diſcovered by the *Portugueze*, they were without Inhabitants, but now produce Rice, Millet, *Turkey* Wheat, Oranges, Citrons, Banana's, Anana's, Potatoes, Melons, Citruls, Cucumbers, Figs, and Raiſins, twice a Year. And the three Iſlands of *Mayo*, *De Sal*, and *Doa Viſta*, have ſuch Plenty of Cattle, that the *Portugueze* ſend whole Ships Loads of them thence to the *Braſils*. The conſiderable Quantity of Salt theſe Iſlands produce, has made the *Dutch* give them the Name of the Salt Iſlands. The *Portugueze* have alſo taken care to ſtock theſe Iſlands with all ſorts of tame and wild Fowl, which are multiplied at ſuch a Rate, that they may be had almoſt for nothing. They have a peculiar kind of Bird here called *Flamenco* by the *Portugueze*. They are as big, and white all over their Bodies, as our Swans, but their Wings are of a bright Red. Rabbits are here in vaſt Numbers, and the Sea furniſhes them with incredible Store of Fiſh, which is the Reaſon you ſee here at all Times a conſiderable Number of *Portugueze* Fiſher-Boats, who carry what they catch to *Braſil*. Theſe Iſlands are extremely commodious for ſuch Ships as trade to the *Indies*, inaſmuch as going thither they take in Refreſhments, at a very eaſy Rate, in the Iſle of *Mayo*, and, in their Return, at that of *St. Anthony*, the *Portugueze* Inhabitants being not in a Condition to prevent it. The Iſle of *Jago*, as it is the chief, ſo there the Governor and Archbiſhop keep their ordinary Reſidence. The ſpiritual Juriſdiction of the laſt extends not only over theſe Iſlands, but alſo over all the *African* Coaſt, as far as it is in the Poſſeſſion of the *Portugueze*.

27. *November* the 4th we continued our Voyage for twenty-four Leagues with a N. E. Wind, ſteering our Courſe to the N. N. W. and found ourſelves at 16° 1' Lat. The 8th the Wind coming to the E. N. E. we ſailed thirty-two Leagues to 22° 35'. Here we were much peſtered with the *Sargaſſo*, or Green Weed which we mentioned before, which, upon Examination, I found very like our Water-Creſſes, only theſe were of a paler Green, and had a ſmall Seed like thoſe of green Gooſeberries. The 11th the Wind turning in the Morning to E. S. E. and ſoon after to the South, we made but eight Leagues, and were becalmed before Night, the Wind at N. W. Our Courſe was to the W. at 20° 40' Lat. We took that Day a Hay, as the *Dutch* call it (a Shark) which is accounted a Rarity in thoſe Seas, tho' they are frequent in the *Indies*. The 22d the Wind being at W. S. W. we ſteered our Courſe for forty Leagues to the N. N. E. in 35° 20' Lat. The 23d a S. W. Wind carried us thirty-four Leagues to the E. N. E. and the 24th thirty-five Leagues further. The 25th we had a N. E. Wind, ſo ſteering our Courſe to the N. E. we made thirty-three Leagues in 38° Lat. The 26th being becalmed, we got but ten Leagues, and the 27th but twelve more, taking our Courſe E. N. E. in 38° 40' Lat. The 28th the Wind turning to the S. S. E. we took our Courſe to the E. S. E. for 27 Leagues. And the 29th the ſame Wind continuing, we made twenty-four Leagues, taking the ſame Courſe, and at Noon in 33° 30', got Sight of the Iſlands of *Corvo* and *Flores*, which ſome, but erroneouſly, number among the Iſlands called by the *Spaniards Azores*, from the many Hawks found here.

Theſe are generally called by the *Dutch Flemiſh* Iſlands, becauſe the firſt Inhabitants of the Iſle of *Fayal* (one of the *Azores*) were Natives of the *Low-Countries*; who ſettled themſelves on that little River called by the *Portugueze Ribera dos Flamencos*, and their Poſterity live to this Day here, according to the Cuſtoms of their own Country. The ſeven Iſles known by the Name of *Azores*, are *Tercera*, *St. Michael*, *Santa Maria*, *San George's*, *Gratioſa*, *Pico*, and *Fayal*; *Tercera*, being fifteen or ſixteen Leagues in Compaſs, is the biggeſt amongſt them, being a Congeries of Mountains, which make it almoſt inacceſſible, there being no ſafe Road or Harbour here, except at the City of *Angra*, being the Metropolis of this, as well as the other ſix Iſlands, and the ordinary Reſidence of the Governors of thoſe Iſles, and of the Biſhops themſelves. This Road is not ſo ſafe at all Times, tho' the Port is incloſed like a Creſcent by two Mountains advanceing very deep into the Sea. They call theſe Mountains *Breſil*, and may be ſeen thirteen or fourteen Leagues off at Sea. About three Leagues from the City of *Angra*, is a Town called *Villa de Praya*, the Houſes whereof are very well built; but as it is a Place of no Trade, ſo it is not very populous. The City of *Angra* has obtained its Name from its Situation, in the Form of a Creſcent, this Word being uſed by the *Portugueze* to expreſs the Figure of the New Moon. It is defended by two Forts, one of which is built upon the Aſcent of the Mountain, the other upon one of the Points of Land which cover the Haven, and conſequently for the Defence of its Entrance, the oppoſite Point having two high Towers, whence, by a certain Signal, they give Notice to the Inhabitants what Veſſels they ſpy at Sea, and whether they come from *Europe*, or *Braſil* Side.

All thoſe Iſles are ſubject to the Crown of *Portugal* now, though the *Caſtilian* Governor, *Don Alvero de Vizaros*, defended himſelf very bravely in the two Forts of the City of *Angra*, after the Revolution in *Portugal*, and did not ſurrender the Caſtle upon the Mountain till *May* the 6th 1642, after he was reduced to the laſt Extremity by Famine. It is almoſt ſurprizing to behold, that the bare Rocks here, which are not ſo much as covered with Earth, ſhould produce good Store of Vines, which thrive better there than in the Vallies, tho' it muſt be confeſſed, that their Wine does not come near in Goodneſs to thoſe of the *Maderas* and the *Canaries*. Theſe Iſlands produce every thing that is either neceſſary or convenient for human Life (except Oil or Salt) for they have Wheat in Plenty, Pears, Apples, Citrons, Oranges, and Peaches, in great Plenty, beſides Cherries, Plumbs, Walnuts, Cheſnuts, and Pot-Herbs of all ſorts. They have alſo Potatoes, but theſe are more eſteemed in *Portugal* than in the Iſlands; and a peculiar Shrub, which growing up to the Height of five or ſix Feet, ſpreads its Roots by an infinite Number of Branches, as ſmall as the Hair of a Man's Head, of a yellowiſh Colour. They are uſed chiefly for their Quilts and Beds inſtead of Feathers, tho' there is not the leaſt Queſtion, but if they were ſpun into Thread, they would afford Materials for a very good Stuff. Cattle, and all ſorts of tame Fowl, as well as ſmall Birds, multiply here beyond what can be imagined; but they have neither Wild-Fowl nor Veniſon.

Their Wheat is exceeding good, but will not keep, unleſs it be put under Ground; for which Reaſon, each Family has its peculiar Vault, the Entrance whereof is no bigger than is ſufficient for one Man; thence they carry it, after *Chriſtmas*, to their Houſes, where they keep it in Cheſts of Bull-ruſhes the remaining Part of the Year, without ever ſtirring it. The Oxen of the Iſle of *Tercera* are the biggeſt and faireſt of all *Europe*, and very remarkable for the exceſſive Bigneſs of their Horns; they are as tame as our Dogs, and will go and come as they are bid. The Noiſe that is perceived when People go over the Rocks here ſufficiently demonſtrates their Hollowneſs within; whence ariſe Earthquakes, which are ſo frequent in this, as well as the other *Azore* Iſlands: Thus on the 24th of *May* 1614, eleven Churches and nine Chapels, beſides private Houſes, were ruined by an Earthquake; the City of *Angra*, and the City of *Praya*, were almoſt laid deſolate at the ſame Time, and the whole Iſle of *St. Michael* was ſo terribly ſhaken by an Earthquake, on the 16th of *June* 1628, that at ſome ſmall Diſtance from the Shore, the Sea opened in a Place where was 150 Fathom Water, and thence thruſt forth a ſmall Iſle of a League and an half in Length, at leaſt 60 Fathom above the Water. Theſe two Iſlands have alſo certain hot Springs, whence, and at ſome Diſtance from them, ariſe ſulphurous Vapours. About three Leagues from *Angra*, is a Spring which turns Wood to Stone, as is evidently to be ſeen by a certain Tree, the Root whereof, as far it hath been under Water, is abſolutely petrified, whereas the Trunk, and all the reſt, are not the leaſt changed. The Iſle of *Pico* has a peculiar ſort of Wood as hard as Iron, red as Scarlet, in which, when cut, appear certain Veins like the Watering of a Camblet, of which are made very fine Cabinets, which are highly eſteemed in *Portugal.* Cedar is ſo common among them, that they do not only uſe it for their ordinary houſhold Stuffs, but alſo for Fuel; nay, they make whole Waggons and Boats of it. They have ſcarce any Commodities except Proviſions, which they ſell to the Ships that touch here to take in Refreſhments, as they are going to the *Eaſt-Indies.*

The Iſle of *St. Michael* is about 20 Leagues long, lying 28 Leagues S. E. from that of *Tercera.* Its capital City is called *Punta Delgada*, its Soil very fruitful, producing more Wheat than they are able to conſume. The worſt is, that they have no ſafe Road for Ships to ride in. The Iſle of *St. Mary*, being not above twelve Leagues in Compaſs, lies twelve Leagues South from that of *St. Michael*; its Products are Proviſions and Potters Earth. The Iſle of *Gratioſa* lies ſeven or eight Leagues N. E. from that of *Tercera*, its Compaſs being not above five or ſix Leagues. It has got its Name from its Pleaſantneſs, and vaſt Plenty of all ſorts of Fruits. The Iſle of *St. George*, which is twelve Leagues long and broad, lies eight or nine Leagues to the N. W. from that of *Tercera.* It is well ſtocked with Proviſions, though it be full of Mountains, which furniſh them with vaſt Store of Cedar, which they ſell to thoſe of *Tercera*, where it is made into Joiners and Cabinet-makers Works, and tranſported thence to other Places.

The Iſle of *Fayal*, being at leaſt ſeventeen or eighteen Leagues in Circumference, lies ſeven Leagues to the S. W. off of that of *St. George*, being the beſt of all the *Azores* next to thoſe of *Tercera* and *St. Michael.* Its capital City is called *Villa-Deſta*, inhabited chiefly by the Poſterity of the *Flemings* we had Occaſion to mention before. They ſend hence abundance of Proviſions, but eſpecially Fiſh to the other Iſlands. The Iſle of *Pico* has its Name from the high Peak or Mountain within it called *Pico*, ſuppoſed to be as high as the Peak of the great *Canary Iſland*, of which I ſhall hereafter ſpeak. It lies incloſed betwixt the Iſles of *Fayal*, whence it is diſtant three Leagues to the S. E. of *St. George* and *Tercera*, from the firſt of which it lies four Leagues to the S. W. and from the latter twelve Leagues to the W. S. W. Their Lands are accounted more fertile here than thoſe of any of the other Iſles.

The Iſle of *Flores*, as we told you, we got Sight of the 29th of *November*, being ſeventy Leagues to the Weſt of *Tercera. Flores* is twenty Leagues in Circumference, and the Iſle of *Corvo* is no more than two Leagues Diſtance to the North: They are both under the *Portugueze*; but their Diſtance from the *Azores* ſhews them not to be of their Number. As the *Azores* lie very convenient for the Refreſhment of the *Portugueze* Ships bound to the *Eaſt-Indies* and *Braſil*, they are very careful of their Preſervation; whence it is they will allow no Foreigners to view the Coaſt of the Iſle of *Tercera*, for fear they ſhould, by its Weakneſs, be invited to land and ſettle there. The Air is very clear and wholſome, but withal very ſharp, ſo that it corrodes Iron, and conſumes Stones in a few Years, which is the Reaſon they uſe Flint Stones in their Buildings, which having lain for a conſiderable Time under Water near the Sea-ſide, are better qualified than other Stones to reſiſt the Sharpneſs of the Air.

But before we leave the *African* Coaſt, it will not be amiſs to ſay ſomething of the *Canary Iſlands* which lie upon the Coaſt oppoſite to *Gibraltar.* The Wholſomeneſs of the Air, and the Fertility of the Soil, procured them the Name of the *Inſulæ Fortunatæ* among the Ancients, though one of them is alſo called *Canaria* by *Pliny*, *Solinus*, and *Ptolemy*, which contradicts the Opinion of thoſe who affirm that thoſe who diſcovered them in the Year 1342 gave them the Name of *Canaries*, from the many Canes found there. They are ſeven in Number, *viz. Lanzarotta*, *Fortuventura*, the great Canary, *Teneriffa*, *Gomara*, and *Palma*, extending from Eaſt to Weſt, in a manner in a direct Line. *Lewis* Count *Clermont* having, in 1348, got a Grant from the Pope of theſe Iſlands, ſent out a Fleet to endeavour the Conqueſt of them, which was perfected accordingly under the Protection of the King of *Arragon*; but the ſame being afterwards relinquiſhed by *D. Lewis de la Cerda*, the *Biſcayans* and *Andaluſians* having ſent out ſome Veſſels, ſurpriſed the Iſle of *Lanzarotta*, whence they brought back ſo much Wealth, that the King of *Caſtile* then reſolved upon the Conqueſt of theſe Iſlands, which, doubtleſs, he would have effected, had not the more preſſing Wars he was engaged in with his Neighbours diverted him from that Purpoſe.

Not many Years after, a *French* Gentleman, named *John de Bethancourt*, having obtained a Commiſſion from *Henry* III. then King of *Spain*, to conquer theſe Iſlands, under the Condition that he and his Poſterity ſhould acknowledge the Sovereignty of the Crown of *Caſtile*, he was ſo fortunate as to make himſelf ſoon Maſter of the five leſſer Iſlands, but could not bring the two great ones under Subjection. However, the King of *Caſtile*, as Sovereign, having ſent thither a Biſhop, this occaſioned ſuch a Difference between him and *Bethancourt*'s Nephew, who had ſucceeded his Uncle, that the King of *Caſtile* was forced to ſend thither one *Pedro Barba*, who having forced the *Frenchmen* thence, gave the Iſlands, as a Dowry with his Daughter, to one *Perera*, who aſſuming the Name of King of the *Canaries*, left no Stone unturned to make himſelf Maſter of them all by the Conqueſt of the remaining Iſlands; but finding his Endeavours to prove fruitleſs, he ſold four of theſe Iſlands to *Ferdinand*, ſurnamed the Catholick King of *Arragon*, reſerving to himſelf only that of *Gomara*, with the Quality of an Earl. King *Ferdinand* had the good Fortune to reduce the two great Iſlands alſo, which ever ſince, as well as the reſt, have remained under the *Spaniſh* Juriſdiction.

The great *Canary* Iſle is computed to contain above nine thouſand Inhabitants, being alſo the Reſidence of the Biſhop, Inquiſitor, and Great Council, which manage the publick Affairs of all the other Iſles. Beſides that excellent Wine ſo well known and eſteemed in *Europe*, it produces Wheat, Barley, Honey, Wax, and Sugar-Canes, and the Plenty they have of Cattle makes them trade much in Leather with the *Spaniards*, *Engliſh*, *Dutch*, and *Hamburghers*; the firſt, in their Voyages to the *Weſt-Indies*, take moſt of their freſh Proviſions in here. The Iſle of *Teneriff* is famous for its Mountain called *El Pico*, being accounted the higheſt in the World, ſo that it may be diſcovered above ſixty Leagues at Sea; and on the Top a Man may ſee all the other *Canary Iſlands*, though ſome of them are fifty Leagues diſtant from this; but it requires three Days Time to get up, which muſt be either in *July* or *Auguſt*, it being covered with Snow all the reſt of the Year, though there falls none in any of thoſe Iſlands.

The Iſle of *Fierro* claims the next Place to that of *Teneriff*, among the Canary Iſlands; it has got its Name from the Drought of the Ground, which being without Water, ſeems to be of Iron: For, except a few Springs near the Sea-ſhore, this whole Iſland is without a Rivulet, Brook, Well, or Spring, againſt which Default provident Nature has bleſſed this Iſland with a certain Tree, which has no Reſemblance to any other I ever ſaw, either in *Europe* or the *Indies*, and ſtands in the very Centre of the Iſle; its Leaves are very long, but narrow, and never ceaſe to be green, neither in Winter or Summer. Betwixt the Branches hang Clouds, which are never diſpelled, but are conſtantly diſſolved in a liquid Subſtance, which hanging to the Leaves, fall from thence as clear as Water into the Ciſterns that are made under the Tree on purpoſe to receive it, and that in ſuch great Quantities, that they are never empty, but provide ſufficient Quantities to ſupply both Men and Beaſts.

It is the Opinion of the Inhabitants, and thoſe that have frequently ſailed in theſe Parts, that a hundred Leagues Weſt of the *Canaries* there has been ſeen a certain Iſland called *St. Borondon*, very pleaſant and fruitful, and inhabited by Chriſtians; but are not able to tell you how it came to be peopled, and what Language is in Uſe there. The *Spaniards* inhabiting the *Canaries* have made ſeveral Attempts to find it out; but whether the thick Fogs which ſurround it, or the Current of the Sea, which keeps Ships from the Shore, is the Occaſion that it has not been diſcovered, certain it is, that nobody hitherto has been able to give a ſatisfactory Account of it.

28. But to return to our Voyage; the Wind turning to the South the 29th of *November*, we took our Courſe to the North, leaving the Iſle of *Flores* to the Eaſt of us, and ſoon loſt Sight of that as well as of the Iſle of *Corvo*. The 30th of *November* we made thirty-one Leagues to the North with a South-South-weſt Wind, and at Noon found ourſelves in 40° 32' Latitude. *December* the 3d we made thirty-four Leagues with the ſame Wind and Courſe; and the 4th, a North-eaſt Wind advanced us twenty-ſeven Leagues to Eaſt-North-eaſt. The 5th the Wind coming to the South-weſt, we continued the ſame Courſe, and got thirty-ſeven Leagues. It was this Day exactly eleven Months ſince we had been toſſed up and down the Sea, though our Voyage had been tolerable enough ever ſince our Departure from *Madagaſcar*. The 6th it blew a Storm out of the Eaſt, but the Wind being for us, we advanced fifty Leagues. It is obſervable, that as ſoon as you are paſſed the *Azores* Iſlands, you may aſſure yourſelf of a Weſt Wind, let it be what Seaſon of the Year it will, till you come to the Coaſt of *England*, it being very ſeldom known that it turns either directly to the South or North, tho' perhaps it may change a few Points of the Compaſs.

The 7th the Wind turning to the Weſt, we ſailed thirty-nine Leagues to the Eaſt-North-eaſt. The 8th we made forty-ſeven Leagues, with a very briſk Gale, to the South-eaſt, keeping the ſame Courſe; and the 9th, with a South-South-weſt Wind, made thirty-one Leagues to the North-North-eaſt. We found ourſelves in 49° 13', the Weather being very cold, and a ſandy white Bottom at ſixty-eight Fathom, and in the Evening ſounding again, found but fifty-three Fathom, the Sand not ſo white as in the Morning. The Wind chopping about to the North-Eaſt in the Night, was directly in our Teeth till the 10th about Noon, when coming to the South-weſt, we made twenty-two Leagues. The 11th we eſpied, at Break of Day, two *Engliſh* Ships, and in a few Hours after, that Point of *Cornwall* called the *Land's-End*; we endeavoured to double the Point, the Wind being contrary, and with much ado made ſixteen Leagues. The 12th, the Wind being full againſt us, we continued lowering, and at a Diſtance we ſaw another *Engliſh* Veſſel, but could not come near it. The 13th the Wind being at South-weſt and South South-weſt, we ſteered our Courſe to the Eaſt-South-eaſt, and to the Eaſt, with a Point to the South. We made ſixty-four Leagues to 49° Latitude the 14th, after having changed our Courſe to the Eaſt-North-eaſt, in order to make the Channel which divides *England* from *France*.

We ſaw two *Dutch* Veſſels and a *Dunkirker* not far from us; but the Roaring of the Sea prevented our hearing one another. The fifteenth we ſteered the ſame Courſe, and met with three *Dutch* Ships bound for *Braſil*, not far from the *Iſle of Wight*, which lies in 50° 26' Latitude, and 19° 4' Longitude. The 16th, by Ten in the Morning, we paſſed in Sight of *Dover* Caſtle, and about Noon came to an Anchor in the *Downs*, and this completed our Voyage in the 12th Month after our Departure from *Surat*. We ſaw there near a hundred Ships riding at Anchor, in Expectation of fair Weather, it being ſo boiſterous, that for two Days after we could not ſtir out of our Ship. The *Engliſh* Admiral, who was then with ſome Men of War in the *Downs*, invited the 19th (when the Wind was ſomewhat laid) the Preſident to Dinner, who taking me along with him, I had my Share in the Entertainment, which was ſo magnificent both for Meat, and the great Quantity of Plate, that the King's Table could ſcarce have been better ſerved in *London*.

As we were extremely well pleaſed with our Entertainment, ſo it was near Night before we got into our Boat. Our Ship lay not above a Muſket Shot from the Admiral; but no ſooner were we got into it, than a ſudden Storm forced us to Sea, the Waves continually coming over our Boat, ſo that we were obliged to make the beſt Shift we could to caſt out the Water, without Intermiſſion, with our Hats. We now began to reflect, how that, after we had ſurmounted ſo many Dangers during this tedious Voyage, we ſhould at laſt be ſhipwrecked in Sight of our dear Country, and in that very Part whither we were come with ſo much Danger to ſeek for Safety; but, to be ſhort, we were for four Hours thus betwixt Hope and Deſpair, when at laſt we got Sight of a ſmall Veſſel, but ſo miſerably torn by the Tempeſt, that it had loſt all its Anchors but one, which was not ſtrong enough to keep it from being forced out to Sea. However, we betook ourſelves to our Oars, ſitting up to our Waiſts in Water, and with much ado reached the Veſſel, in which in effect we were not much ſafer than in our Boat, as being in Danger to be ſtaved againſt a dangerous Sand-bank, which was not far off; but the Cold we had endured in the Ship had ſo diſabled us in all reſpects, that we were not apprehenſive of our Condition, being in a manner half-dead the next Day, when we were brought to our Veſſel, where they had given us over for loſt, and bewailed our Death.

On the 24th another Tempeſt aroſe, which was ſo violent, that twenty-four Ships were forced to cut their Maſts, among the Number of which was alſo our Veſſel, not ſo much by the Tempeſt, as for two Men of War being forced from their Anchors, which would elſe have run foul upon us. The 26th we got at laſt to the ſo long-wiſhed-for *Engliſh* Shore, and lay the ſame Night at *Canterbury*, the Cathedral of which claims the Preference before any other in *England*, and is not inferior to ſome of the beſt Structures in the World. The 27th we came to *Graveſend*, and the 28th to *London*, being met in our Way by certain Directors of the *Eaſt-India* Company, who ſtaid for the Preſident's coming at *Blackwall*, with eight Coaches.

29. On the 30th I viewed the *Eaſt-India* Houſe, and took that Opportunity to return Thanks to the Directors for the many Civilities I had received at the Preſident's Hands; and they having made a ſplendid Entertainment for him that Day, I was alſo invited. The 31ſt, and the 1ſt of *January*, we were ſplendidly treated by ſome *Engliſh* Merchants, and the 2d by Sir *Edmund Wright*, the then Lord-Mayor of *London*. As he was much delighted in the Relation of the many Adventures that had befallen us during our Voyage, ſo he would needs invite the Preſident and me again the next Day, our Diſcourſe running upon the many Dangers we had eſcaped.

The Lord Mayor, to ſhew us that Sea-faring People were ſubject to ſuch, and often eſcaped much greater Danger, related to us a Story of a certain *Dutch* Seaman, who, being for ſome Crimes condemned to Death, his Puniſhment was changed into that of Baniſhment into the Iſle of *St. Helens*, near which they were, which was done accordingly. This poor Wretch, thinking this Solitude inſupportable to him, reſolved rather to hazard his Life at any Rate, than to endure it; and having met with a Coffin, in which a Sea Officer had been interred the Day before, he, without more ado, took out the dead Corpſe; and having cut out the upper Board of the Coffin, made a kind of Rudder, put himſelf into it, and ſo went out to Sea: As good Chance would have it, the Ship unto which he had belonged, was becalmed at a League and an half Diſtance from the Shore; and the Ship's Crew obſerving ſo odd a kind of Veſſel floating on the Surface of the Water, thought it had been an Apparition, till, coming nearer and nearer the Ship, they ſtood amazed at this unaccountable Boldneſs of the Man, who had ventured ſo far in two or three Pieces of Boards, without being aſſured whether he ſhould be received or not. It being put to the Queſtion, it was at laſt reſolved he ſhould be taken on board, which was done accordingly; and he returned to *Holland*, where he lived afterwards in the Town of *Horn*.

He gave us another Inſtance of this kind, of an *Engliſhman*, who, being taken by a *French* Privateer in the Pacquet-Boat going from *England* to *Dublin*, was freed from the Privateer by a ſudden Storm, which parted them, but ſoon after ſplit the Pacquet-Boat againſt a Rock on the Coaſt of *Scotland*, oppoſite to that of *Ireland*. The *Engliſhman*, with another of the Crew, happened to be caſt away upon the Rocks, where they made a ſhift to erect a Hut out of ſome Boards belonging to their Ship. They lived upon the Sea-mews they catched, which they dried in the Sun, and ſo they eat them raw; as alſo upon certain Eggs they found in the Crevices of the Rocks, which kept them from ſtarving: But their greateſt Want was freſh Water, of which they had none but what the Rain helped them to. They continued in this Condition ſix Weeks; at the Expiration of which the *Engliſhman*, waking in the Morning, miſſed his Companion (whom he ſuppoſed to be fallen from the Rock through Careleſneſs) the only Comfort of his Life. In this Solitude, which almoſt threw him into Deſpair, eſpecially when the approaching Winter made every thing appear with a more doleful Aſpect than before, his Hut being covered with Snow, he made the hardeſt Shift in the World to ſuſtain himſelf, till after a miſerable Life of eleven Months, ſome Seamen belonging to a *Flemiſh* Ship, commanded by Captain *Peckman*, famous for his Art in getting out the great Guns of the *Spaniſh Armada*, forced upon the Coaſt of *Scotland* and *Ireland* in 1588, by Tempeſt, as they were looking for Eggs, diſcovered this poor Wretch, whom, at laſt, with many Entreaties, they took into their Veſſel, being all black, hairy, and meagre, more like a Spectre than a Man; and having given him what Refreſhments the Ship afforded, ſet him aſhore at *Derry* in *Ireland*, from whence he afterwards returned into *England*.

A third Relation he was pleaſed to give us of a moſt ſurpriſing Reſolution of four Seamen, who, being taken by the *Algerines*, and one of them being a Carpenter, they reſolved to make a ſmall Boat, and venture in it in the open Sea, in order to their Deliverance; accordingly, having ſecretly made what Preparation they could for the Execution of this Deſign, they took off five Boards from the Store-Room, two whereof were employed for the Bottom of the Boat, two more for the Sides, and the fifth for the Prow and Poop, their Quilt ſerving for Tow. The Boat being well pitched, and the appointed Time come, they found that their Boat was ſo little as not to contain above two, ſo that two of the Confederates were obliged to ſtay behind; the other two, being an *Engliſhman* and a *Dutchman*, perſiſting in their Reſolution to go forward, let it coſt what it would; accordingly, having found Means to provide a Pair of Oars, a Piece of a Sail, and a ſlender Portion of Bread and freſh Water, they boldly put to Sea, having neither Compaſs nor Aſtrolabe; ſo that being overtaken by a Storm, they were forced to go where the Wind would carry them, their chief Buſineſs being to caſt out the Water which continually came into the Boat, and ſoon ſpoiled what little Bread they had; which, together with the Want of Reſt, had brought them ſo low, that they were ſcarce able to ſtand on their Legs. In this miſerable Condition Chance brought them to the Coaſt of *Barbary*, where lighting on ſome Wood, that ſerved them to refit and enlarge their Boat; which they had no ſooner done, but being in manifeſt Danger of being killed by the Inhabitants, were forced to chuſe the main Sea a ſecond Time, and, at laſt, after being toſſed up and down in the Sea for ten Days, were caſt upon the *Spaniſh* Coaſts near the Cape of *St. Martin*, between *Alicant* and *Valentia*, where, being civilly entertained by the Inhabitants, they after came into *England*.

30. On the 6th I ſaw the King of *England* touch many Perſons that were afflicted with the *Evil*, and the Ceremony being over, my Lord *Strafford* did me the Honour to introduce me to his Majeſty to kiſs his Hand, and afterwards to the Queen; both their Majeſties, at ſeveral Times after, being pleaſed to beſtow ſome Time in hearing my Relations of my Travels, eſpecially of thoſe into *Perſia* and *Muſcovy*. During my Stay of three Months in *England*, I ſpent Part of my Time at Court, and the reſt in taking a View of what was moſt worthy of Obſervation in *London*, and the adjacent Places, ſuch as *White-Hall*, *St. James's*, *Hampton-Court*, *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and the *Abby*, *Greenwich*, the *Tower*, &c. And having by this Time ſufficiently recovered myſelf of the Fatigue of ſo tedious a Voyage, and received the Money I expected from my native Country, I left *London* on the 20th of *March*, and taking Water for *Graveſend*, went thence for *Rocheſter*, and coming the 24th to *Dover*, embarked the 28th for *Dunkirk*, where I arrived the ſame Day. The 26th I continued my Journey thence to *Newport*, where I ſtayed that Night, and came the next Day to *Bruges*, and the 29th to *Ghent*, where I ſtayed only to the 21ſt of *April*, when I proſecuted my Journey to *Bruſſels*, the capital City of the Province of *Brabant*. After a Stay of two Days at *Bruſſels*, I came the 5th to *Louvain*, and travelled the ſame Day four Leagues farther to *Mechlin*; thence I proſecuted my Journey the 6th to *Antwerp*, where I ſtayed two Days, and the 9th and 10th travelled to *Breda*, where, having ſpent the Remainder of that Day, I made five Leagues the next Day to *Bois-le-duc*, or *Bolduc*.

The 12th I ſet forward again for *Gertrudenburg*, whence I took Boat the ſame Day for *Rotterdam*, where I arrived the 13th, and continued my Journey the ſame Day for *Delft*, and ſo farther through the *Hague*, by the Way of *Leyden* to *Harlem*. This City, which is the biggeſt next to *Amſterdam* in the Province of *Holland*, challengeth the Glory of the Invention of the Myſtery of Printing by one of its Inhabitants, named *Laurence Coſtar*, who, in the Year 1420, firſt made the Characters of Beech-wood, and afterwards having alſo found out the Ink that to this Day is uſed by Printers, he changed the wooden Characters into leaden ones; and having at laſt made them of Tin, he brought the whole to Perfection in 1440; in Memory of which the Senate of *Harlem* have cauſed the following Inſcription to be ſet over the Houſe he lived in.

Memoriæ Sacrum, Typographia, Ars Artium omnium conſervatrix, nunc primùm inventa circa Annum 1440.

Leaving *Harlem* in the Evening, I came the ſame Night to *Amſterdam*, of which Place having heard ſo much in the *Indies*, I reſolved to ſpend ſome Time in taking a View of it. The firſt Thing that ſurpriſed me the next Morning was, that vaſt Number of People which ſo crouded the Streets, that a Man could very hardly paſs; but when I came to the Port, I ſtood amazed at the prodigious Number of Ships, which appeared at a Diſtance no otherwiſe than one continued Foreſt, eſpecially when I was informed how many Ships were abroad at that Time, bound to all Parts of the World; and that I ſaw every Day a conſiderable Number go to their own, and other adjacent Coaſts. The vaſt Stores brought thither even from all the moſt remote Parts of the World, eſpecially in the Houſe of the *Eaſt India* Company, made me imagine no otherwiſe than that all I had ſeen in my Travels thro' ſo great a Part of the Globe, was centered in this Place, there being ſuch prodigious Quantities of Spices, Silk, and Porcelain here, that *China*, and all the reſt of the *Indies*, ſeemed to have exhauſted their Store-houſes, to lay them up in this City.

It was in the Year 1595, that the *Dutch*, by the Encouragement of a certain Merchant, whoſe Name was *Cornelius Houtman*, and who had lived a conſiderable Time in *Portugal*, undertook the firſt Voyage to the *Eaſt-Indies*, along the *African* Coaſt; their Deſign of finding out the Northern Paſſage having proved abortive. The firſt Voyage did not anſwer the Expectation of the Merchants, notwithſtanding which they ſent eight Ships more thither. In 1598 and 1599, they ſent another Squadron, but by different Owners, ſo that, for fear of deſtroying this ſo powerful a Trade, a Charter was granted to all the Perſons concerned in 1602, for twenty Years, and ſix Chambers erected, *viz.* at *Amſterdam*, conſiſting of twenty Directors; *Middleborough* for *Zealand*, twelve Directors; at *Delft*, and *Rotterdam* for the *Maeſe*; at *Horn*, and *Enkhuiſen* for *Weſt-Friezland*; theſe four laſt conſiſting each of Seven Directors. According to the ſame Charter the City of *Amſterdam* was to defray one Half of all the Charges, and to ſend eight Deputies to their general Meetings, and thoſe of the *Maeſe* and *Weſt-Friezland* one Half-Quarter each, and to ſend two Deputies each.

Their original Stock amounted to 6,600,000 *French* Livres, which was improved to that Degree, that in the Year 1613 the Perſons concerned had gained two hundred and ſixty upon the hundred, and the next Year the Profits were more conſiderable. The Regularity of the

Streets and Water-channels, and the Neatneſs and Splendor of the Bridges and Houſes of *Amſterdam* is not to be imagined, except by thoſe who have been Eye-witneſſes of it, eſpecially thoſe in the new Town, and many of which ought rather to be called Palaces than the Houſes of private Perſons. Among the publick Structures the old and new Churches are worth Obſervation, and if the Town-houſe be completed, according to the Draught I ſaw of it, it will, beyond Queſtion, vie with any of the nobleſt Structures in the World, and the *Exchange* of *Amſterdam* ſurpaſſes that of *London*, in the Number of People that daily reſort thither, as it does that of *Antwerp* in Magnificence; not to mention here the Gates of the City, and its three Sluices, which cannot be matched in the World, the publick School, College, Arſenal, a Play-houſe, Anatomy-hall, and other publick Edifices, which deſerve the Travellers peculiar Obſervation. But to come to a Concluſion of my Voyage; after a Stay of eight Days at *Amſterdam*, I took Shipping for *Hamburgh* the 23d of *April*, where I arrived ſafely the 28th, and after I had reſted myſelf there for one Day and Night, continued my Journey to *Gottorp*, which I reached the 1ſt of *May*, and had the Honour to be admitted to their Highneſſes the Duke and Ducheſs of *Holſtein*, unto whom I gave a ſhort Account of the Succeſs of my long and toilſome Travels.

31. The Obſervations publiſhed by our Author are of a mixed Nature, Part of them from his own Knowledge, and Part from Information. It may be neceſſary therefore to ſay ſomewhat as to the Reaſons which induced us to prefer theſe Obſervations to thoſe of other Men, who might be Eye-witneſſes of all they wrote. In the firſt place, let it be conſidered, that it is neceſſary to give the Reader the moſt Matter poſſible in the leaſt Room, and therefore one extenſive and well-wrote Voyage anſwers this End better than ſeveral, and at the ſame time avoids uſeleſs and tedious Repetitions. The merit of the Writer was another great Conſideration. It is manifeſt from the Commiſſion with which he was intruſted, that he was a Man of Abilities, or otherwiſe he would not have been choſen. It appears from the foregoing Part of his Travels, that his Conduct juſtified their Choice, and that he made it his Buſineſs to bring back into *Germany* the cleareſt and beſt Intelligence that could be had, with regard to the Deſign which his Maſter had then in View and that was the Opening a new Channel of Trade between *Europe* and the *Indies*. The ſame Reaſons therefore that recommended him to, and procured him the Approbation of, his Maſter, gave his Works a Title to a place in this Collection, notwithſtanding the Objections to which they may ſeem liable at the firſt Sight. But farther ſtill; he was not only a Man of great Judgment himſelf, but of great Experience alſo; and as he was very capable of diſtinguiſhing upon Information what was fit for him to report, and what not, ſo he was no leſs careful in ſeeking his Information from ſuch as had it moſt in their Power to inſtruct, and at the ſame time were leaſt likely to impoſe upon him. The Advantage he had of conſulting the *Engliſh* Preſident upon what he was told by the *Spaniards* and *Portugueze* muſt have been of infinite Service, by enabling him to correct and explain whatever he received from them; therefore taking all theſe Advantages together, we may very ſafely conclude, that there hardly ever was a Voyage Writer better qualified to deliver what was fit for the Publick to ſee than our Author.

It remains to give ſome Account of that Prince by whoſe Direction theſe Voyages were undertaken, the Views he had in cauſing them to be undertaken, and the Conſequences of ſuch extraordinary and hazardous Undertakings ſo well and happily performed. *Frederick* the third, Duke of *Holſtein Gottorp*, was the Son of *John Frederick*, Sovereign of that Country, and the Princeſs *Auguſta*, Daughter to *Frederick* the ſecond, King of *Denmark*. He ſucceeded his Father in his Dominions in the Year 1616, and having ſpent a great Part of his Time in improving his Country, ſettling new Manufactures there, and opening a free Commerce to *Sweden*, *Poland*, and *Ruſſia*, he began about the Year 1630 to think of putting in Execution a Project which had long employed his Thoughts, by which he hoped thoroughly to people, and greatly to enrich, his new City of *Frederickſtadt*. He was led to this by the Incitement of ſome Merchants whom he had drawn to ſettle in his Country by the great Encouragements he gave them, and who ſuggeſted the Poſſibility of bringing into and ſettling the Silk Trade in his Dominions. At firſt Sight this muſt appear a very ſtrange and almoſt impracticable Project; but when attentively conſidered it will appear in quite another Light.

We muſt in the firſt place conſider, that the Northern Countries of *Europe* were at that Time entirely ſupplied with all Kinds of Silk Manufactures from the Southern Countries, and theſe at the greateſt Diſtance from them, which was attended with many and great Inconveniencies; beſides the capital Miſchief of ſending annually vaſt Sums of Money in return for thoſe Manufactures. The only Remedy that could be applied to theſe Miſchiefs was the eſtabliſhing this Commoditity in the North by breeding and managing Silk-worms there, which was indeed a tedious, hazardous, and in all human Appearance, impracticable Undertaking, or elſe to ſink a Step lower, and be content to import the Silk in the moſt reaſonable Method, and at the loweſt Price, ſo that the manufacturing it might prove ſufficiently profitable to the People engaged therein. This Deſign too, though leſs difficult than the other, ſeemed hard enough to compaſs, ſince a Voyage from the *Baltick* to the *Mediterranean*, which was the only means whereby either *French*, *Spaniſh*, or *Italian* Silks could be brought to *Holſtein*, muſt have been neceſſarily attended with ſuch an Expence, and the Silks imported would have come at ſo dear a Rate, that it would have been impoſſible, for many Years at leaſt, to have manufactured them to any Advantage. The Commerce of the *Levant*, and the importing Silk from *Aleppo*, or *Smyrna*, muſt have been attended with ſtill greater Difficulties and Expence, ſo that on this Side there ſeemed to be no Hopes of compaſſing ſuch a Deſign.

But *Philip Cruſius*, who firſt engaged the Duke to think of this Scheme, immediately obviated theſe Objections by ſhewing that the *Perſian* Silks might be had ſooner, and at a cheaper Rate in *Holſtein* than in any of the Countries where they were then manufactured. The Way he propoſed was through *Muſcovy*, the Frontiers of which are divided from thoſe of *Perſia* by the *Caſpian* Sea, the Silk Provinces of *Perſia* lying on the Coaſts of that Sea, ſo that the tranſporting them croſs the *Ruſſian* Empire could ſcarce be eſteemed a more laborious or difficult Undertaking than the conveying them by Caravans from *Perſia* through the *Turkiſh* Empire to *Smyrna* or *Aleppo*; and conſequently, if this Scheme could be executed, the Ports of *Ruſſia*, which were very near, would ſerve as effectually for the Silk Manufacture in *Holſtein*, as the Ports of the *Levant* for the Southern Parts of *Europe*. Theſe were the Principles upon which *Cruſius* went, and on which the Embaſſy, which Duke *Frederick* ſent into *Perſia*, was undertaken. Our Author's Journey from *Perſia* into the *Indies* was, as we have before repreſented it, an additional Project to this, of eſtabliſhing a Silk Manufacture; and the Grounds upon which the Duke went in this were likewiſe very juſt and reaſonable, as in a very few Words we ſhall be able to ſhew. He was informed that a great Trade was carried on between *Perſia* and *India* by Land; and therefore he very rightly conceived, that if his firſt Scheme took place, it might be very practicable to bring the *Indian* Commodities and Manufactures from *Perſia* to the Coaſt of the *Caſpian* Sea, and conſequently, together with the Silk, through *Ruſſia* into his own Dominions.

This, I ſay, was that Prince's Deſign, and I thought it the more neceſſary to inſiſt upon it at large, becauſe there is not a Word dropped about it by our Author; on the contrary, his Obſervations look all another Way, and he ſeems to have employed himſelf chiefly in remarking on the *Portugueze*, *Engliſh*, and *Dutch* Commerce in the *Indies*; which Obſervations, as they were fitteſt to be publiſhed to the World, were likewiſe beſt ſuited to conceal the true Deſign of his Voyages. I muſt take this Opportunity of remarking, that all the Civilities ſhewn him by Strangers in thoſe Parts of the World, may be accounted for from hence, I mean from their being morally certain, that the better he was acquainted, and the more thoroughly he was informed of the Nature of their Trade, the more impracticable his Maſter's Deſign would appear of interfering therein, by a direct Navigation to the *Indies*, which they all along apprehended to be the Duke of *Holſtein*'s Deſign; and therefore thought, and very juſtly too, that a better Method than this could not be deviſed to defeat it. This likewiſe accounts for the rendering the Ambaſſador's and our Author's Accounts publick, in which, though all the Tranſactions are in themſelves equally curious and entertaining, yet they make known little or nothing that relates to the Duke's real Projects, and are therefore conſidered in this Light as nothing more than political Amuſements.

It muſt, however, be acknowledged, that all theſe fine Schemes, though built upon juſt Principles, and purſued with great Wiſdom and Prudence, proved in the End abſolutely ineffectual, which was owing to the Wars and other Confuſions that fell out ſoon after, both in *Germany* and *Ruſſia*; in the firſt of which the Duke of *Holſtein* himſelf had his Share, ſo that the Event ought not in the leaſt to prejudice our Opinion againſt the Duke's Deſign, which has been ſince revived by other great Princes, and will be ſome Time or other effectually executed, and thereby a new Turn given to the Commerce of the *Indies*. The Czar *Alexis Michael*, in the Year 1668, revived this Project, which was then diſappointed by the Rebellion of the *Coſſacks*, who made themſelves Maſters of the City of *Aſtracan*, and thereby cut off for a Time the Correſpondence between *Ruſſia* and *Perſia*. It was with this View alſo, that the late Czar *Peter the Great*, who underſtood all thoſe Points better than any of his Predeceſſors, and perhaps better than any other Prince of his Time in *Europe*, made himſelf Maſter of all the Provinces bordering on his Side the *Caſpian* Sea, and thereby bid very fair for engroſſing the whole Silk Trade, that is, ſo far as it depends upon *Perſia*.

I might here put the Reader in mind, that we too have very lately proceeded upon this Plan, and have very happily begun to eſtabliſh, by the Means of our *Ruſſian* Company, this very Commerce with *Perſia* through the *Muſcovite* Empire, which is more than ſufficient to ſhew, that the Duke of *Holſtein*'s Scheme, though it actually failed by unforeſeen and unavoidable Accidents, was in its Nature perfectly juſt and well founded, ſince, if it can be rendered uſeful and practicable to us, it muſt not only have been more uſeful, and more practicable to him, who was ſo near a Neighbour to *Ruſſia*, but all Circumſtances conſidered, the wiſeſt and beſt laid Scheme for the Improvement of his Dominions that perhaps was within the Compaſs of the human Underſtanding to invent or contrive.

Thus I have done all that lies in my Power to render theſe Voyages intelligible to the *Engliſh* Reader in their utmoſt Extent, by explaining many Things that have hitherto ſlept in Obſcurity, and might poſſibly have been buried therein for ever, if theſe Voyages had not been made a Part of this Collection.

SECTION XXVIII.

A Supplemental Account of the Commodities, Manufactures, and Produce of the ſeveral Countries of the Indies, *together with Remarks on the Nature and Value of that Trade in reſpect to* Europe.

From the Works of *John Baptiſt Tavernier.*

1. *An Introductory Account of the Contents of the Section.* 2. *A ſuccinct View of the Silk, Cotton, Indigo, Spice and Drug Trade in the* Indies. 3. *The Nature of the Diamond Mines, the Manner of their working them, and the Value of their Produce.* 4. *The Mines in the Iſland of* Borneo, *the Nature of the Stones found there, and an Account of the largeſt Diamonds in the World.* 5. *Of coloured Stones, ſuch as Rubies, Opals, Saphires, Turquoiſes, and Emeralds.* 6. *Of the Pearl Fiſheries in the* Eaſt *and* Weſt-Indies, *and of the Difference in point of Size, Shape, and Colour of thoſe Jewels.* 7. *Of Coral Fiſheries, and of the Value of this Commodity in the* Indies. 8. *Of Amber, Ambergris, Muſk, and other Perfumes.* 9. *Of the Bezoar in Cows, Goats, and Apes, their different Virtues and Values, and of the Porcupine and Serpent Stones.* 10. *Of the Gold, Silver, and Tin Mines of the* Indies. 11. *A Deſcription of the Kingdom of* Kachemire, *called the Paradiſe of the* Indies, *and its Produce.* 12. *Of the Provinces of* Multan, Candahar, Cabuliſtan, *and* Lahor. 13. *Of the Provinces of* Haoud *and* Varad, *and of the Fruits and Commodities which they produce.* 14. *Of other Provinces of the Mogul Empire, and of what is moſt remarkable in each of them.* 15. *A Deſcription of the Country of* Bengal, *one of the pleaſanteſt and moſt fruitful Countries of the* Indies. 16. *Of the rich Kingdom of* Boutan, *its Inhabitants, Commodities, and Manufactures.* 17. *Of the Power, Splendor, and Magnificence of the Monarch of that Country.* 18. *Of the Kingdom of* Tipra, *and of the Gold and Silk Trade carried on there.* 19. *Of the noble Kingdom of* Aſem, *and of the rich Mines in that Country; as alſo of Gum Lac and other valuable Commodities which it produces.* 20. *Of* Tonquin, *and its Products.* 21. *A conciſe Hiſtory of that famous Kingdom.*

1. AS we have in the foregoing Sections given great Lights into the Commerce of the *Indies* from Authors beſt acquainted with them, and of the higheſt Reputation, ſo, by way of Supplement to theſe, we ſhall add ſuch Chapters of Mr. *Tavernier*'s Travels as are fitteſt to complete that Deſign, reſerving the Reſt of his Work for the ſucceeding Volume, to which it properly belongs. His Character is ſo well known and eſtabliſhed in the World, that it may ſeem very unneceſſary to ſay any thing of it in this Place, and therefore we ſhall content ourſelves with a very few Obſervations that ſeem more immediately requiſite, in order to connect what we have taken from him with what we have given before on the ſame Subject from others. He was not only a Traveller, but a Merchant alſo, and therefore ſpoke from a perfect Knowledge and Experience in the Matters of which he writes, and more particularly with regard to the Commodities and Manufactures of theſe Countries, in which he dealt for many Years with great Succeſs.

He is more copious, and at the ſame time no leſs exact, than any of the Authors who have attempted to point out the Advantages derived from our Commerce in the Eaſt, by which I mean in general the Commerce of the *Europeans*. We diſcover in his Writings a greater Compaſs of Thought, and a more maſterly Turn in his Obſervations, than in almoſt any other Book of the kind, which is owing to his having conſidered theſe things over and over, in conſequence of the ſeveral Voyages he had made to the *Indies*, and the Pains he had taken to make himſelf Maſter of every thing that had any Relation to the Diſpoſition of *Indian* Commodities after they were brought to *Europe*. It muſt be allowed, that this ſometimes tempts him to digreſs a little from his Subject, and run into a general Repreſentation of the State of the ſame Sort of Commerce in other

Parts of the World; but ſtill this proves ſo far from being tedious and unpleaſant, that we may ſafely affirm, there are no Paſſages in his Writings, either more curious or more inſtructive. It was for this Reaſon that we judged it requiſite to give them entire, without venturing to caſtrate, or interpolate them, which would only diſtract the Author's Senſe, without anſwering any good Purpoſe. After an accurate Account of the State of *Moguliſtan*, at the Time he travelled through it, he proceeds thus:

2. *Kaſembaſar*, a Village in the Kingdom of *Bengal*, ſends abroad every Year twenty-two thouſand Bales of Silk, every Bale being a hundred Weight, which are bought up, either by the *Dutch*, or Merchants of *Tartary* and *Moguliſtan*, to make up their Carpets; ſome all Silk, and others mixed with Silver and Gold, which being for the moſt part made in the Province of *Guzurat*, are ſold either at *Amadabat*, or *Surat*. The Worſted Carpets are made at *Vettapour*, twelve Leagues from *Agra*; Sattins, ſome plain, others ſtreaked with Gold; Taffaties of the ſame Faſhion; Patoles, a very thin Silk Stuff, painted with all ſorts of Flowers. The raw Silk of *Kaſembaſar* is yellowiſh, as that of *Sicily* and that of *Perſia* is; but they can whiten it with a Lye made of the Aſhes of a Tree called *Adam*'s Fig-tree, that it ſhall be like that of *Paleſtine*. In the Kingdom of *Golconda* are made the painted Calicoes (Calicuts) called Chintzes by the Merchants, but Calmender by the Natives, becauſe they are painted with a Pencil.

There are Chintzes made in *Moguliſtan*, but they are all printed, and nothing ſo fine or beautiful as the former. Theſe ſerve for Coverlets of Beds, Table-cloths, Pillowbiers, Handkerchiefs, but eſpecially for Waiſtcoats both for Men and Women. The fine Calicut Chintzes made at *Brampour* are uſed all over *Aſia* for Ormis, or Womens Veils; the Baſtas, or Calicuts, painted red, blue, and black, are carried white to *Agra* and *Amadabat* to be dyed; ſome they dye like watered Camblets, which increaſe their Price. The white Calicuts are woven in ſeveral Places in *Bengal* and *Moguliſtan*, and are carried to *Raioxſary* and *Baroche* to be whitened, becauſe of the large Meadows and Plenty of Lemons that grow thereabouts, for they are never ſo white as they ſhould be till they are dipped in Lemon-Water: They are of two ſorts, wide and narrow, but of various Lengths; ſome Calicuts are made ſo fine, you can hardly feel them in your Hand, and the Thread when ſpun is ſcarce diſcernable. Cotton twiſted and untwiſted comes from the Provinces of *Brampour* and *Guzarat*; but the latter is ſeldom exported, unleſs it be to *Ormuz*, *Balſora*, or the *Philippine* Iſles.

Indigo comes from ſeveral Parts of the *Mogul*'s Country, but differs in Quality; the beſt comes from the Territories of *Biaria*, *Indocea*, and *Corſa*, a Day or two's Journey from *Agra*: That which is made flat of this ſort comes from *Sarqueſſe*, a Day's Journey from *Surat*: The Indigo which is made in *Golconda* is inferior in Goodneſs; as alſo that which is made up at *Baroche* and *Agra*, though this laſt is moſt ſought for, becauſe it is made up in half Balls. The worſt ſort is that made at *Bengal*, *Brampour*, and *Amadabat*. It is made of an Herb much like our Hemp, which is ſown every Year after the Rains. They cut it three Times every Year; but the firſt Cutting makes the beſt Indigo, and the ſecond better than the third: It is known by the Briſkneſs of the Colour. When they have cut it, they caſt it into Pits half full of Water, which they raiſe to the Brim, with the Herb put into it, and then pound it about till it becomes as thick as Mud; then they let it ſettle for ſome Days, and afterwards drain the Water out of it, which done, they take it up in Baſkets, and making it up flat at the Bottom, and ſharp at the Top like an Egg, ſet it in the Sun to dry. Great Quantities of Saltpetre come from *Agra* to *Patna*; but that which is refined is three Times the Value of that which is not.

Cardamum, which is the moſt excellent of all Spices, grows in the Territories of *Viſapour*, and becauſe there is no great Store of it where it grows, it is only made uſe of in *Aſia* at the Tables of the greateſt Princes. Ginger grows in the Dominions of the Great Mogul, and is brought in great Quantities from *Amadabat*, where it grows more than in any other Part of *Aſia*, and it is hardly to be imagined how much is tranſported candied into other Parts. Pepper is of two Sorts, the ſmall and the great; the ſmall comes from *Bantam*, *Achen*, and ſome other Parts of the Eaſt; it is ſeldom or never carried out of *Aſia*, where it is ſpent in great Quantities, eſpecially among the *Mohammedans*; for there is double the Grain of this ſmall Pepper in one Pound to what is in the great; beſides, it is not ſo hot in the Mouth. The great Pepper comes from the Coaſt of *Malabar*, and ſome from *Viſapour*. Nutmegs come from the *Molucca* Iſlands, as alſo from the Iſlands of *Banda*; but the biggeſt grow in the Iſland of *Damme*. It is obſervable of the Nutmeg-tree, it is never planted; but, when the Nutmegs are ripe, certain Creatures come from the Iſlands towards the South, and devour them whole, but are forced to throw them up again before they be digeſted; the Nutmeg then beſmeared with a viſcous Matter falling to the Ground, takes Root, and produces a Tree, which would never thrive if planted. Cloves grow at *Amboyna*, *Ellias*, *Sarem*, and *Bouro*. Cinnamon comes at preſent from the Iſland of *Ceylon*; the Tree that bears it is like a Willow, and has three Barks; the two outermoſt may be taken off, and is the beſt Cinnamon; the third muſt not be meddled with, becauſe then the Tree will die, and therefore great Art muſt be uſed to take off the two uppermoſt, leſt the third ſhould be hurt with the Knife. The *Hollanders* are at a vaſt Expence at *Ceylon* to gather their Cinnamon, becauſe the King ſends his Forces upon them when they are gathering to ſurprize them, and take it from them; ſo that they are forced to have a Guard upon their Workmen of ſeven or eight hundred Men; and this makes Cinnamon dearer, and ſo much the more becauſe the *Dutch* have ſpoiled the Trade for it from the Countries of the *Rajahs* about *Cochin*.

The Drugs brought to *Surat* from all Parts of the *Indies* are Sal-Armoniac, Borax, Gum-Lac, Gum-Lac waſhed, Gum-Lac in Sticks of Wax, Saffron, Cummin, white and black, Arlet, Frankincenſe, Myrrh, Gilet, and Bolti; Caſſia, Sugar-Candy, Aſſutinat, Anni-ſeed both groſs and ſmall, Oupelot, Cointre, Auzorout, Aloes-Succotrine, Lignum-Aloes, ſome in great and others in ſmall Pieces; Liquorice, Vez Cabouli, out of Gum-Lac the Natives extract that lively Scarlet-Colour with which they paint their Calicoes; and for that end it is carried into *Perſia*. That which remains after the Colour is drawn out, is fit only to make Sealing-wax of; and the Women of *Surat* get their Living by cleanſing and colouring it for that Uſe. Powdered Sugar is brought in great Quantities from the Kingdom of *Bengal*, and there is a great Trade for it at *Ougeli*, *Patna*, *Daca*, and other Places. The People of *Bengal* ſay, that there is no Poiſon more dangerous than Sugar kept thirty Years. Loaf-Sugar is made at *Amadabat*, where they have the perfect Art of refining it. Opium comes from *Brampour*, where Tobacco alſo grows in great Quantities, ſo that the Inhabitants having no Vent for it, let it rot upon the Ground.

3. Diamonds, which are the moſt precious of all Stones, are found partly in Mines, partly in Rivers. At *Raolconda*, a Town five Leagues diſtant from *Golconda*, and eight or nine from *Viſapour*, in the Province of *Camatica*, is a Diamond-Mine, diſcovered not above two hundred Years ago: In it are found the cleaneſt Stones, with the whiteſt Water; but being forced to fetch them out of the Rocks with a great Iron-leaver and many Blows, they often flaw the Diamonds, and make them look like Cryſtal: And this is the Reaſon there are ſo many ſoft Stones found in this Mine, though they make a great Shew. If a Stone be clean, they give it only a Turn or two upon the Wheel, that it may loſe as little as poſſible of the Weight; but if it has any Flaws, Points, or black Specks, they cut it into Facets, and work the Flaw into a Ridge to hide it. The Trade at the Mines is free and juſt, and tranſacted without any talking on either Side, the Buyer and Seller expreſſing themſelves by taking each other by the Hands; and ſo, in the ſame Place where there are many People, a Parcel of Goods ſhall be ſold ſeven or eight Times, and no Man know it. At *Gani*, or *Colour*, ſeven Days Journey from *Golconda* Eaſtwards, is another Diamond-Mine: It

lies between the Town and a Mountain, and the nearer they dig to the Mountain, the larger Stones they find; but there is none at the Top.

This Mine was found not above an hundred Years ago by a Countryman, who digging his Ground to ſow Millet, found a large Diamond twenty-five Carats Weight: Upon this, the rich Men in the Town fell to digging in the Place, and found, as they do ſtill, bigger Stones than in any other Mines, *viz.* ſome above forty Carats, and one of 900, which *Margimola* preſented to *Aureng-Zebe:* But the Miſchief of theſe Stones is, they partake of the Quality of the Soil, and are few of them clean; but ſome are black, and others red, and others green and yellow. Near *Soumelpour*, in the Kingdom of *Bengal*, is a River called *Gouel*, where there are Diamonds found mixed with the Sand. The Way from *Agra* to this Town lies through *Halabas*, *Banarous*, and *Saſſaren*, from whence you paſs to the Iſland of *Rhodas*, which is one of the ſtrongeſt Places in all *Aſia*, being ſeated upon a Mountain, fortified with ſix Baſtions, twenty-five Pieces of Cannon, and three Motes full of Water, in which are good Fiſh, to *Soumelpour*, which is a great Town, but the Houſes are built of Earth, covered with Branches of Cocoa-trees. The Road from the Fort lies through dangerous Woods, becauſe much peſtered with Robbers. The Rajah, in whoſe Juriſdiction it is, lives half a League from the Town in Tents ſet upon a riſing Ground, at the Foot whereof runs the River *Gouel*, where Diamonds are found. This River deſcends from the Southern Mountains, and being filled with the great Rains, brings down, in *December*, vaſt Quantities of Sand, which the People in great Multitudes ſearch for fifty Leagues together, and find all thoſe Points which are called natural Points in it, but ſeldom find any large Stones.

4. In the Iſland of *Borneo*, which is the largeſt Iſland in the World, is another River, called *Succadan*, in the Sand whereof they find Diamonds as hard as any in the other Mines; but the Queen of the Mine will permit none to be carried out of it; ſo that all that come from thence are conveyed out by Stealth. In this Iſland it is remarkable that the Queen, and not the King, has the Sovereign Command; as have alſo the inferior Women the Rule over the Men; for the People are ſo deſirous always to have a lawful Heir upon the Throne, that the Huſband not being certain that the Children ſhe bears are his own, they rather chuſe to be governed by a Woman, to whom they give the Title of Queen, her Huſband being only her Subject, and having no Power but what ſhe permits him.

At the Mine of *Rocolconda* they weigh by Mangolins, which are each a Carat and three Quarters, and pay in new Pagods; as they do alſo at *Colour*. At the Mine of *Soumalpour*, in *Bengal*, they weigh by Rahs, which are each Seven Eighths of a Carat, and pay in Roupees. The Roads to the Mines, though ſome fabulous Relations had made them very dangerous, full of Tygers, Lions, and cruel People, are not only free from all wild Beaſts, but the People are very loving and courteous. The Price of Diamonds are thus to be known: If it be a thick Stone, well ſquared, and have all its Corners, and the Water be white and lively, without Specks or Flaw, ſuch a Stone is worth an hundred and fifty Livres, or ten Pounds fifteen Shillings Sterling; or of the ſame Value if it is cut in Facets, which they call a Roſe-Diamond, if it be a fair Breadth, and of the ſame Perfection; and if a Stone weighs more Carats it is raiſed in Price. Imperfect Diamonds are not above half the Value as perfect. The two biggeſt Diamonds in the World, for cut Stones, belong, the one to the Mogul, which weighs two hundred and ſeventy-nine Carats and nine ſixteenths of a Carat; and the other to the Duke of *Tuſcany*, which weighs an hundred and thirty-nine Carats, both clean and well ſhaped. The Miners call a Diamond *Iri*, and the *Turks*, *Perſians*, and *Arabians*, *Almas*.

5. There are but two Places in all the Eaſt where coloured Stones are found, and they are in the Kingdom of *Pegu*, and Iſland of *Ceylon*; the firſt is a Mountain twelve Days Journey or thereabouts from *Sireri*, towards the N. E. it is called *Capelan*. In this Mine are found great Quantities of Rubies, and Eſpenels, or Mothers of Rubies, yellow Topazes, blue and white Saphires, Jacinths, Amethyſts, and other Stones of different Colours. Among thoſe Stones which are hard other Stones are found of different Colours, but being ſoft they are of no Eſteem. All theſe ſorts of Stones the Natives call Rubies, and they are the only Commodity of the Country, which makes it very poor. From *Ava*, which is the chief Fort of *Pegu*, you muſt go by Water to *Sireri*, becauſe the Roads by Land are almoſt impaſſable, by reaſon of the Tygers, Lions, and Elephants, which abound in the adjacent Woods.

The King of *Pegu* keeps all the choice Stones for himſelf and Subjects, and ſuffers few of them more than of three Carats Weight, that are clean, to be exported. Rubies are ſold by Rahs, and the Payment is made for them in Pagods. A Ruby of above ſix Rahs Weight is almoſt invaluable. There are ſome Rubies, but moſt of them are Ballies Rubies, and Abundance of Baſtard-Rubies, Saphires, and Topazes, found in the Mountains that run from *Pegu* to the Kingdom of *Cambaya*. The other Place where Rubies are found is in a River in the Iſland of *Ceylon*, which deſcends from certain high Mountains in the Middle of the Iſland; it ſwells very high when the Rains fall, and when it becomes low again the People make it their Buſineſs to ſearch among the Sands for Rubies, Saphires, and Topazes. All the Stones that are found in this River are generally fairer and clearer than thoſe in *Pegu*. In *Hungary* is a Mine of Opals, a Stone no where to be found in the whole World but there. Turquoiſes are of two ſorts, *viz.* the old Rock and the new, and are only found in *Perſia*. The old Rock lies near a great Town called *Micabourg*, and is reſerved only for the King's Uſe, to adorn Hilts of Swords, Knives, and Daggers, inſtead of enamelling. The new Rock is of a pale Blue, inclining to White, and little eſteemed. Emeralds, though ſaid to be Oriental, are not found in any Part of the Eaſtern Countries, but are brought from *Peru* to the *Philippine* Iſlands, and ſo tranſported into *Europe*.

6. The Fiſhery for Pearls is in divers Places, as in the *Perſian* Gulph, round about the Iſland of *Bachran:* It belongs to the King of *Perſia*, who has a Fort there, and in it a Garriſon of three hundred Men. Every one that fiſhes here pays to the King five Abaſſis, whether he gets any thing or no; and the Merchants pay at a certain Rate for every thouſand of Oyſters. There is a Pearl-Fiſhery likewiſe upon the Coaſt of *Arabia-Felix*, right againſt *Bachran*, near the City of *Catifa*, which, together with all the Country, is under the Juriſdiction of an *Arabian* Prince. The Pearls that are taken here are ſold to the *Indians*, who will give a good Price for all, as well the uneven as round ones. All over *Aſia* they chuſe ſuch as are of a yellowiſh Water, inclining to white before the pure white; becauſe, they ſay, they will never change the Colour as the white will, both by Time and conſtant Wearing. There is a wondrous Pearl in the Poſſeſſion of *Iman-Hect*, Prince of *Maſcate*, which is the beſt in the World, not ſo much for its Bigneſs, for it weighs not above twelve Carats and one ſixteenth, nor for its perfect Roundneſs, but for its tranſparent Clearneſs, for you may ſee almoſt through it: The Great Mogul, by a *Banjan*, offered forty thouſand Crowns for it, but it was not accepted. There is another Fiſhery for Pearls in the Sea that waſhes the Walls of *Manar*, in the Iſland of *Ceylon*; for the Roundneſs and Water they are the faireſt that are found, but rarely weigh above three or four Carats. There are excellent Pearls of a very good Water, and large, found on the Coaſt of *Japan*, but are rarely fiſhed for, becauſe Jewels are of no Eſteem among the Inhabitants.

In the *Weſt-Indies* there are ſeveral Places for Pearl-fiſhing, *viz.* all along the Iſland of *Cubagna*; but the Pearls are ſmall, ſeldom weighing above five Carats. In the Iſland of *Margarita*, a League from *Cubagna*, but a larger Iſland, the Pearls are not found here ſo plentifully, but are of an excellent Water and very big, ſome weighing fifty-five Carats. *Camogatte*, near the Continent, *Rio de la Hachia*, and *St. Martha*, produce weighty Pearls, but ill-ſhaped, and inclining to a Lead Colour. *Scotch* Pearl and *Bavarian*, though a Necklace of them is of Value, yet they are not to be compared with the *Eaſtern* or *Weſt-Indian* Pearl. Theſe ſorts of Pearl do all grow in an Oiſter, like Eggs in the Belly of a Pullet, and there are many in ſome, but none in many others. They fiſh in the Eaſtern Seas twice a Year; the firſt Time in *March* and *April*, and the ſecond Time in *Auguſt* and *September*, and the Fairs are kept in *June* and *November*. Before they fiſh in any Place, they try before-hand whether it will turn to any Account, by ſending ſeven or eight Barks, which are to bring them each a thouſand of Oiſters, which they open, and if the Oiſters *per* thouſand yield five Fanes, or above, as ſome will yield ſeven, then they know the Fiſhing will turn to an Account. They fiſh in twelve Fathom Water; and five or ſix Leagues off at Sea: They are guarded by ſome ſmall Men of War, to defend them from the *Malabars*, to which every Diver pays eight Piaſters for their Attendance. The more Rains fall the more profitable the Fiſhery generally happens to be.

7. Coral, though of little Eſteem in *Europe*, yet is much valued in the other three Parts of the World. There are three Places where they fiſh for it upon the Coaſt of *Sardinia*, viz. *Arguerrel*, *Boza*, and the Iſle of *St Peter*. On the Coaſts of *Africa* alſo they fiſh for it near the Baſtion of *France*, and *Tabarque*, and on the Coaſts of *Sicily*, near *Trepano*, but the Coral is ſmall, and ill-coloured. Near Cape *de Quires*, on the Coaſt of *Catalonia*, the Coral is large, and of an excellent Colour, but the Branches are ſhort. At *Majorca* and *Corſica* there is a Fiſhery for it. Theſe Places are all in the Mediterranean-Sea, for there is none at all in the Main-Ocean. Some think that Coral is ſoft in the Sea, but it is really hard; though it is true, that in certain Months in the Year there is a milky Subſtance iſſues from it, and if it falls upon any thing, produces Coral; and there are certain Worms in the Sea that eat it.

They fiſh for Coral from the Beginning of *April* to the End of *July*, but never above forty Miles from Land, and that in ſuch ſwift Barks, that no Gallies can overtake them. In *Japan* they value nothing ſo much as a good Grain of Coral, wherewith they pull the String that ſhuts their Purſes; and in this they ſeek to excel one another; ſo that a Piece of Coral as big as an Egg, fair and clean, without any Flaw, will produce as much as a Man can, in reaſon, aſk for it. The *Portugueze* have ſold ſuch Pieces for 20000 Crowns. All over *Aſia*, and eſpecially all over the Northern Parts of the Mogul's Dominions, and all along the Mountains, as you go to the Kingdoms of *Aſem* and *Boutan*, the meaner ſort of People wear it for Bracelets and Necklaces.

8. Yellow Amber is only found upon the Coaſt of *Pruſſia* in the Baltick-Sea, for the Sea throws it upon the Sand, when certain Winds blow. The Elector of *Brandenbourg* farms it out for 20, and ſometimes for 22000 Crowns a Year; and the Farmers keep a continual Guard on both Sides of the Sea, that it be not ſtole. It is nothing elſe but a certain Congelation made in the Sea like Gum; for ſometimes Flies and Gnats are congealed in it. In *China* it is a Cuſtom for the great Lords, at their Feaſts, for Grandeur and Magnificence, to ſet three or four different ſorts of Perfuming-Pots on the Table, and to throw into every one of them a vaſt Quantity of Amber, and the bigger the Pieces the more magnificent is the Entertainment accounted. The Waſte of Amber makes it the beſt Commodity that can be carried into *China*; but the *Hollanders* have engroſſed it.

As for Ambergris, no Man knows what it is, or where, or how it is produced. It is moſt probable that it muſt be in the Eaſtern Sea, though ſome have been found on the Coaſts of *England*, and other Nations of *Europe*. The greateſt Quantity of it is found upon the Coaſt of *Melinda*, at the Mouth of the *Rio de Sena*. A *Portugueze*, ſailing from *Goa* to the *Manillas*, after he had paſſed the Streights of *Malacca*, found a Piece of thirty-three Pound Weight, and a *Middleburgher* a Piece of forty-two Pound upon the Coaſt of the Iſland of *St. Maurice*.

The beſt ſort, and greateſt Quantity of Muſk, comes from the Kingdom of *Boutan*; and from thence it is brought to *Patna*, the chief City of *Bengal*, where the Natives truck it away with the Merchants for Coral, Yellow Amber, and other Commodities, rather than Gold or Silver. It grows in a Bladder on the Belly of a certain Creature, between the Genitals and the Navel, which the People who ſell it cut off after it is killed. It looks like clotted Blood when it is new cut off. None of theſe Creatures have above one Bladder, which is not bigger than an Hen's Egg, and will not yield above half an Ounce of Muſk; and ſometimes three or four will not yield an Ounce. The Scent of the Beaſt is ſo ſtrong, that it makes one's Head ach to come near it. Theſe Creatures muſt be certainly very numerous, conſidering the great Quantity of Muſk that is to be ſold.

9. Bezoar comes from a Province of *Golconda*, towards the N. E. It is found in the Paunch of a Wild Goat, which brouzes upon a certain Shrub; and having eaten the Buds or Tops of the Boughs, the Bezoar is produced by them in the Maw of the Goat, and is of divers Shapes, according to the Form of the Bud. The Natives, by feeling on the Belly of the Goat, know how many Stones he has within him. The Excellency of the Bezoar is in the Bigneſs, although the ſmall have the ſame Virtue with the larger; for if five or ſix Stones weigh an Ounce, they are worth no more than ſeventeen or eighteen *Franks*; but if one Stone weighs an Ounce, it is worth an hundred *Franks*; and one of four Ounces and an half was ſold for two hundred Livres. In what Part of the Body the Bezoar is bred, none can tell. As well in the *Eaſt* as *Weſt-Indies*, there are great Quantities of Bezoars that breed in Cows, and of a great Bigneſs, *viz.* ſeventeen or eighteen Ounces, but they are little eſteemed, ſix Grains of the former working more powerfully than thirty of this.

The Bezoar that breeds in Apes is ſo ſtrong, that two Grains will work as powerfully as ſix Grains of Goat's Bezoar; but it is very ſcarce, as being found only in the Apes of the Iſland of *Macaſſar*. The Scarcity as well as Strength makes it dear, ſo that a Piece as big as a Nut is worth a hundred Crowns.

The Porcupine-Stone, which is bred in the Head of that Creature, is more precious than Bezoar againſt Poiſon: If it be ſteeped in Water a Quarter of an Hour, it makes the Water as bitter as poſſible. There is another Stone taken out of the Belly of the ſame Creature, as good as the other; but being ſteeped in Water, it loſes nothing of its Weight or Bulk, as the other does.

The Serpent-Stone, which is about the Bigneſs of a Pigeon's Egg, is almoſt oval, thick in the Middle, and thin about the Sides. The *Indians* ſay it is bred in the Head of certain Serpents; but it is more probably a Compoſition of certain Drugs, becauſe they are to be had of the *Bramins* only: But, however it be, it is of excellent Virtue to drive away Venom from ſuch as are bitten with venomous Beaſts; for, being laid to the Wound, it will not come off till it has drawn out all the Poiſon; and being ſteeped in Womens or Cows Milk, it recovers its former Virtue, making the Milk like Corruption. There is another Stone, called the Serpent's Stone with the Hood, becauſe that kind of Serpent has an Hood hanging down behind the Head, in which this Stone is found. It is often found as big as a Pullet's Egg; but it is not found in any leſs Serpent than of two Foot Length: This Stone being rubbed againſt another Stone, yields a Slime, which, being drank in Water by the Perſon that is poiſoned, powerfully expels the Venom. Theſe Serpents are found only on the Coaſts of *Melinda*: But the Stones are bought of the *Portugueze* Mariners and Soldiers that come from *Mozambique*.

10. Gold is found in the greateſt Quantities in the Iſlands of *Japan*, which lie Eaſtward of *China*; though ſome think it is brought from *Formoſa* thither. The *Chineſe* alſo exchange a ſort of Gold, produced in their Country, for Silver, Weight for Weight, becauſe they, having no Silver-Mines, prefer it before Gold, but it is the coarſeſt of all the Gold. In *Aſia*, in the Iſland of *Celebes*, or *Macaſſar*, there is found Gold among the Sand of their Rivers. In *Achem*, or *Sumatra*, after the rainy Seaſon, when the Torrents are waſted, they find Flints waſhed down from the Mountains with Veins of Gold in them; and the Inhabitants of the Weſt-ſide of the ſame Iſle,

bring the *Dutch*, when they lade their Pepper, great Store of Gold, but as bad, if not worſe, than their *China* Gold. Towards *Thibet*, which is the ancient *Caucaſus*, in the Territories of a Rajah, beyond the Kingdom of *Kachemire*, there are three Mountains cloſe by each other, one of which produces excellent Gold, the other Granats, and the third *Lapis Lazuli*. There is alſo Gold which comes from *Tipra*, but is as coarſe as the *Chineſe* Gold; and theſe are all the Places in *Aſia* that yield Gold. In *Africa* Gold is more plentiful than in *Aſia*. Out of the Empire of *Monomotapa*, which extends itſelf as far as *Preſbyter John*'s Country, comes the pureſt Gold in all *Africa*, where they dig it with Eaſe out of the Earth, not being conſtrained to dig above two or three Foot deep. And in ſome Places not inhabited for want of Water, the People find Lumps of Gold upon the Surface of the Earth of an Ounce Weight or more.

The King of the *Abyſſins* ſent the Mogul a natural Tree all of Gold, two Foot four Inches high, and ſix Inches about in the Stock, with ten or twelve Branches, ſome half a Foot long, and an Inch about, and ſome ſmaller: In ſome Branches appeared Bunches like Buds, and the Roots were thick and ſhort. The Province where the River *Sena* has its Head, called *Monkaran*, has a King of its own, and is very healthy: There the People find great Plenty of Gold-duſt in the Rivers that fall into the *Sena*, but it is much coarſer than the other. The Cafres alſo of the other Provinces bring great Store of Gold yearly to *Sofala* and *Cheapon Goura*, which are under the *Portugueze*, to buy ſuch Commodities as they want, when the Ships come. Some Years there are Cafres that come from the *Cape of Good Hope* to *Sofala*, which is four Months Journey, and bring very fine Gold in Pieces, like that of *Monomotapa*, which, they ſay, they find in the Mountains by digging ten or twelve Foot deep.

They alſo bring great Quantities of Elephants Teeth; for they abound ſo in Elephants, that the Palliſadoes of their Fortreſs, and Pales of their Parks, are all made of Elephants Teeth. Their uſual Diet is Elephants Fleſh. In the Kingdom of *Beroe* grows a Root of a yellow Colour, very bitter, and about an Inch thick, which cures all ſorts of Fevers by vomiting. There are no Silver-Mines in *Aſia*, unleſs it be in *Japan*. But a few Years ſince there have been diſcovered plentiful Mines of Tin at *Delegora*, *Sangora*, *Bordelen*, and *Bata*, which have ſpoiled the Trade of the *Engliſh* thither for that Commodity.

11. The great Extent of the vaſt Empire of the Mogul, as well as the various Temperature and Productions of the Soil and Climate, makes as much Difference between one Province and another, as if they were ſeveral Kingdoms; and therefore there can be no way to give an exact Account of all Things remarkable; but, by conſidering the ſeveral Provinces diſtinctly, and what's peculiarly obſervable in them. We will begin with the Kingdom of *Kachemire*, commonly called the *Paradiſe of Indoſtan*; a Country, tho' mountainous, yet ſo fruitful, that you would take it for an ever-green Garden, being full of Trees, and Paſtures with all ſorts of Cattle, as Cows, Goats, Sheep, Horſes, Partridges, Hares, Gazels, and the Muſk-Animals. There are Abundance of Bees, but no Serpents, Tygers, Bears and Lions. The Fields produce Rice, Corn, Pulſe of divers ſorts, Hemp, and Saffron, being interſected with Ditches, Lakes, and Rivulets, to advance their Plenty. Up and down every where alſo are ſeen ſome of our *European* Trees, Flowers, and all ſorts of Plants, as Apples, Pears, Prunes, Apricots, Nuts, and Vines; and their Gardens are full of Melons, Water-Melons, Skerrets, Beets, Radiſhes, and all ſorts of our Pot-herbs, and ſome that we have not: But their Fruits are not ſo many, nor ſo good as ours.

The People are very induſtrious as well as intelligent, and make Pallekies, Trunks, Bedſteads, Standiſhes, Boxes, and Spoons, with many other Pieces of handſome Workmanſhip, ſending them all over the reſt of the *Indies*; and to ſome of theſe they give ſuch a Varniſh, with counterfeit Veins and gold Streaks, that nothing is finer. They make alſo a kind of a Stuff an Ell and an half long, and about an Ell wide, called *Chales*, and embroidered at each End, for about a Foot, ſo ſoft and fine, as is inimitable, though it is attempted at *Patna*, *Agra*, and *Lahor*. The *Moguls* and *Indians*, both Men and Women, wear of them in Winter upon their Heads, and bring them over their Shoulders like a Mantle: They are made of their own Wool, which is finer than *Spaniſh*, or of the Hair taken from the Breaſt of a wild Goat in *Great Tibet*, called *Touz*: Some of theſe are ſold for a hundred and fifty Rupees to the great Omrahs.

The People are of a fair Complexion, and eſpecially the Women are very beautiful, and of as fair Faces as in *Europe*. Between *Bunbor* and *Kachemire* are ſome Mountains that ſeem to part two Worlds rather than two Provinces; for on the one Side it was ſcorching and hot, as in the *Torrid Zone*, and full of *Indian* Plants proper to it; on the other Side it enjoys a temperate freſh Air, and the Soil produced Hyſſop, Thyme, Marjoram, and Roſemary, Oaks, Elms, Pines, and Plane Trees. Between thoſe Rocks are admirable Caſcades of Water, and among others one not to be paralleled, which running in a Channel between the Trees, on a ſudden precipitates itſelf into the Bottom of a ſteep Rock, with a Noiſe able to make one deaf like a Cataract. In the Month of *May* here is a Fountain that for fifteen Days regularly flows, and ſtops thrice a Day, *viz.* at Break of Day, Noon, and Night: Its flowing fills a Square ten or twelve Foot broad, and as many deep, and then it ſlacks by degrees till about the End of the Month, and then quite ſtops for the reſt of the Year. By it the *Gentiles* have a Temple of the Idol *Brara*, and from thence the Fountain is called *Send Brari*, i. e. the Water of *Brara*, and hither many Pilgrims come to bathe and ſanctify themſelves.

In the Royal Garden at *Achiavel* in this Province is a Pond, where are Fiſhes that will come when they are called, and when you caſt Bread to them; the biggeſt of which have alſo Rings in their Noſes, with Inſcriptions on them. At *Baramoulay* is a Moſk, in which is a Tomb of one of their Friars or Saints, where 'tis ſaid the Sick which flock thither every Day are cured, and eleven Moulahs, with one Finger each, lift a huge Stone, which the ſtrongeſt Man can hardly raiſe eaſily: But theſe things are miraculous only to the credulous and careleſs; but the bubbling Fountain, which riſes gently, and with ſome little Force, making ſome ſmall Bubbles, and bringing up Sand with it, which goes away with it again, and the Water becomes ſtill, and ſo remains awhile without Bubbles, and then riſes again, is certain. In the Mountains near this Fountain is a Lake that hath Ice in Summer, and looks like an Icy Sea; and a little farther is a Place, where making a great Noiſe will preſently cauſe a Shower of Rain. Among theſe Mountains live a People which eat no Fleſh, counting it unclean, yet they have no Religion.

The City of *Azemer* is famous for the Tomb of *Cogea Mandy*, who was in great Reputation for his Sanctity, and therefore they come from all Places in Pilgrimage to it. It is a fair Building, with three Courts, paved with Marble, and hath in it a Reſervatory of Water, walled about; and in the Province adjoining there is a Beaſt like a Fox in the Snout, but no bigger than a Hare, of the Colour of a Stag, and Teeth like a Dog: It yields moſt excellent Muſk; for at the Belly is a Bladder full of Matter, like corrupt Blood, which is the Muſk. They cut off the Bladder for it, but the Beaſt never lives long after it. There are alſo Pullets, whoſe Skin is all over black, as are alſo their Bones; but the Fleſh is white, and their Feathers of another Colour. The Women of this Country are marriageable at eight or nine Years old, and bear Children at ten; the Children go naked, only with a Bit of Cloth to cover their Privities. The People are rude and uncivil, and the Men great Clowns, and impudent; when they quarrel they make a great bawling, but never come to Blows. There are venomous Scorpions in this Country, and the People have ſeveral Remedies to cure the Stinging; but the beſt of all is Fire; for by applying a burning Coal to it, they draw the Venom out, and perfectly cure it.

The Roads thro' this Country being very ſtony, they ſhoe their Oxen, and bridle and ſaddle them like Horſes; and if they be but a little ſpurred, they go as faſt as a good Horſe; with them alſo they draw their Carts and Coaches, for their white Oxen are extraordinary dear. The chief Trade of this Province is Saltpetre, for the Soil being black, affords it plentifully. When it is made they carry it to *Surat* to ſell it to the *Europeans*, and others, who buy it to ballaſt their Ships, and ſell elſewhere.

12. In the Province of *Sinde*, which was anciently the Kingdom of *Diu*, the Inhabitants are wonderfully ingenious in all kinds of Arts, and make abundance of Curioſities, for which they have a great Trade; the fineſt Pallanquins in *India* are made at *Tata* in this Province, and there is nothing neater, nor more convenient, than the Carriages made here; but their Waggon-Wheels are one Piece of ſolid Timber, like a Mill-ſtone.

The Province of *Multan* yields Plenty of Cotton, Sugar, Opium, Brimſtone, Galls, Store of Camels, which are tranſported into *Perſia*, and other Parts of the *Indies*. It furniſhes alſo all *India* with the fineſt Bows that are to be ſeen in it, and nimbleſt Dancers; the chief Town of it, of the ſame Name, is the Rendezvous of the *Banjans*, becauſe of the great Trade managed there, which cannot be carried on without them; for though it is known that they make their Profit of every thing, yet moſt Merchants chuſe rather to uſe them, than do their Buſineſs themſelves, becauſe they will buy their Goods much cheaper, and they refuſe no Service, be it ever ſo baſe or vile. The Country of *Candabar* produces abundantly all ſorts of Proviſions that are neceſſary for human Life, unleſs it be on the Side next *Perſia*, where it is barren. The Inhabitants are great Lovers of Wine, though they are prohibited to drink it; and if any be found drunk, or doing any ſcandalous Action in Drinking, they are ſet upon an Aſs, with their Face to the Tail, and led about the Town, and attended by the Officer of the Controul, who beats a little Drum, and all the Children follow him, whooping and hallooing. There are many *Perſians* in this Province, but they are poor, and employed by the *Mohammedans* in the meaneſt Offices. The King of *Perſia* will not allow the *Gentiles* Wives to burn themſelves in that Part of his Dominions.

In the Mountains of *Cabouliſtan* grow Mirabolans, and many other ſorts of Drugs. The Country alſo is full of aromatick Trees, which turn to a good Account to the Inhabitants; as do alſo the Mines of a certain ſort of Iron fit for all Uſes. Out of this Province come moſt of thoſe large Canes, of which are made Halberds and Lances, for they have many Grounds planted with them. They reckon their Months by Moons, and with great Devotion celebrate a Feaſt called *Houli*, which laſts two Days, firſt in praying, and making Oblations, and then in dancing in the Streets in Companies to the Sound of Trumpets, making Bonfires, and deſtroying the Figure of a Giant. Their Charity conſiſts chiefly in digging Wells, and building little Houſes on the Roads for Travellers, and by them is a Place for ſuch as are heavy laden, to put off and take up their Burdens without any body's Help. This Country ſupplies the whole *Indies* with Phyſicians, which are all *Banjans*, and ſome of them very ſkilful in Medicines, and among other Remedies make great Uſe of Burning.

In the City of *Labor* the Great Mogul has a Palace, on one Gate of which is a Crucifix, and on the other the Picture of the Virgin *Mary*. Some have thought them Marks of Chriſtianity, which was anciently profeſſed in theſe Countries; but it is really nothing but a Piece of Flattery and Hypocriſy of the King *Ieban Guire*, to oblige the *Portugueze* to be his Friends. There are many *Gentiles* in this City, who have ſeveral Pagods all raiſed ſeven or eight Steps from the Ground, and ſome of them are well adorned. This is one of the largeſt and moſt fruitful Provinces in the *Indies*, the five Rivers, which make up the River *Indus*, from whence the Moguls call it *Pangeab*, making it very fruitful; for it yields all ſorts of Proviſions neceſſary for Life, as Rice, Corn, and ſeveral ſorts of Fruits. The Wines made here are pretty good, and in the Towns are not only all ſorts of painted Cloths wrought, but all the other Manufactures uſually made in the *Indies*.

13. In the Province of *Aoud*, or *Haoud*, and *Varad*, or *Varal*, there are many Rajahs that own not the Authority of the Mogul: At *Hagarcot* in this Province is the Pagod of the Idol *Matta*, to which the *Gentiles* that come to pay their Devotions to her are ſaid to ſacrifice always ſome Part of their own Bodies. At *Calamac*, where the *Gentiles* have alſo another famous Pagod, there is a Spring of very cold Water, which iſſues out of a Rock that continually belches out Flames, and the *Bramins* make great Advantage of the People who come to ſee the Miracle. In the Province of *Ouleſſer* is the famous Temple of *Jarganate*, where one of the *Fequirs* undertook to meaſure the whole Kingdom of the Mogul with his own Body, and being about to perform it, was loaded with Charity, and had much Reſpect given him.

The People of this Country, as well *Mohammedans* as *Gentiles*, are extraordinary voluptuous, have a captious and ſubtil Wit, and are much addicted to ſtealing. The Women are very bold and laſcivious, and uſe all Arts to corrupt and debauch young Men, eſpecially Strangers, whom they eaſily trepan, becauſe they are handſome, and well dreſſed. In this Province are above twenty thouſand Chriſtians, who lived in great Unity under potent Kings; but the Mogul becoming Maſter of it, and bringing in *Mohammediſm*, a general Diſorder and Corruption of Manners invaded them.

The Country is full of Torrents, and the People live in much Eaſe, becauſe it is very fruitful, producing Corn, Rice, Sugar, Ginger, Long-pepper, Cotton, and Silk, with ſeveral other Commodities; as alſo Fruits, eſpecially Anana's as big as Melons, and pleaſant to the Taſte, having ſomething of the Flavour of the Apricot. In this Province the Mogul hath a Caſtle, whither he ſends ſuch Traitors as are condemned to perpetual Impriſonment, and to that End 'tis always ſtrictly guarded.

14. In the Province of *Malva* are the Territories of *Raja Rana*, who deduces his Pedigree from *Porus*, tho' he is now tributary to the Mogul. *Ratiſpore* is the capital City of it, and a Place of great Trade; it ſtands upon a Mountain, and hath a Caſtle belonging to it, to which the Grand Mogul ſends ſuch Traitors as are condemned to die. They are kept Priſoners for ſome Time, and always ſomebody is preſent with them, and the Day they are to die they make them drink a great Quantity of Milk, and then throw them down from the Top of the Caſtle upon the declining Side of the Hill, which is full of ſharp-pointed craggy Stones, that tear the Bodies of the Wretches to Pieces before they can reach the Bottom of the Precipice.

At *Chitor*, once a famous Town, but now almoſt ruined, are the Remains of an hundred Temples, or Pagods, and many antique Statues, to be ſeen. In this Country are two kinds of Bats, one like ours in *Europe*, but the other is much different: It is eight Inches long, and the Body is covered with yellowiſh Hair. The Body round, and as big as a Duck's, the Head and Eyes like a Cat's, a ſharp Snout like a Rat, pricked black Ears, without Hair, no Tail, two Teats as big as the End of one's little Finger; under the Wings four Legs, Wings almoſt two Foot long, and ſeven or eight Inches broad, of a black Skin, like wet Parchment; the two Fore-Legs end in five Talons, like a Man's Hand, and black, and without Hair; but it has Claws inſtead of Nails, with which it hangs upon the Branches of the Trees. They fly high, and are ſaid to be good Meat.

The Province of *Candiſh* is the moſt plentiful for Cotton of any Part of *Indoſtan*, and of it the People make abundance of Cloth. They paint ſome, but the white are moſt valued for the lovely Mixture of Gold and Silver that is in them; for the Rich make their Veils, Scarfs, Handkerchiefs and Coverings of them, but they are dear. Here is alſo Plenty of Rice and Indigo growing. In the Country of *Balagate* are a great many Warrs, Manguiers, Bahova, Quiſau, Caboul, and other ſorts of rare Trees. Here are vaſt Numbers of Antilopes, Hares, Partridges, and towards the Mountains are Merons, or wild Cows. Towards *Narpouia* grows the beſt Rice in all the *Indies*; for it has an odoriferous Taſte, which that of other Countries has not. Cotton abounds here alſo, and in many Places they have Sugar-Canes, with Mills and Furnaces to make the Sugar. The Ways here are always ſafely guarded. The Pagods of *Alora* in this Province are ſo numerous, and ſo full of Pillars and Pilaſters, and have ſo many thouſand Figures all cut out of the natural Rock, that they may be ſaid to be Works almoſt ſurpaſſing human Force.

In the Province of *Daltabat* are bred the moſt active Tumblers in the World, who do all the Tricks of ours in *Europe*, and many more; they are as ſupple as an Eel, and will turn their whole Body into a Bowl, which others may roll about with their Hands; but the moſt active are Girls, in the Province of *Chitanagar*, which is diverſified with Hills and Plains. The Hills afford Iron, of which, at the Town of *Indelvar* chiefly, the People make a great many Swords, Daggers, and Lances, which are vended all over the *Indies*. All the Plains are good Ground, ſome ſowed with Rice, and the reſt planted with Cotton-Trees, Tamarinds, Warrs, Cadjours, Manguires, Quieſan, and others, and all watered with ſeveral Rivers, which turn and wind every Way with fair Tanques, out of which they draw the Water with Oxen; but thoſe Parts are much troubled with Thunder, Lightning, Whirlwinds, Rain, and Hail-ſtones, as big as Pullets Eggs.

In the Province of *Telenga*, as there are many *Gentiles*, ſo there are none more ſuperſtitious than they. They have abundance of Pagods, with Figures of Monſters, which can excite nothing but Horror inſtead of Devotion, unleſs in ſuch deluded Souls. They uſe frequent Waſhings; for Men, Women, and Children, as ſoon as they are out of their Beds in the Morning, go to the River to waſh, and the Rich have Water brought them, and ſo again as often as they eat. Women, who have loſt their Huſbands, are conducted to the River by their Friends that comfort them, to waſh, and ſo are Women as ſoon as they were brought to Bed; for in no Country are Women ſo eaſily delivered as here. They will eat nothing but what is dreſſed by themſelves, or their own Caſt or Tribe, and buy all their Food of the *Banjans*. They drink nothing but Water, wherein they put Tea or Coffee, nor uſe any Diſhes, but Leaves of Trees, for fear any Perſon of another Religion ſhould have eaten out of it. They eat no Fleſh, except it be on a certain Day of the Year, and that very privately; but the *Raſhpoots* eat any Fiſh, or Fleſh, except the Cow; they uſe Faſting very much, their ordinary Faſt is twenty-four Hours; and there are a great many that will faſt, eſpecially Women, ſix or ſeven Days, and ſome will faſt a Month, eating no more than a Handful of Rice a Day, and others will eat nothing at all, only drink Water, in which the Root of Criata has been boiled, which is good for many Diſtempers, and ſtrengthens the Stomach. When the Faſt is at an End, the Bramin goes with a Drum to the Houſe of the Penitent, and gives him or her Leave to eat. Laſtly, in the Province of *Baglana*, and alſo the People on the Sea-Coaſt, who are much given to Sea-faring, the *Gentiles* offer many Sacrifices to the Sea, eſpecially when any of their Relations are abroad upon a Voyage. The manner of ſacrificing is thus: They make a Veſſel of Straw about three Foot long, and cover it with a Veil, and carry it down to the Shore, with a Baſket or two of Meat and Fruits; there they throw it into the Sea, and having made ſome Prayers, leave the Baſket on Shore, that the Poor and others may come and eat what it contains.

At the End alſo of *September*, when the Sea, after the tempeſtuous Seaſon from *May*, becomes again navigable, they offer another Sacrifice, but with no great Ceremonies; for they only throw Cocoa-nuts into the Sea, and every one throws one, the Boys plunging themſelves into the Sea to catch them, and ſhewing many Tricks in the Water, which are pleaſant to behold. In this Province the *Indians* marry their Children very young, and make them cohabit ſooner than in any other Part of the *Indies*; they marry them at four, five, and ſix Years old, and ſuffer them to bed together when the Boy is ten, and the Girl eight; but they leave bearing by thirty, and grow extreamly full of Wrinkles; and therefore in ſome Parts of the *Indies* they do not marry till fourteen Years of Age. The Women are very fruitful, becauſe they live very frugally, as well as their Huſbands, and their Children are brought up very eaſily. They go naked till they are about ſeven Years old; and when they are about two or three Months old, they let them crawl about till they are able to go, and when they are dirty, they waſh them; and ſo they come to be as ſtrait as ours, without the Torture of ſwaddling Bands, or Stays.

15. *Bengal* is one of the moſt fruitful Countries in the World, ſuperior even to *Egypt* itſelf. It bears Rice in ſuch abundance, that it not only furniſhes its Neighbours, but very remote Countries, ſuch as *Ceylon*, and the *Maldives*; it abounds ſo in Sugar, that it ſupplies the Kingdom of *Golconda* with it, as alſo *Arabia* and *Meſopotamia*, by the Way of *Mocha* and *Baſſora*, and *Perſia* itſelf, by *Banderabaſſi*. The *Portugueze* make excellent Sweet-meats here, with which they drive a great Trade, and the People preſerve and candy Pome-Citrons, a Root which is long, like Sarſaparilla, very delicate Ambaſs, Anana's, Mirobalans, Lemons and Ginger, great Quantities of which are ſent to us in *Europe*. It is true, it does not produce much Corn, becauſe the People feed ſo much upon Rice; but it produces ſufficient for their Uſe, and to accommodate the Ships of *Europe* with excellent Biſcuits very cheap; three or four ſorts of Pulſe, which, together with Rice and Butter, are the uſual Food of the poor People, are there to be had almoſt for nothing; for a Rupee, which is about Half a Crown, you may buy twenty good Pullets and more, and Geeſe and Ducks in Proportion. Kids and Sheep are very plentiful; and there is ſuch Store of Pork, that the *Portugueze* live on nothing elſe almoſt, and the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* victual their Ships with it. There is alſo Plenty of all ſorts of Fiſh, both in the freſh and ſalt Water, and Want of nothing; for this Reaſon, together with the Liberty that all Men enjoy for the Exerciſe of their Religion there, all the Chriſtians are fled thither from all Ports taken by the *Dutch*; ſo that in *Agouli*, 'tis ſaid there are eight or nine thouſand Chriſtians, and in other Parts of the Kingdom above twenty-five thouſand more; it is the general Magazine for Cotton Cloths and Silks, not only for *Indoſtan*, but all the neighbouring Kingdoms, and *Europe* itſelf.

The *Hollanders* tranſport vaſt Quantities of both, ſome fine, and others coarſe, both dyed and white, into *Japan*, *Europe*, and other Places, beſides what the *Portugueze*, *Engliſh*, and other Merchants ſell elſewhere: 'Tis true, the Silks are not ſo fine as thoſe of *Perſia*, *Syria*, *Said*, and *Bampt*; but then they are cheaper, and very good of their Price. Saltpetre is found in ſuch Quantities in this Country, that the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* load whole Ships full, to carry it to many Places of the *Indies*, and into *Europe*. From *Bengal* alſo there comes Lac, Opium, Wax, Civet, and Long-Pepper; and even their Butter is tranſported into other Places. The Air, indeed, is not over healthy, eſpecially near the Sea, for Strangers, ſo that of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* many of them died at their firſt coming there; but now by reſtraining their Intemperance, and uſing a little *Bourdeaux* Wine, Canary, or Shiras, they preſerve themſelves tolerably healthy among them. The whole Country is well watered by Channels cut out of the River *Ganges*, which contributes as much to their Commerce as Plenty; it is well peopled, and has abundance of Villages full of *Gentiles*, and the Fields produce, beſides Sugar, Rice, Corn, and Pulſe abovementioned, Seſamum for Oil, ſmall Mulberries to feed Silk-worms, Anana's, and other Fruit-bearing Trees. In the *Ganges* alſo are many other fruitful Iſles covered with continual Verdure; but towards the Mouth ſome of them are abandoned, becauſe they were much infeſted by the *Corſairs* and the *Franks* of *Racon*, ſo that they have no other Inhabitants but Tygers, Gazala's, Hogs, and Poultry. Nature in this Country produces Miracles, as they ſeem to us far diſtant. It is not uncommon in rainy Seaſons to ſee Rainbows of the Moon in the Night, when the Moon is at the full, and in ſome calm Seaſons the Buſhes will be covered ſo thick with little ſtinging Flies, that they ſeem all on Fire, and there ariſe frightful Flames in great Globes, which the ignorant look upon as Devils.

16. The Kingdom of *Boutan* is of a large Extent, and it is hard to come to a perfect Knowledge of it, the Merchants that trade from thence into the *Indies* being able to give but a very imperfect Account of it. The Caravan is three Months travelling to *Patura*, ſetting out at the End of *December*, and in eight Days arriving at *Gorrochepour*, which is the laſt Town in the Great Mogul's Dominions; and there is a heavy Cuſtom of 25 *l per Cent.* impoſed

upon all Merchandize; but the Merchants uſually bargain with the Cuſtomer before they proceed, for they bring it down to ſeven or eight in the Way from *Gorrochepour.* For eight or nine Days Journey the Caravan ſuffers much Hardſhip, for the Country is nothing but Foreſts, and full of wild Elephants; ſo that the Merchants, inſtead of taking their Reſt, are forced to watch, keep Fires, and ſhoot off their Muſkets all the Night long; for the Elephants, who make no Noiſe in treading, will otherwiſe come upon them unawares; not that they will do any Miſchief to the Men, but will plunder the Caravan of their Victuals. Five or ſix Leagues thence you enter into the Territories of the Rajah of *Nupal*, which extends to the Frontiers of the Kingdom of *Boutan*; he is a Tributary to the Great Mogul, and is to pay him every Year an Elephant for his Homage. The Metropolis where he reſides is of the ſame Name; but there is little either of Trade or Money in this Country, becauſe it is all Wood and Foreſts. Having paſſed his Territories, you come to certain Mountains, which are upon the Confines of *Boutan:* All this Road you may travel in Pallekies; but generally the Travellers ride upon Oxen, Camels, or Horſes, bred up in the Country, which, though very ſmall and dear, yet are ſtrong, and will travel twenty Leagues without baiting; and indeed you can uſe no other ſort of Carriage croſs theſe Mountains, becauſe of the Narrowneſs and Ruggedneſs of the Paſſes.

When the Caravan arrives at the Foot of the Mountains called *Naugrocot*, abundance of People come from all Parts of them; but the greateſt Part of them are Women and Girls, who agree with the Merchants to carry them their Goods and Proviſions over the Mountains, which is eight Days Journey. Theſe Women carry upon each Shoulder a Woollen Roll, to which is faſtened a large Cuſhion, that hangs down upon their Backs, upon which they carry Seats. There are three Women to carry one Man, relieving one another by Turns; and for their Luggage and Proviſions they lay them upon Goats that will carry a hundred and fifty Pound Weight apiece: Thoſe that will ride, are forced to have their Horſes hoiſted up with Cords. The Women that carry the Men get for their eight Days Travel two Rupees apiece, and as much for every Burthen that the Goats carry, and for every Horſe which they load. Having paſſed over thoſe Mountains, you may go the reſt of the Journey to *Boutan*, upon Oxen, Camels, Horſes, or Pallekies. The Country is good, abounding in Rice, Corn, Pulſe, and Store of Wine. All the People, both Men and Women, are clad in the Summer with a large Piece of Fuſtian, or Hempen Cloth, and in the Winter with a thick Cloth almoſt like Felt. Both Men and Women wear upon their Heads a kind of Bonnet much like Drinking-Cans, which they adorn with Boars Teeth, and with round and ſquare Pieces of Tortoiſe-ſhell; the richer ſort mix with them Pieces of Coral and Amber Beads, of which their Women make themſelves Necklaces. The Men, as well as the Women, wear Bracelets upon their left Hands only from the Wriſt to the Elbow. The Women wear them ſtrait, and the Men looſe. About their Necks they wear a Silver Twiſt, at the End whereof hangs a Bead of yellow Amber, or Coral, or a Boar's Tooth, which dangles upon their Breaſt. Upon their left Sides their Girdles are buckled with Beads of the ſame. Though they be Idolaters, yet they feed upon all ſorts of Food, except the Fleſh of the Cow, which they adore as the common Nurſe of all Men. They are great Lovers of ſtrong Waters. They obſerve alſo ſome Ceremonies from the *Chineſe*, burning Amber at the Cloſe of their Feaſts, though they do not worſhip Fire, as the *Chineſe* do.

Upon theſe Accounts Amber and Coral are good Commodities at *Boutan*; a Piece of yellow Amber as big as a Nut, bright and clear, is worth forty-five Rupees, and a Piece of nine Ounces two hundred and fifty, or three hundred Rupees. Coral, rough, or wrought into Beads, yields a proportionable Advantage; but they had rather have it rough, to ſhape it into what Figure they pleaſe themſelves. The Women and Maids are generally the Artiſts among them, as to their Toys. The moſt excellent Rhubarb comes from this Country of *Boutan*. It is a Root which they cut in Pieces, and ſtringing them by ten or twelve together, hang them up a drying; being dried, the Merchants muſt carry them carefully, for if it takes wet, it is utterly ſpoiled, and they had need to carry it the moſt ſpeedy Way, for it is liable to corrupt, or if not, it is apt to eat out its own Virtue. This Kingdom alſo produces ſome Muſk, and Plenty of Furs. They have good Store of Martins in their Country, which yield a very rich Fur; but not having the Skill that the *Muſcovites* have to take them, they loſe the Profit of that Commodity, which the *Muſcovites* have; for no ſooner does that Creature peep out of its Hole, but the *Muſcovites*, who lie upon the Watch, have them preſently, ſhooting them, either in the Noſe or Eyes; for ſhould they hit them in the Body, the Blood would quite ſpoil the Skin: From hence alſo is brought the Seed which is accounted ſo good againſt Worms, called therefore Worm-ſeed. It is the Seed of a certain Plant which grows in the Fields, but muſt not be gathered till the Plant is dead, which is the Reaſon that the Wind ſcatters the greateſt Part of it before it can be gathered, which makes it ſcarce. When they gather the Seed, they take two little Hampers, and as they go along the Fields, they move them backward and forward, as if they were mowing the Herb, and ſo bowing it at the Top, the Seed falls into the Hampers.

17. The King and all his People are Idolaters, and worſhip Monſters, as the other Heathen *Indians* do. There is no King in the World more feared and reſpected by his Subjects than the King of *Boutan*, being in a manner adored by them. When he ſits to do Juſtice, or give Audience, all that appear in his Preſence hold their Hands cloſe together above their Foreheads, and, at a Diſtance from the Throne, proſtrate themſelves upon the Ground, not daring to lift up their Heads. In this humble Poſture they preſent all their Petitions to the King, and when they retire they go backwards, till they are quite out of Sight. It is affirmed, that when the King does the Deeds of Nature, ſuch as are about him preſerve it, and dry and powder it, like Sneezing-powder, and ſell it to the Merchants and Farmers, who buy it as a great Rarity, and at their Feaſts ſtrew it upon their Meat. This King has conſtantly about him ſeven or eight thouſand Men for his Guard. Their Weapons for the moſt part are Bows and Arrows, but ſome of them carry Battle-Axes and Bucklers. They have had the Uſe of Muſkets and Cannon a long Time: The Grain of their Gun-powder is long; but of an extraordinary Force; and their Cannon have Letters and Figures upon them, by which it appears that ſome of them are above five hundred Years old.

No Man may ſtir out of the Kingdom without the Governor's Leave; nor is any allowed to carry a Muſket along with him, unleſs their next Kindred will undertake for them that they ſhall bring them back. Their Guns are poliſhed within as ſmooth as a Looking-glaſs, and garniſhed without with emboſſed Wires, and Flowers of Gold and Silver inlaid, and carry large Bullets. There are always fifty Elephants, and twenty-five Camels, with each a Piece of Artillery mounted upon his Back, which carry half a Pound Ball; behind it ſits a Cannoneer, to manage and level it as he pleaſes. The Natives of *Boutan* are ſtrong, and well proportioned, but their Noſes are ſomewhat flat. The Women are bigger, and more vigorous than the Men, but are troubled with Swellings in the Throat more than the Men are, for few of them eſcape that Diſeaſe. They know not what War is, having no Enemy to fear but the Mogul; and from him they are fenced with high, ſteep, craggy and ſnowy Mountains, which he never thought worth his Trouble to paſs. Northward there are nothing but vaſt Foreſts and Snows; Eaſt and Weſt no Water but what is bitter. And as for the Rajahs near them, they are Princes of ſmall Force. They have a Silver-Mine in the Kingdom of *Boutan*, for the King coins much Silver in Pieces of the Value of a *Roupee*; but they have little Gold, and what they have is by the Merchants brought them out of the Eaſtern Countries.

18. The Kingdom of *Tipra* lies on the N. W. of the Kingdom of *Aragan*, twelve Days Journey from *Daca*: It is about fifteen Days Journey a-croſs. They ride upon Oxen and Horſes, which are very low, but very hardy. The King and Nobility ride in Pallekies or upon Elephants

of War. The People are as ſubject to Wens on their Throats as thoſe of *Boutan*, inſomuch that ſome of their Women have them hanging down to their Breaſt, which proceed from the Badneſs of the Waters. There is nothing in *Tipra* which is fit for Strangers.

There is a Mine of Gold, but the Metal is very coarſe; and there is a ſort of coarſe Silk, which is all the Revenue the King has, for he exacts no Subſidies from his Subjects. Only they who are not of the prime Nobility work ſix Days in the Year in the Mine or Silk-Works. He ſends his Gold and Silk into *China*, and for them they bring him back Silver, which he coins into Pieces of the Value of eighteen *Sous*, and others of twenty-two *Sous*. In the Language of this Country he is called *Dieu-Aragari*, which is ſtamped upon one Side of the Money, and on the other *Chattermani Rey de Tipoura*; he alſo makes thin Pieces of Gold, like the *Aſpers* of *Turky*, of which he has two Sorts, four of one making a Crown, and two of the other.

19. The Kingdom of *Aſem* is one of the beſt Countries in all *Aſia*, for it produces all Things neceſſary for human Subſiſtence, without any Need of foreign Supply. There are in it Mines of Gold, Silver, Steel, Lead, Iron, and great Store of Silk, but coarſe. There is a Sort of Silk found under the Trees, which is ſpun by a Creature like our Silk-worms, but rounder, and which lives all the Year long under the Trees. The Stuffs that are made of this Silk gliſter very much, but they fret preſently. This Country alſo produces all ſorts of Gum-Lac, of which there are two ſorts; one grows under the Trees of a red Colour, with which they paint their Linen and Stuffs; and when they have drawn out the red Juice, the remaining Subſtance ſerves to varniſh Cabinets, and make Wax, being the beſt Lac in *Aſia* for thoſe Uſes. As for the Gold, they never ſuffer it to be tranſported out of the Kingdom; nor do they make any Money of it, but preſerve it in Ingots, which paſs in Trade among the Inhabitants; but the Silver the King coins into Money of three Drams four Grains Weight, which make twenty-three *Sous*. Tho' their Country is very plentiful in all Things, yet there is no Fleſh they eſteem ſo much as Dogs Fleſh, which is the greateſt Delicacy at their Feaſts, and is ſold every Month in every City of the Kingdom upon their Market-Days. They have alſo great Store of Vines and very good Grapes, but they never make any Wine, but dry their Grapes to make *Aqua Vitæ*.

They have no Salt but what is artificial, which is made two Ways; firſt, they raiſe great Heaps of that green Stuff that ſwims on the Top of the ſtanding Waters, which the Ducks and Frogs eat; this they dry and burn, and the Aſhes thereof being boiled in a Cloth in Water, become very good Salt: but the moſt uſual Way is to take the Leaves of *Adam*'s Fig-tree, which, being burnt, the Aſhes thereof make a Salt ſo tart that it is impoſſible to eat it till the Strength be taken away, which they do by putting the Aſhes into the Water, and ſtirring them up and down ten or twelve Days together, and then they ſtrain the Subſtance through a Cloth and boil it; for, as the Water boils away, the Bottom thickens, and when the Water is all boiled away, they find at the Bottom very good and white Salt. Of the Aſhes of the Fig Leaves they alſo make a Lye with which they waſh their Silks, which makes them as white as Snow; but they have not Leaves enough to whiten half the Silk that grows in their Country.

In the City of *Kemmeroof* the King of *Aſem* keeps his Court. This King requires no Subſidies of his People, for all the Mines in the Kingdom are his own, and, for his Subjects Eaſe, he has none but Slaves that work in them; ſo that all the Natives of *Aſem* live at their Eaſe; and every one has his Houſe to himſelf, and in the Midſt of his Ground a Fountain incompaſſed with Trees, and moſt commonly every one an Elephant to carry their Wives, for they have four Wives; and when they marry them, they ſay to them, *I take thee to ſerve me in ſuch a Thing*, and to another, *I take thee to do ſuch a Buſineſs:* So that every one of their Wives knowing what ſhe has to do in the Houſe, there is no Difference among them. The Men and Women are generally well complexioned, only thoſe that live more ſoutherly are ſwarthy, and ſubject to Wens in their Throats; nor are they ſo well featured, and the Women are ſomething flat-noſed. In the Southern Parts the People go ſtark naked, only covering their Privy-Parts, with a Bonnet upon their Heads like a blue Cap, hung about with Swines Teeth.

They make large Holes in their Ears, that you may run your Thumb in, and hang in them Pieces of Gold and Silver; Bracelets alſo of Tortoiſe-Shells and Sea-ſhells, as long as an Egg, which they ſaw into Circles, are in great Eſteem among the meaner ſort, as Bracelets of Coral and yellow Amber are among the richer. When they bury a Man, all his Friends and Relations muſt come to the Burial, and when they lay the Body in the Ground, they all take off their Bracelets from their Arms and Legs, and bury them with the Corpſe. In the City of *Azoo* are the Tombs of the Kings of *Aſem* and all the Royal Family; for though they are Idolaters, they never burn their dead Bodies, but bury them. They believe that the Dead go all of them into another World, and that they that have lived well in this have Plenty of all Things; but they who have been ill Livers, ſuffer the Want of all Things, being in a more eſpecial Manner afflicted with Hunger and Drought; and that therefore it is good to bury ſomething with them to ſerve them in their Neceſſity. For this Reaſon their Kings build themſelves, in their Life-times, Chapels in the great Pagods to be buried in, wherein they ſtore up great Sums of Gold and Silver, and other Moveables of Value: beſides, when they bury any of their Kings, they bury with him likewiſe whatever he eſteemed moſt precious in his Life-time, whether it be an Idol of Gold or Silver, or whatever elſe, that being needful in this, is alſo as they think neceſſary in the Life to come.

But that which ſavours moſt of Barbariſm is this; that when any King dies, all his beſt-beloved Wives, and the principal Officers of his Houſe, poiſon themſelves to be buried with him, and to wait upon him in the other World: and they alſo bury one Elephant, twelve Camels, ſix Horſes, and a good Number of Hounds, believing that all theſe Creatures riſe again to ſerve the King. It is thought theſe were the People that firſt invented Guns, and Powder, and that the Invention ſpreading itſelf into *Pegu*, and then into *China*, it from thence became known in the World, and ſo the *Chineſe* were thought to be the Inventors of them. Their Powder is very ſmall and round, like ours in *Europe*, and very ſtrong. As for the Kingdom of *Siam*, and that of *Macaſſar*, the Accounts already given of them diſpenſe us from the Neceſſity of inſerting what this Author has written about them. But with regard to that of the Kingdom of *Tunquin*, or *Tonquin*, it is at once ſo conciſe and ſo curious, that it would be unjuſt to conceal it from the Reader's Notice; and therefore with this Deſcription we ſhall conclude this Part of the Travels of Mr. *Tavernier*.

20. The Kingdom of *Tonquin* is bounded on the Eaſt by *Canton*, a Province of *China*, on the Weſt by the Kingdom of *Brama*, on the North by *Junan* and *Quainſi*, two other Provinces of *China*, and on the South by *Cochin-China*. The Air is mild and temperate, though it lies in the Torrid Zone, and the Ground ſo fertile that there is a continual Spring: Froſt and Snow are never ſeen here, and the Gout, Stone, and Peſtilence are Strangers in it. The North and South Winds, which continually blow, and divide the Year between them equally, ſo moderate the Heats that they are not troubleſome; yet, once in ſeven Years, they have hideous and terrible Tempeſts, which make ſtrange Deſolations, pulling up Trees, and blowing down Houſes. Theſe Exhalations are thought, by their Aſtrologers, to proceed from the Mines, as is alſo believed in *Japan*.

The whole Kingdom is divided into ſeveral Provinces, which together contain, as it is ſaid, 20000 Cities and Towns, though many Families, with their Cattle, live always upon the Water in Boats, after the Manner of the *Cochin-Chineſe*. The Country is for the moſt part level, ſave that in the North there are ſome Hills. It is watered with ſeveral Rivers, ſome of which carry Veſſels of a good Burthen, and ſo are commodious for Trade. In all this Country grow neither Corn nor Vines, becauſe they never have any Rain but in *June* and *July*; but Rice is produced in vaſt Quantities, which ſupplies the People both with Meat and Drink: They have alſo good *Aqua Vitæ*, or Strong-Waters. Their Fruits are excellent, but all different from ours. Their Palms bear larger Nuts than in any Part of *Aſia*; they are as big as a Man's Hand, and ſhaped like a Cocoa, the Pulp is as white as Snow, and taſtes like our Almonds, and every one yields a conſiderable Quantity of Liquor very pleaſing to the Palate. The Gogovier, which reſembles our Laurel, is of two ſorts, the one bears a Plum, green without and red within; but the other a yellower Fruit, which is much more eſteemed. The Papager bears a Fruit like a ſmall Melon, and the Taſte is very delicious. The Arraga, which grows upright and tall, like the Maſt of a Ship, bears Branches only at the Top, and the Fruit is like a Nutmeg; they bruiſe it with Beetle and Chalk, which they chew to make their Teeth white, Lips vermilion, and Breath ſweet.

They have Figs of two ſorts, the one like ours, the other like thoſe called *Adam*'s Figs, as long as a Man's Finger. They have a Tree like our Willow, called the Powder-tree, becauſe of the Wood burnt into Charcoal they make Gun-powder. The Janbagels grow very high, and bear a Fruit reſembling a Citrul-Cucumber, which has a Pulp like a Pomegranate, and is very pleaſant in the hot Seaſons. Their Highways are planted with Warr-trees, which are a great Convenience for Travellers; for ſome of them are ſo big that two or three thouſand Men might ſhelter themſelves under them, ſome of their Branches being three hundred Paces long, and ſupported at every twelve Feet with under Branches, which, having taken Root, ſupport them like ſo many Pillars: the Nuts of them, which are no bigger than a Walnut, have a Kernel like Millet, which ſerves only for Food for the Rere-Mice, which make their Neſts there. They have Bodies as big as a Pullet, and the *Portugueze* prefer them before it. They have a certain ſort of Birds-Neſts, as big as a Swallow's, which they diſſolve in Water for Sauces to all their Delicacies; they give a Flavour above all the Spices of the *Eaſt-Indies* put together; they are found only in the four Iſlands belonging to *Cochin-China*. The *Tunquineſe* alſo catch abundance of Tortoiſes in their Seas, which they not only eſteem excellent Food, and think they cannot treat their Friends as they ought to do without them, but pickle them up, and ſend them abroad, which cauſes a Trade among them. *Tunquin* affords a mighty Store of Ananas, and Orange-trees, which are of two ſorts, the one no bigger than Apricots, the other bigger than *Portugal* Oranges, both well taſted alike, and plentiful for ſix Months. Their Citrons, which are both green and yellow, are too tart to be eaten, but the Juice is made uſe of to cleanſe Copper, Tin, and Iron, for gilding, as alſo to ſcour Silk, whiten Linen, and take out Spots.

In *Moguliſtan* they will make their Calicuts ſo white with the Juice of theſe Citrons, as to dazzle your Eyes. Great Quantities of Silk are made in this Country, of which both Rich and Poor make their Garments; and the *Hollanders* tranſport many into *China*. They have but one ſweet-ſmelling Flower, called the Bague, which grows like a Noſegay. They have abundance of Sugar, and eat it very much after their Meals for Digeſtion, but they eat it out of the Cane, not having the true Art to refine it. In this whole Kingdom there are neither Lions, Aſſes, nor Sheep, but their Foreſts are full of Tygers, Harts, and Apes, and their Fields of Oxen, Cows, and Hogs, Hens, Ducks, and Turtles, which are the general Proviſions of their Feaſts, are numberleſs. Their Horſes are well ſhaped, and the King always keeps five or ſix hundred of them in his Stables. Their Elephants are of a prodigious Bigneſs; there are none ſo tall and nimble in all *Aſia*. The King keeps five or ſix hundred of them for his Service in his Palace, and Wars. They have no Cats, but their Dogs deſtroy the Rats and Mice, which are very large and miſchievous. They have very few Birds, but ſuch Multitudes of Gnats, that they are very troubleſome at Nights, as well by their Noiſe as Stinging; they drive them away by the Smoak of Rice Chaff. But the greateſt Inconvenience of the Country are the white Emmets, whoſe Biting raiſes Bliſters on the Skin; for their Teeth are ſo ſharp, that they will gnaw a Poſt in two in a little Time, and eat a Bale of Silk in twenty-four Hours, as if it were cut in two.

They have no Mines of Gold or Silver in *Tunquin*, neither do they coin any Money. The chief Commodities of this Country are, beſides the Silk above-mentioned, Lignum-Aloes, of which there are ſome worth a thouſand Crowns the Pound, being oily and good: All the *Mohammedans* uſe it to perfume their Boards and Rooms at Viſits, and therefore the *Portugueze* of *Goa* ſent, as a rare Preſent to the Emperor of *Japan*, a piece of Lignum-Aloes ſix Foot Long and round, worth 54000 Livres. The *Tunquineſe* are very faithful in their Dealings, very unlike their Neighbours the *Chineſe*, who will cheat you if they can; and if they are at any Time over-reached, will pay in light Money, for they are blunt and plain. Having no Money, they make uſe in Trade of Ingots of Gold, and Bars of Silver, which they have from *China* and *Japan* for their Silks. They are worth from three to ſix hundred Livres, and therefore in ſmall Payments they either cut them in Pieces, or pay in *Spaniſh* Reals.

The Forces of this King for War is prodigious; his uſual Army is 12000 Horſe, 2000 Elephants, as well to carry the King's and Nobilities Tents and Baggage as for the Service of the Wars, 300,000 Foot and 300 Gallies, and ſometimes the Amount is 500,000 Men. The Condition of the Soldiers is very toilſome and laborious; they are always upon the Guard, or attending their Captains in looking after the King's Elephants, and ſo breeding them that they need not be afraid of Fire, or in building Places of Shelter for the King's Gallies in Winter; yet their Wages are ſo ſmall that they cannot maintain their Wives and Families, but their Wives are forced to follow ſome Trade to ſupport them. Their Companies conſiſt of an hundred, or an hundred and thirty Men, and the Soldiers are obliged to keep all their Arms very neat and bright. The People of *Tunquin* are naturally mild and peaceable, ſubmitting eaſily to Reaſon, and condemning the Tranſports of Anger, and other Paſſions.

They eſteem the Manufactures of other Countries more than their own, yet love to live at home, and honour the Memories of their Anceſtors: Their Speech is ſoft and pleaſing, they have good Memories, and are fluent in their Diſcourſe. They have good Poets among them, and their People generally love Learning; both Men and Women are well proportioned, but of an olive Complexion, and therefore much admire the Whiteneſs of the *Europeans*. Their Hair is black, and they wear it very long, and well combed and tied upon the Crown of their Heads, or about their Necks, to keep it from fluttering in their Eyes. The blackeſt Teeth, and longeſt Nails, they account the moſt beautiful. Their Habit is grave and modeſt, being a long Robe for both Sexes, girt about with a ſilken Girdle, mixed with Gold and Silver. The Soldiers wear an upper Garment, which reaches no farther than the Knees, and Breeches that go down to the middle; but have neither Hoſe nor Shoes.

The common People, except where the King's Court is, work three Months at the King's Palace, and two Months for the Mandarins, or great Lords, the reſt of the Year is left to work for themſelves and Families. One Day in the Year they are obliged to lop Trees to feed the Elephants. Their Rivers are free from Crocodiles, and other dangerous Animals, which haunt the Waters of the *Nile* and *Ganges*; but yet once a Year they overflow their Banks, after the Rains, with that terrible Violence, that they carry away whole Towns and Villages along with them.

The *Tunquineſe* cannot marry without the Conſent of their Parents; and if they be dead, the Permiſſion of their neareſt Kindred, and the Allowance of the Governor of the Place where the Marriage is made; for which the Man muſt pay a certain Sum limited by Law. The People are very induſtrious here, and all the Money the Maids get before Marriage is to buy them two or three handſome Garments, a Necklace of Coral, or yellow Amber, and Beads to garniſh their Locks, and for their Portions. There is no Wedding without a great Feaſt, the poorer ſort for three Days at leaſt, if they are able, and others for nine. The

Laws of the Land permit the Man to divorce his Wife whenever he pleaſes, which they many times do for ſlight Cauſes; but the Woman has not the ſame Privilege; and if ſhe deſires it, obtains it with Difficulty; but the Man is bound to reſtore the Woman what ſhe brought with her, and keep the Children begotten between them; but now Divorces are not half ſo frequent as formerly. Adultereſſes are puniſhed here very ſeverely, the Offender being caſt to an Elephant bred up for that Purpoſe, who throws them up into the Air, and then tramples them under Feet, till they are dead.

Of all the Eaſtern People the *Tunquineſe* are the moſt ſociable, and moſt frequently viſit each other; generally they make their Viſits about Noon, with a Train ſuitable to their Condition; the Princes and Mandarins ride on Elephants, or are carried on Pallekies, and their Train is of fifty or ſixty Perſons; the ordinary Gentry, and Officers of the Court, ride on Horſeback, and are not allowed above ſeven or eight Servants to attend them. They chew Beetle continually, where it is to be had, and at their Viſits always preſent their Friends with ſome at taking Leave; and the richer the Box is, the greater the Preſent is eſteemed. Among the *Tunquineſe*, it is a great Diſhonour to have the Head bare, for they ſhave all Criminals, and if any Perſon be found without Hair, they apprehend him, and carry him to the Governor, who cauſes him to be nailed to a Croſs immediately. They ſit croſs-legged, as the reſt of the *Aſiatics*; but inſtead of Carpets, they uſe Mats made of Reeds, as fine as Thread, and as ſoft as Velvet, which they lay upon Beds, not on the Ground, as the *Perſians* and other *Indians* do. They are not curious in their Diet, but very neat in dreſſing it.

The common People are contented with Rice boiled in Water, dry Fiſh and Eggs (for they eat Fleſh only at their Feſtivals) but the great Lords are ſerved every Day with Fleſh and Fiſh; but they know not how to bake any thing. All their Meat is cut in little Pieces, and ſerved up in little lackered Plates leſs than our Trenchers. They uſe no Napkins or Table-cloths, Knives, Forks, or Spoons; but only two Sticks to take up their Meat; for they never touch it with their Hands. They waſh their Hands, Mouths, and Faces, before they ſit down to Meat; but never after their Meals. They are uſually ſilent at Table; but if they have a Mind to Diſcourſe, the eldeſt begins firſt; for they pay much Honour to Age. When they would know whether any Perſon has eaten ſufficiently, they aſk him whether he has eaten his Rice, meaning thereby the whole Repaſt, as the Scripture does by Bread. They never aſk any Man how he does, but how he eat his Dinner; for the more a Man eats, the better they ſuppoſe him to be in Health. They take much Delight in Comedies, which are uſually acted upon the new Moon, and laſt all Night.

They ſet up their Theatres in great Halls, and adorn their Stages with beautiful Machines and Scenes. They have ſeldom more Actors than eight, either Men or Women, and they are very magnificently clad; they act their Parts perfectly well, and obſerve an exact Time in their Dancing. Their ordinary Paſtimes, and eſpecially for the Lords and Mandarins, are Fiſhing and Hunting: In the former thay take the greater Pleaſure, becauſe their Rivers are full of Fiſh; but they never follow their Sport but upon certain Days, when they may be ſpared from their Buſineſs. The *Tunquineſe* are Lovers of Learning, and apply themſelves to their Studies with Diligence. Their Learning conſiſts in the Knowledge of the Laws of their Country, Mathematicks, and Aſtronomy. They are Admirers of Poetry and Muſick, and are accounted the greateſt Artiſts in them of all the People of the Eaſt.

To acquire Nobility by Learning, they ſtudy hard for eight Years in the Office of a Notary, Proctor, or Advocate; and if upon a ſtrict Examination they are found to underſtand their Office ſo well as to anſwer all Queſtions about it, their Names are preſented to the King, who grants them a Title of the Synde. Having arrived at this Degree, they are ordered to ſtudy Muſick, Aſtrology, Poetry, and Mathematicks, five Years; and if upon a ſecond Examination they anſwer all Queſtions put to them in thoſe Sciences, they are raiſed to the Dignity of Doucan; after this they muſt ſpend four Years more to write and read the *Chineſe* Characters to ſuch Number of Words; for to know or write it fully is almoſt impoſſible, it is ſo copious, and to underſtand the Laws and Cuſtoms of the *Chineſe*; and after a ſtrict Examination by all the Mandarins of Learning, and Tanſi's, or Noblemen, for eight Days, if they anſwer well, they arrive at the Degree of a Tanſi, and are received into the Rank of the Nobility, and the King gives them certain Towns to take the Rents; but to ſome more, and others leſs, according to their Merit, or the Prince's Favour; and the King gives them a Veſt of Sattin.

Then they go to viſit their Towns given them by the King, where they are received in a gilded Branguar, with Muſick, and they ſtay three Months for their Recreation, and then they return to Court to inſtruct themſelves in the Affairs of the Kingdom and Palace, and arrive at the Dignity of Mandarin. In the mean time their Names being written under large Tables, are ſet upon the Gate of the King's Palace eight Days, that all the People may know who are received into the Rank of the Nobility.

The Phyſicians of *Tunquin* ſtudy Books but little, but ſpend their Youth in ſearching into the Virtues of Roots and Simples, and how to apply them to every Diſtemper, which they judge of by the beating of the Pulſe, and its Diverſity of Meaſure, as by the Pulſe of the Right Hand they gueſs at the Condition of the Lungs, and by that of the Arm of the Diſtemper of the Stomach and Kidneys; by the Pulſe of the left Hand they judge of the Condition of the Heart; and by that of the Arm of the State of the Liver; and by the Pulſe of the Temples, both Right and Left, they give a moſt exquiſite Judgment of the Kidnies. They carefully count how many times the Pulſe of a ſick Perſon beats in the Space of one Breathing, and according to theſe ſeveral Pulſes they will tell you which Part of the Body is particularly diſtempered, whether the Heart, Liver, or Lungs, or whether it proceeds from any outward Cauſe. They generally give Decoctions of Herbs and Roots, with a little Ginger. They uſe *China* Ink to ſtop a Dyſentery, and for the Cure of Wounds, and give Powder of Crabs in Dyſenteries and Fevers, often in Water, ſometimes in Brandy.

They preſcribe Tea, which comes to them from *China* and *Japan*, as an excellent Remedy againſt the Head-ach and Gravel, and with a little Ginger for the Griping of the Guts. That is accounted the beſt Tea which colours the Water greeneſt; for that which colours it red is little accounted of. Againſt the Afflictions which proceed from bad Airs, and cold Wines, they uſe a Counter-poiſon mixed with *Aqua Vitæ*, in which alſo they dip a Cloth, and rub the Patient well; but in this they boil a little Ginger, and for a more ſpeedy Cure they ſweat the Patient in a Cloud of Frankincenſe; they never uſe Blood-letting, and in the Purple Fever they uſe Fire, and ſometimes pricking every Spot. The Spot being burnt will give a Whiff like a Squib, which is an infallible Sign that the Venom is gone out of the Body; but the Phyſician muſt take Care that it does not enter his own, for then Death certainly follows. If the Spot be pricked to let out the peſtilential Blood, they burn it, and then rub it with Ginger, not permitting the Patient to take the Air in twenty Days, or eat any Fleſh or Butter. Theſe Remedies are effectual to a Wonder, and cure in a ſhort Time.

The Kingdom of *Tunquin* was anciently a Part of *China*, but has been for ſix hundred Years governed by its own Kings. The firſt that aſſumed the Title of King was a Robber, whoſe Name was *Din*, who heading a great Number of Malecontents, gained many bloody Battles over the *Chineſe*, and ſeized the Province for his Kingdom. The People did not permit him to reign long in Peace; but riſing againſt him, ſlew him; though he left two Sons, yet they reigned but a few Years ſucceſſively, and died without Iſſue. The Kingdom after their Death was mightily diſtracted with Civil Wars, till the *Chineſe* being called in to aſſiſt the weaker Party, brought things to a Settlement, and a Mandarin, of the Family of *Lelequel*, was advanced to the Throne.

He being a valiant and prudent Prince, reſtored Peace and Order to the Kingdom; and after he was eſtabliſhed, built an admirable Palace of Marble of divers Colours, and very large; he left one Daughter to ſucceed him, and ſhe, to ſecure herſelf, married a powerful Mandarin, of the Houſe of *Tran*; but ſhe being depoſed, and ſlain by her rebellious Subjects, the *Chineſe* again ſeized the Government, and held it twenty Years. They ſet Governors over every Province, and laid heavy Tributes upon the People; ſo that being weary of the Oppreſſion, they joined under a valiant Captain of the Houſe of *Lee*, and vanquiſhed the *Chineſe* in three Battles, ſeated him on the Throne, and in his Family the Government continued above eighty Years, the laſt of this Race having given an Affront to a great Lord of the Houſe of *Marr*, which had formerly enjoyed the Scepter, he being aſſiſted by a great Number of Malecontents, ſought to regain the Kingdom, and in one bloody Battle became Maſter of it.

But he enjoyed it not above two Years, being depoſed by one of the Family of *Trin*, who refuſing to aſcend the Throne, reſtored it to the Family of *Lee*, yet reſerving to himſelf and Family the whole Command of the Army, and Diſpoſal of all the Revenues of the State, and all publick Affairs; ſo that the King, whom they call *Boua*, has the Name, Title, and State; but the General, whom they call *Choua*, has the Power. The King hears Cauſes almoſt every Day, but makes no publick Edict which is of any Effect, till it is ſigned by the *Choua*: He lives ſhut up in his Palace, and ſtirs not out but upon certain Days; he has generally two thouſand Soldiers for his Guard, and keeps ſometimes twenty thouſand quartered upon his Frontiers, eſpecially towards *Cochin-China*, and with them fifty Elephants upon the Rivers alſo of the Kingdom, where any Enemy can endanger him; he keeps uſually one hundred great Gallies, with a vaſt Company of ſmall Galliots.

The eldeſt Sons here do not always ſucceed their Fathers in the Throne, but by the Influence of the *Choua* and Counſellors, his Creatures, he is obliged to name which of his Sons he will have to reign after him, if he has many, and him they promiſe to eſtabliſh, ſhutting up all the reſt in the Palace, as in a Priſon, and not ſuffering them to meddle with Affairs of State; yet four Times a Year they are allowed to go out under an Officer appointed by the *Choua*, and have Leave to ſtay out ſix Days. On the firſt they are to viſit the Temples and Prieſts, and give them large Alms, the next two Days they hunt, and the three laſt fiſh.

The Kingdom of *Tunquin* is divided into eight large Provinces, every one of which has its Governor and Magiſtrates; but there lies an Appeal from their Sentence to the King, his thirty-two Counſellors, and one hundred Aſſiſtants. Their Nobility attain that Degree by Merit only, *viz.* by their Valour in the Wars, and Learning; and as theſe latter go through a long Courſe of Studies, and ſtrict Examinations, as is before ſhewn, ſo the former are inſtructed in warlike Exerciſes betimes, *viz.* to handle their Swords, to aim with their Bows, to fire a Muſket, to ride the great Horſe, to ſhoot running, to manage their Zagays, which are long Staves checked with Iron like a Half-pike, and make all ſorts of artificial Fire-works, which they uſe againſt Elephants in War; for though ſome Elephants may be taught not to regard them, though they go off under their Noſes or Bellies, yet one in ten cannot be brought to it; ſo that unleſs their Governors take great Care, inſtead of running upon the Enemy, they will turn upon their Friends, and put a whole Army into a diſmal Confuſion, if not deſtroy it, as they did *Aurengzebe*'s at the Siege of *Daman.*

21. The Kingdom of *Tunquin* paid a Tribute to the *Chineſe* till the Year 1667, when the *Tartars* invaded their Country, and then they concluded a Peace, on Condition that they ſhould ſend every Year an Embaſſador to *Pequin* to do Homage to the Emperor of *China*. They obſerve an exact Order in adminiſtering Juſtice, and regulating Affairs all over the Kingdom; they are very exact in puniſhing Murder, and none can eſcape, but ſuch as have killed one that has no Relations to revenge his Death; for the King can pardon no Man for this Crime, and all the Favour he can ſhew, is to leave him to the Kindred of the Slain.

They take great Care for the publick Good, to repair Bridges and Highways, and every Quarter of a League there is Water and Fire provided for thoſe Travellers who may want them. Though the King has not much Power in his Kingdom, yet he is highly honoured by his Subjects, and keeps a very ſplendid Court the firſt and fifteenth Day of every Month: All the Mandarins, except the General, who is allowed to ſend his Deputy, come in their *Chineſe* Habits to kiſs the King's Hand, as the inferior Mandarins, who are Governors of Provinces, Juſtices, and military Officers, do the *Choua's* on the firſt Day of the Year. All that deſire to ſee the King, are obliged to put on violet Robes, both themſelves and their Servants, and if they beg any Favour, muſt carry a Preſent. On the firſt Day of every new Year the King diſtributes ſeveral Largeſſes and Gifts to his Courtiers, and the Children of ſuch as have done him any important Services, which are Panes of Gold worth ſix hundred Livres each, and Bars of Silver, which are worth forty-ſix Livres each: He alſo releaſes all Priſoners, both Criminals and Debtors, provided their Crimes do not deſerve Death, and the Debts do not exceed two Bars of Silver.

The three laſt Days of the Year the four Mandarins, who are the chief Counſellors of the State, take Oaths of all the Lords and Officers of the Court, and their Wives, to be faithful to the King, and diſcover any Treaſon againſt his Perſon and Government, and the Governors of Cities and Countries do the ſame to the Lords, Gentlemen, Citizens, and Inhabitants of their Juriſdictions, and every one that diſcovers any Treaſon, never fails of a Reward, according to his Quality; and mean People are gratified with a Reward of fifty Panes of Gold, and five hundred Bars of Silver, which amounts to 53,000 Livres; but they eſteem Nobility above Money. They have a Muſter of the Youth every Year, and all ſuch as are found not to be of the Nobility, or not to have learnt a Trade, are immediately enrolled for the King's Service, to be of his Guards, or defend his Frontiers. Some will endeavour to get off by Money; but if they are diſcovered, both Officers and Soldiers are puniſhed without Mercy; for they hang a little Bell about their Necks, and fetter their Arms, and ſend them to the General, who preſently orders their Heads to be ſtricken off, or upon Interceſſion of Friends they are to be hanged, becauſe they are very averſe to Bloodſhed, and believe the Death moſt honourable that is free from it. When the King goes at any time out of his Palace to take his Pleaſure, he is ſeated upon a moſt magnificent Pallanquin, carried by eight Men, where he is ſeen by all the People, the Lords and Officers of the Court attending on Foot, if he goes no farther than the City; but if he goes in the Country, he rides on an Elephant, and the Lords attend him on Horſeback. When the Queen-Mother, or his firſt Wife goes abroad, they are likewiſe carried upon a cloſe Pallanquin, with Lattice Windows, that they may ſee, and not be ſeen, and the Maids of Honour follow it on Foot.

The Mandarins, and great Princes, ſolemnize their Birth-days every Year with great Feaſting, Paſtimes, Comedies, and Fire-works, and at the ſame time give large Alms, eſpecially to poor Widows and Priſoners. When the King dies, and leaves ſeveral Sons, he is ſet up whom the King has appointed his Succeſſor; and on the third Day of his Deceaſe the General, with all the military Mandarins, Lords of the Council, and Governors of Provinces, repair to the Prince's Apartment, where they preſent him with a *Chineſe* Habit, and mounting him on an Elephant, bring him into one of the great Courts of the Palace, which is covered with Cloth of Gold and Silver as a Tent, and place him upon a magnificent Throne, where being ſeated, all the Mandarins proſtrate themſelves to him upon the Earth with their Heads downward; in which Poſture, having lain ſome time, they riſe, and cloſing their Hands together, with their Arms and Eyes lifted up towards Heaven, they ſwear to be faithful to him till Death.

The new King, to requite this Loyalty, orders four Panes of Gold, and ſix Bars of Silver, to be given to every one; but to the Conſtable, or General, he gives two Panes of Gold, and forty Bars of Silver; and to the Preſident of the Council half as many: After theſe Preſents are given, ſeveral Pieces of Artillery are fired about the Palace, with ſome Vollies of ſmall Shot, by the Soldiers then in Arms, which are 30,000 Horſe and Foot, the King ſet upon a magnificent Pallanquin, carried by eight military Mandarins, and eight of the Council, the Conſtable and chief of the Council riding before upon very fine Horſes, is carried to the Apartments of the deceaſed King, when the Lords are retired, the Princeſſes, Ladies of the Court, and chief

Wives of the Mandarins, come to kiſs the King's Hand, and congratulate him upon his Advancement to the Throne; which done, the Lords return to a noble Feaſt prepared for them after the Manner of the Country. Colt's Fleſh, and Dogs, are in moſt Eſteem with them; and the Bird's Neſts, which give their Meat a Taſte of almoſt all ſorts of Spices, are their chief Sauce. The Feſtival is concluded with Comedies, and Fire-works, which laſt all Night.

The next Day the 30,000 Soldiers are drawn up in the Field, and the King appearing on his War Elephant, in the midſt of his Troops, takes an Oath of Fidelity of all the Officers, and then beſtows his Gifts upon them, *viz.* to every Colonel two Panes of Gold, and forty Bars of Silver; to every Captain half as much, and to every Soldier a Month's Pay, which being received, the whole Army diſcharge three Vollies, and then they retreat to their Huts, where they have a Feaſt prepared, as the King has alſo, in a wooden Palace erected for the ſame Purpoſe; and ſo they ſpend the Night in Feaſting, Dancing, and letting off Fire-works. This Ceremony being ended, they ſet on Fire the Palace and Huts, and the King returning to his Palace, beſtows his Liberality on the Comedians and Dancers; then he gives Acceſs to all his People by their Commiſſioners, *viz.* to the Merchants and Traders, People of *Checo*, who aſſure him that their City acknowledge him for their King, and will be faithful to him unto Death; and he gives fifty Panes of Gold, and three hundred Bars of Silver, to the Tradeſmen, and then to the Commonalty of the whole Kingdom, whom he diſcharges from Taxes a whole Year, if they have never taken up Arms againſt their King, and but ſix Months, if they have; all Priſoners for Debt, after they have compounded with the Creditors for half, he freely paying the reſt.

'Tis ſaid, that the King upon this Occaſion ſends above 100,000 Beaſts to the Temples of the falſe Gods to be ſacrificed for him, beſides the Value of one Million of Panes of Gold in Tiſſues and Silks to adorn the Idols, orange-coloured Calicuts for the Bonzes, and blue Calicuts for the Poor that are kept in the Pagods, as Hoſpitals. Sometimes after the Ceremony is over, the King, at the New of the Moon, goes to give his Deities Thanks for his coming to the Crown, and remains for a Week with the Bonzes, living in common with them, viſiting the Hoſpitals, to ſee how the Poor, and eſpecially the Antient, are uſed; and to them he gives new Alms, and orders the building of a new Pagod in ſome fair Situation, which he dedicates to ſome Idol. The ſecond Part of the Moon is ſpent in ſeeing the Gallies row one againſt another, the King and Court having Houſes built on the Plains by the River for that Purpoſe; which Diverſions being over, the Captains come aſhore to kiſs the King's Hand, and they that have behaved moſt ſtoutly and nimbly, receive the Marks of his Bounty, and he gives all the Soldiers two Months Pay extraordinary. During ſeven Days, there are ſuch vaſt Numbers of Fire-works thrown about, that you would think the Air and Water all on Fire. Then the King returns to his Palace, and ſpends the other half of the Month with his Princeſſes, diverting himſelf and his Ladies with Fire-works, Comedies, and Mummeries.

When the King of *Tunquin* dies, he is preſently embalmed, and laid in State ſixty-five Days; all which Time his Table is ſerved as if he were alive; and when the Meat is taken from before the Body, half is given to the Bonzes, and the other half given to the Poor. So ſoon as the King has breathed out his laſt Gaſp, the Conſtable gives Notice to the Governors of Provinces, and orders them how long they ſhall mourn. The military Mandarins mourn generally three Years; the King's Houſhold nine Months; the Nobility ſix; and meaner ſort three; and all the three Years there is a Ceſſation from Divertiſements, except thoſe that are uſed at the King's Elevation to the Throne. All the Meats that are ſerved up to the new King are varniſhed with black, and his Train is cut off, and his Head covered with a Straw Bonnet, as are alſo the Heads of all his Princes and Counſellors of State; nor do they leave this Habit till the deceaſed King's Body is put into the Galley to be carried to the Interment, and the three Bells, which hang in one of the Towers of the Palace, never ceaſe tolling all that Time. The third Day after his Deceaſe all the Mandarins repair to Court, to teſtify their Sorrow for the deceaſed King; and ten Days after all the People are allowed to ſee the Body lie in State, till it be put into the Galley. During the ſixty-five Days which the King's Body lies in State, the Conſtable prepares for the Funeral, which is thus performed: The King and all the Court march on Foot to the Gallies, which they make ſeventeen Days March, though it is not really above two Days Journey, and all the Way is ſpread with Violet-coloured Calicuts, which is the King's Colour. The Order of their March is thus: Firſt go the two Uſhers of the King's Bed-chamber, with Maces of Arms, the Heads of them being full of Fire-works; theſe proclaim the Name of the deceaſed King; next go twelve Officers of the Gallies drawing a Tomb, whereon the King's Name is written; then proceeded twelve Elephants, of which four carry the King's Standards; four ſix-armed Men apiece in Turrets; and four of thoſe the King rode on in his Wars: After theſe rides the Maſter of the Horſe, with two Pages after him on Horſeback; then are led twelve Horſes richly harneſſed, with Bits, Bridles and Saddles; after follows the Mauſoleum, or Hearſe, drawn by eight Stags, trained up for that Service, every one of them being led by a Captain of the Guard; then goes the new King with his Brothers, if he have any, and the Princes of the Blood, all clad in white Sattin, which is their Mourning Colour; they are attended by Muſicians, who play upon Hautboys, and other Inſtruments: After them go ſix Princeſſes in white Sattin, carrying Meat and Drink for the deceaſed King; theſe are attended by as many Ladies of Honour in purple Garments; then go eight Princes of the Royal Blood in purple Garments, with Straw Hats; next proceed four Governors of the chief Provinces of the Kingdom, carrying on their Shoulders certain Bags full of Gold, and Perfumes hung on Sticks, which are Preſents made by their Provinces to be buried with their King's Body, for his Uſe in the other World; then follow two Chariots drawn by eight Horſes apiece, led by a Groom each, in which are two Coffers full of Panes of Gold, Bars of Silver, rich Tiſſues, and other Riches, to be buried with the King's Body, for his Uſe in the other Life: Laſtly, come a great Croud of the King's Officers, and other Nobility, ſome on Foot, others on Horſeback, according to their Offices and Qualities. When the deceaſed King's Body is put into the Galley, the new King and the Company return home, and the Calicut being taken up, is given to the Bonzes.

The Galley, wherein is the King's Body, is committed to ſix of the chief Eunuchs, who are ſworn never to reveal the Place where the King is buried. It is attended by three other Gallies; one carries the Lords, and another the Ladies, who are to be buried alive with the King to attend him into the other World; and the third carries the Treaſure that is to be buried with the King, for his Uſe. The King is buried in inacceſſible Mountains and Deſarts. As for the ordinary Funerals of the *Tunquineſe*, they are more or leſs pompous, according to the Quality of the Perſon deceaſed. At their Interments they uſe great Store of artificial Fire-works, which they uſe alſo in their Times of Joy, as well as Grief. They alſo ſet upon the Tomb good Store of Victuals, and Sweet-meats, believing that the Dead are better for them; and the Prieſts, who train them up in the Error, diſpoſe of them before the next Morning. The *Dutch* Soldiers at *Batavia* robbed the Prieſts of theſe Dainties ſeveral times, but at length paid dear for their Liquoriſhneſs; for the Prieſts finding no Redreſs by complaining to the Governor, poiſoned the Meat and Drink, and ſo deſtroyed many of them.

The Religion of the *Tunquineſe* is divided into three Sects; the firſt is derived from an ancient Philoſopher, called *Confucius*, whoſe Memory is famous over all *China* and the neighbouring Countries. Their Doctrine is, that Men are compoſed of two Parts, one fine and ſubtle, and the other material and groſs. When a Man dies, the ſubtle Part vaniſheth into the Air, and the groſs returns to Earth. They uſe Sacrifices, and worſhip the ſeven Planets. Their chief Idols are *Rouma*, *Betolo*, *Ramonu*, and *Brama*. The Women chiefly worſhip the Goddeſs *Setiſbana*; and the King, Mandarins, and learned Men, adore the Heavens. The ſecond Sect was founded by one *Cha-*

cabout, an Hermit, and the moſt of the common People are of this Sect. He taught his Followers the Tranſmigration of Souls, and enjoined theſe ten Commands, *viz.* 1. That they ſhould not kill. 2. That they ſhould not ſteal. 3. That they ſhould not defile their Bodies. 4. That they ſhould not lye. 5. That they ſhould not be unfaithful to their Words. 6. That they ſhould reſtrain their inordinate Deſires. 7. That they ſhould do no Injury to any Man. 8. That they ſhould not be great Talkers. 9. That they ſhould not give Way to their Anger. 10. That they ſhould labour to their utmoſt to acquire Knowledge.

As for ſuch as deſign to lead a religious Life, they muſt renounce the Delights of this Life, be charitable to the Poor, overcome their Paſſions, and give themſelves up to Meditation. He taught alſo, that, after this Life, there were ten diſtinct Places of Joy and Torment, and that the Contemners of his Law ſhould feel Torments proportionable to their Offences, without any End. That if they endeavoured to fulfil his Law, and failed in any Point, they ſhould wander in divers Bodies for 3000 Years, before they entered into Happineſs; but ſuch as had perfectly fulfilled his Law, ſhould be rewarded without ſuffering any Change of Body. He ſays of himſelf, that he was born ten Times before he came to Bliſs, becauſe, in his Youth, he, for want of Knowledge, had ſinned. This Impoſtor's Opinions are ſpread all over the Kingdom of *Siam*, ſeveral Provinces of *Japan*, and all *Tunquin*, where he died. The third Sect is that of *Lanthu*, a great Magician: He gave out, that his Mother carried him in her Womb ſeventy Years without loſing her Virginity. That by this Miracle, he might gain Credit to his Impoſtures, he taught moſt of *Chacabout*'s Doctrine; and, to gain the People's Hearts, enjoined the Grandees to build Hoſpitals in all Cities where there were none before to look after the Sick in them. The *Tunquineſe* adore three Things in their Houſes, *viz.* the Hearth of their Chimneys, made of three Stones. 2. The Idol *Ticuſa*, who is the Patroneſs of all Handicrafts-Men; and to her they ſacrifice when they put a Child to any Trade, that ſhe may infuſe an Aptneſs to learn it. 3. The Idol *Buabin*, to which they pray, and ſacrifice when they build an Houſe, that he may not ſuffer any Misfortune to befal the Houſe they are going to build; but they ſend for the Bonzes, and they ſtay to offer it, for whom they make great Preparations.

There are ſome among them that adore the Heavens, others the Moon, and others the Stars. Some adore the Earth in five Parts, and that in five ſeveral Colours, *viz.* the Northern in black, the Southern in red, the Eaſtern in green, the Weſt in white, and Middle in yellow; and others ſacrifice to Trees, Elephants, Horſes, Cows, and almoſt all other ſorts of Animals. They that ſtudy the *Chineſe* Characters, ſacrifice every five Months to the Souls of the Dead that were never buried, believing that their Underſtanding ſhall be more enlightned to apprehend Things. At the Beginning of every Year they have a great Solemnity in Honour of the Dead, who were in their Lives renowned for their noble Actions and Valour, reckoning Rebels among them. They ſet up ſeveral Altars, ſome for Sacrifices, others for the Names of the Perſons they deſign to honour; and the King, Princes, and Mandarins, are preſent at them, and make three profound Reverences to the Altars when the Sacrifices are finiſhed; but the King ſhoots five Times againſt the Altars where the Rebels Names are; then the great Guns are let off, and the Soldiers give Vollies of ſmall Shot, to put the Souls to Flight. The Altars and Papers made uſe of at the Sacrifices are burnt, and the Bonzes and Sages go to eat the Meat made uſe of at the Sacrifice.

The firſt and fifteenth Days of every Month are more eſpecially Holy-days for the Worſhip of their Gods, and the Bonzes and Sages redouble their Prayers, and repeat a kind of Charm ſix Times. The People on theſe Days bring Meat and Drink to the Sepulchres of their Kindred, to ſacrifice for the Good of their Souls, to eat. The Bonzes, when they have paid their Worſhip, fall to, and what they cannot eat give the Poor; for this Greedineſs the King and Mandarins make no Account of the Bonzes and Sages, though they lead auſtere Lives, and ſo they are in Credit only with the common People. In *Tunquin* the great Cities have ſeveral Pagods, and every Village and Town almoſt have one: Every Pagod has, at leaſt, two Bonzes and two Says; but ſome maintain forty Pagods, and as many Says, or Sages, who live in common under a Superior, and keep to the Doctrine of *Chacabout*, and a Goat is the Idol which they adore. They wear about their Necks a Necklace of an hundred great Beads made of Wood: They beg for their Living with great Modeſty and Humility, taking no more than is needful; and if they have any thing to ſpare, they give it to the poor Widows and Orphans that cannot get their Living. Their Orders permit them to marry, but then they muſt leave their Monaſtery. They aſſiſt at the Funerals of great Men, where they make a kind of Oration, ſounding their Trumpets and Cornets, while the Bells at their Pagods go at the ſame time. They have a great Veneration for two Magicians and one Witch.

The firſt Magician is called *Tay-bow*, who pretends to know the Events of all Things to come; ſo that when any are about to marry their Children, build an Houſe, buy Land, or undertake any Buſineſs of Conſequence, they conſult him, who, inſpecting his Book, makes them believe what he pleaſes. The other is *Thay-Pou-Thouy*, to whom they have Recourſe in their Sickneſs: When he is conſulted, after ſeveral apiſh Tricks which he acts before the ſick Perſon, to amuſe him, he ſometimes affirms that the Diſtemper comes from the Devil, and then he himſelf and the ſick Perſon, and his Friends that brought him, do Homage to the Devil; but, if he does not recover, all the Friends and Kindred of the ſick Party, with as many Soldiers as they can get, ſurround the ſick Perſon's Houſe, and ſhoot off their Muſkets three Times to drive the Devil away. If the ſick Perſon be a Waterman, or other Perſon belonging to the Water, then he tells them it is the God of the Waters that is the Cauſe of the Diſtemper, and then he orders him to ſpread Carpets, and furniſh Tables in Huts, with all ſorts of Meat, on the Banks of the next River, to invite him to his Habitation.

If theſe Things fail, he ſends him to *Tay-bow*, the chief Magician, to enquire if the Souls of the Dead have cauſed the Diſtemper, and if he anſwers Yes, then the Magician employs his Tricks to get the miſchievous Soul into a Bottle, where he keeps it till the Party is cured. The Magicianeſs is called *Baceti*; ſhe keeps a great Correſpondence with the Devil, and to oblige him, offers her own Daughter, if ſhe has one, as ſoon as ſhe is born. Mothers who have loſt their Children, and deſire to know the Condition of the Soul, conſult her, and thereupon ſhe, by beating of a Drum, pretends to ſummon the Soul before her, and cauſes it to tell her the Condition of it. She generally tells them that the Soul is happy, and bids them be of good Cheer. They have innumerable Superſtitions, but the moſt remarkable are theſe: The more ſtudious People foretel Things that are to come, by looking in a Mirrour. Others ſprinkle the Aſhes of their dead Anceſtors with *Aqua Vitæ*, and beg of them Health, Honour, and Riches. Others, upon their New-Year's Day, make divers Figures upon the Steps and Threſholds of their Doors to drive away evil Spirits. Others, in travelling, if they ſneeze but once, will return back, and if they ſneeze twice, purſue their Journey without Fear of Danger. Some, if at going out of their Houſes they meet a Woman, retire again for two or three Hours; but, if a Man, it is a good Omen. The firſt Fruit which they gather in the Beginning of the Year, is the Araguer, and they poiſon one, and give it to a Child, believing, that in taking away the Child's Life, they ſhall thrive the better all the Year after.

When the Moon is eclipſed, they ſay a certain Dragon endeavours to devour her, and, therefore, to aſſiſt the Moon, and put the Dragon to Flight, they diſcharge their Muſkets, ring their Bells, beat all their Drums, and make a prodigious Noiſe till the Eclipſe be over, and then they think they have reſcued the Moon, and rejoice as much as if they had obtained a great Victory. They divide the natural Day into twelve Hours, and give them the Name of ſome Beaſt, as a Tyger, Lion, Bear, Horſe, *&c.* and ſo the Months and Days have their particular Names. When a

Child is born, preſently the Father and Kindred go to ſee the Name of the Beaſt by which the Hour was called when the Child was born, believing that Animal will prove fatal to it. The preſent King of *Tunquin* was born in the Hour of the Horſe, and he would never give Audience, nor ſtir out of the Houſe, for fear ſome Miſchief ſhould befal him at that Time. And the ſame Prince having a Child that died in the fifth Month, which is called by the Name of the Horſe, would not ſuffer him to be buried, but cauſed him to be burnt, and ſcattered his Aſhes in the Air.

Thus far our Author, whoſe conſummate Knowledge of the Country, People, and Commerce of the *Indies*, enabled him to enter more thoroughly into theſe Points than it was in the Power of any other Writer to do. His Travels through *Perſia*, his ſeveral Journies by Land through the beſt Part of *Aſia*, are no leſs excellent in themſelves, but are reſerved to furniſh another Part of this Work.

But there remains however a Portion of his Labours, which indiſputably claim our Notice here, inaſmuch as they contain whatever is neceſſary towards underſtanding the Oeconomy of all the Nations that inhabit *India*, their Manner of Living among themſelves, and, with reſpect to others, the Nature of their Manufactures, the Method of the carrying on domeſtick Commerce, and, above all, that Relation which the Trades of *India* have to each other; the Routes from their great Cities, the Nature of their Carriages and Caravans; and, in a Word, the Detail of that Induſtry, which, if I may be allowed the Expreſſion, originally eſtabliſhed, and has ſtill preſerved the Trade of the *Indies*. I know the Phraſe is hard, but I know too that it is not in my Power to explain it better; for it is not the natural Wealth alone of theſe Countries that has rendered them famous, who have in all Ages attracted the Trade of the whole World to them, and thereby made the Commerce of the *Indies* the great Commerce of the Univerſe.

It is not, I ſay, the Wealth alone of theſe Countries, but the Induſtry, the Labour, and Addreſs of the Inhabitants, by which we muſt underſtand the native Inhabitants, now called *Banjans*; for, as to the *Turks* and *Tartars*, they have been ſo far from contributing thereto, that, in fact, they ſeem to have made it their Buſineſs to oppreſs and cramp this Spirit, by their tyrannical Government. But, it ſeems, this Spirit of Induſtry has been too hard, even for their Cruelty, and ſtill ſubſiſts to ſuch a Degree, as to excite the Wonder of the beſt Judges, as well as to outdo every thing of the ſame kind in other Parts of the World, *China* only excepted. This will manifeſtly appear from the ſubſequent Section, from which we may ſufficiently gather what a mighty Figure the *Indians* muſt have made in ancient Times, before the People were under the Oppreſſion of a foreign Yoke, before their Spirits were broken by the Tyranny of their cruel Maſters, and before their Manners were corrupted by the Slavery under which they groan at preſent.

It is from hence that we are able to diſtinguiſh how different a Figure they muſt have made in thoſe early Times, when their Religion was pure, when their Government, the moſt exact, and beſt contrived that ever was eſtabliſhed in any Country, was in its full Vigour; when their Laws had their free Courſe, and the People were made happy, by a conſtant Obedience, to an excellent Conſtitution; when every Monarch conſidered himſelf as the Father of his Subjects, and when Subjects obeyed as Children, from a pefrect Senſe of their own Happineſs, flowing from this Obedience; when, in ſhort, every Principality was no other than one large Family well regulated; and when even the minuteſt Matters fell under the Notice of the Laws, and under the Care of the Magiſtrates.

For if even now, when all theſe Advantages are loſt, the Induſtry of the Inhabitants is ſo great, their Manufactures ſo many, and carried on with ſuch Spirit and Diligence, their Trade ſo extenſive and well managed, as not only to employ and enrich themſelves, but to draw likewiſe the Attention of other Nations, and a Concourſe of Merchants from the moſt diſtant Corners of the World, what muſt it have been in its former flouriſhing Condition? What muſt it have been in the Times before deſcribed, when they wrought for themſelves, and when their Induſtry procured Happineſs; whereas now it purchaſes a bare Subſiſtence? This will ſufficiently demonſtrate to the intelligent Reader, the Truth of an Obſervation we have ſo often made, that however Things may have gone in the reſt of the World, and how much ſoever Mankind may have improved elſewhere, they muſt have neceſſarily declined here, and the modern *Indies* muſt, in the Nature of Things, fall as far ſhort of the *Indies* in the ancient and primitive State, as from the vaſt Advantages which they enjoy above other Countries, they ſeem ſtill to excel the reſt of the World.

We may from hence gather, what ſolid, what mighty Benefits are derived from a wiſe and well-ſettled Conſtitution, ſince even the Relicks and Remains of it are able to produce ſuch mighty Effects, as we ſee amongſt the *Indians*; and from thence we may be taught that all Dangers ought to be dared, all Hardſhips undergone, all Fatigues patiently endured to prevent the Ruin, and avert the Fall of ſuch a Conſtitution. It is true, theſe Leſſons may be learned nearer home, and there is no Neceſſity to travel to the *Indies*, in order to acquire this uſeful Knowledge; but, in the mean time, ſince we have a natural Propenſity to travel, ſince Books of Voyages are ſo much read, and ſo juſtly eſteemed, it is ſurely right to make them as uſeful as poſſible, by inculcating theſe Leſſons, which ought to be perpetually in our Minds, becauſe, on our Attention to them, depends our Freedom and Felicity. To what Ends do our Merchants viſit the moſt diſtant Countries, expoſe themſelves to ſuch a Variety of Dangers, and chearfully undergo ſuch innumerable Fatigues, but that they may bring back ſufficient Wealth to live at home in Peace? And, if they act reaſonably in this Way, why ſhould we not read to the ſame Purpoſe? Why ſhould we not gain, by Experience and Reflection, the true Principles of Patriotiſm, and a ſettled Reſolution to profit by other Peoples Miſfortunes, and avoid, by a timely Conſideration of their Miſeries, what muſt, ſome time or other, make their Caſe our own. We have, what the *Indians* once had, an excellent Conſtitution, equally capable of beſtowing Freedom and Felicity: It is to this we owe whatever diſtinguiſhes us from other Nations, our Liberty, our Induſtry, our Manufactures at home, our Commerce abroad, and, in ſhort, whatever can render Life deſirable, or this World valuable. I cannot help thinking, therefore, that every Opportunity ſhould be ſought, or, at leaſt, every Occaſion taken for ſetting theſe important Points in their proper Light, and thereby recommending, in the ſtrongeſt Manner poſſible, inviolable Duty to this our beneficent Conſtitution.

SECT.

SECTION XXIX.

An Account of the different Routes to all the great Cities and chief Marts in the Indies, *the Manner in which the Domeſtick Commerce of that Country is carried on, the State of its Manufactures, and other curious Particulars.*

Taken from the Works of Mr. *Tavernier.*

1. *The End and Deſign of this Section explained.* 2. *A Deſcription of the City and Port of* Surat, *with a large Account of its Commerce.* 3. *That Subject continued and concluded.* 4. *Of the ſeveral Methods of travelling in the* Eaſt-Indies, *of Land-Carriage for Merchandize, and the Expences of both.* 5. *Of the Road from* Surat *to* Agra, *by the City of* Brampour, *with a Deſcription of the laſt-mentioned City.* 6. *Of ſeveral remarkable Curioſities that lie in the Way.* 7. *Of the Road from* Surat *to* Agra *by* Amadabat, *and of what is worth Notice on that Road.* 8. *A compleat Deſcription of* Amadabat, *and of the Trade carried on there.* 9. *Of the Road from* Candahar *to* Agra, *and of the Jew-Brokers in the* Indies. 10. *Of the City of* Caboul, *and the Trade of the Provinces depending thereupon.* 11. *Of the Royal City of* Dehli, *and of the Road from thence to* Agra. 12. *A Deſcription of the laſt-mentioned City, and of the Trade carried on there.* 13. *Of the Road from thence to* Halabas, *once eſteemed the Capital of* India, *including a Deſcription of the River* Ganges. 14. *The Road from* Halabas *to* Patna *and* Daca *in the Kingdom of* Bengal, *with a Deſcription of thoſe Cities.* 15. *Of the Paſſage from* Surat *to* Goa, *with ſome Remarks upon the laſt-mentioned City.* 16. *Of the noble City of* Viſiapour, *and the Principality of which it is the Capital.* 17. *A large Account of the Royal City of* Bagnagar, *and of the Country round it.* 18. *A ſuccinct Hiſtory of the Kingdom of* Golconda. 19. *The Road from thence to the Port of* Maſlipatan, *with ſome Remarks on the Trade carried on there.* 20. *A View of the Country from thence to* Madraſpatan, *now known by the Name of* Fort St. George. 21. *A Digreſſion concerning Elephants, which contains many curious Circumſtances.* 22. *A Deſcription of the Kingdom of* Carnate, *and of the principal Places therein.* 23. *Remarks upon the foregoing Section.*

1. THERE is no Occaſion for a long Introduction to this Section, the Subject of it has been already pointed out, and therefore it is only requiſite to ſay, that the Deſign of the Author therein, was to explain the interior State of the *Indies*, to ſhew where Manufactures were ſettled, how carried on, and after what Manner the domeſtick and inland Commerce of this Country is managed. In treating of this Subject every Paragraph preſents us with ſomething new, and ſomething uſeful. This Diſcourſe tranſports us as it were into the very Country itſelf; and when we have read it, we can no longer conſider ourſelves as Strangers in the *Indies*. It would be very happy if we had as clear and as diſtinct Accounts of every Country in *Europe*, we ſhould know much more of them then than what we do now; we ſhould enter into all the Particulars of their Condition, and underſtand perfectly whatever Relations came from thence. It was for this Reaſon that I judged it proper, before I proceeded to the laſt Part of this Chapter, the Hiſtory of the *Eaſt-India* Companies, to cloſe with this the Series of Voyages and Travels unto and through this Part of the World, and, it is hoped, this Method will be approved.

2. Notwithſtanding the *Indians* ſtretch themſelves beyond the Coaſt of *Perſia* for the Space of above four hundred Leagues together, from the Ocean to *Mount Caucaſus*, or *Taurus*, yet there are not ſo many Ways into the *Indies* out of *Perſia*, as there are of travelling into *Perſia* out of *Turky*, becauſe that between *Perſia* and the *Indies* are nothing but vaſt Sands and Deſarts, where there is no Water to be found; ſo that you have but two Roads to chuſe in going between *Iſpahan* to *Agra*, the one by Land through *Candahar*, and the other partly by Land partly by Sea, taking Ship at *Bander Abaſſi*, or *Ormuz*. Both theſe I have deſcribed as far as the Limits of *Perſia* reach, and ſhall only add concerning this latter, that Sailing is not ſafe at all Times upon the *Indian*, as it is upon the *European* Coaſts; you muſt obſerve the proper Seaſons, which being paſt there is no venturing. The Months of *November*, *December*, *January*, *February*, and *March*, are the only Times in the Year to embark for *Surat* from *Ormuz*; but from *Surat* you muſt not ſtir after the End of *February*; for then the Weſtern Winds that bring Rain along with them into *India* begin to blow; but during theſe four Months there blows a N. E. Wind, which carries the Ships from *Surat* to *Ormuz* in fifteen or twenty Days; and this Wind veering a little to the North, ſerves alſo for thoſe that are bound for *Surat*; but it takes them up thirty, or thirty-five Days for which they are made Amends in *March* and the Beginning of *April*, for then the Weſtern Winds blowing full in their Stern, carry them thither in fourteen or fifteen Days.

The Veſſels that ſail to *Surat*, which is the only Port in the Empire of the Great Mogul, paſs within Sight of *Diu*, and the Point of *St. John*, and come to an Anchor in the Road of *Souali*, which is four Leagues from the Town, and two from the Mouth of the River called the *Bar of Surat*; for the greater Veſſels cannot get into the River of *Surat* till they have unladen, by reaſon of the Sands that choak it up; and the Wares ſo unladen are carried to the Town, either by Waggons or Boats, becauſe the Cuſtoms were often ſtolen when the Ships unladed generally at *Souali*; therefore there is now a Prohibition that none ſhall come to anchor there but the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, who, indeed, lay many Goods Cuſtom free; yet it is made up by the Veſſels that come to the Bar from *Perſia*, *Arabia Felix*, and all Parts of the *Indies*. When any Commodities are unladen at *Surat* you muſt carry them to the Cuſtom-houſe, adjoining to the Fort, where the Merchants pay for all Sorts of Wares from 4 to 5 *per Cent.* unleſs it be the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, who indeed pay leſs, but are forced to make it up in Preſents to the Court and Deputations; and leſt any valuable Goods ſhould be concealed, they ſearch every Perſon in the Ship exactly. Gold and Silver pays but two in the Hundred, and when it is brought into the Cuſtom-houſe, the Maſter of the Mint comes and takes it, and coins it into the Money of the Country, which, though it be to the Loſs of the Merchant, yet cannot be avoided as to the Silver; but the Merchants have ſo many Ways to hide their Gold, that it ſeldom comes to the Knowledge of the Cuſtomers.

If they bring any Money ready coined out of other Countries, as *Piaſters*, or *Abiſſis*, out of *Perſia*, they are melted down and refined, to make *Rupees*, becauſe the Silver-Money of the Great Mogul is finer than any other. The *Indian* Money is the Silver *Rupee*, the half Quarter, the eighteenth, and ſixteenth Part. The *Rupee* is as big as the *Baſſi* of *Perſia*, but much thicker; it paſſes commonly for thirty *French Sols*, or 2 *s.* 3 *d.* Sterling. This Money is coined every Year, and the new ones, during the

Year they are coined in, are valued at a *Pecba* more than thoſe of the foregoing Year, becauſe the Coiners pretend that the Silver wears daily. They have alſo another Silver Coin called *Mabmoudi*, which is ten, or about ten Sols and an half, or eight-pence Halfpedny Sterling; but it goes no where but in *Surat*, and in the Province of *Guzerat*. *Abiſſis* brought out of *Perſia* go alſo in the *Indies*, but for leſs than in their own Country, *viz.* at nineteen *Pecbas* or ſixteen *French Sols*, which is one Shilling and Two-pence. The *Pecba* (of which they have half, double, and four-fold) is a Piece of Copper Money as big and thick as a *Rupee*, but in Value about half a *Sous*, or ſomething leſs than half a Peny *Engliſh*. A *Rupee* is worth more or leſs of thoſe *Pechas*, according as your are nearer or farther from the Copper Mines. At *Agra* and *Gebanabat* they are worth fifty-five or ſixty-five *Pecbas*, and at *Surat* ſometimes but forty-ſix, and ſomtimes fifty, becauſe it is at a ſmall Diſtance from the Copper Mines.

Inſtead of ſmall Money, they uſe certain Shells, which they call **Coris**, brought from the *Maldives*, of which they give fifty or more for a *Pecba*, or if they are near the Sea-ſhore, where they are brought in, ſixty. In the Province of *Guzerat*, and the chief Cities whereof *Guzerat*, *Cambaya*, *Boudra*, and *Amadabat*, *Mabmoudis*, half *Mabmoudis*, and *Almonds*, are accounted current Money: A *Mabmoudi* is about nine Sous, three Deniers, or Eight-pence *Engliſh* in Value. The Almonds, which they call *Baden*, are brought from *Ormuz*, and grow in the Deſarts of the Kingdom of *Lar*. They give ſixty-eight Almonds for a *Pecba*, and twenty *Pecba's* for a *Mabmoudi*. There is no fear that the Children ſhould crack theſe Almonds, and ſo deſtroy their Money, for they are as bitter as Colloquintida. Some Years the Almond trees do not bear, and then their Price is much raiſed; for then you will not have above forty or forty-four for a *Pecba*. The *Rupee* of Gold is valued in the Country at fourteen *Rupees* of Silver, and the half and quarter *Rupee* proportionably. Great Sums of Money are reckoned by *Lacks*, *Crores*, or *Courors*, *Padans*, and *Nils*; 100,000 *Rupees* make a *Lack*, 100,000 *Lacks* a *Couror*, 100,000 *Courors* a *Padan*, 100,000 *Padans* a *Nil*. If you bring Gold into the *Indies* in Ingots, or *European* Ducats, you ſhall always have ſeven and an half Profit, if you can eſcape paying the Cuſtoms; but if you pay them, your Gain is loſt.

3. The City of *Surat* lies in twenty-one Degrees and a few Minutes Northern Latitude, and is watered by the River *Tapty*. It is inhabited by three Nations, as they diſtinguiſh themſelves, *viz.* *Moors*, under which Name they comprehend all *Mobammedans*, though they differ in their Opinions, being ſome *Sunnis*, and others *Cbiais*, viz. *Moguls*, *Perſians*, *Arabians*, and *Turks*; 2. *Heatbens*, who adore Idols, of whom there are ſeveral Sorts; 3. *Perſees*, who are alſo called *Gaurs*, or *Atecb-pereſt*, i. e. Adorers of the Fire, which was the Worſhip of the ancient *Perſians*. Theſe Men retreated into the *Indies* when the Khaliff *Omar* reduced the Kingdom of *Perſia* under the Power of *Mobammedans*: Among theſe, indeed, there are ſome *Franks*, and other *Chriſtians*, but they are not accounted among the Inhabitants, becauſe their Number is inconſiderable in Compariſon of the other Parts. There are ſome Merchants in *Surat* vaſtly rich. One *Vergivora*, a *Banjan*, was reckoned worth at leaſt eight Millions.

The City is but of an indifferent Bigneſs, and it is hard to know the Number of the Inhabitants, becauſe the Seaſons render it unequal. There are a great many all the Year round; but in the Time of the Monſoon, *i. e.* the Seaſons for ſailing, *viz.* in *January*, *February*, and *March*, it is ſo full of People that Lodgings can hardly be had either in the City or the Suburbs. The Generality of the Houſes are built of Reeds plaiſtered over with Cow-dung; for in all *Surat* there is not above nine or ten good Houſes, of which the Cha-bender, or chief of the Merchants, has two or three, the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* have alſo ſome of them, and the reſt belong to the *Mobammedan* Merchants; but the *Franks* are only allowed to hire Houſes, leſt if they ſhould have any of their own, they ſhould make it a Fortreſs.

The *Capuchin* Friars have built them a very convenient Convent, according to the Model of the Houſes in *Europe*, and a fair Church by it; but they purchaſed the Ground in the Name of one *Chelebie*, a *Maronite* Merchant of *Aleppo*. The Walls of the Town were formerly of Earth, and that very ruinous; but of late they have built them of Brick, a Fathom and an half thick, and fortified them better, to ſecure it from the Irruptions of the neighbouring Rajah. The Caſtle is built upon the Side of the River, at the South End of the Town, and is ſo placed that you muſt paſs by it at your entering into the Town, whether you go by Land or Water; it is a Fort of a reaſonable Bigneſs, ſquare, and flanked at each Corner with a large Tower. The Ditches on three Sides are filled with Sea-water, and the fourth is waſhed by the River. There are ſeveral Pieces of Cannon; but becauſe there are no Platforms on each Wall, they are planted upon wooden Scaffolds. The Governor of it can only command his Soldiers within the Fort; for he has no Power in the City, which has a diſtinct Governor, who receives the King's Cuſtoms, and his Revenues in his Provinces; but he lays them up in the Caſtle till they are ſent for by expreſs Orders from Court.

The Streets of *Surat* are large and even, but not paved; and there is no conſiderable Building in it. The *Chriſtians* and *Mobammedans* there commonly eat Cow Beef, not only becauſe it is better, but becauſe it is more plentiful than Ox Beef, their Oxen being almoſt all employed in Plowing and carrying Burthens. They have alſo pretty good Store of Mutton, and Abundance of Pullets, Chickens, Pigeons, Pigs, and all Sorts of wild Fowl. They uſe two Sorts of Oil with their Food, *viz.* of Crocus ſylveſtris, or wild Saffron, and Seſſamum. This laſt is more common, but the firſt much the beſt. They eat Grapes from the Beginning of *February* to the End of *April*; but they have no good Taſte, and the Wine made of them is ſour. They have ſeveral Sorts of ſtrong Waters, which they draw from Jagery, and the Bark of the Tree Baborel ſteeped in Water. They have two Sorts from Palm-trees, the one called Cadigour, and the other the Cocoa-tree, Rice, and Dates; but they are none of them ſo good as Brandy. Their Vinegar is made of Jagery, and decayed Raiſins, and to their beſt they put in a little Tari, which is the Juice of the Palm-tree above-mentioned.

At *Surat* are ſold all Sorts of Stuffs and Cottons that are made in the *Indies*: All the Commodities alſo of *Europe* and *China*, as Porcelain, Cabiners, and Cheſts adorned with Torquoiſes, Agats, Cornelians, Ivory, and other Embelliſhments. Here are alſo ſold Diamonds, Rubies, Pearls, and all other precious Stones which are found in the Eaſt; as alſo Muſk, Amber, Myrrh, Incenſe, Manna, Sal Armoniac, Lack, Quickſilver, Indigo, and the Root Rænas, for dying red. All Sorts of Spices, Fruits, and Drugs, which are produced in the *Indies* and the *Levant*, and are bought up by Foreign Merchants to tranſport into all Parts of the World. There are ſeveral great Officers at *Surat*, *viz.* a Mufti, who inſpects and rules all manner of Religion among the *Mobammedans*, and a Cadi, to judge of all civil Matters, a *Vaca Nevis*, or Secretary of State, who keeps a Regiſter of all that happens to his Province, and gives the Great Mogul Notice of all Things that happen of Importance, two Governors, or Nabads, who command one the City, the other the Caſtle, and have no Dependance upon each other, nor incroach upon one another's Offices or Duties.

The Governor of the Town judges in civil Matters, and commonly renders ſpeedy Juſtice; but he meddles not with criminal Cauſes, for they belong to an Officer appointed on purpoſe, called *Cotoual*, who is much the ſame with the *Soubaſſa* in *Turky*, and *Doroga* in *Perſia*. He orders Criminals to be puniſhed in his Preſence, by Whipping or Cudgelling; and this he doth, either in his own Houſe or in the Street, near the Place where the Fact was done. When he goes abroad, he rides on Horſeback, and has ſeveral Officers who attend him, carrying Batoons, Whips, Lances, *&c.* before him; but neither of theſe Judges can put any Man to Death. The King reſerves that Power to himſelf; and therefore when any Man deſerves Death, a Courier is diſpatched to know his Pleaſure, and they fail not to put his Orders in Execution ſo ſoon as the Courier is returned. The *Coutoual* goes his Rounds in the Night to prevent all Diſorders, and if he finds any Man abroad at unſeaſonable Times, he commits him to Priſon, and rarely diſmiſſes him without being baſtonadoed or whipped. This Officer is to anſwer for all the Robberies committed in the Town; but by their Cunning they uſually evade it. When any one is robbed this Officer apprehends all the People of the Houſe, both young and old, where the Robbery has been committed, and cauſes them to be beaten ſeverely. They are ſtretched out upon their Bellies, and two Men laſh the Patient with long Whips, till he has received two or three hundred Laſhes, and is all in a Gore Blood. If at firſt he confeſſes not the Fact, they whip him the next Day, and ſo for ſeveral Days, till he confeſſes all, or the Thing ſtolen be recovered again; but he never ſearches the Houſes or Goods of Robbers.

There is alſo a *Tourſedar*, or *Provoſt*, who is bound to ſecure the Country round about the Town, and to anſwer for all the Robberies committed there. The Burying-places of *Surat* are without the Town, about forty-three Paces from the *Baroch* Gate. The Catholicks have theirs apart, and ſo have the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, as well as ſome religious *Indians*. The *Engliſh* and *Dutch* adorn their Graves with Pyramids of Brick, whitened over with Lime. The religious *Gentiles* make their Tombs ſquare, and of Plaſter, covering ſome with a Dome, and others with a Pyramid, a little more than three Feet high. The *Banjans* burn their dead Bodies by the River Side, and leave the Aſhes there to be waſhed away by it, becauſe they account it ſacred. They believe that it contributes much to the Soul's Eaſe of the Deceaſed, to burn his Body immediately after his Death, becauſe they ſay his Soul ſuffers after the Separation from the Body, unleſs it be burnt; but they burn not the Bodies of Children under two Years old, becauſe they hold them innocent; nor of the Vartias, or Jogies, who are a kind of Derviſes, becauſe they follow the Right of *Madeo*, who is one of their great Saints, and who ordered their Bodies to be interred.

The Things moſt obſervable about *Surat* are a large Wall built by a *Banjan*, with divers thin Arches over it, to which they go down by certain Stairs; on the Outſide is a Figure of a red Face, but the Features are not diſcernable. The *Gentiles* ſay, it is the Pagod of *Madeo*, and pay a great Devotion to it. Towards *Daman-Gate* begins the lovelieſt walk in all the Country, and by it is a great Reſervatory of Water called the *Tank*. It has ſix Angles, and every one of them an hundred Paces long, and it is at leaſt a Muſket-ſhot in Diameter. The Bottom is paved with large Free-ſtone, and there are Steps all round it in Form of an Amphitheatre, from the Brim to the Bottom, of lovely Free-ſtone, admirably wrought, brought from *Cambaya*. It was made at the Charge of a rich *Banjan*, whoſe Name was *Copy*, to catch the Rain-water to ſupply the Town, and is certainly a Work worthy of a King, being equal to the beſt of the *Roman* Aquæducts made for publick Uſe.

About a Quarter of a League from the Reſervatory is the Princeſs's Garden, ſo called, becauſe it belongs to the Great Mogul's Siſter. It is a large Plantation of Trees of ſeveral kinds, as Manguires, Palms, Mirobalans, Warrs, Maſia-trees, and many other Plants and Shrubs, ſome of them are ſet in a direct Line, and it is cut into many long and very fair Walks. In the midſt is a Building, with four Fronts, having each of them a Divan, and a ſquare Baſon full of Water before it, from whence run ſeveral little Brooks through the Walks, which make it delightful, but much ſhort of the Royal Gardens in *Europe*.

About a hundred and fifty Paces from the Garden is a Warr, or Tree, which the *Portugueze* call the Tree of Roots; it is very large, and high, being eighty Paces in Diameter; the Branches which have taken Root are ſo ſkilfully cut, that one may walk every where under it. The *Indians* account it ſacred, and the *Banjans* have planted Banners on the Top, and higher Branches of it; by it is a Pagod, dedicated to an Idol called *Mameva*, which is thought to be *Eve*. The Soil about *Surat* is brown, and ſo rich that they never dung it, but ſow their Corn after the Rains in *September*, and reap it in *February*. It bears alſo Sugar-Canes, Rice, Manguiers, Palm-trees, and many other Sorts of Trees, which yield great Profit. They water their Gardens, but the great Dews yield ſufficient Moiſture for their Corn-Land. The River *Tapty* is always brackiſh at *Surat*, ſo that they uſe it only for waſhing their Bodies, which they do every Morning, from a Principle of Religion.

4. In travelling up and down *India*, there are divers Sorts of Carriages both for Merchandize and Travellers, and when you leave *Surat*, you muſt make uſe of theſe. For Goods, they make uſe of Oxen, Camels, or Waggons; upon their Oxen they will lay three hundred or three hundred and fifty Pounds Weight; and it is no wonderful thing to ſee ten or twelve thouſand Oxen at a time laden with Rice, Corn, and Salt, carrying the Rice to the Place where Corn grows, and Corn where the Rice is, and Salt to Places where there are none. Thoſe numerous Caravans are very inconvenient to Travellers, becauſe when they meet them they are forced to ſtay two or three Days till they paſs by. This is the moſt ſpeedy Carriage for Merchants Goods, and they commonly make uſe of it when they are in haſte to ſhip them off at *Surat*. They that drive thoſe Oxen follow no other Calling, nor have any Houſes, but carry their Wives and Children along with them.

Some of them have an hundred Oxen of their own, and they have a Captain of the Caravan, who wears a Chain of Pearls about his Neck, and takes as much State upon him as a Prince. All that follow this Trade of Carrying, are divided into four Tribes, called *Manaris*, and conſiſt each of them of an hundred thouſand Souls. They live always in Tents, and are maintained by tranſporting of Merchandize from Country to Country. The firſt of them carries nothing but Corn; the ſecond Rice; the third Pulſe; and the fourth Salt; and they are diſtinguiſhed by certain Marks made by the Prieſts in the Face of every one of three of the Tribes, by a different-coloured Gum, and ſome Grains of the Thing they carry pourtrayed in it; the fourth carries a Bag of Salt about their Necks, of eight or ten Pounds, and with it they thump their Breaſts every Morning before they ſay their Prayers, in token of Repentance. They love their Oxen and Cattle as tenderly as Children, eſpecially if they have none.

Their Women wear only a Piece of Calicut painted, or white, five or ſix times double, from their Waiſt downward, and upwards they cut their Bodies into ſeveral Forms of Flowers, which they paint in various Colours with Grapes. They have Prieſts that go along with them, who every Morning ſets up an Image of a Serpent in Wreaths upon a Pole ſix or ſeven Feet high, and when every one has paid his Adoration to it, their Women going three times about it, they load it upon an Ox appointed for that Purpoſe for carrying it, and accompany the Caravan; they uſe Camels ſometimes, but very rarely, they being appointed to carry the Luggage of great Perſons. The Caravan, or Waggon, ſeldom exceeds two hundred, and is moſt commonly not above an hundred. Every Waggon is drawn by ten or twelve Oxen, and attended by four Soldiers, which the Perſon that owns the Merchandize is obliged to pay; two of them march on each Side of the Waggon, over which there are two Ropes thrown acroſs, the Ends whereof they hold in their Hands, that if the Waggon leans too much to either Side in the bad Way, thoſe on the contrary Side may keep it from overturning, by pulling the Ropes with all their Strength. The Manner of travelling in *India* is upon Oxen inſtead of Horſes, ſo that if any Merchant carries an Horſe out of *Perſia*, it is only for Shew, or to walk in his Hand, or to ſell to ſome *Indian* Prince. Some of thoſe Oxen will pace as eaſy as our Nags.

They manage them as Horſes; but inſtead of a Bit, they have a Rope drawn through the muſcly Part of the Noſe, only that in riding them you muſt take care that the Horns be not above a Foot long; for if they be longer, when the Flies begin to ſting, he will chafe, and toſs back his Horns, and ſometimes ſtick them into the Stomach of his Rider. They never ſhoe them but in rough Places, where the Stones and Heat are apt to waſte and chop the Hoofs. They uſe alſo little Coaches for travelling, which will hold two Perſons; but generally they ride but one in them, when they carry their neceſſary Cloak-Bag and Proviſion, for which there is a proper Place under the Coach;

they are drawn by two Oxen, and ſome of them are ſo ſtrong, that they will travel upon the Trot twelve or fifteen Leagues a Day, for ſixty Days together. When they have got half their Day's Journey, they give them two or three Balls, as big as one of our Twopeny Loaves, of Wheat Flour, kneaded up with Butter and black Sugar.

The Hire of one of theſe Coaches is a *Rupee* a Day, or a little more; for from *Surat* to *Agra* is forty Days Journey, and you pay for the whole not above forty-five *Rupees*. They, who have more to ſpend, may make uſe of a Palanquin for their Eaſe, wherein they travel very commodiouſly; it is a little Sort of a Coach, ſix or ſeven Feet long, and three broad, with Balliſters round about it. It has a kind of Covering over it, of Sattin, or Cloth of Gold, and when the Sun lies upon either Side, there is a Slave goes by the Side to pull down the Covering, and another carries a Targot of Oſiers, covered with ſome genteel Stuff, to keep the Traveller from the Heat of the Sun. Three Men, for the moſt part, apply themſelves to each of the Ends, to carry the Palanquin upon their Shoulders, and they go ſwifter than our Sedan-men, and with more Eaſe, becauſe they practiſe it from their Youth: You give to every one four *Rupees* a Month, but if the Journey exceeds ſixty Days they will have five.

Whether it be in a Coach, or a Palanquin, he that will travel honourably in the *Indies* muſt take along with him twenty or thirty armed Men, ſome with Bows and Arrows, others with Muſkets, who have every one the ſame Pay as thoſe that carry the Palanquin. Sometimes, for more Magnificence, they carry a Banner, as the *Engliſh* and *Hollanders* do, for the Honour of their Companies. Theſe Soldiers watch and keep Centinel for your Defence, and are mighty careful to give Content, that they may deſerve the good Word of the Chief of the Town where you take them; for he is reſponſible for their Fidelity, and has two *Rupees* apiece of them for his Recommendation. In the Villages where a *Mohammedan* commands, you may have Mutton, Pullets, or Pigeons; but where there are only *Banjans*, there is nothing to be had but Flour, Rice, Herbs, and Milk Meats. In the *Indies*, where the Heats are exceſſive, it is more commodious to travel by Night than Day; and therefore, when you come into any fortified Town, you muſt be gone before the Sun be ſet, if you intend to travel the Night following; for the Gates being ſhut, the Commander of the Place is to anſwer for all the Robberies committed within his Juriſdiction, and will ſuffer none to go out, telling them it is the King's Order, to which he muſt be obedient. The Meaſure of Diſtances in *India* is by Coſts, which is a League, and Gos, which is four of our common Leagues.

5. In travelling from *Surat* to *Agra* there are two Roads, one through *Brampour* and *Seconge*, and the other through *Amadabat*. In the firſt of theſe you go through *Barnoly*, a great Borough Town, where you ford a great River; this firſt Day's Journey lies through a Country ſomething woody, yet having many Fields of Rice and Wheat. From *Barnoly* you travel altogether through Woods to *Babor*, a large Village upon a Lake, about a League in Compaſs. Three Quarters of a League before you come at this Town you muſt ford a ſmall River, but with great Difficulty, becauſe it is full of Rocks and Stones, which are ready to overturn the Coach.

From *Babor* the next Stage is through a woody Country to the Inn *Kerkoa*, or *de la Begum*, becauſe it was built by the Charity of *Begum-Sakeb*, the Daughter of the Shah *Jehan*, for the Eaſe of Travellers, who before were forced to travel to *Navapoura*, which, beſides that it was too great a Journey, being upon the Frontiers of thoſe Rajahs who often revolt from the Great Mogul, the Caravans were generally abuſed. This Inn, or Caravanſera, is large, and very commodious. In the Road from hence to *Navapoura* you ford two Rivers.

Navapoura is a great Town, full of Weavers; but Rice is the greateſt Commodity there; for not only the River that runs through the Country makes it very fruitful in that Grain, which requires Moiſture, but the Rice that grows there has a peculiar Excellency, for which it is much eſteemed. It is, indeed, leſs by half than the Grain of the common Rice; but when it is boiled new, Snow is not whiter, and it ſmells like Muſk. This Property makes the *Indian* Grandees ſo fond of it, that they will eat no other; and when they would make an acceptable Preſent to any one in *Perſia*, they ſend them a Sack of this Rice. From *Navapoura* you paſs through *Naſſarbar*, *Dolmedan*, and *Senquera*, to *Tollener*: Here you paſs the River that runs through *Barock*, where it grows very large, and empties itſelf into the Gulph of *Cambaya*.

From *Tollener* your Way lies by *Choupre*, *Senquelis*, and *Nabir*, to *Badelpoura*; here the loaded Waggons pay the Duties of *Brampour*, but the Waggons that carry nothing but Paſſengers pay nothing: And, when this is done, you go on to *Brampour*, which was a great City, but is now very much ruined, and moſt of the Houſes are thatched with Straw. In the midſt of it is the Caſtle, where the Governor lives. The Government of this Province is a very conſiderable Command, and is only conferred upon the King's Son or Uncle; but, ſince they have underſtood the Strength of the Province of *Bengal*, which was formerly a Kingdom, that Province is thought the moſt conſiderable in all the Mogul's Country at this Day. There is a great Trade in this City, as well as in the Provinces adjoining, in Calicuts, of which there are prodigious Quantities made here, clear and white, which are tranſported into *Perſia*, *Turky*, *Muſcovy*, *Poland*, *Arabia*, *Grand-Cairo*, and other Places. Some of them are painted with Flowers of various Colours, and the Women make Veils and Scarfs of them, and of ſome Coverlets for Beds, and Handkerchiefs. They make another Sort of Linnen, which they never dye, and hath a Stripe of Gold or Silver quite through the whole Piece, and at each End, from the Breadth of one Inch to twelve or fifteen, they fix a Tiſſue of Gold, Silver, and Silk, intermixed with Flowers; both Sides are alike. Some of theſe Linnens are made on Purpoſe for Saſhes, and are called Ormi, and contain from fifteen to twenty Ells: Some are of two Ells only, and ſerve the Ladies of Quality for Veils and Scarfs; and vaſt Quantities of theſe Goods are vended in *Perſia* and *Turky*. They make alſo other Sorts of Cotton Cloths at *Brampour*, becauſe there is no other Province in all the *Indies* which has greater Quantities of Cotton.

Leaving this City there is a ſmall River, which, when ſhallow, is forded, and, if ſwelled by the Rains, there are always Boats attending to take over Travellers: And then you come to *Pevinbeſera*, which is an Incloſure of Walls and Hedges, in which are fifty or ſixty Huts covered with Straw, where live certain Men and Women that ſell Rice, Flour, Butter, and Herbs, and make it their Buſineſs to bake Bread, and boil Rice to ſell to the Travellers; when theſe Perſons cleanſe the Hut, take and put into it a Bedſtead, with Girths to lay a Mattreſs or Quilt upon, which the Travellers uſually carry along with them: This is ſignified by the Word *Sara*, which is added to ſuch Places. If any Traveller have a Mind to a Fowl, or a Piece of Mutton, any *Mohammedan* in the Place will go to the City and buy it for him. From hence you go forward through *Pander*, *Balkiſera*, *Conſembar*, *Chenipow*, *Charava*, and *Bichola* to *Andy*, where you paſs a River that falls into the *Ganges*, between *Banazon* and *Potna*, and ſo take the Way by *Onguenas*, *Tiquery*, *Tool-medan*, *Nova-ſera*, *Jehavour*, *Signor*, *Chekaipour*, *Douray*, *Aſſorkair*, *Teler*, and *Sankaira* to *Seconge*.

This City is large, and moſt of its Inhabitants are *Banjan* Merchants and Handicrafts, the Trade paſſing from Father to Son; and, for that Reaſon, there are ſeveral Houſes of Stone and Brick. Here is alſo a good Trade for painted Calicuts, called Chintes, of which the Cloathing of all the meaner Sort of People in *Perſia* and *Turky* are made: And the ſame are uſed in other Countries for Coverlets for Beds and Table-Napkins. The ſame ſorts of Calicuts are made in other Countries, but the Colours are neither ſo lively nor laſting, but wear out with often waſhing; whereas thoſe made at *Seconge*, grow the fairer the more you waſh them. This ariſes from a peculiar Virtue of the River that runs by the City when the Rains fall; for the Workmen having made ſuch Prints upon their Cottons as the foreign Merchants give them, by ſeveral Patterns, dip them into the River often, and that ſo fixes the Colours that they will always hold. There is alſo made at *Seconge* a ſort of Calicut, ſo fine, that when a Man puts it on, his Skin ſhall appear as plainly thro' it as if he was quit naked; but the Merchants are not permitted to tranſport it, for the Governor is obliged to ſend it all to the Great Mogul's Seraglio, and the principal Lords of the Court, to make the Sultaneſſes and Noblemens Wives Shifts and Garments for the hot Weather; and the King and the Lords take great Pleaſure to behold them in theſe Shifts, and ſee them dance with nothing elſe upon them. From *Seconge* you go to *Madalki-ſera*, and paſſing thro' *Paulki-ſera* and *Chaldolki-ſera*, you come to *Callabas*.

6. There is a great Town, which was the Reſidence of a Rajah formerly, who paid Tribute to the Mogul; but the laſt Emperor *Aurengzeb*, when he came to the Crown, not only cut off his Head, but the Heads of many of his Subjects, which he cauſed to be ſet up in ſo many Holes dug in the Ground, about the two Towers which ſtand upon the High-way near the Town. From hence the Way lies to *Ackmate*, and from thence to *Col'eſar*, whoſe Inhabitants are all Idolaters. Without the Town, upon the High-way, grows a vaſt Number of great Trees, which they call Mangues, and in many Places near the Trees are many Pagods, with every one an Idol at the Door: They belong to the *Banjans*. From this Town you travel through *Sanſell* and *Dongry* to *Gate*. This is a ſtrait Paſſage of a Quarter of a League long between the Mountains, and is unavoidable by all that come from the South, as *Surat*, *Goa*, *Viſapour*, *Golconda*, *Maſlipatan*, and other Places, to *Agra*; for there is no other Road but this. At the Entry of it are the Ruins of two or three old Caſtles, and the Paſſage is ſo narrow that two Waggons can hardly go a-breaſt: Formerly there was a Gate at each End of the Strait, and, at the End, next *Agra*, there are five or ſix Shops of *Banjans* that ſell Flour, Butter, Rice, Herbs, and Pulſe. Not far from thence is a Magazine of Rice and Corn, kept by Serpents of thirteen or fourteen Feet long, and of a proportionable Bigneſs.

The People hereabouts get their Living by Paſſengers, from whom they extort as much as they can, for ſhewing them the Way, there being none but them that know it, becauſe it lies through Intricate Rocks, till they come at the River, which, being forded, the Road leads to *Nadar*, which is a great City upon the Deſcent of a Mountain, upon whoſe Top there is a Fortreſs, and all the Mountain is encompaſſed with Walls. The greateſt Part of the Houſes, as in all other Cities of *India*, are thatched with Straw, one Story high; but the rich Mens Houſes are two Stories high, and terraſſed. Round about the City are ſeveral Ponds to be ſeen, which were formerly encompaſſed with hewn Stone, but are now decayed for want of looking after; but there are ſtill very fair Monuments about them. The River which you paſs before you come at this City, encompaſſes the Mountain like a Peninſula, and after a long winding Courſe, falls into the *Ganges*. At *Nadar* are made a great Number of quilted Coverlets, ſome white, others embroidered with Flowers of Gold, Silk, and Sattin. From *Nadar* you go to *Barqui-ſera*, and ſo by *Trie* to *Goualeor*. This is a great City, but ill built, as all the other *Indian* Cities are. It is built on the Side of a Mountain that lies on the Weſt-ſide of it, and at the Top is encompaſſed with Walls and a Tower. In the Incloſure are ſeveral Ponds made by the Rains, with which they water their Grounds, ſown with Rice, and ſo raiſe Corn enough to maintain their Gar- riſon; and, upon that Account, it is eſteemed the beſt in the *Indies*. Upon the Deſcent of this Hill, which looks towards the North-Eaſt, *Cha-Jeban* built an Houſe of Plea- ſure, from which there is a delightful Proſpect all over the City: It is ſo contrived that it may ſerve for a Garriſon. Beneath the Houſe are to be ſeen ſeveral Idols, cut out of the Rocks, repreſenting the Shapes of their Gods; and one of them is of an extraordinary Height.

The *Mohammedan* Princes make this Fortreſs of *Goua- leor* a Priſon for their great Princes and Noblemen that of- fend them. *Cha-Jeban*, who came to the Crown by foul Play, impriſoned all the Princes and Lords he ſuſpected to be Male contents, in this Caſtle, but ſuffered them all to enjoy their Eſtates. But *Aureng-Zeb* his Son takes contrary Meaſures; for when he impriſons any great Lords, he orders them to be poiſoned within ten or twelve Days after; that he may be rid of his Enemies, and yet not be thought a cruel Prince for his bloody Executions. Leaving *Goualeor*, you ford a River called *Lanke*, and come to *Paterki-ſera*, where paſſing over a Bridge, containing ſix wide Arches, and which carries you over the River *Quarinado*, you arrive at *Quarraqui-ſera*, and ſo to *Dolpoura*, where there is a River called *Chamel-nadi*, to which there belongs a Ferry-boat. The River falls into the *Gemena*, between *Agra* and *Hallebas*. From hence you paſs to *Minaſqui-ſera*, where there is a River called *Jagounagi*, but you do not paſs it till you come eight Leagues farther, and then there is a long Bridge built with Stone, called *Quaoulcapoul*. Not far from this Bridge they view the Merchants Goods, that when they come to *Agra* they may not be cheated of their Duties; and more particularly obſerve whether there be any Flaſks of Wine among the Caſks of pickled Fruits. From this Bridge you come to *Agra*, which, from *Surat*, is 339 Leagues, *viz.* from *Surat* to *Brampour* 132 Leagues, from thence to *Seconge* 101 Leagues, and from thence to *Agra* 106 Leagues. In theſe two laſt Stages the Country is full of fine Fields of Corn and Rice, being a lovely Champain, where you meet with very little Wood, and the Villages ſo thick that you may reſt when you pleaſe.

7. The other Road from *Surat* to *Agra*, through *Amanadabad* lies, firſt, through a Country full of Corn, Rice, Millet, and Sugar-Canes; where, having ferried over the River which runs to *Cambaya* and falls into the Gulph, you come to *Barocbe*, which is a great City, and has a Fortreſs belonging to it, but there is no Uſe made of it at preſent. This City is very famous for Trade, on account of the River, which has a peculiar Quality to whiten their Cottons, and which are therefore brought from all Parts of the Mogul's Territories thither for that End; beſides, here are made great Quantities of Baffa's, or long and large Pieces of Cotton, very fine and cloſe woven; the Price of them is from four to an hundred *Rupees*. You muſt pay Cuſtom at *Barocbe* for all Goods carried in and out. The *Engliſh* Preſident has a very fair Houſe in this City.

In this City are a ſort of Mountebanks, who do ſtrange Tricks, *viz.* They will heat a Chain red-hot, and wind it about their naked Bodies ſeveral Times, and though they make as if they felt a great deal of Pain, yet, in truth, they receive no Harm at all: But, what is more miraculous, they will thruſt a dry Stick into the Ground, and, in leſs than half an Hour's Time, make it a Tree of four or five Foot high, bearing Leaves and Flowers as in the Spring-time. An *Engliſh* Miniſter ſeeing this Witchcraft, declared it unlawful to be a Spectator of ſuch Deluſions, and proteſted he would not give the Communion to any that ſhould hereafter do it. Theſe Mountebanks wander up and down the Country to ſhew theſe Tricks, with their Wives and Children, and get a Livelihood by it.

Thoſe who are curious to ſee *Cambaya*, leave the direct Road, which goes to *Broudra*, and paſs through that City, which is not above four or five Leagues out of the Way, and is the ſafer Road. *Cambaya* is a great City at the Bottom of the Gulph, on the South of it; it lies in the Province of *Guzerat*, and though it be not ſo popular as *Surat*, it is as big again. It has very fair Walls about it four Fathoms high, and Towers ſtanding at a certain Diſtance. The Streets of it are large, and have all Gates at each End, which are ſhut every Night. The Houſes are very high, and built of Bricks, dried in the Sun, and were once furniſhed very richly after the *Portugeſe* Manner, but now many of them fall to Decay. Here it is that they ſhape thoſe fair Agates, that come from *India*, into Cups, Hafts of Knives, Beads, and other Workmanſhip. Theſe Agates are fetched out of a Quarry, by a Village called *Minodra*, four Leagues from *Cambaya*, in Pieces as big as a Man's Fiſt. The Shops here are ſtored with aromatick Perfumes, Spices, ſilken and other Stuffs. Moſt Part of the Inhabitants are *Banjans* and *Raſhpouts*. The Caſtle, where the Governor reſides, is large, but not very beautiful. There are ſo many Monkeys in the Town, that ſometimes the Houſes are covered with them, and they often do Miſchief in the Streets, by throwing down ſuch Things as they find upon the Roofs. The Outſides of the Town are beautified by a great many fair publick Gardens. Here is a marble Sepulchre, raiſed by a King of *Guzurate*, in Honour of a Governor of this City, but it is decayed: It contains three Courts, and in one of them are ſeveral Porphyry Pillars.

Anciently, in this City, there was an Hoſpital for ſick Beaſts, but there are only Ruins of it now. The Suburbs are almoſt as big as the Town, and in them they make Indigo of the ſame Nature as that of *Sarqueſſe*. It was famous for Traffick when the *Portugueze* flouriſhed in *India*, but now the Trade is almoſt loſt, becauſe the Sea, that once came up ſo near the Town that little Veſſels could anchor by it, is now become half a League diſtant from it, and near the Coaſt is ſo ſhallow, that great Ships can come no nearer than three or four Leagues. There are great Numbers of Peacocks in the *Indies*, eſpecially in the Territories of *Baroche*, *Cambaya*, and *Broudra*; and in the Day-time they walk about the Fields, but at Night rooſt upon the Trees: The Fleſh of the young ones is white, and well-taſted. In thoſe Parts where the *Mohammedans* govern, you may catch them without Difficulty; but in thoſe Places where there are idolatrous Rajahs Maſters, it is very dangerous to kill them, or any other Bird or Animal; for the *Banjans* count it Sacrilege, and will ſeverely puniſh any they can ſeize: They whipped a *Perſian* Merchant to Death, and took all his Money, to the Value of 300,000 Rupees, for ſhooting a Peacock.

From *Cambaya* you go through a little Village, where there is a Pagod, where the *Indian* Courtezans make their Offerings; and amongſt divers naked Images, there is one that reſembles *Apollo*, with his Privy-parts uncovered. The young Girls, who are trained up to this wicked Art by the old Courtezans, when they are eleven or twelve Years old, ſurrender themſelves up to this Idol, believing that it will bring them good Fortune. And about ſix Leagues farther you come to *Chidabad*, which is one of the faireſt Houſes of the Great Mogul, being in a wide Incloſure, wherein he has vaſt Gardens and large Ponds, with all the Pleaſures and Curioſities whereof the Genius of the *Indians* was capable. And from this Place you travel to *Amadabat*, to which City you come from *Broudra* by *Neriade*.

8. *Amadabat*, which is probably the *Amadariſtis* of *Arrian*, is eighty-two Leagues from *Surat*, and lies in 23 Degrees and ſome Minutes of N. Lat. It is built in a lovely Plain, watered by a little River, called *Sabrametty*, which is not very deep, but ſwells prodigiouſly by the Rains. Without the Town are many large Gardens incloſed with Brick-walls, and every one of them have a kind of Pavilion at the Entry: By them there is a Reſervatory of Water, which has in the Midſt of it a lovely Garden, eighty Paces ſquare, into which one enters over a Bridge of four hundred Paces long; at the End of the Garden are pretty convenient Lodgings. Near theſe you ſee many Houſes, which make a kind of large Village, and a great many Tombs, indifferently well built. From hence you paſs through a Street, which leads you into the Town, which is incloſed with Stone and Brick-walls, which, at certain Diſtances, are flanked with great round Towers and Battlements all over: It hath twelve Gates, and is about a League and an half in Length, if you take in the Suburbs.

All the Streets are wide, and the Meidan is four hundred Paces in Breadth, and ſeven hundred in Length, with Trees planted on all Sides. The Gate of the Caſtle is on the Weſt-ſide, and there are ſix or ſeven Pieces of Cannon mounted. In the Market-place are the Tribunals for the Couteval, or criminal Judge; and in the Midſt is a very high Tree, which has a Ball fixed to the Top of it, for thoſe to hit who exerciſe themſelves by ſhooting with Bows and Arrows. This Caſtle is walled about with good Walls of Free-Stone, and is as ſpacious as a little Town. Near the Meidan is a large Palace belonging to the King, which has over the Gate a large Balcony for the Muſicians, who play there every ſix Hours. The Apartments are adorned with Gold Paintings. The *Engliſh* Factory is in the Middle of the Town, is well ſeated, and hath very fair Courts. Their Warehouſes are commonly full of Cloths from *Labor* and *Debly*, with which they drive a great Trade.

But the Trade of the City is in Silk Stuffs, Hangings of Gold, Silver, and Silk, but with woollen Grounds, Saltpetre, Ginger candied and raw; Lac, Cummin, Opium, Tamarinds, Mirabolans, and flat Indigo: There are many Moſques great and ſmall in it, but that which is called *Juma-meſgid*, or *Friday*'s Moſque, becauſe all the devout People of the Town flock together on that Day, is the chiefeſt and faireſt. It hath a large ſquare Cloiſter, two fine Gates, with high Steeples, from whence the Muezims, or Beadles of the Moſques, call the People to Prayers. It hath ſeveral Domes, and two Minarets, and it is paved with Marble, ſo that all together it is a pleaſant Sight. It is inhabited by many Heathens, as well as *Mohamedans*, who have their Pagods, or Idol Temples there.

The Pagod of *Santidas* was the chief before *Aurengzeb* converted it into a Moſque. It hath three Courts, paved with Marble, and encompaſſed with Galleries; and into the third none muſt enter, till they have pulled off their Shoes; the Inſide is adorned with *Moſaick* Work, and Agates of divers Colours. In it are ſeveral Sepulchres of the ancient idolatrous Kings, of *Moſaick* Work, which look like little Chapels; but the Tomb of *Chaalom*, whom the *Indians* report to have been a Magician, but the *Mohommedans* believe him to have been a great Saint, is moſt honoured, being daily viſited by a great many out of Devotion. The *Banjans* have a great Veneration for Apes, and there are ſome that breed them up in their Pagods to worſhip, and if any one kill any of them, complain of it as a great Injuſtice. There are three or four Hoſpitals for Cows, Oxen, Camels, Apes, and Birds, and other ſick and maimed Beaſts, where they are looked after, and well fed. They buy them from *Chriſtians* and *Moors*, to deliver them as they ſay from the Cruelty of Infidels, and if they are incurable, they keep them there as long as they live; but if they recover, they ſell them to *Gentiles*, and none elſe. This is alſo very remarkable, that every *Tueſday* and *Friday*, all the Apes in the Country adjoining come into the City, and lie upon the Tops of Houſes, during the exceſſive Heats. Upon theſe Days the People never fail to ſet ready in their Terraſſes, Rice, Millet, Sugar-canes, and ſuch-like things; for if they do not find Proviſions, they will break their Tiles, and do a great deal of Miſchief.

About *Amadabat* are a great many Foreſts, where they catch Panthers, which they tame, and ſend to the King for his hunting. From hence you go to *Panſar*, and ſo by *Maſſana* to *Chitpour*, a very good Town, ſo called from a Sort of painted Calicuts, called Chinzes, made and ſold here. They have an Art here of taming Lions, by tying them in a large Plain, and making them a Sport to the People. Hereabouts it is common to meet the Companies of *Faquirs*, or *Mohammedan* Derviſes. They have a Superior, and ſome Aſſiſtants, who have ſome Cloaths better than the reſt, *viz.* ſome Ells of Calicut about their Middles, to cover their privy Parts, and a Tyger's Skin about their Shoulders; but the reſt have only a Cord for their Girdle, and a little Bit of Calicut faſtened to it to cover their Privities. Their Hair is tied about their Head like a Turbant, and they are armed with Bows, Arrows, and Muſkets, Half-pikes, *&c.* When they travel, they carry their Luggage, which is ſome Houſhold Stuff, and a pretty many *Arabian* and *Perſian* Books on Oxen. When they come to any Place, the Superior ſends ſome of his Crew a begging into the Towns and Villages, and what Alms they get is preſently diſtributed equally among them, every one of them taking Care to boil his own Rice, and what is over and above, they give to the Poor in the Evening; for they reſerve nothing for next Day. From *Chitpour* you paſs through *Balampour*, and ſo through *Dantivar* and *Bargant*.

This Town is in the Territories of a Rajah, to whom you muſt pay ſome Duties, and all the Way through theſe Countries is dangerous to be travelled, becauſe the Rajahs live altogether upon Robberies, and therefore unleſs you hire many People for a Guard, you will go near to have your Throat cut; for there is no Likelihood of eſcaping theſe Free-booters. From thence the Way lies through *Bimal* and *Modra* to *Chalaour*, an ancient Town upon a Mountain, encompaſſed with Walls, and very difficult to come to. There is a Lake upon the Top of the Mountain, and another below, and between them lies the Road to the Town. From *Chalaour* you paſs on to *Cantap*, *Satlana*, *Palavaſaney*, and *Pipas*, to *Dantiver*, from whence to *Mirda* is three Days Journey, being a mountainous Country, and belongs to Rajahs, or petty Princes, who pay Tribute to the Great Mogul; but in Recompence of it, the Great Mogul gives them Commands in his Army, which affords them large Appointments. *Mirda* is a great City, but ill built.

This City having offended the King's Siſter *Begum*, the Wife of *Cha-Eſt-Kan*, in not waiting on her, and making her a Preſent on her Journey through that Place, when ſhe went to marry her Daughter to Sultan *Sujah*, ſhe let looſe two hundred Elephants, who tore down their Trees, and did them incredible Miſchief. From *Mirda* the Road lies through *Borondo*, *Coetchiel*, *Bandor*, *Sonnery*, *Ladona*, *Chaſou*, *Nouali*, and *Hindoo*, to *Baniana*. Theſe two laſt Towns are famous for Indigo Cake, which is round, and being the beſt of all the Indigoes, is double the Price. *Vettapour*, a Town famous for weaving Woollen Hangings, is the next Town, and from thence you go directly to *Agra*, to which from *Surat* is four hundred and fifteen Leagues, and thirty-three Days Journey, if they could be equally divided; but becauſe you ſtay in ſome Places, it uſually takes up thirty-five or forty Days.

From *Candahar* there are two Ways to *Agra*, either through *Caboul* or *Multan*; the latter is the ſhorter by ten Days Journey; but the Caravan never goes that Way, becauſe it lies almoſt all through the Deſarts, where there is no Water to be met with for three or four Days together, ſo that their moſt ordinary and beaten Road is through *Caboul*. Now from *Candahar* to *Caboul* is twenty-four Days Journey, and from thence to *Lahor* twenty-two; from *Lahor* to *Dehly*, or *Gehanabat*, eighteen, and from thence to *Agra* ſix, which with the ſixty Days Journey from *Iſpahan* to *Errata*, and twenty from *Errata* to *Candahar*, makes in all from *Iſpahan* to *Agra* one hundred and fifty Days Journey; but the Merchants that are in haſte ride three or four in a Company upon Horſes, and finiſh it in ſixty or ſixty-four Days at moſt.

Multan lies in 29° 40′ North Latitude, and is the capital Town of the Province of the ſame Name, tho' ſome Geographers place it in the Province of *Sinde*. It hath many Towns dependant upon it, as *Cazdar*, or *Cordar*, *Coudavil*, *Saudur*, and others. In this City are made a vaſt Quantity of Linnen Calicuts, for which heretofore there was a very great Trade, becauſe it not being far from the River *Indus*, they could eaſily tranſport them to *Tata*, where the Merchants of ſeveral Countries bought them up; but becauſe of late the Channel of the River is ſpoiled in ſome Places, and the Mouth is quite ſtopped up with Sands, they are forced to ſend all their Goods to *Agra*, and ſo to *Surat*, which ſo inhances the Price by the Carriage, that the Merchants do not care to deal in them; by which means the Trade is much leſſened there, and the Workmen have deſerted the City, ſo that the King's Revenues are much leſſened in thoſe Provinces: Yet there is a ſmall Trade for Sugar, Opium, Brimſtone, Galls, and Camels, which are tranſported into *Perſia*, *Gazna*, *Candahar*, and the *Indies*, by *Lahor*. It furniſhes *Indoſtan* with the fineſt Bows that are to be ſeen in it; and here are bred the great Number of Dancers of both Sexes that ſpread themſelves all over *Perſia*.

The Commander and Officers of this Town are *Mohammedans*, and conſequently it may be ſuppoſed that moſt Parts of the Inhabitants are of the ſame Religion; yet there are a great many *Banjans*, who come to trade, and exerciſe their Arts, and Brokage, and Uſury, in which they much outdo the *Jews*; for they are ſo watchful and cunning, that no Opportunity of Gain ſlips them; and they have ſo wound themſelves in all Buſineſs, that hardly any body can be without them. They take Commiſſions of all Kinds, and though it be known that they make a Profit of every thing, yet the Merchants chuſe to make uſe of them, rather than do their Buſineſs themſelves; for they will buy cheaper and better than any Man can for himſelf. They are of a pleaſant Humour, and refuſe no Service, whether honourable or baſe, and are always ready to ſatisfy thoſe that employ them; and therefore every one has his *Banjan* in the *Indies*, and ſome Perſons of Quality intruſt them with all they have, though they are not ignorant of their Hypocriſy and Avarice. The richeſt Merchants of the *Indies* are of this Claſs or Tribe. They are commonly very jealous of their Wives, who are fairer than the Men, though of a brown Complexion, and love to paint. They have a particular Law amongſt them, which permits them to eat Fowl upon certain Days of the Year, and to have one Wife among two or three Brothers, and the eldeſt of them is accounted the Father of the Children begotten among them.

9. From *Candahar* you travel to *Chariſafar*, and then through *Zealate*, *Betzay*, *Mezcur*, and *Garabat*, to *Chakenitouze*, which is a frontier Town of the *Indies*, and the Country about it under the Command of ſeveral Princes that acknowledge the *Perſian* Emperor. From this City to *Caboul* is forty Leagues, and in the whole Journey there is but three pitiful Villages, where you can rarely get Bread and Barley for your Horſes, and therefore you muſt carry Proviſions for yourſelf.

In the Months of *July* and *Auguſt* there blows an hot Wind in theſe Parts, that takes away a Man's Breath, and kills him upon the Place. It is the ſame with that which blows about *Babylon* and *Mouſſul* at certain Seaſons. In this Road dwells a certain People called *Augans*, towards the Mountains of *Balch*; they are a ſturdy ſort of People, and great Robbers in the Night-time. Theſe People, as the reſt of the *Indians*, have a Cuſtom to cleanſe and ſcrape their Tongues every Morning with a crooked Piece of a Root, which cauſes them to void a great Quantity of Phlegm and Rheum, but not to vomit, as it doth the other *Indians*; nevertheleſs, when they come to eat, as ſoon as they have ſwallowed two or three Bits, their Lungs begin to ſwell, and they are conſtrained to go forth and vomit; after which they return again to their Victuals with a very good Appetit; ſhould they not do ſo, they would not live above thirty Years, and beſides would be troubled with a Dropſy.

Caboul is a large City, the Metropolis of the Province of *Cabouliſtan*, or *Caboul*, and hath two Caſtles well fortified; and becauſe ſeveral Kings have held their Courts there, and many Princes have had it ſucceſſively for their Portion, there are a great many Palaces in it. It lies in 33° of North Latitude, the Mountains about it produce Plenty of Mirabolans, which from thence the Eaſtern People called *Cabuly*, ſeveral Sorts of Drugs, and ſome Spices, with which the Iron Mines in them yield a great Profit to the Inhabitants. In this Town they maintain a great Trade with *Tartary*, the Country of the *Uſbecks*, and the *Indies*. The *Uſbecks* alone ſell yearly in this Town above ſixty thouſand Horſes, and the *Perſians* bring hither great Numbers of Sheep, and other Cattle, by which means they are much enriched. Wine is to be had, and Proviſions are cheap, though the Country about it is but cold and barren, unleſs in ſome Places, which are ſheltered by the Mountains, being rendered a little more fruitful, by the two Rivers that water it, and which have their Source in the Mountains.

From this Province eſpecially come the large Canes, of which they make Halberds and Lances, and they have many Grounds planted with them. The Inhabitants of the City and Province are moſt of them Heathens, and therefore in all Towns and Villages are many Pagods. They reckon the Months by the Moons, and with great Devotion celebrate the Feaſt called *Houly*, which laſts two Days, at the full Moon in *February*. At this Feaſt, they are all cloathed in a dark red, and after they have prayed in the Temple, and made Oblations, they ſpend the reſt of the Time in Dancing, by Companies, in the Streets, to the Sound of Trumpets, viſiting their Friends, and eating together, every Tribe by itſelf. The Great Mogul's Revenue from this Country is four or five Millions yearly.

From *Caboul* the Road lies through *Bariabe*, *Nimela*, *Aliboua*, *Taka*, *Kiamri*, *Chaour*, and *Novechaar*, to *Atech*, a City ſituate upon a Point of Land, where two Rivers meet together. It is one of the beſt and ſtrongeſt Garriſons the Great Mogul has, and no ſtranger is permitted to enter into it without a Paſſport from the King. From hence you paſs to *Calapane*, and ſo to *Roupate*, *Toulapeca*, *Keralay*, *Zerabad*, and *Imiabad*, to *Labor*. This City is the Metropolis of a Kingdom, built upon the River *Rava*, which is one of the five Rivers, which deſcending from the Mountains, ſwell the River *Indus*, and give the Name of *Peniab*, or *Five Rivers*, to all the Region they run through.

It lies in 31° 50′; the River having a very flat Channel, is fallen off from the Town above a League, and being ſubject to overflow, does a great deal of Miſchief in the Country. The City is large, and extends itſelf above a League in Length. It was a very pretty Place when the Kings kept their Courts there, having many Moſques, publick Baths, Caravanſera's, Squares, Tanques, Palaces and Gardens; but all theſe, with the greateſt Part of the Houſes, are fallen to Ruin, by reaſon of the exceſſive Rains, which have waſhed down many of them. The Caſtle remains ſtill, for it is ſtrongly built. It hath twelve Gates, three towards the City, and nine towards the Country, and the Palace which is within it has not yet loſt its Beauty. There are a great many Pictures upon the Walls, repreſenting the Actions of the Great Mogul, and his Forefathers, all promiſcuouſly painted; and on one Gate is the Picture of a Crucifix, and on another the Virgin *Mary*, not out of any Kindneſs to the Chriſtian Religion, but to flatter the *Portugueze*.

The Inhabitants are moſt of them *Gentiles*, and ſo there are many Pagods in the Town, of which ſome are adorned well, and all are raiſed ſeven or eight Steps from the Ground. The Province about it is one of the largeſt and moſt plentiful in the *Indies*, the Rivers that run through it rendering it moſt fertile in Rice, Corn, and Fruits. The Wine alſo is pretty good, and the Sugars the beſt of all *Indoſtan*. All ſorts of painted Cloths, and other *Indian* Manufactures, are wrought here, and it is ſaid that this Province yields the Mogul a Revenue of thirty-ſeven Millions yearly, which is a Proof of its great Trade and Fruitfulneſs. From *Labor* to *Agra* there is one continued Walk of Trees, called Achy Trees, which have long and thick Branches, which cover the whole Way, though theſe Cities be one hundred and fifty Leagues diſtant one from the other. It was planted by King *Gebanguis*, but is not kept up.

At *Tanaſſar*, a Town in this Province, is a Convent of *Gentiles*, who are called *Nartias*; they have a General, Provincial, and other Superiors, and ſay, that it is above two thouſand Years ſince they were founded; they vow Obedience, Chaſtity, and Poverty. They obey the leaſt Signal of their Superiors, and will not look a Maid or Woman in the Face. They live on Alms, which is begged for them every Day at the Houſes of the *Gentiles* of their Tribes, and will leave nothing till the Morrow. They make but one Meal a Day, and that is about Noon; and though they are never ſo thirſty or hungry, muſt not eat nor drink till the ſame time the next Day.

They wear nothing on their Bodies, but a Cloth to cover their privy Parts, which they bring up over their Heads, like a Woman's Coif. The main Point of their Inſtitution is, not to do to others what they would not have others to do to them; and they obſerve it even to the Beaſts, which they will never kill. If any body beat them, they do not reſiſt, and if they are reviled, they make no Anſwer. They employ themſelves wholly in Prayers, and Reading; but conclude the Day with the Sun-ſet; for they never light a Candle. If any break their Orders, he is ſeverely puniſhed; and if they break their Vow of Chaſtity, they are expelled. They have above ten thouſand Monaſteries in the *Indies*. Some of them think it ſufficient to worſhip God in Spirit, and have no Idols, or Pagods. There are alſo religious Nuns of the ſame Order, who live very exemplary.

10. From *Labor* the Way lies by *Menat-kan*, *Tatyabad*, *Sera-dakan*, *Sera-balour*, *Sera-dourai*, *Serinde*, *Sera-Mogoul*, *Sera-Chabas*, *Dirauriel*, *Sera-Crindal*, and *Guemaour*, to *Debly*, or *Gehanabad*. This City is a large Place, and ſtands near the River *Gemma*, which runs on both Sides of it; and after it has paſſed *Agra* and *Kadione*, empties itſelf into the *Ganges*. It it is divided into three Parts or Towns. The firſt is almoſt intirely deſtroyed. The *Indians* ſay it is very ancient, and that it was the capital City of the States of King *Porus*, who oppoſed *Alexander the Great*. The *Indians* ſay it had fifty-two Gates; and there are ſtill remaining a long Stone Bridge, and a Way, with lovely Trees leading to the ſecond Town, by the Sepulchre of *Cha-Humayen*. The ſecond Town was at the Conqueſt of it beautified with many ſtately Sepulchres of the *Patan* Kings, and other Monuments, which rendered it a very lovely Place; but *Cha-Jehan*, the Father of *Aurengzeb* the preſent King demoliſhed it, and left nothing but a Pyramid, or Obeliſk of Stone, which, by its unknown Characters, ſhews a great Antiquity.

The third Town is joined to the Ruins of the ſecond, and was built by *Cha-Jehan* out of the Ruins of it, and from him it had its Name of *Gehan-abad*. This City lies in an open Champain, upon the Bank of the River *Gemma*, and is encompaſſed with a ſingle Wall. All the Houſes even of private Men conſiſt of great Incloſures, in the midſt of which is a Place for Lodgings. The greateſt Part of the Lords have their Houſes without the City, for the Conveniency of Water; for the King chuſeth to keep his Court here rather than at *Agra*, for the ſame Conveniency. As you enter into *Gehan-abad* from *Debly*, you come into a long and broad Street, which has Vaults on each Side, where the Merchants keep their Shops. This Street ends in the great Piazza, where the King's Palace ſtands. There is another Street which leads up to to the King's Palace, where the Merchants live, who keep no Shops: The Fortreſs of it is half a League in Circuit, and has good Walls, with round Towers in them, and Ditches about them full of Water. The King's Palace, where are all the Enſigns of Royalty, is in this Fort. There is a Place by the Water-ſide for the fighting of Elephants, and other Exerciſes. The King's Palace is encompaſſed with Walls of fair red-cut Stone, with Battlements.

The Gate and firſt Court have nothing of Magnificence, for the great Lords may enter into with their Elephants. Out of this Court you go through a long and large Paſſage, with fair Portico's on both Sides, into a great Court, where the Omrahs, *i. e.* the great Lords of the Kingdom, keep Guard in Perſon, having their Lodgings round about the Court, and their Horſes tied at the Doors. From this ſecond Court you paſs into a third, through a great Portal, where on the one Side is the Mogul's Wardrobe, out of which he beſtows the Calaat, or whole Habit of a Man, which he gives to any Stranger, or Subject, in Honour to them. The next is the Place where the Drums, Trumpets, and Hautboys are laid, which are ſounded when the King goes upon the Judgment Seat, and right forward is the Divan, where the King gives Audience and Sentence. In the Middle of the Hall is the Throne, where the King ſits, erected upon a Kind of Theatre. It has a little Bed, with four Columns, a Canopy, Back-piece, Bolſter, and Counterpoint, all embroidered with Diamonds, and covered with a Cloth of Gold when the King ſits on it. Below the Throne is a Place twenty-four Foot ſquare, encompaſſed with Baluſters, ſometimes of Silver, and at other Times Gold Plates. At the four Corners of it ſit the four Secretaries of State, who are the only Advocates in all Cauſes.

Many Lords ſtand by the Baluſtrade, and ſome of the greateſt, with his Children, ſtand by the Throne. While the King is on his Throne, none may ſtir out of the Palace, nor any that have Buſineſs come nearer than the Chancel in the Middle of the Court, till they are called; no, not Embaſſadors themſelves. From the Divan the King paſſes over a Terraſs, where the River is to be ſeen, into the *Haram*. Upon the left Hand of the Court ſtands a little Moſque neatly built, with a Cupola covered with Lead, perfectly gilt. Hither the King goes every Day to hear Prayers, except *Fridays*, when he goes to the great Moſque, which is a very fair one, and raiſed above the Houſes of the City. On the right Side of the Court are the King's Stables, which are full of ſtately Horſes, the worſt of which ſtands the King in three thouſand Crowns, and ſome coſt ten thouſand. On the River the King has ſeveral ſmall Brigantines to take his Pleaſure in.

From *Dehly* you travel to *Badelpoura*, and ſo by *Pel-vel-ki-ſera* and *Catki-ſara*, where is one of the greateſt Pagods of the *Indians*, together with an Hoſpital for Apes, as well for thoſe that are bred thereabout, as for thoſe that come from the neighbouring Parts, which the *Banjans* are very careful to feed. The Pagod is called *Matura*. It was formerly in greater Veneration than now it is, and the Reaſon is this, becauſe the River waſhing the Walls thereof, was convenient for the waſhing the *Banjans* before they went to their Devotions; but ſince the River has left it above a League, many have deſerted; but ſtill it wants not ſome Reſort of the *Indians*, who always bring with them ſome Food for the Apes.

12. Between this Place and *Goodkiſera* is but five Leagues, and then you come to *Agra*. This City lies in 27° 31′ of Latitude, and in a ſandy Soil, which cauſes extreme Heat. It is the biggeſt City in *India*, and was formerly the Reſidence of their Kings, till *Cha-Jehan* fearing the great Heats, uſually ſought a more temperate Air, and ſo removed to *Gehan-abad*. The Houſes of great Perſons are fair, and well built; but the Houſes of the meaner ſort are as plain as in other Parts of *India*, being low and thatched. It is not very populous, unleſs it be when the Court is there; but at that Time it is thronged, the King being attended with an Army for his Guards, and a great Number of Rajahs, Omrahs, Mauſapdars, and other Nobles, with their Retinues, beſides Merchants and Tradeſmen that follow the Court for Trade. The People are moſt of them *Mohammedans*, and theſe have all the Power in their Hands, though there are a conſiderable Number of *Chriſtians*, ſome few *Heathens* and *Perſees*.

The *Dutch* have a Factory here, but the *Engliſh* have left theirs, becauſe it did not turn to Account. The moſt remarkable Things in *Agra* are the King's Palace, and ſome Monuments near and about the City. The King's Palace is in the Caſtle, which is begirt with a Wall of Stone and Brick, terraſſed in ſeveral Places, which is twenty Cubits high. Between the Caſtle and the River is a large Place left on purpoſe for the fighting of Elephants for the King's Diverſion. It is near the Water, to allay the Fury of the conquering Elephant, who preſently comes to his Temper, if he be but two or three Feet deep in the Water. Before the Place is a wide Piazza, it contains three Courts, adorned with Porches and Galleries, that are painted and gilt; nay, ſome Things are covered with Plates of Gold. Under the Galleries of the firſt Court are the Lodgings for the King's Guards; in the ſecond is the Officers Lodgings; and in the third ſtately Apartments for the King and his Ladies: Out of theſe the King goes commonly to a lovely Divan, which looks to the River, to pleaſe himſelf in ſeeing Elephants fight. His Troops exerciſe and play upon the Water, or in the open Place. By this Palace ſtand twenty-five or thirty very large ones, in a direct Line, which belong to the Princes, and other great Lords of the Court, and all together afford a moſt delightful Proſpect to thoſe who are on the other Side of the River. Beſides theſe Palaces, the Beauty of *Agra* conſiſts in the Caravanſeras, which are about ſixty in Number, and ſome of them have ſix large Courts, with their Portico's which lead to very commodious Apartments, where the Merchants Strangers have their Lodgings.

There are above eight hundred Baths in the Town, and a great Number of Moſques, ſome of which are Sanctuaries. There are many magnificent and ſtately Monuments in and about *Agra* for ſeveral great Men, and eſpecially the rich Eunuchs, belonging to the King's Haram, are ambitious to build their own in their Life-time, and to erect Monuments to the Memories of their Forefathers; and this the Great Mogul encourages them in, that he may keep his Money in his own Kingdom, and divert them from going to *Mecca*, whither their blind Devotions often leads them to ſpend it. The two moſt eminent Monuments are that which King *Gehanguir* cauſed to be built for *Ecbar* his Father upon an Eminence in the Town. It ſurpaſſes the Magnificence of all thoſe of the Grand Signors; but the faireſt of all is that which *Cha-Jehan* erected in Honour of one of his Wives called *Tage-Mehal*, whom he tenderly loved, and whoſe Death had almoſt coſt him his Life. It was built by the moſt able Architects of the *Indies*, whom the King called together in a Council to contrive it, and having ſettle Salleries upon them, ordered them to ſpare no Coſt to make it the fineſt Mauſolæum in the World, if they could.

The *Indians* ſay it was twenty Years in building, that twenty thouſand Men were always employed about it, and it was finiſhed at length to Satisfaction. It ſtands on the Eaſt Side of the City, by the River Side. It is a kind of a Garden, with Compartments, like our Garden Plots; but the Walks, inſtead of Gravel, are black and white Marble: You enter into it through a large Portal, and on the left Hand is a fair Gallery, which looks towards *Mecca*, and in which are three or four Niches, wherein the Mufti comes at certain Hours to pray. About the Middle of the Garden are three great Platforms, one raiſed above another, with four Towers at the Corners of each. On the Top is a Cupola covered within and without with black Marble; under it is an empty Tomb (for the Sultaneſs is buried under the loweſt Platform) adorned with Tapeſtries, Candles, and other Ornaments, where there are always Moullahs attending to pray. The Sepulchres of the Eunuchs have only one Platform, with four little Chambers at the four Corners.

The *Indians* are pretty uniform in their Apparel, only the *Mohammedans* and the *Moors* diſtinguiſh themſelves by a particular kind of Coif, or Head Attire; but in all things elſe they are cloathed as the reſt. Their Breeches are commonly of Cotton Cloth, and ſometimes of Silk, and come down to the Leg or Ancle. Their Shirts hang over their Breeches, as the Faſhion is all over the *Levant*, and open before. In cold Weather they wear over their Shirts an Arcalick, or Waiſtcoat, of painted Stuff, quilted with Cotton, and pinked; and over that a Caba of white Cotton Cloth, for Lightneſs and Neatneſs; but if it be hot, they lay aſide their Arcalick. They uſe but one Girdle, and that is of white Cotton Cloth. None uſe the lovely Girdles of *Perſia* but the moſt wealthy Perſons of Quality; in cold Weather they wear a Veſt called Cadeby, lined with Sables. At all times, when they go abroad, they wear a Chal, which is like a Scarf, of ſeveral Colours. Their Turban is commonly little, and the *Mohammedans* wear it always white. The Rich have them of ſo fine Cloth, that twenty-five or thirty Ells of it, put into a Turban, will not weigh four Ounces. They are made at *Bengal*, and are dear. They wear their Hair for Ornament, contrary to other *Mohammedans*, who all ſhave their Heads. They uſe no Stockings, and on their naked Feet Slippers, which are of *Morocco*, or *Turkey* Leather; only the *Banjans* wear Heels to their Shoes, that they may ſtir more freely about their Buſineſs.

The rich *Banjans* cover theirs with Velvet, embroidered with Silk Flowers; but the Poor are ſatisfied with red Leather. The Mogul Women are cloathed almoſt like the Men, but the Sleeves of their Smocks reach no lower than the Elbow, that they may have Room to adorn their Arms with Carkanets, and Bracelets of Gold, Silver, and Ivory, or ſet with precious Stones, as they do alſo the Small of their Legs. The Smocks of the *Indian* idolatrous Women reach down only to the Middle, as doth the Waiſtcoat of Satin, or Cloth, which they wear over it, becauſe from the Waiſt downward they wrap themſelves up in a Piece of Cloth, or Stuff, that covers them to the Feet like a Petticoat: For Shoes they have high Pattens; they wear little flat Rings of Gold or Silver in their Ears, with Engraving upon them, and adorn their Noſes with Rings put through their Noſtrils. They wear alſo Rings on their Fingers for Ornaments, and have generally one with a Looking-glaſs ſet in it an Inch Diameter, to ſee themſelves. If the *Indian* Women are Idolaters, they go bare-faced; if *Mohammedans*, they are vailed.

In ſome Countries both Men and Women go naked to the Waiſt, and cover themſelves from thence to the Knees. At *Agra* they are curious in breeding up Beaſts to fight for Pleaſure, *viz.* He-goats, Weathers, Rams, Cocks, Quails, Stags, and Antilopes; for ſuch as cannot reach Lions and Elephants, are dextrous Fowlers and H[illegible]ers. Pictures alſo in this City are drawn with Art; but being for the moſt part laſcivious, are rarely bought up by *Europeans.* They have a Way in this Town of working in Gold, upon Agate, Cryſtal, and other baſe Metals, which our Goldſmiths and Lapidaries have not.

13. In your Journey from *Agra* to *Bengal* you come firſt to *Beruzabad*, then to *Serail-Haimal* and *Sarail-Sokandria* to *Sauqual:* A League from thence you paſs over the River *Sangeur* upon a Stone Bridge, where thoſe that are paſſing from *Bengal* to *Surat* may leave the Road to *Agra*, and ferrying over the *Gemma*, ſhorten their Journey ten Days: But, ſince ſome of that Way is very ſtony, Travellers generally chuſe to go by the Way of *Agra.* From this Bridge you go on by the *Cheourabad* and the Town *Serail Chajeada*, and *Serail* leaning to *Auren-abad.* This is a great Town, and the Capital of a Province, but it has no Walls. The Governor, who is a Prince, has his Reſidence there; and *Aureng-Zeb* commanded there, as he did at *Candich* in the Reign of his Father: His firſt Wife, whom he loved dearly, died in this Town, and as a Monument to her, he erected a lovely Moſque, covered with a Dome, and beautified it with four Minerets, or Steeples. It is built of white poliſhed Stone, which looks almoſt like Marble.

It hath ſeveral pretty Moſques, Inns, and Baths. The Buildings are, for the moſt part, of Free-ſtone, and pretty high: Before the Doors grow a great many Trees in the Streets, and the Gardens are well cultivated and pleaſant, affording the Refreſhments of the Fruits, Grapes, and Graſs-plats. They have Sheep without Horns, that are ſo ſtrong, that being bridled and ſaddled, they will carry Children of ten or twelve Years of Age. It is a good trading Town, and well peopled, with excellent Ground about it. It took its Name, by which it is now called, from the preſent Monarch *Aureng-Zeb*, who overcame Sultan *Sujah*, his Brother, who was Governor of all the Provinces of *Bengal*, in that Place. From thence you paſs to *Alinchan*, and two Leagues farther paſs the *Ganges*, which, though famous in Hiſtory, is ſo ſhallow from *March* to *June* or *July*, when the Rains fail, that it will not bear a Boat.

The Water being drank cauſeth the Gripes, and therefore the *Hollanders* that live upon the Banks of it, never drink thereof till they have boiled it; but the Natives are ſo accuſtomed to it, that the King and Court drink no other, becauſe they account it lighter than any other Water. The Heathen *Indians* account the Water of this River to be ſacred, and have many Pagods by it, the faireſt in the *Indies*; ſo that it may be ſaid, that here Idolatry is moſt triumphant. The two chief Pagods are at the Towns of *Jagarnat* and *Benevrou:* Nothing can be more magnificent than they are, by reaſon of the great Quantity of Gold and many Jewels with which they are adorned. In theſe Pagods they keep their Feſtivals many Days together, and many People repair thither from all Parts of the *Indies*, where they carry their Idols in Triumph, and act all Manner of Superſtitions by the Encouragement of the *Bramins*, who are numerous thereabouts, and draw much Profit by it. The *Ganges* is full of pleaſant Iſlands, covered with lovely Trees, ſo that it is moſt delicious Sailing upon it. In theſe Iſlands and ſome other Places of *Bengal* is a Bird called *Meina*, whoſe Colour is like a Blackbird, but as big as a Raven; it will ſpeak lik a Starling, and imitates the Neighing of a Horſe exactly. This River has received an infinite Number of Brooks and Rivers from the N. E. and W. into it, and diſcharges itſelf by ſeveral Mouths into the Gulph of *Bengal*, which is eight hundred Miles over, and reaches from the 18 to the 22° of Latitude.

14. Having paſſed the *Ganges*, you arrive at *Hallabas*, a great City, built upon the Point of Land where the *Ganges* and *Gemma* meet; it is the chief Town of a Province that bears the ſame Name. It was, for a long Time, one of the Bulwarks of the Kingdom of *Patans*, and is the ſame Town which *Pliny* calls *Chryſobacra.* It was ſubdued to the Kingdom of the Mogul by King *Ecbar*, who built a ſtrong Citadel in it ſtrengthened with three Walls, of which the outermoſt is of a very hard red Stone. It is adorned with a very ancient Obeliſk, above ſixty Feet high, that has many Inſcriptions, but the Letters are not legible. The Mogul has a fair Palace here, and under it are certain arched Places where the Pagods of *Adam* and *Eve* are kept, whoſe Religion they pretend to follow. Hither, at certain Times, come an incredible Number of Pilgrims from all Parts of the *Indies* to viſit thoſe Pagods, becauſe they ſay *Adam* and *Eve* were created here; but, before they approach the Place, which they eſteem holy, they all waſh themſelves in the *Ganges.* The Province of *Hallabas* pays the Mogul yearly fourteen Millions.

At *Hallabas* there are uſually Troops of *Faquirs*, who call themſelves a religious Order among the *Indians*, and many of them practiſe the Life of Penitents, forbearing to eat many Days, ſtanding conſtantly upon a Stone for ſeveral Weeks or Months, holding their Arms acroſs over their Heads as long as they live, or bury themſelves in a Pit for a certain Time; but others wander up and down the Country like Gypſies, committing Robberies and all ſorts of Rogueries; ſome of them will threaten to kill themſelves, and ſome of them have done it, unleſs the *Banjans* would give them what they demand, and ſo obtain conſiderable Sums of them; for the *Banjans* abhor Murder, and will give any thing to prevent it. The Penitents are extremely honoured by the *Gentiles*, and the Rich think they draw down Bleſſings upon themſelves when they give to them.

From *Hallabas* you paſs over a River, where ſtands a Deroga on each Side, to take Notice of what Goods are tranſported, there being due for every Waggon-load four *Rupees*, and every Coach one, and they ſtop all that travel without a Paſs; and then go through *Yok-del-ſera*, *Sadan*, *Sarael*, and *Bourabi-ſera* to *Benarou.* This is a large City, and handſomely built, moſt of the Houſes being of Brick or Stone, and higher than in any other *Indian* City, but the Streets are narrow. There are many Inns in the Town, and among the reſt one very large and handſomely built. In the Midſt of the Court are two Galleries, where are to be ſold Calicuts, Silk, and other Merchandize, and under them are Cellars where the Workmen live. All the Goods are ſtamped with the King's Seal, before they are expoſed to Sale.

The *Ganges* runs by the Walls on the South Side, and in it is one of the principal Pagods of the Idolaters. About five hundred Paces from the City northward, there is a Moſque, where are many *Mohammedan* Sepulchres, incloſed with a Garden; but there are Holes through the Walls half a Foot ſquare for Travellers to look into them. The moſt conſiderable is ſaid to be that of one of the Kings of *Boutan.* It is a four-ſquare Pedeſtal, forty Paces wide, and in the Midſt of it a Pyramid thirty-two, or thirty-five Feet high, with a great Ball at the Top. All the Fronts are full of the Figures of Animals cut in Stone. It was once very high, but within fifty Years it is ſunk above thirty Feet into the Earth. From *Banarou* you paſs on to *Baterpour*, and ſo by *Satraguy-ſera* to *Maniachy-ſera*; in the Road from thence you ford two Rivers called *Carnaſa-ſou* and *Saod-ſou*, and come to *Gourmabad*, which ſtands upon the River *Gouderſa-ſou.* The City ſtands at the Foot of certain Mountains, near which is great Lake, and in the Midſt of it a ſmall Iſland, with a fair Moſque built upon it, wherein is the Sepulchre of a *Nabador* Governor, called *Seleim-Khan*, who built it for himſelf when he was Governor of the Province. There is a fair Freeſtone Bridge to croſs over into the Iſland; and on the Side of the Lake is a great Garden, in the Middle of which is a fair Sepulchre of the Governor's Son, who ſucceeded his Father in the Government of that Province. Leaving *Sancerou* you ferry over the River *Son-ſou*, which deſcends from the Northern Mountains: Here all Merchandize pays certain Toll; and ſo you go on to *Daud*, *Nargarſera*, and ſo by *Palva-ſera* and *Aga-ſera* to *Patna.* This is one of the biggeſt Cities in *India*, being two Leagues long, and ſtanding on the Banks of the *Ganges* weſtward; but the Houſes are no better than in the greateſt Part of the other Cities, being covered with Bamboos, or Straw. The *Dutch* Company have an Houſe there, becauſe of their Trade in Salt-petre, which they buy up here and refine at *Choupar*, a great Town upon the *Ganges*, ten Leagues diſtant from *Patna.*

The People of this Town having a *Mim Cachi*, or Colonel of a thouſand Foot, ſlain for Sodomy by his Boy, whom he had forced, he juſtified the Fact againſt the Governor, ſo that he durſt not puniſh him for the Murder, but diſmiſſed him after ſix Months Impriſonment. From *Patna* you ſail down the River to *Decu*, paſſing by ſeveral Towns where you lodge at Night; *viz. Sera Beconcour*, which is beyond the River *Pomponſou*, which comes from the South, falls into the *Ganges*, *Sera-Enjab*, between which and the City *Monger* four Rivers, *viz.* the *Raoa*, *Chanan*, *Erguga*, and *Aquera*, fall into the *Ganges* on both Sides. Leaving *Monger*, you ſail by the Mouth of the *Ganges* at a large River, and arrive at *Zangira*, beyond which the *Ronova*, *Tea*, and *Chanon*, empty themſelves into the *Ganges*. And after you arrive at *Baquelapour*, and paſſing by the River *Catare*, you come to *Pongangol*, which lies at the Foot of certain Mountains which come down to the *Ganges*. Beyond this Place you meet with the River *Mart-Nardi*, and by it ſail to *Rage-Mehale*, a City upon the Right-hand of the *Ganges*; if you go by Land to it, the Highway is paved with Brick for a League or two before the Town. Formerly the Governor of *Bengal* reſided here, partly becauſe it was a Place of great Trade, and partly becauſe it is an excellent Country for hunting, as well as to keep the King of *Aracan* in Awe, and ſuppreſs the *Portugueze* Banditti, who have retired to the Mouths of the *Ganges*, and make Excurſions as far as *Decu* itſelf.

But the River having left the City above half a League, the Governor and Merchants are removed to *Decu*, which at preſent is a large City and full of Trade. From this Town, you come firſt by Water to *Donapour*, then to *Tautipour*, where there are abundance of Crocodiles in the River; as alſo at *Acerat*, which is in the Way. The vulgar Report is, that a Muſket-Shot will not pierce the Skins of the Crocodiles; but, upon Trial, it is found falſe. Then you ſail to *Doloudia*, and paſſing the Mouth of the River *Chativer*, you come to *Dampour*, and ſo to *Jatrapour*, near which the *Ganges* divides itſelf into three Arms, and then by *Baga*, *Maga*, and *Kaſiata*; having paſſed the Mouth of the River *Lapicio* two Leagues, you arrive at *Decu*. This Town runs in a ſtraight Line; beſides every one ſtrives to have his Dwelling by the Side of the *Ganges*. It is two Leagues long, but the Houſes are but ſorry Huts, made of Bamboos, and daubed over with Earth. The Governor's Palace is a Place incloſed with high Walls, in the Midſt of which is a pitiful Houſe, built of Wood: He generally lodges in Tents, which he cauſes to be ſet up in a great Court of that Incloſure. The *Hollanders* have here a very fair Houſe, which they have built for the Safety of their Goods, and the *Engliſh* have another, but not ſo handſome. The Church of the *Auguſtin* Friars is alſo of Brick, and is a very ſtately Pile.

15. There are ſeveral Roads from *Surat* to *Golconda*: As by *Surat*, by *Goa* and *Viſapour*, and by *Agra*. Theſe two Roads by Land meet at *Dultabat*, and therefore I will ſpeak firſt of the Road from *Surat*, as the moſt common, and then of that by *Goa* and *Viſapour*. From *Surat* you travel by *Cambari*, *Barnoli*, *Beara*, *Navepour*, *Rinkula*, *Pipelner*, *Nainpour*, *Patane*, *Secoura*, *Bequola*, and *Diſcon* to *Dultabat*. This Town is one of the beſt Fortreſſes in the Dominions of the Great Mogul, being ſeated upon a Mountain every Way ſteep, the only Way being ſo narrow, that but one Horſe, or one Camel, can go at a Time. This Town ſtands at the Foot of the Mountain, very well walled, with a natural ſmooth Rock, and has Battlements and Towers mounted with Cannon; but it is the Citadel on the Top of the Hill that is accounted the main Strength of it; for in it are a great many excellent Pieces of Cannon, and the Cannoneers are generally *Engliſh* or *Hollanders*.

From *Dultabat* you go to *Aurenabat*, before deſcribed, and ſo through *Pipoli*, *Aubar*, *Guiſernner*, *Aſſin*, *Server*, and *Leſona*, to *Nadour*. Here you croſs a River, which runs into the *Ganges*, and muſt pay for every Waggon-load of Goods four *Rupees*, and have a Paſs from the Governor. From *Nadour* you travel to *Patonta*, and ſo by *Kaberi*, *Satapour*, *Sataneg*, or *Satanagar*, where you begin to enter upon the Territories of the King of *Golconda*. The other Road through *Goa* and *Viſapour* to *Golconda* lies thus; you may go from *Surat* to *Goa*, partly by Land and partly by Sea; but the Road being very bad by Land, Travellers generally go by Sea, and hiring an Almadire, which is a Bark with Oars, ſail by the Shore to *Goa*, and ſo they paſs by theſe Towns (which are convenient to lodge in, or victual at, *viz. Daman*, *Baſſain*, *Chacul*, *Daboul*, *Rejapour*, and *Mingrela*) to *Goa*. From *Surat* to *Goa* is two hundred and forty Leagues. The great Danger in this coaſting Voyage, is falling into the Hands of the *Malabars*, or *Indian* Pirates, who are furious *Mohammedans*, and very cruel to the Chriſtians, whom they put to barbarous Tortures if they take them, to make them ſeek their Ranſom the ſooner. The *Malabars* ſometimes carry two hundred, and ſometimes two hundred and forty Men, and ſail together in Squadrons of ten or fifteen Barks to attack a great Ship, for they care not a Ruſh for the great Guns: They come on Board of a ſudden, and caſt ſuch a great Quantity of Pots of artificial Fire upon the Decks, that if there be not a ſpeedy Remedy applied, they do a world of Miſchief. Our Seamen, generally knowing the Cuſtom of theſe Pirates, when they come within Sight, ſhut up the Skuttles, and fill the Deck with Water, to hinder the Fire-pots from doing Execution.

Goa lies in an Iſland ſix or ſeven Leagues about, upon the River *Mandoua*, ten Leagues from the Mouth of the River. This Iſland abounds in Corn, Rice, and ſeveral ſorts of Fruit, as Mangas, Ananas, *Adam*'s Figs, and Cocoas, but all of them are inferior to a Pippin. The Port of *Goa* is very commodious, the City is very large, and the Walls are of good Stone; the Houſes for the moſt part are very magnificently built, eſpecially the Viceroy's Palace; but being cloſely environed with Hills, the Air is made unwholeſome, and ſo exceſſively hot, that the Inhabitants are not ſo many as otherwiſe they would be. Beef and Pork are the ordinary Diet, and they have Plenty of Poultry and Pigeons; but Fiſh is ſcarce, though they are near the Sea: They have abundance of all ſorts of Sweetmeats, and great Plenty of good Water. Before the *Dutch* brought down the Power of the *Portugueze* in *India*, there was nothing to be ſeen at *Goa* but Magnificence and Riches: They made vaſt Profits without any Loſs, and every Man was a Trader except the Governor. But now the *Dutch* having got the Trade every where out of their Hands (tho' they are ſtill Maſters of *Goa*) they have loſt their Mines of Silver and Gold, and are fallen from their Splendor. The Natives of the Country, whom they call *Canarins*, or *Blacks*, are not permitted to bear any Offices among the *Portugueze*, but only in reference to the Law, *viz.* As Advocates, Solicitors, and Scriveners; and they keep them very much under. If one of them happen to ſtrike a white Man, or *European*, there is no Pardon for him, but his Head muſt be cut off. The *Spaniards* and *Portugueze* make uſe of them to tranſact their Buſineſs, and receive their Money; and many of them by that means are grown very rich, and have many Slaves to attend them in good Habits; but they all, both Maſters and Servants, go barefoot; for the *Portugueze*, though they have been offered great Sums to ſuffer them to wear Hoſe and Shoes, yet will not allow it. They are very courageous and good Soldiers, and quick and ingenious at learning of Sciences, but they are Idolaters, and worſhip ſeveral Sorts of Idols, which, they ſay, are the Reſemblance of ſeveral that have done good Works, to whom they give Honour by adoring their Portrait.

There are ſome of theſe Idolaters who worſhip Apes, and have built Pagods to thoſe Beaſts. In the Iſland of *Salſet* there was a Pagod, where the Idolaters keep in a Cheſt the Bones and Nails of an Ape, that had been ſerviceable to their Anceſtors, by bringing Intelligence when any Prince their Enemy ſought their Ruin. The *Indians* came in Proceſſion from ſeveral Places to this Pagod, and made Offerings to it; and when the Clergy of *Goa* took away their Tomb, they offered a great Sum of Money for their Relicks; but the Clergy not thinking ſuch groſs Idolatry ſufferable, cauſed it to be thrown into the Depth of the Sea. The River of *Mandoua* alſo is had in as great Veneration by the *Bramins* and the other *Gentiles* as the *Ganges*, and at certain Times, and upon certain Feſtivals, they flock thither from their ſeveral Parts to perform their Purifications. The

Town hath good Walls, with Towers, and great Guns, and the Iſle is walled round with Gates towards the Land, to hinder the Slaves from running away. The *Portugueze* have a Viceroy reſiding here, with an Archbiſhop, Inquiſitor General, and Abundance of Clergymen, as Dominicans, *Auſtin*-Friars, Franciſcans, bare-foot Carmelites, Jeſuits, and Capuchins. The Carmelites are ſeated in a fine Air, and healthy Ground; the Jeſuits have a College, which being dedicated to St. *Paul*, gives them the Name of *Pauliſts*, with a Seminary, Profeſſor's Houſe, Noviciate, and an Houſe called the *Good Jeſus*, where they paint admirably. There are alſo many fair Churches, and beautiful Palaces.

In this City lies buried *F. Alberquerque*, who conquered it for the *Portugueze*, and Saint *Francis Xavier*, the famous *Indian* Miſſionary. The Hoſpital of *Goa* was formerly the moſt famous in all *India*, both in regard that the Revenues were very great, and the ſick Perſons were very carefully looked after; but ſince the Change of Government, there is but very bad Accommodations, and ſeveral *Europeans*, who have been put in, have never come out but in their Coffins; but of late they have found out a Way to ſave ſome, by frequent Blood-letting, ſpare Diet, and drinking Cow's Piſs.

16. From *Goa* you go to *Bicholly*, which is upon the Continent, and ſo to *Viſiapour*. This City is the Metropolis of a Kingdom of the ſame Name, whoſe King is the moſt potent of all the Kings of *Decan*, and is therefore called King of *Decan*, having under him the two Naiques of *Madura*, whoſe Territories reach to Cape *Comurio* and *Tanjabar*, who has ſeveral Towns on the Coaſts of *Coromandel* tributary to him. It is a great ſtraggling City, above five Leagues in Circumference, fortified with a double Wall, and a great many Cannons mounted, and a flat-bottomed Ditch. The King's Palace is very large, but ill built, and the Acceſs to it is very dangerous, in regard there are an Abundance of Crocodiles in the Ditch, with which it is encompaſſed; but in the City itſelf there is nothing remarkable as to the publick Edifices or Trade, tho' in the Suburbs, which are large, there are ſeveral Goldſmiths and Jewellers. The King of *Viſiapour* hath three good Ports in his Dominions, *Rajapour*, *Daboult*, and *Caropatan*. This laſt is the beſt, having fourteen or fifteen Fathom Water near the Land, and upon the Top of the Mountain adjoining a Fort with a Spring of Water in it.

It lies about five Days Journey to the North of *Goa*. The Kings of *Viſiapour* and *Golconda* were formerly tributary to the Great Mogul, but now they are abſolute of themſelves. The preſent King of *Viſiapour*, was only the adopted Child of the former King, who died without Children, he ſucceeded in his Minority under the Regency of the Queen; but being diſturbed by the Revolt of Rajah *Sevagi*, the Son of the late King's Captain of his Guards, he was forced to come to a Compoſition with him to eſtabliſh himſelf, and ſo loſt all the Coaſts of *Malabar*.

The great Market, where the King of *Viſiapour* ſells his Pepper, is at *Rebeque*. In the Territories of *Viſiapour* is *Mingrela*, a large Town, extended half a League in Length upon the Sea-coaſt; it is one of the beſt Roads in all *India*, where all the Veſſels that come from *Batavia* *Japan*, *Bengal*, *Ceilon*, and thoſe that are bound for *Surat*, *Ormuz*, the *Red-Sea*, *Balſora*, &c. both coming and going, anchor and take in Proviſions, becauſe there is both excellent Water and Rice. This Town is alſo very famous for Cardamums, which the Eaſtern People eſteem above all Spices; but not being to be had in any other Country, are very ſcarce and dear. There is alſo made great Store of coarſe Calicuts that are ſpent in the Country, and great Quantities of coarſe Matting, which ſerves for packing up of Goods. The *Dutch* have a Factory for Trade and Proviſions here, to victual their Ships when they block up *Goa*, which is eight Months in the Year.

17. From *Viſiapour* you paſs to *Golconda*, which is four hundred Leagues croſs the Promontory. The moſt powerful of the Kings of *Decan* next to the King of *Viſiapour*, is the King of *Golconda*; his Kingdom is bounded on the Eaſt by the Sea of *Bengal*, on the Weſt by the Mountains of *Orixa*, on the South by *Biſnager* and *Nariſingue*, which belongs to the King of *Viſiapour*, and on the Weſt by the Empire of the Great Mogul. This whole Kingdom, take it in general, is a good Country, abounding in Corn, Rice, Cattle, Sheep, Poultry, and other Neceſſaries for human Life; and becauſe there are many Lakes, there are alſo many Fiſh, and among others a ſort of Smelts, which has but one Bone in the Middle, which is moſt delicious Food. The Lakes being cauſed by Nature, and lying in Places ſomewhat raiſed, contribute much to the Fertility of the Country, becauſe after the rainy Seaſons they let them down by Sluices into the adjacent Fields. The capital City of the Kingdom is *Banagar*; the *Perſians* call it *Adier-abad*, but the moſt common Name is *Golconda*. It is about fourteen or fifteen Leagues from *Viſiapour*, ſituated in 17° 10 Latitude, in a very long Plain, hemmed in with little Hills at ſome Diſtance from it. The Air is very wholeſome, and a great River waſhes the Wall of it on the South-weſt Side, which, near to *Maſſulipatan*, falls into the Gulph of *Bengal*.

The City is well built, and full of Windows. In entering into it, you muſt firſt paſs through a large Suburb; but the Houſes are only built of Earth, and thatched with Straw, ſo low and ill contrived that they can be reckoned little better than Huts. It is at leaſt a League in Length, and in it dwell all the Merchants, Brokers, Handicraftſmen, and all the meaner ſort of People. Theſe Men are allowed to go into the City from ten or eleven in the Morning till four or five o'Clock in the Afternoon with the foreign Merchants, and then they return to their Houſes. In thoſe Suburbs are two or three fair Moſques, which ſerve for Inns for Travellers, and ſeveral Pagods in the Neighbourhood. The Way to the Fortreſs of *Golconda* lies through thoſe Suburbs; out of them you go into the City over a moſt beautiful Stone Bridge, and enter into a large Street that leads to the King's Palace. On the right Hand are ſome Houſes of the Lords of the Court, and four or five Inns two Stories high, with fair Halls, and large Chambers to let in the freſh Air.

At the End of this Street is a large Piazza on which the Palace fronts, and in the Middle of the Building is the Balcony wherein the King ſits when he pleaſeth to give Audience to the People. The Gate of the Palace ſtands not upon this Piazza, but upon another near adjoining. Through it you enter into a large Court, ſurrounded with Porticos, under which lie the King's Guards. Out of this Court you paſs into another, built after the ſame manner, and ſurrounded with ſeveral Apartments, with terraſſed Roofs, on which are very fair Gardens, and Trees in them of a great Bigneſs. The whole Palace is three hundred and eighty Paces in Length, and ends in a very lofty Pavillion. The Walls are built of great Stones, and have at certain Diſtances half Towers. It is very pleaſant within, and the Water riſes up to the higheſt Apartments. No Man enters into the Palace without an expreſs Order from the King, who grants it very ſeldom; ſo that ſcarce any body comes near it.

At the End of the Palace is a Building, called the Four Towers, which has the moſt lovely Outſide of any thing in the Town, being adorned with Roſes and Feſtoons pretty well cut. In each Tower are four Galleries, which ſerve to make the Water mount into a Reſervatory on the Top, from whence it is conveyed into the higheſt Apartments of the King's Palace through Pipes. There are ſeveral Meidans in the Town, but the faireſt is that before the King's Palace. It hath two Divans, which ſerve for the Cotoual, who has his Priſons under them. The Palace is on the North of it, and there is a Portico over againſt it, where the Muſicians play ſeveral Times a Day, while the King is in the Town in the Middle of it; and in ſight of the Palace is a Space for the fighting of Elephants. The City for the moſt part is inhabited by Perſons of Quality, Officers of the King's Court of Juſtice, and of the Army, and their Houſes are pretty enough. Three Miles from the City ſtands a very fair Moſque, wherein are the Tombs of the Kings of *Golconda*, and about four o'Clock in the Afternoon there is a Dole of Bread and Rice given to all the Poor that come. Upon Feſtival Days all the Tombs are hung with rich Tapeſtry, and then they are a moſt glorious Sight. There are many fair Gardens in the Town, and near it; but their beauty conſiſts not in Flowers or Water-works, but in long Walks, lovely Fruit-trees, and large Baſons of Water.

When a Stranger comes to the Gates, a Soldier ſearches him, to ſee whether he has any Salt and Tobacco about him, that the King may not be defrauded of the Duties, and then ſends to the Deroga about his Admiſſion, which cauſes a Delay of a Day or two. Sometimes when the King ſits to do Juſtice, all that have Buſineſs ſtand below, juſt againſt the Balcony; but the People are kept back with a Row of Poles about the Height of a Half pike. Every *Monday* the Nobility mount Guard, and continue eight Days, ſome of them have five or ſix thouſand Men under their Command, with ten or twelve Elephants, and thirty or forty Camels. The Soldiers have no Cloaths, but three or four Ells of Calicut, with which they cover their Bodies half Way behind and before. They wear their Hair long, and tie it in a Knot on the Crown, as the Women do. They wear Broad-ſwords like the *Switzers*, which ſerve as well for a Thruſt, as a Blow, and hang them in a Girdle. Their Muſket Barrels are neater and better than ours, becauſe their Iron is better. Their Cavalry carry Bows and Arrows, a Buckler, and a Battle-Ax, and a Head-piece, and Jacket of Mail, which hangs down from their Head-piece to their Shoulders. There are twenty thouſand common Women allowed by the Deroga; they pay no Tax, but are a Means of ſpending much Tari, which is a ſweet Drink, on which the King lays a ſevere Impoſt. They are encouraged in their Practices. They are to dance every *Friday* before the King's Balcony, if the King be preſent; if not, an Eunuch diſmiſſes them. They ſtand well dreſſed at their Doors in the Day-time, and ſet up a Candle or Lamp for a Signal in the Night to draw in Men, who are not expoſed to Scandal by converſing with them.

The common People give their Wives great Liberty, being obliged by Promiſe, at their Marriage, to let them walk in the Streets, viſit their Neighbours, and drink Tari, a Liquor which the *Indians* love very much. When any one is found guilty of Theft, he is puniſhed by cutting off both his Hands, which is a Puniſhment uſed almoſt all over the *Indies*. The Tradeſmen of the Town, and Huſbandmen that cultivate the Lands, are Natives; but the Trade is chiefly maintained by the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Factories, who buy up for the Companies Chints, and other Cloths, which they vend in other Parts of the *Indies*. They bring alſo from *Maſlipatan*, upon Oxen, Cloves, Pepper, Cinnamon, Silver, Copper, Tin, Lead, and other Goods, which they know to be moſt marketable. All the Men and Women at *Golconda* are well proportioned, and of comely Stature, and fair enough in their Countenances; but the Country People are ſwarthy. The moſt current Monies of this Kingdom are the Pagods, Rupees, and Pechas, of the Mogul: The Pagods are Pieces of Gold of which there are two ſorts, the old and the new; the old are worth five Rupees, and the new not above four.

The Rupees and Pechas are alſo worth more at *Golconda* than in *Moguliſtan*. The greateſt Plenty of Diamonds is in this Kingdom, and therefore it may be called the Country of Diamonds. The Caſtle of *Golconda* is two Leagues from the City; is of a large Compaſs, and the Walls of it are built of Stones, three Feet in Length, and as many in Breadth, and is ſurrounded with deep Ditches, divided into Tanquies, which are filled with fair and good Water. All the Strength it has conſiſts in five round Towers, which have a great many Cannon mounted upon them for their Defence. It has ſeveral Gates, but two only are opened, and theſe are guarded by *Indians*. No Strangers may go in without a Permiſſion from the Governor, unleſs he be acquainted with ſome Officer of the Court. The King has a large Palace in it, and well ſituated for the good Air and lovely Proſpect, and moſt Part of the Lords have Houſes near it. There are ſeveral Bazars in it, where all Things neceſſary for Life may be had.

18. The King of *Golconda*, who now reigns, is a Shias by Religion, and bears the Name of *Abdoul-Coutou Shah*. He was the Son of a *Bramin* Lady, and ſucceeded his Father, though not the eldeſt Son, becauſe he was more loved by the Queen, who cauſed his Brothers to be impriſoned, and at laſt poiſoned. He keeps five hundred thouſand Soldiers in Pay, yet is tributary to the Great Mogul. He hath only three Daughters, the eldeſt of which is married to one of the Kinſmen of the Grand Chiek of *Mecca*, the ſecond to Sultan *Mohammed*, eldeſt Son of *Aureng Zeb*, and the third to *Mirza abdul-Coſſing*, the King's Couſin, who has Male Children by her. The King of *Golconda* has vaſt Revenues, for he is Proprietor of all the Lands of his Kingdom, which he leaſes out to thoſe that offer the moſt, excepts ſuch as he gives to his Favourites for a certain Time. The Cuſtoms on Merchants Goods that paſs through his Country, and of the Ports of *Maſlipatan* and *Madraſpatan*, yield him much, and there is hardly any ſort of Proviſions in his Kingdom, from whence he hath not ſome conſiderable Duties by Way of Exciſe.

The Diamond Mines raiſe him a great Revenue, and all ſuch as he allows to dig in them. Theſe that are toward *Maſlipatan* pay him a Pagod every Hour they work there, whether they find any Diamonds or not; but his chief Mines are in divers Places in *Carnate* towards *Viſiapour*, where he has ſix thouſand Men continually at work, who daily find near three Pounds Weight, and no body digs there but for the King. This Prince wears upon the Crown of his Head a Jewel almoſt a Foot long, which is ſaid to be of ineſtimable Value. It is a Roſe of great Diamonds, three or four Inches Diameter, on the Top of which there is a little Crown, out of which iſſues a Branch faſhioned like that of a Palm-tree; but it is round, and the Palm Branch, which is crooked at the Top, is a good Inch in Diameter, and about half a Foot long. It is made up of Sprigs, which are, as it were, the Leaves of it, and each of them have at the End a lovely long Pearl ſhaped like a Pear. At the Foot of this Poeſy there are two Bands of Gold in the Faſhion of Table Bracelets, in which are inchaſed large Diamonds, ſet round with Rubies, which, with great Pearls that hang dangling on all Sides, make an exceeding fair Show; and theſe Bands have Claſps of Diamonds to faſten the Jewels to the Head. Beſides this Jewel, he hath other conſiderable Pieces, and ſuch Numbers of precious Stones, that if there were Merchants who could give him the Worth of them, he would have prodigious Sums of Money, and be the richeſt King in the *Indies*.

The Omrahs are the great Lords of the Kingdom, who are *Perſians*, and all rich; for they have not only great Pay of the King yearly, but large Gifts of Lands and Villages from him, beſides the Advantages of the Soldiery; for they do not liſt half the Number they have Pay to maintain. They generally make a very handſome Figure; for when they go through the Town, an Elephant or two goes before them, on which three Men carrying Banners are mounted; fifty or ſixty Troopers, well mounted and accoutered, follow them; and after theſe Trumpeters and others playing on Fifes on Horſeback; after theſe comes the Omrah on Horſeback, with thirty or forty Footmen about him, and his Palanquin carried by four Men, with other Porters for Change; and all this Pomp is brought up with a Camel or two, with Men beating on Timbrels on their Backs. Sometimes the Omrah will take his Palanquin, and then his Horſe is led.

The Palanquins are ſometimes covered with Silver, and the Bamboos are tipped with Silver at both Ends. They lie at eaſe in them, ſmoaking Tobacco, or chewing Beetle, or Areca, according to the Cuſtom of the *Indians*, who hold them to be excellent for the Stomach, and the Sweetneſs of the Breath. The leſſer Omrahs have not ſo great an Equipage, but all have a Train proportionable to their Revenue. The Winter in *Golconda* begins in *June* with Rains, and ſome Thunder and great Winds, and laſts to the End of *October*, in which Time the Air is cold only in the Night and Morning. The Days are as warm as it is in *May* in *France*; but the Rains cauſe prodigious Floods, which beat down the Houſes, and deſtroy many People. The hot Seaſon begins in *February*. The Rains make the Land very fertile; they have abundance of Fruits and Vines, and two Crops of Rice and other Grains every Year. The Wines they make are uſually white.

19. From *Golconda* there are two Roads to *Maſlipatan*, one more direct, which the Merchants uſually take, and the other by the Diamond-Mines, called *Coulour*, or *Gani*, which ſuch Merchants generally travel, whoſe Curioſity or Buſineſs leads them thither, though it be the fartheſt Way

by twelve Leagues. In the more direct Road you meet with not above four Towns, beſides fifteen or ſixteen Villages, *viz.* *Elmas-kepentch*, *Panguel*, *Sarchel*, and *Penguet-chepoul.* You paſs alſo ſeveral Rivers, the moſt conſiderable of which are *Kachna* and *Moucby.* All the Country as you paſs this Way is always green and pleaſant to the Eye, though the Road be bad, and there grow all kinds of Trees that are in the *Indies*, even Caſſia-trees, though they be ſcarce in other Countries: This Way you come to *Maſlipatan* in ten Days. The other Way, by the Diamond-Mines, lies, firſt, to *Tenara*, where the King has a ſtately Palace, conſiſting of four large Piles of Stone-Building, to every one of which belongs a large Garden. One of them, on the Left-hand, along the High-way, is much more beautiful than the other three; it is built of Free-ſtone, two Story high, and has in it ſeveral fair Galleries, Halls, Parlours, and Lodging-rooms, which are the Royal Apartments. Before this Building is a large ſquare Piazza; and in the other three Fronts is a great Portal, with a fair large Platform, raiſed four or five Feet high, and well arched, where Travellers of Fortune are lodged, and over each Portal is a ſtrong Baluſter, and a little Chamber for the Ladies.

One of theſe Buildings belongs entirely to the Queen, and though no body may lodge in it in the Queen's Abſence, yet any one may ſee it, and walk in the Garden, which is a lovely Place, and is well ſupplied with Water. The whole Piazza is encompaſſed with ſeveral Chambers for the Lodgings of poor Travellers, who, every Day, towards Evening, have an Alms beſtowed upon them of Rice and Pulſe ready boiled; and for this there are alienable Rents ſettled: But for the Idolaters, who will eat nothing that is powdered by other Hands, they give them Flour to make Bread, and a little Butter to dip in it when it is baked, like a thin Bread-Cake. From *Tenara* the Road lies through *Jatenager*, *Patengi*, *Pengual*, *Nagelpar*, and *La'kabaran*, to *Coulour*, or *Gani.* This laſt Part of the Way is very rocky, and among theſe Rocks, where there is any good Earth, you find the Caſſia-trees, that bear the beſt and moſt laxative Caſſia of any in the *Indies.* By *Coulour* runs a River which falls into the Gulph of *Bengal*, near *Maſlipatan.* From hence the Road lies through *Kab-Kaly*, *Bazour*, where you paſs the River of *Coulour*, *Vochir*, *Nilimor*, where they muſt croſs a great River upon a flat Boat of Timber, and ſo by *Nilmol* to *Maſlipatan.* This is a great City on the Coaſt of *Coromandel*, lying in 16° 30′ North Lat. It ſtands upon the Gulph of *Bengal* E. S. E. from *Golconda*; and though it be but ſmall, yet it is well peopled. The Streets are narrow, and it is intolerably hot there from *March* till *July.* The Houſes are built of Wood, and all ſeparated one from another, and the Water is brackiſh, becauſe the Tide comes up to it. There is great Trading in Chints, becauſe, beſides thoſe that are made there, a great many are brought from *St. Thomas*, which are much finer, and better Colours than thoſe from other Parts of *India.* The Coaſt is excellent, and the Road for Ships is the beſt in all the Gulph of *Bengal*, and therefore Ships come hither from all Nations, and go from thence to *Pegu*, *Siam*, *Aracon*, *Bengal*, *Cochin-China*, *Mecca* and *Ormuz*, and for the Iſlands of *Madagaſcar*, *Sumatra*, and the *Manillas.* This Country of *Maſlipatan*, as well as the Coaſts, is full of Idolaters; and the Pagods are ſo full of laſcivious Figures of Monſters, that one cannot go into them without Horror. It is exceeding fruitful, and Proviſions are very cheap there: A Sheep is bought for Twelve-pence, a Partridge for a Half-penny, and a Fowl for Two-pence; and it is the ſame almoſt every where upon the Coaſts of *Coromandel.* From *Maſlipatan* to *Gandicut* the Way lies thus; you paſs *Nilmol*, *Wochir*, and *Patemet*, three ſmall Villages, and the laſt of them a very pitiful one, to *Bezcuart*, a great Town, where all the Inhabitants, except the Governor and ſome of his Domeſticks, are Idolaters.

In this Town is a very large Pagod without Walls, conſiſting of fifty-two Pillars of twenty Feet high, which uphold a flat Roof of Free-Stone. They are adorned with ſeveral emboſſed Figures of very ugly Devils, and ſeveral ſorts of Creatures, ſome with four Horns, others with many Legs and Tails, others lolling out their Tongues, and others in ſeveral other ridiculous Poſtures: And between the Pillars ſtand the Statues of their Gods upon Pedeſtals. The Pagod is built in the Middle of a Court encompaſſed with Walls, adorned within and without with the ſame Figures as the Pagod, and a Gallery, ſuſtained by ſixty Pillars, runs round the Wall. You enter into this Court through a Portal, with Niches one above another, ſupported with Pillars, which have certain *Indian* Characters upon them; but the Prieſts themſelves hardly know the Meaning. By this Town is another Pagod, built upon an Hill, to which there is an Aſcent of 193 Steps, every one a Foot high: It is four-ſquare, with a Cupola at the Top, adorned with Figures, as that at *Bezourat.* In the Middle is an Idol ſitting croſs-legged, after the Manner of the Country; and in that Poſture, about four Feet high; upon the Head is a triple Crown, from which four Horns extend themſelves, and it has the Face of a Man turned towards the Eaſt. The Pilgrims that come out of Devotion to theſe Pagods, when they enter, claſp their Hands together, and raiſe them up to their Foreheads, and then advancing to the Idol, cry out, *Ram*, *Ram*, i. e. *God*, *God:* Then having anointed it with Oil, or beſmeared the Face with Paintings, they ring a little Bell that hangs upon the Idol; after which they make their Offerings of Sugar, Oil, and other Eatables, the richer Sort adding Pieces of Silver.

Theſe Offerings, though the People are made to believe the Idol takes them, yet maintain the Prieſts, their Wives, and Children, except that they relieve the poor Pilgrims with them. There is a great Feaſt made in this Pagod in *October*, for three Days together, at which Time there is a great Concourſe of People from all Parts. Leaving *Bezourat*, you croſs the River that runs to *Gani*, and three Leagues farther come to a Pagod, built upon a large Plat-form, with an Aſcent of fifteen or twenty Steps; in it is the Figure of a Cow of black Marble, and ſeveral other deformed Idols four or five Feet high, ſome with many Heads, and others with many Hands and Legs; and the moſt ugly are moſt adored, and receive the moſt Offerings.

20. The next Town in the Road is *Kab K bi*, near to which is a ſmall Pagod, wherein are five or ſix Idols, well made. And having paſſed that, you come to *Candevar*, a great City, cloſed in with ſtrong Walls, with a Ditch and a Moat paved at the Bottom with Free-ſtone. Eaſtward it ſtretches out to a Mountain about a League in Compaſs, and ſurrounded with Walls with Half-moons: Within them are three Fortreſſes. From hence you travel to *Capanour*, and ſo to *Adanquige*, a very fair Town, where there is a very large Pagod, with abundance of Chambers for the Prieſts, and ſeveral Idols, but they are fallen to decay, yet are ſuperſtitiouſly adored by the People. You go on to *Noſdrepar*, and ſo over a large River, which is dry in Summer, to *Condicour*, *Dakije Nelour*, where there are many Pagods; and ſo croſſing a River to *Gandron*, *Screple*, *Ponte*, and *Senepgond*, to *Palicate*, to which the Way lies for a League through the Sea.

It is a Fort that belongs to the *Dutch*, that live upon the Coaſt of *Coromandel*, and within it are uſually two hundred Soldiers. It is the chief Factory they have in the *Indies*, where lives the Superintendant of all the reſt which are in the Territories of the King of *Golconda.* The Trade managed there by the *Dutch* is in Cotton-Cloth, of which they have large Warehouſes. Here alſo they refine their Salt-petre, which they bring from *Bengal*, and make Gunpowder, with which they furniſh their other Factories. The Fort of *Palicate*, called *Gueldria*, is at a good Diſtance from the Town, that it may not be annoyed by Shot from thence. The Baſtions are well ſtored with good Guns, and the Sea comes up to the Walls of it. The Governor has fifty Crowns a Month for his Pay, and as many for his Table and Cloths. The current Money here are *Rupees* and *Pagods*, which laſt are four Times the Value of the former, *Fanons*, which are half Gold and half Silver, with the ſame Stamp as the *Pagods*, but the ſeventh Part of a *Rupee* in Value, and *Gazars*, which are Pieces of Copper as big as a *Fanon*, but forty of them are but the Worth of it. The *Dutch* coin this Money. The Water of this Town is fetched out of

Holes dug in the Sand, when the Sea is quite out, and it is tolerably freſh.

From hence you go to *Madreſpatan*, or Fort *St. George*, which belongs to the *Engliſh* (here is a Convent of Capuchins) and ſo to *Meliapour*, or *St. Thomas*'s Town (where, they ſay, *St. Thomas* was martyred; and the *Auſtin* Friars here pretend to have the Iron Lance which killed him, the Jeſuits alſo have a Church there) *Serraveron*, and then to *Oudicut*. The Way between thoſe two Towns is through a flat, ſandy Country, and on both Sides of it are Copſes of Bamboos, very high and thick, which breed prodigious Numbers of Apes. Thoſe on one Side are inveterate Enemies to thoſe on the other; and it is very good Sport to Travellers to ſet ſome Baſkets of Rice between them, with Cudgels by them, to make them fight for it, and batter one another with the Cudgels. The Road holds the ſame to *Naravacon* and *Gazzal*. Hereabouts there are Gates and ſtrong Guards at them at every two or three Leagues, who examine all Paſſengers, whence they come, and whither they go; ſo that Men may travel there with their Money in their Hands.

21. The next Place you arrive at is *Courva*, a celebrated Pagod, where there is little to be had for Man or Beaſt; but the Country about it being full of Elephants, the King's Officers come hither often to take them. The Manner of hunting them is thus; they cut ſeveral Alleys or Walks in the Woods where they are, and having digged them full of Pits, which they cover with Hurdles and Earth, ſcare them by hallooing, beating of Drums, and purſuing them with Pikes with Wild-fire tied to the Ends, into thoſe Walks, where, being tumbled into the Holes, the Hunters bind their Feet and Trunks with Ropes and Chains, and ſo take them; yet ſome will eſcape the Snare, and are ever after ſo miſtruſtful, that with a Bough they will examine every Step they take, whether there is not an Hole in the Way; and it is almoſt impoſſible to take them again. Such as they catch, they couple to two tame ones on each Side, and ſet ſix Men about them with lighted Torches at the End of an Half-pike, to talk to them, and give them Meat, which is brown Sugar, boiled Rice, and Hay.

If the wild Elephant will not eat, the Men order the tame ones to beat him with their Trunks, and ſo conſtrain him to learn Obedience. After an Elephant is tamed, he never meddles with the Female, yet is ſometimes taken with a luſtful Rage, which never ends but with ſome Miſchief, as the Death of his Rider, or ſomebody elſe. Though the Elephant's Skin be very hard while he is alive, it is all melted like Glue when he is dead. There are Elephants in ſeveral Parts of the *Indies*, as in the Iſlands of *Ceylon* and *Sumatra*, the Kingdoms of *Cochin*, *Siam*, and *Bantam*, on the Frontiers near the *Great Tartary*; but they are ſaid to be in the greateſt Numbers on the Coaſt of *Melinda*, Eaſtward of *Africa*, where the *Blacks* of the Countries hunt them to eat their Fleſh, but are obliged to give the Lord of the Place their Teeth, inſomuch that there are ſeveral Parks impailed with Elephants Teeth a League round.

It is obſervable of the female Elephant, when ſhe grows hot, that ſhe makes herſelf a great Bed of Herbs and Weeds, four or five Feet high from the Ground, on which, contrary to the Cuſtom of all other Creatures, ſhe lies upon her Back, in Expectation of the Male, whom ſhe calls to her by a peculiar Cry: And thus they take the Male in *Ceylon* by a tame Female. This is alſo peculiar to the Elephants in *Ceylon*, which, though the ſmalleſt is the moſt courageous, yet only the firſt Elephant which the Female produces has any Tuſks. And it is alſo obſervable, that the Ivory from *Achen*, when it is wrought, never grows yellow, as that does which comes out of the Continent and the *Eaſt-Indies*, which makes it more eſteemed than any other. It is hard to find how long an Elephant will live; nor can the Keepers or Governors of them tell you more than that ſuch an Elephant was their Great-Grandfather's; ſo that it may be conjectured that they have lived an hundred and twenty, or an hundred and thirty Years. The Great Mogul keeps five hundred for his Houſhold, to carry his Women, their Tents and Luggage, and about eighty or ninety for his Wars; and to the Chief of them he allows five hundred *Rupees* a Month; but, to the reſt, from fifty to twenty. The chief have Men to attend them, and fan them, and they are maintained out of it.

22. From *Courva* you paſs through *Ragia-Peta*, a large Town, and *Ondecour* to *Outemela*, where there is one of the greateſt Pagods in *India*. It is built of large Freeſtone, and has three Towers, where there are ſeveral deformed Figures of emboſſed Work. It is encompaſſed with many little Chambers for the Prieſts Lodgings. Hard by it is a wide Lake, upon the Banks of which are built ſeveral Pagods, eight or ten Feet ſquare, and in every one of them an Idol, repreſenting ſome Devil, with a Bramin, who takes Care that no Stranger that is not of their Superſtition ſhall come to waſh in, or take any Water out of the Lake: But if any Stranger deſires Water, they give it him in an earthen Pot; but if it touches the Stranger's Veſſel, they break it; and ſay, if a Stranger ſhould waſh in it, it muſt be drained. They are very charitable, and will give any Thing they have to eat or drink to Perſons in Neceſſity. There are ſeveral Women among them, who, having made a Vow to do Acts of Charity for ſeven or eight Years, more or leſs, ſit upon the Road continually for that End, with Fire, Tobacco, Rice boiled with Quicken, a ſort of Grain like Hempſeed, and Beans, and to every Traveller they give ſome of their Beans, Rice-water, an Handful of Rice, Tobacco, if they have none, and Fire. Other Women live continually on the Highways and Fields, having made a Vow to eat nothing but what they find undigeſted in the Dung of Oxen, Cows, and Horſes, which they feed with an hard ſort of crooked Peaſe; and theſe feed the Cattle with Graſs all the Day.

From *Outemela* you travel through *Golupale* and *Gogeron* to *Gandicut*. This Place is one of the ſtrongeſt Cities in the Kingdom of *Carnate*, being ſituate upon the Top of an high Mountain or Rock, to which there is but one Aſcent, not above twenty-five or thirty Feet broad at moſt, and in ſome Places not above ſeven or eight Feet wide at the moſt. At the Right-hand of it there is a moſt hideous Precipice, and at the Bottom of it runs a vaſt River. Upon the Top of the Mountain is a ſmall Plain, but a Quarter of a League broad, and about half a League long. This is ſowed with Rice and Millet, and watered with many little Springs.

The City ſtands on the South-ſide of this Plain, and is ſo encompaſſed with Precipices, at the Bottom of which run two Rivers, that it has but one Gate to the Plainſide, and that too fortified with two good Walls of Freeſtone. Here is a Pagod, which is ſaid to be the faireſt in all *India*, wherein are ſeveral Idols, ſome of Gold, others Silver, and ſix very large ones of Braſs, of which three are ſet upon their Heels, and three ſtood, and yet were ten Feet high a-piece. Theſe Statues, when the Nabab of the King of *Golconda* took the Cities from its own Rajah, he took out of the Pagod to make him ſome Cannon; but with all the Art the Artificer had, who was a *Frenchman*, he could not melt them, and ſo he was forced to leave his Work unfiniſhed. It is a Cuſtom in this City never to put any Man in Priſon, but as ſoon as the Offender is taken he is examined, and Sentence is pronounced upon him according to his Crime, which is immediately executed, and, if he be innocent, he is as ſoon acquitted and diſcharged.

The Puniſhment is generally inflicted at the Diſcretion of the Nabab, or Governor: One that had broken into an Houſe, and killed the Mother and three Children, was condemned upon the Spot to have his Hands and Feet cut off, and to be caſt into the Highway, there to end his Days in Miſery; another, who had robbed upon the Highway, had his Belly ripped up, and was ordered to be caſt upon the Dunghill. In theſe Parts of *India* they have a very quick Way of ſending Letters by Foot Poſts, which are more ſpeedy than Horſemen; and the Reaſon is, becauſe at the End of every two Leagues, there are little Huts, where there are Men always ready to run as ſoon as any Letter comes.

The Highways are planted with Trees like Walks, and where there are no Trees, there are Heaps of Stones white-waſhed, that theſe Poſts may not miſtake their Way in dark and rainy Nights. From *Gandicot* to *Golconda* the Way lies firſt to *Colepalt*, and then to *Coteeri*; here you muſt ferry over a River. The Boats are like Wicker Flaſkets, covered on the Outſide with Ox-hides, and filled with Faggots in the Inſide, over which they ſpread ſome Tapeſtry, to ſecure the Goods from wet. Horſes and Oxen they ſwim over, and Coaches and Waggons. Their Oars are broad Pieces of Wood like Shovels. Being paſt the River, you muſt go to *Morimal*, *Santiſela*, and *Gonmeda*, and ſo to *Kaman*, a Frontier Town of the Kingdom of *Golconda*, till the Conqueſt of *Carnatica* by *Mirgimola*, and from thence you travel to *Emilapata*. Between theſe two laſt Places paſs the Pilgrims, who go from *Bampour* to viſit the great Ram, *i. e.* the chief God which ſtands in the Kingdom of *Carnatica*. They go four thouſand Perſons, Men and Women, in a Company, and in Pallakies covered with Velvet or Sattin, purfled with Gold, and hung with Gold and Silver Fringe, in which they carry their Idols. On each Side of every Pallakie went a Man, with a large Fan made of Oſtriches and Peacocks Feathers of various Colours, and the Handle overlaid with Gold and Silver, with which they keep the Flies from the Idol's Face; and on the ſame Side there goes one with a Fan like a Target, which is adorned with Feathers like the former, but has little Bells of Gold and Silver round the Edges. This is to keep off the Sun from the Idol, and ſometimes they ſhake it, to pleaſe the Idol, as they imagine, with the Sound of the Bells.

This Multitude of Pilgrims, it is ſaid, being on their Way, were ſo ſtopped by ſudden Rains, that they were reduced to great Straits for Food, eſpecially for their Children, which cauſed great Lamentations among them. In this Extremity, the chief of their Prieſts ſat down in the midſt of them, and covering himſelf with a Sheet, called ſuch as deſired Victuals to him, and aſked them what they would have, and for how many? and when they had anſwered he gave them with a great Ladle what they wanted from under the Sheet, and ſo the whole Multitude of four thouſand Souls were fully ſatisfied. The next Town in the Road is *Doupar*, and then *Tripante*, where there is a great Pagod upon a Hill, to which there is a circular Aſcent of Free-ſtone every Way, the leaſt Stone being fourteen Feet long, and three broad. In the Pagod are the Figures of ſeveral Demons, and amongſt others there is a Statue of *Venus* ſtanding upright, with ſeveral laſcivious Figures about her, all cut out of one Piece of Marble; but the Graving is very ordinary. From *Tripante* you travel to *Mainlo*, then to *Macheli*; after which you paſs over a River in Boats like Panniers, where you muſt give the Watermen ſuch Money as will pleaſe them, or they will not carry you over, nor your Goods. They generally burn all the Money they take to try it, and if it turns black in the leaſt, they will refuſe it, and then you arrive at *Dobarpinta*, and ſo go by *Halcora* and *Pondera* to *Atenara*, which is an Houſe of Pleaſure built by the King's Mother, with a large Piazza, and many Chambers for Strangers.

In the Kingdoms of *Carnate*, *Golconda*, and *Viſiapour*, there are no Phyſicians but ſuch as attend Kings and Princes, and therefore the common People, after the Rains are fallen, go out every Morning into the Fields to gather Herbs proper for ſuch Diſeaſes as are common in their Families; and in great Towns, ſuch as have ſome common Receipts, ſit in certain known Places of them, to give them to ſuch as enquire after them, all *gratis*. From *Atenara* you come to *Golconda*; here, beſides what has been before obſerved in the Deſcription of this City, the Way of waſhing the King's and great Mens Elephants is not to be paſſed over. The Elephants go up to the Belly in the Water, and lying down on one Side, throw the Water ſeveral times, with their Trunks, upon that Side that lies out of the Water; and when he has ſoaked himſelf ſufficiently, the Maſter comes with a kind of Pumice Stone, and rubbing the Elephant's Skin, cleanſeth it from all the Filth that clings to it, and when he has cleanſed that Side well, he commands the Elephant to turn the other, which the Beaſt immediately does, contrary to the vulgar Opinion, that an Elephant, if he lies down, cannot get up again. When both Sides are well waſhed, he comes out of the River, and ſtays awhile upright upon the Bank-ſide to dry himſelf; then the Maſter, with ſome red, or yellow Colour, ſtreaks the Beaſt on the Forehead, and about the Eyes, upon the Breaſt, and all behind, rubbing him with Oil of Cocoas, to ſtrengthen his Nerves; and ſometimes, when all this is done, faſtens a gilt Plate upon their Foreheads. The Road from *Golconda* by *Amadabat* to *Surat* is above deſcribed.

All over this Country there ſeems to be a Contraſt between the Tyranny of the great, and the Submiſſion and Labour of the lower Sort. It may not be amiſs to add, that the common People in general, through the *Indies*, are from a Mixture of various Nations, with their natural Stock from the Oppreſſion of foreign Maſters, and from ſeveral other Cauſes that need not be particularly mentioned, become the moſt over-reaching, tricking, and deceitful People upon Earth, ſo that in all things that paſs through their Fingers they cannot help giving a Caſt of their Office, and ſome Way or other hooking a Part to themſelves beyond what was intended for them. Of theſe Arts I ſhall give a few Inſtances.

Plain Silk-Wares may be altered in Length, Breadth, and Quality; the Quality ſhews itſelf when they are of an even Thread, when the Weight is equal, and when there is no Cotton Thread in the Waft. The *Indians*, not having the Art of gilding Silver, put into their ſtriped Wares Threads of pure Gold, ſo that you muſt count the Quantity of Gold Threads to ſee whether the Silk have its due Numbers; and this alſo you muſt obſerve in your Silks, or even with Silver. As for Taffaties, you are only to mind whether the Pieces be all of a Fineneſs, and to ſee, by unfolding ſome of them, that there be nothing within to augment the Weight, and then, weighing all the Pieces by themſelves, to ſee that they all agree. The Colours of thoſe Carpets which are made in *India* do not laſt ſo long as thoſe that are made in *Perſia*; but for the Workmanſhip it is very lovely; the Eye of the Broker is to judge of the Largeneſs, Beauty, and Fineneſs of thoſe Carpets which are wrought with Gold and Silver, and whether they be fine and rich; but whether they be Carpets, or other Stuffs mixed with Gold, it behoves the Buyer to pull out ſome of the Gold and Silver Threads, to ſee whether they be of the right Value or no. The Deceits uſually put upon Calicuts are in Fineneſs, Length, and Breadth; every Bale may contain two hundred Pieces, among which they will juggle in five, or ſix, or ten, leſs fine, or leſs white, ſhorter, or narrower, than according to the Scantling of the Bale, which cannot be found out, but by examining them Piece by Piece. The Fineneſs is diſcerned by the Eye, the Length and Breadth by Meaſure.

But the *Indians* practiſe a more cunning Way, which is to count the Number of Threads which ought to be in the Breadth, according to the Fineneſs of the Scantling; when the Number fails, it is either more tranſparent, more narrow, or more coarſe; the Difference is ſometimes ſo difficult to be perceived, that there is no Way to count it out but by Threads, and yet this Difference in a great Quantity comes to a great deal; for it is nothing to cozen a Crown or two Crowns in a Piece, that comes but to fifteen or twenty Crowns. Thoſe that whiten theſe Calicuts, to ſave Charges of a few Lemons, will knock the Calicuts exceſſively upon a Stone, which does fine Calicuts a great deal of Injury, and lowers the Price. As for their dyed Calicuts, blue or black, you muſt take care that the Workmen do not knock them after they are folded to make them look ſleek; for many times when they come to be unfolded, you ſhall find Holes in the Creaſes. As for their painted and printed Calicuts, which are printed as they come out of the Loom, the Merchant muſt take care, that what he beſpeaks be finiſhed before the End of the Rains; for the thicker the Water is, where they are waſhed, the more lively will the printed and painted Colours appear.

It is eaſy to diſtinguiſh between the printed and the painted Calicuts, and between the Neatneſs of the Work; but for the Fineneſs, and other Qualities, they are not ſo eaſily diſcerned, and therefore the Broker muſt be more careful. The Cheat in the Weight is two-fold; the firſt, by laying them in a moiſt Place, and thruſting in the

Middle of every Skain ſomething to add to the Weight; the ſecond is, by not giving good Weight, when the Broker receives it from the Workmen, or Merchant that delivers it. There is but one Cheat in the Quality; that is, by putting three or four Skains of a coarſer Commodity than that which is uppermoſt, into one Mein, which in a great Quantity, mounts high, for there are ſome Cottons that are worth an hundred Crowns the Mein. Theſe two Cheats being often uſed by the *Dutch* Company, there is no Way but to weigh your Commodity in the Preſence of the *Dutch* Commander, and his Council; and to examine every Mein Skain by Skain; when this is done, they who are ordered to be at this Examination, are obliged to fix to every Bail a Ticket of the Weight and Quality; for if there be a Failure, they who fix the Ticket are obliged to make good what is wanting. I have told you, that when the Workmen have made up the Indigo Paſte into Lumps, with their Fingers dipped in Oil, they lay them in the Sun a drying. Now thoſe that have a Deſign to cheat the Merchants, dry them in the Sand, to the End, that the Sand ſticking to the Indigo, may increaſe the Weight. Sometimes they lay up their Paſte in moiſt Places, which makes it give, and conſequently renders it more heavy; but if the Governor of the Place diſcovers the Cheat, he makes them ſeverely pay for it; and the beſt way of Diſcovery is, to burn ſome Pieces of Indigo, for the Sand will remain.

The Brokers are, as it were, the Maſters of the *Indian* Families, for they have all Goods at their Diſpoſal. The Workmen chuſe the moſt aged, and moſt experienced, who are to endeavour equal Advantages for the whole Tribe they undertake for; every Evening that they return from their Buſineſs, and that, according to the Cuſtom of the *Indians*, who make no Suppers, they have eaten ſome little Pieces of Sweet-meats, and drank a Glaſs of Water, the eldeſt of the Tribe meet at the Broker's Houſe, who gives them an Account of what he has done that Day, and then they conſult what he is to do next. Above all things they caution him to look to his Hits, and to cheat, rather than be cheated.

We will cloſe this Section with a remarkable Paſſage relating to our Author's perſonal Hiſtory, which is very worthy the Reader's Notice, though it does not immediately relate to Trade, the rather, becauſe the Tranſlation that has been publiſhed of his Travels, gives us but a very indifferent Account of it, notwithſtanding the Author has taken great Pains to relate it very circumſtantially, as he thought it would give a true Picture of the Nation it concerns. In the Month of *April* 1665, he embarked at *Gambron* in *Perſia*, for *Surat* in the *Indies*, on Board a *Dutch* Packet Boat; which Opportunity the *Engliſh* Agent took to charge him with a large Packet of Letters for the *Engliſh* Preſident at *Surat*, in which alſo were included ſuch as belonged to private Perſons in that Factory, and in other Places of the *Indies*. This Circumſtance was taken Notice of by one Mr. *Caſembrot*, a *Dutchman*, who had travelled through *Perſia* by Land, and was to go in the ſame Veſſel with our Author to *Surat*, and he communicated this Piece of Intelligence to Mr. *Henry Van-Wuck*, who was then the *Dutch* Chief at *Gambron*, and he immediately formed a Project for ſtealing this Packet, in order to diſcover the State of the *Engliſh* Affairs; but in the firſt place went on Board the Ship, and enquired of our Author, if he had any ſuch Packet, who very innocently told him the Truth. After having thus opened the Matter, and obſerved that the *Dutch* Captain and Pilot were in the Secret, we ſhall purſue the Account in the Author's own Words: Mr. *Caſembrot*, ſays he, having ſeen the Size of the Packet, gave *Van-Wuck* a Deſcription of it, and ſo both together they contrived another of the ſame Form and Bigneſs, as near as they could. When I came on Board I took the *Engliſh* Packet, and locked it up in my Boucha, which is a ſort of Cloak-bag that is uſed in that Country, and laid it behind my Bolſter. There were two Shallops ſent on Board us, wherein there were ſixty Bags of Silver, containing ſome fifty, ſome an hundred Tomans apiece. Theſe Bags they unladed very leiſurely to gain Time, watching when I ſhould be gone to Bed; but when they ſaw that I did not go to reſt, the *Dutch* conſulted together, and agreed to let fall a Bag of Tomans into the Sea, and ſo came all aboard, ſending away a Shallop to *Gambron* for a Diver. When I found that the Veſſel would not ſet ſail, till two or three Hours after Day-light, I went to reſt, my Boucha lying in the ſame Place half out, and half withinſide of my Bolſter; but when my Servants were gone, and I alone, and aſleep in the Cabin; they cunningly ſtole my Boucha, took out the *Engliſh* Packet, and left the other; which they had counterfeited, in the Place, being only ſo many Letters of blank Paper. Coming to *Surat* the 6th of *May* following, I gave the Packet, as I thought, which I had received from the *Engliſh* Agent at *Gambron*, to two *Capuchin* Friars; to deliver to the Preſident at *Surat*; but when the Preſident came to open the Packet before ſeveral of the Company, there was nothing but white Paper made up in the Form of Letters, which when I heard, too much to my Sorrow, I underſtood the villainous Trick that *Van-Wuck* had put upon me.

I wrote a ſmart Letter of Complaint to the *Dutch* General in *Batavia*, but finding no Redreſs, I was forced to undergo the hard Cenſure of the *Engliſh*, who would not permit me to juſtify myſelf. However, as it is rare to ſee Treachery go unpuniſhed, the Complotters all died miſerably. *Van-Wuck* fell into a violent Fever, and being charged with the Theft, thinking to defend himſelf with an Equivocation, ſaid, that if he took the Cloak-bag, he wiſhed he might die without ſpeaking a Word. In three Days ended his Life, juſt in the ſame manner, and at the ſame time that he had imprecated upon himſelf; *Bozon*, his Lieutenant, after a great Debauch, going to ſleep upon the Terraſs of the Cabin, where he lay for Coolneſs (there being no Baluſters) rolling and tumbling in his Sleep, fell down, and the next Day was found dead in the Sea. The Captain, four or five Days after his Arrival at *Surat*, being met in the Streets by a *Mohammedan*, who was jealous of his Wife, and being miſtaken by him for one among ſeveral *Franks* that had parted them, and kept him from correcting his Wife ſome few Days before, was ſtabbed by him in three or four Places with a Dagger, which killed him outright; and this was the End of theſe treacherous People.

23. We may gather from this remarkable Paſſage the Reaſon why our Author had always a ſtrong Diſlike to the *Dutch*; for it is not probable, that after ſuch a Tranſaction, they could either forget him, or he them; but it ſeems not a little ſtrange. that this Account ſhould be ſo much ſoftened in the *Engliſh* Tranſlation, and no Notice taken that the Perſon who did him this Injury was the *Dutch* Chief at *Gambron*, to whom he was particularly recommended, and a long Letter likewiſe omitted, which he wrote to the *Dutch* Governor at *Batavia*. In a Work like this, where we profeſs to make a Collection of Voyages and Travels, ſuch Pieces ought to be left out, as refer only to particular Men; but the Rule is certainly otherwiſe, in reference to Books that are given to the World as expreſs Tranſlations; for which Reaſon I am inclined to think, that there is ſomething myſterious in this Omiſſion, and that the Author of the *Engliſh* Tranſlation was a better Friend to the *Dutch* than M. *Tavernier*, and therefore did not think fit to truſt ſuch an unlucky Story as this with an *Engliſh* Reader, eſpecially at that Juncture; for this Verſion of our Author's Travels was publiſhed in the Reign of King *Charles* II. not long after the Cloſe of the laſt *Dutch* War.

I am the rather inclined to think this, becauſe at the End of the fifth Book of M. *Tavernier*'s Travels, there is a very curious Relation of a groſs Affront offered to King *Charles* II. by the *Dutch* Factory at *Gambron*, who burnt his Picture in the moſt ignominious Manner, which is alſo left out in the *Engliſh* Tranſlation, and of which the Reader ſhall, God willing, have an exact Verſion in the ſucceeding Volume of this Work. At preſent, it is ſufficient that we mention theſe things, becauſe they will ſerve to explain ſeveral Paſſages in the ſucceeding Section, which contains the Remainder of our Author's *Indian* Obſervations, together with an Account of his Return by *Batavia* in a *Dutch* Ship to *Europe*, in which occur a Multitude of curious Circumſtances, and many remarkable Paſſages, in reſpect to the Hiſtory and Trade of the *Indies*, that are no where elſe to be found.

SECTION XXX.

The Concluſion of the Remarks and Obſervations of Mr. J. Baptiſt Tavernier *in his Travels through the* Indies, *together with his Account of the* Dutch *Settlements, and of his Voyage on Board a* Dutch *Ship from* Batavia *to* Europe.

Written by himſelf ſoon after his Return.

1. *An Account of the Kingdom of* Macaſſar, *in the Iſland of* Celebes. 2. *The Grounds of the Quarrel between the King of* Macaſſar, *and the* Dutch. 3. *The Means by which the King was converted to the* Mohammedan *Religion.* 4. *The Author's Voyage from* Mingrela *to the Iſland of* Ceylon, *interſperſed with various Remarks.* 5. *The Author's Departure from* Ceylon, *and his Arrival at* Batavia. 6. *The ill Uſage the* French *meet with from the* Dutch *in the* Eaſt-Indies. 7. *An Inſtance of their Reſpect likewiſe for the* Engliſh. 8. *The Author goes to viſit the King of* Bantam, *in order to ſell him ſome Diamonds.* 9. *A Deſcription of that Monarch's Palace, and of the Reception our Author met with there.* 10. *His Return to* Batavia, *and his Obſervations in that City.* 11. *His narrow Eſcape in his ſecond Journey to* Bantam *from a* Mohammedan *Monk that intended to aſſaſſinate him.* 12. *A diſtinct and impartial Account of the Grounds of the long War between the* Dutch *and the Emperor of* Java. 13. *Our Author meets with new Troubles at* Batavia. 14. *He embarks there on Board a* Dutch *Veſſel, in order to return to* Europe. 15. *Arrival at, and our Author's Obſervations on the Country near the* Cape of Good-Hope. 16. *His Remarks upon the Iſland of* St. Helena, *which they touched at in their Paſſage.* 17. *Return to* Holland, *and baſe Uſage by the* Dutch.

1. WE have before given a large Account of our Author's Obſervations on the Kingdoms in the *Eaſt-Indies* to the very Frontiers of *China*, of which Empire, it ſeems, he had likewiſe collected ſome very curious Memoirs, though his Modeſty would not ſuffer him to publiſh them, becauſe there were already ſeveral general Hiſtories of that Country written by ſuch as had reſided there for many Years, and were therefore likely to be better acquainted with it than he. In order, however, to preſerve the beſt Method poſſible in his Relations, he paſſes from the Kingdom of *Siam*, on the Continent, to the great Iſland of *Celebes*, of which he has given us a very copious and very curious Account, much ſuperior to any thing we meet with in the general Hiſtories of the *Indies* by *Portugueze* Writers, and therefore it comes in here very properly, as a Supplement to what we have before tranſcribed from thoſe Writers in the former Sections, and at the ſame time ſerves for an Introduction to what the Author ſays of the Reduction of that Iſland, or at leaſt of the principal Kingdom therein by the *Dutch*, who are ſtill Maſters thereof, and derive from thence very great Advantages. We may reckon amongſt theſe their excluding all other Nations from any Commerce here. But to proceed now to our Author's Narration, in his own Words.

The Kingdom of *Macaſſar*, which is in the Iſle of *Celebes*, begins at the 15° of Southern Latitude; the Heats are exceſſive all the Day, but the Nights are temperate enough; and for the Soil, it is very fertile; but the People have not the Art of Building. The capital City bears the Name of the Kingdom, and is ſituated upon the Sea. The Port is free; for the Veſſels that bring great Quantities of Goods from the adjacent Iſlands pay no Cuſtoms. The Iſlanders have a Cuſtom to poiſon their Arrows; and the moſt dangerous Poiſon which they uſe is the Juice of certain Trees, in the Iſland of *Borneo*, which they will temper ſo as to work ſwift or ſlow, as they pleaſe. They hold, that the King has only the ſecret Receipt to take away the Force of it, who boaſts that he has the moſt effectual Poiſon in the World, which there is no Remedy can prevent.

One Day an *Engliſhman*, in the Heat of Blood, had killed one of the King of *Macaſſar*'s Subjects, and though the King had pardoned him, yet both *Engliſh*, *Hollanders*, and *Portugueze* feared, if the *Engliſhman* ſhould go unpuniſhed, leſt the Iſlanders ſhould revenge themſelves upon ſome of them, beſought the King to put him to Death, which with much ado being conſented to, the King, unwilling to put him to a lingering Death, and deſirous to ſhew the Effect of his Poiſons, reſolved to ſhoot the Criminal himſelf; whereupon he took a long Trunk and ſhot him exactly into the great Toe of the right Foot, the Place particularly aimed at. Two Surgeons, one an *Engliſhman*, and the other a *Dutchman*, provided on purpoſe, immediately cut off the Member; but for all that the Poiſon had diſperſed itſelf ſo ſpeedily, that the *Engliſhman* died at the ſame time. All the Kings and Princes of the Eaſt are very diligent in their Enquiry after ſtrong Poiſons; and I remember, that the Chief of the *Dutch* Factory and I tried ſeveral poiſoned Arrows, with which the King of *Achen* had preſented him, by ſhooting at Squirrels, who fell down dead as ſoon as ever they were touched.

The King of *Macaſſar* is a *Mohammedan*, and will not ſuffer his Subjects to embrace Chriſtianity; yet, in the Year 1656, the Chriſtians found a Way to get Leave to build a fair Church in *Macaſſar*; but the next Year the King cauſed it to be pulled down, as alſo that of the *Dominican* Friars, which the *Portugueze* made uſe of. The Pariſh-Church, which was under the Government of the Secular Prieſts, ſtood ſtill till the *Dutch* attacked *Macaſſar*, and compelled him to turn all the *Portugueze* out of his Dominions. The ill Conduct of that Prince was, in part, the Occaſion of that War to which the *Dutch* were moved to revenge themſelves upon the *Portugueze* Jeſuits, who had croſſed their Embaſſy to *China*: Beſides that, they offered great Affronts to the *Dutch* at *Macaſſar*, eſpecially when they trod under Foot the Hat of one of the *Dutch* Envoys, who was ſent to treat with the King in Behalf of the Company. Thereupon the *Dutch* reſolved to unite their Forces with the *Macaſſarians* that were in Rebellion againſt their Sovereign, and ſo revenge themſelves at any Rate.

2. Now, as to the Buſineſs of *China*, it happened thus; towards the End of the Year 1658, the General of *Batavia* and his Council, ſent one of the Chief of the *Dutch* Company with Preſents to the King of *China*, who, arriving at Court, laboured to obtain the Friendſhip of the Mandarins, who are the Nobility of the Kingdom; but the Jeſuits, by reaſon of their long Abode in the Country, underſtood the Language, and were acquainted with the Lords of the Court, leſt the *Dutch* Company ſhould get Footing to the Prejudice of the *Portugueze*, repreſented ſeveral Things to the King's Council, to the Detriment of the *Dutch*, more eſpecially charging them with Breach of Faith in all the Places where they came.

Upon this, the *Dutch* Agent was diſmiſſed, and departed out of *China* without doing any Good. Afterwards, coming to underſtand what a Trick the *Portugueze* Jeſuits had put upon him, he made Report thereof to the Governor and his Council at *Batavia*, which ſo incenſed them, that they reſolved to be revenged; for, by the Deputy's Account, the Embaſſy had coſt them above fifty thouſand Crowns; for which they conſulted how to make the *Portugueze* pay double. Underſtanding therefore the

Trade which the Jeſuits drove in *Macao* and to the Kingdom of *Macaſſar*, whither, upon their own Account, they ſent ſeveral Veſſels, laden with all ſorts of Commodities, as well of *India* as *China*. They took this Opportunity, and on the 7th of *June*, 1660, appeared with a Fleet of thirty Sail before the Port of *Macaſſar*.

The King, thinking himſelf obliged to make Defence againſt ſo potent an Enemy, endeavoured to ſuſtain the Brunt of the *Dutch*, with the *Portugueze* Ships in the Road; but the *Dutch* dividing their Fleet, Part of them fought the *Portugueze*, the other battered the Royal Fortreſs ſo furiouſly, that they carried it in a ſhort Time, which ſo terrified the King, that he commanded the *Portugueze* not to fire any more for fear of farther provoking his Enemies. The Prince *Patinſalva* was ſlain in the Fight, which was a great Loſs to the King of *Macaſſar*, who was become formidable to his Neighbours, by the good Conduct of that Miniſter. As for the *Dutch*, they took, burnt, and ſunk all the *Portugueze* Veſſels, and ſufficiently reimburſed themſelves for their *Chineſe* Expences. The Thirteenth of *June* the King of *Macaſſar*, whoſe Name was *Sumbow*, hung out a white Flag from another Tower, whence he beheld the Fight, environed by his Wives. During the Truce, he ſent one of the Grandees of his Court to the *Dutch* Admiral, to deſire Peace; which was granted, upon Condition, he ſhould ſend an Embaſſador to *Batavia*, expel the *Portugueze*, out of the Iſland, and not to permit his Subjects to have any more to do with them.

Thereupon the King of *Macaſſar* ſent eleven of the greateſt Lords of his Court, with a Train of ſeven hundred Men; the Chief of the Embaſſy being the Prince of *Pitiſaloa*. The firſt Thing they did, was to pay two hundred Loves of Gold to redeem the Royal Fortreſs again, and the next, ſubmitting to the Conditions which the *Dutch* Admiral had propoſed. The General of *Batavia* ſigned the Articles, which were punctually obſerved; for the *Portugueze* immediately quitted the Country, ſome departing for *Siam* and *Cambaya*, others for *Macao* and *Goa*. *Macoa*, formerly one of the moſt famous and richeſt Cities of the Orient, was the principal Motive that inclined the *Dutch* to ſend an Embaſſador into *China*; for, being the beſt Station which the *Portugueze* had in all theſe Parts, the *Dutch* had a Deſign to win it wholly now. This City lying in 22° of N. Lat. in a ſmall Iſland, next to the Province of *Canton*, which is a Part of *China*, has very much loſt its former Luſtre.

3. But this was not all which the Jeſuits and *Portugueze* Merchants ſuffered. The Chief of the *Dutch* Factory at *Mingrela*, which is but eight Leagues from this City, underſtanding the bad Succeſs of the *Dutch* in *China*, had a Contrivance by himſelf to be revenged: He heard that the Jeſuits of *Goa*, and other Places, drove a great Trade in rough Diamonds, which they ſent into *Europe*, or elſe carried along with them when they returned; and that for the more private carrying on of their Trade, they were wont to ſend one or two of their Order, that knew the Language, in the Habit of *Faquirs*, which conſiſts of a Tyger's Skin, to cover their back Parts, and a Goat's Skin to cover their Breaſt, reaching down to the Knees. Thereupon the Chief of the Factory of *Mingrela*, taking this Opportunity, and having Notice that two of the ſuppoſed *Faquirs* were gone to the Mines, to lay out 400,000 Pardos in Diamonds, gave Orders to two Men, which he had bribed for that Purpoſe, that as ſoon as the Fathers had made their Purchaſe, he ſhould give Notice to the Officer of the Cuſtom-houſe at *Bicholi*, which is a great Town on the Frontiers of thoſe Lands that part the Kingdom of *Viſiapour* from the Territories of the *Portugueze*, there being no other Way to paſs the River which encompaſſes the Iſland where the City of *Goa* is built. The Fathers believing that the Cuſtomer knew nothing of their Purchaſe, went into the Boat to go over the River; but, as ſoon as they were in, they were ſtrictly ſearched, and all the Diamonds confiſcated.

To return to the King of *Macaſſar*. You muſt know that the Jeſuits once offered to convert him, and perhaps they might have brought it to paſs, had they not neglected one Propoſal which he made them; for, at the ſame time the Jeſuits laboured to bring him to Chriſtianity, the *Mohammedans* uſed all their Endeavours to oblige him to take up with their Law: The King, willing to leave his Idolatry, yet, not knowing what Part to take, commanded the *Mohammedans* to ſend for two or three of their moſt able Moullas, or Doctors, from *Mecca*; and the Jeſuits he ordered to ſend as many of the moſt Learned among them, that he might be inſtructed in both Religions, which they both promiſed to do: But the *Mohammedans* were more diligent than the Chriſtians; for in eight Months, they fetched from *Mecca* two learned Moullas; whereupon, the King ſeeing that the Jeſuits ſent no body to him, embraced the *Mohammedan* Law. True it is, that three Years after, there came three *Portugueze* Jeſuits, but then it was too late. The King of *Macaſſar* being thus become a *Mohammedan*, the Prince, his Brother, was ſo mad at it, that when the Moſque, which the King had cauſed to be built, was finiſhed, he got into it one Night, and cauſing the Throats of two Pigs to be cut, he all beſmeared the Walls of the new Moſques, and the Place which was appointed for the Moulla to perform divine Service, with the Blood; ſo that the King was forced to pull down that, and build another. After which the Prince, with ſome idolatrous Lords, ſtole out of the Iſland, and never ſince appeared at Court.

4. I departed from *Mingrela*, a great Town in the Kingdom of *Viſiapour*, eight Leagues from *Goa*, the 14th of *April*, 1648, and embarked in a *Dutch* Veſſel bound for *Batavia*. The Ship had Orders to touch at *Bokanour*, to take in Rice; whereupon I went aſhore with the Captain, to obtain Leave of the King to buy Rice: We found him upon the Shore, where he had about a Dozen Huts ſet up, which were covered with Palm-Leaves. In his own Hut there was a Piece of Tapeſtry ſpread under him; and there we ſaw five or ſix Women, ſome fanning him with Peacock-Feathers, others giving him Beetel, others filling him his Pipes with Tobacco.

The moſt conſiderable Perſons in the Country were in the other Huts; and we counted about two hundred Men that were upon the Guard, armed only with Bows and Arrows: They had alſo two Elephants among them. 'Tis very probable that his Palace was not far off, and that he only came thither to take the freſh Air. There we were preſented with Tari, or Palm-wine, but very new, and not boiled: It cauſed the Head-ach in all that drank it, inſomuch that we were two Days before we could recover it. I aſked the Reaſon why the Wine came to do us ſo much Prejudice; to which they anſwered me, that it was planting Pepper about the Palm-trees that gave ſuch a Strength to the Wine.

We were no ſooner got aboard, but a mighty Tempeſt aroſe, wherein the Ship, Men, and Goods, had all like to have been caſt away, being near the Shore; but, at length, the Wind changing, we found ourſelves, by the Break of Day, three or four Leagues at Sea, having loſt all our Anchors; and, at length, came ſafe to Port in the Haven of *Ponté de Gallé*, the Twelfth of *May*. I found nothing remarkable in that City, there being nothing but the Ruins made by the Underminings and Cannon-Shot, when the *Dutch* beſieged it, and chaſed the *Portugueze* from thence. The Company allowed Ground to build upon, to them that would inhabit there, and Land to till; and had then raiſed two Bulwarks, which commanded the Port. If they have finiſhed their Deſign which they undertook, the Place cannot but be very conſiderable. The *Dutch* had made an Agreement with the King of *Candy*, that he ſhould be always ready, with twenty thouſand Men, to keep the Paſſages that hinder the *Portugueze* from bringing any Succours from *Colombo*, *Negombo*, *Manar*, or any other Places, which they poſſeſſed upon the Coaſt: In Conſideration whereof, the *Dutch*, when they had taken *Ponté de Gallé*, was to reſtore it to the King of *Candy*; which, they not performing, the King ſent to know why they did not give him Poſſeſſion of the Town; to which they returned Anſwer, that they were ready to do it, provided he could defray the Expences of the War.

But they knew, that if he had three Kingdoms more, ſuch as his own, he could never have paid ſo great a Sum. I muſt confeſs, indeed, the Country is very poor, for, I do not believe that the King ever ſaw fifty thouſand Crowns together in his Life, his Trade being all in

Cinnamon and Elephants. As for his Cinnamon, he has no Profit ſince the *Portugueze* coming into the *Eaſt-Indies*; and for his Elephants, he makes but little of them, for they take not above five or ſix in a Year; but they are more eſteemed than any other Country Elephants, as being the moſt courageous in War. One thing I will tell you hardly to be believed, but that which is a certain Truth, which is that when any other King or Rajah has one of theſe Elephants of *Ceylon*, if they bring them among any other Breed in any other Place whatever, ſo ſoon as the other Elephants behold the *Ceylon* Elephants, by an Inſtinct of Nature, they do them Reverence, by laying their Trunks upon the Ground, and raiſing them up again.

The King of *Achen*, with whom the *Dutch* alſo broke their Word, had more Opportunity to be revenged upon them than the King of *Candy*; for he denied them the Tranſportation of Pepper out of his Country, without which their Trade was worth little; his Pepper being that which is moſt coveted thro' the Eaſt, ſo that they were forced to make a Compoſition with him. The King of *Achen*'s Embaſſador coming to *Batavia*, was ſtrangely ſurprized to ſee Women ſitting at a Table; but much more, when after a Health drank to the Queen of *Achen*; the General of *Batavia* commanded his Wife to go and kiſs the Embaſſador. Nor was the King behind-hand with the *Dutch* Embaſſador another Way, whom the King beholding in a languiſhing Diſtemper, aſked him. whether he had never any Familiarity with any of the Natives? Yes, replied the Embaſſador; however I left her, to marry in my own Country: Upon that the King commanded three of his Phyſicians to cure him in fifteen Days, upon the Forfeiture of their Lives. Thereupon they gave him a certain Potion every Morning, and a little Pill at Night: and at the End of nine Days he took a great Vomit; every body thought he would have died with the working of it; but at length it brought up a Stopple of coarſe Hair as big as a Nut, after which he preſently recovered. At his Departure the King gave him a Flint, about the Bigneſs of a Gooſe-Egg, with Veins of Gold in it, like the Veins of a Man's Hand, as the Gold grows in that Country.

5. On the 25th of *May* we ſet ſail from *Ponte Galle.* The ſecond of *June* we paſſed the Line. The ſixth we ſaw the Iſland called *Nazacas.* The 17th we diſcovered the Coaſt of *Sumatra.* The eighteenth the Iſland of *Ingamina*; and the nineteenth the Iſland *Fortuna.* The twentieth we were in ken of certain little Iſlands on the Coaſt of *Java*, among which Iſlands there are three called the Iſlands of the Prince. The twenty-firſt we diſcovered *Bantam*; and the twenty-ſecond we anchored in the Road of *Batavia.* There are two Councils in *Batavia*, the Council of the Court, where the General preſides, and where all the Affairs of the Company are managed: The other, which is held in a Houſe in the City, and relates to Civil Government, and decides the petty Differences amongſt the Citizens. All the Kindneſs I had ſhewn me here, was to be proſecuted by the City Council, for being ſuſpected to have bought a Parcel of Diamonds for Monſieur *Conſtant*, my very good Friend, and Preſident of the *Dutch* Factory at *Gambron*; but when they could make nothing of it, they ceaſed their Suit, aſhamed of what they had done.

6. Being ſo ill treated at *Batavia*, I reſolved to viſit the King of *Bantam*; to which purpoſe I took my own Brother along with me, becauſe he ſpoke the *Malayan* Language, which in the Eaſt is as univerſal as *Latin* among us. Being arrived at *Bantam*, in a ſmall Bark, which we hired for ourſelves, we went firſt and viſited the *Engliſh* Preſident, who kindly entertained and lodged us. The next Day I ſent my Brother to the Palace, to know when it would be ſeaſonable for me to kiſs the King's Hands. When the King ſaw him (for he was well known unto him) he would not ſuffer him to return, but ſent Orders to fetch me, and to tell me withal, that if I had any rare Jewels, I ſhould do him a Kindneſs to bring them along with me.

When I ſaw my Brother returned not with the Perſons which the King ſent, I was almoſt in the mind not to have gone, remembering how the King of *Achen* had ſerved the Sieur *Renaud*; for the *French* having ſet up an *Eaſt-India* Company, ſent away four Veſſels, three great ones, and one of eight Guns, for the Service of the Company. Their Voyage was the ſhorteſt that ever was heard of, arriving at *Bantam* in leſs than four Months. The King alſo courteouſly received them, and let them have as much Pepper as they deſired, and cheaper by twenty in a hundred than he ſold it to the *Dutch*; but the *French* not coming only for Pepper, ſent away the ſmall Ship, with the greateſt Part of their Money to *Macaſſar*, to try the Market for Cloves, Nutmegs, and Mace. The *French* being ſo ſoon diſpatched at *Bantam*, had not Patience to ſtay till the Return of the ſmall Veſſel which they had ſent to *Macaſſar*; but to paſs the Time, muſt needs run over to *Batavia*, being not above fourteen Leagues off; ſo that you may be at *Batavia* from *Bantam* in a Tide, with a good Wind.

When they came to an Anchor, the General of the *French* Fleet ſent to complement the General of *Batavia*, who failed not to anſwer his Civility, and invited the Admiral. aſhore. Moreover, he ſent to thoſe that ſtayed aboard great Store of excellent Cheer, and a good Quantity of *Spaniſh* and *Rheniſh* Wine, with a particular Order to them that carried it, to make the *French* drunk. His Order was ſo well followed, that it was eaſy to ſet the Ships on Fire. According to the private Inſtructions which they had, ſo ſoon as the Flame was diſcovered from the General's Window, which overlooked all the Road, there was a wonderful pretended Aſtoniſhment amongſt the *Dutch*; but the *French* Admiral, too truly conjecturing the Ground and Authors of the Treachery, beholding the Company with an undaunted Courage, Come, come, cried he, lets drink on; they that ſet the Ships on Fire ſhall pay for them. However, the *French* Ships were all burnt, though the Men were all ſaved in Boats, which were ſent forthwith to their Relief. After that the General of *Batavia* made them great Offers, which they refuſed, and returned to *Batavia*, in Expectation of their ſmall Veſſel. When it returned, they could find out no better Way than to ſell Ship, Goods and all, to the *Engliſh*, and to ſhare the Money among themſelves, every one according to their Condition.

7. But the Trick which they put upon the *Engliſh* was far more bloody. The *Engliſh* were the firſt that found out the Danger of ſailing from *Surat*, *Maſlipatan*, or any other diſtant Parts to *Japan*, without touching by the Way: Whereupon they thought it convenient to build a Fort in the Iſland of *Formoſa*, which not only ſaved the Loſs of ſeveral Veſſels, but alſo brought them in great Gain. The *Dutch*, mad that the *Engliſh* were poſſeſſed of ſuch an advantagious Situation, being the only Place in all the Iſland where Veſſels could ride with Safety, and finding they could not carry it by Force, bethought them of a Stratagem, to which Purpoſe they ſent away two Ships, wherein they ſtored the beſt of their Soldiers, who pretending they had been in a Storm at Sea, put into the Harbour of *Formoſa*, with ſome of their Maſts by the Board, their Sails ſcattered, and their Seamen ſeemingly ſick.

The *Engliſh*, compaſſionating their Miſeries, which was only in outward Appearance, invited the Chief of them to come on Shore to refreſh themſelves, which they were ready to do, carrying as many Men as poſſible they could, under Pretence of Sickneſs. While the chief of them were at Dinner with the chief of the *Engliſh*, they all plied their Cups, and when the cruel *Dutch* ſaw that the *Engliſh* had drank hard enough, taking their Opportunity, they picked a Quarrel with the Commander of the Fort, and drawing their Swords, which they had hidden under their Coats for that Purpoſe, they eaſily ſurprized, and cut the Throats of all the Soldiers in the Garriſon; and being thus Maſters of the Fort, they kept it from that Time, till they were routed out by the *Chineſe.*

8. Now for the Trick that the King of *Achen* ſerved the Sieur *Renaud*, he having got a good Eſtate by Jewels, arrived at length at *Achen*, and as it is the Cuſtom for the Merchants to ſhew the King what Jewels they have, the King had no ſooner caſt his Eye upon four Rings which the Sieur *Renaud* ſhewed him, but he bid him fifteen thouſand Crowns for them, but *Renaud* would not bate of eighteen thouſand. Now, becauſe they could not agree, the Sieur *Renaud* carried them away with him, which very much diſpleaſed the King; however, he ſent for him the next Day, whereupon *Renaud* returning to him, the King paid him his eighteen thouſand Crowns; but he was never

ſeen after that, and it is thought he was ſecretly murdered in the Palace. This Story came to my Remembrance, when I found my Brother did not come along with them that were ſent to fetch me. However, I reſolved to go, taking with me twelve or thirteen thouſand Rupees Worth of Jewels, the greateſt Part being in Roſe Diamond Rings, ſome conſiſting of ſeven, ſome of nine, and ſome of eleven Stones, with ſome ſmall Bracelets of Diamonds and Rubies. I found the King with three of his Captains, and my Brother, ſitting together, after the Manner of the Eaſt, with five great Plates of Rice before them of different Colours.

For their Drink they had *Spaniſh* Wine, ſtrong Waters, and ſeveral ſorts of Sherbets. After I had complimented the King, and preſented him with a Diamond Ring, a blue Saphire Ring, and a little Bracelet of Diamonds, Rubies, and blue Saphires, he commanded me to ſit down, and ordered me a Glaſs of ſtrong Water, to whet my Appetite. The Glaſs held a Quarter of a Pint, and therefore I refuſed it, which the King very much wondered at; but being told, by my Brother, that I never drank any ſtrong Water, he ordered me a Glaſs of Sack. After that he roſe up and ſeated himſelf in a Chair, the Elbows of which were gilded; his Feet and Legs were bare, having a *Perſian* Carpet of Gold and Silk to tread upon. He was clad with a Piece of Calicut, part whereof covered his Body from his Waiſt to his Knees, the reſt being wound about his Back and Shoulders like a Scarf. Inſtead of Shoes he had a Pair of Sandals that ſtood by the Chair-ſide, the Straps whereof were embroidered with Gold, and ſmall Pearl. About his Head he had a thing like a Handkerchief, with three Corners, bound about his Head like a Fillet. His Hair alſo, which was very long, was twiſted, and tied together over his Head; two Perſons ſtood behind him with Fans of long Peacock Feathers, the Handles of which were five or ſix Foot in Length. Upon his right Hand ſtood an old black Woman, holding in her Hand a little Mortar and Peſtle of Gold to beat his Beetle in, wherewith he mixed the Kernel of the Nut of Araqui, and Seed of Pearl diſſolved. When it was all beaten together, the old Woman gave it the King over his Shoulders, who, opening his Mouth, the old Woman fed him, as our Women feed their Children; for the King had chewed ſo much Beetle, and taken ſo much Tobacco, that his Teeth were all fallen out of his Head.

9. The King of *Bantam*'s Palace was never built by any curious Architect: It is a ſquare Place, encompaſſed with a great many Pillars, varniſhed over with ſeveral ſorts of Colours, againſt which the King leans when he ſits down. At the four Corners there are four great Pillars ſet in the Earth, at forty Foot Diſtance one from another, lined with a Mat made of the certain Rind of a Tree, ſo thin, that it looks like a Piece of Linnen, which neither Fleas nor Punes will come near. The Roof was covered with Cocoa Branches. Not far off, under another Roof, ſupported by four great Pillars, he hath ſixteen Elephants, the nobleſt of all thoſe that are in the King's Service; for he has a far greater Number trained up for War, that are not afraid of Wild-fire. For his Guard he might not have above two thouſand Men that were drawn up in Companies under the Shade of the next Trees. They are good Soldiers, as well by Sea as by Land, ſtrict *Mohammedans*, and ſtand not at all in Fear of Death. His Haram, or the Womens Apartment, was certainly a very ſmall Place; for when he had viewed what I brought him, he ſent for two old Women, to whom he gave ſome of the Jewels to go and ſhew them to his Wives. The two Women returned back through a little pitiful Door, the Encloſure being nothing but a kind of a Wall made up of Earth and Cow-dung mixed together. Whatever he ſent to the Women, they never returned any thing again, which made me believe they would bear a good Price; and indeed, whatever I ſold to him, I ſold to good Profit, and had my Money well paid me.

After this we took our Leaves; but the King obliged us to come next Day in the Evening, becauſe he had a Deſire to ſhew us a *Turky* Dagger, the Haft whereof being thin of Diamonds, he had a mind to enrich with more Stones. Coming to the *Engliſh* Houſe with our Money, they wondered that the King had laid out twenty thouſand Rupees, telling me, they believed it was the beſt Part of his Treaſure. The next Day my Brother and I went to wait upon him at the appointed Hour, and we found him ſitting in the ſame Place where he ſat before. There was a Moulla then read to him, who ſeemed to interpret to him ſomething of the *Alcoran* in the *Arabic* Language.

The Lecture being ended, they both roſe and went to Prayers, which being concluded, the King ſent for the Dagger, and the Haft, which was of Gold; the Top of Handle was already ſet with Diamonds, and the upper Part of the Croſs-bar was cut in Facets, which could not be leſs worth than fifteen or ſixteen thouſand Crowns. They told me it was preſented to him by the Queen of *Borneo*, and that it was cut at *Goa*, but that he put a far higher Value upon it than I eſteemed it to be worth. The Dagger, as well as the Sheath, was full of Beazells or Collects, and therefore deſired me to help him to ſome that might come at an eaſy rate. I told him it was impoſſible to find Stones that would fit the Beazells, and therefore it was better, when he had got Stones enough, to fix other Beazells according to the Proportion of the Stones; to which Purpoſe he muſt be forced to range all his Stones in Wax, and I ſhewed him how to do it at the ſame time; but that was above his Skill, and therefore do what I could to excuſe myſelf from the Truſt, he would needs oblige me to carry the Dagger to *Batavia*; whereupon I took my Leave of the King, and departed.

10. About eleven o'Clock at Night we embarked for *Batavia*, for the Night Winds blowing from the Land, are the only Winds to ſerve our Turn, ſo that we were at *Batavia* between ten and eleven the next Morning. There I ſtayed twenty Days for the King of *Bantam*'s ſake, to make him believe I had ſought for that which I knew was impoſſible to be found. I had nothing to do all the while, for in *Batavia* there is no other Recreation but Gaming and Drinking, which was none of my Buſineſs; at that Time the Sieur *Cam* died, one of the *Indian* Counſellors, who was ſumptuouſly buried for his good Services done to the Company; but the People complained heavily of the Injuſtice which he had done, as well to the Soldiers, as the Mariners.

Having ſtayed twenty Days at *Batavia*, I reſolved to go and return the King of *Bantam* his Dagger again, for that it was impoſſible to meet with Stones to fit his Beazells. However, I took along with me ſome other Stones, which he had not ſeen. Coming to *Bantam*, the King cauſed us to be lodged in one of his own Houſes in the City, which was made of Bamboos; thither, in leſs than a Quarter of an Hour, the King ſent us ſome Pateches, or ſweet Water Melons, red within like Scarlet. We had alſo Mangoes, and a certain large Fruit called Pompone, red alſo within, the Meat of it being ſoft and ſpungy, but of an excellent Taſte. Having ſtayed our Stomachs, we went to wait upon the King, whom we found in the ſame Place with his old Mortar-beater, who every Minute fed him with Beetle with her Fingers. There were ſitting about the Hall five or ſix of his Captains, viewing a certain Piece of Fireworks, as Granadoes, Rockets, and other Devices, to run upon the Water, which the *Chineſe* had brought, who are the moſt exquiſite at theſe Works of any People in the World. When the King was at leiſure, I returned him his Dagger, telling him, *Batavia* was no Place to meet with Stones, and that ſuch as were to be found were valued at double the Price they were worth; and that there was no Place where he could fit himſelf, but at *Golconda*, or *Goa*, or the Diamond Mines. Thereupon the old Woman took the Dagger, and carried it into his Haram; nor did the King ſpeak a Word more about it, after that I had ſhewed him what other Stones I had brought, a Parcel whereof I ſold him for good Profit.

The King ordered us to come the next Day for Payment. The next Day, about ſix in the Morning, my Brother, and I, and a *Dutch* Chirurgion, were going along a narrow Way between a River on the one Hand, and the Pales of a great Garden on the other. Behind the Pales a raſcally *Bantamois* had hid himſelf, one of thoſe that was newly come from *Mecca*, and was upon the Deſign of *Mocca*; that is, in their Language, when the Raſcality of the *Mohammedans* return from *Mecca*, they preſently take their Cris in their Hands, which is a kind of Poinard, the Blade whereof is half poiſoned, with which they run through the Streets, and kill all thoſe that are not of the *Mohammedan* Law, till they are killed themſelves.

Theſe Furies think, in ſo doing, they do God and *Mohammed* good Service, and ſhall be ſaved thereby. If any of theſe Madmen be killed, the Rabble of *Mohammedans* bury them as Saints, and every one contributes towards making them a fair Tomb. Sometimes you ſhall have an idle Rogue, in the Habit of a Dervich, that will build him a Hut near the Tomb, which he undertakes to look to, and ſtrews with Flowers; and, as his Alms increaſe, he adds ſome other Ornament to it; for the fairer and better ſet out the Tomb is, the more devoutly it is worſhipped, and the more Alms it brings in.

I remember in the Year 1642, that at *Saualli*, which is the Port of *Surat*, it happened, that a Veſſel of the great Mogul's returned from *Mecca* with a great Number of Faquirs or Derviches; for every Year the King ſends two Veſſels to carry and bring back the Pilgrims, who have their Paſſage free, and when theſe Veſſels are to go, the Faquirs come from all Parts of *India* to embark. Theſe Veſſels are laden with very good Commodities, which are ſold at *Mecca*, and the Profit is diſtributed among the poor Pilgrims; but the Principal is brought back for the next Year, amounting to ſix hundred thouſand Rupees at leaſt. 'Tis an ill Market when they do not gain thirty or forty *per Cent.* by their Commodities; nay, there are ſome that produce *Cent. per Cent.* beſides that the principal Perſons of the Mogul's Haram, and other particular Perſons, ſend very large Gifts to *Mecca*.

11. One of theſe Faquirs returning from *Mecca* in the Year 1642, and being landed at *Souali*, had no ſooner ſaid his Prayers, but he took his Dagger, and ran among ſeveral *Dutch* Mariners that were unlading Goods upon the Shore, and before they were aware, this mad Faquir had wounded ſeventeen of them, of which thirteen died. The Canjare, which he had in his Hand, was a kind of Dagger, the Blade whereof, towards the Handle, was three Fingers broad, and is a very dangerous Weapon. At length the Centinel that ſtood at the End of the Tent, where the Governor and the Merchants were, ſhot him through the Body, ſo that he fell down dead. Immediately all the other Faquirs and *Mohammedans* that were upon the Place took up the Body, and buried it, and at the End of fifteen Days they put him up a fair Monument. Every Year the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* pull it down; but when they are gone the Faquirs ſet it up again, and plant Banners over it: Nay, ſome there are that perform their Devotions to it. But to return to the *Bantam* Faquir, that Villain lying, as I ſaid, behind the Pales, as my Brother, and I, and the *Dutch* Chirurgion, came towards him, all three a-breaſt, he thruſt his Pike between the Pales, thinking to have ſtabbed it into one of our Breaſts. The *Dutchman* being next the River, and ſomewhat before the reſt, the Head of his Pike ran into his Breeches; whereupon we both laid hold of the Staff, but my Brother being next the Pales, preſently leaped over, and ran the Faquir through.

Whereupon ſeveral *Chineſe*, and other Idolators, came and gave my Brother Thanks for killing him; after that we waited upon the King, and told him what my Brother had done, who was ſo far from being diſpleaſed, that he gave my Brother a Girdle: For, the King and his Governors are glad when theſe Rogues are killed, knowing them to be Deſperadoes, not fit to live. The next Day coming to take my Leave of the *Engliſh* Preſident, he ſhewed me two Strings of Diamonds, and two Services of Silver, which came from *England*; he would have ſold them, but I only bought one of the Strings of Diamonds, the other being foul; and for the Silver I would have bought it, had they coined Silver in *Batavia*, as they were wont to do. Formerly the *Dutch* coined Reals, Half-Reals, and Quarter-Reals, bearing on the one Side the Stamp of a Ship, on the other V. O. C. like a Character, ſignifying in *Dutch*, for the *Eaſt-India* Company, which they did for the ſake of the *Chineſe*, who loving Silver better than Gold, carried away all the Silver that was coined at *Batavia* at good Rates; but at length they left it off, finding ſo few People that made uſe of Silver.

12. Having taken my Leave of the *Engliſh* Preſident, I returned to *Batavia*, where, having little to do, I reſolved to give a Viſit to the King of *Japara*, otherwiſe called the Emperor of *Java*. This King was formerly the King of all the Iſland, till the King of *Bantam*, who was only Governor of a Province, rebelled againſt him, the *Dutch* being made by the Diviſion of thoſe two Princes; for when the King of *Japara* beſieged *Batavia*, the King of *Bantam* relieved the *Dutch*; and when they were attacked by the King of *Bantam*, the King of *Japara* came to their Aſſiſtance; and when thoſe two Kings were together by the Ears, the *Dutch* always aided the weakeſt. The King of *Japara* keeps his Court in a City of the ſame Name, diſtant from *Batavia* about thirty Leagues. You may coaſt along the Shore to it by Sea; but the City ſtands above eight Leagues up the Land. From the City there is a fine Walk to the Sea, where there is a handſome Port, and fairer Houſes than any in the City; and the King would live there if he thought it ſafe.

The Day before I departed, I went to take my Leave of one of the *Indian* Counſellors, and telling him that I was going to wait upon the King of *Japara*, he ſtood amazed, in regard the King and the *Dutch* were mortal Enemies, of which he gave me this Account. The deceaſed King, Father to the King that now reigns, ſince the *Dutch* built their Fort of *Batavia*, would never have any Peace with them; and though that, during the War, the *Dutch* took ten of his Subjects for one of theirs, and offered ten for one in Exchange, yet he would never exchange one upon any Conſideration whatſoever, and charged his Son, upon his Death Bed, never to releaſe one. This Obſtinacy very much troubled the *Dutch* General, and all the reſt in *Batavia*, and obliged them how to conſult Means to right themſelves. Now it is the Cuſtom when the *Mohammedan* King dies, that his Succeſſor ſends certain great Lords of his Court to *Mecca*, with Preſents, as well to engage them to pray for the Soul of the deceaſed, as alſo to give Thanks to God and *Mohammed* for the coming of a new King to the Throne, without any Impediment, and to pray for the Bleſſing of Victory over all his Enemies. But the new King and his Council were at a Loſs how to accompliſh this Voyage; for, firſt, the King had none but little Veſſels, that were wont only to ſail along by the Shore, by reaſon of the Inexperience of his Seamen; and, in the next Place, the *Dutch* were always plying to and fro about the Mouths of his Havens, to ſurprize his Subjects, if they ſtirred out. For the Safety therefore of his Pilgrims, the King, at laſt, concludes upon making an Agreement with the *Engliſh*; for which Reaſon he diſpatched away an Envoy to *Bantam* to the *Engliſh* Preſident and his Council, who promiſed to lend him the biggeſt Veſſel, and the beſt mounted which the Company had in the *Indies*; in lieu whereof the *Engliſh* were to pay but half Cuſtoms for all Commodities exported or imported out of his Country; which Treaty being ratified, the *Engliſh* furniſhed him with three ſtout Veſſels mann'd and armed beyond an ordinary Rate.

Thereupon nine of the principal Lords of the Court, and moſt of the Blood Royal, with a Train of one hundred Perſons, embarked themſelves in the great Veſſel. But all theſe Preparations could not be carried on ſo privately but that the *Dutch* had Intelligence of it by their Spies. Thereupon the General of the *Dutch* makes ready three Ships, and lying juſt in the Strait of *Bantam*'s Mouth, ſo ſoon as the *Engliſh* came up (for they had no other Way) let fly at them ſo roundly, that the *Engliſh*, fearing leſt their Veſſels ſhould be ſunk, ſtruck ſail; which the *Java* Lords ſeeing, called them *Engliſh* Traitors, and, drawing their poiſoned Darts, cried *a Mecca* upon the *Engliſh*, killing a great Number of them before they had Time to put themſelves into a Poſture of Defence; and perhaps there would not have one of them eſcaped, had not the *Dutch* come on board as they did: Some of the *Java* Lords, and about twenty of their Attendants, would take no Quarter, ſo that the *Dutch* were forced to fight for it, and, at laſt, they got the better, with the Loſs of ſeven or eight Men.

The *Engliſh* Veſſel being carried into *Batavia*, the General very civilly ſent both the Priſoners and the Veſſel home again, withal giving Notice to the King, that he was ready to make an Exchange of Priſoners with him; but the King would not ſo much as hearken to any ſuch Propoſition, returning for Anſwer, that though the *Dutch* had three times as many of his Subjects, he would not ſo much as releaſe one of the *Dutch*; ſo that the poor *Dutch* were kept Slaves in *Java*, and the *Javaneſe* died miſerable in *Batavia*. As to the *Javaneſe*, they are good Soldiers; and it is reported, that while *Batavia* was beſieged by the King of *Bantam* in the Year 1659, a *Dutch* Soldier lying in Ambuſcade in a March, a *Javaneſe*, little dreaming that any Body had been there, came to this ſame Place to diſcover the Enemy, and was by the *Dutchman* thruſt with his Pike into the Body; upon which the *Javaneſe* finding himſelf wounded, did not ſtrive to pull the Pike out of the Body, but thruſt himſelf farther upon it, to the End he might come at his Enemy, whom he ſtabbed to the Heart as ſoon as he came within his Reach.

13. Whilſt I ſtayed at *Batavia*, my Brother died, and it was pretty to conſider what the *Dutch* made me pay for his Funeral. The firſt Expence is for the Fees of thoſe that beg Leave for the Corps to be buried, of whom the more there are, the more honourable the Funeral is eſteemed; I ſent ſix, and, to my Wonder, paid for that ſeventy-two Crowns. The Fee for the Poor is a Right belonging to the Poor, for which I paid two Crowns. There was a Veſſel of *Spaniſh* Wine drank out that coſt me two hundred Piaſters: I gave twenty-ſix more for three *Weſtphalia* Hams and Neats-tongues, and twenty-two for baked Meats; to the Bearers, I gave twenty Crowns, and ſixteen for a Place in the Church-Yard, for they aſked me an hundred to bury him in the Church. And all theſe are Fees demanded; ſo that my Brother's Funeral coſt me twelve hundred and twenty-three Livres of *French* Money. Being thus put by the two Voyages which I intended to *Japara*, and *Sumatra*, I was adviſed to lay out my Money in Reckonings, or Debentures, of the Servants of the *Dutch* Company, which they that have no mind to return into their own Country, as being ſettled in the *Indies*, will ſell at an eaſy Rate, inſomuch that for ſixty or ſeventy, you may buy an hundred Piaſters, the Act and Acquittance of the Seller being made and regiſtered by the publick Notary.

Thereupon I bought of one of the publick Notaries, who had Bills in his Hands to the Value of about eleven hundred Guilders, at fourſcore and two for the hundred. After that I bought, by means of the Advocate of the Treaſury, ſix thouſand Guilders more at ſeventy-nine for the hundred. But ſome few Days after, meeting with the ſame Advocate again, he paſſed a Compliment upon me, and told me he was very much troubled for thoſe that had bought Debentures, in regard that the General and the Council had commanded him to recal all Debentures that had been ſold; for they had conſidered how ſad a Thing it would be for the poor Men to loſe ſo much of their Salaries; I anſwered him, that, for my Part, I was willing to return mine, provided I might have my Money again.

About ſix or ſeven Hours after, I was ſent for by the General and the Council; when I came there they aſked me why I had not returned my Debentures which I had to the Advocate, who had demanded them by their Order? I anſwered them, that they were at *Bantam*, whither I had ſent them in order to my Paſſage home, in regard that the *Engliſh* Preſident had offered me a Convenience to go along with him. The Council anſwered me, that the *Dutch* Ships were as good as the *Engliſh*, and very certainly aſſured me, that they would give Orders for a Cabin to myſelf in the Vice-Admiral; but withal told me, I muſt deliver up my Debentures before I ſtirred, aſſuring me they would give me a Bill to be reimburſed my Money in *Holland*. I thought it very hard, not knowing how to truſt them, but ſeeing the Merchants, Commanders, and all other Perſons, clapp'd up, and their Papers taken from them by Force that had bought Debentures, I thought it the beſt Way to deliver mine, and ſtand to their Courteſy. I often preſſed the General and the Council for my Bill; but, after many Days, the General aſcertained me, that my Bill ſhould be in *Holland* as ſoon as I. Thereupon deſiring the Vice-Admiral, and ſome others, to be my Witneſſes of what the General promiſed, I took my Leave of him, very much repenting my going to *Batavia*.

14. The next Day I went on board the Vice-Admiral; and, the third Day after, we ſet ſail, and as ſoon as we were out of the Streights, we diſcovered the Iſland of the *Prince*, from thence, being in the Altitude of the Cocoa Iſlands, we beat about two Days to diſcover them, but all to no Purpoſe; thereupon we made directly for the *Cape of Good-Hope*. The forty-fifth Day after we departed from *Batavia*, our Vice-Admiral neglected to put out his Lights, believing all the Fleet had been before at the Cape; ſo that it happened one of the Fleet being behind, and not carrying any Lights out neither, it being a dark Night, fell foul upon us, which put every Man to his Prayers, all the People believing the Veſſel had been loſt; and indeed had ſhe not been a ſound ſtaunch Ship (as ſhe was eſteemed to be) ſhe could never have endured ſo terrible a Shock. At length we cleared ourſelves by cutting off the Yard of the *Maeſtricht* that hung in our Cordage. The fifty-fifth Day we came within Sight of the *Cape of Good-Hope*, but were forced to keep the Sea, becauſe the Waves rolled ſo that we were not able to come to an Anchor; not that the Wind was extream high, but becauſe the South-wind, which had blown, had forced the Water to that Part; when the Sea grew calm we came to an Anchor.

But of all the People that ever I ſaw in all my Travels, I never met with any ſo hideous, nor ſo brutiſh, as the *Comoucks*, of which I have ſpoken in my *Perſian* Travels, and thoſe of the *Cape of Good-Hope*, whom they call *Cafres*, or *Hotentots*. When they ſpeak, they make a Noiſe with their Tongues like the Breaking of Wind backwards; and though they hardly ſpeak articulately, yet they eaſily underſtand one another. They cover themſelves with the Skins of wild Beaſts which they kill in the Woods, in the Winter wearing the hairy Part innermoſt, and in the Summer outermoſt: But there are none but the beſt ſort among them who are thus clad; the reſt wear nothing but a naſty Rag about their Privy-parts. The Men and the Women are lean and ſhort, and when they bring forth a male Child, their Mothers cut out the Right-ſtone, and preſently give him Water to drink, and Tobacco to eat. They cut out the Right-teſticle, becauſe, they ſay, it makes them ſwifter to run. There are ſome of them that will catch a Roe-buck running. They neither know what belongs to Gold nor Silver; and, for Religion, they have none among them.

15. So ſoon as we caſt Anchor, four Women came on board of us, and brought four young Oſtriches, which were boiled for ſome ſick People we had aboard of us; after that they brought great Store of Tortoiſe-ſhells, and Oſtriches-Eggs, and other Eggs as big as Gooſe-Eggs, which, tho' they had no Yolk, taſted very well. The Birds that lay theſe Eggs are a ſort of Geeſe, and ſo fat that they are hardly to be eaten, taſting rather like Fiſh than Fleſh. The Women ſeeing our Cook throw away the Guts of two or three Fowls, which he was dreſſing, took them up, and, ſqueezing out the Ordure, eat them as they were, being highly pleaſed with the *Aqua Vitæ* which the Captain gave them. Neither Men nor Women are aſhamed to ſhew their Nakedneſs; for, indeed, they are but a ſort of two-legg'd Beaſts.

So ſoon as a Ship arrives, they bring their Beavers to the Shore, with what other Commodities they have, to barter for Strong-water, and Tobacco, Cryſtal, or Agat Beads, or any ſort of old Iron-work. If they are not ſatisfied with what you offer them, away they fly, and then giving a Whiſtle, all their Cattle follow them; nor ſhall you ever ſee them again. Some, when they ſaw them fly, would ſhoot and kill their Cattle; but, after that, for many Years, they would not bring any more. It's a very great Convenience for the Veſſels that touch there, to take in freſh Victuals, and the *Dutch* did well to build a Fort there. It is now a good handſome Town, inhabited by all ſorts of People that live with the *Dutch*; and all ſorts of Grain which are brought out of *Europe*, or *Aſia*, and ſowed there, come to greater Perfection than in other Parts. The Country lies in 35° and ſome few Minutes over; ſo that it cannot be ſaid that either the Heat, or the Situation of the Climate, make theſe *Cafres* ſo black. Being deſirous to know the Reaſon, and why they ſtunk ſo terribly, I learnt it from a Girl, that was bred up in the Fort, who was taken from her Mother as ſoon as ſhe was born, and was white, like our Women in *Europe*: She told me, that the Reaſon was, becauſe the *Cafres* rub themſelves with a Greaſe, or Ointment, compoſed of ſeveral ſorts of Drugs, wherewith ſhould they not anoint themſelves very often, and ſo ſoon as they were born, they would become hydropſical, as the *Blacks* of *Africa* and the *Abyſſinians* are, or like the People of *Saba*, that never live above forty Years, and are always troubled with one Leg twice as big as the other. Theſe *Cafres*, as brutiſh as they are, have yet ſome Knowledge of Simples, which they know how to apply to ſeveral Diſeaſes, which the *Dutch* have ſeveral times experienced. Of nineteen ſick Perſons that we had in our Ship, fifteen were committed to the *Cafres*, being troubled with Ulcers in their Legs, and old Wounds which they had received in the Wars; and, in leſs than fifteen Days, they were perfectly cured. Every one of theſe had two *Cafres* to look after him, and according to the Condition of the Wound or Ulcer, they went and fetched Simples, which they bruiſed between two Stones, and applied to the Sore. As for the other four, they were ſo far gone with the Pox, that they would not truſt the *Cafres* with them, having been given over at *Batavia*, and ſo they all died between the Cape and *Saint Helena*.

In the Year 1661, a Gentleman of *Britanny*, being at *Batavia*, was ſo bit by the Gnats in the Night, that his Leg exulcerated preſently, in ſuch a Manner as to puzzle all the Art and Skill of the Chirurgeons of that Town. When he came to the *Cape of Good-Hope*, the Captain of the Ship ſending him on Shore, the *Cafres* came about him, and after they had beheld him, they told him, if he would truſt to them, they would cure him; the Captain therefore committed him to their Care, who cured him, and made him a ſound Man in leſs than fifteen Days. When a Ship comes to an Anchor in the Cape, it is the Cuſtom for him that commands the Ship, to give Leave to ſome Part of the Mariners and Soldiers to go aſhore to refreſh themſelves. The ſickly have firſt Leave by Turns, and go to the Town, where they are dieted and lodged for ſeven or eight Sous a Day, and are very well uſed. It is the Cuſtom of the *Dutch*, when they ſtay here, to ſend out Parties of Soldiers upon the Diſcovery of the up-land Country, and they that go fartheſt are beſt rewarded. With this Deſign a Party of Soldiers, under the Command of a Serjeant, far advanced in the Country, and Night coming on, they made a great Fire, as well to keep themſelves from the Lions, as to warm themſelves, and ſo lay down to ſleep round about it; being aſleep, a Lion ſeized one of the Soldier's Arms, which the Serjeant perceiving, immediately ſhot the Lion with his Carbine; but, when he was dead, they had much ado to open the Lion's Mouth to get out the Soldier's Arm.

Thus it appears a vulgar Error, to think that Lions will not come near the Fire. As for the Soldier, the *Cafres* cured him in twelve Days. There are in the Fort abundance of Lions and Tygers Skins; among the reſt, there was the Skin of a Horſe which the *Cafres* had killed; it was white, croſſed with black Streaks, ſpotted like a Leopard, without a Tail. Two or three Leagues from the *Dutch* Fort, there was a Lion found dead, with four Porcupine Quills in his Body, the third Part whereof had pierced his Fleſh; ſo that it was judged that the Porcupine had killed the Lion. The Skin, with the Quills in it, are kept at the Fort. A League from this Fort is a fair Town, that grows bigger every Day.

When the *Dutch* Company arrive there with their Ships, if any Soldier or Mariner will live there, they are glad of it. They have as much Ground as they can manage, where they have all ſorts of Herbs and Pulſe, and as much Rice, and as many Grapes, as they can deſire. They have alſo young Oſtriches, Beef, Sea-fiſh, and ſweet Water to catch the Oſtriches when they pleaſe; they get their Neſts when they are young, and driving a Stake in the Ground, tie the Birds by one Leg to the Stake, and when they are old enough, they come and take them out of the Neſt, from whence it is impoſſible to fly away. When the *Dutch* began to inhabit the *Cape*, they took a young Girl from her Mother as ſoon as ſhe was born; ſhe is white, only her Noſe is a little flat. A *Frenchman* got her with Child, and would have married her; but the Company were ſo far from permitting him, that they took away above one hundred Livres of the Maid's Wages from her, to puniſh her for the Miſdemeanor, which was ſomewhat hard.

There are great Numbers of Lions and Tygers, which the *Dutch* have a pretty Invention to take; they faſten a Carbine to a Stake driven into the Earth, and lay Meat round about the Gun, which Meat is faſtened with a String to the Trigger, ſo that when the Beaſt ſnatches the Meat, the String pulls the Trigger, and the Gun goes off, hits the Lion either in the Throat or Breaſt. The *Cafres* feed upon a Root like our Carrots, which they roaſt, and make Bread of. Sometimes they grind it into Flour, and then it taſtes like a Walnut; for their Food they eat the ſame Root raw, with raw Fleſh, and with the Entrails of Beaſts, out of which they only ſqueeze the Ordure. As for the Bowels of the wild Beaſts, the Women wear them dried about their Legs, eſpecially the Bowels of thoſe Beaſts their Huſbands kill, which they look upon as a kind of Ornament.

They alſo feed upon Tortoiſes, when they have ſo far heated them at the Fire, as to make the Shells come off. They are very expert in darting their Azagayas, and thoſe that have none make uſe of painted Sticks, which they will launce a great way; with theſe they go down to the Sea ſide, and as ſoon as ever they ſpy a Fiſh near the Top of the Water, they will not fail to ſtrike him. As for their Birds, which are like our Ducks, whoſe Eggs are without any Yolk, they breed in ſuch great Quantities in the Country, that in a Bay, about eighteen Leagues from the *Cape*, you may knock them on the Head with a Stick. The *Dutch* once carried a young *Cafre* to the General at *Batavia*, who bred him carefully up, teaching him to underſtand the *Dutch* and *Portugueze* Languages perfectly well. At length, being deſirous to return to his own Country, the General gave him very good Cloaths, and good Linnen, hoping that he would have lived among the *Dutch*, and have been ſerviceable to them in the Diſcovery of the Country; but ſo ſoon as he got home, he flung his Cloaths into the Sea, and returned wild among his fellow Natives, eating raw Fleſh as he did before, and quite forgetting his Benefactors.

When the *Cafres* go a-hunting, they go in great Numbers together, and make ſuch a prodigious Howling and Yelling, that they fright the very Beaſts themſelves, and in that Affright with Eaſe deſtroy them; and I have been aſſured, that their Cries terrify the Lions themſelves. The Women are of ſo hot a Conſtitution of Body, that if at the Times their monthly Cuſtoms are upon them, they happen to make Water, and that an *European* chances to ſet his Feet upon it, it cauſes an immediate Head-ach and Fever, which many times turns to the Plague.

16. Having ſtayed twenty-two Days at the *Cape of Good Hope*, ſeeing that the Wind was favourable, we weighed Anchor, and ſteered for *St. Helena*; when we were under Sail, the Mariners cried out, they would ſleep till they came into *St. Helena* Road; for the Wind is very conſtant, and carries you in ſixteen or eighteen Days to the Road of the Iſland. All the Trouble that our Mariners had was, that in fourteen Days after our Departure from the *Cape*, they were often forced to the Top-maſt Head, upon Diſcovery of the Iſland; for as ſoon as you diſcover the Iſland, the Pilot muſt take care to ſteer to the North ſide of the Iſland, becauſe there is no caſting Anchor but on that Side of the Iſland, and that very near the Shore too, by reaſon of the Deepneſs of the Water; for if the Anchors come not to take hold, the Current of the Water and the Wind carries the Ship quite out of the Road, which there is no recovering again, becauſe the Wind never changes.

So ſoon as the Ship came to an Anchor, Part of the Seamen were ſent on Shore to get wild Hogs, of which there are great Plenty, and to gather Sorrel, which grows in great abundance; and indeed they not only ſent the Seamen, but all the Pigs, Sheep, Geeſe, Ducks, and Pullets aboard, to feed upon this Sorrel, which purged them in ſuch a manner, that in a few Days they became ſo fat, that by that Time we came to *Holland* they were hardly to be eaten. That Sorrel has the ſame Operation upon the Men, who boiling their wild Swines-Fleſh, Rice and Sorrel together, make thereof a kind of Pottage, ſo excellent, that it keeps their Bodies open, by an inſenſible Purgation. There are two Places upon the Coaſt of *St. Helena* where Ships may come to an Anchor; but the beſt is that where we lay, by reaſon the Ground is very good, and becauſe the Water that falls from the Mountains is the beſt in the Iſland. In this Part of the Iſland there is no Plain, for the Mountain deſcends to the very Shore of the Sea. It is not ſo good anchoring in the other Road; but there is a very handſome Plain, where you may ſow or reap whatever you pleaſe. There are great Store of Citrons, and ſome Oranges, which the *Portugueze* had formerly planted there; for that Nation have that Virtue, that wherever they come they make the Place the better for thoſe that come after them, whereas the *Dutch* endeavour to deſtroy all things whereever they ſet Footing. I confeſs the Commanders are not of that Humour; but the Seamen and Soldiers are, who cry one to another, we ſhall never come here any more, and, out of Greedineſs, will cut down a whole Tree inſtead of gathering the Fruit.

Some Days after their Arrival, came in a *Portugueze* Veſſel from *Guinea*, full of Slaves, who were bound for the Mines of *Peru*, ſome of the *Dutch* that underſtood the Language of the Negroes, told them how miſerably they would be uſed, and thereupon the next Night two hundred and fifty of them threw themſelves into the Sea: and indeed, it is a miſerable Slavery; for ſometimes after they have undermined ſome Places for ſome Days together, the Earth being looſe, falls down, and kills four or five hundred at a time; beſides that, when they have been mining a-while, their Faces, their Eyes, and their Skins change Colour, which proceeds from the Vapours that ariſe from thoſe Concavities; nor could they ſubſiſt in thoſe Places, but from the Quantity of ſtrong Water which they give both to the Men and Women. There are ſome that are made free by their Maſters, who labour, however, for their Living; but between *Saturday* Night and *Monday* Morning, they ſpend all their Wages in ſtrong Water, which is very dear, ſo that they always live miſerably.

Being ready to depart the Iſland of *St. Helena*, the Admiral called a Council, to adviſe which Way to ſteer; the greateſt Part were for ſteering more to the Weſt than to the South, becauſe the Seaſon for ſailing was far ſpent; and for that, if we ſteered towards the *Weſt*, we ſhould find the Wind more proper to carry us into *Holland*; but we had no ſooner paſſed the Line, but we found the Wind quite contrary to what the Mariners expected, ſo that we were forced to ſteer to the ſixty-fourth Degree of Altitude with the Iſland, and ſo return by the North into *Holland*.

17. The next Day after the Admiral had called a Council, we weighed Anchor, and ſet Sail about ten o'Clock at Night. Three Days after our Departure from *St. Helena*, the Seamen were called very duly to Prayers Morning and Evening, though all the Time we ſtayed in the Road they never minded any ſuch Matter, which made me wonder to find they ſhould be more devout when they were out of Danger than when they were in Jeopardy. After ſeveral Days ſailing, we diſcovered the Coaſt of *Iceland*, and then the Iſland of *Terella*, where we joined with the *Dutch* Fleet that ſtayed for us. Here it is that the Commander in chief calls to an Account all the Mariners for their Miſdemeanors during the whole Voyage. Our Ship was bound for *Zealand*, but we were forced to lie out to Sea ſeven Days before we could get into *Fluſhing*, before the Sand had changed its Place.

Coming to an Anchor before *Fluſhing*, two of the Directors of the Company came a-board to welcome us home, and to adviſe us to lock our Cheſts, and put our Marks upon them; for all Cheſts are carried into the *Eaſt-India* Houſe, where, when the Owners come for them, they are ordered to open them, leſt they ſhould have any contraband Goods therein; thereupon I ſet a Mark upon my Cheſts, and went aſhore, after I had given a good Character of the Captain, and his Civility to me all the Voyage, and thence proceeded by Land to *Middleburgh*.

Four Days after I came to *Middleburgh* I went to fetch my Cheſts, and finding the two Directors there, one a *Zealander*, the other of *Horn*, who came firſt a-board us, I produced my Keys, and offered the Cheſts to be opened; but the *Zealander*, more civil than the *Horner*, delivered me my Keys again, and taking my Word, told me, I was free to take away my Goods; and indeed, I have ever obſerved that the Northern People are always more rude and ungenteel than the Southern. As for the ſeventeen thouſand five hundred Florins which the General of *Batavia* promiſed me ſhould be paid me upon my Arrival in *Holland*, I received ſo many Delays and Put off's, that I was at length forced to commence a Suit that laſted two Years; nor could I get a publick Notary, either at *Amſterdam*, or the *Hague*, that would make me out a Proteſt, every one fearing the Directors, who were both Judges and Parties. At length, after five Years wrangling and jangling, the Director wrote to my Brother at *Batavia* (for I was then again returned to the *Indies*) that if I would accept of ten thouſand Livres, he might receive it for me, which he did, and I was forced to give an Acquittance for the whole.

This is the Return which I made from the *Indies* in the Year 1649, and the only time that ever I returned by Sea, having performed all the reſt of my Travels by Land, not counting my ſhort Voyages through the *Mediterranean* for any thing; and as for my firſt Travels, I performed them all by Land from *Paris* through *Germany* and *Hungary*, as far as *Conſtantinople*, whither I returned again in the Year 1669. From *Conſtantinople* I went to *Smyrna*, thence I ſailed for *Leghorn*; from *Leghorn*, I travelled by Land to *Genoa*, thence to *Turin*, and ſo to *Paris*.

The perfect Acquaintance which our Author had with all the Cuſtoms of the *Indians*, expoſed him to a great Number of Enquiries on his return home; and he was very often preſſed, not only by the moſt conſiderable of the *French* Miniſters, but even by the King himſelf, to put the Anſwers he gave to thoſe Enquiries into Writing; and theſe were afterwards reduced under ſeveral Heads, and now make the ſeveral Chapters in his Travels; and this Account of them may ſerve to reconcile the Reader to the ſeeming Incoherency of thoſe Diſcourſes. Among theſe there is one more remarkably curious in relation to the Cuſtom that ſtill prevails in the *Indies*, of Women burning themſelves on the Demiſe of their Huſbands, and alſo of Mens ſubmitting voluntarily to Death, upon extraordinary Occaſions. This Diſſertation, as I judged it, could not but be very agreeable to the Reader, and at the ſame time inſtructive. I thought it not amiſs to add here at the End of his Travels, the rather, becauſe it has no ſort of Connection with any Part of his Relation, but is, as I obſerved before, a ſeparate Diſcourſe upon that particular Subject, in which he has related what occurred to him thereon during his long Stay in the *Indies*, which renders it more perfect in its kind than any thing I have ever met with on the Subject; and therefore I have given it at large, and entirely in the Words of our Author, which are as follows.

It has been a Cuſtom Time immemorial, among the *Indians*, that a Woman ſhould only marry one Huſband, and in caſe of his Deceaſe, continue a Widow to the Time of her Death. As ſoon, therefore, as the Maſter of a Family is dead, his Wife retires to bewail her Huſband ſome Days; after which they ſhave her Head, and ſhe lays aſide all the Ornaments which ſhe had worn during the Time of her Marriage, taking off at the ſame time from her Arms and Legs the Bracelets which her Huſband put on when he eſpouſed her, in token of her Submiſſion, and her being chained to him, and all the reſt of her Life ſhe lives ſlighted and deſpiſed, and in a worſe Condition than a Slave, in the very Houſe where ſhe was Miſtreſs before. This unfortunate Condition cauſes them to hate Life, ſo that they rather chuſe to be buried alive with the Body of their deceaſed Huſband, than to live the Scorn and Contempt of all the World; beſides that, the *Bramins* make them believe, that in dying after that manner, they ſhall revive again with him in another World, with more Honour and more Advantages than they enjoyed before.

Theſe are the Motives that cauſe the Women to burn with their Huſbands; beſides that, the Prieſts flatter them with Hopes, that while they are in the midſt of the Flame, before they expire, *Ram* will appear, and reveal wonderful Viſions to them; and that after their Souls have tranſmigrated into various Bodies, they ſhall at length obtain a high Degree of Honour to Eternity. However, there is no Woman that can burn with her Huſband's Body, till ſhe has the Leave of the Governor of the Place where ſhe inhabits, who being a *Mohammedan*, and abhorring the execrable Crime of Self-murder, is very ſhy to permit them. Beſides, there are none but Widows that have no Children that lie under the Reproach that forces them to violent Deaths: For, as for the Widows that have Children, they are by no means permitted to burn themſelves, but quite the contrary. They are commanded to live for the Education of the Children. Theſe Women, whom the Governor will not permit to burn themſelves, ſpend the reſt of their Lives in doing Penance, and performing Works of Charity. Some make it their Buſineſs to ſit upon the Road to boil certain Pulſe in Water, and to give the Liquor to Travellers to drink; others ſit with Fire always ready for them to light their Tobacco; others make Vows to eat nothing but the undigeſted Grains which they find in Cow-dung.

The Governor, finding no Perſuaſion will alter the Womens Reſolution, but more eſpecially, perceiving by the Sign which his Secretary makes him, that he has received the Coin, in a ſurly manner gives the Woman Leave, bidding the Devil take her and all her Kindred. When they have got this Leave, their Muſick begins to ſtrike up, and away they march to the Houſe of the Deceaſed, with Drums beating, and Flutes playing before them, and in that manner they accompany the Perſon that is to be burnt to the Place appointed. All the Kindred and Friends of the Widow that is to die come to her and congratulate her on the Happineſs ſhe is to enjoy in the other World, and for the Honour which the Caſt ſhe is of receives by her generous Reſolution. She dreſſes herſelf as if ſhe were going to be married, and ſhe is conducted in Triumph to the Place of Execution; for the Noiſe is loud of muſical Inſtruments, and Womens Voices, that follow her, ſinging Songs in Honour of the miſerable Creature that is going to die. The Bramins alſo accompany her, to give publick Teſtimonies of her Conſtancy and Courage, and many of our *Europeans* are of Opinion, that to take away the Fears of Death, which naturally terrify Humanity, the Prieſts give her a certain Beveridge to ſtupify and diſorder the Senſes, which takes from her all Apprehenſions of her approaching Death. 'Tis for the Bramin's Intereſt that the poor miſerable Creatures ſhould continue in their Reſolutions; for all their Bracelets, as well about their Legs as their Arms, the Pendants in their Ears, ſometimes of Gold, ſometimes of Silver (for the Poor wear only of Copper and Tin) all theſe belong to the Bramins, who rake for them among the Aſhes when the Party is burned.

I have ſeen Women burned after three different Manners, according to the Difference of the Country. In the Kingdom of *Guzurat*, as far as *Agra* and *Debli*, they ſet up a little Hut, about twelve Feet ſquare, upon the Bank of a Pond or River; it is made of Reeds and all ſorts of ſmall Wood, with which they mingle certain Pots of Oil, and other Drugs, to make it burn more vehemently. The Woman is placed in the middle of the Hut, in a half-lying-down Poſture, leaning her Head upon a kind of a wooden Bolſter, and reſting her Back againſt a Pillar, to which the Bramin ties her about the Middle, for fear ſhe ſhould run away when ſhe feels the Fire. In this Poſture ſhe holds the Body of her deceaſed Huſband upon her Knees, chewing Beetel all the while; and when ſhe has continued in this Poſture about half an Hour, the Bramin goes out, and the Woman bids them ſet Fire to the Hut, which is immediately done by the Bramins, and the Kindred and Friends of the Woman, who caſt alſo ſeveral Pots of Oil and Ointment into the Fire, to put the Woman the ſooner out of her Pain. After the Woman is burnt, the Bramins ſearch the Aſhes for the Bracelets, Pendants, and Rings, whether Gold, Silver, Copper, or Tin, which is all free Booty to themſelves.

In *Bengal* they burn the Women after another Faſhion. In that Country a Woman muſt be very poor, that does not accompany the Body of her deceaſed Huſband to the *Ganges*, to waſh his Body, and to be waſhed herſelf before ſhe is burnt. I have ſeen dead Carcaſſes brought to the *Ganges* above twenty Days Journney off from the Place, and ſmelt them to boot; for the Scent of them has been intolerably noiſom. There was one that came from the northern Mountains, near the Frontiers of the Kingdom of *Boutan*, with the Body of her Huſband carried in a Waggon. She travelled twenty Days on Foot, and never eat nor drank for fifteen or ſixteen Days together, till ſhe came to the *Ganges*, where, after ſhe had waſhed the Body that ſtank abominably, and had afterwards waſhed herſelf, ſhe was burnt with him with admirable Conſtancy.

Before the Woman that is to be burnt goes the Muſick, conſiſting of Drums, Flutes, and Hautboys, whom the Woman, in her beſt Accoutrements, follows, dancing up to the very funeral Pile, upon which ſhe gets, and places herſelf as if ſhe were ſitting up in Bed; and then they lay a-croſs her the Body of her Huſband; and, when this is done, her Kindred and Friends, ſome bring her a Letter, ſome Pieces of Callicut, and others Pieces of Silver and Copper, and deſire her to deliver them to their Mother, or Brother, or ſome other Kinſman, or Friend. When the Woman ſees they have all done, ſhe aſks the Standers by, three Times, if they have nothing more of Services to command her; if they make no Anſwer, ſhe ties up all ſhe has got in a Piece of Taffety, which ſhe puts between her own Belly and the Body of her Huſband, bidding them ſet Fire to the Pile, which is preſently done by the Bramins and her Kindred. I have obſerved, becauſe there is Scarcity of Wood in *Bengal*, that when thoſe poor Creatures are half grilled, they caſt their Bodies into the *Ganges*, where the Remains are devoured by the Crocodiles. I muſt not forget a wicked Cuſtom practiſed by the Idolaters of *Bengal*.

When a Woman is brought to Bed, and the Child will not take to the Teat, they carry it out of the Village, and putting it into a Linnen-cloth, which they faſten by the four Corners to the Boughs of a Tree, there leave it from Morning till Evening; by this Means the poor Infant is expoſed to be tormented by the Crows, inſomuch that there are ſome who have their Eyes picked out of their Heads; which is the Reaſon, that, in *Bengal*, you ſhall ſee many of thoſe Idolaters that have but one Eye, and ſome that have loſt both. In the Evening they fetch the Child away, to try whether he will ſuck the next Night, and, if he ſtill refuſes the Teat, they then carry him again to the ſame Place the next Morning, which they do for three Days together. After which, if the Infant ſtill refuſes to ſuck, they believe him to be a Devil, and throw him into the *Ganges*, or any the next Pond or River. In the Places where the Apes breed, theſe poor Infants are not ſo expoſed to the Crows; for where the Ape diſcovers a Neſt of theſe Birds, ſhe climbs the Tree, and throws the Neſt one Way, and the Eggs another. Some charitable People among the *Engliſh*, *Dutch*, and *Portugueze*, compaſſionating the Misfortune of thoſe Children, will take them away from the Tree, and give them good Education.

All along the Coaſt of *Corromandel*, when the Women are to be burnt with their Huſbands, they make a great Hole in the Ground nine or ten Foot deep, and twenty-five or thirty Foot ſquare, into which they throw a great Quantity of Wood and Drugs, to make the Fire burn more fiercely; when the Fire is kindled, they ſet the Body of the Man upon the Brink, and then, preſently up comes the Woman dancing, and chewing Beetel, accompanied by her Friends and Kindred, with Drums beating, and Flutes ſounding; then the Woman takes three Turns round the Hole, and every Time ſhe has gone the Round, ſhe kiſſes her Friends and Kindred; after the third Time the Bramins caſt on the Carcaſe of her Huſband, the Woman ſtanding with her Back to the Fire, is puſhed in by the Bramins alſo, and tumbles backward; then her Kindred and Friends caſt Oil, and other combuſtible Drugs, upon the Fire, to make it burn more vehemently, that the Bodies may be the ſooner conſumed. In moſt Places upon the Coaſt of *Corromandel*, the Women are not burnt with their deceaſed Huſbands, but they are buried alive with them, in Holes which the Bramins make a Foot deeper than the talleſt of them, Man or Woman.

Uſually they chuſe a ſandy Place; ſo that when the Man and Woman are both let down together, all the Company, with Baſkets of Sand, fill up the Hole above half a Foot higher than the Surface of the Ground; after which they jump and dance upon it till they believe the Woman to be ſtifled. When ſome of the Idolaters upon the Coaſt of *Corromandel* are upon the Point of Death, their Friends do not carry them to the Side of a River, or Lake, to cleanſe their Souls, but they carry them to the fatteſt Cow they can find, and laying the ſick Party juſt behind the Cow, they lift up her Tail, and provoke her to piſs; if ſhe piſſes ſo that it falls upon the Face of the diſeaſed Perſon, all the Company are overjoyed, ſaying, that his Soul is happy; but if the Cow does not piſs to waſh the ſick Party's Face, they burn him with a great deal of Sadneſs. If a Cow be ſick, the Owner muſt be careful to lead her to a Pond, or River; for, ſhould ſhe die at his Houſe, the Bramins would fine him.

The Rajah of *Valou* having loſt this City, and his Life, through the Loſs of a Battle gained againſt him by the King of *Viſiapour*'s General, he was extremely lamented at Court; eleven of his Wives alſo were no leſs concerned for his Death, and reſolved to burn themſelves when he was burned. The General of *Viſiapour*'s Army underſtanding their Reſolution, thought at firſt to divert them by promiſing them all kind Uſage; but finding Perſuaſion would not prevail, he ordered them to be ſhut up in a Room. He who had the Order, going to put it in Execution, the Women, in a Rage, told him, that it was to no Purpoſe to keep them Priſoners; for, if they might not have Leave to do what they had reſolved, in three Hours there would not be one of them alive. The Perſon entruſted, laughed at their Threats: But the Keeper of thoſe Women, opening the Door at the End of the three Hours, found them all ſtretched out dead upon the Place, without any Mark in the World to be ſeen that they had any way haſtened their own Deaths.

Two of the moſt potent Rajahs of *India* came to *Agra* in the Year 1642, to do Homage to *Shab-Jehan*, who then reigned; who, not having acquitted themſelves as they ought to have done in the Judgment of the Grand-Maſter of the King's Houſhold, he told one of the Rajahs one Day, in the Preſence of the King, that they had not done well to behave themſelves in ſuch a manner towards ſo great a Monarch as was the King his Maſter. The Rajah, looking upon himſelf to be a great King, and a great Prince, he and his Brother having brought along with them a Train of fifteen or ſixteen thouſand Horſe, was nettled at the bold Reproof which the Grand-Maſter gave him, and drawing out his Dagger, ſlew him upon the Place, in the Preſence of the King; the Grand Maſter falling at the Feet of his Brother, who ſtood cloſe by him, he was going about to revenge his Death, but was prevented by the Rajah's Brother, who ſtabbed him, and laid him athwart his Brother's Body. The King, who beheld theſe two Murders, one on the Neck of another, retired into his Haram for fear; but preſently the Omrahs, and other People, fell upon the Rajahs, and cut them to Pieces.

The King, incenſed at ſuch an Attempt committed in his Houſe, and in his Preſence, commanded the Rajahs Bodies to be thrown into the River, which their Troops that they had left about *Agra* underſtanding, threatened to enter the City, and pillage it; ſo that, rather than hazard the City, the King was adviſed to deliver them the Bodies of their Princes. When they were to be burned, thirteen Women belonging to the two Rajahs Houſes came dancing and leaping, and preſently got upon the funeral Pile, holding one another by the Hands, and being preſently after ſtifled by the Smoak, fell together into the Fire; preſently the Bramins threw great Heaps of Wood, Pots of Oil, and other combuſtible Matter upon them, to diſpatch them the ſooner.

I obſerved a ſtrange Paſſage at *Patna*, being then with the Governor, a young Gentleman about twenty four Years of Age, in his own Houſe. While I was with him, in came a young Woman, very handſome, and not above twenty-two Years old, who deſired Leave of the Governor to be burnt with the Body of her deceaſed Huſband. The Governor, compaſſionating her Youth and Beauty, endeavoured to divert her from her Reſolution; but, finding he could not prevail, with a ſurly Countenance he aſked her whether ſhe underſtood what the Torment of Fire was, and whether ſhe had ever burnt her Fingers? No, no, anſwered ſhe more ſtoutly than before, I do not fear Fire; and to let you know as much, ſend for a lighted Torch hither: The Governor abominating her Anſwer, in a great Paſſion, bid her go to the Devil. Some young Lords that were with the Governor, deſired him to try the Woman, and entreated him to call for a Torch, which, with much ado, he did; and a lighted Torch was brought: So ſoon as the Woman ſaw the lighted Torch a-coming, ſhe ran to meet it, and held her Hand in the Flame, not altering her Countenance in the leaſt, ſtill ſearing her Arm along quite up to the Elbow, till her Fleſh looked as if it had been broiled; whereupon the Governor commanded her out of his Sight.

A Bramin coming to *Patna*, and aſſembling all his Tribe together, told them, that they muſt give him two thouſand *Rupees*, and twenty-ſeven Ells of Callicut, to which the Chief among them anſwered, that they were poor, and could not poſſibly raiſe ſuch a Sum; however, he perſiſted in his Demand, poſitively affirming unto them, that he would ſtay there without eating or drinking, till they brought him the Money and the Cloth. With this Reſolution, he climbed a Tree, and ſetting in the Fork between the Boughs, remained there without eating or drinking for ſeveral Days. The Noiſe of this Extravagance coming to the Ears of the *Dutch* Houſe, where we lay, we ſet Sentinels to watch whether it was true, that a Man could ſit ſo long without Victuals, which he did for thirty Days together. The thirty-firſt Day of this ſo extraordinary Faſt, the Idolaters fearing to kill one of their Prieſts for want of granting him his Demand, clubbed together, and brought him his twenty-ſeven Ells of Callicut, and two thouſand *Rupees*. So ſoon as the Bramin ſaw the Money and Cloth, he came down from the Tree, and after he had upbraided thoſe of his Tribe for want of Charity, he diſtributed all the *Rupees* among the Poor, reſerving only five or ſix for himſelf. The Cloth he cut into little Pieces, and gave away, keeping only to himſelf as much as would juſt cover his Nakedneſs; and having made his Diſtribution, he diſappeared on a ſudden, and no body knows what became of him, though diligent Search was made after him.

When a *Chineſe* lies at the Point of Death, all his Kindred and Friends gather about him, and aſk him whither he intends to go? They tell him alſo, that if he wants any thing, he needs but aſk and have, let it be Gold, Silver, or a Woman. When they are dead, they perform many Ceremonies at their Funerals, which conſiſt chiefly in artificial Fires, wherein the *Chineſe* are the moſt expert in all the World; ſo that he muſt be a very poor Man that has no Fire-works at his Funeral. Beſides that, they put Money in a little Box, and bury it by the Deceaſed, and leave good Store of Victuals upon the Grave, out of an Opinion that they riſe and eat; which the Soldiers of *Batavia* obſerving, uſed to fill their Bellies at theſe Graves every Time they marched their Rounds. But when the *Chineſe* perceived it, they poiſoned the Victuals, to ſpoil the *Dutchmen*'s Feaſting. The Townſmen of *Batavia* taking the Soldiers Part, accuſed the *Chineſe* of poiſoning ſeveral of the *Dutch*; but the *Chineſe* pleaded, that if the Soldiers had over-eat themſelves, or ſurfeited themſelves upon what was left for the Dead to eat, it was none of their Fault; for that they did not leave this Victuals for their Soldiers: And beſides that, among all the Multitudes that they had buried, they never had heard the leaſt Complaint before of any one that ever came to any Harm by eating their Food. Thus the Buſineſs was huſhed up, nor did the Soldiers dare to pilfer any more.

Theſe are certainly very ſurprizing and entertaining Paſſages, which carry in them ſtrong Marks of that Enthuſiaſm, which is the Characteriſtick of the Eaſtern Genius; and which, however wild and extravagant it may appear to us in this Part of the World, has in it, nevertheleſs, ſomething ſo ſtriking to ſuch as behold it, even tho' *Europeans*, that they fall into it by Degrees, and are content to adopt the Humour of the *Indians*, under another Name, and for many pretended Reaſons. As a Proof of this, we need only remark, that the *Mohammedan* Lords of the Mogul's Court, not only allow, but encourage their Women to die with them, as a Mark of Affection. It is true, that they don't do this publickly, and in the Sight of the Sun, as the *Indians* do; but when a *Mohammedan* Lord dies, his Women, the Night after they have paid their Duty at the Funeral of the Deceaſed, aſſemble together in ſome private Part of his Palace at a Diſtance from the reſt of the Building, and out of the Hearing, as much as may be, of the Servants; and there they ſet Fire to the Room, having firſt ſecured the Doors, and ſo periſh in the Flames. In all Probability, this Cuſtom has been introduced amongſt the *Mohammedans* from a Principle of Vanity, flowing from a Deſire to ſhew that they are not leſs beloved by their *Indian* Wives, than the *Indians* themſelves, of which, indeed, it is not eaſy for them to obtain a ſtronger Proof than this.

It is likewiſe indiſputably clear, from our Author's Diſcourſe, that the high Spirit and invincible Courage of the *Indians*, both Men and Women, is far enough from being extinguiſhed; but then we ought to make a right Judgment of the Motive from whence this proceeds. In the Men it ſtill riſes from Principle and from the Dictates of Reaſon, whether well or ill employed, I ſhall not pretend to ſay: But, in the Women, it is, in ſome meaſure, the Effect of Habit, and, in ſome meaſure, the Conſequence of Deſpair. They ſee frequent Examples of Women who end their Lives in this Manner, and are highly applauded for it. This draws them on to merit the ſame Praiſes, by ſhewing the ſame Intrepidity. On the other hand, they ſee Numbers of their Sex, who decline this dreadful Trial, reduced to Want and Infamy, and they ſee no Road open for them to eſcape both; which, as it were, drives them to this deſperate Reſolution of deſtroying themſelves; ſince they ſeem thereby, of two great Evils to chuſe the leaſt, which is a glorious Death, rather than a Life of Miſery and Contempt. We may from hence fairly conclude, that if the true and genuine Doctrine of the Chriſtian Faith were inſtilled into the Minds of theſe People, they might be brought to make as great a Figure in the World as ever their Anceſtors did; and how great that was, we have in the preceding Sections, from the Memorials left us in ſeveral Languages, very fully ſhewn.

SECTION XXXI.

Obſervations and Remarks made during his Reſidence on the Iſland of Chuſan, *on the Coaſt of* China, *by Doctor* James Cunningham, *Phyſician to the* Engliſh *Factory at that Place.*

From his own Accounts.

1. *An introductory Account of the Author, and of the Opportunities he had to come to a true Knowledge of the Facts he mentions.* 2. *An Account of the Voyage to, and a diſtinct Deſcription of the Iſland of* Chuſan. 3. *Of the antient and modern State of the Country, and the coming of the* Engliſh *to reſide there.* 4. *Of their Manner of cultivating Tea in that Iſland, and of ſeveral Miſtakes made by* F. le Compte, *and* F. Martini. 5. *Of the* Chineſe *Agriculture, and the Manner in which the Inhabitants make Salt in* Chuſan. 6. *Of the famous medicinal Root* Hu-chu-u, *which prolongs Life, and retards old Age.* 7. *Dr.* Cunningham'*s Removal to* Pulo Condore, *with the Riſe, Progreſs, and Ruin of that Factory.* 8. *Occaſion of eſtabliſhing a new Factory at* Pulolout, *of which Dr.* Cunningham *became Chief.* 9. *The Cauſes of the total Overthrow of that Factory, and the* Engliſh *Trade to* Borneo.

1. IN the Accounts we have hitherto given of the Diſcovery, of the paſt, and preſent Situation of the *Indies*, we have made uſe chiefly of foreign Writers, not that we prefer them to our own Countrymen, who have travelled into thoſe Parts; but becauſe, in a Collection of this Nature, it ſeemed reaſonable to include the Works of ſuch Authors as were leaſt known to the Bulk of our Readers. But, to avoid all Suſpicion of Partiality, and that, at the ſame time, we may ſhew that we have not been at all negligent in conſulting either the old Travellers or the new, of ſuch of the *Britiſh* Nation as have viſited theſe diſtant Climates, we will add a few Inſtances of their Care and Diligence, in obſerving and recording what appeared to them moſt worthy of Notice in the Countries into which they were led, either to ſatisfy their Curioſity, or in Purſuit of Buſineſs.

We will begin with the Remarks made by Doctor *James Cunningham*, Fellow of the *Royal Society*, and Phyſician to the *Engliſh* Factory ſettled at *Chuſan* in *China*. He was a Man diſtinguiſhed both by his natural Parts, and by the Accompliſhments he had acquired, being equally well verſed in ancient and modern Learning; and, at the ſame time, a Perſon, who, from his own Diligence, had obtained all the Lights that are afforded by Experience. Of theſe great Qualities he has left us ſufficient Teſtimony in two Letters of his writing during his Employment in the Service of the *Eaſt-India* Company; and which are ſo much the more valuable, as they plainly manifeſt an Intention not to copy what others had written, or reported, but to ſet down his own Obſervations, and thereby deſcribe Things as they appeared to him; nay, and not only ſo, but to examine and correct the Miſtakes of others, which he was the more capable of doing, for two Reaſons; firſt, becauſe he confined himſelf entirely to what fell under his immediate Inſpection: And, next, becauſe he writes on ſuch Subjects only as belonged to his Profeſſion, in which he muſt, of Neceſſity, be a better Judge than another Man, however learned or intelligent, who had not made thoſe Things his Study. In this reſpect, indeed, I muſt affirm, that the Writers of our own Country are very much to be preferred to thoſe of other Nations, becauſe, if their Relations be leſs extenſive, and poſſibly alſo leſs entertaining; yet they are written with greater Care and Circumſpection, as well as a more than ordinary Regard to Truth. This I ſay in general only, and not with any View to injure or raiſe the Credit of particular Perſons. But, to come to the Point; the firſt of theſe Letters was written in the Month of *September*, 1701, to a Member of the *Royal Society*, and follows in the Author's own Words.

2. My laſt to you was from the Iſland of *Borneo*, in which I gave you an Account of our Arrival there the 17th of *July*, where we ſtayed but two Days, the Seaſon of the Year being ſo far paſt; and from thence made the beſt of our Way through the Straits of *Banda*, with favourable Winds and Weather, till we came on the Coaſt

of *China* the 13th of *Auguſt*, then we had variable Winds which carried us a-breaſt of *Emoy*, the 19th following, at which Time the North-eaſt Wind ſetting in freſh, put us in great Fears of loſing our Paſſage; whereupon we were forced to turn it up againſt Wind and Current all the Way, the Weather ſo favouring us that we were never but by our Top-ſails, elſe we ſhould have loſt more Ground in one Day than we could have gained in eight. The laſt of *Auguſt* we came to an Anchor under the *Crocodile Iſlands*, both to ſhelter us from the bad Weather (which is generally expected on this Coaſt at New and Full-Moon, and has been fatal to a great many Ships) and alſo to look for freſh Water, which was now grown ſcarce with us, not having recruited ſince we came from the *Cape of Good-Hope*. Theſe are three ſmall Iſlands, lying in the Lat. of 26° about ſix Leagues from the River of *Hockien*, on two whereof we found very good freſh Water, with a convenient watering Place on the S. W. Side of the innermoſt of the three; and by the Aſſiſtance of a few *Chineſe* Fiſhermen, who procured ſome freſh Proviſions from the Main-Land, becauſe we did not think it ſafe to adventure ourſelves thither, leſt we ſhould have been brought into Trouble by the Government there.

While we lay here, on the 5th of *September*, we had a ſudden ſhort Shift of the Monſoon to the S. W. the Fury whereof others felt coming upon the Coaſt of *China*, at the ſame time. The 18th of *September* we put to Sea again, turning to windward Night and Day without all the Iſlands, which are very numerous along this Coaſt, to which we were altogether Strangers beyond *Emoy*; and the Hidrography thereof is hitherto ſo imperfect, that there was no truſting to our Drafts, which made our Navigation ſomewhat more dangerous: However, on the 1ſt of *October* we got into 30°, where we came to an Anchor near the Land, until we found the Way by Boat to *Chuſan*, about twelve Leagues within the Iſlands, from whence we had a Pilot, who carried us ſafe thither on the Eleventh. Upon this Iſland the *Chineſe* have granted us a Settlement and Liberty of Trade, but not to *Ning-po*, which is ſix or eight Hours Sail to the weſtward, all the Way among Iſlands; this being the largeſt, is eight or nine Leagues from Eaſt to Weſt, and four or five Leagues in Breadth.

About three Leagues from that Point of the Main-land, called *Cape-Liampo* by the *Portugueze*, but *Khi-tu* by the *Chineſe*, at the Weſt-End of this Iſland, is the Harbour, very ſafe and convenient, where the Ships ride within Call of the Factory, which is built cloſe by the Shore, on a low plain Valley, with near two hundred Houſes about it, for the Benefit of Trade, inhabited by Men whoſe Jealouſy has not, as yet, permitted them to let their Wives dwell here; for the Town where they are is three Quarters of a Mile farther from the Shore, environed with a fine Stone-wall, about three Miles in Circumference, defended by twenty-two ſquare Baſtions, placed at irregular Diſtances, beſides four great Gates, on which are planted a few old iron Guns, ſeldom or never uſed: The Houſes within are very meanly built. Here the Chumpeen, or Governor of the Iſland lives, and betwixt three and four thouſand beggarly Inhabitants, moſt part Soldiers and Fiſhermen; for the Trade of this Place being newly granted, has not, as yet, brought any conſiderable Merchants hither. The Iſland in general abounds with all ſorts of Proviſions, ſuch as Cows, Buffaloes, Goats, Deer, Hogs, wild and tame Geeſe, Ducks, and Hens, Rice, Wheat, Calavances, Coleworts, Turnips, Potatoes, Carrots, Beetach, and Spinage; but, for Merchandize, there is none, except what comes from *Nigo-po*, *Stang-chew*, *Nankin*, and the inland Towns, ſome of which I hope to ſee when I have acquired a little of the *Chineſe* Language.

Here alſo the Tea grows in great Plenty, on the Tops of the Hills, but it is not in ſuch Eſteem as that which grows on more mountainous Iſlands. Although this Iſland is pretty well ſtored with People, yet it is far from what it was in *F. Martinius*'s Time, where he deſcribes *Cheuxan*. And this puts me in mind, that the ſuperſtitious Pilgrimages there mentioned by him, muſt be meant of the Iſland *Pou-to*, which lies nine Leagues from hence: And three Miles to the Eaſtward of this Iſland, whither, they ſay, the Emperor deſigns, in the Month of *May* next (being his Birth-day, and the fortieth Year of his Age) to come to worſhip in an ancient Pagod there, famous for Sanctity, having ſent one of his Bonzes already thither to get all Things in Order. The ſecond Letter, ſomewhat more copious, and no leſs curious than the firſt, our Author wrote to the ſame Perſon from *Chuſan*, dated *November* 22, 1701, according to his Promiſe, and to ſupply the Defects of the firſt.

3. I formerly told you that the Emperor deſigned to have come to the Iſland of *Pou-to* (a Place of great Devotion) to worſhip in the Month of *May* laſt, being the fortieth Year of his Age, I ſhould have ſaid of his Reign. But all Things being prepared there for his Reception, he was diſſuaded from his Purpoſe by ſome of his Mandarines, who made him believe that the Thunder there was very dangerous. This *Pou-to* is a ſmall Iſland, about five Leagues round. At the Eaſt-End of this Iſland, famous for the ſuperſtitious Pilgrimages made thither for the Space of eleven hundred Years, it is inhabited only by Bonzes, to the Number of three thouſand, all of the Sect called *Heſhang*, or unmarried Bonzes, who live a *Pythagorean* Life; and there they have built four hundred Pagods, two whereof are conſiderable for their Greatneſs and Finery, being lately covered with green and yellow Tiles, brought from the Emperor's Palace at *Nankin*, and inwardly adorned with ſtately Idols, finely carved and gilded, and the chief whereof is the Idol *Quonem*. To theſe two great Pagods belong two chief Prieſts, who govern all the reſt. They have ſeveral Ways and Avenues cut through the Iſland, ſome whereof are paved with Flag-ſtones, and over-ſhaded with Trees planted on each Side.

Their Dwellings are the beſt I have ſeen in theſe Parts, all which are maintained by charitable Donations; and their Junks, which go from *Ning-po* and this Place to *Japan*, touch here both going and coming, to make their Offerings for their good Succeſs. There is another Iſland called *Kim-Tong*, five Leagues hence, in the Way to *Ning-po*, whither, they ſay, a great many Mandarins retire to live a quiet Life, after they have given over their Employments. On that Iſland alſo are ſaid to be Silver-mines, but prohibited to be opened.

The reſt of the circumjacent Iſlands are either deſert, or meanly inhabited by a few People, but all of them ſtored with abundance of Deer; for it is not long ſince this Iſland of *Chuſan* began to be peopled. 'Tis true, in *Martini*'s Days, about fifty Years ago, it was very populous for the Space of three or four Years; at which Time the Fury of the *Tartarian* Conqueſt was ſo great, that they left it deſolate, not ſparing ſo much as the Mulberry-trees (for then they made a great deal of Raw-Silk here.) And in this Condition it continued till about eighteen Years ago; that the Walls of the Port, or Town, which now is, were built by the Governor of *Ting-hai* for a Garriſon to expel ſome Pirates, who had taken Shelter there.

About fourteen Years ago, the Iſland beginning to be peopled, there was a Chumpeen, or Governor, ſent to govern it for three Years, to whom ſucceeded the late Chumpeen (who procured the Opening of this Port to Strangers) whoſe Government continued till *April* laſt, being tranſlated to be Chumpeen of *Tien-ching-wei*, near to *Pekin*, and was ſucceeded by the preſent Chumpeen, who is Son to the old Chumpeen of *Emoy*. They have no Arts, or Manufactures here but lackered Ware, a particular Account whereof I cannot, as yet, ſend you. They begin to plant Mulberry-trees to breed up Worms for the Production of Raw-Silk; and they make ſome Tea, but chiefly for their own Uſe.

4. The three Sorts of Tea commonly carried to *England*, are all from the ſame Plant, only the Seaſon of the Year and the Soil make the Difference. The Bohea (or *Voui*, ſo called of ſome Mountains in the Province of *Token*, where it is chiefly made) is the very Bud gathered in the Beginning of *March*, and dried in the Shade. The

Bing Tea is the ſecond Growth in *April*, and *Singlo* the laſt in *May* and *June*, both dried a little in Taches or Pans over the Fire. The Tea Shrub being an Ever-green, is in Flower from *October* to *January*, and the Seed is ripe in *September* and *October* following, ſo that one may gather both Flower and Seed at the ſame time; but for one freſh and full Seed, there are one hundred nought. Theſe make up the two Sorts of Fruit in *Le Compte*'s Deſcription of Tea; as for his other Sort, which he calls *Slymic* Peaſe, they were nothing but the young Buds of the Flowers not yet open. Its Seed Veſſels are really tricapſular, each Capſula containing one Nut or Seed; and although two or one Capſula only comes to Perfection, yet the Veſtiges of the reſt may be diſcerned. It grows in a dry gravelly Soil on the Sides of Hills, in ſeveral Places of this Iſland, without any Cultivation.

Le Compte is miſtaken in ſaying that the *Chineſe* are wholly Strangers to the Art of Grafting; for I have ſeen a great many of his paradoxical Tallow Trees ingrafted here, beſides ſome other Trees. When they ingraft, they do not ſlit the Stock, as we do, but cut a ſmall Slice off the Outſide of the Stock, to which they apply the Graft (being cut ſloping on one Side agreeable to the Slice cut from the Stock) bringing the Bark of the Slice up on the Outſide of the Graft, they tie all together, covering with Straw and Mud as we do. The Commentator, on *Magalhen*, ſeems doubtful in the Length of the *Chineſe* Che or Cubits. Here they have two Sorts, one of thirteen Inches and ſeven Tenths of an *Engliſh* Inch, which the Merchants commonly uſe; the other is of eleven Inches uſed by Carpenters, and alſo in Geographical Meaſures. Though *F. Martini* is cenſured by *F. Magalhen* for ſpelling a great many *Chineſe* Words with *ng*, which the *Portugueze* and others have done with *in*, yet his Way is more agreeable to *Engliſh* Pronunciation, only in ſome Words the *g* may be left out, as in *Pekin*, *Nankin*, &c.

Having made Enquiry about *Martini*'s Account of Sowing their Fields at *Van-cheu* with Oyſter-Shells, to make new ones grow, I was told, that after they have taken out the Oyſter, they ſprinkle the Shell with Urine; then putting them into the Water again, there grows new Oyſters on the foreſaid Shells. *Martini* ſays, he could never find a *Latin* Name for the *Tula Mogorin* of the *Portugueze*; I am ſure it is the ſame with the *Syrenga Arabica flore pleno Albo* in *Parkinſone*. He ſays alſo, that the *Kieu-yeu*, or Tallow-tree, bears a white Flower like a Cherry-tree; but all that I have ſeen here, bear a Spike of ſmall yellow Flowers, like the Iulus of a Salix. The Bean, or Mandarin Broth, ſo frequently mentioned in the *Dutch* Embaſſy, and other Authors, is only an Emulſion made of the Seed of Saſamum and hot Water.

Their chief Employments here are Fiſhing and Agriculture. In Fiſhing they uſe ſeveral ſorts of Nets and Lines, as we do; but becauſe they have large Banks of Mud in ſome Places, the Fiſherman, to go more eaſily thereon, have contrived a ſmall Frame, about three or four Feet long, not much larger than a Hen-trough, elevated a little at each End, in which he reſts upon one Knee, leaning his Arms on a croſs Stick, raiſed ſo high as his Breaſt, and putting out the other Foot often upon the Mud, he puſhes forward his Frame thereon, and ſo carries himſelf along in it.

As to their Agriculture, all their Fields (where any thing is planted) whether high or low, are made into ſuch Plots, as may retain the Water over them when they pleaſe. They plow up their Ground with one Buffaloe, or Cow. Where they are to ſow Rice, they prepare the Field very well, by clearing it of all manner of Weeds, moiſtening to a Pulp, and ſmoothing it with a Frame drawn acroſs, on which they ſow the Rice very thick, and cover it only with Water, for two or three Inches high; and when it has grown ſix or eight Inches long, they pull it up by the Roots, and tranſplant it (by Tufts in a ſtrait Line) to Fields overflown with Water; and where a Field is ſubject to Weeds, when the Water grows up, they prevent the Growth, by overturning the Mud with their Hands, in the Interſtices where the Rice is planted. When they ſow Wheat, Barley, Pulſe, and other Grains, they grub up ſome ſuperficial Earth, Graſs, and Roots, and with ſome Straw, they burn all together; this Earth being ſifted fine, they mix with the Seed, which they ſow in Holes, made with a ſtraight Line, and ſo grows up in Tufts, as the Rice does, the Field being divided into Beds, and harrowed over both before and after the Seed is ſown; this makes them ſomewhat reſemble Gardens. Altho' they meliorate their Fields, where they ſow Rice only, by letting the Water on them, yet for other Grains, where Grounds require it, they make uſe of Dung, human Excrements, Aſhes, *&c.* In watering their Fields here, they uſe the ſame Inſtrument mentioned by *Martini*, in the Preface to his *Atlas*, being all Wood, and the Contrivances the ſame with that of a Chain-pump.

Their Method of making Salt is this; all the Shores here being Mud inſtead of Sand, in the Summer-Seaſon, they pare off the ſuperficial Earth, which has been overflown with the Salt-water, and lay it up in Heaps for uſe. When they are to uſe it, they dry it in the Sun, rubbing it ſmall, then digging a Pit, they cover the Bottom of it with Straw, at which, through the Side of the Pit, they paſs a hollow Cane that leads into a Jar, that ſtands below the Level of the Pit's Bottom. They fill the Pit almoſt full of the foreſaid Earth, and pour Salt-water on, until it be covered two or three Inches with Water, which drains through into the foreſaid Jar, and is afterwards boil'd into a Salt.

6. If I had not found Notice taken in a printed News-Paper laſt Year of a ſingular Root brought from *China* by Father *Fontaney*, I ſhould not have told you, that I have ſeen this Root ſince I came here, and which is called by the *Chineſe Hu-chu-u*, to which they aſcribe wonderful Virtues, ſuch as prolonging Life, and turning gray Hair black by the Uſe of its Tea, or an Infuſion made of it, which occaſions its being ſold at a very high Price, inſomuch that they ſay, that it is to be had from ten Tael to one thouſand or two thouſand a ſingle Root; for the larger it is, the more is its Value and Efficacy, which is too much Money here to try the Experiment. You have it mentioned in *Cleyer's Medicina Sinica*, Number LXXXIV. under the Name of *He-xcu-u*, according to the *Portugueze* ſpelling. It is likewiſe painted in the 27th Table of thoſe Plants Mr. *Pettiver* had of me. If you will have the Story of its Diſcovery, which I will not warrant for Goſpel, it runs thus:

Upon a time a certain Perſon going a Simpling among the Mountains, fell by Accident into ſuch a ſteep Vale, that he could by no means get out of it again, whereupon looking about for ſomething to ſuſtain his Life, in this melancholy Condition, he eſpied this Root, of which he made Trial, and found that in eating thereof it ſerved him both for Proviſion and Cloathing, by keeping his Body in ſuch a Temperature, that the Injuries of the Weather had no Influence upon him during his Stay there, which was ſome hundreds of Years; till at laſt an Earthquake happened in that Place, whereby the Mountains were rent, and he found a Paſſage out to his Houſe, from whence he had been ſo long abſent: But the many Alterations that came to paſs there in ſuch a Space of Time would not permit them to give Credit to his Story, till conſulting the Annals of his Family, which gave an Account of one of them loſt at that Time, they were confirmed as to the Truth of this Relation. With the Leave of our Author, this is no more Goſpel with the *Chineſe* than with him. It is a Fable, invented for the ſake of giving ſuch an Account of the Virtues of this Root, as may make them dwell on the Memory, and that is all.

7. It will be very natural for the Reader to enquire how it came to paſs, that from ſo intelligent and induſtrious a Perſon as this Doctor *Cunningham* appears to have been, we have received nothing farther than what has been already ſet down in relation to the Affairs of *China*; and as I have it in my Power to anſwer that Queſtion very fully, I think it will not be amiſs to add ſome very curious Circumſtances relating to ſo worthy a Man at the Cloſe of this Section, the rather, becauſe if they be not added here, it is very poſſible they may be for ever loſt. We are therefore to obſerve, that the Factory eſtabliſhed at *Chuſan* was broke up in the Year 1702, and therefore the Doctor had not

much Time to compleat the Obſervations he was inclined to make. He removed afterwards to another new Settlement at *Pulo condore*, which is a ſmall Cluſter of Iſlands, four or five in Number, lying about fifteen Leagues South of the Weſt Channel of the River of *Cambodia*; what Advantages were propoſed from this Factory I cannot ſay; but the Memoirs I have, very poſitively affirm, that the Place, in which it was ſeated, was very ill choſen.

The Perſon who had the Direction of the *Eaſt-India* Company's Affairs in thoſe Parts was one Mr. *Katchpole*, and he, according to the uſual Cuſtom of the *Indies*, took a certain Number of *Maccaſſars*, or Soldiers, Natives of that County, into his Service, by whoſe Aſſiſtance he quickly built a little Fort for the Protection of his People, and procured the Neceſſaries of Life, ſuch as Wood, Water, and Fiſh, which, as far as I could ever learn, is all that theſe Iſlands ever afforded. The *Maccaſſars* are a brave, induſtrious, and faithful People, to ſuch as deal well by them; and for theſe Reaſons they are highly eſteemed in the Eaſt, more eſpecially by the *Dutch*. It muſt, however, be allowed, that they are daring, cruel, and revengeful, if once they are provoked. Mr. *Katchpole* had contracted with them for three Years, at the End of which Term they were, if they pleaſed, to receive their Wages and depart. This Agreement, though ſtrictly performed on their Side, was broke by our Director, who kept them beyond their Time, and againſt their Wills. As this was a great Breach in Morality, he added to it as great an Error in Politicks; for after provoking theſe People in ſuch a manner, he continued to truſt them with the Guard of his own Perſon, and the Cuſtody of the Factory, which gave them an Opportunity of revenging the ill Uſage they had endured with that Severity, which is natural to barbarous Minds. In ſhort, they roſe in the Night, and cut the Throats of the Director, and all that were with him in the Factory, not one eſcaping.

But ſome who lodged without, hearing the Cries of thoſe who were murdered within, fled out of their Beds to the Sea-ſhore, where, by a very ſingular Providence, they met with a Bark compleatly equipped, in which, tho' half naked themſelves, they put to Sea, and in ſo good Time, that they eſcaped the Rage of the *Maccaſſars*, who came in Search of them to the Shore juſt as they weighed Anchor. Their Navigation was extreamly difficult, inaſmuch as they were expoſed at once to incredible Fatigue, and which was harder ſtill to the utmoſt Extremities of Hunger and Thirſt; but with much ado they compleated their tedious Courſe of one hundred Leagues in this wretched Condition, and came at laſt into a ſmall Creek in the King of *Johore*'s Dominions, where they were civilly received, and kindly treated.

8. A Year or two after the *Eaſt-India* Company thought fit to ſettle another new Factory on the Coaſt of the great Iſland of *Borneo*. On the South End of this Iſland lies another ſmaller one called *Pulolout*, which has an excellent Harbour. The Country, however, is but very thinly peopled, as yielding nothing but Rice; but lying at the Mouth of the Rivers, coming out of the Pepper Countries, it is extreamly well ſeated for Trade. There is a Channel of the Sea between this Iſland and that of *Borneo*, about two Miles broad in moſt Places, in ſome narrower, and in ſome wider, having from ſeven to five Fathom Water all the Way; and on the Shore there are ſeveral riſing Grounds fit to build on, which made it one of the propereſt Places in this Part of the World for a Factory; and therefore it is to be preſumed, ſuch as had the Direction of the Company's Affairs made Choice of it.

One Captain *Barry*, a very ingenious Gentleman, had the Care of ſettling this little Colony, in which he acted with much Skill and Prudence; but before the Work was compleated. he died, and the Direction of the Factory fell to Dr. *Cunningham*, who, after the Ruin of the Factory of *Pulo-condore*, came thither. He is ſaid to have minded his Studies ſo entirely, that he left the Care of the Company's Concerns too much to thoſe that were under him, and it fell out very unluckily both for the Company and himſelf, that they happened to be People altogether unequal to ſuch a Truſt, which proved the Ruin of him, and of the Factory too, which fell out in the following manner.

9. Before the Fort which they were erecting was half finiſhed, they began to inſult the People of the Country, as they paſſed up and down the River, and among many other Acts of Folly and Weakneſs, they very imprudently took it into their Heads to ſearch one of the King's Boats, which was carrying a Lady of Quality down the River, which ſo provoked the *Indian* Monarch, that he vowed the utter Deſtruction of the *Engliſh*; and to effect it, gathered all his Forces, and embarked them on board his Fleet of *Praws*. The Company had then two Ships in the River, and there were beſides two Merchantmen of inconſiderable Force; but, however, this was all they had to truſt to, and therefore the People of the Factory receiving Advice of the King's Deſign, and the Preparations he had made, left their Factory, and went on Board their Shipping, thinking themſelves more ſecure there than aſhore.

When all things were in Readineſs, the Army came in the Night with above an hundred *Praws*, and no leſs than three thouſand deſperate Fellows; ſome landed and burnt the Factory and Fortifications, while others attacked the Ships which were prepared to receive them, The *Engliſh* had made faſt Nettings from the Mizen to the Fore-Shrouds, about two Fathoms high above the Gunnel, that they might not be ſo ſuddenly boarded by the Enemy, and to have the Opportunity of uſing their Blunderbuſſes and Lances before the Enemy could get on their Decks. As ſoon as they in the Ships ſaw the Fleet approaching them, they plied their Guns with double Round and Partridge, and made a great Carnage; but all did not deter the Aſſailants from boarding, who, when they got as high as the Gun Wall, or Gunnel, were at a Loſs how to get over the Netting, and ſo were killed with great Eaſe. Some got in at one of the head Doors of one of the Ships, and killed ſome *Engliſh* in the Fore-caſtle; but they were ſoon deſtroyed. The two great Ships, though in Danger, beat off the Enemy with ſmall Loſs; but the little Ships were both burnt, with moſt of their Men, and one *Dutch* Gentleman, who was obliged to fly from *Batavia* on board one of the ſmall Veſſels was alſo burnt in her. His Name was *Hoogh Camber*, and had been the Embaſſador of the King of *Perſia*.

Some ſay, who were there at the Time of the Engagement, that the *Engliſh* killed (in two Hours that the Action was hot) above one thouſand five hundred, beſides many wounded and maimed; but the *Engliſh* were forced to be gone from their Settlement. The King thought his Revenge had gone far enough, in driving them from their Settlement; and finding the Loſs of the *Engliſh* Trade affected his Revenue, he let all *Engliſh*, who traded to *Johore*, and other circumjacent Nations, know, that he would ſtill continue a free Trade with the *Engliſh* on the old Footing, but would never ſuffer them, or any other Nation, to build Forts in his Country. Several *Engliſh* have been there ſince, and loaded Pepper, and have been civilly treated; and the *Dutch* ſent a Ship from *Batavia* in *Anno* 1712, to trade with them; but the Natives refuſed Commerce with them.

SECT.

SECTION XXXII.

A ſuccinct Account of the Adventures of Mr. William Adams, *an* Engliſhman, *who reſided many Years in the Empire of* Japan, *and was the Perſon who introduced both the* Engliſh *and* Dutch *to trade thither.*

Collected, as well from his own Letters, as *Portugueze* and *Dutch* Writers.

1. *An Introduction, in which is contained a View of the Trade to* Japan *before Mr.* Adams *went thither.* 2. *He is entertained as a Pilot on Board a* Dutch *Fleet intended for the* Eaſt-Indies, *through the Straits of* Magellan. 3. *His Paſſage through thoſe Straits into the* South-Seas. 4. *The great Miſeries endured by their Seamen on the Coaſts of* Chili *and* Peru, *and their Reſolution to bear away for* Japan. 5. *The many and great Difficulties they met with in their Paſſage.* 6. *Arrival on the North Coaſt of* Japan, *and the Uſage they met with from the Reports ſpread concerning them by the* Portugueze. 7. *Mr.* Adams *ſent for, and introduced to the Emperor, who examined him as to his Voyage, and the Deſign of it.* 8. *He grows into great Favour with the Emperor, and is very happily eſtabliſhed in that Country.* 9. *He builds a Ship for the Emperor, and becomes a kind of Miniſter of State in his Court.* 10. *The Account given by him of the Climate, Soil, Produce, People,* &c. *of* Japan. 11. *Obſervations upon this Account, including farther Remarks.* 12. *The Hiſtory of Mr.* Adams, *continued from Foreign Authors.* 13. *Inſtances of his great Power and admirable Conduct during his Reſidence at the Court of* Japan. 14. *The Turn given thro' his Management to the commercial Affairs of that Empire.* 15. *Concluſion of this Hiſtory, with ſome Obſervations and Remarks tending to explain the Obſcurities in this Account, and to ſet the Authorities which ſupport it in their proper Light, for the Honour of this Man in particular, and of our Nation in general.*

1. IT is neceſſary, at our firſt Entrance on this Section, to put the Reader in mind of the Method we have purſued through the Courſe of this Chapter, which has been to ſpeak, as Occaſion offered, of thoſe Parts of the *Indies* which were neareſt to us firſt, and ſo to proceed gradually to the moſt diſtant. In regard to Time, it is with me only a ſecondary Conſideration; and this is ſufficient to account for what might otherwiſe paſs for a Miſtake, which is the placing here this Hiſtory of Mr. *Adam*'s Proceedings, tho' in Point of Time, before that of the Gentlemen laſt mentioned, near one hundred Years. Now, as it was impoſſible to report both theſe Accounts without treſpaſſing on the natural Order, either of Time or Place, we choſe to diſpenſe with the former rather than the latter, and that for this plain Reaſon, becauſe it occaſions but one Alteration, whereas had we taken the other Method, it would have produced many. We have already, in ſpeaking of the Diſcoveries made by the *Portugueze*, mentioned their firſt coming to *Japan*, and have likewiſe taken notice of the great Pains they took to prevent other Nations from having a Share in the rich Commerce of that new found Country, which, though viſited by them ſo early as *Anno Domini* 1542, yet had they preſerved it entirely in their own Hands, till after the Arrival of the Perſon, whoſe Memoirs we propoſe to give in this Section, and who ought therefore to be conſidered as the Diſcoverer of *Japan* to all the reſt of *Europe*, as we ſhall ſhew at large at the Cloſe of this Section.

At preſent it is our Buſineſs to obſerve, that there was nothing the *Dutch* coveted ſo much as an Opportunity of viſiting the Iſlands of *Japan*, which from the Reports they had received from *Portugal* in *Spain*, as well as from their own Settlements, appeared to them a kind of *Indies* in the *Indies*. There are ſome *Dutch* Memoirs ſtill extant, which ſay, that the Perſons employed by their *Eaſt-India* Company, obtained an exact Account of the Profits of the Trade from *Macao* to *Japan*, from the Year 1580 to 1600, from which Memoirs it appeared, that they cleared one Year with another one hundred Tons of Gold, which was ſufficient to put the *Dutch* upon endeavouring by all means to gain a Share in ſo lucrative a Commerce. It may not be amiſs, however, to prevent Miſtakes, to explain this Term of a Tun of Gold, which I take to be entirely *Dutch*, and therefore, when literally tranſlated into *Engliſh*, is in danger of remaining as much *Dutch* as it was before. In the firſt place, a Ton of Gold is not reſtrained at all to that Metal, for if it had, it would not have been uſed here, moſt of the Returns from *Japan* to *Macao* being made in Silver; neither has it any Reference to the Value of a Ton of Gold, which amounts to ten times the Value of what is meant by this Expreſſion; for by a Ton of Gold the *Dutch* Merchants mean one hundred thouſand Guilders, and conſequently the annual Value of the Trade to *Japan* might be ten Millions of Guilders, or, to keep ſtill to round Numbers, one Million Sterling, a vaſt Sum indeed, and yet ſaid to be much ſhort of the Advantages drawn from thence in the firſt forty Years, after the *Portugueze* ſettled in that Country.

But, though the Trade of *Japan* was a thing ſo deſireable of itſelf, yet the acquiring any Share thereof appeared even to the *Dutch* themſelves, though they were in thoſe Days equally enterprizing, and indefatigable, a Deſign thwarted by almoſt inſuperable Difficulties. In the firſt place, the Navigation was difficult and dangerous to the laſt Degree, of which they were made ſenſible, not only by repeated Accounts from the *Indies*, which repreſented the Commerce with *Japan* as a thing almoſt impracticable on that Account only, but were in a manner convinced of it from Experience, ſince they had ſent a Ship thither *Anno Domini* 1584, with little or no Succeſs. They were in hopes, however, of getting the better of this Evil, by making uſe of *Portugueze* Pilots, and accordingly in 1586, they ſent another Ship, which was entruſted to the Care of one *Franciſco Pais*, a Native of *Portugal*, who had not, however, much better Fortune, which diſcouraged them very much, and was probably the Reaſon that they made no farther Attempts for ten Years afterwards.

But this was far from being all; for they very well knew, that when this Difficulty was got over, there were many others, and ſome of them ſtill greater, that were yet to be ſurmounted. As for example, they knew that the *Japoneſe* were a very powerful and a very brave People, the former from Report, but the latter from Experience. For at the Time they beſieged *Malacca*, then in the Hands of the *Portugueze*, there was in the Place a ſmall Corps of *Japoneſe*, who came thither to trade, and who, when the Place was inveſted, finding it impoſſible to return home, aſſiſted their Friends in the Defence of it, and that ſo effectually, that it was chiefly by the bold Sallies they made, that the *Dutch* were at that Time compelled to raiſe the Siege, which they did with great Loſs. They likewiſe knew, that the *Spaniards*, who were at this Time Maſters of *Portugal*, and conſequently the ſole Poſſeſſors of the *Japan* Trade, had prejudiced the Inhabitants of that Country againſt them to the laſt Degree, by repreſenting them not only as Rebels to that Crown, but as Pirates and Enemies to Mankind in general; and, indeed, their Behaviour in the *Indies* had been ſuch as gave but too much Colour to that Report. Add to this, that a very great Part of the

Japoneſe Nation were become Converts to the Popiſh Religion, and conſequently hated them no leſs as Hereticks, than if they had been Infidels.

Taking theſe Circumſtances therefore together, we need not much wonder that the *Dutch* in ſome meaſure deſpaired of ever carrying their Point, and eſtabliſhing themſelves as a trading Nation in *Japon*; yet ſo frail and feeble a thing is human Policy, and ſo little Certainty there is in the Foreſight even of the wiſeſt Man, that notwithſtanding all theſe Obſtacles, and contrary to all Appearance, they not only carried their Point, but after contributing as much as in their Power lay, to the Ruin of their Competitors the *Portugueze*, they have ſecured the whole of this rich Trade to themſelves, and that too in ſuch a manner, as that it is not very likely it ſhould be ever taken out of their Hands. All this we may ſafely affirm, on the Credit of the *Dutch* Writers themſelves, is intirely owing, and was abſolutely brought about by the Intereſt and Conduct of one poor *Engliſhman*, this very *William Adams*, whoſe Memoirs of this Country, collected from his own Writings, we are now to give the Reader.

The Thing in itſelf is indeed wonderful, and if it was not ſupported by the moſt authentick Evidence, would, to the preſent Age at leaſt, appear incredible; but as it is ſupported, it cannot be denied, or even diſputed, and therefore it ought to convince us, that there is nothing of this Nature impoſſible, or impracticable, if Men once ſet heartily about it; ſo that we have no Reaſon to doubt, that if the ſame Spirit of extending Commerce, which prevailed in this Man's Days, ſhould revive in ours, it would produce like Effects, and diſcover to us ſuch new Routs, ſuch unexpected and unlooked for Means of employing our induſtrious Poor at home, by procuring a Vent for their Manufactures abroad, as would raiſe this Age as high in the Opinion of Poſterity, as the laſt Age appears, or ought to appear, in ours. But it is now Time to return to our Author, and to attend to thoſe Accounts of *Japon* which have been left us by ſo able and ſo experienced a Perſon, than which there are not perhaps any better to be met with in any Language whatever.

2. In this Buſineſs, as we have ſeen, he was not the Servant of his own native Country, but of *Holland*, being an able Pilot, and very ſkilful in all Points of marine Knowledge. He was hired by that People to go to Sea with them; his Poſt was that of Maſter Pilot, the Management of the whole Fleet (which conſiſted of five Sail) being left principally to his Care and Prudence. They ſet ſail from the *Texel June* the 24th, and made it the 21ſt of *Auguſt* by that Time they reached *St. Jago*, one of the *Cape de Verd* Iſles. Here they ſtayed almoſt a Month, ſo long, that a good Part of the Fleet was ſick with the unhealthy Air of that Place; and they found it too true by Experience (which before the *Dutch* would not believe) that it was a very barren Place as to any manner of good Refreſhment. *September* the 15th they paſſed the Line, though with Trouble, becauſe of the contrary ſoutherly Winds that then diſtreſſed them, and this was the Effect of having loitered away too much Time before they came to attempt it.

They were now carried away to the Coaſt of *Guinea*, and coming up with *Cape de Lopez Gonſalves*, they landed their ſick Company there; but this Place denied Relief, as well as the former, and the ſick Men were forced to carry their ſeveral Wants and Diſtempers aboard with them again. At the Iſle of *Annobon* they met with a little better Entertainment. Here were Beeves, Oranges, and other Fruits; but the Plague of having an unhealthy Climate embittered the Comforts of this Refreſhment, and the bad Air made them ſick, as faſt as the good Proviſions made them well. The *Dutch* landed a Party of Men, and took the Town, a ſmall thing conſiſting of eighty Houſes, and like to be of as little Profit to the Conquerors, as it was Honour to them. 'Twas towards the Middle of *November* before they got away from thence, ſo hard is it to leave a good baiting Place, eſpecially when the next is ſo very uncertain, as it is in the Caſe of Seamen between *Annobon* and 4° S. L. they had the Winds perpetually at S. by E. and S. S. E. but about that Parallel they came up by S. E. and E. S. E. and E.

Their Courſe was now for the *Magellanick Straits*, and they made it five Months ſailing between them and the Iſland of *Annobon*; but the Miſeries they endured by Hunger in that Time were extream, and in the higheſt degree dreadful: According to Mr. *Adams*'s Relation, for a good while they had each Man but a Quarter of a Pound of Bread a Day, with a proportionally ſmall Quantity of Wine and Water; but it came at laſt to that paſs, that they eat the very Skins that covered the Ropes of the Ships, and by this unnatural ſort of Diet brought on ſtrange Diſorders and Feebleneſs of Body upon themſelves; through all theſe Difficulties, they made a ſhift at laſt to reach the *Magellanick Straits*, coming into the firſt Narrow of that Paſſage *April* the 6th; but this was but ſtill out of one Difficulty into another; 'twas only altering the Scene of their Misfortunes, and coming to be miſerable in another Place; for the Winter was coming on here apace, the Cold began to be ſevere and pinching, and the great Snows began too. To make their Circumſtances more compleatly diſmal, many a time would the Wind have ſerved to have carried them through the *Straits*, but the obſtinate General would not embrace the Opportunity, at the Advice of thoſe that perſuaded it, and ſo was the Occaſion of the miſerable Confinement of the Fleet all the Winter Seaſon.

Here was Firing, indeed, enough for them all about the *Straits*, every Place abounding with Wood; but there was a worſe Neceſſity amongſt them, which this would never ſupply, and the Cravings of the Belly were to be ſatisfied by another ſort of Proviſion. Here they continued conflicting with Hunger, Diſtempers, and bad Weather, till *September*, ſo that they ſtood the Shock of the whole Winter at this Place, and endured the Extremities of all the very worſt Months of the Year. Abundance of their Men died, being downright ſtarved, and the reſt were as near it as they could well be; and now the General, having had enough of the Winter Pleaſures of the *Magellanick Straits*, very politickly concluded, 'twas time to go away. His Men were half dead, and the Remainder were almoſt famiſhed; the diſmal Winter ſpent and gone, and the chearful Spring coming on with the returning Sun, he thought it high time to put out to Sea again before the Comforts of the approaching Seaſon forſook them.

3. So the latter End of *September* they ſet ſail out of the *Straits*, and being got into the *South-Sea*, were wretchedly toſſed and beaten about in that turbulent Ocean: In ſhort, a furious Storm ſcattered the whole Fleet, and drove them to ſeek their Fortunes, every one by themſelves; they had agreed before, in caſe of any ſuch Diſaſter, that they would ſtay for one another at ſome Place upon the Coaſt of *Chili*, in the Latitude of 46°, and if the reſt came not in a Month, then thoſe that were there ſhould go on. Hither Mr. *Adams*'s Ship came, according to the Agreement, and ſtayed the appointed Time. The Natives were civil and friendly to them at firſt, and bartered Sheep and Potatoes for little Toys, which they gave them; but at laſt they fell off, removed up into the Country, and came no more to them. Their Company not coming, they went away, touching, as they paſſed, at the Bay of *Baldivia*, and the Iſle of *Mocha*; but not coming to Anchor any where, till they did at the Cape *Santa Maria*, which is about twenty Leagues from the Iſland of that Name to the Southward.

Here they found a convenient Bay, and good Ground for anchoring; there were conſiderable Numbers of People that appeared upon the Shore, but their Temper and Diſpoſitions, as they were unknown, ſo they were now to be tried; but they proved very croſs and untoward; for at their firſt Attempt to land the *Indians* looking upon them as Invaders of the Country, ſet themſelves to oppoſe them, and poured in a Shower of Darts and Arrows upon the Boats that came up to the Shore; but they being under the Pinch of Hunger, and driven by an abſolute Neceſſity to endeavour ſome Means for the getting a Refreſhment, broke through the Weapons of the *Barbarians*, and landed their Men. Now they made Signs of Peace on both Sides, and a Ceſſation of Arms being, as it were, agreed on, they came to a Parley in that Language of Signs, and the *Indians* underſtanding what they meant, brought them Wine and Fruits for the little Commodities the others ſhewed them, and then ſignified to them, that they ſhould now return aboard again; and if they came aſhore again the next Day, they ſhould have a farther Supply of Victuals.

Accordingly, the next Day the Captain landed, with a Score or more of Muſketeers, and they had not marched far before a Party of *Indians*, to the Number of a thouſand, that lay cunningly intrenched, fell upon them, and cut them all off.

4. This was a terrible Misfortune upon all Accounts, particularly in that this Execution had ſcarce left them Men enough to do the neceſſary Office of the Ship. With this Loſs they went away from the inhoſpitable Cape, and came to the Iſle of *Saint Mary* itſelf; here they found their Admiral, but in much the ſame diſtreſſed Condition as themſelves, the Natives of the Iſland of *Mocha* having given his Crew the ſame rude Treatment that thoſe at the Cape had given the other, only of the two the Admiral had the worſt on it, for he had loſt more Men by the Darts of the *Indians*, and over and above that, their General himſelf. Now, to get ſome Refreſhment at this Place was the great Difficulty; 'twas hard to lie ſtill, and famiſh on Shipboard, and 'twas as hard to venture on Shore, becauſe they had not Men for it. In ſhort, theſe two Wants were ſo great, and ſo unhappily complicated in their preſent Circumſtance, that for all that appears, if an Accident had not relieved them, they muſt have concluded upon dying here without any more ado.

But a Couple of *Spaniards* that had a Deſign to betray them, came aboard (in a ſeeming friendly manner) for that Purpoſe, and were ſo wiſe as to do it without Pledges, or making any Proviſion for their ſafe Return. So when they had ſeen the Ship, and would have gone back again, they told them no, they were ſenſible of their ill Deſign, and would keep them Priſoners (eſpecially ſince they came of their own Heads too) unleſs they would promiſe to furniſh the Ship with ſo much Proviſions. One may eaſily imagine the *Spaniards* were out of Humour upon it, to find themſelves taken in ſuch a Trap; but 'twas all one, 'twas to no Purpoſe to be in a Paſſion there, and they were forced to ſubmit to thoſe Terms of Deliverance, and glad to eſcape ſo too. The *Spaniards* brought in their Proviſions according to the Agreement, and now they were once more reprieved from a miſerable Death.

After this the two Ships ſet ſail in Company for *Japon*, the reſt of the Fleet were given over for loſt, and one of them they afterwards heard fell into the Hands of the *Spaniards* at *St. Jago*. Beſides this, the King of *Spain*'s Fleet waited for them upon the Coaſt of *Peru*, and had they lighted on them, 'tis very probable they had both followed their Companion in her Fate, ſince they were in ſo very weak and ſhattered a Condition.

5. It was *November* the 29th that they left the Iſland of *Saint Mary* upon the Coaſt of *Chili*, and having paſſed the Line, had a good Wind, and fair Weather for a good while, without any Interruption by Storms and Tempeſts. In the Latitude of fifteen or ſixteen Degrees North, they fell in with ſome Iſlands of Canibals, or Men-eaters, as Mr. *Adams* calls them, without any Scruple, ſince eight or nine of their Men he believes were devoured by them. Theſe Fellows, it ſeems, being weary of ſo long a Voyage, and willing to take up at the next reſting Place, put themſelves into the Pinnace, and ſo ran away; but which Way ſoever the Canibals diſpoſed of them, 'tis certain, they never came aboard more. In the Latitude of 27 and 28° the Weather began to change upon them, the Winds that had lain ſtill and quiet ſo long rouſed, and blew with a prodigious Fury. They had ſuch a Storm of Wind and Rain, that equalled or exceeded the moſt violent any Mariner among them had ſeen.

In this horrible Confuſion they loſt one another, and the Admiral never came up to them more; but they followed on their Courſe for *Japon* alone, being ſtill in hopes to meet her in one Part or other of that Iſland. Certainly, hardly ever any Man performed a Voyage in more Diſtreſs. Our Pilot tells us, that they had of all their Number but nine or ten left, that were able to ſtand, or creep upon their Knees. As for the Captain, and all the reſt, they were all at their laſt Gaſp, as it were, and expected to die every Hour: And this was a very diſmal Caſe: for Storms will make the poor Seamen beſtir and work themſelves to the Purpoſe. But how ſhall Nature be ſupported in the mean time, and where ſhall Men have Strength to do theſe toilſome Works, that have not Food to keep Life and Soul together?

6. It was *April* the 19th before they had Sight of the Coaſt of *Japon*, and by that Time there were but five of their Company that could go, Providence ordering the Matter ſo for them, that they had then a Proſpect of Relief, when Things were run up to the higheſt Extremity: 'twas near to *Bungo* that they ſaw this firſt Iſland, and were then in about 35° 30′; but Mr. *Adams*, by the way, aſſures us, that that Coaſt of *Japon* is falſly placed in all our Maps, Charts, and Globes; for he ſays, it lies in 35° 30′, which makes a conſiderable Difference from the common Account given by them of its Poſition. At *Bungo* ſeveral Boats of the Natives came up to them, and aboard them too, as they had a mind themſelves, and it could be no otherwiſe, for there was no body to make any Reſiſtance.

The Sailors were all quite ſpent, and if the *Japoneſe* would have plundered them, or knocked them on the Head, they might have done it without any Trouble; yet they did them no manner of Harm, as to any Violence, or any ſort of Affront; but they pilfered and ſtole all that they could lay Hands on; for which ſome of them payed very dear afterwards. The Vice-King of the Place proved very kind to them, took them into his Protection, and ſent a Guard (as ſoon as they were come to an Anchor in the Port) to ſee that none of the Merchants Goods were ſtolen. This would have done very well had it come in good Time; but the Thieves were there before them. However, here they had good Store of Proviſions ſent them, and a Houſe provided on purpoſe for them, and, in ſhort, were made very much of, and began in ſome meaſure to enjoy themſelves, after all the Dangers and Fatigues of the Sea.

But 'twas their ill Luck to meet with *Portugueze* and Jeſuits here; they were forced to make uſe of them for Interpreters indeed; but they had far better been without any, and rather to have made uſe of the ſilent Language of Geſtures and Signs, than have made uſe of ſuch Interpreters as they were: For, theſe Men gave the Character of them, that they commonly give of their *European* Neighbours (in all Parts of the World where they meet them) that they were Spies or Pirates, and not trading Men, as they themſelves pretended; and this ſet the *Japoneſe* ſo againſt them, that Mr. *Adams* tells us he was apprehenſive at one time that they ſhould have had the Fate of Pirates in that Country, which is to be ſet up upon Croſſes.

Now, when a Company of poor Seamen came to throw themſelves upon their Mercy, as it were, in a ſtrange Country, where they were not able to ſpeak for themſelves, and where their Liberties and Lives depended entirely upon the Peoples good Opinion of them, to go and ſerve them at that rate, was an unpardonable Piece of Villainy, and an Action ſo very inhuman and baſe, as was only fit for *Portugueze* and Jeſuits to be guilty of; but it was not long before the Emperor, hearing of this Ship, ſent for Mr. *Adams*, being the Pilot, to come to him. The Court was then at *Oſala*, which is about eighteen Leagues from *Bungo*. Hither came our *Engliſhman*, not knowing whether 'twas for Life or Death, to Priſon and Puniſhment, or for their Favour and Enlargement.

7. The Emperor viewed him, he ſays, with a wonderful deal of Attention; but yet with his mild and favourable Aſpect took off, in a great meaſure, from the Dread his Countenance might otherwiſe have impreſſed. He aſked, by his Interpreters, a world of Queſtions about the Country Mr. *Adams* came from, the People, their Manners, their Affairs both as to War and Peace, and Products of it in Beaſts, Fiſh, and Fowl, the Trade and Buſineſs, and Laws and Government; and, in ſhort, the whole natural and civil Hiſtory of it. More than this, he purged him as to his Religion too, and would needs examine his Faith, aſking him what 'twas he believed in? a Queſtion, that if a Man had not known the Emperor's Religion, would almoſt have made him afraid the Jeſuits had ſet up an Inquiſition here, and that he was one of the Tribunal.

But Mr. *Adams* puzzled him ten times worſe, when he ſhewed him the *Magellanick Straits* in his Chart, thro' which he ſailed to *Japon*. The Emperor perhaps had a pretty good Opinion of him before, but now he thought him a downright Lyar, the Myſtery of ſuch a Voyage was ſo incomprehenſible, that he had no Faith to beſtow upon it; yet ſince Mr. *Adams* affirmed it, and he could not confute him, he entertained it as a Man does all Points of pure Myſtery, with ſilent Admiration, and humble Submiſſion of their Reaſon to the Difficulty, though cramped and tortured with it at the ſame time. Though his Underſtanding was affronted by it, yet his good Nature was not, and he was very good Friends with Mr. *Adams* afterwards, as appeared by his holding him in talk till Midnight: He had ſeveral other Conferences with the Emperor after this, but was for a conſiderable Time notwithſtanding kept in Priſon, though he had all Neceſſaries allowed him, and nothing like a Puniſhment, but a large Confinement. The *Portugueze* made all the Intereſt at Court they could poſſibly againſt him, and, by their Agents, were continually infuſing ſome ſcandalous Reports of him and his Country in the Emperor's Ears; but all would not do, and the Prince was ſo juſt and generous as to tell them, that the *Engliſh*, having done him no Miſchief, it would not be fair for him to ſee them ſuffer from any in his Country; and that it would be contrary to all the Laws of Juſtice and Reaſon, for him to ſuffer an innocent Man to be executed, merely becauſe his Country and theirs were at War.

8. Mr. *Adams*'s Circumſtances now began to mend, and grew more favourable; his Enemies were quite diſheartened, and the Emperor expreſſed every Day more and more good Liking to him. In the firſt place, he freed him from his Impriſonment, and gave him leave to ſee his old Ship's Company, who were ſurpriſed with no ſmall Joy at this, having heard ('tis probable from the *Portugueze*, who intended it ſhould be ſo) that he had been executed ſome time before: But here he found the Ship abſolutely plundered, and all his Goods and Inſtruments gone, and all the reſt had loſt what they had as well as he; for being all ſick and weak aſhore, the Goods lay ready for a Prey to thoſe that could be unjuſt enough to ſeize them.

When this came to the Emperor's Ear, a Search was made, in order to the Recovery of them; but being gone too far out of Reach, he commanded fifty thouſand Rials of Eight to be given them in part of Satisfaction; and to make ſure that this Money ſhould not be either fraudulently detained by his Treaſurers, or converted to any other Uſe, he ſaw the Payment of it himſelf into the Hands of one who was appointed to have the Management of their Affairs, and to give it out to them in Parcels as they wanted. After this the Court removed to *Eddo*, about a hundred and twenty-two Leagues from *Oſacça*.

The Emperor ordered Mr. *Adams* to move thitherwards with his Ship, and here they took the Liberty to petition him, that they might be perfectly free, and purſue the Deſign of their Voyage, in going to trade in ſome other Parts; but this would not take, and the Emperor was not diſpoſed to part with them yet; ſo they got the Money into their own Hands, and divided it amongſt themſelves, every Man his Share, and then they diſperſed themſelves about the Country, chuſing thoſe Places to ſettle in that beſt pleaſed their Fancies; but the Emperor ordered them, beſides an Allowance of Rice, two Pound a Day for every Man, and, over and above, ſo much yearly as came to eleven or twelve Ducats: There was no Diſtinction made between Captains, Pilots, and common Sailors; but they all fared alike.

9. Thus four or five Years went over their Heads, and they followed every Man his Buſineſs in the Country for a Livelihood, ſince 'twas determined that there they muſt live and die; but when the Term of Years was expired, the Emperor ſent for Mr. *Adams* to Court, and the Buſineſs was to make him a Ship. This was not his Trade, as he told the Emperor; and though he knew how to guide a Ship at Sea, yet he was not uſed to the making of them; but he was ſo very urgent and preſſing to have it done, that Mr. *Adams* undertook the Work, and built him a Ship of about eighty Tun.

When he came aboard it he expreſſed a wonderful deal of Pleaſure in it, and 'twas a Piece of Service he valued ſo much, that the Maker of it roſe mightily in his Favour, by this very Means; beſides ſeveral very good Preſents, his Penſion was increaſed too, being made ſuch as came to 70 Ducats *per Annum*, over and above the former Allowance of Rice; and theſe well managed, were a tolerable Livelihood for a ſingle Perſon in that Country: But that which recommended him moſt effectually to the Emperor's Eſteem was his Skill in Mathematical Learning; Mr. *Adams* had a good Share of Knowledge in the practical Parts, and was now honoured with having ſo great a Prince for his Scholar. He inſtructed him in ſeveral Points of theſe uſeful Arts, and made him capable of ſolving to himſelf that myſterious Problem of ſailing to *Japon* by the *Magellanick Straits*. He could pleaſe him at any time with deſcribing Geometrical Figures.

The Emperor was plunged in the Study, charmed and conjured within the Circles Mr. *Adams* drew him. This latter uſed his Geometry to ſuch good Purpoſe, that he diſcovered the true Method of managing his Royal Pupil by it, and got, as he ſays, the exact Length of his Foot. His Word was all in all in any Point of Diſpute and Controverſy, and which Side ſoever Mr. *Adams* took, the Emperor was always of the ſame. He had ſo great a Stroke now at Court, that even the Jeſuits themſelves were will- to make uſe of his Intereſt there, and courted him to be their Patron; and he declares, that by his means both *Spaniards* and *Portugueze* received ſeveral Favours from the Emperor, which they were otherwiſe in no likely Way of obtaining. Being in theſe Circumſtances, he thought it not impoſſible to win upon the Emperor, ſo far as to return into his own Country, and for that Purpoſe renewed his old Requeſt, promiſing to do his utmoſt for the bringing both an *Engliſh* and a *Dutch* Trade to *Japon*, if he might be ſuffered to go home.

But the Emperor was too much pleaſed with his Company to hearken to any Propoſal about the loſing of it. Mr. *Adams* ſhould have concealed his Skill in Mathematicks, kept his Geometry and Navigation to himſelf, if he had intended to have ſeen his own Country again; he was too uſeful a Man to be parted with, and there was no Hopes of his Liberty, till he had quite loſt the Knowledge of all thoſe Arts that had ſo charmed the Emperor. In ſhort, there was no going from him, and his Wife and Children muſt be contented without him; yet he procured Leave for the Captain of the *Dutch* Ship he came in to go; and, to make his Life as eaſy and pleaſant as might be, the Emperor ſettled a Lordſhip upon him, in which he had a Compaſs of Land to manage, and a Parcel of Slaves, to the Number of eighty or ninety, appointed to do his Country Work; and this was the Courſe of our *Engliſhman*'s Fortune in that Part of the World, as he himſelf has deſcribed them.

10. As to the State of the Country, and its Affairs, he does not tell us much; he commends the *Japoneſe* largely for their Courteſy and good Humour, Valour in War, Juſtice in their civil Concerns, and the happy Conſtitution of the Government. He believes no People to be Maſters of better Politicks than they in their civil Government, nor have more Superſtition in their Religion. They have various Sects and Opinions amongſt them, and ſome of them had embraced Chriſtianity at the Time the Friars and Jeſuits were very diligently at work to propagate it in ſeveral Parts of the Iſland. So far had they gone in Mr. *Adams*'s Time, as to have ſome Churches, and Proſpect of a conſiderable Number of Convents.

The Character he gives of Trade is, that Silks and Cloths are very vendable Commodities, and that for ready Money; and, according to his Relation, the *Japoneſe* have wherewithal to be very good Paymaſters, and can afford to give the beſt Rates for a Commodity, having Gold and Silver enough in their own Country; a very happy People ſurely, in the common Acceptation of Things, ſince they live in a pleaſant Country, enjoy the Benefit of a rich Soil, and have beſides Mines, which yield them vaſt Quantities of Gold and Silver. If any thing could have contented this Man out of the Limits of his own Country, and without the Enjoyment of the Converſation of his Family and Friends, he might aſſuredly have met with it in *Japon*, where the King of *Surunga*, whom he called Emperor, treated him with extraordinary Kindneſs, and rewarded the Pains taken in his Service with a Magnificence truly royal.

He employed Mr. *Adams* to ſail in the Veſſel he had built for him as far as *Eddo*, which our Author tells us was as far as from *London* to the *Lizard*, or Land's End. As he ſucceeded happily in this, as well as in other Affairs, he was directed to build a larger Veſſel after the *European* Manner, which accordingly he did, with the Aſſiſtance of ſuch as were under him, and who, following his Inſtructions, finiſhed a very good Ship, of the Burden of one hundred Tons; and that ſhe was in every reſpect a very compleat Veſſel, appears from the Uſe that was afterwards made of her; for it ſo fell out, *Anno Domini* 1609, that the *Spaniſh* Governor of the *Manillas*, going in a large Galleon of one thouſand Tun to *New Spain*, was driven out of his Courſe by a violent Storm, which threw him upon the Coaſt of *Japon*, where arriving in the Night, the Crew, through Ignorance, ran the Veſſel on Shore in the Latitude of 35° 50′ North, by which unfortunate Accident one hundred and thirty-ſix Men were drowned; but the Governor with three hundred and fifty more eſcaped, and applied themſelves to the Emperor, beſeeching him to have Compaſſion upon them in their Diſtreſs, and to aſſiſt them in their Deſign of proceeding to *New Spain*.

As the *Japoneſe*, from the Maxims of their Government, were never very deſirous of having many Strangers in their Dominions, this Requeſt of the *Spaniſh* Governor was very readily complied with; and as ſoon as Proviſions and other Neceſſaries could be got together, the Governor and his Men were embarked on board the Ship which Mr. *Adams* laſt built, in which they ſafely proceeded to *Acapulco*. In Gratitude for this Favour, this Governor, in the Year 1611, ſent another Ship in Exchange, with a great Preſent, and an Embaſſador on board, who had Inſtructions to thank the Emperor for his Civility, and alſo to make him a large Preſent.

It was in this Year alſo that our Author had an Opportunity, by the Arrival of a *Dutch* Ship, to give his Countrymen in *England* ſome Account of his Adventures, and of the Condition he was then in. This Letter he addreſſed to his unknown Friends and Countrymen, deſiring it might be carried either to *Limehouſe* near *London*, or to *Gillingham* in *Kent*; and in the Beginning of it he takes notice, that he was born at that Town; that at twelve Years old he was bound Apprentice to Mr. *Nicholas Diggines*, whom he ſerved twelve Years, and was afterwards in her Majeſty Queen *Elizabeth*'s Service, and then ſpent eleven or twelve Years in ſerving the Merchants who traded to *Barbary*, till being deſirous of viſiting the *Eaſt-Indies*, he went over to *Holland*, and there entered into the Service of the *Dutch*.

The Concluſion of his Letter is extreamly curious, and therefore I ſhall give it my Readers in his own Words, that they may better judge of the Genius and Capacity of this Man, who made ſuch a Change in the Affairs of *Japon*, and procured that Settlement for the *Dutch*, which without his Aſſiſtance, it is very probable they had never attained.

“ Now, whether I ſhall come out of this Land I know not; until this preſent there hath been no Means, but now through the Trade of the *Hollanders* there is Means. In the Year of our Lord 1609, two *Holland* Ships came to *Japon*; their Intention was to take the Carrack that yearly came from *Macao*, and being ſome five or ſix Days too late, nevertheleſs they came to *Firando*, and came to the Court to the Emperor, where they were in great Friendſhip received, conditioning with the Emperor yearly to ſend a Ship or two, and ſo they departed, with the Emperor's Paſs. Now, this Year 1611, there is a ſmall Ship arrived with Cloth, Lead, Elephants Teeth, Damaſk, and black Taffaties, raw Silk, Pepper, and other Commodities; and they have ſhewed Cauſe why they miſſed the former Year 1610, according to Promiſe yearly to come.

“ This Ship is well received, and with great Kindneſs entertained: You ſhall underſtand, that the *Hollanders* have here an *Indies* of Money; for they need not to bring Silver out of *Holland* to the *Eaſt-Indies*; for in *Japon* there is much Silver and Gold to ſerve their Turns in other Places, where Need requireth in the *Eaſt-Indies*; but the Merchandize, which is here vendible for ready Money, is raw Silk, Damaſk, black Taffaties, black and red Cloth of the beſt, Lead, and ſuch-like Goods. So now underſtanding by this *Holland* Ship lately arrived here, there is a ſettled Trade driven by my Countrymen in the *Eaſt-Indies*, I preſume ſome amongſt them, either Merchants, Maſters, or Mariners, muſt needs know me. Therefore I have emboldened myſelf to write theſe few Lines, in ſhort, being deſirous not to be over tedious to the Reader.

“ This Iſland of *Japon* is a great Land, and lieth to the Northward in 48°, and the ſouthermoſt Part of it in 35°, and the Length of it E. by N. and W. by S. (for ſo it lies) is two hundred and twenty-eight Leagues. The Breadth South and North of it, thirteen Degrees, twenty Leagues to the Degree, is two hundred ſixty Leagues, and is almoſt ſquare. The People of this Iſland of *Japon* are good of Nature, courteous above Meaſure, and valiant in War. Their Juſtice is ſeverely executed, without any Partiality, upon Tranſgreſſors of the Law. They are governed in great Civility, I think no Land better governed in the World by civil Policy. The People are very ſuperſtitious in their Religion, and are of diverſe Opinions. There are many Jeſuits and *Franciſcan* Friars in this Land, and they converted many to be Chriſtians, and have many Churches in the Iſland.

“ Thus, in ſhort, I am conſtrained to write, hoping by one Means or other, in Proceſs of Time, I ſhall hear of my Wife and Children, and ſo with Patience I wait the good Will of God Almighty, deſiring all thoſe to whom this my Letter ſhall come, to uſe the Means, to acquaint my good Friends with it, that ſo my Wife and Children may hear of me; by which Means there may be Hope that I may hear of my Wife and Children before my Death. The which the Lord grant to his Glory and my Comfort. *Amen.* Dated in *Japon* the twenty-ſecond of *October*, 1611.”

11. As ſhort as our Author's Deſcription of *Japon* may appear, it deſerves ſome Notice and Explication. There is no doubt, that he extends the Latitude of this Country too high, when he tells us, it reaches to forty-eight Degrees; but perhaps he took what he wrote from the Information of the Inhabitants, and might, by his Enquiries, as to the Diſtance they had ſailed and travelled North, be led to take the Land of *Yedzo* into his Computation; and if ſo, we may very eaſily account for his extending the Bounds of *Japon* into ſo high a Latitude; neither is he to be blamed; for ſuppoſing that Country a Part of the Continent, and of the Empire of *Japon*, ſince the Natives were at that Time perſuaded of both, and conſequently in his Circumſtances he was not likely to obtain any better Information. The reſt of his Account is exact enough, and the whole of it is apparently calculated to invite the *Engliſh* thither, by affording them a Proſpect of an advantageous Commerce. It is plain likewiſe, that Mr. *Adams* meant by this all the Service poſſible to his Country; and if it ſhould be enquired why he introduced the *Dutch* there firſt, the Anſwer is very clear, and very evident, becauſe he had no Means of writing to, or correſponding with the *Engliſh*, how much ſoever he deſired it.

It is alſo very evident, that by his Introduction of the *Dutch* he meant to find out ſome Means of correſponding with his own Countrymen; and indeed it was a very natural Method, ſince he came to *Japon* in the *Dutch* Service, and had no other Way of working his own Deliverance, but by their Means. Another natural and juſt Obſervation upon his Letter is, that he ſpeaks very briefly of Facts, and without mentioning any thing to his own Praiſe; in which, without doubt, he acted very prudently, and this for two Reaſons. In the firſt place, if he had given a large and full Account of the *Dutch* Settlement, and of the Pains it coſt him to eſtabliſh it, it would certainly have hindered his Letter from coming at all to the Hands of his Countrymen, by raiſing the Jealouſy of the *Dutch*, who were extremely tender of having their Affairs known. This is the more certain, ſince the latter Part of a Letter which he wrote to his Wife, and which contained a larger and more full Account of the Affairs of *Japon*, was actually torn off, and deſtroyed by thoſe who were entruſted with it. In the ſecond place, ſuppoſing his Epiſtle had been more fortunate, and had come directly to the Hands of the *Engliſh*, it would not have recommended him to them, had he inſiſted on the Pains and Trouble he had taken in procuring the *Dutch* a Settlement in that Country; and therefore the longer and the more attentively we conſider his Manner of Proceeding, the more certain we may be, that he acted in this Reſpect with all the Care and Precaution, and, at the ſame time, with all the Uprightneſs and publick Spirit that it was poſſible.

It is from a juſt Senſe of this, and becauſe I find nothing ſaid of him by any of our Hiſtorians, or Collectors of Voyages, beſides what they have taken out of his own Works, that I judged it reaſonable in itſelf, and a thing that could not but be agreeable to the judicious and intelligent Reader, to purſue the Thread of this Man's Hiſtory, by the Help of Foreign Writers; for *Dutch*, *Portugueze*, and *Spaniſh* Authors have thought the Actions of this Man worthy of being recorded, though there is ſo little ſaid of them by our own; and, indeed, the Affairs in which he was engaged were of ſuch a Nature, and his Conduct ſo extraordinary, that we need not wonder at their taking ſo much Pains, the rather, if we conſider, that in their Turns they all felt the Effects of his Management, and of the Credit he acquired at the Imperial Court.

12. In order to ſet this Hiſtory in a clear Light, it is requiſite to go back a little, in order to ſhew the Reader what Mr. *Adams* has concealed, which is, that it was by his means that *Dutch* Ships were brought thither in the Year 1609, and the Thing happened thus: When he found there was no Hopes of procuring his own Liberty, he not only applied, as he tells us, for the Diſcharge of his Captain, but of another *Dutch* Officer, ſuppoſing that two Lives were better than one, in which he judged very right; for his Captain was ſoon afterwards killed, and it was the other Officer who carried the News of Mr. *Adams*'s Eſtabliſhment in *Japan* to the *Dutch* Settlements in the *Eaſt Indies*.

It was in Conſequence of this, that a Yacht, called the *Lion*, was ſent in the Spring of the Year 1609, from the River of *Johore* to *Japon*. This Veſſel arrived on the Coaſt of *Firando* on the 1ſt of *July*, and two Commiſſioners being ſent to the Emperor's Court, they, by the Intereſt of Mr. *Adams*, procured all they could deſire; and having free Liberty given them to trade, ſailed on the 3d of *October*, arrived at *Bantam* on the laſt of *November*, and from thence continuing their Voyage home, arrived ſafely in the *Texel* on the 20th of *July*, 1610. It was on the Report they made, that another ſmall Yacht was ſent, which arrived at *Firando* on the 1ſt of *July*, 1611.

The firſt thing they did was to have Recourſe to Mr. *Adams*; for at their Arrival they found all things went very untowardly, at leaſt in their Opinion, who were not at all uſed to that ſort of Behaviour which was practiſed by the *Japoneſe*; and therefore they abſolutely refuſed to comply with what was demanded of them, in giving a Liſt of the Merchandize which they brought to the Royal Factor. On the other hand, the *Japoneſe* were but indifferently ſatisfied with them; for, whereas they expected an annual Ship ſhould have been ſent, as there was, from *Macao*, there was now two Years elapſed, and but a very ſmall Veſſel, and a Cargo of very moderate Value ſent at laſt, which did not at all agree with the Humours of the *Japoneſe*, who, like moſt of the Eaſtern Nations, are exceedingly caught by Pomp and Shew.

To heal theſe Breaches, the principal Perſons on board the Ship went to make Mr. *Adams* a Viſit, reſolving to be wholly guided by his Inſtructions, becauſe, as the *Dutch* Writer of this Voyage informs us, they were very well ſatisfied he had as much or more Intereſt with the Emperor than any of his Miniſters or Nobility; and it was purely out of Reſpect to him, that after their firſt Differences with the Officer at the Court, they had obtained Licence to make their Application to the Emperor. On their coming to Court, Mr. *Adams* obſerved to them, that though their Cargo was ſmall, it would be requiſite to make conſiderable Preſents, ſince it depended upon their Behaviour, on this Occaſion, whether the Licence which he had procured for them to trade, ſhould be continued, or ſuppreſſed. The Inſight he gave them into the Commodities and Manufactures of the Country, and the vaſt Profits that might be made, by eſtabliſhing themſelves there, operated ſo powerfully on their Minds, that they came immediately into all that he propoſed, and very wiſely reſolved not to heed the Loſs they might ſuſtain by their firſt Cargo, provided they might ſecure thereby a ſecond Licence to ſend an annual Ship thither.

On the other hand, Mr. *Adams* had ſuch an Intereſt with the principal Perſons, and great Miniſters at the Court of *Japon*, that he ſoon brought them to conſider the *Dutch* in that Light in which it was moſt for their Intereſt that they ſhould be conſidered. There was at that time a *Spaniſh* Embaſſador at the Court of *Japon*, who had a great Train, made a ſplendid Appearance, and took great State upon him; for which Reaſon the *Dutch* Supercargoes were very apprehenſive that he would get the better of them in their Negotiation; but Mr. *Adams* having taken the Affair entirely into his own Hands, turned this very Incident to their Advantage. He repreſented to the *Japoneſe* Miniſters, that this *Spaniſh* Embaſſador treated them with an Air of Haughtineſs and Superiority, and rather dictated to them his Demands, than applied to them for their Favour; whereas the *Dutch* were abſolutely a trading People, no way formidable to them in any reſpect, who deſired to have the Honour of furniſhing the Emperor and his Subjects with ſuch foreign Commodities as they wanted, and were ready to ſubmit to ſuch Regulations, and to carry on their Trade under ſuch Reſtrictions, as for the Safety and Welfare of the Empire they, in their great Wiſdom, ſhould think fit to preſcribe.

By this means, as the *Dutch* Writers themſelves confeſs, Mr. *Adams* wrought ſo effectually in their Favour, that they were every where received, not only with Civility and Kindneſs, but with the greateſt Candor and Complaiſance, while the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador, notwithſtanding the great Figure he made, was not only very coldly treated, and made little Progreſs in his Negotiation, but was likewiſe expoſed to Incivilities and Affronts.

The *Portugueze* Writers attribute alſo to our Countryman *Adams* the evil Impreſſions that about this Time the Emperor began to entertain of their Nation, and particularly of the Miſſionaries; of which, however, we find not the leaſt Footſtep in either *Dutch* or *Engliſh* Author: But, to ſay the Truth, it is probable enough, and what they report is very conſiſtent with the Notions that are aſcribed to Mr. *Adams* by the *Dutch* Writers. In ſhort, he did expreſs ſome Diſlike to the Jeſuits, and when aſked concerning them by the Emperor, he ſaid very freely, that they were the Authors of all the Diſturbances in *Europe*, and that they had been expelled not only *Great Britain*, but *France*, for this Reaſon. It is highly probable, that the Emperor might from hence take a Reſolution of treating them in the ſame manner, for the Security of his own Dominions; but then it muſt be allowed, he would not have thought of taking this Meaſure, if he had not found their Behaviour in *Japon* juſtify the Character which Mr. *Adams* had given him of them: But the *Portugueze* Writers ſay not a Word of the Calumnies ſpread by their Prieſts, and the *Japoneſe* Nobility in their Intereſt, againſt the *Engliſh* and the *Dutch*, repreſenting both Nations as a ſort of Pirates and Free-booters, which might not only provoke Mr. *Adams* to make ſuch Returns, but likewiſe lay him under a kind of Neceſſity of clearing up theſe Points to the Emperor's Satisfaction. But to return to our Subject:

About the latter End of *Auguſt* 1611, the *Dutch*, thro' Mr. *Adams*'s Intereſt ſolely, obtained a Licence to trade in *Japon* under the Emperor's Seal, in which, however, that Clauſe was wanting which chiefly induced them to make this long Journey to Court, and that was an Exemption from being viſited by the Inſpector of Commerce, by whom they had been greatly aggrieved. This Officer, tho' a very bad Man, had a very great Intereſt at Court, his Siſter being one of the Emperor's Wives; and the *Dutch* found, upon Application to the prime Miniſter, that he was ſo much afraid of offending her, that he durſt not ſo much as propoſe that Clauſe to the Emperor, which gave them great Concern, ſince, without obtaining it, they were not much inclined to make uſe of the Licence.

To obviate this Difficulty, the prime Miniſter propoſed, that Mr. *Adams* ſhould draw up a Petition for inſerting of this Clauſe, with ſuch Reaſons as he thought proper, and ſhould take an Opportunity of preſenting it to the Emperor when he was in a good Humour, promiſing that he would do all in his Power to ſupport it; and aſſuring him at the ſame time, that he had written ſuch a Letter to the Inſpector, as would prevent their meeting with any Difficulties for the preſent, adviſing them to leave the whole Affair to the Management of Mr. *Adams*, for whoſe Succeſs he would be anſwerable; but all he could ſay had no Effect upon the *Dutch*, they were reſolved to truſt no body, and not to ſtir from Court, till they had this Clauſe inſerted in their Licence.

To ſatisfy them therefore, if it was poſſible, Mr. *Adams* drew up a proper Petition, and the very next Day preſented it to the Emperor himſelf, whoſe Conſent and Seal he procured; ſo that by his Intereſt the *Dutch* obtained, on their firſt Application, what the *Portugueze* were never able to obtain in the Courſe of ſo many Years as they had been ſettled in *Japon*, which is ſuch a Proof of Mr. *Adams*'s Intereſt at that Court, as, if it was not reported by the *Dutch* Writers themſelves, would ſcarce deſerve Credit; but, as it is, I think there can be no ſort of Doubt raiſed about it. All Things being thus ſettled to their Satisfaction, and every thing done for them that they could deſire, they returned to *Firando*; and having landed their Goods, and ſettled a Factory there, they ſailed from thence on the 28th of *September* 1611.

14. It is of this *Dutch* Ship, and her Reception, that our Author ſpeaks, at the Cloſe of his Letter, in Terms which ſeem particularly deſigned to ſhew his Countrymen how eaſy a matter it would be for them to eſtabliſh a Factory likewiſe in that Empire. I have taken all the Pains I could to diſcover how the Letters of Mr. *Adams* were conveyed to the *Engliſh*, but to very little Purpoſe; for all that I can ſay upon this Subject is, that they were brought to *Bantam* in the Iſland of *Java*, in the Month of *October* the next Year; that is, *Anno Domini* 1612. There were then there a conſiderable Number of *Engliſh* Ships and Merchants, to whom theſe Letters were read, and it was preſently agreed, that ſuch an Opportunity was not to be loſt; whereupon Captain *John Saris*, whom the *Portugueze* are pleaſed to call Sir *William Saris*, was ordered to ſail in the *Clove*, a large *Eaſt-Indiaman*, from thence for *Japon*.

He had on board him ſeventy-four *Engliſh*, one *Spaniard*, one *Japoneſe*, and five *Indians*; and on the 14th of *January* 1613, he proceeded on his Voyage. On the laſt of that Month he had Sight of the great Iſland of *Celebes*, paſſed happily thro' the Streights of *Bouton*, and towards the End of the Month of *February* reached the *Moluccas*: He made ſome Stay there, though he was but indifferently treated by the *Dutch*. On the 24th of *April*, he obſerved an extraordinary Eclipſe of the Moon, about Seven in the Morning, which, he ſays, laſted three Hours and an half. On the firſt of *June* he paſſed the Tropick of *Cancer*, and on the ninth of the ſame Month had Sight of the Iſland of *Ximo*, which is one of the Iſlands of *Japon*. On the eleventh he arrived at *Firando*, and was very well received; but found it, however, impoſſible to do any thing, till the King had ſent to acquaint Mr. *Adams* with his Arrival, who was then at *Eddo*, three hundred Leagues from thence. The Meſſenger, it ſeems, did not make ſo much Haſte as he ought to have done, and therefore the King, upon his Return, ſent him into Baniſhment.

On the 29th of *July* Mr. *Adams* arrived, and Captain *Saris* conferred with him about the Means of ſettling a Trade, and the Proſpect there was of making it worth their while. He was told upon this Subject, that the Commerce of *Japon*, like that of the reſt of the World, was ſometimes more, ſometimes leſs profitable; but that, however, it would be always found worth the ſeeking, and worth the keeping too. Here I cannot but obſerve, that in Captain *Saris*'s Opinion, Mr. *Adams* had acquired a great Affection for that Country, in which he had now ſpent near twelve Years. This was a Remark natural enough to make, for one who was not acquainted, either with him, or with the Country; but the *Dutch* and *Portugueze* Writers, who, for what Reaſon I know not, always ſtile him Sir *William Adams*, report him to have been a Perſon of great Probity, and unblemiſhed Character, and one whoſe Candour and Sincerity made him highly eſteemed, even by ſuch as conſidered him as their Enemy: But Captain *Saris* ſeems to have looked upon him as a mere *Engliſh* Pilot; and therefore much his Inferior, without conſidering that his Circumſtances were now very much changed, and that therefore he ought to have been looked upon as a kind of Miniſter to the Emperor of *Japon*.

He took his Advice, however, and agreed to go with him to the Emperor's Court, to which he was the more readily induced by the King of *Firando*'s offering him all kind of Conveniencies for his Journey. He carried with him Preſents for the Emperor, the Emperor's Son, their prime Miniſters, for the Judge at *Meaco*, for the Admiral, and for the Treaſurer; all of which amounted together to the Value of one hundred and eighty Pounds, which was no mighty Sum to expend for procuring the Privileges which he expected; but it will be more agreeable to the Deſign of this Work, and at the ſame time will afford more Entertainment to the Reader, to give the Hiſtory of this Journey, as near as may be, in Captain *Saris*'s own Words, which I the more readily do, becauſe he has been always conſidered, and I think with good Reaſon, as one of the moſt ſenſible of our old Writers, and in whoſe Travels we find the feweſt Miſtakes. Thus then he relates the Story of his Journey.

We ſet ſail from *Firando*, and paſſed by ſeveral Iſlands; the moſt part are very well inhabited, and had fair Towns upon them; but the firſt of Note that we put in at was *Fuecate*, a very large and conſiderable Place, not much leſs than *London*; within the Walls very well built, and ſo even and uniform, that one might ſee from one End of a Street to another. It has a ſtrong Stone Caſtle, a good Ditch, and a Draw-bridge, all kept in very good Repair; but no Soldiers, or Ordnance. As for Ordnance, indeed, I did not ſo much wonder to find none, ſince there was no ſuch thing at *Firando*; and it is a ſort of military Furniture that the *Japoneſe* are wholly without. All along this Coaſt, and ſo up to *Oſaca*, we found Women that lived with their whole Families upon the Water, getting their Livelihood by Fiſhing, at which they were very great Artiſts; but they had two Strings to their Bow, and 'twas next to impoſſible for the Fiſh to eſcape them; for what they miſſed with their Lines and Nets, they would dive for, and catch that Way without fail; and this they would do with Eaſe, to the Depth of eight Fathom. Theſe Women are very eaſy to be known from all others; for, by continual diving, their Eyes were ſtrangely altered, and looked as red as Blood; and by this Token the diving Women are diſtinguiſhed in *Japon*.

When we paſſed the Streights of *Xemina-ſoque*, the next Town of note we came to was *Oſaca*, nothing inferior to the former in Compaſs and Dimenſions, and one of the principal Sea-ports of the Empire. There is a River comes up to it as wide as the *Thames*, and ſeveral very fine Timber-bridges laid over it. It has a Caſtle very extraordinary for Bigneſs and Strength, with very deep Trenches about it, and ſeveral Draw-bridges artificially made, and Grates ſo ſtrongly plated with Iron, as may ſeem to bid Defiance to any Battery in the World. The whole Building of the Caſtle is of Free-ſtone, and the Walls are of the ſame; but a matter of ſeven Yards thick, and put together without any Mortar, or Cement; the Stones being ſo nicely cut, as to lie perfectly cloſe together, and needs no other Binding; only, if there happens to be a void Space any where, they throw a little Earth to fill up the Crevice, and that's all they do. It is regularly contrived, ſtrengthened with Bulwarks and Battlements, with good Store of Loop-holes for ſmall Shot and Arrows, and various Paſſages for the throwing out of Stones upon thoſe that ſhould come to attempt it; and one would eaſily believe it to be a mighty ſtrong and ſecure Building, without having a particular Account of it, when one hears what uſe the Emperor puts it to, and with what Importance the Jewel is here kept in ſafe Cuſtody.

In ſhort, here lives (locked up in the Caſtle) the true and genuine Heir of *Japon*; here, I ſay, he lives, but ſo happy as to be ignorant of his real Quality, Rights, and juſt Pretenſions; though, at the ſame time, ſo unfortunate as to be excluded from them all. The Truth of the Matter is, the preſent Emperor is an Uſurper, and ſtepped into the Throne, in a way not only contrary to the

Law of that Kingdom, but the more ſacred ones of eternal Juſtice and Reaſon. The old Emperor, when he died, left this Son, then an Infant, under the Care and Tuition of four principal Noblemen; whereof *Ogoſhoſamma*, the preſent Emperor, was one, and the chief. The other three Governors, Men of Intrigue and ill Principles, and fonder by far of flattering their own Pride, and Ambition, than diſcharging their Duties of a ſacred Truſt committed to them, made Pretenſions to the Sovereignty, and put in for the Crown themſelves.

In oppoſition to whom, as alſo to aſſert the Rights of the royal Pupil, *Ogoſhoſamma* took up Arms; and having intirely routed the other Pretenders, had the ſupreme Power, ſuddenly clapped all into his own Hands; and now the charming Opportunity told him, he had as good be Emperor himſelf. All his Competitors were removed out of the Way. The true Heir was incapable of underſtanding and redreſſing his Caſe. All the Power was his own; and he wanted only the Name of an Emperor, which was ſo very ſmall a thing, that he reſolved not to be without that any longer. The young Prince he kept always about him, and in perfect Ignorance of himſelf, and his Relation to the Crown, ſuffering him to know no other, but that he was his Son; all that are about him being ſuch as the preſent Emperor has brought up from their Cradles, and ſo not able to give him any better Information. And to make all ſure, when he was grown to Years, he married him to his own Daughter, and ſo confined them to the Caſtle of *Oſaca*, where they live like the Children of an Emperor, as to all Points of State and Grandeur; only Liberty, that ſweetens all the reſt, civil Policy is pleaſed to deny them.

Over againſt *Oſaca*, on the other Side of the River, lies another great Town, called *Sacay*, a Place of very great Trade for all the Iſles thereabouts. At *Fuſhimi*, to which we came next, we found a Garriſon of three thouſand Soldiers, appointed for the keeping ſome of theſe Parts in good Order. This Garriſon is ſhifted every three Years; and the Change happening when we came thither, we had the Advantage of ſeeing ſomething of the Rules of their military Diſcipline: They generally march no more than five a-breaſt, and to every ten Files there's an Officer deputed, who regulates the March, and keeps all in perfect Order. Their Diſpoſition, according to the Quality of their Arms, is thus. Firſt of all march their Shot, that is, Calievers, for Muſkets they have none, neither will they uſe any; then follow Pikes, then Cattans and Targets, Bows and Arrows, Waggadaſhes or Hooks, and laſtly Calievers again cloſe the March; and among all theſe they have no Colours, Drums, Trumpets, nor any ſort of warlike Muſick.

The *Japoneſe* Horſes are not large, or high, but of the Size of our middling Horſes, ſmall headed, and extremely full of Mettle; and, in my Opinion, far beyond *Spaniſh* Gennets, both in ſtately Carriage and Spirit. Their Soldiers obſerve very good Order upon the Road, and are ſo exactly governed, that they are as welcome at the publick Houſes as any Gueſts whatever; no Man is in the leaſt diſturbed or incommoded by them; they take what they find, as other People do, and pay for it without any quarrelling: The Roads are very well furniſhed with Houſes of Entertainment; and when there are Soldiers upon the March, they provide Victuals for them; ſo that they have, at an Inſtant's Warning, what they want, and at very cheap Rates; a Dinner of good, wholeſome Food, and enough of it, from two Shillings downward, to one Penny.

The Diet generally uſed through the Country is Rice of ſeveral Sorts, the white being counted the beſt; Fiſh, freſh and ſalted, Herbs, Radiſhes, Beans, Duck, Teal, Pheaſant, Partridge, Quail, and Fowls: Of Beaſts they have all ſorts; of Deer, wild Boars, Goats, and black Cattle; Cheeſe alſo in great Plenty; but Butter they make none; neither will they eat any Milk, becauſe they eſteem it the Blood of the Animal; and, for what Reaſon I know not, they will not touch a Bit of any tame Beaſts, tho' they have them in abundance. Their Wheat ought not to be forgotten, which is as plump, and as good as any, but all of the red Colour. We did in our Travels buy Rice at a Half-penny *per* Pound; Hens and Pheaſants, the beſt and fatteſt, for three Pence a-piece; Pigs, very large, for a Shilling; a fat Hog for five Shillings; a good Ox for ſixteen Shillings; and a Goat at three Shillings. The Drinks in requeſt in this Country are only the Spirits diſtilled from the Rice, very ſtrong, and of the Colour of Canary, and common Water, which is the common Drink of the poorer ſort of People, that can't reach to the Price of other Liquor. They always drink their Water warm, and ſay that 'tis good to kill the Worms in the Maw.

Our Motions being directed to *Suranga*, where the Emperor then kept his Court, by the latter End of this Month we had gone as far as our Way lay by Water; and now being to finiſh the Remainder of our Journey by Land, we were furniſhed with Horſes, and all Conveniences for that Purpoſe, at the Emperor's Charge. I had alſo a Palankin, or one of their Sedans, provided for me, and a freſh Supply of Men drawn out of every Place for the carrying me therein, when I was tired of my Horſe; and, for the greater State, a Slave appointed to run with a Pike before the Palankin. The King's Harbingers alſo went before, and took up our Lodging upon the Road. This Part of the Journey was very pleaſant and eaſy; the Way, for the moſt part, is exceeding even and plain; and wherever there was any rugged, mountainous Ground, a ſmooth level Paſſage was cut through it. This Road is all along good Sand and Gravel; it is divided into Leagues for the Benefit of Travellers; and at every League's End are two ſmall Hills raiſed, on either Side one, and upon each a fair Pine-Tree planted. The Deſign of which Mark is to make Travellers competent Judges of the Length of their own Journeys, that they may not be abuſed by the Hackneymen, and thoſe that let out Horſes, and ſo pay for a greater Number of Miles than they have rode.

All along the Road you meet with Multitudes of People paſſing and repaſſing, and Towns and pleaſant Villages, Farms and Country-houſes; and ſometimes Temples, ſtanding at a little Diſtance, in ſhady Groves, with the Habitations of the Prieſts round about them. The moſt unpleaſant Sight we had, was the Sight of the Malefactors, faſtened upon Croſſes, near all the great Towns where thoſe Executions had been performed. Crucifying is a very common Puniſhment among them at *Japon*; and, as they manage it, it is ſome ſort of Puniſhment to Travellers too, to paſs by a Multitude of noiſome, putrifying Carcaſſes and Bodies; beſides the Horror of the Sight, to have the Diſturbance of the Smell thoſe Bodies yield: And we had the worſt Trial of all when we came to *Suranga*; there were Croſſes, Scaffolds, and Gibbets, Heads, Carcaſſes, and Limbs, hanging about in ſo many Places without the City, that our Pleaſure in going along was greatly leſſened. *Suranga* ſeems to be as big as *London*, even taking in the whole Compaſs of the Suburbs: The outer Parts of it we found entirely taken up by Mechanicks and Artificers of all ſorts, who are placed there for the Eaſe and Quiet of the genteeler People, that don't care to be diſturbed with the Noiſe and Buſtle the others make in their Trades.

After a Repoſe of a Day or two, I went, with all my Company in a Body, to the Caſtle, to have Audience of the Emperor, and to deliver the Preſents intended for that Court; I was introduced by two of the greateſt Men then in Attendance, the Emperor's Secretary and his Admiral. Theſe led me firſt into a very fine matted Room, where we ſat down for ſome time, according to their Cuſtom, upon Mats; then they brought me into a Chamber of Preſence, where ſtood an empty Chair of State, to which I was obliged to do Reverence. After ſome ſhort time, Word was brought, that the Emperor was come into the Room of Audience, to the Door of which theſe Courtiers brought me, but durſt not preſume to look in themſelves. The Cuſtom is, for all the Preſents that are brought to be placed in order upon the Mats of that Room into which the Emperor comes; and accordingly, when I came in, I found them all in a very orderly Manner laid before him. He received his Majeſty's Letter with the Civility of that Country, lifting it up towards his Forehead, and then, by his Interpreter, bid me welcome: He deſired me to go and ſee the King his Son at *Eddo*, (with all the Neceſſaries, for which Journey he would take care to furniſh me) and by that time I returned, his Letters ſhould be ready for our King.

The Articles relating to Trade and Privilege, which we requeſted his Majeſty's Confirmation of, were all eaſily granted by him, one only excepted, reſpecting the *Chineſe*: It was to this Purpoſe, That whereas the *Chineſe* had refuſed all Trade and Commerce with the *Engliſh*, if we could take any of them abroad at Sea, it might be lawful for us to bring them into *Japon*, and make ſale of the Goods, ſo taken, in his Majeſty's Dominions. This the Emperor granted at firſt; but his Mind was altered afterwards by a Conference with the Ambaſſador of *China*, and he refuſed to allow it. The reſt all paſſed under his Great Seal, which is not of Wax, like ours, but ſtamped like a Print, and coloured red. The Secretary would take no Preſent, nor any thing like a Gratuity from us; the Emperor, it ſeems, had commanded the contrary, and 'twas as much as his Life was worth to do it.

Having ſeen this Buſineſs done, we ſet out from *Suranga* for the great City of *Eddo*, where the Emperor's Son, the young King, keeps his Court: The Country is well inhabited between theſe two Cities; the Towns and Villages lie thick, and the Totoques, or Temples, ſcattering up and down in good Numbers too. There's one mighty Image, (which they call *Dabis*) that ſtands in this Road, at which all the *Japoneſe* ſtop to pay their Devotions, when they go this Way. It is made of Copper, all hollow within, tho' very thick: 'Tis in the Shape of a Man kneeling on the Ground, with his Buttocks reſting on his Heels, and his Arms extended: He is repreſented wearing a Gown, and notwithſtanding that bending Poſture, is twenty-two Foot from the Level of the Ground, and all the Body proportionably large. Some of our Men went into the Body of it, and then fell a-hollowing and hooping; the Noiſe of which, out of the wide Mouth of the Image, was much ſuch agreeable ſort of Muſick as, I believe, was made by *Phalaris*'s brazen Bull. It ſtands conveniently to entertain the Devotion of Pilgrims in their Paſſage to the celebrated Temple of *Tencheday*; for they always make a Pauſe at *Dabis*; but this is but a ſlight Ceremony.

It is at *Tencheday*'s Temple the great Work is to be done, and the Pilgrims expect to receive the Reward of their Travel. And here one may meet all ſorts of People, rich and poor, ſound and diſtempered, continually coming and going thither, and that by Night, as well as by Day, and all the Year round. About the Middle of this Month we came to *Eddo*, a City much larger than *Suranga*, nobler in its Buildings, and every way more glorious in its Appearance. The very Tiles of the Houſes are gilded, and the Poſts of the Doors ſet off with ſhining Varniſh. They have no Glaſs-windows, but all of Board, which opens in Leaves, and are very delicately painted: There's a Cauſeway runs thro' the chief Street in the City; which Street is as broad as any in *England*; and a fine River paſſes along by, or rather underneath the Cauſeway: At every fifty Paces there is a Well-head, ſubſtantially fitted up of Free-ſtone, and provided with Buckets for the People, in caſe of any Danger by Fire. The Caſtle of this City is a much ſtronger and nobler Edifice than that of *Suranga*; and the young King lives in much greater State, and has a more pompous Attendance, than the Emperor his Father.

He received us in a very obliging Manner, taking the King's Letters and Preſents with a wonderful Satisfaction and Content, and giving us all the Welcome imaginable. He gave us Letters for our King, and a Preſent of two intire Suits of *Japan* Armour, finely varniſhed, and a long Sword for myſelf: 'Tis to be noted, that the Cattans are a common Wear; but the Talahes, or long Swords, are worn only by great Soldiers, and Perſons of the beſt Account. It is ſaid to be no leſs than twenty two Days Journey, on Horſeback, from this City of *Eddo* to the moſt northern Part of *Japon*, which makes it a Country of a vaſt Extent. Our Buſineſs here being no more than the paying a Compliment; which, being done, we had no farther Occaſion of ſtaying; and having got this Prince's Letters and Preſents for the King of *England*, we went back to *Suranga*, where we arrived again at the End of this Month.

We were not obliged to wait long in this City; for our Diſpatches, the Emperor's Letter, and the Inſtrument, containing our Privileges, and the Terms upon which we were to eſtabliſh a Factory in *Japon*, being, thro' the Care, Induſtry, and Intereſt of Mr. *Adams*, both ſpeedily and effectually diſpatched; ſo that we had no Reaſon to complain either of the Delays or Diſappointments that are uſually met with at Courts; and of which we underſtood by Report, that of *Japon* is not more free than others, if one has not a good Agent, as luckily for us we had.

A Tranſlation of the Emperor's Letter, and of the Inſtrument containing our Privileges, is, for the Satisfaction of the Reader, annexed; and will ſufficiently ſhew how wiſe and well regulated a Government that is by which they were granted. It is neceſſary to obſerve, that tho' this Verſion is not literal, yet it is very ſtrict, and expreſſes the Meaning of the Original very exactly, ſo that the Senſe and Spirit of theſe *Japoneſe* Papers may be clearly apprehended thereby.

To the KING *of* GREAT-BRITAIN.

“YOUR Majeſty's kind Letter ſent me by your Servant Captain *John Saris*, (who is the firſt that I have known to arrive in any Part of my Dominions) I heartily embrace, being not a little glad to underſtand of your great Wiſdom and Power, as having three plentiful and mighty Kingdoms under your powerful Command. I acknowledge your Majeſty's great Bounty, in ſending me ſo undeſerved a Preſent of many rare Things, ſuch as my Land affordeth not, neither have I ever before ſeen; which I receive not as from a Stranger, but as from your Majeſty, whom I eſteem as myſelf, deſiring the Continuance of Friendſhip with your Highneſs; and that it may ſtand with your good Liking to ſend your Subjects to any Part or Port of my Dominions, where they ſhall be moſt heartily welcome, applauding much their Worthineſs in the Admiral's Knowledge of Navigation, having with much Facility diſcovered a Country ſo remote; being no whit amazed with the Diſtance of ſo mighty a Gulph, nor Greatneſs of ſuch infinite Clouds and Storms from proſecuting honourable Enterprizes of Diſcoveries and Merchandizing, wherein they ſhall find me to further them, according to their Deſires. I return unto your Majeſty a ſmall Token of my Love (by your ſaid Subject) deſiring you to accept thereof, as from him that much rejoiceth in your Friendſhip. And whereas your Majeſty's Subjects have deſired certain Privileges for Trade, and ſettling of a Factory in my Dominions, I have not only granted what they demanded, but have confirmed the ſame unto them, under my Broad Seal, for better eſtabliſhing thereof. From my Caſtle in *Suranga*, this fourth Day of the ninth Month, in the eighteenth Year of our Dary, according to our Computation. Reſting your Majeſty's Friend, the higheſt Commander in this Kingdom of *Japon*. Subſcribed *Minna Mouttono. Yei Ye Yeas.*”

Privileges granted by Ogoſhoſamma, *Emperor of* Japon, *unto the Right Worſhipful Sir* Thomas Smith, *Knight, Governor, and others, the Honourable and Worſhipful Adventurers to the* Eaſt-Indies.

“I. *Imprimis*. We give free Licence to the Subjects to the King of *Great-Britain*, *viz.* Sir *Thomas Smith*, Governor and Company of the *Eaſt-Indian* Merchants and Adventurers, for ever, ſafely to come into any of the Ports of our Empire of *Japon*, with their Ships and Merchandizes, without any Hindrance to them, or their Goods; and to abide, buy, ſell, and barter, according to their own Manner with all other Nations; to tarry here as long as they think good, and to depart at their Pleaſures.

“II. *Item*. We grant unto them Freedom of Cuſtom for all ſuch Merchandizes, as either now they have brought, or hereafter ſhall bring into our Kingdoms, or

“ ſhall from hence tranſport to any foreign Part; and do
“ authorize thoſe Ships that hereafter ſhall arrive and come
“ from *England*, to proceed to preſent Sale of their Com-
“ modities, without coming or ſending up to our Court.

“ III. *Item.* If any of their Ships ſhall happen to be in
“ danger of Shipwreck, we will our Subjects, not only to
“ aſſiſt them, but that ſuch Part of Ship and Goods, as
“ ſhall be ſaved, be returned to their Captain, or Cape-
“ Merchant, or their Aſſigns; and that they ſhall, or may
“ build one Houſe, or more, for themſelves, in any Part
“ of our Empire, where they ſhall think fitteſt; and at
“ their Departure make Sale thereof at their Pleaſure.

“ IV. *Item.* If any of the *Engliſh* Merchants, or other,
“ ſhall depart this Life within our Dominions, the Goods
“ of the Deceaſed ſhall remain at the Diſpoſal of the
“ Cape-Merchant; and that all Offences committed by
“ them ſhall be puniſhed by the ſaid Cape-Merchant, ac-
“ cording to his Diſcretion, and our Law to take no hold
“ of their Perſons or Goods.

“ V. *Item.* We will, that ye our Subjects trading with
“ them for any of their Commodities, pay them for the
“ ſame, according to Agreement, without Delay, or Re-
“ turn of their Wares again unto them.

“ VI. *Item.* For ſuch Commodities as they have now
“ brought, or ſhall hereafter bring, fitting for our Service
“ and proper Uſe, we will, that no Arreſt be made there-
“ of, but that the Price be made with the Cape-Merchant,
“ according as they may ſell to others, and preſent Pay-
“ ment upon the Delivery of the Goods.

“ VII. *Item.* If in Diſcovery of other Countries for
“ Trade, or Return of their Ships, they ſhall need Men
“ or Victuals, we will, that ye our Subjects furniſh them,
“ for their Money, as their Need ſhall require.

“ VIII. *Item.* And that without other Paſſport, they
“ ſhall, and may, ſet out upon the Diſcovery of *Yedzo*,
“ or any other Part in or about our Empire.

“ From our Caſtle in *Suranga*, this firſt Day of the
“ ninth Month, and in the eighteenth Year of our Dary,
“ according to our Computation. Sealed with our Broad
“ Seal, *&c.* Underwritten

“ *Minna Mouttono Yei Ye Yeas.*”

The *Japoneſe* Language ſeems to agree with the *Chineſe* in this, that they expreſs whole Words compendiouſly, by their ſeveral proper Characters, not compounding them of diſtinct Letters and Syllables, as 'tis in other Languages. The Character is very different from that of the *Chineſe*; and they read, beginning at the Right Hand, ſo downwards, perpendicular-wiſe in the ſeveral Lines. They take abundance of care to ſpeak and write in the ſhorteſt and conciſeſt manner that can be; they are not given to flouriſh and enlarge upon a Subject, but deliver their Minds in very pertinent, exact, and comprehenſive Terms, contracting a great deal of Senſe into a little Compaſs: The Letters, and the Inſtrument, were both written in it, very fair, after their Manner; and the firſt Rarities of that kind that our Nation, I believe, ever had.

Thus was all our Buſineſs at *Suranga* finiſhed too. Upon which we took Leave of the Emperor and Court, and ſet out for *Firando*. Our Way lay by Land as far as *Oſaca*; and in paſſing thither, we took *Meaco* in our Way. This is abſolutely the greateſt City in *Japon*, and a Place of mighty Trade. All the Tradeſmen dwell in a Part of this City by themſelves; and all of ſuch an Employment in ſuch a Street by themſelves. The *Japoneſe* think it very unſeemly and irregular, to have Men of ſo many Profeſſions and Buſineſſes mixed and huddled together in ſuch a confuſed manner, as they are in other Places. They are for making all of the ſame Trade (who are fitteſt to converſe together) Neighbours to one another; Birds of the ſame Feather to be all in a diſtinct Flock by themſelves, that a Man that looks may know where to find them. And the plain Truth on't is, this Order is not without its Beauty and Conveniency; and it added, methought, a peculiar Grace to the City, which all its other Advantages could not have given it.

The moſt magnificent Temple of the whole Country is here at *Meaco*, built of Free-ſtone, and as long as St. *Paul's* in *London* from the Quire, arched, adorned with mighty Pillars, and as lofty as that. It has one peculiar Altar, at which they make their Offerings of Rice, and ſmall Money (called Cundries, twenty of which make a Shilling) for the Maintenance of the Bonzees belonging to it: And by this Altar ſtands the great Idol *Mannada*, made of Copper, and of the ſame Form with *Dabis* before mentioned, but much higher, reaching up to the very Arch. The Temple ſtands advantageouſly upon the Top of a very high Hill, and upon each Side the Aſcent you have a long Row of Columns, of Free-ſtone, about fifty in each Series; ten Paces diſtant one from another, and upon the Top of every Pillar is a Lanthorn, the Lamps in which are lighted every Night, and make a very glaring Shew. There are ſeveral other Temples beſides, but this vaſtly exceeds all the reſt in all Points of Beauty and Grandeur. It was juſt finiſhed at our being there, the Foundation being laid by the famed *Taicoſania*, whoſe Horſe was kept in an Apartment hard by, and is to be maintained here in a Life of perfect Eaſe and Reſt, as long as Nature will allow him to hold it out.

The *Portugueze* Jeſuits have a ſtately College in this City, very well furniſhed with Men of that Society. They breed up abundance of *Japoneſe* Youths, reading Philoſophy, and the Popiſh Divinity to them, making many of them Preachers, and, I ſuppoſe, Jeſuits too. There's no doubt but they endeavour to make them as good as they can; and, amongſt other Arts, teach ſome of thoſe that are peculiar to their Order. They have the New Teſtament tranſlated into the *Japoneſe* Tongue; and, beſides this hopeful Fry breeding up in the College, there are reckoned five or ſix thouſand that profeſs Chriſtianity in *Meaco*.

While we ſtayed here we received the Emperor's Preſents for our King, which were ſent after us, *viz.* ten Beobs, or large Pictures, to hang a Room of State with. From hence we travelled to *Oſaca*, where the Gally that ſet us down before was attending our Return, to tranſport us to *Firando*, and this at the Charge of the brave and generous King of that Place. This Prince was extremely glad at our Return to his Iſland, as alſo of the Succeſs of our Affairs at Court, and had carried it with that ſteady and even Hand of Kindneſs to our Company left there, as he did to all of us, when together; but yet the Trade amounted to little or nothing. In our Abſence the *Japoneſe* had been no good Cuſtomers, tho' we had come from the other End of the World to take their Money. One Reaſon of this was, becauſe it was not yet certain that we were to be allowed in the Country; and till the Trade has its publick Warrant from the Emperor, as no Stranger may offer to ſell, ſo no Native may dare to buy. But another thing was this, the moſt Part of our Commodities we intended for theſe Parts were broad Cloths, (which had not long before been ſold here for twenty Rials of Eight *per* Mat, which is two Yards) a ſort of Wear the *Japoneſe* were now almoſt out of Conceit with, becauſe we did not take care to recommend the Goodneſs of it by our own Wearing. You, ſay they, cry up your broad Cloths to us, and at the ſame time hardly wear a Rag of it yourſelves; but are all for your Silks and Stuffs, and any thing in the World, except juſt what you would have us buy of you. And the Truth on it is, the *Japoneſe* were in the right, and their Objections not eaſy to be anſwered. We ought to be more fond of our own Country Commodities, and tell other Nations they are valuable, by the Uſe we make of them ourſelves. Foreigners won't be ſo ready to believe us, if they ſee we don't order our Faſhions ſo as to give a Reputation to what we recommend abroad in the World; and, for ought I know, other Nations may tell us, as well as the *Japoneſe*, of not wearing our own broad Cloth; may reproach us with the Neglect of our own Commodities, and deſpiſe them till they ſee us do otherwiſe ourſelves.

This *Firando* is a very good Place for our Ships to put in at, with reſpect to the Point of Victualling, and all that; but it is not ſo proper for Trade, becauſe it lies off from the main Iſland of *Japon*, where are not only moſt, but the moſt conſiderable People, capable of giving Encouragement to Trade, which, in thoſe little bye Iſlands, is not to be expected. We might, I don't queſtion, be welcome at any of them all; and the Kings of two of theſe petty Iſlands gave us a formal Invitation. But there's few of them can afford Buſineſs that will turn to account, and defray the Charges of a Settlement: Therefore my Advice is, that our Ships that come to trade here, would not ſail to *Firando*, but to *Oringgaco*, upon the main Iſland, and about fifteen Leagues diſtant from *Eddo*, where they will find very good Riding, and a much greater Proſpect of Advantage. This Place indeed is not capable of affording ſo good an Entertainment as may be deſired: Proviſions are not altogether ſo plentiful there as at *Firando*; but that Want may be ſupplied by a Correſpondence with the circumjacent Country.

Chriſtianity makes no conſiderable Progreſs comparatively any where in this Empire, but at *Meaco* and *Langeſaique*, a Town ſituated upon the Sea-coaſt, about eight Leagues from *Firando*. It had, it's true, gotten footing in *Eddo*; but the Emperor, upon ſome Pique taken againſt the Chriſtians, baniſhed them all from thence, and confined them to *Langeſaique*; and as a Prevention of its creeping into the Court, and rooting itſelf any where near him, he made it Death to any who ſhould offer to build a Church, or ſing Maſs, within ten Leagues of the Place where he reſided. This Change was but a very little before our going to *Eddo*; notwithſtanding which, the Chriſtian Religion is otherwiſe indulged. The Chriſtian *Japoneſe* at preſent have, as far as I ſee, the ſame Protection and Privilege with others; and the Jeſuits ſeem to enjoy an unreſtrained Liberty in the making of Proſelytes. The Foundation of a Factory being now firmly laid in the Emperor's full Grant to that Purpoſe, we proceeded to build upon it, being the rather encouraged to it, in that we were now aſſured that *Engliſh* Factories were actually ſettled at *Siam* and *Patana*; as alſo, that the *Dutch* made ſomething of their Buſineſs here; and we had Reaſon to believe we had not a leſs Share in the Good-will and Eſteem of this Country than they. We therefore appointed ſome of our Company to reſide here upon this Affair, with Inſtructions alſo to make what Diſcoveries they could upon the Coaſt of *Corea*, *Tuſhmay*, and other Parts adjoining, againſt the next Return of the Ships. By exact Obſervations we made, during our Stay here, we determine the Latitude of *Firando* to be 33° 14′ N. and the varying of the Compaſs 2° 50′ Eaſterly.

Thus far we have followed exactly the Memoirs of Captain *Saris*, who farther reports abundance of Civilities received from the King of *Firando*; together with a Letter, written by that Prince, to our King *James*, expreſſing a very earneſt Deſire to render all the Service in his Power to the *Engliſh* Nation; and highly commending their Deſign of eſtabliſhing a Correſpondence between their own Country and the *Japoneſe*; for the promoting of which, he profeſſes himſelf ready to do whatever lay in his Power. Captain *Saris* proſecuted his Voyage to *Bantam*, in the Iſland of *Java*, without any remarkable Accident; and he commends *Linſchoten*'s Voyages as very ſincere, and his Charts as very exact. He arrived at *Bantam* on the firſt of *January* 1614, and found things there in a very indifferent Condition, owing, as he conceived, to their having too many Factories; however, he got his Lading, and in the latter End of the Month of *May* proceeded for *England*, and arrived ſafely on the 27th of *September* following at *Plymouth*. He does not appear to have been very ſanguine in the Affair of ſettling a Factory in *Japon*, but ſeems to have been obliged thereto by his Inſtructions; yet as he was a Man of great Obſervation and Reflection, he took all imaginable Pains to have a diſtinct Account of what Goods were to be ſent there, and what might be expected in return. I apprehend, that the true Reaſon of his Diffidence was, our not having, at that time, an open Trade with *China*, the greateſt Profit reſulting from the *Japon* Trade being made on *Chineſe* Goods; but however, Time and Patience might have overcome all theſe Difficulties, and have eſtabliſhed us as effectually as the *Dutch*. But the Truth of the Matter was, that our People were leſs under Command, and conſequently leſs fit for living in that Country, and eſtabliſhing a Trade there.

As a Proof of Captain *Saris*'s great Merit in examining every thing carefully, and recording from time to time what Notices he received, I think it may not be amiſs to annex to this Account of his Voyage the Report he received concerning the Land of *Jeſſo*, or *Yedzo*, which was then, and ſtill is, a Place very imperfectly known, and on the abſolute Diſcovery of which hang many Points of Importance, but more particularly the Deciſion of the great Point, whether there be, or be not a Paſſage into theſe Seas by the North-Eaſt. I the rather inſert this Account, becauſe, for any thing I can perceive, it is as likely to be true as any we have yet received, only I ſuſpect, that either our *Japoneſe* Traveller was miſtaken in calling this Country an Iſland, or elſe there is both an Iſland and a Continent of the ſame Name, which is indeed agreeable to what we find relating to this Country in the freſheſt Accounts we have received from *Japon*. I muſt likewiſe beg leave to add, that if we reflect on the Stature and Complexions of the Northern *Tartars*, the *Laplanders* and *Samoeides*, we ſhall have the leſs Cauſe to ſuſpect this Writer, either of Credulity or Fiction.

Intelligence concerning Yedzo, *received at the City of* Eddo *in* Japon, *from a* Japoneſe *that had been twice there.*

“ This ingenious Traveller ſays, that *Yedzo* is an Iſland lying on the North-weſt Side of *Japon*, and about ſome ten Leagues diſtant from it. That the People are of fair Complexion, good-natured enough, far more humane in their Temper and Conditions than their outward Aſpect and Appearance, being all over rough and hairy, almoſt like Monkies; yet their Skin (as before hinted) white and clear. The Weapons uſed among them are Bows and poiſoned Arrows.

“ Thoſe in the Southern Parts are very underſtanding People, and fit for Commerce, having the Knowledge of Weights and Meaſures, which in the middle Parts of the Iſland they are entirely ignorant of. Thoſe in the Northern Parts are a People which ſeem to be different from the reſt of the Iſland, and of quite another Race, being ſo extremely ſhort, that they may be called Dwarfs in a ſtrict and proper Senſe; whereas the *Yedzoes* are commonly of the Stature of the *Japoneſe*.

“ They have none of them any ſort of Apparel but what is brought from *Japon*, and ſo the moſt Part of their Rice (if not all they are ſupplied with) is brought from thence too; but then they have that amongſt them which will make other People think it very well worth their while to come and bring them thoſe Neceſſaries, *viz.* a great deal of Silver, and a ſort of ſandy Gold, in which they make all their Payments to the *Japoneſe* for what they take of them.

“ The Commodities moſtly tranſported hither are Rice, Cotton, Cloth, Iron, and Lead; but all things neceſſary for the Back and Belly, are the moſt welcome and acceptable to theſe People; particularly Rice carried from *Japon* to *Yedzo* has yielded four hundred *per Cent.*

“ The chief Town where the *Japoneſe* reſide for Trade is called *Matzuma*, where they have alſo a Fort, and at leaſt five hundred Families of that Nation conſtantly dwelling there. In *September* the Natives come down in vaſt Numbers to buy and lay in their Winter Stores; and in *March* they bring Salmon, and ſeveral ſorts of dried Fiſh, beſides other Wares, which they barter with the *Japoneſe*. This *Matzuma* is the chief Town for Buſineſs known to the *Japoneſe* upon the whole Iſland, and they have no manner of Concern or Settlement any where but here.”

14. When I firſt entered upon this Subject, I muſt confeſs it was not my Intention to have proſecuted it ſo largely, but upon mature Reflection, that I could never have a more proper Occaſion to inſert the Hiſtory of our Acceſs to, and Retreat from *Japon*, which is in itſelf a very curious Subject, and hath this farther to recommend it, that it was never handled before, I thought I could not do better, than to throw all I have been able to learn upon this Head into this Section; by which means it would be better underſtood, and afford a clear Solution to a Queſtion

tion never yet anſwered, *viz.* How being once poſſeſſed of ſuch a Commerce, we came to loſe it? But that we may proceed regularly, I ſhall give the Reader next the Subſtance of a Letter written to Captain *John Saris* by Mr. *Cocks*, who was chiefly intruſted in the new Factory ſettled at *Firando.* This Letter is dated the 10th of *December* 1614, and contains abundance of curious Circumſtances that are not to be found in any other Piece that I have been able to meet with.

As to the Affairs of *Japon*, the Writer of this Letter gives us an Account, that they were at that time in a very diſmal Condition, a civil War being ready to commence, that threatened great Calamities to the whole Country. We have heard before, that the right Heir of this mighty Empire was ſhut up in the ſtrong Caſtle of *Oſaca*, where 'twas deſigned he ſhould live in perpetual Ignorance of himſelf, and his juſt Title to the Crown; or, at leaſt, if he ſhould by any means come to the Knowledge of his true Quality, ſhould by that cloſe Confinement be deprived of all Opportunities of giving any Diſturbance to the preſent Poſſeſſor; but the uſurping Emperor's Plot did not take the deſired Effect: The young Prince came to know himſelf ſome way or other, and accordingly took up Arms to aſſert and maintain his Right. He converted his Priſon into a ſtrong Garriſon, and inſtead of other Keepers got quickly about him an Army of one hundred thouſand Men, bold, reſolute, hardy Soldiers, moſt of them Out-laws, Exiles, and Malecontents, who flocked in to him from all Parts of the Empire, and will ſpend their Blood to ſet him in the Throne. Beſides this Force of Men, he had laid in as good a Strength of Proviſion, having furniſhed the invincible Caſtle of *Oſaca* with Victuals for three Years.

This was the Alarm which the Emperor ever dreaded: Nothing could look with a more threatening, malignant Aſpect upon his State and Power than a black Cloud gathering about the Caſtle of *Oſaca.* However, to maintain his own Pretenſions, he marched in Perſon with an Army of three hundred thouſand Men towards the Prince, and ſome little Bickerings had paſſed between Parties of both Armies at the Time of the writing of this; but now the whole Empire expected the Reſult of a pitched Battle, in which that Controverſy ſhould be ſolemnly decided, which of theſe two Pretenders ſhould finally wear the Imperial Crown of *Japon.*

It was not long before this that the Emperor declared himſelf a publick Enemy to the Chriſtians, giving Orders for the baniſhing all Jeſuits, Friars, Nuns, and their Adherents, out of *Japon*, pulling down their Churches and Monaſteries; and to make ſure Work with them, not only ordering their Baniſhment, but actually ſhipping them away himſelf, ſome for *China*, and others for the *Manillas*: And in a ſhort Space after this Perſecution, a very great Confuſion happened at *Eddo* (one of the largeſt Cities of the Empire) occaſioned by a moſt dreadful Tuffon that raged there. The City was almoſt demoliſhed by it, a great Part of the Buildings being broke down, and the Sea breaking in at the ſame time, threatened to ſwallow up all the reſt, ſo that the Inhabitants were forced to quit the Place, and run up into the Mountains for Shelter. The Pagan and the Chriſtian *Japoneſe* are very contrary one to another in their Opinions and Aſſertions concerning the Cauſe of this horrible Commotion. The latter ſay, 'tis a Judgment from God upon the Nation for the Affronts offered to the Chriſtian Religion, particularly for the Emperor's baniſhing it, with all the pious Jeſuits that preached it, as he lately did, ſo that the Circumſtance of the Calamity, with reſpect to that Place, clearly (as they ſay) expounds the Cauſe of it. On the other hand, the Pagans ſay 'tis Witchcraft; and that the Jeſuits, upon their Baniſhment, fell to conjuring, and raiſed that Storm to plague the Country, in Revenge.

At the Time of Captain *Saris*'s being in *Japon*, it was thought, that if any other *Engliſh* Ship came into thoſe Parts the Goods might immediately be ſold off, without the Formality of carrying another Preſent to the Emperor; but 'twas afterwards found to be otherwiſe, and every Ship that came in was under a Neceſſity of doing it, paying its Cuſtom that Way: More than this, they could not have Liberty ſo much as to ſet out a Junk, without the Emperor's Licence was annually procured; for 'twas made Death for any *Japoneſe* Mariner to ſtir out of the Country without Leave, only their own Ships might go in and out freely whenever they had Occaſion.

A good Project was ſet on foot for beginning a Trade upon the Coaſt of *China*, at a Town near *Languin*, to which Place a Ship might ſail from *Firando* with a good Wind in three or four Days Time. This was firſt propoſed and undertaken by ſome conſiderable *Chineſe* then in *Japon*, who laboured very hard in the Matter, and made no queſtion of accompliſhing it ſo far, that three *Engliſh* Ships ſhould have a Vent for their Commodities every Year at that Place. The Endeavours of the *Engliſh* Factory (ſettled at *Firando*) towards a Trade from *Tuſhma* to *Corea* proved ineffectual, very little to any Purpoſe being to be done there. There was no Vent for any Commodities, but Pepper only, and not much of that, though ſold at ſomething a better Rate. By all Circumſtances, it ſeems to appear, that the *Coreans* are not at all diſpoſed to a Correſpondence with them of *Tuſhma*, ſince they'll allow them but to come into one little Town, and forbid them to go without the Walls of that upon Pain of Death, nor ſo little a Way up into the Country, and that the King of *Tuſhma* is no Subject to the Emperor of *Japon*; ſo that there was no Danger of this latter Prince's getting any Footing amongſt them, by the opening a Correſpondence with the former.

Yet the *Coreans* are poſſeſſed with ſuch Jealouſies and Fears of the *Japoneſe*, as not to indulge any of their Neighbourhood in any manner of Liberties, by which it may be poſſible to faſten any hold upon them: And the Truth is, they are not fearful and miſtruſtful without Cauſe, if, at leaſt, former Attempts upon their Liberty may be a Reaſon why an Adverſary that made them ſhould be diſtruſted for the future; for *Tico-ſam*, the Emperor before this, did actually make an Irruption into *Corea*, intending to carry on his Conqueſts to the very Gates of *Peking*, and ſurprize the *Chineſe* Emperor in his Palace: But he was, in the midſt of that Career of Fortune, prevented by a *Corean* Nobleman, who, to ſerve his Prince and Country in that Extremity, gave the Conqueror his Death in a Cup of Poiſon, dying himſelf with him at the ſame time. By this means the *Japoneſe* loſt all they had gotten in *Corea*, and left *China* to the After-Conqueſt of the *Tartars*, which was very like, at this time, to have fallen to their own Share.

Now 'tis very probable, that this is the Reaſon of the horrid and inveterate Prejudices theſe two People entertain one againſt the other. The *Japoneſe* were the Invaders of the *Coreans*, and the *Coreans* robbed the *Japoneſe* of a glorious and fortunate Prince. But yet that Prince, how dear ſoever to the *Japoneſe*, was an Invader of the juſt Rights and Liberties of the *Coreans*; and they had no Reaſon tamely to give way to a foreign Power, that pretended to enſlave and trample upon them, if they could find any Means, either by Force or Policy, to put a Stop to it. However, it is certain, that the *Japoneſe* mortally hate the *Coreans*, and can never be poſſeſſed with Sentiments of Friendſhip for them as long as the World ſtands, unleſs the Humour of the Nation ſtrangely alters. They cannot, with any Patience, bear the Sight of a *Corean*; and thoſe People they take for ſuch cannot walk the Streets without a whole Rabble at their Heels, flouting and pelting them with Dirt and Stones.

Thus it was with Captain *Saris* in ſeveral Towns in *Japon*, where the People did not know what the *Engliſh* were; there was hardly any paſſing along, the Mob being ſo very rude and clamorous: Nay, the very Children had it in their Mouths, as well as the reſt, *Core, Core, Cocore Ware.* You *Coreans* with falſe Hearts. The *Japoneſe* are the civileſt and moſt well-bred People in the World, only they cannot be civil to a *Corean*, or any body they think to be ſo. It is ſaid, that there are very large Cities in this Province of *Corea*; and alſo towards the Sea a great many Bogs, impaſſable by Horſe or Foot almoſt, ſo that they uſe the Sailing-Waggons, which are furniſhed with Wheels, as other Waggons are, but much broader and flatter, that they may not cut deep into the Mire, and have alſo Sails like a Ship; by which Contrivance, obſerving proper Winds, they paſs all theſe Bogs eaſily. The Country affords Damaſk, Sattins, Taffaties, and other Silks, as *China* does; but they carry moſt of their Goods up and down in theſe Sailing-Waggons.

We have likewiſe ſome other Letters of a later Date from the ſame Factory, but very immaterial, and containing ſcarce any Circumſtances worthy of Notice, except that the *Japoneſe* were very importunate in demanding a Promiſe, that the *Engliſh* would bring no Padres, that is, Prieſts, among them; for the Perſecution being, at this time, very hot, the common People did not care to run any Hazards, as not knowing how to diſtinguiſh between one ſort of Chriſtian Prieſts and another. But the *Engliſh* did not give them any Trouble upon that Head; but, on the contrary, ſeemed to bend all their Endeavours towards the adding the Trade of *China* to that of *Japon*; in which, perhaps, they went too far, and might have done for themſelves, and their Country more, if they had ſtudied this Point leſs; for the *Japoneſe*, who are a very ſenſible People, conſidered this extending their Commerce in a bad Light; and, as they were naturally ſuſpicious of Strangers, could not help fearing they would at laſt employ Force, in caſe fair Means did not ſucceed. In theſe Notions they were confirmed by the News they received, from time to time, of the great Diſputes between the *Portugueze*, the *Engliſh*, and *Dutch*, in the *Eaſt-Indies*; meaſuring their Force at home, by their Actions abroad, and ſuppoſing that they wanted nothing but a ſpecious Pretence to attack the two great Empires of *China* and *Japon*. The laſt Letter we have is dated from *Firando*, *March* the 10th 1619, and in that there are ſome Particulars worthy the Attention of the Reader.

The Perſecution in this Country, which before proceeded no farther than Baniſhment, and Loſs of civil and religious Liberties, has ſince (as this Letter tells us) run up to all the Severities of corporal Puniſhment. The Chriſtians ſuffered as many ſorts of Deaths and Torments as thoſe in the primitive Perſecutions; and ſuch was their Conſtancy, that their Adverſaries were ſooner weary of inflicting Puniſhments, than they of enduring the Effects of their Rage: Very few, if any at all, renounced their Profeſſion. The moſt hideous Forms, in which Death appeared, by the Contrivance of their Adverſaries, would not ſcare them, nor all the Terrors of a ſolemn Execution overpower that Strength of Mind with which they ſeemed to go through their Sufferings. They made their very Children Martyrs with them, and carried them in their Arms to the Stake, chuſing rather to reſign them to the Flames, than leave them to the Bonzees to be educated in the Pagan Religion. All the Churches which the laſt Storm left ſtanding, this had entirely blown down, and demoliſhed, and Heathen Pagods were erected upon their Ruins.

The Dead were perſecuted too, as well as the Living, and the Graves were torn open, and the Bodies there incloſed thrown out into ſome baſer Receptacle; ſo that now, if ever Chriſtianity flouriſhes again in *Japon*, it muſt be upon a ſecond Plantation, the firſt Stock ſeeming at this time to be compleatly pulled up by the Roots. There were other Troubles and Stirs beſides theſe in *Japon*: At this Time another dangerous Rebellion was riſing at *Fruſhma*; but the Prince of that Place happening to be at that Time in the Court, the Emperor commanded him, either to write to his Subjects to lay down their Arms, or immediately to rip open his own Belly: He choſe rather to do the former, and ſo the Tumult was at an End; but he was turned out of that Government, and ſent into a Corner of the northern Part of *Japon*, and the great Caſtle of *Fruſhma* (bigger, by Report, than the City of *Rocheſter*) levelled with the Ground, all the Stones being carried away to *Oſaca* to rebuild that noble Piece, which the laſt Emperor *Ogeſhoſam* deſtroyed after his routing the Army of the Prince *Fidaia*; for it muſt be noted (though our Author does not expreſly tells us of it) that the Emperor ſpoken of in this Letter was not *Ogeſhoſam*, but ſome other his Succeſſor, of whom we have no other Account than theſe Actions of his given us. It is ſaid alſo, that this Prince *Fidaia* was gotten ſafe out of the great Battle, and lay *incognito* ſomewhere about *Meaco*; but this our Author hardly credits, it having been often reported ſo before.

Laſtly, he gives us an Account of the horrid, barbarous, and cruel Deportment of the *Dutch* towards the *Engliſh* then reſiding in *Firando*: Without any manner of Provocation they openly declared War againſt them, declared they would burn their Ships and Effects, and deſtroy their Perſons where-ever they could meet them; and this they did ſolemnly by Sound of Trumpet both aſhore and aboard all their Ships; and to be as good as their Word, they broke into the *Engliſh* Houſe with all their Force, and had actually ſacrificed every Perſon there, if the *Japoneſe* had not come in and fought vigorouſly in their Defence; for the Odds were vaſtly great, and one *Engliſhman* had at leaſt one hundred *Dutch* to deal with. All this, and much more of this kind, they did; but for what Reaſon it cannot be imagined, unleſs becauſe they would be Maſters every-where, and have the whole World to themſelves. One Paſſage only, which ſhews their Modeſty in thoſe Parts of the World, is not to be forgotten; and the rather, becauſe it was in the Preſence of the great Emperor of *Japon* himſelf, and all his Court. Our Author being there to do his Duty to the Emperor, upon the coming of the *Engliſh* Ships, found in the Preſence a certain boaſting *Dutchman*, that told the Emperor ſtrange Stories of his own Country, and extolled his King of *Holland* to the Skies, as the greateſt and moſt potent Prince in all that Part of the World, together with a vaſt deal of ſuch Stuff as that.

But he, who underſtood the *Japon* Language, tho' the *Dutchman* thought he had not, told him before the Emperor, he need not have told his Majeſty ſo loud a Lye as that, ſince all the World knew they had no King in *Holland*, but only a Stadtholder, who did not ſo much govern the People, as the People govern him; and whereas he had the Forehead to ſay, that his King, as he called him, held all other Princes in Chriſtendom in Subjection, it was well known the King of *England* had been his Country's Protector, or they had never been in a Condition to come and make a Noiſe abroad in the World. The *Dutchman* was, it ſeems, pretty much confounded to loſe his King ſo all of a ſudden; but there was no Help for it, and the *Spaniards* and *Portugueze* that were there at the ſame time, well knew the Truth of what was ſaid. Upon the whole, our Author adds, that the Company were extremely diverted with this Paſſage, and that there was old Laughing, eſpecially among the *Europeans*, to ſee the *Dutchman* ſo bewildered to find out this King, which they very well knew he could never do.

All theſe Tranſactions happened during the Life-time of Mr. *Adams*, who ſpent the Remainder of his Days with Honour in *Japon*, where he deceaſed in 1631; but with reſpect to any of the ſubſequent Actions of his Life, they are not recorded in any of the Writers I have met with; but though there be ſomething very ſingular in this, yet I think it much more ſtrange, that we have no diſtinct Account of the Time that the *Engliſh* withdrew themſelves from this Country, or of the Reaſons which induced them to take that Step; but I think it is pretty clear, that they were reduced thereto, either by the Frauds, or by the Power of the *Dutch*; for it is clear enough from the Letters which the Reader has already ſeen, but eſpecially from the laſt, that theſe two Nations began to differ with each other as ſoon as they found that they were become too ſtrong for the *Portugueze*. It was after the Expulſion of this laſt mentioned Nation, that the *Dutch* found themſelves not a little hurt by their own Politicks; for having taught the *Japoneſe* how to be on their Guard againſt all Foreign Nations, this drew upon them thoſe Hardſhips which they have laboured under ever ſince, though they have not ſpared any Pains to free themſelves from ſuch diſagreeable Marks of ſlaviſh Submiſſion; but as we have already inſiſted ſufficiently upon this Point in another Place, we ſhall not dwell upon it any longer here.

Before we conclude this Section, however, it will be proper to take notice of a Tranſaction which is not commonly known, and that is, of an Attempt made by us to recover the Commerce of *Japon* in the Year 1673. It ſeems to have been undertaken by the *Eaſt-India* Company, for the Ship ſent for that Purpoſe ſailed from the *Engliſh*

Factory at *Bantam*, and arrived before the Haven of *Nangazaqui*, which is the only one the *Dutch* are permitted to reſort to, on the 20th of *June*. As ſoon as the Ship appeared in Sight of the Port, there came off two Veſſels, one carrying a *Japoneſe*, and the other a *Dutch* Flag; but on their coming up to the *Engliſh* Ship, they haled them in *Portugueze*, and demanded whence they came? The Captain anſwered in *Engliſh*, and in *Dutch*, that he came from *England*; upon which the *Japoneſe* Officer directed him to let go his Anchor, to forbid his Trumpet to play, and to forbear firing his Guns; to all which Demands he readily ſubmitted.

After remaining at Anchor about two Hours, there came off two Boats, in one of which was the Governor, and his Secretary, accompanied by an Interpreter, who ſpoke *Portugueze*; and in the other Boat there were four Interpreters, who all of them ſpoke *Dutch*. As ſoon as they came on Board, the Captain conducted them to his Cabin, and when all had taken their proper Places, the Governor aſked him very gravely, if he was an *Engliſhman*, and what his Buſineſs was there? He anſwered, that he was an *Engliſhman*, that he was charged with a Commiſſion from the King his Maſter to re-eſtabliſh the Trade ſettled by his Subjects fifty Years before in *Japon*. He added, that he was charged with a Letter from his *Britannick* Majeſty, and another from the *Eaſt-India* Company, addreſſed to the Emperor of *Japon*; and at the ſame time that he ſaid this, he produced a Copy of the Privileges granted to the *Engliſh* by the Emperor, written in *Japoneſe* Characters, which the Governor having read, was very importunate for the Original under the Emperor's Seal. The *Engliſh* Captain, however, told him ingenuouſly, it was not in his Power to produce that, becauſe the Emperor had demanded it ſhould be delivered up at the Time the *Engliſh* quitted *Japon*, with which they could not refuſe to comply. The Governor then put up the Copy of the Privileges, but promiſed the *Engliſh* Captain, that as ſoon as an Anſwer came from Court to his Requeſt, he would deliver it up.

After a ſhort Silence, the Governor aſked him, if *England* was at Peace with *Spain* and *Portugal?* What Religion the *Engliſh* were of? If it was a long time ſince King *Charles* had married the Daughter of the King of *Portugal?* and how many Children he had by her? This very plainly ſhewed, that the *Japoneſe* were very inquiſitive, and at the ſame time very well informed as to the Affairs of *Europe*. The Captain anſwered, without Heſitation, that the *Engliſh* were at Peace with all the World, that it was true King *Charles* had married the Daughter of the King of *Portugal*, but that he had no Children by his Queen; and that as to Religion, the *Engliſh* were ſuch ſort of Chriſtians as the *Dutch*, and not ſuch ſort of Chriſtians as the *Portugueze*, or *Spaniards*; that the Cuſtom of *Europe* required Kings to marry Perſons of like Rank with themſelves, and never the Daughters of their Subjects. To all this he added farther, that he had Preſents of great Value for his Imperial Majeſty; at which the Governor ſeemed to be very much pleaſed, and ſoon after retired. In about two Hours Time he returned again, and then told the Captain, that if the *Engliſh* would be ſatisfied with ſuch a Trade as the *Dutch* enjoyed, very poſſibly they might obtain it; but then, according to the Cuſtom of the Country, it would be fit for them to ſend their Cannon and their Ammunition aſhore; after which he would inform the Emperor of every thing, and that after receiving his Imperial Majeſty's Anſwer, if it proved favourable, he was willing to furniſh them with a Houſe. The Captain took all this in good Part; he delivered up his Arms and Ammunition, and ſuffered the Governor, who brought with him a great Number of armed Boats, to ſtation them as he thought fit; which he did, by ranging ſome a-head, ſome a-ſtern, and cauſing a double Line to anchor on each Side of the Veſſel, and all within half Cannon Shot.

This being done, the Governor came aboard again, attended by his Interpreter, who was a *Dutchman*, and in whom he had great Confidence, and examined every one of the Ship's Company, particularly firſt as to his Country, whether he was an *Engliſhman*, and not a *Portugueze?* whether he had ever been in *Portugal*, or could ſpeak the Language of that Country? and whether he was a Chriſtian after the *Dutch* Form; or the *Portugueze?* Theſe Queſtions being all anſwered, they proceeded next to take an exact Account of all the Bales of Merchandize on board the Ship, and drew up a kind of Bill of Lading with great Exactneſs. After this the Governor aſked, if other Ships did not ſail with them from *England?* what was become of them? how long they ſtayed at *Bantam?* and what other Places they had been at in the *Eaſt-Indies?* Theſe Queſtions being anſwered to his Satisfaction, the Governor retired for good and all, and carried away with him what had been delivered up to him. On the 30th of the ſame Month he came on board again, attended by his Secretary and Interpreters. He was received with all imaginable Civility and Ceremony by the Captain, and after they were ſeated together in his Cabbin, he proceeded to make a kind of Diſcourſe to this Effect: That it was true, there had been formerly an *Engliſh* Factory in *Japon*, that thoſe who compoſed it had been very well treated, and never had expreſſed any ſort of Diſſatisfaction; notwithſtanding which, it was now forty-nine Years ſince any *Engliſh* Ship had entered their Ports, and therefore he would be glad to know the Cauſe of ſo long an Abſence, as alſo the Cauſe of their coming thither again. If we depend upon this Governor's Calculation, it would fix the Time of withdrawing the *Engliſh* Factory to the Year 1624, and then it would appear, that Mr. *Adams* ſurvived that Event near ſeven Years; but if that were the Caſe, it may ſeem ſomewhat difficult to account for the *Engliſh* knowing when his Deceaſe happened, unleſs we ſuppoſe that they received the News from the *Dutch*, which, as it is very probable they might, we may look upon this as a Point ſettled.

But to return to the Captain, who in anſwer to the Speech made him by the *Japoneſe* Governor, told him, that as to the Cauſe why the Factory broke up, he could ſay nothing to it at all, as being totally unacquainted therewith. That as to their long Abſence, he conceived it might be produced by that Confuſion into which his Country had been thrown by the Civil Wars that happened not long after; that ſince that Time they had been likewiſe engaged in two very long and bloody Wars with the *Dutch*, and that after ſo long an Intermiſſion, it was a thing extreamly difficult to find a Pilot capable of conducting a Ship to their Coaſt, which in *Europe* was repreſented as a very difficult and perilous Voyage. The Governor heard him with great Attention, and aſked him, when he had done ſpeaking, whether he had not on Board his Veſſel ſome Perſon who had made that Voyage before? the Captain anſwered, that he had not: Why then, replied the Governor, How came you hither? the Captain anſwered him, that they had ſome old Charts, which were exact enough for that Purpoſe, as they had found by Experience.

The Governor ſeemed mighty well ſatisfied with ſo fair and ſo diſtinct an Account, and when he returned to the Town, left his Secretary on Board to receive all the reſt of the Arms and Ammunition they had, in which he was ſo exact, that he took away with him ſome double barrelled Fowling-pieces, that were part of the Preſent intended for the Emperor; but he made a very curious and exact Inventory of every thing that he got into his Hands, and gave a Copy of it, ſigned by way of Security, to the Captain. After all was over, they parted very good Friends, and the Secretary told him, that ſo far as depended upon him, nothing ſhould be wanting that might procure him a favourable Anſwer from his Court; for which the Captain thanked him, aſſuring him at the ſame time, that his Nation had an intire Confidence in the *Japoneſe*.

On the firſt of *July* the Governor and his Interpreters came on Board again, and aſked ſeveral Queſtions; and upon this Occaſion there happened a Diſpute between the Captain and the *Dutch* Interpreter, who confidently aſſerted, that the Captain had told him ſeveral things which that Gentleman affirmed never entered into his Head. The Governor upon this took a freſh Account of every Man that was aboard, ſetting down his Name, his Age, his Employment; and when he had done this, he deſired the Captain to prepare an exact Liſt of what Commodities every Man had to diſpoſe of, as alſo of what belonged to the Company; and then took the Dimenſions of the Ship, of the Maſts, Yards, &c. At his Departure, he charged the Captain, if he wanted any thing, to make certain Signals, which he mentioned; and at the ſame time told him, that in caſe any of his People died, he ſhould make two Signals, and ſhould not throw the Body over till they came and examined it. The Day following the Interpreters, and ſome Gentlemen of the Emperor's Court, came on Board in the Morning, and aſked abundance of Queſtions, to all which the Captain gave ſuch clear and diſtinct Anſwers, that they ſeemed perfectly ſatisfied.

They returned again after Dinner, and brought a great Quantity of Refreſhments, which had been bought by the Captain of the *Dutch* Ships, and at a very high Price, which, however, the *Engliſh* Captain received with much Complaiſance, and teſtified his Thanks for them, as if it had been a great Favour; and at the ſame time deſired leave to hoiſt his Flag, and to ſound his Trumpets, which Demands were granted. The following Days were ſpent much in the ſame manner; that is to ſay, the ſame Perſons came on Board, and ſtill aſked abundance of Queſtions, which turned chiefly upon Religion, and the Difference between the Faith profeſſed by the *Portugueze* and *Spaniards*, and that held by the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, which, it may be eaſily ſuppoſed, gave them a good deal of Trouble on both Sides.

At laſt, on the 28th of *July*, about Ten in the Morning, the principal Secretaries, with abundance of Interpreters, and a large Train of Attendants, came on Board the Ship, in order to inform the Captain that they had received an Anſwer from Court, and that it was by no means favourable. It amounted, in ſhort, to this, that his Imperial Majeſty had declared he could not permit any Commerce in his Dominions to the Subjects of a Prince who had eſpouſed the Daughter of the King of *Portugal*, the principal Enemy of him and his Empire, and that therefore he was to prepare himſelf for ſailing as ſoon as it was poſſible.

The Captain repreſented upon this, that the Seaſon of the Year conſidered, it was ſimply impoſſible for him to ſtir, and therefore he hoped they would allow him to ſtay till the proper Seaſon, and the Return of the Trade-Winds, gave him an Opportunity of proceeding thence with Safety. To which reaſonable Demand they, without any great Difficulty, conſented: The Captain from this took occaſion to propoſe another thing, which, he believed, would have been as readily granted, from the Sorrow and Concern which theſe good People expreſſed. In ſhort, the ſecond Favour he aſked was this, that ſince he had ſpent two Years in his Voyage, and ſince it was not probable they ſhould ever have an Opportunity of purchaſing *Engliſh* Commodities again, he might have Leave given him to diſpoſe of his preſent Cargo: But the Reception given to this Propoſition was very different from what he expected; he was told, that none in the Empire durſt either adventure to purchaſe any of the Goods he had on Board, nor ſo much as to requeſt a Licence for that Purpoſe from Court, where, when once a Reſolution was taken, it was abſolutely final, and there was no getting it either reverſed or reviewed. To teſtify, however, their own good Will to the Captain, and to ſhew him how ready they were to do any thing they could oblige him in, they conſented that he ſhould purchaſe Proviſions, and whatever other Neceſſaries he wanted, with Merchandize, and not with Money.

If in the whole Courſe of theſe Proceedings the Captain met with many things that ſurprized him, there was one fell out more ſtrange than all the reſt, and it was this, that the *Japoneſe* Governor acquainted him with more of the Affairs of *Europe* than he was Maſter of; for diſcourſing of the *Dutch* Wars, he enquired how long the *Engliſh* had been at Peace with that Nation? and upon the Captain's giving him a clear Anſwer, and mentioning alſo the Time of his own Departure from *England*, the Governor replied, then you know nothing of the Attempt made to conquer the *Dutch* by your Maſter, in Confederacy with the King of *France*, and the Biſhop of *Munſter*, and that they are already Maſters of three of the ſeven Provinces? The Captain aſſured him, that he did not, and that the News very much ſurprized him. However, he very eaſily underſtood from thence, that he was very little obliged to the *Dutch* for their good Offices in this Negotiation.

Before his Departure, he reſolved to make another Trial as to what might be done hereafter; and with this View, he enquired of the Governor, whether, after the Death of the Queen of *England*, it might not be poſſible for his Majeſty's Subjects to obtain Leave to trade in *Japon?* To which the *Japoneſe* Officer made him this remarkable Anſwer, that he would not adviſe the *Engliſh* to make ſuch an Attempt; for that as the Sweat once expelled, never found an Entrance again into the human Body, ſo the Orders of the Emperor once iſſued, the Matters which occaſioned them never more found Admittance into his Mind. All the Time they remained in the Port, the Governor, his Secretary, and other Officers, made them frequent Viſits, and fatigued them with an infinite Number of intricate, and ſome of them very impertinent Queſtions, which gave them a great deal of Trouble; but if we except this, they were in all other things uſed with as much Kindneſs and Civility as it was poſſible. When the Seaſon came that they might depart with Safety, the Governor came on Board, and brought with him all that he had taken from them, except their Powder, which he declared it was not in his Power to put on Board till they were ready to ſail; but at the ſame time he told the Captain, that he would take care none of the *Dutch* Ships ſhould ſtir out of Port, till he had time to get ſafe to *Bantam*, becauſe, as he was informed, there was a War broke out between the two Nations.

On the 28th of *Auguſt* 1673, the Wind being fair, the Captain received poſitive Orders to ſail without Delay, which accordingly he did, fully perſuaded in himſelf, that if it had not been for the Intrigues of the *Dutch*, he might have ſucceeded in his Deſign, and have raiſed his Reputation by the effectual Execution of his Commiſſion. This is certainly the laſt Attempt made in our Favour, and in all probability, it is the laſt that will be ever made, unleſs a more enterprizing Spirit ſhould riſe in ſucceeding Generations than ſeems to actuate the preſent Race of *Britons*. In the ſucceeding Volume we ſhall inſert ſome farther Accounts of this Country; but before we diſmiſs this Subject, it cannot but be agreeable to the Reader to ſee the great Maxim of the *Japoneſe*, upon which our Excluſion is plainly built, viz. *The Reſolution of admitting no Strangers into their Country on any Terms*, explained, and ſet in a clear Light, the rather, becauſe the Examination of this Point will naturally lead us to explain ſome others that will render the Connection of this Diſcourſe more eaſy and obvious than it would otherwiſe be.

The original Government of *Japon* was by an abſolute Monarch, in whoſe Perſon were united all thoſe Characters that naturally give a Luſtre to a Man in the Eyes of his own Species. He had beſides the Regal Dignity, that of head Prieſt, ſupream Legiſlator and Director of the Forces of the Empire all inveſted in him; but as here and elſewhere Ability is not always annexed to Blood, ſo it fell out, that ſome of theſe ſupream Monarchs, who in their own Language are ſtiled *Dairy*, which ſignifies elevated Lord, were in ſome meaſure governed by thoſe to whom they intruſted the Command of their Forces; and this prime Miniſter, and General in chief, had the Title of *Cubo-Sama*, which has very near the ſame Signification with the *Turkiſh* Title of *Vizir-Azem*, that is, *moſt illuſtrious*, or *moſt reſplendent Lord*; and at length the *Cubo-Sama* became in Fact the Maſter of the Empire, and the *Dairy* had the Title only, or at the moſt an empty Shadow of Authority, or rather of Sovereignty.

This Uſurpation in the *Cubo-Sama's* began about the twelfth Century, and occaſioned great Wars and Diſturbances in *Japon*, from whence aroſe that Multitude of little Kingdoms and Principalities into which this Country was divided, when firſt it was viſited by the *Europeans*. For when the Governors of Provinces ſaw that the *Cubo-Sama's* had made ſo free with their Lords and Maſters the *Dairy's*, who were, and ſtill are, treated with divine Honours, they thought there might be leſs Crime in reſiſting theſe lawleſs Miniſters, and ſo ſet themſelves up for Kings and Princes. *Taico-Sama*, which is another Title of Honour, tho' uſed by moſt Writers, and particularly by ſuch as I have tranſcribed in this Section as a proper Name, was the firſt who formed a Deſign of making the *Cubo-Sama* as abſolute as
ever

ever the *Dairy* had been; but he ſuffered himſelf to be diverted from this Scheme by the Invaſion of *Corea*.

His Son, whoſe Name, according to the *Japoneſe* Chronicles, was *Fide-Jori*, ſucceeded him, and is the young Prince mentioned by Captain *Saris*, whoſe Tutors rebelled againſt him, and who was at laſt deprived of his Empire by that Monarch, who granted the Privilege of ſettling in *Japon* to the *Engliſh*, and whoſe Name, according to the Chronicles before-mentioned, was *Jeſi-Jas*, which explains the ſigning of his Letter, and of the Articles; for as to the Title at the Head of them (*Ogoſhoſamma*) it is a Corruption of the Words *Cubo-Sama*. After the Defeat of the young Prince, who in the Letters herein cited is called *Fidai*, he reigned without any farther Diſpute; and all the ſucceeding *Cubo Sama's*, whom our modern Writers call Emperors of *Japon*, are his direct Deſcendants. He was the greateſt Politician that ever this Country produced, and his Maxims have been ſteadily followed by all his Succeſſors.

Theſe Maxims were to reduce all the little Kingdoms into Provinces of his Empire, which he effected; to extirpate the Chriſtian Religion from a Principle of Policy, that the People might not be induced to take up Arms againſt their Emperors from a Notion of Religion; and upon the ſame Principle his Succeſſors expelled all Foreigners, and reſtrained the *Japoneſe* from going out of their own Country: For, it was the ſettled Opinion of this new Legiſlator, that the only Way for him and his Family to reign in Peace, was to exclude all Thoughts of Novelties, and to keep the People cloſely to their old Laws and Cuſtoms. which he thought were beſt adapted to the Maintenance of the Imperial Dignity, and to their own Happineſs. If, in Exception to this general Rule, the *Chineſe*, the *Siameſe*, and the *Dutch*, are allowed ſome kind of Commerce in this Empire, yet it is againſt the Grain, and contrary to the Maxims of their Policy, as appears plainly by the ſevere Reſtrictions under which theſe Nations are allowed to carry on their Commerce. It is no leſs certain, that the *Japoneſe* hate and deſpiſe thoſe very Nations with whom they trade, for ſubmitting to theſe Regulations, which were no leſs intended to exerciſe. and even to wear out their Patience, who were to be ſubjected to them, than for their Security and Preſervation, by whom, and for whoſe ſakes, they were impoſed.

For it is to be obſerved, that the Inhabitants of this Empire, conſidered freely, and without Prejudice, are as wiſe, as quick-witted, as ſenſible, as generous, and as well bred a People as there are upon the Face of the Earth. They love Freedom, and underſtand it much better than all other Nations; they conſider their Laws as Fences to that Freedom, and therefore never repine at the Severity with which they are executed; but call that Tyranny, which exceeds the Meaſure of thoſe Laws, becauſe this proceeds from the Prince himſelf; whereas Severity, in the Execution of Juſtice proceeds from the common Depravity of a Nation. In one thing their Law is very remarkable; they have Attainders as well as we; but if a Man expiates his Offence by voluntary Death, his Family ſuffers nothing in Honour, Perſon, or Property. This paſſionate Love of Freedom, joined to their natural Boldneſs and Contempt of Death, made them love the *Engliſh* extreamly, of which I can give the Reader a very ſingular Proof, which at the ſame time will reſolve a Difficulty, that I muſt confeſs, when I firſt entered upon this Section, I thought abſolutely beyond the Reach of Solution.

They have amongſt them a Title of Honour, which they call *Cami*, which the *Spaniſh* and *Portugueze* Writers thought equivalent to Knighthood; and the *French*, who only tranſcribe thoſe Authors, render it by the Word Chevalier. This Honour they conferred upon our Countrymen *Adams* and Captain *Saris*; and from hence, beyond Queſtion, they came to be ſtiled the Chevaliers *Adams* and *Saris*; and, I conceive, that it was a Diſtinction no other Foreigners ever attained. It likewiſe appears by the Queſtions put to the laſt *Engliſh* Captain that was there, that theſe People were not a little chagrined at the Loſs of the *Engliſh* Factory, for which they could never account; but probably underſtood it to have riſen from their Affection to their Enemies the *Portugueze*, in which Error they were, without doubt, confirmed by the *Dutch*, who have left no Method untried; and, indeed, who can blame them for it? to keep this profitable Commerce entirely to themſelves.

Theſe Obſervations and Remarks have coſt me a great deal of Pains and Trouble; but if they prove entertaining and ſatisfactory to thoſe judicious Perſons, who have hitherto expreſſed a Regard for this Work, I ſhall think they are fully repaid; and it is from the Hopes of this that I ſhall adventure to cloſe this Section with ſome Thoughts on the Means of recovering this long loſt Trade. As we are excluded at preſent from *Japon*, upon a Principle of Policy only, and not from any actual Miſdemeanour, as was the Caſe of the *Portugueze*, who, under Colour of propagating the Chriſtian Religion, interfered with the civil Concerns of that Nation, and gave their Government a great deal of Trouble, ſo, I conceive, that the only way to obtain Admiſſion again into *Japon*, is to remove the Prejudices that have been conceived againſt us.

This too, I apprehend, might be very eaſily done, if the Government of that Country were apprized of the Change that has happened in our Conſtitution, by which it is become impoſſible that any of our Princes ſhould ally themſelves by Marriage. either to the Crowns of *France*, *Spain*, or any other Popiſh Power. I do not pretend to ſay, that this would afford them any real Security, or that they would be at all in leſs Danger from us now than they were before; but then, if it be conſidered, that they were in no Danger then, and are in no Danger now, but that their Apprehenſions flow intirely from an ill-grounded Prejudice, the removing that Prejudice, however ill-grounded, may be of Uſe to us. In the next place, if the *Dutch* have a great Commerce with the *Chineſe* at *Batavia*, and are thereby enabled to furniſh a proper Cargo for *Japon*; we have a direct Trade to *China*, and conſequently lie under no Impediment that Way, as we did at the Time our former Factory was ſettled there. But it will be ſaid, How ſhall the *Japoneſe* be informed of this? Can it be expected that the *Dutch* will acquaint them? and if they will not, how are they to be informed? Why, truly, that is the very Queſtion; for, I conceive, that if they were once ſatisfied in that Point, the reſt would very eaſily follow.

The Means therefore that I would propoſe, ſhould be the landing in the Northern Part of the great Iſland of *Niphon*, two or three Perſons properly inſtructed, who, under pretence of Shipwreck, might deſire and obtain a Paſſage to the *Dutch* Port; and as this is the biggeſt of the three Iſlands that compoſe the Empire of *Japon*, I conceive, that in their Paſſage acroſs it, they might have many Opportunities, eſpecially if they took Pains to learn the Language, to inform a People ſo inquiſitive as theſe are, of the Particulars which it concerns us moſt that they ſhould know; and if at a proper Seaſon a Ship ſhould be ſent from the Coaſt of *China* to the Port of *Nangazaqui*, to enquire after theſe People, it might afford us an Opportunity of feeling the Pulſes at leaſt of the *Japoneſe* once more.

I foreſee a Multitude of Objections that may be made to this Scheme, ſuch as, that it will be found extreamly hard, if not impoſſible, to meet with Perſons, either capable, or willing to undertake it. But I have conſidered theſe Objections, and I do not think they have much Weight. There are ſo many People, who at this Juncture, ſhip themſelves for the *Eaſt-Indies* in the moſt low and laborious Stations, in hopes of bettering their Fortunes, that I am perſuaded, if a Reward of three thouſand Pounds, or ſome ſuch Sum, was promiſed to be paid immediately on their coming back, there would not want ſome who would offer themſelves for this Service; and then as to their Capacities, they might be tried, and even improved, before they were ſent; and they might have ſuch Inſtructions given them, though not in Writing, for that might hazard all by being found upon them, as might enable them to execute this Commiſſion with great Probability of Succeſs.

That they ſhould at once obtain a Privilege and ſettled Trade there, is what I am not ſanguine enough to expect, nor is it what I mean by the Probability of executing their Commiſſion with Succeſs; but that they might be able to learn ſome News of the *Japoneſe*, and carry them ſome News of us, which in Time, and with proper Helps, might come to ſomewhat, is what I cannot help thinking very probable; at leaſt it is apparent, that if ſome Attempt of this kind be not made, we can never hope for any thing; and to deſpair in a Matter of Trade, is incompatible with the true Spirit of a trading Nation, and with ours more eſpecially. For after all, what is there in this more extraordinary than what was actually performed by Mr. *Adams?* He came to *Japon* helpleſs, and without Friends; his own Merit recommended him, and made him Friends, ſuch Friends as enabled him to do the great Things that he did, Things to the full as great or greater than thoſe we expect from the Perſons that ſhould be now ſent; and therefore, whoever will have this Method ſet aſide, for want of Probability, is bound to offer a Method more probable, and in that Caſe I ſhall moſt readily ſubmit.

But if, while we conſider all Attempts of this ſort as chimerical or impracticable, any other Nation ſhould ſtep in, and either expel the *Dutch*, or ſhare with them in that Commerce, it will be a very high Reflection upon us, who may pretend to it with at leaſt as great, if not greater Hopes than any other. That this Conjecture of ſome other Nation's making an Attempt of this Nature is not abſolutely wild or groundleſs, may appear from the Endeavours of the *Ruſſians*, who have actually reached in their Diſcoveries ſome Iſlands, the Inhabitants of which make uſe of Money ſtamped with *Japoneſe* Characters; from whence it is with great Probability conjectured, that they are Vaſſals at leaſt, if not Subjects, to that Empire. There are other Nations too, as will appear by the ſucceeding Sections, which have found their Way to the *Eaſt-Indies*, and the Coaſts of *China*, though it was thought they laboured under inſuperable Difficulties, and why they ſhould not be able to extend their Commerce farther, and even reach *Japon*, is what no good Reaſon can be aſſigned to prove, any more than I apprehend any ſolid Cauſe can be ſhewn why we ſhould not endeavour to be before-hand with them in a Point of ſuch Conſequence.

But, perhaps, ſome Critick may demand, how do you know it is of ſuch Conſequence? How can you take upon you to aſſert ſo confidently things relating to a Place and People at ſuch a Diſtance? How can you tell that all theſe Points have not been long ago conſidered by better Judges than yourſelf, and ſuch Projects as you propoſe upon ſubſtantial Motives rejected? or what Reaſon is there that you ſhould expect the Schemes you form in your Cloſet ſhould ſerve for Rules for ſuch as are better acquainted with theſe Matters than yourſelf? I am very ſenſible, that there are a Race of ill-natured People in the World very capable of throwing out ſuch Reflections as theſe, and I know too, that many of them do it againſt the Conviction of their own Minds, and merely from a Spirit of Envy. But, however, as ſuch Queſtions may have a bad Effect on the Minds of a better ſort of People, by which I mean Perſons of honeſter Diſpoſitions, and who really wiſh well to the Publick, and yet are led away by ſuch trite Animadverſions, for want of a due Meaſure of Attention, I think it may not be amiſs, for their ſakes, to examine ſuch Notions once for all, and to ſhew, that however ſpecious they may appear at firſt Sight, they have in reality no Foundation.

In the firſt Place I muſt obſerve, that the Theory of Trade may be as well acquired from Books and Enquiries, as from being actually concerned in it, and that Experience ſhews us the moſt extenſive Projects; and ſuch as have been attended with the greateſt Succeſs have been formed by ſpeculative Men, who, by reaſoning upon Facts, have been able to form much better Judgments, with reſpect to Commerce, than thoſe from whom they received the Facts upon which they argued. But, to come cloſer to the Point, and by anſwering theſe Queſtions, ſo far as they regard this Subject, to put an End to this Diſpute, ſince the ſame Anſwers will ſerve with equal Truth and Certainty on any other Occaſion. If we know the Situation and Extent of a Country, its Climate, Soil, Product, and Manufactures, we can very eaſily, and with the utmoſt Certainty determine, whether it be a Country worth viſiting, and what kind of Commodities are like to have vent there. In this there is nothing ſtrange or wonderful, nothing that requires a very extraordinary Degree of Penetration or Sagacity. For, in whatever Climate Men live, they muſt have Food and Raiment, and in proportion, as they are civilized, they will not only deſire the Neceſſaries, but aſpire alſo to the Conveniencies of Life, and what we call the Inſtruments of Luxury, which may alſo be ſuited to their Humours, if we have a tolerable Account of the Manners and Cuſtoms of the People.

We know very well what Commodities and Manufactures of ours are taken off in *Spain*, *Portugal*, and Part of *France*; and therefore, when we know that the beſt Part of the Empire of *Japon* lies in pretty near the ſame Situation, we cannot be much at a Loſs for the Goods the Inhabitants of that Country are like to take off our Hands, in caſe we had an open Trade with them; but, to be more certain in this Caſe, we have it in our Power to learn what the *Dutch* carry thither; and upon Enquiry, we ſhall find, that they are chiefly Scarlet, and other fine Cloths, Cambleis, Serges, and our own Kerſeys, together with ſome Silk Manufactures, ſuch as rich Damaſks, Brocades, fine Night-Gowns, and in general, a great Variety of Linnen, Woollen, and Cotton Cloths, together with Glaſs and Stone-Wares, Coral, and many other things. We may therefore with great Confidence pronounce, that if the Way were once opened to us, we might be able to vend a vaſt Quantity of the natural Commodities and Manufactures of our Country there.

Beſides, ſince the Diſcoveries made by the *Ruſſians*, it is very certain, that the Countries to the North of *Japon*, particularly the great Peninſula of *Kamtſchatka*, which perhaps is the Continent of *Yedzo*, is very throughly peopled by Inhabitants that are much inclined to Trade, and who, from the Coldneſs of their Climate, muſt neceſſarily ſtand in need of our coarſer Cloths, and other Manufactures of the like kind.

If the vaſt Diſtance between us and them be objected, let us conſider how the *Dutch* carry on this Trade, who are not at all nearer them than we; for if they can manage it with Eaſe, the ſame Method ſurely will render it practicable for us. They fit out their Ships from their Settlements in the *Indies*, *viz.* *Batavia* and *Malacca*; and as we have Settlements in the *Indies* too, our Ships may be fitted out from thence; and if even theſe Settlements are at too great a Diſtance, this is no invincible Objection, ſince there ſeems to be no Cauſe why we ſhould not attempt at leaſt to open this Trade from the Coaſt of *China*, where we had formerly a Factory in the Iſland of *Chuſan*, of which I have given ſome Account, and there is no doubt, but that we might either obtain that, or another more convenient again, if we apply for it.

As to the Sentiments of People who have viſited the *Eaſt-Indies*, and reſided a conſiderable Time in them, there is no Reaſon, ſuppoſe their Notions contrary to mine (which however is not the Fact) to yield implicitly to them. They may have other Motives for their Opinions, than thoſe which they think fit to diſcover; and if after all, there ſhould be ever ſo good Reaſons advanced why the *Eaſt-India* Company ſhould not endeavour to acquire this Trade; yet I cannot apprehend, that what I have offered, ought to be at all affected thereby, ſince it is certain, that if the Commodities and Manufactures of this Country are exported, that Exportation muſt turn to the general Benefit of the Nation. This was the Sentiment of the great *De Wit*, with reſpect to the *Eaſt-India* Company in *Holland*. He made no Difficulty in declaring, that how uſeful ſoever that Company might be to the Republick in its Infancy, there might nevertheleſs come a Time, when the Intereſts of the Company might claſh with thoſe of the State; and if this might be the Caſe in *Holland*, it may be ſo elſewhere.

It is very eaſy to conceive there may be good Reaſons to induce even the greateſt Companies to limit their Commerce, becauſe this will put it in their Power to manage it the better, and to render it more advantageous; but there never can be any Reaſon aſſigned for reſtraining the Commerce of any Nation. The more of her Commodities and Manufactures a Nation can ſend Abroad, the more People ſhe muſt neceſſarily employ at Home, and the more her Shipping muſt increaſe; neither is there any Fear that this ſhould exhauſt their People; for while her Trade flouriſhes, it will never fail to invite Strangers, and therefore Experience ſhews us, that tho' in poor Countries the People are generally ſpeaking more prolifick; yet it does not follow, that they are more populous, becauſe their Wants drive them Abroad, and that too under ſuch Circumſtances, as that they ſeldom return Home.

But to ſum up all, the *Dutch* Writers themſelves inform us, that of late Years, among other Reſtraints impoſed upon them by the *Japoneſe*, the very Quantity of Goods they are to ſend into the Country is limited, and this to about the Value of one hundred thouſand Pounds of our Money; notwithſtanding which, the ſame Writers own, that the Profits on this Trade amount, one Year with another, to near four Times that Sum; and thus, I think, I have effectually ſhewn, that there is nothing wild, chimerical, or abſurd, in propoſing to recover our Trade to *Japon*, if it be poſſible; to which I beg Leave to add, that while the Price of Wool is ſo low, the Number of our Poor ſo great, our Taxes ſo many, and ſo high, and the Complaints of the lower Sort of People, for want of Employment, ſo loud and general, a Man muſt be of a very timorous Diſpoſition, who can be afraid of Cenſure, for endeavouring to point out the only Way by which theſe Evils can be effectually cured, and the Wants and Diſtreſſes of the Multitude prevented from either driving them abroad, or rendering them mutinous and troubleſome at home, with which Remark I ſhall conclude this Section.

SECTION XXXIII.

An hiſtorical Account of the Intercourſe between the Inhabitants of Great-Britain, *and the People in the* Eaſt-Indies: *Containing likewiſe a compleat Hiſtory of the* Eaſt-India *Company, from its Erection under Queen* Elizabeth *of glorious Memory, and of the ſeveral Alterations that have been made therein down to the preſent Reign.*

1. *An Account of the Voyage of* Sighelmus, *Biſhop of* Shireburn, *his Voyage to the* Eaſt-Indies *in the Reign of King* Alfred, *and of ſome other ancient Travellers.* 2. *Of the Manner in which the* Venetians *imported* Indian *Commodities into this Kingdom, to the Time of Queen* Elizabeth. 3. *Of ſeveral Matters previous to the erecting the* Eaſt-India *Company in her Reign, with a large Account of her Charter to that Company,* 4. *A ſuccinct Hiſtory of the ſeveral Voyages undertaken under that Charter, in the Reigns of Queen* Elizabeth *and King* James. 5. *Of the Tranſactions of the* Engliſh Eaſt-India *Company, from their obtaining a new Charter from King* James I. *to the Time of the unfortunate Buſineſs at* Amboyna. 6. *The Account publiſhed of that Tragedy by the* Engliſh Eaſt-India *Company.* 7. *The* Dutch *Relation of the ſame bloody Buſineſs.* 8. *Remarks made by Order of the* Eaſt-India *Company upon this Account of the* Dutch. 9. *The Hiſtory of the* Eaſt-India *Company, continued to the End of the Reign of* Charles I. 10. *The Proſecution of the ſame Subject to the Cloſe of the Civil Wars.* 11. *An Account of the new Charter granted to the Company by King* Charles II. *and of the Progreſs of their Affairs during his Reign.* 12. *Of the Charter granted by King* James II. *and of what followed to the Time of his Excluſion.* 13. *A brief View of the State of the two* Eaſt-India *Companies, and the Diſputes between them under the Reign of King* William III. 14. *The Concluſion of thoſe Diſputes, and the Settlement of the preſent* Eaſt-India *Company.* 15. *The Affairs of the Company, from the Time of this new Settlement to the Cloſe of the Reign of Queen* Anne. 16. *The ſame Hiſtory purſued down to the preſent Time.* 17. *A clear Proſpect of the preſent State of the Affairs of the* Engliſh *in the* Eaſt-Indies.

1. AS we have now paſſed through the greateſt Part of thoſe Subjects, which it was propoſed ſhould be handled in this Chapter, we come regularly, and in that Order which was originally laid down, to ſpeak of the ſeveral Companies that have been formed in *Europe*, for the Management of the Commerce of the *Eaſt-Indies*, which Method, as I conceive, ſooner or later, has been followed by every Nation, that ſince the Diſcovery of the Paſſage by the *Cape of Good-Hope*, hath been concerned therein. We will begin with the *Engliſh*, and with all the Accuracy that is in our Power, trace the Hiſtory of their Commerce into theſe diſtant Parts from the earlieſt Accounts we have of them down to the preſent times. But it will be requiſite firſt of all to obſerve, that there is good Reaſon to believe our firſt Knowledge of theſe Countries was derived to us from the *Romans*, at ſuch Time as this Iſland made a Part of their extenſive Empire; but I do not find any Evidence to prove, or indeed ſo much as a Hint to ſuggeſt, that any Commerce was attempted with that Country from hence before the Cloſe of the ninth Century.

At that Time there ſat upon the *Engliſh* Throne (as it is a Truth, I hope I may ſpeak it without Offence) the greateſt and wiſeſt Prince that was ever placed thereon; I mean the famous *Alfred*, the Glory of whoſe Reign, even the Confuſion of ſucceeding Times, and the Obſcurity of our ancient Hiſtories, have not buried in Oblivion. He, *Anno Domini* 883, as the *Saxon* Chronicle informs us, ſent one of his favourite Eccleſiaſticks, whoſe Name was *Sighelmus*, to carry his Alms to the poor diſtreſſed Chriſtians of *Saint Thomas* and *Saint Bartholomew* in the *Indies*. The Fact is, indeed, pretty extraordinary; and if we had not as clear and diſtinct Evidence to ſupport it, as any one Point in our ancient Hiſtory, I ſhould not have mentioned it; but as the *Saxon* Annals, which have been always allowed to contain as fair and as authentick an Account of Facts as any Hiſtory whatever, ſets down this as a Paſſage, which certainly fell out in that Year; and as this *Sighelmus* did not only perform that Voyage, according to the Inſtructions of his Royal Maſter, but afterwards returned home, and became Biſhop of *Shireburn*, or *Sherburn*, in *Dorſetſhire*, and left in the Treaſury of his Church, as *William* of *Malmſbury* hath recorded, both Spices and Jewels, which he brought back with him out of that Country; I ſee no Reaſon at all to doubt or queſtion a Fact for which we have all the Evidence that the moſt ſcrupulous Critick can deſire.

But it muſt, however, be confeſſed, that though this Intercourſe was ſo early begun, yet the moſt diligent Enquirers into Subjects of this Nature, ſuch as *Eden* and *Hakluyt*, have been able to find no Footſteps of Continuance, ſince they immediately deſcend to much later Times, and ſpeak particularly of the Travels of an *Engliſhman*, whoſe Name is not mentioned, through the Country of the *Tartars*; and of Sir *John Mandeville*. But, however, though no ſuch Footſteps appear as to the Voyages or Travels of particular Perſons, yet beyond a Queſtion, there was not in thoſe Days an entire Stop put to the Commerce between the Weſt and Eaſt Parts of the World, or the *Engliſh* Nation entirely deprived of *Indian* Commodities.

2. If it be enquired how any Certainty can be had of this, or by what Channel ſuch a Trade could be carried on, I muſt take leave to remind them, that when the *Goths* and *Vandals* overturned the *Roman* Empire, that Commerce

through the *Red-Sea* by *Alexandria* ceaſed, and was afterwards carried on by the Way of *Trebezon*, *Damaſcus*, and *Aleppo*, which encreaſed the Trade of the free Cities or States of *Venice*, *Genoa*, *Piſa*, &c. And thoſe Goods were not only vended in all the Countries bordering upon the *Mediterranean*, but were ſent to *England*, *Germany*, and the *Netherlands*, and all over the *Baltick*, which gave Encouragement to the Traffick of *Bruges*, where the Commodities of the North, as Corn, Naval Stores, *&c.* were lodged in the Summer, and where thoſe Ships took in the Commodities from the *Levant* back again to the *Hans-Towns*; and thoſe Ships that came from the *Levant*, tranſported the Northern Goods from *Bruges* into the *Mediterranean*.

Such was the Courſe of the Trade then, and it is very clear from our old Writers, that Spices and other *Indian* Commodities were never totally Strangers in this Iſland, nor indeed could they, ſince we had an annual Veſſel, and ſometimes more from *Venice*, well ſupplied with ſuch rich Goods; and by this means, though ſuch Commodities might be dear, ſince it was in the Power of the State of *Venice* to raiſe them almoſt to what Prices ſhe would, yet we had them regularly, and in conſiderable Plenty, by this Method, down to the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, when the laſt great Carack, which came from that Country, was loſt upon our Coaſt, of which Sir *William Monſon* was an Eye-witneſs; and has given of it, as he does of all things, a moſt clear, entertaining, and inſtructive Account, which for the Reader's Information, and my own Juſtification, I ſhall tranſcribe, as it gives a clearer, fuller, and more authentick Account of theſe Points, than is any where elſe to be met with.

"The *Venetians* engroſſed the whole Trade upon thoſe Seas, and furniſhed us with the rich Merchandize of *Turky*, *Perſia*, and *India*, at what Rate they pleaſed themſelves; and yet this was not all, for they laboured to make us Strangers to the Great *Turk*, the *Egyptians*, and bordering Countries, and brought them to that Ignorance of our Nation, that they thought *England* to be a Town in the Kingdom of *London*. The *Venetians* ſent yearly their *Argoſſes* to *Southampton*, which Town enjoyed a Charter from the Kings of this Land, which was wreſted out of their Hands by the Earl of *Leiceſter*, to the utter Decay of that Town; and the *Argoſſes* ſince then have become Strangers in *England*, the laſt whereof took her leave with an unfortunate End, which my Eyes were Witneſſes to in the Month of *October*, 1587.

"This goodly Ship of one thouſand one hundred Tuns, being richly laden with the accuſtomed Commodities they uſed to ſerve the Kingdom with, and being come in the Channel, as high as the *Iſle of Wight*, which Land the *Engliſh* Pilot viſibly made; this Pilot, called *Forſter*, who for his excellent Skill, was not long before redeemed out of the *Turkiſh* Captivity, by the *Venetians*, to ſerve in this Voyage. Upon this good Land-fall the Pilot put the Paſſengers, in hopes, many of them being of great Account and Eſteem, the next Morning to harbour them; for Night growing on, he would not hazard to put in with the Shore that Evening; but the Gentlemen being impatient of Delays, and the Land appearing unto them, they thought themſelves free from all Danger, which is the common Ignorance of many that know not the Seas.

"But to be ſhort, they compelled the Pilot by Force to put in at the *Needles*, the weſtermoſt Part of the *Iſle of Wight*. When the poor Man, neither with Perſuaſions, nor Tears, could prevail, he did his beſt to enter the Channel of the *Needles*; but ſuch was the Greatneſs of the Waves, and the Unweildineſs of the Ship, not anſwering her Helm, that ſhe ſtruck upon the Shingles, where ſhe, her Goods and Company, except ſeven poor Creatures, periſhed. The Sea betwixt the Iſland and the main Land was enriched, by her Loſs, with ſeveral Sorts of Merchandize. What was ſaved was not worth ſpeaking of. I had the Fortune to light on two Butts of Muſkedine floating on the Sea, for then was I riding at *Cowes*.

"In the firſt Ship I ever went Captain of, I found theſe two Butts of Muſkedine a great Help to us in our Voyage, when we were reduced to Extremity for want of Victuals. About this Time our Merchants of *London* began to take into Conſideration theſe great and ineſtimable Riches brought into the Land by the *Venetians* and *French*, who abſolutely enjoyed the Trade of *Turky*, and a great Part of the Wealth which came out of *Perſia* and *India* was retailed from them to us. They deviſed how ſuch Commodities might come to our Hands by a more direct Way than to be ſerved as we were at ſecond hand, and therefore reſolved to make an Overture by Favour of the Queen, and her Letters to the Great *Turk*, for an immediate Traffick from *England* to *Turky*, and his Dominions, and ſo home again, with Ships of her Subjects, without being beholden to others.

"Theſe Letters were ſent by her Majeſty, and received with great Humanity and Courteſy by the Grand Seignior, as appears by his Letters yet extant. He could not give more Reſpect and Honour to her Majeſty, than by ſhewing a Willingneſs to embrace her gracious Propoſitions of Trade; and in Concluſion, Articles were agreed upon, and a Grant of great Privileges and Immunities to her Majeſty's Subjects, which have ſince continued, and been peaceably enjoyed. We may reckon from this Time the Decay of State in Matters of the *Venetian* Trade: For *Argoſſes*, which were wont to viſit us, are now unknown to us, and we poſſeſs the Wealth they were wont to reap. The Commodities of *Perſia*, and the *Eaſt-Indies*, are brought by ourſelves in our own Veſſels directly out of *Turky*, where we have obtained as great a Freedom as we can deſire. Such Places as the *Venetians* were wont to take Freight in their Ships to tranſport from Port to Port now we abſolutely enjoy that Privilege; for all Strangers are more deſirous to put their Goods into *Engliſh* Bottoms than theirs."

Thus from the Concluſion of this Trade, we may eaſily conceive both the Nature and the Importance of it, and the prodigious Change it made, as well in the Affairs of the *Venetians*, as in our own, when it came to be carried on by the Subjects of *Great-Britain*: Yet here it will be neceſſary to diſtinguiſh between this and the true Commerce of the *Indies*; for, though we found a Way to free ourſelves from this Dependance upon the *Venetians*, yet it was by breaking in upon their *Levant* Trade at firſt, and not by ſailing directly to theſe Eaſtern Parts, which was a Work of great Time and Labour, and brought about by a great Variety of Accidents, with the Relation of which the *Engliſh* Reader cannot but be extreamly well pleaſed, ſince it will ſhew him the great and ſpeedy Progreſs of our Maritime Strength and Power at Sea.

3. The firſt Perſon, ſo far as I have been able to learn, that ever propoſed the eſtabliſhing the *Eaſt-India* Trade in *England*, was one Mr. *Robert Therne*, a Merchant of *London*, who ſettled at *Seville* in *Spain*, and reſiding there many Years, gained a perfect Knowledge of the Manner in which both the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-Indies* were diſcovered. This very judicious Gentleman, who from his Writings yet extant, appears to have drawn his Knowledge, in an equal Degree, from Books and Experience, applied himſelf about the Year 1527, to his Majeſty King *Henry* VIII. to whom he repreſented very fully, yet in few Words, the vaſt Advantages that would accrue to his Subjects by a direct Commerce to the *Eaſt-Indies*; and to ſuit his Propoſal to the great Genius and high Spirit of that Prince, he adviſed him not only to encourage this new Navigation, but to attempt it by a new Rout; for as the *Portugueze* had puſhed their Diſcoveries to the Eaſt, and the *Spaniards* to the Weſt, ſo he was ambitious that the *Engliſh* Nation ſhould find a Way to the *Indies* of their own, and that by the North.

But it is worthy of Obſervation, that this Gentleman was ſo early aware of the inſuperable Difficulties that have been found in ſearching for a Paſſage to the North-Eaſt, and therefore propoſed very ſenſibly, and for good Reaſons, ſailing directly North, or at leaſt very near it; from which he thought many Advantages might be gained, and many Inconveniencies avoided. As for inſtance, he conceived that this might be undertaken at ſuch a Seaſon of the Year, as to enjoy the Benefit of the half Year's Day in that Climate; and he thought it abſurd and ridiculous to ſuppoſe, that the Seas were frozen under the North Pole, at a Time when the Sun, from its long Continuance on the Horizon, muſt have ſuch prodigious Force. He likewiſe judged, that whatever Difficulties might occur in the Beginning of ſuch a Paſſage, they muſt be quickly and certainly got over, and be fully recompenſed, by coming ſoon on the Coaſt of *Tartary* and *Japon*, and ſo to *China* and the *Manillas*. To ſay the Truth, if we conſider the Time when this Propoſal was made, the Sagacity and Penetration of this Gentleman can ſcarce be enough commended or admired, ſince it is very certain, that if ever any Diſcovery is made on this Side, it muſt be made by this Method.

But, how wiſe or how practicable ſoever Mr. *Thorn*'s Scheme might be, I do not find that it was ever conſidered in any other Light, than as a Project too bold to be put in Execution; and to ſay the Truth, the firſt Perſon that gave us any Light into this Navigation was Sir *Francis Drake*, in the Year 1578. The very next Year Mr. *Stevens* went from *Liſbon* to *Goa* by the *Cape of Good Hope*, and wrote a large Account of his Voyage while he reſided at *Goa*. *A. D.* 1586, the famous *Candiſhe* made his Voyage round the World, which having clearly opened a Paſſage to theſe Parts, Captain *George Raymond*, in a Ship of his own, called the *Penelope*, accompanied by two others, called the *Merchant-Royal*, and the *Edward-Bonaventure*, ſailed in the Year 1591 for the *Eaſt-Indies*, not with a View to trade, but to cruize upon the *Portugueze*. This Voyage was extreamly unfortunate; for Captain *Raymond* found himſelf obliged, at the *Cape of Good-Hope*, to ſend home the *Merchant-Royal*, with the ſick Men they had in the three Ships. Having doubled that Cape, and ſailed about ſixty Leagues, he was loſt in the *Penelope*; ſo that Captain *James Lancaſter*, in the *Edward-Bonaventure*, was the only one that performed this Voyage, and that too with very indifferent Fortune; for after a diſaſtrous Voyage to the *Eaſt*, he was obliged to paſs from thence to the *Weſt-Indies*, where having loſt his Ship, he with much Difficulty, by the Aſſiſtance of a *French* Privateer he met with in thoſe Parts, returned home.

But in this Space of Time, though no *Engliſh* Ships had been ſent to the *Indies* for Commerce, abundance of *Engliſhmen* had been there in different Services, and on their Return home, gave ſuch an Account of thoſe Countries, and of the Eaſe with which the *Engliſh* might ſettle Factories, and eſtabliſh a regular Trade thither, that many great Men, and rich Merchants, began to entertain a Deſire of eſtabliſhing ſuch a Commerce; and that they might do this effectually, they applied themſelves to Queen *Elizabeth* for a Charter, and ſhe accordingly granted them one, which was dated the 31ſt of *December* 1600, in the forty-third Year of her Reign. By this Charter ſhe created them a Body Corporate, by the Stile of the Governor and Company of Merchants of *London* trading to the *Eaſt-Indies*; granted them a common Seal, appointed *Thomas Smyth*, Eſq; Alderman of *London*, their firſt Governor, and eſtabliſhed a Court of twenty Directors to be choſen annually on the 1ſt of *July*, or within ſix Days after. She likewiſe granted them Authority to make Bye-laws, allowed them to export Goods Cuſtom-free for four Years, permitted them to export thirty thouſand Pounds in Foreign Coin, with Licence to do the ſame in every Voyage, provided they brought that Sum by their Trade out of Foreign Countries into this Kingdom. This Charter was excluſive, and the Queen bound herſelf not to grant any Charter to other Merchants for the Space of fifteen Years; but with this Proviſo, that if within that Space this Charter ſhould appear to be in any reſpect detrimental to the Publick, it ſhould, upon two Years Warning, under the Privy-Seal become void; but if from Experience it ſhould appear, that this new Corporation was a publick Benefit, then ſhe promiſed to renew their Charter, with ſuch additional Clauſes in their Favour, as ſhould appear requiſite.

I have been the more particular with reſpect to this Point, becauſe I look upon it that there never was any publick Act of this Nature better conſidered, or drawn with greater Wiſdom and Foreſight, both for the Benefit of the Adventurers, and the publick Good; by which I mean the Intereſt of the whole Nation, Circumſtances which ought to be equally conſidered in all ſuch Caſes, ſince whatever the Deſign may be of the Perſons concerned in ſuch Adventures, it ought to be the Care of the Government, that even theſe excluſive Companies ſhould be calculated for the common Advantage, and be ſo guarded, as that Perſons concerned therein may never have it in their Power to ſacrifice the general Intereſt of a People to their particular Profit, and private Advantage.

4. It was in Conſequence of this Charter that the Company immediately began to raiſe a joint Stock for carrying their Project into Execution; and this with ſuch Induſtry, that in a very ſhort Space their Treaſurer had in his Hands ſeventy-two thouſand Pounds; upon which it was reſolved to fit out five able Ships to begin their Correſpondence in that Part of the World. Theſe were the *Dragon* of ſix hundred Tuns; Admiral of the Squadron: The *Hector*, Vice-Admiral, of three hundred Tuns: The *Suſannah*, of two hundred Tons: The *Aſcenſion*, of the ſame Burthen: The *Gueſt*, a Store Ship, of a hundred and thirty Tuns. The Complement of Men in all their Ships were four hundred and eighty, and the Expence of equipping them amounted to forty-five thouſand Pounds, and their Cargo took up the other twenty-ſeven thouſand Pounds. On the 2d of *May* 1601, they ſailed from *Torbay*, and without any conſiderable Accident continued their Voyage to the *Indies*, where Captain *James Lancaſter*, who commanded with the Title of Admiral, made a Treaty with the King of *Achen*, ſent a Pinnace to the *Moluccas*, and erected a Factory in the Iſland of *Java*; after which the Admiral returned ſafely, and with good Profit, into *England*.

This was the only Voyage that was undertaken by the Company in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*; but upon her Demiſe, they found a very kind Maſter, as well as powerful Protector in her Succeſſor King *James*, who from his Acceſſion to the Throne, ſhewed them all the Countenance, and afforded them all the Aſſiſtance that they could deſire, which, with the Profits of their firſt Voyage, engaged them to undertake a ſecond in the Year 1604, Sir *Henry Middleton*, in the *Red Dragon*, having the Title of Admiral, the *Hector* Vice-Admiral, the *Aſcenſion*, and the *Suſannah*. Theſe Ships viſited the *Moluccas*, and the Iſland of *Java*, were well received by all the *Indian* Princes, but met with very indifferent Uſage from the *Dutch*, who began already to loſe all Senſe of Gratitude to the Nation that had preſerved them, endeavoured all that in them lay to miſrepreſent the *Engliſh* to the *Indians*, as a cruel, unjuſt, and ambitious People, who meant not to trade with them fairly for their Commodities, but to ſeize their Country, and to take them by Force. That this Diſpoſition in the *Dutch* did not take Riſe, either from their Hatred or Contempt of King *James*, but was bred in them by their own Self-love, and Averſion to all other Nations, appears moſt clearly from the Letter of the King of *Ternate* to King *James* by Sir *Henry Middleton*, in which he expreſsly aſſerts, that the *Dutch* had uſed their utmoſt Endeavours to root out the good Opinion which himſelf and his Subjects entertained of the *Engliſh* from the Time that Sir *Francis Drake* had viſited their Iſland; and thus thoſe Diſputes began, of which we ſhall have ſo much to ſay in the Courſe of this Section.

When Sir *Henry Middleton* ſailed from *Bantam*, he received from the King a Letter for his *Britannick* Majeſty, and a Preſent of Bezoar Stones. In their Paſſage home they met with the *Hector* beating off of the *Cape of Good-Hope*, with only ten Men left alive, by whom they were informed of the Loſs of the *Suſannah*, and in Company with this Ship they arrived ſafely in the *Downs*, *May* 6, 1606. The very next Year the Company undertook a third Voyage, in which three Ships only were employed, *viz.* the *Dragon*, the *Hector*, and the *Conſent*, under the Command of Captain *William Keeling*. Their Voyage was very ſucceſsful, eſpecially in the *Moluccas*, where they were, notwithſtanding, extreamly ill uſed by the *Dutch*. This did not hinder them, however, from bringing home a very valuable Cargo of all Sorts of Spice, with which they arrived in the *Downs*, *May* 10, 1610, with this extraordinary Mark of good Fortune, that in their whole Voyage out and home, they loſt not ſo much as a ſingle Man. With this Captain *Keeling* went out Captain *William Hawkins*, with the Title of the King's Embaſſador to the Great Mogul, by whom he was very kindly received, and by his prudent Management a good Correſpondence was eſtabliſhed between the two Courts.

In the Spring of the Year 1607, the Company ſent the *Aſcenſion* and the *Union* to the *Red-Sea*, and the Coaſt of *Arabia*, which, however, proved but indifferent in their Succeſs. In *April* 1609, Captain *David Middleton*, in the *Expedition*, was ſent by the Company to the *Moluccas*, where the *Dutch* now began to act as Maſters, and had a Deſign of ſeizing the Captain's Ship, which by his good Management he prevented, and brought home with him a hundred and thirty-nine Tuns of Nutmegs, and the like Quantity of Mace, beſides Pepper and other valuable Goods, which I conceive to have been the moſt proſperous Voyage that had been undertaken by the Company.

5. The *Eaſt-India* Company now began to make a great Figure, to employ a vaſt Number of Men, and to export large Quantities of *Engliſh* Goods and Manufactures, ſo that they conceived, that though their former Charter was not expired, yet upon due Application his Majeſty might be prevailed upon to fulfil the Promiſe of his Royal Predeceſſor, inaſmuch as they had already fulfilled the Terms upon which that Promiſe was made, and had rendered it manifeſt, that the continuing this Corporation would be for the common Benefit of the whole *Engliſh* Nation. Upon a Repreſentation to this Purpoſe, his Majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed, in the Month of *May* 1609, to enlarge their firſt Charter, in the Manner they deſired, and to make it perpetual; upon which the Company began to build a very large fine Ship, of the Burthen of one thouſand two hundred Tuns, which is taken Notice of even by our general Hiſtorians, becauſe this was the firſt great Ship that had been built in this Kingdom, the Cuſtom having hitherto been to buy them ready built in ſome of the *Hanſe-Towns*; and it is farther obſerved both by *John Stowe* and Sir *William Monſon*, that the *Jeſus* of *Lubeck*, which Sir *John Hawkins* loſt in the *Weſt-Indies*, was the laſt great Ship which was either builded or bought beyond the Seas. They likewiſe built a new Pinnace of two hundred and fifty Tuns to attend the great Ship; and when both were ready to be launched, the King, the Prince of *Wales*, and a great Number of the principal Nobility of the Kingdom, went down to *Deptford*, where they dined on Board the great Ship, and were all entertained in *China*; the Diſhes and Plates, after the Dinner was over, though then great Curioſities, and of high Price were left to be taken away by the Servants, or whoever elſe had a mind to them.

His Majeſty, at the Time of launching the Ship, called it the *Trade's Increaſe*, and gave the Pinnace the Name of the *Pepper-corn*. In the ſucceeding Spring the Company fitted out for their ſixth Voyage this new Ship and Pinnace, together with two others, under the Command of Sir *Henry Middleton*, Knight, at the Expence of eighty thouſand Pounds. In 1610, they ſent a ſingle Ship, and the ſucceeding Spring three Ships, under the Command of Captain *John Saris*, at the Expence of threeſcore thouſand Pounds.

The *Portugueze* at this Time endeavoured to hinder the *Engliſh* from trading on the Coaſt of *India*, which obliged the Company to be at more than uſual Pains and Expence in equipping out their next Squadron, which ſailed in the Year 1611, and conſiſted of four large Ships, of which the biggeſt was the *Dragon*, commanded by Captain *Thomas Beſt*, who arrived ſafely at *Surat* in ſix Months, and ſettled a Factory there, which he had hardly done before the Viceroy at *Goa* fitted out a large Fleet to deſtroy him. It conſiſted of four great Galleons, and twenty-ſix Gallies, in which were five thouſand Men, and one hundred and thirty Pieces of Cannon; but Captain *Beſt*, though he had with him only a ſmall Pinnace, reſolved to maintain his Factory, and in Defence of it, engaged and defeated this *Portugueze Armada*, in which Action they loſt twelve hundred Men. After this the *Portugueſe* never more diſturbed the *Engliſh* upon that Coaſt; and as for Captain *Beſt*, when he had ſettled every thing to his good liking at *Surat*, he ſailed to *Java*, and having taken a valuable Cargo on Board there, returned ſafely to *London* in the Month of *July* 1614.

In this Year Captain *Saris* alſo returned with a very rich Lading, and Sir *Thomas Smith*, Governor of the *Eaſt-India* Company, having repreſented to the King, that they had left Mr. *Paul Canning*, as their Agent, at the Court of the Great Mogul; but that they conceived it would be for the Benefit of the Company, and for the Honour of the Nation, if his Majeſty would be pleaſed to ſend a Perſon of Diſtinction, with the Title of his Embaſſador, to that great Prince; to this his Majeſty conſented, and appointed Sir *Thomas Roe*, Knight, his Embaſſador. The Company alſo, to ſhew their Gratitude, fitted out a fine Squadron of four large Ships, under the Command of Captain *Keeling*, who carried Sir *Thomas Roe* ſafe to *India*, where he proſecuted his Affairs with great Succeſs. The *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Companies in the *Indies* were now grown ſo powerful, that they began to extend the Sovereignty of their reſpective Countries over ſeveral Places in the *Indies*, and the *Engliſh* particularly procured from the Inhabitants of the Iſland of *Banda* a Surrender of themſelves to the Crown of *England*, which they did by a formal Inſtrument, which, however, did not hinder the *Dutch*, who alledged, that they had prior Claims upon thoſe Countries, from endeavouring to make themſelves Maſters of them. The *Engliſh* on the other hand proceeded in extending their Dominions in the *Eaſt-Indies*, without conſidering that they wanted a Force to maintain them, and procured likewiſe the Surrender of *Lantore* by another ſolemn Inſtrument, under the Hands of the Natives, dated the 24th of *November* 1620.

It is very certain that all this was very well deſigned, and that the *Engliſh* Company, if they had been ſtrong enough, would by this means have procured to themſelves a very large Share of the Spice Trade; but as it was, they only opened a Way to their own Deſtruction. While this was doing in the *Indies*, there was a Treaty carried on in *Europe* for the ſettling all the Differences between the two Companies, of which, as there is nothing ſaid in any of our general Hiſtories, it is requiſite that we ſhould give a diſtinct Account here.

There had been two Commiſſions iſſued by King *James* for Treaties, for the Regulation of theſe Differences, the one in the Year 1613, when the Conferences were held at *London*, the ſecond in 1615, when the Negotiation was carried on at the *Hague*; but both theſe proved ineffectual, and therefore a new Treaty was had in the Year 1619, between Commiſſioners appointed by each of the *Eaſt-India* Companies, *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, under the Inſpection and Direction of Miniſters Plenipotentiaries from the King of *Great-Britain*, and the States General. The Treaty between the two Companies was concluded on the ſeventh of *July*, by which it was agreed, that all paſt Offences on either Side ſhould be buried in Oblivion, that both Companies ſhould trade freely upon their own Stock, for their own Benefit, but with a mutual Regard to each others Intereſt; that the Price of Pepper, and other Spices, ſhould be amicably ſettled between them; that the *Molucca* Iſlands, together with thoſe of *Banda* and *Amboyna*, ſhould belong to the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*; but in ſuch a manner, that the *Engliſh* ſhould have but one-third of the Trade, and the *Dutch* two-thirds.

That the Expence of the Fortifications in thoſe Iſlands ſhould be defrayed by a Duty or Impoſition on the Spices exported from them; that a Council of Defence ſhould be erected, compoſed of Members of both Companies, who ſhould provide ſuch Ships of War as are mentioned in the Treaty, for the joint Defence of both Companies; that the Fortreſſes erected in thoſe Parts ſhould remain in the Hands of thoſe who are poſſeſſed of them; and that ſuch as had been acquired by both Companies, ſhould remain to, and be poſſeſſed by them both, and be garriſoned by *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Troops, according as this Matter ſhould be ſettled and adjuſted by the Council of Defence before mentioned; that for the future the whole Trade of the *Indies* ſhould be free to both Nations, and that neither ſhould attempt to ſhut out the other by Fortifications, or Contracts, with the Natives; that to render this Treaty more effectual, his *Britannick* Majeſty, and the States General, ſhould be moſt humbly deſired not to erect any other Companies

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panies during the Time fixed for the Continuance of this Treaty.

That if in any of the Factories of the *Indies* belonging either to the *Engliſh* or *Dutch*, it ſhould fall out by Death or other Accidents, that none ſhould be left to take care of the Effects in the Factory, that then they ſhould be be preſerved by, and juſtly accounted for by the Members of the other Factory; that this Treaty ſhall endure for twenty Years, and in caſe any Diſputes ſhall ariſe notwithſtanding thereof, which cannot be either decided or accommodated by the Councils of the ſaid Companies, his *Britannick* Majeſty, and the States-General, are humbly deſired to take the ſame under their Cognizance, and finally, to adjuſt and determine them. All thoſe Articles were to be faithfully and inviolably obſerved on both Sides, according to the Intention of the ſaid Treaty, and the ſame to be ratified by his Majeſty in one Month. This Treaty was accordingly ratified by King *James*, on the 16th of *July* 1619, under his own Hand, and ſealed with his Broad-Seal: In this Ratification his Majeſty promiſed not to grant any Charter or Powers to any other Company during the Continuance of this Treaty.

One would have imagined that all Things muſt now have gone on harmoniouſly and peaceably, and that an End had been put to all the Diſputes between the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Companies for twenty Years at leaſt: But it fell out quite otherwiſe; for the *Dutch* General of the *Eaſt-India* Company having a Fleet of large Ships under his Command, attacked *Lantore*, and having defeated the Natives, fired the Town, plundered the *Engliſh* Factory, took away the Cloth, Money, and Bullion, belonging to the *Eaſt-India* Company, together with twenty-three thouſand Pounds Weight of Mace, and one hundred and fifty thouſand Pounds of Nutmegs. The *Engliſh* Factors that were ſettled there, were ſtripp'd naked, bound, beaten, thrown over the Town-Wall, and afterwards dragged through the Streets in Chains. The Factory of *Poolaroon* had the ſame Fate; and thus all things were in a worſe State after this Treaty than they were before, in the *Indies*. What ſeems to be moſt extraordinary and aſtoniſhing is, that the *Dutch Eaſt-India* Company publiſhed in *Holland* a Defence or Vindication of theſe Proceedings, in which they alledge, that having a prior Right to theſe Iſlands, this could not be taken away by any ſubſequent Act of the Inhabitants, who were no longer their own Maſters; that this War was proſecuted againſt the Natives as Principals, and againſt the *Engliſh* as Auxiliaries only. To this the *Engliſh* publiſhed an Anſwer, in which they abſolutely denied, that the Inhabitants of the Iſland of *Banda* ever ſubmitted themſelves to the *Dutch*, and inſiſted on their legal Title to that Country.

But it does not appear, that the Government ever interfered properly in this Affair, or demanded juſt Satisfaction from the States of *Holland*, which might perhaps be owing to the perplexed Circumſtances of our Adminiſtration, and the Differences that had riſen between King *James* and his Parliament. But if this ill Uſage was hard to be born, there followed ſoon after much worſe, when, to take from the *Engliſh* the ſmall Remains of the Spice Trade, and to monopolize entirely a Commerce of ſuch Importance into their own Hands, the *Dutch* were guilty of ſuch unheard-of Barbarities in *Amboyna*, as tho' they may be forgiven, yet ought never to be forgot; and we find them very ſlightly paſſed over, even in thoſe Works where we might reaſonably expect the fulleſt Accounts of them, which is probably owing to the Inclination ſome Writers have to hide the Faults of their Neighbours, and to publiſh the Exceſſes of no Government but their own.

Yet as at the very Time it happened, the *Eaſt-India* Company here took care to give a full and large Account of the whole Tranſaction, from ſuch Authorities as cannot be queſtioned, it ſeems but reaſonable that for the ſake of Truth, and the perpetual Preſervation of ſo authentick and curious a Piece, which otherwiſe as a Pamphlet may be in Danger of being loſt, as well as for other Reaſons which ſhall be expreſſed hereafter, we ſhould inſert it intire. It is indeed of ſome Length, and delivered in an uncouth and antiquated Stile; but however, it is better it ſhould ſtand ſo, than that we ſhould run any Riſque of altering the Facts, by endeavouring to amend the Language in which they are expreſſed.

6. *Amboyna* is an Iſland lying near *Seran*, of the Compaſs of forty Leagues, and giveth Name alſo to ſome other ſmall Iſlands adjacent. It beareth Cloves; for gathering and buying in whereof, the *Engliſh* Company, for their part, had planted five ſeveral Factories: The Head and Rendezvous of all at the Town of *Amboyna*, and therein firſt Maſter *George Muſchamp*, and afterward Maſter *Gabriel Towerſon*, their Agents, with Directions over the ſmaller Factories at *Hitto* and *Larica* upon the ſame Iſland, and at *Lobo* and *Cambello* upon a Point of their neighbouring Iſland of *Seran*. Upon theſe Iſlands of *Amboyna*, and the Point of *Seran*, the *Dutch* have four Forts; the chief of all is at the ſaid Town of *Amboyna*, and is very ſtrong, having four Points, or Bulwarks, with their Curtains; and upon each of theſe Points ſix great Pieces of Ordnance mounted, moſt of them of Braſs. The one Side of this Caſtle is waſhed by the Sea, and the other is divided by the Land, with a Ditch of four or five Fathom broad, very deep, and filled with the Sea. The Garriſon of this City conſiſteth of about two hundred *Dutch* Soldiers, and a Company of free Burghers. Beſides theſe, there is always a matter of three or four hundred Mardikers in the Town, ready to ſerve the Caſtle at an Hour's Warning. There lie alſo in the Road, diverſe good Ships belonging to the *Dutch*, as well for the Guard of the Place by Sea, as for the Occaſion of Traffick, this being the chief Rendezvous as well for the Iſland of *Banda*, as for the reſt of *Amboyna*. Here the *Engliſh* lived not in the Caſtle, but under Protection thereof, in a Houſe of their own, in the Town, holding themſelves ſafe, as well in reſpect of the ancient Bonds of Amity between both Nations, as of the ſtrict Conjunction made by the late Treaty before mentioned.

They continued here two Years converſing and trading together, with the *Dutch*, by virtue of the ſaid Treaty, in which Time there fell out ſeveral Differences and Debates between them; the *Engliſh* complaining, that the *Dutch* did not only laviſh away much Money in Building and unneceſſary Expences upon the Forts, and otherwiſe, and bring large and unreaſonable Reckonings thereof to the common Account, but alſo did, for their Part, pay the Garriſon with Victuals and Cloth of *Coromandel*, which they put off to the Soldiers at three or four times the Value it coſt them, yet would not allow of the *Engliſh* Company's Part of the ſame Charge, but only in ready Money, thereby drawing from the *Engliſh* more than two Thirds of the whole true Charge. Hereupon, and upon the like Occaſions, grew ſome Diſcontents and Diſputes, and the Complaints were ſent to *Jaccatra*, in the Iſland of *Java Major*, to the Council of Defence of both Nations there reſiding, who alſo not agreeing upon the Points in Difference, ſent the ſame hither over into *Europe*, to be decided by both Companies here, or in default of their Agreement, by the King's Majeſty, and the Lords the States-General, according to an Article of the Treaty of the Year 1619 on this Behalf. In the mean time, the Diſcontent between the *Engliſh* and the *Dutch* about theſe and other Differences continued, and daily increaſed, until at laſt there was a Sword found to cut in ſunder that Knot at once which the tedious Diſputes of *Amboyna* and *Jaccatra* could not untie; and this was uſed in the Manner as followeth.

About the 11th of *February* 1622, O. S. a *Japoneſe* Soldier of the *Dutch* in their Caſtle of *Amboyna*, walking in the Night upon the Wall, came to the Centinel, and there, among other Talk, aſked him ſome Queſtions touching the Strength of the Caſtle, and the People that were therein. It is here to be obſerved, that thoſe *Japoneſe* did for the moſt Part ſerve the *Dutch* as Soldiers, yet were not of their truſty Bands always lodged in the Caſtle, but upon Occaſion called out of the Town to aſſiſt the Watch. This *Japoneſe* aforeſaid, was, for his ſaid Conference with the Centinel, apprehended upon Suſpicion of Treaſon, and put to the Torture; thereby he was brought to confeſs himſelf and ſundry others of his Countrymen there, to have contrived the taking of the Caſtle. Hereupon other *Japoneſe* were examined and tortured, as alſo a *Portugueze*, the Guardian of the Slaves under the *Dutch*.

During this Examination, which continued three or four Days, ſome of the *Engliſhmen* went to and from the Caſtle, upon their Buſineſs, ſaw the Priſoners, heard of their Tortures, and of the Crime laid to their Charge, but all this while ſuſpected not that this Matter did any whit concern themſelves, having never had any Converſation with the *Japoneſe*, nor with the *Portugueze* aforeſaid.

At the ſame Time, there was one *Abel Price*, Chirurgeon to the *Engliſh*, Priſoner in the Caſtle, for offering in his Drunkenneſs, to ſet a *Dutchman*'s Houſe on Fire. This Fellow the *Dutch* took, and ſhewed him ſome of the *Japoneſe*, whom they had firſt moſt grievouſly tortured, and told him, they had confeſſed the *Engliſh* to have been of their Confederacy for the taking of the Caſtle, and that if he would not confeſs the ſame, they would uſe him even as they had done the *Japoneſe*, and worſe alſo. Having given him the Torture, they ſoon made him confeſs whatever they aſked him. This was on the 15th of *February* 1622, O. S. Forthwith, about Nine of the Clock the ſame Morning, they ſent for Captain *Towerſon*, and the reſt of the *Engliſh* that were in the Town, to come to ſpeak with the Governor in the Caſtle. They all went, ſave one that was left to keep the Houſe. Being come to the Governor, he told Captain *Towerſon*, that himſelf and others of his Nation, were accuſed of a Conſpiracy to ſurprize the Caſtle, and therefore, until further Trial, were to remain Priſoners. Inſtantly alſo they attacked him that was left at home in the Houſe, took the Merchandize of the *Engliſh* Company there into their own Cuſtody, by an Inventory, and ſeized all the Cheſts, Boxes, Books, Writings and other things in the *Engliſh* Houſe.

Captain *Towerſon* was committed to his Chamber, with a Guard of *Dutch* Soldiers. *Emanuel Thomſon* was kept Priſoner in the Caſtle; the reſt, *viz. John Beamont*, *Edward Collins*, *William Webber*, *Ephraim Ramſey*, *Timothy Johnſon*, *John Fardo*, and *Robert Brown*, were ſent aboard the *Dutch* Ships then riding in Harbour; ſome to one Ship, and ſome to another, and all made faſt in Irons. The ſame Day alſo the Governor ſent to the two other Factories in the ſame Iſland, to apprehend the reſt of the *Engliſh* there; ſo that *Samuel Colſon*, *John Clark*, *George Sharrock*, that were found in the Factory at *Hitto*, and *Edward Collins*, *William Webber*, and *John Sadler*, at *Larica*, were all brought Priſoners to *Amboyna*, the 16th of *February*; upon which Day alſo *John Pocol*, *John Wetherel*, and *Thomas Ladbrook*, were aprrehended at *Cambello*, and *John Beamont*, *William Griggs*, and *Ephraim Ramſay* at *Lobo*, and brought in Irons to *Amboyna*, the 20th of the ſame Month. In the mean time, the Governor and Fiſcal went to work with the Priſoners that were already here; and firſt, they ſent for *John Beamont* and *Timothy Johnſon*, from on Board the Unicorn, who being come into the Caſtle, *Beamont* was left with a Guard in the Hall, and *Johnſon* went into another Room, where, by and by, *Beamont* heard him cry out very pitifully, then to be quiet a little while, and then loud again.

After Taſte of the Torture, then *Abel Price* the Chirurgeon that firſt was examined and tortured, was brought in to confront and accuſe him: But *Johnſon* not yet confeſſing any thing, *Price* was quickly carried out, and *Johnſon* brought again to the Torture, where *Beamont* heard him ſometimes cry aloud, then quiet again, then roar afreſh. At laſt, after he had been about an Hour in this ſecond Examination, he was brought forth wailing and lamenting, all wet, and cruelly burnt in diverſe Parts of his Body, and ſo laid aſide, in a Bye-place in the Hall, with a Soldier to watch him, that he ſhould ſpeak to nobody. Then was *Emanuel Thomſon* brought to Examination, not in the Room where *Johnſon* had been, but in another ſomewhat farther from the Hall; yet *Beamont* being in the Hall, heard him roar moſt lamentably, and many times: At laſt, after an Hour an half ſpent in torturing him, he was carried away into another Room another Way, ſo that he came not by *Beamont* thro' the Hall, Next was *Beamont* called in, and being demanded many things, all which he denied with deep Oaths and Proteſtations, was made faſt to be tortured, a Cloth tied about his Neck, and two Men ready with their Jars of Water to be poured on his Head; but yet for this Time the Governor bad looſe him, he would ſpare him a Day or two, becauſe he was an old Man; this was all *Saturday*'s Work, the 15th of *February* aforeſaid.

On the 16th *William Webber*, *Edward Collins*, *Ephraim Ramſay*, and *Robert Brown*, were fetched from aboard the *Rotterdam* to be examined: At the ſame time came *Samuel Colſon*, *William Griggs*, and *John Clark*, *George Sharrock*, and *John Saaler*, from *Hitto* and *Larica*, and were immediately upon their Arrival, brought into the Caſtle-Hall. *Robert Brown*, Taylor, was firſt called in, and being tormented with Water, confeſſed all in order as the Fiſcal aſked him. Then was *Edward Collins* called in, and told that thoſe that were formerly examined had confeſſed him as acceſſary to the Plot of taking the Caſtle, which, when he denied with great Oaths and Execrations they made his Hands and his Feet faſt to the Rack, bound a Cloth about his Throat ready to be put to the Torture of the Water. Thus prepared he prayed to be reſpited, and he would confeſs all. Being let down, he again vowed and proteſted his Innocency; yet ſaid, that becauſe he knew they would, by Torture, make him confeſs any thing, though never ſo falſe, they would do him a great Favour to tell him what they would have him ſay, and he would ſpeak it, to avoid the Torture. The Fiſcal hereupon ſaid, What, do you mock us? And bad up with him again, and ſo gave him the Torment of Water, which he not able long to endure, deſired to be let down again to his Confeſſion: Then he deviſed with himſelf and told them, That about two Months and half ago, himſelf, *Thomſon*, *Johnſon*, *Brown*, and *Fardo*, had plotted, with the Help of the *Japoneſe*, to ſurprize the Caſtle. Here he was interrupted by the Fiſcal, and aſked whether Captain *Towerſon* were not of that Conſpiracy? He anſwered, No; you lye, ſaid the Fiſcal, did not he call you all to him, and tell you, that thoſe daily Abuſes of the *Dutch* had cauſed him to think of a Plot, and that he wanted nothing but your Conſent and Secrecy? Then ſaid a *Dutch* Merchant, one *John Igoſt*, that ſtood by, Did not you all ſwear upon a Bible to be ſecret to him? *Collins* anſwered with great Oaths, that he knew nothing of any ſuch Matter: Then they bade make him faſt again; whereupon he then ſaid, all was true that they had ſpoken. Then the Fiſcal aſked him whether the *Engliſh* in the reſt of the Factories were not conſenting to this Plot? He anſwered, No; the Fiſcal then aſked him whether the Preſident of the *Engliſh* at *Jaccatra*, or Maſter *Welden*, Agent in *Banda*, were not Plotters, or privy to this Buſineſs? Again he anſwered No: Then the Fiſcal aſked him by what Means the *Japoneſe* ſhould have executed their Purpoſe? Whereat, when *Collins* ſtood ſtaggering and deviſing of ſome probable Fiction, the Fiſcal helped him, and ſaid, Should not two *Japoneſe* have gone to each Point of the Caſtle, and two to the Governor's Chamber-door; and when the Hurlyburly had been without, and the Governor coming to ſee what was the Matter, the *Japoneſe* to have killed him? Here one that ſtood by ſaid to the Fiſcal, Do not tell him what he ſhould ſay, but let him ſpeak of himſelf; whereupon the Fiſcal, without attending the Anſwer to his former Queſtion, aſked what the *Japoneſe* were to have had for their Reward? *Collins* anſwered 1000 Rials a-piece. Laſtly, he aſked him when this Plot ſhould have been effected? Whereupon, although he anſwered him nothing, not knowing what to deviſe upon the ſudden, yet he was diſmiſſed, and very glad to come clear off the Torture, though with certain Belief that he ſhould die for this his Confeſſion.

Next was *Samuel Colſon* brought in, being newly arrived from *Hitto*, as is before touched, and was the ſame Day brought to the Torture, who, for fear of the Pain wherewith he ſaw *Collins* come out, in ſuch a Caſe, that his Eyes were almoſt blown out of his Head with the Torment of Water, choſe rather to confeſs all they aſked him, and ſo was quickly diſmiſſed, coming out weeping, lamenting, proteſting his Innocency. Then was *John Clark*, that came with *Colſon* from *Hitto* fetched in, and a little after was heard to cry out amain. They tortured him with Water and with Fire, by the Space of two Hours. The Manner of his Torture, which was likewiſe that of *Johnſon*'s and *Thomſon*'s, was as followeth: Firſt, they hoiſted him

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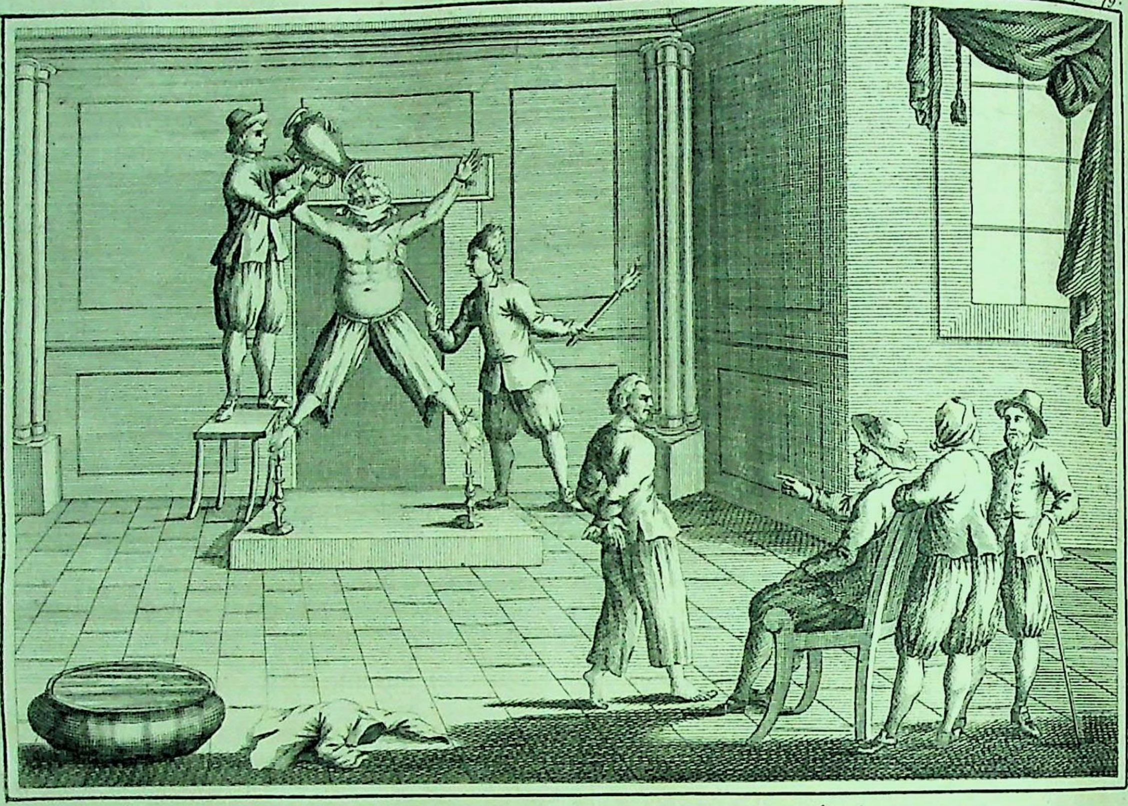
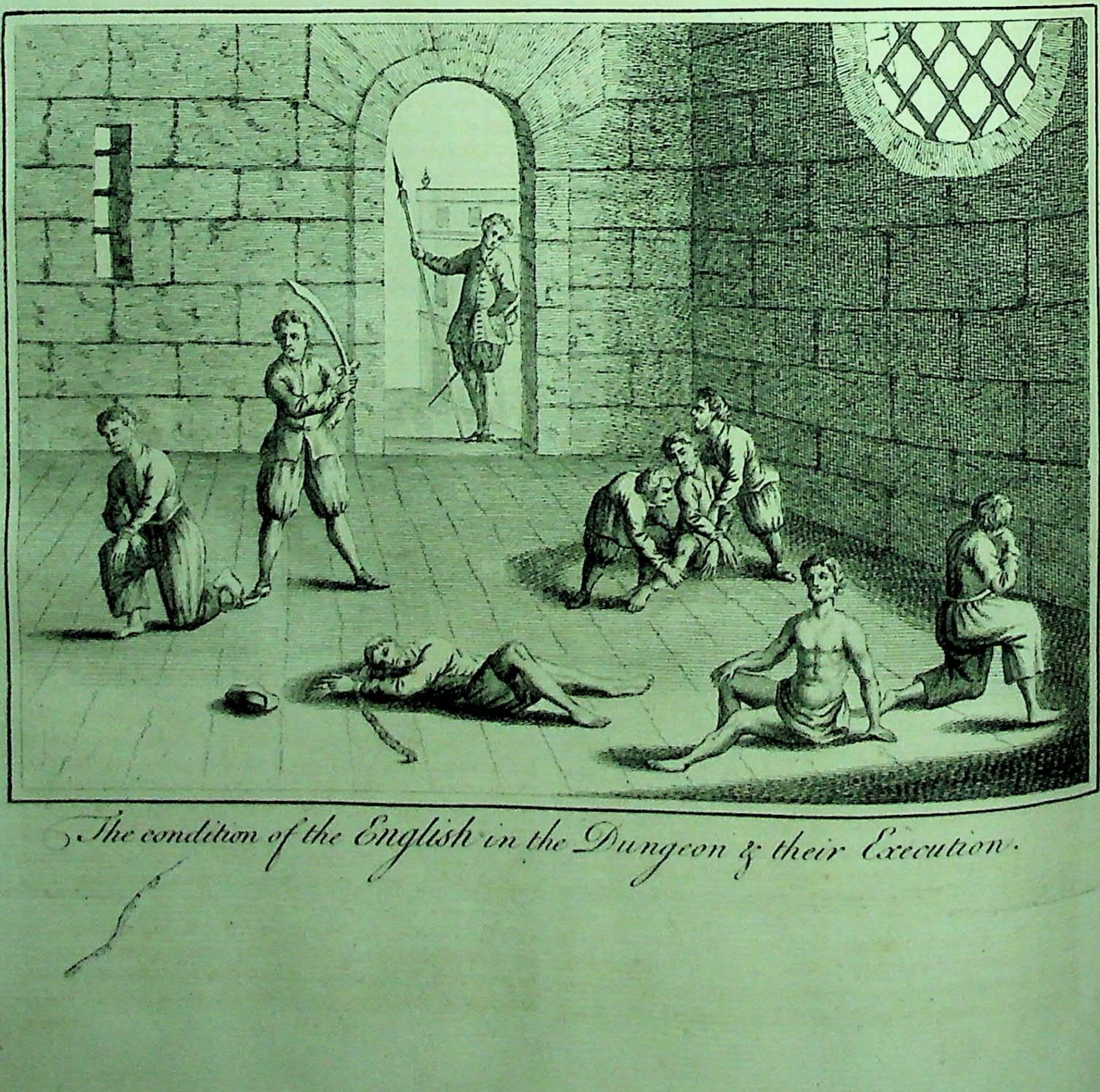


The Torments inflicted by the Dutch on the English in Amboyna.



The condition of the English in the Dungeon & their Execution.

him up by the Hands with a Cord, on a large Door, where they made him faſt, upon two Staples of Iron fixed on both Sides, at the Top of the Door-Poſts, halling his Hands one from the other as wide as they could ſtretch. Being thus made ſo faſt, his Feet hung two Foot from the Ground, which alſo they ſtretched aſunder as far as they could ſtretch, and ſo made them faſt beneath, under the Door-Trees on each Side. Then they bound a Cloth about his Neck and Face ſo cloſe, that little or no Water could go by; that done, they poured the Water ſoftly upon his Head, until the Cloth was full up to the Mouth and Noſtrils, and ſomewhat higher, ſo that he could not draw Breath but he muſt withal ſuck in the Water; which being ſtill continued to be poured in ſoftly, forced all his inward Parts to come out of his Noſe, Ears, and Eyes, and often, as it were, ſtifling or choaking him; at length took away his Breath, and brought him to a Swoon, or Fainting: Then they took him quickly down, and made him vomit up the Water; being a little recovered, they tied him up again, and poured in the Water as before, often taking him down as he ſeemed to be ſtifled. In this Manner they handled him three or four ſeveral Times with Water, till his Body was ſwoln twice or thrice as big as before; his Cheeks like great Bladders, and his Eyes ſtarting and ſtrutting out beyond his Forehead; yet all this he bore without confeſſing any thing, inſomuch that the Fiſcal and Tormentors reviled him, ſaying, that he was a Devil, and no Man, or ſurely he was a Witch, at leaſt had ſome Charm about him, or was inchanted, that he could bear ſo much; wherefore they cut off his Hair very ſhort, as ſuppoſing he had ſome Witchcraft hidden therein. Afterwards they hoiſted him up again, as before, and then burnt him with lighted Candles in the Bottom of his Feet until the Fat dropped out on the Candles, yet they applied freſh Lights unto him; they burnt him alſo under the Elbows, and in the Palms of his Hands, likewiſe under the Arm-pits, until his Inwards might evidently be ſeen.

At laſt, when they ſaw he could of himſelf make no handſome Confeſſion, then they led him along with Queſtions of particular Circumſtances by themſelves framed. Being thus wearied and overcome by the Torment, he anſwered, Yea, to whatever they aſked, whereby they drew from him a Body of Confeſſion to this Effect; to wit, That Captain *Towerſon* had, upon *New-Year's-Day* then laſt paſt, ſworn all the *Engliſh* at *Amboyna* to be ſecret and aſſiſtant in a Plot that he had projected, with the Help of the *Japoneſe*, to ſurpriſe the Caſtle, and to put the Governor and the reſt of the *Dutch* to Death. Having thus martyred this poor Man, they ſent him out by four Blacks, who carried him between them to a Dungeon, where he lay five or ſix Days, without any Chirurgeon to dreſs him, until his Fleſh being putrified, great Maggots dropped and crept from it in a moſt loathſome and noiſome Manner. Thus they finiſhed their Sabbath-Day's Work; and it growing now dark, ſent the reſt of the *Engliſh* that came that Day from *Hitto*, and 'till then attended in the Hall, firſt, to the Smith's Shop, where they were loaded with Irons, and then to the ſame loathſome Dungeon, where *Clark* and the reſt were accompanied with the poor *Japoneſe*, lying in the Putrefaction of their Tortures.

The next Morning, being *Monday*, the Seventeenth of *February*, O. S. *William Griggs* and *John Fardo*, with certain *Japoneſe*, were brought into the Place of Examination. The *Japoneſe* were firſt cruelly tortured to accuſe *Grigg*, which, at laſt, they did; and *Grigg*, to avoid the like Torture, confeſſed all that the Fiſcal demanded. By and by the like was alſo done by *John Fardo* and other *Japoneſe*: But *Fardo* himſelf endured the Torture of Water, and at laſt confeſſed whatſoever the Fiſcal aſked him, and ſo was ſent back to Priſon. The ſame Day alſo *John Beamont* was brought the ſecond Time to the Fiſcal's Chamber, where one Captain *Newport*, a *Dutchman's* Son, born in *England*, was uſed as an Intepreter; *William Griggs* was alſo brought in to accuſe him, who ſaid, That when the Conſultation was held for taking the Caſtle, he the ſaid *Beamont* was then preſent; *Beamont* denied it with great Earneſtneſs, and deep Oaths; at laſt, being ſtretched up, and drenched with Water till his Inwards were ready to crack, he anſwered affirmatively to all the Fiſcal's Interrogatories. Yet, as ſoon as he was let down, he clearly demonſtrated to Captain *Newport*, and *Johnſon*, a *Dutch* Merchant, then alſo preſent, that theſe Things could not be ſo; nevertheleſs he was forced to put his Hand to the Confeſſion, or elſe he muſt to the Torture again, which, to avoid, he ſubſcribed, and ſo had a great Iron-bolt, and two Shackles riveted to his Legs, and then was carried back to Priſon.

After this *George Sharrock*, Aſſiſtant at *Hitto*, was called in Queſtion, who ſeeing how grievouſly others were martyr'd, made his earneſt Prayer to God, as ſince upon his Oath he hath acknowledged, that he would ſuffer him to make ſome ſuch probable Lies againſt himſelf, as the *Dutch* might believe, and ſo he might eſcape the Torment. Being brought to the Rack, the Water provided, and the Candles lighted, he was by the Governor and Fiſcal examined, and charged with the Conſpiracy. He fell upon his Knees, and proteſted his Innocence; then they commanded him to the Rack, and told him, unleſs he would confeſs he ſhould be tormented with Fire and Water to Death, and then ſhould be drawn by the Knees to the Gallows, and there hanged up. He ſtill perſiſting in his Innocence, the Fiſcal bid him be hoiſted up; then he craved Reſpite a while, and told them, that he was at *Hitto*, and not in *Amboyna* upon *New-Year's-Day*, when the Conſultation was pretended, neither had he been there ſince *November* before, as was well known to ſundry of the *Dutchmen* themſelves that reſided there alſo with him.

Hereupon they commanded him again to the Rack; but he craving Reſpite, as before, now told them that he had many Times heard *John Clark* ſay, that the *Dutch* had done them many unſufferable Wrongs, and that he would be revenged on them; to which End he had once broken with Captain *Towerſon* a brave Plot; at which Word the Fiſcal and the reſt were attentive, encouraging him to proceed; ſo he went on, ſaying, that *John Clark* had entreated Captain *Towerſon* that he might go to *Macaſſar*, there to conſult and adviſe with the *Spaniards* to come with Gallies, and rob the ſmall Factories of *Amboyna* and *Secan*, when no Ships were there. Here they aſked him what Captain *Towerſon* ſaid to this? To which he anſwered, that Captain *Towerſon* was very much offended with *Clark* for the Motion, and from thenceforth could never abide him. Hereupon the Fiſcal called him Rogue, and ſaid he prated all from the Matter, and ſhould go to the Torture: He craved Favour again, and began another Tale, to wit, That upon *Twelfth-Day*, then laſt paſt, *John Clark* told him at *Hitto*, that there was a Practice to take the Caſtle of *Amboyna*, and aſked him whether he would conſent thereto; whereupon he demanded of *Clark* whether Captain *Towerſon* knew of any ſuch Matter, which *Clark* affirming; then the ſaid *Sharrock* ſaid, he would do as the reſt did. Then the Fiſcal aſked him what Time the Conſultation was held? He anſwered in *November* laſt: The Fiſcal ſaid that could not be, for the Conſultation was on *New-Year's-Day*. The Priſoner ſaid as before in the Beginning, that he had not been in *Amboyna* ſince the Firſt of *December* till now, that he was brought thither; why then, quoth the Fiſcal, have you belied yourſelf? Whereto the Priſoner reſolutely anſwered, that all that he had ſpoken touching Treaſon was falſe, and feigned only to avoid Torment. Then went the Fiſcal out into another Room to the Governour, and anon returned and ſent *Sharrock* unto the Priſon again.

The next Day he was called again, and a Writing preſented him, wherein was framed a formal Confeſſion of his laſt Conference with *Clark* at *Hitto*, touching the Plot to take the Caſtle of *Amboyna*, which being read over to him, the Fiſcal aſked him, whether it was true or no? He anſwered no: Why then, ſaid the Fiſcal, did you confeſs it? he anſwered, for fear of Torment. The Fiſcal and the reſt, in a great Rage, told him he lyed, his Mouth had ſpoken it; and it was true, and therefore he ſhould ſubſcribe it, which, as ſoon as he had done, he fell preſently into a great Paſſion, charging them bitterly to be guilty of the innocent Blood of himſelf and the reſt, which they ſhould look to anſwer for at the Day of Judgment;

ment; withal he grappled with the Fiſcal, and would have ſtopped him from carrying in the Confeſſion to the Governor, with whom he alſo craved to ſpeak, but was inſtantly laid hold on, and carried away to Priſon. *William Webber* being next examined, was told by the Fiſcal, that *John Clark* had confeſſed him to have been at *Amboyna* on *News-Year's-Day*, and ſworn to Captain *Towerſon*'s Plot, *&c.* all which he denied, alledging he was that Day at *Larica*; yet, being brought to the Torture, he then confeſſed he had been at the Conſultation at *Amboyna* upon *New-Year's-Day*, with all the reſt of the Circumſtances in order as he was aſked.

He alſo further told them, he had received a Letter from *John Clark*, after which was a Poſtſcript, excuſing his brief Writing at that Time, for that there was then great Buſineſs in hand. But one *Kender*, a *Dutch* Merchant, then ſtanding by, told the Governor, that upon *New-Year's-Day*, the Time of this pretended Conſultation, *Webber* and he were merry at *Larica*; ſo the Governor left him and went out: But the Fiſcal held out upon the other Point, touching the Poſtſcript of *Clark*'s Letter, urging him to ſhew the ſame, which, when he could not do, though often terrified with the Torture, he gave him Reſpite, promiſing to ſave his Life, if he would produce the Letter. Then was Captain *Towerſon* brought to the Examination, and ſhewed what others had confeſſed of him; he deeply proteſted his Innocency. *Samuel Colſon* was brought to confront him, who being told, that unleſs he would now make good his former Confeſſion againſt Captain *Towerſon*, he ſhould go to the Torture, coldly reaffirmed the ſame, and ſo was ſent away. They alſo brought *William Griggs* and *John Fardo* to juſtify their former Confeſſions to his Face. Captain *Towerſon* ſeriouſly charged, that as they would anſwer it at the dreadful Day of Judgment, they ſhould ſpeak nothing but the Truth: Both of them inſtantly fell down upon their Knees before him, praying him, for God's Sake, to forgive them; and ſaying further openly, before them all, that whatſoever they had formerly confeſſed, was moſt falſe, and ſpoken only to avoid Torment. With that the Fiſcal and the reſt ordered them again to the Torture, which they would not endure, but then affirmed their former Confeſſions to be true. When *Colſon*, who had accuſed the Captain before, was required to ſet his Hand to his Confeſſion; he aſked the Fiſcal upon whoſe Head he thought the Sin would lie, whether upon his, who was conſtrained to confeſs what was falſe, or upon the Conſtrainer?

The Fiſcal, after a little Pauſe upon this Queſtion, went in to the Governor, then in another Room; but anon, returning, ſaid he muſt ſubſcribe it, which he did, yet withal made this Proteſtation; Well, quoth he, you make me to accuſe myſelf and others, of that which is as falſe as God is true; for God is my Witneſs, I am as innocent as the Child new born. Thus have they examined all that belong to the *Engliſh* Company in the ſeveral Factories of the Iſland of *Amboyna*. *February* the Twenty-firſt they examined *John Wetherel*, Factor at *Cambello*, in the Iſland of *Seran*. He confeſſed he was at *Amboyna* upon *New-Year's-Day*, but for the Conſultation whereof he was demanded, he ſaid he knew of no other but touching certain Cloth of the *Engliſh* Company that lay in the Factories rotting and worm-eaten, which they adviſed together how to put off to the beſt Avail of their Employers. The Governor ſaid, he queſtioned him not about Cloth, but of Treaſon, whereof, when he had proteſted his Innocence, he was for that Time diſmiſſed; but the next Day he was ſent for again, and Captain *Towerſon* brought to confront and accuſe him, having before confeſſed ſomewhat againſt him; but Mr. *Towerſon* ſpoke theſe Words only, O Mr. *Wetherel*, Mr. *Wetherel*, ſpeak the Truth, and nothing but the Truth, as God ſhall put it in your Heart; ſo Captain *Towerſon* was put out again, and Mr. *Wetherel* brought to the Torture of Water, with great Threats, if Water would not make him confeſs, Fire ſhould. He prayed them to tell him what he ſhould ſay, or to write down what they would, he would ſubſcribe it. They ſaid, he needed no Tutor, they would make him confeſs himſelf; but when they had hoiſted him up four ſeveral Times, and ſaw he knew not what to ſay; then they read him other Mens Confeſſions, and aſked him from Point to Point, as they had done others, and he ſtill anſwered, *Yea*, to all.

Next was called in *John Powel*, *Wetherel*'s Aſſiſtant at *Cambello*; but he proving that he was not at *Amboyna* ſince *November*, ſave now, when he was brought thither Priſoner, and being ſpoken for by one *John Jooſt*, who had long been well acquainted with him, was diſmiſſed without Torture. Then was *Thomas Ladbrook*, Servant to *Wetherel* and *Powel* at *Cambello*, at the Time of the pretended Conſultation, and ſerving in ſuch Quality, as that he was never acquainted with any of the Letters from the Agent of *Amboyna*, he was eaſily and quickly diſmiſſed. *Ephraim Ramſey* was alſo examined upon the whole Conſpiracy, and particularly queſtioned concerning Captain *Weldon*, the *Engliſh* Agent in *Banda* but denying all, and proving that he was not at *Amboyna* at New-years-tide, being alſo ſpoken for by *John Jooſt*, was diſmiſſed, after he had hanged in the Rack a good while, with Irons about his Legs, and the Cloth about his Mouth. Laſtly, *John Sadler*, Servant to *William Griggs* at *Larica*, was examined, and being found to have been abſent from *Amboyna* at New-years-tide, when *Griggs* and others were there, was diſmiſſed.

Thus have we all their Examinations, Tortures, and Confeſſions, being the Work of eight Days, from the 15th to the 23d of *February*, after which was two Days reſpited before the Sentence. *John Powel* being himſelf acquitted as aforeſaid, went to the Priſon to viſit *John Fardo*, one of theſe that had accuſed Captain *Towerſon*; to him *Fardo* religiouſly proteſted his Innocency, but eſpecially his Sorrow for accuſing Maſter *Towerſon*; for, ſaid he, the Fear of Death doth nothing diſmay me; for God, I truſt, will be merciful to my Soul, according to the Innocence of my Cauſe. The only Matter that troubles me is, that through Fear of Torment I have accuſed that honeſt and godly Man Captain *Towerſon*, whom, I think in my Conſcience, was ſo upright towards all Men, that he harboured no Ill-will to any Man; much leſs would attempt any ſuch Buſineſs as he is accuſed of. He farther ſaid, he would before his Death receive the Sacrament, in Acknowledgment, that he had accuſed Captain *Towerſon* falſely and wrongfully, only through Fear of Torment.

On the 25th, O. S. all the Priſoners, as well the *Engliſh* as the *Portugueze* and *Japoneſe*, were brought into the great Hall of the Caſtle, and there were ſolemnly condemned, except, *John Powel*, *Ephraim Ramſey*, *John Sadler*, and *Thomas Ladbrook*, formerly acquitted as aforeſaid; Captain *Towerſon*, during all his Impriſonment, having been kept from the reſt, ſo that none could come to ſpeak with him, writ much in his Chamber; but all was ſuppreſſed, ſave only a Bill of Debt, which one *Thomas Johnſon*, a free Burgher, got of him, by Favour of his Keepers, for an Acknowledgment, that the *Engliſh* Company owed him a certain Sum of Money. In the End of this Bill he writ theſe Words, *Firmed by the Form of me* Gabriel Towerſon, *now appointed to die guiltleſs of any thing that can be juſtly laid to my Charge. God forgive them their Guilt, and receive me to his Mercy.* Amen. This Bill being brought to M. *Weldon*, the *Engliſh* Agent at *Banda*, he paid the Money, and received in the Acknowledgment. *William Griggs*, who had before accuſed Captain *Towerſon*, writ the following Words in his Table Book: "We whoſe Names "are here ſpecified, *John Beamont*, Merchant of *Lobo*, *William Griggs*, Merchant of *Larica*, *Abel Price*, Cuirurgeon "of *Amboyna*, *Robert Brown*, Taylor, which do here lie Priſoners in the Ship *Rotterdam*, being apprehended for Conſpiracy, for blowing up the Caſtle of *Amboyna*, we being "judged to Death this fifth of *March*, *Anno* 1622, which "we, through Torment, were conſtrained to ſpeak that "which we never meant, nor once imagined, the which "we take upon our Deaths and Salvation. They tortured "us with that extream Torment of Fire and Water, that "Fleſh and Blood could not endure; and this we take "upon our Deaths, that they have put us to Death guiltleſs of our Accuſation: So therefore that we deſire that "they that ſhall underſtand this, that our Employers may "underſtand theſe Wrongs, and that yourſelves would

“ have a care to look to yourſelves; for their Intent was to have brought you in alſo: They aſked concerning you, which, if they had tortured us, we muſt have confeſſed you alſo, and ſo farewel; written in the dark.”

This Table-Book was afterwards delivered to M. *Weldon* before mentioned, by one that ſerved the *Dutch*. *Samuel Colſon* alſo, another that accuſed Captain *Towerſon*, writ as followeth in the waſte Leaves of a Book, wherein were bound together the Common-Prayers, the Pſalms, and the Catechiſm. In one Page thus: “ *March* the fifth, N. S. being *Sunday*, on board the *Rotterdam*, lying in Irons, underſtand, that I *Samuel Colſon*, late Factor of *Hitto*, was apprehended for Suſpicion of Conſpiracy, and for any thing I know muſt die for it; wherefore, having no better means to make my Innocency known, have writ this in this Book, hoping ſome good *Engliſhmen* will ſee it. I do here upon my Salvation, as I hope by his Death and Paſſion to have Redemption for my Sins, that I am clear of all ſuch Conſpiracy; neither do I know any *Engliſhman* guilty thereof, nor other Creature in the World. As this is true, God bleſs me, *Samuel Colſon*.”

On the other Side, upon the firſt Page of the Catechiſm, is thus written; *In another Leaf you ſhall underſtand more, which I have written in this Book.* Samuel Colſon. In the Beginning of the Pſalms, and in the Leaf ſo referred unto, is thus written, *viz.* “ The *Japoneſe* were taken with ſome Villany, and brought to Examination; being moſt tyranouſly tortured, were aſked, if the *Engliſh* had any hand in the Plot, which Torture made them ſay yea. Then was Maſter *Thomſon*, and Mr. *Johnſon*, Mr. *Collins*, *John Clark*, brought to Execution, and were burned under the Arm-pits, the Hands and Soals of the Feet, with another moſt miſerable Torment, to drink Water; ſome of them almoſt tortured to Death, and were forced to confeſs that which they never knew, by reaſon of the Torment which Fleſh and Blood is not able to endure. Then were the reſt of the *Engliſhmen* called one by one, amongſt which I was one, being wiſhed to confeſs, or elſe I muſt go to Torment; withal, cauſed M. *Johnſon*, who was before tormented, to witneſs againſt me, or elſe he ſhould be tormented again; which, rather than he would endure, he ſaid what they would have him ſpeak. Then muſt I confeſs that I never knew, or elſe go to Torment, which, rather than I would ſuffer, I did confeſs that which, as I ſhall be ſaved before God Almighty, is not true, being forced, for fear of Torment. Then did they make us witneſs againſt Captain *Towerſon*; and at laſt made Captain *Towerſon* confeſs all, being for fear of moſt cruel Torment, for which we muſt all die. As I mean and hope to have Pardon for my Sins, I know no more than the Child unborn of this Buſineſs; written with my own Hand, the firſt of *March*, N. S. *Sam. Colſon*.”

Yet in another Page were theſe Words; *I was born in* New-Caſtle upon Tyne, *where I deſire this Book may come, that my Friends may know of my Innocence.* Samuel Colſon. This Book he delivered to one that ſerved the *Dutch*, who ſewed it up in his Bed, and afterwards, at his Opportunity, delivered it to Mr. *Weldon* beforementioned. All theſe ſaid Writings are yet extant, under the Hands of the ſeveral Parties well known to their Friends here in *England*.

The twenty-ſixth Day of *February*, O. S. the Priſoners were all brought into the great Hall of the Caſtle, except Captain *Towerſon*, and *Emanuel Thomſon*, to be prepared for Death by the Miniſters. The *Japoneſe* now all in general, as ſome of them had done before in particular, cried out unto the *Engliſh*, ſaying, Oh! you *Engliſhmen*, where did we ever in our Lives eat with you, talk with you, or, to our Remembrance, ſee you? The *Engliſh* anſwered, why then have you accuſed us? The poor Men perceiving they were made believe each had accuſed others, before they had ſo done, indeed, ſhewed them their tortured Bodies, and ſaid, if a Stone were thus burnt, would it not change its Nature? How much more then we that are Fleſh and Blood? Whilſt they were all in the Hall, Captain *Towerſon* was brought up into the Place of Examination, and two great Jars of Water carried after him; what he there did, or ſuffered, is unknown to the *Engliſh*; but it ſeemeth, they made him then to underwrite his Confeſſion. After Supper, *John Powel*, *Ephraim Ramſey*, *Thomas Ladbrook*, and *John Sadler*, who were found not guilty, as aforeſaid, were taken from the reſt, and put into another Room; by and by alſo were *Samuel Colſon* and *Edward Collins* brought from the reſt, into the Room where *Emanuel Thomſon* lay: The Fiſcal told them, it was the Governor's Mercy to ſave one of thoſe three; and it being indifferent to him which of them were the Man, it was his Pleaſure they ſhould draw Lots for it, which they did, and the free Lot fell to *Edward Collins*, who then was carried away to the Chamber, where *John Powel*, and the reſt that were quit, lodged; and *Samuel Colſon* back into the Hall. Anoh alſo *John Beaumont* was brought out of the Hall into the Chamber, where *John Powel*, and the reſt of the acquitted Perſons were, and was told, that he was beholden to *Peter Johnſon*, the *Dutch* Merchant of *Lobo*, and to the Secretary, for they two had begged his Life. So then there remained in the Hall ten of the *Engliſh*; for Captain *Towerſon* and *Emanuel Thomſon* were kept in ſeveral Rooms apart from the reſt. To theſe that remained in the Hall came the *Dutch* Miniſters, who telling them how ſhort a time they had to live, admoniſhed and exhorted them to make their true Confeſſions; for it was a dangerous and deſperate thing to diſſemble at ſuch a Time.

The *Engliſh* ſtill profeſſed their Innocency, and prayed the Miniſters that they might all receive the Sacrament, as a Seal of the Forgiveneſs of their Sins; and withal, thereby to confirm their laſt Profeſſion of their Innocence; but this would by no means be granted: Whereupon *Samuel Colſon* ſaid thus unto the Miniſters, You manifeſt unto us the Danger of Diſſimulation in this Caſe; but tell us, if we ſuffer guiltleſs, being otherwiſe alſo true Believers in *Jeſus Chriſt*, what ſhall be our Reward. The Preacher anſwered, by how much the clearer you are, ſo much the more glorious ſhall be your Reſurrection. With that Word *Colſon* ſtarted up, embraced the Preacher, and gave him his Purſe, with ſuch Money as he had in it, ſaying, *Domine*, God bleſs you: Tell the Governor I freely forgive him, and I intreat you to exhort him to repent him of his bloody Tragedy wrought upon us poor innocent Souls. Here all the reſt of the *Engliſh* ſignified their Conſent to this Speech. Then ſpake *John Fardo* to the reſt, in the Preſence of the Miniſters, as followeth: My Countrymen and Brethren, that are here with me, condemned to die, I charge you all, as you will anſwer it at God's Judgment Seat, if any of you be guilty of this Matter, whereof we are condemned, diſcharge your Conſciences, and confeſs the Truth, for Satisfaction of the World. Hereupon *Samuel Colſon* ſpake with a loud Voice, ſaying, according to my Innocence in this Treaſon, ſo, Lord, pardon all the reſt of my Sins, and if I be guilty thereof, more or leſs, let me never be Partaker of thy heavenly Joys; at which Words every one of the reſt cried out, Amen; for me, Amen; for me, good Lord. This done, each of them knowing whom he had accuſed, went one to another, begging Forgiveneſs for their falſe Accuſation, being wrung from them by the Pains or Fear of Torture; and they all freely forgave one another; for none had been ſo falſely accuſed, but he himſelf had accuſed another as falſely; in particular, *George Sharrock*, who ſurvived to relate this Night's Paſſage, kneeled down to *John Clark*, whom he had accuſed of the Tale at *Hitto* abovementioned, and craved Forgiveneſs at his Hands: *Clark* freely forgave him, ſaying, How ſhall I look to be forgiven of God, if I ſhould not forgive you, having myſelf ſo falſely accuſed Captain *Towerſon* and others? After this they ſpent the reſt of the doleful Night in Prayer, ſinging of Pſalms, and comforting one another, though the *Dutch* that guarded them offered them Wine, bidding them drink luſtily, and drive away the Sorrow, according to the Cuſtom of their own Country in the like Caſes, but contrary to the Nature of the *Engliſh*.

Upon the Morrow Morning, being the Execution Day, the 27th of *February*, O. S. *John Powel* being freed, as before recited, came into the Room where the condemned Perſons were, and found them at Prayers. They all requeſted him to relate unto their Friends in *England* the Innocency of their Cauſe, taking it upon their Deaths, that what they had confeſſed againſt themſelves and others, touching this Crime, was all falſe, and forced by fear of

Torture. The ſame Morning *William Webber* was called again into the Fiſcal's Room, and there preſſed to produce the Letter which he had before confeſſed to have received from *John Clark*, in the Poſtſcript whereof ſome great Buſineſs was intimated: They promiſed him his Life, if he would deliver, or produce to them that Letter, which, tho' he did not, nor indeed could, yet at laſt they pardoned him, and ſent him to the reſt that were ſaved, and *Sharrock* with him. That Morning *Emanuel Thomſon*, underſtanding that *John Beaumont* was pardoned, made Means to have him come and ſpeak with him, which with much ado he obtained. *Beaumont* found him ſitting in a Chamber all alone, in a moſt miſerable Faſhion, the Wounds of his Torture bound up, but the Matter and gore Blood iſſuing through the Rollers: He took M. *Beaumont* by the Hand, and prayed him, when he came into *England*, to do his Duty to the honourable Company his Maſters, to M. *Robinſon*, and to his Brother *Billingſley*, and to certify them of his Innocence, which, ſaid he, you yourſelf know well enough.

All Things being prepared for the Execution, the condemned were brought forth of the Hall along by the Chamber, where the quit and pardoned were, who ſtood in the Door to give and take the Farewel of their Countrymen now going to Execution; ſtaying a little for this Purpoſe, they prayed, and charged thoſe that were ſaved, to bear witneſs to their Friends in *England* of their Innocence, and that they died not Traitors, but ſo many Innocents merely murdered by the *Dutch*, whom they prayed God to forgive their Blood-thirſtineſs, and to have Mercy upon their own Souls. Being brought into the Yard, their Sentence was read unto them from a Gallery, and then they were thence carried unto the Place of Execution, together with nine *Japoneſe* and a *Portugueze*, not the ordinary and ſhort Way, but round about, in a long Proceſſion through the Town, the Way guarded by five Companies of Soldiers, *Dutch* and *Amboyneſe*, and thronged with the Natives of the Iſland, that upon the Summons given the Day before by the Sound of the Drum, flocked together to behold this Triumph of the *Dutch* over the *Engliſh*. *Samuel Colſon* had conceived a Prayer in Writing, in the End whereof he proteſted his Innocence, which Prayer he read to his Fellows the Night before; and now alſo at the Place of Execution, devoutly pronounced the ſame; then threw away the Paper, which the Governor cauſed to be brought to him, and kept it. *Emanuel Thomſon* told the reſt, he did not doubt but God would ſhew a Sign of their Innocence; and every one of the reſt took it ſeverely upon their Death, that they were utterly guiltleſs; and ſo one by one, with great Chearfulneſs, ſuffered the fatal Stroke. The *Portugueze* prayed over his Beads very devoutly, and often kiſſed the Croſs, ſwearing thereupon, that he was utterly innocent of this Treaſon, yet confeſſed, that God had juſtly brought this Puniſhment upon him; for that having a Wife in his own Country, he had, by the Perſuaſion of the *Dutch* Governor, taken another in that Country, his firſt being yet living.

The *Japoneſe*, likewiſe, according to their Religion, ſhut up their laſt Act with the like Profeſſion of their Innocence; ſo there ſuffered ten *Engliſhmen*, viz. Captain *Gabriel Towerſon*, the Agent for the *Engliſh* at *Amboyna*; *Samuel Colſon*, Factor at *Hitto*; *Emanuel Thomſon*, Aſſiſtant at *Amboyna*; *Timothy Johnſon*, Aſſiſtant there alſo; *John Wetherel*, Aſſiſtant at *Cambello*; *John Clark*, Aſſiſtant at *Hitto*; *William Griggs*, Factor at *Larica*; *John Fardo*, Steward of the Houſe; *Abel Price*, Chirurgeon, and *Robert Brown*, Taylor. The *Portugueze* alſo ſuffered with them; his Name was *Auguſtin Perez*, he was born at *Bengal*. The Names of the *Japoneſe* that ſuffered were as followeth: *Hitiſo*, *Tſioſa*, *Sinſa*, all born at *Firando*; *Sidney Migial*, *Pedro Congie*, *Thomas Corea*, born at *Naganſaque*; *Quiandayo*, Native of *Coraets*; *Iſabinda*, of *Tſoncketgo*; *Zanchoe*, of *Fiſien*. Beſides theſe there were two other *Japoneſe*, the one named *Soyſimo*, born at *Firando*, and the other *Sacoube*, of the ſame Place; the former of which being tortured, confeſſed both to have been privy to this private Treaſon, and to have offered his Service to the *Engliſh* to aid them in taking of the Caſtle; and the latter confeſſed to have had Knowledge of the Conſultation of the other *Japoneſe* to this Purpoſe; but neither of them was executed, or ſo much as condemned; the Reaſon whereof was not known to the *Engliſh* that were ſaved. They had prepared a Cloth of black Velvet for Captain *Towerſon*'s Body to fall upon, which being ſtained and defaced with his Blood, they afterwards put to Account of the *Engliſh* Company. At the Inſtance of the Execution there aroſe a great Darkneſs, with a ſudden and violent Guſt of Wind and Tempeſt, whereby two of the *Dutch* Ships riding in the Harbour were driven from their Anchors, and with great Labour and Difficulty ſaved from the Rocks. Within a few Days after one *William Dunckin*, who had told the Governor, that *Robert Brown* the *Engliſh* Taylor, had a few Months before told him, he hoped that within ſix Months the *Engliſh* ſhould have as much to do in the Caſtle of *Amboyna* as the *Dutch*; this Fellow coming upon an Evening to the Grave, where the *Engliſh* were buried, being all, except Captain *Towerſon*, in one Pit, fell down upon the Grave; and having lain there awhile, roſe up again ſtark mad, and ſo continued two or three Days together, and then died. Forthwith alſo fell a new Sickneſs at *Amboyna*, which ſwept away above one thouſand People, *Dutch* and *Amboyneſe*, in the Space wherein there uſually died not thirty at other Seaſons. Theſe Signs were, by the ſurviving *Engliſh*, referred to the confident Prediction of *Emanuel Thomſon* above named, and were by the *Amboyneſe* interpreted as a Token of the Wrath of God for this barbarous Tyranny of the *Dutch*.

The next Day after the Execution, being the 28th of *February*, O. S. was ſpent in Triumph for the new General of the *Dutch* then proclaimed, and in publick Rejoicing for the Deliverance from this pretended Treaſon. On the 1ſt of *March*, *John Beaumont*, *George Sharrock*, *Edward Collins*, and *William Webber*, were brought to the Governor, who told *Beaumont* and *Sharrock*, that they were pardoned in Honour of the new General; and *Collins*, that he was to go to *Jaccatra*, there to ſtand to the Favour of the Governor; ſo the Governor made them drink Wine with him, and courteouſly diſmiſſed them, willing them to go and conſult with the reſt that were ſaved, who were fit to be placed in the ſeveral Factories; which done, and their Opinions reported to the Governor, he accordingly commanded each to his Place, adding, that he would thenceforth take upon him the Patronage and Government of the *Engliſh* Company's Buſineſs, to which Purpoſe he had within a few Days paſt opened a Letter that came from the *Engliſh* Preſident at *Jaccatra*, directed to Captain *Towerſon*, being the firſt *Engliſh* Letter he ever intercepted; further ſaying, that he was glad that he found by the Letter that the *Engliſh* at *Jaccatra* were innocent touching this Buſineſs. The Governor and Fiſcal having juſt made an End at *Amboyna*, diſpatched themſelves for *Banda*, where they made very diligent Enquiry againſt Captain *Weldon*, the *Engliſh* Agent there, yet found no Colour or Shadow of Guilt to lay hold on; but at laſt entertained him with courteous Speeches, profeſſing to be very glad that they found him as well as the *Engliſh* at *Jaccatra* to be without Suſpicion of this Treaſon.

Captain *Weldon* perceiving the Diſorder and Confuſion of the *Engliſh* Company's Affairs at *Amboyna*, by means of this Dealing of the *Dutch*, forthwith hired a *Dutch* Pinnace at *Banda*, and paſſed to *Amboyna*, where, inſtantly upon his Arrival, he recalled the Company's Servants, which were ſent by the *Dutch* Governor to the upper Factories. Having inquired of them, and the reſt that were left at *Amboyna*, of the whole Proceedings lately paſſed, he found by the conſtant and agreeing Relation of them all, that there was no ſuch Treaſon of the *Engliſh* as was pretended; as alſo underſtanding what ſtrict Command the Governor had given to the ſurviving *Engliſh* not once to talk, or confer with the Country People concerning this bloody Buſineſs, although the ſaid Country People every Day reproached them with Treaſon, and a bloody Intention to have maſſacred the Natives, and to have ripped up the Bellies of Women with Child, and ſuch like Stuff, wherewith the *Dutch* had poſſeſſed the poor Vulgar, to make the *Engliſh* odious unto them; the ſaid M. *Welden* therefore finding it to ſuit neither with the Honour nor Profit of the *Engliſh* Company, his Maſters, to hold any longer

Reſidence in *Amboyna*, he took the poor Remnant of the *Engliſh* along with him in the ſaid hired Pinnace for *Jaccatra*, whither the Governor had ſent *John Beaumont* and *Edward Collins* before, as Men condemned, and left to the Mercy of the Governor. When this heavy News of *Amboyna* came to *Jaccatra*, and the *Engliſh* there, the Preſident ſent forthwith to the General of the *Dutch*, to know by what Authority the Governor of *Amboyna* had thus proceeded againſt the *Engliſh*, and how he and the reſt of the *Dutch* there at *Jaccatra* did approve theſe Proceedings. The Governor returned for Anſwer, that the Governor of *Amboyna*'s Authority was derived from the Lords States-General of the *United Netherlands*, under whom he had lawful Juriſdiction both in criminal and civil Cauſes, within the Diſtrict of *Amboyna*; further, that ſuch Proceeding was neceſſary againſt Traitors, ſuch as the *Engliſh* executed at *Amboyna* might appear to be by their own Confeſſions, a Copy whereof he therewith ſent to the *Engliſh* Preſident, who ſent the ſame back to be authentickly certified, but received it not again. Hitherto hath been recited the bare and naked Narration of the Progreſs and Paſſage of this Action, as it is taken out of the Depoſitions of ſix ſeveral *Engliſh* Factors, whereof four were condemned, and the other two acquitted, in this Proceſs of *Amboyna*. All ſince their Return into *England*, examined upon their Oaths in the Admiralty-Court. The Particulars of Captain *Towerſon*'s, as alſo of *Emanuel Thomſon*'s Examinations and Anſwers, are not yet come to Light, by reaſon that theſe two were kept a-part from all the reſt, and each alone by himſelf, nor any other of the *Engliſh* ſuffered to ſpeak with them, except only that ſhort Farewel which *John Beaumont* took of *Thomſon*, the Morning before the Execution before mentioned. The like Obſcurity is yet touching the Examinations and Anſwers of diverſe of the reſt that are executed, being, during their Impriſonment, ſo ſtrictly looked to, and watched by the *Dutch*, that they might not talk together, nor mutually relate their Miſeries; but becauſe the *Dutch* defend their own Proceedings by the Confeſſions of the Parties executed, acknowledging ſeverally under their Hands, that they were guilty of the pretended Crime:

It will not be amiſs to recollect and recal unto this Place, as it were unto one Sum and Total, certain Circumſtances diſperſed in ſeveral Parts of this Narration, whereby as well the Innocence of the *Engliſh*, as the unlawful Proceeding againſt them, may be manifeſted.

Firſt, therefore, it is to be remembered, that the *Japoneſe* were apprehended, examined, and tortured three or four Days before the *Engliſh* were attacked, and the ſame as well of their Apprehenſion as Torture was rief and notorious in the Town of *Amboyna*, and the Parts adjoining. *Thomſon* in this Interim, and the very firſt Day of the Examination of the *Japoneſe*, went to the Caſtle, to aſk Leave of the Governor to land ſome Rice, and brought back the News with him to the *Engliſh* Houſe of the cruel Handling of theſe poor *Japoneſe*. This had been *Item* enough to the *Engliſh*, if they had been guilty, to ſhift for themſelves, whereto alſo they had ready Means by the Curricurries, or ſmall Boats of the *Amboyners*, which lie along the Strand, in that Number wherewith they might eaſily have tranſported themſelves to *Seran*, to *Bottoun*, or *Macaſſar*, out of the Reach and Juriſdiction of the *Dutch*; but in that they fled not, in this Caſe, it is a very ſtrong Preſumption, that they were as little privy to any Treaſon of their own, as ſuſpicious of any treacherous Train laid for their Bloods.

In the next Place, let it be conſidered, how impoſſible it was for the *Engliſh* to atchieve this pretended Enterpriſe. The Caſtle of *Amboyna* is of a very great Strength, the Garriſon therein two or three hundred Men, beſides as many more of their free Burghers in the Town. What their Care and Circumſpection in all their Forts is, may appear, not only from the quick Alarm they took at the fooliſh Jeſting of the poor *Japoneſe*, made to the Centinel above recited, but alſo by that which a little before had happened at *Jaccatra*, where one of their Soldiers was ſhot to Death for ſleeping on the Watch. Durſt ten *Engliſhmen*, whereof not one Soldier, attempt any thing upon ſuch a Strength and Vigilance? As for the Aſſiſtance of the *Japoneſe*, they were but ten neither, and all unarmed, as well as the *Engliſh*: For, as at the Seizure at the *Engliſh* Houſe, all the Proviſion there found, was but three Swords, two Muſkets, and half a Pound of Powder; ſo the *Japoneſe*, except when they are in Service of the Caſtle, and there armed by the *Dutch*, are allowed to have no Arms, but only a Catan, a kind of ſhort Sword; and it is forbidden to all the *Dutch*, upon great Penalty, to ſell any Hand-gun, Powder or Bullets to the *Japoneſe* or *Amboyners*.

But let it be imagined theſe twenty Perſons, *Engliſh* and *Japoneſe*, were ſo deſperate as to adventure the Exploit, how ſhould they be able to maſter the *Dutch* in the Caſtle, or to keep Poſſeſſion when they had gotten it? What Second had they? There was neither Ship nor Pinnace of the *Engliſh* in Harbour. All the reſt of the *Japoneſe* in the Iſland were not twenty Perſons, and not one *Engliſh* more. The neareſt of the reſt of the *Engliſh* were at *Banda*, forty Leagues from *Amboyna*, and thoſe but nine Perſons, all afterwards cleared by the Governor and Fiſcal themſelves, from all Suſpicion of this pretended Crime, as were alſo the reſt of the *Engliſh* at *Jaccatra*.

On the other Side, beſides the Strength of the Caſtle, and Town of *Amboyna*, the *Dutch* have three other ſtrong Caſtles, well furniſhed with Soldiers, in the ſame Iſland, and at *Cambello*, near adjoining. They had then alſo in the Road of *Amboyna* eight Ships and Veſſels, namely, the *Rotterdam* of 1200 Tuns, the *Unicorn* of 300 Tuns, the *Freemens* Veſſel of 100 Tuns, the *Calk* of 60 Tuns, Captain *Gamal*'s *Junck*, of 40 Tuns, the *Flute* of 300 Tuns, the *Amſterdam* of 1400 Tuns, and a ſmall Pinnace of about 60 Tuns, and all theſe well furniſhed with Men and Ammunition. It is true, that the Stories do record ſundry valiant and hardy Enterpriſes of the *Engliſh* Nation, and the *Dutch* are Witneſſes of ſome of them; yea, have reaped the Fruit of the *Engliſh* Reſolution, yet no Story, no Legend, ſcarcely reporteth any ſuch Hardineſs either of the *Engliſh* or others, that ſo few Perſons, ſo naked of all Proviſions and Supplies, ſhould undertake ſuch an Adventure upon a Counter-Party, ſo well and abundantly fitted at all Points. But let it be further granted, that they might poſſibly have overcome all thoſe Difficulties, yet to what End and Purpoſe ſhould they have put themſelves into ſuch a Jeopardy? They knew well enough, that it was agreed between both Companies at home, that the Forts in the *Indies* ſhould remain reſpectively in the Hands of ſuch as had Poſſeſſion of them at the Date of the Treaty *Anno* 1619, and that the ſame was ratified by the King's Majeſty and the Lords States-General. They knew likewiſe, and all the World takes Knowledge of his Majeſty's religious Obſervation of Peace and Treaty with all his Neighbours, yea, with all the World. What Reward therefore could theſe *Engliſh* hope for of their Valour and Danger? Certainly none other than that which is expreſsly provided by the Treaty itſelf, that is, to be puniſhed as the Diſturbers of the common Peace and Amity of both Nations.

But let theſe *Engliſhmen* have been as fooliſh as they will in this Plot, as the *Dutch* will have them, is it alſo to be imagined, that they were ſo graceleſs, as when they were condemned, and ſeriouſly examined, and admoniſhed by the Miniſters to diſcharge their Conſciences, yet then to perſiſt in their Diſſimulation, being otherwiſe of ſuch godly Behaviour, as to ſpend the Time in Prayer, Singing of Pſalms, and ſpiritually comforting one another, which the *Dutch* would have had them beſtow in Drinking to drive away their Sorrow? Let *Colſon*'s Queſtion to the Miniſter be conſidered, his, and the reſts, Offer and Deſire to receive the Sacrament in Sign and Token of their Innocence, their mutually aſking Forgiveneſs for their like falſe Accuſations of one another forced by the Torture.

Thomſon's laſt Farewel to *Beaumont*, *Colſon*'s Prayer, and his writing in his Prayer-Book; *Fardo*'s Farewel to *Powel*, alſo his conjuring Exhortation to his Fellows to diſcharge their Conſciences, and all their Anſwers thereunto, craving God's Mercy or Judgment, according to their Innocency in this Cauſe; their general and religious Profeſſion of their Innocence to their Countrymen at their laſt parting with them, and finally, their ſealing this Profeſſion with their laſt Breath and Blood, even in the very Article of Death, and in the Stroke of the Executioner. What horrible and unexampled Diſſimulation was this? If ſome one or more of them had been ſo fearfully deſperate, yet would there not one amongſt ten be found to think of the Judgment to come, whereunto he was then inſtantly ſummoned, without Eſſoin, Bail or Mainprize? What! Had they hope of Reprieve and Life, if they kept their Countenance to the laſt? Yet what Hope had *Thomſon* and the reſt when Captain *Towerſon*'s Head was off? Nay, what deſire had *Thomſon* and *Clark* to live, being ſo mangled and martyred by the Torture? They were executed one by one, and every one ſeverally, took it upon his Death, that he was guiltleſs.

Now to blanch and ſmooth over all this rough and barbarous Proceeding, it is here given out, that the Governor and Fiſcal found ſuch Evidence of the Plot, and dealt ſo evenly in the Proceſs, that they ſpared not their own People, having uſed ſome of their native *Dutchmen*, Partakers of this Treaſon, in the ſame Manner as they did the *Engliſh*; but this, as well by the Relation here truly and faithfully ſet down, grounded upon the ſworn Teſtimony of ſix credible Witneſſes, as alſo by other ſufficient Reports of diverſe lately come out of thoſe Parts, appeareth to be a meer Tale, not one alledged by any in the *Indies* in many Months after the Execution, but only invented and diſperſed here for a Fucus, and a fair Colour upon the whole Cauſe, and to make the World believe, that the Ground of this barbarous and tyrannous Proceeding was a true Crime, and not the unſatiable Covetouſneſs of the *Hollanders*, by this cruel Treachery, to gain the ſole Trade of the *Moluccas*, *Banda*, and *Amboyna*, which is already become the Event of this bloody Proceſs. To add hereunto by way of Aggravation, will be needleſs, the Fact is ſo full of odious and barbarous Inhumanity, executed by the *Dutch*, upon the *Engliſh* Nation, in a Place where both lived under Terms of Partnerſhip and great Amity, confirmed by a moſt ſolemn Treaty.

It muſt be confeſſed, that this is in all reſpects a moſt aſtoniſhing and ſurpriſing Relation. That the *Dutch* ſhould be deſirous of ingroſſing the Spice-Trade, had nothing in it but what might be eaſily accounted for, becauſe of the former Inſtances they had given us of their Avarice, that they ſhould make no ſcruple of attacking and deſtroying the *Engliſh* that were ſettled in the Spice-Iſlands, and conſequently ſtood in the Way of their Deſign, is what might have been expected from their boundleſs Ambition, by which they were become formidable, even to their own States; but that they ſhould take this Method, which was at once the moſt barbarous, the moſt provoking, and the moſt contrary to the ſolemn Treaty they had made, is ſtrange in the higheſt Degree. But perhaps it may be accounted ſtill ſtranger, that, when they had done it, they durſt juſtify it, and juſtify it even here; which however they did, which produced the Account we have given the Reader, as appears from that very Account which the *Eaſt-India* Company were not at Liberty to publiſh till the *Dutch* made this Appeal to the Publick themſelves.

After this, indeed, the publiſhing of their Caſe could be no longer refuſed them, eſpecially as what they offered was ſupported by the fulleſt Proofs upon Oath, regiſtered in the Court of Chancery. We ſee from hence, the great Conſequence of the Liberty of the Preſs: Had it been open at that Time, it had been impoſſible to have hindered the Nation from receiving ample Satisfaction for ſuch a flagrant Injury, ſuch an intolerable Inſult. But as it was, we are told, there was a Party in King *James*'s Court, that if they did not juſtify, at leaſt excuſed this horrid Fact, from the *Dutch* Account of it before mentioned, which renders it abſolutely neceſſary, that this *Dutch* Account ſhould be likewiſe given to the Reader, not only to prevent any Suſpicion of Partiality, but that all the Circumſtances of this Tragedy may appear in the cleareſt Light, there being ſome of them which could only be ſet forth by the *Dutch* themſelves.

It may not be amiſs, however, to obſerve, previous to the tranſcribing this *Dutch* Account, that at this Juncture the States were actually demanding and receiving Aſſiſtance from the Crown of *Great Britain*, and that too as large in its Nature, and as effectual in its Conſequences, as any which they had received in the Time of Queen *Elizabeth*, and for which the States expreſſed as much Gratitude and Thankfulneſs to that Monarch, as ever they did to the Queen, and, as it clearly appears, with juſt as much Sincerity. I would not, however, be underſtood to mean, that the Tragedy of *Amboyna* was acted in conſequence of any Inſtructions from *Holland*, ſince that would not only be unfair, but untrue; but then the Reaſon of this ought to be attended to, which was, that the Prince of *Orange* was at the Head of their Affairs, and they could not, under the Eye of their Stadtholder, take any ſuch bloody Reſolutions. But in the *Indies* they were at full Liberty, and there therefore the true Genius of the Nation diſplayed itſelf; and the *Dutch* Writers, in thoſe very times, boaſt, that the General of the *Eaſt-India* Company kept as great a Court, and made in every reſpect as magnificent an Appearance as the Prince of *Orange* himſelf, which plainly proves, that as they hated the Government of the Princes of *Orange*, ſo they were willing that Strangers ſhould take notice of their Independency and Power in another Part of the World, where the Government was in ſuch Hands as they beſt approved.

Theſe Things being remembered, let us now proceed to the *Dutch* Account of the pretended Conſpiracy at *Amboyna*, addreſſed in a Letter to a Friend of theirs here, under the Title of a true Detail of the News that came out of the *Indies*.

7. “ The very Cauſes and Beginnings through which the Governor and Council, eſtabliſhed in the Name of the *United Netherlands* in *Amboyna*, came into Suſpicion that ſomething was plotted againſt the Province, did firſt flow from the great Licentiouſneſs of the *Tarnatanes* in *Moluque* and *Amboyna*, who, contrary to the Contract of Alliance 1606, made with the High and Mighty Lords the States without our Conſent and Knowledge, to make Peace with the King of *Fidore*, as alſo a Truce with the *Spaniards*, their and our ancient Adverſaries, by which the ſaid *Tarnatanes* had too much caſt off all Reſpect, which they, both in regard of our Confederacy and manifold Aſſiſtance, did owe to this State. The *Spaniard* alſo was Maſter enough at Sea in the *Moluccas*, becauſe the *Engliſh* Merchants there in the *Eaſt-Indies* were unwilling to furniſh us with Ships of War towards the common Defence, as they were bound to do, according to the Treaties 1619, to the Number of ten, through which the Voyages to *Manilla* coming to ceaſe, the Enemy traded there without any Interruption, and procured Power to ſend Gallies, Ships and Pinnaces to *Molucca*, with great Succours of People and Proviſion, and that becauſe again through the ſame Default of the *Engliſh* Merchants, there were no Ships of War kept as ſhould have been. The Subjects of the King of *Ternate* began to commit great Inſolencies againſt our Nation, having outrageouſly aſſaulted divers of us divers ways, and alſo ſlain ſome, and we, notwithſtanding, would not obtain any Puniſhment upon them; and as one Outrage unpuniſhed provokes more, through Hope of the like Impunity, or other Conſiderations, ſo were the ſaid *Tarnatanes* of *Amboyna* dwelling at *Lobo*, *Cambello*, and thoſe near adjoining Places, proceeded farther, and have armed themſelves at Sea, and invading divers Iſlands and Places ſtanding under the *Netherlands* Governor in *Amboyna*, ſpoiling them, and killing our Subjects, and taking others, and carrying them away for Slaves; and, notwithſtanding the inſtant Requeſt of the *Netherlands* Governor, no Satisfaction or Juſtice hath followed; but the ſaid *Tarnatanes* are yet gone farther, and openly threatened to murder the *Dutch* Merchants, and to ſpoil and burn the Lodge, or Factory, which our People have many Years there enjoyed, ſo that our Merchants have taken out the *Dutch* Goods to avoid Damage; and the *Tarnatanes* at *Lobo* did actually ſet on fire and ruin the ſaid *Netherlands* Factory.

“ In the *Manichels*, an Iſland being under the Province of *Amboyna*, they have in like manner ſhortly after burned the *Netherlands* Lodge, with the Loſs of all the Goods therein. The *Netherlands* Governor, that by his Preſence and Authority he might cauſe ſuch Rebellions to ceaſe, and to give Order for Time to come,

“ alſo to ſeek Satisfaction and Puniſhment upon the aforeſaid Inſolencies, went towards *Lobo*, with a ſmall Power of Sloops; and coming thereabout, was met, otherwiſe than was wont, by a Navy of Sloops of the *Tarnatans* of *Lobo*, ſtronger than his were; thoſe by their Conferences gave him well to know, how little Reverence they gave the *Dutch* Governor: They braved him without any hope of Reſtitution of any thing to come, ſo that he was fain to return to his Caſtle of *Amboyna*. By reaſon of theſe things, the ſaid *Tarnatans* became ſo ſtout and daring, that they gave out openly, that they would come and ſpoil our Subjects, by a general Army, with above an hundred Frigates: With theſe, they ſaid, they would come againſt *Amboyna*, to make an univerſal Spoil of our People, through which there came a great Fear upon the *Indians*, ſtanding under the Subjection of the High and Mighty Lords the States, as alſo over the *Netherlanders*. In the Iſlands lying far Eaſtward of *Banda*, it was alſo ſaid, and the News went currently there, that the *Dutch* were ſure enough quit of the Caſtle of *Amboyna*; and at that Time there was divers ſecret Correſpondencies between the *Indians* and others, which gave us great Suſpicion.

“ By this means the *Netherlands* Governor and Council of *Amboyna* were moved to have ſpecial Regard, and look narrowly into all things, ſeeing that it might thence be clearly gathered, that ſomething might be plotted againſt the State in *Amboyna*, and that the *Indians* of themſelves durſt not offer to undertake any ſuch great Deſign without ſome great Help of ſome of *Europe*, either of *Spaniards*, *Portugueze*, or ſome others; and alſo they underſtood, that theſe at *Lobo*, *Cambello*, &c. had great ſecret Correſpondence with the *Engliſh* Merchants. When things were in ſuch a State at *Amboyna*, there came forth, and was wonderfully diſcovered in *February* 1623, a horrible Conſpiracy againſt the Caſtle and Perſon of the *Dutch* Governor, the whole State of *Amboyna*, and firſt by the Apprehenſion of a certain *Japoneſe*, who, at an unſeaſonable Time, was often ſeen upon the Wall of the Caſtle, where he alſo over-curiouſly enquired of the moſt unſkilful and ſillieſt Soldiers, touching the Setting and Change of the Watch, and what Number of People might be in the Caſtle, and many other things: Whereupon in the very Act the ſaid *Japoneſe* was apprehended, and being examined of many Circumſtances, he confeſſed, that the *Japoneſe* Soldiers under our Service, had determined to make themſelves Maſters of the Caſtle, and that they ſhould have ſet upon this by the Help of the *Engliſh*, who had ſolicited them unto it; and that he, with all the other *Japoneſe* in the *Engliſh* Houſe, oftentimes, within three Months before, had conferred with the *Engliſh*, touching the Manner whereby they ſhould bring this Treachery to paſs. Then all the *Japoneſe* Soldiers, who were in our Service, were diſarmed and impriſoned; and by Examination of them all, it appeared plainly, by an orderly and joint Confeſſion, that all the ſaid *Japoneſe*, upon the Treaty of *Gabriel Towerſon*, and other *Engliſh* Merchants and Officers, agreed to aſſiſt the ſaid *Engliſh* to betray the ſaid Caſtle, and to give it over into the *Engliſh* Power; and that *Gabriel Towerſon*, and *Abel Price*, an *Engliſh* Chirurgeon, and other *Engliſh*, dealt often with them, on the Ways and Means how they ſhould work it.

“ The ſaid *Abel Price* being before impriſoned for a foul and execrable Fact, and yet remaining ſo confined, and although it appeared ſufficiently to the Governor and Council of *Amboyna*, out of the Confeſſion of the *Japoneſe*, what the ſaid *Gabriel Towerſon*, with his Merchants and other Accomplices, had before reſolved to do, and that the Council had ſufficient Information to impriſon them all, yet the General Council would not precipitate, but commanded the ſaid *Abel Price*, then a Priſoner, to come before the Council; and after the Places, Perſons, and Time nominated to him, where and when he had dealt with the *Japoneſe* and other *Engliſh* about the ſaid Treachery; it was alſo from him well underſtood, how he and another *Japoneſe* had perſuaded all the *Japoneſe* to conſent to this Villany, and that conſequently the ſaid *Towerſon*, as the firſt Author, and all the other *Engliſh* Merchants, had alſo Knowledge of the ſaid Treachery. Upon this full and uniform Examination and Confeſſion of twelve Perſons, as well of the eleven *Japoneſe* as one *Engliſh*, the ſaid *Gabriel Towerſon* was called to the Council, and there appearing, the ſaid *Towerſon* called together all his People unto the Caſtle, upon the Requeſt of the General Council, who were then taken and impriſoned, except the ſaid *Gabriel Towerſon* himſelf, to whom, at his Requeſt, and in regard of his Quality, being chief Merchant in *Amboyna*, in the Name of the *Engliſh* Company, his own Houſe was allotted him for his ſafe-keeping and forth-coming; and the ſaid Priſoners were all lawfully and orderly examined; and it appeared by them jointly, according to their own Confeſſion, every one having underwritten it with his own Hand as followeth:

“ *Gabriel Towerſon*, about New year's-day 1623, having with him almoſt all the *Engliſh* Merchants of the Foreign Cantore in *Amboyna*, aſſembled them in his Chamber, and propounded to them, that he had ſomething of great Moment to impart unto them under the Fidelity of an Oath to be taken before, for the keeping ſecret thereof, and being truſty therein, ſaying, it is neceſſary ſo to be; for if the thing ſhould come abroad which I ſhall make known unto you, it will coſt all our Lives: Whereupon the holy Goſpel was produced, upon which every one who was preſent did ſwear Secreſy and Fidelity, as was required. Then *Towerſon* opened to the Conſpirators, how he had a Way and Means to make himſelf Maſter of the Caſtle of *Amboyna*; and whereas ſome preſent made it difficult to do, being too weak for it; the ſaid *Towerſon* anſwered, that he had already won to his Purpoſe the *Japoneſe* Soldiers, who were in the Caſtle, and that they ſhould execute his Purpoſe, when the *Dutch*, who were in the Caſtle, were in their greateſt Weakneſs, and worſt provided, or when the Governor ſhould be abſent about ſome Exploit; and that they ſhould wait till ſome *Engliſh* Ship or Ships were in *Amboyna*, whoſe People he might employ in this Attempt; as alſo, when all other the *Engliſh* Merchants and Slaves of the Foreign Cantore in *Amboyna* ſhould be ſent for to the Caſtle; and ſaid farther, that he knew how to get Men enough, and they ſhould leave this to his Care, and themſelves do their beſt; and that they of *Lobo* ſhould alſo come to help him, with certain *Correcurries*, &c.

“ Upon which Inducements, all that were preſent ſwore to aſſiſt *Towerſon* herein, and concerning the Manner of Execution; the ſaid *Towerſon* had preſcribed to the *Japoneſe*, who were in the Caſtle, that they ſhould ſend to every Point of the Bulwarks two Men, and the reſt in the Court ſhould attend the Governor, and murder him; and that at the Sign which ſhould be given to the *Engliſh*, they ſhould make themſelves Maſters of every Point of the Bulwark, and kill all who ſhould reſiſt, and impriſon the reſt; and further, ſhould take and divide between themſelves and the *Japoneſe* the Goods of the *Eaſt-India* Company, except one thouſand Rials of Eights, which every *Japon* ſhould have before; and that they ſhould kill the Citizens, who would not conſent with them, and do them all the Miſchief they could; and touching the Time, he had not yet certainly ſet it; but that there ſhould ſuddenly be another Aſſembly of the Conſpirators, when *Gabriel Towerſon* would give Orders for all things, and would give a Sign to the *Japoneſe*, whereupon, when they ſhewed it, they ſhould begin the Work within.

“ The ſaid *Gabriel Towerſon* being aſked in particular, what moved him to ſuch a wicked Fact? He anſwered, the Deſire of Honour and Profit: Being farther demanded, who ſhould enjoy the Honour and Profit, and for whom he would have taken the Caſtle? he anſwered, that if he did obtain his Deſire, he ſhould preſently have advertiſed thoſe of his Nation being in *Batavia*, and called for their Help, who, if they had ſent him Succour, he would have kept the Caſtle to his own Company, *viz.* the *Engliſh Eaſt-India* Company; and if not, he would have held it for himſelf, and have endeavoured a Peace with the *Indians*; that ſo, by the one Means, and the other, he might attain his Purpoſe. After the Examination of *Towerſon* was ended, the *Dutch* Gover-

“ nor in *Amboyna* upbraided him of his cruel Intention, and aſked if this ſhould have been the Recompence of the manifold Honours and Kindneſſes he had done to him? Whereunto *Towerſon* anſwered with a deep Sigh, Oh! if it were to be begun it ſhould not be done.

“ This voluntary Confeſſion and penitent Acknowledgment, with much Sorrow, was made the Ninth of *March*, being the Day when the Execution ſhould have been done; but the Examination of *Towerſon* was ended the Eighteenth of *February*, ſo many Days before. This is the Subſtance of the Confeſſion of the ten *Japoneſe*, of fourteen *Engliſh*, and of a *Netherlandiſh* Merinho, or Captain of the Slaves, who all confirmed theſe their Confeſſions with their own Hands. What Crime this intended Prodition was, is hence very many manifeſt, and undoubted; what Puniſhment is due to Treachery, according to the Law and Cuſtoms of all Nations, is alſo well known; no true Chriſtian Man will patronage any ſuch horrible Attempt, but will adjudge it worthy of Death, as it was determined upon the Accomplices of the Conſpiracy, according to the Order of Juſtice, as there in *Amboyna* is exerciſed, according to Deſert, by the Governor and Council, in the Name of the High and Mighty Lords the States. Here you have, Sir, the very Subſtance of the Truth, both of the Fact and Puniſhment, other than which many Things are ſpread abroad in *England*, but upon what Pretence or Intendment I know not; let the Matter itſelf ſpeak for itſelf.

“ The firſt Point which is objected againſt this Juſtice done in *Amboyna*, is concerning the Proceedings which are ſaid to be holden without Formality, and with Extremity, againſt theſe Conſpirators: Your Worſhip, and each reaſonable Man, knoweth that every Land hath their Laws, and Ordinances, and their particular Manner of Proceedings, as well in Civil, as in Criminal Cauſes; *England* hers, *France*, *Spain*, *Dutchland*, and all other Kingdoms and Governments have alſo theirs, which are juſt and lawful to every one in their Dominion; ſo that when any one will judge of the Equity or Juſtice of a Proceeding uſed in any Land, he muſt examine the ſame according to the Laws and Cuſtoms of that Kingdom, or Dominion, where the Juſtice and Proceedings were holden. Theſe Proceedings were holden before the Governor of the *Netherlands*, in the Name of the Illuſtrious Lords the States, having ſupreme Power, many Years ſince, in the Iſles of *Amboyna*, which were conquered in the Name of the ſaid Illuſtrious Lords the States, from the *Spaniards* or *Portugueze*, who held the Caſtle in the Name of the King of *Spain*, our hereditary Enemy; therefore they are now poſſeſſed in the Name of the Lords the States, and are under their Dominion, by a juſt and lawful Title of War, according to the Law of Nations. Theſe Juſtices adminiſtered according to the Law of the *Netherlands*, in that Manner as was uſed in the Proceedings againſt thoſe Conſpirators. I know that the Laws of *England* are diverſe from ours in criminal Caſes; yea, and from all the Nations in *Europe*.

“ Howbeit therefore no Man hath any Ground of Reaſon to ſay that the Proceedings of the *Engliſh* Judges againſt Delinquents are not legitimate, tho' the ſaid *Engliſh* Proceedings do vary in the Manner from the Proceedings of *France*, *Spain*, &c. where other Cuſtoms are; for that is lawful which agreeth with the Laws of the Land where the Fact is committed. Now then, the *Japoneſe* Soldiers being in the Service of the *Netherlands* Company in *Amboyna*, are diſcovered to have conſpired againſt the Caſtle and the Governor there, under whoſe Oath and Pay they were; they were apprehended, examined, and convicted of the ſaid Conſpiracy. This Proceeding is lawful, and toucheth no Man, becauſe the ſaid *Japoneſe* knew no other Maſter than the *Netherlanders*, under whoſe Oath, Service and Pay they ſtand. All theſe Conſpirators, with the ſaid *Marinho*, a Captain of the *Netherlands* Slaves, confeſſed with one Mouth, that they were moved and induced to this Conſpiracy by the *Engliſh* Merchants reſident in *Amboyna*, whoſe Names they named. Now, not only the Right of the *Netherlands*, but *England*, and of the whole World, requireth that the Authors, Abettors, and Accomplices of Murder and Treaſon, ſhould be puniſhed with Death.

“ Whereunto, according to the Common Law, as alſo the particular Laws of every Kingdom or Dominion, the ſuſpected Perſons firſt, and before all, ſhould be impriſoned, not only for preventing the Effect of their evil Purpoſes, but that they might alſo receive their deſerved Puniſhment; which Apprehenſions could not be done of any other Man than by the Command of the *Netherlands* Governor, to whom it belonged to take care to ſee every Act concerning ſupreme Power to be there obſerved; and eſpecially the higheſt *Engliſh* Officer there could not apprehend theſe *Engliſh* Conſpirators, becauſe all the chief of the *Engliſh* Merchants at *Amboyna* were themſelves of the Conſpiracy, and Accomplices of the Fact upon which the Apprehenſion was made; therefore the Apprehenſion of the *Engliſh* Accomplices muſt be done by the *Dutch* Governor, who therefore hath therein proceeded according to the Cuſtom of all Nations of the World.

“ And that theſe Apprehenſions may be holden more lawful, it appearing out of the written Proceſs, that the ſaid *Engliſh* Accomplices were not impriſoned upon the firſt Suſpicions and groſs Evidences which were had againſt them; but then, at laſt, when all the *Japoneſe* Soldiers were taken, examined, and convicted, and had diſcovered, by the uniform Confeſſion of all the eleven.

“ The Names, and Surnames of ſuch *Engliſh* as had perſuaded, and hired them to this Fact, of which *Engliſh*, viz. one *Abel Price*, Barber, was before apprehended as an Incendiary, for burning, and other Violences done upon other Houſes, who alſo was firſt examined, and firſt confeſſed; as the other eleven *Japoneſe*. That he, by Name *Gabriel Towerſon*, and other *Engliſh* Merchants, in the foreign Countries of *Amboyna*, had Knowledge of this Conſpiracy, *&c.* ſo that it may be ſeen out of that which went before, that the *Dutch* Governor dealt no otherwiſe in the Apprehenſions and Examinations of the *Engliſh* than according to his Place and Power, and that with great Diſcretion, according to the Laws of the United Provinces. The ſecond Point, which is abſolutely diſperſed in *England* againſt this Execution is, that it is ſaid, that it did not appertain to the *Netherlands* in *Amboyna*, to impriſon the ſaid *Engliſh*, and to proceed againſt them, or to puniſh them; but that it did belong to the Council of Defence, reſident at *Jaccatra*, conſiſting half of *Engliſh* and half of *Netherlanders*, according to the Treaty of the Year 1619, made between his Majeſty and the Lords the States, between the two *Eaſt-India* Companies.

“ That I might the better inform myſelf thereof, I took in Hand, and peruſed the general Treaty of 1619, with the Explication following thereupon; but I profeſs, as I think, that every underſtanding Man muſt confeſs, that neither in the ſaid Treaty, nor in the Enlargement, any one Article or Word could be perceived, whereby, according to that which is untruly ſaid in *England*, either this, or any ſuch thing, is ordained or decided by the ſaid Treaty, as it ought to have been in ſo great and important a Point as this Part of Juriſdiction is, I appeal to all wiſe Men, who I deſire may judge of this, whether this Speech of ſome in *England*, to wit, that the ſaid Council of Defence ſhould alone have judged theſe Conſpirators, be agreeable to the ſaid Treaty, or contrary to the ſame. I find many Arguments for my negative Opinions, to wit, that before the Treaty of 1619, the *Dutch* in *Amboyna* adminiſtered Juriſdiction and Judicature upon all, and every one, who dwelt in, or under the Juriſdiction of the Caſtle, as well Inhabitants as Strangers, without Difference; and that, in the ſaid Treaty, the *Dutch*, with the *Engliſh* Merchants, made only a League in the Manner of Commerce and Negotiations of Nutmegs, Mace, Cloves, and Pepper, in ſome Quantities, without having any further Treaty or Communication in the Land. So that without the Bounds of this common Negotiation, every one remained free and unhindered in the Land by the Right and Poſſeſſion which either Company enjoyed and exerciſed ſeverally, according as the ſame appeareth out of the twenty-third Article of the Treaty, where it is expreſsly ſaid, that Caſtles and Forts ſhall remain in their Hands who do at preſent poſſeſs them: And out of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth Articles of the Treaty, all may ſee that this Common Council of Defence hath no more Power, ſave only over the Fellowſhip of the Treaty, that is, over the Navy of Defence in the Sea, to the Defence of common Merchandize and Liberty of Commerce. And, laſtly, to tax the Charges for the Proviſion of Ammunition in the Forts; neither can any other Thing be ſincerely collected out of the ſaid Treaty, ſo far as I can conceive.

“ Therefore, this ſecond Point is found to be untrue and abuſive, being not founded upon the ſaid Treaty, which Treaty, notwithſtanding, ought to be the only Rule both of the one and the other Company. Finally, it is given out in *England*, that in the Examination of the Conſpirators, there was Exceſs in the *Netherlands* Judges in the Point of Torture. I acknowledge, that no Argument or Pretext againſt the Juſtice of this Execution, hath more moved me in the Beginning, than this Pretence of Exceſs aforeſaid; becauſe this ſtirreth Chriſtian Compaſſion; although I alſo judge, that wiſe Men will not ſuffer themſelves to be too much tranſported thereby, before the true Reaſons do fully appear which ſhould move us thereunto; for I well remember yet, that in the Time of former Miſtaking in the *Indies*, many Things were pretended on both Parts; upon which Pretence were great Out-cries on either Side, which yet, by due Examination, were found to be falſe Pretexts of ſome Ill-willers, and Men deſirous to wrangle; which Pretences, being thoroughly ſifted by the high and much-admired Wiſdom of his Majeſty, and the Lords the States, were well diſcovered to be no ſuch Matters as they were made; as it is alſo undoubtedly believed, that his Majeſty and the States will yet further do in this Affair, and ſo the Cauſe of the *Dutch* Company may be rightly juſtified, of which I underſtand, that the Lords the States have ſpecial Regard; and that they have been thoroughly informed what is the very Truth of the Things there paſt, and of the Execution in *Amboyna* of the *Engliſh* Conſpirators; unto which End the Lords the States reſolved to ſee and peruſe all the Papers and Letters touching the ſaid Proceedings. And now, thereupon, Men ſpeak far otherwiſe than heretofore; for Pretences and Cavils cannot ſtand with Truth. And it doth plainly appear, that there is little Truth in the Matter of Torture, reported to be moſt cruelly inflicted upon the *Engliſh* Conſpirators, as in *England* it is ſaid; and I have ever ſuſpected this for a Slander; for, I know the *Dutch* Nation doth naturally abhor this kind of Cruelty, and are as much moved to Commiſeration as any other People. But whether theſe evil-minded Men, who have ſcattered this great Slander in *England*, and have ſo fouly defaced a juſt Cauſe, have done it by Occaſion of an Uſe of Tortures in theſe Lands in ſome weighty Cauſes, according to the Cuſtom of moſt Dominions in *Europe*, I cannot judge.

“ But is that to be cenſured and judged to be unjuſt of the whole World, which is repugnant to the Laws of *England* (or any one Nation) where Torture is really uſed? Nothing ſo but the Juſtice or Injuſtice of a Cauſe muſt be determined according to the Laws where it is done, and not of other Lands. If this were not ſo, why then ſhould not the whole World much more judge that as hard, and a thing unheard of, which in ſome Cauſes is uſed in *England*, according to the Laws there, when they proceeded againſt ſome guilty Perſons, who being once, and again aſked of the Judge, and utterly refuſing to be legally tried, is adjudged to be dumb, that is, by Contumacy, whoſe Condemnation then accordingly followeth, that he is laid upon a Table, or Plank, and another Plank upon him, that his Body is miſerably bruiſed, and ſo preſſed violently to Death. The which, according to the Confeſſion of all Nations, and by the *Engliſh* Writers, is judged to be one of the moſt ſharp and ſevere kinds of Deaths that can be invented; yet cannot ſuch an Execution be called cruel and unlawful, when it is done in *England*, becauſe it is done according to the Laws of that Land, though Strangers ſhall judge otherwiſe of it; and in like Manner the *Engliſh* Nation cannot complain of the Torture which Evil-willers ſay was uſed upon theſe *Engliſh* Conſpirators in *Amboyna*, becauſe it was done according to the Laws of this Government, and is not unuſual in Caſes of Treaſon, neither with us, nor with any Nation in *Europe*.

“ And for *England* itſelf, it is well known, and his moſt excellent Majeſty doth acknowledge, by his own princely Pen, that the Rack and the Manicles are the only Tortures that are exerciſed upon Traitors, to force them to confeſs what they know to be dangerous to the State; and to ſay the Truth, without taking Parts, the *Engliſh* Conſpirators being affronted with the uniform and written Confeſſions of the eleven *Japoneſe*, their Accomplices, which would convince them ſufficiently, according to the Laws, and find them guilty of the ſame Conſpiracy, and conſequently of Death; if now notwithſtanding this, they had perſiſted in the ſtout Denial of the Fact, were not this enough to judge them dumb by Contumacy, and ſo to eſteem them worthy of this ſore Puniſhment of preſſing to Death as aforeſaid? But this Torture of ours, is to be judged far leſs than that preſſing where the Malefactor doth ſuffer ſuch extream Miſery as cannot be imagined, and which is not to be lenified or eaſed at all, but ended by Death.

“ But to the ſufficient Satisfaction of myſelf, and your Worſhip, and all Men, and not to ſpeak according to the Sentences and Conſciences of others, I have uſed all Diligence to get into my Hands the written Proceſs concerning the Conſpirators in *Amboyna*, which I obtained authentically, and read carefully, and I find, that all by me above ſaid is confirmed, to wit, that the *Japoneſe* Accomplices were examined and made their Confeſſions as aforeſaid, for three Days, *viz.* the 23d, 24th and 25th of *February* 1623; and that all this being done and conſummated before, then at laſt is *Gabriel Towerſon*, firſt with the reſt of the *Engliſh* Accomplices, impriſoned the ſaid 25th of *February*, when their Examination and Confeſſion began, and continued divers Days, without ever haſtening till the 3d of *March*; and the ſaid Examinations and Confeſſions being ſo finiſhed, the *Netherlanders* Governor and Council deliberated whether the Puniſhment might be deferred to any long Time, or referred to any other Place; but it was ſo concluded, by joint Conſent of all, that the ſaid Puniſhment there deſerved, muſt be executed in the ſame Place for Example; and that it could not in any wiſe be delayed without extream Danger, for Reaſons there related: And, among others, becauſe the *Tarnatans* and *Indians* about *Amboyna* had, otherwiſe than they were wont, rebelled; neither could it be further known what great Confederacy theſe Conſpirators had made with them and others.

“ And touching any extraordinary and cruel Torture, I have accurately looked over every one's Confeſſion; but I find not one Word in any one, which maketh any Mention of ſuch Torture, as is unjuſtly ſpoken of in *England*; nay, ſcarce find any Mention of that ordinary Torture which is in Uſe, ſave only theſe Words; in one Act of the 25th of *February* 1623, *viz.* the Council being gathered together, have thought meet that all the *Engliſh* ſhould be preſently examined, one after another, as accordingly it was inſtantly done, and ſome of them before any Torture; others, after a little, or rather a Touch of it, confeſſed as followeth.” Unto

“ which followeth preſently, the particular Confeſſion of every one, ſubſcribed with his own Hand, as aforeſaid. So that hence it is manifeſt, that no extraordinary Torture was uſed in ſuch Manner as is given out there by thoſe that wiſh us evil; nay, that thoſe few that felt any, were only touched (not puniſhed) with ordinary Torture.

“ And thus your Worſhip hath the upright and impartial Truth of this Buſineſs, touching the whole Paſſage as it proceeded, and the Puniſhment as it was inflicted, from which ſome of the *Engliſh* were exempted by Favour, that the *Engliſh* Goods ſhould not be loſt, according as Order had been given to that End. And I find that the Sentence had been given the 9th of *March*, 1623, by a competent Aſſembly of fourteen Judges, who, as it appeareth in the Sentence, in the doing thereof, did before earneſtly call upon the Name of the Lord, that he would pleaſe to be Preſident, and predominant in every one of their Hearts, in this ſorrowful Aſſembly, and that he would inſpire them only with that which might be judged to be expedient and juſt, *&c.* So that out of all that is above-ſaid, nothing elſe can appear, but that this Buſineſs was managed lawfully and orderly, by Men of Honeſty and Conſcience, againſt ſuch as had undertaken againſt the State, againſt the Wealth, and Advantage of this *Eaſt-India* Company, the Lives of their Officers there placed, againſt the State and Welfare of many, who as little deſerved, and as little expected ſuch Wickedneſs from their friendly Confederates in the ſame Society of Merchants there reſiding with them.

“ And now (conſidering the Premiſes) I hope it ſhall be far from every Chriſtian, in anywiſe, to protect, or excuſe this wicked Fact; but rather to mourn and grieve, as we do, for this Conſpiracy, and for the Evil the Conſpirators have ſo deſervedly drawn upon their own Heads, and to honour them who, in Juſtice, have puniſhed Villainy according to the true Merit thereof; for, we all know, that, without Juſtice, without Reward of that which is good, and Puniſhment of that which is evil, no Society of Mankind can conſiſt.

“ And for this Information, which I ſend in Love and Honour to your Worſhip, as unto a Lover of Truth, and a Hater of Treachery, you may make ſuch Uſe as to you ſhall ſeem good in any Place where you come, both for Refutation of any thing already reported contrary thereunto, and for Prevention of any farther falſe Rumours or Clamours. And, finally, for the Propagation of that undoubted Truth, which here, to my beſt, I have endeavoured to diſcover.

“ And if you ſhall meet with any thing of Worth, which can be truly avowed to be contradictory unto any thing I have written, I deſire to underſtand it from you, and you to ſuſpend your wiſe and impartial Judgment, till I have cleared it unto you: Truth remaineth ever the ſame. So I commend you to the God of Truth, deſiring him to give us Minds, not to judge according to outward Appearance, but to judge with righteous Judgment.”

8. It is evident enough, from the Stile and Compoſition of this extraordinary Piece, that it was penned at the Requeſt, and for the Uſe of ſome Perſon of Credit here, who was a great Friend to the *Dutch*, and highly inſtrumental in preventing the Government from interpoſing, as they ought to have done, in favour of the *Eaſt-India* Company, and obtaining the *beſt*; for a *full* Satisfaction could not be had, for the baſe and barbarous Uſage of Captain *Towerſon*, and the reſt of the *Engliſhmen*, who were thus cruelly murdered at *Amboyna*. But it is not ſo eaſy to ſay who this Perſon was. The Writers of Scandal in thoſe Times, charged this, diſſuading the King from interpoſing, upon two Perſons, by Name, *viz.* the Great Duke of *Buckingbam*, and the then Secretary of State Sir *Ralph Winwood*. And I have met with a Book, printed in 1651, in which it is affirmed, that the Secretary received a Bribe from the *Dutch* of 30 or 40000 Pounds for that Service only. I take this to be a horrid Calumny; for having taken ſome Pains in examining the Hiſtory of thoſe Times, of which indeed I once intended to have written, I have met with ſo many Proofs of the Candour, Integrity, and publick Spirit of that worthy Secretary, that I make not the leaſt Scruple of affirming, that this muſt be a prodigious Falſhood.

As to the Duke of *Buckingbam*, his Intereſt with King *James* was ſo great, that if he had not been ſome way or other appeaſed, I cannot but think the Maſſacre at *Amboyna* would not have paſſed as it did; but, at the ſame time, I muſt profeſs, that I do not believe he was capable of being bribed to ſuch a Behaviour: I rather think he was miſled and impoſed upon; and I make no queſtion that this very Paper was tranſmitted to ſome Perſon in his Confidence for that Purpoſe. It is an eaſy matter to ſpeak ill of the Dead, and too common a Practice to tear thoſe Characters to pieces which are leaſt like to be defended; but this I dare not do: Though, to ſhew that it is not without Reaſon, that I ſuſpect the Duke of *Buckingbam* to have had a large Share in preventing King *James* from teſtifying a becoming Reſentment upon this Occaſion, I will relate a particular Fact that led me into this Opinion. The *Eaſt-India* Company, to perpetuate the Memory of this barbarous Tranſaction, cauſed the Tortures and Sufferings of the *Engliſh* at *Amboyna*, to be very exactly painted, and hung up in their Hall; which Picture, by the Direction of *Buckingbam*, was taken down; for which this Reaſon was aſſigned, that, as it had not been thought proper to involve the Nation in a War on this Account, it was, by no Means, decent, that ſuch a Picture ſhould remain in publick View; ſince, at the ſame time that it expoſed the Cruelty of the *Dutch*, it threw ſome kind of Odium on the *Engliſh* Adminiſtration.

But tho' theſe Paintings in Oil were removed, the *Eaſt-India* Company could not be drawn, either to forget this Affair, or to ſuffer the Account that this *Dutch* Agent had publiſhed of it, to paſs unanſwered; and therefore they employed a very good Pen, to ſhew the Inconſiſtencies of this Relation, and furniſhed him with all the Materials that were requiſite for that Purpoſe. This Deſign of his he executed with great Spirit and Diligence, and the Piece itſelf is ſo clear a Vindication of the Innocence of the *Engliſh*, and ſo full a Proof of the Cruelty and Barbarity of the *Dutch*, that I have thought fit to inſert it for the ſame Reaſons, which induced me to give Place to the other Papers; and I perſuade myſelf that it will be very agreeable to my Readers, to ſee, at one View, and in ſo narrow a Compaſs, all the authentick Evidence that ſtill remains of this cruel, arbitrary, and unjuſt Proceeding, by which ſo many brave Men were, at that Time, deprived of their Lives in ſo ignominious a Manner, and the *Engliſh* Nation for ever deprived of ſo important and valuable a Commerce. This Reply of the *Eaſt-India* Company was conceived in the following Terms.

“ The Compiler of this Relation, perceiving that he had an hard Taſk to make it probable, that eighteen *Engliſhmen*, Merchants, and their Servants, all unarmed, ſhould, with the Aſſiſtance of ten *Japoneſe*, likewiſe unarmed, undertake the Surprize of a Caſtle, ſo provided every Way as that of *Amboyna*, is before in the Relation of the *Engliſh* truly deſcribed to be: As alſo the ſame Author well weighing, that albeit, all that he was to write of this pretended Conſpiracy ſhould be taken for true; yet the Fact would ſeem very poor to bear ſo rigorous a Puniſhment in Perſons of that Quality, and of that Relation to thoſe that inflicted it, provides more ſkilfully than fairly, for both theſe Points, in the Preamble of this Relation. To this End he rakes and heaps together all the Jealouſies and Dangers that the *Dutch* had in the *Indies*; yea, and more than they truly had at, or about the Time of the pretended Conſpiracy, and applies them all to the Suſpicion of this Buſineſs, as if all their Enemies were likely to conſpire with the *Engliſh*; and therefore the Facts, under Colour whereof they were condemned and executed, were poſſible and probable; and as if the State of the Time had been then ſo dangerous that every Shadow of Conſpiracy was to be exquiſitely enquired of, and the leaſt Offence to be ſeverely puniſhed; wherefore,

“ fore, although this be no direct Charge of the *Engliſh*, but uſed by the Author to ſupply the Want of Probabilities in the Proceſs itſelf.

“ It will not be amiſs to examine the ſeveral Circumſtances, and how far they may yield any Suſpicion againſt the ſaid *Engliſh*. Now, this Author taketh the many Grounds of this Suſpicion of ſome great Plot againſt the Province of *Amboyna*, from the unwonted Boldneſs and Inſolence of the *Tarnatanes*, firſt in the *Moluccas*, and then in *Amboyna*: For thoſe in the *Moluccas*, he ſaith, they had lately before the pretended Conſpiracy of the *Engliſh*, gone about, contrary to the Treaty, *Anno* 1606, between them and the *Dutch*, to make Peace with the King of *Tidore*, and a Truce with the *Spaniards*, without the Conſent or Knowledge of them the *Dutch*; which, how honeſtly and conſcionably it is alledged to this Purpoſe, may appear by the Journals of thoſe Parts; which, evidently ſhew, that this Treaty between thoſe of *Ternate* and *Tidore*, was in *November*, 1621; that is to ſay, fifteen Months before this forged Conſpiracy, and that with the Knowledge of *Houtman*, the Governor of the *Dutch*, who, upon the 19th of *November*, the Year aforeſaid, acquainted M. *Nichols*, the Agent of the *Engliſh* in thoſe Parts, with the Preparations of this Treaty, which was actually holden at *Ternate* the 24th of the ſame Month. But the Matter was ſo well handled by the *Dutch* to keep thoſe neighbour Iſlands in perpetual War, that the Treaty was diſſolved *re infecta*; and the 7th of *December* following an Edict was publiſhed by the King of *Ternate*, commanding all the *Tidorians* forthwith to depart the Iſland of *Ternate*, upon Pain to be made Slaves.

“ After this, the Correſpondence between the *Dutch* and *Tarnatanes* in the *Moluccas*, returned into as firm a State as ever. The *Tarnatanes*, performing daily Exploits againſt the *Spaniards*, and communicating the Triumph with the *Dutch*: as the 17th of *February*, 1622, being a full Year before the feigned Treaſon of the *Engliſh*, the King of *Ternate*, with twenty Curricurries, took a *Spaniſh* Gally, ſlew forty in Fight, and took one hundred and fifty Priſoners, whom they ſold to the *Dutch* for Cloth and Rice; and coming by the *Hollanders* Caſtle of *Maalaio*, the 18th of the ſame Month, with the Heads of divers *Spaniards* at his Stern, the *Dutch* ſaluted him from their ſaid Caſtle with nine Shot of great Ordnance. The 25th of *April* following, the Admiral of the King of *Ternate*, took a Prow of the *Spaniards*, ſlew ſome, and ſold the reſt to the *Dutch*; the 28th of the ſame Month, both *Dutch* and *Engliſh* were feaſted by the King of *Ternate*; the 28th of *May* next enſuing, the King of *Ternate* went forth to *Machain* with ſix Curricurries, and at his Departure, was honoured with thirty Shot of great Ordnance from the *Dutch* Caſtle; the 15th of *June* the Admiral of the King of *Ternate* made a Voyage towards *Mindanow*, carrying diverſe of the *Dutch* with him to aſſiſt him; the 3d of *July* the *Tarnatanes* took their Priſoners and ſold them to the *Dutch*; the 24th of *Auguſt* the King of *Ternate* made one *Vogler*, a *Dutch* Merchant, his Treaſurer, at whoſe Inſtalment in his new Office, the *Dutch* gave ſeven great Shot from the Caſtle. And this good Correſpondence between the *Tarnatanes* and the *Dutch* in the *Moluccas*, continued even until, and after the Execution of the *Engliſh* at *Amboyna*, which was, as has been ſhewed, in *February* 1623, N. S. upon the 14th of which Month the *Dutch* gave the King of *Ternate*, and other Blacks, two hundred Bales of *Japon* Rice, with other Preſents; at the Delivery whereof there were ſhot off from the Caſtle ſeven Pieces of Ordnance, and three Vollies of Small-Shot: By all which may appear how ſincerely this Author applieth the Difference between the *Dutch* and the King of *Ternate*, which was none at all, to this Buſineſs at *Amboyna*.

“ The next Point is, that the *Tarnatanes* in the *Moluccas* went about alſo to make Truce with the *Spaniards*, without Conſent or Knowledge of the *Dutch*, wherein this Dealing of the Author is worſe than the former; for this Treaty of Truce appeareth by the Journals to have been holden the 19th of *July* 1623, which was five Months after the Execution of the *Engliſh* at *Amboyna*, and ſo came too late to move Suſpicion againſt them; and yet this pretended Fear and Jealouſy of the *Moluccas* is further amplified by the Strength of the *Spaniard*, being then, as this Author affirmeth, Maſter of the Sea there; and that by default of the *Engliſh*, who, contrary to the Treaty of the Year 1619, had deſerted the Defence, and ſent no more Ships, neither to the *Moluccas*, nor to the *Manillas*; whence now the *Spaniards* had Means to ſend Ships, Gallies, and Pinnaces to the *Moluccas*. What the Strength of the *Spaniards* in the *Moluccas* by Sea was at the Time of this pretended Fear, may appear, by the Exploits beforementioned, done upon them by the Curricurries of the *Tarnatanes*, without the Help of the *Dutch*.

“ But for the Default of the *Engliſh*, which is here odiouſly alledged, it will be requiſite to ſet down the true Cauſes wherefore the *Engliſh* relinquiſhed the Action of Defence, as well at the *Manillas* as elſewhere, being a Matter much aggravated upon all Occaſions by the *Dutch*, albeit themſelves have given the Cauſe thereof. Wherefore ſhortly, the true Motives of the *Engliſh* their deſiſting from the Action of Defence is as followeth. The *Engliſh* had, by Agreement of the Council of Defence, two Years together maintained a Fleet of five tall and warlike Ships to join with the like Strength of the *Dutch* for the Action of the *Manillas*, and the Profit of the Voyage, as well as the Charge to be common to both Companies. The *Dutch* prepared another Fleet of ſeven Ships all of their own for *Macao*, bordering upon *China* near the *Manillas*, without giving Knowledge thereof to the *Engliſh* at *Jaccatra*, until their Fleet was ready to depart thence, well knowing, that upon ſuch Warning, it would be impoſſible for the *Engliſh* to prepare a like Force to join with them: To theſe they appointed eight Pinnaces that were then abroad to join them, and afterwards ſent another Ship with Proviſions to them. This Fleet paſſing by two of the *Engliſh* Ships which were appointed for that Quarter of the *Manillas*, the *Engliſh* welcomed them, and offered to join them in their Exploit, which the *Dutch* refuſed, ſaying, that this being an Exploit of their own, the *Engliſh* ſhould neither participate of the Fact, nor of the Benefit that might ariſe thereby. Likewiſe by Agreement of the Council of Defence of both Nations, there was another Fleet of ten Ships ſet forth at the Charge of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, for the Coaſt of *Mallabar*, to ſecure the Trade in that Part.

“ Of the *Dutch* Ships, about a Month after they ſet ſail, two were found to be ſo weak and leaky, that they were fain to return to *Jaccatra*, the reſt being come to their Quarter: Two of the beſt of the *Dutch* Ships were ſent away by the *Dutch* Admiral for the *Red-Sea*, contrary to their Inſtructions and Commiſſion at *Jaccatra* from the Council of Defence; and notwithſtanding the Proteſtations, Obteſtations, and Exclamations of the *Engliſh* againſt this Prevarication; ſo that four Carracks of the *Portugueze* coming that Way, the reſt of the Fleet of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* being thus weakened by the Default of the four *Dutch* Ships aforeſaid, the firſt Opportunity that happened, either before or ſince the joining of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Companies, or is ever likely to offer itſelf in the future, was loſt, and utterly defeated: By this it appeareth what Cauſe the *Dutch* have to complain of the *Engliſh* for deſerting the Action of Defence, and what Reaſon and Encouragement the *Engliſh* have to continue the joint Action and Charge with thoſe that uſe ſo little Sincerity, ever contriving the common Action and Charge to their private Advantage; that when the joint Forces are employed to give the Enemy Work in one Part, the *Dutch* might with Eaſe oppreſs them in another, and appropriate the whole Benefit to themſelves.

“ The next Suſpicion that this Author gathereth is from the Inſolencies of the *Tarnatanes* of *Amboyna* dwelling at *Lobo* and *Cambello*, and thereabout, who, as this Author ſaith, preſumed now, beyond former Example, to outrage the Subjects of the *Dutch*, ſlaying them, and

“ carrying them away for Slaves; yea, burning two of their Houſes, one at *Lobo*, and another at *Manicbels*; for which, when the Governor went out with a Fleet to crave Juſtice and Reparation, he was braved by the *Tarnatanes* with a ſtronger Fleet than his own; yea, they threatened to come with a hundred Curricurries againſt *Amboyna*.

“ This Dealing of the Author is like the former about the Treaty of Peace with the *Tidorians*, and Truce with the *Spaniards*; for when the Governor of *Amboyna* ſet forth the Fleet of Curricurries, before the Apprehenſion of the *Engliſh*, he ſtood in good Terms with the *Tarnatanes* at *Lobo*, neither of the Factories here mentioned being then burnt, or injured; the Governor then went only, according to his yearly Cuſtom, to viſit the Skirts and Out-parts of *Amboyna*, and had no Affront offered him. After that upon occaſion of a Slave of the *Engliſh* that ran away; and being afterwards laid hold on, was reſcued by a reputed holy Man of or near that Part; the *Engliſh* craved Aſſiſtance of the *Dutch* Governor, who did his beſt, but was therein abuſed by thoſe of *Lobo*; and not only ſome of his Men outraged, but the *Engliſh* Factor, M. *Beamont*, to whom this Slave belonged, was way-laid by the People of the holy Man; and inſtead of him one of the Servants of the *Dutch* was ſlain between *Cambello* and *Lobo*. The next Day alſo was *Beamont* himſelf aſſailed, and ſhot in the Hand by the ſame holy Man's People, who alſo a little before did their beſt to kill *William Griggs*, another of the *Engliſh* Factors, that finding the ſaid Slave at *Lobo*, laid hold on him there. Upon this Occaſion both the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* left their Factory at *Lobo*, which was ſhortly after burnt by the *Tarnatanes*.

“ That other, touching the burning the Factory at *Manicbells*, is more groſsly applied than the former; for that Factory was burned after the *Engliſh* were apprehended; beſides that, this Author diſſembleth, that there was a vehement and common Suſpicion at *Amboyna*, that this Factory at *Manicbels* was burnt, not by the *Tarnatanes*, but by the *Dutch* Factor himſelf, who being there alone, was firſt ſaid to have conveyed away the Goods of the *Dutch* and *Engliſh* there for his own Uſe, and then to have burnt the Factory, laying the Fact upon the *Tarnatanes*. After this ended, the Governor of *Amboyna* made out a Fleet of Curricurries to procure Reparations of theſe Exceſſes, and therein, not going ſo ſtrong as he might, was braved by thoſe *Tarnatanes* of *Amboyna*; but this was after the Apprehenſion and Execution of the *Engliſh*, and ſo is as honeſtly applied to move Suſpicion in this Place, as the joint Quarrel of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* with thoſe of *Lobo*, beginning upon occaſion of the *Engliſh*; and as the Burning of the Factory at *Manicbels*, done after the *Engliſh* were apprehended and impriſoned. As for the Threats of the *Tarnatanes* here mentioned, that they would come with an hundred Curricurries againſt *Amboyna*, it is, for aught any of the *Engliſh* ever heard, a mere Fiction; at moſt, it was a vain Brag, and ſuch as could not affright the Governor, that knoweth well that the *Tarnatanes* have no Gun-powder, nor other Proviſions, for ſuch an Exploit; and yet are far behind the Governor of *Amboyna* for Number of Curricurries, beſides the *Dutch* Ships and Caſtles.

“ The next Cauſe of Suſpicion this Author makes to be an idle Report in the Eaſt Parts beyond *Banda*, uncertain which, or by whom, that the *Dutch* were already quit of their Caſtle at *Amboyna*: A poor Pretence, and not worthy to be anſwered, yet ſtill farther diſcovering what Penury of good Matter this Author had, that he was fain to borrow ſuch crazy Stuff. But the laſt, and that which is expreſsly applied to the *Engliſh* is, that about this time the *Dutch* underſtood that thoſe of *Lobo* and *Cambello* held great and ſecret Correſpondence with the *Engliſh*. How did the *Dutch* underſtand this? or why does not this Author expreſs the particular Proof in a Matter ſo pertinent? It is true, the *Engliſh* had their Factories at *Lobo* and *Cambello*, but in the ſame Houſes with the *Dutch*, and for their joint Account, and had Traffick with the Country People as the *Dutch* had; but what ſecret Correſpondence is this? or what Danger to the *Dutch*? Was the Burning of the Factories, which belonged to the *Engliſh* as well as to the *Dutch*, a Note of good Intelligence between the *Engliſh* and the Incendiaries? What was that for Correſpondency with thoſe of *Lobo*, when at one time they way-laid M. *Beamont* to kill him, and at another time ſhot him in the Hand with an Arrow; offered to kill *William Griggs*, and from Time to Time out-raged our People equally with, and as the *Dutch*? Further, our People, as well as the *Dutch*, now diſſolved their Factory at *Lobo*, and were come all thence; What Letters or Meſſages did they ever ſend thither afterwards? or how, or by what means maintained they this Correſpondence? Yet this was underſtood, perhaps, by the Governor's Dreams; for that, as he afterwards told Mr. *Welden*, *Hill*, and *Cartwright*, that came thither from *Banda*, was a Motive to him to examine the firſt *Japon*, which was the Beginning of the whole Proceſs.

“ The Author having thus quitted himſelf in this Preface, proceedeth to the Matter itſelf, firſt ſetting down the Occaſion and Manner of the Diſcovery of this pretended Plot, and then the Confeſſions of the *Japoneſe*, and of the *Engliſh*; but he maketh no mention of any Torture uſed upon the *Japoneſe* that firſt confeſſed, nor of any other Indicium or Preſumption to torture or examine that *Japoneſe*; but only his curious queſtioning, touching the ſitting and changing of the Watch, and of the Number of the Soldiers in the Caſtle, which ſhewed what ſufficient Indicium and Cauſe it was to torture a Soldier of their own that ſerved them, had Reaſon to underſtand the Courſe of their Watches, and the Strength of the Aid he might expect, if any ſudden Attempt ſhould happen in his Quarter, is eaſily to be judged; and how this poor Man, and the reſt of his Countrymen were tortured, appeareth in the *Engliſh* Relation. Here alſo is concealed, by what manner and kind of Queſtions this and the other *Japoneſe* were led along in their Confeſſions, to make up the Plot juſt as the *Dutch* had deviſed it; and alſo what other Anſwers they made before they were thus directed: That they and the *Engliſh* both confeſſed what the *Dutch* would have them, is no Doubt nor Wonder, being ſo tormented, and ſcared with Torture, *etiam Innocentes cogit mentiri dolor*. But what Likelihood or Poſſibility there is of the Truth of their Confeſſions, if yet they confeſſed, as is here related, may appear by that which hath already been diſcourſed in this Point towards the End of the *Engliſh* Relation, which, for Brevity ſake, is here forborn to be repeated; yet ſome Circumſtances, which the *Dutch* Relation hath more than the *Engliſh*, deſerve here to be examined.

“ And firſt, that of *Abel Price*, the *Engliſh* Barber, who is made the Meſſenger and Negotiator of this Practice with the *Japoneſe*: It is true, that he, and he alone, of all the *Engliſh*, had ſome kind of Converſation with ſome of the *Japoneſe*; that is, would dice and drink with them, as he likewiſe did with other Blacks, and with the *Dutch* alſo: But is it credible, that Mr. *Towerſon* would commit any thing of Moment, nay, ſo dangerous a Matter as this, to a drunken, debauched Sot, who alſo, as the *Engliſh* that were there conſtantly report, threatened to cut his, the ſaid *Towerſon*'s, Throat, for that he had puniſhed him for his Miſdemeanors? Further, this Relation maketh this *Abel Price* confeſs, that all the *Engliſh* Merchants in the Out-factories were privy and acceſſary to this pretended Treaſon; yet the Governor and Fiſcal, in their own Proceſs, found *John Powel*, *Ephraim Ramſey*, and two others, guiltleſs.

“ After *Price*'s Confeſſion, he ſets down the general Subſtance of all the Confeſſions in one Body, where, firſt, having aſſigned Mr. *Towerſon* a Preface to the reſt, to induce them to the Exploit, he tells us, that they made doubt of the Point of Poſſibility, as well they might, knowing the Weakneſs of their own Part, and impregnable Strength of the *Dutch*, in Compariſon of theirs; for Satisfaction of which their Doubt, he ſaith, Mr. *Towerſon* told them, that he had already won the *Japoneſe* within the Caſtle to his Purpoſe, and that he would attempt this Matter, not when the *Dutch* were at

" their Strength, and the *Engliſh* at the weakeſt, but would expect till the Governor ſhould be ſomewhere abroad upon ſome Exploit, and ſome *Engliſh* Ships or Ship, at leaſt at *Amboyna*, the People whereof he would uſe in the Enterprize; likewiſe he would ſend for the Factors, and Slaves of the other Factories, and ſhould have a Supply from the *Tarnatanes* of *Lobo* of certain Curricurries, *&c.*

" Here he hath inrolled a goodly Army for this Action; but let us ſee the Manner how they ſhould have executed their Exploit; and firſt, for the *Japoneſe* in the Caſtle, we muſt believe, if this Author or his Voucher ſay true, that Maſter *Towerſon* had acquainted thoſe, and won them to his Plot, before he had imparted it to his own Countrymen the *Engliſh*; and yet in the Acts of the Proceſs, *Emanuel Thomſon* is recorded to have confeſſed, that eight Days after the Conſultation, Maſter *Towerſon* told him, that he had then ſent out *Johnſon* and *Price* to treat with the *Japoneſe*, and win their Conſent to this Enterprize; but what could theſe do, being in all but ten? Marry, ſaith the Relation by and by, Maſter *Towerſon* had ordained that eight of them ſhould have been beſtowed, by two in a Company, upon the four Points of the Caſtle, to kill all thoſe that would reſiſt them, and to take the reſt Priſoners.

" It muſt be therefore here imagined, that the *Dutch* and their Mardikers in the Caſtle, being three or four hundred, would ſcorn to take the Advantage of ſending forty or fifty, much more of an entire Company, to any Point of the Caſtle, but would combat with the *Japoneſe* at even Hand, by two at a time, and ſo give the *Japoneſe* Reſpite to kill or take them by two, and by two; a ſweet Conceit, and ſuch a Service as perhaps hath been ſometimes repreſented upon a Stage, but never acted in Surprize of a Caſtle in good Earneſt. Thus we ſee how eight of the *Japoneſe* were to be employed, what ſhould the other two have done? Forſooth, they ſhould have waited in the great Chamber to murder the Governor; yea, but this Relation told us, yet while, that this Plot ſhould have been executed while the Governor was abroad upon ſome Action. How then ſhould theſe two *Japoneſe* have killed him in the Caſtle at the ſame time?

" But we ſee how all the *Japoneſe*, that is, all the pretended Party of the *Engliſh* within the Caſtle, ſhould have been occupied, who ſhould have opened the Gates to the *Engliſh*, and their other Aids? who ſhould have killed the Court of Guard at the Gate? Theſe Parts were left for them that were without, therefore let us take a Review of them what they were. The Relation muſtereth them to be fourteen *Engliſh*, whereof eleven were Merchants, one Steward of the Houſe, one Taylor, and one Barber to dreſs the Wounds; beſides, God knows how many Skippers, Slaves, and *Tarnatanes*. Firſt, for the *Engliſh* Merchants, of what Dexterity they are to take Forts, is eaſily judged; and in all the *Engliſh* Houſe, when it was ſeized by the *Dutch* upon this pretended Treaſon, the whole Proviſion was but three Swords, two Hand-Guns, and about half a Pound of Powder; yea, but the *Engliſh* Ships would have brought both fitter Men, and better Proviſion: But how knew Maſter *Towerſon* that thoſe of the *Engliſh* Ships, when they came, would join with him in this Work, being ſo contrary to the Treaty, and itſelf ſo dangerous? or why did he not ſtay the opening of the Plot, till his Ship or Ships were come, that he might ſwear the Skippers alſo, at leaſt the chief Officers amongſt them, and take their Advice? Is it poſſible that Maſter *Towerſon* was ſo ſlight to open this Plot to all the *Engliſh* at *Amboyna*; yea, to the Taylor and Barber, ſo long before it was to be put in Execution, and before he knew the Minds of the chiefeſt Aſſiſtants, of whoſe Arrival he was ſo uncertain? Yea, but he was ſure of the Slaves of the *Engliſh*, and of the *Tarnatanes* of *Lobo*, with their *Curricurries in quemlibet Eventum.*

" This, indeed, is the Remainder of the Army; let us view them; the Slaves were, in all the *Engliſh* Factories, juſt ſix in Number, and all Boys; the *Tarnatanes* were Enemies as well to the *Engliſh* as to the *Dutch*, as is before ſhewed; in Anſwer to the Preface; when were they reconciled? How came this, that in all the Examinations of the *Engliſh*, this Point was not ſifted, and ſomewhat confeſſed of it amidſt ſo many Tortures? There is no Confeſſion thereof in all the Examinations, and Mr. *Towerſon* in his expreſly denied it, and was preſſed no farther. The Truth is, the Governor and Fiſcal of *Amboyna* knew, that whatever had been confeſſed in this Point, would not have been believed by their own People there, who knew well enough, that the firſt Beginning of this Breach with the *Dutch*, and the *Tarnatanes* of *Lobo*, was about the Slave of the *Engliſh*, and the Outrages thereupon following were done upon the *Engliſh*, as well as upon the *Dutch* Yet this Author ſeems to hope, that they may be believed here in *Europe*, which had no Colour at *Amboyna*.

" Concerning the Time of executing this Plot, it was not, as the Relation ſaith, yet prefixed, but left to the next Meeting of the Conſpirators, which ſhould be ſhortly holden, when *Gabriel Towerſon* had prepared all things, *&c.* Here was certainly a hot Practice of Treaſon, and worthy to be termed by this Author an horrible Conſpiracy. They met together on New year's-day, and plotted, as is before related; and now it was the five and twentieth of *February*, and not only nothing done all this Interim, no not ſo much as a new Conſultation; but this, forſooth, is the Body and Subſtance of the unanimous Confeſſion of all the *Engliſh* by themſelves, ſeverally ſubſcribed.

" In the next place, the Author relateth ſomewhat ſingular in M. *Towerſon*'s Confeſſion, as that he ſaid he was moved to this Fact by Hope and Deſire of Honour and Profit; and being demanded for whom he intended this Honour, and for whom he meant to hold the Caſtle? his Anſwer was, that if he could have compaſſed his Projects, he would forthwith have given Advertiſement thereof to the reſt of his Nation at *Jaccatra*, which now they have chriſtened *Batavia*, and have craved their Aid, which, if they had yielded to him, then he would have held the Caſtle for the *Engliſh* Company; and if not, then he would have kept it for himſelf, and have uſed Means to have agreed with the *Indians*, and ſo by one Means or other would have compaſſed the Enterprize.

" Here firſt is to be obſerved, that he would not, as the Author makes him ſpeak, have ſent for Aid to *Jaccatra*, until he were firſt Maſter of the Caſtle; and yet in the general Confeſſion before, it is ſaid, he would attend the Coming of ſome *Engliſh* Ships before he would adventure upon the Caſtle. Next, let the ambitious and alternative Reſolution here ſaid to be confeſſed by Maſter *Towerſon* be conſidered in both the Parts thereof, and it will appear, that no Man in his Wits would have any ſuch Conceit as is here pretended. What Hope could Maſter *Towerſon* have, that the Preſident and *Engliſh* Conſul at *Jaccatra*, living under Command of the *Dutch* Fort there, and altogether ſubject to them, durſt join any ſuch Action, thereby to give Occaſion to the *Hollanders* to arreſt, torture, and condemn them of Treaſon?

" Maſter *Towerſon* knew well enough, that about ſix Months before the General of the *Dutch* at *Jaccatra* had caught a very ſly Occaſion to entrap the *Engliſh* Preſident there, who, having ſent out two of his People in the Night to the *Engliſh* Cow-houſe, to ſee what Watch the Blacks in their Service kept over their Cattle, the ſaid two *Engliſh* were apprehended by the *Dutch* Soldiers, kept in Priſon ſeven Days, and charged that they had ſaid that they went the Round; and one of them being laſt examined, was told by the Balieu, the Officer of the *Dutch* in criminal Cauſes, that his Fellow had confeſſed, that they had ſaid, they went their Round, and that by the *Engliſh* Preſident's Commiſſion; and if he would not confeſs the ſame, he ſhould be tortured; but the Fellow being conſtant in the Truth, came off at laſt without Torture; Yet this was Item enough to the *Engliſh* Preſident and Council, how the Intent of the *Dutch* was to entrap them upon the leaſt Occaſion; and this, and other daily captious

Dealings of the *Dutch* at *Jaccatra*, which were too long here to recite, were all advertiſed, from time to time, to Mr. *Towerſon*, who therefore was ſure he could expect no Aſſiſtance from them, that were themſelves in ſuch a Predicament.

“ The other Part of Mr. *Towerſon*'s Reſolution is ſaid to have been to keep the Caſtle for himſelf, and to agree with the *Indians*, in Default of Help from the *Engliſh*. This is yet more improbable than the former: Were the *Portugueze* and the *Indians* not able to keep out the *Dutch* from *Amboyna*, when they had no Footing there; and ſhall Captain *Towerſon* with twenty *Engliſh* and *Japoneſe*, without Ship or Pinnace, be able, with the Help of the poor naked *Indians*, to drive them out, having three Caſtles in the Iſland of *Amboyna* and at *Cambello* hard by, all well furniſhed with Men and Proviſions, beſides their Power of Shipping, which makes them ſtile themſelves Lords of the Sea? And yet how could Maſter *Towerſon* hope to win the *Amboyneſe* (the *Hollanders* ſworn Subjects) to his Side? He might rather aſſure himſelf, that after he had maſtered the *Hollanders*, if yet that muſt be believed to be poſſible, the *Amboyneſe* would have ſurpriſed him, and caſt him out, being ſo weakly provided to ſtand of himſelf, that ſo they might utterly free themſelves from their Servitude: Here alſo muſt be remarked, that this Author himſelf in his Preamble ſaith, that the *Indians* themſelves durſt not undertake ſuch a great Deſign as he there ſeigneth againſt the State of *Amboyna*, without ſome great Aid of ſome Nations of *Europe*, either of *Spaniards* or *Portugueze*, or ſome other; whereby is not only confeſſed how weak the *Indians* of themſelves are, but withal it followeth, how ſmall Hope Mr. *Towerſon* might have, being deſerted of his own Nation, as here the Caſe is put, to hold the Caſtle for himſelf by the Help of thoſe *Indians*, if yet he could once have won it.

“ In a Word, they that know the Power of the *Dutch* in *Amboyna*, and thereabouts, and the Weakneſs of the poor *Indians*, will judge this Conceit of Mr. *Towerſon*'s to keep the Caſtle for himſelf, to be a mad Plot, and for which Maſter *Towerſon* ſhould rather have been ſent to *Bedlam*, or the *Dullen Kiſt*, as the *Dutch* call it, than to the Gallows. But this Author hath one voluntary Confeſſion, upon which he taketh eſpecial Hold, to wit, that Maſter *Towerſon*, after his Examination was finiſhed, being expoſtulated with by the *Dutch* Governor, and demanded whether this ſhould have been the Recompence of his (the Governor's) manifold Courteſies towards him, anſwered with a deep Sigh, *Oh! were this Matter now to do, it ſhould never be done.* This voluntary Confeſſion, and penitent Acknowledgment, ſaith this Author, was made the Ninth of *March*, being the Day when the Execution was to be done, and the Examination of *Towerſon* was ended the Twenty-eighth of *February*, ſo many Days before. But how ſhall we believe this? Forſooth, he hath it out of the Acts of the Proceſs of *Amboyna*; yea, but in theſe Acts are omitted many material Paſſages of theſe Examinations, as is already ſhewed, why may they not then be guilty of Addition, as well as of ſuch Mutilation and Omiſſion? But let us peruſe the Words of the Act itſelf, which are theſe;

“ We whoſe Names are hereunto ſubſcribed, do declare upon our Troth, inſtead of an Oath, that *Gabriel Towerſon*, after that he had been already examined touching his ſaid Offence; and that the worſhipful *Van Speult* had expoſtulated with him thereupon, aſked him, whether this ſhould have been the Recompence of his Courteſies from time to time ſhewed unto him the ſaid *Towerſon?* Thereupon he the ſaid *Towerſon*, with a deep Sigh, anſwered him, and ſaid, Oh! if this were to be begun again, it ſhould never be done. *Actum* this Ninth of *March*, in the Caſtle of *Amboyna*, and ſubſigned,

Harman Van Speult,
Laurence de Maerſchalck,
Clement Herſſeboom,
Harman Crayvanger,
Peter Van Zanten,
Leonart Clock.

“ Thus we ſee the Act itſelf, and this pretended voluntary Confeſſion of Mr. *Towerſon*, which is not delivered upon the Credit of the Court or Council at *Amboyna*, but upon the Atteſtation or Affidavit of the Governor, and five others, the principal Actors in this bloody Tragedy; and this not upon their Oath, but upon their Troth, or honeſt Word, forſooth, inſtead of an Oath. The Time when theſe Words were uttered by Mr. *Towerſon*, is not deſcribed by the Day when he ſpake them, but only by the precedent Act of his Examination; and yet the Circumſtance of Time is not only an uſual and cuſtomary Solemnity, and requiſite in all ſuch Atteſtations, but alſo in a Buſineſs of this Nature altogether neceſſary, as likewiſe in this Caſe that of the Place was; for if theſe Words were ſpoken in the Place of Torture, or incontinently after the Examination ended, they are by their own Law eſteemed no more voluntary, than the Confeſſion upon the Rack itſelf: Neither yet doth this Atteſtation affirm, that this Confeſſion was voluntary.

“ But this Author, unconſcionably reporting the Date of the Atteſtation for the Time of the Confeſſion, collects it to be voluntary, becauſe, as he ſaith, it was made the Ninth of *March*, being ſo many Days after his Examination, which was taken the 28th of *February*; can a Man atteſt nothing but what was done upon the very Day when he maketh Affidavit? The Atteſtation ſaith, that theſe Words were ſpoken by Mr. *Towerſon*, after he had been already examined; why may not that rather have been upon the very Day of his Examination, than upon the Day when this Act was entered, if yet he ever ſpake any ſuch Words, or meant them, as he is here interpreted, the contrary whereof is the more probable, by all the Circumſtances of this Buſineſs truly ſet down in the Relation of the *Engliſh*.

“ But in that this Author makes ſo much of this poor Circumſtance of Mr. *Towerſon*'s Profeſſion of Sorrow for what was done, naming it a voluntary Confeſſion, it is plain how deſtitute he was of voluntary Confeſſions, and of all true and concluding Circumſtances. What, was there not a Letter, or other Paper, to be found in all the Cheſts and Boxes of the *Engliſh*, ſo ſuddenly ſeized at *Amboyna*, *Larica*, *Hitto*, and *Cambello*, to diſcover this Treaſon? Nor, amongſt ſo many Accomplices of diverſe Nations, a falſe Brother to betray the reſt, and to accuſe them voluntarily, but the Proceſs muſt begin with the Torture, and the Heathens Confeſſions upon Torture be ſufficient to bring Chriſtians to Torture.

“ That debauched and notoriouſly infamous Perſons (ſuch as *Price* was) to draw Torture upon the ſober, orderly, and untainted? And yet this Relation itſelf confeſſeth, that *Price*'s Confeſſion was drawn from him by the Examiners, ſpecifying of Place, Perſon and Time unto him; certainly one of their own Nation had Reaſon to adviſe that more Advocates might be ſent over to the *Indies* to aid the Accuſed, and make a legal Anſwer; for, ſaid he, they go to work there ſo villainouſly and murderouſly, that the Blood of the poor People crieth to Heaven for Vengeance. But why have we no Particular of any Man's Confeſſion but this of *Price* and Mr. *Towerſon*, and all the reſt blended together in one Body? Did none of all the reſt go farther than his Fellows, or confeſs more than they? Where is *Sharrock*'s Confeſſion, that he was at *Amboyna* upon New-year's-day, when ten or twelve of the *Dutch* themſelves witneſſed he was at *Hitto?* Where is his Confeſſion of *Clark*'s Plot to go to *Maccaſſar*, to deal with the *Spaniards* there to come and rob the ſmall Factories? Where is *Collins*'s Confeſſion of another Plot about two Months and a half before his Examination, undertaken by *Thomſon*, *Johnſon*, *Price*, *Brown*, *Fardo*, and himſelf? Where be the leading Interrogatories that directed them to the Accuſation framed by the *Dutch*, leſt otherwiſe there had been as many ſeveral Treaſons confeſſed as Perſons examined? Not a Word of all this, nor of a great deal more of this kind, which is here in *England* proved by the Oath of ſix credible Perſons to have paſſed in the Examinations, whereby appeareth how faithfully the *Dutch* at *Amboyna* have entered the Acts of this Proceſs?

“ Well, at laſt he concludes the Narration of the Confeſſions with the ſumming up of the Number and Nations of the Parties that had thus confeſſed, which he ſaith, were ten *Japoneſe*, fourteen *Engliſh*, and the *Netherlandiſh Marnicho*, or Captain of the Slaves; by which laſt Words, he would give the Reader occaſion to think, that this Fact was ſo clear, and their own Proceedings ſo even and juſt, that they had executed one of their own *Netherlanders* for it; which how true it is, is already declared in the Concluſion of the *Engliſh* Relation. The Truth is, this Captain of the Slaves was of the *Portugueze* Race, and born in *Bengal*; his very Name, *Auguſtin Perez*, ſheweth he was no *Netherlander*.

“ Having thus finiſhed this Relation, this Author proceedeth to a Diſputation, and taking Notice of ſome Aſperſions in *England* caſt upon theſe Proceedings at *Amboyna*, he divideth them into two Heads; the one, that the Proceſs was without its due Formality, the other, that there was Exceſs and Extremity uſed againſt the Conſpirators. For the Point of Formality, he firſt taketh great Pains to prove, that the Formalities of Proceſſes in *Amboyna* are not therefore unlawful, becauſe they agree not with our Form in *England*; which Labour he might have ſpared, for no wiſe Man will deny him this Point; and ſuch as ſhall be ſo ignorant as to blame the *Dutch* for varying from us herein, were not worthy the anſwering. Herewithal alſo, he deduceth the Title of the Lords the States-General to the Sovereignty of *Amboyne*, and ſo the Governor of *Amboyna*'s Juriſdiction, in Cauſes as well criminal as civil, to be rightly grounded. Thence he concludes, that the *Japoneſe* being ſworn Servants to the *Dutch*, and in their Pay, were ſubject to the Juriſdiction of the *Dutch* Governor. Then he telleth us, that the Author and Accomplices of Murder and Treaſon, are by the Laws of all Nations to be puniſhed with Death; all which Points may be granted him without any Prejudice to the Cauſe of the *Engliſh* in this Queſtion. At laſt he comes in particular to their Caſe, and affirms, that the Chief of the *Engliſh* there might not apprehend the *Engliſh* Accomplices of this Conſpiracy, becauſe themſelves were Accomplices of the Fact; all which alſo may be granted in this Point of Apprehenſion and ſafe Cuſtody; but how it may proceed in the Point of Cognizance, ſhall be anon in due Place examined.

“ In the mean time, this Author, to make the Point of Apprehenſion clear beyond Exception, ſaith, that the *Engliſh* were not apprehended upon the firſt Suſpicion, when yet there was Evidence and Indicia ſufficient to it. But after the Examination of all the *Japoneſe*, and their joint Confeſſion, that the *Engliſh*, whom they ſpecified by Name and Surname, moved and hired them to this Treaſon: Yea, not until *Abel Price* had alſo confeſſed as much, and that all the *Engliſh* in the Out-Factories were privy thereunto. For Anſwer hereof, that muſt be repeated, which hath been upon other Occaſions before alledged, that the firſt Beginning of the Proceſs was by the Torture, there being no ſufficient Evidence or Indicium to torture the *Japoneſe*, that only ſought to inform himſelf of the Courſe of the Watch, and of the Strength of the Caſtle where he himſelf was a Soldier; and ſo the whole Series of Examination proceeding from the Confeſſion of one tortured Perſon, to apprehend and torture another, without other Evidence, though it brought forth more Confeſſions, and thoſe with Name and Surname, and other Circumſtances, according as the Interrogatories or Directories of the Governor and Fiſcal led the Priſoners, was wholly againſt all Laws of Tortures. *Silicet in fabrica ſi prava eſt regula prima. Cætera mendoſe fieri, atque obſtipa neceſſe eſt.*

“ But here muſt be anſwered an Objection, that may be made againſt this from another Part of this Relation; that is, that ſome of the *Engliſh* confeſſed without, or before Torture. Yea, this *Price* here mentioned, was either not tortured at all, or very lightly; yea, but he was ſhewed the tortured Bodies of the poor *Japoneſe*, martyred with Fire and Water, and told, that unleſs he would confeſs that which they told him they had firſt confeſſed, he ſhould be tortured as ill, or worſe than they. This Fear of Torture is by their own Law equalled to the Torture itſelf, and conſequently the Confeſſion thereupon, made no better Indicium, or Evidence, to bring another Man to the Torture, than the Confeſſion made upon the Rack itſelf. Again, it muſt be here remembered, that the very Matter of *Price*'s Confeſſion here mentioned, to wit, that all the *Engliſh* Merchants of the Out-Factories were privy to the pretended Treaſon, was confuted by the Proceſs of the *Dutch* themſelves, that found *Powel*, *Ramſey*, and two others of thoſe Factories guiltleſs.

“ Next, this Author taketh Notice of an Objection made in *England* againſt the Juriſdiction of the *Dutch* Governor, and his Council at *Amboyna*, over the *Engliſh* there, becauſe this Power is by the Treaty of the Year 1619 diſpoſed of, and agreed to conſiſt in the Council of Defence of both Nations at *Jaccatra*; for Information in which Point, this Author ſaith, he hath peruſed over all the ſeveral Articles in the ſaid Treaty, and findeth in the twenty-third Article, that the Fortreſſes were to remain in the Hands of them that then poſſeſſed them; and in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth, that the Council of Defence hath no other Power but only over the Fleet of Defence, over the Commerce, and, finally, to tax the Charges of Maintenance of the Forts; but he could not ſee the thirtieth Article, which orders that all Diſputes that cannot be decided by the Council of Defence, ſhould be remitted into *Europe*, firſt, to the two Companies there, and in Default of their Agreement, to the King and States; why then was not this Diſpute ſo proceeded in? There is nothing in the former Articles to limit the Council of Defence, and this general Article appeareth to be added by way of Amplification, to provide for that which was not particularly and expreſly cared for in the former, which is moſt plain by the Words of the Explanation upon this thirtieth Article, agreed upon at the firſt, and ſubſcribed by the Commiſſioners on both Sides, *Anno* 1619, where this Courſe of Proceeding is expreſly directed, not only in Diſputes about the Meaning of the Articles, but alſo about any other Matter happening in their Commerce abroad; ſince which alſo the King's Majeſty hath, upon a ſmaller Occaſion than the Life of his Subjects, clearly declared himſelf in the Point of Sovereignty, that both Nations in the *Indies* ſhould wholly lay aſide all Pretence thereof, which Declaration was ſent to the Lords States-General, and by them accepted before this bloody Butchery was executed. But if it were granted, that the *Dutch* were abſolute Lords of their Partners the *Engliſh* in thoſe Parts, without reſpect to the Treaty, yet at leaſt the *Dutch* in *Amboyna* were bound to obſerve the Laws of the *United Provinces*, for ſo ſaith this Author himſelf. Do theſe allow to begin the Proceſs as to the Torture, and to bring Perſons of honeſt Fame to the Rack upon others Confeſſion made in the Torture? Do their Laws allow of the leading Interrogatories above mentioned, to direct the Priſoner what to ſay, to avoid the Torture? Where, in the *United Provinces*, is that drowning with Water in uſe? Or the Torture with Fire uſed to *Johnſon*, *Thomſon*, and *Clark*? Or eſpecially the ſplitting of their Toes, and lancing of the Breaſt, and putting in Gunpowder, and then firing the ſame, whereby the Body is not left intire, neither for Innocency nor Execution? *Clark* and *Thomſon* were both fain to be carried to their Execution, though they were tortured many Days before.

“ Laſtly, their Confeſſions were contradictory, apparently falſe, and of things impoſſible to be done, much leſs practiſed before by the ſaid Parties, and therefore ought not by their Law to have been believed, nor the Priſoners to have been condemned thereupon, without other ſufficient Indicia, or Evidence beſides. In the laſt Place, this Author handleth the Exceſs of Torture, whereof he taketh Notice, there is much Complaint in *England*, and ſaith, that the Lords States-General took

“ great Care to inform themſelves of all the Paſſages in this Buſineſs; and to that End deſired to ſee all the Letters, Pieces, and Papers, that concern this Proceſs, by which it appeareth not that there was any cruel Torture uſed. But ſuppoſe the Acts made no mention of them, is it any Marvel that the Authors of this murderous and tyrannous Proceſs, being themſelves the Perſons that alſo formed the Acts, would omit thoſe things that made againſt them?

“ It is to be preſumed alſo, that the Acts kept by their People at *Poloway* in *Banda*, have omitted many things of their Proceſs againſt the poor *Poloroons*, whom in *Auguſt* 1622, being about ſix Months before this Execution of the *Engliſh*, their Governor there uſed in like Sort as the Governor of *Amboyna* did the *Engliſh*, and gave him a Model and Precedent of this Proceſs, which it will not be amiſs to relate briefly, becauſe this Author in the next Place alledgeth the merciful Diſpoſition of the *Netherlandiſh* Nation in general, to infer thence, that it is therefore unlikely, that their Governor at *Amboyna* was ſo cruel as is reported in *England.*

“ *Poloroon*, one of the Iſlands of *Banda*, was in Poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh* at the Time of the Treaty *Anno* 1619, and by Agreement was to remain theirs.

“ After the Treaty came to the *Indies*, the *Dutch* forbore the publiſhing thereof in the Iſlands of *Banda*, until they had taken *Poloroon*; but knowing that it muſt be reſtored again, according to the Treaty, they firſt take all Courſes to make the Iſland little or nothing worth. They demoliſh and deface the Building, tranſplant the Nutmeg-trees, plucking them up by the Roots, and carrying them into their own Iſlands of *Nera* and *Poloway*, there to be planted for themſelves, and at leaſt find a Means to diſpeople the Iſland, and to leave it ſo as the *Engliſh* might make no Uſe of it, worth their Charge of keeping; and that upon this Occaſion was a young Man, the Son of an Orankey, or a Gentleman in *Poloroon*, that had committed Felony, for which, by the Laws of his Country, he was to die. This Fellow, to ſave his Life, fled to another Iſland of *Banda*, called *Roſinging*, and there turned Chriſtian; but quickly underſtanding that that would not make him ſafe from Puniſhment, he went back ſecretly into his own Country of *Poloroon*, and having lurked there for two or three Days, took his Paſſage for *Nera*, another Iſland where the *Dutch* have a Fort, and told the *Dutch* Governor, that the Orankeys of *Poloroon* had conſpired to maſſacre the *Dutch* as well at *Poloroon* as at *Poloway*, with Help of the People of *Seran*, that ſhould ſend over thirty Curricurries for that Purpoſe. Immediately upon this Indicium of this Malefactor, certain Prows or Fiſher-boats of the *Poloroons* that were fiſhing at *Poloway* were ſeized, and the People made Priſoners; Command was ſent by the *Dutch* Governor to *Poloroon*, that the Orankeys ſhould come over to him, that there might be farther Inquiſition made of this Matter.

“ The Prieſt of the *Poloroons* and ſeventy Orankeys inſtantly took a Prow, or ſmall Veſſel of their own, and embarked themſelves for *Poloway*. As they were at Sea, and yet out of Sight of the *Dutch* Caſtle, they were met by a Fiſhing-boat of *Bandanezes*, and told how all the reſt were apprehended, and that if they went to *Poloway* they were all but dead Men. Nevertheleſs the Prieſt and the reſt, although they had Space and Means to have eſcaped to *Seran*, and other Places ſafe enough from the *Dutch*, yet were ſo confident of their Innocency, that they would needs go to *Poloway* to purge themſelves, where, as ſoon as they arrived, they were inſtantly carried Priſoners to the Caſtle, and withal the Governor, with a Force of two hundred Men, went perſonally for *Poloroon*, whence he fetched all the reſt of the Orankeys, and brought them Priſoners to the ſame Caſtle: As ſoon as they were come, they were preſently brought to the Torture of Water and Fire, even in the ſame ſort that our People were afterwards at *Amboyna*, only herein differing, that of thoſe of *Poloway* two were ſo tortured, that they died in their Tortures; the reſt, being one hundred and ſixty-two Perſons, were all, upon their own forced Confeſſions, condemned and executed. The Prieſt, when he came to the Place of Execution, ſpake theſe Words in the *Malayan* Tongue: All ye great and ſmall, rich and poor, black and white, look to it, we have committed no Fault; and when he would have ſpoken more, he was taken by the Hands and Feet, laid along, and cut in two by the Middle with a Sword; forthwith the Governor cauſed the Wives, Children, and Slaves of thoſe of *Poloroon* to be all carried out of the Iſland, and diſtributed in other Iſlands ſubject to the *Dutch*, and ſo have made a clear Country for the *Engliſh*, where they may both plant and gather themſelves, deſtitute of the Help of any of the Country People, without whom neither the *Engliſh* nor the *Dutch* can maintain their Trade in the *Indies*; and yet this is not here recited, to the End thereby to charge the *Netherlanders* Nation with thoſe cruel Proceedings, but the Perſons themſelves that have committed theſe barbarous Tyrannies, who, if we ſhall believe an Author of their own, are not of the beſt of that Nation.

“ For the *Majors*, as this Author ſays, uſe the *Indies* as a Tuckt-houſe, or Bridewell, to manage their unruly and unthrifty Children and Kindred, whom, when they cannot rule and order at home, they ſend to the *Indies*, where they are preferred to Offices and Places of Government; yea, ſaith he, they prefer ſuch to be Fiſcals there as never ſaw Study nor Law; ſo that it is no marvel, that ſuch Perſons proceed not with that Juſtice and Moderation as is uſed generally in the *Low Countries* by the Choice of the Nation there; and this agreeth well with the Report of our Merchants of Credit that came lately from *Amboyna*, who aver, that excepting the Governor himſelf, who is well ſtept in Years, of the reſt of the Council there, as well the Fiſcal as others, there was ſcarce any that had Hair on their Faces; yea, that moſt of them are leud, drunken, debauched Perſons, and yet muſt be Judges, as well of our *Engliſh* as the poor *Indians* there. Now to return to this Author's Proofs, that there was no Exceſs uſed in the Proceedings, at the laſt he taketh one Argument by way of Compariſon from the Law of *England* to preſs Men to Death, which, he ſaith, hath much more Cruelty than their Courſe of Torture uſed by the *Dutch* in *Amboyna*, and is holden, as well by ſome Authors of our own Nation as others, for damnable. How pertinently is this Matter of preſſing alledged for juſtifying their Tortures, ſince no Man in *England* is preſſed for not confeſſing, which is the Cauſe of the Torture with the *Dutch*? But the Cauſe why any is preſſed is, for that he obſtinately refuſes the Trial of his Country, and challengeth the Judges as incompetent, which the Law appointeth him, which he doth for the moſt part to ſave his Goods, which but by that ordinary Courſe of Trial cannot be confiſcate; what is this to the Point of Confeſſion? for Refuſal whereof the *Dutch* uſe the Torture, and yet no Man blameth them for proceeding according to the Law of their Country therein, nor yet in their Execution, when they break the Legs, Arms, and Thighs of the Malefactors, and then ſet them upon a Wheel on the End of a great Pole, there to languiſh to Death; an Execution far more direful than the *Engliſh* Preſſing, which is ſo ſuddenly done, and ſo ſeldom uſed.

“ But why doth he not name the Author of our own, or foreign Writers, which condemn this kind of Execution? Let him do it yet, and he ſhall have more Authors of his own Country that ſhall condemn their Courſe of Tortures; and yet the *Engliſh* complain not of the Courſe in general, but of the unlawful Uſe of it, contrary to the Laws even of the *United Provinces*. Laſtly, in this Point the Author pretendeth, that little or no Torture was uſed in this Proceſs. What the Torture was, and in what Degree, appears in the *Engliſh* Relation; but he can find little or none mentioned in the Acts. What if he will not find it? or what if their Officers at *Amboyna* have concealed it? Shall we not believe thoſe that ſuffered it themſelves? Shall we not believe thoſe that being themſelves acquitted, yet heard the Cries, and ſaw the Bodies of *Johnſon*, *Clark*, and *Thomſon*, and have confirmed their Relation by their corporal

“Oaths? As for the Act of the five and twentieth of *February*, which this Author hath here tranſcribed, it cannot be a true Act; for therein it is ſaid, that that Day all the *Engliſh* were examined one by one, and ſome before Torture, and ſome after, confeſſed the Fact: Whereas it appeareth not only by the *Engliſh* Relation, but by this very Author in the precedent Page, that they were not all examined the ſame five and twentieth Day of *February*, but that the Examination continued ſix Days together, even to the third of *March* incluſive. How then could the Act of the five and twentieth of *February* have all their Confeſſions? By this may appear what Credit may be given to thoſe Acts, or elſe to this Author.

“Here alſo by the way, he tells us of the Deliberation of their Council, whether the Puniſhment of the Fact might be reſpited, or the Cauſe removed, wherein it was reſolved, that Execution muſt needs be done in the Place of the Delict for Example's ſake, and might not be reſpited, for fear leſt the Conſpirators, as he terms them, might have more Dependencies than yet were known, and in particular the *Tarnatanes*, and other *Indians* about *Amboyna*; a poor Pretext, as if having all the *Engliſh* in Irons aboard their ſeveral Ships, they ſhould need to fear their joining with the *Tarnatanes*; but it may be, they feared ſome *Engliſh* Ships alſo to come thither, for ſo they had made their own People believe, and therefore two Ships being deſcried at Sea, the *Dutch* and their free Burghers cried out, that there were the *Engliſh* that ſhould have holpen to take the Caſtle; but when they arrived, they proved to be two Ships of the *Dutch* come from *Jaccatra*, wherein was a Letter from the Preſident of the *Engliſh* there to call away Captain *Towerſon*, and all the *Engliſh* from *Amboyna* to *Jaccatra*; which Letter was opened and read by the *Dutch* Governor, while our People were yet in Priſon, and not executed, and might well have ſecured him, that there was no farther Danger to be feared of the *Engliſh* Aids of Shipping, whatever the *Engliſh* Priſoners had through Torture confeſſed. At laſt the Author comes to the Sentence itſelf, tranſcribing out of the Acts of the ninth of *March*, that the College of Judges being then competent, and calling upon the Name of the Lord to aſſiſt them in this mournful Aſſembly, to preſide in their Hearts, and inſpire them with Equity and Juſtice, proceeded to Sentence, *&c.*

“Who knoweth not but the Act may be thus formed, and yet no Prayer at all made? Or, if there were any ſuch Prayer, yet the Proceedings, well weighed, will ſhew it to be but like *Jezabel*'s Faſt, the Preparative to the falſe Judgment againſt *Naboth*. Neither will the wiſe and indifferent Judges of this whole Matter conceive the better of the Cauſe, for the hypocritical Formalities therein obſerved. Laſt of all, he concludes his Treatiſe with a Juſtification, yea, an Elogy and Commendation of the whole Proceedings of the *Dutch* at *Amboyna* againſt the *Engliſh*, not finding the leaſt to be blamed in the *Dutch*, but aggravating the Crime of the *Engliſh* very ridiculouſly, becauſe, forſooth, that this Plot, amongſt other Things, was againſt the great Means of the *Netherlands Eaſt-India* Company, as if a Conſpiracy to rob them muſt needs be Treaſon; or if the Intent only, in any Crime but Treaſon, were capital. Thus have we examined this ſtrained Juſtification of that baſe and execrable Proceſs of *Amboyna*, conſiſting of a Preamble full of falſe and forged Suſpicions; a Narration of the Fact, fraught with ridiculous Abſurdities, Contrarieties, and Impoſſibilities, and of a Diſpute of Impertinencies, with Concealment of the main Grounds of the *Engliſh* Griefs: All which verifieth that of *Papinian*, that Parricides are more eaſily committed than defended.” This Anſwer is ſo clear and full, and we have already ſpent ſo much Time, though I think not more than it deſerved, upon this Affair of *Amboyna*, that I am very willing to conclude it, which I ſhall do with this ſingle Remark, which I conceive has not been made before, and which I perſuade myſelf will ſet the whole Affair in a much clearer Light than it has hitherto ſtood in. The Genius of the *Dutch* Nation, and of their *Eaſt-India* Company, was Gain at all Events, and no Matter at whoſe Expence. The Genius of the *Dutch* Government at home, was to live fair with her Neighbours, and by ſmooth Language, high Profeſſions of Friendſhip and ready Compliance in Trifles, to ſecure their Protection, and command their Aſſiſtance. It was this Diſpoſition in the latter, that engaged them to make the Treaty with *Great-Britain* in 1619, by which there was a ſort of Union made between the two *Eaſt-India* Companies.

This was what the *Dutch* Company diſliked, and reſolved not to bear, which induced them to frame and execute that barbarous and bloody Contrivance at *Amboyna*, which anſwered their Ends effectually. For, firſt, it abſolutely dipped the States-General in their Quarrel, the firſt Queſtion in the Diſpute being this, whether the Governor of *Amboyna*, by Virtue of the Authority derived to him from them, had any Right to proceed againſt the *Engliſh*; and next, it totally deſtroyed all Confidence in the Treaty, and obliged the *Engliſh Eaſt-India* Company to abandon the Methods preſcribed by it, which turned them out of the Spice Trade entirely, the great Thing aimed at by the *Dutch*, and which they never otherwiſe could have accompliſhed.

9. The Death of King *James* happened in a very ſhort Time after this Misfortune, and the Troubles of various kinds, which very early diſturbed the Reign of King *Charles* I. put it out of his Power to purſue that Matter as he ſeems to have intended; for, in the Beginning of his Reign, he granted Letters of Requeſt to the States-General for obtaining Satisfaction, which, however, had not their Effect, neither did the King purſue that Point any farther; the Reaſon of which I preſume to have been this, that, finding other Cauſes of Complaint againſt the *Dutch*, he abſolutely determined to leſſen their Strength as a maritime Power, the rather, becauſe he found them joining with the *French*, in order to the Execution of a Scheme which they have had always in View, of dividing the *Spaniſh* Low-Countries with *France*, and then diſputing, in Confederacy with her, the Sovereignty which the *Engliſh* claim over the Narrow Seas. This King *Charles* I. ſaw, and determined to prevent; and in order thereunto, found it neceſſary to fit out a Fleet, which induced him to demand Ship-Money; and that began thoſe Confuſions, which ended in the Ruin of our Government, and leaving the *Dutch* in Poſſeſſion of all that Trade, which they had acquired at our Expence. This Language may ſeem new and ſtrange to ſome People; but it is, nevertheleſs, Matter of Fact, in Proof of which I ſhall cite what is ſaid by Sir *William Monſon*, who lived at that Time, was an Eyewitneſs of what he wrote, and underſtood the Subject as well as any Man that ever lived. This Gentleman, after aſſigning the Reaſons why the King did not reſent the Injuries done his Subjects by the *Dutch* ſooner than the Year 1635, when he fitted out a Royal Fleet, under the Command of the Earl of *Lindſay*, and having likewiſe touched the Reaſons which had compelled his Majeſty to it then, proceeds thus:

“After much Working, and Embaſſadors often paſſing between them and *France*, at laſt they concluded on an Offenſive and Defenſive League, by which *France* was to declare War againſt *Spain*; the Conſequences of ſuch a League being dangerous, and an unlimited Ambition never with Safety to be truſted, his Majeſty had juſt Cauſe to be ſuſpicious of theſe Innovations; he had Reaſon to weigh theſe Things, and to conſider why *Holland* and *France* ſhould ſo ſtrictly combine and league together, both of them being Neighbours to him, and why it ſhould be now haſtened more than in former Times, when *France* and *England* gave a ſufficient Relief to *Holland* by Conſent. The King alſo ſeeing the ambitious Enterprizes of *France*, aſſiſted and animated by *Holland*, to diſturb the Chriſtian and peaceable Commonwealth of *Europe*, and unjuſtly to ſeize upon his neighbouring Territories, without Cauſe given, yea, not ſparing, by Treachery and Force, to enjoy the Countries of his weakeſt and neareſt Friends the ancient State of *Lorrain*, which lay in his Way to hinder his unlawful Deſigns. Theſe were ſufficient Motives

“ and Reaſons for the King's Majeſty to behold his own Caſe with an Eye of Prevention; but eſpecially finding a Combination betwixt *France* and *Holland* to take and divide the Provinces of *Flanders* betwixt them, and to poſſeſs the maritime Towns, as *Dunkirk*, and others oppoſite to *England*. This made his Majeſty think how to quench the Fire that might flame into his own Houſe. And having Intelligence that they were both to join in one Fleet, a Thing not uſually done by the *French*; and they making no publick Declaration of the Deſign of their Ships, as commonly Princes uſe to do in ſuch Caſes, his Majeſty could make no leſs Conſtruction, than that they intended to deprive him of his ancient and allowed Prerogative of the Narrow Seas, which behoved him as much to defend, as his Kingdom; for he that covets the one, will do as much by the other, if it were in his Power to effect it. Wherefore his Majeſty armed theſe Ships following to Sea, to enquire the Reaſon at their Hands, not intending to injure any Nation, but to keep himſelf and Subjects from being injured, and to curb the Inſolency and Pride of any People that ſhould go about to infringe his Royal Prerogative.”

It may not be amiſs to obſerve here, that the Word Prerogative is uſed in a Senſe by this Author, which intereſts the Subject as much as the Prince; for the Prerogative here contended for, though nominally in the Crown, was virtually in the People of *England*; and it was to maintain their Right that the famous *Selden* was encouraged to compoſe his *Mare Clauſum*, in Anſwer to *Grotius*'s Book, entitled *Mare Liberum*, intended to juſtify, by Reaſon, the ambitious Projects of the *Dutch*. That this was truly the Caſe, and that the King had nothing in View but for the Benefit of his Subjects, appears plainly, by the Care he took for advancing the Trade to the *Eaſt-Indies*, which began now to decline exceedingly; for the *Dutch* had ſo frighted them by their Severities, that the Servants of the *Eaſt-India* Company were afraid to diſpute with them, and not much inclined to ſettle in any Colonies there; ſo that by degrees, our Trade would have fallen to nothing, which was preciſely what the *Dutch* deſired, and were, by all means, endeavouring to bring about.

The King, to redreſs this Evil, and to preſerve this Trade, as far as it was poſſible, liſtened to the Propoſals made by Sir *William Courten*, and ſome other rich Merchants of *London*, for ſending a Squadron into thoſe Parts to ſettle and trade, but without Prejudice to the Rights of the *Eaſt-India* Company; and accordingly by his Commiſſion, under his Royal Signature, dated the 12th of *December* 1635, he did grant Licence to the Perſons therein named, to ſend a certain Number of Ships into the *Eaſt-Indies*; and they accordingly did ſend ſix large Ships, Sir *William Courten* himſelf adventuring One hundred and twenty thouſand Pounds. Theſe Adventurers had very good Succeſs abroad, if they could have found any Way to have got their Riches home; but the *Dutch* were too cunning for that; for, dreading the Eſtabliſhment of a free Trade between the *Engliſh* and *Indians*, they reſolved to take Things in the Beginning, and accordingly ſo way-laid the *Dragon* and the *Catherine*, which were two of the largeſt Ships theſe Gentlemen had employed, that not far from the *Cape of Good-Hope* they ſunk both the Veſſels, and every Soul in them, by which a great Number of able Seamen were loſt, together with a Cargo of the Value of One hundred and fifty thouſand Pounds.

Neither was this the ſingle Act of this kind, for in the Year 1641, the ſame Proprietors, except Sir *William Courten*, who was dead, fitted out ſeven more Ships, which likewiſe failed to the *Eaſt-Indies*, and were again met with by the *Dutch*; for in the Month of *January* 1643, the *Henry Bonadventure*, laden with Pepper and other *Indian* Goods, ran aſhore upon *Maurice-Iſland*, in the Hands of the *Dutch*, who, under Pretence of helping the Maſter and Seamen to ſave the Goods, ſeized and poſſeſſed themſelves of Ship, Tackle, Ammunition, Merchandize, and Proviſions, and converted the ſame to the Uſe of the ſaid *Eaſt-India* Company; and *Adrien Vanderſtel*, the Governor of the Iſland, ſent away the Maſter and Mariners without any manner of Succour or Relief, to the Damage of Mr. *Courten*, and the reſt of the Intereſted, the Sum of 10000 Pounds and upwards. And about the Month of *June* 1643, the *Bona Eſparanza* making a trading Voyage from *Goa* to *Maccao*, in the Streights of *Malacca*, was violently ſet upon by two *Dutch* Ships, Men of War (belonging to the ſaid Company) called the *Vendillo* and the *Portogallo*, whereof Seignior *Fermeren* and Seignior *Gealand*, with the Lieutenant of the Fort of *Malacca*, were Commanders, who, in a hoſtile Manner, killed the Maſter, *Roger Tuckerman*, and divers Seamen were wounded, the reſt took Priſoners, and robbed them of all their Goods, Merchandize, Books of Accounts, Writings, and Papers, and afterwards led the Mariners about the Streets of *Batavia* in Deriſion of the *Engliſh* Nation, dragging alſo the King's Colours after them in Triumph, contrary to the Laws of Nations and common Amity; all which tended to the Damage of Mr. *Courten* and the Intereſted in that Voyage, to the Sum of 75000 Pounds, or thereabouts.

Upon the News of theſe inhuman Dealings, Mr. *Courten* was forced to abſent himſelf from the *Exchange*, his Bills were proteſted in *England*, *Holland*, and *Zealand*; ſo he became inſolvent, and was out-law'd, with Sir *Edward Littleton*, in the Years 1644 and 1645, for the Sum of Fifty thouſand Pounds, or thereabouts. Sir *Edward Littleton*, being then ſequeſtrated for his Fidelity and Allegiance to his Majeſty, and in the actual Service of the King, could not appear to proſecute his Action, either before the Parliament, or the Courts of *Holland*, for Reparation of the violent Injuries aforeſaid. Sir *Paul Pindar* having taken up ſeveral great Sums of Money, and advanced them to the King's Uſe, was with the reſt of the Commiſſioners for the contracted Farms of the Cuſtoms, fined 150,000 *l.* by the Parliament, and alſo proſecuted at Law for the ſaid Debts, whereby he became a Priſoner in his own Houſe, and during the late diſtempered Times made incapable to look after his Proportion of the ſaid Damages from the *Eaſt-India* Company of *Holland*.

Thus all this Project for reviving and reſtoring the *Eaſt-India* Trade came to nothing; but thoſe Merchants, who had engaged in them ſuch vaſt Sums, were utterly beggared. It is true, that King *Charles* I. interpoſed in their Behalf with the States, which ſerves rather to ſhew the Care of that Monarch, even in his loweſt Circumſtances, for the Intereſt of his Subjects, than to demonſtrate the Juſtice of the *Dutch*, who with much ado were brought to pay 85,000 Gilders, which proves that the Charge muſt have been juſt, though the Satisfaction was almoſt below Notice. While Things ſtood thus in *England*, the *Dutch* *Eaſt-India* Company carried all before them in the *Eaſt-Indies*, and having none to oppoſe them, eſtabliſhed themſelves ſo effectually, that it was not only impoſſible for the *Engliſh* to form any Deſigns to their Prejudice, but they were forced likewiſe to lay aſide all Thoughts of recovering their juſt Rights, and to abandon their Affairs as a trading Body for ſeveral Years. Such were the ſad Effects of our Confuſions at home, with regard to our Trade abroad, and this too at ſuch a critical Juncture, when ſo much might have been done for the Service of this Nation.

This is, indeed, a very dark and diſmal Scene, the Proſpect of which was never clearly exhibited to the View of an *Engliſh* Reader; nor ſhould I have dwelt upon it ſo long now, but that at this Diſtance of Time I ſuppoſe all Prejudices are worn off, and we may be allowed to judge freely of the Miſchiefs the Civil War brought upon us, not only by the Confuſions and Slaughters it created amongſt ourſelves, but in the Injuries likewiſe, which by its Conſequences it drew upon thoſe Branches of our Commerce, which might otherwiſe have made us the richeſt and greateſt People in *Europe*. This is a Conſideration that ought never to be forgot, becauſe while we retain it in our Memory, it is impoſſible that we ſhould be guilty of any ſuch Overſight for the future, or that we ſhould ſuffer ourſelves to be betrayed into ſo fatal an Opinion, as that any Advantages that can be procured by the Overthrow of one Party, or the prevailing of another amongſt us, can in any degree compenſate the vaſt Loſſes we ſuſtain in Trade, when by reaſon of ſuch Diſturbances as theſe Struggles create, we are diverted from the Attention we ought always to pay to our general, laſting, and ſolid Intereſt, as to Affairs at Sea, and of Traffick.

Theſe great and neceſſary Cares can never be proſecuted as they ought, but in Times of full Peace, and perfect Settlement; that is, when the People and the Government look one Way, and have but one View, as they never can have but one Intereſt. We ſee how little, during theſe Diſtractions, it was in the Power either of the King or Parliament to obtain any Satisfaction for the Loſſes they ſuſtained from foreign Nations, which being grounded in the Nature of things, muſt always be the Caſe whenever any thing of the like kind happens, in proportion to the Degree in which it happens; for beyond a Queſtion, the Proſperity of this Nation at home and abroad, depends ſolely on the Harmony ſubſiſting between the Government and the People, which can ſubſiſt no other Way than by the former attending to the Concerns of the latter, with that Diligence and Diſintereſtedneſs that becomes thoſe, who for the publick Benefit are entruſted with the Adminiſtration of the Concerns of a free People. We have nothing more to add during this Reign, and ſhall therefore proceed to ſuch Matters as concern this Subject after the Death of the King.

10. The immenſe Wealth, and great naval Power of the *Dutch*, acquired, as has been before obſerved, in the Times of our Diſtractions, and when it was impoſſible for us to prevent it; encouraged them to think of eſtabliſhing their own Wealth and Grandeur by a total Supppreſſion of our maritime Force, to which, perhaps, they were tempted, from an Opinion, that the Parliament, or, as it was then called, the Commonwealth of *England*, would ſcarce adventure upon a War abroad, when ſhe had ſcarce extricated herſelf from one at home. But they were miſtaken, for the Parliament of *England*, however they came by their Right, or by their Power rather, were determined to make a juſt Uſe of it; and this produced the firſt *Dutch* War, in which they, for the Reaſons before aſſigned, were the Aggreſſors, but ſuffered dearly for it in the End, ſince after repeated Defeats at Sea, and notwithſtanding they helped to procure a new Revolution here, by ſetting up the Protector inſtead of the Parliament, yet they were forced to ſubmit to a Peace upon the Terms preſcribed to them, which was ſigned at *Weſtminſter*, *April* the 5th, 1654, and by this Treaty the States were obliged to do that Juſtice to *Cromwell*, which they had refuſed to King *James* and King *Charles*.

The twenty-ſeventh Article of that Treaty being conceived in theſe Words: "It is agreed as above, that the Lords the States General of the *United Provinces*, ſhall take Care that Juſtice be done upon thoſe who were Partakers or Accomplices in the Maſſacre of the *Engliſh* at *Amboyna*, as the Republick of *England* is pleaſed to term that Fact, provided any of them be living." In conſequence of this Treaty, there was a Commiſſion granted on both Sides, which ſat at *Goldſmith's-Hall*, in order to hear and determine the Complaints that ſhould be made to them both by the *Engliſh* and *Dutch Eaſt-India* Companies, and their Determination was to be final. The *Engliſh* Company put in a Charge, conſiſting of fifteen Articles, concluding, that beſides the Loſs of their Settlements, they had ſuffered to the Amount of the Sum of two Millions ſix hundred ninety-five thouſand nine hundred and ninety-nine Pounds fifteen Shillings Sterling. The *Dutch Eaſt-India* Company on the other hand brought in their Demands, but without entering exactly into Particulars; yet aſcertaining in the Cloſe their Expences at eight hundred and fifty thouſand Pounds, which being conſidered, together with the Evidence offered on the Support of each Side, the Commiſſioners cames to a Concluſion, which they ſtiled a Regulation concerning the Loſſes and Damages ſuſtained in the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-Indies*, which was ſigned on the 30th of *Auguſt*, 1654.

And in this Paper, after reciting all the Demands before-mentioned at large, they proceed in the following Terms: "All which Complaints and Demands exhibited to us the ſaid Commiſſioners, by the Deputy of both the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Companies, expreſsly choſe to this Purpoſe, have been laid before us with a great Number of Documents, Inſtruments, and Proofs, exhibited as well for forming and corroborating their own Demands, as for deſtroying and refuting thoſe of the oppoſite Party; and at length the Arbitration of all thoſe Controverſies is ſubmitted to us the aforeſaid Commiſſioners by the ſaid Deputies of both Companies. Wherefore we the aforeſaid *John Exton*, *William Turner*, *William Thomſon*, *Thomas Kendal*, *Adrian Van Aelmonde*, *Chriſtian Van Rodenburgh*, *Lewis Houwens*, and *James Oyſel*, after having ſeen, read, examined, and accurately conſidered all the Documents, Inſtruments, and Proofs exhibited to us on both Sides, together with all other things which ſeemed neceſſary for the Diſcovery of the Truth; and being deſirous to reconcile and to eſtabliſh a perpetual Agreement between both the Companies aforeſaid, by virtue of the Power and Authority to us given and granted by the moſt high the Lord Protector of the Republick of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and the High and Mighty Lords the States General of the *United Netherlands*, have decided, defined, and determined, and by this our preſent Award and Arbitration do decide, define, and determine, as follows:

"We make void, extinguiſh, obliterate, and altogether wipe out and commit to Oblivion (ſo as never to be revived at any time, and upon any Pretence, by any Perſon whatſoever) all Complaints, Pretenſions, and Controverſies mentioned more at large above, and all others whatſoever, which the *Engliſh* Company trading in the *Eaſt-Indies*, doth or may form againſt the *Dutch* Company, without excepting any, of whatſoever kind, Nature, or Condition they may be; and paticularly we appoint and ordain, that the ſaid *Engliſh* Company ſhall not for the future ſue or demand any thing of the ſaid *Dutch* Company in *Perſia*, or elſewhere, under the Denomination of the Cuſtoms of *Ormuz* and *Gambron*, ſo that the *Dutch* ſhall never be moleſted, or diſturbed by the *Engliſh* for this Cauſe, under any Pretext: Provided nevertheleſs, that this does not prejudice any Action or Plaint, which the *Engliſh* Company may enter againſt the King of *Perſia*, or any other Perſon whatſoever, the *Dutch* excepted. In like manner we make void, extinguiſh, obliterate, and wholly blot out and commit to Oblivion, ſo as never to be revived at any time, and on any Pretence, by any Perſon whatſoever, all Complaints, Pretenſions, and Controverſies mentioned above more at large, and all others, whatſoever they be, which the aforeſaid *Dutch Eaſt-India* Company doth or may form againſt the before-named *Engliſh* Company trading in the *Eaſt-Indies*, except none, of whatſoever kind, Nature, or Condition they may be; and moreover we appoint and decree, that the ſaid *Dutch* Company ſhall yield and reſtore the Iſland *Poleron* to the ſaid *Engliſh* Company, in the ſame State and Condition as it is now; provided nevertheleſs, that it ſhall be lawful for the ſaid *Dutch* Company to take away and remove out of the ſaid Iſland all military Furniture, Merchandize, Houſehold-Stuff, and all Moveables, if they happen to have any in the ſaid Iſland.

"And in the laſt place we declare and ordain, that the ſaid *Dutch* Company ſhall pay the ſaid *Engliſh* Company 85,000*l.* Sterling to be paid here at *London*, one Moiety before the laſt Day of *January* next enſuing, according to the *Engliſh* Style, and the other Moiety before the laſt Day of *March* following, according to the ſame Style; and all Controverſies between the ſaid Companies being by this means compoſed, decided, and determined, to the end that a Stop may alſo be put to the Quarrels of private Perſons.

"We have ſeen, peruſed and examined, all the Complaints and Demands exhibited to us in due time, in the Name of ſome private *Engliſhmen*, who complain of having received Injury and Damage at *Amboyna* in the Year 1623; and on the other hand, we have heard and conſidered the Matters which have been alledged and exhibited by the above-mentioned Deputies of the *Dutch* Company in their own Defence; and we the Commiſſioners aforeſaid conſidering that no one Perſon beſides theſe under-written has on this Account entered any Actions or Demands before us within the due Time, after which it is not lawful to enter any more, and being

“ therefore deſirous that no Relicks of Complaint ſhould remain, and that all Cauſe of Wrangling may be removed, after having duly conſidered and weighed all things, do, by virtue of the full Power and Authority given and granted unto us by the moſt high Protector, and the high and mighty States of the *United Netherlands*, appoint and ordain, that all Complaint, Action, and Demand of the *Engliſh* whomſoever, whether publick or private, on the Score of any Injury or Damage which they pretend to have ſuffered at *Amboyna* in the Year 1622, the *Engliſh* Stile, and 1623, N. S. may be made void, terminated, and commited to Oblivion; and that no Perſon, whomſoever he be, ſhall enter any Action on that Account, or moleſt, diſturb, or vex the ſaid *Dutch* Company, or any *Dutchman* on that Pretext; and on the other Hand, we alſo decree and ordain, that the ſaid *Dutch* Company ſhall pay here at *London* before the firſt Day of *January* next enſuing ſeven hundred Pounds Sterling to *William Towerſon*, Nephew and Adminiſtrator of the Effects of *Gabriel Towerſon*, late of *Amboyna*, deceaſed. To *William Coulſon*, Brother of *Samuel Coulſon*, &c. Adminiſtrator in like manner of his Effects, four hundred and fifty Pounds. To *James Bayles*, Adminiſtrator of the Effects of *John Powel*, three hundred and fifty Pounds. To *Anthony Ellingham*, Adminiſtrator of the Effects of *William Grigg*, two hundred Pounds. To the Adminiſtrators of the Effects of *John Wetherel*, two hundred Pounds. To *Jane Webber*, Adminiſtratrix of the Effects of *George Scharrock*, 150*l.* To *John* and *Elizabeth Collins*, the Children and Heirs of *Edward Collins*, 465*l.* To the Adminiſtrators of *John Beamont*, 300*l.* To *Jane Webber*, Widow, and Adminiſtratrix of *William Webber*, 200*l.* to *James Baile*, Adminiſtrator of the Effects of *Ephraim Ramſey*, 350*l.* to the Executors of the Will of *Thomas Radbroſee*, 50*l.* and to *Thomas Billinſby*, Adminiſtrators of the Effects of *Emanuel Thompſon*, 200*l.* all which Sums added together make the Sum of 3615*l.* Sterling, to be paid here at *London*, before *January* next enſuing: And, on this Condition, we inſiſt that their Actions, or Suits, be altogether ſet aſide and cancelled, ſo as never to be revived hereafter, by any Perſon whomſoever.”

This Award, or Arbitration, was ſtrictly put into Execution as ſoon as it was made, and ought therefore to be conſidered as deciſive againſt the *Dutch*, who by theſe ſmall and inconſiderable Satisfactions to the Repreſentatives of thoſe that were murdered at *Amboyna*, clearly admitted, and took upon themſelves the Guilt of that whole Proceeding. After this Treaty, the Affairs of the *Eaſt-India* Company began to recover; and under the Protection of *Cromwel*, there was a Subſcription of Eight hundred thouſand Pounds for the carrying on of that Commerce; but before any great Progreſs could be made in the Execution of theſe Projects, the Conſtitution was reſtored by his Majeſty's happy Return.

11. It was one of the earlieſt Acts of King *Charles* the IId's Government to give that Satisfaction to the *Eaſt-India* Company which was requiſite, to revive and eſtabliſh its Commerce. This he did, by granting to the Company a new Charter, dated the 3d of *April*, 1661, by which he not only confirmed the Privileges which they had before received, but likewiſe added others. He enlarged the Quantity of Bullion to 50,000*l.* every Voyage, provided ſo much was brought into the Kingdom by the Exportation of *Indian* Goods. He confirmed their excluſive Trade, and gave them Power to licenſe others to trade in the *Indies*, as alſo Authority to ſettle Civil and Military Government, and to make Peace and War with the Infidels in the *Eaſt-Indies*: But ſtill this Charter had the old Condition of being made void, if it ſhould be found detrimental to the Nation upon three Years Notice.

As ſoon as a Negotiation was commenced for the King's Marriage with the Infanta of *Portugal*, it was reſolved to procure a Ceſſion of ſome convenient Colony in the *Eaſt-Indies*, as Part of her Portion; and by this Means the Iſland of *Bombay*, which has been ſo often mentioned, came into the Hands of the *Engliſh*. It muſt be owned that the Soil of this Iſland is but barren, and the Air far enough from being wholeſome. But, however, the Situation was extremely convenient; and as it was not in the Power of the King, or any of his Miniſters, to alter the Nature of Things, they were forced to take up with what they could get; and it muſt be owned that, notwithſtanding ſome Inconveniencies, the obtaining this Iſland was both a convenient, and an important Acquiſition, as by the Conſequences attending it, and the preſent Condition of that Place, did and doth manifeſtly and unqueſtionably appear.

Very ſoon after the Marriage, King *Charles* ſent the Lord *Marleburgh*, with four or five Ships of War, to take Poſſeſſion of it; and the King of *Portugal* ſent a Viceroy to deliver it and all its Royalties, to the ſaid Lord; and Sir *Abraham Shipman* was ordered to be Governor for King *Charles*. They arrived at *Bombay* in *September* 1663; but the Clergy withſtood the Crown, and diſobeyed the Order; nor would they acknowledge the Viceroy, unleſs he would come into their Meaſures, which, rather than loſe his new Dignity, he did, and the *Engliſh* Fleet was forced to go to *Swally* to land their Men, and get Refreſhments. The Governor of *Surat*, in whoſe Diſtrict *Swally* is, grew jealous of the Numbers and Bravery of the *Engliſh*, threatned the Factory eſtabliſhed at *Surat*, if they did not ſpeedily re-imbark, which, to avoid, they did; and the Governor allowed them the free Uſe of the Markets; ſo that they had no Want of Proviſions and Merchandize while they ſtayed there. In *Jan.* 1664 his Lordſhip went back to *England*, carrying two Ships with him, and left Sir *Abraham* with the reſt to paſs the weſterly Monſoons in ſome Port on the Coaſt; but he being unacquainted, choſe a deſolate Iſland, called *Anjadiva*, to winter at. It is ſo far from an Harbour, that it is even but a bad Road for Shipping in thoſe boiſterous ſouth-weſt Winds and turbulent Seas: However, he landed all the Land-Forces, and built Huts to defend them from the Weather. The Iſland is barren, but has ſome Springs of good Water. It is a Mile long, and three hundred Paces broad. Here they ſtayed from *April* till *October*, in which Time they buried above two hundred of their Men.

When the Monſoons were over, the Squadron put to Sea, and put into *Bombay*, to try if the Church had conſidered on the Obedience due to the King of *Portugal*'s Orders, or if they had a mind to draw the Arms of *England*, as well as their Sovereign, on them. Some of them, who had not forgot what Damages *Spain* and *Portugal* had ſuſtained by the *Engliſh* Fleet in *Cromwel*'s Time, adviſed the Church to obey the King, ſetting forth the Miſeries they ſhould be brought into in caſe of Noncompliance. At length their holy Zeal abated, and they were content to admit of a Treaty, but before the Treaty was concluded, Sir *Abraham* died, and one Mr. *Humphry Cooke*, who was next in Commiſſion, continued the Treaty, and articled, that the Inhabitants ſhould enjoy their Lands and Religion under the King of *England*, but forgot to inſert the Royalties appending on *Bombay*, which reached as far as *Verſua*, or *Salſet*; which Omiſſion has been a Bone of Contention for both Parties ever ſince. Mr. *Cooke*, according to the Treaty, took Poſſeſſion of the Iſland in the King's Name, and forthwith began to fortify regularly, and, to ſave Charges of building a Houſe for the Governor, built a Fort round an old ſquare Houſe, which ſerved the *Portugueze* for a Place of Retreat, when they were diſturbed by their Enemies, till Forces could be ſent from other Places to relieve them.

After the Fort was traced and the Foundation laid, Sir *George Lucas* arrived from *England* with two Ships; but Affairs being ſettled before he came, did not ſtay at *Bombay* longer than *January*, 1666, and left the Government of the Iſland in the Hands of Mr. *Cooke* and his Council, the Preſidency for the then Company reſiding at *Surat*. Their Trade flouriſhed and increaſed wonderfully: But after the Fort was finiſhed, the King finding that the Charge of keeping *Bombay* in his own Hands, would not turn to Account, the Revenues being ſo inconſiderable, he made it over to the *Eaſt-India* Company in Fee-Tail, which continues to this Day. In building the Fort where it is, Mr. *Cooke* ſhewed his Want of Skill in Architecture, where a proper and convenient Situation ought to be well conſidered; for it is built upon the Point of Rocks that jet into the Sea, where there are no Springs of freſh Water; and it ſtands within eight hundred Paces of an Hill called *Dungeree*, that over-looks it; and an Enemy might much incommode it from the Hill, as we found by Experience, in *Anno* 1689, when the Mogul ſent an Army on *Bombay*.

As for the Magnitude, Figure, and Materials of the Fort, there is no Fault to be found in them, for it is a regular Tetragon; the outward Polygon is about five hundred Paces, and it is built of good hard Stone, and can mount above one hundred Pieces of Cannon, and that is all that is commendable in it. But had it been built about five hundred Paces more to the ſouthward, on a more acute Point of Rocks, called *Mendham's-Point*, it had been much better, on ſeveral Accounts; firſt, it had been much nearer the Road for protecting the Shipping there; it had been farther off *Dungeree-hill*; it would have had a pretty Spring of good Water, which ſerved the Hoſpital that was afterwards built there, and the Shipping had been better ſecured that lay in the little Bay between the Point where the Fort now ſtands and *Mendham's-Point*. They went about building ſeveral other little Forts and Sconces, in convenient Places, to hinder an Invaſion, if any of their Neighbours ſhould have attempted one. At *Maſagun* there was one, at *Souree* one, at *Sian* one, at *Mabim* one, and *Werlee* had one, and ſome great Guns mounted on each of them.

Notwithſtanding the Company was at ſo much Charge in building of Forts, they had no Thoughts of building a Church; many Years after, Sir *George Oxenden* began to build one, and charitable Collections were gathered for that Uſe: But when Sir *George* died, Piety grew ſick, and the Building of Churches was grown unfaſhionable. Indeed, it was a long Time before the Iſland had People enough to fill a Chapel that was in the Fort; for as faſt as Recruits came from *Britain* they died in *Bombay*, which got the Iſland a bad Name. There was reckoned above 5000 Pounds had been gathered towards building the Church; but Sir *John Child*, when he came to reign in *Bombay*, converted the Money to his own Uſe, and never more was heard of it. The Walls were built by his Predeceſſors to five Yards high, and ſo it continued till the Year 1715, that Mr. *Boone* came to the Chair, who ſet about building it, and in five Years Time finiſhed it by his own Benevolence, and that of other Gentlemen, who, by his Perſuaſions, were brought in to contribute; the Company alſo contributed ſomething towards that pious End.

About the Year 1674, Preſident *Aungier*, a Gentleman well qualified for the Government, came to the Chair; and leaving *Surat* to the Management of Deputies, came to *Bombay*, and rectified many Things that were amiſs, and brought the Face of Juſtice to be unveiled, which before lay hid in a ſingle Perſon's Breaſt, who diſtributed her Favours according to the Governor's Direction. He erected a formal Court, where Pleas were brought in and debated. But that Method laſted but a few Years: When Sir *John Child* came to the Chair, the Court expired. Mr. *Aungier* adviſed the Company to encloſe the Town from *Dungeree* to *Mendham's-Point*, for ſecuring the trading People from the Inſults of their troubleſome beggarly Neighbours on the Continent: But his Propoſals were rejected, and that neceſſary Piece of Work was reſerved for Mr. *Boone* alſo. And happy it was for the Inhabitants that the Town was ſecured by a Wall, otherwiſe *Connojee Aungarie* would have haraſſed them with continual Inſults, ſince his War with the *Engliſh* began. The Name of Mr. *Aungier* is much revered by the ancient People of *Surat* and *Bombay* to this Day. His Juſtice and Dexterity in managing Affairs got him ſuch an Eſteem, that the Natives of thoſe Places made him the common Arbitrator of their Differences in point of Traffick; nor was it ever known that any Party receded from his Award. There are no Dangers in going into *Bombay* Road, but one ſunk Rock, that lies about half a League from the Caſtle. It is dry at Low water, and has a Channel within it deep enough for the greateſt Ships to paſs. I never heard of any Damage done by that Rock, but to a ſmall Ship called the *Baden*, which, by Carleſſneſs, run on it at Noon-Day, and was loſt.

In the Year 1673, the *Dutch Eaſt-India* Company having an Eye on *Bombay*, ſent a Squadron of Ships, with a little Army to try if they could take it among their other Conqueſts of *India*; but, on their Landing, met with ſo warm a Reception, that they were glad to get off with the Loſs of two or three hundred of their Men, and ſo left the *Engliſh* in the quiet Poſſeſſion of it. The Governors proved tolerably good till 1682, that Sir *John Child* came thither. The *India* Company knowing how to make uſe of King *Charles*'s Neceſſities, made him ſome Preſents, and he, in grateful Acknowledgment, granted them Power; but they uſed that Power to their own Deſtruction, for Mr. *Child*'s Pride and Oppreſſions grew ſo very intolerable, that even the Gentlemen in the Company's Service had not the free Exerciſe of Trade, and much leſs private Merchants: And he trampling on the eſtabliſhed Laws of *England*, and by Advice of his Name ſake, who governed the Company in *Europe*, by impriſoning and murdering their Fellow Subjects, grew hateful to all.

In *Anno* 1614, he made his Brother-in-law, Mr. *Ward*, his Deputy of *Bombay*, who deſigned to fiſh in troubled Waters. Mr. *Child* being honoured with the Title of Baronet, by the powerful Motives of the Company's Money to the King; at the ſame Time got the Commiſſion of General, which puffed him up ſo, that he contemned all Laws, human and divine. The military Gentlemen, who had made Contracts in *England* for their Salaries, though paid at 20 *per Cent.* leſs; yet, to ſhew himſelf a good Oeconomiſt for his Maſters Intereſts, ſent his Deputy freſh Orders to reduce their Pay to 30 *per Cent.* leſs than it was before, though it was ſo ſmall that they could hardly bring both Ends to bear at the Month's End. That hard Pill the Sons of *Mars* could not ſwallow, and ſo bent their Minds on a Revolution; and having come to ſome Knowledge of Mr. *Ward*'s Tampering with the *Sevajee* to land on the Iſland, they detected ſome Letters of his to that Purpoſe, which gave them a Ground for a Revolt. The *Sevajee*, indeed, ſent a Fleet of eighty Sail of ſmall Veſſels to land on the Bay which faces the Ocean; but on their trying to land ſome Forces, they were warmly repulſed, and loſt many of their Men, which made them draw off again in Confuſſion; and Mr. *Ward* being confronted with his own Letters, and having little to ſay in his own Defence, was made a Priſoner; and General *Child*'s Faction was ſent to *Surat* to him.

The Iſlanders taking the Government of the Iſland into their own Hands, choſe Captain *Kegwine* Major of the Military, to ſuperintend military Affairs, and one Captain *Thorburn* to regulate the Civil. General *Child* ſoon diſpatched Letters to *England*, and gave an Account of the Rebellion; and King *Charles* diſpatched a Frigate, called the *Phœnix*, for *India*, to demand the Reſtitution of the Iſland, and put it again into the Company's Hands. They arrived at *Bombay* in *September* 1695, and ſhewed the King's Letter, with a full Pardon to all who yielded Obedience, which the Iſlanders unanimouſly did; but for their own Security, drew up ſome Articles to be ſigned by General *Child*, and Captain *Tyrell*, who commanded the *Phœnix*; which Articles were, That any Perſon that had a mind to go to *England*, ſhould have free Liberty and Paſſage on board the Company's Shipping; which, being agreed to and ſigned, Captain *Kegwine* took his Paſſage on board the firſt Ship; but *Thorburn* being a married Man, and having a ſmall Eſtate, as well as a Family on the Iſland, could not ſo eaſily remove, but truſted to the Act of Grace, and the Treaty they had made.

After General *Child* had got the Reins of Government again into his own Hands, he became more inſupportable than ever. He erected a Court of Inquiſition, and made an old *Greek*, one Captain *Gary*, Judge, who had condemned a Man to be hanged on a *Tueſday*, and the Man ſuffered according to Sentence: But, on the *Friday* after, the poor dead Fellow was ordered to be called before the Court, but he would not comply with the Orders. Captain *Thorburn* was the firſt that felt the Weight of Mr. *Child*'s Diſpleaſure; he got ſome Fellows to ſwear him out of his little Eſtate, who brought in forged Bonds for Sums borrowed of one *King*, whom he never had any Dealings with, and found Witneſſes to atteſt them. All that *Thorburn* had was too little to pay the Sums, for which his Eſtate was taken from him, and himſelf put in Priſon, without the Permiſſion of one Slave to attend him, or ſerve him in Priſon; his Wife was not permitted to viſit him, which hard Uſage brought him into a violent Fever, that ſoon put an End to his Life. About two Days before he died, the Goaler acquainted his Lady with the Danger, and ſhe, with two ſmall Children, went to the General, and, on her Knees, begged that a Doctor might be permitted to viſit her Huſband; but he was inexorable, and would allow no ſuch Favour, only granted her Leave to be in Priſon with him till he died, and ſhe ſtayed but one Day and Part of a Night, before he expired.

When the Tragedy was over, ſhe was going home to her diſtreſſed Family, but found her Slaves and Children removed into a little Out-houſe of her's, and the Doors of her Dwelling-houſe ſhut againſt her. The Lady had two Siſters married on the Iſland, and ſhe hoping to find Relief from them, went to ſee the eldeſt; but ſhe met her at the Door, and told her ſhe could have no Admittance, her Huſband being liable to Proſecution if he admitted her into the Houſe, and ſhe believed the other Siſter's Huſband durſt not entertain her in his Houſe. The poor Lady, full of Sorrow and Grief, being abandoned of all her Friends and Relations, went back to her diſtreſſed Family, and having no viſible Way of Support, had once ſome Thoughts of putting an End to her Miſeries: But her Siſters, unknown to their Huſbands, ſent her ſome Relief by a truſty female Slave in the Night, and a Letter, that they deſired her to burn as ſoon as ſhe had read, wherein they promiſed to be aſſiſting in the Maintenance of her and her Children, till the Almighty ſhould think proper to deliver her out of the Perſecution.

The poor Lady had both Beauty and Diſcretion enough to recommend her to the virtuous Part of Mankind; but none of the Gentlemen that wiſhed her well, durſt make Addreſſes to her; only one who had the Command of a Ship in the *Indian* Merchants Service, as he had no Dependance on the General and his Maſters in *England*, thought he could not well come within the Reach of their Perſecution; ſo he courted her, and married her; but that was thought a capital Crime, and the General acquainted his *Indian* Owners, that without they diſcharged him their Service, they ſhould alſo find the Weight of his Diſpleaſure; and accordingly, to avoid Conteſts with his Excellency, he was diſcharged; but Grief put an End to his Troubles, for he died within a Year after his Marriage, and left the poor Lady another Child to take Care of, but left her above One thouſand Pounds Sterling of Stock for her and her Family's ſupport's Support.

As the *Phœnix* was in her Way for *India*, ſhe called at the Iſland of *Johanna*, and there found an *Engliſh* Ship, called the *Briſtol*, ſtopping ſome Leaks in her Bottom. Captain *Tyrell*, by a diſpenſing Power from the King of *England*, ſeized her, and deſigned to have carried her to *Bombay*, in Company with a ſmall Veſſel that he had ſeized on the Coaſt of *Madagaſcar*. The *Briſtol* ſunk the third Day after they put to Sea, but the other came ſafe. The *Briſtol* Men were looked on as Pirates; and one Mr. *Mews*, a Supercago, was arraigned before the General's Tribunal, where he himſelf ſat Lord Chief Juſtice; and after his uſual Manner of beſtowing opprobrious Names, he condemned Mr. *Mews* to loſe all that he had in the World, and One thouſand Pounds beſides, and to lie in Priſon at his own Charge, till the Fine was paid; but Mr. *Vaux*, who was Judge of the Iſland in petty Affairs, ſhewed him the Weakneſs of his Sentence, and perſuaded him to ſet the poor Man at Liberty, and order him a Paſſage for *England*.

As I have taken theſe Paſſages from the Travels of one Captain *Hamilton*, ſo upon his Credit I muſt leave them. He had the Reputation of being an honeſt and a ſincere Man, and one ſo far from being ſuſpected of having but a ſlender Regard for Truth, that, on the contrary, he was held enthuſiaſtically fond of it, ſo as to have ſpoke it upon all Occaſions, and without any Regard to the good old Maxim, *That Truth is not to be ſpoken at all Times*. I muſt likewiſe have Leave to ſay, that I knew not where elſe to find Materials for this Part of my Subject, and therefore I choſe rather to ſet theſe Things down, than to leave ſo large a Chaſm in my Collection. But if there be any Falſhoods among theſe Facts, or any Truths written with a Spirit of Prejudice or Animoſity, it is none of my Fault, and quite beſide my Intention; beſides all this, the Facts related are ſo notorious, and ſo very capable of being diſproved from their very Nature, at the ſame time that publick and private Intereſts were equally concerned to diſprove them, that I cannot help thinking their remaining ſo many Years as my Author's Book has been printed, unqueſtioned as well as unrefuted, is a ſufficient Reaſon to believe that though very extraordinary, they are yet conſiſtent with Truth; and if ſo, I am very ſure that no Facts can better deſerve a Place in his Hiſtory than they do.

The *Dutch* all this time very ſteadily purſued their Plan of driving us out of the *Indies*. In time of War they attacked us directly, and having a ſuperior Strength, had generally the better of us; but in time of Peace between the States of the *United Provinces*, and the Crown of *Great Britain*, they contented themſelves with attacking the *Indian* Princes, to whoſe Dominions we traded, and proſecuting the War againſt them, till ſuch time as they were obliged, from a Principle of Self-preſervation, to purchaſe their own Peace by excluding us. It was in this manner, and after a long War carried on for that Purpoſe, that the *Dutch* were ſo fortunate in the Iſland of *Java*, as to carry their Point entirely; ſo that after a long civil War ſet on foot, and encouraged by them between the old King and his Son, by the Help of the latter in *Anno* 1683, the *Dutch* diſpoſſeſſed the *Engliſh* Company of their Factory of *Bantam*, on the Weſt End of *Java*; and the *Engliſh* having a mind to regain it by Force of Arms, built ſeveral Ships of between ſixty and ſeventy Guns, ſo that in *Anno* 1685, they had a Fleet ready victualled, and manned with ſeven or eight thouſand Men, to the Number of twenty-three Sail of Line of Battle Ships; which Expence, and the continual Craving of the Court, brought their Stock very low; yet ſince the Maw of the Court was not enough crammed, the King laid Embargoes on the Fleet from Time to Time for nine Months, and then the *Dutch* Embaſſador had Orders to preſent his Majeſty with one hundred thouſand Pounds, if he would command the Company not to uſe Violence. He ſnapt at the Bait, and defeated the Deſign to all Intents and Purpoſes, which was of infinite Prejudice to the Company's Affairs, gave the *Dutch* vaſt Advantages, and was highly diſhonourable, as well as detrimental to the Nation.

12. Upon the Acceſſion of King *James* the Second to the Throne of *England*, the *Eaſt-India* Company found in him a ſtill more powerful Protector than they had done in his Brother, though he granted them a new Charter, dated the 5th of *October*, in the twenty-eighth Year of his Reign, and extended this again by another Charter, dated the 9th of *Auguſt*, in the thirty-fifth of it. But King *James* not only extended their Privileges as a Company, but being perſuaded that ſuch Prerogatives were neceſſary to the carrying on their Trade, for the promoting of which he would deny nothing, he in a manner ſhared his Sovereignty with them, by granting them a Power to erect Fortreſſes, raiſe Armies, execute martial Law, and coin Money; all which was with a View to make them equal in Power with the *Dutch*, and to enable them to ſecure at leaſt a conſiderable Share of this profitable Trade to his Subjects. Under ſo gracious and kind a Prince, we need not at all wonder, that the Company extended their Authority very conſiderably, but the great Misfortune was, that they extended it only over, and not for the Benefit of their Countrymen, as we ſhall preſently ſee.

The Company having ſuch a Number of great Ships on their Hands, were obliged to ſend them abroad; but having no Stock to employ them, ordered the Generals and Chiefs of the Factories in *India* to borrow what Sums they could on the Company's Credit from the *Indian* Merchants, and to lade their Ships home, which accordingly they did, and what they could not lade home, they were to employ by Freights in *India*; and I ſaw a Letter from the Governor of the Company in *England*, intimating, that when they had got as much Credit of the Mogul's Subjects as they could, then they would pick Quarrels with the Creditors, and put a general Stop to their Trade, which was accordingly done; for in 1686 and 87, the *Surat* Merchants traded briſkly by Sea to *Macha*, *Perſia*, and *Baſſora*, to the Weſtward; and to *Bengal*, *Achen*, *Malacca*, and *Siam*, to the Eaſtward. The General granted Paſſes to all who required them then; but about the latter End of the Year 1687, he ſent many Complaints and Grievances to the Governor of *Surat*, and demanded Redreſs and Satisfaction.

Theſe Complaints of his were digeſted into thirty-five Articles, moſt of which related to Meſſ. *Pitt* and *Boucher*, who were originally of the Governor's Council, appointed him by the Company, Men of fair Characters, and who had given him much Trouble, by oppoſing all his illegal and violent Meaſures, which made him uſe them ſo ill, and ſhew withal ſuch an Inclination to uſe them worſe, that to preſerve themſelves from Beggary and Ruin, they retired into the Mogul's Country; and Mr. *Boucher* having, by an Application to that Monarch, procured his Licence to trade, continued it with great Succeſs; but as for Mr. *Pitt*, he had the Misfortune to be taken by Pirates at Sea, who at firſt would have ranſomed him for five thouſand Pounds, but were perſuaded by the Governor to demand twenty-five thouſand Pounds, ſo that he remained a Priſoner to the Day of his Death; and the Governor required Mr. *Boucher*, who reſided at *Surat*, from the Governor, together with his Wife, Children, and Effects; the reſt of his Demands were alike reaſonable, and all of them delivered in ſuch Language, as would not become one Gentleman to uſe to another, much leſs fit from the Governor of a trading Company to ſo great a Prince, as may appear from one of them; in which he demands, that the Gates of *Surat* ſhould not be ſhut, when he went to take his Pleaſure, or ſhould be opened at his Return, and due Reſpect paid him whenever he thought fit to unbend his Mind, and to amuſe himſelf with ſuch kind of Diverſions.

Theſe Grievances were the Foundation on which General *Child* built a Quarrel with the Mogul, without ever ſending them to Court to know the King's Pleaſure; but without declaring War, ſeized his Subjects Ships, where-ever they were found, although they had the Sanction of his own Paſſes. His Articles of Complaint were but weak Arguments to ſupport and raiſe a War that coſt his Maſters above four hundred thouſand Pounds before they could get rid of it, beſides the Loſs of their Credit with the Mogul, and his Subjects, which to this Time is not quite recovered. For by what Rule in Policy could Sir *Joſiah* or Sir *John Child* think to rob, murder, and deſtroy the Mogul's Subjects in one Part of his Dominions, and expect the Company to enjoy a free Trade in the other Parts? Or how could they ſuppoſe that he would ſtand neuter? The General having ſuch a great Number of Ships on his Hands, and little Employment for them, ſent them to *Mocha*, *Perſia*, and *Bengal*, where the *Suraters* had ſent theirs, under the Protection of his Paſſes. Captain *Andrews* in the *Ch.* II. went to *Mocha*, and ſet up the King of *England*'s Flag on his Factory, and there he ſeized two *Engliſh* Ships, one from *England*, called the *Streight's Merchant*, commanded by Captain *Bear*, and another belonging to Mr. *Samuel Whiteborn* at *Siam*; ſhe was commanded by one Captain *Wren*, whom they killed in the Cabbin, becauſe he would not deliver his Ship up voluntarily; there was but little of their Cargoes on board of the Ships, ſo they might as well have let them alone. However, ſuch Doings diſpleaſed the Governor and Merchants of *Mocha*, and they had a Deſign to force Captain *Andrews* to reſtore the Ships; but he ſuſpecting as much, fled on board, and left his Colours flying on the Factory.

He ſoon after left *Mocha*, and carried his two Prizes with him; and Mr. *Clive*, Supercargo of the *Streights Merchant*, got Bills for his Stock, payable at *Grand Cairo*, except about ſixty Bales of Coffee, that he carried with him to *England*, where it ſold very well, and the Company were obliged by Law to make good all his Ship's Cargo *pro rata*, as thoſe ſixty Bales ſold for, which amounted to thirty-two thouſand Pounds. The *Briſtol*'s Cargo was alſo made good to her Owners, with the Ship that was taken at *Johanna* by the *Phœnix*, which came to ſixty thouſand Pounds; and the *Little Betty*, that was alſo taken by the *Phœnix*, in her way to *India*, coſt them twelve thouſand Pounds, though ſhe and her Cargo at *Bombay* were ſold for leſs than ſix hundred Pounds. The Owner of that Veſſel was one Mr. *Haſtewell*, a Quaker, and a ſubſtantial Merchant in *London*, who arreſted Captain *Tyrell* going off the *Exchange*. The Captain proffered King *James* for Bail; but the Quaker would not accept of him; yet was content to accept of Sir *Joſeph Herne*, who became Bail. The *Charles*, *Cæſar*, and *Royal James* and *Mary*, way-laid the *Surat* Shipping, and brought in fourteen Sail to *Bombay*, in *Anno* 1688, and yet no War with the Mogul, only with the Inhabitants of *Surat*, whom he threatened to humble.

In *October* 1688, he went to *Surat* Road in the *Royal James* and *Mary*, with three or four other Ships of Countenance, to try if he could bully the Governor, and frighten the Merchants to a Compliance of loſing their Eſtates; but was diſappointed in both. He ſtaid there till the Beginning of *January* 1689, and then left *Surat* in a Huff, and brought all the *Engliſh* Ships, except the Ship *Adventure*, which the *Phœnix* had forced over the Bar, when ſhe was lying at the River's Mouth, taking in a Cargo for *England*, under the Protection of Mr. *Boucher*'s Firmand. However, her Supercargo dying, the Ship's Bottom was eaten up with Worms in the River, and Part of the Cargo remained many Years in Mr. *Boucher*'s Poſſeſſion. On the General's Paſſage to *Bombay*, he met with a Fleet of Veſſels that were carrying Corn to an Army of the Mogul's that lay at *Dunder-rajah-pore*, about fourteen Leagues to the Southward of *Bombay*: That Fleet he alſo ſeized, and carried into *Bombay*, though againſt the Opinion of moſt of his Council. Before this Seizure, he aſked the Opinion of ſome Sea Officers; and one Captain *Hilder* being the eldeſt, adviſed him not to meddle with the Corn Fleet, becauſe it would ſtraiten the Army, and force them to look abroad for Proviſions, where it might be procured, and perhaps might affect *Bombay*, which was in a great meaſure beholden to its Neighbours for Suſtenance and Fire-wood. The General inſulted him with ſcurrilous Language, called him Coward and Fool, and bragged, that if *Sedee Yacoup*, which was the Mogul General's Name, ſhould dare to come with his Forces to *Bombay*, he would blow him off again with the Wind of his Bum. Cowards are generally ſtout when Dangers are at a Diſtance, and ſo was our General, who had never ſeen a Sword drawn in Anger, and who was conſequently very ill acquainted with War; and when it came to his Door, none was ever ſo confounded and ſo dejected as he was, as appeared by his Conduct in that War, that he ſo fooliſhly brought on himſelf and his Country.

When the News came to *Sedee Yacoup*, that his Fleet with his Proviſion of Corn and Cloth were ſeized, and carried to *Bombay*, he ſent a civil Letter to our General to diſcharge his Fleet, proteſting, that as he had not meddled in the Affairs between him and the People of *Surat*, he would continue neuter, unleſs he was forced to do otherwiſe. But our General gave him an inſolent Anſwer, and the Fleet was unladed at *Bombay*. *Sedee Yacoup* ſent again to deſire the Delivery of his Fleet in plain Terms, otherwiſe he ſhould be obliged to come with his Army and quarter in *Bombay*, where his Proviſions were detained; and that if his Fleet was not ſet at Liberty before the 11th of *February*, which was near at Hand, he would certainly be at *Bombay* the 14th. But ſtill receiving uncivil Anſwers, he performed his Promiſe to a Tittle; for that very Night he landed at a Place called *Souree*, about four Miles diſtant from the main Fort, with twenty thouſand Men at his Back. Our General's Security had made him neglect providing for receiving ſuch Gueſts, truſting to the Reputation of the Forces, which were greater than ever they had been before, or ever were ſince that Time; and he had ſmall Ships enough, had they been placed in proper Places, that might certainly have hindered his landing, and forced him home again; but all thoſe neceſſary Preparations were neglected, and the *Sedee* landed at Midnight, and the Redoubt, where he landed, fired a great Gun to give the Alarm, and ſo deſerted their Poſt, and the *Sedee* took Poſſeſſion of it.

At One in the Morning the Caſtle fired three Guns to give the General Notice, which brought ſuch Fear on thoſe that lived ſecurely in their Houſes without the Caſtle, that the poor Ladies, both white and black, ran half naked to the Fort, and only carried their Children with them; but they were all obliged to wait without the Walls, till Daylight relieved them. Next Morning the *Sedee* marched to *Maſſagun*, a ſmall Fort of fourteen Guns, and about a random Shot diſtant from the Caſtle. On the Enemy's Approach, the Fort, though ſituated on a Point of Rocks, where the Sea defended three Quarters of it, was alſo deſerted in ſuch Precipitancy that eight or ten Cheſts of Treaſure, which generally contain one thouſand Pounds each, and four Cheſts of new Arms, were left behind, though the Seamen that were ſent in Boats to bring them off proffered to carry them along with them; but the commanding Officer thought them not fit to be truſted with Money and Arms, and ſo they were left for a Preſent to *Sedee Yacoup*, with fourteen Cannon, two Mortars, with ſome Powder, Shot, and Shells. But why that Treaſure, and thoſe Arms and Ammunition were depoſited in *Mazagun*, few could account for; and the Reaſon why they were left to the Enemy was as wonderful: But it is plain, that the old Way of fiſhing in troubled Waters was known at *Bombay*, and the Officer was never called to account for his Overſight. *Sedee Yacoup*, finding no Oppoſition, ſent a Party of Men towards *Mahim* to plunder the poor Peaſants, and to take the Fort, which he thought might be deſerted as the reſt had been, and was not in the leaſt out of his Conjecture; for the Garriſon had embarked in Boats, and came by Sea to *Bombay* before they ſaw an Enemy; the *Sedee* taking Poſſeſſion of *Mazagun*, hoiſted his Flag there, and made it his head Quarters. The following Day ſome of the Enemy appeared on *Mazagun* Hills, which grieved our General's righteous Soul to ſee Infidels come ſo near him in a hoſtile manner.

He called a Minion of his own, one Captain *Pean*, who was no better Soldier than himſelf, and ordered him to take two Companies, each containing about ſeventy Men, and march to thoſe Hills, and drive the Enemy out of Sight; he ordered one *Monro*, who had been a Soldier at *Tangier*, to be his Lieutenant. In *Tangier* he had received a Wound in his Heel that ſpoiled his running, and accordingly they marched in good Order within Shot of the Enemy, who ſhewed their Heads above the Surface of the Hill, but did not offer to advance, or expoſe their Bodies; ſeveral Gentlemen Voluntiers took their Arms, and accompanied the little Army. The Lieutenant adviſed the Captain to march up the Hill in Platoons to ſeparate the Enemy's Forces. The Captain, who took it as an Affront to be adviſed, told his Lieutenant, that when he had the Command in his own Hands, he might uſe it as he thought fit; but as it was intruſted to him, he would uſe it according to his own Mind, and ſo ordered his Men to ſpread as much as they could; and when they ſaw the Enemy open in the Plain, to diſcharge all at once amongſt them, which he ſaid would terrify them. *Monro* oppoſed his Scheme, and told him of the Danger he would bring himſelf and them into, if the Enemy ſhould attack them, whilſt their Arms were reloading; but nothing could diſſuade him from his Project, and ſo commanded his Men to fire, as he had directed. The *Sedees* being ten to one in Numbers, and better Runners than our Men, and better acquainted with cloſe fighting with Sword and Target, took hold of the Opportunity, and advanced with all their Speed, which the Captain perceiving, betook himſelf to his Heels, and was the foremoſt Man to the *Portugueze* Church, where he took Courage to look behind him, to ſee what was become of his Men. Poor *Monro* thinking to ſtop the Enemy's Carreer by a Part of the Wing that he commanded, found himſelf deſerted by all but thirteen or fourteen ſtout Fellows, who were ſoon ſurrounded by the Enemy, and cut to Pieces. *Pean* had not ſtopped at the *Portugueſe* Church, had he not found a Party of one hundred Men that lay there ready to ſupport or receive him, as his Caſe ſhould require. He was a Fellow as well made for running as any that was ever ſeen, and was ſo much in the General's Favour, that he had not ſo much as a Reprimand for his Cowardice and Miſbehaviour. This Relation I had, ſays Captain *H.* from a Gentleman Voluntier, who always kept near the Captain, while he could keep Pace with him.

When the General left *Surat*, there were ſeveral Gentlemen in it, ſome in the Company's Service, and ſome private Perſons, who were all impriſoned, and put in Irons, except Mr. *Boucher* and his Dependants, who were protected by his Phirmaund. Thoſe impriſoned were ſeverely uſed, being obliged to paſs through the Streets with Irons about their Necks, for Spectacles to pleaſe the Mob. Captain *Johnſon* and Captain *Yeaman*, though particular Merchants, were obliged to act their Parts in the Tragi-Comedy, and continue Priſoners, where Captain *Johnſon* died; but Captain *Yeaman* got his Liberty at the End of the War, which was about the Beginning of *June* 1690. I will now return back to the Year 1686, when Sir *John Weyborn* was ſent from *England* with a Commiſſion of Judge-Admiral from the King, and he had likewiſe another Commiſſion from the Governor of the Company, which they made him believe was alſo from the King, to condemn and hang thirteen of the Inhabitants of *St. Helena*, where, in a Tumult cauſed by the Oppreſſions of the Governor of that Iſland, one *Johnſon*, the Second, was killed. Sir *John Weyborn* took his Paſſage to *India* on board the Ship *London*, and in his Way called at *St. Helena*, and hanged up the thirteen proſcribed Perſons without Form or Proceſs, for which the Company paid dear afterwards; and ſo had Sir *John*, had he lived. But he finding the illegal Proceedings of Mr. *Child* to be inſupportable, and meeting with many Affronts (from that Man without Manners) died at *Bombay* about two Months before the *Sedee* came on it. He was much lamented by all honeſt Men that knew him. He was Captain of the *Happy Return*, who accompanied the *Glouceſter*, when ſhe was bringing the Duke of *York* to *Scotland*, and loſt by the Way. It was Captain *Weyborn* that ſent his Barge to wait on the Duke, and brought him ſafe on board the *Happy Return*, who carried him forward to *Scotland*, for which good Service he was knighted; he was ever after a great Favourite with King *James*, who ſeeing he could not be brought into his Meaſures, put that Employment on him, to diſmiſs him with Honour: And now the *Sedee* being Maſter of the whole Iſland, except the Caſtle, and about half a Mile to the Southward of the Caſtle, he raiſed Batteries on *Dungree-Hill*, which overlooked the Fort Wall, and diſturbed the Garriſon very much; then he put four great Guns in the Cuſtom-Houſe, commonly called the *India-Houſe*, and raiſed a Battery at the *Moodies-Houſe*, within two hundred Paces of the Court, and another in the Lady's Houſe, that he had been ſo unkind to; ſo that it was dangerous to go out or in at the Caſtle Gate, till we got up an Half-Moon over it. All Men were then preſſed into the Company's Service, and our Author among the reſt.

We paſſed, ſays he, the Months from *April* to *September* very ill; for Proviſions grew ſcarce, by the Addition of three thouſand *Sovajees* that were employed as Auxiliaries in the military Service of the Company. When the Winter Months were over, in *September* we went to Sea with our ſmall Ships to cruize on the Mogul's Subjects, and had pretty good Succeſs. I was employed in that Service, and had the Command of a ſmall Privateer of ſeven or eight Tuns, with twenty fighting Men, and ſixteen Rowers. In three or four Months I brought nine Prizes into *Bombay*, laden moſt with Proviſions and Cloaths for the Enemy's Army, which was now increaſed to forty thouſand; but we were not allowed any Plunder, but were rather plundered ourſelves; for when we brought our Prizes in, our Cheſts were ſeverely ſearched, and if we had ſaved any of our Pay, it was ſeized for the Company's Uſe, as Money we had found in the Prizes, which made us careleſs in purſuing the Enemy at Sea: Except when Hunger pinched we never looked out for Prizes; by which Indifference of ours many of the Enemy eſcaped that we could have taken. The ill Succeſs we had aſhore with the Enemy made our General ſick; and in *December* he diſpatched two Factors to the Mogul's Court, with a *Surat* Merchant called *Meer Mezamie*; he was our Friend, and had ſome Intereſt at

Court. They went under the Name of the *Engliſh* Embaſſadors; Mr. *George Weldon* was firſt in Commiſſion, and *Abraham Naavar*, a *Jew*, was ſecond. In fifteen Days they arrived at Court, being then at *Jebanabat.*

They were received but coldly; but about the Middle of *April*, by the ſpecial Aſſiſtance of Preſents to the Officers at Court, they were admitted to Audience, but were brought to *Aurengzeb*'s Preſence, after a new Mode for Embaſſadors, their Hands being tied by a Saſh before them, and were obliged to proſtrate themſelves. The King gave them a ſevere Reprimand, and then aſked their Demands. They firſt made a Confeſſion of their Faults, and deſired Pardon. Then that their Phirmaund, which was forfeited, ſhould be renewed, and that the *Sedee* and his Army ſhould be ordered off *Bombay*; their Submiſſion he accepted of, and pardoned their Faults, on condition that Mr. *Child* ſhould leave *India* in nine Months, and never come back again. The Phirmaund to be renewed on condition that Satisfaction ſhould be given his Subjects on account of Debts contracted, Robberies committed, and Loſs and Damages made good; and on Security given for the due Performances of theſe Premiſes, the *Sedee* and his Army ſhould be ordered off the Iſland.

In *January* General *Child* died, which much facilitated their Affairs; but it was kept ſecret at Court, till they knew how the King would order the Affair about him. In *March*, *Meer Mezamie* died alſo, and it was ſuppoſed was poiſoned by ſome Enemies contracted by his good Services to the *Engliſh.* When he was given over by the Phyſicians our Embaſſadors ſent to know what he had done with the fifty thouſand Rupees he had received for ſecret Services? He anſwered, that he was ſorry that ever he had meddled in their Affairs; for he had ſerved them even with his Life, and yet they were not contented; for what Uſe that Sum was put to, he durſt not divulge. When our Affairs were in ſo bad Circumſtances at the Mogul's Court, the *Dutch* Company had one Mr. *Baroon* their Embaſſador there, who deſigned to impoſe on *Aurengzeb*, who he thought was ignorant of *European* Affairs. The News of the Revolution in *Britain* being arrived in *India*, when he had an Audience of *Aurengzeb*, he began to magnify the Power and Authority of his Country, and villify the *Engliſh.*

The Mogul ſeemed to be pleaſed with his Diſcourſe and encouraged him to go on: He ſaid, that the *Engliſh* were but contemptible in Compariſon of his Sovereigns, for they were forced to ſend the *Engliſh* a King to rule over them; and that if his Majeſty would exclude the *Engliſh* from the Trade of his Dominions, the *Dutch* would carry it to a much greater Height, and enrich his Treaſury, and the *Engliſh* would not know where to get Bread. The Mogul gravely anſwered, that if his Maſters were ſo much ſuperior in Power and Riches to the *Engliſh*, they might eaſily drive them out of *India*, and engroſs all the Trade of his Countries to themſelves, and commanded him to tell his Maſters, that he expected it from them. Then the Embaſſador excuſed himſelf, and ſaid that he could act nothing in that Affair, till he received Orders from *Holland*: *Aurengzeb* then reprimanded him, and ſhewed him wherein he had lyed; for, ſays he, about ſeventeen Years ago the King of *France* conquered moſt of your Country in a few Days, and then it was the *Engliſh*, and not the Power of *Holland*, that repelled him; and that if *England* did not hold the Ballance of Power, either the Emperor, or the King of *France*, could conquer it in one Campaign. The Embaſſador knew not how to anſwer theſe Truths; but being ſent to ſollicit ſome Indulgence in that Trade, he could obtain none, and ſo left the Court diſſatisfied.

After our Embaſſadors had obtained Pardon, they began to be reſpected, and had Liberty to take their Diverſions abroad, till a new Phirmaund was drawn up, which, according to the Method of Eaſtern Courts, took up ſome Time. However, Orders were ſent to the *Sedee* to forbear Hoſtilities, and the *Engliſh* had the ſame Orders; ſo that frequent Viſits paſſed between the *Sedee*'s People and ours; and during the War, about fifty *Europeans* of ſeveral Nations had deſerted us, and took Pay of the *Sedee.* The Reaſon they gave for their Deſertion was ill Uſage they received from ſome *Iriſh* Officers, yet moſt of them returned after the War, on promiſe of Pardon. The Phirmaund being ready, and the required Security given, *Sedee Yacoup* left *Bombay* the 8th of *June* 1690, but he alſo left a Peſtilence behind him, which in four Months Time deſtroyed more Men than the War had done, and for Joy made a malicious Bonfire of his head Quarters, *Mazagun* Fort.

Now we may ſee the Mogul's Stile in his new Phirmaund, to be ſent to *Surat*, as it ſtands tranſlated from the Company's Interpreter, which runs thus in the printed Copy annexed to Sir *John Child*'s Articles of Grievances:

"The Occaſion of your writing to me was, your being "in Fault in all theſe Troubles; that you have repented "of what you have done; that you made ſeveral Com-"plaints againſt former Governors; all which I have "here from ſeveral of my Omras, and the ſeveral "Abuſes received from them and their Officers; all "which you ſhould have acquainted me with before you "proceeded ſo violently. Having acknowledged your "Error, and deſired Pardon, I do not only grant your "Requeſt, pardoning what is paſt, but granting you a "Phirmaund, according to your Deſire, and have order-"ed *Aſſu-Caun* to forward it to the Governor of *Surat*, "with ſuch Particulars as he will acquaint you with. At "the Arrival of my Phirmaund, receive it with great Re-"ſpect, acknowledging the great Glory you have got in "obtaining the ſame. That you may trade as formerly "at your Pleaſure, and as accuſtomary. That you deli-"ver to the Merchants that have complained againſt you "their Ships, with their Effects. That, for the future, "you do not commit the like Error in doing as you have "done; and proceed according to my Will and Pleaſure, "and be not forgetful of the ſame. If you receive any "Affronts from my Governors, or their Officers, or any "of my Subjects, be not negligent in acquainting me "of the ſame; I have ordered *Aſſu Caun* to write accord-"ingly. What you write concerning former Governors "protecting Mr. *Boucher*, that you have ſeveral Demands "on him; that you cannot call him to an Account, de-"ſiring that he may be delivered to you; my Order is, "that you prove your Demands according to Law, that "Juſtice may be done accordingly. Dated the 31ſt "Year of *Aurengzeb*'s Reign."

It ſeems, the King was not ignorant of the hard Uſage his Subjects had met with; nor was he deſirous of Severity in puniſhing Offences and Affronts, but, like an indulgent Prince, only told them of their Faults, and prudently admoniſhing them not to be guilty of falling into ſuch-like Errors; and, in a Majeſtick Stile, adviſed them to receive his Favour and Graces with great Reſpect; and that they ought to make the Law the Standard of Juſtice, and in all his Words and Actions uſes a Chriſtian Moderation. General *Child* being dead, Mr. *John Vaux* ſucceeded him in the Government of *Bombay*: But Mr. *Bartholomew Harris*, who had been Priſoner at *Surat* all the Time of the Rupture, had the Seniority in the Company's Service; but it not being a Cuſtom for one that had been the Mogul's Priſoner for any Crimes judged to be capital, to receive publick Marks of Eſteem from the State, without a ſingular Amneſty from the King, Mr. *Vaux* was obliged to go to *Surat*, and receive the Phirmaund, and the King's *Serpaw*, or Preſent, which, on ſuch Occaſions, is generally a fine Horſe, and a Suit of Cloaths from Head to Foot, made of rich Atlaſſes, or Zeerbaſtas; thoſe are Sattins, or Taffaties, full of Gold and Silver Flowers wrought in them. The Horſe muſt never after be ſold on any Account whatſoever. They have alſo a fine Turban, embroidered Shoes, and a Dagger of Value ſtuck into a fine Cummerband, or Saſh; and being equipped in that Habit, the Phirmaund is preſented by the Goſberdaar, or Hoſhalhoukain (or, in *Engliſh*, the King's Meſſenger) and the Governor of the Province or City, makes a ſhort Speech adapted to the Occaſion, ſetting forth the great Honour conferred upon him by the greateſt King in the World; with an Admonition to make his future Actions deſerve ſuch Favours.

After the aforeſaid Manner Mr. *Vaux* received the Phirmaund in a gilded Box; and, according to Cuſtom, put it on his Turban for a little while, and, by an Interpreter, returned the Governor a Compliment, acknowledging the King's Favour and the Governor's Civilities; and then the

Governor conducted him from the Garden (where the Ceremony was performed) into the City, through a great Concourſe of People, who welcomed him with Shouts of Joy as he paſſed through the Streets to the *Engliſh* Factory. After Mr. *Vaux* had ſtayed in the City about a Week, he ſent to acquaint the Governor of the Neceſſity he lay under to return back to his Government of *Bombay*, but the Governor ſent him Word, that none but he could be truſted by the King, to ſee the Performance of the Contract accompliſhed, and begged he would not think of leaving the City, leſt the King ſhould take it amiſs, and repent him of the Favours he had ſhewed to the *Eaſt-India* Company; and ſo Mr. *Vaux* was detained a Hoſtage for his Maſter's future good Behaviour. Mr. *Harris*, according to that Company's ordinary Cuſtom, demanded the Preſidency from Mr. *Vaux*, who, to ſave Contention, gave it to him; though his Mind was ſo debilitated, that he was but few Degrees wiſer than an Idiot; and, in two Years Time, Mr. *Vaux* was ſuſpended the Company's Service, and left to remain their Hoſtage at his own Charges; and ſo he continued till the Year 1697, that, by Accident, he was drowned in *Surat* River by a Pinnace's overſetting, in which he and his Lady had been taking their Pleaſure on the Water.

This Mr. *Vaux* had been Book-Keeper to Sir *Joſiah Child* in *England*, and for his good Services and Behaviour was preferred by his Maſter to a Supercargo's Poſt in a Ship to *China*, which Trade in thoſe Times was the moſt profitable of any within the Limits of the Company's Charter. In *Anno* 1684, he was ſent thither on board a Ship, called the *Carolina*, commanded by one Captain *Harding*; but Mr. *Vaux* and *Harding* diſagreeing in their Paſſage to *China*, Mr. *Vaux* laded the Ship, and ſent her back to *England*, while he himſelf went a Paſſenger on board a *Surat* Ship for *Bombay*, where he was entertained in the Company's Service as a Factor, and wrote to Sir *Joſiah Child* the Reaſon he had for leaving the *Carolina*, and his Reſolution of Staying in *India*. Sir *Joſiah* continued his Eſteem for Mr. *Vaux*, and procured him ſeveral profitable Poſts at one and the ſame Time, in the Company's Service; and, amongſt the reſt, conſtituted him Judge in Civil Affairs, which brought him both a good Salary and Perquiſites.

After he was inſtalled in that Office, Sir *Joſiah* wrote him a Letter of Admonition and Reminiſcence, wherein, after many Poſtulates, he put him in mind of the many Favours he had done him; and that now having the Power of Condemning the Company's Enemies, or ſuch as ſhould be deemed ſo, particularly thoſe who ſhould dare to queſtion the Company's Power over all the *Britiſh* Subjects in *India*; he expected his Orders from Time to Time, ſhould be obſerved and obeyed as Statute Laws. Mr. *Vaux* gratefully acknowledged Sir *Joſiah*'s Favours in his Anſwer to that Letter, and promiſed that, as he had put him into the Poſt of Honour and Profit, he would ſtrive to acquit himſelf with all the Integrity and Juſtice he was Maſter of, and that the Laws of his Country ſhould be the Rules he deſigned to walk by. In Anſwer to that Letter Sir *Joſiah* ſeemed to be angry, and wrote roundly to Mr. *Vaux*, that he expected his Orders were to be his Rule, and not the Laws of *England*, which were a Heap of Nonſenſe, compiled by a few ignorant Country Gentlemen, who hardly knew how to make Laws for the good Government of their own private Families, much leſs for the regulating of Companies and foreign Commerce.

I am, ſays Captain *Hamilton*, the more particular in this Account, becauſe I ſaw, and copied both theſe Letters in *Anno* 1696, while Mr. *Vaux* and I were Priſoners at *Surat*, on account of Captain *Every*'s robbing the Mogul's great Ship, called the *Gunſway*. Having given an Account of ſome of Sir *Joſiah Child*'s Reign, I muſt alſo mark a few Slips in the Government of ſome of his Succeſſors, and of the Ways they took to get into the Chair of *Bombay*. I remarked before, that Mr. *Harris* was a very weak and indolent Perſon, very unfit to govern a Colony and the Factories ſubordinate to *Bombay*; and by that Means, a cunning deſigning Fellow, one Mr. *Samuel Anneſley*, had the Reins of the Government wholly in his Hands, who ſhewed that he had malicious Wit and Avarice enough to embroil both his Maſters and the private Merchants Affairs in *Surat* in *Harris*'s Time; and on *Harris*'s Death got into the Preſidency, or, rather Tyranny.

The Mogul's Subjects have a good many fine large Ships that trade all over *India*: The Owners of theſe Ships had a very great Regard for the Courage, Conduct, and Art of Navigation of the *Engliſh* above any other *European* Nation in *India*. And for theſe Qualifications the *Indian* Owners procured *Engliſh* Officers to go in their Ships, and allowed them very handſome Salaries and Indulgencies; the Captains had from ten to fifteen Pounds *per* Month, Mates from ſix to nine Pounds; and the Gunners and Boatſwains had alſo good Salaries, beſides the carrying of ſome Goods and Merchandize Freight-free. Mr. *Anneſley* thought theſe Salaries and Indulgencies too great for Seamen; ſo he went about to reduce them to about one half, and the other Moiety he looked on as his own Due, by virtue of his Poſt. Some, through Fear and Neceſſity, complied; others again, who deſpiſed both his Power and Tyranny, would by no means come into his Meaſures, and thoſe he looked on as Rebels, and proſecuted them to the utmoſt of his Power, bribing the Mogul's Governor to plague them; ſo ſome were ruined by his Villainy, whilſt others bad him open Defiance; and we were not wanting on our Side to expoſe him and his Maſters to the Mogul's Subjects, which in the End was the Loſs of both their Eſteem and Credit among the trading People of that Country. The poorer Sort, whoſe Maintenance depended on their Labour and Induſtry, loſing their Employs in the *Mooriſh* Merchants Service, were obliged to fall on new Schemes to ſupport themſelves, not very well ſuited to the Company's Intereſt; for ſome went and joined themſelves with the Pirates.

The Company in *England* receiving Accounts from every one that came from *India*, of *Harris*'s and *Anneſley*'s Male-Adminiſtrations, ſent out Sir *John Gayer* to take care of their Affairs. He arrived in *Anno* 1694. with the lofty Title of General of all *India*. He continued *Anneſley* in the Company's Buſineſs till the Year 1700, but diveſted him of all Power of doing more Miſchief; and, in the End, diſmiſſed him the Company's Service. Sir *John Gayer* was a Man not vicious in his Temper, yet he made ſome Slips in his Government that proved prejudicial to his Character; tho' in Matters of common Commerce he acted pretty regularly, till a young Laſs of about 3000 Portion made him diſpenſe with the common Methods of Matrimony. This young Gentlewoman was a Daughter of Mr. *Ward*'s beforementioned: She had no Relations alive, and unadviſedly married one Mr. *Solomon Lloyd*, a Factor, and the Marriage was clandeſtine, which was poſitively againſt the Statute-Law of *Bombay*, where no Marriage is binding but when the Governor's Conſent is tacked to it. This Law Sir *John* had got by heart, and unmarried the poor Factor after Conſummation, and married her to his own Son. Another Piece of ill Conduct was, in forcing the *Mocba* Frigate's Men on board againſt their Wills, to proceed on a Voyage to *China*, notwithſtanding their juſt Complaints againſt *Edgecombe*, their Captain, whom the Mutineers ſhot in his Cabin, and then turned Pirates, and infeſted the Straits of *Malacca*, robbing and plundering all Ships that they could overcome. Captain *Hide*, in the *Darrel*, met them there in her Paſſage to *China*, and had a ſharp Engagement with them, but got clear, with the Loſs of ſixteen Men killed, and ſome wounded, which diſabled the *Darrel*, ſo that ſhe proceeded no farther than *Malacca*. And another Fault of Sir *John*'s was, in ſuffering himſelf and his Lady to be taken Priſoners at *Swally* by the Governor of *Surat*'s Order, when he might have avoided that Diſgrace by Force or Flight: But it was generally believed, that that was only a Piece of Policy to get to *Surat*, in order to employ his Money, which he could do much better there than at *Bombay*. Sir *Nicholas Waite* ſupplanted Sir *John* in the Government of *Bombay*, and in the Preſidency. He was a Man of very looſe Morals, and his bare-faced Injuſtice, and Prevarication, ſo irritated the Inhabitants and Soldiery at *Bombay*, that they ſeized him, and ſent him Priſoner to *England.* Though his Reign was ſhort, it was very pernicious to his Maſters, as well as to particular Merchants under his Juriſdiction.

But to return from this Digreſſion: *Bombay* was governed by a Deputy, ſince the Preſident was obliged to ſtay at *Surat*, and of ſeven or eight hundred *Engliſh* that inhabited before the War, there were not above ſixty left by the Sword and Plague. Thus *Bombay*, that was one of the pleaſanteſt Places in *India*, was brought to be one of the moſt diſmal Deſarts; but the Spirit of Injuſtice ſtill reſided in it; for thoſe who had ventured through the War and Plague in Defence of the Iſland, had not the Liberty of returning home to their own Country, nor to raiſe their Fortune by private Trade; but all were continued preſſed Men, in the Right Honourable the Company's Service, without the Hope of Preferment, which made ſome Diſcontents; and even in the Time of War, when Strangers ſhould have been encouraged to have brought Proviſions into the Iſland, the Company's Taxes of five *per Cent.* were exacted with great Severity; for it was common to ſee the *Portugueze* Subjects bring twenty or thirty Poultry to the Market, and five of the beſt taken for the Cuſtom of the reſt.

13. The Deſire of continuing this hiſtorical Account of the Affairs of *Bombay*, which I take to be very uſeful and inſtructive, as well as curious and entertaining, has led me a little out of my Road of Chronology, and therefore I ſhall be obliged to go back again with reſpect to the Affairs of this Company, and the political Accidents that have attended them during the Reign of King *William*; but the Reader will not fall into any Perplexity or Confuſion from this Method of treating them, becauſe what I have now to ſay has little or no Reference to the Affairs abroad, and conſequently has no Connection with what goes before.

The firſt Tranſaction I meet with in this Reign is a Charter of Regulations granted to the *Eaſt-India* Company, by their Majeſties King *William* and Queen *Mary*, under the Great Seal of *England*, bearing Date *Nov.* 11, 1693. Referring to a Charter of the 7th of *October*, by which it ſeems their former Charters were confirmed, and by this new Charter they were enabled to take in a new Subſcription for ſeven hundred and forty-four thouſand Pounds. The Company was alſo tied down to make publick Sales by Inch of Candle, to export yearly to the Value of one hundred thouſand Pounds of the Manufactures of this Kingdom, and to furniſh the Crown yearly with five hundred Tun of the beſt Saltpetre, at the Rate of thirty-eight Pounds ten Shillings *per* Tun in Time of Peace, and at forty-five Pounds *per* Tun in Time of War; they were likewiſe directed to make no Dividend upon their joint Stock, but in Money only. This Charter was to continue for twenty-one Years, provided the Governor and Company complied exactly with the Rules therein preſcribed; as alſo with ſuch other Orders, Directions, Additions, Qualifications and Reſtrictions as their Majeſties, by and with the Advice of their Privy Council, ſhould think fit to appoint on or before the 29th of *September* 1694, otherwiſe all their Powers and Privileges might be determined and taken away, by Letters of Revocation.

In purſuance of this Proviſo, another Charter of Regulations was granted to the ſaid Company, under the Great Seal of *England*, dated *September* 28, 1694, and in the ſixth Year of their Majeſties Reign, in which among other things it is preſcribed, that once every Year, in the Month of *Auguſt*, the Governor and Company ſhould preſent to the Privy Council a true Account fairly written, under the Governor or Deputy Governor's Hand, of the Nature, Quantity, Value, and prime Coſt of the Manufactures of this Country by them exported, and from what Place; and this upon the Oaths of the proper Officers and Servants of the Company. And it was further ordered, that none of theſe Goods ſhould be again landed in *England*, or carried elſewhere, than within the Limits of the Company's Charter. It was alſo directed, that, on the Application in Writing, of any ſix or more of the Proprietors, each poſſeſſed of One thouſand Pounds Capital Stock, demanding a general Court of the ſaid Company to be called, then the Governor, or Deputy Governor ſhould be obliged, within eight Days, to call ſuch a Court, which ſhould not be adjourned but by the Conſent of the Majority of the Proprietors ſo aſſembled; and the Company were required to ſignify their Acceptance of, and Submiſſion to theſe, and other Reſtrictions, under Pain of Diſſolution.

But, notwithſtanding all theſe Charters and Regulations, which ſeemed ſo fully to confirm, and ſo much to enlarge the Powers and Privileges of this Company, yet were they never ſo precarious as at this Juncture; for, on the one hand, their Authority was boldly diſputed by ſuch as had an Intention to trade to the *Indies*, without any Regard to the Company's Rights, and who, by them, therefore were ſtiled Interlopers: And this, upon Pretence that it was not in the Power of the Crown to grant any excluſive Charter. On the other hand, the Government wanted Money, and therefore the Miniſters, who ſhould certainly have defended the King's Prerogative, ſince otherwiſe it was a high Crime in them to adviſe him to grant ſuch Charters, ſtruck in with the other Party; and, for the ſake of making more Money, and removing the Obſtacles in the Way of their own Adminiſtration, promoted the Ruin of thoſe Grants and Charters, which they had been moſt exorbitantly paid for procuring; and upon the Faith of which vaſt Numbers of Perſons had ſubſcribed their Fortunes into the Company's joint Stock. But as it was not to be ſuppoſed that any Set of new People would advance two Millions, which was the Sum propoſed upon a new Charter, which might prove as precarious as the old one, it was reſolved to ſubject the whole of this Affair to the Cognizance of the Houſe of Commons, in order to have every thing ſettled and ſecured by an Act of Parliament. Accordingly, in the Year 1698, this Matter was propoſed to the Houſe, not only with the Concurrence of Perſons in Power, but backed and ſupported by all their Intereſt; ſo that though it was ſteadily and vehemently oppoſed by the Members of the old Company, yet it was to very little Purpoſe. They followed the Bill however into the Houſe of Lords, and were heard there by their Council, Sir *Thomas Powis*, and Sir *Bartholomew Shower*; who, with much Eloquence and great Strength of Reaſon, maintained the Cauſe of their Clients, but without Succeſs; and it was a Point determined, that their Intereſt ſhould give Way to that which, whether truly or falſly I ſhall not determine, was called the Intereſt of the Publick.

Thus it came to paſs, that in the Reign of King *William* III. a new Company trading to the *Eaſt-Indies* was incorporated by Act of Parliament, they having advanced the Government two Millions of Money, for which they at firſt received Intereſt, after the Rate of Eight *per Cent.* out of the Funds aſſigned for the ſame: But that Intereſt hath been ſunk by ſubſequent Statutes to Six and Five *per Cent.* After this, the old and new Companies, having a due Regard to their own common Intereſts, for the Prevention of divers Inconveniencies that might otherwiſe have happened, both to themſelves and this Nation in general, agreed upon ſeveral Articles for the Union of the ſaid Companies in manner following, *viz.*

It was agreed that the Effects of both Companies ſhould be brought home with all convenient Speed for their ſeparate Accounts, and all poſſible Proviſion made for the enabling both Companies to bring home the ſame with Security; and that neither the Crown nor the new Company take any Advantage of the old Company, under Pretence of Forfeiture; and that each Company give a Releaſe to the other, and to their reſpective Factors and Servants.

The old Company's 315,000*l.* in Funds, upon the Execution of this Agreement, to be immediately united to the Capital Stock of the new Company; and that the old Company purchaſe of the new Company, to be tranſferred by three of their Members in their political Capacity, 673,500*l.* in the Capital Stock and Fund of 1,662,000*l.* with the Benefits to ariſe thereby; ſo that the old Company may have 988,500*l.* in the ſaid Fund, which will make that Company equal to the new in Fund and Title to the Trade, and which Stock of 673,500*l.* ſhall be transferred at four ſeveral Times, each fourth Part to be paid for at the Time of their Transfer, at 100*l.* for 100*l.*

That the old Company's dead Stock at home and abroad be valued at 33 000*l.* and the new Company's dead Stock both abroad and at home, at 70,000 *l.* and that the old Company, at the Time of transferring the firſt fourth Part of the ſaid 673,500 *l.* do transfer all their dead Stock, abroad and at home, to the new Company, the new Company paying for one Moiety thereof at the ſame time 16,500 *l.* and that the old Company ſhall alſo pay to the new Company 35,000 *l.* for the Moiety of their dead Stock; and thereupon the old Company ſhall have, and be entitled to a Moiety of both the ſaid Stocks, as Members of the new Company.

The Members of the new Company transferring, ſhall be entitled to the Arrears of their Annuity until the Time of the ſeveral Transfers; after which all Annuities ariſing by the old Company's 315,000 *l.* ſhall be paid to ſuch Perſons as ſhall be appointed for that Purpoſe by the ſaid old Company for their Uſe; and the new Company ſhall have the Benefit of all Money ariſing before their Agreement, and alſo 5 *l. per Cent.* on all Ships entered or cleared before the Execution of the ſaid Agreement: each Company is to deſiſt from any ſeparate Exportation.

That, during ſeven Years, each Company ſhall have an equal Power in the Adminiſtration and Management of the Fund and Trade; and, to that End, twelve Perſons ſhall be appointed by the General Court of each Company reſpectively, out of the Courts of Committees and Directors of the ſaid Companies, who ſhall be called in the new Charter, *Managers of the United Trade to* India; and a new additional Stock ſhall be raiſed for carrying on the future Trade, and be advanced in ſuch Proportions as the ſaid Twenty-four Managers, or the major Part of them, ſhall from time to time appoint, the General Courts of each Company agreeing thereunto.

The old Company, during the Space of ſeven Years, ſhall preſerve their Stock in their political Capacity; and, for that Time, remain a ſeparate Corporation, ſo as to transfer and aſſign in their own Books, as now they do; and, at the End of the ſaid ſeven Years, the old Company ſhall transfer and aſſign in the Books of the new Company their Share in the Fund to their ſeveral Members who ſhall be then entitled to the ſame; and thereon the ſaid Members of the old Company ſhall become, and be admitted Members of the new Company *gratis.*

That each Company ſhall indemnify the other from their reſpective Debts and Demands, and a proper Proviſion be made for that Purpoſe: And, that the new Company, after the executing their Agreement, ſhall not take up any Money upon their common Seal, or do any other Act, except what relates to their ſeparate Effects as aforeſaid, without the Concurrence of the old Company.

A Covenant to be entered into, that his Majeſty ſhall make a Re-grant within ten Days after the making ſuch Aſſignment as aforeſaid; and that the old Company, within one Month after the ſaid ſeven Years are expired, ſhall ſurrender their Charter and Corporation; and alſo that the King, within ten Days after ſuch Surrender, ſhall make a new Grant to the ſame Truſtees, and ſubject to the ſame Truſt of all ſuch Eſtate and Effects of the old Company as ſhall come to or devolve upon the Crown, by reaſon of the ſaid Surrender.

That immediately from and after the ſaid Surrender, the new Company ſhall change its Name, and be called the *United Company of the Merchants of* England *trading to the* Eaſt-Indies. Nevertheleſs, the future Management of the ſaid Stock and Trade, after the ſaid Term of ſeven Years is expired, is to be, according to the new Company's Charter, on the 5th of *September*, 1698. And for the better attaining the Purpoſes aforeſaid, that there be a Tripartite Indentnre, executed by his Majeſty and both the ſaid Companies, wherein ſuch Covenants and Proviſions may be made as ſhall be thought reaſonable, with proper Releaſes from his Majeſty to each Company; ſo that as ſoon as the aforeſaid ſeven Years, allowed for the Conveniency of Affairs on both Sides, are expired, the two Companies may be entirely one in Name and Effect.

This, in Truth, was the only Remedy that could be deviſed for the Cure of ſo great an Evil, many of the bad Conſequences of which were foreſeen before it took Effect, which, however, proved but few in compariſon of what was diſcovered by Experience. Some there were who imagined that this was a *Dutch* Deſign originally, and formed with a View to undermine our national Intereſt in this Trade to favour their own; and, to ſpeak freely, there are ſome Circumſtances which give ſome Probability to this Notion; and, perhaps, amongſt theſe Circumſtances, there is none ſtronger than that the Subſcription of the Two Millions was chiefly promoted by Foreigners, as we are expreſly told by the Author of the *Compleat Hiſtory of* England, in his Account of the Reign of King *William*, who magnifies the Alacrity with which that Sum was ſubſcribed, and ſeems to think, that twice as much might have been obtained, if the Act of Parliament had extended ſo far. But it may ſeem a Paradox to ſay, that People would venture their Money to hurt the old *Eaſt-India* Company: But this is eaſily ſolved, by conſidering that little depended on that Trade, where they were to have ſo large an Intereſt as Eight *per Cent.* for their Money.

The only Way to form a right Judgment of this Affair is, to take a View of the Situation of Things in the *Indies*, after this new Eſtabliſhment took place: And of this, in his Account of *Bengal*, the before mentioned Captain *Hamilton* has given us a very full and fair Relation, interſperſed with ſome Concerns of his own, which ſhews that he was an Eye-witneſs, and did not deliver any thing from Hearſay. If we wanted other Evidence, I might cite that of Mr. *Lockyer*, who, in his Account of the Trade of the *Indies*, informs us, that the old and new Companies had each of them a Factory at *Surat*; and that thoſe that managed them acted with ſuch Animoſity againſt each other, that it was very hard, even after the Companies were united, to reconcile them. It is extremely difficult to find out, and bring together ſuch Relations as theſe; but the Deſire I have that the Readers ſhould be perfectly acquainted with the State of this Commerce in different Periods of Time, that he may frame the better Notion of what has contributed to promote, and what has occaſioned, at any Time, the Decay of this Trade, has encouraged me to take all the Pains I could to range the ſeveral Accounts I have been able to collect, in ſuch Order as might make them beſt underſtood, and beſt anſwer the End that I propoſed. It was ſolely with this View, that I reſolved to give the following Paſſages from Captain *Hamilton*'s Travels, which, I hope, will ſet this Matter in as clear a Light as either myſelf or the Reader could wiſh. The Country about *Bengal* deſcribed, he proceeds a little higher. Up the Eaſt-ſide of *Hughly* River is *Ponjelly*, a Village where a Corn-mart is kept once or twice in a Week: It exports more Riches than any Place on this River. And five Leagues farther, upon the other Side, is *Tanna* Fort, built to protect the Trade of the River, at a Place convenient enough, where it is not above half a Mile from Shore, but it never was of much Uſe; for, *Anno* 1686, when the *Engliſh* Company quarrelled with the Mogul, the Company had ſeveral great Ships at *Hughly*; and this Fort was manned, in order to hinder their Paſſage down the River. One ſixty Gun Ship approaching pretty near the Fort, ſaluted it with a Broad-ſide, which ſo frightened the Governor and his Myrmidons, that they all deſerted their Poſts, and left their Caſtle to be plundered by the *Engliſh* Seamen. About a League farther, upon the other Side of the River, is *Governapore*, where there is a little Pyramid, built for a Land-mark, to confine the Company's Colony of *Calcutta*, or *Fort-William*, on that Side: And about a League farther up, ſtands *Fort-William.*

The *Engliſh* ſettled there about the Year 1690. After the Mogul had pardoned all the Robberies and Murders committed on his Subjects, Mr. *Job Channock*, being then the Company's Agent in *Bengal*, he had Liberty to ſettle an Emporium in any Part of the River-ſide below *Hughly*; and for the ſake of a large ſhady Tree, choſe that Place, though he could not have choſen a more unhealthy Place on all the River; for three Miles to the North-eaſtward is a Salt-water Lake that overflows in *September* and *October*, and then prodigious Numbers of Fiſh reſort thither; but in *November* and *December*, when the Floods are diſſipated, theſe Fiſhes are left dry, and with their Putrefaction affect the Air with thick ſtinking Vapours, which the North-eaſt Winds bring with them to *Fort-William*, where they cauſe a yearly Mortality. One Year I was there, and there were reckoned in *Auguſt* about 1200 *Engliſh*, ſome military, ſome Servants to the Company, ſome private Merchants reſiding in the Town, and ſome Seamen belonging to Shipping lying in the Town; and before the Beginning of *January* there were four hundred and ſixty Burials regiſtered in the Clerk's Book of Mortality.

Mr. *Channock* chuſing the Ground of the Colony where it now is, reigned more abſolute than a Rajah, only he wanted much of their Humanity; for when any poor ignorant Native tranſgreſſed his Laws, they were ſure to undergo a ſevere Whipping for a Penalty; and the Execution was generally done when he was at Dinner, or ſo near his Dining-room, that the Groans and Cries of the poor Delinquent ſerved him for Muſick.

The Country about being over-ſpread with *Paganiſm*, the Cuſtom of Wives burning with their deceaſed Huſbands is alſo practiſed. Before the *Mogul*'s War, Mr. *Channock* went one Time with his ordinary Guard of Soldiers, to ſee a young Widow act that tragical Cataſtrophe; but he was ſo ſmitten with the Widow's Beauty, that he ſent his Guards to take her by Force from the Executioners, and conduct her to his own Lodgings. They lived lovingly many Years, and had ſeveral Children; at length ſhe died, after he had ſettled in *Calcutta*. But inſtead of converting her to Chriſtianity, ſhe made him a Proſelite to *Paganiſm*, and the only Part of Chriſtianity that was remarkable in him, was, burying her decently; and he built a Tomb over her, where, all his Life, after her Death, he kept the Anniverſary-day of her Death by ſacrificing a Cock on her Tomb, after the *Pagan* Manner. This was, and is the common Report, and I have been credibly informed, both by Chriſtians and Pagans, who lived at *Calcutta*, under his Agency, that the Story was really Matter of Fact.

Fort *William* was built an irregular Tetragon of Brick and Mortar, called *Puckah*, which is a Compoſition of Brick-duſt, Lime, Molaſſes, and cut Hemp; and when it comes to be dry, is as hard and tougher than firm Stone or Brick, and the Town was built without Order, as the Builders thought moſt convenient for their own Affairs, every one taking in what Ground beſt pleaſed him for Gardening; ſo that in moſt Houſes you muſt paſs thro' a Garden into the Houſe, the *Engliſh* building near the River-ſide, and the Natives within Land.

The Agency continued till the Year 1705, that the old and new Companies united, and then it became a ſplit Government, the old and new Companies Servants governing Week about, which made it more anarchical than regular. Sir *Edward Littleton* was Agent and Conſul for the new Company at *Hughly*, when this Union of the Companies was made, and then he was ordered to remove his Factory to *Calcutta*, and being of an indolent Diſpoſition, had let his Accounts with the Company run behind; he was ſuſpended, but lived at *Calcutta* till 1707, that he died there. He was the only Precedent, or Preſident, in the Company's Service, that loſt an Eſtate of ſeven hundred Pounds *per Annum* in ſo profitable a Poſt in their Service.

This double-headed Government continued at *Calcutta* till *January* 1709, that Mr. *Welden* arrived with the Company's Commiſſion to ſettle it at *Bombay* and Fort *St. George*, which were under the Management of a Governor and Council, which thoſe of the Direction in *England* took to be a better Way to promote their own Creatures, as well as their own Intereſt. His Term of governing was very ſhort, and he took as ſhort a Way to be enriched by it, by haraſſing the People to fill his Coffers: There was one ſingular Inſtance of it. A poor Seaman had got a pretty *Muſtic* Wife, a little inclined to Lewdneſs in her Huſband's Abſence. She entertained two *Armenians*, who were like to quarrel about ſharing her Favours, which coming to the Governor's Ears, he reprimanded them; however, by the ſtrong Perſuaſion of five hundred *Rupees*, paid in Hand by one of them, he awarded him to have the ſole Right to her, and he carried her to *Hughly*, and bragged openly what his Purchaſe had coſt him, to the great Credit and Praiſe of the Governor; and when the poor Huſband returned, he was forced to ſubmit to loſe his Mate under the Pain of Flagellation: Yet he was very ſhy in taking Bribes, referring thoſe honeſt Folks who trafficked that way to the Diſcretion of his Wife and Daughter, to make the beſt Bargain they could about the Sum to be paid, and to pay the Money into their Hands. I could give many Inſtances of the Force of Bribery, both here and elſewhere in *India*, but am loth to ruffle the Skin of old Sores.

About fifty Yards from Fort *William*, ſtands the Church built by the pious Charity of Merchants reſiding there, and the Chriſtian Benevolence of ſea-faring Men, whoſe Affairs call them to Trade there; but Miniſters of the Goſpel being ſubject to Mortality, very often young Merchants are obliged to officiate, and have a Salary of fifty Pounds *per Annum* added to what the Company allows them for their Pains, in reading Prayers and Sermons on *Sundays*.

The Governor's Houſe in the Fort, is the beſt and moſt regular Piece of Architecture that I ever ſaw in *India*, and there are many convenient Lodgings for Factors and Writers within the Fort, and ſome Storehouſes for the Company's Goods, and the Magazines for their Ammunition.

The Company has a pretty good Hoſpital at *Calcutta*, where many go in to undergo the Penance of Phyſick, but few come out to give an Account of its Operation. The Company has alſo a pretty good Garden, that furniſhes the Governor's Table with Herbage, and Fruits; and ſome Fiſh-ponds to ſerve his Kitchen with good Carp, Calhops and Mullet.

Moſt of the Inhabitants of *Calcutta*, that make any tolerable Figure, have the ſame Advantages, and all ſorts of Proviſions, both wild and tame, being plentiful, good and cheap, as well as Cloathing, make the Country very agreeable, notwithſtanding the above-mentioned Inconveniencies that attend it.

On the other Side of the River are Docks made for repairing and fitting their Ships Bottoms, and a pretty good Garden belonging to the *Armenians*. That had been a better Place to have built their Fort and Town in, for many Reaſons; one is, that where it now ſtands, the Afternoon Sun is full in the Fronts of the Houſes, and ſhines hot in the Streets, that are both above and below the Fort, whereas here the Sun would have ſent its hot Rays on the Backs of the Houſes, and the Fronts had been a good Shade for the Streets.

Moſt Gentlemen and Ladies in *Bengal* live both ſplendidly and pleaſantly, the Forenoons being dedicated to Buſineſs, and after Dinner to Reſt, and in the Evening to recreate themſelves in Chaiſes, or Palankins, in the Fields, or going to Gardens, or by Water in their Budgeroes, which are convenient Boats that go ſwiftly with the Force of Oars; and on the River, ſometimes there is the Diverſion of Fiſhing, or Fowling, or both, and before Night they make friendly Viſits to one another, when Pride or Contention do not ſpoil Society, which too often they do among the Ladies, as Diſcord and Faction do among the Men; and altho' the conſcript Fathers of the Colony diſagree in many Points among themſelves, yet they all agree in oppreſſing Strangers, who are conſigned to them, not ſuffering them to buy or ſell their Goods at the moſt advantageous Markets, but to the Governor and his Council, who fix their own Prices, high or low, as ſeemeth beſt to their Wiſdom and Diſcretion; and it is a Crime hardly pardonable, for a private Merchant to go to *Hughly* to inform himſelf of the current Prices of Goods, altho' the Liberty of Buying and Selling is entirely taken from him before.

The Garriſon of Fort *William* generally conſiſts of two or three hundred Soldiers, more for conveying their Fleet from *Patana*, with the Company's Salt-petre, Piece goods, raw Silk, and ſome Opium belonging to other Merchants, than for the Defence of the Fort: For, as the Company holds their Colony in Fee-tail of the *Mogul*, they need not be afraid of any Enemies coming to diſpoſſeſs them; and if they ſhould at any Time quarrel again with the *Mogul*, his prohibiting his Subjects to trade with the Company would ſoon end the Quarrel.

There are ſome imperious troubleſome Rajahs, whoſe Territories lie on the Banks of the *Ganges*, betwixt *Patana* and *Caſſambuzaar*, who pretend to a Tax on all Goods and Merchandize that paſs by, or through their Dominions of the River, and often raiſe Forces to compel Payment; but ſome Forces from Fort *William* in Boats generally clear the Paſſage, tho' I have known ſome of our Men killed in the Skirmiſhes.

In *Calcutta* all Religions are freely tolerated but the Preſbyterian, and that they brow-beat. The Pagans carry their Idols in Proceſſion through the Town. The *Roman* Catholicks have their Church to lodge their Idols in, and the *Mahommedan* is not diſcountenanced; but there are no Polemics, except what are between our High-churchmen and our low, or between the Governor's Party and other private Merchants, on Points of Trade.

The Colony has very little Manufactory of its own; for the Government being pretty arbitrary, diſcourages Ingenuity and Induſtry in the Populace; for, by the Weight of the Company's Authority, if a Native chances to diſoblige one of the upper Houſe, he is liable to arbitrary Puniſhment, either by Fine, Impriſonment, or corporal Sufferings. I will give one Inſtance out of many, that I knew of the Injuſtice of a Governor of the double-headed Government in *Anno* 1706.

There was one Captain *Perrin*, Maſter of a Ship, who took up about 500*l.* on Reſpondentia, from Mr. *Ralph Sheldon*, one of the Governors, in a Voyage to *Perſia*, payable at his return to *Bengal*. *Perrin* having diſpatched his Affairs in *Perſia* ſooner than he expected, called at *Goa* as he came home, and bought a *Surat* built Ship, very cheap, and carried her to *Calecut*, and took in a Quantity of Pepper for the *Bengal* Market, and having brought in his other Ship good Store of *Perſia* Wines, called at Fort *St. George*, to diſpoſe of what he could there: But finding no Encouragement from that Market, carried it to *Bengal*. On his Arrival, he complimented Mr. *Sheldon* with the Offer of his Pepper and Wine; but he declined meddling with that Bargain, farther than with as much of the Pepper, at the current Price, as would ballance his Account of Principal and Reſpondentia. Accordingly *Perrin* delivered ſo much Pepper, and, on the Delivery, required his Bond up; but the Governor told him, that he being a Fellow troubled with the Spirit of interloping in buying Goods, and taking in Freights where he could beſt get them, he would keep the Bond as a Curb on him, that he ſhould not ſpoil his Markets for the future. Poor *Perrin* uſed all his Rhetorick to get his Bond up, but to no Purpoſe; and the Governor moreover gave his Wine a bad Name, ſo that he could not diſpoſe of that neither; and all this Oppreſſion was in order to ſtraiten him, that he might be obliged to ſell his purchaſed Ship at a low Price to him and his Aſſociates, which at laſt he was obliged to do, holding a Quarter-part in his own Hands, to ſecure the Command of her to himſelf, which, after all, he could hardly do. *Perrin* made his Complaint to me, but I was in no Condition to aſſiſt him; becauſe having three or four large Ships at *Bengal*, I was reckoned a Criminal guilty of that unpardonable Sin of interloping. However, I adviſed *Perrin* to comply with his inexorable Maſter, on any Terms of Agreement whatſoever, which he endeavoured to do, that he might at leaſt keep the Command of his Ship, where he was ſo much concerned, and had hardly done it but by Accident. One Day meeting me on the Green near the Fort, he ſtopped me to relate his Grievances, and begged, that if he was turned out of his own Ship, he might have an Employ in one of mine, which I promiſed he ſhould.

Sheldon eſpied us out of a Window, holding a long Confabulation; and being impatient to know about what, ſent a Servant to call *Perrin*, and he obeying the Summons, was interrogated about what our Diſcourſe was, and he told the Promiſe I had made him. *Sheldon* told him, that he was as capable to employ him as I could be. *Perrin* anſwered, that he knew that, but wiſhed that he would be as willing too; ſo *Sheldon* promiſed that he ſhould command his own Ship to *Perſia*.

But the Wine ſtill lay unſold, though it was ſcarce then in *Bengal*; but the Name that it got firſt in *Fort St. George*, and afterwards in *Fort William*, ſtuck ſo faſt to it, that none of it would go off at any Price: So I adviſed him to carry it off in the Night in my Boats on board of one of my Ships, and I would try if I could ſerve him in ſelling it, which accordingly he did; and two Gentlemen of the Council being that Seaſon bound for *England*, coming one Day to dine with me, I treated them and the reſt of my Company with that *Perſia* Wine, which they all praiſed, and aſked me where I got it? I told them, that knowing that good Wine would be ſcarce at *Bengal* that Year, I had provided a good Quantity at *Surat*, from whence I had come that Seaſon. Every one begged that I would ſpare them ſome Cheſts, which I condeſcended to do as a Favour, and next Day ſent them what they wanted at double the Price the Owner demanded for it while he had it, and ſo got off above one hundred and twenty Cheſts, which enabled Mr. *Perrin* to ſatisfy moſt of his Creditors. *Sheldon* provided a Stock and Freight for *Perrin* to *Perſia*, and put on board ſome rotten long Pepper, that he could diſpoſe of no other Way, and ſome damaged Gunnies, which are much in uſe in *Perſia* for embailing Goods when they are good in their kind; but, *nolens volens*, *Perrin* muſt take them, and ſign Bills of Lading for good well conditioned Goods; and yet, after he was ready to ſail, he had been ſtopped, if he could not raiſe the Sum of 2500 Rupees to diſcharge a Bill that at that Time became due, and was indorſed to *Sheldon*. I alſo helped him out of that Difficulty, and took his Bond for the Sum, bearing Intereſt from the Date at the current Intereſt of one *per Cent. per Menſem*; ſo *Perrin* proceeded on his Voyage to *Perſia*, but called at *Callecut* in his way home again, and laid up his Ship there, and took Protection of a *Neyer*, with the full Hand of 11,000 Pounds Sterling of *Bengal* Money, and wrote to Mr. *Sheldon* that he might keep his former Bond, and he would take care of his Part of the Stock in his Hands. He alſo wrote to me, that he would take particular care to reimburſe me; but in a ſhort time after he died, and his Effects came into the *Engliſh* Chief's Hands, who detained them ſeveral Years, denying that ever he paid any till Governor *Boone* came to the Government of *Bombay* in 1715, and then he made a lame Account. I have been ſo prolix and particular in this Story, that you may form an Idea of the Deformity and diſmal Image of Tyranny and Villany, ſupported by a Power that neither divine nor human Laws have Force enough to bridle or reſtrain. The Company's Colony is limited by a Land-mark at *Governapore*, and another near *Barnagul*, about ſix Miles diſtant, and the ſalt-water Lake bound it on the Land-ſide. It may contain in all about ten or twelve thouſand Souls, and the Company's Revenues are pretty good, and well paid; they ariſe from Ground-rents and Conſulage, on all Goods imported and exported by *Britiſh* Subjects; but all Nations beſides are free from Taxes.

It is very clear from this hiſtorical Account of the Company's Affairs, and of their Government in *India*, that nothing held them together, but the ſlender Tie of Self-intereſt, which obliged ſuch as otherwiſe hated each other, ſo far to comply, as to be able to make the Machine go on; but ſtill this was doing Things uneaſily, and nothing can be clearer than that the publick Intereſt muſt have ſuffered greatly, while it had no other Support than theſe left-handed Aſſiſtances, from ſuch as wanted its Protection to make their private Fortunes. But we were all this Time engaged in a foreign War, from the glorious Motives of ſettling the Ballance of Power, humbling *France*, and ſecuring the Tranquillity of *Europe*, which ſo much took up our Miniſters Heads, that they had ſcarce Time to think of Trade and Navigation. Yet there is nothing plainer than this to any Man who will ſtudy the Intereſt of this Nation, which one would imagine ſhould be the Science of Miniſters, than that an Application to the Extention of our Commerce, is the ſole Means of raiſing the Power and Credit of this Kingdom, which muſt be rendered conſiderable abroad by its naval Force, and that naval Force cannot be kept up, or increaſed, any other Way than by promoting a Spirit of Trade and Navigation. However, as the Heads of the Miniſtry were now turned another Way, the *Eaſt-India* Company was obliged to think of ſome Means of obtaining ſuch Regulations in their Favour, as might be ſufficient to remedy the Inconveniencies that had reſulted from the ſettling two Companies; and in order to obtain ſuch a Law as was requiſite for this Purpoſe, they, in the ſixth Year of Queen *Anne*, reſolved to lend the Government the Sum of one Million two hundred thouſand Pounds, over and above what had been lent already; which Propoſal of theirs was accepted, and in Conſideration thereof, it was agreed, that the Parliament ſhould give them ſuch Aſſiſtance for carrying on their Trade as they required. The Reader will obſerve, that by this Means the *Eaſt-India* Company is to be conſidered in a double Capacity; that is to ſay, as Creditors to the Publick, and as a trading Company. In the former Capacity, they have a Security, as other Companies have, for the Monies by them advanced, and a proportionable Intereſt thereupon; and in their other Capacity, their Directors are Truſtees for the Company's Trade, the Profits of which likewiſe belong to the Proprietors; and from hence it appears, that the Dividends upon their Stock are compounded of the Intereſt they receive from the Government, and of the Profits accruing from their Trade to the *Indies*. The firſt being fixed and invariable, ſerves as an Index to the latter, ſince at all Times the Intereſt paid to the Company being deducted from the Dividend, paid by them to the Proprietors, ſhews clearly what the Profits made by their Trade muſt be, as we ſhall farther explain in the Courſe of this Hiſtory. In the mean time, let us return to this Act of Parliament in the Reign of Queen *Anne*, in order to ſee what Effects it had upon the Affairs of the Company, and what Advantages they received in Conſideration of this large and neceſſary Supply for the publick Service; and, by the way, let us remark that it was but reaſonable to grant a trading Company certain Advantages, beyond the bare Intereſt of their Money, becauſe they might otherwiſe have employed it more to their Advantage. It was therefore enacted, that the *Engliſh* Company trading to the *Eaſt-Indies*, ſhall advance and pay in to the Exchequer 1,200,000 *l.* on ſeveral Days appointed, and, in caſe of Failure by the ſaid Company, the Monies not paid ſhall be recovered by Action of Debt, and 12 *per Cent.* Damages; and the ſaid Company may borrow Money by their Common Seal, on Security of their united Stock, ſo as the principal Money at any Time to be owing don't exceed 1,500,000 *l.* above what might lawfully be borrowed thereon before this Act. In caſe the Governor and Company of Merchants of *London* trading to the *Eaſt-Indies*, and the General Court of the ſaid *Engliſh* Company, whilſt they ſeparately continue, *&c.* ſhall think fit to call in Money from their reſpective Adventurers towards raiſing the ſaid 1,200,000 *l.* or repaying the Money borrowed for that Purpoſe, they are impowered to make ſuch Calls accordingly, to make up the ſaid Sum; and if any Members ſhall neglect or refuſe to pay their Shares of the Monies called in, or which the ſaid Company in Purſuance of the Statute of 9 *W.* III. *cap.* 44. or their Charters, ſhall call in for carrying on their Trade (after Notice fixed on the *Royal Exchange*) then the ſaid Company reſpectively may ſtop the Dividends payable to ſuch Members, and apply the ſame towards ſuch Payment, until it be ſatiſfied; and alſo ſtop the Transfers of the Shares of ſuch Defaulters, and charge them with Intereſt at 5 *per Cent.* till Payment; in neglecting which, in three Months, the Company may ſell ſo much of the Defaulter's Stock as will pay the ſame. The aforeſaid Sum of 1,200,000 *l.* ſhall be deemed to be an Addition of the Stock of the *Engliſh* Company, and be Tax-free. The united Stock of the ſaid *Engliſh* Company ſhall be ſubject to the Debts contracted by the ſaid Company, and Perſons entituled to 7,200 *l.* Part of the two Millions, the original Stock, who have not united their Stocks to the Corporations, and who are authorized to carry on a Trade for their ſeparate Uſe, may hold and enjoy their Trade as if the ſaid Act had not been made. But the *Engliſh* Company may repay the ſame at the End of three Years, together with the Annuities due thereon, and then the whole Trade ſhall be veſted in the ſaid Company. Matters in Difference between the two Companies, concerning an Union between them, are referred to *Sidney* Earl of *Godolphin*'s Arbitration, and after the making the ſaid Award and Surrender of the Charter of the Governor and Company of Merchants of *London* trading to the *Eaſt-Indies*, the Perſons who at the Time of the Surrender, purſuant to an Indenture Tripartite, made between the Queen of the firſt Part, the ſaid Governor and Company of the ſecond Part, and the ſaid *Engliſh* Company of the third Part, ſhall be Directors and Managers of the united Trade of the *Engliſh* Company, ſhall be ſuch until new Directors are choſen, according to the Charter dated the 5th of *September*, 10 *W.* III. This Act hath alſo a Proviſo, that on three Years Notice, after a Time limited, and Repayment of the ſaid two Millions, and 1,200,000 *l.* and all Arrears then due for the Annuities, which Annuities amount to 160,000 *l.* *per Annum*; then the aforeſaid Duties on Salt, *&c.* and the Benefit of Trade given by this and the former Act and Charters to ceaſe. This Proviſo of Redemption is enlarged, as to the Time, by Stat. 10 *Ann. cap.* 28. and by the 29th, the *Eaſt-India* Company may enter ſuch Goods as they ſhall import at the Cuſtom-houſe, by Bills at Sight or Sufferance, and ſhall give Security under their Common Seal for Payment of the Cuſtoms and Duties as are rated in the Book of Rates, and upon Coffee, which is to be aſcertained by the Oath of the Importer, *viz.* for paying half thereof at the End of ſix Calendar Months, and the other half at the End of twelve Months; and the Cuſtom Officers ſhall grant to the ſaid Company ſuch Bills at Sight or Sufferance, and take Security as aforeſaid, and make ſuch Allowances and Deductions as are made to other Merchants, paying their ſaid Cuſtoms at or before the landing their Goods and Merchandize; but nothing herein ſhall extend to alter the Method of paying the Duties of 15 *per Cent.* on Muſlins and Callicoes, or the Duties upon any other Goods that are to be aſcertained by Sale at the Candle.

16. In the Beginning of the Reign of King *George* the Firſt, it was found, that various Attempts had been made to diſcover the Secrets of the Company's Commerce, for the Information and Benefit of Foreigners, and therefore a Law was obtained to remedy this Evil, *viz.* the Statute of 5 K. *George* I. which ordains, with a View to render ſuch Practices impoſſible, That if any Subjects ſhall ſail, or go to the *Eaſt-Indies*, or ſuch Places of *Aſia*, *&c.* beyond the Cape of *Bona Eſperanza*, to the Straits of *Magellan*, where any Trade, or Traffick, or Merchandize is, or may be uſed, or had, contrary to the Laws in being, or the Tenor of this Act: Every Perſon ſo offending, ſhall be liable to the Puniſhment inflicted by Law for ſuch Offence; and it ſhall be lawful for the united Company of Merchants of *England* trading to the *Eaſt-Indies*, and their Succeſſors, to arreſt and ſeize ſuch Perſons, being Subjects to the Crown of *Great-Britain*, at any Places where they ſhall be found, within the Limits aforeſaid, and to ſend them to *England*, there to anſwer for their Offences, according to due Courſe of Law. Every Perſon who ſhall procure, ſollicit, obtain, or act under any Commiſſion, Authority, or Paſs from any foreign Prince, State, or Potentate, to ſail or trade in, or to the *Eaſt-Indies*, or any the Parts aforeſaid, ſhall forfeit 500 *l.* the ſaid Penalties and Forfeitures to be ſued for and recovered in any Court of Record at *Weſtminſter*, by Bill, *&c.* one Moiety to the Informer, the other to the Crown.

But notwithſtanding theſe Severities, this Law did not produce the Effects expected from it; for our *Eaſt-India* Company having for many Years divided 10 *per Cent.* upon their Capital, which in moſt foreign Countries was underſtood to be the Profits of their Trade, it raiſed ſuch a Spirit of ſharing in this Commerce, and ſo many *Engliſhmen* were found ready to join in ſuch Projects abroad, that a Company was eſtabliſhed at *Oſtend*, which made another Act neceſſary, which paſſed in the ninth Year of the ſame Reign, by which it was enacted, that if any Subject of his Majeſty ſhall contribute to, or encourage the eſtabliſhing or carrying on any foreign Company trading from any Part of the *Auſtrian Netherlands*, to or from the *Eaſt-Indies*, and other Places beyond the *Cape of Good-Hope*, deſcribed in former Acts for ſecuring the ſole Trade thither to the united *Eaſt-India* Company in *England*, or ſhall be intereſted in any Share of the Stock or Actions of any ſuch foreign Company, or ſhall make any Payments in Money, or by Bills of Exchange, or otherwiſe, towards promoting or ſupporting ſuch Company, or the Trade thereof, or ſhall ſubſcribe to the eſtabliſhing any other foreign Company, for trading to the *Eaſt-Indies*, or be concerned in any Stock therein, *&c.* the Perſon ſo offending ſhall forfeit their Intereſt and Share in the Stocks of any ſuch Company, with treble the Value thereof, one Third to the Crown, and the remaining two Thirds to the *Eaſt-India* Company, if they inform or ſue for the ſame; otherwiſe one Third of two ſuch Thirds to the common Informer, recoverable by Action of Debt, *&c.*

And the Attorney-General, of his own Authority, or at the Relation of the ſaid united Company, and for the Company, may file a Bill of Complaint in the Court of Chancery, or the Exchequer, againſt any Perſon who ſhall have ſubſcribed or contributed to, or promoted, or any ways become intereſted in the eſtabliſhing any ſuch foreign *Eaſt-India* Company, or the Stock or Trade thereof, for the Diſcovery of his Offence, remitting or waving the Forfeiture of the treble Value of the Offender's Stock, or Concern in any ſuch Company, and inſiſting only on the ſingle Value. And thereupon, ſuch Perſon ſhall anſwer to the Bill, and not plead or demur to the Diſcovery thereby ſought; and in caſe the ſingle Value only of ſuch Intereſt or Share ſhall be decreed to be paid, one third Part thereof ſhall go to his Majeſty, and the other two Thirds to the Company. If any Subject ſhall have accepted of any Truſt, or know of any Intereſt, Share, or Concern, which any of his Majeſty's Subjects ſhall have, or be entitled to, in any ſuch foreign Company, and ſhall not within ſix Months after accepting the Truſt, or the coming to the Knowledge of any ſuch Intereſt, *&c.* truly diſcover the ſame in Writing to the ſaid united Company of *England*, or their Court of Directors, he ſhall forfeit treble the Value of the Intereſt, *&c.* ſo accepted in Truſt, or ſo known, and not diſcovered, one Moiety to the Crown, the other to him who will ſue for the ſame, by Action of Debt, *&c.* or ſuch Offender ſhall, at the Diſcretion of the Court where the Proſecution is commenced, ſuffer one Year's Impriſonment; and Perſons that within the Time above limited ſhall voluntarily come to the Court of Directors, and make a true Diſcovery in Writing of the Intereſt, Share, or Concern of any Subjects in the Stock of any ſuch foreign Company, ſhall have one half Part of the clear Amount of the Forfeitures ariſing by this Act.

In caſe any of his Majeſty's Subjects (other than ſuch as are lawfully authorized) ſhall go to, or be found in the *Eaſt Indies*, they are hereby declared to be guilty of a high Miſdemeanor, and may be proſecuted for the ſame, in any Court at *Weſtminſter*, and being convicted thereof, ſhall be liable to ſuch corporal Puniſhment, or Impriſonment, or to ſuch Fine, as the Court where the Proſecution is commenced ſhall think fit; and the Offenders may be ſeized, and brought to *England*, and any Juſtice of Peace may commit them to the next County Goal, till ſufficient Security be given by natural born Subjects, or Denizens, to appear in Court, *&c.* and not to depart out of the Kingdom without Leave.

All Offences againſt this Act, or againſt 9 *W.* III. *cap.* 44. or 5 *Geo.* I. *cap.* 21, *&c.* ſhall be laid in *London* or *Middleſex*, at the Pleaſure of the Proſecutor; and a *Capias* in the firſt Proceſs ſhall iſſue upon any Bill, Plaint, Indictment, *&c.* proſecuted for the ſaid Offences. One would have imagined, that theſe Laws might have prevented any *Engliſh* Subjects from being concerned in Deſigns ſo prejudicial and deſtructive, as theſe manifeſtly were to their native Country; yet when we come to ſpeak more particularly of this *Oſtend* Trade, we ſhall be obliged, tho' unwillingly, to ſhew the contrary, and that all the Meaſures that have been ſince taken in other Countries to leſſen the Commerce of our *Eaſt-India* Company, have been brought about by the Intrigues of ſuch avaritious Perſons as were determined to make their Fortunes at any Rate, and from ſuch ſelf-intereſted Views ſacrificed the Welfare of this Nation to their private Advantage.

What in ſome meaſure contributed to this, might be the Pains taken by the Company to prevent the Frauds committed by ſome in their own Service; in order to which, a Law was paſſed in the ſeventh Year of the ſame Reign, for the better preventing an unlawful, and further ſecuring a lawful Trade to the *Eaſt-Indies*, by which it was enacted, that all the Goods ſhipped on board any Ship to the *Eaſt-Indies* (except Goods of the Company, or ſuch as are licenſed by them, and naval Stores, Proviſions, and Neceſſaries for the Ship in her Voyage) and all Goods taken out of ſuch Ship in her Voyage homeward bound from the *Eaſt-Indies*, *&c.* to *England*, before her Arrival here, ſhall be forfeited, and double Value, and the Maſter, or Officer of ſuch Ship, knowingly permitting the Goods to be ſhipped or taken out of ſuch Ship, ſhall forfeit for every Offence one thouſand Pounds, and ſhall not be entituled to any Wages, *&c.*

Agreements or Contracts made, or entered into by any of his Majeſty's Subjects, or any in Truſt for them, on the Loan of Monies by way of Bottomry, upon any Ship in the Service of Foreigners, and bound to the *Eaſt-Indies*, *&c.* and all Contracts for Loading, or ſupplying any ſuch Ship with a Cargo of any ſort of Goods, Merchandize, Treaſure or Effects, or with Proviſions, Stores, or Neceſſaries, and Copartnerſhips entered into, relating to any ſuch Voyage, the Profits thereof, and all Agreements for the Wages of any Perſons ſerving on board any Ship to be employed in ſuch Voyage, ſhall be void; and every Perſon, Subject of his Majeſty, that ſhall go to the *Eaſt-Indies* contrary to the Laws now in Force, ſhall be deemed a Trader, and to have traded there; and all the Goods there bartered, or trafficked for, or purchaſed by any ſuch Perſon, or found in his Cuſtody, or any other in Truſt for him, by his Order or Procurement, ſhall be forfeited, and double the Value.

And by this Act it ſhall be lawful for the Attorney-General, or for the united Company trading to the *Eaſt-Indies*, at any Time within the Space of ſix Years, to file in any of the Courts at *Weſtminſter*, Informations againſt clandeſtine Traders, and if the Defendants ſhall be found guilty thereof, the Court ſhall forthwith proceed to give Judgment againſt them, *&c.* Alſo it is declared lawful for the Attorney-General, at the Relation of the Company, or by his own Authority, to exhibit Bills of Complaint in the Exchequer, againſt Perſons trading, dealing, trafficking, or adventuring to, or from the *Eaſt-Indies*, *&c.* contrary to Law, or againſt any Perſon concerned as an Agent, or Factor, or Copartner with ſuch illegal Traders, for diſcovering of ſuch their trading, *&c.* and for the recovering of the Duties and Damages, *&c.* and ſuch Perſons ſhall pay to his Majeſty the Cuſtoms of the Goods ariſing or purchaſed by the ſaid unlawful Trade, and ſhall anſwer to the Company 30 *per Cent.* according to the Value thereof in *England*; and if ſuch Offenders pay the Cuſtoms, or the Amount of the ſame, into the Exchequer, and Damages to the Company, they ſhall not be otherwiſe proſecuted by this Act, or any other Statute, for the ſame Offence; but if a Decree be obtained againſt the Defendants, they ſhall pay Coſts to his Majeſty and the Relator, reſpectively.

And if ſuch Bills (being exhibited at the Relation of the Company) be diſmiſſed by the Court, ſo that the Parties are acquitted, the Company ſhall pay every Defendant his full Coſts; the Forfeitures and Penalties herein before appointed, or in former Acts relating to the *Eaſt-India* Company, may be ſued for, not only by the Attorney-General, or the ſaid Company, but alſo by any Officer of the Cuſtoms, ſuch Officer having the Conſent and Direction of the Court of Directors of the united Company, as by the Act is particularly required; and one third Part of all ſuch Penalties ſhall be to the Crown, one other Third to the Company, and the remaining Third to ſuch Officers of the Cuſtoms as ſhall inform and ſue, as aforeſaid. The ſaid united Company ſhall be allowed to ſhip out Stores, Proviſions, Utenſils of War, and Neceſſaries for maintaining their Garriſons and Settlements, free of all Duties, ſo as the Duties, if they had been paid, do not exceed in any one Year three hundred Pounds. No *Eaſt-India* Goods to be imported into *Ireland*, or the Plantations, but from *Great-Britain*, on Pain of forfeiting Ships and Goods, *&c.*

It is very evident, from the whole Current of this Hiſtory of our *Eaſt-India* Trade, that ſuch as have been entruſted with the Management thereof, have had continual Difficulties to ſtruggle with; whereas our Rivals in this Trade, the *Dutch*, have all along enjoyed the full Protection of their Government; and, at the ſame time, have been allowed to manage their own Concerns in ſuch a Manner as ſeemed to them moſt conducive to their own Intereſt. But, of late Years, and ſince our Company have had the Authority of Acts of Parliament to ſupport them, they have, in ſome meaſure, gained upon the *Dutch*, eſpecially in thoſe Countries where both Nations trade freely, and where, conſequently, the Succeſs of their Labours muſt, in a great meaſure, depend upon the Inclination of the Natives, and that Preference which their good Opinion gives to either Nation.

In the Iſland of *Sumatra* particularly, the *Engliſh* have extended their Trade with great Succeſs, having not only a good Settlement at *Achen*, but alſo at the other End of the Iſland, where their principal Settlement was *Bencoulen*, which firſt began to flouriſh about the Year 1685. They had alſo another at *Sillebar*, where they likewiſe carried on a conſiderable Commerce: By degrees they became ſo conſiderable, that ſeveral of the little Princes of that Iſland choſe to put themſelves under their Protection, as well to ſecure themſelves from the Power of the *Dutch*, as that they may receive the Benefits of the *Engliſh* Trade; and have, generally ſpeaking, continued very firm in their Attachment to the Company; though they have been ſometimes but indifferently treated. The firſt Inducement the Company had to fix their Factories and Settlements on this Part of the Iſland was, the Advantage derived from the Pepper-Trade, carried on from *Lampoun*, which is in the Southern Part of the Iſland, and about twenty Leagues within the Streights of *Sunda*, very well ſituated in a deep Bay. Here they had a good Trade for Pepper, till they were deprived of it in 1683 by the *Dutch*, in conſequence of the famous War with the King of *Bantam*, which we have ſo often had Occaſion to mention: For this Town of *Lampoun* lying oppoſite to his Territories in the Iſland of *Java*, made likewiſe a Part of his Dominions; and therefore, when the *Dutch* brought him entirely over to their Intereſt, or, in other Words, which however mean the ſame thing, and are the plain *Engliſh* of the foregoing *Dutch* Phraſe, had reduced him under their Yoke, they obliged him to break off all Commerce with the *Engliſh*, which put an End to the Pepper-Trade at *Lampoun*, and forced the Company to remove to the Place before mentioned.

The Country about *Bencoulen* is mountainous and woody, and in the Heart of the Iſland there are ſeveral Volcano's, which render the Country ſubject to Earthquakes, and fill the Air ſo full of malignant Vapours, that it is very far from being wholſome. We may add to this, that the Town itſelf ſtands in a Moraſs, which obliges the Natives to build their Houſes upon Poſts, to defend them from the bad Effects of the continual Moiſture of the Soil. Theſe Inconveniencies did not hinder the *Engliſh* from making it their principal Reſidence in this Country, and where, for their greater Security, they erected a Fort, of no great Strength indeed, but which ſeemed ſufficient to anſwer their Purpoſes. This Fort was garriſoned with *Bugaſſes*, which is the Name given to the *Macaſſars* when tranſplanted out of their own Country; and as they depended on theſe for military Services, ſo with regard to their Revenues, they confided in the Chief of the *Chineſe*, who had the Title of Captain, a Thing cuſtomary in all the Settlements where the *Chineſe* reſide. As for the Natives, they lived, as they had formerly, under the Juriſdiction of their own Princes, called in the *Malayan* Language *Pangarans*, of whom there were two that were particularly under the Protection of the Company. One whoſe Dominions lay North from *Bencoulen*, and who was ſtiled *Pangaran-Munco* Rajah; and the other called *Pangarang-Soongé-Etam*, whoſe Country lay to the South. Though their Territories were not large, yet they were divided into ſeveral Diſtricts, each under a Governor, called a Dupatty, the Place of whoſe Reſidence was, in their Language, ſtiled their *Duſan*: And theſe Governors had under them leſſer Magiſtrates, called *Dattoes*. The Company had alſo a good Correſpondence with the moſt powerful of the Princes in the inland Parts of the Iſland, ſuch as the Sultan *Cutcheel*, and ſeveral others, which induced them to believe they might take any Meaſures they thought neceſſary for the Advantage of the Company, and Eaſe of the Factory.

It was this that, in the Year 1719, engaged the then Chief to think of removing from *Bencoulen*, where, from the Cauſe before-mentioned, abundance of *Engliſh* People died every Year; and it was with this View that a Place was fixed upon a few Miles diſtant, for erecting a new Fort and Factory, which was to be called *Marlborough* Fort; and the Ground being traced out, the Work began to be carried on with great Vigour and Spirit. But, it ſeems, they had not ſufficiently conſulted the Temper and Diſpoſition of the Natives, who were not at all well pleaſed with this Deſign. There had been ſome little Jealouſies and Heart-burnings amongſt them before, which not breaking out into an open Quarrel, had been overlooked; but theſe People conſidering with themſelves that this new Fortification roſe apace, and that it looked as if the *Engliſh* were diffident of them, or had a mind to puniſh ſome Offences that they hoped had been forgotten; they from thence grew abſolutely diſaffected, and meditated nothing leſs than a total Revolt, and an abſolute Deſtruction of that Power which they now began to dread. They concealed, however, their Sentiments ſo well, and ſhewed ſo little Sign of Uneaſineſs or Reſentment, that the *Engliſh* went on without any Apprehenſion of what was contriving againſt them, till it was on the Point of breaking out. The remaining Part of this Hiſtory will beſt appear, and the Concluſion of this Conſpiracy be moſt naturally made known, from the following Account, written by the Perſons principally concerned, to the Company's chief Officer in the *Indies*, which I have therefore choſen to inſert, as containing the moſt remarkable Piece of Hiſtory within this Period of Time.

To the Honourable Joseph Collet, *Eſq*; *Preſident and Governor of Fort* St. George, &c.

" Honoured Sir,

" IT is with the greateſt Concern that we acquaint you
" with the Miſfortunes that have befallen us and our
" honourable Maſters Affairs, ſince our Advices by the
" *Queen* and *George* Brigantine, wherein we did, with too
" much Confidence, aſſure you of the perfect Peace and
" Tranquillity we then enjoyed at *Marlborough-Fort*,
" which the Satisfaction the Natives ſeemed to expreſs in
" our Adminiſtration, gave us but little Reaſon to ima-
" gine would prove of ſo ſhort a Date. Our Pepper, for
" ſome Time after, coming in very plentifully, and we
" having frequent Promiſes from them of much greater
" Quantities ready to be brought out of the Country, we
" had made a Progreſs in our Buildings, even beyond our
" own Expectations; the Foundation of one Gorge and
" two Curtains of our Fort-walls being laid, and raiſed in
" Brick and Chinam a Foot above Ground, and the Earth
" laid open for a third, in the Space of a little more than
" a Month; and we had made ſuch Proviſion for Bricks
" and Chinam, that we ſhould have had ſufficient to com-
" pleat the whole, which, at the Rate we had begun, might
" have been finiſhed in leſs than twelve Months. Thus
" we thought ourſelves ſucceſsful in our Undertaking;
" and it was no ſmall Pleaſure to us, to think that, by di-
" ligently ſerving our Maſters, it would add to our Cre-
" dit, and in a more peculiar Manner recommend us to
" their Favour hereafter: But, in the midſt of our Pro-
" ſperity, all our Hopes were blaſted by a ſecret Combi-
" nation of the whole Country againſt us, which they cer-
" tainly deſigned to put in Execution whilſt we had no
" Ship in the Road to aſſiſt us, the *Metchlapatam* having
" been at *Bantal* from the 21ſt of *January*, but fortunate-
" ly returned to our Aſſiſtance the 18th of *March*, being
" but very few Days before this horrid Plot was diſco-
" vered.

“ It was late at Night, on the 23d of *March*, before we had the leaſt Suſpicion of any Treachery, when Captain *Gibb* adviſed the Deputy-Governor, that *Dupetty Bentorin* had got together between four and five hundred Men in his Duſan, and he believed they deſigned to make War with the Company. The Deputy-Governor immediately diſpatched a Letter to him, to know the Reaſon of his entertaining ſuch Numbers of People in his Duſan, ordering him immediately to diſperſe them, and to come himſelf to the Fort in the Morning, where, if he had any Complaints to make, they ſhould be heard, and he ſhould have Redreſs; which, if he did not immediately comply with, we ſhould no longer eſteem him our Friend, but treat him as an Enemy. Early in the Morning he ſent a trifling Anſwer, aſſuring us of his Friendſhip; but taking no Notice of diſperſing his People, or coming himſelf to the Fort, as deſired. Whereupon the Council was immediately ſummoned, and acquainted with what had paſſed, when it was agreed to ſend Mr. *Macky*, who was the Dupatty's Friend, to bechar, or confer with him, and perſuade him to come to the Fort. About Noon he returned with the Dupatty's Anſwer, who promiſed to wait on the Governor the next Morning. In the mean time our *Pangarans* and *Dattoos* were ſent for, to adviſe with on this Occaſion, who were the Perſons that ought to have given us the firſt Notice thereof; but they ſeemed to make ſlight of it, and perſuaded us the Dupatty was an honeſt good Man, and one that would not be guilty of an ill Action againſt the Company, the People of his Duſan being only Friends that he had invited out of the Country to feaſt with him. This different Opinion of theirs made us jealous of their Fidelity, which made us deſire them all to take a freſh Oath of Allegiance to the Company; and the preſent Deputy-Governor and Council, before we bechared farther with them on this Affair, which they did with much Perſuaſion conſent to, and it was performed by one of their Padres; after which *Pangaran-Munco* Rajah undertook to bring in the Dupatty, and did accordingly ſet out himſelf for *Benterin*; but not an Hour after he was gone out of the Fort, we were alarmed at the dreadful Sight of the Sugar-Plantations being on Fire, it being then about Six o'Clock at Night.

“ A ſtrong Party was immediately ſent out to *Bencoulen*, under the Command of Enſign *Adaire*, with Orders to proceed next Morning, on the 25th of *March*, to *Duſan Benterin*, and to engage the Enemy either there, or where he ſhould meet them, uſing his Endeavours to deſtroy the Duſan, and as many of their People as he poſſibly could: But in this we had no Succeſs for want of the *Pangaran*'s Aſſiſtance, who had promiſed to ſupply him with Sampans to ferry his People over the Water at *Benterin*, or where he ſhould have Occaſion for them; but in this they deceived us; for our Party finding a Body of the Enemy had fortified themſelves with a ſtrong Breaſt-work of Fire-wood, and ſome ſmall Guns on the other Side the River, over-againſt the Sugar-Plantations, and not one Sampan ſent by the *Pangarans*, according to their Promiſe; for want of which he could only come to an Engagement a croſs the River, in which Manner they continued till about Four in the Afternoon, when moſt of our *Buggaſes*, *Blacks*, and *Chineſe* having left the *Engliſh*, the Enſign with the reſt returned to the Fort about Six in the Evening, having performed but little Execution on the Enemy. By the Account we had from the Enſign, we plainly found that the whole Country were concerned in this Rebellion. The principal Perſons that he ſaw and knew amongſt them were Rajah *Roojong*, *Pangaran Muncho* Rajah, under moſt of the Dupatties of the Duſans adjacent to us, with many of the Inhabitants and *Bazar* People of *Bencoulen*, who were headed by Dupatty *Benterin* and *Selebrian*; but he could not well gueſs at their Number, they being under the Cover of the Trees and Breaſt-work they had raiſed of Fire wood; and Mr. *Allcock*, from *Sillebar*, had given us an Account the ſame Day, that *Pangaran Jantentally* and his Country alſo were in concert with them.

“ On the 26th of *March* in the Morning, the ſtrongeſt Party we could muſter of *Engliſh*, *Buggaſſes*, *Blacks*, and *Chineſe*, were ordered out to engage them, under the Command of Mr. *Newcome* and Enſign *Johnſon*; but when they came to *Bencoulen* to join the *Buggaſſes*, they were ſtrangely ſurpriſed to find them refuſe to fight without a preſent Reward; and Mr. *Newcome* was credibly informed, that a conſiderable Number of the *Buggaſſes* were laid in Ambuſh to fall on the *Engliſh*, of which he immediately ſent Advice to the Fort; whereupon the Sign was given to recal the Party, which prevented our coming to an Action that Day. The Sultan being examined, pretended that a wrong Interpretation was put upon what he ſaid at *Bencoulen*, and would have perſuaded us that he had always been, and was ſtill ready and willing to fight for the Company; but our Suſpicion of his Treachery made us unwilling to truſt him at that Time. About Eleven o'Clock the ſame Day, *Pangaran Munco* Rajah brought a Token, which, as he ſaid, was from his Uncle Rajah *Boojong* from *Singledemend*, to give us Notice that two hundred *Orangoonoes* were come on our Side at *Singledemend*, and deſired we would lend the *Malayes* ſome Weapons to defend themſelves. This we had great Reaſon to ſuſpect was falſe, Rajah *Boojong* himſelf being at that Time in Arms againſt us at *Banterin*; but the *Pangaran* poſitively affirmed he was then at *Singledemend*, notwithſtanding Enſign *Adaire* had ſeen and ſpoke to him the Night before at *Banterin*.

“ When we found ourſelves ſo deeply involved in Trouble on all Sides, that we were betrayed by our *Pangarans*, and our *Buggaſſes* had given us juſt Cauſe to ſuſpect their Honeſty, ſo that we had none but the *Engliſh*, *Blacks*, and *Chineſe* to truſt to; the former of which did not exceed one hundred and twenty-five Perſons in Number both civil and military, and moſt of them unexperienced or diſabled Men; and the latter had given us but ſmall Encouragement to depend on them by their deſerting Enſign *Adaire* at *Benterin*. With this ſmall Force, we thought ourſelves in ſome Danger of being overcome; wherefore a general Council was called of all the Company's Servants, and Inhabitants of the Place, to conſult about ſaving what we could of the Company's Effects, and making ſome Proviſion for our Paſſage, if we ſhould be put to flight; when every one gave their Opinion, that it was for the Company's Intereſt, as well as for our own Safety, to put on board the Ship *Matchlapatam* the Company's Treaſure and Books, with what Stores and Proviſions our Time would permit, with all the Expedition and Secreſy it could be poſſibly contrived: After which, if we were obliged to it, we might make our Eſcapes in the beſt Manner we could, by the Help of the Ship *Matchlapatam*, and what Boats we had by us. The Remainder of that Day was ſpent in Purſuit of that Reſolution, but no Boats could be got off that Evening: About Seven o'Clock the next Morning, being the 27th of *March*, the Company's Treaſure, *&c.* as *per* encloſed Bill of Lading, were ſent on board; about Eight, News was ſent that both the *Pangarans* with their Wives and Children, were eloped from *Bencoulen*, in the Night-time, and no Account could be given which Way they were gone. About Ten, Sultan *Cutcheel*, who was come from *Bentale* in the Ship *Matchlapatam*, undertook to accommodate Matters with the Country People, provided we would conſent to their chuſing new *Pangarans*, to which we agreed; but before we could come to a Bechar with them, the *Portugueze* Padre's Slave brought News from *Bencoulen*, that the *Buggaſſes* and *Malays* were riſen there, and had cut off the Padre and moſt of the *Portugueze*, Men, Women, and Children, in a moſt barbarous Manner. He had hardly done telling his Story, when a large Fire broke out at *Bencoulen*; another near the Fort behind *Canbury Paggar*; another towards *Sillebar*; and ſoon after, the Hernage-houſe was ſet on Fire: All this Time no Enemy appearing, but ſtill freſh Fires breaking out in different Places, which could not have been done otherwiſe than by our own *Buggaſes* or *Malays*, that are in our own Service: No Enemy yet appearing, we diſcharged what few great Guns we had mounted, at the thickeſt of theſe Fires, as we thought; in doing of which, one of the Wadds of our own Guns unfortunately fell upon the Tops of the Fort Buildings, which took Fire, and burnt ſo fierce, that there was no extinguiſhing of them: At which Time, we marched out of the Fort in one Body to meet the Enemy. We firſt paſſed the Lower Guard; from thence, round the Horſe Stable-Hill, to the Hermitage, and ſo by the China-Town and Brick-ſheds, which were all on Fire, but no Enemy to be ſeen.

"We then came to the Sea-ſide, where we ſaw ſome Thouſands of the *Malays*, headed by our Sultan and Buggaſſes; which Train reach'd from *Bencoulen* to *Marlbrough*: Moſt of the *Chineſe* had ſecured themſelves in Boats, and on board of their own Praw. We had then none left to ſtand by us but the Blacks; Under theſe Diſadvantages, we thought it in vain to hazard our Lives any longer, againſt ſo numerous an Enemy; our Fort and moſt of our Buildings being deſtroyed by Fire, which put every Man upon ſaving his Life by ſwimming, or getting on board the Boats in the beſt Manner he could: In which Attempt, near Half our People were either drown'd or kill'd by the Enemy, before they could make their Eſcape. The next Morning, we computed near Three Hundred and Fifty black and white Men, Women, and Children, were ſaved on board the Ship *Matchlapatam*, Mr. *Newcome*'s Barge, and three Tombongons, or Boats for going on board Ships; for which Number we had not Water for above five Days, at a Pint a Man each Day. Our firſt Deſign was to go to *Bantal*, but both the Wind and Current were ſo ſtrong againſt us, that we could not ſtir that Way, and ſo it continued 'till the 29th of *March*; till which Time, we remained in the Road, when we were obliged to alter our Reſolution, and make the beſt of our Way to *Batavia*; where, in all Probability, we might ſooner arrive, as the Wind and Current were then ſet; or at ſome Place where we might get ſome freſh Water, which we could not expect to be ſupplied with on the Coaſt of *Sumatra*, to the South of *Bantal*. After we had ſupplied each Boat with five Days Proviſions of Water and Rice we weighed Anchor and ſet ſail in Company for *Batavia*. On the Second of *April*, we loſt Sight of all our Boats: On the ninth, we anchored at *New-Iſland*, where we watered, and got ſome Proviſions: On the 11th, we weigh'd from thence, and arrived at *Batavia* on the Sixteenth.

"On the 18th and 19th, fifty out of our Military, who where ſent in Boats to guard the Blacks and Slaves, arrived at *Batavia* from *Lampoun*, where they had put in for Water: where the Blacks mutinied, and cut away the Rigging of their Boats, which occaſioned their driving on Shore: Then the Blacks left them, encouraged by one Serjeant *Thomas Wright*, who alſo went with them. The reſt of our *Europeans*, after being plundered of their very Shirts off their Backs, were at laſt kindly aſſiſted by them with two large Sampans; in which they ſaved their Lives, and arrived at *Batavia*. We met with kinder Uſage as to our Entertainment at *Batavia*, than indeed we expected; for they aſſiſted us in tranſporting one Hundred and Twenty of our People, on board their own Ships, to this Place: Seventy of which, had their Paſſage free, and the Ship's Proviſion, they working for the ſame; and for fifty more, we were obliged to pay twenty Rix Dollars each for their Tranſportation; and twenty Rix Dollars each more, to the Captains for their Proviſions, in their Voyage. Thirty Perſons more came with the Deputy-Governor on the Ship *Matchlapatam*; and ſeven more are on board the *Madraſs* Brigantine, who left *Batavia* in Company with us; ſo that we had ſaved one hundred and fifty-ſeven Perſons from the Hands of our Enemies, beſides twenty Slaves belonging to the Honourable Company, and private Perſons which were diſpoſed of in *Batavia*.

"One of the *Dutch* Ships arrived here the 24th Inſtant, when Mr. *Newcome*, &c. adviſed the Governor of our Misfortunes, but the Letter we underſtand is not yet gone from this Place. The *Matchlapatam* arrived here Yeſterday, and this Day the other two Ships, on which are our whole Complement; and we ſhall ſtay here no longer than abſolutely neceſſary to provide for our Paſſage to Fort St. *George*; where we hope to arrive ſoon after this comes to your Hands. The *Madraſs* Brigantine is not yet arrived. Whilſt we were in *Batavia*, we uſed all our Endeavours to ſend ſome Aſſiſtance to *Bantal*, tho' we had but little Reaſon to hope that Place had eſcaped the ſame Fate we ourſelves had met with; but in this the *Dutch* oppoſed us in all our Propoſals. The Deputy-Governor would have gone himſelf in the *Matchlapatan*, with as many of our People as ſhe could conveniently carry; but this they would not allow without he could take all our People along with him, which was altogether impoſſible; nor would they ſupply us with a Veſſel on that Occaſion.

"We endeavoured to hire the *Madraſs* Brigantine, for that Purpoſe, but the Maſter and Supercargoes alledged, ſhe was not in a Condition to proceed. We then propoſed to the *Dutch*, that we might have four Cheſts of Treaſure, and ſome Gun-powder to be forwarded to them on the *Amelia*, on her Arrival; but they refuſed to take Charge of it, as they pretended, leſt Diſputes might enſue: We then requeſted, to leave it in the Hands of any private Perſons; or that we might leave ſome of our own Servants there, to take Charge of it; but they would not conſent to any one of theſe Propoſals, nor ſuffer the Treaſure to be left behind in any manner whatſoever. We had drawn out a Proteſt againſt them for this Refuſal, but when we were going to deliver it, the Shawbander, who had been our Friend, plainly told us, what the Effects of it would be, that the next *Engliſh* Ships that fell in there, would ſuffer for it, in meeting with worſe Treatment than ever any had yet done; whereas we ourſelves had been civilly treated in all other Reſpects.

"Upon this, we conſidered, that the *Amelia* would ſhortly arrive, for whom we have left Orders to proceed firſt to *Bantal*, and from thence to Fort *St. George*, with Advice, if ſhe arrives Time enough to get away by the 15th of *June*; if not, to come directly for Fort *St. George*; as alſo the outward-bound *China* Ships: And probably this Year's Shipping from the Weſt Coaſt might be obliged to put in there for Proviſions; which, if they ſhould fail of our Company, might ſuffer more than the Advantage they would reap by our Proteſt: Upon which Conſideration, it was agreed, it ſhould not be delivered. This is a true Narrative of our Proceedings, ſince our Troubles commenced; and what we have omitted herein, you will find more particularly inſerted in our Diaries and Conſultations, when we come to lay them before your Honour, *&c.* for your Peruſal, which we hope will be ſufficient to demonſtrate, that this Misfortune is no way owing to our Miſconduct, which we ſubmit to your Honour's favourable Conſtruction, and beg Leave to ſubſcribe,

Honoured Sir,

Your moſt Obedient, and

Obliged Humble Servants,

Negapatam,
June 28, 1719.

Thomas Cook, *Dept.-Governor,*
Stephen Newcome,
William Palmer.

"The foregoing is an Account of our Proceeding, as it was remitted to the Governor and Council of this Place from *Negapatam*; to which it will not be amiſs to add, the Reaſons that were the Occaſion of this Misfortune, which is omitted in the foregoing Narrative: Firſt, it is to be conſidered, that the *Engliſh* had been involved in Troubles with the Country Government, both at *Marlbrough* and *Bantal* for ſome Time before they arrived on the Coaſt; which tho' I was ſo fortunate as

“ to bring to a Concluſion, and had for many Months
“ after kept a fair Correſpondence with the Natives; ſtill
“ they harboured in their Minds a ſecret Reſentment of
“ the former Injuries they had ſuffered, which they con-
“ cealed under a Cloak of Friendſhip, and ſeeming Satis-
“ faction of my Adminiſtration, till they had brought the
“ whole Country into a Combination, and being ſenſible
“ how briſkly our Fortifications were carried forward, took
“ the Opportunity of Revenge before our Brick-buildings
“ could be finiſhed, and at a Time, as they thought, we
“ ſhould have no Ship in the Road to aſſiſt us; but the
“ *Matchlapatam* very fortunately arrived a few Days be-
“ fore they put their Deſign in Execution. Not long be-
“ fore this Rebellion, a Difference had happened between
“ *Dupatty Benterin* and *See Gibb*, Captain of the *China-*
“ *men*, and Undertaker of the Company's Sugar and Ar-
“ rack Plantations. The *Dupatty* is one of the ſecond
“ Men in the Kingdom, and Governor of *Duſanor*, a
“ Town of that Name, ſituate on the Side of the River,
“ oppoſite to the Company's Sugar and Arrack Plantations.
“ He is a Perſon well beloved among the Natives, being
“ eſteemed a Prieſt amongſt them, and always thought
“ to be a good Friend to the *Engliſh*.

“ The Difference firſt began by the *Chinamen* killing
“ ſome of the *Dupattay*'s Buffaloes, that had broke through
“ ſome of their Fences, and done ſome ſmall Damage
“ to the Plantations, and indeed, the Fences were not ſo well
“ ſecured as they ought to have been; and this they af-
“ firmed to me they had done, by an Order given them
“ by Mr. *Farmer*, when Deputy-Governor. But conſider-
“ ing the ill Conſequences that might attend granting
“ ſuch Liberty to the *Chineſe*, I immediately forbad them
“ doing the like for the future, and obliged them to
“ make the *Dupatty* Satisfaction for ſome Buffaloes they
“ had killed, and if the like ſhould happen again, I pro-
“ miſed that the *Dupatty* ſhould make good to them what
“ Damages the Plantations appeared to have ſuſtained,
“ provided they kept their Fences in Repair. Notwith-
“ ſtanding what I had done in this Affair, ſome of the
“ *Dupatty*'s People, out of Revenge, got into the *China*
“ Compound, in the Night-time, and killed one of *See*
“ *Gibb*'s Slaves, as he was ſleeping in his Houſe. The *Du-*
“ *patty*'s Brother was ſeen, and known to be one of the
“ Company; whereupon he was taken and brought to the
“ Fort, where he was put into the *Cock-houſe* for about
“ twenty-four Hours, till he could be brought to his Trial;
“ when he was acquitted, without any further Puniſh-
“ ment, there being no plain Proof, that he was the Per-
“ ſon that actually committed the Murder, though by
“ the Evidences that appeared againſt him, there were
“ circumſtantial Proofs enough to have condemned him.
“ However, out of Reſpect to the *Dupatty*, whom I al-
“ ways eſteemed to be my Friend, and being well ac-
“ quainted with his Intereſt, and the Influence he had
“ over the Country People, I thought it convenient to
“ paſs the moſt favourable Conſtruction on this Accuſa-
“ tion, which I accordingly did, and made the *Dupatty*
“ and *See Gibb* ſhake Hands, and promiſe Friendſhip to
“ each other before they parted, and ſo they remained
“ for ſome Time after, till the *Dupatty* had got his Forces
“ together in his *Duſan*, and then he again renewed this
“ Diſpute, reſenting the Wrongs they had received from
“ the *Chineſe*, as alſo the Diſgrace of having his Brother
“ put in the *Cock-houſe*, and brought to his Trial, not-
“ withſtanding I had been ſo favourable to him on this
“ Occaſion, and under this Pretence our Trouble com-
“ menced. *Thomas Cook*.

The two following Letters were intercepted by the *Engliſh* in the Year 1717, which ſhews, that the Natives had formed this Conſpiracy ſome Time before it was put in Execution.

“ This comes from Sultan *Manſore*, *Raja Guillamot*,
“ *Dattue Pandaſh*, all the great Men in *Bandat*, *Sapoolo*,
“ and the Overſeers of Trade in *Bantayan*, and *Tego Loora*;
“ to *Datta Raja Quaſſo*, with all the *Proateens* and *Le-*
“ *micotas*, from *Sablat* at *Cottown*, to *Calaboon*, *Surambe*,
“ and *Malacca*.

“ Raja *Quaſſo*'s Letter ſent by *Tuan Mallin* and *Du-*
“ *patty Loora Sambelan*, is received, which we like very
“ well. We are now aſſuredly certified the whole Coun-
“ try as far as *Abong*, likewiſe *Tuan De Goono* with his
“ People, will unanimouſly join us, and when this ar-
“ rives, ſend *Tuan Mallin* into the Country, to adviſe,
“ that we intend utterly to deſtroy the *Engliſh*, and raſe
“ the Settlements throughout the whole Coaſt, becauſe
“ they have broke Faith, and become quite otherwiſe
“ to what they formerly were. We ſhall proceed as ſoon
“ as the Feſtival is over, therefore would have you *Datte*
“ *Raja Quaſſo* diſpatch a Meſſenger with your real Senti-
“ ments of this Affair, ſignifying alſo how the *Proateens*
“ and *Lemicotas* are affected.” The Anſwer. “ This
“ Letter comes from him that eats nothing, to Raja *Man-*
“ *ſora*, and Sultan *Guillamot*, aſſuring them, that he will
“ gather together all thoſe like himſelf, with the moſt va-
“ liant Men hereabouts, and march directly againſt *Ben-*
“ *coulen*, therefore deſires the Aſſiſtance of Arms, which
“ yourſelves and *Raja Paſſaſſer* muſt not fail to ſend to
“ *Tuan De Goono*, who is reſolved, if the Kings are
“ agreed to be their Ally, and you may depend on his
“ Fidelity, for he knows not how to tell a Lye: When he
“ comes down from the Country, will bring over to his
“ Intereſt the People of *Serangi* to *Bencoulen*, and *Lout*
“ *Cowt*, with thoſe belonging to *Pangarran Munco*
“ *Aunoom*, even as far as *Pollombong*. This is what I
“ promiſe to do, deſiring your Letter in Anſwer to it.
“ So God bleſs and keep you in all your Undertakings;
“ give my Service to *Dattoo Raja Quaſſo*.” Faithfully
tranſlated *per*

Robert Dymond, Linguiſt.

“ Found at *Tanjoong Arang*, up *Sablat* River, by *Orang-*
“ *kio Bandabarrab Munco Raja*, *January* the 27th, 1717,
“ while Mr. *Farmer* was Deputy-Governor of the Weſt
“ Coaſts of *Sumatra*.”

Notwithſtanding the Natives had thus driven the *Engliſh* from *Bencoulen*, they ſuffered them in about a Year's Time to return again, and go on with the Fortifications at *Marlbrough* Fort, without Oppoſition. It is true, there had been ſome *Engliſh* Chiefs ſent thither, who were not endowed with ſo much Diſcretion as they ought. Theſe Gentlemen, by an imperious and aſſuming Behaviour, had highly provoked the Natives; but this being very tolerable in compariſon of the Tyranny the *Dutch* had exerciſed in every Place where they prevailed, the *Mallays*, upon the Expulſion of the *Engliſh*, began to be under terrible Apprehenſions leſt the *Dutch* ſhould come and ſettle amongſt them by Force, and put an iron Yoke upon their Necks, as they had upon their Neighbours. They ſoon laid aſide their Reſentment therefore, and over-looking the Indiſcretions of the *Engliſh* Chiefs, gave all Encouragement to our Countrymen to ſettle among them; and it was very happy for the *Engliſh*, that they removed from *Bencoulen*, for there were buried Multitudes every Year, whereas a late Chief of *Marlbrough* Fort aſſures us, that during the whole Year, they did not bury one Gentleman; ſuch a Difference there is in the Situation of theſe two Places, notwithſtanding they are no more than two or three Miles aſunder, and *Marlbrough* Fort being much more defenſible in its Situation than *York* Fort; for at *Marlbrough* our People are not ſo apprehenſive of being ſurprized by the Natives as formerly, if there ſhould happen any miſunderſtanding between them again. By this Means the *Britiſh* Commerce is greatly extended on this Iſland of *Sumatra*, and with very good Effect.

16. The Company of late Years have been extremely attentive, not only to the general Characters, but ſo far as it has been poſſible for them to be informed as to the Education, Genius and Behaviour of their Chiefs; by which wiſe and prudent Conduct, they have given quite a new Face to their Affairs, and if it had not been for the ſetting up new Companies in different Parts of *Europe*, by which their Trade has certainly been very much hurt, they muſt by this Time have been in a Condition to have almoſt doubled their Dividends; yet I cannot but acknowledge, upon this Occaſion, that as theſe new Companies were erected abroad chiefly from the Opinion that Foreigners entertained of the Profits that were made by our Company,

ſo the Diſcovery of this was, in a great meaſure, owing to the factious Diſputes that have long reigned amongſt us; for great Complaints being made of the Decay of our Trade, the Miniſtry cauſed the Amounts of the Company's Sales to be conſtantly publiſhed, which ſtruck Foreigners with Amazement, and contributed greatly to the forwarding the Projects they had formed of obtaining a Share in this lucrative Traffick.

At the ſame time theſe Deſigns were vigorouſly purſued abroad, there wanted not ſome Projectors at home, who were deſirous of laying open the *Indian* Trade; and abundance of plauſible Things were ſaid upon that Subject, which, as it very naturally might, greatly alarmed the Company, more eſpecially as it happened at a Time when they had Reaſon to apprehend that popular Opinions might prevail to their Prejudice; and therefore it is not to be wondered that they entered likewiſe, on their Side, into ſuch Schemes as were moſt likely to defeat theſe Deſigns, and to ſecure them in the Poſſeſſion of their Rights and Privileges. I ſhall not take upon me to decide ſo nice and intricate a Queſtion, as whether the laying open this Trade would, or would not, have been for the Advantage of this Nation; becauſe, on the one hand, I am ſenſible much may be ſaid on both Sides; and on the other, that I have not Room to examine here what might be alledged on either Side. I confine myſelf therefore to Matters of Fact; and endeavour, with all the Brevity that is conſiſtent with my Deſign, of giving as compleat a Hiſtory as is in my Power, of our Commerce to the *Indies*, which, ſo far as I know, is a Subject not attempted before, and conſequently more neceſſary, which leads me to obſerve, that the Reſult of the Company's Conſiderations on this Head was, the propoſing to ſuch as had the Direction of the publick Affairs, a new Agreement with reſpect to the Company's Powers, ſo apparently beneficial to the Nation, as that it might effectually ſecure them from liſtening to the Propoſals that were, or might be made, for laying this Trade open, in which, without doubt, ſuch as were then entruſted with the Direction of the Company's Concerns, did their Duty to the Proprietors, and were ſo ſucceſsful therein, as to obtain the Concurrence of the Adminiſtration; and, in conſequence thereof, ſuch a Law as they deſired for the preſerving the Powers and Privileges of their Principals.

At all Events, this was much better for the Nation than the Method taken in King *William*'s Time upon the like Occaſion, when the old *Eaſt-India* Company found it requiſite to diſtribute an immenſe Sum of Money to Miniſters and Favourites, to obtain a new Charter, by which the Publick did not gain a ſingle Shilling in Return for the Advantages that were granted to this Corporation. This Obſervation of mine will be fully juſtified, and the Truth thereof effectually proved from the Contents of the Act of Parliament before-mentioned, which was paſſed in the third Year of his preſent Majeſty, in conſequence of the Agreement, of which I have before taken Notice, and was intended on both Sides, to be abſolutely final, and in every Reſpect concluſive.

This Act therefore, after reciting ſeveral Acts, Proviſo's, Charters, and Agreements, *&c.* relating to the United Company of Merchants of *England* trading to the *Eaſt-Indies*, Enacts, That in purſuance of their late Agreement, the ſaid Company ſhall pay into the Receipt of the Exchequer, on or before a certain Day appointed, the Sum of 200,000 Pounds, to be applied towards the Supplies granted to his Majeſty, for which no Intereſt ſhall ever be payable to the Company, nor any Addition be made to their capital Stock or Debt from the Publick, on account thereof; nor ſhall the ſame, or any Part of it, be paid to the Company. And after the 29th of *September*, 1730, the Annuity, or yearly Fund of 160,000 *l.* ſhall be reduced to 128,000 *l.* in reſpect of the capital Stock or Debt of 3,200,000 *l.* which reduced Annuity ſhall be charged on the ſame Duties and Revenues by the like weekly or quarterly Payments, and with the ſame Proviſions for making good Deficiencies in the ſaid reduced Fund, as their preſent Annuity or Fund is now charged on, till ſome new or other Proviſion ſhall be made by Parliament, with Conſent of the Company. But, upon one Year's Notice to be given by Parliament after the 25th of *March*, 1736, on the Expiration of that Year, and on Re-payment of the ſaid Debt of 3,200,000 *l.* to the Company, and all Arrears of their reduced Annuity of 128,000 *l.* which ſhall be due at the End of the ſaid Year; then, and from thenceforth, the ſaid Annuity, or yearly Fund, ſhall ceaſe, and be no longer payable.

At any Time, on a Year's Notice after the ſaid 25th of *March*, 1736, given by Parliament, at the ſaid Year's Expiration, upon Re-payment to the Company of any Sum, not being leſs than Five hundred thouſand Pounds, in Part of the capital Stock of 3,200,000 *l.* and on Payment of all Arrears which ſhall be then due on their reduced Annuity, after ſuch Payments made to ſuch of the ſaid Annuity as ſhall bear a Proportion to the Money ſo paid in Part, ſhall ceaſe and be abated; and ſo from time to time, upon ſuch yearly Notices and Payment of ſuch other Sums in Part of the ſaid capital Stock, till the Whole of their Annuity ſhall be entirely ſunk and determined. Notwithſtanding any ſuch Redemption, all Perſons entitled to any Intereſt in the ſaid capital Stock in Trade, or Money paid in for carrying on the ſame, or in the Factories, Settlements, Lands, *&c.* belonging to the United Company, ſhall be, and continue a Body politick and corporate, *&c.* and have perpetual Succeſſion; and they, and their Succeſſors, ſhall be capable in Law to purchaſe Lands, *&c.* not exceeding at any one time the yearly Value of Ten thouſand Pounds in the Kingdom of *Great Britain*, and alſo to aliene the ſame; and may alſo enjoy all Privileges, Stocks, and Eſtates, and Advantages, *&c.* which are not hereby altered as by former Acts or Charters founded thereon, the Company might hold or enjoy the ſame; and after ſuch Redemption of the ſaid yearly Fund, or one Moiety thereof, the Company may, at their General Courts, declare how much, and what Share in the remaining capital Stock, *&c.* ſhall qualify Members of the ſame Company to be Directors, or to give Votes in any General Court. And, notwithſtanding ſuch Redemption as aforeſaid, the Company ſhall, ſubject to the Proviſo of Determination herein after contained, enjoy the whole and ſole Trade to the *Eaſt-Indies*, and have the only Liberty of trading thither, *&c.* And the *Eaſt-Indies*, or Iſlands, *&c.* within the Limits of the ſaid Company, ſhall not, before the ſaid Determination, be ſailed to by any other of his Majeſty's Subjects.

And if any of the ſaid Subjects, other than the Factors, *&c.* of the United Company, ſhall at any Time ſail, trade, or adventure to or from the *Eaſt-Indies*, and Parts aforeſaid, they ſhall incur the Loſs of all Ships which ſhall be employed in ſuch Trade, *&c.* and the Goods laden therein, and double the Value thereof; which Forfeitures ſhall be ſued for, recovered, and diſtributed, as by the 7 *Geo.* I. *c.* 21, is directed, concerning the Penalties and Forfeitures mentioned in that Act.

The ſaid Company ſhall, at all Times hereafter, have all the Powers which by any Charters, *&c.* are granted them, and not altered by this Act, freed and diſcharged from all Proviſo's of Redemption, *&c.* as fully as if the ſame were here ſeverally repeated, but ſubject to the Reſtrictions contained in the Acts and Letters Patents now in Force, and alſo to the Proviſo's following, *viz.* Provided that upon three Years Notice to be given by Parliament, after the 25th of *March*, 1736, upon the Expiration of the ſaid three Years, and repaying to the Company of the whole capital Stock of 3,200,000 *l.* and all Arrears of Annuities payable in reſpect thereof; then, and from thenceforth, the Right, Title, and Intereſt of the ſaid Company, to the whole, ſole, and excluſive Trade to the *Eaſt-Indies*, &c. ſhall ceaſe and determine. But after the Determination of that Company's Right to the ſole and excluſive Trade to and from the *Eaſt-Indies*, the Corporation, with all or any Part of their joint Stock, Goods, Eſtates, *&c.* may trade in common with other the Subjects of his Majeſty trading to and from thoſe Parts.

Any Notice in Writing, ſignified by the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, ſhall be deemed a due and proper Notice by Parliament, to all the Ends and Purpoſes for which ſuch Notices are directed by this Act to be given to the Company. Nothing in this Act ſhall extend to ſub-

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jeƈt the Governor and Company of Merchants of *England* trading to the *Levant-Seas*, to any Penalties and Forfeitures thereby enacted, in reſpect to their Trade in thoſe Seas; and nothing herein ſhall reſtrain or prejudice ſuch Trade or Navigation within any of the Limits of the *Eaſt-India* Company, as the *South-Sea* Company are any ways entitled unto.

With this Act I ſhall conclude the hiſtorical Part of this Section, having, as I promiſed, deduced the Tranſactions of the *Eaſt-India* Company, and with them the Commerce of the *Britiſh* Nation to the *Indies*, from the earlieſt Accounts we have of their trading to this Part of the World, and from their firſt Eſtabliſhment in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* down to the preſent Time; in which Series of Facts, we hope the Reader will find a greater Satisfaction, ſince it exhibits to him in one View, and conſidering the vaſt Variety of Matter in a very narrow Compaſs, a regular Chain of Events, which demonſtrates the vaſt Importance of this Commerce to the Nation, the Means by which it was at firſt acquired, the Progreſs made therein, the Difficulties and Obſtructions it has met with, the Methods by which they have been overcome, and the Manner in which the Company has at laſt acquired a happy and ſecure Eſtabliſhment, which we have Reaſon to hope will laſt as long as our preſent excellent Conſtitution, ſince it is founded on the ſame Baſis, and is fortified by the ſtrongeſt Authority that the Laws of this Country can afford.

It remains, in order to conclude the Plan laid down at the Beginning of this Section, that we ſhould preſent the Reader with a clear and ſuccinct View of the Poſſeſſions of the Company in the *Indies*, and the State of their Commerce in thoſe Parts, as it ſtands at preſent, which we ſhall do with all the Brevity poſſible, and in that Order which ſeems moſt natural, both with regard to the Situation of Places, and the avoiding unneceſſary Repetitions, having nothing more in View than to ſtate every thing as clearly as it is poſſible, and to confine ourſelves within as little Room as the Purſuit of that Deſign will allow.

17. We ſhall begin then with the Port of *Gambron*, or, as ſome write it, *Gombroon*, on the Coaſt of *Perſia*, which became famous after the Deſtruction of the Iſland of *Ormuz*, and the Ruin of the *Portugueze* Power in the *Indies*. The City was built by the Great Shah *Abas*, from whence it is called by the *Perſians Bander-Abaſſi*, that is, the Court of *Abas*. It ſtands in the Lat. of 27° 40′ North, and is looked upon as a Port of the greateſt Trade in this Part of the World. We have elſewhere given a large Account of the Situation, Climate, and Condition of the Country in the Neighbourhood of this celebrated Mart, and ſhall here therefore confine ourſelves ſtrictly to what concerns the Commerce of the *Engliſh*.

Our firſt Eſtabliſhment was about the Year 1613, and the Great Shah *Abas* having, at that Time, Occaſion for our Aſſiſtance againſt the *Portugueze*, granted us by Treaties, in Conſideration of our Services in that War, half the Cuſtoms of this Port, which were duly received for a conſiderable Time; but, at length, under various Pretences, were reduced to one thouſand Tomans a Year, which amounts to three thouſand three hundred thirty-three Pounds ſix Shillings and eight Pence of our Money; and even this, for forty Years paſt, has been but very indifferently paid; and at preſent, as I conceive, we have the Right only, and not the Poſſeſſion. But the *Eaſt-India* Company ſtill maintains a noble Factory here, by which it manages the whole Trade of the Empire of *Perſia*, and exports thither a vaſt Quantity of *European* Goods. In the Year 1720, the Factory ſuffered ſeverely, and the Confuſions induced by repeated Rebellions in *Perſia*; but as the Affairs of that Empire are now pretty well ſettled, there is no doubt but thoſe of the Company will be alſo reſtored, and that we ſhall regain that important Commerce which has been ſo long carried on here.

The City of *Mocha* ſtands at the Entrance of the *Red Sea*, in the Latitude of 13° 11′ W. and is a Place of very great Trade, as we have ſhewn in the former Part of this Work. The *Engliſh* are likewiſe well received here; carry on a great Commerce in Coffee, and other Commodities, as well as in all the adjacent Ports of *Arabia*, as has been already ſhewn in the foregoing Sections. It is true, that we have been ſome times expoſed to the Injuſtice of the *Arabian* Princes, and to the Depredations of Pirates in thoſe Parts; but in this we have only ſhared the ſame Fate with other Nations, and perhaps have eſcaped rather better than they.

We ſhall next proceed to the *Indian* Coaſt, where we have either Factories or Forts, and Settlements, at the following Places, *viz. Baroach*, *Swalley*, *Surat*, *Bombay*, *Dabul*, *Carwar*, *Tellechery*, *Anjengo*, Fort *St. David*, *Conymere*, all along the *Malabar* Coaſt, and turning up to thoſe of *Coromandel*, where we come next to what may be called the Capital of our Poſſeſſions in the *Indies*, I mean Fort *St. George*. We have in the Courſe of this Work, and particularly in this Section, given a large Account of moſt of the Places before-mentioned; which is the Reaſon that we have not dwelt upon them here; but as for Fort *St. George*, which ſtands in the Latitude of 13° 20′ North, it requires a more particular Deſcription for many Reaſons; and, therefore, I have thought fit to inſert a large Hiſtorical Account thereof, as well as a clear and circumſtantial Deſcription, written by one who was perfectly acquainted therewith, as well as with all the Tranſactions that occur in his curious Relation, which will contribute to render the Hiſtory of this Part of our *Indian* Settlements compleat, by furniſhing as exact an Account of this, as we have here before given of other Places; and therefore cannot but afford the Reader an agreeable Entertainment.

Fort *St. George* or *Maderaſs*, or, as the Natives call it, *China Patam*, is a Colony and City belonging to the *Engliſh Eaſt-India* Company, ſituated in one of the moſt incommodious Places I ever ſaw: It fronts the Sea, which continually rolls impetuouſly on its Shore more here, than in any other Place on the Coaſt of *Coromandel*: The Foundation is on Sand, with a Salt-water River on its Backſide, which obſtructs all Springs of freſh Water from coming near the Town; ſo that they have no drinkable Water within a Mile of them, the Sea often threatening Deſtruction on one Side, and the River, in the rainy Seaſon, Inundations on the other. The Sun from *April* to *September* ſcorching hot; and if the Sea-Breezes did not moiſten and cool the Air, when they blow, the Place could not poſſibly be inhabited. The Reaſon why a Fort was built on that Place is not well accounted for; but Tradition ſays, that the Gentleman who received his Orders to build a Fort on that Coaſt, about the Beginning of King *Charles* the Second's Reign, after his Reſtoration, for protecting the Company's Trade, choſe that Place to ruin the *Portugueze* Trade at *St. Thomas*'s; others again alledge, and with more Probability, that the Gentleman aforeſaid, which I take to be Sir *William Langhorn*, had a Miſtreſs at *St. Thomas*'s, of whom he was ſo enamoured, that it made him build there, that their Interviews might be the more frequent and uninterrupted; but whatever his Reaſons were, it is very ill ſituated.

The Soil about the City is ſo dry and ſandy, that it bears no Corn; and what Fruits, Roots, and Herbage they have, are brought to Maturity by great Pains and much Trouble. If it be true, that the Company gave him Power to ſettle a Colony in any Part of that Coaſt that pleaſed him beſt, I wonder that he choſe not *Cabelon*, about ſix Leagues to the Southward, where the Ground is fertile, and the Water good, with the Conveniency of a Point of Rocks to facilitate Boats landing; or why he did not go nine Leagues farther northerly, and ſettle at *Policat*, on the Banks of a good River, as the *Dutch* have done ſince, where the Road for Shipping is made eaſy by ſome Sand-Banks that reach three Leagues off Shore, and make the high turbulent Billows that come rolling from the Sea, ſpend their Force on thoſe Banks, before they can reach the Shore. The Soil is good, and the River commodious, and convenient in all Seaſons: Now, whether one of theſe Places had not been more eligible, I leave to the ingenious, and thoſe concerned, to conſider.

However, the War carried on at *Bengal* and *Bombay*, by the *Engliſh*, againſt the Mogul's Subjects, from 1685, to 1689, made Fort *St. George* put on a better Dreſs than he wore before; for the peaceable *Indian* Merchants, who hate Contention and War, came flocking thither, becauſe it lay far from thoſe Incumberers of Trade, and near the Diamond Mines of *Golconda*, where there are many Times good Bargains to be made, and Money got by our Governors; the black Merchants reſorting to our Colony, to ſecure their Fortunes, and bring their Goods to a ſafe Market, made it populous and rich, notwithſtanding its natural Inconveniencies. The Town is divided into two Parts, one where the *Europeans* dwell, is called the white Town: It is walled quite round, and has ſeveral Baſtions and Bulwarks to defend its Walls, which can only be attacked at its Ends, the Sea and River fortifying its Sides. It is about four hundred Paces long, and one hundred and fifty broad, divided into Streets pretty regular, and Fort *St. George* ſtood near its Centre. There are two Churches in it, one for the *Engliſh*, and another for the *Romiſh* Service. The Governor ſuperintends both, and in filling up Vacancies in the *Romiſh* Church, he is the Pope's Legate *à latere* in Spiritualities. There is a very good Hoſpital in the Town, and the Company's Horſe-Stables are neat; but the old College, where a great many Gentlemen Factors are obliged to lodge, is badly kept in Repair. They have a Town-Hall, and underneath it are Priſons for Debtors. They are, or were a Corporation, and had a Mayor and Aldermen, choſen by the free Burghers of the Town, but that ſcurvy Way is grown obſolete, and the Governor and his Council, or Party, fix the Choice.

The City had Laws and Ordinances for its own Preſervation, and a Court kept in Form, the Mayor and Aldermen in their Gowns, with Maces on the Table, a Clerk to keep a Regiſter of Tranſactions and Caſes, and Attornies and Sollicitors to plead in Form, before the Mayor and Aldermen; but after all, it is but a Farce; for, by Experience I found, that a few Pagadoes rightly placed, could turn the Scale of Juſtice, to which Side the Governor pleaſed, without reſpect to Equity or Reputation. In ſmaller Matters, where the Caſe on both Sides is but weakly ſupported by Money, then the Court acts judiciouſly, according to their Conſciences and Knowledge, but often againſt Law and Reaſon; for the Court is but a Court of Conſcience, and its Directions are very irregular, and the Governor's diſpenſing Power of nulling all that the Court tranſacts, puzzles the moſt celebrated Lawyers there, to find Rules to juſtify ſuch Conduct.

They have no martial Law, ſo that they cannot inflict the Pains of Death any other Ways than by Whipping, only for Piracy they can hang, and ſome of them have been ſo fond of that Privilege, that Mr. *Yale* hang'd his Groom (*Croſs*) for riding two or three Days Journey off, to take the Air; but in *England* he paid pretty well for his arbitrary Sentence: And one of a later Date, *viz.* the Orthodox Mr. *Collett*, hang'd a Youth, who was an Apprentice to an Officer on board a Ship, whoſe Maſter going a pirating, carried his Servant along with him, but tho' the Youth ran from them the firſt Opportunity he met with on the Iſland of *Jonkceyloan*, and informed the Maſter of a Sloop which lay in the River there, that the Pirates had a Deſign on his Sloop and Cargo, and went armed in Company with the Maſter, to hinder the Approach of the Pirates, and was the firſt that fired on them, yet that merciful Man was inexorable, and the Youth was hanged.

The Power of executing Pirates is ſo ſtrangely ſtretched, that if any private Trader is injured by the Tricks of a Governor, and can find no Redreſs, if the injured Perſon is ſo bold as to talk of *Lex talionis*, he is infallibly declared a Pirate. The black Town is inhabited by *Gentows*, *Mohammedans*, and *Indian Chriſtians*, *viz.* *Armenians* and *Portugueze*, where there are Temples, and Churches for each Religion, every one being tolerated, and every one follows his proper Employment. It was walled in towards the Land, when Governor *Pit* ruled it. He had ſome Apprehenſion that the Mogul's Generals in *Golconda* might ſome Time or other plunder it; ſo laying the Hazard and Danger before the Inhabitants, they were either perſuaded, or obliged to raiſe Subſidies to wall their Town, except towards the Sea, and the white Town.

The two Towns are abſolutely governed by the Governor, in whoſe Hands the Command of the Military is lodged; but all other Affairs belonging to the Company, are managed by him and his Council, moſt Part of whom are generally his Creatures; and I have been, and am acquainted with ſome Gentlemen, who have been in that Poſt, as well as ſome private Gentlemen who reſided at *Fort St George*, Men of great Candour and Honour, but they ſeldom continued long Favourites at Court. One of the Gates of the white Town looks towards the Sea, and it is for that Reaſon called the Sea-gate, the Gate-way being pretty ſpacious, was formerly the common Exchange, where Merchants of all Nations reſorted about Eleven o'Clock to treat of Buſineſs in Merchandiſe; but that Cuſtom is out of Faſhion, and the Conſultation-chamber, or Governor's Apartment, ſerves for that Uſe now; which made one Captain *Hart*, a very merry Man, ſay, that he could never have believed that the Sea gate could have been carried into the Conſultation-room, if he had not ſeen it.

The Company have their Mint here for coining Bullion, that comes from *Europe*, and other Countries, into Rupees, which brings them in a good Revenue. The Rupee is ſtamp'd with *Perſian* Characters, declaring the Mogul's Name, Year of his Reign, and ſome of his Titles. They alſo coin gold into Pagadoes of ſeveral Denominations and Values. There are alſo Schools for the Education of Children; the *Engliſh* for reading and writing *Engliſh*; the *Portugueze* for their Language, and *Latin*; and the *Mohammedans*, *Gentows* and *Armenians*, for their particular Languages, and the *Engliſh* Church is well endowed, and maintains poor Gentlewomen in good Houſewifery, and good Cloaths and Palankines.

The Diamond Mines are but a Week's Journey from *Fort St. George*. Some Cuſtoms and Laws at the Mines are, when a Perſon goes thither on that Affair, he chuſes a Piece of Ground, and acquaints one of the King's Officers, who ſtay there for that Service, that he wants ſo many Covets of Ground to dig in, but whether they agree for ſo much, or if the Price be certain, I know not. However, when the Money is paid, the Space of Ground is encloſed, and ſome Centinels placed round it. The King challenges all Stones that are found above a certain Weight; I think it is above ſixty Grains; and if any Stones be carried clandeſtinely away, above the ſtipulated Weight, the Perſon guilty of the Theft is puniſhed with Death. Some are fortunate, and get Eſtates by digging, while others loſe both their Money and Labour. (The current Trade of *Fort St. George* runs gradually ſlower. The Traders meeting with Diſappointments, and ſometimes with Oppreſſions, and ſometimes the Liberty of buying and ſelling is denied them: And I have ſeen, when the Governor's Servants have bid for Goods at a public Sale, ſome who had a mind to bid more, durſt not, others who had more Courage, and durſt bid, were brow-beaten and threatened; and I was Witneſs to a Bargain of *Surat* Wheat, taken out of a Gentleman's Hands, after he had fairly bought it by Auction, ſo that many trading People are removed to other Parts, where there is a greater Liberty and leſs Oppreſſion.)

The Colony produces very little of its own Growth, or Manufacture for foreign Markets. They had formerly a Trade to *Pegu*, where many private Traders got pretty good Bread by their Traffick and Induſtry, but the Trade is now removed into the *Armenians*, *Moors* and *Gentows* Hands, and the *Engliſh* are employed in building and repairing of Shipping. The Trade they have to *China* is divided between them and *Surat*; for the Gold and ſome Copper are for their own Markets, and the Groſs of their own Cargo, which conſiſts in Sugar, Sugar-candy, Allum, China-ware, and ſome Drugs, as China-roots, Gallinggal, *&c.* are all for the *Surat* Market. Their Trade to *Perſia* muſt firſt come down the famous *Ganges*, before it can come down *St. George*'s Channel, to be conveyed to *Perſia*. They never had any Trade to *Mocha*, in the Product and Manufactures of *Coromandel*, before the Year 1713, and *Fort St. David* ſupplies the Goods for that Port; ſo that *Fort St. George* is an Emblem of *Holland*, ſupplying foreign Markets with foreign Goods. The Colony is well-peopled, for there is ſuppoſed to be 80,000 Inhabitants in the Towns and Villages; and there are generally about 4 or 500 *Europeans* reſiding there, reckoning the Gentlemen, Merchants, Seamen, and Soldiers. Their Rice is brought by Sea from *Ganjam* and *Orixa*; their Wheat from *Surat* and *Bengal*; and their Fire-wood from the Iſlands of *Diu*, a low Point of Land that lies near *Matchulipatam*; ſo that an Enemy that is ſuperior to them in Sea-Forces, may eaſily diſtreſs them.

Mr. *Lockyer*, in his Account of this Place, tells us, that the Adminiſtration is veſted in the Governor and Council, which conſiſts of ſix grave Merchants in the Company's Service; and though theſe Officers have but ſmall Salaries, yet their Perquiſites and Advantages they derive from Trade, are ſo conſiderable as to enable them to make a good Figure while they live there, and carry home, notwithſtanding, very large Eſtates. He ſeems to differ with other Writers as to the Properties of the Soil and Climate; and therefore it may not be amiſs to attend a little to his Account. The Inhabitants, ſays he, enjoy as perfect Health as they do in *England*, which is plainly diſcovered in their ruddy Complexions, which few of our other Settlements can boaſt. The Heats in Summer are the greateſt Inconveniency they labour under; yet, I never heard of any ill Effect from them. The delicious Fruits that the Country abounds with, are a great Help in this Extremity; nor are they wanting to themſelves in other Reſpects, Bathings and wet Goneys being often apply'd with Succeſs to the Relief of the panting. It ſeldom laſts above four or five Hours in a Day, when the Sea-Breeze coming on, the Town ſeems to be new born. The Governor, during the hot Winds, retires to the Company's new Garden for Refreſhment, which he has made a very delightful Place of a barren one. Its coſtly Gates, lovely Bowling-greens, ſpacious Walks, Teal-pond, and Curioſities, preſerved in ſeveral Diviſions, are worthy to be admired. Lemons and Grapes grow there; but ſo much Pains is neceſſary to bring either to Maturity, that a Bunch of one, or a ſingle Fruit of the other, will ſtand its Owner in five Shillings before it is ripe.

The Governor ſeldom goes abroad with leſs than three or fourſcore perſons armed, beſides his *Engliſh* Guards to attend him: He has two Union-Flags carried before him, and Country Muſick, enough to frighten a Stranger into Belief the Men were mad. Two Dubaſhes attend to cool him with Fans, and drive away the Flies, that otherwiſe would moleſt him. He is a Man of great Power, reſpected as a Prince by the Rajahs of the Country; and is, in every Reſpect, as great, ſave that theſe are for themſelves, this has Maſters. When a Perſon of Note dies, the Funeral is ſolemnized with the greateſt Magnificence. The Governor, Council, and Gentlemen of the Town attend, nor are the Fair-Sex wanting in their duty to their deceaſed Countrymen: The Executors are liberal in all Reſpects to expreſs a juſt Concern for their Friend; whence the Ceremony is performed with all that is neceſſary for the Interment of a Chriſtian. The Burying-Place is at the further End of the Black-Town, adorned with many ſtately Tombs in Honour of the Defunct; ſome with lofty Spires carved into different Fancies, after the *Indian* Manner: Others, in a lower Sphere, gravely expreſs the Merits of the Perſon for whoſe ſake they were erected, and all in general have the moſt curious Workmanſhip in *India* beſtowed on them.

Moſt of the Powder expended in the Garriſon is made on the Iſland, about a Gun-ſhot from the Town. It has not the Force of that which comes from *England*, for no other Reaſon than not well incorporating the Ingredients. They have the fineſt Salt-Petre, and Brimſtone, with good Charcoal, which ought to make the beſt Powder; but for want of ſkilful Managers and good Contrivances, theſe Excellences are of no Effect. And, in truth, the Company in other Caſes of the like Nature, are very much wanting to themſelves. There is not an *Engliſh* Carpenter, Smith, Joiner, or other Artificer in the City, who knows half his Trade; whence they are obliged to black Fellows for what they have Occaſion for in theſe Trades; nor is there ſo much as one Shop of any ſort in the *Engliſh* Town, the Benefit of which all the *Dutch* Settlements ſufficiently demonſtrate; for they are ſo ſenſible of it, that they take due Care never to be deficient that way. This is a Thing eaſily brought to paſs by a Body ſo conſiderable in the Kingdom. I ſhall rather admire it has been ſo long neglected, than offer at the Means for effecting it. However, I wiſh, for the Honour of the *Engliſh* Nation, they would decline ſending ſuch diminutive, dwarfiſh, crooked Recruits, as of late have gone to ſupply their Settlements. To ſay no better can be had in Time of War, is an Evaſion, my own Experience proves altogether light; for, ſince it is no matter what Country in *Europe* they are of, let but three Captains be ſent to *Ireland*, in leſs than three Months they could raiſe a Regiment of picked Fellows, who would be able to do them Service; beſides, they look like Men, which is enough for them at Fort *St. George*. Objecting their Religion, looks like Partiality, for the *Topaſes* in *India* are all of the ſame Principles; our Officers liſt none but Proteſtants to ſerve in our Troops, wherefore that Country is quite over-run with luſty Men, who are ready to ſtarve for want of Employ.

But, to proceed regularly in our Hiſtory of the Settlements of this Company. Along the Coaſt of *Coromandel*, there were formerly ſeveral Places along the Coaſt to the Northward, which had *European* Factories ſettled in them, but are now neglected and unfrequented. There were alſo ſome Places farther up the Country, where the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* ſettled; but the Rajahs, who poſſeſſed the adjacent Countries, giving great Interruption to Trade, by their unjuſt and unreaſonable Impoſitions, obliged them to withdraw their Factories. That of *Matchulipatam* was the laſt they quitted, and, about threeſcore Years ago, was eſteemed the moſt flouriſhing Colony the *Engliſh* had in all *India*; but now their Houſe is deſerted, and the *Dutch*, who remained behind them, are preparing to take the ſame Courſe. It is not a great many Years ago ſince the Mogul's Viceroy, upon this Coaſt, offered the Governor of Fort *St. George*, to make him a Preſent of the Iſlands of *Diu*, and the Inhabitants were well inclined thereto; but the Governor delayed taking Poſſeſſion ſo long, that both the Viceroy and the People changed their Minds; and when he would have erected a Factory, or a Fort there, they would not permit it.

Next to *Matchulipatam* is *Narſipore*, where the *Engliſh* had a Factory for long Cloth, for the Uſe of their Factory of *Matchulipatam*, when they manufactured Chints there. It alſo affords good Teak-Timber for Building, and has a fine deep River, but a dangerous Bar, which makes it little frequented. And paſſing round *Carrango* Point, a little up *Carrango* Bay, is *Angerang*, that has the Benefit of a large deep River, that penetrates far up into the Continent. It has a Bar, ſoft at the Bottom, and three and an half Fathoms on it at High-Water. Here the beſt and fineſt long Cloth is made that *India* affords, and is ſold cheap; but the inland Countries lying near the River, are in the Hands of ſeveral Rajahs; and each being Sovereign in his own ſmall Dominions, lays ſuch Impoſitions and Exactions on the Cloth that comes down the River, that they ruin that beneficial Trade of *Angerang*, and make it little frequented. In *Anno* 1708, the *Engliſh* from *Vizagapatam* ſettled there; but whether the Factory was ſtarved for want of Money, or whether the conſtituent and conſtituted Chiefs of the Factories diſagreed about dividing the Bear's-Skin, I know not; but the Factory was ſoon withdrawn, and the Project loſt.

Coaſting along Shore, there are ſeveral little Ports between *Matchulipatam* and *Vizagapatam*, beſides *Narſipore* and *Angaran*, but *Wabow* is the moſt noted, for it produces Rice for Exportation, beſides ſome Cloth, but it is not frequented by *Europeans*; and therefore I proceed to *Vizagapatam*, a fortified Factory belonging to the *Engliſh*. It is regularly fortified with four little Baſtions, and has about eighteen Guns mounted in it. It has the Advantage of a River, but a dangerous Bar to paſs over before we get into it. The Country about affords Cotton-Cloths both coarſe and fine, and the beſt Dureas, or ſtriped Muſlins in *India*; but the Factory is generally heart-ſick for want of Money to refreſh it.

In *Anno* 1709, the Factory drew a War on themſelves from the Nabob of *Chickacul*; for one Mr. *Simeon Halcomb*, who had been Chief at *Vazagapatam*, had borrowed conſiderable Sums of the Nabob, and affixed the Company's Seals to the Bonds he gave for them. Mr. *Holcomb* dying, the Nabob demanded his Money from the ſucceeding Chief, who would not pay him, alledging that *Holcomb* had borrowed it for his own private Uſe, and not for the Company's, and that he muſt get Payment out of *Holcomb*'s private Eſtate, if there was enough found to pay the Debt, otherwiſe he might get his Money from ſome inland Rajahs, who ſtood indebted to *Holcomb*, by his Books of Accounts, in a greater Sum than would pay his Principal and Intereſt; and that he being the Mogul's General, could compel thoſe Rajahs to pay their juſt Debts, which they would make over to him; but the Nabob, not caring to enter into a War with his Countrymen on ſuch a Foundation, ſent Agents to acquaint the Governor and Council of Fort *St. George* with his Affairs at *Vizagapatam*; they proved deaf to all the Agents Propoſitions and Arguments, and hardly treated him civilly; ſo he went back to his Maſter with the Account of his bad Succeſs; upon which the Nabob came to a Garden, about half a League from *Vizagapatam*, accompanied with 500 Horſe, and 3500 Foot, to demand his Money.

I, ſays Captain *Hamilton*, being accidentally there in a ſmall *Dutch*-built Ship that I had bought from the *French* on my Credit at Fort *St. George*; and the Factory being but ill mann'd, Mr. *Haſtings*, who was then Chief, and my Friend, deſired the Aſſiſtance of my Arms and Council in that Juncture of Affairs, which I very freely gave him; and being aſked in Council what I thought about the Affair, I adviſed him and his Council to compound the Matter as well as they could, and ſpin out Time, that we might better fortify the Avenues to the Factory. My Advice of compounding the Matter was rejected, but the other Part was followed; ſo, with ſeven *Europeans* that belonged to the Factory, and twelve that were with me, and twenty Topaſes, and two hundred Natives, moſt of them Fiſhers, that lived under the Company's Protection, we fortified ſome Rocks that the Enemy were obliged to paſs within Piſtol-Shot of, if they had a mind to attack us.

We threw up Breaſt-works between the Rocks, and moored my Ship within Piſtol-Shot of the Shore, and had eight Minion-Guns to ſcour the Sands, if they had attempted to come that Way; and for ſix Weeks we continued on our Guard, and were often alarmed in the Night, but finding us always ready to receive them, they did not think it proper to force an Entry into the Town. I had the Honour to command all the Out-guards, and the Chief with eight *Europeans*, and twenty Blacks, kept the Fort. Thus we continued in perpetual Watching and Alarms, till Reinforcements arrived from Fort *St. George*, and then I left them, and proceeded on a Voyage to *Pegu*. Both Parties being very buſy, one ſtriving to get his Money by Compulſion, and the other to ſave the Company's Money on any Terms, right or wrong. The War being drawn to a greater Length than was imagined at firſt, and Charges riſing higher than was expected, inclined them to make all up amicably, which was at laſt effected by the Company's paying near the Sum that was at firſt demanded.

The Nabob, whoſe Name was *Takerly Cawn*, would hear of no Peace without the Company's Merchant, who was a *Gentow*, called *Agapa*, and a Subject of the Mogul (who was very active in the War, in encouraging the Town's-people to defend themſelves and the Company's Intereſts, and who alſo had wrote to ſome neighbouring Rajahs to embroil the Nabob's Affairs in his Abſence, in order to divert him from purſuing his Demands on *Vizagapatam*) ſhould be delivered up to him, which at laſt he was, and was put to a very cruel Death. He was ſet in the hot ſcorching Sun three Days, with his Hands faſtened to a Stake over his Head, and one of his Legs tied up till his Heel touched his Buttock, and in the Night put into a Dungeon, with ſome venomous Snakes to bear him Company; and this was repeated till the third Night he ended his miſerable Life. But the Company's Merchants, for the future, will be careful how they eſpouſe the Company's Intereſt again. There was one *Baily*, a Recruit from Fort *St. George*, on ſome Diſcontent deſerted the Company's Service, and entered into the Nabob's; but falling into an Ambuſh, was taken Priſoner by our Men, and was ſent to Fort *St. George*, where, for his Deſertion, he was deſervedly whipped out of this World into the next, and there I leave him.

After the War was ended, and all was quiet, the Nabob returned to *Chickacul*, but could neither forget nor forgive his Treatment at Fort *St. George* and *Vizagapatam*; but finding by Force he could not get the Factory into his own Hands, without a great Loſs of Men and Money, he had Recourſe to Stratagem, for ſurpriſing it: He came into the Town one Day with one Hundred Horſe, and ſome Foot, without adviſing of his coming, as was uſual, at the Town-gate, and before the Chief could have Notice, he was got into the Factory, with twenty or thirty of his Attendants. The Alarm being given a reſolute bold young Gentleman, a Factor in the Company's Service, called Mr. *Richard Harden*, came running down Stairs with his Fuzee in his Hand, and Bayonet ſcrued on its Muzzel, and preſenting it to the Nabob's Breaſt, told him in the *Gentow* Language (which he was Maſter of) that if any of his Attendants offered the leaſt Incivility, his Life ſhould anſwer for it. The Nabob was ſurpriſingly aſtoniſhed at the Reſolution and Bravery of the young Gentleman, and ſat down to conſider a little, Mr. *Harden* keeping the Muzzel of his Piece ſtill at his Breaſt, and one of the Nabob's Servants ſtanding all the while behind Mr. *Harden* with a Dagger's Point cloſe to his Back; ſo they had a Conference of half an Hour long in the above-mentioned Poſture, and then the Nabob thought fit to be gone again, full of Wonder and Admiration at ſo daring a Courage.

The next Kingdom to *Golconda*, in which the Places we have been laſt ſpeaking of lie, is that of *Orixa*; and proceeding along its Coaſt, we come to the Mouth of the River of *Ballaſore*, where there is a very dangerous Bar, ſufficiently noted for the many Wrecks and Loſſes made by it. Between *Cunnaca* and *Ballaſore* Rivers there is one continued ſandy Bay, where prodigious Numbers of Sea-Tortoiſes reſort, to lay their Eggs, and a very delicious Fiſh, called the Pamplee, ſome in Shells, and are ſold for Two-pence a hundred; two of them are ſufficient to dine a moderate Man. The Town of *Ballaſore* is but four Miles from the Sea by Land, but by the River twenty. The Country is fruitful to Admiration, producing Rice, Wheat, Gram, Doll, Callavances, ſeveral ſorts of *Pulſe*, *Annis*, Cummin, Coriander, and Carraway-Seeds, Tobacco, Butter, Oil, and Bee's-Wax. Their Manufactures are of Cotton in Sanis, Caſſes, Dimities, Mulmuls, Silk, and Silk and Cotton Romals, Gurrahs, and Lungies; and of *Herba* (a ſort of tough Graſs) they make Ginghams, Pinaſco's, and ſeveral other Goods for Exportation. The *Engliſh*, *French*, and *Dutch*, have their reſpective Factories here; but at preſent are of little Conſideration; though, in former Times, before the Navigation of *Hughly* River was cultivated, they were the head Factories of the Gulph of *Bengal*.

The Town of *Ballaſore* drives a pretty good Trade to the *Maldives*. Thoſe Iſlands have no Rice or other Grain of their own Product; ſo that *Ballaſore* ſupplies them with all Neceſſaries they want; and in Return bring Cowries and Cayer, for the Service of Shipping The Seaſhore of *Ballaſore* being very low, and the Depths of the Water very gradual from the Strand, make the Ships in *Ballaſore* Road keep at a good Diſtance from the Shore; for in four or five Fathoms they ride three Leagues off. From *April* to *October* is the Seaſon for Shipping to come into the Bay of *Bengal*; Pilots lie ready at *Ballaſore* to carry them up the River *Hughly*, which is a ſmall Branch of the famous *Ganges*. The *European* Companies before-mentioned, keep theirs always in Pay; but when none of their own Shipping is there, their Pilots have the Liberty to ſerve other Ships, which is no ſmall Advantage to them. The Sides of the River are over-grown with Buſhes, which give Shelter to many fierce and troubleſome Tygers, which do much Miſchief. A good Author ſays, he knew an *Engliſhman* that was in the Ship's-boat laden with freſh

Water, lying in the River, waiting the Tide to carry her over the Bar, and this Man had the Curioſity to ſtep aſhore, and being a little Way from the Boat, had a Call to eaſe himſelf, and had no ſooner put himſelf in a Poſture, near the Buſhes, but out leaped a Tyger, and caught both his Buttocks in his Mouth, and was for carrying him away; but one of the Seamen in the Boat ſeeing the Tragedy, took up a Muſket, and placed a Bullet in the Tyger's Head, while the Man was in his Mouth helpleſs. The Tyger immediately let him fall, and ſkulked into the Buſhes, and the wounded Man was carried on board his Ship, where the Surgeon made a perfect Cure of the Wounds.

Piply lies on the Banks of a River, ſuppoſed to be a Branch of the *Ganges*, about five Leagues from that of *Ballaſore*; formerly it was a Place of Trade, and was honoured with the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Factories. The Country produces the ſame Commodities that *Ballaſore* does. At preſent it is reduced to Beggary, by the Factories removing to *Hughly*, and *Calacutta*, the Merchants being all gone. It is now inhabited by Fiſhers, as are alſo *Angelie*, and *Kidgiere*, two neighbouring Iſlands on the Weſt-ſide the Mouth of the *Ganges*. Theſe Iſlands abound alſo in tame Swine, where they are ſold very cheap. There are near theſe Iſlands dangerous Sand-banks, that are both numerous and large, and make the Navigation out and into *Hughly* River both troubleſome and dangerous; and after we paſs theſe Iſlands, in going up the River, the Channel for Shipping is on the Eaſt-ſide, and ſeveral Creeks run from the Channel among a great number of Iſlands, formed by different Channels of the *Ganges*, two of which are more remarkable than the reſt, *viz. Coxes* and *Sagar* Iſlands, where great Ships are obliged to anchor, to take in Part of their Cargoes, becauſe ſeveral Places in the River are too ſhallow for ſuch Ships to paſs over, when their whole Cargoes are aboard.

There are no Inhabitants on thoſe Iſlands, for they are ſo peſtered with Tygers, that there could be no Security for human Creatures to dwell on them; nay, it is even dangerous to land on them, or for Boats to anchor near them; for in the Night they have ſwam to Boats at Anchor, and carried Men out of them; yet among the *Pagans*, the Iſland *Sagar* is accounted holy, and great Numbers of *Jougies* go yearly thither in the Months of *November* and *December*, to worſhip and waſh in Salt-water, who many of them fall Sacrifices to the hungry Tygers. The firſt ſafe Anchoring-place in the River, is off the Mouth of a River above *Sagar*, commonly known by the Name of Rogues River, which had this Appellation from ſome Banditti *Portugueze*, who were Followers of Sultan *Sujah*, when Emir *Jemal*, *Aurenzeb*'s General, drove the unfortunate Prince out of his Province of *Bengal*. For thoſe *Portugueze* having no way to ſubſiſt after their Maſter's Flight to the Kingdom of *Arachan*, betook themſelves to Piracy among the Iſlands, at the Mouth of the *Ganges*, and that River having Communication with all the Channels from *Xatigam* to the Weſtward from this River, they uſed to ſally out and commit Depredations on thoſe that traded on the River *Hughly*.

About five Leagues farther upon the Weſt-ſide of the River of *Hughly*, is another Branch of the *Ganges*, called *Ganga*; it is broader than that of *Hughly*, but much ſhallower, and more incumbered with Sand-banks. A little below the Mouth of it, the *Danes* have a thatched Houſe, but for what Reaſons they kept a Houſe there we are in the dark. Along the River of *Hughly*, there are many ſmall Villages and Farms interſperſed with thoſe large Plains, but the firſt of any Note on the River-ſide is *Culculla*, a Market-town for Corn, coarſe Cloth, Butter and Oil, with other Productions of the Country. Above it is the *Dutch* Banks Hall, a Place where their Ships ride when they cannot get farther up for the too ſwift Currents of the River.

Culculla has a large deep River that runs to the Eaſtward, and ſo has *Juanpardao*, and on the Weſt-ſide there is a River that runs by the Back of *Hughly* Iſland, which leads up to *Radngur*, famous for manufacturing Cotton-cloth, and ſilk Nomaals, or Handkerchiefs; *Buſſundri* and *Freſindi*, or *Gorgat*, and *Cobong*, are all on that River, which produce the greateſt Quantities of the beſt Sugars in *Bengal*. We are now arrived at the greateſt Settlement the Company have on this Coaſt, which is *Fort William*; but having already given a large Account of this Place, and of ſuch others as are of any Note in its Neighbourhood, we will proceed. The Kingdom of *Daca* is the firſt on the Eaſtern-ſide of the *Ganges*, next to that lies the Kingdom of *Aracan*, then the Kingdom of *Ava*, which is next to that of *Pegu*; on all which Coaſts we have ſome, but very little Trade; and as to the Iſlands along the Coaſt, though well enough ſituated for Commerce, yet, as they are uninhabited, they do not deſerve, or require our Notice.

The next Place on the Continent to the Southward, is *Merjee*, a Town belonging to the King of *Siam*, ſituated on the Banks of the River of *Tanacerin*, lying within a great Number of ſmall uninhabited Iſlands. The Harbour is ſafe, and the Country produces Rice, Timber for Building, Tin, Elephants Teeth, and Agale-wood. In former Times, a good Number of *Engliſh* free Merchants were ſettled at *Merjee*, and drove a good Trade, living under a mild indulgent Government; but the old *Eaſt-India* Company envying their Happineſs, by an arbitrary Command, ordered them to leave their Induſtry, and repair to *Fort St. George*, or to ſerve them, and threatened the King of *Siam* with a Sea-war, if he did not deliver thoſe *Engliſh* up, or force them out of his Country, and in *Anno* 1687, ſent one Captain *Weldon*, in a ſmall Ship called *Courtany* to *Merjee* with that Meſſage; he behaved himſelf very inſolently to the Government, and killed ſome *Siameſe* without any juſt Cauſe. One Night, when *Weldon* was aſhore, the *Siameſe* thinking to do themſelves Juſtice on him, got a Company together, deſigning to ſeize or kill the Aggreſſor; but *Weldon* having Notice of their Deſign, made his Eſcape on board his Ship, and the *Siameſe* miſſing him, tho' very narrowly, vented their Rage on all the *Engliſh* they could find; the poor Victims being only guarded by their Innocence, did not ſo much as arm themſelves to withſtand the Fury of the enraged Mob, ſo that ſeventy-ſix were maſſacred, and hardly twenty eſcaped on board of the *Courtany*; ſuch was the tragical Conſequence of one Man's Inſolence.

Before that fatal Time, the *Engliſh* were ſo beloved, and favoured at the Court of *Siam*, that they had Places of Truſt conferred upon them, both in civil and military Branches of the Government. Mr. *Samuel White* was made *Shawbandaar*, or Cuſtom-maſter at *Merjee* and *Tanacerin*, and Captain *Williams* was Admiral of the King's Navy; but the troubleſome Company, and a great Revolution that happened in the State of *Siam*, made ſome repair to *Fort St. George*, others to *Bengal*, and others to *Achen*.

Since that Time, Things are quite altered, and the Affairs of the Company being thoroughly ſettled, all Things are carried on with the utmoſt Regularity, ſo that though it has not been found neceſſary to eſtabliſh new Factories, or to ſettle Colonies along the Coaſts, which would infallibly have alarmed other Nations, without contributing much to the Service of our own; yet the Commerce of the whole Gulph, from the Mouth of the *Ganges*, to the very Extremity of the Peninſula of *Malaca*, is properly provided for, by which Means the Company reaps the Profit, or at leaſt a reaſonable Part of the Profit of the private Trade thither, without being put to any unneceſſary Expence. As to our Factories on the Iſland of *Sumatra*, they are now ſo numerous, that it is conceived we enjoy the beſt Part of the Traffick which that rich Iſland affords. Our Factories therein are *Mocho*, *Bantal*, *Cattoun*, *Bencoolen*, *Marlbrough Fort*, of which we have ſpoken largely before, and *Sillebar*, of which we have alſo taken Notice.

It is true, that the *Dutch*, being Maſters of the neighbouring Iſland of *Java*, have found Means from thence to fix themſelves upon Part of this Iſland, and it is ſaid, they are poſſeſs'd of a gold Mine, which they work, but to no great Advantage, at leaſt to the Company. On this Occaſion, I cannot help taking Notice, that the Conduct of our *Eaſt-India* Company is to the full as commendable in their not endeavouring to follow this Example, ſince I am ſatisfied, that Commerce is a much more valuable Thing than Mines of Gold, eſpecially in the Hands of a Company. Becauſe this may ſeem a Paradox, I think I ſhall not miſpend either my own or the Reader's Time, by endeavouring to explain it. There is certainly no Country in the *Indies* which abounds ſo plentifully in Gold as this Iſland of *Sumatra*, if we except *China* and *Japan*, and that Method muſt certainly be the beſt, by which moſt of this precious Metal can be obtained. But the eſtabliſhing by Force any Settlements in that Country, is not like to prove the moſt effectual Means, for many Reaſons, for, in the firſt Place, the Natives will not work the Mines for themſelves, and conſidering it as an intolerable Slavery to work them for others, have an unconquerable Averſion for ſuch as would put them on ſuch Labours; ſo that from the Time this Method is tried, there is an End of all free Correſpondence with the People of this Country.

In the next Place, the Mines are far from yielding in any Proportion to what is expected from them, the Reaſon of which is not hard to diſcern; for all the Nations on that extenſive Iſland, being employed in picking out of the Sands and Channels of the Rocks, ſuch Gold as is forced into them by the Torrents, that paſs through the Mines, the Quantity of Metal obtained by the Induſtry of ſuch Multitudes, all working for their own Benefit, muſt exceed, in a tranſcendant Degree, what is dug out of a ſingle Mine, under the Diſcouragements before mentioned. Several Colonies therefore, in different Parts of this Iſland, the gentle Uſage of the Inhabitants, and the bringing them to conſume and eſteem *European* Commodities, is the true, ſafe and certain Means of acquiring peaceably, and by their own Conſent, the Gold that is thus gathered; and theſe three ſeveral Advantages ariſe from the proceeding in this Way.

Firſt, the vaſt Hazard of maintaining an abſolute Power over a numerous Na ion with a Handful of Men, is avoided. Secondly, an Intercourſe is eſtabliſhed, by which not only a vaſt Quantity of Gold is returned to *Europe*; but, which is a thing of no leſs Conſequence, it is returned not by the Labour of *Indian* Slaves, but for Goods and Manufactures belonging to, or wrought amongſt ourſelves. Thirdly, by this Means a great Quantity of Shipping is employed; whereas the Poſſeſſion of Gold or Silver-Mines requires only a few Ships, and as it is acquired by Tyranny abroad, ſo ſuch a Return of this Wealth can only ſerve to promote Idleneſs and Luxury at home. From all which Conſiderations, I conceive the Point I firſt laid down to be fully eſtabliſhed, *viz.* that the Policy of our *East-India* Company, eſpecially if conſidered in a national Light, is much preferable to that of the *Dutch*; and I make no queſtion, that the Experience of future Times will abundantly juſtify this Obſervation. We had formerly Settlements on the Coaſts of *Cochin-China*, and in the Kingdom of *Tonquin*, which have been ſince withdrawn; but we have ſtill an occaſional Trade there, and eſpecially in the laſt-mentioned Kingdom.

As to our Trade to the Eaſtward to *China* and the *Manillas*, I have not much to ſay of it here. The former is ſo well known in every Reſpect, that there is no Need of dwelling upon it; and, as for the latter, there is ſo little can be ſaid with Certainty, that I can ſcarce perſuade myſelf to meddle with it at all: However, for the ſake of Method, and that I may not ſeem to conclude this Matter abruptly, I ſhall juſt touch upon both. As to the *China* Trade, it has been found by Experience, that we manage it as well, or better, at *Canton* than we did formerly at *Amoyer*, when we had a Factory in the Iſland of *Chuſan*. To ſay the Truth, the Affairs of our Company were in ſo good a Condition thirty Years ago, that we bid fair for monopolizing this Trade; but the high Duties laid upon Teas and other *Chineſe* Commodities, defeated our Induſtry abroad, and gave Encouragement to the pernicious Practice of Smuggling, which, in a very ſhort time, put our Trade in *China* almoſt on a Level with that of other Nations; but, perhaps, by a right Management, and a due Regard ſhewn by the Government for the Intereſt of the Company, Things may be ſet right again.

As to the *Manilla* Trade, the *French* ſay, that we carry on a conſiderable Part of it under *Iriſh* Colours; but I muſt confeſs, I believe there is no good Authority for this, though it is very highly probable that ſomething of this ſort may be done under *Mooriſh*, or rather under *Portugueze* Colours; for the *Spaniards*, contrary to their Cuſtom in all their other Colonies, have laid open this Trade to all Nations, the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* only excepted, which Exception by the Government is of no great Conſequence, where it is the Intereſt of their Subjects, as well as ours, to break through it. But, with reſpect to *Japon*, which lies ſtill farther to the Eaſt, we have, as I have already ſhewn at large, loſt all Correſpondence therewith, and whatever Commodities of that Country are brought into ours, we derive from our Trade with the *Chineſe* and *Dutch*.

Thus, according to the cleareſt Lights that I have been able to obtain, I have performed my promiſe, and given the beſt Account that was in my Power, not only of the Riſe and Progreſs, but alſo the preſent State of our Commerce to the *Indies*, which, I hope, appears to the Reader to be in a much more flouriſhing State than ever; and that it may ſtill continue, or rather that it may yet improve beyond what it has hitherto done, it is abſolutely neceſſary that three Points ſhould be univerſally well underſtood; the firſt is, that this Trade is highly beneficial to the Nation; the ſecond, that as Things now ſtand, it cannot be effectually carried on otherwiſe than by ſupporting the preſent Company; and laſtly, that the Objections heretofore made, and which are ſtill circulated among the common People are falſe and groundleſs; ſo that if we ſhould grow careleſs enough to loſe this Trade, it will go near to carry all other Trade with it. We will ſuccinctly demonſtrate each of theſe Points, and ſo conclude this Section.

Firſt, then, I am to ſhew that it is a Thing advantageous to this Nation, that the *Eaſt-India* Trade ſhould be carried on. If we conſider this generally, there is nothing eaſier, nothing more certainly to be made out than this; for have we not ſeen that the *Hebrews*, *Tyrians*, *Egyptians*, *Greeks*, and *Romans* in ancient Times; and that the *Venetians*, *Genoeſe*, *Portugueze* and *Dutch*, among the Moderns, have all raiſed themſelves to immenſe Wealth, and to a ſurpriſing Degree of naval Power, by being poſſeſſed of this Trade? What Need then of arguing to perſuade the People of this Country, that what has enriched all others, muſt be beneficial for them, that what has beſtowed the Dominion of the Sea in Times paſt and preſent, is neceſſary to them, and that if in a Matter of this Nature, we are guided by Experience, it is ſcarce poſſible that we ſhould be miſtaken. But, to deſcend to Particulars, the *Eaſt-India* Trade, I ſpeak in reference to this Kingdom, has all the Marks and Characters of Advantage that any Trade can have.

In the firſt Place, its Navigation is very conſiderable; it maintains a vaſt Number of Seamen, more indeed than can be eaſily computed: But to place this Point in a proper Light, we muſt, firſt of all, conſider the Number of Ships that are annually taken up by the *Eaſt-India* Company; we muſt next call to mind the Number of Seamen continually employed in the *Indies*, in trading from Port to Port; and laſtly, we muſt reflect on the Shipping employed in exporting *Eaſt-India* Goods to all the different Parts of *Europe*, and then we ſhall have a competent Notion of the Value of this Trade in this reſpect, provided alſo that we bear in mind the great Improvement that ſuch long Voyages naturally make in thoſe who are employed in them, and the great Conſequences of this to a Country, the Power and Welfare of which depend upon a maritime Force.

In the next Place, there is nothing more certain, than that we derive a great Part of our Wealth from this Commerce, which brings in large Quantities of Gold and other intrinſick Riches immediately from the *Indies* in its ordinary Courſe. It is no leſs evident, that private Men make vaſt Fortunes in the *Indies*, which, ſooner, or later, they bring home: And all theſe Eſtates are conſequently Acceſſions to the Wealth of this Kingdom. We muſt add to this the Ballance that accrues to the Nation from the exporting of *Indian* Commodities and Manufactures, which is in itſelf ſo vaſt a thing, that it would require Volumes to explain it thoroughly. But this is not my preſent Buſineſs; all I aim at is, to give a general Notion of the Advantages derived to us from this Commerce; and, in order thereto, it is ſufficient that I put the Reader in mind, that there is ſcarce a Branch of Trade which we at preſent enjoy, but is ſome way or other affected by our Importations from *India*, and which, conſequently, muſt ſo far depend upon them, ſince, if we had not theſe Goods, we could not carry them on.

Another great Advantage this Commerce beſtows, is the Exportation of our Manufactures, to which the *Eaſt-India* Company are bound, by their Charters, with which they not only comply, but have greatly exceeded what was expected from them; and, of late Years eſpecially, have conſtantly increaſed their Exportations, ſo that a great Part of thoſe valuable Effects which they bring home are, ſtrictly and properly ſpeaking, the Produce of the Labour and Induſtry of our own People. But, beſides this, they bring home ſeveral raw and unmanufactured Goods, ſuch as Silk, and Cotton, which are wrought up here, and vaſt Quantities of them exported to our Plantations, by which we obtain a great Part of that prodigious Ballance in our Favour which ariſes from that Trade.

There is yet another Point which I muſt inſiſt upon, which is the furniſhing us for our own Wear, with large Quantities of cheap and beautiful Stuffs, that might enable us, if our Poor were properly regulated, and due Care taken to excite an univerſal Spirit of Induſtry, to make and ſend abroad vaſt Quantities of woollen Goods: For though it be true, that our own Conſumption of thoſe Goods is of great Conſequence to ſuch as are employed in the making of them, yet with reſpect to the Nation, it is of no Conſequence at all; for what we gain one by another, is no Acceſſion of Wealth to the Publick, for that muſt ariſe from what we draw from other Nations, either by paying for the Goods and Manufactures which we receive from them by what we export to them, or bringing over the Ballance in Money; or, which is ſtill better, in ſuch as we can again export, and ſo add the Freight and Profit upon thoſe Goods to the Ballance by which they accrue. If theſe are not clear and convincing Proofs of the Benefit reſulting to us from this Trade, it is ſimply impoſſible that we ſhould have any ſuch; and if our Opinions are not to be guided by theſe, it is not eaſy to ſay upon what they muſt be grounded.

But perhaps it may be expected that I ſhould form ſome Computation of the Profits ariſing from the *Eaſt-India* Trade, which, I muſt confeſs, will be a very difficult thing, and would require much more Room than I have to ſpare; to which I may add, that this has been already done by Dr. *Davenant* and others, in a Way that will convince any Man who has Leiſure, Attention, and Capacity, of the Truth of what they have delivered. However, that I may not ſeem altogether deficient in what many of my Readers may conceive the moſt material Point in this Enquiry, I will venture to lay down a Fact, the Proof of which I am ready to undertake whenever I am properly called upon ſo to do, which, I hope, will ſatisfy them, and it is this; that the Nation gains *Cent. per Cent.* by all that the *Eaſt-India* Company exports: And, indeed, it is my private Opinion, that for every five Pounds which the *Eaſt-India* Company employs in that Trade, the Nation gains ſix Pounds; but how far this may be leſſened by the ſetting up ſo many different *Eaſt-India* Companies in all Parts of *Europe*, is a Conſideration of another Nature, and with which therefore I ſhall not meddle here.

The ſecond Thing I promiſed was to ſhew the Expediency of ſupporting the *Eaſt-India* Company, and of leaving that Trade in the Channel it is now in. In the firſt place, I muſt premiſe, that I am abſolutely diſintereſted in this Matter, and ſo far from having any Direction or Inſtructions from, that I have not the leaſt Connection with the Company, or any of its Directors; and am likewiſe ſo far from being a Friend to excluſive Companies in general, that I think this the only one that is, or can be beneficial to this Kingdom, for which I ſhall very freely aſſign my Reaſons. The firſt is, that the Trade to the *Eaſt-Indies* is of ſuch a Nature that it is of the utmoſt Conſequence to the Nation to have, from time to time, diſtinct Accounts of its State and Condition, which could not be ſo well, or at leaſt, not ſo eaſily received, if it was not managed by a Company: As, on the other hand, the neceſſary Inſtructions and Regulations, could not, with ſuch Facility, be any other Way conveyed. What ſeems to ſtrengthen and inforce this Opinion, is the Conduct of all other Nations, who whenever they have adventured to interfere in this Trade, have conſtantly put it under the Management of a Company; and to ſay the Truth, whoever ſhall conſider how Things are to be diſtributed in the *Indies*, and what a Connection there is between the Commerce of the ſeveral Countries included within the Extent of the *Eaſt-India* Company's Charter, will very eaſily diſcern, that if the whole were not under the Management and Direction of a Body of Men converſant therein; and not only capable of giving Directions, but properly empowered to ſee thoſe Directions carried into Execution; it would be impoſſible, that this Commerce ſhould thrive, or even, that it ſhould ſubſiſt.

One may in like manner conceive, that if the Poſſeſſion of the Colonies and Forts in the *Indies* were in the Crown, and the Management of the Trade only in the Hands of the Company, it could not but be attended with numberleſs Inconveniencies, as indeed Experience ſhewed, in the Reign of King *Charles* II. when *Bombay* came to the Crown, by his Marriage with the Infanta of *Portugal*, and therefore both that Iſland, and the Iſland of *St. Helena*, have been granted to the *Eaſt-India* Company, for the Sake of publick Conveniency. We may likewiſe diſcover from the Diſorders of the *Eaſt India* Company's Affairs in that Reign, and in the Reign of King *James*, that it is very detrimental to this Commerce, and to the Benefits reſulting from thence to the Nation, that the Company ſhould be immediately under the Power of the Crown, ſo as to ſtand indebted for all Encouragement, and to have no other Reſource in caſe of Grievances, than what they can draw from Royal Power; for this on the one hand renders Trade precarious, and on the other, intereſts a great Body of People in the Support of the Prerogative, which might be of dangerous Conſequence.

The Miſchiefs flowing from two *Eaſt-India* Companies ſubſiſting at one time, we have known from Experience; and ſo great they were, that both Companies became very ſoon ſenſible, that nothing but the Union of their Intereſts could poſſibly afford a proper Remedy. Yet I think one may ſafely conclude, that the laying this Trade open, which is what has been often contended for, would be a Scheme big with ſtill greater Inconveniencies, becauſe it would be at the Bottom a Multiplication of Companies, all acting upon ſeparate Intereſts, which conſequently would be perpetually claſhing and interfering with each other. But as Things ſtand at preſent, and as all other Countries carry on this Trade in this Way, there remains no other for us, and we muſt either ſupport the *Eaſt-India* Company, or reſolve to give up our Commerce to the *Indies*, there being no middle Courſe for us to ſteer; and it was, without doubt, from a juſt Senſe of this, that in the two laſt Reigns, ſo much has been done by Parliamen, in favour of this Company, and ſo many new Powers granted them.

I am very ſenſible, that even theſe Powers, and indeed, all the Powers with which the Company are intruſted, may be liable to many, and ſome of them juſt Objections; but if the Powers of the Board of Trade were enlarged, and its Juriſdiction properly inforced, all thoſe Inconveniencies upon which theſe Objections are grounded, might be eaſily taken away; and beſides, we very well know, that the Courts of Chancery and Exchequer can, and do interpoſe, as well in favour of Foreigners, as Natives, whenever the Power of the *Eaſt-India* Company, or any of its Officers, is ſo exerciſed, as to commit Acts of manifeſt Injuſtice.

But at the ſame time, that from all theſe concurring, and, as I conceive, unanſwerable Reaſons, I am perſuaded, that this Trade is beſt carried on by an incorporated Body; I am very far from contending, that they ſhould act without Controul, or that they ſhould not be in all reſpects ſubject to whatever Regulations the Legiſlature ſhall from time to time think fit to enact, for rendering the Commerce they carry on more and more beneficial to this Nation It is from a due Senſe of this, that I could heartily wiſh, Propoſals might be made to the Board of Trade, for opening a direct and immediate Correſpondence, either by the *Cape of Good-hope*, or by the *Straits of Magellan*, with the Southern continent; and in caſe any Project of that ſort ſhould be laid before them, that was thought practicable, I ſhould eſteem it highly reaſonable, that upon their Recommendation, the *Eaſt-India* Company ſhould be obliged to make ſuch an Attempt, or if they refuſed, that any private Perſons might be allowed to undertake it, and have proper Aſſurances and Encouragements given them by the Publick. For it is, and will be ever my Sentiment, that this, and all other Companies, are but ſo many Corporations endowed with Powers in Truſt for the Publick, for which they are, and muſt be accountable to the Publick, and alſo be ſubject to ſuch Alterations, Extenſions, and Reſtrictions, as may render them moſt ſerviceable to the Publick.

I the rather inſiſt upon theſe Points at this Time, becauſe without ſome Acceſſion of new Trade, which we may poſſeſs as a Nation excluſive of all others, I do not ſee how it is poſſible, we ſhould maintain our maritime Power at its preſent Height. As on the other hand, I can ſee no Reaſon whatever, why, if any thing can be done for the Service of the Nation, in this reſpect, by opening a Trade to the ſouthern *Indies*, by recovering the Trade of *Japon*, by diſcovering any Countries to the North of that Empire, or by any other Method whatever, it ſhould be left undone out of Reſpect to the Powers or Privileges poſſeſſed by any Corporation.

I come now to the laſt Point that I have undertaken to clear, and that is the popular Objections which have been raiſed againſt the Commerce to the *Indies*, of which there are many, and ſome of them ſo plauſible, that Men of great Parts, and good Intentions, have been led away by them. The firſt of theſe is grounded upon the Exportation of Bullion, and which, if I conceive it right, is thus ſtated. The common Meaſure of all Things in a commercial Way, is Silver, and conſequently the great Mark of a Nation's Wealth, is her drawing this common Meaſure from other Nations; but the *Eaſt-India* Trade is carried on by exporting this real and intrinſick Wealth, which never returns, but is employed to bring back Things that are not neceſſary, but meer Inſtruments of Luxury.

Before I proceed to the direct Solution of this Difficulty, I muſt obſerve, that if we give this Objection its full Weight, it will deſtroy all Commerce. The Neceſſaries of Life, are in every Country, or at leaſt in every habitable Country, and it is to what ſome People call Luxury, that all Trade whatever is owing; ſo that if we admit this Principle, we ſhould not only drink Sage inſtead of Green-tea, but make uſe of Honey inſtead of Sugar. In ſhort, we ſhould endeavour to cultivate and improve the Produce of our own Country, live upon it, and leave all the reſt of the World to ſhift for itſelf. How juſt a Maxim this would be, for People who inhabit an Iſland, and how reaſonable it is, for Folks who derive moſt of the Bleſſings they enjoy from Trade, and maritime Power, to talk thus, I leave the Reader to judge. But if once we ſet this Objection ſo far aſide as to allow that Trade is a commendable Thing for the very Reaſon the Objection aſſigns, *viz.* that it makes the Country in which it flouriſhes, Rich; the Trade to the *Eaſt Indies* becomes as defenſible as any other: For, if exporting of Bullion does not impoveriſh the Nation, then there is no Force at all in the Objection; and that it does not in this Caſe, I am very well able to prove. When the firſt Charter was granted to the *Eaſt India* Company, this Evil was foreſeen, and properly guarded againſt by a Proviſo, that the Company ſhould be obliged to bring in as large a Quantity of Bullion as they carried out, in the Interval between the Voyages made, at the Riſque of the Company. In reality therefore, there never was any Foundation for this Complaint, that the Quantity of Silver in this Kingdom was diminiſhed by the *Eaſt India* Trade. But by degrees, and as this Commerce has increaſed, inſtead of impoveriſhing, it has greatly encreaſed the Wealth of this Nation, by bringing in on one hand large Quantities of Silver for the *Indian* Merchandize exported, and detaining here on the other as great Sums of Money, that muſt otherwiſe have been exported for foreign Manufactures, which would have been worn here, if we had not been better and cheaper ſupplied from *India*.

Another Objection is, or at leaſt was, that the wearing of *India* Piece goods hurt our own woollen and ſilk Manufactures; but this in a great meaſure has been cured by the Laws paſſed for that Purpoſe. It may not be amiſs, however, to obſerve, that thoſe Manufactures are chiefly to be encouraged, which contribute to Exportation, ſince it is certain, that the cheaper People can be cloathed here, let that cloathing come from where it will, the cheaper they can afford to work; and it is the Cheapneſs of Labour, that is the great Point to be ſtudied in a Nation; for if we can under-work other Nations, we ſhall infallibly undermine their Trade, and extend our own; for, as I obſerved before, private People may be enriched by home Conſumption, yet the Publick gets nothing thereby, and this Conſideration is ſufficient to enable the intelligent Reader, to diſcern how a Clamour may be raiſed in favour of Trades, no way advantageous to the Publick, and againſt ſuch Trades as are highly beneficial to the People, and this from confounding the Intereſt of private Men, or of great Bodies of Men, with the Intereſt of the Publick, which it requires great Skill, Induſtry, and Diſintereſtedneſs to diſentangle, and ſet in its proper Light. There is beſides, a great Diſadvantage in arguing on Topicks of this Nature, becauſe, while a Man is really pleading for the Publick, he is maliciouſly miſrepreſented as an Advocate for the private Intereſt of that Body of Men whoſe Cauſe he eſpouſes, tho' in Truth he does not eſpouſe their Cauſe out of regard to their private or particular Intereſt, but merely from a Conviction of Mind, that their Cauſe is in this reſpect the Cauſe of the Publick.

A third Objection is, that even the Exportation of *Indian* Goods is diſadvantageous to the Nation, becauſe it leſſens, or at leaſt is ſuppoſed to leſſen the Conſumption of our own Manufactures, in thoſe Countries to which the Produce of *India* is exported: A very ſtrong Objection this, in all Appearance, and yet at the Bottom a meer Fallacy, and not at all grounded on Truth. For this Objection ſuppoſes what is manifeſtly falſe, *viz.* that it depends upon our Exportation, whether the Inhabitants of thoſe Countries to which we ſend them, ſhall wear the Manufactures of the *Indies*, or not; but as it is notorious, that if we did not ſupply them, they would receive them from the *Dutch*, or *French*, which would have the ſame Effect as to the Excluſion of our Manufactures; the true State of the Queſtion comes at length to this, whether we ſhall take their Money, or their Goods for *Indian* Commodities, or whether we ſhall ſubmit to let them lay out that, or part with thoſe for *Indian* Commodities, which we might ſupply, to other People?

The Truth of all this, as it will appear to every candid and ingenious Reader, from the Reaſons and Arguments already advanced, ſo, at this Juncture, it muſt be evident to every Man who has but common Senſe, from the Light of Experience; for do we not ſee, that the *Ruſſians*, *Swedes*, *Danes*, and other Nations, are bent upon eſtabliſhing a direct Correſpondence with *India*, in order to obtain greater Quantities of the Goods of that Country; and does not this manifeſtly prove, that the Appetites of theſe People for thoſe Things were ſo ſtrong, that it was no way in our Power to check, or correct them?

The Truth of the Matter is, that the ſole Objection againſt this Commerce, that has any Force, lies in this ſimple Propoſition, *that it is againſt the Intereſt of the weſtern Part of the World, to correſpond with the Eaſt.* The Reaſons which are brought to prove this, are indeed very plauſible. It is ſaid, that the Ballance of Trade is againſt us, that we import the Commodities and Manufactures of the *Indies*, and export Silver to pay for them. That this drains *Europe* to ſuch a Degree, as that ſince the Diſcovery of the Paſſage by the *Cape of Good-hope*, it is demonſtrable, that the *Indians* have gained from the *Europeans* upwards of two hundred Millions in Silver, which immenſe Wealth they poſſeſs, while all that we received for it, is long ago loſt and conſumed. It is confeſſed, even by the warmeſt Writers in favour of the *Indian* Trade (tho' I freely own I am of a different Opinion) that this ſufficiently proves, that it would be for the

Benefit of the weſtern Part of the World, if they had no Commerce at all with the Eaſt; and that it would be an Advantage to *Europe* in general, if the Commerce to the *Indies* were totally aboliſhed.

Admitting this to be true, what is it to us? We are not yet the Legiſlators of *Europe*; we cannot bid the *Dutch* diſſolve their Company, and recall their Subjects from the *Indies*; we cannot forbid the *French* to trade thither; and if our Miniſters at *Stockholm*, and *Copenhagen*, ſhould perſuade thoſe Courts not to ſend any more Ships to *China*, it is not at all probable, that they would take our Advice. We muſt be content then, to take the World as it lies before us, and ſince the Humour of trading to *India* cannot be extinguiſhed, we, as a trading Nation, muſt endeavour ſo to manage that Humour, and our Commerce. as that both may turn to our Advantage.

We muſt contrive to maintain and ſupport the Acquiſitions made by our Company in that Part of the World; we muſt engage them to take off as great a Quantity of our Manufactures as is poſſible; we muſt encourage to the utmoſt the Exportation of ſuch Goods and Manufactures as the Company brings home; and, which is of the greateſt Conſequence to this Nation, we muſt, at all Events, and by whatever Means it can be done, prevent the ſmuggling of *Indian* Commodities into theſe Kingdoms; for ſuch as promote that Practice, are the moſt notorious Enemies of their Country, and cannot get a ſingle Shilling, without robbing the Nation of five.

Thus I have entirely finiſhed what I propoſed, with reſpect to our Commerce with this Part of the World. I have ſhewn, that it is the great Wheel which moves all the reſt; that we have no reaſon to be diſſatisfied at ſeeing it managed by an excluſive Company; that by degrees, and by a Variety of Accidents, this Company is now placed on the beſt Baſis that can be for the Nation; that there is no doubt, their Trade is extremely beneficial; that the Objections againſt it are very far from being well founded, and that at this Juncture, it imports us more than ever to be well informed, and clearly convinced as to theſe Things, becauſe there never was a Conjuncture when the thorough underſtanding of them was of ſo great Conſequence to the Publick. If in the managing ſo extenſive, ſo intricate, and in ſome Caſes, ſo invidious a Subject, I ſhall be thought to have performed well, it is the Height of my Ambition; but if I have failed therein, it will be ſtill my Comfort, that it was my Endeavour. I might with much greater Eaſe to myſelf have contracted this Section into a narrower Compaſs, but I have ſincerely ſtudied the Benefit of the Reader, and how to render the Time he beſtows in the Peruſal of this Work beneficial to himſelf, by inſpiring him with ſuch Sentiments as may render him uſeful to his Country.

SECTION XXXIV.

A ſuccinct Hiſtory of the Riſe, Progreſs, and Eſtabliſhment of the Dutch East-India *Company; with a View of the immenſe Profits ariſing from that Commerce, and a Proſpect of their Affairs, and the Manner in which they are conducted, as well at Home, as in their extenſive Settlements Abroad.*

Collected chiefly from their own Writers.

1. *An introductory Account of the Situation of Affairs in* Holland, *at the Time their Commerce to the* Eaſt-Indies *was firſt undertaken.* 2. Houtman's *Impriſonment in* Portugal, *proves the Means of their learning the true Rout to the* Eaſt-Indies. 3. *The firſt Voyages made under the Direction of* Houtman, *at the Cloſe of the ſixteenth Century.* 4. *A new Company of Merchants engage in this Trade with great Succeſs.* 5. *The* States-General *and Prince* Maurice *interpoſe in order to put this Company on a proper Eſtabliſhment.* 6. *The* Dutch Eaſt-India *Company formed, and* Letters Patent *dated* March *the 20th* 1602, *for twenty-one Years.* 7. *A great Struggle between the* Dutch *and* Spaniards *about the* Moluccas, *in which the former at laſt prevailed.* 8. *An Account of the ſurprizing Succeſs of the* Dutch *Company, and of the prodigious Dividends made by them to their Proprietors in a few Years.* 9. *The Riſe of the Company's great Power in the* Indies, *and the Cauſes thereof truly aſſigned.* 10. *Their Charter renewed and enlarged, with the Conſequences ariſing from thence.* 11. *The Progreſs of their Trade in the* Indies, *and other remarkable Occurrences.* 12. *The Hiſtory of this Company continued till the Expiration of their ſecond Charter.* 13. *An Account of their Affairs to the Year* 1660. 14. *The Continuation of this Hiſtory to the Cloſe of the laſt Century.* 15. *A conciſe Deduction of this Hiſtory to the preſent Times.* 16. *A ſhort Account of their preſent Settlements in the* Indies. 17. *A curious and particular Relation of the Manner in which they manage their Affairs.* 18. *Of their Councils and Government in the* Indies. 19. *The Oeconomy of their Fleets, Squadrons, and ſingle Ships, with other Particulars relating to their naval Concerns.* 20. *A View of their Management of Orphans Effects, and of the Care taken by them of their Poor.* 21. *Of the Management of the Company's Affairs in* Holland, *with a Table of their* Dividends, *from* 1610 *to* 1717.

1. THERE could not certainly be any nobler Subject choſen by an Author inclined at once to entertain and inſtruct his Readers, than an Enquiry how far the Spirit of Liberty and Trade may be able to advance a People, notwithſtanding any Difficulties they may labour under from the Situation of their Country, the Poverty of its Soil, and the Oppoſition of their Neighbours. Such a Plan as this, might enable a Man of ſolid Underſtanding, quick Wit, and competent Learning, to frame a political Syſtem as uſeful, and at the ſame time, no leſs pleaſant and agreeable, than the famous Poems of *Homer*, which have hitherto been eſteemed inimitable, and which are allowed to contain the Principles of almoſt all Sciences, though delivered under the ſpecious Veils of Fictions. But if the Compoſition of ſuch a Work be a Taſk ſo hard as ſcarce to be expected, an Author of a cooler Genius than is requiſite for ſuch a Performance, might perform ſomething very laudable in this kind, by writing a copious Hiſtory of the Eſtabliſhment of the *Dutch* Republick, which would ſufficiently ſhew, that the Deſire of preſerving religious and civil Liberty, maintaining the natural Rights of Mankind with reſpect to Trade, and tranſmitting the Bleſſings of an equal and mild Adminiſtration to Poſterity, are Principles capable of raiſing ſuch an heroick Spirit in any People, as will enable them to overcome all Difficulties of what kind ſoever, and that to ſuch a Degree, as to give them a Capacity of changing, ſo as at leaſt in Appearance, the very Laws of Nature,

to render the meaneſt Country a Paradiſe, and the moſt diſtreſſed and dejected of the human Race, the braveſt Soldiers, and the moſt enterprizing Seamen.

Such a Hiſtory would particularly ſhew, that Providence can conduct, by the moſt unlikely Means, the nobleſt Deſigns to the higheſt Degree of Perfection, and lay the Ground-work of the moſt exalted Power and Liberty in the midſt of Tyranny and Oppreſſion. For moſt evident it is, that if the *Spaniards* had not purſued the moſt barbarous Plan of Politicks in reference to their Subjects in the *Low-Countries*, the Republick of the *United Provinces* had never exiſted, nor had the People of *Holland* ever arrived at any Part of that Wealth, Dignity and ſurprizing Power, as for the two laſt Centuries they have enjoyed. It is the peculiar Glory of the Almighty, to produce Order out of Confuſion, Good out of Evil, Strength and Happineſs out of Weakneſs and Miſery, and of this, no Period of Hiſtory affords us a more illuſtrious Inſtance, than that which is to be the Subject of the preſent Section. It was the Bigotry of the *Spaniards*, and their illegal Introduction of the bloody Inquiſition into the *Netherlands*, that introduced that Firmneſs to their relious Principles, and that zealous Concern for the Liberty of Conſcience, which has proved the Source of the Grandeur of the *Dutch*. It was the barbarous, as well as arbitrary Government of the Duke of *Alva*, Cardinal *Granville*, and ſuch Miniſters of Oppreſſion, that eſtabliſhed thoſe Notions of civil Liberty, that enabled the diſtreſſed Inhabitants of the *Low-Countries* to eſtabliſh a Form of Government capable of procuring and maintaining their Freedom; and it was the Meaſures taken to curb, to diſtreſs, and to ruin the little Trade they then had, which forced theſe People upon thoſe Methods that in a very ſmall Space of Time rendered them the moſt conſiderable trading Republick the World ever ſaw.

It muſt be allowed, that of all the Monarchs that were ever ſeized with a Paſſion for univerſal Empire, there never was one who ſeemed to have it more in his Power to gratify Ambition in its largeſt Extent, than *Philip* the Second of *Spain*, who was not led thereto by the Encitements of Miniſters more capable than himſelf, but formed his own Schemes, and conducted them with ſuch Wiſdom and Policy, that if the End he aimed at had been attainable by human Abilities, one could ſcarce conceive how he came to be fruſtrated in his Deſign. He had gained the Court of *Rome* entirely to his Intereſt, and was thereby able to bend the predominant Religion in *Europe* to his Purpoſes. He had the whole Force of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, and of the Houſe of *Auſtria* in *Germany* at his Command; the greateſt maritime Power in the World was at his Diſpoſal, a great Part of *Italy* was in his Poſſeſſion; he had a ſtrong Party in *England*, and a ſtronger in *France*, and all the Riches in the *Indies* flowed into his Coffers; but what was ſtill of greater Conſequence, he had the moſt able Miniſters, and the moſt experienced Generals, and the beſt diſciplined Troops in the World at his Devotion; all which Advantages were doubled by his Skill in making uſe of them; for he had a Soul above the Reach of Fortune, and a Capacity more extenſive than his Dominions; ſo that had he undertaken what was in the Power of Man to atchieve, he had eaſily and happily performed it; but as his Project was without Bounds, ſo the Methods he uſed, tho' wiſely contrived, and generally ſpeaking, well carried into Execution, proved not only fruitleſs, but ſo diſſipated the Wealth and Strength of his Empire, that as he died himſelf of Diſcontent, ſo he left the *Spaniſh* Monarchy under an incurable Conſumption.

But amongſt all the vaſt Deſigns which this Monarch formed, that which was beſt digeſted, was attended with the worſe Effects. He knew, that a Monopoly of Trade, was the firſt Step to univerſal Empire, and therefore formed a Plan for fixing the whole Trade of the World to his Dominions. It was with this View, that he ſet on Foot two Schemes which proved abortive indeed, but which will eternally prove the Strength of that Genius which deviſed them. The firſt was the ſeizing and ſecuring the Sound, or narrow Paſſage into the *Baltick*, by which he hoped to become Maſter of all the Trade of the North: The other was building a City of his own Name in the Straits of *Magellan*, and eſtabliſhing ſuch a Colony there, as might put it out of the Power of other Nations to trouble the Commerce of the *South-Seas*, or find a Paſſage that Way to the *Eaſt-Indies*. But failing in theſe Deſigns, he turned his Thoughts another Way, and finding that his revolted Subjects in the *Netherlands*, began to make a great Figure in Trade, eſpecially after the Ruin of the City of *Antwerp*, he reſolved to cut them ſhort in that, as much as lay in his Power, and being become Maſter of *Portugal*, he abſolutely forbid them all Commerce, not only with the *Indies*, but in the Commodities of the *Indies*, which they had hitherto purchaſed at *Liſbon*, and with great Profit to themſelves, had diſtributed to the northern Parts of *Europe*. It was by this Prohibition, expreſly calculated for the Ruin of their Trade, that the Inhabitants of the *Low-Countries* were compelled to thoſe Undertakings which have ſince made them Lords of *India*. If the *Spaniards* had never forbid them, they had never thought of going thither; if they had remained the ſole Carriers of Spices, or even been allowed a reaſonable Proportion of that Trade, they had never been the Proprietors of it.

But the making this unexpected Stroke at their Commerce, at a Juncture when they had many rich Merchants amongſt them, and their Country ſwarmed with able Seamen, inſtead of damping their Spirits, and depriving them of all Hopes, excited them to form a multitude of Projects for averting this Evil, more eſpecially when they found that his Catholick Majeſty remained firm to his Point, and actually cauſed their Ships to be ſeized, and ſuch as were on Board them to be impriſoned. This convinced them, that they muſt either abandon all Thoughts of this Commerce, or ſtrike out ſome new Rout for themſelves, which was ſo much the more difficult, becauſe even while they lived under the *Spaniſh* Yoke, they had never been permitted to make Voyages to the *Indies*. They derived, however, ſome Aſſiſtance from the Merchants who had ſettled among them, after the taking of *Antwerp*, for they were better acquainted with the *Spaniſh* Trade, and with the Method uſed in carrying it on, and it was thoſe People who adviſed the taking into their Service ſuch Seamen and Pilots as had ſerved under Sir *Francis Drake*, the famous *Candiſh*, and other *Engliſh* Commanders of Note. The Informations gained from theſe People, gave them ſuch Lights, that by degrees, their Merchants began to think an *Indian* Expedition practicable, and began likewiſe to be willing to run the Hazard of ſuch an Undertaking, from the Proſpect of the prodigious Profit that muſt neceſſarily accrue to them, if they met with Succeſs, which bore ſcarce any Proportion to the Expence neceſſary for making ſuch a Trial.

2. Among others, *James Valk*, and *Chriſtopher Roeltius*, the one Treaſurer, and the other Penſioner to the States of *Zealand*, in Conjunction with ſeveral Merchants, particularly *Balthaſar Moucheron*, *John Janſon*, *Charles Dirk Van Os*, and many others, took up a Reſolution to open a Paſſage into the *Indies*, from whence they were unjuſtly excluded by the Emperor *Charles* V. and *Philip* the Second, King of *Spain*. They conceived, that by ſteering North-Eaſt, they might run along the Coaſt of *Tartary*, and ſo reach *Cathay*, *China*, *Japon*, *India*, and the *Philipine* and *Molucca* Iſlands: The Execution of this Project was committed to two excellent Mariners, *William Barentz*, and *James Heemſkirk*, and afterwards to divers others; but hitherto the Almighty has not favoured the Diſcovery of that Paſſage, or of the People that live in thoſe Climates. While they were in queſt of this Northern Paſſage, one *Cornelius Houtman*, a *Dutchman*, happen'd to be in *Portugal*, and there ſatisfied his Curioſity by a diligent Enquiry into the State of the *Eaſt-Indies*, and the Courſe that one muſt ſteer, in order to come at it. He had frequent Conferences upon this Subject with the *Portugueze*, who gave Notice of it to the Court.

At that Time, all Foreigners were prohibited to make ſuch Enquiries; and upon that Score *Houtman* was put in Priſon, and ordered to ſtay there 'till he paid a heavy Fine: In order to raiſe ſuch a conſiderable Sum of Money, he addreſſed himſelf to the Merchants of *Amſterdam*, and gave them to underſtand, that if they would pay his Fine, he would diſcover to them all that related to the *Eaſt-Indies*, and the Paſſage thither: Accordingly they granted his Requeſt, and he performed his Promiſe.

After mature Conſideration of what he had offered, they reſolved to erect another Company, called the Company for remote Countries. The Directors of this Company were, *Henry Hudden*, *Renier Paw*, *Peter Haſſelaar*, *John Jans*, *Charles de Oude*, *John Poppen*, *Henry Buyck*, *Dirck Van Os*, *Syvert Pieterſz Seem, and Arenten Grootenhuiſe.* Theſe Directors conſidering as yet that 'twas very uncertain, whether the North Paſſage was practicable; tho' at the ſame time they were ſenſible, that it was the ſhorteſt and ſureſt Paſſage, and withal the moſt healthy, in regard that in it they did not croſs the Equinoctial Line: Upon this Conſideration, they came to a Reſolution *Anno Domini* 1595, to ſend four Veſſels to the *Indies*, by the Way of the *Cape of Good-hope.*

3. *Houtman*, and ſome others, who had the Command in this Expedition, were ordered to obſerve the Courſe they ſteered very nicely, and to ſettle with the *Indians* the Commerce of Spices and other Goods, eſpecially in thoſe Countries where the *Portugueze* had no Settlements. They looked upon this Commerce as a very valuable Thing, eſpecially conſidering that it would ſave them the Trouble of fetching that ſort of Goods from *Portugal*, which they could not do without great Hazard. Theſe Ships returned to *Holland* in the Space of two Years and four Months after their ſetting out; and though they had made no great Profit of the Voyage, yet their Succeſs animated their Owners, and ſeveral other Merchants, to carry on the Deſign yet further.

In Effect, a Member of that Company being dead, they preſently put into his Place *Gerard Bicker*, a very conſiderable Merchant. Then they had Advice that ſome other Merchants of *Amſterdam* deſigned to ſet out Ships for *India*. The Names of thoſe Merchants were *Vincent Van Broncherſt*, *Simon Janſz*, *Govert Dirrickz*, *Cornelius Van Campen*, *Jacob Thomaſz*, *Elbert Simonſz Jencheyn*, and *John Harmanſz.* The Company, to avoid Animoſities, thought it neceſſary to unite with thoſe Merchants, and, accordingly, the two Fleets, conſiſting of eight Veſſels, joined under the Command of *James Van Nek*, their Admiral, and ſailed from the *Texel A. D.* 1598.

A Deſign of the ſame Nature was likewiſe ſet on Foot in *Zealand*, and accordingly *Balthaſar Moucheron*, and *Adrian Hendrickzten Haaſ*, with ſome other Partners, fitted out Ships for the *Indies*. The Inhabitants of *Roterdam* being ſpurred forward by ſuch Examples, preſently formed a Company, and fitted out five Ships, under the Command of *James Mahu*, with Orders to ſail to the *Molucca* Iſlands, by the Strait of *Magellan*, and the *South-Sea*. In the mean time, the *Amſterdam* Merchants grew hotter upon the Matter, and the Company before mentioned, without ſtaying for the Return of the Fleet they had ſent already, fitted out three Ships more, which put to Sea *May* 4, 1599, under the Command of *Stephen Vander Hagan*. On the 8th of the then next *July*, four of the eight Ships that went out firſt, arrived in the *Texel*, and after they were unloaded, were immediately ſent back again under the Command of *James Willekens.*

4. About the ſame time, ſeveral *Amſterdam* Merchants, moſt of whom were *Brabanters* by Birth, formed another Company upon the ſame Deſign, and fitted out four Veſſels, which put to Sea *December* 1599, in conſort with four of the old Company's Ships. Two Years after all theſe Ships came home with rich Cargoes: But before their Arrival this new Company had ſent out two Ships, which were joined by ſix more of the old Company, all of them putting to Sea *A. D.* 1600, under the Command of *James Van Nek*; and, in the Proceſs of Time, all of them returned at ſeveral Times to their reſpective Ports. Upon the Conſideration of theſe lucky Adventures, ſeveral freſh Ships were fitted out in *Amſterdam*, *Zealand*, and elſewhere; among others, thirteen were ſent from *Amſterdam*, *viz.* four belonging to the old, and four to the new Company, under the Command of *James Heemſkirk*, and *James Grenier*; and five more of the old Company, bound for the *Moluccas*, under the Command of *Wolphart Harmanſz*; all the thirteen ſet ſail from the *Texel*, *April* 1601.

At this, the *Spaniards* were enraged with Anger and Grief, partly in regard of the Affront they ſuffered in ſeeing ſuch petty Merchants compaſs their Ends in ſpite of their Teeth; and partly upon the Account of the Loſs they ſuſtained, and were likely to ſuſtain hereafter. With this View they fitted out a ſtrong Squadron, in order to ſurprize the *Dutch* Ships. This Squadron conſiſting of thirty Men of War, well manned, fell in with eight of the *Dutch* Ships in the Month of *May*, in the Lat. of 14°. The *Dutch* perceived the Inequality of their Number and Forces, notwithſtanding that they had ſome Soldiers aboard: However, they were not daunted, for they fought bravely, and the *Spaniſh* Admiral was ſo warmly received, that he thought it convenient to let them paſs.

The next Year, three Ships came home from the *Indies* richly laden; they brought Advice, that the King of *Achen* had attempted to ſeize two of the *Maucherons* Ships that had ſet out from *Holland*, *A. D.* 1599. that *Cornelius Houtman*, the Commander, had loſt his Life in the Adventure; and in fine, that the Ships had eſcaped, but that ſome of the *Dutch* continued Priſoners in the Hands of the King of *Achen.*

Paul Van Caerden, having ſet out for the *Indies* that ſame Year, arrived at the Port of *Achen*, without knowing what paſſed, and there was expoſed to the like Danger; for that the King being egged on by a *Franciſcan* Monk, who reſided there in the Quality of a *Portugueze* Envoy, and had come thither from the *Moluccas* on purpoſe to wheedle him. The King, I ſay, thus ſollicited, ſet all Inſtruments at work to ſeize *Caerden*'s Ship; but all his Attempts proved abortive, and the King owned, afterwards, that he was ſeduced by the *Portugueze*, and accordingly gave a very good Reception to the Fleet commanded by *Laurence Bicker*, which had ſet out from *Zealand*, *A. D.* 1601: Nay, when the Fleet had taken in its Lading, which was very conſiderable, he ſent ſome Embaſſadors with them.

This Fleet putting into *St. Helens* to take in freſh Water, happened to meet with a *Portugueze Carrack*, richly laden, which they took, and brought along with them. The ſame Year *George Spilbergen* and the Ships he commanded were as favourably treated by the ſame King of *Achen*. The *Spaniards*, finding themſelves inferior in Strength, endeavoured to ruin the *Dutch* by all manner of Stratagems and Tricks; they ſent Emiſſaries to all the *Indian* Kings, to decry the new Adventurers, to brand them for Pirates, and Men of no Faith or Honour. In fine, they uſed all poſſible Efforts to affect their Ruin, as will appear in the Sequel.

5. The States-General and Prince *Maurice*, having received Advice of what paſſed, reſolved to give Commiſſions to all Ships that ſailed that Way; and indeed the Commanders of the Ships ſtood in need of them, in order to ſtifle the Calumnies of their Enemies. By theſe Commiſſions, they were impowered not only to defend themſelves, but to attack and commit Hoſtilities upon all that ſhould diſturb their Commerce. The valiant *James Heemſkirk*, being cloathed with ſuch Authority, ſailed with two Ships from *Bantam* in order to have them loaded at *Iohor*, and falling in with a rich *Carrack* upon her Return to *Macaa*, or *China*, with above ſeven hundred Men on board, attacked her, and forced the *Portugueze*, after a ſlender Shew of Defence, to ſtrike, and aſk Quarter, which was granted them. This was a Proof, that things were much changed with this Nation, and that the *Dutch* had not to do with thoſe gallant and glorious *Portugueze*, who had ſpread the Terror of their Name, and the Authority of their Crown over the fineſt Provinces in *Aſia*. Neither had the *Dutch* yet learned to behave with that Haughtineſs and Inſolence, with which they have ſince been reproached in this Part of the World. On the contrary, they behaved ſo kindly to their Priſoners, and tranſacted every thing in relation to them, with ſo much Honour, that they obtained ample Teſtimonials to this Purpoſe from the *Spaniſh* Governor in the *Molucca* Iſlands, as alſo from him who preſided at *Malacca*, by which, as they

no way diminiſhed their Wealth, they greatly raiſed their Reputation, and wiped off that Imputation of Piracy; which, to render them odious, the *Spaniſh* Government had thrown upon them.

This Capture was of prodigious Conſequence, becauſe it gave them a compleat View of the Riches and Commodities of the *Indies*; ſo that themſelves and their Countrymen now knew exactly what they were ſeeking, and could form a juſt Notion of the Value of that Prize, for which they drew their Swords. This heightened that Spirit which was already ſufficiently raiſed of joining in Adventures to *India*; and as good or ill Fortune ſeldom comes alone, ſo, in this Caſe another Circumſtance happened, which gave ſtill greater Credit to, and excited warmer Hopes from ſuch Undertakings.

At the ſame time *Oliver Van Noort* returned to *Holland*, after a three Years Voyage: He had been fitted out by *Peter Van Beveren*, *Hugh Buſe*, and *John Hoekbaker*, and ſet ſail from *Goeree September* 1598. He made but very inconſiderable Returns for the Merchants, but he acquired a great deal of Glory, a Share of which redounded to his Country; for, at that time, the *United Provinces* ſhared this common Glory with the *Portugueze* and *Engliſh*, That one of their Natives had ſailed round the World, by the Straits of *Magellan*. We have given a large Account of this Voyage in the firſt Chapter of this Work, and therefore need not inſiſt upon it here. It was, to be ſure, a glorious Undertaking, and the Fame that attended it had ſuch an Effect on the enterpriſing Spirits of thoſe Times, that it induced many rich Merchants to go and ſettle at *Amſterdam*, and drew thither the moſt experienced Seamen and Commanders from all Parts of *Europe*.

This is what the *Dutch* Writers tell us; and, indeed, we follow them entirely in this Account of their Company, as being the beſt inſtructed, and the moſt intelligent Guides. It is, indeed, very poſſible, and probable, that they have repreſented theſe Things to their own Advantage, for which the judicious Reader will make a proper Allowance. But, upon the whole, I believe it would have been difficult to have found any where better Materials, ſince, to do them Juſtice, they have been more careful to preſerve and record the Riſe and Progreſs of this Commerce, from the Time it fell into their Hands, than any other Nation that was ever concerned therein; and the Pains they have taken to inſert the principal Succeſſes of their *Eaſt India* Company in their general Hiſtories, is what can never be too much commended.

6. While their Navigation continued to be thus ſucceſsful, and the Trade of the *Indies* flouriſhed more and more, there happened an Accident that diſcontinued their former good Fortune, and threatened Ruin to the whole; I mean the Plurality of Companies that were then formed, and the ſorry Underſtanding that was between them. Oftentimes many of them fitted out Ships for the ſame Port, which lowered the Price of their Goods, and diſcouraged the Sailors. The States-General being acquainted with theſe Inconveniencies, called a Meeting at the *Hague* of the Directors of the Companies, both of *Holland* and *Zealand*, and obliged them to unite in one Body for the future, to which their High Mightineſſes joined their Conſent and Authority. The Treaty that was then agreed upon was confirmed by a Patent from the Sovereign Power, for twenty-one Years, commencing from the Date, *viz. March* 20, 1602.

The Patent being given out, the Company became a very conſiderable Body, and made a joint Stock of 6,600,000 Livres. Upon this Bottom they promiſed themſelves great Things, and fitted out a Fleet of fourteen great Ships, which put to Sea in *June* 1602, under the Command of *Wybrant Van Warwyk*. The next Year, in the Month of *February*, the Yacht called *Wachter*, returned, and gave Advice that five of the other Ships would be at home very ſpeedily. By this Yacht an Account was brought of what paſſed before *Bantam* between *Wolphart Harmanz* and his Vice-Admiral, *Hans Bouwer*, on one Side, and *Don Andreas Fertado de Mendoza*, who had formed a Deſign to drive the *Dutch* out of the *Indies*. In Effect Don *Andreas* was beat, and the *Dutch* Admirals purſuing their Courſe to the *Moluccas*, arrived there at ſeveral Times one after the other.

The ſame Yacht brought the News of an Engagement at the *Moluccas* between *James Van Nek*, Admiral, and three *Portugueze* Ships, which did not turn to his Advantage; for that, after the Loſs of eight or nine Men, and ſome of the Fingers of his own Right-hand, he was obliged to ſheer off. It was this Veſſel likewiſe that brought the firſt Intelligence of the taking of a *Portugueze Carrack* by *James Heemſkirk*. Upon the Arrival of this News, another Fleet of thirteen Ships was fitted out, and ſailed *December* the 18th, under the Command of *Stephen Vander Hagen*.

In the Year 1605, the King of *Spain* iſſued forth a ſevere Declaration, in which he prohibited the Inhabitants of the *United-Provinces* to trade to the Dominions of the King of *Spain*, or to the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-Indies*, under the Pain of corporal Puniſhment. But the Company was ſo far from being over-awed by this Edict, that it rather inſpired them with freſh Courage, and animated them to purſue their Deſign with more Vigour and Diligence. In a Word, they preſently fitted out a Fleet of eleven Veſſels, which were fit not only for Traffick, but for warlike Exploits, and gave the Command of them to *Cornelius Matelief*. This Fleet had ſcarce put to Sea, when the Directors gave Orders for preparing another of eight Ships, which were manned not only with a full Complement of Seamen, but with Soldiers, that were engaged to ſtay and keep Garriſon in the *Indies*, if Occaſion required. This third Squadron was commanded by *Paul Van Caerdan*. Soon after two Ships of the firſt of theſe two Squadrons came home with a rich Cargoe of Cloves and other Spices: They brought Advice that Admiral *Vander Hagen* would follow them very quickly; and accordingly he arrived the next *July*, after taking ſeveral *Spaniſh* and *Portugueze* Veſſels, and poſſeſſing himſelf of the Fort of *Amboyna*, the demoliſhing that of *Tidore*, and entirely diſlodging thoſe two Nations out of the *Molucca* Iſlands.

This Expedition gave Riſe to a mighty Diſpute between the *Dutch* and the *Engliſh*, upon the Account that the latter favoured the *Spaniards*, and by ſupplying them with Powder, enabled them to hold out longer. The next *October* three other Veſſels arrived in *Holland*, and gave Intelligence that *Wybrandt Van Waerwyk* was upon his Way home, but was obliged to put in at the Iſland of *Maurice*, becauſe his Ship was leaky, and that he had taken a *Carrack* at *Patana*. This Admiral arrived in the Spring 1607, but in the preceding Winter the Company had ſent two Ships more to the *Indies*, under the Command of *John-Janſz Moldie*, to whom they owed the taking of the Fort of *Tidore*.

7. A Negotiation being then ſet on Foot for a Peace in the *Netherlands*, the Company fitted out a freſh Squadron of thirteen Ships, under the Command of *Peter-Williamſen Verhoven*, who had given a ſignal Proof of his Courage and Conduct in the Engagement at *Gibraltar*, where he was Vice Admiral under the illuſtrious *James Heemſkirk*. This great Fleet was fitted out with a Deſign to give the World to underſtand, that no Treaty of Peace ſhould tempt the *United Provinces* to drop their Trade to the *Indies*. Immediately the *Spaniards* ſtarted a warm Diſpute in Reference to this Article, which proved the Subject of their principal Conferences; upon that the Company gave in frequent Remonſtrances both to the States-General, and to the Mediators, and preſented to them written Memorials, in order to make them ſenſible that there was a Neceſſity of being reſolute upon that Head.

In fine, this Point being looked upon as a principal Article by both Parties, ſo that it could not be adjuſted, the States, upon a final Reſolution, made this Propoſal, that either the *Spaniards* ſhould conſent to their *Indian* Trade in the Treaty of Peace, or allow it them by a Truce, for ſome Years, or elſe, that Things ſhould continue beyond the Tropick of *Cancer* upon the ſame Bottom that they then ſtood on, and that either Party ſhould make War there, and do what they could for their own Advantage. This done, the Truce of twelve Years was accepted and concluded, and upon certain Conditions 'twas agreed, that both the *Portugueze* and the *Dutch* ſhould continue their Trade where they pleaſed, and live in mutual Peace. This Affair was in Agitation without coming to any Reſolution in the Year 1608; at which Time Admiral *Mateliéf* returned from the *Indies* with ſeveral Ships. This Admiral had laid Siege to *Malacca*, but was obliged to break it up, in order to give Battle to the *Portugueze* Fleet, that came to relieve it; however, he had concluded an Alliance with the King of *Iohor*. In the Year 1609, the Company ſent a very expert Pilot, called *Henry Hudſon*, with a Fly-boat, to find out a North-eaſt, or North-weſt Paſſage to *China*, but he returned without bringing his Deſign to bear. At that Time they heard nothing from the *Indies* ſince the Arrival of Admiral *Mateliéf*, except ſome Advice by the Way of *England*; but the next Summer, four of their Ships arrived with a large Cargoe; they reported, that the *Spaniards* were ſtill poſſeſſed of *Ternate*; that the *Dutch* had maſtered *Machian* of the *Molucca* Iſlands, and that they hoped in Time to poſſeſs themſelves of *Ternate*.

The Truce being concluded and proclaimed in the *Netherlands*, they reſolved that a Pinnace ſhould be ſent to the *Eaſt-Indies*, with a Paſsport from the King of *Spain*, and the *Archdukes*, to acquaint the *Spaniards* and the *Dutch* with the Treaty: This Project was accordingly put in Execution, and towards the End of the Year, nine Veſſels were fitted out under the Command of *Peter Borth*, both the Seamen and Soldiers being allowed to carry their Wives and Children along with them.

8. It may not be amiſs to obſerve here, that it was by this Truce, the new Republick of the *United-Provinces* came to be owned for a legal and independent State by all the Governments in *Europe*; neither was this Negotiation of leſs Uſe in the *Indies*, where the *Spaniards* and *Portugueze* had begun to recover their Spirits, and to diſtinguiſh themſelves by a vigorous Defence of what they poſſeſſed in that Part of the World, againſt the Attempts of the *Dutch*.

Don *Juan de Silva*, who then commanded for the King of *Spain*, in the *Philippines*, was a Nobleman of ſuch Courage and Conduct, that no Advantages were to be gained while he held the Government. For having received Intelligence, that a *Dutch* Admiral, whoſe Name was *Willert*, was at Sea with a Squadron of four Sail, and had ſunk a *Spaniſh* Galleon richly laden from *China*; not contented with which, they were ſtill cruizing for ſome other Ships that were expected from *China* and *Japon*; Don *Juan* reſolved to hazard his own Life to retrieve the Honour of *Spain*, and to free thoſe Seas from ſuch unwelcome Gueſts. It was with this View, that he embarked his own Guards, and ſuch other Troops as were at *Manila*, on Board ſuch Veſſels as could be drawn together on a ſudden, and with them he attacked the *Dutch* Admiral with ſuch Fury, that he made himſelf Maſter of three of his four Ships, the Admiral himſelf having his Head taken off by a Cannon-ball in the Beginning of the Engagement, in which he loſt one hundred and twenty-five Men. This Battle was fought on the 25th of *April* 1610, and the *Spaniards* following their Blow, made themſelves Maſters of the Iſland of *Tidor*, and came before that of *Ternate*, while the Inhabitants of the Iſland of *Banda*, encouraged by theſe Succeſſes, revolted from the *Dutch*, and having ſurprized their General, *Peter William Verhoff*, at ſome Diſtance from their Fort, killed him, and all that were with him.

Admiral *Paul Van Caerden*, who was then in the *Indies*, thought to put a Stop to theſe Evils by his Preſence, and going on Board a Sloop, with twenty-five Men, proceeded for the Iſland of *Banda*; but being attacked by a *Spauiſh* Veſſel in his Paſſage, and his Crew having mutinied, he was taken Priſoner, and the *Spaniards* demanding for his Ranſom the Iſland of *Machian*, 30,000 Ducats in Money, and half a Year's Wages for the Mariners, he choſe rather to be carried to the *Philippines*, than ſubmit to ſuch Conditions. This happened on the 25th of *July*, in the ſame Year, and it was this News that induced the Company to ſend ſo ſtrong a Fleet as that before-mentioned, under the Command of Admiral *Peter Borth* to the *Eaſt Indies*.

They likewiſe thought fit to ſend a ſolemn Ambaſſy to the Emperor of *Japon*, at the Head of which were *James Spex*, and *Peter Segerſon*, who, on the 10th of *Auguſt*, 1611, had an Audience of the Emperor at *Meaco*, and obtained very advantageous Terms from that Monarch, notwithſtanding all the Oppoſition that could be given them by the *Spaniards* and the *Portugueze*. But while Things went on thus proſperouſly Abroad, the *Eaſt-India* Company were not altogether free from Difficulties and Diſcouragements at Home, occaſioned chiefly by the Covetouſneſs of ſome Merchants concerned in their Stock, who had fallen into a Practice of Jobbing, which was attended with many Inconveniencies; ſo that the Government interfered for the Remedy of theſe Grievances, which the States General redreſſed by a Placard publiſhed *February* 27, 1610.

In *May* 1611, the Company ſent out four Ships more, under the Command of *Laurence Real*, which were followed by a ſtrong Squadron that put to Sea from the *Texel*, in the next *December*, under the Command of *Adrian Block Martz*; near the *Cape Verd* Iſlands, this Squadron met with ſeventeen *Spaniſh* Men of War, which fell upon them, but were ſo warmly received, that only four of them were left in a Condition to ſail for *Spain* with the News of their Succeſs. When the Directors received Advice of a ſharp Engagement, they conceived, that their Ships muſt needs have received ſome Damage, and in order to reinforce them, fitted out two other Ships the next *May*, under the Command of *John Peterſz Coen*. In fine, the Commerce to *India* became ſo extenſive, that the Forces of the Company grew to that Height, that in the Years 1613. and 1614, they fittted out twenty-ſeven Ships at ſeveral Times, under the Command of ſeveral Commodores, particularly *Reyeſt* and *t'Lam*.

In order to a full View of their great Succeſs, we need only to caſt our Eyes upon the following Liſt of the Dividends that were made within the Compaſs of eight Years.

The Dividends made by the *Dutch Eaſt-India* Company, *viz.*

			l.	
Anno Dom.	1605 in	*June*	15	*per Cent.*
	1606	*April*	75	
	1607	*July*	40	
	1608	*April*	20	
	1609	*June*	25	
	1610	*Auguſt*	50	
	1613	*May*	37	

The Company being in ſuch a flouriſhing Condition, the next Year, *viz.* 1615, the States joined in ſending a ſtrong Squadron to the *South-Seas*, by the Way of the *Magellan* Strait, upon the Proſpect of ſurprizing the *Spaniards*, and weakening them on that Side, after which they might have an eaſy Paſſage to the *Indies*. *George Van Spilbergen* was Admiral in this Expedition, of which we have given a large Account in the former Part of this Work. In the mean Time, the War in the *Indies* continued, where the *Spaniards* did all that in them lay to preſerve and to augment their Conqueſts in the *Moluccas*, which appeared to them of the greater Conſequence, becauſe of their Situation which was extreamly favourable for ſecuring a Communication between the Colonies and Settlements of their Countrymen in the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-Indies*.

But the *Dutch* Admiral *Verhagen*, perceiving clearly that Don *Juan de Silva* was under great Difficulties from the Quarrels that continually aroſe between his Officers and the *Portugueze*, and that the latter were extreamly backward in ſending Don *Juan* the Succours that he expected; he reſolved thereupon to lay hold of this Opportunity of cruſhing the *Spaniſh* Strength, and having fitted out a conſiderable Squadron, he cruized on the Coaſt of *Malacca* for the *Portugueze* Galleons, that were going to the Aſſiſtance of Don *Juan de Silva*. They were four in Number, and had a conſiderable Body of Troops on Board, but Admiral *Verhagen* neverthelefs gave a good Account of them all; for the largeſt he ſunk, with all that were on Board her, made himſelf Maſter of the ſecond with all her Equipage, and forced the other two on Shore with very little Loſs to himſelf. This News was brought to *Holland* by a Fleet of four Ships richly laden with Spices, and other Commodities, to the Value of three Millions of Ducats, which ſmall Fleet arrived in the Month of *September*, 1616, and ſoon after the Company received the agreeable News that the King of *Ternate*, and the *Engliſh* ſettled in his Country, had joined the *Dutch*, and had obliged the *Spaniards* to abandon all the Places of which they were Maſters in the *Moluccas*, by which that Nation was entirely driven out of the Spice Trade, for which they had formerly ſtruggled ſo warmly with the *Portugueze.*

2. The Year before this, ſome Merchants, among whom were *Iſaac le Maire*, made the greateſt Figure, endeavoured to ſupplant the Company, and draw ſome Part of their Commerce into their own Hands; with this View, they reſolved to ſearch for another Paſſage to the *South-Sea*, than that of the *Magellan* Straits, and for that End, fitted out two Ships in *June* 1615, under the Command of *Cornelius William Schouten*, and *James le Maire.* In Effect, thoſe Commanders found out a Paſſage to the Southward of the Strait of *Magellan*, which they called *le Maire*'s Strait. By that Paſſage they entered the *South-Sea*, and ſailed as far as the *Moluccas*; but when they came to *Batavia*, their Ships were ſtopp'd and ſequeſtrated, upon the Pretence of their going upon an Expedition contrary to the Patent given to the Company by the States. At that Time the Company ſuſtained great Loſſes, and their Trade was much impaired by the Means of ſome Powders that were imported, and mixed with the Spices by the retale Merchants: This the Company repreſented to the States, and thereupon a Placard was iſſued, for preventing the like Abuſes for the future.

In *June* 1617, *George Van Spilbergen* returned to *Holland*, after two Years Abſence, in which he ſailed round the World. *Cornelius William Schouten*, and *James le Maire*, who had ſet out for *Holland* the ſame Year with himſelf, returned on Board of him, but *James le Maire* died by the Way, on the 22d of the preceding *December.* The States perceived, that ſome Potentates were alarmed with the Company's Proſperity, and did their utmoſt to oppoſe it, particularly by inveigling their beſt and ableſt Seamen, and drawing them off from their Service. Upon this Apprehenſion, the States publiſhed an Edict, by which the Deſertion of Seamen was expreſsly prohibited. In the Year 1618, and 1619, the Company had very good Fortune, for they received from the *Indies*, at ſeveral Times, ten Ships with rich Cargoes, valued at ſix or ſeven Millions. This new Progreſs inſpired them with freſh Courage, not only in reſiſting the *Spaniards*, but in concerting their Ruin by Way of Reprizal. This Work was carried a great Way by the Diligence and Affection of *Laurence Real*, a very knowing and prudent Man. This Gentleman ſerved nine Years in the *Indies*, where the Company honoured him with the moſt conſiderable Poſt, and then he returned to *Holland*, *A. D.* 1620.

The Reader muſt obſerve, that all theſe Facts are taken from the *Dutch* Hiſtorians, and placed in that Light in which they repreſent them, becauſe it would take up a great deal of Room, and oblige us to repeat many Things that have been ſaid before, if we ſhould labour to correct ſuch Deviations from Truth, as from a Propenſity towards magnifying the Power of the *Eaſt-India* Company, theſe Writers have now and then thought fit to make.

But with regard to *Iſaac le Maire*, it may not be amiſs for us to note, that we do not at all depart from the Judgment already given, concerning this Expedition, in the Hiſtory of the Circumnavigators, but merely inſert this, to ſhew in what Light the *Dutch* Authors would have us conſider this Point, out of Regard to their *Eaſt-India* Company. One Obſervation we ſhall take Leave to make by the Way, which is this, that the Treatment given to theſe Adventurers, has, in all Probability, been ſufficiently puniſhed by its Conſequences; all that rich Trade that might have been derived from the Diſcoveries, and the Purſuit of the Diſcoveries of *Le Maire*, has been totally loſt by Neglect, which perhaps has done as much Damage to the *Dutch*, as their *Eaſt-India* Company has done them Good. Of this, *John de Wit* was aware, and has very wiſely remarked, that tho' the Purſuit of ſuch a Commerce might have been beyond the Strength and Power of the *Eaſt-India* Company at that Time, yet there was no good Reaſon why the States ſhould have abandoned it, or ſhould not have encouraged the ſetting up a new Company, in order to have made a Trial of what this new Trade would have produced; for if new Trades do not proſper, they occaſion only a temporary Loſs to private Perſons, and none at all to the States; whereas, if they thrive and turn to good Account, they not only produce immenſe Riches to ſuch as are concerned in them, but prove alſo a mighty Advantage to the Publick. For new Trades, eſpecially under ſuch a Government as that of *Holland*, bring new People, and increaſe the Subjects of the State that encourages them, for Wealth is a powerful Attractive; and where Men are ſure to be rich and free, there will never be any Want of People.

But the *Dutch Eaſt-India* Company began now to feel their own Strength, and, like all other Companies, attended to nothing but the promoting their own Power, which induced them, about this Time, to engage in the War of *Java*, where they had not only the Natives of that Country, but the *Engliſh* alſo to deal with; and by degrees, and their obſtinately perſiſting in their Deſign, they overcame both, though not without great Difficulty and ſome Loſs, which however was abundantly repaired by the Reduction of *Jacatra*, and the ſettling their new Colony at *Batavia*, which was done in 1619, chiefly by the great Aſſiſtance which the States-General afforded to their *Eaſt-India* Company, while ours was ſlighted and neglected by the Government here, either from a Want of knowing the Importance of that Commerce, or from a Want of Power to afford the Aſſiſtance neceſſary in caſe they had a juſt Apprehenſion of the Value of that Trade: But, however it was, moſt certainly the Eſtabliſhment of *Batavia* proved the Baſis of ſuch a Power in the *Eaſt-Indies*, and gave the Company ſuch an Opportunity of diſpoſing all her Factories and Settlements, in an Order ſo agreeable to that Government which ſhe eſtabliſhed in this new Capital, that we may from thence date her Acquiſition of that Empire in the *Indies*, which not only renders her ſuperior to all the trading Companies in the World, but in point of Power, Riches, and Dominion, very little, if at all, inferior to the *Dutch* Republick itſelf.

They began likewiſe, about this Time, to extend their Alliances in that Part of the World, and to treat with the *Indian* Princes in every Reſpect as Sovereigns; appointing at the ſame time Officers, who had not only the Titles of Generals, Commanders in Chief, Admirals, Governors, and ſuch like, but had alſo the Power, and were effectually ſuch as theſe Commiſſions ſpoke them to be; and were, at the ſame time allowed ſuch Salaries, and inveſted with ſuch Authority as did not ſeem either very agreeable to their Dependency upon the Republick, or conſiſtent with the Modeſty and Frugality of the *Dutch* Government at home. This, the States however were content to overlook, becauſe, that ſuch as had the Direction of the Company's Affairs, pretended that theſe Titles, Revenues, and Commands, were abſolutely requiſite in the Eaſtern Part of the World, to preſerve the Reſpect and Obedience of the Natives of thoſe Countries, who were to be wrought upon only by the Splendor of Dreſs, Equipage, and ſuch like Exterior Marks of Superiority. The Truth however ſeems to be, that the Common-Wealth Party in *Holland*, paying a very unwilling Obedience to their Stadtholders of the Houſe of *Orange*, were not a little pleaſed to behold a kind of new Republick riſing in the *Indies*, independent of theſe Princes, and where their Relations might be ſent to acquire Fortunes, to learn Principles, and accuſtom themſelves to the Diſcharge of publick Offices, without being immediately under the Direction of theſe Stadtholders, who, by the Neceſſities of State, were placed at the Head of the Government at home.

Yet the Governor, General, and other principal Officers, always acted under the Prince of *Orange*'s Commiſſion as Stadt Holder, and in moſt Part of the *Indies* magnified his Power, making the *Indian* Monarchs believe that he was a King, nay, and one of the greateſt Kings in *Europe.* But this was only to ſerve their own Purpoſes, and to extend their Power the better; for the Directors of the Company continued to adminiſter its Affairs in a manner independent of the Government of *Holland*, and only made uſe of theſe Commiſſions, becauſe they could not well do their Buſineſs without them.

Two Things eſpecially contributed to their Grandeur, and to their quiet enjoying a Power of ſuch extravagant Extent. The firſt was the Factions and Diviſions that reigned at that Time in *Holland*, which ſo occupied the Cares of the Government, that they were the leſs able to look abroad; for it was at this Juncture that thoſe Troubles happened, which coſt *Barneveldt* his Life, and the famous *Grotius* and other worthy Members of the State, a tedious Impriſonment. The ſecond Cauſe was, the vaſt Riches which flowed in from the *Eaſt-India* Trade, and which were evidently of ſuch prodigious Benefit to the *Dutch* Nation in general, as rendered it very improper to take any Meaſures capable of leſſening the Intereſt or Authority of that Company, by which the Trade was managed, from which ſuch mighty Profits accrued. Beſides, it is not at all improbable, that both Parties had their Views upon this Company, and were in hopes of turning that Indulgence which was ſhewn it to their own Advantage, more eſpecially becauſe the Term granted by their Charter was drawing towards a Cloſe, when it might have been practicable to have given it a new Turn, and to have remedied all thoſe Inconveniencies, which, for particular Reaſons, and perhaps from private and very different Views, had been hitherto paſſed by and over-looked: But, as we ſhall ſee hereafter both Parties in the *Dutch* Government were miſtaken in their Conjectures, and the Company, inſtead of loſing, or abating any Part of her Powers or Privileges, acquired ſtill greater, and more extenſive, by the new Charter which ſhe obtained, as is uſually the Caſe in Countries where Oppoſitions prevail; and the Government, whatever its Form may be, is not at Liberty to purſue ſuch Meaſures as are moſt conſiſtent with her Intereſt.

But to return from theſe Reflections to the Thread of our Hiſtory, as it is taken from the *Dutch* Writers. The vaſt Succeſs which attended this Company in all its Undertakings, ſo raiſed the Spirits, and exalted the Hopes of the States, that they at length began to think of doubling theſe Advantages, by erecting a new Company, with the ſame Power of trading to the *Weſt-Indies*, which this Company enjoyed in trading to the *Eaſt*. But though this was a Project both reaſonable in itſelf, and which had all the Countenance the Government could give it, yet being ſecretly oppoſed by the *Eaſt-India* Company, it went on but heavily, and they were forced to make ſeveral Alterations in the Charter, before the Capital of this new Company, which conſiſted of 7,200,000 Livres, could be made up; and the State likewiſe preſented the new Company with three large fine Ships, equally fit for Trade and War.

But while ſo much Care was taking of the younger Child of the Republick, the elder was very well able to go alone; and there wanted not ſome who were for hurrying at too great a pace, and ſending ſuch Numbers of Ships to the *Indies*, as if the *Dutch* had not ſought the Commerce but the Conqueſt of *Aſia*, in which however they were checked, and all Things kept within due Bounds; which, however it might diſpleaſe arbitrary Spirits, was certainly right in the main.

About this Time the Abuſes and unwarrantable Practices relating to the Sale of the Actions or Stock of the Company, began to revive; upon which the States found themſelves obliged to renew the Placard of 1610, with a few Amendments ſuitable to the Circumſtances of the Time. In the Year 1621, the Ship called *Goede Vreede*, arrived in *Zealand*, having on board five Children of Kings or Princes, in order to their Education, in the Provinces, and Inſtruction in the Chriſtian Religion, purſuant to the Tenor of the Letters that were written to the Prince upon that Subject. In *February* 1622, two Ships more came home with rich Cargoes; they brought Advice that the *Indian* Trade flouriſhed ſtill, that they continued to wage war with the People of *Bantam* in *Java*, and with the *Spaniards* in the *Molucca* and *Manila* Iſlands, and that they had already poſſeſſed themſelves of the Iſland of *Banda*. Soon after there arrived three more, with Advice that the laſt Ships that went out had arrived ſafe in the *Indies* in four Months and three Days Sailing.

10. The Company's Patent expired this very Year, *viz.* 1622, and a Difference aroſe between the Directors and Subſcribers, that might have extended to a great Height, if the States had not interpoſed. Theſe wiſe Mediators appeaſed all by their Prudence. The Directors Accounts were called for, and purſuant to the Meaſures of Equity and Reaſon, a Dividend of 25 *per Cent.* was allotted to the Subſcribers, and paid them in Cloves. After that the Company obtained a new Patent for twenty-one Years, commencing from 1623. By Virtue of the Renewal of the Patent, the Company had the Satisfaction to ſee four Ships richly laden, return in *October*. The Difference between the *Engliſh* and the *Dutch* that had lain ſo long in Suſpence, was then accommodated upon the Payment of 800,000 Livres by the *Dutch* to the *Engliſh*.

The infinite Advantages that redounded to the Country by the erecting of this Company, could not diſſuade the Envious from thwarting it to a flaming Degree: To remedy this, and prevent the other Inconveniencies that might happen, the States thought fit on *March* 13, 1623, to add new Clauſes to their new Patent, after the Diſcovery of a new Paſſage to the *Pacific Sea*, made by *James le Maire*. Their High Mightineſſes, in Conjunction with the Company, came to a Reſolution to ſend another ſtrong Squadron that Way to the *Indies*, in order to ruin their Enemies. This Fleet ſet ſail in *April*, under the Command of *James l' Hermite*; but, before their Departure, two Ships and a Yatch ſet out for the *Indies* by the common Courſe. The next *May* two Ships came home, and found a very good Market. The Abuſes in the Sale of Actions obliged the States to revive a third Time their Placard upon that Head.

In *September John Peter Coen* arrived at *Goeree* with four Ships on the Company's Account, and a fifth, which had ſtraggled from them by the Way, arrived the next *November*. At that time a Handful of Merchants bought up, at one Sale, all the Company's Pepper, the Quantity of which amounted to 19,000 Bales, and the Sum which they paid for it amounted to 4,500,000 Livres, which was certainly a very remarkable Thing. In *May* 1624, the *Haes* Yatch returned, having ſailed to *Batavia* and home again in the Space of nine Months and ſeven Days. Their Intelligence imported, that all things went well in that Country, excepting that the *Engliſh* had raiſed ſome Commotions at *Amboyna*, but the *Dutch* uſed their utmoſt Efforts to hinder the *Spaniards* to trade in *China*, and hoped for Succeſs; that three or four Ships were taking in their Lading in order to come home; accordingly three homeward-bound Ships arrived the next *September*; and in *May* 1625, another, called the *Heuſden*, arrived from *Surat*, which gave Advice that their Affairs were in a pretty good Poſture at *Ormuz*, and in the neighbouring Countries, from whence three Ships more returned the next Spring. The *Schoonhoven*, an outward-bound Ship for the *Indies*, met with a violent Storm on the Coaſt of *Spain*, and was caſt away off *St. Jago*, where twenty-ſix of the Men were ſaved, and carried to *Spain*.

This Affliction was alleviated by the Arrival of two Ships from *Surat* in *February* 1626, and two more ſoon after, having on board an Embaſſador from the King of *Perſia*. They brought the News of the Victory obtained over the *Portugueze*, and of the great Commotion in *Surat*, occaſioned by the King's Son taking up Arms againſt his Father, inſomuch that both Armies were in the Field when the Ships came off. Upon this Intelligence they fitted out a Squadron of nine Ships, bound for that Country, under the Command of *Wybrandt*, who fought ſo bravely at *Sera Leoni* with *Campaen* the Pirate. In *June* two Ships of *James l' Hermite*'s Squadron came home, and before the Year was out, a Ship returned from *Coromandel*. It was in this Fleet that the famous Mariner, *William Yſbrantz Bontekoe* returned ſafe to his native Country, whoſe Adventures, though related by himſelf with all the Plainneſs and Simplicity becoming his Condition, yet were long held abſolutely beyond the Power of Belief, till, by a careful and ſtrict Enquiry, every Circumſtance was verified.

It is true, that a Thing of this Nature does not ſeem to fall ſo immediately under the preſent Section, but, undoubtedly,

edly, it has a very ſtrict Relation to the Buſineſs of this Collection, and therefore I ſhall give as clear an Account of this Man's Misfortunes as is poſſible, and in as few Words as I can.

William Bontekoe, Native of the Town of *Horn*, ſailed on the 28th of *September*, 1618, from the *Texel*, for the *Indies*, on board a Veſſel of eleven hundred Tons, having two hundred and ſix Men on board, in Company with two Ships of a ſmaller Size. The Difficulties he met with began very early; for being ſeparated from the reſt of his Squadron by a violent Storm, which laſted for ſeveral Days, he therein endured ſuch Hardſhips, and ran thro' ſuch Variety of Dangers, that neither himſelf nor any of the experienced Seamen he had on board, expected to eſcape. At length, however, the Violence of the Tempeſt abated, and they found themſelves in the Streights of *Sunda*, where they met with another Accident ſtill more terrible; for one of the Crew going down to pump, at the ſame time that the Steward went to draw Brandy, it fell out unluckily, that the former had a Candle in his Hand, out of which a Spark flew into the little Hole which the Steward had pierced in the Brandy-Caſk, and that conſequently took Fire. The Captain, ſoon appriſed of the Accident, ran down and ordered them to throw Water upon the Caſk, which, in their Confuſion, they rolled down into the Place where their Smith kept his Coals; but, however, the Water ſeemed to have put out the Fire: But in about half an Hour they were fatally convinced, that the Coals being covered with the flaming Brandy, had taken Fire. In this Diſtreſs, they continued to throw great Quantities of Water upon the Coals, in hopes of extinguiſhing them, from whence a new Evil aroſe; the ſulphureous Smoak of the Coals coming up through the Scuttles in ſuch thick Clouds, that they were not able to ſee what they were doing; and, which was worſe, they were ſo ſuffocated thereby, that they were no longer able to mind what they were about.

In this Diſtreſs they were conſtrained to ſhut the Scuttles, and to make Holes in the Ship's Sides, thro' which, by the Help of Canes, they continued to pour Water. Captain *Bontekoe*, foreſeeing that their greateſt Danger lay in the Fire reaching the Powder-room, ſent for the Supercargo, without whoſe Conſent he could do nothing, and endeavoured to perſuade him to conſent that the Powder ſhould be thrown over-board; but he was not to be moved, alledging, that if they threw over the Powder, and ſhould afterwards be attacked, tho' by a Veſſel ever ſo much inferior to them in Strength, they muſt be obliged to ſtrike, without making any Defence. By this Man's Obſtinacy, they were left in this dreadful Condition, fluctuating between Hope and Deſpair, the Fire appearing ſometimes, and ſometimes was ſo little to be diſtinguiſhed, that they had Reaſon to think it had been out. But, alas! they were ſoon convinced of their Miſtake; for the Coals lying at no great Diſtance from a Tire of Buts, filled with Oil, the Fire very ſoon reached them, and then the Crew began abſolutely to deſpair. Their Caſe indeed was miſerable, beyond Deſcription; for they were out of Sight of Land, the rolling Ocean on every Side, and the Fire immediately under them. It ſo happened, that their Shallop had been for ſome time in Tow, and to make room for the Men to bring Water to put out the Fire, they had likewiſe heaved out the Long-boat. The Crew obſerving this, ſlipped ſome to the Fore-caſtle, and ſome into the Galleries, from whence they dropped into the Sea, and then ſwam on board the Shallop, or Boat; ſo that while the Captain was uſing his utmoſt Endeavours to preſerve the Ship, he loſt a great Part of his Men.

When he diſcovered this, he endeavoured to get them on board again; but finding that impoſſible, he made all the Sail he could to come up with them; and while he was doing this, the fatal Blow which he expected took place, that is to ſay, the Ship blew up, and he was thrown from the Quarter-deck with two great Wounds in his Head, his Body half ſcorched, and his Legs and Arms ſo bruiſed, that he could hardly move them. However, his being ſo ſuddenly plunged into the Water, brought him to his Senſes; ſo that ſeeing the Mainmaſt of the Ship near him, he with much ado got upon it, and by the Help of two Boards kept himſelf floating, till he was taken up by the Shallop with much Difficulty. It was by this time Night; and though the Captain, as ſoon as he came on board, adviſed them to keep as near the Wreck as they could, yet they kept rowing all Night long, as if they had been ſure of making Land. But when the Day broke, and they ſaw neither Shore nor Ship, they came to the Captain, beſeeching him to tell them what they ſhould do. They were without Sails, without Compaſs, without Water, and had not above ſeven or eight Pounds of Biſket, but were ſtill rowing as hard as if they had been within Sight of Shore. The Captain exhorted them to Courage and Obedience, and in the firſt Place made a Review of them, by which it appeared, that there were forty-ſix in the Shallop, and twenty-ſix in the Long-boat. He adviſed them to lay aſide their Oars, as ſerving only to weaken them, and bid them make uſe of Sails. They aſked where they were to be had; the Captain replied, that every Man muſt pull off his Shirt, that by ſewing them together, they might make as good Sails as they could. It was then objected, that they had not either Needle or Thread; but the Captain taught them to ſupply the firſt with Nails, and the latter by untwiſting the Ropes. While they were at work upon the Sails, he employed the Carpenter in making a *Jacob*'s Staff, for taking Obſervations; and tho' he was ſo ill, that he could not ſit up, yet he made ſhift to draw a Compaſs, and a Chart, in which he laid down the Iſlands of *Sumatra*, *Java*, and the Streights of *Sunda*.

While they were thus at Sea, they got ſome Mews, and ſome Flying-fiſh; and when it rained, they collected the Water in their Sails, and preſerved it in two or three Caſks. But notwithſtanding all this, they were in a Fortnight's Time driven to ſuch Neceſſities, that it was with great Difficulty the Captain prevailed upon them to deſiſt from a Deſign they had formed of killing and eating two or three Boys they had on board. It was the 20th of *November* that the Ship blew up, and on the 3d of *December* they, with much Difficulty, made an Iſland on the Coaſt of *Sumatra*, from whence, with infinite Danger, they reached that Shore; and after running thro' Variety of Perils, in which they were preſerved by the wiſe Counſel of their Captain, they at laſt paſſed the Streights of *Sunda*, and arrived ſafe on the Coaſt of *Java*, where they were taken on board the *Dutch* Fleet, commanded by *Frederick Houtman* of *Alcmaer*, who ſailed out of the *Texel* at the ſame Time with Captain *Bontekoe*.

After he had remained ſome Time with him, the Admiral ſent Captain *Bontekoe* to *Batavia*, to the General *John Peter Coen*, who then commanded in the *Indies*, and who immediately gave him another Ship, as the juſt Reward of his Toils, and ſent him with naval Stores and Proviſions to the *Moluccas*. After this, he was employed by the ſame General in ſeveral other Services for the Space of two Years, and then he was ſent to *China*, on board the Fleet of *Cornelius Reygers*, who was entruſted with an Expedition of great Importance, which was to eſtabliſh a Commerce with the Inhabitants of that Empire, either by fair Means, or by Force; and in caſe the latter only was found practicable, they were ordered to make themſelves Maſters of the Iſland and Fortreſs of *Macao*, or one of thoſe Iſlands on the Coaſts of *China*, to which the *Portugueze* had given the Name of *Piſcadores*.

This Expedition, tho' very well concerted, and a Force employed, every way ſufficient for the Execution of it, yet failed by unforeſeen Accidents; and the *Portugueze* at *Macao* having repulſed them in their Attempt upon that Place, they were obliged to think of executing the latter Part of their Commiſſion by attacking ſome of the Iſlands before-mentioned. This proved a Work of Time, and was likewiſe attended with innumerable Difficulties, chiefly through the wicked and perfidious Temper of the *Chineſe*, who were too numerous to be wrought upon to Advantage by Force, and who, under Colour of Peace, betrayed and murdered ſuch as truſted themſelves in their Hands. They likewiſe frequently endangered the *Dutch* Squadrons by their Fireſhips; and, in fine, gave ſuch Diſquiet to Captain *Bontekoe*, that he reſolved, as ſoon as the Time for which he was engaged elapſed, to return to *Europe*; nor could all the Offers that were made him, either of Power or Profit, induce him to alter his Reſolution, or to think of ſtaying in the *Indies*.

Accordingly, on the 6th of *February*, 1624, he ſailed from *Batavia*, in Quality of Captain of the *Holland*, with two other large Ships, *viz.* the *Middlebourgh* and the *Gouda*; but in their Paſſage, they met with ſuch a Storm as carried away the Mainmaſt of the *Holland*, all the Maſts of the *Middlebourgh*, and ſunk the *Gouda* to the Bottom. In this Diſtreſs, Captain *Bontekoe* behaved with his uſual Courage and Prudence, by which both Ships were for that Time preſerved; for notwithſtanding the perilous Diſtreſs his own Ship was in, he, with much Difficulty, and yet without uſing any other Courſe than that of Perſuaſion, prevailed upon his Men to ſpare their Mizen-maſt and Boltſprit to the *Middlebourgh*, which otherwiſe could not have been kept above Water. This was on the 22d of *March* 1624, and having performed this good Office for their Friends and Countrymen, Captain *Bontekoe* bore away with his own Ship for the Iſland of *Madagaſcar*, where, in the Bay of *St. Lewis*, he found Means to careen, refit, and remaſt his Ship, with which he then proceeded for *Holland*.

On the Coaſt of the Iſland of *St. Helena*, they met with a *Spaniſh* Carrack, ſo ſtationed in the Road as to prevent their watering, which was what they abſolutely wanted. Captain *Bontekoe* did all that in his Power lay to have engaged the *Spaniards* to allow them to put on Shore, and take in Water; but they could not be perſuaded by fair Means, and thereupon an obſtinate Engagement enſued, without any Advantage to either Party; for the *Dutch* were at laſt obliged to continue their Voyage, with the little Water they had; and the Carrack was ſo dreadfully torn in the Fight, that the *Spaniards* finding it impoſſible to keep her above Water, took out her Guns and Cargo, and then let her ſink. The remaining Part of their Voyage was not attended with any remarkable Accident, except their being able to perform it with ſo ſmall an Allowance as a Quart of Water a Day *per* Man, from the Iſland of *St. Helena* to the Coaſt of *England*. At length, on the 15th of *September* 1625, Captain *Bontekoe* arrived ſafely at *Zealand*, after having been abſent from his Country ſeven Years, and in that Time run through ſuch a Variety of Fortunes as ſcarce any other Seaman ever met with. It may not be amiſs to cloſe this Account with obſerving, that the *Middlebourgh*, tho' ſo happily preſerved by Captain *Bontekoe*, never returned to *Holland*, but was undoubtedly loſt, tho' it is impoſſible to ſay when or where.

After the *Holland* parted with her, ſhe put into the Iſland of *Madagaſcar*, and there buried a Part of her Ship's Company, amongſt whom was the famous *William Cornelius Schouten*, who ſailed round the World with *James le Maire*, as the Reader has already ſeen in the large Account given of their Voyage in the firſt Chapter of this Work. But to return from this Digreſſion to the Thread of our Hiſtory, which will ſhew, how as the firſt Beginning of the Company was fortunate, ſo in her future Progreſs her Proſperity has never failed.

11. Their Commerce flouriſhed ſo much, that they were obliged to enlarge the Number of their Ships every Year, and the Company being ſenſible, that their Proſperity was chiefly owing to the good Conduct of their Admirals, they ſolicited *John Peter Coen* to make a ſecond Voyage to the *Indies*, in the Quality of Governor-General: At laſt *Coen* conſented, and put to Sea in *April* 1627, ſoon after the *Rotterdam* came home, and was quickly followed by four other Veſſels, under the Command of *John William Verſchoer*, who had ſailed from *Holland* with *l'Hermite*, and arrived at this Port in *July*. The rich Cargo of theſe Ships was ſcarce unloaded, and lodged in the Warehouſes, when *Adrian Block Martſen* was ready to ſail with a Squadron of eleven Ships, this being his ſecond Voyage as well as Admiral *Coen*'s. He put to Sea in *October*, and loſt two of his Ships in a Storm, but ſaved the Men and the Cargoes. In the ſame Month of *October*, *John Karſtenſz* of *Embden*, a Merchant, whoſe Vigilance and Experience rendered him very famous, returned to the *United Provinces*, after ſeveral Years Adminiſtration. He brought with him three rich Ships laden at *Surat*, and had been obliged to put in at *Portſmouth*, where an Embargo was put upon his Ships, for ſome Time. In *June* 1628, the Company had the Satisfaction of ſeeing five other Ships come home, under the Command of the Sieur *Carpentier*, who had been the Company's General in the *Indies*, and the Cargoes of theſe Ships were as valuable as that of the former.

Notwithſtanding theſe lucky Adventures, the Company was perplexed by ſome Accidents, moſt of which they had no Reaſon to expect. The *Engliſh* ſtopped their Ships as often as they had Occaſion; and the *Dunkirk* Privateers never failed to give them Chaſe. This obliged them to reſolve upon keeping a ſtrong Squadron every Year in the *German* Ocean, in order to cruize for their homeward-bound Ships, and conduct them ſafe to their Ports. The firſt Squadron that ſcoured the *German* Ocean was commanded by *John Dierkſz Lam*, who had been in the *Indies*; upon his Approach the *Dunkirk* Privateers retired. The three Ships that I mentioned above as coming from *Surat*, under the Command of *John Karſtenſz* of *Embden*, being ſtopped for ſome Time in *England*, were afterwards diſmiſſed, and their Arrival inſpired the Company with freſh Courage. Soon after their Arrival, a Squadron of eleven Ships ſet off for *India* in *October*, under the Command of *James Spex*, who was accompanied by *John Valbeck*, a famous Mathematician.

On the other hand, the Company had the Mortification of ſeeing a Ship, called the *Viana*, arrive with the unwelcome News that they had ſet ſail from *Batavia* the foregoing *January*, in hopes to paſs the Strait of *Baly* in time; but being diſappointed, ran aſhore in the Lat. of 21°, upon the South-ſide of the *Terra Magellanica incognita*; upon which they were obliged to throw overboard a great Quantity of their rich Effects, and ſo got the Ship afloat again with great Difficulty and Danger. Upon their Way they met with *Block*'s Squadron, which had likewiſe had very ſtormy Weather. By this Ship they had Notice, that the People of *Java* had formed a Conſpiracy to aſſaſſinate *John Peter Coen*, which was diſcovered by a young *Chineſe* Boy, and thereby the Execution of that deteſtable Deſign entirely defeated.

It was within this Compaſs of Time that thoſe great Diſcoveries were made by the *Dutch* Officers on the ſouthern Continent, of which we have ſo often ſpoke. The large Country of *Carpenteria*, now better known by the Name of *New-Holland*, was ſo called from General *Carpenter*, who diſcovered it in 1628. The weſtern Part of the ſame Country, which lies to the South of *Java*, was diſcovered the ſame Year, on the Behalf of the Company, and from the Name of the Commodore who commanded the Squadron, was ſtiled *Dewitt's-Land*. But all the ſouthern Coaſts lying towards the Sea, which ſeparates this Continent from that which lies cloſe to the South Pole, was diſcovered in *January* 1627, by *Peter de Nuyts*, who had thereby an Opportunity of beſtowing his Name on one of the fineſt Countries in the World.

All theſe Diſcoveries, together with a juſt Report of their Affairs, the Company received from General *Carpenter*, who returned with five Veſſels richly laden. And upon his Report it was that the Directors reſolved to ſend a Squadron of eleven Sail into thoſe Parts, under the Command of Commodore *Francis Pelſart*, of whom we have elſewhere given a large Account. It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that while the Company was doing all theſe great Things, their Country was torn with civil Diſſentions, chiefly thro' the Ambition of the Prince of *Orange*, who endeavoured to make himſelf in ſome meaſure independent of the States; ſo that if the Affairs of the *Indies* had not been under a Direction diſtinct from that of the Government, it is ſimply impoſſible that they ſhould have ſucceeded as they did, or brought ſuch Advantage to the *Dutch* Nation.

12. The Year 1629 was as favourable to the Company as thoſe that went before; for they had the Satisfaction of the Arrival of ſix Veſſels, under the Command of three ſeveral Commodores, who informed them, that after ſeveral diſhonourable Attempts, in order to ſurprize the *Dutch*,

Dutch, the King of *Mataram* had at laſt laid Siege to *Batavia*, and at the End of three Months was forced to break up with the Loſs of 16,000 Men. *Peter Vanden Broecke*, who had likewiſe been long in *India*, and was the firſt Introducer of Trade upon the *Red-Sea* and the adjacent Countries, returned home the next Year: He brought with him ſeven Ships, the Cargoes of which were valued at Eight Millions. But theſe happy Incidents were accompanied with a very diſagreeable Circumſtance; for of the eight Veſſels he commanded, he brought home but ſix, one being loſt by Fire under the *Açores-Iſlands*, and the other having ſtraggled from the Fleet; however, the laſt went round by *Ireland*, and came ſafe home. *Broecke* acquainted the Company that General *Coen* died ſuddenly two Days before the Arrival of *James Spex*, and that *Spex* acted as General by way of Proviſion. In fine, *Antony Van Diemen* returned in the Year 1631, with ſeven Veſſels, which brought the Company incredible Treaſures.

Theſe mighty Advantages enabled the *Eaſt-India* Company to proſecute their Deſigns to their utmoſt Extent, to enlarge their Commerce in the *Indies* by every Method poſſible; and in order thereto made uſe, with great Dexterity, ſometimes of Force, and ſometimes of fair Means, to compaſs their Ends, and to ſecure to themſelves the largeſt Share of a Trade, which, by Experience, they found of ſuch wonderful Benefit. It was with this View, that in 1641 they attacked the important City of *Malacca*, the ſtrongeſt Place the *Portugueze* had left in the *Indies*, and which was of ſo much the greater Conſequence, becauſe it not only ſecured their Commerce with the Kingdoms of *Johore*, *Siam*, and *Pegu*, but alſo afforded them vaſt Advantages for the Management of their Trade with *China* and *Japon*; at the ſame time it made them Maſters of that Strait which is of ſo great Conſequence to the Commerce of the *Indies* in general; ſo that whoever is Maſter thereof may, in Time of War, be in a Condition to give Law to all the Nations that carry on any Trade in that Part of the World.

It was in the ſame Year that the *Dutch* ſecured to themſelves the entire Poſſeſſion of the rich Commerce of *Japon*, by the total Excluſion of the *Portugueze*, and all other Chriſtians. We have already mentioned this Matter more than once, and given the Reader ſuch Lights therein as may enable him clearly to conceive how that Matter was brought about, and how far the *Dutch* may be juſtly charged with contributing thereto. Inſtead therefore of inſiſting farther upon that Matter here, I ſhall content myſelf with a ſingle Remark, which I think of ſome Importance.

It is this, that whatever other Nations, or the *Dutch* themſelves, may think of the Benefits accruing from this Excluſion of other Nations; it is however demonſtrable, that they would have carried on a more extenſive Trade to that Country, and with much more Eaſe to themſelves, if that Trade had remained on the old Foot; for immediately after the Expulſion of the *Portugueze*, the *Dutch* themſelves were obliged to quit the Port of *Firando*, where they had erected a noble Magazine, built all of Stone, and were obliged to ſhut themſelves up in the little Iſland of *Diſma*, where they have ever ſince been ſubject to the Caprice of the *Japoneſe*, and expoſed to a Multitude of Inſults and Inconveniencies, which never could have befallen them but from this Event; ſo that though, I confeſs, the *Dutch* are much enriched by the *Japoneſe* Trade, yet, I think, I have Reaſon to deny that they are at all the better for the Excluſion of other Nations.

13. The Power and Credit of the Company was now grown to ſuch a Height, the Wealth they brought into the Nation was of ſuch Conſequence, and ſo neceſſary to the State, and the Circumſtances of Things were ſo changed in their Favour, that without any Difficulty, at the Time of the Expiration of their ſecond Charter, they procured the Renewal thereof for the ſame Term of twenty one Years, to commence from the Firſt of *January* 1644. And ſo effectually did their Directors twiſt the Affairs of the Company with thoſe of the Government, that upon the Concluſion of the general Peace, the ſame Care was taken of their Intereſts as of thoſe of the Republick, to which the *Spaniards* conſented, and thereby relinquiſhed their Right, as they had long before loſt the Power of queſtioning the Conqueſts of the Company in the *Eaſt-Indies*. It was in Gratitude for all theſe Favours, that the Company entered the ſame Year into a Project of erecting, at an immenſe Expence, a Monument to the commercial Fame of the City of *Amſterdam*.

The Occaſion was this: The old Town-houſe, or Guild-hall, which had hitherto ſerved well enough as an Exchange for the Merchants, in which they met to tranſact Buſineſs, was now thought too little, and alſo too mean an Edifice for a City of ſuch Wealth and Trade. Upon this, the two great Companies of the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-Indies* undertook to build a new Stadthouſe, the firſt Stone of which was laid on the 29th of *October* 1648. While this noble Structure was raiſing, an Accident happened, which rendered it not only convenient, but neceſſary; for by ſome Means or other the old Town-houſe took Fire, and was burnt down to the Ground, which obliged them to haſten the Erection of the new one, which was fit for Uſe in the Year 1655, and has been ever ſince conſidered as one of the fineſt Structures in the World, in which all the Power of Architecture is diſplayed to the utmoſt without, and all the Riches of the moſt diſtant Countries in the World are aſſembled to render it magnificent within. There never was a Time in which the Company were better able to launch into ſo vaſt an Expence, her Commerce being now at its greateſt Height, and her Power raiſed to ſuch a Degree, that, from the *Cape of Good-Hope* to the moſt diſtant Parts of *China*, there ſcarce inhabited a Nation which had not learned to reſpect her, by having experienced the Effects either of her Reſentment or Good-will.

Yet all this Power, Wealth, and Trade, did not render ſuch as had the Care of the Company's Concerns at all ſlothful or negligent; on the contrary, they were always contriving ſome new Scheme for the Benefit of thoſe by whom they were entruſted; and being very deſirous of overcoming thoſe Difficulties which had hitherto cramped their Trade in *China*, the General and his Council at *Batavia*, in the Month of *July*, 1655, ſent a ſolemn Embaſſy, at the Head of which were *Peter Boyer* and *James Keyſel*, with rich Preſents to the *Chineſe* Emperor. He then reſided in the City of *Peking*, to whoſe Preſence, after a Stay of eight or nine Months, they were admitted, and from the Civility ſhewn them at their firſt Audience, they had great Hopes of Succeſs; but they ſoon diſcovered that there were Perſons in that Court who traverſed all their Deſigns, and found Means to miſrepreſent all the Propoſitions they made. The Chief of their Enemies was Father *Adam Schaal*, a Native of *Cologne* in *Germany*, and by Profeſſion a Jeſuit. He had reſided in *China* upwards of five and thirty Years, and had wrought himſelf ſo highly into the Emperor's Favour, that he raiſed him to the Degree of a Mandarin of the firſt Rank, and placed him at the Head of all the Philoſophers and Mathematicians in the Empire. This Man, by his great Intereſt, and Knowledge, effectually baffled the Deſigns of the *Dutch*; for he repreſented them as a People without any Lands or Settlements in *Europe*, who lived merely by Pedling and Piracy, and had by Treachery and Cruelty raiſed themſelves a large Empire in the *Indies*, at the Expence of the Natives, and more eſpecially of ſuch Princes as ſuffering themſelves to be deceived by their fair Pretences, had admitted them into their Dominions, and by that Means afforded them an Opportunity of diſtreſſing them and their Subjects.

The *Chineſe*, who are naturally ſuſpicious, having once got theſe Notions into their Heads, began to put ſuch Queſtions to the *Dutch* Embaſſadors as might beſt enable them to judge of the Truth of what they had been told: And, upon their aſking at how great a Diſtance the Seat of their Government lay from *China?* they anſwered, about five thouſand Leagues; and being interrogated as to the Power and Strength of the Colony at *Batavia*, they gave ſuch Anſwers as were true in themſelves, and moſt likely to create Reſpect: But theſe were preciſely the Things that turned moſt to their Diſadvantage; becauſe they ſeemed exactly to agree with what Father *Schaal* had laid down. So that towards the latter End of the Year 1657, the Embaſſadors

baſſadors quitted *China*, without being able to make any Progreſs in the Execution of their Commiſſion; ſo ſtrong were the Prejudices raiſed againſt them, and ſo great the Apprehenſions the *Chineſe* had of their Danger, in caſe theſe Strangers were admitted to trade in the Ports of their Empire.

But if they were diſappointed in their Hopes on this Side, they had better Succeſs in *Japon*, to which Country they ſent *Zachary Waghenaer*, with the Title of Embaſſador to the Emperor, with Orders to uſe his utmoſt Endeavours to gain a perfect Knowledge of the Policy of that great Empire, and to make himſelf likewiſe as agreeable as poſſible to the Emperor and his Miniſters, which Commiſſion he was very capable of performing, being a Man of deep Reach, very great Experience, and extremely courteous and affable in his Deportment. He had not been long however at *Iedo*, before a ſudden Fire reduced that City to Aſhes, which occaſioned ſuch Confuſion at the Court of *Japon* as induced the *Dutch* Embaſſador to return home.

He was ſcarce arrived at *Batavia* before News came that great Diſputes had ariſen between the *Japoneſe* at *Nangaſaqui* and the *Dutch*, who were ſettled in their Factory there, which alarmed the General and Council ſo much that they obliged Mr. *Waghanaer*, much againſt his Will, to make a ſecond Voyage to *Japon*, where he did not arrive till the Beginning of the Month of *March*, 1659. He found Ways and Means to ingratiate himſelf with the Emperor and his chief Miniſters, and by promiſing two Things on the Part of the *Dutch*, obtained all that he could reaſonably aſk in their Favour. The firſt of theſe was, that they ſhould give early Intelligence of any Deſigns that might be formed in the *Philippines* to the Prejudice of the *Japoneſe* Empire: The other, that they ſhould forbear taking *Chineſe* Ships upon the Coaſt of *Japon*, becauſe the Emperor allowing them to trade in his Dominions, it was but reaſonable that he ſhould be able to protect them.

While theſe Negotiations were carrying on in the moſt diſtant Parts of the Eaſt, there aroſe a new War in *Java*, which threatened Ruin to the *Dutch* Affairs. We have touched upon this more than once, but, for the better underſtanding this Hiſtory, it will be neceſſary to give a conciſe View of the whole Matter from the *Dutch* Hiſtories. The Iſland of *Java* had been under the Power of a ſingle Monarch, ſometimes ſtiled by the *Dutch* ſimply the Emperor, and at other Times called King of *Japara*, from whom the Governor of *Bantam* revolted, aſſumed the Title of King, and was ſupported in the Quality of an independent Prince by the *Dutch*. It was by the adroit Management of theſe Diviſions that they maintained and ſupported their own Power; for, whenever the Emperor of *Java* attempted any thing to the Prejudice of *Batavia*, the King of *Bantam* was ſure to take Arms in their Favour; as, on the other Hand, whenever the King of *Bantam* took up Arms againſt them they never failed to have Recourſe to the Protection of the Emperor of *Java*. But in the Year 1659, the Emperor being very much embaraſſed at home, the King of *Bantam* laid hold of this favourable Opportunity to raiſe a great Army, and to attack the *Dutch*, ſuppoſing that for want of the Emperor's Aſſiſtance, he ſhould ſoon be able to make himſelf Maſter of *Batavia*, to which he immediately laid Siege. He found himſelf however extremely miſtaken, for the Company was by this time become ſo potent, that they were able to defend themſelves by their own Strength, which they did ſo effectually, that after the Loſs of a great Part of his Forces, the King of *Bantam* found himſelf obliged to raiſe the Siege, and to retire precipitately into his own Dominions.

The Emperor of *Japara* had ſtill worſe Succeſs; for though he inherited from his Father an invincible Hatred to the Company, yet they made him feel the Effects of their Power, and made him ſuffer ſeverely for his Obſtinacy, though they were never able to conquer it, or to bring him either by fair Means or foul, to have any Correſpondence with them. Theſe Diſturbances at home did not hinder the Governor and Council from engaging in a foreign War, for the Support of one of their Allies, which was the King of *Bengal*, who was in great Danger of being dethroned by his Brother. At firſt the *Dutch* only furniſhed him with Proviſions and Artillery, and offered him, in caſe he was expelled, a Sanctuary at *Batavia*. But afterwards, finding that a conſiderable Part of his Subjects adhered to him firmly, they ſent over Troops to his Aſſiſtance, and thereby not only delivered him from the immediate Danger he was in, but reſtored him to his former Dignity: In Gratitude for this ſeaſonable Aſſiſtance, he gave them Leave to erect, not only a Factory, but a Fort at *Hughly*, well fortified with twelve Pieces of large Cannon mounted, and a good Ditch. It was by this Means that they ruined the *Engliſh* Trade there, and ſecured all the Commerce of thoſe Parts to themſelves.

Yet theſe remarkable Inſtances of good Fortune could not make them forget the Miſcarriage of their Affairs in *China*, much leſs incline them to forgive the *Jeſuits*, to whom they attributed the Defeat of that Ambaſſy, which coſt them an immenſe Sum of Money, and which, as we have ſhewn before, ended in an abſolute Diſappointment. To be revenged on the Authors of this Diſgrace, they fitted out a Fleet of thirty Sail, with Orders to ſail to the Iſland of *Macaſſar*, and to attack the City of the ſame Name, in the Port of which they knew there was a *Pertugueze* Fleet, richly laden, and in which the *Jeſuits* were deeply concerned. On the 7th of *June* 1660, the *Dutch* attacked *Macaſſar* by Land and Sea, and tho' the *Indian* Monarch of that Place defended his Allies with his whole Force, yet the *Dutch* obtained a compleat Victory; for they burnt three of the *Portugueze* Ships, ſunk two, and took one, ſo richly laden, that it ſufficiently reimburſed the Expence both of the *Chineſe* Ambaſſy, and of this Expedition. What was ſtill more honourable for the *Dutch*, the unfortunate King of *Macaſſar* was obliged to ſend a ſolemn Ambaſſy to *Batavia*, and to ſubmit to ſuch Terms as the *Dutch* Governor-General thought fit to preſcribe, which were hard enough, ſince he was obliged, not only to expel all the *Portugueze* in his Dominions, but alſo to promiſe, that he would never admit them, or any other *Europeans*, to ſettle in his Territories; ſo that we may juſtly affirm, that never any Expedition was more compleatly executed, or turned more to the Reputation of the *Dutch* Company than this, which not only humbled their Enemies, but brought vaſt Advantages to themſelves.

But as the greateſt Fortune is ſeldom the moſt ſecure, ſo immediately after this mighty Succeſs, the *Dutch* Company received one of the ſevereſt Checks they had ever met with ſince their Eſtabliſhment in the *Indies*. They had at this Time a very fine Settlement on the Iſland of *Formoſa*, one of the faireſt and moſt fruitful Countries in the *Eaſt*, abounding with all the Neceſſaries of Life, producing various rich Commodities, and affording them the Opportunity of carrying on a vaſt Commerce from thence. They had built for the Protection of their Colony, a ſquare Fort, with large Baſtions, and below theſe, towards the Sea, they had another Fortification, which covered the Palace of their Governor, conſiſting of two regular Baſtions, an excellent Covered-way, and four Half-moons, the whole united to the Fort by very ſtrong Walls defended by a great Number of Cannon, and the whole protected by a numerous Garriſon. The Town was long and large, extreamly well peopled, and the Inhabitants, from ſeven Years old and upwards, being charged with a Poll-tax, at the Rate of half a Guilder a Head, produced a Revenue more than ſufficient to diſcharge the Expences neceſſary for the Maintenance of this important Colony. Such indeed it might be well ſtiled, ſince by its Situation, at the Diſtance only of twenty-four Leagues from the Coaſt of *China*, and one hundred and fifty from *Japon*, it afforded them the Means of carrying on, with the greateſt Eaſe, a Trade to both that was exceſſively beneficial.

The *Chineſe*, in the Year 1653, had laid a very deep Deſign for the Deſtruction of the *Dutch*, by an univerſal Conſpiracy amongſt the Natives, which however had not the deſigned Effect; for being luckily diſcovered in Time, it was abſolutely defeated. This Piece of good Fortune made thoſe who were entruſted with the Care of this Settlement, more remiſs than is uſual with the *Dutch*, inſomuch, that they neglected the Fortifications, and ſuffered their Magazines to grow empty, while, by a ſteady Application to Trade, they were labouring to advance their private Fortunes. At the Time the *Tartars* made their laſt Conqueſt of *China*, there dwelt in the *Dutch* Town, upon this Iſland, a Taylor, whoſe Name was *Chinchilung*, by the *Dutch*, and other *Europeans*, called *Iquon.* This Man had a prodigious Spirit, a vaſt Capacity, and a Courage equally ſtubborn and enterprizing; and, from an unconquerable Averſion to the *Tartars*, got together a few Men, two or three ſmall Barks, and with this Force turned Pirate, or Privateer, which ever you will pleaſe to call him. In a ſhort Space of Time, his Power increaſed to ſuch a degree, that he became extreamly formidable to the *Tartar* Emperor, who finding that his Foible was Ambition, offered to make him King of the two great Provinces of *Canton* and *Fokien*, and ſent for him to *Focheu*, where he promiſed to give him the Inveſtiture of his new Dignity; but inſtead of keeping his Word, he cauſed him to be ſeized, and conducted to *Peking*, where he was ſoon after poiſoned.

This Taylor, who was ſo near being a King, had a Son, whoſe Name was *Coxſinia*, or *Coxenga*, and who had been Taylor to Mr. *Puttman*, Governor of *Fort Zealand*, and who, on his Father's Impriſonment, took upon him the Command of the Fleet. He at firſt demanded Succours from the *Dutch*, and promiſed them great Advantages if he was ſucceſsful againſt the *Tartars*, which they refuſed; and this provoked him to ſuch a Degree, that he reſolved to turn his whole Force againſt *Formoſa*, the rather, becauſe he had a good Intelligence from the *Dutch* Town, and knew that their Affairs were in a very bad Condition. He aſſembled, with this View, a Fleet of ſix hundred Sail, moſt of them Frigates of ſmall Force, but near one hundred were ſtout Men of War, of forty Guns and upwards. The News of thoſe great Preparations reaching the Ears of the *Dutch* Governor, who was at that Time Mr. *Frederick Cojet*, Succeſſor to *Cornelius Keiſer*, he immediately diſpatched Advice to *Batavia*, and demanded a ſpeedy Succour, and alſo to *Japon*, for the Aſſiſtance of ſuch *Dutch* Ships as happened to be there. All this, however, was to no Purpoſe; for before any Relief could come, *Coxenga* ſent his Fleet under the Command of his Uncle *Souja*, which appeared before the Place in the Month of *March* 1661.

The *Dutch* Governor ſent a Detachment of three hundred and fifty Men to prevent the debarking of their Troops, who behaved as well as Men could do, but to very little Purpoſe, as we may eaſily gueſs, ſince the *Chineſe* landed forty thouſand Men. They ſoon cut off the Communication between the Town and the Iſland, and having made themſelves Maſters of the adjacent Country, *Coxenga* treated all who had joined the *Dutch*, in the ſame Manner that *Nicholas Werburgh*, who was Governor in 1653, did ſuch as were concerned in the Rebellion; that is to ſay, he put them to Death with all the Marks of Shame and Cruelty he could invent, and without the leaſt Regard to Age, Sex, or Quality. After this, he attacked all the Outworks at the ſame Time, which prevented the *Dutch* from ſuccouring each other; ſo that theſe Places were very ſoon carried, though with a vaſt Effuſion of Blood, and the Governor was forced to retire into *Fort Zealand.*

The Conqueror conſidering the great Strength of the Place, and how unfit his Army was to undertake Sieges, made choice of Mr. *Anthony Hancbroeck*, the eldeſt of the *Dutch* Clergymen, and ſent him with his Brethren, two or three Schoolmaſters, and ſome of the graveſt Men among his Priſoners, to perſuade the Governor to ſurrender, declaring, that he was content they ſhould retire in Safety from *Formoſa*, and that he would not touch the Hair of a *Dutchman*'s Head, or one Farthing's Worth of their Goods; but if they refuſed this Propoſition, he would put them all to the Sword, without Mercy. The Governor told thoſe who brought him this Meſſage, that he had all the Sorrow and Concern in the World for their Misfortune; but at the ſame Time, that there was nothing could induce him to betray his Truſt, or to give up the Place he commanded into the Hands of the Enemy. With this Anſwer they returned to *Coxenga*, who, as ſoon as he heard it, cauſed all his Priſoners to be put to Death, Men, Women, and Children.

When this was done, he embarked the beſt Part of his Army on board three hundred Juncks, a very light Sort of Veſſels, with which he blocked up the Port, while he fired upon the Fortreſs from two Batteries of twelve Pieces of Cannon each. While Things were in this Situation, there arrived from *Batavia* a ſtout Squadron of nine Men of War, commanded by Commodore *James Cawen*, who immediately made the beſt Diſpoſition he could for the Relief of the Place. With this View, he landed the Troops he had on board, and being joined by a Part of the Garriſon, marched to attack 6000 *Chineſe* that were covered by a Redoubt, not yet mounted with Cannon. Theſe Troops being well armed, and compleatly diſciplined, received them in Order of Battle; and tho' the *Dutch* fought with great Reſolution, and renewed the Attack ſeveral Times, they were at length obliged to retire with the Loſs of four hundred Men. The Commodore then ordered his Ships to force a Paſſage into the Port, but the Junks drawing very little Water, kept cloſe under the Shore, where the great Ships durſt not follow them; and in this Attempt the *Dutch* loſt two of their beſt Men of War, of which one run aſhore, and had all her Crew, to the Number of three hundred and eighty Perſons, killed by the *Chineſe*; the other was blown up by a Shot fired into her Powder-room.

Commodore *Cawen* perceiving that it was impoſſible for him to do any Thing more, detached two of his Ships to *Japon*; and having taken on board two hundred Women and Children that were in the Fort, he ſailed back to *Batavia* with the five Ships remaining of his Squadron, and made an exact Report to the Governor of the Council of the State of their Affairs in *Formoſa.*

The News was received there with deep Concern, and a Reſolution was immediately taken to ſend an Ambaſſy to the Emperor of the *Tartars* in *China*, to inform them, that they were in Danger of loſing *Formoſa*, on account of refuſing to aſſiſt this *Chineſe* in his Rebellion; but not depending altogether on the Succeſs of this Ambaſſy, they ordered five Ships of War to be equipped, and to ſail forthwith to the Relief of the Place. The Governor *Cojet* made ſo obſtinate a Defence, that old *Souja*, the Uncle of *Coxenga*, reſolved to raiſe the Siege without the Knowledge of his Nephew, with, at leaſt, that Part of the Army which he commanded. But tho' he managed this Deſign with the utmoſt Secrecy and Caution, yet *Coxenga* came to have a Suſpicion thereof; upon which, forgetting the Nearneſs of his Relation, he cauſed old *Souja* to be arreſted, and put in Irons; after which, notwithſtanding he had the Plague and Famine in his Camp, he puſhed on the Siege ſo vigorouſly, that the Governor found himſelf obliged to ſurrender, notwithſtanding that the Succours he expected were in Sight.

Accordingly the Place being given up to the *Chineſe*, he marched out with the Remains of his Garriſon, and being taken on board the Squadron, he returned to *Batavia*, where, inſtead of having received the Thanks, as he might reaſonably have expected of the Governor General and Council, he was committed to Priſon, and kept there a long Time, under Pretence, that he had given up the Place too ſoon, becauſe the *Dutch* Squadron was in Sight. To ſay the Truth, we may, in ſome meaſure, pardon the Injuſtice of this Proceeding, when we conſider the Importance of the Place, that the Loſs was irreparable; and that, inſtead of having the *Portugueze* and *Spaniſh* Trade at their Mercy, their own was now ſo much expoſed, that it was very difficult for them to ſend their annual Squadron to *Japon.* This Misfortune, however, brought about a Correſpondence with the *Chineſe* Emperor, who conſented to give them his Aſſiſtance, to reſtrain the Power of *Coxenga*, to hinder him from pirating in thoſe Seas, and thereby diſturbing the Commerce of *China* and *Japon.*

14. It was about this Time, and by the Mediation of King *Charles* II. who had married the Infanta of *Portugal*, that a Treaty of Peace was ſet on Foot between that Crown and the Republick of *Holland*, which was ſoon after concluded, to the mutual Satisfaction of both Parties; for the

Eaſt-India Company were much too ſtrong for the *Portugueze* in that Part of the World, and had in a ſhort Time deprived them of their moſt valuable Settlements; yet in the *Weſt-Indies* the *Portugueze* were too hard for the *Dutch*, and had not only recovered *Brazil* out of their Hands, but were alſo in a fair Way of making ſtill greater Conqueſts; and beſides all this, their Privateers were ſo numerous, that the *Dutch* found their Trade in the *Mediterranean*, and on the Coaſt of *Africa*, very precarious; ſo that notwithſtanding the Advantages made in the *Indies*, they had no Reaſon to deſire the Continuance of the War.

The Company, however, as if they had been really Sovereigns within the Bounds of their Charter, took little or no Notice of the Peace; ſo that in the Year 1660, they attacked *Coulan* on the Coaſt of *Malabar*; and having reduced it, they next attacked *Cananor* on the ſame Coaſt, of which, tho' with ſome Difficulty, they became Maſters; and tho' their firſt Deſign was to have demoliſhed the Place, and to have eſtabliſhed only a Factory there; yet, on ſecond Thoughts, and when they came to conſider the Conveniency and Importance of its Situation, they changed their Minds, and determined to repair the Fortifications, and keep it as a Settlement of their own. After the Reduction of *Cananor*, they next proceeded to *Cochin*, a City of ſtill greater Force and greater Conſequence, as being a Biſhop's See, and a Place of great Trade. The *Dutch* Commodore *Goens* met here with greater Reſiſtance than he expected, and during a Siege of ſome Continuance, loſt a conſiderable Number of his People; but being reſolved to maſter it, coſt what it would, he proſecuted his Attempt with ſuch Steadineſs, that at laſt he prevailed; and the *Portugueze*, who had loſt a vaſt Number of Men during the Siege, were conſtrained to ſurrender the City into his Hands.

When he was poſſeſſed of it, however, he ſcarce knew how to act, becauſe on the one hand he ſaw that the Preſervation of it was a Thing of great Conſequence; and, on the other, that it would require a very numerous Garriſon, and a great Expence, to put the Fortification into a proper Repair: He applied himſelf therefore to the General and Council at *Batavia*, who immediately ſent him Orders not to ſpare for any Expence, either of Men or Money, but to puſh his Fortune to the utmoſt; and at the ſame time they ſent him this Meſſage, they ſent likewiſe a freſh Squadron, and a conſiderable Body of Troops on board it. This ſo encouraged Commodore *Goens*, that he marched with his Forces by Land to attack the City of *Porca*, which was the Capital of a little *Rajah*, or *Indian* Prince, who had been ſubject to the *Portugueze*: But he not caring to diſpute with thoſe who had beat his Maſters, offered to become their Tributary, and to pay them the ſame Obedience which he had formerly done to the Crown of *Portugal*; and this being as readily accepted as offered, put an End to the War on that Side.

The City of *Cranganor*, which is ſituated between *Callicut* and *Cochin*, fell next into his Hands without a Blow; and thus, in the Space of one Year, the *Dutch* expelled the *Portugueze* out of all the Places they held on the Coaſt of *Malabar*, and acquired to themſelves a Territory of one hundred and fifty Leagues in Length, with all the Trade belonging to it, and which the *Portugueze* had enjoyed without Interruption from the Time of their firſt Settlement in *India*. They likewiſe contracted Alliance with the Samorin of *Callicut*, the King of *Cochin*, and other *Indian* Princes.

They alſo laid hold of this Occaſion, to ſend a ſolemn Embaſſy to *Aurenzeb*, who had juſt mounted the Throne of the *Mogul*, by whom they were moſt graciouſly received, and an Intercourſe of Friendſhip ſettled between them: They took the ſame Method with reſpect to all the Monarchs whoſe Dominions lay on the Gulph of *Bengal*, and with the ſame Succeſs. It was not long, however, before they found ſome Cauſe to differ with the King of *Siam*; Upon which they withdrew their Factories out of his Dominions, which ſo alarmed that Prince, that he immediately ſent Deputies to *Batavia*, to know the Cauſe; which the Council ſignified to him by a very reſpectful Letter: On receiving which, he ſent an Ambaſſador to invite them back, on the ſtrongeſt Aſſurances not only of Redreſs in reſpect to the Grievances they complained of, but of any other that might happen in Proceſs of Time; and the Company accordingly re-ſettled their Factories at *Siam* and *Ligor*.

Not long after the compoſing theſe Differences, there aroſe freſh Grounds of Complaint, but on the oppoſite Side; for the Crew of a *Dutch* Bark murdered thirty-five *Siameſe* in cold Blood, after having raviſhed their Wives and Daughters. But before the Inhabitants or their Monarch had Time to complain, the *Dutch* Council at *Malucca* cauſed the Offenders to be apprehended; four of whom they broke alive upon the Wheel, and five they hanged; which gave ſuch Satisfaction to the Natives, that they never heard any more of this Matter.

In the midſt of all thoſe Succeſſes, they could not forget the Loſs of *Formoſa*, or the Overtures made by the Emperor of the *Tartars* in *China*, for reſtoring to them that Place. There was the greater Reaſon to expect that this Monarch would act ſincerely with them, becauſe *Coxenga*, not ſatisfied with *Formoſa* and its Dependencies, had actually made himſelf Maſter of ſeveral Iſlands on the Coaſt of *China*, and ſome Towns upon the Continent. On the Aſſurances therefore given them by Mr. *Borel*, who was their Ambaſſador to the Emperor, they fitted out a great Fleet, conſiſting of no leſs than ſeventeen Sail of large Ships, under the Command of *Balthaſar Borth*, with Orders to join the *Tartars*, and to act with the utmoſt Vigour againſt *Coxenga*. On his Arrival on the Coaſt of *China*, he found that Conqueror in Poſſeſſion of the Iſland of *Quemoy*, which the *Tartars* with all their Force were not able to take from him. The *Dutch* Commodore obſerving, that the principal Fortreſs in this Iſland ſtood upon the Sea-Coaſt, reſolved to try whether it was not poſſible to take it by Aſſault; ſuppoſing that this would not only ſtrike a Terror into the Enemy, but alſo raiſe the Credit of the *Dutch* Army with the *Tartars*; but he quickly found, upon Trial, that the Soldiers of *Coxenga* did not at all reſemble any of the *Chineſe* that he had ſeen; for they gave him ſo warm a Reception, that he was very ſoon obliged to abandon his Deſign.

He next determined to attack their Fleet, while the General of the *Tartars* engaged their Forces on Shore; to which the latter conſented. This Fleet of *Coxenga*'s conſiſted of Fourſcore large Juncks, and Twenty ſmall ones, all full of Soldiers and Seamen, and very well provided with Braſs Cannon. The Battle was very obſtinate and bloody, and *Coxenga* diſtinguiſhed himſelf as a gallant Soldier, an experienced Seaman, and a great Captain: But the *Dutch* large Ships tore his Juncks to Pieces, ſo that after an Engagement which laſted for ſeveral Hours, he was forced to retire; but he did it in Order, and with a good Countenance. The *Tartar* General, before the Battle, began to draw up his Forces in a regular Line, and while it laſted, looked on very quietly: After all was over, he expoſtulated this Matter a little warmly; but the *Tartar* General anſwered, That he could not prevail upon his Men to fight; but in caſe the *Dutch* would attack the Enemy a ſecond Time, he believed they would behave better. Admiral *Borth* took his Word, and attacked the Fleet of *Coxenga* a ſecond Time, and routed them entirely: But the *Tartar* General was ſtill a Spectator as before. This Victory, however, was of greater Conſequence than the former, ſince it not only coſt *Coxenga* all his new Conqueſts, but his Life.

The *Tartars* laid hold of this Opportunity to demoliſh the Fortreſſes they had raiſed as faſt as they left them, and the *Dutch* were very briſk in carrying off whatever they met with that was valuable. After this they made themſelves Maſters of the Iſland of *Amoy*, and the Recovery of *Formoſa* was looked upon as a Thing certain; yet when they came to attempt it, they were ſtrangely diſappointed; for old *Souja*, who had now recovered his Liberty, drew together the Fleet and Army of his Nephew, and diſpoſed every thing in ſuch a Manner, that there was nothing to be done but by Force, and even of doing any thing that way there was great Uncertainty. The old *Chineſe*, however, being a Man of great Wiſdom and Experience, was not willing to riſque all, if all might be ſaved without running any Hazard, and therefore had a mind to make Peace with the *Tartars*, and to grant the *Dutch* a Settlement and a free Trade, which he thought might content both Parties.

The Son of *Coxenga*, however, having diſcovered the Deſign, defeated it, and procuring himſelf to be elected General, ſeized the old Man, and ſent him a ſecond time to priſon, where, in a Fit of Melancholy, he diſpatched himſelf with his own Hands. This young Officer inherited all the Spirit and all the Abilities of his Family, and managed his Affairs with ſuch Courage and Conduct, that the Admiral ſoon found himſelf obliged to return to *Batavia* with his Fleet, without being able to execute the Commiſſion he had received, which was the Reaſon that he met from the General and Council no extraordinary Welcome.

The War in which the States engaged with King *Charles* the Second, retarded in ſome meaſure the Progreſs of the Company in the *Indies*; and when this was finiſhed, they very unexpectedly found themſelves a-freſh embarraſſed in that Part of the World, by the Inſults and Depredations committed by the King of *Macaſſar*, as their Writers report; for his Subjects had murdered ſome of the *Dutch* that had landed in his Dominions, and had likewiſe plundered ſeveral Ships that had run aſhore upon the Coaſts of his Dominions; but before any Hoſtilities were committed on either Side, a Treaty was ſet on Foot, by which the King promiſed to make full Satiſfaction for the Injuries done to the Company; as alſo to make ſuch Submiſſions as they ſhould require from him on account of theſe Diſorders.

The Company, however, ſuſpecting the Sincerity of the King's Promiſes in this reſpect, thought proper to ſend their Admiral, *Cornelius Speelman*, who had been Governor of the Coaſt of *Coromandel*, with a Squadron of thirteen Men of War, and a certain Number of Tranſports, with eight hundred Soldiers on board, with Orders to ſee the late Treaty executed according to the Letter in every Article; and he arrived with this naval Force before *Macaſſar* on the 19th of *December*, 1666. The very next Morning came two Deputies from the King on board, and brought with them a thouſand and fifty-ſix Ingots of Gold, which had been promiſed in Satiſfaction for the Murder of the *Dutch*; and alſo the Sum of One thouſand four hundred and thirty-five Rix-Dollars, in Satiſfaction for the Veſſels that had been plundered, but at the ſame time they declared in the Name of the King their Maſter, that the Submiſſions required of him were inconſiſtent with his Dignity; and therefore ſuch as he could not comply with. As this was preciſely what the Company expected, and as they were alſo informed that the King of *Macaſſar* had ſent a large Fleet in order to attack the Iſland of *Bouton*, Admiral *Speelman* immediately declared War; and having made two Deſcents upon the Enemy's Country, carried off an incredible Quantity of Plunder, burned fifty Villages to the Ground, and about an hundred of his Ships in his Ports.

After ſo ſignal a Revenge the Admiral ſailed from *Macaſſar* in order to relieve the Iſland of *Bouton*, which was hard preſſed by the Fleet and Army, which the King of *Macaſſar* had ſent againſt it; Admiral *Speelman* arrived before that Place the laſt Day of the Year before-mentioned; and on *New-Year's-Day*, 1667, he forced a Paſſage with his ſmall Veſſels into the Haven of *Bouton*, and then proceeded to attempt the Relief of the City, which was beſieged by the King of *Macaſſar*'s General, at the Head of ten thouſand Men. But the *Dutch* attacking them in their Entrenchments, and finding Means to ſet their Magazines on Fire, forced them immediately to raiſe the Siege; which Diſaſter was followed by ſuch a prodigious Deſertion among the Troops of their Allies, which made up the beſt Part of their Army, that the Generals of the King of *Macaſſar* found themſelves obliged to enter into a Treaty with the *Dutch* Admiral; and being able to obtain no better Terms, ſurrendered at Diſcretion. Thus this War was ended in the Space of four Months, with great Glory to the Company.

The firſt thing they did was to diſarm their Priſoners, of whom they ſent five thouſand five hundred to people a deſert Iſland not far from *Bouton*. Four hundred of them they kept for Slaves, and five thouſand *Bougies*, or Auxiliaries of different Nations, they delivered up to the King of *Palacca*, who had been their faithful Ally during the Continuance of this War. They reſtored to the King of *Bouton* three hundred Veſſels, together with whatever Plunder had been taken from his Subjects by the Enemy, and could be found after their Defeat; the reſt of the King of *Macaſſar*'s Junks they incorporated with their own Fleet of Tranſports, and with an hundred and ninety-five Standards, and all the Arms and Ammunition of the Enemy, with the principal Officers of their Army, whom they kept Priſoners. Admiral *Speelman* returned in Triumph to *Batavia*, where he was received with univerſal Applauſe.

The King of *Macaſſar* however remained ſtill fixed to his Purpoſe; and notwithſtanding all theſe Loſſes, abſolutely refuſed to ſubmit to the Terms which the Company preſcribed; but knowing, by Experience, that the whole Force of his Iſland would not be ſufficient to protect him from their Reſentment, he reſolved to employ his Endeavours in perſuading moſt of the little Sovereigns, who were his Neighbours, to aſſiſt and ſupport him in his Deſigns, which he declared to be no leſs than ſhaking off the Yoke of the *Dutch* Company for good and all. He ſucceeded ſo effectually in making this Alliance, that Admiral *Speelman* was obliged to ſollicit all the *Dutch* Confederates for their Aſſiſtance; and, at laſt, having drawn together all the Force they could raiſe, he, on the 8th of *June*, ſailed from *Amboyna* with ſixteen Veſſels, great and ſmall, and fourteen Shallops, on board of which were the Succours furniſhed by the Kings of *Palacca* and *Ternate*. He ſailed firſt to *Bouton*, but in his Paſſage Part of his Fleet was ſeparated, which, however, did not hinder him from landing in ſeveral Places on the Coaſt of *Macaſſar*, where, notwithſtanding the great Inequality of the others in Point of Numbers, he had tolerable Succeſs.

At length, on the 19th of *July*, in the Morning, he attempted to force a Paſſage into the Port of *Macaſſar*, but in this he was diſappointed; for the King having erected a Royal Fort for the Defence of the Place, the *Dutch*, after twenty-four Hours cannonading, were forced to retire. A few Days after the Admiral was joined by that Part of the Fleet which had been ſeparated from him by the Storm; and, on the Second of *Auguſt*, he made a Deſcent with his whole Force at a Place called *Gliſſon*. The Army of the Company conſiſted of ſix hundred *Dutch* Troops, three hundred diſciplined *Indians* in their Pay, three thouſand Men from *Ternate* and *Bouton*, ſeven thouſand *Bougeis*, eight hundred Seamen, and two independent Companies, under the Command of the Captains *Jonker* and *Stryker*. But the Forces of the Enemy were incomparably greater; for they amounted to no fewer than twenty thouſand Men, under the Command of all the little Kings and Princes that the Monarch of *Macaſſar* had drawn over to his Party.

Admiral *Speelman* kept the main Body of his Forces near his Fleet, and detached one hundred Men, the braveſt and the beſt armed under his Command, to attack the Caſtle of *Gliſſon* in the Night. The King of *Palacca*, who was intruſted with the Management of this Affair, executed it with ſuch Courage and Conduct, that, by three in the Morning, he became Maſter of the Place, of which he gave Notice to the *Dutch* Admiral, who immediately ſent him ſuch Reinforcements and Supplies as were requiſite to preſerve it. This was a dreadful Blow to the Enemy; and as the Admiral very juſtly foreſaw, the firſt thing they did was to attempt the Recovery of it, in which, however, they were ſo far from ſucceeding, that after three general Aſſaults, in each of which they loſt a great Number of Men, they were forced to give over that Deſign; neither was this all, for taking Advantage of the Situation of this Fortreſs, ſuch Multitudes of Bombs and red-hot Bullets were fired from thence into the Enemy's Camp, as threw them into the utmoſt Conſternation and Confuſion; which Opportunity was not let ſlip by the *Dutch* General, who, with the beſt Part of his Forces, attacked the Enemy's Entrenchments, at the ſame time that a vigorous Sally was made from the Caſtle, which obliged the Enemy to quit all their Poſts.

General *Speelman* ſoon after embarked his Forces, and tranſported them to another Part of the Iſland, where he committed great Ravages, and deſtroyed a great Multitude of Villages. As this War was apparently attended with great Loſſes and Inconveniencies on both Sides, Deputies were at laſt choſen, to try what could be done towards ſettling a Peace. The King of *Macaſſar* was very unwilling to let theſe Deliberations be ſpun out to any length, becauſe he found his *Indian* Allies deſerting him by Degrees, and making Peace for themſelves on the beſt Terms they could; which Example of theirs he reſolved to follow, by ſubmitting to ſuch Terms as he could get, which were, indeed, none of the moſt reaſonable; and ſo the Treaty was concluded on the 18th of *Novemrer*, 1667; in conſequence of which, the Regents of the Iſland, and all the neighbouring Princes, as well as the King of *Macaſſar*, ſent a numerous and ſolemn Embaſſy to the Governor-General, *John Maetſuicher* at *Batavia*, to make their Submiſſion to the Company.

All this Time the *Dutch* Army and Fleet continued in the Iſland, and the rainy Seaſon coming on, there enſued ſuch a Mortality among them, as induced the *Indians* to hope they might gain ſome Advantages over them, by which they were tempted to break the Peace, which they did by maſſacring a great Number of the dying Soldiers, and two of their Captains; upon which the War broke out again, and continued with as great Violence as ever for two Years; in which Time the Succeſs of Admiral *Speelman* was ſo great, and the Calamities he brought upon the Natives of *Macaſſar* were ſo many and ſo heavy, that, at laſt, they were forced to implore a Peace, to ſend a new Embaſſy to *Batavia*, and to make all the Submiſſions the Company could require; and, after all, they were left to the Mercy of *Speelman*, who, by a new Treaty, concluded on the 15th of *June* 1669, not only renewed the Treaties of the 19th of *Auguſt* 1660, and the 18th of *November*, 1667, but alſo impoſed upon them other Conditions ſtill more grievous and more intolerable. By this Treaty the Company became entirely Miſtreſs of the Commerce of the Iſlands of *Celebes*, which, though very conſiderable in itſelf, was ſtill more ſo by being taken from other *European* Nations, who under Colour of trading for the Commodities of the Iſlands, came in for a conſiderable Share of the Trade in Spices; ſo that it ſerved likewiſe to ſecure to the *Dutch* what was of more Conſequence to them than any thing elſe, their abſolute Sovereignty over the *Moluccas*.

I have been the more particular in writing the Hiſtory of this War from the Memoirs furniſhed me by the *Dutch* Authors, becauſe it is the laſt of any Conſequence that the Company has carried on in the *Indies*, and has, with reſpect to the Natives, eſtabliſhed their Power ſo effectually, that there is no great Danger of their being obliged to ſuſtain ſuch another War. Before I part however with this Subject, I ſhall take the Liberty of making a few Remarks, for the ſake of ſuch Readers as ſeek Inſtruction rather than Amuſement, and are truly deſirous of underſtanding what in this Section I have undertaken to explain.

My firſt Obſervation is, that how rude and barbarous ſoever we may eſteem theſe Nations, yet moſt evident it is, that the King of *Macaſſar* acted like a great and wiſe Politician, and that the *Indian* Princes, who joined with him, were entirely guided by a Principle of publick Spirit, and a very juſt and rational Deſire of preſerving a Ballance of Power in thoſe Parts upon which their own immediate Safety and quiet Enjoyment of their Dominions depended. They miſcarried indeed, but it was in a noble Cauſe, and even their Miſcarriage ſufficiently proves the Rectitude of their Intentions; for ſince the Concluſion of this fatal Peace, to which they were driven by abſolute Neceſſity, they have loſt all Commerce with Strangers, and are, to all Intents and Purpoſes, the Vaſſals, or to ſpeak in plain *Engliſh*, the Slaves of the *Dutch*. This plainly ſhews, that the Ballance of Power is not ſuch a Chimera as ſome People would repreſent it; and my next Remark will make this ſtill more evident.

It is very ſtrange, that while theſe *Indian* Princes were not only fighting for their own Freedom, but for the Liberty of trading with *Europeans*, all the *European* Nations ſettled in the *Indies* ſhould be quiet Spectators of a War which ſo much concerned them, without interpoſing in the leaſt for the Preſervation of thoſe who were engaged in their Cauſe as much as in their own. If they had ſtirred ever ſo little, we may eaſily diſcern, even from theſe *Dutch* Accounts, that the King of *Macaſſar* and his Allies might have been ſupported in their Pretenſions, and might have been enabled to have thrown off the Yoke of the *Dutch*; ſo that if Barbarity conſiſts, as ſurely with reſpect to Nations it does, in political Ignorance, then the *Europeans* in the *Indies* may, with greater Juſtice, be ſtiled barbarous than the poor Natives, who certainly did all they could; and the wiſeſt, greateſt, and braveſt Nations never did more.

My third Remark is, that the *Indians* who joined with the *Dutch*, were Enemies to themſelves, and by deſtroying the Power of the King of *Macaſſar*, not only contributed to the Ruin of the only Monarch who underſtood and purſued the true Intereſt of the *Indians* in general, but likewiſe ſubverted and took away their own Importance: For, while the King of *Macaſſar* continued a great and powerful Prince, the *Dutch Eaſt-India* Company conſidered, and muſt have always conſidered ſuch Princes as lived in Friendſhip with them in the light of Allies, and durſt never have treated them but as Allies ought to be treated. But when this Power was gone, which made their Friendſhip ſo neceſſary, and of ſuch Importance, they became as much the Vaſſals, as much the Servants, or, as I called them before, the Slaves of the *Dutch*, as that King and thoſe Princes, who by their Aſſiſtance, the *Dutch* ſubdued. This is a very uſeful and a very important Leſſon; for Men are the ſame in *Europe* and in the *Indies*.

It is now time to reſume our Hiſtory, which leads me to take Notice, that while the *Eaſt-India* Company carried all before them abroad, the Republick was exceſſively diſtreſſed at home; for now it was that the *French*, jealous of her Power, and the *Engliſh*, in Reſentment of former Injuries, concurred in that fatal Alliance, which was very near bringing the States as low as when they firſt ſhook off the Tyranny of the *Spaniards*; nay, which actually did bring them into ſuch Diſtreſs, that it is reported that they had once thought of ſeeking that Protection from their *Eaſt-India* Company, which they had hitherto afforded it, and of transferring that Government to *Batavia*, which they almoſt deſpaired of preſerving at the *Hague*.

Providence however interpoſed, and by touching the Hearts of the *Engliſh* Nation with a generous Concern for their Neighbours, whom though they might wiſh to ſee humbled, yet they had no Deſire, as indeed they had no Intereſt to ſee them deſtroyed, delivered them from this Calamity, and raiſed them once more to Power and Freedom.

Yet the *Eaſt-India* Company, though it felt but little of this Storm, was not altogether exempt from its Force, ſince the *French* ſent a powerful Squadron into the *Indies*, with a View to have torn from them a Part of their Poſſeſſions. This Squadron was commanded by the *Sieur de la Hay*, who propoſed firſt attacking *Ceylon*, with a View to make the *French* Maſters of the Cinnamon Trade at once, as the ſhorteſt Means of introducing the Commerce of the *Indies* according to the Project of one Mr. *Caron*, a *French* Refugee, who had been long in the *Dutch Eaſt-India* Company's Service, underſtood their Affairs perfectly well, and made his Peace at home by betraying all he knew. This Man embarked on Board the Fleet, and was principally depended upon in the Management of every thing. It cannot be denied, that he ſerved the *French* Miniſtry very effectually; but they had not ſufficiently conſidered the Importance of the Expedition in which they employed him, or the Force of the Enemy with whom they had to deal; for if they had, they would undoubtedly have ſent a ſecond Squadron to have ſupported that which Mr. *Hay* commanded; and this might have been of ſome Uſe; but, as it was, it only ſhewed the Diſpoſition of the *French*, and ſerved to put the *Dutch* upon their Guard.

In the Summer of the Year 1673, the *French* Fleet appeared on the Weſt-Coaſt of the Iſland of *Ceylon*, and immediately landed and attacked the Citadel of *Trinquimale*,

male, of which they became Maſters; and by fair Promiſes, and magnifying the Power of the *French* King, drew the Natives to join with them; ſo that thus far they had all the Succeſs they could expect. But *Trinquimale* was a Place of too great Importance for the Company to let it remain long in the Hands of theſe new Conquerors; they therefore ſent Commodore *Goens* from *Batavia* with a Fleet of ſixteen Sail, all of them large Ships, and well manned. On the firſt Appearance of this Squadron Mr. *de la Hay* retired with his Ships to *Surat*, leaving a ſmall Garriſon in his new Conqueſt. The Commodore blocked up *Trinquimale* by Sea, and debarking his Forces, beſieged it at the ſame time by Land; ſo that he ſoon recovered it, together with one hundred and twelve Pieces of fine Braſs Cannon, which the *French* had left there for its Defence; ſo that here ended their Views upon *Ceylon*, almoſt as ſoon as they began.

But Mr. *de la Hay*, when he came to *Surat*, adviſed with Mr. *Caron* about the Meaſures which they ſhould next take; and, purſuant to his Advice, reſolved to attack the Fortreſs of *St. Thomas*, which about twelve Years before the *Dutch* had taken from the *Portugueze*; and in this ſudden Attempt they were as ſucceſsful as they had been before in ſurpriſing *Trinquimale*, and juſt as unlucky in keeping it. After leaving a good Garriſon here, and ſeeing the Magazines put into the beſt Order poſſible, the Sieur *de lay Hay* thought proper to return to *France* with the only Ship that was left of his Squadron. But it fell out unluckily enough for him, that even this poor Conſolation of bringing home a few of the People he had carried out, was denied him; for, in the Road of *Liſbon*, his only Ship was wrecked, by the Malice of his Pilot, as it was ſuppoſed, more than by any Violence of Weather; the rather becauſe Mr. *Caron*, two Captains, and ſeveral other Officers were drowned in their Endeavour to get aſhore in the Long-boat, which was the Effect, as is ſuppoſed, of ſome Practices which the Treachery of *Caron* to the *Dutch* put them upon taking; but as this is a bare Suſpicion, and abſolutely deſtitute of Proof, to inſiſt upon it farther would be needleſs.

This was the laſt Attempt made againſt the Commerce of the *Eaſt-India* Company; and during the Remainder of the Century, they were continually improving and augmenting both their Power and their Commerce; ſo that, at the Cloſe of it, they were in a much better Condition than ever; for in the Year 1687, we find that they brought over One hundred and ſeventy thouſand Pounds Weight of Cinnamon; and yet they brought over leſs that Year than they had done for many Years before, which ſhews the prodigious Importance of their being ſolely poſſeſſed of the Iſland of *Ceylon*. On the 11th of *Auguſt*, 1698, their Charter was renewed for forty Years, which gave them ſuch an Acceſſion of Power and Credit, as rendered them almoſt as conſiderable in the Eyes of all *Europe*, as they were before in the *Indies*: And having ſaid that, it may ſeem altogether unneceſſary to add any thing by way of Explanation.

15. We have now conducted the Hiſtory of this famous Company, from its earlieſt Eſtabliſhment to the Beginning of the preſent Century; and for what regards the Tranſactions thereof from thence to the preſent Time, there is ſo much ſaid in the firſt Chapter of this Work, in the Account we have given of Commodore *Roggewein*, that there ſeems to be the leſs Occaſion for our inſiſting much on that Subject here, therefore we ſhall content ourſelves with mentioning only a few Particulars that have not hitherto fallen in our Way; that, as far as in our Power lies, there may be nothing deficient in the treating a Subject ſo curious and important in itſelf, and the Knowledge of which is ſo peculiarly neceſſary to a trading Nation.

In the firſt Place, though we have mentioned them occaſionally before, we will more exactly diſtinguiſh the Dates of the Company's Charters; the rather, becauſe many of the *Dutch* Writers are not very exact in that Particular. The firſt Charter was dated the 20th of *March*, 1602, and was to continue for twenty-one Years. The ſecond was granted the Year in which the former expired, for the like Term, but with this Variation, that it was to commence from the firſt of *January*, 1623, ſo that it determined in 1644, when they procured a new Charter for the ſame Term. Their fourth Charter bore Date the 7th of *February*, 1665, and was to extend to the 31ſt of *December*, 1700; but the Company thought proper in 1698 to obtain another Charter for forty Years, from the Determination of that which was then in being. And, again, in the Year 1717, the Company thought it requiſite to apply for new Favours, but they were not able to obtain a new Charter, as they expected; however they procured a Placard, by which the States-General forbad all their Subjects to ſend any Ships to the *Eaſt Indies*, or any where within the Limits of the Company's Charter: They likewiſe prohibited their Interfering in any manner in the Commerce of the *Indies*, without the Licence of the Company firſt had and obtained for that Purpoſe; as alſo to have any Concern in foreign Companies, or to ſerve on board any of their Ships; which Precautions were thought neceſſary not only for the *Eaſt-India* Company's Security, but for the preſerving this rich and beneficial Trade to the Subjects of the Republick.

There happened, about the Time that their Charter ſhould have been renewed, ſome Commotions in the *Indies*, which had like to have been of very fatal Conſequence to their Eſtabliſhment; and of which we have not, as yet, received in *Europe* any Account of theſe Tranſactions, that can be thoroughly depended upon; all we know of them is this, that the Conſpiracy having been diſcovered among the *Chineſe* at the very Juncture that it ſhould have been executed, the Governor was conſtrained to have Recourſe to the moſt ſpeedy Methods for ſecuring the Safety of the Inhabitants, and preſerving the City and Fortreſs of *Batavia* from falling into the Hands of the Enemy. It was in conſequence of this Neceſſity that all the Seamen were landed from the Fleet, and had the Plunder given them of the *Chineſe* Suburb, to encourage them to ſerve the Company effectually, which they did, by attacking and putting to the Sword the greateſt Part of the Conſpirators. By this ſpeedy and ſevere Proceeding, the City and the Dominions of the Company in the Iſland of *Java* were preſerved, but not without a vaſt Effuſion of Blood, which was followed by a formidable Rebellion, that was not ſuppreſſed for ſome time.

Such as favoured the Governor and Council of the *Indies*, pretend that all this was owing to the Wickedneſs and Treachery of the *Chineſe*, who, notwithſtanding the Mildneſs of the Company's Adminiſtration, had formed a deep and dark Conſpiracy, the Deſign of which was to extirpate totally the *Dutch* that were ſettled in *Batavia*, and Places adjacent. Such again as were Enemies to the Governor and his Council, attributed the whole of this bloody Affair to their Male-adminiſtration; and would have us believe, that the *Chineſe* and their Accomplices were driven into all they did by the moſt horrid Oppreſſions, in order to afford an Opportunity for thus falling upon and deſtroying them, and thereby putting it out of their Power to demand the immenſe Sums of Money which were due to them from ſuch as were induſtrious in bringing this Calamity upon them. Some again who pretend to ſpeak impartially, without Favour to the *Chineſe*, or Prejudice to the Governor, give quite another Turn to this Affair, and tell us, that he was ſo far from being an Enemy to the *Chineſe*, that he had been rather too much their Friend; and for the ſake of conſiderable Sums of Money and ſeveral rich Preſents that had been made him, granted them ſuch Liberties as were inconſiſtent not only with the Intereſt, but with the Safety of the Company, which were the true Cauſes of their endeavouring to ſubvert the Government, and to make themſelves Maſters of *Batavia*, and the Country about it, agreeable to the true Nature of the *Chineſe*, who are known and acknowledged throughout the Eaſt to be an inſolent, ungrateful, and perfidious People.

However this Matter might be, it made a prodigious Noiſe in *Europe*; and Baron *Imhoff*, the preſent Governor-General, was ſent over to *Batavia*, to ſettle the Concerns of the Colony and Company, and to make a very ſtrict Enquiry into this Affair. The Charter of the Company, when it was near expiring in 1740, was renewed only for one Year; but ſince that Time, all Affairs have been adjuſted in the *Indies*, and at home, to the Satisfaction both of the Company and of the Government, as ſhall be ſhewn hereafter. At preſent, it is our Buſineſs to ſhew, after giving ſo copious an Account of the Growth and Grandeur of this Company, how its Affairs are conducted, and what Form of Government it is, that has been able, not only to render a Body of Merchants formidable to the greateſt Monarchs in the Eaſt, but to acquire them Dominions very little inferior to any of theſe Monarchs, and Revenues, Armies, and Fleets ſuperior to moſt of them: This is a Thing ſo admirable in itſelf, and demonſtrates ſo clearly, what it is in the Power of an extenſive and well regulated Commerce to do, that I flatter myſelf my Reader will pay a very ſtrict Attention to the following Account of it.

16. Their whole Buſineſs in *India* is divided into Governments and Directions, after the following Manner: I. *Batavia* is the chief and capital, where reſide the Governor-General, and Council ordinary of *India*, to whom alſo the Governments and Directions are ſubordinate, ſending their Accounts to them, the Ballance whereof is entered into the Accounts-General of *India*, kept there; beſides which, there are ſeveral Places immediately under the Government and Direction of the Governor and Council of *Batavia*, *viz. Japon* a Chief-ſhip, *Tonquin* a Chief-ſhip, *Macaſſar* a Commandant, *Siam* a Chief-ſhip, *Bantam* a Factory, *Japara* a Factory, *Jambeè* a Chief-ſhip, *Pallambam* a Chief-ſhip, *Arrakan* a Chief-ſhip. II. *Amboyna* a Government, under which are ſeveral Iſlands, where they pay a yearly Penſion to the Inhabitants, not to ſuffer Cloves or other Spices to grow. III. *Banda* is a Government, and under it are ſeveral Iſlands, to the Natives of which they likewiſe pay Money yearly to deſtroy the Spice. IV. *Ternate* is a Government. V. *Malacca* is a Government. VI. *Zelon*, or *Ceylon*, is a Government, where they have many Factories, and all their Accounts are ſent to *Columbo*, the principal Place. VII. *Cochin* is a Government, and under it lies all the *Malabar* Coaſt. VIII. *Policat* is a Government, under which are the Coaſts of *Corromandel* and *Pegu*. IX. *Bengal* is a Direction, and under it all the Factories in that Bay: *Hughly* is the chief, from whence they ſend their Accounts to *Batavia*. X. *Surat*, another Direction, under which are many Factories. XI. *Perſia* a Direction, the chief Reſidence *Gombroon*, and under it are *Iſpahan* and *Baſſora*. XII. *Cape of Good-Hope* a Government, and under it the *Mauritias*, or Iſland of Prince *Maurice*.

To underſtand this perfectly, it muſt be obſerved, that Governments are when the Places are their own, Directions when they are under a foreign Prince, and have no Garriſon. *Batavia* excepted, no Government, Direction, or Command, hath Precedence of Place; but the Perſons in thoſe Places, and all other Degrees and Qualities, take Place according to their Seniority in ſtanding.

This Account ſufficiently explains the general Scheme of their Government, from whence we ſhall deſcend into Particulars, that it may appear, with how much Wiſdom, Juſtice and Prudence, all things are regulated by this Company, to prevent either Corruption or Confuſion, which though it is very probable they may not abſolutely do, yet it is very certain, they muſt do it in a great meaſure; for otherwiſe the Company's Affairs muſt have fallen long ago into a very diſtracted State; whereas we ſee them at this Day in as good a Condition as ever.

This I conceive to be eſpecially owing to that Nicety of Judgment ſhewn in adjuſting all their Salaries, and Allowances for Diet, to the ſeveral Qualities and Degrees of their Servants; ſo that none has either ſo little as to be pinched by Neceſſity, nor any ſo much as to ſet them above the Performance of their Duty, which is, generally ſpeaking, the Ruin of ſuch Governments as purſue a contrary Conduct: For the more eaſy underſtanding of this Point, we ſhall take their inferior Officers firſt, and ſo aſcend gradually to the Governor-General of the *Indies*. The Under-aſſiſtant, Scriver or Writer, is the loweſt Degree, and is chiefly ſupplied with Soldiers, taken out of the Guards, from nine to fourteen Guilders *per menſem*. Next is the Aſſiſtant at twenty Guilders *per menſem* Salary, and four Rix-dollars Diet. After him the Upper-aſſiſtant Book-keeper, or Secretary, from twenty-eight to thirty ſix Guilders *per menſem* Salary, and four Rix-dollars Diet. In the fourth Place, the Under-copeman, from thirty-ſix to forty-five Guilders *per menſem* Salary, and eight Rix dollars Diet. Then the Copeman from fifty to ſixty five Guilders *per menſem* Salary, and eight Rix-dollars Diet. Next to him, Upper-copeman, from eighty to one hundred and twenty Guilders *per menſem* Salary, and twelve Rix-dollars Diet: Some from the leſſer Chambers are ſent out at ſeventy-two Guilders *per menſem* Salary.

At *Batavia* and *Zelon*, where Proviſions are dear, they have thirteen Rix-dollars Diet. In the ſeventh Rank a Commandore has one hundred and fifty Guilders *per menſem* Salary, and twenty Rix-dollars Diet; Commandant, a new Title, ſomewhat leſs than Commandore. The eighth, Director, has two hundred Guilders *per menſem* Salary, and thirty Rix-dollars Diet. The Governor has the ſame, as alſo a Member of the extraordinary Council of *India*. A Member ordinary of the Council of *India* at *Batavia*, each of them, three hundred and fifty Guilders *per menſem* Salary, and one hundred Rix dollars Diet; and laſtly, the Governor-General of *Batavia* has one thouſand two hundred Guilders *per menſem* Salary, and two hundred Rix-dollars Diet; and every Time he goes to the Fleet, one thouſand five hundred Rix-dollars Gratuity, which has been uſually done upon a Fleet's Departure for *Europe*: But this General has not taken it for ſome Years paſt.

All Perſons in the Service, whether Merchants, Divines, civil Magiſtrates, Soldiers or Seamen, are ranked in their Degrees, and take their Places accordingly. The General is allowed Wine, and all other Liquors and Proviſions, out of the Company's Warehouſe, without Limitation. All others, down to the Aſſiſtants, are allowed monthly Liquors, Spice, Oil, Wood, Rice, Vinegar, Candles, *&c.* according to their Quality, very large. The Upper-copeman's Allowance is twenty Canadars of *Spaniſh* Wine *per menſem*, beſides Mum, white Wine, and other Liquors; twenty-four Pounds of Wax for Candles, Corn for Poultry, Rice for Slaves, *&c.* ſo that the Diet-money allowed them is only for freſh Proviſions.

Soldiers are ranked in the ſame Manner, *viz.* firſt a common Soldier, or private Centinel, is from nine to fourteen Guilders *per menſem*, as the Under-aſſiſtant. Next, Serjeant's Pay and Diet as the Aſſiſtant. Then Enſign's Pay and Diet as the Under-copeman. After him Lieutenant's Pay and Diet as the Copeman. The fifth Captain's Pay and Diet as the Upper-copeman; and the ſixth Major's Pay and Diet as the Commandore. Military Perſons give place to the civil of the ſame Rank, *viz.* a Commandore precedes a Major, and Upper-copeman a Captain, and a Copeman a Lieutenant; but a Major precedes an Upper-copeman, a Captain a Copeman, and a Lieutenant an Under-copeman. There are three Majors in *India*, one at *Batavia*, one at *Ceylon*, and one at *Amboyna*, or *Banda*. They aſſiſt the Governor in military Affairs, and have the Command over all other Officers and Soldiers, but have no proper Company of their own. There are not Captains over every Company, but one over two, three, four, or five Companies; every Company has Lieutenants and Enſigns, and they often make proviſional Officers, who, upon ſome Merit in Service, do attain to the Pay of ſuch Places.

Seamen are ranked in the ſame Manner, *viz.* firſt a common Seaman, from nine to fourteen Guilders *per menſem*, as a common Soldier; next third Mate, Gunner, Boatſwain, and Steerman, from eighteen to twenty-four Guilders *per menſem*, and the Aſſiſtant-carpenter's Wages from forty to fifty Guilders *per menſem*. The Under-ſteerman, or ſecond Mate, from twenty-four to thirty-ſix Guilders per *menſem*, as the Upper-aſſiſtant. After them, Upper-ſteerman, or chief Mate, from fifty to ſixty Guilders *per menſem*, in the Under-copeman's Rank. The fifth are Skippers, from ſixty to one hundred Guilders *per menſem*, in the Copeman's Rank; and the ſixth, Commandores from one hundred to one hundred and fifty Guilders *per menſem*, beſides which, they have the Ship's Allowance for Proviſion, and, when in *Batavia*, they have Road-money paid them every Month for freſh Proviſions and

Fruit; but in other Roads, they are ſupplied with theſe things from the Factories on Shore. They have none who have the Title or Pay of Captain at Sea, and the Commodores are very few, ſometimes not more than one in *India*.

The Miniſters Pay and Allowance ſtand thus, *viz.* firſt the Predicant, or Preacher's Pay and Diet, the ſame as the Upper-copeman's. The ſecond Dominees, or Viſitors of the Sick, twenty-four Guilders *per menſem*, as the Aſſiſtant. The Miniſters are all ſworn not to write of, nor intermeddle with any Matter relating to the Affairs of the State, or Commerce. In all Governments they are allowed a Preſident, and in *Batavia* two or three to ſpare, in caſe of Mortalities. In all Directions they have no Dominees, only read the Scriptures, and printed Forms of Prayer, Mornings, Evenings, and Sundays. With them the Surgeon's Pay is from forty to fifty Guilders *per menſem*.

17. In all Qualities from Under-aſſiſtant to Upper-copeman, they generally ſerve five Years, and ſome but three, as they agree; which Term being expired, if they pleaſe, they may quit the Service; but they are uſually continued, and upon their Petitions, if they are deſerving, and the Company's Occaſions require, the Governor and Council entertain them again, to the next Degree they ſerved in before, and for ſuch Terms for Salary, *&c.* as they find them deſerving within the ſettled Salary of each Degree; but on any Merit in Service, they are often preferred from one Degree to another, though they have not ſerved ſix Months in a Station; ſo that upon Account of Merit, ſome have riſen in two or three Years from Aſſiſtant to Under-copeman, and others, in as little Time, from Under-copeman to Upper-copeman; in this they have reſpect to Succeſſion, as if a Chief, or Second of a Factory dies, and the Third performs the Buſineſs of the Place to Content, tho' he be but a Book-keeper, for that Service he ſhall be an Under Copeman, and Chief of the Place; and as he gives further Content, a Copeman in one or two Years more. Married Perſons receive all their Pay in *India*, and the unmarried but half theirs at an Over-rate: As at *Batavia*, the Rix-dollar is valued at ſixty Stivers, which is worth but forty-eight, and at *Policat*, the Pagoda is valued at five and an half Guilders, which is really worth but four and half; but this is in a Way of Regulation, as they ſay, upon Complaint of it to the Governor.

The Company find all their Servants Accommodations for Lodgings, for which, and Warehouſes, they have ſpacious Buildings in all their Factories. All, or moſt Perſons ſent out of *Europe*, are of the Qualities from Aſſiſtant to Upper-copeman, ſeldom in a higher Degree; ſometimes they may be of the extraordinary Council: But ſuch, and all others, are left to the General and Council at *Batavia*, to be diſpoſed of in Employments according to their Qualities or Abilities, who give them Preferment as they merit. Such Perſons as are of Capacity, may gradually riſe by Time of Service to the Quality of Upper-copeman, but they muſt ſtand there, and cannot riſe higher, till they are made Commandores. When Directions or Governments fall vacant, an Upper-copeman, capable of being made Governor, Director, or Commandore, generally ſucceeds; and ſome have been fifteen or twenty Years Upper-copeman, before they have been put into any of thoſe Places: Some ſtand there, and riſe no higher, and many never come to that, but remain in lower Degrees, according to their Capacities.

All Perſons in thoſe Degrees or Qualities, precede one another, according to their Seniorities and Standings in the ſame Degree, or that are of the ſame Profeſſion. As the firſt Aſſiſtant precedes all others that are made after him; ſo likewiſe a Copeman made this Month precedes him that is made a Month after; but the Profeſſion of the Merchant (or as they commonly term it, the Pen) hath the Preference of all others, and he that is an Upper-copeman in that Quality, precedes all others, whether Preachers, Soldiers or Seamen (as is ſaid before) tho' they may be his Seniors in the ſame Degree.

All theſe Salaries and Wages for Merchants, Soldiers, Seamen, and others, go on for their outward bound and home Voyages, and every one has a Copy of his Accounts out of the Book of Wages, every Year, which he keeps, or carries Home with him, or ſells to another; and when he returns to the Chamber from whence he was ſent, he is punctually paid the Ballance of his Account, together with what is due for the Term of the Voyage; and ſuch as have ſerved out their whole Time, and deſire to be Freemen in *India*, ſell their Accounts, or ſend Letters of Procuration Home, upon Sight of which they are paid; ſo that neither the Company, nor their Servants, have ever any Trouble in adjuſting their Accounts.

Theſe Freemen are ſuch as have ſerved out their Time, and are then cleared of the Company's Service, and ſuffered to live in the Country, or ſuch as of late have been permitted, or encouraged to come out of *Europe*, on their own Accounts. They are always obliged to have Families, and live in garriſoned Towns, and in their Plantations on the Spice Iſlands, where they are allowed to trade too and fro in Proviſions of all Sorts, and other Commodities, where the Company do not trade, and ſometimes where they do trade, with the General's and Council's Licence, even in the Company's Commodities: This being their Policy, that the Benefit of ſome Trades may not be loſt, but reſerved to the Company, when they are ſo conſiderable, as to be worth their minding, or will be at the Charges of a Factory. All Freemen perform the publick Offices of the Towns, and take their Turns to watch and ward as in the *Netherlands*, none excepted.

18. The firſt ordinary Council of *India* is choſen by the *Bewinthebers*, or *Directors*, out of ſuch of their Servants, as have ſerved the Company as Governors, or Directors, and none under thoſe Qualities; by which means their head Council conſiſts of Men of Eſtates, and Experience in the Buſineſs of all Parts of *India*. The extraordinary Council are alſo nominated by the *Bewinthebers*, and they, when they are at *Batavia*, ſit with the General and Council, but have no other Vote than one of Advice. Several of the Directors and Governors are of the extraordinary Council, and there is a late Order, that three of the extraordinary Council ſhall always reſide at *Batavia*. By another Order of late, all of the ordinary Council are to reſide there likewiſe, and not to remove from thence, but upon Buſineſs of great Importance; and the General, and Director-General, are not to remove upon any Occaſion whatever.

There are often Boxes ſent out of *Europe* with private Directions, which are ſealed, and ordered not to be opened but on extraordinary Accidents, as in caſe of the General's Deceaſe, or other Occaſions of great Moment, which keeps the great ones in Awe of each other. The General hath Power in a particular Commiſſion to himſelf, to ſend Home any one Perſon of the ordinary Council when he thinks fit, that ſhall not behave himſelf well towards him, and to take to himſelf what Salaries, and other Allowances he thinks proper, which the great *Matzuyker* cauſed to be read on ſome Claſhing of the Council at *Batavia*.

The General, and all the ordinary Council, the Secretary, the Major, the Upper copeman, called the two chief Factors, and the Upper copeman, who keeps the general Books of Accounts, live within the Fort, or Caſtle, with their Wives and Family, in Apartments fitted according to their Offices and Places. The General and Council are ſo near together, becauſe of all Letters being opened and read in the Council, that often ſits in an Evening, after Prayers, and never miſſes upon *Sundays*, for an Hour to diſpatch ſmall Buſineſs, Petitions and Complaints, and twice a Week conſtantly, *Tueſdays* and *Fridays*, at Four o'Clock in the Afternoon, about managing the Company's Buſineſs. The Secretary has good Accommodation, and large Offices to write in; the Major lives in the Fort to receive Orders from the General, and to aſſiſt him in the Government of his Soldiers, and the two chief Factors are near the Second, or Director General, who has the moſt laborious Employment, having the Care of all Ships, Goods, Treaſures, and Stores, and propoſes all Voyages and Cargoes.

Theſe two Upper-copemen, whom they call Factors of the Caſtle of *Batavia*, are his Aſſiſtants, to examine Accounts, and Advices, and thereupon draw up Liſts, and

Calculations, of the Sorts, Qualities, and Quantities, of the Goods, that are ſold at any Place, and ſet down whether they increaſe or diminiſh, with the Loſs and Gain thereon, which Notes they ſend to all the Factories where theſe Goods are provided. The chief Book-keeper lives in the Fort, becauſe all Regiſters and Books are kept there, and the Offices for Accounts muſt be there ſtanding. Every one of the ordinary Council of *India* has his particular Charges and Employments allotted to him, wherein he is moſt experienced, *viz.* one is ordered to read, examine, and anſwer all Letters and Papers from the Government of *Ceylon*. Another the Letters, *&c.* of the Governments of *Amboyna*, *Banda* and *Ternate*; another, the Coaſt of *Coromandel* and Bay of *Bengal*; another the Directorſhip of *Surat* and *Perſia*, and another the *Cape* and *Mauritias*; the General only writes Letters to the Company in *Europe*.

Beſides which, they have other particular Employments and Places of Truſt and Importance at *Batavia*. I. The General propoſes and concludes in Council, and directs all Matters of Government to the Council, and ſuperior Officers. He is ſworn to be faithful to the States in his Office, and that he will not prefer any one in the Company's Service, for Fear, Favour, or Affection, but only ſuch as are moſt faithful, moſt able, and moſt fit to manage the Buſineſs for the Company's Advantage. II. The Director-General, as aforeſaid, propoſes the Employments and Cargoes of all Ships. He ſells, and orders the Diſpoſal of all Goods, Stores and Proviſions, has the Charge of the Treaſure and Caſh, and orders the Receipts and Payments of Money. III. Another is Preſident of the Chamber of Orphans, and the Council, his Aſſiſtants, are half Company's Servants, and half Burghers, whoſe Office and Truſt are the ſame as in the *Netherlands*. They ſit once a Week in Council. IV. Another is Preſident of the College of the Rate of Juſtice, who is always a Civilian. He gives Judgment in all Caſes civil or criminal, between the Company and their Servants, or the Burghers. In this Court, the Company's Servants only are of the Council, none of them under the Quality of a Copeman, and they are uſually Advocates, or ſuch as have been bred up to the Civil Law. V. Another is Preſident of the College of Skepen and Burgomaſters.

He judges in all Caſes, civil, military and criminal, between the Burghers and others. The Counſellors, or Judges, who ſit with the Preſident at this Court, are three Upper-copemen in the Company's Service, and three of the chief Burghers. Both theſe Courts ſit twice a Week, conſtantly, and oftner, as occaſion requires, in the Stadthouſe, or Town-hall. All of the ordinary Council are ſworn to be true to the General and the States, to prefer none for Fear, Favour, or Affection, but the fitteſt and ableſt Perſons to the Offices in their Particular Diſpoſals. Below the Second, or Director, is no Precedency of Place, but Employments or Offices are appointed to thoſe who are the fitteſt for them. The Secretary of the Council at *Batavia*, is a Perſon of great Ability and Experience, of the Quality of Upper-copeman; he takes Place next to the extraordinary Council, and has the Pay and Allowance of a Commandore. The minor Votes are always carried by the major in Council, the Fiſcal hath a double Vote. Upon ſigning, none may enter any Exceptions, except the Matter concluded be expreſsly againſt the Orders of the Company, and then they may enter Diſſent, giving that for the Reaſon.

Upon extraordinary Occaſions, which require Secrecy, a Governor, or Director, may call a Council of any two or three Counſellors, and may act according to their Reſolutions. All Perſons of the Quality of Copeman, and Upper-copeman, as alſo Captains and Lieutenants, are capable of being of Council in all Governments and Directions, except *Batavia*. The Seconds of Governors and Directors, are chiefly Copemen, and the Chiefs of ſubordinate Factories under Governments, are commonly Copemen, and Under-copemen; but if it ſo happens, that one of a higher Degree, or Quality, comes to a Place where one of a lower Degree is Chief, he, of the higher Degree takes Place, and gives his Advice in the Company's Buſineſs, but does not govern or direct in any Affair without ſpecial Commiſſion.

In all Governments and Directions, the Conſultations are entered in Books, and ſigned by the Council. The Offices for the Secretary and Accountants, and the Warehouſes for the Company's fine Goods and Treaſure, are built in the Forts, and Houſes, or Factories, and thoſe who officiate in them, muſt dwell there. In ſubordinate Factories, they keep no Conſultation-books, only Copybooks of Letters, Accounts and Diaries. All Letters and Orders from *Batavia*, are ſigned by the General and Council, and thoſe to *Batavia*, muſt be ſigned by the Governors, or Directors, and their reſpective Councils; but all Letters and Orders from Governors and Directors to ſubordinate Factories under them, are ſigned only by the Governor or Director ſingly. The Caſh at *Policat*, is at the Diſpoſal of the Governor, to be put into the Hands of an Upper-copeman, that ſhall be on the Place; and the Sorting of Cloth is done by the Governor, Second, and others, who are of the Quality of Copeman, and Under-copeman, every one ſetting down his Opinion of the Price of the Goods when ſorted.

They have Fiſcals in their Governments, who are under an Oath to diſcover and ſeize all forbidden private Trade, and detect what elſe may be done to defraud the Company. They are uſually of the Quality of Copeman, or Under-copeman, and ſeldom continue longer than three Years in that Office, except at *Batavia*, where they have two principal Fiſcals, of the Quality of Upper-copemen, who continue many Years in that Employ. One of them is called Advocate-fiſcal; he makes Enquiry, and takes Cognizance of all Faults, Frauds and Miſdemeanors in the Company's Service, in all Parts of *India*, makes and maintains the Proceſſes, and has half of what is recovered thereon, the other half goes to the Company, who gives one Third of it to the Poor, after the Proceſs and Condemnation is paid, before the Preſident of the Council of Juſtice; ſo that the Governors, Directors, *&c.* are not concerned in the Diſcovery of any private Trade.

The Company ſends every Year printed Papers of the News and Affairs of *Europe*, which are diſperſed over all their Factories in *India*, by which they are inſtructed in the Intereſt and Concerns of the ſeveral Powers and are directed to behave themſelves accordingly to all *European* Nations in *India*. Alſo they ſend Abſtracts of the Sale of their Goods, and the Loſs and Gain thereon in *Europe*. It is very eaſy to obſerve, that all theſe Regulations are calculated for the Improvement of the Perſons in the Service of the Company, for enabling them to diſcharge their Duties punctually and perfectly, and with ſuch a Meaſure of Knowledge and Underſtanding, as may fit them for whatever Places they may be called to ſerve in.

It is not eaſy to conceive, what mighty Effects flow from ſuch wiſe and juſt Regulations; what Order and Harmony they may beget, and how eaſily all Things are managed, where ſo much Care is taken, that every Man ſhall be acquainted with the Importance of his Station, and with a Probability of his bettering his Circumſtances by his diſcharging his Functions with Diligence. It is by ſettling theſe Orders, and taking care they ſhall be conſtantly carried into Execution, that we find the *Dutch* are never at a Loſs for Men fit to be employed on any critical Occaſion, as Ambaſſadors, Plenipotentiaries, and ordinary Reſidents in the Courts of *Indian* Princes, whereas other Nations, that carry on other Trade in that Part of the World, are at a Stand in this reſpect, and in all ſuch Emergencies, are forced to take ſuch as come to Hand, or which is worſe, ſuch as puſh themſelves forward, and miſtaking Vanity for Talents, get into Employments only to expoſe themſelves, and thoſe under whoſe Authority they act.

It is a received Opinion, and I believe founded on Reaſon, that the Capacities of Men are much alike, and that where one makes a Figure by dint of what is called Genius, there are a hundred become able Men from Diſcipline and Experience. It is therefore extreamly commendable in the *Dutch*, that they take ſo much Pains to propagate real Knowledge among ſuch as are in the publick Service, and that they do not content themſelves with barely qualifying their Under-officers for the Diſcharge of the Places they are in, but oblige them likewiſe to take Pains to fit themſelves for more important ſervices. It is one Thing to read News-papers for Amuſement, and another Thing quite to oblige People to read them for Inſtruction; and it is very eaſy to conceive, that a Perſon in the Indies, who has a good general Notion of the Affairs of *Europe*, and of the Situation Things are in there, will have vaſt Advantages over another Perſon of equal Abilities, who has never turned his Thoughts that Way, but has lived all along in an Opinion, that if he did his Buſineſs in the Counting-houſe, his Superiors had no farther Title to the Diſpoſal of his Time, but that he was at full Liberty to employ it in ſuch Amuſements or Diverſions as beſt ſuited his Humour or Diſpoſition.

But to bring theſe Reflections to a Point, and not to detain the Reader too long upon ſo grave a Subject, I ſhall finiſh them with obſerving, that whatſoever Company takes Care to give its Servants true Notions of Merit, rewards and encourages Merit, and leaves no other Road open to Preferment but Merit; will be always ſure to have more capable Servants, and will conſequently have its Affairs better carried on than any other Company, in the Management of whoſe Concerns Inclination, Intereſt, or Chance, governs all Preferments. It may be ſaid that theſe are juſt and general Obſervations, very eaſily made, and which never will be diſputed. The Queſtion however is not where theſe Rules are owned and admitted, but where they are recommended and practiſed. Since we took Occaſion to enter upon theſe Remarks, not from the general Principles of the *Dutch* Nation, but from the ſettled and invariable Regulations of their *Eaſt-India* Company, which have the Force of Laws to thoſe in their Service.

19. The Government, Order, and Proviſion for their Ships and Fleets runs thus, *viz.* all their Ships are the Company's own, and the Men belonging to them are all in their Pay, ſworn to ſerve them either by Sea or Land, as Occaſion ſhall require. They have two Perſons, who have the Stile of Admirals, and are of the ordinary Council of *India*. For the Care of their Shipping at *Batavia*, they have one called Equipage-maſter, who is of the Quality and Pay of an Upper-copeman, a ſeafaring Man, and vulgarly called a Commandore: He hath the Care of fitting all their Ships, and is continually viſiting them in the Road, if Occaſion requires, and ſupplying them with what they want.

There is a ſmall Iſland, about three Miles from *Batavia*, where they have a Fort, which ſerves them as a Store-houſe for all Manner of Neceſſaries for Ships, under the Charge of a Maſter-Shipwright, who has alſo Command of the Fort and Iſland. He is of the Quality of Upper-Copeman, and has large Pay and Allowances. When they ſend out a Fleet of War on any Expedition, they make a Merchant of the Quality of Upper-copeman, and ſometimes of the extraordinary Council Admiral or General, who has a Council of Merchants and military Officers to aſſiſt him, as Occaſion requires. The Admirals of the Fleet that go from *Batavia* to *Europe*, are ſuch as have ſerved the Company as Governors, Directors, Commanders, or Upper-copemen, and are willing to go home, they have their Salaries allowed them till their Diſcharge in *Europe*; and if there be none that return of their own Choice, they appoint at leaſt a Copeman to command, who comes back again, if he thinks convenient.

As to their Admirals out of *Europe*, the Flag is worn by Turns; *Amſterdam* Squadron carries it three Years, and the *Zealand* Squadron every fourth Year. The *Amſterdam* having two Parts of the Stock, the other leſſer Chambers add theirs to it, and the *Zealanders* have one Quarter of their own. The Merchant who is ſent Admiral, muſt either take his Paſſage on the *Amſterdam* or *Zealand* Squadron. If a Copeman, or Under-copeman goes from Port to Port on any Ship, they have the Command of her, and alſo of the Fleet or all Ships in Company, by the Company's ſettled Order in their Articles. When there is a Fleet together under the Command of a Commandore, the Council is to conſiſt of Copemen and Skippers. When a Ship is ſingle, the Council is to be of Copemen, Skeeper, Under-copeman, Book-keeper, and Steerſmen, and they are always to ſteer their Courſe by the printed Directions, and to ſet off their Work every Day upon Charts, which are delivered up the very Day when they come to *Batavia* or *Holland*.

There is an Under-copeman, or Book-keeper in every Ship, who keeps an Account of the Ship's Expences, as Stores, Proviſions, and Mens Wages, in the Nature of a Purſer, and they are to ſee the Proviſions ſo given out that none be ſpoiled. Theſe take place as they are capable of Preferment in their Factories by their Time of Service, and they are often taken out of Factories where they are wanted, and others put in their Places. If he that is upon a Ship, as a Book-keeper, be but an Aſſiſtant, he takes Place of the Steerſmen, or next to the Skeeper, by reaſon of his Office, or, as they in Reſpect, term it, the Pen. All Chiefs of Factories, *&c.* have free Power to diſpoſe of their Ships and Men, while they are under their Chief-ſhip, and, as Occaſion requires, in the Company's Service. They may take out Men, Ammunitions, Proviſions and Stores, though ſuch Ships come there caſually, through Accident or Neceſſity. Thus every thing relating to this Subject, is ſo fully and clearly regulated, that Doubts or Difficulties rarely ariſe.

20. At *Batavia*, and all other Governments, they have a Chamber of Accounts for Orphans and Overſeers of the Poor thus provided: There is a Preſident and Maſter of the Chamber of Orphans at *Batavia* of the ordinary Council, who has for his Council half the Companies Servants of the Quality of Copemen, and Upper-copemen, and half of the beſt Burghers, beſides a Secretary, and other Aſſiſtants. They ſit once a Week, and order the Diſpoſal of all Orphans and deceaſed Mens Eſtates, as they think fit. At *Policat*, and all Governments under *Batavia*, they have but two Perſons of the Chamber of Orphans, and a Secretary to them, all Company's Servants. The Chambers in thoſe Governments are not accountable to *Batavia* or *Europe*; nor do they ſend Copies of their Books of Accounts to any Place, but always keep them at *Policat*, &c. and the Eſtates of Perſons who deceaſe in any Place under that government, are under the Charge of that Chamber, whoſe Wills, Inventories and Accounts, are there regiſtered; for which purpoſe they have a particular Chamber in the Fort.

They muſt keep plain and fair Books of Accounts, Journals, and Ledgers. At *Policat* the Maſter of the Orphans Chamber, is every three Months to ſhew the Ballance of the Books to the Governor. Thoſe appointed for this Office do continue in it two Years or longer; and when one goes out the other muſt ſtay a Year to inſtruct the next Comer, though his two Years be out. They are ſworn to deal juſtly, and to keep ſecret the Concerns of the Chamber.

The Secretary of the Office muſt give three thouſand Pagodas Security for the Performance of his Truſt, and be reſponſible for all Goods ſold at Outcries, for which he receives Three *per Cent.* upon the Account of the Sale; and by reaſon he is reſponſible, he may deny any Man to bid or buy, whom he thinks not ſafe to truſt. The Secretary alſo enters the Wills, and Inventories, and poſts the Journal, which is kept by one of the Maſters, and takes Care of the Papers that belong to the Office. The Chamber of Orphans may call whom they will into Council to adviſe with in difficult Matters; and no Perſon may deny to come and ſit with them, though it be the Governor himſelf. The Council is allowed Two and an Half *per Cent.* out of the Eſtates of the Deceaſed, for what is received upon the Sale of Goods, but nothing on Money left in Caſh; which Two and a Half is equally divided betwixt the Preſident and all the Maſters; beſides which they have each Money for a Gown yearly, which is charged on the deceaſed Perſon's Eſtate. If any Man or Woman dies, leaving Children under Age, the Chamber of Orphans take Care of the Eſtate, and provide for their bringing up, till they ariſe to the Age of Twenty-three Years, and then they receive what their Parents left them, with Intereſt, and the Increaſe thereof. If the

Parents of the Children have any Eſtates in *Europe*, the Chamber of Orphans where ſuch Perſons die, writes for the Effects to be ſent to them, which is accordingly done.

The Money the Chamber of Orphans pays into the Company's Caſh at *Batavia*, brings in Nine *per Cent.* and it is often let out to Freemen and others at Twelve *per Cent. per Annum*, upon good Security: But at *Policat* it is uſually put into the Company's Stock, at Six *per Cent. per Annum*. If a Perſon dies and leaves no Will, or Relation in *India* to inherit, the Chamber of Orphans takes Care of the Eſtate, and gives the deceaſed Man's Account current Credit for the ſame; and there it remains till the right Heir demands it. If any Perſon dies with a Will, and leaves his Widow in Truſt for the Children, tho' their Mother, the Chamber of Orphans may, if they pleaſe, require the Eſtate at her Hands, and keep it for the Children. And if they do allow the Mother to keep the Eſtate and the Children, they always take a Copy of the Will, and an Obligation from the Mother for the Eſtate.

The Chamber of Orphans may keep the Eſtate in their Hands, and manage it as they pleaſe; but, for the better Security, it is uſually put into the Company's Hands, at the Intereſt before-mentioned; and they have the Company's Obligation for it. If any Perſon dies, leaving a Will, and therein does not give ſuch a Proportion of his Eſtate to his Children as the Law requires, they will not allow of the Will, but require a full Part for the Children. If a Man dies in the Company's Service, the Official is not to touch his Papers; nor is the Chamber of Orphans to admit of any Diſcovery of his Concerns to the Fiſcal. Again, if any Man dies in the Company's Service, and they owe him Money for Wages, the Chamber receives it, and enters it to the Credit of the Deceaſed. The Company, beſides One third of their Half of the Fiſcal's Confiſcation, allow alſo Fines on Offences; and the Confiſcations of the Eſtates of Men executed, for the Poor. There are many Overſeers and Maſters of the Poor at *Batavia*. At *Policat* they have but two, and thoſe not of the Maſters of Orphans, but others. They have Cognizance of all poor Chriſtians under the Government, whether they be *Dutch*, *Portugueze*, or others, and take Care for their Relief, by making Collections in Churches every *Sunday*, and Diſtributions according to their Number and Neceſſities.

The Poor has always a conſiderable Stock before-hand, which has been gathered from the Confiſcations of private Trade, and charitable Gifts. This Stock they alſo let out to the Company upon Intereſt, which they conſtantly receive, and employ as is found needful; and tho' the Intereſt of the Stock be ſufficient to maintain the Poor, yet they never neglect the weekly Gatherings in Churches, to increaſe the Stock as much as they can. For, ſay they, it may ſo happen, that by great Wars and Loſſes, many may be maimed, made Widows and Fatherleſs, and then the Principal may not be enough to maintain them. The Overſeers, or Maſters of the Poor, muſt keep a fair Book of all Receipts and Payments, that is, an Account of Caſh, and an Account of what's paid into the Company's Stock, at Intereſt, with a Roll of the Names of all Perſons to whom they give Alms, and what they give to every one. At *Batavia* there are Collections for the Poor every *Sunday*, Morning and Evening, in all their Churches.

When the ingenious and intelligent Reader ſhall have peruſed and conſidered this Scheme of *Dutch* Policy in the *Indies*, I am perſuaded that he will very eaſily account to himſelf, for their having raiſed ſo extenſive and ſolid an Empire in this Part of the World. He will ſee that they excel all other Nations in the *Indies*, not from Accident, Fortune, or a Concourſe of lucky Incidents, but from a very wiſe and well diſpoſed Eſtabliſhment, and a conſtant Attention to the Principles on which it is founded. They will ſee, that how much ſoever the *Dutch* may be inclined to a Republick, and how ſteady ſoever in their Notions of a Common-wealth, yet they have made no Scruple of departing from thoſe Sentiments in the *Indies*, for the ſake of complying ſo far with the Genius of the People in that Part of the World, as to eſtabliſh ſuch a Power in a ſingle Perſon, as may contribute to keep up at once the Grandeur and Authority of the Company, and facilitate the Direction of their Affairs. But if the Governor-General of *Batavia* has the Splendor, Revenues, and Power of a Prince, he earns them very dearly, by that perpetual Application to Buſineſs, which is required from him, and which he has it not in his Power to ſhake of: The ſame Thing may be ſaid of the Director-General, and of the Members of the Council of the *Indies*; if they have great Appointments, they have a great deal of Buſineſs, and if their Power be large, they are obliged to give a very ſtrict Account of the Manner in which it is uſed.

Theſe Examples are of inexpreſſible Conſequence, ſince they oblige all their Officers in their ſeveral Stations, to a conſtant and diligent Attendance, from whence they can never hope for any Diſpenſation, when they ſee ſuch as are at the Head of Affairs, tied to a ſtricter and more laborious Attendance than themſelves. The due Care that is taken, that every Man ſhall have a juſt Satisfaction for his Pains, a proper Subſiſtance, and a Certainty of receiving whatever is due to him, without Difficulty or Delay, and without needing the Aſſiſtance or Favour of any Man, muſt be acknowledged a Circumſtance of infinite Importance. The Frugality ſhewn in their military and naval Eſtabliſhments, and the Care taken to preſerve a due Dependance on the civil Government, are Steps worthy not only of Attention but Imitation, becauſe they are equally calculated for increaſing and extending, as well as preſerving and ſecuring the Dominions and Trade of the Company. The Tenderneſs ſhewn for Orphans, and the Security that this affords to private Men, that their Children ſhall certainly enjoy the Fruits of their Labour, is both a Spur to Induſtry, and a Means of promoting Marriages and Settlements, both of the utmoſt Conſequence to their Affairs in the *Indies*, as it ſerves to increaſe their Force, without draining their Mother-country. Their Regulations for the Poor are copied from thoſe in *Holland*, and highly laudable they are, in this reſpect; I mean, in not ſuffering any Diſtance of Country or Climate to deprive their People of their Birth-rights, which is the Benefit of their Laws, and to this I ſuppoſe it is owing that the *Dutch* are obſerved never to loſe, or even to impair their Affection for their native Country, which they particularly diſtinguiſh, by the tender Appellation of Fatherland, and to which therefore all their Cares are confined, and in which all their Acquiſitions center.

To be the better ſatisfied of this, and to bring this Section to a Concluſion, by what moſt of all concerns us, the Knowledge of that Profit which accrues to them by the *Eaſt-India* Trade, we ſhall next conſider the Oeconomy of this flouriſhing Company at Home, and demonſtrate the Means by which all the Proprietors receive the cleareſt Satisfaction, that the whole Profits upon their Capital, are fairly divided out to them, and are not put into the Pockets of ſuch as are intruſted with the Direction of the Company's Affairs, as alſo how the State preſerves ſuch an Influence over the Company, as is requiſite for its own Security; and finally, how an Eſtimate may be made of the Wealth brought into the *United-Provinces* by this Company, from the Time of its original Eſtabliſhment to this Day.

21. The great Power, prodigious Wealth, and vaſt Importance of this Company to the *Dutch* Republick, has occaſioned a great Variety of Treatiſes on its Form, Conſtitution, and Manner of Government; ſo that it is very far from being an eaſy Taſk to reduce the Subſtance of what they had delivered within the narrow Bounds which we are obliged to keep. To begin as methodically as poſſible, we will firſt ſtate the original Stock of the Company, and the Proportions in which it was advanced, and which have never been varied ſince that Time: A Stroke of Policy of infinite Conſequence to them in the Management of this extenſive Commerce.

The Capital Stock of the *Dutch Eaſt-India* Company.

	Florins.
Amſterdam	Florins.
Zealand	3,674,915
Delft	1,333,882
Rotterdam	470,000
Horn	177,400
Enchuyſen	266,868
	536,775
In all	6,459,840

Thoſe ſix having advanced this Money, they ſettled a Chamber in each of the Towns (that of *Zealand* being in *Middleburg*) from whence they chuſe the ſeventeen Deputies, who direct the Affairs of the Company. They meet four Times a Year ſucceſſively at *Amſterdam*, for the Affairs of the Company, and twice at *Middleburg* alternately; but not at the other Towns. Theſe Deputies are the Sovereigns of this illuſtrious Company, yet under the Authority of the *States-General*. The ſeventeen Directors are choſen in the following Manner; eight by the Chamber of *Amſterdam*; four by that of *Zealand*; *Delft*, *Rotterdam*, *Horn*, and *Enchuyſen*, one each; and the *Maes*, *Middleburg*, and *North-Holland*, chuſe one by Turns. Theſe ſeventeen Directors govern the Company, and repreſent the Sovereignty of the whole Body by Plurality of Voices. They regulate all Affairs of Conſequence, as the making of Counſellors, Captains, Lieutenants, and equipping of Ships, the Sale of the Goods, the Diviſion of the Profits, and all the particular Chambers muſt conform themſelves to their Orders. They likewiſe appoint the Time for the Sale of the Goods, one half of which is ſold in the Chamber of *Amſterdam*, a fourth in that of *Middleburg*, and a ſixteenth in each of the other four Chambers, at the Time by them appointed, to the higheſt Bidder.

But beſides theſe ſeventeen Directors, each of the Chambers have more belonging to the ſame Body: Thus *Amſterdam* has ten more, beſides the eight ſent to the ſovereign Court; and *Haerlem*, *Leyden*, *Utrecht*, *Dort*, and *Tergoe*, have each of them one there, as have the Provinces of *Guelderland* and *Friezeland*, and *Zealand* likewiſe, beſides their four Directors have eight or ten more from other Towns of the Province. All the Deputies are to give their Advice in their reſpective Chambers for the Good and Advantage of the Company; and when any of the Deputies die, the Towns to which they belong name three others in their Stead, out of which the Magiſtrates chuſe one. This Committee meets twice a Week, and change their Preſident each Month, ſo that every one preſides in his Turn. There are two Advocates belonging to the Company, who make their Report of what is reſolved upon to the *Indies*; upon which the Officers of the Company there form their Reſolutions, and iſſue their Orders. There are eight Deputies for the Affairs of the Marine, War, and building of Ships; four to inſpect their Magazines, and the Goods that are ſent to and come from the *Indies*; four which take care of the Money which the Company pays and receives; and the reſt take care of the Accounts, and other Affairs relating to Order and Juſtice, which is done to the meaneſt Mariner as well as to the greateſt Officers.

The Whole, though it ſeems at firſt ſight in a manner independent of the State, is however kept in great Subordination, by means of the wiſe Regulations made in eſtabliſhing the Directors, and the Care taken, that not any two of them ſhall be related to each other, which prevents Combinations, and all thoſe Practices by which publick Eſtabliſhments are converted into private Jobbs, and what ought to redound to the common Benefit of a Nation, conveyed into the Pockets of a few private Men. Once in three Years the *States-General* demand and receive a ſtrict Account of the Company's whole Tranſactions, in order to be ſatisfied that they keep within the Bounds of their Charter, that they do Juſtice to their Proprietors, and that they manage their Trade ſo as that it may not be prejudicial to the State; which Regulation may be juſtly eſteemed the principal Cauſe, that hitherto the Affairs of this Company have been ſo perfectly well conducted.

In order to this Examination, or Controul of the Company's Accounts, the ancient Practice was for the *States-General* to name a Committee of their Members to go to *Amſterdam*, and there examine the Books of the *Eaſt-India* Company upon the Spot, which took up a conſiderable Time; and during that whole Space, this Committee from the *States* had their Charges defrayed at the Expence of the Company. In the Year 1728, the Company thought fit to make a Repreſentation to the *States-General*, ſetting forth the Inconveniencies and unneceſſary Charge this Method occaſioned, and therefore praying, that their *High Mightineſſes* would conſent to its Alteration, and allow the Company to ſend a Deputation to the *Hague*, in order to lay their Accounts before them, which, after mature Deliberation, was aſſented to.

The Magazines of the Company are always kept in excellent Order. Such as are intruſted with the Care of them, give large Security, and are liable beſides to the ſevereſt Puniſhments, in caſe they are guilty of any Breach of Truſt. The ſame Degree of Strictneſs is ſhewn to all Degrees of Perſons in their Service; nor are the Directors themſelves exempted, in whom the ſmalleſt Fraud would be puniſhed with a ſpeedy and exemplary Juſtice. This keeps up that Spirit of Care and Diligence which is ſo abſolutely requiſite to the right Management of Commerce; and all the Under-officers, moved by the Example as well as conſtrained by the Inſpection of their Superiors, diſcharge their Duty very exactly; ſo that the Dock, or Yard, in which their Ships are built and repaired, is kept in as exact Order as that of any private Man, tho' there are ſeldom leſs than twelve hundred Perſons employed therein.

They do not however exert the ſame Authority over the Sailors and Under-ſervants of the Company, that return from the *Indies*; but, on the contrary, allow them all the Liberty they can deſire, and ſuffer them to live in what Manner and at what Expence they pleaſe, which is likewiſe done from a Principle of true Policy, ſince it affords them the Means of ſpending, in a ſhort Time, all that they have acquired in long Service; ſo that in the Space of five or ſix Weeks they are, generally ſpeaking, reduced to their primitive State of Indigence, and conſequently are obliged to enter again into the Company's Service for a freſh Term. Thus the Liberty of the Subject is preſerved intire, and the Company nevertheleſs ſeldom wants a regular Supply of able and ſeaſoned Seamen, which has very good Effects, becauſe Experience ſhews, that ſuch as are uſed to theſe eaſtern Climates go many Voyages without Prejudice to their Health; whereas freſh and raw Seamen die in great Numbers, to the vaſt Prejudice of the State. The greateſt Care is taken, that all employed in this Service, both at home and abroad, ſhall be properly qualified for the Stations in which they ſerve; and therefore it is a Rule, that none ſhall be admitted into any Office, before they have undergone a proper Examination; and though there may be ſome Inſtances where Intereſt or Favour may have procured Diſpenſations in this reſpect, yet theſe occur but ſeldom, and are not therefore of very great Conſequence.

In order to have a juſt Idea of the Manner in which this great Maſs of Property is managed, it will be neceſſary to explain the Meaning of a Term frequently made uſe of here, and yet but indifferently underſtood. The Term I mean is the *Actions* of the *Eaſt-India* Company. The general Signification of this Phraſe, both here and in *France*, is preciſely the ſame with what we call *Stocks*. When therefore it is ſaid, that Actions riſe or fall, the Meaning is plain and obvious; but then it is abſolutely neceſſary to know the Value of Actions, or rather the Value of the Actions in a particular Company, before we can form any juſt Notions of them. The original Actions of this *Eaſt-India* Company were fixed at three thouſand Florins; that is to ſay, a Perſon poſſeſſed of ſo much of the original Stock, was ſaid to hold one Action; he who had twice as much two, and ſo on. This Phraſe is ſtill kept up, though the Value is very much altered, ſince a ſingle Action is now worth from twenty-five to twenty-ſix thouſand Florins. Theſe Actions vary in their Price, according as the Dividends made upon the Company's Capital riſe or fall; but whatever their Price be, a principal Director muſt have two in his own Poſſeſſion to qualify him for that Poſt, and none are capable of giving a Vote in an Election, who are not poſſeſſed of one Action at leaſt. The Salaries of the Directors vary, according to the Chambers to which they belong. Thoſe eighteen that are choſen by the City of *Amſterdam*, have three thouſand Florins a Year; but there are others that have but twelve hundred.

The Manner of buying and ſelling *Eaſt-India* Stock is very eaſy and expeditious. When the Parties have ſettled the Price between themſelves, they go together to the *India* Houſe, where the Seller applies himſelf to the Clerk of the Book in which his Stock is entered, and deſires him to transfer ſo much from his Account to that of the Buyer; which being done, he ſigns it, and afterwards ſigns a Receipt for the Purchaſe-money, and the whole Tranſaction being performed in the Preſence of a Director, he ſigns the Book likewiſe; ſo that there is not a Poſſibility of any Fraud being committed, yet the whole Expence of this Transfer does not amount to more than ſeven Shillings and ſix Pence of our Money.

The Directors, who have the ſole Management of the Company's Concerns, ſettle not only the Times, but the Quantities and Qualities of the Company's Goods, that are to be expoſed in their Sales, from the Produce of which their Dividends are raiſed, and are high and low, according to the Profit made by the Company. This, however, muſt be underſtood with ſome Reſtriction; for moſt certain it is, that, from their firſt Eſtabliſhment to this Day, they have never divided to the full Extent of their Profit, and this for very good Reaſons. Firſt, becauſe long Wars, and other chargeable Expeditions, muſt be defrayed out of this reſerved Stock, to prevent a great Decreaſe in their Dividends, which would neceſſarily occaſion a very great Fall of their Actions. Secondly, they have conſtantly paid the State very large Sums for the renewing of their Charters, and they have likewiſe paid largely for ſuch other Acts of State as they have procured from Time to Time in their Favour. Thirdly, it has been found requiſite for them to keep large Sums in Bank, to anſwer the Exigencies of the *State* as well as the Company, in Times of great Difficulty and Danger. Beſides all this, they have likewiſe reſerved vaſt Quantities of Spices, and other rich Commodities, that their Sales might not lower the Price of them too much; and upon this Principle, they have ſometimes burned great Quantities of Spices. They have alſo formerly had recourſe to another Method for the Benefit of their Proprietors, which has been paying their Dividends in Cloves, Mace, and Nutmegss, at a very low Price, by which thoſe who received them, gained very conſiderable Advantages.

It may, indeed, be ſurmiſed, that theſe Methods afforded room for the Directors to make great Advantages to themſelves; but when it is conſidered, that their general Accounts, upon the Balance of which their Dividends have been declared, have been every three Years conſtantly audited by a Committee of the *States-General*, there is no juſt Reaſon to apprehend, that any Thing of this kind has been ever practiſed. Thus it clearly appears, that as the *Eaſt-India* Company in *Holland*, by a wiſe and prudent Diſpoſition of their Affairs abroad, have been able to erect and maintain a Sovereignty, very little, if at all, inferior in Power to the greateſt Monarchs in *Aſia*, without which it would have been impoſſible for them to have maintained and ſupported that Commerce which has been the Source of ſuch immenſe Riches; ſo, on the other hand, by their prudent and exact Oeconomy at home, they have conſtantly ſuſtained the Reputation of the Company at the greateſt Height, and thereby proved of infinite Advantage to their Country.

This indeed is the main Point, and the Thing which of all others we have laboured to ſet in the fulleſt and ſtrongeſt Light in this Section. For though it be true, that both the Glory and the Profit accruing from the right Management of the Affairs of this great Corporation, belong to the *Dutch* alone, and not to any other Nation, yet the Example of ſo extraordinary a Conſtitution as this is, by which a Body of Merchants have been able to raiſe an Empire in the *Indies*, and a kind of new Republick in the Boſom of that by which they were erected, is common to all the World; and therefore the entire Hiſtory of its Riſe, Progreſs, and preſent Condition, concerns not only all the reſt of *Europe*, and in a particular Manner every maritime Power, but ought likewiſe to be tranſmitted to Poſterity. This, as it inclined me to take ſo much Pains, and to turn over ſo many Books, in order to bring all that has been ſaid of it into ſuch a Method, as that the *Engliſh* Reader might clearly comprehend, not only its paſt and preſent Condition, but the Means by which the former was acquired, and the latter is and probably will be maintained as long as the Republick of the *States-General* ſhall ſubſiſt: So I hope it will merit a Degree of Attention equal to the Trouble it has coſt, and inſpire every Reader with a ſincere and hearty Concern to ſee the Affairs of *Engliſh* trading Companies put into a like Train of Management, that as we have not equal only, but greater Advantages for the promoting and ſupporting an extenſive Commerce than the *Dutch*, we may not be always as much behind them in this reſpect as we are at preſent.

There remains but one Thing more to compleat the Aim and Deſign of this Section, and that is, to give an Account of the Dividends which have been made ſince the Eſtabliſhment of this Company, which, when I began this Enquiry, I thought could not have been brought lower than the Year 1717; but by a diligent Search I have continued them eleven Years farther, and have Reaſon to hope that, in the Appendix to the next Volume, I ſhall be able to gratify the Reader's Curioſity to its utmoſt Extent, by bringing them ſtill farther down, perhaps to the preſent Year. As they ſtand in the next Page, they will fully anſwer three very great and uſeful Ends. In the firſt Place, they will fully ſupport, and undeniably prove the Truth, not only of the Facts recorded, but alſo of the Obſervations made upon thoſe Facts through the Courſe of this Hiſtory, and thereby convince the Reader, that it is not an over-weening Paſſion for Trade, or any particular Fondneſs for the *Dutch*, that has led me to treat ſo largely of this Subject, but an honeſt and laudable Zeal for Truth, and for the Intereſt of my Country. It will in the next Place ſhew, what incredible Advantages reſult from Commerce, when wiſely eſtabliſhed, and ſteadily purſued, and how this alone contributes more, not only to the enriching, but to the raiſing the Power and Credit of a Nation, than all other Methods taken for that Purpoſe put together; and laſtly, it will demonſtrate, beyond all Queſtion, the Falſhood of that Objection, which, of all others, has been thought the ſtrongeſt againſt the *Eaſt-India* Trade, *viz.* that it exhauſts and impoveriſhes the Nation which carries it on, by exporting annually vaſt Quantities of Silver; for, if there had been any Truth in this, the Experience of ſo long a Courſe of Time, as one hundred and thirteen Years, muſt have rendered it viſible to a Degree beyond all Contradiction; whereas this Account of the Company's Dividends is the fulleſt and moſt authentick Evidence of the contrary; ſo that it is to be hoped, we ſhall never hear that Objection urged again; or if it be, that it will have as little Weight as an Argument built upon Conjecture ought to have, when oppoſed to the Lights of Experience.

A

A complete TABLE *of the* DIVIDENDS *made by the* DIRECTORS *of the* Dutch-Eaſt-India *Company, upon their Capital*; *from* Anno 1605 *to* 1728, *incluſive.*

Years.	Months in which paid.		In what Manner.
1605	*July* 1	15 *per Cent.*	In Money.
6	*March*	75	
7	*July*	40	
8	*April*	20	
9	*June*	25	
10	*April*	75	Mace.
- - -	*November*	50	Pepper.
- - -	- - -	7½	Money.
12	*December*	57½	Ditto.
15	*Auguſt*	42½	Ditto.
16	*February*	62½	Ditto.
20	*April*	37½	Ditto.
23	*November*	25	Cloves.
25	*Auguſt*	20	Money.
27	*March*	12½	
29	*January*	25	
31	*January*	17½	
33	*December*	20	
35	*March*	20	Cloves.
- - -	*May*	12½	
- - -	*Auguſt*	12	
36	*March*	25	
- - -	*November*	12½	
37	*March*	15	
- - -	*November*	25	
38	*October*	19	Spices.
- - -	*November*	25	
40	*January*	15	Cloves.
- - -	*November*	25	Money.
41	*February*	15	Cloves.
- - -	*November*	25	
42	*December*	50	Money.
43	*January*	15	Cloves.
44	*November*	25	Money.
- - -	*December*	20	
46	*January*	22½	
- - -	*December*	25	
48	*January*	25	
49	*January*	30	
50	*January*	20	
51	*January*	15	
52	*January*	25	
53	*January*	12½	
54	*June*	15	
55	*January*	12½	
56	*December*	27½	
58	*December*	40	
59	*December*	12½	
60	*November*	40	
61	*November*	25	
63	*November*	30	
65	*January*	27½	
68	*June*	12½	
69	*July*	12½	
70	*June*	40	
71	*June*	45	
- - -	*July*	15	
72	*June*	15	
1673	*June*	33⅓ *per Cent.*	In Bonds payable by the Province of *Holland.*
76	*February*	25	Bonds at 4 *per Cent.*
79	*January*	12½	Ditto on the Province of *Holland.*
80	*January*	25	Company's Bonds.
81	*January*	22½	
82	*July*	33⅓	
85	*February*	40	Money.
86	*May*	12½	
87	*April*	20	
88	*April*	33⅓	
89	*April*	33⅓	
90	*April*	40	Bonds of the Company's at 3½ *per Cent.* payable in 1740.
91	*Auguſt*	20	
92	*April*	25	
93	*April*	20	
94	*April*	20	
95	*November*	25	
96	*June*	15	
97	*June*	15	
98	*June*	15	
- - -	*September*	15	Money.
99	*June*	20	
- - -	*December*	15	
1700	*July*	25	
1	*May*	20	
2	*May*	20	
3	*May*	25	
4	*June*	25	
5	*May*	25	
6	*May*	25	
7	*April*	25	
8	*May*	25	
9	*May*	25	
10	*May*	25	
11	*May*	25	
12	*May*	15	
13	*May*	30	
14	*May*	33⅓	
15	*April*	40	
16	*May*	40	
17	*May*	40	
18	*May*	40	
19	*May*	40	
20	*May*	40	
21	*June*	33⅓	
22	*May*	30	
23	*May*	12½	
24	*May*	15	
25	*May*	20	
26	*June*	25	
27	*May*	20	
28	*May*	15	

In all 2784⅙ *per Cent.*

It may, perhaps be ſaid with Truth, that ſo clear, ſo accurate, and ſo ſatisfactory an Account as this is, for ſuch a Number of Years, and alſo of ſuch an extenſive Commerce, is ſcarce in the World to be met with. Let us therefore make Uſe of this Account, in order to raiſe ſuch Obſervations as may enable us to penetrate clearly into the Subject. In the firſt Place, we muſt remember, that by the Conſtitution of the *Dutch* Government, all Ranks of People were allowed originally, and are, to this Day, permitted to inveſt their Fortunes in the Stock of this Company; by which Means every Body became intereſted in its Welfare; and the Support thereof was conſidered as equally beneficial to the Publick, and to private Perſons; which Spirit has been kept alive for upwards of one hundred Years, by that Skill and Oeconomy which we have deſcribed, and by making all the Proprietors ſenſible of the Profit and Loſs of the Company's Trade, by the Riſe and Fall of their Dividends. In the Courſe of this Time, it clearly appears, by comparing the Total of what has been divided, with the Number of Years in which that Sum has been divided, that, one Year with another, the Proprietors of this Stock have conſtantly received ſomewhat more than twenty-four *per Cent.* which is ſo conſiderable a Thing, that a very little Attention will convince us, that it muſt have laid the Foundation of a great many private Fortunes in *Holland*, and is ſtill of very great Uſe,

Uſe to the Publick, and of prodigious Benefit and Advantage to private Perſons in the ſame Way.

But then, if we conſider it in a larger and more extenſive View; and as it hath a Reference to the Commonwealth of *Holland*, and the *Dutch* Nation, we ſhall find that this *Eaſt-India* Commerce has been ſo far from exhauſting and drawing out the Wealth of theſe Provinces, that, on the contrary, it has brought in a much greater Proportion of Wealth than could have been obtained any other Way. In order to be ſatisfied of this, we need only conſider the original Capital of this *Eaſt-India* Company, which conſiſts of not quite ſix Millions and a half of Florins, that is, to take it in round Numbers, about ſix hundred and fifty thouſand Pounds Sterling; and yet upon this, in the Year 1728, they had divided Eighteen Millions of our Money.

It may, indeed, be objected, that before we can draw any Conſequence from this, we ought to know the Quantities of Silver that have, within that Space of Time been exported from *Holland*; becauſe, till theſe Sums are known, and deducted from the Eighteen Millions, divided amongſt the Proprietors, it cannot, with any Certainty, be known how great Profits have accrued to the *Dutch* Nation from this Trade. But, in anſwer to this Objection, which is the only one that can be made; I ſay, firſt of all, that the Dividends made by the Directors of the Company, ariſe from the Sales by which the Goods brought from the *Indies* on the Company's Account, are thrown into the Hands of private Merchants, by whom the greateſt Part of them have been exported into other Countries of *Europe*, and a vaſt Profit acquired thereby, which Profit is not at all taken Notice of in the Account before ſtated. I ſay, in the next Place, that the home Conſumption of *India* Goods in *Holland*, bears ſo little Proportion to the Quantities of thoſe Goods vended by the Company in their publick Sales, that it is impoſſible to conceive they can conduce to any conſiderable Impoveriſhment of the People; and that there is the higheſt Reaſon to believe the whole Eighteen Millions before mentioned has been drawn from foreign Countries into *Holland*, by the Sale of thoſe Commodities; and conſequently this Sum at leaſt has been gained, not only by the Company, but by the Nation.

I ſay, in the third Place, that this is the more credible, becauſe this is ſo far from being the whole of the Profits which the Company has gained by its Commerce, that there is good Reaſon to believe it is not much above one half of them; for we muſt conſider that the Company has, at ſeveral Times paid for the renewing its Charters and Privileges more than its original Capital; that it has likewiſe expended, from the Time of its firſt Eſtabliſhment, an immenſe Sum every Year for the building, repairing, and equipping the Ships employed in its Service, and in diſcharging the Wages due to all who are in its Service, which, with many other Articles, that I need not enumerate, muſt have ariſen from the Gain produced by their Trade. I ſay, in the fourth Place, that as the Company has very wiſely avoided very high Dividends, and has always retained a vaſt Stock, and an immenſe Treaſure for its Support in caſe of any extraordinary Emergency, ſo all this, let its Amount be what it will, is excluded from the before-mentioned Sum of Eighteen Millions, and belongs to a ſeparate Account.

I ſay, farther, that all the Property of which the Company is poſſeſſed in the *Eaſt-Indies*, and which is capable of being transferred from thence into *Europe*, ought to be conſidered as the entire Produce of this Trade, as it never could have accrued to, or have been by any Means in the Power or Poſſeſſion of the Subjects of the States of *Holland*, but by the Eſtabliſhment and Management of this Company: So that if we take in all theſe various Branches, which make no Part of theſe Eighteen Millions, I believe, there is no reaſonable Man, at leaſt no competent Judge of Matters of this Nature, who will not readily allow that they muſt vaſtly over-balance whatever Quantities of Silver have been exported by the Company, ſince its Eſtabliſhment, for the carrying on of the *India* Trade. So that on the whole, I think, I may very fairly, and with the greateſt Juſtice conclude, that if this Article of the Trade of *Holland* could be balanced with the utmoſt Nicety, it would appear, that, at leaſt, this Sum of Eighteen Millions has been gained by the *Dutch* Nation, as well as by the Proprietors of their *Eaſt-India* Company.

But if it ſhould be ſaid, that the Wealth of the *Dutch* Provinces does by no means correſpond with this Calculation, and that therefore it is very improbable; my Anſwer to this is, that in the firſt Place, this ought to be proved, and in the next, that ſuppoſing it could be proved, it is no reaſonable Objection to the Truth of what I ſay, ſince it is very poſſible, and indeed highly probable, that a great Part of the Wealth brought into *Holland* by this Commerce, and by the numberleſs Branches of Trade which depend upon it, may have been in Part diſſipated and diſperſed by the great Wars maintained by the Republick, and by various other Exigencies of State; ſo that allowing there were not eighteen Millions in the Hands of all the Subjects of this Republick, yet this does not prove, that they may not have gained ſo much by this Commerce, becauſe, as I have ſaid before, they may have ſpent it. I may add to all this, that there is no great Difficulty in ſetting this Argument in ſuch a Light, as that it may operate ſtrongly in my Favour; for, if we conſider the prodigious Sums the *Dutch* Government have levied upon their Subjects, the many and long Wars in which they have engaged, and the great Difficulties and Diſtreſſes to which they have been driven, it is as difficult to imagine, how they ſhould have been able to find Money for their Expences, and yet leave their Subjects ſo rich as they are at preſent known to be, without admitting ſuch a Profit upon this Trade, as it is to believe, that the beſt Part of theſe prodigious Expences was taken out of that Wealth which this Company brought in.

That a great deal of Time has been ſpent in examining and tracing the Hiſtory of the *Dutch* Commerce in the *Indies* for ſuch a Number of Years, that I have been very large in my Deſcription of its Eſtabliſhment Abroad, and have beſtowed no leſs Labour in ſetting forth the Oeconomy of this *Eaſt-India* Company at Home, is what I cannot deny; but at the ſame Time, I muſt profeſs, that the bringing ſuch a Multitude of Things into the Compaſs of this Section, and thereby exhibiting in one View, what it would coſt the Reader much Time and Trouble, and I might add, Expence likewiſe, to pick up, from a Multitude of different Writers, was my ſole Motive thereto; and therefore I hope this will be thought a juſt Excuſe for any Inconveniencies that may have attended it; the rather, becauſe in the Courſe of my Enquiries, I have met with ſuch Helps, as I did not, and indeed could have no Reaſon to expect, which has enabled me to render the Account I have given, much more perfect than at firſt I had any Hopes of making it. There is no Poſſibility of judging, on the firſt laying of a Plan of this Nature, how all the Materials are to be collected, what Space they will fill, or what Acceſſions may be made to them, while the Structure is erecting; but it is always clear, that an Author, who has a due Regard for his own Reputation, and a juſt Concern for the Performance of what he has promiſed to the Publick, will be always attentive to the main Object, and will let Circumſtances of ſmaller Conſideration give Way thereto, for which, when all Things have been ſufficiently weighed, his Readers will not think that he ought to be blamed.

But if we have dwelt ſo long upon a Subject ſo fruitful of Matter as this has apparently been, it will prevent our employing ſo much Time as we ſhould otherwiſe have done in accounting for the Endeavours of ſeveral other Nations in *Europe*, to ſhare in this Trade, by erecting new Companies for carrying it on, of which it will now be neceſſary to ſay no more than what is requiſite, to ſhew how, when, and by whom they were erected, and what their Situation and Expectations are at preſent, which will conclude all that we have to add concerning the *Eaſt-Indies*, as it will alſo do this our firſt Volume.

SECTION XXXV.

The Hiſtory of the French Eaſt-India *Commerce from its firſt Original, together with a clear and conciſe Account of the ſeveral Alterations it has undergone; and a full and plain Deſcription of its preſent Circumſtances at home and abroad; interſperſed with ſome curious Remarks on the Nature of the* French *Government when the Powers thereof come to operate upon Trade.*

Collected entirely from the *French* Writers.

1. *The fruitleſs Endeavours of* Francis I. Henry III. *and* Henry IV. *to engage their Subjects in long Voyages, and the firſt Appearance of an* Indian *Trade in that Country.* 2. *The Pains taken in this Reſpect by the great Cardinal* Richelieu, *and his noble Plan on that Subject abortive.* 3. *The firſt effectual Eſtabliſhment of this Commerce owing to the Wiſdom and publick Spirit of M.* Colbert, *who intereſted the Crown in this Affair.* 4. *The Protection of the King, the Patronage of that able Miniſter, and the moſt zealous Endeavours of the Merchants in* France *fail in promoting the Intereſts of this Company.* 5. *After the Deceaſe of M.* Colbert *it declines continually, and loſes all Countenance from the Court, which brings it into a very low State.* 6. *Tranſition from the Affairs of the Company in* France, *to the Management of their Commerce in the* Indies. 7. *A ſuccinct Hiſtory of the Acquiſition, fortifying, and erecting a Town at* Pondichery, *with the Reaſons which induced the Company to make it their capital Reſidence.* 8. *Remarkable Revolutions that have happened to this Place, and to the Affairs of the Company in the* Indies. 9. *A Deſcription of the Fortreſs and Town of* Pondichery *as it now ſtands, a Calculation of the Number of Inhabitants, and the Importance of this Place ſet in a new Light.* 10. *The Condition of the* French Eaſt-India *Company at the Demiſe of* Louis XIV. *impartially repreſented.* 11. *A View of the Regent Duke of* Orleans's *Scheme for a Coalition of the* French *trading Companies for the Improvement of Commerce, and the Support of publick Credit.* 12. *A ſhort hiſtorical Account of the* China, Senegal, *and* Weſt-India *Companies that were united to the Company of the* Indies *by the Regent's Edict.* 13. *A perfect Repreſentation of the Nature, Power, Privileges, and Eſtabliſhment of the preſent* French Eaſt-India *Company ſince the Execution of that Scheme.* 14. *A brief Account of the Company's Trade from* 1720 *to* 1741, *with an impartial Account of its preſent State at home as well as in the* Indies, *and the true Value of its Actions.* 15. *Remarks and Obſervations on the Facts related in the foregoing Sections, explaining the Nature and Conſequences of maritime Powers.*

1. WE opened the former Section with obſerving, that Zeal for Freedom, a due Portion of publick Spirit, and great Induſtry, were capable of conferring the Bleſſings of an extenſive Trade, even upon Nations labouring under the greateſt natural Impediments: But it will be the Buſineſs of this Section to ſhew, that where Freedom and publick Spirit are wanting, Power cannot ſupply their Place; and even Induſtry itſelf, though it may procure Credit to ſuch a People, will never be able to purchaſe Wealth. Commerce loves to find its own Channels, and will not ſubmit to any Reſtraint. Hope will nouriſh it in the moſt barren Soil, provided that Hope be cheriſhed by a mild and prudent Government; for Trade is found to be of the ſame Nature with certain Plants, which though they become fair and large by Cultivation, yet can never be forced.

There have been few Governments, at leaſt, where the Monarchs affected arbitrary Power, which could boaſt of being ſo happy in Miniſters as *France*; neither has this Country wanted ſome great Princes who have both underſtood their Subjects Intereſts, and laboured to promote them: And yet, with reſpect to the Commerce of which we are treating, both have laboured in vain. The firſt Monarch of this Country, who ſtrove to excite his Subjects to extend their Commerce, by making long and diſtant Voyages, was *Francis* I. who, by his Declarations in the Year 1537, and 1543, exhorted the *French* Nation to emulate their Neighbours, and to labour to obtain a Share in thoſe important Diſcoveries, by which they were ſo much exalted both in Reputation and Riches. *Henry* III. renewed theſe Exhortations by an Edict, dated *December* 15, 1578, but without any Effect.

It was under the Reign of his Succeſſor, *Henry* IV. one of the wiſeſt, greateſt, and which is ſtill a higher Character, one of the beſt Princes that ever ſat upon the *French* Throne, that this Nation firſt attempted to ſhare in the Commerce of the *Indies*. One *Gerard le Roy*, a Native of the *Low-Countries*, and who had made ſeveral Voyages to the *Eaſt-Indies* on board the *Dutch* Ships, came into *France*, and offered his Service as a Pilot to ſome Merchants, who were deſirous of aſſociating themſelves for carrying on that Trade; of which the King having Notice, gave them all the Encouragement they could deſire; and by an Arret, bearing Date *June* 1, 1604, erected the firſt *Eaſt-India* Company that had been ſeen in *France*, and granted them excluſive Privileges for the Term of fifteen Years; which however proved of no Uſe, either through the Diviſions and Diſputes which aroſe amongſt the Merchants that compoſed this new Company, or from their finding it impoſſible to raiſe a Fund ſufficient for carrying ſo great an Undertaking into Execution.

But notwithſtanding this Company failed, yet *Gerard le Roy* ſtill continued in *France*, and ſtill laboured to ſet on foot an *Eaſt-India* Company, which at length however he effected under the Reign of *Lewis* XIII. who granted the Merchants that were engaged in this Project his Letters Patent, dated *March* 2, 1611, by which they had all the Privileges that they could deſire confirmed to them for twelve Years. But, notwithſtanding this, they ſuffered four whole Years to elapſe without fitting out ſo much as a ſingle Ship; and thereupon two Merchants at *Rouen* petitioned the King, that theſe Privileges might be tranſferred to them, offering to fit out a certain Number of Veſſels that very Year. But the Company before erected interpoſed, and declared that this Delay of theirs aroſe from unavoidable Difficulties, and not from any Deſign of dropping or abandoning their Project; upon which the King very wiſely directed, that theſe Merchants ſhould be aſſociated with the old Company, in order to increaſe their Capital, and carry on their Trade the better.

In purſuance of this Reſolution, they had new Letters Patents granted, dated *July* 2, 1615, which were regiſtered in Parliament the Second of *September* following; and, in conſequence of the ample Privileges that they had thus obtained, they began to fit out Ships, and actually poſſeſſed themſelves of the Iſland of *Madagaſcar*, which was then conſidered as a very great Thing, and mighty Hopes were conceived therefrom. But this, inſtead of facilitating their Commerce to the *Indies*, proved the Ruin of it under this Eſtabliſhment; for, it being found by Experience that the Profits ariſing from the Poſſeſſion and Commerce of this Iſland were of very little Conſequence, it was too haſtily concluded, that the Whole of this Trade would prove as inſignificant; and ſo, notwithſtanding all the fair Promiſes made at the Beginning, this Company, like the reſt, ſunk, and was totally loſt.

2. The great Cardinal *Richelieu*, however, reſolved to revive this Commerce, and undertook it with great Spirit, and conſequently with all the Appearance imaginable of Succeſs. The Royal Privileges granted to this new Company were dated the Twenty fourth of *June*, 1642, and contained all that could be thought neceſſary for promoting the Intereſt of a Society, under the peculiar Protection of ſo great a Miniſter; yet it fell out unluckily, that he did not long ſurvive this new Grant, which, without doubt, was a great Prejudice to the Company's Affairs: However, *Lewis* XIV. or rather the Regency acting in his Minority, confirmed thoſe Privileges by an Edict dated the Twentieth of *September*, 1643, and the Company entered into Poſſeſſion of all the Advantages derived therefrom immediately.

All theſe it quietly enjoyed for twenty Years; during which Space, this third Company ſent every Year a Veſſel, but the far greater Part of them were either caſt away in their Paſſage, or loſt the beſt Part of their Crews by the Scurvy; ſo that tho' the Name of an *Eaſt-India* Company was ſtill kept up in *France*, yet, in Fact, they were poſſeſſed of no ſuch Trade, but contented themſelves with a Number of fruitleſs and fatiguing Attempts to ſettle a flouriſhing Colony at *Madagaſcar*; a Deſign, which, after all, they could never bring to bear. The Time of their Privilege being expired, the Duke *de la Meilleray* thought fit to attempt an *Indian* Trade upon his own Bottom, which, however, ended in ſending a Ship or two to *Madagaſcar*, where he got into the Poſſeſſion of the *French* Settlements, and found them not worth keeping, though it is ſaid that he made this Attempt at a pretty eaſy Rate, becauſe being Maſter of the Ordnance, he made ſo free with the King's Stores, as to ſend large Quantities of them to *Madagaſcar*, and placed the ſame to his own Account. On his Death, however, his Son, who was ſtiled the Duke *de Mazarin*, ſold his Intereſt in this Iſland for about one thouſand Pounds of our Money, which proved a great deal more than it was worth.

Thus we have ſpent our Time hitherto in contemplating the Progreſs of the *French Eaſt-India* Companies for about threeſcore Years, within which Space they did nothing; though ſome private Men from *St. Malo's* ſent Ships thither, and found their Trade turn to ſome Account. This very plainly ſhews, how little the *French* Government agrees with Commerce, and how difficult her ableſt Miniſters find it to eſtabliſh Trade by Dint of Power: And yet it muſt be allowed, that Cardinal *Richelieu* took all the Pains in this Reſpect that it was in the Power of Man to do; for he ſent for Perſons who were beſt verſed in this Trade from *Holland*, drew abundance of rich Merchants from various Parts of *Europe* into *France*, drew the Plan for the Eſtabliſhment of the new Company himſelf, and engaged ſome of the principal Perſons for Quality and Fortune in *France* to embark in it.

What he conceived would moſt promote it, proved the Ruin of the whole Deſign; for there being always ſome great Nobleman or other at the Head of this Buſineſs, ſuch as endeavoured to obtain Employment in the Company's Service, were forced to become his Creatures; by which happy Contrivance there were hardly any employed who had either Merit or Capacity; ſo that the Merchants and ſuch as were the beſt Judges of the Means of carrying on ſuch a Commerce with Succeſs, treated the *Eaſt-India* Company as a mere Phantom, and never concerned themſelves at all therewith: As, on the other hand, the *Engliſh* and *Dutch Eaſt-India* Companies were under no Apprehenſions about it; but being ſolely guided by Experience, treated the Affair of a *French Eaſt-India* Company with Contempt; while the reſt of the States of *Europe*, ſeeing that *France*, with all her Power, could make nothing of theſe repeated Attempts, took it for granted that the *India* Trade was deſigned by Nature for the maritime Powers, and ſo never troubled their Heads about it. Thus Things remained quietly in this Situation for the major Part of the laſt Century; and while *France* gave Law to her Neighbours by Land, ſhe made as inconſiderable a Figure by Sea as any of the little States in *Italy*. But the Scene was ſoon changed when *Lewis* XIV. came to manage his own Affairs, and had taken into his Service ſuch Miniſters as were equally capable of undertaking great Deſigns, and of foreſeeing and overcoming all the Difficulties that could poſſibly be met with in the Execution of them.

3. The famous M. *Colbert*, ſo much diſtinguiſhed by *Lewis* XIV. and whoſe Activity and Prudence procured him moſt of thoſe Succeſſes which diſtinguiſhed the former Part of his Reign, and rendered him the moſt powerful Monarch in *Europe*. This active and intelligent Miniſter, I ſay, was the Perſon who conceived the Deſign of reviving the *French Eaſt-India* Company, notwithſtanding all the Misfortunes that Scheme had met with, and which had, over and over, diſappointed the Skill and Care of all his Predeceſſors. But before he made his Intentions known to the Publick, he took care to make himſelf perfectly well inſtructed in the Affair he was to undertake, which he did, by drawing to his Acquaintance ſuch Merchants and Seamen as were held to underſtand this Subject beſt. It was from them he learned that there were *three* principal Difficulties in the way of that Structure which he laboured to raiſe, and which, as they had never hitherto been overcome, ſo it appeared extremely doubtful whether, conſidering the Nature of the *French* Government, and the Temper of the *French* Nation, it was poſſible they ſhould be got over.

The firſt was the finding a ſufficient Fund for the effectually fixing and eſtabliſhing ſuch a Company, as to which nothing hitherto had ever been done worth mentioning, or that could afford any probable Hopes of Succeſs: The *French* Merchants, being extremely fond of new Projects, were ready enough in promiſing Subſcriptions, but very ſlow in performing what they promiſed, and in complying with the Terms of their Contracts, even after they had ſubſcribed. The ſecond Fault was ſaid to be a peremptory Excluſion of Foreigners, notwithſtanding it was ſo evident, that the neceſſary Funds for the carrying on ſo extenſive a Trade were not eaſily, at leaſt, to be found in *France*. The third and greateſt Difficulty of all was, the affording ſuch a Degree of Liberty and Independence to this Company as might ſatisfy both Strangers and Natives as to the Security of their Properties, and put the entire Management of their Affairs into the Hands of ſuch only as were choſen and entruſted by themſelves.

All theſe Things M. *Colbert* weighed in his own Mind, and when he thought he had ſufficiently ripened his Project, he reduced it into Writing; but knowing at the ſame Time, the great Conſequence of having the moſt ſolid Sentiments helped by a proper Method, and adorned with the Graces of Writing, he communicated his Plan to Mr. *Charpentier*, of the *French* Academy, eſteemed one of the beſt Pens in *France*. This Gentleman having new dreſſed our Stateſman's Thoughts, by digeſting them into their proper Order, and cloathed them with the plaineſt and ſignificant Language, the Scheme came abroad with all the Advantages that could be deſired, and was attended with all the Succeſs that could be expected. As this Paper was eſteemed a Maſter-piece in its Kind, had amazing Effects, and contains abundance of curious Circumſtances, it may not be amiſs to give the Reader an Extract of its Contents.

It was in the firſt Place obſerved therein, that as former Schemes of the like kind had failed for want of proper Funds, there was no Danger that any Thing of this Nature ſhould happen here, ſince, beſides the conſtant Protection and Support which the Government determined to give thereto, the King himſelf, and the greateſt and the wealthieſt Perſons in the Nation, were reſolved to furniſh ſuch large Sums at the Beginning, as might put it on a

Level, at leaſt, with the *Dutch Eaſt-India* Company, at its firſt Eſtabliſhment. In regard to any Objection that might be raiſed from the various Diſappointments which had overturned three ſeveral Companies already, it was obſerved, that few, or no Undertakings of this Sort were attended with immediate Succeſs. That the *Spaniards* ſuffered greatly in their firſt Expeditions to *America*, which, however, did not hinder them from perſevering in their Deſigns by which they had acquired the Empire of the new World. That the *Engliſh* Colony to *Virginia* had failed four or five times, and yet was brought to Perfection at laſt; and that even the *Dutch Eaſt-India* Company, which ſo much excelled all others, was far enough from being fortunate in its firſt Beginnings.

These Principles being laid down, it was ſhewn, that the Iſland of *Madagaſcar*, a conſiderable Part of which was then in the Poſſeſſion of the *French*, was a Country capable of being improved to ſuch a Degree, as to become of more Conſequence, and of greater Advantage, than any of the Settlements poſſeſſed by the *Dutch* in the *Eaſt-Indies*. In Support of this, it was ſaid, that no body would deny, that this Settlement was incomparably more commodious and more ſecure than that of *Batavia*, in the Iſland of *Java*, which the *Dutch* had nevertheleſs made the capital Reſidence of their Company in the *Indies*. For with reſpect to the Commodiouſneſs of the Place, the Country of *Madagaſcar* was extreamly agreeable, the Climate equally temperate and pleaſant, and the Soil affording all the Neceſſaries of Life, in the greateſt Abundance, whereas the Territory about *Batavia*, was ſo far from being fruitful, that the Company were obliged to procure from diſtant Places, Rice, freſh Meat, and other Proviſions, for twenty-five, or thirty thouſand People, which could not but be attended with great Difficulties, as well as with a vaſt Expence. In reſpect to Security, it was well enough known, that only a ſmall Part of the Iſland of *Java* was in the Power of the *Dutch*, and that the reſt of the Country, which was very large, and very populous, was inhabited by a Variety of Nations, agreeing, however, in the Fierceneſs and Brutality of their Natures, and in a bigotted Zeal for the *Mohammedan* Religion, which made them hate and deſpiſe all Chriſtians to the laſt Degree. That the Territories of the *Dutch* bordered on one Side on thoſe of the King of *Mataran*, who had more than once invaded them at the Head of an Army of one hundred thouſand Men; that on the other, the City of *Batavia* itſelf, was but twelve Leagues diſtant from the Dominions of the King of *Bantam*, who had likewiſe ſhewn himſelf their powerful and inveterate Enemy; whereas, on the other Hand, the Inhabitants of *Madagaſcar* were of a mild and excellent Diſpoſition, and ſo much inclined to receive the Doctrines of the Goſpel, that a Settlement conſiſting only of one hundred Men, would be in greater Security there, than a like Settlement even of a thouſand and upwards in the Iſland of *Java*.

That beſides all this, by fixing their capital Colony in *Madagaſcar*, the *French* Company would be better ſeated for Trade than the *Dutch* in *Batavia*, becauſe it was equally convenient for carrying on the Commerce of the Red-ſea, or of the Gulph of *Bengal*, and lay at the ſame Time very properly for the Diſpatch of Ships to *China* and *Japon*, affording a convenient Place for re-fitting and refreſhing in their Return. In reference to the Execution of a Project which theſe Arguments were ſuppoſed to demonſtrate probable and feaſible,

It was ſaid in this Memorial, that a Fund of ſix Millions, or ſix hundred thouſand Pounds of our Money, would be neceſſary in order to the equipping twelve or fourteen large Ships, from 800 to 1400 Tons, in order to embark ſuch a Number of Perſons for this Iſland of *Madagaſcar*, as might effectually, and at once eſtabliſh a conſiderable Colony there. That there was no reaſon to doubt, that his Majeſty would advance a tenth Part of this Sum. That the Nobility and other Perſons of large Fortunes, would advance alſo the Sums requiſite to ſet this Deſign on Foot, and that as the King was willing to take a tenth Share in the ſetting out, they had Reaſon to expect he would concern himſelf largely in future Expeditions. That as a farther Encouragement, he was willing to grant the Company an Exemption from half their Duties doth Inward and Outward, on all the Goods they exported to, or imported from the *Indies*; and over and above all this, his Majeſty was content to take upon himſelf all the Loſs that might ariſe for the firſt eight or ten Years, which was ſufficient to ſhew, how much, and how ſincerely he had this great Deſign at Heart, and how willing he was to contribute to its Succeſs. That as to private Perſons, they ſhould be at Liberty to ſubſcribe in what Proportions they pleaſed, till the Fund was full; after which, no farther Subſcriptions ſhould be received on any Terms.

That the King would not only permit Foreigners to take what Share they pleaſed in theſe Subſcriptions, but to encourage them thereto, would likewiſe conſent, that ſuch as ſubſcribed ten thouſand Livres (this was afterwards changed to twenty thouſand) or upwards, ſhould thereby acquire the Right of Naturalization, without any farther Ceremony, by which their Relations, tho' Strangers, ſhould be capable of inheriting their Effects in the Kingdom of *France*; and farther, that in caſe of a Rupture with the State, to which ſuch Strangers were Subjects, their Effects ſhould never be liable to Confiſcation, on any Pretence whatever. That the Affairs of the Company ſhould be managed by their own Directors, choſen from amongſt themſelves, in whoſe Hands the Funds of the Company ſhould conſtantly remain, and that Foreigners ſhould be capable of being elected Directors, provided they were intereſted in a reaſonable Degree in the Stock of the Company, and reſided in *France*. That in Point of Law Suits, the Company ſhould be made as eaſy as poſſible, and after being heard, in the firſt inferior Court, near the Place where the Cauſe of Action aroſe, they ſhould be at Liberty to appeal directly to the Parliament.

Such was the Memorial which this great Miniſter cauſed to be diſperſed through all Parts of the Kingdom of *France*, in the Month of *June*, 1664, and upon which, the Edict for eſtabliſhing the *Eaſt-India* Company, which ſtill ſubſiſts, and which bears Date in the Month of *Auguſt*, in the ſame Year, was founded. We have been the larger and fuller in this Account, becauſe it anſwers two Purpoſes; for, firſt, it clearly explains the Methods taken by this great Miniſter to accompliſh what in his own Opinion appeared to be a moſt difficult Undertaking, and next, it affords us an eaſy, and at the ſame time, a perfect View of the principal Points upon which the preſent *Eaſt-India* Company's Eſtabliſhment reſts; for tho' as we ſhall ſhew in the Courſe of this Section, the royal Authority has been often exerted in changing and new modelling, as the Circumſtances of Affairs in general, and thoſe of the Company in particular required, certain Articles in this Plan; yet has it been always conſidered as the Baſis and Foundation of their Privileges, and conſequently it was neceſſary to be well acquainted therewith, in order thoroughly to underſtand the ſubſequent Hiſtory of their Tranſactions.

But firſt, it will be neceſſary to obſerve, that this Edict for the Eſtabliſhment of the Company, was digeſted into forty-ſeven Articles, and that the Value of the original Actions, (and by the way, this was the firſt Time that Word was uſed in *France*) was fix'd at one thouſand Livres, and the ſubſequent Call reſtrained to five hundred more, which Edict of Eſtabliſhment was regiſtered in Parliament the 7th of *Auguſt* 1664.

4. As ſoon as this Edict was publiſhed, his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty ordered the Sum of three hundred thouſand Livres to be paid out of the royal Treaſury, into the Hands of the Caſhier of the *Eaſt-India* Company, and M. *Colbert*, who had been ſo warm and ſo induſtrious in bringing Things thus far, continued to apply himſelf with equal Attention to whatever might promote the Concerns of a Society, that he had taken ſo immediately under his Protection. The Aſſiduity of a firſt Miniſter in *France* is capable of putting any Thing into Motion, as appeared manifeſtly upon this Occaſion, ſince in the following Spring, there ſailed four large Ships from *Breſt* for *Madagaſcar*, all of which arrived ſafely there on the 10th of *July*. This new Colony changed the Name of the Place where they were eſtabliſhed, from *Madagaſcar* to the *Dau-*

phin's Iſland, by which laſt Name it is ſtill known to the *French*, and, according to the Accounts they publiſhed of it, ought to be eſteemed a perfect Paradiſe. In a ſhort Time, however, they began to change their Opinion, either from the natural Levity of that Nation, or becauſe Opportunities preſented of extending their Views in the *Indies*.

Two Perſons offered themſelves upon this Occaſion, to promote the Intereſt of the new Company; the one was Mr. *Caron*, who has been already often mentioned. He was a Native of *France*, but had been for many Years in the *Dutch* Service, and had been raiſed in that Service to the Rank of Preſident of the Factory of *Japon*, where, for Reaſons which we have aſſigned in another Place, he ſuffered ſeverely. And not thinking himſelf ſufficiently conſidered for his Sufferings, quitted the *Dutch* Service, and returned to *France*, at a Juncture when a Man of his Abilities was much wanted, and therefore he was careſſed and employed. The other was Mr. *Marcara*, a Native of *Iſpahan*, in *Perſia*, and nearly allied to ſeveral Perſons of great Rank in that Kingdom, as alſo to ſome who enjoyed Governments, and other great Employments in the *Indies*; he alſo was employed by the Company, and did it conſiderable Service. In Conjunction with Mr. *Caron*, he ſettled a Factory at *Surat*, and, by his own Intereſt purely, procured for them an Eſtabliſhment in the Kingdom of *Golconda*, in the Year 1669.

But it afterwards fell out, that theſe two Gentlemen differed, and Mr. *Caron* ſent home heavy Accuſations againſt the *Perſian*, who cleared himſelf, however, ſo effectually, of all that was laid to his Charge, that he was honourably acquitted, and continued in his Employment. It was alſo in this Year 1669, that the Directors of this *Eaſt-India* Company began to diſtaſte their Settlement in the Iſland of the *Dauphin*, which had been always conſidered as their chief Reſidence; but now they were deſirous of transferring that Honour to *Surat*, to which the Court of *France* aſſented; and that nothing might be wanting for the Support and Encouragement of this Commerce, the Harbour of *Port-Louis* was granted to them, with all its Dependencies, together with full Power to make ſuch Alterations and Improvements as they judged requiſite; and it was in virtue of this Grant, that they built and eſtabliſhed their Magazines at what is now called *Port l'Orient*. But, notwithſtanding all theſe Acts of Favour, the Affairs of the Company were ſo far from taking a ſucceſsful Turn, that it was found, upon ſtating a general Account, that they were indebted in no leſs a Sum than four Millions to the Crown, which, however, the King, agreeable to the Promiſe made them at their Eſtabliſhment, clearly forgave, and took that Loſs upon himſelf.

About this Time, ſome private Perſons, having inſinuated that they were willing to embark their Fortunes in a Trade to the *Indies*, provided they might have the Company's Licence; and the Company likewiſe having ſignified to the King, that it might prove beneficial to them, if they had it in their Power to grant ſuch Indulgence; this Favour likewiſe was added to the reſt, and private Traders were permitted to engage in this Commerce, upon the following Conditions; firſt, that they ſhould tranſport themſelves and their Effects on board the Company's Ships, both coming and going. Secondly, that they ſhould pay their Freight and Paſſage before their Departure. Thirdly, that the Goods they brought home, Jewels and precious Stones only excepted, ſhould be expoſed in the Company's Sales, and their Produce fairly accounted for. Fourthly, that theſe Licences ſhould be in Force only for five Years; and fifthly, that if they ſhould be found prejudicial to the Affairs of the Company, the Directors might abridge or cancel them at their Pleaſure.

There was yet another and ſtill more conſiderable Act of Grace obtained by their powerful Protector Mr. *Colbert*, which was an Exemption from all Duties on the Goods they brought home. But notwithſtanding theſe mighty Advantages, and though they ſcarce aſked any Thing of their Patron but what was granted, yet their Affairs continued declining; and as he died in 1683, the Spirit of this Commerce might be ſaid to expire with him. The Body, indeed, of the Company was kept up, not much perhaps to its Advantage; they had not only a Court of Directors at *Paris*, but, in Imitation of the *Dutch Eaſt-India* Company, Chambers of Direction at ſeveral Ports, a Council in the *Indies*, and, in ſhort, the Appearance and Trappings of a great and powerful Society, when at the Bottom they were diſtreſſed and poor; ſo that upon ſtating a general Account in 1684, it clearly appeared, that inſtead of gaining one Penny by their Commerce, they had actually run out one Half of their Capital, or about three hundred thouſand Pounds of our Money.

This was attributed to ſeveral Cauſes, but principally to theſe three; firſt, to the War with the *Dutch*, which laſted from 1672 to 1678, and of which we have ſpoke largely enough in the laſt Section. Secondly, to the Negligence and Fraud of the Perſons employed in their Service in the *Indies*, who thought, though they were ſent by the Company, they had no other Buſineſs there than to mind their own Intereſts, which they did at the Expence of their Maſters, ſo that ſome private Fortunes were made, while the Concerns of the Publick were running to Ruin; and laſtly, to the Supineneſs, Timorouſneſs, or Inability of their Subſcribers, who had not paid in, as they ought to have done, to the great Detriment of their Affairs. To remedy theſe Diſorders, and to retrieve, if poſſible, the Trade of the ſinking Company, it was reſolved to change the Syſtem of their Government, to ſuppreſs all the little Chambers of Directors, and to put the whole Management of the Company's Concerns into the Hands of twelve Directors reſiding in *Paris*, who were each of them to pay in thirty thouſand Livres upon the forfeited Actions, and to be allowed reaſonable Salaries for the Buſineſs they did. It was alſo reſolved, that all who had not paid in, ſhould forfeit their Shares to the Company, with a Proviſo, that if in two Years they made good their Payments, they ſhould enter into their former Rights, and have all their Actions reſtored.

This Regulation was confirmed by a royal Edict, dated in *February* 1685, by which the King left the Company free Liberty either to reſume the Sovereignty of *Madagaſcar*, which they had ſurrendered in 1670, as has been beforementioned, or to leave it as it then was in the King's Hands. As the Company had thus their Option, and were left at Liberty to do as they thought fit in this Affair, they, after mature Deliberation, thought proper to adhere to their laſt Reſolution, and to quit this Iſland intirely to the Crown; which Act of theirs was confirmed by the King's Arret, bearing Date the 4th of *June*, 1686. All theſe Regulations at home were ſupported by an Alliance abroad, which it was hoped would have had a very good Effect, and totally reſtored the Company's Affairs.

The Hiſtory of this Treaty will be given in the ſucceeding Volume, and therefore we ſhall be very ſhort in what we have to ſay of it here. The King of *Siam*, a very powerful Prince in the *Indies*, had raiſed one Mr. *Conſtance*, who was originally no better than a Servant in an *Engliſh* Factory, to the Rank of his Firſt Miniſter; and he being a bold enterpriſing Man, took it into his Head that it was very poſſible to convert his Maſter and all his Subjects to the Chriſtian Religion, by engaging him in a very cloſe Correſpondence with the Court of *France*; in which laſt Part of his Scheme he ſucceeded ſo well, that not only Miſſionaries were ſent over to convert the *Siameſe*, but a Squadron of Men of War likewiſe, with ſome Troops on board, to make the King as abſolute as his Brother of *France*. This raiſed ſuch a Jealouſy in the Minds of his Subjects as created an univerſal Revolt, in which the King was murdered in his Palace; his Prime Miniſter cut off in the ſame manner, and the *French* Garriſon in the Citadel of *Bankock*, after an obſtinate Defence, totally deſtroyed; and thus ended that Affair, and all the Advantages that were expected from it; ſo that in about two Years time the Company's Affairs were in as bad a Condition as ever, and all the high Hopes they had conceived from the Change of their Adminiſtration, and the grand Alliance in the *Indies* vaniſhed into Air, and were blaſted almoſt as ſoon as they bloomed. This fell the heavier upon them, becauſe abundance of new Subſcribers had been drawn in, which increaſed the Clamour upon their Miſcarriage, and induced a general Opinion that it was abſolutely impoſſible for the *French* Nation to carry on a Trade to the *Indies* with Advantage.

5. But all theſe vexatious Circumſtances at home and abroad were nothing in compariſon of the Loſs of their generous Protector Mr. *Colbert*, who was ready at all times to exert his Influence in their Favour, and whoſe Influence was ſo great, that he never exerted it in vain. There was nothing of Self-Intereſt, or Views of private Advantage in this Conduct of his; he acted purely from a Principle of publick Spirit, and the Deſire he had of contributing to the Glory of his Prince, by purſuing what he took to be the true Intereſt of his Subjects. Theſe, it muſt be confeſſed, were great and laudible Notions, and ſuch as he carried into Action with ſurpriſing Succeſs; yet, taking all this together, it is perhaps the cleareſt and moſt convincing Argument, that the *French* Nation are altogether incapable of carrying ſuch great Deſigns into Execution, with ſuch Advantage to themſelves as accrues to their leſs powerful Neighbours, becauſe it is impoſſible that Trade ſhould flouriſh in a Country where its Welfare muſt depend ſolely on the Will and Capacity of a ſingle Perſon.

Accidents are not to be truſted to, eſpecially in Matters of Property and Things of Importance. Yet what greater or more apparent Accident can there be than the riſing of an able, experienced, and honeſt Miniſter, in an arbitrary Government? It is ſuch an Accident as not only ſeldom happens, but is very rarely to be expected; and when it does happen, like every other accidental Good, miſleads unwary Minds, and makes Men miſtake for a ſolid and certain Foundation, what is in Fact no more than a lucky Continuance of Things in the ſame Poſture; ſo that ſuch as are tempted to hazard their Subſtance in building upon ſuch a Baſis, are not to be eſteemed wiſer than if they were drawn in to contribute to the erecting a large Structure upon the Ice, becauſe it had been known to remain firm for nine or ten Weeks.

As theſe are reaſonable and juſt Principles in themſelves, ſo, in this Caſe, they were fully juſtified by Experience. The Succeſſor of Mr. *Colbert* was Mr. *Pont-Chartrain*, a Man who was far from wanting Abilities, or being deſtitute of Probity, but whoſe Notions with reſpect to Commerce were either crude and indigeſted, or, which was worſe, narrow and obſcure. He was, from the Beginning of his Adminiſtration, no Friend to the *Eaſt-India* Company, as appeared very clearly by his croſſing every thing they aſked, and countenancing every Attempt that was made againſt them. To enter into a long Detail of the Facts neceſſary to juſtify in its largeſt Extent this Obſervation, would be at once tedious to the Reader, and draw me much beyond the Bounds I have preſcribed to myſelf in this Work, therefore I ſhall take Notice of one Thing only, which is this; the *Eaſt-India* Company finding that all Sorts of painted Cottons, gold and ſilver Brocades, and ſuch other ſhowy Goods as they imported from *India*, went off at a great Rate in *France*, they ſtruck into that Trade, and began to make conſiderable Advantages of it. This encouraged them to venture upon another Undertaking, which was the importing vaſt Quantities of white Cottons, and cauſing them to be painted in *France* after the Manner of the *Indies*, which occaſioned a prodigious Outcry among the Manufacturers in *France*; who ſet forth, that the Sale of theſe Cottons and Silks was exceſſively injurious to them; and that if they continued, it was impoſſible that their Manufactures ſhould ſubſiſt.

Upon the Repreſentation of theſe Things to the Prime Miniſter, he took the Thing ſo warmly, that he immediately procured an Edict, dated the Twenty-ſeventh of *January*, 1687; by which the importing them was abſolutely prohibited. On the Application, however, of the *Eaſt-India* Company, and the Interpoſition of ſome Friends at Court, which they had ſtill left, the Execution of this Law was, in ſome meaſure, ſuſpended in Favour of the Company; that is to ſay, they were allowed a certain Space of Time, in which to diſpoſe of the Goods then in their Hands; as alſo of ſuch as might be brought from the *Indies* within a limited Time: But the great Blow was not to be parried; and the Edict, which required the deſtroying all the Molds, and other Utenſils for painting Linnen in *France*, was to take place abſolutely on the Firſt of *January*, 1689. The Company indeed endeavoured, and by the Help of its Friends made great Efforts to defeat this Deſign; but all they could do proved ineffectual in the main, and procured only a Suſpenſion for three Months; and, in the mean time, they were obliged to take back what they had ſold to private Merchants, and to return them their Money. As to the gold and ſilver Brocades, and other *Indian* Silks, they were permitted to import theſe to a certain Value, *viz.* One hundred and fifty thouſand Livres; but this was upon Condition, that they exported to the Amount of Five hundred thouſand Livres in *French* Manufactures; and they were afterwards reſtrained to the Exportation of ſuch Manufactures only as would ſell to Profit in the *Eaſt-Indies*. The Company's Commerce was before declining, and they had but this ſingle Chance of ſupporting themſelves by the Humour which prevailed of buying theſe printed Cottons, Brocades, and Silks; ſo that the Reader may eaſily judge that when this Prohibition came to take place, it gave the Death's Wound to their Trade.

It muſt however be owned, that upon certain Occaſions they did procure the Diſpenſation of this Law for a certain Space of Time, which might afford them a temporary Relief, and juſt keep them from ſinking: But they had no longer a Power of trading as a Company; their Factories in the *Indies* grew low, thoſe who were employed in their Service loſt their Credit, and the *French* Flag in the *Indies* was little regarded, and indeed ſcarce known. The Farmers-General of the King's Duties likewiſe attacked the Company; and as their Employments gave them the Ear of the Miniſters, they were almoſt always too hard for them; ſo that, by degrees, the Company loſt the Benefit of moſt of thoſe great Privileges which had been procured by Mr. *Colbert*, and yet without their being taken away; for in *France*, and perhaps in ſome other Countries, Methods are found out for eluding the Laws by the Manner of executing them, and without any formal Repeals. Some other Laws were likewiſe made for laying Penalties upon ſuch as dealt in wrought up, or in any way expoſed to Sale any Chints, or any other painted Cottons; which being executed with great Severity, put a full Stop to that Branch of Trade, as the want of Money had done to moſt other Branches. So that between thoſe Oppreſſions peculiar to themſelves, and the Miſchiefs they endured in common with the reſt of the Subjects of *France* by the long Continuance of the War, they found themſelves in ſo low a Condition as to be ſcarce able to keep up the Appearance of the Company; and thoſe who had formerly yielded them Aſſiſtance at Court began to be tired, and liſtened no longer to their Sollicitations.

There aroſe likewiſe a new Spirit in *France* of curbing and diſtreſſing this almoſt broken Company, under Colour of augmenting the Revenues of the Crown, and protecting the Manufactures which afforded Bread to the People; under Pretence of which, they firſt reſtrained the Company from ſelling Chints and other Piece-goods to Foreigners, which was not only a very great Loſs to the Company, but to the *French* Nation in general, among whom the Money would have infallibly circulated for which theſe Manufactures had been ſold; whereas, by this Prohibition, ſo much ready Money was kept out of *France*, and not a Thread more of their own Manufactures vended. Afterwards a Duty was laid upon the raw Silk, which they imported: And notwithſtanding this produced a great Sum of Money, yet it was not long before a Prohibition was applied, under Pretence that the Company importing every Year ſeven thouſand Pounds of raw Silk, did thereby great Damage to one of the ſtaple Commodities of the Kingdom; whereas, in Truth, the greateſt Part, if not all this Silk, was ſold by Strangers: But it was the Misfortune of the Company, that while they were diſtreſſed and ill treated abroad, on purpoſe to drive them totally out of the *Indies*, they were envied and perſecuted at home, on account even of that ſmall Trade which they drove thither; and all this under the plauſible Appearance of publick Spirit, and Concern for the Poor; but, in reality, from private Views and ſelfiſh Principles, as will be ſhewn hereafter.

The Miniſters that then governed *France* were very different from M. *Colbert*; they were unacquainted with the extenſive Nature of Commerce, took every Thing that was alledged by the Farmers of the Revenue on one Side, and by the Agents for Manufactures on the other, for granted, and made whatever Orders were deſired on either Side; but, as for the Company, their Applications were continually ſlighted; and the Decay of their Commerce, though produced by theſe very Meaſures, was pleaded as a ſufficient Excuſe for this Treatment, and made a Reaſon for continuing it. In the mean time all their Settlements abroad were ſinking as faſt as they could; and the few Servants they had were not ſo much bound by a Senſe of Duty, as fixed to the Places where they reſided by the great Debts they had contracted, and which neither they nor their Maſters knew how to diſcharge. But as the Scene ſoon after changed ſurpriſingly, and as this Company has ſince made ſome kind of Figure, it will be neceſſary to enter more particularly into the Hiſtory of their Settlements in the *Indies*.

6. We have already obſerved, that when the Company was erected, they placed the Seat of their Government, and propoſed to fix their capital Settlement in the Iſland of *Madagaſcar*, which, in a warm Fit of Loyalty, they called the Iſland of the *Dauphin*, and which they repreſented to the World in the faireſt Light poſſible. They ſuggeſted, that the Climate was extreamly agreeable, not warmer for two Thirds of the Year than it is in *France*, during the Spring, and not hotter for the remaining four Months than it is in that Kingdom, during the Summer.

The Country abounding with fine Fruits, wholeſome Herbs, and pleaſant Roots, producing three Crops of Rice in a Year, and all Sorts of *European* Grain, better in Kind, and more in Quantity, than in any Part of *France*. They added to all this, that there grew Vines there naturally, which bore admirable Grapes, and from which it was very practicable to make excellent Wine. As to Animals, beſides black Cattle in Abundance, it afforded Goats, Swine of ſeveral ſorts, and many other uſeful Creatures. In Point of Riches, they affirmed, that there were Mines of Gold, which, by the way, could never be found, beſides Iron, Lead, and other Metals: They, with more Truth, aſſerted, that Cotton, Wax, Sugar, black and white Pepper, and Indigo, might be raiſed there to Advantage; that the Country afforded both Mulberry-trees and Silkworms, and that there was great Store of Ebony, and other rich Woods. The Colony they ſettled there coſt them immenſe Sums, and remained for ſome Years in a very flouriſhing Condition, ſending home yearly ſeveral Ships richly laden, and would very probably have anſwered their Expectations, if they could have had Patience.

But after they had once ſettled Factories in the *Indies*, thoſe who were in the Company's Service, found it ſo much eaſier to raiſe Fortunes for themſelves in theſe Settlements, that by their Repreſentations they procured the Removal of the Council of the *Indies* to *Surat*, where they built a moſt noble and convenient Houſe, and added to it Warehouſes, Magazines, and other Offices, much ſuperior to the Trade which they had eſtabliſhed to ſupport it, and from theſe exceſſive and extravagant Expences their firſt Misfortunes aroſe.

7. But after the laſt *Dutch* War, in which they made themſelves Maſters of *St. Thomas*, which they loſt again to the *Dutch*, the Sieur *Martin* retired to a Place called *Pondichery*, where, by the Leave of the Viceroy of the King of *Viſapour*, he ſettled himſelf. This was in the Beginning of the Year 1674, and as the Company had at that Time a great Demand for Piece-goods, it was thought they could not eſtabliſh themſelves in a better Place. It was for this Reaſon, that the *French* Company commiſſioned M. *Martin* to procure that Place for them, on the beſt Terms he could; with which Order he complied exactly. This Gentleman appears to be one of the honeſteſt and moſt capable Perſons they ever had in their Service; and he procured from the Governor, who firſt gave him Leave to ſettle there, a Licence to fortify, and to ſecure his People and Effects in the beſt Manner he could, which he accordingly did, and ſettled under the Protection of his Factory a little *Indian* Village, of about forty Houſes, in which thoſe who wrought for the Company lived quietly and happily.

Things had not remained long in this Condition, before he was threatened with total Ruin; for the famous *Seva-Gi* falling with a vaſt Force into that Part of the Country, endeavoured to overwhelm him as a Dependent upon his Enemies. However, M. *Martin* ſupplied by Prudence what he wanted in Force; and, by a timely Application, brought about a Treaty, which was managed on his Side by an *Indian* Prieſt, which ended in a Licence to trade in his Dominions, for which he paid one thouſand ſix hundred Rupees. This was in the Year 1680, and he had the Year before purchaſed the Territory of the King of *Viſapour*, whoſe Inheritance it was; ſo that now he was tolerably ſecure, only he was apprehenſive, that the Son of *Seva-Gi*, who was Sovereign of the Place, might take it amiſs, if he preſumed to raiſe a regular Fortification without his Conſent, which he obtained in 1689, and then put it in a Poſture of Defence. This was a very timely Proviſion; for the *Dutch* began to be extreamly diſturbed at the flouriſhing Eſtate of this little Colony, and offered very large Preſents to the Rajah, in whoſe Dominions it lay, in caſe he would diſpoſſeſs the *French* of *Pondichery*; but the *Indian* Prince, who was alſo Son to *Seva-Gi*, rejected theſe Offers with Contempt. He ſaid, the *French* had fairly purchaſed that Settlement; that they had applied to his Brother for a Protection, for which they paid him a valuable Conſideration; and that, therefore, all the Money in the World ſhould never tempt him to diſlodge them: A glorious Inſtance of the natural Probity of the unconquered *Indians*, and which deſerves more Praiſe from Mankind than the moſt extenſive Conqueſts.

The *Dutch*, however, reſolved to carry their Point, and the War having broke out between them and *France*, they made Diſpoſitions for attacking it by Force, which, however, they did not do till the Year 1693, when they came before the Place with a Squadron of nineteen Sail, landed an Army of between two and three thouſand Men, with a fine Train of Artillery, and ſix Mortars. To make their Conqueſts the ſurer, they applied to the new Rajah, who was not of the ſame Temper with the old one, and for the Sum of about twenty thouſand Pounds of our Money, purchaſed the whole Diſtrict in Property. They then inveſted and attacked the Place, which, after a good Defence, M. *Martin*, who was then Director-General for the *French Eaſt-India* Company, ſurrendered upon very honourable Conditions, on the 6th of *September*, 1693. This Stroke, which ſeemed to put an End to the Company's Authority in thoſe Parts, proved, in its Conſequences, the happieſt Thing that ever befel them. For the *Dutch* were no ſooner in Poſſeſſion of the Place, than they raiſed new Walls, ſeven regular Baſtions, and whatever elſe was neceſſary to render it one of the compleateſt Fortreſſes in the *Indies*.

In the Year 1669, upon the Concluſion of a general Peace, the Place was reſtored to the *French*, who thereby acquired the Property of *Pondichery*, and all theſe fine new Fortifications, and this for ſo trifling a Sum as five thouſand Pounds, which they paid to the *Dutch* Governor, upon his delivering up all that he was poſſeſſed of, which probably he would never have done, if he had not been compelled thereto by the Orders of the *States-General*, who, as they were great Gainers by that Peace in *Europe*, would not perplex themſelves with the Diſputes between the two Companies.

8. As ſoon as the News of this was brought into *France*, the *Eaſt-India* Company received Orders from the Government to put that Place into ſuch a Condition, as that, in caſe of a ſecond War, they might not loſe it ſo eaſily as they had done before; and, to enable them to do this, a Squadron was ſent from *France*, with two hundred regular Troops, for the Augmentation of the Garriſon; ſeveral able Engineers, a vaſt Quantity of military Stores, and whatever elſe was requiſite to ſecure *Pondichery* from any future Attempts of the *Dutch*. The Sieur *Martin* was again

intruſted with the Command of the Place, which in the Space of four or five Years he ſo changed, as that it was ſcarce to be known. He not only compleated the Fortifications according to his Inſtructions, and aſſembled a good Garriſon of ſeven or eight hundred Men, but likewiſe built one hundred new Houſes, and laid out a regular Plan for a large Town, into which, by his own Prudence and good Management, he drew, within the Space of five Years more, fifty or ſixty thouſand Inhabitants; ſo that in the Year 1710, it was become one of the moſt conſiderable Places in the *Indies*, in the Hands of the *Europeans*; and if the Affairs of the Company in *Europe* had kept Pace at all with the Improvements made by this Gentleman in the *Indies*, the *French* Company might very ſoon have been upon a Level with their Neighbours the *Engliſh* and the *Dutch*.

This, however, was ſo far from being the Caſe, that both this Gentleman and ſucceeding Governors were obliged to find Ways and Means to ſupport themſelves; the Factory and the Town, by the Trade carried on in it, and by the Induſtry of the *Indians* ſettled there, in which they were ſo fortunate, that while the Company was daily declining at home, every Thing carried the Face of Plenty and Proſperity there; and none knew or felt Difficulty or Pain, but the Governor and their Council, who yet were never tempted to oppreſs the People with Taxes, or to endeavour to make their own Circumſtances eaſier, by laying any Part of the Load upon others. It is true, that when the Town grew too large for the old Fortification, it was found neceſſary to ſurround it with a new Wall; but how clear ſoever that Neceſſity might appear, and however advantageous for the People, yet the Governor found it abſolutely impracticable to defray the Expence without the Aſſiſtance of the Inhabitants. In order to procure this, he acted with equal Integrity and Caution; for, having firſt ordered the Wall to be marked out, and Part of it to be erected at each End, he thereby ſhewed his People at once the Advantages which would be derived from ſuch a Fortification, and the Expences that would attend it; ſo that when, in order to compleat his Deſign, he impoſed upon the Inhabitants a Tax of Two-pence a Month for every Head, they were equally ſatisfied, as to the End for which it was impoſed, and the Sum that would be raiſed by this Impoſition, and therefore, inſtead of murmuring or complaining, they paid it with the greateſt Chearfulneſs, and gave the Governor hearty Thanks for the Care taken of their Intereſt.

I have dwelt the longer on this Incident, for a very particular Reaſon, with which, when communicated, I am thoroughly ſatisfied, the Reader will be very well pleaſed. The *French*, who in *Europe* pride themſelves ſo much in the Grandeur and abſolute Power of their King, and talk in ſo high a Strain of his Conqueſts, affect quite another Language in the *Indies*; for they value themſelves there upon their Juſtice and Moderation; their having purchaſed the ſmall Territory, which they poſſeſs; their having lived always upon good Terms with their Neighbours, and their eſtabliſhing ſo large a Town, and acquiring ſo many thouſands of Subjects, purely by the Equity and Mildneſs of their Adminiſtration: The Fact is equally true and ſtrange, at the ſame Time that it demonſtrates that common Senſe directs all Nations to think the ſame Way, and that the great Difference of Opinions, and what we call the Temper and Diſpoſition of Nations, ariſes purely from Accidents in Education and Government. Independent of theſe, Reaſon is every where the ſame, and Men think exactly alike, which ſhews the Reality and Certainty of the Laws of Nature, to which all Men return of themſelves, when the Influence of Power, and other accidental Reſtraints are removed.

9. As we have ſhewn by what Courſe of Events this Town then of *Pondichery* is become the chief Seat and capital Reſidence of the *French Eaſt-India* Company, it will be neceſſary to give the Reader a more particular Deſcription of it, and of the Government eſtabliſhed therein. The Town of *Pondichery* is ſituated in the Province of *Gingy*, on the Coaſt of *Coromandel*, in the Latitude of twelve Degrees North, and in the Longitude of one hundred and fourteen from the Meridian of *Paris*. It ſtands at the Diſtance of one hundred Yards from the Sea ſhore, and has nothing more than a Road before it; ſo that they are obliged to carry all their Goods in Boats for a full League. The Magazines of the Company, and of private Perſons, are both numerous and magnificent, as far as any Thing of this Nature can be ſo; they have a large and very beautiful Market-place, ſix fine Gates, eleven Baſtions for the Defence of their Walls, a regular Citadel well fortified, upwards of four hundred Cannon upon their Works, beſides a good Train of Field-pieces, Bombs, Mortars, and other military Stores in their Arſenal.

The Governor has a very fine Houſe, with convenient Offices, and whatever elſe is requiſite for the Service, or Credit of the Company. On the Weſt-ſide of the Town the Company have a very fine Garden, beautifully laid out into publick Walks, and whatever elſe may contribute to the Satisfaction and Pleaſure of the wealthier and better Sort of Inhabitants: adjoining to which Garden, there is a very fine Houſe, richly furniſhed, made uſe of for the Reception of foreign Princes and Ambaſſadors, who, whenever they reſort thither, are treated with infinite Reſpect, and all their Expences defrayed by the Company, which has been found a very wiſe and uſeful Contrivance, of much more Conſequence to the Intereſt of their Commerce, than the Expence it occaſions. The other publick Buildings conſiſt of a large Convent of the Jeſuits, where they have uſually twelve or fifteen Prieſts, who, beſides officiating in that Character, likewiſe teach School, and inſtruct the Children of the Inhabitants in Reading, Writing, and the Mathematicks, and whatever elſe may be of Uſe in civil Life; for, as to the learned Languages, they trouble not themſelves about them, and indeed, the Knowledge of them would be of little Service in this Part of the World: There are, beſides that of the Jeſuits, two other Convents, but not ſo conſiderable by any means as the former. The Houſes of the Town are as regularly laid out, as if it had been all built at once, tho' it is now near four Leagues in Extent. The *Europeans* build with Brick, but the *Indians*, and other Nations, uſe only Wood, building in that Manner which we call here in *England* Lath and Plaiſter. For the latter, they have the beſt in the World, which is compoſed of all Sorts of Shells ground to Powder, and wrought up into a kind of Paſte, which when expoſed for ſome Time to the Air, becomes altogether as white, and almoſt as hard as Stones.

Theſe Houſes are one Story only, and are uſually eight Yards in Front, and ſix in Depth, and yet there are fifteen or twenty People live in them. They are but very indifferently lighted, ſo that it is not eaſy to conceive how they are able to diſpatch their Buſineſs in them. Their Roofs are all flat, for the Conveniency of lying upon them, which they do almoſt naked, agreeable to the Cuſtom of the Country; for *Pondichery*, lying in the Torrid-zone, is extreamly hot, tho' otherwiſe the Climate is found by Experience very wholſome. One Thing there is in it very ſingular, and which therefore deſerves Notice, and this is, that it never rains there, except ſeven or eight Days at the moſt, towards the End of *October*, which falls out regularly, and is therefore the more ſingular and extraordinary. The native *Indians*, or as they are called here *Gentiles*, are moſt of them Weavers, or Painters; and tho' the very beſt Workman cannot earn above Two-pence a Day, yet upon this he is able to ſubſiſt himſelf, his Wife, and his Children; their principal Food being Rice boiled in Water, or wrought up into a Paſte, and baked upon the Coals. The Country round about is extreamly well cultivated, and produces Rice in Abundance, ſo that there is hardly a Place in the *Indies* of greater Plenty, or where they have Fleſh, Fiſh and Fowl, on more reaſonable Terms; and this, notwithſtanding they have no other Water than what is derived to them from the overflowing of the *Colram*, and other great Rivers, which they preſerve in Lakes, or Ponds, and draw it for Uſe, through their Country, in artificial Canals, after the ſame Manner as in *Egypt*.

The Governor General for the Company, as he is lodged in a fine Palace, ſo he makes a Figure equal thereto in every Reſpect. He has twelve Horſe Guards cloathed in Scarlet, lac'd with Gold, and an Officer with the Title of

Captain who commands them; he has alſo a Foot-Guard of three hundred Men, Natives of the Country, called *Peons*; and when he appears in publick, he is carried in a Palankin very richly adorned with gold Fringe. But all this Pomp and State is diſplayed only on proper and particular Occaſions, upon the receiving of Princes, or Ambaſſadors; at other Times his Guards are employed in the neceſſary Service of the Company, and earn to the full the Wages they are paid; for, as we have already ſhewn, there are few Settlements better regulated, or more diſcreetly governed than this, which the Reader will more eaſily believe when he is told, that, according to the laſt Account taken of the Inhabitants of this Place, there appear to be in it no leſs than one hundred and twenty thouſand Chriſtians, Mohammedans and Gentiles; a thing altogether incredible, if the Fact was not ſupported by Teſtimonies, the Authority of which is not to be diſputed.

There cannot be a Place better ſeated for Trade than this, being in the midſt of the *European* Settlements on the Coaſt of *Coromandel*, and having all the Bay of *Bengal* open before them; ſo that here the Company's Magazines are full of all the Commodities and Manufactures, not only of the Coaſt of *Coromandel*, but of other Parts of the *Indies*; ſuch as *Bengal*, *Surat*, and the Coaſt of *Malabar*, as alſo of ſuch as are imported from *Perſia* and the Coaſt of the *Red Sea*; and here likewiſe are their Warehouſes for all ſorts of *European* Commodities, which are conveniently tranſported from thence, as Occaſions require, to all the Markets in the *Indies*. The ſtaple Trade however of the Place is eſteemed to be Piece-goods, of which the fineſt are made in the neighbouring Kingdom of *Golconda*, and the beſt painted here; they likewiſe have great Quantities of Silk raw and manufactured, Gold and Silver Brocades, Perfumes, Spices, and Diamonds; in which laſt Trade they are ſaid to have made a great Progreſs of late, and for which it is certain they are very conveniently ſituated, as being at a very ſmall Diſtance from the fineſt Mines in the *Indies*, and by having amongſt them Perſons as well ſkilled in Jewels as any in the World. The *French Eaſt-India* Company therefore can neither be blamed for their Choice of this Reſidence, which, all things conſidered, is the fitteſt for them of any in the *Indies*, or for the Pains and Expence they have beſtowed about it, amounting, in the Whole, to about eight hundred thouſand Livres, or forty thouſand Pounds Sterling. Since thereby they have rendered it ſo ſtrong and ſo commodious, that it might very eaſily drive ten times the Trade they have ever had in this Part of the World.

10. We are now to return into *France*, and to conſider the Situation of Things, with reſpect to the Company, as low as the Demiſe of the late King *Lewis* XIV. The War, as it brought numberleſs Miſchiefs on all other Branches of the *French* Commerce, ſo it particularly affected the *Eaſt-India* Company, and this as much through the wrong Notions that were formed of that Trade at home, as from the Interruptions it met with abroad. The Farmers of the Royal Revenue not only continued their Perſecutions, by attacking from time to time the Privileges of the Company, and almoſt always without Succeſs; but new Enemies were daily ariſing, that added to the Number of their Hardſhips and Misfortunes.

The Office of High Admiral, which had been for a long time ſuppreſſed in *France*, was given by the King to his natural Son, the Count of *Toulouſe*, who took Exceptions againſt two Privileges of the Company. The firſt granted them the entire Property of all the Prizes taken by Ships in their Service; and the ſecond exempted them from the Rights of the Admiralty, in regard to Wrecks. This occaſioned a very long Diſpute, which at laſt ended in a Deciſion contrary to the Intereſt of the Company. It appeared clearly from hence, that, on the one hand, the Company had entirely loſt its Credit at Court; and on the other, that their Privileges were far enough from reſting on a firm and ſettled Foundation, ſince they were liable, at every Turn, to be ſubverted and taken away by ſuch kind of Judgments to the Company's Prejudice.

Such a continued Series of Miſchiefs and Misfortunes not only cruſhed the Trade, but broke the Spirits of the Company, and that to ſuch a degree as to oblige them to have recourſe to Expedients for their own Support, which were not very advantageous, though at the ſame time they were highly diſhonoured. We have before obſerved, that in the Year 1682, they had entered into a Scheme for permitting private Trade upon certain Conditions, which we have mentioned; but their Affairs were now fallen into ſuch Diſorder, that they were not only content to ſuffer private Perſons to ſhare in their Trade, but even to reſign it to them, and that upon very moderate Conditions.

Accordingly, in 1708, they granted Leave to Mr. *Croizat* to fit out two Ships in the Name of the *Eaſt-India* Company, upon Condition that he paid them fifteen *per Cent.* upon all the Goods imported under this Privilege, and two *per Cent.* upon all the Prizes they ſhould make beyond the Line; with a farther Reſervation, that the Company might be at Liberty to bring home on board his Ships ten Ton of whatever Commodities they pleaſed, without paying any Freight. The Reaſon they aſſigned for this extraordinary Step was, that their Affairs were become ſo embarraſſed, and the Perſons employed in their Service ſo loaded with Debts, that without the Aſſiſtance of this Project they muſt have been obliged to relinquiſh their Settlements in the *Indies*. It is reaſonable to believe, that they found from this Expedient ſome little Relief, which induced them to extend their Project, and for the Preſervation of their Servants in the *Indies*, who by this time were above ten Millions in Debt, they fairly ſacrificed themſelves.

For in the Year 1712, they entered into a Treaty with ſome private Traders at *St. Malo's*, by which they yielded up to them all their Privilege as a Company, upon the beſt Terms they could obtain; and this with a View to furniſh ſuch as were employed by them in the *Indies* with Sums ſufficient to keep under the Intereſt of their Debts, and thereby prevent all things from falling into Confuſion. A miſerable Situation this, and yet the Company found themſelves unable to undertake any thing upon their own Bottom; ſo that on the Expiration of their own Privileges, about the Time of this King's Death, they warmly ſolicited a Renewal of them, not from any Hopes of reviving their Trade, but purely with an Intention to renew their Agreement with the Merchants of *St. Malo's*, that they might gain enough thereby to preſerve their Settlements, and not ſuffer ſuch as they had employed to be utterly undone in their Service.

It is very clear from hence, that the Ruin of the *French Eaſt-India* Commerce has hitherto been the Nature of their Government, which is a Point I ſhall take the Liberty of laying open, for the Information and Satisfaction of the *Engliſh* Reader. In the firſt place, I muſt obſerve, that the Edicts for their Eſtabliſhment, and the extenſive Privileges granted by them, though they are, in one Senſe, neceſſary to the Being and Foundation of the Company, yet are hurtful and diſadvantageous to it in another. Since though few dare expreſs their Thoughts freely upon the Subject, yet all Men of good Senſe cannot help diſcerning, that in a Country where ſo much depends upon the Will and Pleaſure of the Crown, no Commerce can ever be ſecure; for as the ſame Power that gives may take away, ſo it may likewiſe alter, abridge, and even deſtroy by new Edicts any of thoſe Privileges, though granted and confirmed in the ſtrongeſt Terms that Words can expreſs.

In the next place, as the Company muſt be almoſt ſupported by Acts of royal Favours, ſo the obtaining theſe muſt always depend upon the Temper of the Adminiſtration; or, in other Words, and in plain Terms, upon the Will of the Prime Miniſter for the Time being; which is ſuch a dangerous and precarious Tenure, that no Man, who thinks at all, can believe he has any Property while it depends thereupon. In the third place, the Maxims of the Government rendering it abſolutely neceſſary to prefer the Intereſt of the Royal Revenues, upon which the Adminiſtration of the Government itſelf depends, to any other Intereſt whatever; this is ſuch a Source of Danger

ger and Diſquiet, as muſt neceſſarily baniſh all Truſt and Confidence in the Faith of ſuch a Government. Hence it may be obſerved, in the fourth Place, that ſuch as are engaged in the Management of a Company's Concerns, under ſuch Circumſtances, will look very little farther than the Time preſent; and, inſtead of placing their Hopes in the future Succeſs and Proſperity of ſuch a Company's Affairs, will confine their Views to the making the moſt they can of immediate Advantages, in order to ſecure (if poſſible) their private Fortunes, let what will become of the Publick.

Laſtly, we may eaſily diſcover, from theſe Reflections, how it came to paſs, that private Traders in *France*, ſuch as the Merchants at *St. Malo's* were able to increaſe their Fortunes, and carry on a Trade to the *Eaſt-Indies* with Advantage, under the Authority of a Company that was, in a manner, become bankrupt; and this, notwithſtanding they paid conſiderable Sums out of their Profits for participating in its Privileges; for, as private Men, they could drive a good Bargain with the Company, with ſome reaſonable Aſſurance of having the Terms of their Contract comply'd with, becauſe made only for a certain Time; enjoying alſo the full Benefit of thoſe Settlements which the Company had made, without contributing any thing to the Expence which they originally coſt, or even to that by which they were ſupported; ſo that, conſidered in this Light, the Company ſtood between them and the Government, and theſe private Traders might be ſaid to enjoy in *France* itſelf, thoſe Advantages that could be expected only in a Land of Freedom, and by the Enjoyment of which ſolely their Trade became advantageous.

The more we reflect upon theſe few Obſervations, the more muſt we be convinced, that it is not from any Defect in the Country, any Want of Skill or Induſtry in the People, but for the Want of a right Government in *France*, that her Trade has never been eſtabliſhed on a ſecure and ſolid Baſis. This likewiſe demonſtrates, that however dangerous and deſtructive the Ambition of this Power may be to her Neighbours, from that arbitrary Force, with which, by the Policy of her Miniſters, ſhe has been long armed; yet this, at the ſame time, is an Evil that preys upon her inward Strength, and keeps her in a continual, though ſlow Conſumption; ſo that if her Neighbours would but unite among themſelves for their own Defence, the arbitrary Diſpoſition of the Court of *France* muſt neceſſarily return upon itſelf, and ſooner or later procure its own Diſſolution.

There are, however, certain Seaſons, when from a Variety of Accidents, there appears even in ſuch a Government a ſtrong Spirit of promoting the publick Welfare, not from any real Principle of that kind, but to cover ſome other Deſign, which could not otherwiſe be carried into Execution: As for Inſtance, upon Changes of Adminiſtrations, more eſpecially in Minorities, when ſuch as are at the Head of the Government find the Meaſure of their Power muſt, in ſome meaſure, depend upon the Extent of their Reputation. At ſuch Times as theſe, I ſay, there may be a temporary Ceſſation of thoſe pernicious Notions which infect the Heads and Hearts of arbitrary Rulers, or, which is the ſame thing to the People, a Suſpenſion of the Practices which flow from them; ſo that, for ſome little Time, the Government ſeems to act upon new Principles, and conſequently Affairs change their Face in the ſame Proportion.

This happened to be the Caſe at the Period of Time, when the *French Eaſt-India* Company were ſtruggling for a new Grant of the Privileges which they had enjoyed for fifty Years, though ſometimes in a larger, ſometimes in a leſs Degree. But the Renewal of theſe Privileges in that State in which they then ſtood, was all that they deſired, to have them augmented was what they ſcarce hoped; but to have this done, and their Term rendered perpetual, exceeded the Limits of their Expectations, and was entirely owing to ſuch a Revolution in their Government as has been before-mentioned, and which it is now neceſſary that we ſhould deſcribe as clearly, and at the ſame time as conciſely as poſſible.

11. The Duke of *Orleans*, who defeated the old King's Will, and, in ſome meaſure, eſtabliſhed a new Government in *France*, contrary alike to the Wiſhes of the moſt potent of the Nobility, and of the meaner ſort of People, found himſelf obliged therefore to ſuſtain his Authority, by endeavouring to acquire to his Adminiſtration ſuch a Reputation as had never attended all the Victories and Power of *Lewis the Great*. It was with this View, that from the Time he took the Reins of Government into his Hands, he affected to act on Maxims directly oppoſite to thoſe of his Predeceſſors; he declared openly, that the great End of Government was the Good of the People; that it was impoſſible this ſhould be promoted by being engaged in perpetual Wars, or in continual Quarrels with their Neighbours; that Peace was an univerſal Bleſſing, and muſt therefore be the Intereſt of *France*, as well as of all other Nations; that Commerce was the natural Produce of ſettled and quiet Times; and that the Effects of an extenſive Trade were more certain Reſources of Power and Strength than Conqueſts, or arbitrary Dominion.

Whether the Duke-Regent was perſuaded of the Truth of all this, or whether he pretended only to be ſo perſuaded, is a Point not at all important for us to determine, ſince it is ſufficient for our Purpoſe that he acted upon theſe Maxims, whatever he might believe about them; and that by acting upon them, he really carried his Point, and came to be conſidered as a Prince who had great Notions of Liberty and Commerce. The *Eaſt-India* Company therefore, or at leaſt ſuch as had the Management of the Affairs of the Company, entertained the warmeſt Hopes of Succour and Protection: For though, before the Death of the late King they had obtained a Prolongation of their Privileges for ten Years, to be accounted from the Firſt of *May*, 1715; yet this, like moſt of the royal Favours they had received, was of very little Uſe, ſince they had no Funds left for the carrying on their Commerce; and, beſides, the Term they now had was ſo ſhort, that it added very little to their Credit at home or abroad. It was from the Duke-Regent that they expected more ſolid Aſſiſtance, and ſuch Helps from the Treaſury as might enable them to revive their Trade.

But the Regent and his Miniſters were in Sentiments quite oppoſite to thoſe the Company had flattered themſelves with, and, inſtead of being at all inclined to part with Money out of the Royal Treaſury, for other People to employ in Trade, they were contriving how to make Uſe of the Sound and Reputation of Commerce to fill the King's Coffers, to pay off the Debts of the Crown, and to diſcharge the Loads which lay heavy on the Government upon the Shoulders of the Nation, by that Series of Contrivances which are ſtill known in *France* by the Name of *the Syſtem*. It was with this View that the Regent ſhewed ſo much Favour and Kindneſs to the *Weſt-India* Company, and eſtabliſhed its Capital at One hundred Millions, and thereby procured an Opportunity of leſſening that immenſe Quantity of Paper-Money which the long War had made requiſite. But when the *Eaſt-India* Company came to repreſent the Condition they were in, and to ſue for Aſſiſtance and Protection, they ſoon found that they had to do with thoſe who underſtood their Affairs to the full, as well as themſelves; therefore, inſtead of governing them as they had done former Miniſters, they were forced to put themſelves entirely into their Hands, and truſt abſolutely to their Generoſity and Diſcretion.

The Conſequence of this was, very probably, what they had not foreſeen, ſince it proved to be the Diſſolution of the Company, or, which is the ſame thing in other Words, the Union of it to the *Weſtern* Company, which had already ſwallowed up ſome others. This Edict of Union or new Eſtabliſhment extinguiſhed the Title of both the Companies, as well as of the reſt of the Societies compriſed therein, and gave to the whole the comprehenſive and ſignificant Title of the *Company of the* Indies. In the Preamble of this Edict, we have an excellent Hiſtory of the Tranſactions upon which this Union of the Company was built; for therein it is ſaid, that the King having principally applied himſelf to the reſtoring the Commerce of the Kingdom, and thereby repairing the Loſſes and Decays occaſioned by a very long and expenſive War;

and having already had the Pleaſure to ſee the Circulation of Money wonderfully quickened by the Eſtabliſhment of the *Weſt-India* Company, his Majeſty had from thence been led to look into the State of the old Companies erected before his Acceſſion to the Throne; and in particular into the State of the *Eaſt-India* Company, which he found to be moſt deplorable. In the Space of fifty Years they had, notwithſtanding repeated Aſſiſtances from the Crown, managed their Affairs ſo indifferently, as to be obliged to abandon their Commerce entirely, and to take up with ſuch trifling Advantages as could be obtained by letting out their Privileges to Hire.

The King declared, he was ſatisfied that this did not proceed at all from Diſadvantages in the Nature of that Commerce, but from the Miſtakes and ill Conduct of ſuch as had been entruſted with the Management of the Company's Affairs, who, in the firſt Place, had made their Bottom too narrow, and had undertaken the Traffick of the *Indies* upon much too ſmall a Capital. That, in the ſecond Place, to keep up the Credit of their own Adminiſtration, and to countenance their taking ſuch conſiderable Salaries to themſelves, they had made large Dividends, where there were no Profits; and having, by this means, exhauſted the Company's Stock, they carried on their Trade by borrowing as much Money as they could at very high Intereſt. That however, the King, his Great-grandfather, having always protected and encouraged this Company, and even granted them a new Term towards the End of his Life, they might have enjoyed it, or, at leaſt have drawn all the Profits from it they could, if their Conduct had not become ſo flagrantly bad, that neither the Glory of the King, nor the Intereſt of his People, would permit him to overlook it any longer. On the one Hand, there were continual Complaints from the *Indies*, that the Company had borrowed vaſt Sums of the *Gentiles*, without paying them either Capital or Intereſt, having in the Space of ſixteen Years, not ſent ſo much as one ſingle Ship to *Surat*. On the other, the private Merchants carrying on this Commerce in the Name and under the Authority of the *Eaſt-India* Company, were ſo cramped and oppreſſed by the Duty of Ten *per Cent.* and other Gratuities to the Company, that they are unable to purſue their Trade with the ſame Spirit and Advantages which are enjoyed by the Subjects of other Nations; and, being afraid to go to *Surat*, on account of the Danger they were in of having their Ships ſeized for the Company's Debts, they found themſelves obliged to purchaſe moſt of the *Indian* Commodities and Manufactures which they brought into *Europe* from Foreigners, at a very high Price, and this equally to their own and the Nation's Diſadvantage.

For theſe Reaſons, and others of the like Nature alledged againſt the *China* and *African* Companies, his Majeſty declares, that the Privileges of all thoſe Companies are, by this Edict of his, dated in the Month of *May* 1719, revoked, extinguiſhed, and ſuppreſſed. He granted at the ſame Time, to the new Company of the *Indies*, an excluſive Privilege of trading from the *Cape of Good Hope*, to the utmoſt Extent of the *Eaſt-Indies*, as alſo to the Iſlands of *Madagaſcar*, of *Bourbon*, and of *France*, the Coaſt of *Soffala* in *Africa*, the *Red-ſea*, *Perſia*, the Dominions of the *Mogul*, of the King of *Siam*, and of the Emperors of *China* and *Japon*, as alſo of the *South-ſeas*, from the Straits of *Magellan*, or *la Maire*, to the *Eaſt-Indies* that Way, forbidding all the reſt of his Subjects theſe ſeveral Trades, under Pain of the Confiſcation of their Veſſels and Effects.

He likewiſe gives and grants to this Company, the Poſſeſſions and Effects of the other Companies, at the ſame Time charging them, however, with all the juſt Debts which thoſe Companies had contracted, and were liable to. The better to enable them to diſcharge thoſe Debts, and to carry on the vaſt Trade granted them by this Edict, he creates in their Favour, twenty-five Millions of new Actions, to be purchaſed only for ready Money, on the ſame Terms that the *Weſt-India* Company poſſeſſed one hundred Millions of Actions, and with the like Privileges and Advantages in every Reſpect. He likewiſe granted full Licence and Authority to import all Sorts of Manufactures of Silk, Silk and Cotton, gold and ſilver Stuffs, died Cottons, as alſo painted and ſtriped, on Condition, however, that none of theſe ſhall be vended in his Dominions, but be intirely ſold and diſpoſed of to Foreigners; for which Reaſon they were to be depoſited in Magazines under double Locks, the Keys of one to be kept by the Farmers-general, and the other by the Directors of the Company, for the better preventing Frauds and Colluſions. He likewiſe grants them leave to import all ſorts of white Cotton, Raw-ſilks, Coffee, Drugs, Spices, Metals, and whatever elſe the *Eaſt-India* Company might have imported under their Privileges.

This Edict had all the Effects, and even more than was expected from it, and ſuch an Eagerneſs there appeared of ſubſcribing to this Company, that inſtead of twenty-five, the Subſcriptions amounted to fifty Millions, which encouraged the *French* Miniſtry to venture upon ſome new Regulations, which were made public by an Edict of the Month of *June*, in the ſame Year. The Principal of which was, that they ſhould take off four Times the Number of old Actions, in order to be entitled to the new; ſo that in order to purchaſe five thouſand Livres of the new Actions, the Subſcribers were obliged to take twenty thouſand Livres of the old ones.

The great End the Government propoſed by all this, was, as we have hinted before, to find the means of calling in and ſuppreſſing that immenſe Quantity of Paper-money which was ſuch a heavy Burthen on the State; and to this End Annuities to the Value of twenty-five Millions are created, which not anſwering that Intention, the new Company of the *Indies* offered their Aſſiſtance, and undertook to diſcharge them at the Rate of fifty Millions in one Month; ſo that the whole Load of this Paper-credit, amounting in the whole to near ſixty Millions of our Money, was to be taken away and extinguiſhed, by the End of *July*, 1721. In Conſideration of the Zeal and publick Spirit manifeſted by the Company in this Propoſal, the King was pleaſed, by his Arret dated in the Month of *July*, 1720, to change the Terms on which the Company held their Privileges, and to declare them perpetual, reſtraining himſelf and his Succeſſors, from ever treating them as other Companies had been treated, in order to their Eſtabliſhment; and thus this Company acquired that Title by which they are now known in *France*, *The perpetual Company of the Indies*, with all the Privileges of the other four Companies confirmed to them for ever. In two Years Time it was ſettled and declared, that in Conſequence of the Annuities granted and aſſigned to the Company from the Crown, they ſhould be able to divide annually the Sum of Ten *per Cent.* which ſhould be paid duly and exactly for ever; in Conſequence of which, the Directors were to be at full Liberty to export and import what they thought proper, without being accountable annually to their Conſtituents, becauſe the Dividend was to be regular and certain, and they were to manage Things ſo, as that the Deficiencies of one Year might be made up by the Profits of another.

This Courſe of Management, though it had certainly one great Convenience in fixing and aſcertaining the Intereſt as the Proprietors were to receive it, yet the Circumſtance of not accounting for the Profits, has proved of ſuch ill Conſequence, that notwithſtanding theſe Dividends have been all along very duly and regularly paid till lately, yet the Proprietors could never be cured of a Suſpicion they entertained, that the *Eaſt-India* Commerce has not been carried on for their Profit, but in their Name, for the King's, and this has contributed to keep their Actions low, though they had ſuch extraordinary Intereſt paid them, with ſuch Regularity. The Grounds of this Suſpicion lying in the Annuities paid by the Crown to the Company, which are ſufficient for ſecuring ſuch a Dividend, without the leaſt Aſſiſtance from the Profits of their Trade, made the Thing not altogether incredible, eſpecially when it was perceived, that for twenty Years together, the Dividends remained fixed and ſettled, though the Trade of the Company has for that Time been apparently increaſing.

But to underſtand this Point perfectly, as well as the true State of the Company's Affairs, and how they came to have a Fund capable of diſcharging regularly ſo high an Intereſt for ſuch a Number of Years, as well as to clear up ſome Things that may ſeem obſcure in this Hiſtory of the Eſtabliſhment of the Company now ſubſiſting, it will be requiſite to give as clear and conciſe a Relation as is poſſible, of the Riſe and Progreſs of the other Companies that have been united to this by the Edict before-mentioned, and of the *Weſt-India* Company in particular, in which Abundance of curious and inſtructive Paſſages will occur that never hitherto have appeared in the *Engliſh* Language.

12. The *China* Company in *France* was originally ſet on foot in the Year 1660, but was very ſoon after abſorbed by that of the *Eaſt-India* Company, which, as we have ſhewn, had the Sanction of royal Authority given it in 1664; but when that Company began firſt to decline in its Affairs, thoſe who had the Management of its Concerns, were content, in ſome meaſure, to revive this old Company, by granting their Licence, which was likewiſe confirmed by the Crown to one Mr. *Jourdain*, a very rich Merchant, who fitted out a very large Ship, called *Amphitrite*, for that Voyage, which ſailed in *March* 1698, and returned ſafely to *France* on the Third of *Auguſt*, 1700, very richly laden. The Succeſs of this Voyage encouraged the Merchant before-mentioned, and thoſe who were concerned with him, to fit out the ſame Ship again, and which they accordingly did in the following Spring, and ſhe returned in the Month of *September*, 1703, with as great Profit as from her former Voyage, though ſhe very narrowly miſſed being ſhipwrecked falling down the River of *Canton* at her Return. The Succeſs of theſe Voyages, one would have thought, might have eſtabliſhed this new Company; but the general War in which *France* was then engaged againſt moſt of the Powers of *Europe*, rendered it impracticable: And thus the Company lay dormant, though ſtill poſſeſſed of its Rights, which extended to the Coaſts of *China*, *Tonquin*, *Cochin-China*, and the Iſles adjacent, till ſuch Time as, for Reaſons of State, it was united to the *Weſtern* Company.

The Company of *Senegal*, though under another Name, was one of the earlieſt in *France*, being carried on by a Society of Merchants at *Dieppe*, though without the Sanction of any public Authority. They fixed a little Settlement in an Iſland at the Mouth of the great River *Nigea*, called alſo the River of *Senegal*, and carried on a conſiderable Trade thither. This Commerce came afterwards into the Hands of the Merchants of *Rouen*, who, in the Month of *November*, 1664, yielded it up to the *Weſt-India* Company. But when that Company was diſſolved about ten Years afterwards, the old Company of *Senegal* was revived, and three rich Merchants undertook that Commerce, which they carried on with great Profit to themſelves till the Year 1681, when Mr. *Colbert*, whoſe Character we have already given, conceiving this Traffick might be greatly enlarged, prevailed upon theſe Merchants to accept of a valuable Conſideration for their Privileges, and to admit of its going into the Hands of a larger Number of Perſons, with new Privileges which they enjoyed for many Years. But it being diſcovered, that the excluſive Rights they had were, by much, too extenſive for their Capital, it was thought for the publick Benefit to divide this Company; and hence aroſe the *Guinea* Company, to whom the greateſt Part of their Privileges were aſſigned, and the reſt remained to the old Company of *Senegal*, which ſtill continued in a thriving Condition.

Yet, in Proceſs of Time, and from a Variety of Accidents, it fell out, that the Proprietors of this Company came to be reduced into ſuch low Circumſtances, that the Company muſt have failed, if it had not been for the Wealth and Spirit of a ſingle Merchant, whoſe Name was Mr. *D'Apougny*, who, at length, for the Sum of three hundred thouſand Livres, bought out his Aſſociates, and in the Year 1694, by the Conſent of the Crown, had the whole of their Privileges conveyed to himſelf, and he erected a new Company, which, however, was ſo unfortunate, that after ſtruggling a long Time to no Purpoſe, at laſt, yielded up their Privileges to ſome rich Merchants of *Rouen*, who carried on this Trade with tolerable Succeſs, till the Year 1718, when it was united, as we have ſeen to the Company of the *Indies*.

As for the Company of *Guinea* before-mentioned, it had ſeveral Riſes and Falls till the Acceſſion of *Philip* V. to the Crown of *Spain*, who in the Year 1701, granted them the Liberty of tranſporting Negroes to the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*; and then it took from thence the Title of the *Aſſiento* Company, under which it continued to flouriſh, when almoſt all the Branches of *French* Commerce languiſhed and decayed, by reaſon of the War; and as it was ſingular in this, ſo it was no leſs ſingular in its Concluſion; for it loſt all its Privileges, and even its Being, by the Treaty of *Utretch*, which revived the other Branches of *French* Trade, but conveyed this to the *Engliſh*, and gave riſe to our *South Sea* Company.

We muſt now paſs to the *Weſt-Indies*, where the Courſe of a great River, navigable from within ſeven or eight Leagues of its Source for eight hundred Leagues, where it falls into the Gulph of *Mexico*, was diſcovered by *Robert Cavalier de la Salle*, a Native of *Rouen*, who brought the News of it into *France*, 1680. This River, called by the Natives of the Country *Meſchaſippi*, and by the *French*, *Miſſiſippi*, and the Country about it being held of infinite Conſequence, as affording the greateſt Conveniencies for eſtabliſhing a Settlement in one of the fineſt Climates, and moſt fruitful Countries in *America*, the Motion for attempting ſuch a Colony was readily embraced in *France*, and all imaginable Encouragement given to Mr. *de la Salle*, who undertook the Performance. He, by Letters Patent dated in 1684, eſtabliſh'd a Company for that Purpoſe, and embarked on board a Squadron of four Ships, filled with People, and with every Thing neceſſary for his Deſign; but was ſo unlucky as to miſs by Sea the Mouth of that River which he had diſcovered by ſailing down it, and fixed upon another, where his Colony began to decline in ſuch a manner, that he had not above one hundred Perſons left; yet in the Midſt of theſe Misfortunes he kept up his Courage, and endeavoured to repair his paſt Miſtake, by uſing all poſſible Means to diſcover the Place he ſought, which it is very probable he would have done if his Company had not mutinied; in which unlucky Accident one of the Villains ſhot him with a Muſket Ball, on the 20th of *March*, 1687.

Seven or eight Years after his Death, one Mr. *Hiberville*, a Gentleman of *Canada*, diſcovered the Mouth of this famous River, erected a Fort, and began to eſtabliſh a Colony there, but died before it was thoroughly ſettled, and ſo the Deſign miſcarried a ſecond Time, and the Affair ſlept till the Year 1712, when Mr. *Anthony Crozat*, a Gentleman of large Fortune, undertook the fixing a *French* Colony on the River *Miſſiſippi*, a third Time. He obtained the King's Letters Patent, dated 14 *September*, in the ſame Year, and ſucceeded ſo far as to diſcover the River and Country effectually, and to raiſe a Fort and ſome Settlements there. This Gentleman, according to the Cuſtom of the *French*, changed the Names of all the Places he viſited, or, to ſpeak with greater Propriety, were viſited by thoſe he ſent thither. The great River was no longer to be called *Miſſiſippi*, but the River of *St. Lewis*, and the Country round about it was *Louiſiana*, and an Iſland at the Mouth of it, which till then had been ſtiled the Iſland of *Maſſacre*, was thenceforward to be known by the Title of the *Dauphin*'s Iſland.

The Conſequences of theſe Diſcoveries were great in themſelves, and the Expectations raiſed from them much greater, of which Mr. *Crozat* made a very wiſe Uſe, by taking this Opportunity to ſurrender his Patent, which he did in 1717, that the Publick might have the Benefit of theſe important Settlements. The Regent was conſidering at that Time of the Project offered him by the famous Mr. *Law*, a *Scotch* Gentleman, whoſe Name is well known to the preſent Generation, and is not like to be forgot by Poſterity. The End aimed at by his Project, was to reduce all the publick Debts in *France* into ſome Form; and for this Purpoſe it was neceſſary to erect, under plauſible Appearances, a new Company in the like Manner, that by the Advice of Sir *John Blount*, the Lord Treaſurer *Oxford* had done the ſame Thing in *England*, by eſtabliſhing the *South-Sea* Company. But whereas that Nobleman had very wiſely and honeſtly rejected the remaining Part of the Project, which was cheating credulous People of their Money, by running the Actions or Stock of the new Company to an exceſſive Rate; this was accepted by the Regent, and made that Part of the Deſign, which is ſtiled in *France* the Syſtem, and which was at once the moſt iniquitous, and the moſt infamous Contrivance that ever entered into the Heart of Man.

But as it was neceſſary, in order to carry this Scheme into Execution, that a new Company ſhould be ſet up with ſuch Privileges as might create probable Hopes of vaſt Gain to the Proprietors, this new Settlement was thought of for that Purpoſe, from whence the Project itſelf is generally called the *Miſſiſippi* Scheme, tho' that was not the Title of the Company. It cannot be expected, that we ſhould enter here into a long Detail of the Conduct of the Regent's Scheme, becauſe it is not the proper Buſineſs of this Section; all that is aimed at herein, is to ſhew the ſeveral Steps by which almoſt all the foreign Commerce of *France* was thrown into the Hands of the ſingle Company of the *Indies*, which Title, as we have already ſhewn, the Company acquired by the Union of the old *Eaſt-India* Company with the *Weſtern* Company, which had before ſwallowed up ſeveral others that have been already mentioned.

The Royal Bank alſo was united to the Company of the *Indies*, which was the Engine employed for bringing about the great Ends of the Syſtem, which being once effected, the Regent and his Miniſters began to turn their Thoughts on the Means of recovering the Company from that dreadful Confuſion into which it had been thrown by undertaking the Execution of a Deſign equally prejudicial to the general Commerce and private Property of the Inhabitants of *France*, which had very juſtly overturned and deſtroyed their Credit, and put it entirely out of their Power to carry on any Part of the Trade, to which they had an excluſive Right. It was therefore high Time certainly, for the Government to interpoſe, and endeavour to remedy ſome of the many Inconveniences they had introduced, ſince the Welfare of the Kingdom was now ſo cloſely connected with that of the Company of the *Indies*, as that it was neither in the Power of the Government to neglect the one without neglecting the other, or to ſeparate, as perhaps they would have done thoſe Intereſts, which by their own Management were ſo cloſely united.

To underſtand this Matter clearly, we muſt conſider the Company of the *Indies* in two very different Lights; that is to ſay; as a trading Company, and as Creditors of the Government; neither of which Points, if we advert what is daily written about them, ſeem to be well underſtood here, and therefore we ſhall take ſome Pains in repreſenting them both to the *Engliſh* Reader's View, in Terms that may remove all theſe Miſtakes. In the firſt Place then, with regard to their Trade, the Company of the *Indies* in *France*, is generally called here the *French-Eaſt-India* Company; which Title does by no means expreſs the Nature and Importance of their Trade; ſince they have not only the Commerce of the *Indies*, but likewiſe that of *Africa* and the *South-Sea* under their Direction, and though it be true, that they are not able at preſent to exert themſelves in carrying on all theſe Trades; yet it is no leſs true, that they retain the Power of doing it whenever they are able, and that the *French* Government will moſt certainly put them upon it as ſoon as any favourable Opportunity offers.

The Inference I make from this is, that we ought to conſider the Company of the *Indies*, as the Center of *French* Commerce, and to look upon the Riſe and Fall of the Actions of the Company, as a political, or if you will, as a Commercial Barometer, which conſtantly points out the Condition of the Trade in *France*. I look upon this Obſervation to be a Matter of great Conſequence to us, and it was for the Sake of ſetting it in a clear Light that I have taken ſo much Pains to ſhew how the ſeveral Branches of foreign Trafficks came to be thrown into the Hands of a ſingle Company, the chief Motive to which, was undoubtedly this, that the Cares of the Government, with reſpect to Trade, might be brought into a narrower Compaſs, and conſequently be attended to with more Eaſe by the Miniſters.

For ſuch is the Conſtitution of the *French* Government, that every Thing in that Kingdom muſt depend upon it; and we muſt allow, that Experience has ſhewn, that ſome of its Miniſters have underſtood it as well, and proſecuted it better than the ableſt Merchants could have done. I do not ſay this as if what had happened in *France* ought to be a Rule to any other Country, bleſt with a better Conſtitution: God forbid it ſhould! But what I ſay, is, that the Relation betwen the Government and Commerce of *France*, being rightly underſtood, it will appear, that the latter is entirely dependant upon the former, and muſt either proſper or ſink, as it is ſupported by the Crown, and attended to by the Miniſters, or as it is neglected by both

This ſhews, that a general War, which demands all the Power, all the Revenues, and all the Attention of *France*, muſt ſink and ruin its Commerce, and that to ſuch a Degree, as cannot happen to any other Country, the Conſtitution of which is not the ſame with that of which we are ſpeaking. This I am ſenſible has been often ſaid, but I do not know, that it was ever demonſtrated before, and I hope by that Time I have finiſhed this Section, to make this Subject ſo clear, and ſo intelligible to every *Engliſh* Reader, as that he ſhall have no ſort of Doubt as to the Intereſt and Policy of the *French* Court on this Head. Thus much as to the Company of the *Indies*, with reſpect to its Trade; let us next conſider it as a Society of the Creditors of the *French* Government.

We have heard, that this Company has for many Years divided Ten *per Cent.* annually upon their Capital, which, till the preſent War, and indeed to the preſent Year, has been juſtly and regularly paid. But this Intereſt, or Dividend of Ten *per Cent.* never aroſe from the Profits made by the Company, nor in Truth any Part of it, but was paid to the Proprietors, as Creditors of the Publick, out of the ſtated and ſettled Funds aſſigned them for that Purpoſe, and therefore we can attribute the Lowneſs of the *French* Actions in Time of Peace, to nothing but their Diffidence of their own Government.

The Reaſon why the Miniſters of *France* have made it their Choice to continue Things in this Situation, ſeems to have been this, that the regular Payments made by this Company to the Proprietors, might have a double Effect, and ſuſtain at once the Publick Credit and that of the Company. The former was neceſſary to prevent thoſe Confuſions ever falling out again, which happened on the Ruin of the Syſtem, and which had like to have been attended with the moſt fatal Conſequences to the Nation, from which nothing could have ſaved them, but the arbitrary Power of the Government, which forced them to bear their Misfortunes till Ways and Means could be found to relieve them. On the other hand, the regular Payment of theſe Dividends has been of prodigious Service to the Company in their trading Capacity, in which, to ſay the Truth, they could not have ſubſiſted without them; becauſe it kept the Proprietors from either requiring, or receiving any general Accounts of their Dealings, which enabled the Directors to do many Things which otherwiſe they could never have done; and has, in Fact, been the ſole Support of their Commerce: For, we muſt obſerve, that on the founding of this new Company, they had Rights and Privileges given them, without either Powers or Funds to make uſe of them. They had the nominal Advantages of ſeveral Companies beſtowed upon them, but upon Condition that they took likewiſe the real Load of Debts and Incumbrances for which thoſe Companies ſtood engaged. They received vaſt Sums of Money from their Proprietors, but not for their Uſe as a Company to Trade with, but as Agents for the Government, which, very probably, the far greater Part of their Proprietors did not underſtand; but which they might very eaſily have underſtood, if they had conſidered the Funds out of which their Dividends were paid; for they could never conceive that ſuch a Government as theirs would grant them ſo high an Intereſt for Money, without making uſe of it.

On the whole therefore, this was one of the great Secrets of the *French* Councils, and the Deſign of reſtoring the Affairs of the Company, that which, of all others, they have managed with the greateſt Addreſs; for by this Means they have gained Time, which, in ſuch Affairs, is all Things, and by affording the Company ſuch Sums of Money as could be ſpared; and at the Seaſons they could ſpare it, they have revived the *Eaſt-India* Trade, kept it conſtantly and regularly on Foot, put all the Company's Debts in a Train of Payment, relieved and replaced all her Factories; and if this War had not broke out as it did, would very ſoon have placed her, as a Trading-Company, in as fair and good a Condition as for many Years ſhe has ſtood in, conſidered in her other Capacity as a Corporation of publick Creditors. This has been generally attributed to the wiſe and peaceable Adminiſtration of the late Cardinal *Fleury*, but was no otherwiſe due to him than as he continued the Direction of theſe Affairs in the Hands of Mr. *Orry*, who has had the entire Management of them for ten Years paſt; in which Time he has done more Service to this Nation, than all the Stateſmen and Generals that have been employed in this Reign; and though it has ſo fallen out of late, that his Method has been interrupted and thrown into Diſorder, yet we ſhall preſently make it appear, from the Conſideration of the preſent State of the Company, that he has overcome the greateſt Difficulties, and put her Concerns into ſuch a Channel, as muſt ſtrike all who attentively weigh the Particulars, which we ſhall impartially relate, with Amazement and Surprize.

But, before I quit this Part of my Subject, I muſt again remind my Reader, that all this Succeſs has been owing to the Firmneſs and Steadineſs of the Adminiſtration, for ſo many Years, flowing in ſome meaſure from the King's Temper, in ſome meaſure from the long Life of the late Cardinal, and from a Variety of other Circumſtances, that demonſtrate the commercial Intereſt of *France* to be continually liable to Accidents, and to be conſequently always in a precarious Condition. I do not ſay this with any Intention of leſſening our Jealouſy of the *French* Traffick, which I acknowledge to be extremely reaſonable and well founded; but, for the ſake of Truth, and that Things may appear to be as they really are, which I think the moſt likely way to enable us to judge of what will be moſt for our Intereſt and Advantage.

I may likewiſe add, that by proving, as I have done, that this is truly the Caſe, it will afford great Encouragement both to the Government and People of *Great Britain*, to purſue whatever rational Schemes ſhall be offered for promoting and extending our Commerce, ſince our Situation is ſuch, that we need only the Countenance of the Legiſlature, and the Repeal perhaps of a very few Laws, which reſtrain and cramp our Trade, to be able to undertake new Branches of Commerce, which muſt neceſſarily increaſe our Seamen, augment our Shipping, carry off our Manufactures, and, by reviving a Spirit of Induſtry, find Employment for all our People, which would effectually root out factious and ſeditious Humours, and find ſomething elſe for the meaner Sort of Folks to do, than to rail at or reſiſt the Government. But if we neglect the Advantages we have, and the *French* ſhould grow wiſe enough to reſolve upon keeping upon fair Terms with their Neighbours twenty or thirty Years, they may go near to ſhew us, within that Time, that in ſpite of all the Difficulties they ſtruggle with, their Company of the *Indies* may be put into ſuch a Condition as will enable her to put in for a large Share of that Trade, which, by being hitherto engroſſed by us and by the *Dutch*, has obtained and ſecured the honourable Title of a *Maritime Power*, which, as it was acquired by, will certainly be loſt with our Trade.

13. The Capital of the preſent Company of the *Indies* was, as we have before obſerved, compoſed of the original Capital of the *Weſtern* Company, and of twenty-five Millions added thereto, upon the Union of the *Eaſt India* Company therewith; but after the Ruin of the Syſtem, when all Things fell into Confuſion, it was found requiſite, in order to reſtore them, that the King ſhould make a Reviſion of the Actions poſſeſſed by the Proprietors of this Company, in order to diſtinguiſh between ſuch as had acquired their Property fairly, and by Purchaſe; and ſuch as had thruſt themſelves into the Company's Books only to ſerve their own Purpoſes by Stock-jobbing. It was in conſequence of this Reviſion, that by an Edict, in the Year 1723, the King fixed the Actions of this Company to fifty-ſix thouſand, and which formed a Capital of One hundred and twelve Millions; for their Dividend upon which, they had a yearly Revenue aſſigned them of Eight Millions four hundred thouſand Livres. By another Arret in 1725, Five thouſand of theſe Actions were cancelled and burnt; ſo that the Capital of the Company, by this means, was reduced to Fifty one thouſand Actions, and their Dividends ſecured by the annual Payment of Eight Millions from the Farmers-general of the Farm of Tobacco; the excluſive, perpetual, and irrevocable Privilege of vending which, was granted to the Company in 1723, and confirmed to them in 1725, together with the Profits ariſing from the Furs imported from *Canada*; ſo that the Fund for the Payment of their annual Dividends was as effectually ſettled and ſecured, as it was poſſible a Thing of that Nature could be in *France*.

In the mean time the Commerce of the *Indies* was aſſigned to them as a collateral Security, not to be touched for the preſent, but to be employed in ſtrengthening and enlarging the Funds for reſtoring and maintaining that important Trade, diſcharging all the Incumbrances thereon, and putting it thereby in a Condition to become a certain and indubitable Security for the Payment of ſtill higher Intereſt to the Proprietors than they have hitherto received. The Condition of the Company, therefore, conſidered in this Light, appears to be ſuch as ought to ſatisfy all who have rational and moderate Views for the Security and Increaſe of their Fortunes, ſince though no more than fifteen hundred Livres have been paid in upon each Action, yet the Proprietors have conſtantly and regularly received their Intereſt of Ten *per Cent.* which is more than they could have made of their Money in any Part of *Europe*, and have ſtill a clear and undoubted Title to the Profits that have ariſen, or ſhall ariſe from the Commerce of the Company in the *Indies*.

It is indeed true, that hitherto they have received nothing upon this Head; but to ballance this, it is to be conſidered, that, till within theſe few Years, this Trade has been carried on in a very languid and negligent Manner; that ſince it hath been put on a better Foot, they have been obliged to repair the Loſſes ſuſtained by the Shipwreck of ſome of their largeſt Veſſels, to pay off abundance of old Debts, to diſcharge ſeveral Annuities, which the Company were obliged to pay, and which have extinguiſhed very ſlowly, to rebuild and reſtore ſeveral of their Factories, which were in a very bad Condition, to repair many, to build ſome new, and to equip all the Veſſels in the Company's Service, to purchaſe new Houſes for the Eſtabliſhment of new Factories, and to add proper Warehouſes and Magazines to theſe; to lay out upwards of Fifteen Millions for the Improvement and Security of *Louviſiana*; to complete the neceſſary Works at the noble Haven of *Port l'Orient*, and all the leſſer Creeks, Docks, and other Places that depend thereupon; and to be at other very conſiderable Charges and Expences for ſupporting its Commerce, maintaining its Marine, ſubſiſting its Forces, and keeping every where in good Order its Fortifications.

Whenever theſe great Expences ſhall have ſo far anſwered their End as to be no longer neceſſary, and the Affairs of the Company, in point of Commerce, are in ſuch a Situation as that there is no imminent Danger to be apprehended, but, on the contrary, certain annual Profits coming in, theſe will be conſtantly added to the preſent Income of the Company, who will likewiſe enjoy all that Stock which has been raiſing both in *Europe* and the *Indies* for their Benefit. The riſing or falling therefore of the Company's Actions, cannot any way affect its real Security, which depends, in the firſt Place, on thoſe ſettled Funds before mentioned, and upon this Trade, which, before the preſent War, was in a very thriving and flouriſhing Condition. The common Notion therefore, which has ſo long prevailed in *France*, and might be very eaſily impoſed upon Strangers, *viz.* that the King has

ried on this Trade for many Years, and after paying a Part of the Profits, ſuffered all the reſt to paſs immediately into his own Coffers, or into thoſe of the Directors, is an abſurd and ridiculous Calumny, equally repugnant to Reaſon and to Fact, as well as utterly inconſiſtent with the expreſs Words and direct Intention of the eleventh Article of the Edict of 1725, in which, after declaring the Company of the *Indies* to be a Society for promoting the Trade of the *French* Nation, to that Part of the World, under the Protection of the King, and the Adminiſtration of their own Directors, his Majeſty proceeds thus: "Our
" Will and Pleaſure is, that it ſhall remain, conformable
" to its Inſtitution, a Company purely for Commerce,
" applying itſelf ſolely to the Support of that which is
" confided to its Care, and endeavouring, by its Wiſdom
" and Oeconomy, to contribute as much as is poſſible to
" the Welfare of our Subjects intereſted therein; ſo that
" the Funds of the ſaid Company of the *Indies*, ſhall be
" and remain for ever employed in the Maintainance of
" the ſaid Commerce, and to no other End or Purpoſe
" whatſoever."

Such is the Deſcription of the Situation of the *Eaſt-India* Company, as laid down to us by one of the ableſt Pens in *France*, who tells us beſides, that both the Security and the Intereſt of Money placed in this Company, are much better than when employed in the Purchaſe of Lands in *France*; for, ſays he, with reſpect to Security, the Purchaſer of Lands has nothing more than his own and his Lawyer's Knowledge to direct him in the Aſſurance of his Title, and he can very rarely purchaſe at ſuch a Price as to make more than five *per Cent.* of his Money, after which he runs very great Hazards with reſpect to bad Tenants, being forced to lay out large Sums in Repairs, beſides riſquing the Inclemency of Seaſons, which may put it out of the Power of his Tenants, how honeſt ſoever, to pay him punctually his Rent, and to the full; ſo that he may very often be at a Loſs for a Subſiſtance, and not know where to borrow Money, tho' at the ſame time a landed Man of ſo much a Year; whereas he who lays out his Money in the Actions of this Company, has double their Intereſt, paid him regularly and conſtantly every half Year, without having any Reaſon to be apprehenſive of his Capital, or ever being in Danger of wanting Money by an unlucky Turn of Affairs.

We may eaſily judge, from this Repreſentation of the preſent State of the Company's Affairs, that they are in a far better Condition, or at leaſt were ſo at the breaking-out of the preſent War, than ever, and more likely to produce conſiderable Profits to the Nation, and to the Company, than ever. But, on the one hand, the natural Impatience of the *French*, unable to bear being put off for above twenty Years together with fair Words and fine Promiſes; and, on the other, their Apprehenſions that either the King would never ſuffer them to enjoy this Commerce at all, or elſe would deprive them of the Fund they already poſſeſſed, and leave them to the precarious Dividends ariſing from Trade, has conſtantly kept their Actions, I will not ſay below the real Value, but much below what they would have been eſteemed worth in this, or in any other free Country, eſpecially after remaining for ſo many Years in ſo ſtrict and regular a Courſe of Payment. But their continual Jealouſies, as to the true Intention of the Crown, and as to the future State of their Affairs, has conſtantly kept them in a precarious Situation, in ſpite of the wiſeſt Meaſures the *French* Miniſters were able to take, the large Sums purchaſed by Foreigners, the frequent Edicts in their Favour, and, which is ſtill more extraordinary than all the reſt, the regular coming and going of their *Eaſt-India* Fleets, and the vaſt Sums of Money brought in by their publick Sales.

Yet ſo far was this from contributing to make the People eaſy, whoſe Fortunes were engaged in this Undertaking, that they pretended it adminiſtered ſufficient Cauſe for all their Apprehenſions and Complaints. If, ſaid they, the Commerce of the *Indies* be ours, if all this Money that we receive belong to us; if all the Improvements that have been made for ſo many Years are legally and indiſputably our Property; and if thoſe who direct and manage all theſe are only Truſtees for us, or rather our Servants; why ſhould we be kept ſo much in the Dark, why not have it in our Powers to call theſe People to an Account; or why not receive, from time to time, ſome Part of the Profits by way of Addition to the Dividends already made us? It was in vain to tell them, that all theſe Precautions were taken for their Sake; that the Company owed its Reſtoration to this Method of managing their Affairs; that they had viſibly overcome by theſe Means moſt of thoſe Difficulties which had been found inſuperable by former Companies; and that this happy Progreſs of their Trade ought to make them perfectly content with regard to the Manner in which it was carried on, and give them intire Satisfaction as to the Integrity of ſuch as directed their Affairs.

It was in vain, I ſay, that theſe Arguments were uſed, or that Scheme of their Circumſtances, which the Reader juſt now peruſed, ſubmitted to their Conſideration; the Proprietors remained firm to their old Opinion, and their Suſpicions could never be got out of their Heads, till that very Miſchief fell upon them which they had ſo long apprehended; I mean, the Suſpenſion of their Dividends, which, however, produced that general Account for which they had ſo long clamoured. But before we come to ſpeak of this, it will be requiſite to reſume the Hiſtory of the Company's Affairs in the *Indies*, and to give a ſuccinct View of the real Improvements of their Commerce, which will both ſupport what has been already ſaid, and render the Cloſe of this Section more intelligible.

14. At the Time the Company of the *Indies* was formed in *France*, their Affairs in that Part of the World had taken a very bad Turn; for their ſovereign Council, which had been eſtabliſhed at *Surat*, was ſuppreſſed, moſt of their Colonies ſunk to nothing, many of their Factories in the ſame State, and the reſt declining in ſuch a Manner, as that little better than an intire Extinction could be expected, and that too in a very ſhort Space of Time. This was undoubtedly a very melancholy Situation for the Servants of the Company to be in, who, while they meditated nothing more than how to obtain a Paſſage home to *Europe*, and an Indemnification for the Debts contracted in the *Indies*, at leaſt with reſpect to themſelves, were ſurpriſed by the Arrival of three Ships, not only laden with the richeſt Merchandize of *Europe*, but alſo with very large Quantities of Silver; ſo that they were immediately in a Condition to diſcharge a great Part of their Debts, which if it did not reſtore it, at leaſt revived their Credit, and gave them ſome Degree of Reputation in the *Indies*. It is requiſite that the Reader ſhould know how this ſtrange Alteration happened, and the Secret is no more than this. When the Regent executed his Scheme, the Company of the *Indies* being the principal Machine made uſe of, there conſequently came into the Hands of that Company a conſiderable Part of the Plunder of the Publick, which enabled the Directors to fit out theſe three Ships in the manner before-mentioned, not only with the Conſent, but to the great Satisfaction of the Government, inaſmuch as it made a Shew of Trade, and thereby kept up the Spirits of the People, and gave a Reputation to the Company at home. But this, however, did not laſt long, for Reaſons we ſhall quickly ſhew.

This Treaſure was not employed in Commerce, but in diſcharging the Debts contracted by the old Company at *Surat*, at *Camboya*, at *Bengal*, and other Places; ſo that the Returns made to *France* were but very inconſiderable, in Proportion to the Cargo ſent out. But this was not all; for, before theſe Returns arrived, the Syſtem, as it was called, was intirely overturned; ſo that, taking all Things together, the Company, in the two ſucceeding Years, 1721 and 1722, were not able to ſend ſo much as a ſingle Ship to the *Indies*, which expoſed them to the Contempt and Scorn of the trading Nations in *Europe*, and ſubjected ſuch as were in their Service in the *Indies* to the Inſults of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, who did not fail to repreſent them to the *Indians* as down-right Bankrupts, without either Effects, Money, Credit, or Reſources. We may therefore truly affirm, that in the Year 1723, the Affairs of this Company were in the loweſt and moſt deplorable Condition.

The Directors at Home, however, repreſented their Diſtreſſes to the Government in the ſtrongeſt Terms poſſible, and at the ſame Time ſhewed, how prejudicial it was to the Glory of the *French* Kingdom, that Things ſhould remain in this Situation, and that after the Government had taken the Company under its immediate Protection, it ſhould be ſuffered to fall at once into Ruin, without the leaſt Effort made to ſuſtain it. One would have imagined, that the more natural Method would have been to have had recourſe, in this Situation of Affairs, to the Proprietors themſelves; but both the Directors and the Miniſtry were ſenſible enough, that this would have been attended with ſtill worſe Conſequences, ſince by laying open the true State of their Affairs, they would infallibly have driven their Proprietors to Deſpair. Inſtead of obtaining a Subſcription for putting their Commerce on a better Foot, the *French* Miniſtry, ſenſible of the Truths contained in this Repreſentation, reſolved to take this Opportunity, as they were in full Peace, to try what might be done to retrieve Things in the *Indies*, and prevent the entire Ruin of the Company, which was then juſtly apprehended. It was from theſe Conſiderations, that two Ships were ſent that Year, with an Aſſurance to ſuch as were in the Company's Service, that they might rely upon annual Supplies from *France*, and that therefore they ſhould order their Affairs accordingly, and put their Debts into ſuch a Method of Payment, as might diſcharge them all by Degrees, and from the Proſpect thereof reſtore their Credit for the preſent.

Things went on in this Way for about fourteen Years, during which Time, ſometimes three, ſometimes four Ships were ſent every Year, and thereby the Affairs of the Company were recovered, and reſtored, though but ſlowly. They had ſtill great Difficulties to ſtruggle with; for, in proportion as their Commerce revived, their Expences were enlarged, by their being obliged to re-ſettle their old Factories, and to eſtabliſh new ones; ſo that in all this Space of Time, there was very little, if any Profit accrued from their Trade; on the contrary, they ran ſome Years into Debt, but not, however, without ſome Proſpects of future Advantages. But as the other trading Nations in the *Indies* were entirely unacquainted with the Secrets of the *French* Commerce, ſo judging by Appearances only, they were fully perſuaded that the *French* Trade was in a flouriſhing Condition, becauſe they ſaw it viſibly extended, and the Returns made to *Europe* far more regular, and, at the ſame Time, much more conſiderable, than they had hitherto ever been. Yet notwithſtanding all this, if they had gone on in the ſame Manner, it would have been many Years before they had been brought into ſuch Circumſtances as to have been able to ſupport themſelves, and carry on their Trade upon their own Bottom.

But in the Year 1737, M. *Orry de Fulvy*, being at the Head of the Finances, or Revenues of *France*, which he has managed with moſt ſurprizing Succeſs, the Company fell naturally under his Care and Protection. He ſaw plainly, that greater Supplies were neceſſary to extricate them from the Difficulties under which they laboured, and therefore, having firſt made a ſtrict Enquiry into the Situation of their Affairs, and put them into the beſt Order poſſible, he next furniſhed them with ſuch Sums as were neceſſary for enlarging and augmenting their Commerce; ſo that in the ſhort Space of two Years, he doubled their Returns, and in three Years more, brought them to thrice as much as they had formely been. By his Management, their Sales at Port *de l'Orient* became regular, and conſiderable, increaſing in ſuch a Manner, that the publick Sale, in the Year 1742, produced twenty-four Millions of *French* Livres, or about one Million of our Money; beſides which, they reſerved in their Magazines, Goods to the Value of four Millions of Livres more; and the firſt Ships that arrived in 1743, brought Home ſtill a richer and more valuable Cargo. This ſudden and extraordinary Change in the Company's Affairs alarmed and amazed all *Europe*, but more eſpecially the Maritime Powers, who ſaw with infinite Concern, a Company that but a few Years before was looked upon as entirely ſunk and deſtroyed, now riſing into as high Credit as any in *Europe*; and on the other hand, this encouraged the northern Powers to proſecute their Schemes of falling into the *Eaſt-India* Trade with greater Warmth and Diligence.

But what was ſtill more extraordinary than all the reſt, the War did not ſeem to affect the Company ſo much as might have been expected; for their Dividends were ſtill regularly paid, and this kept up their Credit to ſuch a Degree, that ſo lately as *Chriſtmas* 1744, their Actions were at two thouſand. But the War with *Great Britain* increaſing the Expences of *France* on the one hand, and leſſening her Income on the other, the Secret at laſt came out, and Mr. *Orry* was forced to acquaint the Directors of the *Eaſt-India* Company, that the King's Affairs were in ſuch a Poſture as would no longer permit him to ſupply the Company in the Manner he had hitherto done; ſo that now they were to ſtand upon their own Bottom, and to carry on their Trade for the future as well as they could. This unexpected Stroke demoliſhed the whole Fabrick, which had been raiſing for ſo many Years, and reduced the Actions of the Company to eight hundred; neither has the Eloquence of Mr. *de Orry*, or the Arts which the Court has made uſe of to recover the Proprietors from their Fright, been able to carry their Actions above one thouſand, or at leaſt very little above it, ever ſince.

The main Cauſe of this was the Propoſitions made by Mr. *Orry* to their Directors, that either the Proprietors ſhould ſubſcribe ſuch a Sum of Money upon their Actions, or ſhould ſuffer their Dividends to be poſtponed for a certain Time, or that they ſhould come to ſome Agreement amongſt themſelves for compounding theſe two Methods, by advancing ſome Part in ready Money, and allowing their Dividends to go in diſcharge of the reſt. The Motive that obliged the Miniſtry to this Diſcovery, was the Neceſſity of having Money to carry on the *Eaſt-India* Trade, which they knew muſt be ruined, even by a temporary Stagnation; which Money, ſince the Crown could no longer furniſh, it was neceſſary that the Proprietors ſhould. But to this it was anſwered, that hitherto the Proprietors had been no Gainers by that Trade, had no general Accounts made up to them of it, nor, according to the Confeſſion of the Directors themſelves, were to have received any ſuch Accounts, if this Accident had not happened; by which they aſſerted, that their Properties had already loſt one half of their Value, and might very probably loſe a Part of the other half; ſo that they were leaſt in a Condition to pay, when this Demand was made, which would have been ſufficiently grievous, even in the midſt of Peace, and when their Actions were at the higheſt.

To this it was replied, that they had no Reaſon to complain of the King, or of his Miniſters, who had hitherto ſupported this Trade for their Advantage, without their contributing to it at all. That if they had received as yet no Profits from their Trade, it was becauſe no Profits had accrued from it; and this, not through any ill Management in ſuch as were intruſted with their Concerns, or becauſe this Commerce had not been carried on to great Advantage, but by reaſon of that immenſe Load of Debts which lay upon them, at their firſt Eſtabliſhment, and which the Profits of the Trade was obliged to pay off, and the prodigious Expence the Company had been at, both in *Europe* and in the *Indies*, for putting their Commerce on a ſolid and certain Footing. That to put all Doubts upon this Subject entirely out of the Queſtion, and that they might be ſatisfied of the Truth of theſe Particulars, a general Account of their Trade ſhould now be laid before them, by which they would, in the firſt place, ſee, that, tho' ſlowly, it had been continually improving, and that of late Years eſpecially, it had thriven exceedingly.

In the next place, they might be ſatisfied, that even at preſent, it was ſo far from being in a deſperate Condition, that notwithſtanding an immediate Sum was neceſſary for carrying it on, yet there was no Danger of their being called upon for another Supply, ſince what was now aſked would be ſufficient to put the Company into a Condition to maintain itſelf, without intrenching upon their Dividends, which ſhould, for the future, he as regularly paid, as ever they had been in Times paſt. It is from this general Account, that Strangers, as well as the Proprietors of this Company, have come to ſo diſtinct a Knowledge of their Affairs; ſince, had it not been for this unforeſeen and unexpected Accident, they would never have let the World into the Truth of an Affair which they had concealed with ſo much Care for ſuch a Number of Years. We will begin with the Account of the Shipping employed by the Company in the *Indies*, which will demonſtrate the Truth of what has already been advanced upon this Subject, both as to the Matter and Manner of it: But then the Reader may obſerve, that the ſame Number of Ships were ſent annually from *Bengal* as from *Pondichery*, and conſequently the Numbers of this Liſt are to be doubled. In the next Place, he is to take Notice, that the Sums ſet down are the Prime-coſt of the Goods in *India*. And, laſtly, that the Value of a Pagoda is about nine *French* Livres, or ſeven Shillings and Six-pence of our Money; by the Help of which Directions this Table will be found to comprehend a ſhort Hiſtory of the Progreſs of this Company, to the preſent Time.

A SCHEME *of the Commerce of the* French *Company of the* Indies, *ſhewing the Number of Ships returning annually from* Pondicherry, *and the Value of their Cargoes.*

From 1727 to 1742, incluſive.

In	Ships.	Pagoda's.
1727, *October*		
1728, *January*	3	248,265
September		
1729, *January*	3	20,032
September		
1730, *January*	3	248,083
October		
1731, *January*	4	600,711
October		
1732, *January*	4	302,006
September		
1733, *January*	4	260,640
September		
1734, *February*	4	392,987
September		
1735, *January*	4	375,341
September		
1736, *January*	3	223,484
October		
1737, *January*	5	351,691
October		
1738, *January*	5	522,315
October		
1739, *January*	5	586,156
October		
1740, *January*	4	485,732
October		
1741, *January*	4	555,643
October		
1742, *January*	7	954,376

It would be needleſs to fatigue the Reader with the reſt of this Report, calculated only to ſhew that the preſent Stop of their Dividends, was a Meaſure abſolutely neceſſary for the Company, as well as the State, and alike calculated for the Service of both; ſince, on the one hand, it would enable his Majeſty to employ, for the preſſing Occaſions of his Government, thoſe Sums which otherwiſe the Company might have made uſe of; and on the other, though it might be a preſent Inconvenience to the Proprietors to raiſe this Money for their own Service, yet it would entirely take away another Inconvenience to which they had long been ſubject, *viz.* their not having a ſufficient Fund of their own to carry on their Trade, which hindered them from receiving general Accounts, or knowing the true State of their Affairs, and when they might expect to have their ſtated and annual Dividends augmented by the Profits ariſing from their Traffick, which they were now given to underſtand was a Thing not far off, and ought therefore to conſole them for the Trouble they were put to by this unfortunate Accident.

I ſhall not pretend to reaſon on theſe Particulars, or to point out the Cauſes why all theſe Aſſurances have given ſo little Satisfaction: It is ſufficient for our Purpoſe, that the Fall of their Actions has very fully demonſtrated the Truth of the Fact, that they have given no Satisfaction, and that the Affairs of this Company are at preſent in a very lamentable Condition, and are not likely to be in a better, at leaſt, ſo long as the War continues. Our Buſineſs is now to conclude the Section, with a few uſeful Remarks, deduced from the Facts contained in it, hitherto unpubliſhed in our own, or any other Language, but entirely collected from Memoirs furniſhed to me by ſome intelligent and inquiſitive Perſons, who thought it would be of publick Service, to have the true State and Condition of this *French* Company of the *Indies* exhibited to the View of the *Engliſh* Reader. This likewiſe muſt be my Apology for the ſmall Delay which the waiting for theſe Memoirs has occaſioned, and which, I hope, will be fully attoned for by their Publication.

15. After the Reader has peruſed this Hiſtory, he will not need many Arguments to perſuade him, that Trade, or, at leaſt, the Commerce of the *Indies*, is by no means ſuitable to the Genius, Diſpoſition, or Condition of the *French* Nation; ſince he not only ſees how often Attempts of this Sort have miſcarried, but alſo how hardly, and with what prodigious Difficulties, they have been ever brought to ſucceed in any tolerable Degree, notwithſtanding all the Pains and Aſſiſtance the Government has beſtowed upon them. In all other Countries, but particularly *Great-Britain* and *Holland*, Undertakings of this Sort have been the Work of private Men in the Beginning, and have never claimed the Aid, or even the Protection of the State, till they were in ſome Degree of Forwardneſs, and then only from the Apprehenſion of this Difficulty, that the Deſire of Gain might engage ſuch Numbers of Adventurers in the ſame Branch of Commerce as might prove prejudicial both to the Publick and to themſelves.

But in *France* it has been quite otherwiſe; private People never did any thing till excited and encouraged by the Government, and then were able to do little more than ruin themſelves, by launching out into Enterprizes beyond their Abilities. This evidently demonſtrates, that Commerce, at leaſt extenſive Commerce, is not the natural Growth of the Climate of *France*; and therefore, though with much Care and Cultivation, it may be brought to ſome degree of Perfection; yet it can never be naturalized, or brought to grow ſpontaneouſly in that Region, but will be ever drooping and pining, if the Care neceſſary at the firſt raiſing it, be either through Negligence or by Accident withdrawn. It may, indeed, be ſaid, and the Facts laid down in the foregoing Section may be brought to prove it, that ſome great Miniſters have ſhewn Talents equal to, if not exceeding thoſe of Merchants, for extending, maintaining, and ſupporting Trade; but then the Trade they ſupport muſt be temporary, and can laſt no longer than they have Power, which is ſo precarious a Situation, that no extenſive or advantageous Trade can flouriſh therein.

But this is not the only Contingency neither; for how well ſoever a Miniſter may be diſpoſed, it will be impoſſible for him to act but in favourable Conjunctures, that is to ſay, in a Time of full Peace, when his Maſter's Affairs are perfectly well ſettled, as well as his own Power; for, if there be any thing wanting as to either, it is impoſſible that the Commerce under his Protection ſhould thrive. What we have ſeen, therefore, in this ſhort Hiſtory of the Company of the *Indies*, proves no more than that once or twice in two or three Centuries, *France* has a Chance of fixing ſuch an Eſtabliſhment, and that is all. The whole Series of the Hiſtory of that Kingdom hardly furniſhes an Inſtance of ſo ſteady an Adminiſtration as, from the time of the Death of the Duke of *Orleans* to that of Cardinal *Fleury*; ſo that we may look upon the Conſequence of this Adminiſtration as a kind of Miracle.

All the good Effects however which it hath produced to this Company, are like to vaniſh into Smoke, by Means of the preſent War, which has been equally fatal to it at home and abroad: For at home it has occaſioned that high Demand for Money, which has brought on the Suſpenſion of their Dividends, and thereby the Ruin of their Credit; and the Blow ſtruck by Commodore *Barnet* in the *Indies*, and the Loſs of the Ships taken at *Cape-Breton* has gone ſo far towards the Ruin of their Commerce abroad, that another ſuch Stroke will go very near putting an End to it: For the *French*, like other People of lively Tempers, are eaſily diſcouraged; and if once, after all the Care has been taken of it, their preſent Company of the *Indies* ſhould fail, they would infallibly deſpair. This ſufficiently ſhews the Conſequence of making a proper Uſe of our Naval Force in a War with that Crown; ſince, if we deſtroy the Commerce of *France*, we muſt neceſſarily enlarge our own. There is ſo much the more Force in this Argument, becauſe Trade in that Kingdom is a new Thing; a Thing, which, as we have abundantly ſhewn, they have nurſed with the greateſt Care, and yet have raiſed with the utmoſt Difficulty; ſo that if it can be overthrown, they are ſet back for twenty or thirty Years at leaſt, which is a Thing of far more Conſequence to us than all the Conqueſts we can gain upon the Continent.

To ſay the Truth, our Title to *Maritime Power* is that which we ought chiefly to regard; and as it is impoſſible to ſucceed in all, if we engage in too many Deſigns at once; ſo, if we fix our Attention upon this, and purſue it with Vigour, we ſhall find that it will have a better Effect, both with Regard to ourſelves and our Allies, than if we diverted our Views to other Objects, which, at firſt Sight, may appear of equal Importance. The Truth of this will be clearly diſcerned, if we conſider that the increaſing of our Naval Power will render us more formidable than any thing elſe, and the recovering and extending our Trade, prove the ſureſt Means of bringing in Riches. The former will render us moſt dreadful to our Enemies, as the latter will make us moſt uſeful to our Friends. While we are able to carry Terror into the moſt diſtant Parts of the World, our Foes can never be out of our Reach; and while we can, without empoveriſhing ourſelves, grant timely and ſuitable Aſſiſtance to our Allies when attacked, there is no Danger either of the diſturbing domeſtic Quiet, or loſing the Ballance of Power. For whatever ſpeculative Politicians may pretend, we muſt derive our Title to both from the Superiority of our Fleets, and the Wealth of our Subjects. Arbitrary Governments may attain Strength and Influence from other Maxims, but a free People never.

It is our peculiar Happineſs, that the Glory of the Crown, and the Intereſt of the People, depend upon the very ſame Thing; ſo that whatever advances one, muſt neceſſarily enlarge the other; and what diminiſhes this may, ſooner or later, deſtroy that. In *France* the Government is obliged to take unwearied Pains for the Encouragement and Protection of Commerce. In *Great-Britain*, again, this may be entirely ſpared; for, provided the Government does not oppreſs Trade, private Men will carry it on with all the Succeſs that can be wiſhed for; and the leſs the Hand of Power meddles therewith, ſo much the better. This ſhews, at once, the Difference between other Conſtitutions, and the Excellence of that under which live. It is to this Conſtitution that we owe our Trade being natural to our Iſland. It is to their living under a different Conſtitution, that the *French* feel, by Experience, the Difficulty of carrying on Commerce to any Advantage. If ever our Trade fails, it muſt be owing to ourſelves; if ever theirs flouriſhes, it muſt be the Effect of Accidents, or rather of Miracles. In ſhort, nothing but Tyranny, under the Maſk of Corruption, can poſſibly hurt the Commerce of this Nation; whereas nothing but the wiſe and gentle Adminiſtration of deſpotick Power, can poſſibly raiſe the Trade of that. Theſe Reflections ſhew ſufficiently what we have to hope, and they have to fear. They ariſe naturally from the Subject; they are of the greateſt Conſequence to my Readers, and if by dint of theſe Reaſons, founded upon Facts, I ſhall be able to impreſs them as ſtrongly upon their Minds as they deſerve, my End will be fully anſwered. In the mean time, having executed all that was propoſed in this Section, I ſhall proceed with as much Brevity as is poſſible, to finiſh the few that remain, in order to make this Volume compleat.

SECTION XXXVI.

A ſuccinct, but compleat Hiſtory of the Riſe, Progreſs, and Suppreſſion of the Imperial Company of the Indies, *eſtabliſhed at* Oſtend, *by the late Emperor* Charles VI.

Collected from private Memoirs, as well as publick Hiſtories and Acts of State.

1. *The firſt Grounds and Beginning of this Trade from the* Auſtrian-Netherlands *to the* Eaſt-Indies, *and the Difficulties with which it was attended from its Infancy.* 2. *The Plan of its firſt Charter, and the Motives which induced the Court of* Vienna *to conſent to its Eſtabliſhment, ſet in a true Light.* 3. *An Account of the Reaſons alledged by the* States-General *for its Abolition, and an Extract of the Memorial preſented by their Miniſter on that Subject to the Court of* Vienna. 4. *The Uſe made of that Memorial by the* Engliſh-Eaſt-India *Company, to obtain an Act of Parliament to prevent the Subjects of* Great-Britain *from having any Concern in the Capital of that Company.* 5. *An Abridgement of the Imperial Letters Patent for the Eſtabliſhing of the ſaid Company, with a conciſe Account of the Privileges granted to the Proprietors.* 6. *The Apprehenſions raiſed by this Eſtabliſhment, in* Great-Britain *and* Holland, *and the Methods uſed to overturn it.* 7. *The Kings of* France *and* Spain *alſo take Umbrage at this Company, and publiſh their Diſapprobation of it to all* Europe. 8. *The Emperor and the King of* Spain *being ſuddenly reconciled, conclude a Treaty of Commerce, by which the* Oſtend *Company obtains the Protection of both Monarchs.* 9. *An excellent Memorial of the* Dutch Eaſt-India *Company, demonſtrating the Incompatibility of this Treaty of Commerce with the Emperor's Title to the* Netherlands. 10. *The Grounds of the Treaty of* Hanover *concerted for the impeding the Execution, and defeating the Views of that of* Vienna. 11. *The Subſtance of* M. Vander Meer's *Memorial to the King of* Spain, *in Defence of the Rights of the Maritime Powers.* 12. *A ſuccinct Detail of the remaining Part of this Diſpute, and the Conduct of their* High-Mightineſſes. 13. *The Letters Patents of the* Oſtend *Company are ſuſpended, by which the Commerce of the* Eaſt-Indies *is ſecured to the Maritime Powers.*

1. AS ſoon as thoſe Provinces which were formerly ſtiled the *Spaniſh* Low Countries, were yielded to the late Emperor *Charles* VI. by the Treaty of Peace concluded at *Raſtadt*, all the rich Merchants in the ſeveral Cities of *Flanders* and *Brabant*, ſet their Heads at Work, to find out Ways and Means by which their Commerce might be extended through the Authority and Influence of their new Maſter. One of the firſt

Things that occurred to them, was the opening a Trade to the *Eaſt-Indies*, for which they thought their Country, at leaſt, as well ſituated, as either *Great-Britain* or *Holland*. In order to make Trial of this, they firſt of all formed a private Company, without Patent, Charter, or even Licence from the Imperial Court, which, notwithſtanding, was thought to have adviſed them to this Method, and furniſhed them with Paſſports. They had, however, but very indifferent Succeſs at the Beginning, one of their Ships being taken on the Coaſt of *Africa*, richly laden, on the 8th of *December*, 1718, by the *Dutch*.

This Accident had very probably daſhed their Hopes in the very Beginning, if they had not been encouraged by *Vienna*, with a Promiſe of Letters Patent, and Leave immediately given them to take in Subſcriptions. The Emperor went yet farther, and demanded Satisfaction of the *States-General* for this Inſult offered to a Veſſel provided with his Paſſport; but before that Complaint was well laid before them, a freſh Occaſion afforded room for another, the *Dutch* having ſeized a ſecond Ship, and ſhewing very little Inclination to give Satisfaction for either. Upon this, the Merchants at *Oſtend* applied for Commiſſions, that in caſe of any farther Inſults, they might, at leaſt, be in a Condition of defending themſelves. This being looked upon as a very reaſonable Requeſt, was readily granted them, and in Conſequence thereof, one of their Veſſels, well armed, took a *Dutch* Ship, and brought her into *Oſtend*. The *States* did not fail to make loud Complaints of this to the Governor-General of the *Auſtrian* Low-Countries, who anſwered, that the Merchants of *Oſtend* had done no more than they were entitled to do by virtue of his Imperial Majeſty's Commiſſion, in order to obtain Satisfaction for their Loſſes.

This gave ſo much Credit to the new Company, that in the Year 1720, they equipped five large Ships for the *Indies*, and the Year following, they fitted out ſix more, three for *China*, one for *Moca*, another for *Surat*, and the Coaſt of *Malabar*, and the ſixth for *Bengal*. This irritated the *Dutch* to ſuch a Degree, that they immediately ſeized a Veſſel richly laden by the Merchants of *Bruges*, and ordered her Cargo to be ſold, notwithſtanding the Applications of the Imperial Miniſters at the *Hague* to prevent it. This Misfortune was followed by another, an *Engliſh* Privateer taking very ſoon after on the Coaſt of *Madagaſcar*, an *Oſtend* homeward bound Ship, very richly laden from the *Indies*, which ſo diſcouraged the new Company, that they ordered a new Ship they were then fitting out, to be laid up.

But in the Months of *May* and *June* 1722, they received two Ships from the *Indies*, and in the Month of *September*, two more, the Cargoes of which being expoſed to Sale, went off at ſo good a Rate, that they found themſelves not only indemnified for all their Loſſes, but likewiſe in a Condition to carry on their Commerce with greater Spirit and Succeſs than ever. The only Thing they wanted, was a legal Eſtabliſhment; for, tho' the Imperial Court had for a long Time flattered them with the Hopes of Letters Patent, yet they had hitherto delayed them, to avoid a down-right Quarrel with the Maritime Powers.

2. After the Arrival, however, of theſe laſt mentioned Ships, the Company having Money in their Hands, and very powerful Friends at the Court of *Vienna*, reſolved to neglect nothing that might put their Affairs on the beſt Foundation poſſible, and with this View, they ſent ſome of their Directors to Court, very well furniſhed with Inſtructions, as alſo with other Credentials, no leſs neceſſary at that, and moſt other Courts, *viz.* Bills for conſiderable Sums of Money. Theſe Gentlemen managed their Affairs with ſuch Diligence and Prudence, that they obtained a Promiſe of a Charter as extenſive as they could wiſh, or any Company in *Europe* had ever received, the Plan of which was immediately drawn, and gave them entire Satisfaction.

This Charter was to have conſiſted of ſeveral Articles, importing firſt, that the Directors ſhould be fixed to the Number of Eight, to be choſen out of the wealthieſt, moſt reputable, and beſt experienced Merchants in the *Low-Countries*; that they ſhould be allowed four thouſand Florins a Year Salary; that none of them ſhould continue above ſix Years, or be capable of being re-choſen, till they had been a full Year out of Office. Secondly, That a general Court of the Proprietors ſhould be held every Year for the Choice of Directors, when the Company ſhould name twenty four, out of which Liſt the Emperor ſhould chooſe Eight. Thirdly, That the Court of Directors, the Treaſury, and Books of Account belonging to the Company, ſhould remain the firſt three Years at *Antwerp*, and the next three Years either at *Ghent* or *Bruges*; but that their Sales ſhould be conſtantly made either at *Oſtend* or *Bruges*. Fourthly, That the Company's Capital ſhould conſiſt of ten Millions of Florins, and ſhould be divided into ten thouſand Actions, of one thouſand Florins each. Fifthly, the Prizes which the Veſſels in the Service of the Company ſhould take in Time of War, were to belong entirely to the Company, and were to be ſold and diſpoſed of for their Profit. Sixthly, All the Ammunition, Proviſions, Artillery, and naval Stores, requiſite for the Forts and Factories of the Company, were to be exempted from all kinds of Duties and Impoſitions in their Paſſage through the Territories, either of his Imperial Majeſty, or of any of the Lords, or Eccleſiaſtical Communities in the *Low-Countries*. Seventhly, That all the Goods tranſported on Board the Ships of the Company, ſhould pay for all Cuſtoms and Duties Inwards and Outwards, four *per Cent.* and no more, till the Expiration of the Month of *September* 1724, and from that Time ſix *per Cent.* for ever.

The Emperor likewiſe promiſed, in which he alſo kept his Word, to ſend a Perſon veſted with a publick Character to the Great *Mogul*, in order to ſettle an Alliance with him, and to return him Thanks for the Permiſſion he had granted the Company, not only to erect a Factory, but alſo a Fort, to protect their Commerce in his Dominions. The Proſpect his Imperial Majeſty had of enriching his Subjects in the *Low Countries*, and augmenting the Revenues he drew from thence, by fixing ſo extenſive and profitable a Commerce there, engaged him to aſſure the Agents of that Company of ſtill greater Favours. He even intimated, that he would remit all Cuſtoms and Duties for three whole Years, and would likewiſe make the Proprietors a Preſent of three hundred thouſand Florins in ready Money, to indemnify them from any Loſſes they might ſuſtain on the firſt Eſtabliſhment of their Commerce.

When all this good News came at once into the *Auſtrian* Netherlands, it raiſed ſuch a Spirit, not only among the Merchants, Bankers, and other Perſons concerned in Trade, and in Money; but alſo among the Nobility and Gentry who had Fortunes and Eſtates in this Part of the World; that they ſhewed an eager Inclination to exert themſelves to the utmoſt in the Support of the new Company, of the Succeſs of which, there ſeemed to be now no longer any Doubt. It may not be amiſs, however, to obſerve, that it was not the Inhabitants only of theſe Provinces, and other Subjects of his Imperial Majeſty, that encouraged this Undertaking, but Strangers alſo, particularly the *Engliſh*, *French*, and *Dutch*, who were chiefly concerned in the Shipping, and in the Management of the Company's Affairs, notwithſtanding that they very well knew they could never proſper, but at the Expence of their native Countries, and of the Eſtabliſhments for the ſame Commerce long ago erected in them, and which hitherto had been carried on with ſo great Profit and Reputation.

3. We need not wonder, therefore, that the erecting this new Company at *Oſtend* ſhould occaſion, as it did, ſuch Noiſe and Oppoſition throughout all *Europe*, ſo as to render the Subject of this Section as remarkable a Part of the general Hiſtory of this Age, as any that finds a Place therein; but it muſt, however, ſeem a little ſtrange, at firſt Sight, that the warmeſt Friends, and moſt faithful Allies of his Imperial Majeſty, ſhould be the moſt violent in this Oppoſition. One would have imagined, that the Emperor had the ſame Right in his Dominions, that other Princes and States have in theirs; and that how con-

trary ſoever the erecting ſuch a Company in the *Low Countries*, might be to the Intereſts of other Nations concerned in the ſame Trade, they could, however, have no juſt Claim to demand, or expect, that his Imperial Majeſty ſhou'd forego ſuch apparent Advantages for their Sakes, or, in plain Terms, hinder his own Subjects from becoming rich, that theirs might remain ſo. Yet this was, in plain Words, the Caſe, and the Maritime Powers declared, in expreſs Terms, that they expected his Imperial Majeſty ſhould do this, and that he was bound by Treaties to comply with their Demands.

The *States-General*, who thought themſelves moſt aggrieved, were both the earlieſt and the loudeſt in their Complaints; and as it is impoſſible to give the *Engliſh* Reader a fuller or clearer Account of the Grounds upon which they were founded, than by laying before him the Memorial preſented by M. *Bruyninx*, Envoy from the *States-General* to the Court of *Vienna*, which contains the Subſtance of all that was alledged againſt the Emperor's Right of eſtabliſhing ſuch a Company, we have, with this View, made as ſhort and ſuccinct an Extract of that very long Memorial, as is conſiſtent with the Deſign of preſerving its Senſe and Spirit.

We muſt at the ſame Time obſerve, that tho' the *States-General* themſelves were very ready and willing to take this Step, which they very well knew was abſolutely neceſſary for ſecuring the Commerce of their Subjects; yet they were not a little quickned therein by the Application of their own *Eaſt-India* Company, who, as they felt the Danger moſt, bore it with the leaſt Patience, and therefore preſſed this Application might be made in Time, before the Letters Patent for this Company were actually granted, or while they might be revoked with a better Grace, becauſe of their turning leſs to the Diſadvantage of the Subſcribers to the Company's Capital, before their Money was actually paid, or veſted in Merchandize. Accordingly, on the fifteenth of *March* 1723, M. *Bruyninx*, by Order from the *States-General*, actually preſented to the Miniſters of his Imperial Majeſty his famous Memorial, which was to the Purpoſe following, *viz.*

“ Their High-Mightineſſes, who have the Honour to live in good Correſpondence and Amity with his Imperial Majeſty, having nothing more at Heart than the Continuance of the ſame good Correſpondence and Amity which has at all Times ſubſiſted between his Imperial Majeſty and this State, and between the Subjects of both Parts, cannot behold, without extream Grief, that the Inhabitants of the *Auſtrian* Netherlands, Subjects of his Imperial Majeſty, are undertaking Matters no Ways conſiſtent with the good Correſpondence and ſincere Amity; but are extreamly prejudicial to the State, and contrary to the Treaties concluded between his Imperial Majeſty and their High-Mightineſſes. Their High-Mightineſſes have the more Reaſon highly to complain in this Matter, becauſe the Inſtances that have been made, and from Time to Time reiterated on their Part, to obtain proper Redreſs, have not only been fruitleſs, but his Imperial Majeſty's ſaid Subjects in the *Auſtrian* Netherlands extend even daily their Enterprizes, in which they ſeem encouraged and confirmed, by their obtaining of his Catholick and Imperial Majeſty, as their High Mightineſſes have been informed, a Licence to ſail from the *Auſtrian* Netherlands to the *Eaſt-Indies*, particularly from *Oſtend*.

“ Their High-Mightineſſes foreſeeing the unavoidable Troubles that muſt attend this Affair, if his Catholick and Imperial Majeſty ſhould, contrary to all Expectation and Equity, permit his Subjects of the *Auſtrian* Netherlands to proceed in their Undertakings, with reſpect to Navigation and Trade to the *Eaſt-Indies*, contrary to the Tenor and Letter of Treaties; and if Oppoſition ſhould be made to their High-Mightineſſes, in caſe they attempt to make uſe of their Right obtained by Treaties. But their High-Mightineſſes being deſirous of nothing more than to prevent ſuch kind of Troubles, could not in the preſent Juncture avoid making ſuch Repreſentations to his Imperial Majeſty, that by the Treaty concluded in 1648, at *Munſter*, between his Majeſty the King of *Spain* then reigning, and his Succeſſors on the one Part, and their High-Mightineſſes on the other Part, Commerce and Navigation to the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-Indies* were regulated and limited with regard to the Subjects of *Spain*, upon the Foot they then were eſtabliſhed, without Power of farther Extenſion; and with regard to the Subjects of this *State*, it was agreed, that the former ſhould refrain from Places which the latter poſſeſſed.

“ Theſe Articles have always been religiouſly obſerved, and the Inhabitants of the *Spaniſh-Netherlands*, at preſent *Auſtrian*, have never been permitted or tolerated to trade to the *Indies*. The ſaid *Netherlands* being fallen under the Dominion of his Catholick Imperial Majeſty, have not thereby acquired larger Privileges than before; nor can it ever be imagined that their High-Mightineſſes, who have made ſuch ſignal Efforts, contributed ſo much to the Recovery of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, and ſo many other Parts of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, in Favour of his Catholick and Imperial Majeſty, purſuant to their Engagements on that Behalf, could poſſibly, by entering into thoſe very Engagements, depart from, or ever intend to depart from their Characters, and their right of maintaining themſelves therein to Perpetuity, obtained by the ſaid Treaty of *Munſter*; or that his Catholick and Imperial Majeſty had any Intention in recovering the ſaid *Netherlands*, to make Alterations in the ſaid Treaty, much leſs deſign, contrary to the Stipulation therein ſo plainly expreſſed, to cauſe any Prejudice to the State, in a Point ſo eſſential and important to them, upon which it was ſo ſtrongly inſiſted in the Negotiations at *Munſter*, and without which that Treaty could not have been concluded.

“ Moreover, it is expreſly ſtipulated by the twenty-ſixth Article of the *Barrier* Treaty, that Commerce and all Things relating to it, ſhould remain, to all Intents and Purpoſes, upon the ſame Foot it was eſtabliſhed at the Treaty of *Munſter*, and in the Manner expreſſed in the Articles of the ſaid Treaty; inſomuch that the ſaid Treaty of *Munſter* is evidently confirmed by the Treaty of the *Barrier*, even at the Time his Catholick and Imperial Majeſty was already in the Poſſeſſion of the ſaid *Netherlands*; as likewiſe by the Guaranty of his *Britannick* Majeſty.

“ And whereas the Right of the States in this Particular is ſo manifeſt, that their High-Mightineſſes have the utmoſt Grounds to expect, from the ſo much renowned Friendſhip and Equity of his Catholick and Imperial Majeſty, that he will not favour, or tolerate any Prejudice to the ſaid Right of the State. They therefore amicably require that the Patent, which is ſaid to have been granted for Navigation and Commerce of the *Auſtrian-Netherlands* to the *Indies*, may not be publiſhed, but withdrawn, or at leaſt rendered ineffectual, and that ſuch Orders may be given by his Imperial Majeſty, that ſuch kind of Navigation and Commerce, whether with Patents or without, may entirely ceaſe, and that the Treaties in that Reſpect may be executed, &c.”

4. This Memorial was no ſooner tranſmitted to *England*, than it was tranſlated, and printed by Order of the *Eaſt-India* Company, who directed that it ſhould be given to the Members at the Door of the Houſe of Commons, in order to quicken them in their Proceedings on a Complaint already exhibited to them on the Subject of this new Company, of which the Subjects of *Great-Britain* had the very ſame Right to expect the Abolition that the States-General had expreſſed.

The Method they took had, in every Reſpect, the wiſhed for Effect; for this Memorial, which ſo thoroughly explained the Thing, had ſo good an Operation on the Members of the Houſe, that, upon the 30th of *April*, 1723, Sir *Nathaniel Gold* reported from the Committee appointed to enquire into the Nature of a Subſcription ſaid to be carried on by ſeveral of his Majeſty's Subjects, to promote an *Eaſt-India* Company now erecting in the *Auſtrian Netherlands*, the Matter, as it appeared to them, and the Reſolutions of the Committee thereupon, as follows: *viz.*

1.

1. That it is the Opinion of this Committee, that ſeveral Subjects of *Great-Britain* have been concerned in promoting and carrying on a Trade from the *Auſtrian-Netherlands* to the *Eaſt-Indies*, and negotiating and eſtabliſhing of a Company for that Purpoſe, to the great Prejudice of the Trade of this Kingdom.

2. That it is the Opinion of this Committee, that the Houſe be moved for Leave to bring in a Bill, effectually to prevent his Majeſty's Subjects from ſubſcribing, or being concerned in encouraging or promoting any Subſcription for an *Eaſt-India* Company in the *Auſtrian-Netherlands*, and for the better ſecuring the lawful Trade of his Majeſty's Subjects to and from the *Eaſt-Indies*.

The firſt of the ſaid Reſolutions being read a ſecond Time, was agreed unto by the Houſe *Nemine contradicente*, and it was alſo unanimouſly ordered, that Leave be given to bring in a Bill effectually to prevent his Majeſty's Subjects from ſubſcribing, or being concerned in encouraging or promoting any Subſcription for an *Eaſt-India* Company in the *Auſtrian Netherlands*, and for the better ſecuring the lawful Trade of his Majeſty's Subjects to and from the *Eaſt-Indies*.

This Bill afterwards paſſed into a Law, under the Title of, "An Act for preventing his Majeſty's Subjects from "ſubſcribing, or being concerned in, or encouraging or "promoting any Subſcription for an *Eaſt-India* Company in the *Auſtrian-Netherlands*, and for the better ſecuring a lawful Trade of his Majeſty's Subjects to and "from the *Eaſt-Indies*." We have already, in the thirty-third Section of this Work, given the Reader an Account of the Scope aad Contents of this Law, upon which, therefore, it is not neceſſary that we ſhould dwell longer here; only we ſhall obſerve, that, henceforward, the Maritime Powers looked upon themſelves as equally obliged to proſecute this Affair with Vigour, and to oblige his Imperial Majeſty to aboliſh the new Company in the *Netherlands*, as a Sacrifice neceſſary to preſerve the Friendſhip of his ancient Allies.

5. But, notwithſtanding the joint Sollicitations of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Miniſters, the Emperor ſeemed more and more determined to maintain his Point; and therefore, in the Month of *Auguſt*, 1723, actually granted his Letters Patent to the *Oſtend* Company, though with ſome Variations from the Plan before laid down. In the Preamble to theſe Letters, the Emperor not only took all the Titles of the Head of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, but likewiſe thoſe of the King of *Spain*; and, in particular, ſtiled himſelf King of the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-Indies*, of the *Canary-Iſlands*, &c. with a View, probably, to grace this new and ample Grant to the *Oſtend* Company, which was eſtabliſhed for thirty Years, with Licence to trade to the *Eaſt-Indies* and *Weſt*, and on all the Coaſts of *Africa* on this Side, and on the other Side the *Cape of Good-Hope*, obſerving the uſual Cuſtoms.

The Capital however of the Company was, by theſe Letters, reduced to Six Millions of Florins, and the Number of their Actions to Six Thouſand; but, in other Reſpects, they had all the Powers and Privileges laid down in the firſt Plan, and many more: For they were permitted to build Forts and Caſtles in whatever Parts of the *Eaſt-Indies* they ſhould think fit; as alſo to furniſh them with all kind of Arms, Artillery, and Ammunition, that they thought convenient. They were likewiſe allowed to build and equip Ships of what Size and Strength they thought proper, in any of the Ports of his Imperial Majeſty's Dominions, in the *Low-Countries*, *Italy*, or elſewhere; as alſo to make Leagues, Treaties, and Alliances with the Sovereign Princes and States of the *Indies*, in the Name of his Imperial Majeſty, with this Reſtriction only, that they ſhould not make War on any Potentate whatever, without the Leave of his Imperial Majeſty, and his Succeſſors, firſt had and obtained.

In Conſideration of all which Grants, Privileges, Benefits, and Advantages, the ſaid Company bound themſelves to offer as a Homage to his Imperial Majeſty, his Heirs, Succeſſors, on every Succeſſion, a Golden Lion crowned, of the Weight of twenty Marks, holding under his two Fore-Paws the Arms of the Company, which were a Spread-Eagle, diſplayed with the terreſtrial Globe between his two Heads, ſurmounted by an Imperial Crown. Laſtly, his Imperial Majeſty undertook to protect and defend the ſaid new Company againſt all who ſhould unjuſtly attack them; and ſhould, even in caſe of Neceſſity, employ the whole Force of his Dominions to ſupport and maintain them in the full and free Poſſeſſion of the Enjoyment of the Commerce and Navigation granted them by theſe Letters, and obtain for them full Damages and Satisfaction from any Nation, State, or Potentate, that ſhould preſume to trouble or diſturb them; and ſhould likewiſe, for the future, provide, in every reſpect, for their Safety and Welfare, by any Treaties, Alliances, or Leagues, into which his Imperial Majeſty, his Heirs, or Succeſſors ſhould hereafter enter with any Powers whatever. Such was the Riſe, and ſuch the Eſtabliſhment of this famous Company at *Oſtend*, from which both the Company and his Imperial Majeſty promiſed themſelves ſo many and ſo great Advantages.

6. As ſoon as theſe Letters Patent were publiſhed and regiſtered in the Sovereign Courts of the *Auſtrian Low-Countries*, the Directors taking Poſſeſſion of their Offices, held ſoon after their firſt General Court, in which it was reſolved, that the Books of the Company ſhould be opened at *Antwerp* on the Eleventh of *Auguſt*, which was accordingly done, and that with ſuch Succeſs as ſurpriſed all *Europe*; for the next Day, by Noon, the Capital was entirely ſubſcribed, and by the End of the Month of *Auguſt* the Stock of the *Oſtend* Company was 15 *per Cent.* above Par. The Affairs of this new Society were no leſs flouriſhing in the *Indies*, where the Perſons they employed, being moſt of them ſuch as had ſerved before, either the *Engliſh* or the *Dutch Eaſt-India* Companies, found Ways and Means to ſettle Factories with amazing Facility and Succeſs, and to puſh their Trade in ſuch a manner as very evidently ſhewed, that if the Intereſts of ſuch as oppoſed this Company did not get it ſuppreſſed in *Europe*, their Efforts in the *Indies* would do little, unleſs they had Recourſe to open Force.

The *Dutch Eaſt-India* Company was ſo far convinced of this, that, in leſs than a Fortnight, they preſented two Memorials to the States General, in which they ſcarce kept any Meaſures, but plainly intimated, that as the Eſtabliſhment of this Company was in direct Violation of Treaties, ſo they ought to be left at Liberty to act, as if thoſe Treaties no longer ſubſiſted, and do themſelves that Juſtice by Arms, which it was every Day more and more apparent could not be obtained any other way. The States, however, were by no means inclined to break abſolutely with his Imperial Majeſty, if by any Methods poſſible they might avoid it, and therefore ſtill continued their Applications at the Court of *Vienna*, in conjuction with *Great-Britain*, in order to obtain the Revocation of the Authority by which the new Company acted, or at leaſt a Suſpenſion of it; and in the mean time, they made ſuch Laws at home, in Favour of their own laſt *India* Company, as they thought requiſite, to prevent any of the Subjects of their High Mightineſſes from having any Concern, either in the Capital of the *Eaſt-India* Company in the *Netherlands*, or in the Management of their Affairs in the *Indies*.

As, on the other hand, the *Dutch* Company, tho' they did not proceed to direct Acts of Violence, took ſuch Methods in that Part of the World, where their Power is ſo great, and ſo extenſive, as gave this new Society infinite Trouble, by cramping their Trade, and rendering it in a great meaſure precarious, in which they were ſo well ſeconded by the *Engliſh*, that nothing but the Activity and Abilities of the Perſons concerned in this new Trade, and their finding themſelves in a manner deſperate, in caſe it did not ſucceed, could have kept it on foot in ſpite of the Difficulties and Inconveniencies which they every Day experienced.

7. But it was not only *Great-Britain* and *Holland* that exerted themſelves with ſo great Vigour againſt this new Eſtabliſhment; for *France* likewiſe began to take Umbrage at a Scheme which threatened direct Deſtruction to that Eſtabliſhment of the ſame kind, which ſhe was endeavouring to erect, and therefore his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's Council publiſhed a Declaration, dated the 16th of

Auguſt 1723, by which all the Subjects of the Crown of *France* were forbid to intereſt themſelves in any manner whatever in the Capital of the *Oſtend* Company, under pain of forfeiting three thouſand Livres for every Act of Offence, beſides incurring the Confiſcation of whatever they ſhould ſubſcribe into the Capital of the ſaid Company; and in caſe of a ſecond Offence, the ſame Fine and Forfeiture, together with Baniſhment for three Years By the ſecond Article of this Declaration, his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty directed, that in caſe the Effects his Subjects might acquire by intereſting themſelves in the Stock of this new Company, could not be reached, ſo as to make them liable to the Confiſcation before mentioned, then their Effects and Fortunes in *France*, ſhould be liable to the like Seizures and Forfeitures, until the Sums in which they were ſo concerned in the *Auſtrian* Company ſhould be raiſed and levied, and all this in the ſhort, ſummary, and extraordinary Method deſcribed by the Royal Ordinance of 1670. By the third Article all Seamen, Manufacturers, Tradeſmen, and in general all the Subjects of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty were ſtrictly prohibited and forbid to enter, in any Manner or Quality, into the Service of the ſaid *Oſtend* Company, on pain of Impriſonment and Forfeiture of all their Effects. By the fourth Article, all Perſons whatever were prohibited from inviting, inliſting, inrolling, or otherwiſe entering into the Service of the ſaid Company, any of the Subjects of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, in Quality of Officers, Soldiers, Seamen, or in any other Quality or Manner; as alſo to ſell, or buy, or lend, or equip any Veſſel for the Service of the ſaid Company, on pain of the Pillory for the firſt Offence, and of being ſent to the Gallies for the ſecond, beſides the Confiſcation of all that ſhould be thus bought or ſold, and a Fine of Three thouſand Livres each on both the Buyer and Seller.

His Catholick Majeſty likewiſe joined heartily with the Maritime Powers in this Affair, as appears plainly from a Repreſentation preſented to his *Britannick* Majeſty by the *Spaniſh* Miniſter on the 26th of *April*, 1724, conceived in the cleareſt and moſt expreſs Terms, and demonſtrating fully the Injuſtice and Illegality of this new Eſtabliſhment, by proving it utterly inconſiſtent with the Treaty of *Munſter*, by which the Crown of *Spain* engaged not to diſturb the Navigation of the *Dutch* to their *Eaſt-Indies*, in Conſideration of a reciprocal Engagement on their Side, not to diſturb the Commerce of the Subjects of the Crown of *Spain* in that Part of the World. It was by theſe reciprocal Stipulations, that the Subjects of the Crown of *Spain* in the *Low-Countries*, were reſtrained from trading to the *Eaſt-Indies*: And it was under theſe Reſtrictions, that the *Spaniſh Low-Countries* were yielded to the Elector of *Bavaria*; and by *France*, with his Conſent, to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, upon expreſs Condition, that this Houſe ſhould hold them in the ſame Manner, and under the ſame Reſtrictions as they had been held by the Crown of *Spain*; for which their High Mightineſſes likewiſe engaged: So that if the *Oſtend* Company might be legally eſtabliſhed, it would turn as much to the Detriment of *Spain* as to that of the States General, contrary to the plain Meaning and Intention of all theſe ſeveral Treaties and Alliances made, as is moſt apparent for eſtabliſhing and ſecuring the Tranquillity of *Europe*; but, by this Conſtruction, if it could be put upon them, rendered hurtful and ruinous to all Parties (ſave the Emperor alone) and deſtructive of themſelves.

Such was the Repreſentation of the Marquis *de Pozzo Bueno* at the Court of *London*; and ſo clearly was his Catholick Majeſty convinced, that the Eſtabliſhment of the *Oſtend* Company was utterly inconſiſtent with his own particular Intereſt, and with the general Syſtem of the Affairs of *Europe*.

8. But, in much leſs than a Year, the whole Face of Affairs was changed; his Catholick Majeſty ſaw, or was perſuaded by his Miniſters to think he ſaw, his Intereſts in another Light; and he no ſooner took this in his Head, than the general Syſtem of Affairs in *Europe* muſt change likewiſe, and every State and Power therein, alter not only their Notions and Maxims, but their Politicks and Conduct. To explain this, we muſt obſerve, that for twenty-five Years together *France* had been ſtruggling to ſet *Philip* V. on the Throne of *Spain* and the *Indies*, notwithſtanding the Pretenſions of the Houſe of *Auſtria*; in maintaining which, almoſt all the reſt of *Europe* was engaged, and even at this very Time a Congreſs was ſitting in the *Low-Countries*, and endeavouring to adjuſt and ſettle amicably the Diſputes between his late Imperial Majeſty *Charles* VI. and this ſame Prince *Philip* V. in whoſe Quarrels ſo many Princes and States had almoſt ruined and exhauſted their Subjects.

Yet ſuch was the Obſtinacy of both theſe Princes, that all the Methods their beſt Friends could employ, proved ineffectual for procuring a Reconciliation; when, of a ſudden, they took a ſurprizing Reſolution, not only of reconciling themſelves, but of doing it at the Expence of their Friends; and as ſuch violent and unnatural Motions generally exert themſelves with extraordinary, not to ſay extravagant Force, ſo they not only concluded a Peace, but likewiſe a Treaty of Commerce, dated at *Vienna* the Firſt of *May*, 1725; by which his Catholick Majeſty ſacrificed the Intereſt of *France*, to whom he owed his Crown; and his Imperial Majeſty thoſe of his Allies, to whom he was under ſo many, and ſo great Obligations, that they were ſcarce to be enumerated or computed. It was one great Deſign of this new and amazing Treaty of Commerce, to fix and eſtabliſh the *Eaſt-India* Company at *Oſtend*; not only by his Imperial Majeſty's Authority, whoſe Intereſt viſibly led him thereto, but alſo by that of his Catholick Majeſty, to whoſe Intereſt it was directly repugnant, and, that as appears by the foregoing Declaration in his own Senſe and Judgment, expreſſed in the cleareſt and moſt direct Terms.

This ſhews how weak and ridiculous a Thing it is, at leaſt for free Governments, where it is always underſtood, that Power is to be ſolely exerted for the common Benefit of their Subjects in general, to intereſt themſelves in the Support of any particular Syſtem which muſt always depend on the Wills and Inclinations of many arbitrary Princes, who, without any Regard to the Principles upon which ſuch Syſtems are founded, or to the Obligation they are under to ſuch free States as riſque the Wealth and Well-being of their Subjects for eſtabliſhing and maintaining ſuch Syſtems, think themſelves at Liberty, not only to alter and change, but to ſubvert and overturn them whenever they ſee, or imagine they ſee, that greater Advantages are to be obtained by ſuch Actions, how unjuſt or unworthy ſoever, than by ſteadily adhering to their Allies. Such ever has been, and ſuch ever will be the Fate of theſe Kind of Engagements, fatal to thoſe who, from Principles of Probity and good Faith, conſtantly and juſtly obſerve them, and profitable only to thoſe who keep their Promiſes, and obſerve their Treaties no longer, than till they can have their own Price for breaking them.

A Leſſon this, that Reaſon has always, and Experience often taught us, though we have moſt unaccountably neglected to learn, or, at leaſt, to practiſe it; but a Leſſon never dictated to us in ſtronger Terms than by this ſingular Treaty of *Vienna*, by which two Princes, who owed their Power and Territories to the Friendſhip and Faith of others, gave up their Benefactors from a Proſpect, and, as it proved a falſe Proſpect too, of particular Advantages to themſelves. However, upon the Concluſion of this Treaty, the *Oſtend* Company ſeemed to be fixed upon ſo firm and ſolid a Foundation, that both Enemies and Friends concluded, that they were not to be moved or ſhaken, much leſs ruined and diſſolved by any thing leſs than a general War: A Thing hard and difficult of Digeſtion to the *Maritime Powers*, who were very unwilling to pull down the Work of their own Hands, and to deſtroy that Bulwark which with ſo much Difficulty, and ſuch vaſt Expence of Blood and Treaſure, they had erected for their own Security.

As, on the other hand, they were no leſs unwilling to ſee the Commerce of their Subjects torn away by the Violence of a Prince who had never been inveſted with this Power of ruining them, but by the Pains they had taken for his Preſervation. But, to return from theſe Reflections, which, however, are very well worthy the Notice and Attention

tention of the *Engliſh* Reader, and to return to Matters of Fact, and the Methods employed by the Maritime Powers, in Conjunction with *France*, which now, out of regard to its own Intereſt, very heartily joined them, for the pulling down this Edifice, which while it ſtood, threatened its Neighbours with the Loſs of thoſe Advantages that had for ſo many Ages rendered them conſiderable, and by maintaining the Wealth of their Subjects, and the Naval Power of their reſpective Governments, had placed them in a Condition to hold the Balance of Power, and to prevent the Madneſs of ambitious Princes from reducing the Inhabitants of *Europe* into that abject State of Slavery, which renders *Aſia* the moſt deſpicable, tho' in itſelf the richeſt, moſt populous, and moſt delightful Quarter of the Earth.

9. The *Eaſt India* Company in *Holland*, were ſo much alarmed at this Accident, and ſo terrified with the Thoughts of ſeeing this new Company almoſt in its very Dawn, on a better Foot than themſelves, that they could not forbear once more repreſenting their Apprehenſions to their High-Mightineſſes, which they did in a Memorial ſo cloſely worded, and in which all the Facts concerning this important Affair, are ſo fully and clearly ſet forth, that for the ſake of avoiding Variety of Abſtracts, we will give the Subſtance of theſe various Treaties therein to the Reader.

The Directors of the *Eaſt-India* Company in this Country, having obſerved their Commerce in the *Eaſt-Indies* decline from Time to Time, ever ſince it hath been attempted in the *Spaniſh*, now *Auſtrian* Netherlands, to carry on a Trade in the *Indies*, have preſented ſeveral Memorials to your High-Mightineſſes, ſhewing, That the ſaid *Netherlands* have no Right by Treaties to this Navigation and Commerce; that they never could claim it under the Kings of *Spain*, and that conſequently they have it neither by virtue of the ſaid Treaties, nor of theſe that have been made with his Imperial Majeſty, and his Predeceſſor the Emperor *Leopold* of glorious Memory. The rather, ſince the chief Aim and Tendency of theſe Treaties and Negociations was, that in the Countries and Dominions which his Imperial Majeſty might acquire by virtue of the grand Alliance with *England* and this *State*, nothing ſhould be attempted that might be more prejudicial to theſe two Nations, than if the ſaid Countries had remained in the Hands of *Spain*. It was therefore very wiſely ſtipulated by the Barrier Treaty, that his Imperial and Catholick Majeſty ſhould poſſeſs the *Spaniſh* Netherlands, in the ſame Manner as the Kings of *Spain* his Predeceſſors had done, and that their Commerce ſhould be carried on in the Manner ſtipulated by the Treaty of *Munſter*. But though the Directors could have heartily wiſhed they had not been obliged by freſh Incidents to trouble your High Mightineſſes again by new Writings, ſeeing they flattered themſelves, that his Imperial and Catholick Majeſty would forbear carrying on that Commerce any farther to their Prejudice.

Yet they have ſeen with Grief, firſt, That the private Navigation begun ſome Years ago at *Oſtend*, has been changed into a formal Company trading to the *Eaſt-Indies*, and authorized by an ample Patent; and ſecondly, That all ſorts of Means are now uſed to improve and maintain this Company by Treaties with other Powers, to the great Prejudice of the Rights and Privileges the *Eaſt-India* Company in this Country has formerly obtained, as it evidently appears to the ſaid Directors from the Treaty of Commerce lately concluded between his Imperial and Catholick Majeſty, and the King of *Spain*, where it is ſaid in the firſt and third Articles, " That the Men of War, and the Merchants Ships belonging to their ſaid Majeſties, or to their Subjects, ſhall be freely admitted to all the Ports, Coaſts, Countries, and Provinces on either Side, without aſking any previous Permiſſion, which extends alſo in a ſpecial Manner to the *Eaſt-Indies*, where they may aſk for every Thing neceſſary for Navigation, with this ſingular Reſtriction, with reſpect to the *Eaſt-Indies*, that it ſhall not be allowed to carry on any Commerce in each others Dominions, and that the Men of War, eſpecially in thoſe Countries, ſhall behave themſelves ſo, as not to give to the *Spaniards* any Cauſe of Fear or Suſpicion." 'Tis moreover ſaid, in the thirty-ſixth Article of the ſaid Treaty, " That his Imperial and Catholick Majeſty's Ships and Subjects, ſhall be allowed to import into, and ſell in all the King of *Spain*'s Dominions, all ſorts of Fruits, and Effects and Merchandizes, brought by them from the *Eaſt-Indies*, provided it appear by Affidavits of the Deputies of the *Eaſt-India* Company eſtabliſhed in the *Auſtrian* Netherlands, that the ſame came from the conquered Places, Colonies or Factories of the ſaid Company; in which caſe they ſhall enjoy the ſame Privileges granted to the Subjects of the United Provinces by the Treaty of *Munſter* in 1648, both with reſpect to the *Indies*, and any other Thing applicable to the ſaid Treaty, and which ſhall not be contrary to it, any more than to the preſent Peace." Which by the forty-ſeventh, or laſt Article of the ſaid Treaty, is moreover extended, " To all what the *Britiſh* Nation has ſtipulated in their Favour by the Treaties of 1667, 1670, 1713, and laſt of all, by a certain Treaty and Convention, the Day and Date whereof are not expreſſed, forasmuch as it may be applicable to the Emperor's Subjects." Moreover, " To all what has been granted to the *States* of the United Provinces, not only by the Treaties of Peace of 1648, but alſo by the Treaty of Marine in 1650, and the Treaty of Peace 1714." With this Addition, " That all theſe Treaties ſhall ſerve as a Rule in doubtful Caſes, or ſuch as are omitted, or not plainly expreſſed in the preſent Treaty between their ſaid Majeſties."

Upon which doubtful Caſes, and which are paſſed by in Silence, it may be pretended and eſtabliſhed in the firſt place, that his Catholick Majeſty has been willing to grant to the Imperial Subjects by the ſecond Article, free Acceſs to all the Countries, Sea-ports, and Places of his Dominions, ſeeing that neither in that Article, nor in the whole Treaty, any expreſs Reſtriction, or Excluſion are found, which are inſerted in all other Treaties of that Nature, to wit.

That this is only to be underſtood of thoſe Countries and Places which the King poſſeſſes in *Europe*, or thoſe where other Nations have always had a free Commerce, as it appears by the fourth Article of the Treaty of Truce concluded by the King of *Spain* and this *State* in 1609, where it is ſaid, " Which the ſaid Lord the King underſtands to be reſtrained and limited to the Kingdoms, Countries, Dominions and Lordſhips, which he holds and poſſeſſes in *Europe*, and other Places and Ports where the Subjects of the Kings and Princes his Allies trade." Moreover, by the Treaty of *Munſter*, in the fifth Article it is ſaid, " That the Directors and Commiſſioners of the *Eaſt* and *Weſt--India* Companies ſhall have free Acceſs and Commerce in all the Countries within the King's Dominions in *Europe*, but all the *States* Subjects are not to frequent the *Caſtilian* Places in the *Eaſt-Indies*." And laſtly, by the thirty-fourth Article of the Treaty concluded at *Utrecht* in 1714, between his preſent Catholick Majeſty and this *State*, wherein it is expreſsly ſaid, " Tho' it be mentioned in ſeveral of the forgoing Articles, that the Subjects on either Side may freely come to, frequent, ſtay, ſail to, and trade in the Countries, Lands, Cities, Ports, Places and Rivers, belonging to the abovesaid reſpective contracting Parties; yet it is to be underſtood, that the ſaid Subjects are only allowed that Liberty in their reciprocal Dominions in *Europe*, ſince it is expreſsly agreed, that as to the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*, it ſhall not be allowed to ſail to, or trade there, but purſuant to the thirty-firſt Article of the ſaid Treaty." On the other hand, the like unlimited Terms are again to be met with in the thirty-ſixth Article of the above-mentioned Treaty, between their ſaid Majeſties, wherein it is ſtipulated, " That the Emperor's Subjects ſhall be allowed to import into all the Countries and Dominions belonging to the King of *Spain*, without any Diſtinction, all ſorts of Effects, Fruits and Merchandizes, from their Colonies and conquered Places in the *Eaſt-Indies*, provided they have the neceſſary Affidavits required by the ſaid Article; in which Caſe they ſhall enjoy all the Privileges granted to the Subjects of this *State* by the King of *Spain*'s Letters Patent in 1663."

Although the Directors of the *Eaſt-India* Company in this Country do not know of any other Privilege, but that which allows them to import the Products and Merchandizes from the *Indies*, into the Dominions the King of *Spain* poſſeſſes in *Europe*, or in ſuch Places where all other Nations have a free Trade, and that indeed by certain Letters Patent iſſued by the King of *Spain* in 1663, it was enjoined, that at the entering of thoſe Products and Merchandizes into ſuch of his Majeſty's Dominions where their Importation has always been allowed, Affidavits ſhould be produced, to make it appear, that they are brought from the Countries, Colonies, and conquered Places our *Eaſt-India* Company is poſſeſſed of in the *Eaſt-Indies*, to the end they might be diſtinguiſhed from the Merchandizes brought from the *Portugueze Eaſt-Indies*, *Spain* being then at War with that Nation. Yet your High Mightineſſes Miniſter then reſiding at *Madrid*, ſtrenuouſly oppoſed it, in the Name of the *State*, and having repreſented to his Catholick Majeſty, the Impoſſibility of complying with this Demand, it was dropped in all Appearance, ſince they never heard, that the like Affidavits have been afterwards required in *Spain*, for the Produces and Merchandizes brought from the *Eaſt-Indies*.

But as theſe Things have in all likelihood been interpreted according to the ancient Practice, or that they might be ſuſceptible of ſuch a Conſtruction from preceding Acts and Treaties, the Directors glance upon them occaſionally, to ſhew only, that the implicit Meaning and Intent of theſe Articles is altogether unknown to them, or at leaſt does not appear ſo clear as what is eſtabliſhed in the abovesaid ſecond Article, wherein, " The ſaid free " Acceſs, and Reſort to all his Catholick Majeſty's Ports " and Places is expreſsly extended to the *Eaſt-Indies*." Which the Directors do not remember to have been granted in ſuch a Manner to any Nation whatſoever, and eſpecially to the Subjects of this *State*, ſince by the fifth Article of the Treaty of *Munſter* ſo often quoted, it is expreſsly ſtipulated, " That the Subjects of this *State*, ſhall " forbear frequenting the *Caſtilian* Places in the *Eaſt-In-* " *dies*." This has been ſtrictly obſerved ever ſince by the *Spaniards*, as it appears by a particular Caſe, the Directors had the Honour to lay before your High Mightineſſes, by their Memorial in the Year 1720, *viz.* " That " in 1687, a Ship belonging to their Company, having " on Board two Friars, who had been ſhip-wrecked on " the Coaſt of *China*, and having at their earneſt Requeſt " carried them to the *Phillippine* Iſlands, the Captain of " that Ship only demanded, on this Occaſion, a ſmall Pro" viſion of Water, which he wanted, by reaſon he had gone " ſo much out of his Way; but inſtead of granting him " this, or any other Favour, they ordered him forthwith " to retire."

Hence it is manifeſt, how far the King of *Spain* was from deſigning, that his Sea-ports and Places in the *Eaſt-Indies*, which extended no farther than the *Phillippine* Iſlands, otherwiſe called *Manillas*, ſhould ſerve for Staples, or Places of Refreſhments to the *Eaſt-India* Ships, of this State, as knowing very well what might be the Conſequence of it; but the Directors think they have a more particular Reaſon to complain of the ſaid thirty-ſixth Article, becauſe the King of *Spain* grants thereby to his Imperial and Catholick Majeſty's Subjects, not only all that has been granted, but moreover yielded to the Inhabitants of this State, by the Treaty of *Munſter*, both in regard to the *Indies*, and otherwiſe, which they take to be directly contrary to the fifth Article of the ſaid Treaty of *Munſter*, by which it is ſtipulated, " That the *Spaniards* " ſhall continue their Navigation within the ſame Limits, " as at the Time of that Treaty, without extending it " any farther in the *Eaſt-Indies*." As on the other hand, it was ſtipulated by the Treaty of *Utrecht*, in 1714, between his *Spaniſh* Majeſty and this State, " That the Navigation " and the Trade in the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-Indies*, belonging " to the Lords the *States-General*, ſhall be carried on " in the ſame Manner as it had been practiſed hitherto." Which proves evidently, that no Change ought to be made on either Side, with reſpect to this Navigation, whether it be by their own Subjects, or thoſe of another Power, not comprehended in the fifth Article of the Treaty of *Munſter*, ſeeing the tenth Article of the Treaty of *Utrecht* ſays moreover, " That the Prerogatives relating " to the Navigation and Commerce in the *Eaſt-Indies*, " expreſſed in the fifth Article of the Treaty of *Munſter*, " ſhall only concern the two high contracting Powers, " and their Subjects, namely, *Spain* and this *State*, and " no others."

So that the true Meaning and Intent of theſe Words appear plain and manifeſt by the Report of the Plenipotentiaries at the Congreſs at *Utrecht*, inſerted in the Verbal and the Notules, or Reſolutions of your High Mightineſſes of the Fourth of *January*, 1714, in the ſame Terms: " Firſt, upon the fifth and ſixth Articles of the " Treaty of *Munſter*, which the ſaid Plenipotentiaries " looked upon as deſerving ſome Remarks, as being appli" cable to others, ſaying, that the States and their Inha" bitants ought indeed to enjoy all the Advantages ſtipu" lated by this Treaty, but that the other Nations, and par" ticularly the *Hans Towns*, ſhall not partake of the ſame:" A convincing Proof that the Excluſion, or Non-admittance of other Nations from enjoying what has been agreed upon by the fifth Article, about the Navigation and Commerce of the *Eaſt-Indies*, was the only true Aim of that Treaty; which having been thus inſerted at the Requeſt and Inſtances of the *Spaniſh* Plenipotentiaries, and agreed to by both Parties, it is not allowed to either of theſe two Powers to transfer this Right by Treaty, or make another Nation partake thereof without the Concurrence and Conſent of the other Powers comprehended in the ſame Convention, and concerned therein. Beſides that, after the King of *Spain* had once yielded in Favour of the Inhabitants of this State the Part of the *Indies*, which the privileged *Eaſt-India* Company poſſeſſes, with Promiſe that the *Spaniards* ſhould not extend themſelves on that Side, he has no Right to make over a ſecond Time to other Nations, what his Majeſty had formerly deſiſted from by ſo ſolemn a Treaty, and which he has always left to the privileged *Eaſt-India* Company of this State, or to ſuch who having been formerly his Majeſty's Subjects, are alſo comprehended in the Article of Excluſion. Neither is he entitled to tolerate publickly, that the Diſtricts yielded, and which have been peaceably enjoyed without any Lett from the *Spaniſh* Subjects, but frequented by Men of War and Merchants Ships, that Forts, Colonies, and Factories for Trade be ſet up there, and generally to do every thing that could be done had there been no Treaty, to the great Prejudice and impairing, if not entire Extinction of the Prerogatives of this State formerly ſtipulated and obtained.

And foraſmuch, High and Mighty Lords, as the Directors of the *Eaſt-India* Company in this Country are more and more confirmed in what they did foreſee long ago; that in caſe the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-India* Company erected in the *Auſtrian-Netherlands*, will thus carry on their Navigation and Commerce, within the Limits of the Grant made to the *Eaſt-India* Company of this Country, and diſturb the Commerce every where in the *Indies*, the Conſequences of this Affair will every Day grow more important; and ſeeing, beſides, that this Navigation and Commerce, with the Grant relating thereto, is now of late confirmed on the Part of the King of *Spain*, by an important Treaty, and highly prejudicial to the Commerce of the *Eaſt-India* Company of this Country; and that, in ſome Reſpects, the *Auſtrian* Company is favoured more than the Inhabitants of this State, they could not forbear repreſenting at this Juncture their Grievances, moſt humbly beſeeching your High Mightineſſes to take them into your ſerious Conſideration, and that you would be pleaſed, according to the Importance of this Affair, to uſe the moſt effectual Means, as well at the Court of *Vienna* as at that of *Madrid*, and elſewhere, where it might be of any Service, to have the ſaid Grievances redreſſed, and that Navigation entirely put down, hoping withal, and expecting that it will not be taken amiſs, that, ſeeing they cannot acquieſce to the new Grant and Treaty, they ſtick cloſe to the ancient Treaty, and apply the ſame as a Rule, not only in Caſes that are doubtful, or omitted, but in all other Caſes.

10. In this Memorial we ſee, at one View, and in the moſt expreſſive Terms poſſible, the Nature of thoſe Grievances under which the Maritime Powers laboured from this Treaty of Commence concluded at *Vienna*, and the Reaſons which induced them to hope that they would be redreſſed. We ſee plainly that there could be nothing in Nature more flagrantly injurious to the Maritime Powers than the ſeveral Clauſes in this Treaty, of which they complained, nor any thing more plain or ſelf evident than the Rights upon which they inſiſted, of which the States-General were ſo ſenſible, that they reſolved to repeat their Applications at the Courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid*, in order to obtain Satisfaction and Redreſs. They were ſtrongly ſeconded by the Courts of *London* and *Paris*, who, in the mean time however, conſidering how little Advantage had hitherto been obtained by the ſlow and pacifick Meaſures, reſolved, if poſſible, to quicken them by ſome Step of another kind, which might convince both the Emperor and the King of *Spain*, that they were not to be frighted with high Words, or to be perſuaded out of their Properties, by the Parchment Agreements of other Princes.

They took Advantage therefore of the Diſpoſition the King of *Pruſſia* was in, who ſaw with ſome Diſpleaſure the exorbitant, and as he conceived, Anti-conſtitutional Power of the Emperor in *Germany*, the Conſequences of which he thought might be fatal to the Prerogatives of himſelf and of other Princes; with which Notions ſtriking in, they concluded a defenſive Treaty at *Hanover*, dated *September* the 3d, 1725, which Treaty was to ſubſiſt for fifteen Years, and to which the States-General were to be invited to accede. Tho' there is not the leaſt, mention in this Treaty of the *Oſtend* Company, yet in the ſecond Article it being provided that the contracting Powers guaranty not only each others Dominions, Countries and Cities, as well in as out of *Europe*, but alſo all their Rights, Privileges and Advantages, particularly thoſe relating to Trade, it was well enough underſtood, that under this Phraſe *particularly* the *Oſtend* Company was included, ſince it was impoſſible it ſhould continue to ſubſiſt, and the contracting Parties to this Treaty reſerve their Rights and Privileges relating to Trade. As ſoon as this Alliance was concluded, it was not only made known to the States-General at the *Hague*, but they were likewiſe invited and preſſed to come into it, as the moſt effectual, and indeed the only way of procuring what they of all other Powers were moſt intereſted to procure, *viz.* the Abolition of the new Company.

For while the Emperor and the King of *Spain* continued ſo cloſely united, and the reſt of the Princes of *Europe* unconnected by any counter Alliance, it was moſt evident, that they had it in their Power to give Law, and to do what they pleaſed; which Power it was likewiſe very viſible they intended to uſe for many Purpoſes, abſolutely irreconcileable to the Intereſt of other Princes and States, more eſpecially in the Caſe of this Company, which ſtood now upon ſuch a Foundation as might have enabled it, in the courſe of a few Years, to have ſuſtained itſelf againſt any Force that could have been brought to diſturb it: of this we may be eaſily ſenſible, if we conſider that never any Eſtabliſhment of this kind was poſſeſſed of equal Advantages, or ſupported by the Authority of two ſuch Potentates. Neither for the Time it continued did ever any Company run into ſuch an extenſive Trade, or make ſo rapid a Progreſs as this of the *Auſtrian* Netherlands. So that unqueſtionably had it been left to itſelf, or been oppoſed only by the dilatory Methods of Memorials and Applications, it would have riſen to ſuch a Height as muſt have aſtoniſhed thoſe, who from narrow and particular Views, treated it as a political Chimera.

But the *Dutch* however, though they could not help acknowledging in general Terms the Wiſdom and Prudence of the Treaty of *Hanover*, yet they did not immediately accede to it, but on the contrary, reſolved to try once more the Force of Applications at the Court of *Madrid*. It was with this View that they directed Mr *Vander Meer*, their Ambaſſador at that Court, to preſent a Memorial, in order to demonſtrate the Injuſtice that was done them by this late Treaty with the Emperor, which Memorial was actually preſented on the 4th of *Nov.* 1725, and as it is in itſelf one of the moſt inſtructive, as well as one of the plaineſt Papers that appeared in this whole important Controverſy, in which the whole commercial Intereſt of *Europe* were at Stake, we ſhall, omitting thoſe Parts of it which are purely Matters of Form, inſert, as the beſt Account that can be given of this Matter, and therefore the laſt Paper which we ſhall mention upon this Occaſion. But it may be proper to put the Reader in mind, that tho' Mr. *Vander Meer* preſented this Memorial only in the Name of his Maſters the States-General, yet it contains likewiſe the Grounds of Jealouſy and Diſſatisfaction given to *Great-Britain*, and therefore concerns us as much as it did them; and it is very poſſible there may come a Time when theſe very Points may as much concern us again. The Arguments he uſed were theſe that follow.

11. Treaties being underſtood to be the Baſis and Foundation of the Union of Nations and Potentates, it ſeems juſt, that each Party ſhould make it an inviolable Law, not only to forbear all open Infraction of them, but likewiſe not to alter them in any manner, nor permit their Miniſters to make uſe of Subterfuges for explaining the Tenour and Articles of them in another Senſe than what was intended at the Time of theſe mutual Conventions. It is with theſe Notions of good Faith that their High Mightineſſes have always rigorouſly executed all they have ſtipulated, without infringing or altering in the leaſt Point any Article whatſoever; making it a ſtrict Rule to themſelves, to redreſs any Abuſe, and give Satisfaction for it upon Complaint made, and cauſing ſuch of their Subjects to be ſeverely puniſhed who preſume to deviate from the literal Obſervations of their Orders; and as for entering into Engagements with other Powers to the Prejudice of their Allies, whatever Solicitations have been made to them, they have given evident Marks to your Majeſty of their perfect Attachments to your Intereſts, by refuſing generally all the Advantages that were offered them if they would have gone into the Quadruple Alliance.

My Maſters flattered themſelves, Sire, that after ſuch real and ſuch particular Regards, they ſhould find in your Majeſty's Perſon, not only an Ally, but a ſure Protection againſt all thoſe who ſhould attempt any Invaſion in the Treaties to their Prejudice. Nevertheleſs they have now the Grief to ſee Things bear quite another Face, and that far from being ſupported by your Majeſty in their maniſeſt Rights, in relation to their Commerce to the *Indies*, they find in your Royal Perſon the Protector of a Company, whoſe Commerce cannot ſubſiſt without ruining that of their High Mightineſſes Subjects and People; and to whatever Evaſion your Majeſty's Miniſters may have recourſe, when they inſinuate that nothing has been granted to the Emperor which is not conformable to all the ancient Treaties, it is eaſy to demonſtrate that it cannot be without a ſtrained Conſtruction, contrary to the Expreſſions of the Articles; for by taking them literally, and in the Senſe they were penn'd, it is obvious to every Eye how wide this new Treaty of Commerce is from the Aim of thoſe who (after ſuch cruel Wars, and ſo much Blood ſhed for maintaing the Rights of the Republick, as well with reſpect to their Navigation to the *Indies*, as to their Commerce in general) did at length conclude the Treaties of *Munſter* and *Utrecht*.

I come, Sire, to theſe Demonſtrations. By the ſecond and third Articles of the Treaty of *Vienna*, all Men of War, or Merchant Ships, belonging to his Imperial Majeſty, and his Subjects, are allowed to enter all the Towns and Ports of the Dominions of *Spain* (thoſe of the *Eaſt-Indies* included) there to take in Refreſhments, Proviſions, and generally whatever they may want for continuing their Voyage, with this ſole Reſtriction, that they ſhall not trade, or traffick there. In the thirty-ſixth Article of the ſame Treaty, it is ſaid, that the Subjects of his Imperial Majeſty may import and vend in the Territories, and Dominions of *Spain*, all the Goods, Merchandizes, and Products, which they ſhall bring from the *Eaſt-Indies*, provided they ſhall produce a Certificate from the *India* Company of the *Auſtrian* Netherlands, that thoſe Merchandizes, or Products, are of the Growth of their Colonies and Conqueſts; giving beſides, to theſe Subjects of the Emperor, all that was yielded to the *Dutch*, by the Treaty of *Munſter* in 1648, and afterwards by particular Grants in 1663, and by the Treaty of *Utrecht* in 1714.

The forty-ſeventh Article of the ſame Treaty of *Vienna*, grants likewiſe to the ſaid Subjects of the Emperor, all that the *Engliſh* obtained in 1667, 1670, 1713, and laſtly, by a certain Treaty, or Convention, the Date of which is not ſpecified, with this Addition, that in Caſes doubtful, or not ſufficiently clear, thoſe Treaties ſhould ſerve for a Baſis, and Foundation, nor is it explained, that the Entrance of the Emperor's Subjects into the Dominions of the Crown of *Spain*, ought to be underſtood to comprehend only the Ports, Towns and Harbours, of your Majeſty in *Europe*, and not thoſe of the *Indies*, which Reſtriction is moſt expreſly ſpecified in the Treaties made with their High-Mightineſſes, my Maſters.

So that, under this Pretext, the Subjects of his Imperial Majeſty would enjoy much greater Advantages than any other Nation; for never was any Perſon permitted to frequent, in any Manner, under any Pretence whatever, your Majeſty's Ports and Towns in the *Indies*. And for a Proof that this is obſerved with extraordinary Rigour, on the Part of *Spain*, it may ſuffice to relate, that in 1687, a Ship belonging to the *Dutch Eaſt-India* Company, having taken on Board two Monks, who had been ſhipwreck'd on the Coaſt of *China*, and having at their Intreaty carried them to the *Philippine* Iſlands, the Captain, on that Occaſion, deſired the Governor of the Country, to allow him to take in a little Water, of which he had not Store ſufficient, becauſe he had gone far about, to carry thoſe two Monks whither they had deſired, which had retarded his Voyage; but far from obtaining his Requeſt, he received Orders to retire immediately, without being allowed the leaſt Refreſhment, which (ſetting aſide the Ingratitude of the Governor) is an evident Proof, that the Kings of *Spain* have never underſtood, that the reſorting to Ports of their Dominions, ought to comprehend their Towns and Harbours in the *Indies*; wherefore this Article being granted to the Emperor's Ships, is manifeſtly oppoſite to the Treaty of *Munſter*, as is alſo the thirty-ſixth Article of the ſaid Treaty of *Vienna*, by which (beſides what has been already alledged above) your Majeſty gives to his Imperial Majeſty's Subjects, not only all that was granted, but even yielded to the Inhabitants of the Republick, by the Treaty of *Munſter*, as well with reſpect to the *Indies*, as otherwiſe, which is alſo directly contrary to the ſixth Article of the ſaid Treaty of *Munſter*, where it is ſaid, that the *Spaniards* ſhould limit their Navigation within the Bounds it was at the Time of the Treaty, without extending it further in the *Indies*, and this was confirmed by that of *Utrecht*, in 1714.

Theſe Articles prove evidently then, that no Change ought to be made in that Navigation, the one Side, or the other, whether by the Party's own Subjects, or by thoſe of any other Power, who is not comprehended in the fifth Article of the Treaty of *Munſter*, conſidering further, that the tenth Article of that of *Utrecht* declares, that the Prerogatives, with reſpect to the Navigation and Commerce of the *Eaſt-Indies*, comprized in the ſaid fifth Article of the Treaty of *Munſter*, ſhall have Place ſolely in what concerns the two high Powers contracting, and their Subjects (that is to ſay, *Spain* and the Republick) not others. Accordingly, the true Senſe and Meaning of theſe Words appear clearly, by the Report of the Plenipotentiaries at the ſaid Congreſs of *Utrecht*, inſerted in the Journal, which is among the Acts of the Negotiations, where it is ſaid, concerning the fifth and ſixth Articles of the Treaty of *Munſter*,

That the Intention of your Majeſty's Plenipotentiaries was, that the *States-General* of the United Provinces, and their Inhabitants, ought of Right to enjoy the Advantages ſtipulated by that Treaty, but that other Nations, and particularly the *Hanſe* Towns, ought not to enjoy them, a certain Mark, that the Excluſion (or Non-Admiſſion of other Nations to the Enjoyment of what is ſettled by the fifth Article touching the Navigation and Commerce to the *Eaſt-Indies*) was the only Aim of that Treaty. And ſeeing thoſe Conventions were inſerted at the Requiſition and Inſtance of your Majeſty's Plenipotentiaries, and were agreed to on both Sides, one of the two Powers ought not to transfer his Right by a particular Treaty, or let another Nation participate therein, without the Conſent and Concurrence of the other Power, who is ſo particularly intereſted in the ſaid Convention. Beſides, *Spain* having yielded to the Republick, that Part of the *Indies* which it now poſſeſſes, with a Promiſe, that the *Spaniards* ſhould not extend themſelves on that Side; that Crown has no Right to yield a ſecond Time to other Nations, what it deſiſted from, and yielded by ſo ſolemn a Treaty in Favour of the Republick.

How is it poſſible then, that your Majeſty's Miniſters ſhould permit thoſe Articles to be infringed, by giving an authentick Permiſſion to the *Oſtend* Company, and by beſtowing on them Privileges, which there would have been no Right to grant, had that Part of the *Netherlands*, which they inhabit, remained under your Majeſty's Dominion. And ſeeing that the Kings of *Spain* had anciently the Power, and were in the Poſſeſſion of excluding all the Subjects of their Dominions (except thoſe of *Spain*) from the Navigation to the *Indies*, the Inhabitants of the *Auſtrian* Netherlands, who at that Time were their Subjects, were excluded, and it was only by the Treaty of *Munſter*, that the United-Provinces obtained the Prerogatives they enjoy, with the mutual Conditions, that the Diviſion of the *Indies* being made, the two Parties were obliged to abſtain from the Navigation within each others Liberties.

Whence it follows, that the Republick having engaged, that her Subjects ſhould not navigate in the *Spaniſh Indies*, ſhe at the ſame Time acquired the Right of excluding all the Subjects of the Dominions of *Spain*, and conſequently thoſe of the *Spaniſh* Netherlands, from the Navigation within their Limits. For the reſt, the Ceſſion which was made of the ſaid *Netherlands* to the Emperor, being ſuch, that his Imperial Majeſty ſhould poſſeſs them under the ſame Conditions the Kings of *Spain* had done; it is clear, that theſe Countries, by changing their Maſter, could not acquire any Right prejudicial to the Republick, and contrary to all the Treaties.

Beſides the expreſs Terms of the thirty-firſt Article of the Treaty of *Utrecht* are, that your Majeſty promiſes and engages, not to permit any foreign Nation whatſoever (and for any Reaſon, or under any Pretext whatſoever) to ſend Ships, or to trade in the *Spaniſh Indies*; but that on the contrary, your Majeſty obliges yourſelf to maintain Things on the ſame Foot they were during the Reign of King *Charles* II. and conformable to the fundamental Laws of *Spain*, which abſolutely prohibit, and interdict all foreign Nations from entering and trading into thoſe *Indies*, in which even the *States-General* had engaged to ſupport and maintain your Majeſty againſt all thoſe who ſhould have attempted the contrary. Whether therefore the Subjects of the *Auſtrian* Netherlands be conſidered as having been formerly Subjects of the King of *Spain*, or whether they be conſidered as Foreigners, nothing does authorize the granting them Privileges oppoſite to the Tenor of the mutual Treaties and Conventions between your Majeſty and the Republick.

All theſe Conſiderations, Sire, are reducible to the four following Heads, *viz.* I. That by the Treaty of Commerce between your Majeſty and his Imperial Majeſty, the Emperor's Subjects are permitted to trade in the *Indies*, which is entirely contrary to the Aim and Intention of the Treaties of *Munſter* and *Utrecht*. II. That by the ſaid Treaty of Commerce, the Emperor's Subjects have acquired Permiſſion to enter and frequent your Majeſty's Towns and Ports in the *Indies*, under Pretext of taking in Refreſhments there, *&c.* a Thing which has always been refuſed to the Ships of their High-Mightineſſes, and conſequently, by virtue of the Treaties, cannot be granted to other Nations to their Prejudice. III. That your Majeſty ſupports and authorizes the Eſtabliſhments of a Company formed by the Inhabitants of a Country which have heretofore been under your Dominion, is ſpecifically under the Prohibitions which were ſtipulated with regard to all the Subjects of the Crown of *Spain* (the *Spaniards* excepted) which is very different from the Tenor of the Treaties, wherein it is declared, that your Majeſty will not only hinder all foreign Nations from trading in the *Indies*, but likewiſe that you will ſupport their High-Mightineſſes in all their Rights and Prerogatives in that reſpect; and Laſtly, That your Majeſty and their High-Mightineſſes ſtanding engaged to aſſiſt each other mutually for hindering any other Nation from going to trade in the *Indies*, it is evident, that neither of the two contracting Parties could have a Right to alter, or deſiſt from thoſe Articles, without the Participation and Conſent of the other Party intereſted.

Sire, all the Conſiderations above-mentioned, do, at this Time, form juſt Ground for the Complaints of their High-Mightineſſes, my Maſters, who cannot ſufficiently wonder how your Majeſty's Miniſters (without making due Reflections on the manifeſt Contradiction between the Treaty of *Vienna* and thoſe of *Munſter* and *Utrecht*) could venture to grant ſo conſiderable Advantages to the Subjects of the *Auſtrian* Netherlands, to the great Prejudice of their High-Mightineſſes, and if one may be allowed to ſay it, even to the great Prejudice of your Majeſty, and of your People, who, if that continue, will in Time ſee themſelves fruſtrated of the Advantages of their own Commerce, by that very Company which is now ſo ſignally protected. Their High-Mightineſſes moſt earneſtly entreat your Majeſty, therefore, by my Mouth, to be pleaſed to order, that the moſt ſerious Regards, and the moſt ſuitable to the Importance of the Caſe, may be had to the preſent Remonſtrances, well weighing how far theſe Contradictions to the Treaties of *Munſter* and *Utrecht*, may in Time lead to ill Conſequences, and create Troubles in *Europe*.

Their High-Mightineſſes are thoroughly perſwaded from your Majeſty's Zeal and Piety, that it was not your Intention to over-turn the Rights and Prerogatives of the Republick, founded on ſuch authentick Treaties, ſo that they can impute only to your Majeſty's Miniſters, the Attempts made againſt them by that of *Vienna*. But if your Majeſty has not the Goodneſs to apply in Time the neceſſary Remedy, this Republick will find themſelves fruſtrated of all the Advantages they had acquired at the Expence of ſo much Bloodſhed, for the Support of its Navigation; whence it is eaſy to conclude, Sire, that Commerce being in general Part of the Baſis and Foundation of the State, their High-Mightineſſes can never deſiſt in the leaſt from the mutual Conventions of the Treaties of *Munſter* and *Utrecht*.

They therefore flatter themſelves, that your Majeſty will be pleaſed to cauſe the Articles of the Treaty of *Vienna*, which are contradictory thereto, to be reformed, and will provide, that the *Oſtend* Company may not in any Manner, nor under any Pretext, go, and navigate in the *Indies*, to the End, their High-Mightineſſes, my Maſters, may ſatisfy and calm the alarmed Minds of their People, who look upon this Treaty of *Vienna*, as the entire Subverſion of the Rights and Prerogatives of their Commerce, and claim the Performance of the Treaties of *Munſter* and *Utrecht*.

12. This Repreſentation, however, though extreamly clear and plain, had none of the Effects that were expected from it. Their Catholick Majeſties had formed to themſelves very extenſive, but at the ſame Time very groundleſs Expectations from the Treaty of *Vienna*, and were therefore obſtinate in their Reſolutions of ſupporting it at all Events. The *Oſtend* Company was viſibly of no Advantage, but in its Conſequences very likely to prove a great Prejudice to the *Spaniſh* Trade; but the Reaſon which induced the Court of *Madrid*, notwithſtanding, to conſent to the Support of it, was, the Aſſiſtance ſhe expected from the Emperor, in the Execution of a favourite Deſign of her own, which was the recovering the Fortreſs of *Gibraltar* from the Crown of *Great Britain*.

But the great and all-powerful Motive which induced *Spain* to act as ſhe did, was, the vain Hopes of obtaining the Heireſs of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, the preſent Empreſs and Queen of *Hungary*, for Don *Carlos*, the eldeſt Son of the Queen of *Spain*, and at preſent King of the *Sicilies*. This Notion, tho' very indifferently founded, made ſuch an Impreſſion on the Minds of their Catholick Majeſties, that nothing appeared to them in the Light of an Inconvenience, which they apprehended might contribute thereto, and this it was that engaged them to comply ſo readily with whatever his Imperial Majeſty demanded, and even induce them to make ſuch Diſpoſitions as looked like engaging in a War with the *Hanover* Allies. The Emperor, alſo, on his Side, ſhewed as great Obſtinacy, and indeed, with more Reaſon; for all the Articles of the *Vienna* Alliance, were entirely in his Favour, and the eſtabliſhing the *Oſtend* Company, in the Manner he deſigned, was a Point of ſuch infinite Conſequence, both with reſpect to Honour and Intereſt, that we need not at all wonder he puſhed it in the Manner he did, or that he laboured, by ſeveral Negotiations in the North, to engage moſt of the Crowns there in the Support of his Schemes, in which at firſt he had extraordinary Succeſs, but by Degrees, the Aſpect of Affairs was changed, by Meaſures which we ſhall next explain.

13. The *States-General*, ſeeing how little they were able to effect by Memorials and Repreſentations, and beginning to feel daily more and more the bad Conſequences of the Eſtabliſhment of the *Oſtend* Company, with regard to their Commerce in the *Indies*, took at laſt a Reſolution of acceding to the Treaty of *Hanover*, notwithſtanding all that their Imperial and Catholick Majeſties could do to hinder it. They did accede accordingly, which very clearly demonſtrated to the Courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid*, that it was impoſſible to proſecute their Deſigns farther, without running the immediate Hazard of a War. *Spain* ſeemed reſolved to run this Riſque, and actually committed Hoſtilities againſt *Great-Britain*, by beſieging *Gibraltar*, with very little Effect however, and without any Aſſiſtance from the Emperor, who, on his Side, was unable to make the neceſſary Proviſions for a Rupture, without the Aſſiſtance of ſuch Supplies in Money from *Spain*, as at that Time ſhe could not afford. The Court of *France* remained alſo ſteady to her Engagements, and appeared ſo willing to enter into a War againſt *Spain*, in Conjunction with the Maritime Powers, that this Court began to diſlike exceedingly the Situation ſhe was in, and to wiſh for a Peace upon reaſonable Terms.

The Court of *Vienna* too perceiving that *Spain* began to open her Eyes to her own Intereſt, and having never had really any Inclination to comply with that Marriage, which their Catholick Majeſties had ſo fondly ſet their Hearts upon, thought likewiſe of a timely Return to her old Friends, and thoſe Engagements which had been formerly productive of ſo many Advantages. Things being in this Situation, it was not long before Preliminaries were ſettled, in which there was an Article that took away for the preſent thoſe Apprehenſions that the Settlement of this Company had raiſed.

It was ſome Time before it could be ſo worded, as to ſatisfy all Parties; but at length, the Preliminaries being abſolutely ſettled and ſigned at *Paris*, on the 20th of *May*, 1727, the firſt Article of them ran thus; "His Imperial and Catholick Majeſty having no other View than to contribute to the publick Tranquillity of *Europe*, and obſerving that the Commerce of *Oſtend* has given Birth to Jealouſy and Uneaſineſs, conſents that there ſhall be a Suſpenſion of the Charter of the *Oſtend* Company, and of all Traffick between the *Auſtrian* Netherlands and the *Indies*, during the Term of ſeven Years." By the fifth Article of the ſame Preliminaries it was agreed, that the Ships which ſail'd from *Oſtend* before this Convention, the Names whereof were to be given in a Liſt on the Part of his Imperial Majeſty, were to be permitted ſafely to return home, and in caſe any of them ſhould be taken, it was agreed, that they ſhould be, *bona fide*, reſtored with their Cargoes.

It is unneceſſary to purſue the political Hiſtory of this Point any farther, ſince by this Suſpenſion the *Oſtend* Company was in fact deſtroyed, and tho' ſome Sales were afterwards made with conſiderable Advantage to the Proprietors, yet they loſt the Power of continuing their Commerce, and the Maritime Powers carried their Point. Thus ended this troubleſome and perplexed Affair, which had very near given Birth to a general War, and by which, as it has been very plainly and fully proved, that if his Hands had not been tied by Treaties, his Imperial Majeſty might in a few Years have reſtored the Commerce of the *Auſtrian*

Netherlands, and made the little Port of *Oſtend* of more Uſe to his Dominions than hitherto *France* has been able to make the many Ports in her Dominions, which is a Point worthy of our Conſideration, and indeed, of that of all *Europe*, to whom the raiſing a new Maritime Power would be found a Thing of great and dangerous Conſequence, more eſpecially in the Hands of a Prince otherwiſe powerful on the Continent.

But before we quit this Subject, it will be requiſite to take Notice of ſome few Points, which rendered it ſo abſolutely neceſſary to conſider this Matter, and to conſider it ſo largely as we have done in this Section. In the firſt Place let it be obſerved, that a ſtronger Proof there cannot be of the Importance of the *Eaſt-India* Commerce, than that all *Europe* ſhould be thus as it were in Arms upon that Subject, and having felt ſo lately the Miſchiefs of a general War, ſhould notwithſtanding hazard the breaking out of another about the ſettling the Right of this Commerce. It is impoſſible to conceive how this ſhould have been reconcileable to the Wiſdom of their Councils any other way than by ſuppoſing it was a Thing ſelf-evident to them, that the Trade of the *Indies* was the great Wheel which moved the whole commercial Syſtem in *Europe*. It was in this Light, and in this Light only, that the pulling down the *Oſtend* Company could be looked upon as an Enterprize equally great and glorious, as the pulling down univerſal Monarchy. To ſay the Truth, when cloſely conſidered, they came to be the ſame Thing; for the ſole Reaſon which induced *Spain* to depart from her own Intereſt, ſo far as to countenance this Company, was the Hopes ſhe entertained of ſeeing a Prince of her Blood Heir of the *German* Branch of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, to whom ſhe could not grudge a Share in the Commerce of the *Indies*.

But tho' her Hopes were vain, becauſe very probably the late Emperor never intended any ſuch Thing; yet that would not have leſſened the Value of the Preſent ſhe made him; for if the *Oſtend* Company had been once effectually eſtabliſhed, the whole *Eaſt-India* Trade, in leſs than a Century, would have been confined to the *Auſtrian* Netherlands, and perhaps, the greateſt Part of the Trade in *Europe* muſt have followed it. In order to explain this, we muſt remember, that the *Auſtrian* Low-Countries are in themſelves much finer than the Provinces which compoſe the *Dutch* Republick, and much better ſituated for Trade. Their Sales of *Eaſt-India* Commodities would have brought prodigious Sums of ready Money into thoſe Provinces, and this muſt have revived and reſtored thoſe Manufactures, which formerly flouriſhed here more than in any Part of *Europe*, which would have immediately ſecured to them all the Commerce of *Germany*, and by Degrees that of the North. In ſuch Circumſtances, what ſhould have hindered their attempting and acquiring the Fiſheries, and by opening the Ports of *Trieſte* and *Fiume* on the *Adriatick*, what could have prevented their engroſſing the *Italian* Trade? It may be ſaid, that all theſe are Suppoſitions; but what then, they are reaſonable Suppoſitions, and which is much more to my Purpoſe, they were ſuch Suppoſitions as induced the late Emperor to eſtabliſh this Company, and to ſtruggle ſo hard as he did for the Maintenance of it; nay, what is ſtill more, the *Dutch*, who beyond a Queſtion, were the beſt Judges in the World of what might be done, and what could be done, thought all theſe Suppoſitions both poſſible and practicable, which induced them to act in the Manner they did. Take then all this together, and it will appear a very ſtrong, and not to be refuted Argument, that the Trade of the *Eaſt-Indies* is in itſelf the Foundation of Commerce, and Maritime Power, at leaſt in the Hands of ſuch as know how to manage it, and have it in their Power to manage it as they would do; which, I think, fully juſtifies the Pains I have taken upon this Subject, and all that I have advanced in this Section.

The Deſire I have of making every thing as clear and plain as it is poſſible, induces me to think of reſolving a Queſtion that will naturally ariſe in the Mind of an inquiſitive Perſon upon this Occaſion, and it is this: *How it ſhould come to paſs that the Emperor, or rather the Subjects of the Emperor in the Low Countries, ſhould, in ſo ſhort a ſpace of Time, and having no better a Port than Oſtend, be able to erect and eſtabliſh a Company capable of carrying on immediately ſuch a Commerce in the Indies* as alarmed and aſtoniſhed the Maritime Powers beyond any thing that *France* had been able to do in a much longer Space of Time, with the utmoſt Aſſiſtance the Court could give, and that Aſſiſtance too under the Direction of her ableſt and greateſt Miniſters, who ſcarce ever failed in any thing elſe. This, without queſtion, is a very difficult Point for common People to get over; but to ſuch as are well acquainted with the Situation of the ſeveral Countries, the Genius and Diſpoſition of their Inhabitants, and the Nature of the Governments under which they live, it carries in it little or no Difficulty at all.

For, in the firſt Place, the *Auſtrian Low Countries* are better ſeated for Trade, the People, generally ſpeaking, are not only more inclined thereto, but are alſo better qualified for it, ſince they are not only ſober and frugal, but diligent alſo and induſtrious. Their Country is rich and fruitful, their Towns large and populous; many of them ſtill have, and all of them once had noble and flouriſhing Manufactories. Add to all this, that though the *Flemings* have loſt much of their ancient Freedom, yet they ſtill retain more of it than the *French*, and it will be no difficult Matter to conceive how this Affair happened. In few Words, the Caſe was this: *Flanders* was, for ſeveral Ages, the Center of the Commerce of *Europe*; among ſuch a People therefore Trade might be eaſily revived. In regard to *France*, the Caſe was quite otherwiſe; they never knew the Bleſſing of a flouriſhing Trade, or that kind of Government, under which extenſive Traffick can only riſe and ſpread. But, to return to what is more immediately our Province, and to inform the Reader of the Conſequences that attended the eſtabliſhing this new Company, notwithſtanding its Suſpenſion; and in Conſequence of that Suſpenſion, its Diſſolution.

The great Struggle which this Company occaſioned divulged the Advantages of the *Eaſt-India* Trade throughout all *Europe*; and in every Nation inquiſitive and public ſpirited People began to look ſeriouſly after this political Philoſopher's Stone, which they heard was univerſally confeſſed to be the grand Source of Riches, Commerce, and naval Power. One would have thought that the Ruin of this Company would have damped at leaſt, if not deſtroyed this Deſire of eſtabliſhing a Trade to the *Indies*. So far from it however that the Fall of the *Oſtend* Company actually increaſed it, and that for theſe three Reaſons; Firſt, it ſent abroad abundance of active and intelligent Perſons who had been employed by this Company, and were, of all others, the moſt likely and the moſt capable of ſetting on foot, and of conducting Projects of this Nature in other Places. Secondly, the great Succeſs this Company had, during the ſhort time it continued, was a very ſtrong and prevailing Argument to perſuade the ſetting up a Company in any other Place, and an Argument which the Perſons I have juſt mentioned, knew how to repreſent in the faireſt Colours poſſible. Thirdly, as the Fall and Ruin of this Company was owing entirely to the Treaties ſubſiſting between their Imperial and Catholick Majeſties and the Maritime Powers, which, not extending to other Princes and States, it might well encourage them to hope for equal good Fortune, and to apprehend fewer Inconveniencies. Such were the Motives that determined the *Danes* and the *Swedes*, one to revive, and the other to erect Companies of this kind, of which, as they are ſtill ſubſiſting, we are bound, from the Nature of the Subject, as well as by the expreſs Terms of our Plan, to give the Reader a ſatisfactory Account, which is all that remains for us to do in reference to this Compleat Hiſtory of the Commerce of *Europe* with the *Indies*.

SECTION XXXVII.

The Hiſtory of the Daniſh *Commerce to the* Eaſt-Indies, *their Eſtabliſhments there, the Decay of their Old Company, and the Motives which induced them to ſet up a New One.*

Interſperſed with Original Papers and Memoirs.

1. *The* Danes *anciently very powerful by Sea, famous for maritime Expeditions, and always remarkable for keeping up a conſiderable naval Force in the* North. 2. *Their firſt Voyages to the* Indies, *their Eſtabliſhment on the Coaſt of* Corromandel, *their Fortreſs and Town of* Tranquebar, *or* Trincombar, *and the Fate of their Colony there.* 3. *An Account of their long War with the Rajah of* Tanjour, *the Siege of* Tranquebar, *the Intrigues of the* Dutch *to the Prejudice of the* Danes, *and the Relief of that Town by the* Engliſh, *thro' the Generoſity of Mr.* Pitt, *Governor of Fort* St. George. 4. *The Hiſtory of the* Daniſh *Colony, continued down to the Time of the New* Eaſt-India *Subſcription at* Hambourgh *on the Fall of the* Oſtend *Company.* 5. *An Impartial View of the new Eſtabliſhment, or the Incorporation of the new Company at* Altena, *with the Old* Eaſt-India *Company at* Copenhagen. 6. *Objections raiſed againſt that Eſtabliſhment, and the Probability of its ſucceeding in its Commerce.* 7. *Anſwers to thoſe Objections, and a farther Account of the Privileges and Immunities granted to the incorporated Company by his* Daniſh *Majeſty.* 8. *The Oppoſition made to the New Company (as it was called) at* Altena *by the Maritime Powers, Memorials preſented on this Subject to the Court of* Denmark, *and Iſſue of that Diſpute.* 9. *The thorough Completion of this Scheme under the Auſpice of the preſent King (then Prince) of* Denmark, *and Progreſs of this incorporated Company, from its Foundation to the preſent Time.*

1. THE *Danes* were anciently as remarkable for a Naval Force as any Country in the *North*, which manifeſtly appears, not only from their Chronicles, but ours. It was by this Means that they became Lords of almoſt all the Countries round about them, and were ſo formidable by their Fleets as to undertake various Expeditions into remote Countries. Thus, under the Name of *Normans*, they conquered a Part of *France*, and even ſettled themſelves in the Kingdom of *Naples*. It is true, that the naval Concerns of *Europe* were then in a Condition very different from what they are now; yet this, inſtead of leſſening, will, to a Man of good Senſe and Conſideration, rather increaſe the Difficulty; for if we find it ſo hard with all the Advantages we enjoy to tranſport a ſmall Body of Troops to the oppoſite Part of the Continent, what muſt we think of the *Danes* landing ſuch numerous Armies in this Iſland, in *France*, and in other Countries.

Theſe Facts are not to be diſputed, and, at preſent, it is not my Buſineſs to account for them; all I aim at is, to ſhew that the *Danes* had many Ages ago a great Maritime Power, and I believe Experience will ſhew, that where once a nation has been poſſeſſed of ſuch a Power, and eſcapes being conquered by her Neighbours, ſhe generally preſerves ſomewhat of her ancient Spirit, which exerts itſelf, more or leſs, as Occaſions offer, and is never totally overwhelmed. If the *Danes* had applied themſelves more to Trade, and leſs to foreign Conqueſts, they would have made a much more conſiderable Figure in *Europe* than at this Time they do, ſince it is certain that their being driven out of *Sweden* and Part of *Norway*, exhauſted them extremely, and the Civil Wars in their own Country proved another great Cauſe of weakening their Force.

Yet they have never been totally deprived of Maritime Power, or of a Maritime Spirit, but have frequently ſhewn an Incination to attempt conſiderable Diſcoveries in the Northern Part of the World, to eſtabliſh Colonies and Fiſheries in thoſe Parts, and have even made very long Voyages, with a View of extending their Commerce, if not with all the Succeſs they could wiſh, yet with more than ſome of their Neighbours; and have been alſo more tenacious of what they acquired, as if they meant to retain theſe diſtant Conqueſts, till ſuch a Government aroſe at home, as by giving due Attention to Trade, and juſt Encouragement to thoſe who endeavoured to promote it, might enable them to turn ſuch an Eſtabliſhment to greater Advantage. By this Means they have been, and ſtill are in a Condition to embrace any Opportunity that offers, and will, in all Probability, ſooner or later, diſtinguiſh themſelves as much by Commerce as ever their Forefathers did by Courage and Force, as from the Contents of the preſent Section, we ſhall evidently make appear.

2. It was very early in the laſt Century that the *Danes* thought of attempting a Trade to the *Eaſt-Indies*; and about the Year 1612, King *Chriſtian* IV. granted his Protection to a Company eſtabliſhed at *Copenhagen*, for carrying on a Commerce from thence to the *Indies*. The Capital of this new Company conſiſted of two hundred and fifty Shares, of the Value of One thouſand Rix-dollars each, and about four Years afterwards they fitted out ſome Veſſels for the *Indies*, with ſuch Succeſs that they eſtabliſhed themſelves on the Coaſt of *Corromandel*, at no great Diſtance from the *French* Settlement at *Pondicherry*. The Name of this Place is very differently written; the *Portugueze* and *Indians* call it *Tranguebar*, the *Engliſh* Sailors *Trincombar*; but I take the true Name of it to be *Tranquebar*.

It is ſituated fifteen Miles to the Northward of *Negapatan*, and enjoys a conſiderable Trade. The *Danes* have built here a regular Fort, faced with Stone, and ſurrounded with a deep Mote, which makes it eſteemed one of the ſtrongeſt Fortreſſes in the *Indies*. The Town alſo, which is about two Miles in Circumference, is ſurrounded with a noble Wall, faced with Stone, having large Baſtions at proper Diſtances, mounted with Cannon. The Houſes which the *Danes* and other *Europeans* inhabit, are of Brick or Stone, built all upon a Floor, but commodious enough; the Streets are wide and ſtraight, and paved on the Sides with Brick; but the Houſes of the *Indians* are very mean, having Clay-Walls, and thatched Roofs, as in moſt other Towns of *India*. The Garriſon is not anſwerable to ſo large an Extent of Ground, conſiſting only of one hundred and fifty *Europeans*, or thereabouts, and ſome *Indians*, who are only fit to oppoſe Soldiers like themſelves. In the long Space of Time however, that the *Danes* remained here, they collected together a great Number of *Indian* Subjects, who live very happily, and even grow rich under their Protection. They have likewiſe taken Care to make Proſelytes to the *Lutheran* Religion of a great Part of thoſe who live among them, and they have thereby bound them more effectually to their Service; ſo that their Colony is very conſiderable, and grows more ſo every Day, and this chiefly for the following Reaſon, that it ſupports itſelf, and pays the *Daniſh* Company Ten thouſand Rixdollars a Year, by Way of Tribute.

Their Trade in this Part of the World has ſuffered various Alterations, being ſometimes better and ſometimes worſe, according to the Revolutions that have happened in that Part of the World, and the Accidents which befel the Company in *Europe*. However, as far as I am able to judge, it was moſt conſiderable about twenty-four Years after it was firſt ſettled; for then, I find, a very eminent *Dutch* Writer comparing the *Daniſh* Trade to that of the *Engliſh*, and affirming that the former, with a little Application, might be made as conſiderable as the latter. The Reader will obſerve, that this was ſaid in the Time of our Civil Wars, when, as we have ſhewn in our Hiſtory of the *Engliſh* Company, their Trade declined exceedingly; ſo that it is not at all improbable, that this Obſervation might be then true. It is, notwithſtanding, certain, that the Trade of the *Danes* was rather profitable to private Perſons, ſuch as the Governor of *Tranquebar*, and the principal Merchants employed there, than to the Publick; and the Reaſon was plainly this, that they ſeldom received any conſiderable Supplies from *Denmark*, and as ſeldom ſent home Ships laden with the Commodities and Manufactures of the *Indies*; ſo that they ſubſiſted chiefly by the Trade they carried on with their Neighbours, and into different Parts of *Aſia*, ſince they ſometimes ſent Ships as far as *China*, from whence they obtained conſiderable Returns.

But they had from their firſt Eſtabliſhment very great Difficulties to ſtruggle with, being very often engaged in Wars with their *Indian* Neighbours, and very ſeldom upon good Terms with the reſt of the *European* Nations ſettled in *India*, who, though they affected to deſpiſe and contemn the *Danes*, and to treat their Trade as very deſpicable and inconſiderable, yet they could not help envying them even the little Trade they had, to which, perhaps, the convenient Situation of their Fortreſs might in ſome meaſure contribute, from a Perſuaſion that, in other Hands, it might become of much greater Conſequence, more eſpecially with regard to the Diamond Trade, for which, without doubt, it ſtands as well, or better, than any of the *European* Factories in that Part of the World.

But the moſt conſiderable War in which they were ever engaged, was towards the latter End of the laſt Century, when this Fortreſs very narrowly eſcaped being taken, of which, as it is the moſt remarkable Tranſaction of which I can obtain any Account, I think it will not be amiſs to inſiſt upon it a little more largely, the rather, becauſe it was the principal Occaſion of the old *Daniſh* Company running into Debt, and bringing their Affairs into a worſe Condition than they ever were before.

3. The Ground of the War was this; the *Daniſh* Colony lying on the Frontiers of the *Indian* Rajah of *Tanjour*, the *Dutch* ſtirred him up to attack and deſtroy it, promiſing him conſiderable Aſſiſtance under hand, and to give him a Tun of Gold, which, as we have elſewhere ſhewn, amounts to above Ten thouſand Pounds of our Money, for the Place when taken. That this was a very baſe and barbarous Deſign, an *Engliſh* Reader will very readily allow; but it was, nevertheleſs, very well contrived, and had very near taken Effect; for the *Indian* Prince was very brave in his Perſon, eſteemed by his Countrymen a good Officer, and had, without doubt, Troops enough to have done his Buſineſs, if he had not been prevented by the Interpoſition of Mr. *Pitt*, who was at that Time Governor of Fort *St. George*, who very generouſly aſſiſted the *Danes*, from a Principle of Humanity, which ought to be applauded.

We have, by this Means, a tolerable Account of the whole Tranſaction, which I ſhall give in as few Words as poſſible. When the Prince of *Tanjour* had reſolved upon this Enterprize, he aſſembled the whole Force of his Dominions, and marched directly towards *Tranquebar*, in order to attack it. The *Indians* were ſo extremely cautious, that they began to open their Trenches above a Mile from the Town, and carried on two Attacks; the Earth being a dry Sand, they drove down the Bodies of Cocoa-nut Trees, inſtead of Stakes, both on the Inſide and on the out, and filled up the Space between them with Sand, ſo that their Trenches were almoſt as thick as a Town-wall, and very high, ſo that they were perfectly covered from our Fire. They had about twenty or thirty thouſand Men employed in this Siege; and with incredible Labour and Patience, in about five Months Time, they brought down their Trenches within Piſtol-ſhot of the Walls, and with their Batteries had almoſt ruined one of the Baſtions, when the *Engliſh* Reinforcements arrived. The *Danes* expected every Day an Aſſault, and were preparing to move their Effects into the Fort, and quit the Town; and indeed they gave the Enemy very little Diſturbance, as far as I can learn, in carrying on their Works; for the Garriſon did not conſiſt of more than two hundred *Europeans*, as many *Indian Portugueze*, and about a thouſand Blacks; and, beſides the Fort they had to defend, the Circumference of the Town-wall was not leſs than a Mile and an half. It was faced with Stone indeed, but had no Ditch; and therefore the *Danes*, to prevent the Enemy's ſcaling it, had ſet high Palliſadoes upon the Top of the Ramparts.

A Day or two after the *Engliſh* arrived, a Sally was reſolved upon; and about Sun-riſe in the Morning, a Detachment of the Blacks marched out of a Baſtion, and were followed by the *Engliſh*; but the Blacks were no ſooner out of the Gates, than they opened to the Right and Left, and made room for the *Engliſh* to advance, never intending to engage themſelves. A Body of the Enemy moved out of their Trenches to oppoſe our Troops, and came on in tolerable Order with their Broad-ſwords and Shields, without ſhooting an Arrow, or firing a Piece. They were all decently cloathed in white Veſts and Turbants, and ſeemed determined to engage our People hand to hand, in the Plain between the Town and the Trenches. The *Engliſh* Officers were in ſome Pain, ſeeing this Body of *Indians* advance with that Reſolution, knowing their Men were ſeveral of them new raiſed, and mixed with *Portugueze*, on whom there is very little Dependence: But our great Guns from the Walls, beginning to play upon the Enemy, put them into Confuſion, and they retired to their Trenches with much greater Haſte than they came out. And our Men advancing, while they were in that Conſternation, drove them ſtill farther. But there being no Preparations made for levelling the Trenches, and the Day growing hot, the *Engliſh* retired into the Town, and the Enemy returned into their Works, without any great Loſs on either Side.

A few Days after, it was reſolved to make another Sally, with the greateſt Part of the Garriſon; and accordingly they marched out at the great Gate, which faced their principal Attack; the Black Soldiers, according to Cuſtom, retired under the Walls almoſt as ſoon as they were out, to make room for the *Europeans*. The Enemy kept cloſe in their Trenches firing at us; but between the two Attacks upon the Plain, there ſtood a conſiderable Body of Muſketeers and Pike-men, againſt whom the *Engliſh* Commander thought fit to advance; but he had not marched many Paces before an unlucky Ball wounded him in the Middle of his Foot, which compelled him to quit the Field.

The next Officer thereupon took upon him the Command of the *Engliſh*, and led them towards the Enemy, who were drawn up in the Plain; that Body retreating, drew the *Engliſh* ſo far from the Town, that they were intercepted by the *Mooriſh* Horſe; and the *Danes*, whom the *Engliſh* expected to have ſupported them, never advanced a Step. In this Exigency, the *Engliſh* Officer reſolved to throw himſelf into the Enemy's Trenches, finding it impoſſible to retreat into the Town over the Plain; and having thrown ſome Granades into the Trenches, the *Indians* were ſo complaiſant as to quit them, and make room for the *Engliſh*, who marched quite along them towards the Town, till they came to the End of the Works; but here they were met by the *Mooriſh* Horſe; yet upon making one general Fire, in which great Execution was done, the Horſe ſcoured off, and left the *Engliſh* at Liberty to march on to the Walls, where they found the *Danes* drawn up in perfect Security.

In this Action, the *Engliſh* were one half of them killed or wounded. Among others, one of the Grenadiers, a drunken Shoemaker, received twelve or fourteen Wounds, and yet was brought alive into the Town, and recovered. It was by this ſeaſonable Aſſiſtance afforded them by the *Engliſh*, that the *Danes* preſerved this Town and Fortreſs; for ſoon after, the Rajah of *Tanjour*, growing weary of a War that harraſſed his Subjects, and brought himſelf no Advantage, retired into his own Territories, and left the *Danes* at Liberty to purſue their Trade as before.

4. They have ſince that Time remained in quiet Poſſeſſion of this Place, and carried on the little Trade they have in Quiet. Beſides the Town of *Tranquebar*, and the Fortreſs of *Danebourg*, which is a regular Citadel, with four ſtrong Baſtions, they have a ſmall Diſtrict of Country dependent upon them, the Inhabitants of which, partly *Moors*, and partly *Indians*, are their Subjects; and for the Education of their Children they have built and endowed a publick School, where they are taught all Kinds of uſeful Knowledge; and the *Daniſh* Miſſionaries being compleat Maſters of the *Malabar* Tongue, preach in all the neighbouring Countries, and make many Converts. They have formerly built very good Ships here, which they not only employed in their own Commerce, but alſo let them out to their Neighbours upon Freight, which if it did not turn to a very great Account, it at leaſt enabled them to ſubſiſt, and not only to keep what they had got, but alſo to enlarge and improve their Colony. I muſt not, however, forbear mentioning another Method by which as ſome of their *European* Neighbours ſuggeſt, the *Danes* made uſe of to better their Fortunes; and that is, their allowing their Ships to cruize not only on the Infidels, but alſo on the Shipping of ſome Chriſtian Nations, which, if true, it muſt certainly have been a moſt illegal and unwarrantable Practice.

But we muſt not yield too eaſy a Belief of ſuch kind of Accuſations, ſince it is very certain, that thoſe who framed them were ſtrongly prejudiced againſt the *Danes*, and from thence inclined to ſpeak ill of them, whether with or without Foundation; and not only to ſpeak ill, but alſo to uſe them ill, when it lay in their Power, as is evident from the Behaviour of the *Dutch*, not only in raiſing the War before mentioned, but in their Behaviour towards the People of *Tranquebar*, when in that diſtreſſed Situation; for the Enemy being poſſeſſed of the Springs by which the Town was furniſhed with Water, they ſent Deputies to deſire the Aſſiſtance of their Neighbours the *Dutch*, who, inſtead of complying with ſo neceſſary and reaſonable a Demand, firſt whipped their Meſſengers, and then ſent them back without Water. We may therefore juſtly ſuſpect the Teſtimony of ſuch People as were capable of an Action of this Nature towards their Fellow-Creatures, when in ſuch Diſtreſs. On the Whole therefore, I think, inſtead of wondering, that after above one hundred Years Poſſeſſion of this Place, and of ſome other little Factories about it, they ſhould be conſiderably in Debt, which is no more than what has happened alſo to their Neighbours, we ought rather to wonder, that the *Daniſh* Company were able to go on at all, eſpecially ſince they received ſo little Aſſiſtance from home, and had nothing to depend on but their own Induſtry in the *Indies*, and the ſmall Revenue ariſing from their Territories there.

5. We are now to open a new Scene, by relating what chiefly gave Occaſion to this Section, I mean the eſtabliſhing what its Enemies thought fit to call a new *Eaſt-India* Company in *Denmark*, the Occaſion of which was this: Upon the Ruin of the *Oſtend* Company, a *Dutchman*, whoſe Name was *Joſhua Van Aſperen*, who had been concerned in that Affair, went to *Copenhagen*, where he applied himſelf to King *Frederick* the IVth, a Prince of great Goodneſs and Virtue, and who had nothing more at Heart than promoting the Welfare of his Subjects by all the Means that lay in his Power. The Scheme propoſed by M. *Aſperen* to his *Daniſh* Majeſty, had a very fair Appearance, and great Probability of Succeſs; he obſerved, that there was a great Spirit raiſed of opening a new Trade to the *Indies*; that many People, who were very well verſed in that Trade, had engaged in the Service of the *Oſtend* Company, the Succeſs of which would unqueſtionably have anſwered their Expectations, if they could have carried it on; that the Cauſes of its Ruin were ſuch as could not attend that Project in any other Country, but leaſt of all in *Denmark*, which had enjoyed an uninterrupted Commerce to the *Indies* for above a Century; that therefore there was nothing farther neceſſary to render the *Daniſh* Company as flouriſhing as thoſe of *England* and *Holland*, than to increaſe its Capital, by opening a new Subſcription upon advantageous Terms.

By the Force of theſe Arguments, the King was prevailed upon to ſuffer his Scheme to be put in Execution, and that it might be done more conveniently, the *Daniſh Eaſt-India* Company was transferred from the City of *Copenhagen* to the Borough of *Altena*, a Place belonging to the Crown of *Denmark*, but ſituated cloſe to the rich and free City of *Hamburgh*, and therefore made Choice of, upon this Occaſion: In order to induce Foreigners to engage in this Undertaking, his *Daniſh* Majeſty thought fit to grant a new Charter, dated in *April* 1728, for promoting the Commerce of the ſaid Company to the *Indies*, *China*, and *Bengal*, the chief Articles of which were theſe, *viz.* The new Subſcribers ſhall have an equal Share and Right with the old Members, in all the Conceſſions, Octroys and Privileges granted to the ſaid Company by his preſent Majeſty and his auguſt Predeceſſors. And likewiſe in all the Forts, Settlements, Revenues, Houſes, Magazines, Ships, Effects, and, in ſhort, whatever the Company is poſſeſſed of at this Day, or may acquire in Time to come. The old Shares, or Actions, which are in Number two hundred and fifty, of one thouſand Rixdollars each, ſhall ſubſiſt and remain as they are, and will have the ſame Rights as the new Shares. The Directors ſhall declare, and affirm upon their Honour, that all the Debts of the Company do not exceed one hundred and ſixty thouſand Rixdollars in Specie. The united Company are obliged to diſcharge and pay the ſaid Sum of one hundred and ſixty thouſand Rixdollars, upon Condition that the old Shares ſhall have no Dividends till the Year 1733.

Though there is no Queſtion, that the Accounts of the Company are juſt, and that their Debts do not exceed the ſaid Sum of one hundred and ſixty thouſand Rixdollars, it is nevertheleſs ſtipulated, That if the ſaid Debts ſhould appear to exceed the ſaid Sum, the old Shares ſhall be anſwerable for the Overplus, and that the new Subſcribers ſhall not be obliged to contribute thereunto. Each new Share ſhall be one thouſand Rixdollars in Bank, or Specie, whereof twenty *per Cent.* ſhall be paid upon the Account of M. *Alexander Bruguier*, Banker at *Hamburgh*, or in the Manner preſcribed in the Project publiſhed by the Company at *Copenhagen*, *December* 16, 1727. If there was any abſolute Neceſſity to make a further Call the preſent Year 1727, the ſame ſhall not exceed five or ten *per Cent.* at the fartheſt. The Call for the next Year ſhall not exceed twenty, or twenty-five *per Cent.* The Remainder of the Subſcription ſhall not be called in without the Reſolution and Determination of a general Court of the Company. If the intire Sum of the ſaid one thouſand Rixdollars, for the new Actions, is not paid in the Year 1738, the Proprietors of the old Shares ſhall have an Intereſt at the Rate of five *per Cent.* allowed them, for the Sum they have paid more and above the new Subſcribers. There will be no other Actions than Shares of one thouſand Rixdollars, and half Shares of five hundred Rixdollars each. Every Subſcriber ſhall be allowed to take Shares for the Bearer, ſigned by the Company; and ſuch as pleaſe, may have them inſcribed in the Company's Books. There ſhall be paid for each Transfer two Rixdollars to the Company, and half a Rixdollar to the Poor. The Creditors of the Company are allowed to take new Actions for the Sums due to them, provided they diſcount on the ſaid Debts thirty *per Cent.* for the preſent Year, for each Share, and twenty-five *per Cent.* for the next. The Shares they ſhall purchaſe on this Condition, ſhall have the ſame Dividends as the other new Actions. The ſaid Shares ſhall not be liable to any Seizure, or Stop, upon any Account whatſoever, as it is declared in his Majeſty's Octroy.

The Directors ſhall yearly communicate to the Subſcribers an exact and particular Account of the Affairs of the Company. The Dividend ſhall be regulated upon the ſaid Account, in a general Court of the Company, by the

Admiral, it ſhall belong to him to take Cognizance of ſuch Controverſy; it may pleaſe their Highneſſes, that he or his Deputy, and no other Judge, ſhall try the ſaid Cauſe, if it appertains to the ſaid Office of Admiral as the ſame has been enjoyed by the Admiral Don *Alonſo Henriquez*, or his Predeceſſors in their Diſtricts, and according to Juſtice.

Item, That in all the Ships which ſhall be fitted out for the ſaid Trade and Commerce, as often as they ſhall be fitted, the ſaid Don *Chriſtopher Columbus*, if he ſhall think fit, may lay out the eighth Part of what ſhall be expended in fitting them out; and that he accordingly have and receive the eighth Part of the Profits of ſuch Ships.

Theſe Articles were granted in the Town of *Santa Fee*, in the Plain of *Granada*, with which Diſpatch and Money Don *Chriſtopher Columbus* ſet out from *Granada* on the 12th of *May*, and leaving his Sons at their Studies in *Cordova*, he went to the Town of *Palos*, to undertake his Voyage; few at Court expecting that he would perform what he had promiſed. Their Catholic Majeſties ſtrictly enjoined him not to touch at the Mine in *Guinea*, or to come within one Hundred Leagues of the *Portugueze* Settlements. They gave him their Letters Patents to all the Kings and Princes in the World, for them to give him a favourable Reception as their Commander; he repaired to *Palos*, becauſe there were able Seamen in that Place, and on Account of his Friendſhip with Father *John Perez de Merchena*, who helped him very much in the Diſpatch of his Affairs; perſuading the Sailors who were very backward to engage in an unknown Voyage. He carried with him Orders for that Town to furniſh him with two Caravels, which by ancient Tenure it was obliged to find for the Service of the Crown, during three Months every Year.

He fitted out another Ship as Admiral, and called it *St. Mary*; the ſecond was called *Pinta*, of which *Martin Alonſo Pinzon* was Captain, and his Brother *Francis Martinez Pinzon* Maſter: The third was named *Nina*, carrying ſquare Sails, whoſe Captain and Maſter was *Vincent Yanez Pinzon*, who was very helpful in this Affair, and laid down half a Million of Marvedies for the eighth Part of the Expence. He made uſe of the *Pinzons*, becauſe they were principal Men in that Town, wealthy and ſkilful Mariners, and all the Men ſeeing them approve of the Voyage, were willing to undertake it.

3. The Ships being provided for a Year, having on board ninety Men, moſt of them Natives of *Palos*, and among them ſome Friends of *Columbus*, and ſome of the King's Servants, they ſet ſail on *Friday* the third of *Auguſt*, half an Hour before Sun riſing, and got over the Bar of *Saltes*, directing their Courſe for the *Canary* Iſlands, after they had all (following the Example of *Columbus*) made their Confeſſion, and received the Holy Communion. As they held on their Voyage, on the fourth of *Auguſt*, the Rudder of the Caravel *Pinta*, in which *Martin Alonſo Pinzon* commanded, broke looſe, as was ſuſpected by the Contrivance of *Gomez Raſcon* and *Chriſtopher Quintero* Mariners, to whom the Caravel belonged, becauſe they went the Voyage againſt their Will, and therefore they had endeavoured to diſappoint it before their Departure. But *Martin Alonſo Pinzon* being an able Sailor, the Rudder was faſtened with Cables in ſuch Manner, that they were able to ſail till the *Tueſday* following, when it again broke looſe, and they were all forced to lie by.

This Miſchance happening to the Caravel *Pinta*, at their firſt ſetting out, would have ſtartled any ſuperſtitious Perſon, eſpecially conſidering how diſobedient *Martin Alonſo* afterwards proved to *Columbus*. Having mended the Rudder the beſt they could, on the 11th of *Auguſt* by Break of Day they diſcovered the *Canaries*, and not being able in two Days to put into grand *Canaria*, becauſe the Wind was contrary, *Columbus* ordered *Martin Alonſo* to procure ſome other Veſſel as ſoon as he could get aſhore, and he, with the other two, made for the Iſland *Gomera*, to endeavour the ſame; but finding none, he returned to great *Canaria*, and reſolved to make a new Rudder to the Caravel *Pinta*, and to change the Sails of the Caravel *Nina*, which were ſquare, into thoſe called Shoulder of Mutton Sails, that he might follow the other Ships more ſpeedily, and with leſs Danger.

The 5th of *September*, in the Afternoon, he ſailed, and arrived at the Iſland *Gomera*, ſpent four Days there, taking in freſh Water and Fuel, with the utmoſt Diligence; becauſe, being informed that three *Portugueſe* Caravels were hovering about theſe Iſlands to ſeize him, he apprehended ſome Trouble on Account of the King of *Portugal*'s Concern, when he underſtood that Don *Chriſtopher Columbus* had articled with their *Catholic* Majeſties, being apprehenſive that God had taken that good Fortune out of his Hands. *Thurſday* the 6th, which may be reckoned the Entry of the Undertaking, he ſailed to the Weſtward, making but little Way. But the next Day they loſt ſight of Land, and many ſighed and wept, believing they ſhould never ſee it again: But *Columbus* encouraged and comforted them with Thoughts of Wealth and good Fortune. That Day they run eighteen Leagues, but the Admiral deſignedly reckoned but fifteen, thinking it convenient to ſhorten their Run, that the Men might be leſs afraid. On the 11th, being 150 Leagues from the Iſland *Ferro*, they ſpied a Piece of a Maſt, which ſeemed to have been carried away by the Current. In the ſame Latitude, ſomewhat farther on, the Current ſat ſtrong to the Northward, and 50 Leagues farther Weſtward.

On the 14th *Columbus* about Night-fall obſerved that the Needle varied to the North weſt about half a Point, and that at Break of Day it did the like, ſomewhat above half a Point, by which he perceived that the Needle did not point directly to the Star called the North; but at another fixed and inviſible Point. This Variation had not till then been obſerved by any Perſon whatſoever, which was much admired, and much more the third Day after, when he had advanced 100 Leagues farther, holding the ſame Courſe, becauſe the Needles then at Night-fall varied to the North-weſt as before, and in the Morning again pointed upon the very Star.

On the 15th, being near 300 Leagues Weſtward of the Iſland *Ferro*, a Flame of Fire was ſeen falling into the Sea in the Night, four or five Leagues from the Ships towards the South-weſt; the Weather being calm and the Sea ſmooth, the Currents ſtill ſetting to the North-eaſt; and the Crew of the Caravel *Nina*, ſaid they had the Day before-ſeen a Bird called a Waterwagtail, which they admired, that being the firſt, and a Bird which they ſay never flies above fifteen or twenty Leagues from Land. The next Day they were more ſurprized to ſee Spots of green and yellow Weeds on the Surface of the Water, which ſeemed to have been waſhed from ſome Iſland or Rocks, and they ſaw much more the Day following, which made them conclude that they were near Land, and they were ſtrongly confirmed in it, becauſe they ſaw a little Graſhopper alive upon the Weeds; others fancied there might be Rocks or Lands under Water, and, being afraid, muttered againſt the Voyage; it was alſo obſerved, that the Sea-Water was not half ſo ſalt as that they had paſſed, and that Night they ſaw many Tunnies following the Ships ſo cloſe, that the Men in the Caravel *Nina* killed one of them with an Harping-iron, and in the Morning they found the Air as warm as in *Andaluzia*, in *April*.

Being 370 Leagues to the Weſtward of the Iſland *Ferro*, they ſaw another Waterwagtail, and on the 18th *Martin Alonſo Pinzon*, who had ſlipped before with the Caravel *Pinta*, which was a very good Sailer, lay by for the Admiral, and told him he had ſeen a Multitude of Birds making to the Weſtward, which made him believe he ſhould ſee Land that Night, and find it to the Northward 15 Leagues from thence; nay, he fancied he had ſeen it: But the Admiral judging it was not ſo, would not loſe Time to go in queſt of it, though all were for it; becauſe he did not think himſelf to be in the Place, where, according to his Notions, he expected to diſcover it. That Night the Wind freſhened, after they had ſailed eleven Days without handing their Sails, ſtill ſailing right before the Wind to the Weſtward; the Admiral continually noting down every thing that happened; obſerving what Wind blew; what his Courſe was; what

Fiſhes and Birds were ſeen; and ſounding very frequently.

4. The Men being unexperienced in ſuch a Courſe, ſeeing no Hopes, and nothing appearing but Sky and Water for ſo many Days, carefully obſerved every Token, being then farther from Land than any Men had ever been before. On the 19th, a Sea Gull went to the Admiral's Ship, and others came near in the Afternoon, which gave Hopes that ſome Land was near, as believing that theſe Birds went not far from it; and with this Hopes, the Weather being calm, they ſounded with 200 Fathoms of Line, and though they found no Ground, they perceived that the Currents ran South-weſt. On the 20th, in the Forenoon, they ſaw two other Gulls near the Admiral; and ſome time after they took a Blackbird with a white Spot on the Head, the Feet like a Duck's; they alſo killed a ſmall Fiſh, and ſaw Abundance of Weeds like what they had ſeen before; and the Ships making way through them, they became leſs afraid. The next Morning, at Break of Day, three other little Land Birds came on board the Admiral ſinging, and at Sun riſing they flew away; which was ſome Comfort to the Men, as believing that the other Sea Fowls might eaſily go farther from the Land, but that the little Birds could not come from ſo great a Diſtance. Some time after they ſaw another Gull coming from the Weſt North-weſt; and the next Day in the Afternoon more Weeds to the Northward, which was ſome Satisfaction to them, believing the Land was near. The Weeds at the ſame time perplexed them, ſome Knots of them being ſo thick, that they hindered the Ships Way, and therefore they kept as clear from them as they could. The next Day they ſaw a Whale; and on the 22d they ſpied ſome Birds; and thoſe three Days the Wind was at South-weſt, and though it was contrary, the Admiral ſaid it was good, becauſe the Men muttering and refuſing to obey; and alledging among other things, that ſince they had ſo long run before the Wind, it would be hard for them to return to *Spain*, by Reaſon that though it had ſometimes proved contrary, it had held but of ſhort time, and was not ſteady: And though the Admiral anſwered that was occaſioned by their being near Land, and urged ſome more Reaſons for it; he ſtood in need of God's ſpecial Aſſiſtance, becauſe the Diſcontents increaſed, the Men grew mutinous, and by degrees, paid him no Reſpect; reflecting on the King for having given Orders for the Voyage; and almoſt all of them agreed not to proceed in it.

The Admiral managed Things with great Addreſs; ſometimes encouraging the Men, and aſſuring them of the Shortneſs and good Succeſs of their Voyage; and ſometimes threatning them with the King's Authority; but it pleaſed God, that on the 23d the Wind came up at Weſt North-weſt, the Sea indifferent rough as they all wiſhed; and three Hours before Noon a Turtle Dove flew over the Admiral; and in the Afternoon a Gull and other white Birds; and among the Weeds they found little Graſshoppers. The next Day came a Gull and ſome Turtle Doves from the Weſtward, and ſome ſmall Fiſhes, which they ſtruck. As theſe Tokens had hitherto failed, the Mens Fear increaſed, and they took occaſion to gather Parties, ſaying, the Admiral in a mad Humour had thought to make himſelf great at the Expence of their Lives; and though they had done their Duty, and ſailed farther from Land than ever any Man had done before, they ought not to be inſtrumental to their own Deſtruction; ſtill proceeding without any Reaſon, till their Proviſions failed them, which, though they were ever very ſparing, would not ſuffice to carry them back any more than the Ships, which were already very crazy; ſo that no body would think they had done amiſs, and that ſo many having oppoſed the Admiral's Projects, the more Credit would be given to them: Nay, there wanted not ſome, who ſaid that, to put an End to all Debates, the beſt Way would be to throw him into the Sea, and ſay he had unfortunately fallen in, as he was attentively gazing on the Stars, and no body would go about to enquire into the Truth of it; that was the beſt Means for them to return and ſave themſelves.

Thus the evil Deſigns of the Men very much perplexed *Columbus*; but ſometimes giving good Words, and at other times, putting them in mind of the Puniſhment they would incur if they obſtructed the Voyage, he curbed their Inſolence with Fear, and as a Confirmation of the Hopes he gave them of ſoon concluding the Voyage ſucceſsfully, he often put them in mind of the above mentioned Signs, promiſing them they would ſoon find a very rich Country, where they would all conclude their Labour well beſtowed. The Men were ſo anxious and diſconſolate that every Hour ſeemed a Year, till on the 25th at Sun ſetting, whilſt *Columbus* was talking to *Vincent Yanez Pinzon*, he cried out Land, Land, Sir; let me not loſe my Reward for this good News; and ſhewed towards the South-weſt a Body that looked like an Iſland, about 25 Leagues from the Ships. This, which was looked upon as an Invention concerted between them two, ſo much cheared up the Men, that they returned Thanks to God; and the Admiral, till Night, made as if he believed it to be ſo, ſteering his Courſe that Way a great Part of the Night, to humour the Men.

The next Morning they all perceived they were Clouds, which often look like Land, and to the great Regret of of the major Part, they held on their Courſe Weſtward. But to return to the Tokens; they ſaw a Gull and a Wagtail, and other Birds; and the next Day they ſaw another Wagtail flying from the Weſt Eaſtward, and many gilt Fiſhes appeared, which they killed; and a Wagtail flew very near the Ship, and they perceived that the Currents ran not ſo ſtrong as before, but turned back with the Tides, and there were fewer Weeds; and the Day following they took many Gilt-Fiſhes. On the 29th they ſaw a Wagtail, which is a Sea-Fowl that never reſts, purſues the Gulls till they empty their Bellies for ſear, and catching their Dung in the Air feeds on it; and of theſe Birds there are many in the Iſlands of *Cabo Verde*. Soon after two Wagtails appeared, and many flying Fiſhes, which having two little Wings, ſometimes fly a Muſket Shot, or a few Yards, above the Water; being about a Span in Length, and ſometimes fell into the Ships. In the Afternoon they met with a great Quantity of Weeds, in a Line from North to South, and three Gulls and a Wagtail purſuing them; the Men ſtill fancying that the Weeds were a Token that there was Ground near them under Water, and that they ſhould periſh.

On the 30th, four Wagtails flew near the Admiral, and by their being together, they gueſſed that they were near Land, and alſo becauſe four more came ſoon after, and they ſaw many Weeds in a Line from Weſt North-weſt, to Eaſt South eaſt, and many Fiſhes called Emperors, which have a very hard Skin, and are not fit to eat. Though the Admiral took notice of theſe Tokens, he did not forget thoſe in the Sky. He obſerved, there, that the Polar Stars were, at Night, on the Weſt Quarter, and when Day came on, they were at the North-eaſt Quarter; by which he concluded that during the Night, they advanced but three Lines, which are Nine Hours, and this he found every Night; he alſo perceived, that at Night-fall, the Needles varied one whole Degree, and in the Morning they were right with the Star; which very much troubled and confounded the Pilots, till he told them, that the Occaſion of it was the Compaſs of the North Star about the Pole, and that gave them ſome Satisfaction; for, in reality, that Variation made them apprehenſive of Danger, as being far from Land.

5. *October* the 1ſt, at Break of Day, a Wagtail came to the Admiral, as did others, two or three Hours before Noon; and the Weeds came from Eaſt to Weſt, ſome believing they ſhould fall in ſo near the Land, that the Ships would be a-ground and periſh. The ſame Day, in the Morning, the Pilot told the Admiral that they were then 588 to the Weſtward, off the Iſland *Ferro*. The Admiral told the Pilot, that by his reckoning it was 584; but, in his own Thoughts, and according to his true reckoning, it was 607. The Pilot of the Caravel *Nina*, on the Third, in the Afternoon, ſaid he found they had ſailed 650 Leagues, and the Pilot of the *Pinta* ſaid 634, wherein they were miſtaken, for they had always ſailed before the Wind: But *Columbus* ſtill took no notice, leſt the Men ſhould be diſmayed at the vaſt Run; for the greateſt Sea, till then known, did not exceed 200

Leagues. On the 2d they killed a Tunny, and ſaw much other Fiſh, and a white Bird, and many grey ones, and the Weeds very much withered, and almoſt rotted to Duſt; and having ſeen no Birds the third Day, they feared they had miſſed ſome Iſland on either Side, believing that the many Birds they had ſeen, went over from one Iſland to another; and the Men being deſirous to turn to one Side or other to ſeek for theſe Lands, *Columbus* did not think fit to let ſlip the fair Weather that favoured him; he kept to the Weſt, which was what he deſired, becauſe he thought he ſhould loſe the Credit of his Undertaking, if they ſaw him turning, at random, from one ſide to the other, to find out that, which he always affirmed he knew.

For this Reaſon, the Men began again to mutiny, which none will wonder at, who conſiders ſo many Men led by one, of whom few of them had any Knowledge, expoſed to ſo many Dangers, without ſeeing any thing for ſo many Days, but Sky and Water, or knowing what would be the End of ſuch a long Voyage. But it pleaſed God to ſend new Tokens, which, in ſome meaſure, quieted their Minds; for on the 4th, in the Afternoon, they ſaw about forty Sparrows and two Gulls, which came ſo near to the Ships, that a Sailor killed one of them with a Stone, and ſeveral flying Fiſhes fell into the Ship; all which things, and the good Words the Admiral gave them, pacified them; the next Day there flew near the Ships a Wagtail and a Gull, and ſeveral Sparrows from the Weſtward. On the 7th ſome Signs of Land appeared to the Weſtward, but no Man durſt ſpeak of it becauſe of the Thickneſs of the Weather, though they all wiſhed for it, to gain the Reward of an Annuity of 10,000 Marvedies, their *Catholic* Majeſties had promiſed for Life to the firſt that ſhould diſcover Land; and to prevent their crying Land at every Foot, in Hopes of that Annuity, it was ordained, that whoſoever ſaid it, if the ſame were not made good in three Days, ſhould be for ever excluded from that Reward, though he ſhould afterwards really diſcover it. However, thoſe aboard the Caravel *Nina*, which was much a-head, being ſo good a Sailer, concluding that it was certainly Land, fired their Guns and put out their Colours. But the farther they ſailed, the more their Joy abated, till it quite vaniſhed.

In the Midſt of this Anguiſh, it pleaſed God to comfort them again with the Sight of many Birds, among which many were Land Fowl, flying from the Weſt to the South-weſt; and *Columbus*, conſidering after he had ſailed ſo vaſt a Length, that ſuch ſmall Birds could not be far from Land, concluded it muſt certainly be near, and therefore he altered the Courſe he had then held due Weſt, and ſteered South-weſt; alledging, that though he altered his Courſe, he deviated but little from the firſt Deſign, and did it to follow the Rules and Method of the *Portugueſe*, who had diſcovered moſt of the Iſlands by following the Flight of ſuch Birds: Beſides, that thoſe they then ſaw took the ſame Way, he alſo concluded he ſhould find Land, for as they well knew he had often told them he did not expect to find it till he had ſailed 750 Leagues from the *Canaries* Weſtwards; at which Diſtance he had alſo told them he ſhould diſcover the Iſland *Cipango*, and that he ſhould certainly have found it, had he not known it was ſaid to lie North and South, and that he had not turned to the Southward to avoid falling on it, and that he believed it lay among other Iſlands on the Left-hand, and which Way thoſe Birds flew, and that it was by reaſon they were ſo near Land, ſo many, and ſuch various Sorts, of them appeared.

6. It pleaſed God, when Don *Chriſtopher Columbus* could no longer withſtand ſo much Contradiction, that on the 11th of *October*, 1492, in the Afternoon, he received ſome Comfort by the manifeſt Tokens they perceived of their being near Land; for the Men aboard the Admiral ſaw a green Ruſh near the Ship, and next a large green Fiſh of that Sort, that creeps cloſe about the Rocks. Thoſe aboard the Caravel *Pinta* ſaw a Cane and a Staff, and took up one that was artificially wrought, and a little Board, and ſaw Abundance of Weeds freſh torn off from the Shore; for which Reaſons, and, becauſe they brought up Sand upon Sounding; there was a Certainty of their being near Land, which was confirmed by the Shifting of the Wind, which ſeemed to come from the Shore.

Columbus being ſatisfied, after Night-fall, when they had ſaid the *Salve Regina*, as is uſual among Sailors; he diſcourſed the Men, telling them how merciful God had been to them, carrying them ſafe ſo long a Voyage; and that, ſince the Tokens were hourly manifeſt, he deſired them to watch all Night, ſince they knew that in the firſt Article of the Inſtructions he had given them when he came out of *Spain*, he told them, that when they had run 700 Leagues without diſcovering Land, they were to lie by after Midnight, till Day, and be upon the Watch, for he firmly believed they would find Land that Night. And that, beſides the 10,000 Marvedies, an Annuity their Highneſſes had promiſed the Perſon that ſhould firſt diſcover it, he would give a Velvet Doublet: Two Hours before Midnight, *Columbus* ſtanding on the Poop ſaw a Light, and privately called *Peter Gutierres*, Groom of the Privy Chamber to the King, and bid him look at it, and he ſaw it; then they called *Roderick Sanchez* of *Segovia*, Purſer of the Fleet, who could not diſcern it; but afterwards it was ſeen twice, and looked like a little Candle raiſed up, and then taken down; and *Columbus* did not queſtion but it was a true Light, and that they were near Land, and ſo it proved; and it was of People paſſing from one Houſe to another. Two Hours after Midnight, the Caravel *Pinta*, was always a-head, and made Signs of Land, which was firſt diſcovered by a Sailor, whoſe Name was *Roderick de Trians*, but two Leagues diſtant. But their *Catholic* Majeſties declared, that the Reward of 10,000 Marvedies Annuity belonged to the Admiral, and it was afterwards paid him at the Shambles of *Sevile*, becauſe he ſaw the Light amidſt Darkneſs, meaning the Spiritual Light that was then coming in amongſt thoſe barbarous People. When Day appeared they perceived an Iſland 15 Leagues in Length; plain, much wooded, well watered, and having a Lake of freſh Water in the Midſt of it; well ſtored with People, who ſtood full of Admiration on the Shore, imagining the Ships to be Sea Monſters, waiting with the utmoſt Impatience to know what they were, as the *Spaniards* were no leſs eager to be upon Land.

The Admiral went aſhore in his Boat, armed, and the Royal Colours flying; as did the Captains, *Martin Alonſo Pinzon* and *Vincent Yanez Pinzon*, carrying the Colours of their Enterprize, being a green Croſs with ſome Crowns, and the Names of their *Catholic* Majeſties. Having all of them kiſſed the Ground, and on their Knees, with Tears, given Thanks to God for the Goodneſs he had ſhewn them; the Admiral ſtood up and gave that Iſland the Name of *San Salvador*, which the Natives called *Guanaham*, being one of thoſe afterwards called *Lucayo* Iſlands, 950 Leagues from the *Canaries*, diſcovered after they had ſailed 33 Days. Then, with proper Solemnity, he took Poſſeſſion of it, in the Name of their *Catholic* Majeſties, for the Crown of *Caſtile* and *Leon*, a great Multitude of the Natives looking on.

The *Spaniards* immediately owned him as their Admiral and Viceroy, and ſwore Obedience to him, as repreſenting the King's Perſon in that Country, with all the Joy and Satisfaction that ſo great an Event deſerved; all begging his Pardon for the Trouble and Uneaſineſs they had given him, by their Inconſtancy and want of Reſolution. The Admiral, believing thoſe *Indians* a gentle and ſimple People, gave them ſome red Caps, Glaſs-Beads, and ſuch like Things, which they highly valued: The *Spaniards* no leſs admiring their Colour and Shape. When the Admiral returned on board, the *Indians* followed him; ſome ſwimming, and others in their Boats, called Canoes, made of one Piece of Wood, like Trays. They carried along with them Skins and Bottoms of Cotton, Parrots and Javelins, the Ends of which were armed with Fiſh Bones, inſtead of Horn, and ſome other Things to exchange for Glaſs-toys, Hawks-bells, and the like; which they were ſo fond of, that they received even the broken Pieces of earthen Plates as precious Relics, being a People in their original Simplicity.

They were all ſtark naked as they were born, Men and Women, and moſt of them young, or not above thirty Years of age. They wore their Hair down to their Ears, and ſome few to their Necks, tied with a String. They had good Faces and Features, though their extraordinary high Foreheads ſomewhat disfigured them. They were of a middle Stature, well ſhaped, and their Skins of an Olive Colour, like the Natives of the *Canaries*; ſome of them were painted with black, and others white, and others red; moſt of them on their Bodies, and ſome on their Faces and Eyes, or only the Noſe. They were not acquainted with our Weapons, for when they ſhewed them naked Swords, they ſimply laid hold on the Edges.

They knew nothing of Iron, and wrought Wood with hard ſharp Stones found in Rivers. Some of them having Scars about them, and being aſked by Signs, anſwered, that People, from other Lands, came to make them Priſoners, and they received thoſe Wounds in their Defence. They ſeemed to be ready of Tongue, and ingenious; for they eaſily pronounced the Words they once heard. No other Sort of Creatures were ſeen there but Parrots.

On the 13th many *Indians* came aboard the Ships in their Canoes, moſt of which carried forty five Perſons; yet ſome were ſo ſmall that they held but one. They rowed with an Oar like the Peel of an Oven, as if they had dug with a Spade; and their Boats are ſo artificially made, that though they over-ſet, the *Indians* ſwimming turn them up again, and empty the Water with dried Gourds they had for that Purpoſe. They carried Cotton to barter, and ſome for three Ceutis of *Portugal* (worth about a Farthing) gave as many Bottoms of Cotton as weighed a quarter of an hundred Weight. They wear no Jewels or other things of Value, except ſome little Plates of Gold they had hanging at their Noſes. They were aſked whence they had that Gold, and ſignified it came from the Southward, where a King had much of it. The Admiral underſtanding that there were other Lands, reſolved to go in queſt of them. The Ships were never clear of *Indians*; the whole Day was ſpent in bartering; their Generoſity not extending to give what they had, but for the Value they put upon what they received in return; looking upon the *Spaniards* as Men come from Heaven, and therefore they would have ſomething to keep as a Memorial of their being there.

7. On the 14th, in the Morning, the Admiral, with the Boats, took a View of the Coaſt to the North-weſt. The Natives followed by Land, promiſing Proviſions, and calling others to ſee the People come from Heaven, who, wondring, lifted up their Hands, and ſome ſwimming, and others in Canoes, went to aſk them by Signs, whether they came from Heaven, and praying them to go and reſt in their Country. The Admiral gave them all Glaſs Toys, Pins, and other Baubles, being well pleaſed; at length he came to a Ridge of Rocks, where there was a ſafe and ſpacious Harbour, and where a ſtrong Caſtle might have been erected, becauſe it was almoſt encompaſſed with the Sea. In that Place were ſix Houſes, with many Trees about them; and becauſe the Men were tired with rowing, and he perceived the Country was not proper to make any long ſtay in, he took ſeven *Indians* to learn the *Spaniſh* Tongue, and returning to the Caravels, ſet out in queſt of the other Iſlands; about an hundred appearing flat, green, and inhabited; the *Indians* telling the Names of them.

On the 15th, he came to one that was ſeven Leagues from the Firſt, which he called *St. Mary of the Conception*. The Side whereof next to *St. Saviour* extends 50 Leagues along the Coaſt; but the Admiral took the Coaſt that lies Eaſt and Weſt, being eighteen Leagues in Length; anchored on the Weſt, and went aſhore. The Natives flocked thither in great Numbers, with much Amazement, and he perceiving all alike thought fit to proceed no farther; a Canoe being aboard the Caravel *Nina*, one of the ſeven *Indians* of *San Salvador*, or *St. Saviour*, threw himſelf over-board and went his Way, and though the Boat purſued, they could not overtake him; the Night before another made his Eſcape. Another *Indian* came in a Canoe, to exchange Cotton; the Admiral ordered a red Cap to be put upon his Head, and Hawks-Bells on his Arms and Legs, and ſo ſent him away very joyful, without taking his Cotton. The next Day he ſailed away Weſt to another Iſland, the Coaſt whereof ſtretched a long 18 Leagues North-weſt and South-eaſt, where he arrived on the 17th, in the Afternoon, by reaſon of the Calm.

On their Way they met an *Indian* in a Canoe, carrying a Piece of ſuch Bread as they eat, and a Calabaſh or Gourd with Water; a little black Earth with which they paint themſelves, and dry Leaves of an Herb they very much value, becauſe it is wholeſome, and has a ſweet Scent, and in a little Baſket a String of Glaſs-Beads and two Vintems, a ſmall *Portugal* Coin, by which they knew he came from *St. Salvador*, had paſſed by the *Conception*, and was going to this Iſland, which the Admiral named *Fernanda*, in Honour of the King. They underſtood that the ſaid *Indian* was going to carry Advice of the *Spaniards*, but the Way being very long, and he tired with rowing, he went aboard the Ships, where the Admiral ordered him ſome Bread and Honey to eat, and Wine to drink, and as ſoon as he arrived at the Iſland he ordered him to be ſet aſhore with ſome Toys he gave him. The good Account he gave, cauſed the People to go aboard, and barter for ſuch Things as they had met with in the other Iſlands, the Inhabitants of them being of one Nation. When the Boat went aſhore for Water, the Inhabitants readily ſhewed it, and carried the little Tubs to fill the Pipes; but they ſeemed to be a more underſtanding People than the former; for they managed better in exchange of Commodities. Theſe had Cotton Cloths in their Houſes, and the married Women covered their Privities with a little Cotton Cloth, which the Maids did not.

This Iſland appeared to abound in Water, having many Meadows and Groves, and ſome agreeable little Hills, which there was not in the others; with an infinite Variety of Birds that ſung ſweetly, and flew in flocks, moſt of them different from what *Spain* affords; there were alſo many Lakes, and near one of them they ſaw a Creature like a Crocodile, ſeven Foot long, and they throwing Stones at him, he ran into the Water, where they killed him with their Spears, admiring its Largeneſs and frightful Shape; but Time afterwards made it appear, that theſe Animals being ſcaled and flead, are good Meat; the Fleſh of them being white, and much valued by the *Indians*; and in the Iſland of *Hiſpaniola* they call them *Yavanas*; in that Iſland they ſaw Trees that looked as if they had been grafted, as having Leaves and Branches of four or five different Sorts, and yet they were natural: They alſo ſaw Fiſhes of fine Colours, but no Land Creatures appeared, except large and tame Snakes, and Parrots, Alligators, and a Sort of little Rabbits, in Shape like Mice, but bigger, which they call *Utias*. Proceeding towards the North-weſt, taking a View of this Iſland, they anchored in the Mouth of a fine Harbour, that had an Iſland before it; but they went not in, becauſe it had not Water enough; nor would the Admiral go far from a Town that had covered them; whereas they had not yet ſeen, in any Iſlands, any bigger than of ten or twelve Houſes like Tents, ſome round and others long, with an open Portal before them, as is uſual in the Low Countries; covered with Leaves of Trees, well fitted for the Rain and Weather, with Vents for the Smoak, Ridges at the Top, handſomely made; and within them there was no other Houſhold Stuff or Ornament, than what they carried aboard the Ships to barter. But their Beds were a Net, made faſt to two Poſts, which are called Hamocks. They alſo ſaw ſome little Dogs that did not bark.

They found an *Indian* who had a Bit of Gold in his Noſe, with ſome Characters on it that looked like Letters; and the Admiral would have taken it from him, believing it had been a Coin, but it afterwards appeared there had never been any in the *Weſt Indies*. Finding nothing more in *Fernanda*, than in *St. Salvador*, and the *Conception*; he proceeded to the others that were neareſt. The fourth Iſland he came to was called *Saſmoto*, and he named it *Iſabella*, in Honour of the Queen; and took Poſſeſſion of it before Witneſſes, and the Notary, as he had done in the others. He perceived the Land was beautiful as the reſt, and the People like the former. They killed another

Alligator, and as they were going towards a Town the *Indians* fled, carrying away what they had. But the Admiral having forbid meddling with any thing, they ſoon came to the Ships to barter like the reſt; and the Admiral gave them ſome Toys, and to try their Kindneſs aſked for Water, which they carried to him in Calabaſhes or Gourds. He would not loſe Time at the Iſland of *Iſabella* or others; but reſolved to go in queſt of another, which they told him was very large, and called *Cuba*, pointing to the South; he believing it had been *Cipango*, by Reaſon of the Signs they gave of it, and their extraordinary Reports concerning it.

8. On the 28th he drew near the Coaſt, gave it the Name of *Juana* or *Johanna*; which ſeemed to be a better Country than the others, by Reaſon of the Hills, riſing Grounds, and Variety of Trees, Plains, and Shores that appeared. He anchored in a great River he called *San Salvador*. The Woods appeared very thick, the Trees tall, with Bloſſoms and Fruits different from ours; and there were abundance of Birds. The Admiral, deſiring to have Information, ſent to two Houſes, the People whereof fled, leaving Nets and Fiſhing Tackle behind them, and a Dog that did not bark. He would not ſuffer any thing to be touched, but ſailed to another great River, which he called *de la Luna*, i. e. of the Moon. Another he ſaw, which he called *de Mares*, or of the Seas, the Banks of it were very well inhabited.

The *Indians* fled to the Mountains, which were covered with large and tall Trees of ſeveral Sorts. The *Indians* he carried with him ſignified to him that there was Gold and Pearls in *Cuba*; and he thought it very probable, becauſe he ſaw Muſcles; they alſo ſaid it was not ten Days Sail from thence to the *Continent*, according to the Notion he had. *Paul*, a Phyſician of *Florence*, having writ about it; however, though he was in the right, it was not the Land he imagined. Believing that if many Men went a-ſhore, it would add to the Fear of the *Indians*, he ſent two *Spaniards*, with one *Indian* of *San Salvador*, and one of *Cuba*, who came to the Ships in a Canoe. The *Spaniards* being *Roderigo de Xeres*, an Inhabitant of *Ayamonte*, and *Lewes de Torres*, who had been a Jew, and ſpoke *Hebrew* and *Chaldaic*, and ſome ſay *Arabic*. He gave them Things to exchange, and allowed them ſix Days to return in; directing them to go up into the Country, and enquire into all Affairs without doing Harm to any body. In the mean Time he refitted the Ship, and they obſerved, that from all the Wood they burnt, there came a Sort of Gum like Maſtic, reſembling in the Leaf and Fruit the Maſtic Tree, but much bigger. In this River of *Mares* the Ship had room to wind: It has 7 or 8 Fathom Water at the Mouth, and five within, with two Ridges of high Ground on the South-eaſt, and a fine Cape to the Weſt North-weſt, plain and running out; and this was afterwards the Port of *Baracboa*, which the Adalantado, or Lord Lieutenant *Diego Velaſquez*, called of the *Aſſumption*.

When the Ship was ready to ſail, the *Spaniards* returned, on the 5th of *November*, with three of the Native *Indians*, reporting they had travelled 22 Leagues, and found a Village of fifty Houſes, built like them before mentioned, and that they contained about 1000 Perſons, becauſe a whole Generation lived in a Houſe, and that the prime Man came out to meet them, led them by the Arms, and lodged them in one of theſe new Houſes; cauſing them to ſit down on Seats made of one ſolid Piece of Wood, in the Shape of a Beaſt, with very ſhort Legs, and the Tail held up the Head before, with Eyes and Ears of Gold; and that all the *Indians* ſat about them on the Ground, and one after another went to kiſs their Feet and Hands, believing they came from Heaven, and gave them boiled Roots to eat, which taſted like Cheſnuts; and intreated them to ſtay there, or at leaſt, to reſt five or ſix Days; becauſe the *Indians* that went with them ſaid many kind Things. That Abundance of Women ſoon after coming in to ſee them, all the Men went out, and they, with the ſame Admiration, kiſſed their Feet and Hands, touching them as if they had been ſome holy Things, offering what they brought; and that many of the Men would have come away with them, but that they would admit of none but the Lord and his Son, with one Servant.

They added, that, both coming and going, they found many Villages where the ſame Reſpect was paid them, but, that none of them had above five or ſix Houſes; and that, by the Way, they met many People, each of them carrying a Fire-brand in his Hand to light Fire, and perfume themſelves with ſome Herbs they carried along with them, and to roaſt their Roots, that being their principal Food; and the Fire was eaſily kindled, becauſe they had a Sort of Wood, which, if they worked one Piece againſt another, as if piercing a Hole, took fire; they alſo ſaw a Multitude of ſeveral Sorts of Trees, ſuch as they had not ſeen on the Sea-coaſt, and great Variety of Birds, different from ours, and among them Partridges and Nightingales; but that they had met with no four-footed Creatures, beſides thoſe little Cur-Dogs that cannot bark. They had much Ground ſowed with their Roots; and that Sort of Corn called Maize, well taſted, either boiled or ground into Flower. They ſaw a vaſt Quantity of ſpun Cotton in Bottoms, and in one Houſe they believed there was above 12,000 Pound Weight of it; the ſame growing in the Fields without being planted; and as the Roſes blow of themſelves, ſo does that, when ripe, though not all at the ſame Time; for, upon the ſame Plant, ſome were open and others ſtill cloſed; and for a Leathern Thong, or a Piece of glazed Ware, or a Bit of a Looking-Glaſs, they would give a little Baſket full of Cotton, which they did not make uſe of to cloath themſelves, for they all went naked, but in making Nets for their Beds, and little Cloths to cover their Privities; and that being aſked about Gold and Pearls, they ſaid there was Abundance at *Bobio*, pointing Eaſtward.

9. The *Spaniards* ſtill enquiring of the *Indians* for Gold, they anſwered, *Cubanacan*, which they thought had meant the Great *Cham*, and that the Country of *Cathay* was not far off, becauſe they alſo pointed out four Days Journey. *Martin Alonſo Pinzon* ſaid it muſt be ſome great City, that was four Days Journey from thence; but it was not long before they underſtood that *Cubanacan* was a Province in the Midſt of the Iſland of *Cuba*, for *Nacan* ſignifies in the Middle, and that there were Mines of Gold. Having heard thus much, the Admiral would not loſe any more Time, but ordered ſome *Indians* to be taken, to be carried into *Spain*, from ſeveral Parts, that every one might give an Account of his own Country, as Witneſſes of the Diſcovery: Twelve were taken, Men, Women, and Children, without giving Offence. As they were ready to ſail, an *Indian*, who was one of the Womens Huſband, and Father to two Boys that were aboard, came to the Ship, and deſired they would take him along with his Wife and Children; the Admiral ordered him to be taken aboard, and all of them to be well uſed; and, becauſe of the North Winds, he was obliged to return to a Port, which he called *del Principe*, or the *Princes*, where he arrived on the 13th, and erected a Croſs at the Mouth of it, made of two large Pieces of Timber.

The next Day he ſtood to the Eaſtward, in queſt of the Iſland *Hiſpaniola*, which the *Indians* called *Bobio*, and ſome of them *Babeque*; but it afterwards appeared *Babeque* was not the Iſland of *Hiſpaniola*, but the Continent, for they called it by another Name, *Carabina*. *Martin Alonſo Pinzon* underſtanding now, that the *Indians* ſaid there was much Gold in *Bobio*, being covetous to enrich himſelf, he left the Admiral on the 21ſt, without any Streſs of Weather, or any other lawful Cauſe; and his Ship being a very good Sailer, made the beſt of his Way thither. By the Name of *Bobio*, which was the Land of *Hiſpaniola*, it ſeemed the *Indians* would ſignify that it was a Land full of Bohios, that is, Cottages; the Admiral ſeeing, that, notwithſtanding all the Signals he made, *Martin Alonſo* was not to be found with the two Ships, and the Wind being ſtill contrary, he returned to *Cuba*, to a large and ſafe Harbour, which he called *St. Catherines*; there he wooded and watered, and ſaw ſome Stones with Tokens of Gold in them. On the Land there were tall Firr-trees, fit to make Maſts, and perceiving that all the *Indians* directed him to *Hiſpa-*

niola, he ſailed along the Coaſt more to the South-eaſt 42 Leagues, where he found large and ſafe Harbours, and among them a River, up the Mouth whereof a Gally could eaſily paſs, though the Entrance could not be perceived, unleſs very near to it. The Convenience of the River invited him to go in the Length of the Boat, where he found eight Fathom Water, and proceeding ſtill farther, he ſaw a Canoe of twelve Oars on the Land, under a ſort of Arbour, and in ſome Houſes cloſe by they found a Maſs of Wax, and a Man's Head hanging in a little Baſket at a Poſt, the which Wax they carried to their Catholic Majeſties, none being ever after found in *Cuba*, whence it was concluded to have been brought from *Yucatan*, either by Streſs of Weather in a Canoe, or ſome other Way. They found no People to make any Enquiry of them, becauſe they all fled, but ſaw another Canoe 95 Spans in Length, which could carry fifty Perſons, made of one intire Tree, like the reſt; and though they had no Iron Tools to work them, the Inſtruments they made uſe of for that Purpoſe, of Flints, proved ſufficient, becauſe the Trees were very large, and the Heart of them very ſoft and ſpungy, ſo that they eaſily hollowed them with Flints.

The Admiral arrived at the Eaſtern Point of it, and ſet out from thence on the 5th of *December* for *Hiſpaniola*, being eighteen Leagues over to the Eaſtward, but could not reach it till the next Day, by reaſon of the Currents. When he entered the Port he called it *St. Nicholas*, becauſe it was that Saint's Day, and found it ſafe, ſpacious, and deep, encompaſſed with thick Woods, though the Land is hilly, and the Trees not very large, like thoſe in *Spain*; for they ſaw Firrs and Myrtles, and a pleaſant River ran into the Harbour; and on the Shore there were many Canoes as big as Brigantines of twenty-five Oars. However, finding no People, he proceeded farther to the Northward, to the Port called the *Conception*, to the Southward of an Iſland he called *Tortuga*, ten Leagues from *Hiſpaniola*, and finding that this Iſland of *Bobio* was very large, and that the Soil and Trees were like thoſe in *Spain*, as alſo that at one Draught of a Net, among other Sort of Fiſh, they had taken *Shads*, *Soles*, and other Sort of Fiſh known in *Spain*, which till then they had not ſeen in thoſe Parts; and that they had heard the Nightingale ſing, with other *European* Birds which they admired, about *December*, he ſtiled the Iſland *la Eſpanola*, by us corruptly called *Hiſpaniola*. He thought fit the Name of *Spain* ſhould have place, though ſome told him it would be more proper to call it *Caſtelana*, becauſe only the Kingdoms *Caſtile* and *Leon* were concerned in that Conqueſt.

In regard that the *Indians* he had on board gave him ſo good an Account, he was earneſt to ſee what Truth there was as to the Wealth of that Country, and to take a View of it; but the *Indians* flying, and giving one another Notice by Fires, he thought fit to ſend out ſix armed *Spaniards*, who having travelled far, returned without finding any People, ſaying wonderful Things of the Delightfulneſs of the Land. Having ordered a great Croſs to be erected near the Mouth of the Harbour, on the Weſt-ſide, as three Sailors were in the Wood, ſeeking for proper Trees for that effect, they ſpy'd abundance of naked People, who fled as ſoon as they ſaw the *Spaniards*. The Sailors running after them took a Woman who had a little Plate of Gold hanging at her Noſe. The Admiral gave her Hawks-Bells, Strings of Glaſs-Beads, and cauſed a Shirt to be put upon her, and ſo ſent her away, with three of the *Indians* he had brought with him, and three *Spaniards*, to bear her company to her Habitation.

10. The next Day he ſent nine *Spaniards*, well armed, with an *Indian* of *San Salvador*, which was four Leagues diſtant to the South-eaſt; they found a Town of a Thouſand Houſes abandoned, the Inhabitants being fled. The *Indian* went after them, and ſo much extolled the *Spaniards*, that they returned, and being ſomewhat aſtoniſhed and trembling, laid their Hands on the Heads of the *Spaniards*, by way of Honour and Reſpect, and carrying them Proviſions, deſiring they would ſtay that Night; Abundance of People then came up, carrying on their Shoulders the Woman to whom the Admiral had given the Shirt, with her Huſband, who was going to return them Thanks. The *Spaniards* returned with an Account that the Country abounded in Proviſions; the People whiter and of better Countenances than thoſe of the other Iſlands, more tractable, and that the Country which produced Gold was more to Eaſtward; that the Men were not ſo large, but ſtrong boned, and groſs, without Beards, their Noſtrils very wide, and their Foreheads ſmooth and high, and that they made them ſo at their Birth, reckoning it graceful; for which Reaſon, and becauſe they always went bareheaded, their Skulls were ſo hard, that ſometimes a *Spaniſh* Sword would break upon their Heads.

The Admiral was informed that the Lord of that Territory, whom they called a Cazique, was coming with two hundred Men to ſee the Ships, and though young, they carried him on a Palankin, on their Shoulders, and he had ſeveral Counſellors; when he came on board it was obſerved, with Admiration, how great Reſpect they paid him, and how gravely he behaved. An *Indian* of the Iſland *Iſabella* went and talked to him, telling him the *Spaniards* were heavenly Men. He went aboard, and when he came to the Quarter-deck, he made Signs for thoſe that were with him to ſtay behind, excepting two who ſat down at his Feet, and were his Counſellors. The Admiral ordered to give him to eat; he took a little of every thing, and having taſted it, gave it to the other two, and afterwards carried it to the reſt. They gave him Drink, and he only put it to his Mouth; they all behaved themſelves very gravely, ſaid little; his Men looked at his Mouth, and ſpoke to him, and the Admiral, by means of the *Indian* Interpreter, gave him to underſtand that he was Commander for their Majeſties of *Caſtile* and *Leon*, the greateſt Sovereigns in the World. But, neither the Cazique, nor the reſt, would believe any other than that they came from Heaven. They ſeemed to the Admiral to be a more rational People, than thoſe of the other Iſlands; and becauſe it grew late the Cazique returned aſhore. The next Day, though the Wind was contrary, and blew hard, the Sea did not ſwell, by reaſon of the Shelter the Iſland *Tortuga* afforded to that Coaſt; and ſome Seamen went a-fiſhing, with whom the *Indians* were well pleaſed. Some Men went to the Town, and obtained little Plates of Gold for Glaſs-Beads, which much pleaſed the Admiral, becauſe he was very deſirous that ſome Gold might be found in proſecuting this Diſcovery, to ſhew that his Promiſes were not vain.

The King came again to the Shore, in the Afternoon, and then a Canoe arrived from the Iſland *Tortuga*, with forty Men to ſee the *Spaniards*; at which the Cazique appeared to be concerned; but all the *Indians* of *Hiſpaniola* ſat down on the Ground, in token of Peace, and thoſe in the Canoe went aſhore; but the King ſtood up, and threatning them, they went aboard their Canoe again. The Admiral, being reſolved to diſcover the Country, ſet ſail, and during all the 19th of *December* could not get out of that little Bay between the two Iſlands, nor put into the Harbour hard by it. He ſaw many Mountains, Woods, and Groves, and a little Iſland, which he called *St. Thomas*. He judged that *Hiſpaniola* had many Capes and Harbours, and he thought the Temperature of the Air moſt pleaſant, and the Soil delightful. On the 20th he put into a Harbour, between the little Iſland of *St. Thomas* and the Cape. Several Towns appeared, as alſo Fires; becauſe the Seaſon being dry, and the Graſs there growing high, they burnt it to make Ways; for, as they were naked, the dry Weeds hurt them, and alſo to hunt the Utias, which they took with Fire. The Admiral entered the Port with the Boats, and having viewed it, ſaid it was a very good one. He ſent out to ſee whether there was any Town near, and they found one at a little Diſtance from the Sea; they ſaw *Indians* who kept a-loof from the *Spaniards*, but the *Indians* that came aboard the Ships bid them not to fear; and immediately ſo many Men, Women, and Children came, that there was no ſeeing through the Throng. They carried Meat, Calabaſhes with Water, and good Bread made of Maize or *Indian* Wheat; they did not hide the Women, as had been done in other Parts, but all admired to ſee the Chriſtians, and ſtanding amazed, glorified God. They were whiter and better ſhaped, better natured, and more generous;

and the Admiral took ſpecial Care that no Offence ſhould be given them. He ſent ſix Men to ſee the Town, where they entertained them as believing they came from Heaven. In the mean Time there came ſome Canoes, with Men ſent by a King, who deſired the Admiral to go to his Town, where he was waiting for him, with many People on a Point of Land.

He went in the Boats, though many had intreated him not to go, but to ſtay with them. As ſoon as the Boats came, the King ſent the *Spaniards* Proviſions, and ſeeing they accepted of them, they went to the Town for more, and for Parrots. The Admiral gave the *Indians* Hawks-Bells, Glaſs Baubles, and ſome of Tin; he returned to the Ships, the Women and Children crying out that he ſhould not go away. Some that, out of Curioſity followed him in Canoes, he gave Victuals to, as he did to others that ſwam aboard from half a League Diſtance; though the Shore was covered with People, they could ſee Abundance coming and going croſs a large Plain, which was afterwards called *la Vega Real*, or the Royal Plain; the Admiral again commended the Harbour, and gave it the Name of *St. Thomas*, becauſe he found it on his Day. The 22d, in the Morning, he was going in ſearch of the Iſlands, which the *Indians* ſaid had much Gold, but was hindered by the Weather, and ſent the Boats a-fiſhing; and then one came from King *Guacanagari*, to deſire him to go to his Country, and he would give him all he had, he being one of the five Sovereigns of the Iſland, poſſeſſing the greateſt Part of it on the North-ſide, where the Admiral then was; he ſent him a Girdle he wore inſtead of a Purſe, and a Vizor, with Ears, Tongue, and Noſe, of beaten Gold: The Girdle was adorned with ſmall Fiſh-Bones, like Seed Pearl, curiouſly wrought, four Fingers broad. The Admiral reſolved to go thither on the 23d, though to pleaſe others, there went before ſix *Spaniards*, becauſe the *Indians* were ſo much delighted every where to ſee them.

The foul Weather detaining the Admiral, he ſent a Notary to King *Guacanagari*, to acquaint him with it; he alſo ſent two of his *Indians* to a Town, to ſee if there was any Gold, gueſſing that there was Plenty of it; and it was believed for certain, that this Day above a Thouſand went aboard the Ships; every one of them gave ſomething, and thoſe who went not aboard from their Canoes cried, *Take, take.* The Notary went to *Guacanagari*, who came out to meet him. He thought that Town more regular than any he had ſeen before. All the People gazed on the Chriſtians with Joy and Admiration, and the King gave them Cotton Cloths, Parrots, and ſome Pieces of Gold, and the People, what they had; valuing the Toys the *Spaniards* gave them like Relics. Thus the Notary and his Companions returned to the Ships, attended by *Indians*.

The 24th the Admiral went to viſit *Guacanagari*; the Diſtance from Fort *St. Thomas* to the Place where the King was might be about four or five Leagues, and there he ſtaid, till, ſeeing the Sea calm, he returned aboard, and went to Bed, for he had not ſlept in two Days and a Night. The Weather being calm, the Sailor who was at the Helm left it to a Cabbin-boy, tho' the Admiral had, during the whole Voyage, forbid the Steerſman ever to quit the Helm, and in reality they were out of Danger of Sholes or Rocks; for on *Sunday*, when the Boats went to carry the Notary to the Cazique, they had ſurveyed all the Coaſt, and the Sholes there are from the Point of Land to the Eaſt-ſouth-eaſt, for above three Leagues, and they had alſo obſerved which Way they might paſs, and finding themſelves in a dead Calm they went to ſleep, and it happened the Current carried the Ship on very gently, till it ſtruck on a Rock with ſuch a dreadful Noiſe that it was heard a League off, and the Fellow that was at the Helm, finding the Rudder ſtrike, roared out.

The Admiral, hearing the Cry, was firſt up, and then the Maſter, whoſe Watch it was, and he ordered him, ſince the Boat was out, to let fall an Anchor at the Stern, for by that Means they might, with the Help of the Capſtain, work out the Ship; and when he thought they were doing what he had ordered, he perceived that ſome were making Way in the Boat to the Caravel that lay to the Windward half a League from thence. Obſerving that the Water ebbed, and the Ship was in Danger, he ordered to cut down the Maſt, and lighten it, to ſee if it might be ſaved; but it could not be done; the Water falling away all at once, the Ship was every Moment left dry, and lay a-thwart the Sea; and tho' it was not rough, by reaſon of the Calm, the Ship ſprung a Leak between the Ribs, and lay down on a Side, opened near the Keel, and was ſoon full of Water; and if the Wind had blown, or the Sea been rough, not a Man had eſcaped; but had the Maſter done as the Admiral ordered him, the Ship had got off ſafe. The Boat came again to their Aſſiſtance, for thoſe in the other Ship underſtanding how the Caſe ſtood, not only refuſed to receive thoſe that had fled, but with them ſailed back to the Relief of the Diſtreſſed. There being no Poſſibility of ſaving the Ship, Order was taken for ſaving the Men; to which Purpoſe the Admiral ſent *James de Arana* and *Peter Gutierrez*, to acquaint *Guacanagari* that by going to viſit him he had loſt his Ship a League and half from Land. *Guacanagari* lamented this Misfortune, and immediately ſent the Canoes, which in a Moment carried off all that were on the Decks; and he came himſelf with his Brothers, and took particular Care that nothing ſhould be touched, ſtaying in Perſon to guard the Goods, and ſent Word to the Admiral not to be concerned, for he would give him all he had; and the Goods were carried to two Houſes he had appointed to lay them up in. The *Indians* ſo affectionately gave their Help in this Diſtreſs, that it could not have been better done in *Spain*; for the People were gentle and loving, and their Language was eaſy to be pronounced and learned; and they had ſome commendable Cuſtoms, and the King was ſerved with much State, and he was very ſedate; and the People were ſo curious in aſking, that they would know a Reaſon for every thing.

On the 26th of *December Guacanagari* went on board the Caravel *Nina*, where the Admiral was in great Affliction for the Loſs of his Ship: He comforted him, and offered him all he had. Two *Indians* came from another Town, bringing Plates of Gold to exchange for Hawks-Bells, which were what they moſt valued, and the Admiral had a Stock of thoſe Baubles, grounded on the Experience he had learnt from the *Portugueſe* in *Guinea*. The Sailors alſo gave notice that others carried Gold, and gave it for Ribbons and other Trifles; *Guacanagari* obſerving what the Admiral valued, ſaid he would cauſe ſome to be brought from *Cibao*; and going aſhore, he invited the Admiral to go eat Axis and Cazabi, which was their chief Diet; and he gave him ſome Maſks, with Gold Eyes, Noſes, and Ears, with ſome other ſmall Things they wore about their Necks. He alſo complained to him of the *Caribes*, who carried away his People, which was the Reaſon of his flying at firſt, ſuppoſing the *Spaniards* had been *Caribes*. The Admiral ſhewed him his Arms, and a *Turkiſh* Bow with which a *Spaniard* ſhot very dexterouſly; but what he moſt admired was the Cannon, for when they were fired, the *Indians* fell down as if they had been dead. The Admiral having found ſo much Affection, and ſuch Tokens of Gold; and believing the Country was fruitful and wholeſome, judged that God had permitted the Ship to be caſt away to the End that a Settlement might be made there, and that the Preaching and Knowledge of his moſt holy Name might be begun in that Iſland.

The *Indians* went and came for Hawks-Bells, which were the Things they moſt delighted in, and as ſoon as they came near the Caravel, they held up the Pieces of Gold, crying, *Chuque, Chuque*, that is, Take, Take. An *Indian* came to the Shore with a Piece of Gold weighing half a Mark, (that is, four Ounces) and holding it in his Left-hand, ſtretched out the Right; and an Hawks-Bell being put into it, he let go the Gold and ran away, thinking he had cheated the *Spaniard*. The Admiral reſolved to leave ſome Men in that Country to trade with the People, and acquaint themſelves with the Country, and learn the Language, that when he returned for *Spain* there might be ſome capable to give Directions for making of a Settlement there; and many offered themſelves to that Purpoſe.

He ordered, for the preſent, a ſort of Town to be built with the Timber of the Ship: And at this Time Advice came, that the Caravel *Pinta* was in the River, toward the Eaſtern Point, and *Guacanagari* ſent to inquire into it. The Admiral carefully attended the Building, and the more for that there were daily greater Inducements to it, and becauſe *Guacanagari* always ſhewed himſelf fearful of the *Caribes*. The more to encourage and to ſhew him the Effect of the *Spaniſh* Arms, the Admiral ordered a great Gun to be fired againſt the Side of the Ship that had been caſt away, and the Ball paſſing clear-through fell into the Water: He ſhewed him what Harm our Weapons did, and told him that with them, thoſe he deſigned to leave behind in his Country ſhould defend him, becauſe he deſigned to return into *Spain* to bring ſome Preſents for him.

12. The Admiral haſtened the building of the Fort; and to that purpoſe went aſhore from the Caravel, aboard which he always lay. On the 18th, as he was going into the Boat, he thought he had ſeen *Guacanagari*, who went into his Houſe perhaps for the more State, ſending one of his Brothers, who received the Admiral with much Joy, and led him by the Hand to one of the Houſes that had been given to the Chriſtians, being the largeſt in the Town: In it they had provided for him a raiſed Seat, and made him ſit on a Chair with a low Back the *Indians* uſed, and they were very neatly poliſhed, and bright as if they had been made of Jet. As ſoon as the Admiral was ſeated, the Brother ſent to acquaint the King, who preſently came, and very joyfully hung a great Plate of Gold about his Neck, and ſtaid with him till it grew late, and the Admiral went aboard the Caravel. He had ſeveral Motives for leaving a Colony in that Place; the chief whereof were, That when it was known in *Spain* that Men had been left there to ſettle, the People might be more inclinable to go over thither; and becauſe all the Men left could not build another Veſſel in time, and likewiſe could not be tranſported in the only Caravel he had; as alſo becauſe he found thoſe that were to ſtay very inclinable to it, encouraged by the Gentleneſs and Affability of the People; and becauſe, tho' he had deſigned to carry to their Catholic Majeſties ſome Natives of the Country, and other moſt valuable Things there were in it, in token of the Diſcovery, and for the more Reputation of the Enterprize, it was convenient it ſhould be known that Men had ſtaid there of their own free Will.

The Fort had a Ditch round it; and, tho' built of Wood, was very ſtrong againſt the Natives. It was finiſhed in ten Days, becauſe a vaſt Number of Men worked at it; and he called it the Town of the *Nativity*, becauſe on that Day he came into the Port. On the 29th in the Morning, a Nephew of the King's, very young and of good Senſe, went aboard the Caravel; and the Admiral, being always ſollicitous to know where the Gold was found, learned all that's poſſible by Signs, and thought he underſtood ſome Words. Accordingly he aſked the Youth about the Mines, and underſtood that four Days Journey from thence there was an Iſland to the Eaſtward, which he called *Guarinoex*, and others, *Macorix*, *Mayonis*, *Fumay*, *Cibao*, and *Coray*, in which there was a vaſt Quantity of Gold. The Admiral immediately wrote down thoſe Names: And by this it appeared, that he underſtood nothing of the *Indian* Language; for theſe Places were not Iſlands, but Provinces in that Iſland, and Lands belonging to ſeveral Kings or Lords: *Guarinoex* was the King of that great Royal Plain before-mentioned; and the Youth meant to tell him, that in *Guarinoex*'s Country was the Province of *Cibao*, abounding in Gold: *Macorix* was another Province, which afforded little Gold: And the other Names were, as has been ſaid, Provinces; the Admiral not knowing how to write them, becauſe he did not underſtand them; and he thought the King's Brother, who was preſent, had reproved his Nephew for telling him thoſe Names. At Night the King ſent him a great Gold Maſk, deſiring he would ſend him a Baſon and an Ewer, which it is likely were of Braſs or Tin: He immediately ſent them, and believed he aſked for them to have the like made in Gold.

On the 30th the Admiral went to dine aſhore; and it happened to be at the Time when five Caziques or Princes, ſubject to *Guacanagari*, were come, all of them with Crowns of Gold on their Heads, and with great State; and as ſoon as he landed, *Guacanagari* came to meet him, and led him by the Arm to the ſame Houſe where he had been before, where the raiſed Place and the Chairs were. He cauſed the Admiral to ſit down with great Courteſy and Reſpect, and then took off the Crown from his own Head, and ſet it on the Admiral's, who took off a Collar he had on of fine Beads of ſeveral beautiful Colours, and put it about the King's Neck, and took off an Hood of fine Cloth which he had put on that Day, and put it upon the King, and ſent for a Pair of coloured Buſkins, which he alſo drew on; he alſo put a great Silver Ring upon his Finger, becauſe the Admiral had been told that they had ſeen one on a Sailor's Hand, and did all they could to get it of him; for it is certain that they put a great Value on any thing made of white Metal, whether it were Silver or Tin. With theſe Gifts the King thought himſelf much enriched, and was highly pleaſed. Two of thoſe Caziques bore the Admiral Company to the Place where he took Boat, and each of them gave him a great Plate of Gold; and theſe were not caſt, but made of many Grains beaten together; for the *Indians* of this Iſland had not the Art of caſting, but beat the Grains of Gold they found between two Stones, and by that Means ſpread them.

13. When the Admiral returned to lie aboard the Caravel, and found that *Vincent Yanez* the Commander of it affirmed he had ſeen Rhubarb, and knew the Strings of it, and the Root, the Admiral ſent for ſome Rhubarb, and they brought one Frail full of it, and no more; becauſe they had no Spades to dig it up with; which was carried to their Catholic Majeſties; but it did not prove to be Rhubarb. The Admiral looked upon the Pepper of this Iſland, which they call Axi or Pimento, as good Spice, ſaying it was better than the Pepper that they carried from the Eaſtern Parts; for which reaſon they fancied there were other Sorts of it. The Fort being finiſhed, he ordered all to be provided for ſailing, Wood and Water to be taken in, and other Preparations made. The King ordered as much as he would have of the Country Bread called Cazabi to be given him, as alſo of his Spice called Axi, Salt Fiſh, and what he had beſides. Tho' he would not willingly have gone away for *Spain* without coaſting all that Country, which he thought extended very far towards the Eaſt, that he might have diſcovered its Secrets, and find the beſt Paſſage from it to *Spain*, for the ſafer bringing over of Beaſts and Cattle, he durſt not then attempt it, as thinking he had but one Caravel, and might run himſelf into Danger, and therefore it was not reaſonable to venture farther in unknown Seas.

He complained very much of *Martin Alonſo*'s forſaking him, as being the Cauſe of thoſe Inconveniencies. He made choice of thirty-nine Men to ſtay in the Fort, ſuch as were moſt willing, chearful, ſtrong, and beſt able to endure Fatigues. He left with them for their Commander *James de Arana*, a Native of *Cordova*, Notary and Alguazil, with full Power as he had received it from their Majeſties; and in caſe he ſhould die, he appointed for his Succeſſor in that Poſt *Peter Autichrez*, Groom of the Privy-Chamber to the King; and in caſe he died, the Place to go to *Roderic de Eſcovedo*, born at *Seville*; and alſo left with them a Surgeon whoſe Name was *John*, together with a Ship-carpenter, a Caulker, a Cooper, and a good Gunner who was very ſkilful for Fireworks. There likewiſe was a Taylor left, the reſt were Sailors, whom he furniſhed with Biſket and Wine, and the other Proviſions he had, for a Year; leaving Seeds to ſow, and all the Goods and Things he had brought to barter, being a great Quantity; as alſo all the great Guns and other Arms that were in the Ship, and the Boat that had belonged to it.

When all Things were ready, and he upon the point of departing, he called them together, and ſpoke to them to this Effect, “He bid them offer up their Prayers to “God, and return Thanks to him for having carried “them to ſuch a Country to plant his holy Faith, and “not to forſake him, but to live like good Chriſtians,

“ and he would protect them: That they ſhould pray to God to grant him a good Voyage, that he might ſoon return to them with a greater Power: That they ſhould love and obey their Captain, becauſe it was requiſite for their own Preſervation; and he charged them ſo to do in the Name of their Highneſſes: That they ſhould reſpect *Guacanagari*, and give no Offence to any of his People; nor offer Violence to any Man or Woman, that the Opinion of their coming from Heaven might be confirmed: That they ſhould not part, nor go up the Country, nor out of *Guacanagari*'s Dominions, ſince he loved them ſo well: That with his Conſent they ſhould ſurvey the Coaſt in Canoes and their Boat, endeavouring to diſcover the Gold Mines, and ſome good Harbour, becauſe he was not well pleaſed with that, where they remained, which he called the *Nativity*; and that they ſhould endeavour to barter the moſt they could fairly, without ſhewing Covetouſneſs; and endeavour to learn the Language, ſince it would be ſo uſeful to them, to gain the Friendſhip of the Natives, and very advantagious; and he promiſed to entreat their Catholic Majeſties, to reward them, ſince they had opened the Way to that New World.” They anſwered they would punctually perform all he ordered them.

On the 2d of *January*, 1493, he went on Shore to take his Leave, dined with *Guacanagari* and his Caziques; recommended the Chriſtians to him, whom he commanded to ſerve and defend him againſt the *Caribes*. He gave him a fine Shirt, and ſaid he would ſoon return with Preſents from the King of *Spain*. He anſwered with great Tokens of Sorrow for his Departure. One of the King's Servants then ſaid, he had ſent Canoes along the Coaſt to ſeek for Gold; and the Admiral anſwered, that if *Martin Alonſo Pinzon* had not left him, he would have ventured to ſail round the Iſland, and have carried a Ton of Gold into *Spain*, and would ſtill do it, nevertheleſs, were he not afraid that the Caravel *Pinta* would get home ſafe, and give ſome falſe Information againſt him, to conceal their own Crime.

14. On the 4th of *January*, 1493, The Admiral left the Port he had called *Navidad*, or the *Nativity*, ſailing Eaſtward towards a very high Mountain, without Trees, but covered with Graſs, looking like a Tent, which he called *Monte Chriſto*, and lies to the Eaſt eighteen Leagues from the Cape he called *Santo*, that was behind, and four Leagues from the Port called *Navidad*. That Night he anchored five Leagues from *Monte Chriſto*; and on the 5th of *January* he proceeded to a little Iſland, where there were good Salt Pits; he entered the Ports, and was ſo much pleaſed with the Soil, the Plenty of Wood, and the Plains he ſaw, that he ſaid that was the Iſland of *Cipango*; and had he thought he was ſo near the Mines of *Cibao*, whence ſo much Wealth was brought, he would have affirmed it more poſitively. On the 6th he ſailed from *Monte Chriſto*, and ſoon after diſcovered the Caravel *Pinta*, ſailing towards him before the Wind; they thought fit to return to *Monte Chriſto*, where *Martin Alonſo Pinzon* made his Excuſe for having parted Company, and though there was no ſatisfactory Reaſon for what he had done, the Admiral paſſed it by, and underſtood he had bartered for much Gold, and that he had taken one half for himſelf, and the other half for the Seamen. *Alpeat* River runs down into this Harbour, which he called *Rio de Oro*, that is, the River of Gold; becauſe the Sand looked like Gold, and there he watered. On the 9th he hoiſted Sail, came to *Ponta Roxa* or *Red Point*, which is thirty-ſix Leagues Eaſt of *Monte Chriſto*, and there they took Tortoiſes as big as Bucklers, as they went to lay their Eggs a-ſhore. The Admiral affirmed he had thereabouts ſeen three Mermaids that raiſed themſelves above the Water, and that they were not ſo handſome as they are painted, that they had ſomething like a Human Face, and that he had ſeen others on the Coaſt of *Guinea*. He proceeded to the River *de Gracia* or of *Grace*, where *Martin Alonſo* had been, and was alſo called by his Name, and cauſed four *Indians Martin Alonſo* had taken Priſoners by Force to be left there.

On the 11th he ſailed to a Cape he called *Balprado*, from a Mountain appearing, which being covered with Snow, as if it had been Silver, he called *Monte de Plata*, or the *Silver Mountain*; and a Port that is at the Foot of it, *Puerta de Plata*, or the *Silver Harbour*, which is like a Horſe-ſhoe; and proceeding along the Coaſt, with the Currents and fair Weather, above ten Leagues, he diſcovered ſeveral Capes, which he called *Angel*, *Punta del Hiero*, or *Iron Point*, *el Rodendo*, or the *Round Point*, *el Frances*, the *French*, *el Cabo de Buen Tiempo*, the *Fair Weather Cape*, and *el Tajado*, the *Craggy*. On the 12th he advanced thirty Leagues farther, admiring the Bigneſs of the Iſland, and called one Cape, *de Pedrey Hijo*, or *Father* and *Son*, and gave Names to *Puerto Sacro*, or the *Holy Harbour*, and *Cabo de Los Enamorades*, or the *Lovers Cape*. and coming up with it, he diſcovered a vaſt Bay, which was three Leagues in Breadth, and in the Midſt of it a ſmall Iſland. He ſtayed there to obſerve the Conjunction, which was to be on the 17th, and the Oppoſition of the Moon and Jupiter with Mercury, and the Sun in Oppoſition with Jupiter, which occaſions high Winds.

He ſent the Boat for Water, and they found ſome Men with Bows and Arrows. They bought a Bow and ſome Arrows, and deſired one of the *Indians* to go and ſpeak with the Admiral, to which he conſented. He aſked him for the *Caribes*, and he pointed that they were to the Eaſtward; and for Gold he pointed to the Iſland of *St. John*, ſaying, There was *Gunain*, that is, pale Gold with a purpliſh Caſt, which the *Indians* value very much. He ordered him ſomething to eat, and to give him two Bits of green and yellow Cloth, and ſome Glaſs Beads, and the Boat to ſet him aſhore. Thoſe who went with him found fifty-five naked *Indians* with long Hair, like the Women in *Spain*, Feathers, Bows, Arrows, Swords made of hard Palm Wood, and heavy Spears, with which they gave heavy Blows, lying in the Wood. Theſe *Indians* made them lay down their Arms, and then came to the Boat; where the *Spaniards* bought two Bows of them by the Admiral's Order, and were ſo far from ſelling any more, that they began to lay about, to ſeize the *Spaniards*, who being but ſeven, fell upon them, gave one a Cut upon the Buttocks, and another a Cut on the Breaſt; whereupon they fled, leaving their Arms behind, and many might have been killed, if they had purſued them. This was the firſt Time that the *Spaniards* and *Indians* came to Blows in this Iſland. The Admiral was ſorry for it, tho', on the other hand, it did not diſpleaſe him, that they might be ſenſible of the Weight of the *Spaniards* Hands.

On the 14th, in the Morning, Abundance of People appeared on Shore. The Admiral ordered the Boats-crew to be upon their Guard; but the *Indians* came as if nothing had happened, and among them the King of the Country, and the *Indians* that had been aboard the Caravel, whither the King came with three *Indians*. The Admiral ordered to give them Biſkets and Honey to eat, and gave them red Caps, Bits of Cloth, and Beads. The next Day the King ſent his Gold Crown and Proviſions: The Men were armed with Bows and Arrows, four Youths in Canoes came to the Caravel, and were Men of ſuch good Senſe, that the Admiral reſolved to carry them into *Spain*; they acquainted him with many Particulars, and from thence ſhewed him the Iſland of *St. John*. He ſailed from that Bay which he called *de las Flechas*, or of *Arrows*, on the 16th, and would not make any long Stay becauſe the Caravels were very leaky.

He advanced with the Wind at Weſt North weſt, and when he had ſailed 16 Leagues the *Indian* which he had aboard pointed to the Iſland of *St. John*, that of *Martinino* and the *Caribes*, where the *Indians* were that eat Men; and though he was willing to take a View of thoſe Iſlands, yet for fear of diſheartening the Men, the Wind freſhening, he ordered to ſteer directly for *Spain*; during ſeveral Days advancing ſucceſsfully, they ſaw many Sea-Gulls, and the Air was very drying, and they met with Abundance of Weeds, but being acquainted with it, they were not afraid: They killed a Tunny and a large Shark, which afforded them ſomething to eat, for they had nothing but Bread and Wine. The Caravel *Pinta* was no good Sailer, becauſe ſhe had little Benefit of her Mizen, by reaſon the Maſt was not good, and the Admiral being forced to lie by for her, they made little Way. Sometimes when there were Calms the *Indians* leaped into the Water, ſwam about and diverted themſelves; having ſailed ſeveral Days, changing their Courſe according to the Winds, they endeavoured to keep their Reckoning, and fancied they were to the Eaſtward of the Iſlands of *Azores*, becauſe they reckoned more Leagues than they really ſailed. Being quite miſtaken in the Way, they made to the Northward, ſo that inſtead of any of the *Azores*, they would more likely have fallen in with *Madera*, or *Puerto Santo*.

15. The Admiral, being more ſkilful at reckoning the Run, found 150 Leagues leſs than the others. On the 12th of *February* the Sea began to ſwell with great and dangerous Storms, and he drove moſt of the Night without any Sail; afterwards he put out a little Sail; the Waves broke and wracked the Ships. The next Morning the Wind ſlackened, but the very next Night it roſe again, which hindered the Ship's Way, ſo that he could not ſhift the Sails. The Admiral kept under a main Topſail reefed, only to bear up the Ship againſt the Waves, but, perceiving how dangerous it was, he let it run before the Wind, there being no other Remedy. Then the Caravel *Pinta* began to bear away, though the Admiral kept his Light abroad the whole Night, and the *Pinta* anſwered. The 14th of *February*, after Sun riſing, the Wind blew fiercer, and they were more afraid of periſhing, with the Trouble of believing that the Caravel *Pinta* was already loſt. The Admiral thinking himſelf near Death, to the End that ſome Knowledge might come to their Catholic Majeſties of what he had done in their Service, he writ as much as he could of what he had diſcovered on a Skin of Parchment, and having wrapped it up in a Piece of Cere-cloth, he put it into a wooden Caſk and caſt it into the Sea; all the Men imagining it had been ſome Piece of Devotion; and preſently the Wind ſlackened.

On the 15th he ſaw Land a-head, bearing from them Eaſt North-eaſt: Some ſaid it was the Iſland *Madera*, others, that it was the Rock *Cintra*, near *Liſbon*, but the Admiral always ſaid they were the Iſlands *Azores*, and they plied to and fro with much Labour, but could not come up with the Iſland of *St. Mary*. The Admiral's Legs being very uneaſy, becauſe he had been out in all the Rain and Cold, he ſlept little; and on the 18th came to an Anchor on the North-ſide of the Iſland, which they found to be *St. Mary*'s; preſently three Men made a waft to the Caravel; he ſent the Boat for them; they carried the Admiral Refreſhments of Bread and Fowl from the Governor, whoſe Name was Don *John de Caſtaneda*. On the 19th he ordered one half of the Men to go out in Proceſſion to an Hermitage there was near, to perform their Vow, and that when they returned he would go out with the other half; and deſired the *Portugueſe* to bring him a Clergyman to ſay Maſs. While they were at Prayers in their Shirts, the whole Town on Horſeback and on Foot, with their Commanders, fell upon and made them Priſoners.

They ſtaying vey long, the Admiral ſuſpecting, either that they were detained, or that the Boat was ſtaved, becauſe the Iſland was encloſed with Rocks, and becauſe he could not ſee the Hermitage, being covered by a Point of Land that runs into the Sea, he therefore brought the Caravel right before the Hermitage, and ſaw abundance of People come into the Boat, and make towards the Caravel. The Commander of the Iſland ſtood up and demanded Hoſtages, and though they were offered him, the *Portugueſe* would not venture his Perſon. The Admiral aſked him why he had ſent him Refreſhments and thoſe *Portugueſe* to invite him on Shore, and afterwards, notwithſtanding the two Nations of *Caſtile* and *Portugal* were at Peace, he had ſo baſely detained his Men, and that to convince him he was employed in the King of *Spain*'s Service, he would ſhew him his Commiſſion. The *Portugueſe* anſwered, We here know nothing of their Majeſties of *Caſtile*, nor their Commiſſion, nor do we fear them. Some other Words paſſed between them, and the *Portugueſe* bid him carry his Caravel to the Harbour, for all he had done was by the King's Order. The Admiral took Witneſs of what he ſaid, and anſwered: That if he did not reſtore him his Men and the Boat, he would carry away an hundred *Portugueſe* into *Spain*: This ſaid, he returned and anchored where he was before, becauſe the Wind blew freſh. He ordered the Caſk to be filled with Sea-water to ballaſt the Veſſel, and by reaſon of the foul Weather ſailed towards the Iſland of *St. Michael*, becauſe there are no good Harbours in thoſe Iſlands; and it is ſafeſt to keep out at Sea. He was in a great Storm all the Night, and having miſſed of the Iſland of *St. Michael*, he returned to that of *St. Mary*, and preſently the Boat came with two Clergymen and a Notary, and five Seamen; and upon Security given them they came aboard the Caravel, and required the Admiral to ſhew them the King of *Spain*'s Commiſſion, which he did, and they returned and releaſed his Men and the Boat; and the Commander ſaid he had Orders from the King of *Portugal* to ſeize the Admiral, and would give any thing to have him.

Having recovered his Men, and the Weather becoming fair, he ordered them to ſteer their Courſe Eaſt. The next Day came to the Ship a large Bird, which the Admiral judged to be an Eagle. On the 2d of *March* there was ſo great a Storm, that he ordered to caſt Lots for a Pilgrim to go to *St. Mary de Cinta en Guelva*, and the Lot fell upon the Admiral; ſo that it looked as if God had followed him, that he might humble himſelf, and not grow proud for the Mercies he had ſhewn him. They drove with all their Sails furled in the greateſt Danger, without Hopes of eſcaping; but it pleaſed God that they diſcovered the Land and Rock of *Cintra*; and to avoid the Storm he reſolved to put into the Harbour, not being able to ſtay at *Caſcaes*. He returned Thanks to God for his Delivery, and all admired how he had got into the Port, affirming they had ſcarce ſeen ſuch dreadful Storms. The King of *Portugal* was then at *Valparayſo*, to whom he writ, ſignifying that their Majeſties of *Spain*, his Sovereigns, had ordered him not to avoid entering his Highneſs's Ports, to get what he wanted with his Money, deſiring he would give him Leave to come up to *Liſbon* for more Security, and that his Highneſs might know he came not from *Guinea*, but from the *Indies*.

Bartholomew Diaz de Liſboa, Maſter of a Galeon, who was there in an armed Boat, went aboard the Caravel and ordered the Admiral to go up with him to give an Account of himſelf to the King's Officers and the Captain of the Galeon. *Columbus* anſwered, That he was Admiral in the Service of their Majeſties of *Spain*, and was not obliged to give any Man an Account of himſelf; nor would he go out of his Ship unleſs he was compelled by Force. The *Portugueſe* anſwered, he might ſend the Maſter of his Ship, but the Admiral would not ſend him neither; ſaying he would not do it unleſs compelled and could not reſiſt it, for he looked upon it much alike to ſend another or go himſelf; and that it was the Practice of the Admirals of the Kings of *Caſtile*, rather to die than deliver up themſelves or their Men. The *Portugueſe* Maſter replied, that ſince he was ſo reſolved, he might do as he pleaſed, but that he deſired he would condeſcend to ſhew him his Commiſſion from their Majeſties of *Spain*, if he had any ſuch: As ſoon as he had ſeen it, he returned to the Galeon and reported what had paſſed; and the Captain, whoſe Name was *Alvaro Daman*, went aboard the Admiral's Caravel with Drums, Trumpets, and Hautboys, and offered to ſerve him in whatſoever he ſhould command.

As ſoon as it was known at *Liſbon*, that the Admiral was come to *Liſbon* from the *Indies*, ſuch Numbers flocked to ſee him and the *Indians*, that it was wonderful to obſerve how they ſtood in Admiration. The next Day he received a Letter from the King of *Portugal*, by Don *Martin de Norbona* his Servant, by which he deſired him to come to him, which he was obliged to do to avoid ſhewing any Miſtruſt; he went and lay at *Sacavam*, where he was well entertained; and the King had given Orders that they ſhould give him all he had Occaſion for at *Liſbon*, without Money. The next Day he came to the Place where the King was, and the Gentlemen of the Houſhold came out to receive him, and bore him Company to the Palace. The King received him with much

Honour, bid him ſit, and after having expreſſed much Satisfaction for the Succeſs of his Voyage, and aſked ſome Particulars about it; he ſaid he was of Opinion, that according to the Articles ſtipulated with the Kings of *Caſtile*, the Conqueſt rather belonged to the Kings of *Portugal*, than to thoſe of *Caſtile*. He anſwered he had not ſeen thoſe Articles, nor knew any more than that their Highneſſes had commanded him not to go to *Del Mina* or to *Guinea*, and that the ſame had been proclaimed in all the Ports of *Andaluzia* before he ſet out upon his Voyage.

The King graciouſly anſwered, he believed he would not ſtand in need of Vouchers in that Particular; he then ordered the Prior of *Crato* to entertain him, he being the principal Perſon preſent. The next Day the King told him that if he wanted any thing he ſhould have it; and making him ſit, aſked him many Queſtions concerning the Voyage, the New Countries, the Latitudes, and the People, and other Things relating to thoſe Parts, being much concerned for having miſſed of that good Fortune; and there wanted not ſome who offered the King to kill the Admiral, that what he had diſcovered might not be known, but he would not conſent to it. At length, on the 11th of *March*, the Admiral took his Leave of the King, and all the Gentlemen of the Court attended him. He paſſed through *Villa Franca*, where the Queen was in the Monaſtery of *St. Anthony*; he kiſſed her Hands, and having given her an Account of his Voyage, departed; and a Servant of the King's overtook him, and told him from his Majeſty, that if he would go into *Caſtile* by Land, he would order him to be attended, find him Carriage, and all that he had occaſion for.

On the 13th he ſailed with his Caravel for *Seville*, and found himſelf the 16th off *Saltes*; and, at Noon, he paſſed over the Bar with the Flood into the Port from whence he at firſt departed, on *Friday* the 3d of *Auguſt*, the Year before; ſo that he ſpent ſix Months and an half in the Voyage. Being informed their Catholic Majeſties were at *Barcelona*, he had Thoughts of going to them by Sea in his Caravel. He landed at *Palos*; was received with a ſolemn Proceſſion and much rejoicing of the whole Town, all admiring ſo great an Action, which they never imagined the Admiral could have performed. The Admiral having reſolved not to go by Sea to *Barcelona*, ſent Advices of his Arrival to their Catholic Majeſties, with a Summary of what had befallen him, reſerving a more ample Relation to be delivered by Word of Mouth. The Anſwer found him at *Seville*: The Superſcription of the Letter was, *To Don* Chriſtopher Columbus, *our Admiral of the Ocean*; *Viceroy and Governor of the Iſlands that have been diſcovered in the* Indies. In his Anſwer he ſent a Memorial of the Ships, Men, Ammunition, and Proviſion that were proper to return to the *Indies*, and then ſet out himſelf for *Barcelona* with ſeven *Indians*, for the reſt died by the Way: He carried with him green and red Parrots, and other Things never before ſeen in *Spain*. He ſet out from *Seville*, and the Fame of this Novelty being ſpread abroad, the People flocked to the Roads to ſee the *Indians* and the Admiral.

Their Majeſties having received the Memorial, ordered *John Roderiguez de Fonceca*, Arch-deacon of *Seville*, to furniſh what the Admiral thought fit for the ſecond Voyage he was to make to the *Indies*. The Admiral arrived at *Barcelona* about the Middle of *April*, where the whole Court and City flocking out, the Streets could not hold them, admiring to ſee the Admiral, the *Indians*, and the Things he brought, which were carried uncovered; and the more to honour the Admiral, their Majeſties ordered their royal Throne to be placed in public, where they ſat, and with them Prince *John*. The Admiral came in attended by many Gentlemen; when he came near, the King ſtood up, gave him his Hand to kiſs, bid him riſe, ordered a Chair to be brought him, and to ſit down in the Royal Preſence, where he gave an Account in a very ſedate and diſcreet manner, of the Mercy God had ſhewn him in Favour of their Highneſſes, of his Voyage and Diſcoveries, and the Hopes he had conceived of diſcovering greater Countries; and ſhewed him the *Indians* as they went in their own native Countries, and the other Things he had brought. Their Majeſties roſe, and kneeling down, with their Hands lifted up, and Tears in their Eyes, returned Thanks to God; and then the Choiriſters of the Chapel began the *Te Deum*.

The Articles formerly concluded with the Admiral were only in Form of a Contract; and as he had performed what he promiſed, their Majeſties alſo, in the uſual Form, paſſed Grants, making good what they had offered him in the Town of *Santa Fee*, on the 17th of *April* of the foregoing Year: And the Charters were paſſed at *Barcelona* on the 30th of the ſame Month in the ſucceeding Year 1493, and ſigned by their Highneſſes on the 28th of *May*. They alſo gave him the Royal Arms of *Caſtile* and *Leon*, to bear with thoſe of his Family, with other Additions expreſſing his difficult and wonderful Diſcovery. And their Majeſties conferred ſome Honours on his Brothers, Don *Bartholomew* and Don *James*, tho' they were not then at Court. The King took the Admiral by his Side, when he went through the City of *Barcelona*, and did him much Honour other ways, and therefore all the Grandees and other Noblemen honoured and invited him to Dinner, and the Cardinal of *Spain*, Don *Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza*, a Prince of much Virtue, and a noble Spirit, was the firſt Grandee that, as they were going one Day from the Palace, carried the Admiral to dine with him, and placed him at the Head of the Table, and cauſed his Meat to be ſerved up uncovered, and the Eſſay to be taken, and from that Time forward he was ſerved in that manner.

17. We have given the Hiſtory of this Voyage largely, and in a manner literally, from one of the beſt *Spaniſh* Hiſtorians, the rather becauſe we eſteem it ſingle in its kind, both with reſpect to the Matter and the Manner of it, for the Diſcoveries hitherto made by the *Portugueſe* were chiefly by creeping along Shore, and rather the Effects of Labour and Induſtry than of great Conduct, or an enterprizing Genius; and the Diſcoveries that were made afterwards, had not only this Example but the Advantage alſo of all the Improvements which the great Skill, conſtant Affection, and wonderful Penetration of *Columbus*, enabled him to make in his own Art; ſo that Navigation grew in his Time quite another Thing than he found it. In this Voyage the Reader will perceive that abundance of very trivial Accidents are very carefully recorded, which we have preſerved, becauſe taken from *Columbus*'s own Journal, and becauſe they ſhew how much he attended to, and what excellent Uſes he made even of the moſt minute Circumſtances, in order to keep up the Spirits of his Men, and to direct himſelf in the Proſecution of ſo hardy an Attempt, in which his Succeſs depended intirely upon the Sagacity he ſhewed in thoſe Obſervations, which therefore, however light and trivial they may ſeem to us, were of great Importance to him, and ſerve to ſhew by what light Helps Men of true Genius are able to execute the moſt difficult Enterprizes.

But there is one Obſervation of his which deſerves to be particularly conſidered, and that is, as to the Variation of the Compaſs, which I find expreſly ſet down by all the *Spaniſh* Writers of note, but more eſpecially by *Herrera*, a very careful and judicious Author, and one who rarely took Things upon Truſt; as well as by Don *Ferdinand Columbus*, the Admiral's Son, who profeſſes that he wrote from his Father's Papers. Upon theſe Grounds I make no Scruple of believing the Fact, and very much wonder that ſo knowing a Man as Sir *Thomas Browne*, in his *Vulgar Errors*, ſhould poſitively aſſert, that *Columbus* was ignorant of the Variation, and that if he had obſerved it in his firſt Voyage, it muſt have confirmed him in his Hopes of finding a new World; becauſe, ſince it turned towards the Weſt, it manifeſtly proved, that there was a great Body of Land on that Side. This ſhews the great Danger of Theories; for, without doubt, if *Columbus* had depended upon this, he might have been miſtaken, ſince ſailing along the Coaſt of *Braſil* the Needle declines from the Land towards the Sea, which is a Fact that fully overturns that Hypotheſis which Sir *Thomas Browne* looked upon as certain: But the Truth of the Matter is, that not only *Columbus* obſerved the Variation, but his Pilots alſo; and from thence they argued, not that they were near any other Land, but that they were in Danger of loſing the beſt Guide they had, *viz.* the Certainty of the Compaſs; and therefore *Columbus* was forced to tell them, that the Reaſon why the Needle varied a whole Point to the North-weſt was, becauſe the Star by which they diſcerned this Variation, took a Compaſs about the Pole, which gave them Satisfaction, tho' it could not give it him, who knew better than to take up with ſuch an Opinion. This Turn, however, ſhews the Wiſdom and good Senſe of this great Navigator, who knew how to diſcover the Cauſe of moſt Things, and when he was at a Loſs for a Cauſe, to invent ſomething that looked like one, in order to pacify thoſe whoſe Fears were the conſtant Effects of their Ignorance.

It was this Talent of his that enabled him to maintain his Authority amongſt ſuch a Crew of wild and unruly Spirits, and put it in his Power to complete that Diſcovery which his great Parts had ſuggeſted to him. To ſay the Truth, conſider him in what Light one will, as a Philoſopher, a Seaman, a Commander in chief, a Governor, or a Legiſlator, he was alike great in all; and had that kind of Superiority of Mind which ſet him above thoſe Events which common People, for want of a better Expreſſion, call the Frowns of Fortune. He was not diſtracted in his Thoughts when his Companions deſpaired of ever ſeeing Land more; nor was he elevated by that ſudden Turn of their Affections when they diſcovered the firſt Iſland; he knew how to pacify them when mutinous, and he knew likewiſe how to make a right Uſe of this ſudden Return to their Obedience; his Behaviour towards the *Indians* was like a Father and a Friend; and it was this Magnanimity of his that induced thoſe honeſt and ſimple People to believe that he and his Companions came from Heaven, and made them ſo deſirous of their Company.

Neither are we to attribute his earneſt and conſtant Search after Gold to any Self-Intereſt, or Principle of Avarice; but to the earneſt Deſire he had of ſhewing that, by this Voyage, he had not only diſcovered new Countries, but Countries in which this precious Metal was found in Abundance, which in thoſe Days paſſed for a Characteriſtic of the *Indies*. The ſame Notion made him liſten with equal Attention to another Diſcovery, that one of his Commanders believed he had made of Rhubarb; which would have been a ſtronger Proof; for all that came of that Drug into *Europe*, in thoſe Days, was by the Way of *Alexandria*, and was therefore believed to come from the *Indies*, as indeed it did, tho' it grows chiefly in *Tartary*, and in thoſe deſart Countries, which, from the Frontiers of *Perſia*, extend quite to *China*.

He ſhewed a becoming Spirit on his Arrival in the Harbour of *Liſbon*, and, in all probability, it was that Spirit that defended him from the Inſults and Injuries that might have been offered him; for there wanted not ſome amongſt the Nobility of *Portugal*, who ſuggeſted that this Diſcovery was to the Prejudice of their Country, and ſo poſſeſſed their Sovereign's Mind with this Notion, that he actually formed Pretenſions to thoſe Countries, notwithſtanding he had relinquiſhed all colour of Right to them, by rejecting the Propoſals of *Columbus* when offered to him at firſt, and before he had made any Overtures to the Court of *Spain*. The ſame Greatneſs of Soul diſtinguiſhed the Admiral in his Audience of their Catholic Majeſties, in which he neither overvalued his Merit, nor boaſted of more than he had performed; but ſtated the Thing truly, and laid open the Conſequences fairly, with that Penetration and Sagacity peculiar to himſelf.

This it was that determined their Catholic Majeſties to ſend him again with a ſtronger Squadron, and better equipped, to perfect thoſe Diſcoveries. He was then in the Zenith of his Favour and of his Reputation; for tho' he did greater Things afterwards, or at leaſt ſuch as redounded more to the Advantage of *Spain*, yet theſe were ſo far from raiſing him higher in Eſteem, that, on the contrary, when others had made Voyages to the New World, not the Vulgar only, but ſome even of Quality and Figure, affected to leſſen his Credit, and to treat that as a ſlight and eaſy Matter, which themſelves had formerly repreſented, not as difficult only, but impracticable. But theſe Turns and Changes in other Men wrought none at all in him, and it is very remarkable, that the Inſtructions he gave for the Preparations of his Second Voyage were ſo perfectly well adapted as exactly to anſwer the End of his Deſign, as will appear in the ſubſequent Section, in which we ſhall give the Reader a full and diſtinct Relation of that Voyage, tho' in fewer Words than were uſed in the Narration of the Firſt, as well to avoid needleſs Repetitions, as that we may keep within the Bounds originally aſſigned to this Work.

SECTION III.

The Second Voyage of the Admiral Don CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, *to the* Weſt Indies, *including an Account of all the Diſcoveries made by him in that Voyage.*

1. *The Meaſures taken by their Catholic Majeſties to ſecure their Properties in the firſt Diſcoveries made by their Admiral, and the Terms on which he ſailed a ſecond Time from* Spain. 2. *His ſafe Arrival in the* Weſt Indies, *and the Information he received from the Natives as to the State of that Part of the World.* 3. *The Admiral continues his Voyage to the Iſland of* Hiſpaniola, *finds the Colony ruined, and the Spaniards he had left behind deſtroyed by their own Folly.* 4. *The Pains he took to put Things once more into a good Condition; a Mutiny againſt him, and the Manner of his Proceeding after it was quelled.* 5. *He proceeds to diſcover the inland Parts of the Country, to ſecure the Gold Mines, and to make an abſolute Conqueſt of* Hiſpaniola *for the Uſe of their Catholic Majeſties.* 6. *The Admiral having put all Things in order, reſolves to leave his Brother Governor of* Hiſpaniola, *and to ſail again upon Diſcovery, which he performs accordingly.* 7. *The Conſequences of that Voyage, the Diſcoveries made therein, particularly that of* Jamaica, *and the Hardſhips endured by the Admiral and his People.* 8. *His Return to* Hiſpaniola, *the Condition in which he found Things there, and the Regulations made by him for ſecuring and promoting the Settlement.* 9. *The Grounds of thoſe Jealouſies and Uneaſineſſes which diſturbed the Admiral, and induced him to reſolve upon returning back again to* Spain. 10. *An Account of his ſecond Return from the* Indies, *and of the Reception he met with from their Catholic Majeſties.* 11. *Remarks and Obſervations on the foregoing Section.*

1. THE more the Diſcoveries made by Don *Chriſtopher Columbus* were canvaſſed by the *Spaniſh* Council, the more important they appeared; and therefore to ſtrengthen their Title in the beſt Manner poſſible, their Catholic Majeſties diſpatched an Ambaſſador to the Pope, who was at that Time *Alexander* VI. requeſting him to exert his Apoſtolic Authority in their Favour, and by his Bulls confirm to them thoſe Countries, Iſlands, &c. which their Admiral had diſcovered. This his Holineſs moſt readily complied with, and indeed it coſt him little; and by his Bull, dated *May* 2, 1493, granted the ſaid Diſcoveries to them as fully as the Diſcoveries made

by the *Portugueſe* had been granted to the Crown of *Portugal*; and by another Bull dated the next Day, granted their Catholic Majeſties all that had been, or ſhould be, diſcovered, drawing a Line from Pole to Pole, at the Diſtance of 100 Leagues Weſtward from the *Azores*, or from the Cape *de Verd* Iſlands. As ſoon as theſe Bulls, whether important or impertinent we need not ſtay to determine, were once arrived from *Rome*, their Catholic Majeſties were very deſirous the Admiral ſhould ſail on his ſecond Voyage, for which reaſon they haſtened him away to *Seville*, where he found another Sort of a Fleet prepared than he had commanded in his firſt Voyage. For now there were ſeventeen Sail of Ships of ſeveral Sizes; and no leſs than fifteen hundred Men, many of them Gentlemen of good Families, offered to go over, and took an Oath of Obedience, not only to their Catholic Majeſties, but to the Admiral Don *Chriſtopher Columbus* likewiſe.

Theſe Preparations, which could not be concealed from the King of *Portugal*, raiſed great Uneaſineſs at that Court, which was not to be quieted by the Pope's Bulls, his *Portugueſe* Majeſty apprehending that they were founded on undue Suggeſtions, and himſelf and his Subjects thereby much wronged. This he reſolved to expoſtulate with their Catholic Majeſties, and named an Ambaſſador for that Purpoſe; but they, having Intelligence of his Proceedings, ſent an Ambaſſador to him under Colour of juſtifying the Meaſures they had taken; but, in Reality, to patch up Matters in any Manner, ſo as to hinder that Monarch from obſtructing *Columbus* in his ſecond Voyage. In the mean Time the Admiral being come to *Seville*, and having received with his laſt Diſpatches his Commiſſion, ſetting forth the Limits of his Government, which extended over all that the Apoſtolical Conceſſion extended to; and having left his two Sons, Don *James* and Don *Ferdinand*, to be Pages to Prince *John*, he applied himſelf to pick out the ableſt Pilots, and in muſtering the Men that had been raiſed in the Preſence of the Comptroller. For the ſake of Diſcipline, all Perſons were forbid carrying any Goods, and it was ordered, that all belonging to his Highneſs, and to private Men, ſhould be entered before they left *Spain*, and the ſame to be done when they arrived in the *Indies*; and that all that ſhould appear not to have been ſo entered, ſhould be confiſcated. The Admiral was ordered, as ſoon as he came to *Hiſpaniola*, to muſter the Men, and after that, as often as he ſhould think fit; and that they ſhould be paid by his Direction; and that he ſhould appoint Alcades and Alguazils in the Iſlands, and other Parts, to try civil and criminal Cauſes, and the Appeals from them to be to him, and that in Caſe it was requiſite to appoint Regidores, Jurats, and Officers for the Government of the People, or of any Colony that ſhould be planted, the Admiral ſhould nominate three Perſons to every Employment, for their Highneſſes to chooſe one of them, but that the firſt Time he might name them. That all Proclamations ſhould be in the Names of their Highneſſes; that he ſhould have the eighth Part of all that was gained, paying the eighth Part of all that was carried over, firſt deducting the tenth Part he was to have of the whole, purſuant to the Contract made; and that if it were requiſite to ſend Ships and Men to any Parts, he might do it.

Whilſt the Admiral was at *Seville* expediting his Affairs, he received a Letter from their Majeſties, dated at *Barcelona*, directing him, before his Departure, to cauſe a Sea-chart to be drawn with the Rhumbs and other Particulars requiſite for the Voyage to the *Indies*, and to haſten his Departure, ſtill promiſing him mighty Rewards, becauſe that Affair of the Diſcovery daily appeared to be of ſo great Conſequence; acquainting him that nothing was yet concluded with the King of *Portugal*, though it was believed he would be brought to Reaſon. The Admiral cauſed many Plants and Trees to be put aboard, and Wheat, Barley, Oats, Rye, and all Sorts of Seeds, as alſo Cows, Lime, Bricks, and all Sorts of Materials for building; and having embarked the Men, on the 25th of *September*, 1493, before Sun-riſing, ſailed from the Bay of *Cadiz*: He ſteered South-weſt for the *Canaries*, and arrived at *Grand Canaria* on the 2d of *October*, and on the 5th anchored at *Gomera*, where he ſtayed two Days, taking in Water, Wood, and Cattle, and eight Sows at the Rate of Seventy Marvedies a-head, from which afterwards were produced all that have been ſince in the *Indies*. They alſo took in Hens and other Creatures, as alſo Seeds for Sallading, and all other Sorts of Garden-ſtuff.

On the 7th of *October* the Admiral continued his Voyage towards the *Indies*, having firſt delivered Inſtructions, ſealed, to every Ship, commanding them not to open them unleſs they were ſeparated from him by Streſs of Weather; for as in thoſe Letters he gave an Account of the Courſe they were to ſteer, to come to the Town of the *Nativity*, in *Hiſpaniola*, he would not have that Courſe known to any unleſs neceſſary. Thus ſailing with a fair Gale till the 24th, when being 400 Leagues Weſt of *Gomera*, he yet met with none of the Weeds he had ſeen the firſt Voyage, when he was out but 250 Leagues, to the great Aſtoniſhment of them all. That Day and the next a Swallow flew about the Fleet. On *Saturday*, at Night, the Corps of *St. Elmo* was ſeen, with ſeven Lights, on the round Top, and there followed mighty Rains, and frightful Thunder. On the 2d of *November*, at Night, the Admiral, perceiving a great Alteration in the Sky and Winds, and taking notice of the heavy Rains, concluded that he was near ſome Land, and for this Reaſon cauſed moſt of the Sails to be furled; and ordered all to be upon the Watch, not without Cauſe, for that Night they ſpied Land ſeven Leagues to the Weſtward, which was a very high mountainous Iſland, and he called it *Dominica*, becauſe diſcovered upon *Sunday* Morning. A while after he diſcovered another Iſland North-eaſt of *Dominica*, and then another, and a third after that, more to the Northward, for which Mercy God had been pleaſed to beſtow upon them, all the Men aſſembling in the Poop, ſung the *Salve Regina* and other Prayers, and Hymns, very devoutly giving Thanks to God, for that, in twenty Days after departing from *Gomera*, they had made that Land; judging the Diſtance to be about 750 or 800 Leagues; and finding no convenient Place to come to an Anchor on the Eaſt-ſide of the Iſland *Dominica*, they ſtood over to another Iſland which the Admiral called *Marigalante*, that being his Ship's Name. Here landing, he with all neceſſary Solemnity again repeated the Poſſeſſion he had in his firſt Voyage taken of all the Iſlands and Continents of the *Weſt Indies*, for their Catholic Majeſties.

On the 4th the Admiral failed from the Iſland *Marigalante* Northwards, by another great Iſland he called *Sta. Maria Guadalupe*, at the Requeſt of the Friars of the Houſe of that Name, to whom he had made a Promiſe to call ſome Iſland by the Name of their Monaſtery; before he came to it, by two Leagues Diſtance, they diſcovered a very high Rock, ending in a Point, whence iſſued a Stream of Water, which falling, made ſuch a Noiſe that it was heard aboard of the Ships, though many affirmed that it was only a white Vein in the Rock; the Water was ſo white and frothy by reaſon of its Fall. Going aſhore in the Boat to view a Sort of a Town they ſaw from the Shore, they found no body there, the People being fled to the Woods, except ſome Children, to whoſe Arms they tied ſome Baubles to pleaſe their Parents when they returned; in the Houſes they found Geeſe and abundance of Parrots with red, green, blue, and white Feathers, as big as common Cocks; they alſo found Pompions, and a ſort of Fruit which look like our green Pine-apples, but much bigger, and within full of ſolid Meat like a Melon, and much ſweeter both in Taſte and Smell, which grow on long Sticks like Aloes wild about the Fields, and are better than thoſe produced by Art. They alſo ſaw other Sorts of Fruits and Herbs, different from ours, Beds of Cotton Nets, that is, Hamocks, Bows and Arrows, and other Things of which they took none, that the *Indians* might be the leſs afraid of the Chriſtians. The next Day, which was the 5th of *November*, the Admiral again ſent two Boats aſhore to endeavour to take ſome body that might give an Account of the Country, and inform him how far off, and which Way *Hiſpaniola* lay; each of the Boats brought back a Youth, who agreed in ſaying they were not of that Iſland, but near any other Land, but that they were in Danger of loſing the beſt Guide they had, *viz.* the Certainty of the Compaſs; and therefore *Columbus* was forced to tell them, that the Reaſon why the Needle varied a whole Point to the North-weſt was, becauſe the Star by which they diſcerned this Variation, took a Compaſs about the Pole, which gave them Satisfaction, tho' it could not give it him, who knew better than to take up with ſuch an Opinion. This Turn, however, ſhews the Wiſdom and good Senſe of this great Navigator, who knew how to diſcover the Cauſe of moſt Things, and when he was at a Loſs for a Cauſe, to invent ſomething that looked like one, in order to pacify thoſe whoſe Fears were the conſtant Effects of their Ignorance.

It was this Talent of his that enabled him to maintain his Authority amongſt ſuch a Crew of wild and unruly Spirits, and put it in his Power to complete that Diſcovery which his great Parts had ſuggeſted to him. To ſay the Truth, conſider him in what Light one will, as a Philoſopher, a Seaman, a Commander in chief, a Governor, or a Legiſlator, he was alike great in all; and had that kind of Superiority of Mind which ſet him above thoſe Events which common People, for want of a better Expreſſion, call the Frowns of Fortune. He was not diſtracted in his Thoughts when his Companions deſpaired of ever ſeeing Land more; nor was he elevated by that ſudden Turn of their Affections when they diſcovered the firſt Iſland; he knew how to pacify them when mutinous, and he knew likewiſe how to make a right Uſe of this ſudden Return to their Obedience; his Behaviour towards the *Indians* was like a Father and a Friend; and it was this Magnanimity of his that induced thoſe honeſt and ſimple People to believe that he and his Companions came from Heaven, and made them ſo deſirous of their Company.

Neither are we to attribute his earneſt and conſtant Search after Gold to any Self-Intereſt, or Principle of Avarice; but to the earneſt Deſire he had of ſhewing that, by this Voyage, he had not only diſcovered new Countries, but Countries in which this precious Metal was found in Abundance, which in thoſe Days paſſed for a Characteriſtic of the *Indies.* The ſame Notion made him liſten with equal Attention to another Diſcovery, that one of his Commanders believed he had made of Rhubarb; which would have been a ſtronger Proof; for all that came of that Drug into *Europe,* in thoſe Days, was by the Way of *Alexandria,* and was therefore believed to come from the *Indies,* as indeed it did, tho' it grows chiefly in *Tartary,* and in thoſe deſart Countries, which, from the Frontiers of *Perſia,* extend quite to *China.*

He ſhewed a becoming Spirit on his Arrival in the Harbour of *Liſbon,* and, in all probability, it was that Spirit that defended him from the Inſults and Injuries that might have been offered him; for there wanted not ſome amongſt the Nobility of *Portugal,* who ſuggeſted that this Diſcovery was to the Prejudice of their Country, and ſo poſſeſſed their Sovereign's Mind with this Notion, that he actually formed Pretenſions to thoſe Countries, notwithſtanding he had relinquiſhed all colour of Right to them, by rejecting the Propoſals of *Columbus* when offered to him at firſt, and before he had made any Overtures to the Court of *Spain.* The ſame Greatneſs of Soul diſtinguiſhed the Admiral in his Audience of their Catholic Majeſties, in which he neither overvalued his Merit, nor boaſted of more than he had performed; but ſtated the Thing truly, and laid open the Conſequences fairly, with that Penetration and Sagacity peculiar to himſelf.

This it was that determined their Catholic Majeſties to ſend him again with a ſtronger Squadron, and better equipped, to perfect thoſe Diſcoveries. He was then in the Zenith of his Favour and of his Reputation; for tho' he did greater Things afterwards, or at leaſt ſuch as redounded more to the Advantage of *Spain,* yet theſe were ſo far from raiſing him higher in Eſteem, that, on the contrary, when others had made Voyages to the New World, not the Vulgar only, but ſome even of Quality and Figure, affected to leſſen his Credit, and to treat that as a ſlight and eaſy Matter, which themſelves had formerly repreſented, not as difficult only, but impracticable. But theſe Turns and Changes in other Men wrought none at all in him, and it is very remarkable, that the Inſtructions he gave for the Preparations of his Second Voyage were ſo perfectly well adapted as exactly to anſwer the End of his Deſign, as will appear in the ſubſequent Section, in which we ſhall give the Reader a full and diſtinct Relation of that Voyage, tho' in fewer Words than were uſed in the Narration of the Firſt, as well to avoid needleſs Repetitions, as that we may keep within the Bounds originally aſſigned to this Work.

SECTION III.

The Second Voyage of the Admiral Don CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, *to the* Weſt Indies, *including an Account of all the Diſcoveries made by him in that Voyage.*

1. *The Meaſures taken by their Catholic Majeſties to ſecure their Properties in the firſt Diſcoveries made by their Admiral, and the Terms on which he ſailed a ſecond Time from* Spain. 2. *His ſafe Arrival in the* Weſt Indies, *and the Information he received from the Natives as to the State of that Part of the World.* 3. *The Admiral continues his Voyage to the Iſland of* Hiſpaniola, *finds the Colony ruined, and the Spaniards he had left behind deſtroyed by their own Folly.* 4. *The Pains he took to put Things once more into a good Condition; a Mutiny againſt him, and the Manner of his Proceeding after it was quelled.* 5. *He proceeds to diſcover the inland Parts of the Country, to ſecure the Gold Mines, and to make an abſolute Conqueſt of* Hiſpaniola *for the Uſe of their Catholic Majeſties.* 6. *The Admiral having put all Things in order, reſolves to leave his Brother Governor of* Hiſpaniola, *and to ſail again upon Diſcovery, which he performs accordingly.* 7. *The Conſequences of that Voyage, the Diſcoveries made therein, particularly that of* Jamaica, *and the Hardſhips endured by the Admiral and his People.* 8. *His Return to* Hiſpaniola, *the Condition in which he found Things there, and the Regulations made by him for ſecuring and promoting the Settlement.* 9. *The Grounds of thoſe Jealouſies and Uneaſineſſes which diſturbed the Admiral, and induced him to reſolve upon returning back again to* Spain. 10. *An Account of his ſecond Return from the* Indies, *and of the Reception he met with from their Catholic Majeſties.* 11. *Remarks and Obſervations on the foregoing Section.*

1. THE more the Diſcoveries made by Don *Chriſtopher Columbus* were canvaſſed by the *Spaniſh* Council, the more important they appeared; and therefore to ſtrengthen their Title in the beſt Manner poſſible, their Catholic Majeſties diſpatched an Ambaſſador to the Pope, who was at that Time *Alexander* VI. requeſting him to exert his Apoſtolic Authority in their Favour, and by his Bulls confirm to them thoſe Countries, Iſlands, *&c.* which their Admiral had diſcovered. This his Holineſs moſt readily complied with, and indeed it coſt him little; and by his Bull, dated *May* 2, 1493, granted the ſaid Diſcoveries to them as fully as the Diſcoveries made

by the *Portugueſe* had been granted to the Crown of *Portugal*; and by another Bull dated the next Day, granted their Catholic Majeſties all that had been, or ſhould be, diſcovered, drawing a Line from Pole to Pole, at the Diſtance of 100 Leagues Weſtward from the *Azores*, or from the Cape *de Verd* Iſlands. As ſoon as theſe Bulls, whether important or impertinent we need not ſtay to determine, were once arrived from *Rome*, their Catholic Majeſties were very deſirous the Admiral ſhould ſail on his ſecond Voyage, for which reaſon they haſtened him away to *Seville*, where he found another Sort of a Fleet prepared than he had commanded in his firſt Voyage. For now there were ſeventeen Sail of Ships of ſeveral Sizes; and no leſs than fifteen hundred Men, many of them Gentlemen of good Families, offered to go over, and took an Oath of Obedience, not only to their Catholic Majeſties, but to the Admiral Don *Chriſtopher Columbus* likewiſe.

Theſe Preparations, which could not be concealed from the King of *Portugal*, raiſed great Uneaſineſs at that Court, which was not to be quieted by the Pope's Bulls, his *Portugueſe* Majeſty apprehending that they were founded on undue Suggeſtions, and himſelf and his Subjects thereby much wronged. This he reſolved to expoſtulate with their Catholic Majeſties, and named an Ambaſſador for that Purpoſe; but they, having Intelligence of his Proceedings, ſent an Ambaſſador to him under Colour of juſtifying the Meaſures they had taken; but, in Reality, to patch up Matters in any Manner, ſo as to hinder that Monarch from obſtructing *Columbus* in his ſecond Voyage. In the mean Time the Admiral being come to *Seville*, and having received with his laſt Diſpatches his Commiſſion, ſetting forth the Limits of his Government, which extended over all that the Apoſtolical Conceſſion extended to; and having left his two Sons, Don *James* and Don *Ferdinand*, to be Pages to Prince *John*, he applied himſelf to pick out the ableſt Pilots, and in muſtering the Men that had been raiſed in the Preſence of the Comptroller. For the ſake of Diſcipline, all Perſons were forbid carrying any Goods, and it was ordered, that all belonging to his Highneſs, and to private Men, ſhould be entered before they left *Spain*, and the ſame to be done when they arrived in the *Indies*; and that all that ſhould appear not to have been ſo entered, ſhould be confiſcated. The Admiral was ordered, as ſoon as he came to *Hiſpaniola*, to muſter the Men, and after that, as often as he ſhould think fit; and that they ſhould be paid by his Direction; and that he ſhould appoint Alcades and Alguazils in the Iſlands, and other Parts, to try civil and criminal Cauſes, and the Appeals from them to be to him, and that in Caſe it was requiſite to appoint Regidores, Jurats, and Officers for the Government of the People, or of any Colony that ſhould be planted, the Admiral ſhould nominate three Perſons to every Employment, for their Highneſſes to chooſe one of them, but that the firſt Time he might name them. That all Proclamations ſhould be in the Names of their Highneſſes; that he ſhould have the eighth Part of all that was gained, paying the eighth Part of all that was carried over, firſt deducting the tenth Part he was to have of the whole, purſuant to the Contract made; and that if it were requiſite to ſend Ships and Men to any Parts, he might do it.

Whilſt the Admiral was at *Seville* expediting his Affairs, he received a Letter from their Majeſties, dated at *Barcelona*, directing him, before his Departure, to cauſe a Sea-chart to be drawn with the Rhumbs and other Particulars requiſite for the Voyage to the *Indies*, and to haſten his Departure, ſtill promiſing him mighty Rewards, becauſe that Affair of the Diſcovery daily appeared to be of ſo great Conſequence; acquainting him that nothing was yet concluded with the King of *Portugal*, though it was believed he would be brought to Reaſon. The Admiral cauſed many Plants and Trees to be put aboard, and Wheat, Barley, Oats, Rye, and all Sorts of Seeds, as alſo Cows, Lime, Bricks, and all Sorts of Materials for building; and having embarked the Men, on the 25th of *September*, 1493, before Sun-riſing, ſailed from the Bay of *Cadiz*: He ſteered South-weſt for the *Canaries*, and arrived at *Grand Canaria* on the 2d of *October*, and on the 5th anchored at *Gomera*, where he ſtayed two Days, taking in Water, Wood, and Cattle, and eight Sows at the Rate of Seventy Marvedies a-head, from which afterwards were produced all that have been ſince in the *Indies*. They alſo took in Hens and other Creatures, as alſo Seeds for Sallading, and all other Sorts of Garden-ſtuff.

On the 7th of *October* the Admiral continued his Voyage towards the *Indies*, having firſt delivered Inſtructions, ſealed, to every Ship, commanding them not to open them unleſs they were ſeparated from him by Streſs of Weather; for as in thoſe Letters he gave an Account of the Courſe they were to ſteer, to come to the Town of the *Nativity*, in *Hiſpaniola*, he would not have that Courſe known to any unleſs neceſſary. Thus ſailing with a fair Gale till the 24th, when being 400 Leagues Weſt of *Gomera*, he yet met with none of the Weeds he had ſeen the firſt Voyage, when he was out but 250 Leagues, to the great Aſtoniſhment of them all. That Day and the next a Swallow flew about the Fleet. On *Saturday*, at Night, the Corps of *St. Elmo* was ſeen, with ſeven Lights, on the round Top, and there followed mighty Rains, and frightful Thunder. On the 2d of *November*, at Night, the Admiral, perceiving a great Alteration in the Sky and Winds, and taking notice of the heavy Rains, concluded that he was near ſome Land, and for this Reaſon cauſed moſt of the Sails to be furled; and ordered all to be upon the Watch, not without Cauſe, for that Night they ſpied Land ſeven Leagues to the Weſtward, which was a very high mountainous Iſland, and he called it *Dominica*, becauſe diſcovered upon *Sunday* Morning. A while after he diſcovered another Iſland North-eaſt of *Dominica*, and then another, and a third after that, more to the Northward, for which Mercy God had been pleaſed to beſtow upon them, all the Men aſſembling in the Poop, ſung the *Salve Regina* and other Prayers, and Hymns, very devoutly giving Thanks to God, for that, in twenty Days after departing from *Gomera*, they had made that Land; judging the Diſtance to be about 750 or 800 Leagues; and finding no convenient Place to come to an Anchor on the Eaſt-ſide of the Iſland *Dominica*, they ſtood over to another Iſland which the Admiral called *Marigalante*, that being his Ship's Name. Here landing, he with all neceſſary Solemnity again repeated the Poſſeſſion he had in his firſt Voyage taken of all the Iſlands and Continents of the *Weſt Indies*, for their Catholic Majeſties.

On the 4th the Admiral failed from the Iſland *Marigalante* Northwards, by another great Iſland he called *Sta. Maria Guadalupe*, at the Requeſt of the Friars of the Houſe of that Name, to whom he had made a Promiſe to call ſome Iſland by the Name of their Monaſtery; before he came to it, by two Leagues Diſtance, they diſcovered a very high Rock, ending in a Point, whence iſſued a Stream of Water, which falling, made ſuch a Noiſe that it was heard aboard of the Ships, though many affirmed that it was only a white Vein in the Rock; the Water was ſo white and frothy by reaſon of its Fall. Going aſhore in the Boat to view a Sort of a Town they ſaw from the Shore, they found no body there, the People being fled to the Woods, except ſome Children, to whoſe Arms they tied ſome Baubles to pleaſe their Parents when they returned; in the Houſes they found Geeſe and abundance of Parrots with red, green, blue, and white Feathers, as big as common Cocks; they alſo found Pompions, and a ſort of Fruit which look like our green Pine-apples, but much bigger, and within full of ſolid Meat like a Melon, and much ſweeter both in Taſte and Smell, which grow on long Sticks like Aloes wild about the Fields, and are better than thoſe produced by Art. They alſo ſaw other Sorts of Fruits and Herbs, different from ours, Beds of Cotton Nets, that is, Hamocks, Bows and Arrows, and other Things of which they took none, that the *Indians* might be the leſs afraid of the Chriſtians. The next Day, which was the 5th of *November*, the Admiral again ſent two Boats aſhore to endeavour to take ſome body that might give an Account of the Country, and inform him how far off, and which Way *Hiſpaniola* lay; each of the Boats brought back a Youth, who agreed in ſaying they were not of that Iſland, but of another called *Boriquen* (now *St. John de Porto Rico*) and that the Inhabitants of that Iſland of *Guadalupe* were *Caribes* or *Canibals*, and had carried them Priſoners from their own Iſland. Soon after the Boats returning to take up ſome Chriſtians they had left there, found ſix Women with them, who had fled to them from the *Caribes*, and came of their own accord aboard the Ships.

The Admiral to invite the *Iſlanders* would not keep them on board, but gave them ſome Glaſs-beads and Bells, and made them be ſet aſhore againſt their Wills. Yet this was done unadviſedly; for as ſoon as they landed, the *Caribes*, in Sight of the Chriſtians, took away all the Admiral had given them: Therefore, either through the Hatred they bore the *Caribes*, or the Fear they had conceived of thoſe People, a while after when the Boats returned for Wood and Water, the ſaid Women got into them, begging of the Seamen to carry them aboard the Ships, and giving them to underſtand by Signs, that thoſe People eat Men, and made Slaves of them, and therefore they would not ſtay with them; ſo that the Men yielding to their Intreaties, carried them back to the Ships, with two Children and a young Man that had made his Eſcape from the *Caribes*, thinking it ſafer to put themſelves into the Hands of People they never ſaw, and ſuch Strangers to their Nation, than to remain among thoſe they knew to be wicked and cruel, and who had eaten their Huſbands and Children; and as they ſaid, they do not kill and eat the Women, but keep them as Slaves. One of the Women told them, that towards the South there were many Iſlands, ſome inhabited, others not, which ſhe and the other Women called *Giamactic*, *Cairvevo*, *Hunio*, *Buriari*, *Arubiari*, *Sixibei*, but the Continent which they ſaid was very great, both they and the People of *Hiſpaniola* called *Zuanta*.

3. On the 10th of *October* the Admiral weighed Anchor, and ſailed with the whole Fleet along the Coaſt of the Iſland *Guadalupe*, towards the North-weſt, for *Hiſpaniola*, and came to the Iſland *Montſerat*, calling it by that Name becauſe of its Heighth, and underſtood by the *Indians* he had with him, that the *Caribes* had depopulated it by devouring the Inhabitants. Thence he proceeded to *St. Mary Rodonda*, ſo called becauſe it is ſo round and upright, that there ſeems to be no getting up to it without Ladders, which the *Indians* called *Ocamaniro*. Next he came to *St. Maria la Antigua*, which is above 28 Leagues in Extent, ſtill holding on his Courſe North-weſt. There appeared ſeveral other Iſlands towards the North, and lying North-weſt and South-eaſt, all very high and full of Woods, near one of which he caſt Anchor, and called it *St. Martin*, where they took up Pieces of Coral ſticking to the Anchor Hooks, which made them hope they ſhould find other valuable Things in thoſe Countries. Though the Admiral was very deſirous to know every thing, yet he reſolved to hold on his Courſe towards *Hiſpaniola*, to relieve thoſe he had left there; but the Weather being bad, he came to an Anchor on the 13th, in an Iſland where he ordered ſome *Indians* to be taken to know whereabouts he was.

As the Boat was returning to the Fleet with four Men and three Children the Men had taken, they met a Canoe, in which there were four Men and one Woman, who perceiving they could not make their Eſcape, ſtood upon their Guard and hit two of the Chriſtians with their Arrows, which they let fly with ſuch Force and Dexterity that the Woman ſhot a Target quite through; but the Boat furiouſly boarding the Canoe overſet it, ſo that they took them all ſwimming in the Water; and one of them ſwimming ſhot ſeveral Arrows as if he had been upon dry Land. The Admiral departing hence, continued his Voyage Weſt North-weſt, where he found above fifty Iſlands, which he left to the Northward; the biggeſt of them he called *St. Urſula*, and the others, *the eleven thouſand Virgins*; next he came to the Iſland which he called *St. John Baptiſt*, but the *Indians Boriquen*; and the Fleet anchored in a Bay on the Weſt-ſide of it, where they took ſeveral Sorts of Fiſh, as Scate, Soles, Pilchards, and Shads, and ſaw Falcons and Buſhes like wild Vines, more to the Eaſtwards. Some Chriſtians went to certain Houſes, well built after their Faſhion, with a Square before them, and a broad Road down to the Sea, with Towers made of Cane on both Sides, and the Top of them curiouſly interwoven with Greens: At the End of it, next the Sea, was raiſed a large Gallery or Balcony, that could hold ten or twelve People, lofty and well built.

On the 21ſt the Admiral came up with the North-ſide of *Hiſpaniola*, and preſently ſent aſhore, at *Samana*, one of the *Indians* born in that Part, whom he brought out of *Spain*, being then converted, who offered to reduce all the *Indians* to ſubmit to the Chriſtians.

The Admiral continuing his Voyage towards the Town of the *Nativity*; when he came to Cape *Angel*, ſome *Indians* went aboard to barter their Commodities with the Chriſtians; coming to an Anchor, in the Port of *Monte Chriſto*, a Boat that went aſhore, found near a River two dead Men, one of them ſeemed to be young, the other old; who had a Rope made of a certain Sort of Broom, or ſuch Fuz that grows in *Spain*, called Eſparta, about his Neck, his Arms extended, and his Hands tyed to a Piece of Wood in the Form of a Croſs; but they could not diſcern whether they were Chriſtians or *Indians*, but looked upon it as an ill Omen. The next Day, being the 26th, the Admiral ſent aſhore in ſeveral Places; the *Indians* came very friendly and boldly to talk with the Chriſtians, and touching our Mens Shirts and Doublets, repeated their Names in *Spaniſh*, to ſhew they knew how thoſe Things were called, which delivered the Admiral from the Jealouſy he had conceived on Account of the dead Men: Judging that if thoſe People had miſuſed the Chriſtians left there, they would not have come ſo boldly aboard the Ships.

But the next Day when he came to an Anchor, near the Town of *Navidad*, after Midnight a Canoe came to the Fleet, and aſked for the Admiral, and being bid to come on board, for he was there, they would not do it, ſaying they were reſolved not to go aboard till they ſaw and knew him. The Admiral therefore was forced to come to the Ship-ſide to hear them, and then preſently two went up with two Maſks, which they gave to the Admiral, from the Cazique *Guacanagari*. They being aſked by the Admiral concerning the Chriſtians left there, anſwered, that ſome of them died of Diſtempers, ſome parted from their Company, and were gone into other Countries: But, that all of them had four or five Wives, though it appeared by their way of ſpeaking, that all, or moſt of them were dead: Yet the Admiral, not thinking it fit to take any Notice at that Time, ſent back the *Indians* with a Preſent made of Tin, and other Baubles for *Guacanagari* and themſelves, and ſo went away that Night. On the 28th, about Evening, the Admiral with all his Fleet, came into the Fort of *Navidad*, found it all burnt, and no body was ſeen thereabouts. The next Day, in the Morning, the Admiral landed, very much concerned to ſee the Houſes and Fort burnt, and nothing left belonging to the Chriſtians, but only ragged Clothes and ſuch like Things, as is uſual in a Place plundered and deſtroyed; and ſeeing no body to enquire of, the Admiral went with ſome Boats up a River that was near the Fort.

Whilſt he was going up it, he ordered the Well he had made in the Fort to be cleanſed, thinking to find Gold in it; becauſe at his going away, fearing what might happen, he commanded thoſe he had left behind, to throw all the Gold they could get into that Well, but nothing was found in it; and the Admiral could lay hold of no *Indian*, becauſe they all fled from their Houſes to the Woods; having therefore found nothing but ſome of the Chriſtians Clothes; he returned to *Navidad*, where he ſaw eight of the Chriſtians, and three others in the Fields near the Town, whom they knew to be Chriſtians by their Clothes, and they ſeemed to have been dead about a Month; the Chriſtians going about to ſeek ſome other Tokens or Writing of the Dead, a Brother of the Cazique *Guacanagari*, came with ſome *Indians* to talk with the Admiral. Theſe could ſpeak ſome Words in *Spaniſh*, and knew the Names of all the Chriſtians that had been left there, and ſaid that thoſe *Spaniards* ſoon began to fall to Variance among themſelves, and to take every one what Gold, and as many Women as they could; whereupon *Peter Guitierres* and *Eſcovedo*, killed one *James*, and then they, and nine others, went away with their Women to a Cazique, whoſe Name was *Caunabo*, who was Lord of the Mines, who killed them all; then, many Days after came with a great many Men to *Navidad*, where there was only *James de Arana*, with ten Men who had remained with him to guard the Fort, all the reſt being diſperſed about the Iſland. The Cazique, *Caunabo*, coming up by Night, fired the Houſes where the Chriſtians lived with their Women, for Fear whereof they fled to the Sea; where eight of them were drowned, and three died on Shore; that *Guacanagari* fighting with *Caunabo* in Defence of the Chriſtians, was wounded and fled.

This Account agreed with that given by other Chriſtians ſent by the Admiral to learn more of the Country; who went to a Town where *Guacanagari* lay ill of a Wound, which he ſaid had hindered him from waiting on the Admiral, and giving him an Account of what was become of the Chriſtians; among whom, he ſaid, ſoon after the Admiral returned for *Spain*, there began to be Diſſention, and every one would barter Gold for himſelf, and take what Women he thought fit; and not ſatisfied with what *Guacanagari* gave, and allowed to be given them, they divided into ſeveral Parties, and diſperſed ſome one Way and ſome another: And that ſome *Biſcayners* joining together, went where they were all killed; and this was the Truth of what had happened, which they might tell the Admiral; deſiring that he would come and ſee him, becauſe he was in ſuch a Condition, that he could not leave the Houſe. The Admiral did ſo, going the next Day to viſit him, and he with great Signs of Sorrow, told him all that had happened, as has been related above; and that he, and his Men, had all been wounded in Defence of the Chriſtians; as appeared by their Wounds, which were not given with Chriſtian Arms, but with wooden Swords and Arrows, pointed with Fiſh-bones.

This Diſcourſe being over, he preſented the Admiral with eight Strings of ſmall Beads, made of white, green, and red Stones; a String of Gold Beads; a Crown of Gold, and three little Calabaſhes full of Gold Sand; all which might have been about four Marks weight in Gold, each Mark being eight Ounces. The Admiral, in return, gave him abundance of Baubles, which might be worth three Ryals, and were valued by him at above a thouſand. Though he was very ill, he would needs go with the Admiral to ſee the Fleet, where he was courteouſly entertained; and much pleaſed to ſee the Horſes, of which the Chriſtians had before given him an Account. And becauſe ſome of thoſe that were dead had miſinformed him concerning the Faith, the Admiral was forced to inſtruct him in it; and afterwards would have him wear an Image of the Virgin *Mary* about his Neck, which, at firſt, he had refuſed to receive.

4. The Admiral reflecting on the Diſaſter of thoſe Chriſtians, and his own Misfortune at Sea; having loſt the Men and Fort on Shore, and his Ship upon the Water; and that, not far off, there were better and more commodious Places, on the 7th of *December* he ſailed with the whole Fleet Eaſtwards, and anchored not far from the Iſland of *Monte Chriſto*, and the next Day, at *Monte Chriſto*, among thoſe ſeven low little Iſlands; which, tho' they are without Trees, yet are nevertheleſs very pleaſant. Thence he went to anchor before a Town of *Indians*, where, reſolved to plant a Colony, he landed with all the Men, Proviſions, and Utenſils he brought aboard the Fleet, in a Plain near a Rock; on which he built a Town, and called it *Iſabella*, in Honour of Queen *Iſabel*, or *Elizabeth*; this Place was judged very convenient, as the Port was very large, though expoſed to the North-weſt, and had a moſt delicate River within a Bow Shot of it, from which Canals of Water might be drawn to run through the Middle of the Town; and beyond was an open Plain, from which the *Indians* ſaid the Mines of *Cibao* were not very remote. For theſe Reaſons the Admiral was ſo eager upon ſettling the ſaid Colony, that what with the Fatigue at Sea, and what he here went through, he not only wanted Time to write, Day by Day, what happened, but fell ſick, which hindered his writing from the 11th of *December* to the 12th of *March*, in the Year 1494; during which Time, having ordered the Affairs of the Town the beſt he could, he ſent one *Alonſo de Hojeda* with fifteen Men, to ſeek out the Mines of *Cibao*; afterwards, on the 2d of *February*, twelve Ships of the Fleet returned to *Caſtile*, under the Command of one Captain *Anthony de Torres*, Brother to Prince *John*'s Nurſe, a Man of great Judgment and Honour, and in whom their Catholic Majeſties and the Admiral much confided. He carried in Writing an Account at large of all that had happened, as alſo the Nature of the Country, and what it required.

Not long after, *Hojeda* returned, giving an Account, that the 2d Day after he ſet out from *Iſabella*, he lay at the Paſs of a Mountain, which was very difficult of Acceſs; that afterwards, at every League's Diſtance, he found Caziques, who had been very kind to him; and continuing his Journey, the 6th Day he came to the Mines of *Cibao*, where the *Indians* immediately took up Gold in a ſmall River, as they had done in many others, in the ſame Province, where he affirmed there was great Plenty of Gold. This News much rejoiced the Admiral, who was recovered of his Sickneſs, and he reſolved to obſerve this Diſpoſition of the Country, that he might the better know what was to be done. Accordingly, on the 12th of *March*, he ſet out from *Iſabella*, for *Cibao*, to ſee the Mines, with all the People that were in Health, both Foot and Horſe; leaving a good Guard in the two Ships, and three Caravels, the remainder of the Fleet; and cauſing all the Ammunition and Tackle belonging to the other Ships to be put aboard his own, that none might rebel and ſeize them, as they had attempted to do whilſt he was ſick; becauſe they having gone that Voyage upon the Belief, that as ſoon as they landed they might load themſelves with Gold, and ſo return rich Home, the Thing not happening as they expected, they grew diſſatisfied and offended; as alſo, becauſe of building the new Town, and weary of Diſeaſes that the Climate, and Change of Diet cauſed among them; they conſpired to revolt from the Admiral; and taking the Ships that remained, by Force, to return in them to *Spain*. One *Barnard de Piſa*, who had been an Officer of Juſtice at Court, and went that Voyage in the Quality of Comptroller, was the Ring-leader, and Head of the Mutineers; therefore, the Admiral, when informed of it, would not puniſh him any otherwiſe, than by ſecuring him on board a-ſhip, with a Deſign to ſend him aftewards to *Spain*, with his Proceſs drawn up, as well for mutinying, as for having writ a falſe Information againſt the Admiral, which he had hid.

Having therefore ordered all theſe Affairs, and having left ſome Perſons, together with his Brother Don *James Columbus*, to look to and ſecure the Fleet, he ſet forward towards *Cibao*, carrying with him all the Neceſſaries to build a Fort, to keep that Province under, and ſecure the Chriſtians left there to gather Gold, againſt any Attempts or Deſigns of the *Indians*; and the more to terrify them, and to take away all Hopes, that they might do in the Admiral's Preſence as they had done in his Abſence with *Arana*, and the thirty-eight Chriſtians left among them, he carried with him all the Men he could, that they might, in their own Towns, ſee the Power of the Chriſtians, and be ſenſible that whenever any Wrong was done to a ſingle Man travelling through the Country, there was a Force of Men to chaſtiſe it; and to appear the more formidable when he ſet out for *Iſabella* and other Towns, he made his Men march with their Arms in Rank and File, as is uſual in Time of War, with Trumpets ſounding and Colours flying. In this Way he marched to the Side of that River which lay about a Muſket-ſhot from *Iſabella*; and a League beyond he croſſed another River, and went to lie that Night three Leagues off, in a Plain divided into pleaſant Fields, reaching to the Foot of a craggy Hill, and about two Bow-ſhots high: This he called *Puerto de los Hidalgos*, or the Gentleman's Paſs; becauſe ſome Gentlemen went before, to order the Road to be made. And this was the firſt Road made in the *Indies*; for the *Indians* make their Ways but for one Man to paſs at a Time. Beyond this Paſs he came into a large Plain, on which he travelled five Leagues the next Day, and went to lie near a great River, which the Men paſſed upon Floats and Canoes: This River, which he called of *Canes*, fell into the Seat at *Monte Chriſto*. In his Journey he paſſed by many *Indian* Towns, the Houſes whereof were round, thatched, and with ſuch a little Door as he who goes in muſt ſtoop very low. Here, as ſoon as ſome of the *Indians*, brought from *Iſabella*, went into the Houſes, they took what they liked beſt, and yet the Owners were not diſpleaſed; as if all Things were in common.

5. On the 14th, the Admiral ſet forward from the River of *Canes*, and a League and a Half from it found a great River, which he called the *River of Gold*; having paſſed it with ſome Difficulty, he proceeded to a large Town, where many of the People fled to the Mountains, but moſt of them fortified their Houſes, barring their Doors with ſome Canes, as if they were a Defence to hinder any Body from coming in; for, according to their Cuſtom, no Man dares break in at the Door he finds ſo barred. Hence the Admiral went to another fine River, which he called the *Green River*; the Banks whereof were covered with bright round Stones, and there he reſted that Night. Holding on his Journey, the next Day he paſſed by ſome great Towns, where the People had put Sticks a-croſs the Doors, and the Admiral with his Men being tired, they ſtaid that Night, at the Foot of a rugged Mountain, which he called *Parbibao*, as the Province of *Cibao* begins behind the Mountain: From this, the firſt Mountain they paſſed was eleven Leagues diſtant, all which is a Plain, the Way directly South. Setting out the next Day, he travelled through a Path, where they were forced, with Difficulty, to load their Horſes, and thence he ſent back ſome Mules to *Iſabella* to bring Bread and Wine, for they began to want Proviſions, and the Journey was long, and they ſuffered the more becauſe they were not yet uſed to the *Indian* Diet, as they are now, who live and travel in thoſe Parts, who find the Food of that Country more eaſy of Digeſtion, and more agreeable to that Country, than what is carried from *Europe*, though it is not ſo great Nouriſhment.

The Admiral, paſſing over the Mountains, on the 16th entred the Country of *Cibao*, which is rough and ſtony, full of Gravel, plentiful of Graſs, and watered by ſeveral Rivers, in which Gold was found. The farther they went into this Country, they found it encumbered more with Mountains, on the Tops whereof appeared Grains of Golden Sand; for, as the Admiral ſaid great Rains carried it down from the Tops of Mountains to the Rivers in ſmall Sand. The Admiral perceiving he was now 18 Leagues from *Iſabella*, and the Country he had left behind very craggy, he ordered a Fort to be built in a very pleaſant and ſtrong Place, which he called the Caſtle of *St. Thomas*, to command the Mines, and be a Place of Safety for the Chriſtians that worked there. Here, breaking Ground to lay the Foundation, and cutting a Rock to make the Ditches, when they were got two Fathoms below the Stone, they found Neſts made of Hay and Straw, and, inſtead of Eggs, three or four round Stones as big as Oranges, as artificially made as if they had been Cannon Balls. And in the River that runs at the Foot of that Hill the Caſtle now ſtands upon, they found Stones of ſeveral Colours, ſome of them large, of pure Marble, and others of Jaſper. The Admiral, having given Orders for finiſhing the Caſtle, ſet out for *Iſabella*, and near the *Green River* met the Mules, and ſtaid there, ſending the Proviſions to the Port afterwards, endeavouring to find the Ford of that River, and of the River *del Oro*; he ſtaid ſome Days in thoſe *Indian* Towns, eating their Bread and Garlic, came well to *Iſabella*, where Melons were already grown fit to eat, tho' it was not above two Months ſince the Seed was put into the Ground; ſo Cucumbers came up in 20 Days: A wild Vine of that Country, being pruned, produced Grapes which were good and large.

On the 30th a Huſbandman gathered Ears of Wheat he had ſown at the latter end of *January*; there were alſo Vetches, but much bigger than thoſe they ſowed, and all they ſowed ſprung up above Ground in three Days, and the twenty-fifth Day they eat of it. The Stones of Fruit ſet in the Ground ſprouted out in ſeven Days, and the Vine Branches ſhot out in the ſame Time, and in twenty-five Days after they gathered green Grapes; the Sugar Canes budded in ſeven Days, which proceeded from the Temperature of the Climate; beſides that the Waters there are very thin, cold, and wholeſome. The Admiral was well enough pleaſed with the Air, the Soil, and the People of the Country. On the 1ſt of *April* there came a Meſſenger from Fort *St. Thomas*, who brought News that the *Indians* of that Country fled; and that a Cazique, whoſe Name was *Caunabo*, was preparing to come and attack the Fort. The Admiral knowing how inconſiderable the People of that Country were, made little Account of that Report, eſpecially conſidering the Horſes, by whom the *Indians* were afraid to be devoured, and therefore were ſo much afraid, that they durſt not go into any Houſe where a Horſe ſtood; however, the Amiral thought fit to ſend more Men and Proviſions, conſidering, that ſince he deſigned to go to diſcover the Continent with three Caravels he had left him, it was fit to ſecure all behind. Therefore, on the 2d, he ſent ſeventy Men with Proviſions and Ammunition to the Fort; twenty-five of which were to keep Guard, and the others help to make another Road, the firſt being very troubleſome, as were the Fords of the Rivers.

In the mean while, becauſe the Biſket grew towards an End, and they had no Flour but Wheat, he reſolved to make ſome Mills, though there was not a Fall of Water fit for that Purpoſe within a League of the Town, at which Work he was forced to ſtand over the Workmen, they all endeavouring to ſave themſelves from Labour. After that, he reſolved to ſend out all the People that were in Health, except Handicraftmen and Artificers, to the *Royal Plain*; that, travelling about the Counary, they might pacify it, ſtrike a Terror into the *Indians*, and by Degrees be uſed to their Food, ſince they daily felt more Want of that of *Spain*. *Hojeda* was ſent to command theſe Men till they came to *St. Thomas*, there to deliver them to Don *Peter Margarite*, *Hojeda* himſelf to command in the Fort; he having taken the Pains the Winter before, to diſcover that Province of *Cibao*, which in the *Indian* Language ſignifies *Stony*. *Hojeda* ſet out from *Iſabella* the 29th of *April* towards *St. Thomas*, with this Party of Men, being above 400; and, having paſſed the River *del Oro*, apprehended a Cazique that lived there, and a Nephew of his, ſending them in Irons to the Admiral, and cut off the Ears of one of his Subjects in the great Place in the Town, becauſe, three Chriſtians going from *St. Thomas* to *Iſabella*, this Cazique gave them *Indians* to carry their Clothes over the River, at the Ford; and they, being in the Middle of the River, returned to their Town with them; and the Cazique, inſtead of puniſhing them, took the Clothes, refuſing to deliver them. Another Cazique, who dwelt beyond the River, relying on the Service he had done the Chriſtians, reſolved to go with the Priſoners to *Iſabella*, and interceed with the General for them, who entertained him courteouſly, and ordered the other *Indians*, with their Hands bound, to be publicly ſentenced to die in the Market-place; which the honeſt Cazique ſeeing, with many Tears, obtained their Lives, promiſing they ſhould never be guilty of any other Offence. The Admiral having diſcharged them all, a Man on Horſeback came from *St. Thomas*'s, and gave an Account, that he had found in the Houſe of that ſame Cazique, who had been Priſoner in his Town, five Chriſtians, taken by his Subjects as they were coming from *Iſabella*; and that he, frighting the *Indians* with his Horſe, had releaſed them, above 400 Men running away from him, of whom he wounded two in the Purſuit; and that when he had paſſed the River, he ſaw they turned upon the ſaid Chriſtians; whereupon he made as if he would go back againſt them; but they, for fear of his Horſe, all ran away, leſt the Horſe ſhould fly over the River.

6. The Admiral being reſolved to diſcover the Continent, appointed a Council to govern the Iſland in his Abſence; the Sway it conſiſted of was, Dr. *James Columbus*, his Brother, with the Title of Preſident; *F. Boyl* and *Peter Fernandez Colonel*, Regents; *Alonſo Canabez de Corvajal*, Rector of *Bacca*, and *John de Luxan* of *Madrid*, Gentle-

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men to their Catholic Majeſties. And that there might not want Meal for the Support of the People, he haſtened the Building of the Mills, notwithſtanding the Rain and Floods very much obſtructed. As the Fruitfulneſs of the Soil appeared very extraordinary, ſo they daily received freſh Advices of the Wealth of the Country; for ſome of thoſe the Admiral had ſent out were always returning with Accounts of new Mines diſcovered, beſides the Relations of the *Indians* concerning great Plenty of Gold found in ſome Parts of the Iſland.

The Admiral not ſo ſatisfied, reſolved to go out to diſcover along the Coaſt of *Cuba*, not knowing whether it was an Iſland or Continent; therefore taking three Ships along with him, he ſailed on the 24th in the Afternoon, and came to an Anchor that Day at *Monte Chriſto*, Weſt of *Iſabella:* Thence he went to *Guacanagari*'s Port, thinking to find him there; but he ſeeing the Ships, fled for Fear, tho' his Subjects falſely affirmed he would ſoon return. But the Admiral not caring to ſtay, departed on *Saturday* the 26th, and went to the Iſland *Tortuga*, which lies ſix Leagues to the Weſtward. He lay by it that Night in a Calm, with his Sails abroad, the Tide running back againſt the Currents. The next Day the North-weſt Winds and Currents ſetting to the Weſt, obliged him to come to an Anchor in the River of *Guadalquiver*, which is on the ſame Iſland, there to wait for a Wind that would ſtem the Current, which both then and the Year before, he found to run ſtrong towards the Eaſt. On the 29th of the ſame Month, the Wind being fair, he came to *Cape St. Nicholas*, and then croſſed over to the Iſland of *Cuba* running along the Coaſt of it. And having ſailed a League beyond *Cabo Puerto* put into a large Bay, which he called *Puerto Granda*, or the *Grand Port*; the Mouth whereof was 150 Paces over, and had much Water. Here he anchored, and took ſome Refreſhment. On the firſt of *May*, he continued his Voyage along the Coaſt, where he found commodious Harbours, and fine Rivers, and high Mountains upon the Sea. After he left *Tortuga*, he met abundance of the Weeds he ſaw on the Ocean on his Voyage to and from *Spain*. And ſailing cloſe along the Shore, abundance of People came on board in their Canoes, to bring off their Bread, Water, and Fiſh; giving it all freely, without aſking any thing for it; but the Admiral, to ſend them home well pleaſed, ordered them to be paid, giving them Beads, Bells, and ſuch like Baubles. On the 3d the Admiral reſolved to ſail over from *Cuba* to *Jamaica*, that he might not leave it behind, without knowing whether the Report of Plenty of Gold they had there was true; and the Wind being fair, and he half Way over, he diſcovered it the next Day. Upon that he came to an Anchor, and thought it the beſt of any he had yet ſeen in the *Indies*; and ſuch Multitudes of People in great and ſmall Canoes came a-board, that it was aſtoniſhing. The next Day he ran along the Coaſt to find out Harbours; and the Boats going to ſound the Mouths of them, there came ſo many Canoes with armed Men to defend the Country, that they were forced to return to the Ships, not ſo much for fear, as to avoid falling out with thoſe People. But afterwards conſidering, that if they ſhewed Signs of Fear, the *Indians* would grow proud upon it, they returned together to the Port which the Admiral called *Puerto Bueno*, that is, *Good Harbour*; and becauſe the *Indians* came to drive them off, thoſe in Boats gave them ſuch a Flight of Arrows from their Croſs Bows, that ſixteen of them being wounded, they retired. The Fight ending in this manner, there came abundance of Canoes from the neighbouring Places, in a peaceable Way to ſee and barter Proviſions; and ſeveral Things they brought, and gave for the leaſt Trifle that was offered them.

In this Port, which reſembles a Horſe-ſhoe, the Admiral's Ship was repaired, being leaky; and that done, they ſet ſail on the 9th, keeping ſo cloſe along the Coaſt Weſtward, that the *Indians* followed in their Canoes to trade. The Wind being ſomewhat contrary, the Admiral could not make ſo much Way as he wiſhed, till on the 14th he reſolved to ſtand over again for *Cuba*, to keep along its Coaſts, deſigning not to return till he had ſailed 5 or 600 Leagues, and was ſatisfied whether it was an Iſland or Continent. The Day he was going off from *Jamaica* a very young *Indian* came a-board, ſaying he would go; and after him came ſeveral of his Kindred and other People in their Canoes, earneſtly intreating him to go back; but they could never alter his Reſolution; and therefore to avoid ſeeing his Siſters cry, he went where they could not come at him. The Admiral admiring his Reſolution, gave Orders that he ſhould be uſed with the utmoſt Civility. The Admiral leaving *Jamaica* on the 15th of *May*, came to that Point of *Cuba* which he called *Cabo de Santa Cruz*, or *Cape Holy Croſs*; and running along the Coaſt, there happened a great Storm of Thunder and Lightning, which, together with the Flats and Currents, put him in no ſmall Danger, and to very much Trouble, being obliged at the ſame time to ſtruggle againſt two Evils, which required contrary Remedies; for it is a proper Remedy againſt Thunder to ſtrike the Sails, and it was requiſite to ſpread them to avoid the Flats. And had this Calamity laſted for eight or ten Leagues, it had been inſupportable. But the worſt of it was, that throughout that Sea, both North, and South-eaſt, the farther they went, the more little low Iſlands they met with: And though there were Trees in ſome of them, yet others were ſandy, and ſcarce appeared above the Surface of the Water; ſome a League, ſome more, and ſome leſs in Compaſs. True it is, that the nearer they ſailed to *Cuba*, the higher and pleaſanter the little Iſlands appeared. And being a Matter of Difficulty, and to no Purpoſe to give every one of them a Name, the Admiral called them all in general, *Jardin de la Reyna*, or the *Queen*'s *Garden*.

But as many Iſlands as he ſaw that Day, he ſaw many more and bigger the next Day than he had before; and not only to the North-eaſt, but North-weſt, and South-weſt, inſomuch that they counted 160 Iſlands that Day, all parted by deep Channels, which the Ship ſailed through. In ſome of theſe Iſlands they ſaw abundance of Cranes, in Shape and Bigneſs like thoſe of *Spain*, but that they were red as Scarlet. In others they found abundance of Tortoiſes, and of their Eggs, not unlike Hens, but that the Shells are very hard. The Tortoiſes lay their Eggs in a Hole they make in the Sand, and cover them, leaving them till the Heat of the Sun hatches and brings forth the Tortoiſes, which in time grow as big as a great Target. In theſe Iſlands they alſo ſaw Crows and Cranes like thoſe of *Spain*, and Sea Crows, and infinite Numbers of little Birds that ſung ſweetly; and the very Air was as ſweet as if they had been among the fineſt Perfumes in the World: Yet the Danger was very great, there being ſuch abundance of Channels, that much Time was ſpent in finding the Way through them.

In one of theſe Channels they diſcovered a Canoe of *Indian* Fiſhermen, who very quietly, without Concern, expected the Boat, which was making toward them; and being come near, made a Sign to them not to approach, till they had done fiſhing. Their Manner of fiſhing was ſo ſtrange, that they were willing to comply with them: It was thus: They had tied ſome ſmall Fiſhes they call *Reves* by the Tail, which run themſelves againſt other Fiſh, and with a certain Roughneſs they have from the Head to the Middle of the Back, ſtick ſo faſt to the next Fiſh they meet, that when the *Indians* perceive it, they draw both up together: And it was a Tortoiſe the *Spaniards* ſaw taken by theſe Fiſhermen, the *Reve* clinging about the Neck of it, where they generally faſten, being by that Means ſafe from the other Fiſh biting them; and ſometimes are ſaid to faſten upon vaſt Sharks. When the *Indians* in the Canoe had taken the Tortoiſe, and two other Fiſhes they had before, they preſently in a very friendly manner came to the Boat to know what they would have; and by their Directions went alone a-board the Ships, where the Admiral treated them very courteouſly, and underſtood by them, that there was an infinite Multitude of theſe Iſlands in that Sea; and they freely gave all they had, tho' the Admiral would ſuffer nothing to be taken of them but the Fiſh, the reſt being their Nets, Hooks, and Calabaſhes full of Water to drink. Having given them ſome Trifles, they went away very well pleaſed; and he held on his Courſe with a Deſign not do ſo long, becauſe he began to be ſhort of Proviſions already; whereas had he been well ſtored, he determined not to have returned into *Spain*, but Eaſt about.

Tho' he was very much ſpent, not becauſe he ſuffered Pain, but becauſe he had not ſlept, or lain in Bed ever ſince he went from *Spain* till the 19th of *May*, except eight Nights (as appears by his Journal) when he was very much indiſpoſed. And if he had much Care upon him at other times, it was doubled this Voyage, by reaſon of the innumerable Quantity of Iſlands among which he was ſailing, which were ſo many, that on the 20th he diſcovered ſeventy one beſides many more he ſaw Weſt-ſouth-weſt at Sun-ſetting. Which Iſlands, or Sands, are not only frightful, by their Multitude appearing on all Sides; but what is yet more terrible is, that every Night there riſes off them a great Fog, Eaſtward, ſo diſmal to behold that it looks as if ſome great Showers of Hail would fall. The Thunder and Lightning is violent, yet when the Sun riſes it all vaniſhes, Part of it turning to Rain and Wind, which is ſo uſual and natural in that Country, that it did not only happen all thoſe Nights the Admiral was there, but the ſame was long after obſerved in thoſe Iſlands by the *Spaniards* in their Return from the Diſcovery of *Veragua*. And generally here, at Night, the Wind is North, coming off the Iſle of *Cuba*; and afterwards, when the Sun is up, it comes about Eaſt, and follows the Sun till it comes to the Weſt.

7. The Admiral, ſtill holding out his Courſe Weſtward among the Number of Iſlands, upon the 22d came to an Iſland ſomewhat bigger than the reſt, which he called *St. Mary*; and, landing at a Town there, not one *Indian* would ſtay to talk to the Chriſtians, nor did they find any thing in the Houſes but Fiſh, which is all the Food thoſe People live on, and ſeveral Dogs, like Maſtiffs, who eat Fiſh too. Thus, without ſpeaking to any body, or ſeeing any Thing remarkable, he ſailed away North-eaſt among many Iſlands, and abundance of thoſe Weeds he ſaw on the Ocean when he diſcovered the *Indies*, which fatigued him very much; for ſometimes he was forced to ſtand Weſt, ſometimes North, and ſometimes South, according as the Channels would permit; for, notwithſtanding his Care in ſounding, and keeping Men upon the Round-top, to look out, yet the Ship often touched, and there was no avoiding it, there being no End of the Flats on all Hands. Sailing on in this manner he came again to *Cuba* to take in Water, whereof they had much need, and tho' there was no Town there, they put in becauſe the Place was wooded, yet one of the Seamen that went aſhore, going up among the Trees with a Croſs-bow, to kill ſome Bird or Beaſt, diſcovered thirty People armed with ſuch Weapons as they uſe, that is, Spears and Staves, which they wear inſtead of Swords, and call *Macanas*; among them, he ſaid, he ſaw one clad in a white Coat or Veſt down to his Knees, and two that carried him, with Veſts down to their Feet; all three of them as white as *Spaniards*, but that he had no Talk with them; for being afraid of ſuch a Number, he began to cry out, and the *Indians* ran away without looking back.

The Admiral, the next Day, ſent People aſhore to know the Truth of it. They could not travel above half a League, becauſe of the Thickneſs of the Trees and the Buſhes, and becauſe that Coaſt is marſhy for two Leagues up the Country, where there are Mountains; ſo that they only ſaw Footſteps of Fiſhermen on the Shore, and abundance of Cranes like thoſe in *Spain*, but bigger. Then ſailing about ten Leagues Weſtward, they ſaw Houſes on the Shore, from which ſome Canoes came with Water, and ſuch Things as thoſe People eat, which they brought to the Chriſtians, who paid well. And the Admiral cauſed one of theſe *Indians* to be ſtopped, telling him and the reſt, by his Interpreter, that he would let him go home as ſoon as he had directed him in his Voyage, and given ſome Account of that Country. At which the *Indian* was very much pleaſed, and aſſured the Admiral, that *Cuba* was an Iſland, and that the King, or Cazique, of the Weſtern Part of it, never ſpoke to his Subjects but by Signs; that all that Coaſt was very low, and full of Iſlands, which was found to be true. The next Day, being the 11th of *June*, to paſs from one Channel to another, the Admiral was forced to have the Ships towed over a Flat where there was not a Foot of Water, and all the Breadth of it was not above two Ships Length. Bearing up cloſe to *Cuba*, they ſaw Tortoiſes of a vaſt Bigneſs, and in ſuch Numbers, that they covered the Sea. At Break of the Day they ſaw ſuch a Cloud of Sea-Crows, that they darkened the Sun, coming from the Seaward to the Iſland where they all lighted. Beſides them, abundance of Pigeons and Birds of other ſorts were ſeen. And the next Day there came ſuch Swarms of Butterflies that they darkened the Air, and laſted till Night, when a great Rain carried them away.

On the 13th the Admiral perceived that the Coaſt of *Cuba* ran far Weſt, and that it was a Matter of the greateſt Difficulty to ſail that Way, by reaſon of Iſlands and Sands that were on all Sides, and that he already began to want Proviſions, for which Reaſon he could not continue his Voyage as he had intended. He reſolving to return to the Town he had begun to build at *Hiſpaniola*, and to furniſh himſelf with Wood and Water, anchored in the Iſland of *Evangeliſta*, which is thirty Leagues in Compaſs, and ſeven hundred from *Dominica*. Having directed his Courſe South, hoping to get out better that Way, and ſailing through that Channel which looked cleareſt, after a few Leagues found it ſhut up, which did not a little trouble and terrify them, ſeeing themſelves, as it were, hemmed in on all Sides, and deſtitute of Proviſions: But the Admiral, who was wiſe and couragious, ſaid with a chearful Countenance, that he thanked God for forcing him back the ſame Way he came; foraſmuch as if they had continued their Voyage that Way they expected to go, it might have, perhaps, happened they might have run themſelves into ſome Place, whence it would have been hard getting out, and at a time when they had neither Ships nor Proviſions to go back, which at preſent they could eaſily do. Thus with great Satisfaction of all the Men he returned to the Iſland of *Evangeliſta*, where he had watered; and the 25th of *June* ſailed thence North-weſt towards ſome ſmall Iſlands that appeared five Leagues off.

On the 20th, as he was writing his Journal of the Voyage, his Ship run a-ground ſo faſt, that neither Anchors nor other Inventions were able to get it off. It was by Boats drawn off a-head, tho' with ſome Damage, becauſe of beating on the Sand. However, with God's Aſſiſtance, they got off at laſt, and he ſailed on as the Wind and ſhoal Water would permit, always through a very white Sea, and two Fathom deep. Beſides which, every Day about Sun-ſetting he was troubled with mighty Showers which riſe in the Mountains from the Moraſſes near the Sea, which was a great Fatigue to him till he came cloſe to *Cuba*, toward the Eaſt, the Way he came at firſt; whence, as he had found before, came off a moſt fragrant Scent of Flowers. On the 7th of *July* he landed to hear Maſs, and there reſorted to him an old Cazique, Lord of the Province, who was very attentive at Prayer. When it was ended, he expreſſed by Signs, it was very well done to give Thanks to God, becauſe the Soul which was good would go to Heaven, and the Body remain on Earth, but that the wicked Souls muſt go to Hell. And, among other Things, ſaid he had been in the Iſland *Hiſpaniola*, where he knew ſome of the chief Men: That he had been at *Jamaica*, and a great Way towards the Weſt of *Cuba*; and that the Cazique of that Place was clad like a Prieſt.

The Admiral ſailing thence on the 16th, drew near to *Cape Cruz* in *Cuba*, where he was ſurprized by ſuch a violent Storm as bore his Ship's Side under Water: But it pleaſed God they immediately ſtruck all their Sails and dropped their Anchors, but yet they took in ſo much Water at the Deck, that the Men were not able to pump it out, eſpecially in the Condition they were, being much ſpent for want of Proviſions, for they eat nothing but a Pound of rotten Biſket in a Day, and about half a Pint of Wine, unleſs they happened to catch ſome Fiſh, which yet they could not keep from one Day to the next, becauſe the Weather was always more inclinable to corrupt than in other Countries. And this Want being common to all, the Admiral, in his Journal, ſpeaks thus concerning it: "I am at the ſame Allowance, God grant it may "be to his Honour, and your Highneſſes Service; for I

“ ſhall never again, for my own Benefit, expoſe myſelf
“ to ſuch Sufferings and Dangers ; never a Day paſſing
“ but I ſee we are all upon the Brink of Death.”

In this Danger and Diſtreſs he arrived at *Cape Cruz* on the 18th, where he was entertained by the *Indians.* They brought him abundance of Cazabi, ſo they call their Bread made of Roots grated, a vaſt deal of Fiſh, Store of Fruit, and other Things ſuch as they eat. The Wind being contrary, ſo that he could not ſail for *Hiſpaniola*, he ſtood over to *Jamaica*, and ſailed along Weſtward, cloſe under the Shore ; the Country all along moſt delightful and fruitful, with excellent Harbours at every League Diſtance, and all the Coaſt full of Towns, the People whereof followed their Ships in their Canoes, bringing Proviſions, which were better liked by the Chriſtians than what they found in the other Iſlands ; the Climate, Air, and Weather, were the ſame as the reſt ; for in this Weſtern Part of *Jamaica*, there gathered every Evening a Storm of Rain, which laſted about an Hour, more or leſs, which the Admiral ſaid he attributed to the great Woods in thoſe Countries, for that he knew this was uſual, at firſt, in the *Canary* Iſlands, *Madera*, and the *Azores*, whereas now the Woods are cut down that ſhaded them, there are not ſo great and frequent Storms of Rain as there were formerly.

Thus the Admiral ſailed on, though with contrary Winds, which obliged him every Night to ſeek the Shelter of the Land, which appeared green, pleaſant, fruitful, abounding in Proviſions, and ſo populous, that he thought none excelled it ; eſpecially near a Bay, which he called *de las Vacas*, becauſe there are nine Iſlands cloſe to the Land, which he ſaid was as high as any he had ſeen ; and yet it was peopled, and very fruitful and pleaſant. This Iſland he judged to be 800 Miles in compaſs, and, when fully diſcovered, computed fifty Leagues in Length, and twenty in Breadth. Being much taken with its Beauty, he had a great Mind to ſtay there, to be fully informed of the Nature of it ; but the Want of Proviſions, and the Leakineſs of the Veſſels, would not permit: Therefore, as ſoon as the Weather was a little fair, he ſailed away Eaſtward ; ſo that on the 9th of *Auguſt* he loſt Sight of that Iſland, ſtanding over directly for *Hiſpaniola*, and called the moſt Eaſtward Cape of *Jamaica* on the South Coaſt *Cabo del Farol.*

8. The two Ships that had been miſſing, came in about ſix Days after, and the Admiral proceeded on his Voyage, and arriving on the Coaſt of *Hiſpaniola*, the *Indians* came in their Canoes, and ſaid, that two had been there from *Iſabella*, and that, at the Colony, they were all well. He held on his Courſe to the Eaſtward, where he diſcovered a great Town, and ſent the Boats thither for Water. The *Indians* came out armed with poiſoned Arrows ; they threatened to bind the *Spaniards* with Cords they brought ; and this was the Province of *Niguey*, the Inhabitants whereof were the moſt warlike People of the Iſland of *Hiſpaniola*, and poiſoned their Weapons ; but when the Boats came aſhore, the *Indians* laid down their Arms, and aſked for the Admiral, and carried Proviſions. He held on his Courſe, and they ſaw a great Fiſh, like a middling Whale, and it had on the Neck a large Shell, like that of a Tortoiſe, little leſs then a Target ; the Head it held above Water was like a Pipe or But, the Tail like that of a Tunny-Fiſh, very large, and two vaſt Fins on the Side ; by this Fiſh and other Obſervations in the Sky, the Admiral perceived there was like to be a Change of Weather, and endeavoured to get under a little Iſland, which the *Indians* called *Adamanoy*, and the *Spaniards Saona*, which makes a Streight a little above a League over, with the Iſland *Hiſpaniola*, and is about two Leagues in Length.

There he came to an Anchor, and the two other Ships, not being able to get in, ran the greateſt Hazard. That Night the Admiral obſerved the Eclipſe of the Moon, and affirmed the Difference of Longitude, between that Place and *Cadiz*, was five Hours and twenty-three Minutes ; he continued there on Account of the Storm eight Days ; and the other Ships being come, he ſailed thence on the 24th of *September*, and came to Cape *Engano*, in *Hiſpaniola*, which the Admiral named *St. Raphael* ; they next touched at the Iſland *Mona*, which is ten Leagues from *Hiſpaniola*, and eight from the Iſland of *Porto Rico*, or *St. John* ; being ſix Leagues in Compaſs, and on it grow moſt delicious Melons, as big as a Jar of Oil that will hold ſix Quarts ; being gone from *Mona*, and near *St. John*, the Admiral was ſeized with ſuch a Fit of the Lethargy, that he loſt all his Senſes, ſo that it was thought he could not live ; for which Reaſon the Seamen uſed the utmoſt Diligence, and arrived with all the Ships at *Iſabella*, on the 29th of *September*, without any farther Certainty of *Cuba* being an Iſland, than what the *Indians* had told them.

As ſoon as they arrived, the Admiral underſtood that his Brother Don *Bartholomew Columbus* was there, and that the Natives of the Iſland were in Arms againſt the *Spaniards.* It is impoſſible to expreſs how much the Admiral was pleaſed to ſee his Brother, and it will not be amiſs, before we proceed, to give an Account of what befel him, from the Time his Brother ſent him to propoſe the undertaking of thoſe Diſcoveries to the King of *England.* He was a long Time before he reached that Kingdom, and then learning the Language, the Methods of Court, and gaining Acceſs to the Miniſters, occaſioned another Delay ; ſo that after ſeven Years, when he had articled and agreed with King *Henry* VII. of *England*, he returned into *Spain* to look for his Brother, who having heard nothing from him during that Time, concluded he was dead : At *Paris* he heard of his having made the Diſcovery, and that he was declared Admiral ; being told it by King *Charles*, who gave him 100 Crowns towards his Journey, and though he made all the Haſte he could, his Brother was gone on his ſecond Voyage, with the ſeventeen Ships ; but he had an Inſtruction, which was left by the Admiral, delivered to him. He went to kiſs their Majeſties Hands, and viſit his Nephews, Don *James* and Don *Ferdinand*, at *Valadolid*, where the Court was ; being then Pages to Prince *John.* Their Catholic Majeſties did him much Honour, and ordered him to go away to the *Indies*, with three Ships that were to carry Proviſions to the Admiral.

He arrived there in *April* 1494, and found he was gone upon the Diſcovery of *Cuba.* The Admiral thought he had ſome Comfort in his Brother, and gave him the Title of Adelantado, or Lord Lieutenant ; which their Catholic Majeſties very much reſented, ſaying, that it was not in the Admiral's Power ſo to do, but that it belonged to them to give that Title : Yet ſome Years after they confirmed it. Don *Bartholomew* was a very wiſe Man, and as expert in Sea Affairs as his Brother ; ſomewhat harſh in his Temper, but very brave and free ſpoken, for which ſome hated him. The Admiral having eſtabliſhed a Council for the Government of the Iſland, Don *Pedro Margarite*, Commander of the four hundred Men, went with them to *Vega Real*, or *Vale Royal*, ten Leagues from *Iſabella*, and quartered them in the Towns there, where they lived without any Order or Diſcipline, ruining the *Indians* ; for a *Spaniard* will eat more in a Day, than one of them in a Month. The Council reproving Don *Pedro*, becauſe he did not check the Licentiouſneſs of the Soldiers, he thereupon began to cavil, refuſing to obey them, either in this Particular, or in marching through the Iſland, as the Admiral had ordered him ; and fearing to be puniſhed for thoſe Diſorders, he thought fit to embark aboard the three Ships that brought over Don *Bartholomew Columbus*, and return to *Caſtile*, and Father *Boyl* with him, beſides ſome more of his Party. Being come to the Court, they gave an Account that there was no Gold in the *Indies*, and that all the Admiral ſaid was mere Invention. The Soldiers being left without their Commander, diſperſed themſelves about the Country, living like Men without a Chief. Whereupon a Cazique, whoſe Name was *Guatiguanti*, who had a large Town upon the Bank of the great River, killed ten Chriſtians, and privately ſent to ſet fire to a Houſe where ſome ſick Men lay ; and the *Indians*, in ſeveral Parts of the Iſland, killed ſix more ; and Calumnies of the *Spaniards* being ſpread abroad every where, in ſuch Sort, that all the People hated them, even them who had not ſeen them, and particularly the four principal Kings, *Guarinoex*, *Caunabo*, *Behechico*, and *Hignanama*,

nama, and all that followed and obeyed them, being an infinite Multitude, were very deſirous to turn the *Spaniards* out of the Country.

Only *Guacanagari*, King of *Marien*, did not ſtir, but on the contrary, kept a hundred Chriſtians in his Country, giving them Part of what he had, and treating them affectionately, as he had done from the Beginning. Some Days after the Admiral's Arrival, *Guacanagari* went to viſit him, expreſſing Sorrow for his Sickneſs and Troubles; and aſſuring him he knew nothing of the killing of the Chriſtians; that he was his Friend, and for that Reaſon all the Natives bore him ill Will, and particularly thoſe that were in Arms in the *Vale Royal*, and other Places. The Admiral reſolving to take the Field, in order to diſperſe thoſe People, and reduce the Iſland to Peace, *Guacanagari* offered to bear him Company with his Subjects; but before he went out in Perſon, he ſent to begin the War with *Guatiguanti*, who had killed the ten Chriſtians, that the Puniſhment might not be delayed, and to prevent his growing bolder. They killed ſeveral of his Men, and took many Priſoners; and he fled, and ſome of the Priſoners were ſent to *Spain*. But as *Caunabo* was the moſt potent Lord of all the Iſland, and brave in his Perſon, and had three valiant Brothers, being King of the Province they called *Maguana*, the Admiral had his Eye more on him; and thinking it would be the beſt to ſubdue him by Policy, becauſe to do it by Force would be difficult, he contrived to ſend *Alonſo de Hojeda*, with nine *Spaniards*, under Colour of carrying him a Preſent.

The *Indians* valued Tin more than Gold, and rejoiced when they got any of it, or of the other Metals they carried from *Spain*, thinking they came down from Heaven; and when the Bell at *Iſabella* rung, and the *Spaniards* upon it went to Church, they thought it ſpoke, and the Fame of it reached *Caunabo*; who had often thought of begging it of the Adelantado, that he might ſee the Turey of *Biſcay*, ſo they called the Tin; for Turey, ſignifies Heaven; and they ſo highly valued Tin and other Metals, that they called it Turey, and the *Spaniards* added of *Biſcay*, and therefore they ſaid the Turey of *Biſcay*. *Hojeda* being come to the Province of *Maguana*, about 60 or 70 Leagues from the Colony of *Iſabella*, the *Indians* were in a Conſternation to ſee him on Horſe back, as believing that the Man and Horſe were all of a Piece.

They told *Caunabo* that ſome Chriſtians were come, being ſent by the Admiral, whom they called *Guamiquini*, and that they had brought him a Preſent of that they called Turey *de Biſcay*, which very much rejoiced him. *Hojeda* being introduced, kiſſed his Hand, as the reſt did, and then ſhewed him the Preſent, being Fetters and Manacles, very bright and well poliſhed, that looked like Silver: He told him the Kings of *Spain* wore them, becauſe they came from Heaven, that they were wont to put them on at the *Areitos*, ſo the *Indians* call their Dancing Matches; and that it would be proper for him to go with them to bathe himſelf in the River *Yaqui*, which was half a League off, that he would there put them on him, and he ſhould come back on Horſe-back, and then would look like the Kings of *Spain*. Accordingly he went one Day, attended by a few Servants, with *Hojeda*, to the River; little imagining that nine or ten Men ſhould have a Deſign upon him, in a Place where he was ſo powerful, he waſhed and refreſhed himſelf, and being very earneſt to try on the Preſent, having ordered the *Indians* to keep at a Diſtance, though they always avoided being near the Horſes; they ſet him up behind *Hojeda*, and put on the Fetters and Hand-cuffs, the King obſerving all very attentively; *Hojeda* took two turns about, the better to palliate his Deſign, and the third time rode off with the *Spaniards* about the Horſe, till the *Indians* loſt Sight of them; then they drew their Swords and threatened to kill him if he did not ſit ſtill whilſt they tied him with Cords to *Hojeda*; and travelling with Expedition, they arrived at *Iſabella*, and delivered him to the Admiral, who kept him in his Houſe, fettered, and when the Admiral came in he never paid him any Reſpect, though he did *Alonſo de Hojeda*; being aſked why he did ſo, he anſwered, that the Admiral durſt not go to his Houſe to ſeize him, and *Hojeda* did.

The Admiral reſolved to ſend him into *Spain*, and being embarked with other *Indians*, there aroſe ſo great a Storm, that the Ship was caſt away, and *Caunabo* and the *Indians* periſhed; upon which the Admiral ordered two Caravels to be provided, that he might not be left without Ships. But let us now look over to *Spain*.

The Return of *Anthony de Torres* was very pleaſing to their Majeſties, which they ſignified to the Admiral by his Brother, giving him Thanks for the Toils he underwent, promiſing always to ſupport him. And foraſmuch as their Catholic Majeſties were willing to pleaſe the Admiral, and that this Affair of the *Indies* ſhould proſper, they ordered the Dean *John Roderiguez de Fonſeca* to fit out four Ships with Expedition, furniſhed with ſuch Things as the Admiral required: And they appointed *Anthony de Torres* to return with them; by whom they wrote to him their Letter, dated at *Segovia* the 16th of *Auguſt*, again repeating their Thanks for his good Services, promiſing to promote him to the utmoſt, becauſe all he had ſaid and propoſed had proved as true as if he had ſeen it before he went upon the Diſcovery: And tho' they had received the Account he had ſent them, yet they deſired he would more particularly acquaint them what Iſlands he had diſcovered, the Names of them before, and thoſe he had given them, with the Diſtances from one to another; what he had found in every one of them, what ſort of Weather there was in thoſe Parts every Month, and how the Things that were ſowed came up, becauſe ſome ſaid there were two Winters and two Summers, and various ſorts of Birds: That all the ſeveral Things he had aſked for in his Memorial were ſent him. And to the end that they might oftener hear from him, it was thought expedient that a Caravel ſhould go from *Spain* every Month, and one return from the *Indies*. The Affairs with *Portugal* being adjuſted, they had ſent him a Copy of the Articles concluded, that he might know and obſerve them on his Part: That as for the Line of Partition that was to be drawn, that being a Matter of much Difficulty and great Truſt, their Highneſſes could wiſh, if it were poſſible, the Admiral ſhould be preſent and draw it, together with thoſe that were to be employed about it by the King of *Portugal*; and that in caſe he could not come himſelf, he ſhould ſend his Brother Don *Bartholomew*, or ſome other intelligent Perſon with Draughts and authentic Relations, and his Opinion concerning what ought to be done in the Caſe with the utmoſt Expedition, that it might come in time, and not diſappoint the King of *Portugal*.

The ſeizing of *Caunabo* very much incenſed his Brethren, who reſolved to make War upon the *Spaniards* with the utmoſt of their Force. The Admiral, perceiving that abundance of Men drew together, and all the Country armed, took the Field with two hundred Foot, twenty Horſe, and twenty Wolf-Dogs; which, as the *Indians* were naked from Head to Foot, made terrible Havock among them. There were no more Soldiers, becauſe the reſt were ſick. The Admiral ſet out on the 24th of *March* 1495, taking along with him his Brother, the Adelantado, Don *Bartholomew Columbus*, and the King *Guacanagari* with his Men. He entered the *Royal Plain*, and diſcovered the Enemies Army; in which King *Manicatex* had a great Number of Men, and the whole ſeemed to amount to an hundred thouſand. The Adelantado gave the Charge, and the Men and Horſes and the Dogs ſo terrified them, that they were ſoon routed, and a vaſt Number of them were killed and taken, the latter being adjudged Slaves, and many ſent into *Spain* on board *Anthony de Torres*'s four Ships. The Admiral continued ranging round about the Iſland near ten Months, ſeverely puniſhing thoſe he found guilty, having ſome Encounters with *Caunabo*'s Brothers, who made the greateſt Reſiſtance; but finding their Power too weak, they and *Guarincex*, being the chief Kings in the Iſland, reſolved to ſubmit themſelves to the Admiral.

The Admiral having thus reduced all the People under the Obedience of their Catholic Majeſties, ordered they ſhould pay Tribute in this Manner: The Inhabitants of the Province of *Cibao*, and thoſe of the *Royal Plain*, and thoſe near the Mines, above fifteen Years of Age, to pay a ſmall Hawk's Bell full of Gold quarterly; and all other Perſons, a Quarter of an hundred Weight of Cotton each; and only King *Manicatex* to pay every Month half a Gourd full of Gold, worth an hundred and fifty Peſos. A certain Coin made of Copper or Braſs with a certain Figure on it was ſtruck, and changed upon every Payment of the Tribute, that every tributary *Indian* might wear it about his Neck, in order to ſhew who had paid. Upon this Occaſion *Guarinoex*, King of the great *Royal Plain*, offered the Admiral to ſow Corn throughout the Country from *Iſabella* to *Santa Domingo*, which is from Sea to Sea fifty-five Leagues Diſtance, which would furniſh all *Caſtile* with Bread, provided he would not require any Gold of him, becauſe his Subjects did not know how to gather it. But the Admiral being a Stranger, alone, and envied by the Miniſters of their Catholic Majeſties, and, like a diſcreet Man, being ſenſible that the Wealth he ſent muſt be his Support, he preſſed for Gold, tho' in other reſpects he was a good Chriſtian, and feared God. And accordingly he moderated the Tribute, being ſenſible that it could not be paid; for which ſome had fled to the Mountains, and others wandered into remote Provinces.

This Oppreſſion, and the *Indians* ſeeing there was no likelihood of the *Spaniards* leaving the Country, becauſe there were no Ships in the Harbour, and they built Houſes on the Land with Stone and Timber, made them melancholy; and they aſked them, Whether they ever deſigned to return home? And having found by Experience, that the *Spaniards*, compared with them, were very great Eaters, they thought they had come thither only to eat; whereupon, obſerving that many of them were ſick, and that the Proviſions brought them from *Spain* were ſpent, many Towns conſpired to contrive ſome Method that they might all periſh, or, to avoid that, be obliged to depart the Iſland.

9. In order to puſh this Deſign with Effect, the *Indians* thought beſt to forbear ſowing, that there might be no Corn, and to retire themſelves to the Mountains, where they had many good Roots to eat, and might help out with hunting Utias, a ſort of Rabbit, whereof there is a vaſt Plenty. This Contrivance little availed them; for though the *Spaniards* ſuffered much through Hunger, and in Purſuit of the *Indians*, they, however, went not away; but many dying through downright Want obliged them to eat loathſome Things, ſo that all the Calamity fell upon the *Indians* themſelves; for they ranging about the Mountains with their Wives and Children, enduring much Hunger, and having no Opportunity to hunt, fiſh, and get Proviſions, the Hills and Rivers about which they ſkulked being full of Damps, a peſtilential Diſtemper reigned among them; ſo that what through this, and the Wars, till the Year 1496, one Third of the Inhabitants periſhed.

But let us now look over to *Spain*, where Father *Boyl* and Don *Pedro Margarite*, as they agreed to go away together without Leave, ſo they alſo combined in ſpeaking ill of the *Indies*, and miſrepreſenting the Enterprize, becauſe they had not found Gold for them to plunder, in Cheſts, or growing on the Trees. They alſo alledged that the Admiral did not behave well, not having been in the Iſland from his Return thither in the ſecond Voyage, till he came back from the Diſcovery of the Iſland of *Cuba*, full four Months. And there being Letters alſo that gave an ill Character of the Admiral, by thoſe who went on board the four Ships under the Command of *Anthony de Torres* (for there are always Malcontents) their Catholic Majeſties, at the Time the Admiral took the Field againſt the *Indians* in the *Royal Plain*, ſent away *John Aguado*, a Native of *Seville*, Groom of the King's Bed-Chamber, to obſerve what was doing in the Iſland *Hiſpaniola*, taking with him four Ships laden with Neceſſaries for the Relief of the People there.

John Aguado carried with him Credentials, dated *April* the 9th, 1495, and arrived at *Iſabella* about *October*, at the Time when the Admiral was carrying on the War againſt *Caunabo*'s Brother in the Province of *Maguana*. At *Iſabella*, by Words, and even by Actions, he pretended to have extraordinary Authority, interpoſing in Matters of Government, ſeizing ſome Perſons, and reproving the Admiral's Miniſters, ſhewing little Reſpect to Don *Bartholomew Columbus*, who had been left Governor there during his Brother's Abſence. Nor was it long before *John Aguado* thought fit to go after the Admiral, and took Horſe and Foot along with him: And thoſe who went with him by the way gave out, that another Admiral was come, who would put the former to Death; and the Natives being diſcontented on account of the Wars and of the Tribute of Gold, they were much pleaſed with this News; and ſome Caziques met privately in the Houſe of King *Manicatex*, whoſe Dominions were near the River *Yaqui*, where they agreed to give in their Complaints againſt the Admiral, and to ſeek Redreſs from this new Miniſter.

The Admiral being informed that *John Aguado* was looking for him, reſolved to return to *Iſabella*, where in the Preſence of the People he read their Highneſſes Letter, with Sound of Trumpet, and great Solemnity: *John Aguado* could not forbear very ſoon diſcovering his Indiſcretion, thruſting himſelf into many Affairs, without any Reſpect to the Admiral, and thereby giving an ill Example to others. His Conduct being pernicious to the Admiral, the bold Threats he made, and the People being diſcontented on account of the Troubles, and becauſe they had nothing to eat but the Allowance given them out of the King's Stores, which was a Porringer of Wheat, ground in a Hand-mill by ſome, and by others eaten boiled, and a Slice of ruſty Bacon, or rotten Cheeſe, with a few Beans, or *Spaniſh* Peas, and no Wine, and the Admiral obliging them, as they were in the King's Pay, to work at the Fortifications, his own Houſe, and other Structures, they complained to *John Aguado*; for as to thoſe who were in Health, by ranging about the Iſland they fared better; and he thought theſe Complaints ſufficient to lay before their Majeſties.

At this Time the four Ships that had carried over *John Aguado* periſhed in the Harbour, in thoſe Tempeſts which the *Indians* call Hurricanes, and there was nothing left to carry him back but the Admiral's two Caravels, who obſerving his Preſumption, and being informed that others had miſrepreſented him at Court, where he had nothing to ſupport him but his own Merit, he reſolved to appear before their Majeſties, to clear himſelf of all thoſe Slanders, and at the ſame Time acquaint them with what he had found, in his ſecond Diſcovery, upon the Iſland of *Cuba*, and his Opinion as to the Partition that was to be made of the Ocean between the two Crowns of *Caſtile* and *Portugal*: And to the end that all Things might be thoroughly ſettled, he would firſt leave other Forts in a good Poſture, which he had begun, beſides that of *St. Thomas*, for the Security of the Country, being the *Magdalen*, called the *Lower Macorix*, in the *Royal Plain* belonging to the Cazique *Guanaconel*, three or four Leagues from the Place where the Town of *St. Jago* now ſtands; another called *St. Catherine*; another on the Bank of the River *Yaqui* on the Side of *Cibao*, called *Eſperanza*; another in the Kingdom of *Guarinoex*, in the *Royal Plain*, called the *Conception*. The Caziques, being much oppreſſed by the Burthen of the Tribute, diſcovered to the Admiral that there were good Gold Mines on the South Side, and that he might ſend his *Spaniards* for it.

Now as it concerned the Admiral to diſcover much of that Sort, to ſupport his own Credit; and this coming at the Time when he was reſolved to return to *Spain*, he ſent *Francis de Garay* and *Michael Diaz*, with ſome Men and the *Indian* Guides: They went from *Iſabella* to the Fort *Magdalen*, and thence to the *Conception*, all the Way over the *Royal Plain*: They next ventured through a Paſs two Leagues in Length, which led them into another Plain, called *Bonao*: They advanced ſome Leagues farther along the Ridges of *Bonao*, and came to a great River called *Hayna*, very fruitful, and where they were told there was much Gold, as there was in all the Brooks, which they found true; for, digging in ſeveral Places, they met with ſuch Plenty, that one Labourer, in a Day, could get above three Peſos: Theſe they called the Mines of *St. Chriſtopher*, from a Fort the Admiral ordered to be there built, and afterwards they were called the Old Mines.

When the Caravels were equipt and provided, the Admiral appointed his Brother Don *Bartholomew Columbus* his Lieutenant, a Perſon capable of a great Command; and, in caſe he died, his Brother *James*; earneſtly charging the People to be obedient to him: He alſo appointed *Francis Roldan*, a Man of good Underſtanding, and who alſo had behaved himſelf well in his Office of Alcade, and others he had employed him in, chief Alcade of the whole Iſland, to adminiſter Juſtice; for tho' he was not a Lawyer, yet being his Servant, and a diſcreet Man, he thought fit to entruſt him in that Place. He went aboard one of the Caravels, and *John Aguado* went in the other; and in regard that their Catholic Majeſties had ordered that the moſt ſickly, and others whoſe Wives and Kindred had complained that the Admiral would not permit them to return into *Spain*, ſhould have Leave, he took on board to the Number of two hundred and twenty, or better. He ſailed on the 10th of *March* 1496, and, going to take a View of *Puerto de Plata*, carried his Brother Don *Bartholomew* along with him, becauſe he deſigned to ſettle a Colony there.

Don *Bartholomew* returned by Land; and the Admiral, by reaſon of contrary Winds and Currents, ſailed to the Eaſtward with much Difficulty, as far as Cape *Eganno*, and on the 22d he loſt Sight of it. On the 9th of *April* he came to an Anchor at *Marigalante*, and the next Day at *Guadalupe*, where many Women came with Bows and Arrows to hinder their Landing; and becauſe the Boats could not come near the Shore, as the Sea ran ſo high, they ſent out two *Indians*, having thirty aboard, from *Hiſpaniola*, who told the Women that they would do them no Harm, but only take in Proviſions. They anſwered, they ſhould go to the other Side of the Iſland, where their Huſbands were; and when they came, a great Number of Men appeared, ſhooting Flights of Arrows, but they fell ſhort; and the Boats firing ſome ſmall Guns, they all fled to the Mountains, leaving their Houſes and Goods, where the Chriſtians took and deſtroyed all they found. Being acquainted with the Way of making Bread, they fell to work, and made enough to ſupply their Want. Among other Things they found in the Houſes, there were Parrots, Honey, Wax, and Iron, whereof they had Hatchets to cut Looms like thoſe for Tapeſtry-work, in which they wove their Tents. Their Houſes were ſquare, and not round as is uſual in the other Iſlands. While the Bread was making, the Admiral ſent forty Men up the Country, to learn ſomething of it; who next Day returned with ten Women and three Boys, the reſt of the People being fled.

Among theſe Women was the Wife of a Cazique, whom a Man born in the *Canaries*, that was very nimble, had much Difficulty to overtake; and ſhe had got from him, but, ſeeing him alone, ſhe thought to take him, and cloſing ſhe got him down, and had ſtifled him, but that others came to his Aſſiſtance. Theſe Womens Legs were ſwathed with Cotton from the Ancle to the Knee, that they might look thick; which Ornament they called *Coiro*, and looked upon it as very genteel, and thoſe they girded ſo hard, that if it happened to ſlip off the Leg, that Part appeared very thin. The ſame both Men and Women uſed in *Jamaica*, who ſwathed their Arms up to their Armpits, that is, about the ſmalleſt Parts, like the old-faſhioned Sleeves among us. Theſe Women, as ſoon as their Children could ſtand upon their Legs, gave them a Bow, that they might learn to ſhoot; and they all wore their Hair long and looſe upon their Shoulders; nor did they cover any Part of the Body. That Lady they took ſaid, that the Iſland was only inhabited by Women, and that thoſe who would have oppoſed them on landing were Women, except only four Men, who were there accidentally from another Iſland; for at a certain Time of the Year they came to ſport with them. The ſame was obſerved by Women of another Iſland, called *Matrimonio*, of whom ſhe gave the ſame Account we read of the *Amazons*; and the Admiral believed it, by what he ſaw among thoſe Women, becauſe of their Courage and Strength. They alſo ſay theſe Women ſeem to be endowed with clearer Underſtandings than thoſe of the other Iſlands; for in other Places they reckon the Day by the Sun, and the Night by the Moon, whereas theſe Women reckon by Stars, ſaying, when ſuch a Star is North, then it is time to do ſo and ſo.

When they had made Proviſion of Bread for twenty Days, beſides what they had aboard, the Admiral reſolved to continue his Voyage towards *Spain*; but perceiving this Iſland was an Inlet to the others, he thought fit firſt to ſatisfy thoſe Women with ſome Gifts for the Loſs they had ſuſtained, and then ſent them all aſhore, except the chief Lady, who choſe to go into *Spain* with her Daughter, among the other *Indians* of the Iſland *Hiſpaniola*, one of whom was *Caunabo*, who, it has been ſaid, was the chief Man in all the Iſland, and that becauſe he was not a Native of it, but of the *Caribes*; and therefore the Lady was content to go into *Spain* with the Admiral, who having furniſhed himſelf with Bread, Wood and Water, ſet ſail on the 20th of *April* from *Guadalupe*, with the Wind very ſcant, keeping near the Latitude of 22; for at that Time they had not found out the Method of running away North, to meet the South-weſt Winds.

Having made but little Way, and the Ships full of People, on the 20th of *May* they all began to be much afflicted for want of Proviſions, which was ſo great, that they had but ſix Ounces a Day for each Perſon, and leſs than a Pint of Water, without any thing elſe. And tho' there were eight or nine Pilots in thoſe two Sloops, yet none of them knew where they were: But the Admiral was confident they were but a little Weſt of the *Azores*. Thus continuing their Voyage, tho' all the Pilots were at a Loſs, on the 8th of *June* they were in ſight of *Odemira*, between *Liſbon* and *Cape St. Vincent*, all the Pilots for ſeveral Days having ſtill made for the Land, except the Admiral, who the Night before ſlacked his Sails for fear of Land, ſaying, he did ſo becauſe they were near *Cape St. Vincent*, which all laughed at, ſome of them affirming they were near the *Engliſh* Channel; and even thoſe that erred leaſt ſaid they were on the Coaſt of *Galicia*, and therefore ought not to take in any Sail, it being better to dye on Shore than ſtarve miſerably at Sea; the Scarcity being ſo great, that there were many, who like the *Canibals*, were for eating the *Indians* they had a-board: And others, to ſave the little Proviſion there was left, were for throwing them over-board; which they would have done, had not the Admiral uſed all his Authority to prevent it, conſidering they were human Creatures; and therefore it ſo pleaſed God to reward him with the Sight of Land next Morning, as he had promiſed them all; for which reaſon he was afterwards looked upon by the Seamen as moſt expert, and almoſt prophetical in Sea Affairs.

10. The Admiral being landed in *Spain*, began to prepare for his Journey to *Burgos*, where he was favourably received by their Catholic Majeſties, who were there celebrating the Nuptials of Prince *John*, who married *Margaret* of *Auſtria*, a Daughter of *Maximilian* the Emperor, who was conducted into *Spain*. The Admiral being come to *Burgos*, he preſented their Majeſties with ſeveral Things he brought from the *Indies*, as well Birds and Beaſts, as Trees, Plants, Inſtruments, and other Things the *Indians* uſe for their Service and Diverſion; alſo ſeveral Girdles and Maſks, with Eyes and Ears of Gold; beſides much Gold Sand, groſs and ſmall, as Nature produced it, ſome Grains as big as Vetches, ſome as Beans, and as Pigeons Eggs. This was not always ſo much valued, becauſe in Proceſs of Time there were Pieces of Gold found that weighed above thirty Pounds: Yet at this Time what he brought was much eſteemed, in Hopes of what was afterwards found; and accordingly their Majeſties received it in good part. When the Admiral had given them an Account of all that related to the improving and peopling the *Indies*, he was deſirous to return with Speed, for fear ſome Diſaſter ſhould happen in his Abſence, eſpecially becauſe he had left the People there in great want of all Neceſſaries.

Though he preſſed hard on this Account, yet the Affairs of that Court being ſubject to Delays, he could not be ſo ſoon diſpatched, but that ten or twelve Months elapſed, before he obtained two Ships; which were ſent with Succours under the Command of *Peter Fernandez*

Colonel. Theſe ſet out in *February*, 1498; and the Admiral ſtaid to negotiate the obtaining ſuch a Fleet as was requiſite for him to return to the *Indies*. But he was forced to ſtay above a Year at *Burgos* and at *Madera del Campo*, where, in the Year 1499, their Catholic Majeſties granted him many Favours, and gave the neceſſary Orders for his Affairs, and for the Government and Settling of the *Indies*.

His Credit with their Catholic Majeſties was ſtill tolerably good, tho' he had met with ſome Enemies in *Spain*, as well as the *Indies*, who laboured all they could to decry his Merit, and to propagate an Opinion, that he had not done ſo much as he had pretended, or as at firſt, and upon his immediate Return from the *Indies*, was univerſally allowed him. For ſuch is the Nature of Envy, that, though often ſtruck dumb by the Luſtre of true Merit, it is a Monſter never to be ſlain, at leaſt ſo long as the Hero lives againſt whom it directs its Rage. In time, therefore, and after brooding in Silence, Envy hiſſes again as loud as ever; and as Meanneſs is a Quality inſeparable from the Multitude, thoſe Hiſſes, tho' over and over exploded, are a-freſh liſtened to and regarded. This has been the Caſe of all the great Men that the World has produced, and therefore we need not wonder it was the Caſe of *Columbus*. But to vindicate his Memory, to ſupport the Truth, and, as far as it is in our Power, to curb the Malice of ſucceeding Times towards Men of equal Worth, we will beſtow a few Remarks upon this Section likewiſe, in order to render it more uſeful and inſtructive to our inquiſitive, generous, and public-ſpirited Readers.

11. In order to explain clearly the Controverſy between the Admiral and his Opponents, we are to obſerve, that they acted and reaſoned upon very different Principles. The Admiral at firſt intended to diſcover Lands hitherto unknown to this Part of the World; which, from the Notion he had of their Situation, he believed to be a Part of the *Indies*, and conſequently abounding in thoſe Commodities which are brought from the *Indies*, and are moſt eſteemed in *Europe*. His Conjecture, certainly, was not improbable, nor can it be ſaid that he failed of Succeſs, ſince he opened a Paſſage to the new World, and plainly made it appear that he had Skill ſufficient to navigate a Ship to thoſe Coaſts, of which he had no Notice whatever, but from the Light of his own Reaſon. He brought over from thoſe Countries Gold, ſome Sorts of Spice, Birds of beautiful Colours, ſeveral kinds of rich Woods, both in Colour and Scent, and People of quite a different Complexion from the Inhabitants of *Europe*. In this Second Voyage he had proſecuted and improved his former Diſcoveries to ſuch a Degree, as to be able to affirm, that there were innumerable Iſlands in theſe new Seas; that they were all of them Countries pleaſantly ſituated, bleſſed, for the moſt part, with a rich Soil, and abundance of fine Rivers, plentifully ſtocked with Wood, and in all Appearance with Metals; inhabited by a Crew of weak, timorous, and ſlaviſhly-inclined People, who were able to make little or no Reſiſtance againſt the *Europeans*, and who were likely, therefore, together with their Lands and Goods, to fall entirely into their Power, and become a Part of their Poſſeſſion. He had formed a Scheme of Civil Government, and ſettled a very effectual Diſcipline among the Soldiers he had left behind him, in order to ſecure all he had thus diſcovered, to the Uſe of their Catholic Majeſties, as well as to ſearch out and render manifeſt all the Advantages that might be derived to the *Spaniards* from his Diſcoveries. In this Light, to be ſure, he had performed all he had promiſed; was well intitled to all the Grants that had been made him, and merited the Favour of his Sovereigns, as well as the Applauſe of their Subjects.

But thoſe who endeavoured to leſſen his Merit, to obſcure his Fame, and to bring him into Diſcredit with their Catholic Majeſties, went upon this Pretence, that he had undertaken to diſcover a Country exceedingly rich, and that on his Return from his firſt Voyage he had boaſted of entire Succeſs in this reſpect; whereas they who went over with him in his ſecond Voyage had found no ſuch Matter, had not been able to collect any great Quantities of Gold, or to make vaſt Fortunes at once, as they had promiſed themſelves. It is very remarkable that when their Catholic Majeſties applied to the Pope for his Grant of theſe Lands which were already diſcovered, and of thoſe that by the Skill and Induſtry of the Admiral, and ſuch as proſecuted his Deſigns, ſhould be diſcovered, the principal Reaſon aſſigned for the obtaining this Grant, was the converting theſe *Indian* Nations to the Chriſtian Faith, and thereby enlarging the Bounds of the Church. It was therefore altogether abſurd and ridiculous to pretend, that becauſe there were not as many Gold Mines found as were expected, or that thoſe Mines were not ſo rich as they at firſt flattered themſelves they were, this Diſcovery ſhould be either neglected or deſpiſed, inaſmuch as ſuch a Behaviour was altogether inconſiſtent with thoſe high Profeſſions of Zeal for the Chriſtian Faith, from whence their Majeſties had aſſumed the Title of Catholic. Yet, what was no leſs remarkable, the Perſon who was at the Head of the Admiral's Enemies, was Father *Boyl*, the very firſt Chriſtian Prieſt, that in Compliance with the Reaſons offered to the Pope, their Catholic Majeſties had ſent over to convert the *Indians*. This Man, with all his Heat and Malice, could not deny, but there were People enough to be preached to, and that they were tractable enough in point of Religion; his only Objection was, that it did not appear that there was ſo much Gold in the Country where he had been as he expected; and this Objection wrought ſo powerfully with many of the *Spaniſh* Clergy, that from being great Promoters of this new Diſcovery, and warm Admirers of this great Man who had made it, they began now to treat the Thing ſlightly, and to miſrepreſent the Admiral as one who had not kept his Word.

The wiſe *Columbus* foreſaw all this in the *Indies*, which induced him to take the Meaſures he did of putting the *Indians* under a Tribute, that he might ſend over conſiderable Quantities of Gold, that the Credit of this Diſcovery might be kept up, and that he might be able to perfect, for their Catholic Majeſties Benefit and his own, that Deſign in which hitherto he had beyond all reaſonable Expectation ſucceeded. This exceſſive and ill-timed Appetite for Gold produced all thoſe Miſchiefs and Inconveniencies in the firſt *Spaniſh* Colonies to which we have ſeen them expoſed in the Courſe of this Section, and which there is no doubt the Admiral himſelf foreſaw, at the ſame Time that he was ſenſible he could not avoid them. It was to ſet theſe Things in a clear Light, to juſtify his own Conduct, to prevent the new World from being loſt again as ſoon as it was found, and to ſecure if poſſible a Reward for his paſt Labours, by obtaining the Means of rendring them effectual, that he came over to *Spain*; where we have ſeen how he was received, and what Difficulties he met with in procuring the Supplies that were neceſſary for undertaking a third Voyage to the *Weſt Indies*, the Hiſtory of which is to be the Subject of the next Section, and which will contain Events ſtill more curious, and more entertaining, than thoſe which have been already related.

SECTION IV.

The Third Voyage of Don CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, *to the* Weſt Indies, *in which he firſt ſaw the Continent of* America, *including the Troubles to which he was expoſed, and his being ſent home in Irons.*

1. *The Difficulties the Admiral had to ſurmount, in procuring a Fleet ſufficient for his intended Return to* Hiſpaniola. 2. *A complete View of the Tranſactions in the* Spaniſh *Colonies, and of the Rebellion that happened there during the Admiral's Abſence.* 3. *What happened to the Admiral in the Proſecution of the Voyage, and the Meaſures he took for ſending Supplies.* 4. *The Admiral ſteers a new Courſe for Diſcovery, and actually falls in with Part of the Continent, now called the Province of* Paria. 5. *Examines it, and enters into Correſpondence with the Natives; and yet was not clearly convinced whether it was the Continent or not.* 6. *Paſſes through the* Boca del Drago, *and reſolves to ſteer directly for* St. Domingo. 7. *The Arrival of the Store-ſhips before the Admiral, and his coming to the Iſland.* 8. *A ſuccinct Hiſtory of the Troubles in* Hiſpaniola, *and of the Admiral's Endeavours to pacify them; which however prove altogether ineffectual.* 9. *The Court of* Spain, *being alarmed at the many Complaints ſent from the* Indies, *depute a Perſon to go thither, with full Power to hear and determine them.* 10. *In conſequence of this extraordinary Commiſſion, the Admiral is ſent home in Irons, and his two Brothers with him.* 11. *His Arrival in* Spain, *and the Reception he met with.* 12. *The true State of the Diſcoveries made to this Time by the* Spaniards, *and their Importance.* 13. *Remarks and Obſervations on the foregoing Section, and on the Accidents that prove commonly detrimental to Diſcoveries.*

1. THE Accounts given by the Admiral Don *Chriſtopher Columbus*, both of the *Indies* in general, and of his own Conduct in particular, proved ſo ſatisfactory to their Majeſties, and to the principal Perſons who compoſed their Council, that 'twas reſolved to ſend him back again, as he propoſed, veſted with ſuch Powers, and furniſhed with ſuch Supplies, as he judged requiſite; for, when they came to be examined by competent Judges, the Complaints of his Enemies appeared to be as ill-founded, as the Calumnies invented by mean Minds againſt Perſons of diſtinguiſhed Merit uſually are. But tho' his Enemies were not able either to deprive him of his Authority, or to hinder him from returning with a greater Meaſure thereof to the *Indies* than he enjoyed when there before, yet they had Intereſt ſufficient to throw great Obſtacles in his Way, and to delay from time to time the Performance of thoſe Promiſes that had been made him. The Succours he demanded were, eight good Ships, five hundred Men, and a ſufficient Quantity of Proviſions of all Sorts, of which he gave in a very clear and particular Eſtimate, amounting in the whole to ſix Millions of Marvedies, which make ſomething more than 4,500 *l.* of our Money. But as he well enough knew that ſuch an Embarkation could not be ſoon made, and was ſenſible alſo of the Diſtreſs to which the *Spaniſh* Colonies might be expoſed by the Delays that might attend it, he deſired that two Ships laden with Proviſions might be firſt ſent, and that he might go in Perſon with the other ſix, as ſoon as they could be got ready.

This as a Thing reaſonable in itſelf their Catholic Majeſties very readily conſented to, and yet it was a long Time before he could procure the two firſt Ships to be ſent away; and as for the other Ships, the equipping of them went on ſo ſlowly, and the Money neceſſary for that Service was iſſued ſo negligently, that the Admiral found even his large Stock of Patience almoſt exhauſted before this Fleet was ready to ſail. This was chiefly owing to the Ill-will of Don *Juan Fonſeca*, Archdeacon of *Seville*, and afterwards Biſhop of *Burgos*, who had been formerly one of the beſt Friends the Admiral had, but was now entirely gained over by his Enemies, chiefly by the Intrigues of Father *Boyl*, and proved afterwards himſelf the moſt violent Enemy the Admiral had. But how much ſoever theſe Diſcouragers might perplex and diſturb the Mind of this great Man, they were far enough from diverting him from his Purpoſe, or even from leſſening that Zeal and Diligence with which he had hitherto proſecuted this great Affair: On the contrary, the more Trouble he met with, the more Impediments were thrown in his Way, with ſo much the greater Vigor, with ſo much the more Conſtancy, he applied himſelf to the Performance of what was requiſite to accompliſh it.

It was with this View that he went himſelf to *Seville*, to haſten the Preparations that were making there, and to give ſuch Directions as he thought might moſt contribute to render theſe Preparations effectual. Yet it is more than probable, that, with all his Activity and Diligence, he would ſcarce have been able to have carried his third Expedition into Execution, if it had not been for the Countenance and Protection afforded him by Queen *Iſabella*, who was a Princeſs of vaſt Underſtanding, and of a generous and magnanimous Diſpoſition; whereas her Huſband King *Ferdinand*, though he was undoubtedly a great Politician, yet there was ſuch a Darkneſs in his Temper, and ſuch a Doubleneſs in his Conduct, that there was no great Cauſe to wonder that the Admiral was not much in his Favour, or that the King did not ſtand very high in his Eſteem. But before we come to ſpeak directly of the Admiral's Voyage, it will be neceſſary to give the Reader an Account of what paſſed in the *Indies* during his Abſence.

2. The three Ships the Admiral ſent from *Cadiz* arrived at *Iſabella* about the Beginning of *July* 1496, to the great Joy of the People for the Proviſions they brought, and the News of the Admiral's ſafe Arrival in *Spain*; for Hunger being the greateſt Diſtemper among them, nothing ſo much rejoiced them as Ships coming with Proviſions from home. Don *Bartholomew Columbus* diſpatched the Ships for their Return, and ſent aboard them three hundred *Indian* Slaves, becauſe their Majeſties having been informed that ſome Caziques killed the *Spaniards*, they ordered that all who were guilty ſhould be ſent into *Spain*. And foraſmuch as the Admiral had alſo acquainted their Majeſties, that upon his Return from his Diſcovery along the Iſlands of *Cuba* and *Jamaica*, as he failed along the South Coaſt of *Hiſpaniola*, it had appeared to him a moſt beautiful Country, and that there were fine Inlets which he thought might be good Harbours, and could not be far from the beſt Mines he had diſcovered, which he called *St. Chriſtopher*'s, their Highneſſes, in the Letter he fonnd at *Cadiz*, anſwered him, that he might do as he thought beſt in that Caſe, which they would approve of, as done for their Service. Hereupon the Admiral wrote from *Cadiz* to his Brother Don *Bartholomew*, ordering him immediately to go over to the South Side, and find a convenient Harbour; and if the Place was good, to carry away all that was at *Iſabella*, and abandon it.

Accordingly Don *Bartholomew*, leaving his Brother Don *James* in his Place, ſet out with the ableſt Men for the Mines of *St. Chriſtopher*, and arriving at the River *Ozama*, ſo called by the *Indians*, found it very agreeable, and inhabited on both Sides. He viewed and ſounded, and found that Ships of above three hundred Tons Burthen might come up it. Whereupon he reſolved to build a Fort of Earth on the marſhy Part of the River, at the Mouth of the Harbour on the Eaſt Side. He ſent for Men from *Iſabella* to begin the Settlement, and gave it the Name of *Santa Domingo*, either becauſe he came thither on *St. Dominic*'s Day, or on a *Sunday*, called in *Spaniſh Domingo*, or becauſe his Father's Name was *Dominic*; and tho' the Admiral always called it the *New Iſabella*, yet the other Name has prevailed. There remained at the *Old Iſabella* the People that were building two Caravels, and ſome other Men: The Work being begun, Don *Bartholomew* reſolved to view the Kingdom *Xaragua*, of whoſe State and Government he had heard much Diſcourſe. Having left *Santa Domingo*, thirty Leagues from thence he came to the great River *Neyba*, where a numerous Army of *Indians* were drawn up; for *Bobechico* King of *Xaragua*, being

ing informed that the *Spaniards* were coming, reſolved to oppoſe them. Don *Bartholomew* gave them to underſtand, that he came not to make War, but to viſit the King and his Siſter, and was thereupon received with much Pomp and Rejoicing. Proceeding thence thirty Leagues farther, he came to *Xaragua :* All the prime Men of the Province received him with Dancing and Singing, and other ſorts of Rejoicings ; he was conducted to the King's Palace, where Supper was ready, being Bread made of Cazabi, Utias boiled and roaſted, and a prodigious Quantity of Sea and Freſh-water Fiſh. After Supper they conducted all Don *Bartholomew*'s Company to their reſpective Quarters, their Beds being Cotton Hammocks. The next Day, in the Square where the King, his Siſter, and Don *Bartholomew* were preſent, there appeared two Parties of Men armed with Bows and Arrows, who made a Skirmiſh after the Manner of *Spain*, practiſed with Canes inſtead of Spears ; but by Degrees they began to grow hot, and many of them were wounded, and four dropped down dead ; and all this with much Satisfaction, without regarding the Dead and Wounded ; and many more had ſuffered, had not the King, at the Requeſt of Don *Bartholomew* and the *Spaniards*, commanded them, when moſt furious, to give over.

After the Entertainment Don *Bartholomew* told *Bobechico* and his Siſter, that his Brother, the Admiral, was gone to viſit their Majeſties of *Spain*, his Sovereigns, to whom many Lords of the Iſland were already become Tributaries ; and that he came thither to the end that he ſhould own and pay Tribute to them. He anſwered, That as no Gold was found throughout all his Dominions, he could not pay Tribute. Don *Bartholomew* told him, it was not his Deſign that any one ſhould pay Tribute any otherwiſe than what his Country afforded ; upon which he ſaid, he would give him as much Cotton and Cazabi as he would demand, and ordered his People to plant Cotton, becauſe they were to pay Tribute of it to their Majeſties of *Spain*, and, in their Name, to the Admiral, and to his Brother Don *Bartholomew*, who was then in his Houſe. Having thus concluded with *Bobechico*, Don *Bartholomew* thought fit to return to the Mines of *Cibao* and Colony of *Iſabella*, and found that near 300 Men had died of ſeveral Diſeaſes, which troubled him very much ; and the more, as no Ships came with Proviſions ; for which Reaſon he reſolved to diſtribute the Sick and Infirm among the ſeveral Forts there were between *Iſabella* and *Santo Domingo* and the *Indian* Towns ; that having ſomething to eat, they might have only their Diſtemper to ſtruggle with, and not Hunger at the ſame Time.

Then, having given Orders for the carrying on the Building of the two Ships, he went towards *Santo Domingo*, gathering in the Tribute as he proceeded. The *Indians* of the Plain, and thoſe of *Cibao*, thinking it hard to pay Tribute, and entertain Soldiers at their own Expence, and ſuch as did eat ſo much, beſides other Things, which they looked upon as Grievances, complained to the Cazique *Guarinoex*, repreſenting, it was his Duty to endeavour to ſet himſelf and them at Liberty. *Guarinoex* being a peaceable Man, and conſidering the Force of the *Spaniards*, the Swiftneſs of their Horſes, and the ill Succeſs *Caunabo*, and others of the Province of *Cibao* had met with, refuſed to engage in a War ; but being importuned by his People, who always perſuaded him that they could get the better ; and, as ſome ſay, being threatened they would chuſe another Leader, he conſented to commence the War. The *Spaniards*, in the *Conception*, perceived thoſe Commotions, and gave Notice to thoſe at the Fort built at *Bonao*, by ſome *Indians* who remained faithful to thoſe at *Bonao*, and alſo ſent to Don *Bartholomew*, who was at *Santo Domingo*. The *Indian* made uſe of a Stratagem in carrying thoſe Letters delivered to him in a Staff that was hollow at one End ; for the other *Indians* having found by Experience, that the *Spaniſh* Letters ſpoke, endeavoured to intercept them ; and the Meſſenger, falling into the Hands of the Guards poſted on the Paſſes, pretended to be dumb and lame, anſwering them altogether by Signs and Limping, as if he was going with much Difficulty into his own Country, he eſcaped ; becauſe they thinking he had been dumb, aſked him no Queſtions ; and ſuppoſing that the Staff had been to help him on they did not ſearch it. And thus the Letter came ſafe to Don *Bartholomew Columbus* ; which proved the Safety of the *Spaniards*. As ſoon as Don *Bartholomew* came to the *Conception*, he advanced with all the *Spaniards* to fall upon 15,000 *Indians*, *Guarinoex* had drawn together, and attacked them by Surprize at Midnight, becauſe they never fought in the Night. They killed and took many ; ſeveral Lords, of which Number they executed the chief Ring-leaders of that War ; and *Guarinoex* being carried to the *Conception*, above 5000 Men followed with loud Cries, demanding their King. Don *Bartholomew* pitying them, and he, being ſenſible of *Guarinoex*'s peaceable Temper, gave him and the other Caziques up to them to their great Satisfaction, the leſs regarded by the *Spaniards*, as being vanquiſhed and ſubdued.

At this Time Meſſengers came to Don *Bartholomew* from *Bobechico* and *Anacanona* with Advice, that the Cazabi and Cotton were ready ; for when the Seeds of Cotton are planted, the Shrubs that ſprout produce Fruit in ſix or eight Months, and the higheſt of them riſe about a Fathom, tho' they begin to produce when much ſhorter. Don *Bartholomew* was reſolved to go to *Xaragua*, to gather the Tribute, and leave his Men in that Country, to give them of the Plain, and others, Reſt, tho' the Soldiers were in ſuch Want of Clothes and other Things brought from *Spain*, that they grew very uneaſy. He ſent Orders to *Iſabella*, for one of the Caravels to come to the Port of *Xaragua* to carry him, that Harbour being a large Bay, or Inlet of the Sea, dividing the Iſland into two Parts, the one of which forms Cape *St. Nicholas*, ſtretching out 30 Leagues ; the other much larger, and ends in the Cape called *Tiburon*, and the Bottom of the Bay reached within two Leagues of *Bobechico*'s Palace. Thoſe at *Iſabella* ſent the Caravel, and when it came into the Port, *Anacanona* perſuaded her Brother to go to the Port, to ſee the *Spaniſh* Canoe. Tho' *Bobechico* had two very fine Canoes, yet *Anacanona* would not go in them, but in the Pinnace. The Veſſel fired, which put the *Indians* into ſuch a Conſternation that they were ready to leap into the Water ; but ſeeing Don *Bartholomew* laugh, they compoſed themſelves. When they were aboard, the Seamen played on a Tabor and Pipe, and other Inſtruments, which much pleaſed the *Indians* ; they looked all about the Head and Stern, went aboard the Caravel, and into the Hold, and were amazed. Don *Bartholomew* ordered the Sails to be ſpread, and the Caravel to take a Trip to Sea and return to the ſame Place. The Cazique admired that ſo great a Veſſel ſhould make Way without Oars, and go forward and backward with the ſame Wind.

When they returned to *Xaragua* the Caravel was loaded with Cazabi, Cotton, and other Things, and went away to *Iſabella*, as Don *Bartholomew* did by Land. And being thus employed, *Francis Roldan*, the head Alcalde, a turbulent Man, who forgot the Admiral's Bread he had eaten, deſiring to get into Authority, by raiſing Commotions ; and taking, for his Pretence, Don *James Columbus*'s having ordered the Caravel which had carried Bread and Wine to the *Iſabella*, to be laid dry, to prevent its being ſtollen by ſome Malcontents, who deſired to go away into *Spain*, began to cabal among the labouring Men, as alſo with the Seamen, and other mean People, and thoſe that were moſt diſcontented, intimating that the Caravel would be better in the Water, and ought to be ſent into *Spain* with Letters to their Catholic Majeſties, ſince the Admiral ſtayed ſo long ; that their Wants might be relieved, and they not periſh with Hunger, or be deſtroyed by the *Indians*. That Don *Bartholomew* and his Brother would not ſend it, becauſe they deſigned to revolt, and keep the Iſland to themſelves, and to make them all Slaves, employing them in building their Houſes and Forts ; to attend them in gathering the Tribute, and enriching themſelves with Gold. The Men finding themſelves encouraged by a Perſon of ſuch Power, as the chief Alcalde, had the Impudence to ſay thoſe Things in public which before they ſcarce durſt mutter in Corners. *Roldan* required they ſhould all ſign a Paper, importing, that it was for the Public Good that the Caravel ſhould be ſet afloat ; but, as he was very ſenſible it was not fit that their Catholic Majeſties ſhould know he had been the Ring-leader of ſuch a Mutiny, he ſought plauſible Pretences to cover his Deſigns; he perſuaded the People that the beſt Way to ſecure the Friendſhip of the *Indians*, was to quit them of the Tribute: And Advice being brought that *Guarinoex*'s *Indians* did not pay the Tribute, and that they gave Tokens of Uneaſineſs, Don *James Columbus*, thinking to put *Roldan* out of the Way, ſent him with a conſiderable Part of the Men to the *Conception*, where he carried on the Mutiny more effectually, and diſarmed thoſe that would not follow. Returning to *Iſabella*, having by Force taken the Key of the Magazine, he broke the Locks in Pieces, and crying *long live the King*, took all the Arms and Proviſions he thought fit for his Followers, and ſet up for himſelf. Don *James* attempted to appeaſe the Mutiny, but *Francis Roldan* behaved himſelf ſo inſolently, that he thought fit to retire into the Fort.

The Mutineers went where the King's Cattle were, and, having taken what Cows, Mares, and Colts they thought fit, they went amongſt the *Indian* Towns, giving out that they had quarrelled with the Admiral's Brothers, on account of the Tribute they exacted, perſuaded them not to pay any, and they would defend them. The true Reaſon this Fellow behaved in this inſolent and rebellious Manner, was the Project he had formed of ſecuring all to himſelf, by ſeizing the Perſon of Don *Bartholomew*; for he made no Queſtion that the Admiral's Enemies would hinder him from returning into the *Indies*; and, perhaps, he had given them ſome Reaſon to hope, that he would from time to time tranſmit them ſuch Relations as might ſerve to juſtify their Proſecution of *Columbus*.

But while Things were in this Situation, there arrived at *Santo Domingo*, on the 3d of *February*, 1498, the Ship which the Admiral, with much Difficulty, had procured Leave to ſend to the *Indies*. Both Parties endeavoured to make themſelves Maſters of this Ship, which, however, by the Care of the Inhabitants of the Place where it arrived, was ſecured for Don *Bartholomew*; who, upon opening his Diſpatches found, that though their Catholic Majeſties were at firſt doubtful whether the Admiral had a Power to appoint a Lieutenant, and rather inclined to think he had not, by Virtue of his Commiſſion, yet upon his repreſenting that it was for their Majeſties Service he had taken this Step; and that their Affairs in the new World muſt have fallen into great Confuſion without it; they were pleaſed to confirm Don *Bartholomew* in his Title of Adelantado; which having publiſhed, it greatly promoted his Authority, and enabled him to enter into a War with the *Indians*, though it was begun upon very unjuſtifiable Motives, in as much as the *Spaniards* had laid upon them Burthens they were unable to bear: This War Don *Bartholomew* conducted with great Succeſs againſt thoſe unhappy People; but with Reſpect to the revolted *Spaniards* under *Roldan*, he could neither engage them by fair Means to return to their Duty, nor was it in his Power to reduce them by Force. As we have now run through the Hiſtory of the *Spaniſh* Colonies, during the Abſence of the Admiral, we are at Liberty to purſue the proper Deſign of this Section, and to enter on the Admiral's Third Voyage into theſe Parts.

3. The Admiral ſailed over the Bar of *San Lucar*, on the 18th of *May*, with ſix Ships, and as there was Intelligence that a *Portugueſe* Fleet lay at *Cape St. Vincent*, he, giving them the Slip, ſtood away for the Iſland of *Madera*, touched at *Puerto Santo* on the 7th of *June*, and found the Inhabitants exceedingly frighted, imagining that his Ships had been *French*; he wooded and watered and then proceeded to *Madera*, where he was joyfully received, becauſe they knew him. On the 19th he arrived at *Gomera*, where he found a *French* Ship with two *Spaniſh*, which they had taken: He retook one of them, and ſent after the *Frenchman*, and ſix *Spaniards* that were on board the others, ſeeing their Relief at hand, drove the *French* that guarded them under Hatches, and ſailed away to the Admiral. He reſolved to ſend from *Gomera* the three Ships with Proviſions to *Hiſpaniola*, believing the People there muſt be in Want, and appointed *Alonſo de Carvajal*, a worthy Man, Captain of the firſt of them; *Peter de Arana*, a Native of *Cordova*, Kinſman to Captain *Alana*, who had been left Governor of the Fort of the *Nativity*, at the firſt Diſcovery, Commander of the ſecond; and in the third he placed *John Anthony Columbus*, a Relation of his own, a Man of Capacity and Judgment; he gave them Inſtructions, and ordered that each of them ſhould command a Week in Chief, and carrying the Light, they ſhould ſail Weſt by South 850 Leagues, and then they would fall in with the Iſland *Dominica*; whence they ſhould ſteer Weſt North-weſt, to fall in with the Iſland of *St. John*; then keep along the South-ſide of it, that being the true Courſe for the New *Iſabella*, or *Santo Domingo*.

The Admiral, himſelf, being furniſhed with what he wanted, ſailed on the 12th of *June*, for the Iſland of *Hierro*, one of the *Canary* Iſlands, the fartheſt to the Weſtward: He deſigned in the Name of the Holy Trinity, as he always was wont to ſay, to ſail to the Southward of them, till he came under the Equinoctial, and ſo proceed to the Weſtward, till the Iſland of *Hiſpaniola* ſhould bear North-weſt from him, to ſee what Iſlands or Continent lay in that Part. He ſaid it was his Opinion no Man had ever ſailed that Courſe, and that the Sea there was utterly unknown. When paſt the Iſland *Hierro* he diſmiſſed the three Ships; and with one Ship and two Caravels ſtood away for the Iſlands of *Cabo Verde*, which he uſed to ſay was a falſe Name, for he had always found them dry and barren.

On the 27th of *June* he diſcovered the firſt of them, called *de la Sal*, which is ſmall; he proceeded to that of *Buena Viſta*, anchored cloſe by a ſmall Iſland, to which all the Lepers in *Portugal* were ſent to be cured, by eating the Fleſh of the Tortoiſes, and frequently waſhing with their Blood; for in the Months of *June*, *July*, and *Auguſt*, abundance of them reſort thither from the Continent to lay their Eggs in the Sand; where they ſcratch a Hole, and leave above five hundred Eggs as big as a Hen's, which being covered with Sand, are hatched by the Sun, and the little Tortoiſes run into the Sea. The Men there waiting for the Tortoiſes, turn them on their Backs, and then they cannot recover themſelves. The healthy People living on that Iſland, were only ſix or ſeven, whoſe whole Employment was to kill wild Goats, and ſend their Skins, well cured, into *Portugal*; and ſometimes they killed ſo many in a Year, that they were worth 2000 Ducats.

The Admiral ſailed from thence on the 30th, for the Iſland of *Santiago*, being 28 Leagues diſtant, and is the Chief of them. He thought to have taken Cows aboard, to carry to the Iſland *Hiſpaniola*, becauſe their Majeſties had ordered him ſo to do, but was obliged to abandon that Deſign, becauſe the Air of that Iſland being very unhealthy, the Men began to ſicken, beſides he reſolved to ſail to the Southward, to find out whether King *John* of *Portugal* had been miſtaken, who affirmed there was a Continent to the Southward. On the 4th of *July* he ſteered South-weſt, having never ſeen the Sun or Stars, ſince his Arrival at the Iſlands of *Cabo Verde*, the Sky being continually covered with a thick Fog. He gave another Reaſon for holding that Courſe, *viz.* to find out the Truth of what the *Indians* of the Iſland *Hiſpaniola* reported; That there had come thither from the South-eaſt a black People, who had the Heads of their Javelins of a Sort of Metal which they called *Guanin*, ſome of which he had ſent to their Majeſties; and the Eſſay of it being taken, it appeared that, of thirty two Parts, eighteen were Gold, ſix Silver, and the remaining eight Copper; a plain Proof that the *Weſt Indies* had been viſited by other People before the *Spaniards*.

4. The Admiral purſuing his Courſe South-weſt, he found ſome of thoſe Weeds he had met with in the Way to *Hiſpaniola*; having ſailed one hundred and twenty Leagues, as ſoon as it was Night he took the Latitude, and on the 13th of *July* the Heat was ſo violent he was afraid the Ships would take Fire, and the Men periſh; and ſo ſuddenly the Wind ceaſed, and the exceſſive Heat enſued, that no Man durſt go down between Decks to

take Care of the Caſks of Wine and Water that were falling in Pieces, the Hoops flying off them; the Wheat parched, the Bacon and ſalt Meat fried: This Heat continued eight Days; the firſt of them was fair, ſo that the Sun parched them; the other ſeven it rained and was cloudy, and yet they found no Relief, but were all in a Manner melted. On the 14th of *July* he found himſelf in 7° of North Latitude, and they ſaw ſome black and white Daws, which are Birds that do not go far from Land. On the 15th the Admiral fell ill of the Gout for want of Sleep, and yet ſtill he kept up.

On the 19th the Air was ſo burning hot that they thought they ſhould have been deſtroyed in the Ships, but there ſoon ſprung a fair Gale that delivered them from that Heat, and they ſailed ſeventeen Days to the Weſtward, deſigning to turn again to the South, ſo that *Hiſpaniola* might bear North, where the Admiral believed he might find Land, either before or after he came to that Point; and there he hoped to refit his Ships, which were very leaky, and to recover the Proviſions in order to carry them to *Hiſpaniola*, though they were already damaged. Upon the 22d a Multitude of Birds were ſeen flying from the Weſt South-weſt towards the North-eaſt, and by reaſon of theſe Tokens he hoped to ſee Land very ſoon; and the 31ſt of *July* being come and no Land appearing, and Water growing ſhort, he reſolved to alter his Courſe, and ſtood to the Weſtward, ſtill inclining to the Right-hand, to fall in upon *Dominica*, or ſome one of the Iſlands of the *Canibals*, now called *Caribbee Iſlands*, ſteering North and by Eaſt, which he held till Noon; a Sailor went up to the round Top and ſpied Land to the South eaſt, about fifteen Leagues diſtant, and ſeemed to be three Mountains; they immediately ſung the Hymn *Salve Regina:* Having thus ſpied Land, he altered his Courſe from the *Caribbee Iſlands*, where he deſigned to have watered, and ſtood for a Cape that appeared to the Weſtward, which he called *de la Galera*, or the *Gally Point*, on account of a great Rock on it, which, at a Diſtance, looked like a Gally under ſail. When they came to Land they found a good Port, but could not enter becauſe it had not Water enough. He paſſed on to the Point he had ſeen, being ſeven Leagues to the Southward, without finding any Harbour, and obſerved that the Woods reached down to the Sea, all along the Coaſt; ſome Men were ſeen in a Canoe, at a Diſtance, but they fled; and it appeared that this was an Iſland which he called *la Trinadada*, or the *Trinity*, having promiſed to give that Name to the firſt he ſhould diſcover; the Land was high, pleaſant, and well cultivated.

On the firſt of *Auguſt* the Admiral advanced five Leagues along the Coaſt to the Weſtward, and came to a Point where he anchored with his three Ships, and took in Water, to the great Satisfaction of the Men. They found the Track of People, Fiſhing-tackle, and the Foot-ſteps of Goats, as they thought, which proved to be Deer, there being many in the Iſland. Having ſeen many Towns in this Iſland, they ſaw another to the Southward, which ſeemed to be twenty Leagues long, and he called it *Iſla Santa*, or *Holy Iſland*. All the Way from *Punta de la Galera*, to the Point where they watered, which he named *Punta de la Playa*, or the *Point of Strand*, though the Land was good, there was no Harbour, but there were many Rivers and Woods very agreeable, and ſtill the Length of the *Holy Iſland* ſeemed greater. Seeking for a Harbour, on the 2d of *Auguſt* he arrived at the Point of the Iſland of the *Trinity*, which he called *Punta del Arenal*, or *Sandy Point*, being to the Weſtward, and he was then got into the Bay he called *de la Ballena*, or of the *Whale*, without knowing that he was near the Continent. He gueſſed that the Iſland of the *Trinity* extended, in Length, from Cape *de la Galera*, to *Punta del Arenal*, thirty-five Leagues, though it is above forty-five; but the Admiral proceeding along it, at ſeveral times, could not make an exact Computation.

At *Punta del Arenal* he ordered the Men aſhore to refreſh themſelves, becauſe they were much fatigued: A Cazique of the Iſland was come thither, and obſerving that the Admiral had a Cap on of Crimſon Velvet, he paid him great Reſpect, took off a Circle of Gold he had on his own Head, and put it on the Admiral's; and with the other Hand took off his Cap and put it on his own, being very much pleaſed with it. The ſame Day a great Canoe, carrying twenty-five Men, came from the Eaſtwards, towards the Ships, and being about a Muſket-ſhot from them, they gave over rowing, and cried aloud, which the Admiral ſuppoſed was to aſk who they were, as is uſual among thoſe People; by Way of anſwer, he ſhewed them ſome little Braſs Baſons and other glittering Things to entice them to come near the Ships; but they advancing very little, the Admiral ordered his Men to play on a Tabor and Pipe, and the Youths to dance, thinking to pleaſe them, which proved quite contrary, for they took it for a Signal of War; and, quitting their Oars, laid hold of their Targets and Bows, and ſhot a great Flight of Arrows.

The Admiral then ordered the Muſic to ceaſe, and ſome Croſs-bows to be brought, but only two of them to be ſhot, whereupon the *Indians* immediately laid down their Arms, and ran in cloſe under the Stern of another Caravel; the Pilot whereof went down into the Canoe, entertained them, and gave one, that ſeemed to be a principal Perſon, a red Cap. They deſired him to go aſhore and they would give him ſuch as they had; but as he was going in his Boat to aſk leave of the Admiral, the *Indians* went away. They were young, well adorned after their Way, of agreeable Countenances, and whiter than the *Indians* of the Iſlands. Their Hair was long and ſmooth, cut after the *Spaniſh* Faſhion; about their Heads they tied a Cotton Cloth, curiouſly wrought of ſeveral Colours; and another about their Waiſt to cover their Nakedneſs. The Admiral wondered, that being ſo near the Equinoctial, he felt Cold every Morning, though it was in the Dog-Days; as alſo that the Waters ran ſtronger to the Weſt, than the River of *Seville*; that the Sea Water ebbed and flowed above ſixty-five Paces more than at *San Lucar*; and that the Currents ſet ſo ſtrong between the Iſland of the *Trinity* and *Santa*, which are two Leagues aſunder (by him afterwards called *Gracia* not knowing as yet that it was the Continent) that it run like a rapid River. They found the ſame Sorts of Fruit as in *Hiſpaniola*, and the Trees, Soil, and Climate, were alike; they alſo caught very large Oyſters, and infinite Quantities of Fiſh, Parrots as large as Pullets, of a light green, ſome whitiſh, and others intermixt with red and yellow.

The Admiral being at Point *del Arenal*, which is the laſt Cape of the Iſland of *Trinity*, he ſaw towards the North-weſt about fifteen Leagues the Point of that he till then called *Iſla Santa*, or *Holy Iſland*, which proved to be the Province he afterwards called *Paria*; and believing it to be another Iſland, he gave it the Name of *Gracia*, or *Grace*, as has been ſaid; and he thought it extraordinary high Land, and ſo it is, for a vaſt Ridge of Mountains runs along there. Being come up to the Continent, which he, at this Time, thought to be an Iſland, he ſpied near the aforeſaid Point two ſmall Iſlands in the Midſt of another Mouth or Entrance, forming that Cape which he called *Boto*, that is, blunt, becauſe it appeared ſo; and another Cape of the Iſland of *Trinity* he called *de Lapa:* The Diſtance between them being five Leagues, with two little Iſlands in the Middle, one of which he named *el Caracal*, or the *Snail*; and the other *el Delfin*, or the *Dolphin*. The Narrowneſs of the Place, the Violence of the great River *Yayapari*, and the Waves of the Sea, going into, and out of this Bay, are dangerous, and therefore the Admiral called that Streight the *Dragon's Mouth*, which Name it holds to this Day; this River that falls into the Bay of *la Balena*, runs through the Country above four hundred Leagues, and as it brings down an immenſe Quantity of Water, eſpecially in *July* and *Auguſt*, about which Time the Admiral was there, the Rains falling then, as they do in *Spain* in *October* and *November*, and the Paſſage between the Continent and the Iſland of the *Trinity* being too narrow for ſuch a Quantity of oppoſite Waters; when they meet there is a mighty Struggle between them.

5. While the Admiral lay at Cape *de Lapa*, he diſcovered very high Land to the North-weſt, which he named

Bellaforma, becauſe it looked well. On the 5th of *Auguſt* he ſailed five Leagues from the Cape *Lapa*, and ſaw ſeveral very good Harbours; he ſent the Boats aſhore, and the Men found Fiſh, ſaw the Track of People, and a great Houſe uncovered. He proceeded eight Leagues further, ſtill diſcovering good Harbours, much Land and many Rivers. Going aſhore they found well-taſted Grapes, Apples, and a ſort of Fruit that looked like Oranges, and within were like Figs; and ſaw many Monkeys.

On the 26th he ſailed five Leagues; a Canoe with five Men in it came toward the Caravel that was neareſt the Land. The Pilot called the *Indians*, giving them to underſtand, that he would go aſhore: And as ſoon as he was got into the Canoe, he overſet it, and ſwimming about, took and carried the *Indians* to the Admiral. They were of a proportionable Stature, had their Privy Members tied up and covered; but the Women were all ſtark naked. The Admiral gave thoſe *Indians* Hawks-Bells, Glaſs-Beads, and Sugar, and ſent them aſhore, becauſe a great Number of People appeared. And as ſoon as they underſtood how well the others had been entertained, if there had been Canoes enough, they would have all gone aboard. The Admiral uſed them well, gave them all Toys, aſked them Queſtions; they anſwered, but did not apprehend each other. They brought him Bread and Water, and a ſort of Liquor like green Wine. All of them had Targets, Bows, and poiſoned Arrows. Before they entered, they ſmelled to the Boat, and afterward to the Men. On the 7th abundance of *Indians* came, bringing Bread, *Indian* Corn, and Eatables; as alſo Pitchers of Liquor, ſome of it as white as Milk, taſting like Wine, and ſome green made of Fruit and Maize. They valued not the Beads the Admiral gave them; they had a great Eſteem for Tin, they called it Turey, as if it were come from Heaven, for they called Heaven Turey; and found a certain Scent in it that much pleaſed them. And whatever was given them, they ſmelled to. They carried on board abundance of Parrots of three ſorts, and Bits of Cotton Cloth, well wrought, and wove of ſeveral Colours.

The Admiral would willingly have taken half a Dozen *Indians* to carry away with him, but he could not; for before Night they left the Ship. The next Day a Canoe, with twelve Men, came on board the Admiral, ſix of whom he took, and ſent the reſt on ſhore. He proceeded to *Puta del Aguia*, or *Cape Needle*, whence he ſaw a fine Country, and well peopled. And being come before a Town, which for its Beauty he called the *Gardens*, having a vaſt Number of Houſes and People, he anchored; and many reſorted to the Ships, with their wrought Cloths about their Heads, like the little Veils worn by the *Mooriſh* Women. They wore ſome little Plates of Gold about their Necks; and the *Indians* that were on board ſaid there was Plenty of it in thoſe Parts, and ſhewed how they gathered it. The Admiral conſidering that he was above three hundred Leagues from *Hiſpaniola*, and that his Proviſions began to grow ſhort, made no long ſtay in that Country, which he thought very agreeable, full of good Houſes, and inhabited by a polite and warlike People. Being come to Point *Aguja*, he diſcovered another to the Southward, which he thought to be an Iſland running out South-eaſt and North-weſt, very large, and the Land high. He gave it the Name of *Sabeta*. And in the Afternoon he ſaw another, and they were Parts of the Continent. He anchored at the *Gardens*, many Canoes, great and ſmall, came on board with abundance of People wearing Pieces of Gold about their Necks, in the Shape of a Horſe-ſhoe: And though they ſeemed to value it, they would have given all for Hawks-Bells, but he had none left: However, ſome Gold he got, which was very low, and they told him there were Iſlands hereabout that yielded much ſuch baſe Gold; but the Men were Canibals. And they actually ſaw an *Indian* who had a ſingle Grain of Gold as big as an Apple.

More Canoes came ſtill, all the People wearing Gold Collars and Beads of abundance of ſorts, their Clothes tied about their Heads, their Hair cut ſhort, which looked well. There fell much Rain, which hindered many more from going on board. Some Women went who had Strings of little Beads about their Arms, and among them ſome Seed Pearl, as alſo ſome large, which raiſed the Hopes of the *Spaniards* much. The Admiral aſked, where they found them? They ſhewed him the Mother-of-pearl, and by very intelligible Signs gave him to underſtand, That they were found to the Weſtward, behind that Mountain, which is Cape *Lapa*, being the Point of the Province of *Paria*. He ſent the Boats aſhore, and found the People ſo tractable, that tho' the Sailors went not with a Deſign to land; yet two of their Chiefs civilly conſtrained them to it, and conducted them to a Houſe where they entertained them, and gave them Bread and Fruits of ſeveral ſorts, and that ſort of white Liquor, before-mentioned, and another of a red Colour and good Taſte, the Men all the while keeping together at one End of the Houſe, and the Women at the other. When they had been ſo treated at that Houſe by the eldeſt, the youngeſt carried them to another, and treated them in the ſame manner. It ſeemed to them that the one was the Cazique, and the other his Son; and the Sailors afterwards returned very well ſatisfied to their Boats. They thought theſe People of a very good Stature, whiter than any other *Indians*, the Country delightful and cold, which was admired by reaſon of its being ſo near the Equinoctial. The Admiral called this, which he thought to be an Iſland, *Paria*.

On the 10th he ſailed to the Weſtward, ſeeking ſome Paſſages to get clear of thoſe which he took to be Iſlands, and named *Yſabeta* and *Tramontana*, but were Part of the Continent: And the *Indians* he had on board ſaid the Pearls were found farther Weſtward. He ſailed on in that Bay, and ſent the little Caravel to ſee whether there was any Paſſage out to the Northward, becauſe oppoſite to *Yſabeta* and the Continent there appeared a very high and beautiful Iſland. The Caravel returned and brought an Account that they had found a very large Bay, and in it four ſpacious Openings that looked like ſmall Bays, and a River at the End of each of them, which he called *The Bay of Pearls*, though there are none in it. The Admiral believed thoſe Openings were four Iſlands, which formed that Bay of forty Leagues; but the Mariners affirmed they were Mouths of Rivers; and ſo it proved, at leaſt in two of them; for the great River *Tuyaparitan* came out at one End, and that of *Caurari* at the other: And tho' the Admiral would have diſcovered all very particularly, he could not ſtay, but reſolved to ſail for *Hiſpaniola*, to ſend for Men and Proviſions into *Spain*, and order his Brother to continue this Diſcovery. To which Purpoſe, on the 11th of *Auguſt*, he ſteered over to the Eaſtward, in order to paſs through between the Point of *Paria* and the Continent. He advanced to a good Harbour, which he called *Puerto de Gatos*, or *Cat's Port*, which is near the Mouth, where the two Iſlands lye, between the Capes of *Lapa* and *Boto*.

There he came to an Anchor on the thirteenth, intending to ſail next Day. The Boat was ſent to take a View of another Harbour juſt by, which was alſo good; and near it were ſome Fiſhermens Houſes; for which reaſon he called it *Puerto de las Cabanas*, or the *Port of Cottages*. Near the Sea they ſaw many *Mirabolan* Trees, with abundance of Oyſters ſticking to the Branches that hung over the Sea, and open to receive the Dew. On the 14th he advanced to Cape *Lapa*, which is that of *Paria*, to paſs through the Opening, which he called, the *Dragon's Mouth*, which is between Point *Lapa* to the Weſtward, and Cape *Boto*; the Diſtance between the two Capes being a League and an half beyond the ſmall Iſlands that lye in the Middle. He ran a great Riſque of being loſt in repaſſing the Streight, where the running out of the freſh Water, and the coming in of the Salt, occaſioned a very dreadful Appearance, at leaſt to the *Spaniards*, who were unacquainted therewith, though it is common enough on our Coaſts, and particularly at the Mouth of the *Severn*, where the riding of one Tide upon another is called the *Egre*.

The Admiral himſelf was more amazed at it than at any thing he had ſeen, and could not help ſaying, That if they got ſafe through this Danger, they might be ſaid to have eſcaped out of the Dragon's Mouth; whence the

Name of *Boca del Drago* was fixed upon this Place; and it has been ever ſince known thereby. When they got out of that Bay, extending full fifty Leagues from the firſt Land of *Trinity* to the Bay called *de las Perlas*, or *of Pearls*, he ſailed along the Continent to obſerve whether that immenſe Quantity of freſh Water proceeded from the Rivers, as the Seamen affirmed, and he could not believe, as thinking no River in the World could carry ſo much Water as thoſe Lands he ſaw produced, unleſs they were a Continent. He found along this Coaſt many good Harbours and Capes, to which he gave Names, as *Cabo de Conchas*, or *Cape of Shells*, *Capo Luenga*, *Long Cape*, *Cape Sabor* and *Cape Rico*, &c. He found alſo ſeveral Iſlands, particularly *Margarita*, which is fifteen Leagues in Length, and ſix in Breadth, very green and well inhabited. And at a ſmall Diſtance from it are other ſmall Iſlands, and among them *Cubaque*, where Pearls have been found, but few of the Names the Admiral gave them have continued. Having ſailed forty Leagues farther, and ſeeing the Land continue to the Weſtward, he was convinced that it was no Iſland, but the Continent, which he diſcovered on *Wedneſday* the 21ſt of *Auguſt*, 1498.

6. The Admiral was much ſurprized at the immenſe Quantity of freſh Water before ſpoken of, and no leſs at the extraordinary Coolneſs of the Air ſo near the Equinoctial; and he particularly obſerved, that the People thereabouts were whiter, their Hair long and ſmooth, more ſubtil and ingenious, than thoſe he had ſeen before. He was very deſirous to return to the Iſland *Hiſpaniola*, having a Foreſight that his Preſence was neceſſary there; and he reſolved to ſend his Brother Don *Bartholomew* to continue the Diſcovery; beſides, the Men were fatigued, and grew uneaſy, becauſe he had not told them at his coming from *Spain* that he was going upon Diſcovery: For theſe Reaſons, on the 16th of *Auguſt* he ſtood away for that Iſland, ſtill diſcovering high Mountains on the Continent; and that Day he ran ſixty-three Leagues between Sun and Sun, the great Currents ſetting him forward as much as the Wind.

While the Admiral laboured under the before-mentioned Difficulties, the three Ships he had ſent from *Spain* to *Hiſpaniola* under *Carvajal*, *Arana*, and *Columbus*, thro' the Ignorance of the Pilots, and by the Currents that ſet downwards of that Iſland, inſtead of going to the Port of *Santo Domingo*, ſailed on above 160 Leagues, and not knowing where they were, arrived at the Place where *Francis Roldan* was with the Mutineers, living without any Reſpect to the Laws of God or Man; had they done it deſignedly, it could not have happened worſe; and if the Revolt of *Roldan* had been known in *Spain*, it would have been concluded a malicious Contrivance either of the Captains or the Pilots. As ſoon as *Francis Roldan* and his Followers were informed of the Ships they went to the Harbour, which was two Leagues off, and concealing their Revolt, aſked how they happened to come to that Place, and what News there were of the Admiral? They anſwered, that they had been carried by the Currents, and that the Admiral would ſoon be there with three Ships more, having ſome Days ſince ſteered away to the Southward from them. They went aboard the Ships, were merry together, and had ſome of the Proviſions carried from *Spain*. When they were gone, the Captains thought fit, becauſe of the Difficulty of returning to *Santo Domingo* by reaſon of the Currents and Breezes, that the Labouring-men who were in the King's Pay ſhould march by Land, and agreed, that Captain *John Anthony Columbus*, who commanded one of the Ships, ſhould conduct them. Forty Men, with their Croſs-bows, Lances and Swords, went aſhore; and *Roldan* perſuading them they were to lead a very painful Life, be obliged to labour and dig, with much Hunger and Want, eaſily induced them to ſtay with him, telling them at the ſame Time how they ſhould live, which was only by going about from one Town to another, taking the Gold and what elſe they thought fit. And tho' theſe forty Men were all of them condemned Criminals, yet eight of them remained true to their Captain.

This fully diſcovered that *Roldan* had deſerted the King's Service, and Captain *Columbus*, being moſt concerned at it, went to him, told him that thoſe Men had received the King's Pay for ſix Months before, and that he by employing them much obſtructed the King's Affairs; therefore he adviſed him not to act in ſo ſcandalous a Manner; but *Roldan* regarded nothing he ſaid, becauſe by the Addition of thoſe that had joined him he had above a hundred Men to defend himſelf againſt the Admiral; and Captain *Columbus* returned aboard his Ship, and with the other Captain *Pedro de Arana* reſolved to go away to *Santo Domingo* with the Ships, Captain *Alonſo Sanchez de Carvajal* ſtaying behind to go by Land, and endeavour to bring *Roldan* to his Duty. By this Time the Adelantado had Notice, by Means of the *Indians*, that there were three Ships arrived in the Weſt, and gueſſing that they might be come from *Spain*, and had miſſed their Courſe, he ſent out a Caravel in ſearch of them. Before the Ships arrived, or *Roldan* had got ſo many Men, he had written to ſome of thoſe that were with the Adelantado, deſiring them, in caſe the Admiral ſhould come, to endeavour to make his Peace.

The Admiral the 19th of *Auguſt* arrived at the Iſland *Beata*, which lies fifteen Leagues from the Port of *Yaquimo*, and twenty-five from *Santo Domingo*; and near the Iſland *Beata* is that of *Altovelo*. It troubled him that he had fallen away ſo much, but did not wonder at it, becauſe of his continual Watching all the Nights he lay by, or plied backwards or forwards, for fear of being upon the many Iſlands or Sholes of which thoſe Seas were full, which at that Time were little known, and the Currents which are there very ſtrong, and ſet towards the Continent Weſtward, carried the Ships ſo far inſenſibly towards the Iſlands *Beata* and *Hiſpaniola*, that he was afraid of driving by them. On the 20th of *Auguſt* he ſent the Boats to the neighbouring Towns to ſummon the *Indians*, and wrote to acquaint the Adelantado of his Arrival. Six *Indians* went aboard at twice, and one of them carried a Croſs-bow with all its Furniture, which did not a little ſurprize the Admiral, believing it to have belonged to ſome Soldier that was dead. The Ships having been ſeen to paſs down the Current from *Santo Domingo*, the Adelantado ſet out in a Caravel to ſeek the Admiral: It was high Pleaſure to both Brothers to meet, tho' the Admiral was much vexed at the Advice of *Roldan*'s Revolt. The 22d of *Auguſt* they arrived at *Santo Domingo*, it being but a few Days leſs than two Years ſince the Admiral departed from *Hiſpaniola* for *Spain*.

7. The whole Colony in a manner went out with Don *James Columbus* to receive the Admiral, expreſſing much Joy for his Arrival: But when he thought he was come where he might take ſome Reſt, he found himſelf involved in new Troubles, by reaſon of the Revolt. He immediately examined the Proceſs made by the Adelantado, and diſapproving it, formed another, wherein it was ſufficiently proved, that the Inſurrection had proceeded from the wicked Inclination of *Roldan*, tho' neither the Adelantado, or any other Perſon, had given him Cauſe to complain, or wronged him in the leaſt. Some Days after the Admiral, arrived the other three Ships, with *Arana* and *John Anthony Columbus*, as did the Caravel Don *Bartholomew* had ſent to ſeek them.

One of them had ſtruck on a Shole, loſt her Rudder, and was in a very bad Condition, and having ſtayed very long by reaſon of the Currents and contrary Winds, almoſt all the Proviſions were ſpoiled; and the Account they brought of forty Men ſtaying with *Roldan* much troubled the Admiral. However he reſolved to try him by fair Means, forgiving him all his Offences, being ſenſible his Enemies in *Spain* would make a great Noiſe of that Revolt; for he was alſo poſitively told, that as ſoon as he arrived he would come and ſubmit himſelf to him, he having long before written to that purpoſe. At this Time Capt. *Sanchez de Carvajal* arrived from *Xaragua*, and declared the Obſtinacy of *Roldan*, who refuſed his Propoſals: But *Roldan* having Advice of the Admiral's Arrival, either by the *Indians* or by Letters from ſome Friend he had at *Santo Domingo*, reſolved to come nearer, and accordingly went to *Bonao*, a fruitful and delicious Plain, where ſome *Spaniards* dwelt after the Fort of *Bonao* was built, and it is twenty Leagues from *Santo Domingo*. The Admiral fearing leſt any thing that might give them Uneaſineſs ſhould come to the Ears of their Catholic Majeſties, and at the ſame Time diſcredit the Affairs of the *Indies*, which had coſt him ſo many Fatigues, or give his Enemies occaſion to revile him, tried to bring the Mutineers to an Accommodation; uſing this Method: Moſt of the *Spaniards* in the Iſland were deſirous to return into *Spain*; he therefore, on the 12th of *September*, cauſed Proclamation to be made, that he would give Leave to all that were willing to depart, and provide for their Paſſage and Proviſions: Which was very acceptable to them in general, becauſe of eight Ships that were in the Harbour, five were almoſt cleared, and two ready for the Adelantado to go and proſecute the Diſcovery of the Coaſt of *Paria*.

In the mean Time, the Admiral being informed that *Roldan* was going to the *Conception*, about which ſome of the Mutineers had Eſtates, he gave Notice of it to *Michael Balleſter* the Governor of the Fort, that he might be upon his Guard, and endeavour to draw over *Roldan*, and tell him how much it troubled him that ſuch a Man, whom he had left in ſo conſiderable a Poſt, and on whom he depended ſo much, ſhould range about in that ſcandalous Manner, to the Prejudice of the King's Service; however, for the Good-will he had always borne him, he would pardon him, if he ſubmitted; and if he required any Security, he ſhould have it. The Governor *Balleſter* went to the Fort of *Bonao*, where he found no body, but was informed that *Roldan* and the Chiefs were gone to the Houſe of *Riquelmo*, who was one of them.

Before the Admiral went away to *Spain*, about *March* in the Year 1496, or ſoon after his Departure, ſome Towns were charged inſtead of their Tribute to till the Lands belonging to the *Spaniſh* Colonies, as they had been wont to do for their Caziques; and by this Method it was thought the *Spaniards* might be induced to ſtay the more willingly in the *Indies*, taking a Kindneſs to the Country, and the Merchants would come over from *Spain*, ſo that the Royal Revenue would increaſe without obliging their Majeſties to be at ſo great an Expence as they were at the Beginning, or elſe to quit the Enterprize, which the Admiral much dreaded, ſo many being againſt it. The *Indians* that did not comply in performing this Duty were puniſhed, and thoſe that fled were held as Slaves when taken. The other Improvement, in order to produce ſome Profit, was that of the *Brazil* Wood, which the Admiral ſaid was in the Province of *Yaquimo*, on the Southern Coaſt, near eighty Leagues from *Santo Domingo* to the Weſtward. By thoſe two Improvements, including four thouſand Slaves he reckoned upon, and four thouſand Quintals, or hundred Weight of *Brazil* Wood, he writ to their Majeſties, that they would receive forty Millions of Marvedies, which amounted to twenty thouſand Pound; a large Sum, and much more conſiderable in thoſe Days, than at this Time.

Hereupon, ſoon after his Arrival at *Santo Domingo*, being informed that a Cazique, who had been appointed for the Service of the Fort, leaving the ſame, was fled to the Mountains, Soldiers were ordered thither, who took a good Number of People that were ſent away in thoſe laſt Ships, the Admiral reckoning that their Catholic Majeſties ſhould make their Advantage of thoſe *Indians* as the Kings of *Portugal* did of the *Guinea* Blacks. When *Roldan*, *Gomez*, and *Adrian Moxica* were come together, the Alcalde or Governor, *Balleſter*, went to diſcourſe them; and having told them all he had been directed, offered them Pardon, and repreſented the Diſſervice they did the King by behaving after that manner. They ſoon ſhewed they had quite different Deſigns, uttering many haughty and diſreſpectful Words againſt the Admiral: And, among other Things, ſaid, They came not to ſeek Peace, but War; and that *Roldan* had the Admiral and all his Followers in his Power, either to ſupport or deſtroy them: That they ſhould not talk of any Accommodation till the Admiral had brought back the Number of *Indians* which had been ſent as Slaves, becauſe he had taken them into his Protection, and it was his Duty to deliver them from the Oppreſſion they were under: Beſides, they wrote a Letter to the Admiral, laying all the Blame of their Revolt on his Brother. The Governor, *Balleſter*, went to *Santo Domingo* with *Roldan*'s Anſwer; in which, amongſt other Things, he ſaid, that his Followers would treat with no Man but *Carvajal*; and tho' the Admiral had juſt Cauſe to ſuſpect that Perſon on ſeveral Accounts, yet he thought it beſt to make a Virtue of Neceſſity, and to ſend him with *Balleſter* to endeavour to reduce them to Reaſon. He alſo wrote an affectionate Letter to *Roldan*, ſoothing him, and in a moſt obliging manner inviting him to return to his Duty.

7. The Alcalde, *Balleſter*, and *Carvajal*, diſcourſed the Rebels ſo effectually, that they inclined *Roldan* and the other Ring-leaders to agree with the Admiral; by which it was thought all would be adjuſted; but the meaner Sort, being unwilling to quit that licentious Life they led, unanimouſly cried out, That it ſhould not be ſo, but that if any Accommodation was made, it ſhould be in Public before them all, ſince they were all concerned: And *Carvajal* and *Roldan* trying all Ways to reduce them to Reaſon, and, not being able to prevail, *Roldan* demanding a ſafe Conduct, and ſignifying, that he was thoroughly convinced, that all his Men would forſake him, except ſuch as were Gentlemen, the Admiral was much concerned at this Advice, and ſoon found it was true; for having made a Muſter, in order to march to *Bonao*, only ſeventy of thoſe that were with him ſaid they would obey his Orders; and he had no Confidence even in many of them. In this Diſtreſs, he cauſed Proclamation to be made, that as to all who would return to their Duty, no Notice ſhould ever be taken of what was paſt; beſides, that ſuch as deſired to return into *Spain* ſhould have their Paſſage gratis. At the ſame Time he ſent a ſafe Conduct to *Francis Roldan* for himſelf, and all thoſe that ſhould come with him, to treat at *Santo Domingo*.

Whilſt this Treaty was in Agitation, the Ships having been detained eighteen Days beyond the Month agreed on when they were hired, and many of the Slaves aboard them dying, the Admiral was forced to diſpatch them, and by them writ to their Majeſties, acquainting them with the Rebellion of *Roldan*, and the Miſchiefs his Men did in the Iſland. He alſo deſired to have religious Men ſent to inſtruct the People, and an able Lawyer for the Execution of Juſtice. He added, that though at firſt the Men had ſickened by the Change of Air and Water, they were all then healthy and inured to the Country, and did better with the *Indian* Bread than with that of *Spaniſh* Corn; and that there was an infinite Number of Swine and Poultry and other Things, which had ſo multiplied, that they wanted nothing but Wine and Clothes: That it would be expedient as often as poſſible to ſend him ſixty or ſeventy Men, and he would return as many of theſe troubleſome Diſturbers. Much more he wrote to their Majeſties in Vindication of himſelf and his Brother, and ſent them ſome of the painted Cloths of the Coaſt of *Paria*, one hundred and ſeventy Pearls, and ſome Pieces of Gold, as alſo a Draught of his laſt Diſcovery, and a Relation of his Voyage. After ſeveral Meſſages it was concluded, that the Mutineers ſhould have two Ships with Proviſions to carry them to *Spain*, and every one a Slave with him; and to have Certificates of their good Behaviour. The Admiral ſigned thoſe Articles on his Part, as did *Roldan* for the Mutineers. However, all Things came to nothing, the Rebels not daring to go into *Spain* for fear of being puniſhed for their Crimes.

But afterwards Captain *Carvajal* having acquainted the Admiral, that *Roldan* earneſtly deſired to ſubmit himſelf, he went to *Azua* to be nearer to the Rebels; *Roldan* went thither to him, where a new Contract was concluded, by virtue whereof, his Followers were to be reſtored to what they had enjoyed before their Revolt, and he to be Alcalde-Mayor, or Chief Judge of the Iſland. *Roldan* began again to exerciſe that Office with the greateſt Inſolence; and all his Followers behaved themſelves in the ſame Manner. The Admiral diſpatched two Ships for *Spain*; and, purſuant to his Agreement, permitted the Mutineers to embark, allowing ſome of them three Slaves, and others one. In *October*, 1499, *Roldan* delivered to the Admiral a Petition from all his Followers, being one hundred and two Men ſtill adhering to him, wherein they deſired to have Lands aſſigned them in the Province of *Xaragua*. But becauſe it was not convenient they ſhould be all together, ſome were ſettled at *Bonao*, others on the Plain on the Bank of the great River, others at *Santiago*; at which Places the Admiral gave them Lands. And this was the firſt Diſtribution made in the *Indies*; which ſet an Example to all the others that followed, that is, of aſſigning ſuch a Number of *Indians* to ſuch a Perſon, it being expreſſed in the Grants, that ſuch a Cazique, or his People, ſhould till the Ground for the *Spaniard* to whom it was given.

8. The Admiral having adjuſted Matters with *Roldan*, appointed an Officer, with a Detachment, to patrol about the Iſland, to reduce the *Indians* to pay Tribute, and to be in Readineſs, that upon any Mutiny among the Chriſtians, or Signs of Rebellion among the *Indians*, he might ſuppreſs them; which he did with a Deſign to go over to *Spain*, and carry with him his Brother the Lieutenant, becauſe he judged it would be difficult, if he were left behind, to forget old Grudges. As he was preparing for his Voyage, *Alonſo de Hojeda*, who had been out on Diſcovery with four Ships, arrived in the Iſland. This Man was a Creature and Dependant upon the Biſhop of *Burgos*, who perceiving this Prelate had entirely changed his Affection towards the Admiral, ſtruck in with him, and procured a Licence to go and make Diſcoveries, but without the Knowledge of their Catholic Majeſties; and ſome Perſons at *Seville*, having equipped, on the Credit of this Licence, four Ships, he ſailed with them from Port *St. Mary*'s, on the 20th of *May* 1499, and went directly in ſearch of the Continent, purſuant to the Schemes the Admiral had delivered to their Catholic Majeſties before his Departure, and which, before this Time, he had actually carried into Execution.

With this Man *Americus Veſpucius* made his firſt Voyage, and though they never ſaw any other Part of the Continent than what the Admiral had diſcovered ſailing from the Iſland of *Trinity*, along the Coaſt to *Venezuela*, yet he impudently pretended to have firſt diſcovered the Continent; and by confounding this with a ſubſequent Voyage which he made into thoſe Parts, he dreſſed up a fine Story to his own Advantage; and being an excellent Geographer, and the beſt Draftſman of his Time, impoſed upon the greateſt Part of *Europe*. But in *Spain*, the Falſhood and Injuſtice of his Pretences were ſoon detected; for whereas he pretended that, after a Voyage of thirteen Months ſpent in Diſcoveries, he returned directly to *Spain*; *Alonſo de Hojeda* poſitively made Oath, that he ſpent but five Months in the Voyage, and that finding themſelves ſhort of Proviſions, they ſtood over, as indeed was the Truth, to the Iſland of *Hiſpaniola*, for a Supply. When he came upon the Coaſt of that Iſland, at the Time of which we are now writing, he gave out, that he did not do it willingly, but purely to obtain Relief, and that he had juſt Reaſons to expect it in a Country under the Dominion of his Sovereigns; but his real Deſign of creating Diſturbances there, being ſtrongly ſuſpected, he was adviſed to take what he wanted, and to continue his Voyage.

This he pretended to call a great Hardſhip, and threw out many Reflections upon the Admiral and his Family. Upon which Grounds he began to write to ſome that were deep in the late Troubles, and to hold Correſpondence with them: But *Roldan* being informed of his Proceedings, by the Admiral's Order, went againſt him to prevent his doing the Harm he intended. Being come within a League and a Half of him, he underſtood he was at a Cazique's, baking Bread and Biſkets, and therefore he travelled that Night to ſurprize him. *Hojeda* underſtanding that *Roldan* was coming upon him, to make the beſt of a bad Caſe, went to meet him; alledging, Want of Proviſions had brought him thither, to ſupply himſelf in the King his Maſter's Dominions, and that he meant no ſort of Harm.

But holding his wicked Purpoſe, and taking Leave of *Roldan*, he went with his Ships to *Xaragua*, where a great many of thoſe People lived who had before rebelled with *Roldan*; and becauſe the Shew of Gain is the moſt ready Way to promote any Miſchief, he began to give out that their Catholic Majeſties had appointed him and *Carvajal* the Admiral's Counſellors; and that, among many other Things they had adviſed him to, one was, That they ſhould pay in ready Money all in their Service, and ſince the Admiral was not ſo juſt as to do it, he was ready to go with them to *Santo Domingo*, to oblige him to pay out of hand; and that done, to turn him out of the Iſland, dead or alive, for they ought not to rely upon the Word he had given them, for he would keep it no longer than Neceſſity obliged him to it. Upon theſe Promiſes, many reſolved to follow him; and being aſſiſted by them, he fell upon others who oppoſed him, and there were ſome killed and others wounded, on both Sides. And being ſatisfied that *Roldan* would not join with them, they reſolved to ſurprize him; but he being informed of their Deſign, went where *Hojeda* was, to put a Stop to his Diſorders. *Hojeda*, for fear of him, retired to his Ships, and *Roldan* continuing aſhore, they treated, each of them fearing to put himſelf into the Power of the other. *Roldan* perceiving that *Hojeda* was unwilling to come aſhore, he pretended to treat with him aboard, to which Purpoſe he ſent for his Boat, which he ſent him well manned; and having taken in *Roldan* and ſix or ſeven of his Followers, when they leaſt ſuſpected it, *Roldan* and his People fell upon *Hojeda*'s Men, and, killing ſome, and wounding others, made themſelves Maſters of the Boat, returning with it to Land. *Hojeda*, who had only a ſmall Ship left, reſolved to come peaceably to treat with *Roldan*. He agreed to reſtore ſome Men he had taken by Force, that his Boat and Men might be returned, alledging, if it was not reſtored it would be the Ruin of them all and their Ships, becauſe he had no other. *Roldan* readily granted it, that he might have no Cauſe to ſay he was loſt through his Means; yet he made him give Security that he would depart the Iſland by a Time appointed, as he was obliged to do by the good Guard *Roldan* kept on Shore.

A few Days after *Hojeda* was gone, one Don *Ferdinand de Guevara* being in Diſgrace with the Admiral, as a ſeditious Perſon; and having taken part with *Hojeda* through Spite to *Roldan*, becauſe he would not permit him to take to Wife the Daughter of *Anacaona* Queen of *Xaragua*, began to gather many Conſpirators, deſigning to ſeize *Roldan*, and ſucceed him; particularly he gained to his Party *Adrian de Moxica*, a chief Man among the late Rebels, and other wicked Men; who, about the Month of *July*, contrived to murder *Roldan*. He having Intelligence of the Deſign, ſtood upon his Guard, and ordered his Buſineſs ſo well that he ſeized Don *Ferdinand*, *Adrian*, and the chief Men of their Party; and ſending the Admiral an Account of what had happened, demanded what he ſhould do with them. The Anſwer was, That ſince they had endeavoured, without any Provocation, to diſturb the Country, he ſhould puniſh them according to their Demerit, and as the Law directed: The Judge did it accordingly, and proceeded legally againſt them, hanged *Adrian*, as chief Author of the Conſpiracy; baniſhed others, and kept Don *Ferdinand* in Priſon, till, on the 13th of *June*, he delivered him with other Priſoners to *Gonſalo Blanco*, to carry them to the *Plain*, where the Admiral then was.

This Example quieted the Country, and the *Indians* again ſubmitted themſelves to the Chriſtians. Such rich Gold Mines were now diſcovered, that every Man left the King's Pay, and went to dig Gold at his own Expence, allowing the King the Third Part of all they found. This proſpered ſo well that a Man has gathered five Marks, or forty Ounces of Gold in a Day. The *Indians* were alſo become ſubmiſſive, dreading the Admiral, and ſo deſirous to pleaſe him, that they readily became Chriſtians only to oblige him; and therefore, to ſettle all Things the better, the Admiral reſolved to take a Progreſs through the Iſland, and accordingly he and his Brother, the Lieutenant, ſet out on the 20th of *February* 1499, and came to *Iſabella* the 19th of *March*. From *Iſabella* they ſet out the 5th of *Auguſt*, for the *Conception*. From the *Conception* the Admiral deſigned to go to *Santo Domingo*, on the 3d of *February*, in order to return into

Spain, to give their Catholic Majeſties an Account of all Things in the Colonies.

9. At the very Time thoſe Diſorders fell out in the Colonies, many of the Rebels from *Hiſpaniola*, and others that were returned into *Spain*, did not ceaſe to give in falſe Informations to the King and his Council againſt the Admiral and his Brother; alledging they were cruel, and unfit for that Government, as well becauſe they were not *Spaniards*, as becauſe they had not formerly been in a Condition to learn by Experience how to govern People of Condition; affirming, That if their Highneſſes did not apply ſome Remedy, thoſe Countries would be utterly deſtroyed; or, in caſe they were not quite ruined, by their ill Government, the Admiral would revolt, and procure ſome Prince to ſupport him, by pretending that all was his own, as having been diſcovered by his Induſtry and Labour; and that the better to compaſs his Deſign, he concealed the Wealth of the Country, and would not have the *Indians* ſerve the Chriſtians, or be converted to the Faith, becauſe by making much of them, he hoped they would be on his Side, to do what he pleaſed againſt their Highneſſes.

They therefore importuned their Catholic Majeſties to remove him, complaining there were ſeveral Years Pay due to them, which gave Occaſion to all that were at Court to rail. And their Impudence was ſo great, that if the Catholic King went abroad they all got about him, crying, *Pay, Pay*; and if the Admiral's Sons, who were Pages to her Majeſty paſſed by where they were, they cried out in a hideous Manner, making the Sign of the Croſs, and ſaying, There are the Admiral of the Muſquito's Sons, he that has found out falſe and deceitful Countries, to be the Ruin and Burial-place of the *Spaniſh* Gentry. Their Complaints running ſo high, it was reſolved to ſend a Judge to *Hiſpaniola*, to enquire into all theſe Affairs, ordering him, in caſe he found the Admiral guilty of what was alledged, to ſend him to *Spain*, and ſtay there himſelf as Governor. The Perſon their Majeſties made Choice of for this Purpoſe, was one *Francis de Bovadilla*, a poor Knight of the Order of *Calatrava*, who, on the 21ſt of *May*, 1499, had full and ample Commiſſion given him at *Madrid*, and blank Letters ſubſcribed by their Majeſties to ſuch Perſons as he ſhould think fit, in *Hiſpaniola*, commanding them to be aiding and aſſiſting to him.

Thus furniſhed, he arrived at *Santo Domingo* at the latter End of *Auguſt*, 1500, at ſuch Time as the Admiral was at the *Conception* ſettling the Affairs of that Province, where his Brother had been attacked by the Rebels, and where there were more *Indians*, and thoſe more underſtanding People than in the reſt of the Iſland; ſo that *Bovadilla*, at his Arrival, finding no body to keep him in Awe, the firſt Thing he did was to take up his Quarters in the Admiral's Palace, and ſeize and make uſe of all he found there, as if it had fallen to him by Inheritance; and gathering together all he could find that had been in the Rebellion, and many others that hated the Admiral and his Brothers, he preſently declared himſelf Governor; and, to gain the Affection of the People, he cauſed a general Freedom to be proclaimed for twenty Years to come; requiring the Admiral to repair to him without any Delay, becauſe it was convenient for his Majeſty's Service he ſhould ſo do. And to back his Summons, on the 7th of *September* ſent him the King's Letter, by *F. John de la Sera*, containing no more, in effect, than that their Majeſties had ſent the Bearer to acquaint him with their Pleaſure, which he was directed to obey. This Order was dated at *Madrid*, 21ſt of *May*, 1499, which Order was ſigned both by the King and by the Queen.

10. The Admiral having ſeen their Majeſties Letter, came away preſently to *Santo Domingo*, where the new Judge was; who having been eager to eſtabliſh himſelf Governor there, in the Beginning of *October*, without any legal Information, ſent him Priſoner aboard a Ship, together with his Brother *James*, putting them in Irons, and a good Guard over them; and ordered on ſevere Penalties that none ſhould dare to ſpeak to them; after this he began to draw up a Proceſs againſt them, admitting the Rebels as Witneſſes, and publickly favoured all that came to ſpeak ill of them; who, in their Depoſitions, gave in ſuch Incoherences, that he muſt have been blind that had not plainly perceived they were falſe and malicious. For this Reaſon their Catholic Majeſties would not admit of them, and cleared the Admiral, repenting that they had ſent ſuch a Man, and not without Cauſe; for this *Bovadilla* ruined the Iſland, and ſquandered the King's Revenues, gaining Numbers to be his Friends, by ſaying their Majeſties would have nothing but the Dominion, and that the Profit ſhould be for their Subjects; yet he neglected not his own Share, but, ſiding with the richeſt and moſt powerful Men, gave them *Indians* to ſerve them, upon Condition, they ſhould ſhare with him all they got by their Means, and ſold by Auction the Poſſeſſions and Rights the Admiral had required for their Majeſties, ſaying they were no Labourers, nor did not deſire to make a Profit of thoſe Lands, only kept them for the Benefit of their Subjects.

He thus on one Side ſelling all Things under this Colour, endeavoured on the other, that they ſhould be bought by ſome of his own Confederates, for one third of the Value: Beſides all this, he made uſe of his judicial Power to enrich himſelf, and gain the Affections of the People; being ſtill afraid, that the Lieutenant, who was not yet come from *Xaragua*, ſhould put a Stop to his Proceedings, and endeavour to ſet the Admiral at Liberty by Force of Arms; in which Particular the Brothers behaved themſelves very prudently, for the Admiral ſent them Word immediately, that they ſhould come peaceably to him, the King's Service ſo requiring, that the Iſland might not be put into an Uproar; for when they were in *Spain*, they ſhould more eaſily obtain the Puniſhment of ſuch a Perſon, and Satisfaction for the Wrongs done them.

Yet this did not divert *Bovadilla* from putting him and his Brother into Irons, allowing the baſer Sort to rail at them publickly; blowing Horns about the Port where they were ſhipped, beſides ſcandalous Libels ſet up at Corners of Streets againſt them. When they were to ſail, he deſired *Andrew Martin*, the Maſter of the Ship, to look to him, and to deliver him in Irons as he was, to the Biſhop *D. John de Fonceca*, by whoſe Advice and Direction, it was concluded, he did all theſe Things; though when they were at Sea, the Maſter, being ſenſible of *Bovadilla*'s Unworthineſs, would have knocked off the Admiral's Irons, which he would not permit, ſaying, That ſince their Catholic Majeſties, by their Letter, directed him to perform whatſoever *Bovadilla*, in their Name, commanded him to do; in Virtue of which Commiſſion he had put him into Irons, he would have none but their Highneſſes themſelves to do their Pleaſure herein; and he was reſolved to keep theſe Fetters as Relicks, and Memorials of the Reward of his many Services, as accordingly he did; for theſe Irons hung up in his Room, and he ordered them to be buried with him. Notwithſtanding that, having on the 20th of *November*, 1500, written to their Highneſſes, acquainting them with his Arrival at *Cadiz*; they immediately gave Orders that he ſhould be releaſed, and ſent him very gracious Letters; in which they declared they were very ſorry for his Sufferings, and the unmannerly Behaviour of *Bovadilla* towards him, directing him to come to Court, where Care ſhould be taken that he ſhould be ſpeedily diſpatched with full Reſtitution of his Honour, as, indeed, was but reaſonable, ſince all he had done, and which had brought upon him ſo many Troubles, was purely out of Regard to the Intereſt of their Majeſties; and from the earneſt Deſire he had to hinder private Avarice from overturning the Meaſures taken for the public Benefit; and for the Intereſt of the Crown of *Caſtile*, at whoſe Expence the firſt Diſcoveries had been made.

11. Their Majeſties Orders came on the 12th of *December* for him to be ſet at Liberty, and to repair to *Granada*; where he was received by their Majeſties with a favourable Aſpect, and kind Words, importing that his Impriſonment had not been by their Deſire or Command, therefore they were much offended at it, and they would take Care thoſe that were in Fault ſhould

be puniſhed, and full Satisfaction given him. Afterwards they ordered his Buſineſs ſhould be expedited immediately, the Reſult thereof was, That a Governor ſhould be ſent to *Hiſpaniola*, who was to right the Admiral and his Brothers ; and *Bovadilla* ſhould be obliged to reſtore all he had taken from them ; and that the Admiral ſhould be allowed all that belonged to him, according to the Articles their Majeſties had granted him ; and that the Rebels ſhould be proceeded againſt, and puniſhed according to their Offences. Don *Nicholas de Obando* was ſent with theſe Powers ; he was a wiſe and judicious Man, but, as afterwards appeared, partial, craftily concealing his Paſſions, giving Credit to malicious Perſons, and therefore acting cruelly and revengefully.

But to return to the Admiral ; as their Majeſties were pleaſed to ſend *Obando* to *Hiſpaniola*, ſo they thought it proper to ſend the Admiral upon ſome Voyage that might turn to his Advantage, and keep him employed till the ſaid *Obando* could pacify and reduce the Iſland *Hiſpaniola* ; becauſe they did not mean to keep him ſo long out of his Office, without any juſt Occaſion ; the Informations ſent by *Bovadilla*, plainly appearing to be full of Malice, and not containing any thing for which he ought to forfeit his Rights. But there being ſome Delay in the Execution of this Deſign, and ill Men endeavouring to prevail that a new Information might be expected, the Admiral reſolved to ſpeak to their Majeſties, and beg of them that they would defend him againſt all Dangers, which he afterwards repeated by Letters ; and this procured him, firſt of all, a very favourable Anſwer, and very ſoon afterwards as favourable Grants and Conceſſions as he could poſſibly deſire ; which made him, in ſome Meaſure, forget all that he had ſuffered, and reſolve once more to expoſe his Life in another Voyage to the *Indies*, for the perfecting his Deſign, which probably after ſuch Uſage no other Man would have done.

12. The Continent of *America* had never been touched upon, or known before this Voyage ; and, to the Honour of the Admiral, it muſt be confeſſed, that he diſcovered it by Skill, and not by Chance ; and ſailed directly in ſearch of it from *Spain*, and not from the *Indies*. That he was indiſputably the firſt Diſcoverer, appears from hence, that he was at the Iſland of *Margarita* on the firſt of *Auguſt*, 1498, whereas *Alonſo Hojeda*, and *Americus Veſpucius* did not ſail from *Cadiz* till the 20th of *May*, 1499. But if the Admiral had been hindered from making this Diſcovery, they could not, with any Propriety, have claimed the Merit or Title of Diſcoverers, from what they performed in that Voyage, ſince they made uſe of the Admiral's Drafts and Projects, which by their Catholic Majeſties Commands, he had put into the Hands of the Biſhop of *Burgos*, for their Service ; and which, without their Majeſties Knowledge, he communicated to theſe Men, out of pure Hatred to the Admiral, and that he might, if it was poſſible, rob him of his Credit and Reputation, as he had already deprived him of a great Part of his Intereſt at Court. The Licenſes that he gave theſe Men were clandeſtine, and it was no ſooner known that they had obtained them, than others reſolved to make uſe of the ſame Intereſt, in order to obtain Shares in the Riches of the new World.

Amongſt others, ſome Inhabitants of the City of *Seville* formed a Company for this Purpoſe, and the principal Man amongſt them, at leaſt in Point of Capacity, was one *Peter Alonſo Nino*, an Inhabitant of *Palos*, who was with the Admiral when *Paria* was diſcovered, and *Chriſtopher Guerra* of *Seville*. *Peter Alonſo Nino* having obtained the King's Licence, upon Condition that he ſhould not come to an Anchor, nor land any where within fifty Leagues of what the Admiral had diſcovered, being himſelf unable to fit out a Ship, propoſed it to *Lewis Guerra* of *Seville* to defray the Expence ; and the Samples of Gold and Pearls the Admiral had ſent, having ſtirred up the Avarice of many, *Guerra* accepted of the Offer, provided that his Brother *Chriſtopher* ſhould go as Captain ; and accordingly they ſet ſail not long after *Alonſo de Hojeda*. They ſailed two or 300 Leagues to the Southward, diſcovered Land, and, keeping down the Coaſt, arrived at the Province of *Paria* a few Days after *Hojeda*, where, finding the *Indians* peaceably diſpoſed, they, contrary to their Inſtructions, cut *Brazil* Wood ; and holding on their Courſe, came to that which *Hojeda* had called the *Bay of Pearls*, formed by the Iſland *Margarita*, where they bartered for many Pearls.

The People of this Country went aboard the Ships without any Fear, carrying Necklaces of Pearls, and ſome of them in their Noſes and Ears ; the *Spaniards* drove a great Trade with Hawks-bells, Bracelets, Rings, and ſeveral Trifles made of Tin, which they took, and for them very freely gave their Pearls ; having got a conſiderable Quantity of them, they paſſed by *Coro*, near the Province now called *Venezuela*, 130 Leagues below *Paria* and the *Dragon's Mouth* ; and anchored in a Bay where they were very well received by fifty Men, who came from a Place a League off ; and very earneſtly preſſed them to anchor at their Town. The *Spaniards* gave them ſome of their Toys, and the *Indians* taking off all the Pearls they had about their Necks and Arms, in the Space of an Hour gave them as many as weighed fifteen Ounces. The next Day they came to anchor before the Town called *Curiana*, where the *Indians* intreated them to go aſhore, but the *Spaniards* being no more than thirty-three durſt not venture, and made Signs to them to come aboard, which they did in their Canoes, carrying Pearls to exchange for ſome *Spaniſh* Toys.

At length, being convinced of their Sincerity, the *Spaniards* went aſhore, and being courteouſly entertained, ſtayed there twenty Days : They plentifully ſupplied them with Veniſon, Rabbits, Geeſe, Ducks, Parrots, Fiſh, Bread made of Maize, *Indian* Wheat, and other Things, and brought them all the Game they would aſk for. By ſeeing ſo many Deer they concluded that this muſt be the Continent. They perceived that they kept Markets or Fairs, and that they made uſe of Jars, Diſhes, or Porringers, beſides other Veſſels of ſeveral Shapes, and that in their Pearl Necklaces they had Frogs and other Creatures made of Gold ; and on aſking where it was gathered, they anſwered, ſix Days Journey from thence ; they reſolved to ſail thither, and that was the Province of *Curiana Cauchcito*, where the People came aboard in their Canoes, without any Jealouſy. They carried ſome wrought and unwrought Gold, which they bartered away, but would not part with the Pearls, they had like thoſe of *Curiana* ; however, they gave them very fine Monkies and moſt beautiful Parrots of ſeveral Colours.

Departing hence, they proceeded further, where above five thouſand naked Men came out with Bows and Arrows, to hinder their landing, and though they endeavoured to appeaſe them by ſhewing Hawks-bells and other Things, they could not prevail, and therefore returned to *Curiana*, and were received with the ſame Satisfaction as before, and earneſtly entreated for Pins and Needles ; for whereas, at firſt, they had underſtood they were to ſew, and tack Things together, and therefore ſaid they had no uſe for them, going naked, the *Spaniards* ſhewed them that they were uſed for drawing Thorns out of their Feet, there being many in that Part, at which they ſmiled, and aſked for them. All that Country lies in ſeven or eight Degrees Latitude, and is not at all cold in *November* and *December*. The *Indians* were highly pleaſed, thinking they had cheated the *Spaniards*, who carried away above 150 Marks, or 1200 Ounces of Pearls, and ſome of them as large as ſmall Haſle-nuts, very beautiful and well coloured ; but they were ill bored, the *Indians* having no Iron. The *Spaniards* thought fit to return home, and ſo came back to *Paria* and the *Dragon's Mouth*. Two Months after they left *Curiana* they arrived in *Galicia*, on the 6th of *February*, 1500, where *Ferdinand de la Vega*, Lord of *Grajal*, was then Governor ; before whom *Peter Alonſo Nino* and *Chriſtopher Guerra* were accuſed, by their own Ships Crew, of having concealed Pearls, and defrauded the King of his fifth Part, which was the Duty.

The Noiſe that this Voyage made, and the great Riches which the Adventurers gained thereby, promoted the Spirit of Diſcovery, but more eſpecially among ſuch as had been acquainted with the Propoſals made by the Admiral,

miral, or had ſerved under him in his two firſt Voyages, and conſequently had greater Opportunities of gaining Experience, in this Way, than any other Men. Of theſe there was none ſo capable of proſecuting Voyages of this kind as *Vincent Yanez Pinſon*, of whom we have already ſpoken, for he was not only a very able Seaman, and, as ſuch, had ſailed with the Admiral in his firſt Diſcovery, but was alſo a Man of liberal Education, great Courage, and had a large Fortune, ſo that he fitted out at his own Expence a Squadron of four Sail of ſtout Ships, with which he ſailed to the *Cape de Verd* Iſlands, and, having there taken in ſuch Refreſhments as he thought neceſſary, proceeded from *St. Jago* upon the 13th of *January*, 1500, upon Diſcovery.

He firſt ſtood away to the South, and then to the Weſt, and having ſailed 700 Leagues loſt Sight of the North Star, and croſſed the Equinoctial Line, being the firſt Subject of the Crown of *Caſtile* and *Leon* that did it. When paſt the Line, they met with ſuch a dreadful Storm, that they expected to periſh; he ran 240 Leagues farther to the Weſtward, and on the 26th of *February* they diſcovered Land at a great Diſtance, being that which is now called *Cape St. Auguſtine*, though *Vincent Yanez* named it *Cabo de Conſolation*, or *Cape Comfort*, and the *Portugueſe* call it the Province of *Santa Cruz*, or of the *Holy Croſs*, now a Part of *Brazil*; they found the Sea thick and whitiſh, like a River, and, ſounding, had ſixteen Fathom Water. Captain *Pinſon*, going on Shore, here took Poſſeſſion of the Country in the Name of their Catholic Majeſties, and endeavoured all he could to bring the People to trade, but without Effect, for at laſt they came to Blows, in which ſome were ſlain on both Sides; and at laſt he thought it adviſeable to retire and continue his Voyage, which he did to the Mouth of the River *Maranon*, where he obſerved what the Admiral had done before at the Mouth of another great River; a mighty Struggle between the Tide of Salt-water running in, and a vaſt Current of freſh Water pouring down from the Land: He likewiſe found the Country at the Mouth of this River well inhabited on both Sides, but could not bring them to enter into any Trade as he expected, and therefore he reſolved, without any farther Delay, to proceed towards *Paria*, which he accordingly did.

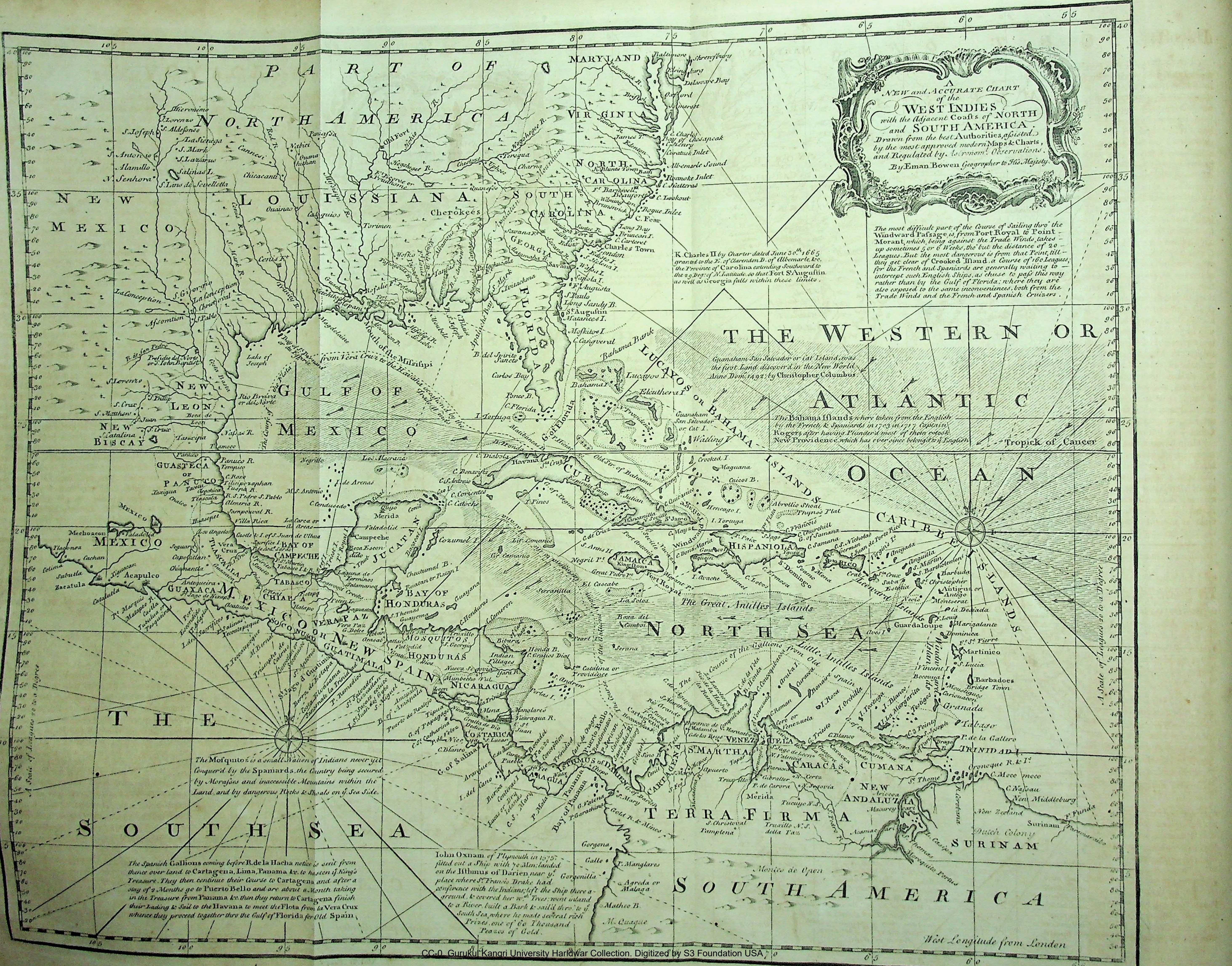
In his Paſſage he met with another very large River, ſo that he drew up freſh Water when above twenty Leagues at Sea, and therefore he called it *Rio Dulce*, or the *Freſh River*, which has been ſince ſuppoſed to be a Branch of the great River *Yapari*, that makes the freſh Bay between *Paria* and the Iſland of *Trinity*; upon this freſh River, found by *Vincent Yanez*, it is ſuppoſed that the People called *Aruacas* have their Dwellings. They proceeded to *Paria*, and there took in *Brazil* Wood; from which *Vincent Yanez* ſtruck over to the Iſlands that lay in the Way to *Hiſpaniola*, and, the Ships being at Anchor, there aroſe ſuch a dreadful Storm that two of them ſunk in the Sight of the others, with all the Men; a third was forced from its Anchors, with eighteen Men, and carried out of Sight: The fourth, which is likely had the beſt Anchors and Cables, riding it out, beat ſo furiouſly upon the Sea, that the Sailors, believing it would be daſhed in Pieces, went all aſhore in the Long Boat, without Hopes of its eſcaping; and, for their own Security, had Thoughts of killing all the *Indians* thereabouts, to prevent their calling in their Neighbours to deſtroy them; but the Ship that had been drove away with the eighteen Men returned, and that which had rode out, when the Sea grew calm, was ſaved. In theſe two Ships they went away to *Hiſpaniola*, where they refitted, and returned into *Spain*, about the latter end of *September*, having diſcovered 600 Leagues about the Coaſt of *Paria*.

In the latter end of the Month of *December*, 1499, *James de Lepe*, a Native of the Town of *Palos*, having heard of the Expedition undertaken by *Pinſon*, applied himſelf to the Earl of *Miranda*, his Patron, and promiſed him mighty Things in caſe he would enable him to make the ſame Voyage, which was very ſoon complied with; and he actually arrived at the Mouth of the River *Maranon*, within a very ſhort time after *Pinſon* had left it, as he found to his Coſt; for the People, being provoked by his carrying away thirty-ſix Men out of their Country, attacked the *Spaniards* briſkly, and killed ſeveral, ſo that he was compelled to proſecute his Voyage to *Paria*, where he likewiſe quarrelled with the People, and returned without making the leaſt Advantage of this Expedition, except taking a few *Indian* Priſoners.

As it happened about this Time, it is requiſite that we ſhould ſpeak here of the great good Fortune of the Crown of *Portugal*, a Subject of which was ſo happy as to fall upon one of the richeſt Countries of *South America*, by meer Chance; the Thing happened thus: Don *Emanuel* King of *Portugal*, fitted out a Fleet for the *Eaſt Indies*, conſiſting of thirteen Sail, having on Board one thouſand two hundred Men, Soldiers and Sailors, under the Command of *Peter Alvarez Cabral*, who ſailed from *Liſbon* on *Monday* the 9th of *March*, 1500, and, to avoid the Coaſt of *Guinea*, where they afterwards met with great Calms, ſtruck out to Sea on the Starboard, ſteering his Courſe to the Southward, the better to turn the *Cape of Good Hope*, becauſe it runs far out into the Sea; having ſailed a Month, ſtill keeping to Sea, on the 24th of *April* he fell in with the Coaſt of the Continent of *America*, which, according to the Computation of the Pilots, might be about 450 Leagues diſtant from the Coaſt of *Guinea*, and in about 10° South Latitude. The Pilots could not perſuade themſelves that it was a Continent, but ſome great Iſland like *Hiſpaniola*, and, in order to find it out, they held on one Day along the Coaſt, hoiſted out a Boat, went aſhore, and ſaw an infinite Number of naked People, but not black, nor with curled Hair like thoſe of *Guinea*, but hanging down lank like ours, which they thought was extraordinary; the Boat returned to give an Account of it, and ſaid that there was a good Harbour where they might come to an Anchor; the Fleet drew near to Land, and the Commander ſent out the Boat again, with Orders to endeavour to take ſome Men.

The *Indians* retired to a Hill, waiting to ſee what the *Portugueſe* would do; but when they were about ſending other Boats, the Weather obliged them to proceed along the Coaſt, and they anchored in another good Harbour, which they called *Puerto Seguro*, or *Safe Harbour*; a Boat went aſhore and took two *Indians*, whom the Commander ordered to be cloathed and ſent back, whereupon a great Number of People came forward, ſinging and dancing, ſounding Horns of ſeveral Sorts, and leaping in joyful Manner; the Commander went aſhore with moſt of his Men, and that being *Eaſter-day*, they erected an Altar under a Tree, where they ſung Maſs; the *Indians* drew near in a very peaceable Manner, and with much Security kneeled down, beat their Breaſts, doing all that they ſaw the Chriſtians do, and were as attentive at a Sermon that was preached as if they underſtood it.

Peter Alvarez Cabral ſent away a Ship from thence under *Gaſpar de Lemos*, with Advice of the Land he had diſcovered, which was very acceptable. The Men walked about all that Day diverting themſelves, and the *Indians*, for Pieces of Paper, Bits of Cloth, and ſuch like inconſiderable Things, gave them Parrots and other Birds of fine Colours, Axis, Batatas, and the like. They went to the Towns, and thought the Country fruitful and agreeable, very full of Maize, or *Indian* Wheat, and Cotton. *Peter Alvarez* ordered a Stone Croſs to be erected there, in Token of Poſſeſſion, and therefore the *Portugueſe* called that Country *Santa Cruz*, or *Holy Croſs*, and it is now called *Brazil*, from that Sort of Wood brought from thence. The Commander left two Men there of twenty he had brought from *Portugal*, being baniſhed Men, to be left where he thought fit, whom the *Indians* uſed very well, and one of them learned the Language, and ſerved a long time for an Interpreter. Thus the Diſcovery of *Brazil* was purely accidental, and the only one independant of what was projected by the Admiral, or grounded upon his Projects.



A
NEW and ACCURATE CHART
of the
WEST INDIES
with the Adjacent Coaſts of NORTH
and SOUTH AMERICA.
Drawn from the best Authorities, aſsisted
by the most approved modern Maps & Charts,
and Regulated by Aſtronom.l Observations.
By Eman Bowen Geographer to His Majesty.

The most difficult part of the Course of Sailing thro' the Windward Paſsage is, from Port Royal to Point Morant, which, being against the Trade Winds, takes up sometimes 5 or 6 Weeks, tho' but the distance of 20 Leagues. But the most dangerous is from that Point, till they get clear of Crooked Iſland, a Course of 160 Leagues; for the French and Spaniards are generally waiting to intercept such English Ships, as chuse to paſs this way rather than by the Gulf of Florida; where they are also exposed to the same inconveniences, both from the Trade Winds and the French and Spanish Cruizers.

K. Charles II by Charter dated June 30.th 1665 granted to the E. of Clarendon D. of Albemarle, &c. the Province of Carolina extending Southward to the 29 Deg: of N. Latitude, so that Fort S.t Auguſtin as well as Georgia falls within these limits.

Guanahani San Salvador or Cat Island, was the first Land discover'd in the New World Anno Dom: 1492 by Christopher Columbus.

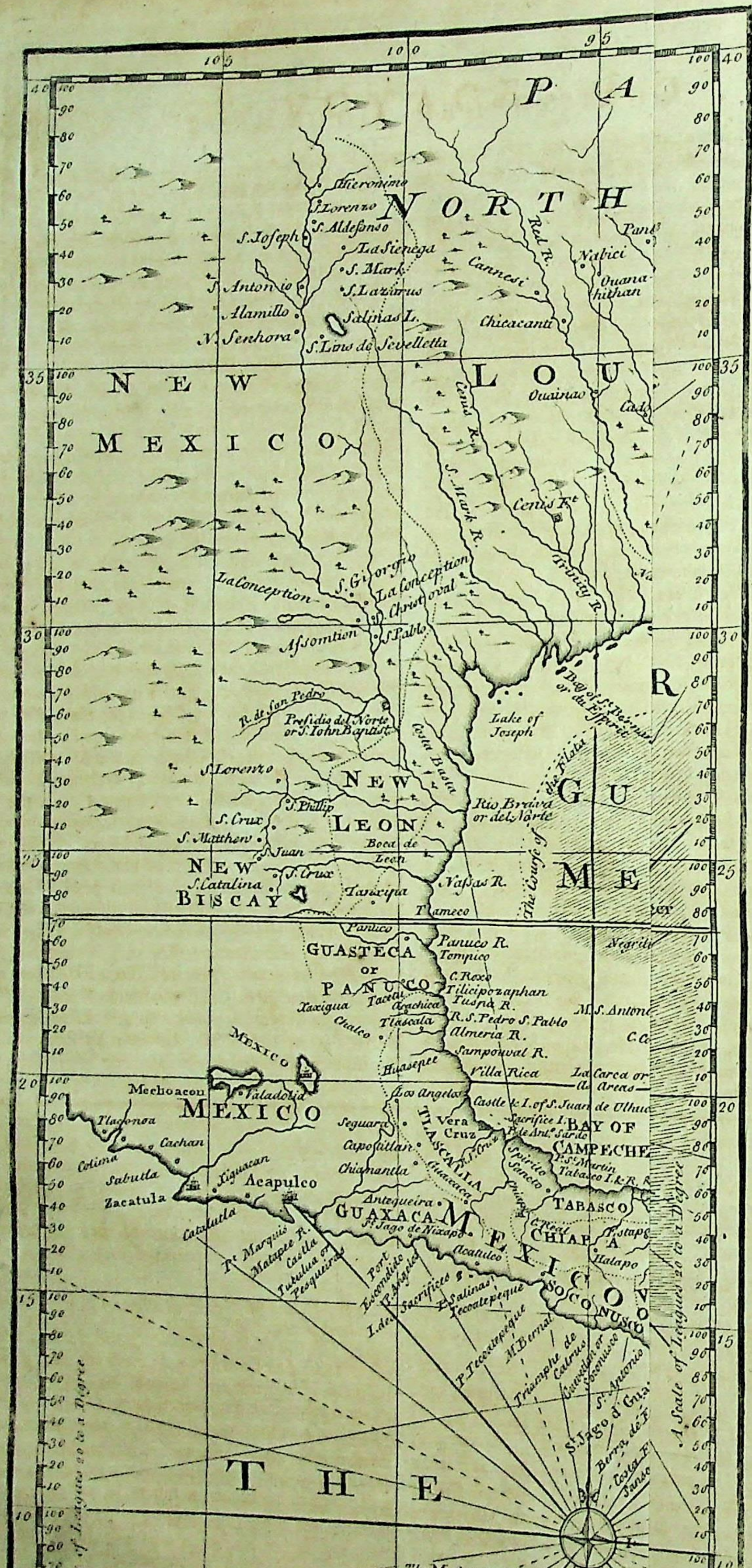
The Bahama Iſlands where taken from the English by the French & Spaniards in 1703 in 1717 Captain Rogers after having Plunder'd most of them retook New Providence which has ever since belong'd to y.e English.

The Moſquitos is a small Nation of Indians never yet Conquer'd by the Spaniards, the Country being secured by Moraſses and inaccessible Mountains within the Land, and by dangerous Rocks & Shoals on y.e Sea Side.

The Spanish Gallions coming before R. de la Hacha notice is sent from thence over land to Cartagena, Lima, Panama &c. to hasten y.e King's Treasure. They then continue their Course to Cartagena, and after a stay of 2 Months go to Puerto Bello and are about a Month taking in the Treasure from Panama &c. then they return to Cartagena finish their Lading & Sail to the Havana to meet the Flota from la Vera Crux whence they proceed together thro the Gulf of Florida for Old Spain.

John Oxnam of Plymouth in 1575 fitted out a Ship with 70 Men; landed on the Iſthmus of Darien, near y.e place where S.r Francis Drake had conference with the Indians; left the Ship there a-ground, & covered her w.th Trees; went inland to a River, built a Bark & sail'd thro' to y.e South Sea, where he made several rich Prizes, one of 60 Thousand Peazes of Gold.

PART OF NORTH AMERICA
NEW MEXICO
LOUISSIANA
MARYLAND
VIRGINIA
NORTH CAROLINA
SOUTH CAROLINA
GEORGIA
FLORIDA
Cherokees
Charles Town
S.t Augustin
NEW LEON
NEW BISCAY
GULF OF MEXICO
Mouth of the Miſsiſsipi
THE WESTERN OR ATLANTIC OCEAN
Tropick of Cancer
LUCAYOS or BAHAMA ISLANDS
CARIBBE ISLANDS
CUBA
Havana
JAMAICA
Port Royal
HISPANIOLA
S.t Domingo
P.to RICO
Guardaloupe
Martinico
Barbadoes
The Great Antilles Islands
NORTH SEA
Little Antilles Islands
The Course of the Gallions from Old Spain
GUASTECA or PANUCO
MEXICO
Acapulco
Vera Cruz
BAY OF CAMPECHE
TABASCO
JUCATAN
Merida
BAY OF HONDURAS
HONDURAS
MOSQUITOS
GUAXACA
CHIAPA
VERA PAZ
GUATIMALA
NEW SPAIN
NICARAGUA
COSTARICA
ISTHMUS OF DARIEN
Panama
Porto Bello
CARTAGENA
S.t MARTHA
VENEZUELA
CARACAS
CUMANA
NEW ANDALUZIA
TRINIDAD
TERRA FIRMA
SURINAM
Dutch Colony
THE SOUTH SEA
SOUTH AMERICA
Bay of Panama
A Scale of Leagues 20 to a Degree
West Longitude from London
105
100
95
90
85
80
75
70
65
60
55
40
35
30
25
20
15
10
5


P A
NORTH
NEW MEXICO
LOU
R
GU
ME
S.Jeronimo
S.Lorenzo
S.Aldefonso
S.Joseph
La Sienega
S.Mark
S.Lazarus
Salinas L.
S.Anton io
Alamillo
N.Senhora
S.Luis de Sevelletta
Cannesi
Red R.
Natici
Ouanahithan
Pani
Chicacanti
Ouainao
Cenis R.
S.Mark R.
Cenis Ft
Trinity R.
La Conception
S.Giorgio
La Conception
S.Christoval
S.Pablo
Afsomtion
R.de San Pedro
Presidio del Norte or S.John Baptist
Costa Brava
Lake of Joseph
B. of St. Bernard or du Espirit
The Course of the Flota
S.Lorenzo
NEW LEON
S.Phillip
S.Crux
S.Matthew
S.Juan
Boca de Leon
Rio Brava or del Norte
NEW BISCAY
S.Catalina
S.Crux
Tascipa
Nassas R.
Tameco
Panuco
GUASTECA or PANUCO
Panuco R.
Tempico
C.Rexo
Tilicipozaphan
Tuspa R.
Xaxigua
Tacatli
Arachica
Chalco
Tlascala
R.S.Pedro S.Pablo
Almeria R.
Sampoaval R.
Negrilla
M.S.Antone
Huasepec
Villa Rica
La Carca or las Areas
Mexico
Mechoacon
Valadolid
MEXICO
Los Angelos
Castle & I. of S.Juan de Olhua
Sacrifice I.
P. de Ant. Sardo
BAY OF CAMPECHE
St. Martin
Tabasco I. & R.
Tlacenoa
Cachan
Colima
Sabutla
Zacatula
Xiguacan
Acapulco
Seguara
Vera Cruz
TLASCALA
Caposillan
Chiamanla
Spirito Sancto
TABASCO
CHIAPA
Antequeira
GUAXACA
MEXICO
St. Jago de Nixapo
Acatulco
Estape
Halapo
Catalutla
Pt Marquis
Matapec R.
Caella
Tutulua or Pesqueira
Port Escondido
P. Angelo
I.de Sacrifices
I.Salinas
Tecoatepeque
SOCONUSCO
P.Tecoatepeque
M.Bernal
Triamphe de Calrus
Guevedon or Soconusco
St. Antonio
St. Jago d'Gua
Berra de F
Costa F
Sanso
THE
SOUTH S
A Scale of Leagues 20 to a Degree
A Scale of Leagues 20 to a Degree
105
100
95
40
35
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5

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13. It muſt naturally ſeem ſtrange to the judicious and attentive Reader, that every light, every tranſient Scheme for finding new Countries, and making freſh Diſcoveries, ſhould meet with Encouragement, while the Admiral himſelf was not only in a manner neglected, but alſo moſt infamouſly abuſed. He ought to conſider, however, that Diſcoveries and Improvements are ſeldom well underſtood by Stateſmen and Courtiers. To ſpeak honeſtly and fairly they are the laſt Sort of Men that can be brought to underſtand them, and that for this plain Reaſon: The Merit of ſuch Undertakings conſiſts in propoſing a very large and certain future Advantage from a ſmall preſent Expence, whereas Stateſmen and Courtiers, having the preſent Time only in View, care very little for ſuch Advantages as are to redound to their Country in Times after their own.

We have here a clear and direct Proof of this in the Conduct of the *Spaniſh* Miniſters upon this Occaſion; for they were infinitely more ready to liſten to all ſuch Adventurers as propoſed immediate Profits, and a preſent Supply of Gold, Pearl, and other rich Commodities, than to the Schemes of the Admiral, who was a grave public-ſpirited Man, and ſhewed his Integrity as well as his Wiſdom, in deſiring his Reward in thoſe Countries which he diſcovered, and not in *Spain*. But to enter more particularly into the Miſtakes that were made by the *Spaniſh* Miniſters in their Conduct of this Affair, for the ſake of other Countries, and future Diſcoveries, we will reduce them under Three Heads.

Firſt, It was extremely wrong, to place the ſole Merit of thoſe new found Countries, in producing Gold and Pearls; and this for many Reaſons which might be aſſigned, but we will mention only two; one is, that a Country is not enriched ſo much as endangered by having Gold Mines; and this, becauſe it exhauſts its Subjects, encourages Luxury, and excites the Envy of other Nations. In this Senſe, whatever Commodities will produce Gold and Silver are much more valuable than thoſe Metals, as we ſee plainly by the *Dutch* Fiſheries on our Coaſt, which are infinitely more beneficial than if, inſtead of Herrings, their Nets brought up ſo much Gold as thoſe Herrings ſell for, ſince it is a continual Nurſery for Seamen, employs a vaſt Number of People on Shore, creates a very large and profitable Trade, and has increaſed the *Dutch* Shipping to almoſt an incredible Degree: Gold and Silver, therefore, are the Riches of private Men; but the Wealth of a Nation conſiſts in Induſtry and Trade. The other Reaſon why the bringing over ſuch rich Metals ought not to be encouraged, eſpecially at the Beginning of ſuch Diſcoveries, is, becauſe it hinders Plantations and Settlements, and, by exciting a Spirit of Avarice, abſolutely deſtroys that kind of public Spirit, which can alone diſpoſe the Inhabitants of Colonies to become truly uſeful to their Mother Country.

The *ſecond* great Miſtake they committed was, in making their Notions public, and thereby drawing Multitude of Adventurers to croud in with their Projects; which not only diſtracted the Views of the great Men themſelves, but diſturbed all *Spain*, and, inſtead of promoting that kind of Turn which was requiſite to improve thoſe new diſcovered Countries, begat quite the reverſe, and eſtabliſhed it as a general Opinion, that Wealth was the ſole Good, and that every kind of Hazard was to be run in order to obtain it.

The *third* Error, was their ſlighting and relinquiſhing that moſt wiſe and judicious Plan which *Columbus* had chalked out; for he, by ſuggeſting the Converſion of Infidels to the Chriſtian Faith, and thereby obtaining the Sanction of the Pope's Grant, had moſt effectually covered all the Views of Ambition and Intereſt which it became the Court of *Caſtile* to conceal; but the Biſhop of *Burgos* and his Creatures were not more wanting in Virtue than negligent in Point of Decency, and, from a reſtleſs and rapacious Deſire of enriching themſelves in an Inſtant, at the Expence of this new World, drew aſide the Curtain, and ſhewed all *Europe* at once, both what it was they ſought, and how eaſy a Thing it might be to ſhare with them. Whereas, if they had ſilently eſtabliſhed large and powerful Colonies in *Hiſpaniola*, and contented themſelves with moderate Returns of Gold, they might have been ſtrong enough to have given Laws in that Part of the World, before it had been poſſible for any other Nation to have found their Way thither.

SECTION V.

The Fourth Voyage of the Admiral Don CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS; *his Diſcoveries on the Continent, and of the Iſlands in* America; *with an Account of his Return from that Voyage to* Spain, *and his Deceaſe.*

1. *An Account of the new Propoſals made by the Admiral to the Court of* Spain *in regard to his Fourth Voyage to the* Indies, *and the Acceptance they met with.* 2. *His Arrival in the* Indies, *and the baſe Uſage that he met with from* Nicholas Obando, *the new Governor of* Hiſpaniola. 3. *The Admiral proſecutes his Diſcoveries along the Coaſt of the Continent, and labours all he can to gain Intelligence from the* Indians, *whom he treats with the utmoſt Humanity.* 4. *He continues his Voyage towards the Iſthmus of* Darien, *ſuppoſing from the Account given by the Natives, that he ſhould have found a Paſſage thereabouts into the* South-Sea. 5. *Diſcovers all along the Coaſt of the Continent to the famous Haven of* Porto-Bello, *to which he gave that Name, and the Reaſon of it.* 6. *He enters the Port of* Baſtimentos, *and ſhelters himſelf afterwards in that of* Retrete, *where he falls out with the Natives, through the Fault of his own People.* 7. *The Meaſures he took for the Preſervation of the* Spaniards, *and the Reaſon of his reſolving to leave a conſiderable Colony in that Neighbourhood.* 8. *The Diſcoveries made by them of rich Mines of Gold in the Country near their Settlement, and of the Cauſes of the Troubles that enſued among them.* 9. *The Miſeries endured by the Admiral and his Men in* Jamaica, *and the Method they took to ſend Advice of their Miſfortunes to* Santo Domingo. 10. *A large Account of the Rebellion raiſed againſt the Admiral under theſe Diſtreſſes, and of his Wiſdom and Courage in ſupporting them.* 11. *His Return with great Difficulty to* Hiſpaniola, *and from thence into* Spain, *and his Reception there.* 12. *His Death, and ſome Remarks on the Circumſtances attending it.* 13. *Obſervations upon this Section, and the ill Uſage his Family met with notwithſtanding all the Advantages derived to* Spain *from Admiral* Columbus's *Diſcoveries.*

1. THE Admiral found not only all his Patience, of which he had a large Stock, but all his Parts, and all his Addreſs, in neither of which he was the leaſt deficient, abſolutely neceſſary to maintain his Ground at Court. The King, who was a Prince flattered with the Reputation of being a profound Stateſman, becauſe he knew how to diſſemble, who had a large Share of Cunning, and who durſt do any thing however unbecoming his Dignity and Birth, treated the Admiral with a cold Eſteem, and ſecretly hated a Character ſo unlike his own. The Queen herſelf, tho' a true *Caſtilian*, which implies a Woman of Genius, Piety, and Honour, had conceived

ſome Prejudices againſt *Columbus*, on account of that Height with which he had exerted his Authority; but at the Bottom at his having procured it rather by way of Contract, than by expecting ſuch a Reward as their Catholic Majeſties ſhould judge proper. The Admiral ſaw this clearly enough, and that though their Majeſties were deſirous to do Juſtice to his Pretenſions, yet they were inclined to ſtrip him of his Power, and were therefore averſe to his Deſire of returning to the *Indies*.

He reſolved therefore to attack them in their own Way; and, having demanded a private Audience of the Queen, inſinuated, that what he had yet done was nothing; that his Diſcoveries on the Continent were with a View to find a Paſſage to the *Eaſt Indies*, and that he did not at all doubt but that in another Voyage he ſhould be able to ſurmount all Difficulties, and ſubdue the *Eaſt* as well as the *Weſt Indies* to the Power of their Catholic Majeſties. This had its deſired Effect; a Fleet was immediately ordered for this new Service, and the Admiral was again as much careſſed, as if the King and Queen had really thought it poſſible to blot out of his Mind the Memory of his ill Uſage.

2. He ſet ſail from *Cadiz* on the 9th of *May*, 1502, and ſailed to *St. Catherines*; thence they went to *Arzilla* to relieve the *Portugueſe*, who were reported to be in great Diſtreſs; but when they came thither the *Moors* had raiſed the Siege: The Admiral therefore ſent his Brother Don *Bartholomew Columbus*, his own Son, with the Captain of the Ships, on ſhore, to viſit the Governor of *Arzilla*, who had been wounded by the *Moors* in an Aſſault. He returned the Admiral Thanks for the Viſit, and to this Purpoſe ſent ſome Gentlemen to him, among whom ſome were Relations to Donna *Philippa Moniz*, the Admiral's Wife. The ſame Day he ſailed, and, arriving at *Grand Canaria* on the 20th of *May*, caſt anchor among the little Iſlands, and on the 24th went over to *Maſpalomas* in the ſame Iſland, there to wood and water for their Voyage. The 15th of *June* they arrived at the Iſland *Martinico*, whence they ſtood to the Weſtward and came to *Domingo*, ten Leagues from the other, ſo running along among the *Caribbee Iſlands* to *Santa Cruz*; and on the 24th of the ſame Month ran along the South Side of the Iſland of *St. John*. The Admiral had a mind to change one of his Ships for another, becauſe it was a bad Sailer, and beſides would lie almoſt under Water, which was a Hindrance to his Voyage, becauſe his Deſign was to have gone directly upon the Coaſt of *Paria*, and keep upon the Shore till he came upon the Streight, which he certainly concluded was about the Places ſince called *Veragua* and *Nombre de Dios*; but ſeeing the Fault of the Ship, he was forced to repair to *S. Domingo*, to change it for a better.

Yet, that the Judge ſent by their Majeſties to call *Bovadilla* to an Account for his Mal-adminiſtration might not be ſurprized at his unexpected Arrival, upon the 29th of *June*, being near the Port, the Admiral ſent *Peter de Terreros*, Captain of one of the Ships, to ſignify what Occaſion he had to change that Ship, for which Reaſon, as alſo becauſe he apprehended a great Storm was coming, he deſired to ſecure himſelf in that Port, adviſing him not to let the homeward-bound Fleet ſail out for eight Days to come, for if he did it would be in great Danger. But the Governor would not permit the Admiral to come into the Harbour, nor did he hinder the going out of the Fleet that was bound for *Spain*, which conſiſted of eighteen Sail, and was to carry *Bovadilla*, who had impriſoned the Admiral and his Brother, *Francis Roldan*, and all the reſt who had been in the Rebellion againſt them, and done them ſo much Harm; all whom it pleaſed God to infatuate, that they might not admit of the Admiral's good Advice. This was prevented by their ſetting out of that Port for *Spain*; for no ſooner were they come to the Eaſt Point of the Iſland *Hiſpaniola*, but there aroſe ſo terrible a Storm, that the Admiral of the Fleet ſunk, in which was *Bovadilla*, with moſt of the Rebels; and this Hurricane made ſuch Havock among the reſt, that of the eighteen Ships only three or four were ſaved. This happened on the laſt of *June*, when the Admiral, having foreſeen the Storm, and being refuſed Admittance into the Port for his Security, drew up as cloſe to Land as he could, thus ſheltering himſelf, not without much Diſſatiſfaction among the Men, who, for being with him, were denied that Reception which certainly had been allowed to Strangers, much more to them who were of the ſame Nation; for they feared they ſhould be ſo ſerved if any Miſfortune ſhould befal them for the future; and though the Admiral was concerned on the ſame Account, yet it grieved him more to behold the Baſeneſs and Ingratitude uſed towards him in that Country he had diſcovered for the Honour and Benefit of *Spain*, in being thus refuſed to ſhelter his Life in it.

Yet his Judgment and Prudence ſecured his Ships till the next Day; when the Tempeſt increaſing, and the Night coming on very dark, three Ships broke from him, every one his own Way, the Men on board each of them, though all in great Danger, concluding, the others were loſt: Thoſe aboard the Ship called *Santo*, thinking to ſave their Boat, which had been aſhore with the Captain *Terreros*, dragged it aſtern, where it overſet, and were at laſt forced to let go to ſave themſelves: But the Caravel *Bermuda* was in much more Danger; for while running out to Sea, ſhe was almoſt covered with it; by which it appeared the Admiral had Reaſon to change it, and all Men concluding that, under God, the Admiral's Brother was the ſaving of her, by his Wiſdom and Reſolution; for, as has been ſaid, there was not at that Time a more expert Sailor than he. So that after they had all ſuffered very much, except the Admiral, it pleaſed God they met again in the Port of *Azua*, on the South Side of *Hiſpaniola*, where every one giving an Account of his Miſfortunes, it appeared, that *Bartholomew Columbus* had weathered ſo great a Storm, by flying from Land like an able Sailor; and that the Admiral was out of Danger, by lying cloſe to the Shore like a cunning Aſtrologer, who knew whence the Danger muſt come. Well might his Enemies blame him therefore, as if he had raiſed the Storm by Magic, to be revenged on *Bovadilla*, and the reſt of his Enemies that were with him, ſeeing that none of his four Ships periſhed, and that of eighteen with *Bovadilla*, only one, called *la Aguja* or the *Needle*, the worſt of them all, held on its Courſe for *Spain*, where it arrived ſafe, having on board four thouſand Peſos of Gold belonging to the Admiral, the other three that eſcaped, returning to *S. Domingo* ſhattered and in a diſtreſſed Condition.

3. The Admiral in the Port of *Azua* gave his Men ſome Refreſhment after the Storm, and it being one of the Diverſions uſed at Sea to fiſh when there is nothing elſe to do, it may not be amiſs to mention two Sorts of Fiſh among the reſt which were taken there, the one pleaſant, the other ſingular: The firſt was a Fiſh called *Saavina*, as big as half an ordinary Bell, which lying aſleep above Water was ſtruck with a Harping-iron from the Boat of the Ship *Biſccina*, and held ſo faſt that it could not get looſe, but being tied with a long Rope to the Boat, drew it after it as ſwift as an Arrow, ſo that thoſe aboard the Ship ſeeing the Boat ſkim about, and not knowing the Occaſion, were aſtoniſhed, till at laſt the Fiſh ſunk, and being drawn to the Ship's Side was there hauled up by the Tackle. The other Fiſh was taken after another Manner: The *Indians* call it *Manati*, and there are none in *Europe*; it is as big as a Calf, nothing differing from it in the Colour and Taſte of the Fleſh, but that it is better and fatter: Within they have nothing like a Fiſh, and feed only on the Graſs they find along the Banks.

But to return to our Hiſtory: The Admiral having a little refreſhed his Men and repaired his Ships, left the Port of *Azua* and went to that of *Brazil*, which the *Indians* call *Giacchomo*, to ſhun another Storm that was coming: He ſailed again on the 14th of *July*, and was ſo becalmed, that, inſtead of holding his Courſe, the Currents carried him away to certain Iſlands near *Jamaica*, which are very ſmall and ſandy, and he called them *los Poros*, or the *Wells*, becauſe, not finding any Water in them, they dug many Pits in the Sand, and took up Water there for their Uſe: Then ſailing Southward for the Continent, he came to certain Iſlands, and went aſhore upon the biggeſt only, called *Guanaia*, (whence thoſe that made Sea-Charts took occaſion to call all the *Iſlands of Guanaia*) which are almoſt twelve Leagues from the Continent, near the Province now called *Honduras*, though then the Admiral called it *Cape Caſinas*. Being come to the Iſland of *Guanaia*, the Admiral ordered his Brother *Bartholomew* to go aſhore with two Boats; where he found the People like thoſe of the other Iſlands, except their not having ſuch high Foreheads; they alſo ſaw abundance of Pine-trees, and Pieces of *Lapis Caliminaris*, uſed to mix with Copper, which ſome Seamen, taking for Gold, kept Parcels of it privately a long Time.

The Admiral's Brother being aſhore at that Iſland, and very deſirous to know ſomething of it, it ſo fell out that a Canoe as long as a Galley, eight Foot wide, all of one Tree, and like the others in Shape, put in there, being loaded with Commodities brought from the Weſtward, and bound towards *New Spain*; in the midſt of it was a Covering like an Awning, made of Palm-tree Leaves, not unlike thoſe of the *Venetian* Gondolas, which kept all under it ſo cloſe, that neither Rain nor Sea-water could wet the Goods; under this Awning were the Children, the Women, and all the Goods; and though there were twenty-five Men on board this Canoe, they had not the Courage to defend themſelves againſt the Boats that purſued them. The Canoe being thus taken, without any Oppoſition was carried to the Admiral, who bleſſed God that it had pleaſed him at once to give him Samples of the Commodities of that Country, without expoſing his Men to any Danger: He therefore ordered ſuch Things to be taken as he judged moſt valuable, ſuch as ſome Quilts, and Shirts of Cotton without Sleeves, very curiouſly wrought, and dyed of ſeveral Colours, with ſome ſmall Cloths of the ſame Sort, and large Sheets in which the *Indian* Women on board the Canoe wrapped themſelves, as the *Mooriſh* Women at *Granada* uſed to do, and long wooden Swords with a Channel on each Side where the Edge ſhould be, in which there were ſharp Edges of Flint, fixed with Thread and a bituminous Sort of Matter, which cut naked Men as if they were of Steel; and Hatchets to cleave Wood, like thoſe of Stone the other *Indians* uſe, but that theſe were made of good Copper; alſo Bells of the ſame Metal, Plates, and Crucibles to melt the Metal.

For their Proviſion, they had ſuch Roots and Grain as in *Hiſpaniola*, and a ſort of Liquor, made of Maize, like *Engliſh* Beer, and abundance of Cacoa Nuts, which in *New Spain* paſſed for Money, and which they ſeemed to value very much, for when they were brought on board among their other Goods, if any of thoſe Nuts fell, they all ſtooped to take them up, as if they had been Things of great Conſequence. Yet at that Time they ſeemed to be in a manner beſide themſelves, being brought Priſoners from their Canoe aboard the Ship, among ſuch ſtrange and fierce People, and diſcovered nothing extraordinary, except their Modeſty, which among Men and Women was highly remarkable. This moved the Admiral to uſe them well, and reſtore their Canoe, and give them ſome Things in exchange for thoſe that had been taken from them. Nor did he keep any one of them but an old Man whoſe Name was *Giumbe*, that ſeemed to be the Chief of them, to learn ſomething of him concerning their Country, and that he might draw others to converſe with the Chriſtians; which he did very readily and faithfully all the while they ſailed where his Language was underſtood; therefore, as a Reward for this his Service, when they came where he was not underſtood, the Admiral gave him a Preſent, and ſent him home very well pleaſed, which was before he came to *Cape Gracias de Dios*.

4. Notwithſtanding the Admiral had heard ſo much from thoſe in the Canoes concerning the great Wealth, Politeneſs, and Ingenuity of the People Weſtward towards *New Spain*; yet thinking that thoſe Countries lying to the Leeward, he could ſail thither when he thought fit from *Cuba*, he would not go at this Time, but held on his Deſign of diſcovering the Streight in the Continent, to clear a Way into the *South Sea*; which was what he aimed at, in order to come at the Countries that produce Spice, and therefore reſolved to ſail Eaſtwards towards *Veragua*, and *Nombre de Dios*, where he imagined the ſaid Streight to be, as in effect it was; yet he was deceived in the Matter, for he did not conceit it to be an Iſthmus or narrow Neck of Land; but a ſmall Gulph, running from Sea to Sea, from whence his Miſtake might proceed; for when they ſaid the Streight was at *Veragua* and *Nombre de Dios*, it might be underſtood either of the Land or Water; and he took it in the moſt uſual Senſe, and for what he moſt earneſtly deſired: And yet, though that Streight is Land, it was, and is, the Way to both Seas, and by which ſuch immenſe Riches have been diſcovered and conveyed; for (ſays the Admiral's Journal) it was God's Will a Matter of ſuch vaſt Concern ſhould not be otherwiſe found out, that Canoe having given the firſt Information concerning *New Spain*.

There being nothing therefore in the Iſland of *Guanaia* worth taking notice of, he without further Delay ſailed, in order to ſeek out the Streight towards the Continent to a Point he called *Caſinas*, becauſe there were abundance of Trees that bear a Sort of Fruit that is rough, have a Stone, and is good to eat, eſpecially boiled, which Fruit the *Indians* in *Hiſpaniola* call *Caſinas*. There appearing nothing worth taking notice of in that Country, the Admiral would not loſe Time to go into a great Bay the Land makes there, but held on his Courſe Eaſtwards along that Coaſt which runs along the ſame Way towards *Cape Gracias a Dios*, and is very low and open. The People neareſt to *Cape Caſinas* wear thoſe painted Shirts or Jerkins, before mentioned, and which were like Coats of Mail, made of Cotton, ſtrong enough to defend them againſt their Weapons, and even to bear off the Stroke of ſome of ours. But the People higher Eaſtwards towards *Cape Gracias a Dios* were almoſt black, of a fierce Aſpect, go ſtark naked, are very ſavage, and, as the *Indian* that was taken ſaid, eat Man's Fleſh, and alſo Fiſh juſt as it was taken. They have their Ears bored with ſuch large Holes, that they may put a Hen's Egg into them; which made the Admiral call that Coaſt *de las Orejas*, or, *Of the Ears*.

There, on the 14th of *Auguſt*, 1502, Don *Bartholomew* went aſhore in the Morning, with the Colours, the Captains, and many of the Men to hear Maſs. And when the Boats went aſhore to take Poſſeſſion of the Country for their Catholic Majeſties, above one hundred Men ran down to the Shore loaded with Proviſions, who, as ſoon as the Boats came aſhore with the Lieutenant, on a ſudden retired back without ſpeaking a Word. He ordered they ſhould give them Hawks-Bells, Beads, and other Things; and, by means of the before-mentioned Interpreter, inquired concerning the Country; tho' he having been but a ſhort Time with him, did not underſtand the Chriſtians, by reaſon of the Diſtance of this Country from *Hiſpaniola*, where ſeveral Perſons aboard the Ships had learned the *Indian* Language; nor did he underſtand thoſe *Indians*; who being pleaſed with the Things which had been given them, came the next Day to the ſame Place loaded with ſeveral ſorts of Proviſions, as Hens of that Country, which are better than ours, Geeſe, roaſted Fiſh, red and white Beans like Kidney Beans, and other Things like thoſe in *Hiſpaniola*. The Country was green and beautiful, tho' low, and producing abundance of Pines, Oaks, Palm Trees of ſeveral ſorts, and Mirabolans, and almoſt all ſorts of Proviſions which *Hiſpaniola* affords were there to be found; abundance of Leopards, Deer, and other Beaſts, as alſo all ſorts of Fiſh that there are in the Iſlands, and in *Spain*.

The People in this Country are much like thoſe of the Iſlands, but that their Foreheads are not ſo high, nor do they ſeem to have any Religion. They uſe ſeveral Languages among them, and for the moſt part they go naked, but cover their Privities; yet ſome wear ſhort Jumps down to their Navels without Sleeves; their Arms and Bodies have Figures wrought upon them with Fire, which make them look odly; and ſome have Lions, others Deer, and others Caſtles, with Towers or other Things painted on their Bodies: Inſtead of Caps the better ſort of them wear red and white Cloths of Cotton; and ſome have Locks of Hair hanging on their Forehead; but when they are to be fine on a Feſtival

Day, they colour their Faces, ſome black, and ſome red; others draw Streaks of ſeveral Colours; others paint their Noſe, and others black their Eyes; and thus adorn themſelves to appear beautiful, in a manner that to us would make them look like Devils. The Admiral ſailed along the ſaid Coaſt *de las Orejas* Eaſtward to *Cape Gracias a Dios*, which was ſo called, becauſe tho' there be but ſixty Leagues to it from *Caſinas*, they laboured ſeventy Days by reaſon of the Current and contrary Winds upon a Tack to gain it, ſtanding out to Sea, and then making the Shore, ſometimes gaining, and ſometimes loſing Ground, as the Wind was ſcant or large when it came about. And had not the Coaſt afforded ſuch good anchoring, they had been much longer upon it; but being clear, and having two Fathom Water half a League from the Shore, and two more at every League's Diſtance, they had always the Conveniency of anchoring at Night, when there was but little Wind; ſo that the Courſe was navigable by reaſon of the good anchoring, but however with Difficulty.

When, on the 14th of *September*, they came up to the Cape, perceiving the Land turned off to the South, and that they could conveniently continue their Voyage with thoſe Levant Winds that reigned there, and had been ſo contrary, they gave Thanks to God; for which Reaſon the Admiral called this Cape *Gracias a Dios*. A little beyond it they paſſed by ſome dangerous Sands that ran out to Sea as far as the Eye could reach. It being requiſite to take in Wood and Water, on the 16th of *September* the Admiral ſent the Boats to the River, that ſeemed to be deep and have a good Entrance; but the coming out proved otherwiſe, for the Winds blowing from Sea, and the Waves running high againſt the Current of the River, ſo diſtreſſed the Boats, that one of them was loſt with all the Men in it; and therefore the Admiral called it the River *de la Diſgratia*, that is, *of the Diſaſter*. In this River, and about it, there were Canes as thick as a Man's Leg. And on the 25th of *September*, ſtill running Southward, they came to an Anchor near a little Iſland called *Quiriviri*, and a Town on the Continent, the Name whereof was *Cariari*, where were the civileſt People, the fineſt Country, and beſt Situation they had yet ſeen, as well becauſe it was high, full of Rivers, and abounding in Trees, as becauſe the Iſland was thick wooded, and full of Foreſts of Palm, Mirabolan, and other ſorts of Trees: For this reaſon the Admiral called it *Hucite*. It is a ſmall League from the Town the *Indians* call *Cariari*, which is near a great River; whither reſorted a great Multitude of People from the adjacent Parts, ſome with Bows and Arrows, others with Staves of Palm Tree, black as a Coal, and hard as Horn, pointed with the Bones of Fiſh; others with Clubs, as if they intended to defend the Country. The Men had their Hair braided about their Heads, the Women ſhort, like ours; but perceiving the *Spaniards* to be a peaceable People, they were very deſirous to barter their Commodities, which were Arms, Cotton Jerkins, and *Guanins*, which is pale Gold they wear about their Necks.

Theſe Things they ſwam with to the Boats, for the Chriſtians went not aſhore that Day nor the next, nor would the Admiral allow any thing of theirs to be taken, that they might not be eſteemed Men that valued that Goods; but gave them ſome *Spaniſh* Baubles. The leſs they ſaw Strangers deſired Exchange, the more eager they were, making abundance of Signs from Land; at laſt perceiving no body went aſhore, they took all the Things that had been given them, without reſerving any, and tying them together, left them in the ſame Place where the Boats firſt went aſhore, and where our Men found them when they landed. The *Indians* about this Place, believing that the Chriſtians did not confide in them, ſent an antient Man of an awful Preſence, with a Flag upon a Staff, and two Girls, one about eight, the other of about fourteen Years of Age, who putting them into the Boat, made Signs that the Chriſtians might ſafely land. Upon their Requeſt, they went aſhore to take in Water, the *Indians* taking great Care not to do any thing that might diſtaſte the Chriſtians. And when they ſaw them return to their Ships, they made Signs to them to take along with them the young Girls, with their Guanins about their Necks: And at the Requeſt of the old Man that conducted them, they complied, and carried them aboard, wherein thoſe People ſeemed more friendly than others had done; and in the Girls appeared a wonderful Spirit; for though the Chriſtians were Strangers to them, they expreſſed no manner of Concern, but always looked pleaſant and modeſt, which made the Admiral treat them well, and ſet them aſhore again where the fifty Men were; and the old Man that had delivered them received them with much Satisfaction.

The Boats going aſhore that ſame Day, found the ſame People with the Girls, who reſtored all the Chriſtians had given them. The next Day the Admiral's Brother going aſhore to learn ſomething of thoſe People, two of the chief Men came to the Boat, and taking him by the Arms between them, made him ſit down upon the Graſs; and he aſking ſome Queſtions of them, ordered the Secretary to write down what they anſwered; but they ſeeing the Pen, Ink, and Paper, were in ſuch a Conſternation, that moſt of them ran away; which it was believed they did for fear of being bewitched, for they are reputed a ſuperſtitious People, and that not without Reaſon, becauſe when they came near the Chriſtians, they ſcattered ſome Powder about them in the Air, and burning ſome of the ſame Powder, endeavoured to make the Smoke go towards the Chriſtians. Beſides their refuſing to keep any thing that belonged to them, ſhewed a Jealouſy. Having ſtaid here longer than was convenient, conſidering the ſhort Time they had after repairing the Ships, and provided all they wanted, they now haſtened away.

Upon the 2d of *October* the Admiral ordered his Brother to go aſhore with ſome Men to view that *Indian* Town, and learn ſomething of their Manners, and the Nature of the Country. The moſt remarkable Things they ſaw were, in a great wooden Palace, covered with Canes, ſeveral Tombs; in one of which there was a dead Body, dried up and embalmed; in another, two Bodies wrapt up in Cotton Sheets, without any ill Scent; and over each Tomb was a Board with Figures of Beaſts carved on it; and on ſome of them the Effigies of the Perſons buried there, adorned with Guanins, Beads, and other Things they moſt valued. Theſe being the moſt civilized *Indians* in thoſe Parts, the Admiral ordered ſome to be taken: Two of the chiefeſt were picked out, and the reſt ſent away with ſome Gifts and Civility, that the Country might not be left in an Uproar, telling them they were to ſerve as Guides upon that Coaſt, and then be ſet at Liberty. But they believing they were taken out of Covetouſneſs, that they might ranſom themſelves with their Things and Goods of Value, the next Day abundance of them came down to the Shore, and ſent four aboard the Admiral, as their Embaſſadors, to treat about their Ranſom, offering ſome Things, and freely giving two Hogs of the Country, which, tho' ſmall, are very wild. The Admiral therefore, obſerving the Policy of theſe People, was more deſirous to be acquainted with them, and would not depart till he had learned ſome Things of them, but would not liſten to their Offers; he therefore ordered ſome Trifles to be given to the Meſſengers, that they might not go away diſſatisfied, and that they ſhould be paid for their Hogs.

5. On the 5th of *October* the Admiral ſailed, and came to the Bay of *Caravaro*, which is ſix Leagues in Length, and about three in Breadth. Here there are many ſmall Iſlands, and two or three Channels within thoſe Iſlands. The Ships ſail as it were in Streets between Iſlands, the Leaves of the Trees ſticking againſt the Shrouds. As ſoon as they anchored in this Bay, the Boats went to one of thoſe Iſlands, where there were twenty Canoes upon the Shore, and the People lye naked, having only a Gold Plate about their Necks, and ſome an Eagle of Gold. They ſhewed no Signs of Fear; and the two *Indians* of *Cariari* interpoſing gave a Gold Plate for three Hawks-Bells, which weighed ten Ducats. And they ſaid there was great Plenty of that Metal upon the oppoſite Continent, not far from thence.

The next Day, being the twenty-ſeventh of *October*, the Boats went aſhore, where meeting ten Canoes full of People, and they refuſing to barter their Gold Plates, two of the chief of them were taken, that the Admiral might learn ſomething of them by the Aſſiſtance of two Interpreters. The Gold Plate one of them wore weighed fourteen Ducats, and the other's Eagle, twenty-two. Theſe ſaid, that a Day or two's Journey up the Country there was abundance of Gold in ſome Places, which they named. In the Bay vaſt Quantities of Fiſh were taken, and aſhore abundance of freſh Proviſions, alſo great Plenty of Roots, Grains, and Fruit. The Men, who were painted all over, of ſeveral Colours, as red, black, and white, went naked, only covered their Privities with a narrow Cotton Cloth.

From this Bay of *Caravaro* they went to another cloſe by it, called *Aburena*, which in ſome Meaſure is like the other. On the 17th they put out to Sea to continue their Voyage: And being come to *Guaiga*, a River twelve Leagues from *Aburena*, the Admiral commanded the Boats to go aſhore; which when they were doing, they ſaw above one hundred *Indians* on the Strand, who aſſaulted them very furiouſly, running up to the Middle in Water, brandiſhing their Spears, blowing Horns, and beating a Drum in a warlike manner to defend their Country, throwing the Salt Water towards the Chriſtians, chewing Herbs, and ſpurting the Juice towards them. The *Spaniards* without ſtirring, endeavoured to appeaſe them, as they did, for at laſt they drew near to exchange the Gold Plates they had about their Necks, ſome for two, and ſome for three Hawks-Bells, by which Means they got ſixteen Gold Plates, worth one hundred and fifty Ducats, for a few Baubles.

On the 19th of *October* the Boats went to Land again; yet before any Chriſtians went aſhore, they called to ſome *Indians* who were under Huts they had built that Night to defend their Country; but none of them would come, nor would the Chriſtians land without knowing firſt what Mind they were in; for, as afterwards appeared, they waited in order to fall on them as ſoon as they had landed. But perceiving they came not out of the Boats, they blew their Horns, beat their Drums, and, making a great Noiſe, ran into the Water as they had done the Day before, till they came almoſt to the Boats, making Signs as if they would caſt their Javelins if they did not return to the Ships. The Chriſtians, offended at this Proceeding, that they might not be ſo bold and deſpiſe them, wounded one with an Arrow in the Arm, and fired a Cannon; at which they were ſo frighted, that all ran away. Then four Chriſtians landed, and calling them back, they came very peaceably, leaving their Arms, and exchanged three Gold Plates, declaring they had no more, becauſe they came not to trade, but to fight. All the Admiral looked for in this Voyage, was to obtain Specimens of what thoſe Parts afforded; and therefore, without further Delay, he proceeded to *Calibay* and caſt anchor in the Mouth of a great River.

The People of the Country were ſeen to aſſemble, and afterwards ſent a Canoe, with two Men in it, to the Ships, who having talked with the *Indians* that were taken at *Cariari*, preſently came aboard the Admiral without any Apprehenſions; and, by the Advice of thoſe *Indians*, gave him freely two Plates of Gold they had about their Necks; and he in return gave them ſome Baubles. When theſe were gone, there came another Canoe with three Men, who did as the firſt had done. The Men, going aſhore, found abundance of People with their King; and, to give his Subjects an Example, exchanged a Plate, and bid them barter for theirs; which in all were nineteen of pure Gold.

He then ſteered Eaſtwards, and came to *Cabravo*; the People of which Place lye near the Rivers of that Coaſt; and becauſe none came down, and the Winds blew freſh, he held on his Courſe, and went on to five Towns of great Trade; among which was *Veragua*, where the *Indians* ſaid the Gold was gathered, and the Plates made that they wore about their Necks. The next Day he came to a Town called *Cubija*; for here the *Indians* of *Cariari* ſaid the Trading Country ended, which began at *Caravaro*, and ran as far as *Cubija*, for fifty Leagues along the Coaſt. The Admiral proceeded till he put into *Porto Bello*, giving it that Name becauſe it was large, beautiful, well peopled, and encompaſſed by a well-cultivated Country: He entred this Place on the 2d of *November*, paſſing between two ſmall Iſlands, within which the Ships may lie cloſe to the Shore, and turn out if they have Occaſion.

6. The Admiral the 9th of *November* ſailed out of *Porto Bello* eight Leagues to the Eaſtward, but the next Day was forced back four Leagues by Streſs of Weather, and put in among the Iſlands, where afterwards ſtood the Town of *Nombre de Dios*; and becauſe all theſe ſmall Iſlands were full of Grain, he called it *Puerto de Baſtimentos*, or the *Port of Proviſions*. There a Boat well-manned purſuing a Canoe, the *Indians* imagining the Men would do them Harm, and perceiving the Boat was within leſs than a Stone's-throw of them, they all threw themſelves into the Water to ſwim away, as they did; for though the Boat rowed hard, it could not in half a League overtake any of them. Here they continued till the 23d of *November* refitting the Ships, and that Day ſailed Eaſtward to the Place called *Guaiga*. The Boats going aſhore here found above three hundred Perſons ready to trade for ſuch Proviſions as they had, and ſome ſmall Ornaments of Gold they wore at their Ears and in their Noſes.

But, without making any Stay here, on the 24th they put into a ſmall Port, which was called *Retrete*, or the *Retired Place*, becauſe it could not contain above five or ſix Ships together, and the Mouth of it was not above fifteen or twenty Paces over, and on both Sides of it Rocks appearing above Water, and the Channel between them was ſo deep that they found no Bottom, though if the Ships inclined to either Side the Men might leap aſhore, which hazarded the Ships in that narrow Place, through the Fault of thoſe who went in the Boats to view it, being covetous to deal with the *Indians*, and perceiving the Ships would lie there conveniently for it, run cloſe to the Shore. At firſt the *Indians* came very familiarly to trade for ſuch Things as they had; but when they ſaw the Chriſtians ſteal privately out of their Ships, they retired to their Houſes; becauſe the Seamen, like covetous, diſſolute Men, committed a thouſand Inſolencies, inſomuch that they provoked the *Indians* to break the Peace, and ſome Skirmiſhes happened between them.

The *Indians*, encreaſing daily, took Courage to come up to the Ships, which lay with their Sides cloſe to the Shore, thinking to do ſome Miſchief, which had turned to their own Detriment; had not the Admiral always endeavoured to gain them by Patience and Civilities: But at laſt, perceiving their Inſolence, to ſtrike a Terror into them, he cauſed ſome Pieces of Cannon to be fired; which they anſwered with Shouts, thraſhing the Trees with Staves, and by threatening Signs ſhewed they did not fear the Noiſe; for they thought it had been only a Thundering made to terrify them: Therefore to abate their Pride, and make them fear the Chriſtians, the Admiral cauſed a Shot to be made at a Company of them upon a Hillock, and the Ball falling in the midſt of them, made them ſenſible there was a Thunderbolt as well as Thunder; ſo that for the future they durſt not appear, even on the Mountains. The People of this Country were the moſt likely they had yet ſeen among the *Indians*, for they were tall and ſpare, without great Bellies, and well-countenanced.

The Country was all plain, bearing little Graſs, and few Trees; and in the Harbour there were vaſt Alligators, which went out to ſleep aſhore, and diffuſed as ſtrong a Scent as if all the Muſk in the World were togther, but they are ſo ravenous and cruel, that if they find a Man ſleeping, they drag him to the Water to devour him, though they are fearful and cowardly when attacked. Theſe Alligators are found in many other Parts of the Continent, and ſome affirm that they are the very ſame as the Crocodiles of the *Nile*.

7. The Admiral, perceiving the violent Eaſt and North-eaſt Winds did not ceaſe, and that there was no trading with theſe People, reſolved to go back, to be ſatisfied in what the *Indians* ſaid of the Mines of *Veragua*;

and therefore that Day he returned to *Porto Bello*, ten Leagues Weſtward, and, continuing his Courſe the next Day, was retarded by a Weſt Wind, which was oppoſite to his new Deſign, but favourable to that he had for three Months paſt: But he believing this Wind would not laſt long did not alter his Courſe, but bore up againſt the Wind for ſome Days, becauſe the Weather was unſettled; and when the Weather ſeemed a little favourable to go to *Veragua*, another Wind ſtarted up and drove him towards *Porto Bello*; and when they were in hopes to get into Port, they were quite beat off again. This perplexed them, and made them almoſt deſpair, ſeeing they could not get half an Hour's Reſt, being continually wet, turning ſometimes one Way and ſometimes another, ſtruggling againſt all the Elements. Now it appeared that the Currents on that Coaſt followed the Wind, running Weſtward with a Weſt, and with the Eaſt Wind the contrary, the Water ſtill coming with the prevailing Wind.

The Ships being now almoſt broke to Pieces with the Tempeſt, and the Men quite ſpent with Labour, a Day or two's Calm gave them ſome Reſpite, and brought ſuch Multitudes of Sharks about the Ships, that they were dreadful to behold; eſpecially for ſuch as were ſuperſtitious; becauſe it is reported, that as Ravens at a great Diſtance ſmell out dead Bodies, ſo ſome think theſe Sharks likewiſe do; which, if they lay hold of a Man's Arm, or Leg, cut it off like a Razor. Such a Multitude of thoſe were killed with the Hook and Chain, that, being able to deſtroy no more, they lay ſmimming upon the Water; and ſo greedy they are, that they do not only bite at Carrion, but may be taken with a red Rag upon the Hook.

Upon the 17th the Admiral put into Port, three Leagues Eaſt of *Pennon*, which the *Indians* call *Huiva*: It was like a great Bay; where going aſhore they ſaw the Inhabitants, whoſe Cots were upon the Tops of Trees like Birds, they laying Sticks acroſs from Bough to Bough, and building Huts upon them. In the Beginning of *January* they caſt anchor near a River which the *Indians* call *Yebra*, and the Admiral *Belem* or *Bethlem*, becauſe they came to this Place upon the Feaſt of the Three Kings. He cauſed the Mouth of that River, and another Weſtward, to be ſounded; the latter the *Indians* called *Veragua*, where he found but ſhole Water, and in that of *Belem* four Fathom at high Water. The Boats went up this River to the Town where they were informed the Gold Mines of *Veragua* were. At firſt the *Indians* were ſo far from converſing, that they endeavoured with their Weapons to hinder the Chriſtians from landing.

The next Day their Boats going to the River of *Veragua*, the *Indians* there did as the others had done, and not only aſhore but on their Canoes in the Water. But an *Indian* of that Coaſt who underſtood them a little, going aſhore with the Chriſtians, and telling them they were good People, and deſired nothing but what they paid for, they were ſomewhat pacified, and trucked twenty Gold Plates, ſome hollow Pieces like Joints of Reeds, and ſome Grains which were never melted, which, to make their Value the more, they ſaid were gathered a great Way off upon certain Mountains, and when they gathered it they did not eat, nor carry Women along with them; which the People of *Hiſpaniola* ſaid they alſo practiſed, when it was firſt diſcovered.

On the 9th the Admiral and the *Biſcaina* went up the River, and the *Indians* came preſently to truck for ſuch Things as they had, particularly Fiſh, which at certain Times of the Year come out of the Sea up thoſe Rivers, in ſuch Quantities as ſeem incredible to thoſe who do not ſee it; and they exchanged ſome little Things for Pins, and Things they moſt valued they gave for Beads or Hawks-Bells. Next Day the other two Ships came in, which they had not done at firſt, becauſe there being but little Water at the Mouth of the River, they were forced to ſtay for the Flood, though there the Sea never riſes or falls above half a Fathom. *Veragua* being celebrated for Mines, the third Day after their Arrival the Admiral's Brother went up the River with the Boats to the Town of *Quibio*, the *Indian* King, who, hearing of the Lieutenant, came in his Canoe to meet him; they met in a very friendly Manner, giving one another ſuch Things as they valued moſt; and having diſcourſed a long Time together, went away peaceably: Next Day *Quibio* came aboard to viſit the Admiral, and, having diſcourſed together about an Hour, the Admiral gave him ſome Things, and his Men trucked Bells for ſome Gold; and ſo he returned without any Ceremony. Being thus very eaſy and ſecure, on the 24th the River of *Belem* ſuddenly ſwelled ſo high, that before they could provide againſt it, or carry a Cable aſhore, the Fury of the Waves came ſo impetuouſly againſt the Admiral's Ship, that it broke one of her Anchors, and drove her with ſuch Force againſt the Ship *Gallega*, which lay aſtern of it, that it brought the Foremaſt by the Board, and both were carried away foul of one another, in the utmoſt Danger of periſhing. Some judged the mighty Rains to have been the Cauſe of this Flood, they having never ceaſed during the Winter in that Country; but had that been it, the River would have ſwelled by Degrees, and not all of a ſudden; which made it probable ſome great Snows had fallen on the Mountains of *Veragua*, which the Admiral called *St. Chriſtophers*, becauſe the higheſt of them was above the Region of the Air where Meteors are bred; for no Cloud was ever ſeen above, but all below it.

This Tempeſt laſted ſo long, that they had Time enough to refit and caulk the Ships. The Waves broke ſo furiouſly upon the Mouth of the River, that the Boats could not go out to diſcover along the Coaſt, to learn where the Mines lay, and chuſe a Place where to build a Town, the Admiral being reſolved to leave his Brother there with moſt of the Men, that they might ſettle, and ſubdue the Country, while he went into *Spain* for Supplies of Men and Proviſions. Upon this Proſpect, the Weather growing calmer, on the 6th of *February* he ſent his Brother with ſixty-eight Men by Sea to the Mouth of *Veragua*, a League diſtant from *Belem* Weſtward; and he went a League and a half up the River to the Cazique's Town, where he ſtaid a Day enquiring the Way to the Mines. They travelled four Leagues and a half, and came near a River, which they paſſed forty-four Times, and the next Day advanced a League and a half towards the Mines ſhewed them by the *Indians* ſent by *Quibio* to guide them. In two Hour's Time after they came thither every Man gathered ſome Gold about the Roots of Trees, which were there very thick, and of a prodigious Heighth. This Sample was much valued, becauſe none of thoſe who went had any Tools to dig, or had before ever gathered any. Therefore the Deſign of their Journey being only to get Information of the Mines, they returned very well pleaſed that ſame Day to *Veragua*, and the next to the Ships. True it is, that as was afterwards known, theſe Mines were not thoſe of *Veragua*, which lay much nearer, but of *Urira*, a Town whoſe People were Enemies to thoſe of *Veragua*; to do whom a Diſpleaſure, *Quibio* ordered the Chriſtians to be conducted thither, that they might go away to thoſe, and leave his.

8. On the 14th of *February*, 1503, the Admiral's Brother went into the Country with forty Men, a Boat following with fourteen. The next Day they came to the River of *Urira*, ſeven Leagues from *Belem* Weſtward; the Cazique came out a League from his Town to meet him with twenty Men, and preſented him with ſuch Things as they fed on, and ſome Gold Plates. Whilſt they were here the Cazique and chief Men never ceaſed putting a dry Leaf into their Mouths and chewing it; and ſometimes they took a ſort of Powder they carried with that Herb, which looked very odd. Having reſted here a while, the Chriſtians and *Indians* went to the Town, where abundance of People came out to them, and provided them a Houſe to lye in, giving them much to eat. Soon after came the Cazique of *Dururi*, which is a neighbouring Town, and with him a great many *Indians* who brought ſome Gold Plates to barter. All theſe *Indians* ſaid there were Caziques up the Country who had plenty of Gold, and abundance of Men armed like the *Spaniards*.

Next Day the Lieutenant ordered the reſt of his Men to return by Land to the Ships, and he, with thirty, held on his Journey towards *Zobraba*, where the Fields, for above ſix Leagues, were all full of Maize, like Corn Fields. Thence he went to *Cateba* another Town. At both Places he was well entertained, abundance of Proviſions given him, and ſome Gold Plates exchanged, which, as has been ſaid, are like the Paten of a Chalice, ſome bigger, and ſome leſs, weighing about twelve Ducats. They wear them about their Necks, hanging by a String, as in *Popiſh* Countries they do Relics. The Lieutenant, being now very far from the Ships, without finding any Port on that Coaſt, or any River bigger than that of *Belere*, to ſettle his Colony, came back the ſame Way on the 24th of *February*. As ſoon as he returned, order was taken for his Stay, eighty Men being appointed to remain with him. They began to build Houſes on the Bank of the River of *Belemal*, about a Cannon Shot from the Mouth of it, within a Trench that lies on the Right-hand coming up the River; at the Mouth of which there is a little Hill. Beſides theſe Houſes which are all of Timber, and covered with Palm-tree Leaves which grew along the Shore, another large Houſe was built to ſerve as a Store-houſe and Magazine; into which ſeveral Pieces of Cannon, Powder, and Proviſions were put, and other Neceſſaries for the Support of the Planters. But for Wine, Biſket, Oil, Vinegar, Cheeſe, and much Grain, which was all they had to eat, theſe Things were left in the ſafeſt Place aboard the Ship called *Gallega*, that was to be left with the Lieutenant, that he might make Uſe of it either at Sea or aſhore, having all its Cordage, Nets, and other Fiſhing Tackle; for, as we have ſaid, there is vaſt Plenty of Fiſh in that Country in every River, ſeveral Sorts at certain Times running along the Coaſt in Shoals; on which the People of the Country feed more than on Fleſh: For tho' there be ſome Sorts of Beaſts, they are not enough to maintain them.

The *Indians*, perceiving the *Spaniards* built Houſes, as if they deſigned to ſtay among them, began to be alarmed; and the Adelantado, ſuſpecting they deſigned to ſet fire to the Houſes, marched out with ſeventy-four Men on the thirtieth of *March*, and, ordering them to advance two by two as privately as they could, came to the Cazique *Quibio*'s Houſe, where he ſecured him, ſome of his Wives and Children, and about fifty Perſons in all, who offered a great Treaſure, which, as they ſaid, was on the Mountain, for their Ranſom. The Adelantado, fearing the Country would riſe upon him, and reſcue the Priſoners, ſent them all away to the Ships, and followed the next Day himſelf with the Plunder of *Quibio*'s Houſe, which might amount to the Value of three hundred Ducats in Gold Plates, Eagles, Beads, and the like. But the Cazique made his Eſcape from thoſe that had him in Charge, and returned to his People. Soon after the Rains fell, and the Flood coming down, opened the Mouth of the River, when the Admiral ſailed out with three Ships, leaving one for the Service of his Brother. However, he came to an Anchor a League from thence to wait for fair Weather, and in the mean time ſent back the Boat for Water.

The Cazique *Quibio*, who, as has been ſaid before, had made his Eſcape, being much concerned for the Loſs of his Wives and Children, and ſeeing the three Ships were gone, fell upon the *Spaniſh* Colony ſo unexpectedly, that he was within a few Paces of it before the *Spaniards* perceived it. He began the Attack with loud Shouts, caſting abundance of Darts, armed at the Ends with Bones of Fiſh, ſo that ſome were immediately wounded. The Adelantado being very brave, with ſeven or eight Men that ſtood by him, repulſed the *Indians*, driving them into the Wood, tho' they ſeveral times rallied: But the *Spaniſh* Swords making great Havock, and a Dog tearing many of them, they at length abſolutely betook themſelves to Flight, leaving one *Spaniard* dead, and eight wounded, of which Number the Adelantado was one. The Men in the Boat, tho' near Shore, did not land to aſſiſt their Friends, but after the Engagement went up the River to take in their Water.

The *Indians*, ſeeing the Boat a full League above the Colony, came out in their Canoes, and beſetting it on all Sides, ſhouting and ſounding their Horns, ſo plyed about ten Men that were in it, with their Darts, that they all periſhed but one, who, falling into the Water, ſwam away to the Shore, without being diſcerned by the *Indians*, and carried the News of the Diſaſter; which ſo much diſmayed them, being but few in Number, and moſt of them wounded; the Admiral out at Sea without a Long-boat, and in Danger of not being able to return to any Place, whence he might ſend them Relief; that, being deſtitute of all Hopes, they reſolved not to ſtay aſhore, and went aboard the Ship without aſking the Adelantado Leave, to ſail out; but they could not, becauſe the Mouth of the River was again choaked up, nor could they find any body to acquaint the Admiral therewith, by reaſon of the violent working of the Sea upon the Bar. The Admiral was, at the ſame Time, in great Danger, where his Ship lay at anchor; that Coaſt being all open, and having only a ſmall Boat, and weakened, beſides, by the Loſs of the Men that had periſhed in his Long-boat. Thus thoſe in the River, as well as thoſe at Sea, were in the greateſt Diſtreſs.

To add to all theſe Vexations, one Night the *Indian* Priſoners that were on board the Admiral opening one of the Hatches, ſeveral of them leaped out, and threw themſelves into the Sea to ſwim aſhore; and the reſt that were prevented from following their Example all hanged themſelves in the Hold. The Admiral being in this Affliction, ſome *Spaniards* offered to ſwim aſhore to enquire after the Boat, and the Men that had been left behind, provided the little Boat might carry them beyond the Place where the Waves broke: The Admiral accepted their Offer, ordering the Boat to carry them beyond the Place where the Waves broke, and as near the Land as might be; and there *Peter de Ledeſma*, a Pilot, born at *Seville*, had the Courage to leap into the Water, and, making his Way through the rolling Waves, got to Shore, where he was informed of the Condition the Men were in; and that they all affirmed that they would not ſtay in that Place of Danger; for which Reaſon they entreated the Admiral not to depart without them, becauſe it would be ſacrificing them; and they were reſolved, as ſoon as the Weather grew ſomewhat calmer, to go away in *Indian* Canoes, aboard the Ships; the Boat they had, not being able to contain them. With this Advice *Peter de Ledeſma* ſwam back to the Boat that waited for him.

In ſhort, thoſe that were aſhore, as ſoon as the Weather grew calm, went all away in two large Canoes they had made faſt together, that they might not over-ſet, and their own Boat, leaving nothing behind them but the Hulk of the Ship, which was all worm-eaten. Being all aboard, they ſailed in three Ships as far as *Porto Bello*, where they were obliged to leave one of the Ships, which was ſo leaky that they could not keep it above Water. They proceeded thence to a Province near which there were many ſmall Iſlands, which the Admiral called *Las Barbas*, or the *Beard*, but which is now known by the Name of the *Bay of St. Blaſe*. Ten Leagues from thence they turned from the Continent, and ſtood to the Northward, to recover *Hiſpaniala*. At the End of ten Days they arrived at two ſmall Iſlands, which were all covered with Tortoiſes as well as the Sea, which looked like Ridges of Rocks, and therefore the Admiral called them *las Tortugas*, or the *Tortoiſes*, and they are now called *Caymanes*, being about twenty-five Leagues Weſt of *Jamaica*, and forty-five to the Southward of *Cuba*, there being no other all the Way the Admiral paſſed. There they came to anchor at *Jardin de la Reyna*, the *Queen's Garden*, being a great Number of ſmall Iſlands to the South of *Cuba*, before ſpoken of; they were ten Leagues from this Iſland in much Want, their Biſket ſpoiled, and little Oil left, and labouring Day and Night at three Pumps, becauſe the Ships were ready to ſink, when there aroſe ſuch a Storm that one of them run foul of the Admiral, tore off Part off his Poop, the Cables gave Way, and all had like to have periſhed. Thence they ſailed to a Port in the Iſland of *Cuba*, called *Macaca*, where they refreſhed themſelves, being ſupplied by the *Indians*.

Thence they ſtood for *Jamaica*, where they arrived at *Puerto Bueno*, or *Good Port*, on Midſummer Eve, but it was a bad one for them, there being neither Water nor any *Indian* Town; ſo that the Day after Midſummer they proceeded to another called *Santa Gloria*, and, being no longer able to keep the Ships above Water, they ſet them faſt a-ground, as near the Shore as they poſſibly could, being about a Croſs-bow ſhot from it, and the two Ships cloſe together, Board and Board, ſhoring them on both Sides, ſo that they could not part, but were filled with Water almoſt up to the Deck, and Cabins were made on the Heads and Sterns to ſhelter the Men. When the Ships were thus ſecured, the *Indians* came in their Canoes, being covetous of *Spaniſh* Toys; and, to prevent Controverſy, the Admiral appointed two Perſons to deal with them; and every Afternoon to divide what they had purchaſed amongſt the Men, to maintain them, for the Proviſions were all either ſpent or ſpoiled.

The Admiral looked upon it as a great Mercy that God had brought him to *Jamaica*, becauſe that Iſland was very populous, abounded in Eatables, and the Natives were deſirous to trade; therefore to keep them in that good Humour, he would not go up the Country for fear the *Spaniards* ſhould diſoblige the People, which would prove of ill Conſequence; and this Conduct was ſo pleaſing to the *Indians*, that they gave two *Utias* or ſmall Rabbits for a Bit of Tin, and two of their Cakes of Bread for two little green or yellow Beads, and for Things of more Value they took a Hawks-Bell. They gave the Caziques little Looking-glaſſes, red Caps, and Sciſſars, to pleaſe them. The Admiral having purchaſed ten Canoes for the Service of his ſtranded Ships, by this Method, the Men were plentifully ſupplied with Neceſſaries, and the *Indians* no Way diſturbed at their Stay.

9. *Columbus* having conſulted the Officers about the Means of getting away from thence, it was concluded to ſend Advice to *Nicholas de Obando*, Governor of *Hiſpaniola*, and to *Alonſo Sanchez de Carvajal*, the Admiral's Factor there, of the Condition they were in, that a Ship might be there freighted at the Admiral's Expence, to fetch them all away. This being an Affair of much Difficulty, two Perſons of Fidelity and Diſcretion were appointed for it, becauſe they were to undertake ſo great a Paſſage in Canoes made of a ſmall Piece of Timber. The Diſtance between the two neareſt Points of *Jamaica* and *Hiſpaniola* being twenty-five Leagues, beſides thirty more to the Points where they were to croſs over, it required very great Courage to go upon ſuch an Enterprize. In the Paſſage there is only one little Iſland or Rock, called *Navaſa*, which is eight Leagues from *Hiſpaniola*. The Perſons the Admiral pitched upon to perform this were, *James Mendez de Sagura*, chief Notary of the Fleet, a very honeſt and diſcreet Man, and *Bartholomew Fieſco*, a *Genoeſe*, a Perſon worthy of ſuch a Truſt. Each of theſe went in a Canoe with ſix *Spaniards*, and ten *Indians* to row.

The Admiral ordered *James Mendez*, as ſoon as he came to *Santo Domingo*, to go away to *Spain* with his Diſpatches for their Majeſties; containing a full Relation of his Voyage, the Dangers and Troubles he had met with, the Lands he had diſcovered, and the rich Mines he had actually viſited at *Veragua*; and at the ſame Time complained of the unworthy Uſage he had before met with, his Impriſonment, and the ſeizing of all he had, praying Redreſs, and lamenting, that, after having ſpent twenty Years in the Service of the Crown, he had not a Houſe to put his Head in; but muſt be obliged, when he came to *Spain*, to take up his Lodgings at an Inn, *&c.* *Bartholomew Fieſco* was to treat with the Governor of *Hiſpaniola* about ſending a Ship to bring the Men off, and to return with it himſelf. The two Canoes ſet out on the 7th of *July*; the *Spaniards* carrying their Proviſions, Swords, and Targets, and the *Indians* their Gourds full of Water, Axis and Cazabi. When they came to the Point of the Iſland of *Jamaica*, they were obliged to ſtay till the Sea was very calm, to venture to ſtrike over, the Danger being very great, eſpecially for the *Spaniards*; for the *Indians* being very expert and naked, if the Canoes happened to over-ſet, ſoon turned them again, and with their Gourds threw out the Water. As ſoon as the Weather grew calm, they put themſelves into the Hands of God, and launched out one Night, the *Indians* rowing, who, to cool themſelves, ſometimes leaped into the Water, and afterwards returned to the Oar. When they had loſt Sight of *Jamaica*, the *Spaniards* relieved the *Indians*, that they might hold out, and always watched for fear thoſe People ſhould do any thing amiſs.

The ſecond Day after their Departure, they began to be all very much tired, but the two Chiefs encouraged the Men, adviſing them to eat and recover their Strength. The *Indians*, being heated with the Sun, and the Labour of the Oars, were more buſy with their Gourds than they ſhould have been, ſo that they were ſoon empty; and, the Heat encreaſing, and their Thirſt with it, by Noon they had not Strength to work. The Commanders then relieved them, giving them now and then to drink out of their Rundlets, and ſo ſupported them till cool of the Evening. That which moſt perplexed them, after having rowed a Night and two Days, was, the Fear that they had miſtaken the Way, in which they were to find the Iſland *Navaſa*, eight Leagues from *Hiſpaniola*, as was ſaid before, where they expected to refreſh themſelves. That Afternoon they had thrown an *Indian* overboard, who died by Thirſt; others lay along ſtretched out, quite diſabled, and the reſt were totally dejected, expecting Death, holding Salt-water in their Mouths to cool them, and finding no Comfort in it. They proceeded the ſecond Night as far as they were able again, without ſeeing the Iſland till the Moon-riſing; *James Mendez* perceived that it appeared like a half Moon, the other half being, at firſt, covered by the Iſland; for otherwiſe they could not have ſeen it, by reaſon of its Smallneſs and the Night. Then they all encouraged the *Indians*, ſhewing them the Land, and giving them ſome Sips of Water, wherewith they were ſo much encouraged, that they rowed on, and by Break of Day arrived at the Iſland where they landed.

They found this Iſland was all a ſolid Rock, about half a League in Compaſs, but there was no Tree nor Spring of Water on it; however, going about from one Cleft to another, they collected ſo much in the Hollows, as ſerved to quench their Thirſt, which did them Harm; becauſe, being ſcorched with Drought, they drank ſo much of it, that ſome of the poor *Indians* died upon the Spot, and others fell ſick. They ſtayed there till the Afternoon, providing themſelves with the beſt the Place would afford; gathering ſmall Shell-fiſh on the Shore, and making a Fire to broil it, *James Mendez* having carried Neceſſaries for that Purpoſe. Being then in the Sight of the Point of *Hiſpaniola*, which the Admiral had named *St. Michael's*, and was ſince called *del Tiburon*, and deſigning to conclude their Paſſage before the Weather grew foul, as ſoon as the Sun was low they went into their Canoes again, and rowed, and by Break of Day arrived at the Cape, the fourth Day after their ſetting out. They refreſhed themſelves there two Days, and neither *Spaniards* nor *Indians* would run the Hazard of returning to *Jamaica* the ſame Way they came.

James Mendez, being in haſte, went on as far as he could in the Canoe, and, at length, arrived in the Province of *Xaragua*, where he found the Governor of *Hiſpaniola*, who ſeemed well pleaſed with the Letter he brought him, though he proved very tedious in diſpatching the Buſineſs he came about; for he ſuſpecting the Admiral, was afraid leſt ſome Diſturbance ſhould happen in the Iſland. After much importuning he gave *James Mendez* Leave to proceed with his Company to *Santo Domingo*, to perform what the Admiral had ordered him. He there bought a Ship, and ſent it well provided, though it were a conſiderable Time before he could accompliſh his Deſign, as will be ſhewn.

10. After this Step had been taken, not only with the Conſent, but by the Advice, and at the Requeſt of the Principal Perſons on board, it was very natural to ſuppoſe they would have been eaſy; but the *Spaniards* that remained with the Admiral in *Jamaica*, having ſuffered very much in that Voyage, began to ſicken, and, deſpairing of Relief, all their Diſcourſe was how they ſhould eſcape over to *Hiſpaniola*; railing at the Admiral as if he had been the Cauſe of all their Miſfortunes. The chief Promoters of theſe Diſcontents were two Brothers,

Natives of *Seville*, whoſe Names were *Porras*, one of whom went over Captain of a Ship, and the other Purſer of the Fleet; theſe Men, having endeavoured to bring all the reſt to their Deſign, thought it ſufficient that they had gained forty of the moſt mutinous, and reſolved to declare their Intentions: Accordingly, on the 2d of *January*, 1504, being all armed, Captain *Francis de Porras* went upon the Poop where the Admiral was, and, without any Reſpect, ſaid, *We are of Opinion that your Lordſhip will not go into* Spain, *but intend to keep us here to periſh.* The Admiral, hearing theſe inſolent Words, and gueſſing at the Meaning, very mildly anſwered, He could not but be ſenſible how impracticable it was for them to paſs over to *Hiſpaniola*, ; that it was well known, he had already, by the unanimous Advice of all, ſent for Ships, and if they had any better Method to offer, they might propoſe it. *Francis de Porras* replied, there was no need of much adviſing, that he might embark immediately, or ſtay behind; and, turning his Back, added, for I will go away into *Spain*, with all thoſe that will follow me: Then the Conſpirators cryed out, *One and all, One and all*; and, after having cauſed much Confuſion aboard the Ship, they ſeized ten of the Canoes the Admiral had bought, and, many of thoſe who were ſick joining them, went away to the Eaſtern Point of *Jamaica*, whence *James Mendez* and *Bartholomew Fieſco* had taken Boat to *Hiſpaniola*.

Being come to the Point of the Iſland, they attempted to paſs over it to *Hiſpaniola*, forcing ſome Natives with them, to row: But the Sea growing rough, and wetting them, they thought fit to lighten the Canoes, which were heavy loaded, throwing over-board all they had, except ſome Proviſions, Water, and their Arms; and, at laſt, the poor *Indians* that rowed; cutting their Hands if they offered to eaſe themſelves by holding the Sides of the Canoes when tired with Swimming. Returning aſhore, ſome were for paſſing over to *Cuba*, ſome for returning and making their Peace with the Admiral, or taking all he had by Force from him; others, for attempting, again, to paſs over into *Hiſpaniola*, which laſt prevailing, they ſtayed ſix Weeks in the *Indian* Town, at the Point of Land, for calm Weather, ruining the poor Natives, and then twice ventured out to Sea, but were forced back. Then quitting the Canoes, they went from Town to Town, ſometimes bartering with the People for Proviſions, and ſometimes taking them by Force; whilſt they were thus ranging, the Admiral took particular Care of the Sick, to ſecure them to him, and laboured to gain the Friendſhip of the *Indians*, to make ſure of Proviſions, and by ſuch Methods, all that had been diſtempered recovered; however, the *Spaniards* eating much more than the Natives, it was a difficult Matter to ſupply them plentifully, and ſo a great Part of his Men being revolted from the Admiral, thoſe People began to make the leſs account of him, inſomuch, that he was reduced to great Streights; but it pleaſed God to relieve him in that Diſtreſs, after the following Manner:

The Admiral knowing there would be an Eclipſe of the Moon within three Days, took therefore this Opportunity to ſend an *Indian*, that ſpoke *Spaniſh*, to call the Cazique and principal Men of thoſe Parts to him. They being come a Day before the Eclipſe, he told them that the *Spaniards* were Chriſtians, Servants of God, who dwells in Heaven, and is Lord and Maker of all Things; who rewards the Good, and puniſhes the Wicked; and, being angry with thoſe that had mutinied, would not permit them to paſs over to *Hiſpaniola*, as the others, ſent by him, had done; that he was alſo diſpleaſed with them, becauſe they did not ſupply his diſtreſſed Servants with Proviſions, in exchange for Commodities, and therefore was reſolved to chaſtiſe them with Famine and other Calamities; and, that they might be convinced of the Truth of what he ſaid, God was pleaſed they ſhould ſee a Token of his Anger in the Sky: So that they might, that Night, obſerve the Riſing of the Moon, that ſhe would appear of a bloody Hue, to point out the Puniſhment God would inflict upon them. When he had made his Speech, ſome of them went away in a Fright, and others ſcoffed at his Prediction. But, the Eclipſe beginning as ſoon as the Moon was up, and encreaſing the higher ſhe roſe, it put them into ſuch a Conſternation; that they haſtened to the Ships, loaded with Proviſions; entreating the Admiral that he would pray to God that he would not be longer angry with them; and they would, for the future, bring him all the Proviſions he ſhould have Occaſion for.

The Admiral anſwered, he would offer up his Prayers to God; and then ſhutting himſelf up till the Eclipſe was at the Height, and ready to decreaſe, he came out again, telling them he had prayed for them, promiſing they would be good, and ſupply the Chriſtians, whereupon God had forgiven them; and they would ſee the Moon, by Degrees, turn to her uſual Complexion. The *Indians*, perceiving the Eclipſe to go off entirely, returned the Admiral many Thanks, admiring the God of the Chriſtians; went away very well pleaſed, religiouſly remembring to be grateful for the Benefit they thought they had received of the Admiral; for they ſupplied him plentifully with Proviſions, always bleſſing God, believing he would puniſh them for their Sins; and that the Eclipſes they had formerly ſeen had been Tokens of his Anger.

There were eight Months paſſed ſince the Departure of their Agents without any Advice of their Arrival, or what had befallen them; which made thoſe that were with the Admiral deſpair, ſuppoſing thoſe Meſſengers had been caſt away in their Paſſage, or murdered by the *Indians*. On this, one *Barnard* of *Valencia*, and the reſt that had remained ſick, conſpired together to do as the *Porras*'s had done before: But God prevented this Miſchief by the Arrival of a ſmall Caravel, ſent by the Governor of *Hiſpaniola*, under the Command of *James de Eſcobar*, one of thoſe that had been in the Rebellion with *Roldan*. He had Orders not to go aboard the Ships, or aſhore, or permit any to talk with thoſe that were with the Admiral; or to receive, or deliver, any Letter; being only ſent to ſee the Condition the Admiral and his Men were in. The Governor had pitched upon *Eſcobar* to execute this Commiſſion, becauſe he knew he had been in Rebellion, and therefore would not ſide with thoſe in Diſtreſs. *Eſcobar*, leaving his Caravel at ſome Diſtance, went in his Boat to deliver a Letter from the Governor; and then ſtanding off, made an empty Compliment from him; after which he preſented the Admiral with a Caſk of Wine and two Flitches of Bacon. The Admiral anſwered the Governor's Letter, giving him an Account of what he had diſcovered, and what had happened ſince, and praying him to ſend ſpeedy Relief. Whereupon *Eſcobar* ſailed away, which made the Men ſuſpect that the Governor *Obando* deſigned to let them all periſh in that Iſland.

However, this diſappointed the ſecond Conſpiracy, and the Admiral told them, that *Eſcobar* went away ſo ſuddenly that they might be the ſooner relieved, for he was reſolved not to go away without them, and that little Caravel would not carry them all. Theſe Words, and the Sight of the little Caravel, with the Advice that *Mendez* and *Fieſco* were ſafely arrived in *Hiſpaniola*, ſomewhat comforted the Men, and gave them Hopes of getting off in time. The Admiral, rather deſirous to reduce the Mutineers by fair Means than by Force, that they might do no Miſchief in the Iſland, ſent two of their beſt Friends to acquaint them with the Advice he had received, deſiring them to return, and no Notice ſhould be taken of what had happened. *Francis de Porras* met thoſe Meſſengers at a Diſtance, for fear they ſhould perſuade any of his Men to ſubmit themſelves, and anſwered, that they would not truſt the Admiral, but would behave themſelves peaceably in the Iſland, if he would promiſe to find a Ship to carry them off, and ſhare half of what he had with them, ſince they had loſt all their own Effects.

The Meſſengers refuſed to make any ſuch Propoſal to the Admiral, and *Porras* replied that if he would not do it by fair Means, he ſhould be compelled to it by Force. When the Meſſengers were gone, he railed at *Columbus*, charging him with Cruelty; alledging, he would not perform what he had promiſed if he had them once in his Power; ridiculouſly accuſing him of being a

Sorcerer; and affirming, that the Caravel his Men had ſeen had been only a Deluſion, formed by Magic Art, or elſe he would have gone in it himſelf, with his Son and his Brother. By ſuch Diſcourſes he confirmed them in the Rebellion, and perſuaded them to go and ſeize the Admiral, and take away what he had aboard the Ships: He accordingly marched with his Followers towards the Ships; and, being within a Quarter of a League of them, halted in an *Indian* Town called *Mayma.* The Admiral being informed of it ſent the Adelantado, his Brother, with fifty Men, to perſuade him to return to his Duty; who, coming within a Croſs-bow-ſhot of the Place, ſent the two Meſſengers the Admiral had employed before, to offer Peace; but they, deſpiſing all Accommodations, would not ſo much as hear them; and, on the contrary, advanced in fighting Order, crying, *Kill him, kill him*; ſix of them having taken an Oath to deſtroy the Adelantado, who bid his Men do as he did, and to fear nothing but the Stain of being vanquiſhed by Rebels. This ſaid, they engaged; and, at the firſt Attack, ſix Men fell, moſt of them Rebels. *Francis de Porras,* who was a bold Man, ſingled out the Adelantado, and at one Cut clove down his Target to the Hand, which he wounded, but could not recover his Sword as he would; and the Adelantado, ſeeing his Men give Way, cloſed with *Porras*; which done, others came in and ſeized him, much wounded. The Adelantado then fell in among the reſt, ſo that many were ſoon killed, and among the reſt *John Barla,* who had been the firſt that drew his Sword againſt the Admiral when they began to rebel; others being much wounded, the reſt betook themſelves to Flight.

The Adelantado would have purſued them, had not ſome of the beſt Men about him diſſuaded him from it, ſaying, That was a ſufficient Puniſhment, and that it was not proper to carry Things to Extremity; ſo he returned to the Ships, carrying *Francis de Porras,* and other Priſoners, and was joyfully received by the Admiral and thoſe about him. The Day after the Battle, being the 20th of *May,* thoſe that eſcaped ſent a Petition, ſigned, to the Admiral, confeſſing their Fault, and begging Pardon, and promiſing to ſerve him faithfully for the future; all which they took ſolemnly an Oath to perform, renouncing any Abſolution in caſe of Failure from Prieſt, Biſhop, or Pope himſelf, at the Hour of Death, and all Benefit of the Sacraments of the Church.

The Admiral, on his Part, promiſed to pardon them provided their Ringleader, *Francis de Porras,* ſhould continue a cloſe Priſoner; and, to prevent any Controverſies between the Rebels and the others, he ſent them a Commander to keep them in the Iſland till the Ship arrived; ſuch was the Poſture of Affairs in *Jamaica,* and the Admiral had been there full a Year, when a Ship arrived freighted by *James Mendez,* and with it a Caravel commanded by *James de Salcedo,* the Admiral's Servant. *Columbus,* his Followers, and the Rebels embarked, and they ſailed from thence the 28th of *June* 1504, and arrived at *Santo Domingo* on the 13th of *Auguſt.* The Governor with all the City went out to meet him, and paid him much Reſpect, lodging him in his own Houſe, and paying abundance of Compliments, but all with a falſe Heart; for he ſet at Liberty *Francis de Porras,* the Ringleader of the Rebellion at *Jamaica,* who was a Priſoner aboard the Ship; and threatened to puniſh thoſe that had honourably ſtood by the Admiral in his greateſt Danger.

11. The Admiral was a Perſon of too great Penetration not to diſcern how deceitfully he was treated, and the true Motives of the Governor's Behaviour. He knew very well that *Obando* hated him, and at the ſame Time feared his Credit and Reputation; but he diſſembled Things as well as he could, till the Ships were ready that were preparing for carrying him back to *Spain*; and as ſoon as he knew that they were fit to ſail, and the proper Seaſon was come, he diſpoſed every thing for his Departure; which was a Thing no leſs agreeable to the Governor *Obando* than convenient for his own Affairs.

Accordingly, on the 12th of *September,* 1504, he embarked on board a Ship, provided by his Agents, and took with him likewiſe the Veſſel that had brought him and his People over from *Jamaica*; but juſt as they were out of Port, the Main-maſt of the leſſer Veſſel came by the Board; upon which he ordered her back to *Santo Domingo,* and continued his Voyage in the other. He had not, however, been long at Sea before he met with a moſt violent Tempeſt, in which, not the Men only, but the Pilot, expected every Moment to be caſt away; and when the Vehemence of the Storm was over, and they began to congratulate each other on their narrow Eſcape from ſo great a Danger, they were aſtoniſhed by a very unlooked for Accident; their Main-maſt flying to pieces on a ſudden, and without any viſible Cauſe.

The Admiral was at that Time confined to his Bed by the Gout, which, however, did not hinder his giving the neceſſary Directions for making a Jury-maſt of the Yard, which was accordingly done; and in this Condition they proſecuted their Voyage. Soon after they encountered another Tempeſt, in which they loſt their Mizen-maſt; notwithſtanding which Accident they ſafely arrived at their intended Port of *St. Lucar,* having ſailed 700 Leagues after they had loſt their Main-maſt. All the Dangers and Difficulties he had ſtruggled with at Sea had not near ſo much Effect on the Admiral's Mind, as the ill News he met with on Shore; being informed, as ſoon as he landed, that his beſt Friend and only Patroneſs, the Queen, was dead, ſo that he had now none but King *Ferdinand* to apply to, who, though he always treated him reſpectfully, the Admiral well knew was far enough from having any Kindneſs for him, and even from inclining to do him Juſtice.

In this Situation of his Affairs, the Admiral reſolved with himſelf to go to *Seville,* in order to take ſome Repoſe, and the Advice of his Phyſicians for the Recovery of his Health, which he accordingly did, having his Sons with him; and employing himſelf wholly in ſetting his Family-Affairs in order. When he had reſted ſome Months at *Seville,* in *May* 1505, he proceeded to the Court, which reſided then at *Segovia.* He did not think the King received him as he deſerved, yet he preſented ſeveral Petitions ſetting forth the Services he had performed, and his great Sufferings, and deſiring the Performance of what he had promiſed him in return; for which the King gave him many fair Words without any Effect, having no Intention to fulfil his Engagements, and therefore under-hand offered him a large Eſtate in *Spain,* in exchange for what was his due in the *Indies.*

This much vexed the Admiral, who was then confined to his Bed, and he complained of it to the Archbiſhop of *Seville*; but at that Time King *Ferdinand* travelled from *Valladolid* to *Laredo,* to wait for his Son-in-law King *Philip,* and Queen *Johanna* his Daughter, who ſoon after arrived there from *Flanders.* The Admiral, not being able to go, ſent his Brother the Adelantado, to compliment their Majeſties and ſollicit his Affairs; where he was well received, and had fair Promiſes of having his Buſineſs favourably diſpatched. But notwithſtanding all this, ſuch Methods were made uſe of to poſtpone his Demand, and protract his Buſineſs in all Offices to which it was referred, that it was no difficult Matter for him to diſcern, that very little good was intended him.

13. While the Adelantado, Don *Bartholomew Columbus,* was ſolliciting, as has been ſaid, the Admiral's Diſtemper grew upon him, till, having made the neceſſary Diſpoſitions, he departed this Life, with much Piety, at *Valladolid,* on *Aſcenſion-Day,* being the 20th of *May,* 1506. His Body was conveyed to the Monaſtery of the *Carthuſians* at *Seville,* and from thence to the City of *Santo Domingo* in *Hiſpaniola,* where it lies in the Chancel of the Cathedral. He left his Son *James* his ſole Heir, and died before he knew whether *Cuba* was an Iſland. It may be expected that we ſhould add here ſome Character of this great Man, or at leaſt a Deſcription of his Perſon; but, having already ſpoken largely of his Abilities in the Beginning of our former Volume, as well as in this, we ſhall content ourſelves with barely tranſcribing what a *Spaniſh* Hiſtorian, juſtly eſteemed for his Fidelity and Knowledge, has diſcourſed upon this Subject:

His Words are theſe: " *Columbus* was tall of Stature,
" long Viſage, of a majeſtic Aſpect, his Noſe aquiline,
his

“ his Eyes grey, of a clear Complection and ruddy, his
“ Beard and Hair, when young, fair, though through
“ many Hardſhips they ſoon turned grey: He was a
“ Man of Wit, pleaſant and eloquent, moderately grave,
“ affable to Strangers, and kind to his own Family: His
“ Converſation diſcreet, which gained him the Affection
“ of thoſe he had to deal with, and his Preſence attracted
“ Reſpect, having an Air of Authority and Grandeur;
“ temperate in Eating and Drinking, and modeſt in his
“ Dreſs. He was very ſtrict in Religion according to the
“ Mode of his Country, and obliged ſuch as were under
“ his Command to obſerve the ſame with Decency. In
“ that Reſpect, he ſhewed an earneſt Concern for the Con-
“ verſion of the *Indians* to the Chriſtian Faith, and en-
“ deavoured all he could to invite them thereto, by
“ obliging the *Spaniards* to lead a Life, in ſome meaſure
“ agreeable to that Faith which they profeſſed. In other
“ Reſpects he was a Man of undaunted Courage and
“ high Thoughts, fond of great Enterprizes; patient,
“ ready to forgive Wrongs, and only deſirous that Of-
“ fenders ſhould be ſenſible of their Faults, unmoved in
“ the many Troubles and Adverſities that attended him,
“ ever relying on Divine Providence. In ſhort, had
“ he performed ſuch a wonderful Enterprize in the an-
“ tient Days, as the Diſcovery of the new World, it is
“ likely he would not only have had Statues, and even
“ Temples, erected to his Honour; but that ſome Star
“ would have been dedicated to him, as was done to
“ *Hercules* and *Bacchus*, and among us his Name will be
“ renowned whilſt the World endures.”

13. Such was the End of this great Man, to whom, in the ſtricteſt Senſe, the *Spaniards* are indebted for all that they poſſeſs in the new World, as will very clearly appear; if we conſider that he ſettled *Hiſpaniola*, took a View of *Cuba*, viſited *Jamaica*, beſtowed the Name of *St. John* on the Iſland of *Porto Rico*, called formerly *Borriquen*, and diſcovered almoſt all that can properly be called the *Weſt Indies*. As to the Continent, it muſt be confeſſed that he barely ſaw it, but then he ſaw both Parts of it, and the Iſthmus that unites them; and he left behind him Projects for extending all theſe Diſcoveries, and his Conjectures of the Conſequences that might attend them. He did ſtill more than this, he declared poſitively, that there lay a Sea on the other Side of the Continent, through which there might be a Paſſage diſcovered to the *Eaſt Indies*; and accordingly, as we have ſhewn elſewhere, that is, in the Hiſtory of *Magellan*'s Voyage, this Paſſage was actually diſcovered from the Lights given by him.

It muſt be confeſſed, that for ſuch Services ſcarce any Rewards could be ſufficient, much leſs too great; and if it be remembered, he demanded nothing beyond his firſt Contract, notwithſtanding that he performed much more than he promiſed therein, one cannot help wondering at the mean and ſcandalous Behaviour of King *Ferdinand*, who ſo ungratefully endeavoured to deprive him, and his Family, of what were their juſt Rights.

His eldeſt Son and Heir, *James*, or, as the *Spaniards* ſtile him, Don *Diego Colon*, inherited his Pretenſions, and inherited likewiſe, the Diſlike of *Ferdinand*, and the Hatred of the Biſhop *Fonſeca*; and though he endeavoured by Petitions, and perſonal Applications, to obtain his Right, yet he never could receive any other Satisfaction than fair Words and fine Promiſes; with which being ot laſt quite tired out, he deſired the King to leave his Demands to the Deciſion of the Law, which, being what he could not decently deny, was granted.

This Suit, as may be well ſuppoſed, was tedious and troubleſome, but at laſt, he obtained a clear Deciſion in his Favour, and was re-eſtabliſhed, by the Judges, in all his Fathers Pretenſions; notwithſtanding which the King and the Biſhop found Ways and Means to delay the Execution of the Judgment; ſo that he obtained nothing thereby, except the Recognition of a Right, which was ſufficiently clear before. To ſtrengthen his Intereſt, therefore he thought fit to marry, which he accordingly did, into one of the moſt illuſtrious Families in *Spain*; eſpouſing *Mary de Toledo*, Daughter to Don *Ferdinand*, Brother to the Duke of *Alva*, and Couſin to his Catholic Majeſty. By the Aſſiſtance of his Wife's Relations, he at laſt obtained the Government of *Hiſpaniola*: ſucceeding the great Enemy of his Father, *Nicholas de Obando*, but with the Title only of Governor, and not of Viceroy, which was his Right.

He went thither in 1508, with his Wife, his Brother, Don *Ferdinand*, who wrote the Life of his Father, of which we have made uſe in the foregoing Sections, and his Uncles, *Bartholomew* and *James Columbus*; together with many young Noblemen, and ſeveral young Ladies of good Families, by which the Luſtre of the *Spaniſh* Settlement, in *Hiſpaniola*, was reſtored, and encreaſed. Yet his Power was not at all greater than that of his Predeceſſor; and the little he had was ſoon after reſtrained by the ſettling of a new Court, at *Santo Domingo*, under the Title of the *Royal Audience*, to which Appeals were allowed from all Parts of the *Indies*. Here then we are to cloſe our Accounts of this illuſtrious Perſon and the State of his Family at his Deceaſe.

In the next Section we ſhall give a ſuccinct Account of the manner in which the *Spaniards* proſecuted the Diſcovery of the *Indies*, to the time of thoſe two great Expeditions, for the Conqueſt of *Mexico* and *Peru*; of which as the moſt memorable and extraordinary Tranſactions that have happened in this Part of the World, and which have contributed moſt to make it known, we ſhall give a larger and more particular Account; and, indeed, if we reflect, that in all Senſes whatever, the Conqueſts of the *Spaniards*, in the new World, have been the greateſt in themſelves, and more beneficial in their Conſequences, than thoſe of any *European* Nation, we cannot, certainly, think that time ill employed, which is ſpent in acquiring a circumſtantial Account of them; more eſpecially as the Events therein are more curious and entertaining than thoſe that occur in any other Hiſtory whatever.

SECTION VI.

The Hiſtory of the ſeveral Diſcoveries, Settlements, and Conqueſts made by the Spaniards, *in the* Weſt Indies, *after the Death of the Admiral Don* CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, *to the Expedition of* FERDINAND, *or* HERNAN CORTES.

1. *The Improvements made by* Nicholas de Obando *in the Iſland of* Hiſpaniola, *and the great Value of the Gold Mines wrought there.* 2. *The Expedition of Don* Juan Ponce de Leon *into* Puerto Rico, *and his Conqueſt of that Iſland.* 3. *A Settlement made on the ſmall Iſland of* Cubagua, *the vaſt Fiſhery of Pearls there, and the Occaſion of loſing it entirely.* 4, Alonſo de Hojeda, *and* Diego de Nicueſſa, *commiſſioned to make Diſcoveries, and ſail with that View to the* Indies. 5. Hojeda's *unfortunate Expedition to* Carthagena, *where he had been deſtroyed, but for the timely Aſſiſtance afforded him by* Nicueſſa. 6. *Afterwards fixes the Settlement of* St. Sebaſtian, *his Misfortunes and Death, together with the Fate of his new Colony before mentioned.* 7. *The Hiſtory of* Vaſquez Nugnez de Balboa, *and of his ſurprizing Exploits in the* Indies. 8. *The Hiſtory of Don* Diego de Nicueſſa *reſumed; he founds the Colony of* Nombre de Dios, *his ſubſequent Misfortunes and miſerable Death.* 9. *The Conqueſt of the great Iſland of*

of Cuba *undertaken by Don* Diego Velaſquez, *and the Progreſs made therein by him.* 10. *The famous* John Ponce de Leon, *by an unaccountable Deluſion, undertakes an Expedition to find out the* Fountain of Youth; *which produces the Diſcovery of* Florida. 11. *The Diſcoveries made on the Continent by the Command of* Diego Velaſquez, *under* Ferdinand de Cordova *his Lieutenant, to the Death of* Cordova. 12. *Theſe Diſcoveries reſumed and proſecuted with greater Succeſs, by the Command of* Velaſquez, *under* John Grijalva. 13. *His ſubſequent Expeditions open a Paſſage into that Country, ſince ſtiled* New-Spain. 14. *On his Return* Grijalva *is moſt unjuſtly diſgraced by* Diego Velaſquez, *for purſuing his Orders too ſtrictly.* 15. *Obſervations and Remarks on the principal Events in the foregoing Section.*

IT is natural for us to begin this Section with ſome Account of the Progreſs of the *Spaniards* in *Santo Domingo*, or *Hiſpaniola*, after a regular Government was ſettled there, and the Value of the Diſcovery thereby made known; and this for two Reaſons, firſt, becauſe the immenſe Wealth derived from this Colony was what excited the *Spaniards* to continue their Diſcoveries; and becuauſe this Vein of Wealth has been long ſince dried up, and, at preſent, we hear nothing of the Gold of *Hiſpaniola*; which, at its firſt Diſcovery, yielded more in Proportion than ever *Peru* has done ſince. This was, in ſome Meaſure owing to the Induſtry and Care of *Nicolas Obando*, who firſt employed a ſkilful Pilot to ſail round the Iſland, and deſcribe its Coaſts; and afterwards took Pains to examine all the Provinces into which it was divided, and ſurveyed them likewiſe.

In his Time there was diſcovered, near the Town of *Puerto Real*, a Mine of good Copper, but, after much Money expended about it, the Produce did not anſwer. Thoſe three hundred *Spaniards* whom *Obando* found in the Iſland, at his firſt coming, lived very diſorderly, and had taken the moſt beautiful Women, and of the beſt Quality in it, for their Miſtreſſes, their Parents believing that they were married; but the *Franciſcan* Friars, thinking the Lewdneſs not to be tollerated, made Inſtance to the Governor for ſome Remedy therein; who, at laſt, decreed, that they ſhould either part, or be married within a limited time: Many Men of Quality thought this a very hard Impoſition, yet, rather than loſe the Dominion they had over the *Indians*, in right to thoſe Women, they complied, and married them, and tho' this entitled them to what was their Wives, and the Lawyers ſaid they had a legal Right to the Service of thoſe *Indians*, *Obando* took them away as ſoon as they were married, and gave them to others, allowing them as many in other Places; alledging he did it to prevent their growing proud as natural Lords, and to keep them in Submiſſion, as holding thoſe *Indians* only by Gift; but this was looked upon as an unjuſt depriving of the natural Lords of their Subjects.

This *Nicholas de Obando*, when he went over Governor of *Hiſpaniola*, carried with him *Roderick de Alcaçar*, Goldſmith to their Majeſties; a diſcreet and honeſt Man, who had the Employment of Marker of the Gold, and his Fee was one per Cent.; which was looked upon as a very indifferent Allowance; but, after the Diſtribution of the *Indians*, there was ſo much Gold gathered, that it was four times melted down every Year; twice at the Town of *Buena Ventura*, on the Banks of *Hayna*, eight Leagues from *Santo Domingo*, where the Gold, brought from the old and new Mines, was caſt; and the other two at the City *de la Vega*, or the *Conception*, where the Gold of the Mines of *Cibao*, and the adjacent Parts, was conveyed; at each Melting, in the Town of *Buena Ventura*, there came out between 110000, and 120000 Peſos; and at *la Vega* between 125000, and 130000 Peſos, and ſometimes 140000. Thus the Product of *la Vega* was the greateſt, and all the Gold of the Iſland amounted to 460000 Peſos, or more Money; according to the niceſt Computation, 150000 Pounds; which yielded unto *Roderick de Alcaçar* about 4500 Peſos a Year; which at that time was a very conſiderable Revenue, and though it was well beſtowed on him, their Catholic Majeſties revoked it.

It was remarked, even at this time, that ſuch as wrought at theſe Mines were never any Gainers, notwithſtanding the vaſt Quantities of Gold, of which they became Maſters; for, living always luxuriouſly, and upon Credit, their Gold at the melting times, was often ſeized for their Debts, and very frequently did not afford enough to bring things to a Ballance.

2. The laſt War, in the Province of *Higuey* in *Hiſpaniola*, produced a great Extenſion of the *Spaniſh* Power; for the Governor, *Obando*, appointed one to command in thoſe Parts, and keep the *Indians* in awe, who ſoon formed a Project of carrying his Authority beyond the narrow Bounds which were aſſigned it. The Name of this *Spaniſh* Gentleman, was *Juan Ponce de Leon*, a Perſon of good Senſe, great Courage, but, withal, imperious and cruel. He was informed, by the *Indians*, that the Iſland of *St. John de Puerto Rico*, by theſe People called *Borriquen*, was exceedingly rich in Gold; a Circumſtance ſufficient to tempt him to a better Acquaintance with it.

In order to this, he applied himſelf to the Governor, giving him a full Account of all that he had heard, and deſiring his Licence to go over to the Iſland to enquire into that Affair, to trade with the Natives, and ſee what might be done towards ſettling there; for, till then, they knew nothing of it farther, than that it appeared very beautiful; and they ſaw abundance of People when Ships paſſed by it. *Juan Ponce* embarked in a ſmall Caravel, with ſome *Spaniards* and *Indians* that knew the Place, and landed in the Dominions of *Aguey Bana*, the greateſt Lord of the Iſland, who had a Mother and Father-in-law, who all received and entertained him very kindly; and the Cazique changed Names with him, which they called becoming *Guatiacos*, or ſworn Brothers. He gave the Mother the Name of *Agnes*, and called the Father-in-law *Francis*; and, though they would not be baptized, they kept the Names which the Chriſtians gave them.

This Cazique, his Mother, and Father-in-law, were very good-natured, and always adviſed the Son to be a Friend to the *Spaniards*. *Juan Ponce* preſently made it his Buſineſs to enquire whether what the *Indians* had told him was true, concerning the Gold Mines. The Cazique conducted him all over the Iſland, ſhewing him the Rivers where Gold was found, and among them two that were very rich; the one called *Manatuabon*, and the other *Cebuco*, where much Treaſure was afterwards drawn. He cauſed Samples to be taken, which he carried to the Governor of *Hiſpaniola*, leaving ſome *Spaniards* there well recommended to the Cazique, and his Mother, who were well entertained till others came to ſettle. The greateſt Part of this Iſland conſiſted of high Mountains, ſome of them covered with fine high Graſs, like that in *Hiſpaniola*. There are few Plains, but many Vales with pleaſant Rivers running through them, and all very fruitful. The Weſtern Point of it is but twelve or fifteen Leagues from the eaſtern Cape of *Hiſpaniola*; ſo that in fair Weather the one may be ſeen from the other, by People ſtanding on the Tops of thoſe Points.

There are ſome Ports, but none good, except that which is called *Puerto Rico*, where the City and epiſcopal See are ſeated. The Length of it is about forty Leagues at leaſt, and the Breadth ſixteen; the Circumference about 120. The Southern Coaſt lies all in ſeventeen, and the Northern in eighteen Degrees Latitude. It produced much Gold, though not quite ſo fine as that of *Hiſpaniola*, yet not much inferior to it.

While *Ponce de Leon* was thus employed, *Obando* was recalled, and Don *Diego Colon*, Son to the Admiral, came to take the Government of *Hiſpaniola* in his Room; bringing with him from *Spain*, a new Governor for *Puerto Rico*; but he who had made the firſt Settlement on that Iſland diſputing this Appointment, the young Admiral, without farther Ceremony, ſet them both aſide, and appointed one *Michael Cerron* Governor of that Place, and made one *Michael Diaz* his Lieutenant.

However *Juan Ponce de Leon*, by the Intereſt of his Friend *Obando*, procured a new Commiſſion from *Spain*, and going over to *Puerto Rico*, eaſily found Pretences for picking a Quarrel with *Cerron* and *Diaz*, whom he ſent Priſoners into *Spain*. Theſe People thus out of his way, *Juan Ponce de Leon* proſecuted his firſt Deſign of conquering the Iſland, but found it a much more difficult Taſk than he imagined. However, at laſt he compaſſed it: and with much ado the poor *Indians* were forced to ſubmit. In conſequence of which they were made Slaves, and employed in the Mines till they were quite worn out. Since which the Gold has likewiſe failed; which many *Spaniſh* Writers acknowledge to have been a Judgment from God for that barbarous Proceeding; ſo much the more probable, becauſe the ſame thing has happened in other Parts of their Dominions.

3. The Court of *Spain* was at this Time very ſollicitous to make the moſt of the Settlements already made in the new World, and therefore from time to time admitted of ſuch Repreſentations as thoſe who had been in the *Indies* thought fit to make, as to what was requiſite to be done there for promoting the Royal Revenue.

Amongſt other Propoſitions of this nature, there was one which ſuggeſted it was much for the King's Intereſt that the Iſland of *Cubagua*, called alſo *Of Pearls*, near *Margarita*, ſhould be inhabited by *Spaniards*, and therefore the Admiral was ordered to take care of it, that the Trade there might be better looked after. And the Inhabitants of *Hiſpaniola* made a great Advantage of it, finding the *Lucayo Indians* moſt uſeful, becauſe they were extraordinary Swimmers and Divers; ſo that one of them came to be worth one hundred and fifty Ducats. And they not only defrauded the King of his Fifth, but alſo abuſed and deſtroyed the *Indians*, which obliged them to ſtand upon their Guard, and was prejudicial to the Trade. This Iſland of *Cubagua*, ſomewhat about three hundred Leagues from *Hiſpaniola*, is about three Leagues in Compaſs, lies in almoſt ten Degrees of Latitude, the Soil very barren and dry, affording much Salt-petre, ſome few Guiacum Trees and Shrubs, without any Graſs or Birds, only ſuch as are proper to the Sea, being all flat and without any Springs of freſh Water.

No Land Creatures were found upon it, except a few Rabbits. The Natives painted themſelves, and fed on the Pearl Oyſters. They brought over in their Canoes Water from *Cumana* on the Continent, which is ſeven Leagues diſtant, and gave Seed-pearl for it to thoſe who would carry it over. Wood they had from the Iſland *Margarita*, which lies a League to the Northward of it, and incompaſſes it from the Eaſt to the North-weſt. And to the Southward of it is *Cape Araya* on the Continent, where the great Salt Pits are.

It has a good Port on the North Side. The Swine that were carried thither from *Spain* ſoon degenerated, their Claws turning upwards half a Handful. There was infinite Plenty of Oyſters breeding the Pearl within them, a little Nob growing at firſt ſoft, and afterwards hardening as it grows. Some Years the King's Fifth of only the Pearl Fiſhery amounted to fifteen Thouſand Ducats. And it was wonderful that ſuch a Quantity of Pearls ſhould be found in ſo ſmall a Compaſs, taken by Men diving, and ſtaying under Water as long as they can hold their Breath, pulling off the Shells from the Places they ſtick to. And it is to be obſerved that there are Pearls for above four hundred Leagues from *Cape de la Vela* to the Bay of *Paria*. And beſides theſe the Admiral found at *Cubagua* (which he called the *Iſland of Pearls*) he diſcovered them on the Coaſt of *Cumana*, as alſo all along the Coaſt of *Paria*, *Maracapa*, *Puerto Flechado*, and *Curiana*, which is near *Venezuela*.

4. Amongſt other Adventurers who petitioned the *Spaniſh* Court for Leave to make Diſcoveries, *Hojeda* was one, a brave Man, but poor; and *John de la Coſa*, who had been his Pilot, and had ſaved that Money which the other ſpent, out of pure Affection offered to aſſiſt him with his Life and Fortune. They had a Grant promiſed them of all that had been diſcovered on the Continent: But *Diego Nicueſſa* interpoſing, being a richer Man, and having a better Intereſt, ſtopped the Grant, and procured Half of it for himſelf. To the former Adventurers the Court granted all the Country between *Cape de la Vela* and the Gulph of *Uraba*, now ſtiled the *Gulph of Darien*, under the Name of *New Andaluſia*; and to the latter, from the before mentioned Gulph to *Cape Gracias a Dios*, under the Name of *Caſtilla del Oro*, or *Golden Caſtile*, without a Word ſaid of the Admiral, to whom of Right all theſe Countries belonged as diſcovered by his Father.

The Iſland of *Jamaica* was likewiſe granted to *Diego Nicueſſa*, in common, but the Admiral, being in the *Indies*, ſecured that for himſelf. *Hojeda* was able to fit out but one Ship, and one Brigantine; but *Nicueſſa* had two Ships and ſeveral Brigantines; with which they both ſailed to *Santo Domingo*, where they quarrelled about their Rights: And it was with great Difficulty that the Diſputes between them were adjuſted: At laſt, however, this was done, and both proceeded to their reſpective Governments, or rather to ſettle the Colonies they had promiſed.

5. Thoſe Diſputes took up much time, ſo that it was the latter End of the Year 1510 before either of them left *Hiſpaniola*. *Alonſo de Hojeda*, with whom *Francis Pizaro* imbarked, departed from the Iſland *Beata*, and, ſtanding to the Southward, in a few Days arrived at *Carthagena*, which the *Indians* called *Caramari*, and they were then in an Uproar, and ready to oppoſe the *Spaniards* becauſe of the Injuries done them by *Chriſtopher Guerra* and others, who had paſſed by that way, and under Pretence of trading had ſeized many, and made Slaves of them. Thoſe People were of a large Stature, the Men wore their Hair down to their Ears, and the Women very long. And both Sexes were very expert in ſhooting with their Bows. *Hojeda* and *John de la Coſa* had religious Men with them, his Maſter being very deſirous to induce them to ſubmit; and, having *Indians* of *Hiſpaniola* who ſpoke the Language, he adviſed them to be peaceable, and leave off their Cruelty, Idolatry, and other hideous Vices practiſed among them; but they, being very much incenſed, for Reaſons before mentioned, would not give ear to thoſe Perſuaſions.

Alonſo de Hojeda, purſuant to his Inſtructions, tryed all poſſible Methods to allure them, tho' he had alſo Orders in caſe they proved obſtinate, to declare War and make Slaves of them. He began to barter for Gold, giving them ſome *Spaniſh* Toys; but thoſe *Indians* being fierce and bold, *John de la Coſa* ſaid he thought it would be better to ſettle a Colony at the Bay *Uraba*, where the Natives were more gentle, and that from thence they might return to *Carthagena* better provided. *Alonſo de Hojeda* being always too reſolute, and the more for that, having been in a great Number of Quarrels and Engagements in *Spain* and *Hiſpaniola*, he had never loſt a Drop of Blood, did not regard the Advice, but fell upon the *Indians* who were preparing to attack him, killed many, ſeized ſome, and found a ſmall Quantity of Gold in the Places taken from them.

Not ſatisfied with that, uſing ſome of the Priſoners for his Guide, he went to a Town four Leagues up the Country, whither thoſe who had eſcaped from the laſt Fray were retired, and found the People there upon their Guard, armed with Targets, Swords of extraordinary hard Wood, Bows, ſharp poiſoned Arrows, and Rods, which they threw like Darts. The *Spaniards* crying out *Santiago*, that is St. *James*, fell on, killing and taking all they met. Eight *Indians*, who were not ſo expeditious as the reſt, retired into one of their thatched Houſes, where they defended themſelves a conſiderable Space, killing one *Spaniard*; at which *Hojeda* was ſo provoked, that he ordered the Houſe to be fired, where they all periſhed in a Moment. Here he took ſixty Captives, whom he ſent to the Ships, and purſued thoſe that fled. The Inhabitants of a Town called *Yarbaco* having Notice thereof, withdrew into the Mountains with their Wives, Children, and Effects.

The *Spaniards* coming thither by Break of the Day, and finding nobody, grew heedleſs, and diſperſed themſelves

ſelves about the Country. The *Indians*, obſerving their Careleſſneſs, fell upon them unexpectedly, and they ſo ſurpriſed endeavoured to retire to ſome Place of Safety, but ſtill met with their Enemies, who, they being divided into ſeveral Detachments, attacked, wounded, and killed them with Flights of poiſoned Arrows. *Hojeda*, with ſome of his Companions, maintained the Fight, often kneeling, the better to cover himſelf with his Target; but when he ſaw moſt of his Men killed, truſting to his Activity, he ruſhed through the thickeſt of the *Indians*, and, running as if he had flown, got into the thickeſt Part of the Woods, directing his Courſe the beſt he could towards the Sea, where his Ships were. *John de la Coſa* got into a Houſe that had no Thatch on it, where he defended himſelf at the Door till his Men being ſlain, and himſelf ſo wounded with the poiſoned Arrows that he could no longer ſtand, looking about he ſaw one that ſtill fought courageouſly, to whom he ſaid, That ſince it had pleaſed God to preſerve him he ſhould go immediately and tell *Hojeda* all that happened, and *Hojeda* and he were the only two that eſcaped, ſeventy *Spaniards* being ſlaughtered.

Things being in this Situation, very lucky for the *Spaniards*, *Nicueſſa* with his Ships appeared, and he landing, was informed of what had befallen his Rival through his own Raſhneſs; upon which he deſired he might be ſought for, and brought to him; and as ſoon as he ſaw him he ſaid, That in ſuch a Caſe they ought to forget their Diſputes, and only remember they were Gentlemen and *Spaniards*, offering at the ſame time to land his Men, and aſſiſt him in revenging the Death of *John de la Coſa*. They did accordingly land 400 Men, which proved alone more than ſufficient to beat the *Indians*, to take and burn their Town, and to put them in poſſeſſion of a vaſt Number of Slaves, and of a Booty worth Seven thouſand Pieces of Gold to each of them. After this Victory they agreed to part, and that each ſhould purſue that Plan of Diſcovery and Planting directed by his Commiſſion; which they accordingly did, with what Fortune we ſhall hereafter ſhew.

6. As for *Alonſo Hojeda*, as ſoon as he underſtood that it was the Deſign of *Nicueſſa* to ſteer for *Veragua*, he crouded all the Sail he could, for the River of *Darien*; but having loſt his old Pilot, upon whoſe Experience he chiefly depended, he miſſed the River, and at laſt reſolved to fix a Settlement on the Eaſtern Promontory of the Gulph of *Uraba*; which he accordingly did, and called his new Town *St. Sebaſtian*; which he did the rather, becauſe as that Saint is ſaid to have been martyred by the Arrows of the Infidels, he thought him a fit Patron to defend him againſt poiſoned Arrows of the *Indians*.

He was hardly fixed there before he found all the Inhabitants of the Country to be a Race of barbarous Savages, from whom he had nothing to expect, but all the Miſchief they could do him; in this Situation he thought fit to detach Captain *Enciſo* with one of his Ships to *Hiſpaniola*, with Orders to bring him as great a Reinforcement of Men as he could poſſibly obtain, and during his Abſence he intrenched himſelf as well as he could, the better to ſecure his People; but Proviſions growing very ſoon ſo low, that they were not in a Condition to ſubſiſt, he found himſelf under a Neceſſity of making ſome Excurſions into the Country to obtain a Supply; which Expedient, however, failed him, and he had the Misfortune likewiſe to loſe many of his Men by the Arrows of the *Indians*, which were poiſoned with the Juice of a certain ſtinking Root, that grew by the Seaſide. By theſe Diſaſters his new Colony was quickly reduced into a moſt wretched Condition, ſtarved if they remained within their Works, and ſure of meeting with Death if they ventered out of them; in this ſad State, and when they abſolutely deſpaired, they ſaw with an Amazement a Ship enter the Port.

It proved to be no better than a Pirate commanded by one *Bernard de Talavera*, who, flying from Juſtice, took Shelter here, in a place to him unknown. *Alonſo Hojeda* did not think it neceſſary to enquire very nicely into the Man's Character, but very readily bought his Ship's Cargo, and treated the Captain ſo well that he willingly entered into his Service. However ſerviceable this Relief might be, it was but of ſhort Continuance; ſo that, all their Proviſions eaten up, the Savages more troubleſome than before, and no Succour coming from *Hiſpaniola*, they were once more at their Wits-end. After various Schemes formed to no Purpoſe, it was at laſt reſolved that he ſhould go himſelf to *Santo Domingo*, in order to procure Supplies; and accordingly, leaving *Francis Pizaro* to command the Colony, he embarked on board *Talavera*'s Veſſel, and put to Sea. The Voyage was very unfortunate from the Beginning; for *Hojeda* uſing too much Severity towards the Crew, and behaving very haughtily to Captain *Talavera*, he not only deprived him of all Command, but very fairly clapped him in Irons. A Storm however ariſing, the Crew who, though they thought him a bad Officer, yet knew him to be a good Seaman, ſet him at Liberty; and it was chiefly by his Skill they were enabled to ſave their Lives, by running the Ship aſhore on the Iſland of *Cuba*.

It was but a very ſhort Paſſage from thence to *Hiſpaniola*, but *Talavera* durſt not go there; and therefore he prevailed upon *Hojeda* to venture a Voyage of one hundred Leagues to *Jamaica* in a Canoe, and he was lucky enough to perform it. He had by his Commiſſion, ſome Pretenſions on this Iſland; and having heard that the Admiral had ſent over thither Don *Juan de Eſquibel*, with the Title of Governor, he threatened to cut off his Head if ever he fell into his Hands; but now he was forced to ſue to him for Favour, and was very kindly uſed. After a ſhort ſtay at *Jamaica*, the Governor, at his own Requeſt, ſent him over to *Santo Domingo*; where he learned that Captain *Enciſo* was ſailed for *St. Sebaſtian*, but found his own Credit ſo low that he could ſcarce raiſe wherewithal to buy him Bread; and in a ſhort Time after he actually died of Want, though he deſerved a better Fate, being one of the braveſt Men that ever ſailed from *Spain* to the *Indies*. *Talavera* had ſtill worſe Luck; for, ſtaying too long at *Jamaica*, the Admiral cauſed him to be apprehended, tried, and hanged for a Pirate.

In the mean time, Captain *Pizaro* quitted *St. Sebaſtian*, and, with a very few Men, and with much Difficulty, eſcaped to *Carthagena*, where, very luckily for him, Captain *Enciſo* was juſt arrived with two Ships, and a conſiderable Reinforcement, he took *Pizaro* on board; and they returned altogether to *St. Sebaſtian*, where they had the Misfortune to be ſhipwrecked; and, getting aſhore with much difficulty, they found the Place reduced to Aſhes by the Savages. They reſtored it as well as they could, and got aſhore what they were able of Proviſions, and other Neceſſaries, out of their ſtranded Veſſels; but were ſoon reduced to the utmoſt Extremities both by War and Famine; Hunger frequently forcing them out, and the Savages conſtantly driving them back again with the Loſs of ſome of their Number, which they could very ill ſpare, being but One hundred and eighty Men at firſt. Such were the Miſeries to which theſe Men expoſed themſelves in Search of Riches.

7. We muſt before we can proceed, give the Reader ſome Account of a very extraordinary Perſon who was engaged in this Expedition, and who, by his Dexterity and Preſence of Mind, delivered his Companions, in ſome meaſure, out of the Dangers they were in. The Name of this Gentleman was *Vaſquez Nugnez* or *Nunez de Balboa*: He was a Perſon of good Family, great Parts, liberal Education, of a fine Preſence, and in the Flower of his Age, being then about Thirty-five. He had formerly ſailed with *Baſtidas* upon Diſcoveries, and had afterwards obtained a very good Settlement in *Hiſpaniola*, but, having committed ſome Exceſſes there, was in danger of being put to Death. In theſe unfortunate Circumſtances he procured himſelf to be put on board Captain *Enciſo*'s Ship in a Bread-caſk, and, after having remained there ſome Days, he ventured at laſt to make his Appearance, when the Ship was an hundred Leagues at Sea. The Captain, who had been charged not to carry any Offenders out of the Iſland, was extremely vexed at this Adventure, and threatned to ſet him on Shore in the firſt Deſart Iſland he came to; but the principal Perſons on board interceeding for him, the Captain was at laſt pacified, and granted him his Pro-

tection; which, however, did not efface from his Memory the Uſage he had met with, as we ſhall ſee in its proper Place.

This Man, obſerving that the Company were in a down-right Deſpair, and knew not which way to turn themſelves, took upon him to encourage them, by aſſerting, that they were not in ſo deſperate a Condition as they imagined; for that, when he was upon this Coaſt before, with *Baſtidas*, they had ſailed to the Bottom of the Gulph, where they had ſeen a very large fine Town, ſituated in a fruitful Soil, in a fine Climate, and which was inhabited by warlike *Indians* indeed; but ſuch as did not make uſe of poiſoned Darts. He therefore adviſed them to get off their Brigantines which were ſtranded, and endeavour to purſue their Voyage.

They approved *Nunez*'s Advice, ſailed to the River which the *Indians* call *Darien*, and, having viewed the Place, found all according as he had deſcribed it. The Inhabitants and their Cazique, whoſe Name was *Cemano*, underſtanding that the *Spaniards* were coming, ſecured their Wives and Children, and with Five hundred Men waited for the *Spainards* on a little Hill, who having performed their Devotions fell upon them, and ſoon put them to the Rout. They went to the Town, and, as they wiſhed, found it full of Proviſions. The next Day they marched up the Country and the Mountains thereabouts, where they found many Houſes without Inhabitants, they being all fled, but there were Veſſels, Houſhold Goods, and Cotton Things like ſhort Petticoats for Women, as alſo much Cotton ſpun and unſpun, and Plates of Gold, ſuch as they hung on their Breaſts, and other Things, amounting in the whole to Ten thouſand Pieces of fine Gold. *Enciſo* being overjoyed at this Succeſs, ſent for the Men that had been left on the other Side of the Bay, becauſe the Brigantines could not carry them at once. *Nunez* gained much Reputation by the Succeſs of this Enterpriſe, and began to be in very high Eſteem.

They all agreed to eſtabliſh a Colony there, and to call it *Santa Maria el Antiqua del Darien*, or *S. Mary the Antient of Darien*; the firſt being the Name of a Church at *Seville*, and the latter, the *Indian* Name of the River. *Nunez*, being now in great Credit, ſecretly contrived with his Friends to depoſe *Enciſo* from the Command, alledging, that ſince they were out of the Limits of *Hojeda*'s Government, he had no longer any Authority. Whilſt theſe Things were in Agitation *Enciſo* thought fit to order that no Man, upon Pain of Death, ſhould trade with the *Indians* for Gold; and they, ſuſpecting he did it to draw all to his own Advantage, unanimouſly threw off all Subjection to him, ſaying his Authority was expired on the Account above mentioned, and for other Reaſons. *Enciſo* thus deprived of the Government, they reſolved to chuſe Alcades and Regidores, which are the Titles of the chief Magiſtrates in *Spaniſh* Towns; and accordingly *Nunez de Balboa*, and *Zamadio*, were elected Alcades, and *Valdibia* was appointed Regidore. However, the Men, not being pleaſed with this Government, and repenting that they had excluded *Enciſo*, begun to fall at variance about it; ſome alledging that it was not proper to be without a Commander in chief, and by this means they divided into three Parties. One of them demanding that *Enciſo* ſhould be reſtored till the King appointed another Governor; the ſecond ſaid they ought to ſubmit themſelves to *Nicueſſa*, becauſe that Country was within his Diſtrict; the third conſiſted of *Nunez*'s Friends, who would have the preſent Governmet ſtand, but, in caſe they would have a ſingle Commander, inſiſted it ſhould be *Nunez de Balboa*.

In the Midſt of all theſe Debates, *Roderic Enriques de Colmenares* arrived with two Ships, having on Board Proviſions, military Stores, and ſeventy Men. This Captain, meeting a great Storm by the Way, put into the Port of *Santa Maria*, fifty or ſixty Leagues from *Carthagena*, by the *Indians* called *Gayra*; the Boats going there to water, the Lord of that Country came out with twenty of his Followers, cloathed in a ſort of Cotton Cloaks, though all *Indians* in thoſe parts go naked, and, drawing near, bid them not take of that Water, becauſe it was not good, ſhewing them another River. Not being able to come at it by the beating of the Sea, they returned to the firſt Place; and, as they were filling their Caſks, on a ſudden about ſeventy *Indians* ruſhed out, and, before the *Spaniards* could ſtand upon their Guard, wounded forty-five of them with their poiſoned Arrows: The wounded Men ſwam away becauſe the Natives ſtaved the Long-boat, and, when they got to the Ships, they all died except one. Seven *Spaniards* hid themſelves in a great hollow Tree, in order to ſwim to the Ship at Night.

But the Men on board, ſuppoſing them to be killed, ſailed away very melancholy, for the Bay of *Uraba*, to enquire after *Nicueſſa*; and finding no body on the Eaſt-ſide of the Bay, where they thought *Hojeda*'s Men, or their own, might be, *Colmenares* was much ſurprized, ſuſpecting they were all dead, or gone to ſome other Place; but thought fit to fire ſome Pieces of Cannon, that they might hear him if they were thereabouts; and to make Fires at Night; and Smokes by Day, on the adjacent high Rocks. They that were at *Santa Maria el Antiqua del Darien* heard the Gun, which made all the Bay roar to the Weſtward, and made Signals, and he came to them about the middle of *November*, 1510. He diſtributed the Proviſions he had among them all, and, by that Generoſity gained the Affections of the greater part of thoſe who oppoſed the calling of *Nicueſſa*; ſo that they agreed he ſhould be ſent for, in order to take upon him the Government.

8. It is requiſite for us, now, to turn to Don *Diego Nicueſſa*, in order to ſee how he paſſed his time after leaving *Alonſo Hojeda*, whom he had ſo generouſly aſſiſted. A few Days after, he met with as great Miſchiefs at Sea, as *Hojeda* had done on Shore; for he was toſſed by a dreadful Tempeſt from without, and betrayed within by *Lopez de Olano*; who, perceiving the Squadron ſeparate, followed one of the largeſt Ships into the River *Chagre*, in order to ſet up for himſelf, and left his Patron to ſhift as he could. After ſome very unlucky Adventures, he arrived at *Veragua*, which was their general Rendezvous; and there he laboured to perſuade the People to abandon their original Deſign as impracticable, and to ſail away to *Hiſpaniola*, there to make the moſt of what they had left; alledging, that without all doubt, *Nicueſſa* was periſhed with all his Men.

While they were meditating this Project, there came a Shallop into the Port, with four Men on Board, who brought Advice that the Governor *Nicueſſa* was not far off; that he had been ſtranded upon an unknown Coaſt, and marched a great Way with incredible Fatigue by Land, and was, with his Followers, in a moſt miſerable Condition. Upon hearing this News, *Olano*'s Heart relented, and he immediately diſpatched the Shallop with Proviſions and Refreſhments, which came ſo opportunely, as to ſave *Nicueſſa* and his Men from ſtarving, which otherwiſe muſt have been their Fate. Yet this did not, in the leaſt, ſoften his Reſentments againſt his Lieutenant; whom, if it had not been for fear of the Men, he would have hanged; and, as it was, he put him in Irons, and threatened to ſend him in that Condition to *Spain*. It was not long, however, that this Authority remained in his Hands; for, endeavouring to ſettle a Colony on the River *Bethlehem*, he found himſelf ſo ſtreightened for Proviſions, that he was conſtrained to leave a Part of his Men there, and to ſail with the reſt to *Puerto Bello*; but the *Indians* not ſuffering them to land, he was conſtrained to proceed four or five Leagues farther to that Port, which for Reaſons before mentioned, *Columbus* called the *Baſtimentos*; and as ſoon as he entered it, he cried out *Paremos aqui en el nombre de Dios*, that is, *Let us ſtay here in the Name of God.*

There debarking his Men, he began to erect a Fortreſs, which from the Expreſſion before mentioned, was called *Nombre de Dios*. He had not been long there before he found himſelf in the ſame Plight as in the former Colony; ſo that he was obliged to ſend one of his Veſſels to *Santo Domingo*, to beſeech the Governor to grant him ſome Aſſiſtance. This Veſſel was ſcarce out of the Port, before that with *Colmenares* on board arrived in the River of *Darien*, on the Meſſage that has been before related from the *Spaniſh* Colony ſettled there. *Col-*

him the chief Command next himſelf, ſo that he governed all things under him. The *Indians* of the Province of *Mayci* being quite ſuppreſſed, *Velaſquez* began to think of dividing them among the *Spaniards*, as *Obando* had done by them in *Hiſpaniola*, and took to himſelf thoſe of five Towns, where he had been Lieutenant; and to this purpoſe he founded a Town at a Harbour on the North Side, which Place was by the Natives called *Barracoa*; and this was the firſt *Spaniſh* Colony in that Iſland.

From this Place he ſent *Narvaez* with thirty Men to the Province of *Bayamo*, fifty Leagues from *Barracoa*, a fine open Country, and very agreeable: Only *Narvaez* rode, all the reſt marching on foot. The Natives of the Country came out to meet them with Proviſions, becauſe they had no Gold, being aſtoniſhed at the ſight of the Mare, and a Man on her Back. The *Spaniards* took up their Quarters in an *Indian* Town, the Inhabitants whereof, obſerving their ſmall Number, reſolved to rid themſelves of them. Though *Narvaez* was not very cautious, he had his Mare in the ſame thatched Houſe where he lay, and a Guard at Night. Near ſeven thouſand *Indians* aſſembled from all Parts of the Province, with their Bows and Arrows: They fell upon *Narvaez* and his Men after Midnight, though it was unuſual for them to fight at that time: They gave the Attack in two Parties, and fonnd the Sentinels aſleep. The beſt of it was, that being earneſt to plunder the *Spaniards*, for they ever coveted to be cloathed ſince firſt they ſaw them, they did not obſerve the time they had agreed on, ſo that one Party was more forward than the other, and entered the Town ſhouting.

Narvaez awaked in a Conſternation: The *Indians* went into the thatched Houſes, where finding the *Spaniards*, they neither wounded nor killed them, being wholly intent upon getting their Cloaths. The Shouts having ſurpriſed them, the *Spaniards* in their Fright knew not what they were doing. Thoſe *Indians Narvaez* had carried with him from *Jamaica* lighted Firebrands; and, this ſhewing the *Spaniards* their Danger, *Narvaez*, though wounded by a Stone, found Means to get to his Mare and mount her: At that time, it ſeems Part of the *Spaniſh* Furniture was hung with Bells, and the *Indians* hearing the Sound of them, and ſeeing *Narvaez* coming after them on a round Trot, with his Sword drawn in his right Hand, they not only abandoned their Enterprize, but fled out of their Country; and *Velaſquez* being informed of this, ſent a Detatchment to join *Narvaez*, and ſo became abſolute Maſter of that Province, the Inhabitants taking ſhelter in different Parts of the Iſland; and ſome, from their firſt Impreſſions of Terror, flying to the full Diſtance of fifty Leagues, leaving none but their old and decrepid People behind them.

10. We have already ſhewn, how *Juan Ponce de Leon*, by the Intereſt of *Nicholas Obando*, was reſtored to the Government of *Puerto Rico*, and how he ſent his Predeceſſors *Cerron* and *Diaz* Priſoners into *Spain*, which, tho' he looked upon it as a bold Stroke in Politicks, turned upon himſelf; for they preſenting a Petition againſt him to the Court of *Spain*, and being ſtrongly ſupported by the Admiral's Intereſt, were ſent back again in their former Employments; by which *Ponce de Leon* found himſelf reduced to the State of a private Man. But having made a good uſe of his Time, he had acquired a large Fortune, which induced him to think of regaining his Credit and Power by making Diſcoveries: And accordingly, on the 1ſt of *March* 1512, he ſailed from the Port of *St. German*, with two ſtout Ships fitted out at his own Expence, ſteering through the Iſlands called *Lucayos*, till, on the 2d of *April*, he diſcovered Land unknown to the *Spaniards* before that time, in the Latitude of 30° 8'. Charmed with which Piece of good Fortune, he ran along the Coaſt in ſearch of ſome Port, and at Night anchored near the Shore, in eight Fathom Water: Believing that Land to be an Iſland, they named it *Florida*, becauſe it appeared beautiful, having many pleaſant Groves, and was all level, as alſo becauſe they diſcovered it at *Eaſter*, which the *Spaniards* call *Paſcha de Flores*. *Juan Ponce* went aſhore there to diſcover and take poſſeſſion.

On the 8th they ſailed again, and on the 20th of *April* they perceived ſome *Indians*, where they anchored. *Juan Ponce* being called by the *Indians* went aſhore, and they immediately endeavoured to poſſeſs themſelves of the Boat, the Oars and the Arms; which was not reſented, that they might not provoke them, till one of them ſtunning a Sailor with a Stroke of a Cudgel he gave him on the Head, the *Spaniards* were obliged to fight, and had two of their Men wounded with Darts and Arrows pointed with ſharp Bones, and the *Indians* received little Damage. Night parting them, *Juan Ponce* with ſome Difficulty got his Men together, and ſailed thence to a River, where they wooded and watered; ſixty *Indians* came to oppoſe them, one of whom was taken to give ſome Information, and to learn *Spaniſh*. The River they called *de la Cruz*, or *of the Croſs*, leaving one of Stone there, with an Inſcription. On the 8th of *May* they doubled the Cape of *Florida*, giving it the Name of *Cabo de las Corrientes*, or *Cape Currents*, becauſe they are ſtronger there than the Winds, and came to an Anchor near to a Town called *Abacoa*. All this Coaſt, from Cape *Arracifes* to this Cape *Corrientes*, lies North and South one Point to the Eaſtward, is clean, and has ſix Fathom Water; the Cape lying in eighteen Degrees fifteen Minutes North Latitude. They ſailed on till they met with two Iſlands to the Southward, in twenty-ſeven Degrees; one of which being a League in Compaſs, they named *Santa Menta*, and watered there.

On the 15th of *May* they proceeded ten Leagues, along a Ridge of ſmall Iſlands, as far as two white ones, and called them altogether *los Martyres*, or *the Martyrs*, becauſe the high Rocks at a diſtance look like Men that are ſuffering, and the Name has been regarded as prophetic, on account of the many that have ſince been caſt away there: they held on ſometimes North and ſometimes North-eaſt, and on the 24th ran along the Coaſt to the Southward, as far as ſome ſmall Iſlands that lay out at Sea, and yet did not perceive that was the Continent. A Way appearing to be between them and the Coaſt for the Ships to take in Wood and Water, they continued there till the 3d of *June*, and careened one of the Ships called *St. Chriſtopher*. Here the *Iudians* came out in Canoes to view the Chriſtians, being the firſt time they did ſo, for the *Spaniards*, tho' called by them, would not go aſhore. When they went about to weigh an Anchor, only to remove it, thoſe People, thinking they were going away, came out in their Canoes, and laid hold of the Cable to draw the Ship away; whereupon the Long-boat was ſent after them, and the Men going aſhore took four Women, and broke two old Canoes. At other times when they came, there was no falling out, as finding no Opportunity, but on the contrary they bartered ſome Skins and Gold, tho' but indifferent.

On the 4th of *June*, while they were waiting for a Wind to go in ſearch for the Cazique *Carlos*, who the *Indians* that were aboard ſaid had Gold, a Canoe came to the Ships with an *Indian* that underſtood the *Spaniards*, ſuppoſed to be a Native of *Hiſpaniola*, or ſome of the Iſlands inhabited by Chriſtians; he bid them ſtay for the Cazique would ſend Gold to barter. They waiting accordingly, ſaw twenty Canoes, Part of them made faſt two and two together, ſome of them went to the Anchors, others to the Ships, and began to fight: Thoſe at the Anchors, not being able to weigh them, attempted to cut the Cables; but a Long-boat was ſent out, which obliged them to fly, taking four, and killing ſome. *Juan Ponce* ſent two of them to tell the Cazique, that, though he had killed a *Spaniard*, he would make peace with him. The next Day the Boats went to ſound the Harbour, and the Men landed. Some *Indians* came and told them, that the Cazique would come the next Day to trade; but it was to gain Time to draw Men and Canoes together, as it appeared; for at eleven o' Clock eighty Canoes well equipped attacked the neareſt Ship, and fought from Morning to Night, without doing the *Spaniards* any harm, the Arrows falling ſhort, becauſe they durſt not come near, for fear of the Croſs-bows and great Guns. At length they drew off, and the *Spaniards*, having ſtaid there nine Days, reſolved on *Monday* the

14th to return to *Hiſpaniola* and *Puerto Rico*, diſcovering ſome Iſlands in the Way, of which the *Indians* they had with them gave an Account.

They ſailed along Iſlands till the 21ſt, when they arrived at the ſmall Iſlands they called *las Tortugas*, or the *Tortoiſes*; becauſe they took one hundred and ſeventy of them in a ſhort time in one of them, and might have taken many more if they would. On the 28th, ſeeing Land, they came to an Anchor to trim their Yards and Sails, but could not tell what Country it was, moſt of them took it for *Cuba*, becauſe they found Canoes, Dogs, Cuts of Knives, and other Iron Tools, yet none of them knew it to be that Iſland. The 25th of *July* they were among a parcel of low Iſlands, without knowing any thing of that Place, till *Juan Ponce* ſent to view an Iſland, which appeared to be *Babama*, and ſo an old *Indian* Woman, they had found alone in another Iſland, told them, as did *James Miruelo*, a Pilot, who happened to be there with a Boat from *Hiſpaniola*; having ranged backward and forward till the 23d of *September*, and refitted the Ships, *Juan Ponce* reſolved to ſend one of them to take a View of the Iſland *Bimini*, where the *Indians* ſaid there was a Spring that made old People young again. *John Perez de Ortubia* was appointed Captain of that Ship, and *Anthony de Alaminos* Pilot; they took two *Indians* to pilot them over the Sholes, there being ſo many that it is a difficult Matter to paſs between them. Twenty Days after *Juan Ponce* returned to *Puerto Rico*, as did, ſome time after him the Ship which he had ſent, which found the Iſland of *Bimini*, but not the famous Spring. Yet the Iſland was large, pleaſant, and diverſified with Hills, Meadows, Plains, many Rivers and delightful Groves.

It is certain that *Juan Ponce de Leon*, beſides the main Deſign of making new Diſcoveries, which all the *Spaniards* then aſpired to do, was intent upon finding out the Spring of *Bimini*, and that River in *Florida*, the *Indians* of *Cuba* and *Hiſpaniola* affirmed old People bathing themſelves in became young again; and it was certain that many *Indians* of *Cuba*, firmly believing that there was ſuch a River, had, not long before the *Spaniards* diſcovered that Iſland, paſſed over into *Florida* in ſearch of that River, and there built a Town, where the Race of them ſtill continue. This Report prevailed with all the Princes and Caziques in thoſe Parts, to endeavour to find out a River that wrought ſuch a wonderful Change; ſo that there was not a Brook, nay, ſcarce a Lake or Puddle in all *Florida* but what they bathed themſelves in, and there are ſome ſtill that perſiſt in it, ignorantly believing that it is the River now called *Jordan*, at the Cape of *Santa Helena*; never reflecting that the *Spaniards* firſt gave it that Name, in the Year 1520, when the Country of *Chicora* was diſcovered. Though this Voyage, made by *Juan Ponce*, turned to little or no Account to him, yet it gave him Encouragement to go to Court to ſue for ſome Reward for the Countries he had diſcovered, believing them to be all Iſlands and no Continent, which Notion continued ſome Years. However, the Voyage was beneficial on account of the Rout ſoon after found out, to return to *Spain* through the Channel of *Babama*, which was firſt performed by the Pilot, *Antony de Alaminos*.

For the better underſtanding of *Juan Ponce*'s Voyage it is to be obſerved that there are three different Archipelagoes of *Lucayo* Iſlands. The firſt the *Babama* Iſlands, which gave Name to the Channel where the Currents are moſt impetuous: The ſecond they called *de los Organos*, and the third *Martyres*, which are next to the Shore of Tortoiſes to the Weſtward, which laſt being all Sand, cannot be ſeen at a Diſtance, and therefore many Ships have periſhed on them, and along that Coaſt of the Channel of *Babama* and the Iſlands of *Tortugas*. *Havanna*, in the Iſland of *Cuba*, is to the Southward, and *Florida* to the Northward, and between them are all the before mentioned Iſlands of *Organos*, *Babama*, *Martyres*, and the *Tortugas*; having a Channel with a violent Current, twenty Leagues over in the narroweſt Place, between *Havanna* and *los Martyres*, and fourteen Leagues from *los Martyres* to *Florida*; between Iſlands to the Eaſtward and the wideſt Part of this Paſſage to the Weſtward, is forty Leagues, with many Sholes and deep Channels, but there is no way for Ships or Brigantines, only for Canoes. But the Paſſage from *Havanna*, to come to *Spain*, is along the Channel of *Babama*, between the ſaid *Havanna*, *Martyres*, the *Lucayos*, and Cape *Canaveral*; and this was the great Merit of *Juan Ponce de Leon*, who was well rewarded in *Spain*. There happened about this time a very ſingular and melancholy Event, which, becauſe I find it recorded by many *Spaniſh* Hiſtorians, and as it ſhews to what a Height Corruption was grown in ſo ſhort a time, as ſince the *Spaniards* had ſettled in the *Indies*; it ſeems but reaſonable that it ſhould find a Place here for the Inſtruction of the Reader. The Reports that had reached *Spain* of the manner in which the poor Natives were treated in the *Indies*, being aſſigned to the Proprietors of Land as if they were Cattle that grazed upon it; it moved ſome religious Men, of the *Dominican* Order, to go over to the new World, in order to ſee what Progreſs they ſhould be able to make among the *Indians*, by the Uſe of ſpiritual Weapons only.

Three of theſe Fathers landed in the Iſland of *Porto Rico*, where one of them falling ſick, the other two procured a Veſſel to carry them over to the Main, where they were landed not far from that City, which *Hojeda* and *Veſpucius* ſaw in their firſt Voyage, and called it from its ſtanding in the Water *Venezuela*, that is, *little Venice*; where they found the People very docile and tractable, and were in a fair Way of making Converts to the Chriſtian Religion; but, very unluckily for them, a *Spaniſh* Pirate that made it his Buſineſs to ſteal *Indians*, anchored on the Coaſt, and the poor People, confident of being well treated by Chriſtians, went on board the Veſſel with their Cazique at their Head, of which the Pirate taking advantage, weighed anchor, and made all the Sail he could for *Hiſpaniola*. This, as may be eaſily imagined, raiſed a great Tumult among the *Indians*, who were on the very Point of putting the two *Dominicans* to Death; when another *Spaniſh* Ship arrived in the Port, commanded by a Gentleman of Honour; he pacified the *Indians* as well as he could, and having received Letters containing a true ſtate of the Fact, from the Fathers, he promiſed that in four Months time their Cazique and the reſt of their Countrymen ſhould be ſent home again.

As he really intended to perform what he had promiſed, ſo on his return to *Hiſpaniola*, he applied himſelf to the Royal Audience, or ſupreme Tribunal, at *Santo Domingo*, ſetting forth the Caſe as it ſtood, and the Danger that the two Prieſts were in, if theſe *Indians* were not ſent back in due time. But, alas! it ſo happened, that theſe very People had been purchaſed as Slaves by ſome of the Members of the Royal Audience, and they were not ſo much in love with Juſtice as to releaſe them. The Conſequence was, that when the four Months were expired, the *Indians*, to revenge the Loſs of their Prince and Relations, murdered the two *Dominicans*, whoſe Names were *Franciſco de Cordova*, and *Juan Garcias*.

13. It is now time for us to return to the Tranſactions of Don *Diego de Velaſquez* in the Iſland of *Cuba*, who having reduced the beſt Part of that Country, and ſettled ſeveral *Spaniſh* Colonies therein, began to be very deſirous of ſetting up for himſelf, and of ſhaking off the Authority of the Admiral *James Columbus*, by whom he had been placed there. The Admiral was by this time recalled into *Spain*, and oppoſed this Project of *Velaſquez* to the utmoſt of his Power; which, however, was now ſunk ſo low, that he was not able to carry his Point; for though *Velaſquez* was ſtill left accountable to him for the Exerciſe of his Authority, yet he was not allowed to recall him but with the Conſent of the Crown, which ſo well anſwered the Purpoſe of *Velaſquez*, that he reſolved to execute, without further Delay, a Project which he had long meditated of fitting out Ships for Diſcovery.

He no ſooner made his Intentions known, than numbers of *Spaniſh* Planters, who were grown rich, embraced the Propoſal, and offered to contribute large Sums towards carrying it into execution. Amongſt thoſe who diſtinguiſhed themſelves on this Occaſion, *Francis Hernandez de Cordova*, a rich and brave Man, who had *Indians* of his own, offered to go as Captain of thoſe Men, which, being granted, he fitted out two Ships and a Brigantine with all neceſſary Stores: He liſted one hundred and ten Soldiers, and ſailed from *Santo Domingo*, in *Cuba*, to the *Havanna*. They left the *Havanna* on the 8th of *February*, 1517, and on the 12th they doubled Cape *St. Antony*, holding on their Courſe to the Weſtward, becauſe the Pilot *Antony de Alaminos* ſaid the firſt Admiral had always inclined that Way when he ſailed with him, being a Boy,

They met with a great Storm that held them two Days, in which they expected to have periſhed; and after twenty-one Days being at Sea, lying by at Nights, they ſaw Land, and, from their Ships, could deſcry a large Town, which was about two Leagues from the Coaſt. As they drew nigh two Canoes full of Men appeared: They haled them, the Canoes drew near, and thirty *Indians* went aboard the Commodore, having Jackets without Sleeves, and pieces of Cloth wrapped about them inſtead of Breeches. The *Spaniards* gave them Meat, ſome *Spaniſh* Wine, and Strings of Beads. They made Signs, for there was no Interpreter, that they would be gone, and return the next Day with more Canoes to carry them aſhore; very much admiring the Ships, the Men, their Beards, their Cloaths, their Arms, and other things they had never ſeen before. The next Day they returned with twelve Canoes and an *Indian*, who was the Cazique, crying out *Conez Cotoche*, that is, come to my Houſe; and, for this Reaſon, that Place was called *Cape Cotoche*. The *Spaniards*, having conſulted, hoiſted out their Boats, and in them, and the Canoes, went aſhore with their Arms, where an infinite number of People waited to ſee them.

The Cazique ſtill preſſed them to go to his Houſe, and they, obſerving ſo many Tokens of Friendſhip, concluded to do ſo, in order to take a view of the Country; when they came to the Wood, the Cazique called out to a great Number of armed Men that lay in Ambuſh, and immediately there appeared a Multitude in Armour, made of quilted Cotton, with Targets, wooden Swords having edges of Flints, large Cutlaſſes, Spears and Slings, adorned with Plumes of Feathers, and their Faces painted of ſeveral Colours. They gave a hideous Shout, pouring in at the ſame time ſuch a ſhower of Stones and Arrows that they wounded fifteen *Spaniards*, after which they fell on Sword in Hand, and fought with much Reſolution. The *Spaniards* had only twenty-five Croſs-bows and Muſkets, which were well plyed. But, when the *Indians* felt the Sharpneſs of the *Spaniards* Swords, they fled, many being wounded, and ſeventeen killed. There were taken in this Action two Youths who became Chriſtians, and were called *Julian* and *Melchior*; the *Spaniards* returned to their Ships well pleaſed, for having found a rational ſort of People, and other things different from what there were at *Darien*, and in the Iſlands; and, more eſpecially, Houſes of Stone and Lime, which had not, till then, been ſeen in the *Indies*.

They held on their Courſe down the Coaſt, always lying by at Night; and having advanced fifteen Days after this manner, they found a large Town, and a Bay near it, which they believed to be a River where they might water, which was very acceptable, as they were in want. They landed, and underſtanding the *Indians* called it *Quimpeche*, they from thence called it *Campeche*. Being come to a Well of good Water, of which the Natives uſed to drink; when they had taken what they wanted, and were ready to return to their Ships; fifty *Indians* clad in Jackets, with large Cotton Cloths inſtead of Cloaks, came, and, by Signs, aſked them what they wanted, and, whether they came from thoſe Parts where the Sun riſes, inviting them to go to their Town: When they had ſeriouſly conſidered on it, and put themſelves into a good poſture of Defence, for fear of being ſerved as they had been at *Cotoche*, they went to certain Places of Worſhip built with Lime and Stone, where there were Idols of various ugly Shapes, as they had ſeen in the former, with freſh Signs of Blood, as alſo Croſſes painted, which they were much amazed at.

Abundance of People, Men, Women, and Children, came flocking, looking upon them with Aſtoniſhment, and ſome of them ſmiled; ſoon after two Parties of armed Men appeared in good order, like thoſe of *Cotoche*; from one of the Temples iſſued ten Men in very long white Mantles, their Hair long, black, and twiſted up in Rolls behind: In their Hands they had little earthen Fire-pans, into which they caſt Gum Anime, which they called *Copal*, and perfumed the *Spaniards*, bidding them to depart their Country or they would kill them; then they began to beat their little Kettle-Drums, and to ſound their Horns, Trumpets, and Pipes. The *Spaniards*, becauſe the Men that had been wounded at *Cotoche* were not yet well recovered, and two died, retired to the Shore in good Order, ſtill purſued by the armed Parties, and embarked again without any Loſs. When they had ſailed ſix Days longer the Wind blew North, bearing upon the Coaſt, ſo that they had like to have periſhed. When the Storm ceaſed they endeavoured to draw near the Shore to water, becauſe their Caſks were leaky, ſo that their Water laſted not long. They anchored near a Town, in a Bay, where they landed in the Afternoon, a League from the Town called *Potonchan*, and filled their Veſſels at ſome Wells they found near certain Places of Worſhip of Lime and Stone, like the former. When ready to return they perceived armed Men advancing towards them from the Town, juſt as before. They aſked whether they came from thoſe Parts where the Sun riſes, the *Spaniards* anſwered they did; and then the *Indians* drew back to ſome Houſes, becauſe the Night came on, and the *Spaniards* for the ſame Reaſon, reſolved to ſtay there; a great Noiſe being heard ſoon after, the *Spaniards*, upon Debate, were divided, ſome being for embarking, and others thinking the Retreat dangerous, becauſe there ſeemed to be three hundred *Indians* to one of them.

When Day appeared they perceived that the firſt Parties had been joined by others, who, incompaſſing them, poured in a great ſhower of Arrows, Stones and Darts, which wounded near eighty *Spaniards*, with whom they cloſed, uſing their Swords and Spears; and, though the *Spaniards* were not idle with their Fire-arms, Croſs-bows, and Swords, the *Indians* ſtreightened them, but, when they felt the *Spaniſh* Swords, they drew farther off, the better to take aim with their Arrows; whilſt they fought they cried out *Calachani*, *Calachani*, which, in the Language of *Yucatan*, ſignifies Cazique, or Captain, meaning that they ſhould ſhoot at the Commander, *Hernand de Cordova*, and they were not wanting in Endeavours, for they ſhot twelve Arrows into him, which, it was generally ſaid, he might have avoided, for there was no Encounter in which he was not foremoſt, though there was more Occaſion for his directing than acting. He finding himſelf ſo much wounded, and, that the Courage of his Men could not vanquiſh ſuch a Multitude, continually encreaſing, they made a moſt furious Onſet, and broke through them, the *Indians* ſtill purſuing them with hideous Noiſe and Cries; when they came to the Boats, their Number being great they were ready to ſink, but ſtill they made off, the Natives ſhouting at them, and running into the Water to wound them with their Spears: Seven and forty *Spaniards* were killed in this Action, and five died aboard the Ships. The wounded Men endured moſt piercing Pains, their Wounds having been wet with the Sea-water, and ſwelling, curſing the Pilot *Alaminos* for his Diſcovery, who ſtill perſiſted that this Country was an Iſland, and they called this Bay *de Mala Prelea*, that is of the *bad Fight*, for the ill Succeſs they had met with. The *Spaniards* that eſcaped aboard the Ships gave God Thanks for their Deliverance out of that Danger; but, being all wounded except one, they reſolved to return to *Cuba*, and, in order to it, burnt one of their Ships that was leaky, becauſe they wanted able Hands to ſail them both, and ply the Pump. Being diſtreſſed for want of Drink, having left their Caſks at *Potonchan*, ſome of the ſoundeſt Men went aſhore, who could get no Water but what was brackiſh, which they took at a Creek where there were many Alligators, and therefore they called it *de los Lagartos*, or of *Alligators*. *Antony de Alaminos* adviſing with the other Pilots, it was reſolved to ſtand over for *Florida*, and, accordingly, in four Days they diſcovered that Country. *Alaminos* was ſent aſhore with twenty of the ſtouteſt Soldiers, carrying Croſs-bows and Muſkets, and Captain *Francis Hernandez*, who was much wounded, begged he would ſpeedily bring him ſome Water, becauſe he was periſhing for want of it.

When landed near a Creek, *Alaminos* told them he knew the Place, having been there before with *Juan Ponce de Leon*, and that they muſt be upon their Guard; having accordingly poſted Centinels along an open Shore, they dug Pits, where they found good Water, drank ſome, and waſhed out Linen for the wounded Men. When they were about returning, they perceived one of the Sentinels come running and crying, *To Sea, to Sea; for warlike* Indians *are coming*. On the other hand, they ſpied many Canoes coming down the Creek. The *Indians* with long Bows and Arrows, Spears and Swords, after their manner, cloathed in Deer-ſkins, and being of a large Size, were very dreadful. They let fly their Arrows, and at the firſt Diſcharge wounded ſix of the Soldiers; but ſeeing the Effect of the Croſs-bows, Muſkets, and Swords, they made to the Canoes, which preſſed hard upon the Sailors, and had wounded *Antony de Alaminos* in the Throat. The Soldiers cloſed with them, being up to the Waſte in Water, and with their Swords made them quit the Boat they had taken. When ready to embark, they aſked the Soldier who had ſtood Sentinel, What was become of the other Sentinel? He ſaid, he had ſeen him ſtep aſide with a Hatchet in his Hand, to cut down a *Palmito* going towards the Creek along which the *Indians* came, and preſently had heard the Cry of a *Spaniard*, which made him come to bring the Alarm. That Soldier was the only one who eſcaped at *Potonchan*, and it was his hard Fate to periſh here; for the others followed the Tract of the *Indians*, and found a Palm Tree he had begun to cut, and near it a greater Tract than elſewhere, which made them conclude that they had carried him away alive, and though they had ſearched for above an Hour, they returned to the Ships without finding him.

The Men were ſo extreme thirſty, and deſirous of Water, that, as ſoon as the Boat came to the Ship's ſide, a Soldier leaped into it, and laid hold of a Jar, and drank ſo much that he ſwelled, and died within two Days. Sailing from thence, in two Days and Nights they arrived at the little Iſlands, called *los Martyres*, where the greateſt Depth being but four Fathoms, the Ship touched upon ſome Rocks, and became very leaky; but it pleaſed God that after ſo many Sufferings, they arrived at *Port Carenas*, now the *Havanna*; from whence Captain *Hernandez de Cordova* ſent an Account of his Voyage to the Governor *James Velaſquez*, with the Particulars of all he had ſeen, and died ten Days after. Three of his Soldiers died alſo at the *Havanna*, which made up fifty-ſix loſt in the Expedition; the reſt diſperſed themſelves about the Iſland, and the Ships returned to the City of *Santiago*; by which the Fame of their Voyage was ſpread over all *Cuba*.

12. As indifferent Succeſs as this firſt Diſcoverer met with, yet his Memoirs were highly eſteemed by *Velaſquez*, who frequently declared, that it was by no means his Intention to part with this Diſcovery in ſuch a manner; but that, on the contrary, he was determined to purſue it when Opportunity offered, for many Reaſons, but chiefly for this, becauſe thoſe People ſeemed more civilized than any other *Indians*, and were conſequently more likely to prove rich. Theſe Sentiments of his were no ſooner known, than ſeveral of the principal Inhabitants of the Iſland offered him their Aſſiſtance, ſo that he was quickly in a Condition to put to Sea a ſmall Squadron conſiſting of three Sail of Ships and one Brigantine, having on board in the whole two hundred and fifty Men, under the Command of the Captains *Alvaredo*, *Montejo*, and *d'Avila*; but the Perſon who commanded in chief was *John Grijalva*, a Man of Courage, Fidelity and Experience, to whom *Velaſquez* gave this Order, That he ſhould make what Diſcoveries he could, but no Settlement. They ſailed from *Cuba* on the 8th of *May* 1518, and, having viſited the Coaſt of *Florida*, and doubled Cape *St. Antony*, diſcovered the Iſland of *Cozumel*, to which their Commander gave the Name of the Iſland of *Santa Cruz*, becauſe he found it on the Feaſt of *Holy Croſs*, but it retained, notwithſtanding, its old Name, by which it is ſtill called.

Grijalva landed with a competent Number of Soldiers, and no body appeared, becauſe the Natives having never ſeen Ships before, when they perceived them under ſail, fled; whilſt ſome went to ſeek them he ordered Maſs to be ſaid. Two old Men being found in a Field of *Indian* Wheat, and underſtanding the Language of the *Indians*, *Melchior* and *Julian*, who had been taken in the former Expedition, *Grijalva* made much of them, and giving them ſome Beads and Looking-glaſſes, ſent them away to their Lord, but they never returned. Whilſt they waited for them, a young Woman, exceeding handſome, came, and in the Language of *Jamaica* ſaid, The People were all fled into the Wood for fear; but that ſhe, being acquainted with Ships and *Spaniards*, was come to them: Many that came on board the Ships underſtanding her, and admiring at it, aſked, Who had carried her to that Iſland? ſhe anſwered, That a Canoe going out a fiſhing from *Jamaica* two Years before, with ten Men in it, a Storm, and the Currents, had drove them to *Cozumel*, where her Huſband and all the reſt had been ſacrificed to their Idols. *Grijalva* believing that Woman would be a truſty Meſſenger, ſent her to call the Natives, not confiding in *Melchior* or *Julian* for fear they would not return. The Woman came again two Days after, according to Promiſe, telling them, That though ſhe had done all ſhe could to perſuade them, they would not by any Means be brought to go back.

13. *Grijalva* finding no Good could be done there, went aboard again, and took with him the *Jamaica* Woman, becauſe ſhe begged him not to leave her there. In this Iſland they found many Hives of good Honey, Batatos, and Swine of that Country, having their Navel on their Backs; which much refreſhed them. They ſaw ſeveral Temples, and one particularly like a ſquare Tower, wide at the Bottom, and hollow at the Top, with four large Windows and Galleries; and in the hollow Part, being the Chapel, were the Idols, behind which was a ſort of Veſtry; where the Things belonging to the Service of the Temple were kept: At the Foot of it was an Incloſure of Lime and Stone, with Battlements well plaiſtered; and in the Midſt of it a Croſs of white Lime three Yards high, which they held to be the God of Rain, affirming, that they never wanted it when they devoutly begged it of the ſame. The *Spaniards*, embarking again, ſailed along the Coaſt, much admiring to ſee large and beautiful Structures of Stone, with ſeveral high Towers, which at a Diſtance made a good Appearance; for which Reaſon, no ſuch Thing having been ſeen at the *Indies*, as alſo on Account of the Croſs, *Grijalva* ſaid they had found a NEW SPAIN. Eight Days after they arrived at the Shore of *Potonchan*'s Town, came to an Anchor, and landed the Soldiers with all the Boats near ſome Houſes, where the *Indians* being grown vain with the Thoughts of having drove *Hernandez*'s Men out of the Country, ſtood drawn up to hinder the *Spaniards* from landing, ſhouting, and making a great Noiſe with their Trumpets and Kettle-drums; and tho' ſome Falconets, in the Boats, put the Men to a great Fright, being a Thing they had never ſeen, yet, when the Boats came near, they began to ſhoot their Arrows, and caſt Stones and Darts with their Slings, running into the Water to wound the *Spaniards* with their Spears; but as ſoon as they landed they made them give way with their Swords; for the *Spaniards* being taught by Experience, began to uſe the ſame ſort of defenſive Armour ſtuffed with Cotton, as the *Indians* did; ſo that they received leſs Harm by the Arrows, and yet ſixty Soldiers were wounded, three killed, and *John de Grijalva*, the Commander in chief, was ſhot with three Arrows, one of which broke ſome of his Teeth.

The Boats coming with the Soldiers that had been left aboard, the *Indians* quitted the Field, and the *Spaniards* went to the Town, dreſſed the wounded Men, buried the Dead, and found only three of the Natives. *Grijalva* uſed thoſe three well, gave them ſome Toys, and ſent them to call the Inhabitants, promiſing not to hurt any Man; but they never returned, nor would he ſend *Melchior* or *Julian*, becauſe he ſuſpected them. *Grijalva* embarked again, and came to a large, wide Gulph of freſh Water, like a River, but it was not; and *Antony de Alaminos* ſaid it was an Iſland, and that the Water parted it from another Country, for which reaſon he called it *Bocca de Terminos*, that is, *the Mouth of the Boundaries.* They landed, ſtayed three Days, and found it was no Iſland, but a Bay, and good Harbour. There were Temples, with Idols of Clay and of Wood, repreſenting Men, Women, and Serpents; but no Town could be ſeen, and it appeared that thoſe were Chapels for People that went a trading and hunting. During thoſe three Days they took ſeveral Deer and Rabbits with a Grey-hound Bitch they had, which the *Spaniards* not minding her, they left there; holding on the ſame Way, always by Day, to avoid falling in among Flats or Rocks, they diſcovered a very large Mouth of a River, which ſeemed to be a good Harbour; but ſounding it, they perceived that the two largeſt Ships could not go in, as the two ſmaller did. The Boats went up the River very cautiouſly, becauſe they ſaw many armed *Indians*, like thoſe at *Potonchan*, in Canoes along the Shore.

This River, by the Natives called *Tabaſco*, being the Name of the Lord of the adjacent Town, the *Spaniards* named *Rio de Grijalva*, from their Commander in chief who found it. As they advanced higher, they heard the Noiſe of hewing Wood, becauſe the Inhabitants, having been informed of what had happened at *Potonchan*, concluded there muſt be War.

The *Spaniards* landed at a Grove of Palm-trees, about half a League from the Town. The *Indians* ſeeing them land, about fifty Canoes full of armed Men, with Plumes of Feathers, and very fine, moved, ſtoped again at a ſmall Diſtance from the *Spaniards*, in a warlike Poſture; and when the *Spaniards* were ready to fire their Falconets upon them, they firſt ſent *Melchior* and *Julian* to ſpeak to them. Theſe Interpreters told them, that they came only to treat about ſome Affairs that would pleaſe them. Four Canoes drew nearer, and being ſhewn little Glaſſes on Strings, and thinking they had been the Sort of Stones called *Chalchibites*, much valued among them, they were pacified. Then *Grijalva* ordered the Interpreters to tell them, that theſe Men were Subjects of a great King, to whom mighty Princes paid Obedience, and it was reaſonable they alſo ſhould ſubmit to him, becauſe it would be much to their Advantage; and that till they could explain theſe Affairs to them they ſhould furniſh Proviſions. The *Indians* anſwered, that they would give Proviſions, but that they had a Lord of their own, and did not know why they who were juſt come ſhould offer to impoſe a new Lord upon them; that they ſhould take heed how they made war on them, as they had done at *Potonchan*, for that they had provided above three *Xiquiples* (each Xiquiple being eight thouſand) of Men againſt them; that they knew they had killed and wounded abouve two hundred at *Potonchan*; but that they were not ſo weak as thoſe Prople; and, to conclude, that they were come thither to know their Will, and would go and make a very juſt Report of what they ſaid to a Number of very great Men, that were aſſembled either to treat of Peace or renew the War. *Grijalva* gave them Strings of Beads, Looking-glaſſes, and other things, charging them not to fail to bring back an Anſwer, becauſe if they did not, he muſt needs go to the Town, though not to do any harm.

He then returned to the Ships. The Meſſengers delivered the Meſſage, and all the prime Men, who were wont to be conſulted in martial Affairs, thought Peace was preferable to War. They immediately ſent their *Indians* loaded with roaſted Fiſh, Hens, ſeveral Sorts of Fruit, and Bread; then laying ſome Mats on the Ground, they placed a Preſent on them, being a handſome Maſk of Wood, and ſeveral Sorts of Feather-work, very beautiful; and an *Indian* ſaid the Lord would come the next Day to ſee the *Spaniards:* Accordingly, taking along with him many Men unarmed, he without any Jealouſy went aboard *John de Grijalva*'s Ship, who was a genteel Man, about twenty-eight, and had on a looſe Coat of Crimſon Velvet, a Cap of the ſame, with other rich Ornaments ſuitable to the Coat. The Cazique was received with much Honour; ſitting down they began their Diſcourſe, of which both Parties underſtood very little, unleſs it was by Signs, and ſome Words the two *Indians*, *Julian* and *Melchior*, interpreted. After ſome time, the Cazique ordered one to take out of a *Petaca*, which is in the Nature of a Trunk, the things he had carried.

The *Indian* took out Plates of Gold, and thin Boards covered with Gold, for Armour, as fit as if they had been made for *Grijalva*, and the Cazique himſelf put them upon him, and took them off, applying thoſe that ſuited beſt; and in this manner he put him on a compleat Suit of Gold Armour, as if it had been of Steel. He alſo preſented him various Works in Gold and Feathers, a thing much valued among them; and it was wonderful to ſee how beautiful *Grijalva* looked; who gave the Cazique all the Signs of Gratitude that could be thought of. He called for a very fine Shirt, and with his own Hands put it upon the Cazique; took off his great Coat of Crimſon Velvet, and put that on him, as alſo a Pair of new Shoes. In ſhort, he cloathed and adorned him the beſt he could, gave him ſome of the beſt ſtrings of Beads, and Looking-glaſſes, Sciſſars, Knives, and ſeveral things of Tin; and the like to all that were with the Cazique. What the Cazique gave to *Grijalva* was computed to be worth three thouſand Pieces of Eight; and among the reſt there was a wooden Head-piece covered with thin Plates of Gold, three or four Maſks, ſome of them covered with a ſort of Stones like Emeralds, *&c.* and the Sight of theſe things made the *Spaniards* very eager to ſettle in a Country which produced ſo much Wealth.

As for *John Grijalva*, having received this great Preſent at *Tabaſco*, and being ſenſible that the *Indians* were not willing that their Gueſts ſhould ſtay long, and in regard that the *Spaniards* aſking for more Gold, the *Indians* anſwered *Culua, Culua*, he proceeded farther, and in two Days came to a Town called *Aqualunco*, which the *Spaniards* named *la Rambla*, the Inhabitants whereof appearing at a diſtance, and having Targets of Tortoiſe-ſhells, which glittered in the Sun, made ſome of the *Spaniards* fancy that they were of pale Gold; they diſcovered a Bay in which the River *Tonala* falls, where they entered at their Return, and called it *St. Anthony*'s River: At a diſtance again they ſaw the great River *Guazacoalco*, but could not go up it, becauſe of the foul Weather: Next they had a Sight of the ſnowy Iſlands of *New Spain* and *St. Martin*, which Name was given them by the Soldiers who firſt diſcovered them. Holding on their Courſe, Captain *Alverado* went ahead with his Ship, and entered a River the *Indians* call *Papaloava* but the *Spaniards* gave it the Name of *Alverado*'s River, where the *Indians* of the Town of *Tavotulpale* brought Fiſh, and the other Ships ſtaid till he came out again: They then advanced to the Mouth of another River, which they called *de Banderas*, or *of Colours*, becauſe the *Indians* having large white Cloths on long Poles, like Colours, waved them for the *Spaniards* to come to them.

It it neceſſary to inform the Reader of the Reaſons which occaſioned this, and which, in few Words, were theſe: The Country, on the Coaſt of which they now were, was a Province of the great Empire of *Mexico*, over which *Montezuma* reigned, a Prince of great Wiſdom and Penetration, who, having heard both of the former and of the latter Exploit of the *Spaniards*, and of the Pains they took to be acquainted with the maritime Parts of his Empire, began to grow jealous thereat, and was uneaſy in his turn to know who and what theſe People were, and why they took ſo much Pains to be inſtructed as to the State of Countries that did not belong to them: To anſwer this Purpoſe effectually, he gave Directions to the Governors of theſe Provinces to entertain theſe Strangers civilly, to take every Opportunity that offered of trading with them, and to ſend him, from time to time, ſuch an Account of their Motions, as might enable him clearly to diſcern what Opinion he ought to entertain of them. It was in Conſequence of theſe Inſtructions, that the *Indians* ſet up theſe Colours, to invite the Strangers on Shore.

On the other hand, the *Spaniards* ſeeing themſelves invited by the Signals of the Colours *Grijalva*, ordered two Boats to go aſhore, and in them Captain *Francis de Montejo*,

tejo, with all the Muſketeers and twenty other Soldiers, with Directions, that, in caſe the *Indians* appeared in a warlike Poſture, he ſhould give notice of it, that Succours might be ſent. As ſoon as they landed they offered him Fowls, Bread, and Fruit; the *Indian*, *Julian*, not underſtanding that Language, which was the *Mexican*, and they perfuming the *Spaniards*, burning Copal in little Fire-pans; *Montejo* ſent advice to *Grijalva*, who, thereupon came up cloſe with the Ships and landed, when one of the King of *Mexico*'s Governors, and the other great Men, paid him much Reſpect, he having given them ſome Glaſs-Beads and Necklaces of ſeveral Colours. The Governor ordered the *Indians* to bring Gold to barter, and in the ſpace of ſix Days they ſtayed there, they got the Value of 15,000 Pieces of Eight in Gold Baubles, and Toys in ſeveral Shapes.

4. All things had hitherto ſucceeded happily, ſo as to do great Credit to the Commander in chief, and to thoſe who were under him, but ſtill there was nothing done comparable to the Expectations which had been raiſed in *Cuba* of this Expedition; which prompted them to loſe no time, but to continue their Voyage with the utmoſt Diligence, and, at the ſame time, with all poſſible Caution. *John Grijalva* therefore contented the Caziques with Preſents of ſuch things as he had, and having taken Poſſeſſion of the New Country for the King, and for *James Velaſquez*, in his Majeſty's Name, embarked again becauſe the North Winds blew there upon the Land, and he was not ſafe; finding an Iſland near the Continent he called it *Iſla Blancha*, or *white Iſland*, becauſe the Sands were whitiſh; and not very far from theſe another appeared four Leagues from the Coaſt, which, being well wooded, they called *la Verd*, or the *Green*. Farther they ſaw another a League and a half from Land, and there being a good Road oppoſite to it, *Grijalva* ordered the Ships to anchor there; he went to the Iſland with the Boats, becauſe there was Smoak, and found two Houſes well built with Lime and Stone, having many Steps that led up to Altars, on which there were Idols; and they perceived that five Men had been ſacrificed there that Night, their Breaſts being ripped open, their Legs and Thighs being cut off, and the Walls bloody, which much aſtoniſhed the Chriſtians, and therefore they call this the *Iſland of Sacrifices*.

They landed, again, oppoſite to the Iſland, where they made themſelves Huts of Boughs and the Sails of the Ships, whither ſome reſorted to barter Gold in ſmall Figures; but the Gold being inconſiderable, and the *Indians* fearful, the *Spaniards* removed to another little Iſland about half a League from the Main. They landed on a Strand, built Barracs on the higheſt Part of thoſe Sands to avoid the Plague of the *Moſquitos*, or *Gnats*; and having ſounded the Harbour, found there was ſufficent Water, and that the little Iſland ſheltered them from the Northwind. *Grijalva* went over to the Iſland with thirty Soldiers, in two Boats, where he found a Temple with Idols, and four Men who wore very long black Mantles with Hoods, being the Prieſts of the Temple, and, that very Day, had ſacrificed two Boys, whom they found ripped open, and their Hearts taken out; a piece of Cruelty which moved the *Spaniards* to Compaſſion. *Grijalva* aſked an *Indian* he had carried from the River *de Banderas*, who ſeemed a good rational Man, what that was for, who anſwered, that the People of *Ulua* would have it ſo. The Name of the *Spaniſh* Commander in chief being *John*, and the time of the Year about the Feaſt of St. *John Baptiſt*, he gave that Name to the Iſland, and accordingly it has always been called *St. John de Ulua*, to diſtinguiſh it from *St. John de Puerto Rico*.

Grijalva ſtaid there ſeven Days bartering for ſome ſmall quantity of Gold; the Men being quite tired with the Trouble given by Gnats, having certain Knowledge that the Land they had been on was the Continent, and that there were great Towns on it, juſtifying the Name given it of *New Spain*; the Cazibi Bread growing mouldy and bitter, and the Men being too few to ſettle a Colony, becauſe ten had died of their Wounds, and others were ſick; it was thought fit to give an Account of all things to the Governor *Velaſquez*, eſpecially as he had ordered not to make any Settlement, that he might ſend a greater Number if he ſhould judge it fit to be done; for *Grijalva*, notwithſtanding all the aforeſaid Reaſons to the contrary, was always of Opinion to build a Town. *Peter de Alverado* was made Choice of to carry this Meſſage to *James Velaſquez*, in the Ship *St. Sebaſtian*, and to take with him all the Gold and other things that had been traded for, and all the ſick. *Velaſquez*, after the Departure of *Grijalva*, from *Cuba*, had been in much Care for his Ships, as ſailing on unknown Seas, and therefore ſent *Chriſtopher de Olido*, a Commander of Note, in a Ship with ſeventy Soldiers, to get Intelligence.

He being at Anchor on the Coaſt of *Yucatan*, there aroſe ſuch a Storm as obliged him to cut his Cables, and run back to *Santiago*, in *Cuba*, whence he had ſet out; and, at the ſame time, arrived *Peter de Alverado* with the Gold, Cotton Cloths, and a Relation of what had been done and diſcovered, which was mighty agreeable to *Velaſquez*, who conceived great hopes of that Enterprize, and the Report was ſpread abroad to the great Aſtoniſhment of all Men.

Velaſquez being a ſevere Man to thoſe that ſerved him, and eſpecially provoked againſt ſuch as were miſrepreſented, alſo over-credulous, and *Peter de Alverado* having been one of thoſe that were for ſettling a Colony, and repreſenting the Affair to him as he thought fit, gave him very ill Impreſſions of the Man who had ſerved him ſo faithfully, and with ſuch ſtrict regard to the Orders he received from him at his Departure. But before we inſiſt on this, let us return to our Diſcoverers, and to the Progreſs they made in their Deſign of obtaining a clear Account of this Part of the Continent.

When Captain *Alverado* was gone for *Cuba*, *Grijalva*, by the advice of the Captains and Pilots, continued his Diſcovery; and coaſting along in ſight of the Mountains of *Tuſpa*; ſo called from the Town near by them, and others, higher than they, for the ſame Reaſon, called *Tuſpa*; farther in the Province of *Panuco*, they ſaw Towns, and a River which they called *Decanoas*. As they lay at Anchor, not being upon their Guard, ten Canoes, full of armed Men, appeared, and drawing near to the leaſt Ship, commanded by *Alonſo d'Avila*, poured in a flight of Arrows, wounded five Soldiers, laid hold of the Cables and cut one, intending to carry off the Ship; and, though the Men in it behaved well, and overſet two of the Canoes, yet they ſtood in need of the Fire-arms from the other Ships; for the moſt of the *Indians* being wounded by them, deſiſted from their Enterprize, and ſheered off; the *Spaniards* ſailed along the Coaſt till they came to a very large Point of Land, which being very difficult to double, and the Currents extraordinary ſtrong, the Pilot *Alaminos*, gave *Grijalva* many Reaſons to ſhew that it was not convenient to proceed any farther that Way; the Captains, Pilots, and principal Men, conſulting together what ſhould be done, thoſe that had been before for ſettling a Colony, were for turning back to find a proper Place for it.

The Captains, *Montejo*, and *Avila*, who differed in Judgment, alledged that Winter was drawing on, and Proviſions were ſcarce, for which Reaſon, and becauſe one of the Ships was leaky, it was proper to return to *Cuba*; beſides, that they were not able to maintain their Ground because the Natives were numerous and warlike, and the *Spaniards* much fatigued with being ſo long at Sea. *Grijalva* conſidering that his Inſtructions were poſitive not to ſettle, and that his Commanders oppoſed it, urging ſufficient Reaſons, thought fit to comply; and, tacking about, they arrived at the great River of *Guazacualco*, but could not enter it, the Weather preventing them. They proceeded to that of *Tanola*, which they called of *St. Antony*, where they careened the leaky Ship. In the mean time many *Indians* came from the Town, which was a League off, with Hens, Bread, and other Eatables, which they parted with for *Spaniſh* Toys; and the News being ſpread abroad, others came from *Guazacualco* and the reſt of the Neighbouring Towns, bringing Proviſions, ſome ſmall Gold Plates, and Copper Axes very bright, with the Shafts of them painted. The *Spaniards*, thinking thoſe Axes had been of pale Gold, purchaſed ſix hundred of them, and the *Indians* would willingly have parted with more.

A Soldier, whoſe Name was *Bartholomew Pardo*, went into a Temple that ſtood in the Fields, whence he took that Perfume which the *Indians* call *Copal*, or, as ſome call it, *Gum Anime*; he alſo took the Knives made of Flints, with which they ſacrificed Men, ripping open their Breaſts; and ſome Idols; all which he delivered to the Commander in chief, having firſt taken off their Ear-rings, Pendants, Plates, and Crowns of Gold, worth about ninety Pieces of Eight; but, not being able to conceal his Joy for the Booty, *Grijalva* had Notice of it, who ordered all to be taken from him; yet, being of a generous Temper, reſtored them upon paying the fifth to the King. The Ship being refitted, in forty-five Days they arrived at *Cuba* with four thouſand Pieces of Eight in Gold, beſides what *Alverado* had carried, and the Copper Axes, which, when they went to pay the fifth, thinking them to have been Gold, they found ruſty, to the Confuſion of the Purchaſers.

They put into the Port of *Matancas*, where they found a Letter from the Governor, ordering *Grijalva* to make haſte to the Port of *Santiago*, and to tell the Men that another Fleet was fitting out to return thither to make a Settlement; and that they who intended to go back ſhould remain in ſome Farms he had thereabouts. *Grijalva* made haſte to *Santiago*, where the Fleet was making ready; and when he appeared before *Velaſquez*, he had no Thanks for the Trouble he had been at; but was abuſed, becauſe he had not ſettled, though it was purſuant to his own Inſtructions; which was a great Overſight in *Velaſquez*, and ſuch an Overſight as was altogether inexcuſable; for his great Point was, to find in the firſt Place a Man capable of making ſuch a Diſcovery, and in the next, one incapable of betraying him in order to ſet up for himſelf.

There could not certainly be a more difficult, or a more uneaſy Employment, than to ſearch out ſuch a Perſon; but one would have imagined, that a Man of ſo much good Senſe as *Velaſquez* really was, would have had Wit enough to have kept him, when Experience had demonſtrated that *Grijalva* was ſuch a Man. The very thing for which he diſgraced him, ought chiefly to have preſerved him from that Fate, ſince nothing but a ſcrupulous Regard to Inſtructions could poſſibly tie down a Man who had made great Diſcoveries, from taking that Method which was moſt likely to acquire him Reputation, and to eſtabliſh at once his Fortune and Independency. But *Velaſquez*, like many other Men of good Senſe, preferred other People's Opinions to his own, and thereby loſt the Advantage which his ſuperior Talents would have given him, though it is highly probable that this Error of his might contribute more to the important Conqueſts made by the *Spaniards* in thoſe Parts than the wiſeſt Meaſures he could have taken, as the Reader will ſee at large in the enſuing Sections; but it is now time to conclude this with a few Obſervations and Remarks, which I flatter myſelf will be of ſome Uſe to the Reader.

15. The vaſt and ſurpriſing Succeſs which the *Spaniards* met with in reducing ſo many fine Iſlands, and ſuch rich and fruitful Countries under their Dominion, has united a multitude of Writers in a Notion, that they conducted their Affairs with that extraordinary Prudence and Steadineſs of Character, for which they have been always remarkable; but a little Reflection on the Facts related in this and the foregoing Sections will ſhew, that this Notion is abſolutely groundleſs, and that they acted in this Matter with as little Conduct and with leſs Judgment than could have been expected from a Nation at that time in ſo high a Reputation for Wiſdom, as they were. The Truth is, that it was the Virtue of Particulars that acquired all; and, in this Reſpect, they were indeed very fortunate, ſince few Nations could boaſt of abler Politicians, or of more expert Captains than thoſe three great Men to whom the *Spaniards* owe their mighty Empire in *America*.

The firſt was the Admiral *Columbus* who diſcovered the Iſlands, and upon whoſe Schemes thoſe Diſcoverers went who found and ſubdued the two great Empires on the Continent. The next was *Ferdinand Cortes*, and the Third, the Marquis *Pizaro*, Men of incredible Abilities, and therefore worthy of immortal Reputation. There is no doubt that their Atchievements, weighed in the Balance of Reaſon, very far exceeded thoſe of moſt of the Antients; for whereas, theſe had commonly good Tools to work with, thoſe not only did their Work but forged their Tools. To convince the judicious Reader of what I ſay, I ſhall not ſend him for Inſtances without the Limits of this Performance; for having given this Work the Title of a *Library*, there ought to be nothing wanting in it that is neceſſary to make its Subject underſtood. Let us compare then the Expedition of *Nearchus*, of which we have given the Hiſtory in our former Volume, with that of *Columbus*, let us conſider how great a Fleet, what a Number of Men, and what able Commanders he had, how ſmall a Diſcovery he made, ſailing always within Sight of Land, and only from the Mouth of the *Ganges* to the Head of the *Perſian Gulph*, yet how great a Figure does his Expedition make in the Works of the ableſt Authors of Antiquity, and what mighty Rewards were beſtowed upon him for thoſe Services, his important Diſcoveries. Yet *Columbus*, with three Veſſels, ſmaller than any of his, with ſcarce any Encouragement or Aſſiſtance from thoſe about him, made this ſurpriſing Tranſit from *Spain* to the *Weſt-Indies*, and eſtabliſhed the *Spaniards* there before his Death, in wider and more uſeful Conqueſts, than accrued to the Maſter of *Nearchus*, from his *Indian* Expedition. Let us compare the Force with which *Alexander* attacked the *Indians*, and failed of ſubduing them, with the Armies commanded by *Cortes* and *Pizaro*, and we ſhall find that the latter were beyond all queſtion, greater Conquerors, as we ſhall fully demonſtrate at the Cloſe of their reſpective Expeditions.

At preſent we mention theſe only as Proofs of the Truth of our Obſervation, that it was not the Wiſdom of the *Spaniſh* Government; but the perſonal Abilities of ſuch as were accidentally employed in their Service that brought about thoſe great Events. For, with regard to the former, we have ſeen how ill they treated the firſt Diſcoverer at Court, and how far they were from putting it in his Power to exert, even in their Service, his great Capacity to the utmoſt. After his Deceaſe, the Management of the Affairs of the *Indies* fell almoſt intirely into the Hands of the Biſhop of *Burgos*, who, of all the Stateſmen at that Court, was the leaſt fit to have been intruſted with them, and who in fact managed them in the ſtrangeſt manner imaginable. Liſtening, on the one hand, to the Propoſals of every needy Projector, as in the Caſe of the firſt Adventurers mentioned in this Section; and on the other, ſlighting the Schemes of thoſe who, by their general Knowledge of the *Indies*, were moſt likely to accompliſh great Things, and who, by their wiſe Conduct in the ſettling of their new Colonies, had, in their own Hands, a Power ſufficient to accompliſh them. Accordingly we ſhall ſee that of all the Biſhop's Inſtruments, not one ſucceeded in what he propoſed; but, on the contrary, brought themſelves to Beggary and Want, by raſhly engaging in Enterprizes every way beyond their Ability, whereas all the ſucceſsful Undertakings of the *Spaniards* were under ſuch as were employed by the Governors of Colonies, and conſequently the *Spaniſh* Miniſtry had no Right to take to themſelves any ſort of Credit from their Performances.

The only Favourites of our famous Biſhop *Fonſeca*, that made any Figure in the World, were two very bad Men, well provided with Impudence, but very indifferently furniſhed with other Talents. The firſt of theſe was *Americus Veſpucius*, whom we have already mentioned with little Credit, and whom we ſhall again have occaſion to mention with leſs. This Man, by the Intereſt of his Patron, was declared Chief Pilot of *Spain*, and to him all the Journals of Diſcoveries were communicated, from which he drew very elegant Maps, and helped out by his Fancy whatever Defects there was in his Memory, ſo that he exhibited things with a very graceful Proportion, and the only thing wanting in his Charts was a ſtrict Regard to Truth; but, however, they anſwered his Purpoſe very well, for, beſides ſecuring to him a good Place and a competent Salary; they enabled him to impoſe his Name on the new World, before he had diſcovered a Foot of it.

The other Creature of the Biſhop's that diſtinguiſhed himſelf, was *Bernard de Santa Clara*, whom he preferred to be Treaſurer of *Hiſpaniola*, under the Governor *Obando*, who was likewiſe in the Eſteem of the Biſhop, and the moſt worthy of all his Friends; the Treaſurer before mentioned, was a very indifferent Steward for the King, but acquired a very good Eſtate for himſelf, of which he was ſo proud, that, beſides the Salt for uſe he cauſed four large Salt-ſellers, full of Gold-duſt, to be ſet every Day upon his Table; which piece of Vanity being know in *Spain*, a Commiſſion was granted to inſpect this Gentleman's Accounts, and by this means it was diſcovered that he had cheated the King, or, at leaſt, was indebted to him in 80000 Peſos; which makes near 25000 Pounds in our Money. The Governor *Obando* was very ſenſible, that, when all this Man had was ſold, the King would hardly have his Due; but, to ſave the Biſhop's Credit, and his own, he bethought himſelf of a very extraordinary Expedient: He loved to paſs for a Man of ſtrict Juſtice, and therefore he ordered the Treaſurer's Effects to be ſet up to Auction; this was, in all appearance, very fair, and no Exception could be taken at it; but the Governor, when the Lots came to be put up, encouraged People to bid conſiderably more than they were worth, telling them that he would warrant it a good Bargain; they, to merit his Favour and Protection, bidding upon each other; the whole of his Effects were ſold for 96000 Peſos, ſo that the King had his Debt, and the Treaſurer a very pretty Fortune to begin the World with again. Such were the Arts, ſuch the Intrigues, of thoſe Men, who had oppreſſed the old Admiral, and ſuch the little dirty Contrivances by which they hid their own Failings.

Yet theſe things were done under the Reign of King *Ferdinand*, eſteemed one the wiſeſt Monarchs of his time; and things went rather worſe under the Emperor *Charles* V. though he was, certainly, in every Reſpect, as great a Prince as ever ſat upon the *Spaniſh* Throne. The Inference I would make from thence, is, that all Events, and under all Adminiſtrations, Diſcoveries ought to be attempted and encouraged, becauſe they carry in themſelves ſuch Incitements to compleat them, that they ſeldom or never fail of proving beneficial in the End, whatever Miſtakes there may fall out in the Management of them at the beginning.

Some aſcribe this to Chance, others with more Senſe as well as Decency, to Providence. But, however, certain it is, that great Occaſions provoke, if they do not produce, great Spirits; and when once the Way is open, and two or three Inſtances have ſhewn the World that many things are practicable, that for ſeveral Ages were thought impoſſible, mighty things are performed; for Emulation is a noble Principle, and one of the greateſt Secrets in Government is to excite it; for it is rarely ſeen that any thing meets either with Favour from the Great, or with popular Encouragement, but it is ſuddenly carried to a great Degree of Perfection. When once ſuch a Spirit is raiſed, even the moſt diſaſtrous Accidents cannot extinguiſh it; the Numbers of *Spaniards* that periſhed in the firſt Attempts on the Continent, by Shipwreck, Famine, and Diſeaſes; the unfortunate Ends of *Hojeda*, *Nicueſſa*, and *Cordova*, had no bad Effects in deterring others; for as all agreed there were Gold and Pearls to be met with in thoſe Parts; the Thirſt of Gain in ſome, and the Thirſt of Glory in others, ſoon overcame the Terror of ſuch Examples, which at firſt Sight, one would have thought impoſſible to have removed; beſides, their wanted not ſome who diverted the blame of all theſe Miſcarriages, from the Difficulty of the Enterprize, on the Imprudence or ſome other Imperfection of the Commander; and, as Slanders always find an eaſy Belief, ſo the Imputations that fell upon the Dead, ſerved to encourage the Living; and Men were eaſily brought to think that either their ſuperior Capacities, or better Fortune, would carry them through, notwithſtanding former Adventurers had failed.

To theſe we may add ſeveral concurring Circumſtances, which gave Life and Vigour to theſe Undertakings, and which, for the Sake of Brevity, we ſhall reduce under three general Heads. Firſt then, the Marriage of Don *Diego Colon*, to *Donna Maria de Toledo*, induced a great many young Gentlemen, and ſome Ladies of good Families, to tranſport themſelves to *Hiſpaniola*, which proved of incredible Service to the new Colony, as we may eaſily conceive, if we reflect on the *Spaniſh* Temper, and that it had in it, formerly, a much ſtronger Tincture of the Heroic, or if you will, romantic Spirit, of which it ſtill retains enough; and which, of all others, was the fitteſt for promoting ſuch kind of Exploits. The ſecond was the eſtabliſhing a ſovereign Tribunal at *Santo Domingo*; the Members of which having large Salaries; ſome conſiderable Perſons, and thoſe too of a more advanced Age, were thereby engaged to accept of theſe Employments; which carried over likewiſe a new Train of young People, in Quality of their Dependants, and there being a continual Struggle for Power between this new Tribunal, or as the *Spaniards* ſtile it, the *Royal Audience of Santo Domingo, and the Admiral*; this created ſuch a Jealouſy and Competition amongſt the Dependants on both Parties, as had very favourable Effects on Affairs in general, and greatly promoted the Succeſs of the Colony; how much ſoever it might perplex or diſturb their Superiors, by the Trouble it occaſioned. The third and laſt that we ſhall mention, was the Diſtaſte taken, eſpecially at his firſt coming to the Crown, againſt the Emperor *Charles*, on account of his Partiality in favour of his Countrymen, the *Flemings*, which induced the Flower of the *Spaniſh* Gentry to think rather of advancing their Fortunes in the *Indies*, whither none but *Spaniards* could go, than their Credit in his Service; whom they judged to be neither over-willing to diſcern their Merit, nor over-ready to reward it.

Theſe Obſervations as they ariſe naturally from what has been before related, ſo they will ſerve greatly to illuſtrate the following Sections; in which we ſhall exhibit to the view of the Reader, as great Inſtances of Courage and Conduct; of civil Policy, and military Skill, as are to be met with in any Hiſtory whatever; and for the Honour of the *Spaniards* it muſt be acknowledged, that how ill ſoever thoſe Heroes who conquered *America* were treated by their Stateſmen; the learned Pens of that Nation have done as much Juſtice to their Labours, as themſelves could wiſh, and have not ſuffered any of their Actions to appear with leſs Luſtre to Poſterity in their Writings, than the Recital of ſuch great and glorious Performances deſerved. But it is now time to quit theſe Reflections, and to reſume the Thread of our Hiſtory, which leads us to ſhew on what Grounds, in what manner, and with what Force the Conqueſt of the great Empire of *Mexico* was undertaken.

SECTION VII.

The Expedition of HERNAN CORTES *for the Reduction of* New-Spain, *from the Time of his being appointed to that Command, unto his being obliged to return to the Iſland of* Cozumel.

1. *The Reſolution taken by* Diego Velaſquez, *Governor of* Cuba, *to purſue the Diſcoveries and Settlements*
of New-Spain, *and the Meaſures taken for equipping a third Squadron for this Expedition.* 2. *The*
Character of Cortes, *who was appointed Commander in chief, and the manner in which he attained that*
Command by the Nomination of Velaſquez. 3. *Departure of the Fleet from* St. Jago de Cuba, *and the*
Reaſons why Velaſquez *laboured to deprive* Cortes *of the Command he had given him.* 4. *The Attempts*
made by Velaſquez *to carry this Deſign of his into Execution, and the Methods which were ſucceſsfully*
uſed by Cortes *to overthrow and defeat them.* 5. Cortes *takes upon him the Command, notwithſtanding*
Velaſquez *recalled his Commiſſion, and proceeds in his Voyage with the univerſal Applauſe of all who are*
engaged in the Deſign. 6. *Arrives at the Iſland of* Cozumel, *and remedies all the Diſorders which had*
been occaſioned by the coming thither of a Part of his Fleet before him, under Peter Alverado. 7. *Sails*
from thence with a Deſign of proſecuting his Expedition, but finds himſelf obliged to return thither with
his Fleet. 8. *There comes thither, during his ſtay, one* Jerom de Aguilar, *a* Spaniard, *long a Priſoner*
in Yucatan, *who gives a large Account of that Country, and of its Products.* 9. *Obſervations and Re-*
marks on the foregoing Section, with ſome Reflections on the political Character of Cortes.

1. THE Diſcoveries made on the Continent, under the Direction of thoſe employed by *Diego Velaſquez*, made a prodigious Noiſe over all the *Weſt-Indies*, and multitudes there were who ſhewed a Readineſs to hazard their Lives, and embark their Fortunes for the Proſecution of this Deſign. We have, in the former Section, ſhewn how this Country, when firſt diſcovered, came to be called *New Spain*; for the Soldiers obſerving to one another the Reſemblance between the Soil and Climate of this ſtrange Land, with thoſe of their own, the Compariſon made ſuch an Impreſſion upon their Minds, that they cried out one and all, a *New Spain*, a *New Spain*; ſo that while other Colonies derived their Names either from the miſunderſtanding of *Indian* Words, or from the arbitrary Pleaſure of the firſt Diſcoverers, this was impoſed by the Voice of the People.

But the great Buſineſs was to ſecure and ſettle this new found Country, and that immediately and without Delay; for *Velaſquez* ſaw plainly, that if he did not proceed in his Deſign, it would be undertaken, either from other Colonies, or by Perſons commiſſioned directly from *Old Spain*; and it was the Apprehenſion of this that made him ſo very angry, though with very little Reaſon, at the Conduct of his Couſin and Creature, *John Grijalva*, in not making a Settlement there, though in expreſs Compliance with his own Order. His own Ambition hindered him from diſtinguiſhing another's Obedience; and the vaſt Hopes he had formed to himſelf, from the Diſcovery and Conqueſt of *New Spain*, would not permit him to receive any Excuſe from him, who, as he thought, had defeated them. On the other hand *Grijalva* was extremely modeſt, which hindered him from defending himſelf as he might have done; ſo that he contented himſelf with ſhewing the Inſtructions he had received, and inſiſting that his Behaviour ſhould be tried by them; which *Velaſquez* looked upon as a tacit Imputation on himſelf; he applied all his Care, however, to the refitting the Veſſels employed in the laſt Expedition, and equipping both them and others, for a new one, in which he ſucceeded very happily, and had in a ſhort time, ſuch a Proſpect of a Fleet, capable of carrying into execution the Deſigns he had formed, that he directed his Agents at the Court of *Spain*, to inſiſt upon very high Terms, particularly that he ſhould be declared Lord Lieutenant of the Countries ſubdued by his Direction, and at his Expence.

His Preparations being in ſuch Forwardneſs it was abſolutely neceſſary that he ſhould make choice of ſome body to act in quality of General and Commander in chief: And, in this he found himſelf under very great Difficulties. The inferior Officers, and even the People in general, who were to make the Voyage, were very deſirous of their old Commander, *John Grijalva*; but to this, he would by no means agree, either from an obſtinate ill grounded Perſuaſion of his want of Capacity, or, becauſe he was afraid of truſting a Man whom he had injured in ſo high a Degree. When his Friends and Counſellors ſaw this, they recommended ſeveral others, rather in Compliance with their own Intereſt and Notions, then from a juſt Eſteem of their Abilities, and a due Notion of the great Danger there was in committing the Conduct of ſo important an Enterprize, to one who might prove unequal to the Taſk.

This gave exceſſive Uneaſineſs to *Velaſquez*, who was a better Judge of Men than thoſe who adviſed him, and who had probably been more ſucceſsful in his Choice, at leaſt with regard to his own Intereſt, if he had acted without any Advice at all.

At laſt, when the Seaſon for ſailing approached, and this Affair would admit of no longer Delay, *Amador de Laris*, the King's Treaſurer, and *Andres de Duero*, his Secretary, took upon them to mention *Ferdinand*, or, as the *Spaniards* call him, *Hernan Cortes*, but in a very artful Way; for they told the Governor, that in doing this, they had not the Service of their Friend ſo much at Heart, as the Good of the Expedition: and the Character they gave him was ſo modeſt, and ſo much ſhort of the Truth, that *Velaſquez*, who knew him as well as they did, was extremely ſenſible that they did not endeavour to impoſe upon him; and therefore, from the very beginning, he liſtened readily to their Recommendations; he knew very well, that not only great, but even contrary Talents were requiſite in the Perſon he wanted, who of Neceſſity muſt be a Man of high Spirit, capable of acting from his own Lights in all Caſes, without adhering too ſtrictly to Inſtructions, and at the ſame time it was to be wiſhed that he ſhould preſerve ſuch a Regard for the Perſon who employed him, as not to be tempted by any Succeſs whatever to throw off his Dependance. Hard Qualities theſe to be found, but Qualities about which the wiſeſt Man might be eaſily miſtaken.

2. Before we go farther, it will be proper to ſay who *Hernan Cortes* was, and through what variety of Events his happy Deſtiny led him to atchieve the Conqueſt of *New Spain*. He was born in *Medillin*, a Town of *Eſtremadura*, Son of *Martin Cortes*, of *Monroy*, and *Donna Catalina Pizaro Altamarino*, Names that ſufficiently declare the Nobility of his Extraction. In his Youth he for ſome time applied himſelf to Letters, and was two Years at *Salamanca*, which were ſufficient to make him ſenſible that the Application of a ſtudious Life, was contrary to his Temper. He returned home, reſolved to follow the Wars, and his Parents pointed out to him *Italy*, but when he came to embark, he fell dangerouſly ill, by which Accident he found himſelf obliged to change his Intention, though not his Profeſſion, and therefore he reſolved to go to the *Indies*, where the War, at that time, was carried on with a View to Glory, rather than to Wealth. He embarked with the Approbation of his Parents, in the Year 1504; and carried Letters of Recommendation to Don *Nicholas de Obando*, great Commander of the Order of *Alcantara*, his Kinſman, and then Governor of the Iſland of *St. Domingo*.

He was no ſooner arrived there, and known, than he gained general Eſteem, and was ſo kindly received by the Governor, as to be immediately admitted into the Number of his Friends; but all theſe Favours were not ſufficient to divert his Inclination to Arms, for he was ſo uneaſy at the Inaction wherein he found that Iſland which the *Spaniards* now poſſeſſed, without any Oppoſition from the Natives, that he deſired leave to go and ſerve

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is the Iſle of *Cuba*, where the War was ſtill carried on; and having gained the Conſent of his Kinſman, he endeavoured to ſignalize himſelf in that War, by Valour and Obedience, which are the firſt Virtues of a military Profeſſion. He very ſoon acquired not only the Reputation of a valiant Soldier, but alſo that of an able Commander; diſtinguiſhing both his Courage in Action, and his Capacity in Council. *Cortes* was well made, of an agreeable Countenance, and, beſides theſe common natural Endowments, he was of a Temper which rendered him amiable; for he always ſpoke well of the Abſent, and was pleaſant and diſcreet in his Converſation. His Generoſity was ſuch, that his Friends partook of all he had, without being ſuffered by him to publiſh their Obligations.

He married in that Iſland, *Donna Cathalina Suarez Pacheco*, a noble and virtuous young Lady. This Courtſhip brought him under many Difficulties, by the Interfering of *Diego Valeſquez*, who made him Priſoner till ſuch time as all Differences were adjuſted; and then *Velaſquez* gave her to him in Marriage, after which they were intimate Friends, and the Governor, in a little Time, gave him a Diſtribution of *Indians*, and the Poſt of *Alcade* or chief Magiſtrate in the Town of *St. Jago*; an Employment uſually conferred on thoſe who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the Conqueſt of thoſe Countries. In theſe Circumſtances was *Herman Cortes*, when *Amador de Laris*, and *Andres de Duero*, propoſed him for the Conqueſt of *New Spain:* And they did it with ſo much Addreſs, that the next Time they waited upon *Diego Velaſquez*, furniſhed with freſh Reaſons to enforce their Recommendation, they found him reſolved on *Cortes*, and ſo poſſeſſed with the Advantages of entruſting the Undertaking to his Care, that they changed their premeditated Arguments into Flattery; and only endeavoured to oblige him by applauding a Reſolution ſo agreeable to their own Wiſhes. They agreed with the Governor that it was convenient immediately to publiſh the Choice, in order to put a Stop, at once, to all farther Pretenſions; and *Andres de Duero* was not ſlow in the Diſpatch of the Commiſſion.

Cortes received his new Charge from *Velaſquez* with great Expreſſions of Reſpect; being as ſenſibly affected with the Confidence the Governor repoſed in him, as he was afterwards with his Diſtruſt. The Reſolution was made public, and well received among thoſe who deſired to ſee that Affair brought to a Concluſion; but occaſioned much Diſcontent among his Rivals for the Employment. Thoſe who had declared themſelves with the greateſt Coldneſs, were the Relations of *Diego Valeſquez*; who made very ſtrong Efforts to raiſe in the Governor a Diſtruſt in *Cortes*. 'Tis reported, that *Diego Valaſquez* walking out with *Cortes*, and with his Friends and Relations, a pleaſant crack-brained Fellow, with whoſe Whimſies he uſed to be diverted, ſaid to him, Thou haſt done well Friend *Diego*; ſhortly there will be Occaſion for another Fleet to go in purſuit of *Cortes*. But *Diego Velaſquez* ſtood firm to his Reſolution, and *Cortes* wholly applied himſelf to haſten the Preparations for his Departure. The firſt Step, was to erect his Standard with the Sign of the Croſs; having this Inſcription in *Latin*, *Let us follow the Croſs, for with this Sign we ſhall overcome.*

He appeared in the Habit of a Soldier, which became his Perſon well, and ſuited his Inclinations better; he employed his own Stock liberally, and what he could borrow from his Friends, in the buying of Proviſions, Arms, and Ammunition, to haſten the Departure of the Fleet; endeavouring, at the ſame Time, to draw together a Number of Soldiers for the Expedition, in which he did not find much Difficulty; for, the very Name of Enterprize, and the Fame of the Captain, were ſo great that, in a few Days, were liſted three hundred Soldiers; among whom, were *Diego de Ordaz*, the principal Confident of the Governor, *Franciſco de Morla*, *Bernard Diaz del Caſtillo* (who has written the Hiſtory of this Conqueſt) and other Gentlemen. The Time for their Departure being come, Orders were given for the Soldiers to embark, which they did in the Day-time, the People all running to the Sight; and at Night, *Cortes*, accompanied by his Friends, went to take leave of the Governor, who embraced him in a very friendly Manner, and the next Morning accompanied him to the Sea-ſide, and ſaw him embark. Small Circumſtances, and of little Importance, if ſome had not wrote, without any manner of Reaſon, that he called the Soldiers together from their Houſes, at Midnight, embarking with them by ſtealth; and that *Diego Velaſquez* going out after him in the Morning, *Cortes* came up to him in a Boat well armed, and gave him to underſtand, in a diſreſpectful Manner, that he no longer had regard to his Orders.

3. The Fleet weighed from the Port of *St. Jago*, in *Cuba*, the 18th Day of *November*, 1518; and, having coaſted along the North-ſide of the Iſland, ſailed towards the Eaſt, and in a few Days arrived at the Port of *la Trinadad*, where *Cortes* had ſome Friends, who gave him a very kind Reception. With this Reinforcement of Gentlemen, and an hundred Soldiers who came from the two Settlements, the Strength of the Fleet was conſiderably augmented; and, at the ſame Time, Care was taken to buy up Proviſions, Arms, and ſome Horſes. *Cortes* aſſiſted all who wanted with his Money; but ſcarce had left the Port of *St. Jago*, when his Enemies began to cry out againſt him, talking of his Diſobedience, after the Cuſtom of Cowards, who always attack the Abſent.

Diego Velaſquez hearkened to their Diſcourſe, and though he ſeemed to be diſpleaſed, they diſcovered in his Mind Jealouſy, eaſy to be worked up to an entire Diſtruſt; to which end they made uſe of *Juan Millan*, who, notwithſtanding he was very ignorant, pretended to the Knowledge of Aſtrology. This Man, ſet on by others, having engaged *Velaſquez* to Secrecy, acquainted him in myſterious Terms, that this Expedition would have a fortunate and unfortunate Event, giving him to underſtand that he had learned ſo much from the Stars; and though *Diego Velaſquez* was a Man of ſufficient Senſe to diſcern the Vanity of ſuch Prognoſtications, nevertheleſs as his Foible was Jealouſy, this had ſuch an Effect, that notwithſtanding he deſpiſed the Aſtrologer, he began to be affected by what he ſaid. From ſuch ſlight Beginnings ſprang the firſt Reſolution which *Diego Velaſquez* took to break with *Cortes*, by depriving him of the Command of the Fleet; he diſpatched immediately two Couriers to *la Trinadad*, with expreſs Orders to *Franciſco Verdago* his Couſin, to diſpoſſeſs him of his Captain Generalſhip, in a judicial Way, as ſuppoſing his Commiſſion now revoked, and another Perſon named in his Room.

Cortes was quickly informed of this Accident, and without being diſcouraged at the Difficulty of the Remedy, ſhewed himſelf to his Friends and Soldiers, that he might know in what Manner they would reſent the Injury done to their Captain, and how far he might depend upon the Juſtice of his Cauſe, by the Judgment they paſſed upon it: He found them all not only in his Intereſt, but reſolved to defend him from ſuch an Injury, though it ſhould carry them to the laſt Extremity of taking Arms in his Defence; and though *Diego de Ordaz*, and *Julian Velaſquez de Leon* were leſs warm, as depending more upon the Governor; they were eaſily brought to approve that, which they had not Power to hinder. Being thus ſecure, he went to viſit the Alcade. He laid before him the Danger to which he might expoſe himſelf in ſupporting ſuch a Piece of Injuſtice, by diſguſting ſo many Perſons of Diſtinction as followed him; and how much the Fury of Soldiers was to be feared, whoſe Affections he had gained, that he might the better ſerve *Diego Velaſquez*; and that he already found it difficult to keep them within the Bounds of Obedience to him.

Franciſco Verdago approved his Reaſons from a Principle of Generoſity, and offered not only to ſuſpend the Execution of the Order, but to write to *Diego Velaſquez* to engage him to deſiſt from a Reſolution, which was now impracticable; *Diego de Ordaz*, and the reſt who had any Intereſt with the Governor, offered to do the ſame, and wrote immediately. *Cortes* likewiſe wrote to him, complaining of his Diſtruſt, without ſhewing how far he was diſguſted, or omitting his ordinary Reſpect.

Theſe Meaſures taken to quiet the Mind of *Velaſquez*; *Cortes* reſolved to proſecute his Voyage, and, ſending *Pedro Alverado* by Land, with a ſtrong Party of Soldiers, to take care of the Horſes, and raiſe more Men in the Settlements upon the Road, he ſailed with the Fleet for the *Havanna*.

The Ships parted from *la Trinidad* with a favourable Wind; but, at the coming on of the Night, they ſeparated from the *Capitana*, where *Cortes* was on board, without obſerving, as they ought to have done, the Courſe he ſtood, or perceiving the Error of the Pilots, until the Day diſcovered it; but being now far advanced, they continued their Voyage, and arrived at the *Havanna*, where the Soldiers landed. They were kindly entertained by *Pedro de Barba*, at that time Governor of the *Havanna*, under *Velaſquez.* They were much concerned that they had not waited for their Captain, but their Diſcourſes on that Subject went no farther than to furniſh themſelves with Excuſes againſt his Arrival; yet perceiving that he ſtaid longer than they thought it poſſible he could, unleſs ſome Misfortune had befallen him, they began to be uneaſy and divided in their Opinions: Some were for ſending two or three Veſſels in Search of him; ſome propoſed to name a Commander in Chief in his Abſence, but others thought ſuch a Propoſition unſeaſonable; however, as nobody commanded, every one gave his Verdict, and nothing was done.

He who moſt inſiſted upon naming a Commander, was *Diego de Ordaz*; who, as a Confident of *Velaſquez*, expected to be preferred to the reſt; and thought, that by gaining of this Point, he ſhould ſtand fair to obtain that Poſt from *Velaſquez*. But at laſt, after a Diſpute of ſeven Days, *Cortes* ſafely arrived with the *Capitana.* His Delay was occaſioned by the Fleet's paſſing over ſome Flats, which lie between the Harbour of *la Trinidad* and Cape *St. Anthony*, at a ſmall Diſtance from the Iſle of *Pines*; where the *Capitana*, as being the largeſt Ship, ſtruck, and was in Danger of being over-ſet.

4. This Accident ſerved to raiſe his Reputation; for animating his Men on the View of the Danger, he gave ſuch Orders as were neceſſary, with great Preſence of Mind, and without Confuſion. His firſt Care was to put out his Boat, and take out the Ship's Lading, which was carried to a little ſandy Iſland; by which Means he ſo far lightened her, as to ſet her afloat; after which, getting clear of the Shole, he took her Lading on board again, and purſued his Courſe; having thus ſpent the ſeven Days he was detained, and thereby much advanced his Reputation. *Pedro de Barba* lodged him in his own Houſe, and he was received with great Acclamations by his Soldiers, whoſe Numbers immediately increaſed; ſeveral of the Inhabitants and Gentry entering into the Service; among theſe were *Franciſco de Montejo*, who was afterwards the King's Lieutenant of *Yucatan*; *Diego de Soto del Toro*, *Garcia Caro*, *Juan Sedo*, and other Perſons of Diſtinction and Fortune, who added very much to the Reputation of the Enterprize.

Theſe Preperations took up ſome Days, but as *Cortes* knew not how to be idle, he commanded the Artillery to be brought on Shore to be cleaned and proved; ordered the Cannoniers to obſerve, exactly, how far each Gun would carry; and, as there was great Plenty of Cotton thereabouts, he directed the making a ſufficient Quantity of defenſive Arms. Theſe were a kind of Quilts in the Form of great Coats, which were called *Eſcaupilles*: Neceſſity inventing what Experience afterwards approved. It being found that Cotton ſtitched between two Cloths was a better Defence than Iron againſt the Arrows and Darts of the *Indians*; for they loſt their Force, by the weak Reſiſtance they met with; and were likewiſe hindered from glancing from one Man to another. At the ſame Time he exerciſed his Soldiers in the Uſe of their Fire-arms and Croſs-bows, and the Management of their Pikes: He taught them how to form and file off in Order; how to charge, and how to ſecure a Poſt: Inſtructing them both by Voice and Example, in the Rudiments of War, after the Manner of Antiquity; which Practice, in Time of Peace, was in ſo much Eſteem among the *Romans*, that from this kind of Exerciſe they gave their Armies the Name of *Exercitus*.

With the like Diligence and Ardour he went on with the reſt of his Preparations; but when every one was rejoicing at the near Approach of the Day appointed for their Departure, *Gaſpar de Garnica*, a Servant of *Velaſquez*, arrived at the *Havanna* with freſh Orders to *Pedro de Barba*, expreſly enjoining him to diſpoſſeſs *Cortes* of the Command of the Fleet, and to ſend him Priſoner under a good Eſcort; telling him how highly he had been diſpleaſed with *Franciſco Verdago*, for letting him go from *la Trinidad*: And withal, giving him to underſtand how much he would riſque in not complying with his Orders. He likewiſe ſent to *Diego de Ordaz*, and to *Juan Velaſquez de Leon*, to be aſſiſting to *Pedro de Barba* in the Execution of his Commands. But *Cortes* was advertiſed of what was doing from ſeveral Hands, and even from *Garnica.* They warned him to take care of himſelf, ſince he, who firſt entruſted his Enterprize to his Conduct, was now going to diſcard him, in a Manner highly injurious to his Honour, and who freed him from the Scandal of Ingratitude, by forcing from him the Favour for which he ſtood obliged. *Cortes*, though a Man of great Spirit, could not help being ſhocked with this new Attempt, which touched him the more ſenſibly, the leſs it was expected; for he thought *Velaſquez* had been ſatisfied with the Aſſurances that had been given him by all, in their Anſwer to his firſt Orders which came to *la Trinidad*; but being convinced of his Obſtinacy, he began with leſs Temper to think of taking care of himſelf. He acknowledged that *Velaſquez* had expended ſome Money in fitting out the Fleet, but the greateſt Part of the Charge was borne by himſelf and his Friends, and almoſt all the Soldiers were raiſed upon their Credit: He was alſo concerned for the Enterprize, which he foreſaw would entirely miſcarry if he quitted it; but that which moſt ſenſibly affected him, was the Wound given to his Honour, which is dearer than Life itſelf; and upon theſe Reflections *Cortes* took his firſt Reſolution of breaking with *Velaſquez*, judging that it was now no longer a Time to ſmother his Reſentment, but reſolved to provide for himſelf, and make Uſe of the Force he was Maſter of, as Occaſion ſhould require. To this end, before *Pedro de Barba* had determined to publiſh the Order he had againſt him, he made haſte to ſend away from the *Havanna Diego de Ordaz*, whoſe Fidelity he ſuſpected on Account of the Efforts he had made to be choſen Commander in chief in his Abſence. He therefore commanded him to embark immediately on board one of the Veſſels, and to make the beſt of his Way to *Guanicanico*, a Settlement ſituate on the other Side of the Cape *St. Antony*, to take in ſome Proviſions, which he had directed to be carried to that Place, and there to wait his Arrival with the reſt of the Fleet.

Cortes aſſiſted in putting this Order in Execution, with his uſual Diligence and Calmneſs, and by this Means got quickly rid of a Perſon who might have given ſome Oppoſition to his Deſign. He went then to viſit *Juan Velaſquez de Leon*, whom he eaſily brought over to his Intereſt; being himſelf not a little diſpleaſed with the Proceedings of his Relation, and withal, more tractable and of leſs Artifice than *Diego de Ordaz*. Having taken theſe Precautions, he ſhewed himſelf to the Soldiers, acquainting them with the new Diſaſter that threatened him. They all offered him their Services, agreeing in their Reſolution of aſſiſting him, but differing in the Manner of expreſſing themſelves. But *Pedro de Barba*, apprehending the ill Conſequences of not appeaſing this Tumult in Time, went to *Cortes*, and, appearing publickly with him, quieted all in a Moment, by declaring aloud that he did not deſign to execute the Order of *Velaſquez*, or to have any Share in ſo great and ſo unprovoked an Injuſtice.

This turned all their Threats into Acclamations; and he preſently ſhewed the Sincerity of his Intentions by publickly diſpatching *Gaſper de Garnica* with a Letter to *Velaſquez*; in which he told him that this was not a Time to ſtop *Cortes*, who was too well attended to let himſelf be ill treated, or to be reduced to Obedience by Violence: he repreſented to him in the ſtrongeſt Terms, the Ferment his Order had occaſioned among the Soldiers, and the Danger the Town had been in by the Commotion, and concluded his Letter with adviſing him to regain *Cortes* by Acts of Friendſhip, by adding new Favours to thoſe he had already beſtowed, and relying on his Gratitude for what could not be compaſſed either by Perſuaſion or by Force.

5. A Brigantine of moderate Burden having joined the ten Veſſels which compoſed his Fleet, *Cortes* diſtributed his Men into eleven Companies, putting one on board each Veſſel; and named, for Captains, *Juan Velaſquez de Leon*, *Alonſo Fernandez Portocarrero*, *Franciſco de Montejo*, *Chriſtoval de Olod*, *Juan de Eſculante*, *Franciſco de Mirla*, *Pedro de Alverado*, *Franciſco Saucedo*, and *Diego de Ordaz*, who he had not ſent out of the Way with an Intention to forget him, nor was he willing to diſoblige him, by not giving him an Employment. He reſerved for himſelf the Command of the *Capitana*, and intruſted the Care of the Brigantine to *Gines de Mortes*. The Command of the Artillery he beſtowed upon *Franciſco de Orozco*, a Soldier, who had ſignalized himſelf in the Wars in *Italy*; and choſe for his chief Pilot *Antonio de Alaminos*, a Man of Experience in thoſe Seas, having ſerved in the ſame Quality in the two Voyages of *Franciſco Hernandez de Cordova*, and *Juan de Grijalva*.

He drew up Inſtructions for his Officers, wherein, with ſingular Foreſight, he provided againſt Contingencies; and the Day of Embarkation being come, they celebrated a Maſs for the Holy Ghoſt with great Solemnity, at which all the Soldiers very devoutly aſſiſted, recommending to God the Beginning of an Enterprize, the Succeſs of which they expected from his Divine Aſſiſtance; and *Hernan Cortes*, as the firſt Act of his Command, gave the Word *St. Peter*, thereby acknowledging him the Patron of this Expedition as he had been of all his Actions from his Childhood. After which he ordered *Pedro de Alverado* to ſail for the North Coaſt, in Search of *Diego de Ordaz* in *Guanicanico*, and, after they were joined, to wait for the Fleet at Cape *St. Antonio*. The reſt of the Veſſels had Inſtructions to follow the *Capitana*, and, ſhould they be ſeparated by contrary Winds, or any other Accident, to ſtand for the Iſle of *Cozumel*, diſcovered by *Juan de Grijalva*, which was but little diſtant from the Land they were in Search of, and where *Cortes* purpoſed to conſider and reſolve on what ſhould be moſt neceſſary for the Proſecution of their Enterprize.

In fine, they departed from the *Havanna* the 10th of *February*, 1519. The Wind at firſt was favourable, but did not long continue ſo, for at Sun-ſet there aroſe a furious Storm, which put them in great Diſorder; and when the Night came, the Ships were obliged to ſeparate, that they might not run foul of each other, and to put right before the Wind. The Ship that *Franciſco de Mirla* commanded ſuffered moſt, a Break of the Sea carrying away the Rudder, whereby he was in great Hazard of being loſt; but the Storm ended with the Night, and as ſoon as they had Light enough to diſtinguiſh Objects, *Cortes* was the firſt who came up with the Ship in Danger; the reſt followed his Example, and the Damage ſhe had ſuffered was ſoon repaired. At this Time *Pedro de Alverado*, who was gone in Search of *Diego de Ordaz*, diſcovered, by Day-break, that the ſame Storm had forced him into the Gulph a great Way farther than he imagined; for, in order to keep clear of the Shore, he had been obliged to put out into the open Sea, as leaſt dangerous. The Pilot found by his Compaſs and Chart, that he was fallen very far from the Courſe preſcribed to him, and was at ſuch a Diſtance from Cape *St. Antonio*, that his Return would have been very difficult; wherefore he propoſed it, as moſt adviſeable, to ſail directly for the Iſle of *Cozumel*: *Alverado* left it to his own Choice, repreſenting to him the Order of *Cortes*, after ſuch a Manner as looked as if he diſapproved it.

Hereupon they continued the Voyage, and arrived at the Iſland two Days before the Fleet. They landed with a Deſign to lodge themſelves in a ſmall Town near the Coaſt, well known to the Captain and ſome of the Soldiers ſince the Voyage of *Grijalva*, but they found it deſerted; for the *Indians*, upon the firſt Notice that the *Spaniards* were landed, abandoned their Houſes, retiring farther into the Country. *Pedro de Alverado* was a young Man of Spirit and Valour, well qualified where he received Orders, but of two little Experience to give them. He had a miſtaken Notion, that while the Fleet was coming, any thing but Inaction would be a Virtue in a Soldier, and therefore ordered his Men to march, and to take a View of the inner Part of the Iſland; and at a little more than a League Diſtance they found another Town forſaken in the ſame Manner, but not ſo entirely unfurniſhed as the former, for there were ſome Cloths and Proviſions, which the Soldiers ſeized as Spoils of an Enemy; and in a Temple of one of their Idols they found many Jewels which ſerved to adorn it, and ſome Inſtruments for ſacrificing, made of Gold mixed with Copper, which, though of ſmall Value, they took away. This Expedition did by no means promote the Service they were upon, but, on the contrary, frighted the *Indians*, and croſſed the Deſign of gaining their Friendſhip. *Pedro de Alverado* grew ſenſible that he had made a falſe Step, and retired to his firſt Poſt, having taken three Priſoners, two Men and one Woman, who ſurrendered without any Oppoſition.

6. The next Day *Cortes* arrived with the whole Fleet, having ſent to *Diego de Ordaz*, at Cape *St. Antonio*, to join him; ſuſpecting, as it proved, that the Storm would hinder *Alverado* from executing his Orders, and though inwardly well pleaſed to find him there in Safety, he commanded the Pilot to be impriſoned, and reprimanded the Captain very ſeverely, for not purſuing his Inſtructions, as well as for his Preſumption in marching up and down the Iſland, permitting his Soldiers all the while to rob and plunder the Inhabitants.

He did all this publickly, delivering his Reproof in a ſet Speech, which not only contained his Sentiments, but his Reaſons alſo why he thought it ſo great a Fault, inaſmuch as it tended to leſſen the Reputation of the *Spaniards*, and to defeat the Deſign of the whole Voyage. To repair this Miſtake, however, as well as he could, he immediately ſent for the three Priſoners, and, having ſet them at Liberty, cauſed both their Gold and their Cloths to be reſtored to them, and then, joining his own *Indian*, *Melchior*, who was the only Interpreter he had, his Companion *Julian* being dead, he ſent them away with a great many Preſents for their Cazique, with Orders to aſſure them, that he highly diſapproved of whatever had been done to their Prejudice; and that he was firmly reſolved to do every thing in his Power to merit their Friendſhip. To prevent any new Diſputes, which he thought it his Intereſt to avoid, he drew down his Forces to the Sea-ſide, and, having encamped them there for three Days, he thought fit to make a general Review; upon which it appeared, that this mighty Army with which he was to undertake the Conqueſt of the *Mexican* Empire, conſiſted of no more than Five hundred and eight Soldiers and Officers, Sixteen Horſe, and of thoſe who did not belong to the Army, two Chaplains and one hundred and nine Pilots, Mariners, and Men of other Profeſſions. To theſe he made a long Speech, in which he repreſented to them, that Diſcipline was of far greater Advantage than Numbers, exhorting them to obey his Orders punctually, and promiſing that his Example ſhould ever give Weight to his Authority.

He had ſcarce made an End of his Oration before Intelligence was brought him, that a conſiderable Number of *Indians* were approaching, divided into ſeveral Corps, and without Arms: He drew up his Men, however, in Order of Battle, and commanded them to remain under Arms, till it ſhould appear what it was thoſe People aimed at. The *Indians* no ſooner came in Sight, than, gazing attentively upon the *Spaniards*, they remained for ſome Time without Motion, only whiſpering and conſulting among themſelves what they had beſt to do. At length, perceiving that no Hoſtilities were offered, they advanced boldly on a ſudden, and, mingling themſelves with the Soldiers, preſented them with Refreſhments, and from that Time continued a friendly Correſpondence, without ſhewing any Signs either of Terror or Surprize; the Reaſon of this was, That having in their Iſland an Idol univerſally reverenced by all the neighbouring Nations, they were accuſtomed to ſee People of different Countries, Habits, and Languages, which either hindered them from being ſo much aſtoniſhed, as other *Indians* were, or elſe taught them better to conceal their Fear.

At Night they all retired to their Houſes, and the next Day the principal Cazique of the Iſland came to viſit *Cortes* with a numerous Equipage, delivering his Embaſſy and Preſent himſelf. The General received him with great Courteſy, and by his Interpreter returned Thanks for the Viſit, with an Offer of his Friendſhip and that of his Followers. To which the Cazique replied, That he accepted the Friendſhip offered, as a Man who knew how to preſerve it. One among the *Indians* who accompanied him was heard to repeat, after a bad Manner, the Name of *Caſtilla*, and *Cortes*, whoſe Attention nothing could divert from his Point, obſerved the Word, and commanded the Interpreter to inquire into the Meaning of it. The *Indians* ſaid, that his Men very much reſembled certain Perſons who were in *Yucatan*, Natives of a Country called *Caſtilla*; which *Cortes* no ſooner heard than he reſolved to ſet them at Liberty, and engage them in his Service.

Upon informing himſelf more particularly, he found that they were in the Power of ſome *Indians* of the higheſt Rank reſiding two Days Journey within the Province of *Yucatan*. *Cortes* communicated his Intention to the Cazique, and aſked him, whether theſe were warlike *Indians*, and what Force would be neceſſary to reſcue the Chriſtians from Slavery? The Cazique gave him a very reaſonable Anſwer, telling him, the ſecureſt Way would be to ranſom them; for that endeavouring to releaſe them by Force of Arms, would expoſe them to the Hazard of being maſſacred by their Maſters. *Cortes* embraced his Advice, with Admiration to find ſo much good Senſe and Policy in the Cazique, whoſe Rank among Princes, though inconſiderable, had taught him ſome Principles of what they call Reaſon of State.

He immediately gave Orders to *Diego de Ordaz*, to ſail with his Veſſel and Company to the Coaſt of *Yucatan* by the ſhorteſt Cut from the Iſle of *Cozumel*, where he was to land the *Indians* appointed by the Cazique for this Purpoſe. They carried a Letter from *Cortes* to the Priſoners, together with ſome Trifles for their Ranſom, and *Ordaz* was commanded to ſtay eight Days for them, in which Time the *Indians* undertook to return with an Anſwer. The two Veſſels came upon the Coaſt of *Yucatan*, and landed the *Indians*. They, within two Days, delivered the Letters to a *Spaniard* whoſe Name was *Jerom de Aguilar*, who was pleaſed with it and the Toys. Some ſay, the *Indians*, for Fear, delivered the Letter to *Aguilar*'s Maſter, who ſeeing him read it, wondered that Perſons at ſuch a Diſtance ſhould underſtand each other by that Method. *Aguila* referring himſelf to his Maſter, as fearing he would cauſe him to be killed if he attempted to go away privately, obtained Leave of him to go, deſiring that he would make them his Friends. This Lord ſent ſome *Indians* with him, and when he came to the Coaſt, he perceived they had waited thereabouts, finding ſeveral Croſſes made of Canes. Being much grieved for want of ſome Conveniency to proceed any farther, and going along the Coaſt, he found a Canoe half ſunk, which, with the Help of his Companions, he cleared of the Sand; and, though half rotten, got into it, rowing with a Pipe-ſtave he alſo found by chance, and ſo went down the Coaſt, croſſing the narroweſt Part over to the Iſland, being at leaſt four Leagues. The Currents carrying him near to the Fleet.

In the mean time *Cortes* marched, with all his Troops in a Body, to take a View of the Iſland; not that he ſaw any Neceſſity for being on his Guard, but to keep the Soldiers together, and to preſerve the Inhabitants from being inſulted. He told his Men, that they were an indigent People unable to defend themſelves; that the Sincerity they ſhewed entitled them to good Treatment in return; and that their Poverty was ſuch as gave no Temptation to Avarice; that they were not to expect from that ſmall Spot of Ground any other Wealth than Reputation. He was always accompanied by the Cazique and great Numbers of *Indians*, who ſupplied him with Proviſions, and exchanged Gold for Glaſs Beads, believing that they over-reached the *Spaniards*, and could never purchaſe thoſe Toys at too dear a Rate.

At a little Diſtance from the Coaſt ſtood the Temple of the Idol ſo much revered by the *Indians*. It was a ſquare building of Stone, and of no contemptible Structure. The Idol bore the Figure of a Man, but of ſuch an horrible Aſpect as plainly diſcovered the Original it was deſigned to repreſent. This Circumſtance of Deformity was obſerved in all the Idols worſhipped by thoſe miſerable People, however, they differed in Make or Signification; whether it were that their Imaginations hit in this reſpect, or that he who ſtruck out the moſt hideous Figure was accounted the beſt Workman. 'Tis ſaid, this Idol was called *Cozumel*, and gave to the Iſland the Name which it retains to this Day. The *Spaniards* found a very great Concourſe of *Indians* in the Temple, and in the midſt of them a Prieſt, diſtinguiſhed from the reſt by a certain Ornament or Covering, which ſcarcely hid his Nakedneſs. He ſeemed to preach, and perſuade them to ſomething, by a Voice and Action extremely ridiculous. *Cortes* took this Opportunity to diſcourſe the *Indian* Prince roundly on the Subject of his Idolatry, telling him, in the firſt Place, that it was impoſſible for them to continue Friends if he did not quit it; and next, that it was very unworthy of him, who was a Man of Senſe and good Underſtanding, to pay Divine Honours to an ugly deformed Image, fitter to frighten Children than to be revered by Men.

The Cazique did not know how to argue with him, but ſeemed rather willing to ſhift the Diſcourſe; telling him, that he was much his Servant in what depended upon him; but that, as for Religion, it was out of his Way, and ſo left it wholly to the Prieſts, who ſhould, if he pleaſed, diſcourſe with him upon the Subject. This was readily accepted, and one of the Prieſts ſent for, who no ſooner underſtood the Buſineſs than he began to threaten the moſt dreadful Penalties, in the Name of his Idol, againſt any who ſhould preſume to diſhonour him or his Habitation. Upon which *Cortes*, to ſhew them how much they were deceived and impoſed upon by theſe Jugglers, cauſed all the Idols to be broke to pieces, and moſt of their Chapels to be demoliſhed, only the largeſt of them he preſerved entire; and, having cauſed a very neat Altar to be ſet up there, he had Maſs ſaid thereon by the Chaplains and Prieſts; and, at his Departure, charged the Cazique to take care that every Thing was kept in good Order, and that no inſult was offered to the Image of the bleſſed Virgin, or to the two Croſſes which he erected in that Chapel; which the *Indian* Chief very readily promiſed. And thus all Things being adjuſted, *Cortes* began to provide for his Departure, the Ship being returned with Advice, That they had waited the appointed Time without ſeeing any thing of the Perſons for whom they were ſent, and therefore judged it their Duty to return.

7. All Things being in order, *Cortes* put to Sea, with a Deſign to follow the ſame Courſe, which *Juan de Grijalva* had done before, and to diſcover the Countries from which he had retired by too ſcrupulous an Obedience to the Orders he had received. The Fleet had the Wind a-ſtern, and all were overjoyed at the proſperous Beginning of their Voyage, when an unexpected Accident gave them great Uneaſineſs. *Juan de Eſculante* fired a Gun, and the reſt of the Commanders, caſting their Eyes towards him, obſerved that he followed with great Difficulty, and ſoon after tacked about, and ſtood for the Iſland. *Cortes* well underſtood the Meaning of what he ſaw; and, without ſtaying to deliberate, immediately ordered the Fleet to follow him. *Juan de Eſculante* ſtood in need of all his Diligence to ſave his Veſſel, for ſhe had ſprung a Leak, and took in ſo much Water that ſhe was upon the Point of ſinking when ſhe reached the Shore, notwithſtanding all poſſible Expe-

dition had been uſed in coming to his Relief: The Soldiers landed, and the Cazique preſently came down with the *Indians*, and ſeemed to be ſurprized at the ſudden Return; but when they underſtood the Reaſon, they very chearfully helped to unload the Veſſel, and afterwards aſſiſted in repairing and careening it, managing their Canoes with great Dexterity, and performing ſingular Service in a Caſe that required it.

8. While this was doing, *Cortes*, accompanied by the Cazique and ſome of his Soldiers, went to viſit the Temple, and found the Croſs and Image of the Virgin *Mary* in the ſame Place where he had left them, obſerving withal, to his great Satisfaction, ſome Signs of the Veneration paid them by theſe *Barbarians* in the Cleanneſs of the Temple, and the Perfumes they had burned, beſides Flowers and Boughs, with which they had adorned the Altar. *Cortes* thanked the Cazique for the Care he had taken in his Abſence. The *Indian* was pleaſed, and received the Compliment of the *Spaniard* as if it had been an Inſtance of his extraordinary Conduct, that the Image and Altar had ſtood unmoleſted for no longer a Time at the moſt than for two or three Hours.

Whilſt the Ship was refitting, *Cortes* was told that a Canoe appeared making from *Yucatan* towards the Iſland; he came out to view, and, thinking it fell off a little, ordered *Andrew de Tapia* to go as much under the Shelter of the Land as he could, and endeavour to take that Canoe which made to the Shore behind a Point of Land; four Men ſtark naked landed out of it, only their Privities covered, and their Hair treſſed wound about their Heads, with Bows and Arrows in their Hands. *Andrew de Tapia* had poſted himſelf ſo as to come upon the Canoe, and as ſoon as the *Indians* were landed, made towards them Sword in Hand; three were afraid, and would have returned to the Canoe, but the fourth bid them not fear, and ſpoke to the *Spaniards*, ſaying, *Gentlemen, I am a Chriſtian:* And, with Tears in his Eyes, aſked if that was *Wedneſday?* becauſe he had a Prayer-Book he made uſe of every Day, and deſired to know whether he was right? He deſired them to return Thanks to God, kneeled down, and lifted up his Eyes and Hands to Heaven, and alſo bleſſed God for having reſtored him to the Company of Chriſtians.

Andrew de Tapia embraced him, as did all the reſt, and then they went to *Cortes*, who received him with much Joy. The new Comer and his *Indian* Companions paid the greateſt Reſpect, and couched down upon their Hams, laying their Bows and Arrows on the Ground at their Right-hands; then having moiſtened their Right-hands with Spittle, they touched the Ground, and ſtroaked their Breaſts next the Heart, that being the greateſt Reſpect they paid to their Princes, to denote, that they humbled themſelves to the Ground they trode on. *Cortes* being informed that this was the way of Salution, he again bid *Aguilar* welcome, and, taking off a long yellow Robe trimmed with Crimſon, he had on, with his own Hands put it upon him, deſiring he would riſe off his Hams and ſit on a Chair. Aſking his Name, he anſwered, his Name was *Jerom de Aguilar*, and that he was born at *Eija*, and related to the Licenciate *Mark de Aguilar*, whom *Cortes* knew. Meat and Drink being ſet before him, he took of both very moderately. And being aſked why he was ſo very ſparing, anſwered, he did it, becauſe having been ſo long uſed to the *Indian* Food, that Change of Diet might do him harm, whereas taking very little, tho' it were Poiſon, there was no Danger.

He was in Deacon's Orders, and for that Reaſon ſaid, he never would marry, tho' he had been much importuned to it by the *Indians*. The Account of his Life and Adventures being too long for that Time, *Cortes* bid him reſt till the next Day, and ordered his Steward to clothe him; which he was not very fond of at that Time, becauſe, having been ſo long uſed to go naked, the Garment *Cortes* had thrown over him was ſomewhat troubleſome.

The next Day *Cortes* aſked him, before leſs Company, how he had fallen into the Hands of thoſe *Indians*; he anſwered, That being at *Darien* at the Time of the Conteſt between *James de Nicueſſa* and *Nunez de Balboa*, he came away with *Valdibia*, who was bound for *Santo Domingo*, to inform the Admiral and the King's Officers of what was doing in thoſe Parts, to return with Men and Ammunition, and carry twenty Thouſand Ducats for the King: That when he came near *Jamaica*, the Caravel was caſt away on the Sholes called *Caymanes* or *Alligators*; at which Time twenty Men, with much Difficulty, got into the Long-boat, without Sails, Bread or Water, and very bad Oars: That ſeven of the twenty Men ſoon died, being reduced to ſuch Diſtreſs, that they drank their own Water; and the others landed in a Province called *Maya*, where they fell into the Hands of a cruel Cazique, who ſacrificed *Valdibia* and five others, offering them up to his Idols, and then eating them, keeping a Feſtival, according to the Cuſtom of the Country: That he and ſix more that were ſhut up in a Pen or Coop to ſerve for another Feſtival, reſolved to loſe their Lives ſome other Way, and breaking thro' the Cage accordingly, fled over the Mountains without being diſcovered, till it pleaſed God that they came into the Dominions of another Lord who was an Enemy to him from whom they fled, and naturally courteous, affable, and inclined to do Good; his Name was *Acquineuz*, Governor of *Xaman Cona*, who granted them their Lives, but made Slaves of them: That the ſaid Lord ſoon dying, he ſerved *Taxmar*, who ſucceeded him in the Lordſhip: That five of his Companions ſoon died thro' the Hardſhips they endured, he only remaining with one *Gonzalo Guerro*, who was with the Cazique *Chetemal*, and married a very great Lady in that Country, by whom he had Children: He was then Commander for a Cazique called *Nachaneam*, and, having gained many Victories over his Lord's Enemies, was much beloved and eſteemed.

He added, that he had ſent him *Cortes*'s Letter, and deſired him to come away, ſince there was ſo favourable an Opportunity, and had ſtaid for him longer than was convenient, and believed he kept away for Shame, becauſe his Noſe, Lips, and Ears were bored, his Face painted, and his Hands wrought after the manner of that Country, where only brave Men are permitted to have their Hands wrought. Proceeding in the Account of his own Adventures, he ſaid he had endured very much during the firſt three Years, being obliged to carry Wood, Water, and Fiſh for his Lord; which he performed with much Satisfaction to ſave his Life, doing what every *Indian* directed him; by which means he gained the Affection of them all. The Cazique obſerving that he lived chaſtly, tempted him ſeveral Ways, ſending him out at Night a fiſhing with a beautiful *Indian* Girl about fourteen Years of Age, who had been inſtructed to provoke him; and he had a Hammoc given him for them to lie in. The Hammoc being hung up, the Young Girl went into it, and invited *Aguilar* to come and lie with her, upbraiding him upon his Refuſal, ſaying that he was not a Man; yet he lighted a Fire, and lay down on the Ground by it. The Cazique, being informed of this by her, had the more Value for him, and truſted him with his Wife and Houſe; which ſhews that Virtue is honoured even among barbarous Nations. Afterwards he deſired his Lord to employ him in his Wars, and contributed to the obtaining ſeveral Victories, which gained him ſo much Reputation, that he was looked upon as the prime Man in the Country: And when the Ships under the Command of *Hernandez de Cordova*, and thoſe under *Grijalva*, traded on that Coaſt, they took ſpecial Care that he ſhould not make his Eſcape. The Converſation of this Man proved highly agreeable to *Cortes*, and the Accounts he gave were of extraordinary Uſe in the Proſecution of his Expedition, becauſe they enabled him to foreſee whatever might happen, to procure Advantages, and to provide againſt Difficulties.

9. It muſt be acknowledged that the Facts which are contained in this Section are far enough from being ſurprizing or extraordinary, but however, they are extremely curious, and withal highly neceſſary. The Hiſtories of ſuch Diſcoverers as theſe ought to be written for ſome great End, and with ſome important View; bare A-

muſement is too mean a Conſideration. But what End, what View ſo juſt, ſo laudable, ſo worthy of the Subject, as the promoting vigorouſly Expeditions of a like Nature by ſo noble an Example. Yet how is this to be done otherwiſe than by explaining the Character of *Cortes* fully, and ſhewing how he came to undertake ſo great an Enterprize with ſo ſlight a Force; how from the very Beginning he had all the Difficulties to ſtruggle with that the Author of an Epic Poem could have ſuggeſted to raiſe the Character of his Hero, and ſhewed ſuch Fortitude, Sagacity, and Penetration in overcoming them, as would have puzzled the greateſt Poet to have feigned in Favour of him, whoſe Character and Adventures had depended ſolely upon his Imagination.

Here we ſee him fixed upon to be the Commander in Chief in the greateſt Expedition that hitherto the *Spaniards* had undertaken, merely for the ſake of his perſonal Merit and great Abilities. We next find him ſuſpected, hated, recalled by the very Perſon to whom he owed his Power. Yet proceeding, notwithſtanding all theſe Difficulties; and tho' the Beginnings of his Enterprizes were not attended with any remarkable Succeſs, we ſee him eſtabliſhing an Authority even ſuperior to that given him by his Commiſſion, when by the Contrivances of his Enemies, his Title to command was ſo weakened, as that he had ſcarce any legal Authority at all. We ſee him from his firſt ſetting out, acting as the Legiſlator as well as General and Commander in Chief, and not only forming his own Conduct upon juſt, honourable, and heroic Principles, but infuſing theſe with great Diligence and Dexterity into the whole Body of his Followers, as if, not content with being a Hero himſelf, his Ambition excited him to command an Army of Heroes, and ſo to ballance his want of Numbers by raiſing the Power, the Credit, and Courage of the ſmall Number he commanded.

We ſee him acting upon all Occaſions by the Lights of his own Reaſon, and without taking the Advice of any who were about him; not that he deſpiſed Counſel, but that for good Reaſons, and from juſt Motives, he ſuſpected thoſe he would otherwiſe have admitted of his Council. And laſtly, we ſee him behave towards the *Indians* with Dignity void of Arrogance, inſtilling Courage, not Fear, and teaching them Obedience, by propoſing it as their Intereſt, rather than due to his Pleaſure. We ſhall ſee him in the ſucceeding Sections uniform in his Conduct, exact in his Diſcipline, ſage in his Reſolutions, vigorous in their Execution, always beſieged with new Difficulties, and yet ſurmounting them by the Force of his Underſtanding, and the Steadineſs of his Virtue.

SECTION VIII.

The Progreſs of this Expedition from the Time of the Spaniards *embarking for* New Spain, *to the firſt Meſſage ſent by* CORTES *to* MOTEZUMA *Emperor of* Mexico.

1. *The Motives which induced* Cortes *to reſolve to attempt the Conqueſt of* New Spain *with ſo ſmall a Force, and under ſo many Difficulties.* 2. *He arrives at the River* Grijalva, *finds his landing oppoſed, but debarks at laſt in ſpite of the* Indians. 3. *The Town of* Tabaſco *taken, and a great Victory gained over the* Indians. 4. *A Peace enſues thereupon, to the Satisfaction of both Parties; after which the* Spaniards *embark in Order to continue their Voyage.* 5. *They land in* New Spain, *and meet there with Embaſſadors from* Motezuma *Emperor of* Mexico. 6. *The General and Governor of the Province confer with* Cortes; *inquire into the Reaſon of his coming thither, and ſend an Account of it to their Emperor* Motezuma. 7. *The Manner in which the* Indians *tranſmitted a full Account of the* Spaniards *and their Force to their* Emperor. 8. *The Reception that Account met with, and the Anſwer returned to* Cortes's *Requeſt, by* Motezuma. 9. *Remarks and Obſervations upon this Section, and on the Situation* Cortes *found himſelf in at this Juncture.*

1. THE ſhort Stay that *Cortes* made in this Iſland was ſpent in deliberating on the proper Means for carrying his great Deſigns into Execution, towards which he found that good Information was likely to contribute more than the beſt Advice; he therefore ſpent many Hours alone with *Aguilar*, whom he found to be a Man of Senſe and Probity, of great Courage, and who had a Head perfectly well turned either for Service in Time of War, or for Negotiations in Time of Peace. It was from this Man that he learned perfectly the Humour and Temper of the *Indians*, their Maxims of Government, their Military Diſcipline, the Advantages derived to them from thence, and in what Reſpect they were inferior to the *Spaniards*. Matters about which he ſeemed to inquire from that natural Curioſity only which is incident even to the greateſt Minds; but, in reality, he had nothing leſs in View than to amuſe himſelf with hearing ſtrange Stories, and made theſe Inquiries for the ſake of knowing how to uſe all Opportunities that offered, and that he might be able to create them where they were wanting.

Among other extraordinary Qualities, he was bleſſed with ſo happy a Memory, that he retained whatever he once heard, and knew how to make Uſe of the ſlighteſt Circumſtances ſo as to convert them into material Advantages; of which we ſhall ſee many remarkable Inſtances in the following Sections. He took occaſion likewiſe, during his Stay in this Iſland, to gain over to his Intereſt the ableſt and moſt enterpriſing Perſons that were embarked with him in this Expedition, by repreſenting to them how inſeparably their Intereſts were connected with his, ſo that it was impoſſible for him to neglect rewarding them, if by a proper Diſcharge of their Duty they put it in his Power. In all theſe Applications he had much leſs regard to the Character and Station, than to the Temper and Compacities of the Men with whom he dealt, ſo that he admitted to his Converſation private Men as well as Officers, which gained him the Affections of the People, and render it impoſſible for any Cabals to be formed againſt him, without his having immediate Intelligence of the Motives from whence they ſprung, and the Perſons by whom they were managed.

He drew likewiſe another great Advantage from this Conduct, and that was bringing the greateſt Points to bear without appearing to have any Concern in them; ſo that he never propoſed any Thing he had a mind to carry, but by the help of his Agents he firſt infuſed it into the Minds of the People, and then complied with their Will, or rather ſeemed to comply with it when he accompliſhed his own. He defeated the Deſigns of his Enemies by preparing the People to ſuggeſt the Diſlike to them, when propoſed by himſelf in Compliance with the Reſolutions taken in Councils of War. And by theſe Arts he rendered himſelf at once the moſt arbitrary and deſpotic Commander, and the very Man in the World leaſt ſuſpected of having any ſuch Thing in his Thoughts. The Difficulties they had hitherto met with, might under any other General have diſguſted the People and deſtroyed their Hopes, but his Management was ſo dexterous, that under him they had quite different Effects; for he found Means to convince them, that all Miſcarriages were owing to thoſe of *Velaſquez*'s Party; whence the Soldiers inferred, that all Things would go well if

Cortes had the ſole Command. Such were the Diſpoſitions of the *Spaniards* while Preparations were making to proſecute their Voyage to the Main.

2. The Fleet left this Iſland the ſecond Time on the 4th of *March*, 1519, doubled the Point of *Catoche*, which is the moſt Eaſterly Part of *Yucatan*, and following the Coaſt came to the Road of *Champatan*, where the Queſtion was put in a Council held on that Subject, Whether they ſhould land or not? *Cortes* inclined to the Affirmative, that he might chaſtize the *Indians* for the Oppoſition given to *Juan de Grijalva*, and before that to *Franciſco Hernandez de Cordova*; and ſome Soldiers that had been preſent on both theſe Occaſions, puſhed by a Spirit of Revenge, ſupported his Opinion with an extreme Warmth; but the chief Pilot, and the reſt of his Profeſſion oppoſed it with unanſwerable Reaſons; for the Wind that favoured the Continuance of their Voyage, directly oppoſed their landing in that Place. Whereupon they purſued their Courſe, and arrived at the River *Grijalva*. There was no Occaſion to deliberate here, for the good Treatment which the *Spaniards* had received formerly from the *Indians* of *Tabaſco*, and the Gold at that Time brought from thence, were too powerful Attractives, and *Cortes* readily complied with the Inclinations of his Soldiers, although he had no Deſign to ſtay there many Days, for his Thoughts were continually bent on the Dominions of *Motezuma*, of which *Juan de Grijalva* had his firſt Account in this Province; it being his Opinion, That in this Sort of Expeditions it was adviſeable to begin with attacking the Head rather than the Members, and ſo encounter the greateſt Difficulties with his Forces entire.

As he had ſome Knowledge of this Place by the Experience of thoſe who had been there before, he made a Diſpoſition for entering the River. And leaving the larger Veſſels at an Anchor, he embarked all his Soldiers, well armed, in thoſe of a ſmaller Size, and in the Boats, and was beginning to make the beſt of his Way againſt the Current, in the ſame Order as had been before obſerved by *Juan de Grijalva*; when he perceived a conſiderable Number of Canoes, with armed *Indians*, cover both Sides of the River, ſupported by ſeveral other Bodies on the Shore. *Cortes* drew near in cloſe Order, and commanded that none ſhould fire or ſhew the leaſt Sign of Hoſtility. He followed in this likewiſe the Conduct of *Grijalva*, for he was more ſolicitous to uſe the proper Means of ſucceeding in his Enterprize, than to avoid the Imputation of copying after another, well knowing what Riſques they run who value themſelves upon finding new Ways with no other Deſign than to be diſtinguiſhed from thoſe who went before them. The *Indians* thought to put a Stop to the *Spaniards* by their horrible Outcries; and as ſoon as they were ſo near that what they ſaid could be diſtinguiſhed, *Jerom de Aguilar* found that he underſtood their Language, which was the ſame, or with little Difference from that of *Yucatan*. And *Cortes* looked upon it as the Work of Providence that he was furniſhed with ſo good an Interpreter. *Aguilar* informed him, that the Words he underſtood were Menaces, and that the *Indians* were inclined to War. Upon which *Cortes* ſtopt, and ordered him to advance in one of the Boats with Offers of Peace. *Aguilar* executed his Orders, and returned in a very ſhort Time with an Account, that the *Indians* were in great Numbers prepared to defend the Entrance of the River, and ſo obſtinate in their Reſolution, that they had very inſolently refuſed ſo much as to hear him. *Cortes* had no Deſign to begin a War in that Country, or delay his Voyage; but finding that he was now engaged, he thought it would be diſhonourable to retreat, and ſuffer this Inſolence of the Barbarians to go unpuniſhed. The Night overtaking them in a Country unknown, *Cortes* thought it moſt adviſeable to lye by till Day, and diſpoſed every Thing after the beſt Manner for the Engagement. During this Suſpenſion he commanded all the Artillery out of the great Veſſels; and his Soldiers had Orders to arm themſelves with their Cotton Coats, for the better reſiſting the Arrows; to which he added ſuch other Directions as he thought neceſſary, without repreſenting the Danger greater or leſs than it was.

As ſoon as Day appeared, the Veſſels were drawn up in a Half-Moon, whoſe Figure leſſened by Fegrees till it ended in the Boats, the River being large enough to allow Room for that Diſpoſition. Their Advance was very ſlow, and ſeemed to invite to Peace; but the Men ſoon diſcovered the Canoes of the *Indians* who waited their Coming in the ſame Order as the Night before. The General commanded his Men not to ſtir till they were attacked, telling them all, That they ought to uſe their Shields before their Swords, as the Juſtice of this War depended on the Provocation to it. And being deſirous to have Reaſon ſtill more on his Side, he ſent *Aguilar* to them a ſecond Time with Offers of Peace, and to aſſure them that this was a Fleet of their Friends who deſigned their Advantage, and came on the Foot of that Alliance which had been formerly made with *Juan de Grijalva*; That to refuſe them Entrance, would be a Breach of it, and would oblige the *Spaniards* to open their Way by force of Arms; and that whatever Damage they ſhould ſuſtain, muſt be imputed to themſelves. The Anſwer to this ſecond Propoſal, was the giving the Signal for the Attack. They advanced by the Favour of the Current near enough to uſe their Arrows, of which they diſcharged ſo great a Number, both from the Canoes and the Banks of the River, that the *Spaniards* were very much embarraſſed in their Endeavours to cover themſelves; but having received the firſt Charge, according to Order, they returned it with ſo much Vigour, that the Canoes quickly left the Paſſage free: And many of the *Indians*, intimidated at the Deaths of their Companions, flung themſelves into the River. The Veſſels purſued their Way up the River, without farther Oppoſition, and approaching the Shore on the left Side, the Troops began to land, but in a Place ſo marſhy and covered with Brambles, that they found themſelves engaged in a ſecond Conflict, for the *Indians* who lay there in Ambuſh, and thoſe who eſcaped from the Engagement on the River, united in one Body, and renewed the Attack with prodigious Fury. The great Quantity of Arrows, Darts, and Stones which they diſcharged, increaſed the Difficulty of the Moraſs.

But *Hernan Cortes* drew up his Men, and thoſe Ranks which were formed making head againſt the Enemy, covered the reſt of their Troops, who were landing. Having formed his Batallion in Sight of the Enemy, whoſe Numbers continually increaſed, he gave Orders to Captain *Alonſo Davila* to advance with an hundred Soldiers through the Wood, and poſſeſs himſelf of the Town of *Tabaſco*, the Capital of that Province, not far diſtant from the Place of Action, according to the Accounts of thoſe who had been upon the former Expedition. After which he engaged that vaſt Multitude, forcing them back with equal Courage and Difficulty, for he was obliged very often to march up to the Knees in Mud; and it is ſaid, that in the Heat of the Engagement the General loſt one of his Shoes, and fought a great while without miſſing it, ſo thorougly was his Attention employed upon the Buſineſs of the Day. After the *Spaniards* had paſſed the Marſh, the *Indians* gave way, and diſappeared in an Inſtant among the Buſhes. Their Flight was owing in Part to their loſing the Advantage of Ground, and in Part, to their Concern for the Town of *Tabaſco*, upon their diſcovering the March of *Davila*, as it preſently appeared by the great Multitudes that repaired to the Defence of that Place.

This Town was fortified with a kind of Wall, generally uſed in the *Indies*, made of large Trunks of Trees fixed in the Ground after the manner of Paliſadoes, and ſo placed together, that there was Room between to diſcharge their Arrows. The Compaſs was round, without any Traverſes or other Defences; and at the cloſing of the Circle, the Extremity of one Line covered the other, and formed a narrow winding Street, in which were two or three little Caſtles of Wood which filled up the Paſſage, and wherein they uſed to poſt their Sentinels. A ſufficient Fortreſs againſt the Arms of this new World, where they were happily ignorant of the Arts of War, and of thoſe Methods to attack and defend, in which Mankind have been inſtructed elſewhere either by Malice or Neceſſity.

3. *Cortes* arrived at the Town a little while before *Alonſo Davila*, who had been hindered by ſome Marſhes and Lakes in his Way; and having joined his Troops to the Batallion, and diſtributed proper Inſtructions for breaking down the Paliſadoes (without giving Time either to the *Indians* to recover themſelves, or to his own Soldiers to reflect on the Difficulty) gave the Signal to begin the Attack, only ſtopping to ſay, *My Friends, here we muſt lodge this Night.* The Soldiers went on together with equal Reſolution, and turning aſide a Shower of Arrows with their Shields, and even with their Swords, gained the Foot of the Paliſado; the Intervals of which were of Service at that Time for the Diſcharge of the Fire-arms and Croſs-bows, which quickly drove the Enemy from their Poſts, and gave an Opportunity to thoſe who were not engaged to beat down a Part of their Paliſadoes. The *Spaniards* entered without Difficulty, becauſe the *Indians* retired to the inner Part of the Town; but it was ſoon perceived that they had ſtopped up the Streets, where they again made head, but with ſmall Effect, for they were embarreſſed by their own Numbers; and while ſome were retiring from one Work to another, they put the reſt, who would have fought, into Diſorder.

In the Centre of the Town there was a void Space, where the *Indians* made their utmoſt Efforts, but after a ſhort Reſiſtance, turned their Backs and fled into the Woods. *Cortes* would not follow the Chace, that he might give his Soldiers Time to refreſh, and the Fugitives an Opportunity to ſue for Peace, taking Counſel from their Defeat. Thus did the *Spaniards* gain *Tabaſco*, a large Town, and well provided for Defence, for the *Indians* had ſent away all their Families and Effects, and ſtored the Place with Proviſions; ſo that tho' there was nothing found to gratify Avarice, there was nothing wanting which Neceſſity required. Fourteen or fifteen were wounded, in this Engagement, in which died a conſiderable Number of *Indians*. Of the Wounded there was no Account, becauſe they took care to carry them off, it being a Point of Honour amongſt them to conceal their Loſs from the Enemy. That Night the Troops were quartered in that Part of the Town in which they laſt engaged. *Cortes* went his Rounds, and poſted his Sentinels with as much Care and Exactneſs, as if he had had an Army of Enemies in View, well knowing Caution is as neceſſary as Valour in a Commander.

The next Day the Country appeared quite deſerted, and ſo far as the Eye could reach there was not the leaſt Sign of an Enemy. However, *Cortes* did not think it proper to march out of his Quarters; this great Stillneſs made him ſuſpicious, and his Apprehenſions were increaſed when he underſtood that his Interpreter *Melchior*, who came from *Cuba*, had deſerted them that very Night, leaving his Chriſtian Habit hanging on a Tree. It was he that induced them to renew the War, acquainting them with the ſmall Number of our Soldiers, that they were not immortal, nor their Fire-arms Thunder and Lightning, as they imagined; the Dread of which had made them deſirous of Peace. But this Crime did not go long unpuniſhed, for the ſame Barbarians whom he had perſuaded to take up Arms, being vanquiſhed a ſecond Time, revenged themſelves on the Adviſer of the War, by making him a miſerable Sacrifice to their Idol.

In this Uncertainty, *Cortes* reſolved to ſend out *Pedro de Alverado*, and *Franciſco de Lugo*, each with an hundred Men by different Ways, to View the Country, with Orders, if they found an Army in the Field, to retire to their Quarters without engaging with unequal Numbers. This Reſolution was immediately executed, and *Franciſco de Lugo*, after a little more than an Hour's March, fell into an Ambuſcade of numberleſs *Indians*, who attacked him on all Sides, and that with ſuch Fury, that he was obliged to draw up his little Batallion into a Square. The Number of the Enemy increaſed, and the *Spaniards* began to be tired, when it pleaſed God that *Alverado*, who had taken a different Road from his Companion, met with a Marſh, which obliged him to turn aſide, and brought him where the Report of the Fire-arms gave him Notice of the Engagement. *Alverado* marched ſtraight to the Noiſe, and diſcovered the Enemies Squadrons: Upon which he advanced with all the Haſte poſſible, under Cover of a Wood; and ſending an *Indian* of *Cuba* to *Cortes* to adviſe him of the Accident, drew up his Men, and fell upon the Enemy with ſo much Reſolution, that the *Indians*, ſurprized at the ſudden Aſſault, left them the Paſſage free, and, without giving the *Spaniards* Time to break them, diſperſed of themſelves.

This Succour gave *Franciſco de Lugo*'s Soldiers Time to breathe, and as ſoon as the two Captains had joined their Troops and doubled their Ranks, they charged another Batallion of the Enemy, who ſtopt up the Way that they might not execute the Orders they had received to retreat. Here again they found Reſiſtance, but in fine, they made Way through them with their Swords, marching forward, though continually attacked, and ſometimes almoſt borne down; ſome fought while others took Breath; and whenſoever they mended their Pace to gain Ground, they were charged by the whole Body of the Enemy, who immediately, upon their facing about, got out of their Reach, retiring with the ſame Swiftneſs that they attacked; the Motions of this Multitude of Barbarians, reſembling the Rolling of the Sea, when the Waves are driven back by the Wind. The *Spaniards* had marched about three Quarters of a League, continually plying their Weapons, when *Hernan Cortes* appeared at a Diſtance; who upon the Notice given him by *Alverado*, was coming to their Relief with all the reſt of his Troops. As ſoon as the *Indians* ſpied him, they made a Halt, giving thoſe they purſued Time to march off, and continued a while looking on by way of threatning, or to ſignify that they were not afraid. Yet afterwards they diſperſed in ſeveral ſmall Bodies, and left the Field. *Cortes* returned to his Quarters without engaging farther, becauſe it was requiſite to take Care of the Wounded, being eleven in both Companies, of which Number two died; and this was reckoned at that Time a very great Loſs.

Some Priſoners were taken upon this Occaſion, and *Cortes* ordered *Jerom de Aguilar*, to examine them ſeparately, to know what it was thoſe *Indians* founded their Obſtinacy on, and what Forces they had to ſupport it. Their Anſwer differed in ſome Circumſtances, but they agreed in declaring that all the Caziques, in the Neighbouring Countries, were ſummoned to the Aſſiſtance of *Tabaſco*, and that the next Day a very powerful Army was to be drawn together, to make an End of the *Spaniards* at once, of which Number the Body that had attacked the two Companies under *Franciſco de Lugo*, and *Pedro de Alverado*, was but a ſmall Detachment. This Intelligence gave *Cortes* ſome Uneaſineſs, whereupon he reſolved to call his Captains together, and adviſed with them what was proper to be done. He laid before them the Difficulties in which they were engaged, their ſmall Numbers, and the great Preparations the *Indians* had made to deſtroy them, without concealing the leaſt Circumſtances of what the Priſoners had declared. He then proceeded to conſider how far their Glory was concerned, repreſenting to them their own Valour, the Nakedneſs and Weakneſs of their Neighbours, and how eaſily they had defeated them at *Tabaſco*, at their Landing; but above all, he urged the ill Conſequences of turning their Back upon thoſe Barbarians, which would be a Diſgrace of ſo much Conſequence, that, in his Opinion, they muſt either intirely lay aſide the Enterprize of *New Spain*, or proceed no farther, till they had either eſtabliſhed Peace, or ſubdued that Province; but, that he only propoſed this, being reſolved to act as ſhould be judged moſt convenient.

Every one gave his Opinion, and they all agreed that it was not practicable to depart that Country, till they had reduced the Inhabitants: Whereupon *Cortes* proceeded to make the neceſſary Diſpoſitions for that Enterprize. He ordered the wounded Men to be carried on Board, the Horſes to be landed, the Artillery to be in a Readineſs, and every thing to be in Order by the next Morning. As ſoon as it was Day, giving the Command of the Foot to *Diego de Ordaz*, he and the other Commanders mounted on Horſeback, and kept Pace with the Artillery, which moved with much Difficulty, becauſe the Ground was boggy; till coming to a Place called *Cintha*, a little leſs than a League from their Quarters, they diſcovered, at a great Diſtance, the *Indian* Army ſo numerous, that the Eye could not reach to ſee the end of them.

We will now deſcribe the *Indian* Way of marching and engaging, which may ſerve upon all Occaſions, the Art of War being almoſt the ſame among all the Nations in *New Spain.* Moſt of their Weapons were Bows and Arrows; the Bow-Strings were made of the Sinews of Beaſts, or of Thongs of Deer Skin twiſted, and their Arrows were headed with Bones ground ſharp, or Fiſh-bones; they uſed alſo a kind of Darts, which ſometimes they threw, and ſometimes managed like a Pike. They had likewiſe long Swords which they uſed with both Hands, as we do Faulchions, made of Wood, in which they fixed ſharp Flints; the ſtrongeſt of them had Clubs pointed with Flints, and there were Slingers who threw Stones with great Force and Skill. The defenſive Arms, which are only uſed by Commanders and Perſons of Diſtinction, were Coats of quilted Cotton, Breaſt Plates, and Shields of Wood or Tortoiſe-ſhell, adorned with Plates of ſuch Metal as they could get, and ſome made uſe of Gold as we do of Iron. The reſt were naked, and all of them painted with various Dyes and Colours on their Faces and Bodies, which they made uſe of to ſtrike a Terror into their Enemies, believing that Uglineſs made them appear dreadful. Their Heads were covered with diverſe Plumes of Feathers, like Crowns raiſed high to make them appear taller. They had alſo warlike Inſtruments and Muſic, with which they animated their Soldiers and gave Signals; there were Flutes made of great Canes, Sea-ſhells, and a Sort of Drums made of the Trunk of a Tree, ſo hollowed and made thin, that they anſwered to the Stroke of a Stick a very diſpleaſing Sound, but ſeemed well ſuited to the Ears of thoſe People. They formed their Batallions of great Numbers without any Order, but had Troops of Reſerve to relieve where there was Occaſion. They made their Attacks with great Fury and terrible Out-cries, with which they thought to intimidate their Enemies; a Cuſtom which ſome have accounted among the Brutalities of thoſe *Indians*, without obſerving that it has been uſed by many ancient Nations, and not deſpiſed even by the *Romans*: We do not argue whether this is a commendable Cuſtom or not, but only ſay it was not ſo barbarous in the *Indians*, as to be without Example in other Nations.

Their Armies were compoſed of Natives, and ſeveral Troops of Auxiliaries from the neighbouring Provinces, who came to the Aſſiſtance of their Confederates, being led by their Caziques, or ſome prime *Indian* of their Family: Theſe were divided into Companies, whoſe Captains led, but could ſcarce govern, their Men: For when they came to engage, they were directed either by Fear or Rage, as is uſual among ſuch Multitudes, being equally eager to attack and to run away. Such was the Soldiery of the *Indians*, and after this manner that Army, or rather Inundation of Men, which ſeemed to cover all the Country, advanced towards the *Spaniards*; *Cortes* was ſenſible of the Danger he was in, yet did not deſpair of the Succeſs, but encouraged his Soldiers with a chearful Countenance, and poſted them under the Shelter of a riſing Ground, which covered their Rear, and placing the Artillery where it could do moſt Execution, he ſtruck into a Wood with his fifteen Horſe, advancing far into it in order to ſally out and flank them as Occaſion ſhould require. As ſoon as the *Indian* Army came up within a proper Diſtance, they firſt ſhot their Arrows, and then fell upon the *Spaniards* with ſuch Fury and Precipitation, that the Fire-arms and Croſs-bows not being able to ſtop them, they were obliged to make uſe of their Swords. Great was the Slaughter made among them, and as they preſſed on in Throngs, the Artillery deſtroyed whole Companies; but they were ſo obſtinate, that, as ſoon as the Ball was paſſed they cloſed again, and covered the Loſs they had ſuſtained; making loud Cries, and throwing Duſt into the Air that the *Spaniards* might not ſee thoſe who fell, or hear their Lamentations.

Diego de Ordaz acquitted himſelf as a good Captain and valiant Soldier. But the Enemies being ſo very numerous, the *Spaniards* had enough to do to ſtand their Ground; and the Inequality of their Strength began to appear, when *Cortes*, who could not come ſooner to the Aſſiſtance of his Men, by reaſon of ſome Brooks he had to paſs, ſallied forth from the Wood, and fell upon all that Army, breaking through the thickeſt of their Batallions, and doing ſuch Execution with his Horſe, that the *Indians*, wounded and trodden under Foot, thought of nothing but getting from them, throwing away their Arms as an Obſtacle to their Flight. *Diego de Ordaz* ſenſible that the Relief he expected was come, by the weak Reſiſtance of the Enemies Van-guard, which began to face about by Reaſon of the Confuſion in the Rear, without Loſs of time advanced with his Foot, charging thoſe who had oppreſſed him, with ſo much Reſolution, that he obliged them to give way till he came to the Place where *Cortes* and his Captains had cleared off the Enemy.

They all joined to make the laſt Effort, and were forced to mend their Pace, for the *Indians* were retiring in an haſty Manner; yet ſtill making head, and employing their miſſive Weapons; and this manner of renewing, and withdrawing from Fight in good Order, they continued till the *Spaniards* came up to them, when finding themſelves again attacked, they turned their Backs, and inſtead of retreating, fled outright. *Cortes* commanded his Men to halt, to avoid the ſhedding of more Blood; ordering only ſome Priſoners to be taken whom he might make uſe of to ſet on foot a Treaty of Peace, which he chiefly had in view, looking on this War as no more than a Circumſtance of his principal Deſign. Above eight hundred *Indians* remained dead upon the Spot, and the Number of the Wounded was very great. Of the *Spaniards*, two Soldiers were killed, and threeſcore and ten wounded. The Enemy's Army, according to the Accounts we have, conſiſted of forty thouſand Men; who, although they were naked Barbarians, yet had Hands to do Miſchief. And ſhould we grant that they wanted Courage, which is proper to Men, yet they could not be deſtitute of that Fierceneſs of which brute Beaſts are capable.

4. The next Day *Cortes* cauſed the Priſoners to be brought before him, among whom were two or three Officers. They diſcovered in their Countenances great Fear, expecting to be treated after the ſame cruel Manner they uſed to treat the Vanquiſhed. But *Cortes* received them with great Courteſy, encouraged them with a chearful Countenance, and ſet them at Liberty, giving them ſome trifling Preſents, and telling them at the ſame time, that he knew both how to conquer and to forgive. This Piece of Humanity had ſo good an Effect, that within a few Hours ſeveral *Indians* came to the Quarters with *Indian* Wheat, Flower, and other Proviſions; deſigning by that Preſent to facilitate the Peace, which they were to propoſe from the principal Cazique of *Tabaſco*. The People who came on this Embaſſy were of the meaneſt Sort, and made no Figure; which *Jerom de Aguilar* took notice of; becauſe it was the Cuſtom of that Country, upon all Occaſions, to ſend Perſons of the firſt Rank. And although *Cortes* was very deſirous of Peace, he refuſed to admit their Propoſals, as not coming in due Form, and ſent back the *Indians* without ſo much as ſeeing them; bidding them, by his Interpreter, acquaint their Cazique, That if he deſired his Friendſhip, he muſt ſend Perſons of greater account, and after a more decent Manner, to ſollicit it. The Cazique acknowledged his Fault, and the next Day ſent thirty *Indians* of better Quality, with their Ornaments of Plumes and Jewels, wherein all their Pride conſiſted; they were followed by a Train of *Indians* loaded with another Preſent of the ſame kind as before, but in greater abundance. *Cortes* gave them Audience, attended by all his Captains, affecting a grave and ſevere Countenance.

They approached with very great Submiſſion, and having perfumed him with *Gum Anime*, or *Gum Copal*, and other ſweet Scents, they delivered their Embaſſy, which began with ſome frivolous Excuſes for their paſt War, and concluded in earneſt Entreaties for Peace. The General repreſented to them the juſt Cauſes he had to be diſpleaſed with them, that on a View of their Faults, the Pardon might appear with greater Luſtre, and the Peace which he granted them prove more welcome. The Ambaſſadors received it with great Applauſe, returning extremely ſatiſfied and eaſily enriched with thoſe ſlight Baubles they ſo highly valued. Afterwards the Cazique himſelf came to viſit *Cortes*, accompanied by all his Officers, bringing with him a Preſent of Cotton Cloths, Plumes of various Colours, and ſome Pieces of Low Gold, more valuable for the Workmanſhip than for the Metal; he firſt made his Preſent in order to be better received: *Cortes* careſſed him very much, and the Viſit paſſed in Proteſtations of a reciprocal and ſincere Friendſhip, all tranſacted by the Interpreter; the *Spaniſh* Captains treated the other prime *Indians* who accompanied the Cazique, and nothing appeared but Signs of Joy and Peace, which they explained by their Countenances and Embraces to ſupply the Want of Language.

The Cazique took his leave, and appointed another Day for an Interview, and to ſhew his Sincerity and how much he confided in the General, he ordered his Subjects to return with their Families to *Tabaſco*, and aſſiſt the *Spaniards* in whatever they ſhould want. The next Day he came again to the Quarters, with the ſame Attendance, and twenty *Indian* Women, well dreſſed after the Manner of the Country, telling *Cortes* he brought them as a Preſent to ſerve him and his Companions, being very ſkilful in dreſſing all Sorts of Meat, and in making Bread of *Indian* Wheat, which amongſt them was always the Work of Women; they ground the Grain between two Stones, like thoſe we uſe for Chocolate, and when reduced to Flower, they made it into Paſte, without having any Occaſion for Leaven: Then they ſpread and moulded it upon a Sort of Earthen Plates, which they put over the Fire and baked it; this being the Bread with which God has abundantly ſupplied that new World (to make amends for the Want of Wheat) and is very agreeable to the Taſte, and not offenſive to the Stomach. Amongſt theſe Women came one principal *Indian*, well made, and of more than ordinary Beauty, who was afterwards baptiſed, and received the Name of *Marina*, and proved very uſeful in the Conqueſt, as will appear in its proper Place.

The Pilots preſſed the Departure of the Fleet, which, according to their Obſervations, might be endangered by any longer Stay in that Place. And though *Cortes* was concerned to leave thoſe People before he had better inſtructed them, he found himſelf obliged to think of his Voyage, and Palm Sunday drawing nigh, he appointed that Day for embarking, ſo ordering it that the Feſtival might be kept firſt, according to the Rites of the Church, Religion being always his firſt Care; at the ſame time they embarked their Proviſions, and made all other neceſſary Preparations for their Voyage. The *Indians* aſſiſted in all things with an officious Diligence; and the Cazique, with his Captains, attended *Cortes* with the greateſt Reſpect and Veneration. When Maſs was done, *Cortes* took leave of the Cazique, and, having confirmed the Peace with further Demonſtrations of Friendſhip, he embarked, leaving theſe People rather obedient than ſubject to the King: and as to Religion, ſo far in the Way to Salvation, as to deſire, or at leaſt not to oppoſe, the Means of obtaining it.

5. The next Day the *Spaniards* ſet ſail, and, following the Coaſt to the Weſtward, came within Sight of the Iſland of *Guazacoalco*, and without putting in at the Iſland of *Banners*, had a View of the Iſland of *Sacrifices* and other Places, which had been before diſcovered, and forſaken by *Juan de Grijalva*; the Soldiers who had ſerved under him, telling their Comrades what Adventures they had met with in that Expedition; and *Cortes* learning from the ill Succeſs of that Enterprize, how to manage his own better. At length they arrived at *St. Juan de Ulua* at Noon, and the Ships had no ſooner anchored between the Iſland and the main Land to ſhelter themſelves from the North Winds, than they ſaw two large Canoes, which in that Country are called *Piraguas*, coming from the neighbouring Coaſt with ſome *Indians* in them, who drew near without ſhewing the leaſt Concern, diſcovering by this Security, and ſome Signs they made, that they came in a peaceable Manner, and had thoſe on board who deſired to be heard. When they came within a ſmall Diſtance of the Admiral, they began to ſpeak in a ſtrange Language that *Aguilar* did not underſtand, which much troubled *Cortes*, being concerned to want an Interpreter, when he had moſt Occaſion for him, looking upon it as an Obſtacle to his Undertaking; but Providence, that brings about its Deſigns by Ways which to Men appear caſual, ſoon relieved him in this Diſtreſs.

The *Indian* Woman, whom we ſhall now call Donna *Marina*, was not far from *Cortes* and *Aguilar*, and gueſſing by their Looks what they were diſcourſing, and what they wanted, ſhe told *Aguilar*, in the *Yucatan* Tongue, that thoſe *Indians* ſpoke the *Mexican* Language, and deſired Audience of the General, on the Part of the Governor of that Province. This Donna *Marina* was Daughter to the Cacique of *Guazacoalco*, one of the Provinces ſubject to the Emperor of *Mexico*, bordering upon that of *Tabaſco*, and had, through ſome Accidents of Life, which are variouſly reported, been carried away in her Youth to *Xicalango*, a ſtrong Place upon the Confines of *Yucatan*, which was kept by a *Mexican* Garriſon: There ſhe was bred in a poor Manner, no way agreeable to her Birth; till by a freſh Misfortune, either by Sale or being taken in War, ſhe became a Slave to the Cazique of *Tabaſco*, who made a Preſent of her to *Cortes*. In *Guazocoalco* and in *Xicalango* they ſpoke the *Mexican* Language, and in *Tabaſco*, that of *Yucatan*, which *Aguilar* underſtood: ſo that Donna *Marina* underſtood both thoſe Languages, and explained to the *Indians* in the *Mexican* Language, what *Aguilar* told her in that of *Yucatan*. *Cortes* making uſe of this round about Way of ſpeaking by two Interpreters, till ſuch time as Donna *Marina* had learned *Spaniſh*, which was not long, for ſhe had a very ready Wit and ſeveral natural Endowments which well agreed with her Birth. She was ever a moſt faithful Interpreter to *Cortes*, and he confirmed her in his Intereſt by Ways not altogether ſo decent, for he had a Son by her called Don *Martin Cortes* who was made Knight of *St. Jago*, in conſideration of the Nobility of his Mother's Birth.

The *Indians* acquainted him that *Pilpatoe*, and *Teutile*, the one Governor, and the other Captain General of that Province, from the great Emperor *Motezuma*, had ſent them to know of the Commander of the Fleet, with what Intention he was come upon their Coaſt? *Cortes* careſſed them, gave them a few Baubles, and treated them with ſome *Spaniſh* Wine, and having thus obliged them, anſwered, "That he came as a Friend, to treat of Matters of great Importance to their Prince and all his Empire; for which Purpoſe he would meet the two Governors, and hoped to receive the ſame good Treatment from them, as others of his Nation had done the Year before." And having received ſome Information concerning the Greatneſs of *Motezuma*, his Riches and Form of Government, he ſent them away very well contented.

The next Day being *Good Friday*, the *Spaniards* all landed on Shore near the Fleet, and *Cortes* gave Orders for landing the Horſes and Artillery, and that the Soldiers, in Companies, ſhould go and cut Faſcines to entrench themſelves, not forgetting to poſt the neceſſary Guards at the Avenues, and to build a ſufficient Number of Barracs to ſhelter them from the Heat of the Sun, which, at that time, was very great. The Artillery were planted ſo as to command the Country, and in a little time they were all under Cover. For *Teutile* ſent a great Number of *Indians* with Proviſions, and Orders to aſſiſt the *Spaniards* in that Work: To whom they were of great uſe, becauſe they brought their Tools edged with ſharp Flints, with which they cut Stakes, and fixed them in the Ground; interwove with them the Boughs and Leaves of Palm-trees; forming the Walls and Roofs of a Lodging with much Eaſe and Diligence, being great Maſters in this kind of Architecture, as having in many Places no other Houſes, and being leſs barbarous in proportioning their Structures to what Nature requires, than thoſe who build vaſt Palaces where ſtill they cannot find ſufficient Room for their Vanity. They alſo brought ſome Cotton Cloths with which they covered the Officers Barracs, the better to defend them from the Heat of the Sun. In the beſt of them *Cortes* ordered an Altar to be ſet up, on which, when adorned, he placed the Image of the *Virgin Mary*, and at the Entrance a great Croſs, in order to celebrate Eaſter; for Religion was always his chief Care, and in that he was always equally zealous with the Prieſts. *Cortes* underſtood by theſe *Indians*, that General *Teutile* was attended by a conſiderable Body of Troops, and that he was eſtabliſhing the Dominion of *Motezuma*, in ſome Places newly conquered of this Province, the Civil Government of which was veſted in *Pilpatoe*. And the great Care they took to ſend Proviſions and help the *Spaniards* in building of their Barracs, was not without Artifice, ſo far as could be gathered; for they were very much terrified with the Account of the Succeſs at *Tabaſco*, which had now ſpread over all the Country; and conſidering that the Forces with which they were provided were inferior in Strength to thoſe they had vanquiſhed; they had recourſe to Preſents and Civilities, in order to oblige thoſe they could not reſiſt.

6. They paſſed the following Day in great Tranquility; but not the leſs upon their guard; the *Indians* were continually coming to their Quarters, ſome to work, and others with Proviſions, which they trucked. On *Eaſter-day* in the Morning *Teutile* and *Pilpatoe* came with a very great Attendance to viſit *Cortes*; he received them in equal State, ſurrounded by his Officers and Soldiers. The firſt Compliments being over, he carried them with him to the great Barrac, which ſerved for a Chaple, it being the Hour of Divine Service, ordering *Aguilar* and Donna *Marina* to tell them, that before he acquainted them with the Intention of his Journey, he was to comply with the Duties of his Religion; and recommend to the God of all other Gods, the good Succeſs of his Propoſition. After Service was over, they returned to the Governor's Barrac, who entertained the two Generals at Dinner, and he treated them with great Plenty. The Banquet being over, *Hernan Cortes* called his Interpreters, and, with a determined Air, ſaid, That his coming thither was to treat with the Emperor *Motezuma* on the Part of Don *Carlos* of *Auſtria*, Monarch of the *Eaſt*, touching Affairs of great Importance, not only to his own Perſon and Eſtate, but likewiſe to the Welfare of all his Subjects; for performing whereof it was neceſſary for him to appear before his royal Preſence; and hoped he ſhould be admitted with all the Civility and Reſpect that was due to the King who ſent him.

The Governors changed Countenance at this Propoſal, and ſeemed to hear it with Diſſatisfaction; but before they returned an Anſwer, *Teutile* ordered a Preſent he had provided to be brought, and about twenty or thirty *Indians* came in loaded with Proviſions, fine Cloths, Feathers of ſeveral Colours, and a great Box in which were ſeveral Pieces of Gold curiouſly wrought: Having made his Preſent with a good Grace and Civility, and finding it was well received and praiſed, he turned to *Cortes*, and, by the Help of the ſame Interpreters, prayed him to accept that ſmall Preſent from two Slaves of *Motezuma's*, who had Orders to entertain ſuch Strangers as came upon his Coaſt; but adding, that he muſt not immediately think of proſecuting his Voyage, it being no eaſy Matter to ſpeak with their Prince. *Cortes* replied with ſome Warmth, That Kings never refuſed to hear the Ambaſſadors of other Princes: That what belonged to them in this Caſe was, to acquaint *Motezuma* with his Arrival, for which he would allow ſome Time; but that they ſhould likewiſe let their Emperor know that he came reſolved to ſee him, and determined not to leave his Country with Diſhonour to the King whoſe Repreſentative he was. This bold Reſolution of *Cortes*, gave the *Indians* ſo much Uneaſineſs, that they durſt not reply; on the contrary, they intreated him not to move from theſe Quarters till the return of *Motezuma's* Anſwer, offering to ſupply him with all Things that were neceſſary for the Support of his Soldiers. At this Time ſome *Mexican* Painters, who came in the Train of the two Governors, were very buſy about drawing upon Cotton Cloths (which they brought ready primed for that Purpoſe) the Ships, Soldiers; Arms; Artillery, Horſes, and every thing elſe that appeared to them remarkable, of which Variety of Objects they formed different Landſkips no way contemptible; either for the Colours or the Drawing.

7. Theſe Pictures were drawn by the Order of *Teutile*, the better to inform *Motezuma* of that extraordinary Novelty; and, to make thoſe Deſcriptions more intelligible, they placed ſome Characters here and there, with which they ſeemed to explain and give the Signification of the Picture. *Cortes* had notice of what theſe Painters were doing, and went out to ſee them: and being informed that they were painting upon thoſe Cloths the Information which *Teutile* was to give *Motezuma* of what he had propoſed; and the Forces he had with him to make it good, he with his uſual Wit preſently obſerved, that theſe Images wanted Action to expreſs the Valour of his Soldiers; and therefore reſolved to exerciſe his Men before them, to give the greater Life and Vigour to the Picture: To this End, he ordered them to Arms, drew up in a Body, commanded the Artillery to be made ready; and telling *Teutile* and *Pilpatoe*, that he would entertain them after the manner of his Country, he mounted his Horſe with his Captains: They firſt ran two and two, after the Manner in *Spain*; and then the whole Troop being divided into two Bodies, they ſkirmiſhed, at which ſtrange Sight the *Indians* ſtood amazed, and like Men beſide themſelves; for obſerving the obedient Fierceneſs of thoſe Beaſts, they began to think there was ſomething more than natural in thoſe Men that managed them. Immediately, at a Signal made by *Cortes*, the Fire-arms diſcharged; and, ſoon after, the Artillery. The Confuſion and Aſtoniſhment of theſe People increaſing, with ſuch various Effects, that ſome fell down to the Ground, others began to fly; and thoſe who had moſt Preſence of Mind affected Admiration, to diſſemble their Fear.

Then *Cortes* encouraged them, giving them to underſtand, that, among the *Spaniards*, theſe were military Diverſions. It was preſently obſerved, that the Painters were inventing new Figures and Characters, to ſupply what was wanting on their Cloths; ſome painted the *Spaniards* armed and drawn up in Form, others, their Horſes in Exerciſe and Motion. They deſcribed the Artillery with Fire and Smoke, and repreſented the very Noiſe with the Similitude of Lightning, without omitting any of thoſe frightful Circumſtances that moſt directly regarded what their King was ſolicitous to know. In the mean time *Cortes* returned to his Barrac with the two Governors, and after having preſented them with ſome ſmall *Spaniſh* Jewels, he prepared a Preſent of ſundry ſorts of Curioſities, to be ſent from him to *Motezuma*; to which Purpoſe he made Choice of ſeveral Pieces of the moſt ſolid and brighteſt Glaſs, to which he added a *Holland* Shirt, a Cap of Crimſon Velvet adorned with a Gold Medal repreſenting *St. George*, and a Tapeſtry Chair; which the *Indians* ſeemed ſo much to admire, that it was thought a fit Preſent for the Emperor. With this ſmall Shew of Liberality, *Hernan Cortes* took leave of the two Governors, who remained as much obliged by his Civilities, as embarraſſed by his Deſigns.

8. The *Indians* halted at a ſmall Diſtance from the *Spaniſh* Quarters to conſult what Meaſures they ſhould take. Now the Reſult of this Stop was, that *Pilpatoe* remained there to obſerve the *Spaniards*; for which Purpoſe a convenient Spot being fixed, a great Number of Barracs were raiſed; and in a few Hours there appeared a conſiderable Village built upon the Plain. *Pilpatoe* provided againſt the Suſpicion this Novelty might produce, ſending word to *Cortes*, that he ſtaid there to take care of his Entertainment, and the better to ſupply his Troops with Proviſions. *Teutile* proceeded to his own Quarters, and diſpatched an Account to *Motezuma* of

all that had happened upon the Coaſt, ſending the Pictures which were drawn by his Orders, and *Cortes*'s Preſent, with the utmoſt Diligence. For this Purpoſe, the Kings of *Mexico* had a great Number of Couriers diſtributed among all the principal Roads of the Kingdom, choſen out of the ſwifteſt *Indians*, and bred up to it from little Children. Rewards were paid out of the Public Treaſury to thoſe who arrived firſt at the appointed Place. Thoſe Couriers were relieved at every Town, like our Poſt-horſes, and made the greateſt Speed, becauſe they ſucceeded one another before they were tired, ſo that the firſt four of the Couriers never ceaſed. The Anſwer came in ſeven Days, and *Teutile* brought it to the *Spaniſh* Quarters, together with a Preſent from *Motezuma*, which loaded an hundred *Indians*; and before he delivered his Embaſſy, he cauſed them to lay Mats of Palm-tree Leaves upon the Ground, and place in order upon them the ſeveral things of which the Preſent was compoſed.

There were various ſorts of Cotton Cloth well wove, and ſo fine, that they could not be diſtinguiſhed from Silk but by feeling, a Quantity of Plumes and other Curioſities made of Feathers, whoſe beautiful and natural Variety of Colours the *Indian* Artiſts knew to mix and diſpoſe with ſo much Skill, that without making uſe of artificial Colours, or of the Pencil, they would draw Pictures and imitate Nature. They next produced a great Number of Arms, Bows, Arrows, and Targets, made of the fineſt ſorts of Woods; two very large Plates of a circular Form, the one of Gold, which by its emboſſing repreſented the Sun; and the other of Silver, repreſenting the Moon; and laſtly, a conſiderable Quantity of Jewels, Pieces of Gold, ſome Precious Stones, Collars of Gold, Rings, Pendants after their Faſhion, and other Ornaments of greater Weight, in the Shape of Birds and Beaſts, ſo curiouſly wrought, that notwithſtanding the great Value of the Metal, the Workmanſhip exceeded it. As ſoon as *Teutile* had brought his Wealth before the *Spaniards*, he turned to *Cortes* and told him, That the great Emperor *Motezuma* ſent him theſe in Return for his Preſents, and to ſhew how much he valued his King's Friendſhip, but that he did not think it convenient, nor was it poſſible in the preſent Poſture of his Affairs to grant the Permiſſion he aſked, of paſſing to his Court.

Cortes returned Thanks for the Preſent, and anſwered *Teutile*, That it was far from his Intention to be wanting in Obedience to *Motezuma*, but that it was not in his Power to go back without Diſhonour to the King, or to forbear perſiſting in his Demand with all the Earneſtneſs to which he was obliged by the Reputation of a Crown that was honoured and reſpected among the greateſt Princes of the World. The *Spaniards* reaſoned amongſt themſelves very differently upon thoſe Preſents, ſome conceiving great Hopes from conquering ſo rich a Country, while many concluded, the attacking ſo powerful a Monarch with ſuch an Handful of Men, to be a Piece of Raſhneſs; but the greateſt Part juſtified the Conſtancy of their Captain, looking on the Conqueſt as good as made. *Cortes* gave them leave to talk on, concealing his Sentiments till a proper time; and to keep his People out of Idleneſs, which was the way to make them diſpute leſs, he ordered two Veſſels out to view the Coaſt, and ſearch out ſome Port or Bay where the Fleet might be more under Shelter, and ſome more fertile Plain, where they might be accommodated until the return of *Motezuma*'s Anſwer, making a Pretence of the Sufferings of his People in this ſandy Soil, where the Heat of the Summer was doubled by Reflection, and the Perſecution of the Moſquitoes made even the Hours of Reſt uneaſy. He appointed Captain *Franciſco de Montejo* to command this Cruize, and picked out the Soldiers that were to bear him company, being thoſe that ſeemed moſt averſe to his own Opinion. He ordered him to run along as far as he could, ſteering the ſame Courſe he had done the Year before with *Grijalva*, and that he ſhould take notice of what Towns appeared along the Coaſt, without landing to view them, alotting ten Days for their Return; by which Means he executed what was proper to be done, employed thoſe that were troubleſome, and entertained the reſt with Hopes of Relief.

9. The Skill and Conduct of *Cortes* appear manifeſtly in the Prudence with which, in his Circumſtances, he took ſuch Precautions. But tho' they made him ſomewhat eaſy for the preſent, yet they were ſo far from filling him with Confidence, that on the contrary his Mind was never more occupied than at this Juncture. He ſaw a new Scene opened, not only unexpectedly, but directly oppoſite to his Expectations. He found inſtead of ſmall and narrow Diſtricts, which hitherto the *Spaniſh* Arms had eaſily ſubdued, a wide extended Empire, to which *Spain* itſelf was, in compariſon, a Province; and this under the Dominion of one potent Monarch, whoſe Power deſcended to him through a Line of glorious Princes, renowned for the Wiſdom of their Politics and the Compaſs of their Conqueſts: He found this Monarch well apprized of his Deſigns, and determined to oppoſe them with the whole Force of his Empire.

On the other hand, theſe Informations ſo clearly convinced him of the Weakneſs, or rather Inequality of his Army; and he was at the ſame time ſo ſenſible of the Difficulties, which perplexed him in the Command of it, that he began ſeriouſly to doubt whether it was poſſible for him to perform what his Ambition had prompted him to undertake. He kept this Concern of his ſo well concealed, that nothing of it appeared either in his Countenance or his Language, the former appearing more open, and the latter aſſuming a more reſolute Tone than in times when for want of good Information he had leſs Fears about him; he determined however, not to relinquiſh his Enterprize, but to puſh it as far as it would go, and never to think of a Retreat till he was fully ſatisfied that the Obſtacles that lay in his way were abſolutely inſurmountable. He applied himſelf therefore with the utmoſt Diligence to raiſe the Spirits, and heighten the Fortitude of his Soldiers.

In order to this, he took Pains to ſhew them the great Advantages derived from their Diſcipline, and the ſmall Strength that occurred from Numbers, where they wanted that material Circumſtance. He taught them to obſerve how favourable the Diviſions of the *Indians* among themſelves were to their Deſign, and of what vaſt Importance it was to preſerve the Good Will of thoſe who were inclined to favour them, which was no otherwiſe to be done than by behaving towards them with all the Kindneſs and Clemency imaginable. But above all he made it his Buſineſs to inflame their Hopes with the Proſpect of that vaſt Wealth which muſt accrue to them from the Poſſeſſion of ſo rich a Country, and for the ſake of which, it would be requiſite, and at the ſame time highly reaſonable to forego certain trifling and temporary Advantages, particularly ſuch as reſulted from plundering the little Towns that fell into their Hands, and treating all that came under their Power as Vaſſals and Slaves. He ſhewed them that this muſt neceſſarily break their Spirits, and enervate their Power, which at the ſame time that it rendered theſe *Indians* uſeleſs as Subjects, loſt all that Acceſſion of Strength which might be derived from them as Allies, and without which it was ſimply impoſſible they could carry on their Enterprize with any Probability of Succeſs.

By a frequent and conſtant Practice of theſe Methods, he brought his Troops to a Degree of Confidence, which as yet he wanted himſelf, and rendered them not only willing to obey his Commands, but impatient even of neceſſary Delays, and ſo little afraid of Danger as to treat with Contempt ſuch as attempted to inſinuate, that their General engaged in an Undertaking to which his Forces were utterly unequal.

SECTION

SECTION IX.

The Continuation of HERNAN CORTES's *Expedition, his Alliances with ſeveral* Indian *Nations, his Succeſs in quelling various Seditions in his own Army, and his Preparation for his March to* Mexico, *by burning his whole Fleet.*

1. *The State of the* Mexican *Empire at this Time, and the Cauſes of* Motezuma's *Apprehenſions, which diffuſe themſelves through the whole* Indian *Nation.* 2. *The Anſwer ſent by him to* Cortes, *and the Reſolution taken by the* Spaniſh *General thereupon, which produces a Rupture with the* Indians. 3. Cortes *defeats a Conſpiracy formed againſt him, embraces the Friendſhip of the* Zempoallans, *and under Colour of ſettling a Colony inſtitutes a new Government amongſt his* Spaniards. 4. *Reſigns up his Commiſſion to the new Magiſtrates, receives it again, and quaſhes another Conſpiracy.* 5. *The Army continues its March to* Zempoalla, *where* Cortes *brings the Cazique to have a perfect Confidence in him and in his People.* 6. *He proſecutes his Journey to* Quiabiſlan, *gains over the Cazique of that Country alſo, and perſuades him to ſeize* Motezuma's *Commiſſioners.* 7. *He encreaſes the Number of his Allies, founds the City of* Vera Cruz, *and gives Audience to freſh Embaſſadors from the Emperor of* Mexico. 8. *The* Spaniadrs, *by an artful Contrivance, are drawn in by their* Indian *Confederates to attack the Inhabitants of* Zimpazingo, *with whom, coming to a better Underſtanding, they ſoon make Peace.* 9. Cortes *returns to his own Colony at* Vera Cruz, *ſends Deputies to* Spain *to juſtify his Conduct, and prevents ſome Diſputes that might have happened from Sharers in his Diſcoveries.*

1. THERE cannot occur, in any Hiſtory, a more ſurprizing Event than that the Rumour of the Approach of *Cortes*, with his Handful of *Spaniards*, ſhould ſtrike ſo great an Empire as that of *Mexico* really was, with ſo much Terror and Amazement. The nearer he came, the more *Motezuma* was alarmed; the more frequent Councils he held, and in each of theſe diſcovered more and more Uneaſineſs and Apprehenſion, which quickly infected his Grandees; for in all Countries, and in all Ages, Courtiers are, in ſome Meaſure, Copies of their Monarchs, eſpecially in arbitrary Governments; and therefore, we need not wonder that his Fear firſt diffuſed itſelf among his Nobility, and from them, through the whole Maſs of his Subjects, ſo that the Confuſion became general, and the approaching Deſtruction of their Government, might in very legible Characters be read in the Faces of the whole Nation. But to conceive this Fact clearly, to underſtand it perfectly, and to form from thence juſt Notions both of its Cauſes and Conſequences, it is abſolutely requiſite that we ſhould take a View of the State of this Country, and of its Government at this Juncture, which will, indeed, require Time and Room; but, the Importance of the Matter conſidered, I hope it will appear that neither can be better employed.

The Empire of *Mexico* was then at its greateſt Height of Glory, having under its Dominion almoſt all the Provinces which had been diſcovered in *North America*, which were governed by *Motezuma* himſelf, or by the petty Kings or Caziques, his Tributaries. The Length of it extended from Eaſt to Weſt above five hundred Leagues, and the Breadth from North to South, in ſome Places, was two hundred; a Country populous, rich, and plentiful. On the Eaſt it was bounded by the *Atlantic* Sea (now called the *North Sea)* and extended along all that great Space of Land, between *Panuco* and *Yucatan*: on the Weſt it reacheth the other Sea, being waſhed by the *Aſiatic* Ocean (or Gulph of *Anian)* from Cape *Mendocino*, to the furtheſt Part of *New Galicia*. On the South, it ſtretched out farther, running along the South Sea from *Acapulco* to *Guatimala*, approaching by the Way of *Nicaragua* to the Iſthmus or narrow Neck of Land, which unites the two *Americas*. On the North it extends as far as *Panuco*, including that Province, but was ſtreightened conſiderably by the Mountains poſſeſſed by the *Chichimecas* and *Otemies*, a barbarous People, without Government, living in the Holes of Rocks, feeding upon the Game they kill in hunting, and the Fruits of ſuch Trees as grow wild; but ſo dextrous in the Uſe of their Arrows, and in making their Advantage of the Paſſes of the Mountains, that they had often withſtood the whole Power of *Mexico*, being ſatisfied with not being conquered, and only deſiring to preſerve their Liberty amongſt the wild Beaſts.

This Empire grew to this vaſt Greatneſs in little more than one hundred and thirty Years; for the *Mexicans*, a warlike Nation, were always making room with their Arms, among thoſe who inhabited that Part of the World. They were, at firſt, governed by a valiant Captain, who made them Soldiers and ſenſible of military Honour. Afterwards they choſe a King, giving the ſupreme Dominion to him, who had the greateſt Reputation for Valour, being acquainted with no Virtue but Fortitude, or if acquainted with other Virtues, they looked upon them as much inferior: They always obſerved this Cuſtom, without regard to hereditary Succeſſion; yet, where Merit was equal, they preferred the Royal Blood; and the ſame Wars by which their Kings acquired their Titles to the Crown, enlarged the Monarchy.

At firſt Juſtice ſupported their Arms, for the Oppreſſion of their Neighbours forced them to Defence; but their Power afterwards increaſing, Juſtice was laid aſide, and Tyranny took Place. *Motezuma* was the eleventh King, and the ſecond of that Name, a ſingular Perſon, and much eſteemed among the *Mexicans* before he began to reign. He was of Royal Blood, and a Soldier in his Youth; he raiſed his Character by ſeveral heroic Actions, and gained the Reputation of a valiant Captain: He returned to the Court, and finding himſelf applauded and reſpected as the firſt Man of his Nation, he entertained Hopes of graſping the Scepter at the next Election. He then employed all his Skill in gaining Friends, to which end he made uſe of many Arts. He affected great Obedience towards the King, and extraordinary Modeſty and Compoſure in his Words and Actions; carefully preſerving ſuch an auſtere Gravity in his Countenance, that the *Indians* were wont to ſay the Name of *Motezuma* became him well, which, in their Language, ſignifies a *ſurly Prince*, tho' he endeavoured to temper his Severity by his Liberality.

He alſo gained the Character of being zealous for his Religion: And to this End he built an Apartment in the moſt frequented Temple, to which he retired in the Sight of all the People, and ſtayed there many Hours. He gained ſo much Veneration by theſe outward Appearances, that when the King his Predeceſſor died, the Electors gave him their Votes unanimouſly, and the People received him with great Acclamations; he made a ſhew of refuſing, ſuffering himſelf to be courted to comply with his own Deſires, and ſeemed to accept the Crown with Reluctancy: But no ſooner was he poſſeſſed of it, than all that Artifice which he had forced upon his natural Temper ceaſed, and he diſcovered thoſe Vices that had been hitherto covered with the Shew of Virtues.

The firſt Action by which he manifeſted his Pride, was the diſcarding all who belonged to the Royal Family,

mily, which till his Time was compoſed of middling People; and under colour of great Decency he made his Nobles ſerve him, even in the meaneſt Employments of his Houſe. He ſhewed himſelf ſeldom to his Subjects, and only when it was neceſſary to his Miniſters and Domeſticks, looking upon Retirement and Melancholy as a Part of Majeſty. And for thoſe who obtained Leave to come into his Preſence he invented new Obeiſances and Ceremonies, inlarging Reſpect almoſt to Adoration. He perſuaded himſelf that he had the intire Command of the Lives and Liberties of his Subjects, and exerciſed great Cruelties that he might put it out of Doubt with others; he impoſed new Taxes, without Neceſſity, at a certain Rate on each Head of his Subjects, and exacted it with ſo much Rigour, that even Beggars were not exempted bringing to his Treaſury ſome mean Things, which were received and then thrown away before their Faces.

Theſe violent Actions made his People fear him, but as it is uſual for Fear and Hatred to go together, ſome Provinces rebelled; to reduce which, he went himſelf in Perſon, being too jealous of his Authority to ſuffer any other to command his Armies. But, however, it cannot be denied, that he had a martial Inclination and Spirit, and that none were able to reſiſt his Power, except the Provinces of *Mecoacan*, *Tlaſcala*, and *Tebcaca*, and he was wont to ſay, " He did not ſubdue them becauſe he wanted thoſe Enemies to ſupply him with Captives for the Sacrifices of his Gods." He had reigned fourteen Years when *Cortes* arrived on his Coaſt, and had ſpent all that Time in eſtabliſhing the moſt thorough Tyranny that any Hiſtory has recorded. Many ſtrange Things fell out at this Juncture, which were magnified by Report, and falling in with the ſuperſtitious Temper of the Emperor and his Subjects, formed ſuch a Series of Prodigies as frighted all Ranks and Degrees of People, in a Manner, out of their Wits.

2. Whilſt *Motezuma*'s Court was taken up with melancholy Reflections, *Hernan Cortes* endeavoured to obtain ſome Account of the Country; at that Time *Franciſco Montejo* returned from his Voyage, having coaſted ſome Leagues to the Weſtward, and diſcovered a Town called *Quiabiſlan*, ſituated in a fertile Soil, and well cultivated, near an anchoring Place or Bay, capacious enough, where, in the Opinion of the Pilots, the Ships might ride and be ſecure, under the Shelter of ſome great Rocks which broke the Force of the Winds. This Place was diſtant from *St. Juan de Ulua* about twelve Leagues, and *Hernan Cortes* began to conſider it as a commodious Situation: But before he came to a Reſolution *Motezuma*'s Anſwer arrived.

Teutile, with the principal Captains of his Troops, came with their little perfuming Pans, burning Gum Copal. After the Smoaking, Courteſies, and Ceremonies were over, *Teutile* ordered *Motezuma*'s Preſent to be produced, which was ſomewhat leſs, but of the ſame Sort of Goods and Pieces of Gold as came with the firſt Embaſſy. All that they brought particular, were four green Stones like Emeralds, called *Chalcuities*; and *Teutile* told *Cortes*, with a great deal of Gravity, that *Motezuma* had ſent thoſe Stones to the King of *Spain* as Jewels of an ineſtimable Value. The Embaſſy was delivered in Terms reſolute and diſagreeable, and the Concluſion of it was to diſmiſs the Gueſts without giving them leave to reply. Night drew on, and when *Cortes* was beginning his Anſwer, the *Ave-Maria* Bell rung in the Barrac, that ſerved for a Chapel, and he kneeled down to ſay that Prayer, as did all the reſt after his Example. Their Silence and Devotion ſtruck the *Indians* with Admiration, and *Teutile* aſked Donna *Marina* the Meaning of that Ceremony; *Cortes* underſtood their Queſtion, and thought it proper to make uſe of this Opportunity, while he ſatisfied their Curioſity, to talk to them upon the Subject of Religion, beginning to return to his Anſwer, by telling *Teutile* that one Point of his Embaſſy, and the principal Motive which his King had to offer his Friendſhip to *Motezuma*, was the Obligation Chriſtian Princes lay under to oppoſe Idolatry, and the Deſire he had to inſtruct him in the Knowledge of the Truth, and to help him to get free from the Slavery of the Devil, the inviſible Tyrant of his Kingdoms, who, in reality, held him a Slave and a Vaſſal, though, in outward Appearance, he was ſo powerful a Monarch; and that coming from ſuch remote Countries upon Affairs of ſuch a Nature, and in the Name of another more powerful Monarch, he could not omit making new Efforts, and perſevering in his Inſtances till he ſhould prevail to be heard: Since he came on a peaceful Account, as appeared by the ſmall Number of his Men, from which no Suſpicion could be had of greater Deſigns.

No ſooner had *Teutile* heard the Reſolution of *Cortes*, than he ſtarted up haſtily, and with ſome Sort of Impatience, between Anger and Confuſion, told him, That hitherto the great *Motezuma* had treated him as a Gueſt, but that if he continued obſtinate it would be his own Fault if he found himſelf treated as an Enemy; and, without ſtaying for an Anſwer, or ſo much as taking leave, he turned his Back and went haſtily out of his Preſence, followed by *Pilatoe* and the reſt of his Attendants. *Hernan Cortes* was a little ſtartled at *Teutile*'s Proceeding, but ſo much Maſter of himſelf, that, turning to his People with a Smile in his Countenance, " We ſhall " ſee, ſays he, where this Challenge will End; we know, " for the moſt Part, Threats are the effects of Fear." And that very Night the Guards were doubled, and *Cortes* provided againſt what was poſſible, as againſt a Thing certain, for Commanders can never be too careful. As ſoon as Day appeared, the *Spaniards* found a conſiderable Alteration, which gave them ſome Diſturbance; for thoſe *Indians* which inhabited *Pilpatoe*'s Cabins were retired, and not a Man appeared in all the Country: Thoſe alſo kept away who uſed to bring Proviſions from the neighbouring Towns.

Theſe Beginnings of Want were ſufficient to make ſome Soldiers begin to be uneaſy, looking upon it as very unadviſed to think of ſettling in that Country, which Murmuring, ſome Friends of *Velaſquez* took Advantage of, and began to exclaim, ſaying in common Diſcourſe, That *Hernan Cortes* had a Mind to deſtroy them, and ambitiouſly purſued a Deſign without a Force proportioned to the Undertaking. That the Intention of maintaining themſelves with ſuch a Handful of People in the Dominions of ſo powerful a Prince, would be judged raſh by all Men. And that it was now neceſſary that they ſhould all demand to return to the Iſland of *Cuba*, in order to refit the Fleet and reinforce the Army.

Cortes being informed of this, made uſe of his Friends and Confidents to enquire the Opinions of the reſt of his Men, and found that he had on his Side the moſt, and thoſe too of greateſt Conſequence, upon which he ſuffered himſelf to be ſeen by the Malcontents. *Diego de Ordaz* was the Perſon who ſpoke in the Name of all, and with ſome Heat and Diſreſpect told him, That as his Forces were very unequal to the Attempt he was about to make, his Soldiers thought he would do much better to return and endeavour to get ſuch Reinforcements as might enable him to purſue his Deſign with ſome Probability of Succeſs. *Cortes* heard him patiently, and then told him calmly, that if all the Soldiers were of that Opinion they were very unfit for ſuch an Enterprize, and he would think of returning home.

3. After *Ordaz* and his Party had left *Cortes*, he gave Direction for publiſhing the Return to the Iſland of *Cuba*, and ordered the Captains ſhould embark with their reſpective Companies on board the Veſſels under their Command, and be ready to ſail the next Day early. But no ſooner was this Declaration publiſhed, than thoſe who were under-hand in the General's Intereſt began to ſtir in the Affair, crying out, That *Cortes* had deceived them by profeſſing he meant to ſettle in that Country, they would not leave it, that if he had a Mind to retire he might, with ſuch as were willing to follow him, for they ſhould not want ſome Gentleman that would take the Command. This Clamour was ſo well managed, that it brought over many that had been forced or perſuaded into the contrary Faction; and *Cortes*'s Friends who had ſtirred up one Part were obliged to appeaſe the other.

They commended their Reſolution, and offered to ſpeak to *Cortes* to ſuſpend the Execution of his Order, and before this Ardour cooled they went to him, attended by many of the Soldiers, in whoſe Preſence they told him in a high Strain, That the Troops were upon the Point to mutiny on Account of his Order: They complained that he had taken ſuch a Reſolution without the Advice of their Captains: They put him in mind of what had happened to *Juan de Grijalva*, whoſe Diſgrace was occaſioned by his not making a Settlement in the Country, he had diſcovered, and maintaining himſelf there; for which he was treated as a puſilanimous Perſon, and the Command of the Fleet taken from him: They told him, in ſhort, what he had directed ſhould be told him, which he received as if it had been unexpected News. When they had done, he ſaid that he had been miſinformed, that he would proceed with ſuch as were willing, that he would conſtrain nobody, but, on the contrary, would cauſe a Ship and every Thing neceſſary to be provided for carrying back to *Cuba*, ſuch as found they had not Courage enough to follow him and his Friends.

This Reſolution met with great Applauſe, for ſome made Rejoicings becauſe they were ſincerely glad, and others that they might not be diſtinguiſhed from thoſe that really were ſo. None were ſo bold, at that Time, as to contradict the making of a ſettlement: Nor did thoſe very Men who had before been Malcontents know what to ſay for themſelves. But *Cortes* admitted thoſe Excuſes they offered without enquiring further into the Affair, laying that up for a better Opportunity. It happened that whilſt *Bernal Diaz del Caſtillo*, with another Soldier, ſtood at one of the Avenues, they ſaw Five *Indians* coming along the Road next the Sea-ſide, towards the Quarters, and thinking them too ſmall a Number to alarm the Army, they ſuffered them to approach.

They ſtopped at a little Diſtance, and ſignified by Signs that they came in a peaceable Manner, with a Meſſage to their General; *Diaz* went with them, leaving his Companion in the ſame Poſt to obſerve if any more followed. *Cortes* received them very civilly, ordered them to be well treated before he heard them, and obſerved they were of another Nation, as differing from the *Mexicans* in their Habit, though, like them, they had Rings in their Ears and Lips, with Jewels hanging to them. Their Language alſo had a different Sound, and when *Aguilar* and Donna *Maria* came, it appeared that they ſpoke in a different Idiom, and it fell out happily that one of them underſtood, and with ſome Difficulty pronounced, the *Mexican* Language, by which Means, and not without ſome Trouble, it was known that they were ſent by the Lord of *Zempoalla* to viſit the Captain of thoſe valiant People, whoſe great Actions in the Province of *Tabaſco* had reached his Ears, and to inform him, that being a warlike Prince, and a Friend to brave Men, he deſired his Friendſhip.

They dwelt much upon the Value their Maſter had for good Soldiers, as doubting leaſt the *Spaniards* ſhould attribute that to his Fear, which they would have thought the Effects of his Inclination. *Cortes* very courteouſly accepted of the Friendſhip propoſed to him on the Part of their Cazique, looking upon it as a particular Favour from Heaven, that this Embaſſy ſhould arrive at a Time when the *Mexicans* had left him, of whom he was now growing jealous; and he put the more Value upon it when he underſtood that the Province of *Zempoalla* was in the Road to that Place which *Franciſco de Montejo* diſcovered from the Coaſt whither he was thinking to remove his Quarters. He aſked the *Indians* ſome Queſtions, to inform himſelf of the Forces of the Cazique.

It being aſked how it came to paſs that they (being ſo near) had ſo long delayed coming with this Propoſal, they anſwered, that the *Zempoallans* had nothing to do where the *Mexicans* appeared, whoſe Cruelties were abhorred by their Nation. This Intelligence was not diſagreeable to *Cortes*, and diving farther into it, thro' Curioſity, he underſtood that *Motezuma* was a cruel Prince, abhorred for his Pride and Tyranny, that many of his People were ſubject out of Fear; and that ſome Nations were deſirous to free themſelves from his Yoke. This made his Power appear the leſs formidable, and ſeveral Stratagems and Means of increaſing his Army came into his Head, which gave him ſome Sort of Encouragement.

The firſt that occurred, was to take Part with thoſe afflicted People, believing it would not be difficult to form a Party againſt a Tyrant, among his own Rebels. So he reaſoned then, and it fell out afterwards accordingly: He immediately diſmiſſed thoſe *Indians* with ſome Gifts, in Token of Friendſhip; and told them he would ſoon come and pay their Maſter a Viſit, in Order to eſtabliſh a Friendſhip with him, and give him the Aſſiſtance he ſhould ſtand in need of.

His Intent was to paſs through the Province, and take a View of *Quiabiſlan*, where he had Thoughts of fixing his firſt Settlement, from the good Account he had received of its Fertility; but it behoved him, for other Ends, which he was then contriving how to compaſs, to haſten the forming his ſmall Corporation in his preſent Quarters, although he was to remove the Troops to a place more commodious: He communicated his Reſolution to thoſe Captains that were his Confidents, and having by this Means ſmoothed the Way for what he had to propoſe, he aſſembled the Men in Order to name the Officers of the new Government. At which ſhort Conference, thoſe that were acquainted with the Mind of *Cortes* prevailed; and *Alonſo Portocarrero*, and *Franciſco de Montejo* were appointed Alcaldes, *Alonſo Davila*, *Pedro*, and *Alonſo de Alverado*, and *Gonzalo de Saudoval* were Regidores. The chief Alguazil and Procurator General *Juan de Eſculante*, and *Franciſco Alverez Chico*.

They alſo oppointed other inferior Officers; and, having taken the accuſtomed Oath, to obſerve Reaſon and Juſtice, according to their Duty, for the greater Service of God and the King, they took Poſſeſſion, and began to exerciſe their Employments with the uſual Solemnity, calling their new Settlement by the Name of *Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz*; which Title it received in the Place where it was afterwards fixed, being called *Villa Rica*, in Remembrance of the Gold they had ſeen in that Country, and *de la Vera Cruz*, in Acknowledgment of their landing there, on the *Friday of the Croſs*, or *Good Friday*, as we call it. *Cortes* was preſent as a private Perſon among the other Members of the Colony, and, though he could not eaſily lay aſide that kind of Superiority which is want to conſiſt in the Reſpect which others pay, he endeavoured to ſupport the Authority of thoſe new Miniſters, and by his Reſpect to reduce the others to obey them.

4. The next Day in the Morning the Council met, under colour of conſulting about ſome Points relating to the Preſervation and Augmentation of the new Settlement, and ſoon after *Hernan Cortes* deſired Admittance, to propoſe an Affair which concerned the public Good. The Council roſe up to receive him, and he, paying his Reſpect to the Magiſtracy of the Town, went and took his Seat immediately next to the firſt Regidore, and then laid open the Reaſon which induced him to diſapprove that Commiſſion under which he had hitherto acted; and having finiſhed his Diſcourſe, he threw upon the Table the Commiſſion given him by *Diego Velaſquez*, kiſſed the Truncheon, and delivered it into the Hands of the Alcalde, and retired to his Barrac.

He was under no Uneaſineſs about the Event, for he had ſo diſpoſed Matters that he ventured but little in the Reſolution; but it muſt be confeſſed, that the Manner of acting was very handſome and noble, and no leſs commendable, than the Art he uſed to ſupply the Defects in his Authority. The Council ſoon reſolved upon the Election, for ſome had conſidered what they were to propoſe, and others had nothing to reply: They all voted to admit the Reſignation of *Cortes*; but that he ought to be obliged to take upon him the Command of the Army again, the Town giving him his Commiſſion in the Name of the King, during the Time, and in the Interim, until his Majeſty ſhould otherwiſe Order. And they reſolved to communicate the new Election to the People, either to ſee how they would receive it, or, in Order to be ſatisfied of their Approbation. The People were called together by the Voice of a Cryer; and the

Renunciation of *Cortes* being publiſhed, with the Reſolution of the Council, they received ſuch Applauſe as was concerted.

Some congratulated the Council on their good Election; others demanded *Cortes*, as if he had been denied, and if any were of a contrary Opinion they diſſembled, and took care not to be remarkable by their Silence. This Work being over, the Alcades and Regidores went with the greateſt Part of the Soldiers to the Quarters of *Cortes*, and acquainted him that the Town of *Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz* had, in the Name of the King Don *Carlos*, with the Conſent and Approbation of the Inhabitants in full Council, choſen and appointed him General of the Army of *New Spain*; and, in caſe it were neceſſary, did require and command him to take upon him that Poſt, it being convenient for the public Good of the Town and his Majeſty.

Cortes accepted of the new Command with great Reſpect, and now began to govern the Troops with another kind of Authority, which had its Effect in the Obedience of the Soldiers. The Dependants upon *Velaſquez* reſented this Alteration in a very indiſcreet Manner, for they could not diſguiſe their Vexation, nor would they give way to the Current which they were not able to ſtem. They endeavoured to invalidate the Authority of the Council, and caſt Reflections on *Cortes*, blaming his Ambition, and talking with Contempt of thoſe that were deceived. And, as Scandal has its hidden Poiſon, and an unknown Power over thoſe that hear it, it ſpread in their Converſation, where there wanted not ſome who hearked to, and endeavoured to foment it.

Cortes did all in his Power to remedy this Inconvenience, apprehending it might draw away thoſe who were already diſquieted, or put thoſe into a Commotion who were eaſily ſtirred up. He had already found by Experience how little his Patience availed, and gentle Means made the Evil worſe, and therefore reſolved to make uſe of Severity, which generally has the beſt Effect upon the Inſolent. He ordered *Diego de Ordaz*, *Pedro Eſcudero*, and *Juan Velaſquez de Leon*, to be ſeized, carried aboard the Fleet, and put in Irons. This Action ſtruck a great Terror into the Troops, and it was his Deſign to improve it, declaring in a very poſitive and reſolute Manner, that he ſeized them as ſeditious Perſons, and Diſturbers of the public Peace; and, that he would proceed againſt them, and make them pay for their Obſtinacy with the Loſs of their Heads.

In which Diſpoſition he continued ſome Days, without proceeding to the Rigour of Juſtice; for he rather deſired to reform, than puniſh them. At firſt he ſuffered none to go near them, but afterwards permitted it, artfully making uſe of this Permiſſion for ſome of his Confidents to endeavour to reduce and bring them to Reaſon, which in Time they compaſſed, he ſuffering himſelf to be pacified ſo effectually, that he made them his Friends; and they faithfully ſtood by him in all the Accidents which afterwards befel him; believing that they owed their Lives to his Clemency only.

5. The Perſons before-mentioned were no ſooner impriſoned, than *Pedro de Alverado* marched with a hundred Men to view the Country, and bring in Proviſions; for they began to be ſenſible of the Want of thoſe *Indians* who uſed to provide for the Army. He was ordered to commit no Hoſtility, and he had the good Fortune to perform his Commiſſion with little Trouble. At a ſmall Diſtance he came to ſome Villages, the Inhabitants whereof had fled into the Woods, but had left their Houſes well provided, and without doing any Damage either to them or their Furniture, the Soldiers took what they had Occaſion for; and returned to their Quarters thoroughly loaded, and very well pleaſed. *Cortes* immediately diſpoſed his March as he had reſolved, and the Ships accordingly ſailed for the Bay of *Quiabiſlan*; he followed by Land, taking the Road of *Zempoalla*, keeping the Coaſt on his Right, and ſending a Party before to diſcover the Country, providing againſt all Accidents which might happen in Circumſtances where Security might be juſtly accounted Neglect.

They reached in a few Hours the River of *Zempoalla*, and finding it deep, they were obliged to make uſe of ſome Canoes, and other Veſſels of Fiſhermen, which they found on the Shore; in which the Soldiers paſſed over, making their Horſes ſwim. Having overcome this Difficulty, they arrived at ſome Houſes in the Diſtrict of *Zempoalla*; and they took it for no good Sign, not only finding them forſaken by the *Indians*, but alſo without either Furniture or Proviſions, only they left in their Temples ſeveral Idols, with various Inſtruments, or Knives made of Flint, and ſome miſerable Remains of human Victims ſcattered upon the Ground, which at the ſame Time moved Compaſſion, and ſtruck them with Horror. Here they firſt ſaw the *Mexican* Books, which have been already mentioned: There were three or four of them in the Temples, which was thought contained the Rights of their Religion, each made of a long thin varniſhed Cloth, which they folded in equal Foldings, ſo that every Fold made a Leaf, and all together made up the Volume like ours to Appearance, and were written or painted with that kind of Cyphers uſed by the Painters of *Teutile*.

The Army were preſently quartered in the beſt Houſes, and paſſed the Night ſomewhat uneaſily, their Arms in Readineſs, with Sentinals at a convenient Diſtance. The next Day they continued their March in the ſame Order along the great Road, which turned off to the Weſtward, leading farther from the Shore, and during the Morning, they ſaw no Perſon of whom to gain Intelligence, which gave them Uneaſineſs; till, entering into ſome very pleaſant Meadows, they diſcovered twelve *Indians*, who were coming in ſearch of *Cortes* with a Preſent of Hens and Bread, ſent him by the Cazique of *Zempoalla*; very earneſtly entreating him not to fail of coming to his Town, where he had provided Quarters for his Men, and where he ſhould be more plentifully entertained. By theſe *Indians* he underſtood, that the Cazique's Reſidence was at a Town one Sun's Diſtance from that Place, which, in their Language, ſignifies the ſame as one Day's March; for they underſtood not the Diviſion of Leagues, but meaſured Diſtance by Suns, counting Time, and not the Way. *Cortes* diſmiſſed ſix of the *Indians*, with many Thanks for the Preſent, keeping the other ſix to ſhew him the Way, and to aſk them ſome Queſtions; for he was not entirely ſatisfied with this kind Treatment, which being ſo much unlooked for, ſeemed the leſs to be depended on. That Night they halted in a ſmall Village, thin of Inhabitants; but very deſirous to entertain the *Spaniards* well: And by the Behaviour of thoſe People to the *Spaniards*, judged that their Nation was inclined to Peace; nor were they deceived in their Conjectures.

In the Morning the Army moved towards *Zempoalla*, following the Guides with all neceſſary Caution, and towards Evening there came twenty *Indians* forth, to receive *Cortes*, well dreſſed after their Faſhion, who, after having paid their Reſpects, ſaid, That their Cazique did not come with them, by reaſon of ſome Impediment, but had ſent them to pay that Reſpect on his Part, being very deſirous to be acquainted with ſuch valiant Gueſts, and to receive them into his Friendſhip, and Eſteem. The Town was large and beautiful, ſituated between two Rivers, which fertilized the Country, deſcending from ſome Mountains at a ſmall Diſtance, which were covered with Trees, and eaſy of Aſcent. The Buildings were of Stone, covered and adorned with a ſort of Lime very white and ſhining, and afforded a pleaſant and noble Shew at a Diſtance, inſomuch that one of the Scouts, who was ſent before, returned in haſte, crying aloud, That the Walls were of Silver; which Miſtake made much Mirth in the Army, where many at firſt perhaps believed it, who afterwards made a Jeſt of his Credulity.

The Squares and Streets were filled with People, who came to ſee the Entry without any Arms that could give Suſpicions, or any other Noiſe than that which uſually proceeds from a Multitude. The Cazique came out to the Gates of his Palace, and his Diſtemper appeared to be a monſtrous Fatneſs, which oppreſſed and disfigured him: He drew near with ſome Difficulty, ſupported by the Arms of ſome noble *Indians*, by whom he ſeemed to direct his Motion. His Habit was a Mantle of fine

Cotton thrown over his naked Body, enriched with various Jewels and Pendants, which alſo he wore in his Ears and Lips: A Prince of a very extraordinary Make, in whom Weight and Gravity agreed wonderfully well. It was neceſſary for *Cortes* to put a Stop to the laughing of the Soldiers. But as ſoon as the Cazique began his Diſcourſe, receiving *Cortes* with his Arms, and welcoming the reſt of the Captains, he ſhewed his good Senſe, and by his Speech forced a Reſpect to his Perſon.

He diſcourſed much to the Purpoſe, and ſhortened his Compliments with Reſpect and Diſcretion, bidding *Cortes* retire to reſt after his Journey, and quarter his Men, after which he would viſit him in his Quarters, and talk more at Leiſure about their common Intereſts. He had provided Quarters in ſquare Courts which had many Chambers, where they were all accomodated, and plentifully furniſhed with all they had Occaſion for. After which the Cazique made Way for his Viſit, by ſending a Preſent of Jewels, of Gold, and other Curioſities, to the Value of above 2000 Peſos, and ſoon after came himſelf with a ſplendid Attendance, in a Chair carried on the Shoulders of the Chiefs of his Family. *Cortes* went forth to receive him, attended by his Captains, and, giving him the Precedence and the Right-hand, retired with him and his Interpreters, for he thought it convenient to talk to him without Witneſs. After having made him the uſual Speech about the Intent of his coming, the Grandeur of his King, and the Errors of Idolatry; he proceeded to tell him that the Deſign of thoſe valiant Troops was to redreſs Wrongs, puniſh Violence, and take Part with Juſtice and Reaſon.

He touched on that Point on purpoſe to draw him in, by Degrees, to complain of *Motezuma*, and to diſcover what Advantages might be expected from his Indignation, of which he had been before informed. It preſently appeared, by the Change of his Countenance, that *Cortes* had touched the right String; and, before he reſolved on an Anſwer, he began to ſigh, as one who found a Difficulty in making his Complaints: But at length, his Reſentment prevailing, he broke out into Lamentations of his Unhappineſs, and told him, That all the Caziques of the neighbouring Countries were under a miſerable Slavery, groaning under the Oppreſſions and Tyranny of *Motezuma*, without ſufficient Force to free themſelves, or Courage to think on a Remedy; that he cauſed himſelf to be ſerved and adored by his Subjects like one of his Gods, and would have his Violences reverenced like the Decrees of Heaven: But that it was not his Deſire to have him adventure to ſupport them, becauſe *Motezuma* was too powerful and ſtrong for him to reſolve to declare himſelf his Enemy, nor would it be agreeable to the Laws of Civility to pretend to his Friendſhip by ſelling, at ſo great a Price, the ſmall Service he had done him.

Cortes endeavoured to comfort him; telling him, That he ſhould little regard *Motezuma*'s Power, having Juſtice on his Side; but that he was obliged to paſs on to *Quiabiſlan*, where the Oppreſſed and Needy ſhould find him ready to aſſiſt them, and all who, having Reaſon on their Side, ſtood in need of his Arms, which he might communicate to his Friends and Confederates; aſſuring them all, that *Motezuma* ſhould not be able to oppoſe it while he undertook their Defence. With this they both took Leave, and *Cortes* prepared for his March, having gained the Good-will of that Cazique, and being extremely well pleaſed in himſelf, at the better Proſpect of his Deſigns; which, from being only diſtant Views of the Imagination, began now to appear poſſible.

6. The Army being ready to march, they found four hundred *Indians* provided to carry their Baggage and Proviſions, and to help to conduct the Artillery, which was a great Eaſe to the Soldiers, and looked upon as an extraordinary Reſpect of the Cazique, till they underſtood from Donna *Marina*, that it was a common Practice to aſſiſt their Allies with that Sort of Luggage-carriers, which in their Language, they call *Tamenes*, who are able to travel five or ſix Leagues with three Quarters of an Hundred Weight on their Backs. The Country they were entering was pleaſant and delightful; Part covered with great Trees, and the reſt cultivated; at which Sight the *Spaniards* went on chearfully, rejoicing at their good Fortune in marching through ſo plentiful a Country. At Sun-ſet they found themſelves near a little Village unpeopled, where they ſtaid to avoid the Inconveniency of entering *Quiabiſlan* by Night; and arrived the next Day by Ten in the Morning.

The Buildings appeared at a Diſtance, on an Eminence of Rocks, which ſeemed to ſerve inſtead of Walls; a Situation naturally ſtrong, the Avenues narrow and ſteep, which they found without Defence, and yet they entered with Difficulty. The Cazique had retired with the Inhabitants to diſcover at a Diſtance, the Intention of the *Spaniards*; and the Troops took Poſſeſſion of the Town, without finding any Perſon from whom they could gain the leaſt Information, till coming to a Square where the *Indians* had their Temples, there came out Fourteen or Fifteen *Indians* to meet them, handſomely dreſſed after their Manner, and with Abundance of Civilities endeavoured to cover their Fear with Reſpect. *Cortes* encouraged them by his Careſſes, and gave them ſome Beads of blue and green Glaſs, a ſort of Coin, which for its Effects began to be valued even among thoſe who were acquainted with it; with which good Treatment they recovered from the Fright, and gave him to underſtand, That their Cazique had withdrawn himſelf to prevent a War, by putting himſelf on his Defence, and not adventuring his Perſon by truſting to armed Troops which he did not know; and it was impoſſible to hinder the Flight of the Inhabitants, who were under leſs Obligations to run themſelves into Danger. But that as ſoon as the reſt ſhould be ſenſible of the Goodneſs of ſuch Gueſts, they would immediately return to their Houſes, and account it a great Happineſs to ſerve and obey them. *Cortes* gave them all the Aſſurances poſſible, and, whilſt they were gone with this News, he gave ſtrict Orders to the Soldiers to treat the *Indians* well, who ſoon ſhewed what Confidence they had in the *Spaniards*; for that very Night ſome Families returned, and, in a little Time, the Town was filled again with its Inhabitants.

Some Time after the Cazique returned, bringing with him the Cazique of *Zempoalla*. They both came in Litters, on the Shoulders of Men. He of *Zempoalla* made a handſome Excuſe for his Neighbour, and, after ſome ſhort Diſcourſe, they introduced their Complaints of *Motezuma*, recounting, with great Warmth, and ſometimes with Tears, his Tyrannies and Cruelties; to which the Cazique of *Zempoalla* added as the utmoſt Aggravation: "This Monſter is ſo proud and fierce, that, beſides his "impoveriſhing us by Tributes, and raiſing his Wealth "out of our Calamities, he invades the Houſes of his "Subjects, taking forcibly from us both our Wives and "Daughters, ſtaining with their Blood the Altars of his "Gods, after having ſacrificed them firſt to other Uſes "more cruel, and leſs honeſt." *Cortes* endeavoured to comfort them, and bring them to enter into a Confederacy with him; but at the Time that he was enquiring into their Strength, and the Number of People that would take Arms in Defence of their Liberty, two or three *Indians* came in, and ſeemed in a great Fright, and whiſpering the Caziques in their Ears, put them into ſuch Confuſion that they roſe up, loſing Courage and Colour, and went haſtily away, without ſo much as taking Leave or making an End of their Diſcourſe.

The Cauſe of this Diſorder was quickly known; for ſix Royal Commiſſioners, ſuch as went about the Kingdom to gather *Motezuma*'s Tributes, were ſeen paſſing before the *Spaniards* Quarters. They were adorned with Abundance of Feathers and Pendants of Gold on fine clean Cotton Cloths, with a ſufficient Number of Servants and inferior Officers; who, moving great Fans made of Feathers, fanned their Maſters to cool them, or ſhaded them from the Sun as Occaſion required. *Cortes* went out to the Gates, with his Captain, to ſee them, and they paſſed on without paying him any Reſpect, and with Countenances that ſhewed Indignation; which Pride provoked ſome of the Soldiers ſo much, that they would have chaſtiſed them, had they not been with-held by *Cortes*, who reſted ſatisfied at that Time with ſending Donna *Marina*, with a ſufficient Guard, to inform himſelf of what they were doing. By this Means it was underſtood, that, after having ſeated themſelves in the Town-houſe, they ſummoned the Caziques to appear before them, and reprimanded them publickly for their Boldneſs in admiting Strangers into their Town, who were Enemies to their King; and therefore, beſides the ordinary Service, to which they were obliged, they demanded twenty *Indians* to ſacrifice to their Gods, as an Attonement for ſuch a Crime.

Cortes ſent for the two Caziques by ſome Soldiers, who had Orders, without any Noiſe, to bring them to his Preſence; when letting them know that he ſaw into their moſt hidden Deſigns, he told them, That he was well acquainted with the Vileneſs of thoſe Commiſſioners, who, without any Pretence but their having admitted his Troops, endeavoured to impoſe on them new Tributes of Human Blood: That it was no Time for ſuch Abominations, nor would he ſuffer ſuch horrid Commands in his Preſence; but ordered them, without fail, to call their People, ſeize the Commiſſioners, and leave him to maintain what they ſhould do by his Advice. The Caziques refuſed to execute ſuch a bold Command, as being grown mean-ſpirited; but *Cortes* repeated his Order with ſo much Reſolution, that they immediately went to execute it, and that with great Applauſe of the *Indians*.

They ſeized the Miniſters of *Motezuma*, whom they put in a kind of Pillories in their Priſons, and very incommodious, for they held the Delinquents by the Neck, obliging them continually to do their utmoſt with their Shoulders to eaſe the Weight, for the ſake of breathing. It was very pleaſant to ſee how proud the Caziques returned to give an Account of their noble Action, for they thought to execute them, and to make them ſuffer the Puniſhments aſſigned by the Laws to Traitors; and, ſeeing that would not be permitted, they deſired to ſacrifice them to their Gods, as if it were a kind of Grace. The Priſoners being ſecured by a ſufficient Number of *Spaniſh* Soldiers, *Cortes* retired to his Quarters, and to conſider with himſelf what was to be done; for he was not willing abſolutely to break with *Motezuma*, but ſtill to keep him in Suſpence. On the other Hand he conſidered it as a very neceſſary Point to maintain that Party which was beginning to form, that he might have their Aſſiſtance, in Caſe he ſhould happen to want them. In fine, he held it moſt convenient to manage Matters with *Motezuma* by making a Merit of ſuſpending the Effects of that Diſreſpect.

The Reſult of thoſe Reflections was, to ſend, at Midnight, for two of the Priſoners with all poſſible Privacy; and, after receiving them courteouſly, to tell them, That he had ſent for them in order to ſet them at Liberty: And that, as they received it ſolely from his Hands, they might aſſure their Prince he would endeavour very ſpeedily to ſend the reſt of their Companions, who remained in the Power of the Caziques, whom he would endeavour to make ſenſible of their Faults, and perform all that ſhould be for his Service; for that he was deſirous of Peace, and to teſtify, by his Speech and Actions, all the Marks of Civility that were due to the Embaſſadors of ſo great a Prince. The *Indians* durſt not ſet out on their Journey, for Fear of being killed, or taken by the Way; and he was forced to give them a Guard of *Spaniſh* Soldiers, who conveyed them to the next Bay, where the Ships lay, and one of the Boats was ordered to land them beyond the Diſtrict of *Zempoalla*.

The Caziques came in the Morning, much troubled for the Eſcape of the two Priſoners; and *Cortes* received the News with Signs of Surprize and Concern, blaming their Want of Vigilance, and, upon this Pretence, he ordered, in their Preſence, that the reſt ſhould be carried aboard the Fleet; but he privately directed the Officers on board to treat them well, and to keep them ſafe, by which he gained the Confidence of the Caziques, without diſobliging *Motezuma*, whoſe Power, ſo much cried up and dreaded among thoſe *Indians*, made him careful how he acted.

7. The good Behaviour of the *Spaniards* towards their Allies was quickly divulged through all the Diſtricts thereabouts; and the two Caziques, of *Zempoalla* and *Quiabiſlan*, gave Notice to all their Friends and Confederates of their Advantages, being freed from Impoſitions, and their Liberty ſecured by the Protection of a People invincible, who knew the very Thoughts of Men, and ſeemed of a ſuperior Nature. The Report ſpread with Exaggerations. It was ſaid publicly among the People, That their Gods were come down to *Quiabiſlan*, darting Lightning againſt *Motezuma*; which Credulity laſted ſome Time among the *Indians*, and cauſed a Veneration, which, though ill founded, very much facilitated the Beginnings of this Conqueſt.

This high Opinion of the *Spaniards* ſo increaſed, and the Name of Liberty ſounded ſo well in the Ears of the Oppreſſed, that, in a few Days, there came to *Quiabiſlan* thirty Caziques of the Mountains that were in Sight, which had numerous Settlements of *Indians*, called *Totanaques*, a ruſtic People, of different Languages and Cuſtoms; but ſtrong, active, induſtrious, and remarkable for their Courage. They paid Obedience, offered their Troops, and, in the Form propoſed to them, ſwore Fidelity and Vaſſallage to the King of *Spain*, of which a ſolemn Act was made before the Secretary of the Council.

The Number it is likely was very great, the Settlements many, and the People eaſily ſtirred up againſt *Motezuma*; eſpecially for that the mountainous Country was inhabited by warlike *Indians* lately ſubdued, or not quite conquered. This kind of Confederacy being made, the Caziques returned to their Houſes, ready to do as they had been commanded; and *Cortes* reſolved to ſettle the Town of *Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz*, which till then moved with the Army, though obſerving its proper Diſtinctions as a Republic. They pitched upon the Plain between the Sea and *Quiabiſlan*, half a League from that Town, a pleaſant Place which invited them by its Fertility, abounding in Water, and having great Plenty of Trees, which lay commodious for the cutting of Timber for the Buildings. They laid the Foundations, beginning with the Church; the Handicraftmen were diſtributed; Carpenters and Maſons, *&c.* who came with Soldiers Pay; and the *Indians* of *Zempoalla* and *Quiabiſlan* aſſiſting with equal Activity, the Houſes began to riſe, mean as to Architecture, rather for a Covering than any Commodiouſneſs. They preſently drew the Compaſs of the Wall, with Traverſes of ſtrong Mudwork; a ſufficient Defence againſt the Weapons of the *Indians*, and, in that Country, it might be properly called a Fortreſs. The principal Officers of the Army helped to carry on the Work, applying both their Hands and Shoulders, and *Cortes* worked hard as if he had ſet himſelf a Taſk, not ſatisfied with the ſeeming Diligence, which is ſufficient in a Superior, to ſet a good Example.

In the meen Time they had at *Mexico* the firſt Advice of the *Spaniards* being admitted into *Zempoalla* by that Cazique, a Man, in their Opinion, of ſuſpected Fidelity, and the neighbouring Places little to be depended upon. Which Account ſo provoked *Motezuma*, that he propoſed to draw together his Forces, and march out in Perſon to chaſtiſe this Offence of the *Zempoallans*, and put the reſt of the Mountain Nations under the Yoke, taking the *Spaniards* alive, whom he had already deſtined for a ſolemn Sacrifice to his Gods.

But, at the ſame Time that he began to make great Preparations for this Enterprize, the two *Indians* whom *Cortes* had diſpatched from *Quiabiſlan* arrived at *Mexico*, and gave an Account of their Impriſonment, and that they owed their Liberty to the Captain of the Strangers, who had ſent them to repreſent how much he deſired Peace, and how far it was from his Intentions to do him any Diſſervice; extolling his Courteſy and Mildneſs ſo much, that it might be perceived, by the Praiſes they gave *Cortes*, how much they had been frighted by the Caziques.

Upon this, Affairs changed. The Anger of *Motezuma* was mitigated, his Preparations for War ceaſed, and he determined again to try Negotiation, and endeavour to divert *Cortes* from his Deſigns by a new Embaſſy and Preſent, to which Meaſures he eaſily inclined; for, in the Midſt of his Anger and Pride, he could not forget the Signals of Heaven, and the Anſwers of his Idols, which he looked upon as evil Omens of his Undertaking, or at leaſt they obliged him to delay the Breach, endeavouring to qualify his Fear after ſuch a Manner, that it ſhould be taken for Prudence by Men, and for Reſpect by his Gods.

His Embaſſadors arrived juſt as the new Settlement and Fortreſs of *Vera Cruz* were completed. They were the Emperor's Nephews, young Men, but aſſiſted by four ancient Princes, who attended them as Counſellors. They told *Cortes*, That the Emperor had determined to chaſtiſe the Caziques, till he received an Account of his Behaviour, which induced him to ſuſpend his Vengeance: That he hoped, however, he would ſoon quit that Country, ſince the Obſtacles which hindred his coming to his Court were in their Nature inſurmountable.

According to his uſual Cuſtom, *Cortes* heard their Diſcourſe with great Temper and Calmneſs, and received the Preſents made him by the Emperor with all Reſpect poſſible; treated the Embaſſadors with great Kindneſs and Complaiſance; made them many Preſents, beſides a proper Return to *Motezuma*: But, at the ſame Time, declared, That Difficulties were no Diſcouragements to him, and the Importance of his Commiſſion was ſuch, that, at all Events, he muſt purſue his Journey. This highly diſguſted the Embaſſadors; but was very uſeful with Regard to the Allies, who were confirmed in their Opinion that *Cortes* was ſomething more than Man, ſince the great Emperor of *Mexico* vouchſafed to court his Friendſhip, and diſcovered an Apprehenſion of his Preſence. They began therefore to conclude themſelves ſafe under his Protection, and to lay aſide that Fear, to which not only they, but their Anceſtors, had been accuſtomed.

8. The Cazique of *Zempoalla*, a ſhort Time after, came to *Vera Cruz*, with ſome principle *Indians*, whom he brought as Witneſſes of what he intended to offer, which was, That now the Time was come to protect and defend his Country; for that ſome Troops of the *Mexicans* were arrived in *Zimpazingo*, deſtroying the Corn-fields, and committing ſome Hoſtilities in his Diſtrict. *Cortes* found himſelf engaged to ſupport the *Zepoallans* to maintain his Credit; and beſides, he thought it would not be right to ſuffer that Inſolence of the *Mexicans* as it were in his Sight, and that in Caſe they were ſome advanced Troops of *Motezuma*'s Army, it would be neceſſary to ſtrike a Terror into them to diſcourage the reſt of his People, for which Purpoſe he determined to march in Perſon; engaging in it ſomewhat too haſtily, for he was yet unacquainted with the Deceits of thoſe People (a capital Vice among the *Indians*) and ſuffered himſelf to be carried away without examining into the Truth. He offered them to march out immediately with his Troops to chaſtiſe thoſe Enemies who diſturbed the Peace of his Allies, and, ordering them to provide *Indians* of Burthen for the Service of the Baggage and Artillery, he made a Diſpoſition immediately for his March, and took the Road of *Zimpazingo*, with four hundred Men, leaving the reſt in the Fortreſs of *Vera Cruz*.

As he paſſed by *Zempoalla* he found two thouſand armed *Indians* whom the Cazique had provided to ſerve under him in that Expedition, divided into four Bodies, with their Captains, Colours, and Arms, according to the Cuſtom of their Militia. *Cortes* thanked him very much for the Care he took to provide that Succour; and though he let him underſtand that he had no Occaſion for his Men upon an Expedition of ſo ſmall Importance, yet he ſuffered them to go to provide againſt all Events; but intimated he did ſo only to let them ſhare in the Glory of the Succeſs. That Night they lodged three Leagues from *Zimpazingo*, and the next Day, in the Afternoon, they diſcovered the Town on the Top of a ſmall Hill, a Branch of the Mountain, among great Rocks, which hid Part of the Buildings.

The *Spaniards* began to overcome the Craggedneſs of the Mountain, but not without conſiderable Trouble; for, being jealous of an Ambuſcade, they went doubling and filing off as the Ground would permit; but the *Zempoallans*, either more dexterous or leſs embarraſſed by the Narrowneſs of the Paths, advanced with a Sort of Fury, which appeared like Valour, but was, indeed, no better than Revenge. *Cortes* was obliged to give Orders to halt, at a Time when ſome Troops of the Van-guard were already in the Town.

He continued his March without meeting any Reſiſtance, and juſt as he was preparing to attack the Town in ſeveral Parts, there came out of it eight Prieſts who enquired for the Captain of that Army, before whoſe Preſence they came in an humble and pitiful Manner, ſuch as ſufficiently ſhewed Submiſſion, without the Help of an Interpreter. Their Dreſs was a black Mantle, of which the End reached the Ground, and the upper Part was gathered and plaited about the Neck, with a Piece hanging looſe in Form of a Hood. Their Hair reached to their Shoulders, clodded with the human Blood of their Sacrifices; Marks of which they ſuperſtitiouſly preſerved on their Faces and Hands, for it was not lawful for them to waſh themſelves. Theſe Prieſts ſoon convinced the *Spaniſh* Commander that he had been impoſed on, that the Troops from *Motezuma* were long ago retired, and that this was only an Artifice of his Allies, who were their Enemies, in Order to make Uſe of him as an Inſtrument for their Deſtruction.

A Thing in itſelf very ſcandalous and baſe, but at this Juncture particularly barbarous and black, as is contributed to draw an Imputation upon the *Spaniards*, which might have been fatal to their Affairs. After hearing their Diſcourſe he returned to his *Indian* Allies, and by the Confuſion of the *Zempoallan* Captains, it appeared that thoſe Prieſts ſpoke Truth, and *Cortes* was concerned at the Deceit, and vexed, at the ſame Time, at the Malice of the *Indians*; but conſidering what was moſt proper to be done upon this Occaſion, he preſently ordered the Captains *Olido* and *Alverado* to go with their Companies, and gather the *Indians* together who had advanced before to get into the Town, and were now buſy in the Pillage, and had taken a conſiderable Quantity of Cloaths and Furniture and ſome Priſoners.

They were brought to the Army ſhamefully loaded, and the plundered People following, crying out for their Goods, for whoſe Satisfaction *Cortes* commanded them to unbind the Priſoners and deliver up the Goods to the Prieſts, that they might reſtore them to their proper Owners, and calling for the *Zempoallan* Captains, reproved them publicly for their Preſumption, telling them they deſerved Death for their Offence, in making Uſe of him only to compaſs their Revenge; however, being warmly entreated by the *Spaniſh* Captains whom he had inſtructed before to pacify him, he pardoned them for that Time, enlarging upon his Clemency, though, in Truth, he did not then dare to chaſtiſe them; knowing well, that to preſerve new acquired Friends, Clemency was more requiſite than Juſtice. Having managed Things ſo as to give him a Reputation with both the Nations, he commanded the *Zempoallans* to lodge without the Town, and marched in with the *Spaniards*, where he was received with the Applauſe due to a Deliverer.

Immediately the Cazique of *Zimpazingo* viſited him in his Lodging, with others of the Neighbourhood, who came out of Friendſhip, acknowledging the King of *Spain* for their Prince, whoſe Name was already beloved and reverenced in that Country, where the People deſired to be his Subjects out of Hatred to *Motezuma*, whom they knew, and Love to a Prince they knew not.

In their March back to *Zempoalla*, the Troops paſſed by two Towns of thoſe that were newly entered into the Confederacy; and while they halted in the Afternoon, a Soldier, whoſe Name was *Mora*, took two Hens, ſo that *Cortes* ſaw it, and was ſo angry becauſe it was done in his Preſence, and in regard that he would have his Soldiers to obſerve Diſcipline, that he ordered him to be hanged, and had not *Peter Alverado* cut him down with his Sword, he had actually died; as it was he dropped down half choaked, and ſome Time afterwards was killed in Battle, at *Guatemala*. The Lord himſelf was near *Zempoalla* waiting for *Cortes* with Proviſions, and under great Concern, on Account of having made him undertake that Journey on falſe Relations; for they were not ſo barbarous as not to be ſenſible that *Cortes* made good his Aſſertion, that he was ſent to maintain Juſtice, which gained him much Reputation; and as the Dread of *Mo-*

tezuma made them uneaſy, they could have wiſhed, that for their greater Security, the *Spaniards* had never departed from their Town; for which Reaſon they ſaid that ſince they were now all one Nation, they ſhould take their Women, and carried them eight beautiful Damſels, Daughters of principal Perſons, with Gold Necklaces and Pendants in their Ears, with Women Servants, the Cazique ſaying that ſeven of them were for the Captains, and the other, being his own Niece, for *Cortes.*

That General, before he would receive the Ladies, inſiſted that Idolatry ſhould be aboliſhed, to which the *Indians* were very loth to conſent, alledging that they had no Occaſion to quarrel with the Gods of their Fore-fathers, ſince they had given them Succeſs in War and good Harveſts; but what ſtruck them moſt, was their Fear that if they diſtroyed theſe Gods, that is to ſay, the Idols they worſhipped, they would puniſh them ſeverely; but *Cortes* put them out of their Terror, by taking that upon himſelf; and when the Idols were once deſtroyed, the People ſubmitted readily enough, in ſpite of all the Pains their Prieſts took to prevent it; and this great Point of Religion once ſettled, *Cortes* and his Commanders made no Sort of Difficulty of accepting the Ladies, which was very agreeable to the *Indians,* who looked upon them thenceforward, not only as their Allies, but as their Countrymen.

9. *Cortes* having thus concluded a League with the *Zempoallans,* marched away to his new Colony of *Villa Rica,* and the ſame Day he came to it a Ship arrived from *Cuba,* commanded by *Franciſco de Salcedo.* The Ship brought Captain *Lewis Martin,* with a Mare and ten Soldiers, and *Salcedo* had a good Horſe. Theſe Perſons brought Advice that *James Velaſquez,* had received the Title of Adelantado, and the King's Commiſſion to trade and make Settlements in the new diſcovered Countries that had been granted him. The Forces having been now three Months in *New Spain,* and the Fort almoſt made defenſible, it was propoſed to go up the Country: But it was reſolved, in the firſt Place, to ſend ſome Perſons to the King, to give an Account of what had been done in his Service, and carry him a fifth of the Gold, and all the reſt that had been given.

Alonſo Puerto Carrero and Captain *de Montejo* were pitched upon to go on this Errand, and *Cortes* thinking that what he had was very little, when every Officer and Soldier had his Share, and that the King's Fifth being accordingly very inconſiderable, it would not anſwer the Account they were to give of the Wealth of that Country; he ordered *Francis de Montejo* and *James de Ordaz,* that they, as Men in Authority, ſhould ſpeak to the Soldiers Man by Man, to reſign their Shares to be ſent to the King as a Preſent; many of the Gentlemen to whom the ſame was propoſed, freely offering to do the like. They readily conſented, and all that had been got was converted into a Preſent, for *Cortes* would not deduct his own fifth Part, nor any Salary, only taking ſo much out of the whole Sum, as was neceſſary for the Expence of the Voyage, and to maintain the Meſſengers going and coming, beſides ſomething *Cortes* ſent to his Father *Martin Cortes.* He gave thoſe Deputies ample Inſtructions, with a particular Relation of what he had done both at *Cuba* and in *New Spain;* he likewiſe wrote a very long Letter to the King, taking Notice in it of the vaſt Extent and Wealth of the Country, the Hopes he had of reducing it under his Obedience, and begging he would not forget him when any Commiſſions were given out for that Country. The Magiſtrates of *Vera Cruz* wrote another Letter, repreſenting the Service they had done his Majeſty, the Reaſons they had for making the Settlement, and their Sufferings. The Captains wrote another to the ſame Effect, as did the Soldiers of moſt Note; promiſing to defend that Town at the Expence of their Lives, unleſs otherwiſe commanded by his Majeſty; and all of them moſt humbly intreating the King to beſtow the Government of that Country, and others that ſhould be by them diſcovered and ſubdued, upon *Ferdinand Cortes,* whom they had choſen for their Commander, to prevent Diſputes; and becauſe no Man was more capable of ſerving his Majeſty; and that, in Caſe another had been appointed, his Commiſſion might be called in Queſtion, and that his Majeſty would be pleaſed ſpeedily to anſwer and diſpatch their Deputies.

Cortes gave them the beſt Ships, and appointed *Antony Alaminos* their Pilot, who, in order to avoid coming near *St. Jago de Cuba,* ſailed through the Channel of *Bahama.* They ſailed on the 26th of *July,* 1519, with fifteen Sailors, and touched at *Marien,* in *Cuba,* proceeded to the *Havannah,* paſſed the Channel of *Bahama,* and had a good Voyage to *Spain;* being the firſt that ever ſailed that Way, which he did to avoid falling into the Hands of *Velaſquez. Alaminos* took this Reſolution, being well acquainted with the *Lucayo* Iſlands, and the Coaſt of *Florida,* and concluding that thoſe Currents muſt end ſomewhere; and accordingly he ſtood Northwards, and it proved well, for being got ſafe out of the Channel, he came into the open Sea, and arrived ſafe at *Sanlucar,* in *October. Benedict Martin* was then at *Seville,* in order to carry over the King's Diſpatches to *James Velaſquez,* at *Cuba.* He informing the Officers of the *Indian* Houſe, that thoſe Deputies were out of the King's Service, they ſeized all that was in the Ship, together with the 3000 Caſtalanos they had for their Expences, and what *Cortes* ſent his Father. The Preſent for the King was ſent to him at *Valladolid,* and Advice given to the Biſhop of *Burgos,* who was fitting out the Fleet to carry his Majeſty over to *Flanders,* with Complaints againſt *Cortes,* for having revolted from *James Velaſquez.* The Deputies, with the Pilot *Antony de Alaminos,* and *Cortes*'s Father, went away to meet the King at *Tordeſillas.*

When the Deputies were gone from *Vera Cruz,* ſome Servants and Friends of *Velaſquez,* and among them *F. John Diaz,* being uneaſy among themſelves, contrived to ſteal a ſmall Veſſel, and ſail to *Cuba,* to acquaint *James Velaſquez* with what was doing; but when they had got the Ship ready, and were going to embark in the Night, *Bernard de Coria* repented, and gave Notice of it to *Cortes,* who immediately ordered the Sails to be taken from the Ships, and the Fugitives to be ſecured, who owned the Truth of the Charge, impeaching alſo ſome Perſons of more Note than themſelves, at whom, *Cortes* conſidering his Circumſtances, connived. However, he, with much ſeeming Sorrow, condemned *James Eſcudero* the *Alguazil,* who had formerly arreſted him in *Cuba,* to be hanged, and, with him *James Cermeno,* a Man ſo active, that with only a Spear in his Hand, he would leap over another Spear held up at Arms-length by the talleſt Men in the Army. Another had one Foot cut off, and two were whipped; he would not puniſh *F. John Diaz,* becauſe he was a Clergyman; and thus *Cortes* made himſelf feared and honoured. And as ſoon as he had ſigned the Warrant for Execution, to prevent its being obſtructed by Intreaties, he went away to *Zempoalla,* where he appointed *Peter Álverado* to meet him.

He was now intent on his Journey to *Mexico,* and his People deſirous of undertaking it, *Cortes* putting them in Hopes that they would be there enriched, by which Means he gained their Affections, and kept them in Awe. The Order of this March being under Deliberation at *Zempoalla, Cortes* reſolved to ſink all his Ships, to deprive the Favourers of *Velaſquez* of all Hopes of returning to *Cuba;* becauſe there were ſo many of them, that if they went away they would have weakened his Forces, and, at the ſame Time, to add Reſolution to the reſt; who finding themſelves in that vaſt populous Country, without any Poſſibility of getting away, would be obliged to follow and obey him, and to truſt only to their Valour. However, leſt this ſhould occaſion ſome Diſturbance among the Men, he contrived, that the Soldiers who were his moſt zealous Friends, ſhould aſk it of him, perſuading him to it, with ſeveral Arguments, and among the reſt, that the Mariners, being an hundred Men, they would be a great Help to the Soldiers, and bear Part of all their Fatigues. The Soldiers, accordingly aſked it, and a public Inſtrument was made of the ſame by a Notary, though it was thought that there was another Piece of Subtilty in this extraordinary Management, which was, his not being left alone under the Obligation of paying for the Ships, but that the whole Army ſhould be equally bound to pay for them.

This done, he ordered *Juan de Eſculante*, the chief Alguazil, to repair to *Villa Rica*, and to bring aſhore from the Ships their Anchors, Iron Work, Sails, and all that might be of any Uſe, and then to ſink them all except the Boats; and that the Mariners who were aged or diſabled, and unfit for Service, ſhould ſtay in the Town. *Juan de Eſculante*, who was a very diligent Man, performed it with much Expedition, and returned to *Zempoalla* with the ableſt of the Seamen, many of whom proved very good Soldiers. The more we conſider and reflect upon this Stroke of our Hero's Policy, the more we muſt be perſuaded he deſerves that Title, ſince nothing could be greater in itſelf, or performed with more Spirit and Reſolution than this Scheme of burning his Ships, which he knew muſt fill his Soldiers with a determined Reſolution to conquer, ſince it abſolutely took away what had hitherto damped and qualified that Ardour, the Hopes of getting back to *Cuba*, and eſcaping perpetual Labours by a timely, though leſs honourable Retreat.

SECTION X.

The Hiſtory of the War of Tlaſcala, *from its breaking out to* CORTES'*s concluding a Peace with that Republic; and his taking them into the Confederacy againſt the* Indian *Emperor* MOTEZUMA.

1. *The Interruption* Cortes *met with in his intended March by the appearing of a* Spaniſh *Squadron on the Coaſt, and the Means he uſed to oblige them to retire.* 2. *He reſumes his March towards* Mexico, *advances as far as* Zocotlan, *and reſolves to move on notwithſtanding the Report of the vaſt Power of* Motezuma. 3. *Determines to take the Rout of* Tlaſcala, *though adviſed againſt it, and ſends ſome of the* Zempoallans, *as his Embaſſadors, who are very ill treated.* 4. *A War enſues notwithſtanding all the Care of* Cortes *to prevent it, in which ſeveral bloody Battles are fought, and a dreadful Slaughter made of the* Tlaſcalans. 5. *A great Battle fought, in which the Republic exert their whole Strength, but are nevertheleſs overcome, though with Difficulty.* 6. *The* Tlaſcalans *employ Spies, which are diſcovered and puniſhed: Another Battle enſues, in which they are again beat.* 7. *A Mutiny amongſt the* Spaniards, *on the Point of breaking out, is ſtopped by a Negotiation ſet on Foot for Peace.* 8. *The Peace is at length concluded, to the great Joy and Satisfaction of both Parties, notwithſtanding the Pains taken by* Motezuma's *Embaſſadors to delay or hinder it.* 9. *A ſuccinct Hiſtory of this celebrated Republic, including a Deſcription of the City of* Tlaſcala, *and the Manner in which* Cortes *was treated by its Inhabitants.* 10. *He perſiſts in his Reſolution of marching to* Mexico, *explains himſelf clearly upon that Subject to the* Tlaſcalans, *engages them to aſſiſt him in his Undertaking, and prepares for his March.* 11. *Obſervations on the moſt remarkable Events contained in the foregoing Section.*

1. THE Genius of *Cortes* diſtinguiſhed itſelf chiefly in delivering him ſuddenly, and as it were, without Difficulty, out of thoſe ſort of dangerous Conjunctures which ſeemed to threaten him with immediate and inevitable Deſtruction: Of this there occurred a very extraordinary Inſtance. Immediately after he had fixed a Reſolution of putting all to the Hazard, and marching directly with his Handful of Troops into the Empire of *Mexico*, we have ſeen him take one of the boldeſt and moſt romantic Steps that was perhaps ever put in Practice by a Perſon of ſo much Prudence and good Senſe, in the burning of his Fleet, purely to prevent thoſe who were under his Command from having it in their Power to fly from thoſe Difficulties which he meant they ſhould overcome; but no ſooner was this extraordinary Meaſure taken, than the whole Uſe of it ſeemed to be deſtroyed by an Accident he could not poſſibly foreſee, and which therefore it was impracticable for him to avoid.

This Accident was, the Arrival of a ſmall Squadron upon the Coaſt, of which his Governor at *Vera Cruz* immediately gave him Notice. This could not fail of making *Cortes* uneaſy; who, when he firſt received the Intelligence, apprehended that it muſt be fitted out by *James Velaſquez*, in Order to deprive him of his Command, under Pretence of ſending a Reinforcement for the more effectual Proſecution of the Expedition. He foreſaw in an Inſtant what the Conſequence of this might be, and therefore determined to march back with all the Forces under his Command to *Vera Cruz*, that he might be in a Condition to deal with his Enemies, either by Way of Perſuaſion or that of Arms, as Occaſion ſhould require. He did ſo; but upon his Arrival he was informed that thoſe Ships came from the Northward; that they had been fitted out by the Governor of *Jamaica*, upon Diſcovery; and, that they meant to ſet Bounds to his Conqueſts on that Side, under Pretence that they firſt found the Country of *Panuco*, and had traded with the Inhabitants for Gold, to the Amount of three thouſand Pieces of Eight or better. He grew eaſier upon this Advice, though there were ſtill two Points to be carried before he could think of proſecuting his firſt Enterprize: The firſt was, giving a Check to this Scheme of Diſcovery; that he might have no more Rivals to diſturb his Undertakings hereafter. The other, to oblige theſe Ships to quit the Coaſt inſtantly; that none of the Malcontents in his Army might have an Opportunity of deſerting to them.

In Order to effect this, he marched with a ſmall Party of ſuch as he could beſt truſt, to the Sea-ſhore; where he was hardly arrived before he met with three *Spaniards*, one of whom advancing towards him ſaid, He was a public Notary, and that he brought the other two as Witneſſes, to atteſt the Delivery to him of a Writing which he had in his Hand, containing the Governor of *Jamaica*'s Claim to a Part of this Country. *Cortes* declined taking the Paper, telling him very mildly, That it would be better if Captain *Pineda*, who he underſtood was the Commander, would come on Shore himſelf. The Notary anſwered, That neither he, nor any-body elſe, would quit the Ship. Upon this *Cortes* ſeized him and his Companions, and waited all Night behind a Sand-hill, to ſee if any-body would venture from the Ship; but finding that no-body came, he obliged his Priſoners to ſtrip themſelves, and having dreſſed three of his Men in their Clothes ſent them to make a Signal; upon which a Boat came off from the Ship with twelve Men well armed: *Cortes*'s Soldiers perceiving this retired under a Tree, and four Men landing from the Boat with an *Indian*, advanced towards them, not in the leaſt doubting that they were their own People. By this Stratagem he got theſe likewiſe into his Hands; and the Boat's Crew on ſeeing what had happened went of, to acquaint thoſe on Board therewith, and in a few Hours after the Ship bore away, and quitted that Coaſt.

By this Means he delivered himſelf at once out of this Perplexity; and the Men he had taken, being well uſed, gave him a faithful Account of all they had ſeen, and very readily enliſted in his Service, aſſuring him at the ſame Time, that the Diſcoveries they had made were of ſo little Conſequence, and the Produce of their Voyage ſo very inconſiderable, that he was not like to hear of any more Attempts of the like kind from *Jamaica*, which gave him ſingular Satisfaction, and encouraged him to reſume his Deſign for purſuing, which he found all under his Command, both Officers and private Men, more eager for than ever, which was chiefly owing to their ſeeing him always ſucceſsful in every Thing he took in Hand.

2. *Cortes* returned to *Zempoalla*, reſolving to loſe no Time before he ſet out for *Mexico*. The Men to carry Burthens being ready with the Baggage and Artillery, with the Auxiliaries of *Zempoalla*, and thoſe of the Mountain Towns, whom he took along with him as Hoſtages, leaving a Page of his own, of the Age of twelve Years, to learn the Language, he ſet forward on the 16th of *Auguſt*, ſeveral prime Perſons waiting on him, of whom he took Leave at a ſmall Diſtance from the Town. The *Indians* wept, conſidering the Danger into which they were going, though they relied on the Valour of the *Spaniards*, who were four hundred in Number, beſides fifteen or ſixteen Horſemen, and ſix ſmall Pieces of Cannon, with the Ammunition belonging to them. The March began in good Order; they arrived the firſt Day at *Xalapa*, and thence proceeded to another Town, which, being Confederate with *Zempoalla*, gave them good Reception. There *Cortes* told them he was ſent by the King of *Spain*, to admoniſh them to forbear ſacrificing of Men, and following the other wicked Courſes they were guilty of, and to live in Peace and Juſtice, and to chaſtize Tyrants.

He erected a Croſs in every Town, ordering them to reſpect it; for, as they ſhould be after better informed, through that holy Emblem they were to expect all Happineſs in this World and in the next; he proceeded to *Texutla*, where he ſpoke to the ſame Effect to the Heads of the People, and they entertained him affectionately. They then came into the deſart Country, where they met with much Hail and Rain, a ſharp Wind blowing from the ſnowy Mountains. The Men endured much, for there was alſo but few Eatables to be met with. They marched through another Paſs, where there were ſmall Places of Worſhip, with Idols and great Piles of Wood cut for the Service of the Temples. The Cold continued, and they were in great want of Proviſions, which the Men bore with wonderful Patience, though the Weather pinched them, becauſe they were thin clad, and uſed to the temperate Climate of *Cuba*, *Zempoalla*, and the Sea-coaſt. They next came into the Territories of *Zocotlan*, ſubject to the King of *Mexico*; *Cortes* ſent two *Zempoallans* before, to deſire thoſe People, in his Name, that they would be pleaſed to quarter his Forces, and, at the ſame Time, held them in Readineſs for all Events, becauſe this muſt be conſidered as an Enemy's Country; when they came in ſight of the Town, a *Portugueſe* Soldier ſaying that it was like *Caſtel Branco*, in *Portugal*, they gave it that Name.

The Lord was called *Olintel*, whom the *Spaniards* nick-named the *Squab*, becauſe he was very fat. He ordered the Men to have Proviſions given them, but not a very great Quantity, or with a very good Will. *Cortes* by Means of his Interpreters, who daily grew more expert, talked to him as to others, and he was pleaſed to hear thoſe Things which were ſo ſtrange to him. *Cortes* obſerving with what State he was ſerved, aſked him whether he was a Confederate, or a Subject to the King of *Mexico?* He anſwered that Queſtion, by ſaying, who is not a Slave to *Motezuma? Cortes* replied, that beyond the Sea there was a greater Sovereign, meaning the King of *Spain*, whom many Princes ſerved, that himſelf was one of the meaneſt Subjects he had, and that the Lord ought to ſubmit himſelf, and give ſome Demonſtration that he did ſo. He anſwered that he would do nothing but what *Motezuma* ſhould command him. *Cortes* did not carry on this Diſcourſe any farther, looking upon the Lord and his People to be Men of Reſolution, but deſired he would tell him ſomething of *Motezuma*'s Grandeur. This Lord ſaid he, was Sovereign over many Kings; that there was not the like of him in the World; that many Lords ſerved him in his Palace bare-footed, with their Eyes fixed on the Ground; that there were thirty Princes in his Empire, each of whom had one hundred thouſand fighting Men in his Dominions, and ſome Years *Motezuma* ſacrificed as Victims fifty thouſand; that he reſided in the largeſt, moſt beautiful, and ſtrongeſt City in the Univerſe, being in the Water, and having above fifty thouſand Acales for the Service of it; that his Court was very ſpacious, that many Princes of the Country round about continually reſorted thither to ſerve him; that his Revenues were incredible, becauſe none, even the greateſt, was exempt from paying Tribute, nor any ſo poor as not to give ſomething, though it were only Blood from his Arm; that his Expences were prodigious, becauſe, beſides thoſe of his Civil Liſt, he had continual Wars, which obliged him to maintain great Armies.

This Account ſtruck ſome of the People about *Cortes* with great Apprehenſions, from the mighty Strength of *Motezuma*, compared with their own ſlender Force; but he who had an admirable Faculty of turning every Thing to his own Advantage, uſually diſcourſed of the Greatneſs of the *Indian* Emperor, with Pleaſure; for, ſaid he, if we ſeek Wealth and Country from our Conqueſts, we ought to rejoice, that thoſe, againſt whom we fight, have great Riches and large Dominions. As for this *Indian* Chief, with whom he then lodged, he was Lord over twenty thouſand People, had thirty Wives in his Houſe, and above one hundred Women to wait on them, and two thouſand Servants. The Town was large, and contained thirteen Temples, with abundance of Idols made of Stone; they ſacrificed to them, Men, Women, Children, Turtles, and other Things, burning many Perfumes, with great Veneration. *Motezuma* had five thouſand Men in Garriſon in this Town and its Territory, and Men were ready two and two, at ſmall Diſtances, all the Way to *Mexico*, in the Nature of Poſts, to carry an Account of all Things that happened. *Cortes* was now thoroughly confirmed in the Notion he had of the Grandeur of *Motezuma*; and though ſome about him were always giving Hints of the Difficulty of the Undertaking, and the Danger, he never ſhewed the leaſt Irreſolution, but, on the contrary, with an undaunted Intrepidity, encouraged his People, aſſuring them of Succeſs, with as much Firmneſs as if he had it in his Power, as, indeed, he foreſaw all Exigencies with wonderful Sagacity and Diſcretion.

Olintel ſeemed to grow better affected, and made more plentiful Proviſion for the Men, upon the Diſcourſe he had with *Cortes*; though he ſaid he could not tell whether *Motezuma* would not be diſpleaſed at his having entertained them without his Leave. *Cortes*, finding him more courteous, began to talk of Religion, and would have had a Croſs erected, as had been done in other Towns, but *F. Olmedo* did not think it proper, for fear of ſome Irreverence. *Francis de Lugo*, a Man of Note, had with him a very large Greyhound that barked very much in the Night: The Gentlemen of that Town aſked thoſe of *Zempoalla* whether that was a Tyger, Lyon, or other Beaſt to kill Men? They anſwered, it was a Beaſt under good Command, and would bite and kill, when, and whoever his Maſter pleaſed. They told them the great Guns killed whom they would, with ſome Stones they threw into them, and that the Horſes ran like Stags, and overtook whom they pleaſed, none being able to eſcape them; that thoſe were the Men who conquered the People at *Tabaſco*, threw down their Idols, and made them Friends with their Neighbours. That *Motezuma* had ſent them Preſents, becauſe he looked upon them as Gods, and therefore they wondered why *Olintel* made them no Preſents. Moved by what they ſaid, he immediately ſent *Cortes* four Head-pieces, three Collars, and ſome Lizards, all of Gold, a Load of Cotton Cloth, and four Women Slaves to make Bread. In this Town there was a Charnel containing Abundance of Skulls and Bones of Men that had been ſacrificed, and in all other Towns in that Country, after the ſame Manner as at *Mexico*, which ſhall be deſcribed in its Place.

3. *Cortes* ſtaid nine Days with *Olintel*, to refreſh the

Men, and having given him a Preſent of his Toys, which was much valued, began to conſult which Way he ſhould travel to *Mexico*; *Olintel* ſaid, the beſt and plaineſt Way would be through a Town called *Colula*. The *Zempoallans* oppoſed it, alledging that thoſe People were very treacherous, and had always Garriſons; whereas the *Tlaſcalans* were his Enemies, and good People, for which Reaſon that would be the better Way. *Cortes* demanded of the Lord twenty Soldiers to be his Guides, as being well acquainted with the Country, which were given, and with them he ſet out toward *Tlaſcala*; as ſoon as he came to a Town called *Xacazingo*, he ſent four *Zempoallans* to *Tlaſcala*, with a Letter and a red Hat, and though he was ſenſible that they underſtood not the Letter, he thought they would, at leaſt, conclude it to be a Meſſage, that they might not do any harm to the Meſſengers; for it was known that the *Tlaſcalans* were informed that the *Spaniards* were marching towards them, and that they brought with them ſome *Indians* that were Tributaries to *Motezuma*, as the *Zempoallans* and thoſe of *Olintel* had taken up Arms. *Cortes* ordered the Meſſengers to tell the Gentlemen of *Tlaſcala*, that he had been informed, by the Lord of *Zempoalla*, and the neighbouring Towns, his Friends and Confederates, of the bloody Wars they had ſo juſtly waged with *Motezuma*, who had done them ſo many Wrongs; that he was ſent by a mighty Prince, in the firſt Place, to bring them to the Knowledge of the true God, and at the ſame time to deliver them from the Oppreſſion of the *Mexican Culuas*; that he ſent them that Hat, and with it a Sword and a Croſs-bow, that they might ſee with what powerful Weapons he deſigned to aſſiſt them.

This he did, becauſe he had heard how much a Croſs-bow and *Spaniſh* Weapons had been admired at *Mexico*. *Cortes* ſent this Embaſſy by the Advice of the *Zempoallans*, who ſaid the *Tlaſcalans* were numerous and warlike, Enemies to *Motezuma*, and would eaſily be brought into the Confederacy of the *Totanaques*. *Cortes* was more inclined to this Meſſage, ſince he hazarded nothing in ſo doing, and had always found the *Zempoallans* ſincere: And at this Place he began to be more fully informed of the Affairs of *Tlaſcala*. The Meſſengers coming, were received there, and conducted to the Town-Houſe, where Proviſions were given them. The Council met, the *Zempoallans* were called in, and delivered diſtinctly the Meſſage given them by *Cortes* in the beſt Terms they were able. On the other hand, the *Tlaſcalans* having received the Hat, the Letter, and Arms, *Maxiſcatzin*, one of the Lords of the Republic, bade them ſit down, ſaid they were welcome, that they thanked the *Totanaques* for their Advice, and were glad of their Liberty; that they were alſo thankful to the great Stranger for his Preſent, and that they might reſt themſelves, becauſe it required time for them to come to a Reſolution. Hereupon the *Zempoallans* withdrew, abundance of People flocking thither to enquire what they came about, and they recounting what they had ſeen of the Valour of the *Spaniards*, of their Behaviour, and their Weapons, deſcribing the Horſes, and all the reſt, and magnifying every Thing.

The Lords of the Commonwealth, being by themſelves, *Maxiſcatzin*, a Man of much Wiſdom and well beloved, made a Speech, adviſing them to receive the *Spaniards* in a friendly Manner, but *Xicotencatl*, who was General of the Army, was for oppoſing them. This Diverſity of Opinions occaſioned high Debates, the Traders and peaceable People being of *Maxiſcatzin*'s Mind, and the Soldiers ſiding with *Xicotencatl*. Whereupon *Temilotecatl*, another of the four principal Lords, was of Opinion, that Embaſſadors ſhould be ſent to the Commander of theſe new People, to tell him they ſhould be well received, and in the mean Time, *Xicotencatl* ſhould advance with the *Otomies*, and try what thoſe were whom ſome called Gods, and if he vanquiſhed them *Tlaſcala* would gain eternal Honour, but if not, the Blame might be thrown upon the *Otomies*, as a barbarous and raſh People: This Advice being approved, was put in Execution. The *Zempoallan* Meſſengers were then called in, and told, that they were reſolved to receive thoſe Strangers in a friendly Manner, but, at the ſame time, they retained them under Colour of a Feſtival, to gain Time for their General to march, and to anſwer finally according to the Event. Eight Days paſſed ſince *Cortes* ſent the *Zempoallans* to *Tlaſcala*, and they were not returned; he aſked thoſe that went with him what made them ſtay ſo long? They anſwered, it was likely they did not diſpatch them for Oſtentation; for which Reaſon, and becauſe they gave him great Aſſurances of the Friendſhip of the *Tlaſcalans*, he reſolved to advance with his Forces. At the End of the Valley, he found a great Wall of dry Stone, a Fathom and a half high, twenty Foot broad, with a Parapet. This Wall reached croſs the Valley, having only one Entrance, ten Paces wide, and there was a double Encloſure in the Nature of a Ravelin, about forty Paces in length, ſo ſtrong, that had there been any to defend it, the *Spaniards* would have had enough to do to force their Way through. *Cortes* halted to view it, and examine every Part, to ſee whether there were any Ambuſh.

By this *Cortes* was convinced there were good Grounds for the Notion conceived of the Valour of the *Tlaſcalans*, ſince ſo great a Work had been erected to oppoſe them. The Workmanſhip of this Wall was much admired, becauſe it was very artificially done, without any Mixture of Plaiſter. He entered the Encloſure towards *Tlaſcala*, his Men marching in good Order, and the Artillery ready, ſtill ſending Parties before to prevent Surprize. When they had advanced a League, they came to a thick Wood of Pine-trees, with Abundance of Thread and Papers tangled about the Trees, and, croſſing the Way, which the *Spaniards* laughed at, being informed that the Sorcerers had promiſed the *Tlaſcalans* that they would diſable them with thoſe Threads and Papers. When they had advanced three Leagues from the Wall, *Cortes* ſent Orders to his Men to haſten their March becauſe it was late; and going forward with the Horſe-men, as ſoon as they came to the Top of a Hill, two that went foremoſt, fell in with fifteen or ſixteen *Indians*, armed with Swords and Targets, who had been poſted there to give Intelligence; and as ſoon as they diſcovered the *Spaniards* run away, tho' the *Spaniards* endeavoured to treat with them; but finding that the Horſes would overtake them, they drew up altogether, and, defending themſelves, fought ſo deſperately, that they killed two Horſes, having almoſt cut off their Heads; their Swords being edged with Flints, ſo faſtened to the Wood, that they cut like Razors; the *Indians* retired brandiſhing their Swords, without ſhewing the leaſt Fear. But *Cortes* diſcovering above five thouſand in a Body, that were moving to relieve the others, ordered them to be ſtruck through with Spears, which he had forbid before, and ſent to the Infantry to haſten forward: Before the Infantry could come up, the Body of the *Indians*, before mentioned, had reached the Horſe-men, and, having ſhot their Arrows, began the Fight.

The Horſe-men killed many with their Spears, eſpecially thoſe that preſſed upon them. As ſoon as the *Indians* ſaw the *Spaniſh* Infantry, they retired, being much frighted at the Horſes, ſaying thoſe Stags were bigger than theirs, ſwifter, and, that it was by Inchantment, that the *Spaniards* rode on them. When the *Indians* were thus withdrawn, two of the Meſſengers that *Cortes* had ſent to *Tlaſcala*, returned, with ſome Preſents from the Republic, who ſaid there were ſorry for the Rudeneſs of thoſe barbarous People, who were ſome Towns of *Otomies*, that had committed ſuch a Diſorder without Leave, though they were glad they had been chaſtized as they deſerved; that the Republic was deſirous to ſee, know, and ſerve him in their Town; and if they would have them pay for the Horſes theſe *Otomies* had killed, they would immediately ſend Gold and Jewels; though *Cortes* was ſenſible of the Falſhood of the Meſſengers, he thanked them for their Offer, adding, he would ſoon be with them, and, ſuppreſſing his Concern that the *Indians* had found the Horſes to be mortal, ſaid he would take no Pay for them, becauſe he ſhould ſoon have many more brought him from the ſame Place where theſe had been bred. Thoſe *Otomies*, though Savages, were ſubject to the Republic of *Tlaſcala*, having their Towns in Bottoms, and their Scouts on the Hills; who, when they diſcovered any Strangers, made Fires to give Notice from one Place to another, and the People aſſembled to defend themſelves.

4. The *Tlaſcalans* Embaſſador returned Home, carrying off about ſeventy *Indians* killed in the Action, to bury them; and *Cortes* ordered the dead Horſes to be interred that the *Indians* might not be daily put in mind, by ſeeing them, that they could kill the reſt. The Army was then, as has been ſaid, within the Territories of *Tlaſcala*, and all that Province, from *Villa Rica* thither, was called *Cataſta*, which, though large, was not populous; becauſe *Motezuma* had, ſome Time before, deſtroyed it. The Country is like *Andaluzia*, rich, hot, and fruitful, having many freſh Waters, which produce much Fiſh, Foreſts of Wild Trees, and Oaks bearing large Leaves, but ſmaller Acorns than thoſe in *Spain*. At Sun-ſetting *Cortes* encamped near a Brook, on a convenient Spot of Ground; and they kept Guard, by an Hundred at a Time, having been undiſturbed that Night. The next Day they came to certain Houſes of *Otomies*, where they found ſome of them dead of the Wounds they had received: They burnt the Houſes, and, for Want of better Proviſions, fed upon Tunis, a Sort of Fruit that Country produces; becauſe they ſaw the *Indians* eat them.

The next Day *Cortes* proceeded, and being come to a troubleſome Paſs, commanded every Way by Hills; before they began to enter it a Dog barked: One *Lores*, a Smith, and an able Horſeman, made up to the Place, killed two *Indians* he met, and the reſt fled. Here the other two *Zempoallan* Meſſengers *Cortes* had ſent to *Tlaſcala*, came ſweating, lamenting, much abuſed, and in ſuch a Fright that they could ſcarce ſpeak: They proſtrated themſelves on the Ground, laid hold of *Cortes*'s Feet and ſaid, The wicked *Tlaſcalans*, breaking through the Immunities of Embaſſies, had bound them to be ſacrificed to the God of *Victory*; that they unbinding each other that Night, had made their Eſcape; and that they intended to ſacrifice all the *Spaniards* in the ſame manner. Soon after their Arrival, about a thouſand *Indians* well armed, appeared on a little Hill, who attacked the *Spaniards* with great Cries, and Vollies of Darts, Stones and Arrows, *Cortes*, by Means of the Interpreters deſired them to be quiet, becauſe he would willingly have Peace, ſignifying the ſame to them. He perceiving they did not forbear, fell on, and they artfully gave Way, retiring till they drew the *Spaniards* into an Ambuſh of thirty thouſand, that lay in little Hollows that were by the Paſs. The *Spaniards* were in a deſperate Condition, conſidering the Multitude of their Enemies who charged them where they had not Room to ſtir. But the Encouragement given by *Cortes*, telling them, They now fought for their Lives, and did no Wrong to thoſe that had attacked them, infuſed freſh Courage. Here *Tuch*, one of the Noblemen of *Zempoalla* told *Marina* he foreſaw the Death of them all; for it was impoſſible that one Man ſhould get off alive. *Marina* told him, the God of the Chriſtians, who was powerful, and loved them, would deliver them out of that Danger.

Not long after, the *Spaniards* and their confederate *Indians*, fighting manfully to avoid being ſacrificed, got out of that Streight, where the *Tlaſcalans* behaved themſelves in ſuch a furious Manner, that ſeveral of them came to cloſe with the *Spaniards*; and others laid hold of the Horſemens Spears as they rode before to make Way for the Foot; and the confederate *Indians* leaping into the Water, *Cortes*, every now and then turned to the Infantry, and bad them remember, That the planting the Faith of *Jeſus Chriſt* depended on the Preſervation of their Perſons. That they might expect very great Rewards beſides, that being *Spaniards* they ought not to deſpond, which their Nation never did. At length they extricated themſelves from among thoſe deep Roads and Brooks, and got into the plain Fields, where the Horſes having Room to run, and the Cannon to play, terrified the *Indians*, and killed many; ſo that, not able to endure it, they retired to a riſing Ground and there fortified themſelves. In this Fight ſome of the *Spaniards* were wounded, but not one killed, and many *Indians* died upon the Spot, as did others afterwards of their Wounds. The *Spaniards* rejoiced, and with loud Voices returned Thanks to God, for having delivered them out of that Danger; nor was there any Want of Joy among the *Indians* their Friends, who embracing the *Spaniards*, congratulated their Eſcape. The Gentlemen of *Zempoalla* commending *Marina*, related her Prediction, and ſhe declared ſhe had never been afraid.

Such was the Poſture of Affairs, when an *Indian* who commanded one Part of the Enemy's Army, making Signals of Peace, came down where *Cortes* was with ſome of his prime Men about him, and ſaid, That Experience had convinced him, that he and his were invincible and immortal Gods, therefore deſired him that the War might ceaſe, and he would prevail with the Commanders on his Side, that they ſhould be reconciled, and permit him to enter into *Tlaſcala*. *Cortes* chearfully anſwered, That he had already offered them his Friendſhip, and tho' he had ſufficient Cauſe to be otherwiſe, that he would ſtill be their Friend. The Commander went back to the *Tlaſcalans*, who beat him ſo unmercifully that he was near Death. He returned to *Cortes*, ſaying, Theſe wicked Men would deſtroy him. *Cortes* ordered him to be dreſſed, and bade him, ſince they were to be engaged with his Countrymen, ſtand apart, with a Token he gave him that he might not be hurt. In ſkirmiſhing before the Battle begun there were ſeveral notable Actions; among the reſt one of the four *Indians* whom *Cortes* had ſent on his Embaſſy to *Tlaſcala*, knowing a Captain who in that City had ſeized him, aſked Leave of *Cortes* to challenge him, who encouraged and allowed of the Challenge, directing a *Spaniard* to draw near when they were engaged, that if his *Indian* ſhould be in Danger he might not periſh.

The Fight was begun in the Sight of both the Armies, with their Swords and Targets, but at the Concluſion, the *Zempoallan* killed the *Tlaſcalan*, and cut off his Head. The confederate *Indians* celebrating the Victory with mighty Cries, and the *Spaniards* perceiving that *Cortes* rejoiced at it, and looking upon that as an happy Preſage of his future Victory, ſounded their Trumpets and beat their Drums. Between the two Armies was a very narrow and dangerous Paſs, which the *Tlaſcalans* defended, and the *Spaniards* were of Neceſſity to march that way. *James de Ordaz* boldly cloſed with the Eenmy, puſhing them, and gaining Ground, though Showers of Arrows fell on him and his Men: At length he gained the Paſs, and then the Horſes were led through. The *Tlaſcalans* having loſt that Paſs ſo proper to be defended, left the Field and marched clear off; and the *Spaniards* being very well pleaſed that they might be ſtill advancing, took up their Quarters in a little Tower that ſtood in an Eminence called *Tracozizinco* where there was a Temple with a little Town, which was afterwards called of *Victory*. They with extraordinary Diligence made Barracs of Boughs and Straw, the *Indians* working at them with much Alacrity, becauſe *Cortes* pleaſed them, and they were ready to ſerve upon all Occaſions upon that Account, and to avoid falling into the Hands of their Enemies. All that Night, being the firſt of *September*, ſtrict Watch was kept, and *Cortes* himſelf was upon tne Guard with the third Part of his Men at the Morning Watch, which was moſt apprehended, but no Enemy appeared; becauſe it was not their Cuſtom to fight in the Night.

The next Day *Cortes* thought fit to ſend Meſſengers to deſire the *Tlaſcalans* to permit him to proceed freely on his Way, ſince it was not his Deſign to do them any Harm, nor was he going to join the Confederacy againſt the King of *Mexico*; but only to perform what his Maſter the King of *Spain* had commanded him. In the mean Time leaving *Pedro de Alverado* with half of the Forces, he marched with the other half, and the Horſemen. He burnt four or five Towns, and returned with four hundred Priſoners and no Loſs, though the Enemy charged him all the Way to his Quarters, where he was told the *Tlaſcalan* Commander had anſwered his

Meſſage, and that they would, the next Day, tell him their Minds. This bold Anſwer, and the Advice *Cortes* had received, that One hundred and Fifty thouſand Men were aſſembled, made him put his Forces into ſuch a Poſture as he might not be ſurprized. *Cortes* reſolved to be informed by the moſt rational of the Priſoners about all Things that were convenient for him to knnw; and they anſwered, That ſince they were his Priſoners, and ſo well uſed, they would tell him the Truth: They declared, that the Army was compoſed of *Otomies* and *Tlaſcalans*, all Subjects of the Republic of *Tlaſcala*, though they did not care to have it known that their Commonwealth made the War, becauſe they would not have it thought, if they ſhould be vanquiſhed, that it had been by their Authority; that they hated him, becauſe they imagined he was going to be a Friend to their mortal Enemy *Motezuma*, and therefore they agreed never to give over till they had conquered the *Spaniards*, and ſacrificed them to their Gods, and made a ſolemn Banquet of them, which they called heavenly; that the War was carried on at the particular Inſtigation of *Xicotencatl*, the General of the Republic, who carried its Standard, which was a golden Eagle with its Wings diſplayed, and that he would ſee it the next Day in the Rear of the Army, becauſe they were to fight; for in Time of Peace it was before: That they were about One hundred and Fifty thouſand Men, moſt Archers, who were very much afraid of the Thunder, and of the great running Stags, and were amazed at the dreadful Wounds their Swords had made.

5. The *Tlaſcalans* Army appeared, the Standard was ſeen, and the Number of Men was ſo great that they covered the whole Plain, all painted, adorned with great Plumes of Feathers, armed after their Manner with Bows and Arrows, Slings and Javelins, which they caſt with ſuch Dexterity that they would pierce a Door, and was the Weapon the *Spaniards* moſt dreaded; long Spears, and Swords edged with Flint; Targets, Clubs, Head-pieces, wooden Gauntlets, and Greves covered with Deerſkins; gilt Cotton Armour for the Body Finger-thick, which they called *Eſcupiles*, worn afterwards by the *Spaniards*, who found them uſeful againſt the Arrows, and convenient in the Toils they underwent, not being able to endure Steel or Iron: They likewiſe made Uſe of the *Indian* Targets, their own being ſoon ſpoiled, and thoſe were made of Wood, Leather, and adorned with Feathers, and others of Reeds and Cotton, being the beſt, becauſe they did not ſplit.

The Army marched very orderly, divided in two Battallions, but crowded together, and every Battallion had Horns and Kettle-drums, which was an extraordinary Sight, for the *Spaniards* had never beheld ſo great an Army ſince they diſcovered the *Indies*. The Enemy halted very near the *Spaniards*, with a deep Trench between them. *Cortes* ſhewed himſelf highly pleaſed at the Sight of them, and told his Men, that God gave them that Opportunity for his Glory, and the Honour of the *Spaniſh* Nation, which would ſtrike a Terror not only into *Motezuma*, but into all that World. The *Tlaſcalans* being highly elevated with ſo mighty an Army, encouraged by the ſmall Number of the *Spaniards*, puffed up with their uſual Succeſs againſt their Enemies, ſent three hundred Turkeys, two hundred Baſkets of Cakes of Zentli, that is Fifty hundred weight of Bread, which was an extraordinary Supply for the *Spaniards*, conſidering the Diſtreſs they were in, and this, that they might be in better Caſe, and taſte more deliciouſly when ſacrificed.

When the *Tlaſcalans* thought the *Spaniards* had eaten, *Xicotencatl*, in a very haughty Manner, commanded two thouſand Men to go and take thoſe Creatures the Sea had ſpewed up, and if they defended themſelves to kill them. The Two thouſand Men paſſed the Trench, and with no leſs Intrepidity advanced to the Tower: The Horſemen went firſt to receive them, the Infantry followed, and the *Tlaſcalans*, at the firſt Encounter, were made ſenſible of what the *Spaniſh* Weapons could do. They retired a little, but returned with greater Fury; when they were fully convinced that thoſe few Men were not to be ſlighted. In their Retreat they were moſt of them killed. The Commander of the Army, having ſeen what had happened, fell on ſo boldly, that many of the *Indians* came up to the Camp, and ſome entered it, in ſpite of thoſe who were left upon Guard, fighting with the *Spaniards* Hand to Hand. This proved a Day of glorious Toil, for the Fight laſted above four Hours, within and without the Trenches, before they could make Room, the *Indians* charging and attacking ſo furiouſly; till ſeeing a great Number killed, they began to ſlacken, being amazed that they could not kill a *Spaniard*, looking upon that as wonderful, ſo that they ſtill fought as if they had been angry with themſelves; but as it grew late they retired.

The *Spaniards* reſted the better becauſe they knew the *Indians* would not fight in the Night, but kept a good Guard. The *Tlaſcalans* did not look upon themſelves as vanquiſhed, and how many were killed could not be known, becauſe as they fell they hid their Dead. The next Day *Cortes* marched out into the Country, burnt ſome Towns, and plundered one that had three thouſand Inhabitants, but few Soldiers, becauſe moſt of them were gone to the Army. The Town was fired, many Priſonners carried away, and the *Spaniards* returned to their Quarters, at a Time when a great Number of Men were coming to defend that Place, but retired immediately for Fear of the Guns, and being fatigued with Heat. The next Day the *Tlaſcalans* thinking they could gain more Advantage over the *Spaniards* in narrow Places, in a haughty Manner ſent them Proviſions again, as they had done before; challenging them to come into ſome ſtreigh Place, but finding they did not, they boldly began the Attack again. They fought five Hours very deſperately, without being able to kill one *Spaniard*, which was what they aimed at, but of them a prodigious Number was ſlain, becauſe as they thronged together, the Cannon, the Muſkets, and the Croſs-bows, did dreadful Execution. At length, tired and aſhamed that they had not executed their Malice, they retired in Confuſion.

The next Morning the Commanders ſent Meſſengers unto *Cortes*, who thus addreſſed him: Sir, if you are a fierce God, here are five Slaves for you to eat; if you are a good God, we offer you Incenſe and Feathers; and if you are a Man, take then Fowls, Bread, and Cherries, for you and your Men to eat. Their Deſign was to know whether the *Spaniards* were Men like themſelves, becauſe as they had not been able to vanquiſh them, or ſo much as kill one, they concluded they were immortal; and ſeeing, on the other Hand, that they did eat and do other Things like Mortals, they were confounded. *Cortes*, who never wanted Preſence of Mind on any Occaſion, ſaid they were all mortal Men like themſelves; but that, becauſe they belived in, and ſerved one only true God, he did, and would always, aſſiſt them; that they ſhould not deal treacherouſly with him, for all would turn to their Prejudice; and ſince he did not deſire to do them any Harm, but to be their Friend, he adviſed them not to be obſtinate; having delivered himſelf thus mildly, he diſmiſſed them, returning Thanks for the Preſent.

The next Day thirty thouſand *Tlaſcalans* advanced, being deſirous to ſignalize themſelves, and fought ſo bravely, that the Battle was more bloody than the former, but at length retired; and it is to be obſerved, that for the Space of ten Days the *Spaniards* continued in thoſe Quarters, the *Indians* generally ſupplied them with Fowl, Bread, and Cherries, only that they might have the Opportunity of viewing their Order and Situation, whether any dead Men were buried, wounded, or dreſſed, and obſerve how they looked, or whether they had more or fewer Forces; yet the *Spaniards*, at firſt, had no Jealouſy of their Deſign, and, on the contrary, commended the *Indians* for making War only with their Weapons, for had they cut off their Proviſions they muſt have been undone.

6. The *Tlaſcalans*, intent upon ſeeking Revenge, and finding how little they could do by Force, had recourſe to Policy; and, in Order the more to kill the *Spaniards* into Security, they ſent ſome Men of Note with Preſents of Gold and Feathers: They made many ſubmiſſive Bows to *Cortes*, and the eldeſt of them told him, That the Republic

public ſent that ſmall Preſent, which was not ſo inconſiderable, for Want of good Will, but by Reaſon of the Poverty of their Country; and that if he had any Commands, they would ſerve him very readily. *Cortes* thinking the Meſſengers had been ſincere, very pleaſantly told them, That though he valued the Preſents, he made more account of their Good-will, and coveted nothing more than making them his Friends. The next Day the *Tlaſcalans* ſent fifty Men, who brought Proviſions, aſked how the Men did, and what they meant to do? *Cortes* ſaid they were all very well, and gave Thanks for the Preſent; and theſe Men growing familiar, walked about the Camp, and obſerving every Thing therein, and particularly the Horſes Teeth; a *Zempoallan* Gentleman taking particular Notice of them, told *Cortes* he looked upon theſe Men as Spies, and that they had ſome private Talk with the *Indians* of *Yztaacłucbitlan*: Upon this, *Cortes* ordered one of them to be taken up, whom he examined by his Interpreters, uſing Threats if he did not confeſs the Truth He owned that they had been all ſent to diſcover which Way they might burn the Barracs, for which Purpoſe they deſigned to march with a great Army by Night, thinking that the Guns, Horſes, and Weapons, were leſs to be feared in the Dark.

Others having confirmed this Account, he cauſed the Hands of ſeven of thoſe Men, and the Thumbs of others, to be cut off, though much againſt his Inclination, but believing it might be of Uſe for the future; and bid them go tell their General *Xicotencatl*, that he would ſerve all the Spies, that fell into his Hands, after that Manner; and that he might advance with his Army, for that he would always find the *Spaniards* invincible by Night or by Day. Thoſe Men with their Hands cut off, ſtruck a general Conſternation among *Xicotencatl*'s Forces, begetting an Opinion, that the *Spaniards* had ſome Spirit that diſcovered their Thoughts to them, for which Reaſon they durſt ſend no more Spies or Proviſions. *Cortes*, after this Information, enlarged his Trenches, and fortified his Camp, providing every Thing till Sun-ſet, when he perceived that the Enemy's Army was advancing to put their Deſign in Execution; and judging it moſt convenient not to ſuffer them to come up to his Quarters, he boldly marched out to meet them, which he thought would terrify them the more, as ſuppoſing their Intention had not been known.

He accoutred all the Horſes with large Breaſt-plates, full of Hawks-bells, that the Noiſe might make them ſeem the more; directing they ſhould ſtrike the Enemies on their Faces, with their Spears, becauſe they were wont to lay hold of, and ſnatch them away. Then, having told the Soldiers that they muſt overcome that Multitude by dint of Valour, he fell on at the very Time when the Spies, whoſe Hands had been cut off, were relating what had befallen them, which much troubled the General and all that heard it, but they were much more aſtoniſhed to ſee themſelves ſo unexpectedly aſſaulted, ſo that they inſtantly diſperſed and fled, without making any Oppoſition; and though a great Slaughter was made, *Cortes* took Care to put a Stop to the Purſuit, for Fear they ſhould be drawn into ſome Place of Diſadvantage. The next Day *Cortes* ſeeing his Men chearful, ſaid to them, That ſince God had. till then, ſo viſibly aſſiſted them, they would be all very much to blame, if they did not proceed on what they had ſo well begun with Reſolution, and to that Purpoſe it was requiſite to preſs hard upon the *Tlaſcalans*, to the End, they might afterwards prove the ſurer Friends, for that nothing could be more advantageous to them in *New Spain*, than to be in Confederacy with that Commonwealth, which was to be compaſſed by proſecuting the Victories they had gained.

All the Commanders and Soldiers promiſed to follow and go wherever he would lead them; *Xicotencatl* being much out of Countenance at the Diſaſters he had met with, retired to *Tlaſcala*; *Maxiſcatzin*, and the other Lords, told him it had been better to have followed the firſt Advice, and ſaved the Lives of ſo many, and therefore it was in vain to perſiſt obſtinately to the Loſs of the Reputation of that Republic. *Cortes* ſeeing no Enemy appear in the open Country, went up to the Top of the Temple, where his Quarters were, whence he diſcovered ſeveral Towns, and abundance of Smokes towards the Mountains; then coming down, he told his Captains he believed that to be a large Place, and ſince no Enemy appeared, it was proper not to loſe Time, but to put in Execution what had been agreed on. As ſoon as it was Night, having before taken a View of the Country, he reſolved to try his Fortune, and entered upon a great Road, with half his Infantry, and all his Horſe, judging that Way would lead him to the Smokes he had ſeen. They had ſcarce gone a League, before a Horſe fell, which *Cortes* ordered to be ſent back to the Quarters, and preſently two more fell one after the other, and in this Manner there fell five.

The Soldiers begged of *Cortes* to turn back, and do what they deſigned by Day, becauſe they looked upon this as an ill Omen: He, with an undaunted Courage, prayed them for the Love of God, whoſe Cauſe they had in Hand, not to regard ſuperſtitious Obſervations, but to hold their Way, ſince he went himſelf foremoſt, and that the Horſes might return to the Place from whence they came. He had ſcarce ſpoke theſe Words, when his Horſe fell, which he wondered at, whereupon all his Men urging that it was a vain Thing to proceed, and ſome, that he would ruin all; he, in a ſevere Manner, told them they ought to conſider that great Undertakings were not to be carried on without Difficulties, that they ſhould try to march a-foot, leading the Horſes, to ſee what that Accident tended to: When they had marched far after this Manner, the Horſes were all well, and they could never find what occaſioned their paſt Diſtemper, tho' ſome fancied it might have been ſome Sorcery of the *Indians*, much practiſed among them, but *Cortes* ſaid it was the Cold of the Night which gave them the Gripes. They proceeded thus till they came into ſome ſtony Grounds, from which they extricated themſelves with Difficulty, and ſpying Fire, made towards it. They found two Men and two Women in a Houſe, who conducted them to the Mountains, where *Cortes* had ſeen the Smoke.

Before it was Day they came to ſome Villages, where the Fright was greater than the Hurt; and being informed that *Cintancingo*, a large Town, was by, they ſoon came to it, the Surprize occaſioned much Confuſion: Some Harm was done at firſt, but the People running away in the utmoſt Conſternation, *Cortes* ordered that no Perſon ſhould be killed, and nothing taken, ſo that the Diſorder ſoon ceaſed, and the Inhabitants returned to their Houſes. *Cortes* went up to a high Place, whence he diſcovered ſuch a Multitude of Houſes, that he was aſtoniſhed, and aſking what Places thoſe were, received an Anſwer that it was the City of *Tlaſcala*, and the Villages about it; he called all his Men, and ſaid, What would it have availed to have deſtroyed the People of *Cintancingo*, ſince there are ſo many yonder? Then turning to *Alonſo de Grando*, who was chief Alcade, he aſked him what he thought was fit to be done, conſidering the Multitude of People they had diſcovered? He anſwered, that they ſhould return to the Sea and write to *James Velaſquez* to ſend Supplies, becauſe if any croſs Accident or Sickneſs ſhould happen among them, it was certain they ſhould be all devoured by the *Indians*. *Cortes* was much concerned at this Anſwer, and eſpecially for its touching upon *James Velaſquez*: However, he replied, that he ought to conſider that if they muſt certainly die, it was better to periſh in the Proſecution of their Deſign than in running away.

7. He then went to reſt him by a Spring, without the Town, whither the Chiefs of the Country reſorted to him, with Abundance of unarmed Men, carrying a Quantity of Proviſions. They thanked him for having done no Hurt, as he might, offered to obey him, and intercede with the Lords of *Tlaſcala* for a Peace: He entertained them very kindly, promiſing his Friendſhip, provided they were ſincere, and ſo returned to his Quarters, adviſing the Soldiers not to ſpeak ill of the Day till it was paſt, for he hoped that the War with *Tlaſcala* was at an End, as they would find it, and if ſo, God had much Proſperity in Store for them. Thoſe he had left in his Quarters were very melancholy, fearing ſome Diſaſter, becauſe of

the Sickneſs of the Horſes; but when they ſaw him return with a pleaſant Countenance, and all Men ſafe, with ſome of the Natives of the Country, they crouded to welcome him; he told them all that had happened, but when they were informed of the Greatneſs of *Tlaſcala*, and the Multitude of thoſe martial People, reflecting how many Accidents might happen, how little Hopes there were of Supplies, when they had run themſelves into a Country they knew nothing of; they began to hold Cabals, reſolving to perſuade and to require *Cortes* not to carry them where they could not eaſily retreat, ſince the Danger was ſo evident, offering to follow him through greater Fatigues, provided it was with a ſuitable Power, that which they then had being too inconſiderable for ſo extenſive a Country.

His Friends adviſed him to take order about it before the Men mutinied; he anſwered, that the Danger was not ſo great, for he did not believe that *Spaniards* could be ſo faint hearted, eſpecially having till then met with ſo much Succeſs. One Night, going the Rounds, he heard loud talking, and ſome Soldiers ſaying, if our Commander is mad, let us be wiſe and tell him in plain Terms, that he muſt conſider what is fit to be done, or we will leave him by himſelf. He told ſome who were with him, that thoſe who durſt ſay ſo were likely enough to do it, and going on heard the like in other Places, which troubled him very much; he would willingly have puniſhed them, but thought it better to take no Notice, till hearing that the Mutiners increaſed, he cauſed all the Men to be drawn together, and ſpoke to them ſo effectually, that they all readily ſubmitted to follow and obey him.

Very ſoon afterwards ſix *Mexican* Noblemen arrived, attended by about two hundred Perſons; being brought before *Cortes*, they made him profound Obeiſance, and it appeared that they had Notice, at *Mexico*, of the Victories he had gained over the *Tlaſcalans*; before they ſpoke they delivered him a Preſent from their Monarch, *viz.* one thouſand Cotton Garments, various curious Pieces of Feather-work, and the Value of 1000 Caſtelanos in very fine Gold Duſt, as it is taken out of the Mines: Then the Eldeſt of them ſaid, That their Maſter, *Motezuma*, ſaluted him, ſent the Preſent by them, wiſhing him all Proſperity, much rejoiced at the News he had received of the Victories he had obtained over the *Tlaſcalans*, that, wiſhing him well, he deſired he would not go to *Mexico*, becauſe the Way was very bad and dangerous, and he ſhould be ſorry that any Miſchance ſhould befall Men of ſo much Valour, whom he ſo entirely loved; that he was willing to acknowledge the King of *Spain* his Friend and Sovereign, whom he would ſerve in all he ſhould command. *Cortes* by his Interpreters, anſwered they were welcome, and he would conſider of their Meſſage. *Cortes*'s Deſign was, that thoſe Embaſſadors ſhould ſee how he behaved towards the *Tlaſcalans* in caſe the War was carried on, and if Peace was concluded, that they ſhould hear how he reproved them for having begun it.

He then gave Orders that they ſhould be well treated; at that Time he was indiſpoſed, and therefore had not for ſome Days marched into the Country, ſo that nothing more was done than ſecuring the Quarters, and ſkirmiſhing with Parties of *Tlaſcalans*. The Enemy fancying this proceeded from a Weakneſs, or a Loſs they were not acquainted with, prepared to attack them. *Cortes*, notwithſtanding his having taken Phyſick, mounted on Horſeback, fought a long Time in Perſon, and omitted nothing that was to be done, till the Enemy were routed and fled; the *Mexicans* being preſent, and obſerving every Circumſtance of the Action. The *Tlaſcalans* admiring that all their Power had not been able to compaſs their Deſign, and moſt of them concluding that the *Spaniards* were aſſiſted by ſome Deity, which rendered them invincible, and being informed that the *Mexican* Embaſſadors were arrived at the *Spaniſh* Army; having ſeriouſly conſulted what was to be done, after many Debates and Conteſts, concluded that Peace ought to be made, and Endeavours uſed to divert them from entering into any Alliance with the *Mexicans*, becauſe that would be the greateſt Misfortune that could befal them. Young *Xicotencatl* was appointed to go on this Embaſſy, though he endeavoured to excuſe himſelf, but having received poſitive Command, he made ready with fifty of the principal Men in the City, and ſome Youths to be left as Hoſtages.

He carried a Preſent of Cotton Cloth, and Featherworks with ſome Gold, according to the Ability of that City, which had very little of thoſe Things. *Cortes*, being advertiſed of this Embaſſy, that was coming from the Republic of *Tlaſcala*, and that *Xicotencatl* was the Perſon employed, went out to receive and conduct him to his Quarters, with much Honour and vaſt Attendance. They two ſet down, all the reſt ſtanding, as well *Spaniards* as *Tlaſcalans*; the Preſent and the Hoſtages were brought in, and *Xicotencatl*, in a very courteous Manner, begged Pardon for what was paſt, for himſelf and his Republic, making many Excuſes, and offering to enter into a ſtrict Alliance with the *Spaniards*, and to ſerve them faithfully for the future.

Cortes, having conſidered the *Tlaſcalans*'s Speech, told him that notwithſtanding what was paſt, they might depend on his Friendſhip, and on his coming among them, immediately after the Departure of the *Mexican* Embaſſadors: Upon which *Xicotencatl* roſe up very well pleaſed. *Cortes* went with him out of his Tent, the other Commanders attended him out of the Quarters, all being well pleaſed, hoping that ſince the War was concluded with *Tlaſcala*, they ſhould reap great Advantages from the Alliance, for at that Time conſidering that ſome were dead, many wounded, and the reſt ſpent with Fatigues, their Number ſo ſmall, and the many Difficulties they had to ſurmount; they concluded that if the War had laſted, they muſt all have periſhed, and therefore they aſcribed the concluding of this Peace, at that Time, to be the eſpecial Goodneſs of God; and for confirming them in this Religious Opinion, *Cortes* ordered Maſs to be ſaid, and a ſolemn Thankſgiving; after which, *F. John Diaz* called the Tower of the Temple there, *The Tower of Victory*, in Memory of thoſe Battles which the Troops had gained whilſt they had their Quarters cloſe by it, during almoſt forty Days they continued in that Place.

8. On the Return of this great Man, who had acted as Embaſſador, the Senate aſſembled, and heard, at Leiſure, a full Report of the Manner in which this Negotiation had been managed, and judging from what he delivered, that it imported them highly to ſecure the Friendſhip of *Cortes*, in order to have his Protection againſt *Motezuma*; they reſolved to leave no Means untried to bring him into their City as ſoon as poſſible, to prevent his concluding an Alliance with their Enemy. The Peace was proclaimed, and they made a Mitole, that is, a public Dance of above twenty thouſand Men richly adorned.

They offered extraordinary Sacrifices to their Gods, burning abundance of Perfumes, and garniſhed the Doors of their Houſes, with Boughs and Variety of Flowers; the *Mexican* Embaſſadors were much concerned at that Alliance with the *Tlaſcalans*, and bid *Cortes* take care not to truſt theſe People who were ſo falſe that they would endeavour to compaſs, by Treachery, what they had not been able to perform by Force; and that he might be aſſured, if they once went into *Tlaſcala*, that they would murder them every Man. Though *Cortes*, who was a cautious Man, did not, as yet, repoſe much Confidence in the *Tlaſcalans*; he anſwered, that if they were ever ſo treacherous, he was reſolved to go into the City, for he feared them leſs there than in the Field. Having heard this Reſolution, they deſired he would give Leave for one of them to go firſt to *Mexico*; he was pleaſed with their Propoſal, becauſe it gave Time to ſee if the Friendſhip the *Tlaſcalans* offered was ſincere, and how it was taken at *Mexico*; whilſt theſe Things were in Agitation, many *Tlaſcalans* reſorted to the Army with Proviſions, others went out only to ſee and become acquainted with the *Spaniards*, entreating them to come to their City. They gave them good Words, till the Meſſenger, returning from *Mexico* the ſixth Day, brought ten coſtly Veſſels of the Gold, well wrought, and one thouſand five hundred Cotton Garments, and in *Motezuma*'s Name, intreated *Cortes* not to expoſe himſelf by going into *Tlaſcala*; for, he aſſured him, he would repent it, becauſe thoſe were a needy People, and invited him thither that they might rob him.

On the other Hand, the four great Lords had already ſent to importune him to repair to their City, offering him ſtill greater Security if he deſired it, and proteſting that their Friendſhip ſhould laſt for ever, for they would never violate the Faith of the Republic upon any Account. *Cortes* concluding that ſo much Courteſy muſt needs proceed from a ſincere Friendſhip, and being much courted to it by the *Zempoallans*, reſolved to go to *Tlaſcala*, and accordingly began his March, leaving ſeveral Croſſes and Heaps of Stones at his Quarters by the *Tower of Victory*, in Memory of thoſe glorious Advantages he had gained there.

The Accounts the *Zempoallans* and other *Indians* that followed the *Spaniards* gave were very advantageous; who, glorying to be in their Company, extolled their Valour, their Goodneſs, and their brave Actions; praiſing their God, by whoſe Aid they conquered. *Cortes* took Care to ſend Advice to *John de Eſculante*, and the reſt that had been left behind at *Vera Cruz*, of the Succeſs it had pleaſed God to give him, directing them to carry on the building of the Fort, and to keep a watchful Eye upon the Natives, and upon the Ships that ſhould come from *Cuba*, and ordering two Jars of Wine to be ſent him for ſaying Maſs, and for the Sick, having uſed all that he carried with him. When he arrived at *Tlaſcala* on the 18th of *September* 1519, the Lords of the four great Quarters of the City came out to meet him, attended by ſeveral others of the greateſt Perſons of the Commonwealth, and above an hundred thouſand Men. The Province complimented him at ſeveral Places, firſt at *Tezonpantzinco*, next at *Atliquetzan*, a very large Town, whither *Pilteculti* came with a very numerous Retinue; thence *Cortes* proceeded to *Tezatlia*, belonging to old *Xicotencatl*, who come not becauſe of his great Age. The other Lords being *Maxiſcatzin*, *Zitlacpopucatzin* and *Tlevexolotzin*, with all the prime Nobility, came up in good Order. Young *Xicotencatl* embraced *Cortes*, as did the other Lords, whom he received very courteouſly, and they all proceeded together to the Place where he and his Men were to be quartered, always expreſſing their Deſire to ſerve them; when the *Spaniards* had been put into their Quarters at the great Temple, and the *Indians*, their Friends, with them, they were generouſly treated and ſupplied with all Neceſſaries.

The more to aſſure *Cortes* of their Affection, they preſented him with above three hundred beautiful Women, all very well dreſſed, that had been condemned to be ſacrificed, which they gave the *Spaniards* as an Offering, and they lamented their Misfortune. *Cortes* would not accept of them, alledging, that their Religion would not permit any Man to have more than one Wife, and ſhe a Chriſtian: At laſt, in regard that the *Indians* take it very ill to have their Gifts refuſed; ſome of them were received under Colour of ſerving Donna *Marina*, who was preſent at all Conferences, and much reſpected; for it was the Cuſtom among the *Indians*, for a Woman of Quality to have a great Number to wait on her. And the *Indians* obſerving, that theſe and other Women Slaves they gave the *Spaniards* lived contentedly with them, the prime Men afterwards gave them their Daughters, that the Race of thoſe brave Men might continue among them. *Xicotencatl* gave a beautiful Daughter, he had, to *Peter de Alverado*, and ſhe was afterwards called Donna *Louiſa Techquiluaſin*; thoſe People having no Ceremony in Marriage more than the Conſent of their Parties. They gave *Cortes* the Name of *Calchichiutl*, ſignifying an Emerald, and Emeralds are highly valued among thoſe People. They called *Peter de Alverado* the Sun, becauſe he was very fair of Complexion, with an agreeable Red, and much beloved by the *Tlaſcalans*. *Cortes*, by Degrees, enquired very particularly into the Power and Condition of *Motezuma*'s Empire, and the Enmity between him and the Republic, and omitted nothing that might afford him Means of providing amply for the Accompliſhment of his Enterprize.

9. This bringing over of the Government and People of *Tlaſcala* to his Intereſt, uniting them in the Confederacy againſt *Motezuma*, and engaging them to furniſh an Army for that War, was one of the greateſt Strokes of Policy that was ſhewn by *Cortes*, in the Management of this whole Affair; and without taking which, it had been ſimply impoſſible for him to have ſucceded. It may not be amiſs therefore, before we proceed further, to give a more particular Account of this celebrated Republic, which makes ſo great a Figure in the Hiſtory of the New World. The Town of *Tlaſcala* is ſituated in Lat. 20° in a Climate extremely temperate, and in a Soil wonderful fruitful; the whole Diſtrict belonging to it was about 50 Leagues in extent, and yet within that narrow Compaſs, from the great Mildneſs of its Government, more eſpecially in Compariſon of that of the *Mexican* Monarchs, the Republic was able to raiſe thoſe prodigious Armies that have been before-mentioned.

The Place itſelf was built among the Rocks and white Cliffs, ſo as to provide rather for Strength and Security than for Neatneſs and Beauty, though, as far as the Ground would permit, the City was not deſtitute of either. It was from this Situation that it derived the Name of *Tlaſcala*, which ſignifies a Place of Rocks, tho' it was afterwards called *Tlaſcallan*, which ſome *Spaniſh* Writers call a Corruption; but, as they allow that in the *Indian* Tongue it implies, a Place well ſtored with Corn, and conſequently belonged as juſtly to this City as the other; I cannot ſee why we ſhould not rather ſuppoſe the City had two Names; the firſt perhaps impoſed by their Enemies, and the latter by themſelves. There was a fine River paſſed through their Territory, and waſhed a Part of the City, which commonly overflowed in the Winter, and thereby greatly enriched the Soil, but ſometimes over-ran its Banks with much Violence, as to do a great deal of Miſchief, and rendered Dykes neceſſary, which they, wanting Skill to raiſe, had recourſe to ſuperſtitious Ceremonies and bloody Sacrifices, which inſtead of curing increaſed the Miſchief. The Town was divided into Parcels at ſmall Diſtances, without any Order; many Houſes crowded together, and between them ſeveral narrow winding Lanes, the Houſes terraſſed at the Top on Beams, ſome on Mud-walls, ſome boarded, ſome on Brick, aud ſome of Lime and Stone, according to every Man's Ability, they had no upper Floors, but all on the Ground; having very large Rooms of irregular Shape, nor had they Doors or Window-Shutters, but only Matts, made of a Sort of Sedge, which they hung on and took down at Pleaſure, with Hauks-bells, of Gold, Copper, or other Metals, and Sea-Shells hanging on them to make a Noiſe, when they were taken down, opened or ſhut. Moſt of this Country was inhabited, for from the City there ſtretched out other Towns, like Suburbs, extending two or three Leagues beyond the Walls of it; every Houſe had Land about it, and there were eighteen Towns adjacent, belonging to *Tlaſcala*. The Inhabitants being above One hundred thouſand, and all the Country round this Province was encloſed by other Nations, Subjects to the *Mexicans*, who had maintained War againſt *Tlaſcala*, for ſixty Years paſt, and preſſed them on all Sides.

The *Tlaſcalans* had expelled the *Ulmecans* and *Zucatecans* out of their Country, and kept it to themſelves, calling themſelves at firſt *Chicimecans*. Having ſettled their Boundaries to be known by, aud refuſing to ſubmit to any King, or General, there enſued Civil Wars among them, by their conſpiring againſt their beſt Commanders. The prime Men were ſo hard preſſed that they craved Aid of *Teſcuco*, and other Towns, being much ſtreightened in *Tlaſcala*. With thoſe Succours they enlarged their Borders, and grew too hard for their Enemies, who ſought Aſſiſtance of *Matzaliutzin*, King of *Mexico*. He ſent Word to the *Tlaſcalans*, that though he had promiſed to aſſiſt their Enemies, it ſhould be only in Shew, for which he prayed them not to hurt his Subjects.

jects. When the War was over, thoſe *Chichimecans* of *Tlaſcala* ſtruck a great Terror into the Country, and all the *Culuas* and *Mexicans* joined in Alliance with them, and living long in Peace, had Leiſure to build their Towns and ſettle the Frontiers. *Tlaſcala* enjoying Peace, all the Province was inhabited, and *Kalliuacuth*, who was looked upon as the only Lord, divided what he had with his Brother *Teyohualminqui*, and went down to govern his People into the Vale of *Ocoteculco*.

Theſe Brothers left the Sovereignty to two Sons of theirs; and one of them, though very brave, grew ſo tyrannical in his old Age, that his Subjects, being uneaſy, conſpired, and ſlew him and all his Friends and Kindred; but two Nurſes hid two young Sons of his, from whom deſcended *Maxiſcatzin*, the moſt faithful Friend of the *Spaniards*; the other three Lords of *Tlaſcala* were of no leſs remarkable Deſcents. After the Death of *Culhuacutli*, the City and its Territory began to be governed as a Commonwealth. The *Mexican* Language was ſpoken at *Tlaſcala*, though there was another which they called *Otomitick*, from a Nation, which revolting from the Kings of *Mexico*, was received by the *Tlaſcalans* as their Subjects, and had Lands given them to till, on Condition that they ſhould guard the Frontiers againſt the *Mexicans* and *Culuas*. Theſe were the barbarous *Otomies*, on whom the *Tlaſcalans* at firſt laid the Blame, for having taken up Arms againſt *Cortes*. They are very hardy, excellent Huſbandmen, obſtinate Idolaters, leud, ſavage, and hard to be brought to Chriſtianity, Drunkards, and fond of living in remote Places, being the reverſe of thoſe that ſpeak the *Mexican* Tongue, who were docile and polite. Theſe *Otomies* were once poſſeſſed of all that Country, and there are of them ſcattered every where, but nothing is known of their Original; becauſe they are ſo barbarous, that they can give no Account of themſelves.

10. *Cortes* being come into *Tlaſcala*, to pleaſe *Maxiſcatzin*, removed into his Quarter of the Town called *Ocoteculco*, where a Market was kept every Week. The four Lords that governed the Commonwealth, and other great Men, went thither to diſcourſe *Cortes*, and intreat him to acquaint them with his Intentions, promiſing to concur ſincerely in whatſoever he ſhould propoſe. *Cortes* gave them to underſtand that he was come to inſtruct them in the Chriſtian Religion, to aboliſh Idolatry, and to aſſiſt them againſt all their Enemies; and particularly *Motezuma*. *Maxiſcatzin* replied, in Defence of their Gods, and *Cortes* rejoined, ſtill preſſing them to renounce their Idols; but, by the Advice of *F. Bartholomew de Olmedo*, and ſome of his Officers, he thought fit not to urge the Point of Religion any farther at that Time. They promiſing not to eat any more human Fleſh, yet they all returned to it as ſoon as he was out of the Way. Being now ſatisfied that his Friendſhip with the *Tlaſcalans* was eſtabliſhed, he propoſed his Journey to *Mexico*; and though they repreſented to him the Power of *Motezuma*, the Strength of the City, the Danger he was running into among the *Culuas*, who, they ſaid, were given to change; as alſo their Multitude; in Concluſion, to pleaſe him, they conſented to all he ſaid, and offered to aſſiſt him, if he would make War, or to bear him Company, if, as he ſaid, he only deſigned to viſit *Motezuma*: Accordingly they immediately began to appoint Commanders, raiſe Men, and lay up Proviſions.

The Fame of the Alliance between the *Spaniards* and the *Tlaſcalans* being ſpread abroad, put all the Country into a Conſternation, and eſpecially *Motezuma*, who was ſtill reſolved to obſtruct *Cortes*'s coming to *Mexico*; though, at the ſame Time, in order to draw him from *Tlaſcala*, he propoſed his removing to *Chulula*, where he might be better entertained. The *Tlaſcalans* earneſtly oppoſed it, and zealouſly offered fifty thouſand Men to attend him, becauſe the People of *Chulula*, after having been long at Peace with them, being corrupted by *Motezuma*, had, in a Battle they had with the *Mexicans*, and in which the *Tlaſcalans* led the Van, fallen in upon their Rear, and killed many of them, ſince which Time they had been Enemies. The *Tlaſcalans* adviſed *Cortes* to conſider that the *Chululans* ſaid they did not fear him, becauſe their God *Quetſalcoatl* was ſo powerful, that he would deſtroy his Men with Fire from Heaven, or drown them with Water: He ſmiled at this, and continued his Preparations. On the Part of the *Tlaſcalans* nine Sons of the Prime Men of the Quarter of *Ocoteculco* were appointed Commanders of the Troops that were to attend *Cortes* from thence, the other Quarters nominated thirteen Commanders. The ſeveral Commanders had alſo their peculiar Colours, and all very gay, with Plumes of Feathers, after their Manner. Certain it is, that the *Tlaſcalans* were very dubious of the Event of the Journey, being apprehenſive of the *Chululans*, and bearing much Reſpect to their City, as it was a Place of great Devotion and reputed Sanctity among them. *Cortes*, by the Advice of the four great Wards, ſent to call thoſe that governed at *Chulula* to him.

Eight Leagues from the City of *Tlaſcala* is the Mountain called *Popocatepod*, the Top whereof always ſmoaked; and whilſt the *Spaniards* were at *Tlaſcala* it caſt out more Fire than uſual, to the great Aſtoniſhment of the Natives. *James de Ordaz* took a Fancy to ſee that Wonder, for till then it was a ſtrange Thing to the *Spaniards*, and the *Indians* affirmed that no Mortal had ever been upon the Top of that Mountain. *Cortes* to ſhew the *Indians* that the *Spaniards* made ſmall Account of what they thought impracticable, was well pleaſed that *Ordaz* ſhould go and view it: He took with him ſome *Spaniards* and a few *Indians* for Guides, who ſtopped at a certain Diſtance; and *Ordaz* advancing, they heard the dreadful Noiſe that was within, felt the Earth quake, and arrived at the Place to which the Fire and Stones caſt out of the Mountain reached, the great Quantity of Aſhes choaking up the Way. Theſe Things making ſome uneaſy, and being very weary with going up, they would willingly have turned back; but *Ordaz* telling them, it was a Shame for *Spaniards*, who had undertaken any Thing not to go through, they advanced, making their Way through the Aſhes, and arriving at length at the Top, through a thick Smoak, they for ſome Time viewed the Mouth, which ſeemed to be round, and above a Quarter of a League in Compaſs, with a deep Cavity, within which the Fire raged as it does in a Glaſs-Houſe. From the Eminence appeared the great City of *Mexico*, ſeated in its Lake, and Towns about it: Not being able to make any longer Stay by reaſon of the exceſſive Heat, he returned the ſame Way he came for the Benefit of the Track. The *Indians*, being aſtoniſhed that mortal Men ſhould do ſuch an Action, kiſſed their Garments, believing that to be one of the Mouths of Hell; where ſuch Lords, as were Tyrants, ſuffered for their Sins, and afterwards went to Reſt.

11. The Events which we have reported in this Section are in themſelves ſo great and extraordinary, that if their Conſequences had not put them out of all Queſtion, they might very eaſily paſs for Things altogether incredible. If *Cortes* could have exhibited to the *Spaniſh* Miniſtry a Scheme of his Expedition, and had therein laid it down as a Thing practicable to have beat the Republic of *Tlaſcala*, though capable of bringing three or four hundred thouſand Men into the Field, into begging a Peace, and then making Uſe of their whole Power againſt *Motezuma*, it would certainly have been taken for the wildeſt, moſt romantic, and ridiculous Propoſition, that was ever ſeriouſly recommended to the Conſideration of Perſons intruſted with the Management of public Affairs; and yet it is very evident, that from the Time he firſt heard of this Republic, he actually formed ſuch a Scheme, foreſaw all the Difficulties that would attend it, provided for them, and by firmly perſiſting in the Execution of his own Plan brought it to bear. This plainly ſhews us, that there is ſcarce any Thing inſurmountable to a great Genius, or which may not be brought about if Men are obedient to a Commander, and awed with thoſe extraordinary Abilities which conſtitute what we call a Hero.

There ſeems to be no Queſtion made by the *Spaniſh* Hiſtorians, that the whole Succeſs of this amazing Enterprize was entirely due to the Wiſdom, Fortitude, and ſteady Reſolution of this great Captain, who yet, for any Thing that appears, was made ſo rather by the Strength of his natural Abilities, than from any Helps which he received from Diſcipline, or Experience; for it is certain that he had ſeen little of War before he undertook this Expedition, and had never acted as a Commander in chief, till ſuch Time as he put himſelf at the Head of it, which is another Circumſtance full of Wonder, or rather more ſurprizing than all the reſt taken together.

But it may be ſuggeſted, that ſuch as have written his Hiſtory, may be partial in this Reſpect, and attribute more to *Cortes*, and leſs to thoſe who attended him, than they deſerve; which, however, the very Circumſtances of the Hiſtory demonſtrate to be falſe, ſince it very plainly appears that there were always in his Army a conſiderable Number of Malecontents, who, if they durſt, would have declared againſt his Authority, and in favour of that of *James Velaſquez*, which muſt have ended in overturning the Expedition; ſo that from hence it very plainly appears, he was ſo far from having much Aſſiſtance from thoſe about him, that, in reality, a great Part of his Care was neceſſarily employed in preventing thoſe Seditions, which they were continually labouring to ſtir up, and which, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, no Succeſſes could induce them to leave off.

SECTION XI.

The March of the Spaniards *to* Mexico, *the Reception given to* CORTES *by* MOTEZUMA, *his Impriſonment and other Tranſactions to the Time of his ordering the* Spaniards *to quit his Dominions.*

1. *The Manner in which* Cortes *marched from* Tlaſcala *towards* Mexico, *and the Number of* Tlaſcalans *that accompanied him in his Way to* Chulula. 2. *His Reception in that City, the Methods uſed by* Motezuma *to bring the Inhabitants to conſpire againſt the* Spaniards, *and the Miſchiefs that enſued.* 3. *Upon Peace being reſtored at* Chulula, Cortes *continues his March towards* Mexico, *and is complimented on the Road by many of the* Mexican *Nobility.* 4. *His ſolemn Entry into* Mexico, *the Manner of his firſt Interview with* Motezuma, *the prodigious Splendor of that Monarch's Equipage, and his Civility to the* Spaniards. 5. *The Manner in which the* Spaniards *were diſpoſed of, and ſettled, in the Palace of* Motezuma's *Father, and the Proviſion made for them by the Orders of that Emperor.* 6. *The firſt Cauſes of* Qualpopoca's *Irruption into the Country of the confederate* Indians; John de Eſculante *aſſiſts them, and is killed, the News of which alarms* Cortes *exceſſively.* 7. *He reſolves to ſeize the Perſon of* Motezuma, *executes that Reſolution, and carries away the Emperor from his own Palace to the head Quarters of the* Spaniards. 8. Qualpopoca, *who occaſioned this Rupture between the* Spaniards *and* Mexicans, *is ſent for by* Motezuma, *and to ſatisfy the* Spaniards *is burned alive.* 9. *A Conſpiracy formed againſt the Strangers by* Cacamazin *the Emperor's Nephew, diſcovered and defeated by the Diligence and diſcreet Behaviour of* Motezuma. 10. *At the Perſuaſion of* Hernan Cortes *the Indian Monarch declares the King of* Spain *his Succeſſor, and does Homage to* Cortes *as his Repreſentative.* 11. *The true Motives of* Motezuma's *Conduct in this Affair, and his Demand that* Cortes *and his Soldiers ſhould quit his Dominions.*

1. THE Embaſſadors from *Motezuma*. taking great Pains to infuſe Jealouſies into the Mind of *Cortes*, of the People of *Tlaſcala*, and preſſing him daily to depart, at laſt, to content them, and being willing to eaſe the *Tlaſcalans* of the ſtrange Dread they had conceived of the Gods of *Chulula*, he reſolved to remove; after he had reſided twenty Days in *Tlaſcala*, and been informed of all that related to the City of *Mexico*, its Situation and the Power of *Motezuma*, and his Empire, and having concluded a Peace between *Guacozingo* and *Tlaſcala*, obliging both Parties to reſtore all that had been taken during the War. He was attended by a hundred thouſand Men; many were much concerned at his going upon that Enterprize, believing he would be loſt; but others concluded that his Valour would extricate him from all Difficulties. Merchants went along with them to trade for Cotton and Salt; the *Chululans*, to whom the Interpreter, *Aguilar*, had proteſted that *Cortes* would make War with them, unleſs they went to ſubmit themſelves to the King of *Spain*, being informed that he was upon his March, ſent ſeveral great Men, who ſaid they came not before, becauſe the *Tlaſcalans*, their mortal Enemies, were falſe, whereas they themſelves were ſincere, and then they, in a ſolemn Manner, declared themſelves Subjects of the Crown of *Spain*: They reached not the City that Day, to avoid entering by Night, though the Diſtance was but five or ſix Leagues, but encamped, where the *Chululans* prayed *Cortes* not to permit the *Tlaſcalans* to do them any Harm. He ſeeing no Sign of War, ordered them to return Home, taking his Leave of the Officers with much Courteſy and Affection, and preſenting them with ſuch Things as he had. He retained with him only three thouſand *Tlaſcalans*, or, as other Authors ſay, ſix thouſand, and would not take a greater Number to avoid putting himſelf into the Hands of a barbarous People, of whoſe Fidelity he hitherto had had but little Trial.

The *Tlaſcalans* ſaid, thoſe People where he was going were faithleſs, that he muſt be upon his Guard; and, as an Inſtance, mentioned how they had betrayed them. They offered to go to *Mexico* whenſoever they ſhould be called, and declared they would moſt willingly have proceeded with their whole Army, to ſee the Event of the Affair; but *Cortes* told them he was ſatisfied with thoſe he had, being for their Valour worth four times as many. The next Day above ten thouſand *Chululans* came out to meet him, bringing Roſes, Flowers, Bread, Fowl, and Muſic: One great Body came to welcome *Cortes*, and then drew off in good Order, to make Way for another; which was done, becauſe that City, being divided into ſix large Wards, three of them were for *Motezuma*, and three were not. When they came to the City, all the reſt of the People came out much ſurprized at the Shape, Mien, and Weapons of the *Spaniards*: Their Prieſts advancing in white Garments, like Surplices, their Arms naked, and Cotton Fringes about the Edges of their Robes: Some of them carried Idols in their Hands, and others burned Perfumes, others ſounded Horns, beat Kettle Drums, and played on ſeveral Sorts of Muſic, all of them ſinging, and ſome perfuming the *Spaniards*. In this pompous Manner they entered *Chulula*, and went where they lodged all together, and their *Indians* with them always upon their Guard, being plentifully ſupplied with all kinds of Proviſions.

A few Days after, *Cortes* obſerved very ſuſpicious Circumſtances; that ſome of the Streets were barricaded, and abundance of Stones laid on the Tops of Houſes, to throw down; the Supplies of Proviſions grew ſhorter, the great Men and Commanders of the City ſeldom viſited him, and *Motezuma*'s Embaſſadors ſtarted Objections againſt his going to *Mexico*, with more Boldneſs than before; nor was this all, for the *Chululans*, by order of the Embaſſadors, had preſumed to tell him that there were Alligators, Tygers, and other fierce Creatures, where *Motezuma* was, which, if he ordered them to be turned looſe, would devour the *Spaniards*; to which he anſwered, he could not believe he would put any Affront upon thoſe that came to viſit him, but that in caſe he ſhould do ſo, they were to underſtand that thoſe ſavage Animals did not hurt the *Spaniards*; theſe Things made him reſolve with himſelf how he ſhould ſubdue the People of *Chulula*, before he went farther.

2. *Motezuma* in the mean Time ſent freſh Agents, by whom he promiſed mighty Rewards to the Lords of the Quarters of *Chulula*, if they would cut off the *Spaniards*, giving the Commander a gold Drum, and promiſing to aſſiſt him with thirty thouſand Men. The Commander undertook to perform all, on Condition that the *Mexicans* ſhould not come into the City, becauſe he was afraid they would make themſelves Maſters of it. They agreed to barricade the Streets, and pelt the *Spaniards* from the Tops of their Houſes, that ſo they might take and deliver them bound. The thirty thouſand *Mexicans* being ſo poſted, that without coming into the City, they might take all the *Spaniards* that ſhould happen to eſcape out of it, they alſo began to convey away their Goods, and ſecure their Wives and Children, which afforded new Grounds for Suſpicion. Whilſt *Cortes* was thus uneaſy and diſſatisfied, *Marina* acquainted him that a Lady of Quality had told her, that having taken a Kindneſs for her, ſhe adviſed her, if ſhe would avoid being killed with the *Spaniards*, to ſtay with her, and ſhe would hide her in a Houſe where ſhe ſhould be ſafe, becauſe the *Mexicans* and the *Chululans* had agreed to deſtroy them.

Cortes, upon this, cauſed two Prieſts to be ſeized, who being examined aſunder, and threatened, confeſſed the ſame that *Marina* had declared: Whereupon he called the prime Men and Prieſts, and bid them not deal underhand, but if they had any Thing to ſay to him, to ſpeak plain like Men of Honour. They anſwered they were his Servants, that he might let them know when he deſigned to depart, and they would attend him armed, for Fear of any Difference between him and the *Mexicans*; he told them he would ſet out the next Day, and therefore ordered they ſhould find Men to carry their Baggage, and furniſh them with Proviſions.

The *Chululans*, thinking they had a ſure Game to play, carried the Men to be loaded with Proviſions, but as thoſe *Indians* never uſed to undertake any conſiderable Enterprize without conſulting their Gods, they ſacrificed ten Children of three Years old, four Boys, and ſix Girls, being the uſual Sacrifice upon commencing a War. Their Commanders poſted themſelves, with as many of their Men as they could, at the four Gates of the Quarters through which the *Spaniards* were to march out. *Cortes*, who omitted nothing conducive to his Safety, had ordered his Men to Arms, the Horſes to be ready, and the *Tlaſcalans* and *Zempoallans* to obſerve when the Signal was given, by firing a Muſket; when all Things were ready, he called the principal *Chululans*, pretending that he would take his Leave of them: Forty were admitted, and more would have come if they might, but the moſt conſiderable of them being wanting he was ſent for. *Cortes* then, in the Preſence of the *Mexican* Embaſſadors, ſaid he had loved them as Friends, and they had hated him as an Enemy, as appeared by their Uſage; though all his Men had been inoffenſive, that they had deſired the *Tlaſcalans* might not come into their Country, and he had conſented to it; and that though he had adviſed them to deal fairly, and challenge him like brave Men, if they had any Thing againſt him, yet they had agreed with the *Mexicans* to deſtroy his Forces by Treachery, for which heinous Offence he has reſolved to put them all to Death, and raize their City.

They were for a while ſtruck dumb, and beſide themſelves; but being a little recovered, ſaid, "This "Man is like our Gods, who know all Things, it is in "vain to deny any Thing." And accordingly they confeſſed all he had ſaid was true. Then taking four or five of them aſide, he aſked them for what Reaſon they would have done ſuch a wicked Deed? They anſwered, that *Motezuma* was ſo averſe from his going to *Mexico*, that the Embaſſadors, to obſtruct it, had put them upon it. *Cortes* told the Embaſſadors what the *Chululans* ſaid, but at the ſame Time pretended not to believe *Motezuma* could be guilty of ſo foul a Deſign, and they endeavoured to excuſe themſelves. The Signal of firing a Muſket being then given, the *Spaniards* ſallied out, and, meeting with little Oppoſition from the Inhabitants, though they were in Arms, killed almoſt ſix thouſand of them, without touching Women or Children, and ſet fire to all the Houſes and Towers where any Reſiſtance was made.

The Cries of the *Indians* on both Sides were prodigious, and the Confuſion not to be expreſſed. Many Gentlemen got up into the Tower of the great Temple, with the Prieſts, where they ſtood upon their Defence: Their Lives were offered them if they would ſurrender: Only one complied, and was well received, the reſt were all burnt. The Croſs-bow Men ſhot thoſe that were got up to the Tops of the Trees in the Court of the Temple, and it was obſerved that the Prieſts complained of their Gods for not defending them. A great Part of the City was plundered: The *Spaniards* took the Gold and Feather-work, though not much were found; and their *Indians* had the Cotton and the Salt, which was eſteemed a great Booty by them. The News of what had happened was immediately carried to *Tlaſcala*, where the Lords of the Republic ordered their General *Xicotencatl* to march with all Speed, to the Aſſiſtance of their Friends, which they did; and *Cortes* having returned Thanks, and beſtowed Preſents on the General and their Officers, ſent them back well pleaſed to *Tlaſcala*, where there Joys were incredible, for the Booty taken from the Enemies, and no leſs for being free from the Fire from Heaven, and the Tempeſts with which the *Chululans* threatened to deſtroy the *Spaniards*, and all their Adherents.

The Lords that were Priſoners entreated *Cortes* to put a Stop to his Reſentment, ſince they were not ſo much to blame as the King of *Mexico*, and to permit two of them to go and ſee what was become of the Multitude. He thereupon ordered the Slaughter to ceaſe, and many ſtood up who had lain on the Ground among the Dead: So great was the Authority of the two Lords of the Commonwealth, whom *Cortes* permitted to go about the City, that the next Day it was full of People, and as quiet as if nothing had happened. He ſet at Liberty the other Lords and Gentlemen he had taken Priſoners, at the Requeſt of *Maxiſcatzin* and *Guacozingo*, who had reſorted to him, telling them they might be thankful he did not entirely ſubvert the City, and put them all to the Sword, for ſo he was accuſtomed to puniſh Traitors. He then propoſed a Reconciliation between them and the *Tlaſcalans*. By the Advice of *Cortes* they alſo made Choice of a new General, the former being dead, and that City was a Republic as well as *Tlaſcala*. Next he ordered the *Tlaſcalans*, and his other confederate *Indians*, to clear the Court of the great Temple, and the Streets, of the dead Bodies, becauſe they began to ſtink.

Motezuma being informed of all that had paſſed, and that nothing could divert *Cortes* from the Proſecution of his Deſign of coming to *Mexico*, ſent freſh Embaſſadors with four large Diſhes of Gold, and a great Quantity of Proviſions, with Orders to aſſure him that he knew nothing of the Deſign that the Inhabitants of *Chulula* had to have murdered his Men, and that he might freely come to *Mexico* if he thought fit, becauſe he had oppoſed his Journey only to ſpare him the Fatigue of it. As this flattering Meſſage was falſe in itſelf, ſo the Conduct of the Emperor at Home was as mean-ſpirited and baſe. For when he heard that his Plot was diſcovered, and his Confederates deſtroyed, for having attempted to put in Execution, he ſhut himſelf up in the great Temple, faſted and prayed for a Week together, and in the mean Time ſacrificed a Multitude of poor innocent Men to his Gods, in Hopes of appeaſing them.

3. It was in Conſequence of theſe long Meditations on the preſent melancholy State of his Affairs, that he ſent a great Lord of his Court to *Cortes* under Pretence of a friendly Viſit; but in Reality, with a View to diſſuade him from proceeding further, by aſſuring him the Roads were dangerous, Proviſions ſcarce, and the Climate unwholeſome. The *Spaniſh* Commander anſwered chearfully, that too many of theſe Hardſhips they

were enured, and that he did not at all doubt they ſhould be able to overcome the reſt. *Motezuma* was informed of all by ſome of his People, though moſt of them ſtaid among the *Spaniards*; and it was ſuſpected that they were privately armed to fall upon them by Surprize. *Cortes* bid the *Mexican* Lords not ſtir into the Quarters of the *Spaniards* at Night, becauſe they never ſlept, and were wont to kill all that came among them. Notwithſtanding this Precaution, ſome Spies were employed to find whether that was true, and the Sentinels killed three or four of them, being forewarned, which proved ſo advantageous, that the *Mexicans* afterwards took up Quarters very far from the *Spaniards*.

The next Day they marched to a Town called *Amaſcameca* in the Province of *Chalco*; the Lord came out to meet *Cortes* with a great Retinue; gave him forty Women Slaves, the Value of three thouſand Pieces of Eight in Gold, and Proviſions for two Days; and told him in Secret afterwards, in what a tyrannical Manner *Motezuma* treated him, and all others; *Cortes* comforted, encouraged, and gave him ſome Toys, ſo that they parted very good Friends. The Army advanced from thence to a ſmall Town, half of which ſtood in the Lake, and the other half on the Foot of an uncouth ſtony Mountain. Many of the King's Servants kept with the Army, ſupplying it with all Neceſſaries, and that Night they deſigned to have murdered all the *Spaniards*; but *Cortes* was ſo watchful, that his Sentinels, and a ſmall extraordinary *Corps de Garde* he had appointed, killed twenty Men that were ſkulking in the Quarters; the next Morning before they ſet out abundance of People came from *Mexico*, and many Gentlemen attended on *Cacamazin*, Nephew to *Motezuma*, Lord of *Tezcuco*, a Youth about twenty five Years of Age, who was richly clad, and carried on a Sort of Sedan upon Mens Shoulders; and when he alighted, ſome went before ſweeping the Way; *Cortes* came out of his Tent to meet him, paying him much Reſpect, and treating the others very courteouſly; twelve Noblemen went with him into the Tent, and *Cacamazin*, with much State and Gravity, ſaid, that he and theſe Gentlemen were come to wait on him; adding to excuſe his Uncle, that he came not in Perſon, becauſe he was indiſpoſed. *Cortes* anſwered him fully, and yet *Cacamazin* inſiſted that it was not fit for him to go to *Mexico*, becauſe he ſuſpected there might be ſome Difficulty in his Admittance, or that it would be oppoſed. *Cortes* gave him a Preſent of ſuch Things as he had, treating him in a very courteous and loving Manner, but held on his Way; and it was wonderful to ſee what a Multitude of People came out from *Mexico*, and the other Towns on the Lake to ſee the *Spaniards*, admiring their Habit, Beards, Arms, Horſes, and the Strangeneſs that appeared in every particular, ſaying, theſe are truly Gods.

Cortes warned them not to croſs the Soldiers Ranks, nor to come near the Horſes, nor to touch their Garments, which would immediately coſt them their Lives, leſt growing familiar with his Soldiers they ſhould fear them the leſs. They came to *Tezcuco*, which was twice as big as *Seville*, the Streets were regular, the Houſes beautiful, and ſeated in a Plain on the Salt-Lake, and had freſh Water in Pipes brought from the Mountain to every Houſe, which made it a very agreeable Habitation; from thence they proceeded to *Lavaca*, which they called *Venezuela*, or *Little Venice*, containing about two thouſand Houſes, all in the Water, Pleaſant, and plentifully ſupplied with Fiſh; they entered it by a Cauſeway, twenty Foot broad, and above half a League in length, with good Houſes and Towers.

The Lord of the Place came out to meet *Cortes* with Neceſſaries; and at his Requeſt they ſtaid there that Night; he diſcourſed *Cortes* in private, declaring, how much he wiſhed to be diſcharged from his Subjection to *Motezuma*, made grievous Complaints, adding, that if he and his were Gods, as they ſeemed to be, he ought to ſet many great Men at Liberty, who would all be aſſiſting to him. He comforted and aſſured him that the Great Monarch *Motezuma* would do whatſoever he would aſk of him. As for the Way to *Mexico*, that Lord aſſured him it was all good, being a long Cauſway, and broader than that which had brought him thither.

4. After this Conference, from which he learned many Things that were of very great Uſe to him, *Cortes* ſet out better ſatisfied, having reſolved to make Boats to enter into *Mexico*, being afraid they ſhould break down the Cauſways; he marched with much Circumſpection, ſending ſome Horſemen before to diſcover what paſſed. At the Requeſt of *Cacamazin*, he went two Leagues farther, to *Yztacpalapa*, a Town belonging to another of *Motezuma*'s Nephews, who came out to meet him with another Prince of the Royal Family, and with them came an infinite Crowd of People. They preſented him with Women Slaves, Plumes of Feathers, Garments, and to the Value of four thouſand Pieces of Eight in Gold: The Lord of *Yztacpalapa* made a Speech, bidding *Cortes* welcome, in the King's Name; *Cortes* anſwered very diſcreetly, and preſented him ſome Toys, which were more acceptable for the Rarity than the Value.

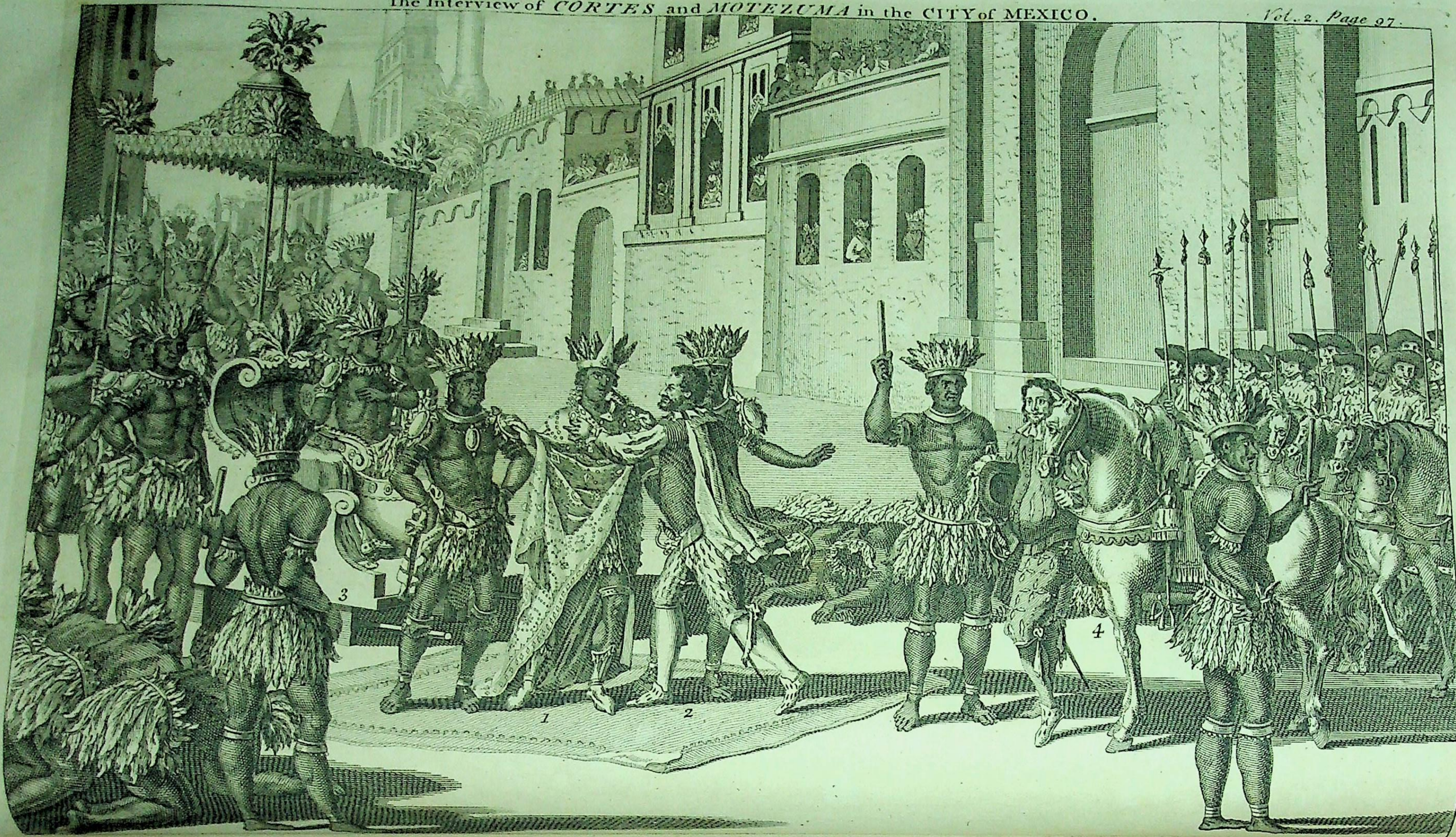
At *Yztacpalapa* he was well entertained in a Houſe that had large Courts, upper and lower Floors, and very delightful Gardens; the Walls were of Stone, the Timber-work well wrought, there were many and ſpacious Rooms hung with Cotton Hangings extraordinary rich in their Way; on one Side of it was an Orchard, with abundance of Fruit and Greens, the Walls were all incloſed with Reeds interwoven, covered with odoriferous Flowers. There were Ponds of freſh Water, with much Fiſh in them; one of them was four hundred Paces ſquare, with Steps to go down to the Water and to the Bottom; ſuch Numbers of ſmall Herons, Wild-Ducks, Gulls, and other Sorts of Fowls reſorted to the Lakes, that they were ſometimes covered. This City contained ten thouſand Houſes, one half in the Salt-Lake, and the other on the Continent; on the Way from it to *Mexico* was a Spring of good Water encompaſſed with tall Trees.

Cortes attentively obſerved all theſe Particulars, and having conſidered the Grandeur of *Mexico*, he is reported to have rejoiced very much, and to have bid ſome of his beſt Friends cheer up, for they ſhould ſoon receive the Reward of all their Labours. *Motezuma* who ſtill deſired nothing more than to obſtruct *Cortes* from coming to *Mexico*; when he was at *Yztacpalapa* ſent ſome Gentlemen to adviſe him to go back, repreſenting to him many Dangers, and offering to give him whatſoever he ſhould demand. *Tuch*, the Nobleman of *Zempoalla*, being informed of what they had ſaid, told *Cortes* he ſhould not give Credit to thoſe Difficulties and Dangers they talked of, for he had been himſelf in *Mexico*, and offered to conduct him to the King's Palace, over a very fine Cauſway. *Cortes* then advancing, ordered an *Indian* to go before, and make Proclamation as he went, in the *Mexican* Language, that no Man ſhould croſs the Way, for if any did, they ſhould be immediately killed, which proved of great Uſe, by giving them Room to march notwithſtanding the Crowd of the People.

Yztacpalapa is two Leagues from *Mexico*, joined to it by a Cauſway, ſo broad, that eight Horſemen can eaſily go abreaſt, and it is ſo ſtrait, that, were it not for one Angle it forms, the Gates of *Mexico* might be ſeen at the firſt ſetting out; on the Sides of it are *Mexicatzingo*, a Town of four thouſand Houſes, ſeated in the Water; *Cuyoacan* of ſix thouſand Houſes on the Land, very beautiful and pleaſant; and *Hiucilopucheo* of five thouſand Houſes. In theſe three Towns there were many Temples, and high Towers all plaiſtered over with white Lime, which, when the Sun ſhone upon them, at a Diſtance, looked like Silver, being a great Ornament to thoſe Places, and now are Monaſteries; there was in them a great Trade of Salt, but not white, nor agreeable to eat, eſpecially to the *Spaniards*, yet good for ſalting of Meat: It is made of the Surface of the Earth, that is near the Lake and full of Saltpetre: The Lumps of it are round and almoſt of Brick Colour, and they yielded *Motezuma* a very great Revenue. The Trade ſtill continues, and this Salt is carried into Provinces very far diſtant.

On the Cauſway there were Draw-bridges, at certain Diſtances over the Openings, through which the Water runs out of one Lake into the other. The Freſh-water

The Interview of *CORTES* and *MOTEZUMA* in the CITY of MEXICO. *Vol. 2. Page 97.*



Lake is higher than the Salt, and though it runs into the other, they do not mix much, becauſe of the Cauſways that part them. *Cortes* had three hundred *Spaniards*; and when they marched out of *Tlaſcala* their Number ſeemed ſo ſmall to him, that, fancying ſome ſtayed behind, he ſent *Peter de Alverado* to fetch them out, but he found none. The *Indian* Confederates that followed him were ſix thouſand; for ſome *Tlaſcalans*, *Chulalans*, and others, had joined him at *Chulula*: Being come near to *Mexico*, where another Cauſway joins the former, he found a Stone Bulwark two Fathoms high with two Towers at the Ends, and between them a Breaſtwork with two Gates: There *Cortes* halted, becauſe four thouſand Gentlemen of the Court, richly clad all in the ſame Livery, came out to meet him; every one of them, when he came to the Place where *Cortes* was, made Obeiſance, touching the Ground with his Right-hand, and kiſſing it, and paſſing along returned to the Place from whence he came.

To this Bridge the Emperor himſelf advanced, to meet *Cortes* under a Canopy of Green Feathers and Gold, carried on the Heads of four Lords: Before him walked three Lords one after another, each of them holding a Gold Rod upright, which was carried before *Motezuma* every time he went abroad, either by Land or Water, like a Standard or Token that the great Lord was there, to the End that all who were in the Way, though they did not ſee him might pay the due Reſpect. Two principal Lords, his Brother *Quequathuac*, and his Nephew *Cacamazin*, led him by the Arms; they were all richly clad after the ſame Manner, bating that the King had Golden Shoes, which they call *Zagles*, not unlike thoſe of the antient *Romans*, and on them many precious Stones of great Value, the Soles faſtened with Thongs. The two Lords that led him were barefoot, for the Reſpect they paid him was ſo great that no Man durſt come in his Preſence without taking off his Shoes, nor might they lift up their Eyes.

Motezuma kept along the Middle of the Street, and two hundred followed him, as cloſe to the Wall as they could, their Eyes fixed on the Ground, becauſe it was accounted Diſreſpect to look on his Face. As ſoon as *Cortes* ſaw him he alighted off his Horſe, at a ſmall Diſtance with ſome Gentlemen, and drawing near ſaluted him after the Manner of *Spain*. Thoſe that led *Motezuma* ſtopped *Cortes*, thinking it a grievous thing that any Man ſhould touch him, being held as ſome Deity; they ſaluted one another after their Manner: *Motezuma* touched the Ground with his Hand, kiſſing it, a Ceremony uſed among the *Indians*, and then bid him Welcome: *Cortes* returned him Thanks for having come out to meet him, and put about his Neck a Collar of fine Glaſs and precious Stones with ſome Enamel. *Motezuma* bowed a little, in token of accepting the Preſent. He went on a little before, with the Nephew that led him by the Arm, and ordered the other to ſtay and wait upon *Cortes*, leading him by the Hand along the Middle of the Street, not permitting any *Spaniards* or *Indians* to come near. This was the greateſt Honour *Motezuma* could have done *Cortes*. The two hundred Gentlemen in one Livery that went behind, as ſoon as they turned about, came one by one to welcome him; the Day would have been too ſhort if all the Nobility in the City were to have done the like; but the King going before, they all turned their Faces to the Wall, in token of Reſpect; ſo that the others, who were behind, could not come up.

The King was much pleaſed with the Collar *Cortes* gave him; becauſe, though it was not coſtly, it was gay, ſparkling, and very ſtrange to him. That he might not be thought to fall ſhort in any thing that became a great Prince, he called two Officers of his Bed-chamber, and bid them bring two Collars of large red Prawns as big as great Snails or Wallnuts, at every one of which hung eight Gold Prawns wrought to the Life, and about half a Foot long: When brought, the King ſtopped till *Cortes* came up, and with his own Hands threw them upon his Neck. The *Indians* were amazed that *Motezuma* ſhould do *Cortes* ſo ſingular a Favour, for he had never done the like to any other Man. The *Spaniards* were aſtoniſhed to ſee ſuch a Multitude of People, and after a long time paſſing through them came to a very large Court, which was the Wardrobe of the Idols, and had been the Houſe of *Axyacazin*, *Motezuma*'s Father.

5. At the Door of it, the Emperor taking *Cortes* by the Hand, led him into a ſpacious Room, placed him on a rich elevated Place, adorned with precious Stones, and ſaid to him, "You are in your own Houſe, eat, reſt, "and take your Pleaſure, I will ſoon return." *Cortes* made him profound Obeiſance, without anſwering one Word. Such was the Reception that mighty Prince gave *Cortes* in that vaſt City of *Mexico*, on the 8th of *November*, 1519. They were lodged in a Houſe that contained ſo many ſpacious Rooms, with Bed-chambers, that one hundred and fifty *Spaniards* could all lie ſingle. It was alſo worth obſerving that, though ſo big, every Part of it, to the leaſt Corner, was clean, neat, matted, and hung with Hangings of Cotton and Feather-work of ſeveral Colours, and had Beds of Matts with Pavilions over them, no Man of what Quality ſoever having any other: There was Fire with Perfumes in every Chamber, and ſo many Servants every where, as ſufficiently diſcovered the Grandeur of that Prince. When *Motezuma* was gone, *Cortes* aſſigned every Man his Apartment, placing the Artillery before the Door, and when he had ordered all that was requiſite, the prime Men ſerving him in ſuch a Quality as is uſual in the Houſes of the greateſt Perſons there, in Honour to him, and becauſe it was then convenient, ſtood in order about the Walls.

When they had all dined and reſted, *Motezuma* returned, and *Cortes* went to meet him; they both walked together to the raiſed part of the Room, and when they were ſeated in the Preſence of many *Mexican* Gentlemen and *Cortes*'s chief Commanders, *Motezuma* gave *Cortes* many coſtly Jewels of Gold, Silver, Feather-work, and ſix thouſand rich Cotton Garments. *Cortes* returned Thanks for the noble Preſent in ſuch a Manner as ſhewed good Breeding and Diſcretion. Soon after, the Emperor entred into a long Conference with the *Spaniſh* Commander, in which he ſhewed himſelf a very great Politician, and a deep Maſter in the Art of Diſſimulation: He ſet out with giving abundance of plauſible Reaſons why he was ſo very unwilling to admit them into his Capital: He next took notice of the ſtrange Reports that had been ſpread about them; and then told them, he believed, that as ſtrange as they appeared to one another, they were really Countrymen, ſince it was certain that the Anceſtors of the *Mexicans* came from a Land at a great Diſtance, and had not been ſettled there above a Century, that therefore he regarded them as Brothers; that they were free to take what they pleaſed, and that they ſhould ſtudy to amuſe and divert themſelves the beſt Way they could.

6. *Cortes* thanked *Motezuma* for theſe ſingular Marks of his Kindneſs and Affection, took a View of the City, and for ſome time paſſed his Days very agreeably; however, before he had formed in his own Mind any Scheme of fixing the *Spaniards* in that Country, Things began to change their Aſpect; and he ſaw great Cauſe to eſteem himſelf in more Danger than he had yet been expoſed to in the Proſecution of this Deſign. The Occaſion of his Apprehenſions was the Arrival of two *Tlaſcalans*, diſguiſed ſo as to paſs all *Motezuma*'s Guards, whoſe Buſineſs was to inform him, that the *Indians* allied to the *Spaniards*, finding their Lands ravaged by one of *Motezuma*'s Captains, whoſe Name was *Qualpopoca*, and apprehending that he had a Deſign upon *Zempoalla*, they applied themſelves, as he had directed, to *Eſculante*, whom he had left Governor of *Vera Cruz*, and deſired his Protection. The *Spaniſh* Governor ſent immediately to *Qualpopoca*, to deſire that he would forbear injuring the Friends of the King of *Spain*; but, notwithſtanding he repeated his Inſtances more than once, he found them ineffectual; and therefore, in purſuance of his Inſtructions, he marched to their Relief with all the Force he could ſpare, which conſiſted of no more than forty *Spaniards*, and thoſe but indifferently armed; having

with them only two ſmall Field-Pieces; but being joined by two thouſand of the Confederate *Indians*, he ventured to engage the *Mexicans*, though double his Number; that is to ſay, between four and five thouſand Men.

If the Confederate *Indians* had behaved as they ought, he would probably have obtained an eaſy Victory; but they fled as ſoon as the Battle began, having loſt a few Men: The *Spaniards*, being forſaken by their Allies, ſtood their Ground, and routed the *Mexicans*, who, having never felt them before, could not ſtand the Edges of the *Spaniſh* Swords. They purſued them as far as the Town, which was afterwards called *Almeria*, and burnt it. *John de Eſculante* was dangerouſly wounded in this Fight and his Horſe killed, and ſix of the Men were greatly hurt: *Eſculante* died of his Wounds as ſoon as he came to *Villa Rica*. The *Indians* carried off one Soldier alive, whoſe Name was *Arguillo*, a Native of *Leon*; a Man of a large Head, black Beard, very luſty and ſtrong, who being ſent to *Motezuma* (for this happened before *Cortes* entred *Mexico*) died by the Way of his Wounds; and becauſe he ſtunk, they carried the Head, which, being of a luſty Man, put him into a Conſternation: He would not have it offered at any of the Temples in *Mexico*, but in ſome one without; and ſaid, he wondered how it fell out that his Men, being ſo numerous, did not vanquiſh that ſmall Number; and, that he was convinced that thoſe Men were not immortal, though they appeared to be very brave. The Conſternation he was put into by the Sight of *Arguillo*'s Head, ſome ſay, proceeded from the Predictions he had, That ſuch Men ſhould conquer his Monarchy, and change the Religion of his People. It is to be obſerved, however, that this laſt Circumſtance was not known to *Cortes* at that Time; ſo that he was in doubt, whether this Action was performed by Order of the Emperor, or even whether he knew or approved it.

However, as the Situation he was in made him very uneaſy, he ſent privately to the moſt ſenſible and beſt affected *Indians* of his Army, of whom he demanded, "If they had obſerved any Alterations in the Minds of "the *Mexicans*, and in what Eſteem the *Spaniards* were "at that Time among them?" They anſwered, "That "the common People were taken up with their Feſtivals "made for the Diverſion of the *Spaniards*, whom they "reverenced becauſe they ſaw them honoured by their "Emperor: But that the Nobility ſeemed penſive and "myſterious: That they had ſecret Conferences, the "Reſult of which they kept very private. They ſaid, "they had obſerved ſome Expreſſions which admitted "a ſiniſter Interpretation, one of which was, that it "would be no difficult Matter to break down the Bridges "of the Cauſway, with others of the ſame kind; which "all together gave ſufficient Cauſe of Suſpicion." Two or three of thoſe *Indians* heard it whiſpered, That ſome few Days before a *Spaniard*'s Head was brought as a Preſent to *Motezuma*, and that he commanded it to be taken away and concealed, after he had viewed it with ſome Aſtoniſhment, it being of a very large Size, and the Face of a fierce Aſpect; Marks which agreed very well with that of *Juan de Arguillo*'s. This added to the Uneaſineſs of *Cortes*; for hence it appeared that *Motezuma* was privy to the Proceedings of his General.

7. As theſe Informations left him no longer any room to doubt, that notwithſtanding all the Kindneſs ſhewn him, *Motezuma* was actually contriving his Deſtruction, he ſaw it was neceſſary ſome quick Meaſures ſhould be taken to deliver himſelf and the *Spaniards* out of thoſe Dangers with which they were at preſent ſurrounded; but the Difficulty was, to fix upon that which might beſt anſwer the End, and, when fixed upon, to carry it into Execution. He meditated upon this Subject a whole Night by himſelf; and, having ſettled in his own Mind what was to be done, he then called a Council of War, in order to hear the Opinion of his Officers; in which they differed extremely, moſt of them, however, inclined to make a Retreat; and ſome of them ſuggeſted, that as *Motezuma* had made them ſuch large Offers to prevent their coming to *Mexico*, he would probably be willing to give them as much Gold as they could reaſonably aſk, in order to get them out of his Capital; but *Cortes* diſapproved this: And having in a ſet Speech ſhewed the Impoſſibility of their putting any ſuch thing in practice, concluded that the only Method they had left to ſecure themſelves, and put a ſpeedy Iſſue to this Buſineſs, was to ſeize the Perſon of the Emperor; and the Reaſons he gave for it were ſo ſtrong, and the Method he propoſed for executing it liable to ſo few Objections, that at laſt it was unanimouſly agreed upon, and a Reſolution taken to do it without Delay.

A moſt ſurpriſing Scheme ſurely, conſidering the Force that *Cortes* had, and the many thouſands that were in daily waiting about *Motezuma*'s Perſon. Yet this Deſign, as it was contrived with great Wiſdom, was executed with no leſs Spirit and Succeſs. The Hour which the *Spaniards* were accuſtomed to wait upon *Motezuma* was choſen for the Execution of their Deſign, that no Alarm might be given by their making him an unſeaſonable Viſit. *Cortes* gave Orders to his Men to arm themſelves in their Quarters, to ſaddle their Horſes and to hold themſelves in Readineſs without making any Noiſe, until they received freſh Inſtructions. He poſſeſſed himſelf of all the Avenues of the Streets leading to *Motezuma*'s Palace, with a ſmall ſcattered Detachment of Soldiers, and went to the Palace accompanied by the Captains *Pedro de Alverado*, *Gonzala de Sandoval*, *Juan Velaſques de Leon*, *Franciſco de Lugo*, and *Alonſo Davila*, having ordered thirty private Men to follow at a Diſtance.

It was no ſurprizing Sight to ſee them enter with their Arms, which they uſually carried as a military Ornament. *Motezuma*, as uſual, came out of his Apartment to receive the Viſit, and they all took their Seats: His Servants, as by his Order they were always accuſtomed to do, retired to another Part of the Palace, and when Donna *Marina* and *Geronimo Aguilar* were come up, *Cortes* began his Complaint with becoming Reſentment. Firſt, he laid before *Motezuma* the Action of his General who had the Inſolence to form an Army, and attack his Confederates, in Violation of the Peace, under which they thought themſelves ſecure. Then he urged as a Crime, for which he ought to make Satisfaction to God and Man, the ſpilling the Blood of a *Spaniard* by the *Mexicans*, after they had made him Priſoner, to revenge upon him in cold Blood the Ignominy of their own Defeat: And laſtly, he expoſed in proper Colours, as a Point of ſtill greater Conſideration, the Excuſe made by *Qualpopoca* and his Captains, who declared they had undertaken that unjuſtifiable War by the Emperor's expreſs Order; concluding, that he thought he owed ſo much to his Majeſty, as not to give Credit to any Action ſo unworthy of his Greatneſs, as that of favouring the *Spaniards* in one Place, while he was endeavouring to deſtroy them in another. But *Motezuma* denied it.

Cortes interpoſed upon this, telling him, he believed what he ſaid to be true, and that he could never entertain any Notion that ſo great a Man as he, could be guilty of ſo baſe an Act; but that what convinced him, did not ſeem to have the ſame Weight with his People, and that, for their Satisfaction, it would be very proper he ſhould remove from his own Palace, and go and live with the *Spaniards* in that he had aſſigned him, till ſuch time as *Qualpopoca*, whom he immediately ſent for, arrived. *Motezuma* was extremely ſurprized at ſo ſtrange a Propoſition, and for ſome time refuſed to hear it; neither could all the Eloquence of *Cortes* have brought him to conſent if Donna *Marina* had not interpoſed; who told him, ſhe was his Subject, and had therefore nothing ſo much as his Intereſt at Heart: That his Life was in the utmoſt Danger, and that nothing but his yielding to this Neceſſity could ſave him; and that it was in vain to diſpute where the only Queſtion was, Whether he would chuſe the Loſs of Life, or temporary Liberty? This determined *Motezuma*. Let us go, ſaid he, to your Quarters, ſince I find it can be no otherwiſe.

When he had ſaid this, he left the Palace, without any more Delay, taking with him all his uſual Attendants, the *Spaniards* marching on Foot cloſe by his Chair, ſurrounded it, under pretence of waiting on him. A Report was preſently ſpread about the City, that the Strangers had carried off the Emperor, and the Streets were crouded, ſome in Deſpair, and ſome diſcovered the Tenderneſs of their Concern by their Tears. But *Motezuma*, with an Air of Gaiety and Compoſure, appeaſed the Tumult, and ſatisfied them in ſome Meaſure. He commanded them to ceaſe their Cries, and at the firſt Motion of his Hand a profound Silence enſued: He then told them, "That "he was not going to Priſon, but for his own Diverſion "to paſs a few Days with his Friends, the Strangers." As ſoon as he was ſettled in his new Lodging, many Noblemen reſorted to *Motezuma*, expreſſing their Sorrow for that Innovation, and offered to do any Service that ſhould be enjoined them.

Cortes being ſenſible of the Boldneſs of his Enterprize, and the Danger he was in, to provide for the worſt, ordered two Brigantines to be built, that would carry two hundred Men, to come into, and go out, of the City, as there ſhould be Occaſion.

They were ſoon finiſhed, and he kept them under a ſtrong Guard near his Quarters, to the no ſmall Amazement of the *Indians*. *Motezuma* fearing leſt any Harm that might be done to the *Spaniards*, by his People, might affect him, put on a chearful Countenance to conceal the Griefs that perplexed him, telling the Men of Quality that ſerved and viſited him, there was no Occaſion to be ſo much concerned, ſince he was well, lived in that Apartment at his Eaſe, and no Injury or Affront was offered him; that he had choſen to go thither to convince the *Spaniards* that what had been ſaid of him, in relation to *Qualpopoca*, was not true; that he deſigned to puniſh him, that no other ſhould be guilty of the like; that he would ſtay there till *Cortes* was ſatisfied, and that ſince he might depart from thence whenſoever he ſhould think fit, they ought to ſet their Hearts at reſt, and as they had always loved him, they ſhould ſhew it at that Time.

As ſoon as he was brought into the Apartment, *Cortes* ſet a Guard over him, and gave the Command thereof to *John Velaſquez de Leon*; and if particular Care had not been taken, he would have been conveyed away; for Walls were broke through, and other Methods uſed; and one Day he attempted to throw himſelf off from the flat Roof of a Houſe, that was ten Fathoms high, for his People that were underneath to catch him, had not a *Spaniard* that was upon the Guard, and near his Perſon, held him. *Cortes* viſited him every Day, and for his Diverſion, ordered the Soldiers to exerciſe their Weapons, at which he was very much pleaſed, and generouſly rewarded them. His own Servants waited on him, as they were wont to do in his Palace, and ſo did the *Spaniards*, who, by *Cortes*'s Command, honoured and reſpected him as a King.

There he decided Law-ſuits, diſpatched all Buſineſs, and adminiſtred the Government of his Kingdoms, ſpeaking, either in private or public, to any Perſon whomſoever; and yet the *Indians* were ſo reſtleſs and uneaſy, that they never ceaſed by Day or Night to attempt reſcuing him: For this Reaſon *Cortes* ordered *Roderigo Alvarez Chico*, a brave and watchful Man, to guard the Backſide of the Houſe, with ſixty Men, twenty mounting at a time; and *Andrew de Monjarraz* to do the ſame before the Palace, with the ſame Number.

Motezuma was ſerved like a great Prince, the Diet that was brought him by four, and four Men holding up the Diſhes, with much Reſpect, made a long Train, and when he had done, all the Meat was divided among the Gentlemen that ſerved, and the *Spaniards* that guarded him. His Bed conſiſted in many coſtly Cotton Blankets, ſome of them very fine, ſome quilted, and covered with others of great Value, made of Feathers and Wool, of various and natural Colours. The Bed was laid on Matts, and a wooden Bedſtead, all ſuited either for the Heat or the Cold. It was this Confinement of the Emperor which afforded *Cortes* all the Opportunities he could wiſh, of enquiring narrowly into the Situation of his Affairs, and of penetrating into all the Secrets of his Government; he likewiſe found Ways and Means to draw out of the *Indian* Monarch, in this Confinement, very large Sums of Money, or, which was the ſame thing, Gold and Jewels to an immenſe Value.

8. In all outward Appearance *Motezuma* was very eaſy and well ſatisfied, the *Spaniſh* Soldiers behaved to him with the greateſt Civility and Reſpect imaginable, and as for the Officers, they were his conſtant Companions, with whom he converſed continually, and ſhewed a great deal of Pleaſure, as alſo in playing at certain *Spaniſh* Games, particularly at Skittles, in which he became, very ſoon, a great Proficient. In the midſt, however, of all theſe Condeſcenſions, he ſhewed himſelf a great Politician; for, obſerving how fond the *Spaniards* were of Gold, he took care to loſe, that he might have an Opportunity of giving, and of obtaining, by this Means, an Intereſt amongſt them.

Whilſt things were in this Situation, *Qualpopoca* arrived with his Son and fifteen Men of Quality, who had been concerned with him in killing the *Spaniards*, in twenty Days after the Confinement of *Motezuma*; he was conducted to *Mexico* by many great Men that went out to meet him, and he was brought in upon their Shoulders and thoſe of his Vaſſals: When come to the Place he alighted, put on Garments of leſs Value than he had before, and took off his Shoes, waited ſome Time 'till he had Leave to go in, drew near alone, all that went with him, ſtaying behind; and having made many Bows, and performed the uſual Ceremonies, with his Head hanging down, and his Eyes fixed on the Ground, he ſaid, "Moſt "high and mighty Sovereign, here is your Slave *Qualpopoca*, whom you have commanded to come; what "will you have done, for I am your Slave, and muſt of "Neceſſity obey you?" *Motezuma* ſternly anſwered, "He had done very ill in killing the *Spaniards* without "any Provocation, and ſaying he had done it by his Order, and therefore he ſhould be puniſhed as a Traitor "to the Strangers, and to his King." *Qualpopoca* going to excuſe himſelf, he would not hear him, ordering that he, his Son, and the reſt, ſhould be delivered up to *Cortes*, who, having fettered, cauſed them to be examined, and they confeſſed the killing of the *Spaniards*; being aſked whether he was *Motezuma*'s Subject, he anſwered, "Is there any other Lord that I could be ſubject to?" They were examined a ſecond time more ſtrictly, and threatened with the Rack, and unanimouſly averred that they had killed the two firſt *Spaniards* by *Motezuma*'s Order, as they had likewiſe thoſe in the Field.

When they had made this Confeſſion, and confirmed it, *Cortes* condemned *Qualpopoca* and the reſt to be burnt. The Sentence being made known to him, he ſaid, That though he was to ſuffer Death for having killed thoſe two *Spaniards*, his great Lord, *Motezuma*, had commanded him, and that he ſhould not have preſumed to have done it, unleſs he had thought it for his Service. He, with his Son, and the reſt, were conducted under a ſtrong Guard of *Spaniards*, to a large Square, and being ſet on a large Pile of broken Bows and Arrows that were dry, with their Hands and Feet bound, Fire was ſet to it, they again confeſſing the ſame as they had before: He prayed as the reſt did, and the Fire blazed, and they were ſoon burnt, without Diſturbance; the *Mexicans* admiring the Execution done by the *Spaniards* in ſuch a great City 'and Kingdom, and in the Preſence of their Monarch. Before and after this Execution, that the *Spaniards* might be always in readineſs, *Cortes* made Proclamation that none of them ſhould go naked to Bed, and that the Horſes ſhould ſtand all Night ſaddled, with their Bridles at the Pommels of their Saddles, becauſe it was ſuſpected there would be an Inſurrection, and that they would attack the *Spaniards* when aſleep; but the Vigilance of *Cortes* was thought to have diſappointed that Deſign; and he cauſed the firſt Soldier that was found to have lain in Bed naked, to be expoſed to public Shame, keeping him two Days in Fetters in the Air, enduring the Dew in the Night, and the Sun in the Day, and a Clog at his Foot; no Intreaties prevailing to relieve him, alledging that Severity was requiſite in ſuch Caſes.

After the Confeſſion was made, whilſt they were carrying *Qualpopoca* to Execution, *Cortes*, attended by his Commanders, went to *Motezuma*, and ſaid to him, "You

“ know you denied your having ordered *Qualpopoca* to kill my Companions, you have not done therein as became ſo great a Prince, and ſince you have occaſioned the Death of my Men, as alſo of *Qualpopoca*, his Son, and ſo many of his People, had I not Regard to the Affection you have ſhewn to my King, and in his Name to me, I ſhould think you ought to pay for it with your Life; for both the divine and human Law, appoints that a Murderer, as you are, ſhould die: However, that you may not go altogether unpuniſhed, and that you and your People may be ſenſible how advantageous it is to deal ſincerely, I will order you to be put in Irons.” *Motezuma* was very much ſurprized at this Reproof, and could ſcarce utter his Words for Confuſion, but only ſaid that he was innocent, and he might do what he would with him. *Cortes* went from him in a very angry Manner, and immediately after he was fettered.

It was thought that *Cortes* uſed this Policy to divert him from the Grief he might juſtly conceive at the Execution of *Qualpopoca* in his own Sight. It is impoſſible to expreſs how much *Motezuma* was concerned, when he ſaw himſelf in Irons; he affirmed he was innocent, and lamented his Condition; his Kindred and Nobility were aſtoniſhed, and in that Conſternation they wept, and kneeled down, bearing up his Fetters with their Hands, and thruſting fine Cloths through the Links, that they might not touch his Fleſh, nor could they think what to do; for if they had had recourſe to Arms, they concluded that their Lord would certainly be put to Death, which added to their Terror. When *Qualpopoca* was executed, *Cortes*, thinking he had gained his Point, went in the Afternoon to *Motezuma*, and, ſaluting him with an Air of Kindneſs, ordered his Fetters to be taken off, telling him, that though, according to the Confeſſion of the People executed, he deſerved to be more ſeverely puniſhed, yet for the Love he bore him, and becauſe he could not believe ſo great a Prince guilty of ſuch a foul Action, he had commanded him to be ſet free. *Motezuma* was as much rejoiced at thoſe Words, as he had been before dejected, upon being removed and put into Irons. He embraced *Cortes*, returned him Thanks, and beſtowed many Favours that Day, as well on the *Spaniards* as his own People.

By this Means both Parties were ſatisfied with each other, and *Motezuma* came by Degrees to have ſuch a Confidence in *Cortes*, that he repreſented to him the Expediency of granting him Leave to go to viſit ſome of his Temples, that his Subjects might not look upon him to be longer a Priſoner, which was granted, upon Condition that human Sacrifices were aboliſhed. As *Cortes* perceived that this Confidence in *Motezuma* had gained upon him extremely, he laid hold of this Opportunity to demand his Aſſiſtance, for the accompliſhing of various Things he had in view, which were very neceſſary to him, and which, however, he could not accompliſh, but by the Emperor's Aſſiſtance.

The firſt of theſe was, the Knowledge of the Gold Mines, where they were, to whom they belonged, how wrought, and what Quantities of that precious Metal were obtained from them. *Motezuma* gave him very clear and diſtinct Anſwers to all theſe Inquiries, and, for his farther Satisfaction, allowed ſuch of his People as he could truſt, to go to the Mines, both within and without his Dominions. In the next place, *Cortes* was willing to have a Map of the Sea-coaſts of the *Mexican* Empire, that he might be the better able to fix upon ſome Port, to which Succours and Supplies might be ſent him; he was, according to his Deſire, furniſhed with a very accurate and extenſive Deſcription of the maritime Provinces under *Motezuma*'s Dominion, finely painted after their Manner, which anſwered his Purpoſe perfectly. The laſt Thing that he aimed at was, the obtaining of a ſufficient Quantity of Gold to be ſent to *Spain*, in order to maintain his Credit there, and ſecure the King's Favour. In obtaining this, he met with no Difficulty, the Emperor and the great Men of his Court, readily yielding him their Aſſiſtance.

9. But in the Midſt of this Tranquility, there aroſe a new and very unlooked for Diſturbance, which neither *Motezuma* nor *Cortes* could foreſee or prevent. It was occaſioned by the Emperor's Nephew, *Cacamazin*, who mortally hated the *Spaniards*; and going to *Tezcuco*, told his chief Counſellors how much he loved them, deſiring they would reflect how they were kept under by a handful of Strangers, who dared to confine his Uncle *Motezuma*, to whom the greateſt Reſpect was due; that it was intolerable ſo ſmall a Number, and thoſe of another Religion, ſhould turn them out of their Houſes, and, what was ſtill worſe, ſet up their Gods in the Temples, inſtead of thoſe of the Country; that it was high time to ſtand up for Religion, Liberty, Honour, and their King, without delaying till the Strangers had Succours from their own Country, from *Tlaſcala*, and from other Parts; and therefore they ſhould make ready, for he was reſolved to fall upon the Intruders; yet if they differed from him in Opinion, they might tell him ſo, and he would be adviſed by them.

They approved of the Deſign, and offered to ſtand by him; but ſome ancient Men, who had no Mind to flatter him, ſaid, he ſhould conſider what he did, that *Cortes* was brave, had gained ſeveral Victories, and they believed there was very great Friendſhip between him and *Motezuma*, for if he would have drove him out of *Mexico* he might have done it; they adviſed him therefore not to be carried away by the Fire of Youth, or the Ambition of Rule, ſince there were other Heirs as near as he. However, War was agreed on, and Preparations were made with the greateſt Privacy, that nothing might be known by *Motezuma* or *Cortes*; but, notwithſtanding their Care, they ſoon had Notice of it.

Cortes perceiving the View of this turbulent Youth, and ſuſpecting that *Motezuma*'s want of Reſolution, or great Affection for the *Spaniards*, encouraged him to undertake the Deſign, ſent Word to the Emperor that he had much Cauſe to ſuſpect him, becauſe, ſince what had happened about *Qualpopoca*, his Nephew, *Cacamazin*, was conſpiring againſt him; and therefore he deſired him to put a Stop to thoſe Proceedings, otherwiſe all would light upon himſelf. *Motezuma* was much ſurprized at this Meſſage, and affirmed he knew nothing of what his Nephew was doing; that he was very well pleaſed there, and would ſend for his Nephew *Cacamazin*, and if he refuſed to come, would order him to be brought by Force, and delivered up into his Hands to be puniſhed, if convicted of that Crime. *Cacamazin* was then preparing for War, and the People readily came in to him, becauſe he gave out that he would reſcue the King.

This Affair put the *Spaniards* upon their Guard, and *Cortes* deſigned, for making an Example, and eſtabliſhing his own Reputation, to go himſelf to *Tezcuco*, and attack *Cacamazin* in his own Houſe; but *Motezuma* prevented it, alledging that the City was ſtrong, and the People of *Culua* at his Nephew's Command, and therefore it was better to take another Courſe. *Cortes* followed his Advice, and ſent to bid *Cacamazin* remember their Friendſhip, that he ſhould conſider it was an eaſy Matter to begin a War, but not ſo to put an End to it; and that it would be for his Advantage to keep on good Terms with the King of *Spain* and his Subjects. He anſwered plainly, He would entertain no Friendſhip with thoſe that oppreſſed the Country, and overthrew their Religion; that he knew not who the King of *Spain* was, nor did he deſire to be informed; and that if he would not have him make War, he ſhould immediately depart *Mexico*. *Cortes* again adviſed him to deſiſt, and deſired *Motezuma* to lay his Commands upon him.

The Emperor ſent for him, which he was ſo far from regarding, that he ſaid, If his Uncle were the Man he ought to be, he would not ſuffer himſelf to be confined; and ſince *Motezuma* was ſo mean-ſpirited, he was reſolved to reſtore the Monarchy to its former Splendor, which had been loſt through his Cowardice. *Cortes*, upon this, reſolved to march out to meet *Cacamazin*, though the Danger was great, conſidering the Multitude of Enemies within and without: But ſtill *Motezuma* hindered him, contriving with ſome of his Nephew's Commanders, that they ſhould deliver him into his Hands. Theſe being bribed, as they were with *Cacamazin*, conſulting about the Management of the War, ſecured him, and before it was known abroad, conveyed him, by Water, to *Mexico*, and had him carried on Mens Shoulders, richly clad, to *Motezuma*'s Apartment, who would not ſee him, but ordered he ſhould be delivered to *Cortes*, who, well pleaſed to have eſcaped that Danger, ordered him to be cloſe confined.

The next Day, by the Advice of *Motezuma*, *Quizquizcatl*, younger Brother to *Cacamazin*, was conſtituted Lord of *Culua*, being then at *Mexico* with his Uncle, having made his Eſcape from his Brother; and *Motezuma* conferred on him the Crown and the Title of King, with the uſual Solemnity; telling him he deſigned to look upon him, for the future, as his Son: *Quizquizcatl* kiſſed his Hand, promiſed Obedience, and then, turning to *Cortes*, gave him Thanks, proteſting he would ever be his Friend. *Cacamazin* was much concerned, when he heard that his Brother was made Lord of his Dominions, and *Cortes* had him ſtrictly obſerved, knowing that there were many that would willingly have conveyed him back to *Tezcuco*. *Motezuma* ſent two Embaſſadors to ſignify to that City the new Election, and cauſed the elected Monarch to be attended by many of his Courtiers, and *Cortes* ſent along with him ſeveral of his prime Men, both of them in Perſon bearing him Company to the Gates of *Mexico*; he was received at *Tezcuco* with all public Demonſtrations of Joy, being carried on Mens Shoulders.

At the Entrance into the City, the Magiſtrates took him up, and when come to the Palace, an ancient Gentleman ſet a Garland of Flowers on his Head, and, all the Company being ſilent, made a Speech to him; the Purport of which was, "That he was ſenſible, how, when " he was ſerving *Motezuma*, being fled from his Bro" ther, on Account of his Pride, the Gods had raiſed " him to that high Dignity, for which Reaſon he ought " to take care not to change his noble Diſpoſition; for " that the Thing Kings ſhould moſt endeavour to ac" quire, was the Love of their Subjects, *&c.*" Theſe Ceremonies performed, the People withdrew, and *Cortes* was delivered from the Dangers that had threatened him. This, in itſelf, and independent of its Conſequences, could not but be very agreeable to our Hero, who ſaw himſelf, by this Means, raiſed to the higheſt Authority, excluſive of the Sovereign Power in that Empire; for the People being well enough acquainted with *Motezuma*'s natural Diſpoſition, attributed this mild Way of puniſhing, entirely to *Cortes*; and on the other Hand, the firſt Prince of the Empire looked upon himſelf as his Creature, ſo that there appeared a Probability of his eſtabliſhing ſome kind of Intereſt in *Mexico*, and the bare Appearance of this, was enough to engage *Cortes* to do all that lay in his Power to cultivate and encreaſe it.

10. All things ſeemed at this time to concur in Favour of the *Spaniards*, and to render their Stay in the Empire of *Mexico* more ſafe and more agreeable than it had hitherto been. Yet, of a ſudden, this fine Proſpect was intirely over-caſt, and the Face of Affairs unexpectedly changed. It ſeems that *Motezuma*, though he had diſſembled his Reſentment, was far enough from being pleaſed with the long Stay which the Strangers made; and, indeed, if we conſider their Behaviour towards him, it was no Wonder; but he diſſembled ſo well, that neither *Cortes* nor any of his People ſuſpected him; and was ſo great a Politician, that when he actually propounded the Scheme he had framed to be rid of them, they were ſo far from conceiving it in that Light, that they took it for the higneſt Act of Favour he had ever done them.

In ſhort, *Motezuma* offered to call a general Aſſembly of his Nobles, and there acknowledge, in a moſt ſolemn Manner, the Sovereignty of the King of *Spain* over his Dominions, and his own, and his Subjects Duty toward him. There could be nothing more acceptable to the *Spaniſh* Captain than this unexpected Offer of the *Indian* Monarch's, and therefore he encouraged him to carry it into Execution as ſoon as poſſible, without ever ſuſpecting that the Emperor was as much inclined to this as himſelf, though from a very different View. The Aſſembly was accordingly called, and *Motezuma*, being ſeated on his Throne, made a very long, and a very extraordinary Speech: He ſaid they all knew well enough, that their firſt Emperor came from the Eaſt, and that he had left them a Propheſy, that his Deſcendants ſhould return to govern theſe Countries; that without doubt the King of *Spain* was the lawful Succeſſor to the Empire, that if he had come thither in Perſon, he would have laid down his Crown at his Feet; that as it was, he was reſolved to do him Homage, and ſend him a Preſent of the moſt valuable Things in his Dominions, and that he expected they would likewiſe contribute out of their own Poſſeſſions, that this Preſent might be the more worthy the Acceptance of ſo great a Prince.

In this Manner *Motezuma* concluded his Diſcourſe, though he did not utter it all without Interruption; for in ſpite of all the Efforts made upon himſelf in this Act of his, when he came to pronounce himſelf Vaſſal to another Prince, he found ſomething ſo ſhocking, and ſo repugnant to his Nature, in thoſe Expreſſions, that he pauſed a while as if he wanted Words to proceed, and he ſhewed his Concern ſo publicly, that ſome Tears were ſeen trickling down his Cheeks, which ſeemed as if they had eſcaped his Eyes, without their Conſent; and the *Mexicans*, ſenſible of his Diſturbance, and of the Cauſe from whence it proceeded, began likewiſe to ſhew their Concern, breaking forth into loud Sighs, deſiring in Appearance, not without ſomething that ſavoured of Flattery, that by the Noiſe they made, their Fidelity ſhould be taken Notice of; ſo that *Cortes* thought it neceſſary to deſire Liberty to ſpeak, in order to encourage *Motezuma*, and put him out of the Perturbation he was in. He ſaid, "That it was not the Intention of the " King his Sovereign, to diſpoſſeſs him of his Royal " Dignity, nor to make the leaſt Innovation in his Go" vernment; but, that all he deſired was, that they " would, at the preſent Aſſembly, ſettle his Right to " the Succeſſion, in Favour of his Deſcendants or Poſ" terity; by Reaſon of his being ſo far diſtant from " thoſe Regions, and ſo taken up in other Conqueſts, " that the Caſe mentioned in their Traditions and Pro" pheſies, might not happen in many Years." With which Explanation *Motezuma* recovered Heart, re-aſſumed an Air of Tranquility, and finiſhed his Diſcourſe, as has been obſerved.

The *Mexicans* remained aſtoniſhed, and utterly confounded to hear ſuch a Propoſal, wondering at it, as a Thing inconſiſtent with, and unbecoming, the Majeſty of ſo powerful a Monarch, and a Prince ſo extremely jealous of his Authority. They looked on each other without daring either to contradict, or to give any Sign of Conſent; as being apprehenſive, that by doing either, they ſhould but confirm him the more in his ſtrange Determination. This reſpectful Silence laſted till his prime Miniſter, as a Perſon who had a better Knowledge of his Prince's Diſpoſition than any other, took upon him to ſpeak for the reſt, and ſaid, "That all the Nobles who " compoſed that Aſſembly, reſpected him as their Lord " and natural Sovereign, and ſhould be ready to obey " whatever his Majeſty had been pleaſed to propoſe, and " to follow any Example he ſhould think fit to ſet them; " they not doubting but that he had well weighed every " thing, and had conſulted with Heaven; and they had " no Inſtrument more ſacred than that of his Voice, " whereby to be informed of the Will of their Gods." The whole Aſſembly agreed in the ſame Sentiment, and *Hernan Cortes*, when it came to his Turn to make his Acknowledgments, dictated to his Interpreters, a Speech, no leſs artful than the former; in which he gave Thanks to *Motezuma*, and all who were preſent, for this Demonſtration of their Reſpect, accepting their Service in the Name of his King, without ſeeming to think it ſtrange that they complied with their Obligations, but, rather as one who receives his Debt, and is pleaſed with his Debtor's punctual Payment.

The Emperor took immediate Care to collect in Gold and Jewels, particularly Emeralds, a Preſent ſuitable to his own Dignity; and his Nobility followed his

Example with the utmoſt Alacrity. All theſe rich Gifts were carried, by *Motezuma*'s Order, to the Apartment of *Cortes*, who named a Receiver and Treaſurer, that they might take an exact Account of what was delivered; and in a few Days they amaſſed ſuch a Quantity of Gold, that beſides the precious Jewels, and Pieces of curious Workmanſhip, after they had melted down the reſt, they found 600000 Peſos of Gold, in Bars of good Alloy; out of which the fifth Part was ſet aſide for the King, and of the remainder, a ſecond Fifth for *Hernan Cortes*, with the Approbation of his People, and to defray the Expence of providing for the public Neceſſities of the Army; he likewiſe ſet aſide the Sum for which he ſtood accountable to *Diego Velaſquez*, and that which his Friends, in the Iſland of *Cuba*, had lent him; the reſt was divided among the Officers and Soldiers, including thoſe that were at *Vera Cruz*.

Thoſe that had Employments had equal Shares, but amongſt the private Men there was ſome Difference made; for thoſe were diſtinguiſhed and beſt rewarded, who had done beſt Service, or had been leaſt troubleſome in the paſt Diſturbances. An Equity of a very dangerous Nature, where juſt Rewards are looked upon as Grievances, and Diſtinction of Merit occaſions Complaints: There were great Murmurings and bold Words uttered againſt *Hernan Cortes* and the Captains; for at the Sight of ſuch a Maſs of Wealth, thoſe whoſe Deſerts were leaſt, required an equal Recompence with the moſt Deſerving. Their Avarice could not poſſibly be ſatisfied, nor was it convenient to publiſh the Reaſons of that unequal Diſtribution; by Degrees, however, and by the Dexterity of his own Management, *Cortes* got the better, and reduced the whole Army, not only to a peaceable Deportment, but to a voluntary Submiſſion to his Method of managing.

In order to this he found it neceſſary, not only to part with ſome of his Share, but even to give conſiderable Sums in ready Money, to ſuch as were worſt dealt with, and complained loudeſt; amongſt whom, there was one Fellow that had but 300 Pieces of Eight for his Share, who ſaid, merrily, that he would take care not to engage himſelf again in a Contract with two Kings; alluding to the General's taking one fifth for his Catholic Majeſty, and another for himſelf, upon which *Cortes* gave him 200 Pieces of Eight more, with which the Soldier was very well content.

11. The General was perfectly well pleaſed with the Situation he was now in, for he thought that he had entirely got the better of the Factions in his own Army, and that he ſtood higher in the Favour of *Motezuma* than ever; but it was not long before he was convinced to the contrary; and found, when he leaſt ſuſpected it, that the *Indian* King was bent upon obliging him to quit his Country, a Thing he never apprehended would have come into the Emperor's Head, or if it had, that he would have had Spirit and Courage enough to avow it. But as wiſe and as penetrating a Man as he was, he found himſelf deceived in both.

The Manner in which this great Affair broke out, was thus: One Day as *Cortes* was diverting himſelf with the *Spaniſh* Commanders, *Motezuma* ſent *Orleguilla*, a young *Spaniard* who had learned the *Indian* Laaguage, and of whom he was very fond, to tell him that he wanted to ſpeak with him immediately, and at the ſame time that the young Man delivered this Meſſage, he informed *Cortes* that *Motezuma* had ſpent a great Part of the Night in cloſe Conſultation with his principal Miniſters, and ſome of his Prieſts. As ſoon as he had heard this, *Cortes* could not help ſaying that he did not like the Meſſage, but however, he reſolved to wait upon the Emperor immediately, taking with him about a Dozen of the *Spaniards* that were by when he received the Meſſage, and laboured to conceal, as well as he could, the Confuſion he was in. When he came into *Motezuma*'s Preſence, he ſaluted him with profound Reſpect, and then aſked him very courteouſly, what were his Commands?

The Emperor received him with more Gravity than uſual, and with an Air of Greatneſs that till then he had never put on; and being now ſomewhat acquainted with the Forms of *Spaniſh* Civility, called for Chairs, and all the reſt ſtanding, and two Interpreters on their Sides, he ſaid, "Captain *Cortes*, my Gods are angry with me for having permitted you to ſtay ſo long in my City, deſtroying our Religion; they ſay they will give me no Rain, will deſtroy my Corn, ſend the Plague, and ſubject my Empire to my Enemies. I intreat you to depart this Place immediately; aſk what you will have, for I love you entirely, and if I did not I ſhould not beg it of you, ſince I have it in my Power to do you Harm, and ſhall not tell you ſo again. Take what you will out of my Treaſures, and go away ſatisfied, for my Gods will not allow of what has been done; and ſince you ſee I can do no leſs for their Honour and my own, be not concerned." When he had uttered theſe Words, before the Interpreter began to ſpeak, *Cortes* turned to a *Spaniard*, and ſaid, "Run to our Comrades, and bid them be in Readineſs, for their Lives are at Stake." When the Interpreter had done, *Cortes* rouſing his Courage, very ſedately anſwered, "Experience had made him ſenſible of his Affection, and that it was not his Fault if he did not continue in his Company; but, that ſince his Gods and his People were of that Mind, he ſhould conſider when he would have him be gone."

The King was ſo well pleaſed with his Anſwer, that he ſaid, "He would not have him go till he thought fit himſelf, and he would then give him four Loads of Gold, every Horſeman two, and every Foot-Soldier one." *Cortes* replied, "That he could not return to his own Country without Ships, and ſince he had ſunk thoſe that brought him, it was his Requeſt, that he would cauſe Timber to be felled at *Vera Cruz*, which the *Indians* called the Coaſt of *Calchicoeca*, and he would find Men to build them." *Motezuma* approved, and ordered Timber to be felled. *Cortes* appointed Workmen to do what *Martin Lopez* ſhould direct them, and *Motezuma* believed it. *Cortes* acquainted his Men with *Motezuma*'s Will, encouraged them, and ſaid, "That God, whoſe Cauſe they had in hand, would in the mean Time, while the Ships were building, ſo diſpoſe their Affairs, that they ſhould not loſe that good Country." He directed *Martin Lopez* to make ſhew of carrying on the Work with Diligence, but to retard it as much as might be, and ſend him Advice of every thing that happened.

There were various Motives induced *Motezuma* to take this Reſolution, which might, in ſome Reſpects, be thought not ſo agreeable to his Temper and Conſtitution, that was, as various Inſtances we have given plainly ſhew, rather timorous than enterprizing. But after all, the great and true Spring of this ſudden and ſurprizing Reſolution, was his conſidering that if things went on in their preſent Channel, one or other of theſe Events muſt neceſſarily follow, *viz.* that either the *Spaniards* would abſolutely acquire the Poſſeſſion of his Dominions, by the Conſent of his Subjects, or elſe the Inhabitants of the *Mexican* Empire, to preſerve their ancient Government and Religion, would elect a new Emperor, under whoſe Conduct they might drive them out by Force; and in either Caſe he looked upon himſelf as undone. It was for this Reaſon that he determined to comply with all the Demands that *Cortes* had made, that he might have no Pretence for ſtaying longer; and that he might likewiſe furniſh his Prieſts with an Opportunity of telling the People, that their Emperor having now fulfilled the Will of the Gods in every Reſpect, had thereby regained their Favour, ſo that now they might depend upon the Aſſiſtance of Heaven, in expelling the Strangers.

On the other hand, the great Deſign of *Cortes* was to gain Time, in Hopes that he ſhould receive the King's Commiſſion, and a great Reinforcement from *Spain*, which might enable him to act with Vigour, and ſecure that extenſive Empire to his Catholic Majeſty; and of this he had the greater Hopes, becauſe he had now brought his Men to have an abſolute Confidence in him; and they no longer thought there was any thing impoſſible to be done that *Cortes* thought practicable. But alas! all theſe fine Notions were but Dreams, and this great Commander found, to his Coſt, that a Civil War amongſt the *Spaniards* muſt firſt be gone through, before all the Pains he had taken, and all the Arts he had practiſed, would open a Paſſage, for compleating what he apprehended was at hand, the entire Conqueſt of the Empire of *Mexico.*

SECTION XII.

The Hiſtory of CORTES's *Expedition continued to the Death of* MOTEZUMA, *and the* Spaniards *being forced to abandon the City of* Mexico.

1. *The firſt Intelligence of a conſiderable Squadron and a new Army of* Spaniards, *landing in the Dominions of* Motezuma, *communicated by him to* Cortes, *and the Conſequences of that ſurprizing Piece of Intelligence.* 2. *The Riſe and Occaſion of this ſecond Expedition formed by* James Velaſquez *for the Deſtruction of* Cortes, *and the gaining to himſelf the Province of* New Spain. 3. *The Pains taken by the* Royal Audience *at* Santo Domingo, *to prevent* Velaſquez *from executing ſo raſh a Deſign, and ſo prejudicial to the public Service.* 4. *The Fleet ſails under the Command of* Pamphilo de Narvaez, *arrives at* Vera Cruz, *and the bold Stand made in that Fortreſs by* Sandoval *in favour of* Cortes. 5. *The Meaſures taken by that great Commander for ſecuring* Mexico, *and for marching with the reſt of his Forces againſt* Narvaez. 6. *He executes this Deſign, and endeavours to come to Terms of Accommodation with the other Army, which are abſolutely rejected.* 7. *He attacks* Narvaez *in the Night, and after a ſhort Diſpute defeats his Forces entirely, and takes him Priſoner.* 8. *The Conſequences of this Victory, and the wiſe Meaſures taken by* Cortes *to improve it, till he is informed of the Troubles at* Mexico. 9. *A ſhort Account of the Occaſion of this Sedition at* Mexico, *and of the Methods taken by* Peter Alverado *to quell it, and to reduce the* Indians *to their Duty.* 10. *The Arrival of* Cortes, *and the ſeveral Engagements that afterwards happened between his Troops and the People of* Mexico, *who notwithſtanding his Arrival perſiſted in carrying on the War.* 11. Motezuma *endeavours to pacify his Subjects, and while he is ſpeaking to them receives a Wound on the Temples by a Stone, of which he dies.* 12. *The Conduct of* Cortes *after this unfortunate Accident, and the Pains he took to reconcile himſelf to the* Indians, *though to no Purpoſe.* 13. *The Reaſons which induced him to reſolve upon quitting* Mexico, *and to make the beſt Retreat from thence he could.* 14. *The manner in which he executed this Retreat, and the many Difficulties and Dangers with which it was attended.* 15. *Obſervations and Remarks upon the principal Occurrences mentioned in this Section.*

1. THE Satisfaction that the Emperor received from the Hopes he entertained of being ſhortly rid of the *Spaniards*, and the Expectations of *Cortes*, that he ſhould be for ſome time quiet, from the Meaſures he had taken, were entirely deſtroyed by a very unforeſeen Accident, equally inconſiſtent with both their Intentions. In ſhort, *Motezuma* had Intelligence brought him that eighteen Sail of Ships were ſeen off the Coaſt of *Ulua*; and his Officers, who commanded in that Part of the Country, had ſent the Figures of all theſe Ships painted upon Cloths, which ſerved inſtead of Letters, with a Deſcription of the People they had ſeen in them; and ſome Characters, which ſignified what they ſuſpected of their Intentions, being *Spaniards* in Appearance, and arriving at a time when he treated of diſpatching thoſe who were already at his Court. Whatever Impreſſion theſe Repreſentations had on the Mind of *Motezuma*, the Reſult was, that he immediately ſent for *Cortes*, laid the Picture before him; and told him, "That now the "Proviſion he was making for his Journey was unneceſ-"ſary, ſince ſome Ships of his Nation were arrived upon "the Coaſt, in which he might embark."

Cortes viewed the Painting with Attention rather than Surprize; and though he did not underſtand the Characters, which deſcribed them, he knew enough by the Habit of the People and the Make of the Veſſels, not to doubt their being *Spaniards*: The firſt Motion of his Heart inclined him to Joy, ſince he believed that his Commiſſaries were arrived, and flattered himſelf that they had brought him very conſiderable Supplies, in ſuch a Number of Veſſels. The Imagination is eaſily carried away to that which one deſires; and he could not ſuppoſe at that time, that ſo powerful an Armada was deſigned againſt him, for he formed his Judgment by his own ſincere and noble Manner of acting; and the Well-intentioned are with Difficulty brought to believe that which is againſt Juſtice and Reaſon.

His Anſwer to *Motezuma* was, "That he would de-"part immediately if theſe Ships were bound back for "any of the King of *Spain*'s Dominions." And, without being ſurprized that the Emperor ſhould have the firſt News of theſe Particulars, becauſe he was no Stranger to the indefatigable Diligence of his Couriers, he added, "That it would not be long before he ſhould "have an Account of this Accident from the *Spaniards* "who were at *Zempoalla*, and that then he ſhould know "with Certainty whither thoſe Ships were bound, and "the Deſigns of their Owners, and whether it would be "neceſſary to proceed in the building of thoſe Veſſels." *Motezuma* approved this Anſwer, being well pleaſed with his Readineſs. But in a ſhort time, a Letter came from *Vera Cruz*, in which *Gonſalo de Sandoval* ſent *Cortes* Word, "That thoſe Ships belonged to *James Velaſquez*, "and brought eight hundred *Spaniards* to oppoſe and "deprive him of his Conqueſt." This unexpected Stroke he received in the Preſence of *Motezuma*, and ſtood in Need of all his Courage and Reſolution to conceal his Perturbation of Mind; for he found himſelf in Danger from the very Quarter from whence he expected Succour.

In order to underſtand however this Point of Fact clearly, and to judge perfectly of the Danger in which *Cortes* ſtood from his Countrymen, it will be requiſite to caſt our Eyes over to *Cuba*, and conſider what paſſed there after the Departure of the Fleet under the Command of this great Man.

2. *James Velaſquez* was at firſt equally angry and uneaſy at the Steps which *Cortes* had taken; but after he had received Advice from his Agent in *Spain*, that he had obtained for him the Title of the King's Lieutenant, not only in *Cuba*, but alſo in all the Countries which ſhould be diſcovered by him, or by his Means, he became poſſeſſed with a kind of Fury, and conceiving this Diſreſpect to him, even before he became the King's Lieutenant, to be a kind of Treaſon, he reſolved to puniſh it as ſuch, and to exert the whole Strength of the Colony for that Purpoſe.

What contributed to heighten his Choler extremely, was the Subſtance of certain Letters he received from his Agent, in which he was told, that the Biſhop of *Burgos*, Preſident of the *Indies*, was his beſt Friend; but that the King was highly pleaſed with the Conduct of *Cortes*, and that all *Spain* rung of the great Things he had performed, and the mighty Diſcoveries he had made. The Applauſe given to *Cortes* made him impatient and outrageous, and notwithſtanding he was not ſorry to ſee the Conqueſt ſo far advanced, yet he could not bear that another ſhould receive the Thanks which, in his Opinion, were due to him alone, ſo vain was he, in the little Share he had in the firſt Diſpoſition of that Enterprize, that without any other Foundation he took to himſelf the Name of Conqueror. Upon thoſe Motives he immediately prepared to form a Fleet and Army for the Deſtruction of *Cortes*, and all who had followed his Fortune. He bought Ships, liſted Soldiers, and went in Perſon over the whole Iſland, viſiting the *Spaniards*, and encouraging them to the Undertaking.

He ſhared with them before-hand the immenſe Riches of that Conqueſt, which he ſaid was uſurped by ill-adviſed Rebels, who had baſely made their Eſcapes from *Cuba* by Flight. With thoſe Hopes, and ſome Expence, he got together a Body of Men, which in thoſe Parts of the World might be termed a formidable Army. It conſiſted of eight hundred *Spaniſh* Foot, eighty Horſe, and ten or twelve Pieces of Artillery, with abundance of Proviſions, Arms and Ammunition. He appointed for chief Commander of that Expedition *Pamphilo de Narvaez*, a Man of Capacity, and of the firſt Diſtinction in that Iſland, but highly opinionated, and obſtinately poſitive in his Reſolutions.

He gave him the Title of his Lieutenant, naming himſelf Governor of *New Spain*. He gave him likewiſe ſecret Inſtructions, in which he ordered him, "That he
" ſhould endeavour to the utmoſt of his Power to take
" *Cortes*, and ſend him Priſoner under a ſtrong Guard,
" that he might receive from his Hands the Puniſhment
" he had deſerved; that he ſhould do the ſame by the
" chief Officers who followed him, in caſe they refuſed
" to abandon his Intereſt, and that he ſhould take Poſ-
" ſeſſion in his Name of all that had been conquered,
" and adjudge it to be all within his Diſtrict, as the
" King's Lieutenant." He never ſo much as conſidered that it was poſſible his Deſign might not ſucceed, or that the new Officer he ſent might not have it in his Power to treat the old one in the Manner he directed.

3. But while he was thus employed in taking Meaſures to gratify his private Reſentment, under Colour of promoting the public Service, ſome wiſer People in the *Indies* were much better employed; for the *Royal Audience* at *St. Domingo*, as ſoon as they were informed of theſe Preparations, foreſeeing the Inconveniencies that might reſult from ſo public a Competition, ſent the Licenciate *Velaſquez de Ayllon*, Auditor of the ſame Audience, [to endeavour to bring *Velaſquez* to reaſon; and if he found gentle Means inſufficient, to acquaint him with the Orders he carried; commanding him upon great Penalties to diſarm his People and unrig his Fleet, and not diſturb or give any Impediment to the Conqueſt in which *Hernan Cortes* was employed, under the Colour of its belonging to him; and in caſe he had any Complain againſt *Cortes*, or any Claim of Right to the Country he was then gaining, to appear before the Royal Tribunal, where he ſhould be ſure of Juſtice in a regular Way.

The Licenciate, according to his Inſtructions, did all he could to reduce *Velaſquez* to reaſon, making uſe of what Arguments he thought moſt proper to perſuade him to deſiſt from his Enterprize; and ſeeing him incapable of Advice, he ſhewed his Orders, and cauſed them to be notified by an Eſcrivano he had brought with him for that Purpoſe, accompanying them with Requeſts and Proteſtations. But nothing was ſufficient to ſtop his Reſolution, for the Title of the King's Lieutenant had ſo raiſed him in his own Conceit, that it ſeemed he would acknowledge no Superior in his Government, and obſtinately perſiſted in his untractable Humour.

The Licenciate ſeeing that he endeavoured to haſten the Embarkation of his People, feigned a Deſire of beholding this Land, ſo much applauded and cried up, and under the Pretext of Curioſity offered to accompany them, to which Propoſal *Velaſquez* agreed, that the News of his Inſolence might come later to the Iſle of *Santo Domingo*. Whereupon he embarked with general Approbation. *Andres de Duero*, that Secretary of *Velaſquez*, who favoured *Cortes* ſo much, in the Beginning of his Fortune, likewiſe, made one in this Expedition; ſome ſay, he offered himſelf for this Voyage, purely to ſhare ſome of the Wealth *Cortes* had acquired, by putting him in Mind of the Services he had formerly done him; and others ſay, it was to pacify *Narvaez*, and prevent as much as he could the Ruin of his Friend.

4. The Fleet ſet ſail, and having a favourable Wind, in a few Days got Sight of the deſired Land. They came to an Anchor in the Port of *Ulua*, and *Pamphilo de Narvaez*, ſent ſome Soldiers aſhore to get Intelligence, and make what Diſcoveries they could in the neighbouring Villages. Theſe were not long before they ſurprized two or three *Spaniards* who were ſtraggling about that Place. They brought them before the Commander, and the Men either fearful, or inclinable to Novelty, informed him of all that had paſſed in *Mexico* and *Vera Cruz*, endeavouring to flatter him, by diſcrediting of *Cortes*: Upon this Intelligence, the firſt thing he reſolved on, was, to treat with *Gonſalo de Sandoval* about the Surrender of the Fortreſs under his Command, and to engage him either to maintain it for him, or to diſmantle it, and with his Garriſon to join the Army.

He intruſted this Negotiation with a Clergyman, named *Juan de Guevara*, a Man of a leſs gentle Temper than his Profeſſion required. There went with him three Soldiers, who ſerved as Witneſſes, and a public Notary. *Gonſalo de Sandoval* had his Sentinels in proper Places, to obſerve the Motions of the Fleet; and they gave Advice from one to another, by which Means he had an Account of their Approach a good while before they arrived, and being aſſured that there was no greater Number to follow, he ordered the Gates to be opened, and retired to wait their coming.

The Prieſt after the firſt Civilities were over, gave him an Account of the Forces with *Narvaez*, who were come to take Satisfaction for the Injury which *Cortes* had done *Velaſquez*, by withdrawing from his Obedience, the Conqueſt of that whole Country being intirely his Property, as having been begun by his Order, and at his Expence. *Sandoval* anſwered him with ſome Warmth, which he could not well conceal, "That *Pamphilo de*
" *Narvaez* was his Friend, and ſo loyal a Subject, that
" he would certainly deſire nothing but what ſhould
" be convenient for his Majeſty's Service. That the
" preſent Juncture of Affairs required that he ſhould
" join his Forces with thoſe of *Cortes*, and aſſiſt him to
" perfect that which was in ſuch Forwardneſs, for that
" the Quarrels of private Perſons were not, at the King's
" Expence, to be decided by a Civil War: But that if
" *Narvaez*, preferring private Revenge to public Inte-
" reſt, deſigned any Violence againſt *Cortes*, he might
" be aſſured not only himſelf, but all the Garriſon,
" would rather chuſe to die, than to agree to ſo diſho-
" nourable an Action."

The Prieſt received this Repulſe as an unexpected Stroke, and broke out into injurious Language and Threats againſt *Cortes*, calling him Traitor, and went ſo far as to ſay, that *Sandoval*, and all who eſpouſed that Traitor's Intereſt, deſerved no better Title. They all endeavoured to bring him to reaſon, putting him in Mind of his Profeſſion, that he might be ſenſible of the Conſideration upon which they bore with him: But he, raiſing his Voice, without changing his Stile, commanded the Notary he had brought with him to publiſh the Orders he had, "That all might know that they were to
" pay Obedience to *Narvaez* on Pain of Death." But this was what could not be put in Execution, for *Gonſalo de Sandoval* told him roundly, "That he would order
" him immediately to be hanged, if he preſumed to
" publiſh any Orders which did not come from the
" King."

At laſt Things roſe to ſuch a Height, that, to prevent a Mutiny, *Sandoval* found it requiſite to make theſe People Priſoners; and upon mature Conſideration, he likewiſe thought proper to ſend them Priſoners to *Mexico*, being carried by *Indians* in Chairs, or a kind of Litters, that are uſed in that Country, under a ſmall Guard, commanded by *Pedro de Solis*, of whom he had a very good Opinion, and who behaved in this Affair admirably well.

5. In the mean time *Cortes* was extremely at a loſs how to behave in this Conjuncture. He had many things to do, and many Points to carry; ſtood expoſed to a Multitude of Croſſes, and had little or nothing in his Favour; yet his Behaviour was perfectly ſober and diſcreet. He told *Motezuma*, that his King had ſent a conſiderable Army to proſecute his Rights to his Country; but, as he had already received his Homage, he would go to his Cuontrymen, perſuade them to return, and go back with them himſelf. He gave his Soldiers to underſtand, that, notwithſtanding *Narvaez* was ſent, with the whole Force of the Iſland of *Cuba*, for his Deſtruction; yet he did not doubt he ſhould be able to bring him, or at leaſt his Soldiers, to join with them; and, in that Caſe, he made no ſort of Queſtion of their being ſtrong enough to make a total Conqueſt of the Empire of *Mexico*. To his Officers he was very ſincere, and found in them the moſt perfect Obedience.

In the mean time, *Solis* arrived with the Priſoners, ſent by *Sandoval*; but *Cortes*, who had been before informed of their coming, went out to receive them with more than ordinary Attendance. He immediately ordered their Fetters to be taken off, embraced them with great Humanity, and *Guevara* more than once, with particular Civility, telling him, "That he would chaſtiſe *Sandoval* "for the little Regard he had ſhewn to his Perſon and "Dignity." He afterwards conducted him to his own Apartment, gave him his Table, and, with a ſeeming Satisfaction, intimated, "How much he eſteemed the "Happineſs of having *Narvaez* in that Country, on account of the paſt Friendſhip and Intimacy that had "been between them." He took care that the chief *Spaniards* ſhould all appear chearful before him. He made them Witneſſes of the Favours he received from *Motezuma*, and the great Reſpect with which he was treated by the *Mexican* Princes. He preſented them with ſome Jewels of Value, which greatly mollified their Tempers.

He did the ſame by their Companions; yet without letting them know he ſtood in need of their good Offices to induce *Narvaez* to Peace. He diſpatched them in four Days, fully perſuaded by his Reaſons, and engaged by his Liberality. After he had taken theſe Meaſures, he reſolved to ſend ſome Perſon of Account to make ſuch Propoſals to *Narvaez* as were reaſonable. He choſe Friar *Bartholomew de Olmedo*, a Perſon of known Wiſdom and Eloquence. He haſtened his Diſpatches, and gave him Letters for *Narvaez*, for the Licenciate, and for the Secretary *Duero*, with ſeveral Jewels to diſtribute as he ſhould think proper.

It is eaſy to apprehend, from the Account that has been already given, that, in the whole Progreſs of this Expedition, this great Commander had never met with ſo much Trouble and Perplexity, or apprehended himſelf in ſo great Danger as in this Conjuncture, when, with all the Forces of the *Mexican* Empire, he had likewiſe a ſuperior Army of *Spaniards* to deal with, and thoſe no leſs inclined to deſtroy him than his foreign Enemy. *Motezuma* ſaw his Trouble, notwithſtanding he took all the Pains he could to hide it; and, in a Converſation he had with him upon the Subject, told him plainly, That he perceived either he, or the new *Spaniſh* Commander, muſt be a Rebel; which mortified *Cortes* extremely. But he remained firm, notwithſtanding, in his firſt Reſolution, which was to march in Perſon againſt *Narvaez*, and to leave a ſufficient Body of *Spaniards* behind him in *Mexico* to ſecure the Perſon of *Motezuma*, and preſerve the City under their Obedience. The Number of Men that were to be employed for this Purpoſe was no more than fourſcore; but they were picked and choſen Men, to whom he aſſigned for their Commander, Capt. *Peter Alverado*, a Man of Fidelity and Reſolution, extremely beloved by the *Spaniards*, and very highly eſteemed by *Motezuma*. He ſent Orders likewiſe to *Sandoval* to quit the Fortreſs of *Vera Cruz*, and to leave it to the confederate *Indians*, that he might be able to march againſt *Narvaez* with the greateſt Force he could draw together.

He gave Directions alſo for raiſing conſiderable Bodies of well-affected *Indians*; but he abſolutely refuſed to accept of the Succours which *Motezuma* offered him, that he might not put either himſelf, or the *Spaniards* under the Command of his Rival, into the Power of thoſe who were naturally Enemies to both. Theſe were vaſt, and indeed almoſt incredible, things to be performed in ſo ſhort a ſpace of time; and yet ſuch was his Diligence, ſuch was his Dexterity, that they were performed, and every thing was ready for his Departure againſt the Day he had appointed. But what was ſtill ſtranger, and more extraordinary, he not only found his Soldiers perfectly well inclined to his Service, but all his *Indian* Confederates as chearful and hearty in his Intereſt as he could either wiſh or deſire; ſo that, difficult as his Enterprize was, he entered upon it with a fair Proſpect of Succeſs.

6. *Cortes*, being reſolved to loſe no time in marching againſt *Narvaez*, thought fit to acquaint *Motezuma*, and received a ſuitable Anſwer from that Monarch, who, at his Departure, bore him Company as far as the Cauſway of *Papalapan*, where he took his Leave very kindly. Many *Mexicans* went with him; ſome returned becauſe he deſired them ſo to do; and others becauſe they grew weary. Thoſe that followed went to bring the King word of every thing that happened, as they hourly did. He was very well received at *Chulula*, where the Men were refreſhed; and, half a League from thence, he met a great Number of *Tlaſcalans* coming to compliment him. The *Chinantlans* had Pikes, and *Cortes* ordered all the Men to wear Eſcaupiles, or Armour made of Cotton. *Sandoval* likelikewiſe came to the Place aſſigned him, where, upon a Muſter, there were found two hundred and ſixty-ſix Men, including the Commanders, five Horſemen, and the Friar.

Cortes's Friends that were with *Narvaez*, being informed that he drew near, adviſed to ſend *Andrew Duero*, who had an Influence over *Cortes*, to propoſe an Accommodation. *Duero* went, and diſcourſed *Cortes* in private, and the Reſult was, that they treated one another like Friends. When *Duero* was gone, *Cortes* ordered *John Velaſquez*, who was a Relation to *Narvaez*, to go to his Camp, and take with him his Gold Chains, and all he had, beſides much he gave him. *Velaſquez* excuſed himſelf; but *Cortes* would have him go, offered him his own grey Mare, and, having diſcourſed him in private, and given him ſome Jewels, he departed. *Velaſquez*, arriving at *Zempoalla*, alighted at the Cazique's Houſe, and from thence went to *Narvaez*'s Quarters, who, being informed that he was come, was going out to ſeek him, and, having received him very lovingly, ſaid, He ſhould be his Gueſt. He anſwered, He muſt return immediately; for that he only came to kiſs his Hands, and to try whether any Accommodation could be made. *Narvaez* flew into a great Paſſion, and ſaid, He wondered he ſhould chuſe to reconcile him to a Traitor, who had revolted from his Couſin *James Velaſquez*. *John Velaſquez* was much offended at it, and ſaid, That ſuch Words were not to be ſpoken in his Preſence of *Cortes*, who was a very worthy Gentleman. Capt. *Salvatierra*, and other Officers, thinking that *Velaſquez* took too much Liberty, adviſed *Narvaez* to ſecure him; but *Auguſtin Bermudez*, who was chief Alguazil, *Andrew de Duero*, and *John de Leon*, oppoſed it, and perſuaded *Narvaez* to make much of him, who did ſo, and deſired him to perſuade *Cortes* to ſurrender himſelf, and put an end to all Controverſies. *Narvaez* would have *Velaſquez* ſee his Army, which paſſed in review before him, and ſo they went to Dinner. Immediately after *Velaſquez* took his Leave, thinking he had done what he came for, which was to ſee the Forces, ſpeak to ſome particular Perſons, and render *Narvaez* ſecure. The Friends of that Commander were become abſolutely tired of the Company of *Velaſquez*, and were therefore glad to be rid of him, ſo that they prevailed upon his Friend not to importune him to ſtay; and indeed *Narvaez* himſelf was, by this time, of their Opinion.

After his Departure they held a Council of War; at which the Friends of *Narvaez* repreſented to him the Danger he was in from the Money that *Cortes* had taken care to diſtribute among his Soldiers; and, while they were diſcourſing on this Subject, the Cazique of *Zem-*

poalla came, and aſked him what he was about; adding, That, when he leaſt expected it, *Cortes* would be there and kill him; for that he had ſo many Spies that he knew every thing that was done. Tho' they made a Jeſt of him, the War againſt *Cortes* was proclaimed to be carried on with Fire and Sword, and all Plunder to belong to the Taker. *Narvaez* marched out, with his Forces and Artillery, about a Quarter of a League from *Zempoalla*, intending to wait for *Cortes* there; but, it happening to rain all that Day, and thoſe Men not being inured to Hardſhips, they murmured, ſaying, It was proper to return to their Quarters. Thoſe who were acquainted with *Cortes*'s Valour thought otherwiſe; and inſiſted that it was ill Advice to go back. *Andrew Duero* gave *Cortes* Notice of all thoſe Particulars, by a Soldier who deſerted.

Narvaez retiring, upon the Confidence that *Cortes* durſt not attack him, ordered Soldiers to be poſted on the River he was to paſs, forty Horſemen to ſtay all Night on the Road to *Zempoalla*, twenty more to be in the Courts of his Quarters, and the Artillery, conſiſting of eighteen ſmall Guns, to be planted before the Doors: And thus he thought himſelf ſecure. He then proclaimed he would give two thouſand Pieces of Eight to any Man that ſhould kill *Cortes*. *Sandoval* had ordered a conſiderable Number of Muſketeers, Croſs-bowmen, and other Soldiers, with Partiſans, to lie in his Apartment; and the Captains *Salvatierra*, *Gommera*, and others of his Confidants with them.

Cortes, coming to the River of *Canoes*, found much Difficulty in paſſing it, becauſe there was a great Flood, and two Soldiers were drowned ſeeking for the Ford. As ſoon as they got over they heard firing of Muſkets in *Narvaez*'s Army, which much frighted the *Indians*; who ſent *Motezuma* an Account of all, magnifying his Power, and looking upon *Cortes* as a loſt Man, which was no ſmall Satisfaction to the *Mexicans*. *Cortes*, in that Place, drew his Men together; and, in a long Speech, acquainted them with all the ill Practices of *Narvaez*, extolled their Valour, and told them, they were then to fight for their Lives, for their Honour, and for their Eſtates; the Deſign of their Enemies being to make them Priſoners, and ſeize all they had. *John Velaſquez*, *James de Ordaz*, and other Commanders, anſwered, He might be aſſured they would either conquer or die, and ſhould take heed not to be enſnared by any fallacious Terms. *Cortes* was over-joyed to find his Men in this Diſpoſition, and deſired them to keep their Order exactly, for many great Diſorders happened for want of it; and it was very remarkable that he never gave them the leaſt Intimation of the Intelligence he held in the Enemy's Army, that his Soldiers might believe that his whole Dependance was upon their Valour. He further ſaid, He deſigned to attack the Enemy at Midnight, or before break of Day, which was the beſt Method for a few to deal with a great Number. *Alonſo Davila* anſwered, That they did not deſire to live without him, ſo that he might go when he pleaſed, and do as he thought fit, for they would be ſatisfied to die with him at all Times.

As ſoon as *Narvaez* heard where *Cortes* was, he ſent *Gonſalo Carraſco*, a bold Man, and his Servant *Hurtado*, to approach as near *Cortes*'s Forces as he could, and bring him Advice of his Motions. *Cortes*'s Forerunners met with *Carraſco*, and took him; who ſpoke aloud that *Hurtado* might make his Eſcape; and ſo he did. *Hurtado* came among *Narvaez*'s Forces, ran thro' their Quarters crying, Arm, arm! telling them, That *Cortes* was at hand, and *Carraſco* taken; but could give no Account of the Men or their Number. Some ſaid *Cortes* could not come in ſuch a dark, rainy Night, and *Narvaez* bid *Hurtado* go to ſleep, for he had certainly fancied it. *Cortes*, to juſtify his Proceedings, gave *Sandoval*, who was his chief Alguazil, a Warrant to ſecure *Narvaez* for raiſing Commotions in the Country; and, in caſe he reſiſted, to kill him, requiring all his Officers and Soldiers to be aſſiſting. Then he divided his Men into three Parties; the Firſt under *Sandoval*, which was of ſixty Men; the Second under *Chriſtopher Olid*, a good Soldier, and a Man of extraordinary Strength. *Cortes* himſelf took the Third. They had, among them all, ſeventy Pikes made of Oak, with the Spears before-mentioned, being thirty-eight Spans in Length. The Word was *The Holy Ghoſt*. He appointed *Sandoval*'s Pikes to attack *Narvaez*'s Quarters, and the reſt the Cazique's Houſe, where he was kept under a ſtrong Guard that he might not run away; and fifty Men to fall upon the Alcalde *John Juſte*; and *Olid* was to attack *Narvaez*'s Artillery, and he to ſupport them.

The three Bodies advanced within a Stone's-throw of one another. *Cortes* halting, intreated *Carraſco* to tell him the Diſpoſition of *Narvaez*'s Forces, threatning to hang him if he lyed; and he, refuſing, was ſo near being hanged, that his Throat was ſore for ſome Days: And one of the Horſemen ſaved him. Being come to a Place where the Road divided itſelf into two, they prayed, put on their Eſcaupiles, or Cotton Armour, and marched towards the Town in good Order, obſerving ſtrict Silence. *John Velaſquez*, then ſeeing a Light on high, told *Cortes* that was *Narvaez*'s Quarters, and he anſwered, I am glad that the Light guides us. He commanded *Sandoval* to move directly to *Narvaez*, which was a good Choice, for he was a daring Commander, and the other Parties to guard his Flanks. *Sandoval* charged *Canillas* not to beat his Drum till he ordered him, and kept him before him. When they were cloſe by *Narvaez*'s Quarters, *Cortes*, who was giving Directions, ſaid to *Sandoval*'s Party, Gentlemen, ſtick cloſe to the Houſes on both Sides of the Streets, that the Cannon-balls may paſs along without doing any Execution. All this could not be done ſo ſilently but that there was Notice given of it. *Narvaez*, who was putting on a Breaſt-plate, ſaid to him that brought the Advice, Be not uneaſy, and ordered to beat the Alarm; but none came in from the other Towers, where the reſt of his Men were quartered, for they could not come, being hindered by *Cortes*'s Men. When *Sandoval* came to *Narvaez*'s Quarters, the firſt Sentinels, who ſtood at the Foot of the Stairs of the Court, cryed out. *Sandoval*, ſeeing he was diſcovered, ordered *Canillas* to beat his Drum. *Cortes* cryed, Fall on, fall on! *Holy Ghoſt*, *Holy Ghoſt!* Advance.

Sandoval going up the firſt Stairs, with his Men following, found in the firſt Court a Room full of Blacks; one of them came out with a Light in his Hand, and was killed with the Pikes. They paſſed on towards *Narvaez*'s Apartment, and going up four Steps ſaw the Artillery planted. One Gun was fired, which killed two of *Cortes*'s Men; but the reſt preſſed on ſo faſt that the other Pieces could not be fired. *Cortes* cauſed the Artillery to be thrown down the Steps, and went up five more to get into the Room where *Narvaez* was with about forty Soldiers. *Sandoval*, who was already come up with *Narvaez*, required him to yield, but he made a Jeſt of it, and ſtood upon his Defence till *Martin Lopez*, one of *Cortes*'s Men, ſet fire to the Thatch that was on the Tower, and the Smoke drove *Narvaez* and his Men out of the Place, and then he was run into the Eye with a Pike. *James de Rojas*, Enſign to *Narvaez*, fought bravely in Defence of his Colours, till two Pikes were thruſt into him, when falling he cried out, Lady help me! and *Cortes* anſwered, She ſhall ſave you, not permitting him to be killed.

When *Narvaez* was wounded, *Peter Sanchez* came up and cloſed with him, and then *Sandoval* ſaid, Yield yourſelf Priſoner; ſo they dragged him down the Steps till Fetters were put upon him, and carried him to *Cortes*; to whom he ſaid: My Lord *Cortes*, value your good Fortune in making me Priſoner this Day. He anſwered, That the leaſt Action he had performed in that Country was the taking of him; and therefore ordered he ſhould be well ſecured. He was not dreſſed that Night, by reaſon of the Confuſion all Men were in, but the next Day was ſent to *Villa Rica*. *Narvaez* being taken, and his Men making no further Oppoſition, *Cortes* ordered himſelf to be proclaimed Captain-General, and Chief Juſtice of both Armies, in the King's Name; commanding all Men to come in, and take an Oath to him as ſuch, upon Pain of Death.

They all did ſo, ſome voluntarily, others becauſe they did not know how to avoid it, except three hundred Soldiers, who fortified themſelves in their Quarters; to whom

Carraſco now releaſed, ſaid, It was a fit time to fall upon *Cortes*'s Men, becauſe thoſe who had taken an Oath to him were diſarmed, and his own Soldiers diſperſed, plundering. Tho' the Advice was not diſliked, thoſe Men having no Head, and many aſpiring to be ſo, they ſtaid till it was Day; when *Chriſtopher de Olid* came to offer them a good Reception, from *Cortes*. Moſt of them cried, *God bleſs the King and* James Velaſquez. When the Shout was over, *Olid* told them they would be compelled by Force to what they refuſed to do voluntarily. Whilſt he went to acquaint *Cortes*, *Carraſco* adviſed them to fall upon *Cortes*'s Baggage, and they ſhould be all rich; and might then embark, and carry *James Velaſquez* Treaſure enough to fit out another Fleet. Though they liked the Propoſal they could not agree, ſo that *Carraſco* went alone, and finding no Guard but *Marina* and *John de Oreoga*, Page to *Cortes*, he took a Horſe and a Spear, returned to thoſe Men who were ſtill together, and ſhewed them what an Opportunity they had loſt. *Cortes* then ordered his Artillery to advance againſt thoſe that would not ſubmit, and commanded the Gunner to fire one Piece in the Air: He did ſo. *Olid* ſpoke to them again, and they again anſwered, *God bleſs the King and* James Velaſquez. One Gun being then fired upon them killed two Men, and the next one. Whereupon ſome of them went over to *Cortes*, and the reſt held out till wanting Ammunition they ſurrendered.

All had taken the Oath to *Cortes* except *Carraſco*, and he appearing on the Horſe he had ſtolen, *Cortes* ſaid to him: Friend, that Horſe is mine; alight. He ſaid he would not unleſs his own was reſtored. *Cortes* replied, he ſhould quit him immediately, and Orders ſhould be given for returning his. As to the Oath, he refuſed it; for which he had a Clog faſtened to one of his Feet, which continued three Days, and then he took the Oath. He was not hanged, to avoid exaſperating thoſe People.

8. When all had been ſworn, he muſtered his own Men to ſee how many were miſſing; and *Narvaez*'s Party ſeeing they were only two hundred and ſixty without the great Army of the *Tlaſcalans*, that had been reported, and that they had but thoſe few Pikes without Armour or Horſes, and ſome Coats of Mail, Spears, and Croſs-bows, and their Swords in bad Condition, they were much aſhamed, that they, with their little Pannels, as they called the Cotton Armour, ſhould have defeated ſo many Men of Note, and, bluſhing, curſed *Narvaez* for his ill Conduct; which much troubled *Cortes*, till by Degrees he gained their Affections: Two only of his Men were killed and one wounded; and eleven of *Narvaez*'s Party ſlain.

Then came the Cazique of *Zempoalla* with his *Indians*, bringing Garlands of Roſes, and ſetting them on the Heads of *Cortes* and the other Commanders, congratulated their Victory, and deſired them to go to his Houſe; and in return *Cortes* gave him ſome *Spaniſh* Baubles; and having ordered all that had happened to be painted, *Narvaez* taken and put into Irons, his Men ſubmitting, and *Cortes* victorious, the Cazique ſent it to *Motezuma* by the Advice of *Cortes*, who alſo ſent a *Spaniard* to inform *Alverado*. When firſt *Cortes* came to *Zempoalla*, the Lord preſented him with a beautiful Woman of Quality, who took the Name of *Catherina*, and now he took up his Quarters in the Woman's Houſe, becauſe it was ſtrong. She treated him very kindly; but he was uneaſy in his Mind, ſeeing thoſe conquered People indiſpoſed. Whilſt he was thinking how to get over this Difficulty, Capt. *Bariantos* came to him with the *Chinantlans* well armed after their Manner, which was a great Satisfaction to him, that *Narvaez*'s Men might ſee how he was obeyed in *New Spain*.

He reſolved to ſend thoſe *Indians* back, and to divide the *Spaniards*; and accordingly ordered *James Ordaz* to march with three hundred Men to ſubdue the Province *Guacacoalco*, and *John Velaſquez* with another Detachment to the River of *Garray*; thus to employ them, and ſecure himſelf, which at the ſame time was acceptable to them. *Cortes* next commanded *Peter de Malvenda*, Steward to *Velaſquez*, to pick up what belonged to his Maſter and *Narvaez*, and ſecure it. A Black belonging to *Narvaez*, having the Small-Pox, infected the whole Town of *Zempoalla*, and the *Indians* frequently waſhing themſelves, Numbers of them died, and lying unburied occaſioned a peſtilential Diſtemper which ſpread through all *New Spain*, and there enſued a very great Mortality. Others affirm, that this Diſtemper was not brought over by the Black, but that they had it at certain Times in the *Weſt-Indies*, and this ſeems the more likely, becauſe it affected none of the *Spaniards*.

Whilſt *Cortes* was endeavouring to ſettle his Affairs at *Vera Cruz*, wherein he met with ſome Difficulty, and *James Ordaz* was gone upon the aforeſaid Commiſſions, the *Spaniard* he had ſent to *Mexico* with the News of his Victory returned, and ſaid the *Mexicans* were in Arms, and ſhewed ſome Wounds they had given him; ſaying he had eſcaped miraculouſly. He preſſed *Cortes* to march to the Relief of *Alverado*, telling him, that the *Indians* had burnt the four Brigantines he had built at *Mexico*, thrown down a Wall at the *Spaniſh* Quarters, which had been repaired with much Difficulty, undermined another, ſet Fire to the Ammunition, taken up the Draw-bridges, cut off the Proviſions, killed *Pena*, *Motezuma*'s Favourite; that the *Spaniards* had defended themſelves bravely, killing many *Indians*; and that, if *Motezuma* had not ſometimes commanded his People to give over the Attacks for fear *Alverado* might kill him, the *Spaniards* had been deſtroyed. Hereupon he ſettled the Government at *Villa Rica*, leaving *Narvaez* and his Men Priſoners there; commanded thoſe he had ſent abroad to halt till further Orders; made a Speech to the Men, ſaying, That thoſe who were willing to follow him ſhould have Arms given them; and the Occaſion being urgent, all unanimouſly offered their Service.

9. It now plainly appeared that *Cortes* was become entirely Maſter of all the *Spaniards* under his Command, the new obeying as well as the old Soldiers, and ſhewing as much Zeal for his Service. He had already given the neceſſary Orders for ſecuring the Fleet, and for putting a good Garriſon into *Vera Cruz*; ſo that it was more in his Power to execute the Deſign he had formed, and which indeed the Circumſtances of Affairs required, marching directly to *Mexico*, and forcing a Paſſage through the Rebels, to the Relief of his Countrymen. He directed his Rout accordingly from *Zempoalla* towards *Tlaſcala*, having with him One thouſand Foot, and One hundred Horſe; but they were ſoon obliged to take different Roads for the ſake of Subſiſtence, which, notwithſtanding the Care and Circumſpection *Cortes* could uſe, they found it ſometimes difficult to procure; inſomuch that in the Courſe of this Journey, they found themſelves more than once expoſed even to the higheſt Extremities of Hunger and Thirſt, and, which is very ſtrange, the new Troops that had ſhewn themſelves ſo uneaſy, and ſo impatient under much lighter and leſs grievous Hardſhips, behaved upon this Occaſion with all the Firmneſs and Conſtancy that could be deſired, either from the great Hopes they had formed to themſelves of being made rich and happy by this Expedition, or becauſe they were deſirous of ſhewing their new General, that whatever Opinion he might have formed of them from what was paſſed, he ſhould find them, in every Reſpect, as brave, as hardy, and as capable of enduring Fatigue as thoſe he had trained up himſelf.

In this March, but eſpecially at *Tlaſcala*, *Cortes* found Means to gain a very clear and diſtinct Account of the Cauſes of that Sedition which had happened in his Abſence, and of which it is neceſſary likewiſe that we ſhould ſay ſomewhat, that the ſubſequent Part of this Section may be the more perfectly underſtood. A very ſhort time after the Departure of *Cortes* from *Mexico*, *Peter Alverado* began to perceive viſible Marks, not only of Coldneſs and Diſlike, but of Hatred and Diſaffection in the People of *Mexico*; neither were his Conjectures unſupported by Proof, ſince he was quickly informed, that, at the Perſuaſion of their Prieſts, the *Mexicans* were providing Arms, and whatever elſe was requiſite, in order to attack the *Spaniſh* Troops. He was certainly very much to be commended for being conſtantly on his Guard, and neglecting nothing that might contribute to the defeating of their Deſign. In this, however, he was much to blame, that he did not either communicate his Suſpicions, or his Diſcoveries to *Motezuma*, or ſo much as confer with him on the preſent Poſture of his Affairs, ſince that Monarch teſtified great Affection to the *Spaniards*; and, if applied to in time, might have prevented things from coming to Extremities.

But *Alverado*, it ſeems, depended upon his own Foreſight, and the Courage of his Soldiers; and underſtanding that the *Indians* were actually preparing, under Colour of a ſolemn Dance, which was one of the principal Rites of their Religion, to ſurprize and cut off the *Spaniards*, he reſolved to be beforehand with them, and to put it out of their Power, by ſhutting them up in the great Temple where this Dance was to be performed by their principal Nobility, in which he ſucceeded; but when he had them in his Power, and ſaw that they were richly adorned with Gold and Jewels, he either commanded, or at leaſt permitted, his Soldiers to fall upon them, and cut them to Pieces, and ſtrip the dead Bodies of their valuable Ornaments, which afforded the *Indians* that eſcaped, a fair Pretence of carrying on an open and avowed War, which from that time they did, and almoſt every Day attacked the *Spaniards* in their Quarters; which, though they were not able to force, and notwithſtanding they killed but three or four, and loſt ſeveral hundreds, nay, ſome thouſands of their own People, yet they continued the War with the greateſt Obſtinacy, ſuppoſing, that in time the *Spaniards* would expend their Ammunition, and, that ſooner or later they ſhould deſtroy them all. The *Spaniards* themſelves apprehended this, and therefore preſſed *Cortes* to haſten his March, in order to relieve them.

10. He was very ſenſible of their Diſtreſs, and of the Neceſſity of extricating them from it; and therefore, with as little Delay as poſſible, he quitted *Tlaſcala*, taking with him ſome of the braveſt Troops of that Republic, with whom he continued his March towards *Mexico*; which City, without meeting many Difficulties on the Road, he entered upon the Feaſt of St. *John*, 1520. He met with no Oppoſition, for the *Indians* had quitted a great Part of the City, and had broke down ſeveral Bridges. However he advanced with great Caution, and at length arrived at the *Spaniſh* Quarters, where he was received with the utmoſt Joy by *Alverado*.

The *Spaniſh* Writers differ as to his Behaviour towards *Motezuma*; ſome ſay that he uſed him kindly, but others expreſly affirm, that he did not ſo much as pay him a Viſit, and that he afterwards repented of this, as of one of the greateſt Miſtakes he ever made. He added, however, another of a different Nature; for, in Hopes of pacifying the *Indians*, he releaſed *Motezuma*'s Brother, who proved his moſt dangerous Enemy, and therefore the *Indians* choſe him for their Captain. He aimed, at firſt, at an Accommodation, but he ſoon found that impracticable, and that *Motezuma* had entirely loſt his Authority, which proved of very ill Conſequence to the *Spaniards*, *Cortes* ſent *Antony del Rio* to *Zempoalla*, to give an Account of the Poſture of Affairs, and haſten the March of thoſe that ſtayed behind; and as he was paſſing a Horſeback, through *Tlatlelulco*, which is the Market-Place, the People howled, and began to purſue him; being thus followed, and ſeeing a Stop before, he thought it beſt to turn back, and breaking through the Crowd with his Horſe, Sword in Hand, returned to the Quarters. *Cortes* then ſent five Horſe-men to ſee how Matters ſtood, who found ſome Timber taken off the Bridges, under which the Cuts of Water ran, and turning another Way, found the like in other Streets, many People on the Tops of the Houſes pointing to them to paſs the Bridges.

The next Day *Hojeda* and *Marquez* went to ſeek Proviſions, and finding a Bridge broken, and the Waters in the Trench deep, they made a ſhift to get over, by throwing in Rubbiſh, Pieces of Matts, and other Things; then paſſing along a little Street, *Marquez* heard a great Cry, and returning to his Companion, they agreed to fly, and had it not been for a *Tlaſcalan* they had with them, who was their Guide, there were ſo many Windings of Streets, that they had been in great Danger: They met with an *Indian* Prieſt crying out, and behaving himſelf like a Mad-man; they purſued him, and he ran into an Houſe that was full of tame Cranes, which, when they ſaw him, began to ſet up their Cry, in ſuch a Manner, that *Hojeda* came out in a Conſternation; the Citizens flocked together on all Hands, great Cries were heard, and the Tops of the Houſes were full of Men. Six *Spaniards* that were at the Top of the Temple looking out, gave Notice of the Diſturbance, and *Hojeda* and *Marquez*, coming in, two hundred Men ſallied out of the Quarters, whilſt the reſt were arming. They fought with a great Number of *Indians*, who preſſed on furiouſly, without any Dread of the Swords; the Action laſted till Night, an infinite Number of *Mexicans* being ſlain, and not one *Spaniard*; thus was *Cortes* convinced that the War was unavoidable, and therefore he endeavoured to ſend privately for *Salcedo*, who had been left behind with the Wardrobe. He ordered Men to throw down ſome Trenches the *Indians* had caſt up, that the Horſes might paſs.

As ſoon as it was Day, the Shouting, Whiſtling, and Fighting, began again, and continued the whole Day, with the Deſtruction of many *Mexicans*; and ſome *Spaniards* were hurt, becauſe the *Indians* threw Stones from the Tops of Houſes; but the Fire-arms and Croſs-bows drove them. The next Day the *Indians* aſſaulted *Cortes* the third Time, in a moſt deſperate Manner, killing *Carezo* an Horſe-man; and *Cortes* finding that the greateſt Miſchief came from Tops of Houſes, he left the Horſemen, and with one hundred and forty Muſketeers and Croſs-bow Men, entered the Street of *Tabuca*, gained it entirely, and came to *Tabuca*, where they might have fortified and ſecured themſelves with all their Wealth; but, deſpiſing the *Indians*, they returned to their Quarters, and were ſet upon, in the Streets, by vaſt Numbers of *Indians*, where the Horſes having no room, were of little Uſe.

They took one *Spaniard* alive, and ſacrificed him in Sight of all the reſt; they alſo took two Pieces of Cannon, and threw them into the Trenches, ſo that the *Spaniards*, with much Difficulty, returned to their Quarters; and the *Indians* again cleared thoſe Places which the *Spaniards* had filled up for their Horſes to paſs; the next Day they engaged the fourth Time; the *Indians* being ſo numerous, that it was wonderful to behold; who attacked the Court of the great Temple, where, though it was large, no Uſe could be made of the Horſes, becauſe it was paved with broad Stones; many great Men were on the Top of the Temple, commanding where the Attack ſhould be made. *Cortes* ſent *Eſcobar*, his Chamberlain, againſt them, with one hundred Men; and by that time they were got up four Steps, there came down upon them ſuch a Shower of Stones, Pieces of Timber, Sticks, and Fire-brands, that they were forced to retire: Three times they were repulſed in this Manner. *Cortes*, being informed of it, tied a Target to his Arm, becauſe he was wounded in the Hand, went to that Place, ſaid it was a Shame there ſhould be any longer Delay in that Affair, advanced foremoſt, and was followed by many.

They got up the Steps, and though many *Spaniards* were knocked down, fell upon the three hundred Gentlemen that were there, and left not ſix of them alive, ſome being killed with the Sword, and others throwing themſelves headlong from the Parapet of the Temple; two laid hold of *Cortes* to caſt themſelves down with him, but he being a ſtrong Man, got looſe. The ſame happened to *Hojeda*, and he would have periſhed in that Manner, had not one near him relieved him. They went up to the Top of the Temple, where they found no Man, but much *Cacao* and Meat; and the *Tlaſcalans* and *Zempoallan Indians* had a good Day of it, for they fed upon the *Mexicans* that were killed. The *Mexicans* came on again the next Day in a greater Rage, and had new Ways of fighting, being aſſiſted by the neighbouring Towns. They threw their Javelins cloſe by the Ground, to wound the Feet and Legs, and in this Manner above two hundred *Spaniards* were hurt, till they provided Armour.

The Arrows flew ſo thick, that thoſe who were appointed to gather them up every Day, burnt forty Cart-Loads of them. Proviſion was become ſo ſcarce, that the *Indian* Allies had but a little Cake, every Day, each Man, for their Allowance, and every *Spaniard* fifty Grains of *Indian* Wheat; nor was there leſs Want of Water, ſo that they endured much Drought. They dug in their Quarters, and, though the Earth was full of Salt-petre, they found freſh Water, which was wonderful; a *Tlaſcalan* looking over ſome of their Works, to ſee what was doing, the *Mexicans* cried to him, " You Dog, you and thoſe " Chriſtian Dogs ſhall now periſh with Hunger and " Thirſt." He anſwered, " You infamous falſe Scoun- " drels, who know not how to fight but in Crowds, take " that Cake which I had to ſpare this Day, out of my Al- " lowance, for you ſhall all be deſtroyed by Degrees."

The next Morning the Battle revived, and the *Indians* ſet Fire to the Houſe; it was put out by throwing down a Wall, and that Breach made good with Cannon, and a Work raiſed; and becauſe ſome Miſchief was done from a Tower of *Motezuma*'s Houſe, *Cortes* reſolved to make himſelf Maſter of it. He attacked it with two hundred Men, and it was wonderful that long Pieces of Timber being rolled down the Stairs at Length, which might have overthrown ten or twelve Men, they all turned end Ways, and did no Harm. He gained the Tower; killed thoſe that defended it; advanced into the City; burnt above one thouſand Houſes; gained ſeven Bridges; killed a prodigious Number; and here a Horſeman came to tell him, that the great Men of *Mexico* would treat with him of Peace: He was glad of it, ſent *Alverado* and *Sandoval*, with ſixty Horſe, and ordered *John Velaſquez* to ſtay there with four hundred Foot, to ſecure the Bridges; then he went to the *Mexicans*, whom he ſaluted very courteouſly. They aſked him why he did not go away as he had promiſed, ſince he had Ships, and reſtore them their Lord *Motezuma?* Whilſt he was in Diſcourſe about this Affair, Advice was brought him that the Bridges were loſt; he haſtened away thither, and found *John de Soria*, and another Soldier, dead, and five Horſes fallen down; he recovered them, and fought ſo reſolutely, that his Preſence alone was the ſaving of many Lives.

11. *Cortes* returned to his Quarters, with two Contuſions on his Knee, made by Stones, where he found the Men in Confuſion, believing he had been killed, becauſe he ſtayed ſo long. They rejoiced at the Sight of him; the Battle continued; the *Indians* broke the Bridges, and fought from the Tops of their Houſes; *Cortes* ſeeing one of them very fine, and obeyed by all the reſt, ſent *Marina* to aſk *Motezuma*, whether he thought they had put the Government into his Hands. He anſwered, that they would not preſume to chuſe a King in *Mexico*, while he was living. He looked at them, and ſaid they were his Kindred, and that, among them, were the Lords of *Tezcuco* and *Yztapalapa*; the Engagement ſtill grew warmer; *Cortes* was in Confuſion, and *Motezuma* in no leſs, apprehending, as is likely, that they would kill him; he bid *Marina* acquaint the General that he would go up to a Parapet on the Houſe, to ſpeak to his Subjects, which might perhaps induce them to come to an Accommodation. *Cortes* was pleaſed with it, he went up with a Guard of two hundred *Spaniards*, in Royal Apparel, and *Marina* with them, to know what was ſaid.

The Noblemen that went up with him made a Sign, and he was preſently known, and raiſing his Voice ſaid, " He ſhould be pleaſed if they would behave themſelves " gratefully, for the Good he had done them: That he " had been informed they had choſen another King, " becauſe he was confined, and loved the Chriſtians, " but could not believe they would forſake their natural " Sovereign, for another which God would puniſh; " that if they had fought ſo long to ſet him at Liberty, " he thanked them, but they were miſtaken, for he was " there by his own Conſent; that being his own Houſe, " in order to entertain his Gueſts, and therefore he de- " ſired them to lay down their Arms; ſince every Man " they killed, coſt them above two thouſand; eſpecial- " ly conſidering that they offered Peace, and had not " taken their Goods, raviſhed their Wives or Daughters, " and were willing to be gone; that he could go out " from thence whenſoever it pleaſed him, having always " had the Liberty ſo to do; and therefore, if they loved " him, they ſhould give over, and lay aſide all Preju- " dice, which never permitted Men to act indiſcreetly." The *Mexicans* liſtened to him with much Attention: But, as ſoon as he had done, cried out, " Hold your Peace, " you effeminate Scoundrel, born to weave and ſpin; " thoſe Dogs keep you a Priſoner, you have no Heart, " you are a Coward." Then they fell on again, caſting abundance of Stones, and ſhooting their Arrows, and, though a *Spaniard* took care to cover *Motezuma* with a Target, yet, as ill Luck would have it, a Stone hit him on the Temple.

He went down to his Chamber, laid him on his Bed, and was ſo much aſhamed, and out of Countenance, that, though the Wound was not dangerous, he died in four Days with Grief, forbearing to eat, and refuſing to be dreſſed. The Fight continued, without Intermiſſion, all the while that *Motezuma* kept his Bed; who, finding his Strength fail him, ſent for *Cortes* in great haſte, and, ſitting up, leaning on the Pillows with Tears in his Eyes, taking hold of his Hand, ſaid, " That he knew not " where to begin, that he was the ſame *Motezuma*, " whom he had ſo poſitively inſiſted to viſit, whom the " World had ſo much reſpected, that he knew not what " ill Fate attended him; for he had not uſurped an- " other's Kingdom, had done Juſtice, conquered many " Nations, beſtowed many Favours, and yet thoſe, who " before durſt not look him in the Face, had inſulted " their King, giving him ſuch Language as was not fit " for a Slave, and throwing Stones at his Royal Perſon; " that his Heart was ready to burſt, and he died in great " Rage, wiſhing he could ſee thoſe Villains puniſhed; " but it was now too late, and his End was rather oc- " caſioned by Vexation, than by the Wound; he there- " fore begged, that ſince he died for his Sake, he would " take care of his Children, and puniſh thoſe that had " inſulted him, and the Perſon that had uſurped the " Crown." *Cortes* could not help being moved at theſe Words, and holding him by the Hands, begged that he would not caſt himſelf down, for he would perform all his Commands, as if they were the King his Maſter's; adding, that he had been in the Wrong in not ſuffering himſelf to be dreſſed; that he gave him his Word to take care of his Children, and revenge his Wrongs to the full; theſe and other Words, uttered by *Cortes*, very much comforted him; but *Cortes* was forced to take his Leave, to go and ſee what was doing Abroad.

The next Day, being told he was very ill, he came back to ſee him, found him in a great Agony, and ſaid, " That ſince he had agreed to be baptized, he ſhould " do it then to ſave his Soul, for *Francis Olmedo* was there " ready to do it." He anſwered, " That having but " half an Hour longer to live, he would not forſake the " Religion of his Anceſtors." And ſoon after he died, ſome of the great Men that were Priſoners with him being preſent, to whom he recommended his Children; and the Revenge he deſired to his laſt Gaſp. He never would ſuffer any Cloth or other thing on the Wound, but if any was laid on, he pulled it off, wiſhing for Death. Four Hours after he was dead, *Cortes* looked out at the Top of the Houſe, made a Signal for a Ceſſation, deſiring to ſpeak to the Commanders, and told them, " That they ill requited their Sovereign, having killed " him with a Stone; but, that he had died rather of " Vexation, than of the Wound: That he would deliver " them his Body, to be buried according to their Man- " ner; bidding them not contend any longer, for that " God, who was juſt, would deſtroy that City by his " Hands." They anſwered, " They had a Command- " er, and would have no more to do with *Motezuma*, " dead or alive," with other ſuch inſolent Expreſſions. *Cortes* turned his Back upon them, and ordered thoſe great Men that had attended him to carry out the Body, that they might ſee he died by the Blow of the Stone. As ſoon as it was out of the Houſe, an *Indian* richly clad, ran up to him, making ugly Faces, without ſpeaking, as if he had aſked whoſe Body that was, and being told it was *Motezuma*'s, he made Signs to have it carried back to the *Spaniards*, and then ran to his own Party. Thoſe that carried him vaniſhed on a ſudden, and the *Spaniards* heard no more of him, but ſuppoſed he had been buried in the Wood of *Chapultepeque*, becauſe great Lamentations were heard there.

It is conceived that theſe were the greater, becauſe they intended, by this Ceremony, not only to pay the Funeral Honours due to their deceaſed Sovereign, but in ſome Meaſure, alſo to expiate the Crime of which they had been guilty in taking away his Life; for the new World afforded no Nation ſo barbarous, as not to account it a moſt infamous Wickedneſs, for Men to embrue their Hands in the Blood of their lawful Prince. This *Motezuma* was the ſecond of his Name, and the eleventh in the Order of the *Mexican* Emperors; he was, before his Acceſſion to the Imperial Dignity, accounted one of the braveſt Men, as well as one of the beſt Officers in the Territories of *Mexico*, having fought nine Battles, and obtained in each the Victory; he was dreaded by his own People, but eſteemed and beloved by the *Spaniards*, for whom he had a ſingular and very extraordinary Affection.

He left ſeveral Children; two of his Sons who accompanied him in his Confinement were killed by the *Mexicans*. When *Cortes* made his Retreat, he had two others, with three Daughters, which Ladies were afterwards converted, and married to *Spaniards*. But the moſt illuſtrious of all his Children, was Don *Pedro de Motezuma*, who was alſo ſoon after converted to the Catholic Religion, and had that Name given him at his Baptiſm: He was next Heir to his Father, his Mother being Princeſs of the Province of *Tula*, and one of the Queens who reſided in the Imperial Palace, with Royal Dignity; which Princeſs likewiſe followed her Son's Example, and was baptized by the Name of Donna *Maria de Niagua Suchil*, keeping up in theſe Surnames the Nobility of her Anceſtors. His Majeſty beſtowed many Favours on Don *Pedro*, giving him an Eſtate, and conſiderable Rents in *New Spain*, with the Title of Count *de Motezuma*, whoſe legitimate Succeſſion is ſtill preſerved in the Counts of that Title, with the heroic Remembrance of their royal Original.

12. The *Mexicans*, as ſoon as they had finiſhed the Funeral of their Emperor *Motezuma*, reſolved to elect a Succeſſor, under whoſe Command they might carry on the War, againſt the *Spaniards*, with Effect; and, with this View it was, that they elected *Quetlavaca*, one of their greateſt Princes, and the Second Elector in virtue of his Principality. But he dying in a few Days, they made choice, in his room, of *Gatimozin*, a Man of great Reputation in War, and who ſeemed the moſt capable of anſwering their Purpoſe. It was under his Conduct that they attacked the *Spaniards* again, with greater Fury than ever; but not with greater Succeſs, but rather the contrary.

In one of their Engagements, however, they killed a conſiderable *Spaniard*, and wounded ſeveral others, tho' with great Loſs to themſelves; the Day following, therefore, they deſired a Conference, to which *Cortes* conſented, in hopes of coming to ſome Accommodation; he went to hear their Propoſals from the Wall, and ſome of the Nobles drawing near, on the Part of the new Emperor, propoſed, “ That he and his People ſhould prepare to ſet out and direct their March to the Sea-ſide, “ aſſuring him, There ſhould be a Ceſſation for as “ much Time as was neceſſary for him to make ready “ for his Departure; adding, that, if he did not de“termine to come to that Reſolution, he might depend “ upon it that both himſelf, and all who were with him, “ ſhould periſh: For that they were now convinced that “ the *Spaniards* were not immortal; and that, tho' the “ Death of every *Spaniard* ſhould coſt them the Lives “ of twenty thouſand Men, there would ſtill remain a “ Multitude to celebrate the concluſive Victory.” *Cortes* anſwered, “ That the *Spaniards* never pretended to be “ immortal, but valued themſelves upon being Men of “ Valour, and knew themſelves to be ſo far ſuperior, in “ every Reſpect, to the *Mexicans*, that, without any “ greater Force than what he then had with him, he had “ Courage enough to undertake the total Deſtruction, “ not only of their City, but of the whole Empire. But “ that, being moved at the Calamities they had ſuffered, “ he was determined to depart, ſince the Subject of his “ Embaſſy, and all the Buſineſs he had there, was at an “ End, by the Death of the great *Motezuma*, whoſe “ Friendſhip had detained him at *Mexico*; and that he “ would put his Deſign in execution, without the leaſt “ Delay, as ſoon as ſome Articles, which were neceſſary “ for his March, ſhould be mutually agreed on.” The Deputies gave Signs of being well ſatisfied; but theſe Overtures of Peace were made with perfidious Views.

This new Emperor had called a Council of his Miniſters and Grandees, in which it was reſolved, That, to avoid the Damage they received from the *Spaniſh* Arms, the Slaughter of their People, and the Ruin of their City, the beſt Method would be, to keep them cloſe blocked up, in order to diſtreſs them by Famine, and to weaken them, that when they were diſpirited and wanted Strength, they might attack them with more Advantage. Having invented this new Way of reducing an Enemy, till then utterly unknown amongſt their Stratagems of War, it was reſolved to make Overtures of Peace, in order to obtain the Suſpenſion of Arms they deſired; flattering themſelves that they might be able to protract the Treaty till the ſmall Reſerve of Proviſions, laid up in their Quarters, were conſumed; to which Purpoſe all poſſible Care ſhould be taken to hinder the Beſieged from Relief; to block up, with Works, and Bodies of Men poſted at a proper Diſtance, all the Ways by which they might attempt to make their Eſcape, and to break down the Bridge at the Entrance of the Cauſway which led to the Road of *Vera Cruz*; thinking it no longer convenient to ſuffer them to depart the City, left at this Juncture, when the Provinces were ill ſatisfied with the preſent Government, they might excite the Malcontents to a Rebellion, or reinforce themſelves by an Army of *Tlaſcalans*. Some of the Aſſembly called to mind ſeveral Perſons of great Diſtinction Priſoners in the *Spaniſh* Quarters; reflecting upon what they muſt ſuffer, ſince of neceſſity they muſt periſh with Hunger before the Calamity could affect the Enemy. But they were all ſo zealous for the public Cauſe that they unanimouſly voted, that thoſe Priſoners would be happy, and diſcharged their Duty if they ſacrificed their Lives for the Benefit of their Country; and it is not unlikely that they fared the worſe on account of *Motezuma*'s three Sons, who were with them, and whoſe Deaths would be no way unwelcome to the Aſſembly, the Eldeſt being a hopeful young Prince, capable of wearing the Crown, highly eſteemed by the People, and the only Perſon of whom the new Emperor had reaſon to be jealous. Their only Concern was for the chief of their idolatrous Prieſts, who was likewiſe in the ſame Priſon, for he was univerſally reverenced as the ſecond Perſon in the Empire; and to produce his Liberty they made uſe of a very notable Stroke of Policy.

The ſame Deputies returned that Evening and propoſed, on the Part of their Sovereign, “ That, in order “ to prevent any Miſunderſtandings which might retard “ the Treaty, it would be proper for the *Spaniards* to “ ſend ſome one of the *Mexican* Priſoners to the Em“peror, well inſtructed on the Subject of the Capitula“tion.” This Expedient ſeemed reaſonable; and the Deputies no ſooner found it admitted but they artfully let drop, by way of Advice, that none would be ſo proper as a certain ancient Prieſt, becauſe he was an intelligent Perſon, able to remove all Difficulties which might be ſtarted; which ſpecious and well managed Pretext ſufficed for the obtaining what they propoſed: Not that *Cortes* was ignorant of the Artifice of the Propoſal, but, conſidering of what Importance it was to ſound the Minds of thoſe People, he eſteemed it a ſmall Matter to part with a Priſoner who was troubleſome and deteſtable. Soon after the Prieſt was diſmiſſed, fully inſtructed by the General in ſome Demands relating to the March; intending afterwards, in caſe he returned, to employ him further in other Matters of greater Conſequence. But it was to no Purpoſe to wait for his Return, it being ſoon evident that there was no ſuch Deſign. The Sentinels diſcovered that the Enemy beſieged the Quarters at a greater Diſtance than they were wont, that they appeared more circumſpect than ordinary, caſting up Trenches, and other Works, to defend the Paſſage of the Canals, and that they had detached ſome Bodies of Men to the Lake, who were breaking down the Bridges of the principal Cauſway, and cutting off all Communication with the Road which leads to *Tlaſcala*, a Proceeding which fully diſcovered the Artifice of their Deſigns.

This Intelligence *Cortes* received with Concern; but, inured to overcome great Difficulties, he reaſſumed his natural Calmneſs, and, upon his firſt Reflections, which always pointed directly at the Remedy, he ordered a Bridge of Planks to be made, wherewith to cover the Opening of the Cauſway, capable of bearing the Weight of the Artillery, and ſo contrived that it might, without much Difficulty, be carried by forty Men: And, without loſing more Time than what was neceſſary for the compleating of this Work, he aſſembled his Captains to conſult with them, and to take their Opinion concerning the Retreat, whether it ſhould be made by Day or by Night. His Commanders differed in Opinion, but the Majority of them inclined rather to the Night, and *Cortes* yielded, or at leaſt ſeemed to yield to them, becauſe they were the Majority; but, as the greateſt Minds are not exempt from ſome Weakneſs, ſo it is ſaid that *Cortes* was in a great Meaſure influenced by the Advice of a private Man, whoſe Name was *Botello*, and who paſſed for a kind of Prophet; this Man had the Boldneſs to declare, that if they marched by Night, and without Delay, they ſhould certainly get off ſafe, but, that either himſelf or his Brother ſhould be killed. It was the Cuſtom of *Cortes* to deſpiſe his Predictions, while he liſtened to him, and to treat them as ridiculous, though he ſuffered them to make an Impreſſion upon him, in which, if Company could be any excuſe, *Cortes* might have pleaded the Examples of others, as great Heroes as himſelf.

13. This Reſolution of retiring being thus taken in the Morning, it was farther agreed, to execute it immediately, and to take the Opportunity of the ſucceeding Night. The very ſame Evening the General diſpatched another *Mexican*, as his Embaſſador, to the City, with Pretence of continuing the Treaty begun by the Prieſt, giving them to underſtand that all Things ſhould be got ready for their Departure, within eight Days, at fartheſt. *Cortes*, in the mean while, was diligently diſpoſing Matters to begin the March, the Shortneſs of the Time making every Moment precious. He diſtributed his Orders, and gave his Captains the neceſſary Inſtructions, providing againſt all Accidents which might happen upon the March, with all imaginable Precaution.

He formed his Van Guard of two hundred *Spaniſh* Soldiers, with the choiceſt of the *Tlaſcalans*, and about twenty Horſe, under the Conduct of the Captains *Sandoval*, *Azebedo*, *Ordaz*, *Lugo* and *Tapia*; he gave the Command of the Rear Guard, with a greater Number both of Horſe and Foot, to *Alverado*, *Juan Velaſquez de Leon*, and other Captains, of thoſe who came with *Narvaez*. In the main Body, or Centre, he placed the Priſoners, Artillery, and Baggage, with the reſt of his Army, reſolving himſelf to be employed as Neceſſity ſhould require, at the Head of on hundred choice Men, with the Captains *Davila*, *Olid*, and *Vaſquez de Tapia*. Things being thus diſpoſed, he made a ſhort Speech to his Soldiers, laying before them the Difficulties of the Undertaking, upon which he enlarged a little the more, becauſe it was a current Report among them, that the *Mexicans* never engaged by Night, and it was neceſſary to inſpire them with Diſtruſt, leſt they ſhould fall into over-great Security. He next cauſed all the Gold, Silver, and Jewels, which were in the Cuſtody of *Chriſtoval de Guzman*, Groom of his Chamber, to be brought into his Apartment, and out of it he ſeparated the Fifth, belonging to the King, in thoſe Things which were leaſt bulky, of which he made a formal Delivery to thoſe Officers, who had Care of the Accounts and Proviſions of the Army, giving a Mare of his own and ſome wounded Horſes for the Carriage thereof, in order to ſpare the *Indians*, who might be in other Reſpects ſerviceable upon that Occaſion.

The Remainder, according to the beſt Computation could be made, amounted to upwards of ſeven hundred thouſand Pieces of Eight, all which Wealth he left with little or no Reluctancy, proteſting publicly, "That it "was no Time to embarraſs themſelves with it, and that "would be a Shame to employ thoſe Hands ſo unwor-"thily, which ought to be left free for the Defence of "Life and Reputation." But finding the Soldiers not ſo well contented with this ineſtimable Loſs, he added, as he was going away, "That they ought not to look "upon their Retreat from thence as abandoning of that "acquired Treaſure, and their main Deſign, but as a "neceſſary and indiſpenſible Diſpoſition, in order to re-"turn with a greater Force. After the ſame Manner as "a Man draws back his Arm, in order to give the "greater Blow." And withal, gave them to underſtand, that he ſhould not think it a Crime in them to take away as much of that Wealth as they conveniently could; and though the greateſt Part of them took Care to go light, there were ſome, and particularly thoſe who came with *Narvaez*, who gave themſelves up to pillage, loading their Shoulders beyond what they were well able to bear; a Permiſſion, in which all the military Care and Circumſpection of *Cortes* ſeemed to be aſleep. It was very near Midnight when they marched out of their Quarters, without the Sentinels or Advance Guards finding any thing to give them the leaſt Suſpicion, and notwithſtanding both the Wetneſs of the Weather and the Darkneſs of the Night favoured their Intention of marching, and freed them from any Jealouſy of the Enemies continuing Abroad in their Works; they ſo punctually obſerved Silence, and Circumſpection, that Fear itſelf could not have wrought what Diſcipline did in thoſe Soldiers; the portable Bridge went with the Van Guard, and thoſe who had the Charge of it, laid it over the firſt Canal, but the Weight of the Horſes and the Artillery made it ſtick ſo faſt in the Stones which ſupported it, that they could, by no Means, remove it to the other Canals, as they deſigned, nor had they indeed an Opportunity to do it, for before the Army had paſſed the firſt Breach of the Cauſway, they were obliged to take to their Arms, with the greateſt Precipitation, finding themſelves aſſaulted on every Side, when they leaſt of all ſuſpected any ſuch Matter.

The Addreſs with which thoſe Barbarians diſpoſed their Enterprize was worthy Admiration. They obſerved with a ſtill and ſilent Vigilance the Motions of the *Spaniards*. They aſſembled and diſtributed, without Noiſe, the Multitude of their Troops. They took Advantage of the Silence and Darkneſs of the Night, to compaſs their Intention of drawing near without being diſcovered. They covered the whole Length of the Lake on each Side of the Cauſway, with armed Canoes, beginning the Attack with ſo little Confuſion, and ſuch excellent Order, that the *Spaniards* heard their Shouts, and the warlike Sound of their Shells, almoſt at the ſame Time that they felt their Arrows. The whole Army had undoubtedly been deſtroyed, if the *Indians* had obſerved the ſame good Order in the Heat of the Engagement, as in the Beginning of the Attack; but to them Diſcipline was a Reſtraint, and when once they began to be enraged, Cuſtom prevailed. They charged in Heaps where they perceived the Bulk of the Army, preſſing upon each other after ſuch a Manner that their Canoes were broke to Pieces by ſtriking on the Cauſway, and the Violence of thoſe who were furiouſly endeavouring to advance, proved a new Danger to thoſe who were foremoſt.

The *Spaniards* made terrible Deſtruction among the naked Multitude, but they had not Strength ſufficient to hold out ſuch inceſſant Exerciſe of their Swords and Spears, nor was it long before they found themſelves likewiſe attacked in Front, and were obliged to turn their Faces where the Danger grew moſt preſſing; for the *Indians*, who were at a Diſtance, or who could not bear the Tedìouſneſs of the Oars, flung themſelves into the Water, and by the Help of their Arms and natural Agility, climbed up the Cauſway, in ſuch Numbers, that they were not able to make uſe of their Weapons; and this new Aſſault proved a Relief to the *Spaniards*, for the *Mexicans* were eaſily routed, and all of them in a Manner being killed, their Bodies were ſufficient to fill up the Canal, with no other Trouble than the flinging them in, where they ſerved to ſupply the want of a Bridge, for the Army to paſs over. After this Manner, ſome Writers relate it, though others ſay, that they luckily found a Beam of ſufficient Breadth, which the Enemy had left whole in the ſecond Bridge, on which the Soldiers paſſed over in Files, guiding the Horſes through the Water by the Bridles.

14. *Cortes* paſſed with the firſt Body of his People, and, ordering *Juan de Xarmillo* to take Care to form the Men as faſt as they arrived, he returned, without Delay, to the Cauſway, with the Captains *Sandoval*, *Olid*, *Davila*, *de Morla* and *Dominguez*: He entered the Engagement, animating thoſe who fought as well by his Preſence as by his Example; he reinforced his Troop, with as many Soldiers as he thought neceſſary to ſtop the Enemy on both Sides of the Cauſway, and ordered the reſt to file off from the Centre, cauſing the Artillery to be thrown into the Water, to free the Paſſage, and facilitate the March. *Cortes* at laſt retired, with all he could pick up of the Rear-Guard, and as he was penetrating through the ſecond Space of the Cauſway, with little or no Oppoſition, he was joined by *Alverado*, who owed his Life to little leſs than a Miracle of Reſolution; for having found himſelf cloſely beſet on every Side, his Horſe killed under him, and one of the Canals ſtill before him in his Way, he fixed his Lance or Spear in the Bottom of the Lake, and, raiſing his Body by Force, and ſupporting his Weight in the Air, by the Strength of his Arm caſt himſelf on the other Side; a ſurprizing bold Action, which has ſince been looked upon as ſomething ſurpaſſing Nature; and *Alverado* himſelf, when he afterwards reflected upon the Diſtance, and the Succeſs he had met with in the Attempt, eaſily became ſenſible of the Diſproportion there was between the Fact itſelf, and the Feaſibility of it.

The Army gained the firm Land by the firſt Appearance of the Day, and halted near *Tabuca*, not without ſome Jealouſy of that Town, which was very populous, and in the Intereſt of the *Mexicans*, but they took Care not immediately to quit the Neighbourhood of the Lake, that they might give Time to thoſe who could eſcape from the Battle to ſave themſelves; nor was that Precaution unneceſſary; for ſeveral *Spaniards* and *Tlaſcalans* found the Advantage of that Stop, who, by their Valour and good Management, got off by ſwimming to the Shore, where they hid themſelves in the Fields of Maize in the Morning. Theſe gave the General an Account that the laſt Diviſion of the Rear-Guard was entirely cut off; and *Cortes* having drawn up his Troops, found that he had loſt about two hundred *Spaniards*, more than one thouſand *Tlaſcalans*, forty-ſix Horſes, and all the *Mexican* Priſoners, which laſt not being able to make themſelves known in the Confuſion and Obſcurity of the Night, were treated as Enemies by thoſe of their own Nation: The *Spaniards* were fatigued and diſcouraged, their Numbers diminiſhed, and the Artillery all loſt, expecting every Moment to be attacked, and the Place of their Retreat far off; and among ſo many Motives of Concern, their Misfortune received a great Addition, by the Loſs of ſome principal Captains, in which Number, thoſe of the greateſt Note were *Amador de Larez*, *Franciſco de Morla*, and *Franciſco de Salcedo*, who loſt their Lives, all diſcharging their Duties with extraordinary Valour. *Juan Velaſquez de Leon*, who retreated in the very laſt of the Rear-Guard, likewiſe loſt his Life, oppreſſed by Multitudes, after having endured incredible Fatigue, ſhewing an invincible Courage, even to the lateſt Gaſp; a Loſs which was generally lamented, for all Men reſpected him, as the ſecond Perſon in the Army.

Cortes ſat down upon a Stone to reſt himſelf a little, while his Officers were putting the Troops in order, and diſpoſing them, to proſecute their March. He found himſelf ſo oppreſſed with Concern, that he never more ſtood in Need of all his Magnanimity to temper his Grief. He ſummoned all his Conſtancy to his Aſſiſtance; and, at the ſame Time he gave his Orders, animated his People, and exerted himſelf with his wonted Alacrity. He enquired for the Aſtrologer, either in order to reprimand him for the Part he had in haſtening the March, or to divert his Melancholy, by rallying him upon his Science; but he was told, he was killed in the firſt Aſſault, off the Cauſway; that Wretch having met with the Fate common to thoſe of his Profeſſion. But, in the midſt of thoſe Misfortunes, it was no ſmall Conſolation to *Cortes*, and the whole Army, that Donna *Marina* and *Hieronimo de Aguilar* had found Means to eſcape from the Battle, in the terrible Confuſion of that Night: They being the principal Inſtruments of the Conqueſt, and no leſs neceſſary than they had been before; for without them it was altogether impoſſible to engage the Friendſhip of the Nations they were going to ſeek; nor was it leſs happy, that the *Mexicans* did not follow the Chace, for they gave Time for the *Spaniards* to breathe after their Fatigue, and to march in better Order, and with leſs Haſte, mounting the diſabled Men on the ſtrongeſt of their Horſes. This Stop of the *Mexicans* proceeded from an unexpected Accident, which may be attributed to the Providence of God. The Sons of *Motezuma* who had attended on their Father, during his Continuance in Quarters, together with all the *Mexican* Priſoners, who were laſt under Convoy, with the Baggage, were unfortunately killed by the Enemy; and in the Morning, the *Indians* allured by the Spoils of the Dead, beheld pierced through with their own Arrows the Bodies of thoſe unhappy Princes, whom they reverenced with that kind of Adoration they once did their deceaſed Father. They ſtood amazed, ſtupified, and confounded at the Sight, without daring to pronounce the Cauſe of their Aſtoniſhment. However, it was not long before the News was carried through the Troops, and they were all ſeized with Fear, and that kind of ſudden Terror, which the Antients called Panic.

The *Mexican* Chiefs reſolved to ſend an Account of this Accident to the new Emperor; and he, who was forced to affect a Concern, out of Compliance with thoſe whoſe Grief was unfeigned, commanded the Army to halt: Beginning the Ceremony of the Funeral with Outcries and Lamentations, which uſed to precede the Obſequies, whilſt the Prieſt, followed by all who had remained in the City, came to receive their Royal Bodies, in order to conduct them to the burying Place of their Anceſtors. It was to the Death of thoſe Princes, that the *Spaniards* were indebted for the firſt Recovery from their Confuſion, and that ſeaſonable Reſpite; but they lamented, notwithſtanding, their untimely Fate, and particularly *Cortes*, who loved thoſe Princes, reſpected in them the Memory of their Father, and had founded Part of his Hopes in the Right of the Elder. *Cortes*, in the mean while, directed his March towards *Tlaſcala*, with Guides of that Nation, his Army continually in Order of Battle, as not being without Suſpicion of ſome Deſign in the Enemies Delay; and upon ſuch Occaſions Diffidence is oftener attended with Succeſs than too confident Security. It was not long before ſome Corps of armed *Indians* appeared, who followed the Army, without approaching within Shot. Theſe were the Inhabitants of *Tabuca*, *Eſcapugaleo*, and *Tenecuga*, whom the *Mexicans* had ſummoned, to obſerve the Motions of the *Spaniards* on the March, till ſuch Time as they had diſcharged themſelves of their Duty towards the Sons of *Motezuma*. *Cortes* extended his Front, where he poſted his Fire-Arms and Croſs-Bows, being obliged to engage in the open Field, without having any Place of Security to retire to.

As many of the *Indians*, as had Courage enough to venture near, died without Diſcouragement to the reſt. The Horſe ſallied out to ſkirmiſh, and made a very great Slaughter; but the Number of the Enemy continually increaſed, and their Arrows and Slings did conſiderable Damage; the *Spaniards* were tired, and without Hopes of repulſing that enormous Multitude, and now their Valour began to ſlacken for want of Strength; when *Cortes*, who behaved himſelf in the Battle like a Soldier, without forgetting the Duty of a General, obſerved a Riſing ground at no great

Diſtance from thence, which commanded the whole Plain; upon the Top of that Eminence was a Building which appeared like a Fortreſs, or at leaſt the Exigence in which he found himſelf made him fancy it ſuch: He reſolved to poſſeſs himſelf of that Poſt, for the Advantage of its Situation, and, detaching a Party of Men to reconnoitre it, he moved with the Army to gain it, which he did not find could be effected without Difficulty, being obliged to face the Enemy all the while aſcending the Hill, and to place ſome Companies of Harquebuſſiers, to defend the Avenues; but he happily compaſſed his Deſign, poſſeſſing himſelf of the Tower without Reſiſtance, and in that found all the Convenience which at that time he could deſire. It was a Temple; but the Prieſts and Servants who attended the Worſhip of that Place had quitted it, flying from the Neighbourhood of War, as People of a different Profeſſion; the Court of this Temple was encompaſſed with a Wall after their Manner of building, which, together with the Towers wherewith it was flanked, rendered it tolerably defenſible; and under the Shelter of thoſe Works the *Spaniards* began to breathe.

The Enemy did not dare to ſcale the Hill, nor did they give any Signs of their intending an Aſſault, but they approached within Muſket-ſhot, ſurrounded the Eminence on all Parts, and made ſome Advances to ſhoot their Arrows. In the mean time nothing was to be heard but barbarous Shouts and Menaces, which ſerved only to diſcover their Weakneſs. They were kept off till Evening began to approach, at which time they all retired; whether to comply with the Obſervation of their Cuſtom, of retiring with the Sun, or that they found themſelves fatigued with having been in a manner continually engaged, is uncertain. *Cortes* diſpoſed every thing in his Quarters with all the Care and Circumſpection that a Poſt ſo threatened obliged him; he ordered the Guards and Sentinels to be ſooner relieved than ordinary; that all might have their equal Share of Reſt: They made ſome Fires, as well becauſe of the Coldneſs of the Seaſon, as to conſume the Arrows of the *Mexicans*, to deprive the Enemies of their Ammunition. He gave ſome Refreſhment to the People out of the Proviſions found in the Temple, and what the *Indians* had ſaved with the Baggage; particular Care was taken of the Wounded, which was attended with no ſmall Difficulty in a Place where all Neceſſaries were wanting.

Cortes attended in Perſon to all, but ſtill without forgetting the Danger to which he lay expoſed; and before he would retire to Repoſe he aſſembled his Officers, to conſult with them what was to be done in this Juncture: He had already formed his Reſolution, but he always declined poſitively deciding in ſuch Matters; and he was a great Maſter in bringing People over to what was reaſonable, without ſhewing his own Opinion, or making Uſe of his Authority: He propoſed different Methods which might be taken, with the ſeveral Inconveniencies attending each of them; leaving them to judge which Expedient was moſt adviſeable; but that which he judged beſt was, to continue the March ſo as to be out of Reach of the Enemy before they renewed the Attack: In ſupport of which Advice he advanced many Reaſons: He had ſcarce finiſhed his Diſcourſe when all the Captains agreed that no other Reſolution was practicable; and it was determined to begin their March at Midnight. *Cortes* conformed to what was really his own Opinion, though he treated it as the Opinion of others, a Policy which he was accuſtomed to make Uſe of, in order to prevent Diſputes when the Affair was urgent and admitted of no Delay, and which only thoſe can practiſe who underſtand the Art of deciding by aſking Advice, and of making a Propoſal in ſuch a manner as to leave no room for Objection. As we have now conducted *Cortes* and his Army out of *Mexico*, and have ſeen with how much Prudence and Diſcretion he managed every thing when Fortune ſeemed to deſert him, it ſeems but reaſonable to put an End here to this Section, and to reſerve the Reſtoration of his Fortunes, and the Recovery of his Conqueſts, to the next.

15. But, that we may not proceed too haſtily, let us pauſe a Moment, in order to conſider the great Events we have been reading, and from thence form a true Judgment of the Merit of this illuſtrious Conqueror. We have in the former Section ſhewn, that with a meer handful of Men, he undertook to conquer one of the moſt extenſive Empires the World ever ſaw; and to which no Power, now ſubſiſting, can be eſteemed equal. We have ſeen that this could not be called a raſh or improvident Action, though it was, certainly, one of the boldeſt and moſt daring, that ever entered the Breaſt of Man. As a Perſon ſkilled in Mechanics, may, with good Senſe and great Reaſon, undertake to perform, with an inconſiderable Force, what, to a Perſon unacquainted with that Science, would be eſteemed beyond the Reach of Nature; ſo the Vigour of this Man's Underſtanding, his incomparable Sagacity, and wonderful Penetration, enabled him to foreſee moſt of the Events that did fall out; and to contrive the proper Means for converting them to his Purpoſe, as his Fortitude, Preſence of Mind, and happy Equality of Temper, put it always in his Power to exert his ſuperior Abilities upon all Occaſions, and ſet him above the Reach of Accident or Danger, however great or unexpected. We have ſeen him in this Section, performing things almoſt incredible; and ſome of them alſo, particularly the ſeizing and impriſoning *Motezuma*, not altogether juſtifiable. But this is ſo far from being a new Thing in a Hero, that I believe it may be fairly ſaid, there is ſcarce a Character of this kind in ancient or modern Hiſtory, in which more immoral and more outrageous Actions do not frequently occur.

One Thing more I ſhall remark before I proceed in this Hiſtory, becauſe it ſeems to do more Honour to the Courage and Conduct of *Cortes*, than any thing elſe; and in few Words it is this: The only Shadow of an Objection that can be raiſed againſt the Praiſes that have been beſtowed upon this illuſtrious Perſon, ariſes from the Suggeſtion that he acted with regular and well diſciplined Troops, againſt a barbarous and uncivilized People, unſkilled in the Art or Policy of War: But the Meaſures taken by the *Indians*, to drive him out of *Mexico*, and the Manner in which they acted in the Execution of thoſe Meaſures, very plainly prove that this Suggeſtion was ill grounded. Since, from thence, we plainly ſee that they neither wanted Skill as Politicians, nor were deſtitute of Diſcipline as Soldiers. The Succeſs likewiſe that they met with in the Conduct of their Scheme, plainly demonſtrates, That if they had been to deal with a Man of leſs Abilities than *Cortes*, they would effectually have carried their Point, and have driven the *Spaniards*, not only out of *Mexico*, but out of all their Dominions, and have preſerved their Empire, perhaps, till this time; for, had they once acquired a thorough Knowledge of the Artillery and Powder, they were certainly ingenious enough to have acquired the Uſe of them; which if they had done, there is no Reaſon to doubt that they would have kept their Ground, and have preſerved, at leaſt, the interior Part of their Country; though, by dint of their Naval Power, the *Spaniards* had made themſelves Maſters of their Coaſts.

SECTION XIII.

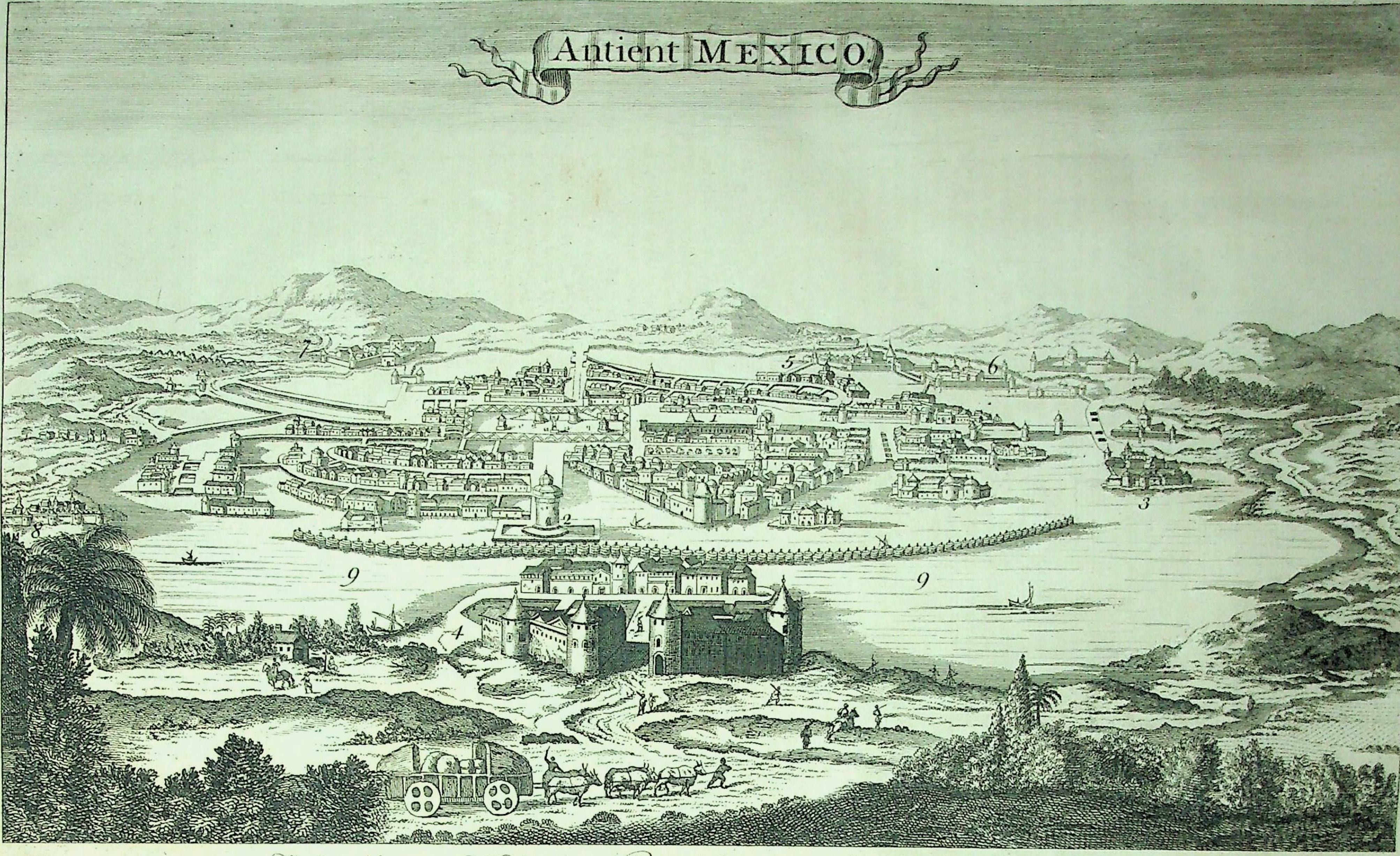
The Concluſion of HERNAN CORTES's *Expedition, including the Hiſtory of the remaining Part of the War, to the Reduction of the City and Empire of* Mexico; *by which the* Spaniards *acquired their extenſive Dominions on the Continent of* North America.

1. *The* Spaniards *continue their Rtreat under freſh Difficulties, while the* Indians *labour to intercept and bring them to a general Engagement.* 2. *The whole Force of the* Mexican *Empire defeated in the famous Battle of* Otumba, *and the Imperial Standard taken.* 3. *The Precautions taken by* Cortes *to improve this Victory, and to prevent the bad Effects of a Mutiny that had like to have broken out among his People.* 4. *The* Mexicans *ſend an Embaſſy to* Tlaſcala, *in hopes of gaining that Republic; in which they are diſappointed by the Interpoſition of ſuch Lords as were Friends to the* Spaniards. 5. *The War renewed with great Succeſs, and a new Colony founded by the* Spaniards *on the Frontiers.* 6. *The Meaſures taken by* Cortes *for the Proſecution of the War, the bad Diſpoſition of the Army, and the Difficulties which he found in keeping the Troops from running into a general Mutiny.* 7. *He receives, very unexpectedly, very conſiderable Succours from* Spain, *which encourages him to think of recovering* Mexico. 8. *He is ſo fortunate as to obtain ſtill larger Reinforcements, but is obliged to diſcharge Part of his Army, on Account of their ſeditious Behaviour.* 9. *While Preparations were making for a new Expedition,* Cortes *reſolves to ſend over freſh Agents to* Spain, *in order to procure a Commiſſion from the Emperor.* 10. *An Account of what happened at Court upon the former Application, by the Father of* Cortes *and his firſt Agents, and of the timely Arrival of the ſecond.* 11. *The Hiſtory of this Matter farther continued, to the obtaining a Declaration of Council in favour of* Cortes, *againſt* Velaſquez. 12. *An Account of his memorable Expedition into the Province of* Tezcuco, *which ſubmits without a Stroke.* 13. *The War with* Mexico *renewed by* Cortes, *with great Danger to his Army and to himſelf.* 14. *Upon a Foreſight of the Difficulties that might attend the War, he makes Propoſals of Peace to the* Mexican *Emperor, which are haughtily rejected.* 15. *The War breaks out afreſh, and* Cortes *gains ſeveral Victories over the* Mexicans. 16. *The* Indians *are defeated in a general Engagement, in which, however,* Cortes *runs a great Hazard of being killed or taken.* 17. *A Conſpiracy formed among the* Spaniards *to murder him, and a Sedition amongſt the Allies.* 18. Cortes *ventures to attack three Cauſways of the City of* Mexico *at once, and at the ſame Time carries on the War upon the Lake.* 19. *The Progreſs of the War, and the unexpected Difficulties the* Spaniards *met with therein.* 20. Cortes *makes a general Attack, in which, after an obſtinate Engagement, he is defeated.* 21. *The* Spaniſh *Priſoners are ſacrificed to the* Indian *Idols, and all their Affairs ſurprizingly decline.* 22. Cortes *renews the Attack, and forces the* Indian *Emperor to retire to the fartheſt Part of the City.* 23. *The Emperor,* Guatimozin, *Succeſſor to* Motezuma, *is taken Priſoner, after which the City immediately ſurrenders.* 24. *A ſuccinct Account of the Reduction of the whole* Mexican *Empire, and of Rewards beſtowed upon* Hernan Cortes. 25. *Obſervations and Remarks upon this and ſome of the foregoing Sections.*

1. A Little before the appointed Hour, the Troops were aſſembled: The Order to march, and the Reaſon for ſo doing, was given at the ſame time, upon which they prepared for ſetting out, applauding the Reſolution. *Cortes* ordered to conceal their Motion, that they ſhould leave all their Fires burning, and, giving to *Diego de Ordaz* the Charge of the Van-Guard, with ſome intelligent Guides, he placed his chief Strength in the Rear, where he remained, that he might be the nearer Danger, and be a Security to thoſe who paſſed before. They ſet forward with all neceſſary Caution; and, the Guides being ordered to keep at ſome convenient Diſtance from the high Road till the Morning, they marched, little more than half a League, without the Silence of the Night being interrupted by the leaſt Noiſe: But, upon their entering into a broken and hilly Ground, the Scouts fell into an Ambuſh; divers Troops of *Indians* came pouring down from the Eminences, and ruſhing from among the Buſhes, without Order, attacked the Flank; and though not ſo numerous as to oblige the Army to halt, yet the *Spaniards* were obliged to beat off ſuch of the Enemy as ventured neareſt, to break through ſeveral Ambuſcades, and to diſpute many narrow Paſſes.

The *Spaniards* were apprehenſive, at firſt, that it was the whole Army which they had left on the other Side of the Temple, and ſome report this Action as a Purſuit made by thoſe *Mexicans*; but they were the Militia of the neighbouring Towns; who, by Orders received from Court, endeavoured to diſturb the March, poſting themſelves in the broken Parts of the Road. With this kind of Oppoſition the Army advanced two Leagues, and before Day halted in another Temple, ſituate upon an Eminence, not altogether ſo high as the former, but of ſufficient Height to view the Country round about; that by the Number of Enemies they ſhould diſcover, they might judge what Meaſures were fitteſt to be taken for their Security. The *Indian* Peaſants continued their Shouts, following at a Diſtance, till, having advanced about two Leagues farther, they diſcovered a Village advantageouſly ſituated, and as they believed well peopled. *Cortes* pitched upon this Place for his Quarters, and gave Orders for his Troops to poſſeſs themſelves of it; and they found it wholly forſaken by the Inhabitants, together with ſome Proviſions, which they could not carry off; and which, at that Juncture, were very welcome. Here the Army ſtayed a Day or two; the Condition of the Wounded being ſuch, that they could not proceed. They made two Marches more, through a Country more rocky and barren, always out of the great Road, and ſomewhat doubtful whether their Guides were right. They had no Cover in the Night, nor did the Perſecution of thoſe *Indians* ceaſe, who continually kept in Sight; or, perhaps, they might be others who came out after the firſt, in order to follow them through their reſpective Diſtricts. But the greateſt of all Inconveniencies was, they ſuffered Hunger and Thirſt to that Degree, that they wanted little of being quite diſpirited. The Officers and Soldiers, however, animating each other to move on.

They were forced to have recourſe to the Herbs and Roots of the Field for Suſtenance, without examining whether they were venomous; though ſuch as were the moſt prudent governed themſelves by the Knowledge and Example of the *Tlaſcalans*. One of the wounded Horſes died, and the Want they had of that Creature's Service in the Army, was forgot with Joy; for it was divided as a Regale among thoſe who were in the greateſt Extremity, who celebrated the Feaſt by inviting their beſt Friends to partake of that dainty Food: A reliſhing Banquet at that time, at which all Scruples of Stomach gave way to Neceſſity. The laſt of theſe two Marches terminated



Antient MEXICO.

1 The Great Square. 2 The Temple. 3 Village of Iztapalapa. 4 Defence of the Royal Palace.
5. 6 The Pleasure House & Garden. 7 A Rivulet to supply y^e City. 8 Village of Tesqua or Tescuco, 9 The Great Lake.

terminated in a little Village, whoſe Inhabitants, without abandoning their Dwellings, like the others, gave them free Entrance, neither were they wanting in their Aſſiſtance to them, with a ſeeming Chearfulneſs in every thing they were ordered; which unexpected Entertainment was a new Stratagem of the *Mexicans*, that their Enemies might come leſs prepared to the Snare which they had provided for them.

Theſe People freely ſhewed their Stores of Proviſion, and, from other neighbouring Villages, procured what was ſufficient to make the fatigued *Spaniards* forget their paſt Sufferings. Early in the Morning the Army was diſpoſed to aſcend the Mountain, which on the other Side declined into the Valley of *Otumba*, through which they muſt of Neceſſity paſs to take the Road to *Tlaſcala*. They obſerved ſome Alteration in the *Indians* who followed their March; for their Shouts and Scoffs expreſs rather Satisfaction than Indignation; and Donna *Marina* took notice, that they frequently ſaid, Go on Tyrants, go on, for you will quickly arrive at the Place where you will all periſh. Theſe Expreſſions gave them Occaſion to reflect; ſome began to doubt that theſe *Indians*, confiding in the *Tlaſcalans*, rejoiced at the Dangers to which the *Spaniards* were marching, as having received ſome Notice that there had happened a Change in the Fidelity of that Nation. But *Cortes*, and thoſe of better Judgment and Penetration, looked upon this Novelty as a Token of ſome Ambuſh, that was nearer than *Tlaſcala*; for there wanted not Examples of the Simplicity and Eaſineſs with which the *Indians* were wont to publiſh the very thing which they endeavoured to conceal: An Error not peculiar to this People, and though a certain Indication of Levity, no direct Mark of Barbariſm.

2. They continued their March diſpoſed for freſh Action; when the advanced Guard, having reached the Mountain Top, came with an Account that the Enemy had poſſeſſed themſelves of all the Valley, barring up the Paſſage to the Road whither they were directing their Courſe with a formidable Multitude. It was the ſame Body of *Mexicans* which they had left at the firſt Temple, reinforced with new Troops, who had diſcovered, in the Morning, the ſudden Retreat of the *Spaniards*; and, notwithſtanding they did not doubt but that they ſhould be able to overtake them, yet they feared, by the Experience of the Night, that it would not be poſſible to deſtroy them before they reached the *Tlaſcalan* Territories, if they went on ſecuring Mountains; for which Reaſon they ſent Diſpatches to *Mexico* for Reinforcements, that an Affair of ſo much Importance might not miſcarry for want of neceſſary Force, which Propoſal was ſo well received in the City, that all the Nobility inſtantly ſet out, followed by the reſt of the Troops which they had aſſembled, to join the Army, and in the Space of three or four Days they divided themſelves into different Roads, marching under Shelter of the Mountains, with ſuch Expedition, that they got before the *Spaniards*, and filled the whole Valley of *Otumba*, which is a very ſpacious Plain, where they might undiſcovered wait for their Enemies, and attack them without embarraſſing each other for want of Room.

The Captain General of the Empire was diſtinguiſhed in the Centre of the Multitude, borne up upon Mens Shoulders in a Litter ſumptuouſly adorned, in ſuch a Manner, that being a Witneſs of every one's Behaviour, his Orders might be punctually executed. Upon this Chair, or Litter, ſtood erect the Royal Standard of *Mexico*, which was not intruſted into any other Hand but his, and could only be brought into the Field in Caſes of the greateſt Exigence. This Standard was a Net of maſſy Gold hanging on a Pike, and crowned with a Plume of Feathers of various Colours; both the one and the other myſteriouſly denoting a Superiority. The *Spaniſh* Army perceiving the freſh Danger for which they were to prepare, *Cortes* began to examine the Countenances of his People, with that natural Fire in his Look, which influenced their Hearts far better than Words; and finding them inſpired with a generous Reſentment, he thus addreſſed them: “Our Caſe is now ſuch, that “we muſt either die or conquer: The Cauſe of our “God fights for us;” nor had he time to ſay any more, for the Soldiers themſelves interrupted, crying out for the Word of Command; and he advanced with his Front extended, and united the Body of the Army with the Wings of the Horſe, who were appointed to defend the Flanks, and ſecure the Rear. The Fire-Arms and Croſs-Bows made their firſt Diſcharge ſo opportunely, that the Enemy had ſcarce time to make uſe of their miſſive Weapons. The Swords and Lances did ſtill greater Damage; the Horſe taking care, at the ſame time, to break, and to put to Flight thoſe Troops which endeavoured to incloſe the *Spaniſh* Army.

They gained ſome Ground by the firſt Charge. The *Spaniards* gave no Stroke without a Wound, nor any Wound which needed a ſecond Blow. The *Tlaſcalans* threw themſelves into the thickeſt of the Battle, with an infinite Thirſt after *Mexican* Blood, and all had ſuch Command of their Paſſions, that they killed firſt thoſe who appeared to be Leaders. But the *Mexicans* fought with great Obſtinacy, advancing, though not in the beſt Order, yet, with ſurprizing Reſolution, to ſupply the Places of thoſe who fell; and the *Spaniards* were fatigued with the Slaughter, for the Battle was continually renewing with freſh Men. Their whole Army ſeemed to give way whenever the Cavalry charged them, or the Fire-Arms advanced; but they returned with new Vigour to recover their loſt Ground, the Multitude moving ſo from Place to Place, that the whole Field appeared like a Sea of Men, the perpetual Flux and Reflux ſeeming to juſtify that Compariſon.

Cortes fought on Horſeback, carrying Death and Terror wherefoever he came. But the obſtinate Reſiſtance of the *Indians* gave him no ſmall Concern; for it was not to be hoped, but that the Strength of his Men muſt abate, with ſuch unintermitting Action; and reflecting upon the Meaſures he might take, to advantage himſelf, or to make his Way to the Road, he was relieved by one of thoſe Obſervations he was accuſtomed to lay up in his Mind. He remembered to have heard among the *Mexicans*, that the whole Fortune of their Battle depended upon the Standard Royal; the gaining or loſing of which decided the Fortune of the Day, on either Side; and being not inſenſible into what Confuſion the Enemy was always put by the Charge of the Cavalry, he took a Reſolution to make an Effort, for the gaining the Imperial Standard. To this Effect, he called for the Captains *Sandoval*, *Alverado*, *Olid*, and *Davila*, to follow and ſecure his Rear, together with the reſt of the Horſe which generally attended him; and having encouraged them with a ſhort Harangue, and given the neceſſary Inſtructions how they were to proceed, he advanced, and attacked on that Part which appeared weakeſt, and leaſt diſtant from the Centre.

The *Indians* gave back, dreading the Shock of the Cavalry, and before they could recover themſelves, the *Spaniards* threw themſelves upon the diſordered Multitude, treading under Foot whole Battallions, and, without much Oppoſition, arrived at the Place where the Imperial Standard was defended by the Nobles who were appointed for its Guard; and while the Captains were diſperſing that numerous Guard, *Cortes* cloſed with the Captain General of the *Mexicans*, who at the firſt Stroke of his Lance fell, being dangerouſly wounded, on the other Side of his Litter: He was ſoon forſaken by his Guard, and left alone; when *Juan de Salamanca*, a private Gentleman, leaped from his Horſe, and put an End to the little Life he had left; and ſeizing the Standard, gave it into the Hands of *Cortes*. This *Salamanca* was a Perſon of ſome Diſtinction in the Army; and, for having done his General ſuch a Piece of Service, the Emperor conferred ſome Favours upon him, giving him for the Creſt of his Arms the Plume of Feathers which crowned the *Mexican* Standard.

The *Mexicans* no ſooner ſaw their Imperial Standard in the Power of the *Spaniards*, than they ſtruck all the reſt of their Colours, and betook themſelves to a precipitate Flight, ſeeking Shelter in the Woods and Fields of Maize. The neighbouring Mountains were covered with the terrified Remnants of the Army, and in a few

Moments the Field of Battle remained to the *Spaniards*, who purſued their Victory with all the Rigour of War, and made a terrible Deſtruction of the Fugitives; it was ſo abſolutely neceſſary to ruin and diſperſe them, that they might not return. On the Side of the *Spaniards* ſome were wounded, of which Number two or three died at *Tlaſcala*; and *Cortes*, himſelf, received a Blow on his Head, with a Stone, ſo violent, that it battered his Head-Piece, and made a ſmall Fracture in his Skull. The Spoil was given to the Soldiers, which was very conſiderable, for the *Mexicans* came with coſtly Jewels and Ornaments, as to triumph. The *Spaniſh* Authors ſay, that twenty thouſand *Indians* loſt their Lives in this Battle. A round Computation indeed! and perhaps, what is not uncommon in ſuch Caſes, a certain Number put for an uncertain.

3. The ſame Spirit which *Cortes* ſhewed in his utmoſt Difficulties, appeared in the Precautions taken by him in making the moſt of this Victory, and taking an imdiate Care for ſecuring ſuch a Poſt, as might give them time to concert what was to be done next. There appeared on the Top of a Mountain, at ſome Diſtance, a large old *Indian* Palace, which he gained. There they ſtaid that Night, and as ſoon as it was Day advanced a conſiderable Way through the Plain; then going up a ſmall Hill they found a Spring of good Water, where they halted and refreſhed themſelves, for till then they had met with very little, and that not good; they came to *Gualipa*, a Town of two thouſand Houſes, belonging to the Republic of *Tlaſcala*: The People of that Place went out to receive them, ſhewing extraordinary Compaſſion for their Sufferings; the Women wept at the Sight of them; and they were ſupplied with Neceſſaries in a moſt affectionate Manner.

Cortes bleſſed God he found ſuch Entertainment among Infidels. Thoſe People aſked why they would not believe them, when they always told them they ſhould not truſt the *Mexicans*, who were treacherous. That Day, in the Afternoon, came to them *Maxiſcatzin*, and another Lord, who was Governor of *Guaxacingo*, and, when chriſtened, called Don *John Xuarez*, and many others, as did *Xicotencatl*; but this laſt only in a Compliment. They brought much Proviſion. *Cortes* received them with Joy; but they were amazed to ſee him and ſo many others wounded. *Maxiſcatzin*, in that Aſtoniſhment, delivered himſelf very elegantly, ſaying, that ſince his Valour was ſufficient to withſtand all the *Mexican* Empire, there had been ſome Treachery in the Caſe, comforting him, and bidding him be eaſy; for, ſince he was alive, he might revenge that Injury, being among the *Tlaſcalans*, his ſincere Friends, who he promiſed ſhould aſſiſt him with all their Power; all the other Lords gave him the ſame Aſſurances, and *Cortes* returning Thanks in a moſt courteous Manner, producing the *Mexican* General's Standard and Arms, delivered the ſame to him, and gave the reſt much of the Booty taken in the Battle of *Otumba*.

The other Commanders and Soldiers, following the ſame Example of *Cortes*, diſtributed abundance of the Booty they had gained in that Fight, which was very acceptable, as being *Mexican* Trophies. Here *Cortes* was informed, that about twelve Days before, *John Juſte* and *Morla*, with about thirty *Spaniards*, had ſet out from *Gualipa*, carrying *Cortes*'s Equipage to *Mexico*; and that tho' they fought well, they were all cut off by the *Mexican* Garriſons, together with one of *Maxiſcatzin*'s Sons, who he ſent along with them, This was afterwards verified, for they found cut on a Tree. *This Way paſſed the unfortunate* John Juſte, *and his unhappy Companions, being reduced to ſuch Want of Food, that they gave a Wedge of Gold, weighing eight hundred Pieces of Eight, for a few little Cakes of* Indian *Wheat*. Thence the *Spaniſh* Army proceeded to *Tlaſcala*, and the Country being populous, the Roads were crowded with the Inhabitants coming out to ſee them. The Magiſtrates met *Cortes*, with above two hundred thouſand Men in good Order. The Women and Children went foremoſt, and wept as ſoon as they ſaw the *Spaniards*, curſing the treacherous *Mexicans*; next came the Citizens, and received them in a moſt courteous Manner. The Lords of the four Quarters took *Cortes* into the Middle of them; there was much Muſic at the Entrance into the City; he was lodged in *Maxiſcatzin*'s Houſe, who made him a great Entertainment, and in this Court there was much dancing and rejoicing.

At *Tlaſcala Cortes* found Capt. *Paez*, whom he had left there, with eighty *Spaniards*, and was glad to hear that he had been well uſed; he aſſured him, that *Maxiſcatzin* was his real Friend, and that *Xicotencatl* hated him. When he underſtood that *Maxiſcatzin* had offered *Paez* an hundred thouſand Men to march with the *Spaniards*, to his Relief, and that *Paez* excuſed himſelf, alledging, that he had obſerved his Orders, conſidering how much Service the Succour might have done him, he gave him ſome hard Words, calling him Coward; for that brave Commanders, in ſuch Perils, are not to adhere literally to Orders, but to act as Exigencies may require. *Hojeda* was the Perſon that entertained the greateſt Friendſhip with the *Tlaſcalans*, and brought Proviſions from the Country Towns; ſome reproached him, ſaying, Why come you hither to devour our Subſtance; go your Way, you come in a wretched Condition from *Mexico*, being turned out like cowardly Women. He gave them good Words; but *Cortes* was much concerned at it, being informed that *Xicotencatl* was the Occaſion of it: He acquainted *Maxiſcatzin*, who ſaid, that whilſt he lived no Man ſhould preſume to affront him; however he kept himſelf upon his Guard.

A Numbneſs ſeized his Head, occaſioned by his Wound, and, it being followed by a violent Fever, he was in much Danger; but it pleaſed God, as he was well taken care of, he recovered. Whilſt his Diſtemper held him, thoſe few *Spaniards* he had, hearing ſome ſuſpicious Words from the *Indians*, muttered that they would return to the Sea Coaſt, alledging that *Cortes*'s Contrivances to return to *Mexico* would be their Ruin, and that they were now fattening to be ſacrificed and eaten, as the *Indians* deſigned; few being of a contrary Opinion, the greater Number, with a Notary, forcibly required *Cortes* to go away to *Vera Cruz*, to avoid the Danger that threatened. *Cortes* anſwered with much Gravity and Calmneſs: In the firſt place, he extolled their paſt Actions, put them in mind of the Victories they had obtained, and the Valour of the *Spaniſh* Nation, blamed their Faint-heartedneſs, for that having made the World ring with the Fame of their Exploits they ſhould ſhew Fear, which would turn to their Shame; he promiſed them much Wealth and Proſperity; diſpelled the Fears they had conceived of the *Tlaſcalans*; ſaid, he would try their Friendſhip by making War on the *Tepeacans*, who had lately ſlain ſeveral *Spaniards*; he put them in mind, that all he had ſaid to them had proved true; that he had performed all he had promiſed, and then, in caſe the Affair of *Tepeaca* did not ſucceed, he would find ſome Expedient for them to return with Honour to *Vera Cruz*.

This appeaſed them for the preſent, but he had ſeveral Conſultations with the chief Commanders, as to the Confidence that was due to the *Tlaſcalans*: Some affirmed, that there was no truſting of them, ſo that if they took a ſmall Number of them the War would not be carried on; and if they had many, it was dangerous: Others added, that the Enmity between theſe two Nations was well known, as were the Advantages the *Tlaſcalans* reaped by the War with the *Culuas*; for which Reaſon their Fidelity was not to be called in queſtion. *Cortes* having maturely weighed this Affair, and made ſome Enquiry into the Matter, adhered to this Advice, which made him believe that his good Fortune would not forſake him in this Enterprize.

4. The *Mexicans* having offered up their Sacrifices, returned Thanks to their Gods, repaired their City, and, underſtanding how well the *Spaniards* had been received in *Tlaſcala*, reſolved to ſend ſix Men of Note Embaſſadors thither with a Preſent of Cloth, Feather-works, and Salt, which were the Things thoſe People wanted moſt. Notice being given of their coming, they were met as uſual, and the Council being aſſembled to hear them, the Eldeſt delivered his Preſent and ſaid, That as they

were Relations, ſpoke the ſame Language, and obſerved the ſame Religion, it would be convenient to put an End to the long Wars that had been between them, and that they ſhould partake of thoſe Things wherein the *Mexican* Empire abounded. And they wanted beſides other Advantages that would accrue by Peace; and therefore in order to bring that to paſs, it was proper they ſhould ſacrifice thoſe few Chriſtians, with whom their Gods were offended for many Reaſons, and who would inſult them in the ſame Manner if they did not look to themſelves. The Preſent was received, and they ſaid they would conſider of it. When the Embaſſadors were withdrawn, their Propoſals were debated: *Xicotencatl* and others ſpoke for the Confederacy; *Maxiſcatzin*, defending the *Spaniards*, adviſed them to be Friends with them, alledging the Fidelity and Honour due to Gueſts.

He extolled their Valour, aſſuring them of the ſame Advantages the *Mexicans* propoſed, and particularly inſiſted, that the Friendſhip of the *Spaniards* ought not to be ſlighted, as it might contribute to enlarge the Dominions of their Commonwealth, which they could not expect from the *Mexicans*, whoſe Ambition and Perfidiouſneſs was well known; beſides, that if once the *Spaniards* was expelled, no queſtion was to be made but that they would be greater Enemies than before, though it were only for having entertained them in *Tlaſcala*. *Xicotencatl* ſtill obſtinately inſiſted, that the *Spaniards* were ill Men; and both Sides reflecting on each other, it came to ſuch a Height, that *Maxiſcatzin* gave *Xicotencatl* a Puſh from him, and threw him down ſome Steps, telling him he was a baſe Man, and a Traitor to his Country. The *Mexicans* returned home without any other Anſwer, and reported what had happened. *Cortes* being immediately informed of all theſe Particulars returned Thanks to *Maxiſcatzin*, promiſing he would endeavour to make good all he had in his Name promiſed to the Republic. *Xicotencatl*, being ſatisfied that *Cortes* would be acquainted with what had been done in the Council, went to him and ſaid, he had tried by all Means to acquire Honour, by oppoſing him; but that ſince the Gods had made him invincible, he begged he would take him into his Favour, offering his Perſon, and deſiring he would make Trial of him in carrying on the War againſt *Tepeaca*, *Chulula* and *Guaxacingo*, ſince they had offended him in breaking the Friendſhip and Faith contracted with him, going over to the *Culuas*, and killing the *Spaniards* that were marching through that Country; beſides, that to make the War on *Mexico*, as he intended, it was proper firſt to take off their Confederates, and begin with *Tepeaca*.

Cortes embraced him, returning Thanks for his good Will, and promiſing to take ſuch Meaſures for the Service of the Republic, that it ſhould be revenged on all its Enemies. Fifty Days were now paſſed ſince *Cortes*'s Arrival at *Tlaſcala*, after his Return from *Mexico*, and *Xicotencatl* preſſed him daily, ſaying the Men were ready whenſoever he ſhould think fit. Though *Cortes* had more need to have attended his Cure than to enter on freſh Fatigues ſo ſoon; yet, for fear of loſing ſo favourable an Opportunity, underſtanding that the *Tepeacans*, and the *Mexican* Forces with them, had ſecured all the Paſſes that led to the Sea, he ſent Meſſengers to the *Tepeacans*, and to the other Towns, deſiring them to quit the Friendſhip of the *Mexicans*, and to embrace that of the *Tlaſcalans*, and he would forgive them the Injury done him by breaking their Faith, which they had engaged to him when he marched to *Tlaſcala*. They made little Account of his Offer, but reſolved to adhere to the *Mexicans*. *Cortes* ſignified the ſame to the Council of *Tlaſcala*, and they, being Enemies to the *Tepeacans*, naturally inclined to War, deſirous to pleaſe *Cortes*, who had gained all the prime Men, having ſent them many Preſents from *Mexico*, and done them much Honour; and believing that the War would be very advantageous to the Republic, offered to ſupply him with fifty thouſand Soldiers.

5. As *Cortes* found all things ſucceeded to his Mind, and that it was not only juſt, but neceſſary to chaſtiſe the Injury done by the *Tepeacans*, he began to prepare for his March. And here he firſt thought to ſend the King an Account of all that had happened; becauſe he had not done it ſince he ſet out from *Villa Rica* for *Mexico*: He told his Majeſty all his Succeſſes, as alſo his Misfortunes at *Mexico*, with all the Particulars relating to it; ſhewing all his Diſappointments to have been occaſioned by *Pamphilo de Narvaez*, who could not be brought to an Accommodation, for which Reaſon he kept him Priſoner at *Vera Cruz*; he likewiſe demanded Men and Horſes, promiſed to ſubdue that vaſt Empire with little Aſſiſtance, without Expence to the Crown; for he offered to pay for the Horſes, Arms, and Ammunition that ſhould be ſent to him: He deſired ſome Reward might be beſtowed on *Jerom de Aguilar*, the Interpreter, who did extraordinary Service; and prepared to ſend *Mendoca* with this Account, and the Value of thirty thouſand Pieces of Eight in Gold: The Alcaldes and Regidores of *Villa Rica*, who were always with *Cortes*, wrote at the ſame time. *Tepeaca* being but eight Leagues from *Tlaſcala*, the Inhabitants knew what was coming upon them, and on their Side prepared for War; but we muſt here mention what occaſioned this War; *viz.* the Affair of the *Spaniards* thoſe People deſtroyed.

The News of the great Wealth of *New Spain* being ſpread throughout the Iſlands, ſeveral *Spaniards* tranſported themſelves to *Vera Cruz*; where, about fifty or ſixty of them, joining together, ſet out for *Mexico*, by the Way of *Tepeaca*, at the Time that *Cortes* was retired to *Tlaſcala*; and all the Country having been informed that the War was declared againſt the *Spaniards* at *Mexico*, the *Tepeacans* reſolved to kill them and their Captain, whoſe Name was *Corenado*, which they actually put in Execution, and the like was done in other Parts, concluding that the *Spaniards* at *Mexico*, would be all deſtroyed, as the *Mexicans* every where reported. *Cortes* marched out of *Tlaſcala* with his *Spaniards*, and ſix thouſand *Indian* Archers, till ſuch time as the fifty thouſand *Tlaſcalans* were raiſed, to be under the Command of *Xicotencatl*, aſſiſted by *Alonſo de Hojeda*, and *John Marquez*, who ſpoke the Language tolerably; he advanced three Leagues, and took up his Quarters at *Cinpancingo*, whither ſo great a Multitude reſorted from the Lordſhips of *Guaxacingo* and *Chulula*, that it was not doubted but that they amounted to an hundred and fifty thouſand fighting Men.

The People of *Zacatapeque*, and of *Acazingo*, having made it their Choice to join in this War with the Inhabitants of *Tepeaca* againſt the *Spaniards*; they, as lying neareſt *Tlaſcala*, were firſt entirely deſtroyed; and then *Tepeaca* was reduced to ſuch Extremities, that the Inhabitants ſubmitted, and took an Oath to be good Subjects to the King of *Spain*. This War happily over, *Cortes* divided the Profits between his own Forces, and the Republic of *Tlaſcala*, after deducting the Fifth for the King. The Republic of *Tlaſcala* was highly pleaſed to ſee *Cortes* ſhare the Booty ſo punctually with them, and beſides, their City was full of Slaves, Salt, Cotton, Feather-works, Jewels, and other things they had Occaſion for. The City of *Tepeaca* being perfectly reduced, *Marina* underſtood that the *Mexicans* were preparing to fall upon the *Spaniards* when they leaſt ſuſpected it. *Cortes* ſeized ſome that were neareſt about him, who, he was informed, knew of it; and, having examined into the Affair, puniſhed them ſeverely. The *Mexicans* having Advice that *Cortes* was marched to make War on *Tepeaca*, took care to ſend Armies to ſeveral Parts to ſecure their Frontiers, perſuaded their Allies to ſtand by them, and made all poſſible Preparations, not only to defend themſelves, for that they looked upon as a Matter of no Difficulty, but to offend the *Spaniards*; and like a ſubtle People, ſent the Heads of Horſes, and other things they had taken, to the ſeveral Provinces they ſuſpected might be inclinable to forſake their Intereſt, giving out that *Cortes* was dead, and encouraging the People with the Hopes, that having no Commander, they would eaſily make an End of all the reſt. This Notion ſo far prevailed with the *Indians*, who are naturally fickle, that moſt of them revolted, though they had ſworn Obedience to the King of *Spain*, and wherever any *Spaniards* were they ſlaughtered them.

When all things were ſettled at *Tepeaca*, and in the neighbouring Parts, *Cortes* ſent ſome Commanders to reduce thoſe that ſtill held out; enjoining them to try all gentle and fair Means; and gave out that he would return to *Tlaſcala*. The chief Men of *Tepeaca* entreated him, that ſince they were become the King of *Spain*'s Subjects, purſuant to the Oath they had taken, he would not forſake them; but, in caſe he could not avoid going, he would leave ſome *Spaniards* there, or elſe they ſhould be deſtroyed: *Cortes* anſwered, that he would endeavour to ſatisfy them, and that they need not fear the *Mexicans*, for he hoped in God they ſhould ſoon ſee them quite diſabled; and thinking the Situation of that City very convenient to ſecure the Way to *Villa Rica*, as commanding the Paſſes through which the *Spaniards* came into thoſe Parts; and that the Province was in the Midſt of the Country, near to the Republic of *Tlaſcala*, *Guaxacingo*, and *Chulula*, on which it bordered; and on another Side upon the *Culuas*, who, being ſo cloſe by, might occaſion new Commotions there: Upon all theſe Conſiderations, and to pleaſe the *Tepeacans*, who had deſired a Garriſon of him, he ſent for the Alcaldes and Regidores of the Council, who were with him, and told them it was convenient to ſettle a Colony there, for the Reaſons aforeſaid; who approving of it, he appointed the proper Officers, and *Jerom de Aguilar* to be Regidore, being always ready to requite thoſe that deſerved it. He called this Place *Segura de la Frontera*, i. e. the Security of the Frontier, becauſe founded upon the aforeſaid Motives, and becauſe it lay on the Frontiers of *Culua*.

6. It has been before obſerved, that for the better carrying on the War againſt the *Spaniards*, the *Mexicans* had thought fit to elect *Guatimozin* for their Emperor, the Nephew and Son-in-law to *Motezuma*: He was a young Man about twenty-five Years old, of ſo much Spirit and Vigilance, that, contrary to the Manner of his Predeceſſor, he entirely gave himſelf up to the Care of the Public; being deſirous, immediately, to ſhew the Advantages of Government when placed in proper Hands: He knew what the *Spaniards* were doing in the Province of *Tepeaca*, and, foreſeeing the Deſigns they might form, when aſſiſted by the united Forces of the *Tlaſcalans*, and other neighbouring Provinces; he began to have thoſe reaſonable Apprehenſions, which are neceſſary to prudent Meaſures.

Cortes received an Account that his Army was upon the Frontiers, which was confirmed by three or four Nobles, ſent by the Cazique of *Guacachula*, a populous City, ſituate on the Road to *Mexico*, and a Place which the new Emperor looked on as one of the Ramparts of his Empire. They came to requeſt Succour againſt the *Mexicans*, complaining of their Violences, and offering to take up Arms againſt them, ſo ſoon as the *Spaniards* ſhould come within Sight of their Town. They made the Undertaking appear eaſy and juſt; ſaying, that their Cazique ought to aſſiſt as a Vaſſal of the King of *Spain*. *Cortes* aſked them what Force the Enemy had in thoſe Parts? They told him twenty thouſand in the Diſtrict of their City, and ten thouſand more in another City, called *Yzucan*, four Leagues from them; but that, in *Guacachula*, and its Dependencies, they could raiſe a very conſiderable Number of Men, who would be glad of an Opportunity to take up Arms. *Cortes* examined them very carefully, that he might diſcover the Intentions of their Cazique; and they gave ſo good an Account of themſelves, as fully convinced him of their Sincerity; and, though he ſhould have had ſome remaining Suſpicion, he would, at that time, have diſſembled it; for, in caſe the Treaty could not have been depended on, it was nevertheleſs neceſſary to drive away the Enemy, and ſubject the Frontier Towns before the *Mexicans* came with a greater Force to defend them.

Cortes applied himſelf ſo earneſtly to this Enterprize, that the very ſame Day he formed an Army of three hundred *Spaniards*, twelve or thirteen Horſe, and above thirty thouſand *Tlaſcalans*, under the Command of *Chriſtopher de Olid*; and after he had made this Diſpoſition, he put his Deſign in Execution with ſo much Expedition, that the Army marched next Morning. *Olid* carried the Envoys, ſent from *Guacachula*, with him, and had Orders to advance with Circumſpection, till he came near the City; and in caſe he ſuſpected any Treachery, to engage the *Mexicans* in ſome advantageous Poſt, and break them before they attacked the Town. They all marched on very chearfully, till, at ſix Leagues from *Tepeaca*, and almoſt at the ſame Diſtance from *Guacachula*, they found it rumoured among the Peaſants of the Country, but without any good Foundation, that the Emperor of *Mexico* was on the March with his whole Force, to relieve thoſe Cities.

The Soldiers of *Narvaez* believed the Report, and ſo multiplied the Enemies Forces in their Imagination, that, without hearkening to Reaſon, or obeying Orders, they inſolently proteſted that they would march no farther: So that *Chriſtopher de Olid* grew angry, and in a contemptuous Manner bid them return, threatning them with the Diſpleaſure of *Cortes*, ſince they were not touched with the Diſhonour of their Retreat. But as he was preparing to proſecute his March without them, there happened a new Accident, which, if it did not altogether ſhake his Conſtancy, yet retarded the Succeſs of the Expedition. They ſaw ſeveral Bodies of Men deſcending from the neighbouring Mountains, and advancing with more than ordinary Diligence; and *Chriſtopher de Olid*, believing the *Mexicans* were coming to attack him, drew up his Men in Order, in which he acted rightly; for too much Care never did hurt in any Army. But ſome Horſe, whom he had ſent before to gain Intelligence, returned with an Account, that it was the Cazique of *Guaxicingo*, with his confederate Caziques, who were come to aſſiſt the *Spaniards* in their War againſt the *Mexicans*, who had ravaged their Frontiers, and threatened their Dominions. Upon this, *Olid* ordered their Troops to halt, and the Caziques to come before him, which was preſently done.

But that which ſhould have given them all entire Satiſfaction, occaſioned a ſecond Uneaſineſs in the Soldiers. It began amongſt the *Tlaſcalans*, and next infected the *Spaniards*; for they both declared, that thoſe People were not to be truſted; and that they were ſent by the *Mexicans* to ſerve them by falling on the *Spaniards* during the Engagement. *Chriſtopher de Olid* heard them, and, without enquiring ſufficiently into the Matter, entered into their Suſpicions preſently, ſeized thoſe Caziques, and ſent them away to *Tepeaca*, for *Cortes* to determine concerning them. An inconſiderate Action, by which he ran the riſque of raiſing a Diſturbance between his own People, and thoſe who really came as his Friends. The Priſoners were brought before *Cortes*, complaining with a good deal of Reaſon of *Olid*. *Cortes* heard them with great Kindneſs, and ordering their Irons to be taken off, endeavoured to regain their good Opinion. But upon further Conſideration he found it would be neceſſary to carry on this Enterprize in Perſon; the Diſtruſt which his *Indian* Allies had of each other, and the Uneaſineſs among the *Spaniards*, ſeeming to threaten ſome fatal Event. He preſently ſet out, and in a few Hours came up with the Army: There every body was pleaſed with his Preſence, Things looked in quite another Manner, and the Storm that was beginning to gather diſperſed; he reprimanded *Olid*, for not ſending him an Account of the Accident, ſince he was ſo near, and for diſcovering his Jealouſy by the Impriſonment of the Caziques; and, having joined all the Forces, without any farther Delay he marched on to *Guacachula*, ordering the Envoys from that City, to go and inform their Caziques where he was, and what Force he had brought along with him.

The *Mexicans* were poſted on the farther Side of the City, but on the firſt Notice from their Sentinels they advanced with ſo much Speed, that by the Time the *Spaniards* came within Muſket-ſhot they had formed their Army, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the Road, with an Intention to try their Strength under Co[illegible] of the Town. The Victory was very vigorouſly diſputed; the *Mexicans* not only defending themſelves, but advancing with all the Signs of Reſolution to maintain their Ground to the utmoſt; when the Cazique of *Guacachula* laid hold of this Occaſion to give a Proof of his Fidelity, falling on their Rear, and at the ſame time aſſaulting them from the Walls with ſuch Bravery as much facilitated the Victory; and in half an Hour the *Mexicans* were intirely defeated, there being but few who were not either killed or wounded. When *Cortes* had ſettled his new Conqueſts, he returned to *Tepeaca*, which he called *Segura de la Frontera*, and there he received the News, that his firm Friend *Maxiſcatzin* was at the point of Death, at *Tlaſcala*, which haſtened his Return thither, though not time enough to find him alive: He died a Chriſtian, and as much attached to the *Spaniſh* Intereſt as ever; ſo that *Cortes* was much concerned for the Loſs of him, but his Grief however was ſoon leſſened by the coming of a freſh Reinforcement of *Spaniards* in the following Manner.

7. A Ship of moderate Burden arrived at *Juan de Ulua* and brought thirty *Spaniſh* Soldiers, two Horſes, and ſome Proviſions and Ammunition, which *Velaſquez* ſent to *Narvaez*, taking it for granted that all the Conqueſts in that Country were his own, and the Troops of *Cortes* at his Devotion. Their Commander was *Pedro de Barba*, the ſame who was Governor of the *Havanna* when *Cortes* ſailed from the Iſle of *Cuba*, having by his Friendſhip eſcaped the laſt Snares that were laid to ſtop his Voyage. *Pedro Cavallero*, who commanded on the Coaſt, no ſooner diſcovered the Veſſel, but he went out in a Boat, ſaluted the new Comers with great Civility; and having found by the very reſpectful Manner with which *Pedro de Barba* inquired after *Narvaez* the Deſign of their coming, anſwered him, without the leaſt Heſitation, that he was not only in good Health, but in great Proſperity, all thoſe Countries having ſubmitted to him, and that *Cortes* and ſome of his People were fled to the Mountains, which induced them to land without the leaſt Diſtruſt, and go to *Vera Cruz*, where they diſcovered the Deceit, and found themſelves Priſoners to *Cortes*. *Barba* commended the Stratagem of *Cavallero*, for in reality he was not ſorry to find his Friend in ſo good a Condition.

They were carried up to *Segura de la Frontera*, and *Cortes* ſhewed a particular Satisfaction at the Arrival of more *Spaniards*, with the agreeable Circumſtance of receiving this Succour from the Hands of his Enemy. He treated *Barba* very kindly, and gave him a Company of Croſs-bows, upon the Confidence he had of his Friendſhip. He diſtributed Gifts among the Soldiers, upon which they agreed to ſerve under his Command. He afterwards read the Letter privately, which *Barba* brought for *Narvaez*; in which *Velaſquez*, ſuppoſing him Maſter of all thoſe Conqueſts, gave him Orders to maintain himſelf there at all Adventures; for which End he promiſed him very powerful Succours; and, laſtly, told him, that if *Cortes* was not dead, he ſhould immediately ſend him away with a ſufficient Guard, for that he had received expreſs Orders from the Biſhop of *Burgos* to ſend him Priſoner to Court. About eight Days after arrived a ſecond Veſſel with another Reinforcement for *Narvaez*, which *Pedro Cavallero* ſeized after the ſame manner. She brought eight Soldiers, and a Mare, with a conſiderable Quantity of Arms and Ammunition, under the Command of Capt. *de Lobera*. They all immediately went to *Segura* and liſted themſelves, as the others had done.

Theſe Succours came by a Way ſo unlooked for, that *Cortes* conſidered them as good Omens, and Forerunners of future Succeſs. He had already reſolved on the Conqueſt of *Mexico*, and the great Number of Allies by which he found himſelf ſupported in his laſt Expedition confirmed him in his Reſolution. But the Paſſage on the Lake was the grand and unavoidable Difficulty, and gave him great Concern; for, after the Enemy had once found out the Secret of breaking the Bridges of the Cauſways, there was no depending upon portable Bridges, which were only to be uſed when they were pinched in Time; wherefore he began to think of building twelve or thirteen Brigantines, which ſhould be able to reſiſt the *Indian* Canoes, and tranſport his Troops to the City; and these he propoſed to carry in Pieces on the Shoulders of the *Indian Tamenes* for fourteen or fifteen Leagues at leaſt of very bad Way, over the Mountains of *Tlaſcala*, to a River near the Lake. He had a vigorous Imagination, and was naturally an Enemy to ſuch lazy Spirits as fancy difficult Things to be impoſſible. He communicated his Thoughts to *Martin Lopez*, on whoſe Ingenuity and great Abilities he depended for the compaſſing this important Deſign; and found he did not only approve of it, but alſo undertook to execute it without Difficulty.

He ſent him before to *Tlaſcala*, with all the *Spaniſh* Soldiers who had any Skill in the Carpenters Trade, in order to begin the Work, with a ſufficient Number of *Indians* to cut Wood, or do any other Service for which there might be occaſion; at the ſame time he ordered the Iron-work and Rigging, and whatever had been preſerved out of the Ships that were ſunk, to be brought up from *Vera Cruz*; and, having obſerved that thoſe Mountains produced Trees which afford a kind of Roſin, he drew out ſuch a Quantity as was neceſſary for the careening of his Barks. He was in want of Powder, but ſoon found Means to make very good, ſending to ſearch for Sulphur in the Volcano diſcovered by *Diego Ordaz*; for he believed they could not fail of finding it there: And ſome *Spaniſh* Soldiers belonging to the Artillery offered their Service; and, in fine, returned with as much Sulphur as was wanted. When this Affair was over, he began to think of returning to *Tlaſcala*, to haſten as much as he could the Preparations for his Expedition; and before he went he left his Inſtructions with the new Council at *Segura*, and appointed Capt. *Franciſco de Orozco* Commander of the Garriſon, with about twenty *Spaniſh* Soldiers, and the Militia of the Country, at his Diſpoſal.

8. *Cortes* complained with ſome Warmth of *Franciſco Garay*, becauſe, knowing the Progreſs he had made in the Empire of *Mexico*, he did not, notwithſtanding, endeavour to make a Settlement in the Province of *Panuco*; but ſuch a happy Aſcendant had the Fortune of *Cortes*, over that of his Rivals, that as *Velaſquez* furniſhed him with Succours, the ſame Way by which he intended to deſtroy him, and ſupport *Narvaez*; ſo the Meaſures which *Garay* had taken to uſurp ſome Part of his Government, turned likewiſe to his Advantage. We have already related how *Garay* was repulſed, when *Cortes* was with his Troops at *Zempoalla*; notwithſtanding which, he prepared another Fleet, with a greater Number of Soldiers, commanded by his beſt Officers.

But the ſecond Expedition was as unfortunate as the firſt; for the *Spaniards* were no ſooner landed, than they met with ſuch Reſiſtance from the *Indians*, that they were glad to retreat to their Ships in the utmoſt Diſorder; and, being wholly intent how to avoid the preſent Danger, put to Sea without obſerving the ſame Courſe. They were ſeparated for ſome Days, and, without knowing any thing of each others Deſign, they arrived almoſt at the ſame time, on the Coaſt of *Vera Cruz*, where they agreed to ſerve under *Cortes*, without any other Motive than that of his great Reputation. This Succour was looked upon as ſent from Heaven; for tho' it be certain that the Confuſion of the Soldiers and Sailors might help to diſperſe theſe Veſſels, which forced them on the Coaſt, where they were ſo much wanted, yet their coming ſo opportunely, and after ſo many Miſfortunes, to augment the Troops of *Cortes*, is an Event worthy of particular Reflection.

The firſt Ship that arrived was commanded by Captain *Camargo*, and had on board ſixty *Spaniſh* Soldiers; a little after came another with fifty choice Soldiers, and ſeven Horſe, commanded by Captain *Miguel Diaz*, a Gentleman of *Arragon*, who had ſignalized himſelf on all Occaſions; and laſtly, though ſomewhat late, arrived the Veſſel commanded by Captain *Ramirez*, with forty Soldiers, ten Horſes, and great Abundance of Proviſions and Arms. They all landed, and the firſt, without ſtaying for the reſt, made the beſt of their Way to *Tlaſcala*, leaving an Example to the Followers to take the ſame Rout, which they all did with entire Satisfaction; for the great Advantages made by *Cortes*, in *New Spain*, had made ſuch a Noiſe over all the Iſlands, that the Soldiers were eaſily led whither they thought Proſperity invited them. This Succour augmented the Number of the *Spaniards*, and inſpired them with freſh Hopes. The Soldiers received the new Comers with Joy; they embraced each other as Friends of a long Acquaintance, without any other Tye than that of coming from the ſame Country.

Notwithſtanding this good Fortune, he could not quiet the Soldiers of *Narvaez*, who were importunate with him, for Leave to return to the Iſle of *Cuba*; they put him in Mind of his Promiſe, and he could not deny but that they went upon the Expedition to *Tepeaca* on that Condition; for which Reaſon he was not willing to enter into any new Diſputes with them, and the rather becauſe he found his Troops augmented with Soldiers, better diſciplined, and did not think it a proper time to march at the Head of unwilling Mutineers.

For theſe Reaſons therefore he ordered a Proclamation to be made: *That whoever had a Mind to return home, was free to go, and ſhould be furniſhed with Veſſels, and every thing elſe that was neceſſary.* The greateſt Part of the Soldiers of *Narvaez* made uſe of the Opportunity, but ſome ſtayed; and what deſerves to be remarked is, that *Andres de Duero*, who appeared on ſeveral Occaſions ſo much attached to the Intereſt of *Cortes*, was one of thoſe who retired; and although there be no Account of the Reaſon of this Separation, we may very well believe there was but little Sincerity in the Pretences with which he coloured his Retreat; ſince we find him, ſhortly after, making uſe of all his Intereſt at Court in favour of *Velaſquez*.

9. *Cortes* having now got rid of theſe Mutineers, whom *Alverado* had the Care of conducting to the Veſſels, began to conſider of the Time neceſſary to be employed in building the Brigantines. He diſpatched new Orders to the Confederates, to hold themſelves in readineſs to march upon the firſt Notice, directing the Quantity of Proviſions and Arms they were to provide: And at his Leiſure Hours he wrote an Account of all the Particulars of the Conqueſt, to be ſent to the Emperor; deſigning to equip a Veſſel, and ſend new Agents, who might haſten the Diſpatch of the former, or give him Notice of the Condition his Affairs were in at the Court of *Spain*; his Uncertainty therein being now one of his greateſt Diſquiets.

Cortes drew up this Account in Form of a Letter, and repeating every thing of Importance in the Diſpatches he ſent the Year before by the Captains *Portocarrero* and *Montexo*, he gave his Majeſty a faithful Relation of all his Adventures, from the Time he marched out of *Zempoalla*, and by his Courage and Conduct made his triumphant Entry into the capital City of the Empire, till he was afterwards forced to retreat to *Tlaſcala* with conſiderable Loſs. He alſo acquainted him with how much Security he was able to maintain himſelf in that Province, together with the Number of *Spaniards* that had augmented his Troops, and the great Confederacies he had made with divers *Indian* Nations, for renewing the War againſt the *Mexicans*. He expreſſed, with a noble and generous Confidence, the Hope he had of reducing to his Majeſty's Obedience all that new World, whoſe Bounds to the North were unknown even to the Natives. He enlarged upon the Riches of that Empire, the Fertility of the Soil, and the Wealth of the ſeveral Princes. He highly extolled the Valour and Conſtancy of the *Spaniards*, and the Affection and Fidelity of the *Tlaſcalans*; with Relation to himſelf, he left it to his Actions to ſpeak for him. He deſired ſpeedy Juſtice againſt the unfair Proceedings of *Velaſquez*, and *Franciſco Garay*; and made preſſing Inſtances of an immediate Succour of Soldiers, Horſes, Arms, and other warlike Proviſions. He repreſented, in yet ſtronger Terms, the Neceſſity of ſending ſome Eccleſiaſtics, and Regulars of approved Virtue, to aſſiſt Father *Olmedo* in the Converſion of the *Indians*; giving an Account that ſome of the Chief among them were already baptized, and that in the reſt there was ſuch a Diſpoſition to receive the Truth, as gave great Hopes of its making a conſiderable Progreſs.

The General ſent theſe Diſpatches by the Captains *Mendoca* and *Ordaz*. His private Inſtructions to them were, "That before they diſcovered their Commiſſion, " or made any Declaration of their being ſent by him, " they ſhould firſt find his Father, and the two Agents " who were ſent the Year before, and jointly carry on " their Negociation, according as the Condition of his " Affairs ſhould require." He remitted alſo a ſecond Preſent to the Emperor, conſiſting of Gold and other Curioſities which had been preſerved at *Tlaſcala*, to which the Soldiers alſo contributed, and were, upon this Occaſion, very liberal; adding the Booty acquired in the Expeditions of *Tepeaca* and *Guacachula*; a Preſent leſs in Value than the former, but more deſerving, as being amaſſed in the Midſt of their Diſgraces, after thoſe Loſſes whereof *Cortes* had given a faithful Account in his Letters.

10. It is now neceſſary, in order to the perfect underſtanding of what is to follow, that we ſhould look over into *Spain*, in order to ſee what Effects both theſe and the former Applications produced in his Favour had; ſince, at preſent, he was not in more Danger from the Arms of his Foes in the new World, than from the repeated Efforts of thoſe implacable Enemies which, in ſpite of all his glorious Succeſſes, laboured his Deſtruction in the old. That we may perform what we intend of this kind at once, we will take up things from the Beginning, reducing the whole of this Controverſy in the *Spaniſh* Court, into as narrow a Compaſs as is poſſible. It was a long time that *Martin Cortes*, with the two firſt Envoys of his Son, *Alonſo Portocarrero*, and *Franciſco de Montexo*, held the wretched Employment of waiting in the Antichambers of the Miniſters, ſo far from being admitted to Audience, that, not daring to importune them, they only preſented themſelves in the Throngs as they paſſed by, and were forced to content themſelves with receiving an accidental Glance of an Eye, the comfortleſs Notice taken of thoſe who are afraid to ruin their Pretenſions, by advancing them unſeaſonably. The Emperor, however, gave them a very favourable Hearing, and found ſufficient time to inform himſelf, exactly, of all that paſſed in *New Spain*, and to judge what might be expected from the Enterprize. And, in order to this, he made himſelf Maſter of the whole Affair, not diſdaining to aſk Queſtions upon many Points. By this Means the Emperor diſcovered the great Advantages which might be expected from ſuch wonderful Beginnings: And the Idea he at that time formed of the Merit of *Cortes* helped to recommend him to his Favour, as he was naturally inclined to value extraordinary Men.

The ſudden Departure of the Emperor did not permit him to come to any Reſolution, in a Matter wherein ſo many Difficulties were raiſed, as well by the Agents of *Velaſquez*, as by ſome Miniſters who ſupported them. But when the Day of his Embarkation came, which was the 20th of *May*, 1520, his Majeſty did, in a particular Manner, recommend the Affair of *Cortes* to Cardinal *Adriano*, Governor of the Kingdom in his Abſence. The Cardinal was very ſincerely deſirous to favour his Cauſe; but as the Informations, by which he was to govern himſelf, came from the Council of the *Indies* (where the Votes were influenced by the Authority and Prejudice of the Preſident the Biſhop of *Burgos*) he found himſelf at a Loſs how to come to any Reſolution; nor was it an eaſy Matter to aſſure himſelf of making a right Judgment, while the Repreſentations of *Velaſquez* came cloathed with the Appearance of Juſtice, and the noble Exploits of *Cortes* were diſcredited with the Name of Rebellion. Afterwards, when it was moſt neceſſary, there wanted Time to examine into the Truth of this Affair, the Cares of the Miniſters being employed in Matters of the laſt Importance. It was, indeed, a very improper Time to conſider of new Enterprizes, when the Miniſters were ſo wholly employed in finding Remedies for the Evils which afflicted the State within Doors, that thoſe without made no Sort of Impreſſion upon them: So that *Martin Cortes*, and his Friends, ſenſible of the ſmall Advantages they reaped by their Solicitations, and of the general Diſorders of Affairs, retired to *Medillin*, with a Reſolution to let the Storm blow over, and expect the Return of the Emperor, who was perfectly well apprized of the Affair, and had ſhewn a Diſpoſition to do Juſtice to their Pretenſions; and they plainly ſaw that his Authority was neceſſary to ſurmount the Oppoſition of the Biſhop of *Burgos*, and other Impediments which aroſe from the preſent Poſture of Affairs.

Some little Time after *Ordaz* and *Mendoça* arrived at *Seville* after a proſperous Voyage; and, without diſcovering themſelves, or their Commiſſion, they took Care to be informed about *Cortes*'s Affairs, a Precaution which imported no leſs than their Liberty; for they underſtood, to their great Surprize, that the Commiſſioners of Trade had expreſs Orders from the Biſhop of *Burgos*, to ſtop and impriſon any Perſon who ſhould be ſent from *New Spain*, and to ſeize on the Gold and other Merchandize that he ſhould bring, either on his own Account, or by way of Commiſſion. Upon which they only endeavoured to ſecure their Perſons, and thought themſelves very happy in preſerving their Letters and Diſpatches, leaving the Preſent for the King, with every thing elſe, in the Hands of thoſe Judges, and to be diſpoſed of at the Pleaſure of the Biſhop of *Burgos*. They parted from *Seville*, not without great Apprehenſion of being diſcovered; determining, if poſſible, to find out at the Court either *Martin Cortes*, or the two Agents, in order to get Light how to proceed; but hearing, on the Road, that they were retired to *Medellin*, they went on to that Town, where their Arrival was welcomed with all the Demonſtrations of Joy which ſuch wonderful and wiſhed for News could inſpire. It was debated among them, whether it would be proper to carry the Diſpatches of *Cortes* immediately to the Cardinal-Regent, without delaying to inform him of ſuch important News: But, conſidering the preſent Diſturbances of the Kingdom, they thought it would be to no Purpoſe to ſpeak of diſtant Advantages, upon which they reſolved to continue in their Retirement, till the Miniſters were more at Leiſure.

The Account which came ſoon after, of the Emperor's Return, contributed very much to reſtore the public Tranquility; he gave Aſſurance, in his Letters, that he would leave all other Affairs, to come where his Preſence was ſo neceſſary. This Aſſurance entirely ſettled every thing, and *Martin Cortes*, judging it a proper Time to renew his Solicitations, ſet out immediately for the Court, with the four Commiſſioners from his Son; where, after ſome ſmall Delays, they had a particular Audience of the Cardinal-Regent. They informed him, in general, how far Matters were advanced towards the Conqueſt of *Mexico*, and referred him to the Letters of *Cortes* for the Particulars. They gave him alſo an Account of the Orders they found at *Seville*, for impriſoning any one who ſhould come from *Cortes*, and of the Seizure of the Preſent they had brought for the King. Upon this Occaſion, they repreſented the Reaſons they had to diſtruſt the Biſhop of *Burgos*, and, laſtly, deſired Leave to except againſt him, in a legal Way, as a Judge, offering to make good the Reaſons of their Exception, or ſuffer the Penalty of their taking ſuch a Step. The Cardinal heard them with Attention; he ſeemed touched with their Misfortune, and comforted them with Promiſes of a ſpeedy Diſpatch: He was particularly diſpleaſed with the Orders given at *Seville*, and the Seizure of the Preſent, as being done without his Knowledge. And farther, the Cardinal anſwered them, with regard to their Requeſt concerning the Biſhop, That they might take their Remedy againſt him at Law.

With theſe Encouragements to hope for better Fortune they immediately entered their Exception againſt the Preſident of the Council of the *Indies*, in his own Court, delivering their Reaſons in Writing, with all the Temper and Moderation neceſſary to a due Reſpect. But their Reaſons were ſo ſtrong, and the Truth of what they alledged ſo well known to the other Judges, that they durſt not deny Juſtice in an Affair of that Importance, and more eſpecially on the Approach of the Emperor's Return. After a full Hearing, the Biſhop was abſolutely forbid to interfere in any Matter between *Cortes* and *Velaſquez*. His Orders were revoked, the Embargoes at *Seville* taken off, and the Importance of the Undertaking appeared in its true Light. The heroic Actions of *Cortes*, which were almoſt obſcured before by the Suſpicion of his Fidelity, were now celebrated as they deſerved, and the Cardinal, by ſeveral Decrees, recommended the Diſpatch of the Envoys, and was ſo ſincerely deſirous to forward the Affair, that, even after he had received the News of his Exaltation to St. *Peter*'s Chair, he diſpatched ſome Orders favourable to *Cortes*, as he was on the Road to embark.

11. In a ſhort Time after the Emperor's Arrival in his *Spaniſh* Dominions he gave Audience to the Envoys of *Cortes*, and notwithſtanding thoſe of *Velaſquez* at the ſame Time preſented their Requeſt; yet, as he had been well informed of the Caſe, on both Sides, by Letters from the Cardinal, now Pope, he, by a new Sentence, confirmed the Recuſation of the Biſhop of *Burgos*, and appointed Commiſſaries to determine this Affair. The firſt thing the Council did was, to look over the Memorials, drawn from Letters and Relations produced at the Trial; but there they were ſo embarraſſed by contradictory Accounts, that they thought it neceſſary to order the Agents, on both Sides, to explain themſelves *viva voce* at the next Meeting; for they were all deſirous to diſpatch this Affair, and examine ſtrictly into the Accuſations brought by the Parties againſt each other, and into the Strength of their reſpective Arguments, that ſo they might come to the Knowledge of the Truth.

The next Day the Agents appeared before the Council, with their Advocates, and, amongſt thoſe for *Velaſquez*, *Andres de Duero* ſignified himſelf. But People were the leſs ſurprized to ſee him unfaithful to his Friend, knowing he had been ſo firſt to his Maſter. The Memorials were read, and the Parties at the ſame Time were examined, in order to diſcover how they juſtified themſelves from their reſpective Accuſations. From their Anſwers the Judges drew what was ſufficient to decide the Affair; and, after ſome few Days Hearings, the Court unanimouſly agreed, "That it was not reaſonable for *Velaſquez* to appropriate to himſelf the Conqueſt of *New Spain*, without a better Title than that of having expended ſome Money in the Preparations for that Enterprize, and naming *Cortes* for Commander: That he could only have his Action for what he had laid out: That the Nomination of *Cortes* afforded him no Pretence; for beſides that he gave him the Commiſſion without the Authority of the Commiſſioners of the Royal Audience, whoſe Orders he ſhould have received, or ſo much as acquainting them with it, he loſt thoſe Prerogatives the Day that he revoked it, and could have no Right to ſay, that the Conqueſt was made by his Order; *Cortes* being, by that Revocation, left free to act as he ſhould judge moſt advantageous for the Service of the King, with the Troops and Veſſels, which for the moſt Part he had equipped at his own Expence, and that of his Friends: And laſtly, they cenſured *Velaſquez*, as a Perſon who had ſhewn a very ungovernable Ambition, in aſpiring to uſurp the Glory and Advantage of the Actions of another, and as having been guilty of a Raſhneſs, which deſerved a very ſevere Reprimand, in ſending an Army againſt *Hernan Cortes*, without conſidering the Conſequences which might have attended ſuch violent Proceedings, or regarding the Orders he had received to the contrary, from the Miniſters of the Royal Audience of *Santa Domingo*."

Theſe Concluſions were laid before the Emperor, which being approved by his Majeſty, Sentence was pronounced, declaring *Hernan Cortes* to be a good Miniſter and faithful Subject, honouring with the like Approbation the Officers and Soldiers under his Command; impoſing perpetual Silence on *Velaſquez*, on the Subject of having any Pretenſions to the Conqueſt of *New Spain*, and ſtrictly commanding him, on Pain of ſevere Puniſhment, not to raiſe the leaſt Obſtacle to that Affair, directly or indirectly, with a Reſervation to any Demand he might have, on account of Monies by him expended in the Armament of the Veſſels which he was to ſue for, in the ordinary Way of Juſtice. And thus ended this Affair; the Judges referring the Honours deſigned for *Cortes*, the reprimanding *Velaſquez*, and other Concluſions of the Council, to the Diſpatches that were to be ſent in the Name of the Emperor. The next thing taken into Conſideration was the Aſſiſtance to be given *Cortes*, the Care of which the Emperor referred to the ſame Council. He gave a very favourable Audience to his Agents, beſtowed ſeveral Marks of his Kindneſs upon *Martin Cortes*, on account of his Son's Merit, whom he promiſed to reward according to his Service.

Several Regulars were named for the Converſion of the *Indians:* He ordered a conſiderable Number of Arms and Horſes to be embarked in the firſt Fleet, and, conſidering how much the utmoſt Diſpatch imported to them, he commanded the Orders to be immediately drawn, and ſent; one was directed to the Royal Audience of *Santa Domingo*, another to *Velaſquez*, ſtrictly enjoining him to deſiſt from further interfering in that Enterprize, and ſeverely cenſuring his violent Proceedings; another to *Franciſco Garay*, blaming him for attempting any thing on *New Spain:* The laſt was directed to *Cortes*, and abounded in thoſe Marks of Honour and Favour, which Kings beſtow on thoſe from whom they have received extraordinary Services, when they do not diſdain to own the Obligation. Theſe Diſpatches were ſigned by the Emperor in *Valladolid* the 22d of *October* 1522, and ſent away with two of the Envoys of *Cortes*, the other two remaining to ſollicit Succours, and receive Inſtructions that were framing for the Government of the new conquered Country. But to return,

12. When our Hero reſolved to renew the War, it was towards the Year 1520, and he had no ſooner reſolved than ſo lucky an Accident happened, as gave both himſelf and his Soldiers freſh Spirits. A Ship arrived at *Vera Cruz* with Arms and Ammunition on the Account of private Merchants, but both the Captain and all his Men were ſo charmed with the Reports they heard of the Riches of *Mexico*, that they quitted their Ship, and joined the Army. The next Day there was a general Muſter, when it appeared, that there were five hundred and forty Foot, and forty Horſe, together with nine Pieces of Cannon. The *Tlaſcalans* furniſhed ten thouſand Men, and the Confederates in Proportion.

The Army marched that Day ſix Leagues, and took up their Quarters in a Place called *Tezmeluca*, which ſignifies a Grove of Oaks. It was a conſiderable Town, ſituate on the *Mexican* Confines, and in the Juriſdiction of *Guaxacingo*, whoſe Cazique took Care to provide ſufficiently for all the Troops. The Day following they continued their March with all neceſſary Precautions. They received Advice, that the *Mexicans* were aſſembled on the other Side of a Mountain, which rendered the Road of *Tezcuco* very difficult, and becauſe they came not to that Place till towards Evening, and it was not adviſeable to march through ſuch broken mountainous Ground when Night was approaching, the Army made a Halt. In the Morning they began to mount the Hill, and penetrate the Woods, but they had not marched much above a League, when the Van-guard returned, with an Account that the Enemy had ſtopt up the Way, with Trees laid a-croſs, and ſharp Stakes, which they had fixed in the looſe Sands, to wound the Horſes; upon which *Cortes* ſaid to the *Spaniards* aloud, Theſe valiant People don't ſeem very deſirous to meet us, ſince they take ſo much Pains to ſtop up our Way to them; and he ordered two thouſand *Tlaſcalans* to join the Van-guard, and clear the Road, which they executed with ſo much Expedition, that the Rear of the Army ſcarce ſeemed to ſtop.

From this Place they diſcovered the great Lake of *Mexico*, and upon this Occaſion *Cortes* put his Soldiers in Mind of the Riches they had enjoyed, as well as of what they had ſuffered in that City, mixing the good and bad, that he might animate them to Revenge. They likewiſe diſcovered ſeveral Fires in diſtant Towns, ſucceeding one another with ſome Intermiſſion; and, tho' there was no doubt but theſe were Signals made on the Diſcovery of the Army, they purſued their March with the ſame Precaution. They ſoon diſcovered, at a great Diſtance, the Enemy's Army, which took up all the Plain, without making any Motion, ſeeming reſolved to continue in a Poſt from whence they could eaſily make a Retreat. The *Spaniards* rejoiced at the Opportunity of coming ſo ſoon to an Action, and the *Tlaſcalans* did the ſame: But the Joy of the latter ſoon turned to Fury; ſo that *Cortes* was obliged to make uſe of his Authority, and the Diligence of ſome of his Captains, to prevent their running into Diſorder.

The *Mexicans* were on the farther Side of a great Baranco, or Chaſm in the Earth, which muſt of Neceſſity be paſſed. It was made deeper by a Brook, which, collecting all the Waters from the Mountains, ran through it, and was at that Time conſiderably ſwelled. The *Mexicans* had a little wooden Bridge over it for the Uſe of Paſſengers, which they could eaſily have broke down, but had left on Purpoſe, as was afterwards ſuppoſed, that they might deſtroy their Enemies in that narrow Paſs, thinking it impoſſible that they could ever form themſelves on the other Side, when ſo vigorouſly oppoſed. After this Manner they reaſoned, when at a Diſtance from Danger, but when they diſcovered the Army of *Cortes*, which they had believed to be ſo numerous, their Imaginations were ſtruck with other Notions: They wanted Courage to defend their Poſt, and therefore began to retire by little and little, without turning their Backs. *Cortes* advanced with Speed, and when he came up to the Baranco, he eſteemed it a Piece of good Fortune that the Enemy had quitted it; for, notwithſtanding the *Spaniards* found no Reſiſtance, they had ſome Difficulty in paſſing it. He detached twenty Horſe, and ſome Companies of *Tlaſcalans*, to keep the Enemy in play, without engaging farther, until ſuch Time as the reſt of his Troops were paſſed. But the *Mexicans* no ſooner ſaw them drawing up on the other Side of the Baranco, than they laid aſide all their Policy, diſperſing themſelves at once, ſome betaking themſelves to the moſt unfrequented Paths, and others ſeeking Refuge in the Mountains.

Cortes did not care to loſe Time, but marched to poſſeſs himſelf of *Tezcuco*. The Army in their March made ſome Slaughter of the *Mexicans*, who had abſconded in the Woods. The ſame Night the Troops quartered in a Place lately forſaken by the Inhabitants, within three Leagues of *Tezcuco*, where they doubled their Sentinels, and were in a Manner all Night under Arms. But the next Day, at a little Diſtance from the Town, they diſcovered about ten *Indians*, who were coming in Haſte along the Road, with the Appearance of a Meſſage, and who brought with them a Plate of Gold, in Form of a Flag, hanging to the Top of a Lance, which was looked upon as a Sign of Peace.

The Chief of them came as Embaſſador from the King of *Tezcuco*, deſiring *Cortes* to ſpare his People and Country; acquainting him, that he deſired to be his Confederate, for which End he had provided good Quarters for all the *Spaniards* in the City; and that the reſt of the Nations, under his Command, ſhould be ſupplied with every Thing that was neceſſary. *Cortes* put ſome Queſtions to him; and, as he came well inſtructed, he anſwered without Heſitation; adding, that his Maſter had juſt Reaſon to complain of the Emperor, who was about to execute his Revenge upon him by ſome Extortions, and other Oppreſſions not to be endured, for his having refuſed him his Vote in his Election, for which Reaſon he was reſolved to unite himſelf with the *Spaniards*, as one of the moſt intereſted in the Ruin of that Tyrant.

It does not appear from any of the *Spaniſh* Hiſtorians who this King of *Tezcuco* was; but they all agree, that he was both a Tyrant and a Uſurper, ſo that as ſoon as the *Spaniards* were in Poſſeſſion of the Place, the Nobility deſired *Cortes* to reſtore their lawful Prince; which, as it was an Act of Juſtice, and ſeemed to promiſe much in favour of the *Spaniſh* Intereſt, he readily performed, to the great Joy of the Inhabitants.

13. As they made ſome Stay in this City, *Olmedo* found Means to convert the King to the Chriſtian Religion; and he proved both a faithful, and an uſeful Ally; ſending ſix or ſeven thouſand of his Subjects to aſſiſt in widening the Canals, that they might the better receive the Brigantines, which had been prepared in order to ſail into the great Lake, againſt the armed Canoes, which the *Indians* employed thereon. *Cortes*, at the ſame time, deſiring to undertake ſomething to facilitate the Enterprize upon *Mexico*, reſolved to advance to the City of

Iztapalapa, ſix Leagues forward, that he might deprive the *Mexicans* of the Shelter for their Canoes, and partly to give the confederate *Indians* ſome Employment.

The City of *Iztapalapa* was ſituated upon the ſame Cauſway by which the *Spaniards* made their firſt Entry into *Mexico*; and diſpoſed after ſuch a Manner, that the greateſt Part of the Building was within the very Lake, whoſe Water was brought into that Part of the Town, which was built upon the Bank, by Trenches, to let it in as Occaſion required. *Cortes* charged himſelf with the Care of this Expedition, and took with him the Captains *Alverado* and *Olid*, with three hundred *Spaniards*, and ten thouſand *Tlaſcalans*; and though the young King of *Tezcuco* was deſirous to accompany him, he would not permit it, telling him his Preſence would be more uſeful in the City; the military Government of which he left to *Sandoval*, and, with both of them, ſuch Inſtructions as he thought neceſſary for the Security of their Quarters, and to keep things in order in his Abſence. They preſently began their March by the Cauſway, deſigning to poſſeſs themſelves firſt of that Part of the City which was built upon it, and diſlodge the Inhabitants from the other Part, with the Artillery and Fire-Arms: But the Enemy was informed of their Motions, and the Army was no ſooner come within Sight of the Place, than they diſcovered a Body of about eight thouſand Men, at a little Diſtance from the Walls, who came out to defend them with ſo much Reſolution, that, though they found themſelves inferior in Number, they ſtood the Engagement, and fought with Bravery enough to retire with Reputation, which they did in a little time to the City; where, without ſtaying to defend the Entrance, or ſhut up the Gates, they inſtantly diſappeared, throwing themſelves into the Lake in Diſorder.

Cortes was ſenſible that this kind of Retreat had the Appearance of a Stratagem to draw him into ſome greater Danger, and therefore marched his Army into the City with all poſſible Precaution, but he found the Houſes utterly abandoned; and, though the Noiſe and Cries of the Enemy continued in that Part, which ſtood in the Water, he reſolved, with the Advice of his Captains, to maintain himſelf in the Poſt where he was, and lodge within the Walls, without attempting any thing farther, the Day being far ſpent: But it ſcarce began to be dark, when they perceived the Canals every where to overflow, the Water running impetuouſly over the lower Grounds.

Cortes immediately underſtood that the Enemy's Deſign was to drown this Part of the City, which they might eaſily do by opening the Sluices of the great Lake; and, as the Danger was inevitable, he was obliged to give Orders, inſtantly to quit the Place; and, though they made all the haſte poſſible, the Water came above their Knees. *Cortes* was very much mortified, that he had not prevented this Stratagem of the *Indians*; as if it was poſſible, with the utmoſt Vigilance, to provide againſt all Accidents. He drew out his Army into the Road of *Tezcuco*, to which Place he thought to retire, deferring the Enterprize of *Iztapalapa* to a more favourable Opportunity; for it was impracticable, at this time, without a greater Force on the Lake-ſide, and ſome Veſſels, to drive the *Mexicans* from the Place. The Troops lodged that Night on a little Hill free from the Water, where, nevertheleſs, they ſuffered very much, being wet and without any Defence againſt the Cold; but in ſuch good Heart, that there was not the leaſt Murmuring among the Soldiers.

At the firſt Appearance of Day, he continued his Retreat, and haſtened the March of his Men. As ſoon as it was broad Day, they diſcovered a formidable Body of Enemies in purſuit of the Army, *Cortes*, notwithſtanding this, marched on, but more ſlowly, though the Soldiers moved but very unwillingly, being animated with a Spirit of Vengeance againſt their Enemies. When *Cortes* thought convenient, he ordered his Troops to halt and face about; and the Enemies began the Attack with the ſame Precipitation that they purſued; but the *Spaniſh* Croſs-bows, and the Bows of the *Tlaſcalans*, gave a Check to their firſt Fury; and at the ſame time the Horſe charged them, making Room for the confederate Troops, who entirely broke that diſorderly Multitude, and obliged them to leave the Field with conſiderable Loſs.

Cortes purſued his March without ſtopping, to reach his Quarters before Night. But the Enemy, no leſs diligent in rallying than retiring, advanced a ſecond and third time to the Attack, without being terrified with the great Slaughter they had ſuſtained; till ſuch time as, fearing to approach too near *Tezcuco*, where the whole Strength of the *Spaniards* lay, they marched back to *Iztapalapa*, ſufficiently chaſtized for their Boldneſs, having loſt, in the three Attacks, ſix thouſand Men: And tho' *Cortes* had ſome wounded, he loſt only two *Tlaſcalans* and one Horſe, who, covered with Arrows and Cuts, yet lived to bring off his Maſter. *Cortes*, and all his Army, a little before Night, entered the City of *Tezcuco*, with the Glory of three Victories obtained by the Way, which gave Reputation to the Expedition, and covered the Diſgrace of the Retreat.

While *Cortes* remained in *Tezcuco*, he received frequent Viſits from the neighbouring Caziques; among the reſt there came Meſſengers from the Provinces of *Chalco* and *Otumba*, with an Account that there was a powerful Army of *Mexicans* upon their Frontiers, who had Commiſſion to deſtroy them, for having made an Alliance with the *Spaniards*. They deſired Succour to aſſiſt them in their Defence: This Requeſt appeared neceſſary, for it imported *Cortes* very much, not to ſuffer the *Mexicans* to fix themſelves in a Place where they might cut off his Communication with *Tlaſcala*. He immediately diſpatched *Sandoval* and *Lugo*, with two hundred *Spaniards*, fifteen Horſe, and a ſufficient Number of *Tlaſcalans*; among whom, there were ſome who had obtained his Permiſſion to retire to their own Country, and ſecure the Spoils they had obtained in the War. Theſe Wretches marched with the Baggage of the Army, and, as Avarice regulated the Weight of their Burdens, they had ſo overloaded themſelves, that they could not keep up with the Troops, but were forced to ſtop frequently to take Breath.

The *Mexicans* being informed of this, fell upon them in one of their reſting Places. *Sandoval* and *Lugo* returned immediately to their Relief, and fell upon the Enemy ſo vigorouſly, with their whole Force, that they turned their Backs as ſoon as attacked: Five or ſix *Tlaſcalans*, who were diſarmed and embarraſſed with their Burdens, periſhed upon this Occaſion, but the *Spaniards* recovered all the Booty, with ſome Addition. They continued their March, till the Army, having paſſed the Province of *Chalco*, approached the Frontiers of *Tlaſcala*. The *Mexicans* had aſſembled all the Troops of the neighbouring Provinces, to chaſtize the Rebels of *Chalco* and *Otumba*; and, knowing that the *Spaniards* were coming to the Relief of thoſe two Nations, they reinforced themſelves with Part of the Troops quartered about the Lake; and having thus a very formidable Army, poſted themſelves on the Road the *Spaniards* were to paſs, to try their Strength in the Field. *Sandoval* and *Lugo*, having given what Orders they thought neceſſary, advanced in order of Battle, without altering their Pace: But, on Sight of the Enemy, the *Spaniards* and *Tlaſcalans* halted, to examine more narrowly the Intention of that Body of Troops.

14. The *Mexicans* had the Advantage in Numbers, and advanced in Crowds, and made the firſt Diſcharge, without any Effect. The two Captains taking Advantage of their Confuſion, ordered the Horſe to advance, whoſe Attack immediately made Room for the *Spaniards* and *Tlaſcalans*, breaking this diſorderly Multitude with great Slaughter. The Flight of the Enemy ſoon became univerſal; and the Troops of *Chalco* and *Otumba*, which had ſallied out on the Noiſe of the Battle, coming up at the ſame time, the Chace was ſo bloody, that the *Mexican* Army was entirely defeated, with little or no Loſs. Eight of the moſt conſiderable Priſoners were reſerved, in order to get ſome Information from them; and the Army paſſed that Night to the City of *Chalco*, whoſe Cazique went before to prepare Quarters with great

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bundance of Refreſhments for all the Troops; nor did he forget to have the Victory celebrated with Rejoicing, after the uſual Manner of that People.

The Inhabitants of *Chalco*, as Subjects of the *Mexican* Empire, were Enemies to the *Tlaſcalans*, and had, beſides, perpetual Diſputes with them about their Frontiers: But this Night all their Quarrels were forgot, at the Deſire of the *Chalqueſes*. The *Spaniards* were Mediators at the Treaty, and, the Chiefs of both Nations being aſſembled, Peace was concluded: *Sandoval* and *Lugo* undertaking to get it confirmed by *Cortes*, and the *Tlaſcalans* to have it ratified by the Republic. This Affair thus finiſhed, they returned to *Cortes*, who highly commended both the *Spaniſh* Officers, the Soldiers under their Command, and all the *Indian* Auxiliaries. He ſet the eight *Mexican* Captains at Liberty, and ſent them with Propoſals of Peace to their Emperor; not that he hoped any thing from it, farther than ſhewing the Juſtice of the War to all the People in that Part of the World, by obliging the Enemy to draw it upon themſelves, by repeated Refuſals of all Terms of Accommodation.

15. About this time *Cortes* was informed that the Brigantines were finiſhed, by the Induſtry and Care of *Martin Lopez*, and the Republic of *Tlaſcala* granted him ten thouſand Men to carry theſe Veſſels from the Place where they were built to the Lake, which they accordingly performed; and, if we conſider it attentively, this will appear one of the wiſeſt Contrivances of this great Captain, and the happy Execution of it, one of the moſt ſurprizing things performed by the *Spaniards*, in the Courſe of this Expedition. He was no ſooner acquainted with this, than he again took the Field, and had ſeveral Engagements with the Enemy, in moſt of which he was ſucceſsful; but, at the Attack of a Place called *Tacuba*, he was compelled to retreat. A Veſſel arrived at this time at *Vera Cruz*, and in her, *Julian de Alderte*, a Native of *Tordeſillas*, with the Character of the King's Treaſurer, Father *Urrea*, of the Order of *St. Francis*, *Antonia de Caravaial*, *Geronimo Ruiz de la Moto*, *Alonſo Diaz*, *de la Reguera*, and ſeveral Soldiers of Diſtinction, with a very conſiderable Succour of Arms. They immediately marched to *Tlaſcala*, and there had an Eſcort to conduct them ſafe to *Tezcuco*, themſelves carrying the firſt News of their Arrival.

Soon after there arrived Meſſengers, diſpatched in haſte from the Caziques of *Chalco* and *Thamanalco*, to demand Succour; for the Emperor *Guatimozin*, as appeared by his Conduct, applied himſelf entirely to the Arts of War; and had conſidered that there was no better Way to compaſs his Deſign, than by ſeizing on that Frontier, whereby he might cut off their Communication with *Tlaſcala*, and prevent Succours from *Vera Cruz*; a Point of ſo much Conſequence, that *Cortes* found himſelf abſolutely obliged to protect thoſe Allies, to whoſe Fidelity he owed the Preſervation of this Paſs. He immediately diſpatched *Sandoval* to their Relief, with three hundred *Spaniards*, twenty Horſe, and ſome Companies of *Tlaſcala* and *Tezcuco*. *Sandoval* marched with ſuch Diligence, that his Succour arrived very opportunely. The Caziques had aſſembled all their Troops, which, joined to thoſe, made a very conſiderable Body. The Enemy was not far off their Army, having lodged the Night before at *Guaſtepeque*, and it was reſolved to attack them before they entered the Territories of *Chalco*. In the mean time the *Mexicans*, depending upon the Number of their Forces, poſſeſſed themſelves of ſome hollow Ways, in order to wait their coming in a Place where they might be ſecure againſt the Horſe.

The *Spaniards* ſaw the Difficulty when they came to the Charge, and *Sandoval* ſtood in need of all his Reſolution to diſlodge the Enemy from the Poſt; which, however, they did, Sword in Hand, but not without Loſs. The *Mexicans* loſt a great Number in this Conflict; however, they thought themſelves ſtrong enough to rally, and draw up upon the Plain: But *Sandoval*, having overcome the Difficulty of the Paſſage, attacked them ſo briſkly that they had not time to form. The Van-guard continued the Fight with deſperate Fury, but ſoon gave Way, and diſperſed; and the *Spaniards* followed with ſo much Vigour, that the *Mexicans* loſt the greateſt Part of their Troops. *Sandoval* remained Maſter of the Field, and choſe a Place for his Army to halt in, and take a little Reſt, reſolving to advance that Night to *Guaſtepeque*.

But ſcarce had the Troops began to enjoy the Repoſe they ſo much wanted, when the Scouts gave the Alarm ſo warmly, that it was neceſſary to form the Army with all Expedition. A Body of fourteen or fifteen thouſand *Mexicans* were advancing ſo near, that the *Spaniards* could hear their Drums and Horns. Theſe Troops were ſent as a Reinforcement to thoſe which had marched from *Mexico* before. The *Spaniards* advanced to receive thoſe new Comers, and attacked them ſo ſeaſonably, that they made Way for the Horſe to charge; who made ſuch a Slaughter of the Enemy, that they were ſoon obliged to retire to the Town of *Guaſtepeque*; but the *Spaniards* followed them ſo cloſe, that they entered the Place at the ſame time, and maintained the Entrance, till the reſt of the Troops coming up, they divided into the ſeveral Streets, and Sword in Hand drove the Enemy out of the Town. The *Mexicans* loſt great Numbers, and the reſt fled. This Town was ſo large, that *Sandoval* was reſolved to quarter there that Night, and the *Spaniards*, with the greateſt Part of their Allies, lay under Cover.

He was ſoon after obliged to take the Field again, the Enemy having rallied; and *Cortes* himſelf came quickly after into the ſame Country, where he had ſeveral Engagements with the *Mexicans*, not much to his Advantage; for, confiding in the Bravery of his Troops, and deſpiſing too much the Inexpertneſs of the *Indians*, he attacked them even in the moſt difficult Poſts, and thereby gave them ſuch Advantages, as he found it very difficult to ſtruggle with. Yet his old and new Allies remained firm and faithful, which induced him to accept the Invitation given him of going to *Guaſtepeque*, in order to refreſh himſelf and his Army; and, before he well arrived there, he found himſelf called to freſh Toils, by the News that the *Mexicans* had aſſembled a very powerful Army at *Quatlavaca*, ſo that it was abſolutely neceſſary for him to march thither.

16. This large and famous Capital of an *Indian* Principality, *Quatlavaca*, was a populous Town, ſtrong by Nature; ſituate between Baranco's, or Breakings of the Earth, above eight Fathoms deep, which ſerved as a Ditch to the Place, and Paſſage for the Water that deſcended from the Mountains. The Army arrived at this Place, after having ſubdued all the Towns which lay in their Way, without any Difficulty. The *Mexicans* covered the Banks with ſuch a Number of Soldiers, that the Paſſage ſeemed impoſſible: But *Cortes* drew up his Army at a convenient Diſtance; and, while the *Spaniards* and the Confederates endeavoured to divert the Army with their Fire-arms and Arrows, he went to view the Baranco, and, finding it at ſome Diſtance lower much narrower, he immediately ordered two or three Bridges to be made of Trees, cut at the Root, which reached from one Side to the other; and which, laid together as well as poſſible, made a Road for the Infantry to paſs.

The *Spaniards* of the Van-guard, leaving the *Tlaſcalans* to keep the Enemy in play, immediately paſſed over, and formed a Battallion on the other Side of the Ditch, which was continually augmented by the Allies. But the *Mexicans*, who were quickly ſenſible of their Negligence, poured down upon thoſe that had paſſed with ſo much Reſolution, that they had much to do to keep their Ground; and the Succeſs had been very doubtful, if *Cortes* had not opportunely arrived; who, whilſt the Foot were getting over, had found out a Paſſage for the Horſe; which, though very difficult and dangerous, was of great Uſe in the extreme Danger to which the *Spaniards* were reduced. The Horſe wheeled in order to charge the *Mexicans* in the Rear, which they did; aſſiſted by ſome Foot, who had paſſed the Ditch by the Means of two or three Trees, which were fallen down by their own Weight, and lay acroſs the Baranco. But the *Mexicans*, who now ſaw the Danger that threatened them in the Midſt of their Fortifications, gave themſelves for loſt; and, diſperſing, ſought only to eſcape in the beſt Manner they could to the Mountains. They loſt great Numbers both in the Defence of the Ditch and in their Flight, nevertheleſs the greateſt Part of them ſaved themſelves among the Rocks and Precipices. The Town was found entirely abandoned, with great Store of Proviſions, and ſome Spoil; which was given to the Soldiers.

A little after, the Cazique, and ſome of the chief Inhabitants who were willing to ſubmit, called to the *Spaniards* from the further Side of the Ditch, deſiring Leave to return to the Town, and prepare Quarters for the Troops; which was granted, and they were of Uſe afterwards, by the Intelligence they gave of the Enemy's Motions, and by the Knowledge they had of the Country. Early the next Morning, the Army took the Road of *Suchimilco*, a Place which deſerved the Name of a City, ſeated on the Edge of a freſh Water Lake which had a Communication with the great Lake; the Buildings were partly on the Land and partly in the Waters, where a great Number of Canoes ſerved them to paſs from Place to Place. It was of great Importance to take a View of this Town, which was within four Leagues of *Mexico*, but the March was very troubleſome; for after they had paſſed a Defile three Leagues long, they came into a dry barren Country, where the Soldiers ſuffered much for Want of Water.

The Fatigue of the March, and the Heat of the Summer, increaſed their Thirſt to ſuch a Degree, that; at their Entrance into a Foreſt of Pines, they were inſenſible of any Relief from its Shade. Near the Road they found ſome Farm-houſes: Here the Army lodged, and enjoyed that Night the Reſt and Refreſhment they wanted. The Enemy had purpoſely quitted them, to wait for the *Spaniards* in a ſtronger Poſt. *Cortes* drew up his Army in Order of Battle at break of Day, and began his March, expecting to meet with a good deal of Difficulty in his preſent Enterprize, it not being likely that the *Mexicans* would leave a Poſt of ſo great Importance, and ſo near *Mexico*, without a ſtrong Garriſon, eſpecially ſince all who had eſcaped from their paſt Engagements went to that Place. His Conjectures proved right, for the Enemy had drawn up their Battalions in a Plain at ſome Diſtance from the City, having a great and rapid River in their Front, which diſcharged itſelf into the Lake. They had double lined the Banks of this River, and diſpoſed their main Body for the Defence of a wooden Bridge, which they would not cut down, having barricadoed it with Planks and Faſcines; and ſuppoſing, that though this Fortification ſhould be forced, they ſhould have a ſufficient Advantage in the Narrowneſs of the Paſs, and be able to deſtroy their Enemies as faſt as they came over the Bridge: *Cortes* perceived the Difficulty, but, without appearing concerned, extended the Troops of the Allies along the Bank of the River, and, whilſt both Sides made ſome Diſcharges at each other with little Effect, he commanded the *Spaniards* to advance, and go and take the Bridge. They met with ſuch an obſtinate Reſiſtance, that they were twice repulſed; but, returning a third time with greater Valour, and making Uſe of the Enemy's Trenches againſt them, they ſoon gained the Paſs; which ſo diſcouraged the *Mexicans*, that they began every where to fly; their Commanders ordering the Signal for a Retreat.

The *Spaniards* made haſte to ſeize upon the Ground the *Mexicans* had quitted, and at the ſame time ſeveral Companies of *Tlaſcala* and *Tezcuco* threw themſelves into the River and ſwam to the other Side, and joined the Army. The Enemy was drawing up in Order of Battle, under the Walls of the Town, but upon the firſt Advance of the *Spaniards* they began to retire, provoking them ſtill by ſome Diſcharges of Arrows, which did no Execution, to ſignify that they retreated out of Choice: However, *Cortes* fell upon them with Vigour, as they continued retiring into the City; in the Entrance of which they loſt great Numbers; but, ſheltering themſelves within the Barricadoes, with which they had blocked up the Streets, they began again to uſe their Arms, and defy their Enemies.

Cortes left Part of his Troops without the Town, to ſecure his Retreat, and to oppoſe any Attacks that might be made from abroad, and entered with the reſt: For which Purpoſe, ordering ſome Companies to force the Barricadoes in the Streets on the Right and Left, he advanced to the principal, where the Enemy had their greateſt Force. With ſome Difficulty he broke through their Blockade, and, carried away by his Courage, forgot the Care he ought to have taken of his Perſon; for throwing himſelf, with more Bravery than Prudence, into the midſt of a Multitude of Enemies, he found himſelf ſurrounded by them, when he would have retired to the Aſſiſtance of his Foot. He ſupported himſelf for ſome time with the utmoſt Courage, until his Horſe, being tired, fell under him, and put him in extreme Danger of his Life. Thoſe who were neareſt, immediately advanced, and before he was in a Condition to make uſe of his Arms he was in a manner taken; the only thing that defended him, being the great Deſire the *Mexicans* had to ſieze him alive, for a Preſent to their Emperor. At this Inſtant *Chriſtoval de Olea*, a Native of *Medina del Campo*, a Soldier of diſtinguiſhed Valour, who was not far off, ſaw the Diſtreſs of his General, and calling to ſome *Tlaſcalans* who were fighting near him, forced his Way to the Place with ſo much Reſolution, and was ſo well ſeconded by thoſe that followed him, that, after having killed with his own Hand thoſe who preſſed moſt upon his General, he had the good Fortune to reſtore him to his Liberty.

Cortes immediately made uſe of it to puniſh the Enemy, who, upon eſcaping to that Part of the City which ſtood in the Water, left the *Spaniards* Maſters of all the Streets upon the firm Land. *Cortes* came off with two ſlight Wounds, and *Olea* with three dangerous Cuts with a Sword. *Herrera* informs us, that *Cortes* owed his Liberty to a *Tlaſcalan* unknown, both before and after; and relates the Action as a kind of Miracle; but *Bernal Diaz*, who was one of the firſt that came to the Relief of the General, attributes the whole Honour to *Olea*; and the Deſcendants of this valiant Man may very well be excuſed if they rather believe an Author who relates what he ſaw, than one who goes upon Conjectures. Whilſt this Engagement laſted in the Town, the Troops that were without were not idle: The Nobles of *Mexico* made an extraordinary Effort to reinforce the Garriſon of *Suchimilco*, the Preſervation of which their Emperor *Guatimozin* had very much at Heart. They embarked with ten thouſand choſen Men, and landed at ſome Diſtance from the Town, knowing the *Spaniards* were engaged in the Streets, deſigning to fall upon their Rear; but they were diſcovered, and charged with ſo much Reſolution, that they were glad to reimbark, leaving a good Number of their Men behind them, dead in the Field.

This happy Succeſs made *Cortes* Maſter of the Place, and of all the Streets and Buildings upon the firm Land, and, having placed ſufficient Guards by the Water-ſide, he lodged his Troops near the principal Temple, which, having a ſort of a Wall capable of reſiſting the Arms of the *Mexicans*, ſeemed commodious for the Repoſe of the Soldiers, and the Cure of their Wounds; at the ſame time he ordered ſome Companies to mount, and view the Top of the Temple; which being forſaken, he poſted an Officer and twenty or thirty *Spaniards* in the upper Court, with Inſtructions to relieve the Sentinels often, that they might obſerve every thing that paſſed, as well by Land as by Water. A very neceſſary Precaution, and of which the Uſefulneſs was ſoon experienced; for at Cloſe of Evening they gave Notice, that they diſcovered on the Side of *Mexico*, above two thouſand armed Canoes that advanced with all Speed; by which timely Advice the *Spaniards* were enabled to prevent the Dangers of the Night, by doubling their Guards at the landing Places; and in the Morning they ſaw the Enemy diſembark, at a great Diſtance from the City, in Appearance about fourteen or fifteen thouſand Men. *Cortes* went out to receive them, chooſing advantageous Ground for his Horſe, and leaving behind him a good Part of his Troops for the Defence of his Quarters.

The two Armies quickly drew near, and the *Mexicans* began the Charge; but upon receiving the firſt Fire they gave Ground, and the reſt of the Troops coming up

Sword in Hand, and charging them briſkly, they ſoon turned their Backs and fled, and the whole Action was rather a Chace than a Victory. The Day appointed for the Retreat came, which was executed as had been reſolved, the Enemy ſtill advancing to ſeize the difficult Paſſes, in order to diſturb their March; but this Oppoſition was eaſily overcome, and with conſiderable Advantage, and *Cortes* returned to *Tezcuco* with the Satisfaction of having obtained the Ends he propoſed by this Sally; the Knowledge of *Suchimilco*, and breaking the Force of the Enemy, in order to weaken their Defence of *Mexico*. However, he was inwardly diſſatisfied and melancholy, having loſt nine or ten *Spaniards* in this Expedition; for beſides thoſe that were killed at the firſt Aſſault of the Mountains, the *Mexicans* took three or four of them alive at *Suchimilco*, as they were pillaging, and two of his Servants who fell into an Ambuſcade by ſeparating from the Army: What mightily increaſed his Concern was, the Circumſtance of their being taken alive in order to be ſacrificed upon the Altars of the *Indian* Idols, and their Misfortune recalled to his Mind his own paſt Danger, when in the Enemies Power, of dying after the ſame abominable Manner.

17. The Brigantines were now in a Condition to be launched, and the Canal had Depth and Capacity to receive them. The Day was appointed for the confederate Caziques to appear with their Troops, and particular Care was taken to bring Proviſions. The General looked into the moſt minute Matters that related to the carrying on the War, wherein great Dangers are often occaſioned by ſmall Faults, and therefore a very extenſive Prudence is required. But while *Cortes* had his Thoughts employed in theſe Affairs, a new Accident happened which gave him much Trouble, put his Valour to the Teſt, and was a convincing Proof of his Judgment: A *Spaniard*, who had been long in the Service, came to him full of Concern, and deſired to ſpeak with him in private: When that was granted, he informed him, That during his Abſence a Conſpiracy had been forming againſt his Life, and all his Friends; the Author of it, as he ſaid, was a private Soldier, his Name was *Antonio de Villaſana*; and his firſt Intention was to get clear off from that Enterprize, the Difficulties of which to him appeared inſuperable: He ſhewed his Uneaſineſs at firſt, by murmuring, and ſoon proceeded to dangerous Reſolutions: He, and thoſe of his Faction, blamed the General for his Purſuit of that Conqueſt, declaring, That they would not deſtroy themſelves to gratify his Raſhneſs, talking of returning to the Iſland of *Cuba* as if it was a thing very eaſy to be performed.

They met to conſult about this Point with much Secrecy, and though they found no great Difficulty in quitting the Camp, and paſſing as far as *Tlaſcala*, by Virtue of a ſuppoſed Order from the General, the Inconvenience of going to *Vera Cruz* immediately occurred; for there they could not pretend a Commiſſion, or Leave from *Cortes*, without a Paſs from under his Hand, or the Danger of being ſeverely puniſhed. This put them to a Nonplus, and yet they perſiſted in their Reſolution of withdrawing themſelves, without fixing on the Way how to compaſs it. *Antonio de Villaſana*, at whoſe Lodgings they held their Aſſembly, at laſt propoſed to bring all to paſs by killing *Cortes* and his chief Counſellors, and electing another General, who, having not ſet his Heart ſo much upon the Conqueſt of *Mexico*, would be more tractable, and under whom they might treat without incurring the Name of Fugitives; and they might give it the Turn of a Piece of Service to *Velaſquez*, by whoſe Repreſentation of it to the Court of *Spain*, it might be eſteemed a Service done to the King. They all approved of the Project, and began by applauding the Scheme, and drawing up a Writing ſigned by all that were preſent, whereby they obliged themſelves to follow *Villaſana*, in the Execution of this horrible Attempt. And this Affair was managed with ſo much Dexterity, that the Numbers of thoſe who ſigned increaſed conſiderably; and it was to be feared that this ſecret Contagion might break out into ſuch an Evil as would admit of no Remedy.

They had agreed to feign a Packet from *Vera Cruz*, with Letters from *Spain*, and to give it to the General, when he was at Table, all of them going in together, under Colour of hearing the News; and that, whilſt *Cortes* was reading the firſt Letter, they ſhould make uſe of that Opportunity to murder him, and all his Friends, with their Daggers, after which they were to go out and proclaim Liberty in the Streets, which they thought ſufficient to make the Army declare for them. The Perſons they had marked out for Deſtruction were *Olid*, *Sandoval*, *Alverado*, and his Brothers, *Tapia*, the two Alcaldes, *Martin Irico*, *Caſtillo*, and ſome other Soldiers, Favourites of the General. They had alſo agreed to chooſe *Franciſco Verdugo* for their Captain-General, becauſe he had married a Siſter of *Velaſquez*, and therefore they thought he might be eaſily brought over, and was the moſt proper Perſon to ſupport their Party, but they durſt not acquaint him with their Deſign till the Crime was committed, when they concluded he would be obliged to take upon himſelf the Employment, to prevent greater Evils. Such was the Account given by the Soldier, who begged his Life, for he was concerned in the Conſpiracy. *Cortes* reſolved to aſſiſt in Perſon at the ſeizing of *Villaſana*, and, as the firſt Meaſures that were to be taken, to convict him, becauſe he foreſaw that the clearing up the Truth depended on the firſt Steps.

The Importance of the Affair required Precaution, and, as it was no Time to preſerve the ſlow Proceedings of Juſtice, he went immediately to ſecure *Villaſana*, attended by two Alcaldes, and ſome of his Captains, and found him in his Quarters, with three or four of his Accomplices. The Trouble he was in at the Sight of his General, was a plain Proof of Guilt. And *Cortes*, after he had cauſed him to be put in Irons, ordered all to retire, pretending to examine him, when, making Advantage of the Account that had been given him, he took out of his Boſom the Paper ſigned by all the Conſpirators: He read it, and found the Names of ſome Perſons, whoſe Treachery much increaſed his Concern; but, concealing it from his Friends, he directed the Soldiers who were found with *Villaſana* to be put into another Priſon, and then withdrew, leaving Inſtructions with the Officers of Juſtice, to proceed in his Trial with all poſſible Speed, without taking any Notice of his Accomplices. There was not much to do in it; for *Villaſana*, being convicted by the ſeizing of his Paper, and believing that his Friends had betrayed him, immediately confeſſed his Crime: Whereupon, according to military Juſtice, he was condemded to die, which Sentence was put in Execution that very Night, and the next Morning he was ſeen hanging at the Window of his own Lodging; ſo that the Puniſhment was executed at the ſame Time that the Cauſe was publiſhed, the Guilty being ſtruck with Fear, and the reſt with juſt Abhorrence of the Crime.

Cortes was equally afflicted and provoked, to ſee the Number of thoſe concerned in the Conſpiracy; but it was no proper Time to be ſtrict in doing Juſtice at the Beginning of his Enterprize; and therefore, to avoid puniſhing the Guilty, and the Inconveniencies of Impunity, he gave out, that *Villaſana* had ſwallowed a Paper, which he believed contained the Names of the Conſpirators. Soon after he aſſembled his Captains and Soldiers, and gave them an Account of the horrid Deſign and Conſpiracy of *Villaſana*, againſt his Life, and the Lives of many preſent; adding, "That he thought himſelf very happy, in not knowing whether he had any Accomplices, though the great Care *Villaſana* took to deſtroy the Paper he carried in his Boſom, made him ſuſpect he had ſome: But that he did not deſire to know them, and only intreated his Friends to enquire whether the *Spaniards* had any Complaint to make againſt his Proceedings; becauſe he was deſirous, above all Things, to give entire Satisfaction to his Soldiers, and was ready to correct his own Faults, as he knew how to uſe the Rigour of Juſtice, when Lenity appeared of no uſe." At the ſame Time, he ordered the Soldiers that had been taken with *Villaſana* to be ſet at Liberty; and this, confirmed by the Care he took to ſhew no Change in his Behaviour to thoſe who had offended, fully perſuaded them that he was ignorant of their Crime, and they ever after ſerved with extraordinary Care, to remove any Suſpicions of their Fidelity: However, not thinking ſuch an exceſſive Security which lays Care aſleep, and ſeems to invite Danger, at all conſiſtent with Diſcretion, he ordered twelve Men for the Guard of his Perſon, commanded by an Officer; and 'tis likely he made choice of this Opportunity, that the People might without Surprize ſee this new Addition to his Authority.

Soon after he was perplexed with another Affair, though of a different Sort, which had yet ſome Circumſtances of Sedition; for *Xicotencatl*, who commanded the firſt Troops that came from *Tlaſcala*, either upon ſome Diſguſt, which may eaſily be ſuppoſed, conſidering his haughty Temper, or that he ſtill preſerved in his Mind ſome Remains of his former Enmity, reſolved to leave the Army. Aſſembling ſome Companies, which, upon his earneſt Intreaty, engaged to ſtand by him, he took the Advantage of the Night for his Retreat; and *Cortes*, who was preſently informed of it by the *Tlaſcalans* themſelves, was much concerned at a Behaviour of ſuch dangerous Conſequence, in ſo conſiderable a Commander among thoſe Nations, at a Time when he was juſt ready to put his Deſigns in Execution. He ſent ſome noble *Indians* of *Tezcuco* after him, to perſuade him to return, or at leaſt to ſtay till he heard what he had to offer; but the Anſwer of *Xicotencatl* ſo provoked *Cortes*, that he immediately ſent three Companies of *Spaniards*, with an additional Force of *Indians*, with Orders to take him Priſoner, or kill him, in caſe of Reſiſtance. The latter was put in Execution, for he made an obſtinate Defence to the laſt; but the *Tlaſcalans*, who followed him, contrary to their own Inclination, ſhewed but little Reſolution upon this Occaſion, and returned with the *Spaniards* to the Army, leaving their Commander hanging upon a Tree.

Some ſay that the *Spaniards*, ſent after him by *Cortes*, had private Orders to kill him, which ſeems the ſafeſt Reſolution that could have been taken; but which Way ſoever it was done, the extraordinary Foreſight and Prudence of the General in managing this Affair cannot be denied, ſince neither the *Tlaſcalans* of the Army, nor the Republic, nor even his own Father, made the leaſt Complaint for his Death; for, having been informed ſome Days before, that the young Man ſo far forgot himſelf, as to ſpeak ill of his Conduct, and endeavoured to diſcredit, among thoſe of his Nation, the Enterprize upon *Mexico*, *Cortes* ſent an Account of it to *Tlaſcala*; and the Senate, in which his Father was preſent, anſwered, That, according to the Laws of the Republic, whoever was guilty of Mutiny in the Army deſerved Death; and that he might proceed againſt him with the utmoſt Rigour, if he found it neceſſary; as they would do, both againſt *Xicotencatl*, and all that followed him, if they returned to *Tlaſcala*.

18. Theſe Tranſactions did not hinder his attending to the neceſſary Preparations for his great Deſign. The Brigantines were launched by Degrees, a Work happily brought to a Concluſion, by the Induſtry of *Martin Lopez*; and, whilſt they were carrying on Board the Sails, Rigging, and every thing elſe wanting, *Cortes* reviewed his *Spaniards* under Arms: They conſiſted of nine hundred Men, of which, a hundred fourſcore and fourteen were Fire-arms and Croſs-bows, the reſt were armed with Sword and Buckler, and Launces; eighty-ſix Horſe, and eighteen Pieces of Cannon; the three largeſt of Iron, and the other fifteen Braſs, with ſufficient Stores of Powder and Ball. *Cortes* put five and twenty *Spaniards* on board each Veſſel, under the Command of a Captain, with twelve Rowers, ſix on each Side, and one Piece of Artillery, who immediately embarked; and each prepared to defend his own Veſſel, and ſuccour the reſt. Things being thus diſpoſed for the Entry by the Lake, *Cortes* reſolved, by the Advice of his Captains, to poſſeſs himſelf, at the ſame time, of the three principal Cauſways, *viz.* *Tacuba*, *Iztapalapa*, and *Cuyoacan*, without regarding that of *Suchimilco*.

But, that he might avoid ſeparating his Troops, he divided his Army only into three Bodies, and committed the Execution of *Tacuba* to *Alverado*; with the Title of Governor and Commander in chief of that Avenue. He had under his Command one hundred and fifty *Spaniſh* Foot, and thirty Horſe, in three Bodies, with thirty thouſand *Tlaſcalans*, and two Pieces of Artillery. The Attack of *Cuyoacan* was committed to Colonel *Olid*, with one hundred and ſixty *Spaniſh* Foot, in three Companies, with thirty Horſe, two Pieces of Artillery, and thirty thouſand confederate *Indians*. Laſtly, he gave the Charge of the Attack of *Iztapalapa* to Col. *Sandoval*, with one hundred and fifty *Spaniards*, commanded by two Captains, with two Pieces of Cannon, twenty-four Horſe, with all the Troops of *Chalco*, *Guaxacingo*, and *Chulula*, amounting to above forty thouſand Men.

Olid and *Alverado* marched together as far as *Tacuba*, where they were to ſeparate, and took their Quarters in that City, without any Oppoſition, the ſame being abandoned, as were all the Towns upon the Lake; the Inhabitants that were able to bear Arms being gone to *Mexico* to defend their Capital, and the reſt retired to the Mountains, with their Effects. There they had Intelligence, that the *Mexicans* had formed a conſiderable Body, within half a League of the Town, to cover the Aqueducts, which came from the Mountains of *Chapultepeque*. *Guatimozin* took this ſeaſonable Precaution as ſoon as he received News of the Motions of the *Spaniards*, which preſerved thoſe Conveyances that ſupplied all the Fountains in the City with freſh Water. There appeared on that Side two or three Rows of Pipes, made of Trees hollowed, ſupported by an Aqueduct of Lime and Stone; and the Enemy had caſt up ſome Trenches to cover it. But the two Captains marched out of *Tacuba* with moſt of their Troops; and though they met with a very obſtinate Reſiſtance, they drove the Enemy from their Poſt, and broke the Pipes and Aqueduct in two or three Places, and the Water took its natural Courſe into the Lake. Thus *Olid* and *Alverado* began the Siege by cutting off their Water, obliging the *Mexicans* to ſeek it, at a Diſtance, in the Brooks that ran from the Mountains, and to employ their People and Canoes in Carriage and Convoys.

Olid marched on with his Party, and took Poſt at *Cuyoacan*; and *Cortes*, allowing what Time he thought ſufficient for *Sandoval* to reach *Iztapalapa*, took upon himſelf the Command on the Lake, that he might carry Relief where it ſhould be neceſſary: He had with him Don *Fernando*, Lord of *Tezcuco*, and his Brother *Suchel*, a young Man of brave Spirit, who was baptized ſoon after, and took the Name of *Carlos*. *Cortes* left a ſufficient Number of Troops in that City, to cover his Place of Arms, and make Excurſions to ſecure the Communication of his Quarters. Having diſpoſed all Things after he embarked, drawing up his thirteen Brigantines in a Line; his Deſign was to draw near to *Mexico*, and ſhew himſelf, and afterwards to fall upon *Iztapalapa*, being under ſome Concern for *Sandoval*, who had no Veſſels to diſlodge the *Mexicans* from that Part of the City, which ſtood in the Water, and ſerved as a Retreat for their Canoes: But, in his Return, he diſcovered at a ſmall Diſtance from the City, a little Iſland, a conſiderable Height above the Water; on the Top of which ſtood a pretty large Caſtle, which the Enemy had poſſeſſed themſelves of, to no other End, but to provoke the *Spaniards* with ill Language and Threats, from a Poſt where they thought themſelves out of Danger of the Brigantines.

Cortes did not leave unpuniſhed that Inſolence, in View of the City, the Terraces and Balconies of which were filled with innumerable People, who came to ſee the firſt Action of the Fleet: He drew near to the Shore of the Iſland, and landed with one hundred and fifty of the *Spaniards*, who took two or three different Paths, that led to the Top: They mounted, with ſome Difficulty, by reaſon that the Enemy were numerous, and made a brave Defence, till deſpairing of being able to preſerve the Eminence, they retired to the Caſtle, where they were ſo crowded, that they had not room to manage their Arms: Many periſhed, though moſt were ſaved. Having, by this Enterprize, chaſtiſed the *Mexicans*, the *Spaniards* returned to their Brigantines; but when they were diſpoſing themſelves to make for *Iztapalapa*, they were obliged to take other Meaſures; for the ſame Canoes came out of *Mexico*, which advanced, encreaſing continually in Numbers. The firſt that drew near, rowing gently, were about five hundred, waiting for the reſt to come up; and, in a ſhort Time, thoſe that came out of the City, and other neighbouring Places, made ſo great Number, that it was judged they were four thouſand, which, with the Motion of their Feathers and Arms, afforded a Sight both beautiful and terrible, and ſeemed to cover the Lake.

Cortes drew up his Fleet in Form of a Half-Moon, that he might extend his Front: He confided in the Valour of his Soldiers, and the Advantage of his Brigantines, every one of which was able to make Head againſt a great Part of the Enemy's Fleet. With this Aſſurance he advanced towards the *Mexicans*, to let them ſee he did not decline Battle; and then ordered his Men to lie upon their Oars, and reſt; that they being refreſhed, he might break in upon the Enemy with the greater Force; for the Calmneſs of the Day left the whole to the Labour of the *Mexicans*, who did the ſame, and perhaps, for the ſame Reaſon; but of a ſudden there came a Land-Breeze, which taking the Brigantines aſtern, gave them all the Force that was neceſſary to fall upon the *Mexicans*.

They began the Attack with the Artillery, and then the Brigantines made up with Sails and Oars, overſetting all that ſtood in the Way; the Fire-arms and Croſs-bows made their Diſcharges without loſing a Shot; the Wind too was favourable, driving the Smoke upon the Enemy, blinding them, ſo that they were obliged to retire to avoid it; the Brigantines themſelves ſtaving the ſmaller Veſſels. The Nobles of *Mexico*, who were in the firſt 500 Canoes, made ſome Oppoſition; but the reſt were all Diſorder and Confuſion, the Canoes running foul upon, and overſetting, one another. The Enemy loſt moſt of their Men, and their Fleet was entirely broke and defeated; the Brigantines purſuing the miſerable Remains with their Cannon-Shot, till they forced them into the Canals of the City of *Mexico*. This Victory was of great Moment, on account of the Reputation the Brigantines gained of being invincible; and becauſe it was a great Diſcouragement to the *Mexicans*, to ſee themſelves deprived of that Part of their Power, which conſiſted in the Management and Swiftneſs of their Canoes, not for the Number of them that they then loſt, which was inconſiderable, in regard of what they had ſtill left; but becauſe they were convinced that they were incapable of ſuſtaining the Shocks of the Brigantines.

19. The Night was paſſed but indifferently; and in the Morning, when the Brigantines were preparing to ſail for *Iztapalapa*, they diſcovered a conſiderable Number of Canoes, that were making the beſt of their Way towards *Cuyoacan*; whereupon he reſolved to ſuccour that Place firſt where it was immediately wanted. It was not poſſible to come up with the Enemy's Fleet. But he arrived ſoon after them, at the Time when *Olid* was engaged on the Cauſway, and obliged to make a Front againſt the Enemy that defended it, and to the Canoes on each Side, and was on the Point of retiring, and loſing the Ground he had gained. Neceſſity taught the *Mexicans* as much as the Art of War could have done for the Defence of their Cauſways: They had drawn up towards the City the Bridges that were over the Paſſages, by which the Waters of the great Lake diſcharged themſelves into the other, and fixed Timber and Planks behind them, in ſuch a Manner, that they might mount in Ranks, to charge from the Top; they left Trenches at proper Diſtances, with Water running before them, which obſtructed the Acceſs. After this Manner they had fortified the three Cauſways attacked by the *Spaniards*, who, in each, were obliged to take almoſt the ſame Meaſures to overcome the ſame Difficulties.

The Fire-arms and Croſs-bows played upon thoſe who appeared above the Trench, whilſt others handed Faſcines to fill the Ditch, after which they brought up a Piece of Artillery, and in a few Diſcharges cleared the Paſſage, filling up the next Ditch with the Ruins of its own Fortification. *Olid* had juſt made himſelf Maſter of the firſt Ditch, when the *Mexican* Canoes arrived. But, on Sight of the Brigantines, all thoſe on that Side fled with the utmoſt Diligence, and none ſuffered but thoſe who could not get out of the Reach of the Cannon. But becauſe the *Mexicans*, on the other Side, who thought themſelves ſecure, continued the Engagement, *Cortes* ordered the Ditch in the Rear of *Olid* to be widened, to make a Paſſage for three or four Brigantines; at the firſt Sight of which all the Canoes fled, and the Enemy who defended the next Bridge, finding themſelves expoſed to the great Shot from both the Land and the Water, retired in Diſorder to the laſt Rampart next the City.

That Night the Troops took Reſt, without abandoning the Ground they had gained upon the Cauſway, and the next Morning continued their March, with little or no Oppoſition, 'till coming to the laſt Bridge, which was at the Entrance into *Mexico*, they found it fortified with ſtronger Works, Trenches cut in the Streets, and defended by ſuch a Multitude of People, that the Enterprize ſeemed hazardous, but the Difficulty did not fully appear 'till they were engaged. The Artillery from the Brigantines made a miſerable Slaughter of the People, who were in Crowds, in the Openings of the Streets, whilſt *Olid* was employed in filling up the Ditch, and ruining the Fortifications of the Cauſway, which, when he had done, he charged the *Mexicans*, who defended them, making room for the confederate Troops, under his Command, to come up. The Enemy, at the ſame Time, were ſupported by Troops from the City, and made an obſtinate Reſiſtance on all Sides, but they ſoon loſt ſome Ground; and then *Cortes*, who could not bear the Slowneſs with which they retreated, landed with thirty *Spaniards*, and gave ſo much Life to the Attack, that the Enemy quickly turned their Backs, and the chief Street of *Mexico* was gained.

Another Difficulty occurred; for the *Mexicans* that fled had poſſeſſed themſelves of a Temple near the Entrance of the City, covering all the Outſide with ſuch Numbers of Men, that the whole Building appeared like a Hill of Arms and Feathers. They defied the *Spaniards* with as much Boldneſs as if they had been always Conquerors. *Cortes*, provoked at their Pride, when they had juſt before ſhewn ſo much Cowardice, ordered three or four Pieces of Artillery to be landed; the firſt Diſcharge whereof made them ſenſible of their Danger, and the *Spaniards* were ſoon obliged to point their Cannon lower, againſt thoſe that fled to the inner Part of the City. Thus all that Part of the City was forſaken; for thoſe who fought from Windows and the Tops of the Houſes went off with the reſt, ſo that the Army advanced, and the Temple was gained without Oppoſition. That Day the *Mexicans* ſuſtained a very great Loſs of Men. The Idols were caſt into the Fire, and ſerved to make Illuminations for the Victory.

Cortes was ſatisfied that he had gained Footing in the City; and, finding the Temple capable of more than ordinary Defence, he not only reſolved to lodge his Troops there that Night, but had Thoughts of maintaining that Poſt, to ſtreighten the Enemy, and of removing his Quarters from *Cuyoacan* thither. He communicated his Deſign to his Captains, but they oppoſed it with ſuch Arguments that *Cortes* was convinced, and accordingly, the next Day, he retired to *Cuyoacan*, protected on each Side by his Brigantines; ſo that the Enemy durſt not diſturb his March. The ſame Day he proceeded to *Iztapalapa*, where he was put to the laſt Extremity: He had poſſeſſed himſelf of the Buildings on the Land, and lodged his Army there, fortifying himſelf the beſt he could; but the Enemy, who retired to that Part in the Water, endeavoured from their Canoes to do him all the Damage they could. *Sandoval* had made great Havock among thoſe that approached, ruined ſome Houſes, and had overthrown two or three Succours from *Mexico*, that came to attack him by Land: And that Day the Enemy forſaking a large Houſe, which was but a little from the Land, he reſolved to ſeize it, in order to enlarge his Quarters. He made a Paſſage with Faſcines, and got into the Houſe with ſome of his People; but he had ſcarce entered, when a great Number of Canoes, which had lain in ambuſh, advanced with a Multitude of People, who threw themſelves into the Water, and, taking away the Faſcines, cut off *Sandoval*'s Retreat, by which Means they beſieged him on all Sides, ſhooting from the Terraces and Windows of the neighbouring Houſes. He was in this Diſtreſs when *Cortes* arrived, who, diſcovering that vaſt Number of Canoes in the Water-ſtreets that looked towards *Mexico*, made his Brigantines advance with all poſſible Speed, and played his Artillery with ſuch Effect, that, terrified by the Deſtruction the Balls made, they all fled at once through the moſt retired Streets in the Town, with a Deſign to get through into the Lake; and ſuch was their Diſorder, that the People who were upon the Terraces, crowding into the Canoes, ſunk many of them, and the reſt in their Flight fell in among the Brigantines.

The *Mexicans* ſuſtained ſuch a Loſs that Day, as diminiſhed their Forces conſiderably; and the *Spaniards*, afterwards taking a View of that Part of the City they poſſeſſed themſelves of, made ſome Priſoners, and found a ſufficient Booty to pleaſe the Soldiers. *Cortes* perceived by the Difficulties which *Sandoval* had met with at *Iztapalapa*, that it was impoſſible to make Uſe of the Cauſway without firſt ruining that Half of the City which was the Retreat of the *Mexican* Canoes; and becauſe this would occaſion a Delay which might be of dangerous Conſequence to the other Attacks, reſolved to quit that Poſt, and diſpatch *Sandoval* to poſſeſs himſelf of *Tapeaquilla*, where there was another narrow Cauſway, leſs commodious for attacking, but more advantageous for cutting off the Enemies Proviſions, which they began to want, and which were brought that Way. This Deſign was immediately put in Execution, and *Sandoval* marched by Land, eſcorted by the Brigantines, till he had got Poſſeſſion of the new Quarters; the Place was forſaken, and he lodged himſelf there without Reſiſtance. Afterwards *Cortes* ſailed to *Tacuba*; *Alverado* found this City deſerted, and in his further Progreſs he met with various Succeſſes; he beat down the Works, and filled up the Ditches in the ſame manner *Olid* did; but though he did the Enemy conſiderable Damage, and had once advanced ſo far as to fire ſome Houſes in *Mexico*, he had loſt eight *Spaniards* when *Cortes* arrived, who found the Meaſures he had taken did not anſwer his Deſigns; for this Way of attacking and retreating conſumed his Time, and expoſed his Men, without any Advantage, and was rather doing Acts of Hoſtility than making any Progreſs.

To proceed by the Cauſways was very difficult, by reaſon of the Ditches, which the *Mexicans* were fortifying every Day, and the continual Perſecutions of the Canoes, which always charged in great Numbers where-ever the Brigantines quitted; for which Reaſon he was obliged to think of other Meaſures for the facilitating of his Enterprize. He then commanded all Attacks to ceaſe till farther Orders, and applied himſelf to the providing ſuch a Number of Canoes as might ſecure him the Dominion of the Lake; to which End he ſent ſuch Perſons as he could confide in, to bring all the Canoes that remained in the Towns of his Allies; with which, and thoſe that came from *Tezcuco* and *Chalco*, he made up ſuch a Number as gave freſh Terror to the Enemy: He divided them into three Squadrons, all managed by *Indians*, who knew how to conduct them, under the Command of Captains of their own Nation; and, having diſtributed this Reinforcement among the Brigantines, he ſent four of them to *Sandoval*, four to *Alverado*, and himſelf with the other five joined Colonel *Olid*.

20. Upon this Occaſion the *Mexicans* not only ſhewed Valour, but added military Skill; for they ſtood in need of new Inventions, againſt an Invaſion by a People whoſe Weapons, and Conduct in War, were unknown in their Country; and they gained ſome Advantages, by which they raiſed the Reputation of their good Service: They ſent, by round-about Ways, Canoes full of Pioneers, to clear the Ditches which the *Spaniards* had been filling up, that they might fall upon them with their whole Force, when they ſhould be obliged to retire, a Stratagem which occaſioned the Loſs of ſome Soldiers in the firſt Attacks. By degrees they brought out another Stratagem ſtill more remarkable, for they acted contrary to their Cuſtom, and made ſome Sallies by Night, only to alarm the Enemies, and fatigue them by want of Sleep, that they might afterwards attack them with the Advantage of freſh Troops; but nothing ſhewed their Ingenuity more than what they contrived againſt the Brigantines, by engaging them ſeparate; for which End they built thirty great Veſſels of that ſort which they called Piraguas, but of a larger Size, and ſtrengthened with great Planks, to receive the Shot, and engage under better Shelter. They ſallied in the Night with this Fleet, to poſt themſelves behind the Reeds in the Lake, which grew ſo high and thick, that they formed as it were ſeveral Groves impenetrable to the Sight.

Their Deſign was to draw thither the Brigantines, which cruized, about two at a time, to prevent any Relief getting into the City; and to entice them into that Wood of Reeds they had provided three or four Canoes laden with Proviſions, having likewiſe fixed a good Number of large Stakes in the Water, in hopes to deſtroy the Brigantines, or to make it eaſier to board them. Theſe Contrivances ſufficiently ſhewed, that they knew how to defend themſelves and offend their Enemies, and that they wanted not thoſe Subtilties. The next Day, four of the Brigantines that attended *Sandoval* were to cruize about that Part, under the Command of the Captains *Barba* and *Portilla*. As ſoon as the *Mexicans* ſpied them, they ſent out their Canoes another Way, that, being ſeen at a Diſtance, they might fly among the Reeds; which was ſo well executed, that the two Brigantines purſued the Prize with the utmoſt Force of their Oars, and ſoon fell in among the hidden Stakes, where they were ſo embarraſſed, that they could neither go forward nor backward. At the ſame time the Enemies Piraguas came out, and attacked them on all Sides with ſuch deſperate Fury, that the *Spaniards* were very near being loſt.

But, exerting the utmoſt Efforts of their Courage, they maintained the Fight until ſuch as were expert Swimmers, with Hatchets and other Tools, removed thoſe Stakes amongſt which the Brigantines were faſtened; and, being thus at liberty to work their Veſſels, and play the Artillery, they ſunk moſt of the Piraguas, and followed the reſt as far as Cannon-ball would reach. The *Mexicans* ſuffered exceedingly, but the Brigantines were much damaged, ſeveral *Spaniards* wounded, and all much fatigued: Capt. *Portilla* was killed, to whoſe indefatigable Bravery the Succeſs was chiefly owing, and Capt. *Barba* received ſeveral Wounds, of which he died three Days after: Both theſe Loſſes *Cortes* greatly lamented, and particularly that of *Barba*, for in him he loſt a Friend ever ſteady, and a brave Soldier. It was not long before this Diſaſter was revenged; for the *Mexicans*, having repaired their Piraguas, and reinforced them with new Veſſels of the ſame Kind, concealed themſelves a ſecond time among the Reeds, fortifying the Avenue with a great Number of Stakes, believing the *Spaniards* would again fall into the ſame Snare, without their giving a different Colour to the Deceit. *Cortes*, having Intelligence of this Motion of the Enemy, and being deſirous of revenging the Loſs he had ſuſtained, as ſoon as he could, ordered ſix Brigantines, in the Night, amongſt another Parcel of Reeds, not far from the Place where the Enemy had hid themſelves; and, making Uſe of their own Stratagem, one of them was to ſally early in the Morning, as if in ſearch for the Canoes laden with Proviſions, and afterwards draw as near the concealed Piraguas as was neceſſary, to let them ſee they were diſcovered; which done, ſhe was to tack, and by a haſty Flight to draw them to the Place of the Counter-ambuſcade: Every thing ſucceeded as could have been wiſhed: The Enemy ſallied with their Piraguas in Purſuit of the Brigantine which they looked upon as their own, till, being come within a convenient Diſtance, the other Brigantines ruſhed out, and, before they could ſtop or turn, gave them ſuch a terrible Salute with all their Artillery, that the very firſt Diſcharge overſet beſt part of them, and put the *Mexicans* who were on board the reſt, into ſuch a Conſternation, that before they could recover themſelves, almoſt all the Piraguas were ſunk by the next Vollies, and moſt of the Men periſhed; ſo that the Enemies Fleet was entirely ruined; and *Cortes* had the ſingular Satisfaction of having given them a Defeat by their own Stratagem.

The *Spaniards* had Intelligence of what paſſed in the City, by the Priſoners they took; and finding that Hunger and Thirſt, and Want of all Neceſſaries, began to occaſion Murmuring among the People, and Difference among the Soldiers, *Cortes* applied himſelf with the greateſt Diligence to cut off all Relief from the City; and, to juſtify his own Proceedings, he ſent two or three Noblemen, who were Priſoners, to *Guatimozin*, with Overtures of Peace, on very advantageous Conditions; offering to leave him in full Poſſeſſion of his Empire, provided he would only acknowledge the ſovereign Dominion of the King of *Spain*, whoſe Right was already owned among the *Mexicans*, from the Tradition of their Anceſtors, and the Conſent of ſeveral Ages. This was the Subſtance of his Propoſal, which he repeated, becauſe it grieved him to deſtroy ſo beautiful and ſo wealthy a City, which he looked upon as a rich Jewel in his Sovereign's Diadem.

Guatimozin received the Propoſal with ſomewhat leſs Pride than he was wont, and, as ſeveral Priſoners reported, he called a Council of his chief Officers and Miniſters, with the Prieſts, whoſe Opinions were principally conſidered in all public Affairs, in which he laid before them "the miſerable Condition to which the City was "reduced, the Numbers they had loſt, the Complaints "of the People upon their beginning to want, the De-"ſtruction of their Habitations, and deſired their Ad-"vice, expreſſing as much Inclination to Peace as was "ſufficient to give room for their Flattery or Reſpect to "ſecond him."

This ſo far ſucceeded, that all his Officers and Miniſters concluded immediately to receive the Overtures towards an Accommodation, leaving it till afterwards to conſider of ſuch particular Conditions of Peace as would be moſt for the Intereſt of the State: But the Prieſts poſitively oppoſed all Treaty, feigning to have received ſome Anſwers from their Idols, which gave them freſh Aſſurance of Victory. The Opinion of the Prieſts ſo far prevailed, that all who had Votes concurred with them; and *Guatimozin*, not without much Regret, becauſe he had already began to preſage his own Ruin, reſolved to carry on the War, and ſaid to his Miniſters, "That he would put to Death the firſt Man who ſhould "preſume again to mention Peace, to whatever Diſtreſs "the City ſhould be reduced, without excepting the "Prieſts themſelves, who were moſt obliged to ſupport "the Oracles of their Gods." *Cortes*, being informed of this Determination, reſolved to puſh his Attacks by all the three Cauſways at the ſame time, and carry Fire and Sword into the very Heart of the City, and ſending his Orders to the Commanders of the two Attacks of *Tacuba* and *Tapeaquilla*, he, at the Time appointed, marched himſelf by the Cauſway of *Cuyacan*, at the Head of the Troops commanded by Colonel *Olid*. The Enemy had cleared the Ditches, and caſt up Works; but the five Brigantines which were ſtationed upon that Attack eaſily overthrew their Fortifications at the Time the Ditches were filling up, and the Army advanced without any conſiderable Oppoſition, till coming to the laſt Bridge, which opened upon the Quay, they met with another ſort of Difficulty.

The *Indians* had broke down ſome Part of the Cauſway to enlarge the Ditch, which was ſixty Feet long, and turned into it the Water of the Canals, that it might be the deeper. On the oppoſite Bank they had raiſed a Fortification covered with Planks, in which were Rows of Loopholes with ſome ſort of Traverſes; and they had provided a Multitude of Men to defend that Poſt: But the firſt Diſcharges of the Artillery deſtroyed all that Fortification, and the Enemies, having ſuffered much by the Fall thereof, and finding themſelves expoſed to the Balls, retired into the City, without turning their Backs or abating their Threats. Thus they left the Shore free, and *Cortes*, unwilling to loſe a Moment, immediately ordered the *Spaniards* to poſſeſs themſelves of it, making Uſe of his Brigantines and Canoes to land his Men, and the Horſe paſſed the ſame Way with three Pieces of Artillery, which he thought ſufficient for that Service.

Before they advanced againſt the Enemy, who were ſtill poſted behind the Trenches made acroſs the Streets, he ordered the Treaſurer, *Julian de Alderete*, to ſtay there and fill up and ſecure that Ditch, and the Brigantines to draw near to the Place where the Action was, and do what Damage they could to the Enemy. The firſt Engagement preſently began, and *Julian de Alderete*, hearing the Noiſe of the Battle, and ſeeing the Advances of the *Spaniards*, looked upon the Employment of filling up a Ditch to be unworthy of him when his Companions were fighting, and inconſiderately advanced to join the reſt, leaving that Charge to another of his Company, who either did not know how to perform it, or elſe would not take upon him a Piece of Work which was thought diſhonourable to him who committed the Care of it to him; ſo that all the Men under his Command followed him to the Engagement; and that Ditch which at the Time of the Attack had been thought impracticable, remained intirely abandoned.

The *Mexicans* reſolutely ſtood the firſt Charge. It coſt the *Spaniards* no ſmall Trouble and ſome Blood, to make themſelves Maſters of their Trenches; and the Hazard was ſtill greater when they had paſſed the ruined Buildings, and were obliged to defend themſelves from the Arrows and Darts of the Enemy, which came pouring on them from the Tops of the Houſes and the Windows; but in the Heat of the Engagement there appeared a ſudden Slackneſs in the Enemy, which ſeemed to be the Effect of ſome new Order, for they haſtily quitted the Ground they had defended. This Change was then ſuppoſed, and afterwards appeared, to ſpring from *Guatimozin*'s being informed that the great Ditch was abandoned; whereupon he ordered his Commanders to preſerve their Troops, and to fall upon the *Spaniards* in their Retreat.

Cortes ſuſpected this Motion of the Enemy, and, in regard that he had but barely time enough to return to his Quarters before Night, he began his Retreat, ordering firſt ſome Houſes to be ſet on Fire, in order to prevent their receiving any Damage from them on the next Attack; but they had ſcarce began to march, when their Ears were ſtunned with the melancholy Sound of the Sacred Trumpet, ſo called by the *Mexicans*, becauſe it was not permitted to any but the Prieſts to ſound it, and that only when they animated the People on the Part of their Gods: The Sound was vehemently loud and ſtrong, and the Tune compoſed of diſmal Notes, which inſpired thoſe *Barbarians* with a new kind of Rage, ſuch as made them deſpiſe Life, through a Motive of Religion. Next followed the intolerable Noiſe of their hideous Outcries; and, when the Army marched out of the City, they fell upon the Rear, which was brought up by the *Spaniards*, an incredible Multitude of their reſolute Warriors being picked out of the whole Army for this Action.

The Fire-arms and Croſs-bows faced about, and made Head; and *Cortes*, with the Cavalry, endeavoured to put a Stop to the Enemy; but, being informed of the Difficulty of the Ditch, which hindered the Retreat, he would have formed his Battalions, and could not; becauſe the Confederates, who had received Orders to retire, being the firſt that came to the Ditch, haſtily threw themſelves into it, in the greateſt Confuſion; ſo that his Orders were not heard, or not obeyed. Many got to the Cauſway in the Brigantines and Canoes, but more threw themſelves into the Water, where they found whole Troops of *Mexicans*, who either wounded or drowned them. *Cortes* was left with ſome of his own People to maintain the Fight, his Horſe was killed under him, and Captain *Guzman*, alighting to give him his, was taken Priſoner, without Poſſibility of being reſcued. *Cortes*, at laſt, got to the Brigantines, and returned to his Quarters, wounded and defeated: Above forty *Spaniards* were taken alive, to ſerve as Sacrifices to their Idols; one Piece of Cannon was loſt; above a thouſand *Tlaſcalans* were killed; and there was ſcarce any one *Spaniard* that was not hurt. This was, in reality, a very terrible Blow, of the Conſequence of which *Cortes* was very ſenſible; but he would not ſuffer his Countenance to ſpeak the Grief of his Heart: On the contrary, he appeared, if not chearful, ſerene; and tho' not gay, yet tolerably compoſed.

While *Cortes* was employed in this Attack, *Sandoval* and *Alverado* entered at the ſame time, and met with the ſame Oppoſition, with very little Difference in the Succeſs of their Attacks : But they did not meet with the Misfortune of the Ditch, and therefore their Loſs was leſs ; though in both Attacks they loſt above twenty *Spaniards*, which makes up the Account of about ſixty of his own People, in the Action of *Cuyoacan*. The Treaſurer *Alderete*, conſidering the Damage which his Breach of Orders had occaſioned, was ſenſible of his Offence, and haſtened to the General's Preſence with much Sorrow, offering his Head to atone for his Crime. *Cortes* gave him a ſevere Reprimand, without any farther Puniſhment ; not thinking it proper, at that Juncture, to diſcourage the Soldiers, by inflicting upon that Officer, the Chaſtiſement which he merited. Upon this Occaſion they were very ſenſible, ſays a *Spaniſh* Author, of the ſingular Gift of a private Soldier, *Juan Gatalan*, who, without any other Medicine than a little Oil, and certain Benedictions, cured their Wounds in ſo ſhort a time, that it did not look like the Work of Nature.

21. The *Mexicans* celebrated their Victory with great Rejoicings, and that Night the *Spaniards* ſaw, from their Quarters, all the Temples of the City crowded with innumerable Lights, and Veſſels of Perfumes ; and in the principal Temple, dedicated to the God of War, they heard the Sound of military Inſtruments in ſeveral Concerts, which were not altogether diſagreeable. With theſe pompous Preparations they celebrated the Sacrifice of thoſe miſerable *Spaniards* who were taken alive ; the Blood of whoſe leaping Hearts, ſtill warm, was ſprinkled upon their Idol ; while theſe wretched Victims, with their laſt Breath, were calling upon the God of Truth. This was ſuppoſed to be the Occaſion of that extraordinary Solemnity ; and the Fires gave ſo great a Light, that the Motion of the People was perceived. The Advantage they had gained, joined to the Satisfaction of having appeaſed their God of War, by the Sacrifice of ſo many *Spaniards*, ſo far raiſed the Pride of the *Mexicans*, that the very ſame Night, a little before Break of Day, they advanced by the three Cauſways, to beat up the Quarters, with a Deſign to ſet fire to the Brigantines, and to compleat the Deſtruction of thoſe People ; whom they, with good Reaſon, concluded to be either wounded or ſpent with Fatigue ; but they knew not how to conceal their Motion ; for the infernal Trumpet, which inſpired them with ſo much Fury, turning their Deſpair into religious Worſhip, gave Notice of their Approach, and the *Spaniards* were ſo well prepared to receive them, that they were repulſed by the Artillery of the Brigantines, and ſome Pieces which were mounted at their Lodgment ; which, playing upon the Cauſway, upon thoſe Throngs of People, ſufficiently chaſtiſed their Preſumption.

The next Day *Guatimozin* employed ſeveral Artifices to intimidate the *Indian* Allies ; he gave out that *Cortes* had been killed in his Retreat on the Cauſway, thereby giving the People Hopes that they ſhould ſhortly be delivered from their Oppreſſions : He ſent the Heads of the ſacrificed *Spaniards* to all the neighbouring Towns, that thoſe Tokens of his Victory might bring ſuch as had fallen off from him, back to their Obedience : And laſtly, he reported that their ſupreme Deity, the God of War, being appeaſed by the Blood of theſe their Enemies, had informed him by an intelligible Voice, that the War ſhould be at an End in eight Days, and, that all ſhould infallibly periſh who neglected this Advice. This he invented, concluding that he ſhould quickly make an End of all the *Spaniards* ; and he found Means to ſend ſeveral Perſons unknown, into the Enemies Quarters, who ſpread theſe Threatenings among the *Indian* Nations which ſerved againſt him.

The Oracles of that Idol had ſuch Reputation among the moſt diſtant Nations, that the *Indians* were perſuaded of the Infallibility of theſe Threats : The Notion of eight Days ſo preciſely limited for the fatal Period of their Lives, had ſuch an Effect, that they reſolved immediately to quit the Army ; and, during the two or three firſt Nights, the greateſt Part of the confederate Troops deſerted, even the *Tlaſcalans* and *Tezcucans* diſbanded with the ſame Diſorder, either becauſe they really feared the Oracle, or that they were led away by the Example of thoſe who did. This was a freſh Affliction unto *Cortes*, almoſt cauſing him to deſpair of the Succeſs of his Enterprize. But the Moment that he was informed of the Occaſion of that ſudden Change, he ſent their own Commanders after the Fugitives to ſtop them ; delaying till the eight Days aſſigned by the Oracle being paſt, they might be ſenſible of the Impoſture of the Prediction, and better diſpoſed to return to the Army.

22. This notable Contrivance of *Cortes* had the deſired Effect ; for when the eight Days were expired, the *Indians*, having fully recovered from their Fright, returned to their Quarters with freſh Vigour and Reſolution. Don *Hernando*, Prince of *Tezcuco*, ſent his Brother to bring back thoſe of his Nation, who returned with him, and ſome new Levies that were coming to join the Army. The *Tlaſcalan* Deſerters did not dare to proceed on their Journey, for fear of expoſing themſelves to Puniſhment, but waited to ſee the Event of the Prediction, with a Deſign to join ſuch of their Nation as ſhould have the good Fortune to eſcape after the imaginary Defeat ; but at the time they were undeceived of their Credulity, they had an Opportunity of incorporating themſelves with a Reinforcement that was coming from *Tlaſcala*, and were better received in the Army upon their Return. The Noiſe this Increaſe of Forces, and the Diſtreſs of the capital City, made in the neighbouring Countries, prevailed with ſeveral Nations who had been Enemies or Neuters, to declare in Favour of the *Spaniards*. One of the moſt conſiderable, was the Nation of *Otomies*, a fierce unnatural People ; who, after the Example of Beaſts, preſerved their Liberty amongſt Mountains, and had hitherto kept themſelves free from the *Mexican* Empire, without any other Fortification than the Sterility of their Country, which afforded no Temptation to a Conqueror.

Thus *Cortes* once more found himſelf at the Head of an Army, of upwards of two hundred thouſand Men, paſſing in a few Days from a terrible Storm to an agreeable Calm. The *Mexicans* were not idle during this Suſpenſion of Arms, to which the *Spaniards* were reduced. They made frequent Sallies, beating up the *Spaniſh* Quarters both by Night and Day, and were always repulſed with Loſs. By ſome of the laſt Priſoners, *Cortes* was informed of the great Diſtreſs the City was in ; that the Soldiers were diſſatisfied, and the People reduced to Extremity for want of Bread and Water ; that Abundance of People died by drinking the brackiſh Water of their Pits, and that the Proviſions they got by Canoes, were equally divided among the Nobles, and became the Subject of Impatience and Diſcontent to the Populace, whoſe Clamours began to give ſome Suſpicion of their Fidelity. Upon which Intelligence *Cortes* aſſembled his Captains to conſult what was proper to be done. He repreſented the ſmall Hopes he had that Want would oblige the Beſieged to ſurrender, becauſe of the implacable Hatred they bore the *Spaniards*, and of thoſe pretended Anſwers of their Idols. He gave his own Opinion to proceed immediately to Action, for the Reaſons he had alledged, and for fear the Allies ſhould again deſert him. And it was alſo reſolved not to retire as before, but that each of the *Spaniſh* Corps ſhould endeavour to make their Quarters good in that Part of the City, into which they ſhould be able to penetrate.

The General, after this Reſolution was taken, and having made Proviſion neceſſary for the Subſiſtance of his Troops, in a City where all things were wanting, cauſed the Forces, at the Dawning of the appointed Day, to march out of their reſpective Quarters ; *Alverado* from *Tacuba*, *Sandoval* from *Tapeaquilla*, and the General, with the Body of Troops, commanded by *Olid*, from *Cuyoacan* ; each having his Brigantines and Canoes to ſupport him. They found all three Cauſways in a Poſture of Defence, the Bridges drawn up, and the Ditches all cleared and guarded. All theſe Difficulties they ſurmounted with the ſame Induſtry they had done others, and, after ſome ſmall Delay, the three Bodies arrived in the City ; and ſoon gained the ruined Streets. All the *Spaniards* attempted the firſt Day was, only to lodge themſelves, each

Body fortifying their Quarters with the Ruins of the Houſes, in the beſt Manner they could.

This cauſed great Confuſion among the *Mexicans*, and entirely broke all the Meaſures they had taken to charge the *Spaniards* in their Retreat. The Rumour of it was ſoon ſpread, the Danger greatly magnified, and every one's Thoughts was employed about providing ſome ſpeedy Remedy. The Miniſters inſtantly repaired to *Guatimozin*'s Palace, and, by their preſſing Intreaties, prevailed with him to retire that very Night to a more diſtant Part of the City. Councils were continually held, and the Opinions were different, being either bold and reſolute, or timorous and dejected, according as the Underſtanding followed the Dictates of their Hearts; ſome voted that the King, for the Security of his Royal Perſon, ſhould be immediately conveyed to ſome Place leſs expoſed; others for fortifying that Part of the City where the Court then was, and others preſſed hard to diſlodge the Enemy from the Poſts they poſſeſſed. *Guatimozin* inclined to the Advice of thoſe who expreſſed the greateſt Reſolution; ſo that he declared he was fully determined to ſhare his Fate with his People; and that Moment gave Orders that Preparations ſhould be made to attack the Enemy at Day-break, with the Remainder of his Forces. To this Purpoſe the Chiefs, with all poſſible Expedition, aſſembled all the Troops, which were divided into three Battalions, with a Deſign of exerting their laſt Strength in this Effort, to the total Deſtruction of the *Spaniards*.

Soon after Dawning, the Enemy preſented themſelves within Sight of the three Lodgments; but the Artillery which played upon the Avenues, made ſuch a terrible Slaughter in their Van-guard, that they durſt not advance to put their Orders in execution, and were ſoon convinced that their Attempt was wholly impracticable; ſo that without venturing nearer they began to give back, endeavouring to make what was in reality a Flight, looked upon as an orderly Retreat. But the Motion, as it was ſlow, gave the *Spaniards* an Opportunity to rout and diſperſe the Enemy, and bettered their Quarters for the enſuing Night. All was ſo happily and ſo expeditiouſly effected, that in leſs than four Days the three Leaders came in Sight of *Tlateleuco*, whither they had all directed their Courſe. *Alverado* was the firſt that came to that ſpacious Square, where he found the Enemy endeavouring to draw up in Order of Battle: But he gave them not time, neither was it an eaſy Matter for *Indians*, when once in Diſorder, to return to a Charge; ſo that, at the very firſt Onſet they abandoned the Ground, and in great Confuſion retired to the Streets on the oppoſite Side. *Alverado* obſerved that there was at a ſmall Diſtance a very large Temple, the Towers whereof were poſſeſſed by the Enemy; and thereupon he immediately detached ſome Companies to drive them from thence, in order to ſecure his Rear; which Orders they ſoon performed. Soon after came up, by a different Avenue, the Detachment belonging to *Olid*, but then under the Command of *Cortes* himſelf; and the confuſed Throng of *Mexicans* that fled before him into the Square, fell in upon the Battalion which *Alverado* had drawn up in Order of Battle; where theſe Wretches being attacked on every Side, moſt of them periſhed, and the like Fate attended thoſe who were driven by *Sandoval*, who preſently after arrived.

Thoſe of the Enemy who had retired to the Streets which led to the other Parts of the City marched with the utmoſt Precipitation, to defend the Perſon of their Prince, whereby the *Spaniſh* General had an Opportunity to lodge himſelf to the beſt Advantage, without any Interruption, ordering the Brigantines and Canoes to ply about the three Cauſways, and to give him Notice of what ſhould occur. The next Morning all the Streets were filled with armed *Indians*, but they were poſted there only to cover thoſe who were working upon the Fortifications, which were making for their Retreat; and *Cortes*, perceiving that they did not attempt by any Hoſtilities to provoke him, ſuſpended the Attack which he had at firſt determined, being inclined to offer them Peace, as ſuppoſing they might be now diſpoſed to an Accommodation. The Meſſage was carried by three or four principal Priſoners, and *Cortes* was impatiently waiting for an Anſwer, as not doubting but the Propoſal would be gladly received; becauſe it was obſerved that thoſe Multitudes of the Populace who were wont to be always ready to defend the Streets, were entirely withdrawn. The Quarter to which *Guatimozin*, with his Miniſters and Soldiers was retired, was a very ſpacious Angle of the City, the greateſt Part whereof was defended by the Lake, and the reſt was at no great Diſtance from the great Square of *Tlateleuco*; and it was fortifyed by a ſtrong Wall made of huge Planks and Faſcines, which reached the Buildings on each Side of thoſe Streets, before each of which was a broad and deep Ditch, full of Water, which they had dug acroſs the Streets, to give a Current to the Waters of the Canals.

The enſuing Morning *Cortes*, followed by the greateſt Part of the *Spaniards*, marched to view the Ground which the Enemy had forſaken, and advanced till he came within Sight of theſe Fortifications, which he found covered with an incredible Multitude of Men in Arms; but who ſeemed to be diſpoſed to Peace, for they neither ſounded their warlike Inſtruments, nor made any Outcries. The General drew back, and returned ſeveral times with the *Spaniards* without offering to moleſt them: And it appeared that the *Mexicans* had Orders to do the like. During the three Days Suſpenſion of Arms, *Guatimozin* held ſeveral Councils to deliberate on the Overtures of Peace, and the Majority voted the admitting the Treaty, ſenſible of the miſerable Condition to which they were reduced, while others, conforming their Sufferings to the Inclination of their Sovereign, ſhewed themſelves willing to continue the War; but the deteſtable Prieſts ſupported the leſſer Number, aſſuring Victory with dark and myſterious Menaces, and inſpired the whole Aſſembly with the ſame diabolical Fury which poſſeſſed their own Breaſts. Upon this it was reſolved to proſecute the War, and to renew their Hoſtilities, while *Guatimozin*, before he broke up the Council, gave Orders that all the Piraguas and Canoes ſhould retire to a Bay which the Lake made in that Part of the City, in order to ſecure a Retreat, in Caſe they ſhould be driven to Extremity.

This Order was inſtantly put in Execution, and an incredible Number of theſe Veſſels made to that Bay, of which Motion immediate Notice was ſent from the *Spaniards* who were upon the Lake, to *Cortes*; who, without Heſitation, preſently concluded, That the *Mexicans* were uſing theſe Precautions with no other View than to ſecure their Prince's Perſon. Hereupon he appointed *Sandoval* for Commander in chief of all the Brigantines, with Orders to ſurround the Bay at a Diſtance, and to have a watchful Eye upon whatever Motion the Enemy ſhould happen to make. Soon after he advanced with his Troops, but the Enemy had already received Orders to defend themſelves; and before the *Spaniards* came up, the *Indians* declared the Breach of the Treaty by their hoſtile Cries; and with a ſteady and reſolute Countenance, prepared for the Encounter; but it preſently appeared that their Courage began to fail them, for they no ſooner perceived the terrible Havock which the firſt Diſcharge of the Cannon made in their wooden Fortification, which they fooliſhly imagined to be impenetrable; but they ſent Notice thereof to *Guatimozin*, for it was not long before they made Signs of demanding a Parley, by hanging out white Cloths, and frequently repeating the Word *Peace*.

They were given to underſtand, that whoever had any Propoſal to offer from their Prince, might approach; upon which, four *Mexicans*, who ſeemed to be Perſons of ſome Note, appeared on the further Side of the Ditch: Theſe Deputies, upon a Motion made by *Cortes*, promiſed, in the Emperor's Name, that he ſhould confer with him the next Day; and then brought an Excuſe; which Method they purſued for four Days together, while *Guatimozin*, who never intended any ſuch thing, was preparing to make his Eſcape by the Lake.

23. The Day being come, which *Cortes* had appointed as the utmoſt Period he would allow, *Sandoval* diſcovered at the Dawn of the Morning, Multitudes of

Mexicans, with all imaginable Diligence, embarking on board the Canoes which were in the Bay, upon which he approached them ſlowly, and then the Canoes of the Enemy, on board of which were the Nobility and all the principal Perſons of the City, began to move, having unanimouſly reſolved to make their laſt Efforts, and at all Hazards to maintain the Fight, till their Prince had made his Retreat, after which they were to follow him by ſeveral Ways. Accordingly they put this Deſign in Execution, attacking the Brigantines with Vigour: But, at the ſame Time that the *Mexicans* were engaging with ſuch extraordinary Fury, *Sandoval* obſerved, that from the fartheſt Part of the Bay ſix or ſeven Piraguas, with the utmoſt Force of Oars, were making the beſt of their Way, upon which he ordered Capt. *Garcias de Holguin* to chaſe them with his Brigantine, and endeavour to take them.

That Captain, without loſing a Moment's Time, uſed ſuch Diligence that he ſoon overtook them; when turning the Head of his Brigantine, he fell in upon the foremoſt Piragua, which ſeemed to command the reſt. They all at once ceaſed rowing, and lay upon their Oars, when they found themſelves attacked, and ſome of thoſe who were in the firſt Piragua called out to the Brigantine not to fire, ſaying, his *Mexican* Majeſty was on board that Veſſel, which Words were interpreted by ſome *Spaniſh* Soldiers, who began to have a Smattering of the *Mexican* Language. Upon this the Brigantines boarded the Piragua, into which *Holguin*, with ſome *Spaniards*, immediately leaped in order to ſecure their Prize. *Guatimozin* inſtantly advanced, and diſtinguiſhing the Captain, by the Reſpect paid him by the reſt, ſaid, "I am your Priſoner, and ready to go whither "you think fit to conduct me: All I have to deſire is, "that ſome Regard may be had to the Honour of my "Conſort, and to that of the Women who accompany "her."

He then paſſed into the Brigantine, and gave his Hand to that Princeſs to help her up, and was ſo much Maſter of himſelf, and ſo far from being in any Conſternation, that, perceiving *Holguin* to be in ſome Concern about the other Piraguas, he with great Sedateneſs of Countenance added, You have no Occaſion, Sir, to give yourſelf any Trouble concerning thoſe, for they will all come to die at the Feet of their Prince; and upon the firſt Signal he made them, they let their Weapons drop out of their Hands, and followed the Brigantine as Priſoners. *Sandoval* was all that time hotly engaged with the Canoes, and by the Reſiſtance he met with, he became ſenſible of the Quality of thoſe who defended them, and of the Courage and Fidelity of the *Mexican* Nobility, who, at the Hazard of their Lives, had undertaken to ſecure their Prince's Liberty. But they ſoon had Notice of his being taken, and then their loud military Cries were converted into leſs noiſy Lamentations. *Holguin* came up at the ſame Time, having firſt diſpatched a Canoe with the News to *Cortes*, and, without bearing down too near upon *Sandoval*'s Brigantine, he gave him as he paſſed by a brief Account of what had happened, but perceiving he was deſirous of taking care of that important Priſoner, he made the beſt of his Way, leſt *Sandoval* ſhould ſend him an Order to that Purpoſe.

As ſoon as this News was brought him, *Cortes*, lifting up his Eyes towards Heaven, as acknowledging the ſupreme Author of all his Succeſs, ordered two Companies of *Spaniards* to the Landing-place, to guard the Royal Priſoner, and then went himſelf to receive him not far from the Quarters, which he did with great Reſpect, Signs and Geſtures ſerving inſtead of Words, to which *Guatimozin* made a Return in the ſame Manner, endeavouring to conceal the Agitations of his Breaſt by a forced Complaiſance.

Guatimozin was about twenty-four or twenty-five Years of Age; ſo brave, that he had, by his Exploits and Victories in the Field, riſen to thoſe Honours which qualified the Nobles to aſcend the Throne. He was as to his Perſon well proportioned, tall, robuſt, and ſtrong built, and of ſo fair a Complexion, that among thoſe of his own Nation he looked like one of a different Climate. The Empreſs, who was about the ſame Age, by the Gracefulneſs of her Carriage attracted the Eyes of all, but her Beauty was rather majeſtic than delicate; ſhe was Niece to *Motezuma*, or, as ſome ſay, his Daughter; which when *Cortes* underſtood, he renewed the Offers of his beſt Service, profeſſing himſelf obliged to pay to the Perſon of that Princeſs the Veneration he owed to the Memory of that Monarch. This great Event happened on the 13th of *Auguſt* 1521, and therefore we may from thence date the Dominion of the *Spaniards* over this Empire. The Captive Emperor ſent his Orders to his Subjects to lay down their Arms, and to ſubmit to him who had their Monarch in his Power, which they accordingly did, and thereby put an End to the War for the preſent.

The kind Uſage given at firſt to the Emperor *Guatimozin* did not laſt long, but the Change made in his Treatment did not properly ariſe from *Cortes* himſelf, but from the Soldiers, who, remembering what vaſt Quantities of Gold they had formerly ſeen in the Poſſeſſion of *Motezuma*, demanded an Account of what was become of them; and when *Cortes* very truly proteſted that he knew as little of them as they did, they grew ſo furious and inſolent, as to ſuggeſt that he had ſecretly ſecured them for his own Uſe. They were ſo much the bolder in this Matter, becauſe they found themſelves ſupported therein by the King's Treaſurer *Julian de Alderete*, who had great Authority, and who, as he was Nephew to the Biſhop of *Burgos*, hated *Cortes* heartily, and inclined to do him all the Miſchief he could. This Man, finding that no Account could be obtained of theſe Treaſures, demanded that the unfortunate *Guatimozin*, and his firſt Miniſter, ſhould be put into his Hands in order to be examined about them, which in his preſent Ciacumſtances *Cortes* durſt not refuſe. The Method this Gentleman took to make them diſcover what he ſought was pretty ſingular.

He put them upon the Rack, as ſome Writers ſay; but as others more truly affirm, cauſed them to be extended upon burning Coals. The Miniſter looking upon the Emperor cried out violently, upon which *Guatimozin* ſaid, *Do you think I lie here upon Roſes?* Which Reproof ſtruck the poor Creature ſilent, ſo that he expired without any farther Complaints. But *Cortes*, hearing his firſt Cries, broke into the Apartment, and releaſed the Emperor, and the Soldiers themſelves approved his Conduct, and blamed the Treaſurer's Barbarity. This Cruelty had not the deſigned Effect; for there was no Diſcovery made of the Treaſure for which they ſought, which made them almoſt diſtracted. They ſearched all Parts of the Lake to no Purpoſe, ranſacked the Temples without finding much, and tore to Pieces the Tombs, in which indeed they found ſome little Gold, which *Cortes*, to pacify them, divided amongſt them.

24. The Provinces of the *Mexican* Empire that were neareſt that Capital immediately ſubmitted to the Conqueror, and *Cortes*, having received Intelligence of the Kingdom of *Mechoacan*, which lies to the Weſtward of *Mexico*, he firſt ſent *Montano*, with three other *Spaniards* as Embaſſadors, to viſit the King, who at firſt received them indifferently, though afterwards he treated them magnificently; and went himſelf to ſee *Cortes*, who ſoon after diſpatched *Chriſtopher Olid* to take Poſſeſſion of that Country with an Army, which he accordingly did, and forced the King, who ſhewed himſelf diſpleaſed with his Proceedings, to fly for Shelter into the Mountains. This great Flow of Succeſs altered the Temper of the *Spaniſh* General, who began now to diſcover ſuch Haughtineſs and Cruelty in his Diſpoſition, as nothing could juſtify. *Cortes*, having through this Country penetrated to the South Sea, erected Forts and built Ships there, for farther Diſcoveries on that Side, and ſent alſo *Gonzalo de Sandoval* to ſubdue the Countries near *Tabaſco* and *Tecountepec* on the North-Sea; and *Pedro de Alverado*, another Commander, was detached with a Body of *Spaniards* and confederate *Indians* to take Poſſeſſion of the Countries bordering upon the Vale of *Guaxaca*, to the Eaſtward of *Mexico*, who all ſubmitted to the Conqueror.

While *Cortes* was thus employed in reducing this Country to his Obedience in the Name of the Emperor *Charles* V. *Chriſtopher de Tapia* arrived at *Vera Cruz*, with a Commiſſion from that Prince, to command all the new Conqueſts: But the Garriſon *Cortes* had left at *Vera Cruz* ſo threatened and terrified *Tapia*, that he was glad to make his Eſcape, and leave the General in Poſſeſſion of *Mexico*. Having got rid of this Rival, *Cortes* marched in Perſon to the Province of *Panuco*, which he obliged to ſubmit to him, whereupon he divided the Country and all the *Indian* Inhabitants among the Officers and Soldiers, who treated them as Slaves; and this was his Practice in every Province, where the People voluntarily ſubmitted to him, or were compelled to it by Force. But notwithſtanding this bad Behaviour to the Natives, and his refuſing to reſign his Government to thoſe who were ſent to ſucceed him in his Command, ſo powerful were the rich Preſents he from Time to Time ſent to the Emperor, and ſuch were the Repreſentations made to that Prince in his Favour, that *Cortes* was declared Captain-General and Governor of *New Spain* by the Emperor.

The Governor of *Hiſpaniola* and *Cuba* were commanded to reinforce that General, and give him all poſſible Aſſiſtance: Whereupon, finding himſelf now eſtabliſhed in his Command, he ſet about rebuilding the City of *Mexico*, which he had burnt and demoliſhed. He aſſigned Places for building Churches and other public Edifices, laid out Market-Places, divided the beſt Part of the Ground among the *Spaniards*, and the reſt among the Natives, giving them Encouragement to build and people the Place again: He aſſigned one quarter Part particularly to *Motezuma*, a Son of the late Emperor, and another to one of the moſt popular *Indian* Generals, and they ſoon erected a much finer Town than that which had been deſtroyed, having now the Advantage of Iron Tools, Carriages and Engines, which they wanted before. But nothing could be more magnificent than the Palace *Cortes* erected for himſelf upon the Ground where *Motezuma*'s Palace formerly ſtood, about which 'tis ſaid he uſed ſeven thouſand Beams of Cedar, ſome of them 120 Foot in Length; he alſo provided himſelf with a numerous Train of Artillery, conſiſting of thirty-five Pieces of Braſs Cannon, and ſeventy of Iron, which gave the *Indians* a vaſt Opinion of his Power; but that which was his real Strength, and did him moſt Service, both in *Mexico* and *Europe*, was the prodigious Wealth he acquired by the Plunder of all the Provinces he became Maſter of, and the rich Mines of Gold and Silver he every Day diſcovered, or took from the Owners.

All his great Conqueſts, however, could not procure him Reſt, and a peaceable Eſtabliſhment; for ſometimes he was in Danger from the Intrigues of the *Indians*, who were very deſirous of recovering their Country, and driving out or deſtroying the *Spaniards*: And to put an End to theſe Contrivances, he, in 1527, found himſelf obliged to hang *Guatimozin*, and two other *Indian* Princes, whom he had detected in a Conſpiracy againſt him. Sometimes he found no leſs Uneaſineſs from the Ambition, Avarice and Malice of ſome of his own Countrymen. Thus, for Inſtance, *Chriſtopher Olid*, who had behaved ſo gallantly in the War againſt the *Mexicans*, revolted from him, but was ſoon taken off by a violent Death. *Julian de Alderete*, whom we have ſo often mentioned, contrived the Murder of *Cortes* while upon his Knees at Maſs, which he afterwards confeſſed to him, and aſked his Pardon. At another Time, a Prieſt, whoſe Name was *Leon*, formed a Deſign of blowing him into the Air by ſetting Fire to a Barrel of Gun-powder, which either by Contrivance or by Chance was placed immediately under his Lodgings. Theſe Accidents ſhew how fortunate a Man *Hernan Cortes* was.

But how great ſoever his Courage, his Conduct, or his Succeſs, yet he wanted not many Enemies envious alike of his Merit and his Fortune, and who therefore took Abundance of Pains to prejudice the Emperor *Charles* V. againſt him.

In the Year 1528 *Cortes* found it convenient to return into *Spain*, in order to juſtify his Conduct againſt his Enemies. The Emperor *Charles* V. received him with great Reſpect, gave him the whole Vale of *Atriſco*, with the Towns and Villages therein; conferred on him the Title of Marquis of the Vale of *Guaxaca*, and, to compleat his Favours, procured him a very honourable Marriage. The next Year he returned to *Mexico* with his Lady, but with a very limited Commiſſion, which turned more to the Diſadvantage of the *Spaniſh* Government, than to the private Loſs of the Marquis, who was ſo much beloved and eſteemed in that Part of the World, as to ſtand in no Need of Authority to procure him Reſpect. He was ſome time afterwards Captain-General, *Mendoca* being Viceroy of the Province, at which Time there happened many private Grudges between them; but yet they joined together for the finding out a Paſſage from thoſe Seas to ours, which we properly call the North-Weſt Paſſage, as alſo the Conqueſt of *Ciboa* and *Quivira*, where they were perſuaded by certain Friars that the People worſhipped the Croſs, and had other Tokens of Chriſtianity: But all proved falſe; and few *Spaniards* returned Home, their Miſery was ſo great, and the Country ſo cold and barren, the People cruel, and five hundred Leagues from *Mexico*. *Cortes*, after his taking *Mexico*, ſent to diſcover the Northern Parts, and his People arrived in a Country where *Ticoantipe Cician Pipe* was King, who received them kindly, and ſent an Embaſſador to *Cortes*, thinking he was come out of the Clouds, and that their Veſſels were great Whales. They wondered at their Horſes, and accepted a friendly Peace, offering *Cortes* fifty thouſand Men to aſſiſt in conquering *Tutepac*, who was his Enemy, for uſing the Chriſtians well.

Some new Troubles that he met with in relation to his Diſcoveries, wherein the Viceroy interfered, inclined him in the Year 1542 to make a ſecond Voyage into *Spain*, where he was received with as much Honour, and yet obtained as little Satisfaction as before. To ſpeak impartially, the Emperor had conceived a kind of Jealouſy, that if *Cortes* was rewarded according to his Merits, he would become too formidable for a Subject. The Marquis was a Man of too much Senſe and Penetration not to diſcern the Judgment that was formed of him at Court, when he had reſided there but a little while: He was however too wiſe, and too much a Man of Honour, to think that any Miſtakes made by his Prince could cancel any Part of the Duty he owed him. For this Reaſon he applied himſelf more aſſiduouſly than ever to merit the Emperor's Affections. He attended him in his dangerous and diſaſtrous Expedition againſt the *Algerines*, and notwithſtanding all his former Services, and ſo low a Commiſſion, as to be without a Voice in the Council of War, being unhorſed in a Charge he made againſt the Infidels, he is ſaid to have loſt in the Field two Emeralds of immenſe Value. After his return to *Spain* from that Expedition, he affected to lead a quiet and retired Life, employing moſt of his Time in the Inſtruction of his Children, of whom he had many both legitimate and illegitimate. His ſecond Wife was the Daughter of the Count of *Aguila*, by whom he had a Son who ſucceeded him in his Titles, and ſome of whoſe Deſcendants are ſtill remaining. As for the great *Cortes* himſelf he died at a Village near *Seville*, called *Caſtilleja de la Cueſta*, on the 2d of *December* 1554, in the 63d Year of his Age: But his Corpſe, by his own Direction, was carried into *New Spain*.

25. In relating the Hiſtory of this great Event, we have taken in every thing that is material in the beſt *Spaniſh* Writers, ſo that the Reader ſees at one View, and in the Compaſs of a few Sheets, what has filled many large Volumes. When he comes ſeriouſly to reflect upon all the Paſſages herein related, and to conſider the Conduct of *Cortes* from firſt to laſt, he will certainly be convinced, that this great Man merited the Praiſes that have been given him, and that he was very much ſuperior to many, if not to moſt, of the Heroes of Antiquity. It muſt not however be diſſembled, that notwithſtanding his great Abilities and many Virtues, he was far enough from having a Character altogether blameleſs, or from behaving in ſuch a Manner as that no Imputation could be fixed upon his Conduct.

If this had been the Caſe, it is highly probable, he would not have been attacked by *F. Bartholomew de Caſas*, Biſhop of *Chiapa*, who went over to *Spain* on Purpoſe to complain of him, and indeed with good Reaſon, if what he ſays be true, that in the Space of twelve Years he deſtroyed upwards of 4,000,000 of People; but though, without doubt, the Deſign of this Prelate was very laudable, and he was in himſelf a Perſon of a true Chriſtian Spirit; yet there want not many Objections capable of deſtroying, or at leaſt of weakening, to a very great Degree, the Accuſations he has brought againſt this noble Perſon. In the firſt Place, we ought to conſider the wide Difference there was between theſe Peoples Characters; and that a Monk is not, by any Means, a fit Perſon to decide on the Behaviour of a Stateſman and a General. The Principles he maintains are not more deſtructive of the Character of *Cortes*, than the Characters of all the great Men, who have attempted Diſcoveries or made Conqueſts in theſe Parts of the World; and therefore if we admit his Judgment in its full Extent, we muſt not only give up the Cauſe of this great Captain, but of almoſt all the great Captains in every Age and Country; which will perhaps be thought too great a Sacrifice. In the next Place, we ought to remember that from the very Beginning of his Expedition, our Conqueror was oppoſed and perſecuted by the Biſhop of *Burgos* and his Party, not from any Chriſtian Spirit of Moderation and Charity towards the *Indians*, but becauſe he had embraced the Party of *Velaſquez*, who certainly meant to do all that *Cortes* did, by Means not at all milder than thoſe which *Cortes* employed; and the Biſhop of *Chiapa*, who was of the ſame Party, may be, in ſome Meaſure, ſuſpected of condemning in a Perſon he diſliked, what perhaps he would have excuſed in one for whom he had a greater Eſteem.

We may farther obſerve, that though this Prelate takes a great deal of Pains to juſtify the *Indians*, and to lay a heavy Load upon his Countrymen, by alledging, that for one Man ſacrificed by the former to their falſe Gods, the latter offered a thouſand Victims to their Goddeſs *Avarice*; yet, inaſmuch as he allows that they did offer human Sacrifices, he, in ſome Meaſure, allows the Truth of this General's Relations, and indeed it cannot well be ſuppoſed, that a Perſon of the Spirit and Temper of *Cortes* would write long Letters full only of Lies to the Emperor his Maſter; and therefore we ought to make ſome Allowances for the Provocations he received, and for the Circumſtances he was in at a Time he cut off ſo many *Indians*. What ſeems to juſtify our Suſpicion that this good Biſhop exaggerated, either wilfully or by Miſtake, the Cruelty of *Cortes*, is his charging him expreſly with maſſacring in cold Blood all the Inhabitants of the City of *Chulula*, notwithſtanding they had given him a very kind Reception.

The Reader has already ſeen an Account of that whole Tranſaction, as it is related by the beſt Hiſtorians; and from thence it appears, that *Cortes* inflicted upon that City no greater Cruelties than they meant to have exerciſed upon him and his Soldiers, and that by a moſt treacherous Contrivance; and, if this had not been the Truth, one can hardly conceive that the *Indians* that were Confederates with *Cortes*, would have adhered to him ſo cloſely as they did, on that and all other Occaſions. If he had been really ſo baſe and bloody a Perſon, he could ſcarce have gained the Affections of ſo many Nations, or granting that by his artificial Behaviour he might have done this, it would have been impoſſible for him to have preſerved their Affections, as it is evident he did from the very Commencement to the End of the War: Beſides, if the Ambition and Barbarity of *Cortes* deſerved, in the Biſhop's Opinion, no Sort of Favour or Excuſe, why ſhould we have more Indulgence for the Pride and Tyranny of *Motezuma*, who certainly had no better Title than he to trample upon the Rights of Mankind, and to make ſo many Millions miſerable as he did.

Theſe are Things that deſerve to be very particularly conſidered, becauſe they enable us to judge truly and deciſively of the Subject under our Conſideration, without heſitating in our Opinion, or being doubtful whether when delivered it can be ſuſtained. To launch out in the Praiſes of *Cortes*, as a Man in whoſe Character there was nothing amiſs, and all whoſe Actions may be reconciled to the ſtricteſt Rules of Religion and Morality, would be undoubtedly carrying the Thing too far, and ſhewing ſuch a Prepoſſeſſion in his Favour, as neither Facts nor Reaſon could ſupport. But we are not to conſider him in that Light; we are to look upon him as an Officer ſent to extend the Power of the King, his Maſter, in that Part of the World; and though *Velaſquez* deprived him of his Commiſſion, yet, as he acted upon Principles of Honour, and took all due Care of the Royal Intereſt, as far as he underſtood it, we cannot refuſe him that Applauſe which is due to his Wiſdom and Courage, without acting againſt Reaſon. As to Religion he ſeems to have been as zealous for it as the Prieſts themſelves; and if that Zeal was intemperate, or ill placed, it was not ſo much his Fault as theirs, who taught him no better. He ſeems, as a Chriſtian, to have had a great Abhorrence of Idolatry; and as an honeſt Man a hearty Deteſtation of human Sacrifices; ſo that if his Actions were in any Degree wrong, yet the Motives to them, ſo far as we can perceive, might be very right. As to his Ambition and Avarice they are not to be excuſed, ſuppoſing them to have been his Vices. But then we ought to reflect how difficult a Thing it is to diſtinguiſh between a laudable Deſire to ſerve one's Prince and Country, and what is called Ambition; as well as between a criminal Love for Money, and complying with the Neceſſities of Times, by ſending over to *Spain* what he knew was requiſite to maintain his Credit, and to ſupport him againſt his Enemies. Taking therefore all things together, and making the ſame Allowances for *Cortes*, that are uſually made for Men in his Station, we may venture to affirm, that he behaved as well, and performed as great Things, if not greater, than any of the *Spaniſh* Captains that bore Command in this Part of the World; ſo that if we meaſure his Merit by the Importance of the Conqueſts he made; by the ſmall Forces he made them with; and the Difficulties he met with and ſurmounted, which are the uſual Meaſures of ſuch Actions, there is no reaſon to apprehend, that we err in the Commendations we beſtow upon him.

At the ſame Time, however, we muſt allow that he ſhed a great deal of Blood; that he introduced a new Government to this Part of the World; and did many other Things, that, however great they may appear, yet, in the Judgment of ſuch as are Friends to a rigid Morality, ſubject him to Cenſure. But as every Man has Faults, and every Man's Faults, who moves in a ſuperior Sphere, have very extenſive Conſequences; ſo even in this Reſpect, we ought not to have a worſe Opinion of *Cortes*, than of his Maſter, the Emperor *Charles* V. or any other great Captain, that purſues a Syſtem which, for any Thing we know, may be more agreeable to the Views and Deſigns of Providence, than ſuch a Conduct as might have pleaſed us better. I have inſiſted the longer upon this, that I might not be under the Neceſſity of making Reflections of the ſame Kind in other Places; for what I have ſaid upon this Occaſion will ſerve to ſhew my Sentiments upon all other like Occaſions; and therefore there will be no Need of repeating them.

I am very ſenſible that Writers frequently value themſelves upon deſtroying great Characters, by ſetting them in this diſadvantageous Light; and arrogate to themſelves a Power of judging in the laſt Reſort of Mens Actions and Motives. But this I think is very unfair, and I can ſee no Reaſon, why the having this Opportunity of raiſing or ſinking the Reputation of ſo illuſtrious a Perſon, ſhould tempt me to endeavour raiſing in the Reader an high Idea of my Penetration or Probity, at the Expence of one who is already in Poſſeſſion of Fame, from the Approbation of his Behaviour by thoſe who ought to be, and as far as I can judge from their Writings really were, better Judges of it than I am. All the Merit I pretend to is, the having ſtated his Actions fairly from the beſt Authorities, and ſaid of them freely what I thought, which, whether it be right or not, I moſt readily ſubmit to the judicious Reader, and ſo return to my Taſk of purſuing the Conqueſts made by the *Spaniards* in *America*.

SECTION

SECTION XIV.

The Diſcoveries made by the Spaniards *in the Province called* Golden Caſtile; *their firſt Knowledge of the* South-Sea, *and their Eſtabliſhment of* Panama, *by which a Paſſage was opened to the Diſcovery and Conqueſt of the great Empire of* Peru.

1. *The Manner in which* Vaſquez Nunez de Balboa *eſtabliſhed himſelf in the Government of* Santa Maria, *in the Province of* Caſtilla del Oro. 2. *He ſends two Agents to ſollicit Succours; one to the Admiral* James Columbus, *and the other to the Court of* Spain. 3. *The firſt Expedition of* Balboa *againſt the* Indians, *in which he ſubdued the Cazique* Careta, *and entered afterwards into a cloſer Friendſhip with him.* 4. *He goes, at the Requeſt of that* Indian *Prince, to viſit another Cazique, whoſe Name was* Comagre. 5. *He obtains there the firſt certain Intelligence of the* South-Seas, *and of the Empire of* Peru, *and its vaſt Riches.* 6. *He returns to* Santa Maria, *and, receiving ill News from* Spain, *reſolves to attempt a Diſcovery of the* South-Seas, *in hopes of pacifying King* Ferdinand *and his Miniſters.* 7. *The Manner in which he executed this Reſolution, and the wonderful Succeſs of his Expedition.* 8. *Beſtows the Name of St.* Michael *on a Bay in the* South-Seas, *and carries from thence a vaſt Treaſure in Gold and Pearls.* 9. *Sends another Agent to the Court of* Spain, *with a full Account of the Importance of theſe new Diſcoveries.* 10. *Don* Pedro Arias d'Avila, *by the Intereſt of the Biſhop of* Burgos, *is ſent from* Spain *to take the Government of* Caſtilla del Oro. 11. *This new Governor firſt cruelly perſecutes* Nunez de Balboa, *and afterwards moſt unjuſtly cauſes him to be beheaded.* 12. Arias *lays the Foundation of the City of* Panama, *which by reaſon of its unwholſome Situation proves very deſtructive to its firſt Inhabitants.* 13. *He fails in moſt of his Attempts for making Conqueſts and Diſcoveries in* America, *and finds it difficult to maintain his Power in the Midſt of ſo many Diſappointments.* 14. *He barbarouſly murders, under a Form of Juſtice,* Francis Hernandez, *Governor of* Nicaragua, *and ſeizes that Province.* 15. *Obſervations on the foregoing Section, and on the great Difference between Genius and Cunning.*

1. IT is a Rule that I think ought to be obſerved in all Works of this Nature, to explain one Subject thoroughly before we proceed to another; and to dwell more or leſs upon a Subject, according to its Weight and Importance: We have hitherto obſerved this Rule ſtrictly in both its Branches, which was the Reaſon of dwelling ſo long upon the Expedition of *Cortes*: Since this alone, in reſpect to its Conſequences, was more than equal to all we had mentioned before taken together. In this Section, the Matters we propoſe to handle, though neceſſary to underſtand the Diſovery and Conqueſt of *America*, and more eſpecially the Manner in which *Peru* came firſt to the Knowledge, and then fell into the Hands of the *Spaniards*; yet being in themſelves of far leſs Conſequence, we ſhall ſpeak of them more conciſely, in order to keep within due Bounds, and inform the Reader fully without tiring him.

We have already ſhewn how the Province of *Caſtilla del Oro* was diſcovered, and ſettled by the Induſtry and Pains of *Vaſquez Nunez de Balboa*, a Man no leſs remarkable for the Succeſs of his firſt Beginnings, than for the Miſeries that befel him at the Concluſion of his Adventures. We have likewiſe ſhewn how he arrived by his perſonal Merit, at the extraordinary Authority he exerciſed in the new Colony, on the Banks of the River *Darien*, where he deprived *Enciſo* of his Command; and, upon his endeavouring to recover it, ſeized and impriſoned him, under Pretence that he had uſurped an Office which the King only could beſtow; and for which he confiſcated all his Effects: A very harſh and ſevere Sentence, which was certainly founded, rather in perſonal Reſentment, for the ill Uſage he had met with from him, than from any real Concern for the Intereſt of the Colony, which was far enough from requiring ſuch a violent Proceeding, though that was the Pretence. But when Men have acquired Power, it is not at all ſtrange that they ſhould loſe Moderation in the Uſe of it; however, there were ſome in the Colony better inclined than himſelf; who, with ſome Difficuity, prevailed upon him to ſet *Enciſo* at Liberty; but it was upon this expreſs Condition, that he ſhould tranſport himſelf, either to *Spain*, or to *Hiſpaniola*, on board the firſt Ship that ſhould come to *Santa Maria*, which was the Name of this Settlement.

The next Care of *Nunez de Balboa*, was to ſecure thoſe Supplies, of which the Colony ſtood in need, and with this View it was that he made choice of his old Friend *Valdivia* to go to *Hiſpaniola*, in order to engage the Governor and Council there, to furniſh him and his People with all they wanted; of which he had the greater Hopes becauſe the Admiral, *James Columbus*, was then there, and he very well knew that no body could have a greater Inclination than he had, to contribute all that lay in his Power to promote the King's Service.

2. This Point being ſettled, he perſuaded the Colony that it was highly for their Service to ſend a Perſon they could confide in directly to *Spain*, that the Court might be informed of the Situation they were in, and of the great Probability there was of their making very advantageous Diſcoveries and Conqueſts. The Perſon he choſe for this important Employment, was his Collegue in the Magiſtracy, whoſe Name was *Zamudio*, to which no body had any Objection. By propoſing him *Balboa* gained two great Ends; for, in the firſt Place, he ſecured the ſole Authority to himſelf, which was always what he affected; and in the next Place, he committed the Care of his Concerns to one whoſe Intereſts were the ſame with his own: Since he had been as deeply engaged in the before mentioned Revolution as himſelf. There was a ſmall Ship belonging to the Colony in Port, and this he cauſed to be fitted up as well as it was poſſible, in order to carry the two Deputies, and his old Antagoniſt *Enciſco*.

Before their Departure, however it was ſuggeſted to *Balboa*, that he departed not a little from his uſual Wiſdom in ſending the laſt mentioned Perſon, whom he had uſed ſo very ill, to a Place where he might repreſent his Proceedings in Lights far enough from being to his Advantage. But this did not induce him to alter his Reſolution, though it put him upon taking a Precaution, which anſwered his Purpoſe very effectually. He remembred that one *Paſſemonte*, who was the King's Treaſurer General at *Santo Domingo*, had a great Intereſt with the Miniſters in *Spain*, and therefore he gave *Valdivia* a conſiderable Quantity of Gold, which he deſired him to preſent the Treaſurer, in his Name, ſuppoſing that this would attach him cloſely to his Intereſt, and therein he was not at all miſtaken; for the Poſſeſſion of this Gold, and the Hopes of more, induced him to eſpouſe the Cauſe of *Nunez de Balboa* ever after. Theſe Meaſures thus taken, he ſent the two Deputies, together with *Enciſo*, on board the Ship, which preſently after ſailed for *Santo Domingo*.

After their Departure, *Nunez de Balboa* began to contrive, in his own Mind, how to make the beſt Uſe poſſible of the great Power he had obtained, in order to make further Diſcoveries, and to acquire more Gold, which he foreſaw would prove the moſt effectual Means for ſecuring to him this Government, at which he had ſo ſtrangely arrived, and of which he had conceived ſuch Advantages might be made to the Crown of *Spain*, as would perhaps have entered into no Head but his own, conſidering the Circumſtances the Colony was then in: He was, indeed, a Perſon every way fit for undertaking vaſt things; for he had a deep Cunning, ſtuck at nothing, and had a Courage ſuperior to every kind of Danger, ſo that nothing could fright him from his Purpoſe, or put him out of any Road which he thought likely to attain it.

3. It was not long before ſuch an Opportunity offered as he expected, and he made the Uſe of it which it might be ſuppoſed a Perſon of his Abilities would make in a Matter that ſo nearly concerned him. At this time many *Indians* reſorted to *Darien*, to ſee whether the *Spaniards* were going away, or what they deſigned; and, to cover their Intention, carried *Indian* Wheat and other Proviſions to exchange for Beads, Knives, and other *Spaniſh* Baubles; and, to perſuade them to be gone, ſaid there was much Gold, and plenty of all Eatables, in the Province of *Coyaba*, which was thirty Leagues from thence. *Nunez de Balboa* ſent *Francis Pizarro*, with ſix Men, to diſcover the Country; who, having travelled three Leagues up the River, was attacked by four hundred *Indians*, under the Command of the Cazique *Zemaco*, and hard preſſed: But they cloſing, ripped up the Bellies of one hundred of them with their Swords, and wounded many more, whereupon the reſt fled.

The *Spaniards* then returned to *Darien* in a bad Plight, leaving one *Francis Hernandez* behind them, lying on the Ground; at which *Nunez* was ſo much offended, that he commanded *Pizarro* to go back, with ſome Men, for him, as he did, and brought him to the Colony; *Balboa* thinking it a Diſcredit to leave any one behind him alive. *Nunez* then marched himſelf, with one hundred Men, and advanced ſome Leagues towards the Province of *Coyba*, the Cazique of which was *Careta*: But, meeting the *Indians* by the Way, he ſoon returned to his Colony, and ſent two Brigantines for the *Spaniards* that had been left at *Nombre de Dios*.

As they were ſailing along the Coaſt, when they came to a Port belonging to the Cazique of *Coyba*, two *Spaniards* ſtark naked, painted red, came out to meet them: They, and one more, had a Year and an half before made their Eſcape out of *Nicueſſa*'s Ship, when he was in queſt of the Province of *Veragua*, to avoid the Puniſhment due to ſome Crime they had committed, and put themſelves into the Hands of this Cazique *Careta*, who always treated them very well; but, not agreeing among themſelves, though in Captivity, they one Day drew their Swords, and one of them, whoſe Name was *John Alonſo*, wounded the other dangerouſly, whereupon the Cazique made him a Commander in the War he had againſt ſome of his Enemies, looking upon him as the braver Man, and did nothing without his Advice. Theſe two Men were very acceptable to thoſe in the Brigantines, and gave an Account that the Country abounded ſo much in Gold, that if *Nunez* would invade it, they ſhould be all rich. Hereupon it was agreed that one of them ſhould go and acquaint *Nunez* of the State of the Country, and the other ſhould ſtay to be ſerviceable, as Occaſion ſhould offer. When the Brigantines returned to *Darien*, *Nunez* was well pleaſed with the Intelligence they brought of the great Wealth, and at having Interpreters to deal with the Natives; and, being thoroughly informed of the Nature of that Country, ſent back the Brigantines to bring away from *Nombre de Dios* thoſe they could not fetch off at firſt.

In the mean time he provided one hundred and thirty of the ableſt Men, with Arms, Proviſions, and other Neceſſaries they were to carry; and, as ſoon as the Brigantines arrived, he ſet out to ſeek *Careta* at his Dwelling, which was thirty Leagues off. The Cazique hearing of it, waited for him in his Houſe, where *Nunez* aſked him for Proviſions for his Men, and to carry to *Darien*. *Careta* anſwered, that when any Chriſtians had paſſed that Way, he freely gave them Part of his Proviſions; but that at preſent he had none, being at War with a neigbouring Cazique, whoſe Name was *Ponca*, for which Reaſon his People had not ſowed, and were then in great Want. Having received this Anſwer, *Nunez*, by the Advice of *John Alonſo*, pretended to go back the ſame Way he came; and *Careta* thinking himſelf very ſafe, *Nunez* returned at Midnight, and attacked the Town in three Places, killing and wounding many, and taking the Cazique, his two Wives and Children, and ſeveral others; all of whom he ſent away to *Darien*, loading the Brigantines with Proviſions. At *Darien*, *Careta* intreated *Nunez* not to keep him in Captivity, promiſing to do all that was in his Power to furniſh the Chriſtians with Proviſions, and to be his Friend: As a Pledge of which he would give him one of his Daughters, who was very beautiful; and, that his People might have leiſure to till and ſow the Ground, he ſhould aſſiſt him againſt his Enemy *Ponca*. *Nunez* accepted of the Offer, and took his Daughter, whom he kept as his Miſtreſs, though *Careta* thought he had taken her for his Wife; but he always loved and uſed her kindly, which highly pleaſed the *Indians*.

4. This *Indian* Cazique, *Careta*, not only kept his Word, but treated *Nunez*, and eighty Men who accompanied him, ſo well, that they willingly agreed to aſſiſt him in his Wars; which, when the other Cazique, whoſe Name was *Ponca*, heard, he fled to the Mountains; and the *Spaniards*, entering his Country, found ſome Proviſions there, and a conſiderable Quantity of Gold. It was not long before *Careta* informed his Gueſts, that he had another Neighbour more powerful, and of a better Diſpoſition, than *Ponca*; whoſe Name, as well as that of his Country, was *Comagre*; that he had ſeveral Wives, and a great many Children, and lived in greater Splendor than any other Cazique. He likewiſe told them that this *Indian* Prince had a great Inclination to be acquainted with the *Spaniards*; and, as his Dominions were larger and more fruitful than his own, *Careta* adviſed them to go thither, and offered to accompany them, as he did; and the *Spaniards* found every thing agreeable to the Account he had given them.

For the Palace of *Comagre* was a large wooden Building, one hundred and fifty Yards in Length, and eighty in Breadth; ſurrounded with a good Stone Wall, and well furniſhed within, after the Manner of thoſe People. They likewiſe found there good Store of Proviſions: They had ſeveral Sorts of Drinks of ſeveral Colours, not much inferior, either in Strength or Flavour, to Wine. The Reception they met with, was equally kind and hoſpitable; *Comagre* and his Sons taking all the Pains imaginable to make them welcome and eaſy, and diſcovering in their Converſation a Knowledge and Politeneſs much ſuperior to any of the *Indians* they had hitherto met with, they made them Preſents alſo of Gold and Pearls, to a very conſiderable Value; ſo that they had no Reaſon to repent of their Journey, or diſtruſt *Careta*, who had brought them thither; and who ſeemed to be likewiſe highly pleaſed with the courteous Entertainment that his Friend had given them, hoping it would make the *Spaniards* ſtill more willing to oblige him.

Nunez and his Men being thus joyfully received and entertained, *Comagre*'s eldeſt Son, who was a diſcreet Youth, being deſirous to oblige his Gueſts, cauſed ſeveral Pieces of Gold, valuable both for their Workmanſhip and Fineneſs, weighing about four thouſand Pieces of Eight, and ſeventy Slaves, to be brought, all which he gave to *Nunez* and *Colmenares*. They immediately ſet apart a fifth of the Gold for the King, dividing the reſt among themſelves; about which ſome quarrelled, ſtruggling and making a Noiſe for the beſt and fineſt of thoſe Pieces.

Comagre's eldeſt Son, who was preſent, ran to the Scales, and, ſtriking them with his double Fiſt, threw all the Gold upon the Ground; ſaying, "That Chriſtians need not fall out about ſuch a Trifle; but, if they were ſo fond of it as to diſturb peaceable Nations, and leave their own Native Country for the ſake of it, he would ſhew them a Province where they might have as much as their Hearts could wiſh, but that there muſt be a greater Number of them, becauſe they were to encounter a Monarch who defended his Dominions with much Bravery: That they firſt would meet with a Cazique, who had a vaſt Quantity of what they looked upon as Wealth, who was ſix Suns, that is ſix Days

“ Journey from thence, pointing with his Finger towards the *South-Sea*; which he told them they would ſee as ſoon as they were paſt certain Lands; and that there were other Nations had Veſſels little inferior to thoſe of the *Spaniards*, with Sails and Oars; and that beyond that Sea, they would find immenſe Store of Gold, out of which thoſe People eat and drank.” And having underſtood from the *Spaniards* that there was great Plenty of Iron in *Spain*, he ſignified that there was more Gold in thoſe Parts than Iron in *Biſcay*.

This was the firſt Intimation given of that large Country; and, becauſe the Youth was acquainted with the great Extent of that Kingdom, and the Number of its Inhabitants, he added, that there ought to be one thouſand Chriſtians, at leaſt, to invade it; and he offered to go with them, to aſſiſt them with his Father's Men. This Diſcourſe was interpreted by the two *Spaniards* who had fled from *Nicueſſa*, and lived with *Careta*. *Nunez* and his Followers, having heard of all this Golden Country, were ſo overjoyed, that they thought they could never make Haſte enough to diſcover it.

6. After a ſhort Stay in the Dominions of this *Indian* Prince, *Nunez de Balboa* retired to his own Government of *Santa Maria*, in order there to conſider at his Leiſure of the propereſt Means for making the Diſcoveries, upon which himſelf and his People were ſo much bent. A very little before *Valdivia* was returned from *Hiſpaniola*, and brought from thence, on the Part of *James Columbus*, the ſtrongeſt Aſſurances of Support, which induced *Balboa* to ſend him over a ſecond time with the ſame Views and the ſame Inſtructions, but with freſh Proofs of the Services he had rendered to the Crown, and freſh Preſents for thoſe he thought might do him Kindneſſes with the Miniſters. But the Veſſel that carried *Valdivia*, and ſuch as attended him, was very unfortunate, being ſhipwrecked in her Paſſage on the Coaſt of *Jucatan*; the Men with great Difficulty got on Shore, which proved a new Misfortune; for it had been much better they had periſhed at Sea, ſince they were quickly ſurrounded and made Priſoners by the Natives; who, with all the cruel Circumſtances imaginable, ſacrificed them to their Idols.

Such was the End of *Valdivia* and his Companions, two only eſcaping, one of whom was *Aguilar*, who was of ſo great Uſe to *Cortes*, and with whoſe Hiſtory the Reader is already acquainted. The News greatly afflicted *Balboa*, inſomuch that to prevent the ill Conſequences that might follow from it, he had ſome Thoughts of going himſelf to *Spain*; but the Colony would not ſuffer him, looking upon his Preſence as abſolutely neceſſary to their own Preſervation. He had very ſoon ſufficient Reaſons to believe that they had judged right; for, by the Diſpatches he received from his Agent *Zamudio*, he was informed that *Enciſo* had incenſed the Court againſt him to ſuch a Degree, that there was no pacifying the Miniſters, or perſuading them that he was not the very worſt of Men, and one who had in the higheſt Degree contemned and trampled upon the Royal Authority.

When *Nunez de Balboa* had conſidered the Contents of theſe Letters, and the melancholy Situation he was in, he ſaw plainly that there was nothing could deliver him, or reſtore his Character in *Spain*, but making an immediate Uſe of the Informations he had received, by proceeding in, and perfecting his Diſcoveries of, larger and richer Countries, than hitherto the *Spaniards* had been acquainted with. This he very rightly judged would cover all paſt Faults, and atone for every Irregularity he had committed; and therefore, without communicating to the Colony any of the Particulars contained in his Diſpatches, he applied himſelf ſolely to perſuade them to ſuch an Expedition, as the moſt likely Means to make them all rich and happy; and his Labours in this Reſpect proved ſo effectual, that all Hands were immediately employed in making the neceſſary Preparations for going in ſearch of thoſe Golden Regions; and this, with a full Confidence, that if once they could be found, they might, without Difficulty, be ſubdued. Such were his and their Deſigns: Let us now ſee how they were executed.

7. *Nunez de Balboa*, having reſolved to march over to the *South-Seas*, and provided all things for the Expedition, ſet out from *Darien* about the Middle of *September*, 1513; going by Sea as far as the Territories of the Cazique *Careta*, who received him in a very friendly Manner. He there left the Brigantine and Canoe, and advanced towards the Mountains, and the Country of *Ponca*, *Crreta* aſſigning ſome of his Subjects to attend him. The Cazique *Ponca*, who had Spies abroad, being informed that the *Spaniards* were coming up his Mountains, hid himſelf. *Nunez* ſent ſome of *Careta*'s *Indians* to aſſure him, that he would do him no Harm, but would be his Friend; and he thought fit to come to him, carrying as a Preſent the Value of one hundred and ten Peſos of Gold, which was all he had.

Nunez received him with much Joy, that he might have no Enemy behind. He gave him Abundance of Beads, Looking-glaſſes, and Hawk's-bells, and that which the *Indians* moſt valued, *viz.* ſome Iron Axes. He demanded of him Guides, and Men to carry Burdens, whilſt he went up the Hills, and advanced farther. The Cazique granted all he deſired, and gave him Plenty of Proviſions, and then the *Spaniards* marched on into the Dominions of a great Lord, whoſe Name was *Quarequa*, whom he found ready to oppoſe him with a great Number of Men, armed with Bows and Arrows, and a ſort of Slings, with which they threw Pieces of Wood hardened in the Fire like Darts. They had alſo Macanas, made of Palm-tree Wood, as hard as Iron, which they uſed, like Clubs, with both Hands. In this manner the *Indians* met the *Spaniards*, aſking what they would have, or what they came for? requiring them, at the ſame time, to proceed no farther. Obſerving that they valued not what was ſaid, their Lord came forward, cloathed in Cotton, with ſome of the prime Men; all the reſt ſtark naked.

They attacked the *Spaniards* with dreadful Cries and extraordinary Fury. *Nunez*, ſeeing ſuch a Multitude, ordered his Soldiers to diſcharge ſome Croſs-bows and ſome Firelocks, whereupon ſome dropped down dead. The *Indians*, ſeeing the Fire, and hearing the Report, believing they had been Flaſhes of Lightning, and that the *Spaniards* had Power to deſtroy them, fled, to a Man, in ſuch Conſternation, that they thought the *Spaniards* were Devils. The Dogs were ſet on them, whilſt their Maſters cut off the Limbs of ſome with their Swords, the Dogs tearing others in Pieces. The Cazique was there killed, and about ſix hundred more; ſome were taken, and their Town plundered, where the Conquerors found a conſiderable Quantity of Gold. Among the Priſoners were a Brother of the Cazique, and ſome others, cloathed like Women; and *Nunez*, judging that they were guilty of Sodomy, ſet the Dogs at them, and they were in a Moment torn to Pieces; which was all the Proof there was in this Caſe, though *Gomera* poſitively affirms it.

Some *Spaniards* were grown ſickly with Hunger and Wearineſs, for which Reaſon *Nunez* left them in *Quarequa*'s Town, where he took freſh Guides, and Men to carry Burdens, to diſmiſs thoſe that belonged to *Careta*; thus proceeding to the Top of the Mountains, whence they ſaid the other Sea might be ſeen. From *Ponca*'s Lands to this Mountain's Top was about ſix Days Journey; but they ſpent twenty-five, through the Uncouthneſs of Lands, and becauſe they were ſcarce of Proviſions, and had little Reſt. At length they arrived, on the 25th of *September*, 1513, whence the Sea could be ſeen.

Nunez, having notice given him, a little before they came to the Top, that they were very near, commanded all to halt, went up alone, and, ſeeing the *South-Sea*, on his Knees returned Thanks to Heaven for being the firſt that had ſeen it. Having performed this, he called his Men, and repeated the ſame; they followed his Example, whilſt the *Indians* ſtood amazed to ſee them ſo overjoyed. He then extolled the Intelligence given him by *Comagre*'s Son, promiſing all his Men much Wealth and Happineſs; and they believed him: For he was very much beloved, becauſe he made no Difference between himſelf and every Soldier. Beſides, he was familiar, and ſhewed much Compaſſion for the Sick and

Wounded, every one of whom he viſited, and was himſelf undaunted in Dangers, never ſhewing the leaſt Concern in the greateſt Perils. He then cauſed a Certificate to be drawn of his taking Poſſeſſion of that Sea, and all in it, for the Crown of *Caſtile*; in Teſtimony whereof, he cut down Trees, erected Croſſes, raiſed Heaps of Stones, and cut the King of *Spain*'s Name on ſome Trees. He then reſolved to go down the Mountains, to obſerve what there was on them, and on the Sea-coaſt.

Being informed that, near this Place, there was another Town, belonging to a Lord whoſe Name was *Chiapes*, he advanced very cautiouſly; and *Chiapes* went out to meet him with a great Number of Men, in which he confided, for the *Indians*, ſeeing ſo few *Spaniards*, generally made little account of them till they had felt their Swords. When they drew near, the *Spaniards* ſaluted them with their Fire-arms firſt, and then with their Croſs-bows, after which they let go the Dogs; the *Indians*, ſeeing the Fire of the Muſkets, hearing the Report, ſmelling the Gunpowder, obſerving how many dropt down dead, and that the Dogs tore all they came at, turned their Backs, and fled with the utmoſt Precipitation: The *Spaniards* purſued, with their Dogs, killing ſome, but chuſing rather to take Priſoners, in order, by their Means, to make Peace with *Chiapes*, that he might not retard their Paſſage. They diſmiſſed ſome of thoſe they had taken as Meſſengers to their Lord, with ſome of *Quarequa*'s Men to aſſure him they would do him no Harm if he would be their Friend. He thought it ſafeſt to put himſelf into the Hands of theſe dreadful Enemies, and carried the Value of four hundred Pieces of Eight in Gold. *Nunez* received him very graciouſly, and gave him Beads, Looking-glaſſes, and ſome Hatchets; and here he diſmiſſed *Quarequa*'s *Indians*, giving them Trifles, with which they went away well pleaſed.

From thence he ſent Captain *Francis Pizarro* to view the Sea Coaſt, and what there was about the Country; as alſo *John Eſcarray* and *Alonſo Martin*, with twelve Men each, to find out the ſhorteſt Ways to the Sea. *Alonſo Martin* hit upon the readieſt Road, and, in two Days, came to a Place where he found two Canoes upon dry Land; yet ſaw no Sea; but whilſt he was conſidering which Way theſe Canoes were come up the Land, the Sea-water came in and lifted them up about a Fathom in Height: For, upon that Coaſt, the Sea ebbs and flows every ſix Hours, two or three Fathoms, ſo that great Ships are left dry, and no Sea-water appears for two or three Leagues at leaſt. *Alonſo Martin*, ſeeing the Canoes ſwim, went into one of them, and bid his Companions bear Witneſs that he was the Firſt who entered the *South-Seas*; another, whoſe Name was *Blaez de Atienza*, did the like, and bid them bear Witneſs he was the Second. They returned to *Nunez* with the News, at which all rejoiced very much.

8. The ſick and wounded *Spaniards* that were left behind being come up, *Nunez* reſolved to proceed himſelf to the Sea ſide, and to try what farther Diſcoveries could be made, taking the *Indian* Chief with him. When they came to the Shore, the *Spaniſh* Commander marched on, armed as he was, till the Water took him up to the Middle; cauſing a Notary to draw and ſubſcribe a public Inſtrument, importing, That he had taken Poſſeſſion of that Sea, its Coaſts, and the Iſlands in it, on Behalf of the Crown of *Caſtile*; at which Ceremony the *Indians* were very much amazed.

He proceeded next to paſs the Mouth of a great River, and landed on the oppoſite Side, in the Territories of another *Indian* Prince, whoſe Name was *Coura*, and who, at firſt, endeavoured to make ſome Reſiſtance; but, finding that it was in vain, he ſuffered his Son to go and treat with them, and himſelf was ſoon after reconciled, and carried them a conſiderable Preſent. *Balboa* obſerving a large Bay of the Sea, reſolved to navigate it; and, to that Purpoſe, deſired the *Indians* to furniſh him with Canoes, which they did, and offered to accompany him, though, at the ſame Time, they adviſed him to ſuſpend his Diſcovery, becauſe the Winter was coming on. But he, being obſtinate, embarked with fourſcore *Spaniards*, together with *Chiapes*, and ſome of his *Indians*, on board nine Canoes.

They weighed Anohor upon the twenty-ninth of *September*, 1513, which was the Reaſon he called it *St. Michael's Bay*. When they were at ſome Diſtance from Land the Waves began to ſwell ſo high, that *Nunez* repented he had not taken *Chiapes*'s Advice. It was a wonderful Providence that they did not all periſh; and the *Indians*, who ſwim like Fiſh, made the Danger more evident, as being better acquainted with the Place, which rendered the *Spaniards* more apprehenſive. The Roughneſs of this Bay is occaſioned by the many little Iſlands, Rocks, and Sholes, that are in it. The *Indians*, being beſt ſkilled in thoſe Affairs, had recourſe to their uſual Remedy, faſtening two Canoes together with Cords, for then they do not ſo eaſily overturn. They made the beſt of their Way next towards an Iſland, where they landed, and laſhed the Canoes to the Rocks or Trees. There they continued all the Night, with as much Uneaſineſs as if they had been looking Death in the Face; for upon the Flood the whole Iſland was covered with Water, and they ſtood in it up to their Waiſts, or very near it: When Day appeared, and the Water ebbed, they went to look for their Canoes, and found ſome beaten in Pieces, and others ſplit, all of them full of Water and Sand; and nothing remained of all their Goods and Proviſions; which was a very diſmal Sight. In this Diſtreſs, they pulled off the tender Bark of the young Trees, and, bruiſing it with Graſs and other Herbs, caulked the Crannies of the Canoes that were not quite ſtaved, and thus embarked again half famiſhed.

They immediately ſteered to the Land of an *Indian* Lord, whoſe Name was *Tumaco*, in the Creek of the Bay, where they found him ready to oppoſe them. *Nunez* ſeeing his Men weak and hungry, picked out a few of the ableſt, whom he placed in the Front, and engaged: In a very ſhort Space the Dogs and the Swords made ſad Havock among the *Indians*, the Cazique himſelf being wounded. *Chiapes* ſent ſome of his Men to acquaint *Tumaco* with the Power of the *Spaniards*, and how kind they were to their Friends, as himſelf and other Lords they had met in their Way, very well knew by Experience. *Tumaco* would not be perſuaded the firſt Time, but the ſecond Meſſenger prevailed ſo far, that he ſent his Son, whom *Nunez* entertained very courteouſly, giving him a Shirt, and ſome Toys, and bidding him adviſe his Father to come himſelf and be his Friend. *Tumaco* ſeeing his Son had been well uſed, went the third Day with a great Attendance of his Subjects, but carried no Preſents; however *Nunez* paid him much Reſpect.

Chiapes told him, that the *Spaniards* were good, and it was but reaſonable to aſſiſt them, ſince they were Strangers in their Country: Being pacified, and out of Fear, he ſent ſome Servants home, who brought Gold, to the Value of ſix hundred and fourteen Pieces of Eight, and, what was much more, two hundred and forty large Pearls, very fine, and many more that were bright but ſmall. The Joy *Nunez* and his Men conceived at the Sight of them is inexpreſſible, believing the immenſe Treaſures *Comagre*'s Son had told them of were now at hand, and thinking all their Sufferings well repaid. The large Pearls were of a great Value, and would have been of greater, but that the *Indians* uſing Fire to open the Oyſters, they grew damp, and were not ſo white as they naturally are: The *Spaniards* afterwards taught the *Indians* how to open them without Fire. *Tumaco*, obſerving that the Pearls occaſioned ſuch Joy among them, to ſhew that he valued them but little, ſent ſome *Indians* to fiſh, and within four Days they brought as many as weighed no leſs than ninety-ſix Ounces. Both *Spaniards* and *Indians* were well pleaſed, the former concluding they ſhould be poſſeſſed of all that Wealth, and the latter, eſpecially Caziques, for the Friendſhip of the *Spaniards*, ſeeing them fond of Gold and Pearls, which they valued but little; but *Chiapes* rejoiced moſt becauſe he had been inſtrumental in gaining *Tumaco*'s Friendſhip.

Thoſe two Caziques aſſured *Nunez*, that there was an Iſland about five Leagues from thence, in that Bay, governed by a powerful Cazique; where there were abundance of large Oyſters, which had Pearls in them as big as Beans. *Nunez* ordered the Canoes to be immediately made ready to go over to it. The Caziques intreated him not to think of it at that time, but to ſtay till Summer, when the Sea was calm, and he might then go with Eaſe, and they would bear him Company, and he approved of their Advice. The Cazique *Tumaco* alſo informed *Balboa*, that the Coaſt extended prodigiouſly, pointing towards *Peru*; that there was an immenſe Quantity of Gold, and that the Natives uſed certain Beaſts to carry their Burdens, being the Sheep of that Country, and made a Figure of them with Earth to repreſent them the better. The *Spaniards* were amazed; ſome ſaid they were Camels, others that they were Stags or Fallow Deer, of which there are many on the Continent, about as big as ſmall Calves, but their Legs ſo ſhort, that they are not above a Span in Length, and their Horns ſmall. This was the ſecond Intimation *Nunez* had of *Peru*, and its Wealth.

9. It was about the Middle of *January* that *Nunez de Balboa* returned back to *Santa Maria*, carrying with him Gold to a very great Value, and Pearls to a much greater; of which he made a very fair Diviſion, reſerving the fifth Part for the King, and diſtributing the reſt among the Soldiers in ſuch a Manner, that they were perfectly ſatisfied with his Conduct. He judged now, and not without great Appearance of Reaſon, that he had performed ſo ſignal a Service, that it was impoſſible for the Miniſters to deny that it made Amends for any Indiſcretions into which he had fallen. He reſolved therefore to ſend another Agent to *Spain* with the King's Money, and with more conſiderable Preſents than it was in his Power to ſend by the former. The Perſon he made choice of for this Negociation was *Peter Arbolanchos*, a Man of Capacity, and, which was of greater Conſequence to him, a Perſon of great Integrity and unſhaken Fidelity.

He applied himſelf when he came to Court, to the famous Biſhop of *Burgos*; who received his Letters with Civility, which changed into the greateſt Kindneſs and Friendſhip upon the Sight of the Gold and Pearls that *Balboa* had ſent him; for theſe fully convinced him that he was innocent, and a good Officer, and therefore he took Pains to ſet him right in the Opinion of King *Ferdinand*, who was then living, and who had hitherto a great Averſion to *Nunez de Balboa*; but the Favours of this Prelate came too late, for he had already done this unhappy Man ſuch an Injury as he was not able to repair. It was a Maxim with this Biſhop, that there was nothing ſo dangerous as to ſuffer the great Men who made Diſcoveries in the *Indies* to perfect them; and therefore as ſoon as they had opened the Road to new Countries, and had overcame the firſt, which are always the greateſt, Difficulties, it was his conſtant Method to ſend ſome of his own Creatures to reap the Fruits of their Labours.

The Perſon he had fixed upon, before the Arrival of *Balboa*'s Agent, to go Governor of *Caſtilla del Oro*, was one Don *Pedro Arias d'Avila*, whom the *Spaniſh* Writers, by joining his two firſt Names, commonly call *Pedrarias*, a Man of Birth, of a Court Education, which had furniſhed him with ſeveral Qualities very ſuitable to the Climate of *Spain*, but not at all calculated for the King's Service in the *Indies*: He was haughty and proud to the laſt Degree, naturally inſincere, and a very artificial Diſſembler, barbarouſly unjuſt, and cruel beyond Expreſſion, one who thought the only Compenſation that could be made for leaving his native Country, was to raiſe a vaſt Fortune, which, as he wanted Talents to do in an honeſt Way, he reſolved to bring about by the Methods he underſtood, which were Violence, Fraud, and Oppreſſion; in all of which he was a complete Maſter.

We have his Character drawn to the Life by the Hand of the Biſhop of *Chiapa*, who repreſents him as the wickedeſt Monſter that was ever ſent into thoſe Parts; but out of Reſpect to his Patron the Biſhop of *Burgos*, after giving ſo true a Character of him, he does not name him. Such was the Perſon that was ſent over to take Poſſeſſion of that Country which *Balboa* had diſcovered.

10. This new Governor, *Pedrarias*, ſailed from *Spain* the 12th of *April*, 1514, with a Fleet of fifteen Sail, with two thouſand Soldiers on board, and a Fryar, one *John de Quevedo*, who had been conſecrated, before his Departure, Biſhop of *Darien*, and many other Perſons, in other great Offices; and among the reſt *Enciſo*, the mortal Enemy of *Balboa*, was his Provoſt-Marſhal. He arrived in the latter End of the Month of *July*, in the Gulph of *Uraba*, and from thence proceeded to *Santa Maria*, where he was received with all imaginable Reſpect, by the famous *Nunez de Balboa*, of whom he had heard ſo much, and for whom he cared ſo little.

He was very much ſurprized at his Appearance, and at the State in which he found the Colony. There was indeed a very ſtrong Fort, and four hundred and fifty brave Fellows to defend it; but the Governor's Houſe, or if you will, his Palace, conſiſted but of three Rooms, and his Dreſs correſponded with his Dwelling: He had a Pair of Canvas Drawers, and a Cotton Waiſtcoat over his Shirt, and that was all. His Diet was of a piece with the reſt; a Joint of roaſt Pork, ſome Greens and Fruit, was all his Table afforded; at which no other Liquor was drank but good Spring-water. Such were the Manners of this Conqueror, who fared nothing better than the meaneſt of his Soldiers; but there was no Murmuring, no Complaints; he maintained his Authority by the Means which had acquired it, his Merit; and his Soldiers loved him, and feared him as a Father. His ſole Fault was his Ambition, that had led him to do ſome unwarrantable things to obtain Power; but when obtained, none uſed it better.

His Accounts were clear; he made good every Point he had written to *Spain*, and opened a Paſſage to the *South-Seas*, and ſubdued all the Country between them and his Colony; in return for which good Services *Pedrarias* committed him cloſe Priſoner to the Cuſtody of *Enciſo*, and did not ſet him at Liberty till he had fined him in above half his Fortune. In order to juſtify this Proceeding, he ſent over a very falſe Report to the Court of *Spain*, and expected that this ſhould have procured him a Power of going greater Lengths; but in this he was miſtaken. He had brought over ſome honeſt Men with him, who ventured (which was ſtrange) to ſend the naked Truth to Court; and, which was ſtranger ſtill, it met with all the Credit that it deſerved.

When the King's Letters came to be opened, his Majeſty declared in them, that he was perfectly ſatisfied with the Conduct of *Nunez de Balboa*, that therefore he had created him Lord-Lieutenant of the Countries on the *South-Seas*; that he expected the Governor ſhould take his Advice; and that the Meaſure of his Obedience to his Orders would appear from the Reſpect he ſhewed to *Balboa*. *Pedrarias*, equally diſpleaſed and diſappointed, took care to conceal both, and, like a true Courtier, reſolved to conform, in Appearance, to his Maſter's Orders, but to diſobey them in Effect, and to leave no Means untried, to work the Deſtruction of the Man he hated, in which, as we ſhall ſee, he ſucceeded to the full.

In order to leſſen the Character of his Predeceſſor, and raiſe his own, the new Governor ſent ſeveral of his Officers to make Excurſions into the Country, which he thought might produce new Diſcoveries, as indeed they did, but not to the Advantage of the Colony or of the Crown of *Spain*, ſince they contributed only to ſhew the Avarice and Cruelty of the *Spaniards* in the moſt glaring Lights: His Officers knew the only Method too btain his Favour and Protection was to make him large Preſents, and to plunder all the Caziques without Mercy; ſo that in a few Months time, that Reputation for Honeſty and kind Uſage which *Nunez de Balboa* had been at ſo much Pains to eſtabliſh, was entirely loſt, and War between them and the Natives broke out afreſh with greater Fury than ever, ſo that there were no great Hopes of his making any Progreſs; which when he came ſeriouſly to conſider, he entered upon a new Scheme, and, by the Aſſiſtance of his Biſhop *Quevedo*, reconciled himſelf to *Balboa*, who very ſincerely applied himſelf, as he had done formerly, to the public Service, and that too with his uſual Succeſs, which revived, as might be naturally expected, the Envy of *Pedrarias*, notwithſtanding that *Nunez* had promiſed to marry his Daughter, and he had thereupon called and in publick treated him as his Son.

The Buſineſs in which he had employed him was the building a Town, eſtabliſhing a Port, and from thence fitting out Ships upon the *South Seas*; all which, with incredible Labour and Fatigue, he at length accompliſhed, which added to the great Reputation he had before acquired. *Pedrarias* ſeeing this, and that moſt People in his Government were inclined to remove, and to ſettle in the Town built by *Nunez de Balboa*, as ſoon as it was finiſhed, reſolved no longer to delay the removing out of his way a Man, whoſe Superiority became more and more conſpicuous: He ſent for him therefore to *Santa Maria*; and *Nunez de Balboa* made no Difficulty of obeying his Order, either becauſe he did not ſuſpect his ill Intentions towards him, or that relying upon his own Innocence, he thought it out of the Governor's Power to hurt him.

Upon his Arrival, however, *Pedrarias* commenced a freſh Proſecution againſt him, on the ſame Pretences for which he had fined him before; and to theſe he added another very extraordinary Accuſation, which was a treaſonable Intention to uſurp the King's Domain, founded upon nothing more than his having cut down, without the Governor's Licence, ſome Timber for erecting public Edifices; and upon this Charge he condemned him to ſuffer Death, to the Amazement of the Colony and the Terror of all the Inhabitants. He perſiſted however in his Deſign, and cauſed this unfortunate Gentleman to be publickly beheaded. Such was the Fate of *Vaſquez Nunez de Balboa*, who, in the forty-ſecond Year of his Age, ſuffered as a Traytor, for having ſerved his Prince with too much Zeal and Fidelity. The Royal Audience at *Santo Domingo* condemned this Action of *Pedrarias* as a downright Murder; but it does not appear that he was ever called to any Account for it; but, on the contrary, was permitted to go on in the ſame baſe and barbarous Track for many Years together. This happened in the Year 1517, and in the third of *Pedrarias*'s Government.

12. When he had thus, at the Expence of Law and Juſtice, freed himſelf from a Man whom he both hated and feared, *Pedrarias* reſolved to ſettle a new Colony at *Panama*; notwithſtanding that, from the Heat and Moiſture of the Country about it, it was very unwholſome; but as it ſtood commodious for Trade, and was a Place very convenient for the Diſcoveries then making, the Governor remained fixed in his Reſolution, built a Palace there, and made it the Seat of his Government. Upon this others came thither to dwell, ſo that by degrees it grew a tolerable Place, and increaſed in its Inhabitants very faſt, becauſe it was pretty well fortified, and becauſe the Harbour is very ſpacious, where the Ships upon the Ebb are left dry. The Circumference of the City is ſmall, by reaſon of a Moraſs that incloſes it on one Side, and the Damps that riſe from it render the Place very unhealthy: It ſtretches out from Eaſt to Weſt, ſo that when the Sun riſes there is no going along the Streets, becauſe there is no Shade; and the Heat is ſo offenſive, that it occaſions many Diſtempers. Though it has been ſeveral times propoſed to remove it to ſome better Place, it has not been done, on account of the great Price the Houſes bear, and that the ancient Inhabitants are dead; and ſuch as live there now are generally Traders, and ſtay there no longer than they can acquire enough to go ſomewhere elſe.

There is a River runs near the City, and the Diſtrict is large, in which there are many Farms, and ſtore of black Cattle, the Soil being proper for them; ſeveral Sorts of *Spaniſh* Fruit have been planted, and there are of the Country very good, as Pine-Apples, Plantain, Guayabas, beſides others about the Fields. The Rivers afford Gold, which was found in Plenty upon the firſt building of the City. It is well ſupplied with Proviſions, being furniſhed from both Seas. Neither Wheat nor Barley grow within its Diſtrict, but there is much Maize or *Indian* Corn carried from *Spain* and *Peru*. There are good Fiſh in the Rivers, and in the Sea, though different from what are found in *Spain*: Near the Houſes along the Coaſt there are vaſt Quantities of Cockles, by the Natives called *Chucha*; and it is thought, that for the Sake of them the *Spaniards* at firſt built the City there, as being ſome Supply in time of Want. In the Rivers of this Province, there are vaſt Numbers of Alligators, ſo large, that they are hideous to look at; and one has been found in the River of *St. George*, that was twenty-five Foot long: The Fleſh of them, which the *Spaniards* were wont to eat for want of better, when they were upon their Diſcoveries, is bad and ill-ſcented: The Creatures themſelves are fierce and frightful, and have devoured many *Spaniards* and *Indians*, and even Horſes, while croſſing Rivers. There are few of the Natives in the Territories of this City, having been deſtroyed in the Wars: The Trade there is extraordinary, rich Ships coming in continually from *Peru*, laden with Gold and Silver.

The Commodities carried from *Spain*, on board the Fleets, are conveyed thither on numerous Teams, kept for that Purpoſe; a conſiderable Part being ſent up the River *Chagre*, within five Leagues of *Panama*, which lies in between eight and nine Degrees N. Latitude. This Place being conſiderable, the King ordered many religious Men to be ſent over to convert the *Indians*, and made it a Biſhopric. Yet it is ſaid, that during the firſt twenty-eight Years after the Conqueſt of *Peru*, above forty thouſand Men were computed to have died there, of violent Diſtempers. Soon after, *James Albetez* founded another Town at *Nombre de Dios*, which was alſo famous for many Years, theſe two being noted for the Trade between the North and South Seas; and here, as well as at *Panama*, many thouſand *Spaniards* periſhed by the bad Air.

In the Reign of King *Philip* II. to avoid the ſaid Mortality, *Nombre de Dios* was quite abandoned, and the Inhabitants removed to *Porto Bello*, where the Trade now continues. As ſoon as theſe two Towns were founded, Orders were taken for making a Road between them, being the neareſt between the two Seas; though the Mountains were very uncooth, on which there were then infinite Numbers of Lyons, Tygers, and other wild Beaſts, and ſuch a Multitude of Monkies of ſeveral Sizes as deafened their Ears with their Cries; which, running up the Trees when any People paſſed by, were wont to throw Stones at them, but the *Spaniards* kept them in Awe with their Croſs-bows.

13. It muſt be allowed, that this *Pedrarias* did not want Talents ſuitable to his Office; for he had Courage, Diligence, and a ſtrong Deſire to do great Things; and yet, notwithſtanding all this, in the Compaſs of eight or nine Years, he did little or nothing, which the *Spaniards* attributed to the juſt Judgment of God, for his cruel Uſage to *Nunez de Balboa*. There is no doubt that God is always juſt; but perhaps we are not wiſe enough to diſtinguiſh his Judgments, and, therefore, it may be as well to refer the want of Succeſs in this Governor's Adminiſtration to Cauſes more manifeſt, without excluding, however, the divine Juſtice, which has certainly connected Miſery and Vice, and plagues the Neglect of moral Duties by a continual Train of Misfortunes. The Truth of the Matter is, that his Vices defeated all his Schemes, and rendered all his Undertakings abortive. Inſtead of treating the *Indian* Caziques as his Predeceſſor *Nunez* had done, with Civility and Juſtice, he behaved towards them like an imperious Maſter, and yet he was not able to extort half the Quantity of Gold that had been freely beſtowed on *Balboa* in Preſents. He granted Licences to various Perſons to undertake Diſcoveries; but on ſuch hard Terms, and with ſo many Reſtrictions, that they had no better Succeſs than himſelf; and all their Endeavours had no other Effect than to waſte great Numbers of Men, and to bring an Odium upon Expeditions into the *South Seas*.

But what chiefly employed the Care of this Governor, was reducing *Urraca*, Cazique of the Mountains, whoſe Country was very rich in Gold; and who, after the Deceaſe of *Nunez*, would have nothing to do with the *Spaniards*, preſuming, as he ſaid, that they could mean no Good to others, who perſecuted and murdered each other.

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He applied himſelf when he came to Court, to the famous Biſhop of *Burgos*; who received his Letters with Civility, which changed into the greateſt Kindneſs and Friendſhip upon the Sight of the Gold and Pearls that *Balboa* had ſent him; for theſe fully convinced him that he was innocent, and a good Officer, and therefore he took Pains to ſet him right in the Opinion of King *Ferdinand*, who was then living, and who had hitherto a great Averſion to *Nunez de Balboa*; but the Favours of this Prelate came too late, for he had already done this unhappy Man ſuch an Injury as he was not able to repair. It was a Maxim with this Biſhop, that there was nothing ſo dangerous as to ſuffer the great Men who made Diſcoveries in the *Indies* to perfect them; and therefore as ſoon as they had opened the Road to new Countries, and had overcame the firſt, which are always the greateſt, Difficulties, it was his conſtant Method to ſend ſome of his own Creatures to reap the Fruits of their Labours.

The Perſon he had fixed upon, before the Arrival of *Balboa*'s Agent, to go Governor of *Caſtilla del Oro*, was one Don *Pedro Arias d'Avila*, whom the *Spaniſh* Writers, by joining his two firſt Names, commonly call *Pedrarias*, a Man of Birth, of a Court Education, which had furniſhed him with ſeveral Qualities very ſuitable to the Climate of *Spain*, but not at all calculated for the King's Service in the *Indies*: He was haughty and proud to the laſt Degree, naturally inſincere, and a very artificial Diſſembler, barbarouſly unjuſt, and cruel beyond Expreſſion, one who thought the only Compenſation that could be made for leaving his native Country, was to raiſe a vaſt Fortune, which, as he wanted Talents to do in an honeſt Way, he reſolved to bring about by the Methods he underſtood, which were Violence, Fraud, and Oppreſſion; in all of which he was a complete Maſter.

We have his Character drawn to the Life by the Hand of the Biſhop of *Chiapa*, who repreſents him as the wickedeſt Monſter that was ever ſent into thoſe Parts; but out of Reſpect to his Patron the Biſhop of *Burgos*, after giving ſo true a Character of him, he does not name him. Such was the Perſon that was ſent over to take Poſſeſſion of that Country which *Balboa* had diſcovered.

10. This new Governor, *Pedrarias*, ſailed from *Spain* the 12th of *April*, 1514, with a Fleet of fifteen Sail, with two thouſand Soldiers on board, and a Fryar, one *John de Quevedo*, who had been conſecrated, before his Departure, Biſhop of *Darien*, and many other Perſons, in other great Offices; and among the reſt *Enciſo*, the mortal Enemy of *Balboa*, was his Provoſt-Marſhal. He arrived in the latter End of the Month of *July*, in the Gulph of *Uraba*, and from thence proceeded to *Santa Maria*, where he was received with all imaginable Reſpect, by the famous *Nunez de Balboa*, of whom he had heard ſo much, and for whom he cared ſo little.

He was very much ſurprized at his Appearance, and at the State in which he found the Colony. There was indeed a very ſtrong Fort, and four hundred and fifty brave Fellows to defend it; but the Governor's Houſe, or if you will, his Palace, conſiſted but of three Rooms, and his Dreſs correſponded with his Dwelling: He had a Pair of Canvas Drawers, and a Cotton Waiſtcoat over his Shirt, and that was all. His Diet was of a piece with the reſt; a Joint of roaſt Pork, ſome Greens and Fruit, was all his Table afforded; at which no other Liquor was drank but good Spring-water. Such were the Manners of this Conqueror, who fared nothing better than the meaneſt of his Soldiers; but there was no Murmuring, no Complaints; he maintained his Authority by the Means which had acquired it, his Merit; and his Soldiers loved him, and feared him as a Father. His ſole Fault was his Ambition, that had led him to do ſome unwarrantable things to obtain Power; but when obtained, none uſed it better.

His Accounts were clear; he made good every Point he had written to *Spain*, and opened a Paſſage to the *South-Seas*, and ſubdued all the Country between them and his Colony; in return for which good Services *Pedrarias* committed him cloſe Priſoner to the Cuſtody of *Enciſo*, and did not ſet him at Liberty till he had fined him in above half his Fortune. In order to juſtify this Proceeding, he ſent over a very falſe Report to the Court of *Spain*, and expected that this ſhould have procured him a Power of going greater Lengths; but in this he was miſtaken. He had brought over ſome honeſt Men with him, who ventured (which was ſtrange) to ſend the naked Truth to Court; and, which was ſtranger ſtill, it met with all the Credit that it deſerved.

When the King's Letters came to be opened, his Majeſty declared in them, that he was perfectly ſatisfied with the Conduct of *Nunez de Balboa*, that therefore he had created him Lord-Lieutenant of the Countries on the *South-Seas*; that he expected the Governor ſhould take his Advice; and that the Meaſure of his Obedience to his Orders would appear from the Reſpect he ſhewed to *Balboa*. *Pedrarias*, equally diſpleaſed and diſappointed, took care to conceal both, and, like a true Courtier, reſolved to conform, in Appearance, to his Maſter's Orders, but to diſobey them in Effect, and to leave no Means untried, to work the Deſtruction of the Man he hated, in which, as we ſhall ſee, he ſucceeded to the full.

In order to leſſen the Character of his Predeceſſor, and raiſe his own, the new Governor ſent ſeveral of his Officers to make Excurſions into the Country, which he thought might produce new Diſcoveries, as indeed they did, but not to the Advantage of the Colony or of the Crown of *Spain*, ſince they contributed only to ſhew the Avarice and Cruelty of the *Spaniards* in the moſt glaring Lights: His Officers knew the only Method too btain his Favour and Protection was to make him large Preſents, and to plunder all the Caziques without Mercy; ſo that in a few Months time, that Reputation for Honeſty and kind Uſage which *Nunez de Balboa* had been at ſo much Pains to eſtabliſh, was entirely loſt, and War between them and the Natives broke out afreſh with greater Fury than ever, ſo that there were no great Hopes of his making any Progreſs; which when he came ſeriouſly to conſider, he entered upon a new Scheme, and, by the Aſſiſtance of his Biſhop *Quevedo*, reconciled himſelf to *Balboa*, who very ſincerely applied himſelf, as he had done formerly, to the public Service, and that too with his uſual Succeſs, which revived, as might be naturally expected, the Envy of *Pedrarias*, notwithſtanding that *Nunez* had promiſed to marry his Daughter, and he had thereupon called and in publick treated him as his Son.

The Buſineſs in which he had employed him was the building a Town, eſtabliſhing a Port, and from thence fitting out Ships upon the *South Seas*; all which, with incredible Labour and Fatigue, he at length accompliſhed, which added to the great Reputation he had before acquired. *Pedrarias* ſeeing this, and that moſt People in his Government were inclined to remove, and to ſettle in the Town built by *Nunez de Balboa*, as ſoon as it was finiſhed, reſolved no longer to delay the removing out of his way a Man, whoſe Superiority became more and more conſpicuous: He ſent for him therefore to *Santa Maria*; and *Nunez de Balboa* made no Difficulty of obeying his Order, either becauſe he did not ſuſpect his ill Intentions towards him, or that relying upon his own Innocence, he thought it out of the Governor's Power to hurt him.

Upon his Arrival, however, *Pedrarias* commenced a freſh Proſecution againſt him, on the ſame Pretences for which he had fined him before; and to theſe he added another very extraordinary Accuſation, which was a treaſonable Intention to uſurp the King's Domain, founded upon nothing more than his having cut down, without the Governor's Licence, ſome Timber for erecting public Edifices; and upon this Charge he condemned him to ſuffer Death, to the Amazement of the Colony and the Terror of all the Inhabitants. He perſiſted however in his Deſign, and cauſed this unfortunate Gentleman to be publickly beheaded. Such was the Fate of *Vaſquez Nunez de Balboa*, who, in the forty-ſecond Year of his Age, ſuffered as a Traytor, for having ſerved his Prince with too much Zeal and Fidelity. The Royal Audience at *Santo Domingo* condemned this Action of *Pedrarias* as a downright Murder; but it does not appear that he was ever called to any Account for it; but, on the contrary, was permitted to go on in the ſame baſe and barbarous Track for many Years together. This happened in the Year 1517, and in the third of *Pedrarias*'s Government.

12. When he had thus, at the Expence of Law and Juſtice, freed himſelf from a Man whom he both hated and feared, *Pedrarias* reſolved to ſettle a new Colony at *Panama*; notwithſtanding that, from the Heat and Moiſture of the Country about it, it was very unwholſome; but as it ſtood commodious for Trade, and was a Place very convenient for the Diſcoveries then making, the Governor remained fixed in his Reſolution, built a Palace there, and made it the Seat of his Government. Upon this others came thither to dwell, ſo that by degrees it grew a tolerable Place, and increaſed in its Inhabitants very faſt, becauſe it was pretty well fortified, and becauſe the Harbour is very ſpacious, where the Ships upon the Ebb are left dry. The Circumference of the City is ſmall, by reaſon of a Moraſs that incloſes it on one Side, and the Damps that riſe from it render the Place very unhealthy: It ſtretches out from Eaſt to Weſt, ſo that when the Sun riſes there is no going along the Streets, becauſe there is no Shade; and the Heat is ſo offenſive, that it occaſions many Diſtempers. Though it has been ſeveral times propoſed to remove it to ſome better Place, it has not been done, on account of the great Price the Houſes bear, and that the ancient Inhabitants are dead; and ſuch as live there now are generally Traders, and ſtay there no longer than they can acquire enough to go ſomewhere elſe.

There is a River runs near the City, and the Diſtrict is large, in which there are many Farms, and ſtore of black Cattle, the Soil being proper for them; ſeveral Sorts of *Spaniſh* Fruit have been planted, and there are of the Country very good, as Pine-Apples, Plantain, Guayabas, beſides others about the Fields. The Rivers afford Gold, which was found in Plenty upon the firſt building of the City. It is well ſupplied with Proviſions, being furniſhed from both Seas. Neither Wheat nor Barley grow within its Diſtrict, but there is much Maize or *Indian* Corn carried from *Spain* and *Peru*. There are good Fiſh in the Rivers, and in the Sea, though different from what are found in *Spain*: Near the Houſes along the Coaſt there are vaſt Quantities of Cockles, by the Natives called *Chucha*; and it is thought, that for the Sake of them the *Spaniards* at firſt built the City there, as being ſome Supply in time of Want. In the Rivers of this Province, there are vaſt Numbers of Alligators, ſo large, that they are hideous to look at; and one has been found in the River of *St. George*, that was twenty-five Foot long: The Fleſh of them, which the *Spaniards* were wont to eat for want of better, when they were upon their Diſcoveries, is bad and ill-ſcented: The Creatures themſelves are fierce and frightful, and have devoured many *Spaniards* and *Indians*, and even Horſes, while croſſing Rivers. There are few of the Natives in the Territories of this City, having been deſtroyed in the Wars: The Trade there is extraordinary, rich Ships coming in continually from *Peru*, laden with Gold and Silver.

The Commodities carried from *Spain*, on board the Fleets, are conveyed thither on numerous Teams, kept for that Purpoſe; a conſiderable Part being ſent up the River *Chagre*, within five Leagues of *Panama*, which lies in between eight and nine Degrees N. Latitude. This Place being conſiderable, the King ordered many religious Men to be ſent over to convert the *Indians*, and made it a Biſhopric. Yet it is ſaid, that during the firſt twenty-eight Years after the Conqueſt of *Peru*, above forty thouſand Men were computed to have died there, of violent Diſtempers. Soon after, *James Albetez* founded another Town at *Nombre de Dios*, which was alſo famous for many Years, theſe two being noted for the Trade between the North and South Seas; and here, as well as at *Panama*, many thouſand *Spaniards* periſhed by the bad Air.

In the Reign of King *Philip* II. to avoid the ſaid Mortality, *Nombre de Dios* was quite abandoned, and the Inhabitants removed to *Porto Bello*, where the Trade now continues. As ſoon as theſe two Towns were founded, Orders were taken for making a Road between them, being the neareſt between the two Seas; though the Mountains were very uncooth, on which there were then infinite Numbers of Lyons, Tygers, and other wild Beaſts, and ſuch a Multitude of Monkies of ſeveral Sizes as deafened their Ears with their Cries; which, running up the Trees when any People paſſed by, were wont to throw Stones at them, but the *Spaniards* kept them in Awe with their Croſs-bows.

13. It muſt be allowed, that this *Pedrarias* did not want Talents ſuitable to his Office; for he had Courage, Diligence, and a ſtrong Deſire to do great Things; and yet, notwithſtanding all this, in the Compaſs of eight or nine Years, he did little or nothing, which the *Spaniards* attributed to the juſt Judgment of God, for his cruel Uſage to *Nunez de Balboa*. There is no doubt that God is always juſt; but perhaps we are not wiſe enough to diſtinguiſh his Judgments, and, therefore, it may be as well to refer the want of Succeſs in this Governor's Adminiſtration to Cauſes more manifeſt, without excluding, however, the divine Juſtice, which has certainly connected Miſery and Vice, and plagues the Neglect of moral Duties by a continual Train of Misfortunes. The Truth of the Matter is, that his Vices defeated all his Schemes, and rendered all his Undertakings abortive. Inſtead of treating the *Indian* Caziques as his Predeceſſor *Nunez* had done, with Civility and Juſtice, he behaved towards them like an imperious Maſter, and yet he was not able to extort half the Quantity of Gold that had been freely beſtowed on *Balboa* in Preſents. He granted Licences to various Perſons to undertake Diſcoveries; but on ſuch hard Terms, and with ſo many Reſtrictions, that they had no better Succeſs than himſelf; and all their Endeavours had no other Effect than to waſte great Numbers of Men, and to bring an Odium upon Expeditions into the *South Seas*.

But what chiefly employed the Care of this Governor, was reducing *Urraca*, Cazique of the Mountains, whoſe Country was very rich in Gold; and who, after the Deceaſe of *Nunez*, would have nothing to do with the *Spaniards*, preſuming, as he ſaid, that they could mean no Good to others, who perſecuted and murdered each other.

Pedrarias made War upon him for five Years together, and in that Space of Time deſtroyed a great Number of his Subjects, yet was never able to ſubdue or render him tributary. On the contrary, this *Indian* Prince was frequently too hard for the *Spaniards:* His Subjects were ſtout and warlike, the Situation of his Dominions gave him great Advantages; for the *Spaniards* could never act againſt him with Horſe; and with all this, he was himſelf a Prince of great good Senſe, extreamly brave and enterpriſing, one who foreſaw Advantages as ſoon as any Man, and there were very few who could manage them better. This the Reader will eaſily believe, when he is told that *Pedrarias* loſt more Men in the Courſe of this War, than *Cortes* in the Conqueſt of *Mexico*, without getting a Foot of Land, or an Ounce of Gold by the Bargain. But he made himſelf ſome Amends by his grievous Extortions upon ſuch of the Caziques as had ſubmitted to the *Spaniards*; and, with the Gold he forced from them, maintained ſo great an Intereſt at Court, that notwithſtanding every Enterprize of his was attended with Loſs, yet every new Project he ſent over was approved and applauded.

This will appear the more extraordinary, when it is conſidered that never any Man met with more Oppoſition than he did; for, on the one hand, he was hated to the laſt degree by the *Indians*, for whoſe Sake the Biſhop of *Chiapa* went in Perſon to *Madrid*, to ſollicit Relief. The *Spaniſh* Officers were likewiſe uneaſy, and wrote home a true Repreſentation of his Conduct, which was ſuch as would have ruined the Fortune of any other Man. Beſides all this, he was upon very bad Terms with the Royal Audience at *St. Domingo*, which was then, what it ſtill is, the ſupreme Tribunal in the *Weſt-Indies*; and the chief Reaſon for his removing the Seat of his Government from *Santa Maria* to *Panama* was, that he might be farther out of their Reach. Thus it plainly appears, that this Man's ſelfiſh, haughty, and overbearing Temper, was very near as fatal to himſelf and his Dependents, as to others that he had to deal with; and that he might have been infinitely more happy, as well as made others ſo, if he had behaved better; which might prove an uſeful Leſſon to other Governors, if they were a Sort of People capable of learning any Good from the Examples of their Predeceſſors, or of liſtening to ſuch Truths as they might always learn from the Voice of the People.

14. We ſhall have occaſion to mention this Man ſometimes in the following Pages; but as we ſhall have no Opportunity of continuing the Hiſtory of his Adminiſtration to its Cloſe, we will take Leave of him here, by relating another extraordinary Exploit of his, while he continued in full Poſſeſſion of Power. He was informed, about the Beginning of the Year 1526, that the Court of *Spain*, wearied with continual Complaints againſt him, was at length reſolved to ſend him a Succeſſor. As he knew no Means of avoiding this, and yet had no mind to part with his Power, he began to caſt about in his own Mind where to find another Eſtabliſhment. There was only one Expedition which had met with any kind of Succeſs under any of his Creatures, and that was the Conqueſt of *Nicaragua* by *Francis Hernandez*, who acted under his Licence, and he had alſo been at ſome Expence in fitting him out.

He reſolved therefore to retire into this Country, for two Reaſons: Firſt, that he might ſecure it for himſelf, though of right it belonged to him who had ſubdued it; and next, that he might avoid delivering up his Province to his Succeſſor in Perſon, for fear he ſhould treat him as he had done *Balboa*. One would have imagined, that when his Affairs were in ſuch a Situation, he ſhould have abated ſomewhat of his Pride, or at leaſt of his Cruelty; but whether it was that he had no Power over his Temper, or that he knew he had ſtill Intereſt enough with the Miniſters to prevent his being called to an Account for ſo ſmall a Matter as a Murder, ſo it was, that he committed one more baſe and barbarous, if poſſible, than that of *Nunez de Balboa*.

The thing happened thus: He pretended, as ſoon as he came into the new Province, that he had Information his Deputy had a mind to revolt; he therefore ſent for him to anſwer to this Charge. *Francis Hernandez*, who knew there was not a Word of Truth in it, came with that Boldneſs that is natural to Innocence; and *Pedrarias* had him no ſooner in his Power, than he cauſed his Head to be ſtruck off, alledging, that there was no other way for a Government to be ſafe againſt Perſons in Power, when their Fidelity was once ſuſpected. As black and heinous as this Fact was, he eſcaped being queſtioned for it; and was confirmed in his Government of *Nicaragua*, as if the gratifying his own unjuſt Reſentments had been an indiſputable Proof of his Attachment to the Crown of *Spain*, and Zeal for its Service.

15. I ſhall cloſe this Section with remarking, that there never was an Obſervation more true than that which was laid before the Reader when we opened this Hiſtory of the *Spaniſh* Conqueſts in *America*, which was, that they were intirely owing to the Abilities of particular and private Perſons, called forth by Accidents, and never to the Wiſdom or Foreſight of the *Spaniſh* Miniſters; who, on the contrary, were ſo ready to cramp ſuch as they ought to have encouraged, that they really made the Diſobedience neceſſary which they pretended to correct, and gave Birth by their ill Management to thoſe Inconveniencies they endeavoured to avoid.

I am not at all afraid of owning, that I firſt made, and now repeat, this Obſervation with a View of ſhewing how weak and fooliſh a thing it is for Men who want Genius to think of limiting and circumſcribing ſuch as are endowed with it. It is a Sort of Policy not much unlike erecting Banks to ſtop a Torrent, which is the ſureſt way to increaſe the Miſchief. That natural Fire, which a warmer Writer perhaps would have ſtiled Divine, and we call Genius, is a noble and generous Flame, that, like the Rays of the Sun, cheriſhes and enlivens all within their Reach, and which becomes dangerous only when artificially contracted. We have ſeen what *Cortes* did, and how he was treated. In the next Section, which is the laſt that regards the *Spaniards*, we ſhall ſee ſeveral Inſtances of the ſame kind, all which prove, that it is infinitely more adviſeable for Stateſmen to uſe fair and gentle Methods with Perſons of ſuch extraordinary Abilities, and rather lead them, by propoſing the juſt Rewards of Glory, than pretend to compel them by little Arts which are equally vain and fatal, either to thoſe by whom they are uſed, or the Nation in whoſe Service ſuch Talents are exerted. Had *Velaſquez* and the Biſhop of *Burgos* been able to circumvent *Cortes*, the *Mexican* Empire had ſtood, and the *Spaniards* had loſt thoſe Treaſures which it has ſince yielded. Had *Nunez de Balboa* eſcaped the Snares that were laid for him, *Peru* had been ſooner ſubdued; and if *Francis Pizarro* had not been wiſe enough to take Warning by his Example, it had very probably never been ſubdued at all.

Heroes, like other Men, have their Faults; but, perhaps, their Faults merit more Indulgence: Thoſe who have none of their Excellencies, have frequently more Faults and blacker Vices. Envy is not the Produce of a rank but of a barren Soil; and Malice is a Weed that ſprings in dirty Minds, as the moſt poiſonous Plants are found in Marſhes. Whoever reflects on the pitiful Creatures that extinguiſhed ſo great a Genius as our Sir *Walter Raleigh*, will pardon this Digreſſion, and forgive a Man for indulging his Deſire of ſecuring future Merit from thoſe Miſchances which have been fatal to it in former Times. It is all that lies in the Power of one who is immerſed in Books; it is the utmoſt Service his Pen can render to thoſe whom his Mind adores; and if by celebrating the Memory of great Men, who are gone, he can contribute to excite others to an Imitation of their Actions, and recommend Virtue to the Practice, as well as the Praiſe, of Poſterity, it is the utmoſt Extent of his Wiſh, and it is the only Way he knows to be uſeful to Mankind and his Country.

SECTION XV.

The Hiſtory of the Diſcovery and Conqueſt of the Empire of Peru *by* FRANCIS PIZARRO, *together with the Diſcovery of* Chili, *and the Conqueſt of that Country alſo.*

1. *An Account of the firſt Notice which the* Spaniards *had of* Peru, *and of the Copartnerſhip of* Pizarro, Almagro, *and* Luquez, *for the Conqueſt of that Country.* 2. *The Terms upon which that Agreement was made, and the Shares of the reſpective Parties.* 3. Francis Pizarro *undertakes the Diſcovery with the Aſſiſtance of* Almagro, *and meets with many Hardſhips.* 4. *They reſolve to proſecute their Deſigns, notwithſtanding theſe Diſcouragements.* 5. *They proceed to the Port of* Tumbez. *and the Riches of this Country engages them to ſend* Pizarro *into* Spain, *for which Purpoſe they return to* Panama. 6. *The Voyage of* Francis Pizarro *to* Europe, *his Commiſſion from the Emperor, and Return to* America. 7. *The Difficulties he found in reſuming the Diſcovery, and what followed on his ſailing for the Coaſt of* Peru. 8. *His ſurprizing Succeſs, which ſpread the Terror of the* Spaniſh *Arms throughout all that Empire.* 9. *The State of the* Incas *of* Peru *at this Time, and the Hiſtory of the Brothers* Hueſcar *and* Atahuallpa. 10. *This Subject continued, to the Time of their Application to* Pizarro. 11. *The Interview between* Atahuallpa *and the* Spaniſh *Embaſſadors.* 12. Atahuallpa *goes to viſit* Pizarro *in Perſon, and the Conſequences of that Viſit.* 13. *The* Spaniards *ſeize on the Perſon of* Atahuallpa, *and demand a moſt extravagant Ranſom.* 14. *While a Priſoner, he plots and executes the Murder of his Brother* Hueſcar. 15. *A Conſpiracy charg'd upon* Atahuallpa, *for which he is barbarouſly and unjuſtly put to death.* 16. *The Confuſions into which the Empire of* Peru *fell for want of a Chief.* 17. *Diſcords and Diviſions among the* Spaniards. 18. *The noble Diſpoſitions of* Mango Inca, *with other Particulars.* 19. *The Diſcovery of* Chili *by* Diego de Almagro, *and the Return of* Ferdinand Pizarro *from* Spain. 20. *A civil War breaks out between the Marquis* Francis Pizarro *and his Collegue* Almagro, *in which the latter is at firſt ſucceſsful.* 21. *The Marquis* Francis Pizarro *obtains a ſignal Victory, and thereupon puts his old Collegue* Almagro *to death, which is followed by new Troubles.* 22. *A Baſtard Son of* Almagro *ſets up for himſelf, and cauſes the Marquis* Pizarro *to be aſſaſſinated.* 23. Vaca de Caſtro *is ſent by the Emperor* Charles V. *into* Peru, *who defeats the young* Almagro, *and puts him to death.* 24. *The Wiſdom and Firmneſs of this new Governor extinguiſhes all the Troubles in this Province.* 25. *A ſuccinct Account of the ſubſequent Diſcoveries of the* Spaniards *in* America. 26. *This Subject continued and concluded.* 27. *Obſervations and Remarks upon this Section, and upon the State of the* Spaniſh *Empire in the* Weſt-Indies.

1. THE Deſigns formed by Men of ſuperior Abilities do not periſh with them; for Envy, being ſatisfied when they are no more, cheriſhes their Memory, and preſerves their Schemes, in order to depreſs and keep under ſucceeding Pretenders to Merit. This was the Caſe of *Vaſquez Nunez de Balbao*, who firſt formed the Project of extending the naval Power of *Spain* on the *South Seas*, and at the ſame time enlarging her Conqueſts by Land into the Empire of *Peru*, of which he had procured ſome tolerable Accounts before he died. It was the Deſire that *Pedrarias* had of wrenching this Project out of the Hands of its Author, that put him upon treating *Balboa* as he did; but, as we have ſhewn before, all his Expeditions failed, and ſo did thoſe of ſeveral Perſons, to whom he granted Licences, for proſecuting their Diſcoveries. At laſt, in the Year 1524, three Gentlemen, all Inhabitants of the new City of *Panama*, rich, far in Years, and of great Reputation, offered to venture upon this Undertaking at their own Riſque and Expence, provided they might be allowed fair and reaſonable Terms; ſuggeſting, at the ſame Time, that it was more honourable for the Governor to grant them ſuch Conditions, than to look for new Adventurers, out of the Bounds of his own Juriſdiction. *Pedrarias* liſtened very readily to this Propoſal, nor did he at all ſcruple granting them as eaſy Terms as they could deſire, believing that he ran no Hazard in ſo doing, ſince, if they miſcarried, as every body thought they would, he was to loſe nothing; and, on the other hand, if they ſucceeded, he flattered himſelf that he ſhould always have Force ſufficient to maintain his Authority, and ſecure to himſelf the Fruits of their Enterprize.

In order to conceive rightly on this Affair, it will be requiſite to give ſome Account of theſe Undertakers. The firſt of them was *Francis Pizarro*, whom we have mentioned more than once before: He was a Native of the Town of *Truxillo*; and moſt of the *Spaniſh* Writers agree, that he was a Man of Quality. But how noble ſoever he might be by Birth, moſt certain it is, that he quitted his Country, and went into the *Weſt-Indies*, in order to repair his broken Fortune. He ſerved firſt in the Wars of *Hiſpaniola* and *Cuba*, and failed afterwards with *Hojeda* to the Gulph of *Darien*, and was left by him as his Lieutenant, in the Colony which he ſettled there. He ſerved afterwards under *Vaſquez Nunez de Balboa*, and in the Courſe of ſeveral Years, that he bore Command in theſe Parts, he had juſtly gained the Character of a bold, enterprizing, and experienced Officer: He had likewiſe attained to a very conſiderable Fortune; and on the firſt building of *Panama*, ſettled there, and ſeemed diſpoſed to have paſſed the Remainder of his Days in quiet. The ſecond of theſe Adventurers was *Diego de Almagro*, who took his Name from the Town in which he was born in *Spain*, and thereby did it honour; for as to his Family, it was ſo obſcure, that even the Glory of his Exploits could not afford Hiſtorians Light enough to find out who was his Father; but he was a Man of Genius and Experience, and, at the Time he entered upon this Affair, of Fortune likewiſe. The third was a Prieſt, one *Ferdinand de Luques*, or, as ſome Writers call him, *Lugne*, a Man likewiſe in Years, of great Parts, and a much larger Fortune than either of the former; for he was Proprietor of the Iſland of *Tabago* in the Bay of *Panama*, had a good Eſtate beſides, and a very large Sum in ready Money. This Partnerſhip made a great Noiſe, as it was indeed a very ſingular thing in its kind, for three private Men to undertake raiſing a joint Stock, for conquering a great Empire; and, like other Projects above the Reach of common Minds, it was treated as a wild and viſionary Scheme, which would certainly end in the Ruin of the Projectors.

2. Theſe three great Men did not however give themſelves much Pain about what other People ſaid; in which they ſhewed themſelves wiſe and firm. The Manner in which they ſealed and ratified their Agreement, was no leſs ſingular than the Agreement itſelf; for they repaired ſolemnly to high Maſs, which was celebrated by the Prieſt *Ferdinand de Luques*, who having broke the Wafer into three Pieces, took the firſt himſelf, and gave the others to his Companions, in token that they ſhould purſue this Deſign with the ſame Zeal and Steadineſs, as they did that of their Salvation. It is now proper to ſee what the Nature was of this Agreement;

of which the beſt Authurs report, that they entered into Articles never to abandon each other, for any Hazards or Diſappointments they might meet with in the Enterprize, till they had made a Conqueſt of *Peru*, and ſolemnly took their Oaths in public, for the Confirmation of theſe Articles; each of them being aſſigned a particular Part, in conducting and executing the Scheme: *Francis Pizarro* was to command the firſt Party that went upon the Diſcovery; *Almagro* was to carry him Recruits, and reinforce him from Time to Time; and *Ferdinand de Lugne* was to remain at *Panama*, and lay in Ammunition and Proviſions to ſupport the Enterprize; and whatever Gold, Silver, precious Stones, or other Effects ſhould be acquired, after the Charges, and the Emperor's Fifths, paid, were to be divided equally amongſt them.

They took care to make the beſt Enquiries they could into the Cauſes of the Miſcarriages which had formerly happened, that they might the better avoid them; they were likewiſe very aſſiduous in finding out Perſons who had been employed in former Undertakings, that they might have the Benefit of their Experience; and they bought for the Service of this Expedition a fine new Ship, that had been built by the Direction of *Vaſquez Nunez de Balboa*, and which was juſt finiſhed as he died. Their Pilot was *Francis Penate*; *Nicholas de Ribera* was Treaſurer; *John Carillo* had the Charge of keeping an Account of the King's Fifths; and one *Salzedo* was next in Command under *Pizarro*. The whole Number of Men employed were no more than one hundred and fourteen; and, excluſive of Officers, they had but fourſcore, the moſt inconſiderable Body ſurely that ever had the Boldneſs to undertake ſuch an Enterprize.

3. About the Middle of the Month of *November*, 1524, all Things being ready, *Pizarro* embarked, and proceeded to the Iſland of *Tabago*, diſtant from *Panama* about five Leagues, from whence he ſailed to the *Pearl Iſlands*, in the Middle of that Bay, where he took in Wood, Water, and Hay for his Horſes, and ſailed to Port *Pinas*, or *Prineaple*, upon the Continent, on the South Side of the Bay of *Panama*. Here *Pizarro* went on Shore with his Soldiers, and endeavoured to penetrate into the Country; but meeting with nothing but Bogs or Mountains, over-run with Wood and Deluges of Rain, as they approached the Equator; and the People having fled from their Habitations, ſo that no Proviſions were to be had, *Pizarro* ran farther down the Coaſt to the Southward, and then landing again, found the Country no better; and loſt a great many of his Men by Sickneſs, want of Proviſions, or the Hardſhips they ſuffered in their Marches and Counter-Marches. Whereupon he ſent the Ship to the *Iſle of Pearls* for Proviſions; and, in the mean time, was followed by *Almagro*, with two other Ships, and a Recruit of ſixty Men and upwards. Theſe two Captains meeting upon this wretched rainy and unwholſome Coaſt, and landing their united Forces, had ſome Skirmiſhes with the Natives, in which *Almagro* loſt an Eye; but happening, in ſome of their Excurſions, to meet with a Parcel of Gold, of the Value of fourteen or fifteen thouſand Crowns, they reſolved, notwithſtanding all the Difficulties and Hazards they underwent, to proceed in the Enterprize, in which they were the more encouraged by the Pilot *de Ruyz*, who (while *Pizarro* marched with the Soldiers on Shore) ran down as far as *Cape Paſſaro*, under the Equator; and taking ſome Priſoners, was aſſured by them, that the Treaſures of *Peru* were much beyond any thing that had hitherto been reported of them, whereupon he returned to *Pizarro* with the agreeable News. In the mean time, that General ſuffered incredible Hardſhips in the Abſence of *Almagro*, who was gone to *Panama* with the Gold they had got, to procure another Reinforcement of Troops and Proviſions, without which it was very evident that nothing could be done.

4. At the Time of his returning to *Panama*, *Almagro* found *Pedrarias* removed from his Government, and ſucceeded by *Peter los Rios*, who permitted him to raiſe what Men he could to reinforce *Pizarro*; whereupon he embarked again with forty Soldiers more, ſome Horſes and Arms, Cloaths, Shoes, Proviſions, and Medicines, and returned to *Pizarro*, whom he found in a very miſerable Condition, great Part of his Men being ſick or dead: They removed therefore from that unhealthy Part of the Continent, and put their Men on Shore in the Iſland of *Gallo*; here they remained fifteen Days, and then returned towards the Continent again, running along the Coaſt further to the Southward; however, they ſtill met with ſuch a drowned Country, and bad Weather, that it was once propoſed to return back to *Panama*. Even *Pizarro*'s Heart failed him, and the two Commanders, it ſeems, were upon the Point of drawing their Swords, ſo hot was the Conteſt for and againſt the proceeding in the Enterprize; but at length it was agreed, that they ſhould go to the Iſland of *Gallo* again, where *Pizarro* ſhould remain with the Men till *Almagro* went to *Panama* for Recruits; and great Care was taken that none of the Men ſhould write home, and diſcover their wretched Condition; for moſt of them had ſhewn an Inclination to deſert the Service whenever they ſhould have an Opportunity, and threatened to apply to the Governor of *Panama* to be recalled from an Expedition which had conſumed ſuch Numbers of them, and, if proſecuted, would probably deſtroy the reſt; and, notwithſtanding all the Care their Commanders took, one of them found means to ſend a Paper ſubſcribed by moſt of them, deſiring to be recalled, which was encloſed in a Bottom of Cotton Yarn, and thereby concealed from the Knowledge of their Officers.

This Paper coming to the Hands of the Governor of *Panama*, he was ſo far from ſuffering *Almagro* to levy any more Recruits, that he ſent a Ship with a Commiſſary on board to the Iſland of *Gallo*, on purpoſe to bring back all the Men that ſurvived: The Commiſſary arriving, *Pizarro* begged of him that he would, however, ſuffer as many of them to ſtay with him, as were willing to remain in the Enterprize; which the Commiſſary conſenting to, *Pizarro* drew a Line with the Point of his Sword, and haranguing his Men, told them, they were at liberty to return to *Panama* if they thought fit; but it grieved him, that they ſhould now abandon the Enterprize, when they were upon the Point of reaping the Reward of all their Sufferings: As for his Part, he would periſh in the glorious Undertaking, rather than deſert it; and thoſe that voluntarily remained with him, ſhould ſhare with him the Treaſures of which they had ſo near a Proſpect, deſiring thoſe that were willing to proceed in the Enterprize, to come over the Line he had drawn. But ſuch were the Sufferings of theſe poor Wretches, that much the greateſt Part of them forſook him; only thirteen Men and a Mulatto came over the Line he had drawn, the reſt embarked, and returned to *Panama* with the Commiſſary.

5. The Affairs of *Pizarro* never ſeemed in a worſe Situation than at this Time; for he was not only deprived of all Hopes of performing any thing remarkable for the preſent, but had alſo a very indifferent Proſpect for the future. In this Diſtreſs, he removed to the Iſland of *Gorgona*, in order to ſupply himſelf with freſh Water: There he remained till he was joined by *Almagro* and his Pilot, with ſome few Recruits, which they, with ſome Difficulty, had prevailed upon to enter into this Expedition. With theſe Men they embarked, and ſailed ſtill along the Coaſt, till they had paſſed the Equator, and found themſelves in the Latitude of 30° South; having ſpent about two Years in making a Voyage, which may very well be performed, now the Currents, Trade-Winds, and their Seaſons, are known, in as many Weeks. In this Paſſage, however, they took ſeveral *Indian* Floats, with Cargoes of conſiderable Value; and gained ſuch Intelligence of the Situation of Things upon the Coaſt, that *Pizarro* reſolved to ſend one *Peter de Candia*, ſo called, becauſe he was born in that Iſland, to *Tumbez*, in order to learn whether the Informations they had hitherto received might be depended upon or not; which was a very well contrived Expedient.

This Man had a great deal of good Senſe, a very fair Character, and was ſo expert in his Conduct, that he found Ways and Means to render himſelf ſo agreeable to the *Indians*, that he executed his Commiſſion as effectually as could be deſired, and returned ſafely to *Pizarro*, with a full Account of all that he had ſeen. By which it plainly appeared, that the Riches of this Country very far exceeded even the Reports they had received concerning them. For he declared, that he had ſeen their public Edifices erected with wonderful Art and Skill, and ſo exceſſively rich, that the very Walls of them were covered with Gold and Silver, with many other Things of the like Nature.

After hearing this Man's Relation, they held a kind of Council amongſt themſelves upon the preſent State of their Affairs, and unanimouſly agreed, that the wiſeſt Courſe they could take would be to return all together to *Panama*, where they made no Queſtion that the News of ſuch important Diſcoveries would effectually reſtore their Affairs, and procure them ſuch Supplies, as would enable them to proſecute their Deſign with all the Succeſs imaginable. This Reſolution once taken, they proceeded to put it into Execution; being thoroughly ſatisfied that in the Situation they were in, they could undertake nothing; and that by remaining upon this Coaſt, they ſhould loſe all their Men by degrees, and thereby bring an irretrievable Diſgrace upon the Project, which would not only ruin themſelves, but diſcourage all future Attempts of this Nature.

6. Upon the Return of *Francis Pizarro* to *Panama*, with many indubitable Proofs of his Diſcoveries, it occaſioned a vaſt Stir in that Colony; for thoſe who had before derided this Project as abſurd and impracticable were now convinced of their Error, and that it was likely to prove a much more conſiderable Diſcovery than any hitherto made by the *Spaniards*; yet the Oppoſition made by the new Governor to his levying Men for the carrying on his Deſign, and ſome other Accidents, made it evident, that it would be impoſſible for him or his Aſſociates to proceed farther, without the Aſſiſtance of a ſuperior Authority. It was therefore agreed by them all that *Pizarro* ſhould go in Perſon to *Spain*, in order to obtain the neceſſary Powers from the Crown, for removing all thoſe Difficulties; and it was likewiſe agreed, that he ſhould ſolicit for himſelf the Title of Governor; for *Almagro* that of Adelantado, or the King's Lieutenant; and for *Lugne*, the Protectorſhip of the *Peruvians*, and the firſt Biſhopric of that Country. *Pizarro* accordingly ſet ſail, and, arriving in *Spain*, proceeded to the Court of the Emperor *Charles* V. which was then at *Toledo*; here he met with a very gracious Reception, on his preſenting his Imperial Majeſty with ſome *Peruvians* in their proper Habits, two or three *Peruvian* Sheep, and ſeveral Gold and Silver Veſſels and Utenſils of the Faſhion of the Country.

The Emperor was pleaſed to hear him relate the Difficulties he had met with in theſe three Years Voyage; and in the End referred the Overtures he made to the Council of the *Indies*; who having framed their Report, *Pizarro* was ordered to proceed in the Conqueſt of *Peru* for the Space of two hundred Leagues to the Southward of *Tumbez*, which lies at the Bottom of the Bay of *Guiaquil*: He procured alſo the Title of Governor and Captain-General to be conferred on him for Life, with the Offices of Adelantado, or Lord-Lieutenant; and of Alguazil-Major; he was alſo empowered to erect four Caſtles in *Peru*, where he thought proper, and retain the Government and Inheritance of them to him and his Poſterity. He obtained for *Ferdinando de Lugne*, that he ſhould be recommended to the Pope to be made Biſhop of *Tumbez*; and, in the mean Time, conſtituted Protector-General of the *Peruvians*. *Almagro* was conſtituted Governor of *Tumbez*, and a twentieth Part of all the Profits and Revenues of the Country, when conquered, were to go to *Pizarro* and *Almagro*; two Thirds thereof to the former, and one third to the latter; *Almagro* was made a Gentleman, and his Baſtard Son legitimate: The thirteen Men that remained with *Pizarro* in his Diſtreſs on the Iſland of *Gallo* were made Gentlemen, if they were not ſo before; and thoſe that were Gentlemen then were ordered to be knighted.

Theſe Commiſſions and Powers were executed at *Toledo* on the 26th of *July* 1528, and ſix Dominican Friars were ordered to go over with *Pizarro* as Miſſionaries, to aſſiſt in the Converſion of the *Peruvians*; and thus this great Affair was finiſhed much to the Satisfaction of our Adventurer, who found himſelf veſted with a legal Authority to purſue his Conqueſts, which was all he wanted, and no leſs to the Satisfaction of the Court, which gained thereby a Proſpect of annexing another Empire to their Dominions in *America*, without being at any Expence. It may not be amiſs to remark here that the *Spaniards* had a Felicity in making their Conqueſts, which never attended any other Nation; ſince neither *Columbus*, *Cortes*, *Balboa*, or *Pizarro*, who brought ſo many Millions of Piſtoles into the royal Coffers, ever received ſo much as a Marvedy from thence towards the Charge of their reſpective Expeditions.

7. When *Francis Pizarro* had received his Commiſſions of the Tenor before-mentioned, he repaired to his native Town of *Truxillo* in *Eſtramadura*, in order to raiſe Forces, and to viſit his Family, of which it may not be amiſs to ſay ſomething farther in this Place. His Father *Gonzalo Pizarro*, ſirnamed *The Long*, becauſe he was very tall, was a Man of Family, and had ſerved as a Captain of Foot; he married a Woman of Family likewiſe, by whom he had two Sons, *John* and *Ferdinand*, but as for *Francis* he was illegitimate, and the Son of a Country Girl, who was afterwards married to an honeſt Farmer, by whom ſhe had *Francis Martin de Alcantara*. Old *Gonzalo Pizarro* had alſo another natural Son, of his own Name; and the whole Family being well beloved in their Neighbourhood, they made great Diſpatch in providing all that the new Governor wanted, which having effected, he embarked at *Seville*, with his four Brothers, *viz.* *Ferdinand*, *John*, *Gonzalo*, and *Francis*, in the Month of *January* 1530, and arrived at *Nombre de Dios* on the Coaſt of *Terra Firma*, from whence he marched with his People to the City of *Panama*.

But his ingroſſing all the Honours Commands to himſelf, ſo diſguſted *Almagro*, that e refuſed to aſſiſt in the intended Expedition, 'till *Piza o* promiſed to relinquiſh the Title of Adelantado, and to give him an equal Share in whatever they ſhould acquire; and upon theſe Conceſſions, *Almagro* promiſed to aſſiſt him as formerly, and ſmothered his Reſentment for the preſent, that the Service might not ſuffer; but they were never thoroughly reconciled, as will appear hereafter. At length *Pizarro* embarked at *Panama* in three Ships, taking with him one hundred and eighty-five Soldiers, thirty-ſeven Horſes, and ſuch a Quantity of Arms, Ammunition, and Stores, as might enable him to fix Colonies on the *Peruvian* Coaſt; but meeting with the like contrary Winds as he had done in the firſt Voyage, and finding it very inconvenient, and indeed impracticable to keep his Horſes longer on board, he was obliged to land above an hundred Leagues to the Northward of *Tumbez*; and now, thinking himſelf ſtrong enough to drive the naked *Indians* before him, he fell upon them, plundered their Towns, and made many of them Priſoners without any manner of Provocation, whereupon the reſt fled from the Sea Coaſts up into the Country; and *Pizarro* was afterwards ſo diſtreſſed for Proviſions, and loſt ſo many Men by Sickneſs and Hardſhips, and the fatiguing Marches through Bogs and Thickets of *Mangroves* in this extraordinary hot Climate, that his Forces were exceedingly diminiſhed; and he now too late perceived his Error, in not courting the Natives, being in no Condition to make a Conqueſt of *Peru* with the Forces he had left.

He took therefore moſt of the Treaſure he had plundered the *Indians* of, and ſent his Ships back with it to *Panama*, to raiſe more Recruits; inviting, at the ſame Time, ſome Adventurers from *Nicaragua*, and other Parts of *North America*, to come and join him, promiſing them a Share of the vaſt Treaſures he was now aſſured of finding in *Peru*; which had a very good Effect, and procured him ſoon after a very conſiderable Reinforcement. In this Expedition he had already gained ſo much that he was able to ſend thirty thouſand Pezoes in Gold to *Panama*, beſides a conſiderable Quantity of fine Emeralds; and might have ſent many more, if it had not been for the Folly of ſome of his People, who took it into their Heads that theſe precious Stones were as hard as Diamonds, or at leaſt ought to be ſo, ſo that in trying them with Hammers they broke abundance of them in Pieces.

8. *Francis Pizarro* reſolved to continue in Action till his Recruits arrived; and, having in ſome meaſure informed himſelf of the State of the Country, he judged it very poſſible to make ſome Advantage of the Diſputes that reigned at this time, between the Inhabitants of *Tumbez* and thoſe of the Iſland of *Puna*. He endeavoured to gain the good Will firſt of the Iſlanders; but finding them to be a very falſe and perfidious People, he attacked and routed them, which he hoped would have opened a Means of contracting a cloſe Alliance with the *Tumbezenes*; becauſe he found ſix hundred of them, together with one of the moſt conſiderable Perſons of the City, Priſoners amongſt theſe People, whom he ſet at Liberty, and ſent home, together with three of his own People; who, if the *Spaniſh* Writers are to be believed, this barbarous Nation ſacrificed to their Idols, which however was not known immediately to *Pizarro*, who continued to reckon the *Tumbezenes* as his Allies, upon whoſe Aſſiſtance he might depend at all Times.

In the mean time *Almagro* having ſent *Pizarro* a conſiderable Reinforcement from *Panama*, and *Ferdinand de Soto*, and other Adventurers, arriving with their Troops from *Nicaragua*; he thought himſelf in a Condition to carry on the War upon the Continent, eſpecially as he had ſome Reaſon to expect to be ſupported by the *Tumbezenes*: Accordingly, having provided a ſufficient Number of Floats or Barklogs, he tranſported his Troops to *Tumbez*, in which he loſt ſome Men on going a-ſhore by the Roughneſs of the Sea, which runs very high on that Coaſt; and ſome of his People were attacked and cut off by the Natives, which was a Surprize to him as he took them to be his Friends. The *Spaniſh* Writers give various Reaſons for this Alteration in the Conduct of the Natives of *Tumbez*; who, but a very little before profeſſed themſelves their very good Allies and Confederates. Some relate, that, obſerving the *Spaniards* had enſlaved the Natives of the Iſland of *Puna*, and perfectly ſubverted their Religion and Government, demoliſhed their Temples, and every thing they held ſacred, they expected to be treated in the ſame Manner by the *Spaniards*, and therefore thought fit to oppoſe their landing in their Country.

Others inform us, that while the *Spaniards* were engaged in the Reduction of *Puna*, a very great Alteration in the Face of Affairs happened upon the Continent. *Atabuallpa* had defeated the Forces of his Brother *Hueſcar* the Emperor; cut in Pieces moſt of the Inhabitants of *Tumbez* and the neighbouring Provinces for adhering to him; and the Troops that oppoſed *Pizarro*'s landing in *Tumbez*, were thoſe detached by *Atabuallpa* to that Province, on purpoſe to repel the Invaſion of the *Spaniards*. But whatever was the Reaſon of the *Peruvians* oppoſing the Deſcent of theſe Strangers, it is evident that they were put in ſuch Confuſion by the *Spaniſh* Horſe and Artillery, that they fled as the *Spaniards* advanced; and, after the Slaughter of ſome thouſands of them, were forced to abandon the Town and Caſtle, and even the whole Valley of *Tumbez*; leaving behind them all the Gold and Silver Plate, Emeralds, Pearls, and other rich Spoils which lay heaped up in the Temple of the Sun, and the Inca's Palace, being ſo vaſt a Treaſure, that the *Spaniards* could ſcarce believe their Eyes, when they found themſelves ſo ſuddenly poſſeſſed of it; and ſuch was the Conſternation of *Atabuallpa* and his whole Court, when the Fugitives related what Slaughter the Thunderer's Ordnance had made among them, and how impoſſible it was to eſcape the *Spaniſh* Horſes, to which Animals their Fears had added Wings; that they concluded, if the *Spaniards* were not Gods, as they at firſt conjectured, they were certainly Devils, and that it was not poſſible for any human Force to defend their Country againſt them; of which *Pizarro* receiving Intelligence, reſolved to take Advantage of the Terror they were in, and march immediately to find out *Atabuallpa*, while he remained under that Deluſion.

But he found it neceſſary to defer his March, till he had erected a ſlight Fortreſs upon the Sea Coaſt (to which he gave the Name of *St. Michael*) for receiving the Recruits that he expected, and to ſerve him for a Place of Retreat and Security, in caſe any unforeſeen Accident ſhould happen. This was the firſt *Spaniſh* Colony planted in *Peru*, and here the firſt Church was erected, in the Year 1531, and *F. Reginald de Pedraga* was conſtituted Protector of the *Indians*, *Ferdinand de Lugne* being unable to execute that Employment, on Account of his Indiſpoſition. This Meaſure was certainly the wiſeſt that he could take; for he not only wanted ſuch a Settlement for the Reception of his Recruits, but ſhewed likewiſe his Judgment in the Choice he made, ſince there was no Place ſo proper for his Purpoſe upon the whole Coaſt.

He took another Step that was equally judicious; he divided all the Gold and Silver in his Poſſeſſion fairly amongſt the Soldiers; and to ſuch as were to remain in the Colony, he delivered their Shares without Abatement, that they might have wherewithal to ſubſiſt, and to carry on their Trades; but for ſuch as continued to march with him, he gave them only Acknowledgments of his having ſo much in his Hands, with a Promiſe to pay it when they came to *Panama*. By this Eſtabliſhment, he ſhewed plainly his Intention to remain in the Country, which it was evident he could not do but by Force; and therefore the very News of his erecting a Town, fortifying that Town, and compelling the *Indians* who lived near it, to obey not him only, but the meaneſt of his *Spaniards*, as Lord, ſoon filled the whole Empire with the Noiſe of this Enterprize, and engaged the two Brothers, who were contending for the Empire, to turn their Eyes upon thoſe who might very ſoon have that Empire to give, ſince the Terror of their Arms was already ſpread among Nations of whom the *Spaniards* had not the leaſt Knowledge.

9. As the Differences between theſe two Brothers proved their Ruin, and the chief Cauſe that this great Empire fell into the Hands of the *Spaniards*, it is abſolutely neceſſary that we ſhould give ſome Account of them, in order to render this Hiſtory perfectly intelligible; and this ſhall be done in as few Words as the Subject will admit. *Huana Capac*, or as ſome of the *Spaniſh* Writers call him, *Guana Cava*, was the Sovereign of *Cuzco*, and had annexed to his Empire many Provinces, ſo that his Dominions were five hundred Leagues in Extent from his capital City. The Country of *Quito*, which was ſtill governed by its natural Princes, grew next the Object of his Ambition; he reſolved to make himſelf Maſter of it, which, conſidering the Superiority of his Force, was no hard Matter for him to do: He did it accordingly, and, having viſited it as a new Conqueſt, he was ſo much charmed therewith, that he reſolved to make it the Place of his Reſidence; and accordingly, leaving his eldeſt Son *Hueſcar*, *Mango Inca*, and other Children at *Cuzco*, under proper Guardians, he transferred the imperial Reſidence to *Quito*, where he married the Daughter of the deceaſed Prince, and thereby gained a legal Title to a Country, the Poſſeſſion of which he had acquired by Force. In Proceſs of Time, however, finding that great Inconveniencies enſued from his quitting his ancient Reſidence, he returned thither for a Time, and left his Son *Atabuallpa*, whom he had by the Princeſs of *Quito*, and for whom he had the greateſt Tenderneſs, under the Care of the moſt eminent Perſons in that Principality, and whither he propoſed ſhortly after to return, as he did, and then to ſettle the Affairs of that Principality, and paſs the Remainder of his Days at *Cuzco*; but Providence otherwiſe diſpoſed of him, and he died at *Quito*, having left the beſt Part of his Treaſures, and the old imperial Army, at *Cuzco*; declaring by his Will, that as *Quito* never made a Part of the Empire of the Incas, there was no Reaſon that it ſhould deſcend, together with the Empire, to his legal Succeſſor, and therefore he beſtowed it upon his youngeſt Son *Atabuallpa*, whom the *Spaniſh* Writers generally call *Atabaliba*, who was, indeed the Heir of it by his Mother.

After his Death, the young Prince ſecured the Army and the Treaſures of his Father, and then ſent an Embaſſy to *Hueſcar*, to ſignify the Nature of his Father's Will,

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to render Homage to him in his Name, and to deſire from him the Confirmation of the Kingdom of *Quito*, which he was willing to hold from the Incas. *Hueſcar* was by no means pleaſed with this Embaſſy, and therefore ſent his Brother Word that he ſhould ſuffer the Troops to return to their Duty; that he ſhould quit the Sovereignty of *Quito*, which being a frontier Province of his Empire, he could by no means leave in his Hands; and, that after doing this, if he repaired to *Cuzco*, he would give him a Share in his Father's Treaſures, and aſſign him Lands for his Subſiſtance. He added, that in caſe he did not accept theſe Propoſals, he would certainly make War upon him, and recover the Poſſeſſion of *Quito* by the ſame Method his Father acquired his firſt right to it. Upon receiving ſo unkind a Meſſage from his elder Brother, *Atahuallpa* called the principal Perſons his Father had intruſted with his Education, to Council; who adviſed him, ſince Peace could no longer be preſerved, to take the Field firſt; ſince that was a Meaſure by which he might gain much, and could loſe nothing at all.

10. *Atahuallpa*, or *Atabaliba*, embraced this Propoſal, as indeed it was the wiſeſt that could be offered, and the moſt ſuitable to his Circumſtances; and with the Army his Father had left, immediately entered the Dominions of his Brother. *Hueſcar*, on his Part, brought a more numerous Army into the Field, and it was not long before a general Engagement enſued, which laſted for three Days, and was as bloody as it was obſtinate. It ended however in the the Defeat, and which was ſtill worſe, in the Impriſonment of *Atahuallpa*, who was taken upon the Bridge of the River *Tumibamba*, and ſhut up in a Palace which bore the ſame Name. But obſerving that the Soldiers, elevated with their late Victory, were entirely given to Feaſts and Sports, he took his Opportunity; and, having provided himſelf with the neceſſary Inſtruments, pierced a Hole through one of his Apartments, and thereby made his Eſcape. He returned to his own Subjects, whom he found broken and diſpirited by their laſt Defeat; but he revived their Courage in an Inſtant, by aſſuring them, that his Father had appeared to him in his Priſon, changed him into a Serpent, and thereby gave him an Opportunity of ſliding through the Wall. What to a ſenſible People would be ridiculous, is to a ſuperſtitious and credulous Multitude, a Miracle. The News was ſpread throughout the whole Principality; the People in general quitted their Habitations to take up Arms in his Service, and he had, in a very ſhort Space of Time, a much greater Body of Troops than before. He defeated with theſe, two or three Armies that oppoſed him; took, and levelled with the Ground, the Place where he had been impriſoned; and having by his Victory vaſtly augmented his Conqueſts, he drew from the Provinces he ſubdued prodigious Numbers of Troops. When he arrived at *Tumbez*, he purpoſed to have made himſelf Maſter of the Iſland of *Puna*, in which however he failed. This did not at all diſcourage him; but leaving that War to be renewed at ſome happier Juncture, he marched with all his Forces to give *Hueſcar* battle, who, he was informed, was coming againſt him with a prodigious Army.

When *Atahuallpa* was come to *Caxamalca*, he ſent two of his beſt Officers with three or four thouſand light-armed Troops, to reconnoitre his Brother's Army; theſe drawing very near to the Camp of *Hueſcar*, found it neceſſary to quit the high Road, to prevent being diſcovered. It happened very unluckily for *Hueſcar*, that, to march more at his leiſure, and without being diſturbed by the Noiſe of the Army, he had taken the ſame Bye-road with about ſeven hundred of his principal Officers, and who formed at once his Court and his Guard. The Officers of *Atahuallpa* knew the Imperial Standard, and ſoon ſaw how Matters ſtood: They laid hold therefore of this Opportunity of making a ſhort End of the War, and attacked *Hueſcar* and thoſe about him with ſo much Fury, that after a ſhort Diſpute the Inca was made Priſoner. The Victors were ſoon in as much Danger as the Vanquiſhed, for the Army of *Hueſcar* being informed of what had happened, ſurrounded this Handful of Men, and threatened to cut them to Pieces immediately. In this Diſtreſs they were obliged to have Recourſe to a very natural Expedient; they told *Hueſcar*, that if he did not order his Troops to retire, they muſt be obliged to ſecure themſelves from Shame at leaſt, if not from Death, by cutting off his Head, and then fighting it out to the laſt Man. The Officer who delivered this Meſſage, obſerving that it had a great Effect on the Mind of *Hueſcar*, added, That as it was a neceſſary, ſo he would find it both a juſt and profitable, Meaſure; for that as his Brother pretended to nothing more than his own little Sovereignty of *Quito*, ſo if he could reſolve to gratify him in that Particular, there was no doubt of his reſtoring him to Liberty, and even acknowledging him as his Sovereign; but that he muſt reſolve ſpeedily, ſince there was not a Moment's Time to be ſpared. *Hueſcar*, finding himſelf in this Diſtreſs, and ſeeing no other way to eſcape, ſubmitted to the Terms preſcribed, and, making a Signal to his Forces to forbear charging, directed the principal Officers to come to him, and ordered them to march with the Army back to *Cuzco*. They implicitly obeyed the Commands of their Sovereign. And this was the Situation things were in, when both the Brothers had recourſe to *Francis Pizarro*, and claimed his Aſſiſtance.

It is evident enough from what has been already ſaid, that ſcarce any People could be more ſuperſtitious than the Inhabitants of *Peru*, and certain it is, that the Fables upon which their Religion was founded, proved of greater Conſequence than any other thing to *Pizarro* and his Aſſociates, who otherwiſe would never have reduced them. One Inſtance of this ſhall ſuffice, and indeed that is ſo extraordinary that there is no need of adding another: They were thoroughly perſuaded that their Incas deſcended from the Sun, and they very ſoon came to believe that the *Spaniards* were the Children of the Sun likewiſe, in which the Story I am going to tell fully confirmed them. The eldeſt Son of the Inca *Yahuarhuacac* beheld in antient Times, as their Tradition taught them, a very ſtrange Phantom, different in Aſpect and Dreſs in the higheſt Degree from the *Peruvians*; for whereas they have no Beard, and the Cloaths they wear come no lower than their Knees, this Spirit, who called himſelf *Virachoca*, had a long Beard, and his Robe reached down to his Feet; and he likewiſe led in his Hand an Animal abſolutely unknown to the young Prince. This Fable, univerſally ſpread, and generally received, operated ſo ſtrongly upon the Minds of the People, that they no ſooner ſaw a *Spaniard* with a long Beard, his Legs covered, and his Horſe in his Hand, than they cried out: *Look, look, there is the Inca* Virachoca, *the Son of the Sun.*

11. It was immediately after the ſettling of the new Colony by the *Spaniards*, that the Embaſſadors from *Atahuallpa* arrived, and ſignified to *Francis Pizarro*, the great Deſire their Maſter had to cultivate a good Correſpondence with him; upon which he immediately took a Reſolution to advance towards *Caxamalca*, where he underſtood the Inca was, in order to viſit him. It ſo fell out, that the Rout between theſe two Places lay through a burning Deſart of about twenty Leagues over; in paſſing through which the *Spaniſh* Soldiers ſuffered exceſſively; but however, when they came to *Motapa* they met with rich Vallies, and a plentiful Country; wherein they refreſhed themſelves, and then continued their Journey. They met ſoon after with certain Embaſſadors, that had been diſpatched by *Atahuallpa* to compliment *Pizarro*, who preſented him, on the Part of the Inca, with a Pair of Gold Buſkins very finely wrought, and Bracelets of the ſame Metal ſet with Emeralds; which they deſired him to put on when he had Audience of the Emperor, that by the Sight of his own Preſents he might know him. The Chief of this Embaſſy was himſelf of the Race of the Incas, and ſhewed much Ceremony and Politeneſs in his Behaviour. He brought, beſides theſe Preſents for the General, Proviſions and Gifts for the Army, the former in great plenty, and very acceptable; the latter rich, and therefore no leſs ſatisfactory; which raiſed the Minds of the *Spaniards* prodigiouſly, inaſmuch as they attributed it wholly to the Fear of that Monarch and his Subjects, in which without doubt they were right,

and yet not in the Senſe in which they underſtood it; for it was not ſo much the Fear of their Arms, as the Dread the People had of them on a religious Score, as ſuppoſing them the Offspring of the Sun.

It fell out unluckily for theſe Embaſſadors, that the *Spaniards* had no Interpreter but an *Indian* of *Puna*, baptized by the Name of *Philip*, and on the Score of his Youth called *Philipillo*, i. e. *Little Philip*, a mean, villanous Raſcal, born of the Scum of the People, and whoſe Mind was yet more dirty than his Original: He had not Senſe enough to comprehend the Compliment of the Inca; and therefore, inſtead of the true Meaning of it, delivered *Pizarro* ſome Nonſenſe of his own. After the Embaſſador was departed, the *Spaniards* deliberated upon his Meſſage; ſome ſuſpected, that the Inca had bad Deſigns; others ſwore, that as his Gold was good, they had no Reaſon to doubt of his Intention: In the End, they reſolved to continue their March, and they did ſo, meeting every where with a kind Reception; and being extremely well entertained at the public Expence. In the mean time, *Atabuallpa* employed his Time very indifferently, endeavouring to ſecure the Poſſeſſion of the Empire, by murdering moſt of the royal Family, and ſuch as were moſt attached to the Prince his Brother. When they came to *Caxamalca*, they found the Inca gone, but to a Place not far diſtant, whither the General ſent, as his Embaſſadors, his Brother *Ferdinand Pizarro*, and *Ferdinand Soto*.

They were received with great Ceremony, and immediately introduced to the royal Preſence; which ſtruck the *Spaniards* at once with Reverence and Joy; for not only the Inca himſelf, but all who were near him, glittered with Gold and Jewels, and the Embaſſadors were ſerved with perfumed Liquors, by two beautiful Princeſſes, in Veſſels of Gold ſet with Emeralds. *Ferdinand Pizarro* made the Inca a long Compliment; in which he told him, or rather would have told him, of the great Kindneſs done him by the Pope and the King of *Spain*, who had ſent them expreſly, to deliver him and his Subjects from the Tyranny of the Devil; but the Interpreter, who underſtood nothing of this, delivered ſuch ſtrange Stuff of his own, that the Inca could comprehend little or nothing of his Meaning. He ſhaped however the beſt Anſwer to this Speech that he could; in which he recommended his Subjects to their Favour and Protection, beſeeching them, as they were the Children of the Sun, to be gracious and beneficent as their Father; but the Interpreter murdered this Speech too, in ſuch a manner, that though the Tenderneſs of it drew Tears from the Officers attending upon the Inca, yet neither of the *Spaniſh* Captains were able to make any thing of it; and therefore all they could ſay at their Return to *Pizarro*, was, that they had been very kindly entertained, and that the Inca's Court was ſplendid beyond Deſcription, and almoſt beyond Imagination; which raiſed the Hopes, and ſharpened the Deſires of the *Spaniards* exceedingly; and they likewiſe told him, that the very next Day, the Inca intended to come in Perſon, and pay him a Viſit in his Camp, attended by his Guards and his Nobility.

12. *Francis Pizarro* divided his Cavalry, which amounted to no more than ſixty Men, into three Troops of twenty each, commanded by *Ferdinand Pizarro*, *Ferdinand Soto*, and *Sebaſtian Belalcazar*, whom he ordered to draw his Men up under the Cover of an old Wall, that they might not be ſeen at firſt; and that, diſcovering themſelves ſuddenly, the *Indians* might be the more ſurprized. He put himſelf at the Head of the Foot, which conſiſted but of one hundred Men, and ſo waited for the Inca in order of Battle. *Atabuallpa*, on his Side, advanced in as regular Order with his Army, which was divided into four Battalions, conſiſting of eight thouſand Men each; and, as ſoon as they drew near, the Inca ſaid to his Officers, theſe People are Meſſengers of the Gods, let us be ſure to do nothing that may offend them; but, on the contrary, uſe our utmoſt Endeavours to gain them by repeated Civilities. The Perſon who advanced to harangue him from the *Spaniards*, was Father *Vincent de Valverda*, who carried in one Hand a Croſs, and in the other his Breviary.

The Figure of this Man ſurprized the Emperor very much; however, he ordered him a Chair, and then the reverend Father began a long wretched Diſcourſe, which was to be delivered again by a more wretched Interpreter. This Harangue of his was divided into two Parts; the firſt conſiſted of an Account of all the Myſteries of the Chriſtian Faith, the Miſſion of *Jeſus Chriſt*, and his Miſſion of the Apoſtles, of whom he told him St. *Peter* was the firſt and Head. In the ſecond Part of his Diſcourſe he held forth the Power of the Pope as the Succeſſor of St. *Peter*, and talked likewiſe much of the univerſal Monarchy of the Emperor *Charles*, to which it was neceſſary that the Inca ſhould ſubmit; for otherwiſe God would harden his Heart as he did *Pharaoh*'s, and then the *Spaniards* were to inflict upon him all the Plagues of *Egypt*. We may eaſily gueſs what ſtrange Stuff this muſt be, when paſſing through the Canal of ſuch a Fellow as *Philipillo*, who delivered it ſo ſadly, that the Inca himſelf perceived his Ignorance, and therefore delivered his Anſwer not in the Court Language as he would otherwiſe have done, but in the vulgar Tongue; which, however, did not hinder *Philipillo* from murdering it ſo effectually, that the Prieſt knew no more of the Emperor's Meaning, than the Emperor did of his.

Thus the whole was a ſtrange Scene of Confuſion, which, however, ended much worſe than it began; for the *Spaniards* obſerving an *Indian* Idol upon a Tower exceſſively adorned with Silver, Gold, and precious Stones, their Avarice would not ſuffer them to wait any longer, ſo that they fell to pillaging it as faſt as they could; in which the *Indians* were going to oppoſe them, but the Inca commanded them not to reſiſt, let the *Spaniards* do what they would. Father *Vincent* hearing this Noiſe, turned about, roſe from his Chair, and running to appeaſe the *Spaniards*, threw aſide his Croſs, and dropped his Breviary, which greatly increaſed the Confuſion; the *Spaniards* pretending that they apprehended the *Indian* Monarch had inſulted the Croſs; but without doubt the Inſult was on their Side, who thus ſcandalouſly betrayed and prophaned their Religion, and made the Goſpel of Peace a Pretence for perpetrating the moſt barbarous, the moſt perfidious, and moſt inhuman Cruelties, by ſlaughtering thouſands of poor Creatures, ſo obedient to their Prince, that they did not move a Hand in their own Defence.

13. There is ſome Doubt whether *Pizarro* engaged himſelf at the Beginning, but it is certain that when this Confuſion roſe to ſuch an Height, he cauſed his Horſe to pour in, and advanced in Perſon to ſeize *Atabuallpa*, of whoſe Robe he laid hold; and, falling down himſelf, dragged the Inca after him from his Chair, at which time one of the *Spaniards* ſtriking at him with his Sword, wounded *Pizarro*, who was the only *Spaniard* that loſt any Blood in this diſhonourable Fray; for certainly it could not be called a Battle, ſince the *Indians* fell like Sheep, without offering the leaſt Reſiſtance. The *Spaniſh* Writers differ widely from each other in their Accounts of this Tranſaction, at which we need not wonder; for, being naturally proud, and unwilling to injure the Reputation of their Countrymen, they endeavour all they can to diſguiſe the Truth, and to hinder their Readers from ſeeing a Series of Facts utterly inexcuſable. The Deſire of impoſing Falſhoods will always beget Confuſion; for let the Parts or Abilities of Men be what they will, there is no giving Conſiſtence or Connection to a Bundle of Lies.

Herrera informs us, that *Pizarro*, before *Atabuallpa* and his *Indians* entered the Square, commanded his Muſketeers to take Poſt, and that, upon a Signal given them, the Captains *Ferdinand Pizarro*, *Ferdinand de Soto*, *Sebaſtian de Belalcazar*, and *Chriſtopher de Mena*, who commanded the Cavalry, ſhould fall upon the *Indians*, and the Foot ſhould do the like; and directed them before the Execution began, that they ſhould permit a certain Number of the Enemy to enter the Gates, which they ſhould afterwards take ſpecial Care to ſhut and ſecure: That Father *Vincent* having made his Speech to the Inca, told *Pizarro* he was treated with Contempt, and that the Tyrant demanded Reſtitution of the Gold and Silver the

Spaniards had plundered his Subjects of; whereupon, ſays *Herrera*, *Pizarro* did not think fit to loſe more Time, for he had before reſolved what to do, being a Man that had ſerved twenty years in the *Weſt-Indies*; and, knowing the Victory depended on ſeizing the Perſons of the Sovereigns, he lifted up the white Cloth, which was the appointed ſignal for executing the Orders he had given; and thereupon *Peter Candia* fired the great Guns, and the Muſketeers their Pieces, to the Amazement of the *Indians*; and the more ſo, becauſe it was unexpected: Then the Drums beat, the Trumpets ſounded, the Horſe fell in three ſeveral Ways among the *Indians*, while the Infantry made a Slaughter of them with their croſs Bows, Pikes, and Swords; and *Pizarro*, in Perſon, with fifteen choſen Men, marched up to the Chair on which *Atahuallpa* was carried, and, killing thoſe that ſupported it, with many more that crowded to ſupply their Places, after a yery great Slaughter of the *Indians*, ſeized the Inca, and pulled him down from his Chair; after which the *Peruvians* fled, and were purſued by the *Spaniards*, who did not leave off killing them till the Fugitives broke down part of the Wall of the Square, by which means ſome of them eſcaped.

De la Vega, who was himſelf an Inca, or a Deſcendant from the Family of thoſe princes, whoſe Hiſtory he writes, obſerves, that the *Spaniſh* Generals pretended the *Indians* were treacherous, that *Atahuallpa* had formed a Deſign to ſurprize the *Spaniards*, and put them all to the Sword; and that *F. Vincent* complained to the General, they refuſed his Invitation to become Chriſtians, and treated him and the Croſs with Contempt, and thereupon incited the General to fall upon them. But in theſe Accounts, ſays *de la Vega*, the General and Captains were not ſincere; they endeavoured to put the beſt Gloſs upon their Actions, leaving out of the Narrative they ſent to the Court of *Spain* all their cruel and unjuſtifiable Proceedings, and adding whatever had a fair Appearance; it being confirmed, ſays that Hiſtorian, by ſeveral other Writers, that *Atahuallpa* commanded his Subjects not to reſiſt the *Spaniards*; for if the Inca had not commanded them not to fight, certainly, ſaid he, they would never have endured to ſee their Prince overthrown and taken, having Weapons in their Hands; they would all rather have died in his Defence, as many of them did in endeavouring to ſupport his Chair, and not have ſuffered an hundred and ſixty *Spaniards*, whom they were able to have ſubdued with Stones, to commit ſuch Outrages; whereas there was not one *Spaniard* ether killed or wounded, unleſs *Francis Pizarro*, the General; who received, as has been ſaid, a little Hurt in his Hand by one of his own men, as he went to ſeize on *Atahuallpa*.

The Truth is, the *Indians* did not fight, becauſe they held every Command of the Inca to be a Part of their Religion, and of the Divine Law, though it was to loſe their Lives and Eſtates. Such are the Variations with which this Story is told, by the moſt conſiderable Writers; and indeed, take it in what Light we will, or can, it admits of very little Excuſe, and ought to be conſidered as an inſtance, that the Thirſt of Wealth corrupts even the nobleſt Minds. But we have not Room to expatiate upon the Subject; our Buſineſs is to purſue the Hiſtory, and to ſhew the Reader what the Conſequences were of this barbarous and bloody Action.

13. When all was over, *Pizarro*, having ſeized the Inca, and conveyed him to his own Quarters, directed the Spoils of the Field to be brought to him, which were great; conſiſting of large Gold and Silver Veſſels, Utenſils, fine Garments, Jewels and Ornaments, belonging to the Inca, the Royal Family, and great Officers: there were taken alſo ſeveral Ladies, Wives of the Caziques and Orejons, and ſome of the Mamaconds, or conſecrated Virgins; and *Pizarro* directed Thankſgiving to God to be obſerved that very Day, being the 3d of *May* 1533, and in that very field where the Ground was covered with the dead Bodies of the miſerable *Indians* they had thus murthered and plundered. Next Day he ſent out a Detachment of his Forces to plunder the Inca's Camp, where he met with another rich Booty; though, it is ſaid, the *Peruvian* Generals had carried off three thouſand Loads of Gold and Silver before the *Spaniards* arrived there; therefore, in order to induce the *Indians* not to carry off or conceal any more of their Treaſures, he cauſed it to be proclaimed that their Inca was alive, and that they were at liberty to come and attend him, and perform their uſual Services; whereupon ſeveral of the *Indian* Generals and great Officers returned to *Caxamalca* to attend their Captive Sovereign. He alſo cauſed the Inca's Women to be brought to him, and ſuffered him to be ſerved in the ſame Manner he uſed to be before this Misfortune: Though he ſtill kept him in Fetters, which made the Inca apprehenſive they would take away his Life in the End, unleſs he could find ſome way to obtain his Liberty.

Having obſerved therefore the inſatiable Thirſt of the *Spaniards* after Gold and Silver, he promiſed to give them as much of thoſe Metals as a great Room in the Caſtle of *Caxamalca* would hold for his Freedom; and, that the *Spaniards* might not doubt the Performance of what he offered, he propoſed ſending ſome *Spaniſh* Officers, with his People, to *Cuzco*, to the Temple of *Pacha Chamac*, and other Places, to bring the Treaſures repoſited there to *Caxamalca*; and, at the ſame Time, iſſued his Orders, that the *Spaniards* who were diſpatched to thoſe Places ſhould be hoſpitably entertained, in the Countries through which they paſſed, and receive all the Aſſiſtance his Subjects could give them.

In the mean time, *Almagro* having liſted an hundred and fifty Men in his Service at *Panama*, embarked with them for *Peru* to reinforce *Pizarro*; but was obliged, by contrary Winds, to land at *Cape Franciſco*, to the Northward of the Equator, where he was joined by another ſtrong Party of *Spaniards*, that were going to ſhare *Pizarro*'s Fortunes, making together a Body of between two and three hundred Men; but being obliged to paſs ſo many Moraſſes and Mouths of Rivers, and march through continual Rains under the Equator, he loſt thirty or forty of his Men, and fell ſick himſelf: However, ſurmounting all theſe Diſtreſſes and Difficulties, he arrived at length at the *Spaniſh* Colony of *St. Michael's*, near the Bay of *Guiaquil*, and there he underſtood that *Pizarro* had made the Emperor *Atahuallpa* Priſoner, and poſſeſſed himſelf of a vaſt Treaſure; whereupon, it is ſaid, *Almagro* conſulted with his Officers, whether they ſhould join *Pizarro* or go upon ſome further Diſcoveries, independent of him, if he refuſed to let them ſhare the Treaſure he had got; and *Almagro*'s Secretary, it ſeems, ſent *Pizarro* Intelligence, that his Maſter had no good Intentions towards him.

But *Pizarro*, either believing he ſhould not be able to keep ſo large an Empire as *Peru* in Subjection, with the few Troops that were with him, or that *Almagro*, having more Forces than he commanded, might join a Party of the *Indians*, and take his Booty from him, and ſet up for himſelf, ſent very obliging Meſſages to *Almagro*, inviting him to advance and join him; and, at the ſame time, acquainted him with the Arts that were uſed to ſet them at Variance, and thereby ruin their Enterprize on *Peru*, which was not to be carried on but by their united Forces and Endeavours; and particularly, he acquainted *Almagro* with the Treachery of his Secretary, who thereupon ordered him to be hanged up, and immediately began his March towards *Caxamalca*. There was certainly a great deal of Policy in this Conduct, and *Pizarro* ſhewed himſelf therein a Perſon of deep Penetration, and great Parts; but, at the ſame time, there was ſomething in it of Ingratitude; ſo that we ought to place it among the Number of thoſe Actions of his, which inſtead of deſerving Praiſe ſtand in need of Excuſe.

14. The coming of *Almagro* made a very great Noiſe, and the Inca *Atahuallpa*, receiving Advice that another Body of *Spaniards* was arrived upon the Coaſt, began to reflect that this would not be to his Advantage: for *Pizarro* would now no longer be under a Neceſſity of carrying Matters fair with him; being enabled, by this Reinforcement, to maintain his Conqueſts by Force. He haſtened therefore the bringing in the Treaſure he had offered for his Ranſom, that he might obtain his Liberty before

Pizarro was joined by *Almagro*; but another Accident happened about the ſame Time, which he apprehended might be ſtill more fatal to him.

The three *Spaniſh* Officers that were ſent with his People to *Cuzco*, happening to paſs through the Town where *Hueſcar*, his Brother, was Priſoner, went to ſee him; and acquainting *Hueſcar* with what *Atabuallpa* had offered for his Ranſom, that Prince informed them how unjuſtly he had been depoſed by *Atabuallpa*, his Brother, who had no Right to the Empire or the Treaſures he had promiſed; and as he underſtood one principal Deſign of the Expedition of the *Spaniards* was to relieve the Diſtreſſed, and to do Juſtice to thoſe that were oppreſſed, he did not doubt but they would releaſe him from his Captivity, and reſtore him to his Throne; which he ſhould not only gratefully acknowledge, but would furniſh them with much more Treaſure than the Uſurper could poſſibly do; for his loyal Subjects had buried moſt of their Gold and Silver Plate after the Battle, wherein he was made Priſoner, to conceal it from the Rebels, but would readily produce it again, and pay it to the *Spaniards* for his Ranſom, if they required it.

Pizarro's Meſſengers ſeemed to liſten to his Overtures, and promiſed the Inca that Juſtice ſhould be done him; but left that Prince, however, in Priſon, and continued their Journey to *Cuzco*; and Advice being immediately carried *Atabuallpa*, of the Conferences between the *Spaniſh* Officers and his Brother, he ſoon ſaw that he ſhould be undone, unleſs *Hueſcar* was immediately diſpatched out of the way, knowing that the greateſt Part of the Subjects of the Empire were little in his Intereſt; and, as they would infallibly be ſupported by the *Spaniards*, to whom his Brother had diſcovered his Treachery, and promiſed ſuch Mountains of Gold and Silver, they would certainly ſacrifice him to their Avarice, if they had no Regard to the Juſtice of his Brother's Cauſe; but reflecting, if he ſhould order his Brother to be put to death, the *Spaniards* might make this a Pretence for taking away his own Life, he was forced to act with Caution.

He reſolved, in the firſt Place, to ſound how *Pizarro* ſtood affected towards *Hueſcar*, which he did by feigning he had Intelligence, that the Officers who had his Brother in Cuſtody, had put him to death without his Knowledge, for which the Uſurper expreſſed a very great Concern. But finding *Pizarro* was not moved at the Relation, and that he only ſaid, *This was the Fortune of War, and the Lives of Captives were at the Conqueror's Diſpoſal*; *Atabuallpa* diſpatched an Expreſs for putting *Hueſcar* to Death, and his Orders were immediately executed, though it remains uncertain what Death he died; for ſome Writers affirm he was burnt, others, that he was drowned, and ſome, that his body was cut in ſmall Pieces, that his Subjects might not pay thoſe Honours to the Corpſe of their deceaſed Inca as were uſual. However he ſuffered, there is one Thing worthy of Remark, which is, That when the Murtherers came into his Preſence, and *Hueſcar* underſtood their Buſineſs, he expreſſed himſelf in theſe Words: “My Reign is indeed but ſhort; but the Perſon by whoſe Orders I am put to Death, who was born, and ought to have continued my Subject, will not live to enjoy long that Power which he endeavours to purchaſe at the Expence of the Blood of his Brother and his lawful Prince.”

The *Peruvians*, however, made great Lamentations for him as ſoon as his Death was known, crying to Heaven for Vengeance on his Murtherers: Some alſo deſired the *Spaniards* to revenge it on the Uſurper *Atabuallpa*. In the mean time, the three Officers that were ſent to *Cuzco* being arrived there, were adored by that People as the true Deſcendants of the Sun: But the *Spaniards* lamented that they were Men of mean Parts and Education, who knew not how to preſerve that Reſpect and Veneration the *Peruvians* had conceived of them, which was then ſo neceſſary to facilitate their future Attempts. The *Indians*, we are told, ſoon perceived they muſt deduce the Original of the *Spaniards* from ſome baſer Fountain than the Sun, and the Eſteem and Affection they at firſt entertained for the Chriſtians, on the mighty Profeſſions they made of their Juſtice and Honour, was on a ſudden converted into Dread and Averſion.

They were afflicted to find ſo vicious and profligate a Race of Men, who trampled on every thing that was ſacred, and whoſe Avarice ſeemed to exceed all Bounds, ſhould become Maſters of their Country; and from that time meditated how they might throw off that intolerable Yoke which they found the *Spaniards* were about to impoſe upon them. However, they durſt not diſobey the Commands of their Inca *Atabuallpa*; but having amaſſed a conſiderable Quantity of Treaſure, they loaded it on the Backs of their Tamenes or Porters, and conveyed it to *Caxamalca*, with a View, poſſibly, of aſſerting their Liberties to greater Advantage, when they ſhould have procured the Releaſe of their Inca: But the moſt valuable Treaſure, conſiſting of Gold, Silver, and Emeralds, being lodged in the temple of *Pacha Camac*, the inviſible God, as *Pizarro* was informed, he diſpatched his three Brothers thither, with the *Peruvian* Officers *Atabuallpa* deputed, to fetch it to *Caxamalca*.

But the Prieſts of *Pacha Camac* receiving Advice how the Temple of *Cuſa* had been ruined by the *Spaniards* that went thither, to prevent the like Misfortune ſent away four hundred Loads of Gold, Silver, and Jewels, before the *Spaniards* arrived, which were buried in the Earth, or carried to ſuch a Diſtance that the *Spaniards* could never diſcover them; however, *Ferdinand Pizarro* found as much Plate in this Temple as amounted to ninety thouſand Crowns beſides what the Soldiers embezzled, and returned with it to *Caxamalca*.

The Marſhal *Almagro* being advanced by this time into the Neighbourhood of that Place, *Pizarro*, the General, went out to meet him, and congratulated his Arrival, receiving him with all the Marks of Affection and Eſteem imaginable, and offered him ſuch a Share in the Spoils as made him perfectly eaſy; but his Soldiers, who expected to divide the Booty with thoſe that ſerved under *Pizarro*, were told, they were entitled to no Part of it, as not having been preſent in the Action when the Inca *Atabuallpa* was made Priſoner, which was near creating a Mutiny amongſt them; but they were pretty well appeaſed when *Pizarro* agreed to diſtribute an hundred thouſand Ducats among the Men which came with *Almagro*. The reſt of the Plunder after the Emperor's Fifth was deducted, was divided by *Pizarro* among his Officers and Soldiers, in ſuch a Proportion as he ſaw fit, in which he pretended to have a great Regard to the Merit of the reſpective Adventurers. And it is ſaid, after he had reſerved the Inca's golden Chair to himſelf, he diſtributed as much Gold and Silver Plate amongſt the Soldiers, as amounted to 1,500,000 Crowns and upwards; which, conſidering the Value of Gold and Silver at that Time, was more than fifteen Millions at this Day. But as large as this Sum appears in round Numbers, it will be yet found more extraordinary and ſurpriſing, if we conſider amongſt how ſmall a Number of Men it was divided.

We cannot exactly ſay what every private Man's Share came to, but we learn from good Memoirs, that each Horſeman had near two thouſand Ounces of Gold for his Share, and the Foot in Proportion; ſo that I ſee no Reaſon to doubt of the Truth of what I once ſaw in a M.S. of Sir *John Hawkins*: That the meaneſt of *Pizarro*'s Soldiers had two thouſand Pounds for his Share, and ſome of them, that is, of the Foot, twice that Sum; and yet it is agreed, that the whole Money then divided did not exceed a Fifth Part of *Atabuallpa*'s Ranſom, which, at this Rate muſt have amounted to more than one Million and an half of our Money. After this Diviſion was made, about ſixty of the private Men inſiſted upon their Diſcharge, that they might go home and live in Peace upon what they had got. *Almagro* oppoſed this vehemently, alledging, That it would greatly weaken their ſmall Army; and moſt of the Council were of his Opinion. *Francis Pizarro*, who had more Senſe than *Almagro* and all the Council put together, agreed to the Demand, and gave this wiſe Reaſon for it, That when once it appeared that private Men could get ſo much in ſo little a time, there was no doubt to be made, if one

Man went away they ſhould have ten come in his Place; and having given this Reaſon there was no farther Diſpute about it.

As *Ferdinand Pizarro* was the Perſon made choice of to go over to *Spain* with theſe Men, and this vaſt Maſs of Treaſure, he went to take his Leave of *Atahuallpa*, with whom he was in much greater Eſteem than any of the *Spaniſh* Officers. The Emperor received the News with great Sorrow and Concern, and could not help ſpeaking his Sentiments freely. My Lord, ſaid he, you are going home, which is certainly matter of Joy to you, though 'tis matter of Grief to me; for I already apprehend, that before your Return, that Fellow with one Eye, meaning *Almagro*, and that other Fellow with the great Belly, which was the King's Treaſurer, will ſend me to my long home, and therefore let us take our laſt Farewel.

He made a very right Judgment in this; for when the *Spaniards*, who had been ſent for the reſt of *Atahuallpa*'s Ranſom, made a Report of the prodigious Quantities of Gold they had ſeen, and the Reaſons they had to believe that much greater Quantities were concealed, *Almagro* gave it as his Opinion, that they ſhould wait no longer, but get rid of the Inca as ſoon as they could; and then make as much Haſte as poſſible to get Poſſeſſion of all the Gold in *Peru*. A baſe and bloody Reſolution, which, though *Francis Pizarro* at this Time rejected with Horror, yet it was not long before he approved and agreed to it.

15. The Fate of *Atahuallpa* is undoubtedly one of the moſt memorable Things that fall within the Compaſs of this Section, and therefore it is requiſite that we ſhould give a clear and diſtinct Account of the Fact, tho' in as few Words as poſſible; and this is what we ſhall labour to perform with the ſtricteſt Impartiality, and the greateſt Regard to Truth. There were various Reaſons why *Francis Pizarro*, though a very brave and gallant Man, had not that Tenderneſs for this *Indian* Monarch, that *Cortez* had for *Motezuma*; but that which governed him principally was, a ſort of Contempt with which *Atahuallpa* treated him, and the viſible Preference he gave in point of Eſteem and Regard to other Officers in the *Spaniſh* Army. The Cauſe of this Behaviour is one of the moſt ſingular Paſſages that occurs in all the *Spaniſh* Hiſtories of the Conqueſt of *Peru*, and cannot fail of giving great Pleaſure to the judicious Reader.

Atahuallpa, however cruel to his own Family, appeared to be a Prince of great Wiſdom and Penetration; and one who laboured to inform himſelf as thoroughly as it was poſſible, with reſpect to the Manners, Cuſtoms, ſuperior and inferior Qualities of the *Spaniards*, that he might be the better able to deal with them, if upon the Payment of the Sum propoſed for his Ranſom they ſhould actually reſtore him to his Liberty. That which moſt of all perplexed his Enquiries and diſturbed his Meditations, was their Art of Writing and Reading, as to which he could not comprehend whether it was a natural Endowment, or whether it was acquired by Labour and Application. In order to ſatisfy himſelf in this Point, he aſked one of the *Spaniſh* Soldiers whether he could expreſs the Name of God upon his Thumb-nail. The Man readily ſaid he could, and did accordingly; after this the Inca went about to ſeveral of the Captains and Soldiers, and ſhewing them his Thumb-nail, aſked them if they knew what that Mark ſignified; and from their Anſwers, he began to entertain an Opinion that Reading and Writing were natural to this Nation, which he thought a very great Advantage: But unfortunately he aſked the ſame Queſtion of the General, who, not being able to read it, was put greatly to the Bluſh, which not only changed *Atahuallpa*'s Opinion, with reſpect to Reading and Writing, which he now ſaw plainly were the Fruits of Education, but gave him likewiſe a very low Opinion of the General, ſuppoſing that he muſt have been of a very mean Original, ſince he was leſs knowing in this Reſpect than many of his Soldiers.

This Contempt that he ſhewed for *Pizarro*, begat a Prejudice in him, which very ſoon turned to the Diſadvantage, and in the End proved the Ruin, of the Inca. It fell out that *Philipillo*, or *Philip* the Interpreter, fell in Love with one of *Atahuallpa*'s Wives, which incenſed that Monarch ſo much, that he ſignified to *Pizarro*, that he ought not only to puniſh ſuch a Fellow, but even to put him to Death; which the General was ſo far from doing, that he only made a Jeſt of the whole Affair; in which without doubt he ſhewed as little Regard to his own Character, as to that of the Emperor. *Philipillo* took the Jealouſy of *Atahuallpa* much to Heart; and as all ſuch low Fellows ſuffer Hate and Fear to compound their Reſentments, ſo he determined in himſelf to deſtroy that Monarch immediately out of the way, as the ſole Means of providing for his own Safety. It was with this View that the Villain inſinuated to *Pizzarro* that he ought to be very watchful of the Inca's Motions, becauſe he was actually contriving the Deſtruction of the *Spaniards*. This wild and ridiculous Story was digeſted into a formal Accuſation, by the Direction of the General and his Favourites, who appointed Commiſſioners to try *Atahuallpa*; directing *Sancho de Cuellar* to take upon him the Office of Attorney-General, to exhibit a Charge againſt the Inca, which he did; and it conſiſted of the following Particulars, *viz.* That *Hueſcar*, Inca, being his eldeſt Brother and lawful Sovereign, and himſelf a Baſtard, he had cauſed *Hueſcar* to be depoſed and impriſoned, and afterwards uſurped his Throne: That he had cauſed his ſaid Brother to be murdered, ſince he became a Priſoner to the *Spaniards*: That *Atahuallpa* was an Idolater: That he cauſed his Subjects to ſacrifice Men and Children: That he had raiſed unjuſt Wars, and been guilty of the Blood of many People: That he kept a great many Concubines: That he expected Taxes and Tribute of the *Peruvians*, ſince the *Spaniards* poſſeſſed his Country, and conſumed and embezzled the public Treaſure: That he had incited the *Indians* to rebel and make War againſt the *Spaniards*, ſince he had been their Priſoner.

The very reading theſe Articles ſufficiently proves that they were not calculated to bring a bad Man to Juſtice, but to give the Colour of Law, and the Form of a fair Trial, to one of the wickedeſt and vileſt Contrivances that ever entered the Heart of Man. Yet black and villainous as this Affair was, it is very doubtful to ſay whether it reflects more Honour or more Infamy upon the *Spaniſh* Nation. For no ſooner was this dark Deſign ſet on foot, than almoſt all the Perſons of Family and Diſtinction that ſerved in the Army, declared againſt it; and declared in Terms that ſpoke them equally Men of Senſe and Men of Honour: They declared that they knew no Right the *Spaniſh* Nation had to make themſelves Judges of an *Indian* Prince, or of his Title to his Dominions; that with regard to the *Spaniards*, he had behaved ſo well, and done them ſo many Kindneſſes, that to treat him in this Manner, was not only the higheſt Barbarity, but the moſt flagrant Ingratitude; that if after all they were reſolved to be rid of him, the beſt thing they could do was, to ſend him into *Spain*, together with their Charge, and leave the Cauſe to be decided by the Emperor. But *Pizarro* and his Council were determined to go on, and though the other Party delivered a Proteſt in Writing againſt all their Proceedings, and appoineed one *John de Herreda* Protector of the Emperor's Perſon, yet they perſiſted in trying him, and aſſigned him one of their Party for an Advocate; who to be ſure made ſuch a Defence as did no great Service to his Client.

The Iſſue of this Buſineſs was, that after a mock Shew of Juſtice, they condemned the Inca to ſuffer Death, which at firſt they reſolved ſhould be by Burning; and to this Sentence, to give it a fairer Appearance in *Spain*, where it might very well be expected that it would be reviewed, they procured the Approbation of Father *Vincent*, who proſtituted his Character as an Eccleſiaſtic in this bloody Affair; and. which was much worſe, proſtituted, as far as in him lay, the Chriſtian Faith, and the Credit of the Goſpel; for which his Memory ought to be infamous in every Country where the People call themſelves Chriſtians. Yet this cruel and blood-thirſty Fryar, after being ſo great an Inſtrument in his Sufferings, undertook the Converſion of *Atabualpa*, and the Argument he uſed to induce him to be baptized, was worthy of ſuch a Preacher. He told him that if he would conſent to die a Chriſtian, he ſhould not be burnt, but ſtrangled only, which had the deſired Effect, and he was accordingly baptized in the Evening, and ſtrangled the next Morning, to the eternal Diſhonour of all who were concerned in ſo iniquitous and ſcandalous a Proceeding.

There are ſome who pretend that this Murder of the Inca was chiefly owing to the *Indians* themſelves, who were for revenging the Death of their lawful Emperor *Hueſcar*; and thereby fulfilling the prophetic Threatning of that Prince at his Death, which has been already mentioned, and this has been very gravely inſiſted upon as an Apology, if not a Defence, for the Conduct of *Pizarro* and his Officers. A little Conſideration, however, will ſhew us that there could be no Truth in this: Firſt it appears, that notwithſtanding his Brother's Death, *Atabuallpa* was univerſally acknowledged and obeyed as the lawful Inca throughout the whole Empire, which does by no means agree with this Story of the *Indians* deſiring to have him put to death. It may indeed be ſaid that Things may be true, though they are not probable, but then we cannot know them to be true without Proof, of which none of the Hiſtorians who report this bring us any, either good or bad.

Secondly, if it had been ſo, the *Spaniards* would certainly have made the *Indians* his Proſecutors, or rather have ſet up the Inca his Brother, who had a fair Title to the Crown, and have left them to have taken Vengeance for that Crime, which, if they could have done it, would have anſwered their Purpoſe, and ſaved their Credit; and as they did not do it, we may very fairly preſume that no ſuch thing was in their Power. It muſt indeed be allowed that theſe are only negative Arguments, but yet Arguments they are, whereas what is ſaid on the other Side is mere Suggeſtion.

But thirdly, there is the cleareſt Proof of the contrary; for as ſoon as *Atabuallpa* was murdered, the *Indians* began every where to act offenſively againſt the *Spaniards*, which they had never done before; and this ſhews that the former Conduct was the Effect of Duty to that Prince whom the *Spaniards* would have us believe they diſowned; and the latter is as clear a Mark of their univerſally deteſting that Crime, which it is pretended was done at their Perſuaſion. If therefore we take theſe Conſiderations together, there can be no longer any Doubt but what the *Spaniards* have advanced is a pure Fiction, contrived to give ſome ſort of Colour to an Action too foul to be avowed, even by thoſe who committed it.

16. The Events that followed upon the Death of the Inca *Atabuallpa*, very plainly ſhewed that human Nature is the ſame in all Countries and Climates; that ſome Men from Principles of Honour, Fidelity, and Love to their Country, adhere to what is right, whatever ſeeming Advantages may invite them to purſue a contrary Conduct, while others, after gaining to themſelves Character, Credit, and Employments, by putting on a ſpecious Appearance of Virtue, ſhew their natural Diſpoſitions at once, when tempted by the Hopes of Gain, and releaſed from the Fear of any other Puniſhment than what reſults from the Conſciouſneſs of having done Evil.

Rumnavi, one of *Atabualipa*'s Generals, who retired from the fatal Slaughter of *Caxamalca*, with the Rearguard of his Army, made himſelf Maſter of *Quito*; and, as ſoon as he heard of his Maſter's Death, cut to-pieces ſuch of his Officers as he believed loyal to the deceaſed Prince, and endeavoured to keep what he could for himſelf. *Quiſquis*, another of theſe Generals, acted much the ſame Part: but, having a better Army under his Command, ſecured a greater Part of the Country, and yet ſhewed himſelf far from being valiant, by flying before a Handful of *Spaniards* who were ſent in Purſuit of him, and gave a farther Proof of his Cruelty, which is a Quality inſeparable from Cowardice, by murdering a few *Spaniards*, who, by their Temerity in puſhing on too far, had fallen into his Hands.

This Man, juſtly apprehending that it would be impoſſible for him to maintain himſelf againſt the other *Indian* Commanders, as well as againſt the *Spaniards*, while his Power had no other Authority than what it derived from Force, contrived to get into his Hands a younger Brother of the Inca's, whoſe Name was *Paullu*, whom he would have perſuaded to have taken the Title of Emperor, hoping under the Shadow of his Title to have preſerved the Power he had obtained. But this Prince, though very young, diſcovered a Greatneſs of Soul truly admirable, and worthy of the higheſt Praiſe; for diſdaining a Crown, which he knew could not be worn but at the joint Expence of his Family and his Country; he generouſly refuſed it, telling *Quiſquis* that he ſcorned to derive from the Miſery of the Empire, that Authority which he could not hope for in better Times; and, that he eſteemed it far more honourable to be thought a worthy Man, than a bad Monarch; which had ſuch an Effect even on *Quiſquis*, that, though he had him in his Power, he did not attempt to ſeize his Perſon, but allowed him to retire, as he did, to *Francis Pizarro*, towards whom he behaved with the ſame Dignity and Firmneſs. He told the General that the true Heir of the Empire was his elder Brother *Manco Capac*; and that if he had any ſuch Purpoſes as he pretended, of doing Juſtice, and protecting ſuch as had Right on their Side, he ought to ſhew it by declaring in favour of that Prince, who had already a good Army about him; and who, with the Aſſiſtance of the *Spaniards*, would infallibly reſtore the Luſtre of the imperial Diadem; which, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, had the deſired Effect. I mention this, though it carry me a little beyond that Period of Time of which I was ſpeaking, that I might not omit altogether ſo ſingular an Example of Virtue and good Senſe.

As for *Quiſquis* he ſtill went on in his old Way, and having had Information that the *Spaniſh* General had left but a ſmall Body of Men to guard *Requelma*, the Royal Treaſurer, with all the Riches he had taken in his Hands, he made a very bold Puſh in hopes of ſurprizing him, but met with ſo brave a Reſiſtance, that he was obliged to retire without carrying his Point; and this ſhews us another Thing, that there are in all Nations Men of ſuch low and profligate Diſpoſitions, as not to be aſhamed of increaſing the Calamities of their Country, by attending ſolely to their private Intereſt in Times of public Confuſion: when a little Reflection would ſhew them that acquiring Wealth is only expoſing themſelves to greater Dangers than ſuch are in who have leſs, and conſequently is acting as much againſt their Intereſt as againſt their Duty and the Public. All Paſſions indeed obſcure Foreſight, but Avarice makes Men ſtone-blind.

It is impoſſible to conceive a Country in a worſe Condition than *Peru* was now in, or a Nation in greater Diſtraction than its Inhabitants. On the one hand they were diſpirited with ſuperſtitious Fears of the *Spaniards*, which hindered them from conſidering, in a proper Light, their Force, and the Strength they were able to bring againſt them; on the other, they were no leſs confounded with reſpect to their own Government, ſome following one of the Incas, and ſome another; and thus, when Union alone could afford them any Chance for Safety, they ſplit themſelves into Factions and Parties, and thereby drew on their own Ruin. This is a Leſſon worthy of Attention; for what was then the Condition of *Peru*, may be that of any other Country upon the Globe, and conſequently the Behaviour of its Inhabitants may ſerve to inſtruct all other Nations. But it is now Time to return to the Progreſs of the *Spaniards*, and the Effects of their Arms; from which we digreſſed only with a View to ſtate ſome Points to the Reader, as agreeable to the Subject, and no leſs worthy of his Attention; which Taſk having thus fulfilled, we will reſume the Thread of our Narrative.

17. *Pizarro*, however, did not carry his Reſentment ſo far, but that, after he had taken and killed, he thought fit to treat the Corpſe of the Inca with the Reſpect due to a ſovereign Prince; he celebrated the Inca's Funeral with great Solemnity, and went into Mourning for him; but he ſoon diſcovered how deteſtable this Murder rendered him among the Natives. The two Factions immediately

united againſt him, under *Manco Capac*, the Brother and Heir of *Hueſcar*, whom they proclaimed Emperor of *Cuzco*. Whereupon *Pizarro* proclaimed *Toparpa*, a Son of *Atabuallpa*, Emperor; cauſed him to wear the Imperial Coronet, and to be treated with the ſame Honours his Father had been, iſſuing ſuch Orders in his Name as might beſt ſerve the Intereſt of the *Spaniards*; but this Inca died ſoon after; and ſo *Pizarro* conjecturing that nothing could tend to eſtabliſh the *Spaniſh* Dominion in *Peru*, more than his poſſeſſing himſelf of the capital City of *Cuzco*, he began his March thither with all his Forces, conſiſting of near four hundred Men, beſides ſuch as were ſtiled confederate *Indians*.

In the mean time *Atauchi*, Brother to the late Emperor *Atabuallpa*, having collected a great Quantity of Treaſure, to purchaſe his Brother's Ranſom, brought it to *Caxamalca*; but finding *Atabuallpa* murdered, and the *Spaniards* marched from thence, determined to be revenged on them, and joining his Forces with ſome *Peruvian* Generals, ſurpriſed the *Spaniards* upon their March to *Cuzco*, killed ſome of them, and made ſeveral Priſoners; and amongſt the reſt *Sancho de Cuellar*, who had drawn up the Proceſs againſt the late Inca *Atabuallpa*, and attended his Execution. With theſe Priſoners the *Indian* Generals retired again to *Caxamalca*, where they ſtrangled *Sancho* the *Spaniard*, at the very ſame Poſt where their Emperor was put to Death; but underſtanding that *Francis de Chaves*, *Ferdinando de Haro*, and ſome of the reſt of their Priſoners, had proteſted againſt the Inca's Death, they reſolved to give them their Lives and Liberties, entering into the following Articles of Peace and Friendſhip with the captive *Spaniards* before they diſmiſſed them, *viz.* That neither Party ſhould, for the future, offer any Violence to the other; and particularly, That the *Spaniards* ſhould not attempt to depoſe *Manco Capac*, who had been proclaimed at *Cuzco*, and was the lawful Heir of the Inca *Atabuallpa*; That both Sides ſhould releaſe their Priſoners; and, That the *Spaniards* ſhould not treat the *Indians* as Slaves, but Freemen: That the Laws of their Country ſhould be obſerved inviolably, when not repugnant to thoſe of Chriſtianity; and that this Treaty ſhould be ratified by the *Spaniſh* General, and his Sovereign the Emperor of the *Romans*.

The *Spaniards* inſiſted, on their Part, That the *Indians* ſhould profeſs the Chriſtian Religion: That a Part of the Country ſhould be aſſigned them for their Subſiſtance; and, That they might retain the *Indians* as hired Servants, though not as Slaves; which the *Indians* agreed to, and diſmiſſed their Priſoners with rich Preſents. But *Pizarro* and *Almagro*, at firſt, poſitively refuſed to ratify the Articles, and would hear of nothing but an abſolute Submiſſion, and an intire Surrender of their Country and their Perſons, to the Will of the Chriſtians; which occaſioned long and bloody Wars afterwards. Whereas the *Spaniſh* Hiſtorians admit they might have eſtabliſhed Chriſtianity in *Peru* without ſpilling a Drop of Blood, if the Ambition and Avarice of the Adventurers had not prevented it. The General *Pizarro*, continuing his March towards *Cuzco*, was again attacked by ſeveral Parties of the *Indians* at ſome difficult Paſſes in the Mountains; but, finding themſelves unable to reſiſt the Fire-arms and Horſes of the Chriſtians, they fled, after a faint Reſiſtance, to the capital City, declaring it was in vain for any human Force to oppoſe the *Spaniards*, who were armed with Thunder and Lightning, and could kill their Enemies at ſo many hundred Yards diſtance. Whereupon the People of *Cuzco*, without offering to defend the Walls, or that impregnable Caſtle already mentioned, fled with their Wives and Children, and what was moſt valuable to them, to the Woods and Mountains; and *Pizarro* entered the City without Oppoſition, in the Month of *October*, 1532, where he met with a prodigious Booty, notwithſtanding the Citizens had ſo much Time to carry off their Goods and Treaſures.

We have not room here to enter into a long Account, either of the Particulars, or of the Amount, of the immenſe Wealth, which the *Spaniards* ſay was found in this City; but ſhall content ourſelves with obſerving, that as it was the Cuſtom in this Country to bury with their great Men the beſt Part of the Riches of which they died poſſeſſed, ſo their Conquerors, who made no ſort of Difficulty of rifling Sepulchres as well as Temples, found not only as much Wealth in the Dwellings of the Dead, but rather more, than in the Habitations of the Living; ſo that ſuch as rate the Plunder of this City at the loweſt, compute it at the full Value of *Atabuallpa*'s Ranſom. When the General *Francis Pizarro* had thus got into his Hands the Capital of *Peru*, from whence the Inca *Manco Capac*, and the greateſt Part of the Inhabitants were fled, he thought fit to invite them to return to their Dwellings, apprehending, if they were made deſperate, that the whole Power of the Empire might aſſemble againſt him, and reduce him to great Straits by cutting off his Proviſions, though they durſt not meet him fairly in the Field.

The *Indians*, accepting *Pizarro*'s Invitation, returned to their Houſes in *Cuzco*, and even the Inca made ſome Overtures to him, intimating, that he ſhould be content to embrace the Chriſtian Religion, and hold his Dominions of the Emperor of the *Romans*, provided, that neither he nor his Subjects ſhould be moleſted for the future, in their Perſons or Eſtates: And, being encouraged by *Pizarro* to believe he ſhould have the Terms he demanded, the Inca came in Perſon to *Cuzco*, and had an Interview with the *Spaniſh* General, who cauſed him to be crowned, and inveſted in the Empire, by binding the royal Wreath or Coronet about his Head, and proclaiming him Inca in the ſame manner his Predeceſſors uſed to be inaugurated into that Dignity; and aſſured the Inca he would ſtrictly obſerve the Capitulation made by *Francis de Chaves*. Theſe pacific Meaſures the *Spaniards* found themſelves under a Neceſſity of taking at this time, not only becauſe they ſaw all the ſouthern Provinces of *Peru* aſſembling againſt them under the Inca *Manco Capac*, but becauſe *Rumnavi*, *Quiſquis*, and other *Peruvian* Generals, had collected a very great Army in the ſouthern Provinces, and poſſeſſed themſelves of *Quito*, which obliged him to ſend out a conſiderable Detachment of his Forces, under the Command of *Sebaſtian Belalcazar*, to reinforce the new Colony at *St. Michael*'s, and to make Head againſt the *Peruvian* Generals in *Quito*.

This Meaſure was taken with great Wiſdom and Prudence; and the Commander laſt mentioned, upon his Arrival at *St. Michael*'s, found there a great Reinforcement of Volunteers, who came from different Parts of the *Spaniſh* Settlements, in order to obtain a Share in the Riches of *Peru*. Out of theſe he choſe one hundred and twenty Foot, and fourſcore Horſe; which having incorporated into his own Army, he marched directly to *Quito*, in order to make himſelf Maſter of the Riches of the deceaſed *Atabuallpa*, moſt of which he knew remained there. The *Indian* General, who commanded in that Province, did all that lay in his Power to harraſs and fatigue the *Spaniſh* Army, and to prevent their coming to a deciſive Action; but this turning to no Account, and finding that *Belalcazar* continued to advance directly to the Capital, he cauſed all the Riches of the late Emperor to be brought into the Hall of the Palace, to which he ſet fire; and then, abandoning the City, marched off with his Troops, and left the *Spaniards* in Poſſeſſion of the Place: But while *Francis Pizarro* and his Officers were thus employed in the Reduction of the ſeveral Provinces of the Empire, they were ſuddenly interrupted by an unexpected Invaſion from their Countrymen in *Mexico*, who, on the Report of the vaſt Wealth obtained by theſe Adventurers, reſolved to come in for a Part. The Story is too remarkable, and too cloſely connected with our Subject, to be intirely neglected, and therefore we ſhall endeavour to give the Subſtance of it in the conciſeſt manner poſſible.

The famous *Peter de Alverado*, of whom we have ſaid ſo much in the foregoing Section, was the Perſon who formed this Project, and the Condition he was in at that time gave him a fair Opportunity of putting it in Execution: He was poſſeſſed of the Province of *Guatimala*, where he fitted out ſeveral Ships, and, to increaſe his Force, he ſeized upon two Veſſels more that were actually fitting out in one of the Ports of *Nicaragua*, for the Service of *Pizarro*; and on board theſe Ships he embarked five hundred Horſe and Foot, as good Troops as any that were at that time in *America*; and with theſe, in the Year 1535, he landed at *Puerto Vejo*, after having endured very great Hardſhips in his Voyage. He found himſelf next obliged to traverſe a rough mountainous Country near the Equator, in which March, if all the *Spaniſh* Writers may be believed, he ſuffered ſtill greater Calamities, and loſt no leſs than ſixty of his Men, by the unexpected Severity of the cold Weather.

However, as he had been very long in the Service, and was accuſtomed to all Sorts of Difficulties and Dangers, he continued to proſecute his Deſign; and arriving in the Neighbourhood of the *Spaniſh* Colony of *St. Michael*, he there refreſhed his Forces, and diſpoſed every thing for continuing his Progreſs into the Heart of that Country; but, in the mean time, *Pizarro* had ſent *Almagro* to reinforce *Belalcazar*, and they had together a conſiderable Body of Troops, with whom they had performed ſome great Exploits againſt the *Indians*; but were now reſolved to act againſt *Alverado*, in caſe he continued obſtinately bent on the Proſecution of his Deſign, and would not return into his own Government. The two *Spaniſh* Armies advanced 'till they came in Sight of each other in the Valley of *Riobamba*, where it was expected a Battle would have enſued; but *Alverado* foreſeeing the Conſequences that muſt attend an Action, let Victory remain on which Side it would, willingly liſtened to a Negotiation, which very ſoon ended in an Agreement between him and *Almagro*, in the Management of which they ſhewed themſelves to be both very able Perſons; for they agreed, that two Treaties ſhould be drawn, one of which only was to be made publick, whereby it was ſtipulated, that both Parties ſhould be at Liberty to proſecute the War againſt the *Indians*, and the Diſcovery of diſtant Countries, with like Freedom, by which *Alverado* ſeemed to carry his Point; and by which he really carried thus much, that he provided for ſuch of his People as deſired to remain in *Peru*, who were put upon the ſame Footing with the Forces of *Pizarro*.

But by the ſecret Treaty he agreed to return into his own Government, and to accept the Sum of one hundred thouſand Peſos in Gold, in conſideration of the Expences he had been at in fitting out his Fleet and Forces; and at the ſame Time he promiſed never to return to *Peru* ſo long as either *Pizarro* or *Almagro* lived: Theſe Treaties thus ſettled, they marched together towards *Cuzco*, the Capital of *Peru*, in order to confirm them with *Pizarro*, and to receive the Money from him. But when *Pizarro* was informed of this Tranſaction, he took a Reſolution of preventing *Alverado*'s Viſit, by going to meet him, becauſe he was a little doubtful whether the Sight of *Cuzco*, and the rich Country about it, might not revive the Ambition of his Competitor, and render him leſs willing to execute his Agreement, of which he very well knew the Value, and therefore highly approved it: But before he could accompliſh his Intention, there happened ſome other Events, which had like to have changed the Face of Affairs, and renewed both the general and civil War, which, however, by his Prudence and Generoſity he prevented.

18. We have before mentioned the generous Manner, in which one of the *Indian* Princes of the Royal Family refuſed to aſſume the ſovereign Dignity, becauſe of Right it belonged to Inca *Manco*; which Prince, notwithſtanding what had befallen *Atabuallpa*, reſolved to go to *Pizarro* to obtain the Ratification of that Treaty, which had been made with his Subjects by the *Spaniſh* Priſoners in the Manner before mentioned; in which he ſucceeded, and lived upon very good Terms with the General. *Quiſquis*, the *Indian* Commander, remained all this Time at the Head of a great Body of Forces, yet declared he was ready to lay down his Arms, and ſubmit, as ſoon as he knew of the Ratification of the Treaty before mentioned. While he waited for this, *Alverado* and *Almagro* came into his Neighbourhood with their Forces, and, knowing nothing of this Negotiation, prepared to attack him; the *Indian* General retired for ſome Time, in hopes they would receive contrary Orders; but when he perceived they continued to advance, he reſolved to venture upon a Battle, in which he was defeated, with great Loſs; which might have renewed the *Indian* War, if the reſt of the Chiefs of that Nation had not been partly ſo frighted by his loſing an Engagement, in which he was greatly ſuperior in Number, that they durſt undertake nothing, and partly ſatisfied from the Aſſurances given them by *Pizarro*, that this Accident ſhould not hinder their having the ſame Terms they were promiſed before.

The rich Booty obtained by this Victory might alſo have renewed the Diſputes amongſt the *Spaniſh* Generals, if *Francis Pizarro* had not reſolved to perform all that *Almagro* had promiſed immediately; and accordingly, leaving *Cuzco* to the Care of the Inca and his Brothers, he ſet out with a Party of Horſe and a Detachment of *Indians*, and arrived at the Valley of *Pacha Camac*, where he met with *Alverado* and *Almagro*; and to ingratiate himſelf with the former, gave him the Command of all the Troops while he remained there, commanding all the Officers to obey Don *Alverado*'s Orders, and acknowledge no other General while he continued in *Peru*; and was ſo much better than his Word, that he paid *Alverado* twenty thouſand Peſos more than he had ſtipulated for the Expences of his Journey, beſides a great Number of Turquoiſes, Emeralds, and Veſſels of Gold, for the General's particular Uſe; whereupon *Alverado* returned to *Mexico*, intirely ſatisfied with his Reception, and the Treaſures he had acquired, eſpecially when he ſaw all the Gentlemen that had accompanied him in his Enterprize well provided for.

This Matter being thus ſettled, *Pizarro*, leaving the Care of the Frontiers to *Almagro*, employed himſelf in building Towns and ſettling Colonies on the Sea Coaſts, particularly *Lima*, which is now the Capital of *Peru*, though this City was originally called the City of the Kings, becauſe the firſt Stone of it was laid upon the Feaſt of the Epiphany in the Year 1534, and was inhabited by *Spaniſh* Gentlemen, who had the *Indians* of the Neighbourhood aſſigned them to do their Drudgery, which they looked upon as a very great Hardſhip, and which was directly contrary to the Inſtructions ſent to the Governors of all the Provinces of the *Weſt-Indies*; though I do not believe, that this was agreeable to the Deſigns of the *Spaniſh* Court. After the General had built the City of *Lima* he advanced a little farther, in order to diſcover the Country effectually, while he laboured to do ſomething of the like kind nearer home. Then he marched ſouthward, and founded another fair City, which from the Place of his Birth he called *Truxillo*, aſſigning his *Spaniards* Lands and People, according to their ſeveral Conditions, as he had done before at *Lima*.

While *Pizarro* remained at his new City of *Truxillo*, Advice came from *Spain* that his Brother *Ferdinand* had, in a great meaſure, ſucceeded in his Negotiation at that Court; for whereas Don *Francis Pizarro* had petitioned his Imperial Majeſty to extend his Government 200 Leagues farther Southward, to grant him the Province of *Atabillios* in *Peru*, with the Revenus thereof, the perpetual Vaſſalage of 20,000 *Indians*, and the Title of Marquis; his Brother wrote Word, that the Emperor had conferred the Title of Marquis of that Province, and enlarged his Government conſiderably to the Southward; but as to the Command he deſired over the *Indians*, he would inform himſelf of the Cuſtoms of that Country, and of what Damage or Prejudice ſuch a Conceſſion might prove, and then he would ſhew him all the Grace and Favour in that Particular that was conſiſtent with Juſtice. And as to *Almagro*, the Title of Marſhal of *Peru* was confirmed to him, and a Government of two hundred Leagues Extent of Country conferred on him, to the Southward of the Country aſſigned to the Marquis *Pizarro*.

Almagro reſiding at the City of *Cuzco* at this Time, and receiving Advice that the Government of the Country which lay South of the Marquis's Government was conferred on him; and obſerving that *Cuzco* was not within the Limits aſſigned to Don *Pizarro*, he immediately took upon him the Title of Governor of *Cuzco*, and the Diſtrict belonging to it, in his own Name, and no more acted in Subordination to the Marquis.

John and *Gonzalo Pizarro*, Brothers to the Marquis, oppoſed this Uſurpation, as they called it; and their Differences roſe to that Height, that they entered into War with *Almagro* at *Cuzco*, and ſeveral were killed on both Sides; of which the Marquis receiving Intelligence, cauſed himſelf to be carried in a Hammock on the Shoulders of *Indians*, who, relieving one another at proper Stages, carried him thither with ſuch Expedition, that he arrived at *Cuzco* before he was expected by either Side; and repreſenting to both Parties, that theſe Feuds would probably end in the Deſtruction of themſelves and their Enterprize, if they were not ſpeedily accommodated, he entered into a Treaty with *Almagro*, for adjuſting all their Differences; and firſt, he obſerved, that *Almagro* was miſtaken in his Opinion, that *Cuzco* was without the Limits of his Juriſdiction, for the Emperor had made him a new Grant of the Country which lay South of that conferred on him by the firſt Grant.

The Marquis alſo ſuggeſted to *Almagro*, that the Country which lay to the Southward of the Diſtrict of *Cuzco*, was richer in Gold and Silver than any that had been yet diſcovered, of which he was contented Don *Almagro* ſhould take the Government upon him, and that he ſhould march at the Head of the beſt Part of their united Forces, and poſſeſs himſelf of it; and, in the mean time, he would apply to the Emperor, to get him confirmed in the Government, to which they gave the Name of *New Toledo*, extending it from the Diſtrict of *Cuzco* to the Country of *Chili*, which lies South of *Peru*. The Marquis alſo ſtipulated, that if the Emperor did not think fit to confer that Government on *Almagro*, he would divide that of *Peru* with him, with which Overture Don *Almagro* and his Party were then well ſatisfied, and immediately made Preparations for an Expedition to the Southward.

About the ſame time another Detachment of *Spaniards* and *Indians* were ſent to reinforce Don *Belalcazar* in *Quito*, to enable him to finiſh the Conqueſt of that Province; and a third Body marched to the North-Eaſt, to reduce ſome Provinces bordering on the Ridge of Mountains called the *Andes*; thus the *Spaniards* ſhewed very plainly what their Deſigns were, and how far it was from their Intentions to perform the Agreement they had made with the *Indians*; yet they endeavoured ſtill to keep fair with theſe People, and to amuſe them with Promiſes, that they might make uſe of their Aſſiſtance in the Performance of ſuch Enterprizes, as very far ſurpaſſed the Strength which they had in this Country.

13. It was in the Year 1535, that *Almagro* reſolved to carry into Execution the Project formed in concert with *Francis Pizarro* for penetrating into *Chili*; and for the facilitating ſo arduous an Enterprize, he demanded the Aſſiſtance of Inca *Manco*, who ſtill confiding in the *Spaniards*, notwithſtanding the Manner in which he had been treated, offered to do for him all that was in his Power: As a Proof of this, he appointed his Brother *Paullu*, with whoſe Character we have before acquainted the Reader, to accompany him in this Expedition, and joined with him the High Prieſt of the *Indians*, called in their Language *Villachumu*, from whence the *Spaniards* found the Word *Villahoma*, which is the Name we find him mentioned by in their Hiſtories. He added, under the Command of theſe Chiefs, 15,000 Men, in hopes, that by rendering them ſo notable a Service, he ſhould prevail upon the *Spaniards*, from Principles of Honour and Gratitude, to fulfil their Treaty towards him. *Almagro*, with this Body of Men, began his March Southwards, and marched as far as the Province called *Charcas*, which he found a very barren and inhoſpitable Country, and therefore ſlighted it, as not worth keeping; but it has ſince proved the moſt valuable of the *Spaniſh* Acquiſitions, ſince therein lies the famous Mountain of *Potoſi*, from whence more Silver has been brought into *Europe*, than from all the other Places in which Mines of that rich Metal had been before diſcovered.

In this Province the Adelantado *Almagro* was informed that there were two Paſſages into *Chili*, both of them attended with Difficulties, though directly oppoſite in their Nature; the one long and tedious, through a ſandy Deſert, where his People would be ſure to feel great Inconveniencies from Heat and Thirſt; the other much ſhorter, but expoſed to ſtill greater Inconveniencies in the Judgments of his Guides, ſince it lay through the Mountains, which were not only exceſſively ſteep and rugged, but covered likewiſe with Snow, which rendered them exceſſively cold and impaſſable, except at one Seaſon of the Year. *Almagro*, conſidering that this was the ſhorter Way, and the Cold, however ſharp, more ſupportable to *European* Conſtitutions than exceſſive Heat, reſolved to take this Route, notwithſtanding all that the *Indians* could ſay to diſſuade him from it. In their Paſſage they found the Cold ſo exceſſive, that it coſt the Lives of ten thouſand *Indians*, and one hundred and fifty *Spaniards*, excluſive of ſuch as eſcaped with the Loſs of their Fingers and Toes.

They likewiſe loſt all, or the greateſt Part of their Baggage, but at length they came down into the Plains, where ſuch of the Inhabitants as had formerly obeyed the Incas, ſubmitted to the *Spaniards*, out of reſpect to *Paullu* and the High Prieſt, but thoſe who had hitherto remained free, determined to continue ſo; and it was not till long after, and in conſequence of many bloody Wars, that they were reduced under the *Spaniſh* Yoke. But while *Almagro* was thus employed, all Things fell again into Confuſion in *Peru*.

Francis Pizarro, finding the Inca *Manco* a little impatient under the bad Uſage he had received, thought proper to deliver himſelf from his Remonſtrances, by ſhutting him up in Priſon, which was ſo far from frighting him into a tame Submiſſion, that it induced him to undertake what he was ſuſpected of before he was impriſoned. But as it was impoſſible for him to execute his Deſign of raiſing the whole *Indian* Nation, unleſs he was at liberty, he contrived a Method to get out of Priſon, which was ſingular enough. He applied himſelf to *Ferdinand Pizarro*, now returned from *Spain*, a Perſon of great Generoſity, and who bore much Affection to the *Indians*, deſiring his Leave to go to a ſolemn Feaſt, and promiſing to bring him, at his Return, his Father's Statue, which was all of ſolid Gold.

In the mean time, the *Indians* that were with *Almagro* grew diſcontented at the ill Uſage they ſuffered, and complained to one another of the Barbarity of the *Spaniards*; and in theſe Conferences, none had a greater Share than the Interpreter *Philippillo*, who at laſt engaged in a Plot againſt *Almagro*'s Life; but, being no leſs a Coward than a Villain, when he reflected on the Danger to which he was expoſed, he endeavoured to ſecure himſelf by Flight. He was ſoon retaken, and then he attempted to inform againſt the Inca *Paullu*; but, being put to the Torture, he confeſſed that to be a Lie, and owned likewiſe, that by falſe Suggeſtions he had procured the Death of *Atahuallpa*, for all which he ſuffered a moſt cruel Death, as he well deſerved. In order, however, to underſtand this Matter clearly, it is very requiſite the Reader ſhould know the Nature of this Plot or Conſpiracy againſt the *Spaniards*, which, in Fact, was this: The Inca *Manco* had now not only loſt all Confidence in the *Spaniards*, but was likewiſe ſo ſenſible of the Injuries he received, and of the little Hopes there were of ever being better treated by theſe haughty People, that he determined to try what could be done by Force; and as he was ſatisfied that his Subjects were as brave and as faithful as the *Spaniards*, he judged it better to rely upon the Juſtice of his Cauſe, and the Aſſiſtance of his People, than upon the Promiſes of thoſe who had ſo baſely broke their Words to his Brother, and had never kept the Conditions they made with him.

His Feaſt, to which he went with the Leave of *Ferdinand Pizarro*, was in reality a kind of Aſſembly of the States of *Peru*, in which it was debated how the Strength of the whole Empire might be the ſooneſt raiſed, and the moſt effectually employed; this Queſtion was ſoon reſolved, for every one of the *Indian* Chiefs undertook to raiſe their Troops in an Inſtant, and indeed they were very ſoon as good as their Words, ſo that the Inca was able to take the Field at once, with three conſiderable Armies. He took the Caſtle of *Cuzco*, and cloſely blocked up the City with the firſt; the ſecond marched againſt the General *Francis Pizarro*, who lay in the

City of *Lima* with a good Body of Troops; and the third was intended to act againſt *Almagro*, of which Notice was ſent to the High Prieſt, who took Meaſures for making his Eſcape, in which he was ſo lucky as to ſucceed; and for his Concern in theſe, the *Spaniſh* Interpreter was put to Death.

The Inca *Paullu* had alſo Notice given him of the Situation his Brother's Affairs were in, and what was expected from him towards putting them in a better Condition; but he rejected theſe Propoſitions totally, and declared, that he would never break his Faith to the *Spaniards*; which Secret the Interpreter having diſcloſed with his laſt Breath, *Almagro* declared *Paullu* Emperor; and though he refuſed that Title before, yet, for the Sake of Safety, and that his Nation might not want a Protector, he now ſuffered it to be given him. Theſe Misfortunes engaged *Almagro* to haſten out of *Chili* with the *Spaniards* under his Command, notwithſtanding that he had received ſome Reinforcements; and this March was not performed without conſiderable Loſs, notwithſtanding he took the other Road, to avoid the Inconveniencies he had met with in entering this Country: But as in his firſt March he ſuffered by Cold, ſo in the ſecond his Army endured all the Miſeries of exceſſive Heat and Thirſt, notwithſtanding all the Pains and Precautions that could be taken to avoid them; but, however, their Loſs was not ſo great as before, and he returned into *Peru* with a better Army than was left in it.

20. The Affairs of that Country were now in a dreadful Situation, and grew daily worſe and worſe, a double Civil War breaking out in its Bowels. The Inca *Manco* ſtill continued to beſiege *Cuzco* with an Army of two hundred thouſand Men; the *Spaniards* in the Place were but ſeventy, yet having ſome Horſe, and a good Train of Artillery, they vigorouſly defended the Place, and, which is ſtill more wonderful, they made ſeveral Sallies, with great Succeſs, in one of which *John Pizarro* loſt his Life: As for the General, he ſent from *Lima* four ſeveral Detachments, amounting in the whole to near three hundred Horſe, under the Command of four experienced Generals, who were notwithſtanding ſo unlucky as to loſe themſelves, and their reſpective Parties, under their Orders. This not only troubled but weakened the Governor at *Lima* to ſuch a Degree, that he was obliged to call in all his Garriſons; and even then had been too weak to have done any thing conſiderable, if he had not declared all the *Indian* Vaſſals and Slaves free, who would ſerve the *Spadiards* againſt their Maſters and Countrymen, which had a very good Effect, and put him very ſoon in a Condition to raiſe both the Sieges of *Cuzco* and *Lima*; and this was the firſt Civil War wherein the Natives of *Peru* ſerved againſt each other.

It was followed by another between the *Spaniards*, who one would have thought ſhould have choſe any other Time rather than this to have quarrelled amongſt themſelves. But *Almagro* finding himſelf at the Head of ſo powerful a Body of Troops, reſolved to renew his old Claim to *Cuzco*; and, in caſe he could make himſelf Maſter of that City, determined to make it the Seat of his Government, and in this Diſpoſition marched directly towards it. The Inca *Manco*, about this Time, took a very ſurpriſing Step; for he reſolved to diſband his Army, and return to the Mountains. All his chief Officers endeavoured to diſſuade him, by repreſenting, that, as the *Spaniards* were quarrelling amongſt themſelves, he had now the faireſt Opportunity of recovering his Dominions; to which he anſwered, that while he kept the Field, the *Spaniards* would undoubtedly endeavour to compromiſe their Differences; but if he withdrew, as he deſigned and intended, what they ſuggeſted might very well come to paſs, and that then it would be time enough to think of proper Meaſures for renewing the War, to which they aſſented, and the *Indian* Armies accordingly diſperſed.

Almagro being arrived before the Walls of *Cuzco*, and finding the *Indians* drawn off, ſent a Summons to Don *Ferdinand Pizarro*, the *Spaniſh* Governor, to deliver up that Capital to him; but he anſwered, he held that City by a Commiſſion from the Marquis, and ſhould not deliver it up without his Orders, eſpecially as he knew it to be within the Limits of his Brother's Government, and immediately proceeded to put the Place in a Poſture of Defence; but Part of the Garriſon being Friends to *Almagro*, and holding a Correſpondence with him, introduced his Forces into the Town at Midnight; and *Ferdinand* and *Gonzalo Pizarro* were ſurprized in their Beds, and made Priſoners, by which *Almagro* became poſſeſſed of *Cuzco*, with little or no Bloodſhed, and moſt of the Troops which had ſerved the *Pizarro's* entered into his Pay. In the mean time, the Marquis *Pizarro*, hearing no News from his Brothers at *Cuzco*, and concluding all the Parties he had ſent thither to reinforce them had been cut off by the *Indians*, determined to ſend ſuch a Body of Troops thither as ſhould be able to force their Way againſt all the Oppoſition the *Indians* could make; and having aſſembled five hundred *Spaniſh* Horſe and Foot, gave the Command of them to Don *Alonſo de Alverado*, with Orders to march with all Expedition. *Peter de Lerma* was alſo ordered to march with his Detachment, as Captain of a Troop of Horſe, though he was an older Officer than *Alverado*, and had done great Service in thoſe Wars, which ſo diſguſted *de Lerma*, that from this Time he meditated the Ruin of the Enterprize.

Alverado continuing his March with the utmoſt Diligence, moſt of the *Indians* that were preſſed to carry his Baggage amounting to upwards of five Thouſand, periſhed in the firſt Part of the Journey by the intolerable Fatigue, being loaden and driven beyond their Strength, inſomuch that he was forced to halt till he could preſs ſome Thouſands more of the *Indians*, to ſupply the Places of thoſe he had loſt. *Almagro* receiving Intelligence at *Cuzco*, that Don *Alonſo Alverado* was advancing, ſent ſome *Spaniards* of Quality to him, to repreſent that *Cuzco* belonged to his Government, according to the Diviſion the Emperor had made of *Peru*, between him and the Marquis *Pizarro*; and therefore adviſed him to retire to *Lima* again, till he and the Marquis ſhould adjuſt the Limits of their Governments; but *Alverado*, not entertaining any ſuch Thoughts, made all the Gentlemen Priſoners who were ſent to treat with him; whereupon *Almagro* took the Field, conſtituting *Orgonez* his Lieutenant-General, and having made a Party of *Alverado*'s Horſe Priſoners, underſtood by them, that great Part of his Troops were better affected to him than they were to the *Pizarro's*, particularly *Peter de Lerma*, who, with a great many of his Friends, would deſert *Alverado* the firſt Opportunity.

He advanced therefore as far as the Bridge of *Abancay*, on the other Side whereof *Alverado* lay encamped; ſo that there was nothing but a ſmall River that parted their Forces: They remained quiet, however, without endeavouring to attack each other all Day; but in the Night *Orgonez*, fording the River at the Head of *Almagro*'s Horſe, put *Alverado*'s Forces into great Confuſion, and giving *Peter Lerma*, and the reſt of their Friends, by this means, an Opportunity to join them, *Almagro* gained an eaſy Victory, with very little Bloodſhed, making Don *Alonſo* his Priſoner, with whom he returned in Triumph to *Cuzco*, on the 20th of *July*, 1537. Some of the principal Commanders adviſed the Conqueror to ſecure his Peace for the future, by putting the *Pizarro's* to Death, and then march with his victorious Army againſt *Lima*, which, however, he refuſed to do; alledging, that it was a Shame for a Gentleman and a Soldier to put People to Death in cold Blood, and that by attacking *Francis Pizarro* in the City of *Lima*, he ſhould plainly become a Rebel to the Emperor; ſince he neither had, nor pretended to have, any Claim upon that Part of the Country: He held, however, that nothing could be more juſt or reaſonable, than that he ſhould march towards the Sea-ſide, to eſtabliſh there a Colony, that might maintain his Correſpondence with the other *Spaniſh* Settlements, that from them he might from time to time draw Recruits.

He began to move very ſoon from *Cuzco* towards the Coaſt, that he might execute his Deſign of ſecuring a Port before the Marquis could have any Intelligence, or, at leaſt, be able to collect a Force ſufficient to withſtand him. In this, however, he failed, though by an unforeſeen Accident; for the Marquis, not hearing from *Alonſo Alverado*, began to apprehend that the *Indians* had blocked him up in the Mountains; and, therefore, collecting his whole Force, which did not much exceed four hundred Men, he marched with them towards *Cuzco*; but on the Road he received full Intelligence of all that had happened, and that *Almagro* was in the Field, carrying with him his Brother *Ferdinand Pizarro* as his Priſoner, but that his other Brother, *Gonzalo*, was left with *Alverado* Priſoner at *Cuzco*.

This gave the Marquis great Uneaſineſs, becauſe of the ſmall Force he had with him; ſo that he plainly ſaw himſelf at the Mercy of his Enemy, who, by advancing to *Lima*, might have carried all before him: However, he behaved himſelf with great Prudence and Dexterity in this Time of Diſtreſs; for marching directly back to *Lima*, he began there to recruit his Forces; and in the mean time ſent Commiſſioners to amuſe *Almagro* with a Treaty, offering to compromiſe Matters with him, upon ſuch Terms as he ſhould think reaſonable; tho' this was done only to prevent his attacking him before he was prepared. In the mean time, *Gonzalo Pizarro* and *Alverado* made their Eſcape from *Cuzco*, with about one hundred *Spaniards* of their Party; and not long after a new Treaty was ſet on foot, in Appearance, for ſettling the Differences between theſe two great Generals; but, in reality, with a View to engage *Almagro* to ſet *Ferdinand Pizarro* at Liberty, which was become the more neceſſary, becauſe *Almagro*'s chief Officers preſſed him daily to put that Man to death. The Method taken by the Marquis to procure his Liberty was as ſingular as it was ſucceſsful.

He ſent to *Almagro*, to let him know that if he perſiſted in carrying Arms in that Country, which plainly belonged to him by the Emperor's Grant, he would find the other *Spaniſh* Settlements would conſider him as a Rebel; but that, if he meant no more than to obtain Juſtice to himſelf, and pay due Obedience to the Laws, he was content that Things ſhould remain as they were, till ſuch time as the Emperor ſhould decide them, and would likewiſe provide *Almagro* with a Ship, to carry his Agents wherever he thought fit, provided his Brother Don *Ferdinand* was immediately ſet at Liberty. *Almagro* readily accepted this Propoſal, and, to his own great Prejudice, reſtored Freedom to *Ferdinand Pizarro*; after which the Marquis did not ſhew himſelf very ready to comply with this Treaty; but, on the contrary, put his Brother at the Head of all his own Forces, joined to a great Succour he had a little before received from *Panama*, and the other *Spaniſh* Settlements.

21. *Almagro* ſaw too late the Error that he had committed, and how difficult a thing it would be to repair it: He gave Orders, however, for fortifying *Cuzco*, and taking all poſſible Precautions to cover himſelf from the ambitious Deſigns of the Marquis. In this he ſucceeded in ſome meaſure; for he got back to *Cuzco* before *Ferdinand* and *Gonzalo*, the Marquis's Brothers, could reach that City, with the Forces the Marquis intended ſhould beſiege it. But here again, the Cautions of *Almagro* proved fatal to him; for tho' he had it in his Power to have ſtarved and deſtroyed his Enemies in the Mountains, yet he neglected it, either from an Unwillingneſs to hurt his Countrymen, or from a Confidence in his own Force; neither was he leſs to blame, when thoſe Commanders, at the Head of ſeven hundred Horſe and Foot, inveſted the City of *Cuzco*; for, as the Place was ſtrong, and the Garriſon very numerous, he muſt have deſtroyed the Enemy, if he had contented himſelf with acting upon the defenſive; but this he ſcorned to do, as looking upon it beneath his former Actions, and therefore he marched out with all his Troops to the *Salinas*, or Salt Mines, with a full Reſolution to give the Enemy Battle, ſuppoſing that their Army had been new raiſed Men, and conſequently much inferior to his own, in point both of Courage and Diſcipline; but here once more he was miſtaken, the Enemy proving ſuperior to his Troops in all reſpects; for, firſt, they had the Advantage in Numbers; in the next place, they were better armed, being for the moſt part Muſketeers; whereas *Almagro*'s Men had only Croſs-bows and Swords; and laſtly, inſtead of being raw, new raiſed Soldiers, they were regular Troops that had ſerved in *Flanders*.

The Battle, however, was extremely bloody and obſtinate; but, in the End, *Almagro* was totally defeated, moſt of his Captains killed, and himſelf, who was ſo weak that he was carried into the Field in a Litter, obliged to take Shelter with a Handful of Men he had left in the Caſtle of *Cuzco*; which he could not keep long, but was obliged to ſurrender at Diſcretion, which he did the rather, becauſe he hoped that *Ferdinand Pizarro* would return the Kindneſs he had ſhewed him when ſo long a Priſoner in his Hands. In this too he was greatly miſtaken; for tho' he was upwards of ſeventy Years of Age, and withal very infirm, yet *Ferdinand Pizarro*, knowing his great Courage, and the many Friends he had in the Army, was exceſſively afraid of him, and therefore confined him cloſely, and ſuffered none of the Officers to viſit him.

He likewiſe took care to ſend away moſt of the other Priſoners to *Lima*, and diſpatched on different Expeditions ſuch of his own Officers as expreſſed any kind of Tenderneſs or Concern for *Almagro*. After he had remained Priſoner ſome Months in *Cuzco*, the Lawyers were employed to draw up Articles againſt the old General; the principal whereof were, That he had ſeized on *Cuzco* by Force; that he had entered into a ſecret Treaty with the Inca; that he had encroached on the Government granted to the Marquis, and fought two Battles with the Emperor's Forces under the Command of the Marquis, the one at the Bridge of *Aboncay*, and the other at the *Salinas*: And, his Enemies ſitting in Judgment on him, he was capitally convicted, and condemned to die, though he appealed to the Emperor, and applied in very moving Terms to *Ferdinand Pizarro* to ſave his Life: He bid him remember that he had ſpared his Life, and even refuſed to put to death any of his Relations, on account of the Friendſhip he bore him and the Marquis; that he would do well alſo to remember how inſtrumental he had been in enabling his Brother to make thoſe Conqueſts, and raiſing him to the Honours he poſſeſſed; deſired the *Pizarros* would conſider he was an old gouty Man, who could not live many Years, and ſuffer him therefore, after the innumerable Hardſhips he had ſuſtained, to die a natural Death. But they, looking upon their old Companion and Fellow-Soldier as the only Obſtacle to their Glory and Ambition, and believing by his Death they ſhould obtain the ſole Dominion of *Peru* without a Rival, were deaf to his Intreaties; and having ordered him to be ſtrangled privately in Priſon, they afterwards ordered his Head to be cut off on a Scaffold in the great Square of *Cuzco*.

His Body lay all Day expoſed, almoſt naked, on the Scaffold, his Friends not daring to bury him, leſt they ſhould incur the Diſpleaſure of the mercileſs *Ferdinand Pizarro*, and his Enemies not thinking it worth while to give themſelves any Trouble about his Funeral: But towards the Evening a poor Negro, who had been a Slave to the Deceaſed, brought a coarſe Sheet, and with the Help he had of ſome *Indians*, who had been Servants likewiſe to that General, wrapped up the Corpſe, and carried it to a Church, where the Friars buried it under the high Altar.

As the Deſign of this Work is to give the *Engliſh* Reader a full and fair View of the Tranſactions of theſe Conquerors in *America*, together with juſt Characters of thoſe Heroes who were at the Head of their Armies, it is requiſite to ſubjoin to this Account a true Picture of this unfortunate Commander: *James Almagro* was of low Stature, but well ſet and ſtrong; his Enemies ſaid he was of mean Parentage, which might be Matter of Fact, and yet it was more than they knew, or could know, ſince he was found in the Streets, and, being never owned by any body, went by the Name of the Town in which he was found. His Education was of a piece with his Birth; that is to ſay, we find it very uncertain what it was, or where he received it: He became a Soldier almoſt as ſoon as he became a Man, and his Behaviour was ſuch that he forced a Paſſage even to ſuperior Commands: He was truly brave, without valuing himſelf much upon it: He had a wonderful Preſence of Mind, ſo that no Danger could diſconcert him; he had ſo much Fortitude, that no Difficulties could diſcourage him. He was very kind to his Soldiers, liberal in Rewards, ſlow, and not ſevere, in Puniſhments; yet he maintained a very ſtrict Diſcipline, merely from the Force of his Example; for he was very exact in doing his own Duty; and, though he kept a good Table for his Officers, he fared himſelf as hard as any private Man in the Army; and when ſome ſpake of this as an Affectation, he ſaid Monks were preſcribed to by their Rules, ſick Men by their Phyſicians, and that his was the Diet of a Soldier. He was very loyal to his Prince, merciful to the *Spaniards*, generous in the higheſt Degree, and knew not what it was to frame a baſe Deſign; but, with all this, he was haughty and ambitious, very cruel at firſt to the *Indians*; but living ſome time with an *Indian* Woman, by whom he had his Son *James*, he grew firſt mild, and at laſt ſo kind to them, that they loved him better than any other *Spaniard*.

Ferdinand Pizarro, after his Death, went over to *Spain*, to juſtify it; but, though he corrupted moſt of the Miniſters, he had much ado to avoid paying for it with his Life; for *James Alverado*, who was Guardian to the young *Almagro*, proſecuted him ſo ſteadily, that it is thought he took him off by Poiſon, notwithſtanding which he ſuffered an Impriſonment of three and twenty Years, which afforded him Time for true Repentance.

22. The Death of *Almagro*, though covered with all the Appearances of Juſtice, was extremely reſented by the *Spaniards*; and, inſtead of extinguiſhing, as was expected, increaſed his Faction; which ſhews, that Cruelty, or even Severity, is far from being the beſt Remedy for civil Diſſentions, which it often irritates, and ſeldom cures: But this was not the only Miſchief that followed this Action. The Loſs of ſo able a Commander proved a great Prejudice to their Affairs, retarded their Diſcoveries, and gave a Check to their Conqueſts; and this, not only by hindering their Proceedings, and diverting them from compleating what he had begun, but by raiſing them up new Enemies. For thereupon the *Indians*, obſerving the Diviſions among the *Spaniſh* Generals, had recourſe to Arms again; and though the *Spaniards* in *Peru* amounted to two thouſand and upwards, they found it more difficult to maintain their Ground at this time, than at firſt, when not four hundred Men; for the Terror the *Indians* were under from the Fire-Arms and Horſes, which they had never ſeen before, was in a great meaſure worn off, and they had learned of the *Spaniards* how to ride and handle their Arms; and, having taken ſome Horſes, were not afraid to fight the *Spaniards* at their own Weapons, nor did there want Inſtances of ſome Parties being defeated by them; and had not the *Indian* Slaves and Vaſſals ſtuck cloſe to the *Spaniards*, diſcovered the Paſſes and Places of Strength, and from time to time brought them both Proviſions and Intelligence, probably *Pizarro* had been obliged to have abandoned his Conqueſts at laſt.

The moſt conſiderrble Acquiſition made after the Death of *Almagro*, was the Conqueſt of the *Charcas*, in which lay the invaluable Mines of *Potoſi*; whoſe Treaſures drew ſuch Multitudes of Adventurers thither, that the *Indians* of that Province were compelled at length to ſubmit, and become Slaves to the *Spaniards*. But they were not ſo ſucceſsful in *Chili*; that brave People diſputed the Ground with the *Spaniards* by Inches, nor could they ever make themſelves entirely Maſters of it. And even in the Province of *Los Charcas*, *Gonzalo Pizarro*, and his Forces, were ſo ſurrounded and diſtreſſed by the *Indians*, that the Marquis was forced to march in Perſon, with the Garriſon of *Cuzco*, to his Relief. The Conqueſt of *Los Charcas* being finiſhed, the Marquis founded the Town of *La Plata*, ſo named from the Silver Mines, and divided the City and the Country about it, with the *Indians* that inhabited it, amongſt the Conquerors: To his Brother *Ferdinand Pizarro*, who was then in *Spain*, he allotted a very large Share; and to his Brother *Gonzalo* another Part of the Country, in which, ſome time after, the Silver Mines of *Potoſi* were diſcovered. *Ferdinand Pizarro* alſo had a Share in theſe Mines, as a Citizen of *La Plata*. And a particular Part of it being aſſigned to his Officers, they diſcovered ſo rich a Vein, that 'tis ſaid they digged from it the fineſt Silver, without any Alloy.

This Diviſion of the Country was made in the Year 1538, and 1539; and now the Marquis found himſelf poſſeſſed of a Territory ſeven or eight hundred Leagues in Length, *viz.* from the Equinoctial to the South Part of *Los Charcas*, in which were more rich Mines than in all the World beſides; and yet was not his Ambition or Avarice ſatisfied, but in an extreme old Age he employed his Brother *Gonzalo* in the Conqueſt of other Nations. This Gentleman, who had all the Qualities of a great Commander, was at this time Governor of *Quito*; and the Method he took for Diſcovery, was to ſtrike off to the Eaſtward, that they might know ſomething of the Breadth of *America*; but his Endeavours were obſtructed by very great Difficulties, under which he had like to have periſhed; but one of his Captains, whoſe Name was *Oreallana*, by his Direction ſailed down the great River of the *Amazons*, quite to the Mouth of it, and from thence returned to the *Spaniſh* Settlements on the other Side of the Continent of *America*; which, conſidering the Time at which it was performed, muſt be acknowledged as great and ſurpriſing as any of the *Spaniſh* Enterprizes in the new World, and opened a Way to the Diſcovery of Countries as rich and valuable as any that had been yet found.

As for the Marquis *Pizarro*, after he had diſpatched his Brother *Ferdinand* to *Spain*, and employed his Brother *Gonzalo* in the manner before mentioned, he applied himſelf ſolely to ſecuring and eſtabliſhing his Authority; in order to which he thought it neceſſary to continue thoſe Severities which had been uſed againſt the Party of *Almagro*, and even to increaſe them; for he not only diſcharged many, and diſcouraged all the Officers that had been attached to the old Marſhal, but likewiſe reſtrained them from going home to *Spain* on any Pretence whatever; and at laſt, ſeeing them reduced to live upon the Alms of ſuch of their Countrymen as were more in his Favour, he reſolved to deprive them even of this pitiful Subſiſtance; and with this View he publiſhed an Edict, forbiding any to relieve them; which threw thoſe unhappy Perſons into Deſpair, and him into greater Danger from their Diſtreſs, than he could ever reaſonably have feared from their Power.

For after the Publication of this Edict they grew wild and deſperate; and ſeeing no End to their Miſeries, but by diſpatching themſelves or the Marquis, or by a general Inſurrection, they reſolved upon this laſt, and attempted it in this Manner:

The braveſt of the *Almagrians*, ſingly, or two or three at a time, reſorted privately to the capital City of *Lima*, where they did not want Friends, who concealed them in their Houſes, till they found they amounted to two or three hundred Men, all hardy Veterans, and ſeveral experienced Officers amongſt them, who reſolved to attack the Marquis as he went to the great Church on Midſummer-day, 1541; but he, having ſome Intelligence of the Deſign, did not go out of his Palace that Day; and the Conſpirators, upon this Diſappointment, had reſolved to wait for the Arrival of *Vaca de Caſtro*, whom they underſtood the Emperor had ſent over. But being informed that their Plot was diſcovered, and they were in Danger of being ſacrificed to the Fury of the Marquis, if they did not prevent it by ſome bold Attempt, twelve of them met at the Houſe of young *Almagro*, which ſtood on the Side of the great Square in *Lima*, on *Sunday* the 26th of *June*, at Noon, and, with their Swords drawn, marched croſs the Market-Place to the Palace of the Marquis, crying out "Long live the King, but let the Tyrant die." Nor were they oppoſed by any, though there were not leſs than a thouſand People aſſembled in the Square; nay, not a Man ſtirred to give the Marquis Intelligence of it; inſomuch that the Conſpirators found the Gates of the Palace, and all the Doors, open; and the firſt Notice the Marquis had of their Approach was by one of his Pages, after they had entered the Houſe;

whereupon he ordered ſome Doors to be ſhut, imagining he ſhould be able to defend himſelf till Aſſiſtance came in.

But *Francis de Chaves*, who was then with the Marquis, neglecting to faſten the Door, and believing it had been ſome ordinary Tumult, that would have been eaſily ſuppreſſed by his Preſence, went out, and, meeting the Conſpirators upon the great Stair-caſe, demanded the Reaſon of that Inſolence, which they anſwered only by ſeveral mortal Wounds they gave him; and ruſhing forward, the Servants, and all the Company that were with the Marquis, fled, except his Brother-in-law, *Don Francis de Alcantara*, and two of his Pages, who defended the Doorway of the Drawing-room, whither the Marquis was retired for ſome time. But at length, the Conſpirators broke through, and killed the Marquis and his Brother, and the two Pages, who behaved themſelves, however, very bravely, and deſperately wounded four of the *Almagrians* before they fell.

Then the Conſpirators went into the Market-place again, declared the Tyrant was dead, and proclaimed the young *Almagro* Governor of *Peru*; for all the *Almagrians* immediately aſſembled, when the twelve attacked the Marquis in his Palace, ſecuring his Guards, and preventing any Aſſiſtance coming to him. They alſo ſecured all the Horſes and Arms in the City, and commanded all the Inhabitants that refuſed to join, not to ſtir out of their Houſes without leave. They alſo plundered the Houſes of the Marquis, of his Brother *Francis de Alcantara*, of his Secretary *Pizarro*, and ſome other of the principal *Pizarriſts*, wherein they found an immenſe Treaſure. In the Marquis's Palace alone, 'tis ſaid they found to the Value of one Million of Crowns in Gold and Silver, but did not meddle with the Furniture, leaving it ſtanding, for the uſe of the young *Almagro*, whom they had carried thither, after they had proclaimed him their Governor. Thus fell Don *Francis Pizarro*, in the capital City of *Lima*, which he had founded ten or eleven Years before, and was privately buried by his Servants, by the young *Almagro*'s Permiſſion; no Perſon of any Figure daring at this Juncture to attend his Funeral, leſt it ſhould give Offence to the prevailing Party.

His Fate was very like that of his unfortunate Aſſociate, *Almagro*. He died a violent Death like him; like him was a Victim to Ambition; and like him went to the Grave in Obſcurity, after a Life of Splendor! The Marquis *Pizarro* was never married, but had ſeveral *Indian* Concubines, ſome of them Daughters and Siſters of the Incas. He was undoubtedly brave, prudent, endowed with public Spirit, and had almoſt all the Qualities that are thought neceſſary in a great Man, together with that eſſential Ingredient, a blind and boundleſs Ambition; which alone rendered him dangerous to others, and thereby made the Reſentment of others fatal to him: For few fall by the Sword who know how to forgive.

23. As ſoon as it was publicly known that the Marquis *Pizarro* was dead, *Lima*, *Cuzco*, and moſt of the principal Towns, declared for Don *Diego de Almagro*, the natural Son of old *Almagro*. Some Places, however, refuſed to acknowledge *Almagro*'s Authority, but expected the coming of *Vaca de Caſtro*, with the Emperor's Commiſſion, in which they were encouraged by *Pedro Holguin*, and ſeveral other Generals and Officers; who aſſembled a good Body of Troops, and took Poſſeſſion of *Cuzco* again, which they gave out they would hold for the Emperor, and declared War againſt *Almagro*. *Alonſo de Alverado* aſſembled another Body of Troops, between *Lima* and *Quito*, and declared alſo for the Emperor; and theſe two Generals preparing to unite their Forces, *Almagro* marched out of *Lima*, at the Head of ſix Hundred Horſe and Foot, towards *Cuzco*, with an Intent to retake the Place, or give Battle to *Pedro Holguin*, before he ſhould be joined by *Alonſo de Alverado*.

This new Governor *de Caſtro* was, in all Reſpects, a very ſingular Perſon. He was a Gentleman by Birth, and by Profeſſion a Laywer; but it is ſaid he made no great Figure in that Profeſſion, on account of the great Strictneſs of his Notions as to Juſtice, which would not allow him him to undertake any thing that was not perfectly right, or to take any Steps in favour even of a good Cauſe, which were not ſtrictly juſt, as well as legal. The Emperor, being informed of this Man's Abilities, reſolved, without conſulting his Miniſters, to make uſe of them in a Manner much ſuperior to their Owner's Expectations. I will free, ſaid he, the Bar from this ſtrange Fellow, and ſee what his Probity will be able to do in the *Indies*. He came without Money or Forces, but, by the Accident before-mentioned, found two Armies ready to receive him; upon which he went directly to *Lima*, where he cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed Governor of *Peru*; but ſuch a Governor *America* had never ſeen before. He ſhewed himſelf an abſolute Stoic; he threatened no body, he flattered no body; he acted like a Governor, but he lived like a private Perſon: He ſhewed no Reſpect to Perſons, nor made any Diſtinction between *Indians* and *Spaniards*.

The People were amazed at firſt, but in a few Weeks he was obeyed with that Submiſſion no Tyrant ever exacted, merely becauſe the People ſaw he meant nothing but their Good. He marched againſt young *Almagro*, in *September*, 1542, with a very powerful Army; upon which that young Gentleman ſent two Deputies, to treat of a Peace, and to propoſe various Things in his Name; ſeveral of his Officers writing to the Governor on his Behalf and their own, repreſenting that they had been always good Subjects, and were deſirous of continuing ſo; that they were driven into their preſent Condition by the Cruelties of the Marquis, and that they were willing to ſubmit upon reaſonable Conditions. The Governor would never talk upon the Subject; he ſaid he had all the Authority from the Emperor that Prince could give, that he had done no body any Hurt by virtue of that Authority; but had done, and would do, all the Good he could. He ſaid farther, that ſuch as obeyed him were the Emperor's good Subjects, to whom he would behave as their Governor; that for ſuch as acted otherwiſe, they were Rebels, who, in time, would find a Judge that would never depart from the Letter of the Law, but would puniſh as that directed him to do; for, though as a Man he was compaſſionate, yet, as an Officer of Juſtice, he knew not what Pity was.

The Report of the Governor's Conduct was far enough from giving Satisfaction to young *Almagro*, and thoſe about him; therefore Orders were ſent to his Deputies to make ſtill greater Offers, in caſe *Almagro* might be ſuffered to reſide at *Cuzco*, and to enjoy his Father's Government without Moleſtation, till the Emperor ſhould decide this great Controverſy, having already all the neceſſary Lights given him by the Agents on both Sides, by *James Alverado* and *Ferdinand Pizarro*, from whom News was ſuddenly expected, which might prevent the Effuſion of *Spaniſh* and Chriſtian Blood: But *Vaca de Caſtro*, inſtead of treating with *Almagro*, endeavoured to gain his Officers, and induce them to deſert him; which *Almagro* diſcovering, both Parties prepared for Battle, and drew up their Troops in the Vale of *Chupas*. Theſe little Armies were both compoſed of Veteran Officers and Soldiers. The Governor had the Advantage in point of Numbers, his Troops conſiſting of ſeven hundred *Spaniards*, beſides *Indians*, and *Almagro*'s of five hundred *Spaniards*; but then the latter had the Advantage of a Train of Artillery, and of good Ground, and would probably have gained the Victory, if all his Officers had been true to him; for his Artillery was ſo pointed, that the Enemy could not approach his Camp on any Side, without conſiderable Loſs. However, to his Amazement, when the Cannon were fired, they did no manner of Execution, and the Enemy advanced as if they had nothing to fear from the Artillery: Whereupon *Almagro* made up to *Pedro de Candia*, who commanded the great Guns, and, ſuſpecting Treachery, killed him with his own Hands, and levelling one of the Cannon himſelf, cut off a whole Rank of the Governor's Troops, putting the Army in Diſorder.

But the Enemy were now advanced too near his Train of Artillery to ſuffer from them, and his Men had quitted the Ground, where they were ſo advantageouſly drawn up to meet the Enemy, which occaſioned the Loſs of the Battle, though it was fought with great Obſtinacy, till two Hours within dark, when *Almagro*, finding his Troops overpowered, retired out of the Field with *Manco* Inca, and three or four *Spaniſh* Officers, intending to have taken Refuge in the Mountains with the Inca and his *Indians*, till he ſhould meet with a favourable Opportunity of recovering his Government; but taking *Cuzco* in his Way, with a Deſign of carrying off his Treaſure, and ſuch of his Effects as would have been moſt uſeful to him in his Exile, the very Men in whoſe Hands *Almagro* had put the Government of the City, hearing he had loſt the Battle, apprehended him, and delivered him up to the victorious Governor, to make their own Peace with him; and young *Almagro*, who was not much above twenty Years of Age, was formally tried, condemned, and executed in the ſame Place, and much in the ſame Manner, as his Father had been, and was afterwards buried by ſome Friars of the Convent of *Merced*, in the ſame Grave with his Father, having obtained a much greater Fame for his Humanity, Parts, and Education, tho' his Conduct and Experience in War could not be ſuppoſed equal to his Father's; and indeed it was unfortunate he was ſo young and unexperienced, and conſequently had ſo little Influence and Command of his Troops, every Officer almoſt imagining he merited the chief Command in the Army, and that *Almagro* was infinitely obliged to him for taking his Part, while others were contriving to purchaſe their own Peace by betraying their General. They had but very indifferent Succeſs, however, from the Practice of theſe baſe Meaſures; for the Governor proved as inexorable as he profeſſed himſelf; and as he gave no Quarter in the Field of Battle, ſo he did not think the taking off *Almagro*'s Head a ſufficient Atonement for his Rebellion and its Conſequences; but, on the contrary, cauſed ſuch as had been his principal Counſellors to be apprehended, tried, and put to death without Mercy, by which Means he totally extinguiſhed not only the Rebellion, but the Faction that had raiſed it.

Yet there was no Suſpicion that he mingled any thing of private Malice, or particular Reſentment, with his Zeal for the public Service; for he behaved very kindly to ſuch as had in due time returned to their Obedience; and tho' no Governor ever had a fairer Opportunity of raiſing his Fortune, by the vaſt Confiſcations made in his Time; yet ſuch was his Contempt for Money, that he took nothing; but contented himſelf with his own Appointments, and employed the Wealth he ſaved out of them, which was very great, for the Service of the Crown and the Good of the People. This had ſuch an Effect, that though Multitudes deplored the Fate of thoſe unhappy Men who died by his Sentences, yet they bore no Diſlike to him; but acknowledged, that what he did was the Effect of an honeſt Zeal, and not of any Cruelty in his Nature, and many of the Criminals profeſſed this to be their own Sentiments in their very laſt Moments: The only People who ſhewed any Diſcontent, were the Officers and Soldiers of *Pizarro*'s Party, who thought they were not enough conſidered, and told him as much; but he told them in return, That he did not come there to ſupport or reward any, but to extinguiſh all Parties; and that they ought to think themſelves happy, that, in Conſideration of their late good Behaviour, he forgot what was paſt, ſince they muſt be ſenſible, that he puniſhed in *Almagro*'s Partizans no other Crimes than thoſe of which themſelves had been guilty.

24. The Peace of the Province being reſtored by this ſtrict Diſtribution of Juſtice, the Governor *de Caſtro* diſbanded the beſt Part of his Troops, laid aſide all his Severity, and began to cultivate with the utmoſt Diligence the Arts of Peace: He cauſed the old Colonies to be better ſettled, and was mindful to have new ones planted: He took care to have the old Mines improved, and ſuch as were daily diſcovered, to be wrought, for the Benefit of his Maſter and the lawful Proprietors: He was very attentive to the Adminiſtration of Juſtice: He erected Colleges and Schools in all the Cities and great Towns. He obliged the Clergy to labour diligently in converting the *Indians*, relieved moſt of their Grievances, and in the Space of little more than a Year made ſuch Alterations as could ſcarce have been expected in fifty. He would have done ſtill more, but that the *Spaniſh* Miniſters, whom he neither courted nor bribed, prevailed upon the King to erect a kind of Royal Audience in *Peru*, and to give very great Powers to Commiſſioners who compoſed the Audience, who made it their Buſineſs to croſs the Governor in every thing; which begat new Diſturbances, both among the *Spaniards* and the *Indians*, and freſh Complaints to the Court of *Spain*, with which perhaps the Miniſters were not diſpleaſed, becauſe whenever they came, the Money came along with them. Whereas in the Governor *de Caſtro*'s Time, though the Emperor received large Sums from *Peru*, yet the Miniſters got nothing; and when Things went once wrong, they quickly grew worſe and worſe, and Matters were in Danger of falling once more into Confuſion.

The Emperor being informed of the Revolts in *Peru*, and the ill Uſage of the *Indians*, he diſplaced his Commiſſioners there, and choſe others, giving them an Oath to deal juſtly, and to order Things uprightly. He made forty Laws, and ſigned them at *Barcelona*, the 20th of *November*, 1542; but thoſe Laws were ill taken in *Peru*. They were certainly well intended, and very agreeable to the Rules of natural Juſtice and Equity; but in the Situation Things were in, by no means expedient to be publiſhed in *Peru*, where Things grew daily more perplexed: Beſides, *Blaſco Nunez Vela*, who was appointed Viceroy in 1544, and who had Directions to ſee theſe Orders put in Execution, was a Man no way qualified for his Employment. On his Arrival he cauſed his Predeceſſor, who was a much wiſer Man than himſelf, to be impriſoned, and behaved in every reſpect ſo ſeverely that he gained no Friends, though he provoked many to become his Enemies. Three of the Judges, who ſhould have ſupported him, conſpired againſt him, and cauſed him to be impriſoned; while, in the mean time, *Gonzalo Pizarro* drew together Troops, and diſpoſed all Things for a Rebellion.

The Diſputes between the Judges and the Viceroy facilitated his Deſign; for tho' the latter quickly recovered his Liberty, and drew one of the Judges to his Party, yet the reſt of the Judges continued to act by their own Authority, and behaved ſo cruelly, and ſo tyrannically, that at length, perceiving they had no other Remedy, they were glad to admit *Gonzalo Pizarro* Governor of *Peru*, to ſend him a Commiſſion in the King's Name, and to receive him with all Demonſtrations of Reſpect into the City of *Lima*. The Viceroy returned into the Province of *Quito*, where he diſcovered, in his Adverſity, much greater Abilities, and many more Virtues, than in his Proſperity; and though his Forces were conſiderably inferior to thoſe of the Rebels, yet his own Intrepidity, joined to that loyal Diſpoſition which is natural to the *Spaniards*, enabled him to make a long Diſpute. At length, however, a deciſive Battle was fought between him and *Gonzalo Pizarro*, on the 19th of *January*, 1546; in which the Viceroy, being wounded and taken Priſoner, had his Head ſtruck off; for whoſe Death, though done by his own Command, *Pizarro* hypocritically wore Mourning. Henceforwards this Man behaved himſelf rather as a ſovereign Prince than a Governor, buſying himſelf in amaſſing Wealth, and in taking all the Precautions he could think of for ſecuring himſelf and his Aſſociates from the Effects of the Royal Reſentment, which without queſtion they had Reaſon to dread. In the mean time, the Emperor, juſtly alarmed at the Conſequences of thoſe Seditions, which threatened the Loſs of ſo conſiderable a Territory as that of *Peru*, came at length to a Reſolution of truſting rather to the Wiſdom of one Man, than to the Force of many.

This Man was the Licentiate *Peter de la Gaſca*, who had the Title of Preſident of the Royal Court of *Peru*, and a Commiſſion ſo ample, that, had it not been ſome way limited by his Inſtructions, he would, in Effect, have had Royal Authority: But to balance this, he had neither Men nor Money, the Court truſting altogether, though ſurely not very prudently, to his great Capacity. He was, in few Words, a Man of unſhaken Courage, deep Prudence, mild Behaviour, unblemiſhed Probity, and abſolutely diſintereſted; he was not afraid to go in a manner naked, againſt inſolent and victorious Rebels; and all the Reward he demanded for the Services he ſhould perform, was, that, having ſettled the Province in Peace, he might be at Liberty to depart into *Spain*. *Gaſca* arrived at *Nombre de Dios*, and carried himſelf mildly, ſaying, he came not to make War; but, according to his Profeſſion, to make Peace, and rebate the Rigour of the Laws that cauſed the War. From *Panama* he ſent the Emperor's Letters, and wrote himſelf to *Pizarro*, telling him, he was come to pardon all Offences, to draw him to Obedience, to give Satisfaction to his People, and if he refuſed this Grace, but not till then, to make War.

Pizarro was enraged at the Receipt of theſe Letters, and would not ſuffer the Perſon who brought them to ſit down, which the Gentleman took for a great Affront. *Pizarro* called for his Friends, to know what Anſwer to give to the Preſident's Letter. *Carvajal*, the chief Incendiary, was abſent, and therefore it was hoped he would accept of Grace; yet every Man delivering his Opinion, ſome adviſed to take and raze *Panama* and *Nombre de Dios*, that the Preſident might have no Places to receive his Men and Shipping; and they having all the Ships in the *South-Sea*, might keep *Peru* to themſelves, and then they doubted not but to make *New Spain* revolt too, or at leaſt they would rob all the Towns on the Sea Coaſt, and live by Spoil and Rapine; which indeed they might have done, having the General of the Sea true to them. At laſt *Pizarro* cunningly anſwered *Gaſca*'s Letter, by conſent of thirty of his Men, under their Hands, That they underſtood of his coming by *Hinojoſa*, General of the Sea, and the fair Shew of Good he pretended; but it was too late, after ſo many Murders, occaſioned by the Viceroy's Cruelty; perſuading him to return, to inform the Emperor that they would receive no Governor but *Pizarro*, and offering to ſend ſome Men of Quality into *Spain*, to make their Caſe known to the Emperor.

Carvajal returning, diverted *Pizarro* from all good Intentions, and would not ſuffer him to make any Acknowledgments to *Spain*; they ſent theſe Letters to *Gaſca*, and offered to give him a great Quantity of Money to return Home, and if he refuſed it, they wrote to the Admiral *Hinojoſa*, to apprehend him. Theſe Letters being brought to *Panama*, put *Gaſca* in Fear that he ſhould be killed, for they abſolutely refuſed to receive him in *Peru*. But *Gaſca* dealt ſo cunningly with *Hinojoſa*, that he brought him to ſubmit himſelf and Fleet, and become a true Servant to the Emperor. This was the Overthrow of *Pizarro*, and *Hinojoſa* was continued General, and none of his Captains diſplaced. *Gaſca* now prepared again for War, and furniſhed himſelf for his Journey to *Peru*; and before his Arrival ſent a Pardon to all the common Sort. In his Expedition he carried himſelf courteouſly and friendly. *Gaſca*'s Carriage, and the Submiſſion of the Ships, made a great Change among the Rebels, for happy was he that could appear for the Emperor. *Pizarro* was much grieved to hear of theſe Alterations; but like a courageous Captain ſent to all his Friends to come to him with their Forces, but moſt Part of them forſook him; and the Towns of *Lima*, *Cuzco*, and the reſt, took Part with the Emperor.

When *John de Caſta* came to *Pizarro* to *Arequipa*, they conſulted what to do, having four hundred and fifty Men and the whole Country againſt them: He reſolved to go to *Chili*, where never *Spaniard* had been; but he was followed by one *Centeno*, with a loyal Party for the Emperor, between whom was fought a cruel Battle *Pizarro*, gaining the Victory, loſt two hundred and twenty Men, and *Centeno* many more. *Centeno* fled, but the others, having ſo great a Loſs, did not follow him. *Pizarro*, upon the Victory, divided his Forces into ſeveral Parts. *Cepeda*, a principal Man on his Side, perſuaded him to make Conditions with *Gaſca*, which he would not do, but was angry at the Motion, and grew ſuſpicious of him; who out of pure Kindneſs had propoſed it. *Gaſca* came into *Peru* with two thouſand Men, where he heard of the Overthrow *Pizarro* had given *Centeno*; and his Men being ſickly, and finding the Corn green, and not to be eaten, they were much diſcouraged; but *Centeno* coming with the Remainder of his Forces put them in Heart, whereupon he went in Purſuit of *Pizarro*; but had great Trouble in paſſing the River *Apurrima*; but *Pizarro* being apprized of it, departed from *Cuzco* with one thouſand Soldiers. A little before this Donna *Maria Calderon* ſpeaking againſt the Tyranny of *Pizarro*, *Francis Calderon* entered her Chamber one Morning, and ſtrangled her in her Bed.

Now came their Armies in View of one another, every one taking Advantage of the Place. *Gaſca* delayed giving Battle, in hopes that moſt of *Pizarro*'s Men would leave him, but they did not; and he being forced by Snow, Cold, and Hunger, engaged in a general and bloody Action. *Cepeda*, who, as I ſaid, before adviſed to accept of Conditions, fled to *Gaſca*, which much diſheartened *Pizarro*'s Side; this Example, and others, that did the like, made moſt of them yield. *Pizarro* ſeeing it, choſe rather to ſubmit than fly, and yielded himſelf to *Villa Vicentia*, Serjeant-Major, who carried him to *Gaſca*. Never was ſuch a Battle fought, in which the Heads and chief Commanders were Doctors and Scholars. *Gaſca* ſent Forces to cut off thoſe that eſcaped in their Way to *Cuzco*, and to ſecure the Town. The Day following, being the 9th of *April* 1548, *Gaſca* committed the Cauſe of *Pizarro* and other Offenders to Judges, who condemned him and thirteen more to Death; whereof *Francis Carvajal* was one, and indeed the chief Promoter of all the Miſchief in theſe Parts; he was 84 Years of Age, and had been an Enſign in the Battle of *Ravenna*, had ſerved under the great Captain *Gonzalo Fernandez*, and was the moſt noted Soldier in the *Indies*, yet never eſteemed valiant or ſkilful; it was a Bye-word, as cruel as *Carvajal*, becauſe he had been the Executioner of four hundred *Spaniards*, *Pizarro* cauſed tò be put to Death after *Blaſco Nunez* came into *Peru*, carrying Blacks with him continually for that Purpoſe. *Pizarro* was never overthrown but in this Battle, though he had fought many. *Gaſca*'s Soldiers looked for a better Reward than was given them, though indeed they were well dealt with; yet they mutinied upon it, but were ſoon quieted again. *Gaſca* took a Courſe for the pacifying of the *Indians*, and reducing them to the Chriſtian Religion, as alſo for the peaceable Government of the Kingdom.

When *Gaſca* arrived at *Nombre de Dios* out of *Spain*, he brought not an hundred Men with him, nor had he any Money, but procured Credit; and at his going away paid all Debts, and carried with him to the Emperor almoſt two Millions, but for himſelf not a Penny; being the firſt Man, in Authority, that ever did the like; for Covetouſneſs was the Bane of all the *Spaniſh* Affairs till this Time. Indeed any Nation muſt be quickly ruined where the great Men aſpire to Authority, with no other View than to make themſelves rich. As for this celebrated Governor, when he had thoroughly ſettled Things in *Peru*, he prepared for his Return into *Spain*, and came to *Panama*, having much Wealth there, which he could not carry; but it happened that two Sons of *Rodrigo Conheras*, Governor of *Nicaragua*, with two hundred Soldiers, entered the Town and took that Treaſure, and as much more as they could get. One of the two Brothers put himſelf with his Wealth on board two or three Ships, the other followed *Gaſca*, thinking to rob and kill him, murdered many, and ſlew a Biſhop; becauſe he ſent to their Father in *Spain* an Account of their Villainies. They drew to them all factious and diſcontented People, that favoured the Party of *Pizarro*. *Gaſca* hearing of thoſe Diſorders returned with Speed, fought with and overcame them; one of the Brothers was drowned in paſſing a River; and he diſpatched Ships after the other, and took him and all his Wealth.

This proved a fortunate Affair to *Gaſca*, and got him great Honour: He embarked at *Nombre de Dios* for *Spain* in 1550, with much Wealth for others and Reputation to himſelf. His going, coming, and ſtaying, was little more than four Years. This Man compleated what *Vaca de Caſtro* had only begun, and left every thing in tolerable good Order; for which, upon his Return the Emperor gave him the rich Biſhoprick of *Placentia*, and ſent for him into *Germany*, that he might receive a clear and diſtinct Account of the State of his

Affairs in *America*. It is very remarkable, that theſe Governors, who did ſuch wonderful Things; and inſtead of enriching themſelves promoted the Welfare of the Crown, and provided for the Revenues of the People, were not Courtiers but Lawyers, not Men of great Nobility, not yet mere Adventurers, not the Creatures of any Miniſtry, or ſupported by any Miniſter, but owing their Preferment entirely to their Reputation, which made them known to the Emperor, their Maſter, and ſecured his Choice.

We ſhall here end our Account of the Diſcovery and Conqueſt of *Peru*, which has been ſo fully treated; that the Reader cannot but have a very clear Idea, as well of the Maxims, upon which the *Spaniſh* Court proceeded, as of the Characters of theſe great Men, by whom theſe Diſcoveries and Conqueſts were atchieved, and of the Troubles that were afterwards occaſioned by their exceſſive Ambition. But, as the Purſuit of this Method, with reſpect to the other Provinces of the *Spaniſh* Empire, in the new World, would ſwell this Work to too great an Extent; we ſhall content ourſelves with giving as conciſe an Account as is poſſible of the Times when, and the Perſons by whom, the reſt of the moſt conſiderable Diſcoveries and Conqueſts were made, without entering into any farther Particulars, that we may have the more Room to ſpeak of what other Nations have performed in thoſe Parts, and thereby render this Part of our Work as compleat as poſſible.

25. While *Hernan Cortes* was employed in reducing, under his Obedience, all the Provinces of the *Mexican* Empire, and while *Francis Pizarro* was occupied in *Peru*, there were other great Captains and experienced Seamen employed in the Diſcovery of ſeveral other Parts of *America*: As for Inſtance, *Sebaſtian Cabot*, a *Venetian* born, and who had been long in the Service of the Crown of *England*, entered about the Year 1526 into that of *Spain*; and the ſame Year ſailed up the great River of *Plate*, and diſcovered Part of the Country of *Paraguay*. The Year following *Francis de Montejo* ſettled and ſubdued the Country of *Jucatan*; and about the ſame Time, *John Bermudez* firſt ſaw one of thoſe Iſlands, which have ſince borne his Name, and make at preſent a Part of our Poſſeſſions in the *Weſt-Indies*. From the Year 1528 to 1533, various Diſcoveries were made by the Captains of *Francis Pizarro*, both on the Eaſt and Weſt Coaſts of *South America*; and within this Space it was, that *Peter Heredia* cauſed the Foundation to be laid of the City of *Carthagena*, to which he gave that Name from the Reſemblance it bore in its Situation to the City of *Carthagena* in *Old Spain*.

In 1535, *Peter de Mendoza* founded the Town of *Buenos Ayres*, on the River *Plata*, which City was twice abandoned, and twice rebuilt. At this time the famous *Hernan Cortes* made, in Perſon, an Expedition by Sea, to diſcover the Northern Coaſts of the Kingdom of *Mexico*, and was himſelf the firſt that took a View of *California*, which then, and long after, was eſteemed to be an Iſland. In 1537, the Province of new *New Granada* was entirely diſcovered: And in 1539, as if the Diſcoveries Northwards were to keep exact Pace with thoſe of the South, the great Kingdom of *Cibola* was firſt made known to the *Spaniards* by a *Franciſcan* Friar; which Diſcovery at firſt was very little regarded, but has been ſince found to be of as great Conſequence, or rather of greater, than any of the Diſcoveries on the Northern Continent in *America*. In 1540, one *Peter de Baldivia* made his Expedition into *Chili*, and reduced a great Part of that rich Country.

The very next Year, *John Cabrillo* a Native of *Portugal*, in the Service of *Spain*, diſcovered the moſt Northern Parts of *California*, and gave to a great Cape or Headland, in the Latitude of 44 Degrees, the Name of *Cape Mendocina*, in Honour of Don *Antonio de Mendoca*, at that time Viceroy of *New Spain*. In 1543, *Lewis de Alverado* diſcovered the great River of *Miſſiſſippi*, which he clearly deſcribed, though he did not give it any Name. In the Year 1545, the Mines of *Potoſi* were firſt opened; and in 1554, the *Spaniards* diſcovered thoſe of *St. Barbe* and *St. John*. In the Year 1574, *Juan Fernandez* diſcovered, in the *South-Sea*, the two Iſlands that have been ſince known by his Name, though in the old *Spaniſh* Maps there are four laid down, the other two being called the Iſlands of *St. Felix* and *St. Ambroſe*, lying ſomewhat more to the North than thoſe to which we generally give the Name of *Juan Fernandez*. In 1582, the *Spaniards* completed the Diſcovery of that great Country to which they have ſince given the Name of the Kingdom of *New Mexico*. In 1589, Don *Pedro Sermiento* made that famous Settlement in the Straits of *Magellan*, of which we have given ſo large an Account in our firſt Volume. In the Years 1638 and 1639, ſome *Spaniſh* Miſſionaries travelled through, and deſcribed moſt of the Countries that lie upon the great River of the *Amazons*; and conſidering the Report they made of the Fertility and Riches of thoſe Countries, it is ſurpriſing that the *Spaniards* did not make this Diſcovery turn to greater Account; but perhaps this may be aſcribed to their Want of People, at leaſt in proportion to ſuch a vaſt Extent of Country.

In 1675, ſome Miſſionaries diſcovered, in the Heart of *South America*, the Country of the *Moxas*, of which to this Day we have no farther Account than what thoſe Miſſionaries have given us. This Country lies in the Torrid Zone, from 10 to 15 Degrees of South Latitude; and it is believed that there are Mines of great Value therein, though hitherto it has been viſited only by the Prieſts, who have erected the ſame ſort of Sovereignty there which they poſſeſs in *Paraguay*.

26. In the Year 1701, *F. Euſebius Kino*, a Jeſuit, diſcovered that the Country of *California* was not an Iſland, as till that Time it had been ſuppoſed, but was ſeparated from the Continent of new *Mexico* only by a River, over which he paſſed without much Trouble. And thus we have given the Reader a ſhort Account of the *Spaniſh* Diſcoveries, in the Order of Time in which they were made, from their firſt Entry into the new World, down to our own Days; and if it appears that ſince their having eſtabliſhed ſo great and powerful an Empire in this Part of the Globe, they have diſcovered much leſs in proportion than when they firſt came thither, we muſt not attribute it either to their having abſolutely ſurveyed all Parts of thoſe two vaſt Continents, of which they are reputed Maſters, or that they have loſt that Thirſt after Gold and Silver with which they were ſo ſtrongly poſſeſſed in paſt Times: For the Truth is, that both in North and in South *America*, there are vaſt Tracts of Country of which they know very little; but then the Provinces of which they are at preſent in Poſſeſſion afford them ſuch certain Supplies of Gold and Silver, and at the ſame Time they find that the Preſervation of theſe Countries requires ſuch a Strength of People, that they are cautious of extending their Settlements for fear of leſſening their Security; and therefore the great Maxim of their Policy is to conceal the Notices they from time to time receive of new Mines, that they may not come to the Knowledge of Strangers, whoſe Neighbourhood they dread, and not without Reaſon; ſince if any hardy and induſtrious Nation ſhould ever fix themſelves effectually in any Part of either of theſe Continents, the *Spaniards* would ſoon feel what they ſo much fear, the Impoſſibility of keeping the Countries they poſſeſs at preſent. But it may not be amiſs before we conclude this Section, and part with the Subject, to give the Reader a general Notion of the Advantages derived to *Spain*, from the Conqueſts made by her Subjects in the two *America's*.

The common Opinion is, that his Catholic Majeſty poſſeſſes larger Dominions than any Prince in the World, and without doubt it is very well founded; for, with regard to *America*, the whole Coaſt from thirty-ſeven Degrees of North Latitude, to fifty-three Degrees of South, is on one Side entirely theirs; and on the other there are only the *Portugueze* Colonies in *Brazil*, with a few inconſiderable *French* and *Dutch* Settlements, but what belongs to them or to the Natives. In a Word, the *Spaniards* command in the South Seas the moſt extended Coaſt in the new World, that is, from Cape *St. Sebaſtian*, the moſt Northern Point of *California*, to the Straits of *Magellan*, at leaſt two thouſand Leagues, or between ſix and ſeven thouſand Miles: They likewiſe poſſeſs the largeſt and moſt valuable Iſlands, *viz. Cuba*, Part of *Hiſpaniola*, and *Porto Rico*.

It is an Opinion commonly received amongſt us, that the *Spaniſh Weſt Indies* are very unwholſome, but, like many other general Propoſitions, this may be ſaid to be true and falſe at the ſame time; a very conſiderable Part of *Mexico* and *Peru* are in the Torrid Zone, and yet, where they have the Advantage of a favourable Situation, are both healthy and pleaſant; but beſides theſe there are many fair Provinces in both the temperate Zones: Neither can the habitable World boaſt of more delightful Regions than there are in the Kingdom of *New Mexico* in the North, and about *Buenos Ayres* in the South, as the Reader will be told more particularly hereafter; the Truth is, that the Country about *Porto Bello* is extremely aguiſh and unwholſome, and ſo is part of the Sea Coaſt of *Chili*, by reaſon of the great Rains which fall there, and the want of Inhabitants. And from hence we form an Idea of the reſt, though very unjuſtly. Perhaps too, the Luxury of the *Spaniards*, and the Inactivity of their Lives, may contribute to ſhorten their Days, and thereby diſcredit the Places they inhabit; but as it is certain that the *Indians*, before their Arrival, lived to a good old Age, and many who are temperate do ſo ſtill, I ſay, all this conſidered, we may conclude, that if any active and induſtrious People were to ſettle in theſe Countries, they would not be very much incommoded by the Climate.

As to the Soil of the Countries in general, it is wonderfully rich and fruitful, producing Corn in abundance, and ſuch Paſtures as are no where elſe to be ſeen; Trees for Fruit, Beauty, and Uſe; Shrubs odoriferous, and of phyſical Virtues; Herbs and Roots, in plenty; and, in ſhort, every Thing that can be ſought for, either grows naturally or may with very little Pains be produced here. In the Boſom of the Earth all Sorts of Metals are found, eſpecially thoſe which Men value moſt, Silver and Gold; Springs and Rivulets are every where to be ſeen: And then, for the Conveniency of Navigation, there are the nobleſt Rivers which the World can boaſt; ſuch as the River of *Plate*, the *Amazons* River, and many others. If the *Spaniſh* Councils were turned for the Encouragement of Trade, there are in theſe Countries ſuch a vaſt Variety of valuable Commodities as might furniſh the People poſſeſſed of them with inexhauſtible Treaſures; for beſides Gold and Silver, of which prodigious Quantities are annually exported, both from *Mexico* and *Peru*, here are Emeralds, Pearls, and various other ſorts of Stones; not to ſpeak of Copper and other baſer Metals: Rich Drugs of all Kinds, Logwood, Santal, Redwood, and many other ſorts of Materials for dying: Tobacco, Ginger, Sweet-meats of all Kinds, with a vaſt Variety of luxurious Articles: And then, as to Things of more neceſſary Uſe, *Vigonia* Wool, the Hides from *Buenos Ayres*, Tortoiſe-ſhell, Indigo, and many more, might be enumerated. Neither is the Country deficient in Seaports, eſpecially in the *North-Seas*, where there are ſeveral ſafe and ſpacious Harbours, beſides good Roads, Bays, and Creeks. Yet theſe in the *South-Seas* are, in a great meaſure, wanting, and the *Spaniards*, not without Reaſon, eſteem it an Advantage, becauſe it makes it the eaſier for them to defend the Coaſt againſt Strangers; and in reſpect of one part of the Country trading with the other, this is no great Hindrance; becauſe they have a good Port for the carrying on of their *Eaſt-India* Trade, which is what they chiefly value on this Side. And if ever they ſhould increaſe their Shipping ſo as to make new Ports requiſite, Engineers would ſoon put them in a Way to improve the imperfect Efforts of Nature: But while they continue to act on the Maxims which they have hitherto purſued, they are not likely to think their Havens on the *South-Sea* too few. We ought now to ſpeak of the Number of Inhabitants, becauſe therein conſiſts the true Wealth and Strength of a Government: But we muſt ingenuouſly confeſs, that with any tolerable Accuracy it is not eaſy to ſettle it. The *Spaniſh* Writers are remarkably ſilent on this Head, and as to what others report on this Subject, it deſerves leſs Credit than any other Part of their Relations, becauſe it is impoſſible that what they aſſert ſhould conſiſt with their own Knowledge.

This however is certain, that the *Spaniſh America* is but thinly peopled if we conſider its Extent; and, on the other hand, it ſeems to be as certain, that it is much better peopled than we commonly imagine, of which I will give ſeveral apparent Proofs: Sir *Francis Drake* made his firſt Expedition in 1578, and with a very ſlender Force; acquired immenſe Riches, and did prodigious Damage to the *Spaniards*. In 1587, *Candiſh* did the like, in a Veſſel of One hundred and twenty Tons, though he had not in her above thirty Men; landing in ſeveral Places, and bringing away as much Riches as he could carry. Theſe Succeſſes eſtabliſhed an Opinion, that the *Spaniards* were very weak in theſe Parts, yet all the following Expeditions, which were undertaken with much greater Force, miſerably miſcarried; which induced that wiſe Princeſs, Queen *Elizabeth*, to reſtrain her Subjects from ſuch Attempts. This, however, did not diſcourage the *Dutch*, who in 1623, fitted out a grand Fleet for the *South-Seas*; it conſiſted of fifteen ſtout Ships, and there were three thouſand picked Men on board. They came happily into theſe Parts of the World, and made ſeveral Deſcents, but to no Purpoſe, being conſtantly repulſed, ſo that they returned with great Loſs and Shame. Our Countryman, *Gage*, perſuaded *Cromwell*, and indeed the *Engliſh* Nation, that the Conqueſt of the *Weſt-Indies* was a very practicable Deſign, but it did not prove ſo in the Event; for though we made ourſelves Maſters of *Jamaica*, yet whoever conſiders the mighty Force that *Penn* and *Venables* had, will rather wonder that much more was not done, than admire what they did; ſo that it ſeems to be a Thing out of diſpute, that it is not ſo much the Weakneſs of the *Spaniards* as the Weakneſs of their Councils, which has occaſioned their Loſſes in thoſe Parts. And, to ſay the Truth, we can ſcarce doubt of this, if we reflect that they have found a Way to make their *American* Colonies contribute to the Deſtruction of their Power at Sea. Though the ſame Cauſe is the great Source of ours, and is the only one that can create a naval Force to *France*.

But to returnt to the Point; *viz.* the Number of People in the *Spaniſh* Settlements: A certain Author has gueſſed, that there may be in the whole three Millions of *Spaniards*, Mulattoes, and Negroes; beſides which, there are certainly a much larger Number of *Indians*; for tho' it may be, and without doubt it is true, that the *Spaniards* practiſed intolerable Cruelties when they firſt arrived in theſe Parts, yet we are aſſured that this was done contrary to the expreſs Direction of their Catholic Majeſties, and that they have long ſince altered their Policy in this Reſpect, though many *Indian* Nations are ſtill their implacable Enemies, and ſo are likely to continue. When theſe Countries were firſt reduced, the ſettling many Eccleſiaſtics might be a very proper Meaſure, ſince it is certain they were, in thoſe Days, very zealous not only in converting, but in protecting the *Indians*; interpoſing on all Occaſions in their Favour; but as Times are altered ſince, they and their Meaſures ſhould have altered accordingly. Monaſteries and Nunneries, if they are not contrary to the Spirit of Chriſtianity, are at leaſt incompatible with that of ſettling Colonies, and ſo they have been found: Prieſts, generally ſpeaking, proceed upon narrow and ſelfiſh Views, and ſo do all religious Orders, particularly the *Jeſuits*, who therefore are the leaſt qualified for Miſſionaries, though deficient in no other Reſpect, as fully appears from their Conduct in *Paraguay*, where the Fathers have eſtabliſhed a much more regular Government than ſubſiſts any where elſe in *America*, and are able to raiſe a greater Number of regular Troops in a Week, than could be aſſembled by the Viceroy at *Peru* in a Year,

The Corruption and Tyranny which reigns among all the Officers who derive their Authority from the Crown, ſenſibly affects the State, ſince it not only ruins the Revenue, but diſcourages Induſtry, and extirpates Public Spirit. An unaccountable Fondneſs for Gold and Silver is another Prejudice to the *Spaniſh* Settlements; has pre-

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vented the Government from encouraging new Diſcoveries, and ſpread ſuch a ſordid Spirit through all its Subjects, as is viſibly productive of the worſt Effects; for tho' Mines may be moſt beneficial to the Sovereign, and to the Mother Country in the firſt Inſtance, yet, taking all Things together, they are leaſt ſo; of which the preſent State of *Spaniſh America* is the ſtrongeſt Proof.

27. We have now treated this Subject ſo fully and ſo clearly, that we hope the Reader has nothing farther to expect. We might indeed have confined ourſelves within narrower Limits, and have run through the Story of theſe great Events in fewer Pages; but then the Account muſt have been very ſuperficial, and inſtead of ſatisfying, it would only have raiſed the Curioſity of the ingenious Peruſer; whereas now we dare aſſure him that with reſpect to the Diſcovery and Conqueſt of *Mexico* and *Peru*, he has ſeen as good an Account as we were able to give him, after peruſing and comparing the beſt *Spaniſh* Writers; and we have always thought that it was our Duty to execute Things to the full, and not leave People under the Neceſſity of conſulting many other Books, in order to come at what they might juſtly expect from its Title to have found in this.

There are ſome ſpeculative People that have taken Pains to depreciate the Character of the Conquerors of the new World, by pretending that the Advantages derived to *Spain* by the Countries added by them to her Dominions, are ſcarce an Equivalent for the Miſchiefs ſhe has ſuſtained by the draining away ſuch incredible Multitudes as have tranſported themſelves to *America*, ſince thoſe Conqueſts were made; but, with their Leave, this does not ſo much concern the Conduct of thoſe Conquerors, as that of the *Spaniſh* Miniſtry, which we never took upon us to vindicate, and in which we ſhould moſt certainly have failed if we had: But the great Point which deſerves Notice, and which can alone enable our Readers to form a true Judgment of this Matter, is the Profits that might accrue to the Crown of *Spain* from theſe prodigious Acquiſitions, if ſhe had known how to have managed them with Skill and Prudence proportionable to that Wiſdom and Spirit which theſe brave and active Officers diſcovered in bringing ſuch extenſive, and ſuch valuable, Provinces under her Dominion.

In order to give them ſome Opportunity of doing this, it may not be amiſs to enquire, as far as it is in our Power to do, what theſe two great Empires of *Mexico* and *Peru* really produce; for when this is once known, we may very well judge who is in the Fault, and whether, in reſpect to the *Spaniſh* Nation, the boundleſs Ambition of thoſe Conquerors, or the ill Management of thoſe who have received the Benefits that have ariſen from theſe Conqueſts, deſerves the Blame.

To begin then with *Mexico*: The Eccleſiaſtical State of the Country at preſent conſiſts of an Archbiſhop, and eleven Suffragan Biſhops, whoſe Revenues, computed according to their own Returns of their Tenths, which we may be ſure do not exceed the Value of them, amount to one Million and a Half Sterling *per Annum*. It is farther computed, that their Revenues make about a Fourth of thoſe belonging to the Clergy, and that the Eſtates of the Eccleſiaſtics may be reckoned a Fourth of the Whole Province or Viceroyalty; according to which Computation the Total Revenues of *Mexico* may be taken at twenty-four Millions of our Money. But there is another Way of calculating the Wealth of *Mexico*, which I will preſent to the Reader, becauſe I am pretty confident he will find it nowhere elſe: There was brought into the King's Exchequer at *Mexico*, in the Year 1730, ſomewhat better than a Million of Marks of Silver. This was the King's Duty from the Mines, which ought to be one Fifth of the Metal taken out of them. It is true, moſt People think the King is pretty roundly cheated; but becauſe this does not appear to us, we will ſuppoſe he is honeſtly paid, and that this is a Fifth Part of what is dug out of the Mines; the Whole therefore muſt amount to five Millions of Marks (a Mark is equivalent to eight of our Ounces;) ſo that if we compute this Silver at five Shillings *per* Ounce, then the Inhabitants of *Mexico* receive annually from their Mines ten Millions in Money.

With reſpect to the Riches of *Peru*, we cannot give quite ſo diſtinct an Account; but, however, we will give the Reader the beſt Account we can; and firſt, as to the Mines of *Potoſi*, we have a clear Relation of them for fifty Years, that is, from their firſt Diſcovery, to the Year 1595: Within which Space they had produced forty-four Millions of our Money; but it is allowed, that ſince that time, they have ſunk very much in their Value, and it is no leſs certain that other very rich Mines have been ſince diſcovered. The Gold and precious Stones, brought from this Country and *Chili*, are of incredible Value; and, if we may truſt to the Accounts that are given us of the City of *St. Jago*, in the laſt mentioned Country, the Wealth of the Inhabitants is ſo great, or rather they have ſuch a Plenty of Gold, that almoſt all their Utenſils for common Kitchen Service, are made of that rich Metal. After all, if we had the cleareſt Accounts of the Produce of their ſeveral Mines, they would not go a great Way towards ſatisfying us as to the Advantages that *Spain* reaps from theſe Countries, inaſmuch as the *Spaniards* ſettled in *America* are known to have vaſt Hoards of Plate; ſend annually prodigious Sums in Silver to the *Eaſt-Indies*; and employ much larger Quantities in a Contraband Trade with the *Engliſh*, *French*, and *Dutch*. But we have a tolerable Account, after all theſe Deductions are made, of what is annually returned to Spain in Time of Peace; and therefore, upon this, we ſhall chiefly inſiſt: The Galleons bring home about three Millions in Gold, and the Flota one: In Silver, the ordinary Cargo of the Galleons is twenty Millions, and of the Flota ten: In precious Stones, ſuch as Pearls, Emeralds, Torquoiſes, &c. they export about half a Million; in other rich Commodities, ſuch as Cochineal, Indigo, Logwood, &c. about three Millions and an half; ſo that taking all theſe together, they bring home thirty-eight Millions, without reckoning what comes by regiſter Ships, and in a clandeſtine Way; which thoſe who are beſt acquainted with it, have eſtimated at twelve Millions more: Upon the whole therefore, keeping ourſelves within the ſtricteſt Bounds of Moderation, we may venture to aſſert that *Spain* draws now from ſeven to ten Millions Sterling from theſe Countries every Year, and muſt formerly have drawn much more.

If ſhe is able to keep very little of this, which is very poſitively ſaid, and I believe may be very true, it does not at all leſſen the Value of theſe Acquiſitions: She might keep every Penny of it if ſhe would, by ſetting up and encouraging proper Manufactures in her Dominions. As ſhe does not, it is become the common Intereſt of all the trading Countries in *Europe*, that ſhe ſhould be maintained in theſe rich Poſſeſſions, not for her Sake, but for their own; and indeed, as Things are now managed, ſhe waſtes her unhappy Subjects the *Indians*, and her ſtill more unhappy Negro Slaves, in digging Gold and Silver for other People. Such, according to the wiſe Diſpoſitions of Providence, are the Rewards of Induſtry, and the Puniſhments of Idleneſs, Luxury, and a People's want of Attention to their own Concerns.

But if a few wiſe and good Princes were to rule in *Spain*, the Caſe would very ſoon be altered; they would firſt make uſe of their Treaſures to erect Manufactures in their *European* Dominions, and next lay open this rich Trade to all their Subjects in thoſe Dominions. Such a Conduct would, in the Space of a few Years, change the Face of their Affairs entirely; and nothing could hinder their becoming again what they once were, the moſt formidable maritime Power in this Part of the World.

It would then appear what vaſt Advantages accrued from the Diſcoveries and Conqueſts of *Columbus*, *Velaſquez*, *Balboa*, *Cortez*, *Pizarro*, *Almagro*, *Baldivia*, and all the other Heroes, that ſtand recorded in *Spaniſh* Hiſtories; Heroes, who, without doubt, merit all the Praiſes that have been beſtowed upon them; and who, with prodigious Labours, with infinite Hazards, and at the Expence of the Lives of many thouſands of brave Men, purchaſed thoſe Treaſures which have been waſted away in gratifying the Pride of Princes, the Luſts of Prieſts, and the innumerable Vices of a long Train of weak and wicked Miniſters. Happy would it be for all other Nations, if *Spain* alone was infamous for this kind of Extravagance and Madneſs! Happy for them, if, after following, they would grow wiſer by her Example! Happy for them, that ſhe is not yet ſenſible of her Faults!

The Miſtakes that have been made by the *Spaniards*, however ſtrange, however amazing, they may appear, when thus examined and pointed out upon Paper, are ſuch as any other Nation may be very eaſily betrayed into, when her Circumſtances become like thoſe of the *Spaniards*. All Colonies are a kind of political Children, and, as ſuch, contribute to the Honour, Safety, and Riches of their Parents, if thoſe Parents are not wanting to themſelves; it is, however, very common for Governments, as well as private Perſons, to fall into many great Errors upon this Head; ſuch as treating young Colonies with vaſt Tenderneſs and Indulgence, forming from thence very ſanguine, and ſometimes very unreaſonable Expectations; and, becauſe theſe are not anſwered as ſoon as expected, falling out with, and diſregarding, thoſe Colonies, at the very time when, if they had been attended to, they might have more than anſwered their Expectations. It is likewiſe common with them, as well as Parents, to grow unreaſonably, I was going to ſay ridiculouſly, jealous of their Off-ſpring; by this fooliſh Conduct, actually producing thoſe Miſchiefs they endeavoured to avoid, and which could have been produced only by ſuch Endeavours.

They are apt to fancy, that, becauſe theſe Children are ſettled at a Diſtance, they forget that they are Children; and, full of this idle Fancy, they ſoon forget that they are Parents, and begin to treat them with an arbitrary Authority; becauſe they live at a Diſtance, and ſupport themſelves by their own Labours, they make it their Study to draw from them wherewith to maintain the Luxury and Prodigality of thoſe Children who live at home with them, and are thereby become the Objects of an irregular Affection, which very ſoon degenerates into an exceſſive Indulgence. Hence ariſe all thoſe Miſchiefs that are ſo warmly deplored by thoſe, who, if they would act with proper Care and Spirit, might eaſily amend them; for it is with Colonies as it is with Children, nine times in ten their Errors ſpring from the Uſage they have met with; and they are blamed for their Miſcarriages by thoſe who are in reality the Authors of thoſe Miſcarriages, and ought therefore to blame themſelves.

An ancient and almoſt incurable Miſtake this has been; but it is nevertheleſs a Miſtake for all that, and a Miſtake which it imports every great and wiſe People to amend. A Nation that has great Colonies abroad can never want Trade, Riches, or maritime Power, unleſs ſhe is wanting to herſelf. A familiar Example will illuſtrate this, and that in ſuch a manner as muſt convince every Perſon of the Truth of this Remark. A Man who has a large Eſtate and no Children, muſt of neceſſity employ many Servants, of whoſe Fidelity he cannot be altogether, or at leaſt always, certain; and, with reſpect to a Nation, Subjects obtained by the Sword, that is, by Conqueſt, or Slaves purchaſed by Money, are in the Nature of Servants; but the natural Subjects of a State, by which I mean ſuch as have been born or bred up under its Laws, are, to all political Purpoſes, Children, let them live where they will; and, if due Care be taken of them, will diſcharge the Duties of Children. But if Parents, who are in this Condition, inſtead of ſeeking the Advantages they might attain from it, employ their Cares another way, and divert their Thoughts and their Affections from their Children to Servants and Strangers, it is no wonder that their Affairs go wrong.

Now this was preciſely the Caſe of the *Spaniards*: The Emperor *Charles* V. happened not to be born in *Spain*, and, which was ſtill more fatal to that Country, was choſen Emperor of *Germany*, which quite turned his Thoughts from *Spaniſh* Affairs; ſo that though he was as great a Captain, as able a Stateſman, and as wiſe a Monarch as ever ſat upon that Throne, yet, with all his Virtues and all his Abilities, he laid the Foundation of their Misfortunes, at the very Time when he thought he was laying the Ground-work of an uniwerſal Monarchy; and at a Time too, when, by attending cloſely to the Affairs of *Spain*, he might have made it a greater, happier, and more potent Nation, than ever the *Perſians*, *Greeks*, or *Romans* had been. His Son *Philip* heightened all theſe Misfortunes, though he purſued quite a different Conduct; but then he purſued it to the ſame End, that is to ſay, by affecting univerſal Monarchy he ruined his own.

He was generally, and very juſtly, reputed a Prince as well verſed in Politics as any of his Age, or perhaps of any other; yet he was ſo much taken up in endeavouring to reduce the *Netherlands*, enſlave *Italy*, conquer *England*, over-run *France*, and in annexing *Portugal* to his Dominions, that he never conſidered his Subjects in the *Spaniſh America*, farther than as they enabled him, by conſtant Supplies of Money, to carry on theſe his vaſt Deſigns. From what has been ſaid it is evident, that however wiſe, however penetrating, theſe Princes might be, they certainly over-ſhot themſelves in their Schemes concerning the *Weſtern Indies*. Inſtead of looking upon it as an Eſtate, they ſeemed to think it only a Farm, of which they were to make preſently what they could. In doing this, it muſt be owned they acted with Skill and Vigour; for they drew immenſe Sums from thence, which they waſted in *Europe*, to diſturb others, and, in the End, to deſtroy their own State. Mr. *Lewis Roberts*, Author of the *Map of Commerce*, an excellent Book for the Time in which it was written, tells, that it appeared by the Records in the Cuſtom-houſe of *Seville*, that in the Space of ſeventy-four Years, computing backwards from the Time in which he wrote, the Kings of *Spain* had drawn into that Country, from *America*, two hundred and fifty Millions of Gold, which make about ninety-one Millions Sterling. He alſo obſerves, that this very Prince, *Philip* II. of whom we have been ſpeaking, ſpent more in his Reign than all his Predeceſſors in the whole of their reſpective Reigns, tho' no leſs than ſixty-two Kings had reigned before him. Yet this cunning, this ambitious Monarch left his Subjects in a manner quite exhauſted; and, by eſtabliſhing a moſt pernicious Syſtem of Politics, left the total ruining of his Dominions, by way of Legacy, to his Succeſſors; a Point which, with wonderful Obſtinacy, they have ſteadily purſued ever ſince.

All who are in any degree acquainted with the Hiſtory of *Europe* know, that, for a long Courſe of Years, *Spain* maintained at once Wars in *Flanders*, *Germany*, *Italy*, and ſometimes in *Ireland*, which created a prodigious Expence of Treaſure and of Troops, neither of which, from the Death of *Charles* V. they were in any Condition to ſpare. As Families were reduced by the Expence of ſerving in the Army, they were induced to ſeek new Fortunes in the *Weſt-Indies*; and thus Numbers went over thither, not to cultivate the Country, or to improve Trade, but to ſtrip and plunder thoſe who went before them. Other great Families again concurred with the Meaſures of the Crown, in hopes of Vice-royalties, and other valuable Offices in its Conqueſts; but, if ever their Schemes were beneficial to their Families, which may admit of Doubt, certain it is, that they contributed more and more to the Ruin of the *Spaniſh* Nation. For though his Catholic Majeſty once poſſeſſed *Naples*, *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, *Milan*, with other Territories in *Italy*, beſides the *Low Countries*, and ſome other Provinces, which are now loſt; yet, for want of attending to Commerce, and by having no ſort of Oeconomy, all this turned to his Prejudice; and it plainly appeared, towards the Cloſe of the laſt Century, that, with all their boaſted Sagacity and Firmneſs, the *Spaniards* had ruined themſelves, by acquiring too great Power; and rendered themſelves Beggars, by abuſing their immenſe Riches: With ſwelling Titles, and wide Dominions, they were deſpicably weak, and ſcarce any but Copper Money was to be ſeen, in a Country which received above twenty Millions annually from its Plantations.

Before I quit this Topic I muſt take notice of another Thing, which is certainly very extraordinary. This wrong Turn in the *Spaniſh* Policy had a wonderful Effect: It made all the Enemies of that Nation rich, and all its

Friends poor. Every body knows that the *United Provinces* not only made themſelves free and independent, but rich and powerful alſo, by their long War with *Spain.* Our Maritime Power was owing to the ſame Cauſe. If *Philip* the IId. had not diſturbed Queen *Elizabeth*, our Fleet might have been as inconſiderable at the Cloſe of her Reign as it was at the Beginning, when we were peſtered with Pirates, even in the narrow Seas. Our Plantations abroad were chiefly owing to Expeditions againſt the *Spaniards.* Our Manufactures at home were the Conſequence of affording Refuge to the King of *Spain*'s Proteſtant Subjects. When Queen *Elizabeth*'s Succeſſor cloſed with *Spain*, he ſuffered by it; while *France*, the only Country then at War with *Spain*, was a Gainer. I ſay nothing of *Cromwell*'s Breach with *Spain*, and the Advantages he drew from it; becauſe the World ſeems well enough apprized of all I could ſay on that Subject already.

But I cannot help obſerving, that both the *Dutch* and we were at vaſt Expences after the Reſtoration, to preſerve the *Spaniſh Flanders*; while the *Spaniards* themſelves were inactive, and left all to be done by their Allies. As ſoon as the Tables were turned by the Acceſſion of King *Philip* V. the *French* became great Loſers by ſiding with this Nation, though they had always got by fighting againſt them; inſomuch, that all the true Patriots in *France* complained, that while *Lewis* XIV. ſhewed himſelf an excellent Parent, in his Family, he diſcharged but indifferently his Truſt, as the Father of his People; but to what End ſhould I look abroad, when it is plain, for our own Situation, that we were never Friends with her, but at our Coſt; and never Foes, but at her's. By ſo long a Series of Miſmanagement the *Spaniards* have brought their Affairs into ſo wretched a Situation, that they neither have, nor can have, any very great Benefit from their vaſt Dominions in *America.* They are ſaid to be Stewards for the reſt of *Europe*; their Galleons bring the Silver into *Spain*, but neither Wiſdom or Power can keep it there. It runs out as faſt as it comes in; nay, and faſter; inſomuch, that the little Canton of *Bern* is really richer, and has more Credit, than the King of *Spain*, notwithſtanding his *Indies.*

At firſt Sight this ſeems to be ſtrange and incredible; but, when we come to examine it, the Myſtery is by no means impenetrable. The Silver, and rich Commodities, which come from the *Indies*, come not for nothing (the King's Duties excepted); and very little of the Goods and Manufactures, for which they come, belong to the Subjects of the Crown of *Spain.* This ſhews how the Wealth of the *Spaniſh Indies* becomes the Property of other Nations; and how the Preſervation of their Dominions becomes as much the Concern of their Neighbours, as it is their own. It likewiſe ſhews how terribly they are hurt by the ambitious Schemes of their Court in *Europe*; and how every freſh War in *Italy* ſerves to weaken *Spain*, and exhauſt her Colonies; ſo that, in the End, ſome great Revolution will happen there, but of what Kind, it is not eaſy to foreſee; but certain it is, that the *Spaniſh* Power gradually declines, and many of their beſt Settlements are already ſunk to nothing.

As, for Inſtance, *Florida* is become a Burthen to them; they having nothing there of Conſequence but Fort *St. Auguſtine*, which they keep to cover the Paſſage of their Plate Fleets; the Iſland of *St. Domingo* is impoveriſhed to the laſt degree, and the City of that Name had been long enough ago left deſolate, if it was not for the general Tribunal of Juſtice held therein, which is its ſole Support: Yet the *French* have a large and flouriſhing Colony on the ſame Iſland; and if ever they ſhould, as 'tis more than probable they will, elbow out the *Spaniards* from thence, it will change the Face of Affairs in the *Weſt-Indies* extreamly. The Iſland of *Cuba* is no longer what it was; and, in ſhort, their Affairs decline ſo faſt, under their preſent Management, that, unleſs ſome timely Remedies are applied, the Ruin of their Colonies muſt follow very ſoon.

This is a Leſſon fit to be conſidered by other Nations; and it was for that Reaſon I have inſiſted upon it ſo much. It would, however, be no difficult Taſk to proceed ſtill farther, and to examine the Conſequences that may follow, in caſe the *Spaniards* ſhould either be deprived of their Iſlands in *America*, or ſhould abandon them, which I look upon as the more likely Event of the two: But I have already beſtowed too much Time upon this Subject, and I am ſenſible, that ſuch a Diſcourſe might appear too grave to ſome, and too chimerical to others; and therefore I ſhall not inſiſt upon it here: However, as I have Reaſon to hope, this Work will long outlive its Author, I flatter myſelf that, whenever the Event happens, Poſterity will take notice of my Conjecture; and it will be very happy for the *Britiſh* Nation, if right Meaſures are taken in Time to ſecure thoſe Advantages that may be derived from ſuch an Event; or, at leaſt, to avert thoſe Dangers to which our Colonies muſt be expoſed, if, whenever it happens, our Strength in the *Weſt-Indies* ſhould not be great enough to enable us to ſeize a conſiderable Share of what they forſake.

SECTION XVI.

A conciſe Hiſtory of the Diſcovery, Settlement, and Cultivation of Brazil *by the* Portugueze; *the Conqueſt of the greateſt Part of that Country by the* Dutch; *the Recovery thereof by the* Portugueze, *and the vaſt Advantages that have accrued to them of late Years from this noble Colony.*

1. *A ſhort Introduction, ſhewing the Nature, Neceſſity, and Importance of this Section.* 2. *The Diſcovery of this Country,* A. D. 1500, *by Don* Pedro Alvarez Cabral. 3. *The ſmall Advantages expected from* Brazil, *when firſt viſited by the* Portugueze. 4. *Some Account of its antient Inhabitants, and their Manners and Cuſtoms, from* Dutch *and* Portugueze *Writers.* 5. *The Methods taken to ſettle it firſt by* Europeans. 6. *The Eſtabliſhment of a regular Colony under a Governor General from the Crown of* Portugal. 7. *The Attempts made by the* French *to eſtabliſh themſelves in this Country, and the Manner in which they miſcarried.* 8. *Another Attempt of the ſame Nature, by the ſame Nation, attended with no better Succeſs.* 9. *The* Dutch *undertake, under Colour of their War againſt* Spain, *to make themſelves Maſters of* Brazil. 10. *Their wonderful Succeſs and the ſurpriſing Progreſs of their Arms in that Country.* 11. *The Endeavours uſed by the* Portugueze *to repel theſe Invaders, and to maintain themſelves in the Poſſeſſion of* Brazil. 12. *Count* Maurice *of* Naſſau *is ſent over by the States General and the* Dutch Weſt-India *Company, to take upon him the Government of their new Conqueſt.* 13. *His wiſe and prudent Adminiſtration, by which the beſt Part of that noble Country was ſecured for and ſettled on the Behalf of the* Dutch. 14. *Their Treaty with the* Portugueze; *they recal Count* Maurice, *and begin to act tyrannically in that Country.* 15. *The* Portugueze *again take up Arms, fall upon the* Dutch *in their Settlements, and after a long War drive them*

them entirely out of Brazil. 16. *The Hiſtory of this Colony continued from thence down to the preſent Times, with ſome curious Remarks on the Gold and Diamond Mines diſcover'd there.* 17. *Obſervations and Reflections upon the principal Events in the foregoing Section.*

1. IF we conſider the admirable Situation of this Country, its great Extent, and other Advantages derived from Nature, we might readily pronounce, that a Settlement there muſt be attended with almoſt all the Benefits that Men uſually ſeek or deſire in ſuch Eſtabliſhments; and though it be very true, that this Country was not only diſcovered and ſettled by the *Europeans*, near two hundred Years before any important Diſcovery was made of the rich Gold Mines which it contains, yet this only ſhews, that Judgments built upon Reaſon, and the natural Structure of this terraqueous Globe, are not only as ſound and certain, but even more ſo than ſuch as are grounded on Experience. If towards the Middle of the laſt Age, a Man of the greateſt Reading, and ſoundeſt Underſtanding, had declared, that there were Gold Mines in this Country, he would have been looked upon as an Enthuſiaſt, one of thoſe whom too much Learning had made almoſt mad; for it would have been ſaid, That after inhabiting this Country for near two Centuries, the *Europeans* would certainly have diſcovered ſuch Mines, if they had been there; but the Fact comes out quite otherwiſe: Thoſe Mines were there, and yet they were not diſcovered; and it ſeems to be a very high Reflection upon the boaſted Knowledge of Mankind, that, with reſpect to *Européans* as well as *Indians*, moſt of theſe valuable Diſcoveries have been made by Chance.

If thoſe Relations which are printed under the Name of *Americus Veſpucius* were really his, we muſt be obliged to own, that he pretended, amongſt other Things that he never performed, to the Diſcovery of this Country: but the Matter of Fact is, that all the Dates in theſe Pieces ſo manifeſtly give the Lye to the Matters contained in them, that the only way to ſave the Honour of this famous Man is, to deny that they are his: Some alledge, that the old Admiral, *Columbus*, gained ſome Knowledge of this Coaſt in the Year 1499, in his third Voyage; but, not to dwell upon Uncertainties, we will fix the Diſcovery to the ſucceeding Year, wherein we have the concurrent Authority of both *Spaniſh* and *Portugueze* Writers to ſupport us; and we ſhall next enter into a regular and ſuccinct Hiſtory of this Colony from that time to this, which is certainly a Thing not to be met with in our Language, or perhaps in any other.

2. Don *Pedro Alvarez Cabral*, a Man of Quality as well as of great Abilities, ſailed in the Month of *March*, 1500, with a Fleet of thirteen Veſſels of various Sizes, for *Sofala*; from whence he was to have continued his Courſe to the Coaſt of *Malabar*; but, after paſſing the *Cape de Verd* Iſlands, he ſtood ſo far out to Sea, in order to avoid the Calms, ſo common on the Coaſt of *Africa*, that on the 24th of *April*, he fell in with an unknown Coaſt on the Weſt, and as the Sea ran very high he was obliged to ſail along that Coaſt as far as the Latitude of 15 Degrees South, where he found a good Haven, to which he gave the Name of *Porto Seguro*, or the *Safe Port*, and the Country itſelf he called, *the Land of the Holy Ghoſt*, which Name was afterwards changed for that of *Brazil*, on account of its abounding with a kind of Wood of that Name, which had been ſo called in *Europe* about three Hundred Years before this Country was diſcovered. Don *Pedro* having ſent People on Shore, to examine this new Land, and they reporting that it was extreamly well watered, very fertile, full of Fruit-Trees, and inhabited by a mild and gentle People, he reſolved to land his Men there, in order to refreſh them.

He did ſo accordingly, and found it exactly agreeable to what his People had reported; and that the Savages were ſo far from offering any Inſult to the *Portugueſe*, that they received them with more Kindneſs and Goodwill than they had Reaſon to expect. It ſo fell out, that Don *Pedro* had with him ſome condemned Criminals, whoſe Sentence, by the Clemency of the King of *Portugal*, had been changed from Death to Tranſportation; of theſe he thought fit to leave two in the Country, to learn the Language, to make farther Diſcoveries, and to acquire the beſt Knowledge they could of the Land, and its Inhabitants; but believing, as he very well might, from the very firſt View of this Country, that the Diſcovery he had made was of very great Importance, he reſolved to loſe no Time in giving an Account thereof to his Maſter, and therefore diſpatched immediately one of his Veſſels back to *Liſbon* for this Purpoſe, with ſome Perſons on board upon whoſe Fidelity he could depend, together with one of the Savages of that Country, to be inſtructed in the *Portugueze* Language, to facilitate the perfect Knowledge of this new found Land. He likewiſe ſet up a Stone Croſs, as a Monument of his having been there, and of his having take Poſſeſſion of that Country in the Name, and on the Behalf, of his Majeſty the King of *Portugal*, a Thing at that Time the more neceſſary, becauſe of the Diſputes that were then ſubſiſting between the *Spaniards* and *Portugueze*, about their Diſcoveries.

It was in conſequence of this Account, that the King of *Portugal* ſent ſeveral Perſons to diſcover upon theſe Coaſts; who very ſoon found that this was Part of the Continent of *America*; upon which, as might have been very eaſily foreſeen, there aroſe great Diſputes between the two Crowns, about the Extent and Boundaries of this Country; but at laſt it was ſettled, that from the River of *Maranon* to the River of *Plate*, ſhould be yielded to the King of *Portugal*.

3. It cannot be ſuppoſed that theſe firſt Diſcoverers could form any diſtinct or juſt Notion of the Nature and Importance of ſo vaſt a Country, which, according to its preſent Boundaries, may be fairly reckoned two thouſand four hundred Miles from North to South: and two thouſand from Eaſt to Weſt; though the *Portugueze* have ſcarce penetrated five hundred Miles, any where, even to this Time. The Northern Parts of the Country lie near the Equator, are ſubject to great Rains and variable Winds, more eſpecially about the Months of *March* and *September*, when they are frequently diſturbed with moſt dreadful Hurricanes and Tempeſts, by which the Country is frequently under Water, and muſt conſequently be very unwholſome. Here, therefore, the *Portugueze* content themſelves with the bare Edge or Sea-coaſt, without endeavouring to penetrate deeper into the Country, deſiring only to maintain their preſent Poſſeſſions and thereby keep out Foreigners.

In the middle Part of *Brazil*, from the Latitude of five Degrees South to the Tropic, it is obſerved that the Winds and Seaſons are the Reverſe of thoſe in other Parts of the World within the ſame Latitudes; for whereas in them a dry Seaſon comes on when the Sun goes Northward, and the wet Seaſon begins when the Sun returns to the Southward; here the wet Seaſon begins in *April*, when the South-Eaſt Winds ſet in with violent Tornadoes, Thunder and Lightning; and in *September*, when the Wind ſhifts to Eaſt-north-eaſt it brings with it a clear Sky and fair Weather; and this is the Time of their Sugar Harveſt. There are but two Winds blow upon this Coaſt; *viz.* the South eaſt from *April* to *September*, and the North-eaſt from *September* to *April* again; but thirty or forty Leagues at Sea they meet with the conſtant Trade-wind, which blows in the *Atlantic* Ocean all the Year round, from the Eaſtward, with very little Variation. There is no Country, between the Tropics, where the Heats are more tolerable, or the Air more healthful than this, being conſtantly refreſhed with Breezes from the Sea, and abounding with Lakes and Rivers, which annually overflow their Banks; and in the inland Part of the Country, the Winds from the Mountains are ſtill cooler than thoſe that blow from the Ocean.

That Part of *Brazil* which lies ſtill more to the South, and without the Tropic of Capricorn, is one of the fineſt in the known World, in all Reſpects; but the *Portugueſe* Dominions are but narrow here, confining on the *Spaniſh* Territories on the River *la Plata*. We have taken this Opportunity of deſcribing the whole Country as it lies; but the Reader will eaſily conceive that it was ſubdued and planted by degrees, and that the Accounts tranſmitted from Time to Time to *Liſbon* were agreeable to the Alterations in the State of the Colony. It was from the Nature of theſe Reports, that Things at the beginning went on ſlowly. The firſt *Portugueſe* Inhabitants were ſenſible enough, that the Soil was fertile, the Air temperate, and the Country well watered; but alas! they could report no more. *Brazil* appeared to them no otherwiſe than as a pleaſant, fruitful, and well ſituated Country, capable indeed of furniſhing Abundance—but not of Gold and Silver—very fit for any Sort of Improvement; but deſtitute, as they ſuppoſed, of Mines.

Upon theſe Reports the Miniſtry did not indeed order it to be deſerted; but they tranſported wicked People thither, according, as from Time to Time their Crimes brought them under the Cenſure of the Law, which had two very bad Effects; for firſt it diſcredited the Colony in the Eyes of the *Portugueze* Nation; and next, it proved the means of corrupting the poor *Indians*, who were much more apt to catch the *Portugueze* Vices, from their Example, than to receive the Chriſtian Religion by their Teaching; and indeed in all Colonies, I am afraid the Lives of Chriſtians are ſuch as may be juſtly eſteemed the Source of untractable Infidelity among the *Indians*.

4. But, to apprehend this more thoroughly, we muſt have ſome Acquaintance with the Natives of *Brazil*, and their State and Condition at the Time of which we are ſpeaking. Theſe Savages differed very little in Stature or Complexion from the *Portugueze* themſelves, but they much exceeded them in the Strength, Robuſtneſs, and Vigour of their Bodies. The Manner of their Living, however, was barbarous enough; for they lived in the wide Plains, ſome in Villages, and others moving about, according to their Humours. Their Villages conſiſted only of three or four very large Houſes, not unlike our Barns, in which a whole Family or Tribe lived together, under the eldeſt Parent, in the State of Nature; but, however, we can ſay nothing as to the Extent of their Authority.

They made uſe of Fowling and Fiſhing for their Subſiſtence, aad made up the reſt of their Diet with the Fruits of the Earth; ſo that though they had not any luxurious Plenty, yet, in ſo fertile a Country, they could not ſuffer any great Degree of Want. But, what ſeems ſomewhat extraordinary, they were, notwithſtanding this ſeemingly frugal and temperate Way of Living, continually at war with each other; but for what Cauſes it is not eaſy to imagine; unleſs we ſhould admit what ſome old Writers affirm, that they made theſe Wars chiefly, that they might kill and eat each other, eſteeming human Fleſh the greateſt of Dainties. But perhaps the Teſtimonies of thoſe who own themſelves guilty of extirpating thouſands of theſe poor Creatures, to whom they could have no Quarrel worthy of rational Beings, ought not to be received, or at leaſt not received in its full Extent; for there is a certain Kind of Malignity in human Nature, which leads us to calumniate and miſrepreſent thoſe that we injure; as if by aggravating their Vices we could juſtify, or at leaſt excuſe, our own.

But, at the Bottom, this will be found a Doctrine equally falſe and abſurd, for we ought to reclaim bad Men, and not to murder them; and Experience ſhews us, that with regard to other *Indians*, who have been painted in as black Colours as the People of *Brazil*, they derived their Characters rather from the heated Imaginations of *European* Writers, than from any bad or brutal Conduct in them all. But let us deſcend a little into Particulars from ſuch Authorities as we have. The *Portugueze* and *Dutch* Writers give the Name of *Tapuyers* to the Natives which inhabit the North Part of *Brazil*, and the Name of *Tupinambies* or *Tupinamboys*, to thoſe who dwell in the South of *Brazil*; but divide theſe again into ſeveral petty Nations, differing in Language, but not much in Manners and Cuſtoms; and therefore, I ſhall only treat of them under the two firſt grand Diviſions of *Tapuyers* and *Tupinambies*.

The *Tapuyers* are Men of good Stature, and as they inhabit a hot Climate, almoſt under the Equator, are of a dark Copper Colour, their Hair black, and hanging over their Shoulders; but they ſuffer no Hair on their Bodies or Faces, and go almoſt naked; the Men only incloſing the Penis in a Caſe, as ſome other *Americans* do, and the Women concealing their Nudities with Leaves. The Men have alſo a Cap or Coronet of Feathers, but I don't perceive the Women have any Covering on their Heads. Their Ornaments are glittering Stones, hung upon their Lips or Noſtrils, and Bracelets of Feathers hung about their Arms; ſome of them paint their Bodies of all manner of Colours; whereas, others, rubbing their Bodies with Gums, ſtick beautiful Feathers upon them, which makes them look more like Fowls than human Creatures, at a Diſtance. The *Tupinambies*, who inhabit the South of *Brazil* are of a moderate Stature, and not of ſo dark a Complexion as their northern Neighbours, who lie nearer the Line; but neither the one or the other are ſo dark as the *Africans* are, who lie in the ſame Latitude, it having been more than once obſerved, that there were no Negroes in *America*, till they were tranſported thither by the *Spaniards* and *Portugueſe*.

The *Tupinambies*, however, reſemble the *Africans* in their flat Noſes, which are not natural, but made ſo in their Infancy; a flat Noſe being eſteemed a Beauty among them. They have alſo black curled Hair on their Heads, but ſuffer no Hair to grow on their Bodies and Faces, any more than the *Tapuyers*, and paint themſelves like the northern *Brazilians*. The general Food of the *Brazilians* was the Caſſavi or Mandioka Root dried to Powder, of which they make Cakes like our Sea Biſket. They carried this Flour with them alſo on Journies, and it ſerved them infuſed in Water both as Meat and Drink; but I don't find they had any Sort of Corn till the *Europeans* carried it thither. They uſed alſo to feed on other Roots, Fruits, and Herbs, and ſuch Veniſon as they could take in Hunting, as alſo on Fiſh and Fowl, if they lived near the Water; and with every Thing eat a great deal of Pepper. Some have added, that they were Cannibals, and eat human Fleſh from one End of *Brazil* to the other, but late Travellers obſerving no ſuch thing, little Credit can be allowed to this, for Reaſons already given.

The general Liquor the Natives drink is Spring-Water, of which 'tis ſaid they have the beſt and the greateſt Variety in the World; but there are other kind of Liquors, which have a very good Body, made of their Fruits, preſſed and infuſed; or of Honey; with which they ſometimes get very drunk, ſitting whole Days and Nights over their Cups. They are charged alſo with being a very lazy Generation, that will never work or hunt, but when Neceſſity compels them. And as to Arts and Sciences, they were ſcarce Maſters of any, unleſs the Art of Spinning and Weaving, and forming their Arms (which conſiſted of Bows, Arrows, Lances, and Darts) and the Art of Building, which was but mean; for their Houſes did not need any great Contrivance. As for Letters, Characters, and Arithmetic, they were perfectly ignorant of them. They had ſome Knowledge of the Virtues of ſeveral Herbs and Drugs, which they frequently adminiſtered with Succeſs to the Sick; but, a certain Writer relates, that when they deſpaired of recovering the Patient, all his Relations agreed to knock him on the Head, which they thought much better than a lingering Death, and this probably may be juſt as true as their devouring human Fleſh.

Hunting, Fiſhing, and Fowling, were rather their Buſineſs than Amuſements, being abſolutely neceſſary for the Support of their Families, in a Country where they had no tame Cattle or Corn. Drinking, Singing, and Dancing, were more properly their Diverſions; theſe they practiſed on their rejoicing Days, for a Victory, or the Birth of their Children. They are great Smoakers, and take the ſtrongeſt Tobacco. Their Pipes are a hollow Reed or Cane, the Bowl a large Nut-ſhell, that holds almoſt a Handful of Tobacco. They are a tractable and ingenious People, ready to learn any Art or Science the *Portugueze* will teach them; and take nothing ſo kindly of the Fathers as the inſtructing their Children, which has given the *Jeſuits* an Opportunity of making abundance of Converts; and thoſe who live under the *Portugueze* generally conform themſelves to their Cuſtoms in Eating, Drinking, Cloathing, *&c.* few of theſe go naked.

Such were, and ſuch are, the Natives of this famous Country, little addicted to Labour, becauſe not at all infected with Avarice; their Deſires but few, and thoſe eaſily gratified; their greateſt Vice, the Deſire of Revenge, and that eaſily raiſed. But let us now return to our Hiſtory, and the Steps by which the *Portugueze* Settlements in *Brazil* became ſo conſiderable as we now find them, in ſpite of the many Difficulties they had to ſtruggle with, particularly one, of which, though far from being the leaſt, I do not find any Notice has been taken; by which I mean the vaſt Diſproportion between the Mother Country and the Colony, the Country of *Brazil* being three hundred times as big as that of *Portugal*; I do not, however, intend by this, the Country ſhe has ſettled in *America*, but that whole Tract of Land to which ſhe lays claim, and which paſſes therefore in the Maps under the Name of *Brazil*.

5. To facilitate the new Eſtabliſhments made here, the Crown had firſt of all Recourſe to the making very extenſive Grants to ſuch as were inclined to go and ſettle there, or who had a Power of ſending others thither. Upon this Plan it was, that ſome of the richeſt and moſt powerful of the Nobility had Diſtricts given them equal in Extent to *Portugal* itſelf. This was for ſome time attended with little Inconveniency; for the Crown might very well give to others what was uſeleſs to herſelf, and what was to be improved and made uſeful, without her being at any Expence. In ſhort, there was little more reſerved than Quit-rents, and theſe too of no great Value; the State being content with the Sovereignty, and leaving the Property in a manner wholly to the Subject.

Theſe Methods were extremely neceſſary at that Time, when the *Eaſt-Indies* took up the whole Attention, not only of the Miniſters, but of the Nobility; who found means to repair their ſhattered Fortunes, by obtaining Governments in that Part of the World, where they ſoon acquired to themſelves vaſt Eſtates. Thoſe who were content to try their Fortune in this new Colony, found many Obſtacles in their way: The Natives had not, indeed, any Notions of Liberty; but, upon their firſt feeling of Slavery, they grew deſperate, and, if any Credit be due to the *Portugueze* Hiſtorians, killed and eat without Mercy every Chriſtian that fell in their Way.

But the Fertility of their Country made ſome Amends for theſe Inconveniences, and drew abundance of People from other Parts of *America* to ſettle there; where they erected a new kind of Government among themſelves, which, perhaps, ſprang, like moſt other Governments, from downright Neceſſity, the very Nature of which Neceſſity preſcribed the Form of their Conſtitution; in ſhort, every Maſter of a Family was a Planter and a Soldier. In the former of theſe Capacities he laid out as much Land as himſelf and his Family could cultivate; in the latter Profeſſion he was no leſs aſſiduous, performing his Functions duly and vigorouſly, becauſe in Defence of his own Property; and hence it was that every Diſtrict in the new Colony had the Title of a Captainſhip, which Title they ſtill retain, though the State of Things is abſolutely changed; and from being the braveſt and moſt martial, they are now become the moſt lazy, moſt luxurious, and moſt effeminate People in the World.

But in thoſe early Times, when Honeſty and hard Labour were the only ways of thriving, they grew apace; and in the Space of fifty Years they ſpread over a very large Space of Country, and erected abundance of good Towns, amongſt which the five principal were theſe, *Tamacara*, *Fernambuca*, *Ilheos*, *Porto Seguro*, and *St. Vincent*, each of which had a well peopled and a well cultivated Territory about it. The flouriſhing State of *Brazil* ſoon awakened the Attention of the Court, and the Crown began to repent of having been ſo liberal in its Grants, when it appeared that thoſe Grants were become ſo profitable: A thing common enough in all Countries as well as *Portugal*, though there are very few Countries in which Governments have acted with the ſame Spirit as that of *Portugal* did upon this Occaſion.

6. It was in the Reign of King *John* III. that theſe great Improvements were made, or, at leaſt, that the Crown became ſo ſenſible of them; and therefore the firſt Step that Monarch took, was to revoke all the Grants made to the original Proprietors, which he did in the Year 1549. The ſame Year he ſent over *Thomas de Souſa*, with the Title of Governor-General of *Brazil*; he carried with him abundance of Officers, Civil and Military, with a conſiderable Body of Soldiers, on board a Fleet of ſix Sail of Men of War: He carried over likewiſe ſix Fathers of the new Order of *Jeſuits*, to convert the *Indians*, and an intire new Plan of Power, adjuſted according to the Will and Views of the Court. He was alſo inſtructed to build a new Town in the Bay of *All Saints*, and to take the neceſſary Meaſures for ſecuring the Colony againſt its Enemies, and to do every thing that might increaſe either its Trade or its Reputation.

He arrived in the Month of *April* that Year, and began very ſoon to enter upon the Execution of what he was directed to perform, making War upon the Savages, building the Town of *St. Salvador*, and Monaſteries for his *Jeſuits*. What he could not finiſh, his Succeſſor *Edward Acoſta* ſaw compleated; ſo that in his Time the Number of Towns was doubled, together with the Inhabitants. He was obliged to think likewiſe of ſtrengthening theſe Towns, by raiſing better Fortifications than thoſe with which they had been till then ſurrounded; and this, becauſe other Nations began to think of ſettling in *America*, and ſharing with the *Spaniards* and *Portugueze* thoſe Advantages they ſaw derived to them from their Colonies.

He executed this Deſign with all the Precaution neceſſary, demoliſhing the old Fortifications of Earth as faſt as he was able, to raiſe ſtronger of Brick and Stone, and to furniſh them with Artillery, which, however requiſite for his Purpoſe, were furniſhed him but very ſlowly from *Portugal*. It was not long before the Expediency of this new Method of fortifying, which Reaſon had ſuggeſted, was juſtified by Experience, the *French* making more than one bold Attempt to diſturb the *Portugueze* in their Poſſeſſion of this Country.

7. It is a Piece of Hiſtory of which the bare reminding our Readers is ſufficient, that in the Reign of *Henry* the IId. of *France*, the Affairs of that Kingdom were in great Confuſion; the Diſputes between the *Catholics* and *Hugonots* being then at the greateſt Height, which threw the Natives of the Kingdom into Parties, and made Numbers of active and induſtrious People willing to leave their native Soil, and ſeek an eaſier and more contented State in diſtant Climates. Amongſt theſe there was one *Nicholas Durant*, Lord of *Villegagnon*, a Man of good Family, ſome Fortune, a Knight of *Malta*, and who had ſerved at Sea with very great Reputation, which ſo far entitled him to the Favour of the Government, that he was made Vice-Admiral of *Bretagne*. But though this Preferment was rather honourable than lucrative, yet it created him ſo much Envy, and he was ſo ill treated at *Nantes*, that he took a ſudden Reſolution to quit the Kingdom at all Events, and carry a Colony into ſome diſtant Part of the World. He had by Chance received ſome tolerable Accounts of *Brazil*, and, having weighed them attentively, he drew up a Scheme for fixing a Settlement in that Country, and a View of the Advantages that might be expected from it; both which he preſented to *Gaſpar de Colligny*, then Admiral of *France*; and demanded his Aſſiſtance, towards the fitting out a Squadron capable of making ſuch a Settlement as he intended.

The Admiral was a Man of great Abilities, and great Virtues; he was zealous for the Proteſtant Religion, and knew that the Sieur *de Villegagnon* was no very warm Catholic; he therefore very readily accepted of his Propoſal, and promiſed to give him all the Encouragement in his

Power. The more the Admiral converſed with this Gentleman, the better he was pleaſed with him; he found him brave and enterpriſing; a Man of ſound Senſe, eloquent, and a good Scholar; therefore he opened to him freely the Cauſe of his taking this Affair ſo much to heart; which was, the ſettling in a good Soil, and wholſome Air, a Proteſtant Colony: That, in caſe the Affairs of his Friends ſhould ever come to be totally ruined in *France*, they might have ſome Place to which they might repair, out of the Reach of their Enemies. The Sieur *de Villegagnon* very readily approved what his Patron deſired, and undertook the Execution of it. Upon which the Admiral repreſented Things ſo to the King, that three Veſſels of convenient Size were fitted out in the moſt effectual Manner, with a ſufficient Number of Seamen, as well as Adventurers, on board: And in the Month of *May*, 1555, this ſmall Squadron ſailed from *Havre de Grace* for *Brazil*, where, after a tedious and troubleſome Voyage, they arrived in *November*. At firſt they landed upon a Rock, which they found to be uninhabitable; and therefore, marching farther within Land, they fixed upon a very commodious Spot of Ground almoſt under the Tropic of *Capricorn*, where they erected a convenient Fortreſs for their Security, both againſt the Natives and the *Portugueze*, which they called *Fort Colligny*. When they were there fixed, the Sieur *de Villegagnon* ſent the Admiral a large Account of his Proceedings and Situation; he deſcribed to him both the Country and the Inhabitants; obſerved to him, that it was extremely practicable to maintain themſelves there, and to make it both an uſeful and a thriving Colony; but at the ſame time he remarked, that ſuch as were ſent over to him, muſt not expect the Delicacies of *Europe*; that they had no other Bread there but what was made of a certain Root ground to Powder, no Wine, much Fiſh, and ſome Veniſon; and that People who could live contentedly upon ſuch Proviſions would be welcome to him, and find a ſecure Retreat at his Fort in *Brazil*.

The Admiral, as ſoon as he had received this Letter, communicated it to the famous *John Calvin* of *Geneva*, who prevailed upon a Dozen of zealous Proteſtants of that City to engage in the Deſign of improving this new Settlement. One *Du Pont*, a Man of good Senſe and Character, was put at the Head of this Affair; and with him were joined two Miniſters, *Peter Richer*, who had been formerly a *Carmelite*, and *William Chartier*; very good Men, but withal great Zealots: They ſet out all together, from *Geneva*, in the Month of *September*, 1556; and went firſt of all to *Chatillon*, where they were very kindly received by the Admiral; and by his Aſſiſtance, joined to their own Intereſt, ſoon got together three hundred Men, who embarked at *Honfleur* on board three Veſſels well provided, about the Middle of *November* following. They arrived at *Fort Colligny* on the 7th of *March*, 1557, and were received with great Joy and Satisfaction; but it was not long that Things continued in this State; for the Sieur *de Villegagnon* and the Miniſter *Richer* fell out about Religion, and their Diſputes roſe ſo high, that the former drove the latter and all his Adherents out of the Colony; upon which they ſailed up the *Rio Janeiro*, and eſtabliſhed themſelves upon the Continent, where they continued about eight Months; and then, either through the Difficulty they found in ſubſiſting, or from their being weary of a Country which ſo little anſwered their Expectations, they returned home to *France*; where they did not fail to repreſent the Sieur *de Villegagnon* in the blackeſt Colours, as a Traitor and Apoſtate. This did his Buſineſs effectually with the Admiral, who, as he had no other View than ſerving the Proteſtant Cauſe by protecting this Eſtabliſhment, ſo when he found it would not anſwer that End, he gave himſelf no farther Concern about it.

The Sieur *de Villegagnon*, finding himſelf thus abandoned, loſt all Patience; and, taking the beſt Meaſures he could for the Security of the Colony in his Abſence, returned to *France*, where he publiſhed an Apology for his own Conduct, in which he painted out the Miniſters in a Light as bad as that in which they had placed him; and, finding this produced no Good, he retired to a Commandery of his own Order, and ſpent the Remainder of his Days in writing againſt the Proteſtants. The *Portugueze*, in the mean time, laid hold of this Opportunity to rid themſelves of their new Neighbours; and the very next Year, 1558, *Emanuel Sa*, then Governor of *Brazil*, cut off the *French* that were left behind, and demoliſhed their Fort. I have dwelt the longer upon this Story becauſe it is very inſtructive, and ſhews the Folly of attempting to raiſe Colonies upon any other than a national Intereſt. Before I quit this Point, there is one curious Circumſtance which I muſt relate, for the Information of the Reader: The *French*, during the ſhort time they were poſſeſſed of this Settlement, made a greater Progreſs in Trade, and eſtabliſhed a more friendly Correſpondence with the Natives, than the *Portugueze* had been able to do in about fifty Years; ſo that the Loſs of this Colony was a very great Diſadvantage to that Nation.

We muſt not, however, attribute this to better Conduct, or Superiority of Genius; for it was owing to neither, but the Effect of a very odd Accident: About twenty Years before, a Ship from *Normandy* had been loſt upon that Coaſt; ſome of the Men got aſhore, were well received by the Natives, married amongſt them, grew as much Savages as themſelves; and having perfectly learned their Language, without abſolutely forgetting their own, did the new Colony, in Quality of Interpreters, great Service; yet I do not find that they joined it, or laid hold of this Opportunity to return to *France*; which I the leſs wonder at, becauſe I have always obſerved that the *French* have a greater Propenſity to theſe ſort of Meaſures than any other Nation, and it is this that ſecures them ſo great an Intereſt with all the Savages bordering upon their Settlements in *North America*. But to return.

8. The *Portugueze*, after this, continued to enjoy their Settlements quietly, till the Year 1612, when they were again diſturbed by the *French*. It is true, that in this Space of Time there happened ſome Diſputes between them and the *Spaniards*, but thoſe were about Limits only, had no extraordinary Conſequences, and were quickly adjuſted; but in regard to the *French*, it fell out quite otherwiſe: One Capt. *Riffaut*, who had been cruizing on the *Spaniards*, happened to touch at the Iſland of *Maragnan*, on the Coaſt of *Brazil*, and there contracted ſo great an Intimacy with the *Indian* Chief of the Iſland, that he invited him to bring a ſufficient Number of his Countrymen to fix a Settlement there, aſſuring him, in the firſt place, that it would turn to a very good Account; and, in the next, that he would give him all the Aſſiſtance in his Power in Support of ſuch a Deſign. Which Offer the *French* Captain readily embraced, and promiſed to make uſe of all the Intereſt and Credit he had to carry this Scheme into Execution.

Accordingly, in the Year 1594, he found means to equip three Ships, and thoſe too ſo effectually, that there might have been juſt Grounds to have hoped ſome extraordinary Succeſs from the Expedition; but whether it be really an eaſier Matter to deal with Savages, than with thoſe who take themſelves to be the moſt civilized People in the World, ſo it was, that Captain *Riffaut* had three or four Mutinies to quell before he could reach his intended Iſland; upon the Coaſt of which, either by Accident, or by the Quarrels among his own People, the biggeſt of his three Ships ran aſhore and was loſt, which obliged him to return to *France* without doing any thing; but, however, ſome few of his People, and amongſt them one Mr. *de Vaux*, choſe to ſtay with the Savages, who made them very welcome. This young Gentleman was very briſk and active, liked the Climate, and continued there ſome time very well pleaſed. His Behaviour to the *Brazilians* was ſo engaging, and he proved uſeful to them in ſo many Reſpects, that they made the ſame Applications to him as the *Indian* Chief had formerly done to Captain *Riffaut*, which at laſt engaged him to think ſeriouſly upon the Subject; the Conſequence of which was, that he took the firſt Opportunity of going home, in order to bring about what his Friends ſeemed to deſire ſo earneſtly.

On his Arrival in *France*, he applied himſelf to King *Henry* IV. and endeavoured to perſuade him that vaſt Advantages would flow from ſuch an Eſtabliſhment. That Monarch, who had the Good of his Subjects at Heart, as much or more than any Prince that ever ſat upon his Throne, was very far from rejecting the Propoſal; but, not caring to riſk much on the Faith of a young Adventurer, he directed a ſmall Veſſel to be equipped; and gave Orders to a Perſon of great Merit and good Senſe, upon whoſe Report he could perfectly depend, whoſe Name was Monſieur *la Rivardier*, to go over with Mr. *Vaux*, which he accordingly did in the Spring of the Year 1604, and remained ſix Months in *Brazil*; where having informed himſelf of all Things neceſſary, he returned to *France*; from whence he made ſeveral Voyages back to *Brazil*, before the Government could come to any Reſolution on the Head of a Colony, becauſe the Propoſitions he made were ſuch as required conſiderable Expence; and he declared, if leſs were done, it would be thrown away.

At length, however, the Thing was reſolved upon, and Preparations were actually making for ſending a ſtrong Squadron thither, when the Murder of *Henry* IV. put a Stop to it, and all Things of the like Nature; however, Mr. *Rivardier* was ſo fond of the Place, and ſo much perſuaded that a Settlement there would turn to Account immediately, that he imbarked his whole private Fortune, and drew ſeveral of his Friends to do the like, in order to carry this Scheme into Execution. By this means he found a way to equip three ſtout Veſſels, and to engage about three hundred Men to go to *Brazil*; having obtained from the Queen Regent the neceſſary Powers for that Purpoſe; and, on the 19th of *March*, 1612, he embarked with them at *Cancale*, on the Coaſt of *Bretagne*.

A Storm, however, forced them into *Plymouth*, from which Port they ſailed again in *April*, and arrived, in *July* following, at the Iſland of *Maragnan*. There he began to erect a Fortreſs, on the Summit of a Hill, near the beſt Port in the Iſland, and between two fine Rivers which waſhed both Sides of the Mountain, and ran from thence into the Sea. Upon the Baſtions of this Fort they mounted twenty two pieces of Cannon; and every thing ſeemed to promiſe them all the Succeſs they could deſire; when, about two Years after their firſt Arrival, a ſtrong Squadron preſented itſelf before the Bay, ſent by Don *Jerom de Albuquerque*, the *Portugueſe* Governor of *Brazil*, who ſoon forced them to ſurrender; and, according to his Orders, the Place was inſtantly, and abſolutely, demoliſhed; which cured the *French* of all farther Thoughts of ſettling in that Country, or diſturbing its Inhabitants for the future.

9. The Crown of *Portugal* devolving on the Head of *Philip* II. King of *Spain*, in the Year 1581, he became thereby Poſſeſſor of *Brazil*; which he left to his Succeſſors, together with the War againſt the Inhabitants of the Seven United Provinces in the Low Countries, who had formed themſelves into a Republick, and ſhaken off their Dependance on the Crown of *Spain*. The Progreſs of this new Republic was ſo rapid, that, after forming an *Eaſt India* Company, which in a very ſhort Space of Time brought prodigious Advantages to its Proprietors, they, in 1624, proceeded to ſet up a *Weſt India* Company likewiſe, which proved fatal to the *Portugueſe* from its firſt Inſtitution. *James Willikens*, and the famous Sea Captain *L'Hermite*, were ſent to cruize upon the Coaſt of *Portugal*, where they took abundance of rich Prizes; and, upon their Return, it was determined to equip a new Squadron the very next Spring, in order to attack *Brazil*.

The *Dutch* were very well apprized of the State of that Country, and of the Small Reſiſtance they were likely to meet with in it. The Coaſts, which were no leſs than twelve hundred Leagues in Extent, were not like to be every where well fortified; the People, who had for ſo long a Tract of Years enjoyed a profound Peace, thoſe Attempts of the *French*, before-mentioned, only excepted, could ſcarce be thought martial; and almoſt all the great Families in *Portugal* having ſome of their younger Branches ſettled in that Country, they might very well hope to meet with vaſt Riches. And, beſides all this, the *Dutch* had taken great Care to carry on a kind of Smuggling Trade there, for ſeveral Years, by which they had many fair Opportunities of penetrating into the Secrets of the Country; and, having been ſo often received as Friends, the coming of their Veſſels upon the Coaſts was not like to create immediate Apprehenſions of an Enemy.

Such was the Situation of things when *James Willikens* entered the Bay of *All Saints*, with a Squadron under his Command; and began to ſhew, very clearly, what his Intentions were; which ſo frighted the *Portugueze*, that they immediately uſed all poſſible Methods to carry off, and ſecure, their Effects, inſtead of providing for their Defence. The *Dutch*, taking Advantage of their Conſternation, landed immediately; and their Admiral, without much Difficulty, made himſelf Maſter of the great City of *St. Salvador*, which was the Capital of *Brazil*. The *Portugueze* Governor, Don *Diego de Mendoca*, had neither the Courage to defend the Place, nor the Prudence to withdraw himſelf in Time; and his Behaviour, though very bad in itſelf, appeared ſo much the worſe, from the Conduct of another Perſon; who, though in like Circumſtances, ſhewed himſelf of a quite different Temper: This was the Archbiſhop *Michael Texeira*, of one of the beſt Families in *Portugal*, and in Years; who ſummoned all the Clergy and Monks about him; and, having repreſented to them the Neceſſity there was of laying aſide their clerical Capacities at ſuch a Juncture, prevailed upon them to take up Arms; and, though deſerted by the Governor, his Soldiers, and the Inhabitants, they made for ſome Time a very gallant Defence, and at laſt made a good Retreat to a neighbouring Town; where, after acting the Part of Soldiers ſo well, they turned Pioneers; and, under the Conduct of their Archbiſhop, fortified the Place, and gave the Enemy as much Trouble as if they had been the moſt regular Troops in the World; which Inſtance ſhews, at once, the Danger of having a Coward, and the Advantage of having any Man of Spirit, at the Head of a Colony, let the Force he commands be what it will.

But the *Dutch*, by the taking this Town, beſides acquiring an immenſe Booty, became Maſters of the largeſt and beſt peopled Diſtrict in the whole Country; ſo that it looked as if they were in a fair Way of making a compleat Conqueſt, in a very ſhort Space of Time, of the whole Colony; which it is very probable they would have done, if it had not been for the heroic Archbiſhop, who took upon himſelf the Quality of Captain General; which he ſaid came to him from Heaven, in the legible Characters of public Neceſſity; and every Man of Spirit in *Brazil* thought this Authority ſufficient.

As ſoon as the News of this Misfortune reached *Portugal*, it threw, not only the City of *Liſbon*, but the whole Kingdom, into Confuſion; and ſo much the greater, becauſe moſt of the Nobility ſuſpected that the *Spaniſh* Miniſtry were not diſpleaſed at an Event which might leſſen the Wealth and Power of their great Families, and abate ſomewhat of that high Spirit which they had hitherto ſhewn, ever ſince they fell under the Dominion of the *Spaniſh* Monarchs. This was, indeed, probable enough, for at that Time two thirds of the *Portugueze* Nobility had their Eſtates, or at leaſt the beſt Part of them, in *Brazil*; ſo that, by the Loſs of that Country, they muſt have been brought very low.

But, however, it very ſoon appeared, that this refined Notion had nothing in it of Truth; for King *Philip* IV. in whoſe Reign this fatal Affair happened, ſhewed himſelf as much concerned as any *Portugueze* Prince could have been, when he was informed of this Deſcent of the *Dutch*. He immediately ſent his Orders to *Portugal* for equipping a Fleet for the Recovery of *St. Salvador*; and, at the ſame Time, wrote a Letter, with his own Hand, to the Nobility, deſiring their Aſſiſtance on this Occaſion, and promiſing to ſend a ſtrong *Spaniſh* Squadron to join whatever Fleet they could fit out. This revived the Spirits of the Nation, and the *Portugueze* Lords exerted themſelves ſo effectually, that in three Months time they had a Fleet of twenty-ſix Sail, well equipped, and thoroughly manned, ready to put to Sea.

The *Spaniards* were not quite ſo haſty in their Preparations; but, however, in 1626, ſo early as the Month of *February*, their Fleet joined that of *Portugal*. The whole was commanded by Don *Frederic de Toledo Oſorio*, Marquis of *Valdueſa*, and there were on board it fifteen thouſand Men.

But it is now Time for us to look over to *Brazil*, where the *Dutch* being in Poſſeſſion of *St. Salvador*, and the Country about it, began to extend themſelves very raſhly on every Side, either from Contempt of the *Portugueze*, who had behaved ſo ill, or from an extravagant Thirſt of Plunder. The brave Archbiſhop ſoon convinced them of their Miſtake; he had now got together fifteen hundred Men, and with theſe he not only cut off moſt of their Parties, but at laſt fairly drove them into the Town, cut off their Proviſions, blocked them up, and reduced them to great Diſtreſs. As ſoon as he had done this, however, he put the Army under the Command firſt of *Nunez Marino*, and then of Don *Francis de Mauro*; for he declared, that his own Commiſſion expired with the Neceſſity that beſtowed it.

In theſe Circumſtances were Things in this Country, when the *Spaniſh* and *Portugueze* Fleet arrived in the Bay of *All Saints*. Don *Emanuel de Meneſſez* landed immediately four thouſand Men, and with theſe joined the Army before the Place, which, as we may eaſily apprehend, did not hold out long; though, to do the *Dutch* Governor Juſtice, he was inclined to defend it to the laſt Extremity; but the Garriſon, differing from him in Opinion, mutinied, and forced him to ſurrender on the 20th of *April*, upon which the *Spaniſh* and *Portugueze* Fleet returned triumphant, ſuppoſing the War to be an End; and that the *Dutch* like the *French* would have a care how they made Attempts again upon *Brazil*.

10. In this, however, they were greatly miſtaken, for the rich Plunder of *St. Salvador* being brought by Admiral *Willikens* into *Holland*, the People were continually enquiring whether there were not other great Cities in *Brazil*, and when they ſhould go and take them. This Spirit, which at that Time of Day did not at all diſpleaſe the Government, encouraged the *Weſt-India* Company to think of making another Expedition. Accordingly in 1629 they began to equip a very ſtrong Squadron for this Purpoſe, which was to be commanded by Admiral *Lonk*, and was to take a conſiderable Body of Land Troops on board under General *Wardenbourg*. This Fleet, which conſiſted of no leſs than forty-ſix Sail of Men of War, arrived in Sight of *Fernambuca* on the 3d of *February*, 1630; and on the 15th of the ſame Month General *Wardenbourg* landed with near three thouſand Men, and marched directly towards the City of *Olinda*. He found it covered by three good Forts, in each of which there was a numerous Garriſon. He attacked, however, and carried them all, but not without a vigorous Reſiſtance; but this Succeſs in taking theſe Forts, ſo effectually frighted the Inhabitants of the City, that they immediately ſubmitted, though the Natives ſhewed a great deal of Spirit, and behaved on this and every other Occaſion with great Courage and Fidelity.

I cannot loſe this Opportunity of making one Remark, which, however, has been made before by the ingenious Mr. *Salmon*; which is, that the *Poztugueze* have loſt nothing by the great Pains they have taken in converting the *Brazilians*, ſince by making them Chriſtians of their own Communion, they have made them good Subjects; and thereby added great Strength to their Colony, which has proved a means of ſecuring it againſt all Enemies; and one would think much might be done by ſome other Nations, if they would follow the ſame Method, inſtead of extirpating the *Indians* in the Countries where they are ſettled, or which is much the ſame thing, leaving them in a State of Infidelity, and allowing them to extirpate each other, which if they were Chriſtians they would not do, but join the *Europeans*, as they did here.

While the *Dutch* General was thus employed on Shore, the *Dutch* Admiral was no leſs active by Sea; and as the *Portugueze* had no naval Force to reſiſt him, or at leaſt none in Compariſon of that employed againſt them; it is no great Wonder, that they reduced all the Sea-coaſt to the South of *Olinda*, which they did in a very ſhort Space of Time, and likewiſe took care to ſecure and fortify every Place that fell into their Hands, being reſolved not to fall into the ſame Error which had been fatal to them before; but to obtain ſuch a Footing in the Country, as might enable them to keep their Ground againſt the whole Force of the *Portugueze*, and lay a ſolid Foundation for the Execution of the great Deſign they had formed, of making themſelves Maſters of the beſt Part of *Brazil*; which, it muſt be confeſſed was a very bold Undertaking, conſidering the *Portugueze* had been ſo long in Poſſeſſion of this Colony, and were become ſo numerous. It was with this View that Admiral *Lonk* reſolved to make himſelf Maſter, at all Events, of a very ſtrong Poſt, which ſeemed the fitteſt for his Purpoſe; and of which, therefore, it is neceſſary, that we ſhould give the Reader ſome Account. The whole Coaſt of *Brazil* is as it were guarded, or defended, by a long thick flat Ridge of Rocks, in ſome Places twenty, in others thirty Yards, broad: If it were not for Breaks and Paſſages here and there in this rocky Intrenchment, it would be impoſſible to approach the Shore. There is a very large Paſſage two Leagues to the North of *Olinda*; but almoſt before this City this Ridge of Rocks appears again, and the Inhabitants paſs to it in Boats at High-water, for at low the Rocks even in the Paſſage are viſible enough.

This Part of the Ridge the *Portugueze* call *Reciffo*, and the *Dutch Receif*. On the North Point was an open Paſſage for the Ships to approach the Shore, very narrow, and at Spring-Tide not above twenty-two Foot deep. Between this Ridge of Rocks and the Continent lay a ſandy Iſland, about a League in Length, which was called the *Sandy Receif*, to diſtinguiſh it from the ſtony. It lay in the Latitude of 8°. 20′. South, and had a good Caſtle, called *Fort St. George*, well furniſhed with Artillery, and eſteemed impregnable; this was the Place the *Dutch* Admiral ſought to make himſelf Maſter of, which he did; and it was in a great Meaſure the Cauſe of the City being taken. After the *Dutch* were poſſeſſed of it they made the Receif very ſtrong, and the chief Seat of their Commerce; ſo that it became one of the moſt conſiderable Places in *Brazil*, eſpecially after they had demoliſhed the City of *Olinda*, that they might not divide their Forces too much, as they muſt have done, if they had long endeavoured to keep it.

11. The News of this ſecond Attempt upon *Brazil* by the *Dutch*, and their having actually conquered the Captainſhip of *Fernambuca*, alarmed the *Portugueze* and *Spaniards* exceſſively, and obliged them to think of ſending thither immediately, ſuch a Force as might be able to drive out the Enemy, and ſecure the Country effectually for the future. It happened at a very bad Time for them, as the Diſaffection of the *Portugueze* to the *Spaniſh* Government was, at this Juncture, greater than ever; but the Neceſſity was ſo ſtrong, and ſo apparent, that, notwithſtanding the many Difficulties they had to ſtruggle with, and the Weakneſs of their Government, a Fleet and Army was ordered for this Service. But the equipping of the one, and the raiſing the other, took up a great deal of Time, which the *Dutch* employed in fortifying themſelves, in extending their Conqueſts, and taking all the neceſſary Precautions for the Defence of them, in which they proceeded with all that Induſtry and Vigilance, for which, in thoſe Days, their Nation was famous.

Before we proceed farther, it will be proper to take notice of thoſe Cauſes, which induced the *Dutch Weſt-India* Company to become ſo extremely ſanguine in their Endeavours to make themſelves Maſters of this Country; which I am the better able to aſſign, having ſeen a Copy of a Memorial, preſented by that Company to the States in the Year 1643, containing the very Reaſons in ſupport of their Conduct in this Particular. In the Beginning of this Memorial it is ſaid, that the Cauſes which can beſt juſtify launching into an extraordinary Expence, for acquiring any Place whatever, are reaſonable Views of immediate Profit, which ought to be very conſiderable; or future Proſpects of Gain, that ought to be ſtill more ſo; and both theſe they affirm, induced them to proſecute with ſo great Zeal the Conqueſt of *Brazil*. As to the former, they alledged three Things: Firſt, the Wholeſomeneſs of the Climate, the Pleaſantneſs and Fertility of the Country, which rendered it, of all others yet known, the fitteſt for receiving and maintaining a conſiderable Colony; they next take notice of its convenient Situation for Trade, as being in a manner at an equal Diſtance, or at leaſt in a more equal Diſtance than any other Country, from *Europe* and the *Indies*: And thirdly, they mention the rich Product of this Country in Sugars, as alone deſerving all the Expence they had been at about it, ſince they were better in Quality, made with much leſs Expence, and tranſported with far greater Eaſe from hence, to all Markets where this valuable Commodity could be ſold, than from any other Place. As to the ſecond Point, what might be hereafter expected from their being in Poſſeſſion of this Country, they likewiſe took notice of three ſeveral Heads: Firſt, they laid it down as a Thing evident, that the Poſſeſſion of *Brazil* was of equal Conſequence, in time of Peace and in time of War: In regard to the former, it would afford the Means of raiſing very large and very convenient Magazines, for the Supply of ſuch Ships as might either touch there in long Voyages, or be driven into their Ports, as very often happened from Diſtreſs of Weather. And as to the latter, it would afford greater Advantages in equipping, refitting, and ſheltering, either whole Squadrons of Men of War, or Privateers, than any other Place in the known World. They next alledged, that it was ſo placed as that not only their *Eaſt* and *Weſt India* Fleets might touch there very conveniently for Refreſhments; but that they muſt be obliged to put in there, and could not eaſily, or at leaſt not ſafely, proceed in ſuch diſtant Voyages without having ſuch Aſſiſtance. And laſtly, they ſuggeſted, that no Place in the World was ſo happily ſeated for commanding, at once, both the *Eaſt* and *Weſt India* Trades, and conſequently the whole Commerce of the Globe. It is true, that theſe Reaſons were given to the States ten Years after the Time of which we are now writing; but without doubt they had occurred to, and been conſidered by, the Directors of the *Weſt India* Company long before, which induced us to place them as we have done.

It is very probable, that either theſe Reaſons, or ſome of a like Nature, were laid before the States by the *Weſt India* Company about this time, ſince we find the utmoſt Readineſs expreſſed to aſſiſt and ſupport them. It was with this View, that, as ſoon as their Fleet returned from *Brazil*, Admiral *Pater* was ſent thither with a much ſtronger Force, in order to put the *Dutch* in a Condition to conquer that whole Country. He arrived in Sight of the Coaſt of *Fernambuca* on the firſt of *May*, 1631, where he found the City of *Olinda* in the Poſſeſſion of his Countrymen, but cloſely blocked up by the famous *Portugueze* General *Albuquerque*, with a numerous Army. The Admiral thought fit, thereupon, to land four hundred Men, under the Command of an experienced Officer, to take a View of the Enemy's Works, that he might be the better able to judge how to attack them. But the *Dutch* Garriſon in the City no ſooner ſaw his Fleet come to an Anchor, and theſe Troops debarked, than they made ſuch a vigorous Sally upon the Beſiegers, as forced them to retire from before the City with conſiderable Loſs. After this, Admiral *Pater* landed two thouſand Men; and, at the ſame time, acting upon the Sea Coaſt with his Fleet, enabled his Countrymen to extend their Conqueſts very conſiderably, eſpecially towards the South, having an Intention to enter the Bay of *All Saints*, and attack the City of *St. Salvador* by Land and Sea; but while he was thus executing great Things, and projecting greater, he had Intelligence that the *Spaniſh* and *Portugueze* Fleet was actually at Sea, and of a Strength ſufficient to undertake the Relief of *Brazil*.

This Fleet, which was commanded by Admiral *D'Oquendo*, had ſailed from *Spain* in a very indifferent Condition, though it conſiſted of about thirty Sail. At the *Canaries* it was joined by fifteen more, and in the Height of the *Cape de Verd* Iſlands met with ſuch an Acceſſion of Force, as rendered it fifty-four Sail of large Ships. The *Dutch* Admiral had but ſixteen, but he was jealous of the Honour of his Country, and therefore reſolved to fight at any rate. It was with this View, that he might render his Countrymen the greater Service, that he reſolved not to wait for, but to meet, the Enemy, which he accordingly did in the Latitude of ſix Degrees South. As ſoon as they appeared in Sight, and the *Dutch* Fleet ſaw how unequal the Diſpute was like to prove, ten of their Captains bore away, and left the Admiral with ſix Ships only, to fight an Enemy almoſt ten times his Strength. Admiral *Pater* had two Flags under him, who, to their immortal Honour, were two of thoſe who joined him; ſo that there were three Admirals to ſix Ships.

The Battle was long and bloody; abundance of the *Portugueze* were ſunk; and it plainly appeared, that if the other ten Ships had ſtaid, Victory would have declared for the ſmaller Number; but, at laſt, Admiral *Thys*, in the *Prince William*, was ſunk; and not long after, a *Portugueze* Man of War diſcharging a Broad-ſide at the *Dutch* Admiral, a Ball unluckily fell in the Powder-room, by which the Ship was blown up, and that brave Man loſt. The four *Dutch* Ships that remained, retired upon this, and did it with ſo much Courage and Addreſs, that they not only arrived ſafely at *Olinda*, but likewiſe carried off a *Portugueze* Man of War that they had taken; ſo that, upon the whole, it may be ſafely affirmed there never was a more glorious Action than this, ſince the *Dutch* became a maritime Power. When Admiral *D'Oquendo* arrived, he contented himſelf with ſending Refreſhments and Reinforcements to the Army of *Albuquerque*, but attempted nothing againſt the City of *Olinda*, and conſequently left Things in very little better State than he found them; which he excuſed from the great Loſs he had ſuffered in the Battle, amounting, in the whole, to no leſs than thirteen Sail taken and ſunk.

In the Month of *October* he ſet ſail for *Liſbon*; but had the Misfortune to meet in his Paſſage with four *Dutch* Men of War well manned, who made no ſcruple of attacking him, though he had ſtill forty Sail, and moſt of them large Ships. He loſt in this Engagement the Captain of his own Ship, twenty-two Captains more, his Vice-Admiral, three Men of War, two Frigates, and about ſeven hundred private Men; ſo that he brought home the wretched Remains of a Fleet unfortunate from the Beginning, and yet without any Impeachment of his own Character; the Blame falling intirely upon the Miniſters, who had obliged him, in ſpite of his Remonſtrances, to ſail with Ships half equipped and half manned.

However, when the Misfortune could not be remedied, theſe Miniſters declared, that they were willing to do all that was left in their Power, which was, to repair it; and therefore Orders were given for providing a greater Fleet, and for equipping and manning thereof, as it ought to be; the Command of which was to be given to Don *Frederic de Toledo*, whoſe Reputation was remarkably high, and not without Reaſon. But, after abundance of Pains taken, it was found that nothing could be done that Seaſon, and therefore it was deferred till the next Spring; when it was reſolved to ſend ſuch a Force as ſhould put an end to the War at once; but as it is much eaſier to talk of ſuch Things, and to lay fine Schemes in the Cabinet, than to carry them into Execution; ſo, notwithſtanding this famous Admiral actually proceeded on his Voyage with a very large Fleet, every way well provided, yet he did ſo little, that none of the Authors I have met with have recorded what he did.

12. Theſe Delays, to which the *Spaniſh* Affairs have been always liable, proved extremely prejudicial to them in *Brazil*; where the *Dutch*, having the Advantage of ſeveral good Officers both by Sea and Land, made a moſt ſurpriſing Progreſs; reducing, in the Space of ſeven Years, four intire Captainſhips under their Dominions, *viz. Fernambuca*, *Tamaraca*, *Paraiba*, and *Rio Grande*; and the Importance of theſe Conqueſts very quickly appeared in the Miſchiefs done to the *Spaniards* in this and other Parts of *America*, of which we have a very exact Computation: From whence it is evident, that from the Time of the *Dutch Weſt India* Company's being erected, to the Year 1637, they had deſtroyed and taken, in Money and Merchandize, to the Value of forty-five Millions

of Florins, or four Millions and an half of our Money; and of eight hundred Ships, which the Crown of *Spain* had fitted out againſt them, they deſtroyed or took five hundred and forty-ſeven. Theſe extraordinary and unexpected Strokes of good Fortune, raiſed the Spirits of the Directors of the *Dutch* Company to ſuch a Degree, that they reſolved to put themſelves at once upon a Level with the *Eaſt-India* Company; and to do this effectually, they could think of no better Way than to make choice of ſome Perſon of great Quality and Intereſt, whom they might put at the Head of their Affairs, and whoſe Credit and Power might add a greater Strength to their own.

It was with this View that they caſt their Eyes on Count *John Maurice de Naſſau*, who was nearly related to the Prince of *Orange*, and who had ſerved the States for ſeveral Years, in their Armies, with great Abilities and Applauſe. He very readily accepted the Propoſal that was made him, and, with the Conſent of the Prince of *Orange* and the States-General, was declared Governor of *Brazil* and *South America*, with the ſame Powers given to the Governor-General of the *Eaſt Indies* in all Affairs Civil and Military. That this new Officer might take Poſſeſſion of his Dignity in a manner ſuitable to his Quality and Character, the Company reſolved to fit out a Fleet of thirty-two Sail of large Ships, and to embark a Body of two thouſand ſeven hundred Land-Forces; but as this took up a good deal of Time, and Count *Maurice* was impatient to be gone, he ſailed from the *Texel* on the 25th of *October*, 1636, with four Ships only, and no more than three hundred and fifty Soldiers on board; with which ſmall Squadron he arrived on the Coaſt of *Brazil* on the 23d of *January*, 1637, with *Adrian Vander Duſſen*, who had joined him near the Iſland of *Madeira*: He was ſoon after followed by the Captains *Selan*, *Carpenter*, and *Giſelin*, who were to ſerve under him, and very ſoon took the Field with two great Bodies of Troops, the one conſiſting of near three thouſand Men, with which he prepared to act againſt the *Portugueze* Army; and the other of ſix hundred, which was to be employed in various Expeditions, to divide and diſtract the Enemy.

On the other hand, as they could not help perceiving that their All was now at Stake, the *Portugueze* had a great Army in the Field under the Command of the Count *de Banjola*, an Officer of great Courage and Experience, who had ſerved under the Marquis *de Spinola* in *Flanders*; and another Body of light-armed Troops under one *Cameron*, who was a *Brazilian* by Birth, had raiſed himſelf by his Merit, and always ſerved them with equal Reputation and Fidelity. They had a ſtrong Garriſon at *Porto Cavallo*, with which they harraſſed the *Dutch* in the Captainſhip of *Fernambuca* extremely; and as they did not doubt this would be the firſt Place attacked, they aſſembled the Bulk of their Forces under Count *de Banjola* for the Defence of it. It very ſoon appeared, that, in this reſpect, they had formed a very right Judgment; for Count *Maurice* had no ſooner put himſelf at the Head of his Army, than he marched directly towards *Porto Cavallo*; upon which a Battle enſued, wherein, after a very obſtinate Reſiſtance, the *Portugueze* were defeated, and afterwards forced in their Camp, though it was very ſtrongly intrenched. Upon which the Count *de Banjola* retired with the Remains of his Forces under the Cannon of the Citadel of *Povacaon*; from whence however he retired on the Approach of the *Dutch*, who beſieged that Fortreſs in form: There was in it a Garriſon of ſix hundred Men, who very bravely defended the Place for a Fortnight, and were then obliged to capitulate.

Count *Maurice* purſued this Succeſs, and advanced with his Army to the Town of *Openeda* on the River of *St. Francis*, at the Diſtance of about ſix Miles from the Sea, which he took, and built a Citadel there, and another at the Mouth of the River, by which he effectually covered his new Conqueſt. He then returned to *Olinda*, and having provided for the ſettling the Civil and Military Government in the manner directed by his Commiſſion, he reſolved to fit out two Fleets; one under the Command of Admiral *Lichthart*, with Orders to attack the South-Coaſt of *Brazil*; the other under the Command of Commodore *Hanſkins*, which was deſtined to a Service of ſtill greater Importance, and of which therefore I think myſelf obliged to give an exact, though conciſe, Account. From the very Time that the *Dutch Weſt India* Company made their firſt Attempt upon *Brazil*, and were ſo ſucceſsful in taking the City of *St. Salvador*, they had meditated the bold Deſign of fixing themſelves likewiſe on the other Shore of *Africa*, ſuppoſing, that if they could once make themſelves Maſters of the two Points of the oppoſite Continent, they ſhould be able to bridle the Ocean, and, by having the Command of this Paſſage to the *Indies*, diſtreſs the *Spaniards*, *Portugueze*, *Engliſh*, and, in ſhort, all other Nations in the North. There was ſomething very wiſe and very great in this Project, ſomething equal to the Genius of a trading Nation; and, in ſhort, ſomething worthy of being imitated, which is the Reaſon that I have mentioned it.

But though, with a View to execute this Scheme, they had ſearched all the Coaſts from *Cape de Verd* to the *Cape of Good-Hope*, yet they had found no Place proper for that Purpoſe: At laſt it was agreed, that nothing could anſwer this End ſo well as the Caſtle of *St. George de la Mina*, on the Coaſt of *Guinea*, in the Poſſeſſion of the *Portugueze*. This Place accordingly they attempted in the Year 1625, but miſcarried with very great Loſs, which however did not diſcourage them. For, having a ſtrong Settlement in that Neighbourhood, their Governor, whoſe Name was *Nicholas Van Yperen*, ſent to adviſe Count *Maurice*, that now was the proper Time, and if he ſent him a ſmall Squadron, with a competent Body of Troops on board, he made no queſtion of his being able to carry this important Project into Execution.

It was with this View that Commodore *Hanſkins* was diſpatched: He joined the *Dutch* Governor on the 25th of *July*, and they attacked the Caſtle with ſuch Reſolution, that though it was one of the ſtrongeſt Places in that Part of the World, yet it ſurrendered on the 29th of *Auguſt*; ſo that Commodore *Hanſkins* returned to *Olinda* in the Month of *October* following, and was received by Count *Maurice* with all the Marks of Honour and Reſpect that the Performance of ſo important a Service deſerved. The Compaign in 1638 was equally glorious for the *Dutch*; the Count *de Banjola* had again aſſembled a very numerous Army, for the Defence of the Captainſhip of *Segerippa*, which however Count *Maurice* attacked and defeated; after which he took the Capital, and reduced the whole Province.

This great Run of Succeſs made ſuch a Noiſe in that Part of the World, that the Inhabitants, or rather the Natives, of *Siara*, one of the Northern Captainſhips, declared for the *Dutch*; and, upon a Promiſe of being left free, offered to aſſiſt them againſt the *Portugueze*. A Body of Troops was accordingly ſent to join them, under the Command of Captain *Gartman*, who, with the Help of a *Brazilian* Prince, *Algodojo*, reduced that whole Diſtrict. It is, however, to be obſerved, that it was the Infidel *Brazilians* that were Enemies to the *Portugueze*; for thoſe whom they converted remained always firm to them, and began even at this Time to raiſe Inſurrections in their Favour in the Captainſhips of *Paraiba* and *Rio Grande*, which the *Dutch* had ſubdued; and this obliged Count *Maurice* to reduce and demoliſh ſeveral of their beſt Towns; and, the better to keep them under, he likewiſe found it neceſſary to rebuild and fortify the Town of *Philipina*, which he called *Frederickſtadt*, in honour of the Prince of *Orange*.

Count *Maurice*, having been ſo fortunate in all his Undertakings, reſolved now to put in Execution the repeated Orders he had received from the *Weſt India* Company, for attacking *St. Salvador* in the Bay of *All Saints*, which was looked upon as the Capital of all *Brazil*: He embarked, for this Purpoſe, all the Troops he could draw together at *Olinda*, and he landed with them in the Bay beforementioned on the 8th of *April*, 1638, thinking to have ſurpriſed the *Portugueze*. The Count *de Banjola* was in the Neighbourhood with a ſmall Body of regular Troops, with which he immediately threw himſelf into the Place, though the Governor of it was his Enemy, and it was upon the Differences known to ſubſiſt between them, that Count *Maurice* chiefly reckoned. The *Portugueze* Governor, at firſt, diſputed the Command with Count

Banjola, but that Nobleman told him, their Quarrels could only ſerve to ruin them; whereas, if they agreed, each of them might become as great as he could wiſh. To which Propoſal the Governor anſwered: *Sir, I perceive you are a wiſer Man than I, and no Body ſhall obey your Orders more punctually.*

Count *Maurice* attacked, and, without much Reſiſtance, made himſelf Maſter of the ſtrong Fort of *Albert*, that of *St. Bartholomew*, and the famous Caſtle of *St. Philip*. This Succeſs encouraged him to erect two Batteries againſt the City of *St. Salvador*, and to attack at the ſame Time Fort *Roſes*, which covered the City on one Side; and a Hornwork, which was its principal Strength, on the other: There lay between theſe a Piece of Ground covered with Shrubs and Buſhes: Count *Banjola* adviſed the Governor to poſt himſelf there with four hundred of his own Troops, while he made a Sally with his Forces. This Scheme had the Effect he deſired, for, after an obſtinate Diſpute, the *Dutch*, endeavouring to retire through that Piece of Ground, were attacked in the Rear; and, beſides three hundred of their beſt Men, loſt four Officers of Diſtinction, and their principal Engineer. Upon which Count *Maurice* abandoned the Caſtles he had taken, and raiſed the Siege with ſome Precipitation.

This proved in many Reſpects fortunate for the *Portugueze*, who otherwiſe were in the utmoſt Danger of being totally undone. In the firſt place, it ſhewed that neither Count *Maurice* nor his *Dutch* Troops were invincible; but that if other Men did their Duty they might be overcome; in the next, it totally reconciled the *Portugueze* Generals; who perceiving that the Count de *Banjola* was far enough from depreciating other Mens Merit; and that, on the contrary, he aſcribed much of that to their Courage, which in reality was due to his own Conduct, they changed their Meaſures immediately, and, from thwarting his Councils, received and executed his Orders with the higheſt Reſpect. Laſtly, it hindered the ſavage *Brazilians* from taking Arms in favour of the *Dutch*, which was what the *Portugueze*, of all Things, feared the moſt; becauſe they knew that a little Diſcipline made them excellent Soldiers, at leaſt for that Climate.

But as Misfortunes ſeldom come alone; ſo on the very Heels of this Miſchance on Shore followed another at Sea, no leſs to the Loſs, and much more to the Diſcredit of the *Dutch* Arms. We have, in another Part of this Work, ſpoke of the Taking the *Spaniſh* Plate Fleet, by *Peter Hein*, which was the greateſt Action performed under the Auſpice of the *Dutch Weſt-India* Company; and, next to that, was their taking *St. Salvador*, which made them ſo eager to ſee both theſe great Actions repeated. We have already ſhewn what became of the Attempt to gratify them in one; and, though, we digreſs a little from our Subject, yet the Reader will probably be glad to learn what was the Fate of the latter. Thus then the Caſe ſtood. The *States General* and the *Weſt-India* Company equally approved the bold Spirit and ſage Conduct of *Cornelius Jol*; who, by mere Dint of Merit, had raiſed himſelf from the loweſt Station in the Fleet, to be thought worthy of the Command of it; and he it was that, about this Time, they pitched upon to repeat the glorious Action of *Peter Hein*, and to bring the *Spaniſh* Treaſures, once more, into the Low Countries; a Commiſſion which he readily accepted, and to which, it was thought, they had no Seaman in their Service, more equal.

He ſailed from the *Texel* the 14th of *April* 1638, and, touching at *Brazil*, communicated to Count *Maurice* the Inſtructions he had received, who thereupon furniſhed him immediately with ſix hundred good Men, and Proviſions for ſeven Months, after which he ſailed in Search of the *Spaniſh* Fleet. He fell in with them a little to the Weſt of the Iſland of *Cuba*, but eſcorted by a greater Number of Ships of War, and thoſe too large and better equipped than he expected; his Squadron conſiſted but of thirteen Sail; with which, however, he ventured to attack them, and there is little Doubt to be made, that he would have given a good Account of them too, if thoſe who ſerved under him had followed his Example; but when the Diſpute grew warm all his Squadron left him and their Vice-Admiral, except two Ships, who fought very gallantly, till their Captains were killed.

Cornelius Jol diſengaged his four Ships from thoſe of the Enemy, and, returning to his own Squadron, ſent for the Officers on board, diſmiſſed ſuch as had behaved worſt, reprimanded the reſt, and exhorted them all to do their Duty better the next Time, as he was determined to renew the Attack: He did ſo accordingly, but it was with the like Succeſs; his Captains abandoned him again, and he again diſengaged himſelf, but with more Difficulty: He ſent for his Officers the ſecond Time; and being now perſuaded, that it was not ſo much through Fear of the Enemy, as Averſion to him, that they miſbehaved; he treated them with greater Gentleneſs, diſplaced none of them, but engaged them all to ſign a Reſolution to fight the Enemy, when they ſhould be next commanded ſo to do, and to obey their commanding Officer exactly, and with Alacrity, which they did chearfully.

Highly pleaſed with this Pledge of their Fidelity, he fell upon the *Spaniards* a third Time, when they behaved a little better at firſt, but ſoon after ſhewed that they were more afraid of Danger than of Perjury; for they abandoned him again, which ſo provoked that gallant Officer, that he caſhiered five of his Captains, gave their Ships to inferior Officers, and went in ſearch of the *Spaniards* for the fourth Time. He then found his Opportunity was loſt, the *Spaniards* were ſeparated and retired into ſeveral Ports, ſo that he was able to do nothing. He then divided his Fleet into three ſmall Squadrons, ſtationed one before the *Havanna*, detached another to *Brazil*, and returned home with the third, where he was received with Honour and Reſpect; his Maſters declaring that they were entirely ſatiſfied with his Conduct, and that they did not impute the Miſcarriage to him, but to thoſe who out of Fear and Pride had diſobeyed his Orders.

13. After Count *Maurice* returned from his fruitleſs Expedition againſt *St. Salvador*, he applied himſelf with the utmoſt Diligence to the Eſtabliſhment of good Order and perfect Diſcipline in all Parts of his Government; reviewing his Troops in Perſon; appointing experienced Officers to command them; fortifying all the frontier Places; and giving all Sort of Encouragement to ſuch of the Natives as ſhewed an Inclination to aſſiſt him, and to live peaceably under the Protection of the *Dutch*; by which wiſe and prudent Meaſures he prevented the Enemy from making thoſe Advantages that might have been expected from their late Succeſs. The *Spaniſh* Government, having received an exact Account of the State of Affairs in *Brazil*, came to a ſettled Reſolution of repairing their paſt Miſtakes, by ſending thither ſuch a Fleet, and ſuch an Army, as ſhould effectually put an end to the War, by obliging the *Dutch* to abandon all their Conqueſts in that Country.

This Fleet of theirs conſiſted of twenty-ſix Galleons doubled manned, and provided with every other Neceſſary in the ſame Proportion; twenty large Men of War, and five thouſand regular Troops, under the Command of a *Portugueze* Nobleman of a great Family, and whoſe Virtues were ſtill more illuſtrious than his Birth, the famous Don *Fernandez Maſcarenhas*, Count *de la Torres*, who ſailed in the Autumn of 1639, and received conſiderable Reinforcements in his Paſſage; but, being detained by Calms upon the Coaſt of *Africa*, the exceſſive Heats produced a Plague on board his crowded Ships, which ſwept away above three thouſand Men before he reached the Bay of *All Saints*; and the reſt of his Troops were in ſo bad a Condition, that he was under a Neceſſity of putting them into Quarters of Refreſhment, which certainly ſaved the *Dutch*, who were at that time but in a low Condition, expecting with great Impatience thoſe Succours from *Holland* that ſoon after arrived, and by means of this Accident arrived in time. The Vigilance, however, of *Maſcarenhas* was ſuch, that in the Month of *January*, 1640, he put to Sea with a Fleet of ninety-three Sail great and ſmall, and twelve thouſand Men on board.

Count *Maurice*, on the other hand, was far from being negligent; and, having drawn togther forty-one Men of War, well manned and provided in every Reſpect,

ſpect, he waited within four Miles of the Port of *Olinda* for the Enemy; the Fleet being commanded under his Excellency by *William Loos*, a *Dutch* Admiral, reputed as brave a Man, and as good a Seaman, as any at that Time in the Service of the States. On the 12th of the ſame Month the Fleets met, and engaged between the Iſland of *Tamaraca* and the River *Gojana*, and fought from One in the Afternoon till it was Night. The Loſs ſuſtained by the *Dutch* was not great; for they had but four Men killed, and as many wounded, and one Ship rendered unſerviceable. Amongſt theſe four Men, however, was their Admiral *William Loos*, who might be truly ſaid to die in the Arms of Victory. He was replaced the next Day by *James Huyghens*, who engaged the *Spaniſh* Fleet a ſecond time; and, by dint of his ſuperior Skill as a Sea-Officer, obtained great Advantages. On the 14th he attacked them a third time on the Coaſt of *Paraiba*, where he had ſtill greater Advantages; but the great Victory of all was after the fourth Day's Fight, wherein they ſuffered exceſſively, and were at laſt driven where the *Dutch* durſt not follow them, that is to ſay, upon thoſe Sholes on the Coaſt, to which the *Portugueze* have given the Name of *Baxes de Rochas*; where many periſhed by Shipwreck, and more by Hunger and Thirſt. The Remainder that eſcaped endeavoured to return home; but, great Diſputes ariſing amongſt their Commanders, they ſeparated; and, of all this mighty Fleet, only four Galleons and two Men of War arrived ſafe in the Ports of *Spain*; and theſe two eſcaped with much Difficulty a *Dutch* Fleet that was ſteering for *Brazil*.

While theſe great Tranſactions happened at Sea, the *Portugueze*, being very well informed that Count *Maurice* had embarked his whole Strength on board his Fleet, aſſembled a Body of regular Troops, under the Command of Don *John Lopez Vervailho*, an Officer of great Experience and Courage, and a great Body of *Brazilians* under their Countryman Colonel *Cameron*; who, falling into the *Dutch* Settlements unexpectedly, took ſeveral Places, and did a great deal of Miſchief. It was not long, however, before *Hanſkins*, who had the Title of Colonel on Shore, as well as Commodore at Sea, put himſelf at the Head of a Body of Planters, and with them very ſoon gave a Check to theſe inſolent Invaders. A ſhort Time after, Admiral *Lichthart* and Commodore *Cornelius Jol* arrived with great Reinforcements from *Holland*; the former was immediately ſent by Count *Maurice* into the Bay of *All Saints*, to deſtroy the Country, which he did with a Barbarity not to be deſcribed, and conſequently not to be excuſed. Commodore *Jol* acted the like Part on the Country near the River *St. Francis*; and this Manner of making War appeared to the Count *de Montalvan*, at that time Viceroy of *Brazil*, ſo abominable, that he could not be brought to believe that a Perſon of Count *Maurice*'s Quality could be pleaſed with it; and therefore he ſent Deputies to repreſent to him the Barbarity of ſuch a Behaviour, and to deſire that they might ſettle a Cartel, by which the Proceedings of the War might be regulated, and ſuch horrid Scenes of Murder and Devaſtation prevented for the future, as proved equally ruinous to both Parties.

As Count *Maurice*, in giving theſe Orders, had followed the Company's Inſtructions againſt his own Inclinations, he very gladly embraced this Opportunity of ſhewing his own noble and generous Temper, which was ever averſe to ſuch kind of Proceedings. He therefore readily embraced the Propoſal, and offered to ſend Commiſſioners immediately to *St. Salvador*, to ſettle ſuch a proviſional Treaty with the Viceroy, for the common Benefit of the Subjects of both States: But, juſt as theſe Deputies were on their Departure, there arrived two Gentlemen of Diſtinction from the Viceroy; who, at an Audience they demanded and obtained from Count *Maurice*, acquainted him with the amazing Revolution that had happened in *Portugal*, which was likely to have a great Effect on the general State of Affairs, and might probably put an End to the War in *Brazil*, ſince hitherto it had not been carried on by the *Dutch* againſt the *Portugueze* Nation, but againſt the *Portugueze* as Subjects to the Crown of *Spain*; and therefore it was very natural to ſuppoſe that the *Dutch* would no longer conſider them as their Enemies, when they could be no longer conſidered as the Subjects of that Crown, but rather as an independent Nation, inclined, both by Nature and Intereſt, to cultivate a good Correſpondence with the Subjects of the *States General*. At leaſt, theſe Meſſengers from the Viceroy were charged to repreſent Things in this Light to Count *Maurice*, who gave them a very patient Hearing, and diſmiſſed them with a favourable Anſwer, though reſolved to do what was moſt for his Maſters Service.

14. It was in the Month of *December*, 1640, that *John* Duke of *Braganza* ſeated himſelf on the Throne of *Portugal*, which was that of his Anceſtors, and took the Title of *John the IVth*. This Revolution, one of the moſt ſudden and moſt ſucceſsful the World ever ſaw, put into his Hands immediately the whole Dominions of *Portugal*, the little Town of *Ceuta* in *Africa* excepted, and the Conqueſts made by the *Dutch* in *Brazil*, and elſewhere. It was not long before Count *Maurice* had a very exact Relation of the whole Affair; and, foreſeeing that this Revolution would certainly be attended, either with a Peace, or a Truce, between the *States General* and the new King, he reſolved to do all that he could in the ſhorteſt Time poſſible, that whenever the Peace or Truce was concluded, it might find the *Dutch* with their Hands full. I ſhall not pretend to juſtify this Reſolution of Count *Maurice*, or to reconcile it to the Laws of Nature, and of Nations; but we know that great Captains are ſeldom great Caſuiſts, and perhaps this might be his Caſe.

He put this Deſign of his in Execution almoſt as ſoon as he had formed it, making himſelf entirely Maſter of the Captainſhip of *Segerippa*, which the *Portugueze* had recovered; he ſent away Admiral *Jol*, with a Fleet of twenty-one Sail, and above three thouſand Men on board, to reduce the Iſland of *Laonda*, on the Coaſt of *Congo*, and that of *St. Thomas*, immediately under the Equinoctial; both which Services he performed: The latter, however, coſt him his Life; for while he was buſy in ſettling the Affairs of his new Conqueſt, a Diſtemper broke out in his Fleet, which carried off a great Number of Men, and amongſt them the Admiral and ſix of his chief Captains. He was buried with great military Pomp in the Cathedral of *Pavoaſan*, which is the Capital of that Iſland, and left behind him the Reputation of being the boldeſt, moſt reſolute, and ſtricteſt Officer of his Time; but withal, one of the rougheſt in his Behaviour that ever bore Commiſſion; yet he was a Man of ſuch nice Honour, that, in his Expedition, the Year before, on the Coaſt of *Cuba*, being driven to great Diſtreſs for Proviſions, and in no Condition to take them by Force, he ſent to the *Spaniſh* Governor for a Supply; who, out of Regard to his perſonal Merit, granted him all, and more than he deſired; upon which he immediately quitted the Coaſt, declaring, that he could no longer act againſt an Enemy who had treated him with ſuch Generoſity.

Count *Maurice*, in purſuance of his Inſtructions, which repreſented to him the Captainſhip of *Maragnan* as a Country extremely wholeſome, abounding with Sugar, Cotton, Ginger, Tobacco, and other rich Commodities, as well as very convenient from its Situation, reſolved to ſeize it likewiſe. He diſpatched, for this Purpoſe, Admiral *Lichthart* and Commodore *Hanſkins*, with a Fleet of ſix Sail of Men of War and ſix Frigates, with which they ſoon reduced the Iſland of *Maragnan*, and the Town of *St. Louis*, upon which the reſt of the Diſtricts ſubmitted without Reſiſtance; ſo that at the Cloſe of the Year 1641, the *Dutch* were actually in Poſſeſſion of ſeven of the fourteen Captainſhips, into which the Country of *Brazil* was divided.

But Things did not long remain in this State; for, partly by Revolt, and partly by Conqueſt, theſe Countries returned again to their old Maſters.

It is now neceſſary to look over into *Europe*, in order to ſee how thoſe Events came about, which furniſhed the Means of making as ſudden a Revolution in *Brazil*, as ever happened in a Country ſo well ſecured; and in the Recital of which, it will appear, that the *Dutch* themſelves taught thoſe Arts, by which they ſuffered; and firſt practiſed thoſe Frauds, that proved afterwards ſo fatal to themſelves. King *John*, deſirous of being acknowledged by as many Kingdoms and States as poſſible, in quality of rightful Poſſeſſor of the Crown of *Portugal*, as undoubtedly he was, ſent Don *Triſtan de Mandoca Hurtado*, his Embaſſador, to the *Hague*, to repreſent to the *States-General* the Reaſonableneſs of owning his Title, and the Advantages that muſt accrue from their living in a good Correſpondence together. The firſt was readily admitted by the *Dutch* Stateſmen; and, by degrees, they came likewiſe into the Second; but, as they thought themſelves Gainers by the War, and a vaſt Over-match for *Portugal*, unſupported by *Spain*, they put off the Concluſion of the Treaty as long as they could.

At laſt, on the 13th of *June* 1641, they ſigned a League offenſive and defenſive, with the Crown of *Portugal*, for what regarded the Dominions of both States in *Europe*; and a Truce for ten Years in the *Eaſt* and *Weſt Indies*: This laſt was conceived in very general Terms; for it was to comprehend all the Dominions of both Parties, and was to commence from the Day of the Publication of the Truce; it was likewiſe ſtipulated, that Commiſſioners ſhould meet in eight Months, in order to conclude a definitive Peace, and to ſettle the Pretenſions of both Parties; but, at the ſame Time, the *Dutch* took care to provide, that if this Treaty ſhould prove ineffectual, the Truce, and free Trade between the Dominions of both States ſhould ſtill continue; only the *Portugueze* ſhould not be at liberty to export any of the Commodities of *Brazil* into *Holland*; and, on the other hand, the *Dutch* were to be under the like Reſtriction, with reſpect to the Dominions of *Portugal*. It is evident, from the very Frame of this Treaty, that the States contrived every thing for their own Advantage; and that the King of *Portugal* ſubmitted to it from pure Neceſſity. Experience, however, ſoon made this more viſible. On Complaints, that ſeveral Places were taken from the *Portugueze* after the Publication of the Truce, Reſtitution was refuſed, as to ſome; and though Orders were given, as to others, agreeable to the Spirit of the Treaty, yet they were drawn up in ſuch a Manner, that moſt of the *Dutch* Governors refuſed to comply with them.

The *Portugueze* Viceroy, and the reſt of that Nation in *Brazil*, entered eaſily into the Politics of the *Dutch*; and inſtead of attempting to do themſelves Juſtice by Force, they practiſed exactly the ſame Method for their own Advantage: They magnified the Wiſdom of the *Dutch* Government, confided in the Promiſes made them, and took in good Part all the Excuſes that were made for Non-performance of them; by which means they ſo over-reached Count *Maurice*, in the two laſt Years of his Government, that he perſuaded himſelf, and eaſily engaged the Directors of the *Weſt India* Company, to believe, that their Territories were effectually ſettled, and that they had nothing to fear in *Brazil*, either from the Natives, or from the *Portugueze*; who thought themſelves happy under their Adminiſtration, and were as much attached to it as the *Dutch* themſelves.

But the Contrivances of their Enemies might probably have proved abortive, if the Managers of the *Dutch Weſt India* Company had not entered into a Conſpiracy againſt themſelves. They found that they were now poſſeſſed of what they had ſo long ſought; ſeveral ſtrong Forts on the Coaſt of *Africa*, and a very large Part of the rich Country of *Brazil*; and they were deſirous of making the greateſt immediate Profits poſſible of both. It was from this Notion, that they ſent over repeated Orders to Count *Maurice*, to take ſuch Meaſures as might increaſe their Revenue, and prove the Importance of *Brazil*, by ſending over vaſt Quantities of Sugar and other valuable Effects, and not ſuffering ſuch as were in Debt to the Company to pay in ſmall Sums, or at different Terms, but ſpeedily, and at once. Count *Maurice* obſerved to them, that the Execution of theſe Orders would be attended with many Inconveniencies; that a long War had been carried on; that the Country had been but lately reduced; that moſt of thoſe who were in Debt to the Company were *Portugueze*, who had ſettled in their Territories, and who had hitherto behaved well, and ought therefore to be kindly treated, and not driven to Extremities, which might put them upon Things that otherwiſe would not have entered into their Heads. But this was talking to the Deaf; the Company had heard that *Brazil* was very rich, they were poſſeſſed of a great Part of it, and could ſee no Reaſon why all that it produced ſhould not be immediately ſhipped for *Holland*.

There were ſome other Things alſo that gave them great Uneaſineſs. Oppoſite to the *Receif* there lay a very commodious Iſland, upon which their Governor cauſed a new Town to be built, chiefly out of the Ruins of the *Portugueze* City of *Olinda*, fortified it thoroughly, and gave it the Name of *Mauriceburgh*; which, in a ſhort Time, was grown a very conſiderable Place, and which he united to the *Receif*, which was become the Centre of the *Dutch* Commerce, by a Stone Bridge; This, firſt and laſt, coſt forty thouſand Pounds. Now, though all this was done for the Benefit and Convenience of the *Dutch* Inhabitants, and to ſecure the Company's Capital in that Country from Danger, yet they could not help grudging the Expence.

But what put them moſt out of Humour, was the Palace Count *Maurice* built for himſelf. It was indeed a very ſtately Structure, ſtanding in the moſt commodious Part of the Town, in the midſt of very fine Gardens, elegantly laid out, and curiouſly planted with Cocoas of all Sorts, as well as Lemons, Citrons, Pomegranates, Figs, and other Fruit-trees. Theſe Gardens were certainly very expenſive; and as to the Palace, it was ſaid to have coſt ſix hundred thouſand Florins; and ſo contrived, as to command the moſt admirable Proſpect both by Sea and Land. Before the Front of this noble Structure there was a Battery of Marble, riſing gradually from the River-ſide, upon which were mounted ten large Pieces of Braſs Cannon. Without the City, Count *Maurice* had alſo a moſt magnificent Villa, or Country Palace, ſurrounded with fine Gardens, and adorned with curious Fiſh-ponds, but withal encompaſſed with ſtrong Walls, and the whole ſo diſpoſed, as to ſerve at once for the Governor's Pleaſure, and for the Defence of the City, which was covered by it, as a Fort, on that Side; and it proved extremely uſeful to them when the War broke out again. He likewiſe made many other Improvements, ſuch as laying out Parks and Meadows within the Fortifications; which, while duly taken care of, produced all Things neceſſary for the Subſiſtence of the Garriſon; and were, in all reſpects, equally commodious and beautiful.

In this Manner Count *Maurice* employed thoſe Treaſures, which were the Fruits of his many Victories and extenſive Conqueſts; and which, a Man of a leſs generous Temper, would have found Means to have tranſported to *Holland*, as his private Fortune. But thoſe Marks of Greatneſs of Mind, and public Spirit, which ought to have extinguiſhed, nouriſhed that Envy, which had been conceived againſt him, and while he was labouring to extend and ſecure the Power of the Company in *Brazil*, the Directors of that Company in *Holland* were employed in cenſuring his Conduct, and in magnifying his Extravagance, in laying out ſuch vaſt Sums, while the Colony produced ſo little to the Company's Stock. Such was the Situation of Things, and ſuch the excellent Reaſons which induced the Directors to form a Deſign of recalling Count *Maurice*, as the only Means of making the Colony turn to an Account, and bring in ſuch a Revenue, as might be proportionable to the Views and Expectations of the Company; which wiſe Project of theirs they at laſt brought to bear; Count *Maurice* himſelf aſſiſting them therein, being grown to the full as weary of their Management, as they were of his; ſo that on the 11th of *May* 1644 he took leave of the Council, quitted the Government, when he had held it eight Years, and returned into *Holland*, on board a Fleet of thirteen Sail of large Ships, with near three thouſand Soldiers on board; eighteen Companies only being left for the Defence of the *Dutch* Settlements, agreeable to the Inſtructions he had received, and to that Scheme of frugal Management, which was now to take place, and by which they hoped to repair that Extravagance and Profuſion, with which they charged Count *Maurice*.

I have taken as much Care as it was poſſible, to inform myſelf fully as to theſe Particulars, and have repreſented this whole Tranſaction to the Reader exactly in the Light it appeared to me, and I flatter myſelf it will give him as great Satisfaction as I have felt in writing it; by ſhewing him how the moſt dangerous Miſtakes ariſe from Narrowneſs of thinking, how eaſily the beſt Deſigns of the very beſt Men may be miſrepreſented, and with what an Appearance of Wiſdom, Diſintereſtedneſs, and public Spirit, ſuch Meaſures may be cloathed, as in reality are big with public Ruin.

After Count *Maurice*'s Return, the Government of *Brazil* was put into the Hands of ſuch great and able Men as the *Weſt India* Company could *confide* in; for that, at this Time, was the Phraſe in more Parts of the World than one; and perhaps it will not diſpleaſe the inquiſitive Peruſer, to have a ſhort Account of the illuſtrious Perſons who were the Succeſſors of the great Count *Maurice* of *Naſſau*, one of the ableſt, braveſt, and moſt worthy Men of that Family, ſo famous for producing Heroes: The Chief of them then were, Mr. *Hamel*, a Merchant of *Amſterdam*; Mr. *de Baſſis*, a Goldſmith of *Haerlem*; and Mr. *Bulleſtraat*, a Carpenter of *Middleburgh*; all Men of very good Senſe, and great Fidelity to the Company; whoſe Diligence and Activity in its Service, we find greatly commended by ſome *Dutch* Writers, who certainly meant as honeſtly as they did; but unfortunately for the Service of the Republic, as well as of their Maſters, they miſtook their Talents, and by wading out of their Depth, became the Authors of a thouſand Miſchiefs, which to be ſure they never intended.

They were bred to Trade, and underſtood it thoroughly; but this kind of Underſtanding did not ſo well anſwer the Purpoſe as a Governor's. They forced the *Portugueze* that lived under them, to pay what they owed the Company in a ſhort time; but by the Methods they took to do this, they loſt their Hearts for ever. They furniſhed theſe very *Portugueze* with Fire-arms and Powder, but they ſold both very dear; ſo that the Company were great Gainers by the Bargain. They ſent over to *Holland* the Produce of thoſe Lands which Count *Maurice* had aſſigned for maintaining the Fortifications, which, in the mean time, ran to ruin. They gave Licences upon very eaſy Terms to the Soldiers to return home; which leſſened the Expence of the Army. In ſhort, they brought the whole Charges of the Government into a narrower Compaſs than could be expected; but by doing this they brought the Government itſelf into ſuch a Degree of Danger, as invited thoſe to rebel, who by this very Management were oppreſſed in their Perſons; and the Proprietors of moſt of their Plantations were ſo intangled by their Debts to the Company, that very few of them were worth a Groat. A very ſober *Dutch* Writer, who was there upon the Spot, tells us, That in 1645 there was a greater Quantity of Sugar ſent to *Holland* than at any time before, which he attributes to this wiſe and frugal Adminiſtration, and which, to ſpeak the Truth fairly and in plain *Engliſh*, was not either more or leſs than ſelling all *Dutch Brazil* for one Year's Purchaſe.

15. The *Portugueze* Viceroy at that Time was Don *Antonio Tellez de Silva*, a Man who ſeem'd formed by Nature for the Execution of that Employment at this Juncture: He had great Parts, but greater Prudence; much Penetration, more Sagacity; but excelled moſt in diſſembling to Perfection. In private Life, and in all common Occurrences, a Man of ſtrict Honour, humane, eaſy of Acceſs, familiar with all Sorts of People, but without loſing his Dignity. As ſoon as he was informed that Count *Maurice* was gone, and had carried with him two Thirds of the Force of *Brazil*, he formed a Deſign of getting rid of the *Dutch* intirely; but this he never communicated to his Friends, to the Enemy he always denied it.

He inſinuated to the *Portugueze* that were Subjects to the *Dutch*, that they were only labouring for Strangers, and Strangers of another Religion; whereas they might be Maſters of all they now farmed at a high Rent, and enjoy good Employments beſides, if their King was reſtored to his juſt Rights. Theſe Suggeſtions had their Effect, and thoſe who heard them could not avoid being moved by them.

But the Perſon who undertook to manage this whole Affair was one *John Fernandez Viera*, a very extraordinary Man, and of whom I ſhall give a very ſhort Account: He was originally a Butcher's Boy, from whence he was raiſed to the Rank of a Page to one of the Magiſtrates of *Olinda*, while in the Hands of the *Portugueze*. He became a kind of Factor, or Manager for the *Dutch*, and, by his Induſtry and Art, grew exceſſively rich, being Maſter of four Sugar Plantations, and intruſted with the Management of many more.

He had an excellent Head, laid the whole of the Conſpiracy himſelf, and ſent it over to *Portugal* by a Perſon who was not at all acquainted with the Deſign; after which he ſent a Relation of his to Court, with a Letter, recommending him to the King of *Portugal*, by which he got a Troop of Horſe, and acted there as Agent for the Conſpirators. He foreſaw that this muſt reach the Ears of the *Dutch*; and when it did ſo, he went directly to the Council, owned the Thing, produced his Letter, and offered to give Security for his good Behaviour, which he did without much Trouble; two of the richeſt *Portugueze* in the *Dutch* Territories becoming bound for him, who were as deep in the Conſpiracy as himſelf.

It may be juſtly wondered that, in ſuch Circumſtances, this was accepted; but the Wonder will ceaſe, when it is known that he owed the chief Perſons in the Adminiſtration upwards of two hundred thouſand Florins, which rendered it adviſeable for them not to ſee him ruined. By this adroit Contrivance he moſt effectually ſecured his Liberty, which he made uſe of to carry on this great Deſign, with all the Dexterity imaginable; in which he was aſſiſted by two Perſons, who made a great Figure in the Province, *Antonio Cavalcante*, and *Amador Aragouſa*, equally deep in the Management of the *Dutch* Affairs; and determined, like him, to raiſe their Fortune upon the Deſtruction of thoſe who truſted them.

The Day fixed for the Execution of this Plot was the 24th of *June*, 1645; when one of the Daughters of *Antonio Cavalcante* was to be married, and a great Feaſt given at the Houſe of *Viera*, to which moſt of the Officers and principal Perſons in the Company's Service were invited, and where, without doubt, they would have been all ſeized, if not murdered, if the Deſign had not been diſcovered the very Evening before it was executed. A Ship that arrived from *Amſterdam*, brought Letters from the Directors of the *Weſt India* Company; with an Account, that the Miniſter from the *States General* at the Court of *Portugal* had diſcovered, that a great Conſpiracy was carrying on in *Brazil*; and that they would do well to enquire what Supplies had been lately ſent from *Liſbon* to the *Portugueze* in thoſe Parts.

This Enquiry produced ſuch Diſcoveries as ſtruck the *Dutch* with univerſal Conſternation; which gave *Viera* and his Aſſociates Time to make their Eſcape into the neighbouring Woods, where they took up Arms. There *John Fernandez Viera* aſſumed the Character of General and Commander in chief, aſſiſted by Colonel *Diaz*, with a few *Portugueze* Troops, and Colonel *Cameron* at the Head of a much more numerous Body of *Brazilians*. With this ſmall Army he fixed his Head Quarters at *Pojug*, a Town between the *Receif* and Cape *St. Auguſtine*; ſo that the *Dutch* had the Misfortune of ſeeing the War break out, not only unexpectedly, but in the very Heart of their Dominions. At the ſame time *Antonio Cavalcante* raiſed another Part of the Country; and *Amador Aragouſa*, at the Head of a flying Party, was burning and deſtroying all the *Dutch* Plantations without Mercy. In this dreadful Situation the Council aſſembled all the Troops they could; and, at the ſame time, publiſhed a Proclamation, whereby they promiſed Pardon and Peace to all who ſhould ſubmit, and return to their Duty, excepting only *Viera*, *Cavalcante*, and *Aragouſa*. The Perſon they made choice of to command their Forces was Lieutenant-Colonel *Huys*, to whom they gave the Title of General; but it would have been better if they could have given him an Army, ſince the Troops he got together were few in Number, and very ill provided.

But beſide this, the Council had a mind to negociate, and therefore they ſent two Captains, *Vander Voord*, and *Dirch*

Dirch de Hoogſtrate, to the Viceroy, at the Bay of *All Saints*, to complain of the Infraction of the Truce between the Crown of *Portugal* and the States General, which had ſtill four Years to come. The Viceroy received them with great Civility, and anſwered them with much Prudence. He ſaid, that he was reſponſible for the Conduct of the Inhabitants of that Part of *Brazil* ſubject to the Crown of *Portugal*; and, if they had broke the Truce, he would give them what Satisfaction they could deſire; but, with reſpect to the *Portugueze* ſettled in the *Dutch* Dominions, if provoked by Oppreſſions they had taken Arms, it was what he could not help, and for which it was very unjuſt to make him anſwerable.

This was what he ſaid in public; but in a private Conference he had with Captain *Hoogſtrate*, he drew him over to his Intereſt, and prevailed upon him to reſolve upon giving up the important Poſt of Cape *St. Auguſtine*, of which he was Governor. In the mean time, General *Huys* attacked Colonel *Cameron*, but had the Misfortune to be beat, with the Loſs of one hundred Men. Soon after this, the *Portugueze* Fleet, under the Command of Admiral *Salvador Correa de Banavides*, appeared on the Coaſt; and, though it was very numerous, yet the *Dutch* Admiral, *Lichthart*, offered them Battle, though he had but five Men of War; but the *Portugueze* Commander refuſed it, pretending he had no Orders to act againſt the *Dutch*; and that all his Buſineſs was to land a Body of Men in his Maſter's Dominions, which he accordingly did; but thoſe Men, without any Ceremony, entered the *Dutch* Territories, and made themſelves Maſters of all the Places that fell in their Way.

The *Dutch* Council, upon this, ſent Orders to their General *Huys* to retreat; but he, ſtaying for one Captain *Black*, whom he had ſent away for ſeveral Ladies and rich Effects out of the Country, had the Misfortune to be ſurrounded by the *Portugueze*, beaten, and taken Priſoner; which the beſt *Dutch* Accounts that I have met with attribute to his Want of Conduct and Courage.

Upon this, Orders were ſent to Admiral *Lichthart* to attack the *Portugueze* Ships whenever he had an Opportunity, and he exerted upon this Occaſion the ſame Spirit and Courage which he had ſo often ſhewn upon others; for, with four Ships, a Frigate, and a Bark, he attacked the *Portugueze* Fleet of ſeventeen Sail, took three of the largeſt Ships, together with the Admiral, killed ſeven hundred Men, and burnt and ſunk almoſt all the other Veſſels; which raiſed the Hopes of his Countrymen not a little, and they began to flatter themſelves they ſhould have better Succeſs for the future, than they had hitherto had from the Beginning.

But theſe Hopes were very ſoon daſhed, by their receiving the unexpected News of the Loſs of *St. Auguſtine*, which was given up by Captain *Hoogſtrate*, in conſequence of the Agreement which, as we have before mentioned, he had made with the Viceroy, when ſent to treat with him by the *Dutch* Council as their Miniſter. He received for this infamous Action the Sum of 18000 Florins, which Sum he employed in raiſing a Regiment of ſix hundred and fifty *Brazilians*, of which he was made Colonel by the *Portugueze*, and wanted not Impudence enough to appear at the Head of it, againſt his Country; and, which was ſtill more aſtoniſhing, behaved bravely and with great Fidelity in the Service of his new Maſter.

Their great Superiority enabled them to make a quick Diſpatch in moſt of the Expeditions they undertook; ſo that, in a ſhort time, almoſt all the ſtrong Places in the Captainſhip of *Fernambuca* ſurrendered to them. At laſt they blocked up the *Receif*, always the ſtrongeſt, and now the only ſtrong Place the *Dutch* had left; and reduced thoſe who were in it to ſuch Hardſhips, that they muſt have been ſtarved out, if they had not been relieved by the Arrival of a Fleet from *Holland*. When the News of theſe Proceedings arrived in *Holland*, the Mob was exceſſively irritated, and, in their firſt Fury, ſurrounded the Houſe of the *Portugueſe* Embaſſador; which, but for the prudent Interpoſition of the Prince of *Orange*, they had certainly pulled down. That Miniſter, however, endeavoured to perſuade the *States General* that his Maſter had no Concern in this Rebellion; that he abſolutely diſapproved it; and that the Viceroy had never given any kind of Countenance to *Viera*. But the *Dutch* Stateſmen were too wiſe to give any Credit to him: On the contrary, they equipped a Fleet of fifty-two Sail of Men of War, under the Command of Mr. *Bankert*, Admiral of *Zealand*, whom they declared Admiral of *Brazil*, *Guinea*, and *Angola*; with him they ſent Colonel *Schuppen*, and Colonel *Henderſon*, who had ſerved under Count *Maurice* with great Reputation; and thus an open War began between *Portugal* and *Holland*, on the other Side the Line.

But never any Fleet met with ſo many unfortunate Accidents as this did; for, within two Days after they ſailed from the *Texel*, they were forced to anchor in the *Downs*, where they loſt two Ships in a Storm: They ſailed again, and were forced into the *Iſle of Wight*; where the firſt Sight they ſaw was the Wreck of a great Ship, which proved a *Dutch* Merchantman from *Brazil*, with a Cargo of the Value of two Millions, which was entirely loſt; and, out of three hundred Perſons, only thirty ſaved: In the Port of *St. Helen*'s they remained wind-bound ſeven Weeks, and at laſt met with a Storm on their putting again to Sea, by which they ſuffered extremely: Many more ſuch Checks they met with, before they arrived at the *Receif*; where the People were reduced to ſuch Extremity, that they were on the Point of throwing themſelves upon the Enemy, to ſeek a certain Death by the Sword, rather than expect a lingering one by Famine.

By the Help of theſe Reinforcements the War was ſtill kept on Foot, and ſome ſmall Advantages gained; but, in the Beginning of the Year 1647, they were again blocked up in the *Receif*, where their whole Force conſiſted but of one thouſand eight hundred Men, with which they made a gallant Defence; but at length, on the 16th of *May*, they reſolved to ſally with their whole Strength, and to attack the Enemy in the Field; which they did, at firſt, with ſome degree of Succeſs; but, being overpowered by Numbers, were at length beaten; and, in their Fight and Flight, loſt one thouſand one hundred Men, moſt of their Officers, nineteen Colours, and all the Artillery and Ammunition they had carried with them. This great Misfortune hindered them, indeed, from making any more Sallies; but, by leſſening their Numbers ſo much, enabled them to make a longer Defence, ſince their Proviſions ſufficed now for ſeven Months, which would otherwiſe have laſted them but three.

I have dwelt the longer upon this Part of the Story, becauſe I conceive it cannot be conſidered as either unpleaſant or uſeleſs; and I have obſerved, with ſome Degree of Amazement, that this kind of Hiſtory is very little known here in *England*; where the being able to diſcourſe pertinently of *Greek* and *Roman* Hiſtory, paſſes for Learning; and an Acquaintance with the Story of *Italy* in the middle Ag[illegible] has its Admirers amongſt the Virtuoſi; both which I hold equally laudable and ſenſible; but ſtill I am perſuaded, that this kind of Hiſtory is of more Conſequence than both, to the Inhabitants of a Country flouriſhing by Trade; and therefore I have taken ſo much Pains to reduce theſe Matters into Method and Order, that the Study of maritime Hiſtory might become more pleaſant and eaſy, and conſequently grow more into Repute and Faſhion, amongſt a Nation that ſo deſervedly value themſelves upon the glorious Title of a maritime Power. The true Meaning and real Importance of which Title, can only be learned by the Peruſal of Works like theſe. But to return from Reflections to the Current of our Hiſtory.

The Progreſs of the *Portugueze* was ſo great, and ſo irreſiſtible, and the Diſaſters that attended the *Dutch* followed ſo cloſe on each other, that nothing ſeemed capable of preventing the total Ruin of the *Dutch* Affairs in that Part of the World. This naturally might, and indeed did, produce a kind of national Deſpair; which haſtened, though I think it did not cauſe, that Ruin which it foreſaw. The Province of *Zealand* recalled their Admiral *Bankert*, with whom came home moſt of the Officers they had ſent with him, heartily diſguſted with the Service.

vice. The Difficulties they met with in their Paſſage, when outward-bound, were repeated in that which brought them home; ſo that *Bankert* died before the Fleet arrived in *Holland*, and ſo did ſeveral of his Officers almoſt as ſoon as they came aſhore; but the Sieur *Shuk*, who was ſent home by the Adminiſtration in *Brazil*, ſurvived; and upon his Application to the *States*, and his moſt particular and affecting Account of the Poſture of Things in that Country, they reſolved to make one general and great Effort for the Preſervation of ſo valuable an Acquiſition; and accordingly gave Orders for equipping a ſtrong Fleet of fifty Sail of large Men of War, and embarking therein ſix thouſand regular Troops, the Command of which they gave to Admiral *Witte-Wittezen*, at that Time eſteemed the ableſt Officer in their Service.

This Armament alarmed the Crown of *Portugal* to ſuch a degree, that Orders were ſent to the Embaſſador then reſident in *Holland*, to promiſe the *States* any thing that might prevent their proſecuting this Deſign, which, at firſt, had ſome Effect; but the *Dutch*, receiving at this Time the melancholy Account of what had happened at the *Receif*, determined not to be the Dupes of ſuch a Negotiation; and therefore, towards the End of the Year 1650, they not only diſpatched Admiral *Witte-Wittezen* with his Fleet, but likewiſe projected the ſending another Fleet after him, with an additional Supply of between five and ſix thouſand Men more. One would have imagined, Succours like theſe, exceeding, if I am not miſtaken, any thing that has been done by other Maritime Powers, in Support of any ſingle Colony, would have anſwered the End effectually, more eſpecially as *Portugal* did not arm in any Proportion, or ſend over any regular Troops, at this Time, to *Brazil*: But, however, all proved vain and ineffectual; for the Elements declared as fierce and as inflexible a War againſt the *Dutch* Fleets and Armies, as the *Portugueze*, the *Negroes*, and the *Brazilians*. The Climate, which ſeemed natural to all theſe, proved abſolutely mortal to the *Dutch*. The former living there on the natural Produce of the Country, were healthy, hearty, and robuſt; intermarrying with the Natives, they multiplied apace, and had but one common Intereſt; whereas the latter ſubſiſting intirely on the Proviſions ſent them from *Europe*, grew pale, wan, and feeble, and died in great Numbers.

Hence it came to paſs, that when the great Fleets before mentioned, after ſuffering much by Storms and Tempeſts in their Paſſage, arrived at length on the Coaſt of *Fernambuca*, they found, inſtead of a Colony, a mere Hoſpital of ſick, maimed, and infirm People; and, in the room of thoſe Fortreſſes they were to have relieved, a Collection of Church-yards filled with the Bodies of thoſe who had been before ſent on the ſame Errand; the Sight of which affected the Admiral in ſuch a manner, that, notwithſtanding the preciſe Orders he had received, he determined with himſelf not to bury the Remainder of his People there, which from his firſt Arrival he began to do apace, but to return home without Delay, which he accordingly did, leaving Things in a much worſe Condition than he found them; and the *Weſt India* Company, beſides all the reſt of its Misfortunes, oppreſſed by a very heavy Debt, contracted on the Score of his unfortunate Expedition. We need not wonder, therefore, that upon his Return there was a dreadful Outcry ſet up againſt him; to allay which, the *States* were obliged to commit him to Priſon; but he very ſoon juſtified himſelf to their Satiſfaction, and indeed to the Satiſfaction of every body but the Proprietors of the *Weſt India* Company, on whoſe Directors at home, and in *Brazil*, he laid the Blame of all theſe Miſcarriages.

It would be needleſs to purſue this Subject more particularly from this Time to the total Excluſion of the *Dutch*, becauſe it would contain only a Repetition of the ſame kind of Facts, and conſequently prove far enough from being entertaining or inſtructing. It may therefore ſuffice to ſay, that towards the Cloſe of the Year 1653, the *Portugueze*, who now publickly owned the Cauſe of *John Fernandez Viera*, ſent a Fleet of ſixteen large Men of War to attack the *Receif* by Sea, and to blow up Part of its Fortifications; which ſo terrified the *Dutch* Garriſon, that they abſolutely refuſed to fight; ſo that the next Year they ſurrendered every Thing they poſſeſſed; and, in 1655, they returned to *Holland*. It is inconceivable what an Uproar this raiſed in that Country, and with what Heat and Fury the People demanded Juſtice againſt General *Sigiſmond Schuppen*, who had commanded in Chief for many Years, and who was Governor of the *Receif* when it ſurrendered. The *States*, perhaps, out of Favour to him and his Officers, ſent them to Priſon; and they could not, in reſpect to Juſtice, refuſe him the only Grace he aſked, which was to make a public Defence; wherein he laid open, ſo clearly, his own long and faithful Services to the *Dutch* Nation, recapitulated all the Succeſſes they had under the Adminiſtration of Count *Maurice*, and gave ſo true a Picture of the Miſeries and Misfortunes they had ſuffered ſince he went thither laſt, that the People wept, and the Judges acquitted him.

There is ſomething ſo ſtrange, ſomething ſo unaccountable in this Tranſaction, from the Beginning to the End of it, that I cannot think it will be looked upon as either tedious or impertinent, if I point out clearly, and in a narrow Compaſs, the Cauſes of this extraordinary Revolution, which I take to have been principally three. The firſt, and indeed the principal one, was recalling Count *Maurice* of *Naſſau*, and changing the Government; which I muſt beg Leave to explain, for the Sake of ſuch of our Countrymen as may not fully apprehend it. Count *Maurice* was a great Captain, and a true Politician; he very well knew, that in a conquered Country a military Adminiſtration was as requiſite as a civil one; and ſo contrived his own, that it was a proper Mixture of both. His firſt Care was to extend the Dominions of his Countrymen, that they might have Room enough to fix a potent Colony, and a fertile Territory ſufficient to maintain it. On the Frontiers he built ſtrong Fortreſſes, brought the native *Brazilians* to reliſh living according to their own Manner, under the *Dutch* Protection, and to be willing to work for Wages; he likewiſe filled the Country with Negroes, from his Conqueſts in *Africa*; and, when he had thus ſecured a large, pleaſant, and fruitful Country, and People enough to ſubſiſt in it, he began to build his new City of *Mauriceburgh*, to raiſe his admirable Palace, to lay out his fine Gardens, and to do every thing that might encourage Art and Induſtry; and, by adorning and enriching the Country, fix ſuch People as came to get Eſtates there to their Eſtates, when got. By this Policy of his, it muſt be allowed, that he did not fill the Company's Coffers; but he ſerved his Country, and the Company too, very effectually, by putting the Colony upon a right Eſtabliſhment, and giving it ſuch a Force within itſelf, as all the Power of his Enemies could not have overthrown: This he was able to do from the extenſive Authority lodged in his Hands, by his Commiſſion from the *States*; and yet the Extent of his Power could only reach to what was good; had he endeavoured to carry it farther, his Council might, and would, have interpoſed: But it was quite otherwiſe with the Government that ſucceeded him; for they had a boundleſs Power of doing Miſchief, and very little Capacity of doing Good, as appeared very clearly from their whole Adminiſtration, and indeed it could not well be otherwiſe; for, whereas Count *Maurice* came naturally from commanding at home to a Government abroad, theſe Men were fetched from behind Counters to act the Part of Soldiers, Seamen, and Stateſmen. I do not ſay this to diſparage Trade, but to ſhew the Folly of ſuppoſing that the greateſt Maſters of Trade ſhould be able, by Inſtinct, to manage thoſe Trades they were not bred up to, and conſequently, upon their own Principles, cannot underſtand. They were of excellent Uſe to Count *Maurice*, as his Council, and I firmly believe he could not have done without them; but then I hope I ſhall eſcape Cenſure for affirming, that they knew as little how to do without him.

The ſecond Cauſe of the Declenſion of the *Dutch* Affairs, was the too haſty Deſire of the Company to draw a great Revenue from this Colony, which put them upon moſt unreaſonable Reductions of their Expence. The firſt

Point was, that of a Governor General, who, by keeping a kind of a Court, ſeemed to be an intolerable Burden upon ſuch as were at the Expence of it ; but if they had conſidered that this Governor, who kept this Court, acquired for them the beſt Part of that Colony, and put the reſt of it into ſo good a Situation, they would have judged the Services of ſuch an Officer a ſufficient Recompence for the keeping Him. Their next Reformation was in the Military Eſtabliſhment, which in 1641 Count *Maurice* had fixed at upwards of ſeven thouſand Men, and which, immediately upon his Removal, they very frugally reduced to two thouſand ſeven hundred, and even allowed ſuch of theſe Soldiers as would pay for it, to go home: The Magazines, that were always well filled in the Time of Count *Maurice*, and from which, as we have ſeen, he furniſhed ſeveral Fleets for diſtant Expeditions, they emptied, to raiſe Money by the Sale of their Contents, and very fooliſhly ſuffered their Servants and Soldiers to live upon *European* Proviſions, inſtead of accuſtoming themſelves to live upon the Produce of the *Brazilian* Territories. It was likewiſe a great Fault that they laid high Taxes upon the great Manufacture of the Country, Sugar, which threw it entirely into the Hands of the *Portugueze*, their own Subjects being afraid to meddle with a Trade in which the firſt Miſcarriage was attended with total Ruin. Another notorious Blunder was, their ſending over a vaſt Number of *Jews*, who, finding the People ſinking under heavy Taxes, brought in that excellent Cordial of high Uſury, to keep up their Spirits. By theſe, and ſuch like Methods, they, in the Space of a few Months, brought all Things into Confuſion ; and, from that Time forward, never took one ſenſible Step towards bringing them out.

The third Cauſe of the Ruin of this Colony was, that the States did not interpoſe in Time, and take the Care of the *Dutch Brazil* into their own Hands, inſtead of leaving it to a Company which had ſhewn themſelves ſo unequal to what they had undertaken ; and therefore for their own Good, as well as for that of the Public, this very important Concern ſhould have been taken out of their Hands. But by continuing the ſame Government, the States and the Company pinned down the unhappy People that were left there, labouring under Miſeries and Misfortunes of all kinds, without Remedy and without Hope! If they had ſent over in time a new Governor-General, Things might have been reſtored; but for want of this, they ran continually from bad to worſe, as it was very natural for them to do ; ſo that after ten Years Struggle, as well againſt their own Weakneſs and ill Management, as the ſuperior Force of their Enemies, they ſuffered the Colony to expire ; but, when they found their Malady incurable, they had better have taken the *Brazilian* Method, and, without waiting Extremities, knocked it on the head at once.

But to conclude this Subject with a ſhort State of both Adminiſtrations : When Count *Maurice*, after eight Years reſiding in *Brazil*, quitted the Government, he left them ſeven Captainſhips, one City, thirty great Towns, forty-five regular Fortreſſes, ninety Sail of good Ships, three thouſand regular Troops, twenty thouſand *Dutch* of all Ages and Sexes, ſixty thouſand Negroes, and above twice as many *Brazilians* : At that Time the Colony yielded twenty-five thouſand Cheſts of Sugar annually, and a Carpenter, Cooper, or Smith, could earn five or ſix Guilders a-day, and live very comfortably upon one: And, after expending Millions upon this Colony, for ten Years together, and the Loſs of ſeveral thouſands ſent thither from time to time, there returned to *Holland*, in 1655, between ſix and ſeven hundred Perſons, of all ſorts, not worth a Groat.

Upon this the States declared War againſt *Portugal*, by which their *Eaſt-India* Company were great Gainers, but the *Dutch* Nation ſtill Loſers ; ſo that, after five Years, they were glad to make a Peace, under the Mediation of our King *Charles* II. which was ſigned the 6th of *Auguſt*, 1660, in which the principal Articles relating to our Subject are theſe that follow: That the Crown of *Portugal* ſhall be obliged to pay to the States the Sum of eighty Tons of Gold, either in ready Money or Sugar, Tobacco or Salt, or elſe aſſign the ſaid ready Money upon the *Portugueze* Cuſtoms : That the Places taken on each Side ſhould remain to thoſe who were then in Poſſeſſion of them : And that a free Trade ſhould be allowed to the *Dutch* in *Portugal*, *Africa*, and *Brazil*, without paying any more Cuſtoms than the native *Portugueze*.

16. The *Portugueze* have, ſince this time, remained in quiet Poſſeſſion of all this vaſt Country, which is the Reaſon that it is very difficult, if not impoſſible, to give any diſtinct Account of what has paſſed there ſince this Time: For the *Portugueze* are, in the firſt place, not much addicted to Writing ; and in the next, they are not extremely willing that the World ſhould be acquainted, farther than they muſt be from Facts, with the State of their Colonies in *Brazil* ; and it is for this Reaſon, that they ſuffer no Ships to trade thither but their own ; a Point in which they are extremely preciſe, inſomuch that they have made it a kind of capital Maxim in their Policy. But it is with them as it is with all other Nations of this Stamp ; they flatter themſelves that this Rule which they lay down is inviolably adhered to ; yet it is certain that the Fact is otherwiſe, and that ſometimes *Engliſh* Interlopers, and now and then *French* and *Dutch*, ſell their Cargoes in *Brazil*, eſpecially in time of War ; and in time of Peace, when there is not an Opportunity of carrying on a clandeſtine Trade in this manner, they find out another, which is, ſending thither Goods, under the Name of ſome *Portugueze* Merchant, in the very ſame manner that the Goods are ſent to the *Spaniſh* Colonies, under the Name of *Spaniſh* Merchants.

In both Caſes they are no more than Brokers ; but, to their immortal Credit, the faireſt and the moſt honourable in the World; for they are never known to break their Faith, or to injure thoſe who truſt them. As to the Trade which the *Portugueze* themſelves carry on to this Colony of theirs, it has for theſe laſt hundred Years been ſo great, that it is thought to have been the principal Cauſe why they have ſlighted that of the *Indies*, as we have ſhewn in its proper Place ; tho' formerly it conſiſted principally in Sugar, Tobacco, *Brazil* Wood, and other Commodities of great Value ; yet within theſe laſt forty Years they have received from thence Commodities of ſtill greater Value, or rather, to ſpeak in the Language of our Times, of the greateſt Value, ſuch as Diamonds, and Gold ; and of this precious Metal we have been thought to have ſo large a Share, that without it we could ſcarce have carried on the laſt general War, and the expenſive Meaſures that have ſucceeded it ; and though this may not be ſtrictly true, yet there is certainly ſo much of Truth in it, that it ought to make us curious in the inquiring after, and obtaining the beſt Account we can of theſe Plantations, which is ſo much the more neceſſary, becauſe hitherto the Accounts we have had are as far from being ſatisfactory as Accounts well can be. The Pains I have taken upon this Subject have not indeed enabled me to give the Reader ſo exact a View of all the *Portugueze* Settlements in *Brazil* as I could wiſh ; but, however, as I ſhall have no Occaſion to treat of this Country again, I will take this Opportunity of giving him the moſt particular and ſatisfactory Accounts I have met with, till ſomething better ſhall be publiſhed upon the Subject.

All the Trade of the five northern Captainſhips of *Brazil*, *viz.* *Paria*, *Maragnan*, *Siara*, *Rio Grande*, and *Paraiba*, is carried on in the laſt-mentioned Port, which lies on a River of the ſame Name, at the Diſtance of about five Leagues from the Sea ; it is a fair and populous Town for that Country; and there are annually about ſeven or eight Ships ſent hither from *Liſbon* and *Oporto*, of the Burden of two hundred and fifty Tons each. Their Lading conſiſts chiefly in Sugar, of which they make more in theſe northern Captainſhips, than in the South ; eſpecially ſince the Diſcovery of the Gold Mines, which has made the Inhabitants of thoſe Parts of the Country negligent. There was a Time when the Trade of *Brazil*, in this Commodity, was ſuperior to any in the World ; for the Sugar of *Brazil* was the firſt that was known in *Europe* ; and the *Portugueze* are ſaid to have ſet up their Works in this Country, about the Year 1580; and their being ſo long in Poſſeſſion has made them more careful and exact in it, than any other Nation; ſo that even now the clayed Sugars from *Brazil*, are whiter and finer than ours; and yet the Method they take of doing this, is neither a Secret, ſo as not to be known, nor difficult, ſo as not to be attained; for in plain *Engliſh* it is no more than this:

When their Sugar is put into their Pots, and, by the draining out of the Moloſſes, they are ſunk two or three Inches below the Brim; they ſcrape off that thin hard Cruſt that is found on the Top of the Sugar; and then they pour in their Mixture for refining it; it is nothing more than a fine ſoft white Clay, beat and mixed with Water, till of the Conſiſtency of Cream, with which they fill up the Pan. The white Water in ten or twelve Days paſſes quite through, and whitens the Sugar as it paſſes; the thick Body of the Clay lodges on the Top of the Sugar, and is eaſily taken off with a Knife. Beſides Sugar in this State, they bring likewiſe dying Woods, ſeveral Sorts of Drugs, and other valuable Commodities from *Paraiba*; which, however, is the leaſt frequented Port in *Brazil*, though it is generally allowed that theſe northern Captainſhips are the beſt peopled; and that the Inhabitants are very eaſy in their Circumſtances, though there have not as yet been any Mines found, or at leaſt wrought, in theſe Parts. Though ſome *Spaniſh* Writers affirm, that, from the Appearance of the Soil on the Sides of their Mountains, it is highly probable they are rich in Silver; which, perhaps, they are reſtrained from ſearching for by the Orders of the Viceroy; or at leaſt this was the Caſe forty Years ago, when ſome *Spaniſh* Deſerters made a Propoſal of this kind to the *Portugueze* Governor of this Captainſhip.

Tamarca, which lies next to *Paraiba* and the Captainſhip of *Fernambuca*, carry on their Trade from the City of *Olinda*, which we have mentioned before. It is ſeated on a Hill not far from the Sea; and this Situation renders the Streets very uneven and very incommodious. The Port too is but narrow, and the Entry into it extremely difficult; yet there is a conſiderable Reſort thither of Ships from the other Parts of *Brazil*, and from the *Canaries*; and the annual Fleet from *Liſbon* conſiſts generally of about thirty Sail, eſcorted by a Man of War. Theſe Merchantmen are generally about the ſame Size with thoſe ſent to *Paraiba*, and their Cargoes are compoſed chiefly of Sugar and *Brazil* Wood; which laſt is ſuppoſed to be the beſt of its kind in the World; and therefore we ſhall ſpeak of it ſomewhat more particularly: Many, otherwiſe correct Writers, having fallen into very groſs Miſtakes upon this Subject.

It is an Opinion commonly received, that the Country of which we are ſpeaking gave its Name to this Wood, and that it was called *Brazil* becauſe it came from thence; nay, we are told ſo in the very laſt Edition of the *Dictionary of Commerce*, and in one of the new Articles; but, however, the Fact is directly otherwiſe; and, as we have ſaid elſewhere, the Colony was ſo far from giving its Name to the Wood, that, on the contrary, the Country was firſt called the Land of the *Holy Ghoſt*; and from its abounding with this kind of Tree, loſt the Name impoſed upon it by its firſt Diſcoverers, and took that of *Brazil*. If the Proof of this is demanded againſt the Authority of abundance of Books, which ſay directly the contrary, we may cite *John de Barros*, the famous *Portugueze* Hiſtorian; who, ſays expreſly what we do, and was likely to know as much of this Matter as any Man. But that learned Prelate of *France*, *Peter Huet*, Biſhop of *Avranches*, has put the Matter entirely out of doubt; for he aſſures us, that the famous Rabbi, *David Kimchi*, in his *Commentary on the Chronicles*, affirms, that the *Hebrew* Word *Algummim*, ought to be tranſlated *Brazil*; now it is certain that this learned *Jew* wrote before the Country of *Brazil* was diſcovered, and conſequently the Wood was ſo called before any of it came from thence.

There are alſo different Sorts of this Wood; ſuch as the Brazil of *Japon*, Brazil of *Lamon*, Brazil of *St. Martha*, and Braziletto from *Jamaica* and the *Leeward Iſlands*; but the very beſt comes from this Country, and the beſt in this Country from *Fernambuca*. The Brazil-Tree grows generally in dry barren Places, and amongſt Rocks; it is very thick and large, and the Timber uſually crooked and knotty; the Flowers it bears are of a moſt beautiful bright red, have a very fragrant Smell, and, inſtead of hurting, as moſt Perfumes do, they cheriſh and ſtrengthen the Brain: Though the Tree is very large, it is covered with ſo thick a Bark, that when the *Brazilians* have taken it off, a Tree as big as a Man's Body is left no thicker than the Calf of his Leg. The Wood is very heavy, dry, and hard; it crackles much in the Fire, and ſcarce raiſes any Smoak when it is burned, becauſe it has ſo little Moiſture; there is no Pith in it, except in what comes from *Japon*; and therefore it may be doubted whether this be really the ſame kind of Wood or not.

That is held to be the beſt which is thickeſt, ſoundeſt, hardeſt, and without any Bark ſticking to it; it ought likewiſe upon ſplitting to turn from a pale to a deep red; and laſtly, upon chewing the Chips of it, the beſt Sort yields a ſweet ſugary Flavour. This Wood is put to various Uſes by the Turners, and takes a very good Poliſh; but it is principally employed in dying, in which it yields a very fine bright Red. It is from the *Brazil* Wood that one kind of Carmine is made, by beating it in a Mortar with Leaf-Gold, and ſteeping it in White-Wine-Vinegar, and afterwards boiling it; when it yields a thick Scum, which, carefully taken off and dried, becomes, when reduced to a Powder, Carmine, but very far inferior to what is made by another Method, from Cochineal.

The next Captainſhip of *Brazil*, is that of the Bay *Bahia*, as the *Portugueze* call it, or Bay of *All Saints*; which is about twelve Leagues over, but in ſeveral Places is ſcarce navigable, on account of Sand-Banks and Sholes: There are in it ſeveral ſmall Iſlands, on which the *Portugueze* have Tobacco and Sugar Plantations, and they have likewiſe very good Fiſheries on the Coaſt of theſe Iſlands, and on the Banks. I have an Account of a Voyage to *Brazil* by a *French* Gentleman, in the Year 1717, which is very curious, and from which I ſhall give the Reader ſome very entertaining Particulars, which I do not remember to have met with any where elſe, or at leaſt not in our Language; and becauſe I am not able to put them in a better Dreſs, I will give them exactly in his Words.

“ There is not a Place in the World, *China* only excepted, from whence I came, where there is ſo much Trouble to get on Shore, or to know how to act when one is on Shore, as in *Brazil*. We came into this Bay on the 16th of *November*; and when we were within a League of the City of *St. Salvador*, we were reſtrained from proceeding any farther, by a Gun fired from a little Fort; upon which we came to an Anchor, and ſent our Supercargo aſhore in our Boat. He was a very ſenſible Man, and withal had a great deal of Gravity, a Quality of all others the moſt neceſſary, for one who has any Buſineſs to tranſact with the *Portugueze*: As ſoon as he came aſhore, he was conducted to an Audience of the Viceroy, who received him with a great deal of State; and yet ſhewed him, at the ſame Time, as much Civility as he could expect. He told his Excellency that he came on behalf of three *French* Ships homeward bound from the *Eaſt Indies*, that were in many reſpects greatly diſtreſſed, and had no Hopes of performing their Voyage, but from his affording them his Protection and Relief

“ The Viceroy continued for ſome Minutes ſilent, and then gave him his Anſwer to this Effect: That he was very ſorry for their Misfortune, becauſe his Maſter's Orders were very preciſe againſt admitting any foreign Veſſels into the Port; and that he was the more concerned to hear that they were *French*, becauſe it was chiefly on their Account that theſe Orders were given; becauſe ſeveral Veſſels of their Nation, that had been admitted into the Ports of that Country upon the very ſame Pretences, had carried on an illegal Trade, directly contrary to the King's Orders, and had ſhipped great Quantities of Tobacco. He told them farther, that the King's Orders were to ſeize and confiſcate without Diſtinction, whatever

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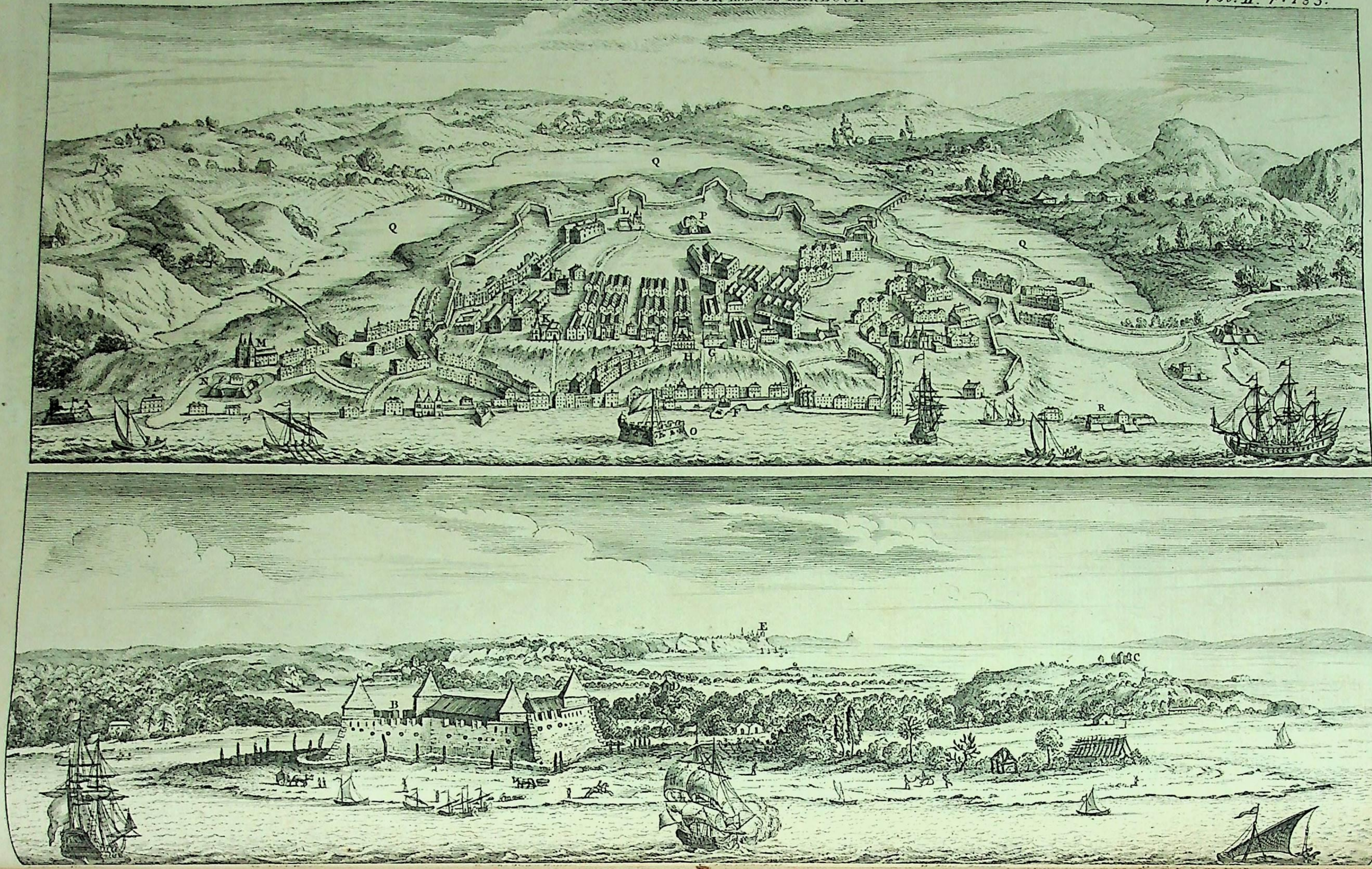
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foreign Veſſels entered that Port, unleſs it plainly appeared they were in ſuch a Condition as not to be able to keep at Sea; that therefore they were to have twenty-four Hours given them to conſider whether they would come and anchor under the Guns of the Fort in order to be examined, or to put to Sea without receiving any Relief at all. He added, that if the Caſe was ſuch as our Agent repreſented it, he might very freely enter the Port; and, upon Examination, all the Care ſhould be taken to aſſiſt and ſupply him, that he could deſire; but that he would do well to remember that the *Portugueze* were not to be impoſed upon.

“ As our Ship was really in ſuch a Condition that we had no Reaſon to fear any Examination, we made Sail immediately on the Return of our Supercargo, and came to an Anchor under the Fort. The next Day the Judge came on board, attended by ſeveral Secretaries and other Officers, all of them very grave ſober-looking People, who examined every thing with all the Nicety and Strictneſs of an Inquiſition. They called for our Journals, queſtioned our Pilots, Mariners, and even the Cabbin-Boys, particularly as to this Point, Whether we had not formed a Deſign of touching at *Brazil* before we were in ſuch Diſtreſs? They all anſwered in the Negative; but ſtill we had ſo little Hopes, that every one in the Ship, who had it in his Power, made them ſome Preſent or other, which they took indeed, but ſcarce gave us Thanks. At laſt they took their Leaves, and ſent ſome Carpenters on board, to whom our Captains made ſuch an Application, that they reported our Leaks to be ſo dangerous, that the Crew were very much alarmed, and were afraid of ſinking before they got out of the Ship.

“ As ſoon as this Report was made, we had Leave to go on Shore, which was refuſed us before; and we had alſo Leave given us to take Lodgings where we thought fit in the City, but with ſtrict Caution not to attempt any kind of Trade on Pain of forfeiting both Ship and Cargo. The Officers put on board the Veſſel talked the ſame Language at firſt, but ſeeing the Impreſſion it made, and that our People were very exact in that Particular, they were ſo kind as to explain themſelves the third Day, telling us that this was all a Farce; that the Judges themſelves knew it; that they underſtood by our Preſents, we were a good ſort of People, and, that we ſhould have, every Night, Boats come off with all ſorts of Merchandize; and that they would take care we ſhould run no ſort of Riſk, either in buying or ſelling. The Boats came accordingly, and though at firſt we were a little ſuſpicious, yet in one Week's Time their Language was perfectly underſtood, and Trade went on briſkly every Evening, as ſoon as it was dark.

“ We imagined there would be no Difficulty in procuring Carpenters and other Workmen, if we gave them good Wages, but we were miſtaken; for none of theſe People durſt take our Money till they had Leave, and that Leave was not to be had but by dint of Preſents; which being properly beſtowed the Carpenters came on board, and went to work. It is literally true in *Brazil*, that Money will do all Things, and that nothing is to be done without Money. We ſtaid there four Months, and found few honeſt Men except the Viceroy.

“ He was the firſt that ever had that Title, all the former Governors being called Captains-General; and his Title was not only higher, but his Power much greater than theirs; which was intended to redreſs the many Corruptions and Iniquities that had crept into the Government. The Nobleman graced with theſe Honours, was the Count *de Villaverda*, one of the greateſt Families in *Portugal*, who had ſerved as General of Horſe in the laſt War, and was in every reſpect a Man of as much Worth and Honour as his own, or any other Country, could boaſt. He found it very difficult to execute his Inſtructions, but he certainly ſet all his People a good Example; for in the corrupteſt Country in the World he behaved with the greateſt Probity Man could do, and laboured all that was in his Power to prevent the bad Effects of a contrary Conduct in others. But it may be naturally expected, that I ſhould give ſome Account of this great City, and I ſhall accordingly do it as exactly as I can: *St. Salvador* is ſituated at the Entrance of the Bay of *All Saints*, and has a very fine Port, which might be made ſtill more commodious than it is, if Art and Induſtry gave a little Aſſiſtance to Nature: The preſent Viceroy has attempted this, and it is moſt certain that if they execute his Deſign in its full Extent, the Harbour of *St. Salvador* will become the beſt in *America*.

“ The City is divided into the Upper and the Lower: We will begin with the ſecond, in which live all the Merchants, and People of Buſineſs; and perhaps there is not in the World a Place, for its Size, of greater Hurry or greater Trade: It lies at the Foot of a Hill which is not very high, but exceſſively ſteep. There is in it a royal Arſenal, beſides the King's Warehouſes and Magazines; which are large, well filled, and kept in excellent Order. There is likewiſe a very fine Yard for building Ships; and it is very wonderful, that the Policy of the *Portugueze*, in this reſpect, is not imitated by other Nations that have Colonies in *America*; for Ships are not only built here, at a much eaſier Rate than in *Europe*, but are likewiſe better, and more ſerviceable, becauſe the Timber is excellent in its Kind, and incorruptible in its Nature, ſo that the Worms, which in the *Mediterranean* and the *Weſt Indies*, make a ſwift and certain Deſtruction in all our Veſſels, how well ſoever they may be ſheathed, are not able to penetrate theſe. The ſame Thing is practiſed in almoſt all the other Parts of *Brazil*, which is certainly a very wiſe, and a very profitable Regulation. And as, on the one hand, we may be very well ſurprized, that other Nations have not imitated the *Portugueze* in this reſpect, ſo, on the other hand, there is no leſs Reaſon to be aſtoniſhed, that a Nation ſo prudent and politic in this Particular, ſcarce acts with common Senſe in any other.

“ The upper Town is ſeated on the Summit of the Mountain; the Houſes are large enough, and ſome are pretty convenient; but the Inequality of the Ground on which they ſtand ſpoils their Appearance, and renders the Streets very diſagreeable: The grand Place, or great Square, is in the Middle of the Town; and the Viceroy's Palace, the Town-houſe, the Mint, and other public Buildings, occupy four Sides, which are handſome enough, but have only this ſingular in them, that they are built of Stone brought from *Portugal*, for in all this Country they have none fit for the Purpoſe: The *Jeſuits* College is, beyond all Diſpute, the largeſt, faireſt, and moſt finiſhed Building in the City, more eſpecially the Sacriſty, which is lined throughout with the moſt beautiful Tortoiſe-ſhell, wrought and fixed together in the moſt elegant manner, ſo that nothing can be conceived more agreeable to the Eye, or more ſatisfactory even to the niceſt Taſte: There are ſeveral other fine Churches; and that of the *Benedictine* Abbey, which is now building, will rival, if not exceed, the Church of the *Jeſuits*; but the Cathedral, which without doubt ought to be the nobleſt Structure, and which really ſeems to be ſo at a Diſtance, is however far from appearing either neat or regular when one comes to examine it; yet, if the Richneſs of Gilding may entitle a Church to be thought fine, this muſt be acknowledged to ſurpaſs not only all the Churches here, but throughout the greateſt Part of *America*.

“ There is alſo amongſt the Convents in this Capital, one very remarkable of the Order of *St. Clare*, and another, deſtined to the Uſe of ſuch young Girls as are expoſed and abandoned by their Parents. It is amazing to ſee how much theſe Foundlings are conſidered in this Country; the King adopts them all, and the Ladies of the firſt Quality frequently take them Home, when at a proper Age, and breed them up as their own; which is certainly a very laudable Charity; but is, in ſome Caſes, attended with great Inconveniencies. The City of *St. Salvador* is the Seat of an Archbiſhopric, which is uſually filled by ſome Eccleſiaſtic of the beſt Family in *Portugal*, as well on account of its large Revenue, as becauſe of the Share that Prelate has of the Government. The City is much longer than it is broad, and, if we ſpeak of it only within the Walls, it is but ſmall; but if we take in the Suburbs, it may paſs for a pretty large Place; the Number of Houſes having been computed at two thouſand, and that Computation is, perhaps, rather below than above their real Number.

“ The Viceroy has two Councils, one of Criminal, the other of Civil Affairs, in which he preſides; but Juſtice goes on very ſlowly, and there is not a Country in the World where ſo much Paper is blotted by the Lawyers as here, before any final Judgment is obtained. In former times it was here as in the *Spaniſh* Governments, the Captain-General durſt not puniſh, much leſs put to Death, any Native of his Maſter's Dominions in *Europe*; but the preſent Viceroy has broke through this, and ventures to condemn Murderers and ſuch like Criminals, to ſuffer the Puniſhments they deſerve; but the Proceedings are ſtill ſo ſlow, and the Precautions taken ſo many, that there is no ſort of Danger of any Man's being ſent to the Gallows there, before he very richly deſerves it; and the only Scandal to the Government is, that the Road thither is not quite ſo much beaten as it ought to be; for it would be certainly much better that five were hanged every Year, than ten murdered with Impunity.

“ The Commerce of *Brazil* is very conſiderable, and the Luxury of the Inhabitants as great as can well be imagined. There is an annual Fleet comes from *Portugal* with *European* Goods, conſigned by the Merchants of *Liſbon* to their Factors here, where they never wait long for their Cargoes, which conſiſt of Sugar, Tobacco, and Gold Duſt, all of which are commonly laid up in their Magazines ready againſt the Arrival of the Fleet, with the Contents of which they are alſo perfectly well acquainted; ſo that to land the Commodities of *Europe*, and to ſhip thoſe of the Country, is almoſt all they have to do. The Inhabitants may be divided properly enough into three Sorts of People, *viz.* Planters, Factors, and Mariners. The former buy as many Slaves as they can employ in their Sugar and Tobacco Works, or in the Mines; and when the *Liſbon* Fleet comes they ſhip their Commodities on board it, and receive an Equivalent in *European* Goods and Manufactures by the next Year's Fleet. The Factors keep Magazines of all Sorts of Goods that come from *Portugal*, with which they purchaſe Sugar, Tobacco, and Gold, of ſuch Planters as want an immediate Supply of the Things they deal in, without waiting for next Year's Fleet. As for the ſea-faring People, the chief of their Buſineſs conſiſts in making frequent Trips to the Coaſt of *Guinea* to purchaſe Slaves. I do not ſpeak here either of the Lawyers or the Soldiers; and my Reaſon for it is, they being generally either Planters or Merchants.

“ The *Guinea* Trade is very conſiderable; thoſe employed in it from this City or Bay, bringing over uſually twenty, or five and twenty thouſand Negroes every Year; and of theſe, fifteen thouſand, at leaſt, are diſpoſed of amongſt the Inhabitants of *St. Salvador*. There is not a *Portugueze* there, who has not, at leaſt, a dozen Blacks in his Service, and they very often employ them in ſuch Offices as are equally contrary to the Intereſt of Religion, and of the State. They arm, for Inſtance, ſuch of them as are clean-limbed well-made Fellows, each with his Sword and Dagger; and as they have a Sort of brutal Fierceneſs, which ſome miſcall Courage, they are capable of doing any thing they are commanded, of what Kind ſoever; and, by this Means, they acquire ſuch a Habit of doing Miſchief, that they very frequently do it without any Commands at all. There are alſo Abundance of theſe Fellows that are free; that is to ſay, have either obtained their Liberty, as a Reward of their Services, or have purchaſed it with Money. It is really aſtoniſhing, all Things conſidered, that ſome dreadful Revolution has not happened to the *Portugueze* in this Country, from their weak and ill-judged Indulgence for theſe Negroes, who are much more numerous, as well armed, and, if it be poſſible, more wicked than themſelves.

“ It may ſeem ſtrange that I ſay this, but it will ſurely appear ſtranger, when I affirm, that in ſaying this, I do not at all exceed the Truth. In ſhort, the far greater Part of the *Portugueze* ſettled here, are Hypocrites in Point of Religion, and totally deſtitute of Morals; Thieves and Sharpers by Profeſſion; and very frequently Murderers from Reſentment. There is no Order, no Decency, no Obedience known amongſt them; every Barber, Shoemaker, and Taylor, ſtruts with his Sword and Dagger, and looks upon himſelf as equal to any Officer in the Colony, becauſe his Face is of the ſame Complexion. The preſent Viceroy is ſenſible of, and deteſts, this Conduct. When he firſt came over he laboured to reform it; but Cuſtom has ſo ſtrongly eſtabliſhed it, that hitherto his Labours have proved vain.

“ Of late Years, and ſince the Diſcovery of the Mines, they have formed a kind of new Syſtem of living, which ſome Time or other will prove fatal to them; for, inſtead of cultivating their Plantations, they ſend moſt of their Slaves to the Mines, upon theſe Conditions: Their Maſter finds them a Pound of Meal a Day, and if they eat any thing elſe they buy it themſelves; in return, the Slave is bound to pay his Maſter daily ſuch a Quantity of Gold; if he happens to get more, he lays it by, to make up for Deficiencies, or, by living hard, he ſaves enough to purchaſe his Freedom. Thus the Maſters are at a kind of Certainty, with reſpect to the Eſtates; for ſo many Slaves produce ſo much Money certain: But, in the mean Time, their Sugar and Tobacco is decaying; and, which is much worſe, they are in Danger of wanting neceſſary Subſiſtence; for which they now depend chiefly upon the Fleets from *Portugal*; and perhaps at *Liſbon* this may be looked upon as an Advantage, becauſe it is a very ſtrong Tie upon the Colony; ſince, if they do not continue good Subjects, they muſt be content not to eat. As it is indeed, few People live worſe, ſince the greateſt Part of their Victuals is ſalt Meat, or dried Fiſh, and all the Bread they have is made of a powdered Root, ſo that there is ſcarce a Country in *Europe* where a Man cannot live better upon Half a Crown a Day, than he can in *Brazil* for twenty Shillings.

“ The Truth of the Matter is, that the People of *Brazil* love Shew and Magnificence, fine Cloaths, Jewels, and a large Train of Servants, better than what we call Good-Living. Yet ſome Feaſts they have, but Feaſts that bring after them a long Train of Faſts; for every Man has his Guardian Saint, upon whoſe Anniverſary, perhaps, he ſpends his whole Year's Revenue, or, at leaſt, the beſt Part of it, and never has a good Dinner afterwards, except at his Neighbour's, upon the like Occaſion. Yet there are prodigious Sums of Gold paſs through theſe Peoples Hands, though undoubtedly they were much happier before the Mines were diſcovered, and would be ſo again, if there was not a Grain of Gold Duſt in the Colony. The Plate Fleet, this Year, from *Rio Janeiro*, was ſaid to be worth thirty Millions, that is, about a Million and a half of *Engliſh* Money; but the Fleet from the Bay carried but twenty-four thouſand Arobes of Sugar, whereas they had formerly made ſixty thouſand, and their Tobacco Trade decays in Proportion: Yet, I believe, it may be doubted whether *Portugal* is much the richer for all this Gold, ſince the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* furniſh all the Manufactures, or, at leaſt, the greateſt Part of them that are ſent to *Brazil*; whereas, when they brought over only Sugar, Tobacco, Brazil-Wood, and other ſuch-like

Commodities; they had conſiderable Returns made them in Money.

“They ſeem to be ſtill under great Apprehenſions of being, ſome time or other, attacked in this Country, againſt which they are provided pretty effectually, ſince there are very few Colonies better fortified, in all Reſpects, than this, as will appear from the Account I am going to give you of their Works for the Security of the Bay. In the firſt Place, they have at Point *St. Antonio* a great ſquare Fort, and below it a ſmaller, with ten large Pieces of Cannon; which two Fortreſſes command the Mouth of the Bay. They are likewiſe tracing Ground for a new Fort, which is to be called *The Caſtle of St. Peter*, and, when built, wiill be very ſtrong. In the Middle of the Harbour they have a large Fortreſs, which of late they have repaired, and have now augmented. The Arſenal is flanked by two ſtrong Baſtions, which command the whole Port. On the other Side, between *Monſerat* and this City, they have erected a fine Citadel, which is a regular Square, admirably fortified in every Reſpect, and well furniſhed with Braſs Artillery. At the Point of *Monſerat* again, they have a ſmall, but ſtrong Fort, with twelve Pieces of heavy Cannon. There are yet two other Fortreſſes to be mentioned, one between *St. Antonio* and the City, where they make their Gunpowder, and the other the Powder Warehouſe, which lies on the other Side of the City, and commands a large artificial Lake made by the *Dutch*; ſo that the City of *St. Salvador* is covered by the Sea on one Side, and by the Lake on the other. The Garriſon conſiſts of two Regiments of Foot, three Regiments of Militia, and a Regiment of free Negroes, beſides ſome Cavalry, which the Viceroy keeps up to reſtrain the *Banditti*, who are very troubleſome, and do a great deal of Miſchief in the diſtant Parts of the Colony.

“After having thus related to you the principal Things I have ſeen here, though with little Method, yet with much Truth, I ought now to conclude; but as there are ſtill ſome Things that have eſcaped my Pen, though not my Obſervation, I think it may not be amiſs to add them here, though without much Order, rather than omit them entirely; the rather as they will contribute to explain ſome Paſſages that have gone before, and render the whole of my Account more perfect. The better Sort of People in *St. Salvador* very much reſemble the *Chineſe*, that is to ſay, they are exceſſively civil and complaiſant to Strangers, with a View to obtain from them Preſents and Gratifications of much higher Value than the Trifles they beſtow; and, if their Expectations on this Head are not anſwered, they never fail to give Strangers as ſtrong Proofs of Reſentment, at the End of their Acquaintance, as they did of their Politeneſs at the Beginning. Their Forces in *Brazil* are, at preſent, much ſuperior to any thing that can be ſent againſt them; and what I take to be the chief of their Strength is, their being uſed and ſeaſoned to the Country; ſo that I am fully perſuaded that an Attempt to diſpoſſeſs them by any Nation, except one, would be vain and fruitleſs, and ſerve only to create a vaſt Expence of Blood and Treaſure to no End or Purpoſe: But for all this, it is very certain, that either Privateers or ſmall Squadrons of Men of War might diſtreſs them very much upon their Coaſts, and, perhaps, enrich themſelves conſiderably, by taking ſome of their Maritime Places.

“At the very Time I was there, a Pirate did a great deal of Miſchief, and took abundance of Ships with Impunity. The Crew, as is uſual in ſuch Veſſels, was compoſed of People of all Nations; and it was commanded by a *Spaniard* from the Iſland of *St. Domingo*. The Force of this Ship was far from being great; for, according to the Accounts the *Portugueze* gave of her, ſhe carried but thirty Guns, and her Crew conſiſted but of three hundred Men; yet the whole City of *St. Salvador* was alarmed at the Report; and though the Viceroy immediately equipped a fine new Frigate, which he had cauſed to be built there, yet ſhe was manned ſo ſlowly, that the Pirate had time enough to bear away with her Prizes. In a Word, there is nothing of the old Spirit and Bravery of the *Portugueze* Nation to be ſeen here; but, on the contrary, the People are all lazy, indolent, and quite given up to their Pleaſures: This I take to be owing to their being ſerved by Negroe Slaves; for the Servility of theſe poor Creatures makes their Maſters inſolent; and moſt of them keeping Seraglios of black Women, become enervate in their Bodies, and loſe all Firmneſs and Grandeur of Mind; a Thing, which as it occurred to me from Experience, ſo I believe it will appear very natural to you, from your own good Senſe, and thorough Knowledge of human Nature.

“Upon the Whole, therefore, I am inclined to believe that, unleſs by a conſtant Succeſſion of wiſe and good Governors, the Manners of the Inhabitants are changed, and their ill Cuſtoms aboliſhed, there will, ſome time or other, either from their Want of Proviſions, the Inſolence of the Negroes, or ſome ſuch like Cauſe, happen an Inſurrection or Revolution, which will change the Face of Affairs here; for that a Country, where the Inhabitants are plunged into Luxury and Corruption, ſhould enjoy, for a long Series of Years, uninterrupted Tranquillity, is contrary to all Maxims of Policy; and, indeed, that private Crimes and public Peace ſhould conſtantly dwell together, is not very reconcileable to Common Senſe.” Thus far my Author, to whoſe Account I ſhall preſume to add a few Particulars that I have collected elſewhere.

The City of *St. Salvador* lies in the Latitude of 14° South, and is at preſent the Centre of the *Portugueze* Trade in this Part of the World. Authors differ very much in the Accounts they give us of the Fleets ſent hither annually from *Liſbon*; for ſome make them double what others report them; but the Reaſon of this is, that the one ſpeak of the whole *Brazil* Fleet, which generally aſſemble in the Bay of *All Saints*, in order to return together to *Europe*; and the other of the Fleet from *Liſbon*, expreſly deſtined for the Bay, which may be about thirty Sail, eſcorted by two Men of War, and which uſually ſail about *March*.

The Commodities they carry are Wine, Brandies, Meal, or Flour; Oil, Cheeſe, Cloths, Stuffs, Linnen, Iron rough and wrought, Paper, all kinds of Kitchen Utenſils, Laces, and moſt kinds of Apparel. On the other hand, they bring from thence the beſt Tobacco in *Brazil*, which is ſo much eſteemed in *Europe*; Sugar, Indigo, Balſam Copahu, or Copaiva, Ipecacuanha, Pareira Brava, Cinnamon, long Pepper, Ginger, Woods for dying, and ſome for inlaying; Ambergreaſe, and other rich Drugs and Perfumes; beſides theſe, they alſo export from hence raw Hides, Train-Oil, and Whale-Fins, abundance of theſe Creatures being taken upon this Coaſt; and, for this forty Years laſt paſt, Gold, Amethyſts, and Diamonds. There are likewiſe ſome Silver Mines in *Brazil*, which, though not wrought to ſuch Profit as to allow the exporting much of this Metal to *Portugal*, yet furniſhed ſufficient for home Circulation; and of this Silver that Money is coined at *St. Salvador*, which is current through the whole Colony; and which bears on one Side the Arms of *Portugal*, and on the other a Croſs charged with a Sphere, with the following Motto: *Under this Sign will I ſtand.*

All the reſt of the Captainſhips which lie farther to the South, carry on their Trade by the *Rio Janeiro*, ſo called for its having been diſcovered in the Month of *January* 1515; and which, from being ſcarce known to, is at preſent become one of the moſt famous and conſiderable Rivers in, the World. The Banks of it are as beautiful and pleaſant as can be imagined; the Climate fine, the Soil extremely fertile, producing Sugar, Indigo, Tobacco, and Cotton, all in very great Perfection. It has been likewiſe found, that *European* Corn will grow here with very little Trouble, and to great Perfection; but, for the Reaſons already aſſigned, this and all other Improvements have been diſregarded, tho', independent of the Gold Mines which have been diſcovered in this and the neighbouring Captainſhip of *St. Vincent*,

Vincent, this might be conſidered as the very richeſt Part of *Brazil*. The *Portugueze* that are ſettled here are quite a different Sort of People from thoſe in the Bay of *All Saints*; for they are active, induſtrious, well inclined to Foreigners, and ſuffer the *Indians*, who live amongſt them, to enjoy as much Freedom as themſelves, which renders the Country a perfect Paradiſe; and it is not eaſy to imagine what vaſt Cargoes were brought from the *Rio Janeiro*, before the Gold Mines in that Country were diſcovered.

The City of *St. Sebaſtian*, which is the Capital of this Country, ſtands very commodiouſly in 23 Degrees of South Latitude, on the Weſt Side of the River, about two Leagues from the Sea. This City, which is very well fortified, is the Seat of a *Portugueze* Governor, and a Biſhop's See, Suffragan to the Archbiſhop of *St. Salvador*; there are likewiſe ſeveral other conſiderable Towns on the *Rio Janeiro*, all of which have a large Share of Trade, as may appear from the Number of Ships which compoſe the Fleet ſent hither annually from *Portugal*, which conſiſts of between twenty and thirty Sail of Veſſels, of 500 Tons Burthen, which are uſually eſcorted by two Men of War. The Commodities brought from hence are, generally ſpeaking, the ſame with thoſe brought from the Bay of *All Saints*, Diamonds only excepted. After ſaying this, it may be naturally expected that we ſhould give the Reader ſome Account of the Diamond Mines here; which, however, is a Thing very difficult to do, there being very little known of them, with any degree of Certainty; but the few Circumſtances that we have been able to draw together, in relation to this important Article, are theſe.

It is about forty Years ago, that ſome precious Stones were brought to the City of *St. Sebaſtian*, taken out of a ſmall River lying weſtward of that City, which were, at firſt, judged to be very fine Pebbles; but it was not ſo ſoon that they were brought over to *Europe*. About the Cloſe of the laſt general War theſe fine Pebbles were found in greater Quantities; and we are told, that ſome rich Planters began to employ their Slaves in digging the black heavy Earth, on the Sides of the Mountain, from whence this River deſcended, and then theſe Stones were found in greater Plenty; ſome of them were very large, but moſt of them of a black or yellowiſh Caſt, which hurt their Luſtre, and ſunk their Value; yet, notwithſtanding this, many of the yellow Stones were brought to *Liſbon*, and ſold for Topazes.

Afterwards the Crown of *Portugal* interpoſed, and the working of theſe Mines was forbidden; which, however, did not hinder their coming in conſiderable Quantities; for ſometimes it was ſaid, they were found in this or that River, and not dug out of any Mine; ſometimes they had other Names given them, and many of them were ſent to *St. Salvador*, and from thence exported to *Europe*, under a Notion of their coming by the *Goa* Fleet from the *Eaſt Indies*. This involuntary Fraud raiſed their Value; and, at laſt, the Crown of *Portugal* became convinced, that ſuch as pretended to great Skill in Stones had deceived them; and that ſome of theſe *Brazil* Diamonds were ſcarce to be diſtinguiſhed from Oriental Stones: Upon this they altered their Meaſures, and it was permitted to ſend over rough Diamonds in the *Rio Janeiro* Fleet, under certain Reſtrictions; which Licence making the Value of theſe Jewels ſtill more and more apparent, the King of *Portugal* reſolved to put this Trade under a new Regulation; which, as far as I know, has ſubſiſted ever ſince. This new Order took place in the Year 1740, when his *Portugueze* Majeſty lett theſe Mines to a Company at *Rio Janeiro*, for an annual Rent of one hundred thirty-eight thouſand Cruſades, which is twenty-ſix thouſand Pounds of our Money, upon Condition, that they employed no more than ſix hundred Slaves at theſe Mines; which Condition plainly proves, that they are far greater and more conſiderable than they have generally been eſteemed to be.

It is very probable, that the coming of theſe Stones into *Europe* may ſink the Price of Diamonds conſiderably; but it muſt, at the ſame Time, be allowed, that it cannot but prove highly advantageous to the *Portugueze*, ſince it will operate very effectually in their Favour, in regard to the Balance of Trade; for if they diſpoſe of theſe Stones to any Nation, upon whom they have already a Balance, they muſt bring Money into the Kingdom; and if, on the other hand, they can find a way to ſell them, either to us, or to the *Dutch*, this will leſſen the Balance in our Favour, and prevent the Exportation of Gold, which muſt have been otherwiſe ſent abroad, to pay that Balance; ſo that, take it either Way, the Diſcovery of theſe Diamond Mines is of very high Conſequence, and, if wiſely managed, may prove of prodigious Advantage to this Nation.

But let us now proceed to what little remains of the Hiſtory of this valuable Colony. Southward from the Captainſhip of *Rio Janeiro* lies the Captainſhip of *St. Vincent*, which I take to be the richeſt Country in *Brazil*, perhaps in all *South America*; and therefore I ſhall deſcribe it more particularly. It is bounded on the North by the Captainſhip of *Rio Janeiro*; on the Eaſt by the Ocean; on the South by the new Captainſhip, or that ſtiled *Del Rey*; and on the Weſt by the Mountains of *la Plata*, and Countries inhabited by various ſavage Nations: It extends from the Latitude of 22 Degrees to 27 Degrees South; and is in Length, from North to South, about three hundred Miles; and in Breadth, from Eaſt to Weſt, in ſome Places, near one hundred and eighty Miles; but the greateſt Part of it is not above half ſo broad.

The Town of *St. Vincent* is ſituated on a very fine Bay of the *Atlantic* Ocean, or, as ſome of the beſt Maps I have ſeen repreſent it, on a kind of Peninſula, very well fortified: A little to the North-weſt lies the Town of *Santos*, which ſome look upon to be the Capital of the Province; and which, as I have found, in the Memoirs of a *Spaniſh* Traveller, has as fine a Port as any in the *Weſt Indies*, capable of holding the largeſt Ships, and which might be fortified in ſuch a manner, as to be able to reſiſt any Strength, that, either in this Part of the World, or from *Europe*, could be brought againſt it. The ſame Writer, who was in theſe Parts, towards the End of the laſt Century, has given us a very full Account of them, with which I was furniſhed by an ingenious Gentleman, who thought it might be of uſe to me in the Hiſtory of *Spaniſh America*, which I was then writing, and which I ſhall inſert here, as in its proper Place; the rather, becauſe I think there is no Part of the World leſs known, or which, therefore, it can be more agreeable to the inquiſitive Peruſer to find accurately deſcribed.

“ The *Portugueze*, ſays my Author, had not ſhewn any great Concern, either for extending or improving their Territories in *Brazil*, after the Expulſion of the *Dutch*, till a certain Stateſman adviſed Don *Pedro*, about the Year 1685, to think of improving his *American* Dominions; and more eſpecially, the two Extremities of *Brazil*. That Miniſter ſuggeſted, that the Climate, at the Bay of *All Saints*, would fruſtrate whatever Endeavours might be uſed to render the People active and induſtrious; but that it was otherwiſe, both with the northern and ſouthern Extremities of *Brazil*; where a wiſe Government, and a little Encouragement, might render the Country of much greater Advantage to the Crown of *Portugal*, than hitherto it had been. This Advice was received and followed; which gave Birth, on one hand, to the eſtabliſhing the *Portugueze* Forts and Settlements towards the River of *Amazons*; and, on the other, to the Improvement of the new Colony at *Santos*, which was then but very ſmall.

“ The Method taken for this Purpoſe was ſingular enough; moſt of the Perſons made choice of were of the mixed Herd, or, as the *Portugueze* call them, Meſtices, who married *Brazilian* Women; and the Perſons intruſted with the Government of theſe new Planters, were Prieſts and Monks; but they were ſent expreſly from *Portugal*, and Care was taken that they ſhould be fit for the Purpoſe. The Captain-General of *Brazil*, and all the Officers in the ſouthern Captainſhips, had Orders to treat theſe People kindly, and to give them no Diſturbance in their Meaſures. It very ſoon appeared, by the Effects, that this Plan was very wiſely concerted; for they multiplied prodigiouſly, and, in the Space of about fifteen Years, the Prieſts added ſeveral hundreds of Families to their Colony; extending Weſtward fourſcore, or one hundred, Miles farther than the *Portugueze* had any Settlements before that Time. By degrees they purchaſed Slaves, more eſpecially the Eccleſiaſtics, whom they employed in the Silver Mines; and, treating the Negroes better than moſt of their Neighbours, they ſoon became very rich; ſo that ſeveral Pariſh Prieſts, in the Captainſhip of *St. Vincent*, were worth from ten to fifty thouſand Cruſades; that is, from fifteen hundred to eight thouſand Pounds a-piece.

“ They paid the King's Fifth very regularly, and this was the Beginning of the Riches drawn from this Part of the World. But when it was once known, that ſo much Wealth was to be had in theſe hitherto uncultivated Regions, there began very ſoon to reſort thither Abundance of Adventurers, of all Countries, and of all Characters; when I ſay of all Countries, I mean *Spaniards*, as well as *Portugueze*, free Negroes, *Mulattoes*, and all the different Mixtures that are to be met with in *Brazil*, down to the *Carribocos*, who are the Offspring of *Brazilian* Savages, by Negroe Women; and by different Characters, I mean Monks as well as Laymen, Soldiers, Mechanics, broken Planters; and, in ſhort, all that Sort of Men, who are ready to go any where, or to do any thing, to get a Living. As theſe were quite a different Race from thoſe of the new Colony before-mentioned, it is not to be ſuppoſed that they could dwell together, more eſpecially as the former were the quieteſt, and moſt ſimple; the latter the moſt riotous and turbulent People in the World.

“ Theſe Adventurers, therefore, took care to look out for a new Settlement, and they found one of the propereſt Places in the World for their Reception, at no great Diſtance. This was the thick and vaſt Foreſt of *Pornabaccaba*, which overſpread all the Mountains at the Back of this Captainſhip, and in which hitherto none but wild Beaſts took up their Dwelling. They ſoon cleared a Part of this Wilderneſs for their Habitation, in which they eſtabliſhed not only a new Town, which they called *San Paulo*, but a new Republic alſo, in which they lived after the Manner they liked beſt. At firſt this was overlooked, becauſe the Country was judged of no great Value, and the adjacent Captainſhips were very well pleaſed to be rid of thoſe Sort of Folk who reſorted thither. In the Space, however, of a very few Years, they grew too ſtrong to be dealt with; for, receiving, as they did, all Sorts of People, they quickly increaſed from two or three hundred, to as many thouſand, Men; and being a bold, hardy, enterpriſing, and daring Crew, the Governors knew not how to deal with them. In the firſt Place, they took care to fortify the Avenues to their Territory, which were naturally ſtrong; and they ſeldom ventured abroad, but in Bodies of fourſcore, or one hundred, Men, and in ſuch Parties they frequently traverſed the whole Extent of *Brazil*. Theſe were the People who firſt diſcovered and wrought the Gold Mines, which muſt be exceſſively rich, ſince they were able to obtain ſuch vaſt Quantities of Metal, without any of thoſe Aſſiſtances which the *Spaniards* have in their Settlements in *Chili*. As this required, however, a great Number of Hands, they ſeized upon all the ſtraggling *Indians* and Negroes they could meet with, and compelled them to undergo ſuch Fatigues as they thought proper.

“ This new and extraordinary Commonwealth was denominated, from the Place of their Denomination, *Pauliſts*, and they would not ſuffer any of the *Portugueze* Officers to enter their Territories; yet they acknowledged the Sovereignty of the Crown of *Portugal*, and paid regularly what they ſaid was the Fifth of the Gold they obtained; which, in the Year 1691, amounted to one thouſand Marks, or eight thouſand Ounces; which ſhews, that at that Time they drew annually from the Rivers and Mountains in their Poſſeſſion, forty thouſand Ounces of Gold; they took care, however, every Time they paid the Tribute, to declare, they did it freely, and of their own Accord, out of Reſpect to the Crown of *Portugal*, and not from any ſort of Fear or Senſe of Obligation. The Tyranny of the Governors of *Brazil*, and the Oppreſſion of the *Spaniſh* Governors in the adjacent Provinces, furniſhed this new State with Abundance of Members, ſo that laſt it became a very difficult thing to get Admittance amongſt them, and the Method in this Reſpect was ſingular enough to deſerve Notice.

“ They obliged ſuch as preſented themſelves upon their Frontiers, which they never ſuffered any Stranger to enter, to ſubmit to a very ſtrict Examination, that they might know whether they were fit for their Community, and be ſure they were not Spies, or Perſons who intended to betray them; upon the bare Suſpicion of which they made no Scruple of beating their Brains out: But if, upon this Examination, they judged they might prove uſeful Members, they obliged them to bring in two Slaves for their Support; aſſigning them a Dwelling and Plantation, by which they commenced *Pauliſts*, and were to continue ſo to the End of their Lives; for any Attempt to deſert was puniſhed with Death without Mercy. They made no Exception of Country or Complexion; a Savage was as welcome to them as a *European*; and every Man after his Admiſſion was at Liberty to lead what kind of Life he liked beſt, provided he did not diſturb the Peace of the Society. The Jeſuits of *Paraguay*, either out of Concern for the Souls of theſe People, or moved by the Report of their great Riches, made ſeveral Attempts to gain Admittance amongſt them, but to no ſort of Purpoſe; yet they lived upon very fair Terms with this ſtrange Society; and the *Portugueſe* ſhrewdly ſuſpected, that the reverend Fathers furniſhed them with Fire-Arms and Ammunition, becauſe they knew not how they could be furniſhed any other way.”

Our Author proceeds no farther, and therefore it is impoſſible to ſay when or how this little Republic was ſubverted; but it is certain, that all this Country is now in the Hands of the *Portugueze*, and as much under the Obedience of the King of *Portugal* as any other Part of *Brazil*; but the City of *St. Paul* is ſtill looked upon as the Centre of the Mines, and a Garriſon is maintained there, for their Security. We know not, however, in what manner the Gold is wrought or refined there; but, in all Probability, their chief Works are *Lavadero's*, which have been largely deſcribed in the firſt Volume, ſince we do not hear of their uſing Quickſilver, as the *Spaniards* do; but it is very certain, that they are much increaſed in Value, ſince the King of *Portugal*'s Fifth amounts very commonly to one hundred and fifty thouſand Pounds *per Annum*: And it appears by the lateſt Accounts, that theſe Mines are continually improving.

The only Captainſhip to the Southward of that of *St. Vincent*, is that of *del Rey*, extending from the Latitude of 28 to 34 Degrees, 30 Minutes, South, being about four hundred Miles in Length, but not above one hundred broad in any Part of it. The Country is fruitful and pleaſant; but the *Portugueze* abſolutely neglected it till the Diſcovery of the Mines of *St. Vincent* put them upon planting and ſecuring it, by erecting ſeveral Forts on the North-ſide the River *la Plata*, to which the *Spaniards* formerly pretended, and upon which they are ſtill ſuppoſed to caſt a jealous Eye. The Country in this Province is as pleaſant and fruitful as any in *Brazil*, and as capable of Improvement; but as it has not been ſo long inhabited as the other Captainſhips, it is far from being thoroughly peopled. There are only a few Villages upon the Sea-coaſt, and ſome Fortreſſes on the River of *Plate*.

The chief Advantage which the *Portugueze* draw at preſent from this Province, is a kind of ſmuggling Trade, which they carry on with the *Spaniards*, whom they furniſh with Rum and Tobacco of their own Growth, and with Wines, Brandy, Cloths, Silks, and Linnens from *Europe*, which occaſions Quarrels and Diſputes between the two Nations, though in reality the true Ground of their

Contentions, is the Thirſt of Gold in both Parties, and the Deſire that each has of becoming ſole Poſſeſſors of that large Ridge of Mountains which are the Weſtern Boundaries of this Province and that of *St. Vincent*, and are ſuppoſed to be full of Mines. Some ſpeculative Politicians have inſinuated, that it is not impoſſible that the *Spaniards* may, ſome Time or other, carry their Point; but if they do they muſt begin with reducing the *Paraguay Indians*, who are at preſent ſubject only to the *Jeſuits*; for otherwiſe it is very certain, that they cannot raiſe Men enough to give the *Portugueze* any Uneaſineſs, who, though they have not People to ſpare for ſettling this laſt Diſtrict in *Brazil*, have however ſuch Numbers in the adjacent Captainſhip of *St. Vincent*, as would very ſoon repel any Invaſion from their Neighbours, who, after all, it is very certain, are on this Side rather weaker than themſelves. So that Struggles of this Nature if ever this ſhould happen, may be reputed at a great Diſtance, and if the *Portugueze* were as free from any Apprehenſions of inteſtine Diſorders, it might be affirmed that ſcarce any Colony is more ſecure than that of *Brazil*.

17. Thus we have given the Reader, according to our Promiſe, a full and methodical Hiſtory of this Country, from the very firſt Diſcovery thereof to this Day; that is, for upwards of two hundred Years; and have ſhewn by what Methods it was firſt peopled, from a Country ſcarce equal in extent to one of its Captainſhips; how the new Planters grew exceſſively rich; and how the Envy of the *French* brought them to attempt an Eſtabliſhment on the ſame Coaſt, with all other Tranſactions relative to this Colony; ſo that, what we have to ſay by way of Remarks, will be but very ſhort; but we hope, notwithſtanding that, they will afford the Reader both Pleaſure and Profit. When the Spirit of Trade and Diſcovery, which exerted itſelf in *Portugal* in the fifteenth Century, firſt appeared, the Crown made no other uſe of its Prerogative, than to point out, proportion, and procure, ſuitable Rewards for ſuch as diſtinguiſhed themſelves in promoting the public Intereſt; and then every Enterprize was carried on with Vigour, every Expedition was attended with Succeſs. The little Country of *Portugal*, which had hitherto made ſo inconſiderable a Figure among the Kingdoms of *Europe*, began to take the Lead of them all; and, from creeping along the Coaſts of *Africa* with a few little Veſſels, her Fleets began to ſtretch to the *Eaſt Indies*, and to embrace that Trade which was the Object of *Alexander's* Ambition. The *Eaſt Indies*, by the Rout of the Cape of *Good Hope*, was their proper Diſcovery; and, though *Columbus* had a little the Start of them, yet the finding and ſettling of *Brazil* plainly proves that *America* could not have lain long hid from their Reſearches. The Fruit of theſe great Diſcoveries and Conqueſts, was a prodigious Trade, immenſe Riches, and an amazing naval Power, all deduced from a right Turn in the Government, which eſtabliſhed its Power in the Extention of that of its Subjects, without exerting a tyrannical Authority over them. This created Fleets, Armies, and a Dominion ſuperior to any thing the *Europeans* had enjoyed, from the Deſtruction of the *Roman* Empire. But as a true and laudable Ambition raiſed the *Portugueze* to ſuch a Height, a falſe and baſtard Ambition made way for their Ruin. *Sebaſtian* King of *Portugal* was a Hero, he had all the Virtues incident to that Character; but they took a wrong Turn: He embarked the whole Force of *Portugal* in a War upon the Continent for his own Glory, and to ſerve no national Purpoſe whatſoever; there he periſhed, and all his Army with him; which, in itſelf, was a great Misfortune to his Subjects, but in its Conſequences a much greater; for this threw them under the Dominion of *Spain*, which, as we have abundantly ſhewn in the foregoing Section, was the greateſt Miſchief that could befal them; for after this, there appeared no publick Spirit in the Government; all their Conqueſts in the *Eaſt-Indies* were either given to Men who had an Intereſt at the Court of *Spain*, or to ſuch as that Court deſired to get out of their Way.

There was no longer any Spirit of Virtue, Generoſity, or Concern for public Good, either left or encouraged; the enriching of private Families took place of this; and, while a few of theſe carried their Point, the *Dutch* ſtript them of their Empire in the *Eaſt-Indies*, and bid fair for making themſelves Maſters of *Brazil*; which, if they had, *Portugal* had remained a Province of *Spain*, and not a very conſiderable Province neither. When the *Portugueze* recovered their former Government, we ſee they recovered Spirit enough to preſerve *Brazil*; but, ſince that Time the Court has been infected with the *Spaniſh* Policy; and, the Deſire of extending their royal Power has, in a great meaſure, extinguiſhed that Spirit which once made them a great People. But, to confine our Reflections to *Brazil*, the great Point in the *Portugueze* Councils at preſent is, to ſecure this Trade, or at leaſt the Profits of it, to the Crown; in order to which the ſeveral Fleets deſtined for *Paraiba*, *Fernambuca*, the Bay of *All Saints*, and *Rio Janeiro*, ſail as regularly as the *Spaniſh* Galleons, and in the very ſame Manner. If this Trade had been left more open, the Number of Ships would have been vaſtly greater, and there would have been no need of Men of War to eſcort them, or of another Squadron being ſent to look out for, and bring them home, as is at preſent the Caſe every Year, and yet the *Algerines* frequently pick up ſome. This Method is the laſt dying Effort of a maritime Power; Convoys and Eſcorts are pitiful Things; the Flag of a maritime Power ought to be a ſufficient Protection, and no Nation ought to be eſteemed ſo that ſuffers another to inſult a Cock-boat.

Yet all this Policy is far from producing mighty things, as we ſhall ſee from a few Examples; *Brazil* Wood is now a royal Commodity, that is to ſay, it is ſold for the Advantage of the Crown only; and it produces about 100000 Cruſades, which is ſomething better than 15000 Pound, annually. We have already ſeen what the Diamond-Farm brings in; and take the whole of the King's Fifth from the Gold Mines, and it will never be found to exceed half a Million of our Money. To remedy theſe Miſchiefs, they had Recourſe to Methods to increaſe them; for they have ſet up ſeveral Companies for the doing what might be better done without any Company at all: For inſtance, they have an *African* Company for ſupplying Slaves at *Rio Janeiro*, a Company to manage the Mines, and an *Eaſt-India* Company, now they have almoſt loſt the Trade to the *Eaſt-Indies*. But if, inſtead of theſe Schemes, they would redreſs the Grievances of their Subjects in *Brazil*, encourage Plantations rather than Mines, open their Ports to all Nations, and allow of a free Trade thither from *Portugal*; inſtead of fewer than one hundred Ships that are now annually employed in that Trade, they would very ſoon have many hundreds, and *Brazil* would quickly have ten times as many Inhabitants as at preſent; conſequently the Country would be better cultivated, and their Dominions more extended; which would produce a much larger Revenue to the Crown than it enjoys at preſent.

There was, indeed, a Project of quite another kind ſet on foot for the Improvement, as they call it, of this Trade in *Portugal*, of which I ſhall give a very ſhort Account. In the Year 1709 the King of *Portugal*, perceiving that the vaſt Quantities of Gold that came from *Brazil* did but juſt touch at *Liſbon*, and then travelled over all the Countries of *Europe*, directed this Matter to be very ſeriouſly examined in his Council: Suppoſing that if a Method could be found out to prevent this Gold from ſtraying, the Buſineſs would be done, and himſelf become, at once, the richeſt Prince in *Europe*. His Council accordingly examined this Point very carefully, and they reported that the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* ran away with all the Gold, in conſequence of their furniſhing the Goods and Manufactures that were ſent to *Brazil*; they therefore propoſed, that the uſing theſe Goods, and the wearing theſe Manufactures, ſhould be prohibited in that Colony; and that the People ſhould be content with what could be ſent them from *Portugal*. This was conſidered as a great Stroke of Policy, and was on the very Point of being put in Execution, when it was prevented by the following Method:

The famous Lord *Galway* was then there on behalf of this Nation, and had the Confidence of the King, of whom he demanded a particular Audience upon this Occaſion, at which he delivered himſelf in the following Manner: “ Your Majeſty cannot be ſufficiently commended for that ſteady Attention which you have always ſhewn to the Affairs of your Government; and the Pains you have lately beſtowed in examining into the Ballance of Trade, is a new Proof of that Merit which would entitle you to the Crown, had it not deſcended to you from a long and glorious Line of Royal Anceſtors. But permit me, Sire, to obſerve that there is a greater King, one by whom all Kings reign, and whoſe Providence is over all his Works. According to his Diſtribution of Things, Riches belong to ſome Nations, and Induſtry to others; and by this Means the Liberality of Heaven is made equal to all. Vain, Sire, are all human Councils when oppoſed to his Wiſdom, and feeble the Efforts even of royal Power, when directed to croſs his Will. You have forbid Gold to be exported out of your Dominions, and you would willingly enforce this Prohibition, but the Thing is impracticable. You may reſtrain your Subjects, it is true, but you cannot ſet Bounds to their Neceſſities. But ſay that this was poſſible; ſuppoſe you could defeat the Induſtry of the northern Nations, what would be the Conſequence? Their Huſbandmen, Graſiers, Weavers, and all that infinite Train of Manufacturers, that now labour quietly at home to cloath and feed your Subjects, would then turn Soldiers; and, inſtead of ſeeing their Merchantmen in the River of *Liſbon*, you would hear of their Fleets conveying them to *Brazil*, to fetch much more of that Gold than you now fetch for them. Beſides, Sire, if they are Gainers by your Trade, they become thereby the natural Guarantees of your Dominions: It is not their Treaties only, but their Intereſts that bind them to your Service. You have potent Enemies, and you require powerful Friends. The Ambition of *France* knows no Bounds: The Pride of *Spain* will teach her to keep up a perpetual Claim to your Territories and Crown: You can have no Recourſe to fruſtrate the Views, and to defeat the Endeavours, of thoſe Potentates, but to the maritime Powers; and therefore let me beſeech your Majeſty to conſider, that every Project to diſtreſs them, is in effect a Scheme to deſtroy yourſelf.” This Speech had the deſired Effect; the intended Prohibition was laid aſide, and the *Engliſh* Nation has reaped the Benefit of this Trade ever ſince. I came to the Knowledge of this Fact, which is very imperfectly related by a *French* Author, by an Accident; and I thought it my Duty, and a Piece of Juſtice owing to his Lordſhip's Memory, to relate it fully and fairly, as I have done; and now I ſhall take leave of this Subject, in order to give a ſhort, but diſtinct Account of our own Diſcoveries in *America*, according to what I propoſed at the Beginning of this Chapter.

The Labour of collecting theſe is great; that of digeſting them into Order ſtill greater; and the reducing the Subſtance of large Books into ſmall Sections greateſt of all: But the Encouragement I have hitherto received by the kind Entertainment of my Writings, and the many friendly Communications that I have met with, and to which their Merit is chiefly owing, will enable me, I doubt not, to go through the reſt of this large Taſk, with as much Succeſs as I have hitherto done. The Reputation of doing this is the chief Reward I have in View, becauſe I am ſatisfied that a *Collection of Voyages* like theſe, where things are regularly connected, and the Subjects treated in their full Extent, will be of conſtant Service, as they have been hitherto one of the chief Things wanting towards forming a Complete Body of Hiſtory. We have, indeed, very large Collections of Materials in ſeveral Languages; but then, almoſt all Nations have produced Writers extremely partial to themſelves, and our own amongſt the reſt; but the Buſineſs is to purge theſe partial Relations, to free them from trivial Circumſtances and needleſs Particulars, ſo as to bring the Knowledge they convey within a reaſonable Compaſs, that it may be both eaſily read and eaſily underſtood, which is what we have endeavoured in the former Sections, and ſhall ſtudy to perform in what follows. As for large and entire Hiſtories of Colonies, they are not to be expected here, as being frequent enough already, and therefore the leſs neceſſary, and requiring, beſides, much more Room than we can ſpare. But in the laſt Book of this Collection, we ſhall inſert ſome curious *Engliſh* Voyages, which will ſupply the Reader with a full Account of the Actions of thoſe great Men of this Iſland, whom we are now to compare with thoſe Heroes of other Climates, that have been already recorded; and when we have paid that juſt Tribute of Praiſe that is due to their Memories, we ſhall proceed in like manner to a ſuccinct Hiſtory of the *French* and *Dutch* Settlements, which will effectually compleate the View we promiſed to give of *America*, and make the *Weſt-Indies*, as well known as the *Eaſt*.

SECTION XVII.

The Diſcoveries and Settlements made by the ENGLISH *in different Parts of* America, *from the Reign of* Henry VII. *to the Cloſe of that of Queen* Elizabeth; *interſperſed with various Remarks on the Progreſs of our Trade and naval Power, and the Difficulties which the Nation had to ſtruggle with in their firſt Attempts.*

1. *The Hiſtory of* Madoc, *one of the Princes of* Wales, *and his ſuppoſed Diſcovery of* America *ſet in a true Light, and vindicated from ſome groundleſs Reflections made thereon by foreign Writers.* 2. *The generous Diſpoſition of King* Henry VII. *with reſpect to encouraging Diſcoveries; and the Voyages of* John *and* Sebaſtian Cabot, *in his Service, who firſt viſited the Continent of* America. 3. *The Voyage of* Sebaſtian Cabot, *for the Diſcovery of a North-weſt Paſſage, in which he ſailed along the Coaſt of that Part of* North America, *to which the* Spaniards *afterwards gave the Name of* Florida. 4. *The Voyage of Sir* Thomas Pert, *Vice-Admiral of* England, *and* Sebaſtian Cabot, *to* Brazil, *and other Parts of the* Weſt-Indies. 5. *The firſt Attempt of Mr.* Hore, *Merchant of* London, *to eſtabliſh a Colony in* Newfoundland; *the ſtrange Misfortunes he met with, and a memorable Inſtance of the Juſtice and Generoſity of King* Henry VIII. 6. *The ſeveral Voyages of Captain* William Hawkins *to* Brazil, *and a ſingular Proof of his Abilities and Integrity.* 7. *A ſuccinct Account of the Diſcoveries and maritime Expeditions to* America, *under the Reign of King* Edward VI. *That Hiſtory continued during the Reign of Queen* Mary, *and her Conſort, King* Philip. 9. *The Methods taken for extending our Trade, and making Settlements in the Reign of Queen* Elizabeth. 10. *An Account of Sir* Francis Drake's *giving the Name of* New Albion, *to a Country lying in the northern Part of* California, *and the Importance of that Diſcovery.* 11. *The firſt Settlement of* Newfoundland, *with a ſhort Account of the Nature thereof, and the Advantages*

which have accrued from the Fiſhery upon its Coaſts to this Nation. 12. *The firſt Attempts to ſettle* Virginia, *under the Direction of Sir* Walter Raleigh, *with an Account of that Colony.* 13. *The ſeveral Voyages of Captain* John Davis, *and the great Diſcoveries made by him in* North America. 14. *Sir* Walter Raleigh's *Expedition to* Guiana; *the Conſequences of that Expedition, and Remarks thereupon.* 15. *Other remarkable naval Tranſactions, within the Compaſs of that Reign, relating to this Subject.* 16. *A ſuccinct View of the State of our Trade to* America, *at the Time of the Death of Queen* Elizabeth. 17. *Remarks and Obſervations on the principal Events mentioned in the foregoing Section.*

1. THE Glory of having firſt diſcovered far diſtant Countries, and adding thereby to the Knowledge and Commerce of Mankind, has always had Charms ſufficient to invite different Nations to put in their Claims, even though they have not been extremely well founded. When *America* was firſt made known, it occaſioned abundance of Enquiries; and, as it was natural, recalled to many Peoples Remembrances and Conſiderations, Stories which had before been deemed ſcarce worthy of Notice: Amongſt the reſt our Nation put in; and the Tale told in favour of us, as it is the earlieſt in Point of Time, ſeems to merit a Relation as well or better than any other. In ſhort, this Story aſſerts that *Madoc*, Prince of *Wales*, was the firſt Diſcoverer of *America*, and the Detail of his Expedition runs thus: He flouriſhed in the twelfth Century, and was Son of *Owen Guyneth*, Prince of *North Wales*; his Brethren raiſing a civil War about the Diviſion of his Father's Dominions, he choſe rather to go to Sea with a few of his Friends, and ſeek out new Habitations, than run the Hazard of what might happen in this Diſpute. Accordingly, about the Year 1170, ſteering due Weſt, and leaving *Ireland* on the North, he came to an unknown Country, where he ſettled a Colony; and, returning thence into *Wales*, carried a ſecond Supply of People, but was never heard of more.

That the Country he went to was really *America*, is more, I think, than can be thoroughly proved; but that this Tale was invented after the Diſcovery of that Country, on purpoſe to ſet up a prior Title, is moſt certainly falſe. *Meredith ap Rees*, who died in 1477, and was a famous *Welch* Poet, compoſed an Ode in Honour of this *Madoc*, wherein was contained an Account of his Diſcoveries. Now as this was ſeveral Years before *Columbus* made his firſt Voyage, we may be ſure that this was really a *Britiſh* Tradition, and no Tale of late Contrivance. Some foreign Writers, indeed, have ſuggeſted that this was a pure Invention, deſigned to prejudice the Reputation of the great Diſcovery made by *Columbus*; but in this they rather ſhew their Malice to us, than diſcover ours; for beyond all doubt, the *Welch* had, and have ſtill, ſuch a Tradition, and therefore ſome wiſer and better informed Critics have endeavoured to prove that it was not *America*, but *Groenland*, to which our *Welch* Prince ſailed. In Proof of which they have obſerved that this Country was well known in the ninth and tenth Centuries, though it was afterwards loſt.

But with Submiſſion to theſe great Men, this Story does not at all anſwer their Purpoſe; for, it is evident, the Courſe does by no means agree; ſince, if he had ſailed to that Country, he could not have left *Ireland* to the North. I have ſeen a very ingenious Diſcourſe upon this Subject, in which is ſuggeſted, that Prince *Madoc* landed in ſome Part of *Florida*; that, in proceſs of Time, the Colony he planted there proceeded round by Land, and reached the northern Parts of *Mexico*, which Country they conquered, and were thoſe foreign Anceſtors of the *Mexicans*, of whom we have heard ſo much from the *Spaniſh* Writers that have recorded the Adventures of *Cortes*, and with which the Reader is ſo well acquainted, that there is no need of our ſaying any thing more of them here, except it be this, that ſeveral *Britiſh* Words have been diſcovered in the old *Mexican* Tongue, and that no other *European* Nation can ſhew a better founded Tradition than this; for the Truth of which, however, I am very far from contending.

2. If there had been really any Deſire in the *Engliſh* Nation to conteſt the Title of the Crown of *Spain* to the Country of *America*, it might have been undoubtedly fixed upon a much better Foundation; for, in the Life of Don *Chriſtopher Colon*, written by his Son in the reign of our King *Henry* the VIIIth, it is expreſly ſaid, that this great Man ſent his Brother *Bartholemew* into *England*, to offer his Diſcovery to King *Henry* VII. and he did accordingly preſent a Map, dated the 13th of *February* 1488, to that Monarch; and having explained to him his Brother's Deſign, and what he propoſed thereby, it was readily accepted; and Don *Bartholemew* was ſent to invite his Brother into *England*, with an Aſſurance that the King would grant him all he deſired. This Agreement was four Years before the Voyage of *Columbus* in the Service of their Catholic Majeſties, and therefore had we been ſo much inclined to hunt for Titles to this new found Country, here had been a fair Pretence. But King *Henry* the VIIth was of another Diſpoſition; and, though he was a Prince much addicted to encourage ſuch kind of uſeful Undertakings, he ſcorned to aim at reaping the Fruits of other Princes Adventures; and therefore he contented himſelf, after miſſing by mere Accident *Columbus*'s Diſcovery, with inviting other Seamen of known Reputation, to enter into his Service for like Purpoſes.

Amongſt theſe was *John Cabot*, Citizen of *Venice*, who had been long ſettled at *Briſtol*, and who thought himſelf capable of performing as a Seaman, things little, if at all ſhort of what *Columbus* had done. He accordingly applied himſelf to the King, who, by Patent inrolled, dated the 5th of *March*, in the eleventh Year of his Reign, and in the Year of our Lord 1495, granted to the ſaid *John Cabot*, and his three Sons, *Lewis*, *Sebaſtian*, and *Sancias*, Authority to ſail with five Ships of what Burthen and Strength they thought fit, upon Diſcoveries to the Eaſt, Weſt, and North; giving them the full Property of ſuch Country or Countries as they ſhould diſcover, with this Reſervation only, that they ſhould return to *Briſtol*, and that they ſhould pay him the Fifth Part of the neat Profits of their Voyage; in Conſideration of which, they were to have the excluſive Right to the Countries ſo diſcovered, to which no other *Engliſh* Subjects were to trade, but by their Leave and Licence. But the Year before that Patent was granted, that is in 1494, *John Cabot*, with his Son *Sebaſtian*, had ſailed from *Briſtol* upon Diſcovery, and had actually ſeen the Continent of *Newfoundland*, to which they gave the Name of *Prima Viſta*, or *Firſt Seen*. And on the 24th of *June* the ſame Year he went aſhore on an Iſland, which, becauſe it was diſcovered on that Day, he called *St. John*'s; and of this Iſland he reported very truly, that the Soil was barren, that it yielded little, and that the People wore Bear-Skin Cloaths, and were armed with Bows, Arrows, Pikes, Darts, Wooden Clubs, and Slings; but that the Coaſt abounded with Fiſh; and upon this Report of his, the beforementioned Patent was granted.

3. The next Voyage made for Diſcovery was by *Sebaſtian Cabot*, the Son of *John*, concerning which all our Writers have fallen into great Miſtakes, for want of comparing the ſeveral Accounts we have of this Voyage, and making proper Allowances for the Manner in which they were written; ſince I cannot find there was ever any diſtinct and clear Account of this Voyage publiſhed, though it was of ſo great Conſequence. On the contrary, I believe that *Cabot* himſelf kept no Journal of it by him; ſince in a Letter he wrote on this Subject, he ſpeaks doubtfully of the very Year in which it was undertaken, though from the Circumſtances he relates, that may be very certainly fixed. On the 3d of *February*, in the 13th Year of the Reign of King *Henry* VII. a new Grant was made to *John Cabot*, by which he had Leave given him to take Ships out of any of the Ports of *England*, of the Burden of two hundred Tons, to ſail upon Diſcoveries; but before this could be effected, *John Cabot* died; and *Se-*

baſtian, his Son, applied himſelf to the King, propoſing to diſcover a North-weſt Paſſage, as he himſelf tells us; and for this Purpoſe he had a Ship manned and victualled at the King's Expence at *Briſtol*, and three or four other Ships were fitted out at the Expence of ſome Merchants of that City, particularly Mr. *Thorne* and Mr. *Hugh Elliot*. But whereas *Sebaſtian Cabot* himſelf ſays, that he made this Voyage in the Summer of 1496, he muſt be miſtaken, and he very well might, ſpeaking from his Memory only; and to prove this I need only obſerve, that this Date will not at all agree even with his own Account of the Voyage; for he ſays expreſly, it was undertaken after his Father's Death; who, as we have ſhewn, was alive in the *February* following; ſo that it was the Summer of the Year 1497, in which he made this Voyage; and what he afterwards relates of his Return, proves this likewiſe.

But we have a direct and clear Authority as to this Fact, which is, that of *Robert Fabian*, who fixes this Voyage of of *Sebaſtian Cabot*'s to the Month of *May*, 1497. And on the 11th of *June*, the ſame Year, he ſailed as high as 67° 30′ finding the Sea ſtill open, and he thought that he might this Way have paſſed through into the *South Seas*; but his Crew mutinied, which forced him to return into the Latitude of 56°, and from thence he ran down to 38°, along the Coaſt of the Continent of *America*, which, as he expreſly ſays, was afterwards called *Florida*, where Proviſions growing ſhort, he returned into *England*, touching by the way at *Newfoundland*. On his return, he ſays, he found the Nation in much Confuſion, and great Preparations making for a War in *Scotland*; which agrees exactly with *Grafton*'s Chronicle, who places theſe Preparations under the Mayoralty of *William Purchaſe*, that is, to the Year beforementioned; and *Robert Fabian* ſays farther, that in the 14th Year of King *Henry* VII. there were three Men brought to the King, taken in the new-found Iſland, which he before mentioned, who were cloathed in Beaſt-Skins, eat raw Fleſh, ſpoke a ſtrange uncouth Tongue, and were very brutiſh in their Behaviour; but he farther adds, that he ſaw theſe People himſelf two Years afterwards, and that they were then cloathed like *Engliſhmen*; and he could not have known them to be otherwiſe, if he had not been informed that theſe were the Men brought over by *Sebaſtian Cabot*.

Thus, with the utmoſt Exactneſs I could uſe, I have ſet this Matter in its true Light, and have thereby ſhewn, that he was not only the firſt Perſon who attempted a North-weſt Paſſage; and ſhewed thereby, that he underſtood *Columbus*'s Principles, but was likewiſe the firſt Diſcoverer of the Continent of *America*, which *Columbus* did not ſee till a Year after, as well as the firſt Diſcoverer of *Florida*, which Country was not ſo called till the Year 1512; when, as we have before ſhewn, it was viſited by *John Ponce de Leon*, who took Poſſeſſion of it for the King of *Spain*, and uſually paſſes for the firſt Diſcoverer. It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that *Sebaſtian Cabot* clearly affirms, that his Voyage was made to diſcover a North-weſt Paſſage; which Notion of his gave Light, as is acknowledged even by foreign Authors, to *Ferdinand Magellan*; and induced him confidently to affirm, that ſuch a Paſſage might be found by the South, which he happily effected twenty-two Years after this Attempt made to the North by *Sebaſtian Cabot*.

I cannot ſay that any great Uſe can be made of this kind of Knowledge; but there ſeems to be no Reaſon why we ſhould not pique ourſelves upon knowing theſe Matters with as much Exactneſs as Strangers; who, by dipping into our Accounts, pretend to great Knowledge in theſe Matters, and very often impoſe upon ſuch as will not rake into their own old muſty Antiquities, but pay an implicit Regard to the bold Aſſertions of modern Authors; by taking the contrary Method, and reſolving to be ſatisfied, even in Trifles, we come to judge accurately, and truly, of the Deſerts both of our own and of foreign Nations; ſo as to yield the Preference to ſome, and maintain our juſt Rights againſt others. As for Inſtance, though we cannot diſpute with the *Spaniards* the actual Diſcovery of *America*; yet we may fairly deny what the preſent Geographer of his Catholic Majeſty aſſerts, that we rejected *Columbus*'s Propoſal; and we may likewiſe call him to a ſevere Account, for placing the Voyages of *Sebaſtian Cabot* to *Florida* twenty-ſix Years later than he ſhould have placed them, from the Accounts given by *Ramuſio*, *Gomara*, *Peter Martyr*, and other Authors, whom he either had read, or ought to have read, before he took upon him to write on this Subject; of which though he writes ſenſibly, yet this will not excuſe his writing Untruths.

Sebaſtian Cabot is by many of our Writers poſitively affirmed to be an *Engliſhman*, born at *Briſtol*; but the *Italians* as poſitively claim him for their Countryman, and ſay he was born at *Venice*; which, to ſpeak impartially, I believe is the Truth; for he ſays himſelf, that when his Father was invited over to *England*, he brought him with him, though he was then very young. His Voyage for the Diſcovery of the North-weſt Paſſage gained him ſo great a Reputation, that he was invited into *Spain*, and employed by their Catholic Majeſties, *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella*, in a Voyage for the Diſcovery of the Coaſts of *Brazil*, in which he had much better Succeſs than *Americus Veſpucius*, who miſſed the River of *Plate*; whereas *Cabot* found it, and ſailed up it three hundred and ſixty Miles, which gained him ſuch a Character at the Court of their Catholic Majeſties, that, on his Return, he was declared *Piloto Maggiore*, or Grand Pilot of *Spain*; and reſided ſeveral Years at *Seville* with that Character, and had the Examination and Approbation of all the Pilots intruſted by that Government.

4. Yet, after ſome Years, he thought fit to return into *England*, and was employed by King *Henry* the VIIIth, in Conjunction with Sir *Thomas Pert*, who was Vice-Admiral of *England*; and built a fine Houſe near *Blackwall*, called *Poplar*; which Name ſtill remains, though the Houſe is long ago decayed. This Voyage of his was in 1516, on board a Ship of two hundred and fifty Tons, with another of the like Size, in which he proceeded to the Coaſt of *Brazil*, and afterwards viſited the *Spaniſh* Iſlands of *St. Domingo*, and *St. John de Porto Rico*; in the latter of which they traded, and paid for what they had by the Exchange of Veſſels, made of Pewter, as we learn from *Oviedo*; who, notwithſtanding, aſſerts that this Veſſel was a Privateer; whereas, in Fact, ſhe was a Frigate fitted out at King *Henry* the VIIIth's Expence for Diſcovery.

It is a very great Misfortune that we have not a clearer and more diſtinct Account of this Expedition; ſince it very plainly appears, from the Writers of thoſe Times, that great Expectations were raiſed by it, and that the Miſcarriage occaſioned a good deal of Noiſe and ſome Reflections; but they did not fall upon *Cabot*, as appears from the following Note, taken from a Book, publiſhed by Mr. *Richard Eden*, whoſe Collections led the way to thoſe of Mr. *Hackluit*, and which Book was publiſhed in 1553. “ If manly Courage, ſaith he, (like unto that “ which hath been ſeen in your Grace as well in foreign “ Realms, as alſo in this our Country,) had not been “ wanting in others, in theſe our Days, at ſuch Time “ our Sovereign Lord of noble Memory, King *Henry* “ VIII. about the ſame Year of his Reign, furniſhed, “ and ſent out certain Ships, under the Governance of “ *Sebaſtian Cabot*, yet living, and one Sir *Thomas Pert*, “ whoſe faint Heart was the Cauſe that the Voyage took “ none Effect; if, I ſay, ſuch manly Courage, whereof “ we have ſpoken, had not at that Time been wanting, “ it might happily have come to paſs, that that rich “ Treaſury called *Perularia*, which is now in *Spain*, in “ the City of *Seville*, and ſo named, for that in it is kept “ the infinite Riches brought thither from the new-found “ Land of *Peru*, might long ſince have been in the “ Tower of *London*, to the King's great Honour and “ Wealth of this Realm.” I do not find that this worthy Gentleman left *England* after this; but, on the contrary, remained here, and promoted, to the utmoſt of his Power, whatever Deſigns were ſet on foot for the Encouragement and Extention of our Commerce; ſo that, as I ſhall have Occaſion to ſhew hereafter, he may be truly reputed the great Maſter of *Engliſh* Seamen, and the Father of our Colonies and Commerce.

It was this great Man that ſtill kept up an Opinion, which he had himſelf firſt entertained, that ſome Paſſage there was into the *South Seas* by the North-weſt; and upon this Subject he wrote with ſo much good Senſe and Strength of Reaſon, that if the Ships, which, while I am writing this Paragraph, have ſailed in Search of this Paſſage, ſhould ſucceed, the Honour of the Diſcovery will redound to him; and therefore it is but juſt to take this Opportunity of reviving his Reputation. His Diſcourſes had ſuch an Effect on King *Henry* VIII. a Prince of vaſt natural Parts, great Learning, and ſtrongly inclined to heroic Undertakings, that he reſolved to ſend another Ship, or more, on the Diſcovery, which he did in the nineteenth Year of his Reign. Both *Hall* and *Grafton*, in their Chronicles, ſpeak of this; and tell us, that on mature Deliberation, the King fitted out two fair Ships, which ſailed from the Port of *London* on the 20th of *May*, 1527; but not a Word of the Captain's Name, or of the Strength of theſe Ships; the only Particular we have is, that the King ſent ſeveral cunning Men on board them. We are to underſtand, by *cunning Men*, Perſons ſkilled in the Mathematics; who, with the common Sort of People, paſſed now, and long after, for cunning Men and Conjurers.

The worthy Mr. *Hackluit* has taken abundance of Pains to ſupply us with ſome Circumſtances of this Expedition, but to very little Purpoſe; and, notwithſtanding all his Inquiries from Perſons who lived in and near thoſe Times, could obtain no other Satisfaction than this, that a Canon of *St. Paul*'s, who was reputed a great Mathematician, was one of the principal Perſons concerned, and actually had took a Share in the Voyage; but to this reverend Perſon's Name both Sir *Martin Frobiſher* and Sir *Richard Allien*, who were Mr. *Hackluit*'s Authors, were Strangers; one of them, however, remembered the Name of the biggeſt Ship, which was *Dominus Vobiſcum*, or the Lord with them, which agrees very well with the other Part of the Story, that the chief Promoter of this Voyage was a Prieſt. Theſe Ships ſailing very far to the North-weſt, the largeſt of them was caſt away in the Mouth of a very large Gulph, very probably in the Entrance to *Hudſon*'s *Bay*, and there periſhed; the other, having coaſted along the Iſland of *Cape Britton* (ſo they wrote it then) returned in *October* following, and brought a large Account of the Places they had ſeen, and of the Hardſhips they had undergone.

It appears from thence, that theſe early Attempts to diſcover new Countries, and extend our Commerce, were attended with great Difficulties, much beyond thoſe that were met with by the *Spaniards* and *Portugueze*, which may be attributed to ſeveral different Cauſes, and amongſt others theſe: Our Shipping was then but mean, though both the Kings whom *Cabot* ſerved appeared to be very deſirous of having a naval Force, ſince *Henry* VII. had ſpent fourteen thouſand Pounds in building one large Ship, and his Son *Henry* VIII. added ſeveral others to the Navy; yet I think our Ships were, generally ſpeaking, larger than thoſe of moſt of our Neighbours; but very probably they were built abroad, and neither in Form nor in Materials were fit for thoſe Seas to which they were navigated. The Skill of our Seamen could not be very great at this Time; for as in all other practical Caſes, ſo in this, nothing advances People ſo faſt as Experience; and therefore I reckon, that the Want of this was a great Deficiency in theſe Times; we may add, that we purſued, with incredible Diligence, thoſe Diſcoveries that carried us into dangerous and diſagreeable Climates, which was directly contrary to the Practice of the *Spaniards* and *Portugueze*; beſides, thoſe Voyages produced little or no Advantage, ſo there was nothing to provoke the common, or even the trading, ſort of People to engage in them: And laſtly, King *Henry* VIII. was bent upon finding a North-weſt Paſſage, that he might have a Way of his own to the *Eaſt Indies*, and not be obliged to follow the Rout either of the *Spaniards* or of the *Portugueze*.

5. It was this Inclination of the King's that produced a Spirit in the Nation of diſcovering and ſettling in theſe Northern Parts, let the Dangers be what they would, or the Difficulties to be overcome ever ſo many or apparent; a very ſtrong Inſtance of which occurred in the twenty-eighth Year of his Reign, and is the moſt remarkable Paſſage in it to our Purpoſe: One Mr. *Hore*, a Merchant of *London*, a Man of good Family, conſiderable Fortune, great Courage, and very well verſed in moſt of the Branches of the Mathematics, was reſolved to undertake a Voyage, and attempt a Settlement on *Newfoundland*, and to go thither himſelf. He no ſooner made this Intention of his known, than he received all the Countenance and Encouragement from the Crown that he could expect; and as this gave much Credit to the Expedition, ſo, in a ſhort time, abundance of young Gentlemen, of good Fortunes and diſtinguiſhed Families, offered to ſhare both the Expence and Danger of the Undertaking.

Amongſt theſe were Mr. *Wickes*, a Weſt-country Gentleman of five hundred Marks a Year; Mr. *Tuck*, a *Kentiſh* Gentleman of Fortune; Mr. *Tuckfield*, Mr. *Thomas Butts*, Son of Sir *William Butts*, the King's firſt Phyſician; Mr. *Hardy*, Mr. *Biron*, Mr. *Carter*, Mr. *Raſtal*, Brother to Serjeant *Raſtal*, and ſeveral others; who went with Mr. *Hore* in the largeſt of his two Ships, the *Trinity*, of the Burden of one hundred and forty Tons: In the leſſer Ship went Mr. *Armigall Wade*, a young Gentleman of great Hopes, and much Learning; Mr. *Oliver Dawebney* of *London*, Merchant; and other Perſons of Character, to the Number of thirty, in both Veſſels. About the End of *April*, 1536, all Things were ready; the *Trinity* and *Minion* fit to ſail, and the Whole of both Ships Company, to the Number of one hundred and twenty, muſtered at *Graveſend*; after which they went with much Ceremony on board.

They ſoon after ſailed, and arrived in the Space of two Months at *Cape Breton*; from whence they ſailed round a great Part of *Newfoundland* to *Penguin* Iſland, in the Latitude of about 50 Degrees, as they computed; but which lies, truly, in 50 Degrees 40 Minutes; where they found great Plenty of thoſe Fowls, from whence the Iſland takes its Name: They afterwards went on ſhore upon the Eaſt-ſide of *Newfoundland*, and had an accidental View of a Boat full of the Savages that inhabited that Country, whom they purſued both by Sea and Land, but were not able to overtake them. They ſtaid here till their Victuals began to grow very ſhort; and being then afraid to truſt themſelves at Sea in ſuch a Condition, they delayed going on board till they were in ſuch Diſtreſs, that they actually eat one another; that is to ſay, ſome killed their Companions privately in the Woods, hid them, and then roaſted and eat their Fleſh ſecretly; till this horrid Practice coming to the Knowledge of their Captain, he, by a moſt judicious and pathetic Speech, brought them to reſolve rather to live upon Graſs and Herbs than ſubſiſt by this deteſtable Method any longer.

But it fell out ſoon after, that a *French* Ship put in there, well manned and well victualled, of which our Countrymen reſolved to take Advantage, being weary of a Country in which they had endured ſuch Miſeries; and therefore, watching a fair Opportunity, they poſſeſſed themſelves of the *French* Ship, and, leaving their own, ſailed directly for the Coaſt of *England*. They returned ſafely, and arrived at *St. Ives* in *Cornwall* about the End of *October*; and then the Gentlemen, diſperſing themſelves, returned to *London*; but ſo much altered by their Fatigues, that Sir *William Butts* and his Wife could not know their Son, but by a particular Mark upon his Knee. We had never known a Word of this ſtrange Adventure, if it had not been for Mr. *Richard Hackluit*, who rode two hundred Miles to gain theſe Particulars from the Mouth of Mr. *Thomas Butts*, the only Perſon then living, who had a Share in that Expedition; and no wonder, ſince it was fifty-three Years afterwards that he obtained this Communication: There is another Circumſtance relating to this unfortunate Enterprize, which muſt by no means be omitted.

Some Months after, the *Frenchmen* came to *England*, with a dreadful Complaint, that the *Engliſh* had run away with their Ship, and had left them to ſtarve, if they had not ſupported themſelves by fiſhing. King *Henry* examined very cloſely into the Affair; and finding that extreme Want was the ſole Cauſe of an Action, otherwiſe inexcuſable, he ſatisfied the *French*, to the full Extent of their Demands, out of his own Coffers; and pardoned, in his own Subjects, that Wrong which Neceſſity forced them to commit. Theſe were very hard Beginnings; and yet to theſe we owe our *Newfoundland* Trade; and, I think, it is much to the Honour of the *Engliſh* Nation, that without having any of thoſe Encouragements, which the *Spaniards* met with from the very Beginning, they continued to purſue thoſe Expeditions for Diſcovery; till, in the End, they met with thoſe Rewards which they ſo well deſerved.

6. Within this dark Period of Time, for the Accounts of our riſing Navigation have been moſt imperfectly tranſmitted to Poſterity, there were Numbers of *Engliſhmen*, who, with very little Proſpect of private Advantages, ſpread themſelves, by the Help of foreign Shipping, into all Parts of the World; that, by their Enquiries and Obſervations, they might be able to underſtand how Trade was managed, and Maritime Affairs conducted, in other Countries; that, in time, by their Informations, the like Advantages might accrue to their own, of which Voyages and Travels there are many ſhort Notes collected in *Hackluit*; which do great Honour to theſe Times, and ought to perpetuate the Memory of the worthy Perſons, who, with ſo much Labour and Hazard, laid the Foundation of our naval Strength and Glory.

Theſe Notices ſoon rouſed active and induſtrious Perſons to try what Uſe could be made of ſuch Helps, and perhaps the Reader will not think his Time miſpent in reading an Inſtance of this Kind. Mr. *William Hawkins*, the Father of the famous Sir *John Hawkins*, and the Grandfather of Sir *Richard Hawkins*, both eminent Seamen, was himſelf an Officer in the Navy of King *Henry* the VIIth, and for his Merit much eſteemed by that Prince, made, about the Middle of his Reign, three proſperous Voyages to *Guinea* and *Brazil*; in the laſt of theſe, having ſome Dealings with a Prince or Chief of the *Brazilians*, he expreſſed a Deſire of ſeeing *England*; but, at the ſame Time, ſhewed a Suſpicion of his not obtaining Leave to come home again; to cure which, Captain *Hawkins* very readily offered to leave Mr. *Martin Cockram*, of *Plymouth*, who ſtood next to himſelf in Eſteem with the *Indians*, as a Hoſtage, which Offer was readily accepted.

This *Brazilian* Chief he brought over, and preſented to his Maſter King *Henry*, who received him kindly, entertained him courteouſly, and diſmiſſed him generouſly, after a Year's ſtay in *England*. But it ſo fell out, in his Paſſage home, that, either through Change of Air, Shortneſs of Proviſions, or ſome other Misfortune, the *Indian* Chief died; which threw the *Engliſh* into great Concern, from an Apprehenſion that Mr. *Cockram* would be either puniſhed with Death, or detained during Life, upon account of this Accident: But the thing fell out better; for upon hearing what the *Engliſh* had to alledge, the Savages readily obſerving, that it was far from being likely that they would return to their Country if they had treated their King amiſs, and that it was not in their Power to preſerve his Life, if attacked by Sickneſs, they freely ſet their Hoſtage at Liberty, kindly entertained the Men, and furniſhed the Ship with a ſufficient Cargo for *England*, which encouraged other Merchants to trade to the unſettled Ports of *Brazil*, (by which I mean the Ports not yet in the Poſſeſſion of the *Portugueze*) and this from ſeveral Places, *viz. Briſtol*, *Southampton*, and *London*, during all the latter Part of this Monarch's Reign, who muſt be allowed to have had a very public Spirit with regard to maritime Concerns, for the Improvement of which he ſpared neither Pains nor Treaſure.

7. In the Time of King *Edward* the VIth the Court was ſplit into Factions, which neceſſarily occaſioned Diſputes and Diviſions among the People; ſo that the Times were by no means favourable for new and great Undertakings, or even for the Improvement of thoſe Branches of Commerce, which were but newly opened; on the contrary, it ſeems that ſeveral Perſons, who were intruſted with Offices by the Lord High Admiral, and ſuch as had the Care and Direction of the Cuſtoms, laid heavy Burdens upon thoſe that engaged in the *Iceland* and *Newfoundland* Fiſheries; and took ſuch large Sums for Licences, and under other Pretences, as had like to have ruined the former, which was an old Trade, and greatly diſcouraged the latter, which was a new one.

Upon Complaint of this to Parliament, the Matter fell under a cloſe Examination, as appears from ſome Papers of Sir *William Cecil*, which are yet in Being; for there are no Journals of the Proceedings of the *Houſe of Commons* ſo early as this Time preſerved: But from the Papers before-mentioned, we are informed, that this Complaint was made by the Weſt-country Members, and by a Burgeſs from *Yarmouth*, in *Norfolk*; and thereupon a Law was made in the Year 1548, and the ſecond of that Prince's Reign; by which it was enacted, that every Officer, who ſhould, for the Time to come, extort, procure, or receive any Sum of Money from a Merchant, Maſter of a Ship, Factor, or Fiſherman, for, or under Colour of, granting him Leave or Licence to fiſh in the North Seas, on the Coaſts of *Iceland*, or on the Banks of *Newfoundland*, ſhould, for the firſt Offence, forfeit treble the Sum ſo extorted; and for the ſecond, ſhould ſuffer Fine and Ranſom at the King's Pleaſure.

The ſame Year the King was pleaſed to grant to *Sebaſtian Cabot*, his old Servant, by the Advice and Council of his Uncle, *Edward* Duke of *Somerſet*, the Office of Grand Pilot of *England*, with a Fee of one hundred ſixty-ſix Pounds thirteen and four Pence, to be paid him quarterly at the Exchequer; which ſhews, that theſe kind of Services were ſtill regarded; and that in ſuch Intervals of Peace, as the Miniſtry then had, they were mindful of the Intereſt of their Country, and inclined to do what lay in their Power to promote Navigation and Commerce. But they were ſtill hurt by a too earneſt Deſire to graſp at the whole Trade of the *Indies*, which induced them to liſten to all the Propoſals made for diſcovering either a North-eaſt or a North-weſt Paſſage; and by bending all their Strength that Way, neglected thoſe Undertakings that were eaſier, and which might have been carried into Execution at a much lighter Expence. This was owing to Mr. *Sebaſtian Cabot*, who firſt ſtarted the Notion of a Paſſage into the *South Seas* by the North-weſt, and who fell very readily into the other Project of finding a Paſſage into the *Indian* Ocean by the North-eaſt.

He was at that time Maſter of the great Company erected for the Benefit of Commerce, under the Title of *Merchant-Adventurers for the Diſcovery of New Lands*, and the great Oracle, as he deſerved to be, of all the ſea-faring People; and this gave him an Opportunity of puſhing that Point which he had moſt at Heart, the Importance of which he underſtood better than any Man, and in the Execution of which no body had gone farther, or managed an Expedition with greater Diſcretion. But this Turn diverted the whole Attention of the State to this Point, and this alone, as if nothing had been worth diſcovering but a Paſſage to the *Spice Iſlands*; while, in the mean time, the *Spaniards* attacked and ſubdued a very great Part of both the Continents of *America*. If, inſtead of this, the Endeavours of the Seamen in that Reign had been applied to the proſecuting what *Cabot* had ſo well begun, I mean the intire Diſcovery of *Florida*, and the Countries adjacent, it muſt have ended in a Settlement on the Gulph of *Mexico*, which might probably have been attended with very great Advantages.

It cannot however be denied, that the Schemes which were proſecuted had a very fair Appearance of Succeſs; and I think it may be allowed alſo, by ſuch as take the Pains to peruſe Mr. *Cabot*'s Inſtructions to Sir *Hugh Willoughby*, that no Man ever conceived with greater Strength of Judgment, or expreſſed himſelf in clearer Terms, than he did. I might, to prove this, give an Extract of theſe Inſtructions; but it would be beſide my preſent Purpoſe, and giving the Reader no more than what he may already find in *Hackluit*; whereas I aim at affording him new Lights, without tranſcribing other People's Labours, except where I am under a Neceſſity of doing it. It muſt be admitted, that tho' the Proſecution of theſe Projects, for finding a North-eaſt and a North-weſt Paſſage, were not either of them attended with Succeſs, and tho' they conſumed a great Treaſure, and, which is much more to be regretted, were attended with the Loſs of ſeveral excellent Captains and many able Seamen, the Profits which the Nation reaped might be truly ſaid to countervail, in ſome meaſure, even the vaſt Expences theſe Voyages occaſioned.

As for Inſtance: We opened, by our Attempts to find a North-eaſt Paſſage, the Trade to *Archangel*; and, for ſome time, engroſſed the valuable Commerce of the *Ruſſian* Empire: And even to the North-weſt our Diſcoveries were of great Conſequence, and led us to a more diſtinct Knowledge of that Part of the World than any other Nation has attained, inſomuch that I think it may be truly ſaid, it is of all our Labours that which has ſhewn our Excellency in point of Seamanſhip moſt; and, if our preſent Attempt for diſcovering a Paſſage through *Hudſon*'s *Bay* ſhould prove ſucceſsful, as I ſincerely believe it will, we ſhall have no Reaſon to blame thoſe who, from time to time, have puſhed this Deſign with ſo much Vigour; becauſe I am thoroughly perſuaded, that whenever it is attended with Succeſs, it will, in a very few Years, repay this Nation all that ſhe has expended for Ages upon this Account.

We may from hence ſee, how much theſe Expeditions for Diſcovery are preferable to much more expenſive Expeditions in purſuit of Projects dictated by political Views; for in theſe laſt we waſte Ships, Men, Treaſure, and all to little or no Purpoſe; whereas, with reſpect to the former, whether we ſucceed or not in our main Point, we are ſure of making ſuch incidental Advantages as, ſooner or later, make us ample Amends for the Pains we take; ſo that a maritime Power cannot follow a wiſer Courſe than to encourage all ſuch Projects, or employ her naval Force better, than in attempting ſuch of them as have a probable Appearance; becauſe this nouriſhes and keeps alive that active, penetrating, enterpriſing Spirit, which is ſo neceſſary to a State like ours, and which will always be attended with Advantages upon the Whole, tho' in many particular Inſtances it may not be attended with Succeſs. But it is now time to proceed from theſe Reflections, which naturally flow from the Conſideration of what was done by our Stateſmen in the Reign of King *Edward*, to thoſe of the like kind that occupied the Thoughts both of our Politicians and People, in the Reign of his Siſter and Succeſſor; in ſpeaking of which, tho' a beaten Topic, I hope to ſtrike out ſeveral Things that are new.

8. As there were ſeveral of King *Edward*'s Miniſters employed by Queen *Mary*, ſo we find that in the Reign of this Princeſs the ſame Meaſures were purſued, and the ſame Attention ſhewn for new Diſcoveries, and for giving all the Aſſiſtance that was in the Power of the Crown, to ſuch as engaged in theſe Undertakings. But after the Marriage between the Queen and King *Philip* of *Spain* took place, we began to grow much better acquainted with all Circumſtances relating to the *Weſt Indies*, than in former Times; and it became faſhionable at Court to read and underſtand whatever had been publiſhed in any Language, relating to the Conqueſts and Diſcoveries of the *Spaniards*; but becauſe the Number was not great of ſuch as could peruſe and underſtand thoſe Works in the original Languages, ſeveral Perſons took Pains to tranſlate them into *Engliſh*, and to epitomiſe them, that they might be read with the greater Facility; amongſt theſe were Mr. *Richard Eden*, who compoſed one of the firſt Collections of Travels that was ever publiſhed in our Language, and which was afterwards reviſed, corrected, and augmented, by Mr. *Edward Willes*. Several other Pieces of the ſame kind came abroad; and ſeveral of the *Spaniſh* Officers, that attended their King hither, took a great deal of Pains to ſet forth the Exploits of their Nation in the *Weſt Indies*; and our Sea-Officers, with whom they converſed, did not fail to make their Advantage of theſe Diſcourſes, and to gain ſuch Knowledge of the Situation Things were in throughout all their Dominions in *America*, as afterwards coſt the *Spaniards* very dear.

This Intercourſe with that Nation, alſo furniſhed many *Engliſhmen* with Opportunities of going to their Settlements, and of obtaining ſuch Lights, with reſpect to their Navigation and Commerce, as proved afterwards of the higheſt Uſe. But, notwithſtanding all this, our Trade and Naval Power ſuffered deeply by this Connection between the two Nations, which not only hindered, during that Reign, thoſe Voyages we had formerly made to *America* from being purſued, but involved us likewiſe in a tedious, dangerous, and unneceſſary War with *France*; by which we not only loſt the important Fortreſs of *Calais*, but alſo ſuffered deeply in our Shipping; ſo that it appears, by ſome Fragments which ſtill remain of Speeches made in the Houſe of Commons, that loud Complaints were made on this Subject in Parliament by the Citizens of *London* eſpecially, whoſe Loſſes were greater than thoſe of the reſt of the Kingdom by thoſe miſtaken Meaſures.

Yet ſuch Branches of our Commerce as did not immediately interfere with that of *Spain*, were greatly favoured in this Reign, in which the *Ruſſian* Merchants were incorporated, and *Sebaſtian Cabot* appointed their Governor for Life; and a *Ruſſian* Embaſſador, who came over hither, was treated with great Diſtinction, both by the King and Queen; which procured us ſuitable Returns, by the granting extraordinary Privileges to ſuch Merchants, and Subjects of *England*, as traded in any Part of that extenſive Empire. The Trade to *Guinea*, likewiſe, met with ſome Countenance from the Court, by which Means the Shipping engaged therein was increaſed, and many more Traders drawn to be concerned therein; ſo that as great a Spirit, in this Reſpect, appeared as could well be expected; while the trading Corporations throughout the Kingdom were expoſed to great Inconveniencies, by taking their Ships for the public Service; for ſo, at that Time, aſſiſting King *Philip* was called, tho' it was evidently againſt the Intereſt of the Nation; and it was our want of Succeſs in that War which ſaved the Balance of *Europe*, which muſt have been totally loſt, if he had compaſſed his Deſign, and ruined the Power of *France*; ſo that, in Fact, our naval Force was employed againſt itſelf, of which the Queen's Miniſters were ſenſible; but as for the Queen herſelf, ſhe was governed by an odd Principle, which was that of making the beſt Wife in the World, to one of the worſt of Huſbands; but, very luckily for the Nation, ſhe was ſo ſenſible of the Misfortunes that attended this injudicious War, and particularly of the Loſs of *Calais*, that it broke her Heart, and thereby made way for that great and glorious Reign which reſtored the Face of our Affairs, revived our languiſhing Commerce, re-eſtabliſhed our naval Power, and, by the happy Iſſue of a long and bloody, but neceſſary and proſperous, War againſt *Spain*, ſecured our own Liberties and preſerved thoſe of *Europe*.

9. Queen *Elizabeth* ſucceeded to the Crown by the Death of her Siſter, in the Month of *November*, 1558; and, from the very Beginning of her Reign, made the naval Power of this Nation her peculiar Care: She began with putting the ſmall Remains of the Navy into the beſt Condition poſſible; provided a ſafe Harbour in the River *Medway* for their Reception, and erected a new Caſtle for their Protection. She likewiſe took care to have a ſmall Squadron at Sea as ſoon as poſſible; and knowing that, by a haſty Breach with *Spain*, ſhe might, and indeed muſt, expoſe her Naval Strength to the Danger of being cruſhed by a ſuperior Force, ſhe very wiſely choſe to diſſemble her Reſentments againſt that Crown, and to provide for the Increaſe of the Seamen and Shipping of her Kingdom, before ſhe diſcovered thoſe Reſolutions which ſhe carried afterwards into Execution with ſo much Honour to herſelf, and ſo much Advantage to her People. I the rather take notice of this, becauſe it is the only Stroke of the Queen's Policy which has eſcaped our Hiſtorians, who either overlooked or miſunderſtood it, and therefore, as it very nearly concerns my Subject, I ſhall ſet it in a full and clear Light.

At the Beginning of her Reign the Queen had ſeveral Enemies to deal with; ſome who declared openly againſt her; and others who ſecretly ſought her Ruin: Among the former were the *French*, to whom at that Time *Scotland*, in Virtue of a Marriage between Queen *Mary* and the *French* King, in ſome meaſure belonged. At the Head of the latter was King *Philip* of *Spain*, one of the greateſt Politicians that ever ſat upon a Throne, who knew the Value of *England*, had in ſome meaſure poſſeſſed it, and which was not at all wonderful, had no mind to loſe it. His firſt Project for keeping it was, by marrying *Elizabeth*, as he had done her Siſter, in which finding himſelf deceived, his next Project was to conquer it, from which he never departed. The Queen, when ſhe rejected the firſt, foreſaw the laſt, and reſolved to provide againſt it, which ſhe knew could no other way be done but by obtaining a great naval Force.

To arrive at this, ſhe firſt of all contrived to amuſe *Spain* by carrying on the War with *France*, in which ſhe did the ſame thing her Siſter did; and yet, the one was the worſt, the other the wiſeſt Meaſure that ever was taken. Queen *Mary* really meant to ruin and diſtreſs the *French*, and was above all things deſirous of recovering *Calais*; and this from a miſtaken Zeal for the Intereſt of the Nation. Queen *Elizabeth* made an artificial War againſt *France* to increaſe her own naval Strength, by encouraging her Subjects to take Prizes, and that ſhe might have an Opportunity of ſecuring *Scotland*; but, though exceſſively provoked, ſhe never thought of hurting *France*, and when offered *Calais*, ſhe refuſed it; and all this, becauſe ſhe knew the true Intereſt of the Nation. She knew, that while ſhe continued to act againſt the *French*, ſhe ſhould have the *Spaniards* for ſeeming Friends; that this War was not againſt the Humour of her People, or againſt Juſtice; that it would raiſe a vaſt Number of Seamen, becauſe every Port in *England* fitted out Privateers; and that it would raiſe the Reputation of her naval Power, by reducing *Scotland*; for all which Ends, as ſhe wiſely provided, ſo ſhe met in them all the Succeſs ſhe could deſire. She knew, however, that *France* was not her natural Enemy; that from the Diſputes about Religion, which ran high in that Kingdom, ſhe was in no Danger from its Power; and that whenever ſhe came to declare againſt *Spain*, ſhe ſhould ſtand in need of its Aſſiſtance; for which Reaſon ſhe made a very harmleſs War, and gave ſuch broad Intimations of her being willing to compoſe all Differences, as in due Time produced a Peace. She likewiſe knew that the Poſſeſſion of *Calais* was a mere popular Advantage; that, in reality, it was attended with an Expence which could not well be afforded; that if ſhe was poſſeſſed of it, it would be a continual Bone of Contention with *France*, and that, how much ſoever it might be afterwards her Intereſt to part with it, it would be an unpopular, and therefore an improper, and an imprudent, Thing to give it up. This that great Princeſs knew, and therefore ſhe wiſely refuſed it: but upon making a Peace ſhe reſerved her Rights to it, and procured ſuch Conceſſions from the *French*, as proved a continual Check upon them, and were oftentimes of more Uſe than the Fortreſs itſelf.

In the mean time ſhe continued her Care of the Navy, and neglected nothing that might keep up and promote a maritime Spirit among her People; ſhe ſought out and diſtinguiſhed the Sea-Officers that had ſerved under her Father; ſhe was continually fitting out, on one Pretence or other, little Squadrons, at a ſmall Expence; ſhe gave the Command of them to different Officers, that ſhe might excite a Spirit of Emulation, but what principally conduced to aggrandize her Power was the Pleaſure ſhe ſhewed, whenever any Occaſion offered of rewarding her Subjects, who undertook, at their own Expence, ſuch Expeditions as contributed to extend their Commerce, and open new Branches of Trade. We have a ſtrong Inſtance of this, in the Countenance ſhe ſhewed to Capt. *John Hawkins*, who between the Years 1562 and 1568 made three Voyages into the *Weſt Indies*, and in all but the laſt had very great Succeſs, though he carried on his Trade partly by Force. She promoted the Trade to *Ruſſia*, and through that Empire to *Perſia* and the *Indies*, to the utmoſt of her Power, and managed it with ſuch Prudence and Dexterity, that the Reputation of her Government was very high, in that, and in other Countries, in which the reſt of the Kingdoms and the States of *Europe* were hardly known. The Trade to *Guinea* was likewiſe ſo much her Care, that, finding the *Portugueze* gave her Subjects much Diſturbance, ſhe enquired into the Cauſes of thoſe Diſputes, and took care to remedy them by a Treaty with that Crown.

All this time her Differences with *Spain* ſubſiſted, and though there was no open War between the two Crowns, yet there could ſcarce be ſaid to be either Friendſhip or Peace between their Subjects; and the Queen, perhaps, was not very ſollicitous that there ſhould; for having now attained what ſhe aimed at, a very conſiderable Naval Force, and being willing to let the *Spaniards* ſee that though ſhe declined a War, ſhe had no Reaſon to be afraid of it, ſhe took Advantage of the King of *Spain*'s Marriage with *Anne* of *Auſtria*, his Niece, to give ſuch an Inſtance of her Generoſity and Power, as did great Honour to her Adminiſtration; for ſhe cauſed that Princeſs to be conducted to *Spain* by an *Engliſh* Navy; this was a plain Demonſtration, that her Sparingneſs, upon other Occaſions, was not the Effects of any Nearneſs of Temper; but that, by a conſtant Frugality, ſhe might have it always in her Power to be royally magnificent upon proper Occaſions.

But this extraordinary Mark of Civility was far enough from meeting a proper Return, and the *Spaniards* went on in diſturbing the Trade, and diſtreſſing the Navigation, of her Subjects, which induced the Queen to ſuffer her Subjects to uſe the beſt Meaſures they could for redreſſing themſelves; in which they were not wanting. In the Year 1572, Capt. *Francis Drake* made his famous Expedition into the *Weſt-Indies*, with two Ships, one called the *Dragon*, of ſeventy-five Tons, the other the *Swan*, of twenty-five Tons, and on board them both he had no more than ſeventy-three Men; and yet, with this Force, he ventured to declare War againſt the King of *Spain*, for the Injuries he had received in his Voyage with Capt. *Hawkins* to the *Weſt-Indies*. In this Voyage he performed wonderful Things; for, beſides taking ſeveral large Ships, he fairly took the Town of *Nombre de Dios*, by Storm, gained an immenſe Treaſure, and had a Sight of the *South Seas*; after which he returned ſafely to *Plymouth*, and made a fair Diſtribution of the Profits of his Voyage among his Owners.

This glorious Event encouraged others to follow his Example; ſo that, in a very ſhort Time, the *Engliſh* Privateers made various Voyages into all Parts of *America*, and every little Port in *England* ſwarmed with Seamen, who were perfect Maſters of their Profeſſion; and Pilots capable of navigating Ships to any Part of the known World, became ſo numerous, that there were daily new Projects ſet on foot, which in the former Age would have been thought impracticable; but in this were carried into Execution at the Charge of private Perſons, without any Expence to, or Aſſiſtance from the Crown, though they had all the Countenance and Encouragement they could deſire: But amongſt all theſe, there was none ſo conſiderable in itſelf, ſo clear a Proof of maritime Skill, and ſo honourable, in every reſpect, to the Nation, as the next Expedition of Capt. *Francis Drake* in 1577, in which he ſailed round the Globe, as we have ſhewn at large in the firſt Part of this Work, and therefore need not repeat here. But one Part, however, of that Voyage ſo immediately concerns the Subject of this Section, and relates to ſo conſiderable a Diſcovery, that, as we then promiſed, we ſhall, as in its proper Place, ſpeak of and explain it more particularly here.

10. Capt. *Drake* ſailed from *Plymouth*, with five ſmall Ships, the biggeſt but of one hundred Tons, on the 13th of *December* 1577, and it was the 5th of *September* following before he entered the *South Seas*, where having performed ſeveral glorious Actions, and gained prodigious Riches, he proceeded to the moſt Northern of the *Spaniſh* Settlements; with a View to diſcover, if poſſible, that Paſſage which had been ſo much talked of from our *Northern* into the *South Seas*, by a Strait like that of *Magellan*'s to the North-weſt. This was certainly a very wiſe and great Undertaking, and a prodigious Improvement upon the Deſign of his Voyage; for, as yet, no *Engliſhman* had had the Opportunity, and perhaps it never entered into any Man's Head, to ſearch for ſuch a Paſſage on this Side; tho' it is moſt likely, that by this Method it may be

found. Our Author's Endeavours, however, were ſtrangely croſſed by the unexpected Severity of the Weather, of which the Rev. Mr. *Francis Fletcher*, who was Chaplain in this Voyage, gives a large Account; and, as it relates to a Subject of great Importance, and contains a Multitude of curious Circumſtances, though not delivered in the moſt poliſhed Stile, we ſhall give it the Reader, for the ſake of Exactneſs, in his own Words.

“ From *Guatulco* we departed the Day following, *viz.* *April* the 16th, ſetting our Courſe directly into the Sea, whereupon we ſailed five hundred Leagues in Longitude to get a Wind, and between that and *June* the 3d, 1400 Leagues in all, till we came into 42 Degrees of North Latitude, wherein the Night following we found ſuch an Alteration of Heat into extreme and nipping Cold, that our Men, in general, did grievouſly complain thereof, ſome of them feeling their Healths much impaired thereby; neither was it that this chanced in the Night alone, but the Day following carried with it not only the Marks, but the Stings and Force, of the Night going before, to the great Admiration of us all; for beſides that the pinching and biting Air was nothing altered, the very Ropes of our Ship were ſtiff, and the Rain which fell was an unnatural and frozen Subſtance; ſo that we ſeemed rather to be in the frozen Zone, than any way ſo near unto the Sun, or theſe hotter Climates.

“ Neither did this happen for the Time only, or by ſome ſudden Accident, but rather ſeemed, indeed, to proceed from ſome ordinary Cauſe, againſt the which the Heat of the Sun prevails not; for it came to that Extremity in ſailing but 2° farther to the Northward in our Courſe, that tho' the Seamen lacked not good Stomachs, yet it ſeemed a Queſtion to many amongſt us, whether their Hands ſhould feed their Mouths, or rather keep themſelves within Coverts, from the pinching Cold that did benumb them? Neither could we impute it to the Tenderneſs of our Bodies, though we came lately from the Extremity of Heat, by reaſon whereof we might be more ſenſible of the preſent Cold, inſomuch that the dead and ſenſeleſs Creatures were as well affected with it as ourſelves. Our Meat, as ſoon as it was removed from the Fire, would preſently, in a manner, become frozen up; and our Ropes and Tackling, in a few Days, were grown to that Stiffneſs, that what three Men before were able with them to perform, now ſix Men, with their beſt Strength and utmoſt Endeavours, were hardly able to accompliſh; whereby a ſudden and great Diſcouragement ſeized upon the Minds of our Men, and they were poſſeſſed with a great Miſlike, and doubting of any good to be done that Way; yet would not our General be diſcouraged, but as well by comfortable Speeches of the divine Providence, and of God's loving Care over his Children, out of the Scriptures, as alſo by giving other good and profitable Perſuaſions, adding thereto his own chearful Example, he ſo ſtirred them up to put on a good Courage, and to acquit themſelves like Men, to endure ſome ſhort Extremity; to have the ſpeedier Comfort, and a little Trouble to obtain the greater Glory; that every man was thoroughly armed with Willingneſs, and reſolved to ſee the uttermoſt, if it were poſſible, of what Good was to be done that Way.

“ The Land in that Part of *America* bearing farther out into the Weſt than we before imagined, we were nearer on it than we were aware, and yet the nearer ſtill we came unto it, the more Extremity of Cold did ſeize upon us. The 5th Day of *June* we were forced by contrary Winds to run in with the Shore, which we then firſt deſcried, and to caſt Anchor in a bad Bay, the beſt Road we could for the preſent meet with, where we were not without ſome Danger, by reaſon of the many extreme Guſts and Flaws that beat upon us; which if they ceaſed and were ſtill at any time, immediately upon their Intermiſſion there followed moſt vile, thick, and ſtinking Fogs, againſt which the Sea prevailed nothing, till the Guſts of Wind again removed them, which brought with them ſuch Extremity and Violence when they came, that there was no dealing or reſiſting againſt them. In this Place was no abiding for us, and to go farther North the Extremity of the Cold (which had now utterly diſcouraged all our Men) would not permit us, and the Winds, being directly againſt us, having once gotten us under ſail again, commanded us to the Southward, whether we would or no; from the Height of 48°, in which now we were, to 38°, we found the Land by coaſting it to be but low, and reſonably plain; every Hill (whereof we ſaw many, but none very high) though it were in *June*, and the Sun in the neareſt Approach unto them, being covered with Snow.

“ In 38° 30′ we fell in with a convenient and fit Harbour, and *June* the 17th came to an Anchor therein, where we continued to the 23d of *July* following; during all which Time, notwithſtanding it was in the height of Summer, and ſo near the Sun, yet we were continually viſited with like nipping Colds as we had felt before; inſomuch, that if violent Exerciſes of our Bodies, and buſy Employment about our neceſſary Labours, had not ſometimes compelled us to the contrary, we could very well have been contented to have kept about us, ſtill, our Winter Cloaths; yea, (had our Neceſſity ſuffered us) to have kept our Beds; neither could we at any Time, in the whole Fourteen Days together, find the Air ſo clear as to be able to take the Height of Sun or Star.

“ And here, having ſo fit Occaſion (notwithſtanding it may ſeem to be beſides the Purpoſe of writing the Hiſtory of this our Voyage) we will a little more diligently enquire into the Cauſes of the Continuance of the extreme Cold in theſe Parts; as alſo into the Probabilities or Unlikelihoods of a Paſſage to be found that way. Neither was it (as hath formerly been touched) the Tenderneſs of our Bodies coming ſo lately out of the Heat, whereby the Pores were opened, that made us ſo ſenſible of the Colds we here felt. In this reſpect, as in many others, we found our God a provident Father and careful Phyſician to us; we lacked no outward Helps nor inward Comforts to reſtore and fortify Nature, had it been decayed or weakened in us; neither was there wanting unto us the great Experience of our General, who had often himſelf proved the Force of the burning Zone, whoſe Advice always prevailed much to the preſerving of a moderate Temper in our Conſtitutions; ſo that even after our Departure from the Heat, we always found our Bodies not as Sponges, but ſtrong and hard, more able to bear out Cold, though we came out of Exceſs of Heat, than a Number of Chamber-Companions could have been, who lie on their Feather-beds till they go to Sea, or rather, whoſe Teeth in a temperate Air do beat in their Heads at a Cup of cold Sack and Sugar by the Fire.

“ And that it was not our Tenderneſs, but the very Extremity of the Cold itſelf, that cauſed this Senſibleneſs in us, may the rather appear in that the natural Inhabitants of the Place (with whom we had for a long Seaſon familiar Intercourſe, as is to be related) who had never been acquainted with ſuch Heat, to whom the Country Air and Climate was proper, and in whom Cuſtom of Cold was as it were a ſecond Nature, yet uſed to come ſhivering to us in their warm Furs, crowding cloſe together, Body to Body, to receive Heat one of another, and ſheltering themſelves under a Lee Bank if it were poſſible; and as often as they could, labouring to ſhrowd themſelves under our Garments to keep them warm: Beſides, how unhandſome and deformed appeared the Face of the Earth itſelf? ſhewing Trees without Leaves, and the Ground without Greenneſs in thoſe Months of *June* and *July*. The poor Birds and Fowls not daring (as we had great Experience to obſerve it) ſo much as once to riſe from their Neſts after the firſt Egg laid, till it, with all the reſt, be hatched, and brought to ſome Strength of Nature able to help itſelf: Only this Recompence has Nature afforded them, that the Heat of their own Bodies being exceeding great, it perfecteth the Creature with great Expedition, and in ſhorter Time than is to be found in any other Places. As for the Cauſes of this Extremity, they ſeem not to be ſo deeply hidden, but that they may, at leaſt in Part, be gueſſed at; the chiefeſt of which we conceive to be the large ſpreading of the *Aſian* and *American* Continents, which (ſomewhat Northward of theſe Parts) if they be not fully joined, yet ſeem they to come very near one to the other; from whoſe high and Snow-covered Mountains the North and North-weſt Winds (the conſtant Viſitants of theſe Coaſts) ſend abroad their frozen Nymphs to the infecting of the whole Air with this inſufferable Sharpneſs; not permitting the Sun, no not in the Pride of his Heat, to diſſolve that congealed Matter and Snow which they have breathed out ſo nigh the Sun, and ſo many Degrees diſtant from themſelves. And that the North and North-weſt Winds are here conſtant in *June* and *July*, as the North Wind is alone in *Auguſt*, and *September*, we not only found it by our own Experience, but were fully confirmed in the Opinion thereof by continual Obſervations of the *Spaniards*.

“Hence comes the Squalidneſs and Barrenneſs of the Country; hence comes it, that in the midſt of their Summer the Snow hardly departeth even from their Doors, but is never taken away from their Hills at all; hence come thoſe thick Miſts and moſt ſtinking Fogs, which increaſe ſo much the more by how much higher the Pole is raiſed, wherein a blind Pilot is as good as the beſt Director of a Courſe; for the Sun ſtriving to perform his natural Office in elevating the Vapours out of theſe inferior Bodies, draws neceſſarily abundance of Moiſture out of the Sea; but the nipping Cold (from the former Cauſes) meeting and oppoſing the Sun's Endeavours, force him to give over his Work imperfect, and inſtead of higher Elevation, to leave, in the loweſt Regions wandering upon the Face of the Earth and Waters, as it were a ſecond Sea, through which its own Beams cannot poſſibly pierce, unleſs ſometimes when the ſudden Violence of the Winds doth help to ſcatter and break thro' it, which thing happeneth very ſeldom, and when it happeneth is of no Continuance. Some of our Mariners in this Voyage had formerly been at *Wardhouſe*, in 72 Degrees of North Latitude, who yet affirmed that they felt no ſuch nipping Cold there in the end of Summer, when they departed thence, as they did now in theſe hotteſt Months of *June* and *July*. And alſo from theſe Reaſons we conjecture, that either there is no Paſſage at all through thoſe Northern Coaſts (which is moſt likely) or, if there be, yet it is unnavigable. Add hereunto, that though we ſearched the Coaſt diligently, even unto the forty-eighth Degree, yet found we not the Land to trend ſo much as one Point, in any Place, towards the Eaſt; but rather running on continually North-weſt, as if it went directly to meet with *Aſia*; and even in that Height, when we had a frank Wind to have carried us through, had there been a Paſſage, yet we had a ſmooth and calm Sea, with ordinary flowing and reflowing, which could not have been, had there been an Opening, of which we rather infallibly concluded than conjectured that there was none.”

This ſhews us clearly Mr. *Fletcher's* Opinion, and he gives us likewiſe a very large and full, to ſay the Truth, a very tedious and trifling Account of their Landing and Stay here; of their being taken for Gods by the Natives, and of their attempting to offer Sacrifices to them, with which, I ſuppoſe, the Reader will eaſily diſpenſe; but after this he comes to the Point, and tells us, That theſe People behaved extremely well during their Stay; and that their King, in teſtimony of his Reſpect for, and Submiſſion to, Captain *Drake*, preſented him with the Enſigns of his Regal Dignity; which he received as a Reſignation of his Kingdom to the Queen his Miſtreſs, in whoſe Name, and on whoſe Behalf, he took Poſſeſſion of it, and ſet up a wooden Croſs, with a Braſs Plate and a proper Inſcription, in Teſtimony thereof. This Country he called *New Albion*, and this for two Reaſons; the firſt was, becauſe of its white Cliffs; the other, that it might have ſome Affinity, as Mr. *Fletcher* expreſſes it, in Name with our own Country, which was ſome time ſo called.

He afterwards acknowledges, that upon taking a View of the Inland Parts, they found them very rich and fertile, contrary to their Expectations; but as to the People, he allows, that, both on the Coaſt and within Land, their Behaviour was perfectly uniform, and they had no Reaſon to complain of them, but rather to commend and applaud them. It is very true, that Mr. *Fletcher's* Account of Sir *Francis Drake's* Voyage is by much the largeſt, but I am far from eſteeming it the beſt: I inſerted ſo long a Paſſage from it, that the Reader might be able to judge of his Performance as well as my Sentiments. He has given us a very extraordinary Deſcription of the exceſſive Cold they met with both at Sea and on Shore, and diſcourſes on it more largely, to ſhew his Capacity and Judgment; yet I do not find that Experience has at all confirmed this, as the Reader will perceive by turning to the other Voyages of *Candiſh*, and thoſe who followed him, and who went to *California* as well as Sir *Francis Drake*.

I mention this the rather, becauſe *Candiſh* was there ſo ſoon after Sir *Francis Drake*; for I find by the original Account of his Expedition, that he was there in *November* 1587, but do not find that he ſaid one Word of its being cold; and tho' it may be objected, that he was in the Southern Part of *California* only, yet the Difference is ſo inconſiderable, that it is impoſſible to reconcile the two Accounts, ſuppoſing them both to be exact. Again, in Sir *Francis Drake's* Voyage, printed by *Hackluit*, it is only ſaid, That in the Latitude of 42 Degrees the Men were extremely pinched with Cold; and finding it increaſe as they ſailed farther North, it was reſolved to alter their Courſe, and ſtand in for the Land more to the South; where they found a good Bay, and a very gentle, friendly, and honeſt People; yet the Truth of the Matter is, that the *Spaniards* had, thirty-ſeven Years before, ſailed along this Coaſt to the Heighth of 44 Degrees, as far as *Cape Mendocino*; and they afterwards diſcovered *Cape Blanco* beyond that, which is a plain Proof that the Cold is not ſo intolerable as Mr. *Fletcher* would make it. But the real Deſign of all his Remarks is, to diſcourage all Hopes of finding a Paſſage this Way into the North Seas, which however was not Sir *Francis Drake's* Opinion, if we may credit what other Writers have told us; and indeed ſo many Abſurdities have been diſcovered in Mr. *Fletcher's* Deſcription of *New Albion*, that Father *Charlevoix* makes no Scruple of calling it a fabulous Country, and from hence takes Occaſion to make ſome Reflections upon Sir *Francis Drake*, which that Gentleman did not at all deſerve.

But to ſhew the Reader the true Deſign of dwelling ſo long upon this Subject I muſt obſerve, that his Account diſcredits *Drake's* Diſcovery extremely, which not only turns to the Prejudice of that great Man's Character, but may likewiſe prove diſadvantageous to this Nation, by giving them a very mean Opinion of what ought to be conſidered as a very noble Acquiſition. The Diſcovery, as I conceive, conſiſted chiefly in his marching up into the Country, which before that Time, it is probable, the *Spaniards* had never done; and with reſpect to our Title to this Country, I conceive it to ariſe from the Good-will and voluntary Submiſſion of the People, Facts as well proved as in the Nature of Things we can expect, and which certainly give us as good (if not a better) Claim to *New Albion*, as the *Spaniards* can ſhew for any Part of their Poſſeſſions.

The Country too, if we might depend upon what Sir *Francis Drake* or his Chaplain ſays, may appear worth the ſeeking and the keeping, ſince they aſſert that the Land is ſo rich in Gold and Silver, that upon the ſlighteſt turning it up with a Spade or Pick-ax, thoſe rich Metals plainly appear mixed with the Mould. It may be objected that this looks a little fabulous; but to this, two ſatisfactory Anſwers may be given; the firſt is, That later Diſcoveries on the ſame Coaſt confirm the Truth of it, which, for any thing I can ſee, ought to put the Fact out of queſtion; but if any Doubts ſhould remain, my ſecond Anſwer will overturn theſe. For I ſay next; That the Country of *New Mexico* lies directly behind *New Albion*, on the other Side of a narrow Bay, and in that Country are the Mines of *Santo Fe*, which are allowed to be the richeſt Silver-Mines in *North America*: Here then is a very valuable Country, to which we have a very fair Title.

But perhaps it may be aſked, How ſhall we come at it, ſince, as Things ſtand at preſent, it ſeems to be the Country in the World moſt out of our Reach? But if it had been ſo, I would not have given myſelf or the Reader ſo much Trouble about it; and therefore I am next to tell him, that if Mr. *Arthur Dobbs*'s Expedition for diſcovering a North-weſt Paſſage ſucceeds, *New Albion* will be a Country very much within our Reach, and, I dare ſay, prove to the full as habitable as the Coaſt of *Hudſon*'s *Bay*; and therefore I hope that this Example will fully ſhew the Uſe and Value of good Collections of Voyages, becauſe it is impoſſible to foreſee all the Advantages that may ariſe from any Diſcovery or Settlement at once, nor is it eaſy to pronounce, that any Diſcovery, how unpromiſing ſoever in its firſt Appearance, is abſolutely uſeleſs, and not worth minding.

This is a Caution of a very ſerious Nature, ſince there is nothing eaſier than for Men of quick Wits and tolerable Learning in other Reſpects, to ridicule Voyages to cold, barren, deſart Countries, and to repreſent that as Folly and Madneſs, which is in truth a moſt noble kind of public Spirit, which, if puſhed ſtill farther than it has ever been, would be attended with Conſequences of ſtill greater Advantage to Mankind, than thoſe that have flowed from it already; and yet theſe have been very beneficial to this and other Nations, as any judicious Man will very eaſily and clearly diſcern, by comparing the State of thoſe Nations, before they addicted themſelves to Commerce, and ſince they have reaped the Profits of it.

11. We have already ſhewn the Right this Nation has to *Newfoundland*; which is an Iſland of a triangular Figure, about the Size of *Ireland*; and, according to the beſt Computation that can be made, about eight or nine hundred Leagues in Circumference: On the North it is ſeparated from the Continent by the narrow Straits of *Belliſle*; on the Weſt it has the Bay of *St. Laurence*; on the South, *Cape Breton* and the Banks; and on the Eaſt it has the Ocean. It lies about ſix hundred Leagues from the *Land's-end* in *England*, and the great Bank is generally looked upon as half way to *Virginia*. There is no Country in the World better furniſhed with Harbours, and it is abundantly ſupplied with freſh Water. The Climate is very hot in Summer, and very cold in Winter, ſo that the Snow lies upon the Ground for four or five Months at leaſt. This is the beſt Account that we are able to give with Certainty about it; for if we read the different Relations written of this Country, by Perſons who ought to have been beſt acquainted with it, we ſhall find them ſo oppoſite and contradictory, that it will be very hard to judge from them, whether it be one of the beſt or worſt Countries in the World.

But by conſidering the Views with which theſe ſeveral Accounts were written, and adverting to the Situation of this Country, between 47 and 52 Degrees of Northern Latitude, we may be eaſily perſuaded that it is no Paradiſe; and yet it is more to the South than our own Iſland; but lying off a Continent very little better than frozen, the Winds which blow over muſt bring along with them Weather very different from ours. It is, however, very certain, that Filberds, Strawberries, ſome Kinds of Cherries, and other ſuch-like Fruits, grow here; and, though Corn and Hay ſucceed but indifferently, yet there is great Plenty of Veniſon, wild Fowl and Fiſh; ſo that with dry Food in plenty from *Europe*, People may live here very comfortably even in Winter, ſince the Country produces Fuel of ſeveral Kinds in abundance.

The great Advantage, however, reſulting from our Poſſeſſion of the Place never depended much upon its Produce; ſo far from it, that one of the beſt Writers upon the Trade of this Nation gave his Opinion clearly, that it was more for our Intereſt there ſhould be no Settlements upon it at all; which, in my Judgment, he has by unanſwerable Arguments made good; but the Value of *Newfoundland* to this Crown and Country reſults from the Fiſhery upon its Coaſts, and upon the Banks near it, which has been, and ſtill is, of ineſtimable Benefit, for Reaſons that ſhall be preſently given. It is very certain, that we did not proſecute our Diſcoveries in and about this Iſland, or attend to the Advantages that might be made from the Fiſhery, in many Years after *Cabot* had taken Poſſeſſion of it; but I do not however believe, that we ever left or deſerted it, as ſome Writers would have us believe, and that we did not claim it again till the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*. I am, on the contrary, perſuaded, that ſome of our fiſhing Veſſels reſorted yearly to this Coaſt, though perhaps not many; and this, for two Reaſons; firſt, becauſe the unſettled State of our Affairs kept the beſt part of our Seamen one way or other in the public Service; and next, becauſe we had a great Fiſhery, at that time, on the Coaſt of *Iceland*.

But that we really kept Poſſeſſion of the *Newfoundland* Fiſhery all that time may, I think, be undeniably proved by two Arguments likewiſe: The one taken from the Act of Parliament before-mentioned, in the ſecond Year of the Reign of *Edward* the VIth, which would have been needleſs, if this Fiſhery had not ſubſiſted; and the other from the Account given us of the State of this Fiſhery in 1578, by Mr. *Parkhurſt*, which is very curious, and yet little taken Notice of. He tells us, that in this Year there were about fifty Sail of *Engliſh* Ships employed upon that Coaſt; but he tells us likewiſe, that there were one hundred Sail of *Spaniards*, beſides twenty or thirty Sail of *Biſcayneers*, fifty of *Portugueze*, and one hundred and fifty *French*. He adds another Circumſtance, which is ſtill more to our Purpoſe; and it is this, that wherever the *Engliſh* fiſhed, they were reputed Lords of the Harbour, and exerciſed an Authority over other Nations, by making uſe of their Boats when they had Occaſion for them; which makes it plain to me, that we conſtantly kept up our Title, for otherwiſe it is impoſſible to give any Reaſon why we ſhould have exerciſed this Dominion, where we were ſo far from being the moſt powerful. An immemorial Cuſtom was Foundation enough for ſuch a Practice, and nothing but this could be eſteemed ſo.

He tells us alſo, that our own Ships were the ſtrongeſt, largeſt, and beſt equipped; and that, by this Means, we protected our own Trade and the Trade of other Nations, which is a Confirmation of what I have obſerved; he ſays, that next to ours the *Spaniards* were the beſt equipped, and he computes the Tonnage of theſe Veſſels at about ſix thouſand, and the *French* at about ſeven thouſand, Ton; but the *Portugueze*, he ſays, were the worſt equipped of all. As for the *Biſcayneers*, they were chiefly employed in Whale-Fiſhing, and in making Train-Oil. The great Conſequence of this Trade to our Nation aroſe from hence; that, in the firſt Place, it raiſed a vaſt Number of Seamen, and thoſe the beſt and ableſt that were any where bred, ſo that, even at this time, there could not be fewer than two thouſand employed therein. Next, it gave Bread to a vaſt Number of Manufacturers and Mechanics, ſuch as Ship and Boat-Builders, &c. Thirdly, it produced a great deal of Money from the Sale of the Fiſh. Fourthly, almoſt all the Proviſions conſumed in *Newfoundland*, ſuch as Bread, Beef, Pork, Butter, Cheeſe, Linnen, and Woollen, Cloths, Nets, Hooks, and Lines, were all furniſhed from *England*; to which we may add, that theſe Veſſels being fitted out in *March*, and returning in *September*, they not only brought Home a Number of People full of Money, which they ſpent in *England*, but they alſo left us a certain Proportion of ſtout able Seamen, freſh Men going out in their room, and becoming in a Voyage or two as good Mariners as themſelves.

Thus it clearly appears, how this bleak, barren, and inhoſpitable Country came to be of ſuch Conſequence; which was very ſoon diſcerned by the wiſe Miniſtry of Queen *Elizabeth*, towards the Cloſe of whoſe Reign it grew to ſuch a Height that we employed yearly two hundred Sail and upwards of Fiſhing Veſſels, and on board them upwards of eight thouſand Seamen, a clear Proof of the Improvements that were then made in the Space of twenty Years; and which confirms, beyond Queſtion, what I remarked at the Cloſe of the preceding Paragraph, that all Diſcoveries are of uſe, and every Branch of Navigation worth looking after, and keeping. If the Reader conſult other Accounts of *Newfoundland*, within this Period of Time, he will ſee that I have not been much aſſiſted by them, but that I have ſet the Subject in a new Light, from Facts of which they have taken little or no Notice.

But I come now to ſpeak of thoſe that are more generally known, and of the famous Patent of Sir *Humphrey Gilbert*, which is one of the firſt of them. This Gentleman was a Native of *Devonſhire*, had a good Fortune, was well allied, had a competent Knowledge both of military and maritime Affairs, and a generous Deſire to raiſe his private Fortune by the Purſuit of the public Service. It was with this View that he repreſented to Queen *Elizabeth* the Expediency of ſettling all thoſe Countries upon the Continent of *America*, which had been formerly diſcovered by *John* and *Sebaſtian Cabot*, becauſe, otherwiſe, it was not at all unlikely that the *French*, who had often reviewed theſe Places, would be deſirous of ſupplanting the *Engliſh*, and becauſe it was very far from being improbable that thoſe Countries abounded with very rich Minerals. Upon theſe Suggeſtions very full Letters Patents were granted by the Queen to Sir *H. Gilbert*, his Heirs and Aſſigns, with free Leave, not only to diſcover, but to plant and ſettle, and even to fortify and build Caſtles, in any of theſe northern Countries, not then in the Poſſeſſion of any Chriſtian Prince, with Authority to govern ſuch Colonies, according to the known Laws of the Land, with ſeveral other Clauſes, equally well contrived for ſecuring this Grant from becoming any way injurious to the Public.

After obtaining this Favour from the Queen, our worthy Knight applied himſelf to his Relations and Friends, in order to frame a Society capable of carrying this Deſign into Execution; and he met with ſuch Succeſs therein, that he thought himſelf very ſoon in a Condition to undertake a Voyage for this Purpoſe; yet, when it came to the Point, Things fell out very croſly; for ſome of his Aſſociates began to form particular Projects inconſiſtent with his general Scheme, and others abſolutely failed in performing their Engagements; which, however, did not hinder this gallant Gentleman from putting to Sea, with ſuch of his Friends as had ſtuck cloſe to their Promiſes; but the Voyage proved very unfortunate, and was attended with the Loſs of one of his beſt Ships, in which was Mr. *Miles Morgan*, whom he much eſteemed, and ſeveral other Perſons of Worth and Figure. This was a ſevere Blow, which he was the leſs able to ſuſtain, as having already ſuffered extremely in his Fortune, by the Money he had been obliged to advance to ſupply other Mens Deficiencies; and therefore he was conſtrained to aſſign Part of his Patent to other Perſons, who were to make Settlements in the northern Parts of *America* about the River of *Canada*; but theſe People proving likewiſe very dilatory, he found himſelf obliged to think of another Expedition, in Perſon; becauſe his Patent was to expire, if within the Space of ſix Years he had not actually gained Poſſeſſions under it.

In the Spring of the Year 1583 he had again brought this Deſign into ſome Order, and to furniſh the neceſſary Expences thereof he was obliged to ſell his Eſtate, though he had great Aſſiſtance from his Friends; and ſeveral Gentlemen of Rank and Fortune agreed to go with him in Perſon; with this View a ſmall Squadron was fitted out, conſiſting of the following Veſſels, *viz.* the *Delight* (or *George*), of one hundred and twenty Tons, Admiral, in which went Sir *Humphrey* himſelf, as General, *William Winter*, Captain, and part Owner, and *Richard Clark*, Maſter; the Bark *Raleigh*, fitted out by Mr. *Walter Raleigh*, of two hundred Tons, Vice-Admiral, Mr. *Butler*, Captain, and *Robert Davis* of *Briſtol*, Maſter; the *Golden Hind* of forty Tons, Rear-Admiral, Capt. *Edward Hayes*, Commander and Owner, and *William Cox*, of *Limehouſe*, Maſter; the *Swallow*, of forty Tons, *Maurice Brown*, Captain; the *Squirrel*, of ten Tons, *William Andrews*, Captain, and one *Cade*, Maſter. In all theſe Veſſels were ſhipped about two hundred and ſixty Men, among whom were many Shipwrights, Maſons, Carpenters, Smiths, Miners, and Refiners. The Reſolution of the Proprietors was, that the Fleet ſhould begin its Courſe northerly, and follow as directly as they could the Trade-way to *Newfoundland*, from whence, after having refreſhed and ſupplied themſelves with all Neceſſaries, their Intent was to proceed into the South, and not to paſs by any River or Bay, which, in all that large Tract of Land, ſhould appear worthy their looking into; they likewiſe agreed upon the Manner of their Courſe, and the Orders to be obſerved in their Voyage, which were delivered to the Captains and Maſters of every Ship in writing.

The 11th of *June* they ſet ſail from *Cauſet Bay*, near *Plymouth*; but, on the 13th, their large Ship the *Raleigh*, under Pretence that her Captain and a great Number of her Men were ſuddenly taken ill of a contagious Diſeaſe, left the Fleet and returned to *Plymouth*; ſome ſay in great Diſtreſs, but others, that it was done with a Deſign to break the Voyage. After her Departure the *Golden Hind* ſucceeded her in Place as Vice Admiral. The 30th of *July* they had the firſt Sight of Land, as they computed it about 51°, but with ſuch foggy Weather, that they could not poſſibly perceive the Land, nor take the Sun's Heighth: From thence they followed the Coaſt to the South, with clear Weather, till they came to the Iſland called *Baccaloas*; here they met with the *Swallow*, which had been ſeparated from them in the Fog, but were ſurprized to ſee her Men in a different Garb from what they had on when they left them; upon Enquiry, they found they had met a *Newlander* fiſhing Bark returning homewards, which they had rifled of Tackle, Sails, Cables, and Proviſions, and the Men of their Apparel. Continuing the ſame Courſe Southward, they came the ſame Day, being the third of *Auguſt*, to the Harbour of *St. John*; where they found the *Squirrel*, which had likewiſe been ſeparated from them, riding at Anchor at the Mouth of the Harbour; having been refuſed Entrance by the Veſſels which were fiſhing within, to the Number of thirty-ſix ſail of all Nations. Sir *Humphrey* was preparing to make good his Paſſage by force of Arms; but having firſt ſent in his Boat to inform the Maſters of the fiſhing Barks, that he had a Commiſſion from the Queen to take Poſſeſſion of theſe Lands for the Crown of *England*, they were ſatisfied, and ſubmitted to the levying a Tax of Proviſions from each Ship, for ſupplying the Wants of Sir *Humphrey*'s ſmall Squadron. Going into the Harbour, the Admiral's Ship was by the Careleſſneſs of the Men run upon a Rock, which lay viſible above Water: But, by the Aſſiſtance of the Fiſhermens Boats, ſhe was got off again, with little or no Damage.

On the 4th Sir *Humphrey*, whom they called the General, and his Company were conducted on Shore by the Maſters of the *Engliſh* fiſhing Veſſels, and their Owners or Merchants who were with them. On the fifth the General, having cauſed a Tent to be ſet up in View of all the Ships in the Harbour, to the Number of between thirty and forty Sail, and being accompanied by all his Captains, Maſters, Gentlemen, and Soldiers, ſummoned all the Merchants and Maſters, both *Engliſh* and Foreigners, to be preſent at his taking a formal, and ſolemn Poſſeſſion of theſe Territories. Being aſſembled he cauſed his Commiſſion, under the great Seal of *England*, to be openly read before them, and to be interpreted to thoſe who were Strangers to the *Engliſh* Tongue.

By Virtue of this Commiſſion, he declared that he took Poſſeſſion of the Harbour of *St. John*, and two hundred Leagues every way, inveſted her Majeſty with the Title and Dignity thereof; and having had (according to Cuſtom) a Rod, and Turf of Soil delivered to him, entered Poſſeſſion alſo for himſelf, his Heirs, and Aſſigns, for ever. He ſignified to thoſe who were preſent, and through them to all Men, that from thenceforward they ſhould look upon thoſe Territories as appertaining

taining to the Queen of *England*, and himſelf, authorized under her Majeſty to poſſeſs and enjoy them, with Power to ordain Laws for the Government thereof, agreeable (as near as conveniently could be) to the Laws of *England*; under which, all People coming thither for the future, either to inhabit, or by way of Traffic, ſhould ſubmit and be governed. Some Writers have attributed all this Solemnity, which, however, was attended with many other Ceremonies, to a high Degree of Vanity, in our Weſt-country Knight; and have ridiculed ſeverely his Pretences to improve the Trade of this Kingdom and enlarge the Queen's Dominions, by cutting a Turf; in which, however, they injure this poor Gentleman's Memory extremely, and ſhew how little they are qualified to give their Readers a true Account of Things of this Nature.

The plain Reaſon of Sir *Humphrey*'s Conduct throughout this Affair, was his Concern for his Grant, which was perpetual to him and his Heirs, in caſe he took Poſſeſſion of any Countries within ſix Years, and otherwiſe it was void: There were now but a few Months to come. He had ſold his Eſtate in *England*, and it concerned him very nearly to ſecure an Eſtate ſomewhere elſe; and therefore it was not from any Principle of Vanity, but rather of Prudence and good Oeconomy, that he did this; as appears by his granting ſeveral Parcels of Land to Perſons, who covenanted to pay a certain Rent to him and his Heirs, and to maintain Poſſeſſion by themſelves and their Aſſigns.

There now remained only to gather in the Tax of Proviſions granted by every Ship which fiſhed upon the Coaſt adjoining; and while ſome of the Men were doing this, others were ſet to repair and trim the Ships; and the Remainder the General ſent to enquire into the Commodities and Singularities of the Country, which were to be found by Sea or Land. They found no Inhabitants in the South Parts, which probably the Natives had abandoned, upon their being ſo much frequented by *Europeans*. In the North there were Savages of a very harmleſs Diſpoſition; among other Inquiries, the General had, in a particular Manner, recommended a Search after Metals. They had in their Company a *Saxon* Miner, who at firſt brought a ſort of Ore to the General, which had more the Reſemblance of Iron than of any other Metal. Soon after he found another Sort of Ore, which he delivered with a Shew of great Satisfaction to Sir *Humphrey*, and aſſured him, upon the Peril of his Life, that if Silver was what he and his Companions ſought, there it was, and they need ſeek no farther. We learn all theſe Circumſtances from Captain *Edward Hayes*, who ſeems, by his Writing, to have been a very intelligent Perſon; and therefore he enquired very ſtrictly about this Silver-Mine, which procured him ſuch an Anſwer from the General, as ſhewed that he was abſolutely ſatisfied on that Head; and I muſt own I ſee no Reaſon to doubt there being Silver-Mines in this Country, ſince we know they are generally found in cold Climates, and in a hungry barren Soil; and, as to the northern Situation, we are certain that there are rich Silver-Mines in *New-Mexico*, a Country not far to the Southward of *Newfoundland*; and Silver Ore has been found in *Scotland* ſeveral Degrees further to the North than it is ſuppoſed to have been found here.

But though Sir *Humphrey* was very well ſatisfied with the Account his *Saxon* gave him, yet he thought himſelf obliged to proceed in his Diſcoveries Southward; for which while he was providing ſome of his Men fell ſick, ſome deſerted, ſome died, and ſome fell to plundering and Piracy: In ſhort, the Number of his People was ſo leſſened, that he was conſtrained to leave the *Swallow* behind him. The Captain of his Admiral going home, Captain *Brown* of the *Swallow* took the Command of the Admiral, and the Captain of the *Squirrel* deſerting likewiſe the Expedition, Sir *Humphrey* went on board that little Veſſel himſelf; as thinking her the fitteſt for obſerving and diſcovering the Coaſt, becauſe ſhe could run into every Creek, which a larger Ship could not do. All Things being now ready, and Plenty of Proviſions of all Sorts being put on board, they ſailed on the 20th of *Auguſt* from the Harbour of *St. John*, with three Ships, the *Delight*, the *Golden Hind*, and the *Squirrel*, and proper Boats and Pinnaces for Diſcovery. Before their Departure they made an exact Obſervation of *St. John*'s Harbour, and found it to be in the Latitude of 47° 40′ North. The next Night they reached *Cape Race*, which is twenty-five Leagues diſtant; and from thence ſailed about eighty-ſeven Leagues towards *Cape Breton*.

All this Time they had the Wind indifferently good, but never could get Sight of the Land, being hindered by the Currents; at laſt they unhappily fell into thoſe Flats and Sholes in which moſt of them periſhed. On the 27th the General ordered his Men in the Frigate to ſound, and found thirty five Fathom white Sand, in the Latitude of 44°. The Wind coming South, the next Evening they bore in with the Land, all the Night Weſt North-weſt, contrary to the Advice of Mr. *Cox*, Maſter of the *Golden Hind*. On the 29th the Wind blew vehemently at South and by Eaſt, with Rain, and ſo thick a Miſt, that they could not ſee a Cable's-length before them. Early in the Morning they found themſelves in the midſt of Shoals and Sands, among which they found ſometimes deep, ſometimes ſhole Water, every three or four Ship's-length. After they began to ſound, a Signal was immediately given to the *Delight* to caſt about to the ſeaward, but it was too late; for ſhe ſtruck immediately, and her Stern and Hind-Quarters preſently beat to Pieces. Upon which the *Golden Hind* and the Frigate caſt about Eaſt South-eaſt, bearing to the South, which carried them to the ſeaward, and with much Difficulty got clear of the Sholes.

In the *Delight* periſhed Captain *Maurice Brown*, with near one hundred Perſons: The Captain might probably have ſaved his Life, if he would have left the Ship when ſhe firſt ſtruck, but he would not be the firſt to ſet an ill Example. In the mean time fourteen Perſons leaped into a ſmall Pinnace of a Ton and a half Burden, no bigger than a Thames-Barge. They looked out ſome time for the Captain, but not ſeeing him took in Mr. *Clark*, the Maſter of the *Delight*, and one more: Being now ſixteen in Number, they cut the Rope and committed themſelves to the Mercy of the Waves, without any Proviſions, or a Drop of freſh Water, and nothing to work with but one ſingle Oar. The Boat ſeeming to be over-loaded, one *Edward Headly*, thinking it was better for ſome to periſh than all, propoſed to caſt Lots, and that four of the Number, upon whom the Lot might fall, ſhould be thrown over-board to lighten the Boat: But he was over-ruled by Mr. *Clark*; who though it was propoſed that he ſhould be excepted from the Number, perſuaded his Comrades rather to ſubmit to Providence. The Boat was driven before the Wind ſix Days and ſix Nights, during which time theſe poor Wretches had no other Suſtenance than their own Urine, and ſome Weeds which ſwam on the Surface of the Water; and in this Extremity of Cold, Wet, Hunger, and Thirſt, only *Headly* and one more periſhed the fifth Day; but the other fourteen lived till they were driven the Seventh Day on Shore, on the Coaſt of *Newfoundland*; whence they got in a *French* Ship to *France*, and ſo to *England*, before the Year's End. During their ſeven Day's dangerous Courſe they had the Wind always at South, which ſaved their Lives; and it is very remarkable, that in half an Hour after they were on Shore it came about and blew full North.

After the Loſs of the Admiral the Men being generally diſcouraged, and in want of Neceſſaries, Sir *Humphrey Gilbert* propoſed returning to *England*, having, in his Judgment, made Diſcoveries ſufficient to procure Aſſiſtance enough for a new Voyage in the Spring. His People, when he made this Propoſal, were at firſt a little backward, but, upon hearing his Reaſons, they ſubmitted; and, according to his Advice, on the laſt of *Auguſt* they altered their Courſe, and returned back for *England*. On the ſecond of *September* they paſſed in Sight of *Cape Race*, and had afterwards frequently very bad Weather, with ſuch high Seas, that they in the *Hind* often expected to ſee the *Squirrel* ſwallowed up; notwithſtanding which, Sir *Humphrey* would by no means be perſuaded to leave her. On the 9th, the Storms and Swelling of the Seas increaſing,

creaſing, he was again preſſed to leave the Frigate, but his Anſwer his, *We are as near to Heaven by Sea as by Land.* About Midnight the Squirrel being a-head of the *Golden Hind*, her Lights were at once extinguiſhed, which thoſe in the *Hind* ſeeing, cried out, *Our General is loſt!* and it was ſuppoſed ſhe ſunk that inſtant, for ſhe was never more heard of.

The *Golden Hind* arrived in Safety at *Falmouth*, on the 22d of *September*, more fortunate than her Companions; not only as ſhe returned, but as ſhe loſt but one Man during the whole Courſe of this unfortunate Undertaking. Such was the End of this Expedition, very diſaſtrous to its Author; who loſt firſt his Fortune, and then his Life, by it; to which, if the Sallies of ſome diſtempered Mens untimely Wit could effect it, we might add his Reputation alſo. Yet to this Expedition I make no Scruple of imputing all our ſucceeding Colonies in *America*; and the Grounds of this Opinion of mine, which I muſt confeſs is new, I lay down thus:

12. We have before ſhewn that Sir *Humphrey Gilbert* was a Man of great Intereſt and Alliances: For, beſides his eldeſt Brother Sir *John Gilbert*, and his younger Brother Sir *Adrian Gilbert*, who were of the whole Blood, he was, by the Mother's Side, Brother alſo to Sir *Walter Raleigh*, who had a great Concern in this Undertaking; and who is on good Grounds allowed to have been one of thoſe true, brave, and ſteady Friends, who went to Sea with him in his firſt Attempt, which there is juſt Reaſon to believe was in 1579. This great Man, after Sir *Humphrey Gilbert*'s Miſcarriage and Loſs in his laſt Voyage, procured his Patent to be renewed to himſelf, which was dated the 25th of *March* 1584, and he reſolved immediately to carry it into Execution; to which Purpoſe he made choice of two very able Sea Officers, Captain *Philip Amadas*, and Captain *Arthur Burlow*; who, in two ſmall Barks fit for Diſcovery, ſailed from the Weſt of *England* upon the 27th of *April* following, ſhaping their Courſe for the *Canaries*, which they paſſed on the 10th of *June*, and proceeding from thence to the Iſlands of *America*, they croſſed the Gulph of *Mexico*, and ſoon after diſcovered the Coaſt of *Florida*. Some Authors who have written of this Expedition, and who are pleaſed to ſpeak in very high Terms of Sir *Walter Raleigh*'s Skill in maritime Affairs, venture nevertheleſs to affirm, that the Perſons he employed were ſo ignorant of Navigation, that, by the Computation of able Seamen, they went above two thouſand Leagues out of their Way; but as I am very well ſatisfied they purſued Sir *Walter*'s Inſtructions, ſo I cannot help thinking this Imputation of Ignorance ought to be wiped away; and this may be very eaſily done, by ſhewing the true Cauſe why this great and knowing Seaman directed this Courſe: He had obſerved that all the Attempts hitherto had failed, by the Adventurers purſuing their Diſcoveries from the North, which was one Reaſon why he choſe another Rout; beſides which, he had a better and ſtronger Motive; for, conſidering all the Lands on the Continent of *America*, from the laſt Settlements of the *Spaniards* to 60° North, as lying within his Grant, he very prudently choſe to ſettle thoſe firſt, which lay neareſt thoſe *Spaniſh* Settlements; and this was the clear and certain Cauſe of his directing his Servants to take this Courſe; which was ſo far from being a Proof of their Ignorance, that it is a full and fair Teſtimony of their Maſter's extenſive Knowledge.

It was on the 2d of *July* they fell in with the Coaſt of *Florida*, in ſhoal Water, where they ſmelled a moſt delightful Odour, as if they had been in the midſt of a Garden, abounding with the moſt fragrant Flowers, by which they ſuppoſed they were near, though they ſaw no Land. On the 4th they diſcovered the Continent, and ſailed along the Coaſt forty Leagues, till they came on the 13th to a River, where they anchored, and, going on Shore, took Poſſeſſion in Right of the Queen, and for the Uſe of the Proprietors. This Place they afterwards found to be the Iſland of *Wokoken*, on the Coaſt of the Country ſince called *Virginia*, in 34° Latitude; and in it they found Deer, Rabbits, Hares, Fowls, Vines, Cedars, Pines, Saſſafras, Cypreſs, and Maſtic Trees. The Author of the Hiſtory of *Virginia* ſays, that they anchored at the Inlet of *Roenocke*; at preſent under the Government of *North Carolina*. They went to the Tops of the Hills which were neareſt the Shore, from whence, though they were not high, they diſcovered the Sea on all Sides, and found it to be an Iſland of twenty Miles in Length, and ſix in Breadth. It was the third Day before they ſaw any of the Natives; but then, a little Boat, with three of them, appeared: One of them going aſhore, they rowed up to him, and he not only waited their coming without any Signs of Fear, but went on board, where they gave him a Shirt and Hat, with ſome Wine and Meat, which he expreſſed a liking to. After he had, with a ſeeming Satisfaction, narrowly viewed the Barks with all that were in them, he went in his own Boat to above a Quarter of a Mile's Diſtance, where he fiſhed, and in Half an Hour loaded his Boat with Fiſh, as deep as it could ſwim, and came again to the Point of Land; where, to ſhew his Gratitude, he divided it into two Parts; and, making Signs that he deſigned it for the two Ships equally, he departed.

The Natives from the Continent, after this, repaired to their Ships frequently, and exchanged ſeveral Sorts of Skins, white Coral, and ſome Pearls, for ſome Tin things, and other Baubles of inconſiderable Value. The very next Day after they ſaw the three *Indians*, ſeveral Boats appeared in view; in one of which was the King of the Country's Brother, attended by forty or fifty Men of a tolerable good Appearance. They made him, and four of his Chiefs, Preſents of ſeveral Toys, which he accepted of very kindly; but he took all himſelf, and gave them to underſtand that none there had a Right to any thing but himſelf; two Days afterwards they let him ſee their Merchandize, of which nothing ſeemed to pleaſe him more than a Pewter Diſh, for which he gave twenty Deer-ſkins; and, making a Hole in the Rim of it, hung it over his Neck for a Breaſt-plate, making Signs that it would defend him againſt the Enemies Arrows. The next Thing he bought was a Copper Kettle, for which he gave fifty Skins. As long as he thought fit to traffic with them, none, but ſuch as like himſelf wore Plates of Gold or Copper on their Heads were allowed either to buy or ſell; but as ſoon as they had done every Man had his Liberty. They offered very good Exchange for Hatchets, Axes, and Knives, and would have given any Thing in Truck for Swords, but the *Engliſh* would not part with any. The King's Brother came afterwards frequently on board, and would eat, drink, and be merry with them; and once he brought his Wife and Children with him, who afterwards came frequently with their Followers only.

They often truſted the King's Brother with Goods upon his Word, to bring the Value at a certain Time, which he never failed of doing. He had a ſtrong Inclination to have a Suit of Armour and a Sword, which he ſaw in one of the Ships; and would have left a large Box of Pearls in pawn for them, but they refuſed it; that he might not know they ſet a Value upon them, till they could diſcover whence he got them. They underſtood from the Natives, that their Country, which they found to be very fruitful and productive of all Things, in ſo very ſhort a Time as is hardly credible, was called by the Name of *Wingandacoa*, and their King *Wingina*. When they went on Shore they were entertained with extraordinary Civility, and once in particular by the King's Brother's Wife, at a little Village in *Roenocke*. They were told of a great City where the King reſided, ſix Days Journey on the Continent, which, however, they did not ſee; they made no long Stay, nor proceeded any farther on Diſcovery, only juſt to the neighbouring Parts, in their Boats; and, being ſatisfied with what they had ſeen, returned to *England* about the Middle of *September*, pleaſed with the Advantage they had made in this ſhort and proſperous Voyage; and, with the Hopes of the future Advantages they ſhould make, eſpecially as they found all Things here entirely new and ſurprizing.

They gave a very advantageous Account of Matters, by repreſenting the Country ſo delightful and deſireable, ſo pleaſant, and abounding with all the Neceſſaries of Life; the Climate and Air ſo temperate, good and wholeſome, the Woods and Soil ſo charming and fruitful, and all other Things ſo agreeable, that Paradiſe itſelf ſeemed to be there in its native Luſtre. They gave particular Accounts of the Variety of good Fruits, ſome whereof they had never ſeen before; eſpecially, that there were Grapes in ſuch Abundance as were never any where known; ſtately tall large Oaks, and other Timber; red Cedar, Cypreſs, Pines, and other Ever-greens and ſweet Woods, for Tallneſs and Largeneſs exceeding all they had ever heard of. Wild Fowl, Deer, Fiſh, and other Game, in ſuch Plenty and Variety that no Epicure could deſire more than this new World ſeemed naturally to afford. To make it yet more deſireable they reported that the native *Indians*, who were then the only Inhabitants, were ſo affable, kind and good-natured; ſo tractable in learning Trades and Faſhions; ſo innocent and ignorant in all manner of Tricks and Cunning, and ſo deſirous of the *Engliſh*, that they rather ſeemed ready to take any Impreſſion, than any ways like to oppoſe the ſettling of the *Engliſh* near them.

Upon this fair Repreſentation of the Effects of their Voyage, and of the noble Diſcovery that had attended it, Queen *Elizabeth* was pleaſed to promiſe what Aſſiſtance it ſhould be neceſſary for the Crown to give for promoting and perfecting this Settlement; and ſhe was likewiſe pleaſed to beſtow the Name of *Virginia* upon this new found Country; but whether, as is commonly believed, in regard to its being diſcovered under a Virgin Queen, or in Alluſion to the uncorrupted State of the Land and its Inhabitants, is a Queſtion I will not pretend to decide; but perhaps the former was the Senſe impoſed by Sir *Walter*, the compleateſt Courtier ſhall I ſay, or rather the compleateſt Man, of his Time; and the latter the Senſe in which the Queen would have had it underſtood: But howev that matter be, we muſt not confound the *Virginia* of Sir *Walter Raleigh* with the Province now ſo called; for, without all queſtion, it was in thoſe Days a very different Thing, and comprehended the whole Country claimed by the Crown of *England*, from the Southern Limits of the new Province of *Georgia*, to the utmoſt Extent of our Diſcoveries Northwards, agreeable to the two Patents granted to Sir *Humphrey Gilbert*, and to his Brother Sir *Walter Raleigh*.

It was not long before the Proprietors reſolved to fit out a much more conſiderable Fleet than had hitherto been employed in ſuch Undertakings, that ſomething might be done worthy of the Nation, on whoſe Behalf this Settlement was to be made, of the powerful Queen who had protected it, and of himſelf, who was the Author and Patron of this Scheme; Sir *Walter* intended to have commanded in this Expedition himſelf, and to have carried with him a ſufficient Number of Forces to have compleated this Deſign of making a Settlement there; but being at that Time jealous that his Abſence might be prejudicial to his Intereſt at Court, which the Earl of *Leiceſter* ſought all Occaſions to leſſen, he committed the Conduct of this ſecond Enterprize to to his Lieutenant, Sir *Richard Greenville*, who on the 8th of *April*, ſet ſail from *Plymouth* with ſeven Ships fitted out by the Company, of which himſelf and ſeveral Gentlemen were Members; and this Company was the firſt of that kind that was eſtabliſhed in *Europe*: Theſe King *James* incorporated by the Name of the *Governor and Company of the* Weſt-Indies; which, for their Mal-adminiſtration, was diſſolved by his Son King *Charles* I.

On the 26th of *June*, 1585, Sir *Richard Greenville* anchored at *Wokoken*, and in *Auguſt* following they began to plant on the Iſland of *Roenocke*, five Miles diſtant from the Continent, where Sir *Richard* landed one hundred and eight Men, under Governor *Ralph Lane*, and Captain *Philip Amadas*, who was conſtituted Admiral of the new Colony, tho' I do not find he had ſo much as a Bark left with him.

Sir *Richard* did not remain above three Weeks longer in thoſe Seas; but having made ſome Diſcoveries to the Southward, and having traded with the *Indians* for Skins, Furs, Pearls, and other Commodities, he ſailed on the 25th of *Auguſt* on his Return to *England*, in which he took a very rich Prize; ſo that this Voyage appeared to the Eyes of the Nation no leſs proſperous than the former, and the new *Virginia* Company began to entertain very ſanguine Hopes of their Undertaking. Let us now return to the firſt Planters in *Virginia*, and give an Account of what happened to the firſt Colony the *Engliſh* eſtabliſhed there, or in any Part of *America*. Sir *Richard Greenville* was no ſooner ſailed, than the People whom he left behind applied themſelves with Diligence to what had been recommended to them by Sir *Walter Raleigh*, which was the diſcovering the Continent, and with this View they travelled eighty Miles South, and one hundred and thirty North from that Part of the Main oppoſite to their Iſland; but in theſe Expeditions, venturing indiſcreetly too high up the Rivers, and too far into the Country, the *Indian* Governors grew jealous of their Deſigns, and began firſt to be weary of their Company, and then to cut off their Stragglers when they fell into their Hands; and they alſo formed a Conſpiracy to deſtroy the reſt, but were happily prevented.

The Journals of the Colonies Proceedings were duly entered, and afterwards delivered to the Company in *England*, who were not ſo careful as they ſhould have been to ſend them Supplies of Proviſions, and the *Engliſh*, not underſtanding the Nature of the Climate, neglected to gather Food in Seaſon as the *Indians* did, by which means they were reduced to great Straits. The Natives never after kept Faith with them, but watched all Opportunities to cut them off. And as this obliged them to be more wary in their Enterprizes on the Main, ſo it hindered them from having any Supply from thence; however, they endured all with incredible Reſolution, and extended their Diſcoveries near a hundred Miles along the Sea-coaſts. They kept the *Indians* in awe by threatening them with the Return of their Companions and the Reinforcement of Men; but no Ships coming from *England* all that Winter, nor in the Spring following, nor in Summer, they deſpaired of being able to ſupport themſelves any longer, the Natives beginning to deſpiſe them, when they ſaw them as it were abandoned by their Countrymen; and the *Engliſh* expected every Day to be ſacrificed to their Cruelty. In this Diſtreſs their chief Employment was to look out to Sea, in hopes of finding ſome means of Eſcape, or Recruit; and, when they were almoſt ſpent with Want and Watching, Hunger and Cold, in *Auguſt* they diſcovered Sir *Francis Drake*'s Fleet, who was returning from an Expedition againſt the *Spaniards* in *North America*, and had been commanded by the Queen to viſit this Plantation in his Way, and ſee what Encouragement or Aſſiſtance they wanted.

The Sight of Sir *Francis*'s Fleet was moſt joyful to theſe poor People: Their firſt Petition to him was to grant them a Supply of Men and Proviſions, with a ſmall Ship or Bark to attend them, that, in caſe they could not maintain themſelves where they were, they might embark in it for *England*. Sir *Francis* granted their Requeſt; and they ſet all Hands to work to fit the Ship he had given them, and furniſh her with all manner of Stores for a long Stay; but a Storm ariſing, which drove the Veſſel from her Anchor to Sea, and the Ship ſuffering ſo much in it that ſhe was not fit for their Uſe, they were ſo diſcouraged, that, notwithſtanding Sir *Francis* offered them another Ship, they were afraid to ſtay, and earneſtly entreated him to take them with him, which he did: And this put an end to the firſt Settlement.

It was not at all owing to any Negligence in Sir *Walter Raleigh* that this Misfortune happened; for he continually preſſed the Company to reflect on the Neceſſity of ſupporting the Colony in time, and ſo ſollicitous he was in this Buſineſs, that, finding the Fleet which was preparing under the Command of Sir *Richard Greenville* went on but ſlowly, he propoſed that the firſt Ship that was completely manned and equipped, ſhould be ſent, without ſtaying for the reſt, which was done; but when ſhe arrived at the Iſland *Roenocke*, ſhe found it deſerted. A few Days after came Sir *Richard Greenville* with his Squadron of three ſmall Veſſels, and found not a Man upon the Place, to his great Diſappointment; however, he reſolved to ſettle again, and therefore left behind him fifty Men, with Directions to build a Houſe, or rather

Fort, for their own Security, furniſhing them beſides with all Neceſſaries for two Years, and giving them the ſtrongeſt Aſſurances, that they ſhould be conſtantly and regularly ſupplied.

This ſecond Colony had no better Fortune than the firſt; for the *Indians*, taking Advantage of the Smallneſs of their Number, and the Difficulties they had to ſtruggle with, attacked and cut them off; ſo that when Mr. *John White* came thither with three Ships, and conſiderable Supplies, on the 22d of *June*, 1587, he found their Fort demoliſhed, ſome Huts they had erected near it deſtroyed, and not far from them the Bones of a dead Man. In all theſe Revolutions *Manteo*, the *Indian*, remained firm to the *Engliſh* Intereſt, and it was from his Information that Mr. *White* learned what was become of this laſt Colony.

The Misfortunes that had attended theſe two Settlements, would certainly have diſcouraged a Man of leſs Conſtancy and Fortitude than Mr. *White*; but he had a Commiſſion to be Governor, and Sir *Walter* had ſtrongly recommended to him the keeping Poſſeſſion of the Place. He therefore erected a new Habitation, and, chuſing eleven of the moſt capable Perſons that came along with him, conſtituted a regular Society, to which he gave the Title of the *Governor and Court of Aſſiſtants of the City of* Raleigh *in* Virginia, hoping they might be able to retrieve the Credit of this Undertaking, and conduce to the Improvement of the Commerce and Navigation of his Country, and thereby anſwer the Expectations of his honourable Patron, whoſe Name he had given to his new Plantation. On the 13th of *Auguſt Manteo*, the faithful *Indian*, was chriſtened, and created by the Governor *Lord of Daſſumonpeak*, an *Indian* Nation ſo called, as a Reward of his Fidelity and Service to the *Engliſh*; and on the 18th of the ſame Month was born the firſt Child that was the Iſſue of Chriſtian Parents in that Place, being the Daughter of Mr. *Ananias Dare*: She was, after the Name of the Country, chriſtened *Virginia*. Good Government and Induſtry ſoon rendered Mr. *White* and his Men formidable to the *Indians*, who courted their Friendſhip, and made Leagues with the Corporation, which they kept or broke as they thought themſelves too weak or too ſtrong for the *Engliſh*, who, as much as they ſeemed to thrive, underwent ſo many Hardſhips for want of due Supplies from *Europe*, that nothing but the invincible Conſtancy, which is the diſtinguiſhing Character of their Nation, could have ſupported them in the midſt of ſo much Miſery.

Yet ſo far were they from repenting of their Undertaking, or deſiring to return, that they diſputed for the Liberty of remaining at *Roenocke*, and obliged Mr. *White* their Governor to return for *England*, and ſollicit the Company to ſend them Recruits of Men and Proviſions. Mr. *White* undertook to negociate their Affairs; and, leaving 150 Men in the Corporation, ſet ſail for *England*, where he arrived in Safety, and was two Years there before he could obtain a Grant of the neceſſary Supplies. At laſt he had three Ships fitted out for him, with Proviſions and more Men for the Colony. And on the 15th of *Auguſt* he arrived at *Cape Hatteras*; and, landing on the Iſland *Roenocke*, found by Letters cut on Trees, in large Roman Characters, that the *Engliſh* were removed, but he could not tell where. They ſaw the Letters C. R. O. on ſeveral Trees; and, ſearching farther, on one of the Paliſadoes of the Fort which they had quitted, they found cut in large Capital Letters the Word *Croatan*, one of the Iſlands forming the South, about twenty Leagues ſouthward of *Roenocke*. On this Advice, they embarked in queſt of their Fellows at *Croatan*; but they were ſcarce all of them aboard, before a dreadful Storm aroſe, which ſeparated the Ships one from another. They loſt their Anchors and Cables, and durſt not venture in with the Shore, ſo they all ſhifted for themſelves, and, with various Fortunes, arrived in *England* and *Ireland*.

This dreadful Blow proved the Ruin of the third Settlement, of which I do not find that the Company took any farther Care, or that any new Attempt was made for preſerving the Poſſeſſion of this Country to the Crown of *England*, which had been ſo highly magnified, and the Advantages thereof painted in ſuch ſtrong Colours at the Beginning. Some have attributed this to Sir *Walter Raleigh*'s Troubles; but ſurely they were but indifferently acquainted with his Hiſtory, ſince it was during the latter Part of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign that he ſtood in the higheſt Credit at Court, and was moſt capable of procuring Favour from it. But that I may not leave this Subject altogether dark and imperfect, I ſhall venture to ſuggeſt what appears to me to be the true Reaſon why there was no more Care taken of ſo promiſing a Scheme as this was of which we are writing. Sir *Walter Raleigh*, as very clearly appears from his manner of conducting it, had the public Service alone in View, which induced him to throw the Concerns of this Colony into the Hands of a Company, in which, no doubt, he thought he had provided for them effectually, and therefore turned his own Thoughts and moſt vigorous Endeavours to other Purpoſes, in which he was ſo entangled, that he found it impoſſible to diſengage himſelf, when he ſaw their Negligence, and foreſaw the Conſequences of it, which were fatal to a Settlement that coſt him ſo much Pains, and of which he had once ſo great Hopes.

13. But neither the Buſineſs of Planting, nor the Profits reſulting from military Expeditions, could hinder ſuch as were addicted to the Study of Maritime Affairs from wiſhing to ſee the new Paſſage to the *Indies* fairly opened. And notwithſtanding many Attempts had been made to very little Purpoſe, yet no conſiderable Mariner, no Man of Reputation for Coſmographical Learning, could propoſe any reaſonable Scheme for this Purpoſe; but there were Merchants enough ready to lend their Aſſiſtance, and to lay down whatever Money was requiſite for carrying it into Execution. This Freedom and Readineſs of venturing their private Fortunes for the Public Service, was certainly very honourable and commendable; but they did ſtill more; for they did not only proſecute ſuch Attempts like Merchants, but adhered to them with a philoſophic Firmneſs; ſo that when a Man returned without Succeſs, and plainly ſhewed that he had done his Duty, and that there were ſtill Hopes, they encouraged, they rewarded, they fitted him out again and again: But this was an Age of public Spirit; the People went eagerly into whatever great Miniſters propoſed; moſt of thoſe Miniſters had only the Service of their Miſtreſs at Heart; and the Queen herſelf was truly the Mother of her People.

In ſuch a Reign it was natural that Wonders ſhould be done, and it happens very luckily for thoſe who celebrate theſe Wonders, that they are able to maintain all that they aſſert, by inconteſtable Evidence; an Inſtance of which we ſhall give in a ſuccinct Account of the Voyages of Capt. *John Davis*, for the Diſcovery of the North-weſt Paſſage; which, however, ſhould not have been brought in here, but have been referred to another Section, if we had not found them neceſſary to ſhew the Limits of our Diſcoveries in the northern Parts of *America*; and having thus opened the true Deſign of his Attempts, we ſhall proceed to the Narrative of them, in ſuch a manner, as to render the Nature and Succeſs of his Enterprizes as clear as it is poſſible. In order to this, it is requiſite to obſerve, that before his firſt Voyage was undertaken, there was a Deſign of attempting to diſcover a North-weſt Paſſage formed by ſome Traders of the Weſt of *England*; who, when they underſtood that the like Project had been ſet on foot at *London*, propoſed joining their Forces, which was accepted; and Mr. *William Sanderſon*, Merchant of *London*, who was both a principal Man in the Undertaking, and a large Contributor towards the Expence, recommended Capt. *John Davis* as a proper Perſon to have the Direction of this Enterprize; and he was accordingly appointed Commander of the *Sun-ſhine* of *London*, a Bark of 50 Tons, on board of which were three and twenty Perſons, and, in Conjunction with the *Moon-ſhine* of *Dartmouth*, a Veſſel of thirty-five Tons, with nineteen Perſons on board, they ſailed from the laſt mentioned Port on their Voyage for Diſcovery, *June* 7, 1585.

On the 14th of the ſame Month they were forced into one of the *Sylley*, or, as it is now written, the *Scilly Iſlands*, where being detained for a Fortnight, Capt. *Davis* ſhewed his active and indefatigable Genius, by making an accurate Chart of them, which was a thing, at that time, very much wanted. On the 28th they ſailed from thence, and continued their Courſe to the North-weſt, till on the 19th of *July* they came into a whirling Tide, which ſet Northwards, and ſailing about half a League into a very calm Sea, which bent South-ſouth-weſt, they heard a mighty Roaring, as if it had been the Breach of ſome Shore, which could not but be very terrible, ſince the Weather was ſo foggy that they could not ſee from one Ship to another, though at a very ſmall Diſtance. Upon this the *Moon-ſhine* was ordered to hoiſt her Boat out to ſound; but they could find no Ground in three hundred Fathoms and better: Then the Captain, the Maſter, and Mr. *Jane*, who wrote this Account, went towards the Beach to ſee what it was, and it proved to be ſeveral Iſlands of Ice which were broke looſe, and floating in the Sea; they got out upon theſe, and walked upon them, and when they went back into their Boat, they carried ſeveral large Pieces of Ice, which melted into very good freſh Water.

On the 20th, the Fog breaking up, they diſcovered the Land, which looked like a Sugar-loaf, and made ſo uncomfortable, or rather ſo horrid an Appearance, that Capt. *Davis* called it the *Land of Deſolation*. On the 21ſt they were forced to bend their Courſe South again, to clear themſelves of the Ice, which they did, and then ran along the Shore. On the 22d the Captain endeavoured to go aſhore, but was hindered by the Ice; the Water on the Coaſt was very black, and though the Seamen made uſe of their Lines, they could catch no Fiſh. On the 24th the Captain cauſed the Mens Allowance to be increaſed, to encourage them; but it is very remarkable, that he aſſures us the Weather was far from being cold, but like ours in *April*, very ſharp, when the Wind blew from the Shore; and on the contrary, very hot, when it blew from the Sea.

On the 25th they bore away North-weſt, and continued their Courſe for four Days. On the 29th they diſcovered Land in the Latitude 64° 15′ North, the Sea quite free from Ice, and the Weather very temperate. Upon viewing the Coaſt they found many pleaſant Bays and commodious Ports; but judged it not a continued Land, but rather an Archipelago, and therefore they reſolved to go aſhore on one of theſe ſmall Iſlands, in order to ſearch for Wood and Water, and to gain a better Knowledge of the Country: They were no ſooner on Shore, than they found evident Marks of the Country's being inhabited, by there lying upon the Ground a ſmall Shoe, ſeveral Pieces of Leather ſewed with Sinews, a Piece of Firr and Wool, like Beaver. They went next upon another Iſland, where, getting upon a high Rock, they were ſeen by the People of the Country, who ſet up thereupon a moſt hideous Howling; when they perceived this, the *Engliſh* likewiſe made a Noiſe, to give Notice of what had happened to their own People; upon which Capt. *Bruton*, of the *Moon-ſhine*, preſently came to their Aſſiſtance, with a good Number of his Seamen; and preſently after their Arrival there appeared ten Boats full of the Natives coming from a neighbouring Iſland, and two of theſe Canoes advanced ſo near the Shore, that they could eaſily talk with thoſe that were in them; their Language was much in the Throat, and their Pronunciation harſh and unpleaſant; one of them, however, ſeemed inclined to come on Shore; but firſt pointed to the Sun, and then ſtruck his Breaſt ſo hard, that they could hear the Blow; upon which, Mr. *John Ellis*, Maſter of the *Moon-ſhine*, was appointed to treat with him; and he going to the Sea-ſide, pointing to the Sun, and ſtriking his Breaſt, as the Savage had done, he at length ventured on Shore, and they threw him Caps, Stockings, Gloves, and what elſe they thought might pleaſe him; but the Night drawing on, they took their Leaves on both Sides.

The next Morning there came thirty-ſeven Canoes rowing by their Ships, calling them to come aſhore. The *Engliſh*, however, did not make great Haſte; upon which one of the Savages leaped on Shore, and went to the Top of a Rock, where he danced and beat a Drum, to ſhew his Joy. The *Engliſh* then manned their Boats, and came to them to the Water-ſide, where they waited in their Canoes; and after the formal Ceremony of ſwearing by the Sun, the Savages made no Scruple of truſting them; but, on the contrary, ſhewed all poſſible Signs of Kindneſs, and even of Politeneſs; for when the Author of this Voyage offered to ſhake Hands with one of them, he firſt took his Hand and kiſſed it. They readily parted with any thing they were aſked for, and were content with whatever was given them, ſhewing no Signs of Greedineſs, much leſs of Treachery or Infidelity. They bought of them five of their Canoes, and ſeveral of their Stockings and Gowns, which were made ſome of Seal and others of Bird Skins, all of them well dreſſed, and neatly made; ſo that it plainly appeared they had various Trades amongſt them. They had plenty of Furs; and when they ſaw that the *Engliſh* admired them, they gave them to underſtand, by Signs, that they would go up into their Country, and come down and bring them more; but the Wind proving fair in the Night, Capt. *Davis*, deſpiſing Profit, on the 1ſt of *Auguſt* ſailed ſtill farther to the North-weſt; and on the 6th of the ſame Month they entered into a very fair Road, free from Ice, in the Latitude of 66° 40′, where they landed under a high Mountain, the Cliffs of which ſhone like Gold.

Captain *Davis*, having taken a View of every Thing, began to think of beſtowing Names on the Places he had diſcovered. He gave to the Hill the Name of *Mount Raleigh*; the Road where the Ship lay he called *Totneſs Road*; the Sound, at the Foot of the Mountain, *Exeter Sound*; the North-foreland, *Diers Cape*; and the South-foreland, *Walſhingham*. Here they diſcovered four white Bears of a prodigious Bigneſs, two of which they killed and brought on board; the Fore-paw of one of which meaſured fourteen Inches. They ſaw a Raven upon *Mount Raleigh*, and at the Bottom of the Hill they found ſome Shrubs and Flowers like Primroſes; the Coaſt, however, was very mountainous, and altogether barren, affording neither Wood nor Graſs, nor ſo much as Earth; the Mountains being all of Stone, but the braveſt Stone, ſays our Author, that ever we ſaw. Yet this Account concludes nothing againſt the Fruitfulneſs of the inland Part of the Country, which might be very good for all that, and, indeed, probably was ſo, ſince the Bears were very fat; and yet it appeared, upon opening their Stomachs, and upon viewing their Dung, that they were not ravenous, but fed upon Graſs.

They weighed on the 8th from *Mount Raleigh*, ſailing ſtill along the Coaſt, which lay South-ſouth-weſt, and Eaſt-north-eaſt. On the 11th they came to the moſt ſoutherly Point of this Land, which they called the *Cape of God's Mercy*, and here they were ſurpriſed with a very thick Fog; upon the breaking up of which, they found that they were ſhut into a very Strait, or Paſſage, in ſome Places ſixty Miles broad, in others ninety; the Weather very fine and temperate, and the Water of the ſame Colour with that of the Ocean, which filled them with Hopes. They ſailed through this Strait for ſixty Leagues, and then diſcovered ſeveral fair Iſlands in the midſt of it, with an open Paſſage on both Sides, through which they ſailed, one Bark taking the North, the other the South Side; but the Wind changing, and the Weather growing foggy and foul, they were forced to lye-by for five Days, in thoſe which have been ever ſince called *Davis's Straits*. On the 14th they went aſhore, and ſaw evident Marks of the Country's being inhabited; for they found Part of a Stone-wall and a human Skull. On the 15th they heard a great Howling on ſhore, which they ſuppoſed to be Wolves, and therefore went aſhore to kill them; when they came to Land, they found the Creatures they had taken for Wolves were Dogs, and they came inſtantly running to the Boat to meet them, wagging their Tails, and ſhewing other Signs of Joy, as it is uſual for thoſe Animals to do at the Sight of Men. There were twenty of them in all, and as they were of the Size of Maſtiffs, with ſhort Ears and long buſhy Tails, the Seamen being afraid of them, fired and killed two, one of which had a Leather Collar on. They found likewiſe there two Sledges, one made of ſeveral kinds of Boards that were ſawed, and the other of Whalebone. They likewiſe ſaw

Larks, Ravens, and Partriges. On the 17th they went aſhore again, and, in an Oven built with Stones, they found a ſmall Canoe made of Wood, an Image, a Bird made of Bone, Beads for Necklaces, and other Trifles. The Coaſt made no very promiſing Appearance, as having neither Wood nor Graſs; but the Rocks were of a fine bright Stone, like Marble beautified with Veins of different Colours. Upon the Shore they found a Seal or Sea-Calf juſt flead and thrown under a heap of Stones.

Captain *Davis* and his Maſter were extremely well pleaſed with the Appearance of this Strait, though they began to doubt whether the Seaſon would permit them to continue long in it; which nevertheleſs they took for the very Channel into the South Seas, in ſearch of which they came, and reſolved to report ſo much upon their Return to *England*. The Reaſons which confirmed the Probability of there being a Paſſage in this Strait, and upon which they grounded their Hopes of future Succeſs, were, 1ſt. That this Place was all Iſlands, with great Sounds between them. 2d. That the Water remained all of the ſame Colour with the main Ocean, without altering; whereas they never came into any Bay before nor after, but the Colour of the Water was altered very blackiſh. 3d. Becauſe they ſaw to the Weſt of thoſe Iſlands three or four Whales in a Skull, which they imagined came from the Weſtern Sea, becauſe to the Eaſtward they had ſeen no Whales. 4th. Becauſe as they were rowing into a very great Sound lying South-weſt, from whence thoſe Whales came, there came ſuddenly a violent Counter-check of a Tide from the Southward, againſt the Flood which they came in with, not knowing from whence it received its Source. 5th. Becauſe in ſailing twenty Leagues within the Mouth of this Entrance, they had ſounding in ninety Fathoms on a grey and ouſy Sand; and the farther they ran into the Weſtward, the deeper was the Water: So that among the Iſlands they had near the Shore no Ground in three hundred and thirty Fathom. 6th. Becauſe it ebbed and flowed ſix or ſeven Fathom, the Flood coming from divers Parts, ſo that they could not with any Certainty diſcern the chief Source of it.

On the 19th it was reſolved by the Officers to continue the Proſecution of their Diſcoveries; but the Wind changing on the 20th, they were obliged to remain at Anchor; and the Weather growing very foul, they, on the 24th, hoiſted Sail for *England*. On the 10th of *September* they fell in with the *Land of Deſolation*; on the 27th they had Sight of the *Engliſh* Coaſt, and in a Storm loſt the *Moonſhine* that Night. On the 30th Captain *Davis* came ſafely into *Dartmouth*, where he found the *Moonſhine*, which arrived about two Hours before. Upon his Return to *London*, Captain *Davis* gave a very clear Account to his Owners, of his Expedition, and of what he had done; obſerving, that at the Time he put to Sea, he had only general Inſtructions to ſearch for a Paſſage to North-weſt, without any Intimation where that Paſſage was moſt likely to be found; that he had accordingly entered a Strait which he thought might poſſibly be that Paſſage; but the Weather changing, and the Seaſon of the Year being too far advanced, he judged it requiſite to return home.

His Owners were ſo well ſatisfied, that they procured him an Audience of Secretary *Walſingham*; who approved very much of the Enterprize, and of the Manner in which he had conducted it; but at the ſame Time recommended it to him to complete this Diſcovery, to which he was alſo preſſed by thoſe who were concerned in his former Undertaking, and by ſome Merchants of *Exeter*, who deſired to join in the Expences neceſſary for a ſecond Expedition; to which he willingly conſented, and accordingly undertook it; and as he has written himſelf an Account of this Voyage, which was a very remarkable one, I ſhall give it the Reader, as near as may be, in his own Words.

“ On the 7th of *May*, 1586, I ſet out from *Dartmouth* with four Sail, *viz.* The *Mermaid* of 120 Tons, the *Sunſhine* of 60 Tons, the *Moonſhine* of 35 Tons, and a Pinnace of 13 Tuns, called the *North Star*. We coaſted the South-ſide of *Ireland*, and on the 13th ſteered away North-weſt, till we came to the Latitude of 60°. At which Time I divided my Fleet, and ordered the *Sunſhine*, and the *North Star*, to ſeek a Paſſage Northward, between *Groenland* and *Iceland*, to the Latitude of 80°, if Land did not hinder them. I departed from them the 7th of *June*, and on the 15th diſcovered Land in 60° Latitude, and in Longitude from the Meridian of *London* Weſtward 47°. The Ice lay, in ſome ten, in ſome twenty, in ſome fifty, Leagues off the Shore; ſo that we were conſtrained to bear into 57° to double the ſame, and to get a free Sea, which through God's favourable Mercy we at length obtained.

“ On the 29th, after many Storms, we again diſcovered Land, in Longitude from the Meridian of *London* 58° 30′, and in Latitude 64°, being Eaſt from us, into which ſince it pleaſed God by contrary Winds to force us, I thought fit to bear in with it, and to ſet up our Pinnace, which we had provided in the *Mermaid* to be our Scout for this Diſcovery, and ſo much the rather, becauſe the Year before I had been in the ſame Place, and found it very convenient for ſuch a Purpoſe, being inhabited by a People of tractable Converſation, and the Sea void of Ice. The Ships being within the Sounds, we ſent our Boats to ſearch for Shole-water, where we might anchor, which in this Place is very hard to find. The People of the Country, eſpying them, came in their Canoes towards them with Shouts and Cries; but when they ſaw in the Boats ſome of our Company that were there the laſt Year, they rowed to the Boat, and, taking hold of the Oar, hung about the Boat, expreſſing a great deal of Joy; and making Signs that they knew all thoſe that had been there the Year before. I went aſhore with others of the Company, and took with me twenty Knives. We had had no ſooner landed but they leaped out of their Canoes and came running to us, and embraced us with many Signs of hearty Welcome; there were eighteen of them, and I gave to each of them a Knife, and they offered me Skins for a Reward; but I made Signs that they were not ſold, but freely given to them; and ſo diſmiſſed them for that Time, with Signs that they ſhould return after certain Hours.

“ The next Day, with all poſſible Speed, the Pinnace was landed upon an Iſland, there to be finiſhed; and while it was ſetting up the People came continually to us, ſometimes a hundred Canoes at a time, bringing Seal-ſkins, Stag-ſkins, White Hares, Seals, Salmon-Peal, ſmall Cod, dry Caplin, with other Fiſh, and ſome Birds. I ſent one of the Boats to ſearch one Part of the Land, while I went to another Part, with ſtrict Command that there ſhould be no Injury offered to any of the People, nor any Gun ſhot. They formed Tents made of Seal-ſkins, wherein was Store of dried Caplin, being a ſmall Fiſh, no bigger than a Pilchard, ſome Bags of Train-Oil, many little Images cut in Wood, and Seal-ſkins in Tan-Tubs, whereof they diminiſhed nothing. When they had paſſed ten Miles within the ſnowy Mountains, they came to a plain champaign Country with Earth and Graſs, like to our moory and waſte Grounds in *England*; they went ten Leagues up into a River, which in the narroweſt Place was two Leagues over, finding it ſtill to continue they knew not how far. But I with my Company took another River, which, although at firſt it afforded a large Inlet, yet it proved but a deep Bay, the End whereof I attained in four Hours; and there leaving the Boat well manned, went with the reſt of the Company three or four Miles into the Country, but found nothing, nor ſaw any thing but Gripes, Ravens, and ſmall Birds, as Larks and Linnets. The third of *July* I manned my Boat, and went with fifty Canoes attending upon me into another Sound, where the People, by Signs, willed me to go, hoping to find their Habitation. At laſt they made Signs that I ſhould go into a warm Place to ſleep; at which Place I went on Shore, and deſired they would leap with our Men, which they agreed to, but ours did over-leap them; from leaping they went to wreſtling; we found them

“ ſtrong and nimble, and to have Skill in wreſtling, for they caſt ſome of our Men that were good Wreſtlers.

“ On the 4th the Maſter of the *Mermaid* went to certain Iſlands to ſtore himſelf with Wood, where he found a Grave with divers buried in it, covered with Seal-Skins only, and a Croſs laid over them. The People are of good Stature, well proportioned, with ſmall ſlender Hands and Feet, broad Viſages, ſmall Eyes, wide Mouths, the moſt Part unbearded, great Lips and cloſe-toothed; they are much given to bleed, and therefore ſtop their Noſes with Deers Hair, or that of an Elan. One of them kindled a Fire after this Manner; He took a Piece of a Board wherein was a Hole half through; then he put into the Hole the End of a round Stick like a Bed-ſtaff, wetting the End thereof with Train-oil, and (as your Turners do) with a piece of Leather by the violent Motion he ſpeedily produced Fire; this done he made a Fire with Turfs, into which, with many Words and ſtrange Geſtures, he put divers things, which we ſuppoſed to be a Sacrifice; they deſired me to go into the Smoak, and I willed them likewiſe to ſtand in the Smoak, which they would by no means do; I then thruſt one of them into the Smoak, and commanded one of my Men to tread out the Fire and ſpurn it into the Sea, to ſhew them that we did contemn their Sorcery. They are very ſimple in their Converſation, but marvelouſly thieviſh, eſpecially of Iron, which they have in great eſteem. They cut away the *Moon-ſhine*'s Boat from her Stem; they cut our Cables and our Cloth where it lay to air, though we did carefully look to it; they ſtole our Oars, a Caliver, a Boat, a Spear, a Sword, with divers other things, which ſo grieved the Company, that they deſired me to diſſolve this new Friendſhip; whereupon I ordered a Caliver to be ſhot among them, and immediately upon the ſame a Falcon; which ſtrange Noiſe did ſo amaze them, that they departed with all Speed; but within ten Hours they returned and intreated a Peace, which being granted, they brought us Seal-Skins and Salmon-Peal, but when they ſaw Iron they could not forbear ſtealing; which when I perceived, I commanded that in no Caſe they ſhould be any more hardly uſed, but that our own People ſhould be more vigilant to keep their things.

“ They eat all their Meat raw; they live moſt upon Fiſh, drink Salt-water, and eat Graſs and Ice with Delight; they make Fiſhing-nets with Whale-Fins; 'tis probable they have Wars with thoſe on the main Land, many of them being ſore wounded, which Wounds they received upon the main Land, as by Signs they gave us to underſtand. The 17th of *July* I went aſhore in our new Pinnace, and with the moſt Part of my Company went to the Top of an high Mountain, hoping from thence to ſee into the Country; but the Mountains were ſo many and ſo lofty that we could not ſee far; we returned to our Pinnace and ſaw a ſtrange Sight, which was a mighty Whirlwind, continuing three Hours with little Intermiſſion, which taking up the Water in great Quantities, furiouſly mounted it into the Air. The next Morning, the Storm being over, we ſailed into a mighty great River, directly into the Body of the Land, and found it to be no firm Land, but huge, vaſt, and deſert Iſlands, with mighty Sounds and Inlets paſſing between Sea and Sea. On the 9th we returned to our Ships, where our Mariners complained heavily againſt the People, that they had ſtolen an Anchor from us, had cut one of our Cables very dangerouſly, and ſpared not to fling Stones at us of half a pound Weight: The next Day I went aſhore and uſed them with much Courteſy, and when I returned they followed me in their Canoes; I gave ſome of them Bracelets, and ſeven or eight of them came on Board, whom I uſed kindly, and let them depart; as ſoon as Sun was ſet they began to practiſe their deviliſh Nature, and with Slings threw Stones very fiercely into the *Sun-ſhine*, and knocked down the Boatſwain; whereupon we purſued them with our Boats, and ſhot at them; but they rowed ſo ſwiftly, that we could not reach them.

“ On the 11th five of them came to make a new Truce; the Maſter acquainted me with their coming, and deſired they might be kept Priſoners until we had our Anchor again; but when he ſaw the chief Ring-leader and Maſter of Miſchief was one of the five, he was then very urgent to have him ſeized, and ſo it was determined to take him; he came crying *Iliaout*, and, ſtriking his Breaſt, offered a Pair of Gloves to ſell; the Maſter offered him a Knife for them: So two of them came to us, one we diſmiſſed, but the other was ſoon made Captive among us; then we pointed to him and his Fellows for our Anchor, which being had, we made Signs to him he ſhould be ſet at Liberty; about an Hour after the Wind came fair, and we ſet ſail and brought him away with us. One of his Companions, following our Ship in his Canoe, talked with him, and ſeemed to lament his Condition; we ſtill uſing him well, and ſaying to him *Iliaout*, *i. e.* we mean no harm, at laſt he aboard ſpake four or five Words to the other, and clapped both his Hands on his Face, the other did the like, and ſo parted; we judged the covering his Face, and bowing down his Body, ſignified his Death; after ſome Time he became a pleaſant Companion among us; I gave him a new ſuit of Frize of the *Engliſh* Faſhion, of which he was very fond; he trimmed up his Darts and all his fiſhing Tools, and would make Okam, and ſet his Hand to the Rope's-end; he fed upon Caplin and dry *Newland* Fiſh. The 17th, being in Latitude of 63° 8′, we fell in with a mighty Maſs of Ice, very high, like Land, with Bays and Capes; and, ſuppoſing it to be Land, we ſent our Pinnace to diſcover it; but, on her Return, we were aſſured that it was only Ice, which cauſed great Admiration to us all, and the rather, becauſe in this Place we had very tickle and ſtrong Currents. We coaſted this Maſs of Ice till the 30th, finding it a great Bar to our Purpoſe. The Air was now ſo foggy, and the Sea ſo peſtered with Ice, that all Hopes of proceeding was baniſhed; for on the 24th of *July* our Shrouds, Ropes, and Sails, were ſo frozen and compaſſed with Ice, only by a groſs Fog, as ſeemed to us very ſtrange, who the laſt Year found this Sea free and navigable without Impediments.

“ Our Men, through this Extremity, began to grow ſick and feeble, and withal hopeleſs of good Succeſs; whereupon, very orderly and diſcreetly, they intreated me to regard onr preſent State, and withal adviſed me, that in conſcience I ought to preſerve my own Life and theirs; and that I ſhould not, through my own Boldneſs, leave their Widows and fatherleſs Children to give me bitter Curſes. This did move me to commiſerate their Condition, yet conſidering the Importance of this Diſcovery if it could be accompliſhed, the great Hopes of a Paſſage by what we had ſeen the laſt Voyage, and that there was yet a third Way to be attempted, I thought it would turn to my Diſcredit if the Action ſhould fail through my Neglect, therefore reſolved to proſecute it; and conſidering the *Mermaid*, by reaſon of her Burden, was not ſo nimble and convenient for this Purpoſe as a ſmaller Bark, and was 100 *l.* a Month Charge to the Adventurers; I determined to revictual the *Moon-ſhine*, and proceed as God ſhould direct me: Whereupon I altered my Courſe to recover the next Shore, where this might be performed; and the 1ſt of *Auguſt* diſcovered Land without Snow or Ice, in Latitude 66° 33′, and in Longitude, from the Meridian of *London*, 70°.

“ On the 2d we anchored in a very good Road, where, with all Speed, we graved and re-victualled the *Moon-ſhine*; we found it here very hot, and we were very much troubled with Muſkitos, which did ſting grievouſly. The People of the Country caught a Seal, and, with Bladders faſt tyed to him, ſent him to us with the Flood, ſo as he came right with our Ship, which we took as a friendly Preſent from them. On the

"5th I went on Top of a Hill, and eſpying three Canoes under a Rock, went to them, and found in them Skins, Darts, &c. whereof we diminiſhed nothing; but left upon every Boat a Silk Point, a Bullet of Lead, and a Pin. The next Day the People came to us without Fear, and bartered with us for Skins; our Savage kept Cloſe, and made Shew that he would fain have another Companion. Being thus provided, I departed on the 12th, leaving the *Mermaid* at Anchor; her Crew finding many Occaſions of Diſcontent, and being unwilling to proceed, here forſook me.

"The 14th, ſailing Weſt fifty Leagues, we diſcovered Land, in Latitude 66 Degrees 19 Minutes; and the next Day we ſtood to the South; and on the 18th diſcovered a very fair Promontory North-weſt from us, in 65 Degrees, having no Land on the South, which gave us great Hopes of a Paſſage. The 20th I went to the Top of a high Hill, whence I perceived that this Land was all Iſlands; we coaſted this Iſland towards the South, from 67 to 57 Degrees. The 28th having great Diſtruſt of the Weather, we arrived in a fair Harbour, and ſailed ten Leagues into the ſame, being two Leagues broad, with fair Woods on both Sides; Here we continued to the 1ſt of *September*, in which Time we had two very great Storms; I went ſix Miles into the Country, and found the Woods were Fir, Pine-apple, Elder, Yew, Withey, and Birch. Here we ſaw a black Bear, and Store of Birds, as Pheaſants, Partridges, wild Geeſe, Bucks, Blackbirds, Jays, Thruſhes, and other ſmall Birds. The 1ſt we ſet ſail, and coaſted the Shore with fair Weather. The 4th we anchored in a good Road, among many Iſlands. Eight Leagues to the North of this Place we had ſtrong Hopes of a Paſſage, by reaſon of a mighty Sea paſſing between the two Lands, Weſt; we greatly deſired to go into this Sea, but the Wind was directly againſt us.

"The 6th we ſent five young Men aſhore to an Iſland, to fetch ſome Fiſh which we had left there covered all Night. The Savages who lurked in the Woods ſuddenly aſſaulted our Men, which we perceiving let ſlip our Cable, and, under our Fore-ſail, bore in to the Shore, and diſcharged a double Muſket upon them twice; at the Noiſe of which they fled, having killed two of our Men with their Arrows, and grievouſly wounded two more; the other eſcaped by ſwimming, with an Arrow ſhot through his Arm.

"This Evening it pleaſed God further to increaſe our Sorrows with a furious Storm at North-north-eaſt, which laſted to the 10th: We unrigged our Ship, and intended to cut down our Maſts; the Cable of our Sheet-Anchor broke, ſo that we expected to be driven on Shore, and become a Prey to the Cannibals; yet, in this deep Diſtreſs, God gave us Succour, and ſent us a fair Sea, ſo that we recovered our Anchor again, and new moored our Ship; where we ſaw that God had manifeſtly delivered us, for two Strands of our Cable were broken. The 11th, the Wind coming fair at Weſt-north-weſt, we departed with Truſt in God's Mercy, ſhaping our Courſe for *England*, and arrived in the Weſt-country the Beginning of *October*, where the *Sunſhine* arrived a few Days before us; ſhe had been at *Iceland*, and from thence to *Groenland*, and ſo to *Eſtotilan*, and thence to *Deſolation*, where ſhe trafficked with the People, ſtaying in the Country twenty Days. They loſt Sight of the Pinnace, called the *North-Star*, on the 3d of *September*, in a very great Storm, and lay a-hull to tarry for her all the next Day; but ſaw her no more: The ſaid Pinnace never returned home."

We find annexed to this Account of Capt. *Davis*'s ſecond Voyage, a Letter of his to Mr. *William Sanderſon*, who ſeems to have been his Patron; in which he excuſes his Want of Succeſs in this Voyage, declares his confident Hope, that ſuch a Paſſage might yet be found, the Improvement of his Knowledge by this laſt Voyage, and his Reſolution to proſecute this Diſcovery to the utmoſt, though it ſhould coſt him the little paternal Fortune he had in the Weſt; and concludes with an Aſſurance, that he would communicate to him a fair and clear Chart of his Voyage, which would give him a perfect Comprehenſion of the Arguments he had to offer in Support of his Notion, that this Paſſage, ſo often attempted in vain, might ſtill be found. This Letter is dated from *Exeter*, the 14th of *October*, 1586; and it had all the good Effects that Capt. *Davis* could expect from it, ſince his Friend ſtill continued to have as good an Opinion of him as ever, and ſo it appears the reſt of his Owners had; but it went no farther than the Approbation of his Conduct in his laſt Voyage, for when he came to propoſe a third Expedition, the Weſt-Country Merchants, and moſt of thoſe in *London*, grew weary of the Expence, and would be concerned no longer. He propoſed, however, to the reſt of the Adventurers, a new Scheme, which took Effect, and it was this: That they ſhould fit out three Veſſels, one of which only ſhould be employed on the Diſcovery, and the other two in Fiſhing; by which he propoſed to defray all, or at leaſt the beſt Part, of the Expence. It is very remarkable that Mr. *Bruton*, who ſerved with Capt *Davis* in his firſt Voyage, accompanied him alſo in this, and ſo did Mr. *John Jane*, who had been his Merchant or Supercargo, and many of his old Seamen; which ſhews the Confidence they had in his Skill, and how ſenſible they were of his Care and good Uſage.

The Veſſels provided for this laſt Voyage were the *Elizabeth* of *Dartmouth*, the *Sunſhine* of *London*, and the *Ellen* which was but very ſmall. As for the Hiſtory of the Voyage, which is but ſhort, we ſhall give it as we did the former, in the Words of the Author. "We departed from *Dartmouth* the 10th of *May*, and diſcovered Land on the 14th of *June*. On the 16th we anchored among many low Iſlands which lay before the high Land; the People came to us crying, *Iliaout*; and ſhewing us Seal-Skins. On the 20th I left the two Ships to follow their Fiſhing, taking their faithful Promiſe not to depart till I returned unto them, which ſhould be in the End of *Auguſt*; but they, finiſhing their Voyage in ſixteen Days, preſently returned for *England*, without regarding their Promiſe, whilſt I not diſtruſting any ſuch hard Meaſure, proceeded on the Diſcovery. On the 24th, in Latitude 67 Degrees, 40 Minutes, the Weather was very hot, thirty Savages came to us in their Canoes, twenty Leagues from the Land, intreating us to go aſhore. I coaſted the Shore of *Groenland*, from the 21ſt to the 30th, having the Sea all open towards the Weſt, and the Land on the Starboard-ſide, Eaſt from me, the Weather extremely hot and very calm. The Sun was five Degrees above the Horizon at Midnight, Latitude 72 Degrees 12 Minutes; the Compaſs in this Place varied 28 Degrees towards the Weſt. The 3d of *July* we fell in again with Ice; and on the 6th put our Bark through it, ſeeing the Sea free on the Weſt ſide; and when we had ſailed five Leagues Weſt we fell in with another mighty Bank of Ice which we could not paſs; therefore returning again, we got clear on the 8th at Midnight, and recovered the open Sea through God's Favour, by giving us fair Winds and calm Weather. On the 15th, in Latitude 67 Degrees 45 Minutes, a great Current ſet us to the Weſt ſix Points from our Courſe.

"On the 19th we had Sight of *Mount Raleigh*. On the 30th we croſſed over a great Inlet or Paſſage, being twenty Leagues broad, and ſituate between 62 and 63 Degrees, in which Place we had eight or nine great Races, Currents, or Over-falls, like the Water under *London-bridge*, and bending their Courſe into the Inlet. The 31ſt, in Latitude 62 Degrees, coming cloſe by a Foreland, we fell into a mighty Race, where an Iſland of Ice was carried by the Force of the Current as faſt as our Bark could ſail with all Sails bearing. This Cape, as it was the Southern Limits of the Gulph we paſſed over Yeſterday, ſo was it the North Promontory, or Beginning of another great Inlet which we paſſed over this Night, where we ſaw the Sea falling down towards the Inlet with a mighty Over-fall, and circular Motion, like Whirlpools, in the ſame manner as forceable Streams force through the Arches of Bridges. On the 10th of *Auguſt*, as we were ſeeking

" our Ship, that went to fiſh, being among many Iſlands " we ſtruck on a Rock, and had a great Leak: The " next Day we ſtopped our Leak, in a Storm; and on " the 15th, being in Latitude 62 Degrees 12 Minutes, " and not finding our Ships, nor (according to their " Promiſe) any Mark or Beacon which I willed them " to ſet up, and they promiſed to do, upon every " Headland or Cape within twenty Leagues every Way " from their Fiſhing-place, and we having but little " Wood in our Ship, and but half a Hogſhead of freſh " Water, I ſhaped my Courſe for *England*, and arrived " at *Dartmouth* the 15th of *September*:"

Upon his Return from this, as after his ſecond Voyage, he wrote a Letter to Mr. *Sanderſon*, dated from *Sandridge*, *September* 16, 1587; wherein he tells him, That he had returned ſafe with all his Company: That he had ſailed ſixty Leagues farther than he intended at his Departure: That he had reached the Latitude of 73 Degrees North, finding the Sea all open, and the Strait forty Leagues broad; concluding from thence, that the Paſſage was moſt certain, and the Execution moſt eaſy; but, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, he was in this miſtaken, which however, does not at all leſſen his Merit or the great Diſcoveries he made, by which he entitled his Country to all this Coaſt of *North America*, the Value of which may hereafter prove as great as any Diſcovery made in this Reign. Neither ought we to eſteem it any Diminution of his Merit, that he was ſo confident of finding a Paſſage this Way to the very laſt; becauſe as far as he, or any Man, could judge, there was indeed great Probability of the Thing, and nothing but ſuch a Spirit as his will ever be able to effect this Diſcovery whenever it ſhall be made.

But he was not only an able Officer and a moſt ſkilful Seaman, but had likewiſe a Head perfectly well turned for making all poſſible Advantages of the Service in which he was employed; as appears from the Minutes of a Memorial of his which I have ſeen, addreſſed to Secretary *Walſingham*; wherein he tells him, That he found many ignorant and malicious People had a very mean Opinion of what he had done, becauſe his Voyages had not anſwered the Expence; but he perſuaded himſelf that ſo wiſe and honourable a Stateſman, would think in a manner different from the Vulgar, and eſteem his Services capable of producing great Advantages to the Nation, even ſuppoſing that no ſuch Paſſage as he expected ſhould be found; in ſupport of which he laid down the five following Points.

I. That it would redound very much to the Honour of the Queen and her Subjects, if the People in theſe Northern Regions were converted to the Chriſtian Faith; in which pious Work many of thoſe buſy and fiery Spirits might be profitably employed, that, by their factious Stirrings at Home, ſerved only to create Confuſion in Church and State: For if theſe People, who ſeemed neither deſtitute of Wit, Induſtry, or valuable Commodities, were once brought over to the Chriſtian Faith, they might ſoon be brought to reliſh a more civilized kind of Life, and be thereby induced to take off great Quantities of our coarſer Woollen Manufactures; which would employ the Poor at Home, increaſe our Shipping, and augment the Number of our Seamen.

II. That in the Judgment of ſuch as were beſt acquainted with the Fiſhing Trade, the Cod he caught were the fatteſt and fineſt that were ever ſeen; and that the Plenty of theſe Fiſh was ſo great as might well encourage the eſtabliſhing an annual Fiſhery at the Mouth of the *Straits*, which would afford immediate Profit, and might lead to future Diſcoveries of greater Importance.

III. That notwithſtanding the Shores of the Countries he had ſeen were bleak and barren, yet the inner Part of the Country might, notwithſtanding, be very rich and fertile: That as the People he had converſed with had ſome of them Utenſils of different Metals, it might be preſumed there were Mines of Value in theſe Countries; and that how little Profit ſoever theſe People might make of them, they might be wrought to great Advantage by ſuch as underſtood them better.

IV. That it was very evident from the ſeveral Voyages he had made, that there was nothing intolerable in theſe northern Climates, and that it would be of great Service to the Nation to keep up a conſtant Succeſſion of Enterprizes on this Side, ſince it might be done with very little Expence at firſt; would contribute to make theſe Parts of the World better known, and ſecure the Advantages derived from them to the *Engliſh*; whereas, if they were diſcontinued or abandoned, other Nations would not fail to make Attempts of the like kind, and ſo come in proceſs of Time to reap the Fruits of other Mens Labour.

V. That the Furs brought from thence were much eſteemed, and allowed to be richer and more valuable than any that came from *Muſcovy*; and that if the Faſhion of wearing them at Court were encouraged, it might prove a means, when all others failed, of promoting this Commerce; for you know right well, moſt honourable Sir, concludes he, that it is a great Secret in Policy to make the Follies of the Extravagant, and the Vanity of the Ambitious, contribute to the Maintenance of Induſtry; ſo that even the Vicious and the Lazy, may of their own Accord furniſh the Rewards of Labour and Virtue.

I ſhall, hereafter, take Occaſion to ſhew, that he has very wiſely and ſenſibly recommended the propagating the Chriſtian Religion, as the moſt proper Means for extending, as well as eſtabliſhing, our Colonies, and rendering them highly beneficial. There is no Queſtion that the ſending a few Preachers to convert any of theſe Nations to Chriſtianity, would be a Thing of greater Conſequence to this Nation, than building many Forts to ſecure our Commerce with *Savages*; for theſe People would then live in Towns, wear Cloaths, cultivate their Lands, and, inſtead of deſtroying and extirpating each other, as at preſent, they would live peaceably, and conſequently grow daily more numerous; which would occaſion ſuch a Conſumption of our Manufactures of all kinds, and ſuch a Return of their Commodities, which is the only true and juſt Standard of Trade, as neither Fraud nor Force can any other way attain. His Reflections, with reſpect to the Expediency of keeping up this northern Navigation, are highly ſenſible, and it would have been much for our Intereſt, if, even at the public Expence, they had been continued; for then Sir *Joſiah Child* would not have ſet down this North Fiſhery among the Number of our loſt Trades, as he does with juſt Reaſon. That our Neighbours would be wiſer in this reſpect than ourſelves, was in itſelf a very ſhrewd, and in Fact has proved a prophetic Obſervation; for the *Dutch* and other Nations ſtill frequent *Davis*'s *Straits*, which we have in a manner deſerted, and employ thereby a vaſt Number of People at home, beſides raiſing annually freſh Supplies of ſkilful and well ſeaſoned Seamen, which a maritime Power ought to regard as a Point of the higheſt Conſequence, and in that View ought to favour moſt ſuch Branches of Commerce as are known to contribute thereto, eſpecially if they are not at a great Diſtance. With theſe Remarks we ſhall diſmiſs this Subject for the preſent, and, as the Nature of our Plan directs, proceed from theſe Diſcoveries in the moſt northern Parts of *America*, to the Attempt made for fixing a Settlement more to the South than any we have yet obtained.

14. The ſpeaking of this Southern Settlement brings us back to Sir *Walter Raleigh*, a Gentleman whoſe Name muſt often occur in all Books that any way relate to *Engliſh* Hiſtory, and whoſe Memory will be ever celebrated by ſuch as can diſtinguiſh any kind of Worth; for he had all and excelled in all. Amongſt the reſt, the compleateſt Courtier of his Time, which perhaps drew upon him more Envy than all his other great Qualities; and I am induced to think ſo from the Nature of thoſe Calumnies by which he was moſt hurt; for though deeply malicious, they were ſo indifferently forged, that they could not bear the leaſt Inſpection; ſo that notwithſtanding they coſt him his Favour often, and his Life at laſt, from the Credulity of Princes, yet they never had any Effect upon his Reputation with wiſe Men in his Life-time, nor have injured his Reputation in the leaſt with Poſterity.

He was always uſeful to his Country, but moſt ſo when he had leaſt Credit at Court. At ſuch Times he did not relinquiſh Buſineſs to go and hide himſelf in Country Retreats, and thence write pitiful Letters and Poems to ſcrew himſelf again into the Affections of the Queen his Miſtreſs, as ſome other of her great Men did, and which he could have done better than any of them; nor did he form Intrigues againſt her Miniſters, and force himſelf into Power and his Sovereign's Preſence; but he took another Road peculiar to, and worthy of, Sir *Walter Raleigh:* He applied himſelf to contrive, and not to contrive only, but to execute, ſuch great and glorious Enterprizes, as raiſed his Fame ſo high, that the Whiſpers of Envy could be no longer heard; and, when the Queen recalled him to her Favour, it never appeared as an Act of Grace, but as a Stroke of Juſtice; ſo that after theſe Receſſes, he ſhone at Court with double Luſtre, and his Miſtreſs, haughty as ſhe was, could not help appearing upon theſe Occaſions proud of the Poſſeſſion of ſuch a Man, and aſhamed of his Abſence.

It was in one of theſe voluntary Exiles that Sir *Walter Raleigh* executed a Deſign he had long meditated, I mean his Expedition to *Guiana*, an Expedition great in itſelf, though unfortunate in its Conſequences; formed upon the moſt noble Principles, and performed with equal Valour and Prudence, and in a Word every way equal to the Genius of its Author, and, Experience has ſince fatally ſhewn, ſuperior to every Genius but his. He ſaw, with Regret, the Plantation of *Virginia* abandoned, and he ſaw that the Want of immediate Profit was the Cauſe; he reſolved therefore to ſtrike out the Means of ſettling a new Colony in another Part of *America*, which ſhould be free from this Inconvenience, and which ſhould transfer the richeſt Products of that Country to the *Engliſh*, if they had but Courage and Conduct enough to fetch them. In order to this he enquired, with the greateſt Diligence, into the State of the Country before mentioned; he ſought from Books and Papers all the Aſſiſtance that could be had of that kind; he drew from perſonal Informations, which were more in his Power than perhaps they ever were in any other Man's, all the Notices that they could give; but he drew the greateſt Lights from his own profound Knowledge and extenſive Experience.

He was undoubtedly as well verſed in all Parts of Philoſophy and natural Hiſtory, as any Man of his Time, and perhaps much better; for, beſides all the Knowledge which reſults from Reading, he had likewiſe a great practical Skill, whence, without doubt, aroſe his confident Belief, that this Country of *Guiana* was the richeſt in *America*, and by conſequence, according to the Opinion of thoſe Times, and indeed of theſe, the richeſt in the World. He did not go thither therefore to ſatisfy his own Mind upon that head, but that he might furniſh himſelf with the Means of ſatisfying others; for he very well knew that it would have been an idle and ridiculous thing in him to think of moving People to attempt a Plantation meerly by a rational and philoſophical Argument, which he knew few would be able to underſtand, and of thoſe that did, many would oppoſe his Sentiments from Pride, and more from Prejudice. He choſe therefore to treat the Riches and Value of this noble Country in the plaineſt way, and as a Point of fact; and foreſeeing that it would be objected, that if it were ſo, and the Facts ſo notorious as he repreſented it, the *Spaniards* would certainly have ſettled there, and not have left it to fall into the Hands of any other Nation; this induced him to draw up a very clear and ſuccinct Account of the ſeveral Methods uſed by the *Spaniards* to diſcover and gain this Country, which at once anſwered the Objection, and proved to ſuch as had an high Opinion of the Judgment formed by the *Spaniards* of the Wealth and Importance of theſe Countries, that *Guiana* was one that deſerved the higheſt Commendations.

Theſe Accounts of his are diſperſed through various Pieces written by him upon this Subject; but, for the Eaſe of the Reader, we ſhall collect and range them in their natural Order, by which means they will become a kind of Supplement to what has already been delivered of the *Spaniſh* Diſcoveries and Conqueſts; this being the ſole Reaſon of our omitting them there, becauſe we foreſaw the Neceſſity of repeating, or at leaſt of recapitulating, them here, for the ſake of explaining Sir *Walter Raleigh*'s Expeditions. We have ſhewn in that Chapter how the Marquis *Pizarro* overthrew the Empire of the Inca's, and made himſelf Maſter of all their Territories, and of a great Part of their Treaſures; and we have likewiſe ſhewn that this was ſo far from ſatisfying his Avarice and Ambition, that he propoſed to extend his Conqueſts beyond the Limits of *Peru*, in order to penetrate into the Heart of *South America*, from the Hopes he had conceived of finding richer Countries there than any he had yet met with.

It was with this View that he ordered his Brother *Gonzalo*, after he had taken Poſſeſſion of *Quito*, which was the laſt Conqueſt of the Inca's, to continue his Expeditions on that Side, though he was ſenſible that he could receive little or no Aſſiſtance from the Informations of the Natives; his Brother accordingly entered the Province of *Los Quitos*; and, after making himſelf Maſter of that Country, the People of which were downright Barbarians in compariſon of thoſe of *Peru*, he determined to paſs the high Mountains which bound that Province on the North, and aſſembled a great many *Indians*, and a good quantity of Cattle for that Purpoſe; but, when he had aſcended half way up theſe Mountains, he found that he had taken his Meaſures wrong, and that the Cold was ſo intenſe, that it would be impoſſible for him to proſecute his March in that Manner. He therefore quitted his Cattle and the beſt Part of his Baggage, reſolving to make all the haſte he could into the plain Countries on the other Side, and truſt to the Proviſions he might meet with there.

Accordingly he deſcended into the Valley of *Zumaque*, which he found very plentiful, and in which therefore he refreſhed his Forces for two Months, endeavouring then to continue his March Northward; but, finding the Road extremely rough and mountainous, he turned directly Eaſt, in hopes of meeting with an eaſier Paſſage; this opened a Way into a new Province well peopled and very rich; the Inhabitants of which were dreadfully amazed at the coming of the *Spaniards* amongſt them, and indeed they very well might, for they behaved towards them in a Manner barbarous beyond Expreſſion; for *Gonzalo Pizarro* exerciſed the greateſt Cruelty imaginable on the Inhabitants of theſe Regions, inſomuch that he gave Men to be eaten alive by his Dogs. This engaged all the Natives to put themſelves in Arms againſt him, ſo that he was obliged to encamp himſelf as in an Enemy's Country; and his Cruelties, together with the Deſpair he was in of ever being able to find what he was ſeeking after, had like to have put an End to his Enterprize at once. He was encamped on the Bank of a River, which ſwelled ſo much in one Night, that if the Sentinels, who perceived the Water was a-pace getting Ground, had not warned them of their Danger, they had been all drowned; but at the Alarm they ſoon ſecured themſelves, by making towards the Cottages of the wild People; and *Pizarro* reſolved to return to *Zumaque*, not knowing what other Courſe to take. From thence he proceeded again with all his Men, and after a March of four Leagues he met with a great Village called *Ampua*, governed by a Cazique, and found a great Number of the Inhabitants in a Poſture of Defence, expecting their Enemy; but there was another and greater Obſtacle in his Way than this Cazique and all his Troops, and that was a River ſo wide and deep that he could have no Thought of venturing to ſwim over it. He could therefore find no better Expedient than to enter into a Treaty with the People of the Country, and to deſire the Help of their Canoes to croſs this River.

The Cazique received this Propoſal with great Civility, offered them what they aſked, and gave them as many of theſe little Boats as they deſired; and on this, *Pizarro* made him a Return of a great many little *Spaniſh* Toys, by way of requital. This Cazique having received Advice of the ill Treatment many of his Neighbours had received from the *Spaniards*, thought of nothing more than how to get rid of them, and to deliver

liver himſelf from the Danger of ſuch bad Gueſts, endeavoured to make them believe there were great Riches to be found among the People that dwelt upon the River, ſome Days Journey lower. *Pizarro*, by his Actions and by his Guides, who were his Interpreters, returned him Thanks for his Courteſy; but, finding no Appearance of thoſe pretended Riches, he returned to *Zumaque* very much diſſatisfied with his Expedition; however, he had too much Courage to retire back to *Quito* juſt as he came. He had a mind therefore to attempt ſome great Exploit, and, by the Diſcovery of ſome other Part, to render himſelf as conſiderable as the Marquis *Pizarro*, his elder Brother: He opened his Mind to *Francis Orellana*, a Gentleman of *Truxillo* in *Spain*, who was come to join him in the Valley of *Zumaque*; and, having taken one hundred effective Soldiers, and ſome *Indians* for Guides and to carry Proviſions, he marched directly to the Eaſt.

Either the Ignorance of his Guides, or the Hatred they bore him, engaged him in a Country all full of Mountains, Foreſts, and Torrents, ſo that he was conſtrained to make Ways where he found none, and to open himſelf a Paſſage through the Woods with Hatchets, where none had ever gone before. At length, after many Days March, he pierced through as far as the Province of *Coca*; the Cazique of which Province came to meet him, and offered him all the Accommodations the Country afforded for his Refreſhment; *Gonzalo* promiſed himſelf much from this kind Entertainment, and by the Aſſiſtance of his Guides entered into Converſation with the Cazique: He informed him, that the Country through which he had paſſed, which was ſo full of Mountains, Foreſts, and Brooks, was the only Paſſage he could have taken to come thither, that, it was extremely difficult to get thro' it; but that if he was willing to embark on the River he ſaw before him, or to follow it by Land, he might aſſure himſelf, that, along the Banks of another River much greater than this, he ſhould find a Country abounding with all Things, whoſe Inhabitants were covered with Plates of Gold. There was no need of ſaying any thing more to *Pizarro*, to incite him to any kind of Enterprize, who preſently ſent two of his Guides to *Zumaque*, with Orders to his Officers to come and join him, who marched immediately; and, ſurmounting all the Difficulties of the Way, arrived, much fatigued, at the Town of *Coca*.

Pizarro having reſted ſome few Days, afterwards put them in Battalia before the Cazique, who was ſo much terrified with them, that he amaſſed almoſt all the Proviſions of his whole Province to make a Preſent of them to *Pizarro*, that by this Magnificence he might civilly acquit himſelf of his new Acquaintance, who was more impatient of his Stay than the other; and the next Morning, having filed his Troops along the River, he took his Leave of the Cazique, preſenting him with a fine Sword, and put himſelf at the Head of his Cavalry, and followed the pleaſant Courſe of the River. This good Way did not laſt long, but they had Rivulets to ſwim over, and were forced to march in uneven Ways, and for forty-three Days, without finding any Proviſions, or any Fords, or Canoes by which to paſs the River. This long March having mightily fatigued our Travellers, they were ſtopped by a very ſurpriſing Sight; the River was preſſed by two Rocks, and on each Side its Paſſage, at no more than twenty Feet Diſtance from one another; and the Water going through this Strait precipitated itſelf into a Valley, and made a Leap of two hundred Fathoms: Here it was that *Pizarro* cauſed that famous Bridge to be made for his Troops to paſs over, which is ſo much boaſted of by the *Spaniſh* Hiſtorians.

But finding the Way not at all better on the other Side, and the Proviſion growing more and more ſcarce every Day, *Pizarro* reſolved to make a Brigantine, to carry by Water all his ſick Men, Proviſions, Baggage, and the Gold which they had got amongſt them. This was no ſmall Difficulty; but Induſtry and Neceſſity ſurmounted it, and the Veſſel being finiſhed, *Pizarro* embarked all in it that hindered his March, and gave the Command of it to *Francis Orellana*, with fifty Soldiers; giving him expreſs Order not to part far from him, but to come every Night to the Camp. He obſerved this Order exactly, till his General, ſeeing all his Men much pinched with Hunger, commanded him to go and ſeek ſome Proviſions and Cottages, where his Men might be refreſhed. *Orellana* had no ſooner received his Orders, but he launched out into the Middle of the River, and the Rapidity of the Stream carried him as faſt as he could wiſh, for he made above one hundred Leagues in three Days, without the Uſe of either Sails or Oars.

The Current of *Coca* carried him into another River which was much larger, but not near ſo ſwift: He made his Obſervations of it one whole Day, and ſeeing that the farther he went down, the more the River widened; he made no doubt but this was that great River which had been ſo often, and in vain ſought after. The Joy he conceived at his good Fortune ſo tranſported him, that it made him quite forget himſelf, ſo that, dreaming only of the Enjoyment of this good Succeſs, and trampling upon his Duty, Oath, Fidelity, and Gratitude, he had now nothing in View but to bring about the Enterprize he was contriving. To this End he perſuaded his Companions, that the Country was not the ſame with that which their General had deſcribed; that it had not that Plenty the Cazique had told him he ſhould find at the joining of the two Rivers; that they muſt certainly float along farther, to find that pleaſant and fertile Country, where they might ſtore themſelves with Proviſions; and beſides, that they all ſaw there was no likelihood of getting up this River again which they came down in three Days, but, as he believed, could not make the ſame Way back again in the Space of a whole Year; that it was much more reaſonable to wait for their Company on this new River; and that, in the mean time, it was neceſſary for them to go and ſeek Proviſions.

Thus concealing his Deſign, he hoiſted Sail; and, abandoning himſelf to the Wind, to his Fortune, and to his Reſolution, he thought of nothing but purſuing the Courſe of the River, till he ſhould diſcover it quite to the Sea. His Companions were amazed at the Manner of his putting in execution the Deſign he had been propoſing to them, and thought themſelves obliged to tell him, that he went beyond the Orders of his General; and that in the extreme Want he was in, they ought to carry him the little Proviſions they could find; and that he had given ſufficient Evidence he had ſome ill Deſign, becauſe he had neglected to leave two Canoes at the Bank of the two Rivers, as the General had appointed him, for his Army to paſs over in. Theſe Remonſtrances were made chiefly by a *Dominican* Friar named *Gaſpar de Carvajal*, and by a young Gentleman of *Badajos* in *Spain*, called *Fernand Sanches de Vargas*. The Conſideration they had for theſe two Perſons, occaſioned a Diviſion in the Company, in this little Veſſel, into two Parties; and from Words they were like to have fallen to Blows, but that *Orellana*, ſtifling their Gratitude by his Diſſimulation, by fair Proteſtations, and great Promiſes, appeaſed this Diſorder.

By means of his Friend he had in the Veſſel, he gained moſt of the Soldiers that were againſt him to his Side; and ſeeing the two Heads of the other Party left almoſt alone, he cauſed *Fernand Sanches de Vargas* to be ſet aſhore, leaving him quite alone, without Victuals and without Arms, in a diſmal Wilderneſs; bounded, on one Side, with high Mountains, and with a River on the other. He had more Prudence than to treat the Friar after the ſame manner, yet he gave him to underſtand, that it was not for him to penetrate any more into the Intentions of his Commander, unleſs he had a mind to be ſeverely chaſtiſed. After this he continued his Voyage; and the next Day, being willing to know if he might depend upon all that were with him for the Succeſs of his Reſolutions, he let them know that he aſpired to a much higher Pitch of Dignity than what he might have obtained in the Service of *Pizarro*: That he owed every thing to himſelf and to his King; and that his Fortune having, as it were, led him by the Hand to the greateſt and moſt deſirable Diſcovery that was ever made in the *Indies*, namely, the great River upon which they were ſailing; which coming out of *Peru*, and running from Weſt to Eaſt, was the fineſt Channel in the new World, through which they might paſs from the Southern to the Northern Sea ; that he could not, without betraying them all, and without raviſhing from them the Fruits of their Voyage and Induſtry, make others ſhare in a Favour which Heaven had reſolved for them alone. By this means he eaſily quieted theſe Murmurs, and brought his Men to have a Share of that Ambition which flamed in his own Breaſt. His Neceſſities forced him aſhore for Proviſions, and, as he did not take theſe with that Gentleneſs and Prudence that became him in a ſtrange Country ; the Natives, unanimouſly took up Arms, and with great Boldneſs fell upon the *Spaniards*, who defended themſelves with much Courage, and killed many of their Antagoniſts with their Croſs-bows ; and upon inſpecting their Bodies, found that ſeveral of them were Women ; as indeed it was no uncommon thing for the *Indian* Women, in that Country, to fight by the Sides of their Huſbands ; but our *Spaniard*, having a romantic Head, improved this ſlight Incident into a formal Hiſtory of a great Nation of *Amazons*, ſettled upon this River : By which Fable he overturned his great Deſign of beſtowing his own Name upon it, and thereby perpetuating the Memory of his Paſſage ; for from this Story of his it received the Name which it ſtill bears, and will always bear, of the River of *Amazons*.

He took care, in the remaining Part of his Paſſage, to behave with more Prudence and Mildneſs to the People he met with, among whom were many gentle, and even polite Nations, as well as others fierce and warlike. In fine, he paſſed quite down the River to the Sea ; and having coaſted about a Cape, now called the *North Cape*, which by the way is the Name the *French* have beſtowed on the Country of *Guiana*, two hundred Leagues from the Iſland of *Trinidada*, he ſailed directly thither, and there bought a Ship to carry him to *Spain* ; where he made ſuch a Report of the Countries he had ſeen, to the Emperor *Charles* V. that he obtained as ample a Commiſſion as he could deſire ; and, in the Year 1549, ſailed with three Ships for the River of *Amazons* ; but this ſecond Expedition was the very reverſe of the firſt, as being unfortunate from the very Beginning ; for a contagious Diſtemper ſpreading among his Men, obliged him to quit two of his three Ships, and afterwards his Company was ſo reduced as to ſail in a ſmall Bark, with which he propoſed to proſecute his Diſcovery ; but being ſhipwrecked on the Coaſt of the *Caraccas*, he there loſt the reſt of his Men, and ſoon after died himſelf on the Iſland of *St. Margaret*, of downright Deſpair.

The ill Succeſs of *Orellana*'s Voyage cooled the ardent Deſire the *Spaniards* had for the Diſcovery of the River of *Amazons*, and it ſeemed quite extinguiſhed by the civil Wars of *Peru*, till the Marquis *de Caguete*, being Viceroy of that Kingdom, a Gentleman of *Navarre*, named *Peter de Orſua*, who had always entertained Thoughts worthy of his great Courage, turned his Deſigns on this great River, and believed he ſhould be more fortunate than *Orellana*. He preſented himſelf to the Viceroy, and propoſed his Deſigns to him, who being well acquainted with his Merit, commended his Reſolution ; and was perſuaded that if ſo difficult a Matter ſhould ſucceed, it muſt be by the Conduct of ſo wiſe and brave a Commander. Moſt of the Gentry came to offer their Service to *Orſua*, who was ſo much in every one's Eſteem, that there was no Soldier ſo old but would leave his Retirement with Pleaſure, to ſerve under ſo excellent a General ; he made choice of ſuch amongſt them as were fit for his Purpoſe ; and to carry on the famous Conqueſt he deſigned he made all neceſſary Proviſions, to which all the Lords and Inhabitants of the Towns contributed with a great deal of Liberality, being well perſuaded that *Orſua* had Qualities that well deſerved to be obliged.

He departed from *Cuſco* in 1560, with the Acclamations and good Wiſhes of all the Inhabitants of that Place : He was attended with above ſeven hundred good Soldiers, and with a conſiderable Number of good Horſes. Being well verſed in the Map of *Peru*, and having been for ſome time laying the Scheme of his Journey, he marched directly to the Province of *Moſilones* firſt, to meet the River *Moyabamba*, by which he was ſure of entering into the River of *Amazons*. One would have hoped, an Attempt ſo wiſely laid, and ſo univerſally approved, ſhould have had an happy Iſſue, yet never was any Project more unſucceſsful ; for *Orſua* had taken with him one Don *Fernand de Guſman*, a young Man lately come from *Spain*, and another more advanced in Years, named *Lopez d' Aguira* of *Biſcay*, a little ill favoured Man, whom he had made his Enſign. Theſe two Wretches fell in love with their General's Lady, whoſe Name was *Agnes*, and who had accompanied her Huſband in all his Travels ; and thinking they had a favourable Occaſion to ſatisfy their Luſt and Ambition together, they engaged *Orſua*'s Troop to revolt, and aſſaſſinated him.

After the Tragical Fact, the Traitors who committed it, who to the Number or ſeven or eight were in a ſtrict Confederacy, elected Don *Fernand de Guſman* for their King, whoſe Mind was vain enough to receive that Title which became him ſo little ; but he did not enjoy it long ; for thoſe very Perſons that had given him the Quality of King, gave him his Death's Wound too ; and *d' Aguira* ſucceeded him, who made himſelf King, notwithſtanding the Remonſtrances of others. He gave all thoſe he had gained to his Party to underſtand, that he intended to make himſelf Maſter of *Guiana*, of *Peru*, and of the new Kingdom of *Grenada* ; and promiſed them all the Riches of thoſe great Kingdoms. His Reign was ſo bloody and barbarous, that the like Tyranny was ſcarce ever heard of in the World. Therefore the *Spaniards*, to this Day, called him *the Tyrant*. However he commanded *Orſua*'s Veſſels, and went down the River *Coca* into *Amazon*, hoping to obtain one of thoſe Kingdoms, and to make a conſiderable Progreſs into it : But having entered the *Amazon*, he was not able to maſter the Current of it, and ſo was conſtrained to ſuffer himſelf to be carried down to the Mouth of the River above a thouſand Leagues from the Place where he embarked, and was driven into the great Channel which goes to the *North Cape*, being the ſame Way *Orellana* had taken before him. Going out of the *Amazon* he came to the Iſland of *St. Margaret*, which is to this Day called the *Tyrant's Port*. There he killed Don *Irean de Villa Andrada*, Governor of the Iſland, and Don *John Sermiento* his Father.

After their Death, with the Aſſiſtance of one *John Burg*, he made himſelf Maſter of the Iſland, plundered it entirely, and there committed unheard of Barbarities ; he killed all that oppoſed him, and paſſed from thence to *Cumana*, where he exerciſed the ſame Cruelties. He after that deſolated all thoſe Coaſts that bear the Name of *Caraccas*, and all the Provinces along the Rivers *Venezuella* and *Bacho*. He then came to *St. Martha*, where he put all to the Sword, and entered the new Kingdom of *Grenada*, deſigning to march from thence through *Quito* into *Peru*. In this Kingdom he was forced to a Battle, in which he was utterly defeated and put to Flight, and all Ways being ſtopped, when he found he muſt periſh, he thereupon began his Tragedy with a Sort of Barbarity without Example. He had a Daughter by his Wife *Mendoza*, that had followed him in all his Expeditions, and whom he loved entirely : Daughter (ſaid he to her) I muſt kill thee ; I deſigned to have placed thee on a Throne, but ſince Fortune oppoſes it I am not willing thou ſhouldſt live to ſuffer the Shame of becoming a Slave to my Enemies, and of being called the Daughter of a Tyrant and a Traitor : *Die, my Child, die by the Hand of thy Father, if thou haſt not Courage enough to die by thy own :* She, ſurprized at this Diſcourſe, deſired him, at leaſt, to give her ſome time to prepare for Death, and to beg of God the Pardon of her Sins. This he granted, but, thinking her too tedious in her Devotion, as ſhe was praying upon her Knees he ſhot her through the Body with a Carbine ; but having not killed her outright, he ſtuck his Dagger into her Heart, and ſhe falling down at the Stroke, cry'd, *Ah Father, 'tis enough*. Soon after her Death he was taken Priſoner, and carried to the Iſland *la Trinidada*, where he had a conſiderable Eſtate. His Proceſs was made, and he condemned to be quartered. He was publickly executed ; his Houſes razed to the

Ground, and the Places where they ſtood ſowed with Salt.

I choſe to mention the Attempts of the *Spaniards* to penetrate into this Country on the South-ſide; firſt, that I might end with thoſe Attempts made by the ſame Nation upon the North, by the great River *Oronoco*, or, as moſt of our *Engliſh* Writers write it, after the *French* Manner, *Oronoque*, by which alſo Sir *Walter Raleigh* made his Attempt. The firſt Perſon we read of who engaged in this Deſign of finding and making himſelf Maſter of the Inca's new City of *Manoa*, was *Diego de Ordaca*, who ſailed from *Spain* with a great Force for this Purpoſe, in the Year 1531; which, by the way, ſhews how early this Notion was taken up, and that it was not, as is commonly believed, invented by the *Indians*, to rid themſelves of *Gonzalo Pizarro*. This *Diego de Ordaca*, with ſix hundred Foot and thirty Horſe, reached the *Oronoco*, where, by a Series of unlucky Accidents, too long for us to relate, his Expedition was totally ruined: Yet one of theſe Accidents proved the Means (as the *Spaniards* pretend and believe) of making a full Diſcovery of this famous City; and the Story is thus told: When *Ordaca* came firſt upon this Coaſt, and anchored in the Harbour of *Morequito*, his Magazine of Powder, by ſome Miſchance, blew up; and this being imputed to the Careleſneſs of *Juan Martinez*, his Maſter Gunner, he was condemned to be ſhot for it; but the Seamen prevailed to have this Puniſhment changed into his being put alone into a little Canoe, with his Arms only, and without any Proviſions, and ſo committed to the Mercy of the Wind and Waves.

In this wretched Condition he was found by ſome of the *Indians*, or Savages, who, having never ſeen a white Man before, paſſed him about from one Place to another, till he came to the Royal City of *Manoa*, where the King no ſooner ſaw him than he knew him to be a Chriſtian and a *Spaniard*, for this happened but a very little after the Marquis *Pizarro* had deſtroyed the Empire of the Inca's in *Peru*. This Prince, however, received him civilly enough, though he was far from forgetting the Cruelties exerciſed by the *Spaniards* on his Countrymen. He kept him ſeven Months at *Manoa*; but in all that time he was never ſuffered to go without the City, or even to paſs through the Streets of it, without a Guard, and a Cloth bound over his Eyes. At the End of this Space, when it was perceived that *Martinez* had acquired, in ſome meaſure, the Language of the Country, the King ſent for him, and propoſed two Things to his Choice, *viz.* either to remain with him as long as he lived, or to return into his own Country, and he choſe the latter; upon which the King ſent him under a Guard the ſhorteſt way to the River *Oronoco*; but, at the Time he diſmiſſed him, he was pleaſed to beſtow on him, as a Mark of his Favour, a conſiderable Quantity of Gold, which, however, was taken from him by the Savages on the Frontiers, and by the *Oronocoponi*, a Nation ſo called from their living upon the Banks of that great River. They left him, however, two large Bottles, in which they thought he kept his Drink, but which were really filled with Gold Duſt, and theſe he brought along with him to the Iſland of *Trinidada*, from whence he went afterwards to *St. Juan de Puerto Rico*, where he lived for ſome Time, and from whence he intended to have procured a Paſſage to *Spain*; but being ſeized there with a mortal Diſeaſe, after he had received the extreme Unction, and ſaw no Hopes of Life, he cauſed his two Bottles of Gold to be brought, and the Account he had written of his Voyage: The Gold he gave to the Church for Maſſes to be ſaid for his Soul, and the Relation of his Voyage was entered, at large, in the Regiſters of the Chancery of *St. Juan de Puerto Rico*.

To this *Martinez* the *Spaniſh* Writers unanimouſly aſcribe the Diſcovery of this famous City, which he ſtiled *Manoa el Dorado* or the *Golden Manoa*, on account of the prodigious Quantities of that Metal which he had ſeen there, in their Palaces, Temples, and other public Edifices, but more eſpecially in their drunken Feaſts, of which he gave the following very ſingular Account: That thoſe who drank with the King were quite naked, and having their Bodies rubbed over with a kind of thin gummy Balſam, they were then powdered with gold Duſt, ſo as to be gilt from Head to Foot; this Relation, whether true or falſe, proved of very fatal Conſequence to the *Spaniards*, for it gave Occaſion to, ſome ſay twenty, others ſixty, ſeveral Expeditions in ſearch of this golden City, all of them with very indifferent Succeſs. *Juan Cortez* attempted it with thirty Men, but neither he nor they were ever heard of more. *Gaſpar de Sylva*, and his two Brothers, ſailed with two hundred Men from the *Canaries* to reinforce *Diego de Ordaca*; and, after taking a great deal of Pains, to no Purpoſe, returned to the Iſland of *Trinidada*, where they died.

Another Adventurer, in the ſame way, was Don *Pedro Hernandez de Serpa*, who landed at *Cumana*, and afterwards marched by Land on the Banks of the *Oronoco* till he came to an *Indian* Nation called *Wikiri*, who oppoſed his further Paſſage, and attacked his Men with ſuch Fury, that only eighteen of his *Spaniards* eſcaped from the Battle; yet this Enterprize was of particular Service to Sir *Walter*; for it fell out that when Captain *Amias Preſton* took the City of *St. Jago de Leon* by Storm, he made one of theſe Adventurers Priſoner, who gave him a large Account of the vaſt Riches the *Spaniards* hoped to find in this Country, which coming to the Ears of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, induced him to make diligent and ſtrict Search into the Original of this Story, whence he came to collect a Multitude of Hiſtories, relating to this Matter, of which we have given the Reader only a few, that he might ſee upon what Grounds this Expedition was undertaken, or rather what Reaſon Sir *Walter Raleigh* thought fit to aſſign for his Voyage, in order to draw ſuch an Approbation of it as was neceſſary, from thoſe whom nothing but a Shew of vaſt and immediate Profit could tempt; for, I muſt confeſs, it ſeems very doubtful to me, whether Sir *Walter Raleigh* gave entire Credit to theſe Accounts, or not; but whatever his own Opinion was, he had certainly a Right to uſe them as popular Arguments for promoting his Deſign, ſince no Politician ever doubted that it is lawful to cheat Men as well as Children for their own Good. But he took care to provide Reaſons of another Nature, for Men of other Minds: He ſhewed them that of all the Countries in *America* the moſt profitable, the beſt ſituated, the eaſieſt planted, the moſt defenſible, was *Guiana*. Theſe Notes of Excellency I have collected from his Writings upon this Subject, which are very artfully immethodical, and, under an apparent Careleſneſs of Stile and Order, are ſo wrote, as to affect the Mind of the Reader with an Opinion, that he has made Diſcoveries in Sir *Walter*'s Treatiſe, by penetrating into thoſe Secrets, which he meant to conceal; while, alas! the true Secret is, that he meant thus to catch us, and make every Man's Underſtanding revolt in his Favour.

It was neceſſary, in his Time, and more eſpecially to him; and therefore his Deſign is as commendable as his Execution is inimitable. But that he might proceed cautiouſly in an Affair of ſuch Importance, he ſent before him one Capt. *Whiddon*, to take a View of the Coaſt, that he might be perfectly informed of the State things were then in, and thereby become more able to take the proper Meaſures for overcoming thoſe Difficulties, which a Man of leſs Sagacity would have deemed inſuperable. This Gentleman did his Buſineſs effectually, though he met with ſome Obſtruction from the Force, and ſuffered much greater Inconveniences from the Frauds of the *Spaniards*, who were at that Time bent upon the ſame Deſign, and labouring with the utmoſt Diligence to diſcover and ſecure this valuable Country.

Among other Adventurers there was one *Gonzales Ximenes de Caſada*, a Man of greater Courage than good Fortune; who, after having had a large Share in the Conqueſt of *New Grenada*, attempted to penetrate into *Guiana*; but after a great Expence, and incredible Fatigue, to no Purpoſe, was obliged to return, diſappointed indeed, but not in Deſpair. This Gentleman had an only Daughter, whom he married to Don *Antonio de Berreo*; to whom, with a large Fortune, he bequeathed this Expedition, taking from him an Oath, that he would proſecute the Diſcovery and Conqueſt of *Guiana*, to the laſt Hour of his Life. He, to fulfil this Obligation, underetook this Enterprize, with ſeven hundred Horſe, attended by a vaſt Number of *Indian* Slaves; but after marching five hundred Leagues in purſuit of this Project, he was obliged to return, but brought with him from the Frontiers of *Guiana* forty Plates of Gold, and many other valuable Curioſities, ſufficient to fortify him in his Reſolution not to abandon the Deſign. It was this *Berreo* that Captain *Whiddon* had to deal with, and of whom he made a very bad Report on his return.

When Sir *Walter*'s Project was ripe for Execution, he was aſſiſted by the Lord Admiral *Howard* and Sir *Robert Cecil*, ſo that in the beginning of the Year 1595 he was ready to proceed; and it appears, from his Relation, that he had in the whole five Ships. He does not tells us the Name of his own, which he commanded in Perſon; though, as to the reſt, he diſtinguiſhes them plain enough; ſo that we perceive the *Lion's Whelp*, which was the Lord Admiral's, was commanded by Captain *George Gifford*; Captain *Keymis* had the Command of a Galego, beſides a Bark, which was committed to Captain *Croſs*, and another to Captain *Calfield*. The whole Number of Men in this Fleet is not mentioned; but the ſelect Company of Officers, Gentlemen, and Soldiers, he uſed in his Diſcoveries, exceeded not one hundred.

Thus prepared he departed from *Plymouth* on the 6th of *February* following, and ſailed to the *Grand Canaries*, and ſo to *Teneriff*, where he waited a while for the *Lion's Whelp*, and for Captain *Amias Preſton*. But this Captain diſappointed him, and went upon another Adventure, which proved ſome Diſadvantage in the Proſecution of his Diſcoveries. After waiting ſeven or eight Days to no Purpoſe, he ſailed with his own Ship and a Bark, commanded by Captain *Croſs*, to the Iſland of *Trinadada*, where he arrived the 22d of *March*, and ſpent a conſiderable Space of Time in viewing that Iſland, examining all its Ports and Havens, and even every little Creek, with infinite Care and Exactneſs. The Reaſons which moved him to this Stay, were two; the firſt, that he might revenge himſelf upon *Berreo* for the Injuries he had done Captain *Whiddon*'s People, eight of whom he betrayed into his Hands, and then uſed them barbarouſly; the other was, that he might obtain ſome Account of the Continent, and of the moſt proper Method for entering into *Guiana*, in both of which he ſucceeded, in ſpite of all the Care the *Spaniſh* Governor could take to hinder it. At laſt, perceiving that the *Spaniards* were contriving Meaſures for his Deſtruction, and knowing there could be nothing more fatal than to leave an Enemy at his Back, he reſolved to make himſelf Maſter of this Place, which he knew would gain him the Friendſhip, as well as ſecure him the Obedience, of the *Indians*, who by the *Spaniards* were moſt cruelly oppreſſed. Accordingly he ſent Captain *Calfield* to attack the Main-guard with ſixty Men, and, following himſelf with forty more, reduced the Town of *St. Joſeph* without much Trouble.

The Inhabitants he ſet at Liberty, keeping only the Governor and his *Spaniards* Priſoners; and afterwards at the Requeſt of the *Indians*, burnt the Place; but though he gratified them in this Reſpect, yet, in all others, he acted towards his Priſoners and more eſpecially towards the Governor, with ſo much Civility and Kindneſs, that he drew from him a faithful Account of all his Adventures in Purſuit of the Deſign before-mentioned. The ſame Day that *Raliegh* made his Conqueſt arrived Captain *Gifford* and Captain *Keymis*, and in their Ships divers Gentlemen, and others, which to his little Army was a great Succour and Solace. Then, proceeding upon his Diſcovery, *Raliegh* firſt called all the Chiefs of the Iſland together, who were Enemies to the *Spaniards*; for ſome of them *Berreo* had brought out of other Countries, and planted there to eat out and waſte the Natives; then by the *Indian* Interpreter, whom he carried out of *England*, he made them underſtand, "He was the Servant of a Queen, who was the greateſt Cazique in the North, and a Virgin, who had more Caziques under her Command than there were Trees in that Iſland; that ſhe was an Enemy to the *Caſtelans*, in regard of their Tyranny and Oppreſſion; and, having freed all the Coaſts of the northern World from their Servitude, had ſent him to free them alſo; and withal, to defend the Country of *Guiana* from their Invaſion and Conqueſt." Then he ſhewed them her Majeſty's Picture, which they ſo admired and honoured, that it had been eaſy to have made them idolatrous thereof.

The like and larger Speeches he made in a ſolemn Manner to the reſt of the Nations, both in his Paſſage to *Guiana* and to thoſe of the Borders, ſo as in that part of the World the Queen of *England*'s Fame was diffuſed, with great Admiration. This done, *Raliegh* returned to *Curiapan*; and though he had learnt of *Berreo* that *Guiana* was ſome hundred Miles farther than the Accounts he had received of Captain *Whiddon* had repreſented it, he kept the Knowledge thereof from his Company, who he much feared would have been diſcouraged thereby from proſecuting the Diſcovery. When *Raliegh* had farther gathered from *Berreo* the Proceedings of the paſt Adventurers and his own, he told him he was come upon the ſame Deſign, and was reſolved to ſee *Guiana*. *Berreo* uſed many Arguments to diſſuade him; as that he muſt venture in very light and ſmall Boats, to paſs ſo many dangerous Shallows, and could not carry Victuals enough above half the way; that none of the Country would ſpeak with him, and if he followed them would burn their Towns; beſides, the Way was long, the Winter at hand, and the Rivers beginning to ſwell; but above all, that the Kings and Lords who bordered upon *Guiana*, had decreed that none of them ſhould trade with any Chriſtians for Gold, becauſe the ſame would be their own Overthrow. *Raliegh*, reſolving however to make trial, directed his Vice-Admiral Captain *Gifford* and Captain *Calfield* to turn Eaſtward againſt the Mouth of the River *Capuri*, and gave them Inſtructions to enter at the Edge of the Shole, and upon the beſt of the Flood to thruſt over, but they laboured in vain, nor did the Flood continue ſo long, but the Water fell before they could paſs the Sands, tho' they uſed all the Skill and Diligence they could.

Then *Raliegh* ſent one *King*, Maſter of the *Lion's Whelp* to try another Branch, called *Amana*, if either of the ſmall Ships would enter; but when he came to the Mouth, he found it like the reſt; after him went *John Dowglas*, who diſcovered four fair Entrances, but all ſhole and ſhallow in the Bays leading to them. In the mean time *Raliegh*, fearing the worſt, cauſed his Carpenter to cut down an old Galego Boat, to fit her with Banks for Oars, and ſo as ſhe might draw but five Feet. In this went *Raleigh* with Gentlemen and Officers, to the Number of threeſcore; in the *Lion's Whelp* Boat and Wherry, they carried twenty; Captain *Calfield*, in his Wherry, carried ten; and a Barge of *Raleigh*'s ten more; this was all the Means they had, having left their Ships at *Curiapan*, to carry a hundred Men with Weapons and Proviſions for a Month, expoſed to all the Extremes of the Weather, all the Hazards of the Water, to lie open to the Air, and upon hard Boards by Night in Storms of Rain, or under the burning Sun by Day: to ſmell the wet Clothes of ſo many crowded together, the dreſſing of their Food, and that moſtly ſtale Fiſh, in the ſame Place, to be in ſuch a Labyrinth of Rivers, in ſuch a remote unknown Region; what Priſon could be more loathſome and unhealthy, what Proſpect more fearful and deſolate? At firſt ſetting out they had twenty Miles of a high Sea to croſs in theſe crazy Boats, ſo that they were driven before the Wind into the Bottom of the Bay of *Guanipa*, inhabited by inhuman Cannibals, who ſhot poiſoned Arrows, and from thence to enter one of the Rivers of which *Dowglas* had brought Tidings. After four Days they got above the Force of the Tide, and might have wandered a Year about, and never been able to extricate themſelves, in ſuch a general Confluence or Rendezvous of Streams were they now bewildered, and ſo reſembling one another, as not to be diſtinguiſhed, but imperceptibly circulating and driving them about into the ſame Place where they had been before, paſſing between many Iſlands and Straits, whoſe

Borders were ſo thickly arched and overſhadowed with Trees, as bounded their Sight to the Breadth of the River and the Length of the Avenue, while the Gloomineſs of the Proſpect added Horror to the Loathſomneſs of the Places in which they were confined.

At length, on the 22d of *May*, 1595, they fell into a River, which, becauſe it had no Name, they called the *Red Croſs River*, theſe being the firſt Chriſtians who ever entered the ſame: When they drew into a Creek, which led to a Town upon this River, their *Indian* Pilot, named *Ferdinando*, landing, was ſet upon by his Countrymen, who hunted him with Dogs; whereupon *Raleigh* ſeized an old Man paſſing that Way, and threatened to cut off his Head, if he did not procure his Pilot's Liberty; but he, by his Agility, ſoon eſcaped them, and ſwam to *Raleigh*'s Barge; however, they kept the old Man, and uſed him kindly, aſſuring themſelves of uſeful Information from a Native, ſo long converſant in thoſe Parts. And indeed, but for this Accident, they had never found their Way forward to the Country they ſought, nor back to that where their Ships lay; the old Man himſelf being often in the utmoſt Perplexity which River to take, ſo numerous and intricate they were. The People who inhabit the Countries at the Mouth of this great River, are comprehended under the general Name of *Tivitivas*, a bold and hardy Race of People, who know the Value of Liberty, and have Courage enough to defend it: They live in Houſes during the Summer, or dry Seaſon, but in the Wet or Winter Months they live in little Huts, which are built upon Trees, a Thing common enough on this Coaſt and even in the *Eaſt-Indies* where the Countries are exceſſively wet.

After this *Raleigh*'s Barge ran a-ground, and that with ſuch Force, that it did not ſeem very probable they ſhould be able to get her off; ſo that the Diſcovery ſeemed at a ſtand; but on the fourth Day after this Accident happened they ſet her on float, and, ſtriking into the *Amana*, one of the nobleſt Branches of the *Oronoco*, they continued their Voyage, but with incredible Fatigue. As they were now within five Degrees of the Line, Sir *Walter* was forced to keep up their Spirits by directing his Pilots to give them Hopes from time to time that their Labours would ſoon have an End. At length, the old *Indian* Pilot they had on board, perceiving that their Proviſions were quite exhauſted, and that they were in danger of periſhing without an immediate Supply, told them, that if they would venture up a River on their right Hand, he would bring them to a Town where they might be ſure of Refreſhments, and be able to return before Night. Sir *Walter* took him at his Word, and went immediately into his Boat with eight Muſketeers, followed by the Captains *Gifford* and *Calfield* in their Wherries, with eight Men a-piece. But it appeared, that the *Indian* Pilot had learned Sir *Walter*'s Art, for they not only rowed all Day, but all Night, without ſeeing any Town, and a leſs prudent Captain than he would have been tempted to have puniſhed the Pilot for giving them falſe Hopes. Yet about One the next Morning they reached this long expected Town, and obtained thoſe Supplies of which they ſtood ſo much in need. In the mean time the Company in the Galley manned out a Boat in ſearch of them, but next Day they returned and continued their Courſe. After they had made this hungry and hazardous Voyage for fourſcore Miles in that River, which, beſides other ſtrange Fiſhes of marvellous Bigneſs, abounded with Crocodiles, whence the People named it the River of *Lagartis*, *Raleigh* had a very proper young Negro attending upon him in his Galley, who, leaping out to ſwim in the Mouth of this River, was in the Sight of them all inſtantly devoured by one of theſe amphibious Animals.

Not long after, being again in want of Victuals, they took two Canoes laden with excellent Bread, being run aſhore by the *Indians* in them, called *Arwaycas*, who fled to hide themſelves in the Woods, fearing, through the Prepoſſeſſions of the *Spaniards*, that *Raleigh* and his Company were Cannibals. *Raleigh*, purſuing them, in hopes of ſome Intelligence, found, as he was creeping through the Buſhes, a Refiner's Baſket; in which were Quickſilver, Salt-petre, and divers other Materials for the Trial of Metals, and alſo the Duſt of ſome Ore that had been refined. But in two other Canoes that eſcaped them, they heard of a good Quantity of Ore and Gold. *Raleigh* then landed more Men, and offered 500 *l.* to any of his Soldiers who ſhould take one of the *Spaniards*. He found the *Arwaycas* hidden in the Woods, who had been Pilots to the *Spaniards*, of which *Raleigh* kept the Chief for his Pilot, and carried him to *Guiana*; by whom he underſtood in what Parts the *Spaniards* laboured for Gold, which he divulged to two of his Company, knowing both the Seaſon of the Year and other Conveniencies would be wanting to work any Mine himſelf. After recruiting his People with wholeſome Refreſhments, he continued his Voyage: The Men ſeemed now quite as well pleaſed as their Commander had been from the Beginning, and of their own Accord offered to go as far as he would; ſo that on the 15th Day from their leaving their Ships he entered the great River *Oronoco*, and had an Opportunity of ſatisfying himſelf as to the Number and Names of the *Indian* Nations that inhabited both Sides of it.

After having paſſed the Mountain *Aio*, and a great Iſland which he mentions, he reached on the fifth Day of his entering the great River aforeſaid, as high as the Province of *Aromaia*, and anchoring at the Port of *Morequito*, which is full three hundred Miles within the Land, upon the ſaid great River *Oronoco*, he ſent a Meſſenger to the old King of *Aramaia*, named *Topiowary*, who came the next Day before Noon on Foot from his Houſe, and returned the ſame Evening, being twenty-eight Miles backwards and forwards, though himſelf was one hundred and ten Years of Age. He had many Attendants of both Sexes, who came alſo to wonder at the *Engliſh*, and brought them great Plenty of Fleſh and Fiſh, with divers ſorts of Fruits. When the old King had refreſhed himſelf a while in the Tent, which *Raleigh* had cauſed to be pitched for him, they entered by the Interpreter into Diſcourſe about the Murder of *Morequito* his Predeceſſor, and the other Barbarities of the *Spaniards*. Then *Raleigh* acquainted him with the Cauſe of his coming thither, whoſe Servant he was, and that it was his Queen's Pleaſure he ſhould undertake this Voyage for their Defence, and to deliver them from the Tyranny of the *Spaniards*, dilating at large (as he had done before at *Trinidada)* on her Majeſty's Power, her Juſtice, and her Clemency towards all oppreſſed Nations; all which being with great Reverence and Attention received, he began to ſound the old Man touching *Guiana*, as what Sort of Commonwealth it was; how governed; of what Strength and Policy; of what Extent; with whom in Alliance or Enmity; laſtly, the Diſtance and Way to enter the Heart of the Country. The King gave ſuch an ample and perfect Account of theſe Particulars, that *Raleigh* wondered to find a Man of ſuch Gravity, Judgment, and good Diſcourſe, without the Help of Learning or Breeding.

After his Departure *Raleigh* ſailed Weſtward to view the famous River *Caroli*, both becauſe it was ſo wonderful in itſelf, and led to the ſtrongeſt Nations of all the Frontiers, who were Enemies to the *Epuremei*, Subjects to the Inca or Emperor of *Guiana*, and *Manoa*: Even when he was ſhort of it, or lower down than the Port of *Morequito*, he heard the roaring Falls of this River; but when he entered it with his Barge and Wherries, thinking to have gone up ſome forty Miles to the *Caſiagotos*, he was not able, with a Barge of eight Oars, to row one Stone's Throw in an Hour, and yet the River is as broad as the *Thames* at *Woolwich*. Therefore encamping on the Banks, he ſent off an *Indian* to acquaint the Nation upon the River of his Arrival and his Purpoſe, and that he deſired to ſee the Lords of *Canuri*, who dwelt in that Province. Then one of the Princes came down, named *Wanuretona*, with many of his People, and brought great Store of Proviſions, as the reſt had done. By him *Raleigh* found the *Carolians* were not only Enemies to the *Spaniards*, but moſt of all to the *Epuremei*, who abounded in Gold; and that there were three mighty Nations at the Head of that River which would join them againſt them; he was farther informed, by one Captain *George*, whom he had taken with *Berreo*, that near the Banks of this River there was a great Silver Mine, but the Rivers were now all ſo riſen, that it was not poſſible for the Strength of Men, with any Boat, to row againſt the Stream. Therefore he diſpatched a Party of between thirty and forty to coaſt the River by Land, while himſelf with a few Officers and half a dozen Shot, marched over Land to view the ſtrange and wonderful Overfalls of the ſaid River *Caroli*, which roared at ſuch a Diſtance, and the Plains adjoining, with the reſt of the Province of *Canuri*.

When they had got to the Top of the firſt Hills, overlooking the River, they beheld that prodigious Breach of Water which poured down *Caroli*, and how it ran in three Streams for twenty Miles together; no leſs than ten or a Dozen of the ſteep Cataracts appeared in Sight, each as high above the other as a Church Tower, which ruſhed down with ſuch Violence, that the very Rebound of the Waters made the Place ſeem as if it had been all over covered with a great Shower of Rain; and in ſome Places they took it at firſt for a thick Smoak which had riſen out of ſome great Town, till they drew nearer down in the Valley to this Thunder of Waters, where they better diſcerned and diſtinguiſhed the Effects of it. And here *Raleigh* ſays he never ſaw a more beautiful Country, nor more lively Proſpects; the Hills ſo raiſed up and down about the Valleys; the Waters winding into ſuch various Branches; the Plains ſo clear of Bruſh and Shrub, and covered all with fair green Graſs; the Ground of hard Sand, and eaſy for the March either of Horſe or Foot; the Deer croſſing in every Path; the Birds towards the Evening ſinging on every Tree a thouſand ſeveral Tunes, with Cranes and Herons, of White, Crimſon, and Carnation, perched along the River-Banks; the Air refreſhed with gentle eaſterly Breezes, and every Stone they ſtooped to take up, promiſing either Gold or Silver by its Complexion. His Company, at their Return, brought ſeveral of thoſe Stones home, which they rather found coloured outwardly like Gold, than any of that Metal fixed in them; for thoſe who had leaſt Judgment or Experience, kept only ſuch as glittered, and would not be perſuaded but they were rich, becauſe they ſhone; and thereby bred an Opinion that all the reſt were no better. Yet ſome of theſe Stones *Raleigh* ſhewed afterwards to a *Spaniard* of the *Caraccas*, who told him it was *El Madre del Oro*, that is, the Mother of Gold, and that the Mine was farther in the Ground: He received alſo many other Informations from theſe People, ſome of which, however, ſeemed to border upon thoſe fabulous Accounts delivered by Antiquity, but always ſuſpected by Men of Senſe; which *Raleigh* reports, but with due Caution.

While he lay at Anchor near the Banks of the *Caroli*, he ſpared no Pains that were requiſite to gain a thorough Knowledge of the Names and Manners of the ſeveral *Indian* Nations that lay farther within the Country, which was all, in that reſpect, left in his Power; there being many Reaſons which rendered his farther Stay improper, and his Return to his Fleet a Point of abſolute Neceſſity; for he had been now abſent above a Month, had wandered in that Space above four hundred Miles from the Sea-Coaſts; and beſides the Winter was coming on very faſt, and the great River began to riſe. Beſides all this, they had no Inſtruments with them to open Mines; and if they advanced farther, were to act againſt a numerous, civilized, and warlike People; ſo that, having done more with a Handful of People, and that too in fewer Days than the *Spaniards* had been Years in ſearching for this Country, he very wiſely reſolved to ſubmit to Neceſſity, and ſeek the ſhorteſt Way back to his Ships. Yet as he returned to the Eaſt, he ſpent ſome Time in diſcovering the River towards the Sea, which he had not ſurveyed, and which he thought alſo neceſſary to do: In a Day's time he arrived again at the Port of *Marequito*; for, gliding down the Stream, he went, without Labour, though againſt the Wind, little leſs than one hundred Miles a Day; when he came to anchor, he was very deſirous of farther Conference with old *Topiowary*, who ſoon came with a Multitude of his People flocking down to *Raleigh*'s Tent upon the Shore, loaded with Preſents.

When the old King was refreſhed, and the Crowd retired, *Raleigh*, by his Interpreter, entered into a long Conference with him, telling him, that as both the *Epuremei* and the *Spaniards* were his Enemies, the one having conquered *Guiana* already, and the other endeavoured to get it from both, he deſired to be inſtructed, both in the beſt Way to the golden Parts of *Guiana*, and the civilized Towns of the Inca. The King anſwered, He could not perceive *Raleigh* meant to proceed to the great City of *Manoa*, becauſe neither the Seaſon of the Year, nor the Strength of his Company, would enable him; for he remembered that in the Plains of *Maquregu̇arai*, the firſt Town of *Guiana*, where all the Gold Plates were made, which were ſcattered over the neighbouring Nations, and above four Days Journey from his own, three hundred *Spaniards* were deſtroyed, who had no Friends among the Borderers; he therefore adviſed *Raleigh* never to invade the ſtrong Parts of *Guiana*, without the Help of all thoſe Nations which were their Enemies. *Raleigh* aſked, If he thought the Company he had with him were ſufficient to take that Town? The King thought they were, and offered to aſſiſt him with all his Borderers, if he would leave him a Guard of fifty Men upon his Departure.

But *Raleigh*, knowing if they ſhould eſcape the *Guianians*, the *Spaniards*, expecting Supplies, would repay upon him his Treatment at *Trinidada*, very plauſibly excuſed himſelf. Hereupon the King deſired he would forbear him and his Country at this Time; for if the *Epuremei* ſhould know he had given *Raleigh* any Aid or Intelligence, he ſhould ſoon be over-run by them; nor could he avoid the *Spaniards* if they ſhould return, who had before led him, ſeventeen Days, in a Chain like a Dog, till he paid a hundred Plates of Gold, and ſeveral Chains of Spleen-ſtones, for his Ranſom; but if *Raleigh* would return in due Seaſon next Year, he would engage all the Borderers in the Enterprize; for that he could not more deſire to make himſelf Maſter of *Guiana*, than they to aſſiſt him, having been plundered in their Wars by the *Epuremei* of their Women, whom to recover, they would willingly renew the War, without Hopes of farther Profit; for the old King complained of it as a Matter of grievous Reſtraint, that now they were confined to three or four Wives apiece, who were wont to enjoy ten or a Dozen, while the Lords of their Enemies had no leſs than fifty or a hundred; but they ſeem to have had a political Reaſon for this Recovery, to ſtrengthen their Alliance, and increaſe their Forces; thoſe Frontiers having been much depopulated, between the Subjects of the Inca and the *Spaniards*.

Raleigh, after farther Conſultation, finding it abſolutely improper, either to leave any of his Company, or to attempt War upon the *Epuremei* till the next Year, applied himſelf now, only to learn how thoſe People wrought thoſe Plates of Gold, which were diſperſed about, and how they divided it from the Stone. The King told him, that moſt of their Plates and Images were not ſevered from the Stone; but that, on the Lake of *Manoa*, and many other Rivers thereabouts, they gathered the perfect Grains of Gold, and, mingling a Proportion of Copper, the better to work it, put it into a great earthen Pot, under which they increaſed the Fire by the Breath of Men through long Canes, faſtened to the Holes under the ſaid Pot, till the Metal diſſolved, which then they caſt into Moulds of Stone and Clay, and ſo made theſe Plates and Images; whereof *Raleigh* brought two Sorts into *England*, more to ſhew the Manner of them, than the Value; for he gave more Pieces of Gold of the twenty Shilling Coin, with the Queen's Effigy upon them, among theſe People, to wear in Honour of her Majeſty, and to engage them in her Service, than he received; ſo little did he make his Deſign of Gold known to them. He brought away with him, however, various Samples both of the Spar and of the Ore, which were ſufficient to juſtify his Reports of the Riches of this Country; and he likewiſe brought with him the higheſt Teſtimony that could well be given him of the ſincere Love and entire Confidence of the Natives, ſince old *Topiowari*, one of the wiſeſt, and none of the leaſt powerful, Princes in that Country, ſent over his own Son *Cayworaco* into *England*, where he was baptized with much Ceremony by the Name of *Gualtero*. On the other hand, Sir *Walter* left behind him, at their own Requeſt, two of his Company, *viz. Francis Sperry*, who was an excellent Draughtſman, and undertook to deſcribe, as he did, all the Country very exactly; and *Hugh Goodwin*, a Boy, who waited upon Sir *Walter*, and who was to learn the Languages of the *Indian* Nations, which he did to great Perfection, but was unfortunately devoured by a wild Beaſt.

After this, a Cazique, whoſe Name was *Putoma*, and another whoſe Name was *Warapana*, offered to conduct him to a Gold Mine, which they accordingly performed; but the Weather being extremely bad, Sir *Walter* was deſirous to make as much haſte back as it was poſſible to his Ships, which he accordingly did; but when he found himſelf on the Sea-Coaſt, and in a manner at the End of his Labours, he met with a moſt dreadful and dangerous Storm, which drove them almoſt to their Wits-end; and at length, in a dark Night, and in the midſt of the Tempeſt, he quitted his Galley, which he found amongſt Sholes and Sands, and in his Boat thruſt out to Sea, with ſo much good Fortune, however, that the next Morning, by Nine o'Clock, they had Sight of the Iſland of *Trinidada*, and, rowing cautiouſly under the Shore, arrived ſafely at *Curiapan*, where their Veſſels lay at Anchor. In all this tedious and ſurpriſing Expedition, wherein they went through ſuch a Variety of Dangers, being always alike expoſed to the Severities of the Weather, and to the Attempts of their Enemies, abſolutely wanting moſt of the Conveniencies, and frequently even the Neceſſaries, of Life; except the Negroe devoured by the Crocodile, he loſt not ſo much as a ſingle Man, which amazed the *Spaniſh* Governor *Berreo* to the higheſt Degree, who openly profeſſed his Admiration of Sir *Walter*'s Conduct and Courage, which ſo viſibly ſurpaſſed thoſe of all the *Spaniſh* Captains employed in this Service, from *Orellana* down to himſelf.

After a ſhort Stay, to put his little Squadron in order, he ſailed from *Trinidada* on his Return to *England*; and in his Paſſage home, landed and burnt ſeveral of the *Spaniſh* Towns upon the Coaſt; and on the 13th of *July* he met with Captain *Preſton*, under Cape *St. Antonio*, in the Iſland of *Cuba*; and on the 20th of the ſame Month purſued his Voyage to *England*, where he ſafely arrived, his Expedition being exceedingly applauded in Proſe and Verſe by all the reputed Wits of thoſe Times.

But it was not long before thoſe who envied *Raleigh* began to circulate new Calumnies, framed on purpoſe to depreciate his Diſcovery. It is of ſome Conſequence, even at this Day, to examine and expoſe theſe lying Stories, becauſe they have moſt unaccountably found ſo great Credit with the Generality of Mankind, that though they commend Sir *Walter*'s Deſign, as ſuppoſing it againſt the *Spaniards*, yet they queſtion his Veracity, with regard to the Produce, Value, and Expediency of ſettling *Guiana*, which is the Reaſon (at leaſt it ought ſo to be) why it was not afterwards attempted, when the Importance of Plantations were better underſtood. The firſt Suggeſtion was, that this was a favourite Scheme, perhaps a pleaſing Viſion of Sir *Walter Raleigh*'s; and there was no Reaſon to yield implicit Credit to any Man's Dreams, how wiſe and learned ſoever. It is really ſtrange, how far ſuch fooliſh Inſinuations as theſe prevail, and how baſely Mankind repay the greateſt Services that can be done them. When *Columbus* opened his Scheme in *Portugal*, it was reputed a mere Fancy, and a Contrivance to gain Employment; when *Fauſtus* invented Printing, he was treated by ſome as a Conjurer, and by others the Art was condemned as prejudicial to the Book-Scriveners; and at the Time *Harvey* taught the Circulation of the Blood, he was almoſt generally run down; and that, according to the Phyſicians of thoſe Times, was treated as a ridiculous Fiction, which is now regarded as the very Foundation of the Art of Phyſic. The Truth ſeems to be, that what is pervaded and clearly comprehended by a firſt-rate Genius, is a mere Cloud, Viſion, or airy Appearance, in the Judgment of common Men, who, either really forgetting, or affecting not to diſtinguiſh, this Difference in Capacities, would have their Judgments take place, and the Ignorance of the Many rather reputed Wiſdom than the Sentiments of a ſingle Man; and thus, between Folly and Arrogance, the Advantages which might be drawn from ſuch high and rare Spirits, if due Diſtinction were made, are abſolutely loſt, and the Diſcoveries in the World of Science (always atchieved by ſuch Men) poſtponed for Ages. Sir *Walter Raleigh* was aware of this, which induced him to take ſo much Pains in tracing the Knowledge of the *Spaniards*, and in making what they knew, and had endeavoured on this Subject, public; by which he thought he plainly proved this was no Invention of his, but only an Improvement on the Notions of other Men. He obſerved likewiſe, that the *French*, at the very Time he attempted it, had a View to this Diſcovery; and it is very certain, that, ſince his Time, Count *Pagan* recommended ſuch a Settlement to Cardinal *Richlieu*; ſo that the calling this a Whim of Sir *Walter*'s, as many did then, who are believed; now is to talk childiſhly and ignorantly on a very important Subject.

The next Inſinuation was, that there was no ſuch thing as Gold Duſt, Gold Plates, or Gold Mines there; but that all was mere Invention, calculated to recommend the Project. To this Sir *Walter* oppoſed three Reaſons, each of which was a fair and full Anſwer, and indeed wholly deſtroyed the Objection. For firſt, he ſhewed from the Situation, it was impoſſible this Country ſhould not be rich, as having *New Grenada* on one Side, *Peru* at its Back, and in that Climate which affords the richeſt Mines of Gold and Silver in *America*; to which, we may add, the Diſcovery of the *Brazil* Treaſures unknown in his Age. He next pleaded the Authority of the *Spaniards*; and that with reſpect not to Opinions only, but as to Facts; for he annexes to his Voyage Certificates of conſiderable Quantities of Gold, which they had drawn from that Country, and which made them ſo eager to diſcover it fully. This too has been confirmed by Father *D'Acughna*, and other Writers, ſince his Days, who very poſitively maintain the very ſame thing. He laſtly urges his own actual Experience, producing very ample Specimens of Gold Ore from thence. Upon ſome Doubt whether the Stones by him produced were Gold Ore or not, he cauſed them to be examined by Refiners. From ſome, Mr. *Weſtwood*, who lived in *Wood-ſtreet*, drew at the Rate of twelve or thirteen thouſand Pounds a Ton; ſome, tried by Meſſrs. *Bulmar* and *Dimock*, held after the Rate of twenty-three thouſand Pounds a Ton; and ſome, examined by Mr. *Palmer*, Comptroller of the Mint, and Mr. *Dimock*, held almoſt twenty-ſeven thouſand Pounds in a Ton. Yet, after all this, another Queſtion was ſtarted, whether *Raleigh* did not carry this Gold from *Africa*, as well as bring it from *Guiana*; to which he anſwered, that, from the very Mines in that Country, he helped to dig it himſelf, though with no fitter Inſtrument than his Dagger.

Another Head of Calumny was, that he chiefly aimed at attacking and plundering the *Spaniſh* Towns upon the Coaſts; and that theſe were, in reality, *Raleigh*'s Gold Mines in *Guiana*. But this was ſo far from the Truth, that one principal Reaſon, which Sir *Walter* aſſigns for fixing here, was, that the Catholic King had neither any Right to or Poſſeſſion of this Country. It is alſo moſt evident, from Sir *Walter*'s own Accounts, that, except at *San Joſeph* in *Trinidada*, he took nothing in the Places which he plundered in that Country, and from this very Inſtance he recommends planting rather than privateering. On the Whole, therefore, this Affair has been miſtaken from firſt to laſt: Sir *Walter*'s Propoſal was wiſe and well founded; his Deſcription of this Country true and very exact; his Expectations, though ſanguine, perfectly well grounded; and his own Voyage a very pregnant Proof that ſuch an Eſtabliſhment is highly practicable. If any ſhould enquire what Views I have in labouring this Topic ſo much, I ſhall fairly anſwer, many: I thought the Nature of my Subject led me to it; I conceived that Sir *Walter*'s Memory demanded this Piece of Juſtice; and I remembered that we are at War with *Spain*, *Guiana* ſtill unſettled; and that we may, as the Phraſe once was, TAKE and HOLD.

15. We are now to ſpeak briefly of ſuch other Tranſactions under the Reign of this great Princeſs, as may contribute to explain ſome Paſſages in this Section, and

ſet what follows in a clear Light. She encouraged Privateers immediately after her coming to the Crown, as the moſt effectual Means of raiſing a Fleet in a ſhort time; but when ſhe found this End anſwered, ſhe brought that Practice under due Regulations. She was extremely careful in giving all poſſible Encouragement for Diſcoveries, and it was with this View that ſhe promoted, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, ſeveral Enterprizes for finding out a Paſſage to the *Eaſt-Indies*, by the North-eaſt and by the North-weſt. The *Ruſſia* Trade ſhe encouraged; and her Conduct in reſpect to that Nation was ſuch as raiſed her Credit in thoſe Parts of the World, to the higheſt Degree that can be imagined. The King of *Sweden* was ſo charmed with what Fame reported of the Queen, that he put himſelf into the Number of thoſe who were Suitors to her for Marriage. The King of *Denmark* aſked her Leave to tranſport Corn through the narrow Seas, which, to ſhew her Dominion over them, ſhe once refuſed; and the *Hanſe-Towns* having preſumed to ſend a Fleet through them without her Leave, ſhe ſeized and confiſcated their Ships; as for the *Dutch*, they more than once offered to ſubmit themſelves to her Government, and in the moſt public manner acknowledged that they owed the Recovery of their Liberty to her Succour and Protection; but ſhe was wiſe enough to foreſee, that as they grew in Power they might alter their Notions, and ſhe took care to provide againſt this, by procuring the Keys of *Holland* and *Zealand* to be put into her Hands; by which means ſhe was able to lock up their Commerce and naval Force at her Pleaſure.

She kept *France* in great Awe, even when it was governed by *Henry* IV. the wiſeſt, braveſt, and beſt Monarch of the Houſe of *Bourbon*. She ruined the naval Power of *Spain*, then the moſt formidable in *Europe*, and under the Direction of a Prince whoſe Abilities were equal to every thing but his Ambition: She encouraged Expeditions to the *Weſt-Indies*, as long as they proved beneficial to her Subjects; and when they appeared to be no longer ſo, ſhe very prudently reſtrained them. It was under her Reign that the *Engliſh* firſt attempted the Paſſage into the *South-Seas* by the Straits of *Magellan*; which proved of great Conſequence, not only in that Part of the World, but alſo in opening a Way to the *Eaſt-Indies*, as we have already ſhewn in the former Parts of this Work, to which thoſe Paſſages properly belonged.

She brought, by affording the Means of employing them, the building of Ships into uſe, and by Degrees to great Perfection, which was of infinite Benefit to the Nation, and at the ſame time delivered us from the heavy Inconvenience of hiring Veſſels from Foreigners whenever the public Occaſions demanded a large Fleet; but moſt of theſe Things (though incident to my Purpoſe) have been already inſiſted on by others, and therefore I am content barely to mention them, that I may have room to mention ſome other Things of no leſs Importance, though not ſo much attended to. We have ſhewn how wretched a Situation Things were in at the Beginning of her Reign, and how ſuddenly and how effectually ſhe changed the Face of our Affairs; and we have in ſome meaſure pointed out the Manner in which this was done; but there remain ſome other Points worthy the Reader's Conſideration, which I ſhall next handle with all imaginable Brevity.

Queen *Elizabeth* taught all her Subjects Induſtry and Application by her perſonal Conduct; ſhe was conſtantly attentive to every Branch of her Government; knew exactly what was done, what might be done, and what was omitted; ſhe underſtood moſt Things herſelf, and what ſhe did not underſtand, ſhe committed to the Inſpection of ſuch as were reputed to be beſt acquainted with them; ſhe was ſlow in reſolving, and quick in Execution; ſhe heard all that could be ſaid for, or againſt, Sir *Francis Drake*, before ſhe went on board his Ship, or gave him any public Marks of her Favour; but afterwards ſhe would never permit his Conduct to be cenſured.

She was ſparing in her Honours, becauſe ſhe was reſolved to uſe them as Rewards; and ſhe knew that in order to this it was requiſite they ſhould not become cheap; ſhe never employed any but capable Miniſters; for ſhe had Men for Shew, and Men for Service; and in nothing demonſtrated her great Capacity more than in her Choice of Servants. Secretary *Walſingham*, and after him Secretary *Cecil*, had the Department of the Marine, and both underſtood it well; ſo that whoever applied to them, was to make out the Reaſon and Probability, as well as the Profitableneſs, of his Project. This produced the many excellent Pieces which are preſerved in *Hackluit*, particularly Sir *Humphrey Gilbert*'s Diſcourſe of the North-weſt Paſſage, Sir *George Peacham*'s Benefits of weſtern Planting, with Mr. *Harriot*'s Account of *Virginia*, and many ſuch Things. By this means a Spirit of uſeful Knowledge was promoted and kept up; all Things were thoroughly ſifted before Encouragement was given, and due Regard had to what ſucceeded, to what did not, and to the Reaſon and Cauſes of both.

She took ſome Share of moſt Expeditions of Conſequence, as well to keep up the Spirits of thoſe concerned, as, in caſe any good Prizes were made, that the Public might have its Part, in which we find her always ſtrict, and ſometimes a little ſevere: But with all her Frugality and good Management in this Reſpect, ſhe found War an expenſive and ruinous Thing, which demanded conſtant and great Supplies, bringing in but ſlowly and inconſiderably. She was the better able to diſcern this, becauſe ſhe took care to have the Treaſury-Books as regularly kept as thoſe of a Merchant, whence ſhe was very well able to tell how far her Revenues anſwered her Expences, in what Articles her Exceſſes were incurred, and even the Loſs and Gain on particular Expeditions: As for Inſtance, that of *Cadiz*, or *Cales*, reputed the moſt fortunate in her long Reign, which nevertheleſs coſt ſixty-four thouſand Pounds more than it brought in. The Balance, in this reſpect, was always againſt her, notwithſtanding the vaſt Sound her Prizes made in the World; for, according to a Minute of an Account made up by the famous Lord-Treaſurer *Burleigh*, from the thirtieth to the thirty-fourth Year of her Government, it appears, that the bare Expence of the Navy amounted to two hundred ſeventy-five thouſand, ſeven hundred and ſixty-one Pounds, and all received by Prizes within thoſe Years, which were the moſt proſperous in that reſpect of the whole *Spaniſh* War, came to no more than ſixty-four thouſand and forty-four Pounds.

Yet, conſidering what Miſchief was done the Enemy, how much his Commerce was embarraſſed, his Merchants ruined, his Credit leſſened, and his Power decreaſed, there was no great Cauſe to repine; and, in truth, we no where find the Queen did ſo, but ſhe always endeavoured to put her Nobility upon ſuch Enterprizes, as well to keep them employed, as to throw a Part of the Expence upon ſuch as ſhe judged were much more able to afford it than the common People.

But there was another great and uſeful Effect which flowed from this aſſiduous Care in the Queen, and this generous Conduct in her Nobility, and that was, the eſtabliſhing a juſt Regard for Public Spirit. It was the Mode in her Days, to do every thing with a View to the Welfare of the State, and it was impoſſible for any Man to make a figure at Court, or to appear with Diſtinction in his County, whoſe Actions as well as Words did not diſcover ſomewhat of the Patriot. Some of the Nobility ſerved in *Holland*, to learn the Trade of War, at the ſame time that they contributed to break the Power of *Spain*, and to raiſe the *Engliſh* Reputation for Courage, Steadineſs, and other Military Virtues. The Earl of *Eſſex*, and other Men of Quality, ſerved the Queen at Sea in various Expeditions of great Importance. Others again, ſuch as the Earl of *Cumberland*, embarked in particular Enterprizes at their own Expence; and by this means, after the formidable Invaſion in 1588, the King of *Spain* found himſelf ſufficiently employed at home, and perceived, when it was too late, that he had waſted the Blood and Treaſure of all his Kingdoms, to raiſe up two new Powers in *Europe*, *viz.* *England* and *Holland*, which neither he nor his Succeſſors would be able to cope with.

But the Queen and her Miniſters, when the Dangers of War were thus removed, or kept at a diſtance, knew how to divert the ſame Spirit to other good and ſalutary

Purpoſes. In former Reigns there had been little Care taken to explore the Riches of this Kingdom; but now every Part of it was examined, and every kind of Improvement ſet on foot. The Lord-Treaſurer ſent for ſeveral *Germans* over, who were employed in erecting Iron-works, in diſcovering and working Lead-mines, and in making Salt-petre. We formerly exported moſt of our Commodities raw and unwrought, but now the Perſecution in the *Low-Countries* furniſhed us with Multitudes of able Workmen in every Branch of the Woollen Manufacture, who had all imaginable Encouragement given them, and with very conſiderable Privileges were ſettled in different Parts of the Kingdom, more eſpecially at *London*, *Norwich*, *Colcheſter*, and *Canterbury*. The like Care was taken with reſpect to other Trades, and this was attended with ſuch Succeſs, that, whereas in the Beginning of the Queen's Reign we bought our Artillery abroad, towards the End of it we furniſhed all *Europe* with Ordnance; ſo that at length it grew a Queſtion, Whether it might not be requiſite for the public Safety, to put a Stop to the Exportation of Iron cannon.

There was now ſcarce a Seſſion of Parliament held in which there were not Acts paſſed for promoting new Branches of Trade, or for preſerving or regulating the old; and though it may be, and I believe it is, true, that ſome of the Laws, then made, have become in proceſs of Time rather dangerous and deſtructive, than profitable or advantageous, to Commerce, yet certainly they were made with a good Intent; and we have Reaſon to believe were well enough ſuited to thoſe times; ſo that we have no Reaſon to cenſure thoſe who made them, on account of the Inconveniencies they produce, but ought rather to blame ourſelves for not repealing them. By theſe Steps the Face of Things in this Country was quite changed: Inſtead of being ſerved by the *Venetians* and *Genoeſe*, with all the Commodities of the Eaſt, we brought them Home ourſelves, and even furniſhed them to others; inſtead of ſuffering all our Domeſtic Trade to be managed as formerly by *Germans* and other Foreigners, we began to ſettle Factories abroad, and there was hardly a Nation in the known World, with which, before the Death of this Queen, we had not ſome Correſpondence.

Yet, inſtead of ſetting down quietly with theſe Acquiſitions, and falling into a nominal Trade amongſt ourſelves, like the modern Stock-jobbing, we were then continually contriving and executing new Schemes, either for improving our Country, or exporting its Produce; our People, even then, began to think the Trading-world too narrow for them, and admired nothing ſo much as finding out new Markets, where Goods always ſell beſt, where Novelty and Variety often procure high Prices, even for indifferent Commodities. We need not at all wonder, therefore, that in theſe times there were Men of ſuch extenſive Abilities produced, as ſeemed to graſp the whole Circle of Commercial Knowledge; ſuch as Sir *Walter Raleigh*, Sir *Robert Dudley*, Sir *Thomas Greſham*, and many others; ſome of whom have left us Treatiſes in this Way, that are both read and admired in more enlightened Times. We may therefore ſafely pronounce, that the Seeds of all our Traffic, which have ſince ſo happily come up, and from which the Nation has reaped ſuch mighty Profits, were ſown in this Reign, and cultivated, when they needed Cultivation moſt, by the royal Hand of the matchleſs *Elizabeth*; the Mother of her Subjects, the Terror of her Enemies, and the Benefactor of Poſterity.

16. We are now to take a View of the State of *Engliſh* Affairs in regard to *America*, at the Cloſe of this Queen's Reign, when it will appear, that there was ſcarce any Part of it, whether of the Northern or Southern Continent, or Iſlands, with which we had not ſome Acquaintance; though we had made no Settlements any where. *Drake* and *Candiſh* examined the whole Backſide of *America* from South to North; and it appears very clearly from Sir *Richard Hawkins's Hiſtory of his own Voyage*, that we were almoſt as well acquainted with thoſe Countries as the *Spaniards* themſelves; this will appear leſs ſtrange, when it is obſerved, that ſome of our Seamen being ſurprized, others being ſent aſhore by their Commanders, and ſeveral ſtraggling when landed in Parties, on particular Deſigns, fell into the Hands of the *Spaniards*; and being ſent from Place to Place, travelled through more Countries than moſt of the *Spaniards* that were ſent thither by their Government, or were driven thither by their Neceſſities, ſome of whom, coming home, related, and ſeveral of them, particularly *Miles Phillips* and *David Ingram*, wrote Accounts of their Adventures, as we ſhall have occaſion to ſhew in another Place.

By this means we gained very clear and diſtinct Deſcriptions of the Countries bordering on the *Straits of Magellan*, of *Chili*, *Peru*, the *Bay of Panama*, the ſeveral Provinces of the Kingdom of *Old Mexico*, ſome Knowledge of the *New*, and even of *California*: Nor were we leſs acquainted with the other Side of the Continent, as the Reader may learn from the *Engliſh* Voyages of the firſt Chapter of this Work, in which are contained very diſtinct Accounts of the moſt Southern Parts, from the River of *Plata* to the Mouth of *Magellan's Straits*. We have likewiſe a ſufficient Knowledge of the great Country of *Brazil*, from Mr. *Knivet*, and other Travellers; though it muſt be allowed that they gave great Scope to their Imaginations, in what they have written, or, at leaſt, what is publiſhed by *Purchas*, if it was by them written, upon this Subject. As to *Guiana*, or the Country of the *Amazons*, Sir *Walter Ralleigh* and Capt. *Laurence Keymiſh*, whom he ſent thither ſoon after his Return, have written as good Deſcriptions of them, if not better, than any that are extant in other Languages.

As for the Coaſt, from the Iſland of *Trinity* up to *Carthagena*, it was the chief Scene of moſt of our Privateer Expeditions in this Reign; ſo that we had repeated Relations of all that was neceſſary to make this Part of the new World perfectly known. The remaining Part of the Coaſt, as far as the *Gulph of Honduras*, was likewiſe explained and deſcribed by ſeveral *Engliſhmen*, who had viſited thoſe Coaſts; particularly Capt. *Barker*; and as for the *Bay of Mexico*, it was often reſorted to; but more particularly by Captain (afterwards Sir *John*) *Hawkins*, in the Year 1568, at which Time he ſet on ſhore *David Ingram*, before-mentioned, at about one hundred and forty Leagues Weſt-by-north from the Cape of *Florida*. From thence he travelled with ſeveral other Perſons of his Company by Land, to within ſixty Leagues of *Cape-Breton*, where they found a Paſſage home by a *French* Ship, in 1369, and ſoon after their Arrival, *David Ingram*, *Richard Brown*, and *Richard Twede* went to viſit Capt. *Hawkins*, who had ſet them on ſhore, and related to him their Adventures. I have been more particular on this Head, becauſe this *Ingram* has given the cleareſt Account of any Man concerning the North-weſt Paſſage, as the Reader will ſee hereafter in its proper Place, where I ſhall give his Account at large. The remaining Part of the Coaſt of *North-America*, from the Cape of *Florida* to the utmoſt Extent of the Continent Northward, was examined by ſeveral of our Seamen, as appears by what has been already ſaid in this Section, and will farther appear from the Account we are yet to give of ſome Voyages that were made in the laſt Years of the Queen, and which I thought proper to reſerve for this Place.

The firſt of theſe, in order of Time, is the glorious Expedition of Capt. *William Parker* of *Plymouth*, who undertook, at the Expence of a few private Perſons, an Enterprize againſt the *Spaniards*, in which he was accompanied by Capt. *Giles* and Capt. *Ward*, Land-Officers; and by the Captains *Fugars*, *Loriman*, *Aſhly*, and ſeveral other Gentlemen, as Volunteers, which, all Circumſtances conſidered, will appear one of the hardieſt Undertakings, as well as one of the moſt ſucceſsful, in that Reign, or indeed ever attempted by our own Nation, or any other, of which there remains an Account in Hiſtory. This Squadron of his conſiſted but of three ſmall Barks, ſcarce equal in Strength to a Fifth-rate Man of War; of theſe the *Prudence*, ſtiled the Admiral, was of the Burden of one hundred Tons, and a hundred and thirty Men, commanded by Mr. *Parker* himſelf; the *Pearl*, Vice-Admiral, of ſixty Tons, and ſixty Men, Capt. *Robert Rawlins* Commander, the Pinnace of twenty Tons and eighteen Men. They ſailed in *November* 1601, and off the South Cape had the Miſfortune, in a violent Guſt of Wind, to loſe their Pinnace, with all her Men but three: Steering their Courſe from thence to the Iſlands of *Cape Verd*, they landed one hundred Men, and took one of them called *St. Vincent*, with a Town of the ſame Name; and, after having given the Spoil of it to the Soldiers, ſet fire to the Place. Hence they haled over to the Coaſt of the Continent, and coming to *la Rancheria*, or the Pearl Fiſhery, in the ſmall Iſland *Cubagua*, they there found the Governor of *Cumana*, with a ſmall Company of Soldiers. This did not diſcourage them from landing; and though at firſt they were received with great Warmth, they got at laſt the better of them, and took the Place with ſeveral Priſoners, Barks, and Boats, all which they ranſomed for the Value of five hundred Pounds, which was paid them in Pearls.

They ſailed from thence directly for Cape *de la Vela*, where they took a great *Portugueze* Ship of 250 Tons, coming from *Angola* and *Congo*, and bound for *Carthagena*; which, having little of Value in her, except three hundred and ſeventy Negroes, they ranſomed for 500 *l.* After this they went to the Iſland of *Cabecas*, where they embarked one hundred and fifty of their Men in two ſmall Pinnaces and two Shallops, and ſailed to the *Baſtimentos*, where they landed; and picking up ſome Negroes for their Guides, with their Boats and Pinnaces they entered the River of *Puerto Bello* the 7th of *February*, 1602; it being Moon-light, the Watch diſcovered them at their very firſt Entrance into the Haven, and haled them by the ſtrong Caſtle of *St. Philip*; in which were thirty-five Braſs Guns, and Soldiers enough to manage them. Having ſome on board who ſpoke the *Spaniſh* Tongue, they pretended they were *Spaniards* coming from *Carthagena*.

The Officer of the Caſtle bid them come to Anchor, which they did; but about an Hour after Captain *Parker* gave them the ſlip, with his two Boats and above thirty Men, leaving the Pinnaces at Anchor before the Caſtle. With this Force he went directly to the Suburb of *Triana*, and, though the Alarm was given, landed his thirty Men, and ſetting it on fire, left it burning, and marched into the great and rich Town of *Puerto Bello*. As ſoon as he entered, he marched directly to the King's Treaſury, where he found a Guard of Soldiers drawn up to receive him, with two Braſs Field-pieces on their Carriages; the Fight was long and obſtinate, and *Parker* had loſt the beſt Part of his Men, when Captain *Fugars* and Captain *Loriman*, who commanded the Pinnaces, hearing the Noiſe, came timely to his Relief, with one hundred and twenty Men. This Aſſiſtance ſoon turned the Scale, and the *Spaniards* began to think of ſecuring themſelves by Flight; a good Number of them got into the King's Houſe, which they defended very reſolutely for four or five Hours; but at length the *Engliſh* became Maſters of that, as well as of the whole Town. They found but ten thouſand Ducats in the Treaſury, though there were often ſix Millions in it; and if they had been ſeven Days ſooner, they would have found one hundred and twenty thouſand, which had been embarked in two Frigates for *Carthagena*.

The Spoil of the Town, which, in Money, Plate, and Merchandize, was conſiderable, was by Captain *Parker* given to the Soldiers. But two Frigates, which he took farther up the River, he carried away with him; after having kept Poſſeſſion of the Town two Days, Captain *Parker* generouſly ſpared it, with its Churches, Buildings, and Forts, from burning; and releaſed the Priſoners, among whom were Don *Pedro Melandez*, the Governor, the King's Secretary, and ſeveral Perſons of Quality, without Ranſom; ſatisfied with the Honour of having taken with a Handful of Men, in ſo little Time, and with ſo inconſiderable a Loſs, one of the fineſt Towns the King of *Spain* had in the *Weſt Indies*. His Reaſon for this was to give the *Spaniards* an Example of civil and generous Deportment towards their Enemies; and the Governor he releaſed, becauſe he had fought ſo bravely, having received eleven Wounds in the Action.

The Town had at this Time two Churches, ſix or ſeven fine Streets, three ſmall Forts on one Side, beſides the great Caſtle of *St. Philip*; all which they might have demoliſhed, and have left the Whole a Heap of Ruins: During their Stay in Town they had not the leaſt Diſturbance from any Forces of the *Spaniards*, nor any Alarm given; only as they were ſailing away the Enemy began to appear, but it was only to exchange a few Bullets, and to take leave of each other from the Mouths of their great Guns. Thus Captain *Parker* returned ſafely home with much Honour, and not without reaſonable Profit; and not only our own, but *Spaniſh* Writers, ſpeak of his Expedition in very honourable Terms.

The next Year ſome of the *Virginia* Company reſolved to fit out a Veſſel for that Country, and accordingly made choice of Captain *Bartholomew Goſnold* for their Commander, who had been formerly there. He ſailed from *Falmouth* on the 26th of *March* 1602, in a ſmall Veſſel, and no more than thirty-two Perſons on board, of whom it was propoſed that twelve ſhould ſtay behind, and form a Settlement, in caſe he ſhould meet with any Place which he ſhould judge convenient for that Purpoſe. This Captain *Goſnold* was an excellent Mariner, and therefore he did not go the former Courſe, but a much ſhorter one; and on the 11th of *May* he arrived in the Latitude of 42 Degrees and ſome few Minutes, among the Iſlands, forming the North Side of *Maſſachuſet's Bay* in *New England*; where, not finding the Conveniencies he deſired, he ſet ſail again; and when he thought he had got clear of the Land, he fell upon the Bay of *Cod*, now Part of *New England*. He went aſhore on a ſmall uninhabited Iſland, which he called *Elizabeth Iſland*, and on another Iſland, which he named *Martha's Vineyard*; where the Natives had left ſome Marks of their Habitations. Here ſome of his Company ſowed *Engliſh* Corn, and ſaw it come up very kindly; he built a little Fort for his and his Men's Security, and Trade from thence with the *Savages*, to whom *Europeans* were no Strangers; for the Commander of the firſt Body of them that came to trade was dreſſed with Waiſtcoat, Breeches, Shoes, Stockings, Hat, and all Accoutrements befitting an *Engliſhman*; but his Attendants had only Deer-ſkins about their Shoulders, and Seal-ſkins about their Waiſts; their Hair was very long, and tied up with a Knot behind; they were painted all over, but their natural ſwarthy Colour was eaſy enough to be diſcerned.

On the North-weſt Side of *Elizabeth's Iſland* the Captain found a Lake of freſh Water, about a League in Circumference, and very near the Sea; in the Midſt of which was another little Iſland, of about an Acre of Ground; and this they pitched upon as the moſt commodious Place for building their Fort above-mentioned, and they began it accordingly. About this Lake they found an infinite Number of Tortoiſes, with ſeveral Sorts of Fiſh and Fowl; ſo that thoſe who propoſed to ſettle there had a fair Proſpect of having Proviſions enough. They viſited the main Land adjoining to this Iſland, which they found, in all reſpects, as charming as Meadows, Groves, Brooks, and Rivers could make it. They had ſome Communication with the *Indians* of the main Land, who came and bartered with them for ſome of their *European* Rarities, and there was nothing hardly but what was ſo to theſe People. The Commodities they gave in exchange for Knives and other Toys, were Beavers, Lucains, Martens, Otters, Foxes, Conies, Seals, Deer, and Skins. The Affairs of this Plantation might have gone on very well, had all the Planters been unanimous and eaſy in their Settlements here; but they were intent upon their private Intereſts, and contrived to make only a profitable Voyage. The Captain laboured againſt it, but to no purpoſe; ſo having gotten a large Cargo of Saſſafras, Cedar-wood, Furs, and other good Commodities, they ſet ſail for *England*. They left their little Fort on the 18th of *June*, and they arrived at *Plymouth* the 23d of *July* following, *A. D.* 1602.

What the Conſequences were of this Voyage and Diſcovery will appear in the next Section; and therefore we ſhall paſs on to the laſt Voyage, which we are concerned to take notice of here; and that was made in the ſame Year 1602, by one Captain *Mace* of *Weymouth*, fitted out by Sir *Walter Raleigh*; and as the ſhort Account we have remaining, ſerves to correct all that has been ſaid by different Authors upon this Subject; and does a very ſingular Piece of Juſtice to the Memory of Sir *Walter*, who might ſeem to have abandoned thoſe who went upon his Faith to ſettle in *Virginia*; I have judged it both reaſonable and requiſite to inſert the whole Paper here, with this farther Obſervation, that Mr. *Richard Hackluit* received, as he acknowledges, great Aſſiſtances from Sir *Walter Raleigh*, in compiling his excellent Collection, and the Papers of Mr. *Hackluit* falling upon his Death into the Hands of Mr. *Samuel Purchas*, he made ſuch uſe of them as he thought fit, having by no means a Capacity adequate to his Undertaking; and from his fourth Volume, Page 1653, we tranſcribe the Account beforementioned, which ſeems to be no more than a Memorandum from a larger Relation of the Voyage to which it refers; and which, if it had been given us at length in the Manner that ſuch things were given by Mr. *Hackluit*, would very probably have furniſhed us with other curious Particulars. As it is, thus it runs:

A Brief Note of the ſending another Bark this preſent Year 1602, by Sir *Walter Raleigh*, for the ſearching out of his Colony in *Virginia*.

" *Samuel Mace* of *Weymouth*, a very ſufficient Mari-
" ner, an honeſt ſober Man, who had been at *Virginia*
" twice before, was employed thither by Sir *Walter Ra-*
" *leigh*, to find theſe People which were left there in the
" Year 1587; to whoſe Succour he hath ſent five differ-
" ent times at his own Charges. The Parties by him ſet
" forth performed nothing, ſome of them following
" their own Profit elſewhere, others returning with frivo-
" lous Allegations; at this laſt Time, to avoid all Ex-
" cuſe, he bought a Bark, and hired all the Company
" for Wages by the Month, who departed from *Weymouth*
" in *March* laſt, 1602, fell forty Leagues from the South-
" weſtward of *Hateraſke* in 34 Degrees, or thereabouts;
" and having there ſpent a Month, when they ſhould
" have come along the Coaſt to ſeek the People, they
" did it not, pretending the Extremity of Weather, and
" Loſs of ſome principal Ground-tackle, forced and fear-
" ed them from ſeeking the Port of *Hateraſke*, to which
" they were ſent. From that Place where they abode, they
" brought Saſſafras, Radix China, or the *China* Root,
" Benjamin, Caſſia-lignea, and the Bark of a kind of a
" Tree more ſtrong than any Spice as yet known, with
" diverſe other Commodities, which hereafter, in a large
" Diſcourſe, may come to light."

17. It may be very natural for the Reader to think that I ought to have changed the Order of the two laſt Paragraphs, and that I ſhould have concluded my Account of the Voyages to *America*, before I had drawn up a general View of ſuch naval Tranſactions as happened in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*; but I dare aſſure him that I conſidered this attentively, and that I quitted what I ſaw was the regular Method, in order to obtain what appears to me to be the great End of Method, Clearneſs, and being perfectly underſtood. By drawing together the naval Tranſactions in the Time of this famous Queen, I have ſhewn how ſhe was occupied throughout the whole Courſe of the Government, ſo as not to have it in her Power to attend to the Eſtabliſhment of Colonies, which is a Work of Time, of Leiſure, and of Recollection. But what the Nature and Circumſtances of her Adminiſtration would allow her to do for Trade, ſhe moſt certainly did; and that ſhe did it by Fits and Starts, was owing not to any Fault in her or in her Miniſters, but to the Faults of the Times, which did not permit her to do it otherwiſe. This, as I have diſpoſed the Thing, will to the Reader appear at firſt Sight to be the Truth, becauſe he will ſee that in the latter Part of her Reign the Deſire of planting revived, and in the Courſe of it all the different Parts of *America*, ſome from one Motive, and ſome from another, were viſited and diſcovered.

This I take to be the true State of the Matter for though there are many Writers, who, in their general Characters of that Queen, have aſcribed to her the Beginning of our Plantations, yet undoubtedly they were therein either miſtaken themſelves, or delivered their Sentiments in ſuch a Manner as occaſioned their being miſtaken by others. The Glories of that Period of Time are ſo many, and ſo great, that they need no falſe Colours to heighten them; on the contrary, they are leſſened thereby: For when, upon Enquiry, it is found that Part of them are miſrepreſented, it naturally leads People to doubt of the reſt; and, as in all other Caſes, ſo here, Flattery debaſes what it meant to exalt, and really leſſens what it ſeems to extol. The Buſineſs of Planting is indeed highly advantageous; and I believe it will appear from the following Sections, that no Nation has gained more by it than our own; but then it is the Buſineſs of peaceable and ſettled Times, when Nations grow full, and Diſcharges of People become neceſſary, which was not ſurely the Caſe under this great Princeſs. The great and real Excellency of her Adminiſtration conſiſted in this, that ſhe always, and in all things, conſulted the Good of her People; and the Wiſdom of her Miniſters is viſible chiefly from hence, that they did not obſtinately purſue good Things in Seaſon and out of Seaſon, but choſe, as the Circumſtances of things directed, to do the beſt for the Nation that their Situation would allow. It was the Opinion of ſeveral great Men in her Time, and upon their Authority it has grown to be a received and ſettled Notion ſince, that the Queen went rather too far into the *Spaniſh* War, and that her Subjects would have been greater Gainers, if ſhe had either avoided that War entirely, or if ſhe had ended it ſooner; which perhaps might be true.

But after conſidering, as maturely as it is poſſible for me to do, all that has been ſaid by Sir *Robert Cotton*, and other able Writers, upon this Subject, I am thoroughly convinced that the Queen acted upon right Principles, and that ſhe began and continued the War with no other View than the Good of her People. I am, at the ſame Time, however, perſuaded that ſhe extended her Views in this reſpect very far beyond her own Times, and that ſhe was ſenſible enough ſhe might have ended the Conteſt with *Spain* earlier, and with a Proſpect of much more Quiet to herſelf, than to her Dying-day ſhe enjoyed. But this was not the Diſpoſition of *Elizabeth*; if it had, the whole Turn of her Conduct would have differed widely from what it was; and ſhe ſacrificed willingly and knowingly the Tranquillity of her own Government, to fix the Welfare of her Subjects upon a ſolid Foundation. In this conſiſted the Strength of her Mind and the Greatneſs of her Genius; whoever conſiders her in another Light will miſtake her Character. She ſaw plainly that extenſive Trade and ſuperior naval Force were Things neceſſary to the Felicity of the Inhabitants of this Iſland; but ſhe ſaw at the ſame Time that it was impoſſible theſe ſhould be attained, if the Power of *Spain* was not deſtroyed. This therefore became her ſettled Point, which once gained, ſhe knew the other muſt follow, and therefore from this ſhe never departed; ſhe was very ſenſible that if the *Spaniſh* Power was once removed, the Trade and naval Force of this Nation would have room enough to grow and proſper, and therefore ſhe reſolved to remove it: She could not but know that this would prove a Work of great Difficulty; that it would expoſe her to a long and expenſive War abroad, and, which was worſe ſtill, to many Commotions, Plots, and Conſpiracies at home; but that did not at all move her; ſhe was bent upon doing what the Safety and Well-being of the Nation required; and though ſhe could not but foreſee that the Advantages ſhe laboured to procure muſt belong rather to Poſterity than to the People ſhe governed, yet ſhe reſolved to hazard all Things to procure them.

This was her Syſtem, vaſt and extenſive in itſelf, big with Difficulties and Dangers, extremely liable to be miſunderſtood, miſinterpreted, and miſrepreſented; full of Uncertainties, and requiring a great Length of Time, and a conſtant Series of Labours, to accompliſh it. If it had been poſſible to have ſet ſuch a Scheme as this before the Eyes of a Monarch of ordinary Qualities and Virtues, it would, without doubt, have raiſed Aſtoniſhment and Terror; but to a Mind like hers, capable of looking through the Miſt of preſent Events, and diſcerning the Face of things beyond them; though few Obſtacles were hid, yet none ſeemed unſurmountable; the Toil was great, the Journey long, the Road extremely rough, and it was impoſſible for her to know how far ſhe ſhould be able to proceed; but however, ſhe thought it neceſſary to ſet forward, and though for a Time things grew worſe and worſe, yet ſhe knew that by perſiſting they muſt grow better and better. This Reſolution, this Conſtancy, this Magnanimity, carried her through all, and ſhe had the great Comfort of ſeeing before ſhe died all the great Ends accompliſhed, which, in the Dawning of her Government, her admirable Underſtanding had preſented to her View; and, like the Sun, ſhe ſet when ſhe had accompliſhed that Round propoſed at her Riſing.

We are told of *Auguſtus*, that he boaſted of leaving *Rome* built with Stone, whereas he found it of Wood only. Queen *Elizabeth* might have boaſted of much greater things, and with much greater Truth; for ſhe did not riſe to Empire through Blood and Uſurpation, but came to it by Succeſſion, and with the Acclamations of all her People: Acclamations that were ſure Omens of Succeſs; for without doubt there never was a Kingdom in a lower, meaner, and more dejected State than this; when the Crown was placed upon her Brow, and her Subjects could not have either Joy or Hopes, but what aroſe from ſeeing it fixed there. She choſe for her Motto *Semper Eadam* that is, Always the ſame; and I hope I have ſhewn what ſhe meant by it. Her Conduct is the eveneſt that we meet with in Hiſtory; ſhe met with many Difficulties, but ſhe created none; ſhe experienced Misfortunes, but they were Trials and not Puniſhments; ſhe met with much Proſperity, but all viſibly derived to her by the Bleſſing of God upon her wiſe Endeavours.

We will ſupport a few of theſe Particulars by Facts. She found ſcarce any Navy; ſhe left a great one. She found the Government much in Debt, and though poſſibly her Power might have borne her out, if ſhe had expunged it; yet ſhe paid it, even to the Penſions granted by her Father, to thoſe who were excluded from their Monaſteries. She found her People poor and herſelf neceſſitous; yet ſhe ſpared them till they grew rich; and in the mean time grew rich herſelf, by managing frugally a very ſmall Revenue; for at the Time ſhe entered into the War with *Spain* ſhe had ſeven hundred thouſand Pounds in her Coffers. She ſpent above two Millions in the War. She lent the *States* eight hundred thouſand Pounds at different Times, and half that Sum to the *French* King, and yet ſhe did not raiſe quite three Millions upon her Subjects. She ſaw the Inhabitants of her Capital City doubled in her Life-time, as appears from the Computations, publiſhed by Sir *William Petty*. She found the Cuſtoms producing no more than thirty-ſix thouſand Pounds *per Annum*; ſhe left them worth more than double that Sum, without heightening of Duties. At the Time of her Acceſſion there were ſcarce any *Engliſh* Merchants in *England*; but before her Death there were conſiderable Traders in every Port of *England*. It is very true, that at the Death of Queen *Elizabeth* our Commerce was very trifling, to what it is; but it is no leſs certain, that if ſhe had not lived, our Commerce would have fallen very far ſhort of what we find it.

The next Section will fully ſhew that our great Improvements were made in the two ſucceeding Reigns; but in this, we have made it evident, that no ſuch Improvements could have been made if this Reign had not gone before them. It was in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Time that the Foundation of *Engliſh* Commerce was laid, though the Superſtructure was raiſed in the Days of King *James* and King *Charles*. It was under her that our Ships viſited all Parts of the known World. It was ſhe that protected the *Ruſſia* Company; one of the moſt uſeful ever formed in this Nation, and beyond Compariſon the beſt conſtituted. She founded the Company trading to the *Eaſt Indies*; and, in a word, ſhe encouraged every Branch of Trade that had been opened before her Time, projected many, and made way for all. The Room I had was much too little, to afford a juſt Account of all that we owe in this Reſpect to her Memory, but I have made the beſt Uſe of it I could, and am only ſorry that I could not make a better. If what I have done expreſſes my Senſe of the Advantages derived to us, and which will deſcend to our Poſterity, from what ſhe and her Miniſters, who were truly ſuch, (I mean the Inſtruments, and not the Directors of their Miſtreſs) did, it will afford me great Satiſfaction; for to praiſe Queen *Elizabeth*, with Judgment, is a Character ſufficient to gratify the Ambition of the moſt aſpiring Author, and to have attempted it is the greateſt Merit I ſhall have to plead.

SECTION XVIII.

The Hiſtory of the Diſcoveries, Settlements, and other Tranſactions of the ENGLISH *Nation in* America, *from the Acceſſion of King* James I. *to the Reſtoration.*

1. *A ſuccinct View of the State of Affairs at the Acceſſion of King* James; *the Voyages of Captain* Martin Pringe, *and of Captain* Gilbert, *to* Virginia, *and the Conſequences of their Diſcoveries.* 2. *The Earl of* Southampton, *and Lord* Arundel *of* Wardour, *ſend Captain* Weymouth *thither*; *his proſperous Voyage, and the Patent granted by the King for erecting two* Virginia *Companies.* 3. *The* London *Company fit out Captain* Chriſtopher Newport *with a ſmall Squadron, who ſettles a Colony at* James-Town *in* Virginia, *in* 1607, *and the various unlucky Accidents that befel this Colony.* 4. *They deſert* James-Town, *embark for* England, *and are met at the Mouth of* Cheſepeak Bay *by* Thomas Weſt, *Lord* de la War, *who carries them back, reſettles them, and effectually ſecures this valuable Country to the Crown of* Great-Britain. 5. *A ſhort Deſcription of this Colony, ſhewing its ſeveral Advantages, the Nature of its Trade, and its great Conſequence to this Nation.* 6. *The firſt Attempts of the ſecond or North* Virginia *Company, to ſettle within the Bounds of their Grant, and the Difficulties and Diſcouragements they met with in thoſe Attempts.* 7. *The Colony is at laſt ſettled, under the Direction of the famous Captain* Smith, *and the Country named by Prince* Charles (*afterwards* Charles I.) New England. 8. *A ſuccinct Account of the Tranſactions in this Colony, from its Eſtabliſhment to the Reſtoration.* 9. *The Situation, Climate, Soil, Produce and Trade of* New England, *briefly repreſented, and the Importance of this Colony ſet in a true Light.* 10. *The Diſcovery and firſt Settlement of the* Bermudas, *or* Summer Iſlands, *with ſome Account of them before they came into our Poſſeſſion.* 11. *A ſhort Deſcription of thoſe Iſlands, with an Account of their Commodities, and their Trade to* England *and to the Plantations.* 12. *The Diſcovery of* Hudſon's Bay, *and the Countries in* America, *to which the Names of* New North-Wales *and* New South-Wales, *were given by the firſt Diſcoverers.* 13. *The Recovery of* Acadia, *or* Nova Scotia, *and*

the Hiſtory of this Country within this Period, wherein is demonſtrated our clear and indubitable Right to
the Iſland of Cape Breton. 14. *The ſeveral Voyages to* Guiana, *down to the Death of Sir* Walter Ra-
leigh, *after his laſt Expedition thither, and an Account of our Settlement at* Surinam. 15. *A ſhort Ac-*
count of the firſt planting the rich and fruitful Iſland of Barbadoes. 16. *The Hiſtory of this advanta-*
geous Settlement, down to the Reſtoration. 17. *The Situation, Climate, Soil, Produce, and incredible*
Advantages that have accrued to Great Britain *from this Colony, which is proved to be the beſt in the*
World. 18. *The Diſcovery, Conqueſt, and Settlement of* St. Chriſtopher's, Nevis or Mevis, Montſerrat, &c.
19. *The Grant of the Province of* Maryland *to the Lord* Baltimore, *and the Settlement of that Country,*
with other Particulars relating to it within the Compaſs of this Period. 20. *The Expedition by the Di-*
rection of the Protector Cromwell, *for the taking* Hiſpaniola *from the* Spaniards, *with the true Cauſes*
of its Miſcarriage. 21. *The Hiſtory of the Conqueſt and Settlement of the moſt noble and moſt important*
Iſland of Jamaica. 22. *A ſhort Deſcription of the Iſland, a View of the vaſt Profits derived to* Great
Britain *from the Poſſeſſion of it, and other Particulars.* 23. *The Concluſion of the Section, with ſome Re-*
marks and Obſervations on the principal Events mentioned therein.

1. AT the Time of King *James's* Acceſſion to the *Engliſh* Throne, there were the faireſt Opportunities offered for extending and ſecuring the Commerce of this Iſland that could be wiſhed; and therefore we need not be ſurpriſed at finding ſuch vaſt Improvements made, and ſuch mighty Advantages gained to this Nation, under a Government that has not hitherto been repreſented in the faireſt Lights to the People. We muſt, however, obſerve, that the peaceable Temper of King *James* was of great Uſe to the trading Part of his Subjects; for the Power of Queen *Elizabeth* had raiſed ſuch a Veneration in ſome, and ſtruck ſuch a Terror into others, that there was ſcarce any Nation which did not willingly embrace the Friendſhip of King *James*, and offer him whatever Terms could be thought moſt ſuitable to the commerical Views of his Subjects; which was extremely agreeable to the *Engliſh*, at that Time, who began to entertain very true Notions of Trade; to ſee its Importance, above all Things, and to wiſh for the Means of promoting and extending it on all Sides, to which they began to think a Peace with *Spain* would not a little contribute. At the Time of the Queen's Deceaſe there was a Fleet preparing under the Command of Sir *William Monſon*, intended for the *Spaniſh* Coaſt; for it was a wiſe and juſt Policy in that Princeſs, to keep the War at a Diſtance from her own Dominions, to find her Enemies work enough at Home, and thereby prevent their diſturbing any of her Territories. But upon the Acceſſion of King *James* this Fleet was countermanded; and, it ſeems, not without Reaſon; for the Archduke, who was then Governor of the *Low Countries*, thought fit to recal his Letters of Reprizal, and thereby opened a free Trade between *England* and *Flanders*, a thing highly ſatisfactory to the Merchants, who immediately reaped the Benefit of it.

There was likewiſe another Deſign on foot at the Time of the Queen's Demiſe, which was the proſecuting the Diſcoveries and Trade to *North America*, in which ſeveral Gentlemen and Merchants of *Briſtol* were concerned, and amongſt them the Reverend Mr. *Hackluit*, whom we have ſo often mentioned; and who, having a Prebend in the Cathedral Church of *Briſtol*, and having a great Genius for promoting ſuch Enterprizes, was fixed upon to apply in behalf of himſelf, and the reſt of the Perſons concerned, to Sir *Walter Raleigh*, who was ſtill looked upon as the Proprietor of *Virginia*, in order to procure his Licence for this Trade. Upon his Application to that worthy Perſon, they received all the Encouragement they could deſire; for he not only granted them a Licence under his Hand and Seal, but alſo made over to them all the Profits which ſhould ariſe from the Voyage.

After they were thus impowered, they raiſed a joint Stock of a thouſand Pounds, and fitted out two ſmall Veſſels, the one called the *Speedwell*, commanded by Capt. *Matthew Pringe*, of the Burthen of fifty Tons, with thirty Men and Boys; the other a Bark of twenty-ſix Tons, called the *Diſcoverer*, commanded by Mr. *William Brown*, who had under him a Mate, and eleven Men, and Boys beſides. Theſe Veſſels were victualed for eight Months, and had a large Cargo on board, conſiſting of all ſorts of Goods that were thought proper for that Country. They ſailed from *King's-Road*, near *Briſtol*, on the 20th of *March*, 1683. Being hindered by contrary Winds, they put into *Milford* Haven, where they continued till the 10th of *April* following, and then continued their Voyage. The Rout they took was by the *Azores*, and they arrived without any remarkable Accident on the Coaſt of *North America*, in the Lat. of 43 Degrees; and after having examined the Coaſt, on which they found nothing for their Purpoſe, they ſailed on South-weſt in ſearch of that Part of the Country where Capt. *Goſnold* had been.

At length, they found in the Latitude of 41 Degrees, and ſome few Minutes, a very convenient Bay, to which they gave the Name of *Whitſon's-Bay*, in honour of Mr. *John Whitſon*, who was then Mayor of *Briſtol*. Here they landed, and cut a good Quantity of Saſſafras, and carried it on-board; but, leſt they ſhould be ſurpriſed in the Woods by the Natives while they were at work, they erected a little Fort or Redoubt, wherein they left their Effects, and four or five Men to guard them while the reſt were at work. The Natives came and trafficked with the *Engliſh*, forty or fifty in a Company, and ſometimes upwards of an hundred, who eat and drank, and were very merry with our Adventurers; eſpecially when they obſerved a Lad in their Company playing upon a Guitar, they would get round about him, and, taking Hands, dance twenty or thirty in a Ring, after the *American* Manner.

Our Seamen obſerved, that the Natives were more afraid of two Maſtiff-Dogs they carried with them than of twenty Men; and when they deſigned to get rid of their Company, they let looſe one of theſe Maſtiffs; whereupon the Natives would ſhriek out, and run away to the Woods. But 'tis probable this Uſage, and the erecting a Fortification in their Country, made the *Indians* at length look upon the *Engliſh* as their Enemies: For our Adventurers inform us, that a Party of *Indians* came and ſurrounded their Fort a few Days after, when moſt of them were abſent, and would probably have ſurpriſed it, if the Captain of the Ship had not fired two Guns, and alarmed the Workmen in the Woods, who thereupon returned to the Relief of the Fort.

The *Indians* pretended indeed they had no hoſtile Intentions, but our People never cared to truſt them afterwards: And the Day before the *Engliſh* embarked, the Natives came down again in great Numbers, and ſet fire to the Woods where they had cut the Saſſafras; which, 'tis probable, was deſigned to let the *Engliſh* know they would preſerve nothing in their Country which ſhould invite ſuch Gueſts to viſit them again; for no doubt the great Guns and Fire-arms had rendered the *Engliſh* very terrible to them, as well as their Dogs. The Account theſe People gave of the Country and the Inhabitants was, as might very well be expected, much the ſame with what had been given before by Capt. *Goſnold*, and thoſe who had ſailed with him into thoſe Parts, and therefore we need not dwell upon the Subject. Amongſt other Curioſities they brought back with them, the moſt remarkable was, one of the Boats uſed by the Inhabitants, made of the Bark of a Birch Tree, ſowed together with Twigs, the Seams covered with Roſin or Turpentine; and tho' it was ſeventeen Foot long, four broad, and capable of of carrying nine Perſons, it did not weigh ſixty Pounds. Theſe Boats the Inhabitants rowed, or rather paddled, with two wooden Inſtruments like to our Bakers Peels, by the

Help of which they went at a great rate. About the middle of *June* they had compleated the Freight of their Bark, which they ſent home before them into *England*. After her Departure, they made all the Diſpatch they could in loading their own Veſſel; for which they procured a very valuable Cargo of Skins and Furs, in exchange for the Commodities they carried. On the 9th of *Auguſt* they quitted the Coaſt of *Virginia*, and ſailed for *England*, arriving in the Mouth of the Channel in five Weeks; but meeting there with contrary Winds, they could not reach *King's-Road* before the 2d of *October*; but they had the Satisfaction of finding that their Bark was ſafely arrived a Fortnight before them.

There was another Attempt made the ſame Year, upon the ſame Account, which, however, did not end ſo fortunately. This Voyage was performed by the *Elizabeth* of *London*, a Bark of fifty Tons, commanded by Capt. *Bartholomew Gilbert*, who had been the Year before at *Virginia* with Capt. *Goſnold*. They departed from *Plymouth* the 10th of *May*, and in their Paſſage traded at *St. Lucia*, *Dominica*, and *Mevis*, at the latter of which they cut about twenty Tons of Lignum-vitæ. The third of *July* they ſet ſail from thence for the Coaſt of *Virginia* and particularly for *Cheſepeak* Bay, which Capt. *Gilbert* was very deſirous of ſailing to, that he might make ſome Enquiry after the People near thoſe Parts. On the 25th they came near the Mouth of that Bay.

But the Wind blowing hard, with a high Sea, though they beat about for two or three Days, they could not make it, and were obliged to bear more to the eaſtward. The 29th, being not far from Shore, the Captain with four of his beſt Men landed in their Boat, and, being provided with Arms, marched ſome way up the Country; but in this March, being ſet upon and overpowered by the Inhabitants, they were all killed; and it was not without Difficulty that the Boat, with two young Men who were left in her, reached the Ship again to bring the News. They, being now in all but eleven Men and Boys in the Ship, were afraid to venture the Loſs of any more of their ſmall Company; and their Proviſions growing ſhort, the Maſter, *Henry Sute*, who had taken the Command, reſolved, though they were in extreme Want of Wood and Water, to return homewards, which they did, and arrived in the River of *Thames* about the End of *September*.

The Peace being concluded with *Spain* in 1604, removed ſeveral Obſtacles that ſtood in the way of the *Britiſh* Trade; and at the ſame time opened to our Ships a free Acceſs to many Iſlands, Countries and Ports, to which they had not before reſorted; which occaſioned a great Increaſe in our Exportations, and gave much Encouragement to ſuch as were employed in the different Branches of the Woollen Manufacture. As for the Buiſineſs of ſettling and planting on the northern Continent of *America*, that too was laid open, by the Attainder of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, which happened at the beginning of this Reign, on account of a Plot, which appeared very improbable then, and with reſpect to him eſpecially, very ridiculous ever ſince. The Reports made by thoſe who were concerned in the three laſt Voyages being very favourable to the Country, and the Profits made by them being very conſiderable, induced ſeveral Perſons of Diſtinction to think ſeriouſly of promoting theſe Diſcoveries, inſomuch that ſome of the Nobility reſolved to engage in an Undertaking of this kind.

2. Accordingly *Henry Wriotheſly* Earl of *Southampton*, and *Thomas* Lord *Arundel* of *Wardour*, reſolved to fit out a Ship for this Expedition. This Veſſel was called the *Archangel*, and was commanded by Capt. *George Weymouth*, an experienced and ſkilful Seaman, who ſailed on the laſt Day of *March*, 1605, from *Dartmouth*, and met with nothing of conſequence, till ſuch time as they judged themſelves to be very near the Coaſt of *Virginia*; but the Winds carrying them to the northward, in the Latitude of 41° 30', and their Wood and Water beginning to grow extremely ſhort, they grew very deſirous of ſeeing Land. By their Charts they had reaſon to expect it, and therefore bore directly in with it, according to their Inſtruction, yet they found none in a Run of almoſt 50 Leagues. After much Expectation, on the 16th of *May* they obtained Sight of an Iſland, of no great conſequence, and very woody along the Shore; but by the Fruits they found it appeared no barren nor deſpicable Spot, more eſpecially as there were Streams of freſh Water running down the Cliffs in great plenty, vaſt numbers of Fowls, and Fiſh enough all along the Shore. This Iſland is now called *Long-Iſland*, and it was upon the eaſtern Parts of it they fell, to their great Satisfaction. From hence they could diſcern a great many other Iſlands, and the main Land ſtretching from the Weſt-ſouth-weſt, to the Eaſt-north-eaſt. Several of the Iſlands adjoining to the Continent they viſited, and found very full both of Timber and Fruit-trees, of ſeveral Sorts.

Among thoſe Iſlands they met with a Harbour, in which Ships of any Burthen might lie, defended from all Winds, in ſix to ten Fathom Water, upon a tough Clay Ooze. This they called *Pentecoſt-Harbour*, becauſe it was about *Whitſuntide* they diſcovered it. The Fir-trees, which were in great numbers on theſe Iſlands, yielded an exceeding ſweet Turpentine; and the Muſcles, which they found about the Rocks, afforded ſmall Pearl in abundance, and ſome that were large and orient; and the Shell of theſe Pearls on the Inſide reſembled Mother-of-pearl; but they wanted proper Tackle to dredge for them, and therefore could not take any conſiderable Quantity. The Natives from the Continent came oft in their Canoes to trade with them while they lay in this excellent Harbour, their Commerce being much the ſame as in former Voyages, all ſorts of Skins and Furs in exchange for Knives, Beads, and ſuch like Trifles: And ſo good Chapmen were they at that time, that they would give the Value of ten or twelve Pounds in their Goods, for five Shillings-worth of *Engliſh* Iron Ware. We ſhall not enlarge on the Manners, Habits and Cuſtoms, *&c.* of the Natives, which were the ſame we have already ſeen. Their Bows, Arrows, and Canoes, had nothing in them but what was common among other Savages. Their Tobacco-Pipes were ſometimes made of Clay, and ſometimes the Claw of a Lobſter only, but always of a Capicity to hold as much as ten or twelve of ours.

They grew pretty familiar with thoſe People, but found, as others had done, that, amidſt all their ſpecious Shews of Friendſhip, they were very treacherous, and ſought every Opportunity of betraying them. Of this they had one very evident Proof; when thoſe Savages, having invited them on Shore to traffic, had very near drawn them into an Ambuſh of near three hundred Men, armed after their Manner, with Bows and Arrows; but they diſcovered their Treachery in time, and eſcaped the Snare. But the moſt extraordinary Diſcovery made in this Voyage was that of a River, eſteemed by thoſe who found it the moſt beautiful in *America*. They went up it with their Ships ſeveral Leagues, and gave this Account of it; that as it runs up the Main, it keeps a good Breadth for forty Miles together, in moſt Places a Mile, in ſome three Quarters, but never leſs than half a Mile: It flows ſixteen or eighteen Feet; at low Water it is from ſix to ten Fathom deep; it has abundance of Harbours for Ships of all Burthens, and will ſecure them better from Wind and Weather than any known in *Europe*. On both Sides there are, at a ſmall Diſtance one from another, many fine Coves, ſome of them capable of containing more than an hundred Sail, where the Ground is ſoft Ooze, with a tough Clay underneath for Anchor-hold. Nature alſo has made ſeveral convenient Places, like Docks, to grave and careen Ships of all Burthens, and ſecure them from all Winds; the neighbouring Land trends along on both Sides in a ſmooth Line, and, inſtead of Rocks and Cliffs, is bordered with green Graſs, and tall Trees of different Sorts. After they had remained here about ſix Weeks, and during all that Time carried on a very profitable Trade with the Natives, they thought of returning to *England*; with which View they hoiſted Sail *June* the 16th, and arrived that Day Month in Sight of the Land's-End of *England*.

This proſperous Voyage induced many Perſons of high Rank, and many more of great Fortune, to deſire to ſee this new Trade thoroughly eſtabliſhed, who applied to the Crown for ſuch legal Authorities as were neceſſary; which Deſire of theirs was very ſoon complied with, and two Companies formed for ſettling this large Tract of Land, which for the preſent was divided into *North* and *South Virginia*, and were ſo ſtiled many Years after. It was to this Intent King *James*, by his Letters Patent dated the 10th of *April* 1606, reciting, that Sir *Thomas Gates*, and Sir *George Summers*, Knights, and *Richard Hackluit*, Clerk, Prebendary of *Weſtminſter*, *Edward Maria Wingfield*, *Thomas Hanham*, and *Raleigh Gilbert*, Eſquires, *William Parker* and *George Popham*, Gentlemen, and divers others his loving Subjects, had petitioned him for Leave to ſend Colonies to *Virginia*, and ſuch other Parts of *America* as either appertained to his Crown, or which were not actually poſſeſſed by any other Chriſtian Prince or People, and lying between thirty-four and forty-five Degrees of northern Latitude, and within an hundred Miles of the Sea-Coaſt: And for the ſpeedy Accompliſhment of the ſaid Plantation, intended to divide themſelves into two ſeveral Companies, the one conſiſting of the Adventurers of the City of *London*, who were deſirous to fix themſelves between thirty-four and forty-one Degrees of North Latitude; and the other conſiſting of the Adventurers of the Cities of *Briſtol* and *Exeter*, and the Town of *Plymouth*, who were deſirous to ſettle between thirty-eight and forty-five Degrees on the Coaſt of *Virginia* in *America*. His Majeſty, in order to promote ſo noble a Work, which might tend to the Glory of God, by propagating the Chriſtian Religion among the Infidels and Savages, and bring them to Humanity and Civility, did graciouſly accept their Petition, and for himſelf, his Heirs and Succeſſors, did grant and agree that the ſaid Sir *Thomas Gates*, Sir *George Summers*, *Richard Hackluit*, and *Edward Maria Wingfield*, Adventurers of the City of *London*, and all others that ſhould aſſociate with them, ſhould be called the firſt Colony, and might begin their firſt Plantation, at any Place upon the ſaid Coaſt of *Virginia*, or *America*, where they ſhould think fit, between 34 and 41 Degrees of Latitude; and ſhould have all the Lands, Woods, Rivers, Ports, Fiſhing, and Hereditaments whatſoever to the ſame belonging and appertaining, from the firſt Seat of their Plantation, for fifty Miles either Way along the Coaſt, North and South, and an hundred Miles to the Weſtward, within Land, with all the Iſlands over-againſt the ſaid Coaſt for the Space of an hundred Miles at Sea; with all the Lands, Ports, Rivers, Harbours, Fiſhings, and Mines thereunto belonging or appertaining; and Liberty to plant, build and fortify therein; and that no other Subjects of this Crown ſhould be permitted to ſettle themſelves in the Lands to the weſtward of this Colony without their Leave. And his Majeſty did grant to the aforeſaid *Thomas Hanham*, *Raleigh Gilbert*, *William Parker*, *and George Popham*, of the Cities of *Briſtol* and *Exeter*, and the Town of *Plymouth*, in the County of *Devon*, and all others that ſhould aſſociate with them, that they ſhould be called the ſecond Colony, and might begin their firſt Plantation upon the ſaid Coaſt of *Virginia*, or *America*, where they ſhould think fit between 38 and 45 Degrees of Latitude; and enjoy all the Lands, Ports, Rivers, Fiſhings, and Hereditaments thereto belonging, with the like Extent of Land and Sea, from the Seat of their Plantation, as was granted to the firſt Colony. And it was provided, that the ſaid reſpective Colonies ſhould not plant within the Space of one hundred Miles of each other; that each Company ſhould have a Council, conſiſting of thirteen Perſons, in whom the Government ſhould be lodged, but limited by certain Articles under the Privy Seal; they were impowered alſo to dig Mines in and beyond their reſpective Limits to the Weſtward, paying the Crown a Fifth of all Gold, and a Fifth of all Copper Ore they ſhould get; they were alſo impowered to ſeize all Ships that ſhould trade within their reſpective Limits; to coin Money, raiſe Forces for their Defence, *&c.*

3. The Patentees firſt named were commonly ſtiled the *London* Company, and thoſe laſt named the Weſtern Company, who no ſooner received this Authority from the Crown, than they began in earneſt to provide for making effectual Settlements within the Bounds preſcribed by their reſpective Grants. With this View the *London* Company fitted out three Veſſels, one of an hundred Tons, another of forty, and a Pinnace of twenty. On board of which they embarked an hundred and ten Land-Men, with every thing requiſite for ſettling a Colony. The Command of this ſmall Squadron was given to Capt. *Chriſtopher Newport*, an experienced Seaman, well acquainted with the *Weſt-India* Navigation; but to prevent any Diſputes in the Paſſage, the Orders which regarded the Government of the Colony, and the Names of the Council who were to be intruſted with the Adminiſtration of it when ſettled, were delivered to them in a Box ſealed up, with Directions not to be opened till they were on Shore.

They ſailed from *London* on the 20th of *December*, 1606; but, by ſeveral unlucky Accidents, were, for ſeveral Weeks, detained on the Coaſt of *England*. At laſt they continued their Voyage, and, having taken in freſh Water and other Neceſſaries at the *Canaries*, proceeded to the *Caribbee Iſlands*, where they arrived on the 23d of *February*, and ſtaid amongſt them, but chiefly on the Iſland of *Nevis*, about five Weeks. On the 3d of *April* they ſailed for *Virginia*, and arrived on the 26th of the ſame Month at the Mouth of *Cheſepeak-Bay*. The firſt Place on which they landed was the Southern Cape of that Bay, where they built a Fort, which they called *Cape* and *Fort-Henry*, as they did the Northern *Cape Charles*, in honour of the two Princes; and the firſt great River they ſearched, the *Indian* Name of which was *Powhatan*, they called *James-River*, after the King's own Name.

Of this River they made a full Search, before they would come to any Reſolution about a Settlement, and then, by unanimous Conſent, they pitched upon a Peninſula about fifty Miles up the River, which, beſides the Goodneſs of the Soil, was eſteemed moſt capable to be made a Place both of Trade and Security, two Thirds of it environed by the main River, which affords good Anchorage all along, and the other Third by a ſmall River, capable of receiving ſmall Veſſels of one hundred Tons Burden quite up till it comes within thirty Yards of the great River again, and where generally, in Spring-tides, it overflows into the main River; for which Reaſon the Land they choſe to pitch their Town upon had obtained the Name of an Iſland. In this back River Ships and ſmall Veſſels may ride laſhed to one another, and moored aſhore, ſecure from all Wind and Weather. They gave the ſame Name to the Town as to the River *viz James-Town*. The whole Iſland thus incloſed contained about two thouſand Acres of high Land, and many thouſand of very good Marſh, and is extraordinary good Paſture as any in that Country. By means of the narrow Paſſage, this Place was of great Security to them from the *Indian* Enemy; and, to ſtrengthen it the more, they built Caſtles and a Fort there. This was the firſt Plantation of the *Engliſh* that ſucceeded, and which has continued to this Day.

As to the Colony, the firſt Buſineſs they entered upon, after they landed, was, to open their Orders, where they found the following Gentlemen appointed of the Council, *viz. Bartholomew Goſnold*, *Edward Wingfield*, *Chriſtopher Newport*, *John Smith*, *John Ratcliffe*, *John Martin*, and *George Kendall*, of whom *Wingfield* was choſen Preſident: but they thought fit to leave Capt. *Smith* out of the Council: For it ſeems the reſt of the Gentlemen were ſo ſet againſt him, that they had confined him Priſoner ever ſince they left *England*, which *Purchas* inſinuates was occaſioned by their Envy at his ſuperior Talents, and becauſe the Company in *England* ſeemed to rely more upon his Skill and Experience than upon any of the reſt; and it appears, that the Planters themſelves were ſo convinced of his Abilities afterwards, that they were obliged not only to admit him into their Council, but in a manner reſign their Adminiſtration into his Hands, after they had, by their perpetual Jars and weak Management, almoſt ruined the Company's Affairs. After about five or ſix Weeks Stay before this their intended new Town, the Ships being diſpatched, Capt. *Newport* departed with them for *England* about the Middle of *June* leaving upwards of one hundred Men ſettled in the Form of Government already mentioned; but, when the Ships were gone, the ſame Feuds and Diſorders broke out again with freſh Violence.

In the Midſt of theſe Feuds, however, they fell to planting, ſowing, building, and fortifying; but, above all, they carried on a very advantageous Trade with the Natives. They might nevertheleſs have made much greater Gains of it, and managed it more to the Satisfaction of the *Indians*, as well as to the great Eaſe and Security of themſelves, if they had been under any Rule, or ſubject to any Method in Trade, and not at liberty to out-bid one another. By this they not only leſſened their own Profit, but created Jealouſies and Diſturbances among the *Indians*, by letting one have a better Bargain than another; for they being unaccuſtomed to barter, ſuch of them as had been hardeſt dealt by in their Commodities thought themſelves cheated and abuſed. Thence they conceived a Grudge againſt the *Engliſh* in general, and made it a national Quarrel, which ſeems to have been the original Cauſe of moſt of their ſubſequent Misfortunes from the *Indians*. Theſe *Indians* proved much the ſame as they had been found to be in other Places, fair and friendly at firſt, but treacherous and deceitful in the ſequel. However, it was chiefly by the help of their Proviſions that the *Engliſh* ſubſiſted till the Return of their Ships.

The next Year two Veſſels were ſent thither full freighted with Men and Proviſions for the Supply of the Plantation: One of them arrived directly; but the other, being beat off to the *Caribbee Iſlands*, did not arrive till the former was ſailed back for *England*. But what gave the greateſt Interruption to their Trade was, an Object which drew their Eyes and Thoughts entirely not only from that, but even from taking the neceſſary Care for their Preſervation, and for the Support of their Lives, which was this: They found, in a Neck of Land on the Back of *James-Town* Iſland, a freſh Stream of Water, ſpringing from a ſmall Bank, which waſhed down with a yellow ſort of Duſt Iſing-glaſs, which, being cleanſed by the freſh ſtreaming of the Water, lay ſhining at the Bottom, and ſtirred up in them an unreaſonable Deſire after Riches, for they, taking all to be Gold that glittered, ran into the utmoſt Diſtraction, neglecting both the neceſſary Defence of their Lives from the *Indians*, and the Support of their Bodies by ſecuring Proviſions, abſolutely relying upon the Power of Gold, and thinking that, where this was plenty, nothing could be wanting. Nay, they began to be ſo infatuated with the Hopes of Mountains of Wealth, that they deſpiſed the Mines of *Peru* and *Mexico*, in compariſon of their own ineſtimable Stream.

They ſoon, however, grew ſenſible of their Error, and found that, if this gilded Dirt had been really Gold, it could then have been of no Advantage; for, by their Negligence, they were reduced to an exceeding Scarcity of Proviſions, and that little they had was loſt by the burning of their Town, while all Hands were employed about this imaginary golden Treaſure; ſo that they were obliged to live, for ſome time, upon the wild Fruits of the Earth, and upon Crabs and Muſcles, and ſuch like, not having a Day's Proviſion beforehand. By this Neglect, likewiſe, they, many of them became a Prey to the Cruelty of the *Indians*, and the reſt durſt not venture abroad, and ſo were forced to be content with what they could get. In this miſerable Condition they were, when the firſt of the two Ships arrived from *England* to their Aſſiſtance. They neither thought or ſpoke of any thing but Gold; and therefore they put into this Ship all the yellow Dirt they had gathered, and what Skins and Furs they had bartered for, and, filling her up with Cedar, ſent her away. When the other Ship arrived, they ſtowed her likewiſe with this imaginary Gold Duſt, and filled her up with Cedar and Clapboard.

But being at length perſuaded that they might apply themſelves to other Labours as profitable, as well as more neceſſary than collecting yellow Sand, which, ſuppoſing it valuable, would be always in their Power, if they took care to fortify themſelves effectually, they began to beſtir themſelves for that Purpoſe, and by the good Management and Direction of Capt. *Smith*, they made ſeveral Diſcoveries in *James-River*, and up *Cheſepeak-bay*; and, in the Year 1608, they firſt gathered *Indian* Corn of their own planting. While Capt. *Smith* was out on his Expedition among the Savages, he was treacherouſly fallen upon by three hundred of the *Indians*, under the Command of one of their Kings, called *Pamaunkee*, who put all his Men to Death, and taking him Priſoner, carried him to *Powhatan*, their chief King, who would have put him to Death, had he not been ſaved at the Interceſſion of *Powhatan*'s Daughter, *Pacahunta*.

Being releaſed he returned to *James-Town*, where Mr. *Ratcliff* reſigning his Preſidentſhip, he was unanimouſly deſired to accept of that Office. While theſe Diſcoveries were making by Captain *Smith*, Matters ran again into Confuſion in *James-Town*; and ſeveral uneaſy People, taking Advantage of his Abſence, attempted to deſert the Settlement and to run away with the ſmall Veſſel which was left to attend it; for Captain *Smith*, was the only Man among them who could manage Diſcoveries with Succeſs, or who could keep the Settlement in any Order. Nevertheleſs, amidſt all theſe Inconveniences which they brought upon themſelves, the Plantation being increaſed to near five hundred Men, they made two other Settlements, one at *Nanſamond* in *James-River*, above thirty Miles below *James-Town*; and the other at *Powhatan*, ſix Miles below the Falls of *James-River*; which laſt was bought of *Powhatan* for a certain Quantity of Copper, each Setttlement conſiſting of one hundred and twenty Men; and ſoon after they made a fourth Settlement at *Kiguotan*, near the Mouth of *James-River*. Captain *Smith* obſerved that two Thirds of the Adventurers came over with a View of having every thing provided to their Hands, without any Care or Labour of their own, and were ſubſiſted by the Labours of the other Induſtrious Third, until he compelled them all to take Share in the Work; and then he ſoon planted Ground enough to ſubſiſt the Colony in Plenty, and, by moderate Exerciſe and good Food, ſaw them not only reſtored to their Healths, but in a very flouriſhing Condition; and, as there was now no longer Neceſſity of procuring Food from the *Indians* by Violence, they lived and trafficked very amicably together, and *Powhatan* ſuffered him to make ſeveral other Settlements in the Country.

When their Affairs were in this proſperous Situation there arrived ſix or ſeven Ships from *England*, with between three and four hundred Planters, and ſuch ample Supplies of Ammunition and Proviſion, as would have enabled the Colony to have made an entire Conquſt of *Virginia*, or, at leaſt, to have procured what Terms they ſaw fit of the *Indians*, if they had been under any Command; but as things were managed, this Supply only brought the Colony into Confuſion. Upon Report of which the Company in *England*, imagining the Diviſions among the Council in *Virginia*, in whom the Government there was lodged, were the Occaſion of moſt of the Miſmanagements that had happened, procured a new Patent from King *James*, whereby they were impowered to appoint a Governor with a more ample Authority than they had by the preceding Patent; and prevailed on the Lord *de la War* to accept of the Government of their new Colony; who thereupon made Sir *Thomas Gates*, Sir *George Summers*, and Captain *Newport*, his Deputies, until his Arrival; and theſe Gentlemen ſet ſail for *England* with nine Ships and five hundred Men, in the Month of *May* 1609.

All the three Deputy-Governors, being embarked in one Ship, were unfortunately caſt away on the Iſlands of *Bermudas*, being then uninhabited, but they and all the People eſcaped to the Shore; where, finding Plenty of Proviſions, they took Poſſeſſion of theſe Iſlands for the Crown of *England*, and from Sir *George Summers* they have been ever ſince called the *Summer Iſlands*. In the mean time the reſt of their Fleet arrived ſafe in the Bay of *Cheſepeak*, with the Reinforcement above mentioned; were they found Captain *Smith* Preſident; but both old and new Planters gave out they were not obliged to obey him, for their was another Commiſſion granted which had ſuperſeded his, and they expected the Arrival of the Deputy-Governors every Day.

But notwithſtanding theſe Jarrs, Captain *Smith* made a ſhift to keep them in ſome Order while he remained among them, for otherwiſe the Colony had been deſerted over and over; but as this Gentleman was extremely active, and almoſt continually employed in ſome Service or other, he had the Misfortune to be blown up by Accident; which, though it did not coſt him his Life, yet he was ſo wounded and maimed thereby, that it was found abſolutely neceſſary for him to return to *England* with the Veſſels that ſailed not long after; a thing, happy for himſelf, but extremely diſadvantageous for the Settlement; ſince he was no ſooner on Ship board than every Man took upon him to do what ſeemed right in his own Eyes, which had deſperate Conſequences, ſo that thoſe who had given him moſt Trouble while he was amongſt them, deeply regretted the Loſs of him; and yet this Senſe of their own bad Behaviour did not at all incline them to Amendment, or to the ſetting up any other Perſon with ſuch Powers as might enable him to do what Captain *Smith* had done.

On the contrary, they emptied their Magazines and lived in the greateſt Profuſion, till that brought on Want; and then they rambled without Order, and under no Command, through the Country; taking Proviſions by Force from the Natives, who failed not to employ all their Cunning, of which they had enough, to deſtroy and cut them off; ſo that when the Deputy-Governors arrived, in two Sloops, which they had built in *Bermudas*, they found them in a moſt deplorable Condition; War, Sickneſs, and Famine, having reduced them from upwards of four hundred, to fewer than fourſcore, and theſe too uneaſy and diſcontented. Sir *Thomas Gates*, and Sir *George Summers*, took all the Pains they could to quiet theſe Uneaſineſſes, and to bring things once more into Order; but it was all in vain; and the People ſhewing their empty Warehouſes, their ruined Settlements, and the Number of Sick among them, induced thoſe Gentlemen to conſent to their embarking for *England*, as the only Means of ſaving thoſe who were left; which they accordingly did, to the great Joy, no doubt, of the *Indians*.

4. But juſt as they were ſailing out of the Bay of *Cheſepeak*, they met with their new Governor, who obliged them to return to *James-Town*, to repair their Habitations and Forts there, and to diſpoſe every thing for maintaining the Settlement. This worthy Governor was the Right Honourable *Thomas Weſt*, Lord *de la War*, of an ancient, as well as noble, Family; in which Prudence ſeems to have been hereditary, as well as Title. He was endued with the Virtues moſt requiſite for his Station, as Governor of an infant Colony; for, with great Mildneſs and Humanity, he had the warmeſt Courage and the greateſt Firmneſs of Mind, and was equally capable of perſuading by Words, animating by Example, and awing by the juſt Uſe of his Authority. He accepted of this Commiſſion from the Company, with a View of putting an end to theſe Diſtractions, which had hitherto diſappointed all their Expectations, and defeated all their Endeavours, and which they juſtly attributed to the Want of having there ſome Perſon in ſupreme Authority; who might be able to direct the Induſtrious, encourage the Deſerving, and puniſh the Factious and Diſobedient.

As ſoon therefore as theſe old, or rather new, Planters, were once on ſhore again, his Lordſhip, in a free and plain Diſcourſe, ſet before them the Folly and Madneſs of their Proceedings, reproving them for their Diviſions, Idleneſs, and ill Conduct, which had occaſioned their Misfortunes; adviſing them to reform, or he ſhould be compelled to draw the Sword of Juſtice, and cut off the Delinquents; declaring, however, he had much rather draw his own Sword in their Defence; and telling them for their Encouragement, that he had brought them ſuch Plenty of Proviſions, that they would be in no Danger of wanting for the future, if they were not wanting to themſelves, in providing ſuch things as the Country produced; then he proceeded to conſtitute a Council, conſiſting of Sir *Thomas Gates*, his Lieutenant General; Sir *George Summers*, his Admiral; the honourable *George Piercy*, one of his Captains; Sir *Ferdinand Wenman* his Maſter of the Ordnance, and *Chriſtopher Newport* his Admiral: Theſe, and the reſt of his Officers, having taken the Oaths to the Government, and entered on their ſeveral Employments; his next Care was, to furniſh his People with Fleſh, for notwithſtanding there were not leſs than five or ſix hundred Hogs in the Plantation, when Capt. *Smith* went to *England*, there was not one left alive at this time; they had either been eat by the Colony, or deſtroyed by the *Indians*, who, to diſtreſs them, had driven all the Deer, and other Game, out of the Country; and the *Engliſh* were ſo ill provided with Nets, that though there was Plenty of Fiſh in the Rivers, they knew not how to take them.

The Company had ſent over a Supply of Cloathing, Biſket, Flour, Beer, and other Liquors; but, taking it for granted, that they had Hogs, Veniſon, Fowl, and Fiſh enough in the Country, had made no Proviſion of Fleſh; whereupon Sir *George Summers*, the Admiral, was diſpatched to *Bermudas*, to bring over live Hogs from thence, for of thoſe Sir *George* found Plenty in that Iſland when he was caſt away there, though there were no People upon it. The Governor alſo ſet ſome to fiſhing within the Bay, and others without, where there were Shoals of Cod-fiſh; but their Nets and Tackle were ſo defective, that they could not catch any. Hereupon he endeavoured to ſettle a Correſpondence with *Powhatan* and other *Indian* Princes, that he might purchaſe Fleſh of them for *Engliſh* Goods; and in ſome of theſe Negotiations he ſucceeded, particularly with the King of *Patowmack*, one of the moſt potent of the *Indian* Princes; but notwithſtanding he repreſented to *Powhatan* that he had already promiſed to acknowledge the King of *England* for his Sovereign, accepted of a Crown and Sceptre, and other Enſigns of Royalty from him; with Preſents of great Value; this Prince would give him no other Anſwer, but, That he expected the *Engliſh* ſhould depart his Country, or confine themſelves within the Limits of *James-Town* Iſland, and not range through every Part of the Country, as they continued to do, only with a View of ſubduing it, as he apprehended; threatning to iſſue his Orders to cut them off and deſtroy them, if ever they were found without the Limits he preſcribed them; and commanded the Meſſengers his Lordſhip ſent to him, not to ſee his Face again unleſs they brought him a Coach and ſix Horſes; for in theſe he had been informed by ſome *Indians* who had been in *England*, their great Weroances were drawn.

The Lord *de la War* finding he was to expect no Friendſhip from *Powhatan*, determined he ſhould fear him: Having taken an *Indian* Priſoner, therefore, he cut off his Right-hand, and ſent him to his Maſter *Powhatan*, letting him know, that he would ſend all his Subjects in that manner, and burn all the Corn in his Country (which was ripe at this time) if he did not forbear all Acts of Hoſtility for the future; which had ſo good an Effect, that the Colony lived in Peace and Plenty for ſome time, every Day making freſh Diſcoveries, and forming new Alliances with ſome *Indian* Princes.

And thus the Company's Affairs being happily eſtabliſhed again by the Conduct of Lord *de la War*, Sir *Thomas Gates* was ſent to *England*, to give an Account of the State of the Colony; the Ships being freighted home with Cedar, black Walnut, and Iron Ore; which Returns appeared ſo inconſiderable, that the Company were in Suſpence, whether they ſhould not ſend for the Lord *de la War* and the Colony home. However, they firſt deſired Sir *Thomas Gates*'s Opinion upon it; who told them that theſe were not the only Returns they were to expect; that if they would ſend over Men who underſtood how to make Pitch and Tar, and plant Hemp and Flax, they might furniſh *England* with all manner of naval Stores; and that it would be very eaſy alſo to ſet up a Manufacture of Silk, the Country abounding in Mulberry Trees as well as Silk Graſs; that the Soil was exceeding fruitful, producing Corn, Graſs, Grapes, and other Fruits in abundance; that *European* Cattle and Corn multiplied prodigiouſly; and that there was great Plenty of Veniſon, Fiſh and Fowl, which they would never want when they could be provided with Boats, Nets, and Engines to take them. The

Company needed then to be at very little Charge to ſupport the Colony; on the contrary, they would in a ſhort time meet with Returns anſwerable to their Expectations. Whereupon the Patentees reſolved to proceed with Alacrity to improve their *Virginia* Plantation, in which Reſolution they were confirmed by the Lord *de la War*, who returned to *England* about this time (1610) for the Recovery of his Health.

He left behind him the honourable Mr. *Piercy*, as his Deputy; and, while he reſided in *England*, took as much Care of this Plantation as if it had been his paternal Eſtate; and was no leſs ſolicitous about the Welfare of its Inhabitants than if they had been his neareſt Relations: To ſay the Truth; it was to the Wiſdom and Foreſight of this worthy Lord that this Nation owes the preſerving ſo great and ſo beneficial an Acquiſition; as it was to his Courage and Steadineſs they were indebted for the Plantation itſelf. In ſhort, he ſpent the whole Remainder of his Life, which was about eight Years, in the Service of the Company and the Colony, and actually died in his Voyage back to *Virginia* in 1618, with a great Supply of People, Cloathing, and Goods, for that Settlement, which, however, arrived ſafe. As I have now given an Account of the ſettling this Country, I have executed all that falls within the Compaſs of my Deſign; but, as I apprehend that it may be both entertaining to the Reader, and better anſwer the Deſign of this *Collection*, I ſhall juſt run over a few of the principal Facts relating to the Hiſtory of this Province, and then give a ſhort Deſcription of it as it ſtands at preſent; in order to ſhew what Advantages have accrued to the Nation from an Eſtabliſhment which it coſt ſo much Labour and Pains to effect: And the ſame Method I ſhall take in regard to other Plantations, as moſt earneſtly deſiring to render this Work as agreeable, as uſeful, and as perfect, as it is in my Power to make it.

While Lord *de la War* was in *England* the Colony was governed by his Deputies, who, applying themſelves to bring about a peaceable Correſpondence with the Natives, advanced it at laſt ſo far, that ſeveral Intermarriages took place, and amongſt theſe the *Indian* Princeſs *Pacahunta* eſpouſed Mr. *John Rolf*, an *Engliſh* Gentleman, whoſe Poſterity enjoy, at this Day, the Lands deſcended to them from this Lady. In the Year 1616 one Captain *Yardly* was at the Head of Affairs; and the Reaſon I take notice particularly of his Adminiſtration is, becauſe under it they firſt began to cultivate Tobacco, which is ſince become the Staple Commodity of the Colony. He was ſucceeded by Capt. *Argoll*, afterwards Sir *Samuel Argoll*; who was a Man of a military Turn, whom we ſhall have Occaſion to mention frequently hereafter: He repaired the Forts that had run to ruin, and put the Colony into ſuch a State of Defence, that there was no great Danger of any Attempts that could be made againſt them by the *Indians*.

After the Death of Lord *de la War*, Capt, *Yardly*, who was likewiſe in *England*, and who, being knighted by King *James*, had the Title of Sir *George Yardly*, was ſent over with the Title of Governor; and a very good Governor he proved, for to him the People owed their being made as free as their Countrymen in this Iſland, ſince he augmented the Number of the Council, and allowed the Planters to ſend their Repreſentatives to the Aſſembly, the firſt of which ſat at *James-Town*, in *May* 1620. In his Time Negroes were firſt brought into *Virginia*, the Lands divided, Salt-works erected at Cape *Charles*, and an Iron Mine wrought with good Effect. He was ſucceeded, in 1621, by Sir *Francis Wyat*, a young Genrleman of a very good Diſpoſition, who endeavoured all he could to promote the Welfare of the Colony, yet in his Time it was that this Settlement ran a very great Hazard of being totally deſtroyed; for the *Indians*, who had lived amongſt them now for ſeven or eight Years with great Freedom and Familiarity, formed a Deſign of extirpating them entirely, on account of one of their War-Captains being killed, though he had committed Murder and Robbery, and died in defending himſelf from falling into the Hands of Juſtice. The Method they took to revenge this was, by a general Maſſacre, which they fixed for *Friday*, the 22d of *March*, 1622, and, in all probability, it had effectually anſwered their End, if it had not been diſcovered by a converted *Indian*, the very Day on which it was to have taken place; ſo that the advanced Plantations could not receive Intelligence time enough, which gave the Natives an Opportunity of cutting off three hundred and thirty-four Perſons. The *Engliſh* revenged this in a manner very unbecoming them, ſince, pretending to be reconciled to the *Indians*; and thereby gaining their Confidence, they maſſacred likewiſe in their Turn, and purſued their firſt Blow ſo effectually as to drive moſt of theſe poor People to ſeek for new Habitations.

But it was not long before the *Engliſh* gave them an Opportunity of ſatisfying that Vice which is deepeſt rooted in their Nation, I mean Revenge, for dividing amongſt themſelves, and falling into Factions and Parties; and, at the ſame time, running out new Settlements; the *Indians* fell upon them again, and cut them off in great Numbers. As this Misfortune was chiefly owing to the imprudent Grants made in *England*; it occaſioned loud Complaints; and the fatal Conſequences of the Company's Mal-Adminiſtration cried ſo loud, that King *Charles* I. coming to the Crown of *England*, expreſſed a tender Concern for the poor People that had been betrayed thither, and loſt; upon which Conſideration he diſſolved the Company in the Year 1626, reducing the Country and Government under his own immediate Direction, appointing the Governor and Council himſelf, and ordering all Patents and Proceſs to iſſue in his own Name, reſerving to himſelf a Quit-Rent of Two Shillings for every hundred Acres of Land, and ſo *pro rata*. The Country being thus taken into the King's Hands, his Majeſty was pleaſed to re-eſtabliſh the Conſtitution by a Governor, Council, and Aſſembly, and to confirm the former Methods and Juriſdictions of ſeveral Courts, as they had been appointed in the Year 1620; and placed the laſt Reſort in the Aſſembly; he likewiſe confirmed the Rules and Orders made by the firſt Aſſembly, for apportioning of Land, and granting Patents to particular Adventurers.

This was a Conſtitution according to their Hearts Deſire, and things ſeemed now to go on in a happy Courſe, for Encouragement of the Colony; People flocked thither apace, every one took up Land, by Patent, to his liking; and, not minding any thing but to be Maſters of great Tracts of Land, they ſettled themſelves ſeparately on their ſeveral Plantations. Nor did they fear the *Indians*, but kept them at a greater Diſtance than formerly; and they, for their Parts, ſeeing the *Engliſh* ſo ſenſibly increaſe in Number, were glad to keep their Diſtance, and be peaceable. This Liberty of taking up Land, and the Ambition each Man had of being Lord of a vaſt, though unimproved Territory, together with the Advantage of the many Rivers, which afforded a commodious Road for Shipping, at every Man's Door, has made the Country fall into ſuch an unhappy Settlement and Courſe of Trade; that, to this Day, they have not any one Place of Cohabitation among them that may reaſonably bear the Name of a Town. The next Governor after the ſettling of this new Conſtitution, was Sir *John Harvey*, who proved of a Spirit very improper for ſuch an Employment, ſince he began early to differ with his Council; and ſoon after oppreſſed the People to ſuch a Degree, that they were reſolved to be rid of him, at all Events; and accordingly in 1639 they ſeized him, and ſent him home Priſoner, with a long Charge againſt him, accompanied by two of the Council, appointed to manage the Proſecution againſt him. But as ſoon as he came to *London*, the King, who highly reſented this Outrage on his Prerogative, ſent Sir *John* back again, with the ſame Authority as before; but the very next Year removed that oppreſſive Governor, and appointed Sir *William Berkley* to ſucceed him.

This Gentleman held the Government longer than all his Predeceſſors put together, and deſerved it; he was, in all reſpects, an excellent Governor; ſo careful of the Colony, and ſo kind to the People, that he preſerved Loyalty in *Virginia* long after it was loſt at home; nor did he ſubmit to the Rump, till he was forced to it; and then withdrew to his own Plantation, where he lived as a private Perſon, and would have no Concern in public Affairs at all; but he was ſtill reſpected by the Inhabitants for the great Things he had performed. He had purſued the War with the *Indians* till he had reduced them ſo low as to be no longer troubleſome, after having made their Emperor Priſoner; he encouraged the making of Pot-Aſhes, Soap, Salt; planting of Flax, Hemp, and Cotton; and the Manufacture of Silk, which he brought to great Perfection. After he retired from the Government there were three Perſons ſent from *England*, who ruled one after another ſeven Years; the firſt of them was Colonel *Diggs*, who acted under the Parliament's Authority; then Mr. *Bennet* was ſent over by *Oliver*; and afterwards one Mr. *Matthews*, who died Governor; and, upon this Accident, the People of *Virginia* deſired Sir *William Berkley* to reſume the Adminiſtration of Affairs. He had a Commiſſion from King *Charles* II. then in exile; but he abſolutely refuſed to act, unleſs the People would acknowledge his Maſter, to which they very readily conſented, which will appear the leſs ſurpriſing, when it is conſidered, that Abundance of Gentlemen, who had been ruined in the Support of the Royal Cauſe, had retired into this Colony from *England*.

In conſequence therefore, of this Reſolution, King *Charles* II. was proclaimed in *Virginia*, before he was acknowledged in any of his three Kingdoms; but it happened very luckily for Sir *William* that his Maſter was ſoon after reſtored; and as a Mark of his Affection for the Province, he wore at his Coronation a Robe of Silk, ſent from *Virginia*. Soon after Sir *William* went over to compliment the King upon his Return, and left Colonel *Francis Morriſon*, his Deputy; who behaved, in his Abſence, to the general Satisfaction of the Plantation. He ordered the Laws to be reviſed and collected into a Body, to be laid before the Aſſembly, at their next Seſſion. He took the ſame Care of the Church as he did of the State; he regulated the Pariſhes, ſettled the Miniſter's Allowance, got a Revenue for the Support of the Government, and other Laws for the Encouragement of the Linnen and Wollen Manufactures, the breeding of Silk-Worms, Tanning, and Salt-Works.

Whilſt the Deputy-Governor was ſo buſy for the Service of the Colony, Sir *William Berkley* was in *England*, taking his Inſtructions from the King for his future Conduct. His Majeſty ordered him to promote Huſbandry, Manufactures, Silk and Vineyards, that all Ships trading to *Virginia* ſhould go to *James Town*, and be entered at the Cuſtom-Houſe there before they broke Bulk; which Orders were given, with an Intent, that by them the People might be tempted to come thither, and dwell there for the Conveniency of Trade; and had they been obeyed, it might have increaſed the Number of Buildings in that City, which is now much leſs than it was fourſcore Years ago; every body coveting to live at his Plantation, and ſettle where he thinks he ſhall have the beſt Crops and Conveniency of Shipping. This is the Reaſon that there are ſo few Towns in *Virginia* and thoſe that are there ſo very ſmall. Sir *William*, being fully inſtructed by the King how to proceed on his Return to his Government, ſet ſail from *England* in *Virginia*, where he arrived in the Year 1662, and immediately put the People upon improving their Plantations, and advancing Manufactures. He ſummoned an Aſſembly, and got an Act paſſed for building *James-Town*; each County was to build ſo many Houſes, and ſome actually built their Quota; which, notwithſtanding the Act, were converted into Taverns and Eating-Houſes, and the Town was very little the bigger for them. Sir *Wiliam Berkley*, at his Return, gave a Sanction to the new Body of Laws, and took all the Care he could to carry them into Execution; which was all that he could do, or that indeed could be expected from him. And, as we are now come down in the Hiſtory of this Colony as low as this Period will permit, we are next to give a ſuccinct Account of the Nature and Condition of this Plantation, that it may appear how well it deſerves the Pains that have been taken about it, and how amply it rewards this Nation for all the Care and Expence beſtowed in planting of it, which will alſo acquit us of all the Promiſes made to the Reader upon this Subject.

5. The Situation of *Virginia* is remarkably happy and convenient, having the River *Potowmac* upon the North-eaſt, the *Atlantic* Ocean on the Eaſt, the Province of *Carolina* on the South, and the *Apalachian* Mountains on the Weſt, which ſeparate it from *Florida*. It lies from 36 to 39° North Latitude, and between 74 and 80° of Weſtern Longitude, it extends about 240 Miles in length from North to South, and may be in breadth 120 Miles from Eaſt to Weſt. As to the Air of this Country it depends very much on the Winds. The North and North-weſt are either very ſharp aud piercing, or boiſterous and ſtormy, the South-eaſt and South being hazy and ſultry. The Winter is dry and clear, which makes it very pleaſant, Snow falls in great Quantities, but it ſeldom lies above a Day or two, and their Froſts though quick and ſharp, yet ſeldom laſt long. Their Spring is ſomewhat earlier than ours; in *April* they have frequent Rains; *Moy* and *June* are very pleaſant Months, the Heat being greatly tempered by cooling Breezes; *July* and *Auguſt* are ſultry hot, the Air growing in a manner ſtagnant, which produces dreadful Thunderings and Lightning; in *September* the Weather breaks, and there fall prodigious Showers of Rain, at which Seaſon it is that the Inhabitants are moſt ſickly. It ought, however, to be obſerved, that in this, and indeed in all our Colonies, the Climate grows daily better, and theſe Thunder Seaſons leſs violent, which the Inhabitants very juſtly aſcribe to the clearing the Country, and cutting down the Woods, which gives the Air a freer Paſſage, and is attended with many other Conveniences.

As to the Soil it is generally low towards the Sea Coaſts, and for one hundred Miles up into the Country there is hardly a Hill or Stone to be met with, except that here and there ſome Rocks of Iron Ore appear above the Ground, and ſome Banks of a kind of petrified Oyſter-ſhells, that are of a prodigious Thickneſs; the whole Country before it was planted was either Foreſt or Moraſs, which in the *Weſt Indies* they call Swamps. The Bay of *Cheſepeak* runs directly up the Country, almoſt due North, for three hundred Miles; at the Entrance it is eſteemed about twenty-one Miles broad, or ſomething more; and it continues navigable as long as it waſhes the Coaſt of *Virginia*, and much farther; into the Weſt-ſide of this Bay fall four great Rivers, which riſe in the *Apalachian* Mountains, all of them running from the North-weſt to the South-eaſt: The moſt ſoutherly of theſe is *James-River*, the *Indian* Name whereof was *Powhatan*, being generally about two Miles over, and navigable at leaſt, fourſcore Miles. *York-River*, whoſe *Indian* Name was *Pamaunkee*, is a little to the Northward of *James-River*, and in ſome Places they approach one another ſo near, that they are not five Miles aſunder. To the Northward of *York-River* is the River *Raphanack*, which in ſome Places is not ten Miles diſtant from *York-River*, and either of them as broad or broader than *James-River*. North of *Raphanack* is the great River of *Patowmack*, which in ſome Places is not above ſeven Miles diſtant from *Raphanack-River*, and in other Places upwards of fifty. This River of *Patowmack* is navigable above two hundred Miles, being nine Miles broad in ſome Places, but generally about ſeven. The Mouth of the River *Patowmack*, and that of *James-River*, are about one hundred Miles aſunder; but the Heads of all the four Rivers riſe in the ſame Hills, pretty near each other. There are great Plenty of Springs in all Parts of the Country, but the Water is ſomewhat harſher than in *England*.

As to Animals, there were neither Horſes, Cows, Sheep, or Swine, before the coming of the *Engliſh*, but they have now plenty of them all; and their Horſes are very ſerviceable, and travel at a great Rate. They have likewiſe Elks, but not common, Red-Deer in great Plenty; Hares, Squirrels of ſeveral Kinds, Muſk-Rats, Rackoons, wild Cats, Beavers, Wolves, Foxes, and ſeveral Sorts of Dogs. As for Reptiles, they have Lizards, ſeveral kinds of Snakes, particularly the Rattle-Snake, of which an Account will be given hereafter. As to Birds, they have Eagles of three ſorts: The firſt is the grey Eagle about the Size of a Kite; the ſecond the bald Eagle, ſo called becauſe the upper Part of the Neck and Head is covered with a Sort of white Down; the third a black Eagle, reſembling thoſe in *England*, very ravenous, and which do a great deal of Miſchief; moſt ſorts of Hawks, two kinds of Owls, both very large; and the white Owl very beautiful, all the Feathers of her Back and Breaſt being bright as Silver, except a black Spot immediately below the Throat. They have a large Bird of Prey, which they call a Buſtard, but it is rather a kind of Kite; they have wild Turkies very large, ſome of them weighing forty Pounds; their Partridges are ſmaller than ours, but to the full as well taſted; they have a Bird called the Mocking-Bird, of two ſorts, grey and red, eſteemed the fineſt ſinging Bird in the World; it receives its Name from imitating the Notes of all other kinds of Birds it hears: The humming Bird with a long Bill and very fine Feathers. As to Water-Fowl they have of all ſorts, ſuch as Herns, Bitterns, Curlews, Wild Swans, Geeſe, Ducks, Teal, Wigeons, Cormorants, and Gulls.

As for Fiſh, no Country in the World has greater Plenty: In *February*, *March*, *April*, and *May*, there are Shoals of Herrings come up into their very Brooks, ſome of the Size of ours, but for the moſt Part much bigger. There are alſo plenty of Cod-fiſh and Sting-graſs; which laſt is ſaid to be peculiar to this Country, being ſo called from having a Sting in its Tail; it is eſteemed good Food. In their Rivers there are the old Wife, the Sheep's-head, an excellent Fiſh; Trouts, Green-Fiſh, Sturgeons in great Plenty; Plaice, Flounders, Whitings, Carp, Pikes, Mullets, and Perch. And for Shell-fiſh, they have Oyſters, Crabs, Cockles, and Shrimps. Of thoſe that are not eaten, they have in their Seas Whale, Dog-fiſh, Sharks, Porpuſſes, Gar-fiſh, and Sword-fiſh: There is alſo a Fiſh they call the Toad-fiſh, from his ſwelling monſtrouſly when taken out of the Water; and the Rock-Fiſh, ſome Species whereof are poiſonous, and have been fatal to thoſe that have eaten them; though others, which are not eaſy to be diſtinguiſhed from the former, are very wholeſome Food; the Skip-jack, ſo called from his ſkipping out of the Water, is tolerable good Food; and ſo is the Tobacco-pipe-fiſh, ſo called from its being long and ſlender, like a Tobacco-pipe. They have many Inſects, ſuch as Muſketoes, Buggs, Seed-ticks, Red-worms, which lie only on old Trees and rotten Logs; on which, if a Man ſits down in the Midſt of Summer, he is ſure to catch them, but they are eaſily got off with warm Water. We may add to theſe the Worm that eats Plank, which has a kind of Horn or Screw in its Head, with which it forces a Paſſage through any Wood to which it ſticks; and as we have heard much of theſe Worms, and perhaps not a little concerning them that is wide of the Truth, it may not be amiſs to give an Account of them, from a Gentlemen who reſided long in *Virginia*, and made very exact Obſervations. In the Month of *June*, annually, there riſe up in the Salts vaſt Beds of Seedling Worms, which enter the Ships, Sloops, or Boats, wherever they find the Coat of Pitch, Tar, or Lime worn off the Timber, and by degrees eat the Plank into Cells, like thoſe of an Honeycomb. Theſe Worms continue thus upon the Surface of the Water, from their Riſe in *June*, until the firſt great Rains after the Middle of *July*; but after that do no freſh Damage till the next Summer Seaſon, and never penetrate farther than the Plank or Timber they firſt fix upon.

The Damage occaſioned by theſe Worms may be four ſeveral Ways avoided; 1ſt, By keeping the Coat (of Pitch, Lime, and Tallow, or whatever elſe it is) whole upon the Bottom of the Ship, or Veſſel; for theſe Worms never faſten or enter but where the Timber is naked. 2dly, By anchoring the large Veſſels in the Strength of the Tide, during the Worm-Seaſon, and haling the ſmaller aſhore; for in the Current of a ſtrong Tide the Worms cannot faſten. 3dly, By burning and cleaning immediately after the Worm-Seaſon, is over, for then they are but juſt ſtuck into the Plank, and have not buried themſelves in it; ſo that the leaſt Fire in the World deſtroys them entirely, and prevents all Damage that would otherwiſe enſue from them. 4thly, By running up into the Freſhes with a Ship or Veſſel, during the five or ſix Weeks that the Worm is thus above Water; for they never enter, or do any Damage in freſh Water, or where it is not very ſalt.

We come now to ſpeak of what is produced by their Soil. And firſt with reſpect to Trees; of which, we may affirm, few Countries are better ſtocked, or afford greater Variety. As to Timber, they have Oaks, Cedars, Firs, Cypreſs, Elm, Aſh, and Walnut; ſome of their Oaks meaſure two Feet ſquare and ſixty Feet in height. They have alſo Beach, Poplar, Hazel, *&c.* beſides Saſſafras, Sarſaparilla, and many other ſweet Woods, and ſuch as are uſed in Dying. Their Fruits are, Grapes of ſeveral kinds, Cherries of various ſorts, Plumbs from the Bigneſs of a Damſon to that of a Pear; Peaches in ſuch Plenty that in ſome Places they feed their Hogs with them; Quinces in abundance, and Apples and Pears in as great Plenty as can be wiſhed. Their Corn is of two Sorts, *Engliſh* Wheat, Barley, Oats, Rye, which all thrive very well, and yield from fifteen to thirty fold Increaſe; and Maize, or *Indian* Corn, which is not unlike our Peaſe in Taſte, but grows in a great Ear or Head as big as the Handle of a large Horſe-whip, having from three hundred to ſeven hundred Grains in one Ear, and ſometimes one Grain produces two or three ſuch Ears or Heads; it is of various Colours, Red, White, Yellow, Blue, Green and Black, and ſome ſpeckled and ſtriped, but the White, and Yellow, are moſt common; the Stalk is as thick as an ordinary walking Cane, and grows ſix or eight Feet high, in Joints, having a ſweet Juice in it of which a Syrrup is ſometimes made, and from every Joint there grow long Leaves in the Shape of Sedge Leaves: The manner of Planting is in Holes or Trenches, about five or ſix Feet Diſtance from each other; the Earth is opened with a Hoe (and of late Years, with a Plough), four Inches deep, and four or five Grains thrown into each Hole, or Trench, about a Span diſtant from each other, and then covered with Earth: They keep it weeding from time to time, and as the Stalk grows high they keep the Mould about it like the Hillocks in a Hop-Garden: They begin to plant in *April*, but the chief Plantation is in *May*, and they continue to plant till the Middle of *June*: What is planted in *April* is reaped in *Auguſt*; what is planted in *May* is reaped in *September*; and the laſt in *October*.

But as the great Produce of this Country is Tobacco, and as that of *Virginia* is looked upon as the beſt in the World, it is but juſt that we ſhould give a more particular Account of it. It is certain that the Country produced vaſt Quantities of it before any *Europeans* went thither, and that the Uſe of it was taught them by the Natives; but in what manner they cultivated it, or how they cured it, is now no longer known, ſince at preſent they buy what they conſume from the *Engliſh*, and therefore it is of their manner of Managing this Plant, that we ſhall ſpeak. The Tobacco Seeds are firſt ſown in Beds, where having remained a Month, the Plants are tranſplanted into the little Hillocks, like thoſe in our Hop-gardens, the firſt rainy Weather; and being grown a Foot high there, within the Space of another Month they top them, and prune off all the bottom Leaves, leaving only ſeven or eight on the Stalk, that they may be the better fed; and theſe Leaves, in ſix Weeks time, will be in their full Growth; the Planters prune off the Suckers, and clean them of the Horn-worm twice a Week, which is called *Worming* and *Suckering*; and this Work laſts three Weeks or a Month, by which time the Leaf from Green begins to turn browniſh, and to ſpot and thicken; which is a Sign of its ripening: As faſt as the Plants ripen, they cut them down, heap them up, and let them lie and ſweat a Night, and the next Day they carry them to the Tobacco-houſe, where every Plant is hung up at a convenient Diſtance one from another, for about a Month or five Weeks; at the End of which Time they ſtrike, or take them down, in moiſt Weather, when the Leaf gives, or elſe it will crumble to Duſt; after which they are laid upon Sticks, and covered up cloſe in the Tobacco houſe for a Week or a Fortnight to ſweat; and then opening the Bulk in a wet Day, the Servants ſtrip and ſort them, the top-leaves being the beſt and the bottom the worſt Tobacco; the laſt Work is to pack it in Hogſheads or bundle it up, which is alſo done in a wet Seaſon; for in curing of Tobacco, wet Seaſons are as neceſſary as dry to make the Leaf pliant.

Yet Tobacco is very far from being the only Thing of Value which this Country produces; on the contrary, they have Flax, Hemp, and Cotton; and Silk they might have if they were not ſo extreamly addicted to their ſtaple Commodity, as never to think of any thing elſe, if Tobacco can be brought to a tolerable Market. They have likewiſe Silk-graſs, of which they make very little Advantage, though, no doubt, under proper Management, moſt profitable Manufactures might be raiſed from it, ſince its Threads are finer than thoſe of Flax, and ſtronger than Hemp. We may add to this, that all kind of naval Stores might be produced in *Virginia* with great Eaſe, and in vaſt Plenty: Such as Plank-Timber, Maſts, Yards, Pitch, Tar, Roſin, and Turpentine, beſides Sails, Cordage, and Iron. It is commonly ſaid, and there are ſome who have lived in *Virginia* ready enough to affirm it, that there is hardly a Stone to be found in the Country; but, however, this is far enough from being true; for at the Water-falls there are Stones enough of different kinds fit for paving, and other Uſes; and towards the Hills there are Quarries of Slate, and of a kind of Freeſtone; there are likewiſe a Sort of ſhining Pebbles, not at all inferior to Kerry-ſtones and though generally ſpeaking they are ſoft, yet I have heard that when long expoſed to the Air, they become very hard, and if poliſhed are extremely beautiful. As to Mines, they have ſeveral of good Iron in almoſt all Parts of the Country, more eſpecially in the Northern Neck, which belongs to Lord *Fairfax*. There was once a Lead Mine diſcovered, but loſt in the firſt Maſſacre; there has been likewiſe a Talk of Silver and Gold Mines; but it is certain, that they have a great many Coals, Antimony, and other Things of Value, in the Bowels of that Country, which they would not fail to ſearch out, if Tobacco alone did not ſupply them plentifully.

Thus far we have deſcribed the Country itſelf: Let us next enquire into its Condition as a Colony; and in this Light we find it divided into twenty-five Counties, ſome ſay, twenty-nine; of theſe the firſt is *James County*, lying on both Sides *James River*, which contains five Pariſhes, and the only two Towns that are in *Virginia*. Their firſt is *James Town*, on the North-ſide of the River, and about forty Miles from the Mouth of it; it is very far from being conſiderable, as it does not contain above ſixty or eighty Houſes at moſt, and of theſe, as we obſerved before, the greater Part are Taverns or public Houſes, for the Entertainment of ſeafaring People, the Gentlemen of *Virginia* making it their Choice to live on their Plantations, in order to ſee how their Eſtates are managed; and in theſe Seats of theirs they live ſo handſomely, and ſo hoſpitably, that how much ſoever Strangers may diſapprove their Method before they come into the Country, they are quickly reconciled to it afterwards. The ſecond is *Williamſburgh*, to which the Seat of Government is now transferred, and yet it does not conſiſt of above forty Houſes. The reſt of the Counties are denominated as follows: *Henrico County*, *Prince George*, *Charles County*, *Surry*, *Iſle of White*, *Nanſamond*, *Norfolk*, *Princeſs Anne*, *York County*, *Warwick*, *Elizabeth*, *New Kent*, *King William*, *King and Queen*, *Glouceſter*, *Middleſex*, *Eſſex*, *Richmond*, *Stafford*, *Weſtmoreland*, and *Lancaſter*, *Northumberland*, *Acomack*, and *Northampton*.

The Number of People in theſe Counties, taken all together, Men, Women, Children, and Negroes, may amount to about half a Million; of theſe, one hundred and twenty thouſand are Freemen, or their Wives and Children, and above twenty thouſand are capable of bearing Arms. As for the *Indians*, there are ſtill many Nations of them; but ſome of them ſo ſmall, that they do not exceed four or five Families.; and it is thought, that amongſt them all, they could ſcarce raiſe ſeven hundred, ſome think, not five hundred fighting Men. As to the Government, it reſembles that of *England*; for the legiſlative Authority is lodged in the Governor, or Council and Aſſembly: The Governor repreſents the King; gives his Aſſent to Laws, and has a negative Voice. As Governor, he is at the Head of the Civil Adminiſtration, and being by his Commiſſion a Lieutenant-General and Vice-Admiral, the Military and Naval Power are likewiſe in his Hands. In other Reſpects, the Government is very well regulated, and the Church alſo is well taken care of; neither has any Plantation belonging to us been under better Management, or the People more happy than thoſe of *Virginia*; and this appears very plainly from the Face of the Country, though there are no great Towns in it, and but very few Villages; for the Gentlemens Seats are very thick, all of them good convenient Houſes, many of them large and magnificent. The Roads are no where better, the Country being for the moſt part, level, and ſcarce any rugged or deep Ways; ſo that it is a common thing to travel forty or fifty Miles in an Afternoon, and ſometimes an hundred in a Summer's Day. They have likewiſe as great Conveniencies with reſpect to Water-carriage as any Country in the World; and it is this that has chiefly hindered them from living in great Towns, which, though prejudicial to the Manufactures, has certainly proved very advantageous to their Plantations, which are larger, more frequent, and better ſecured, than in almoſt any other Colony; and as it has flouriſhed extreamly hitherto, ſo at this time it is as thriving a Colony, and as likely to continue ſo, as any that belong to this Nation.

The laſt Thing we propoſe is, to give the Reader ſome Idea of the Advantages that ariſe to the Nation from this particular Plantation, which I muſt confeſs is a very difficult thing to do; but, however, I ſhall labour to give as much Satisfaction as I can, and if I ſhould be ſo fortunate as to meet with any farther Informations, Care ſhall be taken that the Publick ſhall not loſe the Benefit of them, ſince they will come in properly enough in the latter Part of the Work. In the firſt place it muſt be obſerved, that as the Value of Labour differs in ſeveral Parts of this Kingdom, ſo the Labour of a Man in moſt of the Plantations is not only as advantageous to his native Country as if he worked at home, but much more ſo: I believe, upon a moderate Computation, we may reckon, that ſuch a Perſon contributes to the public Stock, by which I mean, the Income and Wealth of the *Britiſh* Nation, four times as much: So that we may with Reaſon reckon, that the White People in *Virginia*, one with another, produce twelve Pounds to this Nation; the Reaſon of which will appear, when we conſider the Nature of their Commerce more particularly. But beſides this, the Negroes are of great Advantage to this Kingdom, though of infinitely leſs than White People would be, if they were employed in the ſame Work; for every one of theſe poor Creatures conſumes yearly two Hilling-hoes, two Weeding-hoes, two Grubbing-hoes, beſides Axes, Saws, Wimbles, Nails, and other Iron Tools and Materials. On the Whole, there can be no ſort of Queſtion, becauſe it appears a plain Matter of Fact, that theſe People neceſſarily take off the Sum of one hundred and fifty thouſand Pounds, in the Commodities of this Country. How far it might have been more expedient for the Infant-Colony to have intermarried with the *Indians*, and thereby ſo increaſed their Numbers as to have been in a Condition to manage their Affairs without Slaves at all, I will not take upon me to determine; but this ſeems ſo clear as to admit of no Diſpute, that ſuch a Settlement would have been by far more beneficial to the Mother-Country, and out of Compariſon more commodious and ſecure for the Planters themſelves. But I mention this only incidentally, and that it may paſs the Conſideration of Perſons better verſed in theſe Things than I pretend to be; and, from juſt hinting how Things might be, return to the Detail of how they really are.

I have before ſtated (agreeable to what able Authors have aſſerted upon this Subject) ſome general Principles of Computation, ſuch as that every Head in this Plantation may be reckoned worth twelve Pounds a Year to this Nation, which muſt ſeem prodigious, and indeed ſo does every thing grounded on Calculation, to ſuch as have not applied themſelves thereto; and ſo they always will unleſs clearly explained, which is what I ſhall next attempt, as deſiring to inculcate uſeful Truths, capable of influencing Men's Practice, and not to write paradoxical Diſcourſes for my own, and other Peoples Amuſement. In order to untie theſe Knots, we muſt conſider that the People in *Virginia* live exactly as we do, or rather more freely, in that generous, open, hoſpitable, and conſequently expenſive Method, that prevailed here in the laſt Age. But as they are ſupplied both with Neceſſaries and Conveniencies, with the Inſtruments of Labour, as well as the Means of Luxury, from *England*; it follows of Courſe that they muſt employ an infinite Number of Hands to provide theſe. For it is generally known that theſe Demands muſt be ſupplied from thoſe Handicrafts and Mechanics that have moſt Hands in their Service; ſuch as Weavers, Shoemakers, Hatters, Ironmongers, Turners, Joiners, Taylors, Cutlers, Smiths, Bakers, Brewers, Ropemakers, Hoſiers, and indeed all the Mechanics in *England*; their Manufactures being good Merchandize in *Virginia*. The Commodities ſent thither, beſides Linnen, Silks, *India* Goods, Wine, and other foreign Manfactures, are Cloth, coarſe and fine Serges, Stuffs, Bays, Hats, and all Sorts of Haberdaſhers Ware; Hoes, Bills, Axes, Nails, Adzes, and other Iron Ware; Cloaths ready made; Knives, Biſket, Flour, Stockings, Shoes, Caps for Servants, and, in ſhort, every thing that is made in *England*.

But if they employ theſe People they muſt feed them likewiſe, and pay them their Wages; and not only them, but thoſe who take the Pains to go between the Planters and theſe Workmen; by which I mean the Agents, Merchants, or Factors; who though fewer in Number, yet have their Servants and Dependents; who, from the Nature of their Employments, expect to be paid at a better rate. Neither is this all, for when things are made and brought to the Factor, they are never the nearer to the Planter in *Virginia*, but muſt be put into the Hands of a new ſet of People, who are to be paid for the Carriage of them; ſo that now I think the moſt common Capacity may underſtand how the Labour of every Head in any Plantation muſt be worth four times as much to the Community of his Mother Country, as if he wrought at home; for if he ſpends ſo much, and pays for what he has, both of which are undeniable, his Labour muſt produce ſo much. This ſhews the Benefit of Plantations to their Mother Country; and I hope there is no need to ſay that this ſhews how much Regard and Reſpect is due from thoſe who manage the Affairs of the Mother Country, to thoſe who live and labour for her in the Plantations. But becauſe it is not impoſſible we may err a little in the Meaſure of theſe Computations, and as I am far from deſiring to magnify theſe Advantages beyond the Truth, I ſhall lay it down as a thing certainly to be depended upon, that every white Perſon in *Virginia*, one with another, is worth to this Nation ten Pounds, which will make the Value of the whole Plantation equal to an Annuity of 1,200,000 *l.* to *Great Britain*.

This I think is already, in a great meaſure, demonſtrated; but as I am very ſenſible that many People will ſtill think full Satisfaction is not given upon this Head, if they are not ſhewn how this, or at leaſt the greateſt Part of it, is received; that we may not do things by halves, my next Care ſhall be to remove this Difficulty likewiſe. In order to this, we muſt conſider that the Trade of this Colony, as well as that of *Maryland*, conſiſts almoſt entirely of Tobacco; for though the Country would produce ſeveral excellent Commodities fit for Trade, yet the Planters are ſo wholly bent on planting Tobacco, that they ſeem to have laid aſide all Thoughts of other Improvements. This Trade is brought to ſuch Perfection, that the *Virginia* Tobacco, eſpecially the ſweet-ſcented which grows on *York River*, is reckoned the beſt in the World, and is what is generally vended in *England* for a home Conſumption; the other Sorts, called *Oronoac*, and that of *Maryland*, are hotter in the Mouth, but they turn to as good Account, being in demand in *Holland*, *Denmark*, *Sweden*, and *Germany*; it is therefore from this Commodity that we are to look for the beſt Part of that vaſt Sum which we have mentioned, and if we proceed diligently, and with Attention, I dare ſay we ſhall not ſearch in vain.

In Time of Peace, I am perſuaded from ſeveral different Calculations, and from the Compariſon of the Informations I have ſought and received from ſuch as are, or ought to be, beſt acquainted with theſe Matters, that there is very little leſs than one hundred thouſand Hogſheads of Tobacco exported every Year from this Colony; that between three and four hundred Ships are employed in this Trade; and upwards of four thouſand Seamen. If we take things, upon this Foot, then the hundred thouſand Hogſheads of Tobacco will produce about the Sum at which I have fixed the Produce of this Colony to the Nation; but it may be ſaid, that if we take Tobacco for the Commodities and Manufactures that we ſend to *Virginia*, it differs very widely from an Annuity; and that inſtead of reciving 1,200,000 *l.* from the Perſons inhabiting this Plantation, we return them the moſt valuable things we have, for 60,000,000 of Pounds of Tobacco, which in itſelf is no Neceſſary of Life, and which we might very well do without: Thus we are all at Sea again, and it is my Buſineſs to ſet us once more aſhore; and if I am able to clear up this laſt Miſt, I hope there will, for ever after, be fair Weather for the Plantations.

In anſwer therefore to this Objection, which ſeems to deſtroy all, and to demoliſh entirely that Structure which I have been erecting, I ſay, that ſtrictly conſidered, it makes more in favour of the Colony of *Virginia*, than all that I have been ſaying for it; and this I ſhall be able to make as plain as any thing can be made, in a very few Words. It is, I think, generally agreed, that Sir *Walter Raleigh* firſt brought Tobacco into *England*, or rather, as I apprehend, had it brought over to him from this Colony; and we find the Uſe of it much recommended by the learned and worthy Mr. *Harriott*, whom he ſent over thither. But we muſt not infer from thence that *Virginia* Tobacco was always uſed here, ſince the contrary is very certain; for, as the Reader has been told, it was Sir *George Yardly* who introduced the planting and cultivating Tobacco in that Country by the *Europeans*, in the Reign of King *James* I.

Yet before this Time the Practice of taking Tobacco was become ſo common in *England*, that King *James* wrote a Book againſt it. I do not concern myſelf in the Controverſy, whether he was right or wrong in his Oppoſition to this Practice; but I mention it to ſhew that it was become common, and that the Faſhion of uſing it was growing ſtrong. We had moſt of our Tobacco then from *Brazil*, and ſome from the *Spaniſh* Plantations; the Price of it was from four to ſeventeen Shillings a Pound, and if we had come to uſe as much of it as we do of the *Virginia* Tobacco, and had paid for it at the rate only of five Shillings, this ſingle Article of Luxury would have ſtood us in upwards of ſeven Millions every Year. I very readily allow that this would be a very abſurd and improbable Suppoſition, ſince it cannot be imagined that in ſuch a Caſe, the common Sort of People either could or would have ſmoaked Tobacco; but then let us conſider what a Number of People there are to whom the Dearneſs of this Commodity would have proved no Reſtraint; and let us ſuppoſe that we ſhould, in this Reſpect, have been no wiſer than our Neighbours, which I look upon to be a very modeſt and rational Suppoſition, we might then, inſtead of forty thouſand Hogſheads, have conſumed ten or twelve thouſand, which would have amounted to a Million or upwards, and conſequently ſo much ready Money is hindered from going out of the Nation by the bringing in of *Virginia* Tobacco, which, viewed in this Light, is equivalent to the importing of ſo much Silver.

But to proceed, beſides the Money ſaved to the Nation by the Uſe of this Tobacco, we export one way or other ſixty thouſand Hogſheads, which, at five Pound per Hogſhead, amounts to 300,000 *l.* excluſive of the Duty of this Tobacco, which is not drawn back. I might have taken another Method of Reaſoning upon this Subject, by ſhewing that whatever Exchange of Commodities contributes to the Maintenance and Employment of a certain Number of People, is not only equal to, but is really much better than an Annuity, that would maintain the ſame Number of People in the ſame Way, had I not been inclined to render this Matter as evident as it is poſſible. After this I ſhall make but two ſhort Obſervations, and ſo quit this Part of my Subject.

The firſt is, that in caſe what we receive from *Virginia* in Tobacco ſhould fall ſhort of the Sum I have computed we derive from thence, this Deficiency is certainly made up ſome other Way; or, in other Words, the *Virginians* ſend us other Commodities, or pay us with the Balance of their Trade with other Places. The ſecond Obſervation is, that there is not the leaſt Danger of ſeeing this Country over-peopled, and thereby ſinking the Value of Tobacco, becauſe there are a multitude of things to which the People may turn their Hands; ſeveral of which have been enumerated already, and therefore I ſhall only obſerve that in the Articles of Silk and Iron, the Inhabitants of this Colony might ſave us 300,000*l.* a Year, and bring us in very near the ſame Sum from other Nations. But it is now Time to quit this agreeable Topic, which however is a very hard Taſk, for one who has any Tincture of publick Spirit, in order to proceed with the proper Buſineſs of this Section.

6. In what we have delivered concerning *Virginia*, we have purſued the Hiſtory only of the firſt Company eſtabliſhed by King *James*'s Patent, called alſo the *London* or *South Virginia* Company; but we are next to account for the Conduct of the other Adventurers, or the *Weſtern* or *Plymouth* Company as they are ſtiled by the Writers of thoſe Times, who contented themſelves for ſome Years with trading with the Natives of *North Virginia* for Furs, and fiſhing upon that Coaſt. Two Ships being employed in this Fiſhery in the Year 1614, commanded by the famous Captain *John Smith*, and Captain *Thomas Hunt*: Captain *Smith* went on Shore, and took a particular View of the Country of the *Maſſachuſets*, and had ſome Skirmiſhes with the Natives; after which he returned to *England*, ordering *Hunt* to ſail with the other Ship to *Spain*, and diſpoſe of the Fiſh he had taken there; but *Hunt*, propoſing to make a Market of the Natives themſelves as well as of their Fiſh, after Captain *Smith* was gone, enticed twenty-ſeven Men of the *Indians* on board his Ship, and then ſetting ſail with them to *Malaga* ſold them there to the *Spaniards* for Slaves, at the rate of twenty Pounds a Man, among whom was an *Indian* called *Squanto*, afterwards very ſerviceable to the *Engliſh*.

This Outrage was ſo reſented by the *Indians* for the preſent, that all Commerce with them became impracticable; nor was this the firſt Time the Natives had been thus violently carried away by the *Engliſh*; for Captain *Harlow*, in the Year 1611, ſurpriſed one *Epenow*, and two more of his Countrymen, and brought them to *England*; where *Epenow* learned *Engliſh* enough to impoſe upon his Maſters; and underſtanding that the Hopes of acquiring Mountains of Gold was the principal Inducement the *Engliſh* had to viſit his Country; the cunning *Indian* in order to get thither again, pretended there was a rich Gold Mine not far from the Country where he was born, which he would guide them to if they thought it worth their while to fit out a Ship on ſuch an Expedition. This Overture had the Succeſs *Epenow* expected, and Captain *Hobſon* was diſpatched the next Year with Proviſions, Tools and Materials, proper to make a Settlement, and open the Mines *Epenow* had given them Intelligence of. This Ship arriving on the Coaſt of *Maſſachuſets*, ſeveral *Indians* came on board, promiſing to return again the next Day with Furs and other Merchandize; and they did, indeed, return, but in an hoſtile Manner, with twenty Canoes full of armed Men; and *Epenow*, beckoning to them to approach nearer the Ship, jumped into the Sea, and made his eſcape to them; whereupon the *Engliſh* fired upon the Canoes, and were anſwered with a flight of Arrows, and ſeveral were wounded on both Sides, among whom was captain *Hobſon* himſelf; after which, the Captain, without attempting any thing farther, thought fit to return to *England*.

In the Year 1619 Capt. *Dormer* was ſent to *New England*, and with him *Squanto*, the *Indian*, as an Interpreter, to endeavour to make Peace with the Natives, and ſettle a Colony in the *Maſſachuſets-Bay*, but to no Purpoſe; the *Indians* would not be reconciled, and, in a Skirmiſh with them, *Dormer* received farther Wounds, whereupon he proceeded to *Virginia*, leaving *Squanto* on Shore in *New England*. The Patentees, having met with ſuch Diſcouragement, were, at laſt, ſo much diſheartened, that they gave up all Thoughts of making a Settlement; however, other Adventurers carried on the Trade to *New England*; eight Ships were employed in it by the Merchants of *London* and *Plymouth* this and the next Year, and the Succeſs was ſuch, that the Seamen, who were Sharers alſo, had each 17*l.* in ſix Months Time, as much as 30*l.* now, and as good as 5*l.* a Month, or Maſter's Pay. It is very probable, that the Commerce might have gone on in this Manner for ſeveral Years, without any Thoughts of planting, though that was the Motive upon which their Patent was granted, ſo early began the Faſhion, with Companies, to make that their leaſt Care for which they were conſtituted. But it ſo fell out, that a Congregation of Independents or Browniſts, that for the Sake of their Religion had retired to *Holland*, and formed themſelves into a Church under one Mr. *John Robinſon*, who was their Miniſter, found themſelves more uneaſy there than they had been in *England*; and therefore formed a Project of ſeeking an Eſtabliſhment in the *New World*, where they imagined they might enjoy Peace and Quiet; yet before they could carry this Deſign into Execution, it was neceſſary to have King *James*'s Licence, not only in regard to the Rights of the Crown; but to ſecure them, when ſettled, from being turned out either by their own Countrymen or Strangers. In order thereto they got Sir *Robert Nanton* to procure the King's Conſent for their tranſporting themſelves to *America*. Sir *Robert* aſked his Majeſty that ſuch a People might enjoy Liberty of Conſcience under his gracious Protection in *America*, where they would endeavour the Advancement of his Dominions, and promote the Goſpel: The King replied, *It is a good and honeſt Propoſal*, and yielded to it.

This Congregation, by their Agents in *England*, treated firſt with the Council at *Plymouth* for a large Tract of Land towards *Norembegua* and *New Scotland*; but upon better Conſideration they abandoned their Purpoſes, and reſolved to ſeat themſelves more to the Southward on the Bank of *Hudſon*'s *River*, which falls into the Sea at *New York*. To this End, they contracted with ſome Merchants, who were willing to be Adventurers with them, in their intended Settlement, and were Proprietors of the Country; but the Contract bore too hard upon them, and made them the more eaſy in the Diſappointment they met with in ſettling on *Hudſon*'s *River*; ſeveral of Mr. *Robinſon*'s Congregation ſold their Eſtates, and made a common Bank for a Fund to carry on this Undertaking. The Agents hired the *May-Flower*, a Ship of 180 Tons, which was freighted with proper Goods and Merchandize, and ordered to *Southampton*, where ſhe took aboard the Company that came from *Holland* with Mr. *Brewſter*. The whole Company, about 120 Perſons, ſailed from *Plymouth* the 6th of *September*, and fell in with *Cape Cod* on the 9th of *November*, an ill Time of the Year to begin building, planting, or indeed any hard and difficult Labour; and nothing could be more difficult and hard than theirs was like to be: Here they refreſhed themſelves about half a Day, and then tacked about to the Southward for *Hudſon*'s *River*; but *Jones* the Maſter of the *Speedwell*, having been bribed by the *Hollanders*, who intended themſelves to take Poſſeſſion of thoſe Parts, as they did ſome Time after, inſtead of putting out to Sea, entangled them among the dangerous Sholes and Breakers, where, meeting with a Storm, the Ship was driven back again to the *Cape*, upon which they put into the Harbour, and reſolved, conſidering the Seaſon of the Year, to attempt a Settlement there, and to proceed forward to the Bay. But *Cape Cod* not being within the Limits of the Land they had a Grant for under the Patent, they aſſociated themſelves into a Body Politic, by a formal Inſtrument in which, having declared themſelves Subjects of the Crown of *England*, they ſolemnly engaged Submiſſion to the Laws that ſhould from time to time be made for the good of the Colony.

The Place they made choice of to build a Town on, was very commodious, and the Country about it not leſs agreeable; ſo they reſolved not to trouble themſelves or their Friends about obtaining any farther Licence, but to riſque their Fortunes where Providence had caſt them; in Conſequence of which Reſolution they went hard to work in raiſing their new Town of *Plymouth*, for that was the Name they gave it, and which lies in the Latitude of 42 Degrees North. The Planters deſigned to ſtay in the Country, including Women and Children, were about an hundred, of whom only one Boy died in the Paſſage. Their Hiſtorians mention no more than nineteen Families that ſettled at *Plymouth*, and give us the Names but of forty one effective Men, among whom the Chief were *John Carver*, whom they choſe Governor, *William Bradford*, *Edward Winſlow*, *John Brewſter*, Aſſiſtant to Mr. *Robinſon*, and ruling Elder of his Church, *Iſaac Alerton*, *Miles Standiſh*, *John Howland*, *Richard Warren*, *Stephen Hopkins*, *Edward Tilly*, *Chriſtopher Martin*, *William White*, *Richard Clack*, and *Thomas Engliſh*. But ſuch were the Fatigues this infant Colony underwent the firſt Winter, that out of an hundred Planters fifty died within the Space of two Months; and had the *Indians* attacked them, they had probably all periſhed, but they met with no Diſturbance.

After they had fixed themſelves at *Plymouth Bay*, they ſaw very few of the Natives till the Middle of *March*, when *Samoſet*, one of their Sagamores, or Captains, came to them in a friendly Manner, and gave them to underſtand they were welcome into the Country, and that his People would be glad to trade with them; and coming again the next Day with other *Indians*, they informed the *Engliſh* that their great Sachem, whom they called *Maſſaſſoiet*, had his Reſidence but three Days March to the Northward, and intended them a Viſit. And accordingly *Maſſaſſoiet* arrived the 22d Day of *March*, with a Retinue of ſixty People; and, being received by Captain *Standiſh* at the Head of a File of Muſketeers, was conducted to a kind of Throne they had prepared in one of their Houſes. This Monarch was of a large Stature, middle aged, of a grave Countenance, and ſparing in his Speech; his Face was painted red, and both Head and Face ſmeared over with Oil; he had a Mantle of Deer-Skin, and his Breeches and Stockings, which were of a Piece, were all of the ſame Materials; his Knife or Tomahauk hung upon his Breaſt on a String, his Tobacco Pouch behind him, and his Arms covered with wild Cat-Skins, and in the ſame Garb were his principal Attendants. They did not obſerve any Marks of Diſtinction between this Prince and his Subjects, unleſs it were a Chain of Fiſh Bones, which *Maſſaſſoiet* wore about his Neck. Soon after the Prince was ſeated, Mr. *Carver*, the Governor, came in with a Guard of Muſketeers, whereupon *Maſſaſſoiet* roſe up and kiſſed him, after which they both ſat down, and an Entertainment was provided for the *Indians*, of which no Part appeared more acceptable than the Brandy, the Sachem himſelf drinking very plentifully of it. In *Maſſaſſoiet*'s Retinue was *Squanto*, who had been carried to *Europe* by *Hunt*, and brought to *New England* again. This *Indian*, it ſeems, had a very great Affection for the *Engliſh*, among whom he had lived ſeveral Years; and it was to his favourable Repreſentation of the Colony, that the Sachem was induced to make them this friendly Viſit; and, at this firſt Meeting, to enter into an Alliance, Offenſive and Defenſive, with the *Engliſh*, and even to acknowledge King *James* for his Sovereign, and to hold his Dominions of him; and, as an Evidence of his Sincerity, *Maſſaſſoiet* granted Part of his Country to the Planters and their Heirs for ever.

This Alliance, being founded upon the mutual Intereſts of the contracting Parties, was maintained inviolably many Years. The Sachem, who had been informed by *Squanto*, how powerful a People the *Engliſh* were both by Sea and Land, promiſed himſelf their Aſſiſtance againſt the *Naraganſet Indians*, his Enemies; and the *Engliſh* ſtood in no leſs need of his Friendſhip to eſtabliſh themſelves in that Country. The Treaty being concluded, *Maſſaſſoiet* returned to his Capital, leaving *Squanto* with the Colony, who was extremely ſerviceable to them, not only as an Interpreter, but by inſtructing them how to plant and manage their *Indian* Corn, in piloting them along the Coaſt, and ſupplying them with Fiſh, Fowl, and Veniſon. The *Engliſh* ſtill remained ſickly, and many of them died; among whom was Mr. *Carver*, their Governor, in the Month of *April*, 1621. The Seamen alſo had their Share of Illneſs, inſomuch that they were not in a Condition to ſail till *May*, when the Ships returned to *England* to give their Friends an Account of the Circumſtances of the Colony.

While theſe Ships were gone to, or remained in, the *Britiſh* Dominions, the Colony made choice of Mr. *Bradford* for their Governor, who enjoyed that Poſt for many Years, and ſaw the Plantation thoroughly eſtabliſhed; notwithſtanding that, in his Time, there aroſe ſuch Differences about Religion as actually occaſioned great Feuds and Jealouſies, and ſeemed to threaten worſe Conſequences. It may be expected, that I ſhould give ſome competent Reaſon for the quick Progreſs of this Colony beyond that of *Virginia*, which met with no ſuch Succeſs; and this ſeems to be the rather neceſſary, becauſe at firſt Sight one might be inclined to think that it ought to be attributed to the ſuperior Diligence and Application of the Weſtern Company, in Compariſon of that of *London*; which is, however, ſo far from being true, as in reality this Company had no Share at all in the ſending over, or eſtabliſhing this flouriſhing Plantation. On the contrary, it was raiſed by the Spirit, Vigilance, and Ardour of the Malcontents in the Reign of King *Charles* I. who, before the breaking out of the civil War, and when they had little Hopes of getting the Government into their own Hands, projected the ſecuring to themſelves a ſafe Retreat in *New England*, which induced them to ſend thither ſuch regular Supplies, and thoſe too under the Direction of Men very capable of anſwering the Ends for which they were ſent thither. We have ſeen with what wonderful Succeſs their firſt Attempts were attended, and how ſoon their new Colony was in a Condition to defend and ſupport itſelf, not only without any Aſſiſtance, but almoſt without any Notice, from the Crown, which in the beginning they did not deſire; but afterwards, foreſeeing many Inconveniencies that were like to attend this Manner of Proceeding, they very prudently reſolved to alter it, and to procure to themſelves ſuch farther Security as appeared to them requiſite towards attaining thoſe Ends of which they were in Purſuit.

This therefore being the Caſe, and the Colony of *Plymouth* ſtill remaining without a Patent, or any Title to the Lands they poſſeſſed from the *North Virginia* (or *New England*) Company, ſent over Mr. *Winſlow*, one of their Number, to ſollicit for both in the Year 1624; and this Gentleman ſucceeded beyond their Expectation; for the Charter he procured, enabled the Planters to elect a Governor, a Council, and Magiſtrates, and to make Laws, provided they were not oppoſite to ours, or encroached on the Prerogatives of the Crown. After conducting the Hiſtory thus low, and ſhewing how, where, and when, the firſt regular *Engliſh* Settlement was founded and fixed in this Country, now the largeſt, beſt improved, and moſt populous of our Plantations upon the Continent, I muſt excuſe myſelf from going farther in this way, becauſe it would extend this Section to an unproportionable Length; and becauſe the Hiſtory of *New England* has been already written by ſeveral able Men, much better informed thereof than I can poſſibly be; and therefore I ſhall be very well content with endeavouring, in as ſmall a Compaſs as I can, to do as much towards explaining the State of this Colony, as I have already done for that of *Virginia*.

7. In order to this, it will be neceſſary to explain what is meant by *New England*, ſince it differs thus far from all our Colonies, that, in reality, it is a general Name for ſeveral of them, though there is no particular Plantation, or even Province, properly ſo called. We are therefore to obſerve, that under this Denomination was originally

comprehended that part of the Continent of *North America*, which had been formerly ſtiled *North Virginia* and *Norembegua*, and the way it acquired this Name, was thus: When Captain *Smith* made his Voyage thither, which has been before mentioned, he went aſhore, with no more than eight Perſons; and at that time drew a Plan of as much of the Country as he had ſeen. This, as I apprehend, was in the Year 1614; and upon his Return he ſhewed the Prince of *Wales* his Account of the Country, and the Map he had drawn of it. His then Royal Highneſs, afterwards King *Charles* I. read the one, and examined the other, giving ſeveral *Engliſh* Names to Places, diſtinguiſhed by *Indian* Appellations in the Book; and from Captain *Smith*'s Information of the Soil and Climate of the Country, called it *New England*, which Name it has ever ſince borne. This Work, thus ſeen, peruſed, and approved by the Prince, Captain *Smith* publiſhed to the World, under the Title of *A Deſcription of New England*, in which he gave a very fair and true Account of it, as well as of the Advantages that might be hoped from a Settlement there; in attempting of which, however, he had the Misfortune to be taken Priſoner by the *French*; but notwithſtanding this, his Treatiſe produced the intended Effect, and actually brought about that Eſtabliſhment, of which we have already given the Hiſtory. He likewiſe wrote and publiſhed another Book, which he called *New England's Trials*, which was very well received, inſomuch that we may ſafely aver, that all the Advantages derived ſince to *Great Britain*, from the ſeveral Settlements made in this large and fruitful Country, are originally due to the Virtue and Induſtry of this indefatigable Man.

The Name and Bounds of this Country being thus ſettled, it is neceſſary next to take Notice of the ſeveral Plantations made in *New England* in the proper Order of Time, and then we ſhall ſhew, in what Situation they now ſtand. We have already given an Account of *New Plymouth*, which was the firſt of them; and we are next to ſpeak of that which, tho' later in Point of Time, is now become the moſt conſiderable in every Reſpect, and which had its Beginning and Progreſs much in the ſame manner with it. For in the Year 1625 (as the *New England* Hiſtorian relates) Mr. *White*, Miniſter of *Dorcheſter*, obſerving the Succeſs of the *Plymouth Colony*, projected a new Settlement in the *Maſſachuſets Bay* in *New England*, and prevailing with Mr. *Conant*, and ſome others, to go over, and make choice of a proper Settlement, he and his Friends purchaſed, or procured, a Grant from the *North Virginia*, or *New England*, Company, in the Year 1622, to Sir *Henry Roſwell*, Sir *John Young*, Knights; *Thomas Southcott*, *John Humphreys* and *Simon Newcomb*, Eſquires; their Heirs, Aſſigns and Aſſociates, of all that Part of *New England* which lies between the great River *Merimack* and *Charles River*, at the Bottom of the *Maſſachuſets Bay*, and all Lands, &c. three Miles North of *Merimack River*, and three Miles South of *Charles River*, and in Length, or in Longitude, between thoſe Rivers, from the *Atlantic* to the *South Sea*; and obtained a Patent from King *Charles* I. to hold the ſame as of his Manor of *Eaſt-Greenwich* in common Soccage, yielding and paying to his Majeſty a fifth Part of ſuch Gold and Silver Ore as ſhould be from time to time found within theſe Limits. Theſe Gentlemen, having taken in Sir *Richard Salſtonſtal*, Mr. *Iſaac Johnſton*, *Samuel Addeſly*, *John Van*, *Matthew Cradock*, *Thomas Goff*, *George Harwood*, *Samuel Moor*, and ſeveral more, the following Year, 1628, procured a new Patent with the Names of the laſt-mentioned Gentlemen inſerted, as the Proprietors; by which Patent they, and all others who ſhould join with them, were incorporated by the Name of, *The Governor and Company of the* Maſſachuſets Bay *in* New England; and were empowered to elect a Governor, Deputy-Governor, and Magiſtrates, and make Laws for the Good of the Plantation, not repugnant to the Laws of *England*; and Liberty of Conſcience was granted to all that ſhould ſettle there. The Adventurers, by Virtue of this Patent, elected Mr. *Cradock* their Governor, and Mr. *Endicot* their Deputy-Governor, and ſent over the latter immediately to reinforce Mr. *Conant*, who was ſettled at *Neumkeak*, now *Salem*, ſituated on the Coaſt of *New England*, between the Promontories of *Marblehead* and *Cape Anne*.

This new Colony was ſupported with the ſame Spirit and Vigour as the former, and ſuch mighty Embarkations made for its Service, as ſhewed plainly enough of how great Conſequence it appeared to thoſe who were its Protectors in *England*; and ſo much they were ſet upon having ſome Man of Diſtinction on the Spot, that in the Year 1630 they choſe *John Winthorp*, Eſquire, Governor, in the Room of Mr. *Cradock*, who declined going over, and he appointed Mr. *Thomas Dudley* his Deputy-Governor; both of them embarked the ſame Year, with Sir *Richard Saltonſtal*, *Iſaac Johnſon*, Eſquire, and the Lady *Arabella*, his Wife, Mr. *Eaton*, and ſeveral other Patentees, on board a Fleet of ten Sail of large Ships, with about two hundred Planters every way completely furniſhed: So that ſoon after their Arrival they erected two new Settlements; the one ſtyled *Charles-Town*, on the North-ſide of *Charles River*; and the other *Dorcheſter*, at the Bottom of *Maſſachuſets Bay*; and in a ſhort time part of the Inhabitants of *Charles-Town*, paſſing over to the oppoſite Shore, erected *Boſton*, which is now the Capital of *New England*. As new Planters arrived every Year, the Colony quickly became over-ſtocked; and Diviſions breaking out amongſt them, one Mr. *Roger Williams*, who was Paſtor of a Church of *Browniſts*, went and ſettled without this Government; and called his new Plantation *Providence*, which afterwards was united to the Government of *Rhode Iſland*; of which we ſhall ſpeak in its proper Place.

In 1635, arrived a larger Fleet from *England* than at any time before, and amongſt other Perſons of Diſtinction, who came over in it, was *Henry Vane*, Eſquire, Son to Sir *Henry Vane*, Secretary of State to King *Charles* I. with whom the People were ſo taken, that they elected him Governor, in the Room of Mr. *Winthorp*; but as he had the Misfortune to have a very roving and extravagant Genius, he quickly loſt his Credit with them, and ſaw his Predeceſſor reſtored: Upon which he formed a Project of erecting a new Plantation to the North-weſt of the *Maſſachuſets*; which, however, he did not carry into Execution; but returning into *England*, was knighted, and made an extraordinary Figure under the Name of Sir *Henry Vane* the Younger, as every body knows that is acquainted at all with our Hiſtory. But the Project for a Plantation on *Connecticut* River was not dropped, though Sir *Henry Vane* did not proceed in it. This Settlement was become the more neceſſary, becauſe the *Pequet Indians* began to grow very troubleſome; and as the building a Town and Fort on that River, would make a good Frontier on that Side, Agents were ſent to view the Country, who made ſuch an advantageous Report of the Fruitfulneſs of the Soil, and Largeneſs of the River, as made many of the Planters of *Newton*, *Dorcheſter*, *Weatherton*, and *Roxbury*, entertain Thoughts of tranſplanting themſelves thither, being already ſtraitened for Room where they were.

Mr. *Hooker*, Miniſter of *Newton*, put himſelf at the Head of theſe new Adventurers, about a hundred in Number, who ſet out in the Month of *July*, and travelling on Foot with their Children and Baggage, about nine or ten Miles a Day, came in ten or eleven Days to the Banks of the River, where they began a Town, which they called *Hartford*; after theſe came another Draught from *Dorcheſter*, who built a little Town, which they called *Windſor*; a third Detachment from *Waterton* built *Weathersfield*; and a fourth from *Roxbury* built *Springfield*. The Towns the Planters built on this River were fifty and ſixty Miles from its Mouth, ſo that the Ship freighted with Proviſions for theſe Planters at the *Maſſachuſets*, came ſo late in the Year that it was frozen up at the Mouth of it, ſixty Miles from the Plantation; upon which, many of the new Adventurers travelled back in the Depth of Winter, and others who attempted it were frozen to Death. The Calamities which attended them, are ſuch as all new Settlements are liable to; but, however, thoſe that had Courage to ſtay till the Spring, carried on their Settlements with ſuch Succeſs, that they were not only in a Capacity of ſubſiſting, but making Head againſt their Enemies.

They had a ſort of Commiſſion from the Government of the *Maſſachuſets Bay* ; but finding they had extended their Plantations beyond the Limits of that Colony, they entered into a voluntary Aſſociation to obey the Laws that ſhould be made by proper Perſons, for the common Good, and choſe *Edward Hopkins*, Eſq; their Governor ; and in this Situation they remained as to Conſtitution, till *John Winthorp* Junior, Eſq; obtained an ample Charter for them from King *Charles* II. authorizing them to elect their own Governor, Council, and Magiſtrates ; and enact ſuch Laws as they thought moſt advantageous to the Colony, not oppoſite to the Laws of *England* ; the Benefit whereof they enjoy to this Day.

8. By that Time this Settlement was brought into tolerable Order, *George Fenwick*, Eſq; was ſent to *New-England*, in order to make choice of the moſt commodious Spot he could find, for the Heads of that Party, which had hitherto ſupported all theſe Colonies ; and it was conceived he would execute his Commiſſion the more readily, ſince the Lord Viſcount *Say* and *Seal*, and the Lord *Brook*, two Heads of the Party, held Lands on *Connecticut*, by Virtue of a Grant from the Earl of *Warwick*, another Puritan, who held a Patent for all that Part of the Country, extending from the River *Naraganſet* forty Leagues, in a ſtraight Line near the Sea-ſhore, towards *Virginia*, as all the Continent South of *New-England* was then called, as far as *Florida*. The Earl of *Warwick* aſſigned his Grant to theſe two Lords, *Brook* and *Say*, *Charles Fiennes*, Eſq; Brother to the Lord *Say*, Sir *Nathaniel Rich* of the *Warwick* Family, Sir *Richard Saltonſtall*, *Richard Knightly*, Eſq; *John Pym*, Eſq; *John Hampden*, Eſq; and *Herbert Pelham*, Eſq; Mr. *Fenwick* ſeated himſelf at the Mouth of the River, and built a Town which he called *Saybrook*, in which he was aſſiſted by Mr. *Winthorp* Junior, Son of the Governor of the *Maſſachuſets* ; but the Gentlemen, for whom Mr. *Fenwick* acted, finding Matters grow more to a Head at home, and foreſeeing they ſhould be more uſeful there for their Country and their Cauſe, gave over the Thoughts of removing to *New-England*, and authorized Mr. *Fenwick* to diſpoſe of their Lands to the Colony of *Connecticut*, who were the more willing to buy them becauſe they had no Title to their Plantation without the Limits of the *Maſſachuſets* Patent, than what Poſſeſſion gave them. The very next Year there came over ſuch Numbers of People to ſettle in *New England*, that the old Colonies were over-ſtocked, and there was an abſolute Neceſſity of looking out for new Plantations.

Amongſt thoſe who put themſelves at the Head of ſuch as were inclined to remove in the Summer of the Year 1637, were *Theophilus Eaton*, Eſq; a noted Merchant of *London*, and the Reverend Mr. *Davenport*. Theſe Gentlemen finding there was not Room at the *Maſſachuſets*, and being informed of a large Bay to the South-weſt of *Connecticut River*, commodious for Trade, purchaſed of the Natives all the Land that lies between that River and *New York*, or *Hudſon's River* ; thither they removed, ſeated themſelves in the Bay over-againſt *Long Iſland*, and built *New Haven* ; from whence that Colony, Province, and Government, were ſo denominated, as alſo *Guilford*, *Milford*, *Stamford*, and *Brainford* ; they alſo went over to *Long Iſland*, and made there ſeveral Settlements, erecting Churches in all Places where they ſettled ; but being without the Limits of the *Maſſachuſets* Juriſdiction, they had no Charter, and no other Title to the Lands than what they had from the Natives ; the Men who ſettled in this Colony were generally *Londoners* and Merchants, who applied themſelves firſt to Trade, after the Example of Governor *Eaton*, who had been an Eaſt Country Merchant, and, travelling into *Denmark*, was employed by the King as his Agent at that Court. But the new Comers met with ſo many Loſſes, either as Novices in the *American* Trade, or ſome unfortunate Accidents, that they were diſcouraged in their Trade, and were going to tranſport themſelves to *Maryland* or *Ireland*, until at laſt turning to Huſbandry, they thrived wonderfully, and thought no more of removing.

While the South-weſt Parts of *New England* were thus filling with Inhabitants, the North-eaſt were not neglected : The *Engliſh* very much frequented the Coaſt for the Benefit of fiſhing and the Fur Trade, for which that Part of the Country lay convenient. This put ſome of them on attempting a Settlement between the Rivers *Merimack* and *Sagadabock*, and it ſucceeded ſo well in a few Years, that there were two Counties laid out, *New Hampſhire* and *Main*, and ſeveral Towns built, as *Dover*, *Hampton*, *Wells*, *Kittery*, &c. Theſe Planters and Traders being ſettled without the Limits of the *Maſſachuſet's* Colony, entered into a voluntary Combination, and formed themſelves into a Body Politic, after the Example of *Connecticut* Colony ; thus they continued, till being wearied out with Feuds and Diviſions, they petitioned the General Court of the *Maſſachuſets* to be brought within their Juriſdiction, which was done : Yet, in 1684, they made an abſolute Reſignation of their Charter, and the Government has remained in the Hands of the Crown ever ſince. Thus the Reader has ſeen, in few Words, the Riſe and Progreſs of the ſeveral Plantations raiſed in *New England*, which had a quicker Growth than any that were ever attempted from hence, or perhaps from any other Country ; for, in the Space of about twenty Years, they had above twice as many good Towns, well ſettled, and the People in a very happy and thriving Condition ; and, indeed, it muſt be allowed, the Inhabitants were the moſt laborious and induſtrious, that were any where ſettled in *America* ; for though they had ſcarce any ſtaple Commodity, yet they made every thing turn to Account, and that chiefly, as I have been informed, by purſuing ſteadily theſe two Maxims ; firſt, to fix themſelves well, and to raiſe one or more good Towns in convenient Places, and next to build and freight Ships with ſuch Commodities as they had, and to ſend them any where to find a proper Market.

9. The Country of *New England* comprehends, at preſent, four conſiderable Colonies, or Governments, *viz.* the *Maſſachuſets*, which with *New Plymouth* and the *Main* are now included in one Charter ; *New Hampſhire*, which remains a ſeparate Government ; *Connecticut*, which likewiſe comprehends *New Haven* ; and *Rhode Iſland*, with *Providence Plantation*. The whole Country extends from 41 to 45 Degrees North Latitude, and lies betwixt 67 and 73 Degrees of Weſtern Longitude ; bounded on the North-weſt by *Canada* ; on the North-eaſt by *Nova Scotia* ; on the Eaſt and South by the *Atlantic Ocean*, and on the Weſt by *New York* ; ſtretching in Length ſomewhat more than three hundred Miles, and in ſome Places it is near two hundred in Breadth. The Air of this Country is ſharper than ours, though it lies ſo much farther to the South, and the Winters are longer and ſeverer than they are here ; but then their Summers are warmer, though ſhorter than ours ; and, at the ſame Time, the Inhabitants have the Advantage of a clear Sky, which renders the Country very wholſome ; ſo that none of our Plantations agree better with an *Engliſh* Conſtitution. Their longeſt Day at *Boſton* is about fifteen Hours, and their ſhorteſt about nine ; the Land, next the Sea, is generally low, and in ſome Places marſhy ; but farther up, the Land riſes into Hills ; along the North-eaſt the Country is rocky and mountainous.

As it is waſhed by the Ocean on the Eaſt and South, it has many good Harbours, ſome of them ſo capacious as to be able to receive large Fleets. There are few Countries better watered ; for, beſides ſeveral ſmall Lakes and Rivulets, there are no leſs than ſeven navigable Rivers. The moſt Weſtern of theſe is *Connecticut* ; which, riſing in the North of *New England*, runs almoſt directly South, till it falls into the Sea, and runs, at leaſt, two hundred Miles, and navigable to a great Height, having at its Mouth two large Towns, called *Saybrooke* and *Lime* : To the Eaſt of this lies the *River of Thames*, though leſs conſiderable than the former ; it likewiſe runs South, and falls into the Sea a little below *New London* : The River *Patuxet* riſes in the North-weſt of the Country of *Maſſachuſets*, and, running South-eaſt, falls into a noble Bay near *Swanſey* : The River *Merimack* riſes in the North of *New England*, and runs directly South for near one hundred Miles, and then, turning Eaſt, falls into the Sea between *Saliſbury* and *Newbury* : The River *Piſcata-*

way runs from Weſt to Eaſt, and falls into the Sea at *Portſmouth*, where the Opening is ſo large, that it affords a Port capable of receiving the largeſt Ships: The River *Saco* riſes in the North of *New England*, and, running South, falls into the Sea between the Capes *Porpus* and *Elizabeth*: The River *Caſco* runs parallel thereto, till it falls into a Bay of its own Name.

It is owing to the Conveniency of ſo many fine Rivers that this Country is ſo full of large and populous Towns; and in the Country between the Rivers there is ſuch plenty of ſmall Brooks and Springs, that there is ſcarce any Place where Water may not be had, by ſinking a Well to the Depth of ten Foot; and, which is another ſingular Advantage, the Water is almoſt every where good, and fit for all kind of Uſes.

As to Quadrupeds, or four-footed Animals, they are here in great Plenty, both tame and wild; among the former are Cows, Sheep, Goats, Hogs, and Horſes, all originally brought from *England*, but now very numerous here; the latter are, generally ſpeaking, of a much ſmaller Breed than ours, but they are ſomewhat larger than the *Welſh*: They are, notwithſtanding the Inferiority of their Size, extremely ſerviceable; and, though they have but one Pace, and that too not very agreeable, being a kind of a Shuffle, yet they go at a very great Rate; ſome ſay, not leſs than twenty Miles an Hour, which would be a little incredible, if ſome *New England* Horſes had not been brought over to *Britain*, which are ſaid to have put the Matter beyond Diſpute; but though there are Plenty of theſe Horſes, yet they ſell at a good Rate, twenty Pound being looked upon to be a very low Price for a ſound Horſe, at the Prime of his Age. As for Beaſts of the Foreſts, they have almoſt all Sorts, ſuch as Deer, Elks, Rackoons, Bears, Wolves, which ſeem to be only a kind of wild Dogs; which, when they are taken very young, may be made tame; Foxes, Hares, Rabbits, Squirrels, Beavers, Martins, Opoſſums, which are ſmall Beaſts about the Size of a Fox, and grey as a Badger; remarkable for having a falſe Belly, in which they hide their Young, and from whence they may be taken without any Prejudice either to them or to the Beaſt itſelf. They have alſo a great many Cur-Dogs, but theſe I ſuppoſe were originally from *Europe*. When the *Engliſh* firſt ſettled here, they made a great Profit of Furs, but they are ſince much fallen in their Value. I have been the ſhorter in the Accounts of theſe Creatures, which are common enough in other Countries of *America*, that I might have the more Leiſure to deſcribe a Creature which is peculiar, almoſt, to *New England*; and which ſeems therefore to deſerve a more particular Deſcription.

The Mooſe is found no where but in North *America*, and is one of the nobleſt Creatures in the Foreſt: There are two Sorts, the common grey Mooſe, by the *Indians* called Wampooſe, (theſe are more like the ordinary Deer, and like them herd ſometimes thirty in a Company) and the large and black Mooſe, of which we have the following Account: He is the Head of the Deer Kind, has many things in common with other Deer, in many differs, but in all very ſuperior. The Mooſe is made much like a Deer, parts the Hoof, chews the Cud, has no Gall, and his Ears large and erect; the Hair of the black Mooſe is a dark grey, upon the Ridge of his Back ten or twelve Inches long, of which the *Indians* make Belts; he has a very ſhort Tail. The *New England* Hunters have found a Stag Mooſe of fourteen Spans in Height, from the Withers, reckoning nine Inches to the Span, that is ten Feet and an half; a Quarter of this Veniſon weighed more than two hundred Pounds. A few Years ago a Gentleman ſurprized one of the black Mooſe in his Grounds, within two Miles of *Boſton*: It proved a Doe or Hind of the fourth Year; after ſhe was dead, they meaſured her upon the Ground, from the Noſe to the Tail between ten and eleven Feet; ſhe wanted an Inch of ſeven Feet in Height. The Horns of the Mooſe, when full grown, are about four or five Feet from the Head to the Tip, and have Shoots and Branches to each Horn, and generally ſpread about ſix Feet; when the Horns come out of the Head they are round, like the Horns of an Ox, about a Foot from the Head they begin to grow a Palm broad, and farther up ſtill wider, of which the *Indians* make good Ladles, that will hold a Pint. When a Mooſe goes through a Thicket, or under the Boughs of Trees, he lays his Horns back on his Neck, not only that he may make his way the eaſier, but to cover the Body from the Browſe or Scratch of the Woods. Theſe prodigious Horns are ſhed every Year.

A Mooſe does not ſpring or riſe in going as Deer, but ſhoves along ſideways, throwing out the Feet like a Horſe, in a raking Pace. One of theſe large black Mooſe, in his common Walk, has been ſeen to ſtep over a large Gate, five Feet high: After you unharbour a Mooſe, he will run a Courſe of twenty or thirty Miles before he turns about, or comes to a Bay; when they are chaſed they generally take to the Water. The common Deer, for a ſhort Space, are ſwifter than a Mooſe; but then a Mooſe ſoon out-winds a Deer, and runs much farther. The Meat of a Mooſe is excellent Food; and though it is not ſo delicate as the common Veniſon, yet it is more ſubſtantial, and will bear ſalting; the Noſe is looked upon as a great Dainty. The black Mooſe are rarely found above four or five together; the young Ones keep with the Dam a full Year. A Mooſe calves every Year, and generally brings two; they bring forth their young Ones ſtanding, and the Young fall from their Dam upon their Feet. The time of their bringing forth is generally in the Month of *April*.

The Mooſe being very tall, and having very ſhort Necks, do not graze, as the common Deer, other Cattle, &c. do, and if at any Time they eat Graſs, it is the Top of that which grows very high, or on ſteep riſing Ground; in the Summer they feed upon Plants, Herbs, and young Shrubs, that grow upon the Land, but moſtly, and with the greateſt Delight, on Water Plants, eſpecially a Sort of wild Colt's-foot and Lilly, that abound in their Ponds, and near the Banks of Rivers, and for which the Mooſe will wade far and deep; and by the Noiſe they make in the Water, the Hunters often diſcover them. In the Winter they live upon Browſe, or the Tops of Buſhes, and young Trees, and being very tall and ſtrong, they will bend down a Tree as big as a Man's Leg; and where the Browſe fail them they will eat off the Bark of ſome Sort of Trees as high as they can reach; they generally feed in the Night, and lie ſtill in the Day. The Skin of the Mooſe, when well dreſſed, makes excellent Buff; the *Indians* make their Snow-Shoes of them. Their way of dreſſing it, which is very good, is thus: After they have haired and grained the Hide, they make a Lather of the Mooſe's Brains in warm Water, and after they have ſoaked the Hide for ſome time, they ſtretch and ſupple it.

There is hardly greater Variety and Plenty of Fowl any where, ſuch as Turkies, Geeſe, Partridges, Ducks, Herons, Stocks, Heath-Cocks, Swans, Wigeons, Dapers, Black-Birds; all Sorts of Barn-door Fowl, Crows, Ravens, Cormorants, &c. Vaſt Flights of Pigeons come and go at certain Seaſons of the Year.

The Fiſh in the Sea and Rivers here are excellent, and in vaſt Abundance, as Cod, Thorn-back, Sturgeon, Salmon, Haddocks, Herrings, Mackrel, Smelts, Eels, Lampreys, Sharks, Seals, Porpuſſes, Grampuſſes, Whales, and other Fiſh, great and ſmall. The beſt Months for fiſhing are *March*, *April*, *May*, and *June*. Six or ſeven Star-Fiſh were formerly taken off the Shore near *Nantucket*, of which Governor *Winthorp* gave the Royal Society an Account, having obſerved that this Fiſh divides itſelf into no leſs than 81920 ſmall Parts by Branchings, and is one of the moſt wonderful Works of the Creation. Some Years ſince there ſtranded on the Coaſt of *New England* a dead Whale, of the Sort which in Fiſher's Language is called Trumpo, having Teeth like thoſe of a Mill, its Mouth at a good Diſtance from and under the Noſe, and ſeveral Partitions in the Noſe, out of which run a thin oily Subſtance, they candied; the Remainder, which proved a thick fat Subſtance, being ſcraped out, was ſaid to be the Sperma Ceti. We have ſome very curious Accounts, not only of this, but of other kinds of Whales, by the ingenious Mr. *Dudley*, which for want of Room I omit; and alſo, becauſe, I ſhall be obliged to mention this Subject again more largely in another Place.

We will now proceed from the Animal to the Vegetable Kingdom, which is in full as flouriſhing a Condition, and yields very little to any Country in *America*. There is Plenty of good Timber in the Woods and Swamps of *New England*; but that Plenty is ſo much leſſened within ten or twelve Miles from the Sea, that, we are told, there is a Neceſſity of a Law, to prevent the Waſte of Woods, which three or fourſcore Years ago the Planters would have been glad to have ſeen waſted. Oak, Elm, Firr, Aſh, Cypreſs, fine Cheſnut, Walnut, Cedar, Beech, Aſpin, Saſſafras, and Shumack, are common here; their Firr is of an extraordinary Growth for Maſts, Yards, and Planks. The Shumack is of uſe for Dyers and Tanners; and, as there is no want of Hides or Skins, nor Bark, there muſt be much Leather in *New England*, if thoſe Advantages are improved; the Oak has ſupplied the Shipwrights for Building: the Firr produces Pitch, Tar, Roſin, and Turpentine. All Sorts of Garden and Orchard Trees grow in Perfection, ſo that it is no hard Thing for one Planter to make a hundred Hogſheads of Cyder in a Seaſon, and the Export of Apples to the Sugar Iſlands is one of the conſtant Articles in the Trade of the Province.

It is affirmed, their Apples are larger and ſweeter than ours in *England*; and the ſame Obſervation extends to their Plumbs, Cherries, Peaches, Pears, *&c.* All Sorts of Roots for the Table are in great Plenty here, as Turnips, Parſnips, Carrots, Radiſhes, much larger and richer than in *England*, though originally their Seeds came from hence. There are alſo Pompions and Onions, good ſtore of Water-Melons; and Squaſhes grow here, perhaps, from Seeds that were firſt brought from *Portugal*; whither the Traders here have long ſent, and ſtill ſend, their Fiſh in great Quantities. Flax and Hemp grow as naturally here as in any Country on the *Baltick*, and in as great Perfection; Oats, Barley, Peas, Beans, and indeed every thing of this Kind, ſucceed as well as can be wiſhed; but amongſt them all, there is nothing ſo much planted as *Indian* Corn, of which Mr. *Winthorp* having given a large Account to the Royal Society, we ſhall take as much as is neceſſary for ours or the Reader's Purpoſe from thence, and inſert it here.

The Natives called it Weachin, and in ſome ſouthern Parts of *América*, it is known by the Name of Maiis, or Maize; the Ear is a Span long, compoſed of eight Rows of Grain, or more, according to the Goodneſs of the Ground, about thirty Grains in a Row; 'tis of various Colours, as red, white, yellow, blue, olive, greeniſh, black, ſpeckled, ſtriped, and ſometimes in the ſame Field, and in the ſame Ear; but the white and yellow is the moſt common; the Ear is defended from the Cold and Storms by ſtrong thick Huſks, the Stalks grow ſix or eight Feet high; that of *New England* is not quite ſo tall as that of *Virginia*, and at *Canada* it is ſhorter than at *New England*; 'tis jointed like a Cane, and full of ſweet Juice, like the Sugar Cane, and a Syrup as ſweet as Sugar may be made of it, as has been often tried; at every Joint there are long Flags, and at the Top a Branch of Flowers like Rye Bloſſoms.

It is generally planted from the Middle of *April* to the Middle of *May*, In the northern Parts the *Mohawk* Corn is not planted till the Middle of *June*, and yet is ripe in Seaſon. The Stalks of this Sort are ſhort, and the Ears near the Bottom, and are of ſeveral Colours. The manner of planting Maize is in Rows, at equal Diſtance every way, about five or ſix Feet; the Earth is opened with a Hoe four Inches deep, and four or five Grains are thrown into it, at a little Diſtance from one another in the Breadth of a Hoe; then they are covered with Earth; if they grow, the Crop will anſwer. The Corn is weeded at a Hand's Length, and the Earth is looſened about it with a Hoe. This Labour muſt be repeated as the Weeds come up; when the Stalk begins to grow high, a little Earth ſhould be drawn about it, and on putting forth the Ear ſo much as to make a little Hill, like a Hop-hill. 'Tis ripe about the Middle of *September*; it muſt be ſtripped as ſoon as gathered, unleſs 'tis laid thin, to prevent its growing mouldy, or ſprouting. The common way is to move the Ear together, in long Traces, by ſome Part of the Huſks left thereon, which is called tracing. Theſe Traces they hang upon Bearers, without Doors, and will keep ſo all Winter good and ſweet. The *Indians* thraſh it as they gather it. They dry it well on Matts in the Sun, and bury it in Holes in the Ground, lined with Moſs or Matts, which are their Barns. The *Engliſh* of late plant it with the Help of the Plow; they turn up ſingle Furrows, ſix Feet diſtance; then plow a-croſs, at the ſame Diſtance, throw in the Corn, where theſe meet, and cover it with a Hoe, or run another Furrow over it with the Plow.

The *Indians* boil it till it becomes tender, and eat it with Fiſh or Veniſon, inſtead of Bread; ſometimes they bruiſe it in Mortars, and ſo boil it. The moſt uſual way is to parch it in Aſhes, ſtirring it ſo artificially as to be very tender, without burning; this they ſift, and beat in Mortars into fine Meal, which they eat dry, or mixed with Water. The *Engliſh* mix it into a ſtiff Paſte, make Bread of it, which they bake all Day, or all Night. The beſt Sort of Food which is made of it is called Samp; to make it, the Corn is watered half an Hour, beaten in a Mortar to the Bigneſs of Rice, ſifted, boiled, and eaten with Milk, or Butter and Sugar, like Rice; and this ſeems to be ſo good and wholeſome a Diet, that 'tis a ſtrange Sort of Folly in ſome that deſpiſe it, becauſe 'tis *Indian* Corn; and the *Indians* have no other Corn to eat. The *Engliſh* have alſo made good Beer of it, by malting it, or making it of Bread; when they malt it, it muſt chit both ways, Root and Blade; to do which, they heap it up at a convenient Time, then take away the Top of the Earth of a Garden-Field, two or three Inches deep; after which they cover the Ground with the Corn, and the Corn with the Earth; when the Plat is green all over with the Corn-Sprouts, which it will be in about ten Days, it muſt be taken up, the Earth ſhaken from it and dried, and then waſhed and dried again on a Kiln; this makes the Malt, and that the Beer, which will be pleaſant, wholeſome, and of a brown Colour. The Beer made of Bread is more durable, and altogether as pleaſant; to make this, they cut the Bread into great Lumps, as big as a Man's Fiſt, maſh and manage it as they do Malt; adding or omitting Hops, of which they have enough, and as good a Sort of their own as is deſired. No *Indian* Corn grows wild now; but both that and Kidney Beans were found among the Natives. The *Indians* have a Tradition, that the firſt Grain of Corn was brought thither by a Black-Bird, and the firſt Bean by a Crow.

We are now to proceed from the Deſcription of the Country, and an Account of its Produce, in which we ought, by all means, to include Iron Ore, of which there is in this Country great Plenty; I ſay, our Method leads us to go on to the Political State and Condition of this Colony, that the Situation of the *Engliſh* therein may be rendered more obvious, and be the better apprehended. In order to do this as ſuccinctly as poſſible, we ſhall obſerve there are very few Countries, in which ſo many different Forms of Government have prevailed within ſo narrow a Space of Time as in *New England*. At the firſt going over of the People thither, they framed a Government of their own; and afterwards procured, as themſelves boaſt, or ſome of their Writers have boaſted for them, the Eſtabliſhment of a Republic, by virtue of a Patent from King *James* I. which, however, they managed ſo indifferently, and were guilty of ſuch flagrant Oppreſſions, on account of Differences in Religion, that their Charter was, in the Reign of King *Charles* II. declared forfeited; and though it was renewed under the Reign of King *William*, yet it was under various Reſtrictions, and with ſeveral material Alterations; ſo that we may ſafely affirm, that there are at preſent three kinds of Governments eſtabliſhed by Law in thoſe four Colonies; which, as we before obſerved, are eſtabliſhed within the Limits of *New England*. The firſt kind of Government I ſhall mention is that old Form of Charter Government, which allows the People to chuſe annually their own Governors, Deputy-Governors, Council, and Aſſembly, with all their Officers, Civil and Military, and to make ſuch Laws as to them ſhall ſeem expedient, provided they are not repugnant to the Laws of *Great Britain*. This kind of Government, which, I believe, is more independent than that of any Colony belonging to any other Nation in the World, is enjoyed in its full Extent by the People who inhabit the Plantations of *Connecticut* and *Rhode Iſland*; but they make a very different Uſe of it; for thoſe of the firſt-mentioned Colony are very ſtrict in point of Religion; whereas thoſe in *Rhode Iſland* are the freeſt in that Reſpect of any in the World; for there are among them People of all Religions, or rather, of all thoſe Sects into which Proteſtants are divided, but without the leaſt Prejudice to their temporal Concerns, every Man being alike capable of Magiſtracy; and with reſpect to an Eſtabliſhed Church, there is none; but every Body of Chriſtians live according to their own Syſtem, and chuſe and pay their Miniſters as they think fit. The great Colony of *Maſſachuſets* is likewiſe a Charter-Government; but the Appointment of the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, Secretary, and all the Officers of the Admiralty, is veſted in the Crown. The People have not only the Choice of the Aſſembly, but of the Council; upon which, however, the Governor in his Turn has a Negative; and, by virtue of his Commiſſion as Captain-General, has the Power of the Militia; ſo that here the ſupreme Authority reſts neither in the Governor nor the People, but in them both, whenever they can agree to exert it. The Government of *New Hampſhire* is intirely in the Hands of the Crown, in the ſame Manner as that of *Virginia*, and other Colonies.

The Capital of this Country is *Boſton*, in the County of *Suffolk*, and within the Province of *Maſſachuſet Proper*: It is ſituated in the Latitude of 42 Degrees 20 Minutes North, and in 71 Degrees of Longitude Weſt from *London*; it ſtands on a Peninſula about four Miles in Circumference, at the Bottom of a fine Bay of the Sea, at the Entrance whereof are ſeveral Rocks which appear above Water, and above a Dozen ſmall Iſlands, ſome of which are inhabited. There is but one ſafe Channel to approach the Harbour, and that ſo narrow, that two Ships can ſcarce ſail through a-breaſt; but within the Harbour there is Room enough for five hundred Sail to lie at Anchor. The Entrance is defended by the Caſtle of *Fort-William*, on which are one hundred Guns mounted, twenty of which lie in a Platform, level with the Water, ſo that it is ſcarce poſſible for an Enemy to paſs the Caſtle; and, to prevent Surprize, they have a Guard placed on one of the Rocks about two Leagues diſtant, on which alſo there ſtands a little Houſe, from whence they make Signals to the Caſtle when any Ships come near it: There is alſo a Battery of great Guns at each End of the Town, which commands the Harbour, to the Fire whereof any Enemy would be expoſed, if he ſhould be ſo fortunate as to paſs the Caſtle.

At the Bottom of the Bay there is a Pier near two thouſand Feet in Length, with Warehouſes for the Merchants on the North Side of it; and Ships of the greateſt Burden may come up cloſe to the Pier and unload, without the Help of Boats. The greateſt Part of the Town of *Boſton* lies in the Form of a Creſcent about the Harbour, the Country beyond riſing gradually, and affording a moſt delightful Proſpect from the Sea: There are in it ſeveral Streets, not much inferior to the beſt in *London*, the chief of which runs from the Pier up to their Town-houſe, or *Guild-hall*, a handſome Building, where are Walks for the Merchants, as on the *Exchange*; and there alſo are the Council-Chamber, the Houſe of Repreſentatives, and their Courts of Juſtice, the *Exchange* being ſurrounded with Bookſellers Shops, who have Trade enough to employ five Printing-preſſes. There are ten Churches of all Denominations, of which ſix are Independents, the moſt prevailing Party in *New England*. And the Number of Souls in the Town of that Perſuaſion may be about fourteen or fifteen thouſand. The Epiſcopal Church is handſomely built and adorned, and the Congregation ſaid to be about a thouſand in Number. Their Church Furniture, and ſome Pieces of Plate, were given them by K. *William* and Q. *Mary*, and their Organ by *Thomas Brattley*, Eſq; There is alſo in this Church a magnificent Seat for the Governor, who comes thither when he happens to be of the Church of *England*. *Boſton* is the moſt flouriſhing Town for Trade in *Engliſh America*, and there are ſeveral hundred Sail of Ships, Brigantines, and other Veſſels, annually loaded here with Timber, Beef, Pork, Fiſh, and other Commodities, for *Europe*, or the *American* Iſlands: Their Merchants and Tradeſmen are a polite ſort of People, many of them having travelled into *Europe*, or converſed with Foreigners of ſeveral Nations at home: Their Houſes are elegantly furniſhed, and their Tables as well ſerved as thoſe of the Merchants and Tradeſmen of *London*; all manner of Proviſions being as plentiful as in any Town in *Old England*.

A late Writer tells us, in relation to the Fortreſs beforementioned, that it is a beautiful Caſtle, by far the fineſt Piece of Military Architecture in *Britiſh America*; being a Quarry ſurrounded by a Covered Way, and joined with two Lines of Communication to the Main Battery, as alſo a Line of Communication from the Main Gate to a Redoubt, to prevent any Enemies landing; and the Battery is ſituated ſo near to the Channel, as to hinder Ships coming up to the Town, which muſt all come within Piſtol-ſhot of it. In time of Peace there is but one Company on Duty in the Caſtle; but in time of War, there are five hundred able bodied Men, exempted from all other Military Duty, to attend the Service of the Caſtle at an Hour's Warning, when the Signal is given from the Night-houſe of the Approach of an Enemy. The Caſtle thereupon makes a Signal to the Town, and if five Ships or more appear in time of War, the neighbouring Country is alarmed, by firing a Beacon. In this City commonly the Governor reſides; here the General Court and Aſſembly meet, and almoſt all the public Buſineſs of the Province is here tranſacted. The Number of Houſes is computed at four thouſand four hundred; the Number of People, at about twenty-four thouſand; and the Shipping of this Port is computed at between ſix and ſeven hundred. There are, beſides this, ſeveral great Towns and good Ports, and a Multitude of ſmall ones, in *New England*; but I have not room to enter into more particular Accounts.

As to the Number of People, Writers differ extremely, and it is not eaſy to know which is in the right; but the following, about twenty Years ago, was ſaid to be the beſt Authority, *viz.* that in the *Maſſachuſets* Colony there were eighty thouſand Souls; in that of *Connecticut*, thirty thouſand; and in *Rhode Iſland*, ten thouſand; in the whole, one hundred and twenty thouſand: But I am perſuaded, that at preſent they amount to one hundred and ſixty thouſand at leaſt.

The Commerce of theſe Colonies is very conſiderable, and extends itſelf over all *America*, and into ſome Parts of *Europe*; they furniſh our Sugar Colonies with Fiſh, Cattle, Boards, Hoops, Pipe-ſtaves, Bark, Skins, Butter, Cheeſe, Oil, Tallow, Corn, Apples, Turpentine, *&c.* and this in ſuch vaſt Abundance, that it is computed the Iſland of *Barbadoes* alone takes off to the Value of two hundred thouſand Pounds every Year: They deal beſides with the other Sugar Colonies, ſometimes with the *French*, largely with the *Spaniards*, and they ſhip off prodigious Quantities of Fiſh to *Italy*, *Spain*, and *Portugal*. They take from us all kinds of Mercery Goods; Linnen, Stockings, Shoes, Sail-cloth, Cordage, Haberdaſhery Ware, and a vaſt many other Things; in Return they build a prodigious Number of Ships, and export a vaſt Quantity of Maſts, Plank, and Yards, for the Royal Navy; Pitch, Tar, Turpentine, Skins, Furs, Oil, Whale-Fins, Logwood, and other Commodities.

The Obſervations made by the famous Sir *Joſiah Child*, in reference to this Colony, are very well worthy our Notice, as they will lead us to form the trueſt Judgment poſſible, as to that important Point, what the Profit is which reſults to this Kingdom, from our Plantations in *New England*; upon which he reaſons in the following Manner: “ 1ſt, All our *American* Plantations, except “ the *New England*, produce Commodities of different “ Natures, as Sugar, Tobacco, Cocoa, Wool, Ginger, “ ſundry Sorts of dying Woods, *&c.* Whereas *New* “ *England* produces generally the ſame we have here, *viz.*

“ Corn and Cattle; ſome quantity of Fiſh they do likewiſe kill, but that is taken and cured altogether by their own Inhabitants, which prejudices our *Newfoundland* Trade; where, as has been ſaid, very few are, or ought, according to Prudence, to be employed in theſe Fiſheries, but the Inhabitants of *Old England*. The other Commodities we have from them are ſome few great Maſts, Furs, and Train Oil, of which the yearly Value amounts to very little; the much greater Value of Returns from thence being made in Sugar, Cotton, Wool, Tobacco, and ſuch like Commodities, which they firſt receive from ſome other of his Majeſty's Plantations, in barter for dry Cod-fiſh, Salt, Mackrel, Beef, Pork, Bread, Beans, Flour, Peaſe, *&c.* which they ſupply *Barbadoes*, *Jamaica*, *&c.* with, to the Diminution of the Vent of thoſe Commodities from this Kingdom; the great Experience of which, in our own *Weſt India* Plantations, would ſoon be found in the Advantage of the Value of our Lands in *England*, were it not for the vaſt and almoſt incredible Supplies thoſe Colonies have from *New-England*.

“ 2dly, The People of *New-England*, by virtue of their primitive Charters, being not ſo ſtrictly tied to the Obſervation of the Laws of this Kingdom, do ſometimes aſſume the Liberty of trading, contrary to the Act of Navigation, by reaſon of which many of our *American* Commodities, eſpecially Tobacco and Sugar, are tranſported in *New Engliſh* Shipping, directly into *Spain*, and other foreign Countries, without being landed in *England*, or paying any Duty to his Majeſty; which is not only a Loſs to the King, and Prejudice to the Navigation of *Old England*, but alſo a total Excluſion of the *Old Engliſh* Merchant, from the Vent of thoſe Commodities in thoſe Ports where the *New Engliſh* Veſſels trade; becauſe there being no Cuſtom on thoſe Commodities in *New-England*, and a great Cuſtom paid to them in *Old-England*; it muſt neceſſarily follow that the *New-Engliſh* Merchant will be able to afford his Commodity much cheaper than the *Old Engliſh* Merchant; and thoſe that can ſell cheapeſt, will infallibly engroſs the whole Trade ſooner or later.

“ 3dly, Of all the *American* Plantations, His Majeſty has none ſo apt for the Building of Shipping as *New England*, nor none comparably ſo qualified for the breeding of Seamen, not only by reaſon of the natural Induſtry of that People, but principally by reaſon of their Cod and Mackarel Fiſheries; and, in my poor Opinion, there is nothing more prejudicial, and in Proſpect, more dangerous to any Mother Kingdom, than the Increaſe of Shipping in her Colonies, Plantations, and Provinces.

“ 4thly, The People that evacuate from us to *Barbadoes*, and the other *Weſt India* Plantations, as was before hinted, do commonly work one *Engliſh* to ten or eight Blacks; and if we kept the Trade of our ſaid Plantations entirely to *England*, *England* would have no leſs Inhabitants, but rather an Increaſe of People, by ſuch Evacuation, becauſe that one *Engliſhman*, with ten Blacks that work with him, accounting what they eat, uſe, and wear, would make Employment for four Men in *England*, as was ſaid before; whereas, peradventure, of ten Men that iſſue from us to *New England* or *Ireland*, what we ſend to, or receive from, them, does not employ one Man in *England*.”

But with great Submiſſion to ſo knowing a Man and ſo able a Judge as he was in theſe Matters, what he has delivered upon this Subject, though hitherto received with general Approbation, is liable to many Objections, which, being duly conſidered, will give the State and Utility of this Colony another Aſpect. For, with reſpect to his firſt Head of Objections, it is not the Fault of *New England* that they have not a ſtaple Commodity, as well as the Sugar and Tobacco Plantations, but it is our own; ſince we might be furniſhed from thence with as great Plenty, and in as great Perfection, as from any Part of the *Baltic*, with all the naval Stores, which are ſo neceſſary, and for which we actually pay, yearly, a vaſt Sum of ready Money. It is therefore very unjuſt to call *New England* a uſeleſs Province, becauſe we will not make uſe of her Commodities, which we might command for our own Manufactures, at our own Time, and on our own Terms, but rather pay our Money for them to Foreigners; who, whenever an Opportunity offers, never fail to force their own Terms upon us. As to the Proviſions furniſhed to our Sugar Colonies by the People of *New England*, it is ſo far from being a Diſadvantage to the Nation, that it is a very great Convenience; for without it they could not poſſibly ſubſiſt. This, at firſt Sight, may ſeem a very bold Aſſertion, but I am very confident that it is true; for in Time of Peace, if the Sugar Colonies were to draw all their Proviſions from hence, it would make their Commodity much dearer, and conſequently enable Foreigners to beat us out of that Trade entirely, and in Time of War the People in thoſe Colonies would be in danger of ſtarving, as the Inhabitants of the *French* Sugar Iſlands generally are; to avoid which Inconveniency they are now labouring to render *Louviſiana* as uſeful to their Sugar Colonies, as *New England* is to ours; and after all, what the *New England* People get by this Trade comes hither. To this we may add, that if we had not ſettled *New England*, the *French* certainly would, the Conſequences of which may be more eaſily conceived than deſcribed.

The ſecond Objection admits of the ſame Anſwer. We have the Benefit of all the Trade the People in this Colony carry on in *Europe*, as well as *America*; and while we have this certain Advantage, there ſeems to be no juſt Cauſe for our diſturbing ourſelves with the Thoughts of the Advantages that might be gained if this Trade ran in another Channel; ſince theſe are Incertainties, as to which, however, our Government has already taken all the Precautions that are poſſible, or at leaſt that are practicable, without running into greater Inconveniencies, than thoſe they are calculated to guard againſt. The breeding of Seamen, and the building of Ships, are not found by Experience, to be attended with the Inconveniencies that were feared from them; but on the contrary, have had many advantageous Conſequences, both in time of War and of Peace. The fourth Objection, which ſeems to have the greateſt Weight of any, we know now by Experience has in reality no Weight at all; for without having Colonies compoſed entirely of white People, it would be impoſſible for us to defend our other Colonies againſt our Enemies in *America*; and, as we ſhall ſhew hereafter in ſpeaking of *Georgia*, inſtead of repining at the Want of Negroes in *New-England*, we ought rather to wiſh that there were fewer Negroes elſewhere. The Reader will eaſily perceive that I do not affect to contradict this great Author, I only expreſs the Reaſons why his Arguments do not convince me, and from the Lights of Experience ſhew that it is not impoſſible even for the greateſt Men to be miſtaken.

Sir *Joſiah Child* ſaw this himſelf, as appears by the Manner in which he finiſhes his Remarks, which I look upon to be one of the fineſt Paſſages in his whole Work. “ To conclude, ſays he, and to do right to that moſt induſtrious *Engliſh* Colony, I muſt confeſs, that though we loſe by their unlimited Trade with our foreign Plantations, yet we are very great Gainers by their direct Trade, to and from *Old England*. Our yearly Exportations of *Engliſh* Manufactures, Malt, and other Goods from hence, thither amounting, in my Opinion, to ten times the Value of what is imported from thence; which Calculation I do not make at Random, but upon mature Conſideration; and, peradventure, upon as much Experience of this very Trade, as any other Perſon will pretend to do; and therefore, whenever a Reformation of our Correſpondency in Trade with that People ſhall be thought on, it will, in my poor Judgment, require great Tenderneſs, and very ſerious Circumſpection.”

I ſhall not dwell much longer upon this Subject, or pretend to give the Reader any Calculation of the Value of thoſe Advantages which from this Colony are derived to *Great Britain*, becauſe I am ſenſible that though the Thing may be practicable in itſelf, yet ſufficient Informations are not hitherto fallen into my Power; I deſire therefore to leave only theſe three Remarks with the ingenious and impartial Reader: The firſt is, that we have it in our Power to bring from this Colony all the naval Stores that we now bring from the *Baltic*; which, whenever it is thoroughly conſidered by our Parliament, will produce ſome Law, which cannot fail of rendering this Colony twice as beneficial to the Nation as it has hitherto been, or could be, till enabled by ſuch a Law. In the ſecond Place I muſt obſerve, that as we derive a great Part of our Sugars from the Aſſiſtance given to the Colonies which produce them by *New England*, ſo this Part of their Produce ought to be placed to the *New England* Account. I am to remark laſtly, that the Complaints which have been made of the Inhabitants of this Colony dealing in Goods, and employing themſelves in Manufactures, which interfere with thoſe of *Great Britain*, is a Complaint, which, though well founded, is ill applied; for though it be true that this may be an Injury to us, yet the Fault lies in ourſelves, and not in the People of *New England*, who only raiſe and manufacture for themſelves what they cannot purchaſe from us; ſo that not content with having their All (for, as we have ſhewn, the whole Ballance of their Trade comes hither) we ſeem to be angry that they endeavour to ſupply themſelves with what we could ſell, and they want wherewithal to purchaſe; which Want, however, might be removed, by taking their naval Stores. But it is now fit that we ſhould give a ſhort View of the Plantation of our next Colony, which though we cannot call it one of the moſt profitable, yet it muſt be allowed one of the moſt pleaſant of our Plantations.

10. The Iſlands of *Bermudas* were diſcovered by one *John Bermudas* a *Spaniard*, after which they were frequently touched at by his Countrymen in their Paſſage to the *Weſt Indies*, but were quite unknown to us till the Year 1593, when one *Henry May* was ſhipwrecked upon them in a *French* Veſſel, whoſe Report made them very famous; but they became more ſo by the like Misfortune of Sir *George Summers*, and Sir *Thomas Gates*, in their Paſſage to *Virginia* in 1609, of which we have before given a particular Account, as well as of his being ſent thither a ſecond Time to fetch Hogs, when it was with great Difficulty he found theſe Iſlands, and not long after he breathed his laſt in them, being upwards of threeſcore, and much fatigued for many Months before. It was from him their Name was changed to *Summers*'s *Iſlands*, which our Mariners call the *Summer Iſlands*; a Name they very well deſerve for their Pleaſantneſs and Fertility. Sir *George* directed his Men to return to *Virginia* with black Hogs, for the Relief of that Colony, but they reſolved otherwiſe after his Death; and ſtoring their Cedar Ship with ſuch Proviſions as they had, they ſet ſail for *England*, where they arrived at *Whitchurch* in *Dorſetſhire*, having Sir *George Summers*'s Corps on board, only the Heart and Bowels they left at *Bermudas*, where Captain *Butler*, twelve Years afterwards, built a handſome Monument over them.

Theſe Men, at their Return, gave ſuch an Account of the Country to the *Virginia* Company, that they thought it worth their while to eſtabliſh a Correſpondence between *England* and *Bermudas*; accordingly they ſold theſe Iſlands to one hundred and twenty Perſons of the ſame Society, who obtained a Charter from King *James*, and became the Proprietors of them. When Sir *George Summers* was firſt here, two of his Men ſtaid behind, having committed ſome Crime, for which they would have been put to Death. They were ſtill there when Sir *George* returned, and had, ever ſince his Departure, ſupported themſelves on the Productions of the Place, and built them a Hut, and took Poſſeſſion of *St. George's Iſland*. Theſe two Men, whoſe Names were *Chriſtopher Carter*, and *Edward Waters*, ſtaid alſo behind Sir *George*'s ſecond Company, of whom they perſuaded one *Edward Chard* to remain with them; and now *Carter*, *Waters*, and *Chard*, were ſole Lords of the Country, but ſoon fell out among themſelves; *Chard* and *Waters* were coming to a pitched Battle; but *Carter*, though he hated them both, yet not liking to be left alone, prevented it, by threatening to declare againſt the Man who ſtruck firſt. At laſt Neceſſity made them good Friends, and they joined together in making Diſcoveries, in one of which Expeditions they found the largeſt Piece of Ambergreaſe among the Rocks, that ever was ſeen, weighing eighty Pounds, beſides other ſmaller Pieces. This Treaſure made them almoſt mad; they grew giddy with the Thoughts of it, and, that they might have an Opportunity to make uſe of it, reſolved, on the moſt deſperate Attempt that Men could run upon, which was to build a Boat after the beſt Manner they could, to ſail to *Virginia* or *Newfoundland*, according as the Wind and Weather ſhould preſent.

But before they could put their Project in Execution, a Ship arrived from *England*; for Captain *Mathew Summers*, Sir *George*'s Brother, had promiſed to come to them, or ſend a Veſſel to their Relief. The Ship they diſcovered ſtanding in with the Shore was the *Plough*, which had ſixty Perſons aboard, ſent by the new *Bermudas* Company to make a Settlement, of which Mr. *Richard Moor* was Governor, who was an honeſt induſtrious Perſon. He pitched upon a Plain in *St. George*'s *Iſland* to ſettle on, and there firſt built himſelf a Houſe, or rather Cabbin, for the Building was only of Palmeto Leaves; yet he made it large enough for him, his Wife and Family; and the reſt of the Adventurers following his Example, it became a ſort of a Town, which in Time grew to a conſiderable Bigneſs, and is now *St. George*'s Town, one of the ſtrongeſt and beſt built in our *American* Colonies; for all the Houſes are of Cedar, and all the Forts of hewn Stone. This Man proved an excellent Governor in every Reſpect; and, in the Year 1614, diſappointed the *Spaniards* in a Deſign they had formed of landing upon, and conquering theſe Iſlands.

He was ſucceeded by Captain *Daniel Tucker*, who was a Perſon of better Education, and more Experience in the World, who took upon him to eſtabliſh a regular Form of Government; to diſtinguiſh and trace out Plantations; to oblige every Man to build uniformly in the Town, and to plant regularly in the Country; by which Method the Iſlands were very much improved, and the Exportations for *England* increaſed; he likewiſe eſtabliſhed a tolerable Militia, and put the Iſlands in ſuch a Poſture of Defence, as, together with their Situation, put it out of the Power of any of their Enemies to diſembark ſuch a Force as might hurt them. But the Severity of his Government was ſo grievous to ſome licentious Perſons, that five of them executed as deſperate a Deſign to eſcape him, as *Waters* and his Companions had projected to get away from the Iſland. They knew the Governor would not give them leave to go off, and therefore invented this Contrivance to effect it: Hearing Captain *Tucker* had a great Deſire to go a fiſhing out at Sea, but was afraid to do it, becauſe ſeveral Fiſher-boats had been driven off by the Weather and the Men periſhed, they propoſed to him to build a Boat of two or three Tons, with a Deck, and ſo fitted that ſhe ſhould live in all Weathers. The Governor conſenting to it, they fell to building in a private Place, pretending it was convenient for getting Timber and launching the Boat. They finiſhed it ſooner than was expected; and the Governor ſent Hands to fetch it, intending to go in it aboard a Ship which he was then diſpatching for *England*. When his Men came to the Place, neither the Boat nor the Builders were to be found; all that they could hear of them was, that the Boat being finiſhed the Night before, thoſe that built it went off to Sea in it, to try how it would ſail. At laſt they found by ſome Letters they left behind them, that they were gone for *England*; and the Story of their Adventure is told us in this Manner:

They borrowed a Compaſs-dial of a Neighbour, on ſome Pretence or other, and went on board the Ship bound for *England*, where they trucked with the Seamen ſuch Things as they had, for Proviſions. One of them, at parting, told the Mariners, that though they were forbidden to go with them, yet they hoped to be in *England* before them. At which the Maſter of the Ship laughed, and away theſe fearleſs Adventures ſailed, with a fair Wind and Weather for one and twenty Days; they then met with a Storm, which reduced them to Extremity for eight and forty Hours, and obliging them to bear up afore it drove them a little out of their Courſe to the Weſtward; but the Wind coming fair again, and continuing ſo ten Days, they went on chearfully. In that Time they met with a *French* Privateer, where they went aboard to beg ſome Relief; but inſtead of helping they plundered them of the little they had; took away even their Inſtrument of Navigation, and turned them a-drift. In this miſerable Condition they ſailed on, growing every Day weaker and weaker; their Proviſions were almoſt ſpent, their Fire-wood quite gone, not a Drop of freſh Water left, nor Food for above a Day, when at laſt, in the very Hour they expected to periſh, they made Land to their unſpeakable Joy. This Land was *Ireland*, where they went aſhore in the County of *Cork*, and were nobly entertained by the Earl of *Thomond*, to whom they related their Voyage, which had then laſted forty-two Days,

There were but five Perſons concerned, of whom there was one Mr. *James Barker*, a Gentleman, *Richard Saunders*, who contrived the Deſign, *William Goodwin*, a Ship-Carpenter, who built the Boat, and *Henry Puet*, a common Sailor, who undertook to navigate this Veſſel. Both theſe Stories may ſeem a little beſide our preſent Purpoſe, but I have inſerted them as belonging more immediately to a *Collection of Voyages*, and becauſe I look upon both theſe Incidents to be very well worth preſerving. Capt. *Tucker* reſigned, in the Year 1619, to Capt *Butler*, who arrived at that time with four good Ships, in which he brought five hundred Paſſengers, and there being as many *Engliſh* on the Iſland, the Colony began to make a conſiderable Figure. This Governor raiſed a noble Monument over the Remains of Sir *George Summers* that were left in the Iſland, depoſiting them in the Church in *St. George's Town*. He divided the Iſlands into Diſtricts; and now the Government, by Governor, Council, and Aſſembly, was eſtabliſhed, which before had been only the Governor and Council. The Laws of the Country were alſo ſettled, as near as the Circumſtances and Conveniencies of the Place would admit, to the Laws of *England*; as is done in all the Colonies in *America*. After bringing down the Hiſtory of theſe Iſlands to their becoming a regular and ſettled Colony, I am next to give an Account of the Iſlands themſelves, in order to ſhew the Value of them.

11. There are ſome who would perſuade us, that theſe Iſlands have received their Name from the vaſt Quantity of Black Hogs found upon them: *Bermudas*, in the old *Spaniſh* Tongue, ſignifying a *Black Hog*; but though this Derivation be plauſible, yet the Fact upon which it is founded, is moſt certainly falſe; for when the *Spaniards* firſt diſcovered them there was not a ſingle Hog upon theſe, or perhaps upon any other Iſland whatever; neither is it well known upon what Part the *Spaniards* landed. Theſe Iſlands lie very contiguous to each other; but Authors differ ſo much as to the Number of them, that it is very difficult to ſpeak of them with Certainty; for ſome ſay there are but three hundred, others affirm there are more than five hundred. They lie in the Latitude of 32 Degrees 30 Minutes North, and in 35 Degrees of Weſtern Longitude, at a vaſt Diſtance from the Continent, ſince the neareſt Land, which is *Cape Hatteras* in *Carolina*, lies at leaſt two hundred and fifty Leagues to the Weſt of them, and they are above ſixteen hundred Leagues from *England*. The Air here has been always thought extremely wholeſome, and the Country wonderfully pleaſant, inſomuch that People were wont to remove hither from the other Colonies, in order to recover their broken Conſtitution. The Heat in Summer is very ſupportable, and with reſpect to Winter, they have really none; nay, ſome go ſo far as to affirm, that there is but one Seaſon in the Iſland of *Bermudas*, and this a perpetual Spring; which, however, may be in ſome meaſure aſcribed to the Soil, which though it be thin is very rich and very fruitful, though remarkably ſtoney. The Earth is of ſeveral Colours, brown, white, and red; the firſt is the beſt and the laſt the worſt. Two or three Feet under the Mould they find a white hard Body, which the Inhabitants call the Rock, but which ſeems more to reſemble Chalk, or a Pumice-ſtone, through which the Roots of their Trees force a Paſſage; and a kind of Clay is generally found under it.

Maize, or *Indian* Corn, which is the main Support of the People here, is twice reaped; for what they ſow in *March*, they cut in *July*; in a Fortnight after they ſow again, and reap in *December*. They have all the Plants peculiar to the *Weſt-Indies*, and all Kinds of Herbs, Roots, Flowers, and Trees, brought from *Europe*, thrive to Perfection. They have ſome Tobacco, but it is of an indifferent ſort, and therefore does not yield them any great Profit; but certainly, with a little Care, they might be able to produce any kind of Tobacco, or other Vegetable that turns to Account almoſt in any Climate. They have Palmeto's, a kind of Wild Palm, that is extremely uſeful, the Leaves being eight or ten Feet long, and near as broad, with which they cover or thatch their Houſes; it produces a very luſcious Fruit, which in Shape, Size, and Colour reſembles a Damſon. Laurel, Olive, Mulberry, and Date Trees, are very common; and their Foreſts abound with Variety of odoriferous Woods, ſome black, ſome of a yellow, and ſome of a red Colour: The Berries of theſe Trees have the Stiptic Quality of a Sloe, and are much uſed by the *Engliſh* to cure the Flux, which they frequently get by eating the luſcious Palm-berries too greedily. But amongſt a Multitude of Shrubs and Trees peculiar to theſe Iſlands, and equally valuable for their Timber and Fruit, there are two which, though found in other Parts of the World, have a peculiar Excellence here; the firſt is their Orange, which in point of Size, Scent, and Flavour, far exceeds any either in the *Weſt* or *Eaſt Indies*: The ſecond is their Cedar, which from the Nature of the Soil wherein it grows is firmer and more durable than any of its Kind that we are acquainted with, anſwers in every reſpect to Oak-Timber, and is found of extraordinary Uſe in Ship-building, ſo that the beſt Sloops, Brigantines, and other ſmall Veſſels, both for Service and Sailing, which are in Uſe throughout the *Weſt Indies*, are built at *Bermudas*.

They have likewiſe two very ſingular Plants, one uſeful and the other noxious, but both ſo remarkable as to deſerve particular Notice; the firſt is called, the *Summer-Iſland Redwood*, the Berry of which is as red as the Prickle Pear, giving alſo ſuch a Tincture; out of which Berry come firſt Worms, which afterwards turn into Flies, ſometimes bigger than the Cochineel Fly, and a medicinal Virtue much exceeding it. The Poiſon-Weed is the other ſtrange Plant, which grows much in the ſame manner as our Ivy, and if we may depend upon a Gentleman, who lived long in theſe Iſlands, and ſent an Account of what was remarkable in them, to the Royal Society, there is not a more ſurpriſing Production than this in Nature: He ſays he had ſeen a Man ſo infected by it, as to have all the Skin of his Face peel off though he paſſed by without touching it, and yet he affirms that he had chewed it in his Mouth without feeling any Inconvenience, whence he infers, that it is not hurtful alike to all Conſtitutions. In this all who have been upon theſe Iſlands agree, that this Weed is very prejudicial, but then they agree likewiſe, that there is nothing venomous beſides, in any of theſe Iſlands.

As for Animals, there were none in *Bermudas* but Hogs, Inſects, and Birds, when Sir *George Summers* was ſhipwrecked there: He found out that there were ſome Hogs in the Iſland, by ſending out two or three of his own to feed, and when they rambled home, a huge wild Boar followed them, and being killed was found to be excellent Meat: The Hogs they killed afterwards were found to be all black, and from thence it is concluded that the *Spaniards* had left them there to breed, becauſe they were of the ſame Kind with them they carried to the Continent of *America*. They now fat them at *Bermudas*, with Palm and Cedar Berries; but their Number is very much decreaſed. Theſe Iſlands abound in more and greater Variety of Fowl than any in *America*. There are Hawks of all ſorts, Herns, Bitterns, Offspreys, Cormorants, Baldcoots, Moorhens, Swans, Teal, Snipe, Duck, and Wigeons; Bats and Owls are alſo very common here, with Multitudes of ſmall Birds; as Wood-peckers, Sparrows, *&c.* The *Engliſh*, at their firſt coming, found a ſort of Fowl here they called *Cowkoes*, which bred in the Holes of the Rocks, and in Burrows, like Rabbets, and were ſo numerous and gentle, that they were taken by Hand. They are now almoſt deſtroyed, being very eaſy to be caught. This Bird is of the Bigneſs of a Sea-mew. There are alſo the Tropic-Bird, and the Pemlico, ſeldom ſeen by Day, and when it is, held to be the unwelcome Fore-teller of a Storm.

Fiſh there is as plenty as Fowl, of which there are ſo many ſorts that Authors have not yet found out Names for them: They have of the ſcaly and the ſhelly Kind; the Whale and Sword-fiſh, and the Threſher; but particularly the Tortoiſe abounds to a Wonder, and is as good and great, of the Sort, as any in the World. Whale-fiſhing has been attempted, but without Succeſs. The Whales about *Bermudas* are found only in the Months of *February*, *March*, and *April*; the Female Whales have abundance of Milk, which the young ones ſuck out of the Teats that grow by her Navel; they have no Teeth, but feed on Graſs growing on the Rocks at the Bottom during theſe three Months, and at no other Seaſon of the Year; when this is conſumed and gone, the Whales go. There have been Sperma-ceti Whales driven upon the Shore, which Sperma (as they call it) lies all over the Bodies of theſe Whales: Theſe have divers Teeth, which may be about as big as a Man's Wriſt. Ambergreaſe and Sperma-ceti, have been found here in great Quantities, and Pearl. All which are almoſt as rare here now, as elſewhere; which is a little wonderful.

The Inſects in theſe Iſlands are, generally ſpeaking, the ſame before mentioned in other Plantations, except it be the Spider, which is thought to be larger here than in any other Country in the World, and ſo adorned with beautiful Colours, that it takes off very much, if it does not entirely remove, that Diſtaſte, which otherwiſe the Sight of Creatures of this Kind and of ſo enormous a Size would naturally occaſion. One of theſe Spiders, with its Legs extended, would take up a Space equal to the Breadth of a Man's Hand. Their Bodies are compoſed of two Parts, one flat and the other round, not unlike, either in Shape or Size, to a Pigeons Egg. On their Backs they have an Orifice, which ſerves as well as in ſome kinds of Hogs for a Navel; their Mouths are covered with a kind of grey Hairs, intermixed ſometimes with bright red, and on each Side of their Mouths they have a kind of crooked Tooth, of a fine poliſhed Subſtance, extremely hard, and of a bright ſhining black, and therefore they are often ſet in Silver or Gold for Tooth-picks. When theſe Creatures grow old, they are covered all over with a kind of dark brown or black Down, ſmooth, ſoft, and ſhining like Velvet; on the flat Part they have their ten Legs, five on each Side, each of which has four Joints, and two ſmall Claws at the Ends. They caſt their Skins every Year, together with thoſe hard Teeth-like Subſtances before mentioned; they live upon Flies and Gnats, in catching of which they ſhew great Cunning and no leſs Agility. Their Webs, which are very large, they ſpirt into the Air, by which means they are lodged upon Trees at ſome Diſtance, and then run along the Threads, and weave them ſo ſtrong, that Birds of the Size of a Thruſh are ſometimes caught in them.

There is ſcarce an eighth Part of theſe Iſlands inhabited, and all but *St. George's*, *St. David's*, and *Coopers Iſles*, have only a few Houſes ſcattered up and down; they all together make the Figure of a Sheep-hook, and are within the Circuit of ſix or ſeven Leagues at moſt. There are none of them of any conſiderable Bigneſs, yet ſome much bigger than others; as Time and the Sea continually waſhing upon them, have worn them away in different Proportions. The main or great Iſland of all is called *St. George*'s, and is about ſixteen Miles in Length, from Eaſt-north-eaſt to Weſt-ſouth-weſt; 'tis not a League over in the broadeſt Place, but is fortified by Nature all round, the Rocks every way extending themſelves a great Way into the Sea. To natural Strength, eſpecially towards the Eaſtward, where it is moſt expoſed, the Inhabitants have added that of Forts, Batteries, Parapets, and Lines; the Cannon of the Forts and Batteries being ſo well diſpoſed as to command the ſeveral Channels and Inlets into the Sea. There are no more than two Places where Shipping may ſafely come in, and it is not eaſy for a Man to find thoſe Places out; the Rocks lie ſo thick in ſuch a Manner, and ſome ſo undiſcovered, that without a good Pilot from the Shore, a Veſſel of ten Tons could not find the Way into thoſe Harbours, which being once known, the biggeſt Ships in the World may enter. Theſe two Havens are ſo fortified, that if an Enemy ſhould attempt either, he might eaſily be kept out. The Rocks, at moſt Places, appear at low-water; it ebbs and flows there not above five Feet; the very Shore itſelf is, for the moſt Part, a Rock, and it is impoſſible to find out any Iſlands better guarded by Rocks than theſe; indeed they are all of them ſo invironed with them, that they ſeem to threaten all Ships who venture on that Coaſt with preſent Deſtruction, and ſo many have been ſhipwrecked upon them, that the *Spaniards* gave them the Name of *Los Diabolos*, the *Devil's Iſlands*; this Place having been fatal to them and all Nations.

The Town of *St. George* ſtands at the Bottom of the *Haven* of the ſame Name, covered by no leſs than ſix or ſeven Forts and Batteries, as *King's Caſtle*, *Charles' Fort*, *Pembrook Fort*, *Cavendiſh Fort*, *Davie's Fort*, *Warwick Fort*, and *Sandy's Fort*, mounted with above ſeventy Pieces of Cannon; and they are ſo diſpoſed, that they can be all brought to bear upon any Ship before ſhe can make her Entrance. In this Town there is a fair Church with a fine Library, for which the Inhabitants are indebted to Dr. *Thomas Bray*. There are near a thouſand Houſes in it handſomely built, and a State-Houſe for the meeting of the Governor, Council, and Aſſembly. Beſides the Town and Diviſion of *St. George*, there are eight Tribes, *Hamilton*'s Tribe, *Smith*'s Tribe, *Devonſhire*'s Tribe, *Pembrook*'s Tribe, *Paget*'s Tribe, *Warwick*'s Tribe, *Southampton*'s Tribe, and *Sandy*'s Tribe, of which, *Devonſhire* in the North, and *Southampton* in the South, are Pariſhes, have each a Church, and a particular Library. In the whole Iſland there are Plantations of Oranges, Mulberries, and other Productions of the Country, which render it a very delightful Proſpect. There is a Haven in *Southampton* Tribe or Diſtrict, which is alſo called *Southampton*, and other Harbours, as the *Great Sound*, *Harrington*'s Inlet in *Hamilton*'s Tribe, *Paget*'s Port in *Paget*'s Tribe, and others. There are no Pariſh Churches in any of the leſſer Iſlands, and all the Inhabitants are ranged under one or the other of the eight Tribes. The Number of People in the whole, who inhabit theſe Iſlands, has been computed to be nine thouſand, and it is thought they do not much increaſe, many of the younger Sort removing, for the Sake of making their Fortunes, into other Colonies.

The Government is like that of *Virginia*; the Crown appointing both a Governor and Council, but the People, by their Repreſentatives, compoſe the Aſſembly; they have fewer By-Laws than any of our other Settlements, which we impute to the Smalneſs of their Trade; for this Colony produces no conſiderable Commodity by which the Inhabitants may be enriched; and their Commerce conſiſts chiefly in Timber and Proviſions, which they ſend to the other Parts of *America* that ſtand in need of them, and ſome Tobacco imported to *England*; ſeveral Families retired thither formerly, on account of their Religion, or Health, from *England*, and carried conſiderable Effects with them. The building of Ships and Sloops is the moſt advantageous Branch of their Trade; and the People of *Bermudas* ſeem to content themſelves with the Pleaſure and Plenty of their Country, with a ſafe and quiet Retreat from the Troubles and Cares of the other Part of the World, without any Ambition to enrich themſelves; and, if they had any ſuch Deſire, it is to be queſtioned whether they have any Opportunity of gratifying it: Be that as it will, the Inhabitants have conſtantly maintained a moſt excellent Reputation; inſomuch that I knew a very ingenious Gentleman as well acquainted with this, and our other Plantations, as thirty Years trading to them all could render him, who was wont to ſay that *Bermudas* was the fineſt Country, and inhabited by the beſt People he ever knew.

It was this Report of the Place and People that induced the Reverend Dean *Berkley*, who is ſince become, very worthily, a Biſhop of our Church, to think of erecting an Academy there, for promoting uſeful Learning and true Religion in the *Weſt-Indies*; and the Society for Propogation of the Goſpel had ſo good an Opinion of the

Propoſal made them by the Biſhop of erecting a College or Seminary at *Bermudas*, that they aſſiſted him in procuring a Patent for it from King *George* I. and contributed to the Expence of the Undertaking. And the Doctor, with three Fellows of Trinity College in *Dublin*, viz. The Rev. Mr. *William Thompſon*, *Jonathan Rogers*, and *James King*, Maſters of Art, with ſeveral of the Doctor's Relations, who were People of Fortune, embarked for *Bermudas*, in order to lay the Foundation of the intended College ; but they were unfortunately driven, by a Storm, to *Long Iſland*, in the Province of *New York* ; from whence the Doctor, with his Companions, viſited *Boſton*, and ſeveral other great Towns in *New England*, where they preached, and performed other Parts of their Function. But the Deſign of erecting a College was laid aſide, the Expence appearing larger than it had been firſt calculated, and many of thoſe who had promiſed Subſcriptions failing in their Performance ; ſo that Dr. *Berkley* found himſelf obliged to return home, and was not long after promoted to the See of *Cloyne*, in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, which he ſtill enjoys.

There remains nothing farther to be ſaid of this Plantation, which, though it has flouriſhed exceedingly, and is ſtill in a very good Condition, yet has no great Trade with *Great-Britain*, at leaſt that we can obtain any Account of, though undoubtedly we receive very conſiderable Advantages from thence annually, as the People make uſe of a conſiderable Quantity of our Goods, are cloathed with our Manufactures, and employ Tools ſent from hence in all kinds of Work. There might, perhaps, if due Encouragement was given, be a Poſſibility of raiſing ſeveral rich Commodities in this Country, but more particularly two, for which it ſeems fitter than any of our Plantations, *viz.* Cochineel and Silk ; and with this View, as I have been informed, a very worthy Merchant of this City has collected, digeſted, and printed, the beſt Accounts that are to be met with on theſe Heads, and alſo with reſpect to Indigo, and has ſent them to be diſtributed at his own Expence in *Carolina* and the *Bermudas* Iſlands, which is an Inſtance of public Spirit that deſerves to be mentioned with Honour, and it is hoped may be likewiſe thought worthy of Imitation. A very few Attempts of this kind, ſupported with Subſcriptions inferior to thoſe made for ſome Diverſions, might produce immenſe public Advantages to this Nation, and prove the means of making Multitudes of People happy.

12. All the Miſcarriages that had happened in attempting Diſcoveries to the North-eaſt and North-weſt for a new Paſſage to the *Indies*, could not ſo far diſcourage the Merchants of *England*, as to oblige them to lay aſide their Deſigns of that Sort ; and therefore when any Opportunity offered they never failed to lay hold of it, in hopes that ſome Time or other they might accompliſh one or both of theſe great Projects. It was with this View that they fitted out Captain *Henry Hudſon* in 1607, who undertook to ſail directly North, which he did to the Height of 81 Degrees 30 Minutes, on the Coaſt of *Groenland*, where he was on the 16th of *July*, the Weather being pretty warm. His Scheme, It ſeems, was to have paſſed round that great Tract of Country, which the *Danes* call *Groenland*, and falling into *Davis*'s *Streights*, have returned that way home. After being diſappointed in this, he undertook two Voyages for the Diſcovery of a North-eaſt Paſſage, in which his Conduct was very good, though his Succeſs no better than that of thoſe who went before him ; upon which he reſolved to make an Attempt towards the North-weſt. He ſailed on this Voyage *April* the 17th, 1610 ; and thus Mr. *Pricket* deſcribes the principal Events in that Undertaking:

" We continued ſteering North-weſt ; on the 8th of *July* we raiſed Land to the South-weſt, covered with Snow, which our Maſter named *Deſire Provokes* ; lying in the Latitude of 60 Degrees. Here we heard the Noiſe of a great Overfall of a Tide that came out of the Land, and were now ſenſible that we had been embayed before ; and we were now ſo well acquainted with the Ice, that in foggy or foul Weather we ſought out the broadeſt Iſland of Ice, and there anchoring, we went out and ſported upon the Ice, and filled Water that ſtood in Ponds upon the Ice very ſweet and good, being now in the Tides-way, the Ice opened, by being firſt carried one way and then another, whereas in Bays it is immoveable ; and in that Bay where we had been ſo troubled with Ice, we ſaw many of thoſe Mountains of Ice a-ground in ſixty or ſeventy Fathom Water. We ſtill plied to Weſtward as the Ice would give us leave, and fearing a Storm, we found an Harbour at the Weſt-End of an Iſland, whereunto we went at a full Sea, over a Rock, which had then two Fathom and a half of Water upon it, and the next Morning was two Fathoms above Water. Our Maſter named it *The Iſland of God's Mercies.* The Water flows here better than four Fathoms, and the Floods come from the North, flowing eight the Change Day, Latitude 62° 9′. Then plying to South-weſt, we were on the 16th in the Latitude of 58° 50′, but found ourſelves embayed and much peſtered with Ice ; whereupon we ſtood to the South-weſt until we ſaw the Land, which our Maſter named *Hold with Hope* ; and being gotten again into a clear Sea, our Maſter ſtood to the Weſt along the South Shore, and raiſed three Capes or Head-lands, lying one beyond another, which he named *Cape Henry*, *Cape James*, and *Queen Anne's Foreland* ; we alſo raiſed a high Hill, which he named *Mount Charles.* We paſſed on in Sight of the South Shore until we raiſed a fair Head-land, (which our Maſter took to be Part of the main North Land, but is an Iſland) and named it *Deep's Cape*, and the Land on the South Side now falling away to the South makes another Cape or Head-land, which our Maſter called *Worſenham's Cape.*

" The Maſter ſent me, the Carpenter, and ſome others, aſhore near *Deep's Cape* ; we there ſaw ſome Deer, twelve or ſixteen in a Herd, but could not come within Shot of them ; we found Plenty of Sorrel and Scurvy-graſs, and ſaw ſome round Hills of Stones like to Graſs-cocks ; and when we came to them I turned off the uppermoſt Stone, and found them hollow within, and full of Fowls hanged by their Necks ; we turned back, and told the Maſter what we had ſeen, and what Refreſhment might be had ; intreating him to ſtay a Day or two in this Place, but he was not pleaſed with the Motion, nor could be perſuaded to ſtay. Then ſtanding Southward we loſt Sight of the main Land that we had all this while followed, and came into ſhallow Water, broken Ground, and Rocks, and paſſed down ſo far Southward till we had Land on both Sides, and the Water ſhoaling a-pace, we came to an Anchor. From hence we ſtood back again towards the North ; and one Day a Debate ariſing concerning our coming into this Bay, and how we ſhould get out again, the Maſter took Occaſion to revive old Matters, and to diſplace *Robert Ivett*, his Mate, and Boatſwain, for Words ſpoken on the firſt great Bay of Ice, and made *Robert Bilet* his Mate, and *William Wilſon*, our Boatſwain.

" We plied to and fro from the North to the South, and thence to the North again, till we came to the Shoal-water, where we anchored in ſeven Fathom, and lay there eight Days ; in all which Time we could not get one Hour to weigh our Anchor ; but the eighth Day the Wind beginning to ceaſe, our Maſter would have the Anchors up again againſt the Minds of all that knew what belonged thereunto ; ſo to it we went, and when we had brought it a-peak, a Sea took her, and caſt us all off from the Capſtern, and hurt many of us ; here we loſt our Anchor, and if the Carpenter had not been nimble we had loſt our Cable too ; but he fearing ſuch a Matter, was ready with his Ax, and ſo cut it from thence. We ſtood to the South, and divers Courſes, until we came to a Bay on the North Shore, where we anchored. While we lay here we ſaw a Ledge of Rocks to the Southward, about a League long, which were covered at full Sea ; for a ſtrong Tide ſet in here. At Midnight we weighed, and ſtood to go out as we came in, and

“ had not gone long before the Carpenter told the
“ Maſter that if we kept that Courſe we ſhould be upon
“ the Rocks; the Maſter conceived that he was paſt
“ them, when preſently we ran on them, and there
“ ſtuck faſt twelve Hours, but by the Mercy of God
“ we got off unhurt. We ſtood to the Eaſt, and an-
“ chored in a Bay; here the Maſter ſent me and the
“ Carpenter, in a Boat, to ſeek a Place to winter in,
“ and it was Time, the Days being long and cold, and
“ the Earth being covered with Snow, having ſpent
“ three Months, to no Purpoſe, and it being now the
“ laſt Day of *October*.

“ On the firſt of *November* we found a Place where-
“ unto we brought our Ship, and haled her a-ground;
“ on the 10th we were frozen in, and now it concerned
“ us to take Care of what we had, and ſo to ſpend,
“ that we might have wherewith to keep us alive, until
“ we ſhould come at the Capes where the Fowls breed;
“ for there were all the Hopes we had of finding Subſiſt-
“ ence to bring us home. Our Maſter therefore ap-
“ pointed a Reward to them that killed Boat-fiſh, or
“ Fowl. We were victualled for ſix Months, in good
“ Proportion, and of that which was good; and if our
“ Maſter would have had more he might have been ſup-
“ plied at Home and in other Places; and it is ſtrange
“ he did not prevent the Hunger we endured, which oc-
“ caſioned the Overthrow of himſelf and many other ho-
“ neſt Men.”

It appears very clearly from this Relation, which is indeed the only one we have of this famous Voyage; concerning which it is not eaſy to determine if it was moſt for the Advantage of this Nation or ruinous to the brave Man who undertook it; that he was reſolved to ſtrike out ſomething new, and not to waſte his Time, in retracing other People's Footſteps; and therefore when he came to the Mouth of *Davis's Straights*, he continuing ſteering directly Weſt, and then as the Courſe directed him through thoſe Straights that ſince bear his Name, till he doubled *Cape Worſenham*, and then he ſailed down the Weſt Coaſt of *New Britain* to the very Bottom of the Bay, where he made Choice of a Place to winter in, that was very near as far South as any Part of the Iſland of *Great-Britain*, and at the very Back of the *French* Settlements in *Canada*. Captain *Hudſon* was a very good Judge of the Importance and Conſequences of his Diſcovery, which induced him to winter there, in hopes of performing ſomething very conſiderable the next Seaſon, which very probably he would have done, if his Men had not mutinied, and conſigned him over to the Savages to be murdered.

The Relation we have of his Voyage from *Pricket* is chiefly calculated to give an Account of this Mutiny; but as it is more to our Purpoſe to come at as good an Account as we can of the Voyage itſelf we ſhall endeavour to pick out of it what relates to that Matter, and then give a ſhort Relation of that Accident which deſtroyed Captain *Hudſon*, and all his Hopes. “ It would be te-
“ dious, ſays he, to relate the Hardſhips we endured
“ whilſt we wintered in this Place; the Cold was ſo ex-
“ treme that it lamed moſt of our Company, but I muſt
“ not forget God's great Mercy to us in ſending ſuch
“ Store of white Partriges, during the firſt three Months,
“ that we killed above one hundred Dozen, beſides other
“ Fowl of ſundry ſorts.

“ The Spring approaching the Partriges left us, and
“ were ſucceeded by other Fowl; as Swans, Geeſe,
“ Ducks, and Teal, but hard to come by; they came
“ from the South and flew to the North; but if they be
“ taken ſhort by a northerly Wind, then they fall, and
“ ſtay till the Wind ſerves them, and then fly to the North-
“ ward. As the Summer came on the Fowls were gone,
“ and few or none to be ſeen. Then we ſearched the
“ Woods, Hills, and Vallies, for any thing that might
“ ſerve for Food, though never ſo vile; the Frogs (in
“ the time of their engendering, as loathſome as Toads)
“ were not ſpared, nor the Moſs that grew on the
“ Ground; but amongſt divers ſorts of Vegetables,
“ *Thomas Woodhouſe* brought home a Bud of a Tree full
“ of a Turpentine Subſtance; of this our Surgeon made a
“ Decoction to drink, and applied the Buds hot to ſuch
“ as were troubled with Aches in any Part of their Bodies;
“ and I muſt confeſs I received thereby preſent Eaſe of
“ my Pain. As ſoon as the Ice began to break out of
“ the Bays, a Savage came to our Ship, being the firſt
“ we had ſeen in all this time; our Maſter entertained
“ him well, promiſing to himſelf great Matters by his
“ Means, and therefore would have to his own Uſe all
“ the Knives and Hatchets that every Man had, but re-
“ ceived none except from *John King* the Carpenter, and
“ myſelf. To this Savage our Maſter gave a Knife, a
“ Looking-glaſs, and Buttons; who received them
“ thankfully, and made Signs that after he had ſlept he
“ would come again; as he did. When he came again,
“ he drew after him a Sledge, and upon it two Deer-
“ ſkins, and two Beaver-ſkins; he laid the Knife upon
“ one of the Beaver-ſkins, and his Glaſs and Buttons
“ upon the other, and ſo gave them to the Maſter, who
“ received them; and the Savage took thoſe Things the
“ Maſter had given him, and put them into his Scrip;
“ then the Maſter ſhewed him an Hachet, for which he
“ would have given the Maſter one of his Deer-ſkins;
“ but the Maſter would have them both, and ſo he had;
“ but not willingly.

“ After many Signs of People to the South and to
“ the North, and that, after ſo many Sleeps, he would
“ come again, he went his way; but never came more.
“ The Sound being now clear of Ice, ſo that our Boat
“ could go from one Place to another, *Wilſon*, *Green*, and
“ five more, were ordered to go a fiſhing with our Net.
“ They caught the firſt Day, five hundred Fiſhes as big
“ as large Herrings, which put us all in good Hopes to
“ have our Wants ſupplied; but thoſe were the moſt that
“ ever they caught in one Day, and many Days they
“ got not a Quarter ſo many. In this Time of their
“ fiſhing, *Green*, *Wilſon*, and ſome others, plotted to
“ take the Net, and the Shallop which the Carpenter had
“ newly ſet up, and ſo to ſhift for themſelves; but the
“ Shallop being ready, our Maſter would go in it himſelf
“ to the South and South-weſt, to ſee if he could meet
“ with People; for that Way we could ſee the Woods
“ burning: So taking with him as much Proviſion as
“ would ſerve for eight or nine Days, he went towards
“ the South, and ſet no Time for his Return; becauſe he
“ was perſuaded, if he could meet with People, he ſhould
“ have Fleſh of them, and that good Store; but he re-
“ turned worſe than he went forth; for although he was
“ ſo near them as to ſee them ſet the Woods on fire, yet
“ could he not by any Means come to the Speech of
“ them.

“ Being come on board, he fitted all Things for his
“ Return; and firſt delivered all the Bread out of the
“ Bread-room, which came to a Pound a-piece for every
“ Man's Share; and delivered alſo a Bill of Return, wil-
“ ling them to have that to ſhew, if it ſhould pleaſe God
“ they ſhould come home, and wept when he gave it to
“ them: But to help us to ſome Relief in this poor E-
“ ſtate, our Boat went to work on *Friday* Morning, and
“ ſtaid till *Sunday* Noon, and brought fourſcore ſmall
“ Fiſhes; a poor Relief for ſo many hungry Bellies.
“ Then we weighed, and ſtood out of our Wintering-
“ place, and anchored without at the Mouth of the Bay;
“ where, our Bread being gone, what Store of Cheeſe we
“ had was to ſtop a Gap, whereof there were five, at
“ which time the Company grudged, becauſe by their
“ Reckoning there ſhould have been nine, but thoſe that
“ were left were equally divided by the Maſter, although
“ he was adviſed to the contrary, becauſe there were ſome
“ who could not govern themſelves.”

It was this Reſolution of the Maſter's, to make all fare alike for the ſake of proſecuting the Voyage with Effect, than which no Man was more like to do it than himſelf, that drew upon him his Deſtruction; for his old Mate, one *Green*, and ſome other People in the Ship, reſolving to leſſen the Number of Hands, and ſo get all the Proviſions that were left to themſelves, moſt barbarouſly contrived to turn Captain *Hudſon*, the Carpenter, and all the ſick Men, out of the Ship; after which they determined to make the beſt of their Way for *England*. This they performed the 19th of *June*, 1611, by forcing Capt. *Hudſon* and eight more into the Shallop without Proviſions, tho' moſt of them were taken ſick out of Bed, who after that time were never heard of, but were either drowned, ſtarved, or murdered by the Savages: Neither did the Leaders of this Mutiny eſcape much better; for being obliged to land frequently on the deſart Coaſt, in order to obtain ſome Subſiſtance, they fell there into a Fray with the Savages, in which *Green* and ſome others were killed; ſo that very few, and thoſe too in a miſerable Condition, returned to *England*, where *Pricket* wrote that Account of the Voyage for his own Juſtification, from which we have made theſe Extracts.

At firſt there fell great Imputations upon this Man, becauſe he adminiſtred the Oath to the Conſpirators; but upon an Enquiry it appeared very clearly, that this Oath contained nothing in it contrary to the Duty of the Seamen; and that the true Reaſon why they preſerved him was, becauſe that being Servant to Sir *Dudley Diggs*, who was a Man of great Power and Reputation, they were in hopes he would interpoſe, and ſave their Lives, which they ought to have forfeited as Pirates. Upon this imperfect Account of *Hudſon's Bay*, ſeveral Perſons who had been engaged already in Expeditions for the Diſcovery of a North-weſt Paſſage, began to hope that now they had a fairer Proſpect than ever of bringing this Project to bear, in caſe they could find any able Mariner who would undertake to proſecute the Diſcoveries made by *Hudſon*.

His Royal Highneſs *Henry*, Prince of *Wales*, was the great Patron of Learning and Virtue at that time; and being applied to by the Perſons concerned in this Project, he reſolved to ſend one Capt. *Button*, his own Servant, a Man of great Abilities, Courage, and Experience, and having the Countenance of ſo great a Perſon, was moſt likely to maintain Diſcipline amongſt his Seamen. Accordingly, in the Year 1611, he ſailed on this Expedition, in which he paſſed *Hudſon's Straits*, and leaving *Hudſon's Bay* to the South ſailed above two hundred Leagues to the North-weſt, through a Sea above eighty Fathom deep, and diſcovered a great Continent called by him *New Wales*; where, after much Miſery and Sickneſs, wintering at *Port Nelſon*, he carefully ſearched all the Bay, from him called *Button's Bay*, back again, almoſt to *Diggs's Iſland*. He diſcovered the great Iſland called *Cary's Swans-neſt*. He loſt many of his Men during his Stay in the River called *Port Nelſon*, in fifty-ſeven Degrees ten Minutes North Latitude, though he kept three Fires in his Ship all Winter, and had great Store of white Partriges, and other Fowl, beſides Deer, Bears, and Foxes. Upon his Return from this Voyage he received the Honour of Knighthood, and great Expectations were raiſed from his Diſcoveries, which had certainly been proſecuted with Effect, if Prince *Henry* had not died ſoon after.

It was a great Pity that Sir *Thomas Button*, who was certainly a very underſtanding Man, formed private Views of his own from the Knowledge he obtained in his Voyage; which were of ſuch a Nature, that he affirmed he had convinced his Maſter, King *James*, that there was a Paſſage this Way into the *South Seas*. The Reaſons upon which this Opinion was founded, as well as Notes of his Voyage, he promiſed to give to Mr. *Briggs*, the famous Mathematician, who had turned his Thoughts much upon this Subject, but never did; which was the Reaſon that all the Expeditions undertaken on that Side afterwards failed; but, however, we have ſufficient Grounds to affirm, from the Knowledge derived to us from another Quarter, that the Diſcoveries of Sir *Thomas Button*, if proſecuted, might have proved highly advantageous to this Nation, notwithſtanding the ſeeming Rigour of the Climate, and Barrenneſs of the Country.

The *French* were in poſſeſſion of *Fort Bourbon*, which we call *New York Fort*, upon *St. Thereſa*, the Eaſtern Branch of *Nelſon River*, from the Year 1697 to 1714. Monſieur *Jeremie*, who was Lieutenant there from 1697 to 1708, and afterwards Governor till he gave it up, in 1714, to us, gives a very particular Account of that River and the adjoining Countries, great Part of which he affirms to be of his own Knowledge, having travelled a great way South-weſt into the Country, among the Rivers and Lakes. The *Daniſh*, or *Churchill's River*, upon which the *Hudſon's Bay* Company have lately built a ſtrong Stone Fort, he ſays is ſituated in 59 Degrees North Latitude, and is about five hundred Paces wide at the Entrance for about a quarter of a League, and very deep; but within, it is much broader, and navigable into the Country a hundred and fifty Leagues; there is but little Wood upon the River near the Bay, except in the Iſlands. At a hundred and fifty Leagues Diſtance is a Chain of high Mountains, with great Cataracts, and Falls of Water; but beyond theſe it is again navigable, and has a Communication with a River, called the *River of Stags*. Fifteen Leagues Northward of this River is the River of *Loup Marine*, or River of Seals. Betwixt theſe Rivers is found a kind of Ox, called the *Muſk Ox*, which ſmells, at ſome time of the Year, ſo ſtrong of Muſk that it cannot be eat; they have very fine Wool, which is longer than that of the *Barbary* Sheep: They are ſmaller than *French* Oxen, with very crooked Horns which turn round like Rams-Horns, and are ſo long that they weigh ſometimes ſixty Pounds; they have ſhort Legs, and their Wool trails upon the Ground: They are not numerous.

This River comes from a Nation he calls *Platſcotez de Chiens*, who make War againſt the *Savanna Indians*, who traded with the *French*. In that Country they have a large Copper Mine ſo fine, that without Smelting it they make Copper of it, by beating it betwixt two Stones: He ſaw a great deal of it, which their *Indians* got when they went to War againſt that Nation. This Nation has a ſweet humane Aſpect, but their Country is not good. They have no Beaver, but live by fiſhing, and a kind of Deer they call *Cariboux* (Rain Deer;) the Hares grow white in Winter, and recover their Colour in Spring; they have very large Ears, and are always black; their Skins in Winter are very pretty of fine long Hair, which does not fall, ſo that they make very fine Muffs. He ſays he can ſay nothing poſitively in going farther Northward, but only, that their Savages reported that, in the Bottom of the Northern Bay there is a Strait, where they can eaſily diſcover Land on the other Side: They had never gone to the End of that Strait; they ſay there is Ice there all the Year, which is drove by the Wind, ſometimes one Way ſometimes another. According to all Appearance, this Arm of the Sea has a Communication with the Weſtern Ocean; and what makes it more probable is, that when the Winds come from the Northern Quarter, the Sea is diſcharged by that Strait, in ſuch Abundance, into *Hudſon's Bay*, as to raiſe the Water ten Feet above the ordinary Tides; inſomuch that when they find the Waters riſe, Ships take Shelter againſt theſe Northerly Winds. The Savages ſay, that after travelling ſome Months to Weſt-ſouth-weſt, they came to the Sea, upon which they ſaw great Veſſels with Men, who had Beards and Caps, who gather Gold on the Shore that is at the Mouths of Rivers. In paſſing to the Southward from the *Daniſh* River, at ſixty Leagues Diſtance, is the River *Bourbon* or *Nelſon*, in Latitude 57 Degrees.

There is nothing remarkable in the Country betwixt thoſe two Rivers, but a great Number of the Deer, called *Cariboux*, which being drove from the Woods by a great Number of Muſchetoes or Midges, come to the Shore to refreſh themſelves; they are in Herds of 10,000 together, and ſpread through a Country forty or fifty Leagues in extent. They might have as many of their Skins as they pleaſed, and ſome have been dreſſed, which have been very fine. They have there all Sorts of wild Fowl, as Swans, Buſtards, Geeſe, Cranes, Ducks, and thoſe of the ſmaller Kind in ſuch great Numbers, that when they riſe they darken the Sky, and make ſo loud a Noiſe, that they can ſcarce hear each other ſpeak. He ſays, that this may appear fabulous, but affirms, he ſays nothing but what he ſaw himſelf, for he would not truſt to the Report of others, but went himſelf to almoſt every Place he mentions. The River *St. Thereſa*, upon which they built *Fort Bourbon*, is a Branch of *Nelſon River*, by which the Natives come down to trade. This

River is of ſo great Extent that it paſſes through many great Lakes: The firſt is 150 Leagues from the Entrance of the River, and is 100 Leagues in Circuit; the Natives call it the *Lake of Forts* (or rather *Foreſts*). On the North Side a River diſcharges itſelf, called the *Rapid River*; this takes its riſe from a Lake 300 Leagues from the firſt, which they call *Michinipi*, or the *Great Waters*; becauſe, in effect, it is the greateſt and deepeſt Lake, being 600 Leagues in Circumference, and receives into it many Rivers, ſome of which have a Communication with the *Daniſh River*, and others with the *Plaſcotez de Chiens*: about this Lake and along theſe Rivers are many *Indians*, who call themſelves the *Nation of the great Waters*, or of *Aſſinibowls*; it is to be remarked, that theſe are as humane and affable, as the *Eſkimaux* are fierce and barbarous, as are alſo all other Nations along *Hudſon*'s Bay. At the Extremity of the *Lake of Foreſts* the *River Bourbon* continues its Courſe, and comes from another Lake, called *the Junction of the two Seas*, becauſe the Land almoſt meets in the Middle of the Lake; the Eaſt-ſide of this Lake is a Country full of thick Foreſts, in which are great Numbers of Beaver and Elks. Here begins the Country of the *Chriſtinaux*.

This is in a much more temperate Climate. The Weſt-ſide is full of fine Meadows, filled with wild Oxen. The *Aſſinibowls* live here; the Lake is 400 Leagues in Circumference, and 200 from the other Lake. 100 Leagues farther Weſt-ſouth-weſt along this River is another Lake, which they call *Ounipigouchib*, or the *Little Sea*; it is almoſt the ſame Country and Climate with the other, inhabited by the ſame *Indians*, the *Aſſinibowls*, the *Chriſtinaux*, and *Souteurs*; it is 300 Leagues in Circumference; at the further End is a River, which comes from *Tacamiouen*, which is not ſo great as the other; it is into this Lake that the *River of Stags* is diſcharged, which is of ſuch a Length that the Natives have not yet diſcovered its Source; from this River they can go to another, which runs Weſtward, but all the reſt run either into the Bay or River of *Canada*. He endeavoured to ſend the Natives to diſcover if it went to the Weſtward Sea, but their Enemies lying in the way prevented them; however, they brought ſome of them Priſoners, who ſaid they alſo were at War with another Nation farther Weſt; theſe ſaid they had Neighbours with Beards, who lived in Stone Houſes and Forts, that they were not clothed like them; that they had white Kettles; and ſhewing them a Silver Cup, they ſaid it was of that Metal; they ſaid they tilled their Land with Tools of that Metal. According to their Deſcription it was Maize they cultivated.

The Intendant of *Canada* was very deſirous to diſcover theſe Countries from thence; but it is much eaſier from *Fort Bourbon*, as it is ſhorter; and though a fine Country full of Beaſts and wild Fowl, beſides Fruit, which grow wild, as Plumbs, Apples, and Grapes, and great Variety of ſmaller Fruit. On the South-weſt Side of this Lake *Tacamiouen* is a River which comes from another, called the *Lake of Dogs*, which is not far from the ſuperior Lake. The River *St. Thereſa* is but half a League wide where the Fort is built; two Leagues higher is *Fort Philipeaux*, built for a Retreat; there the River begins to be interſperſed with Iſlands; twenty Leagues above the Fort the River divides into two Branches, one which comes from the North-weſt Side communicates with *Nelſon* or *Bourbon River*, by which the Natives come down to trade, by the Means of a Land Carriage from the *Lake of Foreſts* to this River. Twenty Leagues above the firſt Fork there is another that comes from the South-eaſt, which the Natives call *Guicomatouang*, or the *Great Fork*. This has a Communication with the River *St. Huiles*; the Weſtern Branch, though ſtill called *St. Thereſa*, is but of a ſmall Extent, coming from its Source by ſeveral ſmall Brooks, in each of which are great Numbers of Lynx, Beavers, Martins, and others of ſmaller Furs. Betwixt the two Forts is a ſmall River, called *Egaree*, from whence they get their Wood for firing, it being ſcarce at the Fort. Near the Mouth of the River is another ſmall one they call *Gargouſſe*; there comes in at hihg Water a great Number of Porpoiſes. The River being narrow here, there might be a good Fiſhing, where they might make above ſix hundred Barrels of Oil annually.

From this River of *St. Huiles*, or *New Severn*, is 100 Leagues South-eaſt. It is ſituated in Latitude 56 Degrees; the Entrance is but ſhallow, only capable of Veſſels of 60 Tuns: Here might be made good Houſes, for Wood is very plenty here; and there are great Numbers of Beavers higher up the River. As to the Climate of Fort *Bourbon*, it being in Latitude 57 Degrees, is very cold in Winter, which begins about Michaelmas, and ends in *May*. The Sun ſets about three, and riſes about nine in the Winter. When the Days grow a little longer, and the Cold is more temperate, the Sportſmen kill as many Partriges and Hares as they pleaſe. One Year, when they had eighty Men in Garriſon, they had the Curioſity to reckon the Number, which amounted to ninety thouſand Partriges, and twenty-five thouſand Hares. At the End of *April* the Geeſe, Buſtards, and Ducks, return in ſuch Numbers, that they kill as many as they pleaſe; they alſo take great Numbers of *Cariboux*, or Rain Deer; in *March* and *April*, they come from the North to the South, and extend then along the River 60 Leagues: They go again Northward in *July* and *Auguſt*; the Roads they make in the Snow are as well padded, and croſs each other as often as the Streets at *Paris*. The Natives make Hedges with the Branches of Trees, and leave Openings, in which they fix Snares, and thus take Numbers of them: When they ſwim the Rivers, in returning Northwards, the Natives kill them in Canoes with Lances, as many as they pleaſe. In Summer they have the Pleaſure of fiſhing, and with Nets take Pike, Trout, and Carp, and a white Fiſh ſomething like a Herring, by much the beſt Fiſh in the World: They preſerve thoſe for their Winter Proviſion, by putting them in Snow, or freezing them, as alſo the Fleſh they would preſerve. They keep thus alſo Geeſe, Ducks, and Buſtards, which they roaſt with the Hares and Partriges they kill in Winter. So that though it be a cold Climate, there is good Living there, by getting Bread and Wine from *Europe*.

Though the Summer be ſhort they had a Garden, and good Coleworts, with Sallads and ſmall Herbs, which they put in their Soups in Winter. He had 120,000 Livres Profit out of 8000 ſent him in Goods in one Seaſon; they have alſo Bears, Elks, and all Sorts of Beaſts, whoſe Skins and Furs are valued in *France*; and, according to him, it is one of the moſt profitable Poſts in *North America*, conſidering the Expence. Thus far this *French* Writer, from whom we have borrowed a very clear and copious Account of the Advantages that might have accrued to us, if our original Diſcovery of *Hudſon's Bay* had been properly conſidered.

But there were, and will be always, a Race of People decrying thoſe Projects they want Courage to attempt; and who, by ridiculing the Pains taken to viſit frozen Climates and barren Countries, hinder thoſe Improvements which might otherwiſe follow from ſuch kind of Expeditions. But they ought to conſider before they run down ſuch Attempts, that we have Numbers of poor People here who want Employment, and for whom Employments ought to be found; that if this be not done, they will either ſtarve to our ſhame, or ſtrike out Ways of living at our Expence; whereas, if they were thus employed, they would both maintain themſelves and benefit the Public: Beſides, there is this Advantage that attends Northern Expeditions and Diſcoveries, that they breed a Race of hardy and uſeful Seamen, who are nearer at hand, and conſequently more capable of ſerving their Country upon any Emergency than ſuch as are employed in other Branches of Navigation. As to the ſuppoſed Difficulties that are to be in this Way encountered, it is a Shame to hear them mentioned amongſt People who pretend to maritime Power.

If Men are afraid of Ice, Cold, and Rocks, they muſt relinquiſh all Thoughts of being great at Sea, and leave it to thoſe who can, not only endure, but even deſpiſe, ſuch Hardſhips; the *Dutch*, the *Danes*, and the *Hamburghers*, ſail every Year on the Whale Fiſhery, near

20 Degrees farther North than the Bottom of *Hudſon*'s *Bay*; and the *French* from *Canada*, travel through, and live in theſe very Countries of which we are ſpeaking, with as much Eaſe as the Savages themſelves; and, indeed, why ſhould they not, or why ſhould we imagine that one Man, or one Race of Men, can do more than another? Our Anceſtors were of this Opinion, or at leaſt they thought that if ſuch a Race of Men there were, they might be found in this Iſland: And here, if properly encouraged and due Regard ſhewn to their Virtue, they will be always found; for it is not the People but their Governors that alter, and therefore we have a Right to blame thoſe who took ſo little Notice of what Sir *Thomas Button* performed, and ſo little attended to what might be made of theſe Countries, as we certainly ought to commend ſuch as contrived or promoted the Law lately paſſed for encouraging private Perſons to attempt once more the Diſcovery of a North-weſt Paſſage, by ſecuring to them a Reward from the Public, which, without doubt, they will juſtly deſerve.

13. The next thing that occurs in order of Time, is the aſſerting our Right to that Part of the Continent of *America* which lies North from *New England*, and which is now called *Nova Scotia*, but was then looked upon as Part of *North Virginia*, and as ſuch within the Charter of the Weſtern Company, who gave ſtrict Orders to thoſe in their Service to prevent foreign Nations ſettling in their Limits; by which means this Country of *Acadia*, or *Nova Scotia*, which is of ſo great Conſequence in itſelf, and for the Secutity of our other Plantations on the Main, was preſerved. The Bounds of this Province are the Ocean to the North, *Cape Breton Iſland*, and the Bay of *St. Laurence* to the Eaſt, *Canada* to the Weſt, and *New England* to the South; it lies from 43 to 51 Degrees North Latitude, and from the River *St. Croix* the neareſt to *New Hampſhire*, to the great River of *St. Laurence*, has almoſt ſix hundred Miles of Coaſt, but moſt of it uninhabited and deſert, the *Indians* themſelves making little or no Uſe of it.

Sir *Samuel Argall*, then Governor of *Virginia*, made a Sort of cruizing Voyage round the Coaſt Northwards, as far as *Cape Cod* in *New England*, in the Year 1618, five or ſix Years before the *Engliſh*, who intended to ſettle, arrived in that Country. The *Indians* informed him that ſome white Men, like himſelf, were come to inhabit to the Northward of them. Sir *Samuel Argall*, who took all that Country, as far as it had been diſcovered by *Cabot*, to belong to the *Virginia* Company his Employers, ſailed thither, found a Settlement and a Ship riding before it, which belonged to ſome *Frenchmen*; *Argall* drew ſo cloſe to it, that, with his ſmall Arms, he beat all the Men from the Deck, ſo that they could not uſe their Guns, their Ship having but one Deck; among others there were two *Jeſuits* aboard, one of which endeavoured to fire off one of their Cannon, and was ſhot. *Argall* having taken the Ship, landed his Men, marched to, and ſummoned, the Fort to ſurrender: The *French* aſked Time to conſider of it, which was denied, upon which they got privately away, and fled into the Woods. The *Engliſh* entered it, and lodged there that Night, and the next Day the *French* came and yielded to Sir *Samuel*, cancelling the Patents that had been granted them for their Settlement by the *French* King. Sir *Samuel* permitted ſuch of the *French* as were ſo diſpoſed to take Paſſage for *Europe* in the fiſhing Ships, and took the reſt with him to *Virginia*, according to their Choice.

The *French* had another Settlement at a Place they called *Port Royal*, on a Bay on the South-weſt Coaſt of *Acadia*, which the two Jeſuits had left out of Pique to their Governor M. *Biencourt*; and with theſe *Frenchmen* ſeparated from the others. Father *Biard*, the ſurviving Jeſuit, out of Malice to *Biencourt*, informed Sir *Samuel* of the Settlement at *Port Royal*, and the Eaſe with which he might reduce it, which he found to be true; and, on the Surrender of the *French*, he did no Damage to their Houſes, their Barns, and Mills, but obliged them to quit the Country; they had ſowed and reaped, and thoſe of them that did not care to return home, removed to the River of *St. Laurence*, where now is the Capital of *Canada* or *New France*.

When Sir *Ferdinand Gorges* was Preſident of the *New England* Company, he propoſed to Sir *William Alexander* to procure a particular Grant for the Land to the Northward of their Patent, which was eaſily obtained of King *James* I. and a Year after, 1622, Sir *William*, and ſome others whom he had got to be concerned with him, ſent a Ship with Paſſengers to plant and ſettle there. *Newfoundland* was then very well known on account of the Fiſhery, and the Ship being late in her Voyage the Maſter put in and wintered there. The next Year they ſet ſail, and made the Promontory at the North Shore of *Cape Breton Iſland*: They coaſted it along till they came to *Cape Sable* in *Acadia*, where they found three good Harbours, and went aſhore at one of them, which they called *Luke's Bay*; in which was a large River that had eight Fathom Water at Ebb. This Ship ſailed up one of theſe, and, according to the Accounts that were publiſhed by thoſe that were to be Sharers in the Patent, this Country is deſcribed as a kind of Paradiſe: With a View, no doubt, to have engaged People to go over thither to ſettle, to which End Sir *William Alexander* the original Proprietor, afterwards created *Earl of Sterling*, wrote and publiſhed a Book, and his Sovereign King *James* erected a new Order, called the Knights of *Nova Scotia*, to facilitate this Plantation.

But, notwithſtanding all the Care that was taken of it, this Project proved abortive, and, which is very extraordinary, modern Authors have taught us to condemn and cenſure ſuch as foreſaw the Conſequence and Importance of this Country to the *Britiſh* Nation, when unſettled and unimproved, and to treat as weak and puſillanimous the Conduct of thoſe Times, when in full Peace the *French* were, by Force of Arms, compelled to quit a Country, which, though ſettled by them, was diſcovered by us; and from theſe Fugitives it was that the more Northern Settlement of the *French* took Birth. The Expedition of Sir *Samuel Argall* was certainly both a vigorous and a right Meaſure; and the Grant to Sir *William Alexander* was a very ſenſible thing, though the Deſign of it is now not well underſtood, or rather forgot; and therefore, though it may take up ſome Room, I ſhall endeavour to revive and to explain it. It was ſuggeſted to King *James* that the Tract of Country on the Continent of *North America*, belonging to his Crown, being very large and not likely to be planted in any reaſonable Space of Time by the *Engliſh*, it would be a very wiſe and prudent Meaſure to grant under the Great Seal of *Scotland*, a Part of it to his Subjects of that Kingdom, upon a Suppoſition that it would be more beneficial for them, and more for the Intereſt of the united Kingdoms if they went over and ſettled there, than if, as to that Time they had frequently done, they tranſported themſelves to *Poland*, *Sweden*, and *Ruſſia*, in which Countries there were at that Time many thouſand *Scotch* Families.

Such was the original Scheme of ſettling and planting *Nova Scotia*; and if the Courtiers of thoſe Times made a Jobb of this, and thereby defeated the Scheme; however this may reflect on their Memories, it ought to draw no ſort of Odium on the Project itſelf, which was very well and wiſely laid, if it had been as honeſtly and wiſely executed. There was afterwards another Grant made of the Northern Part of this Country, to Sir *David Kirk*, from whom the *French* King bought it, or at leaſt contracted to give him 5000*l.* for it; a very plain Proof that even the *French* acknowledged the Right by which he held it; and a *French* Nobleman likewiſe bought, many Years after that, Sir *William Alexander*'s Property. It may be enquired why the Crown of *England* did not interpoſe and prevent theſe Sales, as might, no doubt, have been done; and the plain Anſwer to this is, that the *French* Proteſtants being principally concerned in theſe Settlements, the Crown had a Tenderneſs for them.

But *Oliver Cromwell* ſent Major *Sedgwick* to diſlodge the *French* from *Port Royal*, which he did, and though the Protector afterwards conſented that a *French* Proprietor ſhould enjoy the Country, yet it was upon Condition that he ſhould make out this Right by Purchaſe from the Earl of *Sterling*; which he afterwards did, and then ſold it to Sir *Thomas Temple*, who was both Proprietor and Governor at the Reſtoration: After which the *French* ſettled there again, and remained there in quiet Poſſeſſion till the Year 1690, when they were diſpoſſeſſed by Sir *William Phips*, then Governor of *New England*; but it was afterwards given up again to the *French*, by King *William*'s Treaty of *Ryſwick*. It is not, however, to be underſtood that either King *Charles* II. or King *William* III. by their reſpective Treaties with *France*, gave up the Claim of this Nation to that Country, nor did the *French* ſo underſtand it, but only permitted that Poſſeſſion, becauſe, as the Circumſtances of things then ſtood, they were unwilling to conteſt it. In all theſe Changes, however, the Iſland of *Cape Breton* followed the Fate of *Nova Scotia*, and both continued in the Hands of the *French* till the Year 1710, when Governor *Nicholſon* made himſelf Maſter of *Port Royal*, which was become a Place of very great Importance in many Reſpects, more eſpecially in this, that it gave the *French* an Opportunity of diſturbing and diſtreſſing our Trade to ſuch a Degree, that it was very properly ſtiled the *Dunkirk* of *America*.

We need not wonder, therefore, that the taking this Place was looked upon as a very remarkable Service, or that the Queen ſhould beſtow her Name upon it to ſhew that ſhe never meant to part with it. Upon the ſame Principle, Colonel *Nicholſon* upon his Return to *England*, had a Commiſſion granted him to be Governor of *Nova Scotia*, and of *Annapolis Royal*, and Commander of all her Majeſty's Forces there and in *Newfoundland*. While things were in this Situation, a Negociation for Peace was ſet on foot, which afterwards produced one that has ſince made a great deal of Noiſe, more eſpecially with regard to the Stipulations therein, in reference to this Province; and therefore it is requiſite for us to ſee what relates to *Nova Scotia* in the *Utrecht* Treaty, the Words of which, in the twelfth Article, are, "All *Nova-*
" *Scotia*, or *Acadia*, with all ancient Boundaries, as alſo
" the City of *Port Royal*, now called *Annapolis*, and all
" other things in theſe Parts which depend on Lands
" and Iſlands, together with the Dominion, Property,
" Poſſeſſion of the ſaid Iſlands, Lands, and all Rights
" whatſoever, by Treaties or by any other Way obtained,
" *&c.*" To which the *French* King added the Excluſion of the Subjects of *France* from fiſhing on the Coaſt of *Nova Scotia*, and within thirty Leagues, beginning from *Cape Sable*, and ſtretching along to the South-weſt; there is no doubt but this Article, as it is worded, contains the Reſtitution of *Cape Breton*, which ought to have gone along with *Nova Scotia*, as it had hitherto done; neither is this a bare Conjecture, or my particular Notion, but the general Sentiment of ſuch as were beſt acquainted with this Affair, and with the Negotiation that concerned it; which induced the Queen, in her Inſtructions to the late Duke of *Shrewſbury*, when he went Embaſſador to *France*, to declare that ſhe looked upon *Cape Breton* to belong to her, and reckoned that Iſland a Part of the ancient Territory of *Nova Scotia*. But notwithſtanding this Article in the Queen's Inſtructions, the *French* were ſuffered to keep *Cape Breton*, but, moſt undoubtedly, this gave them no Right to it.

I am very far from thinking that in this Caſe, I mean in the Caſe of Plantations, Poſſeſſion is the only, or even the beſt Right, becauſe ſuch a Doctrine might confer Right upon Pirates. The beſt Claim of civilized Nations, with reſpect to new Countries, was always allowed to be the firſt Diſcovery. This Right is that on which is founded our Title, and very juſtly; for we have certainly diſcovered all the Countries that border on *Davis's Straits*, *Hudſon's Bay*, and ſo forwards to the Limits of *Georgia*; and this Right being in the Crown of *England*, and inherited with the Crown of *England*, could never be granted away, yielded to a foreign Power, or otherwiſe transferred, without the Conſent of Parliament; though the temporary Poſſeſſion might. For, in thoſe Treaties by which *Acadia* was left to *France*, the Crown only ſtipulated not to deprive the *French* of their Poſſeſſion, during the Continuance of the Peace, but the Right ſtill remained in us, and muſt always remain in us.

We have before ſhewn that the *French* acknowledged this, as appears by the King of *France*'s purchaſing under our Title; nor was it ever diſputed till the Treaty of *Utrecht*, that the Iſland of *Cape Breton* belonged to *Nova Scotia*; nor could it be diſputed, becauſe the very Charter which eſtabliſhed *Nova Scotia* as a diſtinct Province, included the Iſland of *Cape Breton* in expreſs Words. We may add to this, that our Title to *Labrador* or *New Britain* is unqueſtionable, of which Country *Nova Scotia* was a Part, till ſeparated by the Charter; and our Claim to *Newfoundland* has been always maintained, as we ſhewed in the former Section: So that on the whole it may be juſtly affirmed, that our Right to the Iſland of *Cape Breton* is as clear and as unqueſtionable as that of any *European* Nation to any of its Settlements in *America*, or elſewhere. But if it ſhould be demanded of what Uſe this Reaſoning is, I anſwer, that having now recovered the Poſſeſſion of that Iſland to which we had always a Right, and out of which we were cheated at the Treaty of *Utrecht*, the *French* have no Colour to demand the Reſtitution of it; nor is the Caſe the ſame now, that it was when King *Charles* II. concluded his Treaty in 1666, when King *William* concluded the Treaty of *Ryſwick*, in 1697, or when the Treaty of *Utrecht* was made by Queen *Anne*, in 1712.

14. We gave a large Account, in the former Section, of the Attempt made by that great Man, and good Patriot, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, to eſtabliſh an *Engliſh* Plantation in *Guiana*; and of his ſending, after his Return to *England*, a Ship to proſecute that Diſcovery: Of which ſecond Voyage we have likewiſe a long Account, publiſhed by Captain *Keymiſh*: But this Deſign met with continual Interruptions; or otherwiſe, Sir *Walter* himſelf tells us in his *Apology*, there had been, before the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*, a ſufficient Number of *Engliſh* ſettled in that Part of the World, to have ſecured the Poſſeſſion of it for ever to this Crown and Nation. The very next Year after Sir *Walter*'s Return, he was employed in the Expedition to *Cadiz*: The two following Years, his Time was taken up in that which was called the *Iſland Voyage*. Then the great Rebellion broke out in *Ireland*, which rendered Queen *Elizabeth* unwilling to encourage any private Expeditions that required a conſiderable Force; and this Rebellion laſted till the Queen's Death. Immediately after this, Sir *Walter* himſelf was impriſoned, and ſo continued for many Years. Which very fairly accounts for this noble Deſign remaining ſo long unpurſued.

But Things delayed are not always loſt; the Deſire of ſettling *Guiana* revived in a few Years after Peace was reſtored; and, as I do not know it has ever yet been done, I ſhall give a ſuccinct Account of the ſeveral Attempts made to carry this Deſign into Execution, to the Time they were wholly given over, and the ſmall Intereſt we had in that Part of the World ſurrendered up to the *Dutch*. In the Year 1604, Capt. *Charles Leigh* undertook a Voyage to *Guiana*, at his own, and his Brother Sir *Olive Leigh*'s, Charge: He had a Bark of about fifty Tons, called the *Olive-Plant*; and his Company, about forty-ſix Men and Boys. They ſailed from *Woolwich* the 21ſt of *March*, with a Deſign to make a more complete Diſcovery of the Country of *Guiana* than had been yet done, and to fix an *Engliſh* Colony there. On the 22d of *May* they came into the River of *Wyapoco*, in the Latitude of 8 Degrees 30 Minutes to the North of the Line, and the Town of *Wyapoco*, which lies on the Coaſt of *Guiana*, was the Place in which they intended to take up their Abode. Here the Captain came to an Agreement with the Inhabitants, who received him very kindly, that they ſhould allow him a good Space of Ground and ſome Houſes, for the preſent; in Conſideration of which he was to aſſiſt them againſt their inveterate Enemies the *Caribbees*, who greatly diſtreſſed them.

This Agreement was made by Means of two of the Natives of *Guiana* who had been in *England*, and could ſpeak ſome *Engliſh*; and for the better Security of Performance on the Part of the Ssvages, they conſented to give five of their Body, among whom were two Perſons of Note, as Pledges to be ſent to *England*. Their firſt Settlement was on part of the Mountain that lies on the Weſtſide of the Entrance of the River, to which they gave the Name of *Mount Howard*. The Captain might have lived here a very quiet Life, and been very uſeful to his Country too, had he not had a mutinous and diſcontented Company. The next Year after, he ſent his Ship to *England*, in the Month of *June*, for freſh Supplies of ſuch Things as he wanted, retaining thirty-five of his Men and Boys with him, to ſettle his ſmall Village, and thereby ſet this Colony upon a better Footing than it had till then been. They had ſome Trade with the Natives, as well round about their Settlement, as farther up the River; and the chief Merchandizes they obtained were Wax, fine white Feathers, Tobacco, Parrots, Monkeys green and black, Cotton, Yarn and Wool, ſweet Gums, red Pepper, Spleen and Maſate Stones; with ſeveral ſorts of Wood, Roots, and Berries, partly for Medicine, and partly for Dying; but the Flux, and other Diſtempers, carried off a good Number of the Company; and the Captain, being ſeized with it himſelf juſt as he was going on board for *England* to fetch a complete Loading of ſuch Things as were needful for his Colony, died of it. It was by this unhappy Stroke, the whole Undertaking was quaſhed, and every one ſhifted for himſelf; ſome returned to *England* in their own Veſſel, others in a *French* Ship, and others in two *Dutch* Ships, very much to the Regret of the *Indians*, and to the no ſmall Loſs of Sir *Olive Leigh*, and Detriment of the *Engliſh* Nation.

Sir *Olive Leigh* reſolving to ſupport his Brother in the Eſtabliſhment of his Colony at *Guiana*, before he had any Account of his Succeſs, fitted out another Ship called the *Olive Bloſſom*, under Capt. *Catalin* and Capt. *St. John*, to carry him a freſh Supply of Men and Neceſſaries. The Ship ſet out from *Woolwich* for *Wyapoco*, the 14th of *April*, 1605; but, between contrary Winds and Currents, by the Unſkilfulneſs of the Maſter, Mr. *Richard Chambers*, they were put ſo far to the Leeward, that they deſpaired of ever recovering their intended Port in any due time; and therefore they put in firſt at *Barbadoes*, and afterwards at the Iſland of *St. Lucia*, deſigning from thence to return to *England*: However, examining their Stores of Proviſions, and finding not near enough to ſerve ſo large a Company as they were, for ſo long a Voyage, Capt. *St. John* himſelf, with ſeveral of the Paſſengers to the Number of ſixty-ſeven, reſolved rather to ſtay, and take their Lot upon that Iſland, than to run the Hazard of their being ſtarved at Sea.

They ſoon made an Acquaintance with the *Indians*, who furniſhed them, in Exchange for Trifles, with Roots, Fruits, and ſome Fowls; and they every Night had an Opportunity, with very little Trouble, of taking delicate Tortoiſes upon the Sands; ſo that they were in no Want of Food. They lived five or ſix Weeks in little Huts, or Houſes which they had built, without making any Excurſions into the Country; but the Captain ſeeing one Day certain Plates of Metal upon the Arms of ſome of the *Indians*, and being informed by one *Brown* a Refiner in their Company, that they were at leaſt three Parts Gold; and enquiring of the *Indians* from whence they had it, they pointed to a very high Mountain, in the North-weſt Part of the Iſland. Upon this, the Captain himſelf, with ſeveral of the chief of his Men, went in queſt of this golden Mountain, the reſt being appointed to keep Guard at home, and aſſured they would return in a Week's time. When this Part of the Company was gone, the other expected the *Indians* would have brought them Proviſion, as they uſed to do; but they heard nothing of them for three Days together. They had it ſeems obſerved when the Captain went, followed him, and moſt barbarouſly cut him off with his whole Company.

They were now intent upon making the ſame Diſpatch of their Companions, and to this End had got one *Augramart*, a deſperate Savage, and Captain of the Iſland of *St. Vincent*, to head them in this Enterprize. To cover their Deſign, however, they carried it fair to them, and viſited them frequently; till one Day *Augramart*, having dined with them, would have the *Engliſh* go with him to his Quarters, where he promiſed to furniſh them with whatever Proviſions they wanted. Mr. *St. John*, with ſeventeen others, accepted of the Invitation; but inſtead of carrying them to their Quarters, they led them into an Ambuſh of five hundred Savages; where, being ſurrounded, and attacked on every Side with Vollies of Arrows, after doing all that Men could do in their own Defence, they were over-powered, and all ſlain but one *John Nichols*, who made his Eſcape from this bloody Slaughter, and was forced to hide himſelf in a Wood, then ſwimming a Lake, and ſo with great Difficulty returned home, juſt time enough to give his Companions the Alarm; for it was not long before they appeared before their Houſes; yet letting fly their ſmall Pieces of Ordnance they quickly marched off again. In two or three Days time they returned, to the Number of thirteen or fourteen hundred Men; who, after having attacked their little Fort and Houſes for ſeven Days together, with little Succeſs, thought of throwing in Fire with their Arrows, which in a ſhort time reduced the Habitations of the *Engliſh*, and all they had, to a Heap of Aſhes. They continued, however, to defend themſelves in ſo brave a manner, that the *Indians*, ſeeing they could not accompliſh their Deſign againſt this Handful of Men, reſolved at laſt to abandon the Enterprize.

After their Departure, ſome of the neighbouring Savages were prevailed upon, for a Reward of Hatchets, Knives, and Beads, to furniſh them with an old pitiful Boat; this they fitted up as well as they could, and nineteen of them, the miſerable Remains of ſixty-eight, of which twelve were wounded, ventured out to Sea in her, without Chart or Compaſs, and having only four or five Gallons of Water, with a few Plantains and Potatoes, about twenty Biſkets, and a little Rice; and, what was worſe than all the reſt, not one Mariner among them. In this little Boat they were ſo over-laden that her Gunnel lay almoſt even with the Water: They lived at Sea ten Days, four of them being obliged by Turns to keep ſcooping of the Water. The tenth Day, when all Hopes began to fail them, they diſcovered Land; but when they came upon it the Land proved to be an uninhabited Iſland, which afforded no manner of Suſtenance. In this miſerable State they had no Remedy, but to repair their Boat again as well as they could, and to ſend five of their Men to the Continent to ſeek Relief. After many Difficulties theſe Men came to an *Indian* Town on the Continent, called *Tocoyo*; from whence, after fifteen Days Abſence, they carried Succour to their miſerable Companions. They were now reduced to thirteen, who got together to a *Spaniſh* Town, called *Coro*, where they were treated with great Humanity; two more of them died; three of them went from thence to *Carthagena*, and were followed thither by two more, where they procured a Paſſage to *Spain*; but what became of the reſt does not any where appear.

One would have imagined, that ſuch a Series of Miſfortunes as had attended the Attempts made for eſtabliſhing this Settlement, would have worn out all Deſire of running further Hazards; but ſuch was the Credit of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, ſuch the ſettled Opinion of the vaſt Riches to be found in this Part of *America*, and ſuch the Remains of that Spirit which prevailed through the whole Nation in the Time of Queen *Elizabeth*, that in the Year 1609, a new Attempt was made, at a much greater Expence than the former, with the Participation, at leaſt, if not under the Influence of Sir *Walter Raleigh*. This Voyage was performed under the Direction and Command of *Robert Harcourt* of *Stanton-Harcourt*, in the County of *Oxford*, Eſq; and the Veſſels employed in it were, the *Roſe*, a Ship of eighty Tons; the *Patience*, a Ship of ſix-and-thirty Tons; and the *Lilly*-Shallop, of nine Tons. They ſet ſail from *Dartmouth* the 29th of *March*, and arrived the 17th of *May* in the Bay of *Wyapoco*. It was not long before ſeveral Canoes of *Indians* came to ſee what they were; and finding they were *Engliſh*, came on board them without any Fear or Ceremony: Such an advantageous Idea had Sir *Walter*

Raleigh by his courteous Behaviour imprinted in them of the *Engliſh* Nation.

Theſe People, who were very forward and ready to traffic with the *Engliſh*, were of the Town called *Caripo*, on the Eaſt Side of the Hill, at the Mouth of *Wyapoco*-River. Their King, or Chief, who had been many Years in *England*, was then with Mr. *Harcourt*, and another of his Countrymen came Paſſenger with him, though he had not diſcovered his Quality, till the Joy of his Subjects at the Sight of him made him known. Among the *Indians* who came firſt on board was one who ſpoke the *Engliſh* Tongue perfectly well, and was known to ſome of the Ships Companies, having ſerved Sir *John Gilbert* in *England* many Years; and the *Indian* who accompanied the King or Chief, having been fourteen Years in *England*; theſe two were of ſingular Service to the Adventurers.

The firſt Ceremonies being paſt, Mr. *Harcourt* acquainted them that the Occaſion of his coming among them was to ſettle a Colony there, and to take Poſſeſſion of the Country for the King of *England*, by virtue of their Grant of it to Captain *Leigh*, and by ſome of their Countrymen before to Sir *Walter Raleigh*; aſſuring them at the ſame time, that his Majeſty intended no unjuſt Uſurpation over them, nor to treat them in any way like Slaves and Vaſſals; but only to be their Friend and Protector, and to deliver them from the Inſolencies and Oppreſſions of the *Caribbees*. After ſome Debate the *Indians* gave their Conſent that they might live among them, and promiſed to furniſh them with Houſes, and all other Neceſſaries, as far as they were able; but could not forbear expreſſing ſome Diffidence in their performing their Promiſes, ſince Sir *Walter Raleigh* had been ſo dilatory in his accompliſhing thoſe he made them.

This being done they all went aſhore, where they met with the beſt Reception the *Indians* could give them; and were diſperſed up and down the Town, on the Side of a Hill, while their Ships rode at Anchor at the Foot of it. The great Rains, which confined them near a Month, being over, the Captain ſet himſelf to diſcover the Golden Mountains, which had been the Spurs to this Undertaking; but their Guide, who had promiſed ſuch great Things, failed in the Performance of them, and either had wilfully deceived them, or had been deceived himſelf; for when he came to the Spot he had built his Hopes upon, nothing was to be found: And yet they were convinced the Country afforded Gold, as well by the Aſſurances given them by the Natives, who ſhewed them certain Images, which upon an Eſſay appeared to contain at leaſt one third Gold, as by ocular Demonſtration of great Quantities of the white Spar in which the Gold is contained, and which they found to hold both Gold and Silver; but they had Reaſon to believe theſe Mines were too far up in the higher Parts of *Guiana*, and perhaps too ſtrongly guarded for them to hope they ſhould be able to reach them. And, beſides, they had then neither Time nor Power to ſearch in the Manner requiſite for finding theſe Mines.

This Diſappointment had like to have excited a Mutiny, among thoſe who came out with no other View than to tumble at once into Riches; but the Captain, with great Prudence and with no leſs Conduct, prevented its running ſuch a length; and to keep them employed, not only went himſelf up the River of *Wyapoco* upon Diſcovery, but ſent his Brother with ſome others on the ſame Errand to the River *Arrawary*, and the Country bordering upon it, which adjoins to the River of *Amazons*. He went alſo and took Poſſeſſion of the Mountain *Gomoribo*, which is the utmoſt Point of Land to the Northward in the *Wyapoco*. This he did, according to Cuſtom, by the Ceremony of Twig and Turf, in the Preſence both of his own People and the *Indians*. After Poſſeſſion taken, the Mountain was delivered over to an *Indian*, to hold and poſſeſs the ſame for himſelf and his Heirs, of his Majeſty *James* King of *England*, paying the yearly Duty of a tenth Part of the Tobacco, Cotton, Wood, Annotta, and all other Commodities growing within the Limits of the ſame. The Attempt of the Captain's Brother, and Captain *Harvey*, in Diſcovery of the River *Arrawary*, was attended with great Difficulties and Hazards; for the length they run by Sea to this River was near one hundred Leagues, through terrible Breaks of Flats and Sholes. They went likewiſe fifty Leagues up the River, and all this only with flat-bottom'd Canoes, ſomething longer than the common *Thames* Wherries, but not ſo broad.

The *Indians* they met with in this River plainly diſcovered they had never ſeen any *Europeans* before. It was long before they could be brought to any ſort of Trade or Converſation with them, though they had other *Indians* in their Company: But at laſt the Sight of their Toys wrought upon them, and induced them to exchange for Proviſions; a Want of which however at laſt obliged them to return to *Wyapoco*. They took Poſſeſſion nevertheleſs of the Country in Form, as Mr. *Harcourt* had done of *Gomoribo*. Not long after this, Mr. *Harcourt* was obliged to return for *England*, purely for fear of wanting Caſks to contain ſufficient Beer and Water for the Voyage, the Maſter having neglected to have his Caſks Iron-bound before their Departure, which occaſioned many of them to burſt their Hoops in that hot Country.

Mr. *Harcourt* left his Brother to command in Chief in his Abſence, to whom Captain *Harvey* was joined as Aſſiſtant, and Mr. *Gifford* as his Lieutenant, and with them he left fifty or ſixty of his Men. He departed the 18th of *Auguſt*; and Mr. *Harcourt*, in his Way homewards, made ſeveral Diſcoveries upon the Coaſt, and in ſome of the Rivers; returned to *Ireland* the 29th of *November*, and came from thence to *England*. Being come to *London*, by the Favour of Prince *Henry*, he obtained a large Patent for all that Coaſt, called *Guiana*, together with the famous River of *Amazons*, to him and his Heirs: But he was involved in ſo many Troubles, that he was not able to ſupply his Colony, and only ſent over ſome few People, with eighteen *Dutchmen*, but to little Purpoſe. Captain *Harcourt*, however, kept Poſſeſſion of that Part of the Country in which he was ſettled for full three Years, in all which Time he loſt but ſix of his People.

The Reader will obſerve, that we have now brought down the Hiſtory of our Expeditions to *Guiana* from 1595 to 1612, which is within five Years of Sir *Walter Raleigh*'s laſt Embarkation. It is however certain, that ſome other Voyages had been made to this Country: For Sir *Walter Raleigh*, in his Apology, ſays, that the *Spaniards* at St. *Thomas*'s had, ſome Years before his laſt Attempt, murdered many *Engliſh*, under pretence of trading with them, and ſome of thoſe who were thus murdered he mentions by Name. He had ſuffered a very long Impriſonment in the Tower of *London*, when, by the Help of many Friends, and perhaps by the laying out of a great deal of Money, he procured his Liberty, and therewith a Commiſſion to execute his laſt Expedition to *Guiana*. In order to this, he turned into Money the beſt part of his own Fortune, which he employed in fitting out Ships for this Service. He engaged many of his beſt Friends to do the ſame; and embarked ſeveral of them, and his own eldeſt Son, on board the Fleet; and all this from a Perſuaſion that the Country he was going to was very rich in Gold, and if they could gain Poſſeſſion of it, would make all their Fortunes.

The famous Count *Gondomar*, who was then the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador here, and, as all the World knows, had a great Influence over King *James*, did all that lay in his Power to hinder this Expedition; and as he did not ſucceed therein, it very plainly proves that King *James* did not credit what he ſuggeſted to the Prejudice of Sir *Walter Raleigh*. And indeed what he gave out upon this Subject, of Sir *Walter*'s having no Intention to make either Diſcovery or Settlement, but merely to engage in a piratical Attempt upon the *Spaniſh* Colonies in *America*, was abſurd and ridiculous, ſince no Man had ever a meaner Opinion of ſuch Exploits, or had ſo fully expoſed the Folly of hoping for great Riches from the Plunder of *Spaniſh* Towns, than Sir *Walter* had done. But in all Probability the *Spaniſh* Miniſter had not ſo much in view the making theſe Suggeſtions of his paſs for Truth, as obtaining, by this Means, under Colour of reſenting this Charge, a diſtinct Account of Sir *Walter*'s true Deſign, and of the Force with which he was to undertake it; in which he had but too great Succeſs; for Sir *Walter* giving the King a ſhort but true Scheme of what he intended, that very Paper was delivered to the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador, and found its Way to *Guiana* long before Sir *Walter Raleigh*.

The Commiſſion granted to this excellent Man was very full, and free from Limitations, which has been generally underſtood to be deſigned to his Prejudice. But I muſt confeſs I ſee no Reaſon for that Opinion. On the contrary, I am perſuaded that Sir *Walter* himſelf was well ſatisfied with his Commiſſion; and that in reſpect to the Law of the Land, and the Law of Nations, it fully juſtified the Deſign he went upon, and all that followed in the Execution of it. Certain it is that the Contents of his Commiſſion were no Secrets, ſince, by publiſhing them, he brought Numbers at home and abroad to ſubſcribe large Sums towards the Support of his Undertaking; which he could never have done, if the Form or Words of that Commiſſion had been liable to Exception. It was ſeven Months after his Commiſſion was granted before his Fleet was in Condition to put to Sea.

As to the Strength of this Fleet, it is clear from a Survey taken by the Order of the Earl of *Nottingham*, then Lord High-Admiral, that it conſiſted of ſeven Sail, of ſeveral Sizes. It appears that the firſt of them, or Admiral, a fine Ship built by *Raleigh* himſelf, was named the *Deſtiny*, of four hundred and forty Tons, and thirty-ſix Pieces or more of Ordnance, Sir *Walter Raleigh* General, and his Son *Walter* Captain, beſides two hundred Men, whereof fourſcore were Gentlemen Volunteers and Adventurers, moſt of them Sir *Walter*'s Relations; which Number was afterwards increaſed. Second, the *Jaſon* of *London*, two hundred and forty Tons, and twenty-five Pieces of Ordnance, Captain *John Pennington* Vice-Admiral, eighty Men, one Gentleman, and no more. Third, the *Encounter*, one hundred and ſixty Tons, ſeventeen Pieces of Ordnance, *Edward Haſtings* Captain (no Men more except the Maſter mentioned); but he dying in the *Indies*, was ſucceeded in the Command by Captain *Whitney*. Fourth, the *Thunder*, one hundred and fifty Tons, twenty Pieces of Ordnance, Sir *Warham St. Legar* Captain, ſix Gentlemen, ſixty Soldiers, ten Landmen. Fifth, the *Flying-Joan*, one hundred and twenty Tons, fourteen Pieces of Ordnance, *John Chidley* Captain, twenty-five Men. Sixth, the *Southampton*, eighty Tons, and ſix Pieces of Ordnance, *John Bayley* Captain, twenty-five Mariners, two Gentlemen. Seventh, the *Page*, a Pinnace, twenty-five Tons, three Rabnets of Braſs, *James Barker* Captain, and eight Sailors. But before *Raleigh* left the Coaſt of *England*, he was joined by as many Ships more; ſo that this whole Fleet conſiſted of thirteen Sail, beſides his own Ship.

But for this remaining Part of his Fleet he waited long, and it had been better if he had left them behind, for they proved a Burden to him, and ſome of them deſerted the Expedition. It was the Beginning of *July* before he left the Coaſt of *England*, and meeting with a Storm, was obliged to put into *Cork*, from whence he ſailed on the 19th of *Auguſt* following. He proceeded from thence to the *Canaries*, where, though inſulted by the *Spaniards*, he committed no Hoſtilities; but, on the contrary, behaved ſo well that he obtained a Certificate thereof from the Governor. After this his Ships grew very ſickly; and before he arrived at *Trinidada*, he had loſt many of his Men, and was himſelf dangerouſly ill. In this weak and low Condition they arrived at the North Cape of *Wyapoco* on the 11th of *November*.

The firſt thing he did after his Arrival was, to endeavour to find out *Leonard* the *Indian*, who had been in *England* three or four Years with him, but was removed ſo far up into the Country there was no procuring him; therefore he ſtood away for *Caliana* on the Coaſt of *Guiana*, at the firſt Diſcovery called *Port-Howard*, where the Cazique was alſo his Servant, and had lived with him in the Tower of *London* two Years. There he arrived in a Day or two, having paſſed the Iſland noted for its Multitude of Birds and Silk-bearing Trees; and from thence ſent for his Servant, *Harry* the *Indian*, who with other Caziques came and brought him great Store of Caſſavi-Bread, and roaſted Mullets, with Plantains, Pines, and Piſtachio's. But *Raleigh* ventured not to eat of the Pines, which tempted him exceedingly, till after a Day or two's airing on the Shore, in a Tent which was there pitched for him. Then he alſo eat ſome Armadillo and a little Pork, and begun to gather Strength. Here he alſo landed his ſick Men, and recovered many; and here he buried Captain *Edward Haſtings*, (the Lord *Huntington*'s Brother) who died ten Days, or more, before; and with him his Serjeant-Major *Hart*, and Captain *Henry Snedale*, the Charge of whoſe Ship *Raleigh* gave to his Servant Captain *Robert Smith* of *Cornwall*. Here he alſo ſet up his Barges and Shallops, which they brought from *England* in Quarters, cleanſed his Ship, trimmed up his Caſks and ſupplied them with Water, fixed up a Forge, and made ſuch Iron Works as they wanted. Thus on that Shore and this River they employed and refreſhed themſelves for about three Weeks, during which time *Raleigh* was very much careſſed by the *Indians*, of his old Acquaintance aforeſaid, and other Natives of this Place, who furniſhed him daily with the beſt Proviſions that the Country yielded, and offered him all kind of Obedience, even to the making him their Sovereign Prince and Ruler, if he would abide and ſettle among them; ſo freſh continued his Memory, and ſuch Impreſſions of Homage and Reſpect had his former Behaviour ſtill left upon them; which Offer, he mentions, with the greateſt Modeſty and Deference, in the Diſpatch he ſent ſoon after this to *England*.

On the 4th of *December* they left this River, and on the 5th came to the Triangle Iſlands, where *Raleigh*'s Ship ran on Shore; and was, with Difficulty, got off. Here they held a Council to conſider what they ſhould do next, and as Sir *Walter* was extremely ill, and it was found impoſſible to carry the larger Ships any higher, it was reſolved that the five ſmaller Veſſels, with as many Companies of Foot, of fifty Men each, ſhould enter the River. According to this Determination the Fleet was divided; that is to ſay, Captain *Whitney*, in the *Encounter*; *Woolaſton*, in the *Confidence*; *King*, in the *Supply*; *Smith*, in a *Prick*, and *Hall* in a *Caravel*. The Companies had for their Leaders Captain *Charles Parker* and Captain *North* (Brothers to the Lord *Mounteagle* and the Lord *North*) young *Raleigh*, Captain *Thornhurſt* of *Kent*, Captain *Pennington*'s Lieutenant, who ſeems to be another *Hall*, and Captain *Chidley*'s Lieutenant *Prideaux*. Sir *Warham St. Legar*, *Raleigh*'s Lieutenant, who had the Charge of theſe Companies, fell ſick at *Caliana*, ſo it was conferred on *George Raleigh*, Sir *Walter*'s Nephew, who had ſerved with great Commendation in the *Low Countries*; and Captain *Keymiſh* had the chief Charge for their landing within the River: But *Keymiſh* having laid down the Plan of his intended Attempt upon the Mine, and undertaking to diſcover it with ſix or eight Perſons in Sir *John Ferne*'s Shallop; *Raleigh*, upon Conſideration, diſliked that Method of Procedure, determined to alter it, and therefore gave him his Inſtructions to go to the Mine, bring him a Sample, and avoid fighting the *Spaniards* if poſſible.

With theſe Inſtructions thoſe five Ships ſet forward, parting from *Raleigh* and the reſt of the Fleet at the Iſlands aforeſaid, with a Month's Proviſion, on the 10th of *December*. But when they found a new *Spaniſh* Town, called *St. Thomas*, conſiſting of about one hundred and forty Houſes, though ſlightly built, with a Chapel, a Convent of Franciſcans, and a Garriſon, erected on the main Channel of *Oranoco*, about twenty Miles diſtant from the Place; where *Antonio Berreo*, the Governor, taken by *Raleigh* in his firſt Diſcovery and Conqueſt here, endeavoured to plant; *Keymiſh* and the reſt, thought themſelves obliged, through fear of leaving the Enemy between them and the Boats, to deviate from their Inſtructions, which enjoined them firſt to take a ſmall Party to make Trial of the Mine, under a Shelter of their own Camp; and then to deal with the Town as it ſhould give Cauſe; ſo they concluded to land in one Body, and encamp between the Mine and the Town, whereby they themſelves were nothing ſtronger, their Boats were as much expoſed, and the Mine left untried, contrary to *Raleigh*'s Order.

For about three Weeks after their Departure, landing by Night nearer the Town, it ſeems, than they ſuſpected, and meaning to reſt themſelves by the River-ſide till the Morning, they were, in the Night time, ſet upon by the *Spaniſh* Troops, apprized of their coming. This Charge was ſo unexpected, and ſtruck the common Soldiers with ſuch Amazement, that had not the Captains and ſome other valiant Gentlemen made a head, and animated the reſt, they had all been cut to pieces: But the reſt, by their Example, ſoon rallying, made ſuch a vigorous Defence againſt the *Spaniards*, that they drove them to a Retreat; till, in the Warmth of their Purſuit, the *Engliſh* found themſelves at the *Spaniſh* Town before they knew where they were. Here the Battle was renewed, being aſſaulted by the Governor himſelf, Don *Diego Palamecca*, and four or five Captains at the Head of their Companies; againſt whom Captain *Walter Raleigh*, a brave and ſprightly young Man, now twenty-three Years of Age, not waiting for the Muſketeers, ruſhed foremoſt at the Head of a Company of Pikes, and, having killed one of the *Spaniſh* Captains, was mortally wounded by another; but preſſing ſtill on with his Sword upon *Erinetta*, probably the Captain who had ſhot him, this *Spaniard*, with the butt End of his Muſket, felled him down to the Ground; and after theſe Words, *Lord have Mercy upon me, and proſper your Enterprize*, young *Raleigh* ſpoke no more: Hereupon *John Pleſſington*, his Serjeant, thruſt the *Spaniſh* Captain through with his Halbert. Two Commanders more of the *Spaniards* were ſlain, one by *John* of *Morocco*, another of young *Raleigh*'s Company, and laſtly the Governor himſelf alſo loſt his Life in the Engagement; which happened, as *Cambden* informs us, upon the 2d of *January*.

The Leaders being all thus diſpatched, and many of their Soldiers, the reſt diſperſed; ſome took Shelter about the Market Place, from whence they killed and wounded the *Engliſh* at Pleaſure, ſo as they ſaw no Way left to be ſafe but by burning the Town down about their Ears, and driving them into the Woods and Mountains, whence they ſtill kept the *Engliſh* waking in perpetual Alarms; others were more careful to defend their Paſſages to their Mines, of which they had three or four not far diſtant, than they had been to defend the Town. Captain *Keymiſh* found the Paſſages, leading to the Mine he had in his Eye, very difficult, and the Rivers ſo low, that he could not approach the Banks, in moſt Places near the Mine, by a Mile; and where he found an Aſcent, a Volley of Muſkets came from the Woods, and at one time ſlew two of the Rowers, hurt ſix others, and wounded Captain *Thornhurſt* in the Head. *Keymiſh* ſeeing ſo much Hazard in attempting to find the Mine, the Paſſage to it being full of thick and unpaſſable Woods; and thinking the *Engliſh*, who were left at *St. Thomas*'s, would not be able to defend it, eſpecially if the Enemy ſhould be recruited, the Country being all in alarm, he gave over the Enterprize and returned. Beſides the Difficulty of finding the Mine, he pretended, that if he had found it, he had not a Man to work it; and, being a great Way up in the Land, Men would have been got thither with great Danger and Difficulty: But this ſhould have been thought of before; and it was ill adviſed to take ſo much Pains, and run ſo much Hazard, to get and poſſeſs that, which when they had it they could not make Uſe of; ſo that which *Keymiſh* pleaded, when he returned, for an Excuſe, reflected upon him as a great Miſcarriage.

Sir *Walter* very much blamed him for it, and, among other things, told him if he had but brought one hundred Weight of the Ore, though with the Loſs of one hundred Men, it would have given the King Satisfaction, and preſerved his Reputation; and beſides, would have given the Nation Encouragement to have returned the next Year with a greater Force, and have held the Country for his Majeſty, to whom it belonged. As ſoon as they returned to *St. Thomas*'s, the *Engliſh* pillaged the Town, carried away the beſt and moſt portable things; and the Enemy not daring to appear for the Redemption of it, they ſet it on fire, leaving behind them an infinite Maſs of Treaſure, which, either for want of Knowledge or Power, they could not attain. Sir *Walter*, upon the News of his Son's Death, and *Keymiſh*'s Return, finding himſelf diſappointed thereby of his Hopes, was perplexed to the very Soul, and threatened *Keymiſh* with the King's Indignation, telling him he had undone him, and wounded his Credit with his Majeſty paſt Recovery. This had ſuch an Effect upon him, that it threw him into Deſpair, and a few Days after he made away with himſelf. Some ſay he retired immediately into his Cabin and ſhot himſelf, with a Piſtol, into the Body; but that being too ſlow for his Fury, deſperately thruſt a large Knife into the ſame Wound up to the Haft.

Theſe Accounts may be ſaid both to be true, for, after Sir *Walter*'s firſt Reproof, he went away diſcontented, and continued ſo ſeveral Days. He came then a ſecond Time with his Excuſes, and ſhewed him a Letter which he had written to the Earl of *Arundel*, in his own Juſtification, praying Sir *Walter* to allow of his Reaſons, which he refuſing, and telling him he would not favour or colour his Folly; upon that he retired into his Cabin, and immediately committed the Fact. The Deſign being thus defeated, the Ships leaky, Victuals failing, and, above all, having miſſed thoſe golden Showers they gaped after, ſome of the Men began to mutiny againſt their General, while others were for him; ſome would have him go home, others ſtay; the major Part forced him not to go home, but with their Conſent, and yet his Ships ſlipped away one after another, till from ten they were reduced to four, and thoſe on board would do juſt what they liſt: Some would go to *Italy*, ſome for *France*, and ſome few for *England*. When they arrived at *Kinſale* in *Ireland*, Sir *Walter*, it is pretended, would have perſuaded them to go with him to *France*; but inſtead of liſtening to this Propoſal, they carried him, againſt his Will, to *Plymouth*, where he was arreſted by Sir *Lewis Stukeley* his Kinſman, by the King's Order, and conveyed to the Tower of *London*.

All the World knows what followed afterwards, when, under Colour of his former Judgment, Sir *Walter* was put to Death on the 29th of *October*, 1618; an Action ſo black and baſe, ſo mean, ſo unworthy of a Government, and ſo utterly inexcuſable, that one really wants Words to expreſs the Foulneſs of the Action; but with regard to the Cauſe of his Death, or rather with reſpect to the Manner of it, I differ ſomewhat in my Judgment from moſt of thoſe who have written about it; and therefore I ſhall take the Liberty of explaining myſelf upon it, in as few Words as I can. It is very certain that King *James* was very well ſatisfied that the firſt Judgment againſt Sir *Walter Raleigh*, at *Wincheſter*, was very ill founded; and of this *Raleigh* himſelf was ſo ſenſible, that he neglected obtaining a Pardon before he left *England*, which he might have obtained for 700 *l.* When he came back, it was reſolved to ſacrifice him to the *Spaniſh* Match, to the Fears of King *James*, and the Jealouſies of his Miniſters; and, in order to this, without doubt, it was intended a new Proſecution ſhould commence; and in that Caſe there is the greateſt Reaſon in the World to believe no Jury would have found him guilty; but Sir *Walter Raleigh*, from an Eagerneſs to defend himſelf, wrote an Apology, in which he moſt clearly proved that *Guiana* belonged to the Crown of *England*; that his going thither was no Breach of Treaty; that the *Spaniards* in *America* always behaved towards the *Engliſh* as Enemies, and conſequently ought not to be conſidered as Allies; that his whole Deſign was betrayed to them from the Beginning, which occaſioned their ſending Forces into thoſe Parts, and all the Blood-ſhed that afterwards happened; that even in reſpect to this the *Spaniards* were Aggreſſors; and that, throughout the whole Expedition, he had done nothing but what he was warranted to do by his Commiſſion. This it was that drove the Miniſtry from their firſt Purpoſe, and forced them upon that Meaſure, which they afterwards took, of calling him down to his former Judgment, contrary to

Law, Reaſon, Juſtice, and the King's own Senſe of the Thing, as he afterwards teſtified under his Hand.

But, however, though by this barbarous Meaſure our great Diſcoverer loſt his Head, yet the Title of the Crown of *England*, to his Diſcovery, remained abſolutely unimpeached, as appears clearly by King *James*'s granting a new Commiſſion to Captain *Roger North*, for ſettling in *Guiana* a Year after *Raleigh*'s Death; which, however, he afterwards recalled by a Proclamation, and ſent the Lord *North*, who was at the Expence of that Expedition, to the *Fleet*, for making too much Diſpatch in it. Such a Fluctuation of Councils there muſt always be, where a foreign Intereſt is regarded, as the Caſe was then, when the Politics of *Britain* were dictated by *Spain*. Yet even this did not put an End to all Thoughts of maintaining the Rights of the Crown of *England* to this valuable Country, where the People ſtill remembered, and enquired after, Sir *Walter*, when he had been many Years in his Grave.

The Accounts we have, however, of theſe Expeditions are ſo imperfect, that we can ſay very little with Certainty till after the Reſtoration; when the Lord *Willoughby*, who was Governor of *Barbadoes*, obtained a Grant from King *Charles* II. of this Country, and actually made a conſiderable Settlement on the River of *Surinam*, where they might have continued much longer than they did, if it had not been for their own Indiſcretion. For when the firſt *Dutch* War broke out, in which the *French* took Part with the Republic againſt us, both theſe Nations would have conſented to a Neutrality in thoſe Parts; but our People were bent upon a War, which turned to their Ruin. For the Coaſt of *Guiana*, from *Cape Orange* to near the River *Oronoco*, was, about the Year 1666, poſſeſſed by three *European* Nations: The *Dutch* were about the River *Aproague*; the *French* had the Iſland of *Cayenne*, and the Rivers of *Ovia*, *Corrou*, and *Sinamary*; this laſt is about twenty-five Leagues North-weſt from *Cayenne*, and fifty-three Eaſt from *Surinam*; and the *Engliſh* had a ſmall Colony and Redoubt on the River *Maronny*; their chief Settlement being then at *Surinam* River, which is ſo good and deep, that ſhips of three hundred Tons run twenty Leagues up it. The *Zealanders* were poſſeſſed of the River *Berbiche*, and had repulſed the *Engliſh*, who attacked them there, with conſiderable Loſs.

The ſame Year, 1666, the States of *Zealand* being provoked at the *Engliſh* having invaded and taken from them all the Lands they had been poſſeſſed of in *America*, except the River *Berbiche*, ſent thither Commodore *Creiſſen*, with four Men of War, and three hundred Men to attack *Surinam*. He ſailed from *Zealand* at the latter End of *January*; arrived at *Cayenne* in *March*; went thence for *Surinam*; ſailed up the River under *Engliſh* Colours, and came to the Fort of *Paramorbo*, three Leagues up the River, without being taken for an Enemy; but being diſcovered there for want of Signals, the Fort began to fire on his Ships, which he anſwered with Broadſides from all the Veſſels, and immediately landed his Forces. The *Engliſh*, who had lived long in profound Security, found themſelves too weak, and the Fort in no Poſture of Defence on the Land-ſide, and their Habitations being diſperſed along the River for thirty Leagues up, the Fort could not be ſuccoured but by Water, where the *Zealanders* were Maſters: Upon which Conſideration they ſurrendered it, capitulating for the Inhabitants of the River of *Surinam*, and thoſe of *Kamomioque*; ſtipulating that all thoſe who ſhould take the Oath of Fidelity to the States of *Zealand*, ſhould enjoy their Eſtates peaceably; the Habitations of ſuch as abſented themſelves, and thoſe belonging to the Lord *Willoughby*, ſhould be forfeited to the ſaid Eſtates; all Foreigners who had no Eſtates there, ſhould remain Priſoners of War; and all the *Engliſh* to be obliged to deliver up their Arms. When the Capitulation was executed, *Creiſſen* put aboard a Fly-boat he had taken in the River, the moſt valuable Part of the Booty he found in the Places that were confiſcated, and the Priſoners aboard a Man of War; and after cauſing the Fort to be repaired, and put into a Poſture of Defence, and leaving it in the Hands of Sieur *de Rome* with one hundred and fifty Men, he ſailed for the Iſlands.

Afterwards, when the Peace was made at *Breda*, it was agreed, That the *Dutch* ſhould keep *Surinam*, and that in return we ſhould keep *New York*, which was then called the *New Netherlands*. Thus we have traced this Point fairly, from beginning to ending; from the firſt Settlement, nay from the very firſt Thoughts of a Settlement, to the giving up of all the Settlements we then had, and which might be ſtyled the Legacy of *Raleigh* to this Nation, into the Hands of the *Dutch*. It may not be amiſs, however, before I quit the Subject, to obſerve that the *Dutch* have ſucceeded very happily in a Plantation that was not very beneficial to us; and that if ever we ſhould be inclined to try our Fortunes again upon this Coaſt; for without queſtion our Ceſſion of *Surinam* does not preclude us from viſiting the reſt of *Guiana*; if this, I ſay, ſhould ever be attempted, it muſt be either by the *South-Sea* Company, or under their Licence, ſince all this great Country, as well as many other valuable Places, lye within their Charter, which covers them from all the reſt of this Nation, and leaves them open only to all the World beſides.

15. We are now to paſs to the Mother-colony of that which we mentioned laſt, the famous Iſland of *Barbadoes*, which may be juſtly eſteemed the faireſt, beſt peopled, and beſt cultivated Spot of Ground, not in *America* only, but in the whole known World: When, or by whom, it was firſt diſcovered, is a Point not eaſily ſettled, and, in my Judgment, cannot be determined at all, farther than by Conjecture. The *Portugueze* were certainly the firſt Diſcoverers of *Brazil*, and it is not very probable that they ſhould make any Voyages thither, or at leaſt ſhould eſtabliſh a regular Commerce with that Country, without falling in with this Iſland, which lies ſo much in the Way. It is the more probable that they were the firſt Diſcoverers, from the Name by which this Country has been always known; *Barbadoes* having apparently a *Portugueze* Termination, but what it ſignifies is very doubtful. Some ſay the Iſland was ſo called from its barbarous Inhabitants; to prove which they ſhould have ſhewn us that it was inhabited at all, which in thoſe Times undoubtedly it was not; but however, it is not impoſſible that the Thing might be ſo, ſince the *Caribbees* certainly viſited that Iſland from *St. Vincent*, which is within ſight, and the *Portugueze* might poſſibly land when they were upon it, and fright them off this Iſland, whence they might from theſe People give it the Name of *Barbadoes*, which it has ſtill retained, and is ſo called, without any Variation at leaſt that I know of, in all the Languages of *Europe*.

The firſt *Engliſhmen* that landed here, it is ſaid, were ſome of Sir *William Curteen*'s Seamen, that were cruizing in theſe Seas in the latter End of the Reign of King *James* I. who reporting, at their Return to *England*, that the Soil was fruitful, ſome Adventurers went thither with Intent to plant it; but finding the Iſland covered with Wood, and ſcarce any other Animals upon it than Hogs, it did not anſwer their Expectations a great while. The Property of this Iſland was afterwards granted by King *Charles* I. to *James* Earl of *Carliſle*, in the firſt Year of his Reign; of whom ſeveral Adventurers purchaſing Shares, tranſported themſelves thither, and firſt fell to planting Tobacco; which not thriving here as they expected, they proceeded to try Cotton and Indico, which yielded them a conſiderable Profit; but they made little Sugar till 1647; when Colonel *Modiford*, Col. *Drax*, Col. *Walrond*, and ſeveral other Cavaliers, finding there was no living with any Satisfaction in *England* under the Uſurper, converted their Eſtates into Money, and tranſported themſelves to *Barbadoes*, with ſuch Machines and Implements as were proper to carry on Sugar-Works there. Colonel *Drax*, it is ſaid, in a few Years acquired an Eſtate of ſeven or eight thouſand Pounds *per Annum*, and married the Earl of *Carliſle*'s Daughter, then Proprietor of the Iſland; and the Adventurers fixing their principal Settlement on the great Bay in the South-weſt Part of the Iſland, gave it the Name of *Carliſle Bay*, in honour of their Proprietor, which it ſtill retains.

The Iſland was afterwards divided into four Circuits, and eleven Pariſhes, each Pariſh being allowed to ſend two Repreſentatives to the General Aſſembly, and every Pariſh had its Church and an Incumbent, with a handſome Maintenance aſſigned him. In the Year 1650, the white Inhabitants of the Iſland are ſaid to have increaſed to between thirty and forty thouſand, beſides Negroes, who were much more numerous, and frequently plotted the Deſtruction of their Maſters; but their Plots were conſtantly diſcovered, and the moſt terrible Puniſhments inflicted on the Ring-leaders; which did but increaſe the Diſaffection of the reſt, and laid the Foundation of freſh Conſpiracies. But notwithſtanding the repeated Plots of their Slaves, never any Plantation of ſo ſmall an Extent, arrived to that Riches and Grandeur as *Barbadoes* did, in the Space of twenty or thirty Years. The *Rump* apprehended this Iſland of ſuch Conſequence, during their Uſurpation, that they ſent a ſtrong Squadron of Men of War thither, *Anno* 1651, under the Command of Sir *George Aſcue*, who compelled the Lord *Willoughby*, (appointed Governor by King *Charles* II.) to ſurrender the Iſland upon Condition the Royaliſts ſhould remain in the Poſſeſſion of their Eſtates and Liberties, and Mr. *Searl* was appointed Governor by them.

The *Dutch* War ſucceeding ſoon after, the Colony was prohibited trading with the *Hollanders*, with whom they had principally trafficked hitherto; for the *Dutch* it ſeems conſtantly furniſhed the Iſland with Negroes till this time, and taught the *Barbadians* to plant, and manage their Sugars to the beſt Advantage, taking moſt of it off of their Hands, with which they ſupplied themſelves, and the reſt of *Europe*; but after the Uſurper's Quarrel with the *Dutch*, the *Barbadians* were compelled, by an Ordinance of Parliament, to bring all their Sugars directly to *England*, which was imitated by the Miniſtry after the Reſtoration of King *Charles* II. and was the Foundation of the Act of Navigation, which requires all the *Britiſh* Colonies to bring their Sugars and Tobacco directly to *England*, and forbids their trading with Foreigners in theſe, and ſome other, ſtiled *enumerated* Articles.

16. In the Year 1661 King *Charles* II. purchaſed the Property of this Iſland of the Lord *Kinoul*, Heir to the Earl of *Carliſle*, and appointed the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham* Governor; ever ſince which *Barbadoes* has been a regular Government; and the Colony granted a Duty of four and a half *per Cent.* for the Support of the Civil Government of that Iſland, and maintaining the Forces and Fortifications thereof; which Duty (according to my Information) amounts to ten thouſand Pounds a Year: But inſtead of being applied to the Purpoſes for which it was given, it is diſpoſed of in Penſions to Courtiers, to the irreparable Damage of that Colony; no other Iſland having laid ſo high a Duty on their Sugars. In the Year 1664 *de Ruyter*, the *Dutch* Admiral, with a great Fleet of Men of War, treacherouſly attempted to ſurpriſe the Iſland of *Barbadoes*, tho' *England* was then in full Peace with *Holland*; but he was bravely beat off by the *Barbadians*, and obliged to abandon that Enterprize.

In the Year 1674 Sir *Jonathan Atkins*, being made Governor, had Orders to ſeize all the Ships trading in *Africa* for Negroes, that Trade being granted to the Royal *African* Company about that Time, excluſive of all others. And ſeveral Ships belonging to the Merchants of *Barbadoes*, bringing over Negroes afterward, were condemned and forfeited, being denominated Interlopers; which that Colony complained of as a great Grievance, the *African* Company ſetting what Price they pleaſed upon their Negroes; but this was not redreſſed till after the Revolution, when that Trade was laid open to all the Subjects of *England*, paying ten *per Cent.* towards the Charge of their Forts. The *Barbadians* alſo ſuffered great Loſſes by a terrible Hurricane which happened there on the 10th of *Auguſt* 1674, when three hundred Houſes were blown down, two hundred Perſons killed, moſt of their Sugar-works and Plantations ſpoiled; and all their Wind-mills for grinding of Canes were blown down, except thoſe that were built of Stone; eight Ships alſo ſuffered Shipwreck in the Harbour; inſomuch that the *Barbadians* were diſabled from making much Sugar the two ſucceeding Years. Another Calamity with which the *Barbadians* were afflicted, was an epidemical Diſtemper, that ſeveral Years raged in the Iſland, differing very little from the Plague. This began about the Year 1691, and occaſioned a great Decreaſe amongſt the white Inhabitants, which they have not recovered from that Day to this. It ſeems the Miniſtry of *England*, ſending a Squadron of Men of War to *Barbadoes*, with a Body of Land Forces on board, to protect the Trade of the *Caribbee Iſlands*, which had ſuffered very much by the Depredations of the *French* Privateers; the *Barbadians*, on their Arrival, concerted an Enterprize with the Commanders againſt the *French* Iſlands of *Guadalupe*, *Martinico*, *St. Chriſtopher's*, &c. and joining the King's Forces with ſome of their own, formed a Body of four or five thouſand Men; with which they made a Deſcent on *Guadalupe* and *St. Chriſtopher's*, and ruined many *French* Settlements, but did not make a Conqueſt of them, as was expected; and what was ſtill more unfortunate, the Diſtemper above-mentioned broke out in the Army, which the Soldiers brought back to *Barbadoes*, and almoſt depopulated that Iſland of white Men. The King's Ships alſo loſt ſo many of their Men, that there were not Hands enough to carry them home.

If we ſhould purſue this Hiſtory lower, it would not contribute very much to the Information, Entertainment, or Satisfaction of the Reader, becauſe it would involve us in long and perplexed Relations of the Diſputes between the Inhabitants of this Colony and their Governors, Appeals from both Parties to the Government at home, and other ſuch-like tedious and diſagreeable Subjects. We will therefore content ourſelves with obſerving, that till ſome very different Method is taken from that which has been hitherto in uſe for appointing Governors in this and other Colonies, ſo that Men are not ſent over with a View to repair their own Fortunes, inſtead of enquiring into, and redreſſing, thoſe Grievances that affect the Properties of the Perſons they are ſent to govern, we can never hope to ſee the Plantations flouriſh, or this Country reap thoſe Advantages from them which otherwiſe ſhe might. What is the Nature of thoſe Advantages, and what their Degree in reſpect to this noble Iſland, juſtly eſteemed the moſt valuable Plantation, for its Size, that ever this Nation poſſeſſed, ſhall be our next Buſineſs to explain, by entering into a particular Deſcription of this Iſland and its Product.

17. The Iſland of *Barbadoes* is ſituated in the *Atlantic Ocean*, in 13 Degrees North Latitude, and 59 Degrees of weſtern Longitude, being of a triangular Form; about twenty-five Miles in length from South to North, and fifteen in Breadth from Eaſt to Weſt, where broadeſt: It is a plain level Country for the moſt Part, with ſome ſmall Hills of an eaſy Aſcent, and ſcarce any Wood upon it at preſent; it was covered with Woods, indeed, when the *Engliſh* firſt ſent Colonies there, but they are all cut down to make room for Plantations of Sugar Canes, which take up almoſt the whole Iſland at preſent, nothing elſe being cultivated in any great Quantities. Their very Corn, Fleſh, and Fiſh, being imported, for the moſt Part, from the northern Colonies: There is ſcarce an Harbour in the Iſland, the beſt is that of *Bridge-Town* in *Carliſle-Bay*, on the South weſt Part of the Iſland, and this lies open to the Weſtward; however it is ſecure from the North-eaſt, which is the conſtant Trade Wind here, and blows from Morning to Evening, except their Tornades and Hurricanes, which happen uſually about Midſummer, and in *July* and *Auguſt*, and blow from every Quarter. The Ships in the Bay, at ſuch times, are in the utmoſt Danger of being wrecked on Shore, if they cannot get out to Sea, and therefore ſeldom attempt to ride out thoſe Storms.

The Coaſt is defended on the Eaſt by Rocks and Sholes, from the Invaſion of an Enemy; and on the Weſt, where it is moſt expoſed to a Deſcent, Breaſt-works and Redoubts are erected for its Security, but the Repair of them is too much neglected. There is ſcarce a Stream in the Iſland that deſerves the name of a River; however, we find two on the Eaſt-ſide, to which they have given the Names of *Scotland River*, and *Joſeph's River*: They have good Water in their Wells almoſt all over the Iſland, and do not dig very deep for it: They have alſo large Ponds and Reſervoirs, where they preſerve Rain-water. They have generally fine ſerene Weather; their Rains fall as in other Parts of the *Torrid Zone*, chiefly when the Sun is vertical; and after the Rains are the proper Seaſons for planting; their Heats are not ſo exceſſive as in the ſame Latitude on the Continent, being conſtantly refreſhed by the Sea Breezes in the Day-time, which increaſes as the Sun advances, and abates as the Sun declines. And they have this further Satisfacttion, that their Days ſeldom exceed twelve Hours; but there being no Mountains on the Iſland, there are no Land-winds in the Night as in *Jamaica*.

The only Town of any Conſequence in the Iſland, is that of *Bridge-Town* or *St. Michael's*, ſituate in *Carliſle-Bay*: It was formerly encompaſſed with a Moraſs which rendered it unhealthy, but this has been drained in a great Meaſure; however, the low Situation makes the Town ſtill ſubject to Inundations: It is ſaid to contain a thouſand or twelve hundred Houſes tolerably well built of Brick or Stone. They have commodious Wharfs and Keys for loading and unloading of Goods, and three Forts or Caſtles of Defence, which, if kept in Repair, would render them no eaſy Conqueſt. The chief Produce and Manufacture of the Iſland, as has been intimated already, is Sugar; of the Moloſſes, or Droſs, whereof they make great Quantities of Rum. They have alſo ſome Cotton, Indico, Ginger, and Pimento, and formerly Tobacco was planted here in good Quantities, but very little at preſent. Foreſt Trees they have ſcarce any left. Their Fruits are Oranges, Limes, Citrons, Pomegranates, Pine-apples, Guavas, Plantains, Cocoa-Nuts, *Indian*-Figs, Prickle-Pears, Melons, and almoſt all manner of Roots and Garden-ſtuff, but very few Flowers.

Their Horſes they import from *New England*, &c. and have a ſlight Breed of their own. They have alſo ſome Aſſes, Cows, and Sheep, but the laſt do not thrive here. They have a good Number of Hogs, the Fleſh whereof is the beſt Meat that is eaten in thoſe hot Climates. Here are alſo good Sea-Fiſh and Poultry, but no Freſh-water Fiſh; and, in general, all manner of Proviſion is very dear. There is no dining at an Ordinary under a Crown a-head; freſh Meat is a Rarity, and chiefly the Food of People of Condition; the reſt are glad of Salt-Beef, Pork, and Fiſh, imported from the northern Colonies; from whence alſo comes their Wheat, Flower, *Indian*-Corn, Peaſe, Beans, *&c.* They make Bread alſo of the Caſſavi Root, and the Negroes feed on Yams, Potatoes, and other Roots and Fruits. The Liquor drank by the Gentry here, is chiefly *Madeira* Wine, or Wine and Water, and great Quantities of Punch are drank by the Vulgar. They have alſo ſtrong Beer imported from *Old* and *New-England*, and Liquors made of their Maize and Fruits as in *Jamaica*. The Government here alſo reſembles that of *Jamaica*, and the reſt of our *American* Iſlands, having the Governor and Council appointed by the Crown, which, with the Houſe of Repreſentatives, are veſted with a legiſlative Power, and make Laws for the Government of the Iſland.

The Numbers of white People are ſaid to have been once forty thouſand and upwards, and are computed to be near thirty thouſand at preſent. The *Negroes*, *Mulottoes*, and *Meſtive* Slaves, about an hundred thouſand. Their Militia conſiſts of fifteen hundred Horſe, and three thouſand Foot, or thereabouts.

After this general Repreſentation of the preſent State of the Iſland, it is requiſite that we ſhould proceed to a more cloſe Enquiry into the ſtaple Commodity of this Iſland. We are to obſerve, that before the Year 1626, the *Portugueze* ſupplied all *Europe* with Sugar from their Colonies in *Brazil*, to their immenſe Profit: But the firſt Settlers finding the Soil to be fertile, and the producing of Sugar advantageous, they encouraged more People to come over and plant the ſame Commodity. This induced the Merchants at home, to ſend over Ships with Proviſions and other Neceſſaries for thoſe new Planters, which their Agents and Factors exchanged with them for the Produce of the Country, and from thence a reciprocal Trade and Correſpondence was eſtabliſhed between *Great Britain* and this *Iſland*.

The growing Succeſs of this new Sugar Colony promoted the Settlement of the others; and as the Sugar Plantations encreaſed, more Hands were required to carry on the Works, than could, at that Time, be ſpared from home. This gave Birth to the *Guinea* Trade, for ſupplying thoſe Colonies with Negroe Slaves; and as the Planters flouriſhed and encreaſed, ſo did their Demands for all Sorts of *Britiſh* Manufactures, and ſuch Neceſſaries of Life as they could not produce in thoſe Climates; which opened another Scene of Trade to the *Britiſh* Merchants, to furniſh theſe new Colonies with Wine from *Madeira*. Theſe Branches of Trade were of the utmoſt Advantage to *Great Britain*, foraſmuch as they took no Money out of the Kingdom, but yearly brought in large Sums for *Britiſh* Manufactures carried out. The Trade to this Iſland was commonly open and free; for we find, that before the civil War in *England*, the *Dutch* Ships came hither to purchaſe Sugars, as well as the *Engliſh*. This Freedom in Trade made the Country flouriſh, and made Money plenty among the Inhabitants. But ſince the Reſtoration, ſeveral Acts of Parliament have been made to confine the Trade of the Sugar Colonies to *Great Britain*, and *Britiſh* Ships only; which Reſtraints ſoon made *London* the chiefeſt Mart in *Europe* for Sugar; and as there was yearly more imported than was neceſſary for Home Conſumption, the Merchants exported the Surplus to foreign Markets, and by underſelling the *Portugueze*, they in Time beat them almoſt out of all their Sugar Trade to the Northward of *Cape Finiſterre*.

This Trade of re-evporting Sugars was carried on for many Years with great Succeſs. Mr. *Joſhua Gee* ſays, that by this Trade only ſuch an Increaſe of Treaſure and Wealth was brought into this Kingdom, as yearly added three or four hundred thouſand Pounds to the Stock of the Nation, which in thirty Years Time amounted to upwards of ten Millions Sterling. And a late Author computes the clear Profits, accruing to *Great Britain* from the Sugar Trade, and thoſe other Branches which chiefly depend upon thoſe Iſlands, to amount to more than one Million a Year. He tells us farther, that it appears by the Cuſtom-houſe in *London*, that the Value of the Exports from *Great Britain* to the Sugar Colonies, were a few Years ago upwards of five hundred thouſand Pounds Sterling every Year; and their Importations from thoſe Iſlands more than twelve hundred thouſand Pounds *per Annum*. In theſe Computations the Author has taken no Notice of the vaſt Quantities of *Britiſh* Manufactures yearly exported to *Guinea* and *Madeira*: But if they were to be added to the Exportations of the Sugar Colonies, where the greateſt Part of their Produce is taken off with an Advantage to the *Britiſh* Merchant, it would greatly augment the Sum, and conſequently enlarge the Profits which our Mother Country receives from the Sugar Colonies, and the ſeveral Branches of Trade depending on them. I ſhall not take upon me to determine whether this Gentleman's Calculations are exact or not; but it is evident beyond Diſpute, that while the Sugar Trade flouriſhed, both Planters and Merchants grew immenſely rich, and the Trade and Navigation of *Great Britain* was carried on to a much greater Height than it ever was before. And this great Source of Wealth and Treaſure to their Mother Country, aroſe from ſo ſmall a Beginning as a few Families ſeeking Shelter in a deſolate Iſland.

This ſhews what may be done by Induſtry and Trade rightly applied. Now if the Trade and Navigation of *Great Britain* have received ſuch an Addition from the Sugar Colonies, as added greatly to the Riches and Strength of the Kingdom; and if *Barbadoes* has the Honour to ſtand foremoſt in the Sugar Trade (as the firſt Founder of it) how well has ſhe deſerved of her Mother Country! When the Sugar Trade was at the Height which we deſcribed above, the flouriſhing State of *Great Britain* alarmed her Neighbours, and put them upon

Ways to circumvent her in Trade, as the only Means to put a Stop to the growing Strength of the Kingdom, which they feared might become too formidable, from the great Increaſe of Seamen and Shipping employed in the *Weſt India* and *Guinea* Trades, both flouriſhing at the ſame Time. Upon a Parliamentary Enquiry into the State of Trade to *Africa*, in the Year 1728, it appeared to the Houſe, that in three Years Time only, the Number of Negroes imported at *Barbadoes*, *Jamaica*, and *Antigua*, amounted to forty-two thouſand, beſides what were carried to *St. Chriſtopher's*, *Nevis* and *Montſerrat*.

But we are now to inquire into the Cauſes of the general Declenſion of this Trade. And here I beg Leave further to obſerve, that the *French* ſpared no Coſt or Labour to rival *Great Britain*, they well knowing, if that ſunk, her *Guinea* and *Madeira* Trades muſt fall with it; for which Purpoſe they embraced every Opportunity to enlarge and improve their Sugar Plantations; and, if I am not miſinformed, where the Planter was not able to complete his Works himſelf, proper Utenſils were ſent over from *France* at the Public Charge, and the Crown truſted them for ſeveral Years without Intereſt: What ſuch an Aſſiſtance will enable Men to do, we may gather from the flouriſhing State of the Linnen Manufactory in *Ireland*, ſince the Public allowed them a Fund to ſupport it. Having by theſe Means eſtabliſhed their Sugar Colonies, the next Thing they had in View was to beat the *Britiſh* Merchants out of the foreign Markets, for Sugar; and therefore deſtroy their Trade for Exportation; and this they have effected, by giving Liberty for their Ships to carry their Sugars directly to the foreign Markets, while ours were obliged to import all into *Great Britain*, which enables them to ſell ſo much cheaper than our Merchants can carry it from *London*, as has almoſt put an entire Stop to that valuable Branch of Trade to their Mother Country; and the utter Ruin of the *Britiſh* Sugar Colonies muſt neceſſarily follow, unleſs they are relieved ſome way or other.

The very firſt Declenſion of their Exportation Trade was attended with ill Conſequences to the Sugar Colonies. It lowered the Price of Sugar ſo much at home, as diſcouraged the Merchants from ſending to purchaſe Sugars here. This obliged the Sugar Planters to turn Merchant-Adventurers in a declining Trade, and to ſhip their Sugars upon their own Account and Riſque: This put a Stop to the Currency of Caſh, which was before brought over yearly to purchaſe Sugars, and laid the whole Burden of Freight, Duty, and Commiſſion, upon the Plantation, that were formerly paid by the *Britiſh* Merchants. And ſuppoſe but fifteen thouſand Hogſheads of Sugar to be ſhipped in a Year from this Iſland, on Gentlemens own Accounts, theſe three Articles will amount to upwards of ſixty thouſand Pounds Sterling. Another great Evil that has likewiſe followed from the ſame Cauſe is, Combinations among the Buyers, by which the Price of Sugars is ſunk ſo low as greatly to prejudice the Planters, and yet turning to the Benefit only of a few private Perſons, who are the firſt Buyers, and not at all to that of the Conſumers in general, by which that Iſland is hurt, and this receives no Benefit, or very little.

Theſe are the Particulars which we have collected from Books; but we will now add ſome few Remarks, from the Informations we have received, which will ſerve to give Light to the preſent State and Importance of this Iſland; and theſe will come chiefly under the three following Heads. In the firſt Place, we ſhall ſhew that this Colony throve the faſteſt, became the beſt peopled, and by far the moſt wealthy in *America*. We ſhall next ſhew the Advantages formerly derived from thence to the *Britiſh* Nation, clearly, and in a very few Words. And laſtly, we ſhall take Notice of the preſent Condition of this Iſland, and of the infinite Conſequence thereof to this Government of *Great Britain*. In the firſt Place then, it is to be conſidered that the Iſland of *Barbadoes* is generally eſteemed to be a very little bigger than the Iſle of *Wight*, and to contain, according to a round Computation, one hundred thouſand Acres. It has been ſhewn, that about the Year 1626 this Country was not only unſettled, but actually uninhabitable, as affording nothing for the Support of Life, and over-run with a bruſhy kind of Shrub Wood, which gave a great deal of Trouble to the firſt Planters; yet in the Space of fifty Years, this Plantation came to its greateſt Height, and by a Calculation that was made with much Exactneſs, there were in it fifty thouſand white People of all Sorts, of whom twenty thouſand were able to bear Arms, and eighty thouſand Negroes: Nay, we are told that in twenty Years after the Colony was ſettled they muſtered eleven thouſand Horſe and Foot; which would be altogether incredible, if we had not ſuch Proofs of theſe Facts as put them beyond all Doubt or Queſtion.

This ſufficiently proves that never any Colony of ours, or any other Nation, was ſo populous as this Iſland. But to make this ſtill clearer to an *Engliſh* Reader, we ſhall obſerve that *Barbadoes* is rather leſs than the County of *Rutland*, the ſmalleſt County in *England*; and that, according to the higheſt Computation, the Number of People in that County, in 1676, did not exceed twenty thouſand: But this may be made ſtill clearer, by comparing that whole Iſland with this, in Point of Extent; for if *England* and *Wales*, taken together, conſiſt of near forty Millions of Acres, then if they were as populous as *Barbadoes* they ought to contain fifty Millions of People; whereas Sir *William Petty*, who was a very able Man in Computations, and is thought not to have undervalued this Country, but rather the contrary, never reckoned the People higher than eight Millions; which ſhews what a vaſt Diſproportion there is between the peopling of the two Countries.

But to proceed farther ſtill: The ſame great Man aſſerts, that in *Holland* and *Zealand*, which are looked upon to be the beſt peopled Countries in *Europe*, there are a Million of Souls inhabiting about as many Acres; and conſequently it appears from hence, that even this Country was not ſo well peopled as *Barbadoes*. In Point of Wealth, the Compariſon holds full as ſtrong; for in the Year 1661 King *Charles* II. created on the ſame Day thirteen Baronets in *Barbadoes*, none of them having leſs than one thouſand, and ſome of them ten thouſand, Pounds a Year. At this Time their Trade actually maintained four hundred Sail of Ships; and it was computed, that the Running Caſh of the Iſland might be about two hundred thouſand Pounds; and their annual Exportation to *Great Britain*, in Sugar, Indico, Ginger, and other Commodities, at leaſt three hundred and fifty thouſand Pounds. Theſe are Facts that may be depended upon, that deſerve in every reſpect the greateſt Conſideration, and that plainly demonſtrate at once the great Value of this Iſland, and the prodigious Conſequence of our Plantations in general.

By the gradual Increaſe of the Colony upon this Iſland, it has, ſince we firſt poſſeſſed it, contributed beyond Conception and Belief to the Riches of its Mother Country; and, as I know not any Subject that either can or ought to give an *Engliſh* Reader more Pleaſure than the Conſideration of what has been obtained by the Bleſſing of God, upon the Virtue and Induſtry of his Countrymen; ſo, I think, an Endeavour to ſhew what has accrued in the whole to *Britain*, by eſtabliſhing a Colony here, will be allowed to be equally inſtructive and pleaſant, uſeful and entertaining.

What has been ſaid before, gives us a ſufficient general Notion of the Importance and Value of the Iſland; what we now aim at is, to come at a more particular Account of what it has yielded in the Whole. When this Colony was in its moſt flouriſhing Condition, which we fix to the Year 1676, there were four hundred Ships of one hundred and fifty Tons, one with another, employed annually in this Trade; and I believe it will be thought a very moderate Computation, if we reckon that the Seamen, Ship-Builders, and other Trades that live by theſe Veſſels, amounted in the Whole to ten thouſand Souls. The Sugars that came from *Barbadoes*, were either ſpent at home or ſent abroad; and I reckon, that in the manufacturing the Sugars, and vending them at home and abroad, there might be twenty thouſand People more employed. To theſe we muſt add, ſuch as got their Bread by the Goods and Manufactures yearly exported from hence to *Barbadoes*; for almoſt all that the People eat, drink, and wear there, are the Product of *England*; ſo that the Computation cannot be thought to riſe too high, if we allow, that in this Way twenty thouſand more got their Bread; which will make about fifty thouſand in the Whole: All ſupported here by the Labour and Induſtry of the Whites and Negroes in that Country. We are next to compute the Money brought into this Nation by the Export of the Commodities imported from thence, which was that Year allowed to be above two hundred thouſand Pounds, and it was alſo agreed, that as much or more had been gained every Year, between that Time and the Reſtoration.

I ſhall ſay nothing of the Money ariſing to the Exchequer from the Duties, though this might be computed at thirty-five thouſand Pounds *per Annum*; but upon theſe Principles ſhall proceed in my Computation thus: I will ſuppoſe, that from the Year 1636 to 1656, which is twenty Years, this Colony produced but half ſo much, and though it may be true, that before the Year 1640 it did not produce a Quarter ſo much, yet, in the remaining part of that Period, it certainly brought in a great deal more; and therefore we cannot be far from the Truth, in computing that this Nation acquired two Millions in Money, by *Barbadoes*, in that twenty Years. In the next twenty, that is, from 1656 to 1676, when it is allowed this Iſland was in its moſt flouriſhing Condition, there muſt have been gained four Millions of Money; and allowing for the gradual Falling off of this Trade, by a Multitude of unlucky Accidents, but more particularly by the ſettling the *French* Sugar Iſlands, we ſhall compute the laſt ſeventy Years, from 1676 to 1736, at the ſame Rate we did the firſt twenty Years, and the Gain will then amount to ſix Millions; ſo that in the Space of one hundred Years, the Inhabitants of *Great-Britain* have received twelve Millions of Silver, by the Means of this Plantation; and had fifty thouſand of her Inhabitants maintained by the People in that Colony all the time. It is highly poſſible, that in ſome of theſe Articles we may be wrong one way, and it is more than probable, that in other Articles we may err the other way; which is ſo far from making againſt the Credit of our Computation in general, that it really makes for it, ſince we may very well ſuppoſe theſe Errors balance each other, and that the Sum total is very near right.

We are now come to the laſt Head, which is, aſſigning the comparative Excellence of this Colony with regard to our own and other Plantations in *America*; and this, at firſt Sight, may appear a thing very difficult, if not impoſſible to be done; however, we may come ſufficiently near it for our Purpoſe. It is thought that *Barbadoes* contains one hundred and forty ſquare Miles, and if ſo it is in proportion, as 1 to 34,771 in reſpect to the *Spaniſh* Plantations; as 1 to 12,000 in regard to our own; as 1 to 11,000 in reference to the *French*; as 1 to 7,000 as to the *Portugueze*; and as 1 to 4 as to the *Dutch*. This I ſay, as to the Extent of Territory, is as juſt a Compariſon as can be made; but with regard to the Value of theſe Colonies, it is very eaſy to perceive that there is hardly any Computation to be made at all, for we may truly affirm that the Produce of *Barbadoes* is very near equal to a twentieth Part of what *Spain* receives from her *Indies* annually, in time of Peace, and from thence we may eaſily judge of the reſt.

I have inſiſted the longer upon this Topic, becauſe it may enable us to form ſome Notion of what might be made of our Plantations, if we attended to them as much as they deſerve; for though it may be, and perhaps is, impoſſible to improve any of them in proportion to what has been done in *Barbadoes*, yet we may well enough diſcern, from hence, that they might be made inconteſtably more profitable to us than they now are, or indeed, than the whole Trade that we now poſſeſs; and if, at the ſame time we reflect on this, we likewiſe conſider that there is nothing ſo abſolutely in our Power, as the Improvement of our Colonies; it will moſt certainly appear to be the Point, which, of all others, imports us moſt; and if I have done any thing towards proving this, I ſhall account all my Labour well beſtowed.

18. We are next to ſpeak of the Iſland of *St. Chriſtopher*, which was called *Liamuega* by the *Savages*, and was diſcovered by *Chriſtopher Columbus*, in the firſt Voyage he made to *America*. He gave it the Name of *St. Chriſtopher* from the Figure of its Mountains, there being in the upper Part of the Iſland a very high Mountain, which bears on its Summit another leſs Mountain, as *St. Chriſtopher* is painted like a Giant, with our Saviour on his Back. It is ſituated in the Latitude of 17 Degrees 25 Minutes on this Side the Line, and is about 75 Miles in Circuit; the *Caribbeans* inhabited it when Sir *Thomas Warner*, an *Engliſh* Adventurer, went thither. Monſieur *Deſnambue*, a *French* Gentleman of the ancient Houſe of *Vauderop*, who commanded for the *French* in *America*, arrived at *St. Chriſtopher*'s the ſame Day with Sir *Thomas Warner*, and both took Poſſeſſion of the Iſland in the Names of their reſpective Maſters, that they might have a Place of ſafe Retreat, and a good Haven for the Receipt of ſuch Ships, of both Nations, as ſhould be bound for *America*, it being well provided with Harbours. The *Spaniards* uſed to put in there in their *Weſt India* Voyage, to take in freſh Water; and they were on ſo good Terms with the *Caribbeans*, that, ſometimes they left their Sick there, of whom the *Savages* took a great deal of Care.

The two Gentlemen before-mentioned, left ſome of their Men upon the Place, and returned, Sir *Thomas Warner* to *England*, and Monſieur *Deſnambue* to *France*, for Recruits. Their Maſters approved of their Conduct, and ſent them back with Supplies of Men and Proviſions, and Commiſſions to be Governors of the new Settlements. This Company contiued in *France* till the Year 1661, when they ſold *St. Chriſtopher*'s, and the other Iſlands, to the Knights of *Malta*; but in the Year 1664, the *Weſt India* Company, by the King's Orders, bought out the laſt Proprietors. Sir *Thomas Warner*, and Monſieur *Deſnambue*, ſailed in the Year 1626, and the latter arrived there about *January* 1627, having had a long ſickly Voyage. The *French* were about three hundred in Number, the *Engliſh* Colony as many; Sir *Thomas* had proceeded a good way in his Settlement before Monſieur *Deſnambue* arrived; and the two Governors, to prevent Differences among the People about the Limits of their Territories, ſigned Articles of Diviſion on the 13th of *May* 1627: They then ſet Bounadries to their ſeveral Diviſions, with this particular Proviſo, that fiſhing and hunting ſhould be equally free to the Inhabitants of both Nations; that the Salt-ponds, and moſt valuable Timber, ſhould be in common, together with the Mines and Havens; alſo a League offenſive and defenſive was concluded between them, againſt all their Enemies; after which they ſet to work, each in his Station, to advance his Settlement, and went on very harmoniouſly.

The *Engliſh* received Supplies of Men and Proviſions from *London*, by which means they throve better than the *French*, and not only became ſtrong enough to keep what they had, but to be able to ſpare Men for new Plantations at *Nevis*; of which Sir *Thomas Warner* took Poſſeſſion, and left People upon it for a Settlement, in the Year 1628. And in that which followed, Don *Frederick de Toledo* was ſent with a Fleet of twenty-four Ships and fifteen Frigates, to diſpoſſeſs the *Engliſh* and *French* of the Iſland of *St. Chriſtopher*'s. The *Spaniards* were alarmed at the Progreſs of the *Engliſh* in the *Caribbee Iſlands*, and thought it concerned the Safety of their own Plantations to prevent thoſe Nations from ſettling in the Neighbourhood. Don *Frederick* meeting ſome *Engliſh* Ships lying near the Iſle of *Nevis*, ſeized them, and then came and anchored in the Road of *Marigot*, under the Cannon of the *Baſſe Terre*, where Monſieur *Roſſe* commanded. Neither the *French* nor the *Engliſh* Forts were in a Condition to oppoſe ſuch an Enemy; their Stores of Ammunition fell ſhort, and their Numbers were not a Match for the *Spaniſh* Army, had they been ever ſo well provided with Powder and Shot. *Roſſey*, after a ſmall Oppoſition, abandoned the *Baſſe Terre*, and retreated to *Cabes Terre*, another Fort, where Monſieur *Deſnambue* was in Perſon, who could not prevail with his Men, either to defend themſelves there, or to retire to the Foreſts and Mountains, where a few Men might have reſiſted a thouſand. He remonſtrated to them that Don *Frederick* could not afford much Time, being bound to the *Havannah* to bring home the *Flota*. Yet this was to no purpoſe, nothing would content them but embarking and leaving the Place, which he was forced to comply with, and ſo all the *French* deſerted their Settlement, as did their Allies the *Engliſh*; who were in a great Conſternation, and the Diſorder encreaſed, upon the News of *Deſnambue*'s being gone with his Colony; ſome endeavoured to eſcape by Sea, others fled to the Mountains, and all who were left ſent Deputies to treat with the *Spaniards*. The Don knowing he had them in his Power, commanded them to leave the Iſland immediately, or he would put them to the Sword; he ſent them their own Ships, which he had taken at *Nevis*, to embark in, and was perſuaded to give leave to thoſe to ſtay that had not room in the Ships for themſelves and their Families, till they could be tranſported; upon which Don *Frederick* weighed Anchor, carried with him ſix hundred *Engliſh* who were fitteſt for his Service, and he was no ſooner gone but the *Engliſh* rallied, and reſolved to go on with their Settlement. The *French*, who were got no farther than *Antigua* and *Montſerrat*, ſent a Ship for Intelligence to *St. Chriſtopher*'s, and underſtanding the *Spaniards* were gone, and the *Engliſh* buſy in rebuilding and planting, rejoiced at this happy and unexpected turn of Fortune, ſailed back to *St. Chriſtopher*'s, and retook Poſſeſſion of their former Habitations.

The *Engliſh* continued carrying on their Colony till they were in a Condition to ſpare more Men for Settlements, at *Barbuda*, *Montſerrat*, and *Antigua*, which Sir *Thomas Warner* peopled and planted. And the ſame Year the *Dutch* made themſelves Maſters of *St. Euſtace*, and the *French* took Poſſeſſion of ſome other Iſlands. The *Engliſh* built themſelves good Houſes at *St. Chriſtopher*'s, and had Wives and Families; whereas the *French* contented themſelves with Huts, after the *Caribbean* Manner; few of them were married, and conſequently took little Pains to furniſh themſelves with all Things neceſſary and convenient for Life. Monſieur *Deſnambue* died about the Year 1637, and Sir *Thomas Warner* did not long ſurvive him. Before the *Engliſh* Governor's Death, the Colony was ſo increaſed, that there were between twelve and thirteen thouſand Souls of his own Nation in the Iſland. He was ſucceeded in his Government by Col. *Rich*, who, by following his Predeceſſor's Steps in governing the Colony, invited more People to come and ſettle there. The chief Employment of the firſt Planters was cultivating Tobacco; by which they got a competent Livelihood; but afterwards, the Quantity that was made bringing down the Price, they ſet themſelves in ſeveral Places to plant Sugar, Ginger, Indico, and Cotton, and in a little time became a rich and flouriſhing People, both *French* and *Engliſh* living cordially together till the laſt War broke out, when the *Engliſh* drove the *French* entirely from their Settlements; and the Country being yielded to the Crown of *Great-Britain* by the Peace of *Utrecht*, all the *French* Territory was ſold for the Benefit of the Public, which muſt have produced a very large Sum, ſince out of it there were eighty thouſand Pounds paid, for the Marriage Portion of her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs of *Orange*.

There were indeed ſome who pretended, that notwithſtanding the *French* Part of the Iſland of *St. Chriſtopher*'s was by far the richeſt, we were no Gainers by obtaining it; but that, on the contrary, the *French* received Benefit thereby, becauſe it enabled them to people the reſt of their Iſlands more effectually; but whoever conſiders that the Sugars of this Iſland are the very beſt in all *America*; that the Plantations were in perfect Order; and that the *French* ventured a War to prevent our ſettling *St. Lucia* and *St. Vincent*, will ſcarce be brought to believe, that they parted with a Country ready ſettled, and more valuable than both thoſe Iſlands, with their Goodwill. The Treaty of *Utrecht* was ſo indifferent a Treaty that, I think, there is no ſort of Neceſſity for making it appear worſe than it really was. The ſame Perſons who firſt ſettled *St. Chriſtopher*'s likewiſe ſettled *Nevis*, or *Mevis*, about the Year 1628; and notwithſtanding the Miſfortune of being diſpoſſeſſed by the *Spaniards* in the manner before-mentioned, in twenty Years time there were at leaſt four thouſand People upon the Iſland, and they continued increaſing in the ſame manner, by a Succeſſion of prudent Governors, for a conſiderable Space. After the Reſtoration, when Trade and Peace flouriſhed, this Iſle enjoyed its Share of the Benefit, and increaſed, in Inhabitants and Riches; the only Enemy they had to ſtruggle with was the Hurricane, which generally viſited them once a Year.

On the 19th of *Auguſt*, 1667, there was a terrible one in this Iſland; at which time Sir *John Berry*, Captain of the *Centurion* Man of War, was in the Harbour with that and ſeveral other Ships, of which one was commanded by Capt. *Langford*, who having learned ſome of the Prognoſtics of a Tornado, from a *Caribbean*, perceiving them, he told Sir *John* and the reſt of the Commanders of it, who depending on his Intelligence, made their Ships ready, and in the Morning, about four o'Clock, the Wind coming very hard northerly, they put to Sea, and came all back within four or five Days time ſafe to the Road again: Captain *Langford* was aſhore, and being confident of the Hurricane, took ſuch care in ſecuring his Sugars and Goods in the Store-houſe, that when the Hurricane had carried away the Roof of the Houſe, all except one Hogſhead of Sugar remained ſafe.

When Sir *William Stapleton* was Governor of theſe Iſlands he uſually made this the Place of his Reſidence. Here Courts were kept, and the Governor living upon it, moſt of the Affairs of this Government were tranſacted here; for every one of theſe Iſlands hath a particular Lieutenant-Governor, Council, and Aſſembly; and the general Government centers only in the Authority of Captain-General. Sir *William Stapleton*, who was Governor in King *James*'s Time, made Sir *James Ruſſel* Lieutenant-Governor of this Iſland, and he enjoyed the Place till his Commiſſion was ſuperſeded by that of Captain-General, granted to Sir *Nathaniel Johnſon*, who alſo reſided at *Nevis*; and at this Time none of the *Leeward Iſlands* flouriſhed ſo much as this; it ſupplied the others with almoſt all their Wines and Negroes, and was computed to have contained at that Time near two thouſand fighting Men, which will make the Number of Souls, by common Computation, to be above ten thouſand beſides Negroes, of which Number there were not leſs than twenty thouſand. A prodigious Improvement of an Iſland ſcarce ſix Miles long, to maintain between thirty and forty thouſand Men, Women, and Children!

We are to proceed next to the Iſland of *Montſerrat*, which Name the *Spaniards* gave to this Iſland, from the Reſemblance it has to a Mountain in *Catalonia*, not far from *Barcelona*; famous for a Chapel dedicated to the *Bleſſed Virgin*, in the greateſt Reputation with the *Roman Catholics* of any, except that of *Lorretto*. The *Engliſh* have not thought fit to give it another Name ſince they were Maſters of it. It lies in 17 Degrees North Latitude, is about three Leagues in Length, and almoſt as much in Breadth; ſo that it ſeems to be of a round Figure. It was diſcovered by the *Europeans* at the ſame time with *St. Chriſtopher*'s; but no Settlement was made upon it till the Year 1632, at which Time Sir *Thomas Warner*, firſt Governor of *St. Chriſtopher*'s, procured a ſmall Colony to ſettle there, of the Subjects of *England*, for we cannot aſſure ourſelves they were *Engliſh* Men, this Iſland being generally looked upon as an *Iriſh* Colony. This Iſland flouriſhed at firſt more than *Antigua*; but ſince the Lord *Willoughby*'s Time, the latter has got, and kept, the Start of it. There were ſeven hundred Men in *Montſerrat*, ſixteen Years after it was firſt inhabited; the Rolls of the Militia at this Time amounts to three hundred and ſixty. We find but one Battery for the Defence of the Coaſt, and other old diſmounted Cannon at ſeveral Landing-places. As to the Climate, Soil, Animals, Trade, and Productions of this Iſle, they are much the ſame with thoſe of the other *Caribbee Iſlands*, only this is fuller of Mountains, which are covered with Cedars and other Trees, that make it a lovely Proſpect from the Sea: The Vallies are fruitful, and better ſtored with freſh Water than thoſe of *Antigua*.

According to the beſt Accounts that have been received from this Iſland of late Years, it is rather increaſing, both in the Number of People, and in the Value of their Settlements, than not; as to the former, it is computed, there may be about four thouſand five hundred white Perſons, and about twelve thouſand Negroes, in this Country: And as for the latter, I mean the Value of its Produce, we ſhall have Occaſion to ſpeak of it hereafter.

The Iſland of *Barbuda* lies in the Latitude of 17 Degrees 30 Minutes North, is about fifteen Miles long, and lies North-eaſt from the Iſland of which we were laſt ſpeaking. The Land is low and fruitful, and the *Engliſh* began to plant it as early as *Nevis*, *Montſerrat*, or any other of the Leeward Iſlands, *St. Chriſtopher*'s excepted; for Sir *Thomas Warner*, who firſt ſettled there, placed a ſmall Colony in this Iſland, but the *Caribbeans* diſturbed them ſo much, that they were often forced to deſert it and their Plantations. There hardly paſſed a Year but they made one or two Incurſions, and that generally in the Night, for they durſt not attack them by Day; the Damage the *Engliſh* ſuſtained by them, made them weary of dwelling in a Place where they were ſo much expoſed to the Fury of thoſe Barbarians, who diminiſhing daily in Number, and the *Europeans* increaſing, the *Engliſh* again poſſeſſed themſelves of *Barbuda*, and in a few Years there were five hundred Inhabitants. There are now a thouſand or twelve hundred Souls upon it, and their Number is daily increaſing. The Proprietor is the Honourable *Chriſtopher Codrington*, Eſq; and he puts in a Governor here, having the ſame Prerogative as the other Lords Proprietors in their ſeveral Juriſdictions in *America*. This Iſland has bred great Store of Cattle, and the Inhabitants employ themſelves moſtly in that ſort of Huſbandry; Corn and Proviſions coming almoſt always to a good Market in the Sugar Iſlands. There is plenty of all Sorts of tame Cattle, as in *Europe*; and the *Engliſh* live here much after the ſame Manner as they do in the Countries in *England*; only their Labour in the Field is not ſo hard as here, the Country being ſo much hotter.

The next Plantation to this, if it may be properly ſo called, is *Anguilla*, or *Snake Iſland*, ſo called from its Figure, being a long Tract of Earth, but narrow, winding almoſt about; near *St. Martins*, from whence it may eaſily be ſeen: It lies in 17 Degrees 12 Minutes. The Country is level and woody; the Soil fruitful, and the Tobacco that grew there formerly was reckoned very good in its kind. There is not a Mountain in it; where it is broadeſt there is a Pond, about which the *Engliſh* ſettled in the Year 1650. Their Buſineſs, like the Inhabitants of *Barbuda*, was to plant Corn, and breed tame Cattle, for which purpoſe they brought Stock with them. They were poor, and continue ſo to this Day, being perhaps the lazieſt Creatures in the World. Some People have gone from *Barbadoes*, and other *Engliſh Caribbee Iſlands*, thither, and there they live like the firſt Race of Men, without Government or Religion, having no Miniſter or Magiſtrate. They are ſaid to make up, altogether, about one hundred and fifty Families, or nine hundred Souls; and their Condition in that Place is ſingular enough to deſerve particular Notice, if we had any room to ſpare; but as we have not, it ſhall ſuffice to ſay that they have no great Quantities of Sugar upon the Iſland, but addict themſelves rather to farming, in which they have had very good Succeſs; and this it is that enables them to live in the old Patriarchal Way, every Man being a kind of Sovereign in his own Family, and no other Government there is in *Anguilla*.

We have now gone through all the Leeward Iſlands, *Antigua*, or *Antego*, only excepted, of which we are to ſpeak in the next Section, as not having been ſettled within the Period to which we have confined this. As to the general Produce or Value of theſe Iſlands, which may ſerve to ſhew of how great Conſequence they are to *Great-Britain*, the beſt Account I have been able to obtain, is to the following Effect: *St. Chriſtopher*'s is the largeſt of all the Iſlands, but the middle Part of it being extremely mountainous, it is thought that there are not above twenty-four thouſand Acres of Land, fit for Sugar, in the whole Iſland, which produces about ten thouſand Hogſheads of that valuable Commodity. *Antego* contains about ſeventy thouſand Acres, and produces ſixteen thouſand Hogſheads of Sugar yearly. *Nevis* is ſaid to be about twenty Miles in Circumference, and produces ſix thouſand Hogſheads. *Montſerrat*, which is leſs than any of them, produces two thouſand five hundred, and ſometimes three thouſand, Hogſheads of Sugar. In *Barbuda* they breed Cattle, and in *Anguilla* they raiſe Corn.

19. We are now, according to the Method that we have hitherto purſued of ſpeaking of our Plantations, in the Order of Time in which they were ſettled, obliged to return to the Continent of *North America*, in order to give an Account of the noble Colony of *Maryland*, which remained a Part of *Virginia* till the Year 1632, which was the eighth of King *Charles* I. when that Monarch was pleaſed to grant all the Country to the North of *Potowmack River*, not then planted, unto *Cecilius Calvert*, Lord *Baltimore*, of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, and his Heirs; and this Part of the Country was afterwards called *Maryland*, in Honour of the then Queen Conſort, *Henrietta Maria*, youngeſt Daughter of the *French* King, *Henry* the IVth. The Lord *Baltimore* having obtained his Grant, ſent over his Brother, the honourable *Leonard Calvert*, Eſq; with ſome *Roman Catholic* Gentlemen, and other Adventurers, to the Number of two hundred, to take Poſſeſſion of the Country; who, ſetting ſail from *England* on the 22d of *November* 1633, arrived at *Point Comfort* in the Bay of *Cheſepeak*, on the 24th of *February* following; where, being kindly received and ſupplied with Proviſions by the *Engliſh* of *Virginia*, they continued their Voyage Northward, to the River *Potowmack*, appointed to be the Boundary between *Virginia* and *Maryland*, on the Eaſt-ſide of the Bay.

The Adventurers ſailed up this River, and landing on ſeveral Places of the northern Shore, acquainted the Natives they were come to ſettle amongſt them, and trade with them; but the Natives ſeemed rather to deſire their Abſence than their Company: However, there were no Acts of Hoſtility committed on either Side; and the *Engliſh* returning down the River *Potowmack* again, made choice of a Place near the Mouth of a River (which falls into it, and by them called *St. George*'s *River*) to ſettle their firſt Colony. They advanced afterwards to an *Indian* Town called *Yoamaco*, then the Capital of the Country, and at a Conference with the Weorance or Sovereign of the Place, to whom they made conſiderable Preſents, the Weorance conſented that the *Engliſh* ſhould dwell in one Part of the Town, reſerving the other for his own People, till the Harveſt was over, and then agreed to quit the whole entirely to the *Engliſh*, and retire farther into the Country, which they did accordingly. And the *March* following Mr *Calvert* and the Planters were left in the quiet Poſſeſſion of the whole Town, to which they gave the Name of *St. Mary*'s; and it was agreed on both Sides, that if any Wrong was done by either Party, the Nation offending ſhould make full Satisfaction for the Injury. The Reaſon the *Yoamaco Indians* were ſo ready to enter into a Treaty with the *Engliſh*, and yield them Part of their Country, was in Hopes of obtaining their Protection and Aſſiſtance againſt the *Saſquahanah Indians*, their northern Neighbours, with whom they were then at War; and, indeed, the *Yoamaco Indians* were upon the Point of abandoning their Country, to avoid the Fury of the *Saſquahanah* Nation, before the *Engliſh* arrived; from whence it appears that the Adventurers, ſent over by the Lord *Baltimore*, cannot be charged with any Injuſtice in ſettling themſelves in this Part of *America*, being invited to it by the original Inhabitants.

The Inhabitants who were thus ſettled at *St. Mary*'s, applied themſelves, with great Diligence, to cultivating the Ground, and raiſed large Quantities of *Indian* Corn, while the Natives went every Day into the Woods to hunt for Game, bringing home Veniſon and Turkies, to the *Engliſh* Colony, in abundance, for which they received Knives, Tools, and Toys, in return. And thus both Nations lived in the greateſt Friendſhip, doing good Offices to each other; till ſome of the *Engliſh* in *Virginia*, envious of the Happineſs of this thriving Colony, ſuggeſted to the *Indians*, that theſe Strangers were not really *Engliſh* as they pretended, but *Spaniards*, and would enſlave them as they had done many of their Countrymen: And the *Indians* were ſo credulous as to believe it, and appeared jealous of Mr. *Calvert*, making Preparations as if they intended to fall upon the Strangers, which the *Engliſh* perceiving, ſtood upon their Guard, and erected a Fort for their Security, on which they planted ſeveral Pieces of Ordnance; at the firing whereof the *Yoamacos* were ſo terrified, that they abandoned their Country without any other Compulſion, and left the *Engliſh* in full Poſſeſſion of it; who receiving Supplies and Reinforcements continually from *England*, and having no other Enemy to contend with than Agues and Fevers (which ſwept off ſome of them before they found out a proper Regimen for the Climate) they ſoon became a flouriſhing People, many *Roman Catholic* Families of Quality and Fortune tranſporting themſelves thither to avoid the Penal Laws made againſt them in *England*; and *Maryland* has been a Place of Refuge for thoſe of that Perſuaſion from that Day to this.

While the civil War laſted in *England*, the Lord *Baltimore*'s Family were deprived of the Government of this Province, but were reſtored to their Right by King *Charles* II. ſoon after his own Reſtoration. Whereupon the Lord *Baltimore* ſent over his Son, *Charles Calvert*, afterwards Lord *Baltimore*, to be Governor of *Maryland*, who continued in that Poſt upwards of twenty Years, and long after his Father's Death. By whoſe Prudence the Colony became almoſt as conſiderable as *Virginia*, for its Tobacco and other Products of the Soil; and all the *Indian* Nations on that Side put themſelves under their Protection. The *Indian* Chiefs were appointed, or at leaſt approved and confirmed in their Commands, by the Lord *Baltimore* the Proprietor, whoſe Succeſs is to be aſcribed, in a great Meaſure, to the Endeavours he uſed to cultivate a good Correſpondence with the *Indian* Nations, and to give them as little Offence as poſſible.

In the Reign of King *James* II. we are told that Father *Peters*, a Jeſuit, whom that Prince admitted into his Councils, which contributed not a little to his loſing firſt the Hearts of his Subjects, and after that his Dominions, took ſuch a Prejudice to the then Lord *Baltimore*, though of his own Religion, but a Nobleman of great Wiſdom, Juſtice, and Moderation, that he reſolved to deprive him of the Power of nominating a Governor, by extending the royal Prerogative at the Expence of the Grant made by the Crown, to the Anceſtors of his Lordſhip. But before this could be effected, the Revolution intervened, but the Change of Government did not prove ſerviceable to his Lordſhip; for the Crown proſecuting the former Project, deprived him of his Power of Nomination; which was ſo much the harder, becauſe it is univerſally allowed that no People were ever better governed than the Inhabitants of this Colony, while they depended ſolely upon this noble Family.

The preſent Lord *Baltimore* is a Proteſtant, and inherits the Virtues, as well as the Title, of his Anceſtors; being in all reſpects a Bleſſing to that Country, as he is the Proprietor of it. His Lordſhip once took the Pains to viſit his Colony, was received with all due Marks of Reſpect on account of his Quality and Intereſt in that Country; but when he left it, the People gave him much ſtronger Teſtimonies of their Affection, and their Regret at parting with him, on account of his Mildneſs, public Spirit, and ſincere good Will towards them, of which he gave them ſo many Inſtances, and teſtified upon all Occaſions, ſuch a Readineſs not only to comply with, but to go beyond, their Requeſts; that there was not a Planter in *Maryland*, who did not conſider him rather as a Father and a Friend, than as their Lord Proprietor; and to ſay the Truth, they had ſo much Experience of him in the former Characters, and felt ſo little of him in the latter, that it was extremely natural for them to behave as they did.

Whatever the great Deſign might be when this Settlement was firſt made, moſt certain it is that no Country in *America* can boaſt of having had fewer Diſturbances on the Score of Religion. There are, indeed, of all Perſuaſions in the Colony; but notwithſtanding this, they live together in the greateſt Tranquillity, as if they made it their Buſineſs to forget the Points about which they differ, and to remember that they agree in thoſe of being *Engliſhmen* and *Chriſtians*, as ſufficiently appears by their kind Behaviour towards the *Indians*, who have ſcarce ever had any Difference with them, and of whom the Colony have no ſort of Apprehenſions, though they are much more numerous in that Country than in *Virginia*. But after ſhewing how this Country was firſt planted, what remarkable Accidents have ſince happened therein, and in what State the Colony now is with reſpect to the Government; the next thing is to give a ſuccinct View of the Place itſelf, in order to bring it the better to the Acquaintance of every *Engliſh* Reader, who is curious on this Subject.

This Province is ſituated between 38 and 40 Degrees of northern Latitude, and between 44 and 48 Degrees of Weſtern Longitude, as is generally computed; but it muſt be confeſſed the Weſtern Boundaries are very uncertain, ſome extending them beyond the *Apalachean Mountains*. The North End of the Bay of *Cheſepeak* divides *Maryland* into two Parts, called the *Eaſtern* and *Weſtern Shores*. It is bounded, at preſent, by Part of *Penſylvania* and the *Atlantic Ocean* on the Eaſt, by *Virginia Proper* on the South, and by the *Apalachean Mountains* on the Weſt. It is ſeparated from *Virginia* on the South, by the River *Patowmack* on the Weſtern Shore, and the River *Pocomoac* on the Eaſtern Shore, the Length from North to South being about an hundred and forty Miles, and the Breadth from Eaſt to Weſt, if we extend it no farther than the Country already planted, will not be ſo much, though its future Limits poſſibly may extend much farther. As to the Face of the Country, this, as well as *Virginia*, may be divided into, 1ſt, the *Lowlands* next the Sea; 2dly, the hilly Country towards the Heads of the Rivers; and 3dly, the *Apalachean Mountains*, which are exceeding high, and run paralell to the *Atlantic Ocean*, viz. from the North-eaſt to the South-weſt. The *Lowlands* heretofore conſiſted of Swamps or Woods, being one continued Foreſt almoſt, till the *Engliſh* cleared Part of it, either to make room for their Plantations, or for building of Ships and Houſes, and the making Tobacco Caſks and Pipe-ſtaves for Exportation, which has made ſuch Havock among their Woods, that ſome of them begin to apprehend the Want of Timber, eſpecially near their Forts and Rivers; for as to that which lies remote from the Water it is of little uſe to them, the Price of the Carriage exceeding the Value of the Wood. Towards the Heads of the Rivers there is a Mixture of Hills and Vallies, as in *Virginia*, well planted, with Variety of Timber and Fruit Trees; and where theſe are wanting there are large Meadows or Savanahs, where the Graſs grows to a moſt ſurprizing Height.

This Country, like *Virginia*, is watered by innumerable Springs and a great many fine Rivers, of which the chief are, 1ſt, *Potowmack*, which, riſing in the Mountains North-weſt, runs to the South-eaſt, and ſeparates *Maryland* from *Virginia* on the South-weſt, falling into the Middle of the Bay of *Cheſepeak*. 2dly, The River *Pocomoac*, which riſing near the Ocean, runs alſo directly South, and then turning to the Weſt, falls alſo into the Bay of *Cheſepeak*, near *Watkins*'s Point. A Line drawn from the Mouth of the River directly Eaſt, to the *Atlantic Ocean*, is the true Boundary between *Maryland* and *Virginia* on the Eaſtern Shore. 3dly, The River *Patuxent*, which riſing in *Anne Arundel* County, runs to the South-eaſt, and falls into the Bay of *Cheſepeak*, about twenty Miles to the Northward of the Mouth of *Potowmack River*. 4thly, *Severn River*, which riſes on the North weſt Part of *Maryland*, running South-eaſt, falls into the upper Part of the ſaid Bay. 5thly, *Cheptonk*, which riſes on the Eaſtern Shore, runs to the South-weſt, and falls into the ſame Bay. 6thly, *Saſſafras River*, which riſes in the North-eaſt of *Maryland*, and running almoſt due Weſt, falls into the North End of the ſaid Bay. 7thly, *Wicomo River*, which riſes on the Eaſtern Shore, runs to the South-weſt, and falls into the Bay almoſt againſt the Mouth of *Potowmack River*. The 8th and laſt River I ſhall mention is *St. George*, on the Weſt-ſide of the Bay; which, running from North to South, falls into the Mouth of the River *Potowmack*. Here the *Engliſh* firſt ſettled, and built the Town of *St. Mary's*. There are a great many more Rivers capable of receiving large Ships, which, with the numerous Bays and Creeks, that indent the Land on every Side, give the Seamen an Opportunity of bringing their Veſſels up to the very Planters Doors, to receive their Freight, as in *Virginia*.

The Air of this Country is exceſſive hot ſome part of the Summer, and very cold in Winter when the North-weſt Wind blows; but the Natives tell us, that they are happily ſituated; that their Heats are very ſeldom troubleſome, and then only by Accident, in a perfect Calm; but that this does not happen above two or three Days in a Year, and then laſts but a few Hours at a Time, and even this Inconvenience is made very tolerable by their cool Shades, their open and airy Rooms, Arbours and Grottos; and in Spring and Fall the Weather is as pleaſant as can be wiſhed; that their Winters are not of more than three or four Months Duration, and in theſe they ſeldom have one Month's bad Weather, all the reſt they are happy in a clear Air and a bright Sun, and are ſcarce ever troubled with Fogs; it is acknowledged they have hard Froſts ſometimes, but they laſt no longer than while the Wind blows from the North, and North-weſt Points, which is ſeldom more than three or four Days.

At other times they have no Froſt at all; and their Froſts are attended with bright and ſerene Weather; and in the Spring, Summer, and Winter, their Winds are only cool pleaſant Breezes. Their Rains, except in the Depth of Winter, are very pleaſant and refreſhing; in Summer they laſt but a few Hours, and then bright Weather ſucceeds: However, it is acknowledged, that the Showers which fall in Summer are very heavy for the Time they laſt; and the Part of the Country which lies on the Bays of the Sea, and the Mouths of the Rivers, which is much the beſt peopled, is certainly hot and moiſt; indeed, higher up the Country, whither the Plantations are now extended, the Air is much more healthful, eſpecially ſince their Lands are cleared of Wood. They have here, however, dreadful Thunder in the Heat of Summer; but as it cools and refreſhes the Air, they rather wiſh for it than fear it, though it ſometimes does much Miſchief, but leſs than formerly.

Since the *Indians* transferred, or yielded, this Province to the *Engliſh*, it has been divided into ten Counties, ſix on the Weſt-ſide of the Bay, and four on the Eaſt-ſide of it; thoſe on the Weſt-ſide, taking them from South to North, are, 1. *St. Mary*'s County. 2. *Charles* County. 3. *Prince George* County. 4. *Calvert* County. 5. *Anne Arundel* County. And 6. *Baltimore* County. The Counties on the Eaſt-ſide of this Bay, lying alſo from the South, are, 1. *Somerſet* County. 2. *Dorcheſter* County. 3. *Talbot* County. 4. *Cecil* County. As for the County of *Kent*, that, or the greateſt Part of it, is now ſaid to be in *Penſylvania*. *St. Mary*, the Capital of the County of the ſame Name, and, for ſome Time, of the whole Province, is ſituated on the Eaſt-ſide of the River *St. George*, in 38 Degrees and ſome Minutes North Latitude. This, as has been intimated, was the firſt Town in *Maryland* built by the *Engliſh*, who raiſed a Fort for its Defence; but in its moſt flouriſhing State never had more than thirty or forty Houſes in it, and ſince the Seat of the Government has been removed to *Annapolis*, ſeems to be upon the Decline; for the ſame Humour prevails here as in *Virginia*, of Gentlemens living on their reſpective Plantations, and not in Towns.

In this County alſo are the Pariſhes of *Hervington*, *St. Clement*'s, and *St. John*'s; and here is a noble Seat of the Lord *Baltimore* the Proprietor, called *Mettapenny*, ſituate on the Mouth of the River *Patuxent*. In *Prince Charles* County, which lies North of *St. Mary's*, are the Pariſhes of *Briſtol*, and *Piſcataway*; and in that of *Prince George*, the Pariſh of *Maſterkout*. In *Calvert* County, which is divided from *Charles* County by the River *Patuxent*, are the Pariſhes of *Abington*, *Warrington*, and *Calverton*. In the County of *Anne Arundel*, which lies North of *Charles* County, the chief Town is *Annapolis*, now the Capital of the Province, and formerly called *Severn*, being ſituate on the River of that Name, in 39 Degrees and ſome Minutes North Latitude. Here the Courts of Juſtice, and the General Aſſemblies were ordered to be held, in the Year 1699; and this has ever ſince been the Reſidence of the Governor; notwithſtanding which, there are not yet an hundred Houſes built in the Town.

In *Baltimore* County, which lies between *Anne Arundel* County and the Province of *Penſylvania*, is the Pariſh of *Baltimore*, ſituate on the North-weſt Part of the Bay of *Cheſepeak*. In *Somerſet* County, which is the moſt ſoutherly County on the Eaſt-ſide of the Bay, are the Town and Pariſh of *Somerſet*. In *Dorcheſter* County, which lies North of *Somerſet*, are the Town and Pariſh of *Dorcheſter*, beſides a great many *Indian* Towns. In *Talbot* County, which lies North of *Dorcheſter*, are the Pariſhes of *Oxford*, *St. Michael's*, *Bolingbrooke*, and *Cecil*, the moſt northerly County on the Eaſt-ſide of the Bay, is bounded both on the North and Eaſt by the Province of *Penſylvania*.

Throughout the whole Colony of *Maryland*, as in that of *Virginia*, the *Engliſh* live at large at their ſeveral Plantations, which hinders the Increaſe of Towns; indeed every Plantation is a little Town itſelf and can very well ſubſiſt with Proviſions and Neceſſaries; every conſiderable Planter's Warehouſe being like a Shop, where he ſupplies not only himſelf, with what he wants, but the inferior Planters, Servants, and Labourers; and has Commodities to barter for Tobacco, and other Goods, there being little Money in this Province, and little Occaſion for any, as long as Tobacco anſwers all the Uſes of Silver and Gold in Trade. There are few Merchants, or Shopkeepers, who may be properly ſo called, and live wholly by their Trade: The Tobacco of this Province, called *Oroonoko*, is ſtronger than that of *Virginia*; and no *Engliſhman*, who has not a very coarſe Reliſh, will bear it; yet it is as profitable to the Planter, and to the Trade of the Nation in general, being in Demand in the Eaſtern and Northern Parts of *Europe*, where it is preferred before the ſweet-ſcented Tobacco of *James* and *York* Rivers in *Virginia*. The Planters in *Maryland*, finding ſo good Vent for their Commodity in foreign Markets, have cultivated it ſo much, that the Province is thought to produce as much Tobacco as *Virginia*. The Soil is here as fruitful as in any Country, being a large Plain; and the Hills in it ſo eaſy of Aſcent, and of ſuch a moderate Height, that they ſeem rather an artificial Ornament to it, than one of the Accidents of Nature.

The Abundance of Rivers and Brooks is no little Help to the Fertility of the Soil, and there is no Grain, Plant, or Tree, which grows in *Virginia*, but thrives as well here; the Product, the Animals, and every Thing are the ſame here as there, only the black and yellow Bird, called the *Baltimore Bird*, goes by another Name in *Virginia*; it had that given it, becauſe the Colours of the Field of the Lord *Baltimore*'s Coat of Arms are *Or* and *Sable*. It is thought that the Number of Souls in *Maryland*, may be about thirty thouſand, or rather more. There are ſeveral hundred Sail of Ships employed yearly in the Commerce between *Great-Britain* and this Country, and the Benefit which reſults to this Nation from thence, is very large, as may be eaſily computed from the Principles laid down in the foregoing Account of the Colony of *Virginia*; which may likewiſe ſerve with reſpect to all the other Colonies that do not interfere with their Mother-Country in their Manufactures.

20. When *Oliver Cromwell*, after ſubverting entirely the Conſtitution of his Country, took upon him the Title of Protector, he reſolved to obliterate the Memory of what was paſt, by undertaking ſomewhat that might be of great and laſting Advantage to his Country. It was with this View, and to rid himſelf of many Officers whom he ſuſpected, that he framed a Project of attacking the *Spaniards* in the *Weſt Indies*, and of taking from them the noble Iſland of *Hiſpaniola* or *St. Domingo*; in the adjuſting of which Deſign, he depended chiefly on the Information he received from one Father *Gage*, a Prieſt, who had been many Years in the *Spaniſh America*, and who died in this Voyage; for which, tho' great Preparations were made, yet they went on very ſlowly, and it was certainly, though the beſt conceived, yet the worſt executed of all his Enterprizes.

The Squadron commanded by General *Penn*, being ordered to rendezvous at *Portſmouth*, where the Land Force were to embark, Complaints were made to *Venables* of Diſorders and Diſcontents among the People, and more particularly about the Badneſs of the Proviſions; which, by his Means, being made known to General *Deſborrow*, he, by very harſh Expreſſions, ſignified his Diſcontent thereat; and particularly charged *Venables* with a Deſign of fruſtrating the intended Expedition, by being the Author of Reports which were falſe; while he, on the other hand, endeavoured to juſtify himſelf, and to ſhew that he intended no otherwiſe than for the public Good; and there was a ſhrewd Suſpicion that *Deſborrow*'s Diſſatisfaction herein aroſe, from his being concerned with thoſe who had the Management of victualing the Navy. After *Venables* had attended near four Months without any poſitive Aſſurance whether the Government was determined to go on with the Deſign or not, although it was publickly diſcourſed of, and the *Spaniards* had thereby not only the Knowledge thereof, but Opportunities of providing for their Defence; he was ſome time after ſent to, and directed to hold himſelf in a Readineſs to proceed; and though he then requeſted that the Draughts which were to be made out of the Regiments, might be Men, in all Reſpects, fitting for the intended Service, yet the Colonels were permitted to pick and cull them as they pleaſed, inſomuch that moſt of them were raw and altogether undiſciplined, and amongſt them many *Iriſh* Papiſts; nor had not half of them Arms in any Degree ſerviceable: And ſo far were the Council from permitting him to ſtay till better could be furniſhed in their Room, that they ſent him poſitive Orders to leave the Town next Day, upon pain of Impriſonment.

Before he came to *Portſmouth* many of the Troops were embarked, and the reſt ſhipping off with the utmoſt Haſte, ſo that he had no Opportunity of viewing, much leſs of exerciſing, them on Shore; and thereby informing himſelf of their Condition, with reſpect to their Abilities or otherwiſe; and although he was promiſed that the Storeſhip, with Arms and other Neceſſaries, ſhould join him at *Spithead*, he was at laſt told that no Delay muſt be made in ſtaying for her, but that he might expect her coming to him at *Barbadoes*. He was likewiſe aſſured that he ſhould carry out with him, at leaſt, ten Months Proviſions for ten thouſand Men, but the moſt Part thereof was ſent back to *London*, to be ſhipped off there, under pretence that there was not ſufficient Room for the ſame in the Ships at *Portſmouth*, although the Officers in the Fleet found Paſſage in them for no inconſiderable Quantities of Goods, with which they deſigned to traffic when they arrived at the aforeſaid Iſland.

The Forces being embarked, and the Wind preſenting fair, the Squadron ſailed, and arrived at *Barbadoes* on the 29th Day of *January*, 1654; ſoon after which, General *Venables* wrote to the Protector, the Lord Preſident of the Council *Laurence*, the Lord *Lambeth*, and ſeveral others, letting them know in what a miſerable Condition the Army was, and how deſtitute they were, not only of Proviſions, but Arms and other Neceſſaries, proper for carrying on the intended Deſign; inſomuch that they were conſtrained to make the hardeſt Shifts to ſupply them with the ſmall Quantities, either of one or the other, that could be had in theſe Parts. The firſt thing that was done after the Fleet's Arrival at *Barbadoes*, was the ſeizing ſuch *Dutch* Ships and Veſſels as were found there, and General *Penn* appointed a Nephew of his to take an Account of their Cargoes, and all things belonging to them, without admitting any Cheque on him as General *Venables* deſired and inſiſted on, that ſo no Embezzlements might be made.

The 18th of *March*, *Venables* thought it neceſſary to hold a Council of War of the Land Officers, to conſider of the State of the Army; and it was reſolved to make theſe Propoſitions to *Penn*, among ſeveral others, *viz.* 1ſt, That as the Officers of the Army had reſolved not to deſert the Fleet, he with his Officers would reciprocally reſolve not to leave the Army, at leaſt not till ſuch time as their expected Supplies arrived from *England*. 2dly, That it ſhould be propoſed to the Commiſſioners, that a fit Quantity of Shipping might be taken up for tranſporting the Forces. 3dly, That they might not proceed on Service with leſs than twenty Tons of Ball, and that they might likewiſe be furniſhed from the Fleet with two hundred Fire-arms, ſix hundred Pikes, beſides Piſtols, Carbines, and two hundred Half-Pikes. To this *Venables* received no ſatisfactory Anſwer from *Penn*, and the Stores not arriving in *England*, he again deſired to know from him what Arms, Shot, Match, and other Neceſſaries he could furniſh from the Fleet; General *Deſborrow* having aſſured him, when in *England*, that the Commiſſioners had Power to diſpoſe of what might be on board the Ships, to the neceſſary Uſe of the Army; but to this *Penn* returned him an Anſwer, that fifteen ſhot a Man, and a few Tons of Match, was all he could ſpare; beſides which, he at length prevailed with him to add thereunto a few Half and Quarter Pikes, which gave Occaſion to one of the Commiſſioners to let fall ſome Words, as if he doubted they were betrayed.

Beſides all theſe Diſappointments, and the Badneſs of the Proviſions ſent from *England*, yet even of them the Soldiers were put to ſhort Allowance, while the Seamen were at whole, which occaſioned no little Diſcontent, and rendered them very ſickly and weak; and as the Commiſſioners were empowered and required to diſpoſe of all Prizes and Booty taken towards defraying the Charge of the Expedition, and only a Fortnight's Pay was offered to the Officers and Soldiers in lieu of whatever Booty ſhould be taken at *St. Domingo* (whither they were firſt deſigned from *Barbadoes*) it very much increaſed the Diſſatisfaction of the Army; for moſt of the Officers, when they ſet forwards on the Expedition, were in hopes of bettering themſelves very conſiderably. At length General *Venables* prevailed with the Officers and Men to accept of ſix Weeks Pay inſtead of their Plunder; and thereupon himſelf and *Penn* iſſued out Orders, reſtraining all Perſons from pillaging without Orders, or from concealing the ſame on pain of Death, and Forfeiture of their Pay. But although the Officers were willing to ſubmit to this, yet the Commiſſioners refuſed to ſign it, inſomuch that the Soldiers publickly declared they would return to *England*, and never more ſtrike Stroke where there were Commiſſioners who ſhould have Power to controul the Army.

The Fleet being now in a Readineſs to ſail, General *Venables*, with ſome of the Commiſſioners, and the Officers of the Army, propoſed that they might proceed to the Harbour of *St. Domingo* (but for what Reaſon it doth not appear, unleſs it was for want of experienced Pilots). That was refuſed, and a Reſolution taken to land the Troops at the River *Hind*; that ſo they might endeavour to force the Fort and Trench. It was alſo reſolved among the Land Officers, 1ſt, That the Regiments ſhould caſt Lots which of them ſhould go on Shore firſt. 2dly, That two or three Regiments ſhould be landed at once. 3dly, That the Seconds to each Regiment ſhould be appointed. 4thly, That the Ships wherein the Regiments were, ſhould keep near each other, for their more regular landing. And it was farther determined, that if the Surges of the Sea ran high, and that the Enemy were prepared to defend the Fort and Trench, the Army ſhould be landed behind the ſecond Point to Leeward, and that, when on Shore, one Regiment ſhould be ordered to march Eaſtward of the City, provided General *Penn* would engage to furniſh the Army with all Neceſſaries.

Lots having been caſt as aforeſaid, it fell to Colonel *Buller*'s Regiment to land firſt, and there was one *Cox* who had lived in thoſe Parts many Years, was to have been their Guide, but he had been ſent of ſome Errand by *Penn*, ſo that he was at this time abſent; and Vice-Admiral *Goodſon* declaring that he neither had Orders to go into *Hind River*, nor Pilots to conduct the Ship thereinto; the Army were conſtrained to land at the Weſt Point (which *Venables* proteſted againſt) and by that means were expoſed to a tedious March of forty Miles, through a thick woody Country, without any Guide, inſomuch that both Horſe and Men, by the Fatigue and Extremity of Heat, fell down with Thirſt, and were miſerably

rably afflicted with the Flux, by their eating Oranges and other green Fruit, having no Water to moiſten their Mouths with. After four Days March the Army came to the Place where they might firſt have been put on Shore, but by that time the Enemy had ſummoned in the whole Country to their Aſſiſtance; and even now many of the Soldiers had no more than one Day's Proviſions of the three that had been promiſed them from the Ships.

Colonel *Buller* being ſent with his Regiment to a particular Station near *Hind River*, and ordered not to ſtir from thence until the reſt of the Army joined him, he was ſo far from complying with thoſe Commands from the General, that he marched away under the Guidance of *Cox*, who was now arrived from the Fleet; inſomuch that for want of the ſaid Guide, the General miſtaking the Way, marched ten or twelve Miles about; and *Buller* having ſuffered his Men to ſtraggle, they fell into, and ſuffered much by, the Ambuſcades laid by the Enemy. The Hardſhips the Forces had undergone for want of Proviſions, and their being denied what Plunder they might happen to take at *St. Domingo*, ſo exaſperated them, that the Seamen who had been firſt ſent aſhore, and ſoon after thoſe on the Land, were in a general Mutiny: However, in this Condition they forded the River *Hind*, with a Reſolution to march to the Harbour, that ſo they might be furniſhed with Proviſion and Ammunition from the Ships, but they were ſtrangers to the Way; neither had they any Water to drink. At length Colonel *Buller*, and *Cox* the Guide, joining them, promiſed to conduct them to a Place where they might be ſupplied with Water. But ſome of the ſaid Colonel's Men having rambled about for Pillage, encouraged the Enemy to lay Ambuſcades for them in their March, who, falling upon the Forlorn, routed them, and killed ſeveral Officers; but they were ſoon after beaten back with Loſs, and purſued within Cannon-ſhot of the Town; yet when the Action was over, many Men, as well as Horſes, periſhed with Thirſt.

A Council of War being called to conſider of the Condition of the Army, it was found that many of the Men had eat nothing for four Days together, unleſs it were ſome Fruits they gathered in the Woods; and that they were without Water, the *Spaniards* having ſtopped up all their Wells within ſeveral Miles of the Town. Neither knew they the Country, or how to get to their Ships, for *Cox* the Guide was ſlain in the laſt Skirmiſh; however, after mature Conſideration, it was reſolved to march to the Harbour in the beſt Manner they could, and at length arriving there, they ſtaid three or four Days to furniſh themſelves with Proviſions and other Neceſſaries, and then advanced with a Mortar Piece, in order to reduce the Fort; but the Enemy having laid an Ambuſcade, they charged the Van, which was to have been led by Adjutant General *Jackſon*, very vigorouſly, and were anſwered in like Manner; whereas *Jackſon*'s Party running away, and the Paſſage through the Woods being very narrow, they fell upon the General's own Regiment, who, to no purpoſe, endeavoured to ſtop them with their Pikes; for they firſt diſordered that Regiment and ſoon after Major General *Haynes*'s: Mean while the Enemy followed very eagerly, and giving no Quarter, the ſaid Major General, and the beſt of his Officers, who preferred Death before Flight, fell in the Action.

At length the General's own Regiment making head againſt them, as alſo that of the Seamen, commanded by Vice Admiral *Goodſon*, they, with their Swords, forced the Runaways into the Woods, rather chuſing to kill them than they ſhould diſorder the reſt; which the Enemy perceiving, they retreated, and our Men kept their Ground, though the Shot from the Fort killed many of them. The Troops, nevertheleſs, were ſo very weak and diſheartened, that not many of them could be brought to play the Mortar againſt the Fort; and though the General was reduced to a very low Condition by the Flux, he cauſed himſelf to be led from Place to Place to encourage them; but fainting at laſt, was forced to leave the Care to Major General *Forteſcue*, who ſoon found that he could prevail no more than the General himſelf. It was reſolved ſoon after, at a Council of War, that ſince the Enemy had guarded every Paſs, and that the Army were under very great Neceſſities for Water, they ſhould march to a Place where they had been informed a Supply thereof, and of other Neceſſaries, had been put on Shore for them from the Ships. But in that March the Soldiers accompanied their Officers no farther than till they found them in Danger, and then left them, inſomuch that the Commiſſioners owned, in a Letter they wrote to the Governor at *Barbadoes*, that had not the Enemy been as fearful as our own Men, they might, in a few Days, have deſtroyed the whole Army; and withal they let him know, that thoſe who had occaſioned the greateſt Diſorder, were thoſe of *Barbadoes* and *St. Chriſtophers*, inſomuch that they, the ſaid Commiſſioners, who were *Penn*, *Winſlow*, and *Buller*, had reſolved to leave the Place, and try what could be done againſt the Iſland of *Jamaica*.

21. The Army was accordingly in little Time embarked, but the Sick and Wounded were kept on the bare Decks for forty eight Hours, without Meat, Drink, or dreſſing, inſomuch that Worms bred in their Sores; and even while they were on Shore the Proviſions ſent to them were not watered but candied with Salt, notwithſtanding they had not Water ſufficient to quench their Thirſt. Nay, after this Misfortune on Shore, *Venables* averred that *Penn* gave Rear Admiral *Blagge* Orders not to furniſh them with any more Proviſions of what kind ſoever, ſo that they eat up all the Horſes, Dogs, and Aſſes, in the Camp, and ſome of them ſuch Things as were in themſelves poiſonous, of which about forty died; and before the Forces were embarked, Adjutant General *Jackſon* was tried by a Court Martial, and not only ſentenced to be caſhiered, and his Sword broken over his Head, but to do the Duty of a Swabber, in keeping clean the Hoſpital Ships; a Puniſhment ſuitable to his notorious Cowardice. The Fleets and Troops arriving at *Jamaica*, Orders were iſſued by General *Venables*, that where it ſhould be found any Man attempted to run away, the next Man to him ſhould put him to Death, or that if he failed ſo to do, he ſhould be liable to be tryed for his Life; and now all the Troops being ready for Service, they advanced towards the Fort, which they made themſelves Maſters of with little Loſs; and next Morning when the Sun roſe, they began to march towards the Savanah, which was near the Town, when ſome *Spaniards* came towards them, and deſired to treat; but the General refuſed ſo to do, unleſs they would ſend them a conſtant Supply of Proviſions, then much wanted; which they punctually did, according to the Promiſe they had made. The Articles agreed on at laſt were theſe, *viz.* 1ſt, That all Forts, Arms, Ammunitions, and Neceſſaries for War, and all kinds of Shipping in any Harbour in the Iſland, with their Furniture, *&c.* as alſo all good Wares, Merchandize, *&c.* ſhould be delivered up to General *Venables*, or whom he ſhould appoint, for the Uſe of the Protector, and the Commonwealth of *England*. 2dly, That all and every of the Inhabitants of the Iſland (except ſome that were particularly named) ſhould have their Lives granted, and as thoſe who inclined to ſtay had leave ſo to do, ſo was it agreed to tranſport the others to *New Spain*, or ſome other of the Dominions belonging to the King of *Spain* in *America*, together with their Apparel, Books, and Papers, they providing themſelves with Victuals and Neceſſaries. 3dly, That all Commiſſion Officers, and none others, ſhould be permitted to wear their Rapiers and Poniards. 4thly, All Artificers, and meaner Sort of People, ſhould be permitted to remain on the Iſland, and to enjoy their Goods, provided they conformed themſelves to the Laws which ſhould be eſtabliſhed.

By theſe Means the noble Iſland of *Jamaica* was ſubdued, and though the *Spaniards* continued to lurk in ſome Parts of the Iſland for ſeveral Years afterwards, and once made a bold Attempt to recover the Place; yet Colonel *Doyly* forced them to withdraw, and reduced the whole Iſland ſo effectually, that at the Reſtoration the *Spaniards* yielded it to the Crown of *Great-Britain*, to which it has belonged ever ſince; and is, beyond Queſtion, on, the nobleſt Poſſeſſion we have in theſe Parts. The Hiſtory of this Country, ſince it came into our Poſſeſſion is ſo well known, and would alſo take up ſo much room, that we cannot enter into it here, nor indeed is it neceſſary, becauſe our chief Buſineſs is to ſhew the Value and Importance of our Colonies, with reſpect to their Mother-Country, which is always beſt done by deſcribing the Plantation, explaining the Nature of its Product, and giving as good an Account as may be of the Nature of its Trade and the Number of its Inhabitants; and as this appears to be the moſt material Part, to an *Engliſh* Reader, where we cannot inſert all that relates to a Colony, we prefer this Part to any other.

22. We have a very large and accurate Account of this noble Country written by a learned, candid and indefatigable Perſon, who reſided long there, I mean Sir *Hans Sloane*, from whom others have taken their Materials, and ſo muſt I; as not knowing where to find any ſo good, or that may be ſo well depended upon; which Acknowledgment, as it is due to his Merit, I think it but Juſtice to make, as I hope it will add ſome Degree of Credit both to his Work and mine.

It is from him, therefore, that we learn moſt of the Particulars, which follow, and are every way ſufficient for our Purpoſe. *Jamaica* is ſituated on the *Atlantic Ocean*, between 17 and 18 Degrees North Latitude, and between 76 and 79 Degrees Weſtern Longitude, about twenty Leagues Eaſt of *Hiſpaniola* and as many South of *Cuba*, and upwards of an hundred and fifty Leagues to the Northward of *Porto Bello* and *Carthagena* on the Coaſt of *Terra Firma*. This Iſland ſtretches from Eaſt to Weſt one hundred and forty Miles in Length, and about ſixty in Breadth in the Middle; growing leſs towards each End; the Form is pretty near oval.

The whole Iſland has one continued Ridge of Hills running from Eaſt to Weſt through the Middle of it, which are generally called the *Blue Mountains*; the Tops of ſome are higher than others; one of the higheſt is called *Mont Diabolo*: Other Hills there are on each Side of this Ridge of Mountains, which, however, are much lower. The outward Face of the Earth ſeems to be different here from what it is in *Europe*, the Valleys being very level, with little or no riſing Ground or ſmall Hills, without Rocks or Stones; the mountainous Part is very ſteep, and furrowed by very deep Channels on the North and South Side of the higheſt Hills; theſe Channels are made here by frequent and very violent Rains, which every Day almoſt fall on the Mountains, and firſt wearing a ſmall Trough or Courſe for their Paſſage, waſh away afterwards whatever comes in the way, and make their Channels extraordinary ſteep. The greateſt Part of the high Land of this Iſland is either Stone or Clay, which reſiſts the Rains, and ſo is not carried down violently with them into the Plains, as the Mould proper for Tillage and friable Earths are: Hence it is, that in theſe mountainous Places one ſhall have very little or none of ſuch Earths, but either a very ſtrong tough Clay or a Honey-Comb, or other Rock, upon which no Earth appears. All the high Land is covered with Woods, ſome of the Trees very good Timber, tall and ſtrait; and one would wonder how ſuch Trees ſhould grow in ſuch a barren Soil, ſo thick together among the Rocks; but the Trees ſend down their fibrous Roots into the Crannies of the Rocks, where here and there they meet with little Receptacles of Rain-Water, which nouriſh their Roots.

It is a very ſtrange Thing to ſee in how ſhort a Time a Plantation formerly cleared of Trees and Shrubs will commonly grow foul, which ariſes from two Cauſes; one, the not ſtubbing the Roots, whence ariſes young Sprouts, and the other the Fertility of the Soil. The Settlements and Plantations not only of the *Indians* but the *Spaniards* being quite overgrown with tall Trees, ſo that there would be no Footſteps left were it not for old Palliſadoes, Building, Orange Walks, &c. which evidently ſhew Plantations have been there. There are the ſame Layers of Earth, one over another, in the fruitful Part of the Iſland, as are to be met with in *Europe*; and the ſame Difference of Soil appears as in *England*, in digging of Wells, and other Occaſions of opening the Ground. Moſt of the Savanahs, or Plains fit for Paſture, and cleared of Wood, are like our Meadow Land, and lie near the South Side of the Iſland, where one may ride a great many Miles without meeting the leaſt Aſcent; ſome of theſe Plains are within Land, incircled with Hills. Theſe Savanahs after Rain are very green and pleaſant, but after long Droughts are very much withered, and look yellow and parched.

The chief Ports in the Iſland are, 1. *Port Royal*, a fine capacious Harbour. 2. *Old Harbour*, which lies ſeven or eight Miles South-weſt of *St. Jago*. 3. *Port Morant*, at the Eaſt End of the Iſland; and, 4. *Point Negril*, at the Weſt End of this Iſland; beſides which, are ſeveral more on the South and North Sides of the Iſland; but it is dangerous approaching the Coaſt, without a Pilot, on account of the Coral Rocks, which almoſt ſurround it. There are near an hundred Rivers in *Jamaica*, but none of them navigable; for riſing in the Mountains in the Middle of the Iſland, they precipitate themſelves down the Rocks to the North or South, falling into the Sea before they have run many Miles, and carrying down with them frequently great Pieces of Rock and Timber. Yet freſh Water is very ſcarce in dry Years in the Savanahs diſtant from Rivers, ſo that many of their Cattle die with driving to Water. Near the Sea the Well-water, as at *Port Royal*, is brackiſh; this brackiſh Water, which is very common in Wells on Sea Shores is not wholſome, but the Cauſe of Fluxes and other Diſeaſes in Sailors by their drinking it.

Their River Water carries with it much Clay or Earth, and has an odd Taſte, which in *St. Jago* gives Occaſion to the *Spaniards* to call it *Rio Cobre*, and the *Engliſh* to ſay it is not wholſome, and taſtes of Copper; whereas, on the Trial of the Sand, there is no Metal found therein; this River Water, however, if ſuffered to ſettle ſome Days in Earthen Jars is good; Spring-Water, at a Diſtance from the Sea, is preferred to River or Pond-Water. There are ſome Springs as well as Rivers, which putrify their Channels, and ſtop their Courſe by a Cement, uniting the Gravel and Sand in their Bottoms. There is a Hot-Bath, or Spring, near *Port Morant*, in the Eaſt Part of the Iſland, ſituate in a Wood, which hath been bathed in, and drunk of late Years for the Belly-ach, the common Diſeaſe of the Country, with great Succeſs. A great many Salt Springs ariſe in a level Ground under the Soils in *Cabbage-Tree Bottom*, about a Mile or two diſtant from the Sea, which united, make what is called the Salt River. Salt is made here in Ponds, into which the Sea or Salt Water comes, and by the Heat of the Sun the Moiſture being exhaled, leave the Salt, which is in great Plenty; at the Salt Ponds about *Old Harbour*, the Salt is not perfectly white, or in ſmall Grains, but in large Lumps, and has an Eye of Red in it, as ſome *Sal Gemmæ*, from *Spain*, or what comes from the Iſland of *Salt Tortuga* near the Main of *America*, which is here reckoned the ſtronger and better. *Salt Lagunas*, or great Ponds, there are many here, one whereof, *Riottoa Pond*, receives a great deal of Water by a River, which yet has no viſible Rivulet or Diſcharge runs from it; ſome Rivers in the Mountains riſe above and go under Ground again in a great many Places. *Rio d'Oro* particularly falls and riſes two or three times, and ſo it is in many others. At *Abraham*'s Plantation on the North Side is a River, which has ſtopt its own Courſe by letting a Settlement fall, and putrifying its own Bottom. It is very common to have Cataracts or Caſcades in Rivers among the Mountains fifty or ſixty Feet high.

This Iſland being ſeven Degrees within the Tropic, has the Trade-Wind continually there, which is on the South ſide of the Iſland, called the Sea-breeze. It comes about eight o'Clock in the Morning, and increaſes till twelve in the Day; and then, as the Sun grows lower, it decreaſes till there is none at four in the Evening. About eight in the Evening begins the Land-breeze, blowing four Leagues into the Sea, and continues increaſing till twelve at Night, and decreaſes again till four. The Sea-breeze is now and then more violent than at other times, as at new or full Moon, and encroaches very much on the Land Winds; and the *Norths* when they reign, *viz.* in the Months of *December*, *January*, and *February*, blow over the Ridge of Mountains with Violence, and hinder the Sea-breeze, which blows ſtronger and longer near the Sea, as at *Port Royal*, or

Paſſage-Fort, than within Land, as at *St. Jago de la Vega*, or *Spaniſh-Town*; as on the contrary the Land-Wind blows harder at the Town than at *Paſſage-Fort* or *Port-Royal*. The Land-Wind blowing at Night, and the Sea-Breeze in the Day-time, no Shipping can come into Port except in the Day, nor go out, but at break of Day, or very ſoon after.

The Norths, as they call them, come in when the Sun is near the Tropic of *Capricorn*, and ſo fartheſt off Southerly, and are very cold and unhealthy Winds, more violent in the Night, becauſe it is then they have the additional Force of the Land-Wind. They check the Growth of Canes, and all Vegetables on the North-ſide, but are hindered by the Ridge of Mountains from ſhewing much of their Fury on the South, where it ſeldom rains with this Wind. The South Winds bring the moſt laſting Rains. The Rains from the South are laſting on the South-ſide of this Iſland. As at Sea with the Trade-Winds one meets with Tornadoes, ſo at Land here ſometimes will be a violent Weſt, directly contrary to the Trade, Wind; but this happens ſeldom, and is ſoon over. The Sea-Breeze, when it blows hard, is thought to hinder the Rain from coming to the Plains, it for the moſt part then raining on the Hills. On this account it is that there are in the Mountains many Springs and Rivers, and few or none in the Plains. And this is likewiſe the Cauſe why there is never any Want of Water in the Rivers coming from them through the Plains, and likewiſe that, ſometimes, Rivers ſuffer very great Increaſe and Inundations in the Plains, when no Rains have fallen in the Places where ſuch Inundations appear.

Earthquakes, as they are very frequent in *Hiſpaniola*, where they have formerly thrown down the Town of *St. Domingo*; ſo they are too common alſo here: The Inhabitants expect one every Year, and ſome of them think they follow their great Rains: One happened on *Sunday* the 19th of *February*, 1688: As if People had raſed the Foundation of the Houſes, it was felt all over the Iſland about the ſame time, ſome Houſes being wrecked, and very near ruined, and very few eſcaped ſome Injury; the People were in a very great Conſternation, and the Ships in *Port Royal* Harbour felt it: It was obſerved, that the Ground roſe like the ſea, in Waves, as the Earthquake paſſed along. But this was nothing to the Earthquake which happened at *Port Royal* in the Year 1692, by which that Town was almoſt ſwallowed up. Thunder is heard almoſt every Day in the Mountains, with the Rains there, ſo that any Perſons in the Plains may here it, as well as ſee the Rain; it does not ſo ordinarily accompany thoſe Rains that come from the Sea, although when it does it is very violent. Lightning for the moſt part precedes Thunder, in this Iſland, as elſewhere; and, if it be fair Weather, eſpecially in the hotteſt Seaſons, it lightens almoſt all the Night, firſt in one Part of the Sky, or Horizon, out of ſome Clouds, and then out of others oppoſite to them, as it were anſwering one another. Froſt or Snow are never ſeen in this hot Climate; but ſometimes Hail, and that very large; it comes with very great Norths, which reach with great Violence to the South-ſide, and throw down every thing before them.

The Dews here are ſo great within Land, that the Water drops from the Leaves of the Trees in a Morning, as if it had rained; a Man riding in the Night, will find his Cloaths, Hair, *&c.* very wet in a ſmall time; but there are ſeldom any Fogs in the Plains or ſandy Places near the Sea. The Rains there are violent, and the Drops very large; according to the different Poſitions of Places, ſo the Rains are more or leſs violent, and come at different times, but generally ſpeaking the great rainy Seaſons are in *May* and *October*; in which Months, at new or full Moon they begin, and continue Day and Night for a whole Fortnight, ſo that the Earth in all level Places is laid under Water for ſome Inches, and it becomes looſe for ſome Inches deep, and conſequently the Roads are almoſt impaſſable. "In the Town of *St. Jago de la Vega*, "in thoſe rainy Seaſons, I was forced to ride on Horſe-"back (ſays Dr. *Sloane*) although but from Door to "Door, to viſit the Sick." And theſe Seaſons, as they are called, from being fit to plant in, are generally ſo over the whole Iſland, though they are much altered in their Time and Violence of late Years, which ariſes from the clearing much of the Country of Wood. In the Month of *January* is likewiſe expected a Seaſon, or Rain; but this is not ſo conſtant and violent as the other two, and probably may come from the violent Norths, at that time paſſing over the Mountains, with part of their Rains with them.

As to the Produce of the Iſland of *Jamaica*, it is not eaſy to give a very clear Account thereof in a narrow Compaſs; however, I ſhall do the beſt I can. In the firſt place, I ſhall mention Cocoa, of which there ſtill comes more from this than from any of our Plantations; and as it is known to be a very rich and valuable Commodity, the Reader will probably be pleaſed with a particular Account of it. Cocoa grows on a Tree in Cods, green, red, and yellow, every Cod having in it three, four, or five Kernels, about the Bigneſs and Shape of ſmall Cheſsnuts, which are ſeparated from each other by a Subſtance like the Pulp of a roaſted Apple, moderately ſharp and ſweet, from which its Nuts are taken when ripe, and by drying cured. The Body of a Cocoa Tree is commonly about four Inches Diameter, five Feet in Height, and above twelve to the Top of the Tree. Theſe Trees are very different; for ſome ſhoot up in two or three Bodies; others in one; their Leaves are, many of them, dead and moſt diſcoloured, unleſs on very young Trees; a bearing Tree generally yields from two to eight Pounds of Nuts a Year, and each Cod contains from twenty to thirty Nuts. The Manner of curing them is, to cut them down when ripe, and to lay them to ſweat three or four Days in the Cods; which is done by laying them in Heaps; after this the Cods are cut, the Nuts taken out and put into a Trough covered with Plantain Leaves, where they ſweat again about ſixteen or twenty Days; the Nuts that are on each Cod are knit together by certain Fibres, and have a white kind of Pulp about them, very agreeable to the Palate, as has been hinted before; by their turning and ſweating, their little Strings are broken, and their Pulp is imbibed and mingled with the Subſtance of the Nut: After which they are put to dry three or four Weeks in the Sun, and then they become of a reddiſh-dark Colour. The Cods grow out of the Body, or great Limbs and Boughs; at the ſame Place there are Bloſſoms, and young and ripe Fruit. It is planted firſt in the Night, and always under Shade; ſome ſet them under Caſſave, others under Plantain Trees, and ſome in the Woods. The *Spaniards* uſed a certain large ſhady Plant, called by them *Madre di Cocoa*, the Mother of Cocoa; the *Engliſh* uſe the others only.

It muſt always be ſheltered from the North-eaſt Winds. The People at *Jamaica* ſeldom tranſplant it, only when it falls, as it does often, in open, poor and dry Lands; for this Tree requires to have a flat, moiſt, low Soil, which makes them be planted commonly by Rivers, and between Mountains. 'Tis an Obſervation, that it is ill living where there are good Cocoa Walks. In a Year's time, the Plant becomes four Feet high, and has a Leaf ſix times as big as an old Tree, which, as the Plant grows bigger, falls off, and a leſſer comes in its Place. The Trees are almoſt always planted at two Feet Diſtance; and ſometimes at three Years old, where the Ground is good, and the Plant proſperous, it begins to bear a little, and then they cut down all or ſome of the Shade. The Fruit increaſes till the tenth or twelfth Year, when the Tree is ſuppoſed to be in its Prime. The Root generally ſhoots out Suckers, they ſupply the Place of the old Stock when dead, or cut down; unleſs any ill Quality of the Ground, or Air, kill both.

The Manner of planting them is, in Order, like our Cherry-Gardens: They place a Plantain by every Tree, and when it is grown up it reſembles a Cherry Tree; it delights in Shade, and for that Reaſon has the Plantain ſet by it. The Cocoa Walks are kept clear from Graſs by hoeing and weeding. The Trees begin to bear at three, four, or five Years, and, did they not almoſt always die before, would come to Perfection at fifteen Years Growth, and laſt till thirty; which renders them the moſt profitable Tree in the World, one Acre of them having cleared above two hundred Pounds in a Year;

but the old Trees planted by the *Spaniards* being gone by Age, and few now thriving, as the *Spaniſh* Negroes foretold, little or none now is produced worthy the Care and Pains in planting and expecting it. Thoſe Slaves aſcribe its not coming to Perfection to a ſuperſtitious Cauſe, many religious Rites being performed at its Planting by the *Spaniards*, which their Slaves were not permitted to ſee. But 'tis probable that wary Nation, as they removed the Art of making Cochineal, and curing Venelloes, into their inland Provinces, which were the Commodities of the Iſlands in the *Indians* Time, and forbad the opening any Mines in them, for fear ſome maritime Nation might be tempted to conquer them; ſo in tranſplanting the Cocoa from the *Caraccas* and *Guatamala* on the Continent, they might conceal, wilfully, ſome Secret in its planting from their Slaves.

There is alſo more Indico produced in *Jamaica*, than in any other Colony, by reaſon of the great Quantity of Savanah Land, for it thrives beſt in ſandy Ground. The Seed from whence it is raiſed is yellow and round, ſomething leſs than a Tare. The Ground is made light by hoeing; then Trenches are dug like thoſe our Gardeners prepare for Peaſe, into which the Seed is put about *March*: It grows ripe in eight Weeks Time, and in freſh broken Ground will ſpring up about three Feet high, but in others to no more than eighteen Inches. The Stalk is full of Leaves of a deep green Colour, and will, from its firſt ſowing, yield many Crops in one Year. When it is ripe it is cut and ſteeped in Fats twenty-four Hours, then it muſt be cleared from the firſt Water and put into proper Ciſterns, where, when it has been carefully beaten, it ſettles about eighteen Hours. In theſe Ciſterns are ſeveral Taps, which let the clear Water run out, and the thick is put into Bags of about three Feet long, made commonly of Ozenbrigs; which being hung up, all the liquid Part drops away; when it will drop no longer, it is put into Wooden Boxes, three Feet long, fourteen Inches wide, and one and an half deep; theſe Boxes muſt be placed in the Sun till it is very hot, and then taken in till the extreme Heat is over; this muſt be done continually till it is ſufficiently dryed. In Land that proves proper for Indico, the Labour of one Hand, in a Year's time, will produce between eighty and one hundred Weight, which may amount from twelve to fifteen Pounds to the Planter, if no Accident happen; for Indico, as well as other Commodities in thoſe Parts, is ſubject to many; the moſt common are Blaſting and Worms, by which it is frequently deſtroyed.

Piemento is another Natural Production of *Jamaica*, from whence it is called *Jamaica* Pepper, alluding to its Figure and the chief Place of its Growth; the Trees that bear it are generally very tall, and ſpreading, haveing a Trunk as thick as one's Thigh. It riſes ſtrait, above thirty Foot high, is covered with an extraordinary ſmooth Skin of a grey Colour; it is branched out on every hand, having the End of its Twigs ſet with Leaves of ſeveral Sizes, the largeſt being four or five Inches long, and two or three broad, in the Middle, where it is broadeſt, and whence it decreaſes to both extremes, ending in a Point ſmooth, thin, ſhining, without any Inciſures of deep green Colour, and ſtanding on Foot-Stalks an Inch long; when bruiſed very odoriferous, and in all things like the Leaves of a Bay Tree. The Ends of the Twigs are branched into Bunches of Flowers, and each Stalk ſuſtained a Flower bending back, within which Bend are many Stamina of a pale green Colour; to theſe follows a Bunch of crowned Berries, the Crown being made up of four ſmall Leaves, which are bigger, when ripe, than Juniper Berries: At firſt, when ſmall, greeniſh, but when they are ripe, black, ſmooth, and ſhining; containing in them a moiſt, green, aromatic Pulp, two large Seeds ſeparated by a Membrane, each of which is a Hemiſphere, and both joined make a ſpherical Seed.

It grows on all the hilly Part of the Iſland of *Jamaica*, but chiefly on the North Side; and wherever theſe Trees grow, they are generally left ſtanding when other Trees are felled; and they are ſometimes planted where they never grew, becauſe of the great Profit from the cured Fruit exported yearly in great Quantities into *Europe*. The *Jamaica* Pepper Tree flowers in *June*, *July*, and *Auguſt*, but ſooner or later, according to their Situation and different Seaſons for Rains; and after it flowers the Fruit ſoon ripens: But 'tis to be obſerved, that in clear open Grounds it is ſooner ripe than in thick Woods. There is no great Difficulty in curing or preſerving this Fruit for Uſe; 'tis for the moſt Part done by the Negroes. They climb the Trees and pull off the Twigs with the unripe green Fruit, and afterwards carefully ſeparate the Fruit from the Twigs and Leaves, which done, they expoſe them to the Sun, from the Riſing to the Setting, for many Days; ſpreading them thin on Cloths, turning them now and then, and carefully avoiding the Dews, which are there very great. By this means they become a little wrinkled, and from a green, change to a brown Colour, when they are fit for the Market; being of different Sizes, but commonly of the Bigneſs of black Pepper; ſomething like in Smell and Taſte to Cloves, Juniper Berries, Cinnamon and Pepper, or rather having a peculiar mixt Smell, ſomewhat a kin to all of them, from whence it is called All-ſpice. The more fragrant and ſmaller they are, they are accounted the better.

It is deſervedly reckoned the beſt and moſt temperate, mild and innocent, of all Spices, and fit to come into greater Uſe, and to gain more Ground than it has of the *Eaſt India* Commodities of this kind, almoſt all of which it far ſurpaſſes, by promoting the Digeſtion of Meat, attenuating tough Humours, moderately heating and ſtrengthening the Stomach, expelling Wind, and doing thoſe friendly Offices to the Bowels, which we expect from Spices.

The wild Cinnamon Tree, commonly called, though falſly, Cortex Winteranus, grows in this Iſland; its Trunk is about the Bigneſs of the Piemento Tree, and riſes twenty or thirty Foot high, having many Branches and Twigs hanging downwards, making a very lovely Top; the Bark conſiſts of two Parts one outward and another inward; the outward Bark is as thin as a milled Shilling, of whitiſh Aſh or grey Colour, with ſome white Spots here and there upon it, and ſeveral ſhallow Furrows of a darker Colour running variouſly through it, of an aromatic Taſte; the inward Bark is much thicker than Cinnamon, being as thick as a milled Crown Piece, ſmooth, and of a whiter Colour than the outward, of a much more biting and aromatic Taſte, ſomething like that of Cloves, and not glutinous like Cinnamon but dry and crumbling between the Teeth; the Leaves come out near the Ends of the Twigs, without any Order, ſtanding on Foot-Stalks, each of them two Inches in Length, and one in Breadth; near the End where broadeſt and rougheſt, being narrow at the Beginning, from whence it augments in Breadth to near its End, of a yellowiſh green Colour, ſhining and ſmooth, without any Inciſures about its Edges, and ſomewhat reſembling the Leaves of Bay.

The Ends of the Twigs are branched into Bunches of Flowers, ſtanding ſomewhat like Umbels, each of which has a Foot-Stalk, on the Top of which is a Calix made up of ſome little Leaves, in which ſtand five ſcarlet or purple Petala, within which is a large Stylix; to theſe follow ſo many calyculated Berries of the Bigneſs of a large Pea, roughiſh, green, and containing, within a mucilaginous pale green thin Pulp, four black ſhining Seeds of an irregular Figure: All the Parts of this Tree, when freſh, are very hot, aromatic, and biting to the Taſte, ſomething like Cloves, which is ſo troubleſome, as ſometimes to need the Remedy of fair Water. It grows in the Savanah Woods, very frequently on each Side the Road, between *Paſſage Fort* and the Town of *St Jago de la Vega*. The Bark of the Tree is what is chiefly in Uſe, both in the *Engliſh* Plantations, between the Tropics in the *Weſt Indies* and in *Europe*, and is without any Difficulty cured, by only cutting off the Bark, and letting it dry in the Shade. The ordinary Sort of People in the *Weſt Indies* uſe it inſtead of all other Spices, being thought very good to conſume the immoderate Humidity of the Stomach, to help Digeſtion, and expel Wind, &c. Rum loſes its diſagreeable Smell if mixed with this Bark.

The true Cortex Winteranus, for which the Druggiſts ſell this wild Cinnamon, was brought by Captain *Winter*, who accompanied Sir *Francis Drake* in his Voyage round the World, from the Streights of *Magellan*.

There is plenty of Cotton in *Jamaica*, and it is finer than that in the *Caribbee Iſlands*. The Tobacco that was planted there was better than at *Barbadoes*; but there's ſo little it deſerves not the Name of a Commodity. Very good tanned Leather is made there: The Tanners have three Barks to tann with, Mangrove, Olive Barks, and another. They tann better than in *England*; and in ſix Weeks the Leather is ready to work into Shoes. There's abundance of Dyers Woods, as Fuſtick, Red-wood, Logwood, and others; with ſeveral Sorts of Sweet-woods. The Iſland abounds in Drugs and medicinal Herbs, as Guaiacum, China, Saſaparilla, Caſſia, Tamarinds, Venelloes, many ſorts of Miſſeltoe; as alſo in ſalutary Gums and Roots; the Plant of which Cochineal is made, grows in *Jamaica*; and yet the Inhabitants, for want of Knowledge how to cure it, make no Advantage of it; beſides the Eaſt Wind blaſts it ſo, that it ſeldom or never comes to Maturity.

It is not doubted but that there are Copper Mines in the Iſland; and the *Spaniards* ſay the Bells of the great Church at *St. Jago* were made of *Jamaica* Metal; 'tis ſuppoſed there are Silver Mines in it, as well as at *Cuba*, and on the Continent; and there is a Place in the Mountains of *Port Royal*, or *Caguag*, where it is reported the *Spaniards* dug Silver, but the *Engliſh* have not been ſo happy as to find it. The *Spaniards* alſo found Ambergreaſe on the Coaſt, but the *Engliſh* have not often had that good Fortune: Yet ſome Years ago an ignorant Fellow found 180 Pound Weight of Ambergreaſe caſt upon the Shore, at a Place called *Ambergreaſe Point*, where the *Spaniards* came uſually once a Year to look for it. This vaſt Quantity was divided into two Parts, ſuppoſed by rolling and tumbling in the Sea; ſome ſay it is produced from a Creature, as Honey and Silk; and Mr. *Tredway*, who viewed this Piece, writes, he ſaw, in ſundry Places in this Body, the Beak, Wings, and Part of the Body of the Creature, which he preſerved for ſome time; he was alſo told by a Man, that he had ſeen the Creature alive, and believed they ſwarmed as Bees on the Sea Shore, or in the Sea; others ſay it is the Excrement of the Whale, and others, that it iſſues out of the Root of a Tree.

But, after all, it is the Sugar Cane that is the Glory of *Jamaica*, by which the Inhabitants have acquired ſuch immenſe Riches. It is generally ſaid, that the Sugar from *St. Chriſtopher's*, is the beſt in the *Leeward Iſlands*; but, I think, it is agreed on all Hands, that the Sugar made in *Jamaica* exceeds that of all our Plantations, though it is made there with much greater Eaſe, ſince it cures faſter in ten Days at *Jamaica* than in ſix Months at *Barbadoes*. There were in the Year 1670 upwards of threeſcore Mills in *Jamaica*, which were computed to make about two Millions of Pounds Weight of Sugar; but ſome Writers tell us, they make ten Times as much at preſent; whether that Computation be right or not, is impoſſible for me to decide; but this is certain, that there is Ground enough unoccupied in that Country to make much more, ſince it is an hundred and forty Miles long and ſixty broad; and it contains, according to a moderate Computation, four Millions of Acres, of which, though there may be about one-fourth, in which *Engliſh* Subjects have Property; yet, it is certain, that not above a fourth of that fourth is actually planted, and a great deal of this is employed to other Purpoſes, than that of raiſing Sugar. It is impoſſible to ſay preciſely what Quantity may be made here, becauſe Seaſons differ, and other Accidents intervene; ſome have thought they did not riſe beyond the Truth, in affirming, that it produces one hundred thouſand Hogſheads, which, though it appears a moſt prodigious Quantity, yet there are many Circumſtances that concur to render it credible. As for the Number of People in this Iſland various Computations have been made; but according to the beſt Accounts I have been able to gain, there may be, at this Time, ſeventy thouſand white People therein, and one hundred and twenty thouſand Negroes.

We may from hence judge of the almoſt inexpreſſible Advantages which this Iſland affords to *Great Britain*; for, as all our Hiſtories of *Jamaica*, and almoſt every Voyage thither, that have been printed, ſpeak largely of the Luxury and Expence of all Degrees of People there, which is a plain Proof of their Wealth and vaſt Acquiſitions; ſo we may reſt ſatisfied, that whatever Shew they may make, whatever Appearance there may be of Magnificence there; yet the real Produce of all their Labour, and of all their Commerce, comes over here to *Britain*, and maintains and enriches the induſtrious Part of our People; ſo that there can be nothing more abſurd, or unreaſonable, than to grudge or envy the People ſettled there, the great Fortunes they acquire and poſſeſs, or to repine at the Pomp and Splendor in which they live; becauſe, whatever it may be in Appearance, it is perhaps an indifferent Reward for their dwelling at ſuch a Diſtance from Home, and for the Hazards and Labours they run through to acquire ſuch Fortunes, but this will appear much more clearly if we advert a little to the Situation of *Jamaica*, and conſider the vaſt Benefits that accrue from thence, in all Times, and under all Circumſtances, of War as well as Peace.

As we are at preſent in the former Situation, we will treat firſt of that. There is conſtantly in time of War a conſiderable naval Force kept here, and though this be attended with a great Expence to the *Britiſh* Nation, yet it certainly is, or at leaſt ought to be, a great Comfort to us, that our Money is ſpent with our Countrymen, that it increaſes the Value of their Plantations, and which is ſtill more to our Purpoſe, that, ſooner or later, all that is ſpent and circulated there, by ſome Channel or other returns hither, ſo that at the long run the Nation loſes nothing by the vaſt Charge ſhe is at in maintaining Fleets upon this Coaſt. We ought likewiſe to reflect, that in a Time of War there are many Prizes taken and carried into *Jamaica*, which makes an unuſual and almoſt incredible Plenty of Silver, and is the true Cauſe of the Dearneſs and high Price of Neceſſaries in that Country; all which alſo in Time comes over hither; ſo that when we hear of vaſt Eſtates raiſed there in a ſhort Space of Time, it ought to afford us the higheſt Satiſfaction; becauſe, thoſe who make thoſe large Fortunes, or their immediate Deſcendants, come over hither, and either veſt their Money in our Funds or purchaſe Lands here. Thus a State of War, which implies a Suſpenſion of Trade, produces few of the Inconveniencies that uſually attend ſuch a Suſpenſion; becauſe, in *Jamaica*, the very Conſequences of War become a kind of Trade, and the Wealth ariſing from them takes the ſame Courſe, and runs in the very individual Channels that any other Trade would do, that is, they finally enrich and tend to the Benefit of the Mother Country.

But, in time of Peace, beſides what we draw from *Jamaica*, conſidered barely in the light of a Sugar Plantation, we are to conſider likewiſe whatever accrues to the Inhabitants from their Intercourſe and Dealings with other People, ſince whatever they gain is for us; and therefore, it may not, in this Place, be improper to ſay ſomething of the Trade carried on by the *Engliſh* at *Jamaica* with the *Spaniards* on the Continent, which is thus managed: The Merchant or Maſter of the *Engliſh* Ship bound for this Voyage being furniſhed with a proper Cargo of dry Goods and Negroes, commonly makes firſt for the Coaſt near the Harbour of *Porto Bello*; and in War at the *Grout*, within *Monkey-Key*, a very good Harbour, within four Miles of the Town; from thence it is uſual for the Merchant or Maſter of the Ship to ſend one who can ſpeak *Spaniſh*, as many of theſe Traders do to the Town, to give Notice of her Arrival to the Dealers, who appoint the Time and Place for the *Spaniards* Canoe to attend them; they come accordingly, and having purchaſed as many Negroes and as much dry Goods as they think fit, they return to the Town, fetch the Money, bring it aboard, and take the Goods. Here ſuch a Ship lies ſometimes five or ſix Weeks trading with the *Spaniards*; for after the firſt Market is pretty well over, the Dealers, who have ſoon Information of her being on the Coaſt, come from *Panama* over the *Iſthmus* to trade, travelling like Peaſants, with Mules bearing their Silver in Jars; and if any of the King's Officers meet them nothing appears but Meal, which they pretend to be carrying to *Porto Bello*; but for the moſt part they travel through Woods and Bye-Ways for fear of being diſcovered by thoſe Officers. When they have bought what Negroes and Goods their Money will purchaſe, which they ſell again up in the Country, and get very well by it; the Goods are made up in little Packs fit for one Man to carry, and the *Engliſh* ſupply them with as much Proviſions as will ſerve them Home, croſs the *Iſthmus* to the *South Sea*, for they come very far off.

A ſingle familiar Inſtance will make all this very plain. An *Engliſh* Ship lying between *Chagre* and *Porto Novo*, a Signal was given from the Caſtle of *Chagre*, and ſhe anchored two Miles from it. The *Spaniards* came to her, and one Merchant bought ſeventy Negroes and a good Quantity of dry Goods, amounting to three or four thouſand Pounds, which was brought on Mules to the Water-ſide, part Gold and part Silver. From the *Grout* the *Engliſh* Ship ſailed to the *Brew* near *Carthagena*, where ſhe lay to trade with the Merchants of that City, from which it is about eight Miles diſtant. The People of the Iſland *Brew* gave their Merchants Notice of her Arrival, and they came and traded as the others did at the *Grout*; this trading Ship in about two Months diſpoſed of one hundred and fifty Negroes, and a good Cargo of dry Goods, by which, probably, the Proprietors cleared two thouſand Pounds more than would have been got in any other Market; a plain Proof of the very great Advantage of this Trade between *Jamaica* and *New Spain*, of which we ſee the *Spaniards* are ſo fond, that they run as great Hazards in buying the Merchandizes as the *Engliſh* do in ſelling it to them.

There is likewiſe in time of Peace a great deal of Money brought into *Jamaica* by the *Aſſiento* Trade, or Sale of Negroes, granted to us by the *Spaniards* in the Treaty of *Utrecht*, which, whatever it may be in other Reſpects, has certainly proved a very beneficial Trade to that Iſland. I have indeed heard ſome very able and intelligent Perſons intimate, that if inſtead of erecting a new Company for the Management of this Trade, it had been put into the Hands of one already erected, I mean the *Royal African Company*, it had preſerved that once famous Corporation from falling into its preſent melancholy Condition, as well as ſecured much larger Profits to the Nation, which are Things that deſerve to be conſidered before we ſet in earneſt about any Negotiation with *Spain*, that we may indemnify ourſelves from the heavy Loſſes and vaſt Expences of this War by the Fruits of a ſolid and well regulated Peace; which, without doubt, may be as eaſily obtained as one of a looſer and more precarious Nature; it being the Intereſt of the *Spaniards* as well as of ourſelves, to have all Matters ſo adjuſted, as to prevent not only Wars, but Diſputes for the future.

Before I quit this Subject I find it abſolutely neceſſary to take Notice of another Branch of Trade carried on from *Jamaica*, which has been made the Subject of much Debate; I mean the cutting of Logwood in the Bay of *Campeachy*. This Matter came to be conſidered with the utmoſt Care and Circumſpection by the Board of Trade and Plantations in the Year 1717, who ſolemnly reported that we had an undoubted Right to that Trade, in which the Subjects of the Crown of *England* had been maintained and ſupported by former Kings, his Majeſty's Royal Predeceſſors. They obſerve, that Logwood is the Product of *Jucatan*, a *Peninſula* that extends itſelf an hundred Leagues into the North Sea, on each Side whereof are the Bays of *Campeachy* and *Honduras*, where the Wood is chiefly cut by the *Engliſh*.

The *Spaniards* are poſſeſſed only of the Town of *Campeachy*, and two more ſmall Places in this part of *America*, and that the reſt of *Jucatan* was an uninhabited Deſart, till our Logwood Cutters ſettled at *Cape Catoch*, the North Eaſt Promontory of *Jucatan*, or at *Triſt*, or the *Laguna de Terminos* in the Bay of *Campeachy*, before, or in, the Year 1667, when a Treaty of Peace was concluded between *Great-Britain* and *Spain*; and thereupon the Privateers of *Jamaica*, who uſed to diſturb the *Spaniſh* Trade, being obliged to quit that way of Life, became Logwood Cutters, and ſettled with others of their Countrymen at *Triſt*, and the Lake *de Terminos* aforeſaid, and great Quantities of Logwood were afterwards imported from thence to *Old* and *New England*.

They obſerved that Sir *Thomas Lynch*, Governor of *Jamaica*, under whoſe Direction that Trade was carried on, in the Year 1671, gave his Majeſty King *Charles* II. the following Reaſons for his encouraging this Trade. 1ſt, That the *Engliſh* had then uſed it for divers Years. 2dly, That the Logwood was cut in deſolate and uninhabited Places. 3dly, That it was a Right confirmed by Treaty with the *Spaniards*. 4thly, That thereby we excluded the *French* and *Dutch* from that Trade. 5thly, That the *Spaniards* had not then made any Complaint of it. 6thly, That this Employment made the reducing our Privateers, who uſed to commit Hoſtilities againſt the *Spaniards* more eaſy. Laſtly, That this Trade employed a hundred Sail of Ships annually, and increaſed his Majeſty's Cuſtoms, and the Trade of the Nation, more than any of his *American* Colonies.

Sir *Thomas Modyford*, the ſucceeding Governor of *Jamaica*, informed the Lords of the Privy Council, in the Year 1672, that the *Engliſh* Logwood Cutters had uſed that Trade for three Years, and that they had planted Corn, and built Houſes, for their Conveniency; and though they frequently hunted Deer in the Country, they had never ſeen a ſingle *Spaniard*, or any other Man in that Part of the Country, in all the Time they had been there; and concludes, that their felling of Wood, building of Houſes, and clearing and planting the Ground, was ſuch a Poſſeſſion, as in the *Weſt-Indies* gave them an undoubted Right to the Countries they thus occupied. And Sir *Thomas*, to juſtify his Conduct in encouraging this Trade, in the Year 1672 (when the *Spaniards* firſt complained of it) ſent home Copies of ſeveral Depoſitions he had taken from the Maſters of Ships, and others concerned in the Logwood Trade, with a Proclamation he had iſſued for the Regulation and Security thereof, as a Confirmation of what he had aſſerted; and the Lords of the Council thereupon let the Governor know that they approved what he had done.

The Lords Commiſſioners of Trade further obſerved, that there is a Clauſe in the abovesaid *American* Treaty, which provides that the King of *Great-Britain* ſhall keep and poſſeſs, in full Right of Sovereignty and Propriety, all Places ſituate in the *Weſt-Indies*, or any Part of *America*, which he and his Subjects were then in Poſſeſſion of; and that they actually were then, and had been for ſeveral Years, in Poſſeſſion of *Triſt* and the Lake *de Terminos*, and ſeveral other Places in the Province of *Jucatan*, which the *Spaniards* began to ſet up a Title to about this Time, notwithſtanding they enjoyed the full Benefit of what *Great-Britain* ſtipulated on her Part, *viz.* 1ſt, The ſecuring the Trade of the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies* to them; a Point which had never before been yielded. 2dly, The obliging the Privateers to ceaſe their Depredations, whereby the *Spaniſh* Trade had been miſerably haraſſed; and this had been effected chiefly by the Care of his Majeſty's Governors, and the employing thoſe People in the Logwood Trade.

That in 1680 the *Spaniards* proceeded in a hoſtile Manner to diſpoſſeſs the *Engliſh* Logwood Cutters of their Settlements of *Triſt*, &c. and even of the Iſland of *Providence*, a *Britiſh* Plantation to which they had no Pretence; but theſe were ſoon repoſſeſſed by his Majeſty's Subjects, and the Logwood Trade, in 1682, was greater than ever, and was maintained and carried on by the *Engliſh*, till the Treaty of *Utrecht* 1713; when the Adjuſtment and Settlement thereof came again under Conſideration; and it was ſtipulated that only ſuch Places ſhould be reſtored to the *Spaniards*, as had been taken during the preceding War (in the Reign of Queen *Anne*) among which, *Triſt* could not be reckoned one, becauſe the *Engliſh* were in Poſſeſſion of it many Years before that War commenced, and, indeed, had been in the actual Poſſeſſion of it from 1699 to 1713, except for two or three Months in the Year 1689, when the *Spaniards* ſurprized and expelled them by Force, as related above.

They farther repreſented it by a Clauſe in the Treaty of Commerce, concluded in *November* 1713. The *American* Treaty of 1670 is confirmed and ratified; and it was thereby declared that this ſhould be underſtood to be without Prejudice to any Liberty or Power, which the Subjects of *Great-Britain* enjoyed before, either through Right, Sufferance, or Indulgence; and the *Engliſh* having long enjoyed the Liberty of cutting Logwood, whether through Right, Sufferance, or Indulgence, they are by this Treaty entitled to the ſame, in as plain and expreſs Words as can be imagined. Then the Lords Commiſſioners proceeded to ſhew the Importance of the Logwood Trade to *Great-Britain*, by the following Account of what Logwood had been imported ſince the late War.

	Tons.	C.	Q.	lb.
In 1713	2189	15	3	22
In 1714	4848	14	3	24
In 1715	5863	12	1	14
In 1716	2032	17	2	0
	14935	0	3	4

This is, *communibus annis*, 3741 Tons, which cannot be computed at leſs than 60,000 *l. per Annum*, though the Price is already reduced from 40 *l.* to 16 *l.* per Ton. And before your Majeſty's Subjects were ſettled there, it was worth 100 *l.* a Ton. Nor is this Trade leſs neceſſary than beneficial to your Majeſty's Dominions, by Reaſon of the great Encouragement it gives to our Seamen and Shipping, which at all times require a particular Attention, but now eſpecially; when it is daily obſerved that very many *Britiſh* Mariners, either through defect of the Laws, or for want of Employment at home, or in hopes of greater Advantage abroad, enter themſelves into foreign Service.

Upon the Whole, they give it as their Opinion, that ſome Time before, and long after, the Year 1670, the Subjects of *England* were poſſeſſed of, and quietly enjoyed Part of the Country of *Jucatan*, uninhabited by the *Spaniards*, and conſequently the Right of *Britiſh* Subjects to cut Logwood, and even to ſettle in that Country, was not only certain and apparent, but was alſo ſettled and confirmed by Treaty.

This Repreſentation is certainly more than ſufficient to convince us, here at home, of our being well intitled to this Trade; and therefore it is a Point that deſerves to be maturely reflected upon, before any new Negotiation for Peace, with the Crown of *Spain*, is commenced; for, without doubt, Care ought to be taken that our Right, in this Reſpect, be acknowledged and admitted, in ſuch expreſs Terms, that hereafter no Diſputes may ariſe about it, or afford Pretences for fitting out Guarda Coſtas to impede and diſturb our Navigation. We know, and have heard, what high and loud Complaints were made againſt the Miniſtry in the Reign of Queen *Anne*, for not obliging the *French* to reſtore *Cape Breton*, and for not compelling the *Spaniards* to make ſuch Conceſſions in favour of our Trade, as were neceſſary for the carrying it on with Safety and Advantage. But at preſent *Cape Brition* is ours, and the Superiority of our naval Force in the *Weſt-Indies* is ſo great, that it would be, certainly, an unpardonable Omiſſion, ſhould there be any Thing left to object on any of theſe Heads for the future. The capital Trade of this Nation, at preſent, that which employs moſt Ships, moſt Seamen, and moſt Manufactures, is our Commerce to our Plantations; and therefore the ſecuring, encouraging, and improving this Commerce, ought to be the principal Object of our Stateſmen; who, as they often lay heavy Burdens upon the Subject, to carry their Projects into Execution, ſo they are in Intereſt, and in Conſcience, bound to pay the utmoſt Attention to thoſe Points, which regard the filling again the Purſes of thoſe to whom they have conſtant Recourſe for the public Service.

23. We have now gone through this Section, and have ſhewn when, how, and with what Views our Settlements, within this Period of Time, were made. It is eaſy to perceive from thence, what prodigious Advantages have been derived from them to the People of this Kingdom. If we conſider that at the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*, we had not a ſingle Cottage erected in *America*; and that at the Time of the Reſtoration of King *Charles* II. we had ſettled from *Nova Scotia* to the utmoſt Bounds of *Virginia*, beſides peopling many of the Iſlands, it muſt appear an amazing Thing. The vaſt Change in our Circumſtances, in the Space of ſixty Years; the mighty Augmentation of our Shipping; the vaſt Increaſe of our Coin, and all the other certain and indubitable Signs of an extended and profitable Commerce, ſufficiently prove the Value and Importance of our Plantations; for I make no ſcruple of affirming that we owed them all to theſe. To ſay the Truth, the civil War, which was ſo ruinous and fatal to theſe Kingdoms, was, by the kind Diſpoſition of Providence, highly ſerviceable to the Plantations. In the firſt Ferment of the Nation, we have ſeen that *New England* was planted and peopled as it were at once; and in ſucceeding Times, when the Conſtitution was overturned, and the loyal Nobility and Gentry, who were deprived of their Eſtates, by thoſe the Fortune of War had made their Maſters, and had not even the Liberty of ſtarving here in Peace, *Virginia* and *Barbadoes* were their Refuge: There the Wicked ceaſed from troubling, and there the Weary were at reſt. The Spirit and Vigour with which they ſet about improving the Places of their Exile, ſoon changed them into Habitations of Delight, and where they looked only for a quiet and a bare Subſiſtance, the Bleſſing of God upon their Induſtry produced them vaſt Eſtates.

We may ſafely venture to affirm, that a little after the Reſtoration the Sugar Colonies roſe to their greateſt Height, *Jamaica* only excepted. Since then the Tobacco Colonies have encreaſed greatly, and ſo have the Bread Colonies likewiſe; for the Reader is to obſerve, that *Jamaica*, *Barbadoes*, and moſt of the Leeward Iſlands, are furniſhed with Proviſions from the northern Colonies, and with Garden Stuff from the Iſlands of *Bermudas*. But it has ſo fallen out, that though theſe Colonies have ſuch a natural Dependance upon each other, yet Complaints have ariſen, and we have ſeen both Sides appealing to the *Britiſh* Parliament, the one for Relief, and the other for Protection. The Occaſion of theſe Diſputes was this:

A Bill was brought into the Houſe of Commons on the Petition of the Merchants and Planters concerned in the Sugar Colonies in the Year 1731, for ſecuring and encouraging the Trade of the ſaid Colonies. The Intent whereof was to enable them to ſupply foreign Markets, with Sugar, as cheap as the *French*, which they ſuggeſted might be done by prohibiting the Exportation of Horſes, Proviſions, and Lumber, from our Northern Colonies on the Continent of *America*, to the *French* and *Dutch* Plantations, and by prohibiting the Importation of all foreign Sugar, Rum, and Moloſſes, to our Northern Colonies; for the permitting of this, they ſuggeſted, was giving the *French* and *Dutch*, at leaſt, twenty-five *per Cent.* upon the whole Produce of their Sugar Colonies; and thereby enabled them to afford their Sugar, at foreign Markets, cheaper than our Sugar Colonies can. It was finding them Plantation Neceſſaries, as well as Money to pay for them; that is, the foreign Colonies paid our Northern Colonies for their Horſes, Proviſions, and Lumber, with Moloſſes and Rum, which otherwiſe the *French* muſt throw away as they did formerly. To induce the Parliament to paſs this Bill, the Sugar Colonies endeavoured to ſhew the vaſt Importance thoſe Colonies are of to *Great-Britain*, obſerving that they produced, at an Average, eighty-five thouſand Hogſheads of Sugar annually at leaſt, which, at ten Pound a Hogſhead, amounted to eight hundred and fifty thouſand Pounds. This Sum, or much the greateſt Part of it, as they affirm, is ſpent here by the ſeveral Proprietors of Eſtates in the *Weſt-Indies*, who live in *England*, or is ſent out annually in the Manufactures of *Great-Britain*, either directly to the Sugar Colonies, or to the Coaſt of *Guinea*, to purchaſe Negroes for the Uſe of thoſe Colonies.

Beſides this neat Produce of Sugar, another vaſt Advantage ariſing from the Sugar Colony Trade, is the large Number of Ships and Seamen employed and maintained in the Courſe of our Commerce with them; and they calculate that there are three hundred Sail of Ships ſent from *Great-Britain* (not to mention thoſe from other Places) every Year, to our Sugar Colonies, which are navigated by about five thouſand five hundred Seamen; and that the Freight from the Sugars, brought hither, amounts to an hundred and ſeventy thouſand Pounds a Year; and the Duties, Commiſſions, *&c.* to little leſs than two hundred thouſand Pounds more, which upon the Whole is a good one Million two hundred thouſand Pounds a Year Profit and Advantage to *Great-Britain.* But beſides this conſiderable Article of Sugar, they obſerve that theſe Iſlands produce great Quantities of Cotton, Ginger, Indico, Aloes, *&c.* which are all brought to *Great-Britain,* where the whole Profit of all our Plantation Product, does and muſt centre. They have been equal, they inſiſt, to the Mines of the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies,* and have contributed, in a particular Manner, to the Trade, Navigation, and Wealth of this Kingdom.

But at preſent they were in a very bad and languiſhing Condition: Their Duties high, their Planters poor, their Soil worn out, and their Fortifications deſtroyed. They obſerve farther, that the *French* Sugar Iſlands are much larger, more beautiful, better inhabited, pay leſs Duties, and have greater Encouragement from *France* than ours have from *Great-Britain.* And that if our Sugar Iſlands, for want of being put in a poſture of Defence, ſhould either be taken, as ſome have been, or moulder, and come to ruin, it would be one of the greateſt Blows this Kingdom ever received. It would then loſe the Benefit of all their Product imported hither; it would loſe the Exports of our Woollen and other Manufactures thither, to the amount of ſeveral hundred thouſand Pounds a Year; it would loſe, in a great Meaſure, the Trade to *Guinea*; it would loſe the employing and maintaining of many hundred *Britiſh* Ships, and many thouſand *Britiſh* Seamen every Year; and laſtly, it would loſe one of the moſt conſiderable and main Branches of our Funds, the Deficiency of which muſt be made good, and the Weight and Burthen fall on our Lands here at home.

To this Bill, however, many Objections were made by ſuch as were employed here in behalf of the Northern Colonies, and amongſt them the moſt material were theſe: 1ſt, That ſuch a Prohibition as was deſired by the Bill, would put the *French* upon ſupplying themſelves with Lumber from their own Settlements, and the *Britiſh* Colonies on the Continent would thereby loſe the Trade in which many Ships and Seamen were employed. 2dly, That the *Britiſh* Colonies could not take off their Lumber, or ſupply them with Rum for their Fiſheries, their Trade with the *Indians,* and what they wanted in the Harveſt-time. 3dly, That the reſtraining the Northern Colonies from diſpoſing of their Horſes, Proviſions, and Lumber to the *French* and *Hollanders,* might draw them into Employments prejudicial to *Great-Britain.* 4thly, The *French* would diſtil their Moloſſes themſelves, and ſupply the Fiſheries with Rum, if the Northern Colonies did not. 5thly, If the Northern Colonies did not take off the *French* Sugars, they would carry them to Market themſelves. 6thly, If the Importation of *French* and *Dutch* Rum and Moloſſes into *New England* was prohibited, and they could go to no other Market for Rum, or ſell their Lumber and Proviſions any where elſe, the *Engliſh* Sugar Colonies, like other Monopolies, would exact an unreaſonable Price for their Rum, and beat down the Price of Lumber, and other Goods, as low as they ſaw fit. 7thly, That the *French* and *Dutch* Colonies furniſh the Northern Colonies with Money, which they bring to *Great-Britain* and lay out in our Manufactures. 8thly, That the Luxury and Extravagance of the Sugar Colonies was the Occaſion of this Decline. And 9thly, That the Trade of the Sugar Colonies, was ſtill vaſtly increaſing; inſtancing in *Barbadoes,* which, in the Year 1730, imported twenty two thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixty-nine Hogſheads of Sugar into *England,* valued at 340,396 Pounds; and that this was the Neat Profit, they inſiſted, becauſe it was admitted that the Rum and Moloſſes of Sugar Plantations bear the Charges of them: The Sugar Planters therefore have no Reaſon to complain, when ſo ſmall an Iſland as *Barbadoes* produced ſo vaſt a Neat Profit.

As there is nothing can contribute more to make this Subject thoroughly underſtood, and to point out effectually what the Inhabitants of the Colonies take to be their reſpective Intereſt, I think it will be neceſſary to add the Replies or Solutions, given by the Friends of the Sugar Colonies to theſe Objections. As to the firſt, That the *French,* if not ſupplied from the Northern Colonies, would furniſh their own Settlements with Lumber, they ſaid, That the *French* could not be ſupplied with Lumber from their own Settlements; or, if they could, it muſt be at great Charge and Expence, ſince the only Places they can pretend to be ſupplied from, are *Cape Breton* and *Quebec.* Some indeed have gone ſo far, and been ſo extravagant, as to imagine that the *French* Iſlands may be ſupplied with Lumber from the Bay of *Apalachi,* or the Settlement of *Miſſiſſippi:* But we muſt conſider that great Snows are neceſſary for drawing down Trees to the Sides of Rivers; and likewiſe (upon the Snows melting) for floating them down to the Mills; and, if they had Snows, theſe Countries do not produce any Quantity of ſuch kind of Wood as is proper to work into Lumber; nor have they any ſuch Mills, which are expenſive to build, and the Labour and Time required to manufacture ſuch Trees into Lumber, would make it extremely dear to the *French*; beſides the Navigation to and from ſuch Place, to *Martinico,* and the *French* Iſlands ſo much to Windward, would be ſo difficult and long for ſuch Veſſels as are proper to carry Lumber, by reaſon of the Calms, contrary Winds, and ſtrong Currents againſt them, that ſuch a Project would probably end in the Ruin of the People concerned in it; which would put an End to ſuch Endeavours of the *French.*

As to *Cape Breton,* though it has the Advantage of Snows, yet it has no other Conveniency; it produces little Wood; they have few Rivers, and thoſe longer frozen, and ſooner dried, than in *New England:* It is thinly inhabited, and is a ſmall, and, in that Light, but an inconſiderable Iſland, commodious only for fiſhing. And as for *Quebec,* allowing all the Advantages the other Places want, and all that our Northern Colonies have, with Reſpect to Wood and Mills; yet the Navigation of the River *St. Laurence* (which is practicable only a few Months in the Year) is ſo very long and dangerous, that all the Lumber from thence muſt be exceeding dear; and though ſome may think that theſe Difficulties in time may be removed, and the Navigation of the River become both ſafe and eaſy, it may be wiſhed the *French* had no Supply of Lumber till theſe Difficulties were removed; for thoſe Difficulties muſt always continue from the Nature of the Coaſt, the Rocks, Shoals, and Sands, in that River, and from the Inclemency of the Air, and other natural Cauſes; which will make that Navigation for ever unſafe. If then the *French* cannot be ſupplied with Lumber, or at leaſt not upon any reaſonable Terms, How much will this give our Sugar Colonies an Advantage over the *French?* But let us ſuppoſe the utmoſt and worſt that can be: That they can be ſupplied with Lumber from their own Settlements, yet, What muſt the Lumber be bought with? Not with Rum and Moloſſes, but with Money: So that if this Prohibition of foreign Rum and Moloſſes take Place, ſo much will be loſt to the *French* Plantations, becauſe they can have no Vent for their Rum, as interfering with Brandy, the Product of *France.*

But what ſtronger Argument can we have, that the Trade carried on by ſome of the Northern Colonies is a prejudicial Trade, than the Permiſſion of it by the *French* themſelves? They underſtand the whole Compaſs of Trade perfectly well, and ſteadily purſue their Intereſts: They know that their Colonies either cannot be ſupplied at all with Horſes, Lumber, and other Neceſſaries, or elſe they muſt purchaſe them at a greater Expence: They find they have them for Rum and Moloſſes, which is all clear Gain to them; that they ſave at leaſt twenty-five *per Cent.* in having Lumber and Horſes ſo conveniently from the Northern Colonies; and get twenty five *per Cent.* by their Rum and Moloſſes, which elſe would be all

Loſs to them; and what is more, they plainly perceive that this Trade muſt ſhortly and effectually ruin and deſtroy our Sugar Plantations, by inhancing the Price of our Plantation Neceſſaries, and ſtopping the Product of our Manufacture; however ſpecious therefore the Argument may be in favour of this Trade, nothing leſs than a Prohibition of Horſes and Lumber, as well as of foreign Sugar, Rum, and Moloſſes, will be of any real Service or Benefit to the Sugar Colonies.

For if you allow them to carry Lumber, what muſt they have in Exchange for it but Sugar? And how will it be poſſible, on ſo long a Coaſt as ſeven or eight hundred Miles, as that of thoſe Northern Colonies, where there are ſo many Bays, Creeks, and Rivers, and ſo few Officers, to prevent the Running of theſe Goods, let your Penalties be never ſo ſtrict. But it may be ſaid, perhaps, that *France* will allow them to carry their Rum to their own Settlements on the Continent; but that is altogether as improbable and as unlikely, as that we ſhould ſuffer *Ireland* to ſupply our Plantations with woollen Manufactures. Thoſe Colonies there are abundantly ſupplied with Brandy from *France* very cheap, and which is a Spirit much better liked, and what they have been uſed to.

As to the ſecond Objection, that the *Engliſh* Sugar Colonies cannot take off the Lumber they have, or ſupply them with the Rum they want, they anſwered, if the Trade and Navigation from the *Britiſh* Colonies on the Continent, to the foreign Colonies, be prejudicial to the Sugar Colonies, and to *Great-Britain*, and if the reſtaining it will effectually diſtreſs the *French* in the Sugar Trade, it ought to be prohibited, though ſome few Traders ſhall ſuffer Hardſhips and Inconveniency by it. As to diſpoſing of their Lumber, the Sugar Colonies have more Reaſon to apprehend that they ſhall find a Want of it, than that the *New England* People will have much upon their Hands; at leaſt, if what they ſay be true, and founded in Fact. For we have for many Years been alarmed with Scarcity of Lumber in *New England*, and we have felt the Effects of it in the advanced Price we have paid for it; for ſome Time, upon this Pretence. Thoſe who are principally concerned there, in the Lumber Trade, complained laſt Year, 1730, of the great Want of Oak and Firr near the Rivers on which their Saw-Mills ſtand; and as they are reſtrained by ſeveral Acts of Parliament from cutting the King's Trees, they will hardly be able to ſupply us long with Lumber, of private Property, at any reaſonable Rate, which deſerves Conſideration. The other Part of this Objection, That our Sugar Colonies are not able to ſupply them with a ſufficient Quantity of Rum, is as groundleſs as the former. A Gentleman of Diſtinction, of *St. Chriſtopher's*, informed the Committee, that himſelf made two thouſand Gallons of Rum a Year, but that if he had Encouragement he could make twenty thouſand Gallons; and the other Gentlemen of *St. Chriſtopher's*, *Nevis*, and *Montſerrat*, who made little or no Rum now, could make a very great Quantity, if there was a Demand for it. Therefore the Queſtion that was aſked by a *New England* Gentleman, whether we have any Rum left on our Hands at the End of the Year, is not at all to the Purpoſe, though at firſt Sight it ſeems ſo.

The Diſtillers in *New England* find this Trade in Spirits, made of foreign Moloſſes, very profitable, and for that Reaſon raiſe Objections which have nothing in them, in order to make *Boſton* the great Staple of Rum. For ſhould the Prohibition take Place on foreign Rum and Moloſſes, then our Sugar Colonies might ſend again their Rum to *Virginia*, *Maryland*, *Carolina*, and *Newfoundland*, as they did before, and ſave the Lives of many hundred of poor Wretches, who, if this Trade be not ſtopped, will probably be deſtroyed by this pernicious Spirit, made of foreign Moloſſes, which is very unwholſome. If we ſhould admit, for Argument's ſake, that the *French* Sugar Colonies, and *Surinam* (belonging to the *Dutch*) do take off one half of the *New England* Lumber (which by the Way is more than can be proved) the Deficiency then of the Demand of Lumber, will be one Moiety. Now if it can be proved that the *Britiſh* Sugar Colonies, upon a proper Encouragement, might be improved ſufficiently to make as much more Rum and Sugar as they now do, it will follow that the *Britiſh* Sugar Colonies may take off all the *New England* Lumber.

Barbadoes is allowed to be at its Perfection, and perhaps incapable of being farther improved, ſo as to increaſe its annual Product of Sugar and Rum. *Antigua* is capable of farther Improvements, and may enlarge its Product of Sugar, according to the beſt Computations, at leaſt, one fifth Part *per Annum*; as to the Product of Rum there, it may certainly be enlarged near one half upon proper Encouragement, for the Rum it now makes is not quite one half of its Product of Sugar: That is to ſay, if *Antigua* makes twenty thouſand Hogſheads of Sugar *per annum*, its Product of Rum is not quite ten thouſand. But it is evident from the Experience of *Barbadoes*, that out of twenty thouſand Hogſheads of Sugar, there ought to be made near fourteen thouſand Hogſheads of Rum. And this Increaſe, both of Sugar and Rum, would certainly be made if there was proper Encouragement. *Monſerrat*, *Nevis*, and *St. Chriſtopher's*, for want of Encouragement, do not make one Hogſhead of Rum for three Hogſheads of Sugar. Whereas it is evident, by the Experience of *Barbadoes*, that three Hogſheads of Sugar ought to produce two Hogſheads of Rum; conſequently the Product of Rum in theſe three Iſlands might be, upon proper Encouragement, encreaſed to as much more as it now is. Add to this the Improvement to be made in thoſe Iſlands, by which the Quantity of Sugar would be encreaſed. It will follow ſtill farther, that the Quantity of Rum which thoſe Iſlands are capable of making, would be as much more as they now make, and conſequently the Demand for Lumber would be proportionable. *Jamaica*, the largeſt of all the *Britiſh* Sugar Colonies, is yet but in its Infancy; having now as much Land uncultivated, as would produce above three times its preſent Product if cultivated, as it certainly would be upon proper Encouragement.

But farther it appeared by the Cuſtom-houſe Books, that all the *Britiſh* Sugar Colonies do produce about one hundred thouſand Hogſheads of Sugar *per annum*; and they ought, in proportion, to make about ſeventy thouſand Hogſheads of Rum; a Quantity more than ſufficient to ſupply the *New England* Fiſhery, and *Indian* Trade, even according to their own Computation. But the preſent Product of the Sugar Colonies, under all the incumbent Diſadvantages, is more than they of *New-England* can prove to be neceſſary to both thoſe Trades; nay, on the contrary, they will have a proof ſooner than deſired, that their Fiſhery and *Indian* Trade do not take off one half of the Rum, now actually made in the Sugar Colonies. *South Carolina* trades with eight thouſand *Indians*, and yet nine hundred Hogſheads is the moſt they ever imported in one Year, both to ſupply their home Conſumption, all their Trade with theſe eight thouſand *Indians*, and to trade to other Ports with; and yet this is a Colony that is the hotteſt, has the largeſt Harveſt of Rice, *&c.* and is not ſo well ſupplied with Beer, *&c.* as the other Northern Colonies; ſo let us allow this Colony of *South Carolina* theſe nine hundred Hogſheads; *North Carolina* one thouſand Hogſheads; *Virginia* and *Maryland* three thouſand Hogſheads; *New York* and *Philadelphia* four thouſand Hogſheads; *Rhode Iſland* and *New England* ten thouſand; which Calculations both by their reſpective Cuſtom-houſe Accounts, and by the greateſt Eſtimates that ever have been made, are too large, and yet the whole amounts but to eighteen thouſand and nine hundred Hogſheads; whereas the Sugar Colonies produce forty thouſand, and might fifty-five thouſand, Hogſheads. It was obſerved alſo, that the *New England* People thus taking from the *French* their Moloſſes, Rum, and Sugar, and ſupplying all the other Northern Colonies, as well as *Newfoundland*, *Great-Britain*, *Ireland*, and *Africa*, with large Quantities thereof, was a very great Hurt to the Revenue; for if theſe Places were not thus ſupplied, they muſt be ſupplied by our own Sugar Colonies, and then every thouſand Pounds Value of Rum, or Moloſſes, of our own Growth, muſt pay his Majeſty a Duty of forty-five Pounds, and every thouſand Pounds value of Sugar a Duty of one hundred and twenty Pounds. It might have been added that it was likewiſe a great Hurt to the Trade and Navigation of this Kingdom, as well as to the Sugar Colonies, that we cannot ſupply thoſe Places with Rum, Sugar, and Moloſſes of our own Growth, and in Ships and Veſſels of this Kingdom, without the Diſadvantage of paying for our Rum and Moloſſes a Duty of four and a half *per Cent.* when *New England* can ſupply all the Markets with Rum, Sugar, and Moloſſes, of foreign Growth, without paying any of theſe Duties. Was it not for this Advantage they have over us, a great many of our Veſſels that miſs a Freight of Sugar in the *Weſt-Indies* for *London*, would take ſome Rum, Moloſſes, and Sugar, and go to *Newfoundland* and barter it for Fiſh or Oil, and then proceed to ſome other Market with it, and might probably employ themſelves to Advantage, or might, with a little Rum, Sugar, and Moloſſes, go to *North Carolina*, &c. and barter them for a Cargo of Pitch, Tar, and Skins, and bring them to *Great-Britain.*

As to what is alledged, That the reſtraining the Northern Colonies from the diſpoſing of their Horſes, Proviſions, and Lumber to the *French* and *Hollanders*, might put them upon ſome Employment prejudicial to *Great-Britain*, it is anſwered, That it hath been ſhewn already, that there is more Reaſon to fear the Iſlands will not be ſupplied with Lumber as they ought to be, than that the Northern Colonies will want a Vent for their Lumber; but if the *Britiſh* Colonies could not take off their Lumber, they might ſend it to *Spain*, or *Portugal*, or to *Great-Britain*, where it might be imported Duty-free. They might employ themſelves in raiſing naval Stores; the Government hath given them a large Bounty upon that Trade, which would be of vaſt Advantage to our Navigation, and ſave the Nation three or four hundred thouſand Pounds a Year, which is ſent out annually to purchaſe naval Stores with from the North. But this favourite Trade with the foreign Sugar Colonies, hath diverted them from that excellent Deſign, to the enriching of the *French*, and to the great Prejudice and almoſt Ruin of our own. As to the fourth Objection: That the *French* would diſtil their Moloſſes themſelves, and ſupply the Fiſheries with Rum, if the Northern Colonies did not; it was anſwered, That the *French* diſtil but very little Rum at preſent, and know little of the Matter; Worms, Stills, and other diſtilling Utenſils, coſt a great deal of Money; and this muſt be a Work of Time and very great Expence; however, a Poſſibility of an Inconvenience that might happen ought not to have that Regard paid to it, as to prevent our Colonies from being relieved in a Point ſo very prejudicial to them, as well as to the Malt Spirits of *Great-Britain*, with which their Fiſheries were formerly ſupplied.

To the 5th, That if the Northern Colonies did not take off the *French* Sugars, they would carry them to other Markets themſelves; it was anſwered, The *French* do already carry many Sugars to foreign Markets; if ſo, they may ſell to Advantage, and the Surplus which foreign Markets won't take off, goes to our Northern Colonies to purchaſe what is abſolutely neceſſary for them, and what they could not have conveniently from any other Place; but even here the Profit of the Freight is gained not by *Great-Britain*, but by the Northern Colonies only; which is a very ſmall Advantage, in Compariſon of the Damage done by this Means to our Sugar Colonies, eſpecially as the *French* can afford their Sugars cheaper than ours, and as the high Duties paid for Sugars in our Plantations, make it impoſſible for us to vend any to the Northern Colonies.

To the next Objection: That if the Importation of *French* and *Dutch* Rum and Moloſſes was prohibited, and they could have none but what they bought of the *Engliſh* Sugar Iſlands, or ſell their Lumber and Proviſions any where elſe, then the *Engliſh* Iſlands would ſet what Price they pleaſed upon their Rum, and beat down the Price of their Lumber and other Goods as they thought fit; it was anſwered: If the Caſe was as the Objection ſtates it, the *Britiſh* Sugar Colonies would be only upon a Level with *New England*; for, as that Place is the only Market from whence Lumber is imported to the Sugar Colonies, *New England*, by a Parity of Reaſon, is a Monopoly of the Lumber-Trade, and therefore does exact in the Price of its Lumber. But this is not, nor ever can be, the Truth of the Caſe, either with Regard to *New England*, or the Sugar Colonies; for as in a Place of ſuch Extent as *New England*, where the Lumber-Trade is carried on by a Multitude of People, with a View to each Trader's ſeparate Intereſt, a Monopoly of Lumber cannot properly be made; ſo in the Sugar Colonies that lie at a vaſt Diſtance from, and are Rivals to each other, by the Production of the ſame Commodities, a Monopoly is impracticable. The *New England* Traders have no leſs than ſix *Britiſh* Iſlands to go to for Rum and Moloſſes; each of theſe Iſlands is as independent on the other in its Polity, as diſtant in Situation. There is little or no Intercourſe, and leſs Commerce, between thoſe of them which are ſituated the neareſt, and no Intercourſe at all between the remoteſt of theſe Iſlands; becauſe the Produce of them all being the ſame, there can be no Exchange of Commodities, and conſequently no Commerce or Intercourſe. It follows therefore, where there is no Intercourſe there can be no Combination, no Monopoly. On the contrary, each Iſland is a Rival to its Neighbour, producing the ſame Commodities, and will in common Prudence uſe all proper Means to have its full Share of Trade; to which End nothing can be more conducive, than to ſell its Produce at the cheapeſt Rate poſſible.

As to the ſeventh Objection, that the *French* and *Dutch* Colonies furniſh our Northern Colonies with Money, which they bring to *Great-Britain*, and lay out in our Manufactures, they anſwered, That there is no Money among the *French* and *Dutch* Sugar Colonies. How therefore they can bring Money from Places, where there is not enough for the common Uſes of Life among the Inhabitants, is a Paradox which they muſt explain before the World will take it upon their Word. If then that Aſſertion be not founded on Truth, it follows that they do not lay out Money, brought from theſe Places, in the Manufactures of *Great-Britain*; their Traffic for Fiſh in the Streights (a Trade in which they have ſupplanted *Great-Britain*) may furniſh them with Money, but we deny that ſuch Money is laid out by them in the Manufactures of *Great-Britain.* On the contrary, it is to be preſumed, that their Money is laid out with the *French* and *Dutch* in *Europe*, for *Eaſt-India* Goods, *French* Silks, and other foreign Commodities; for, as it appears by their own Evidence, at the Bar of the Houſe of Commons, they import ſuch Wares into *New England*; and we muſt ſuppoſe they pay for them in Money or Fiſh, till they can prove that Lumber is a valuable Commodity in *France* and *Holland.* But ſuppoſing the *New England* People to lay out their Product of Fiſh in *Britiſh* Manufactures, is that a ſufficient Compenſation to *Great-Britain* for robbing her of the Fiſh Trade to the Streights? Do not the *New England* People, by their Confeſſion, acknowledge by Implication, that they reap the Profit of it, both in Navigation and Trade up the Streights, which uſed to be enjoyed by *Great-Britain* herſelf? What Advantage is it to *Britain* to have this Money laid out in her Manufactures? Would it not be a far greater to be the Carrier of theſe Manufactures to the Streights, and to bring home this Money in her own Ships, navigated by her own Sailors?

The Inhabitants of the Sugar Colonies, it is ſaid, are very rich, and very luxurious. That the Product of theſe Colonies are of the richeſt Sort, and a Mine to *Great-Britain*, is allowed, and has been fully proved; but that the Proprietors of the Soil and Manufactures are far from being rich, is evident from the Proofs already made to the Parliament, that they do not clear five Shillings for every hundred pound Weight of Sugar they make. This the *New England* Traders would think but a moderate Profit upon one of their ſhort Voyages; but it is too much for an Inhabitant of the Sugar Colonies, who runs infinitely more riſques in the Heat of the

Torrid Zone, does the Duty, and is liable to run the Hazard of a Camp in the Time of War, and in Time of Peace live the hardeſt Life of all the Inhabitants under the Sun. That this is truly the Caſe of the Planters in the Sugar Colonies, all Mankind that are acquainted with them will atteſt; but it may be evinced from the Nature of the *Weſt-Indian* Eſtate itſelf, which is ſubject to Ruin by the *French*, to Fire from the combuſtible Nature of the Sugar Canes, which are its Product; from the vaſt Expence of Materials and Edifices for making Sugar and Rum, and from the like Expence in Negroes, Cattle, and Mules; from the Riſque of Mortality in this Part of their Property, which is always half the Value of a well ſettled Plantation: And laſtly, the Expence of feeding, the Care, Anxiety, and prudent Conduct of governing two or three hundred Negroes, with ſtrict Juſtice and Humanity, and with Advantage to himſelf, is the Station of a Planter: And is not this a Station that requires as much Fortitude, Induſtry, Oeconomy, as catching Fiſh, or buying Skins from the *Indians* in *New England*? In ſhort, without a good Share of all the Qualifications neceſſary to conduct an Affair the moſt complicated in its Nature ſurrounded with Difficulties and Hazards, and in which the niceſt Oeconomy and Order muſt be obſerved, it is impoſſible a Planter ſhould reap any Profit from his Eſtate; therefore if Planters are rich, they muſt be the beſt Oeconomiſts, and the moſt induſtrious Men in the World, and therefore deſerve what they acquire.

To the ninth Objection, That the Trade of the *Engliſh* Sugar Colonies is at preſent vaſtly profitable; for the little Iſland of *Barbadoes* in the Year 1730 imported twenty thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixty-nine Hogſheads of Sugar, of which they made 340,396 *l.* clear Profit. It is admitted to be true, when Rum and Moloſſes bear a reaſonable Price, then a Plantation may, with the niceſt Oeconomy, pay its own Charges out of thoſe Articles. But if the *New England* Traders take Rum from Foreigners, and Moloſſes to be diſtilled into Rum by themſelves, then the Rum and Moloſſes will be ſo far from bearing ſuch a Charge, that, on the contrary, they will bear no Price at all; but the Moloſſes muſt be given to the Hogs, as the *French* uſed to do, until *New England* taught them how to make a better Profit of it. Have not then the *Barbadians* Reaſon to complain? By the Aſſiſtance of the *New England* Traders the *French* now have that great Advantage, and the *French* Plantations are now increaſed above one third of the annual Value, purely by that pernicious Trade. This Increaſe to Foreigners is a proportionable Diminution of our own Sugar Colonies, and conſequently a Diſadvantage to *Great Britain*. But is the Product of that little Iſland *Barbadoes* no leſs than 340,396 *l.* brought into the Ports of *Great Britain*, in one Year, what a Fountain of Treaſure muſt this be to the Kingdom, even by the Confeſſion of the Enemies to our *Britiſh* Sugar Colonies? Do therefore the *New England* Traders imagine that the Parliament of *Great Britain* will ſacrifice this immenſe Treaſure to the Advantage of a few *New England* Diſtillers; or if it was a Diſadvantage to all *New England* (from whence *Great Britain* derives no Advantage in compariſon of that) would it not be juſt Policy to ſupport the Sugar Colonies? but when the preſent Oppoſition is conſidered, as founded on a Trade with the *French*, the natural and implacable Enemies of this Kingdom, what honeſt *Engliſhman* will look upon it but with Diſdain? eſpecially after it has appeared evident from Reaſon, from undoubted Teſtimony, and even by the implicit Confeſſion of the *New England* People concerned in this Oppoſition, that the *French* have increaſed one third *per Annum* in their Wealth by this very Trade; that our Sugar Colonies have declined in Proportion, as has been proved already; and to compleat the Misfortune, the *New England* Traders have drained even the *Britiſh* Sugar Colonies of all their current Caſh, for no other Purpoſe but to purchaſe Moloſſes and Rum of the *French*. This is a Fact known by all the Inhabitants of the Sugar Colonies, who are ready to prove it in the moſt ſolemn Manner.

The two Houſes having heard the ſeveral Facts ſtated, with the Proofs; and conſidered the Arguments and Inferences drawn from them, paſſed an Act of the following Tenor: That after the 25th of *December* 1738 there ſhould be paid a Duty of Nine-pence a Gallon for all Rum and Spirits made in the Plantations, not ſubject to *Great Britain*, on the Importation of them into any of the *Britiſh* Plantations; that Sixpence a Gallon ſhould be paid for all foreign Moloſſes and Syrups imported, and Five Shillings for every Hundred Weight, *Engliſh* Money, for Sugar and Paneles imported; and that no Sugar, Paneles, Syrups, or Moloſſes, ſhould be imported into *Ireland*, unleſs ſhipped in *Great Britain*. And an Allowance of Two Shillings *per* Hundred Weight more than heretofore granted, on the Exportation of refined Sugars. But the Importation of *Spaniſh* or *Portugueze* Sugars into *Great Britain* is ſtill permitted by the ſaid Act.

Since the Act, the Merchants and Planters concerned in the *Britiſh* Sugar Colonies preferred a Petition to the *Houſe of Commons*, ſetting forth, that by two Acts of Parliament paſſed in the 12th and 22d of *Charles* II. the Inhabitants of the ſaid Colonies were reſtrained from ſending Sugar to Foreign Markets before they are firſt landed in *Great Britain*. That how prudent ſoever this Reſtraint may have been at the Time the Sugar Trade in the *Weſt Indies* was entirely in our Hands, yet now our Sugar Iſlands are in a declining Condition from the Increaſe of the *French* Settlements, it would be highly beneficial not only to them but to *Great Britain* to put the *Britiſh* Subject in a Capacity of diſputing foreign Markets with the *French*, and to permit him to carry his Sugars earlier and cheaper to thoſe Markets than he can do, under the Reſtraint aforeſaid. That the Sugar Colonies import yearly into this Kingdom Sugar enough for our Home Conſumption, and alſo a large Surplus for Re-exportation to foreign Parts; but the Demand from Abroad has greatly decreaſed within theſe few Years, and the Markets for that Commodity have been foreſtalled by the *French*, not only to the Prejudice of the Sugar Trade but alſo of the general Trade of *Great Britain*, which muſt affect the Balance thereof. That if *Britiſh* Ships were permitted to go to foreign Markets under proper Reſtrictions without unloading here, the whole Charge, and in a great Meaſure, the Riſque, of a double Voyage would be ſaved; and the obliging ſuch Ships to return to *Great Britain*, unloaded, and take their Clearance here, before their proceeding on another *American* Voyage, would be attended with this farther good Effect, that they muſt afford to carry Freight at the cheapeſt Rates, or return Home empty; ſo that this Regulation would extend our Navigation, and contribute to make us the Carriers of *Europe*, without prejudicing the Revenue, all the Duties on Sugar being drawn back on the Re-exportation of it to foreign Parts. For theſe Reaſons the Petitioners prayed that Liberty might be granted of carrying *Britiſh* Sugar from our Sugar Colonies in *America* directly to any foreign Markets to the Southward of *Cape Finiſterre*, upon the ſame Conditions that the People of *Carolina* are permitted to carry their Rice to the ſaid Markets, and alſo of carrying ſuch Sugars to any foreign Markets to the Northward of *Cape Finiſterre*, after firſt touching at *Great Britain*, before they proceed on another *Weſt India* Voyage. But the great Tenderneſs the Parliament has always had for the famous Act of Navigation, has prevented theſe Indulgences from being granted, that might otherwiſe perhaps have been yielded to in behalf of the Sugar Colonies.

But the preſent War with *France* will afford the beſt Means of coming at the Truth, in reſpect to the Facts aſſerted in the Papers before-mentioned; and therefore, whenever a general Peace ſhall be made, and the Parliament is at leiſure to look into Affairs of this Nature, we have all the Reaſon in the World to expect that this Commerce will be put upon ſuch a Foot as that the Inhabitants both of *Great Britain* and the Plantations may reap from it the greateſt Advantages poſſible. In order to this, the intelligent Reader will eaſily diſcern that the following Steps are neceſſary. In the firſt Place, due Care muſt be taken to give the Inhabitants of the Sugar Colonies all the Relief that is poſſible from any Hardſhips of which they have, or with good Reaſon might have, complained; ſuch as heavy and exorbitant Salaries to their Governors, large Sums levied upon them, without being applied for their Service, and the Difficulties they are under, in obtaining ſpeedy and effectual Juſtice, when Perſons in public Stations are inclined to extend their Power too far, with a View to promote their private Intereſt. They ſhould likewiſe have all poſſible Encouragement given them for recovering their foreign Trade, and beating out the *French* and other Nations who have interfered in it; ſince in regard to both Heads, it ought to be conſidered that the public Benefit, that is to ſay, the enriching the Subjects of *Great Britain* by the Balance of Trade in general, is the great Point to be held in View; from the attaining of which, all other incidental Advantages, ſuch as advancing the Revenue of the Crown, enriching particular Families, and raiſing private Fortunes, would certainly and neceſſarily follow, without their entering at all into the Motives, upon which Laws for the Good of the Plantations are enacted. For if it could be once brought about, that either the old Markets for Sugar were retrieved or new ones opened, there is no doubt that *Jamaica* and other Iſlands, where there are Lands, fit for that Purpoſe, uncultivated, would be more fully planted, the Inhabitants become more numerous, and their Demands from *Great Britain* conſequently larger than they are at preſent. On the other Hand, the ſame Care, the ſame Diligence and Alacrity are requiſite, with regard to the Colonies on the Continent; but, at the ſame time, it ought to be remembered, that whatever is done to promote the Welfare and Trade of the Sugar Colonies, muſt neceſſarily tend to the Benefit and Advantage of the Plantations on the Continent, which ſupply the Sugar Colonies with Lumber, and other Things requiſite for the carrying on their Trade; and if, beſides this, Ways and Means could be found to open new Channels for the Benefit of theſe Colonies alſo, it ought moſt certainly to be done.

We have ſpent a grat deal of Time indeed in ſurveying thus far the *Engliſh* Poſſeſſions in the *Weſt-Indies*; but in a Work of this Nature Time could not well be ſpent better; they are, if I may be allowed the Expreſſion, the pacific Conqueſts of this Nation. Territories acquired, and for the moſt part, at leaſt, acquired without ſhedding Blood, which ſhews that Induſtry is as capable of rendering a Nation powerful, as a Thirſt of War; and that a martial is not a more noble than a trading Spirit. What is gained by one War is frequently loſt by another; and even while it is kept, the Expences created by a diſputed Title are greater than the Value of the Poſſeſſion; but what becomes ours, by this Method of planting, remains always ours, and paſſes without Debate to our Poſterity, the very Power by which we acquire it ſecures its Continuance, and the longer we hold ſuch Acquiſitions the more valuable they are rendered, and the more effectually annexed to our Empire. They are Out-works well garriſoned, which yet put us to little or no Expence; they are diſtant Dominions, and yet cloſely connected to us by the Commerce which they create, they are continually drawing People without Prejudice to their Mother-Country, becauſe the more populous they grow the greater their Demands from hence, conſequently the quicker our Trade here, which will always bring over hither People from other Countries.

We may therefore ſafely affirm, that nothing can be of ſuch Conſequence to *Britain* as the Improvement of her Colonies; and which, at the ſame time, is a Conſideration that muſt powerfully recommend this to our Attention, that it lies wholly in our Power. We may be diſappointed in our Views, with reſpect to other Branches of Trade, by the Intrigues of our Enemies, or from the want of a right Diſpoſition in our Friends, but with regard to this great Branch of our Commerce, nothing can injure, nothing can diſappoint us, nothing can abridge or defeat our Succeſſes therein, if we are not wanting to ourſelves. We can from our Plantations bring moſt of thoſe Commodities that are requiſite for the Support of our foreign Commerce; and this is as well, or rather better, than if we had them here at home; we can, from our Colonies, ſupply ourſelves with thoſe Neceſſaries, for want of which only Foreigners could diſtreſs us, ſuch as Iron, Plank, Hemp, Pitch and Tar, and if we ſo pleaſed there are few Things we might not fetch from our Plantations; ſince, it is certain, that Indico, Cochineal, and Silk, might be had from our Southern Colonies, and many Things from our Northern Settlements, that have never been ſo much as talked of, but might be eaſily diſcovered; if Men well verſed in Minerals and Metals were ſent thither. In a Word, the Plantations were an Honour of the laſt Age, and it ſhould be our Study to make them the Glory of this.

SECTION XIX.

An Hiſtorical Account of the BRITISH *Settlements in* America *from the Reſtoration of King* Charles II. *to the Revolution.*

1. *A ſuccinct Account of commercial Affairs at the King's Return, and of the Circumſtances that favoured the ſettling New Colonies.* 2. *The State of the Country now called* Carolina, *from the Time of its firſt Diſcovery to the granting of it to the Lords Proprietors by King* Charles II. *and thence to the Surrender of that Patent.* 3. *A ſhort Deſcription of the Country of* Carolina *and the principal Places in that Colony.* 4. *An Account of the Produce, People, Commerce, Shipping, and Importance of this Colony to the* Britiſh *Nation.* 5. *The Grant of the Iſland of* Antego *to Lord* Willoughby, *the planting that Iſland, its Produce, Commerce, and Shipping.* 6. *The Conqueſt of* Nova Belgia *from the* Dutch, *the Grant of that Country to the Duke of* York, *whence is derived its preſent Name of* New York, *and a Defence of our Title to that Plantation.* 7. *An Account of that Country, its Situation, Climate and Product.* 8. *Of its Trade, Intereſts, and Importance to* Great Britain. 9. *The Grant of the* Eaſt *and* Weſt Jerſeys *to ſeveral Proprietors, and the Extent, Product and Trade of theſe Plantations.* 10. *The Settlement of the Iſland of* New Providence *and the* Bahama Iſlands, *their preſent Situation, and the Advantages that may be expected from them.* 11. *An Account of the Charter granted to the* Hudſon's-Bay Company *for facilitating the Diſcovery of a North-weſt Paſſage, and of the Settlements that have been made under it.* 12. *The Motives upon which were founded the Grant of the noble Country of* Penſylvania *to* William Penn, *Eſq*; *by King* Charles II. 13. *An Account of the Extent, Climate, Soil, Produce, and State of that flouriſhing Colony.* 14. *The Commerce, Intereſts, and Importance of* Penſylvania *to* Britain. 15. *Remarks and Obſervations on the foregoing Events.*

1. AT the Time King *Charles* II. returned to the Poſſeſſion of his Dominions, the Nature of Trade and the Importance of the Plantations were generally underſtood, and by very few better than the King himſelf, who had a Head mighty well turned for the comprehending whatever related to Maritime Affairs; had improved

his Notions on that Subject in *Holland*, and had converſed much with Perſons of Quality and Character, who had found it neceſſary to ſeek Shelter from their Enemies in thoſe Parts of the World. We need not wonder therefore, that ſoon after the Reſtoration various Schemes were ſet on Foot for enlarging, and effectually peopling, the Colonies already planted in *America*, as well as for ſettling new Colonies, in ſuch Places as were not already occupied by our own, or any other *European*, Nation. The King was adviſed by ſome, and ſollicited by others, to grant Charters to new Colonies, from various Motives. Prince *Robert*, or as we uſually call him, Prince *Rupert*, Duke of *Cumberland*, who had ſpent ſome Years in *America*, had great Notions of raiſing a naval Strength there, capable of diſtreſſing the *Spaniards*, and of obtaining a Share of the Gold and Silver they bring from thence. He was likewiſe perſuaded, that there were very rich Mines in *Florida*, and was therefore for promoting, at any Rate, Diſcoveries and Settlements in that Country; the Earl of *Clarendon*, Lord *Aſhley*, and ſeveral others of his firſt Miniſtry, conſidered Things in a very different Light: They thought that Plantations might be made uſeful Drains for carrying off warm and turbulent Spirits; and that by granting Liberty of Conſcience there to all the different Sects who were reſtrained at Home, they might ſecure Peace in *Britain*, and at the ſame Time procure vaſt Profit from *America*; for it was a ſettled Maxim with them, *That Induſtry was the beſt Cure for Enthuſiaſm*; which Experience ſhewed was extremely well founded.

There were ſome other Reaſons that contributed not a little to render Projects of this Nature acceptable to the King; for at that Time there were Numbers of People that wanted ſome Eſtabliſhment of this kind for their Support, and whom it was much eaſier to diſpoſe of in this manner, than to find Means of rendering them eaſy and content at home. As, for Inſtance, Multitudes of Royaliſts who were undone by the War, and who ſeeing the Succeſs that had attended the Planters in *Virginia* and *Barbadoes*, were better pleaſed to ſeek new Fortunes in the *Weſt Indies*, than to continue in a State of Indigence and Neceſſity in *England*. Many likewiſe of the Army that had been lately diſbanded, were alſo inclined to take the ſame Method for obtaining a comfortable Subſiſtance; and were not afraid of Danger and Fatigues abroad, to which they had been long inured at home. There were a third Sort of People who, either from a Diſaffection to the Government then newly re-eſtabliſhed, or for fear of being called to an Account for what they had done in former Times, were very willing to tranſport themſelves into theſe diſtant Parts of the King's Dominions, that they might have a Chance of raiſing Eſtates there, and at the ſame Time be ſecure from any After-reckonings for what, during our long Scene of public Confuſions, they had been doing here: We need not wonder therefore, that as ſoon as the Government was a little ſettled, many Propoſals ſhould be made for gratifying the Friends to the Government, who had very high Pretenſions to the royal Favour, with Grants in *America*, which coſt the Crown nothing, and which afforded probable Means of enriching particular Perſons at the ſame Time that it opened a ſure and certain Means of extending the Power, increaſing the Trade, and augmenting the Wealth of the Nation. We may add, that beſides all theſe Reaſons, Expedients, and Advantages, there were likewiſe ſome of Neceſſity; for it was evident, even to ſuch as were no great Politicians, that if ſome Meaſures were not taken to prevent it, the *Dutch* and other Foreigners, would infallibly fix themſelves in thoſe Countries which belonged of Right to this Crown, and which had been hitherto neglected; and therefore it was very wiſely judged, that the Plantations firſt ſettled, ſhould be in thoſe Parts of the Continent that were in moſt Danger of falling into the Hands of other Nations.

Upon theſe Conſiderations therefore, the Adminiſtration liſtened very willingly to a Propoſal that was made within two Years after the King was reſtored, for planting the Country now known by the Name of *Carolina*; which ſeemed the more worthy of being ſecured, as lying indiſputably in the fineſt Climate in the World; and thereby promiſing the higheſt Advantages to that *European* Nation which ſhould ſettle and cultivate it. Neither was it at all improbable, that when the Property of this Country was once fixed by a Charter from the Crown, and large Privileges offered to ſuch as would go thither and ſettle, it might be very ſoon peopled; ſince amongſt the many Things for which that Country was undoubtedly fit, they were likely to fall upon ſomewhat that might ſupport and maintain them; it is true, that many Things were given out of the Country at that time, which have not hitherto been verified by Experience; but then, as we ſhall ſhew hereafter at large, it ſeems to be rather imputable to the Want of Induſtry and Application in the Inhabitants, than to any Defect in the Soil or Climate: But to have juſt Notions of this, and from thence to form a right Idea of the Value of this noble Country, than which the Globe affords not a better, it is neceſſary that we ſhould enter into a few Particulars, that we may thoroughly apprehend by what Right we poſſeſs it; how it came to be abandoned by another Nation that ſeized it while unoccupied by us; and after what Manner our firſt Plantations were made; what great Changes have happened in the Conſtitution of the Colony; the State it is in at preſent; the Benefits which *Great-Britain* reaps from it, and what reaſonable Hopes there are, that it may yet turn more to our Advantage. Of all which Heads we ſhall treat as clearly and as conciſely as it is poſſible.

2. The Country of *Carolina* is Part of that vaſt Region of *North America* which was formerly comprehended under the Name of *Florida*, a Name beſtowed by *John Ponce de Leon*, in the Year 1512; of whoſe Adventures and Diſcoveries we have already ſpoken largely: He advanced, however, no farther Northwards than the River of *St. Matheo*, and therefore it is plain, that the *Spaniards* never had any juſt Title to *Carolina*: But it is, however, very true that they flattered themſelves, that his having touched upon this Continent, gave them a Right to it; which Notion, if well founded, would give us a better Right, ſince *Sebaſtian Cabot* had been ſeveral Years before on the Northern Coaſt of this very Country, though it is doubtful whether he advanced ſo far South as *St. Matheo*. The *Spaniards*, who deſired to ſecure it to themſelves eight Years afterwards, ſent *Vaſquez de Ayllon* to make a farther Diſcovery of it: He came upon the North Coaſt, and called the North-north-weſt River by the Name of *Jordan*. He did nothing except inviting many of the Natives on board his Ships, where, when he had got them, he hoiſted Sail, and carried them into miſerable Bondage. In the Year 1526, *Charles* V. Emperor of *Germany* and King of *Spain*, ſent *Pamphilio Narvaez* to *Florida*, who ſtaid ſo long in the South-weſt Part of this Country, which is the moſt barren, that his People eat one another, his Crew having ſpent their Proviſions. Ten Years afterwards, *Ferdinando Soto* came hither in Search of Gold and Silver Mines, having a little Army of nine hundred Foot and five hundred Horſe. Himſelf and three Parts of his Soldiers died through Want, by Sickneſs, and the *Indians*, and the reſt, were led back by *Lewis Moſcos* to *New Spain*, though not without great Difficulty, the Natives ſetting upon them ſeveral times in their March, and killing all that fell into their Hands. This unfortunate and expenſive Expedition ſo diſcouraged the *Spaniards*, that for ſeveral Years they made no more Attempts in thoſe Parts, and indeed they ſearched no farther than that Part of the Continent which lies oppoſite to the Gulph of *New Spain*, and not within, and beyond the Streights of *Bahama*, which is the moſt fertile and rich, abounding in many valuable Commodities.

The *French* perceiving the *Spaniards* neglected this long Tract of Land, Admiral *Coligny*, in the Reign of *Charles* IX. procured two of the King's Ships to be ſent thither; the Command of which he gave to *Jean Ribaut*, who, after a Voyage of two Months, arrived at the River *Dolphin*, between that of *St. Matheo* and that of *May*; lying about the 30th Degree. The next River to that of *May* he called the *Seine*, the next to that the *Somme*, then *Loire*, then the *Charente* and *Garonne*, at the Mouth of *Albemarle* River, then called the *Great River*. The Port being ſafe and commodious, he built a Fort, which he called *Charles Fort*,

Fort, and gave it the Name of *Port Royal*, in 32 Degrees, bordering on *Virginia*, now *North Carolina*, where the firſt Settlement was made by any *European* Nation. The Civil War raging in *France*, *Ribaut*'s Soldiers mutinied for want of Supplies; the Natives, it is true, were very kind to them out of Hatred to the *Spaniards*; but they could not furniſh them with many Neceſſaries that they wanted; and the Admiral was ſo engaged in Politics at home, that he had not leiſure to provide for the Wants of his Colony, ſo *Ribaut*, having made ſome Diſcoveries, in the North-eaſt Part of *Florida*, returned to *France*; and in his Return his Company were reduced to ſuch Extremity, that they killed and eat one of their own Men, and probably would have done ſo by others, had they not accidentally met with an *Engliſh* Ship; the Maſter of which furniſhed them with ſome Proviſions. A Peace being concluded two Years after in *France*, between the Papiſts and the Proteſtants, *Coligny*, who was then in favour at Court, procured other Ships to be ſent to this Country, which was now called *Carolina*, from *Fort Charles*, as that was from the *French* King.

The Command of thoſe Ships and Men on board, was given to *Lewis Laudoner*, who was ordered to carry on the Settlement. He arrived here the 20th of *June*, 1564, with three Ships, and was kindly received by the Inhabitants; but could find no Gold or Silver, though he ſpent much Labour and Time about them. His Proviſions being almoſt all gone, and the Natives either unwilling or unable to furniſh him with more, *Laudoner* reſolved to return alſo to *France*; and as he was preparing to depart, *Jean Ribaut* arrived with three Ships, which had ſo good an Effect on the *Indians*, that they ſeemed to be as welcome to them as to the *French*: The Kings of *Homoloa*, *Servaratri*, *Almacam*, *Malica*, and *Caſtri*, waited upon *Ribaut* to congratulate his Arrival, and promiſed to conduct him to the *Apalachian* Mountains, which part *Carolina* from *Virginia*. The *French* conceived great Hopes from this Settlement, but all vaniſhed on the Arrival of the *Spaniards*, who with a Squadron of Ships and Land Forces drove the *French* out of their Forts, killed *Ribaut* and ſix hundred Men, after having given them Quarter, and obliged *Laudoner*, with a few of his Countrymen who remained alive, to return to *France*.

The *French* King was leſs moved with this Outrage committed on his Subjects, becauſe they were Proteſtants; and indeed, it is thought, *Coligny* intended by this Settlement to ſecure a Retreat for himſelf and his Brethren of the reformed Religion in caſe they were conquered in *France*. *Peter Melanda* commanded the *Spaniards*, who diſlodged the *French*, and ſo provoked the *Indians*, by his Cruelty and Injuſtice, that they were very ready to revenge themſelves when Opportunity offered, as it did not long after. For Captain *de Gorgues*, a *French* Gentleman, at his own Coſt, fitted out three ſtout Ships, and with two hundred and eighty Men ſailed to *Carolina*, where he took the Fort, and put the *Spaniards* therein all to the Sword. They had built two other Forts, which he eaſily reduced, and ſerved the Garriſons as he did that of *Fort Charles*; he demoliſhed them, and was aſſiſted by the Kings of *Homoloa* and *Servaratri*. The *French* travelled into the Dominions of the Great King of *Apalacha*, near the Mountains, where they converted many *Indians* to Chriſtianity. Theſe *Indians* were more civil than thoſe to the Northward, their King's Dominions larger, and their Manners, in a great Meaſure, reſembled thoſe of the *Mexicans*, from whom they were thought to be deſcended. We do not find that Monſieur *de Gorgues* made any Settlement here, or that the *Spaniards* endeavoured to recover the Country, which from the Year 1567 lay deſerted by all *European* Nations till the Reign of King *Charles* II. of *England*.

In the Year 1622 ſeveral *Engliſh* Families flying from the Maſſacres of the *Indians* in *Virginia* and *New England*, were driven upon theſe Coaſts and ſettled in the Province of *Malica* near the Head of the River of *May*, where they became a kind of Miſſionaries among the *Malicans* and *Apalachites*. The King of the Country is ſaid to have been baptized; and in the Year 1653, Mr *Brigſtock*, an *Engliſhman*, went to *Apalacha*, where he was honourably entertained by his Countrymen, who were there before him, and from his Relation of the Country ours is taken.

Such was the Situation of Things, and it had been abandoned by the *French* for near one hundred Years, when King *Charles* the IId. made a Grant thereof, bearing Date *March* 24, 1663, to *Edward* Earl of *Clarendon*, then Lord High Chancellor of *England*, *George* Duke of *Albemarle*, *William* Lord *Craven*, *John* Lord *Berkley*, *Anthony* Lord *Aſhley*, Sir *George Carteret*, Sir *William Berkley*, and Sir *John Colliton*, from the North-end of the Iſland called *Luck Iſland*, which lies in the Southern *Virginia Sea*, and within 36 Degrees of North Latitude, and to the Weſt, as far as the *South-Seas*, and ſo ſoutherly as far as the River *San Matheo*, which borders on the Coaſt of *Florida*, and is within 31 Degrees of North Latitude, and ſo Weſt, in a direct Line, as far as the *South-Seas* aforeſaid, with all Royal Fiſheries, Mines, Power of Life and Limb, and every thing neceſſary in an abſolute Propriety, paying a Quit-Rent of twenty Marks yearly. Theſe Proprietors afterwards obtained another Grant, which ſomewhat varied the Bounds of the Province, by fixing its Northern Frontier at *Carotoch River* in 36 Degrees 30 Minutes North Latitude, and extending it to the Latitude of 29 Degrees to the South, within which Bounds both the *Carolinas* and the new Province of *Georgia* are included.

The Plan of Government for this new Colony was ſtruck out by that great Stateſman, *Anthony* Earl of *Shafteſbury*, and digeſted into Form by the famous Mr. *John Locke*; ſo that great Expectations were raiſed by it. But without entering into a long Detail upon this Subject, it is ſufficient to ſay, that how fair ſoever it might appear in Theory, it was found by Experience impoſſible to carry it into Practice; ſo that after ſtruggling with the Inconveniencies produced by it for about ſixty Years, to the Prejudice of the Planters and Proprietors; the only Remedy that could at laſt be found, was to get rid of this fine ſpun Conſtitution, in which it was pretended all the Errors in our own were cured, and to put the Province under the Protection and into the Hands of his Majeſty, which was accordingly done; and this Remedy has anſwered all the Ends that could be expected from it in ſo few Years.

This Surrender was made by the Proprietors to *Edward Bertie*, *Samuel Horſy*, *Henry Smith* and *Alexis Clayton*, Eſqrs. in Truſt for the Crown. The Proprietors, in their own Right, or in Truſt, were then *Henry* Duke of *Beaufort*, *William* Lord *Craven*, *James Bertie*, Eſq; *Doddington Grenville*, Eſq; *Henry Bertie*, Eſq; *Mary Danſan*, *Elizabeth Moore*, Sir *John Colliton*, *John Cotton* and *Joſeph Blake*, Eſqrs. who were poſſeſſed of Seven-Eighths of their Property of the Province, and ſold it to the Crown for 17500 *l.* Each Proprietor, who had a whole Share, having 2500 *l.* The outſtanding Quit-Rents, and other Incomes, due to the Proprietors from the People of the Province amounting to ſomewhat above 9000, alſo were ſold to the Crown for 5000 *l.* which was paid to the above-mentioned Proprietors after the Sale and Surrender had been confirmed by a particular Act of Parliament, in the Year 1728, entitled, *An Act for eſtabliſhing an Agreement with ſeven of the Lords Proprietors of* Carolina, *for ſurrender of their Title and Intereſt in that Province to his Majeſty*. It will appear by the following Clauſe in the Act of Parliament, that the remaining One-Eighth of the Propriety, and Arrears of Quit-Rents aforeſaid, were reſerved to the Right Honourable *John* Lord *Carteret*, late Earl of *Granville*, "Saving and "reſerving always to the ſaid *John* Lord *Carteret*, his "Heirs, Executors, Adminiſtrators, and Aſſigns, all "ſuch Eſtate, Right, Title, *&c.* to One-Eighth Part "of the ſaid Province or Territories, and to One-"Eighth Part of all Arrears, *&c.*"

In conſequence of the Powers granted to his Majeſty by this Act, he has ever ſince appointed Governors of *North* and *South Carolina*, and there is a great Proſpect of its becoming a Purchaſe highly beneficial to the Crown, which will, however, in a great Meaſure depend on the Capacity and Conduct of the Governors they ſend thither, who ought to have true Notions of the Intereſts of King and People, and a Firmneſs of Mind equally capable of reſiſting Flattery and deſpiſing Clamour, to both which he will be as much expoſed in theſe, as in any other Countries in the World, if from what has already paſſed, we may form any Judgment of what will happen in ſucceeding Times.

3. After having given the Reader an Account of the Time and Manner in which we became poſſeſſed of this Colony, and the Means by which its Government has been changed ſince it was ſettled, we are next to enter into an exact Deſcription of the Country itſelf, that the Reader may be the better able to judge of the Value of this Plantation, and of the Certainty of thoſe Rules, for determining the beſt Climates, and the Commodities that may be expected, either from the Bounty of Nature, or the Induſtry of the Inhabitants; with reſpect to which, more rational Hopes could ſcarce be formed of any Place in our Poſſeſſion, or, indeed, of any *European* Nation in *America*, than of this; which, in Point of Situation, as I have hinted more than once, is as happy as could be wiſhed, and in that reſpect certainly merits the Reader's particular Attention. *Carolina* is ſituated between the Extremes of Heat and Cold, but the Heat is more troubleſome in Summer than the Cold in Winter, their Winters being very ſhort, and their froſty Mornings frequently ſucceeded by warm Days. The Air is, for the moſt Part, ſerene and clear, both in Summer and Winter; yet they have their Winter Rains, and ſometimes very heavy Showers about Midſummer; and eſpecially if the Wind changes ſuddenly from the South-eaſt to the North-weſt, for then it blows exceeding cold, and brings Diſtempers on thoſe who do not take Care to guard againſt it; but the Country is generally healthful, where People live regularly, and uſe any Precaution: Thoſe, indeed, who after a hot Day expoſe themſelves to the cool Breezes of the Evening, uſually feel the Effects of it, as others do that indulge their Appetites in eating Fruit, and drinking pernicious Liquors to Exceſs.

They are ſubject to Hurricanes as well as the *Caribbee Iſlands*, but theſe do not happen every Year; and ſometimes are ſo favourable as not to do much Miſchief in ſeven Years. There was a very terrible one which happened in the Year 1729. This Province is now divided into North and South *Carolina*; and, as we have before ſhewn, the Country now known by the Name of *Georgia* is alſo within the original Limits of this Colony. At preſent we ſhall concern ourſelves only with the two firſt mentioned Provinces, intending to ſpeak more of the laſt in its proper Place. *North Carolina* is bounded by *Virginia* on the North, the Ocean on the Eaſt, by a Line drawn in 34 Degrees from the Ocean to the Mountains on the South, and by that Part of *Florida*, poſſeſſed by the *Indians*, on the Weſt, and is ſubdivided into fourteen Townſhips or Pariſhes. But there is not one Town or Church, as I can learn, in the Country; and it is but very lately that the Society for the propagating the Goſpel has ſent itinerant Preachers amongſt them. *South Carolina* is divided from *North Carolina*, by the aboveſaid imaginary Line on the North, by the Ocean on the Eaſt, by the River *Savannah*, which ſeparates it from *Georgia*, on the South, and by the Country of the *Indians* on the Weſt, being ſubdivided into fourteen Pariſhes or Townſhips, each of them having a good Church of Brick or Timber.

But the chief and almoſt the only Town in both *Carolina's*, is *Charles Town*, ſituate in 32 Degrees 45 Minutes North Latitude, and on the Point of a *Peninſula*, formed by *Aſhley* and *Cooper Rivers*; the former of which is navigable for Ships twenty Miles above the Town; and for Boats and Pettyaugers (large Canoes) near 40 Miles. The other River is not navigable for Ships ſo far, but for Boats and Pettyaugers much farther; the Bar before the Harbour has ſixteen Feet Water at a low Tide, and there is good riding when a Ship is got cloſe to the Town, the Harbour being ſecured by a Fort called *Johnſon's* Fort, which has about twenty Guns in it, level with the Surface of the Water. The Town was regularly fortified ſome Years ago, and ſeveral of the Baſtions, near the Water, are ſtill in being, and in good Repair. But the Baſtions, Palliſadoes, and Foſſe, next the Land, being much damaged by a Hurricane, and deemed of too great an Extent to be defended by the Inhabitants, General *Nicholſon* cauſed them to be demoliſhed. The Town now contains upwards of ſix hundred Houſes, generally well built, ſome of them of Brick, but more of Timber, and moſt of them ſaſhed, forming regular and ſpacious Streets; and their Church is much the moſt magnificent in *Engliſh America*, having three Iſles, an Organ, and Gallery all round the Church.

The Town of *Beaufort* is ſituated on the Iſland of *Port Royal*, in 31 Degrees 40 Minutes North Latitude, an hundred Miles South of *Charles Town*; the Continent and Iſland forming a fine capacious Harbour, which might hold the Royal Navy of *England*. The Iſland on which the Town ſtands, conſiſts of near one thouſand Acres, and is navigable all round for Boats and Pettyaugers, and one half of it for Shipping, having four Fathom Water cloſe to the high Bluff, ſo that Ships may load and unload from the Shore, without the Aſſiſtance of Boats. The Harbour is ſecure by a Fort built ſome Years ſince, on which twelve Culverins are mounted, but the Town and Iſland have no Fortification; nor is the Harbour ſo well fortified as a Place of this Importance deſerves, eſpecially as it lies ſo nigh *Spaniſh Florida*, and is ſaid to be demanded by the *Spaniards* as Part of their Territories. There is not, indeed, above fifty or threeſcore Houſes in the Town of *Beaufort* at preſent, but from its advantageous Situation, and the Goodneſs of the Harbour, it is expected that this Town will one Day be the Capital of *Carolina*: It is already the Station for the *Britiſh* Squadron in thoſe Seas. There is another Port-Town lately erected at *Wingaw*, about fifty Miles to the Northward of *Charles Town*, to which they have given the Name of *George Town*, and the Society for the Propagation of the Goſpel have a Miſſionary here.

It would be needleſs to enter into a large Deſcription of this Country, or of the Towns that are erected in it; only it may not be amiſs to ſay that *North Carolina* is within this few Years become quite a different Country from what it was, and the Number of People therein is continually increaſing; ſo that there is good Reaſon to believe that whenever the Inhabitants are bleſſed with a wiſe, active, prudent, and public-ſpirited Governor, this Country may be ſo improved, as to become infinitely more valuable than from any of the Accounts hitherto received of it could be expected. Indeed it may juſtly be affirmed, that the Welfare and Proſperity of all our Colonies depend ſo much upon the Choice of Governors, that we can ſcarce conceive any thing of ſo great Importance as the Crown's being extremely careful to veſt none with ſuch Authority, but Men of known Capacity, eſtabliſhed Reputation, and competent Fortunes.

4. As to the Produce, Strength, and Commerce of *Carolina*, the beſt Account we have, is from Colonel *Purry*, a Man of great Judgment, Induſtry, and Integrity, who went thither with a View to ſettle, as he did, and therefore his Accounts may be very ſafely depended upon. He obſerves that all Sorts of Trees and Plants will grow there as well as can be wiſhed; particularly Vines, Wheat, Barley, Oats, Peaſe, Beans, Hemp, Flax, Cotton, Tobacco, Indico, Olives, Orange Trees, and Citron Trees, as alſo white Mulberry Trees for feeding of Silk-worms; and that the Lands are not difficult to clear, becauſe there are neither Stones nor Brambles, but only great Trees, which do not grow very thick, ſo that more Land may be cleared there in one Week, than could be done in *Europe* in a Month. The Cuſtom of the Country is, that after having cut down theſe great Trees, they leave the Stumps for four or five Years to rot, and afterwards eaſily root them up, in order to manure the Land. It is therefore very certain that *Carolina* is in general an excellent Country.

It is true the Ground is ſandy, but then it is a Sand impregnated with Salt or Nitre, ſo that it brings forth in great abundance, as the like Soil does in divers Parts of *Europe*. But what ſeems peculiar to *Carolina*, there are a great Number of Plantations that have been continually cultivated for near ſeventy Years, which yet produce great Plenty, without ever being manured by the leaſt Dung, for they never lay any on their Grounds; the Planter only turns up the Superficies of the Earth, and all that he plants and ſows therein quickly grows and thrives: Thoſe who underſtand ever ſo little of Agriculture will be obliged to own, that if the Lands in *Europe* were not conſtantly manured, their Strength would be ſo exhauſted that at length the Crops would not pay for their Seed; but a Man who has a little Land in *Carolina*, and is not willing to work above two or three Hours in a Day, may very eaſily live there, even on ſo little Labour. Another Conſideration deſerving our Notice is, the Progreſs of the firſt Colonies; their ſudden Advancement; the Riches of the preſent Inhabitants; the great Number of public Expences for which they provide; the great Trade they carry on at preſent; and laſtly, their Misfortunes and Loſſes, which are entirely repaired. The better to comprehend theſe Matters, we ſhall only make the following Obſervations: That there were no People in *Carolina* till near fourſcore Years ago; for the *Engliſh* did not ſend any thither till the Year 1670: That they had at firſt a very fatal Beginning; afflicted with Sickneſs, and even the Plague, which daily diminiſhed the Number of the People: That cruel deſtructive Diviſions broke out amongſt them: That they had a very bad Government under the Lords Proprietors, being alſo without Juſtice, Order, or Diſcipline: That at a certain Time the Pirates interrupted their Trade and Navigation: That they have often had great Droughts: That a terrible Fire conſumed almoſt all *Charles Town:* That they have been at great Expence in Fortifications, public Edifices, Churches, *&c.* That they have often ſuſtained long Wars with the *French*, *Spaniards*, and particularly with the *Indians*, who once united together to deſtroy the whole Province. That notwithſtanding all theſe Misfortunes, the People of *Carolina*, except thoſe who give themſelves up to Debauchery, are all rich, either in Slaves, Furniture, Clothes, Plate, Jewels, or other Merchandizes, but eſpecially Cattle; which ſhews the Goodneſs of the Country they inhabit.

Silk-worms, in *Carolina*, are hatched from the Egg, about the Middle of *March*; at the ſame Time that the Mulberry-leaves, which are their Food, begin to open; being attended and fed ſix Weeks, they eat no more; but have ſmall Buſhes ſet up for them to ſpin themſelves into Balls; which thrown into warm Water, are wound off into raw Silk. Roſin, Tar, and Pitch, are all produced from the Pine Trees; Roſin, by cutting Channels in the ſtanding green Trees that meet at a Point at the Foot of the Tree, where is placed a Receiver; the Channels are cut as high as one can reach with an Ax; and the Bark is peeled off from all thoſe Parts of the Tree that are expoſed to the Sun, that the Heat of it may the more eaſily force out the Turpentine, which being taken from the Receiver, and melted in Kettles becomes Roſin. Tar is made thus: They prepare a circular Floor of Clay declining a little towards the Center; from which is laid a Pipe of Wood, the Upper-part of which is even with the Floor, and reaches ten Feet without the Circumference; under the End the Earth is dug away, and Barrels placed to receive the Tar as it runs; upon the Floor is built up a large Pile of dry Pine Wood ſplit in Pieces, and ſurrounded with a Wall of Earth, which covers it all over only a little at the Top, where the Fire is firſt kindled: After the Fire begins to burn, they cover it likewiſe with Earth, to the End there may be no Flame, but only Heat ſufficient to force the Tar downward into the Floor; they temper the Heat as they pleaſe, by thruſting a Stick through the Earth, and letting the Air in at as many Places as they ſee convenient. Pitch is made by boiling Tar in large Iron Kettles ſet in Furnaces, or by burning it in round Clay Holes made in the Earth.

Black Cattle have mightily increaſed ſince the firſt ſettling of the Colony. About forty Years ago it was reckoned a great deal to have three or four Cows, now ſome People have a thouſand Head; and for one Man to have two hundred is very common. The Cows graze in the Foreſt, and the Calves being ſeparated and kept in Paſtures fenced in, they return home at Night to ſuckle them: They are firſt milked, then ſhut up in a Fold all Night, milked again in the Morning, and then turned out into the Woods. Here are Hogs in abundance; they go daily to feed in the Woods, where they rove ſeveral Miles, feeding on Nuts and Roots; but having a Shelter made at home, to keep them warm, and ſomething given them to eat, they generally return in the Evening. The Beef and Pork that are raiſed here find a good Market in the Sugar Iſlands.

The Trade of *Carolina* is now ſo conſiderable, that of late Years there have ſailed from thence, annually, above two hundred Ships laden with Merchandize of the Growth of the Country, beſides three Ships of War, which they commonly have for the Security of their Commerce; and laſt Winter they had conſtantly five, the leaſt of which had above an hundred Men on board. It appears from the Cuſtom-houſe Entries, from *March* 1730 to *March* 1731, that there ſailed, within that Time, from *Charles Town*, two hundred and ſeven Ships, moſt of them for *England*; which carried among other Goods, forty-one thouſand nine hundred and fifty-ſeven Barrels of Rice, about five hundred Pounds weight *per* Barrel; ten thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty Barrels of Pitch; two thouſand ſixty-three of Tar; and ſeven hundred and fifty-nine of Turpentine; of Deer-ſkins three hundred Caſks, containing eight or nine hundred each; beſides a vaſt Quantity of *Indian* Corn, Peaſe, Beans, *&c.* Beef, Pork, and other ſalted Fleſh; Beams, Plank, and Timber for Building, moſt part of Cedar, Cypreſs, Saſſafras, Oak, Wallnut, and Pine.

They carry on a great Trade with the *Indians*, from whence they get their great Quantities of Deer-ſkins, and of other wild Beaſts, in exchange for which they give them only Lead, Powder, coarſe Cloth, Vermillion, Iron, ſtrong Waters, and ſome other Goods, by which they have a very conſiderable Profit. The great Number of Slaves makes another Part of the Riches of this Province, there being above forty thouſand Negroes, which are worth, one with another, twenty-five Pounds each. Artificers are ſo ſcarce at preſent, that all Sorts of Work is very dear; Taylors, Shoe-makers, Smiths, *&c.* would be particularly acceptable there; a ſkilful Carpenter is not aſhamed to demand thirty Shillings a Day beſides his Diet, and the common Wages of a Workman is twenty Shillings *per* Day, provided he ſpeaks *Engliſh*, without which he cannot be underſtood, and conſequently not ſo uſeful as others; and when a Workman has but ten Shillings *per* Day, he thinks he labours for almoſt nothing, though he has his Maintenance beſides; but this is *Carolina* Money. Moſt of their Shoes are brought from *England*, and generally ſell for forty Shillings *per* Pair; not but that they have Hides enough, and very cheap, an Ox's Hide being ſold for twenty Shillings; neither are they deſtitute of the Means to tan them, for they make very good Lime with Oyſter-ſhells, and the Bark of Oak Trees is ſo plentiful, that it coſts nothing but the Trouble of gathering; they therefore want only a ſufficient Number of good Tanners and Shoe-makers. I might ſay the ſame of Leather-Dreſſers, ſince they ſend every Year to *England* above two hundred thouſand Deer-ſkins undreſſed; yet *Carolina* produces Oker naturally, and good Fiſh-Oil may be had from *New York*, or *New England*, very cheap; ſo that they might be dreſſed and made up into Breeches in the Country, for which thoſe Skins are very proper, being cool in Summer, and warm in Winter. There is not one Potter in all the Province, and no earthen Ware but what comes from *England*, nor Glaſs of any kind; ſo that a Pot-houſe and a good Glaſs-houſe would ſucceed perfectly well, not only for *Carolina* but for all the Colonies in *America*. There is a kind of Sand and Earth which would be very proper for thoſe Purpoſes, as alſo Wood and Fern in abundance, if they had but Workmen to make Uſe of them.

It may ſeem ſtrange to affirm this, in an Age when it is well known, that Men are inclined to go almoſt any where, and may be tempted to almoſt any Thing, from the Hopes of Money. Theſe Facts, however, are very true, neither is it very difficult to account for them; for if without much Labour and Pains not only a bare Subſiſtence may be gained, but in time alſo good Eſtates may be raiſed by Methods already in uſe; we are not to expect that our People in the Colonies will either run Hazards or give themſelves much Trouble to ſtrike out new Ways to Wealth, even though they ſhould be convinced that ſuch Ways, at the ſame time they increaſed their own Fortunes, would prove beneficial to their Mother-Country likewiſe. There are indeed ſome People who take a Pleaſure in running down the Countries we have planted in *America*, and in making their Countrymen believe, that they are amuſed with fine Stories without Truth, or which, at leaſt, have but a ſmall Mixture of Truth in them. They ſay, for Inſtance, that though *Engliſh* Wheat will grow in *Carolina*, yet it is apt to mildew, and almoſt always runs up into Straw, and produces but a ſmall Grain, and that it is very difficult to keep it from the Wevill. Theſe, however, are Inconveniencies felt in other Countries, where very good Wheat grows, for which many Remedies have been found and applied with Succeſs, as doubtleſs they might be there, if the Planters went about it. The Truth of the Matter is, that Rice is raiſed without ſo much Trouble, and as they can exchange this in *Penſylvania* and *New York*, almoſt Weight for Weight for Flour, they are content, and indeed think it a Happineſs they can have Bread without being at much Pains in procuring it.

The ſame thing may be ſaid of Wine, which it is now generally agreed cannot be made there, becauſe their Grapes ripening in *June*, when their great Heats and heavy Rains come on, are very ſeldom fit for preſſing. But it is very certain, that this is no better than an Excuſe, ſince the wild Grape ripens in *October*, and Perſons ſkilful in Vineyards would ſoon teach them the Means of making uſe of theſe. The very ſame Objections were raiſed in reference to the Country about the *Cape of Good Hope*; and it was as poſitively ſaid that no Wine could be made there, but the *Dutch* have ſhewn what Strength there was in the Objection, by their improving into a Paradiſe a Place we deſpiſed, and thought not worth the keeping; and while Madeira is to be had ſo cheap, I am convinced no Grapes will ripen kindly in *Carolina*. As to Silk, the ſame Objection does not lie; for, it is well known, there are Woods of Mulberry-Trees there, upon which the Worms feed and ſpin as well as in any Place in the World. I may add, that Silk has been brought over from *Carolina*, as good, in the Opinion of the beſt Judges, as any that comes from *Piedmont*, for which we pay large Sums of Money every Year; but it falls out unluckily, that from the End of *March* to the Beginning of *May*, when the Worms want moſt Attendance, all the Hands in *Carolina* are employed in planting and hoeing their Rice, ſo that they have no time to ſpare for procuring a Commodity, of which hitherto they do not ſeem to know the true Value.

But all the Faults do not lie on that Side of the Water; ſince it is true, that though there comes a great deal of Pitch from thence, we have but little Tar from *Carolina*; whereas, there have been formerly many thouſand Barrels brought in a Year, not at all inferior to the beſt Tar from *Norway*; which was, by this Means, reduced from three Pounds to fifteen Shillings a Barrel, with which Reduction, it ſeems, we are content to have recourſe again to the North Country Tar, and no longer make uſe of what might come from this Plantation. We may from theſe few Hints ſee clearly, that as great as our Trade to theſe Colonies is, it might ſtill become much greater, and that how beneficial ſoever they may be to *Great-Britain*, we are far from deriving from them all the Benefits we might do; and though conſidered, in one light, this ſeems a little diſtaſteful; yet, if we view it in another, it affords us a very comfortable Proſpect; ſince, when we are diſpoſed to apply ourſelves heartily to the Improvement of this Commerce, we have a moral Certainty, that our Endeavours will ſucceed, and that *Great-Britain* can never feel any ſenſible Decay of Trade, while ſhe preſerves and cheriſhes her Plantations.

5. Among other Perſons of Quality and Diſtinction who were juſtly entitled to the Favour of King *Charles*, there were few who had a better Title than *Francis* Lord *Willoughby*, who was Governor of *Barbadoes*, and who in 1663 obtained a Grant of the Iſland of *Antego*, in which he ſettled a Colony about three Years after. The Country had been known before, and, if I am not miſtaken, Sir *Thomas Warner* had attempted to ſettle it. How it came to paſs that after the Death of Lord *Willoughby*, who removed hither, this Iſland came again into the Hands of the Crown I cannot ſay; but without all doubt the Fact is true, and this Iſland now makes a Part of the Government with the reſt of the *Leeward Iſlands*, and is ſaid to owe its preſent happy Situation to the Care, Induſtry, and Skill of Sir *Chriſtopher Codrington*, who made it the Seat of his Government when he was General and Commander in chief of thoſe Iſlands. It was here, that in the latter End of the late Queen's Time Governor *Park* was killed by the People; an Affair that will be ever remembered, both in that Part of the World and this, though it does not ſeem to be well underſtood in either; the Fact moſt certainly was barbarous and bloody enough; but, at the ſame Time, it is as certain the Provocations the People had received were great, which was the Reaſon that moſt of thoſe concerned in this Murder eſcaped with Impunity.

But our Buſineſs lies not ſo much with Men as with Things, and therefore we ſhall proceed to the Deſcription of the Iſland *Antego*, or as it is ſometimes written *Antigua*, wich lies in 16 Degrees 11 Minutes North Latitude, and in 63 Degrees of Longitude Weſt from *London*. It is of a circular Form, about twenty Miles in Diameter, and near ſixty in Circumference. The Climate is not to be boaſted of, ſince it is allowed to be hotter than *Barbadoes*, and very ſubject to Hurricanes. The Soil too is ſandy, and a great Part of the Iſland is overgrown with Wood; but the worſt of it is, that there are but few Springs, and not ſo much as a ſingle Brook in the whole Iſland, ſo that the People depend chiefly upon Rain-water, for which they are ſometimes diſtreſſed: Yet, notwithſtanding theſe Inconveniencies, it is a very conſiderable and a very thriving Plantation.

This Iſland is divided into five Pariſhes, four of which are Towns; as *St. John's Town* to the Northward, and *Falmouth*, *Parham*, and *Bridge-Town* to the Southward; the other Pariſh is *St. Peter's*. *St. John's Harbour* is the moſt commodious, beſides which there are ſeveral other good Harbours, as *Five Iſland Harbour*, ſo called from five little Iſlands to the Weſtward of the Iſle of *Carliſle Bay*; *Engliſh Harbour*, at the Bottom of which is *Falmouth Town*, defended by *Charles Fort*; next to it is *Willoughby Bay*; on the Eaſt Shore is *Bridge Town*, the *Green Bay*, off which is *Green Iſland*; then *Nonſuch Harbour*, a ſpacious Bay. On this Coaſt, on the North-eaſt Shore, are ſeveral little Iſlands called *Polecat Iſlands* and *Goat Iſland*, and more to the Northward *Goana Iſland*, *Bird Iſland*, *Long Iſland*, *Maiden Iſland*, and *Prickle-Pear Iſland*. The Forts are now in pretty good Repair; *Monkſhill Fort* is mounted with thirty Pieces of Ordnance, it has a Magazine with about four hundred and ten Muſkets and eight hundred Bayonets, in good order; the other Fort erected at *St. John's Harbour*, is mounted with fourteen Pieces of Cannon; there are ſeven other Batteries raiſed for Defence of ſo many landing Places, in all mounted with twenty-ſix Guns.

The Capital of the Iſland is *St. John's Town*, which conſiſts of about two hundred Houſes; and the Number of Souls in all this Colony are one thouſand five hundred at preſent. It has greater plenty of Cattle and other Beaſts, eſpecially Veniſon, than any other of our *Caribbee Iſlands*; the Animals of which are much the ſame, as alſo their Productions. Sugar, Indico, Ginger, and Tobacco, were the chief Growths and Commodities of *Antego*, when it was firſt planted, but now Indico and Ginger are very rarely cultivated there. The Sugar and Tobacco were both bad of the Sort; the former ſo black and coarſe, that one would ſcarce have thought any Art could have refined it; and, as if our Sugar Bakers ſcorned to put ſuch Dirt into their Coppers, it was generally ſhipped off for *Holland* and *Hamburgh*, being ſold for ſixteen Shillings a hundred Weight, when other *Muſ-*

covado Sugars fetched eighteen or nineteen Shillings a hundred. The Planters of *Antego* have ſince improved their Art, and as good *Muſcovado* Sugar is now made there, as in any of our Sugar Iſlands. They have alſo clayed ſome Sugar, which was not known to have been done in *Antego* forty Years ago.

Though there is not much Tobacco planted in this Iſland, what there is now is not ſo bad as was formerly, when it was ſold for no other Uſe but to make Snuff. The wild Cinnamon Tree is ſaid to grow in the *Lowlands*, or Savanah Woods in *Antego*. After *Jamaica* and *Barbadoes*, this has been conſidered by ſome as the moſt conſiderable of our Iſlands in *America*; and as there is ſtill a great Quantity of Land capable of Improvement, and it is allowed the People there might make a third more Sugar than they do, we may venture to allow, that it either is, or may be ſo; and if we conſider what muſt have been gained by our Commerce with this Iſland for upwards of fourſcore Years, we cannot but judge that it has been highly advantageous to this Nation, and very well deſerves all the Care and Concern that can poſſibly be expreſſed for its Protection and Preſervation.

6. The next Colony in *America*, which our Method leads us to conſider, is that of *New York*, which is ours by a double Right, *viz.* of Diſcovery and Conqueſt. It was undoubtedly Part of the Country, the Coaſts of which were firſt viewed by *Sebaſtian Cabot*, and as ſuch made a Part of the original Province of *Virginia*, I mean the Country known under that Name in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, and was afterwards within the Limits of the Country, granted by King *James* to the Weſtern Company. But before it could be ſettled, that is about the Year 1608, the famous Navigator *Hudſon* diſcovered that River, which has ſince borne his Name, and the Country adjacent, which he afterwards ſold to the *Dutch* who planted there; but this was looked upon as illegal, becauſe they had not King *James*'s Licence, which it ſeems they afterwards obtained. There are ſome *Engliſh* Writers ſo very partial in favour of this Republic, as to be angry that this Settlement ſhould be looked upon by us as a kind of Invaſion, but ſurely this is without Reaſon; for if the Subjects of any Country were at Liberty to ſell and diſpoſe of Places they had but juſt ſeen, which was the Caſe of Captain *Hudſon*, the Inconveniencies would be ſo great as to produce endleſs Wars, and therefore this Practice muſt be underſtood to be contrary to the Law of Nations.

But however that Matter might be, King *James* was ſo great a Lover of Peace, that very probably he was glad to rid himſelf of the preſent Difficulty, by granting them a Licence: Yet if we duly conſider this, the granting ſuch a Licence was a thing very deſtructive to the Intereſt of *Great-Britain*, and might have proved extreamly prejudicial to our Northern Colonies, and have been ſuch a Bone of Contention, as muſt have for ever prevented any Harmony between the maritime Powers. Theſe Reflections which roſe naturally out of the Subject, have led me a little from my Purpoſe, which was to explain the firſt ſettling here, which the *Dutch* made a little before we planted *New England*; and from their firſt coming, being ſeated in Iſlands and at the Mouth of a good River, their Plantations were in a thriving Condition, and they begun, in *Holland*, to promiſe themſelves vaſt things from their new Colony. The *Engliſh* Puritans in *Holland*, who firſt removed to *America*, intended to ſettle here, having had an inviting Deſcription of the River, Climate, and Soil, from the *Hollanders*, who did not care, however, that the *Engliſh* ſhould be ſo near their Plantations, as to be tempted to encroach on them, conſidering the Flaw that was in their Title. The *Engliſh* that went from *Holland*, intended to ſettle on the Coaſt near *Fair Field County* in *New England*, lying between *Connecticut* and *Hudſon's River*, but the *Dutch* apprehended they would there be too near Neighbours. Theſe *Engliſh*, as has been already related, falling in with *Cape Cod*, after having refreſhed a little, tacked about to the Southward for *Hudſon's River*: But *Jones*, who was the Maſter of the Ship they came in, having been bribed by the *Hollanders* to carry them and land farther to the Northward, inſtead of putting to Sea, entangled them among dangerous Sholes, which made them willing to get aſhore where they were, and give over the Deſign upon *Hudſon's River*. The *Dutch* had, two or three Years before, been inſulted here by Sir *Samuel Argall*, in his Way from *Virginia* to *New Scotland*.

He deſtroyed their Plantations, and it was to prevent the like for the future, they applied to King *James* for his Licence to ſtay there, to build Cottages, and to plant for Traffic as well as Subſiſtence, pretending it was only for the Conveniency of their Ships touching there for freſh Water and freſh Proviſions, in their Voyage to *Brazil*; but they, by little and little, extended their Limits every Way, built Towns, fortified them, and became a flouriſhing Colony. In an Iſland, called *Manahattan*, at the Mouth of *Hudſon's River*, they built a City which they named *New Amſterdam*, and the River was called by them the *Great River*. The Bay to the Eaſt of it had the Name of *Naſſau* given it; about one hundred and fifty Miles up the River they built a Fort, which they called *Orange Fort*, and from thence drove a profitable Trade with the *Indians*, who came over land, as far as from *Quebec*, to deal with them. *Henry Chriſtian*, the Maſter of a Ship, the ſame who gave the Name to *Martha's Vineyard*, which he diſcovered, as the *Dutch* ſay, was the firſt Governor there, and his Succeſſor was *Jacob Elkin*, put in by the *Weſt India* Company in *Holland*, to whom the States General granted this Country. The firſt Bounds of *Nova Belgia* were *Maryland* on the South, the main Land, as far as could be diſcovered Weſtward, which would ſtretch to the Nations bordering on the *Miſſiſſippi*, the great River of *Canada* Northward, and *New England* Eaſtward; but, as will appear hereafter, the Limits of *New York* are not ſo large at preſent.

The *Dutch* Colonies were in a very thriving Condition when they were attacked by the *Engliſh*, which was at the Opening the firſt *Dutch* War in King *Charles*'s Reign. We find ſome Writers very willing to repreſent this as a very unjuſt War, becauſe Sir *Robert Carr* was ſent to attack this Plantation before they, in that Part of the World, could have any Notice of the War; but then it ought to be remembered, that it was after the *Dutch* Admiral, *de Ruyter*, attacked our Settlements in *Africa*, and therefore I cannot think that this is ſo very bad as it has been repreſented, or that it can at all prejudice our Title to this Country. The Commiſſion of Sir *Robert Carr*, impowering him to act againſt the *Dutch*, was dated on *St. George*'s Day 1664, but he did not arrive till the latter End of the Year. He brought with him between two and three thouſand Men, and offering Protection to ſuch of the Inhabitants as ſubmitted, he became Maſter of the whole Country without a Blow; and it does not appear that the People were at all diſpleaſed at changing their Maſters. His Majeſty, after it was reduced, gave leave to ſuch of the Inhabitants to ſtay as were inclined thereto, and ſuffered the reſt to depart freely with their Effects. The Number of the latter was but very inconſiderable in Compariſon of the former; and Colonel *Richard Nichols*, who was left Governor of the Province, and continued ſo twenty Years, brought the People not only to reliſh, but to be in love with the *Engliſh* Government; ſo that there never was the leaſt Diſturbance among the Inhabitants on the ſcore of their being Subjects to *England*.

The Duke of *York* granted away a Part of this Province, as will be ſhewn hereafter; but the Remainder, which is what we now ſtile *New York*, continued a Royal Government, as it ſtill is, but very much changed for the better; ſince from being one of the pooreſt, it is become one of the moſt conſiderable that we have in *America*, in Conſequence of the Colony's becoming one of the moſt flouriſhing, and this, though it has had the Misfortune of being ſometimes governed by Men of moſt arbitrary Principles, and capable of doing ſuch violent things, as nothing but their Diſtance from *Great-Britain* could, I think, induce them to venture upon. The laſt Governor of the *Jerſeys*, who is lately dead, felt the Effects of ſuch a Spirit, when in another Station, and roſe to that Government by ſuffering with Decency and Dignity the

Outrages of one cloathed with that Authority; but when he came himſelf to execute that Office, he ſhewed, what we very ſeldom ſee, that there are ſome Natures which even Power cannot corrupt; for he behaved ſo well as to aboliſh the Memory of paſt Grievances, and to leave a perfect Model for his Succeſſors in that Government.

7. The Country of *New York*, properly ſo called ſince it became *Engliſh*, is thus bounded, *viz.* by *Canada* on the North, *New England* on the Eaſt, the Ocean on the South, and the five Nations and *New Jerſey* on the Weſt, and is about two hundred Miles in Length from North to South, that is, from the Mouth of *Hudſon's River* to the Lake of *Champlain* or *Corlaer*, and it might be extended two hundred Miles farther North if we poſſeſſed all the Country we claim, as far as the River *St. Laurence*: But the *French* having built Forts on the Lake *Champlain*, have, in a Manner, expelled us from the North Part of this Country; the *Engliſh* only poſſeſs the Country South of that Lake at preſent, and this is exceeding narrow in moſt Places; particularly between *Connecticut* Colony on the Eaſt, and *New Jerſey* on the Weſt, it is ſcarce twenty Miles broad. But to this we muſt add the Iſland *Manhattan*, which the City of *New York* ſtands upon, *Staten Iſland* and *Long Iſland*, all which lie before the Mouth of *Hudſon's River*, and are comprehended in *New York Proper*.

This Province is divided into ten Counties, which going from North to South down *Hudſon's River*, are *Albany*, *Ulſter*, *Ducheſs*, *Orange*, *King's County*, *Cheſter*, *New York County*, *Queen's County*, *Suffolk County*, and *Richmond County*, which are pretty well repleniſhed with Proviſions and Farms, but have not many great Towns in them. The chief Towns are *New York* City, *Schenectida*, *Albany*, *Weſtcheſter*, *&c.* in all, or moſt of which Towns, are Miſſionaries, either Miniſters, School-maſters, or Catechiſts, ſent over and maintained chiefly by the Society for the Propagation of the Goſpel, who have taken moſt laudable Care in this reſpect. *New York* City is ſituated in 40 Degrees 40 Minutes North Latitude, and 47 Degrees 4 Minues Weſtern Longitude, at the South End of *York County*, being an Iſland at the Mouth of *Hudſon's River*, about fourteen Miles long and two or three broad. As this Town ſtands upon an Eminence, and contains upwards of a thouſand Houſes well built with Brick and Stone, with a Wall and Forts, which ſerve as well for Ornament as Defence, there is ſcarce any Town in *North America* that makes a better, and but a very few ſo good an Appearance. It has alſo an excellent Harbour, furniſhed with commodious Quays and Warehouſes, and employs ſome hundreds of Ships and Veſſels in its foreign Trade and Fiſheries. The public Buildings are the ſeveral Churches belonging to thoſe of the Church of *England*, to the *Swedes* of the *Lutheran* Perſuaſion, to the *Dutch Calviniſts*, the *French* Refugees, and the *Engliſh* Sectaries; but the Church of *England* may well be looked upon as the eſtabliſhed Religion, becauſe the Conſtitution of the Government is the ſame as in *England*; the reſt, however, are tolerated, and capable of Poſts in the Government, and of ſitting in the Houſe of Repreſentatives, as I apprehend. The other public Buildings are the Town Houſe, and that where their general Aſſemblies and Courts of Juſtice are held. As to their Fortifications, they are not, I doubt, capable of defending them againſt an *Europen* Enemy, any more than thoſe in the reſt of the Plantations, for this unanſwerable Reaſon; becauſe they were ſome Years ago confeſſed to be ſo bad, that it was not fit to enquire into the State of them, leſt Foreigners ſhould be acquainted with our Weakneſs on that Side. There are, indeed, four hundred regular Troops ſent from *England* to garriſon this, and ſome other Towns of this Province; of which two Companies always are, or ought to be, upon Duty in this City; but admitting they were always compleat, and ever ſo well diſciplined, this ſeems to be but a very inconſiderable Force to defend a Province of this Importance againſt an Invaſion, unleſs their Country Militia be more to be depended upon than that of other Places.

As *New York* may be looked upon to be the frontier Garriſon in the South againſt an Invaſion from any maritime Power; ſo *Schenectida* Town and Fort, in the County of *Albany*, twenty Miles North of the Town of *Albany*, may well be deemed their Frontier on the North againſt the *French* of *Canada*, and the *Indian* Allies, who, in the Year 1688, ſurprized and almoſt demoliſhed the Town with the Works about it; but they have ſince been repaired and enlarged, and Fort *Nicholſon* and ſome other Forts erected; in which, and in *Albany*, the reſt of the regular Troops are quartered, for the Defence of that Frontier. *Albany* is a conſiderable Town, ſituated on *Hudſon's River*, an hundred and fifty Miles North of *New York*, having a Fort erected for its Defence; and here it is that the Sachems, or Kings of the five Nations, meet the Governors of our Northern Colonies, to renew their Alliances, and concert Meaſures for their Defence againſt their common Enemy, as has been intimated already. South-weſt of the Iſland and County of *New York*, lies *Staten Iſland*, being about ten Miles in Length and ſix in Breadth, and in it are a great many good Farms and Plantations, but not one Town that I can meet with in the Accounts of this Province.

Long Iſland lies Eaſt of *Staten Iſland*, and South-eaſt of that of *New York*, oppoſite to the Colony of *Connecticut*, being an hundred and fifty Miles in Length, and generally about twelve in Breadth, and contains three of the Counties above-mentioned, *viz.* *Queen's County*, *Suffolk County*, and *Richmond County*; the chief Towns in *Queen's County*, are *Jamaica* and *Hempſtead*; in *Suffolk County*, the chief Town is *Oyſter Bay*. The Town of *Richmond* gives Name to *Richmond County*, in which alſo is the Town of *Southampton*, in the South-eaſt Part of the Iſland; and there alſo are ſituatud the Towns of *North Caſtle* and *New Windſor*. There is a celebrated Plain in the Midſt of *Long Iſland*, ſixteen Miles long, and four broad, to which they have given the Name of *Saliſbury Plain*; having, as it is ſaid, as fine a Turf as that on *Saliſbury Plain* in *Old England*; and there being an excellent Breed of Horſes in the Iſland, they have Races here every Seaſon, to which the Gentlemen of *New England* and *New York* reſort, as they do to *Newmarket* with us. There are other good Towns which lie in the County of *Weſtcheſter*, on the Continent, Eaſt of the Mouth of *Hudſon's River*, the chief whereof are *Weſtcheſter* and *Rye*.

8. At the Time we became Maſters of this Country, it was very thinly peopled, in compariſon to what it is at preſent, and in no ſmall Danger from the *French*, who ſettled at the back of it, and the *Indians* who were ſettled on its Frontiers, but, at preſent, it is ſafe enough from both; the Number of People being vaſtly increaſed, ſome ſay to fifty thouſand, taking in all Sorts, ſo that the *French* apprehend Danger from us in their turn; and the *Indians* think themſelves very happy under our Protection; and ſuch Care has been taken to treat them with proper Kindneſs, as to preſerve them in our Intereſt, as effectually as if by Force they had been reduced to be our Subjects. They ſupply the *Engliſh*, in the Summer, with Veniſon, Fiſh, and Fowl, very cheap. The Trade from *New York* to the Sugar Iſlands, particularly *Barbadoes*, which is very conſiderable, is in Corn, Flour, Bread, Beef, Pork, Peaſe, Bacon Gamons, Smoaked Beef, Apples, Onions, Board and Pipe-ſtaves, for which they receive, in return, Sugar, Moloſſes, Rum, Ginger, *&c.*

The *New York* Merchants drive alſo a very advantageous Trade with *Madeira* and the *Azores*, in Pipe-ſtaves and Fiſh, for which they load their Ships back with Wine and Brandy; and, generally ſpeaking, there is ſcarce a more profitable Trade in the *Britiſh* Commerce. I am very well warranted in ſaying this, by what the Agents for the Colony alledged upon the Diſpute with the Sugar Plantations, of which we have given ſo large an Account. They affirm that their Winters being ſevere they take off more of the Woollen Manufactures of this Kingdom, than all the Iſlands put together, *Jamaica* excepted; and return more Gold and Silver to pay for them, which I never heard was denied. What they alledge in Juſtification of their Dealing with the *French* Settlements is ſingular enough, and deſerves particular Notice. They ſay that they trade with what they have with thoſe who will purchaſe it, and that while they do this they ſhall live well, clothe themſelves in *Engliſh* Stuffs, and pay for them honeſtly; but if they are deprived of this Trade, the Profits of which enable them to pay for *Engliſh* Cloathing, they muſt endeavour to make uſe of their own Wool, and ſupply themſelves as well as they can. If this ſhould be prohibited, they affirm, they muſt abſolutely go naked.

This perhaps is ſtraining the Matter a little beyond the Truth; but beyond all Doubt this Colony is very uſeful to *Great-Britain*, and in Conjunction with the other *Bread Colonies*, as they are called, the ſole Source of our foreign Sugar Trade, as in a few Words may be ſhewn. The Sugar Iſlands muſt depend for their Subſiſtence, either upon the *Britiſh* Iſlands or upon theſe Colonies; ſince it is very certain, that if they were to draw all their Maintenance from hence, granting that to be poſſible, it would make Labour in thoſe Iſlands ſo dear that no Sugar at all could be exported. On the other hand, if the People of *New York* ſhould be forced to ſet up Manufactures of their own, this would employ ſo many Hands as muſt neceſſarily raiſe the Price of Proviſions, and this conſequently would have, in a great meaſure, the ſame bad Effect in making Labour dear in the Iſlands. It is therefore the Buſineſs of *Great-Britain* to take care of both, and not to ſide haſtily with either.

But it is more eſpecially our Buſineſs to prevent ſetting up Manufactures in the Plantations on the Continent; becauſe this would injure the Trade between us and them, leſſen the Shipping employed therein, decreaſe the Number of our Seamen, and detach thoſe Colonies, in a great meaſure, from their Mother Country; which, as they are Evils not to be borne, ſo too much Diligence cannot be uſed to avoid them. As things ſtand at preſent, there is not a Colony in *America* which makes a better Figure than *New York*, or where the People ſeem to have a greater Spirit of Induſtry, or more hearty Affection to the *Britiſh* Nation; and it is univerſally agreed, that the City of *New York* is, in point of good Government and Politeneſs, at leaſt equal, if not ſuperior, to any thing we poſſeſs in that Part of the World: And as for the Inhabitants of the Inland Part of the Colony, they are our beſt Defence againſt the *French*, and are every Day gaining upon them in point of Trade with the *Indians*; which are certainly Circumſtances that deſerve the utmoſt Conſideration, and ought above all others, to recommend this Plantation to the Protection and Favour of the *Britiſh* Government; which no doubt they will always meet with while they continue, as they have hitherto done, to ſtudy by every Method to deſerve it.

9. The Countries now called the *Jerſeys*, or, with greater Propriety, the *Eaſt* and *Weſt Jerſeys*, come next in our Way. Theſe fell under the Dominion of the Crown of *Great-Britain* by Conqueſt, at the ſame time with, and as making a Part of, *Nova Belgia*; and if to this Right acquired by War, or rather vindicated by it, for I conceive that the Dominion of this Country, which was all that we gained by the War, we had a very juſt Title to before; if, I ſay, there was any thing wanting to fill up the Meaſure of our Claim, it was certainly made up by the Peace, ſince an Equivalent was then given to the *Dutch*; ſo that both Nations had very good Reaſon to be content. In order, however, to obtain a juſt and clear Notion of the Hiſtory and Condition of this Tract of Country, it is neceſſary to obſerve, that even the *Dutch* were not the original Inhabitants of it: The ſeveral Voyages that had been made for the planting of *Virginia*, made theſe Coaſts very well known to Multitudes of *Engliſh* Seamen, and theſe being diſperſed into different Parts of the World, carried the News of theſe rich and pleaſant Lands in *America* along with them whereſoever they went, which inſpired Strangers with ſtrong Deſires of occupying what we ſeemed to have abandoned, or the ſettling of which was beyond our Strength, at leaſt at that Time.

The firſt *Europeans* that ſettled here were the *Swedes*, who had three Towns in this Province, *Chriſtina*, called by the *Indians*, *Andaſtaka*, *Elſinbourg*, and *Gottembourg*. Their Settlements were chiefly on the Southſide of the River towards *Penſylvania*; oppoſite to which there is a Place, to this Day called *Fort Elſinbourg*; but the *Swedes* made very little of their Plantation, and the *Dutch*, always induſtrious for their own Advantage, worked them ſo far out of it, that *Bergen*, the Northen Part of the *New Jerſey*, was almoſt entirely new planted by *Hollanders*. King *Charles* II, gave this Tract, in his Grant of *Nova Belgia*, to the Duke of *York*; but the *Engliſh* never made any Settlement in it till ſeveral Years after they were in the Poſſeſſion of that Province, and had mightily extended their Plantations.

The Duke of *York* having inveſted this Province, by the Name of *Nova Caneria*, *John* Lord *Berkeley* and Sir *George Carteret*, they, or their Aſſignees, agreed to divide it into two Parts, denominated *Eaſt* and *Weſt New Jerſeys*, which remained two diſtinct Proprieties and Governments for many Years afterwards, as will be ſhewn: *Eaſt New Jerſey*, or that Part of it which borders on *New York*, fell to Sir *George Carteret*; whoſe Family being of the Iſle of *Jerſey*, this Province on that Account took its Name from thence. *Weſt New Jerſey*, that Part of it which borders on *Penſylvania*, fell to the Lord *Berkeley*. This whole Province, containing the two *Jerſeys* is thus bounded; it has the main Ocean on the South-eaſt, the River *de la War* on the Weſt, *Hudſon's* River on the Eaſt, and the main Land on the North; it lies beeween 39 and 40 Degrees North Latitude; extends itſelf in Length on the Sea Coaſts, and along *Hudſon's* River one hundred and twenty Miles, and is almoſt as broad as long where it is broadeſt. We muſt now take ſome Notice of the Province as it was under the Diviſion of *Eaſt* and *Weſt*, and was divided into two Proprieties; of theſe, the largeſt and moſt inhabited, was *Eaſt Jerſey*, which extended Eaſtward and Northward all along the Sea Coaſt and *Hudſon's* River, from *Little Egg* Harbour to that Part of *Hudſon's* River which is 41 Degrees North Latitude; and Southward and Weſtward was divided from *Weſt Jerſey* by a Line of Partition from *Egg* Harbour, or *Creſwick* River, *Stony* River, and the South Branch of *Raritan* River: It extends in Length along *Hudſon's* River, and on the Coaſts, 100 Miles: In Breadth it is very unequal. It is divided into Counties, for which there was little Occaſion, as *Bergen County*, *Eſſex County*, *Middleſex* on the Northſide of *Raritan* River, and *Monmouth County* on the South. According to ſome Writers, *Weſt Jerſey* is divided from the other by a Line from North to South; contains the like Number of Counties, *viz. Burlington*, *Glouceſter*, *Salem*, and *Cape May*.

Theſe two Provinces are in the Hands of different Proprietors, who made many Aſſignments of their Rights, which would take up too much Room to enter into the Detail of here, and therefore we ſhall content ourſelves with obſerving, that the Proprietors both of the *Eaſt* and *Weſt Jerſeys*, on the 22d of *April* 1702, put them into the Hands of Queen *Anne*, and they have been ever ſince governed by the royal Authority, having a Governor, Council, and Aſſembly; which Governor has Power of appointing a Deputy. We muſt alſo remark, that ſometimes this Government has been granted by a ſeparate Commiſſion to the ſame Perſon intruſted with that of *New York*; but at preſent they are in different Hands. The chief Towns in the *Jerſeys* are *Perth Amboy*, the Capital of the County of *Middleſex*, and of all *Eaſt Jerſey*, pleaſantly ſituated at the Mouth of *Raritan* River, and, had it been built according to the intended Model, would have been one of the fineſt Towns in *North America*; but Planters have not reſorted to it, as was expected; notwithſtanding it is ſo commodiouſly ſituated for Trade, that Ships of three hundred Tons may come up in one Tide, and lie before the Merchants Doors: But the Town of *Elizabeth*, ſituate to the North of it, flouriſhes much more, and may ſtill be deemed the moſt conſiderable Town; in the County of *Bergen*, the Capital of the County of the ſame Name; *Elizabeth* Town, Capital of the County of *Eſſex*, and formerly of *Middleſex*; *Middleton*, *Shrewſbury*, and *Freehold*, in the County of *Monmouth*; *Burlington* or *Bridlington*, the Capital of the Country of *Burlington*, and of all *Weſt Jerſey*: This Town is ſituate 40 Degrees 40 Minutes of North Latitude, on an Iſland in the Middle of the River *de la War*, to the Norward of *Philadelphia* in *Penſylvania*,

nia, and on the oppoſite Side of the River: The Houſes are handſomly built of Brick, and laid out into ſpacious Streets, with commodious Quays and Wharfs, to which Ships of two or three hundred Tons may come up: It has alſo a handſome Market-place, a Town-houſe or Guild-hall, where the Courts of Juſtice were heretofore held, and two good Bridges over the River; the one called *London-Bridge*, and the other *York-Bridge*, and having an eaſy Communication with *Philadelphia*, and the Ocean by the River *Salem*, which falls into *de la War* Bay, it is ſaid to be one of the beſt Towns in *Weſt Jerſey*, whether we conſider its Situation, Building, or Trade.

The Trade of the two *Jerſeys*, as alſo the Soil and Conveniencies of Rivers and Creeks, are much the ſame, except that *Weſt Jerſey*, by its Situation on *de la War* River, abounds more in the latter. The Country yields Plenty of all Sorts of Grain, and the Inhabitants are ſaid to have been ſo ſcrupulous, that they would not enter upon a new Plantation before they had purchaſed it of the *Indians*, which they did at no very dear Rate. It is computed that they are about ſixteen thouſand Souls, and about three thouſand Men fit to bear Arms: There are not two hundred *Indians* in this Province, indeed neither here or elſewhere in the *Britiſh* Empire are the *Indians* of any Force unleſs in Conjunction with the *French* at *Canada*, or the *Spaniards* in *Florida*. The *Indians* are now rather an Help than an Hurt to the *Engliſh*, and here eſpecially they wiſh there were more of them than there are, ſo uſeful have they found them. Beſides Proviſions for the Sugar Iſlands, the Inhabitants drive a Trade in Furs and Skins, and a little in Tobacco; but it would be well if the Colonies cultivated that leſs, and Proviſion more, or any other Commodities that are fit for foreign Markets, which are much clogged by the Product of our Tobacco Plantations: They ſhip off Train-Oil, Fiſh, Corn, and ſome other Proviſions for *Portugal*, *Spain*, and the *Canaries*: Ships may be built at *Perth*, but *New England* engroſſes that Trade, and has the beſt and the moſt Materials for it; and it muſt be owned that *New York* is the beſt Market *New Jerſey* has, for the buying and ſelling any conſiderable Quantity of Goods of any Kind.

This may poſſibly keep the *Jerſeys* a little under, but notwithſtanding the Difficulties they have had to ſtruggle with, it is very certain, that within theſe twenty or thirty Years paſt they have increaſed prodigiouſly, and nothing can give a Check to it, except ſome ſudden Suſpicion of their dealing in Commodities and ſetting up Manufactures which may interfere with thoſe of their Mother-Country. I do not deny that if there were any juſt Grounds for ſuch a Suſpicion, Care ought to be taken and ſome Remedy applied, but then this requires great Caution. In former Times, when we were leſs uſed to Trade, we encouraged all; and provided our People were but employed, and Traders buſy, we took it for granted that Profit muſt enſue, and ſo very probably it did. But the preſent Age is ſo unacquainted with the Cauſe of the Increaſe of our Riches, that they rather interrupt than encourage it, and inſtead of inlarging lay hold of ſome ſmall trifling Things, which they think may touch their private Intereſt rather than promote the general Good; and if they think any Commodity from the Plantations interferes with ſomething we have at home, ſome haſty Step is taken to prevent it; ſo that for the Sake of ſaving one Penny, we often debar ourſelves of Things of a thouſand Times the Value. This Misfortune will happen to any trading Nation, if the Perſons who have the Regulation of the Commerce do not underſtand it well enough to diſtinguiſh nicely between thoſe Channels by which the Riches flow in upon them and thoſe that carry them away; and therefore, when Things are carried into a wrong Channel by ſome of the Planters, Merchants are afraid to mention thoſe Diſorders for fear the Remedy ſhould prove worſe than the Diſeaſe. The Gentlemen that would judge of theſe Things ought to inform themſelves what this Nation was one hundred and fifty Years ago, how we have increaſed in Riches ſince that Time, what Price Corn, Cattle, and Land bore then, and what now; and what concurring Circumſtances have put us in ſo flouriſhing a Condition, who were then ſo inconſiderable in Trade, that even *London*, the Metropolis of this Kingdom, made but a ſmall Figure, to what *Bruges*, *Antwerp*, and other Hanſe Towns did, as well as the great Cities in the *Mediterranean*.

If we examine into the Circumſtances of the Inhabitants of our Plantations, and our own, it will appear that not one fourth Part of their Product redounds to their own Profit; for, out of all that comes here, they only carry back Cloathing and other Accommodations for their Families, all which is of the Manufacture and Merchandize of this Kingdom. If there is any Thing to ſpare it is laid up here, and their Children are ſent home to be educated; if there is enough to ſupport the Family, they come here, and only an Overſeer is left upon the Plantation to direct, and the whole Produce is remitted home, and if enough to purchaſe an Eſtate, then it is laid out in *Old England*. All theſe Advantagea we receive by the Plantations, beſides the Mortgages on the Planters Eſtates, and the high Intereſt they pay us, which is very conſiderable; and therefore very great Care ought to be taken in regulating all Affairs of the Colonies, that the Planters be not put under too many Difficulties, but encouraged to go on chearfully. They are born with us, or the Deſcendants of ſuch, and we know nothing but the Want of the Means to live at home keeps them abroad. There are very few trading or manufacturing Towns in the Kingdom, but have ſome Dependence on the Plantation Trade. It is true, theſe, and in general all the Northern Colonies, have not Commodities and Products enough to ſend us, in return for purchaſing their neceſſary Cloathings, *&c.* but are under very great Difficulties, and therefore any ordinary Sort ſells with them; and when they are grown out of Faſhion with us, they are new-faſhioned enough there; and beſides thoſe Places are the great Markets we have to diſpoſe of ſuch Goods, which are generally ſent at the Riſque of the Shop-keepers and Traders of *England*, who are the great Exporters, and not the Inhabitants of the Colonies, as ſome have imagined. As the Colonies are Markets for thoſe Sorts of Goods, ſo they are Receptacles for young Merchants who have not Stocks of their own, and therefore all our Plantations are filled with ſuch who receive the Conſignments of their Friends from hence; and when they have got a ſufficient Stock to trade with, they return home, and other young Men take their Places, ſo that the continual Motion and Intercourſe our People have into the Colonies, may be compared to Bees in a Hive, which go out empty, but come home loaded; by which Means the Foundations of many Families are laid. The Numbers of Sailors, and other Tradeſmen who have all their Dependence upon this Traffic, are prodigiouſly great.

Our Factors, who frequent the Northern Colonies, being under Difficulties to make Returns for ſuch Goods as they diſpoſe of, what Gold, Siver, Logwood, and other Commodities they trade for upon the *Spaniſh* Coaſt, is ſent home to *England*, as alſo Oil, Whale-Fins, and many other Goods; likewiſe another great Part of Returns is made by Ships built there, and diſpoſed of in the Streights, and other Parts of *Europe*, and the Money remitted to us. Now all thoſe Ships are called *New England* Ships, and our Factors, after they undertake any Buſineſs, are no longer called *Engliſhmen*, but *New Englanders*, and the Ships they build, we are informed, are regiſtered as *New England* Ships. I ſhall therefore humbly recommend it to ſuch Gentlemen as are Guardians of the Trade of the Nation, that our own Intereſt is not miſtaken for thoſe of the Planters; for every Reſtraint and Difficulty put upon our Trade with them, makes them have recourſe to their own Products, which they manufacture, a Thing of great Conſequence to us, and ought to be guarded againſt; for if they are ſupplied with their own Manufactures, a great Part of the Advantages we ſhould otherwiſe receive is cut off; and therefore, as it is elſewhere obſerved, if Care is taken to find them Employment, and turn their Induſtry another Way, now they are in their Infancy, this may with a very little Trouble be avoided.

There is another Advantage we receive by our Plantations, which is hardly ſo much as thought of, I mean the prodigious Increaſe of our Shipping by the Timber Trade, between *Portugal*, &c. and our Plantations, which ought to have all poſſible Encouragement, for by it we have crept into all the Corners in *Europe*, and become the common Carriers in the *Mediterranean*, as well as between the *Mediterranean*, *Holland*, *Hamburg*, and the *Baltic*, and this is the Cauſe of ſo great an Addition to our Shipping, and the Reaſon why the *Dutch*, &c. are ſo exceedingly ſunk. But if ever a Stop ſhould be put to the building of Ships in *New England*, &c. and carrying our Timber from thence, we ſhould ſoon ſink in our Navigation, and that of the *Dutch* flouriſh in its former Height and Grandeur. The Numbers of *Engliſh* Ships we ſo often read of, that are at *Liſbon*, or the *Streights*, is a ſufficient Demonſtration of the Truth of this; doubtleſs a great many of theſe Ships are laden upon Account of the *Dutch*, for nothing is more common than their hiring our Ships (which diſcharge their Loading in the *Streights*) to tranſport their Goods from *Spain*, &c. to *Amſterdam*, and other Places.

We have a great many young Men who are bred to the Sea, and have Friends to ſupport them; if they cannot get Employment at home they go to *New England*, and the Northern Colonies, with a Cargo of Goods, which they there ſell at a very great Profit, and with the Produce build a Ship, and purchaſe a Loading of Lumber, and ſail for *Portugal* or the *Streights*, &c. And after diſpoſing of their Cargoes, they frequently ply from Port to Port in the *Mediterranean*, till they have cleared ſo much Money, as will, in a good Part, pay for the firſt Coſt of the Cargo carried out by them; and then, perhaps, ſell their Ships; come home, take up another Cargo from their Employers, and ſo go back and build another Ship: By this Means Multitudes of Seamen are brought up, and upon a War the Nation is better provided with a great Number of Sailors, than hath been heretofore known. Here the Maſter becomes Merchant alſo, and many of them gain, by this Lumber Trade, great Eſtates; and a vaſt Treaſure is thereby yearly brought into the Kingdom, in a Way new and unknown to our Fore-fathers, and, indeed, it is gaining the Timber Trade (heretofore carried on by the *Danes* and *Swedes*) our Plantations being nearer the Markets of *Portugal* and *Spain* than they are. Thoſe Advantages have made ſome People think that though we eſteem *New England*, and the Northern Colonies, of ſmall Advantage to us, yet if Things were truly ſtated, they are as profitable as moſt other of our Plantations, or, which amounts to the ſame Thing, the Cauſe of the Profits we reap from thoſe other Colonies, which, however, coming to us immediately from thence, ſeem to enrich us more than they really do, at the ſame Time that they hide from us the true Sources of their own Wealth. But,

We will now quit this Subject, in order to follow the Thread of our Hiſtory, which leads us next to ſpeak of the ſettling the *Bahama Iſlands*, Places that have not hitherto anſwered in any Proportion to the great Expectations that were raiſed upon the firſt Grant of them; tho' this is certainly ſo little to be aſcribed to them, that about twenty-five Years ago there was a general Diſpoſition in the moſt knowing People of this Kingdom, to attempt a new Settlement there, which degenerating into a Bubble, all Hopes of that kind ſeem to be loſt. Our Buſineſs, however, is not with the modern, but with the antient, State of theſe Iſlands; of which, and of the Motives for ſettling them, we ſhall give the cleareſt Account we can.

10. The *Lucayos*, or *Bahama Iſlands*, are ſituated in the *Atlantic Ocean*, and to the North of the Iſland of *Cuba*, ſtretching from the North-eaſt to the South-weſt, between 21 and 27 Degrees of Northern Latitude, and between 73 and 81 Degrees of Weſtern Longitude. The Iſland of *Bahama*, which communicates its Name to the reſt, is ſeated in the Latitude of 26 Degrees 30 Minutes, at the Diſtance of about twenty and thirty Leagues from the Continent of *Florida*. It is about fifty Miles in Length, but very narrow, ſcarce any where ſixteen, and in many Places not half ſo broad, but very pleaſant and fruitful; the Air temperate and ſerene; the Soil remarkably rich, and the Country every where abounding with Brooks and Springs of freſh Water.

Though theſe Iſlands were the firſt Fruits of the new World, *Columbus* arriving firſt at *Guanahani*, which is one of them, and to which he gave the Name of *St. Salvador*, yet the *Spaniards* never thought of ſettling there, but contented themſelves with extirpating the native Inhabitants; a moſt barbarous Proceeding ſurely, ſince at this Time they were the beſt People of any Part of all *America*; ſo that they wantonly murdered many thouſands to no purpoſe in the World. As theſe Iſlands lie pretty much out of the Courſe of Ships bound to the Continent of *America*, it was long before we had any Notice of them; but in 1667 Captain *William Sayle*, being bound to *Carolina*, was forced by a Storm amongſt theſe Iſlands, which gave him an Opportunity of examining them carefully, particularly a large Iſland, to which at that Time he gave his own Name, and is that which has been ſince known by the Name of *New Providence*.

Upon his Return to *England*, he acquainted the Proprietors of *Carolina*, with the Situation and Circumſtances of theſe Iſlands; obſerving, that in Caſe they were ſettled, they might prove a great Benefit to this Nation, and at the ſame Time a conſtant Bar and Check to the *French* and *Spaniards*, in caſe of a Breach with either or both of thoſe Nations. Theſe Reaſons being ſuggeſted to King *Charles* the IId, his Majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed to make a Grant of the *Bahama Iſlands*, between the Latitudes of 22 and 27 Degrees, to the following Proprietors, *viz. George* Duke of *Albemarle*, *William* Lord *Craven*, Sir *George Carteret*, *John* Lord *Berkeley*, *Anthony* Lord *Aſhley*, and Sir *Peter Colliton*, whoſe Heirs or Aſſigns are, as I take it, poſſeſſed of theſe Iſlands at this Day; by which I mean the Soil and Property, for as to the Government, it has been for ſome Time in the Hands of the Crown; upon a Suppoſition that this Change would render theſe Iſlands more beneficial to the Nation, as in Proceſs of Time it very probably may; but hitherto they have not been of any great Service to the Proprietors, the Crown, or the Nation; as we ſhall ſhew, by entering a little into their Hiſtory, from their firſt Settlement to the preſent Times, for Reaſons that in this Hiſtory will appear.

Providence Iſland lies in the Center of ſome hundreds of Iſlands, ſome of them many Miles in Length, others no bigger than Knolls or little Rocks, riſing above Water; ſo that one may imagine it muſt be very dangerous for Ships to be forced amongſt them in Tempeſts. The moſt conſiderable Profit made by the Inhabitants of *Providence*, was by the Misfortune of ſuch as were ſhipwrecked, or ſuch as, in a Winter Voyage for the Continent of *America*, were driven to the *Bahama Iſlands*, and put into *Providence* for Proviſions; for want of which, after they had lain a long while beating off the Iſlands, they uſed to be in great Diſtreſs. 'Tis true, this Iſland had little or none but what came from *Carolina*; however, the Traders here kept Store-houſes to ſupply thoſe that wanted, and they were a great Relief to the unfortunate Mariners, of whom we are ſpeaking. The Iſle of *Providence* lies in 25 Degrees North Latitude, is twenty-eight Miles long, and eleven Miles broad, where it is broadeſt.

It had the Name of *Providence* given it by Captain *Sayle*, after he had a ſecond Time been driven upon it, when he was bound for the Continent. The firſt Governor that was ſent thither by the Proprietaries, was Mr. *Chillingworth*: The Time of his going there was about the Year 1672; ſeveral People went from *England*, and the other Colonies, to ſettle there, and living a licentious Life, they were impatient under Government; Mr. *Chillingworth* endeavouring to bring them to Reaſon, they aſſembled tumultuouſly, ſeized him, and ſhipped him off for *Jamaica*, and lived every Man as he thought beſt for his own Pleaſure and Intereſt. The Proprietaries found they had got an unruly Colony to deal with, and it was a very ſmall Encouragement for any Man to put himſelf into their Hands, after the Treatment Mr. *Chillingworth* met with from them.

However, ſix or ſeven Years after, the Lords Proprietaries made Mr. *Clark* Governor, whoſe Fate was worſe ſtill than his Predeceſſor's; for the *Spaniards*, at that Time, being jealous of every new Colony of the *Engliſh* towards the South, came upon them in *Providence*, deſtroyed all their Stock, which they could not, or would not, carry off; and burnt ſeveral Houſes that were upon the Place. The Inhabitants deſerted it after this, and removed to other Colonies. Mr. *Trott*, one of Governor *Clark*'s Succeſſors, always aſſerted, that the *Spaniards* roaſted Mr. *Clark* on a Spit, after they had killed him; but perhaps that is ſaid to increaſe the Terror of the Story; but it is certain they killed him, and that after this Invaſion the Iſland was uninhabited till about the Time of the Revolution, when ſeveral Perſons removed thither from *Europe* and the Continent; among whom was Mr. *Thomas Bulkley*, who has printed a large Account of his Sufferings there, during the arbitrary Government of one *Cadwallader Jones*, whom the Lords Proprietaries made Governor upon this ſecond Settlement of *Providence* in the Year 1690, where he arrived on the 19th of *June*; but his Adminiſtration proved very unfortunate both for himſelf and the Colony, in which there aroſe ſuch Troubles and Diſſenſions, that he was once depoſed and made Priſoner, and again reſtored.

Nicholas Trott, Eſq; ſucceeded Mr. *Jones* in his Government, and he built a Fort in the Town of *Naſſau*; notwithſtanding which, the famous Pirate *Avery*, forced the Inhabitants to let him have what Victuals he wanted; but ſome Time after Governor *Trott* put the Iſland of *Providence* into ſo good a Condition, that though the *French* made ſeveral Attempts, yet they were always obliged to retire with Loſs. In 1697 *Nicholas Webb*, Eſq; was ſent to ſucceed Mr. *Trott*, and he held the Government about three Years; in which Time theſe Iſlands were in a better Condition than they have ever been ſince; and there was, in his Time, in *Providence* and the adjacent Iſlands, near one thouſand Inhabitants: Some Tobacco was planted; a Sugar Mill ſet up, and other Improvements made: But, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, theſe were ſoon deſtroyed.

To Mr. *Webb* ſucceeded *Elias Haſcott*, Eſq; who was ſo little liked by the Inhabitants, that they took upon them to ſeize him, and put him in Irons; and having ſent him away, aſſumed the Liberty of chuſing a Governor for themſelves, one *Elias Lightgood*, Eſq; in whoſe Time the Settlements were deſtroyed; for, in *July* 1708, the *Spaniards* and *French*, from *Petit Guaves*, landed, ſurprized the Fort, took the Governor Priſoner, plundered and ſtripped the *Engliſh*, burnt the Town of *Naſſau*, all but Mr. *Lightgood*'s Houſe, together with the Church, ſpoiled the Fort, and nailed up the Guns; they carried off the Governor, and about half the Blacks, the reſt ſaved themſelves in the Woods; but in *October* they came again, and picked up moſt of the Negroes. Mr. *Lightgood* having procured his Liberty, by Exchange or Ranſom, came to *Carolina*, and going off thence in a Veſſel, on ſome Adventure, was never ſince heard of. The *Engliſh* Inhabitants of the *Bahamas*, after this ſecond Invaſion, thought it in vain to ſtay longer; ſo they removed, ſome to *Carolina*, ſome to *Virginia*, and ſome to *New England*, and other Places.

The Proprietors having appointed one Mr. *Birch* to go over Governor to *Providence*, who, not having heard of the Deſertion of the Inhabitants, went thither; but finding it a Deſart, he did not give himſelf the Trouble to open his Commiſſion: He remained there two or three Months, and was all that while forced to ſleep in the Woods; after which he returned back, and left the Place uninhabited. This and the other *Bahama* Iſlands, were looked upon to be ſo neceſſary for the Security of our Trade in the *Weſt Indies*, that the Parliament of *England* have not thought them unworthy of their Care, as well to have them cleared of Pirates, as to defend them againſt *Spaniards* and *French*, who find their Situation very convenient to annoy, or befriend their Commerce. In Queen *Anne*'s War both *Spaniards* and *French* over-ran and plundered the *Bahama Iſlands* twice. Upon which, in *March* 1714, The Houſe of Lords addreſſed her Majeſty, that the Iſland of *Providence* might be put in a Poſture of Defence. Their Lordſhips obſerving it would be of fatal Conſequence, if the *Bahama* Iſlands ſhould fall into the Hands of an Enemy, they therefore prayed her Majeſty to take the ſaid Iſlands into her Hands, and give ſuch Order for their Security, as in her royal Wiſdom ſhe ſhould think fit; but nothing was done. And for the future Guidance of ſuch as have it in their Power to do good Offices for our *American* Colonies, it is not improper to remember that their Lordſhips, four Years after, took notice of that Neglect in an Addreſs to his late Majeſty King *George*; in which they ſay there were not any the leaſt Means uſed in Compliance with that Advice, for ſecuring the *Bahama Iſlands*, and that then the Pirates had a Lodgment with a Battery on *Harbour Iſland*; and that the uſual Retreat, and general Receptacle for the Pirates, was at *Providence*. Hereupon his Majeſty was pleaſed to give Directions for diſlodging theſe Pirates, and making Settlements, and a Fortification for its Security and Defence.

Purſuant to this Addreſs, Captain *Woods Rogers* was appointed Governor, the ſame Perſon which went with the Duke and Ducheſs of *Briſtol* to the *South Sea*, and made a proſperous Voyage, eight Years before. He ſailed for *Providence* in *April* 1718, taking with him a naval Force for ſubduing the Pirates; in the mean Time Colonel *Bennet*, Governor of *Bermudas*, ſent a Sloop to that Iſland, requiring them to ſurrender themſelves, purſuant to the late Proclamation. The Pirates who were then on the Iſland, very gladly accepted of the Mercy offered them thereby, and promiſed to ſurrender themſelves as ſoon as they could get a Paſſage to the *Engliſh* Colonies; adding, that they did not doubt but their Fellows, who were at Sea, would gladly do the ſame after their Example. Accordingly Captain *Henry Jennings*, and fifteen others, immediately followed the Sloop to *Bermudas*, and ſurrendered themſelves; and Captain *Laſſie*, and Captain *Nichols*, with a good Number of their Pirates, ſent Word that they would alſo ſurrender. The abovementioned Proclamation was brought hither by Captain *Peers*, in the *Phœnix* Frigate, then lately ſtationed at *New York*: Beſides the above, Captain *Hernigold*, Captain *Burges* ſurrendered, and in the whole, as many of their Men as amounted to one hundred and fourteen, which were followed by many more: However, Piracy was not ſuppreſſed, nor did Capt. *Rogers* anſwer the Expectations of thoſe that employed him; though at his Arrival here he ſeemed very zealous in the Service he was ſent for.

He arrived at *Naſſau*, in *Providence*, in *July* 1718. *Vane*, one of the Captains of the Pirates, knowing what Errand he came upon, to reduce thoſe Robbers by the Proclamation, or by Force, cauſed a *French* Ship of twenty two Guns, which he had taken, to be ſet on fire, intending to make uſe of her as a Fire-ſhip, to burn the *Roſe* Frigate, which came with Governor *Woods Rogers*: And, indeed, the *Roſe* would have been in much Danger, had ſhe not got off in Time, by cutting her Cables. But *Vane*'s bold and raſh Attempt could not have ſecured him; for beſides the *Roſe*, there was at hand the *Milford* Man of War, and another, aboard which was the Governor. Theſe were ſoon after ſeen ſtanding in for the Harbour of *Naſſau*, upon which *Vane*, and about fifty of his Men, made off in a Sloop. The Governor ſent a Sloop of ſufficient Force after them, but the Pirates got off; and the *Milford*, and the other Man of War, run aground. The 27th of *July* Mr. *Woods Rogers* came on Shore, took Poſſeſſion of the Fort, and cauſed his Majeſty's Commiſſion to be read in the Preſence of the Officers, Soldiers, and about three hundred People, whom he found there at his Arrival; which had been almoſt daily exerciſed in Arms for their Defence, in Caſe of Attack by the *Spaniards* or *French*. As for the Pirates, they were not in ſo great Fear of them, moſt of them having been themſelves of the Fraternity, who had ſurrendered and made their Peace with the Government. *Woods Rogers* brought with him above one hundred Soldiers, and this joint Force which was, and might have been ſtill farther recruited, being ſufficient to ſecure the *Bahama Iſlands*, againſt any Enterprize of the *French* and *Spaniards*; Mr. *Rogers* ſet himſelf to regulate the Government, and reſtore Order in it, which had been neglected ſeveral Years paſt.

Of the Adventurers who came with him, ſix were nominated to be of the Council, as alſo ſix of the Inhabitants, who had never been Pirates themſelves; and thus the Appearance of Government was renewed. As ſoon as the Governor and Council had ſettled the Board, about two hundred of thoſe that had been Pirates ſurrendered themſelves to them, had Certificates of their Surrender, and took the Oaths of Allegiance, as did, voluntarily, the greateſt Part of the Inhabitants of *Providence*; wherein, a few Years after, were computed to be one thouſand five hundred Souls, out of theſe were formed three Companies of Militia, under Officers of their own Iſland; theſe Companies took their turn every Night in the Town Guard at *Naſſau*, and the independent Company was always upon Duty in the Fort here, and another of eight Guns erected at the eaſtermoſt Entrance into the Harbour.

It was by theſe Methods that the Face of Affairs, in this Part of the World, was entirely changed; the Town of *Naſſau* rebuilt; a regular Force eſtabliſhed in *Providence*, and Plantations ſo laid out, that the Country looked like an *Engliſh* Settlement. Within a ſhort Time after, the neighbouring Iſland of *Eluthera* was ſettled likewiſe, upon which about ſixty Families fixed themſelves, erected a ſmall Fort for their Defence, and raiſed a Company of Militia under the Deputy Governor, Mr. *Holmes*, by whoſe prudent Management Matters were chiefly brought to bear; the like was done in *Harbour Iſland*, where the Plantation ſoon grew more conſiderable, and a larger Fort was built for the Protection of the Inhabitants. Captain *Woods Rogers* returning to *England*, was ſucceeded in his Government by Captain *Fitz-williams*, in whoſe Time an independent Company, that had been ſent thither, mutinied, which had like to have produced ſome very fatal Conſequences, but was happily ſuppreſſed; and by the Moderation of the Governor, only a few of the moſt Guilty were made Examples.

This happened in the Year 1736, from which Time theſe Iſlands have been improving, though ſlowly. It may well be wondered at by conſiderate Perſons, that conſidering the Number of poor People and Men out of Employment, which before the War peſtered the Streets of this City, and of all the great Towns in the Kingdom; ſome Methods were not taken for ſending them over to theſe Iſlands, which would have been a Relief to the People here, afforded them a comfortable Subſiſtence, and have contributed to augment the Strength and increaſe the Riches of this Nation. I ſhall content myſelf with juſt hinting this as it falls in my Way, and proceed to the next Corporation formed for enlarging our Commerce within the Period of Time aſſigned to this Section.

11. This was the *Hudſon's Bay* Company, erected by King *Charles* the IId. upon the following Occaſion: Monſieur *Radiſon*, and Monſieur *Gooſelier*, two *Frenchmen*, meeting with ſome *Savages* in the Lake of *Aſſimponals* in *Canada*, they learnt of them that they might go by Land to the Bottom of the Bay, where the *Engliſh* had not yet been, upon which they deſired them to conduct them thither, and the *Savages* accordingly did it. The two *Frenchmen* returned to the upper Lake the ſame Way they came, and thence to *Quebec*, the Capital of *Canada*; where they offered the principal Merchants to carry Ships to *Hudſon's Bay*, but their Project was rejected; thence they went to *France*, in Hopes of a more favourable hearing at Court; but after preſenting ſeveral Memorials, and ſpending a great deal of Time and Money, they were anſwered as they had been at *Quebec*, and their Project looked upon as chimerical. The King of *England*'s Embaſſador at *Paris*, hearing what Propoſals they had made, imagined he ſhould do his Country good Service by engaging them to ſerve the *Engliſh*, who had already Pretences to the Bay, perſuaded them to go for *London*, where they met with a favourable Reception from ſome Men of Quality, Merchants, and others, who employed Mr. *Gillam*, a Perſon long uſed to the *New England* Trade, to perfect this Diſcovery.

He ſailed in the *Noneſuch* Catch, in the Year 1667, into *Baffins Bay*, to the Height of 75 Degrees, and from thence Southward to 51 Degrees, where he entered a River, to which he gave the Name of Prince *Rupert's River*; and, finding the *Savages* diſpoſed to a friendly Commerce, he erected a ſmall Fortreſs there, which he ſtiled *Charles Fort*. The Succeſs of this Expedition was ſo remarkable, that the Perſons concerned in fitting out this Veſſel, upon the Return of Mr. *Gillam*, applied themſelves to King *Charles* the IId. for a Patent, who accordingly granted them one, dated the 2d of *May*, in the 22d Year of his Reign, A. D. 1670. The firſt Directors of what was called the *Hudſon's Bay* Company, were Prince *Rupert*, Sir *James Hayes*, Mr. *William Young*, Mr. *Gerrard Weymans*, Mr. *Richard Cradock*, Mr. *John Letton*, *Chriſtopher Wren*, Eſq; and Mr. *Nicholas Haywood*.

The Bay lies from 64 Degrees North Latitude, to 51 Degrees, and is 10 Degrees or ſix hundred Miles in Length. The Mouth of the Streights lies in about 61 Degrees North Latitude, and is ſix Leagues over. At the Mouth is an Iſland called *Reſolution*; *Charles Iſland*, *Saliſbury Iſland*, and *Nottingham* are in the Streights, and *Mansfield Iſland* is in the Mouth of the Bay. *Hudſon's Streights*, which leads to the Bay, are about one hundred and twenty Leagues in Length; the Land on both Sides inhabited by *Savages*, of whom we have little or no Knowledge. The South Coaſt is known by the Name of the *Terra de Labrador*, the North by as many Names as Men of ſeveral Nations have been there, and pretend to the Diſcovery. On the Weſt Side of the Bay the *Engliſh* made a Settlement, built a Fort at *Port Nelſon*, and all that Country goes by the Name of *New South Wales*. The Bay here is called *Button's* and *Hudſon's Bay*, which is broadeſt in this Place, and may be near one hundred and thirty Leagues. On the other Shore, or the Coaſt of *Labrador*, lie ſeveral Iſlands, called the *Sleepers Iſles*, and the *Baker's Dozen*. The Bottom of the Bay, by which we underſtand all that Part of it from Cape *Henrietta Maria*, in *New South Wales*, to *Redonda*, below Prince *Rupert's River*, is about 80 Leagues long, and all the Way between 40 and 50 Leagues over. Here are ſeveral Iſlands to which the firſt Adventurers gave the Names of ſome great Men in *England*, or ſome that employed them; as Lord *Weſton's Iſland*, Sir *Thomas Roe's Iſland*, *Charleton Iſland*, and others.

The two oppoſite Shores are called the *Eaſt Main* and *Weſt Main*, the former is *Labrador*, and the latter *New South Wales*. The Continent at the bottom of the Bay is, by the *French*, pretended to be Part of *New France*; and, indeed, to croſs the Country from *St. Margaret's River*, which runs into the River of *Canada*, to *Rupert's River*, at the bottom of *Hudſon's Bay*, is not above one hundred and fifty Miles. At *Rupert's River* the *Engliſh* built their firſt Fort, which they called *Charles Fort*. They never had any Towns or Plantations here, but live within their Forts in little Houſes or Huts, wherein the Builders conſider nothing but how to defend them from the Cold and Rains, though they are not ſo much diſturbed by the latter as by the former. There's an Iſland about five or ſix Leagues from the *Weſt Main* called the little *Rocky Iſle*, it being a mere heap of Rocks and Stones, with ſome ſmall Bruſh-wood growing upon it; it is ſuppoſed to overflow with great North-weſt Winds, which make a high Tide all over the Bay; in this Iſle is plenty of Gulls and Sea Swallows; about three Miles from the South-ſouth-eaſt Part of the Iſland lies a dangerous Reef of Sand, which is dry at low Water. *Charleton Iſland* is a dry white Sand, covered over with a white Moſs, full of Trees, Juniper and Spruce, though not very large. This Iſle affords a beautiful Proſpect to ſuch as are near it in the Spring, after a long Voyage of three or four Months, in the moſt uncomfortable Seas in the World, occaſioned by the vaſt Mountains of Ice which drive in the Bay and Streights; againſt which, if Ships happen to ſtrike, they are daſhed in Pieces, as certainly as if they ran againſt Rocks; for, indeed, they are Rocks petrified by the Violence of the continual Froſts. To ſee one Day the Shore on the *Weſt Main* bare, the Mountains covered with Snow, and Nature looking as if frozen to Death; and the next to behold *Charleton*

Iſland ſpread with Trees, and the Branches making, as it were, a green Tuft of the whole, is a Change capable of giving the greateſt Pleaſure, after the Fatigues of an intolerable Winter-Voyage.

The Air, even at the Bottom of the Bay, though by the Latitude it is nearer the Sun than *London*, being in 51 Degrees, is exceſſive cold for nine Months; the other three Months very hot; but on a North-weſt Wind the Soil on the *Eaſt Main*, as well as the Weſt, bears no manner of Grain: Some Fruits, Gooſberries, Strawberries, and Dewberries, grow about Prince *Rupert's River*. The Commodities for Trade here are Guns, Powder, Shot, Cloth, Hatchets, Kettles, Tobaccos, *&c.* which the *Engliſh* exchange with the *Indians* for Furs, Beavers, Martins, Foxes, Mooſe, and other Skins, and Furs. The great Profits acquired by this Trade, and the Proſpect of ingroſſing it, wholly engaged the new Company to proſecute their Meaſures vigorouſly, and to do all that lay in their Power to ſettle a good Correſpondence with the Natives, whom they found very tractable in that Point, and willing to do any thing they could expect from them upon reaſonable Terms; for the *Indians* about *Rupert's River*, and other Places in the Bay, are more ſimple than the *Canadans*, who have had longer Commerce with the *Europeans*: They are generally peaceable and not given to quarrel, either among themſelves or others, except the *Nodways*, a wild barbarous People on the Borders of *Hudſon's Streights*; who ſometimes, in ſlight Parties, make Incurſions on the other *Indians*, and having murdered eight or ten, return in triumph.

The *Indians* of certain Diſtricts, which are bounded by ſuch and ſuch Rivers, having each an Okimah, as they call him, or Captain, over them, who is an old Man, conſidered only for his Prudence and Experience: He has no Authority but what they think fit to give him upon certain Occaſions; he is the Speech-maker to the *Engliſh*, as alſo in their own Councils, when they meet every Spring and Fall to ſettle the Diſpoſition of their Quarters, for Hunting, Fowling, and Fiſhing: Every Family have their Boundaries adjuſted, which they ſeldom quit, except they have no Succeſs there in their Hunting, and then they join in with ſome Family who have ſucceeded. Their Notions of Religion are but very ſlender; they ſay, there are two Monetoes, or Spirits, the one ſends all the good Things, and the other all the bad. Their Worſhip conſiſts in Songs and Dances at their Feaſts, in Honour of their Monetoes that have favoured them; but if they are ſick or famiſhed, they hang ſome little Bauble which they ſet a Value upon, on the Top of a Pole near the Tent, to pacify the Spirit offended, as they conceive.

But to return to our Hiſtory: In the Year 1670 the Company ſent over *Charles Bailey*, Eſq; as their Governor, who with Mr. *Radiſon* ſettled at *Rupert's River*, and another Factory was eſtabliſhed at *Fort Nelſon*. Some Years after, *William Lydall*, Eſq; was ſent to ſucceed Mr. *Bailey*, and one Mr. *Bridger* was ſent to *Fort Nelſon*. In 1683, *Henry Serjeant*, Eſq; was made Governor at *Rupert's River*, with Orders to be very careful of the *French*, who began now to ſhew themſelves very jealous of the Trade carried on by the *Engliſh* Company with the Natives; and at the ſame time they were not a little perplexed by ſome bad Practices among their own Servants; who conſidering the Hardſhips they endured in that miſerable cold Country, thought they might make bold with ſome Part of the Profits which were entirely owing to their Labour and Negociations with the Natives; for the Company, by their Governors and Agents, made ſuch Contracts with the Captains, or Kings, of Rivers, or Territories where they had Settlements for the Freedom of Trade there, excluſive of all others, that the *Indians* could not pretend they had encroached upon them. Theſe Contracts were as firm as the *Indians* could make them by ſuch Ceremonies as were moſt ſacred and obligatory among them.

In the Year 1686 we find the Company in poſſeſſion of five Settlements, *viz.* *Albany River*, *Hayes Iſland*, *Rupert's River*, *Fort Nelſon*, and *New Severn*: Their Trade at each of them was very conſiderable. From *Albany River* they had generally three thouſand five hundred Beavers a Year, and by Mr. *Serjeant's* great Care and Fidelity, their Commerce increaſed ſo much, that the *French* began to be afraid all the upland *Indians* might be drawn down to the Bay. They knew they could do any thing with King *James* II. who then reigned in *England*; and therefore they reſolved to drive the *Engliſh* out of all their Places in the Bottom of the Bay. Firſt they took *Hayes Iſland*, and then the Fort on *Rupert's River*. The *French* Company at *Canada* procured a Detachment of Soldiers to be ſent, under the Chevalier *de Troyes*, who came over Land from *Quebec*, and in a Time of profound Peace committed theſe Acts of Hoſtilities. It is worth obſerving that the *French* have ſo good an Opinion of their *American* Colonies, as to take not only all lawful, but even unlawful, Means, to preſerve and enlarge them, as contemptible as they are in themſelves; whereas the *Engliſh*, who, next the *Spaniards*, have the richeſt Plantations in this Part of the World, have been as negligent of them as if they were not worth keeping.

The 8th of *July*, the Chevalier *de Troyes* came before the Fort at *Albany River*, where the Governor, Mr. *Serjeant*, then reſided. Two *Indians* having informed him of their having ſurpriſed the Forts at *Hayes Iſland* and *Rupert's River*, and had brought with them the great Guns from theſe Places, the Governor did all that was in his Power to defend the Place, but was not able to keep it above a Week, as appears by the Articles of his Surrender, dated *July* 16th, 1686, which Articles were but indifferently kept. In 1693, the *Hudſon's Bay* Company, being aſſiſted by the Government, retook all the Forts and Factories of which the *French* had deprived them in Time of Peace; but they were ſoon after driven out of them again by the *French*.

In the Year 1696, the Company applied themſelves to King *William*, repreſenting their own Incapacity to maintain themſelves againſt the *French*, and praying the Aſſiſtance of the Crown for their Support: Upon which two Men of War were ordered to their Aſſiſtance, under the Command of Captain *Allen*, who coming into the River *Hayes* ſent to ſummon all the Forts to ſurrender; and the *French* Governor, finding he could not defend them againſt the *Engliſh*, capitulated; and on the 2d of *Auguſt*, in the ſame Year, ſurrendered *Albany Fort* upon certain Articles, the chief of which were, That all thoſe in the Fort, as well *French* as *Indians*, and one *Engliſhman*, the Governor's Servant, ſhould have their Lives and Liberties; and, That no Harm or Violence ſhould be done to their Perſons, or any thing that belonged to them: That they ſhould march out with their Arms, Drums beating, Colours flying, Match lighted at both Ends, Ball in Mouth, and carry with them the two Guns brought from *France*: That they ſhould all embark with their Cloaths, and Goods, without being viſited or pillaged in any Thing; and, if they met with any *French* Veſſels, there ſhould be a Truce between the *Engliſh* and them; and the ſaid *French* Veſſels ſhould be permitted to take aboard the Perſons that came out of the ſame Fort, with all that belonged to them. Theſe Conditions were a little too honourable to grant, tho' they were complied with. Captain *Allen* took the Governor, and ſome of his Men, aboard his own Ship, the *Bonadventure*; ſome he put aboard the *Seaford*, and the reſt aboard a Merchant-man, called the *Doring*.

In his Return he fought the *Mary Roſe* Frigate, then a *French* Privateer of fifty Guns, and was killed in the Engagement; which gave the *Frenchman* an Opportunity to bear away. As to the other two Forts, they followed the Fate of *Albany*, and Mr. *Knight* was reſtored to the Government of *Fort Nelſon*. Mr. *Knight* had ſerved Mr. *Serjeant* while he was Governor of *Fort Albany*, and was acquainted with the Trade. In the Year 1697, the *Hampſhire* Frigate, and *Owners Love* Fireſhip, two of the King's Ships, were loſt in this Bay, and all the Men drowned. Indeed the Ice rendered it ſo dangerous that the Commerce ſeemed not to be worth the Riſque that was run for it. Whether thoſe two Ships run againſt thoſe frozen Mountains that float in the Sea, or foundered, is not known; but 'tis certain they were loſt, and that all the Men periſhed; which was the Cauſe of ſome Inconvenience.

venience. After this Time it appears very clearly, that the Trade of the *Hudſon's Bay* Company declined extremely, but whether from any Advantage gained in Trade by the *French*, or from any ill Management of their Affairs at home or abroad, I cannot pretend to ſay. This, however, is certain, that in the next general War the *French* had renewed their Attacks upon the Settlements of the *Hudſon's Bay* Company, and this with ſuch Effect, that they ſoon left them nothing but *Fort Albany*, which very well accounts for the low State of their Trade to the End of the War, and ſome Time after. At the making the Treaty at *Utrecht*, great Care was taken of this Company, who by the 10th and 11th Articles have every thing reſtored to them that had been taken from them, and an equitable Satisfaction ſtipulated for their Loſſes. Since which Time the Trade of the Company has wonderfully increaſed, inſomuch that it became at leaſt, treble to what it was at the Time that Peace was made, and is ſtill in a very flouriſhing Condition.

It is very natural for ſuch as reap the Benefit of any Branch of Trade, to be as ſilent and ſecret about it as poſſible, which is the Reaſon that till within theſe few Years both the Country and the Commerce of *Hudſon's Bay* were very little, and indeed ſcarce at all, known here, though carried on entirely by this Nation. As for the *French* they had ſo little Notion of it, that they treated all Mr. *Iberville*'s Projects, upon this Subject, as mere Chimeras; and when a Memorial was preſented to the Regent Duke of *Orleans*, ſetting forth the great Dangers the *French* Settlements in *North America* muſt run, if the *Engliſh* ſhould ever lay open this Trade, or think of tranſporting their Felons into this Part of the World, it was looked upon as a mere Viſion. But ſince that Time they are become much better acquainted with this Part of *America*, as appears from the Account I have already given from one of their Authors.

But as to the Product and preſent Condition of this Country, the beſt Account I ever ſaw of it, is that publiſhed by Mr. *Dobbs*, from the Mouth of one experimentally acquainted with it, and from whom I ſhall borrow as much as I think may ſuffice to give the Reader a general Notion of its Nature and Importance. “The *Indians* being obliged to go aſhore every Day to hunt for Proviſions, delays them very much in their Voyages; for their Canoes are ſo very ſmall, holding only two Men and a Pack of one hundred Beaver Skins, that they cannot carry Proviſions with them for any Time. If they had larger Canoes, they would make their Voyages ſhorter, and carry many more Beavers to Market, at leaſt four times as many, beſides other Skins of Value, which are too heavy for their preſent Canoes; this, and the high Price of the *European* Goods, by the Company in exchange, diſcourages the Natives ſo much, that if they were not abſolutely under Neceſſity of having Guns, Powder, and Shot, Hatchets, and other Iron Tools for their Hunting, and Tobacco, Brandy, and ſome Paint for Luxury, they would not go down to the Factory, with what they now carry. At preſent they leave great Numbers of Furs and Skins behind them. A good Hunter among the *Indians*, can kill ſix hundred Beavers in a Seaſon, and can carry down but one hundred; the reſt he uſes at home, or hangs them upon Branches of Trees, upon the Death of their Children, as an Offering to them, or uſe them for Bedding and Coverings. They ſometimes burn off the Fur, and roaſt the Beavers like Pigs, upon any Entertainments, and they often let them rot, having no farther Uſe for them. The Beavers, he ſays, are of three Colours, the brown reddiſh Colour, the black, and white; the firſt is the cheapeſt, the black is moſt valued by the Company in *England*, the white the moſt valued in *Canada*, giving eighteen Shillings, when others give five or ſix Shillings: it is blown upon by the Company's Factors at the Bay, they not allowing ſo much for theſe as for the others, and therefore the *Indians* uſe them at home, or burn off the Hair, when they roaſt the Beavers like Pigs, at an Entertainment when they feaſt together. He ſays theſe Skins are extremely white, and have a fine Luſtre, no Snow being whiter, and have a fine long Fur or Hair. He has ſeen fifteen taken of that Colour out of one Lodge or Pond.

“The Beavers have three Enemies, Man, Otters, and the Carcajon, or Quecquehatch, which prey upon them, when they take them at Advantage; the laſt is as large as a very great Dog, it has a ſhort Tail like a Deer or Hart, and has a good Fur, valued at a Beaver and half in exchange. The Beavers chiefeſt Food is the Poplar, or Tremble, but they alſo eat Sallows, Alders, and moſt other Trees, not having a reſinous Juice. The Middle Bark is their Food; in *May*, when the Wood is not plenty, they live upon a large Root which grows in the Marſhes a Fathom long and as thick as a Man's Leg, the *French* called it Volet: But the Beavers are not ſo good Food as when they feed upon Trees. They will cut down Trees about two Fathoms in Girth with their Teeth, and one of them obſerves when it is ready to fall, and gives a great Cry, and runs the contrary Way, to give room for the reſt to get out of the Way. They then cut off all the Twigs and ſmaller Branches, two or three Fathoms in Length, and draw them to their Houſes, which they have built in their Ponds; after having raiſed or repaired their Pond Head, and made it ſtaunch, and thruſt one End into the Clay or Mud, that they may lie under Water all the Winter, to preſerve the Bark green and tender, for their Winter Proviſion. After cutting off the ſmall Branches, they cut and carry away the larger, until they come to the Bole of the Tree. The Beavers are excellent Food, but the Tongue and Tail the moſt delicious Parts of the whole. They are very fat from *November* until the End of *March*: They have their Young in the Beginning of Summer, at which Time the Females are lean by ſuckling their Young, and the Males are lean the whole Summer, when they are making or repairing their Ponds or Houſes, and cutting down and providing Timber and Branches for their Winter Store. They breed once in a Year, and have from ten to fifteen at a Litter, which grow up in one Seaſon, ſo that they multiply very faſt; and if they can empty a Pond and take the whole Lodge, they generally leave a Pair to breed, ſo that they are fully ſtocked again in two or three Years. The Loup Corvier, or Lynx, is of the Cat kind, but as large as a great Dog; it preys upon all Beaſts it can conquer, as does the Tyger, which is the only Beaſt in that Country that won't fly from a Man. The *American* Oxen or Beeves, have a large Bunch upon their Backs, which is by far the moſt delicious Part of them for Food, it being all as ſweet as Marrow, juicy and rich, and weighs ſeveral Pounds.

“The *Indians* Weſt of the Bay, living an erratic Life, can have no Benefit by tame Fowl or Cattle; they ſeldom ſtay above a Fortnight at a Place, unleſs they find plenty of Game. When they remove, after having built their Hut, they diſperſe to get Game for their Food, and meet again at Night, after having killed enough to maintain them that Day; they don't go above a League or two from their Hut. When they find ſcarcity of Game, they remove a League or two farther, and thus they traverſe through theſe woody Countries and Bogs, ſcarce miſſing one Day, Winter or Summer, fair or foul, in the greateſt Storms of Snow, but what they are employed in ſome kind of Chace. The ſmaller Game, got by Traps or Snares, are generally the Employment of Women and Children, ſuch as the Martins, Squirrels, Ermins, *&c.* The Elks, Stags, Rein Deer, Bears, Tygers, wild Beef, Wolves, Foxes, Beavers, Otters, Corcajon, *&c.* are the Employment of the Men. The *Indians*, when they kill any Game for Food, leave it where they kill it, and ſend their Wives next Day to carry it home. They go home in a direct Line, never miſſing their Way by Obſervation they make of the Courſe they take upon their going out, and ſo judge upon what Point their Huts are, and can thus direct themſelves upon any Point of the Compaſs. The

Trees all bend towards the South, and the Branches on that Side are larger and ſtronger than on the North Side, as alſo the Moſs upon the Trees. To let their Wives know how to come at the killed Game, they from Place to Place break off Branches, and lay them in the Road, pointing them the Way they ſhould go, and ſometimes Moſs, ſo that they never miſs finding it.

“ In Winter when they go abroad, which they muſt do in all Weathers to hunt and ſhoot for their daily Food, before they dreſs they rub themſelves all over with Bear's Greaſe, or Oil of Beavers, which does not freeze, and alſo rub all the Fur off their Beaver Coats, and then put them on; they have alſo a kind of Boots or Stockings of Beaver's Skin, well oiled with the Fur inwards, and above them they have an oiled Skin laced about their Feet, which keeps out the Cold, and alſo Water, where there is no Ice or Snow, and by this Means they never freeze or ſuffer any thing by Cold. In Summer alſo, when they go naked, they rub themſelves with theſe Oils or Greaſe, and expoſe themſelves to the Sun without being ſcorched, their Skins being always kept ſoft and ſupple by it, nor do any Flies, Bugs, or Muſketoes, or any noxious Inſect ever moleſt them. When they want to get rid of it they go into the Water, and rub themſelves all over with Mud or Clay, and let it dry upon them, and then rub it off. But whenever they are free from the Oil, the Flies and Muſketoes immediately attack them, and oblige them again to anoint themſelves.

“ The *Indians* make no uſe of Honey; he ſaw no Bees there but the wild Humble-Bee; but they are ſo much afraid of being ſtung with them, as they go naked in Summer, that they avoid them as much as they can. Nor did he ſee any of the Maple they uſe in *Canada* to make Sugar of, but only the Birch, whoſe Juice they uſe for the ſame Purpoſe: Boiling it until it is black and dry, and then uſing it with their Meat. They uſe no Milk from the Time they are weaned, and they all hate to taſte Cheeſe, having taken up an Opinion that it is made of dead Men's Fat; they love Prunes and Raiſins, and will give a Beaver Skin for twelve of them, to carry to their Children, and alſo for a Thrum or Jews Harp.

“ He ſays the Women have all fine Voices, but have never heard any muſical Inſtrument. They are very fond of all Sorts of Pictures or Prints, giving a Beaver for the leaſt Print, and all Toys are like Jewels to them. When he got to the Natives, Southward of *Pachegoia*, he had about thirty Cowries left, and a few ſmall Bells, leſs than Hawks-Bells. When he ſhewed one of them, they gave him a Beaver's Skin for it, and they were ſo fond that ſome gave him two Skins, or three Martin Skins, for one, to give their Wives to make them fine. The Martins they take in Traps, for if they ſhoot them their Skins would be ſpoiled; they have generally five or ſix at a Litter. He ſays the Natives are ſo diſcouraged in their Trade with the Company, that no Skins are worth the Carriage; and the fineſt Furs were ſold for very little, when they came to the Factory in *June* 1742. The Prices they took for the *European* Goods were much higher than the ſettled Prices fixed by the Company, which the Governors fix ſo to ſhew the Company how zealous they are to improve their Trade, and ſell their Goods to Advantage. He ſays they gave but a Pound of Gunpowder for four Beavers; a Fathom of Tobacco for ſeven Beavers; a Pound of Shot for one; an Ell of coarſe Cloth for fifteen; a Blanket for twelve; two Fiſh-hooks or three Flints for one; a Gun for twenty-five; a Piſtol for ten; a common Hat, with white Lace for ſeven; an Ax for four; a Bill-hook for one; a Gallon of Brandy for four; a chequered Shirt for ſeven; all which are ſold at a monſtrous Profit, even to two thouſand *per Cent.* Notwithſtanding this Diſcouragement, the two Fleets which went down with him, and parted at the *Great Fork*, carried down two hundred Packs of one hundred each, twenty thouſand Beavers; and the other *Indians* who arrived that Year, he computed, carried down three hundred Packs of two hundred each, making thirty thouſand; in all fifty thouſand Beavers, and above nine thouſand Martins.

“ The Furs there are much more valuable than the Furs upon the *Canada* Lakes, ſold at *New York*; for theſe will give five or ſix Shillings *per Pound*, when the others ſell at three Shillings and Six-pence. He ſays that if a Fort was built at the *Great Fort*, ſixty Leagues above *York Fort*, and a Factory with *European* Goods was fixed there, and a reaſonable Price was put upon the *European* Goods, that the Trade would be wonderfully increaſed; for the Natives, from the Southward of *Pachegoia*, could make, at leaſt, two Returns in a Summer, and thoſe at greater Diſtances could make one, who cannot now come at all; and above double the Number would be employed in hunting, and many more Skins would be brought to Market that they cannot now afford to bring, for the Expence and low Price given for them. The Stream is ſo gentle from the *Fork*, to *York Fort*, on either Branch, that large Veſſels and Shallops may be built there, and carry down the bulky Goods, and alſo return again againſt the Stream; and the Climate is good and fit to produce Grain, Pulſe, *&c.* and very good Graſs and Hay for Horſes and Cattle; and if afterwards any Settlement were made upon *Pachegoia*, and Veſſels built to navigate that Lake, which is not more Northerly than the Latitude of 52 Degrees, the Trade would be ſtill vaſtly inlarged and improved, and ſpread the Trade not only up the River and Lakes, as far as the Lake *du Bois* and *du Pluis*, but alſo among the *Aſſinibouels*, and Nations beyond them; and the Nation *de vieux Hommes*, who are two hundred Leagues Weſtward of *Pachegoia*. He ſays the Nations who go up that River with Preſents, to confirm the Peace, are three Months in going, and ſay they live behind a range of Mountains beyond *Aſſinibouels*; he ſaw ſeveral of them, who all wanted a Joint of their little Finger, which they ſaid was cut off ſoon after they were born, but gave no Reaſon for it.

“ Whilſt he was at *York Fort* he got acquainted with an old *Indian* who lived at ſome Diſtance from *Nelſon's Bay* to the Weſtward, being one of thoſe they call the *Home Indians*, who had, about fifteen Years ago, gone at the Head of thirty Warriors, to make War againſt the *Attimoſpiquais*, *Tete Plat*, or *Plazcotez de Chiens*, a Nation lying Northward, on the Weſtern Ocean of *America*; he was the only one that returned, all the reſt being killed, or periſhed through Fatigue, or want of Food, upon their Return; when they went they carried their own Families with them, and hunted and fiſhed from Place to Place for two Winters and one Summer, having left their Country in Autumn, and in *April* following came to the Sea Side on the Weſtern Coaſt, where they immediately made their Canoes; at ſome ſmall Diſtance they ſaw an Iſland, which was about a League and a half long; when the Tide was out, or Water fell, they had no Water betwixt them and the Iſland, but when it roſe, it covered all the Paſſage and the Iſland, as high as the Woods upon the Shore. There they left their Wives and Children and old Men, to conduct them home, and provide them with Proviſions by hunting and ſhooting for them upon the Road; and he, with thirty Warriors, went in queſt of the Enemies of the *Tete Plat*.

“ After they parted with their Families they came to a Streight which they paſſed in their Canoes; the Sea Coaſt lay almoſt Eaſt and Weſt, for he ſaid the Sun roſe on his Right-hand, and at Noon it was almoſt behind him, as he paſſed the Streight, and always ſet in the Sea. After paſſing the Streight, they coaſted along the Sea for three Months, going into the Country and Woods as they went along to hunt for Proviſions. He ſaid they ſaw a great many large black Fiſh, ſpouting up Water in the Sea. After they had thus coaſted for near three Months, they ſaw the Footſteps of ſome Men on the Sand, by which they judged they were

“ not far from their Enemies; upon which they quitted their Canoes, and went five Days through the Woods and Buſhes, which were but very low and ſhrubby, and ſo cloſe they could with Difficulty make Way through it; and then came to the Banks of a River, where they found a large Town of their Enemies: And, after making their uſual Cry, they diſcharged their Arrows and Guns againſt thoſe who appeared; upon which they fled; but upon finding how few they were, they returned and killed fifteen of them, and wounded three or four more; upon which they fled to the Woods, and from thence made their Eſcape to their Canoes before their Enemies overtook them; and after a great deal of Fatigue got to the Streights, and after getting over they all died one after another, of Fatigue and Famine, except this old Man; leaving him alone to travel to his own Country, which took him up about a Year's Time, having left his Gun when his Ammunition was ſpent, and loſt all his Arrows, and upon his Return had not even a Knife with him; ſo that he was reduced to live upon Herbs and Moſs growing upon the Rocks, and was almoſt famiſhed when he reached the River *Sakie*, where he met his Friends, who relieved him when he deſpaired of ever again ſeeing his own Country.”

This, ſays Mr. *Dobbs*, is the Account ſo far as *Joſeph la France* could inform me of thoſe Countries Southward of *York Fort*, which may be brought to trade there in time. It muſt be allowed, that this Relation is equally inſtructive and entertaining; it makes us at once acquainted with the Country, and with the Reaſons which ſhould induce us to think it worth our while to enquire about it; it ſhews us, that theſe Countries are far from being unhoſpitable, or uninhabitable; that, on the contrary, there are many Nations already known, and many more of whom the *Europeans* have had Notice; all of whom are ſufficiently in Want, and have it at the ſame time abundantly in their Power to pay us for Supplies. This, I ſay, is evidently made appear, ſince it is affirmed, and the Fact is ſo true as not to be diſputed, that the *French* carry on a great Trade with theſe *Indians*, and that they are very well able to bear the Rigour of the Seaſons in thoſe Parts; and if they can bear it, ſurely ſo may we.

It may indeed be objected, that the *French* are very apt to boaſt of much more than they perform, and therefore we ought not to give an implicit Credit to their Relations, eſpecially in their own Favour.

But this is eaſily anſwered, ſince Mr. *Dobbs* has alſo furniſhed us with *Engliſh* Memoirs that prove the very ſame Thing; and therefore I ſhall quote from him what is ſufficient for that Purpoſe, and which is no leſs entertaining than the Account given us by *Joſeph la France*, and of no leſs Authority than his, ſince it is given us by an *Engliſhman* of Credit, who reports nothing but from his own Experience and Obſervation.

“ Mr. *Froſt*, who has been many Years employed by the Company in the Bay, both at *Churchill* and *Mooſe River* Factory, and who was their Interpreter with the Natives, and travelled a conſiderable way into the Country, both North-weſt of *Churchill* and Southward of *Mooſe River* Factory, and has reſided at *Mooſe River*, ſince the Factory was made there in 1730, gives a very good Account of that Climate and Country there, and up the River Southward of it: He ſays the Factory is built near the Mouth of the River, in Latitude 51 Degrees 28 Minutes, upon a navigable River, which, at twelve Miles diſtant from the Fort, is divided into two Branches; one comes from the Southward, the other from the South-weſt. Upon the Southern Branch, all ſort of Grain thrives, as Barley, Beans, and Peaſe do at the Factory, though expoſed to all the chilling Winds which come from the Ice in the Bay. Upon the Southern Part, above the Falls, there grows naturally along the River, the ſame Kind of wild Oats and Rye mentioned already upon the Lake of *Sieno*, the Huſk being black, but the Grain within perfectly white and clear, like Rice; the *Indians* beating it off when ripe into their Canoes, as they paſs along the River, it growing in the Water, like Rice. In their Woods, at the Bottom of the Bay, at *Mooſe* and *Albany*, as well as at *Rupert's River*, are very large Timber Trees of all Kinds; Oak, Aſh, &c. as well as Pine, Cedar, and Spruce: They have exceeding good Graſs to make Hay, which improves every Day, as they cut and feed it, and may have every where within Land all ſorts of Pulſe and Grain, and all ſorts of Fruit Trees, as in the ſame Climate in *Europe*; for all the Sorts they have tried thrive very well.

“ The Ice breaks up at *Mooſe* Factory in the Beginning of *April*, but higher up in the Country in *March*. It is navigable for Canoes a great way up among the Falls; at a conſiderable Diſtance there is one Fall of fifty Feet, but above that it is deep, and navigable for a great way; the Climate above the Fall is very good, and the River abounds with that wild Rice. The *French* have got a Houſe, or Settlement for Trade, near the Southern Branch, about one hundred Miles above the Factory, where they ſell their Goods cheaper than the Company do, although it be ſo difficult to carry them ſo far from *Canada*, and very expenſive; and give as much for a Martin's Skin as they do for a Beaver, when we inſiſt upon three for one; ſo that the *French* get all the choice Skins, and leave only the Refuſe for the Company. The *French* have alſo got another Houſe pretty high up upon *Rupert's River*, by which they have gained all the Trade upon the *Eaſt Main*, except a little the Company get at *Slude* River.” He ſays, “ That upon the South-ſide of the great Inland Sea, upon the *Eaſt Main*, which has lately been diſcovered, there is an exceeding rich Lead Mine, from which the Natives have brought very good Ore, which might turn to very great Advantage, as well as the Furs upon that Coaſt, which might be vaſtly increaſed if the Trade was laid open, and Settlements made in proper Places. He ſays, when he was at *Churchill*, he travelled a conſiderable way in the Country North-weſtward of the River of *Seals*, that near the River and Sea-coaſt there were ſmall ſhrubby Woods; but for many Miles, at leaſt ſixty farther into the Country, they had nothing but a barren, white Moſs, upon which the Rein-Deer feed, and alſo the Mooſe, Buffaloes, and other Deer: And the Natives told him, farther Weſtward, beyond that barren Country, there were large Woods. He was acquainted when there, about fifteen Years ago, with an *Indian* Chief, who traded at *Churchill*, who had been often at a fine Copper Mine, which they ſtruck off from the Rocks with ſharp Stones. He ſaid it was upon Iſlands at the Mouth of a River, and lay to the Northward of that Country where they had no Night in Summer.

“ As to the Trade at *Churchill*, it is increaſing; it being at too great Diſtance from the *French* for them to interfere in the Trade: In the Year 1742, it amounted to twenty thouſand Beavers. There were about one hundred Up-land *Indians* came in their Canoes to trade, and about two hundred Northern *Indians*, who brought their Furs and Skins upon Sledges; ſome of them came down the River of *Seals*, fifteen Leagues Northward of *Churchill*, in Canoes, and brought their Furs from thence by Land. They have no Beavers to the Northward of *Churchill*, they not having there ſuch Ponds or Woods as they chuſe to feed upon; but they have great Numbers of Martins, Foxes, Bears, Rein-Deer, Buffaloes, Wolves, and other Beaſts of rich Furs, the Country being moſtly rocky, and covered with white Moſs, upon which the Rein-Deer, or Cariboux, feed.

“ There is a great deal of ſmall Wood, of the Spruce or Fir Kind, near the old Factory; but the Wood improves, as it is farther up the River from the Bay; where they have Juniper, Birch, and Poplar. And more Southerly the Timber is larger, and there are great Variety of Trees; they are under great Inconveniencies at the new Fort, which is upon an elevated Situation, upon a Rock without Shelter, cloſe by the Shore, ſurrounded with Snow and Ice for eight Months in the Year, expoſed to all the Winds and Storms that happen; where they can have no Conveniency of

“ Graſs or Hay, or Gardening, and yet they had four or five Horſes there, and a Bull, and two Cows, near the Factory; but they were obliged to bring their Hay from a marſhy Bottom, ſome Miles up the River, to feed them in Winter; but if a Settlement was made higher up the River Southward, ſome Leagues from the Bay, in Shelter, without the Reach of the chilling Winds, they would have Graſs and Hay ſufficient, and might have alſo Gardens and proper Greens, and Roots, propagated there. They ſay there is a Communication betwixt that River and *Nelſon's River*, at a great Diſtance within Land, or a very ſhort Land-carriage betwixt them; for the *Indians* who trade here tell them, each Seaſon, what Chiefs, with their Followers, go down that Year to *Nelſon* and *Albany* River.”

We may juſtly wonder that we never had before any clear Account of theſe Matters, conſidering how long we have had Factories in theſe Parts; and that on the contrary all the Accounts hitherto given repreſent the Coaſts of *Hudſon's Bay*, as the moſt forlorn and dreadful Part of the Univerſe, hitherto diſcovered; as Regions freezing and frightful, almoſt beyond all Deſcription, and which it would appear dreadful and cruel to ſend even Malefactors to inhabit. But for this the ſame Gentleman has fully accounted; and it is requiſite that the Public ſhould be very well acquainted with the Account that he has given; for ſince the great Council of the Nation has thought fit to encourage an Attempt to diſcover a Paſſage this Way into the *South Seas*, it is very reaſonable to ſuppoſe that Endeavours will not be wanting to puſh that Attempt to the utmoſt; to facilitate which there is nothing of ſo great Importance as the proving that the Diſcouragements which have been hitherto repreſented as inſuperable, have been over-rated, and that notwithſtanding all that has been ſaid of them, it is not only poſſible but probable, that they may be overcome; towards which nothing ſurely can contribute more than the pointing out the Motives, upon which they have hitherto been conſtantly repreſented, in ſo ſtrong a Light, which is very effectually done in the following Paſſage from the ſame Author; who, as he has ſtudied this Point, ſo it muſt be allowed he has made it as clear as with Reaſon could well be expected.

“ The Company avoid all they can making Diſcoveries to the Northward of *Churchill*, or extending their Trade that Way, for fear they ſhould diſcover a Paſſage to the Weſtern Ocean of *America*, and tempt, by that Means, the reſt of the *Engliſh* Merchants to lay open their Trade, which they know they have no legal Right to; which if the Paſſage was found, would not only animate the reſt of the Merchants to purſue the Trade through that Paſſage, but alſo to find out the great Advantages that might be made of the Trade of the Rivers and Countries adjoining to the Bay, by which Means they would loſe their beloved Monopoly. But the Proſpect they have of Gain to be made by trading with the *Eſkimauk Indians*, for Whale-fin, Whale and Sea-oil, and Sea-horſe Teeth, induces them to venture a Sloop annually, as far as 62 Degrees 30 Minutes, to *Whale Cove*, where theſe *Indians* meet them, and truck their Fins and Oil with them. But though they are fully informed of a fine Copper Mine on a navigable Arm of the Sea, Northweſtward of *Whale Cove*, and the *Indians* have offered to carry their Sloops to it; yet their Fear of diſcovering the Paſſage, puts Bounds to their Avarice, and prevents their going to the Mine, which by all Accounts is very rich. Yet thoſe who have been at *Whale Cove*, own that from thence Northwards is all broken Land; and that after paſſing ſome Iſlands, they from the Hills ſee the Sea open, leading to the Weſtward. And the *Indians* who have been often at the Mine ſay it is upon a navigable Arm of the Sea, of great Depth, leading to the South-weſt, where are great Numbers of large black Fiſh ſpouting Water, which confirms the Opinion that all the Whales ſeen between *Whale Cove* and *Wager River*, all come there from the Weſtern Ocean, ſince none are ſeen any where elſe in *Hudſon's Bay* or *Streight*. All along this Coaſt from the Latitude 62 Degrees to 65 Degrees, a very beneficial Fiſhery of Whales may be carried on with theſe *Eſkimauk Indians*; who, even without the Uſe of Iron, can harpoon and kill Whales, and if they were ſupplied with Iron Harpoons, and proper Cordage, they might be brought to kill great Numbers of them. At preſent all their Nets, Lines, and Snares, are made of Whale-bone, and moſt of their Boats and other Neceſſaries of the Seal-ſkins, Fiſh-bones, and Sea-horſe Teeth, and in making all things neceſſary for them, they are very neat and ingenious.”

The ſame judicious Perſon, from whom we have borrowed ſo much already, has taken the Pains to give, from very authentic Relations, a very clear, as well as a very copious Account of moſt of the *Indian* Nations that lie at the Back of our Northern Colonies, and between the *French* Settlements in *Canada*, and on the *Miſſiſſippi River*; with the Countries they inhabited, and the Product of thoſe Countries, which I eſteem a Thing of very great Conſequence, and as material a Service to this Nation, as has been rendered for many Years; the Account is too long for me to inſert, but the Inferences he draws from it are ſo juſt, and of ſo high Conſequence, that I think it would be an Injury done the Reader not to report them, as it would certainly be doing both him and the Subject great Wrong, to report them in any other than his own Words, which without farther Preface I ſhall uſe; only it is neceſſary to premiſe at the Time this Gentleman publiſhed his Book, the War with *France* was not actually broke out.

“ How glorious, ſays he, would it be for us at the ſame Time to civilize ſo many Nations, and improve ſo large and ſpacious a Country, by communicating our Conſtitution and Liberties, both Civil and Religious, to ſo many Numbers, whoſe Happineſs and Pleaſure would increaſe at the ſame Time, that an Increaſe of Wealth and Power would be added to *Britain*.

“ There is, at preſent, a Beginning of this Scheme, by the Zeal of Mr. *Barclay*, who is inſtructing and civilizing the *Mowhawks*, among the *Iroqueſe*, who from a warlike Nation have embarked in Trade, and entered into Alliances with all Nations round the Lakes *Huron* and *Errie*, and to the Weſtward as far as the *Miſſiſſippi*, which is firmly eſtabliſhed by the Gain they make by the Trade. The *Engliſh* from *New York*, have fixed at *Oſwego*, in their Country, upon equitable Terms with all the *Indians*, who come now from a great Diſtance to trade at that Town; *Indians* coming now to trade there, whoſe Names were never before known to the *Engliſh*. This therefore ſeems to be the critical Time to begin this Settlement, on the Banks of *Conde River*. If there be a War with *France*, as we are at a great Expence to ſave the Liberties of *Europe*, and ſupport the Houſe of *Auſtria*, ſince we can have nothing in *Europe* beneficial for us; in caſe we are ſucceſsful at the Concluſion of the War, we ought to ſtipulate for ſomething advantageous in *America*; and the leaſt we ought to claim is our Right to the *American* Lakes, and ſecuring the Navigation of them. The *French* have, at preſent, two little Forts, and about thirty Men in each; at *Niagara*, and the Streights of St. *Joſeph*; and a few Men at *Miſſiliackinac*, and at the Bottom of the *Illineſe Lake*. Theſe we ought to have from them, either by Force or Treaty, which would ſecure the Inland Trade to us, and prevent their future Incroachments, either there or in *Hudſon's Bay*; and to do this effectually, would be to make a Settlement near the Lake *Errie*, which may be done with little or no Expence, conſidering our preſent Barrier and Alliance, and Trade with the Natives; and whenever our Troops are diſbanded, ſome of them may be ſent over upon Half-pay, to fix in proper Places, and make good our Poſſeſſions, which would be a fine Retreat to our Soldiers, who can't ſo eaſily, after being diſbanded, bring themſelves again to hard Labour, after being ſo long diſuſed to it.

“ By theſe Settlements, and thoſe adjoining to *Hudſon's Bay*, and by opening the Trade to the Bay, many thouſands more would be employed in Trade, and a much greater Vent would be opened to our Manufactures: Whereas all the Trade we have at preſent, whilſt it is thus confined to the Company, is the Employment of one hundred and twenty Men in all their Factories; and two or three Ships in that Trade, manned perhaps with one hundred and twenty Men in Time of War, to enrich nine or ten Merchants at their Country's Expence, at the ſame Time betraying the Nation, by allowing the *French* to encroach upon us at the Bottom of the Bay, having given up by that Means the greateſt Part of their Trade there to the *French*. It is therefore humbly ſubmitted to the Government, whether it is not juſt, as well as prudent, to open the Trade to all the *Britiſh* Merchants, and reſume, at the ſame Time, the Charter, ſo far as to take from them all the Lands they have not reclaimed or occupied, after ſeventy Years Poſſeſſion, leaving them only their Factories, and ſuch Lands as they have reclaimed, adjoining to them; and to give Grants, as uſual, in other Colonies, to all who ſhall go over to trade, and make Settlements in the Country; for no Grant was ever intended to be made to them, to enable them to prevent other Subjects of *Britain* from planting thoſe Colonies, which they themſelves would not plant or occupy; for ſuch a Power, inſtead of being beneficial, would be the greateſt Prejudice to *Britain*. It is therefore become a general Law in all the Colonies, that thoſe who take Grants of Land, and don't plant them in a reaſonable limited Time, forfeit their Right to thoſe Lands, and a new Grant is made out to ſuch others as ſhall plant and improve them; and if this Grant be not immediately reſumed ſo far, and the Trade laid open, and ſome Force be not ſent to ſecure our Southern Plantations in the Bay by the Government, in caſe there ſhould be a *French* War, we ſhall ſee the *French* immediately diſpoſſeſs the Company of all their Factories but *Churchill*, and all theſe Countries, and that Trade, will be in Poſſeſſion of the *French*.

“ To the making ſuch Settlements ſome Objections have been made by the Friends of the Company, as the great Difficulty of getting People to go to ſettle and plant in ſo cold a Country, and the Difficulty and Danger attending the making Settlements higher up upon the Rivers, and navigating them, as they are ſo full of Falls and Rapids, that can only be navigated by the Natives in ſmall Canoes, made of Birch Bark, which can't contain above two Men with any Cargo; and in theſe they are often overſet, and are in ſuch Danger of being drowned, and of ſpoiling their Goods, that they are often obliged to carry their Canoes and Cargo from Place to Place, which obſtructs greatly and delays the Navigation; and that ſcarce five Men out of one hundred and twenty, which the Company now have in the Bay, will venture themſelves in, or can conduct ſuch Canoes, without imminent Danger of being drowned, and conſequently theſe Hardſhips and Difficulties will counter-balance the Profit to be made of ſettling higher up in the Country, upon the Rivers, in pleaſanter and warmer Climates.

“ To this I anſwer, That by the Accounts already given here of theſe Climates and Countries, by impartial Perſons, who don't want to diſguiſe the Truth, it appears that the Cold is tolerable, even at theſe diſadvantageous Settlements at preſent in the Bay; and that upon paſſing only five or ſix Leagues up the Rivers into the Country, the Climate is ſo altered, as to be equal to thoſe of the ſame Latitudes in *Europe*. And that theſe prodigious Accounts of the Effects of Cold, are calculated only to ſerve the Company, in order to prevent People from going there to ſettle, and encroach upon the Company's Monopoly of Trade. And to the Difficulty they make about navigating theſe Rivers in thoſe ſmall Canoes, and the ſmall Number employed by the Company, who will venture in them, or can conduct them, I anſwer, That their Servants being at preſent no Gainers by Trade, won't endeavour to learn to navigate theſe Canoes, where there is any Riſque, and Care neceſſary to prevent the Danger. Beſides, the Company allows them no Time to learn, by confining them to their Factories, whilſt the *Indian* Trade continues, and the Navigation is open: And at other Times keeps them employed in cutting Wood for firing, bringing it home, ſhooting, fiſhing, and digging in their Gardens, to ſupply themſelves with Proviſions, to leſſen the Company's Expence, ſo that they are allowed no Time to learn to navigate theſe Boats, or to go up the Rivers to obſerve the Soil and Climate, or what Improvements might be made in the Country. But if they were Maſters of their own Time, and could advance their Wealth by Trade, and found a conſiderable Profit to ariſe to them by their Dexterity in managing theſe Canoes, and the great Pleaſure and Satisfaction they would have by living in a fine Climate among theſe Lakes and Rivers; they would be as enterprizing and dextrous as the *Cureur de Bois*, and be as able to navigate among theſe Water-falls, as the *French*. Neither is it impracticable to prevent even thoſe Canoes from overſetting, by Outlagers or blown Bladders fixed to their Sides; or other kind of Boats may be uſed, ſuch as are made at *Torneo* in *Sweden*, upon the Rivers, falling into the *Bothnic Gulph*, and *Laplanders* might be prevailed upon to go there to teach them how to make and manage theſe Boats, and train up Rein-Deer to draw in Sledges in Winter, and alſo to uſe *Lapland* Shoes, which are better than thoſe uſed in *America*.

“ If the Trade was once made free, the Profit made upon it would induce many to go and ſettle upon thoſe Rivers, when not only Horſes and other Conveniencies would be had near the Water-falls, to aſſiſt the Land Carriage in Summer, but alſo Horſes and Rein-Deer to draw their Sledges in Winter, as in *Ruſſia*, which is almoſt as cheap a Carriage as by Water, when the proper Roads are made through the Woods, ſo that Objection muſt be of no Force to prevent our opening the Trade, and ſettling theſe Countries. But ſuppoſing the worſt, that we could not manage theſe Canoes, that could not prevent our ſettling to Advantage upon theſe Rivers and Lakes above the Falls, for the Natives might ſtill be our Carriers, in navigating thoſe dangerous Places, and taking our Goods from one Settlement to another, whilſt we ſhould be employed in Navigation and Trade among the Lakes and Rivers where there are no Falls, in larger Veſſels, and puſh our Commerce Southward into better Climates and richer Soils, and put the Natives upon Improvements in Trade, by civilizing and inſtructing them in building convenient Houſes, and aſſociating in Towns, making Gardens, and tilling their Lands; providing them with Horſes and tame Cattle, and Fowl, for their Uſe, and proper Tools which our Trade would furniſh them with.

“ Another Objection is, that it is a difficult and dangerous Navigation into the Bay, and the Trade is not worth the Riſque. To this I anſwer, That the Navigation is not ſo dangerous as it is apprehended to be, but appears to be more ſo by the Inſinuations and Report of the Company and their Friends, who gave it out in order to deter others from venturing and interfering in their Trade, and for that Reaſon they oblige their Captains, under a Penalty, not to publiſh any Charts of the Bay and Streight. Captain *Middleton*, who was in their Service, made above twenty Voyages to different Parts of the Bay, and never loſt a Ship, nor had any Accident in theſe Voyages; nor have I heard that the Company, in about twenty-three Years, have loſt any Ships in that Trade, but two, and the Men and Cargo were ſaved by Captain *Middleton*. Where Captains are careful in the Ice, there is not much Danger; it is of great Advantage to them that there is no Night at that Seaſon they enter the Bay, where the Quantity of Ice is greateſt; and when they return in *September*, or even in *October*, all the Ice is in a Manner diſſolved or paſſed out of the

“ Streight into the Ocean, and none ſeen that can
“ hinder their Paſſage.

“ It is probable that during the whole Winter, from
“ *October* to *March*, there is no Ice in the Streight
“ to obſtruct their Paſſage into or out of the Bay; for
“ a Ship which chanced to be cloſed up with Ice in an
“ Inlet, by breaking of the Ice got out, and came through
“ the Ice at *Chriſtmas*, without finding any Ice in the
“ Streight to prevent her Paſſage: For the Ice which is
“ formed in Bays and Rivers, in Winter, does not
“ break up and get into the Channel or Streight until
“ it begins to thaw upon the Shore in *March* or *April*;
“ at which Time it is carried by the Winds and Tide
“ into the Streight, and obſtructs the Paſſage in *May* or
“ *June*, until it is diſſolved; yet, even then, good
“ Pilots know how to avoid it and get into the Eddy-
“ Tide, out of the Current; where the Ice is more open,
“ and not drove together by the Winds and Current, as
“ it is in the Channel. But theſe Difficulties would
“ leſſen every Day, if the Trade were opened and the
“ Voyages more frequent, by the great Number of Ships,
“ which would make many more experienced Pilots.
“ And as there is now a more accurate Chart publiſhed
“ of the Streight and Bay, by Capt. *Middleton*, with
“ the Iſlands, Soundings, Tides, and Variation; the
“ Navigation will become leſs dangerous daily, and
“ Coves, and Places of Shelter for Ships, will be found
“ out, by the Number of Ships which would then paſs,
“ and be trading in thoſe Seas which are now unknown.
“ I therefore apprehend that the Danger of the Ice is
“ more in Imagination than Reality, when Care and
“ Judgment are employed; for Ships are moſtly in-
“ cloſed in Ice in calm Weather and Fogs, when the
“ Ice prevents the Motion of the Sea; ſtormy Weather
“ diſperſes and breaks the Ice, unleſs they get under the
“ Lee of a large Iſland of Ice; and then they faſten to
“ it, and drive along with it whilſt the ſmaller Ice to
“ Leeward is drove from them by the Wind, and the
“ large Iſlands, being many Fathoms deep in the Water,
“ come on Ground before the Ships are in Danger of
“ being forced on Shore in ſhallow Water.

“ The greateſt Danger and Delay from the Ice is in
“ the Entrance into the Streight; for the firſt forty
“ Leagues from thence the Quantity is leſs, and they
“ paſs on with leſs Difficulty; and after getting into the
“ Bay, the North-weſt Side is the freeſt from Ice; the
“ Bottom of the Bay is full of low flat Ice, which is all
“ diſſolved in the latter end of Summer. Upon the
“ Whole, except two Ships, which were loſt in King
“ *William*'s Reign, and a *French* Ship, after an Engage-
“ ment with our Ships when they attacked Fort *Nelſon*,
“ I have heard of none, except the Ships already
“ mentioned, which have been loſt in the Voyage. The
“ two Ships which went out with *Barlow*, in 1719,
“ to find the North-weſt Paſſage, contrary to the Incli-
“ nations of the Company, if they did not make the
“ Paſſage, were probably, in the Winter, ſurpriſed
“ by the Natives, and were not loſt in the Ice; for they
“ ſay that the Natives, in about Latitude 63 Degrees,
“ where they ſuppoſe they were loſt, are ſhyer ſince
“ that Time in trading with the Company's Sloops;
“ which they apprehend to be from a Conſciouſneſs of
“ Guilt, fearing that if it were known they ſhould
“ ſtill be puniſhed for it. Since therefore the greateſt
“ Danger from the Ice, is in paſſing the Streight, and
“ ſo few Accidents have happened in ſo many Years,
“ the Navigation, I think, cannot be called dangerous,
“ though it has been ſo apprehended; and not equal to
“ the Whale-fiſhers, who go annually to *Spitſberg* and
“ *Davis*'s *Streights* to Latitude 78 and 80 Degrees,
“ without any Objection to that Navigation, either
“ by the *Dutch*, *Hamburghers*, *Danes*, *Biſcayners*, or
“ *Engliſh*.”

He concludes from thence, that the opening the Trade and ſettling in the Bay, would prove a great Benefit to, and great Improvement of, our Trade, which might be vaſtly increaſed, as well in reſpect to Furs as to Mines, and the Whale-Fiſhery; all which might be carried on with the Aſſiſtance of the *Indians*, and would turn to a very high Profit, even ſuppoſing that no Paſſage to the North-weſt ſhould ever be found; but ſhould future Experience demonſtrate that this Gentleman's Notions are, in this Reſpect, well founded, and this long ſought-for Paſſage ſhould actually be diſcovered, it would then certainly follow that this Country, ſo little known and ſo much deſpiſed till very lately, would become of more Conſequence to us than almoſt any Colony in *America*. Here let me take the Liberty of obſerving what hitherto, as far as I know, has never yet been conſidered: That if ſuch a Paſſage to the North-weſt ſhould be diſcovered before theſe Countries are tolerably planted, the *French* would have a fair Opportunity of ſupplanting us in the Advantages expected from that important Attempt; and perhaps we ſhould then be forced to fight for the Poſſeſſion of Countries that are now thought not worth the having.

It may likewiſe deſerve ſome Thought, whether it be not better to attempt ſuch Settlements without Loſs of Time, as muſt at all Events be highly uſeful and ſerviceable to this Nation, by dividing the *French* Settlements in *Canada*, and on the *Miſſiſſippi*, from each other, than to wait till the Importance of ſuch Settlements ſhall appear in ſo glaring a Light, as they muſt immediately do if ſuch a Paſſage ſhould be diſcovered; for we ought to remember, from the famous Inſtance of our being diſappointed in our Deſign of ſettling the Iſlands of *St. Lucia* and *St. Vincent*, that it is a very difficult Matter, in a Time of full Peace, for us to acquire any Advantage in Point of Commerce, at the Expence of the *French*, who, in ſuch a Caſe, would not fail to take the ſame vigorous Meaſures that they did in the Caſe before-mentioned. I have taken the more Pains to place this Matter in a fair and true Light, becauſe I am perſuaded this is the Time in which only it can be conſidered to Advantage; for if the Caſe now in View (I mean the Diſcovery of a North-weſt Paſſage) ſhould ever come, as I am convinced, ſooner or later it will come to be the Caſe in Fact, the Face of Affairs will be quite changed, and this new Rout to the *South-Seas* and *Eaſt-Indies*, will produce ſuch an Alteration in the whole Commerical Syſtem of *Europe*, that Things will be ſeen to be then of the utmoſt Conſequence, which at preſent moſt People look upon as Dreams and Viſions, notwithſtanding the late Sanction given them by the Wiſdom of the Parliament.

But it becomes a prudent and ſenſible People, and above all it imports a maritime Power, to conſider Things in time, and while what is propoſed for their Benefit is eaſy, or at leaſt practicable; and not to defer and delay Things, till from being troubleſome and difficult they come to be abſolutely impoſſible. We know what ſharp and cutting Remarks have been made on the Meanneſs of King *James*'s Spirit, in ſuffering the *Dutch* to deſpoil us of the Spice Trade: We cannot but remember the ſevere Reflections on Queen *Anne*'s Miniſtry, for not ſecuring to us *Cape Breton*, and therefore we ſhould be cautious of falling a third time into the ſame Miſtake, and of running the Hazard of making a great Diſcovery, ſuch as all the World allows that of the North-weſt Paſſage would be, rather for other Peoples Benefit than our own, ſince it muſt paſs for a Blunder, greater than ever was made by our Anceſtors, and would render us effectually ridiculous in the Eyes of lateſt Poſterity.

12. The Method we have taken in deſcribing the Acquiſitions of our Nation in *America*, leads us next to ſpeak of the noble Country of *Penſylvania*; the beſt projected, and one of the moſt flouriſhing of our Colonies on the Continent of *North America*. We have before mentioned Admiral *Penn*, who in Conjunction with Col. *Venables*, conquered the Iſland of *Jamaica* for this Nation; he became afterwards Sir *William Penn*, and ſtood in as high a Degree of Credit with King *Charles* II. and his Brother the Duke of *York*, as any Seamen of that Time, as indeed he very well deſerved; for, with Abilities ſuperior to moſt, he had as great Modeſty as any Man, and was ready, upon all Occaſions, to ſerve his Conntry in any Station that was found practicable. It was this excellent Diſpoſition of Mind that ſecured him from Danger under one Government, and recommended him to Preferment under another; for when the

Duke of *York* propoſed to take the Command of the *Engliſh* Fleet upon himſelf in the *Dutch* War, as Lord High Admiral; he made Choice of Sir *William Penn* as the moſt experienced, and moſt capable Officer to ſerve under him, which he did with equal Satisfaction to his Royal Highneſs, and Credit to himſelf; eſtabliſhing thereby ſuch a Reputation at Court, as laſted during his Life, and proved no leſs uſeful to his Son.

But Sir *William Penn* did not long enjoy his high Station, and dying in the *Weſt Country* where he was born, was buried in *Redcliff* Church in *Briſtol*, having, in reward of his Services, had a Promiſe of the Grant of this Country from King *Charles* the IId. Sir *William* had a Kinſman who was one of the firſt Planters in *New England*, and it is doubtleſs from him that he had exact and particular Information of the Advantages that might be made of Lands and Settlements in this Continent of *America*. But young Mr. *Penn* did not for ſome Years apply himſelf ſtrenuouſly to ſolicit the promiſed Grant, till at laſt finding his Friends, the Quakers, were haraſſed all over *England* by ſpiritual Courts, he reſolved to put himſelf at the Head of as many as would go with him and remove to this Country, of which he obtained the Grant in the Year 1679.

He gave it the Name of *Penſylvania* ſome Time before he was actually inveſted with it, and ſo it is called in the original Patent, bearing date *March* the 4th 1680. "It contained all that Tract of Land in *America*, with all the Iſlands belonging to it, from the Beginning of the 40th Degree of North Latitude to the 43d Degree, whoſe Eaſtern Bound, from twelve *Engliſh* Miles above *Newcaſtle*, *alias de la War Town*, runs all along upon the Side of *de la War River*." So that 'tis bounded on the Eaſt by that Bay and River, and the Eaſtern Sea; on the North by *Weſt New Jerſey*, or rather *New York*, for it runs a great Way above the *Jerſeys*; on the Weſt by the *Indian* Nations, above the Heads of *Suſquahanaugh* and *de la War* Rivers, by which we ſee it ſtretches far within Land, that River running through it about two or three hundred Miles; on the South 'tis bounded by *Maryland*, and reaching from *Penſbury* near the Falls of the River to *Hanlope*, near the Mouth of the Bay, above one hundred and fifty Miles directly; but 'tis narrow all along, being very much crowded in the Breadth by *Maryland*.

The Bounds and Extent we have mentioned are in the original Grant; but Mr. *Penn* having afterwards obtained Part of *Nova Belgia* of the Duke of *York*, it was added to the Country in the firſt Grant, and both together called *Penſylvania*, which is divided into three upper and three lower Counties; the three upper Counties, *Buckingham*, *Philadelphia* and *Cheſter*, are the *Penſylvania*, ſo called in King *Charles*'s Grant. The three lower Counties, *Newcaſtle*, *Kent*, and *Suſſex*, are taken out of *Nova Belgia*, or the Province of *New York*. The upper Counties end at *Marcus Hook*, four Miles below *Cheſter Town*; the lower run along the Coaſt one hundred and twenty Miles, and are forty Miles deep towards *Maryland*. Thus the whole Province of *Penſylvania* from the *Falls Townſhip*, to twenty Miles belong *Hanlope* or *Cape William*, is in Length three hundred and thirty Miles, and in Breadth two hundred. The River *de la War*, above and below the Falls, for a good Length, is called the *Freſhes*, and near the Mouth are the Marſhes, very fertile and profitable.

As ſoon as Mr. *Penn* had got his Patent, he invited ſeveral Perſons to purchaſe Lands under it. Though he did not ſatisfy himſelf with the Title granted him by *Charles* the IId. and his Brother. He alſo bought the Land of the *Indians*. The *Swedes*, who had encroached upon the *Dutch*, the firſt Planters here, as well as at *New York*, ſettled upon, or near, the *Freſhes* of *de la War*. The *Fins*, or Inhabitants of *Finland*, part of the Kingdom of *Sweden*, applied themſelves chiefly to Huſbandry. The King of *Sweden* appointed a Governer here, who had often Diſputes with the Governor that preſided over the *Dutch*. The latter applied themſelves moſtly to traffic, living upon, or near, the Bay, and by the Neighbourhood of *New York*. The *Dutch* alſo were too powerful for the *Swedes*, who, finding they could not maintain their Ground, ſubmitted to their ſtronger Neighbours. Accordingly *John Riſeing*, the *Swediſh* Governor, made a formal Surrender of the Country to *Peter Styerſont*, Governor for the States General, after which this Province continued ſubject to their Republic till the *Engliſh* drove the *Dutch* out of *New Amſterdam* or *New York*, which made the Poſſeſſion of thoſe Territories the more eaſy to Mr. *Penn*.

There were a few *Engliſh* here before Mr. *Penn* ſent over the firſt Adventurers under his Patent, over whom he placed, as Governor, Colonel *William Markham*, his Nephew, to whom both *Dutch* and *Swedes* ſubmitted. Thoſe that went over, were generally Diſſenters, from *London*, *Liverpool*, and eſpecially *Briſtol*, for the Weſt of *England* abounded with Diſſenters more than other Counties; they ſhipped themſelves at *Briſtol* in great Numbers for *Penſylvania*. Mr. *Thomas Gouldney*, and Mr. *Duddleſtone*, two Tobacco Merchants of that City, about this Time fitted out the *Unicorn*, a Ship of three hundred Tons, for this Voyage; which putting into *Start*. took in a great many from *Bridgewater*. Mr. *Penn* had ſold twenty thouſand Acres of his Property to Mr. *James Claypool*, Mr. *Nicholas Moor*, Mr. *Philip Ford*, and others, who formed a Company, and had a Street, and a Side of a Street, ſet out for them in *Philadelphia*, with four hundred Acres of Land in the City Liberties. They ſet up a Tannery, a Saw-Mill, a Glaſs-Houſe, and a Whalery, of the two latter I ſuppoſe they never made any great Profit. The Proprietors Conditions of Sale were theſe: Buyers purchaſed after the Rate of twenty Pounds for one thouſand Acres, ſo that he put four hundred Pounds in his Pocket immediately, but that was a Trifle to what went out of it for the Grant and Experiments to people and ſettle the Country; the Quit-Rent was twelve Pounds for every hundred Acres. This was cheap enough, but I think the Renters were not ſo well uſed, for they were to pay ſo much an Acre yearly. Thus theſe twenty thouſand Acres which he ſold the Company, would, if rented, have brought him one thouſand Pounds a Year. Since that Time the Value of Land is ſo much riſen, that I have been credibly informed it has ſold for twenty Years Purchaſe, at ſeveral Miles diſtant from *Philadelphia*; and that near it has gone at a Pound an Acre, and in ſome Places at more than a Pound an Acre yearly.

We have mentioned near four thouſand Acres to be at this Time parcelled out for Sale, ſome at ſixty Miles diſtant from *Philadelphia*; but none of theſe Parcels will fetch a tenth Part of ſuch Rates as theſe. Servants, Men and Women, were to have fifty Acres when their Times were out, and Owners of Land fifty Acres a Head for ſuch Servants, Men or Women. In the Year 1681 Mr. *Penn* went himſelf to *Penſylvania*, and carried with him, and there went after him, two thouſand Souls; a prodigious Augmentation in leſs than a Year! And he might with Reaſon ſay as he did, it was made at once a Country. As ſoon as he arrived he took the Government into his own Hands, and entered upon Treaties with the *Indian* Kings, for purchaſing his Patent-Lands, and others, as is before hinted. One may aſſure one's ſelf he gave but little for them, and if the *French* and *Spaniards* ſcorned to pay ſuch a Compliment to natural Right, and choſe rather to ſeize the Lands of the *Indian* Natives by Violence, it was what might have been expected from the Religion and Tyranny of the Countries from whence they came. Twenty Miles of Territory were thus bought of the *Indians* for leſs than an Acre of the beſt Ground about *Philadelphia* would be valued at now. But the *Indians*, in a little Time, obſerving what Profit the *Engliſh* made of the Land they ſold them, and that by the coming over of ſuch Numbers every Year, it would be more and more wanted, they raiſed the Price ten times as much as it was at firſt, and yet it was unconſcionably cheap, and for a long Time purchaſed by the Mile, and not by the Acre. Indeed they knew not what to do with it, they had not Hands enough to cultivate a hundredth Part; and if they could have raiſed ſuch a Product there was no body to buy it. The Purchaſe was all clear Gains to them;

and by the coming of the *Engliſh*, the peltry Trade became ſo profitable, that they were ſoon in a Condition to better their Manner of houſing, cloathing, and living, as they did very much, and are now in theſe Articles as well accommodated as the *European* Peaſantry, in many Places.

When the Province began to be planted, almoſt to the Mouth of *de la War*, it was laid out into the beforementioned Counties, in order to chuſe Repreſentatives, and eſtabliſh Courts for the Diſtribution of Juſtice. The original Draught of the Conſtitution for this Province was made by that great Lawyer Sir *William Jones*, and by it the Governor and People have a legiſlative Power. Sir *William Jones* had too much Underſtanding, Virtue, and Honour, to throw the People out of the Queſtion, when their Religion, their Liberty, their Well-being in this World and the next, were ſo nearly concerned in it. No Law can be here made, nor Money raiſed, but by Conſent of the Inhabitants. The Rights and Freedom of *England* were to be in force. They were to make no Law againſt Allegiance, and then they might enact what Laws they pleaſed for the Proſperity and Security of the Province. Mr. *Penn* held two General Aſſemblies while he was in the Country, and with ſuch Unanimity and Diſpatch, that tho' they made Laws by Scores, no leſs than ſeventy, yet they had done their Buſineſs in three Weeks Time. They preſented the Proprietary with an Impoſt on certain Goods, but he remitted it; which was artful enough, to have a Thing given on Purpoſe to give it away again to thoſe that gave it. He eſtabliſhed Courts of Juſtice in every County, with proper Officers, to prevent Law-ſuits and Contentions. Among theſe paſſive People there are alſo three Peace-makers, choſen by every County Court, in the Nature of common Arbitrators, to hear and end Differences between Man and Man. Every Spring and Fall there is an Orphans Court in each County, to inſpect and regulate the Affairs of Widows and Orphans.

Mr. *Penn* was viſited by the Kings, and Queens, and great Men among the *Indians*, of whom the greateſt did not think himſelf too good to go on the Proprietary's Errands if he had thought fit to ſend him. Both the *Dutch* and the *Swedes*, within this Juriſdiction, were very well pleaſed with his coming, and his Conduct; and there were, at that Time, almoſt as many *Swedes* and *Dutch* in *Penſylvania* as *Engliſh*. Mr. *Penn* ſtaid here above two Years, till he had ſettled Things to his own and the People's liking; he then returned to *England*, to forward the Affairs of the Propriety there, as he had done here: He was generous and free of his Thoughts and Expreſſions, which were not always ſufficiently guarded; and after the Revolution he became ſuſpected, from his Credit with King *James*. That we may form ſome Idea of the Manner in which this truly great Man acted in this Part of the World, and eſtabliſhed his Government upon the ſolid Baſis of a perfect Agreement with the Natives, let us hear what he himſelf ſays upon this ſubject: Mr. *Penn*, in a *Letter to his Friends in* England, on the Situation of his Affairs at that Time, relates, That he had attended the *Indian* Kings and their Councils in ſeveral Treaties, for the Purchaſe of their Lands, and for adjuſting the Terms of Trade between them. And that their Order was thus: “ Their King (ſays Mr. *Penn*) was “ ſeated in the Middle of an half Moon, or Semi- “ circle; his Council, the Old and Wiſe, ſitting on each “ Hand; behind them, at a little Diſtance, ſat the “ young Men, in the ſame Figure: Having reſolved “ their Buſineſs, the King commanded one of them to “ ſpeak to me. He ſtood up, and came to me, and “ in the King's Name ſaluted me; taking me by the “ Hand, and telling me; he was ordered by his King “ to ſpeak to me, and that now it was not he, but the “ King that ſpoke, becauſe what he ſhould ſay was the “ King's Mind. He firſt prayed me to excuſe them, “ that they had not complied with me in a former Meet- “ ing. He feared there might be ſome Fault in the “ Interpreter, being neither *Indian* or *Engliſh*; beſides, “ it was the *Indian* Cuſtom to deliberate before they “ reſolved; and that if the younger People, and Owners “ of the Land, had been as ready as he, I had not met “ with ſo much Delay.” Having thus introduced his Matter, he fell to the Bounds of the Land they had agreed to diſpoſe of, and the Price. During the Time this Perſon ſpoke, not a Man of them was obſerved to whiſper or ſmile; the Old were grave, the Young reverend in their Deportment; when they ſpoke, which was but ſeldom, it was warmly and elegantly. I have never ſeen more natural Sagacity, conſidering them without the Help of Tradition; and he will deſerve the Name of Wiſe that is too hard for them in any Treaty about a Thing they underſtand. When the Purchaſe was agreed, great Promiſes paſſed between us, of Kindneſs and good Neighbourhood; and that the *Indians* and *Engliſh* muſt live in Love as long as the Sun gave Light. After which another made a Speech to the *Indians*, in the Name of all the Sachems, or Kings; firſt, to tell them what was done; next, to charge and command them to love the Chriſtians, and particularly to live in Peace with me, and the People under my Government: That many Governors had been in the River, but that no Governor had come himſelf to live and ſtay there before, and having now ſuch an one that had treated them well, they ſhould never do him or his any Wrong. At every Sentence of which they ſhouted, and ſaid *Amen*, in their way.

This Conduct of his had ſo good an Effect upon the *Indians*, that he had him always in the higheſt Veneration, as they ſtill have to his Memory, of which the Reader will find an exemplary Proof in the following Speech, made to Sir *William Keith*, Governor of this Country in 1722; only it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that *Onas* ſignifies, in the *Indian* Language, a *Pen*; and therefore this is the Name the *Indians* have given to our Proprietor and all his Succeſſors, or Repreſentatives.

“ Brother *Onas*, You told us how *William Penn*, that “ good Man, did, on the firſt Settlement of the Pro- “ vince of *Penſylvania*, make Leagues of Friendſhip “ with the *Indians*, and treated them like Brethren; and “ that, like the ſame good Man, he left it in Charge to “ all his Governors who ſhould ſucceed him, and to all “ the People in *Penſylvania*, that they ſhould always “ keep the Covenant and Treaties he had made with the “ five Nations, and treat them with Love and Kindneſs. “ We acknowledge that his Governors and People have “ always kept the ſame honeſtly and truly to this Day. “ So we, on our Part, always have kept, and for ever “ ſhall keep Peace and Friendſhip with a good Heart, “ to all the People of *Penſylvania*. We thankfully re- “ ceive and approve of all the Articles in your Propo- “ ſition to us, and acknowledge them to be good, and “ full of Love: We receive and approve of the ſame “ with our whole Hearts; becauſe we are not only made “ one People by the Covenant Chain, but are alſo Peo- “ ple united in one Head, one Body, and one Heart, “ by the ſtrongeſt Ties of Love and Friendſhip.

“ Brother *Onas*, you deſire there may be a perpetual “ Friendſhip between you and the five Nations, and be- “ tween your Children and our Children; and that the “ ſame may be kept as long as the Mountains and Rivers “ endure. All which we like well, and on our Parts “ deſire, that the Covenant and Union made with a true “ and clean Heart between you and us, may laſt as long “ as the Sun and Moon ſhall continue to give Light. “ And we will deliver this in Charge to our Children, “ that it may be kept in Remembrance with their Chil- “ dren and Childrens Children to the laſt Ages: And “ we deſire that the Peace and Tranquillity that is now “ eſtabliſhed between us may be as clear as the Sun “ ſhining in its Luſtre without any Cloud or Darkneſs, “ and that the ſame may continue for ever.

“ Brother *Onas*, We have well conſidered all you “ have ſpoken, and like it well; becauſe it is only the “ renewing former Leagues and Treaties, made between “ the Government of *Penſylvania*, and us of the five “ Nations, which we always believed we were obliged “ to keep. And as to the Accident of one of our

“ Friends being killed by ſome of your People, which “ has happened by Misfortune, and againſt our Will; “ we ſay, that as we are all in Peace, we think it hard “ that the Perſons who killed our Friend and Brother “ ſhould ſuffer; and we do in the Name of all the “ five Nations forgive the Offence, and deſire you will “ likewiſe forgive it; and that the Men who did it may “ be releaſed from Priſon, and ſet at Liberty to go whi- “ ther they pleaſe; and we ſhall eſteem that as a Mark “ of Regard and Friendſhip for the five Nations, and as “ a farther Confirmation of this Treaty.” Upon theſe Principles, which are more likely to be obſerved in this than in moſt of our Colonies, the Friendſhip of the *Indians* may be preſerved as long as they remain a People; which ſhews how poſſible it might have been to have maintained a like Correſpondence with them in other Places, which would not only have ſaved a great deal of Blood-ſhed, and have contributed to the quick Growth of the Colonies ſettled in the Countries, inhabited by ſuch *Indians*, but would have been very uſeful in many other Reſpects: Since it is allowed where the *Indians* are treated as in *Penſylvania*, with ſtrict Juſtice and Humanity, they are as firm Allies as any in the World; and in that Quality more capable of doing Service, than if reduced to be either Slaves or Subjects; becauſe living as they do, they preſerve their Strength and Activity, and enjoy all the Liberty they can deſire, and are very willing to fight for thoſe under whoſe Protection they enjoy it.

13. We will now proceed to a more particular Deſcription of this famous Settlement, having before given an Account of the Situation of the Country in general, and of its Diviſion into Counties. The chief Rivers in *Penſylvania* are, the River *de la War*, which riſing far North in the Country of the *Iroquois*, takes it Courſe to the Southward, and dividing this Province from that of *New Jerſeys*, falls into the *Atlantic Ocean*, between the *Promontories* of *Cape May*, and *Cape Hanlope*, being navigable for two hundred Miles and upwards with large Veſſels; but has a Cataract or ſteep Fall in it above *Briſtol*, which renders the Navigation impracticable to the Northward of the County of *Bucks*. The ſecond River in this Province, is that of *Suſquahanaugh*, which, riſing likewiſe in the Country of the *Iroquois*, runs South through the Middle of *Penſylvania*, and falls into the Bay of *Cheſepeak*, being navigable for large Ships. The third River is *Schoolkill*, which having its Source in the Country of the *Iroquois*, runs South almoſt parallel to the Rivers *de la War* and *Suſquahanaugh*, and at Length turning to the Eaſtward, falls into *de la War*, at the City of *Philadelphia*. This River is alſo navigable for large Ships as far as the City of *Philadelphia*, and for Boats above an hundred Miles higher. Theſe Rivers, and the numerous Bays and Creeks in the Bay *de la War*, capable of containing the largeſt Fleets, render this Country admirably ſituated to carry on a foreign Trade.

In the County of *Buckingham*, the moſt northerly of any in this Province, the chief Town is *Briſtol*, ſituated on the River *de la War*, oppoſite to *Burlington* in *New Jerſey*, and twenty Miles North of the City of *Philadelphia*. In this Country alſo lies the Manor-Houſe of *Penſbury*, elegantly built by Mr. *Penn*, the firſt Proprietor, and ſituate on an Eminence which commands the Country, being almoſt ſurrounded by the River *de la War*. The Country of *Philadelphia* lies South of that of *Bucks*, and in it is the celebrated City of *Philadelphia*, the Capital of the Province, ſituated in 40 Degrees 30 Minutes North Latitude, being one of the fineſt Plans of a Town that was ever formed. It is an Oblong of two Miles, extending from the River *de la War* to the River *Schoolkill*, the Eaſt-end fronting the River *de la War*, and the Weſt the River *Schoolkill*, each Front being a Mile in Length. Every Owner of one thouſand Acres has his Houſe in one of the two Fronts, facing the Rivers, or in the high Street, running from the Middle of one Front to the Middle of the other; and every Owner of five thouſand Acres, has an Acre of Ground in the Front of his Houſe, and the reſt half an Acre for Gardens and Court-Yards In the Centre of the Town is a Square of ten Acres, ſurrounded by the Town-Houſe, and other public Buildings, and each Quarter of the City is a Square of eight Acres. The high Street, which runs the whole Length of the Town, is an hundred Feet wide, parallel to which run eight Streets, which are croſſed by twenty more at right Angles, all of them thirty Feet wide, and ſeveral Canals are let into the Town from each River, which add to the Beauty and Conveniency of the Place. There is alſo a fine Quay two hundred Feet ſquare, to which Ships of four or five hundred Tons may come up, with wet and dry Docks for building and repairing of Ships; Magazines, Warehouſes, and all manner of Conveniencies for importing and exporting of Merchandize; there are already fourteen or fifteen hundred Houſes in the City, moſt of them well built with Brick, but are ſtill a great many more wanting to compleat the Plan: However, more could not have been expected than has been done in ſo ſhort a Time, the Ground not having been laid out much above fifty Years.

The Town of *Oxford* is ſituated likewiſe in the County of *Philadelphia*, where a Miſſionary is maintained by the Society for propagating of the Goſpel. *Germain Town*, ſituated to the Northward of the City of *Philadelphia*, alſo is ſaid to be a thriving populous Place, inhabited chiefly by the *Dutch*, or thoſe of *Dutch* Extraction. In this County is the City of *Radnor*, ſituated on the Southweſt-ſide of *Schoolkill River*, being the Capital of a large Country, planted by the *Welch*, and extreamly well improved by them. To the South of the County of *Philadelphia* lies that of *Cheſter*, the Capital whereof is the Town of *Cheſter*, ſituate on the River *de la War*, which is about three hundred Miles broad at this Place; and to the Southward of *Cheſter* lies the Town of *Chicheſter*; either of thoſe Ports are capable of receiving and harbouring the largeſt Fleets, ſecure from Storms; the County of *Newcaſtle* lies South to that of *Cheſter*, the capital Town being of the ſame Name. This is ſaid to be a Town of the briſkeſt Trade in the Province, next to that of *Philadelphia*, and has an Iron Mine in the Neighbourhood of it. The Town of *Apoquinemink* lies upon the River *de la War*, South of *Newcaſtle*, and is a Place of good Trade. The County of *Kent* lies South of that of *Newcaſtle*, the chief Town whereof is *Dover*, being a commodious Port. The moſt Southern County is that of *Suſſex*, the capital Town whereof is *Lewes*, being a ſecure Harbour and a Town of Trade.

The Air here is ſweet and clear; the Fall begins about the 20th of *October*, and laſts to the Beginning of *December*; froſty Weather, and cold Seaſons are frequent; but as in moſt Countries where are ſuch Seaſons the Air is dry and hungry; the River *de la War* is ſometimes frozen over, notwithſtanding its Breadth. The Spring laſts from *March* to *June*, but the Weather then is more inconſtant than in the other Seaſons, which it generally is in other Countries. The Heats are extraordinary in the Summer Months, *July*, *Auguſt*, and *September*, but alleviated by cold Breezes, which make them very tolerable. The Wind is South-weſt during the Summer, but generally Northweſterly, Spring, Fall, and Winter; which blowing from the froſty and ſnowy Mountains, and Lakes of the *Terra Canadenſis*, is, doubtleſs, a main Reaſon of the exceſſive Cold here in Winter. The Soil in this Tract of Land is in ſome Places a yellow and black Sand, and in others a loomy Gravel, in others a fat Earth, like the Vales in *England*; eſpecially by inland Brooks and Rivers, where the Lands in this Country are moſtly three to one richer than thoſe that lie by navigable Rivers. There is alſo found a black hazle Mould, on a ſtony Bottom. The Earth is fruitful, fat, and eaſy to be cleared, becauſe the Roots of the Trees lie almoſt on the Surface of the Ground. Some Allowance muſt be made for Mr. *Penn's* Property in the tempting Deſcription he gives us of the Country. We have ſaid enough of the Rivers and Creeks in it, and ſhewn how commodious they are for Navigation and Communication; but among other Waters, Mr. *Penn* mentions mineral Waters: Theſe Springs are about two Miles from *Philadelphia*, at a happy Diſtance from Water-drinkers, but the Number of them, is ſince that, leſſened extreamly, and we need not inſiſt on their Virtue.

Here are Trees of almoſt all Sorts, Oak, red, white, and black Aſh, Beech, *Spaniſh* Cheſnuts, Cedar, Wallnut, Cypreſs, and Swamp; the moſt durable of all are Poplar, Gumwood, Hickery, Saſſafras; and as for Shrubs, Snakeroot, Sarſaparilla, Salop, Spruce, and Cranberries; Wheat, Barley, Oats, Rye, Peas, Beans, Water Melons, Muſkmelons, Apples, Pears, Cherries, Apricots, Carrots, Turneps, Parſnips, Onions, Cucumbers, Quinces, *&c.* are in great Plenty here; as alſo *Indian* Corn, Hemp, Flax, *&c.* It is common for one Buſhel of Corn ſown here to yield forty, often fifty, and ſometimes ſixty Buſhels. One Mr. *Edward Jones* had for one Grain of *Engliſh* Barley ſeventy Stalks and Ears of that Corn, in his Plantation on the *Schoolkill.* Of living Creatures there are for Food and Trade, Deer, the Elk as big as a ſmall Ox, Rabbits, Raccoons, Beaver; plenty of Oxen, Cows, and Sheep; of the latter, it is common for Farmers to have four or five hundred in a Flock. Horſes, ſome very good, and handſome enough. Of Fowl here are very fine Buſtards forty or fifty Pounds Weight, Pheaſants, Heath Birds, Pigeons, Partridges, Clouds of Blackbirds, Swans, Geeſe, Braindes, Tucks, Teal, and Snipe. The Fiſh here are Sturgeons, Herrings, Eels, Smelts, and Perch; the latter caught in abundance in *de la War Bay*; and in the River above the Freſhes, Oyſters, Crabs, Cockles, and Muſcles. There are alſo Rock, Shat, Catſhead, Sheepſhead, and other Fiſh, not worth our particular Regard.

We need not wonder, that in a Country ſo fruitful and ſo pleaſant, and where there was ſo clear a Proſpect of living happily, with moderate Induſtry, People ſhould reſort in ſuch Numbers. At firſt, without doubt, Religion was a ſtrong Motive, and the Quakers willingly followed Mr. *Penn*, from a Country where they were perſecuted, to a Land of Plenty and Peace. But, in Time, and indeed in a little Time, this Argument ceaſed, and People reſorted thither as they did to the other Colonies, upon the ordinary Motives of Gain and Trade; we may, however, venture to aſſert that Mr. *Penn*'s original Contract, for ſo the firſt Conſtitution drawn by him was ſtiled, had a very great Influence in procuring Inhabitants, ſince it muſt be allowed there never was a more beneficent Scheme of Government deviſed by the Wit of Man.

By degrees, however, this alſo has been ſomewhat altered, not by the Proprietor or thoſe acting under his Authority, but at the Deſire and on the Requeſt of the People, with reſpect to whom it may poſſibly be true, that ſuch Alterations, in proceſs of Time, might become neceſſary. The Spirit, however, of Mr. *Penn*'s Inſtitution is ſtill preſerved, and the People here are as free, and as well, and as cheaply governed, as in any Part of the known World. A very ſtrong Proof of this may be drawn from the greateſt Error in Government that was ever committed there, which was laying a Tax of Five Shillings a Head upon all new Comers; which ſhews, that they were once in ſome Apprehenſion of being over-ſtocked; but this Law was very ſoon repealed, as it ought to be At preſent it would be a very difficult Thing to pretend to compute the Number of People in this flouriſhing Colony, but we may form ſome Notion of it from the following Inſtance, which is very certain, *viz.* that the Inhabitants of *Philadelphia* in 1740 were full fifteen thouſand.

14. As to the Commerce of *Penſylvania* with reſpect to *Europe* and *America*, the Caſe, according to the beſt Accounts we have, ſtands thus: Their Merchandize conſiſts of Horſes, Pipe-Staves, Pork, Beef, and Fiſh, ſalted and barrelled up, Skins and Furs; all Sorts of Grain, *viz.* Wheat, Rye, Peas, Oats, Barley, Buck-Wheat, *Indian* Corn, *Indian* Peas and Beans, Pot-aſhes, Wax, *&c.* and in return for theſe, they import from the *Caribbee Iſlands* and other Places, Rum, Sugar, Moloſſes, Silver, Negroes, Salt, and Wine; and from *Great-Britain* Houſhold-Goods and Cloathing of all Kinds, Hard-Ware, Tools, and Toys. They have alſo ſome Rice, but no great Quantities and a little Tobacco of the worſt Sort. Their Trade with the *Indians* conſiſts but in a few Articles; they receive of the Natives chiefly Skins and Furs of their wild Beaſts, for which they give them Cloathing, Arms, Ammunition, Rum, and other Spirits in return. This, as well as other Northern Colonies, has alſo a clandeſtine Trade with the *Spaniards* upon the Coaſt of *Terra Firma*, *&c.* furniſhing them with *European* Goods and Merchandize, for which they receive chiefly Dollars in return; and they alſo trade to the Bays of *Honduras* and *Campeachy* for Logwood, by Connivance, as the *Spaniards* ſay; but the Subjects of *Great-Britain* inſiſt that they have a Right to that Trade, and as we have already ſhewn, they do not inſiſt upon this, without juſt Grounds, in the Opinion of thoſe who are the beſt and propereſt Judges of that Matter. But after all, it muſt be admitted, that *Penſylvania* has no ſtaple Commodity, which, however, is not juſtly chargeable upon the Inhabitants of this Colony; who, notwithſtanding this, have never ſet up any Manufactures of their own.

But the Point to be enquired into is, Whether they might not have ſuch a ſtaple Commodity if they went about it themſelves induſtriouſly, and received from hence proper Encouragement? It is a Point out of Diſpute, that no Country in the World is more proper than *Penſylvania* for producing Hemp and Flax; and with reſpect to theſe, we ought ſeriouſly to conſider, that there is nothing plainer than that Hemp and Flax are ſo uſeful in Navigation and Trade that we cannot do without them; the firſt for Cordage of all Sorts, the latter for making Sail-Cloth, as well as for the Linen Manufactures carried on in this Kingdom. The Neceſſity we are under for theſe Commodities ought to put us upon all imaginable Care how to provide them, that we may not fall under the ſame Neceſſity for them that we did in the Year 1703 for Pitch and Tar, when the Government of *Sweden* abſolutely refuſed to let us have them for our Ready-Money, otherwiſe than in their Shipping, from their Tar Company here, at their own Price, and only in ſuch Quantities as they thought fit. Upon that Diſappointment, the Government, by allowing a conſiderable Encouragement for carrying on the Manufactures of Pitch and Tar, had ſufficient Quantities from our own Plantations; and it is greatly to be wiſhed the like Encouragement was given for raiſing Hemp and Flax; and as all Sorts of Naval Stores may raiſed with ſo many Advantages to this Kingdom, it would be unaccountable to leave us dependent, and at an Uncertainty for them. It is very well known, that our Land is too dear for Hemp and Flax, and what does grow here (though it is tough, and makes ſtrong Linen) neither dreſſes ſo kindly, nor whitens ſo well as that which grows in hotter Climates. In *Ruſſia* the beſt Hemp and Flax grow in the ſouther moſt Parts of the Empire, where the Summer is hot and the Air clear, and yet the Flax is not accounted ſo good as that which grows in *Egypt* or *Italy.* *Egypt* has always been eſteemed for its Linen, and even now ſupplies *Leghorn* with large Quantities, and the Coaſt of *Syria*, *Aſia Minor*, *Smyrna*, *Conſtantinople*, and other great Cities, have a Supply of Hemp and Flax from thence.

All our Colonies (which run twelve or fourteen hundred Miles in Length, all the way bordering upon the Sea) have very hot Summers; the ſouthermoſt Parts of them lie near the ſame Latitude with *Egypt*, and the North Part much about the ſame with *Ancona* or *Bologna* in *Italy*, where Hemp and Flax grow; therefore, we have the greateſt Proſpect to receive mighty Supplies of Hemp and Flax from them. Part of the Land in the Colonies are very rich, and of ſo ſmall a Value, there will be Opportunity of breaking up freſh as often as there is Occaſion to change the Ground, which if laid down will recover itſelf again without the Charge of Manuring, as we do here, to the very great Damage of our Ploughing Lands. Nothing impoveriſhes Land more than Hemp and Flax; and though it is manured, that alone will not do ſo well, for the Land ought to be changed after three or four Crops, and generally the fineſt and fatteſt Pieces are converted to that Uſe. Thoſe great Conveniencies of having Land ſo very cheap, and ſo fine a Climate, which we know produces excellent Hemp and Flax, ſo commodiouſly ſituated along the Sea Coaſts, with ſuch Numbers of large Rivers running up the Country to the moſt inland Settlements, where Proviſions may be raiſed at ſo ſmall a Charge, and where Work may be done by the Labour of Slaves, almoſt as cheap as in *India*, gives Ground to hope, that we may manufacture Linen here cheaper than any Part of *Europe* can import them upon us, and the Colonies be as profitable to us, by raiſing rough Materials to carry on the Linen Manufacture, as the *Suſſex* and other Downs are, for ſupplying Wool for that Manufacture, the Profits of which we have valued ourſelves ſo much upon, that we have ſet the reſt of *Europe* upon being our Competitors therein.

Now as the Woollen Manufacture, eſpecially the coarſe Part has ſpread itſelf of late into ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom, which has exceeded the Demand, and cauſed great Stocks to remain on Hand, if thoſe rough Materials of Hemp and Flax were prepared in our Plantations, the People in *North Britain*, &c. would ſoon find the Advantage of falling upon that Manufacture; the laborious and coarſe Part being performed abroad, the reſt would invite not only the Poor and Neceſſitous, but People of better Circumſtances to employ their Time in it. If theſe Propoſitions are ſufficiently conſidered, and heartily put in Practice, we may hope that by providing the aforeſaid rough Materials, we ſhall have the delightful Proſpect of ſeeing Trade flouriſh; for as the Silk and Linen Manufactures, where brought to Perfection, are altogether as profitable to thoſe Nations as the Woollen is to us; and as we increaſe in our Linen Manufactures, thoſe of *Sileſia*, and all the Hereditary Countries of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, whence we take ſuch Quantities muſt abate of courſe; their People alſo will reſort to us, and help to carry them on; for it has always been obſerved, where new Manufactures are ſet up, the Manufacturers will likewiſe remove. This was the Caſe with the *Flemings* when Queen *Elizabeth* gave ſuch great Encouragement to have the Woollen Manufacture remove hither; and ours, when we had that Inundation of *China* and *India* wrought Silks, our Weavers went to *Holland*, *Flanders*, *France*, &c. ſo that ſeveral Streets in *Spittlefields* were almoſt deſolate; but when theſe Silks were prohibited, the Manufacturers returned again.

It is ſuppoſed the *Ruſſians* exported to *England*, and all other Parts, in Hemp and Flax, above the Value of a Million a Year. If Hemp and Flax be ſo valuable a Product for Merchandize with them, there ſeems to be a much greater Proſpect of its being ſo to ourſelves, by raiſing them in our Plantations, becauſe they will not be ſubject to any Land-Carriage, but ſhipped immediately from the Place of Growth; becauſe Land is much cheaper in our Plantations than in the South Parts of *Ruſſia*. The Climate, being equal with that in *Egypt* and *Italy*, is ſuppoſed to produce Hemp and Flax preferable to theirs. We have before ſhewn, that in the Caſes of Sugar and Tobacco, every white Man employs four at home, that is to ſay, finds them Work to ſupply him with Utenſils requiſite for his. If Sugar and Tobacco employ ſuch a Number of Hands at home, certainly every Perſon employed in the Plantations, in raiſing and dreſſing Hemp and Flax, muſt by his Labour there, return more than twice the Advantage that can be produced by Sugar and Tobacco, for they are manufactured in the Plantations: The refining the Sugar and cutting the Tobacco, with the little Quantity that is rolled excepted. Whereas Flax and Hemp are Materials for employing all idle Hands; and of Conſequence the Poors Rate will ſoon be abated, and the Nation will find in a little time what they ſave yearly thereby, will be more than ſufficient to encourage the People to begin that Employment. And if once we come to be employed with Hemp and Flax by the aforeſaid Methods, every Place will be filled with Flax-dreſſers, and the Overſeers of the Poor of every Pariſh where the Wool-ſpinning Trade is not carried on, may very eaſily come at Hemp and Flax, which they will find as profitable to them, as the Woollen is to the other; and the more diſtant the Employment is, the better; for many Inconveniencies have attended one Manufacture interfering with another; beſides, there will be an Intercourſe of Trade created, by one Part of the Kingdom ſupplying the other with their diſtinct Manufactures. This will give full Employment to the whole Kingdom; and an univerſal Chearfulneſs to every body: For the Poor are never happier, nor their Minds eaſier, than when they have full Employment; and when they are employed, Riches is diffuſed throughout the whole Nation.

It is a common Opinion, that we have above a Million of People in the three Nations deſtitute of Work; but if thoſe rough Materials (ſo often mentioned in this Diſcourſe) ſhould come to be raiſed in our Plantations, there need not be one idle Perſon: Now, ſuppoſe one Million of People were put upon manufacturing thoſe rough Materials, and each Perſon earned but one Penny a Day, and allowing but three hundred Working-days in the Year, it would amount to one Million two hundred and fifty thouſand Pounds: A prodigious Advantage to the Nation, which is ſtill greatly heightened by conſidering that theſe People would be then employed, at leaſt in part, and ſo far as they were employed, would be the better Subjects. That all this might be brought about with leſs Trouble than has been given the Nation by one *Baltick* or *Mediterranean* Expedition, and at the tenth Part of the Expence of a Campaign in *Flanders*, is a thing will be acknowledged by all who are capable of judging of this Subject; and therefore that it ought to be done, is a Point that cannot be diſputed. I would not miſlead my Reader by the Compariſon, into a bad Opinion of ſuch Expeditions or Campaigns; that is not my Buſineſs, or my Intention; the Juſtice of my Compariſon turns upon this, that the Motives to ſuch Expeditions and Campaigns are, comparatively ſpeaking, near and at hand; whereas we are leſs acquainted, or at leaſt leſs affected by the Connection between our Intereſts and thoſe of the Plantations; though, from what has been ſaid, I think it will plainly appear, that they concern us as much, and as nearly, as any Intereſts can do without the Limits of our Iſland.

15. But it is now time to bring this Section to a cloſe, and after having given the Reader, from the beſt Authorities I could find, as clear an Account as I was capable of giving of theſe noble Settlements, I come next to add a few general Remarks, not upon this or that Plantation, but upon the whole Body of our *American* Settlements taken together. We have ſhewn how the Out-lines were drawn, ſo early as in the Reigns of King *Henry* VII. and *Henry* VIII. We have taken notice of the Schemes and Preparations that were made for ſettling the Countries we had a Title to in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*. We have given an Account how far theſe were carried into Execution in the ſucceeding Reigns. And in this Section, we have plainly exhibited the Manner in which this laſt Plan was fully accompliſhed. By this Means the Reader ſees, that the Diſcoveries of the *Cabots*, though treated by ſome unſkilful Writers as trifling Things, and Matters of no great Moment, were in Reality the Grounds of our Pretenſions, now converted into the actual Poſſeſſion of that vaſt Tract of Country from the Northern Coaſt of *Hudſon's Streights*, down to the Southern Limits of the new Colony of *Georgia*, or of the old Colony of *Carolina*; for the Limits are the ſame. As for the Iſlands, I take the Settlement of them to have been occaſioned by the old Rout to *Florida*, which has been ſo much ridiculed; but which, notwithſtanding, ſeems to have been the true Source of our Acquiſitions in the *Leeward Iſlands*. *Jamaica* is ours by Conqueſt, and which is another Circumſtance worth remembering, became ſo, in a great meaſure, by a Force raiſed in our Plantations. Whether it be our Intereſt to think of making ſuch Expeditions for the future, I ſhall not determine; but Care ought ſurely to be firſt taken of the Colonies we have; which it never can be till the Importance of our Plantations in general is thoroughly underſtood, by the Bulk of this Nation. This is the Point I have principally laboured in this Work, and I ſhall cloſe all I have to ſay with the Conſideration of three Points; which I hope will make the Matter plain to every Underſtanding.

The firſt of theſe Points is, *What the Condition of this Country was before we had any Plantations?* In regard to this, I think I may ſafely affirm that it was very low and deſpicable. In the victorious Reign of *Edward* the IIId. there was a Ballance of Trade ſtruck, and delivered into the Exchequer, by which it appeared that the Exports of one Year exceeded the Imports by two hundred fifty-five thouſand two hundred and fourteen Pounds thirteen Shillings and Eight-pence, which for that Time was a great deal. At the Time Queen *Elizabeth* entered upon the Government, the Cuſtoms produced thirty-ſix thouſand Pouuds a Year; at the Reſtoration they were lett to Farm for four hundred thouſand Pounds; and produced conſiderably above double that Sum before the Revolution. The People of *London*, before we had any Plantations, and but very little Trade, were computed at about one hundred thouſand; at the Death of Queen *Elizabeth* they were increaſed to one hundred and fifty thouſand, and are now about ſix times that Number. In thoſe Days we had not only our Naval Stores, but our Ships from our Neighbours. *Germany* furniſhed us with all things made of Metal, even to Nails; Wine, Paper, Linen, and a thouſand other things came from *France*. *Portugal* furniſhed us with Sugars; all the Produce of *America* was poured into us from *Spain*; and the *Venetians* and *Genoeſe* retailed to us the Commodities of the *Eaſt Indies* at their own Price. In ſhort, the legal Intereſt of Money was twelve *per Cent.* and the common Price of our Lands ten or twelve Years Purchaſe. We may add that our Manufactures were few, and thoſe but indifferent; the Number of *Engliſh* Merchants very ſmall, and our Shipping much inferior to what now belongs to the Northern Colonies. Theſe are plain and certain Facts: But as ſoon as we began to extend our Trade, and to make Settlements abroad, the Face of our Affairs changed; the Inhabitants of the City of *London* were doubled by the End of the laſt Period, and were again doubled before the End of this; our Shippihg increaſed in a ſtill greater Proportion; we coined within twenty Years after that Queen's Death about five Millions at the Tower, in twenty Years after that ſeven, and in the next twenty Years eight, which are indubitable Proofs that we had gained a prodigious Ballance of Trade in our Favour.

The next Point I ſhall conſider is, *What our Condition has been ſince?* And, with reſpect to this, I may boldly affirm that it has altered for the better; almoſt to a Degree beyond Credibility or Computation. Our Manufactures are prodigiouſly increaſed, chiefly by the Demand for them in the Plantations, where they at leaſt take off one half, and furniſh us with many valuable Commodities for Exportation. Inſtead of taking the Quantities we were wont to do of Goods from other Nations, we actually export thoſe very Goods, and ſometimes to the very ſame Nations; Sugar, Rum, and Tobacco, are the Sources of private Wealth and public Revenue, which would have been ſo many Drains, that would have beggared us, had they not been raiſed in our Plantations. It is no longer in the Power of the *Ruſſians* to make us pay what they pleaſe for Flax or Hemp. The *Swedes* cannot compel us to pay their own Price, and that too in ready Money, for Pitch and Tar, nor would it be in their Power to diſtreſs us, ſhould they attempt it by raiſing the Price of Copper and Iron. Logwood is ſunk ſeventy-five *per Cent.* Indico, and other dyeing Materials, are in our Power, and at moderate Prices. In ſhort, the Advantages are infinite that redound to us from our *American* Empire, where we have, at leaſt, a Million of *Britiſh* Subjects, and between fifteen hundred and two thouſand ſail of Ships conſtantly employed. Such have been the Fruits, ſuch is the Condition of our Plantations, and let any Man doubt of the Benefits reſulting from them to this Nations if he can; or when he reflects on the Numbers maintained here by their Induſtry, and even by their Luxury, let him deny or envy their Wealth if it is in his Power.

When our Plantations were in their Infancy, they were ſome Burthen and Charge to this Nation, and then it was that ſome wiſe and public-ſpirited Perſons took upon them to become Advocates for a thing which they foreſaw would prove highly uſeful and advantageous. I have read many of their Diſcourſes with great Pleaſure, becauſe I conſidered them as written with a kind of prophetic Spirit, in which their Authors have exhibited to the Eye of the Ages in which they wrote, a very juſt Picture of what has paſſed in ſucceeding Times; but with this remarkable Circumſtance, that though ſeveral of them were Men as remarkable for bold Flights of Imagination, as for Penetrations and Judgment, yet in this Caſe they have not reached the Truth; the preſent State of the Plantations exceeding vaſtly all that they promiſed, or even hoped from them; the Reaſon of which I conceive to be their framing Conjectures from the State the Nation was then in, and our Trade was at that Time ſo inconſiderable in Compariſon of what it is at preſent, that I think there is no wonder the Writers who flouriſhed in thoſe Days ſhould fall ſo much ſhort in their Expectations from our Settlements in *America*. But, perhaps, it may be objected, that though they did not foreſee many things that have ſince fallen out in thoſe Parts of the World, yet it is very evident that they believed many Advantages would ariſe from thoſe Colonies that have never yet come to paſs; which leads me to the third Point I propoſe to mention in theſe Remarks.

This third Point is, *The Improvements and additional Benefits that may be ſtill made in, and accrue from our Plantations.* We ought, in this reſpect, to conſider of what a vaſt Extent that Country is, which we actually poſſeſs in the New World, to which I will be bold to ſay this Iſland does not bear a greater Proportion than the County of *Norfolk*, to the whole Kingdom of *England*; whence we may eaſily conceive what room there is for making new Improvements in ſuch a vaſt Tract of Country. It is, indeed, true, that ſome of our Settlements on the Continent, ſuch as *New England*, *New York*, *Penſylvania*, *Maryland*, and *Virginia*, are already tolerably well peopled; but then *Nova Scotia* is ſcarce ſettled. *New Britain* is a vaſt Country, and capable of being turned to our Advantage; is ſo far from being ſettled, that it is ſcarce known to us; and the ſame thing may be ſaid of all the Country bordering upon *Hudſon's Bay*. As to the Southern Colonies, by which I mean the two *Carolina's* and *Georgia*, they are very thinly peopled, and very little improved, though beyond all Compariſon the moſt valuable Poſſeſſions we have in thoſe Parts. In regard to the Iſlands of *Bermudas* and *Barbadoes*, they are thoroughly peopled, and moſt of the *Leeward Iſlands* tolerably inhabited; but then there are ſeveral Iſlands to which we have as clear and as good a Title, as to any of theſe, that are not ſettled at all, though from the Nature of their Climate, Soil, and Situation, they are not inferior to any, but on the conrrary, ſuperior to moſt of thoſe of which we are poſſeſſed, as will be hereafter ſhewn. The noble Iſland of *Jamaica*, which of itſelf might ſerve to inrich any Country to which it belonged, is not a third Part cultivated, ſo that there is every where room for us to exert our Induſtry, for the Honour and Advantage of the *Britiſh* Nation; which as it has already drawn ſuch immenſe Profits from its Settlements in *America*, ſo beyond all Queſtion we may ſtill draw much greater, if we proceed with the ſame Spirit and Vigour that our Anceſtors did, having much more Power in our Hands, much fairer Opportunities than they had, beſides the Light and Authority of Experience, to guide, encourage, and ſupport us.

In order to this, and that we may actually add theſe Advantages in proſpect to thoſe which we at preſent poſſeſs, the Steps neceſſary to be taken fall under the two following Heads: The firſt is, *Improving ſuch of our Colonies as are already well ſettled*; and the next, *Providing for the thorough Planting ſuch as are at preſent but very indifferently, or ſcarce at all, peopled.* It would require a large Treatiſe to expatiate fully on theſe Heads, and therefore I ſhall content myſelf with only a few Hints as to each of them. In reſpect to the firſt, I cannot conceive that any thing would be more advantageous than providing every Colony with ſome Staple Commodity, which would infallibly produce the following deſirable Conſequences: It would make the Inhabitants of thoſe Colonies perfectly eaſy, and at the ſame Time it would vaſtly inrich us. As for *Virginia* and *Maryland* they are poſſeſſed of the Tobacco Trade, in which, if any Eaſe, Encouragement, or Advantage can be granted them, they moſt certainly deſerve it: But with reſpect to *New England*, *Penſylvania*, *New York*, and the *Jerſeys*, Ways and

Means might be found to increaſe their Commerce with *England* directly, by promoting their Inclinations to furniſh us with all kinds of Naval Stores, and with Iron. There was, as to Pitch and Tar, a conſiderable Bounty given, and it is very remarkble for many Years this produced no Effect, which might poſſibly countenance an Opinion that the Friends to the Plantations were too ſanguine in their Notions on this Head; but Experience afterwards ſhewed the contrary. For the Circumſtances of the Public making it neceſſary to try how far this might be practicable, it very ſoon appeared that the thing could be eaſily done by; and upon ſending over Perſons well acquainted with the Methods of making Pitch and Tar, the People in the Colonies ſoon fell into it, and ſuch Quantities were imported, as not only ſupplied our Wants, but enabled us alſo to ſupply thoſe of our Neighbours; and then upon a Suppoſition that the Trade was effectually eſtabliſhed, the Bounty was diſcontinued. The Conquence of this was, that the Importation of theſe Commodities from *Ruſſia*, *Sweden*, and *Norway*, was revived; for the People of thoſe Countries building large bulky Ships, peculiarly proper for tranſporting thoſe Commodities, by navigating theſe Ships cheaper than we can do ours, are thereby able to underſell our Countrymen in the Colonies, by three or four Shillings in a Barrel; ſo that to keep this Trade there grew a Neceſſity of granting a new Bounty upon Pitch and Tar from *America*, or laying a new Duty upon what was imported from the North.

We may ſay the ſame thing with regard to Iron, of which, at preſent, we import very near double as much from *Sweden*, as is ſold to all the reſt of *Europe*, for which we pay moſtly in ready Money; and yet no Queſtion can be made of its being very practicable to bring the beſt Part of the Iron we want from our Plantations, which has been hitherto prevented by Notions ſo frivolous, that I do not care to mention them. Hemp and Flax have been ſufficiently inſiſted upon already, and to theſe we may add Pot-aſhes; ſo that the Reader will eaſily diſcern that there is no Difficulty at all in the Way of enabling the Northern Colonies to pay us for our Manufactures, and prevent their ſetting up Manufactures themſelves, but our ſetting heartily about it. The ſame Thoughts may, in a great Meaſure, ſerve for our Southern Colonies, in which Tar may certainly be made as good as any in the World; but then there are other things peculiar to thoſe Colonies, ſuch as the planting Coffee, Tea, Cocoa, Indico, and the Shrub that produces Cochineal; but above all, we ought to think of Silk, for Reaſons that ſhall be given when we come to treat of the Colony of *Georgia*: At preſent we ſhall only ſay that there is this great and extraordinary Conveniency attends the Cultivation of the laſt mentioned Commodity, that as it is proper for the ſame Soil and Climate, as Hemp and Flax, ſo they may be both carried on together; the Silk Harveſt, as they call it, being over before Hemp and Flax are ripe.

As to the Sugar Iſlands, though they have already a Staple Commodity of very great Value, yet this ſhould not hinder us from conſidering how that Commodity may be ſtill rendered more uſeful, I mean to the Planters and to us; and how far other things are capable in the ſame Countries of being improved. It was the Opinion of Sir *Joſiah Child* (and I think the Subject well conſidered it is not eaſy to produce a better Opinion) that Sugar may be as much made the Commodity of this Nation, as the Gold and Silver of *Peru* and *Mexico* are the peculiar Treaſures of *Spain*. The Reaſons he gives are very ſtrong, but it is very certain that we have not fallen upon the right Method of bringing his Doctrine into Practice; ſince inſtead of exporting one half of the Sugar we bring home, as we formerly did, we do not now export above a ſixth, and this not from falling off of the Demand, but becauſe new Markets have been found, at which Foreigners can buy cheaper. To alter this all Heads ſhould be ſet to work, and all Arts tryed; and till theſe ſucceed, it may not be amiſs that the Inhabitants of the Sugar Colonies would try to bring ſome other Goods to Market.

Thus much for the firſt Head, now for the ſecond: It has been computed, by ſome, that there is a Million and a half of white People in our Plantations, which Computation has been judged by others ſomewhat of the higheſt; perhaps it may be ſo, but without all doubt it would be our Intereſt to have two Millions of white People there; nor do I think that there is any Reaſon to fear that this would either drain the *Britiſh* Dominions, or at all indanger the Dependency of the Colonies. I am, on the contrary, very firmly perſuaded, that the Increaſe of People in the Colonies, as it would certainly increaſe our Trade, ſo it muſt neceſſarily increaſe the Number of our People at home; and that the Methods proper to be taken for the better peopling our Colonies, and improving them, would infallibly render them more dependent.

But to come cloſely to the Point, and ſhew how this may be done. Give me Leave to obſerve, that though the general Propoſition that the Number of the People is the Riches of a Country be true, yet it is true only of induſtrious and uſeful People; and it is in this Senſe, that the Number of the People in *Holland* is quoted as an Example; ſo that if there be in any Country Numbers of People uſeleſs, they are ſo far from contributing to the Wealth of that Country, that they are in Fact, the Cauſes of its Poverty. Now, it is certain, that though this Nation might become more powerful and more rich, by being more numerous than it is; yet there is not any more probable Method of bringing this about than by employing our uſeful Hands, which perhaps may be eaſier done abroad than at home. We have vaſt Numbers of Vagabonds throughout the Kingdom, who many of them live by Pity, but moſt of them by the Folly of better People than themſelves; there cannot therefore be any Cruelty in ſending theſe People where they muſt work, and conſequently maintain themſelves and be uſeful to others. We have many People convicted of ſmall Crimes, and from the Ignominy of the Conviction and Puniſhment rendered deſperate; it would certainly be a great Charity to provide for theſe. We find Multitudes releaſed from Time to Time out of Priſons by Acts of Grace, which ſet them at Liberty, 'tis true; but at the ſame Time, leaves them at little better more than the Liberty of ſtarving; and who can ſay, that it would not be highly laudable to find out ſome Means for giving theſe People Bread as well as Freedom? I humbly conceive, that if a proper Fund was aſſigned for ſending theſe People abroad, not like Tranſports or Negroes, but like unhappy *Engliſhmen*, with due Proviſion for their comfortable Maintenance in their Paſſage, and a proper Reception in the Places they are ſent to, this might be found an effectual way of eaſing our Poors-Rates, ſtocking our Colonies, and enlarging the Trade of the Nation.

But in doing this, great Conſideration is to be us'd, there ought to be nothing in it of Shame, and as little of Force as may be. The Terms ought to be ſuch as may encourage People in Diſtreſs to except them, and the accepting them might be in the Nature of a Superſedeas to all Criminal Proſecutions, not of a Capital Nature. They ſhould be ſent abroad for a Term of Years, or till they could repay a certain Sum of Money to the Corporation intruſted with the Management of this Scheme, and conſiderable Rewards ſhould be given to ſuch as behaved well, and gained a competent Settlement during the Time limited for their remaining abroad; and if to this certain honorary Preferments were added, it would be ſo much the better. Theſe are the Outlines only of a great Deſign, worthy the Attention of the Legiſlature, who perhaps may think a Tax on public Diverſions a reaſonable Fund for ſuch a Service, there being nothing more juſt than that Luxury ſhould contribute to relieve Neceſſity, and that thoſe who are able to be idle ſhould be made willing to help thoſe that muſt work.

Such, at leaſt, are my Notions of theſe Matters, and of the Means by which our Plantations might be improved, and the Advantages we derive from them increaſed and extended. If what I have ſaid be rational and practicable, or without much Difficulty may be altered in ſuch a Manner as to become ſo, I hope it will be thought worthy of Conſideration; but if otherwiſe, let ſome Perſon better verſed in theſe Things, and more capable of treating this Subject ariſe, and ſet it in its true Point of Light. For this is the critical Time, the Seaſon when the Friends of Trade and the Plantations ſhould exert themſelves before a Peace takes Place, and a new Scene opens, of which it will be impoſſible to give our Judgment immediately, and as impoſſible to think of executing thoſe Schemes then, that are eaſy as well as practicable now.

SECTION XX.

The Hiſtory of the BRITISH *Colonies in* America, *from the Revolution to the Death of his late Majeſty King* George I.

1. *The Artifices of the* French, *under the Reign of* James II. *defeated by the Probity of Colonel* Dungan, *Governor of* New York. 2. *The* Indians, *by their Inſtigation, and with their Aſſiſtance, attack the People of* New England *in* 1690, *and are repulſed with Loſs.* 3. *An Account of Sir* William Phipps's *unfortunate Expedition againſt* Quebec. 4. *The Hiſtory of the* Indian *War continued to its Cloſe, with other remarkable Occurrences.* 5. *The Society for the Propagation of the Goſpel incorporated by King* William III. *and the many Advantages flowing from that excellent Eſtabliſhment.* 6. *The Affairs of the* Britiſh *Colonies, during the Reign of Queen* Anne, *briefly conſidered.* 7. *The unfortunate Expedition againſt* Canada, *under General* Hill *and Sir* Hovenden Walker. 8. *The Methods taken by the* French *for the Benefit of their own Commerce, at the Expence of ours to the Treaty of* Utrecht. 9. *An Account of his Grace the Duke of* Montague's *Scheme for ſettling the Iſlands of* St. Lucia *and* St. Vincent. 10. *The Hiſtory of the Expedition for that Purpoſe, under Captain* Uring, *and his Relation of its Miſcarriage.* 11. *Colonel* Braithwaite's *Report of his being forced to abandon the Settlement of* St. Vincent. 12. *The indubitable Title of the Crown of* Great Britain *to thoſe Iſlands aſſerted, and the Importance of maintaining it demonſtrated.* 13. *Remarks and Obſervations on the moſt remarkable Paſſages in the foregoing Section.*

IT is generally agreed, that the very worſt Part of King *James*'s Government was the Inclination that he had to *French* Counſels, and his falling too readily into *French* Meaſures, which is the more extraordinary in Matters relating to Commerce; becauſe never any Prince underſtood them better than King *James*. It muſt therefore have been his violent Zeal for promoting the *Popiſh* Cauſe, that induced him to go the Lengths he did, in Favour of *France*; contrary moſt certainly to the Intereſt of this Nation, as he would have ſeen ſooner than any body, if that Zeal of his had not hindered him. But from hence we ſee the Difference between *Engliſh* and *French* Popery. Our deluded Prince, though he underſtood Trade, was inclined to ſacrifice it, in ſome Meaſure, for the Sake of his Religion; the *French* King, though of the ſame Religion, and pretending to be as zealous for it as King *James*, made uſe of it as a Colour to promote his own ambitious Deſigns, and the Trade of his Subjects at our Expence. I know that this is a delicate Subject to handle, and I ſhould not have mentioned it at all, but from a juſt Senſe of its Conſequence, and a ſincere Love for Truth, and the Intereſt of my Country.

The *French*, in the Beginning of King *James*'s Reign, finding their Colony of *Canada* in the utmoſt Danger from the *Iroquois*, a very warlike *Indian* Nation, jealous of their Liberties, and very capable of defending them by Force of Arms, reſolved, ſince Force had hitherto failed, to try what might be done towards ſubduing them by the gentler Method of Converſion; in order to which they not only employed a Multitude of artful Jeſuits, but contrived likewiſe, under Pretence of extending the Chriſtian Faith, to engage King *James* to countenance and aſſiſt this Project. In order to this an *Iriſh* Gentleman, Colonel *Dungan*, Son to the Earl of *Limerick*, was made Governor of *New York*; and he was directed, by his Maſter, to permit the *French Jeſuits* to preach to, and convert the *Indians* under the Protection of his Government. The Scheme was certainly well laid, and one would wonder how it came not to take effect; which if it had done, muſt have proved the Ruin of that Colony at leaſt, the Conqueſt of which had been for a long Time the Object of the *French* Policy. But this Colonel *Dungan*, unfortunately for the *French*, was a Man of very good Senſe, and of ſtrict Honour; he obeyed his Maſter's Commands, though unwillingly, but he kept ſo ſtrict an Eye upon the *French Jeſuits*, that he very ſoon ſaw to the Bottom of their Deſigns; and, finding them incompatible with the Welfare of the Colony he governed, he obliged them to retire; telling them that they came to promote the Commerce, rather than the Religion of their Nation; and that if his good Friends the *Indians* were ſo much in love with *Jeſuits*, that they could not be without them, he would ſupply them with thoſe who ſhould make them good *Chriſtians* and good *Engliſhmen* at the ſame Time.

This greatly provoked the *French* Governor of *Canada*, Mr. *Denonville*, who threatened him with the Diſpleaſure of his own Maſter, and of the *Moſt Chriſtian* King; but this had no Effect upon Colonel *Dungan*, who would not be either cheated or bullied; and therefore when the *French* Governor had trepanned ſome of the *Indian* Chiefs, and ſent them over to be made Slaves in the *French* Galleys, by the moſt notorious Breach of Faith that ever Man was guilty of; the Colonel aſſiſted them in the War occaſioned thereby, which brought the *French* Colony within a Hair's Breadth of Ruin. This Story, which is very remarkable, we have from *French* as well as *Engliſh* Authors, and which is no leſs extraordinary, they agree in every Circumſtance of it. Only the former are ſo partial, as to treat the Colonel's Character very ill, becauſe he would not ſacrifice the Intereſt of his Country, his own Honour and Conſcience to their Views. After the Revolution, when he was become Earl of *Limerick*, King *William*, who was very well informed of his Proceedings, procured an Offer to be made him of a very conſiderable Command in the *Spaniſh* Service, but he declined it; and though he liked not the Meaſures, choſe to follow the Fortunes of his Maſter King *James*.

The *French*, by the ſame kind of Artifices, had very near diſpoſſeſſed the *Hudſon's Bay* Company of that Country entirely; and, as ſoon as the War broke out, they actually did ſo, as we have already ſhewn. They alſo made a bold Attempt upon the Colony of *New York*, with the Aſſiſtance of the *Indians* in their Intereſts, but were repulſed; and Colonel *Peter Schuyler*, with three hundred *Engliſh*, and the ſame Number of *Iroquois*, bravely marched from *Fort Albany* to *Quebec*, which is four hundred Miles; and finding the *French* Governor with ſeven hundred regular Troops, and as many *Hurons*, an *Indian* Nation always at their Devotion in the Field, they boldly attacked them, and killed three hundred Men, and thirty Officers, with very little Loſs to themſelves; but having no Artillery, and the *French* retiring into their Forts, the Colonel made a very honourable Retreat, ſatisfied with the Blow he had ſtruck, and ſecuring his own Country from any farther Depredations. But it was not only on this Side that the *French* attacked our Colonies at that Time, on the contrary they had framed a Deſign of greater Conſequence againſt the People of *New England*, of which, as it is a Matter of great Importance, we will give as full and clear an Account of it as we can; for tho' their Intrigues began ſomewhat earlier than the Period aſſigned for this Section, yet as our Expedition was not made till after the Revolution, it comes in very properly here.

2. The *French*, in a Time of full Peace, and when, as we have obſerved, they were ſoliciting and obtaining Favours from King *James*, excited the *Indians* on the Frontiers of *New England*, to ſurpriſe ſeveral Out-ſettlements, where they committed ſeveral great Barbarities: Of this Complaints were made to the *French* Governor at *Quebec*, who gave very good Words, pretending that he knew nothing of what had happened; but promiſed to interpoſe and check the Deſigns of the *Indians* as far as was in his Power, which Promiſe was very indifferently performed. The *Engliſh* thereupon tried what fair Means, and a peaceable Negociation with the *Indians* would do; in this likewiſe they were deceived and amuſed, while their Enemies ſtill perſiſted in their Depredations, though they continued to treat, and pretended that all Diſputes ſhould be amicably ſettled, well knowing that the Colony would take any Meaſures rather than engage in an *Indian* War. During theſe Tranſactions, the *French* and *Indians* entered into farther Engagements againſt the *Engliſh*, who did what they could with Honour and Juſtice, to bring Matters to a peaceable Iſſue, which was rendered very difficult by the Intrigues of the *French*, who upon King *James*'s withdrawing to *France*, repreſented the *Engliſh* Nation as in a rebellious and perilous Condition, which was ſufficient Encouragement for the *Indians* to continue the War, having the Promiſe of powerful Aſſiſtance from *Quebec*.

They ſurpriſed the Garriſon of *Quachecho*, by the Treachery of *Meſandonit*, a Sachem, whom Major *Waldern*, who commanded there, had generouſly entertained the Night before; and that Traitor lying in his Houſe, opened the Gates in the Morning to a Party of Savages, that lay in Ambuſh not far off, and ruſhing in killed the Major and twenty-two Men, burnt four or five of the beſt Houſes, and carried away twenty-nine Perſons into Captivity, killing Mr. *Broughton* in their Retreat. The Government ordered Capt. *Noyes*, with a ſtrong Party, to march to *Penocook*, and clear the Country of the Savages; but they cleared it themſelves by running away as ſoon as they heard News of his coming. Captain *Noyes* purſued them, cut down all their Corn, burnt their Wigwams, and laid every thing waſte. A Party from *Saco* was ſurrounded by a great Body of *Indians*, and eſcaped with Difficulty, having loſt ſix of their Number; they afterwards maſtered *Pemmaquid Fort*, by Help of Intelligence given them by one Mr. *Starkey*, who falling into their Hands thought to get out of them by that Service, and told of the weak Condition the Fort was in by the Abſence of Mr. *Giles*, and Part of the Garriſon; upon whom they fell at *Giles*'s Farm, and killed him and fourteen Men. They then got upon a Rock, when they miſerably galled the *Engliſh*, and obliged the Governor, Capt. *Weems*, to ſurrender on Promiſe of Life and Liberty. But the Savages broke the Capitulation, and butchered the greateſt Part of them, as alſo Capt. *Skinner* and Capt. *Farnham*, who were coming to the Relief of the Garriſon, and Mr. *Pediſhall*, as he lay in his Sloop in the *Barbran*. Theſe Loſſes cauſed the Inhabitants of *Sheepſcot* and *Kennebeck* to abandon thoſe Places, and return to *Falmouth*.

It was time for the Government of *New England* to look about them, and think of oppoſing vigorouſly thoſe Murders and Depredations of the *Indians*: They ſent Major *Swayne* with five hundred Men from *Maſſachuſet*, and Major *Church*, one of their beſt Officers, from *Plymouth*, with five hundred more, againſt the Enemy in the Eaſt, where they had intercepted Lieut. *Hutchin*, who had drawn off a Garriſon he had in thoſe Parts, to ſet them to work in the Field. The Savages coming unexpectedly upon them cut them to pieces, being ſeventeen in Number, and then came to the Fort, where were only two Boys, and ſome Women and Children; the Boys defended it againſt them, wounded ſeveral; and when they found that the *Barbarians* were about to ſet fire to the Houſe that was in the Fort, and to burn them out, they would not yield but on Terms of Life; which theſe inhuman Wretches granted, and afterwards killed three or four of the Children, with one of the Boys; the other made his Eſcape. Capt. *Garner* purſued the Enemy, but they were too nimble for him. Another Party of them aſſaulted *Cano*, killed Capt. *Brooks*, and had put the whole Town to the Sword, had not Capt. *Hall* come opportunely with Relief. The Deſigns of Major *Swayne* and Major *Church* were fruſtrated by the Treachery of ſome *Indian* Confederates, who being ſent out as Scouts, diſcovered all that they knew to the Enemy; who underſtanding the Number of the *Engliſh*, fled to their inacceſſible Woods and Swamps: So Major *Swayne*, having garriſoned *Blew Point*, retired to Winter-Quarters. I enter not into the Particulars of the barbarous Treatment the *Engliſh* Captives met with from the Savages, there being nothing in it but what might be expected from their Rage and Cruelty, and there was no likelihood of their learning Humanity towards the *Engliſh*, by Leſſons from their new Allies the *French*, who were very active in inſtructing and diſciplining them for the better Management of the War.

It is plain they had improved in it, both in Arms and in Action, and had continual Aſſiſtance from *Quebec*, without which the *Engliſh* would ſoon have chaſtiſed them for their Inſolence, and taught them to be quiet. To make the *French* ſome Returns for the many Miſchiefs the *Engliſh* had ſuffered by their Means, it was reſolved in *New England* to carry the War home to them. In purſuance of this Reſolution Sir *William Phipps*, who commanded the Fleet and Forces, ſailed from *New England* the 28th of *April*, 1690, and on the 11th of *May* following arrived before *Port Royal*. The *French* had then a very flouriſhing Colony in *Acadia*, or, as we call it, *New Scotland*, conſiſting of no leſs than ſix thouſand People, who got a Living at leaſt by their Trade in Lumber, Fiſh, and Skins; but for all that the Place was ſo miſerably provided for Defence, the Town being covered only by a ſlight Palliſade, and a little Fort of no Force, that it was very ſoon reduced; and Sir *William Phipps* had the Honour of recovering this Country to the Crown of *Britain*. The People in *Nova Scotia* had Leave by the Capitulation, either to retire to *Canada*, or remain in the Country; and about two thouſand choſe the latter: So that Sir *William* not only acquired a Country, but a People; yet we did not keep the Poſſeſſion of either, for any Length of Time. To revenge theſe Loſſes, Monſieur *Artel*, a *French* Officer from *Canada*, and one *Hoophood* a Leader among the *Huron Indians*, Confederates with the *French*, with Men of both Nations, aſſaulted *Salmon Falls*, killed thirty Perſons, and carried away fifty into Captivity; which terribly alarmed all *New England*, it being the firſt time that the *French* had acted openly with the *Barbarians*. And as *Quebec* was thought to be the Source of all their Calamities in this War, it was therefore reſolved to attack that Place, which being reduced, the *French* would have no City to reſt in, and carry on their ill Deſigns againſt their Chriſtian Neighbours.

3. The Succeſs Sir *William Phipps* ſo lately had, recommended him to the chief Command in this Expedition; but it ſeems to have been as ill laid and managed as the other was well contrived; for it is certain, he had a Strength with him ſufficient to have driven the *French* out of *Canada*, had it been well uſed: He had thirty-two Sail of Ships, and they had aboard two thouſand Men, a prodigious Armament for ſuch a Colony, and ſailed from *Hull* near *Boſton* the 9th of *Auguſt*; but came not within Sight of *Quebec* till the 5th of *October*. Thus they were eight Weeks in a Voyage, that with good Winds and Weather might have been made in two or three. The *Engliſh* were ſo long making up the River *St. Laurence*, that the Governor, Count *de Fontenac*, had time enough to prepare for his Defence by drawing all the Strength of the Colony to *Quebec*, which Sir *William* expected would have been divided by an Army marching over Land, and attacking *Mount Royal* Fort on the Frontiers of *Canada*, while he fell upon the Capital.

This Army was to conſiſt of two thouſand Men from *New*

New York, *Connecticut*, and *Plymouth* Colonies, and one thouſand five hundred *Indians*, to whom the *French* gave the Name of *Iroquois*; but the *Engliſh* diſtinguiſhed them by the Names of their ſeveral Nations. The *Engliſh* marched as far as the great Lake of *Canada*; but as there were no Canoes provided for them to paſs it, they returned; and it is very ſtrange that there ſhould have been no Proviſion for their Paſſage ſecured, ſince the Succeſs of the Enterprize ſo much depended upon it.

When Sir *William* arrived within Sight of the Place, he fancied that the Conqueſt would have been as eaſy as that which he had made of *Nova Scotia*, and therefore he drew up a Paper in the Nature of a Summons to ſurrender, conceived in very rough Terms; for Sir *William* was originally a Carpenter, and afterwards a Sailor; ſo that he was very blunt and unpoliſhed, though a very honeſt, and very brave Man: But the *French* Governor, Count *Fontenac*, was ſo offended at the Style and Subject, that he cauſed a Gibbet to be ſet up, and would have hanged the Major that brought the Paper, had it not been for the Biſhop's Interceſſion. He returned, however, a very inſolent Anſwer, calling *Phipps* and his Company *Heretics* and *Traitors*.

On the 8th of *October* the *Engliſh* landed, under Lieutenant-General *Whalley*, to the Number of one thouſand four hundred, for to theſe they were reduced by the Small-Pox, and other Diſeaſes; but had their full Complement been preſerved, what were two thouſand on board the Ships to four thouſand within the City; for ſo many Men *Fontenac* had now with him? Which *Whalley* underſtanding, he re-embarked his Troops, though they would very fain have attempted one Aſſault: But their Bravery was ill-timed, conſidering the Inequality of their Number to that of the Enemy. Some Writers make the Loſs of the *Engliſh* from the Oppoſition they met with on Shore, to be ſix hundred Men; but, I believe, that Oppoſition is heightened for the Credit of our Nation, that the Troops might not be thought to abandon this Enterprize without looking the Enemy in the Face. The beſt Accounts given by the *French* Writers of this Matter, do not aſcribe the Deliverance of *Quebec* more to the Courage of their own People than to the Want of Conduct and Diſcipline in the *Engliſh*. The Truth of the Matter is, the Scheme was well enough laid, but thoſe who undertook to execute it had not Capacities ſuitable to a Deſign of this Nature; and beſides, there fell out ſome Accidents that were fatal to them, as well as wholly unforeſeen, and to which in a great Meaſure we may juſtly attribute their Diſappointment.

The Small-Pox did not only carry off Numbers in Sir *William Phipps*'s Fleet, but broke out alſo in the other Army, that was to have marched by Land to attack *Mount Royal*; and this Malady infecting the *Iroquois*, was the true Reaſon why that Expedition was abandoned; and this being ſoon known to the *French*, gave them an Opportunity of throwing their whole Force into *Quebec*, which was much too great for Sir *William Phipps* to ſtruggle with, if he and thoſe who attended him, had been better Officers than they really were; ſo that there is no great Wonder the whole Expedition miſcarried. This ſhews, that Matters of a military Nature cannot be carried on, eſpecially againſt the *French*, but by military Men and Officers well acquainted with Service; yet the Zeal and Courage of the People of *New England*, in undertaking and puſhing this Project of theirs ſo far as they did, deſerves great Applauſe, as it fully demonſtrates the Spirit of the People, and very plainly proves that with proper Encouragement and proper Aſſiſtance, they are both willing to endeavour and able to perform all that in their Circumſtances a *Britiſh* Government can expect from *Britiſh* Subjects. In the preſent Caſe, their Efforts rather exceeded than fell ſhort of their Abilities, for their Fleet and Army were numerous enough, well provided, and well paid; the Expence of this fruitleſs Attempt falling little ſhort of one hundred and fifty thouſand Pounds, every Penny of which was furniſhed by the Inhabitants of this Colony, or, which was worſe, they ran in Debt for it, and were left to pay it: Here at home we do not ſufficiently reflect upon the Inconveniencies that ſuch Misfortunes as theſe bring upon our Settlements, but are too apt to charge them with want of Vigour, want of Application, and want of public Spirit; whereas, in Truth, theſe Wants, generally ſpeaking, lie on our Side the Water; and it is to cover our own Neglects, that we pretend to find Faults in them of which they were never guilty.

The Ships in their Return met with no better Fortune at Sea than the Men had done by Land; ſome of them were driven as far as the *Leeward Iſlands*; one was wrecked, another was never heard of, a third foundered with all her Crew in her, a fourth was driven aſhore on the deſolate Iſland of *Anticoſta*, where Captain *Rinsford* and his Crew, forty at firſt, were reduced through Want and Weather to half the Number in a Month's Time, and then ſaved almoſt miraculouſly. The Loſs of Men in this unſucceſsful Enterprize amounted to one thouſand, and thoſe as uſeful Hands as any in the Country. During the Progreſs of this miſerable Expedition, a Party under Lieut. *Clark*, venturing out of *Caſco*, to look for the Enemy, met with a Body of four or five hundred *Indians* and *French*, who killed the Lieutenant and thirteen of his Men; the reſt eſcaping into the Town, were purſued by the *Indians* and *French*, who entering the Place reduced it to Aſhes. The Garriſon ſurrendered the Fort upon Conditions of ſafe Conduct to the next *Engliſh* Town; but the *French* baſely broke the Capitulation, and made them Priſoners of War under a very fooliſh Pretence of their being Rebels to their lawful King.

The Governor, Major *Davis*, and ſome of his Men, were ſent to *Quebec*; the reſt were murdered by the Savages. The Garriſons of *Papocodack*, *Pamwick*, *Black Point*, and *Blue Point*, drew off to *Caco*, twenty Miles within *Caſco*, terrified with the Fate of that Place: Their Terror infected that Garriſon alſo, and half of them fled. *Hoophood*, the *Huron*, purſued them and deſtroyed all the Country, burnt ſeveral Houſes at *Berwick*, killed thirteen or fourteen Men at *Fort Point*, and carried off ſix Priſoners; but Capt. *Floyd*, and Capt. *Greenleaf* coming up with him routed his Party, wounded and drove him off to a great Diſtance. He was afterwards fallen on by the *French Indians*, who taking him for an *Iroquois*, killed him and almoſt all that were with him. The *Indians* and *French* had after that an Advantage over the *Engliſh* under Capt. *Wiſwell*, whom they killed with fifteen of his Soldiers near *Wheelwright Pond*, the reſt were brought off by Capt. *Floyd*. Fluſhed with this Succeſs the *Indians* and *French* made a Deſcent upon *Ameſbury*, near to the *Maſſachuſets*, ſurpriſed Capt. *Foot* and tortured him to Death; but the Townſmen returning into the Fort, maintained it againſt them. Major *Church* paſſed by Sea with three hundred Men to *Caſco Bay*, where he landed, and paſſed directly *Pechpyſot*, an *Indian* Fort, which he found deſerted, thence to *Amonoſcoggin Fort*, forty Miles up *Caſco* River, which he burnt after having killed twenty *Indians*, all that ſtaid in it, and releaſed ſeven *Engliſh* Captives. Having Notice that the *Indians* had agreed to rendezvous on *Pechyſet* Plain, in order to attack *Wells*, he haſtened thither to give them Battle; which the Savages avoided, and the *Engliſh* went into Winter Quarters. Capt. *Convers* and Capt. *Plaiſtead*, with one hundred Men remaining in thoſe Parts, to ſcour the Woods; and as the *Engliſh* had no Reaſon to be content with the Succeſs of the War, ſo they were well pleaſed at the Sight of a Flag of Truce, with which the *Indians* came to *Wells*, and a Ceſſation of Arms till the *May* following was agreed on by Commiſſioners on both Sides.

The Time of the Ceſſation of Arms with the *Indians* was ſcarce expired, but the Savages, inſtead of coming as they had engaged, to reſtore the Captives, and turn the Truce into a Peace, began to commit new Hoſtilities, and killed ſeveral *Engliſh* at *Berwick*, *Exeter*, and *Cape Nidduck*. To prevent further Miſchief, Capt. *March*, Capt. *King*, Capt. *Sherburn*, and Capt. *Waters*, with four hundred Men, landed at *Macquoit*, and marched to *Speaky*; but theſe Forces not meeting the Enemy, grew ſecure, and ſtraggled out in Parties, which the *Indians* obſerving, gathered in a Body, attacked them and drove them

them to their Ships, with the Loſs of Capt. *Sherburn* and ſeveral Men, who could not get aboard in Time. They killed ſeven Perſons at *Berwick*, twenty-one at *Sandy-Bear*, a Family at *Rowly*, another at *Haverhill*, both in *Eſſex* County. Thus we find them drawing Southward, and extending themſelves into the *Maſſachuſets*, which they had not done before. The Garriſon of *Cape Nidduck* was ſo thinned by Draughts from it, that the Remainder thought fit to deſert it, though a ſtrong Fort. A Party of Popiſh *Indians* aſſaulted the Town of *York*, killed fifty *Engliſh*, and drove away one hundred into Slavery, and the reſt fortified themſelves; and though they were but a Handful, yet the Savages, who were ſeveral Hundreds, durſt not attack them. Here Mr. *Shubaal Dunner*, the Miniſter, was ſhot at his own Door, to the great Joy of the *French* Papiſts. A Ship was immediately diſpatched to *Sagadohook*, with a Commiſſion, and Effects to redeem the Captives, and thoſe Men who remained in the Town were now thinking of abandoning it.

Major *Hutchinſon* was in *June* 1692 ſent with a ſtrong Party under Capt. *Convers*, Capt. *Floyd*, and Capt. *Thaxter*, to aſſiſt them, and other *Engliſhmen* on the Frontiers. Capt. *Convers* was poſted at *Wells* with only fifteen Men in the ſlight Fort there, and fifteen more in two Sloops in the River to be aſſiſting to the others upon Occaſion. Againſt him came no leſs than four *Indian* Kings, *Modenkawando*, *Moxus*, *Edgerement*, *Warumbo*, and ſtill two greater Men, Monſieur *Labrocree* and Monſieur *Barniff*, with ſome *French* Soldiers, and five hundred *Hurons*. *Moxus* had not long before attacked *Wells* with two hundred *Indians*, and had been repulſed by Capt. *Convers*, who had not a Quarter of that Number of Men with him, which *Modenkawando* hearing, he ſaid, my Brother *Moxus* has miſſed it now, but I will go myſelf the next Year, and have the Dog *Convers* out of his Hole. But he was miſtaken, for the *Engliſhmen* in the Fort, and Chiefs in the Sloops, behaved ſo gallantly, following the Example of their brave Commander *Convers*, that after ſeveral fruitleſs Attempts of the *Indians* and *French* to maſter them by Land and by Water, Monſieur *Barniff*, and the four *Indian* confederate Princes, were obliged to retire. But Monſieur *Labrocree* did not live to bear the Reproach of ſo ſcandalous a Retreat, being killed in the firſt of it. The Enemy happened here to take one *John Diamond* Priſoner, whom they uſed ſo barbarouſly, that it would occaſion too much Horror in the Reader to relate it.

Things continued, however, in this Situation, till Sir *William Phipps* came over in Quality of Governor of *New England*, who immediately began to think of erecting a new Fort at *Pemmaquid*, to cover the Frontiers, which he compleated in ſix Month's Time, though it was one of the ſtrongeſt Places in *America*; but the Expence which this occaſioned, made the People uneaſy; who, it ſeems, never forgave the raiſing of the Money it coſt, though they could not but be ſenſible, that it was entirely laid out for their Safety: But it ſeems in *New* as well as *Old England*, and indeed in all other Countries, it is a much eaſier Thing to ſerve a Society, than to make that Society ſenſible of one's Service. In the preſent Caſe one might have expected Things ſhould have taken another Turn, ſince by the Care Sir *William Phipps* took, the Frontiers of the Plantation were better ſecured than in Times paſt, and the *Indians* more than once defeated in general Engagements; if the Diſputes of between two and three hundred Men of a Side may be called ſo, and I ſee no Reaſon why they ſhould not, if we conſider that the Conſequences of theſe Engagements were of the ſame Importance to both Nations as if they had been fought by thouſands; and I conceive, that it is the Importance of a War, and not the Number of Men employed in it, that renders it worthy of Notice.

Theſe Succeſſes, the building the Forts in the Eaſt, and the augmenting the Forces there, inclined the Savages to think in earneſt of Peace, eſpecially upon hearing the *Macquas* threatened to fall upon them, for killing ſome of their Squas or Princeſſes on *Whortle-bury Plain*. The *Indian* Sachems had a *French* Embaſſador at their Courts, who was a Friar, to ſtir them up againſt the *Engliſh*, and keep them in Heart. This Prieſt did his utmoſt to perſuade them to continue the War. But the *French* not aſſiſting them with Men, Arms, and Ammunition, as they promiſed, the Friar could not hinder them from begging a Peace, which was concluded at *Fort Pammaquid*, by thirteen Segamores and the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners, who ſet their Names to the Inſtrument, *Auguſt* 11, 1693. By this Treaty the *Indians* renounced their Allegiance with the *French*, owned themſelves Subjects to the Crown of *England*, confirmed the *Engliſh* in the Poſſeſſion of all the Lands they had acquired, and ſubmitted the Regulation of their Trade to the next general Aſſembly, which gave great Satisfaction to the People of *New England*; the rather, becauſe hitherto the *Indians* had very honeſtly kept their Treaties, but it was not long before it appeared that their new ſpiritual Guides the *French* had taught them other Principles.

4. It was not above a Year before the Jeſuits excited their new Converts to break this Peace concluded with Heretics; it is true, there was then a War with *France*, ſo that as Stateſmen and Politicians the Jeſuits may be juſtified, but then they muſt lay aſide all Pretences to Chriſtianity; for it is certain, there is nothing in our Religion that countenances a Behaviour of this Kind, and therefore we may ſafely ſay, that all their Labours tended to make theſe poor People rather Tools to *France* than Chriſtians. The firſt breaking out of the new War, which happened in the Spring of 1694, was without any previous Declaration, or even Complaint that the Terms had not been kept on the Side of the *Engliſh*, nor indeed was this ever ſo much as pretended. A Body of *Indians* and *French* fell ſuddenly on *Oyſter River Town*, and ſeized near one hundred Perſons, twenty of which were of the Trained-Bands. One *Blachford* courageouſly defended his Houſe againſt them, who deſpairing to reduce him before Succours came, left him, and going to Mrs. *Cuts*'s Farm near *Piſcataway*, they murdered her and her Family. They made an Incurſion into *Middleſex* County, and aſſaulted *Groton*, but were bravely repulſed by Lieutenant *Lukin*, upon which they fell to plundering the Plantations thereabouts, killed twenty Priſoners, and carried twenty more into Captivity. They killed one of the Children of Mr. *Greſham Hobert*, the Miniſter, and carried off another with them; they murdered three Perſons at work near *Spruce-Creek* and eight more at *Kittery*, where they barbarouſly uſed a Daughter of Mr. *Downing*. The Savages ſcalped this young Woman and left her for dead, but ſhe recovered, and was living twenty Years after. Mr. *Joſeph Pike*, of *Newbury*, Under-Sheriff of *Eſſex*, was murdered by them, between *Ameſbury* and *Haverhill* in that County.

To balance theſe Loſſes the *Engliſh* ſeized *Bommaſeen*, a famous Segamore, one of thoſe that ſigned the laſt Treaty. He pretended to be juſt come from *Canada*, and that he came on Purpoſe to put an End to theſe Hoſtilities. But it being proved, that he was a principal Actor in the late Murders, he was ſent Priſoner to *Boſton*. The taking of *Bommaſeen* ſtunned the *Indians* a little, and they were quiet for ſix or ſeven Months. At laſt a Fleet of Canoes came to an Iſland a League from *Pemmaquid*, and ſent Propoſals of Peace to the Garriſon. They owned their Guilt in breaking the laſt Articles, but threw the Blame of it on the *French*. As a Proof of their Sincerity now they delivered up eight Captives, when they had above one hundred ſtill in Captivity. However, a Truce was granted for thirty Days, and Colonel *Philips*, the gallant Major *Convers*, and Lieutenant Colonel *Howthorn*, were appointed Commiſſioners, to treat with them on the Part of the *Indians*; but becauſe they brought not *Bommaſeen* with them, whoſe Releaſement was all they wanted, the *Indian* Commiſſioners broke off the Conference, and went away in diſguſt. They had left the *Engliſh* Planters in their Captivity contrary to their Promiſe to releaſe them as a Preliminary, which was a plain Indication they were not in earneſt. Advice was ſent immediately to all the *Engliſh* Garriſons in the Eaſt to be upon their Guard: Notwithſtanding which, Major *Hammond*, of *Kittery*, fell into an Ambuſcade, and was taken Priſoner;

ſoner; but having the good Fortune to be tranſported to *Canada*, he was very civilly treated by Count *Frontenac*, who bought him of his *Indian* Maſter, and ſent him to *Boſton* by a Veſſel that came to *Quebec* for exchange of Priſoners. In *Auguſt* a Party of *Indians* came down to *Bellerica* on Horſeback; this was pretty far within the *Maſſachuſets*. They killed and took fifteen Perſons, and plundered Mr. *Rogers*'s Houſe. This was the firſt Time the *Indians* ever made uſe of Horſes. They took nine People out of *Newbury* in *Eſſex*, and being cloſely purſued by Captain *Greenleaf*, a valiant and diligent Officer, they ſo wounded them when they found they could not keep them, that they all died except one Lad, which was a ſignal Proof of their Barbarity.

Captain *March*, Governor of *Pemmaquid Fort*, deſiring to lay down his Commiſſion towards the latter End of the Year, he was ſucceeded in it by Captain *Chub*. He ſhewed the Baſeneſs of his Spirit, as well as the Weakneſs of his Underſtanding, in one of his firſt Exploits, after he had the Command of this Garriſon, by murdering *Edgeremet* and *Abenquid*, and two other principal Segamores, who had ſigned the laſt Treaty, and came to him on Aſſurance of Security, to confer about a new one. In *Auguſt* the *French* landed ſome Soldiers out of a Man of War, the *Newport*, which they had taken from the *Engliſh*, to aſſiſt the *Indians* in his Neighbourhood.

This News ſo frightened the Traitor *Chub*, that he ſurrendered the new and ſtrong Fort of *Pemmaquid*, without the firing one Gun, within or without, though he had near one hundred Men in it double-armed. The ſurprizing News of this Loſs cauſed a mighty Conſternation at *Boſton*, and all over *New England*. Governor *Stoughton*, and the Council, immediately ordered three Men of War in purſuit of the *French*, though it was not probable that theſe Ships could be fitted for that Service time enough to come up with the Enemy, who having done their Buſineſs at *Pemmaquid* better than they could hope for, were gone far enough out of the reach of the *Engliſh*. Colonel *Gedney* marched with five hundred Men to the Eaſt, but the *Indians* were gone home, and he could do nothing but ſtrengthen the Garriſons there. The Savages, before their Retreat, killed five Soldiers belonging to *Saco Fort*, who muſt not be with their Garriſon. And one may obſerve, that the greateſt Miſchief the *Indians* do, is by theſe Ambuſhes and Surprizes, which, conſidering how they were almoſt intermixed with them, it is ſtrange they ſhould not be aware of, and guard againſt; for the Country muſt by this Time, and this Means, be, in a Manner, as well known to them as to the Savages. Colonel *Gedney* arreſted *Chub*, and brought him to *Boſton*; but nothing treaſonable being proved againſt him, the Government only took away his Commiſſion, and ſent him thence to his Houſe at *Andover*, in *Eſſex County*.

Some Time after this the *Indians* entered *Haverhill*, and carried off thirty Captives, one of which was *Hannah Dunſtan*, a Woman of a maſculine Spirit. She had lain in not above a Week, yet ſhe and her Nurſe walked one hundred and fifty Miles on Foot, to the Town where the *Indian* ſhe was to ſerve lived. This Woman being afterwards to travel with her Maſter and his Family to a Rendezvous of the Army of the Savages, where, according to the diabolical Cuſtom of them, ſhe, her Nurſe, and other *Engliſh* Priſoners, where to run the Gantlet; *Hannah* watched her Opportunity in the Night, and having animated her Nurſe, and an *Engliſh* Boy who was with her, they three killed ten of the *Indians* with their own Weapons, and made their Eſcapes; for which Action they received a Reward of fifty Pound from the General Aſſembly, and Preſents from particular Perſons to a good Value. The *Indians* continuing their Inroads killed a Man at *York*, another at *Hatfield*, a third at *Groton*, and a fourth at *Exeter*; which ſhews us that the *New England* People were in conſtant Danger, and harraſſed on every Side. The *Indians* grew every Day more barbarous and more implacable, as having the Intrigues of the *Jeſuits* added to their own Fierceneſs and Thirſt of Blood.

They ſurprized and ſhot Major *Froſt*, and his two Sons, at *Berwick*, as they were coming from Church one *Sunday*, and going to his own Houſe about five Miles off. Two Men that rid Poſt to carry this unwelcome News to the Governor of *Wells*, fell into an Ambuſcade as they were returning, and were killed, as were three Men near *Nechawannic*, and a dreadful Deſolation threatened the whole Province; certainly more for want of Management than of Power. The Savages roaſted a Man to Death a Mile and a half from *Wells*. Three Soldiers, at *Saco Fort*, as they were cutting Fire-wood for the Fort at *Caco Iſland*, were ſhot dead, while Lieutenant *Fletcher*, with his two Sons, who were appointed for their Guard, were a fowling in the Woods: But the Lieutenant and his Sons paid dearly for their Negligence, for they fell into an Ambuſcade as they returned, and were all three taken Priſoners. The Father, and one of his Sons, died in Captivity, and the other made his Eſcape.

In the Beginning of 1697 the Government of *New England* was alarmed with Advice that the *French* in *Canada* intended to make a Deſcent there; that a Squadron of Men of War was come from *France* to ſupport the Army of the *Indians* and *French*, that was to attack the *Engliſh* by Land. The Lieutenant-Governor and Council prepared for a vigorous Defence; the Forts about *Boſton* were repaired; the Militia throughout the whole Province were raiſed and well diſciplined. Major *March* was ordered to the Eaſt, with five hundred, to ſcour the Woods; the *Indians*, who were gathering together about *Caſco Bay*, retired as he approached them; but the Major having put his Men aboard ſome Ships, ſailed up among the Eaſtern Iſlands, and landed on the Banks of *Damaſcatos River*; a very prudent Meaſure, for he could not have overtaken the *Indians* by Land, before they had been got into their Faſtneſſes. The *Indians* ſeeing this, fell upon his Men as they were getting aſhore, but could not hinder their Landing; upon which a ſharp Engagement enſued, and the *Engliſh* drove the Enemy to their Canoes, a Fleet of which was in the River to receive them. The *Engliſh* had about twelve Men killed, and as many wounded; the Enemies Loſs was much greater; but the main Advantage to the *Engliſh* was, preventing the *Indians* joining the *French*, who were approaching with the Ships of War and Tranſports for a Deſcent; but hearing of the Rout of their Confederates, they made the beſt of their Way home to *Europe*, with the *French* Troops on board, to their no ſmall Diſcredit.

A Party of Savages made an Incurſion into *Middleſex*, and plundered *Lancaſter*, killing twenty Men, among whom was the Reverend Mr. *John Whiting*, the Miniſter, and carried five into Captivity. A Month after they killed a poor Man in the Woods, near *Oyſter River*. In the Beginning of the next Year they made a D[illegible] upon *Andover*, and killed Captain *Chub* and his Family. They alſo killed Colonel *Dudley Bradſtreet*, took his whole Family, and were carrying them off; but being cloſely purſued, they releaſed them without doing them any Miſchief. The Savages were now in Motion to the Weſtward, and killed a Man and a Boy in the Meadows near *Hatfield*. They were purſued by a Party of *Engliſh* from *Deerfield*, of which one was killed by the *Indians*, who, after that, ran to the Woods. They had attempted *Deerfield* on *Connecticut River*, but were beaten off by the Inhabitants, headed by their Miniſter, Mr. *John Williams*. Theſe ſmall Actions ſeemed to preſage the End of this War, of which the Savages were as weary as the *Engliſh*, and had no Proſpect of making any thing of it againſt a People ſo much ſuperior to them in Numbers, Arms and Stores; but they ended it with the better Grace, by Means of the Peace of *Ryſwick*, between *England* and *France*. Upon which Count *Frontenac* ſent to the Sachem of the *Hurons*, and told them he was no longer to ſupport them in their War againſt the *Engliſh*, and adviſed them to make the beſt Terms they could for themſelves.

The Earl of *Bellamont* was by this Time arrived at *New York*, and a Treaty of Peace with the *Indians* being ſet on Foot, he diſpatched Major *Convers*, and Colonel *Philips*, to confer with the *Indian* Sachems at *Penobſcot*. They began the Conferences *October* the 6th, in which the Sachems excuſed themſelves for breaking the Peace, ſaying, The Jeſuits would not let them alone till they had done it; and if the Earl of *Bellamont*, and Count *Frontenac*, would not baniſh theſe Devils, they could not promiſe the next Peace would laſt long. Major *Convers*, and Colonel *Philips*, concluded it with them on the Foot with the laſt Treaty; to which they added a more formal Submiſſion to the Sovereignty of the Crown of *England*; wherein, after acknowledging themſelves guilty of breaking the laſt Peace, and in not fulfilling their Engagements entered into thereby, while they enjoyed the Benefit of it, which they charge upon the evil Councils and Inſtigations of the *French*, they proceed thus:

"Wherefore we, whoſe Names are hereunto ſubſcribed, Segamores, Captains, and principal Men of the *Indians*, belonging to the Rivers of *Kennebeck*, *Amonoſcoggin*, *Saco*, and Parts adjacent, being ſenſible of our great Offence and Folly, in not complying with the aforeſaid Submiſſion and Agreement, and alſo of the Sufferings and Miſchiefs that we have hereby expoſed ourſelves unto; do, in all humble and ſubmiſſive Manner, caſt ourſelves upon his Majeſty's Mercy, for the Pardon of all our Rebellions and Violations of our Promiſes; praying to be received into his Majeſty's Grace and Protection; and for, and in Behalf of ourſelves, and of all the other *Indians* belonging to the ſeveral Rivers and Places aforeſaid, within the Sovereignty of his Majeſty of *Great-Britain*, do again acknowledge and profeſs our hearty and ſincere Obedience to the Crown of *England*; and do ſolemnly renew, ratify, and confirm, all, and every the Articles and Agreements contained in the aforeſaid recited Submiſſion; and in Teſtimony hereof, we, the ſaid Segamores, Captains, and principal Men, have hereunto ſet our Hands and Seals, at *Caſco Bay*, near *Mares Point*, the 7th Day of *January*, in the tenth Year of the Reign of his Majeſty King *William* III. *A. D.* 1698-9. Subſcribed by *Moxus*, and the reſt of the Segamores and petty Princes."

Thus ended, to the mutual Satisfaction of both Parties, the *Indian* War, with reſpect to which the *French* Writers have undoubtedly given a very falſe Account, and a ſtill more falſe Account of the Peace; for they ſay poſitively that the *Indians* inſiſted upon it, that they were not ſubject to the Crown of *Great-Britain*; that they declared againſt their occupying any of their Lands; and that they openly profeſſed they were, and would be, Friends to the *French*; every Tittle of which, as is manifeſt by their Inſtrument above recited, and cited for that Purpoſe, appears to be a direct Falſhood; but in one thing I believe the *French* Writers ſpeak Truth, which is, with regard to the Policy of the *Indians*, who made uſe of the Small-Pox for a Pretence to quit the *Engliſh* Army in its March to attack the *French* Colony of *Canada* by Land, from a Foreſight that if this Expedition had been attended with Succeſs, the *French* muſt have abandoned their Country, and they were unwilling to be left wholly at the Mercy of the *Engliſh*.

Many of our Authors, indeed, repreſent the *Indians* as not capable of ſo great a Stroke in Politics, but I have ſeen Papers of Governor *Dudley*, and *William Penn*, who were very well acquainted with them, that ſeem to countenance this Opinion; for they ſay, they have ſtrong natural Parts, underſtand their own Intereſt thoroughly, and do every thing with great Deliberation. It is indeed certain, that they are wedded to their own Sentiments, and to their own Manner of living, and therefore we muſt refer their Politics to their Maxims, and not pretend to judge of them by our own, with which they have not the leaſt Affinity or Connection.

5. We have, in the Courſe of this Work, given ſo full and clear an Account of the Manner in which all our Colonies were ſettled, and of the Motives upon which different Sorts of People reſorted to them, that the Reader cannot be ſurprized at hearing their religious Affairs were in a very indifferent Situation, when in reſpect to temporal Concerns their Condition was moſt flouriſhing. Several worthy Perſons, in the Reign of King *Charles* II. had uſed their Endeavours to correct this Evil, but their pious Deſires did not meet with proportionable Succeſs, which, however, was far from diſcouraging others from following their Example; but though they were ſomewhat more fortunate, chiefly from the Aſſiſtance given them by the pious Queen *Mary*, whoſe Character for Religion and Virtue will live as long as there is either Religion or Virtue in the World, yet it was at laſt found that nothing could be effectually done, unleſs the Encouragers of this noble Deſign of ſpreading the Chriſtian Faith through the *Britiſh* Dominions in *America*, were incorporated by Charter, the Neceſſity and Expediency of which Dr. *Thomas Teniſon*, then Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, undertook to repreſent to King *William* III. and upon his Repreſentation a Charter was obtained, dated the 16th of *June*, in the 13th Year of his Reign, by which ſeveral Perſons, equally diſtinguiſhed by their Titles and Virtues, were incorporated for that Purpoſe, under the moſt honourable of all Names, *The Society for the Propagation of the* GOSPEL *in foreign Parts*.

This truly, ſays the Author of the Hiſtory of this Society, Dr. *Humphreys*, was an Action ſuitable to Archbiſhop *Teniſon*'s public Spirit and honeſt Zeal for the Proteſtant Religion, and exceedingly becoming his high Station and Authority in the Church. The *American* Colonies, ſure, can never, without the greateſt Veneration and Gratitude, remember him, when they ſhall, many Ages hereafter, feel the happy Effects of having the Chriſtian Religion planted among them; and reflect how hearty and forward Archbiſhop *Teniſon* appeared to obtain that Charter, which gave Life and Authority to ſo glorious an Undertaking: Nay, that his Zeal and Spirit did not reſt here, he continued to promote and guide, by his wiſe Councils, the Affairs of the Society; he paid them an annual Bounty of fifty Pounds, during his Life, and at his Death bequeathed them a thouſand Pounds, towards the Maintenance of the firſt Biſhop that ſhould be ſettled in *America*. A Charter being thus obtained, the next Endeavour was to carry their laudable Deſign into Execution; accordingly his Grace the Archbiſhop, as impowered by the Charter, cauſed Summons to be iſſued for the Members of the Corporation, to meet within the Time limited; and ſeveral met at the Place appointed, on the 27th of *June* 1701, and choſe proper Officers for tranſacting the Buſineſs. At following Meetings they made divers Rules and Orders for their more regular Proceedings in the Adminiſtrations of their Truſt, and ſubſcribed, among themſelves, near two hundred Pounds; for defraying the Charges of paſſing the Charter, making the common Seal, and other neceſſary Expences; they alſo ordered five hundred Copies of the Charter to be printed forthwith, and diſtributed amongſt the Members, to be ſhewed by them to all proper Perſons, the farther to notify the Deſign they were engaged in, and to invite more Perſons of Ability and Piety to aſſiſt in carrying it on.

This Step was but an Opening of the Matter to the Public; the Society were diligent to conſider of farther and more effectual Ways and Means to obtain Subſcriptions and Contributions ſufficient to enable them to maintain the Expence of ſending many Miſſionaries abroad. They immediately agreed that the beſt Argument to Mankind was Example, and the moſt effectual Means to engage others to contribute, was to lead the Way themſelves, by ſubſcribing towards the Support of the Work. Accordingly Archbiſhop *Teniſon*, the Preſident, the Vice-Preſidents, all the Biſhops and Members then preſent, did ſubſcribe a yearly Sum to be paid to the Treaſurer of the Society for the public Uſes, according to the Form of Subſcription drawn up for that Purpoſe; having now made this Advance themſelves, they gave out Deputations, under their common Seal, to ſeveral of their Members, and other Perſons of Figure and Intereſt in the Counties of *England* and *Wales*, ſignifying their being conſtituted and appointed by the Corporation to take Subſcriptions, and to receive all Sums of Money which ſhould be ſubſcribed or advanced for the Purpoſes mentioned in the Charter; and here it is to be gratefully acknowledged, that ſeveral worthy Perſons did, with a public Spirit, take theſe Deputations to help on with a Work ſo truly for the national Intereſt, and the Honour of common chriſtianity; and did, by their Example and

Inſtances, ſo influence ſeveral well diſpoſed Perſons, that conſiderable Remittances of Benefactions to the Corporation were ſoon made, which enabled them to enter on the Work with Succeſs. There were likewiſe ſeveral conſiderable Sums of Money ſent in to the Society by Perſons who deſired to conceal their Names; and the ſame Spirit and Ardour has continued; neither has the Society wanted the Encouragement and Protection of the Succeſſors of their Royal Founder, particularly his late Majeſty King *George* I. and the Society have ſtill increaſing Views of Succeſs through the Favour of his Majeſty now reigning, from his known Zeal for the Proteſtant Religion, and Royal Care for the Colonies, ſo conſiderable a Branch of the *Britiſh* Monarchy.

It is a Thing that will certainly excite Wonder in the Minds of all calm and conſiderate People, let their religious Sentiments or Perſuaſions be what they will; that this Society, with ſcarce any ſettled Fund, ſhould be able to maintain, for between forty and fifty Years, ſo extenſive a Scheme as that of their Charter, which tends to correct almoſt all the Errors and Miſtakes that have hitherto happened in the Management of our Colonies; for by their prudent and pious Care, great Check has been given to Atheiſm and Irreligion, a Thing of great Conſequence in our Settlements, conſidered in a political, as well as Chriſtian Light; for without it there is no reſtraining the *Indian* Traders from being guilty of ſuch Immoralities, as render us deſpicable in the Eyes of the Heathen *Indians*; which, as may be eaſily conceived, muſt tend vaſtly to our Diſadvantage, more eſpecially, if at the ſame Time we reflect on the Management of the *French* in this Particular, who are very careful in their Endeavours to convert the *Indians*, and keep up a great outward Appearance of Zeal for Religion, which makes ſtrong Impreſſions on the Minds of the Savages, even though they are not converted, nor have any Inclination to become Papiſts. If by ſuch Methods they ſhould ſo far compaſs their Ends, as to convert many of the *Indians*, and by that Means awe and influence the reſt; it muſt be accompanied with Circumſtances very diſagreeable to the Inhabitants of our Colonies, as from the foregoing Hiſtory of the *Indian* War will appear.

But beſides the many and great Advantages that would reſult from the thorough Eſtabliſhment of the Proteſtant Religion through the Colonies, with regard to the Conduct and Behaviour of the People, and the great Enlargement of Power that would follow in Caſe the Converſion of the *Indians* was undertaken by Practice as well as Preaching, by the Example of the Laymen, as well as the Exhortations of the few Clergy that are ſent thither; there is yet another Point that deſerves as ſerious Regard. The Negroes in the Service of our Planters, are a prodigious Body of People, and as there are but too many juſt Cauſes given for apprehending the Deſtruction of whole Countries from their Plots and Conſpiracies, which have been ſometimes prevented by accidental, or rather providential Diſcoveries, when they were upon the very Point of being executed; ſo it is certain, that if theſe People, or the greateſt Part of them, could be converted, it would not only prove a Means of taking away theſe Apprehenſions, but would alſo add a great Strength to the Colonies, in which they are obliged to make uſe of Negroes; for theſe People would then conceive new Notions of their Condition, and conſider their being Servants to Chriſtians in the Light rather of a Bleſſing than a Calamity; it would not only make them eaſy, but chearful in their Servitude, and by Degrees would be attended with more Advantages than we can foreſee, and yet a very ordinary Degree of Foreſight will not fail to ſhew us a great many. That this is, and muſt be, attended with many Difficulties, will be readily granted, but that it is very far from being impracticable, will appear from what Dr. *Humphreys* tells us has been in this Reſpect already done, and which I take to be as material a Point as any that occurs in the Hiſtory of this Period.

The Negroe Slaves, ſays he, even in theſe Colonies, where the Society ſend Miſſionaries, amount to many thouſands of Perſons of both Sexes, and all Ages, and moſt of them are very capable of receiving Inſtructions; even the grown Perſons, brought from *Guinea*, quickly learn *Engliſh* enough to be underſtood in ordinary Matters; but the Children born of Negroe Parents in the Colonies are bred up entirely in the *Engliſh* Language. The Society looking upon the Inſtruction and Converſion of the Negroes, as a principal Branch of their Care, eſteeming it a great Reproach to the Chriſtian Name, that ſo many thouſands of Perſons ſhould continue in the ſame State of Pagan Darkneſs under a Chriſtian Government, and living in Chriſtian Families, as they lay before under in their own Heathen Countries; the Society, immediately, from their firſt Inſtitution, ſtrove to promote their Converſion, and inſomuch as their Income would not enable them to ſend Numbers of Catechiſts ſufficient to inſtruct the Negroes, yet they reſolved to do their utmoſt, and at leaſt to give this Work the Mark of their higheſt Approbation. They wrote therefore to all their Miſſionaries, that they ſhould uſe their beſt Endeavours, at proper Times, to inſtruct the Negroes; and ſhould eſpecially take occaſion to recommend it zealouſly to the Maſters, to order their Slaves, at convenient Times, to come to them, that they might be inſtructed.

Theſe Directions had a good Effect, and ſome hundreds of Negroes have been inſtructed, received Baptiſm, and been brought to the Communion, and lived very orderly Lives. It is a Matter of Commendation to the Clergy, that they have done thus much in ſo great and difficult a Work. But alas! what is the Inſtruction of a few hundreds in ſeveral Years, with reſpect to the many thouſands uninſtructed, unconverted, living and dying downright Pagans? It muſt be confeſſed, what hath been done is as nothing, with regard to what a true Chriſtian would hope to ſee effected. But the Difficulties the Clergy meet with in this good Work, are exceeding great. The firſt is, the Negroes want Time to receive Inſtructions; ſeveral Maſters allow their Negroes only *Sundays* for Reſt, and then the Miniſter of the Pariſhes are fully employed in other Duties, and cannot attend them. Many Planters, in order to free themſelves from the Trouble and Charge of feeding and cloathing their Slaves, allow them one Day in a Week to clear Ground and plant it, to ſubſiſt themſelves and Families; ſome allow all *Saturday*, ſome half *Saturday* and *Sunday*; others allow only *Sunday*. How can the Negroe attend for Inſtruction, who, on half *Saturday* and *Sunday*, is to provide Food and Raiment for himſelf and Family for the Week following: The Negroe will urge in his own Excuſe, that the Support of himſelf and all that is dear to him, doth abſolutely depend upon this his neceſſary Labour on *Saturday* and *Sunday*; but if this be not ſtrictly juſtifiable, yet it is certain the miſerable Man's Plea will engage the Reader's Compaſſion.

This is the Caſe in ſome Colonies, in others it differs. In ſome Places the Negroes do the whole Labour of the Country in the Field, in others they are uſed only as Houſe Servants. Another Difficulty ariſes from the Habitations and Settlements of the Maſters being at a great Diſtance from each other in moſt Places in the Colonies, for which Reaſon neither can a Miniſter go to many Families, if the Negroes were allowed Time to attend him, nor can a proper Number of them aſſembled together at one Place, without a conſiderable Loſs of Time to their Maſters. But the greateſt Obſtruction is, the Maſters themſelves do not conſider enough the Obligation which lies upon them, to have their Slaves inſtructed. Some have been ſo weak as to argue the Negroes had no Souls, others that they grew worſe by being taught and made Chriſtians. I would not mention theſe, if they were not popular Arguments ſtill, becauſe they have no Foundation in Reaſon or Truth.

After the Society had given the general Order mentioned before to all their Miſſionaries, for the Inſtruction of the Slaves, they agreed to uſe another Method, which they believed would more ſucceſsfully promote this Work. They opened a catechiſing School for the Slaves at *New York*, in the Year 1704, in which City there were computed to be about one thouſand five hundred Negroe and *Indian* Slaves, and many of their Maſters well diſpoſed to have them made Chriſtians. The Society hoped this Example ſet, might kindle a Zeal in ſome other good People, to carry on this Work which they were unable to effect, and to erect Schools for the Inſtruction of the Negroes, and to employ Catechiſts to teach them at appointed Times; and that the Legiſlature of the Colonies would by a Law oblige all Slaves to attend for Inſtruction. The Society found ſoon, it was not eaſy to procure a Perſon proper to be a Catechiſt: Mr. *Elias Neau*, a Laymen, then living in *New York* City as a Trader, was preſented to be the propereſt Perſon for that Office. He was by Nation a *Frenchman*, and made a Confeſſion of the Proteſtant Religion in *France*, for which he had been confined many Years in Priſon, and ſeven Years in the Galleys: When he got releaſed, he went to *New York*, and traded there; and had the Character, from People of all Perſuaſions, of a Man of Piety, of ſober Deportment and ſerious Life. He accepted of the Offer of being Catechiſt; and his former Sufferings on Account of his Religion did, with great Advantage, recommend him to be a Teacher of the Chriſtian Faith, and his Humility enabled him to bear with the many Inconveniencies in teaching theſe poor People.

He entered upon his Office in the Year 1704 with great Diligence. At firſt he was obliged to go from Houſe to Houſe to inſtruct the Negroes; this was out of meaſure laborious; afterwards he got Leave that they ſhould come to his Houſe; this was a conſiderable Relief. There were two Obſtructions ſtill; the Time was much too ſhort, and the Place inconvenient, for teaching the great Number of Negroes; a little Time in the Duſk of the Evening, after hard Labour all Day, was the whole Time allowed them for Learning and for Relaxation, and to viſit their Wives and Children, which were generally in other Families, not in their Maſters. At this Time their Bodies were ſo fatigued that their Attention could not be great. They were dull and ſleepy, and remembered they muſt riſe early the next Day to their Labour; the Place alſo was incommodious, being the uppermoſt Floor of Mr. *Neau*'s Houſe, and was not able to hold conveniently a ſmall Part of the Slaves that might reſort thither. Beſides, the Negroes were much diſcouraged from embracing the Chriſtian Religion, upon account of the very little Regard ſhewed them in any religious Reſpect. Their Marriages were performed by mutual Conſent only, without the Bleſſing of the Church; they were buried by thoſe of their own Country, or Complexion, in the common Field, without any Chriſtian Office, perhaps ſome ridiculous Heathen Rites were performed at the Grave by ſome of their own People. No Notice was given of their being ſick that they might be viſited; on the contrary, frequent Diſcourſes were made in Converſation that they had no Souls, and periſhed as Beaſts.

Mr. *Neau* contended with theſe Difficulties, and notwithſtanding all proved an Inſtrument of bringing many to the Knowledge of the Chriſtian Faith: He took great Pains in reading to them, in making ſhort Collections out of Books on the Catechiſm, and in making an Abſtract of the hiſtorical Part of the Scriptures; ſo that many who could not read, could yet, by Memory, repeat the Hiſtory of the Creation of the World, the Flood, the giving of the Law, the Birth, Miracles, and Crucifixion of our Lord, and the chief Articles, and Doctrines of Chriſtianity. This was a Work of great Pains and Humanity. Mr. *Neau* performed it diligently, diſcourſing familiarly with thoſe poor People, and labouring earneſtly to accommodate his Diſcourſe to their Capacities. His Labours were very ſucceſsful. A conſiderable Number of the Slaves could give a ſufficient Account of the Grounds of their Faith, as ſeveral of the Clergy, who examined them publickly, before they gave them Baptiſm, have acquainted the Society. In the mean Time, while the Society was thinking of farther Ways to advance this Work, a Calamity appeared, which mightily diſcouraged this Country from promoting the Inſtruction of their Slaves.

In the Year 1712 a conſiderable Number of the Negroes of the *Carmantee* and *Pappa* Nations, formed a Plot to deſtroy all the *Engliſh*, in order to obtain their Liberty, and kept their Conſpiracy ſo ſecret that there was no Suſpicion of it, till it came to the very Execution: However, the Blow was, by God's Aſſiſtance, happily defeated. The Plot was this: The Negroes ſet Fire to a Houſe in *York* City, on a *Sunday* Night in *April*, about the going down of the Moon: The Fire alarmed the Town, who from all Parts run to it. The Conſpirators planted themſelves in ſeveral Streets and Lanes leading to the Fire, and ſhot or ſtabbed the People as they were running to it. Some of the wounded eſcaped and acquainted the Government, and preſently by the firing a great Gun from the Fort, the Inhabitants were called under Arms, and prevented from running to the Fire; a Body of Men was ſoon raiſed, which eaſily ſcattered the Negroes; they had killed about eight Perſons, and wounded twelve more. In their Flight ſome of them ſhot themſelves, others their Wives, and then themſelves; ſome abſconded a few Days, and then killed themſelves, for fear of being taken, but a great many were taken, and eighteen ſuffered Death. This wicked Conſpiracy was at firſt apprehended to be general among all the Negroes, and opened the Mouths of many to ſpeak againſt giving the Negroes Inſtruction. Mr. *Neau* durſt hardly appear abroad for ſome Days, his School was blamed, as the main Occaſion of this barbarous Plot. But upon the Trial of the Wretches there were but two of all his School ſo much as charged with the Plot, and only one was a baptized Man; and in the Peoples Heat, upon ſlender Evidence, perhaps, too haſtily condemned; for ſoon after he was acknowledged to be innocent by the common Voice; the other was not baptized. It appeared plain that he was in the Conſpiracy, but guiltleſs of his Maſter's Murder, who was *Hooglands*, an eminent Merchant. Upon full Trial, the guilty Negroes were found to be ſuch as never came to *Neau*'s School; and what is very obſervable, the Perſons whoſe Negroes were found to be moſt guilty, were ſuch as were the declared Opposers of making them Chriſtians: However, a great Jealouſy was now raiſed, and the common Cry was very loud againſt inſtructing the Negroes.

The Common-Council of *New York* City made an Order, forbidding the Negroes to go about the Streets after Sun-ſet without Lanthorns and Candles. This was in effect, forbidding them to go to Mr. *Neau*'s School; for none of them could get Lanthorns, or come to him before Sun-ſet; but ſome Time after, the more ſerious and moderate People abated of this Violence; it appearing to be a Plot of a few only, not a general one of all the Negroes, no Conſequence attended the Action, and the People grew more compoſed. *Robert Hunter*, Eſq; the Governor of the Province, obſerved their Fears were ill-grounded, and that Mr. *Neau*'s Scholars were not the guilty Negroes; and therefore, in order to ſupport the Deſign of inſtructing them, he was pleaſed to viſit his School, attended by the Society's Miſſionaries and ſeveral Perſons of Note, and publickly declared his Approbation of the Deſign; and afterwards, by a Proclamation put out againſt Immoralities and Vice; he recommended to the Clergy of the Country, to exhort their Congregations from the Pulpit, to promote the Inſtruction of the Negroes. This gave new Life again to the Work, and the Negroes frequented Mr. *Neau*'s School as before; ſeveral were inſtructed, and afterwards examined publickly in the Church before the Congregation, by the Reverend Mr. *Veſey*; and gave a very ſatisfactory Account of their Faith, and received Baptiſm.

The Society had Accounts from Time to Time of Mr. *Neau*'s Diligence and Succeſs, particularly one very ample Teſtimonial, ſigned by the Governor (*Robert Hunter*, Eſq;) the Council, the Lord Mayor, and Recorder of *New York*, and the two chief Juſtices, ſetting forth, that Mr. *Neau* had demeaned himſelf in all Things as a good Chriſtian, and a good Subject: That in the Station of Catechiſt he had, to the great Advancement of Religion in general, and the particular Benefit of the Free *Indians*, Negroe Slaves, and other Heathens in thoſe Parts, with indefatigable Zeal and Application, performed that Service three times a Week: And, that they did ſincerely believe, that as a Catechiſt, he did in a very eminent Degree deſerve the Countenance, Favour, and Protection of the Society. The Society were fully ſatisfied with Mr. *Neau*'s Behaviour, and continued to ſend him Numbers of *Catechiſms* and ſmall Tracts of Devotion and Inſtruction, to give among the Slaves and Servants at his Diſcretion. Mr. *Neau* perſevered with the ſame Diligence till the Year 1722, in which he died, much regretted by all who knew his Labours.

The Society have been very careful in carrying on that great and good Work, as far as in their Power lay, ever ſince; and though they have not been ſo ſucceſsful as they could have wiſhed, yet their Diſappointments have not been of a Nature to make them deſpair, and we may reaſonably preſume, that by Degrees, and by a conſtant Perſeverance, they will, in Proceſs of Time, overcome all Difficulties.

6. After the Acceſſion of Queen *Anne* to the Crown, and this Nation's engaging in another general War againſt *France*, it was thought a thing of very great Conſequence to ſecure the five *Indian* Nations bordering upon *New England* and *New York*; and therefore, inſtead of waiting for an Application from the Society, an Order was directed to them from the Privy Council upon this Subject; and they were directed to ſend over Miſſionaries without delay, with a Promiſe that they ſhould be properly ſupported; and this in Terms that very plainly ſhewed the Government looked upon it as a Matter that did not only regard the Church, but the State. The Society, upon this, ſent over, very ſoon after, one Mr. *Moor*, and intended to have ſent over other Miſſionaries if his Endeavours had met with any Succeſs. The Scheme was very wiſe and very good, yet it did not anſwer in the Execution, for want, as I conceive, of proper Expence about it. In a national Concern like this, Money ſhould not have been ſpared, and great Care ought to have been taken in Preparations before any thing had been hazarded in the Execution; ſo that a Number of Miſſionaries ſhould have entered the *Indian* Countries at once, ſome or other of which would certainly have fallen upon the right Way of gaining the Affection of theſe People, which it ſeems was not the good Fortune of Mr. *Moor*; who arriving at *New York* in 1704, was very well received by Lord *Cornbury*, who was then Governor of that Colony, and who alſo gave him all the Aſſiſtance he could deſire in his Miſſion; but the *Mohocks*, to whom he addreſſed himſelf, did not treat him as he expected; for at firſt they ſeemed to expreſs very great Satisfaction at his Arrival, and to be extremely well pleaſed with his Concern for their Salvation; but they trifled with him afterwards, and at laſt gave him plainly to underſtand, that his coming amongſt them would be to little Purpoſe; for under Pretence that Religion was a public Concern, in which all their Families and little Clans had an equal Concern, ſo that he could not be received by any without the common Conſent, they put him off from Time to Time, and would have put him off for ever, if, after a Years waiting, he had not returned to *New York*; where he embarked on board a Ship for *England*, but was unhappily loſt in his Paſſage.

Thus was the Attempt fruſtrated; but the Society received Accounts that this ill Succeſs was owing not only to the Averſion of the *Indians* to Chriſtianity, but was very much occaſioned by the Artifices of the *French* Jeſuits, who induſtriouſly obſtructed the Labours of the *Engliſh* Miſſionaries among them, and left no Means untried to ſeduce them from their Fidelity to the Crown of *England*, and keep them in a continual War with the *Engliſh*. And indeed all the Evils that the *Engliſh* Colonies have undergone during the laſt War, have been occaſioned by the *Indians*, that is, thoſe *Indians* which the Jeſuits have by their Artifices corrupted; for among the five Nations there is a great Number of *French* Jeſuits, who are incorporated, by Adoption, into their Tribes, and as ſuch they oſtentatiouſly aſſume *Iroquois*, Names; and the Chief of the poor ſilly *Indians*, conſidering them as Perſons of their own Blood, do intirely confide in them, and admit them into their Councils, from whence one may eaſily imagine what Diſorders the Jeſuits make in their Affairs. Beſides, the *Indians* bordering on *New England* are the moſt cruel and barbarous of all the Savage Nations, and have deſtroyed all their innocent Neighbours. They are always unfixed, either rambling for ſeveral Months together, or hunting, or upon warlike Expeditions, and at their Return to their Villages, have generally forgot all their former Inſtructions, and it is impoſſible for any Miniſter to accompany them in their Rambles of three or four hundred Leagues at a Time. After this good Endeavour was defeated, the *Indians* remained without Inſtruction, except that ſome few were taught by the *Dutch* Miniſter at *Albany*. But the Year 1709 produced an Event, which the Society hoped might have had very happy Conſequences, and fixed Chriſtianity among the *Iroquois*. Four Sachems, or four chief Perſons of four Nations of the *Iroquois*, came in the Nature of Embaſſadors to *England*, confirming the Peace made with the Governor of *New York*, and requeſting her Majeſty would be pleaſed to direct that their Subjects might be inſtructed in Chriſtianity, and Miniſters might be ſent to reſide amongſt them.

The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* received thereupon, the following Letter from the Earl of *Sunderland*, then one of her Majeſty's principal Secretaries of State.

" My Lord, *Whitehall April* 20, 1710.

" The incloſed being a Copy of what has been given
" to the Queen, by the Embaſſadors lately arrived from
" the five *Indian* Nations; I am order'd by her Majeſty
" to tranſmit it to your Grace, and to ſignify to you her
" Pleaſure, that you lay it before the Society for propa-
" gating Religion, that they may conſider what may be
" the moſt proper Ways of cultivating that good Diſ-
" poſition theſe *Indians* ſeem to be in for receiving the
" Chriſtian Faith, and for ſending thither fit Perſons for
" that Purpoſe, and to report their Opinion without
" Loſs of Time, that the ſame may be laid before her
" Majeſty. *I am*, &c.

Sunderland, &c."

The Archbiſhop was then much indiſpoſed, and confined to his Houſe with the Gout, and therefore ſignified to the Secretary of the Society to call a Committee to meet at *Lambeth*; a Committee met, and it was agreed there, and afterwards by the Society at a general Meeting, that two Miſſionaries ſhould be ſent to the *Mohock* and *Oneydes*'s *Indians*, with a Salary of one hundred and fifty Pounds Sterling each, together with an Interpreter and School-maſter, to teach the young *Indians*; and this Opinion was humbly laid before the Queen; her Majeſty was farther pleaſed to direct that a Fort ſhould be built among the *Mohocks*, at the Government's Expence, with a Chapel and a Manſion-houſe for the Miniſter, for his greater Conveniency and Security, and that the religious Offices might be performed with due Decency; a Fort was ſoon after built one hundred and fifty Feet Square, and garriſoned with twenty Soldiers and an Officer, and a Houſe and Chapel compleated. The reverend Mr. *Andrews* was appointed Miſſionary, and Mr. *Clauſen*, who had been ſeveral Years employed as Interpreter by the Government of *New York*, in Tranſactions with the *Indians*, was received as Interpreter to Mr. *Andrews*, and Mr. *Oliver* made School-maſter. Mr. *Andrews* was particularly directed by the Society, to uſe all poſſible Means to perſuade the *Indians* to let their Children learn *Engliſh*; and the School-maſter was to make it his whole Buſineſs to teach them. The Society was now in good Hopes this Attempt would prove ſucceſsful, ſince her Majeſty was ſo graciouſly pleaſed to provide for the Security of the Miſſionary, by building a Fort juſt by the *Mohock*'s Caſtle, to which the Men and Children might eaſily reſort to be inſtructed; and the Sachems, the chief Perſons of this People, had been in *England*, received many Marks of Royal Favour, had been Eye-witneſſes of the Greatneſs of the Nation, had been nobly entertained here, and carried home to their own Countries ſafely and honourably, and had themſelves alſo deſired their People might be inſtructed in the Chriſtian Faith.

Mr. *Andrews* arrived at *Albany* in *November*, 1712. The Sachems who had been carried home before he went from *England*, were convened by Order of the Governor of *New York*, to meet Mr. *Andrews* and the Commiſſioners for *Indian* Affairs at *Albany*, in order to give a public Authority and Sanction to Mr. *Andrews's* Miſſion, and that the Sachems might receive him their Miniſter with greater Solemnity. The Sachems came to *Albany*, met the Commiſſioners for *Indian* Affairs, and Mr. *Andrews*, the Miſſionary, made a long Speech to the Sachems, reminding them how gracious her Majeſty was in building a Fort, ſending a Miniſter to them; put them in mind how earneſtly they had requeſted it; and ſet forth what Advantages they and their Children would reap by being taught our Religion and Learning. A Letter from the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was delivered to them, and afterwards read to them in *Indian* by Mr. *Clauſen*, the Interpreter of the Province. Some of the Sachems made Speeches, and returned Thanks to the Queen, expreſſed a great Satisfaction in having a Miniſter ſent them, and received Mr. *Andrews* as ſuch, and promiſed him all civil and kind Uſage.

The whole Affair was tranſacted with much Ceremony, the Sachems returned home, Mr. *Andrews* ſtaid ſome time at *Albany* to refreſh himſelf; ſoon after he went up to the Fort, two hundred Miles from *New York*, accompanied by *Robert Livingſton*, Eſq; the Mayor of *Albany*, Capt. *Mathews*, Mr. *Stroopman* of *Schenectady*, the Reverend Mr. *Barclay*, and ſeveral other Gentlemen: He was preſently viſited by a great many *Indians*, Men, Women, and Children, who ſaluted him with abundance of Joy, and bid him welcome to their Country. The Caſtle or chief Town of theſe *Mohocks* is neighbouring to the Queen's Fort, conſiſting of about fifty Wigwams or Houſes: Theſe Wigwams are Huts made of Mats, or Barks of Trees put together with Poles about three or four Yards high. The *Mohocks* Cloathing is a ſhort Cloke, like a Mantle, made of a Blanket, or Bear-ſkin. Their Bed is a Mat, or Skin, laid on the Ground. They paint and greaſe themſelves very much with Bears Fat clarified. They cut the Hair off from one Side of their Heads, and tie up ſome of that on the other Side in Knots, on the Crown, with Feathers. The Men are very ſlothful, the Women very laborious, mere Servants to their Huſbands. They carry all Burthens, fetch the Veniſon home their Huſbands kill (the Men are too lazy to bring it), get in the Wood to burn and dreſs it; carry their Children on their Backs in their Rambles of many hundreds of Miles; hoe the Ground and plant all the *Indian* Corn that is raiſed. The Language of theſe People is very difficult, their Ideas are very few, and their Words therefore not many, but as long as Sentences, expreſſing by a long rumbling Sound what we do in a ſhort Word. There is here no manner of Conveniency of Life for a Miſſionary; for four or five Months in the Year there is ſcarce any ſtirring abroad, by reaſon of the extraordinary Coldneſs of the Weather, and the deep Snows that fall; and in the Summer time, the Flies and Muſketoes are almoſt intolerable, and the Rattleſnakes very dangerous: The neareſt Place of getting any Proviſions is at *Schenectady*, twenty-four Miles diſtant, or from *Albany* forty-four Miles off. The Road to theſe Places is, for the moſt Part, only a ſmall, rough *Indian* Path through vaſt Woods, where riding is very dangerous, by reaſon of the Road being in many Places, ſtopped with fallen Trees, Roots, Stones, and Holes; beſides many ſteep Hills, and dead Swamps or Bogs in the Way; there was nothing deſirable to be ſeen; the Face of the Earth rude and uncultivated, like the wild Inhabitants; no Pleaſure to be found but that of doing good to the miſerable Natives.

Theſe were the Circumſtances of the Place and People, whither Mr. *Andrews* was appointed; and notwithſtanding all theſe Inconveniencies he reſided there, and invited the *Indians* to come to him; many came: He uſed very often to diſcourſe with them, inſtructing them in the chief Articles of Faith, and giving them ſhort general Accounts of our Religion. This was done by the Help of Mr. *Clauſen*, who always attended and interpreted to the *Indians*. Mr. *Clauſen* had been formerly taken Priſoner by the *Indians*, lived long among them, and underſtood their Language ſufficiently. Mr. *Andrews* uſed to draw up ſhort Accounts of the Chriſtian Doctrines, and ſome hiſtorical Parts of the *Bible*; particularly the Creation of the World, and Miracles of the Lord. The Interpreter uſed to read them to the *Indians*, and divine Service uſed to be performed in *Engliſh* to the Soldiers in the Garriſon. The School-maſter, Mr. *Oliver*, opened his School; the *Indians*, at firſt, ſent many of their Children; he began to teach them *Engliſh*; the Parents obſtinately refuſed to have them taught *Engliſh*; all poſſible Endeavours were uſed to perſuade them, they ſtill perſiſted. Mr. *Andrews* ſent this Account to the Society, and rather than quite break with the *Indians*, the School-maſter, and Interpeter, began to teach the Children a little in *Indian*. The Society were forced to comply with the *Indians* Obſtinacy: They procured an Impreſſion of *Hornbooks* and *Primmers* in *Indian*, for the Children, ſent them great Numbers, as alſo Leathern Ink-horns, Pen-knives, a Quantity of Paper of ſeveral ſorts, and ſeveral other little Neceſſaries. The Children were now taught in *Indian*, and were treated with great Kindneſs; no Correction dared to be uſed, for the Parents were ſo fond of their Children, and valued Learning ſo little they thought it not worth gaining, at the leaſt diſpleaſing of their Children.

To engage them farther to learn, Mr. *Andrews* uſed to give the Children who came to School Victuals, and ſome ſmall Utenſils for their Parents. The Children uſed often to come for the ſake of getting Victuals, for the *Indians* are frequently drove to great Extremities on account of their making little or no Proviſion before-hand. The Children had a good natural Capacity, and an Aptneſs for Learning; many of them begun to read, and ſome to write. This Method of giving them Victuals, engaged the Parents to ſend them for ſome time to School. In the mean time Mr. *Andrews* proceeded to inſtruct the grown *Indians* by help of the Interpreter, in ſome of the chief Articles of Faith, and Rules of Life; Divine Service was conſtantly performed on *Sundays* and *Holidays* in *Engliſh* to the Soldiers, and ſuch *Indians* as underſtood any *Engliſh* frequently attended in the Chapel: The Chapel was very decently adorned; Queen *Anne* had given a handſome Furniture for the Communion-Table, the Imperial Arms of *England* painted on Canvas were fixed up in the Chapel. Archbiſhop *Teniſon* gave twelve large *Bibles* very finely bound, for the Uſe of the Chapel, with painted Tables containing the Creed; Lord's Prayer, and Ten Commandments. Mr. *Andrews* was very civil to all the *Indians* who came to hear him; uſed frequently to entertain them at his Houſe, and give them Proviſions home with them when they wanted very much, and that they often did

The Society, ſince they could by no Means prevail with the *Indians* to learn *Engliſh*, neither young nor old, laboured to get ſome good Tranſlations made of Parts of the Scripture, at leaſt, into the *Indian* Language, though exceeding improper to convey a due Idea of the Chriſtian Doctrines; as being willing, by all Methods of Compliance, to gain ſomething upon them: The Society were much aſſiſted in this by Mr. *Freeman*, a very worthy *Calviniſt* Miniſter; he had been five Years Miniſter at *Schenectady*, to a *Dutch* Congregation, and had been employed by the Earl of *Bellamont*, in the Year 1700, to convert the *Indians*. He had a good Knowledge of the Dialect of the *Mohocks* which is underſtood by all the *Iroquois*, who reach near four hundred Miles beyond *Albany*. The Society applied to him for any proper Papers wrote in that Language, which he might have. He acquainted the Society, that he had tranſlated into *Indian*, the Morning and Evening Prayers from our Liturgy, the whole Goſpel of St. *Matthew*, the three firſt Chapters of *Geneſis*, ſeveral Chapters of *Exodus*, ſeveral *Pſalms*, many Portions of the Scripture relating to the Birth, Paſſion, Reſurrection, and Aſcenſion of our Lord; and ſeveral Chapters of the *firſt Epiſtle to the* Corinthians, particularly the fifteenth Chapter, proving the Reſurrection of the Dead. He very frankly gave the Society a Copy of theſe Tranſlations, which were ſent to Mr. *Andrews* for his

Help, and they were a great Help to him. He uſed frequently to read ſome of theſe to the *Indians*, and they could comprehend well enough by his reading. But the Society were deſirous ſome Part of the Scriptures might be printed in *Indian*, and the Copies given to the *Indians*, and they taught at leaſt to read that; accordingly the Morning and Evening Prayer, the Litany, the Church Catechiſm, Family Prayer, and ſeveral Chapters of the *Old* and *New Teſtament* were printed at *New York*. The Copies were ſent to Mr. *Andrews*, and he gave them to ſuch of the *Indians* as knew any Thing of Letters.

He had Hopes now of ſome Succeſs in his Miſſion; ſeveral of the Women and ſome Men began to lead more orderly Lives. They were inſtructed, and retained well in their Memory what the chief Articles of our Faith are, and Rules of Life; a good Number were baptized, and particular Accounts were ſent regularly to the Society. Mr. *Andrews* was willing to try what good he could do in another Nation of the *Indians*; he travelled to the Caſtle of *Onydans*, one hundred Miles diſtant from the *Mohocks*; the Country all the Way was a vaſt Wilderneſs of Wood, and the Road through it was a narrow Path. He was forced to carry all Neceſſaries with him, and at Night to lie upon a Bear's Skin. When he arrived at the Caſtle he was viſited by more than one hundred People, who ſeemed all glad to ſee him; he read ſeveral Papers to them, ſtaid ſome Time with them, and, after Inſtruction, baptized ſeveral, whoſe Names have been tranſmitted to the Society. Mr. *Andrews* afterwards returned to the *Mohocks*, his Place of Reſidence. In a ſhort Time the *Indians* grew weary of Inſtruction: The Men grown would go out in Bodies a hunting for ſeveral Months, and forget all they had been taught; and the young Boys, when they grew up, were taken out by their Fathers to hunt, and ſo loſt all they had got. This roving Life utterly deſtroyed all the Miſſionary's and School-maſter's Labours.

But beſides this Difficulty, and the natural Averſeneſs of the *Indians* to Learning, two Misfortunes happened which created a Jealouſy, and afterwards a Hatred in the *Indians* againſt all the *Engliſh* as well as againſt their Religion. Some Jeſuits, Emiſſaries from *Quebec* among the *Canada Indians*, adjoining to the *Iroquois*, had infuſed into the Minds of thoſe People, that the *Engliſh* did not intend, by building a Fort among the *Iroquois*, to teach them their Religion, but to cut them all off at a proper Juncture; and that a Box had been found accidentally, left by the *Engliſh* when they attempted *Quebec*, containing Papers which diſcovered this Intention of the *Engliſh*. The *Canada Indians* believed this idle Story, and ſpread it among all the *Iroquois*. This ſtirred up ſome Jealouſy, but a farther Misfortune quite ſet the *Indians* againſt the *Engliſh*; ſome of the *Tuſcararo Indians* who had fled from *North Carolina* after the War there with the *Engliſh*, came and ſettled in the Country of the *Onontages*, one of the *Iroquois* Nations bordering on the *Mohocks*. Theſe People being enraged at the *Engliſh*, ſtirred up the *Onontages* againſt them, telling them they had been moſt barbarouſly uſed and drove out of their Country, and the *Engliſh* watched only for an Opportunity to extirpate them too. The other *Indians* were too eaſily perſuaded to believe every Thing the *Tuſcararo Indians* told them; ſo that when any of theſe People came by the *Mohocks* Caſtle, and the Queen's Fort, in their Way to *Albany*, to trade and buy themſelves Neceſſaries, they uſed only to mock at Mr. *Andrews* when he would offer to talk to them about Religion, and when he proffered to go to their Abode they abſolutely forbad him.

In a little Time the old *Mohocks* left off coming to the Chapel to Mr. *Andrews*, and the Children came no more to School. Mr. *Andrews* wrote the Society Word of the ill Succeſs of his Miſſion, though he had ſpared no Pains; that the hopeful Beginnings proved of no Effect at laſt; and that he began to deſpair of converting the *Indians*. The Society found now, from ſeveral Accounts, that the Miſſion among the *Indians* proved fruitleſs; that it was not poſſible to teach them the Chriſtian Religion, before they were in ſome Degree civilized; and they found the following Difficulties did only hinder that. No Way could be found to engage the *Indians* to lead a ſettled Life, to apply themſelves to cultivate the Ground, to build Towns, and to raiſe Cattle; they would ſtill rove through their vaſt Woods many hundreds of Miles, depending for their Subſiſtence upon the Game they could kill. They would eat all Sorts of Carrion, and in ſome long Rambles, when by various Accidents they could get no Game, would kill and eat one another, even their Wives, and that without any Concern or Remorſe. Generally half of a Hord or Nation went out a hunting or a warring upon a neighbouring Nation together, and on thoſe Expeditions forgot all the little they had learned, and at their Return were as mere Savages as ever. They could not be diſſuaded from taking Wives and leaving them at their Pleaſure; this not only hindered Religion from being fixed among them, but was the Cauſe that a great many aged Men and Women periſhed miſerably, as having no one to take any Care of them.

They would, in their Wars, uſe the greateſt Barbarities, and deſtroy all the Priſoners they could take, by ſuch extreme Tortures, it would move too much Horror in the Reader to repeat in this Place. It is true, they were very fond of their Children, but they perverted even ſo good a Principle; they would not oblige them to learn any manual Art, or our Language, but let them live a lazy beſtial Life: Nay ſome of the young Children who have by Chance fallen into the *Engliſh* Hands, and lived in Families, been taught our Language, learnt a decent Behaviour, and known ſomething of Tillage or Handycraft; when they have grown up have run wild again, have thrown off their Cloaths, and choſe rather to ramble naked almoſt in the Woods with their own People, than to live a ſober and ſettled Life. But the greateſt Obſtruction to their being civilized, was their Greedineſs of ſtrong Liquours, eſpecially Rum, and the fatal Effect Drunkenneſs hath upon them. When they drink they will never leave off till they have gone to the greateſt Exceſs, and in this Condition they are moſt wretched Objects. They grow quite mad, burn their own little Huts, murder their Wives and Children, or one another; ſo that their Wives are forced to hide their Guns or Hatchets, and themſelves too, for fear of Miſchief. And if the Men, through this Exceſs, fall into any Sickneſs, they periſh miſerably, as having no Methods of helping themſelves by Phyſic or otherwiſe.

It is, indeed, Matter of great Wonder, that theſe wretched People who have lived joining to the *Engliſh* Settlements ſo many Years, and cannot but obſerve that the *Engliſh*, by Agriculture, raiſe Proviſions out of a ſmall Spot of Ground, to ſupport in Plenty great Numbers of People; whereas they, by their hunting, cannot get a wretched Subſiſtence out of all their Wilderneſſes of ſeveral hundred Leagues in Extent, ſhould ſtill refuſe to till their Ground or learn any manual Art; ſhould ſtill live a brutal Life, inſenſible of Shame or Honour. It is true, the *Engliſh* have taken from them exceeding large Countries, yet this, far from being a Prejudice, would be a vaſt Advantage to them, if they would but learn the *Engliſh* Language, Arts, and Induſtry. They have ſtill an immenſe Extent of Land, Part of which, if duly cultivated, is able to maintain many Millions of People more than there are. It might have been imagined the Sachems, that is, thoſe petty Kings who were in *England* in the late Queen's Time, ſhould have been ſo ſtrongly affected with ſeeing the Grandeur, Pleaſure, and Plenty of this Nation, that when they came to their own Countries, they would have tried to reduce their People to a polite Life; would have employed their whole Power to expel that rude Barbariſm, and introduce Arts, Manners, and Religion; but the contrary happened; they ſunk themſelves into their old brutal Life; and though they had ſeen this great City, when they came to their own Woods they grew all ſavage again.

Mr. *Andrews* wrote ſeveral Accounts more in 1718, that all his Labours proved ineffectual. That the *Indians* would not ſend their Children to School, and no body came to the Chapel; that the four other Nations of the *Iroquois*, as they came by the *Mohocks* Caſtle, inſulted and threatened him; that the Interpreter and School maſter perceived all their Labour was loſt, and that they were frequently in Danger of their Lives if they went out of the Fort. The Society received theſe Accounts with much Diſſatisfaction, as being extremely contrary to what their good Deſires had made them hope. However, they were ſo unwilling to abandon this wretched People to themſelves, that they would not diſmiſs Mr. *Andrews* from his Miſſion, upon his own Repreſentation of his ill Succeſs. They wrote to the Governor of *New York*, *Rober Hunter*, Eſq; acquainted him with the Accounts they had received, and requeſted the Favour of his Excellency to cauſe an Inquiry to be made, whether Mr. *Andrews*'s Labours were ſo fruitleſs among the *Indians*, and ſubmitted to his Judgment to diſmiſs Mr. *Andrews* if they ſhould be ſo found. The Accounts tranſmitted hither were found true upon Examination, and Mr. *Andrews* left that miſerable Race of Men.

We have choſen to give the whole of this remarkable Account together, that the Reader may ſee, and be fully appriſed of the many and great Obſtacles that lie in the Way of our bringing the *Indians* to embrace our Intereſt together with our Religion; but there are ſtill Hopes, that as the Society proceeds in the great Deſign of ſettling a regular Clergy in our Colonies, and thereby influencing the Planters, not only to profeſs, but to ſhew, themſelves Chriſtians; theſe Obſtacles will be leſſened by Degrees, and the *Indians* come to have a better Opinion of our Faith, in the ſame Proportion that they grow better pleaſed with the Juſtice and Regularity of our Behaviour towards them; but in the mean Time what has been related ſhews that this important Taſk has not remained unattempted, and that if it has been in ſome Meaſure interrupted, this Interruption was occaſioned by Accidents unforeſeen, inevitable, and in their Nature hitherto unconquerable.

7. But it is now Time for us to proceed to that great and ſingular Expedition, undertaken in the Queen's Reign, for diſpoſſeſſing the *French* of *Quebec*, and driving them entirely out of *Canada*. This was firſt conceived practicable, and Meaſures taken for putting it in Execution, in the Year 1707, at which Time the Earl of *Sunderland*, then Secretary of State, wrote to the Government of *New England*, to prepare for giving what Aſſiſtance lay in their Power, towards a Deſign of ſuch Importance to, and ſo often recommended by, the People of that Colony; who from the Time Sir *William Phipps* miſcarried in it, were continually wiſhing for an Opportunity to recover their Credit, and to revenge their Loſs upon the *French*, by renewing their Attempts upon *Canada*. The Perſon then intended to command the Land Troops, was General *Maccartney*, and every Thing was ſettled with reſpect to his Voyage, when the fatal Battle of *Almanza*, in *Spain*, made it abſolutely neceſſary to ſend the Troops deſigned for this Service into that Country, to prevent the total Ruin of the late Emperor's, then King *Charles*, Affairs. The Circumſtances of the War in ſucceeding Years hindered the Revival of this Project till the Change of the Miniſtry, and then it was reſolved upon afreſh, as the moſt effectual Means of forcing *France* into a ſpeedy and ſolid Peace.

How it was executed is a very hard Taſk to ſay; but we will make uſe of the Account publiſhed by the Secretary of the Admiralty, who had it in his Power to give the fulleſt and faireſt Relation of this Matter; and if he has not done ſo, we know not where to find a better. He tells us the Queen's Inſtructions to Sir *Hovenden Walker*, Rear Admiral of the White, were dated the 11th Day of *April*, 1711, by which he was ordered to take under his Command, the *Torbay*, a Ship of eighty Guns, the *Edgar*, *Swiftſure*, and *Monmouth*, of ſeventy Guns; and *Dunkirk*, *Sunderland*, *Kingſton*, and *Montague*, of ſixty Guns, with two Bomb Veſſels; as alſo the *Leopard* and *Saphire*, one of fifty and the other of thirty Guns, ſent before to *North America*; with all theſe, except the two laſt, together with the Store-ſhips and Tranſports deſigned on the Expedition, he was, as ſoon as might be, to rendezvous at *Spithead*; and when Mr. *Hill*, General and Commander in chief of the Forces, ſhould be embarked, and the Troops on board, he was, with the firſt Opportunity of the Wind, to proceed to *Boſton* in *New England*, without touching at any Iſland, Country, or Place, if it could poſſibly be avoided; and as he was required to appoint proper Signals and Places for Rendezvous, in caſe of Separation, ſo was he to give ſtrict Orders to the Captains of the Ships under his Command, that if they happened to be ſo ſeparated, they ſhould not inform the Enemy, or any other, on what Deſign they were going.

In his Paſſage to *Boſton*, the chief Town in *New England*, he was, when himſelf and the General ſhould judge it moſt proper, to detach one Ship of War or more to convoy directly to *New York* the Tranſport Ships, in which were laden Artillery, Silks, Cloaths, and Accoutrements, with other Things, for the Uſe of Forces to be raiſed there, as well as in the *Jerſeys* and *Penſylvania*; the ſame to be delivered as the General ſhould direct; and then the Ships of War were to be ordered to return to *Boſton*: But if it ſhould not be judged proper to make ſuch Detachment, the Tranſports were to be ſent to *New York*, under a ſufficient Convoy, when he arrived at *Boſton*; and the ſaid Convoy, to bring there ſuch Neceſſaries and Stores as ſhould be provided for the Squadron and Forces. When he arrived at *New England*, he was to take the *Leopard* and *Saphire* under his Command, and conſider whether it might be neceſſary to make any Addition to the Squadron by the Convoy to the *New England* Maſt Ships or others ſtationed on the Coaſt of *America*, which he was impowered to do; and if the General ſhould, upon adviſing with him, think it practicable to ſend any of the Tranſports with ſome of the new raiſed Troops in *New England*, to garriſon *Annapolis Royal*, lately called *Port Royal*; and to bring from thence the Marines left there, or any Part of them, or the Artillery, or Stores of War, he was to appoint a ſufficient Convoy, with Directions for them to return forthwith to *New England*.

He was, then at *Boſton*, to take under his Care all Tranſport Veſſels, Ketches, Hoys, Boats, and other Neceſſaries provided in *New England*; and as ſoon as the Forces from thence, and thoſe raiſed there, ſhould be on board, he was to ſail with them into the River of *St. Laurence* up to *Quebec*, in order to attack that Place; and being arrived, to make a proper Diſpoſition of the Ships for that Purpoſe, as well of ſuch as might be fit to be employed before the Town, as others; upon conſulting with the General to paſs the Place, and proceed up the River towards the Lake, not only to prevent any Communication with *Quebec*, but to protect the Canoes and Boats with the Forces from *New York*, to which End he was empowered to convert ſome of the ſmall Veſſels ſent from thence to *New England* into Frigates, ſuitable to the Navigation of the upper Part of the River, and to man and arm them accordingly at *New England*, or elſewhere; he was to aſſiſt the General with Veſſels and Boats proper for landing the Forces and embarking them again, but more eſpecially upon his arrival at *Quebec*, or freſh tranſporting them from Place to Place.

He was alſo ordered to ſend to the General ſuch Marine Soldiers as ſhould be on board the Squadron, when he ſhould demand the ſame; which he was to have the Command of while employed on Shore: Beſides which, he was to aid him with ſuch a Number of Seamen, Gunners, Guns, Ammunition, and other Stores from the Ships, as he ſhould demand for the Land Service; which Seamen were to aſſiſt in drawing and mounting the Cannon, or otherwiſe, as ſhould be found neceſſary. He was ſtrictly required to loſe no Time in proceeding to *New England*, and proceeding from thence to the River *St. Laurence*; nor in putting in Execution the Service at *Quebec*; but that on his Part, all Expedition ſhould be uſed in the Reduction of the Place, and of the Country of *Canada*, or *New France*; and in the ſeaſonable Return of the Squadron and Tranſports. Her Majeſty impowered him to direct the Commiſſary of the War Stores to deliver to any Ship or Veſſel, whether of War or otherwiſe, any Proviſions or Liquors under his Care: He was likewiſe to provide any other naval Stores for the Uſe of the Squadron; and in caſe of Succeſs it ſhould be found neceſſary by him and the General to have a naval Force left in the River of *St. Laurence*, he was to appoint ſuch Part of the Squadron to remain there as might be judged proper for taking Care to make ſuitable Proviſion for the Maintenance and Repair of ſuch Ships; and the like Liberty was given as to any of the ſmaller Veſſels, ſuch as Tranſports or otherwiſe, or to make uſe of any of the Enemy's Ships that might be taken, if proper, to bring into *Europe* ſuch Governors, regular Troops, religious Perſons, or others whom the General, by his Inſtructions, was directed to ſend away from *Canada*, with Commiſſaries, Stores, and Proviſions for their Tranſportation.

Theſe Services being directed, he was to take on board the General, if he ſhould think fit to return, and ſuch of the Forces as might not be left in *Canada*, and haſten with the Squadron and Tranſports out of the River; and if the Seaſon of the Year would permit, he was to proceed to, and ſummon and attack *Placentia* in *Newfoundland*, in ſuch manner as General *Hill* ſhould direct; which Service being over, he was to order ſuch Ships of War as did not properly belong to the Squadron under his Command, to return to their ſeveral Stations, directing the Maſters of the Tranſports which he ſhould have no Occaſion for, to go and ſeek Freight either upon the Continent of *America* or in the Iſlands, to eaſe the Public of the farther Charge of them, and for the Benefit of the Trade of *Great-Britain*. Laſtly: It was recommended to him, as it was to the General of the Land Forces, to maintain a conſtant good Underſtanding and Agreement, and on all Occaſions to render each other all neceſſary and requiſite Aſſiſtance; and if any Differences ſhould ariſe between them, upon any Conſtruction of Command, or the Nature of Command in the Service, or otherwiſe howſoever, the Queen was pleaſed to reſerve the Determination of the ſame to herſelf, at their Return to *Great-Britain*, without Prejudice to either of them in ſubmitting to each other for the Good of her Majeſty's Service.

And that he might be ſufficiently informed of her Majeſty's Deſign upon *Canada*, and of the Preparations directed to be made for the carrying it on, to the Governors of *New York* and *Maſſachuſets Bay*, and *New Hants*; as alſo of the additional Inſtructions to the Governors of *New York*, and of thoſe to *Francis Nicholſon*, Eſq; and the ſeveral Governors of the Colonies of *Connecticut*, *Rhode Iſland*, *Providence* Plantation, and *Penſylvania*.

Theſe were the Contents of the Queen's Orders to Sir *Hovenden Walker*, prepared without ſo much as conſulting the then Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, either as to the Fitneſs of the Ships appointed for the Expedition, or the Nature of the Navigation; but on the contrary, the Deſign on which they were bound was rather induſtriouſly hid from them, as may appear by ſome Letters to Sir *Hovenden Walker*, before he ſailed from *Spithead*, by which the Secretary ſeemed to value himſelf very much, that a Deſign of this Nature was kept a Secret from the Admiralty, who, had they been conſulted, would not, I am apt to think, have adviſed the ſending Ships of eighty and ſeventy Guns to *Quebec*, ſince the Navigation up the River of *St. Laurence*, was generally eſteemed to be very dangerous; nor were their Lordſhips permitted to know any thing of this Matter, at leaſt not in Form, until Advice received, that the *French* were equipping a conſiderable Squadron at *Breſt*, which ſome of the Miniſtry might be apprehenſive were deſigned to intercept Sir *Hovenden Walker*, but it was too late to take any proper Meaſures for preventing it, if the Enemy had really had any ſuch Intention. Having thus given a brief Account of what Steps were taken to ſet forth this Squadron, which, ere it returned, put the Nation to a very conſiderable Expence, it remains that we accompany them on the Expedition, and I ſhall give as particular an Account of their Proceedings as the Papers which I have before me, will enable me to do.

Sir *Hovenden Walker* was under Sail with the Ships of War and Tranſports off of *Dunnoſe* on the 29th of *April*, 1711; but coming off of the *Start* the 1ſt of the next Month, a weſterly Wind obliged him to put in at *Plymouth*; being the Length of the *Dead Man* the 4th, he met with the *Kent*, *Eſſex*, and *Plymouth*, which Ships he took with him ſome Leagues into the Sea, and then left them to their former Service of cruizing from the Soundings. The 24th of *June* he arrived at *Nantaſket*, near *Boſton* in *New England*, having then with him five Ships of the third Rate, ſix of the Fourth, one of the Fifth, and two Bomb-Veſſels. But not meeting with that ready Aſſiſtance which was expected from the Government and People of that Country, it was the 30th of *July* before he ſailed from thence, and then he was on his Way to *Quebec*, with the *Britiſh* and *New England* Forces. The 14th of *Auguſt* he got the Length of the *Bird Iſlands* which lie about two hundred and fifty Leagues from *Cape Ann*; and having ſent the *Cheſter*, *Leopard*, and *Saphire*, to cruize between *Placentia* and *Cape Breton*, on the Iſland oppoſite to *Newfoundland*, expected their joining him in his Paſſage to *Quebec*; the former of which Ships had taken and ſent into *Boſton*, before he ſailed thence, a Ship of about one hundred and twenty Tons, with ten Guns, and had ſeventy Men on board, whereof thirty were Soldiers for the Garriſon of *Quebec*.

The *Leoſtoff*, *Feverſham's Enterprize*, and *Tryton's Prize*, all ſmall Veſſels, which were ſtationed at *New York* and *Virginia*, he ordered to join him off of *Cape Breton*, being impowered by her Majeſty's Orders ſo to do, if he ſhould find it neceſſary, and this the rather becauſe they might be of good uſe to him in his proceeding up the River to *Quebec*, which Navigation moſt of the People with whom he had ſpoken repreſented to be very dangerous; and therefore he rightly judged the *Humber* and *Devonſhire*, which mounted eighty Guns each, too big to be ventured thither; for which Reaſon he ſent them home, and ſhifted his Flag on board the *Edgar*, a Ship of ſeventy Guns, General *Hill* removing into the *Windſor*, which carried ten leſs; but ſince he had Information that a Ship of ſixty Guns, and another of thirty, were expected from *France* very ſhortly, he ordered the aforeſaid Ships, *Humber* and *Devonſhire*, to cruize in the Opening of the Bay of *St. Laurence*, until the laſt of *Auguſt*, and then to purſue their Voyage home.

He had very fair Weather until he got into the aforeſaid Bay, when it came changeable, ſometimes thick and foggy, and other while calm and little Winds, and the Navigation appeared to be intricate and hazardous. The 18th of *Auguſt*, when he was off *Gaſpe Bay*, near the Entrance of the River *Canada*, it blew freſh at North-weſt, and leſt the Tranſports ſhould be ſeparated, and blown to Leeward, he anchored in that Bay; where, ſtaying for an Opportunity to proceed up the River, he burnt a *French* Ship which was a fiſhing, not being able to bring her off. The Wind veering weſterly the 20th of *Auguſt*, he had Hopes of gaining his Paſſage; but the next Day Afternoon it proved foggy, and continned ſo all Night and the Day following, with very little Wind till the Afternoon, when there was an extreme thick Fog, and it began to blow hard at Eaſt-ſouth-eaſt, which rendered it impoſſible to ſteer any Courſe with Safety, having neither Sight of Land or Soundings, or Anchorage; he, by the Advice of the Pilots then on board him, both *Engliſh* and *French*, who were the beſt in the Fleet, made the Signal for the Ships to bring to with their Heads Southward, at which Time it was about eight at Night, believing that in that Poſture they ſhould not come near the North Shore, but rather have driven with the Stream in the Mid-channel; but on the contrary, as they lay with their Heads Southwards, and the Wind eaſterly, in two Hours Time he found himſelf on the North Shore among the Rocks and Iſlands, at leaſt fifteen Leagues farther than the Log-line gave, where the whole Fleet had like to have been loſt, the Men of War eſcaping with the utmoſt Difficulty; but eight Tranſport Ships were caſt away, and almoſt nine hundred Officers, Soldiers, and Seamen periſhed.

The *French* Pilot, who, as it was ſaid, had been forty Voyages in this River, and eighteen of them in Command, informed him, that when it happens to be ſo foggy as to prevent the Sight of the Land, it is impoſſible to judge of the Currents, or to ſteer by any Courſe; for he himſelf had loſt two Ships, and been himſelf near the South, inſomuch

ſomuch that it was extremely difficult to procure Men in *France* to proceed on ſo dangerous a Navigation, ſince almoſt every Year they ſuffered Shipwreck. Thus it appeared how things had been miſrepreſented in *Great-Britain*, by thoſe who pretend to aver that Fleets of Ships might ſafely proceed up the River to *Quebec*; and it was demonſtrable that the People of *Boſton* knew not any thing of what they propoſed, when Schemes were laid for ſuch an Expedition. After this unhappy Diſaſter, and when Sir *Hovenden Walker* had plied two Days with very freſh Gales, between the Weſt and the South, to ſave what Men and other things he could, he called a Council of War, and upon enquiring of the Pilots (who had been forced on board the Ships by the Government of *New England*) and duly examining into every Circumſtance, it was judged impracticable for a Fleet to get up to *Quebec*, ſince there were ſo many apparent Dangers, and no Pilots qualified to take the Charge; beſides it was the Opinion of them all, both *Engliſh* and *French*, that had the Squadron been higher up the River, with the hard Gales they met with, all the Ships would have been inevitably loſt. At this Council of War there were, beſides the Rear Admiral, Captain *Joſeph Soames*, Captain *John Mitchel*, Captain *Robert Arris*, Captain *George Walton*, Captain *Henry Gore*, Captain *George Paddon*, Captain *John Cockburn*, and Captain *Auguſtine Rouſe*. The Conſultation being over, the *Saphire* was ſent to *Boſton*, with an Account of the Misfortune, and the *Montague*, to find out the *Humber* and *Devonſhire*, and to ſtop all Ships bound up to *Quebec*; and the *Leopard* being left with ſome Sloops and Brigantines, to take any Men from the Shore that might be ſaved, and to endeavour to weigh ſome Anchors left behind, he proceeded to *Spaniſh River*, in the Iſland of *Breton*, the Rendezvous he had appointed, there to be perfectly informed of the State of the Army and Fleet, and to ſettle Matters for their farther Proceedings.

But all the Ships did not join till the 7th of *September*; the Day following, by Conſent of the General, he called a Council of War of Sea and Land Officers, where it was conſidered, whether under their preſent Circumſtances it was practicable to attempt any thing againſt *Placentia*, which all of them very much inclined to; but upon examining into the State of the Proviſions on board the Men of War and Tranſports, it was found there was but ten Weeks Proviſion, at ſhort Allowance, in the former, and in the latter much leſs, ſo that it was unanimouſly agreed not any thing of that kind could be undertaken; but that it was neceſſary the Squadron and Tranſports ſhould proceed to *Great-Britain*, ſince they had but barely Proviſions ſufficient for the Voyage, and that there was not any Proſpect of a Supply from *New England*, and the Seaſon of the Year being too far advanced for navigating ſafely in thoſe Parts of the World. At this Council of War there were, beſides the Sea Officers of the laſt, General *Hill*, Colonel *Charles Churchill*, Colonel *William Windreſſe*, Colonel *Campenfelt*, Colonel *Clayton*, Colonel *Kirk*, together with Colonel *Vetch*, and Colonel *Walton*, who commanded the Forces raiſed in *New England*.

It was in purſuance of this Reſolution taken in *Spaniſh River*, that he ſailed on the 16th of *September* for *England*, where he arrived the 9th of *October* following, and not long after his Return, the *Edgar*, a ſeventy-gun Ship, on board of which he hoiſted his Flag, took fire, and blew up at *Spithead*, by ſome Accident, the Cauſe of which was never known; and thus ended an Expedition every Way unfortunate, and which brought nothing but Diſcredit and Blame upon thoſe who contrived, and thoſe who were concerned in the executing it, and particularly Sir *Hovenden Walker*, a very honeſt plain-ſpoken Man; who, if there was any dark Secret in this Buſineſs, was moſt certainly ignorant of it. His Opinion always was, and he died in the full Belief it, that though the Expedition might be juſtly ſtiled unfortunate, inaſmuch as it miſcarried, and the Fleet never reached *Quebec*; yet it would have been much more ſo, if they had got up the River of *St. Laurence*, and had actually landed their Men, as they were by their Inſtructions directed to do; and the Reaſons he gave for it are very well worth the hearing, eſpecially at this Juncture, when an Expedition of the ſame kind is ſaid to be under Conſideration. The Reaſons that he gave for it were theſe: That in Caſe the *French* had retired from *Quebec*, they would have carried their Proviſions with them, and have deſtroyed what they could not carry, ſo that the *Engliſh* would have had nothing but a wild, barren, uncultivated Country before them, with the Conqueſt of which they might pleaſe themſelves; but in which, nevertheleſs, they would find it impoſſible to ſubſiſt.

"For, continues he, our Peoples Proviſions would "have been reduced to eight or nine (perhaps to ſix) "Weeks, at ſhort Allowance; no Relief could poſſibly "be hoped for in leſs than ten Months, if ſo ſoon; the "*Feverſham*, and three Store-ſhips, laden with the Pro-"viſions deſigned for their Supply, being caſt away in "their Paſſage; ſo that if they had eſcaped Shipwreck, "which would have been a very great Chance, between "ten and twelve thouſand Men muſt inevitably have "periſhed with Hunger and Cold, and the Ships have "become a Prey to the returning Enemy. On the other "hand, had the Enemy held out till our People had "ſpent all their Proviſions, they muſt have laid down "their Arms, and have ſurrendered to the *French* at "Diſcretion, to avoid Death in its moſt frightful Shape, "Famine; or if they had taken the Place, either by "Storm or Capitulation, the remaining Proviſions of a "ſmall Garriſon would not have gone far towards ſub-"ſiſting ſo large a Number; nor could they, at that "Seaſon of the Year, have marched through the Coun-"try in ſearch of more: And this would have been the "Caſe, had they afterwards attempted *Placentia*."

How far this Gentleman might be in the Right or in the Wrong, I ſhall not at preſent deſire the Reader to enquire; but, moſt certainly, what he ſays, has at the firſt Sight the Appearance of Sincerity and Truth, and therefore we ought to be very cautious of running any freſh Hazards of this Nature: But the driving the *French* from *Canada* is moſt certainly a Thing very poſſible and very practicable, provided the Scheme be laid by thoſe who are well acquainted with the State and Force of our Colonies, the Navigation of the River of *St. Laurence*, and the Condition of the Colony we propoſe to diſlodge; and if it be executed by Seamen and Officers of Experience in their reſpective Profeſſions, and who found the Hopes of promoting their private Intereſt on the ſolid Baſis of exerting their utmoſt Abilities in the public Service.

8. The *French*, during the whole Courſe of the laſt War, were particularly attentive to the Preſervation of their own Colonies, and annoying of ours, in both which Schemes they were but too ſucceſsful, which however was not owing ſo much either to the Wiſdom of their Councils or the Vigour of their Arms, as to the Faults in our Meeaſures, and the Miſcarriages of our Sea Officers. I ſhall not pretend to enter into a ſtrict Detail of theſe diſagreeable Points, but ſhall content myſelf with a few general Points which I flatter myſelf will be ſufficient for my Purpoſe. At the very Beginning of the War, the gallant old Admiral *Benbow* was ſacrificed by ſome of his Officers who had a Pique to him. He was a Man of great Honour and ſtrict Diſcipline, but had ſome of the Roughneſs of a Tar about him, which rendered him very diſagreeable to the fine Gentlemen of the Navy, amongſt whom were three of the Captains that deſerted him; their Conduct indeed had the Look of Cowardice, and of that they were found guilty by a Court Martial, and ſuffered Death for it very deſervedly; but they only acted the Cowards and were not ſo, for they had behaved gallantly upon other Occaſions, and never Man looked Death in the Face with more Intrepidity than Capt. *Kirby* did, which however was ſo far from extenuating, that in my Opinion it heightened his Offence.

The executing ſevere Juſtice upon thoſe three Gentlemen, which certainly was a very wiſe and right Step, and was taken by the mildeſt Government this or perhaps any other Nation ever ſaw, had a very good Effect, and taught the People to fear the Juſtice of the Nation, in caſe they ſacrificed the Concerns of the Public to their particular Reſentments or private Views; but that it did not entirely put an End to the Evil is very certain, ſince ſomething of the ſame kind happened afterwards to Sir *Charles Wager*, and prevented his taking at leaſt another Galleon. The Admirals alſo, and great Sea Officers, that were ſtationed at *Jamaica* for the Protection of the Iſland and Security of Commerce, did not behave ſo well as they might have done, as appears from thoſe authentic Regiſters the Votes of the Houſe of Commons, where the Reader will find, that, after long and ſtrict Enquiries, in which the Merchants were admitted to make particular Charges, and allowed to ſupport them by Evidence, Cenſures were paſſed upon thoſe Officers who appeared to be guilty; and both Houſes ſhewed a warm Zeal for redreſſing thoſe Miſchiefs occaſioned by the ill Conduct of the Navy, and thereby left ample Teſtimony of their Regard for the Public, though it was not attended with that Succeſs that might have been wiſhed.

In the mean time the *French* went on in quite a different way; and, when they found their Fleets were able to do little againſt ours, they very wiſely declined waſting their Naval Force in Combats at Sea, and applied it almoſt entirely to the protecting their own Trade, and diſtreſſing ours. They undertook the eſcorting the *Spaniſh* Plate Fleets, and were, generally ſpeaking, but too ſucceſsful in that Undertaking. Notwithſtanding our ſuperior Force, they attempted a Commerce with the *Spaniſh* Settlements in the *South-Seas*; and in this too they ſucceeded, notwithſtanding the dangerous Navigation round *Cape Horn*, and from thence they reaped two great Advantages, *viz.* maintaining and improving their Manufactures, even in a time of War; and bringing vaſt Sums into *France*, without which ſhe could not poſſibly have continued the War.

Yet, in ſome reſpects, it manifeſtly appeared that her Force was very inſufficient for ſupporting her Views in the *Weſt Indies*, ſince, in an Attempt they made upon *Carolina* in 1706, they were ſhamefully repulſed by the natural Force of that Colony, without any Aſſiſtance from hence. And, on the other hand, our People ſucceeded in their Attempt to drive the *French* out of what they poſſeſſed in the Iſland of *St. Chriſtopher's*; which plainly ſhewed what might have been done, in that War, towards deſtroying their Sugar Colonies, if, as our Intereſts moſt certainly led us, we had conſidered that Point more attentively than we did ſome others, which did not concern us near ſo much. For, had we uſed the Opportunity that was given us to have driven the *French* out of all or moſt of their Iſlands, it muſt have turned ſo much to our Advantage, in Point of Trade, that, in all human Probability, we ſhould have had no Reaſon to regret the vaſt Expences of that long and conſuming War.

But, inſtead of doing this, our Views were almoſt entirely confined to *Europe*, where our Succeſs was indeed very honourable for our Arms, but was very far from procuring us any Advantages in reſpect to Trade; which I do not ſay with any Deſign of reflecting on the Miniſters by whom that War was managed, who perhaps might mean us well, and did for us as much as was in their Power; but to ſhew where the Fault really lay, which was our entering into many Engagements that were either uſeleſs or detrimental to our Commerical Intereſts.

Whereas the *French*, who had but very lately entertained any Thoughts of Trade, kept that continually in view, both in their Operations during the War, and in their Negociations for bringing about a Peace. In reſpect to the former, beſides what they did againſt us in the *Weſt Indies*, they attacked the *Portugueſe* in *Brazil*, ruined the Commerce between the *Dutch* and *Spaniards*, and eſtabliſhed their own; and, beſides all this, when they had actually begun to treat with us, and our Court conſidered them in a manner as Friends, they ſent a Fleet to diſtreſs us in the *Leeward Iſlands*; which exceſſively provoked our Miniſtry, though they were too far advanced in their pacific Meaſures to retreat.

At the Concluſion of the Treaty, the *French* ſhewed the ſame Care for, and the ſame Steadineſs in, ſupporting their Commerce. It was with Difficulty that they were prevailed upon to reſtore what they had taken from our *Hudſon's Bay* Company. *Nova Scotia* we had, and, becauſe they could not take it from us, they left it to us; but they plainly cheated us out of *Cape Breton*. And tho' they pretended to renounce all Pretenſions on *Newfoundland*, yet they preſerved what they never had any Title to, and what, with reſpect to that Country, was all they ever wanted. By theſe Arts they ſecured great Advantages to themſelves, which were all at our Expence; brought a heavy Load of Reproach on the Miniſters who tranſacted with them, and left the Treaty of *Utrecht* as a Memorial to all ſucceeding Miniſters of the Danger of entering into any ſeparate Negociations with *France*.

9. After the Acceſſion of his late Majeſty King *George* I. to the *Britiſh* Throne, there followed ſeveral Diſturbances at home and abroad, which might very well hinder the Miniſters from contriving any new Schemes for the Advantage of our Colonies, or from perfecting thoſe which had been formerly laid for that Purpoſe. The Rebellion in *Scotland* firſt, and after that the Quadruple Alliance, and the Meaſures which preceded and followed it, ſufficiently occupied their Thoughts, and if they went on in the ordinary way, in protecting them, and providing for their Security, they might very well be excuſed for poſtponing Thoughts or Projects of another Nature to more favourable Times.

But the *French*, always watchful for their own Advantage, at the very time when they ſeemed moſt ſolicitous in cultivating the Friendſhip of *Britain*, and were daily receiving Benefits from it, projected the Settlement of the Iſland of *St. Lucia*, which had been always included in the Commiſſion of the Governor of *Barbadoes*; and for that Purpoſe the *French* King thought fit, in the Year 1719, to make a Grant of that Iſland to the Marſhal *d'Etree*, who immediately made the neceſſary Diſpoſitions for eſtabliſhing a Colony in that Iſland, and ſent over People for that Purpoſe. The Governor of *Barbadoes*, as it was his Duty, oppoſed this Settlement vigorouſly, and declared roundly, That, if the *French* perſiſted in ſettling, he ſhould find himſelf under a Neceſſity of driving them off that Iſland, which belonged to the King his Maſter, by Force.

At the ſame time our Miniſter at the Court of *Paris* preſented a Memorial, in which he ſet forth the Title the Crown of *Great-Britain* had to this Iſland, and, conſequently, the great Injuſtice of the *French* King's Grant, which was very apparent from the following Particulars in relation to the Hiſtory of this Iſland, in which both *Engliſh* and *French* Writers agree. The *Engliſh* ſettled on the Iſland of *St. Lucia* in 1639, and lived there near two Years without any Interruption or Diſturbance; but in 1640 they were driven off from the ſaid Iſland, and the Governor and moſt of the Inhabitants killed by the *Caribbeans*, and, as the *Engliſh* ſuſpected, by the Inſtigation and Encouragement of the *French*; which the *French* Generals, *Parquet* and *de Poincy*, however, both diſowned. Nor did the *French*, at that time, or any other time, make any ſort of Pretenſion to the Iſland. A tacit Acknowledgment undoubtedly of the Right of the *Engliſh*.

The Civil Wars in *England* breaking out, the *Engliſh* neglected this Settlement; and Monſ. *du Parquet* ſent thirty or forty *Frenchmen* to take Poſſeſſion of the Iſland. The Sieur *de Rouſſelan* governed here till 1694, and was ſucceeded by *de la Riviere*, whom the *Caribbeans* killed with ſeveral of his Men, and carried off his Wife and two of his Children. He was ſucceeded by Monſ. *le Breton*, he by Monſ. *Agremont*, who was alſo deſtroyed by the *Caribbeans*. After this the *Engliſh* made a Treaty with the *Caribbeans* for the purchaſing the Iſland from them; and, in 1663, ſent fourteen or fifteen hundred Men on board of five Men of War, who, being joined by ſix hundred of the *Caribbeans* in ſeventeen Canoes, came before the Iſland in *June* 1664, which was delivered to them without Reſiſtance, on Condition that the *French* Governor and Garriſon in the Fort, which amounted only to fourteen Men, ſhould be tranſported to *Martinico*, with their Cannon, Arms, and Baggage. In 1666 the *Engliſh* Governor, Mr. *Robert Cook*, by reaſon of the Mortality of his People, Want of Neceſſaries, *&c.* abandoned the Iſland, and ſet fire to the Fort; yet, two Days afterwards, a Bark arrived from Lord *Willoughby*, Governor and Captain-General of *Barbadoes*, and the other *Engliſh Caribbee Iſlands*, to Windward of *Guardaloupa*, with Proviſions, Ammunition, and all Neceſſaries for the Colony. In this deſerted Condition it remained thenceforward, but was always conſidered as a Part of the *Britiſh* Dominions. The Interpoſition of our Miniſter produced the deſired Effect, and the *French* deſiſted at that time from their Settlement.

10. This Attempt, however, ſo much alarmed our Court, that the Duke of *Montague* reſolved, at a vaſt Expence, to ſettle that Iſland and *St. Vincent*, which was ſo agreeable to the Miniſtry and to his late Majeſty, that by Letters Patent, dated the 22d of *June*, 1722, both thoſe Iſlands were granted to his Grace, that he might be encouraged to put ſo generous and public-ſpirited a Deſign in Execution; and for the farther Benefit and Advantage of the new Colonies which he was to ſettle, the Duke was alſo conſtituted Captain-General of the Iſlands of *St. Lucia* and *St. Vincent*, which till that Time were included in the Commiſſion, and remained under the Government of the Governors of *Barbadoes*. His Grace, having appointed Capt. *Uring* his Deputy-Governor, and provided ſeven Ships and Veſſels to carry over the Planters, with ſuch Proviſions and Neceſſaries as were requiſite to ſettle Colonies in thoſe Iſlands, obtained of his Majeſty the *Winchelſea* Man of War, commanded by Capt. *Orme*, to convoy, attend, and protect the Planters.

Mr. *Uring* embarked on board the *Winchelſea*, on the 10th of *September* 1722, and ſailing to *Ireland* to take in Proviſions, made it the 15th of *December* before he arrived at *St. Lucia*. Being come to an Anchor in *Pidgeon Iſland* Bay, a *Barbadoes* Sloop ſoon after arrived from *Martinico*, the Maſter whereof communicated to Mr. *Uring* the Copy of a Mandate by the King of *France*, which he ſaid was publiſhed by Order of the *French* General in all the Churches of that Iſland, and in all the Towns by beat of Drum; which contained in Subſtance, That if the *Engliſh* did not leave the Iſland in the Space of fifteen Days, they were to be expelled by Force of Arms. The next Morning Mr. *Uring* weighed from *Pidgeon Iſland* Bay, and ſtood for the Harbour of *Petite Careenage*, which they found to be a very good one, and in it ſeveral Places fit for careening Ships, ſheltered from every Wind; in one of which, Ships of ſixty Guns and upwards may careen very conveniently: The Land is very hilly all round the Harbour, and in moſt Places ſteep, aſcending from the Water-ſide. At two in the Afternoon we landed fifty Men to cut down the Trees and Buſhes on the Point, that lay fit for a Battery of Guns to command the Entrance of the Harbour. The ſame Day he ſent Mr. *Faulkner* to *Martinico*, with Letters from the Duke of *Montague* and the Admiralty directed to Capt. *Charles Brown*, Commander of the *Feverſham* Man of War, and Capt. *Brand* Commander of the *Hector*, who were then at *Martinico*; and acquainted them, that the Duke had appointed him Deputy-Governor of *St. Lucia* and *St. Vincent*, and being come to ſettle thoſe Iſlands under the Protection of the *Winchelſea* Man of War, he deſired that in purſuance of the Orders they had received from the Admiralty for that Purpoſe, they would join him as ſoon as poſſible, being apprehenſive the Governor of *Martinico* deſigned to moleſt the Colony. In the mean time he proceeded to land his People, Guns, Tools, Planks, and Stores, to fortify the Harbour, and build a large Houſe to ſhelter the Workmen.

On the 22d of *December* Capt. *Brand*, and Captain *Brown*, arrived from *Martinico* with his Majeſty's Ships the *Hector* and *Feverſham*, and ſoon after a *French* Sloop, which brought a Letter from the *French* General, to acquaint Mr. *Uring* that he had heard of his landing *Engliſh* Forces in the Iſland of *St. Lucia*, and deſired to know his Intentions; and at the ſame Time he received the following Copy of the *French* King's Mandate, *viz.* A Mandate *of the* King *to the Sieur Chevalier* de Feuquire, Governor *and* Lieutenant General *of the* Windward Iſlands *in America*. “His Majeſty having been informed that the King of *England* has given the Iſlands of *St. Vincent* and *St. Lucia*, to the Duke of *Montague*, has made his Complaint of it to the Court of *England*, and has alledged that neither the one nor the other of theſe Iſlands belong to that Crown. The firſt of them ought to remain to the *Caribbees*, according to Conventions made with that People; and the ſecond does belong to *France*, who has been willing to ſuſpend the Settlement of that Iſland on the requeſt of the King of *England*; notwithſtanding thoſe Reaſons, his Majeſty hath not been informed that there has not been any Revocation of this Grant; on the contrary, he underſtands that the Duke of *Montague* is repairing to ſend and take Poſſeſſion of thoſe Iſlands, and to tranſport Numbers of Families thither. This Undertaking being contrary to the Rights of his Majeſty, his Intention is, That in Caſe the *Engliſh* ſhould take Poſſeſſion of *St. Lucia*, and ſettle there, the Sieur Chevalier *de Feuquire* ſhall ſummon them to retire in fifteen Days, in regard that Iſland belongs to *France*; and if they do not depart, he ſhall compel them to it by Force of Arms. He ſhall take Care to charge ſome of the wiſeſt and moſt experienced of his Officers with this Expedition. His Majeſty deſires there ſhould be as little Effuſion of Blood as poſſible, nor will he have any Pillage made; he only wiſhes the *Engliſh* would retire, and not poſſeſs themſelves of a Country which belongs to him. Done at *Verſailles* the 21ſt of *September* 1722, ſigned, *&c.*”

Upon reading the Mandate, and the *French* Governor's Letter, in which it was incloſed, Mr. *Uring* ſent to Captain *Brand*, and Captain *Brown*, to know if he might depend upon their Aſſiſtance if he was attacked by the *French*; but they would give him no poſitive Anſwer, and ſoon after ſailed to *Barbadoes*; he alſo ſent a Letter to the Governor of *Martinico*, to acquaint him that he had Orders from the Duke of *Montague*, the Lord Proprietor, under his *Britiſh* Majeſty's Patent, to plant *St. Lucia* and defend it, but propoſed ſuſpending all Acts of Hoſtility, till they could hear from their reſpective Courts of *Great-Britain* and *France*. Mr. *Uring* alſo thought fit to write to the Preſident of *Barbadoes*, that the Governor of *Martinico* had threatened to drive the *Engliſh* from the Iſland, if they did not depart in fifteen Days, and to deſire his Aſſiſtance to ſupport this Part of his Majeſty's Dominions. To which the Preſident anſwered, That he was ready to give him all the Aſſiſtance in his Power.

But the Captains *Brown* and *Brand* remained ſo long abſent from *St. Lucia*, that the *French* had an Opportunity of ſending between two and three thouſand Men from *Martinico*, and landing them on the Iſland; the Captains of the Men of War alſo refuſed to give him Aſſiſtance, towards fortifying and defending the Colony by Land, and a great many of the Planters falling ſick, and others deſerting over to the *French* at the ſame Time, Mr. *Uring* had not fourſcore left to bear Arms, which compelled him at length to come to a Treaty with the *French* General, the Marquiſs of *Champigny*; and the following Articles, were concluded between them: Firſt, That the *Engliſh* ſhould quit the Iſland of *St. Lucia* within ſeven Days, provided that the Ships of the *Engliſh* Nation ſhould at all times have Liberty to come into the Ports of the ſaid Iſland, and wood and water there, and ſerve their other Occaſions, as the *French* alſo might. Secondly, That the *Engliſh* Colony ſhould be at Liberty to reimbark all their Cannon, Stores, Arms, Baggage, and every thing belonging to them, without Moleſtation. Thirdly, That all Deſerters ſhould be given up. And laſtly, That immediately after the *Engliſh* had evacuated the Iſland, the *French* Forces alſo ſhould evacuate it, and that the Iſland ſhould remain in the ſame State it was, till the Controverſies between the two Crowns, relating to this Iſland, were decided. In purſuance of which Agreement Mr. *Uring* embarked with his People, and failed to *Antigua*, ſending the *Winchelſea* Man of War, and Captain *Braithwaite*, in the *Griffin* Sloop, to take a View of the Iſland of *St. Vincent*, and ſee if it was practicable to make a Settlement there. In the mean Time a conſiderable Reinforcement arrived at *Barbadoes*, from the Duke of *Montague*, with Ammunition and Proviſions, and Orders to attempt a Settlement upon *St. Vincent*, if the Planters were driven from *St. Lucia*.

11. In order to this he had Inſtructions, and a Commiſſion given him by Mr. *Uring*, which were perfectly well adjuſted to the Deſign upon which he was ſent; and in the mean Time Governor *Uring* remained at *Antigua*, where he had all the Civilities paid him, and all the Services done him by the Governor, and other Perſons in Authority, that he could either deſire or expect; which, in ſome Meaſure, mitigated his ſharp Senſe of the Miſfortunes he had met with; for he was both a capable and an honeſt Man; one who had the Service very much at Heart, and who diſcharged his Duty ſo punctually, even in this diſaſtrous Undertaking, as to preſerve his Reputation, and to merit a kind Reception from his generous Maſter the Duke of *Montague*, who was ſo wiſe as to expect no more from a Man than was in his Power, and ſo good as to commend and reward him who did that, though it was not attended with the happy Conſequences that might have been expected from it. This Gentleman did not remain long at *Antigua*, before he was made ſenſible that there was as little, or rather leſs Hopes of making a Settlement at *St. Vincent*, than he by Experience had found there was of fixing a Colony on *St. Lucia*; for Capt. *John Braithwaite*, returning from his unſucceſsful Expedition, delivered to Governor *Uring*, in Juſtification of his own Conduct, and for the Satisfaction of his Grace the Duke of *Montague*, the following Account of the Meaſures he had taken for executing the Commiſſion granted to him, in order to fix a Settlement on his Majeſty's Iſland of *St. Vincent*. This Paper being equally curious and important, and alſo entirely hiſtorical, we ſhall give the Reader an Extract of it in that Gentleman's own Words.

The REPORT *of Capt.* John Braithwaite *to* Nathaniel Uring, *Eſq;*

“In Purſuance of a Reſolution in Council, and your Order for ſo doing the Day you ſailed with his Grace's Colony for *Antigua*, I ſailed with the *Griffin* Sloop, in Company with his Majeſty's Ship the *Winchelſea*, to *St. Vincent:* We made the Iſland that Night, and the next Morning run along the Shore, and ſaw ſeveral *Indian* Huts, but as yet no *Indians* came off to us, nor could we get aſhore to them, by reaſon there was no Ground to anchor in. Towards the Evening two *Indians* came on board, and told us we might anchor in a Bay to leeward, and when we were at Anchor they would bring their General on board. Here we came to an Anchor in deep Water, and very dangerous for the Sloop. One whom they called General came on board with ſeveral others, to the Number of twenty-two. I entertained them very handſomely, and made the Chief ſome trifling Preſents; but found him to be a Perſon of no Conſequence, and that they called him Chief to get ſome Preſent from me. Here two of the *Indians* were ſo drunk that they would not go aſhore, but ſtaid on board ſome Days, and were well entertained. After this, little Winds and great Currents drove us off for ſeveral Days, but at laſt we came to an Anchor in a ſpacious Bay to the leeward of all the Iſland, the Draught of which I ordered to be taken by our Surveyor, for your better underſtanding the Place, being the only one where a Setlement could be made. The Ship and Sloop were ſcarce come to an Anchor before the Strand of the Shore was covered with *Indians*, and amongſt them we could diſcover a white Man, who proved to be a *Frenchman*. I took Captain *Watſon* in the Boat with me, with a *Frenchman*, and immediately went on Shore. As ſoon as I came amongſt them, I aſked why they appeared all armed, for every Man had a Cutlaſs; ſome had Muſkets, Piſtols, Bows and Arrows, *&c.* They with very little Ceremony encloſed me, and carried me up the Country for about a Mile, over a little Rivulet, where I was told I was to ſee their General: I found him ſitting amidſt a Guard of about an hundred *Indians*; thoſe neareſt his Perſon had all Muſkets, the reſt Bows and Arrows; and all obſerved a great Silence: He ordered me a Seat, and a *Frenchman* ſtood at his Right-hand, for an Interpreter: He demanded of me, What brought me into his Country, and of what Nation? I told him, *Engliſh*; and I was put in to wood and water, as not caring to ſay any thing elſe before the *Frenchman*; but told him, if he would be pleaſed to come on board our Ships, I would leave *Engliſhmen* in Hoſtage for thoſe he ſhould be pleaſed to take along with him. But I could not prevail with him either to come on board, or ſuffer me to have Wood or Water. He ſaid, he was informed we were come to force a Settlement. And we had no way to remove that Jealouſy but by getting under ſail. As ſoon as I found what Influence the *Frenchman*'s Company had upon him I took my Leave, after making ſuch Replies as I thought proper, and returned to my Boat, under a Guard; and when I came to the Shore, I found the Guard was increaſed by a Number of Negroes, all armed with Fuzees. I got into my Boat without any Injury, and went on board to Captain *Orme*, and told him my ill Succeſs. Immediately after I ſent aſhore the Sloop's Boat with a Mate, with Rum, Beef, Bread, *&c.* with ſome Cutlaſſes; and ordered a *Frenchman* who went with the Mate, to deſire the Guard to conduct them to their General, and to tell him, that though he denied me the common Good of Water, and a little uſeleſs Wood, nevertheleſs I had ſent him ſuch Refreſhments as our Ships afforded. Our People found the *Frenchman* gone, and that then the *Indian* General ſeemed pleaſed, and received what was ſent him; and in return ſent me Bows and Arrows. Our People had not been long returned but the General ſent a Canoe with ten Chief *Indians*, who ſpoke very good *French*, to thank me for my Preſents, and to aſk Pardon for his refuſing me Wood and Water, and aſſured me I might have what I pleaſed; and they had Orders to tell me, if I pleaſed to go aſhore again, they were to remain Hoſtages for my civil Treatment. I ſent them on board the Man of War; and with Captain *Watſon* went aſhore. I was well received, and conducted as before: But now I found the Brother, the Chief of the Negroes, was arrived with five hundred Negroes, moſt armed with Fuzees. They told my Interpreter, they were ſure we were come to force a Settlement, or elſe they would not have denied me what they never before had denied any *Engliſh*, *viz.* Wood and Water; but, if I thought fit, I might take what I pleaſed under a Guard. Finding them in ſo good a Humour, I once more introduced the Deſire I had to entertain them on board our Ships, and with ſome Difficulty I prevailed with them by leaving Captain *Watſon* aſhore under their Guard as a Hoſtage. I carried them on board the King's Ship, where they were well entertained by Capt. *Orme*, who gave the *Indian* General a fine Fuzee of his own, and to the Chief of the Negroes ſomething that pleaſed him. Captain *Orme* aſſured them of the Friendſhip of the King of *England*, &c. The Negro Chief ſpoke excellent *French*, and made Anſwers with all the *French* Compliments. Afterwards I carried them on board the Duke's Sloop; and after opening their Hearts with Wine, for they ſcorned to drink Rum, I thought it a good time to tell them my Commiſſion, and what brought me upon their Coaſt. They told me, it was well I had not mentioned it on Shore, for their Power could not have protected me; that it was impoſſible; the *Dutch* had before attempted it, but were glad to retire. They likewiſe told me, that two *French* Sloops had, the Day before we came, been amongſt them, and gave them Arms and Ammunition, and aſſured them of the whole Force of *Martinico* for their Protection againſt us: They told them alſo, that they had driven us from *St. Lucia*; and that we were come now to endeavour a Settlement there; and notwithſtanding all our ſpecious Pretences, when we had Power we ſhould enſlave them; but they declared they would truſt no *Europeans:* That they owned themſelves under the Protection of the *French*, but would as ſoon oppoſe their ſettling among them, or any Act of Force from them, as us. They had

“ lately given an Example, by killing ſeveral; and they further told me it was by very large Preſents the *French* ever got in their Favour again, but they reſolved never to put it in their Power, or of any *Europeans*, to hurt them: They adviſed me to think what they ſaid was an Act of Friendſhip. This being all I could get from them, I diſmiſſed them with ſuch Preſents as his Grace ordered for that Service, with a Diſcharge of Cannon; and received in Return, as regular Vollies of ſmall Shot as I ever heard. In the Night the *Winchelſea* drove from her Anchors, which as ſoon as I perceived, and had received Capt. *Watſon* from the Shore, I got under Sail, and ſtood to the Man of War; this is a faithful Report of all I *John Braithwaite* can recollect.”

12. Mr. *Uring* having read the above Report of Captain *Braithwaite*, he judged there was like to be little good done at *St. Vincent*, and the ſecond Scheme on *St. Lucia* being laid aſide, he determined to unload all the Stores, and diſcharge the Veſſels, and propoſed to Lieutenant General *Matthews* to do it at *Antigua*; which he ſaid he thought could be done with more Eaſe and Security, and in much leſs Time, and would ſave a great deal of Charge and Trouble, and leſs Hazard than at *St. Chriſtopher's*; the Lieutenant General anſwered, that in his Houſe at *St. Chriſtopher's* was room enough to hold all the Duke's Stores, and ſhould coſt his Grace nothing; and, that as he had the Government of that Iſland, he had ſuch an Influence over the People, that the Duke's Servants would be more ſecure there, and that he could better provide for the Officers, than at *Antigua*; and further ſaid, that the Servants could be kept together in *Charles-Fort*, where they might have an Opportunity to diſcipline them againſt any new Undertaking; and accordingly aſked Leave of General *Hart* to diſcipline them, which was granted. Mr. *Uring* taking Notice of the Advantages that the Lieutenant General propoſed, and ſeeing him ſo very earneſt for the Stores to be lodged at *St. Chriſtopher's*, agreed to it, and accordingly ordered them down thither, during their attending the *Griffin*'s Return from her Errand to *St. Vincent* and *Martinico*.

Mr. *Uring* frequently viſited the Tranſports, to ſee things were in good Order; Lieutenant-General *Matthews* went in the *Charles* and *Freemaſon*, to *St. Chriſtopher's*, with them; and as ſoon as they arrived at that Iſland, he, in Concert with Mr. *Uring*, cantoned the Officers in ſeveral Places, as there was Conveniency, and they were ordered to their reſpective Quarters. They had now four Veſſels to unload at the ſame Time, and at a conſiderable Diſtance, and a difficult Way to carry the Stores to the Store houſes. Mr. *Uring* ordered ſuch a Number of Servants aſhore from the Veſſels, as he thought uſeful for carrying up the Stores; and Officers were appointed at different Places in the Avenues, to keep the People from running into the Country; but notwithſtanding all the Care they could take, great Part of them were gone by Night. He ordered more aſhore next Day, and continued landing the Stores, Cannon, Arms, Ammunition, *&c.* and as the Caſks very often came to Pieces in getting up to the Store-houſes, Mr. *Uring*, for the moſt Part, ſtood by till they were repaired, and was, at leaſt, thirty times a Day from the Landing-place to the Store-houſes, in order to prevent any Embezzlement, and to haſten the Work. The Officers thinking the Work too hard for them all Day, though they generally ſtood in one Place, Mr. *Uring* divided them, the one half to attend in the Morning, and the other in the Afternoon; though he was obliged to attend the whole Day, in order to preſerve the Stores, which he hoped was in a good Meaſure done; the Goods landing from ſo many Veſſels at one and the ſame Time, ſo many Sorts looſe, as well as in Caſks, made it no eaſy Matter to keep an exact Account.

The whole Care of every thing, as well as the Stores, was upon Mr. *Uring*. However the Goods were landed and ſtored, and after the Ships were unloaded, he ſearched every Ship by Warrant, to ſee if there remained any thing belonging to the Duke of *Montague* on board them, which the Maſters ſaid there did not: Several Proviſions were found on board the *Charles* and *Freemaſon*, which were put aſhore. When every thing was landed out of the ſeveral Ships, his next Care was to put them in good Order; many of the Caſks being broken, they would not hold the Weight in them, therefore they ſtarted them into other ſound Caſks and Cheſts, which were made for that Uſe. He alſo cauſed all the Proviſions to be turned out of the Store-houſes and looked over, and ſuch as were in Caſks, or wanted Pickle, were put into better, and new pickled; and he directed the worſt to be firſt ſpent. He fitted up a Smith's Shop, kept the Smiths and Armourers at Work, and cleaning the Arms. The Men were diſciplined, ſo that they could do their Exerciſe very well, and made as regular Fires as the King's Troops.

Mr. *Uring* paid off ſeveral of the Seamen belonging to the *Griffin* Sloop, to eaſe the Charge, and ordered ſuch Servants on board her as were Seamen, and as many more as he dared truſt. By that Time they had put things into tolerable Order, the *Hopewell* arrived, with about ninety Servants and ſeveral Officers, a great Quantity of Proviſions, with Cannon, Ammunition, and warlike Stores, which were alſo landed under the Care of Mr. *Uring*, who had Letters by this Ship from the Duke of *Montague*, which informed him, that his Grace was in Treaty for five hundred *Engliſh* Families, and five hundred *Iriſh*, which he intended to tranſport to *St. Lucia* as ſoon as poſſible. The *Hopewell* brought from *Barbadoes* a Number of live Sheep, which had been carried thither by the *Leopard*, which was arrived at that Iſland, laden with Boards, Plank, and Frames of Houſes, for the Uſe of the Colony.

When Lieutenant-General *Matthews* returned to *Antigua*, he left Mr. *Uring* his Houſe to live in, where was Room for moſt of the Officers. He ſent then to acquaint them, that he had Conveniency for them, and deſigned to keep a Table for their Entertainment, conſidering it would be much more convenient and leſs Charge to his Grace, for them to keep together, than be ſeparated. All the Servants that were not lent to the Planters were lodged in the Out-houſes, and due Care was taken both of the Sick and the Well, to have their Proviſions at proper times, and well ordered. Mr. *Uring* ſeldom went to Dinner before he ſaw all the Sick provided, and well ſerved with freſh Meat and Broth, which was for the moſt Part four times a Week, and thoſe that were ſick, every Day. The Lame, though there were a great many of them, he dreſſed himſelf for ſeveral Days, when he had no Surgeon. The Servants were all well ſupplied out of the Duke's Stores, with Cloathing and Neceſſaries, though they often ſtrayed about the Country and ſold them, and then complained to the Planters that they were naked; for which they were puniſhed and again ſupplied. He frequently ſent out the Serjeants with Parties to bring in the Stragglers, and had no little Trouble to keep them in a tolerable Decorum; he alſo put up Advertiſements at all the Port Towns, to warn the Maſter of Ships from entertaining or carrying any of them off the Iſland; and in the Beginning of *May* ſent Captain *King* in the *Griffin* Sloop to *Barbadoes*, to bring down the Runaways from thence, and ſuch Letters as were lodged there from the Duke of *Montague* for him; and after her return he ordered Captain *Watſon* to careen her, in doing of which ſhe ſunk.

Mr. *Uring* having Notice thereof, went to ſee her Condition, and hired two Sloops to weigh her, and the *Griffin* was made again fit for the Sea. Mr. *Uring* having been informed that many of his Grace's Servants had made their Eſcape to *St. Euſtatia*, he wrote ſeveral Letters to the Governor of that Iſland, by Officers of the Duke's, which were ſent for that purpoſe, to acquaint him therewith, and to deſire him to ſecure them, that they might be returned to *St. Chriſtopher's*, and accordingly two Men were brought back from thence. He had ordered the *Griffin* Sloop to *Antigua*, to lie there during the hurricane Months; when he had a Letter from Lieutenant-General *Matthews*, which adviſed him that the Duke of *Montague* had impowered him to have the ſole Diſpoſal of all his Affairs in the *Weſt Indies*, and ſent him a Copy thereof. Mr. *Uring* then obſerved his Directions, until his Grace had wholly laid aſide the Thoughts of any new Settlement; and had given him Orders to deliver up every thing belonging to him, into the Hands of the Lieutenant-General, to whom his Grace had given Direction to diſcharge all, and pay them their Salaries to that Time, with an Allowance for their Paſſages for *England*. After Mr. *Uring* had delivered up all Stores, Arms, Cannon, *&c.* to the Agent of Lieutenant-General *Matthews*, he went up to *Antigua*, to finiſh his Affairs with him, and from thence to *Barbadoes*, where he was received very kindly by Mr. *Worſley*. He ſtaid a Week at that Iſland, and then returned to *Antigua*, and from thence to *St. Chriſtopher's*, where he took a Paſſage for *England*, and arrived at *Dover* the 28th of *May* 1724.

Thus we have given a large and circumſtantial Account of this Expedition, from the Beginning to the End of it, from the authentic Papers of the two Gentlemen chiefly concerned in it, and very frequently in their own Words. From whence it appears, that it was in all reſpects the greateſt and moſt expenſive Scheme that was ever undertaken by a Subject of this Crown, or of any other; for beſides the Ships, naval and military Stores, Cannon, ſmall Arms, *&c.* he maintained four hundred and twenty-five Servants for a Year and a Half, beſides eighty-five Tradeſmen and Arificers of ſeveral ſorts, who had from twenty to thirty Pounds a Year Wages; and upwards of fifty Officers, with Salaries from fifty to four hundred Pounds a Year, all duly paid, and themſelves victualled in a very dear Part of the World, during the greateſt Part of the Time. The computing therefore of the Duke of *Montague's* Expence at forty thouſand Pounds is rather under than over doing the Buſineſs; and nothing can induce us to ſuſpect the Largeneſs of the Sum but the very ſingular Circumſtance that attends it, of its coming out of a private Purſe for the public Service. This indeed, and the Time at which this Expedition was undertaken, renders it almoſt incredible; but whoever conſiders that in Seaſons of the greateſt Corruption (as ſurely that of the *South-Sea*, and the Bubbles that attended it, was here) Providence uſually raiſes up ſome extraordinary Inſtances of a contrary Spirit, ſuch as *Phocion* in the Decline of the *Athenian* Commonwealth, and the younger *Cato* when the *Roman* Republic was on the Point of Ruin, will the more readily credit this, and admire it the more. I ſhould inſiſt farther upon this noble and memorable Example but for two Reaſons; the firſt is, that as the illuſtrious Perſon to whom it relates is living, amongſt the many Inſtances of Freedom of Speech that may be met with in this Work, I ſhould be aſhamed to mix any thing that might be ſuſpected of Flattery. The ſecond Reaſon is, that the Virtues of the Duke are ſo well known, and ſo univerſally confeſſed, that I could do no Honour to any but myſelf, by endeavouring to celebrate them.

But though I am willing to decline a Taſk to which I confeſs myſelf unequal, I ſhall not be afraid of obſerving that this is the only proper time of reviving our Claim to thoſe Iſlands, at leaſt to that of *St. Lucia*, to which our Title is unqueſtionable. If we were not the firſt Diſcoverers, we were at leaſt the firſt Planters of that Iſland, and beſides the Title which this gives us, we have another, and perhaps a better, *viz.* that of Purchaſe from the Natives, and original Inhabitants of it. The *French*, it is true, have alſo ſettled upon that Iſland, but as Intruders only, and as ſuch were obliged to quit it in the Reign of King *Charles* II. ſince which our Rights to that Iſland have been confirmed by Treaties. But their laſt quitting it, in 1719, is the ſtrongeſt and cleareſt Proof of all. For had they not been ſenſible of their having no juſt Pretenſions to *St. Lucia*, it is impoſſible to ſuppoſe that Men who ſo vigorouſly exerted themſelves to prevent our Eſtabliſhment, would ſo tamely have given up their own. What their Motives might be to ſo ſtrange a Conduct, in the Compaſs of ſo ſhort a time, I ſhall not pretend to gueſs, but this I may ſafely and honeſtly ſay, that no Change in their Conduct could poſſibly create a Change in their Title or ours: If our Right in 1719 was certain, it muſt have been as certain in 1722, and if certain then, it muſt be ſo ſtill; which gives us a fair Demand to have this Right of ours acknowledged by the next Treaty of Peace, that can never be concluded on good Terms for this Nation, if while we ſtruggle to make *France* do Juſtice to others, we ſuffer her to perſiſt in Acts of Injuſtice to ourſelves. We ſee very clearly that the general Expreſſions contained in former Treaties avails nothing againſt *France* in a Time of full Peace, and therefore common Senſe teaches us, and a due Concern for the Good of our Country requires, that we ſhould have Juſtice done us on this Head before the Concluſion of the preſent War, becauſe unleſs it be done now, paſt Experience ſhews us that we can never expect it for the future: That we may very rationally hope for it now, appears to every Man of tolerable Underſtanding, who reflects that *France*, in this Reſpect, gives us nothing of which ſhe is in Poſſeſſion, or to which, in her own Opinion, ſhe has any juſt Title; ſo that to refuſe it when ſhe pretends to be in a pacific Temper, muſt be a plain Proof that ſhe diſſembles, and then it would be Madneſs to truſt her.

There is, however, one Particular in relation to this Affair that ought to be diſcuſſed before we leave it, which is, what Proceedings have ſince happened between the two Crowns in relation to this Iſland, after the Expedition before-mentioned; and as to theſe, I have received two remarkable Papers while this was printing, which I ſhall give the Reader immediately. In the mean time it is requiſite to obſerve, that his preſent Majeſty King *George* II. having conſtituted and appointed *Henry Worſley*, Eſq; Governor and Commander in chief of this Iſland, as all his Predeceſſors had been, who were Governors of *Barbadoes*, he was graciouſly pleaſed to ſend him the following Inſtruction, in reference to the Diſputes that had happened about it.

GEORGE R.

“ Truſty and well beloved, we greet you well: Whereas the *French* for ſome Years have claimed the Iſland of *St. Lucia*, and do inſiſt that the Right to the Iſlands of *St. Vincent* and *St. Dominico*, under your Government, is in the *Caribbeeans*, now inhabiting the ſame, although we have an undoubted Right to all the ſaid Iſlands; yet we have thought fit to agree with the *French* Court, that until our Right be determined the ſaid Iſlands ſhall be entirely evacuated by both Nations. It is therefore our Will and Pleaſure, and you are accordingly to ſignify the ſame to ſuch of our Subjects as ſhall be found inhabiting any of our ſaid Iſlands, that they do forthwith quit the ſame until the Right ſhall be determined, as aforeſaid; and that they do comply with this our Order within thirty Days from the Publication hereof in each of the ſaid Iſlands reſpectively, under Pain of our higheſt Diſpleaſure; and you are to uſe your beſt Endeavours that no Ships of our Subjects, or of any other Nation, do frequent the ſaid Iſlands during the time aforeſaid, except coming for Wood or Water. But it is our Will and Pleaſure, that you do not execute this our Order until the *French* Governor of *Martinico* ſhall have received the like Direction from the *French* Court, and ſhall, jointly with you, put the ſame in Execution without any Exception. And you are hereby further ordered to tranſmit to us, by the firſt Opportunity, a full Account of your Proceedings, as likewiſe of thoſe of the *French* in this Behalf, taking Care by all Opportunities to inform yourſelf whether our Subjects, and thoſe of the *French* King, do comply punctually with the true Intent and Meaning of this Agreement, until ſuch time as the Right to the ſaid Iſlands ſhall be abſolutely determined as aforeſaid. And for your ſo doing this ſhall be your Warrant. And ſo we bid you farwel. Given at our Court at *St. James's* the 30th Day of *November*, in the fourth Year of our Reign, by his Majeſty's Command.

Holles Newcaſtle.

It appears plainly from this Inſtruction, and it will appear ſtill more clearly from the *French* King's Letter upon this Head, that the two Courts had come to an

Agreement about this Matter, that is, about the immediate Settlement, not as to their Rights; for our King declares fully and plainly, that he looked upon his to be wholly unimpeached by this Diſpute; and ſo to be ſure it was, and is. But let us ſee the Inſtructions from *France*, which are referred to in the foregoing Paper, which were conceived in the Words following:

The French *King's* LETTER *or* MANDATE, *to the Governor of* Martinico, *dated* December 26, 1730.

Monſieur DE CHAMPIGNY,

"The *Engliſh* have, for ſome time paſt, laid Pretenſions to the Iſland of *St. Lucia*, which belongs to me, and to which I have an inconteſtable Right. The ſame Pretenſions they have laid to the Iſlands of *St. Vincent* and *St. Dominico*, ſaid to belong to the *Caribbeeans*, Natives of the Country, according to the Treaty of the 31ſt of *March*, 1660; and in the Poſſeſſion of which it is my Intention to ſupport them. I have, nevertheleſs, agreed with the Court of *England*, that until theſe Pretenſions ſhall be determined, the ſaid Iſlands ſhall be evacuated by both Nations. And this is to acquaint you, that it is my Pleaſure, that you make it known, *&c.*" As in the former.

Upon theſe Papers I ſhall make but one Remark, which is, that they clearly unravelled and expoſed the true Intention and Deſign, and, indeed, the whole Workings and Policy of the Court of *France*. There were many who ſaw and ſaid this at the Time, but thought it indecent and improper to publiſh ſo much, when our Court had conſented to accept of this Expedient. But now that Reaſon is removed, and we are at full Liberty to ſay whatever can be ſaid with Truth upon this Subject, I cannot avoid doing ſo, and ſhall diſpatch it in very few Words. The *French* had not, in their own Opinion, any Title to the Iſland of *St. Lucia*, but what aroſe from Expediency. They ſaw it lay near them, and they very well knew the Conſequences that would follow from its being ſettled by the *Engliſh*, and this, more than any Advantages they expected from it, put them upon the Attempt to ſettle it.

The Reader may poſſibly imagine that I only aſſert this, but the Fact is otherwiſe; I can really prove it. The *French* Writers on Geography and Trade, nay the *French* Politicians, never dreamed of any ſuch thing, as appears from their Books; and the famous Mr. *Savary*, in his *Dictionary of Commerce*, tells us plainly, that the *French* poſſeſs or claim ten of the *Caribbee Iſlands*, eight entirely, and two in Conjunction with the *Dutch*; all of which he names, but does not include *St. Lucia*; which ſhews that ſuch People in *France*, as muſt ſooneſt have heard of this Claim, if they had any, knew nothing about it. When I ſay that this Settlement was made to prevent our gaining the Iſland, rather than from any great Hopes of Profit, I mean that theſe were the Motives of the *French* Miniſtry, becauſe they had been long of Opinion that *Hiſpaniola*, or *St. Domingo*, ought to be the great Object of their Concern in thoſe Parts of the World, for many Reaſons, which will fall properly in another Place. All therefore that they deſired, with reſpect to the Iſlands, was to prevent our ſettling upon them, which, beſides an immediate Loſs, might prejudice their future Views; and therefore they were willing to take Poſſeſſion of *St. Lucia* as an Out work. If they kept it, it was well, but if they kept it only from us it was better; and this was the true Reaſon of their propoſing the Expedient contained in the foregoing Papers, which actually anſwered their Ends better than if the Iſland had been abſolutely yielded to them by us.

But if the Situation of Affairs in *Europe* fifteen Years ago was ſuch, as made it reaſonable for us to ſuſpend our Right, which I lay down as a Suppoſition, but am far from aſſerting as a Fact; the Face of Affairs is ſince changed, and gives us now the faireſt Opportunity to eſtabliſh that Right; if the War continues we may, and we ought to do it by Force; and whenever there comes a Peace, the *French* can aſſign no Colour or Pretence whatever, againſt the confirming that Right, by renouncing their unjuſt and ill founded Claim, to the preventing our ſettling on it. If they took Advantage of a paſt Conjuncture, when it was not convenient for us to break with them, it is our Buſineſs, as I hinted before, to take the Benefit of the preſent Conjuncture; when, without Queſtion, it is the Intereſt, and will be conſequently the Buſineſs, of *France* to deny us nothing of this Kind, if we inſiſt upon it, that is to ſay, if we ſhew we have it at Heart; and that we are determined to exert our naval Power, and to employ our Negociations for the Service of our own Country, for the promoting our Trade, ſecuring our Navagation, and extending our Intereſt in the *Weſt-Indies*.

But the Queſtion may be aſked, what is the real Value and Importance of the thing for which you would have us contend? What is this *St. Lucia* worth? What can be made of it? Why ſhould we trouble ourſelves about it? In anſwer to this, I can only ſay, in few Words, that it has been computed, that the Product and Commerce of this Iſland might, in a few Years, be brought to yield *Great-Britain*, an annual Rent of two hundred thouſand Pounds; but to ſhew the Poſſibility, or rather the Probability, if not the Certainty, of this Calculation, I ſhall give the Reader Captain *Uring*'s Deſcription of this Iſland, who went thither on purpoſe to ſettle it; who was a Man of great Underſtanding in Matters of this Nature, and whoſe Honeſty was as little queſtioned as his Capacity; ſo that I cannot diſcern any Objection that can be reaſonably made to his Account, which is alſo remarkably plain and ſuccinct, and with which, as to this Subject, I ſhall conclude.

"*St. Lucia* is about twenty-two Miles in Length, and eleven broad; the greateſt Part of it very good Land, and in many Places hilly and many rich Valleys very well watered with fine Rivers all through the Iſland, which makes it exceedingly pleaſant and delightful, and it muſt be very healthful, by its being ſo narrow; and the Hills being not ſo high to intercept the continual Trade-winds, that always fan it from the Eaſtward, whereby the Heat of the Climate is mitigated, and made rather agreeable than troubleſome. The Variety of Situations that it affords by the Hills and Vales, makes it both convenient and delightful, as well as the Pleaſantneſs of the Proſpects; and it is full of all Trees, amongſt which are great Quantities of good Timber, fit for building Houſes and Windmills; from whence both *Barbadoes* and *Martinico* have been furniſhed with very great Quantities, and are ſtill; the Cacao, or Chocolate Nut grows here very well, and there grows alſo a great deal of Fuſtic, and there is abundance of wild Fowl. It lies Weſt-north-weſt from the Iſland of *Barbadoes*, about twenty-four Leagues; South from *Martinico* about ſeven Leagues; and the ſame Diſtance North by Eaſt from *St. Vincent*; and hath ſeveral good Bays, and excellent Harbours for Ships to anchor in: One of which is the *Petite Careenage*, where we deſigned the firſt Settlement. This Harbour is on the North-weſt Part of the Iſland, and is much the fineſt, and moſt convenient in all the *Caribbee Iſlands*; great Numbers of Ships may be there ſafe in all kinds of Weather, and it is very commodious for careening Ships of War and other Veſſels. If this Iſland had been ſettled, as was intended by his Grace the Duke of *Montague*, proper Forts built, and Garriſons placed therein, for the Protection and Defence thereof, it would have been of the greateſt Importance for the ſecuring the *Leeward Iſlands*, and even *Barbadoes*, from being invaded by *France* in Time of War; for no Armament can be made, nor any Expedition carried on by the *French* at *Martinico*, againſt any of thoſe Colonies, but muſt be known at *St. Lucia*, almoſt as ſoon as the Deſign is formed, by the Nearneſs of its Neighbourhood to that Iſland; from whence, likewiſe, *Barbadoes* and the *Leeward Iſlands* might have Notice to provide for their better Defence. If *St. Lucia* were well inhabited by the *Engliſh*, the People of *Martinico* would know their Intereſt better than to enter upon any Expedition

“ againſt *Barbadoes* or the *Leeward Iſlands*, when they “ had an Enemy ſo near them; for they muſt needs “ conſider, if their Men were ſent off that Iſland to invade the *Leeward Iſlands*, the *Barbadians* would join “ the People of *St. Lucia*, and fall upon *Martinico* in the “ Abſence of their Men; which would endanger the “ Loſs of that Iſland, or at leaſt the Plunder or ſpoiling “ of it; and would be more Damage to them than any “ Benefit they can propoſe to themſelves, by invading “ the *Leeward Iſlands*, and ſo the ſame if their Deſign “ is againſt *Barbadoes*; the *Leeward Iſlands* People joining theſe of *St. Lucia*, *Martinico* will be in the ſame “ Danger, and by that Means our Plantations, in thoſe “ Parts, will be entirely ſecured by the Poſſeſſion of *St.* “ *Lucia*, and it will alſo be in the Power of the *Engliſh* “ to diſturb the *French*, and not in the Power of the “ *French* to hurt the *Engliſh*. But if both Nations ſhould “ ſit ſtill without hurting each other, yet *St. Lucia* will “ be of the greateſt Advantage to *Great-Britain*, if it “ were appointed the Place of Rendezvous for his Majeſty's Ships of War; from whence they might continually relieve each other, if need were, and keep “ always cruizing on the *French*, that they could not be “ able to have a Veſſel go in or out of their Harbour, “ but what might be intercepted by the King's Ships, “ and ſo the Trade of our Plantations would thereby “ become ſecured, and the *Martinicans* would have no “ Reaſon to boaſt as they did in the late War, that they “ maintained their Iſlands chiefly by privateering on the “ *Engliſh*, which is too well known to the Merchants “ that have been Traders to thoſe Parts. But in caſe *St.* “ *Lucia* was ſettled, and proper Meaſures purſued, it “ would entirely prevent ſuch Miſchiefs for the future, “ and the *Engliſh* would ſoon grow too powerful for the “ *French*, who at preſent have greatly the Advantage of “ the *Engliſh*; and the *Leeward Iſlands* are in the greateſt “ Danger, in caſe of a War with *France*, of being invaded, which the *Engliſh* Planters are moſt ſenſible of, “ and it is what the wiſeſt of them apprehend every “ Day.”

13. The Remarks that have been already made in the Courſe of this Section, upon the ſeveral Subjects to which it relates, make it unneceſſary for me to detain the Reader very long with Obſervations at the Cloſe. But, however, ſome Things are both fit and requiſite to be ſaid here, for the Information of my Readers in general; and for reminding thoſe in particular, who have it in their Power to be uſeful to the Colonies. It is certain, that from the very Time Sir *Walter Raleigh*, the Father of our *Engliſh* Colonies, and his Aſſociates, firſt projected thoſe Eſtabliſhments, there have been many who have either found an Intereſt, or took a Pleaſure, in miſrepreſenting or leſſening the Value of them. When the Intention of improving theſe diſtant Countries, and the Advantages that were hoped for from it, were firſt ſet forth, there were ſome who treated them not only as chimerical, but as dangerous: They ſaid that it was very uncertain whether we might meet with Succeſs, and if we did, it might diſpeople the Nation. Theſe, and many other Objections, flowing partly from a Narrowneſs of Underſtanding, but I am afraid chiefly from a Narrowneſs of Heart, have been diſproved by Experience, which has ſhewn that what was then propoſed was practicable in itſelf, profitable in its Conſequences, and attended with none of thoſe Miſchiefs that theſe timorous or ill-intentioned People either apprehended or ſeemed to apprehend.

The Difficulties which attended, and which will always attend, Settlements at the Beginning, proved a new Cauſe of Clamour; and many ſpiteful Things were ſaid about the ſacrificing ſo many *Engliſhmen*, to the obſtinate Deſire of fixing Colonies in Countries, which at that Time did not produce any great Advantages. But by Degrees, as theſe Difficulties were overcome, thoſe Complaints likewiſe ceaſed, and we heard no more of theſe pretended Hardſhips; which, in reality, were no other than the ſending ſuch, as from the Perverſeneſs of their own Diſpoſitions were capable only of doing Miſchief here; ſuch as the Severity of their Creditors would have deſtined to perpetual Impriſonment; and ſuch as, either from Lazineſs or Indigence, would have periſhed in our Streets, to be uſeful to themſelves and to the Community in the Colonies.

But when theſe Complaints ceaſed, others roſe in their ſtead; and when it could be no longer ſaid that the Colonies were uſeleſs, it was alledged that they were not uſeful enough to their Mother Country; that while we were loaded with Taxes, they were abſolutely free, and that the Planters lived like Princes, while the Inhabitants of *Great-Britain* laboured hard for a tolerable Subſiſtence. This produced Cuſtoms and Impoſitions upon all Plantation Commodities, which if they are grievous to the Inhabitants of the Plantations, muſt turn to our Diſadvantage as well as theirs, and conſequently become a great Prejudice to both. At preſent there is a vaſt Change in the Face of Affairs in theſe Parts of the World, which has conſequently produced a Change in the Notions and Sentiments of thoſe who are ſettled there, and ought likewiſe to produce a Change in our Conduct. The principal Point in this Change is, the ſurpriſing Growth of the *French* Power in *America*, from whence we have had many Warnings given us, which certainly were not received with ſo much Attention as they ought to have been. If we had conſidered, that in the Reign of King *Charles* II. when *France* had very little Trade, and her Colonies were of no great Conſequence, ſhe was almoſt a Match for all *Europe* beſide, and that too when the maritime Powers were in their moſt flouriſhing Condition; we might have eaſily foreſeen to what a Height her Power would increaſe with the Help of Colonies and Commerce: But either we did not foreſee it, or we ſuff red ourſelves to be ſo much taken up with nearer Objects, that we did not ſufficiently provide againſt an Evil, which of all others we ought moſt to apprehend.

The very Thing that has hitherto hindered us from conceiving as we ought to do of our Danger, in this Reſpect, would have convinced us moſt fully, if we had viewed it on the right Side, and reaſoned upon it as became us. If we find that in Conjunction with the greateſt Powers upon the Continent, we have not been able for fifty Years paſt, to ſet any Bounds to the Ambition of *France* in *Europe*, what Limits are we like to ſet to her Power in *America*, when it comes to bear any Proportion there, to what ſhe has attained here, and towards which, as we ſee ſhe has already made large Strides?

It may be anſwered, that at preſent ſhe is very far from being equal to us in Strength in that Part of the World; that the Colonies are very apt to think themſelves in Danger, long before they are ſo; and that if their Fears were really ſo great as they would ſometimes repreſent them, as they have a Force ſufficient, it is ſcarce to be doubted that they would at length find a Will to help and relieve themſelves. We may anſwer to this, that if the *French* had a Power in *America*, in any Degree approaching ours, our Care might probably come too late, eſpecially conſidering the great Change that has happened there, where, inſtead of having all the World for Allies, we have hardly ſo much as a Friend in Appearance, the *Spaniards* being become Friends to *France*, and the *Dutch* having neither Force, nor, perhaps, Inclination to aſſiſt us. The Nature of their Government alſo, though it makes their Subjects leſs happy, makes their Colonies more formidable, and enables the Prince to protect them more effectually, and to grant them from Time to Time greater Encouragements; ſo that we need not Wonder they have overcome ſo many Difficulties, or that the Trade of the *French* Iſlands ſhould be ſo much more conſiderable now, than it was at the Peace of *Utrecht*. We may be likewiſe ſure of this, that the more their Trade increaſes, the more it will be encouraged, becauſe the *French* Miniſtry pay a particular Regard thereto; and as we have already ſhewn in our Hiſtory of the *Eaſt-India* Company, they are never wanting to ſuch as are not wanting to themſelves; but from the great Principle of promoting the Grandeur of *France*, yield all the Aſſiſtance they can to what they viſibly perceive will increaſe the Wealth, and augment the naval Power, of the Kingdom.

Agreement about this Matter, that is, about the immediate Settlement, not as to their Rights; for our King declares fully and plainly, that he looked upon his to be wholly unimpeached by this Diſpute; and ſo to be ſure it was, and is. But let us ſee the Inſtructions from *France*, which are referred to in the foregoing Paper, which were conceived in the Words following:

The French *King's* LETTER *or* MANDATE, *to the Governor of* Martinico, *dated* December 26, 1730.

Monſieur DE CHAMPIGNY,

" The *Engliſh* have, for ſome time paſt, laid Pre- " tenſions to the Iſland of *St. Lucia*, which belongs to " me, and to which I have an inconteſtable Right. " The ſame Pretenſions they have laid to the Iſlands of " *St. Vincent* and *St. Dominico*, ſaid to belong to the " *Caribbeeans*, Natives of the Country, according to the " Treaty of the 31ſt of *March*, 1660; and in the Poſ- " ſeſſion of which it is my Intention to ſupport them. I " have, nevertheleſs, agreed with the Court of *England*, " that until theſe Pretenſions ſhall be determined, the ſaid " Iſlands ſhall be evacuated by both Nations. And this " is to acquaint you, that it is my Pleaſure, that you " make it known, *&c.*" As in the former.

Upon theſe Papers I ſhall make but one Remark, which is, that they clearly unravelled and expoſed the true Intention and Deſign, and, indeed, the whole Workings and Policy of the Court of *France*. There were many who ſaw and ſaid this at the Time, but thought it indecent and improper to publiſh ſo much, when our Court had conſented to accept of this Expedient. But now that Reaſon is removed, and we are at full Liberty to ſay whatever can be ſaid with Truth upon this Subject, I cannot avoid doing ſo, and ſhall diſpatch it in very few Words. The *French* had not, in their own Opinion, any Title to the Iſland of *St. Lucia*, but what aroſe from Expediency. They ſaw it lay near them, and they very well knew the Conſequences that would follow from its being ſettled by the *Engliſh*, and this, more than any Advantages they expected from it, put them upon the Attempt to ſettle it.

The Reader may poſſibly imagine that I only aſſert this, but the Fact is otherwiſe; I can really prove it. The *French* Writers on Geography and Trade, nay the *French* Politicians, never dreamed of any ſuch thing, as appears from their Books; and the famous Mr. *Savary*, in his *Dictionary of Commerce*, tells us plainly, that the *French* poſſeſs or claim ten of the *Caribbee Iſlands*, eight entirely, and two in Conjunction with the *Dutch*; all of which he names, but does not include *St. Lucia*; which ſhews that ſuch People in *France*, as muſt ſooneſt have heard of this Claim, if they had any, knew nothing about it. When I ſay that this Settlement was made to prevent our gaining the Iſland, rather than from any great Hopes of Profit, I mean that theſe were the Motives of the *French* Miniſtry, becauſe they had been long of Opinion that *Hiſpaniola*, or *St. Domingo*, ought to be the great Object of their Concern in thoſe Parts of the World, for many Reaſons, which will fall properly in another Place. All therefore that they deſired, with reſpect to the Iſlands, was to prevent our ſettling upon them, which, beſides an immediate Loſs, might prejudice their future Views; and therefore they were willing to take Poſſeſſion of *St. Lucia* as an Out work. If they kept it, it was well, but if they kept it only from us it was better; and this was the true Reaſon of their propoſing the Expedient contained in the foregoing Papers, which actually anſwered their Ends better than if the Iſland had been abſolutely yielded to them by us.

But if the Situation of Affairs in *Europe* fifteen Years ago was ſuch, as made it reaſonable for us to ſuſpend our Right, which I lay down as a Suppoſition, but am far from aſſerting as a Fact; the Face of Affairs is ſince changed, and gives us now the faireſt Opportunity to eſtabliſh that Right; if the War continues we may, and we ought to do it by Force; and whenever there comes a Peace, the *French* can aſſign no Colour or Pretence whatever, againſt the confirming that Right, by renouncing their unjuſt and ill founded Claim, to the preventing our ſettling on it. If they took Advantage of a paſt Conjuncture, when it was not convenient for us to break with them, it is our Buſineſs, as I hinted before, to take the Benefit of the preſent Conjuncture; when, without Queſtion, it is the Intereſt, and will be conſequently the Buſineſs, of *France* to deny us nothing of this Kind, if we inſiſt upon it, that is to ſay, if we ſhew we have it at Heart; and that we are determined to exert our naval Power, and to employ our Negociations for the Service of our own Country, for the promoting our Trade, ſecuring our Navagation, and extending our Intereſt in the *Weſt-Indies*.

But the Queſtion may be aſked, what is the real Value and Importance of the thing for which you would have us contend? What is this *St. Lucia* worth? What can be made of it? Why ſhould we trouble ourſelves about it? In anſwer to this, I can only ſay, in few Words, that it has been computed, that the Product and Commerce of this Iſland might, in a few Years, be brought to yield *Great-Britain*, an annual Rent of two hundred thouſand Pounds; but to ſhew the Poſſibility, or rather the Probability, if not the Certainty, of this Calculation, I ſhall give the Reader Captain *Uring*'s Deſcription of this Iſland, who went thither on purpoſe to ſettle it; who was a Man of great Underſtanding in Matters of this Nature, and whoſe Honeſty was as little queſtioned as his Capacity; ſo that I cannot diſcern any Objection that can be reaſonably made to his Account, which is alſo remarkably plain and ſuccinct, and with which, as to this Subject, I ſhall conclude.

" *St. Lucia* is about twenty-two Miles in Length, and " eleven broad; the greateſt Part of it very good Land, " and in many Places hilly and many rich Valleys very " well watered with fine Rivers all through the Iſland, " which makes it exceedingly pleaſant and delightful, and " it muſt be very healthful, by its being ſo narrow; and " the Hills being not ſo high to intercept the continual " Trade-winds, that always fan it from the Eaſtward, " whereby the Heat of the Climate is mitigated, and " made rather agreeable than troubleſome. The Variety " of Situations that it affords by the Hills and Vales, " makes it both convenient and delightful, as well as the " Pleaſantneſs of the Proſpects; and it is full of all " Trees, amongſt which are great Quantities of good " Timber, fit for building Houſes and Windmills; " from whence both *Barbadoes* and *Martinico* have been " furniſhed with very great Quantities, and are ſtill; the " Cacao, or Chocolate Nut grows here very well, and " there grows alſo a great deal of Fuſtic, and there " is abundance of wild Fowl. It lies Weſt-north-weſt " from the Iſland of *Barbadoes*, about twenty-four " Leagues; South from *Martinico* about ſeven Leagues; " and the ſame Diſtance North by Eaſt from *St. Vin-* " *cent*; and hath ſeveral good Bays, and excellent Har- " bours for Ships to anchor in: One of which is the " *Petite Careenage*, where we deſigned the firſt Settle- " ment. This Harbour is on the North-weſt Part of " the Iſland, and is much the fineſt, and moſt conve- " nient in all the *Caribbee Iſlands*; great Numbers of " Ships may be there ſafe in all kinds of Weather, and " it is very commodious for careening Ships of War and " other Veſſels. If this Iſland had been ſettled, as was " intended by his Grace the Duke of *Montague*, proper " Forts built, and Garriſons placed therein, for the Pro- " tection and Defence thereof, it would have been of " the greateſt Importance for the ſecuring the *Leeward* " *Iſlands*, and even *Barbadoes*, from being invaded by " *France* in Time of War; for no Armament can be " made, nor any Expedition carried on by the *French* at " *Martinico*, againſt any of thoſe Colonies, but muſt be " known at *St. Lucia*, almoſt as ſoon as the Deſign is " formed, by the Nearneſs of its Neighbourhood to that " Iſland; from whence, likewiſe, *Barbadoes* and the *Lee-* " *ward Iſlands* might have Notice to provide for their " better Defence. If *St. Lucia* were well inhabited by " the *Engliſh*, the People of *Martinico* would know their " Intereſt better than to enter upon any Expedition

“ againſt *Barbadoes* or the *Leeward Iſlands*, when they had an Enemy ſo near them; for they muſt needs conſider, if their Men were ſent off that Iſland to invade the *Leeward Iſlands*, the *Barbadians* would join the People of *St. Lucia*, and fall upon *Martinico* in the Abſence of their Men; which would endanger the Loſs of that Iſland, or at leaſt the Plunder or ſpoiling of it; and would be more Damage to them than any Benefit they can propoſe to themſelves, by invading the *Leeward Iſlands*, and ſo the ſame if their Deſign is againſt *Barbadoes*; the *Leeward Iſlands* People joining theſe of *St. Lucia*, *Martinico* will be in the ſame Danger, and by that Means our Plantations, in thoſe Parts, will be entirely ſecured by the Poſſeſſion of *St. Lucia*, and it will alſo be in the Power of the *Engliſh* to diſturb the *French*, and not in the Power of the *French* to hurt the *Engliſh*. But if both Nations ſhould ſit ſtill without hurting each other, yet *St. Lucia* will be of the greateſt Advantage to *Great-Britain*, if it were appointed the Place of Rendezvous for his Majeſty's Ships of War; from whence they might continually relieve each other, if need were, and keep always cruizing on the *French*, that they could not be able to have a Veſſel go in or out of their Harbour, but what might be intercepted by the King's Ships, and ſo the Trade of our Plantations would thereby become ſecured, and the *Martinicans* would have no Reaſon to boaſt as they did in the late War, that they maintained their Iſlands chiefly by privateering on the *Engliſh*, which is too well known to the Merchants that have been Traders to thoſe Parts. But in caſe *St. Lucia* was ſettled, and proper Meaſures purſued, it would entirely prevent ſuch Miſchiefs for the future, and the *Engliſh* would ſoon grow too powerful for the *French*, who at preſent have greatly the Advantage of the *Engliſh*; and the *Leeward Iſlands* are in the greateſt Danger, in caſe of a War with *France*, of being invaded, which the *Engliſh* Planters are moſt ſenſible of, and it is what the wiſeſt of them apprehend every Day.”

13. The Remarks that have been already made in the Courſe of this Section, upon the ſeveral Subjects to which it relates, make it unneceſſary for me to detain the Reader very long with Obſervations at the Cloſe. But, however, ſome Things are both fit and requiſite to be ſaid here, for the Information of my Readers in general; and for reminding thoſe in particular, who have it in their Power to be uſeful to the Colonies. It is certain, that from the very Time Sir *Walter Raleigh*, the Father of our *Engliſh* Colonies, and his Aſſociates, firſt projected thoſe Eſtabliſhments, there have been many who have either found an Intereſt, or took a Pleaſure, in miſrepreſenting or leſſening the Value of them. When the Intention of improving theſe diſtant Countries, and the Advantages that were hoped for from it, were firſt ſet forth, there were ſome who treated them not only as chimerical, but as dangerous: They ſaid that it was very uncertain whether we might meet with Succeſs, and if we did, it might diſpeople the Nation. Theſe, and many other Objections, flowing partly from a Narrowneſs of Underſtanding, but I am afraid chiefly from a Narrowneſs of Heart, have been diſproved by Experience, which has ſhewn that what was then propoſed was practicable in itſelf, profitable in its Conſequences, and attended with none of thoſe Miſchiefs that theſe timorous or ill-intentioned People either apprehended or ſeemed to apprehend.

The Difficulties which attended, and which will always attend, Settlements at the Beginning, proved a new Cauſe of Clamour; and many ſpiteful Things were ſaid about the ſacrificing ſo many *Engliſhmen*, to the obſtinate Deſire of fixing Colonies in Countries, which at that Time did not produce any great Advantages. But by Degrees, as theſe Difficulties were overcome, thoſe Complaints likewiſe ceaſed, and we heard no more of theſe pretended Hardſhips; which, in reality, were no other than the ſending ſuch, as from the Perverſeneſs of their own Diſpoſitions were capable only of doing Miſchief here; ſuch as the Severity of their Creditors would have deſtined to perpetual Impriſonment; and ſuch as, either from Lazineſs or Indigence, would have periſhed in our Streets, to be uſeful to themſelves and to the Community in the Colonies.

But when theſe Complaints ceaſed, others roſe in their ſtead; and when it could be no longer ſaid that the Colonies were uſeleſs, it was alledged that they were not uſeful enough to their Mother Country; that while we were loaded with Taxes, they were abſolutely free, and that the Planters lived like Princes, while the Inhabitants of *Great-Britain* laboured hard for a tolerable Subſiſtence. This produced Cuſtoms and Impoſitions upon all Plantation Commodities, which if they are grievous to the Inhabitants of the Plantations, muſt turn to our Diſadvantage as well as theirs, and conſequently become a great Prejudice to both. At preſent there is a vaſt Change in the Face of Affairs in theſe Parts of the World, which has conſequently produced a Change in the Notions and Sentiments of thoſe who are ſettled there, and ought likewiſe to produce a Change in our Conduct. The principal Point in this Change is, the ſurpriſing Growth of the *French* Power in *America*, from whence we have had many Warnings given us, which certainly were not received with ſo much Attention as they ought to have been. If we had conſidered, that in the Reign of King *Charles* II. when *France* had very little Trade, and her Colonies were of no great Conſequence, ſhe was almoſt a Match for all *Europe* beſide, and that too when the maritime Powers were in their moſt flouriſhing Condition; we might have eaſily foreſeen to what a Height her Power would increaſe with the Help of Colonies and Commerce: But either we did not foreſee it, or we ſuffered ourſelves to be ſo much taken up with nearer Objects, that we did not ſufficiently provide againſt an Evil, which of all others we ought moſt to apprehend.

The very Thing that has hitherto hindered us from conceiving as we ought to do of our Danger, in this Reſpect, would have convinced us moſt fully, if we had viewed it on the right Side, and reaſoned upon it as became us. If we find that in Conjunction with the greateſt Powers upon the Continent, we have not been able for fifty Years paſt, to ſet any Bounds to the Ambition of *France* in *Europe*, what Limits are we like to ſet to her Power in *America*, when it comes to bear any Proportion there, to what ſhe has attained here, and towards which, as we ſee ſhe has already made large Strides?

It may be anſwered, that at preſent ſhe is very far from being equal to us in Strength in that Part of the World; that the Colonies are very apt to think themſelves in Danger, long before they are ſo; and that if their Fears were really ſo great as they would ſometimes repreſent them, as they have a Force ſufficient, it is ſcarce to be doubted that they would at length find a Will to help and relieve themſelves. We may anſwer to this, that if the *French* had a Power in *America*, in any Degree approaching ours, our Care might probably come too late, eſpecially conſidering the great Change that has happened there, where, inſtead of having all the World for Allies, we have hardly ſo much as a Friend in Appearance, the *Spaniards* being become Friends to *France*, and the *Dutch* having neither Force, nor, perhaps, Inclination to aſſiſt us. The Nature of their Government alſo, though it makes their Subjects leſs happy, makes their Colonies more formidable, and enables the Prince to protect them more effectually, and to grant them from Time to Time greater Encouragements; ſo that we need not Wonder they have overcome ſo many Difficulties, or that the Trade of the *French* Iſlands ſhould be ſo much more conſiderable now, than it was at the Peace of *Utrecht*. We may be likewiſe ſure of this, that the more their Trade increaſes, the more it will be encouraged, becauſe the *French* Miniſtry pay a particular Regard thereto; and as we have already ſhewn in our Hiſtory of the *Eaſt-India* Company, they are never wanting to ſuch as are not wanting to themſelves; but from the great Principle of promoting the Grandeur of *France*, yield all the Aſſiſtance they can to what they viſibly perceive will increaſe the Wealth, and augment the naval Power, of the Kingdom.

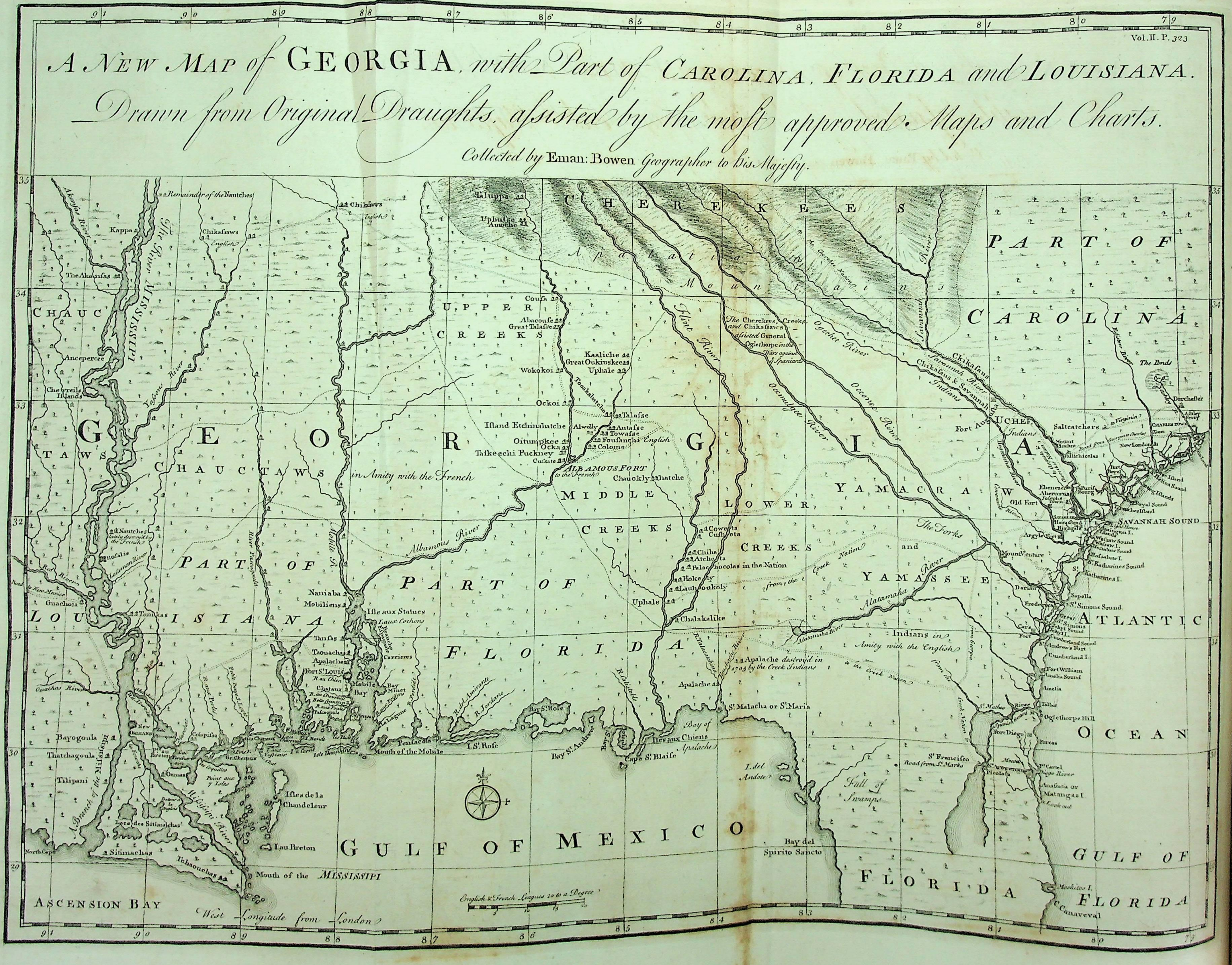
As to the Apprehenſions of the Colonies, Time has ſhewn they are but two well founded; our Settlements upon the Continent are, in a Manner, ſurrounded by them; the Correſpondence between *Canada* and *Louiſiana* is in ſome Meaſure ſettled; and, though a great length of Time may be neceſſary to perfect the Deſigns they may have formed on that Side, yet if we do not interpoſe, as indeed we might eaſily do, they will be ſome time or other perfected, and then we ſhall find our Circumſtances very uneaſy. This to every Man who will but turn his Thoughts upon the Subject, muſt appear very plain and very certain; we ſhould not therefore wonder that thoſe who both ſee and feel it, expreſs themſelves with ſome Warmth upon this Topic: And at the worſt, our Colonies had better alarm us too ſoon than ſlumber themſelves, and ſuffer us to ſlumber till it is too late. The *French* have already a great Power in the Iſlands, and if ever they ſhould become entirely Maſters of *Hiſpaniola*, which we know not how ſoon they may, the Effects would be fatal to us. We have, at preſent, no Idea of the Importance of that Iſland, or at leaſt no adequate Idea of it; becauſe the *Spaniards*, who are poſſeſſed of the greateſt Part of it, either from their Lazineſs or their Weakneſs, make no Uſe of it; but we ſhould find it quite otherwiſe if the whole was in *French* Hands; and therefore amongſt all our Guarantees, it would be very right to have a general Guarantee for the *Spaniſh* Dominions in the *Weſt-Indies*.

As to our Colonies helping themſelves, there is no Doubt they do ſo, or their Situation would be very bad. We hear daily of great Things done by their Privateers, but our Squadrons perform very little; and whoever compares the Exploits done by the *Buccaneers*, who were but *Weſt-Indian* Privateers, with what has been done by a regular naval Force, would ſcarce believe they were of the ſame Nation: Men of War in their Ports, and Commodores and Captains on Shore, do our Colonies very little Service; for they neither protect our own Trade, nor diſtreſs that of the Enemy; ſo that whatever Expence this may create to us we ought not to charge it upon them. If any Expedition is concerted here, we find the People in *Jamaica* and the *Leeward Iſlands*, ready enough to expend both their Treaſure and their Blood in the Execution of it; and in Caſe of Miſcarriages, we have ſeldom had Reaſon to lay the Blame at their Doors. As to the Northern Colonies, we have known them do ſome, and attempt many, great Things; ſo that it is barbarous to accuſe them of being wanting to themſelves.

The Truth is, we want a proper Military Force in *America*; and I have often wondered that ſome Way was not contrived to ſend our Half-pay Officers thither: I do not mean to ſend them thither upon Half-pay; but to take ſuch Meaſures as that they ſhould have Whole-pay, one Half from home, and the other raiſed there. We might likewiſe make it worth the Attention of our Invalids, both Soldiers and Seamen, who, if they have common Senſe, would like a comfortable Eſtabliſhment in *New York*, *Penſylvania*, or *Virginia*, with their Wives and Families, full as well as an Apartment in any College, or being cooped up in our Garriſons, or in the *Scilly* Iſlands. If by theſe, or by any other Methods, we could eſtabliſh a regular Military Force, and even in time of Peace keep the Men ſome way or other in Action and Diſcipline, our Colonies would be a Match or Over-match for the *French*, as Experience ſhews from the Colony of *Georgia*, where we have been always a Match, and once an Over-match for the *Spaniards*, by mere Dint of Military Diſcipline, though we had but a very Handful of People.

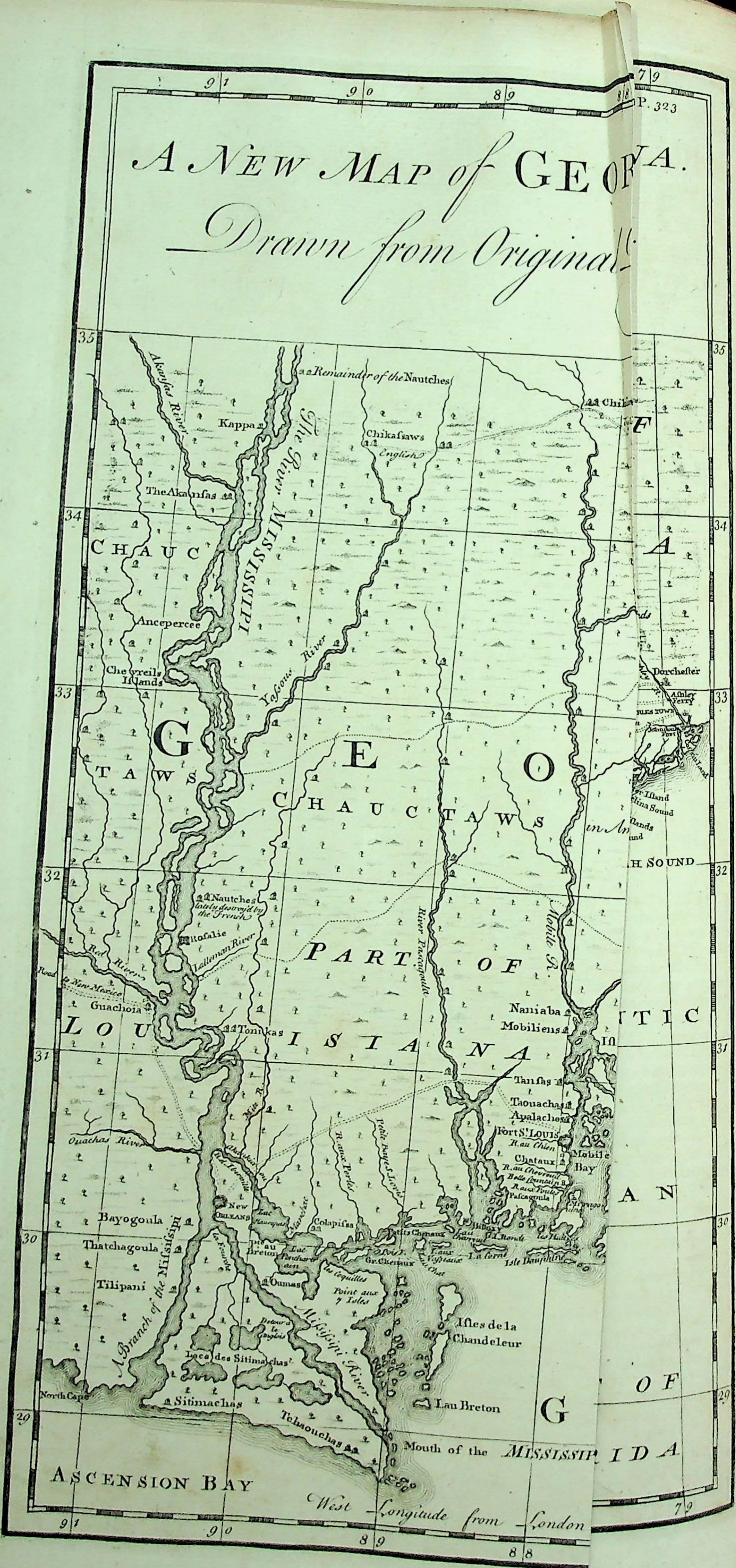
Theſe are Things that demand immediate and general Conſideration. Our Colonies were always of great Conſequence, but they are now of the greateſt Conſequence, to the Nation; for at leaſt one Half of our Commerce depends upon them, as the whole of our Strength and Happineſs depends upon it: Our Wealth produces Liberty, and our Wealth was produced by Trade; whatever leſſens that will therefore effect theſe, and if ever it ſhould be taken away, we muſt certainly feel what we felt before, Poverty and arbitrary Power. The wiſeſt Uſe therefore that we can make of Wealth while we have it is to ſecure its Sources, by employing our Fleet in that Part of the World where their Succeſs muſt be attended with certain and immediate Advantages, for diſtreſſing the Trade of the *French* muſt benefit ours. In King *William*'s War we had *Spain* for an Ally, and therefore we could not then take any Advantage from her Weakneſs. In the next general War we were neither her Friend nor Foe; we did her ſome Hurt, and ourſelves no Good. But the *French* have been Gainers by both Wars; they had plundered the *Spaniards* in the firſt, as open Enemies; they ſtripped them of their Money in the laſt, by being pretended Friends. In the preſent War we have done pretty well, and the *French* have perhaps been no great Gainers by their Friendſhip with *Spain*. This ought to teach us the Wiſdom of living with that Nation always either upon the beſt Terms or the worſt; as cordial Allies or as open Enemies; for whenever we are between both of theſe we are ſure to be the Sufferers, and the *French* and *Dutch* run away with all.

It is our Buſineſs therefore to continue always armed in this Part of the World, where we have a ſuperior Force, and where we ſhould be ever ready to exert it, not againſt innocent and inoffenſive Neighbours, but againſt falſe Friends and treacherous Allies. If our legal Trade with the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies* were reſtored, we ought to make it our Buſineſs to ſee that it be a legal Trade; for it is certain that the Nation neither gets nor loſes, while the ſame Quantity of Goods are diſpoſed of by different Hands: We ought therefore to convince the Crown of *Spain*, that we can treat, and mean to treat, them well; and at the ſame Time, we ſhould ſhew them, that as it is not their Intereſt to treat us ill, ſo it is not our Nature to bear it: Illicit Trade and Conventions may do well enough for a feeble Republic, but are beneath a powerful Kingdom; that, as it owes its Power to, ought to be always able and willing to protect, its Trade. Such are the Sentiments which ought to inſpire the Breaſts of *Britiſh* Stateſmen. The reſt of the World are convinced that we have not the Talents of Negociation; we ought therefore to convince them, that we do not ſtand in need of ſuch Talents; but that we can do our Buſineſs without them. The *Dutch*, whatever Language they may uſe in *Europe*, have always talked in this Tone in the *Eaſt-Indies*, and we ought to uſe it in the *Weſt*; while our Power is great there, we ſhould exert and increaſe it; when once it begins to decline, Advice will come too late, and therefore no Man can be blamed for giving it in time, whether it be followed or not. It is the Privilege of every Freeman to ſpeak and write for the Service of his Country, and the Privilege only of a few to act; but if the former excite, and the latter will perform, nothing is clearer, than that our Country muſt be ſerved; which in this World is the worthieſt End of Men, and therefore what we ſhould all purſue.



A NEW MAP of GEORGIA, with Part of CAROLINA, FLORIDA and LOUISIANA.
Drawn from Original Draughts, assisted by the most approved Maps and Charts.
Collected by Eman: Bowen Geographer to his Majesty.

CHEREKEES
Apalatian Mountains
PART OF CAROLINA
UPPER CREEKS
MIDDLE CREEKS
LOWER CREEKS
GEORGIA
CHAUCTAWS in Amity with the French
PART OF LOUISIANA
PART OF FLORIDA
YAMACRAW and YAMASSEE Indians in Amity with the English
The Cherekees, Creeks, and Chikasaws assisted General Oglethorpe in the Wars against ye Spaniards
The River MISSISIPI
Mobile R.
Albamous River
Flint River
Ocmulgee River
Oconee River
Ogechee River
Savannah River
Alatamaha River
ALBAMOUS FORT to the French
Fort Augusta
Ebenezer
Abercorn
Old Fort
Argyle Fort
Mount Venture
Darien
Frederica
Fort William
Fort Diego
St. Augustine
Oglethorpe Hill
CHARLES TOWN
Dorchester
SAVANNAH SOUND
St. Katharines Sound
St. Simons Sound
ATLANTIC OCEAN
GULF OF MEXICO
GULF OF FLORIDA
ASCENSION BAY
Mouth of the MISSISIPI
Mouth of the Mobile
New ORLEANS
Pensacola
Bay St. Rose
Bay St. Andrew
Cape St. Blaise
Bay of Apalache
St. Malacha or St. Maria
Apalache destroyd in 1705 by the Creek Indians
Isles de la Chandeleur
Fall of Swamps
Bay del Spirito Sancto
Canaveral
English & French Leagues 20 to a Degree
West Longitude from London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A NEW MAP of GEOR[...]A.
Drawn from Original[...]
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Remaindr of the Nautches
Akansas River
Kappa
The River MISSISSIPI
Chikasaws
English
The Akansas
CHAUC
Ancepercee
Chevreils Islands
Yasous River
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TAWS
CHAUCTAWS
Nautches lately destroy'd by the French
Rosalie
Galleman River
Red River
Road to New Mexico
Guachoia
LOU
PART OF
LOUISIANA
River Pascagoula
Mobile R.
Naniaba
Mobiliens
Tonikas
Tansas
Taouachas
Apalachos
Fort St. LOUIS
R. au Chien
Mobile Bay
Chataux
Ouachas River
Bayogoula
Thatchagoula
Tilipani
New ORLEANS
Lac Maurepas
Lac Pontchartrain
Colapissa
Oumas
Point aux 7 Isles
Isles de la Chandeleur
Isle Dauphine
A Branch of the Missisipi
Missisipi River
Lac des Sitimachas
Sitimachas
North Cape
Tchaouchas
Lau Breton
Mouth of the MISSISSIPI
ASCENSION BAY
West Longitude from London
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SECTION XXI.

The Hiſtory of the RISE, PROGRESS, *and* PRESENT STATE *of the Colony of* GEORGIA; *with the Attempt made upon it by the* Spaniards, *and their total Defeat. Interſperſed with Original Papers.*

1. *An introductory Account of the Motives which gave Riſe to this Deſign of ſettling to the South of* Carolina, *and the Nature of the Colony propoſed.* 2. *A large Extract of the Charter granted by his preſent Majeſty, for incorporating the Truſtees, and enabling them to carry their Deſign into Execution.* 3. *The Reſolution taken by the Truſtees when incoporated, for ſecuring Eſtates in Land to the original Planters and their Heirs Male, and for the perpetual Excluſion of Negroes.* 4. *The firſt Colony ſent over under the Direction of* James Oglethorpe, *Eſq; the Town of* Savannah *laid out, and the firſt Treaty with the* Creek Indians. 5. *The Return of Mr.* Oglethorpe *to* England, *in* 1734, *and his bringing with him* Tomochichi *and other* Indians; *the Acts prepared by the Truſtees for the Government of* Georgia, *approved by the Lords of Trade and Plantations, and ratified by his Majeſty.* 6. *The great Embarkation, in the Year* 1735, *on the extraordinary Grant of twenty-five thouſands Pounds by Parliament, grounded upon a Memorial from* South Carolina; *with a Copy of that Memorial.* 7. *The Hiſtory of the Colony farther continued, together with an Account of the Improvement made therein, and Indulgencies granted to the Planters by the Truſtees.* 8. *The ſame Subject purſued to the Year* 1740, *and a View of the Number of People ſent over by the Truſtees, from the Time their Charter was granted to the Cloſe of that Year.* 9. *A Proſpect of the Country of* Georgia *as it is now ſettled, the Number, Situation, and Importance of the Towns, Forts,* &c. *erected there; with various other Particulars.* 10. *The Condition of the People in this Colony on the breaking out of the War with* Spain, *and the Reſolution taken of acting in Conjunction with the* Carolinians, *offenſively, againſt the* Spaniards. 11. *A ſuccinct Account of the Expedition againſt* Fort St. Auguſtin, *and the Conſequences of that Expedition.* 12. *The Grand Invaſion on that Colony by the whole Force of* New Spain, *and the true End of this extraordinary Armament.* 13. *The total and wonderful Defeat of that great Force by his Majeſty's Forces, under the Command of General* Oglethorpe. 14. *The Congratulations on the News of this important and deciſive Action, from the Governors of our ſeveral Colonies, to General* Oglethorpe; *which ſhews their Senſe of the Conſequences of this happy Repulſe.* 15. *The preſent State of the Colony of* Georgia *conſidered, and its Importance demonſtrated, as a Frontier againſt the* French *and* Spaniards, *as an Aſylum for diſtreſſed* Engliſhmen, *and foreign Proteſtants; as a neceſſary Means for maintaining a good Correſpondence with all the* Indian Nations, *as an excellent Support to the Iſlands of* Jamaica *and* Barbadoes, *and as a Colony from whence we may reaſonably expect Silk, Wine, Pot-aſhes,* &c.

1. THE laſt of the *Britiſh* Colonies in Point of Settlement, and of which hitherto we have had no accurate or juſt Account, much leſs a clear and authentic Hiſtory of *Georgia*; of which I intend to treat with as much Perſpicuity as poſſible, that the Reader may apprehend the Nature of the Country, the Importance of its Situation, the Motives upon which it was ſettled, the Progreſs of that Deſign, the Attempts and Diſappointments of the *Spaniards*, the preſent Situation of Things there, and the Hopes that we may rationally entertain as to its Fate and Succeſs. This is certainly a very extenſive Plan; but at the ſame time it is the only Plan upon which we can proceed, in order to give the inquiſitive and public-ſpirited Reader, a true Notion of the Nature and Importance of this new Settlement; which is undoubtedly of far greater Conſequence to this Nation than hitherto it has been generally conceived to be: And therefore ſuch a Hiſtory as we propoſe will be equally neceſſary and entertaining; neceſſary, as it effectually compleats the Hiſtory of the *Britiſh America*, of which this is not only the laſt Colony in Point of Time, but the laſt alſo in reſpect to Situation, inaſmuch as it extends as far ſouthward as we claim any Right to, and fills up entirely the Diſcoveries of the *Cabots*, which have been ſo often mentioned; entertaining, as it conſiſts almoſt wholly of new Matter, and as it ſhews that even in this Age, when Luxury and all its Attendants, ſeem to be ſo firmly eſtabliſhed in *Europe*, a Scheme has been formed for erecting in the pleaſanteſt and moſt fruitful Part of *North America*, a *Britiſh* Settlement, upon the trueſt Principles of Virtue, Induſtry, and Freedom, which cannot fail of ſtriking firm and deep Root, and of flouriſhing in ſuch a manner as to do Honour to thoſe worthy, diſintereſted, and public-ſpirited Perſons who were firſt concerned in laying the Foundation of this Deſign, and by whoſe hearty and vigorous Endeavours it has been ſo far as it is carried into Execution.

In order to proceed regularly, it is requiſite to obſerve, that about fourteen Years ago, when this Nation enjoyed a profound Peace, and when there appeared no juſt Cauſe to apprehend its being ſpeedily interrupted, ſome Perſons of great Diſtinction, from Principles of true Patriotiſm, and Love to Mankind, obſerving what great Numbers of People there were in theſe Kingdoms, who from a Variety of Misfortunes and untoward Accidents, found themſelves in no Condition of ſubſiſting, at leaſt of ſubſiſting in ſuch a Way as to be uſeful to themſelves and the Community, which is the ſole Means whereby a Number of People become a Bleſſing, generouſly turned their Thoughts towards the Means of employing ſuch Multitudes of diſtreſſed and indigent Perſons for their own and the public Good. Theſe Speculations produced at firſt ſome Thoughts of improving the moſt northern Parts of our Plantations on the Continent of *America*; but upon more mature Reflection, and for very good Reaſons, they changed their Purpoſes, and turned their Thoughts to the South, particularly to that Part of *America* which makes properly our Frontier towards the *Spaniards* and the *French*, and which, though within the Bounds of the Province of *Carolina*, as deſcribed in its Charter, was in reality no Part of it, as not being at all ſettled; and for that Reaſon, rather a Burthen than an Advantage to the Province to which it belonged. Upon confining their Thoughts to this Country, they very quickly perceived, that though it had been ſo long neglected, it was nevertheleſs the moſt valuable Part of our Poſſeſſions in *North America*, and the moſt capable of being made a fruitful, populous, and uſeful Country, though at that time lying entirely waſte, overgrown with vaſt Woods, which gave Shelter to a few *Indians*, run-away Negroes, and other Banditti; affording great Advantages to the *Spaniards* in time of War, and upon the Extremities of which great Incroachments might be made before this Nation could have proper Intelligence of them. They ſaw that as to Climate and Situation no Country could claim a better, that it extended ſeventy Miles from North to South, and that it was three hundred Miles from the Midſt of the Coaſt to the *Apalachian* Mountains, the Country widening all the way; they were convinced that when a little opened and cleared, there could not be a pleaſanter or healthier Country upon the Face of the Globe; that the Soil would prove fruitful, and eaſy to be cultivated; that therefore People might ſubſiſt there upon very moderate Labour; which Circumſtances induced them to think, there could be no Place more proper found for the Habitation of the unhappy People before-mentioned.

But beſides theſe Sentiments of private Pity, they were influenced likewiſe by Motives of public Utility: They foreſaw that if this Project could be brought to bear, it would turn vaſtly to the Advantage of *North* and *South Carolina*, then lately purchaſed by the Crown, by providing an effectual Frontier againſt the *Spaniards* and the *French*, which they had hitherto wanted, and of the Want of which they had loudly complained: They judged by this Means, that new Alliances might be contracted with the *Indians*; or in caſe that could not be effected, the new Colony muſt certainly keep them in Awe, and prevent their being ſo terrible as within a few Years before they had been to the People of *Carolina*: And they ſaw juſt Reaſons to believe that this new Colony, when eſtabliſhed, might cultivate many rich and valuable Commodities for the Service of *Great-Britain*. Theſe, and many other Reaſons of like Nature, engaged them to think ſeriouſly of bringing ſo compaſſionate, ſo practicable, and ſo uſeful a Project to bear; in order to which they found it neceſſary to apply themſelves to the Crown for ſufficient Powers, to enable them to ſet this Undertaking on foot. They did ſo, and received all the Countenance and Encouragement they could deſire or expect, as will appear by the following Extract from the Inſtrument by which they were incorporated, and ſo put into a Condition of legally executing what they had ſo charitably projected.

2. “ His Majeſty King *George* II. by his Letters Patent, bearing Date the 9th Day of *June*, 1732, reciting, amongſt other things, that many of his poor Subjects were, through Misfortunes, and want of Employment, reduced to great Neceſſities, and would be glad to be ſettled in any of his Majeſty's Provinces in *America*; where, by cultivating the Lands waſte and deſolate, they may not only gain a comfortable Subſiſtence, but alſo ſtrengthen his Majeſty's Colonies, and increaſe the Trade, Navigation, and Wealth of his Majeſty's Realms; and that the Provinces in *North America* had been frequently ravaged by *Indian* Enemies, more eſpecially that of *South Carolina*, whoſe Southern Frontier continued unſettled, and lay open to the neighbouring Savages; and that to relieve the Wants of the ſaid poor People, and to protect the Subjects of *South Carolina*, a regular Colony of the ſaid poor People ſhould be ſettled and eſtabliſhed in the Southern Frontiers of *Carolina*; and for the Conſiderations aforeſaid, conſtitute a Corporation by the Name of *the Truſtees, for eſtabliſhing the Colony of* Georgia *in* America, with Capacity to purchaſe and take Lands; to ſue and to be ſued; to have a common Seal, and to chuſe Members in the ſaid Corporation on the third *Thurſday* in *March* yearly; with reſtraining Clauſes that no Member of the ſaid Corporation ſhould have any Salary, Fee, Perquiſite, Benefit, or Profit, whatſoever, for acting therein; or ſhould have any Office, Place, or Employment of Profit, under the ſaid Corporation; with Direction to the ſaid Corporation, every Year to lay an Account in Writing before the Lord Chancellor, Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench, Maſter of the Rolls, Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas, and Chief Baron of the Exchequer, or any two of them, of all Money or Effects by them received or expended, for carrying on the good Purpoſes aforeſaid; with a Power to make Bye-Laws, Conſtitutions, Orders, and Ordinances; and granted, amongſt other things, to the ſaid Corporation, and their Succeſſors, under the Reſervations therein mentioned, ſeven undivided Parts (the whole into eight equal Parts to be divided) of all theſe Lands, Countries, and Territories, ſituate, lying, and being, in that Part of *South-Carolina* in *America*, which lies from the moſt Northermoſt Stream of a River there, called the *Savannah*, along the Sea Coaſt to the Southward, unto the moſt Southern Stream of a certain other great Water or River, called the *Alatamaha*, and Weſtward from the Head of the ſaid Rivers, reſpectively in direct Lines to the *South Seas*. To have and to hold the ſame to them, the ſaid Corporation, and their Succeſſors for ever; for the better Support of the ſaid Colony, under the yearly Rent of four Shillings Proclamation Money of *South Carolina*, for every hundred Acres of the ſaid Lands, for every of which the ſaid Corporation ſhould Grant, Demiſe, Plant, or Settle, but not to commence until ten Years after ſuch Grant, Demiſe, Planting or Settling; and erected and created the ſaid Lands, Countries, and Territories, into one independent and ſeparate Province, by the Name of *Georgia*; and made the Inhabitants who ſhould reſide therein free, and not ſubject to any of the Laws, Orders, Statutes, or Conſtitutions of *South Carolina*, except the Commander in chief of the Militia; and authorized the ſaid Corporation, for the Term of twenty-one Years, from the Date of the ſaid Letters Patent, to form and prepare Laws, Statutes, and Ordinances, for the Government of the ſaid Colony, not repugnant to the Laws and Statutes of *England*; to be preſented under their common Seal to his Majeſty in Council, for his Approbation or Diſallowance; and that the ſaid Laws ſo approved of, ſhould be in full Force and Virtue, within the ſaid Province. And impowered the ſaid Council for the Time being of the ſaid Corporation, or the major Part of them, to diſpoſe of, expend, and apply all the Money and Effects belonging to the ſaid Corporation, and to make Contracts for carrying on and effecting the good Purpoſes therein intended; and that they ſhould from Time to Time appoint a Treaſurer, Secretary, and ſuch other Officers, Miniſters, and Servants of the ſaid Corporation, as they ſhould ſee proper for the good Management of their Affairs, and at their Pleaſure to remove them, and appoint others in their ſtead; and that they ſhould appoint reaſonable Salaries, Perquiſites, and other Rewards for their Labour or Services; and that ſuch Officers ſhould be ſworn before they act, for the faithful and due Execution of their reſpective Offices and Places; and declared that the Treaſurer and Secretary for the Time being, ſhould be incapable of being Members of the ſaid Corporation; and granted to the ſaid Corporation, that it ſhould be lawful for them, their Officers and Agents, to tranſport and convey, into the ſaid Province, ſuch of his Majeſty's Subjects, and Foreigners, as were willing to go and inhabit, and reſide there; and declared all Perſons born within the ſaid Province, and their Children, and their Poſterity, to be free Denizens, as if they had been born within any of his Majeſty's Dominions; and impowered the ſaid Common Council, in the Name of the Corporation, and under their common Seal, to diſtribute, aſſign, transfer, and ſet over ſuch particular Portions of the ſaid Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, unto ſuch of his Majeſty's Subjects and others, willing to live in the ſaid Colony, upon ſuch Terms, and for ſuch Eſtates, and upon ſuch Rents, Reſervations, and Conditions, as the ſame might lawfully be granted; and as to the ſaid Common Council, or the major Part of them, ſhould ſeem fit and proper, provided no Grant ſhould be made of any Part of the ſaid Lands, unto, or in truſt for, or for the Benefit of, any Member of the ſaid Corporation; and that no greater Quantity of the ſaid Lands be granted, either entirely or in Parcels, to, or to the Uſe of, or in truſt for, any one Perſon, than five hundred Acres; and declared that all Grants made contrary to the true Intent and Meaning thereof, ſhould be abſolutely null and void. And granted, that the ſaid Corporation, for the Term of twenty-one Years, from the Date of the ſaid Letters Patent, ſhould have Power to erect and conſtitute Judicatures, and Courts of Record, or other Courts to be held in his Majeſty's Name, for the hearing and determining all Manner of Crimes, Offences, Pleas, Proceſſes, Plaints, Actions, Matters, Cauſes, and

“ things whatſoever ariſing or happening within the ſaid Province, or between Perſons inhabiting or reſiding there; and for awarding and making out Executions thereupon, and directing the ſaid Corporation to regiſter, or cauſe to be regiſtered, all Leaſes, Grants, Plantings, Conveyances, Settlements, and Improvements whatſover, as ſhould at any Time be made of any Lands, Tenements, or Hereditaments, within the ſaid Province; and yearly to tranſmit authentic Accounts thereof, unto the Auditor of the Plantations, or his Deputy, and to the Surveyor of *South Carolina*, to inſpect and ſurvey the ſame, to aſcertain the Quit-rents, which ſhould become due according to the Reſervation before mentioned. But not to have or take any Gratuity, Fee, or Reward, for ſuch Survey or Inſpection, on Forfeiture of their Office; with a Proviſo that all Leaſes, Grants, and Conveyances, to be made of any Lands within the ſaid Province, or a Memorial containing the Subſtance thereof, ſhould be regiſtered with the Auditors of the Plantations, within one Year from the Date thereof; otherwiſe that the ſame ſhould be void. And directed that all Rents, Iſſues, or Profits, which ſhould come to the ſaid Corporation, iſſuing or ariſing out of, or from, the ſaid Province, ſhould be laid out and applied in ſuch Manner, as would moſt improve and enlarge the ſaid Colony, and beſt anſwer the good Purpoſes therein mentioned, and for defraying all other Charges about the ſame. And directed the ſaid Corporation, from Time to Time, to give in to one of the Secretaries of State, and to the Commiſſioners of Trade and Plantations, Accounts of the Progreſs of the ſaid Colony. And directed that the ſaid Common Council ſhould, from Time to Time, for the ſaid Term of twenty-one Years, from the Date of the ſaid Letters Patent, have Power to appoint all ſuch Governors, Judges, Magiſtrates, Miniſters, and Officers, Civil and Military, both by Sea and Land, within the ſaid Diſtrict, as they ſhould think fit and needful for the Government of the ſaid Colony (except ſuch Officers as ſhould be appointed for managing, collecting, and receiving ſuch of his Majeſty's Revenues, as ſhould ariſe within the ſaid Province) with a Proviſo that every Governor, ſo appointed, ſhould be approved by his Majeſty, and qualify himſelf as other Governors in *America* are by Law required to do, and give Security for obſerving the Acts of Parliament relating to Trade and Navigation, and obeying all Inſtructions from his Majeſty, or any acting under his Authority, purſuant to the ſaid Acts. And granted, that the ſaid Corporation, for the ſaid Term of twenty-one Years, from the Date of the ſaid Letters Patent, ſhould have Power by any Commander, or other Officer, for that Purpoſe appointed, to train, intruſt, exerciſe, and govern a Militia for the ſpecial Defence and Safety of the ſaid Colony, to aſſemble in martial Array; and put in Warlike Poſture the Inhabitants of the ſaid Colony; and in Time of actual War, Invaſion, or Rebellion, to uſe and exerciſe the Law Martial, and alſo to erect Forts, and fortify any Place within the ſaid Colony; and the ſame to furniſh with all neceſſary Ammunition, Proviſion, and Stores of War, for Offence and Defence, and from Time to Time to commit the Cuſtody and Government of them to ſuch Perſon or Perſons as to them ſhould ſeem meet; declaring that the Governor or Commander in Chief of *South Carolina*, ſhould have the chief Command of the Militia of *Georgia*, and that they ſhould obſerve his Orders. And granted, that the ſaid Corporation ſhould have Power to import and export their Goods, at and from any Port or Ports that ſhould be appointed by his Majeſty, within the ſaid Province, for that Purpoſe, without being obliged to touch at any other Port in *South Carolina*. And declared, that after the End of the ſaid twenty-one Years, ſuch Form of Government, and making of Laws and Statutes, and Ordinances, for the Government of the ſaid Province and its Inhabitants, ſhould be eſtabliſhed and obſerved within the ſame, as his Majeſty, his Heirs and Succeſſors, ſhould ordain and appoint, and ſhould be agreeable to Law; and that after the End of the ſaid twenty-one Years, the Governor, and all Officers, civil and military, within the ſaid Province, ſhould be appointed by his Majeſty, his Heirs and Succeſſors.”

3. As ſoon as they had obtained this gracious and extenſive Charter, the following noble and honourable Perſons undertook, in Quality of Truſtees, to engage vigorouſly in the Execution of this Deſign, *viz. Anthony* Earl of *Shaftſbury*, *John* Lord Viſcount *Percival*, ſince created Earl of *Egmont*, *John* Lord Viſcount *Tyrconnel*, *James* Lord Viſcount *Limerick*, *George* Lord *Carpenter*, *Edward Digby*, Eſq; *James Oglethorpe*, Eſq; *George Heathcoate*, Eſq; *Thomas Tower*, Eſq; *Robert More*, Eſq; *Robert Hucks*, Eſq; *William Sloper*, Eſq; *Francis Eyles*, Eſq; *John Laroche*, Eſq; *James Vernon*, Eſq; *Stephen Hales*, A. M. *Richard Chandler*, Eſq; *Thomas Frederick*, Eſq; *Henry L'Apoſtre*, Eſq; *William Heathcoate*, Eſq; *John White*, Eſq; *Robert Kendal*, Eſq; *Richard Bundy*, D. D. Their firſt Care was to obtain a Fund ſufficient for the ſending over a conſiderable Number of People, and providing them with all kinds of Neceſſaries, towards which they ſubſcribed liberally themſelves; obtained conſiderable Sums by way of Collection from well-diſpoſed People, and had beſides a Grant from the Parliament of 10,000 *l.*

They next turned their Thoughts, as to the moſt proper Method of ſettling theſe People, when ſent over to *Georgia*, ſo as that they might be enabled to live comfortably themſelves, and at the ſame Time anſwer all the Ends for which they were ſent thither; it being judged highly reaſonable, that thoſe who were thus provided for, at the public Expence, ſhould be made in every Reſpect, as uſeful to the Public as poſſible. They reſolved therefore to conſider each Inhabitant in a double Capacity, as a Planter, and as a Soldier, who were conſequently to be provided with Arms for their Defence, as well as Tools for the Cultivation of their Land, and taught the Exerciſe of both. They alſo reſolved, that upon the firſt ſettling of this Colony, Towns ſhould be laid out, and Lands allotted each of them for their Maintenance, as near thoſe Towns as poſſible; that the former might ſerve for their Defence, and the latter for their Subſiſtence. In Conſequence of theſe Reſolutions, it was agreed that every Lot or Portion of Land ſhould conſiſt of fifty Acres; and that it ſhould be granted them in Tale Male, as the propereſt Tenure for the Colony in its Infancy, and the fitteſt to preſerve it from thoſe Inconveniencies to which it was moſt obnoxious; and with reſpect to any Hardſhips that might ariſe from this Tenure, they determined to remedy them occaſionally, till ſuch Time as the Condition of the Colony ſhould render an Alteration neceſſary.

They likewiſe determined to prohibit Negroes, the Uſe of them ſeeming abſolutely inconſiſtent with the Deſign of this Colony, and beſides this, in many reſpects, inconvenient and dangerous. Inconvenient, as the firſt Coſt of a Negro is about thirty Pounds; a Sum, that it was not to be ſuppoſed many of the People ſent to *Georgia* could lay out for themſelves; nor was it fit that the Truſtees ſhould do it for them, ſince this would pay the Paſſage, provide Tools, and defray the Expence of a white Man's Subſiſtence for a Year, who would then become a Security to the Province. It was foreſeen, that if a white Man kept a Negro, he would be leſs willing and leſs able to labour himſelf. If ſuch as were in Circumſtances to go over at their own Expence, were allowed to make uſe of Negroes, it was judged that this would diſpirit the poor Planters, would incline ſuch as were poſſeſſed of Negroes to abſent themſelves, as in other Provinces, might enable them, if ſucceſsful, to eat up and oppreſs their poorer Neighbours, or tempt them, if unſucceſsful, to mortgage or ſell their Lands to the Negro Merchants. Theſe were apparent and great Inconveniencies, but the Dangers were ſtill more numerous and more certain. In the firſt Place, it was evident that as the Planters in *Georgia* were to be ſent over with their Families, if Negroes were allowed, whenever the Men were abſent from their Plantations upon any Duty, their

Wives and Children would be at the Mercy of theſe Negroes; and thus, beſides the Caſe of ſecuring themſelves againſt foreign Invaſions, they would be likewiſe under a Neceſſity of providing for their domeſtic Safety. In the next Place, it was foreſeen that the *Spaniards* at *St. Auguſtin* would be continually enticing away the Negroes, or inciting them to Inſurrections; the former of which would have been very eaſy, as they had only a ſmall River or two to ſwim over, which they might do ſingly as well as in Parties; the latter was ſo much the more to be dreaded, as an Attempt or two of this kind muſt have greatly diſcouraged, if not totally ſubverted, the *Engliſh* Colony; and the Certainty of theſe Evils was the greater, becauſe in a Time of profound Peace, the *Spaniards* had practiſed both in regard to the Colony of *South Carolina*, though at a greater Diſtance, from whence Negroes had often fled in little Boats to the *Spaniards*, and been protected; and they have likewiſe been incited to riſe in large Bodies, to the great Terror of the Inhabitants, and to the no ſmall Hazard of the Loſs of that Province: Beſides, the allowing Negroes in *Georgia* would have facilitated the Deſertion of the *Carolina* Negroes, through this new Province; and conſequently the Colony, inſtead of proving, as it was intended, a Frontier, and thereby adding Strength to the Province of *South Carolina*, would have proved a Means of drawing away their Slaves, to the great Prejudice of the Planters; and which was much worſe, would add thereby to the Strength of their Enemies at *St. Auguſtin*. So that taking theſe Conſiderations together, *viz.* that Wine, Silk, Pot-aſhes, and other Produces, which were expected from the new Colony, did not at all require Negroes; as the Introduction of them ſo near to a Garriſon of the *Spaniards* would weaken, rather than ſtrengthen the Barrier; and as they would introduce with them a greater Propenſity to Idleneſs among the Planters, and too great an Inequality among the People; it was thought proper to make the Prohibition of them a fundamental Article of the Conſtitution.

When the Truſtees had made theſe Diſpoſitions, and were enabled, by Benefactions from the Public, and ſeveral private Perſons, on the 3d of *October* 1732, it was reſolved to ſend over one hundred and fourteen Perſons, Men, Women, and Children, being ſuch as were in decayed Circumſtances, and thereby diſabled from following any Buſineſs in *England*; and who, if in Debt, had leave from their Creditors to go; and ſuch as were recommended by the Miniſter and Church-Wardens, and Overſeers of their reſpective Pariſhes; and *James Oglethorpe*, Eſq; one of the Truſtees went with them at his own Expence, to ſettle them. On the 24th of the ſame Month, the People were examined, whether any of them had any Objections to the Terms and Conditions propoſed to them, which they all declared they had not, but that they were fully ſatisfied with them; and executed Articles under their Hands and Seals, teſtifying their Conſents thereto, which are now in the public Office belonging to the Truſtees. But four of them deſiring their Daughters might inherit as well as their Sons, and that their Widow's Dower might be conſidered, the Truſtees immediately reſolved, that every Perſon who ſhould deſire the ſame, ſhould have the Privilege of naming a Succeſſor to the Lands granted to him; who, in Caſe the Poſſeſſor ſhould die without Iſſue Male, ſhould hold the ſame to them and their Heirs Male for ever; and that the Widows ſhould have their Thirds, as in *England*; with which Reſolution the People being all acquainted, were very well ſatisfied.

The Truſtees prepared Forms of Government, agreeable to the Powers given them by the Charter; they eſtabliſhed under their Seal a Court of Judicature, for trying Cauſes as well criminal as civil, in the Town of *Savannah* (the Name which was given to the firſt Town to be raiſed) by the Name and Stile of the Town Court. They alſo appointed Magiſtrates there, *viz.* three Bailiffs and a Recorder, and inferior Officers, *viz.* two Conſtables and two tything Men. They choſe for Magiſtrates, ſuch as appeared to them the moſt prudent and diſcreet; but amongſt a Number of People, who were all upon a Level at the firſt ſetting out, it was impoſſible to make any Choice or Diſtinction, which would not create ſome future Uneaſineſs among them. As I have no Relation to, or Connection with, the Truſtees of *Georgia*, I ſhall take the Liberty of making ſome Remarks upon their Proceedings, which otherwiſe I ſhould not have thought becoming either them or me. The Scheme of their Incorporation is entirely new, as was the Project of Mr. *Oglethorpe*'s going over at his own Expence, and purely to ſee theſe People put into a Way of living without him, whom he had extricated out of ſo many Difficulties, and who, but for this Condeſcenſion in him, muſt have fallen back into thoſe Difficulties again. The Attempts of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, for ſettling of *Virginia*, were of this Nature with reſpect to him; that is to ſay, what he did was from a Motive of public Spirit; but what the *Virginia* Company did, was from a Principle of Gain; whereas this whole Deſign roſe from the charitable and beneficent Diſpoſition of a few worthy and good Men, and has been hitherto conducted according to the ſame Diſpoſition, for the Benefit of the Colony, and of the Public; and from no other View or Intereſt in the Truſtees, but the making themſelves happy from the Conſciouſneſs of well doing; which at the ſame Time that it reflects Reputation upon them, does the higheſt Honour to this Age and Country, in which the Deſire I have to have ſome ſmall Share, produced the Pains taken in this Section, which I flatter myſelf will, like its Subject, prove of great Utility to the Public.

4. On the 15th of *November* Mr. *Oglethorpe* ſet out for *Graveſend*, from whence he ſoon ſailed for *Carolina*, where they arrived on the 15th of *January* following, and were received at *Charles Town* by the Governor, with great Kindneſs and Civility; who ordered Mr. *Middleton*, the King's Pilot, to carry the Ship into *Port Royal*, and ſmall Craft to convey the Colony from thence to the River *Savannah*. In ten Hours they proceeded to *Port Royal*. On the 18th Mr. *Oglethorpe* went aſhore upon *French's Iſland*, and left a Guard upon *John's*, being a Point of that Iſland, which commands the Channel, and is about half Way between *Beaufort* and the River *Savannah*. They had Orders to prepare Huts, for the Reception of the People in their Paſſage from thence. Mr. *Oglethorpe* went to *Beaufort Town*, and was ſaluted with a Diſcharge of the Artillery, and had a new Barrack fitted up, where the Colony landed on the 20th, and were chearfully aſſiſted by Lieutenant *Watts*, and Enſign *Farrington*, and the other Officers of the independent Company; as alſo by Mr. *Ledebar*, and other Gentlemen of the Neighbourhood; from thence he went to view the *Savannah* River, and pitched upon a convenient Spot of Ground, ten Miles up the River, on which he deſigned to build a Town. The Reader will obſerve that this was exactly agreeable to the Reſolutions taken by the Truſtees at home; and as there was no Time left in fixing upon the Place, ſo on the 9th of *February* the Town was marked out, and the firſt Houſe begun.

The chief Reaſons that determined Mr. *Oglethorpe* in the Choice of this Place were, Health, Pleaſure, and Conveniency. Before his Arrival in the Country, it had the Name of an *Indian* Nation, *viz. Yammacraw*, who inhabited here, under the Command of the Chief, *Tomochichi*, and who readily gave them Place, and entered into a cloſe Friendſhip with him; ſo much the more agreeable to both Parties, as there was no other *Indian* Nation within fifty Miles. But Mr. *Oglethorpe* called the Town by the Name of the River *Savannah*. It lies, according to Captain *Gaſcoign*'s Obſervations, in the Latitude of 31 Degrees 58 Minutes, which he took off *Tybee*, an Iſland that lies at the Mouth of the *Savannah* *River*. It is diſtant from *Charles Town* South-weſt, according to the Courſe and Windings of the Rivers and Creeks, about one hundred and forty Miles, but by a direct Courſe ſeventy-ſeven, allowing *Sullivan's Iſland* to be in the Latitude of 32 Degrees 47 Minutes; from *Auguſtin* North-eaſt and by Eaſt about one hundred and forty Miles; and by the Courſe of the Rivers is diſtant from *Fort Moore* three hundred Miles; but upon a direct Line but one hundred and fifteen Miles North-weſt and by Weſt; this Bluff is diſtant ten Miles from the Mouth of the River on the South-ſide; and *Parryſburgh* is twenty four Miles above it, on the North, and is ſo ſituated as to have a beautiful Proſpect, both up and down the River. It is very ſandy and barren, and conſequently a wholeſome Place for a Town or City, if *Savannah* ſhould ever grow up and rival *Philadelphia.*

After putting things into order here, and aſſigning every Man his proper Station and Employment, Mr. *Oglethorpe*, in Company with Colonel *Bull*, who came from *Charles Town* to pay him a Viſit, and teſtified great Satisfaction at the Progreſs they made, ſet out for *Charles Town* to ſollicit Succours for his Colony. Before we take Notice of the Succeſs he met with on that Occaſion, it may not be amiſs to tranſcribe a Paragraph from the *South Carolina* Gazette, dated *Charles Town, March* the 22d, 1732, in which there is an Account given of a Journey to *Georgia*, which will ſhew the Sentiments of the People of that Colony, at a Time when they were freed from all Prejudices, Apprehenſions, and Prepoſſeſſions. After deſcribing the Town in the Manner we have done, they ſay, “When they, that is the new Colony, arrived, there was ſtanding on it, *viz.* the Place where Town now ſtands, a great Quantity of the beſt Sorts of Pines, moſt of which are already cut down on the Spot where the Town is laid out to build. The Land is barren about a Mile back, when you come into very rich Ground; and on both Sides, within a Quarter of a Mile of the Town, is choice good planting Land. Colonel *Bull* told me that he had been ſeven Miles back, and found it extraordinary good. Mr. *Oglethorpe* is indefatigable, takes a vaſt deal of Pains; his Fare is but indifferent, having little elſe at preſent but ſalt Proviſions: He is extremely well beloved by all his People. The general Title they give him is *Father*. If any of them are ſick, he immediately viſits them, and takes a great deal of Care of them. If any Differences ariſe, he is the Perſon that decides them: Two happened while I was there, and in my Preſence, and all the Parties went away, to outward Appearance, ſatisfied and contented with his Determination. He keeps a ſtrict Diſcipline; I never ſaw one of his People drunk nor heard one ſwear, all the Time I was there. He does not allow them Rum, but in lieu gives them *Engliſh* Beer. It is ſurpriſing to ſee how chearfully the Men go to work, conſidering they have not be been bred to it. There are no Idlers there, even the Boys and Girls do their Parts. There are four Houſes already up, but none finiſhed; and he hopes when he has got more Sawyers, which I ſuppoſe he will have in a ſhort time, to finiſh two Houſes in a Week. He has plowed up ſome Land, Part of which he ſowed with Wheat, which is come up, and looks promiſing. He has two or three Gardens, which he has ſowed with divers Sorts of Seeds; and planted Thyme, with other Sorts of Pot-herbs, Sage, Leeks, Scallions, Celery, Liquorice, &c. and ſeveral Sorts of Fruit-Trees. He was palliſading the Town, and incloſing ſome Part of the Common, which I do ſuppoſe may be finiſhed in a Fortnight's time. In ſhort, he has done a vaſt deal of Work for the Time; and I think his Name ought to be immortalized.”

This ſufficiently ſhews how well pleaſed the People at *Carolina* were, as indeed they had Reaſon to be, with this new Settlement; as a further Teſtimony of which, not only the Aſſembly, but the People in general, contributed largely to the Aſſiſtance of the new Comers; five hundred Pounds of which Money Mr. *Oglethorpe* laid out immediately in Cattle, and having given other Directions for providing at *Charles Town* what his People might have Occaſion for, he very ſpeedily ſet out on his return for *Savannah*, and on his Way lay at Colonel *Bull*'s Houſe on *Aſhly River*. There the Reverend Mr. *Guy*, Rector of *St. John*'s *Pariſh*, waited on him, and told him his Pariſhioners had raiſed a handſome Contribution. Being arrived at *Savannah*, he found that Mr. *Wiggan*, the Interpreter, with the chief Men of the *Lower Creek* Nation, had been to treat of an Alliance with the new Colony. The *Lower Creeks* are a Nation of *Indians*, who formerly conſiſted of ten, but now are reduced to eight Tribes, who have each their different Government, but are allied together, and ſpeak the ſame Language. They claim from the *Savannah River* as far as *St. Auguſtin* and up *Flint River*, which falls into the Bay of *Mexico*. *Tomochichi*, Mico, and the *Indians* of *Yammacraw* were of the *Creek* Nation and Language.

Mr. *Oglethorpe* received the *Indians* in one of the new Houſes. They were as follows: From the Tribe of *Coweeta*, *Yahan Lakee*, their King or Mico, *Eſſaboo*, their Warrior, the Son of *Old Brim*, lately dead; whom the *Spaniards* called Emperor of the *Creeks*, with eight Men and two Women Attendants. From the Tribe of *Cuſſetas*, *Cuſſeta*, their Mico, *Tatchiquatchi*, their Head Warrior, with four Attendants. From the Tribe of *Owſeecheys*, *Ogeeſe*, the Mico or War King; *Neathlouthko* and *Ougachi* two chief Men, with three Attendants. From the Tribe of *Cheechaws*, *Outhleteboa*, their Mico, *Thlautho-thlukee*, *Figeer*, *Sootamilla*, War Captains, with three Attendants. From the Tribe of *Echetas Chutabeeche* and *Robin*, two War Captains (the latter was bred among the *Engliſh*) with four Attendants. From the Tribe of *Polachucolas*, *Gillattee*, their Head Warrior, and five Attendants. From the Tribe of *Oconas*, *Oueekachumpa*, called by the *Engliſh Long King*, *Koowoo*, a Warrior. From the Tribe of *Euſaule*, *Tomaumi*, Head Warrior, and three Attendants.

The *Indians* being all ſeated, *Oueekachumpa*, a very tall old Man, ſtood, and made a Speech, which was interpreted by Mr. *Wiggan* and Mr. *Muſgrove*, and was to the following Purpoſe: He firſt claimed all the Lands to the Southward of the River *Savannah*, as belonging to the *Creek Indians*. They then ſaid, though they were but poor and ignorant, he that had given the *Engliſh* Breath had given them Breath alſo. That he that had made both had given more Wiſdom to the White Men. That they were perſuaded that the great Power which dwelt in Heaven, and all around, (and then he ſpread out his Hands and lengthened the Sounds of his Words) and which hath given Breath to all Men, had ſent the *Engliſh* thither, for the Inſtruction of them, their Wives and Children: That, therefore, they gave them up freely their Right to all the Land they did not uſe themſelves. That this was not only his Opinion, but the Opinion of the eight Towns of the *Creeks*, each of whom having conſulted together, had ſent ſome of their chief Men with Skins, which is their Wealth.

Then the chief Men brought a Bundle of Buck-Skins, and laid eight from the eight Towns before Mr. *Oglethorpe*. He ſaid theſe were the beſt Things they had, and that they gave them with a good Heart. He concluded with thanking him for his Kindneſs to *Tomochichi*, Mico, and his *Indians*, to whom he ſaid he was related, and though *Tomochichi* was baniſhed from his Nation, that he was a good Man, and had been a great Warrior; and it was for his Wiſdom and Juſtice that the baniſhed Men had choſe him King. He alſo ſaid, that he had heard that the *Cherokees* had killed ſome *Engliſhmen*, and that if Mr. *Oglethorpe* would command them, they would enter their whole Force into the *Cherokee* Country, deſtroy their Harveſt, kill the People, and revenge the *Engliſh*. When he had done ſpeaking, *Tomochichi* came in with the *Yammacraw Indians*, and making a low Obeiſance, ſaid, I was a baniſhed Man, and I came here poor and helpleſs to look for good Land near the Tombs of my Anceſtors, and when the *Engliſh* came to this Place I feared you would drive us away; for we were weak and wanted Corn. But you confirmed our Land to us, and gave us Food. Then the Chiefs of the other Nation made Speeches to the ſame Purpoſe as *Oueekachumpa*'s.

After which they agreed with Mr. *Oglethorpe* on a Treaty of Alliance and Commerce, which was ſigned by him and them. A laced Coat, a laced Hat, and a Shirt, were given to each King, and to each of the Warriors a Gun, a Mantle of Duffils, and to all their Attendants coarſe Cloth for cloathing, and other things. The Articles of Agreement were, I. The Truſtees agreed to let their People carry into the *Indian* Towns all Sorts of Goods fitting to Trade at Rates and Prices ſettled by the Treaty. II. Reſtitution and Reparation to be made for Injuries on both Sides, and Criminals to be tried and puniſhed according to the *Engliſh* Law. III. Trade to be withdrawn from any *Indian* Town offending againſt Treaty. IV. The *Engliſh* to poſſeſs all Lands not uſed by the *Indians*, provided, that upon ſettling of every new Town the *Engliſh* ſhould ſet out for the Uſe of their Nation, ſuch Lands as ſhould be agreed on between the *Engliſh* beloved Men, aad the Head-Men of their Nation. V. To reſtore all runaway Negroes, and carry them either to *Charles Town*, the *Savannah*, or *Petachuchula* Garriſon, upon being paid for every ſuch Negro four Blankets, or two Guns, or the Value thereof in other Goods, if taken on the other Side *Ocorivy River*; and one Blanket if the Negro is killed in taking or endeavouring to make his Eſcape. VI. Laſtly, They promiſe, with ſtrait Hearts and Love to their Brother *Engliſh*, to give no Encouragement to any other white People to ſettle there, and to all this they ſet the Marks of their Families. This Treaty being concluded, Mr. *Oglethorpe* thought fit to return into *England*, as well to report the Situation things were in, in that Country, as to procure the neceſſary Supplies for promoting the new Colony.

5. In the Month of *June* 1734, Mr. *Oglethorpe* arrived ſafely in *England*, bringing with him *Tomochichi*, Mico or King of the *Yammacraws*; *Senawki*, his Conſort, and *Toonakowi*, the Prince his Nephew, as alſo *Hilliſpilli*, a War Captain, and *Apakowtſki*, *Stimalechi*, *Sintouchi*, *Hinguithi*, and *Umphychi*, five other *Indian* Chiefs, with their Interpeter. They were lodged at the *Georgia-Office*, *Old-Palace-Yard*, where they were handſomely entertained; and being ſuitably dreſſed, were introduced to the Court, then at *Kenſington*. *Tomochichi* preſented to the King ſeveral Eagles Feathers; which, according to their Cuſtom, is the moſt reſpectful Gift he could offer, and made the following Speech to his Majeſty. “ This Day I ſee the Majeſty of your Face, and “ Greatneſs of your Houſe, and the Number of your “ People; I am come for the Good of the whole Na- “ tion called the *Creeks*, to renew the Peace they had “ long ago with the *Engliſh*. I am come over in my “ old Days; though I cannot live to ſee any Advantage “ to myſelf. I am come for the Good of the Children “ of all the Nations of the *Upper* and *Lower Creeks*, that “ they may be inſtructed in the Knowledge of the *Engliſh*. “ Theſe are the Feathers of the Eagle, which is “ the ſwifteſt of Birds, and who flieth all round our “ Nations. Theſe Feathers are a Sign of Peace in our “ Land, and we have brought them over to leave them “ with you, O! great King, as a Sign of everlaſting “ Peace. O! great King, whatſoever Words you ſhall “ ſay unto me I will tell them faithfuly to all the Kings “ of the *Creek* Nations.” To which his Majeſty made a gracious Anſwer, aſſuring thoſe Nations of his Protection and Regard.

Theſe *Indians*, but more eſpecially their Mico or Prince, gave evident Marks, during their Stay in *England*, of good Senſe, and of a ſincere Inclination to carry on a friendly Correſpondence between their own Nation and ours; and therefore they deſired of the Truſtees, that the Meaſures, Prices, and Qualities of Goods to be purchaſed by them, with their Deer-Skins, might be ſettled, as likewiſe the Weights; that no body might be allowed to trade with the *Indians* in *Georgia*, without a Licence from the Truſtees, in order, that if they were in any reſpect injured, or defrauded by the Traders, they might know where to complain. And they further deſired, that there might be but one Store-houſe in each *Indian* Town, for ſupplying them with the Goods they might want to purchaſe, from whence the Traders ſhould be obliged to ſupply them at their fixed Prices. The Reaſon which the *Indians* gave for this Application was, becauſe the Traders with them had often, in an arbitrary Manner, raiſed the Price of Goods, and defrauded them in the Weights and Meaſures; and, by their Impoſitions, had often created Animoſities between the *Engliſh* and *Indians*, which had frequently ended in Wars between them, prejudicial to both.

In Compliance with this Requeſt of theirs, the Truſtees prepared a Law, intitled, *An Act for maintaining the Peace with the* Indians *in the Province of* Georgia; which contained the ſame Regulations and Proviſions that were made in an Act paſſed by the Council and Aſſembly in *South Carolina*, in the Year 1731, which Act would have reached the Country now called *Georgia*, if it had not been erected into a ſeparate Province. They likewiſe prepared another Law, calculated for the ſame ſalutary Purpoſe, I mean the preventing any Dangers from the *Indians*, by the pernicious Effects of ſpirituous Liquors, as well as the Health of the People already ſettled, and that might be ſettled, in their new Colony, which was intitled *An Act to prevent the Importation and Uſe of Rum and Brandies in the Province of* Georgia *or any kind of Spirits, or ſtrong Waters whatſoever*. They likewiſe prepared a third Law, upon a very mature Deliberation, and for the Reaſons before-mentioned, intitled, *An Act for rendering the Colony of* Georgia, *more defenſibie, by prohibiting the Importation of Black Slaves, or Negroes, in the ſame*. Theſe three Acts were laid before the King in Council, in the Month of *January* following; and after a Report from the Board of Trade, That they were proper to receive his Majeſty's Approbation, they were accordingly ratified. Two Embarkations were made this Year, whoſe Numbers are hereafter mentioned, which conſiſted chiefly or *Saltſburghers*, who with the *Saltſburghers* that went before, were ſettled in a Town called by them *Ebenezer*, upon the River *Savannah*, at ſome Diſtance above the Town; and by the Sobriety and Induſtry of the People, they prove a very thriving Settlement.

6. In the ſucceeding Year, 1735, the Truſtees were encouraged by an extraordinary Supply of twenty-ſix thouſand Pounds, granted by Parliament, and very conſiderable Benefactions, as well in *Carolina* as in *England*, to think of making very conſiderable Embarkations for ſtrengthening the ſouthern Part of *Georgia*; and to obviate any Objection that might be made, as in Undertakings of this Nature Objections will never be wanting, of their ſending uſeful Poor from hence, it was reſolved, That theſe Embarkations ſhould conſiſt moſtly of People from the North of *Scotland*, and perſecuted *German* Proteſtants. The Reader will obſerve, that by the Care taken in this Reſpect, the Nation gained a very conſiderable Advantage, ſince by this Means the Overflowings of all the Northern Countries of *Europe*, which are known to breed robuſt, hardy and induſtrious People, were ſecured for our Service, and carried over and ſettled in that Part of his Majeſty's Dominions where ſuch People were wanted moſt; where, from their Circumſtances, they were obliged to fulfil (as indeed they have always done) the Ends for which they were ſent thither; and ſo became an Acceſſion of Strength of great Conſequence and Advantage, at a very ſmall and inconſiderable Expence. But that the Reader may be fully apprized of, and perfectly comprehend, the true Reaſons which induced the Parliament to grant ſo much Money, for the Settlement and Improvement of the Colony this Year, and may likewiſe be enabled to judge of the Weight and Importance of theſe Reaſons, it is requiſite to inform him, that the Colony of *South Carolina* drew up a Memorial, dated the 9th of *April* 1734, ſigned by *Robert Johnſon*, Eſq; their Governor, *Thomas Broughton*, Preſident of the Council; and *Paul Jenys*, Speaker of the Commons; containing a Repreſentation of the State and Condition of that Province, and therein ſo full, ſo clear, and ſo authentic an Account of Facts, equally curious and important, that it is impoſſible to ſet them down either in fewer or better Words than are uſed in that Memorial; Part of which therefore we ſhall give here, and ſhould very willingly have given the whole, if the Nature of our Work would have allowed us Room.

“ Your Majeſty's Subjects of this Province, having “ often felt, with Hearts full of Gratitude, the many “ ſignal Inſtances of your moſt ſacred Majeſty's peculiar “ Favour and Protection to theſe diſtant Parts of your “ Dominions, and eſpecially thoſe late Proofs of your “ Majeſty's moſt gracious and benign Care, ſo wiſely “ calculated for the Protection of this your Majeſty's “ Frontier-Province on the Continent of *America*, by “ your royal Charter to the Truſtees for eſtabliſhing “ the Colony of *Georgia*; and your great Goodneſs ſo rightly and timely applied in protecting the Settlement of the *Swiſs* at *Purryſburg*. Encouraged by ſuch Views of your Majeſty's wiſe and paternal Care, extended to your remoteſt Subjects; and excited by the Duty which we owe to your moſt ſacred Majeſty, to be always watchful for the Support and Security of your Majeſty's Intereſt, eſpecially at this very critical Juncture, when the Flame of a War breaking out in *Europe*, may very ſpeedily be lighted here, in this your Majeſty's Frontier Province, which by its Situation is known to be of the utmoſt Importance to the general Trade and Traffic of *America*: We therefore, your Majeſty's moſt faithful Governor, Council, and Commons, convened in your Majeſty's Province of *South Carolina*, crave Leave with great Humility to repreſent to your Majeſty the preſent State and Condition of this your Province, and how greatly it ſtands in need of your Majeſty's gracious and timely Succour in Caſe of a War, to aſſiſt our Defence againſt the *French* and *Spaniards*, or any other Enemies to your Majeſty's Dominions, as well as againſt the many Nations of Savages, which ſo nearly threaten the Safety of your Majeſty's Subjects.

“ The Province of *Carolina*, and the new Colony of *Georgia*, are the ſouthern Frontiers of all your Majeſty's Dominions on the Continent of *America*; to the South and South-weſt of which is ſituate the ſtrong Caſtle of *St. Auguſtin*, garriſoned by four hundred *Spaniards*, who have ſeveral Nations of *Indians* living under their Subjection, beſides ſeveral other ſmall Settlements and Garriſons near the *Appellaches*, ſome of which are not eighty Miles diſtant from the Colony of *Georgia*. To the South-weſt and Weſt of us, the *French* have already erected a conſiderable Town near *Fort Thoulouſe* on the *Moville* River, and ſeveral other Forts and Garriſons, ſome not above three hundred Miles diſtant from our Settlements; and at *New Orleans* on the *Miſſiſſippi* River, ſince her late Majeſty Queen *Anne*'s War, they have exceedingly increaſed their Strength and Traffic, and have now many Forts and Garriſons on both Sides of that large River, for ſeveral hundred Miles up the ſame. And ſince his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty has taken out of the *Miſſiſſippi* Company the Government of that Country into his own Hands, the *French* Natives of *Canada* come daily down in Shoals, to ſettle all along that River, where many regular Forces have been ſent over by the King, to ſtrengthen the Garriſons of thoſe Places; and according to our beſt and lateſt Advices, they have five hundred Men in Pay conſtantly employed as Wood-Rangers, to keep the neighbouring *Indians* in Subjection, and to prevent the diſtant ones from diſturbing their Settlements; which Management of the *French* has ſo well ſucceeded, that we are very well aſſured they have wholly now in their Poſſeſſion, and under their Influence, the ſeveral numerous Nations of *Indians* that are ſituate near the *Miſſiſſippi* River; one of which, called the *Choctaws*, by Eſtimation, conſiſting of about five thouſand fighting Men, and who were always deemed a very warlike Nation, lies on this Side the River, not above four hundred Miles diſtant from our Out-ſettlements. Among whom, and ſeveral other Nations of *Indians*, many *French Europeans* have been ſent to ſettle, whom the Prieſts and Miſſionaries among them encourage to take *Indian* Wives, and uſe divers other alluring Methods to attach the *Indians* the better to the *French* Alliance: By which Means the *French* are become thoroughly acquainted with the *Indian* Way of warring and living in the Woods, and have now a great Number of white Men among them, able to perform a long March, with an Army of *Indians*, upon any Expedition.

“ We further beg Leave to inform your Majeſty, That if the Meaſures of *France* ſhould provoke your Majeſty to a State of Hoſtility againſt it in *Europe*, we have great Reaſons to expect an Invaſion will be here made upon your Majeſty's Subjects, by the *French* and the *Indians*, from theſe *Miſſiſſippi* Settlements: They have already paved a Way for a Deſign of that Nature, by erecting a Fort called the *Albama Fort*, *alias Fort Louis*, in the Middle of the *Upper Creek Indians*, upon a navigable River leading to *Moville*, which they have kept well garriſoned, and mounted with fourteen Pieces of Cannon; and have already been prevented from erecting a ſecond nearer to us in that Quarter. The *Creeks* are a Nation very bold, active, and daring, conſiſting of about thirteen hundred fighting Men (and not above one hundred and fifty Miles diſtant from the *Choctaws*) whom though we heretofore have traded with, claimed, and held in our Alliance, yet the *French*, on account of that Fort, and a ſuperior Ability to make them liberal Preſents, have been for ſome time ſtriving to gain them over to their Intereſt, and have ſucceeded with ſome of the Towns of the *Creeks*, which if they can be ſecured in your Majeſty's Intereſt, are the only Nation which your Majeſty's Subjects here can depend upon, as their beſt Barrier againſt any Attempts, either of the *French* or their confederate *Indians*.

“ We moſt humbly pray Leave further to inform your Majeſty, that the *French* at *Moville*, perceiving that they could not gain the *Indians* to their Intereſt without buying their Deer Skins, which is the only Commodity the *Indians* have to purchaſe Neceſſaries with, and the *French* not being able to diſpoſe of thoſe Skins, by reaſon of their having no Vent for them in *Old France*, have found Means to encourage Veſſels from hence, *New York*, and other Places which are not prohibited by the Acts of Trade, to truck thoſe Skins with them for *Indian* trading Goods, eſpecially the *Britiſh* Woollen Manufactures, which the *French* diſpoſe of to the *Creeks* and *Choctaws*, and other *Indians*; by which Means the *Indians* are much more alienated from our Intereſt; and, on every Occaſion, object to us, that the *French* can ſupply them with Shrouds and Blankets as well as the *Engliſh*; which would have the contrary Effect, if they were wholly furniſhed with thoſe Commodities by your Majeſty's Subjects trading among them. If a Stop were therefore put to that pernicious Trade with the *French*, the *Creek Indians* chief Dependance would be on this Government, and that of *Georgia*, to ſupply them with Goods; by which Means great Part of the *Chactaws* living next the *Creeks*, would ſee the Advantage the *Creek Indians* enjoyed, by having *Britiſh* Woollen Manufactures wholly from your Majeſty's Subjects, and thereby be invited, in a ſhort time, to enter into a Treaty of Commerce with us, which they have lately made ſome Offers for, and which, if effected, will ſoon leſſen the Intereſt of the *French* with theſe *Indians*, and by Degrees attach them to that of your Majeſty.

“ The only Expedient we can propoſe to recover and confirm that Nation to your Majeſty's Intereſt, is by ſpeedily making them Preſents, to withdraw them from the *French* Alliance, and by building ſome Forts among them. Your Majeſty may be put into ſuch a Situation, that on the firſt Notice of Hoſtilities with the *French*, your Majeſty may be able to reduce at once the *Albama Fort*, and we may then ſtand againſt the *French* and their *Indians*; which if not timely prepared for, before a War breaks out, we have too much Reaſon to fear we may be ſoon over-run by the united Strength of the *French*, and the *Creeks* and *Choctaws*, with many other Nations of their *Indian* Allies: For ſhould the *Creeks* become wholly our Enemies, who are well acquainted with all our Settlements, we probably ſhould alſo ſoon be deſerted by the *Cherokees*, and a few other ſmall Tribes of *Indians*; who, for the Sake of our Booty, would readily join to make us a Prey to the *French* and *Savages*. Ever ſince the late *Indian* War, the Offences then given us by the *Creeks*, have made that Nation jealous of your Majeſty's Subjects of this Province. We have therefore concerted Meaſures with the Honourable *James Oglethorpe*, Eſq; who being at the Head of a new Colony, will, we hope, be ſucceſsful for your Majeſty's Intereſt among that People. He has already, by Preſents, attached the *Lower Creeks* to the Service of your Majeſty, and has laudibly undertaken to endeavour the fixing a Garriſon among the *Upper Creeks*; the Expence of which is already in Part provided for, in this Seſſion of the general Aſſembly of this Province. We hope therefore to prevent the *French* from incroaching farther on your Majeſty's Territories, until your Majeſty is graciouſly pleaſed further to ſtrengthen and ſecure the ſame.

“We find the *Cherokee* Nation has lately become very inſolent to your Majeſty's Subjects trading among them, notwithſtanding the many Favours which the Chiefs of that Nation received from your Majeſty in *Great Britain*; beſides a conſiderable Expence which your Majeſty's Subjects have been at, in making them Preſents, which inclines us to believe that the *French*, by their *Indians*, have been tampering with them. We therefore beg Leave to inform your Majeſty, that the building and mounting ſome Forts alſo among the *Cherokees*, and making them Preſents, will be highly neceſſary to keep them ſteady in their Duty to your Majeſty, leſt the *French* may prevail in ſeducing that Nation; which they may the more readily be inclined to, from the Proſpect of getting conſiderable Plunder in Slaves, Cattle, and Commodities, which they very well know they have among us. Several other Forts will be indiſpenſibly neceſſary, to be a Cover to your Majeſty's Subjects ſettled backwards in this Province, as alſo to thoſe of the Colony of *Georgia*, both which in Length are very extenſive. For though the Truſtees for eſtabliſhing the Colony of *Georgia*, by a particular Scheme of good Management, faithfully conducted by the Gentleman engaged here in that charitable Enterprize, have put that ſmall Part of the Colony which he has yet been able to eſtabliſh, in a tenable Condition againſt the *Spaniards* of *Florida*, which lie to the Southward; yet the back Expoſition of thoſe Colonies to the vaſt Number of *French* and *Indians*, which border on the Weſtward, muſt, in caſe of a War, cry greatly aloud for your Majeſty's gracious and timely Succour. The Expence of our Safety on ſuch an Occaſion, we muſt, in all Humility, acquaint your Majeſty, either for Men or Money, can never be effected by your Majeſty's Subjects of this Province, who, in Conjunction with *Georgia*, do not, in the whole, amount to more than three thouſand five hundred Men that compoſe the Militia, and wholly conſiſt of Planters, Traders, and other Men in Buſineſs.”

There are ſome other Paragraphs in this Memorial which are ſtill more worthy of Notice, and which therefore we ſhall give the Reader in the Words thereof.

“We muſt further beg Leave to inform your Majeſty, that amidſt our other perilous Circumſtances, we are ſubject to many inteſtine Dangers, from the great Number of Negroes that are now among us, who amount, at leaſt, to twenty-two thouſand Perſons, and are three to one of all your Majeſty's white Subjects, in this Province. Inſurrections againſt us have been often attempted, and would at any Time prove very fatal, if the *French* ſhould inſtigate them by artfully giving them an Expectation of Freedom. In ſuch a Situation we moſt humbly crave Leave to acquaint your Majeſty, that even the preſent ordinary Expences, neceſſary for the Care and Support of this your Majeſty's Province and Government, cannot be provided for by your Majeſty's Subjects of this Province, without your Majeſty's gracious Pleaſure to continue thoſe Laws, for eſtabliſhing the Tax on Negroes, and other Duties for ſeven Years, and for appropriating the Laws which now lie before your Majeſty, for your Royal Aſſent and Approbation; and the further Expences that will be requiſite for the erecting ſome Forts, and eſtabliſhing Garriſons in the ſeveral neceſſary Places, ſo as to form a Barrier for the Security of this your Majeſty's Province, we moſt humbly ſubmit to your Majeſty.

“Your Majeſty's Subjects of this Province, with Fulneſs of Zeal, Duty, and Affection, to your moſt gracious and ſacred Majeſty, are ſo highly ſenſible of the great Importance of this Province to the *French*, that we muſt conceive it more than probable, if a War ſhould happen, they will uſe all Endeavours to bring this Country under their Subjection. They would thereby be able to ſupply their Sugar Iſlands with all Sorts of Proviſions and Lumber, by an eaſy Navigation Trade, which, to our great Advantage, is now not ſo practicable from the preſent *French* Colonies: Beſides the Facility of gaining then to their Intereſt moſt of the *Indian* Trade on the Northern Continent, they might alſo eaſily unite the *Canadees* and *Choctaws*, with the many other Nations of *Indians* which are now in their Intereſt. And the ſeveral Ports and Harbours of *Carolina* and *Georgia*, which now enable your Majeſty to be abſolutely Maſter of the Paſſage through the *Gulph* of *Florida*, and to impede, at your Pleaſure, the Tranſportation Home of the *Spaniſh* Treaſure, would then prove ſo many convenient Harbours for your Majeſty's Enemies, by their Privateers or Ships of War, to annoy a great Part of the *Britiſh* Trade to *America*, as well as that which is carried on through the *Gulph* from *Jamaica*, beſides the Loſs which *Great Britain* muſt feel in ſo conſiderable a Part of its Navigation, as well as the Exports of Maſts, Pitch, Tar, and Turpentine, which, without any Dependence on the Northern Powers of *Europe*, are from hence plentifully ſupplied for the Uſe of the *Britiſh* Shipping.

“This is the preſent State and Condition of your Majeſty's Province of *South Carolina*, utterly uncapable of finding Funds ſufficient for the Defence of this wide Frontier, and ſo deſtitute of white Men, that even Money itſelf cannot here raiſe a ſufficient Body of them.” The great Length of this Memorial prevents our making many Remarks thereon; ſome few, however, are abſolutely requiſite.

The Reader will, from hence, ſee how well timed, and how well contrived, the new Settlement of *Georgia* was, in the Opinion of thoſe who were the beſt Judges; how juſt and how prudent the Precaution of the Truſtees in prohibiting Negroes; and how wiſely and happily for the public Service they contrived to ſend over, both from our own Country, and other Parts of *Europe*, white People, and Proteſtants, by which they effectually provided for the Security of all the Northern Colonies behind it; which, whenever this Country comes to be thoroughly peopled, as it may be in a very few Years Time in Days of Peace, if due Attention be had thereto, will be ſuch a Barrier, as neither *Spaniards* nor *French* can ever break through, and conſequently will for ever put an End to thoſe Terrors and Apprehenſions, that are ſo ſtrongly and ſo emphatically expreſſed in the foregoing Paper. But to proceed in our Hiſtory.

In the Month of *January*, 1735, the *Highlanders* arrived in *Georgia* (and with them ſeveral of the ſame Country, as Servants to private Grantees). They were ſettled on the *Alatamaha River*, about ſixteen Miles diſtant by Water from the Iſland of *St. Simon*, which is at the Mouth of the River. They ſoon raiſed convenient Huts till their Houſes could be built; and the Town, at their own Deſire, was called *Darien*, which Name that Diſtrict ſtill retains; but the Town which they afterwards built they thought fit to call *New Inverneſs*.

On the 6th of *February* following the great Embarkation, under the Direction of Mr. *Oglethorpe*, arrived, and the People were ſettled upon the Iſland of *St. Simon*. The *Creek Indians* who came down upon this Occaſion, in conſequence of their claiming a Right to the Country, were treated with, and agreed that the *Engliſh* ſhould poſſeſs that, and all the Iſlands adjacent, which neceſſary Step being taken, the Town of *Frederica* was ſoon laid out, and the People ſet to work in building Houſes. When I call this the great Embarkation, it ſeems but reaſonable that I ſhould expreſs the Number of Perſons ſent over, which were four hundred and ſeventy; and it is likewiſe fit to ſay ſomething of the Iſland upon which they were ſettled. In Point of Situation, a better could hardly be wiſhed for in that Part of the World, lying as it does at the Mouth of a very fine River; the Size of it too was very convenient, being about forty-five Miles in

Extent, the Soil rich and fruitful, full of Oak and Hickery Trees, intermixed with Meadows and old *Indian* Fields.

As ſoon as this Settlement was made, Care was taken for its Security, and for the Fortification of the Southern Barrier, with which View a regular Fortreſs, ſtrengthened by four Baſtions and a Spur-work, towards the River, was erected at *Frederica*, and ſeveral Pieces of Cannon mounted thereon; a ſtrong Battery was alſo raiſed for the Protection of *Iekyll Sound*, where ten or twelve Forty-gun Ships may ſafely ride. Another Fort was built on the South-weſt Part of *Cumberland Iſland*, where are ſeveral Pieces of Cannon pointed towards the River, ſo as to command all Sloops and Small-craft navigating that Paſſage; within the Palliſade which ſurrounds the Fort there are fine Springs of Water, and likewiſe a well framed Timber-houſe, with large and convenient Magazines under it for Ammunition and Proviſions. But while ſo much Care was taken of the South Frontier, agreeable as it was conceived to the Deſign of the Parliament's Grant, and the Prayer of the before-mentioned Memorial; the Northern Part of the Colony was not neglected, ſince Orders were given for erecting a Fort at *Auguſta*, a Place ſituated on the River *Savannah*, which is now become a very thriving Place; where the Traders with the *Indians*, from *South Carolina* and *Georgia*, reſort, on Account of its Conveniency for that Purpoſe; and where there are large Warehouſes furniſhed with ſuch Goods as the *Indians* want, the Deer Skins taken in Exchange being ſent two hundred and thirty Miles down the River, to the Town of *Savannah*, in Boats, which carry each about nine thouſand Weight. It may be eaſily conceived from hence, how neceſſary a thing it was to have a good Fort here, which was both erected and garriſoned at the Expence of the Truſtees for ſome Time; and a Horſe-Road was made from thence to the Town of *Savannah* one Way, and to the Dwellings of the *Cherokee Indians*, who live above the Town of *Auguſta*, the other. By theſe Precautions the Trade of both Colonies, with theſe *Indians*, was facilitated, and the Country on that Side ſecured againſt any ſudden Attempts of an Enemy, which was all that could be expected in ſo ſhort a Time, and in a Tract of Land in Compariſon of the Colony, of ſo large an Extent.

7. The Preſence of Mr. *Oglethorpe* contributed greatly to the ſettling and Preſervation of the Colony; which was already become conſiderable enough, not only to draw the Attention, but to exite the Jealouſy, of the *Spaniards*; who, without all Queſtion, would have been glad to have overpowered, and driven out theſe new-come Neighbours, if it had been a thing in their Power; and if they had not been apprehenſive of the ill Conſequences that muſt have attended the breaking out of a War between the two Nations, on Account of the Diſputes between theſe Frontier Provinces; which Circumſtances were ſo well approved by Mr. *Oglethorpe*, and the *Indians* who had entered into Friendſhip with the new Settlement were ſo ſtrongly attached to the *Engliſh* Intereſt, that the Governor of *St. Auguſtin*, upon mature Deliberation, found it more expedient to enter into a Negociation, and to endeavour to conclude an amicable Agreement with the *Engliſh* Colony; which Mr. *Oglethorpe* alſo knowing to be very convenient for the Security of *Georgia*, he negociated, and concluded a Treaty, upon very juſt and reaſonable, as well as ſafe and advantageous, Terms; as will appear from the following Copy of the Treaty itſelf, and the Powers by him given for concluding and ſigning it.

“ To CHARLES DEMPSEY, *Eſq*;

“ I have impowered you, by Procuration, dated the 23d of *June*, 1736, to treat and conclude, concerning certain Matters of Importance, relating to theſe Provinces, with his Excellency *Don Franciſco del Moral Sanches*, Captain General of *Florida*, and Governor of *St. Auguſtin*, and the Council of War of the ſaid Garriſon; and having, ſince the Dates of theſe Letters, received Advice from the Governor of *St. Auguſtin*, as alſo a Meſſage from his Excellency *Don Juan Franciſco Geumes de Horçaſitas*, Major General in his Catholic Majeſty's Service, Captain General of the Iſland above, and Governor of *Havanna*, by Don *Antonio de Arredondo*, they both impowering him to treat concerning the ſaid Matters, I do hereby impower, conſtitute, and appoint you, to treat, conclude, and ſign the following Articles; and deliver the ſame unto the Governor and Council of *St. Auguſtin*, they ſigning, ſealing, and interchanging the ſaid Articles.

“ Firſt, That his Excellency the Governor of *St. Auguſtin*, ſhall reſtrain his *Indians*, Subjects to the King of *Spain*, from committing any Hoſtilities upon the Subjects of the King of *Great-Britain*. I will reſtrain the *Indian* Subjects to the King of *Great-Britain* in this Province, from any Hoſtilities upon the Subjects of his Catholic Majeſty.

“ Secondly, That in reſpect to the Nations of free *Indians* called *Creeks*, I will uſe my utmoſt amicable Endeavours upon any reaſonable Satisfaction given them, to prevail with them to abſtain from any Hoſtilities whatſoever, with the Subjects of his Catholic Majeſty.

“ Thirdly, That with reſpect to the Fort built on the Iſland of *St. George*, I will draw off that Garriſon, together with the Artillery, and all other things by me poſted there; provided that none of his Catholic Majeſty's Subjects, nor any other Perſon, ſhall inhabit, people, or fortify, the ſaid Iſland; provided alſo that no Prejudice ſhall ariſe to the Right of the King my Maſter, to the ſaid Iſland, nor to any other Dominions or Claim that his Britannic Majeſty hath upon this Continent. But that his Right ſhall remain to the ſaid Iſland, and to all other Places whatſoever; as if the ſaid Garriſon had never been withdrawn; and the ſaid Garriſon ſhall withdraw within fourteen Days after the Ratification of theſe Articles.

“ Fourthly, I will agree with his Excellency the Governor of *St. Auguſtin*, and the Council of War, That his Britannic Majeſty's Subjects, under my Command, ſhall not moleſt, in any Manner whatſoever, any of his Catholic Majeſty's Subjects, provided that his Catholic Majeſty's Subjects do not moleſt any of his Britannic Majeſty's Subjects, nor his Allies.

“ Fifthly, That concerning any Differences that have or ſhall ariſe, concerning the Limits of the reſpective Government and Dominions of the two Crowns, ſuch Differences ſhall remain undecided, till the Determination of the reſpective Courts; and that the Subjects, of each Crown here, ſhall remain in profound Peace, and not in any Manner moleſt each other, until the Determination of the reſpective Courts on this Subject.

“ Laſtly, That no Perſon ſhall be received from any Garriſon in either Government, without a Paſſport from the Governor to whom ſuch Perſons belong.

“ Given under my Hand and Seal, at *Frederica*
in *Georgia*, the 27th Day of *September*, 1736.

“ By the Power to me given, by his Excellency *James Oglethorpe*, Eſq; Governor and Director General of the new Colony of *Georgia*, by his Excellency's Procuration, bearing Date the 27th Day of *October*, in the tenth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord *George* the Second, by the Grace of God of *Great-Britain*, *France*, and *Ireland*, King, Defender of the Faith, &c. and in the Year of our Lord 1736: I do hereby confirm and ratify the above Articles, with his Excellency Don *Franciſco del Moral Sanches Villegas*, Captain General and Governor of *St. Auguſtin* of *Florida*, and with the Council of War of the ſaid Garriſon of *St. Auguſtin*; as witneſs my Hand and Seal, this 26th Day of *October*, 1736.”

The Counter-part of this Treaty, executed by the Governor of *St. Auguſtin*, by the Advice, and with the Conſent, of a Council of War, was certified by *Bartholomew Niotto*, Notary-Public, and I have it before me; but as it contains only a Repetition of the foregoing Articles, it ſeems unneceſſary to inſert it here, ſince what we have already given the Reader very ſufficiently explains the

Nature of this Treaty: But it ſeems the Governor of *St. Auguſtin* was not in the Secret of the Court; for the *Spaniſh* Miniſtry at Home were very far from being deſirous that a fair Correſpondence ſhould be eſtabliſhed between the two Colonies. On the contrary, they aimed at obliging us to deſiſt from our Deſign of ſettling the Colony of *Georgia*; and with this View Sir *Thomas Geraldino*, on the 1ſt of *September*, preſented a Memorial to his Grace the Duke of *Newcaſtle*, in which, among other Things, he was pleaſed to ſay, It is indiſputable that the Colony of *Georgia* was ſettled upon his Maſter's Dominions; ſo that a plainer Proof cannot be had, that the *Spaniards* were determined, if poſſible, to oblige the Crown of *Great-Britain* to give up this Settlement.

"But as was not very probable, that we ſhould be induced to do this by Sir *Thomas Geraldino*'s Memorial, the *Spaniſh* Miniſtry were contriving to do it by Force, and by tranſporting Troops into the *Spaniſh Florida*, from the adjacent Iſland of *Cuba*, and other Parts of their Dominions. It is true, that theſe Orders were moſtly given before they had any Intelligence of the proviſional Treaty concluded between the Governor of *St. Auguſtin* and Mr. *Oglethorpe*; but when they did know of it, they were ſo far from laying aſide their former Deſign, or even from ſuſpending it, that they highly diſapproved of the Governor's Behaviour in that Particular, the rather perhaps becauſe it was altogether inconſiſtent with their own Projects and Pretenſions. It is alſo very probable, that as the *Spaniſh* Councils were at that time wholly guided by thoſe of *France*, this might contribute not a little to their forming Views of expelling us from *Georgia*, which the *French* without doubt conſider as equally dangerous to them and their Schemes, or rather more ſo, than to the *Spaniards*, who on their Side have much more Reaſon to be offended with the *French* Settlements on the River *Miſſiſſippi*, than at our new Colony of *Georgia*. But be this as it will, the Preparations they made were in their Nature ſo open and extraordinary, that it was not long they could be concealed from our Governors, and other Officers in the *Weſt Indies*, whoſe Duty it was to obſerve, and tranſmit Intelligence hither of Things of that Nature.

The Lieutenant Governor of *South Carolina*, having heretofore acquainted the Truſtees by a Letter, dated from the Council-Chamber in *Charles Town*, the 7th of *February*, 1736-7, That he had received Advice from Commodore *Dent*, of Preparations made by the *Spaniards* at *St. Auguſtin* and the *Havanna*, in order to make an Attack on the Colony of *Georgia*; and the Truſtees having, in a Memorial to his Majeſty, ſet forth the Inability of the Colony to protect themſelves againſt ſuch a Force as was preparing at the *Havanna* and *St. Auguſtin*; his Majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed to order a Regiment of ſix hundred effective Men to be raiſed, and ſent to *Georgia*, for the Defence and Protection of it.

As an Encouragement for the Soldiers good Behaviour, the Truſtees reſolved to give each of them a Property in the Colony, and therefore made a Grant in Truſt, for an Allotment of five Acres of Land to each Soldier of the Regiment, to cultivate for his own Uſe and Benefit, and to hold the ſame during his Continuance in his Majeſty's Service. And for a further Encouragement, they reſolved, That each Soldier who at the End of ſeven Years Service, from the Time of his inliſting in the Regiment, ſhould be deſirous of quitting his Majeſty's Service, and ſhould have his regular Diſcharge, and would ſettle in the Colony, ſhould, on his Commanding Officer's Cerficate of his good Behaviour, be entitled to a Grant of twenty Acres of Land.

The Parliament having taken into Conſideration the great Expences which the Truſtees had been at in making Roads through the Province, and the ſeveral Fortifications in it, and the Preſents made to the *Indians* to engage them firmer in the *Britiſh* Intereſt, and likewiſe the Preparations that were making by the *Spaniards* in order to take or diſtreſs the Colony; granted thereupon for this Year the Sum of twenty thouſand Pounds, for the further ſettling and ſecuring the Colony, the Truſtees made another Embarkation, which conſiſted chiefly of perſecuted *German* Proteſtants,

In Conſequence of ſo conſiderable an Augmentation of People, all the Towns laid out in *Georgia* began to be improved, and to receive conſiderable Supplies; and ſo mindful they were of their Security, that even at *Savannah*, which was leaſt expoſed to Danger, they traced out, and began to build, a conſiderable Fort; and in all the Frontier Places, the utmoſt Care was taken to put the Fortifications into the beſt Poſture of Defence that the Circumſtances of the Province would allow. On the Arrival of the Regiment, of which Mr. *Oglethorpe* was appointed Colonel, he diſtributed them in the propereſt manner for the Service of the Colony; but notwithſtanding this was of great Eaſe to the Truſtees, and a vaſt Security to the Inhabitants; yet Colonel *Oglethorpe* ſtill kept up the ſame Diſcipline, and took as much Care to form and regulate the Inhabitants with reſpect to military Affairs as ever. He provided likewiſe different Corps for different Services; ſome for ranging the Woods; others, light-armed, for ſudden Expeditions; and he likewiſe provided Veſſels for ſcouring the Sea Coaſt, and for gaining Intelligence. In all which Services he gave at the ſame time his Orders and his Example; there being nothing he did not, which he directed others to do; ſo that if he was the firſt Man in the Colony, his Pre-eminence was founded upon old *Homer*'s Maxims: He was the moſt fatigued, and the firſt in Danger, diſtinguiſhed by his Cares and his Labours, not by any exterior Marks of Grandeur, more eaſily diſpenſed with, ſince they were certainly needleſs.

The ſtrict Attention ſhewn by the Truſtees for their infant Settlement was ſo remarkable, and their Punctuality in ſupplying what was neceſſary, ſo generally known throughout *America*, that it was not long before it created ſome Inconvenience from the Addreſs of ſuch as were deſirous of turning ſuch Inſtances of public Spirit to their private Advantage; for ſeveral Merchants, and Captains of Ships, had, for their own Intereſt, carried into the Colony from *New York* and other Places, large Cargoes of Proviſions, &c. great Part of which (to ſave Merchants from Loſſes) were taken at the Store, without proper Authority from the Truſtees, and an Expence created thereby, which the Truſtees could not eſtimate, nor have Ability to diſcharge, and for which certified Accounts were returned to them; and therefore the Truſtees publiſhed an Advertiſement in the *London Gazette*, and ordered it to be publiſhed in the *South Carolina Gazette*, and to be affixed on the Doors of the Store-houſes at *Savannah* and *Frederica*, that out of a due Regard to public Credit they had reſolved, That all Expences which they had ordered, or ſhould order, to be made in *America*, for the Uſe of the Colony, ſhould be defrayed and paid for in *Georgia*, in Sola Bills of Exchange only, under their Seal; and they gave Notice, that no Perſon whatſoever had any Authority from them, or in their Name, or on their Account, to purchaſe or receive any Cargo of Proviſions, Stores, or Neceſſaries, without paying for them in the ſaid Sola Bills.

Yet they were as ready as ever in expending Money, where it was neceſſary and ſerviceable to the Colony; for upon a Petition of one *Abraham de Lyon*, a Freeholder of *Savannah* in *Georgia*, That he had expended a great Sum in the Cultivation of Vines, which he had carried from *Portugal*, and had brought to great Perfection; and ſeveral Certificates being produced of his great Improvements, and of the Goodneſs of his Grapes, and their thriving in the moſt barren Lands in the Province, the Truſtees aſſiſted him to proceed in his Improvements. But, to be more able to ſupply theſe Expences, they took Care to be frugal, where it was practicable. And the Security of the Colony being provided for by the Regiment ſent over by his Majeſty, the Parliament gave eight thouſand Pounds for the further ſettling the Colony; therefore the Truſtees ſent over an Eſtimate of all the Expences which they allowed to be made in the Province; by which ſeveral military Expences which they had been engaged in for the Defence of the Colony, and which were very great, were reduced.

In the Year 1738 the Truſtees ſent over the Reverend Mr. *Norris* to *Frederica* with a Salary of 50*l.* a Year, and Orders that a Houſe ſhould be built for him, and another provided for the Performance of public Worſhip, till ſuch Time as a Church could be erected. But while their Cares were thus employed, they met with ſome Interruption from unforeſeen Accidents, both without and within the Province: In reſpect to the former, the Aſſembly of *South Carolina*, having the laſt Year paſſed an Ordinance for raiſing a Sum to indemnify their Traders, in Oppoſition to the Act, which was approved of by his Majeſty in Council, for maintaining the Peace with the *Indians* in the Province of *Georgia*; upon a Memorial from the Truſtees, complaining of the ſaid Ordinance; and upon the Petition of the Council and Aſſembly of *South Carolina*, againſt the ſaid Act, there was a ſolemn Hearing before the Lords Commiſſioners for Trade and Plantations; and afterwards before a Committee of the Lords of his Majeſty's Privy Council: Whereupon his Majeſty was pleaſed to order, that the ſaid Ordinance of Aſſembly of *South Carolina* ſhould be repealed, and declared void; and was pleaſed to ſend an Inſtruction to the Truſtees, to prepare a proper Act, or Ordinance, for ſettling the Trade, carried on by the Provinces of *South Carolina* and *Georgia* with the *Indians*, on ſuch a Footing, as might be for the mutual Benefit and Satisfaction of both Provinces. And his Majeſty, at the ſame Time, was graciouſly pleaſed to give an Inſtruction to *Samuel Horſey*, Eſq; Governor, and Lieutenant General of *South Carolina*, to recommend to the Council and Aſſembly there, to paſs a Law for that Purpoſe, in that Province. But *Samuel Horſey*, Eſq; dying ſoon after, and no other Governor having ſince gone to *South Carolina*, that Affair remained unſettled. The Truſtees immediately ſent to Colonel *Oglethorpe* a Copy of his Majeſty's Inſtructions, and deſired that he would conſult with Lieutenant Governor *Bull* in *South Carolina*; that Plans of proper Acts might be prepared, and ſent over to the Truſtees, for their Conſideration, in order to anſwer the Purpoſes of his Majeſty's Inſtructions; and that, in the mean Time, the Commiſſioners of *South Carolina*, and the Commiſſioners of *Georgia*, might proceed in their reſpective Provinces, in concert with each other, to carry on a mutual Trade to the *Indians* in both Provinces.

In Reference to the other Sources of Diſturbance and domeſtic Diſquiets, they were of different Kinds; but the greateſt was owing to a Number of Perſons enjoying the Benevolence due to the Colony, without any real Merit in themſelves, or juſt Title thereto; for which, however, a Remedy was ſpeedily provided. The Truſtees, both by their Letters and Inſtructions to the Magiſtrates, had conſtantly exhorted and encouraged the People to a Cultivation of their Lands, on which they were to depend for their Support; and as they found that many (as well of thoſe whom they had ſent over as Objects of Charity, as of others, who at different Times had gone into the Country from other Colonies, for their temporary Maintenance) ſtill continued in their Idleneſs, and were a Burden upon the Truſtees; they gave Orders for ſtriking off the Store, all ſuch as having had Time to cultivate their Lands had neglected it. This carried from the Colony many of thoſe who had gone thither, or joined it from other Parts of *America*, to gain a Subſiſtance for a Year or two, and of others who had not conſidered the Hardſhips attending the firſt Settlement of a Country, and were weary of their Labour. The Truſtees receiving an Account, dated *February* 12, 1738, from their Secretary of the Province, of an Uneaſineſs among ſeveral Perſons, upon the Tenor of their Lots being confined to Heirs Male; and they, conſidering that the Colony had been ſome Time eſtabliſhed, the People grew more numerous, and a Regiment being ſtationed in it, for its Defence, whereby the former Tenures became leſs neceſſary; did, on the 15th of *March* following, at their anniverſary Meeting, reſolve, that in Default of Iſſue Male, the legal Poſſeſſor of Land, might, by a Deed in Writing, or by his laſt Will and Teſtament, appoint his Daughter as his Succeſſor, or any other Female Relation; with a Proviſo that the Succeſſor ſhould, in the proper Court in *Georgia*, perſonally claim the Lot granted and deviſed within eighteen Months after the Death of the Grantor or Diviſor. This was ſoon after extended to every legal Poſſeſſor being impowered to appoint any other Perſon as his Succeſſor.

The mildeſt Governments are often but too ſubject to Diſcontents; and though the whole Study of the Truſtees was to make their People as eaſy in their private Capacities, as their Duty to, and Concern for, the Public, would permit. Yet this did not hinder ignorant and malicious Perſons, who either could not, or would not, comprehend the true Intereſts of the Colony, from endeavouring to raiſe freſh Diſturbances, for the ſake of obtaining what they thought might be of Service to them; and which, if they had judged rationally, they muſt have perceived would have turned to their Ruin. In ſhort, Part of the People ſettled in *Georgia* ſent over a Memorial to the Truſtees, complaining of the Want of a Fee-ſimple in their Lands, and of not being permitted the Uſe of Negroes. But thoſe who were ſettled on the Frontier, and conſequently moſt expoſed to the *Spaniards* and others, who, by their own Induſtry, had improved their Plantations, ſo as to draw from them a comfortable Subſiſtence, ſent over a contrary Memorial; in which they repreſented the Diſadvantages and Dangers that would ariſe from the Permiſſion of Negroes.

It likewiſe fell out, that at the very Time ſome of the People of *Savannah* were ſo clamorous for Negroes (for ſeventy-five Land and Freeholders, of whom fifty-two were Freeholders, did not apply for them) the Province of *South Carolina* was under frequent Alarms, upon Account of the Negroes there. They had Intelligence that a Conſpiracy was formed by the Negroes in *South Carolina* to riſe, and forcibly make their Way out of the Province, to put themſelves under the Protection of the *Spaniards*; who had proclaimed Freedom to all that ſhould run to them from their Owners. This Conſpiracy was diſcovered at *Winyaw*, the moſt Northern Part of that Province, from whence, as the Negroes muſt bend their Courſe, it argued, that the other Parts of the Province, muſt be privy to it, and that the riſing was to be univerſal; whereupon the whole Province were upon their Guard; the Number of Negroes in *South Carolina* being computed to be about forty thouſand, and the Number of white Men, at moſt, not above five thouſand. As ſeveral Negroes who were employed in Perryauguas, and other like Craft (which they carried off with them) had taken the Benefit of the *Spaniards* Proclamation, and gone to *St. Auguſtin*, the Government of *South Carolina* ſent a ſolemn Deputation to demand their Slaves. This Deputation conſiſted of Mr. *Braithwaite*, a Member of the Council; Mr. *Rudlidge*, one of the Aſſembly; and Mr. *Binian*, Clerk of the Aſſembly. But the Governor of *St. Auguſtin*, though in Time of profound Peace, peremptorily refuſed to deliver them up; and declared he had Orders to receive all ſuch as ſhould come thither, and protect them. Upon this, and the Petitions which were ſent from the *Highlanders* at *Darien*, and the *Saltzburghers* at *Ebenezer*, repreſenting the Danger, and the Inconvenience of the Introduction of Negroes; the Truſtees ſent under their Seal, an Anſwer to the Repreſentation from ſome of the Inhabitants of *Savannah*.

In this Anſwer, which is dated *June* the 20th, 1739, the Truſtees ſay, “ That they ſhould deem themſelves “ very unfit for the Truſt repoſed in them by his Ma- “ jeſty on their Behalf, if they could be prevailed on by “ any ſuch irrational Attempt, to give up a Conſtitu- “ tion framed with the greateſt Caution, for the Preſer- “ vation of Liberty and Property; and of which the “ Laws againſt the Uſe of Slaves, and for the Entail of “ Lands, are the ſureſt Foundations; and the Truſtees “ are the more confirmed in their Opinions of the Un- “ reaſonableneſs of this Demand, and that they have re- “ ceived Notions from *Darien*, and the other Parts of “ the Province, repreſenting the Inconvenience and “ Danger which muſt ariſe to the good People of the “ Province, from the Introduction of Negroes; and as “ the Truſtees themſelves are fully convinced, that be- “ ſides the Hazards attending of that Introduction, it

“ would deſtroy all Induſtry among the white Inhabitants, and that, by giving them a Power to alien their Lands, the Colony would ſoon be too like its Neighbours, void of white Inhabitants, filled with Blacks, and reduced to be the precarious Property of a few, equally expoſed to domeſtic Treachery, and foreign Invaſion; and therefore the Truſtees cannot be ſuppoſed to be in any Diſpoſition of granting this Requeſt; and if they have not, before this, ſignified their Diſlike of it, their Delay is to be imputed to no other Motives but the Hopes they had conceived, that Time and Experience would bring the Complainants to a better Mind. And the Truſtees readily join Iſſue with them, in their Appeal to Poſterity, who ſhall judge between them, who were their beſt Friends, thoſe who endeavoured to preſerve for them a Property in their Lands, by tying up the Hands of their unthrifty Progenitors, or they who wanted a Power to mortgage or alien them? Who were the beſt Friends to the Colony, thoſe who, with great Labour and Coſt, had endeavoured to form a Colony of his Majeſty's Subjects, and perſecuted Proteſtants from other Parts of *Europe*, had placed them on a fruitful Soil, and ſtrove to ſecure them in their Poſſeſſions by thoſe Arts, which naturally tend to keep the Colony full of uſeful and induſtrious People, capable both to cultivate and defend it; or thoſe, who to gratify the greedy and ambitious Views of a few Negro-Merchants, would put it into their Power to become ſole Owners of the Province, by introducing their baneful Commodity; which it is well known, by ſad Experience, has brought our Neighbour Colonies to the Brink of Ruin, by driving out their white Inhabitants, who were their Glory and Strength, to make room for black, who are now become the Terror of their unadviſed Maſters?”

The Truſtees had great Reaſon for proceeding as they did in this Reſpect; ſince among the Perſons to whom Grants were made, in order to their ſettling at their own Expence in the Colony, ſome never went over to take them up, or to ſettle at all; others were Gentlemen of *Carolina*, who neglected the Proſecution of their Grants, and never ſo much as deſired to have their Lands laid out; and of the reſt, ſeveral had quitted their Plantations, and the laborious Life of Planters, to go and reſide more at their Eaſe at *Savannah*; where, by the Exerciſe of their ſeveral Trades and Profeſſions, they brought many of the People in Debt; and beſides all this, Horſe-Races and other Diverſions were ſet on foot, and ſuch a Spirit of Idleneſs began to prevail, as very eaſily accounted for their Eagerneſs in deſiring to have Negroes granted them; and plainly ſhewed with what fatal Conſequences it muſt have been attended, if the Truſtees had not remained firm to their firſt Reſolutions, and had not given ſuch an Anſwer as ſhewed they were reſolved to preſerve that Spirit in the Colony upon which it was ſettled, and which could alone render it worth that Care, which had been hitherto taken of it by the Public. However, to make the People as eaſy and contented as they could, they publiſhed an Advertiſement in the *London Gazette*, the 8th of *September*, 1739, and other Papers, which were continued for ſeveral Days, and ordered it to be publiſhed in the *South Carolina Gazette*; that they had reſolved to enlarge their Grants on Failure of Iſſue Male, and to make a certain Proviſion for the Widows of the Grantees, in the following Manner, *viz.* That the Lands already granted, and ſuch as ſhould hereafter be granted, ſhould, on Failure of Iſſue Male, deſcend to the Daughters of ſuch Grantees; and in caſe there ſhould be no Iſſue Male or Female, that the Grantees might deviſe ſuch Lands; and for want of ſuch Deviſe, that ſuch Lands ſhould deſcend to their Heirs at Law, with a Proviſo that the Poſſeſſion of the Perſon who ſhould enjoy ſuch Deviſe, ſhould not be increaſed to more than five hundred Acres; and that the Widows of the Grantees ſhould hold and enjoy the dwelling Houſe, Garden, and one Moiety of the Lands their Huſband ſhould die poſſeſſed of, for, and during the Term of, their Lives. The Truſtees directed in the Advertiſement, that thoſe who intended to have the Benefit given them, ſhould enter their reſpective Claims, in order that proper Grants and Conveyances in the Law might be forthwith prepared and executed for that Purpoſe; and that no Fee or Reward was to be taken for the entering any ſuch Claim, directly or indirectly, by any Perſon or Perſons whatſoever. It appears clearly from theſe Conceſſions, how very deſirous the Truſtees were of giving the People, ſettled in *Georgia*, all imaginable Satisfaction, conſiſtent with the Scheme they had formed of ſecuring theſe Lands to the actual Planters, and thereby prevent thoſe Inconveniencies, to which others, particularly the ſouthern Colonies, were liable, and which would have been ſo much the more fatal in a Colony, the chief Inducement to eſtabliſh which, was the making a ſtrong Frontier.

9. The *French*, who by degrees, grew more and more uneaſy at the Settlement of *Georgia*, and our Intercourſe with the *Indians*, began to make uſe of every Method they could deviſe, in order to create Differences and Jealouſies between us and the *Creeks*, which was no ſooner known, than it greatly alarmed, not only the People ſettled in *Georgia*, but the whole Province of *Carolina*, from a juſt Senſe of the Danger they ſhould be in, if the *French*, either by their Artifices or Preſents, ſhould draw over the *Creek Indians* to their Party, as appears by their Applications, both to Colonel *Oglethorpe*; and to the Government at home. Upon this Mr. *Oglethorpe* thought it neceſſary to enter into a cloſe Alliance with this Nation; and therefore reſolved upon a Journey to the *Coweta* Town, though at the Diſtance of no leſs than five hundred Miles from *Frederica*, where he then was, and through a Country very little known to, and very difficult for *Europeans* to travel. He provided him, however, with Horſes and Preſents fit for the Purpoſe; ſet out for that Place, and after a painful and fatiguing Journey, reached it in Safety, where he was received by the *Indians* with all imaginable Marks of Friendſhip and Reſpect; and where he had an Opportunity of conferring not only with the Chiefs of all the Tribes of this Nation, but alſo with Deputies of the *Choctaws* and *Chickeſaws*, who lie between the *Engliſh* and *French* Settlements, and who had ſent their Deputies thither with that View. The Conſequence of this Meeting was, the making a new, more full, and explicit Treaty with the *Lower Creeks*, than the former; which was of ſo great Conſequence, that Colonel *Bull*, Lieutenant-Governor of *Carolina*, declared, that if the *Creeks* could be ſecured, they ſhould be under no Apprehenſions from the Intrigues of the *French* with the other Nations; and, that this was effectually done, the Reader will perceive from the Peruſal of the Treaty then concluded with that Nation; of which the following is a Copy from an Inſtrument, containing the Exemplification of the ſaid Treaty, under the Seal of the Province of *Georgia*, with all the neceſſary Certificates from the Magiſtrates, indorſed thereupon; and which ought therefore to be conſidered as the moſt authentic Evidence of that Gentleman's Diligence, Zeal, and Succeſs, in the Service of his Country, and of the *Britiſh* Colonies in *America*.

Proceedings of the aſſembled Eſtates of all the Lower Creek *Nations, held on* Saturday, *the* 11*th Day of* Auguſt, Anno Domini 1739.

“ By Powers from his moſt ſacred Majeſty *George* the Second, by the Grace of God King of *Great Britain*, *France*, and *Ireland*, &c. General *James Oglethorpe* being appointed Commiſſioner, was preſent in the Behalf of his Majeſty, and opened the Aſſembly by a Speech. There were alſo preſent at the ſaid Aſſembly of Eſtates, the Mico, or King, of the *Coweta* Town; *Chickley Ninia*, Mico of the ſaid Town; *Malachi*, Mico, Son of *Brim*, late Emperor of the *Creek* Nation, and the chief Men and Warriors of the *Coweta* Town; the Mico, or chief King, of the *Cuſſitas*; and *Sciſkeligo*, Mico, next to the King of the *Cuſſitas*; *Iſkeigo*, third chief Man of the *Cuſſitas*, and the other chief Men and Warriors of the ſaid Town; and alſo *Ocakcha-*

“ *pacho*, and the chief Men of the Town of *Polachuchulas*; *Kolatto*, chief War-Captain, and other chief Men and Warriors; being Deputies, ſent with full Powers to conclude all Things neceſſary for the ſaid Town. *Tawmawme*, Mico of the *Uſawles*, with ſeveral other chief Men and Warriors; being Deputies ſent with full Powers to conclude all Things neceſſary for the ſaid Town. *Metalcheko*, War-Captain of the *Echetees*, with ſeveral other chief Men and Warriors; being Deputies ſent with full Powers to conclude all Things for the ſaid Town. *Neathacklo*, chief Man of *Ocſachees*, with ſeveral other chief Men and Warriors, ſent with full Powers to conclude all Things for the ſaid Town. *Occullaveche*, chief Man of the *Checaws*, with ſeveral other chief Men and Warriors; being Deputies ſent with full Powers to conclude all Things for the ſaid Town. *Howanawge Thalacko*, chief Man of the *Oxmulges*, with ſeveral other chief Men and Warriors; being Deputies ſent with Powers to conclude all Things for the ſaid Town. The Mico, or chief King, of the *Occonys*, with ſeveral chief Men and Warriors, having full Powers to conclude all Things for the ſaid Town. *Nealhoclo*, a ſecond chief Man of the *Swales*, with ſeveral other chief Men and Warriors; being Deputies ſent with full Powers to conclude all Things for the ſaid Town. The ſaid Eſtates being ſolemnly held, and opened at the great Square in the Town of *Coweta*, and adjourned from thence to the Town *Cuſſitas*; and the Deputies having drank black Drink together, according to the ancient Cuſtom of their Nation (being a religious Form, tranſmitted down by their Anceſtors) the whole Eſtates declared, by a general Conſent, without one Negative, that they adhered in their ancient Love to the King of *Great Britain*, and to their Agreements made in the Year one thouſand ſeven hundred and thirty-three, with the Truſtees for eſtabliſhing the Colony of *Georgia* in *America*; a Counter-part of which Agreement was then delivered to each Town; and the Deputies of the ſeveral Towns produced the ſame; and farther declared, That all the Dominions, Territories and Lands, from the River *Savannah*, to the River *St. John's*, and all the Iſlands between the ſaid Rivers; and from the River *St. John's* to the Bay *Appallache*, within which is all the *Appallache* old Fields; and from the ſaid Bay of *Appallache*, to the Mountains, doth by ancient Right belong to the *Creek* Nation, and they have maintained Poſſeſſion of the ſaid Right, againſt all Oppoſers by War; and can ſhew the Heaps of Bones of their Enemies ſlain by them, in Defence of the ſaid Lands. And the ſaid Eſtates further declare, that the *Creek* Nation hath, for Ages, had the Protection of the Kings and Queens of *England*, and that the *Spaniards*, nor no other Nation, have any Right to any of the ſaid Lands, and that they will not ſuffer them, or any other Perſon, except the Truſtees for eſtabliſhing the Colony of *Georgia* in *America*, to ſettle on the ſaid Lands. And they do acknowledge, by the Grant they have already made to the Truſtees for eſtabliſhing a Colony of *Georgia* in *America*, all the Lands upon the *Savannah* River, as far as the River *Ogeeche*; and all the Lands along the Sea Coaſt, as far as the River *St. John's*, and as high as the Tide flows, and all the Iſlands as far as the ſaid River, particularly the Iſlands of *Frederica*, *Cumberland*, and *Amelia*, to which they have given the Names of his Majeſty's Family, out of Gratitude to him. But they declare, that they did and do reſerve to the *Creek* Nation, all the Lands from *Pipemakes Bluff*, to *Havannah* and the Iſlands of *St. Catharina*, *Oſſebaw*, and *Sappalo*. And they further declare, That the ſaid Lands are held by the *Creek* Nation as Tenants in common. And the ſaid Commiſſioner doth declare, That the *Engliſh* ſhall not enlarge, or take up any other Lands except theſe granted as above by the *Creek Indian* Nation, to the Truſtees: And doth promiſe and covenant, That he will puniſh any Perſon that ſhall intrude upon the ſaid Lands which the *Creek* Nation hath reſerved, as above. Given under my Hand and Seal this 21ſt Day of *Auguſt*, at the *Coweta* Town, 1739.

James Oglethorpe.

At this Diſtance, it is a very difficult, if not impracticable, Thing, to give the Reader a clear and diſtinct Intelligence of the Difficulties ſurmounted, and the Advantages acquired by Mr. *Oglethorpe*'s Journey, and his Succeſs in concluding this Alliance: We will, however, endeavour to repreſent them as clearly and as fully as we can. In the firſt place, his making ſuch a Journey as this, gained him a great Reputation with the *Indians*; impreſſed upon them Sentiments of deep Reſpect for the *Engliſh* Nation, and of particular Affection for the Colony of *Georgia*. At the ſame time it ſtruck the *French* with Amazement; ſome of their Governors of *Canada* had indeed made conſiderable Journeys from *Quebec*, in order to confer with the *Indians*, and to conclude Treaties with them; but then they always thought it requiſite to be well attended, and never made theſe Excurſions but at the Head of a conſiderable Body of regular Troops. Whereas General *Oglethorpe* had no ſuch Attendants, but relied entirely on the good Faith of the *Indians*, and of his own Behaviour towards them. He knew the Conſequence of their living in ſincere Amity with the *Engliſh*; and he was willing to run any perſonal Hazard neceſſary to eſtabliſh it. In ſhort, he found it requiſite for the Welfare of the Colony which he had ſettled, that they ſhould be able to place an intire Confidence in the *Indians*, and the *Indians* in them; which reciprocal Confidence he actually procured, by repoſing himſelf entirely on their Faith; and by the Treaty that he concluded with them.

His coming to the *Coweta* Town diſſipated all their Fears, and extinguiſhed all their Jealouſies; they told him ſo fairly in their firſt Conferences. They ſaid it had been inſinuated to them, that he was come into that Country to deprive them of their Land; and that they had been aſſured, he was actually preparing to invade them; but they were now convinced that theſe were all Falſhoods and Calumnies; that he really meant them all the Good they could expect; and that inſtead of injuring them by the Settlement he was making, it would prove a new Security to them, as well as to the *Engliſh*; and put it out of the Power of their common Enemies to hurt either. For which Reaſon they were, on their Parts, ready to do all that he could expect from them, and were perfectly ſatisfied that he would perform his Engagements towards them, with the like Punctuality. There is no Wonder therefore, if the *French* were exceſſively alarmed on the News of this Conference, and of the Alliance which General *Oglethorpe* had concluded; ſince they could conſider it in no other light, than as the firſt Step to a general Confederacy with all the *Indian* Nations that had met at, or ſent Deputies to, the *Coweta* Town; from whence they foreſaw many and great Inconveniences to themſelves; for, in the firſt Place, this new Treaty with the *Creeks*, defeated all the Meaſures they had been taking, unravelled all their Deſigns, and connected that Nation more cloſely than ever with the *Engliſh*, which in itſelf was a very great and unlooked for Diſappointment.

But that was not all, they clearly comprehended that by this Means we ſhould not only keep our old Friends, but draw off alſo ſome of theirs. Of all the Nations that bordered upon them; they are moſt afraid of the *Chickeſaws*, whom they look upon as the fierceſt and braveſt Race of *Indians* in *America*, with whom they have never been upon good Terms, more eſpecially ſince the Year 1731, when they diſcovered, or pretended to diſcover, a Deſign they had formed, to ſurpriſe and deſtroy all their advanced Settlements. They were alſo in a very great Fear of the *Choctaws*, or as the *French* call them *Tchoctas*, both becauſe they are a very numerous Nation, and are ſo ſituated as to be able, at any time, to diſturb and diſquiet their Settlements. But it ſoon appeared by Experience, that the new Treaty operated ſucceſsfully, ſince the Governor of *New York*, having given Information to Colonel *Bull*, of *Carolina*, of the March of a Body of

French Troops, and *Indians* from *Quebec*, with Intent to attack the *Indians* in Friendſhip with *England*; but though this put the People of *Carolina* and *Georgia* upon their Guard, there followed nothing from it; for the *French* found the *Indians* well prepared and diſpoſed to receive them, and therefore deſiſted from their Deſign, for fear it ſhould produce a general War, that might prove fatal to the Colonies on the *Miſſiſippi* River; the People of which were exceſſively apprehenſive of what might happen from the general Confederacy of the neighbouring *Indians* againſt them.

The Truſtees proceeded as vigorouſly as it was poſſible in the Execution of every Part of their Scheme; and having, with ſuch unwearied Diligence, provided for the Settlement of a new Colony, and for the Security of its Frontiers, they began next to employ their Skill and Pains, to promote all kinds of Improvements; and were eſpecially ſollicitous to obtain from thence ſome Specimens of the Poſſibility of raiſing, in that Country, the Commodities that were expected from it. They very well knew that this required hard Labour, and that nothing had accrued to *Great Britain* worth ſpeaking of, from any of the Colonies in *America*, in many Years longer than this Settlement of *Georgia* had been made. But on the other Hand, they alſo knew that the *Engliſh* Nation was naturally impatient; that great Sums of Money had been iſſued for the Service of this Colony; that great Expectations were had of it; and that, if nothing ſoon appeared, however certain in themſelves, and juſt in their Nature, no Excuſes would prevail. They therefore recommended it to their Servants in *Georgia*, to uſe their utmoſt Skill and Diligence in promoting the Culture of Mulberry Trees and Silk, ſo that it might be, at leaſt, demonſtrated, that they were not deceived in their Expectations; but that in due Time, and with reaſonable Encouragement, the Nation might hope to ſee a full Return in that Commodity, for the Expence ſhe had been, and muſt be at, in bringing the Colony of *Georgia* to Perfection. For they perſuaded themſelves, that from the Methods they had uſed in ſending over proper Perſons for the Management of that Buſineſs, their Demands, with a due Degree of Care and Diligence in their Servants, might be anſwered, which would afford them an Anſwer to all Objections.

A Parcel of raw Silk was accordingly brought this Year from *Georgia*, by Mr. *Samuel Augſpourguer*, who made an Affidavit, before a Maſter in Chancery, that he received it from the Hands of Mr. *Thomas Jones*, the Truſtees Store-keeper at *Savannah*, who told him it was the Produce of *Georgia*; and the ſaid *Samuel Augſpourguer*, who reſided in the Southern Part of the Province, ſaid, That when at *Savannah*, he ſaw the *Italian* Family there winding off Silk from the Coquons. The Silk was ſhewed at the Truſtees Office, to Mr. *John Zacary*, an eminent Raw-Silk Merchant, and Mr. *Booth*, one of the greateſt Silk Weavers in *England*, who declared it was as fine as any *Italian* Silk; and that it was worth, at leaſt, twenty Shillings a Pound. This Mr. *Samuel Augſpourguer*, who joined the Colony in the beginning of the Year 1736, left it in *July* 1739, with two Men Servants and their Children, on his Plantation, and came over to obtain a Grant of five hundred Acres of Land, and to get ſome of his Countrymen from the *Canton of Bern* in *Switzerland*, to go with him as Servants, on his return to *Georgia*, in order to proceed more effectually in the Cultivation of his Lands.

The Truſtees, this Year, alſo took further Methods for the Satisfaction of the People in the Province. They extended the Tenures, by which the Daughter of a Grantee, or any other Perſon, was made capable of enjoying, by Deviſe, or Inheritance, any Quantity of Lands which did not increaſe her or his Poſſeſſion, to more than two thouſand Acres. A Licence was alſo granted for all the preſent Poſſeſſors of Land in *Georgia*, to make Leaſes of any Part of their Lots, for any Term not exceeding three Years, to any Perſon reſiding in *Georgia*, and who ſhould reſide there, during the Term of ſuch Leaſe. A general Releaſe was likewiſe paſſed, by which no Advantage was to be taken againſt any of the preſent Poſſeſſors of Land in *Georgia*, for any Forfeiture incurred at any Time before *Chriſtmas* 1740, to the Tenure or Cultivation of Land; and the Poſſeſſors of fifty Acres were not obliged to cultivate more than five Acres thereof, in ten Years from their Grants; and thoſe of under fifty Acres in Proportion; and the Poſſeſſors of five hundred Acres of Land were not obliged to cultivate more than one hundred and twenty Acres thereof, in twenty Years from their Grants; and thoſe of under five hundred Acres, and above fifty Acres in proportion, to prevent any Forfeiture for want of cultivating the Quantities required. Under theſe Circumſtances it is preſumed that no Complaint can now, with Reaſon, be made againſt the Tenure, by which the Inhabitants at this Time hold their Lands, ſince they have more Power than is generally given by Marriage Settlements, in which the Grantees are only Tenants for Life, incapable of mortgaging, or alienating, or making any Diſpoſition by their laſt Will: Whereas the Freeholders in *Georgia* are now become Tenants in Tail-general, and may, with the Licence of the Common Council of the Truſtees, upon Application made to them for that Purpoſe, mortgage, or alien, and further, without Application, have it abſolutely in their Power, on Failure of Iſſue in Tail, to diſpoſe thereof by their laſt Will. At leaſt this was all the Truſtees thought themſelves at Liberty to do, conſidering the Obligation they were under to the Public, as well as to the Settlement; and that they were as much bound to provide, that the Nation had a juſt Satisfaction for what ſhe diſburſed in Favour of the Colony, as that the Inhabitants of *Georgia* ſhould be made eaſy in their Settlements, and meet with ſufficient Encouragement to proceed with Induſtry in all their Undertakings; and with this double View, to the Service of the Public, and the Welfare of the Settlement, all their Applications at home, and all their Directions abroad, are to be referred.

9. We have now run through the Hiſtory of this Province for above ſeven Years, that is, from the time of projecting ſuch a Settlement as this on the South Frontier of *Carolina*, to the carrying that Deſign into Execution, and bringing the new Province into ſome tolerable Degree of Order; and, in the Courſe of our Hiſtory, we have had occaſion to obſerve, from time to time, what Care and Circumſpection has been uſed, to render it uſeful to thoſe Ends for which it was intended. We have taken notice of the Senſe which the whole Province of *Carolina* had of the Neceſſity, as well as Expedience, of ſuch a Settlement. We have ſhewn, that thoſe who were ſent over were diſciplined in ſuch a manner, as to be able to defend, as well as acquire Property. We have ſet down the Reaſons why Negroes were prohibited; and thoſe Reaſons very clearly prove, that the Colony could not have anſwered any of thoſe Ends for which it was eſtabliſhed, if Negroes had been permitted. We have given ſome Account, and, if the Bounds of this Section would have permitted, we ſhould have given a farther Account of the Jealouſies entertained by the *Spaniards* and the *French* on Account of this Settlement, which we conceive to be ſo many demonſtrative Proofs of its Utility. We have given the Reader a large Extract from the Memorial of the Aſſembly of *South-Carolina*, ſetting forth, in the cleareſt and ſtrongeſt Terms, the Wants of that Province, and the Points in which they ſtood in need of Aſſiſtance. We have ſhewn, by a plain Narrative of Facts, how agreeable the Conduct of General *Oglethorpe* was to the Demands of that Memorial; and how far, by the happy Succeſs attending thoſe Endeavours, they have been anſwered, more eſpecially by his laſt Treaty with the *Creek Indians*, which, as we ſhall have Occaſion to ſhew hereafter, has effectually anſwered his Ends and theirs, ſo as not only to come up to, but even to exceed and go beyond their Expectations. We have likewiſe, from time to time, exhibited the Alterations that, in Compliance with the Peoples Deſires, the Truſtees have thought fit to make in their Conſtitution, for the Eaſe and Encouragement of the Planters. And we have likewiſe given an Inſtance, that they have not been diſap-

pointed in their Views as to the Produce of this new Colony; but that it is both poſſible and practicable to raiſe therein as good Silk as we can purchaſe with Money (which is, generally ſpeaking, the Caſe at preſent) from any Part of the World.

It remains, according to the Plan that we have laid down, to give a Deſcription of this new Province in the Manner it is now ſettled, that the Reader may ſee what the Fruits have been of the Care and Expence of the Legiſlature, the Prudence and Attention of the Truſtees, and the Vigilance and Activity of thoſe intruſted by them in the Management of their Affairs in this Part of the World. And though, as yet, they have not received ſo copious and ſo exact a Deſcription of their new Colony as they expect; yet, from what we are enabled to ſay upon this Subject, it will inconteſtibly appear, that much has been done, that many Towns have been ſettled, great Improvements made in the Neighbourhood of each of them, ſeveral Fortreſſes erected, due Care taken of the Frontiers, and, in a Word, as much performed as could be rationally expected in ſo ſhort a Space of Time, and all Circumſtances conſidered.

The Town of *Savannah* is about ten Miles up the River *Savannah*. There are, beſides Warehouſes and Huts, at leaſt one hundred and thirty Houſes in the Town. As theſe, for the ſake of Air, and to prevent the ſpreading of any Fire, are built at ſome Diſtance from each other, they make ſeveral ſpacious Squares and wide Streets. There is a regular Magiſtracy ſettled in the Town, which the Truſtees are obliged to be at the Expence of ſupporting, till the Colony arrives at ſufficient Strength to do it. There are, in the Town, a Court-houſe, a Store-houſe, a Goal, a Houſe for the Truſtees Servants, a Wharf, a Guard-houſe, and ſome other public Buildings. A Church is at preſent building, and a Clergyman is ſettled there. The Town is excellently ſituated for Trade, the Navigation of the River being very ſecure, and Ships of three hundred Tons can lie within ſix Yards of the Town, and the Worm does not eat into them. About four Miles from *Savannah*, inland from the River, are the two Villages, *Highgate* and *Hamſtead*, which lie at about a Mile diſtance from each other: The People ſettled there apply themſelves chiefly to Gardening, and ſupply the Town of *Savannah* with Quantities of Greens, and Garden-ſtuff: There are twenty Plantations within twenty Miles round *Savannah*, which have each of them from five to thirty Acres of Land, ſhared.

About fifteen Miles from *Savannah* is a Village called *Abercorn*; about twenty Miles further up the River is the Town of *Ebenezer*, where the *Saltburghers* are ſettled with two Miniſters; one of whom computed, that the Number of his Congregation, in *July* 1738, conſiſted of one hundred and forty-ſix; therefore, as the Infants could not be reckoned in the Computation, and as ſeven more have ſince been ſent and ſettled with them, it is believed the Numbers have increaſed, eſpecially ſince the Town is ſo healthy, that by a Letter ſent to the Society for promoting Chriſtian Knowledge, by the Reverend Mr. *Bolzius*, one of the Miniſters at *Ebenezer*, dated the 26th of *June* 1740, he declared, That in a Year's time one Perſon only had died, which was a Child fourteen Years old. The People are induſtrious and ſober, they raiſe not only a ſufficient Quantity of Corn and other Produce for their own Subſiſtence; but they ſell great Quantities to thoſe at *Savannah*, who have not been ſo careful of their Plantations. They have great Herds of Cattle, and are in ſo thriving a Condition that not one Perſon has abandoned his Settlement, or ſent over the leaſt Complaint about the Tenures, or the Want of Negroes: On the contrary, they in a Body petitioned againſt the Uſe of Negroes; and their Miniſters have declared, that their ſigning that Petition was a voluntary Act; and at their Deſire another Embarkation of their Countrymen, who are willing to go from *Germany* and join them, is deſigned to be ſent with all convenient Speed.

About ten Miles from hence, upon a River running into *Savannah*, is a Place called *Old Ebenezer*, where is a Cow-Pen, and a great Number of Cattle for the Uſe of the Public, and for Breeding. At a conſiderable Diſtance from hence is the Town of *Auguſta*, before deſcribed; which, from the great Reſort of Traders and *Indians*, is in a thriving Condition, and is, and will be, a great Protection to both the Provinces of *Carolina* and *Georgia* againſt any Deſigns of the *French*. In the ſouthern Part of the Province is the Town of *New Inverneſs*, upon the River *Altamaha*, where the *Highlanders* are ſettled. And about twenty Miles from hence, on the Iſland of *St. Simon*, near the Sea, is the Town of *Frederica*, with a regular Magiſtracy, as at *Savannah*, ſupported at the Expence of the Truſtees: Strong Fortifications round the Town are almoſt finiſhed. And at the South-eaſt Point of the Iſland, are Barracks for three hundred and thirty Men. There are Settlements on the Iſlands of *Iekyl* and *Cumberland*, which lie a ſmall Diſtance from each other to the ſouthward of *Frederica*; and on the laſt two Forts are built, one of which was deſcribed before; and the other was finiſhed in *April* 1740.

Upon the South-end of the Iſland it commands the Inlet of *Amelia Sound*, is ſtrongly palliſaded with Flankets, and is defended by eight Pieces of Cannon: Barracks are built upon this Iſland for two hundred and twenty Men, with Store-houſes, which were finiſhed in *October* 1738. There are ſix Forts in the Province, and a Battery of Cannon erected to ſecure the Harbour at *St. Simon's*, under which Ships may ſafely lie. The *Indians*, from the Preſents which they have annually received from the Truſtees, and from the Juſtice and Humanity with which they have been treated, are ſecured in the *Britiſh* Intereſt, notwithſtanding the Arts both of the *French* and the *Spaniards* to ſeduce them. By this, *South Carolina* has been free from Wars, in which (as the Preamble to his Majeſty's Charter ſet forth) they had frequently ſuffered, and ſo late as the Year 1715 had been laid almoſt waſte with Fire and Sword; and by the Security which *South Carolina* received by ſuch a Frontier as *Georgia* is to it, very large Tracts of Land have been cultivated in the ſouthern Part of that Province, which no Perſon would venture to ſettle on before; and a great Quantity of Rice raiſed thereon.

This is a clear Proof of the Injuſtice of ſuppoſing that the Nation hath hitherto received no Advantage from this Colony; ſince whatever has been gained by *Carolina*, in virtue of the Protection ſhe enjoys by the Settlement of this new Province, ought to be looked upon and conſidered as the Produce of *Georgia*; and though even this may not be any great Matter hitherto, yet as it is an Inſtance of the Benefits to be expected from this Colony, it ought to be kindly accepted, as an Earneſt of better Things. As to the Number of People ſent over to, and ſettled in, *Georgia*, within the Space of eight Years, they amounted to upwards of two thouſand, taking in thoſe that went at their own Expence, which, if compared with the ſmall Number of People that were in *Carolina*, after it had been ſettled forty Years, will enable us to diſtinguiſh between the Conſequence of Attention to private Profit, and Concern for the public Good: To ſay the Truth; of all the Methods that have been hitherto tried, in fixing Colonies in diſtant Parts of the World, this may very truly and on good grounds be pronounced the beſt; becauſe by it due Proviſion is made, that the People ſent over ſhall all be carefully ſettled and well taken Care of, and ſupported from time to time with proper Supplies; that this Care ſhould not ceaſe immediately, on their having Plantations, but be continued till the People are in a Condition to ſupport themſelves.

By this Method Towns are formed, not at Random and by Chance, but in proper Situations, and for good Reaſons; not purely for the ſake of immediate Advantages, but with Views to the general Good, and future Benefit of the Colony. By this Means, every Step made by the riſing Plantation may be directed to public Uſe, and every Meaſure be calculated for the Service of the Mother-country; which cannot be expected where Grants are made to the Uſe, and for the Service, of particular People, where Numbers of Men tranſport themſelves for the ſake of a better Livelihood, at their own Expence, or where People are tranſported againſt their Will; ſince in all theſe Caſes it is to be preſumed, that Men will follow the Bias of their Inclinations or Intereſts; but as in this Caſe, where the Public is at the Expence, and where the Management is intruſted with Perſons of Diſtinction for the Benefit of the Public, nothing of this kind can happen; they will be ſure to diſcharge their Duty, and in Proportion, as the Colony increaſes and anſwers the Ends of thoſe who compoſe it, it will be likewiſe ſure to anſwer thoſe Ends for which it was ſettled. Beſides all this, the Form of Government, the enacting proper Laws, and the Spirit originally infuſed into the People, will render ſuch a Colony more dutiful and obſervant to her Mother-country, than any that want theſe Advantages.

Laſtly, we may be ſure that in ſuch a Colony, the Produce will be managed moſt to the Advantage of the Country from whence it is ſettled; as for Inſtance in this of which we are ſpeaking, due Care will be certainly taken that they do not run into the Cultivation of ſuch Commodities as are already produced in the neighbouring Colonies, but bend their Endeavours to the promoting of ſuch as have not been yet raiſed to any great Advantage in thoſe Colonies, though perhaps their Soil and Climate were ſufficiently fit for them. Flax, which as we have before ſhewn, may be cultivated here to the greateſt Advantage, will be certainly attended to; and ſo alſo Pot-aſhes and Silk, which above all Things claim our Care, of which we had formerly great Hopes from *Virginia*; and with a View of obtaining of which *Carolina* was actually ſettled; but in both we are diſappointed for want of ſome proper Authority to direct a continued Application in the Planters ſettled there for that Purpoſe, without which nothing that does not turn to large Profit immediately can be brought to Perfection; but in Colonies ſettled by Truſtees, their Recommendation will go far, their Authority farther enforce what they deſire, and Premiums enable them with Certainty to procure Succeſs; as we ſhall have Occaſion to ſhew hereafter.

Our Aim at preſent is to prove the Excellency of this Method of Settling, which far ſurpaſſes that of eſtabliſhing excluſive Companies, as will be evident if we conſider that they regard their own Profit ſolely, and as ſoon as they have fallen into Ways of promoting it effectually, they forget the Obligation received from the Public, as is but too evident in many Caſes, and has juſtly occaſioned almoſt a general Outcry againſt ſuch Companies; whereas a Board of Truſtees conſtituted for a limited Time, inſpect the Concerns, and promote the Welfare, of a riſing Colony, and by their Commiſſion ceaſe to have Power over it when their Care is no longer neceſſary; but as for Companies, they keep all who belong to them continually in Leading-ſtrings, and never conſider how Trading may be made beneficial to a Nation in general; but how it may be ordered ſo as to become moſt beneficial to themſelves. But it is time to quit theſe Reflections, in order to reſume the Thread of our Hiſtory, and to ſhew how, after a few Years Peace, this Colony became ſtrong enough, not only to hold up her Head and preſerve her Being; but to repulſe her Enemies, and prove a Security to all her Neighbours in time of War; a Thing wonderful in all Reſpects, and of which Poſterity will ſpeak with Admiration, though from an unaccountable Negligence, and want of Attention, in the preſent Age, we are ſcarce ſo well acquainted with that Tranſaction as it deſerves.

11. The Government in *Great Britain*, having, after many repeated Inſults and Provocations, found themſelves under a Neceſſity of obtaining Satisfaction from *Spain* by Force, a Squadron for that Purpoſe was ſent to the *Weſt-Indies*, and Orders iſſued to the Governors of our reſpective Colonies, and others his Majeſty's Officers in *America*, to annoy the *Spaniards* by all Methods poſſible. Theſe Orders were received by Mr. *Oglethorpe*, in Quality of general Commander in chief, in the latter End of the Month of *September*, 1739. Whereupon he immediately conſidered of Ways and Means for putting them in execution; in order to which he put his own Regiment, and all the Forces he could raiſe in *Georgia*, into the beſt Condition poſſible. He ſent to inform the *Cherokees*, and other *Indian* Allies, of the Situation that Affairs were in, and to impower them to enter into the *Spaniſh* Territories. He alſo ſent up to *Charles-Town*, to acquaint the Governor and Aſſembly with the preſent Poſture of Things; and to acquaint them with his Readineſs to undertake an Expedition againſt *St. Auguſtin*, for the joint Service of *Carolina* and *Georgia*. The plain Reaſon that he was deſirous of beginning to act offenſively againſt the *Spaniards* was, to raiſe the Spirits of his own People, to divert the *Spaniards* from the Deſigns which they were forming to our Prejudice, and to keep the War at the greateſt Diſtance poſſible.

It is very clear, that from the Situation of Things in *Georgia*, it was altogether impoſſible for him to obtain a Force ſufficient for the Execution of theſe Deſigns, without the Aſſiſtance of the Province of *Carolina*; and as it was of equal Importance to that Province, that thoſe Deſigns ſhould be carried into Execution, it was but reaſonable for him to expect, that all the Aſſiſtance poſſible ſhould be given him. Governor *Bull*, upon the General's Application, acquainted the Aſſembly of *Carolina* with what had been propoſed; and as they were very ſenſible of the Importance of the Undertaking, of the Views the *Spaniards* had to their Prejudice, and of the Preparations they were making to annoy both Provinces, they ſhewed a Diſpoſition to give him what Aſſiſtance was in their Power.

But at the ſame time that they had theſe Inclinations, they could not help conſidering the Situation of the Province, which under its Circumſtances at that time, was very far from being in a Condition to enter into a large Expence, unleſs there was a great Probability of Succeſs; by which it ſeems they underſtood the reducing the Fortreſs of *St. Auguſtin*, with the Strength of which, as it was a regular Fortification, had always in it a good Garriſon, and was highly conſidered by the *Spaniards*, they were very well acquainted; and they knew, beſides, that ſeveral former Attempts upon that Place had been diſappointed. That they might act therefore in ſuch a manner as might equally ſhew their Zeal for his Majeſty's Service, and their Regard for the Welfare of their Conſtituents, the Aſſembly directed, that General *Oglethorpe* ſhould be deſired to explain himſelf fully, as to the Nature of the Aſſiſtance he expected, and the Ends he conceived it might anſwer, in caſe they ſhould agree to grant him the Aſſiſtance he required.

Upon which the General, by the following Letter, dated at *Frederica*, *December* the 29th, 1739, laboured to give them all the Satisfaction that was poſſible, as well in Regard to the Matters under their Conſideration, as with reſpect to his own Conduct, in Reference to the Deſigns he had in View, and the Aſſiſtance he expected. This Letter was conceived in the following Terms, *viz.*

“ I ſend up with this an Officer to concert Meaſures for
“ the Siege of *St. Auguſtin*; it will be neceſſary to have
“ twelve Cannons of eighteen Pounders each, with two
“ hundred Shot for each Gun, and Powder proportionable;
“ one Mortar-Piece, and Bombs, with Powder
“ ſufficient; eight hundred Pioneers, Negroes, or white
“ Men, with Tools ſufficient for that Number of Men;
“ ſuch as Spades, Hoes, Axes, and Hatchets, to dig
“ Trenches, make Gabelines, and Faſcines. If they
“ are Negroes, there muſt be white Men ſufficient to
“ guard them, and overſee them; Veſſels and Boats
“ ſufficient to carry the Artillery-Men, Proviſions, &c.
“ We ſhall have one thouſand *Indians*; ſix thouſand
“ Buſhels of Corn will be neceſſary to feed them, or Rice
“ proportionable; alſo as many Horſemen as can be
“ had, who may paſs over the River *Savannah*, and paſſing
“ the *Oakmulgy*, and *Orony*, and from thence to the
“ Ferry, on the River *Alata*, where they may paſs over
“ into the *Spaniſh Florida*. Captain *M'Pherſon*, or Mr.
“ *Jones* of *Ponpon*, can ſhew them the Path; for I
“ ſhould think the People of *Carolina* would do very well
“ to raiſe a Troop of Rangers, under the Command of
“ Captain *M'Pherſon*, who is a very good Officer. Captain
“ *Warren* aſſured me that he would be very willing
“ to aſſiſt in convoying the Veſſels, and in carrying
“ Cannon, &c. The *Cherokee Indians* have promiſed
“ me to be down in *March*; I have not heard from the
“ *Creek* Nation lately, but I expect them down about

“ the ſame Time, and have had a Party of them with me for ſome Months. I can march four hundred Men of the Regiment, and leave ſufficient for the Garriſons behind me. I have ordered three Troops of twenty Men each to be raiſed, but I have been diſappointed of Horſes by Capt. *Cuthbert*'s Death, ſo I have got yet only twelve. If the *Carolina* People will pay them, I believe they may raiſe fifty very good Men at *Puriſburg*. I ſhould deſire four Months Proviſions for four hundred Men of the Regiment, of Rice and Meat, with Boats for carrying it to *St. Auguſtin*, at the Rate of one Pound of each *per Diem* for each Man. I have thirty-ſix Cohorns, and about eighteen hundred Shells: Of the People of the Province of *Georgia* I cannot draught many, becauſe I muſt not leave the Country naked; and, as they are poor, if they neglect their planting Seaſon, it will be difficult for them to ſubſiſt; therefore I would only raiſe two hundred, which is equal to the Number of Soldiers I ſhall leave behind, and this I cannot do unleſs I can pay them. I believe they will be content with 9 *l.* *Carolina* Currency *per* Month, and ſix Pounds of Meat, and ſix Pounds of Rice, each *per* Week, beſides which there muſt be Pay to the Officers. Therefore if the Aſſembly ſhould grant me a Sum ſufficient to pay them, and the Proviſions, I would raiſe the Men. This is my Opinion with relation to the Preparations for diſlodging the *Spaniards* at *St. Auguſtin*, without which we certainly cannot do it. The legiſlative Power of *Carolina* will be the beſt Judges of the Service it will be to them. For my own Part, I think that if we do not take this happy Opportunity of attacking *St. Auguſtin* whilſt it is weak, the *Havanna* being blocked up by our Men of War, which renders them incapable of receiving Succours from *Cuba*, all *North America*, as well as *Carolina* and this Province, will feel it ſeverely. As ſoon as the Sea is free, they will ſend a large Body of Troops from *Cuba*. You remember the Account you ſent to *England*, of the Preparations ſome Time ſince made at *Havanna*; every thing is there ſtill, and if they ſhould come up and land in *Florida*, we muſt then make a defenſive War, and they may then chuſe who they will attack ſeparately. They may moleſt all *North America* with their Privateers, and if they can by any Means get the ſtart of tbe Men of War, they can run into Shole-Water, where they cannot follow them. I am willing myſelf to do all I poſſibly can for annoying the Enemy as his Majeſty has ordered, and ſhall ſpare no perſonal Labour or Danger towards freeing *Carolina* of a Place from whence their Negroes are encouraged to maſſacre their Maſters, and are openly harboured after ſuch Attempts. The *Spaniards* attacked the Iſland of *Amelia*, and murdered two Men there: I, to return their Civility, landed in *Florida*; the *Spaniſh* Horſe with a Party of Negroes and *Indians* advanced as if they intended to attack us; but before they were within two Miles of us went very faſt off. Our *Indians* purſued them to their Forts, and killed one of the Negroes who had run away from *Carolina*, within a few Miles of *St. Auguſtin*. I hope you will excuſe this long Letter, and believe me to be, *&c.*”

It is very clear from this Letter, that the General meant to make the Aſſembly of *Carolina* perfectly acquainted with his Intentions, and with every thing relating to the Execution of them; and that this might be more fully and effectually done, he went himſelf to *Charles Town*, where, after many Conferences, and much Deliberation on both Sides, a Scheme of Action was agreed upon, and an Act of Aſſembly was paſſed *April* the 5th 1740, for carrying the ſame into Execution; the *Carolina* Regiment for this Service was raiſed, and put under the Command of Colonel *Vanderduſſed*, and Mr. *Oglethorpe*, as General and Commander in Chief, publiſhed a Proclamation, ſettling the Terms of the Expedition, and amongſt other things, declared that he would give whatever Share of Plunder came to him as Commander in Chief, towards the Relief of ſuch Men as might happen to be maimed or wounded, towards the Aſſiſtance of the Widows and Children of ſuch as might be killed, and towards rewarding thoſe that might diſtinguiſh themſelves in the Service. All things being prepared for entering upon this Expedition, with the Troops of both Provinces; the Rendezvous for all the Forces was appointed at the Mouth of *St. John*'s River, where, accordingly, moſt of them arrived the 9th of *May*. But ſome Time before this the General had attacked and taken *St. Francis de Pupa*, a little *Spaniſh* Fort, wherein were a Serjeant and twelve Soldiers, about ſeventeen Miles from *St. Auguſtin.*

From the Mouth of *St. John*'s *River* the Army marched on the 10th of *May* to attack *Fort Diego*, about twenty Miles diſtant; which Fort had nine Swivels, two Carriage Guns of two Pound Shot, and fifty Men; and having ſurrounded it, on the 12th they ſent in a *Spaniſh* Priſoner with a Drum, to ſummon the Garriſon, who immediately capitulated on the following Conditions: 1ſt, The Garriſon to ſurrender Priſoners of War, and deliver up the Fort, with the Guns and Stores, to the King of *Great-Britain.* 2dly, That they ſhould have Liberty to keep their Baggage, and not be plundered. 3dly, That Seignior *Diego Spinoſa*, to whom the Fort belonged, being built at his Expence, and on his Lands, ſhould hold his Lands, Slaves, and ſuch other Effects as were not already plundered in the Field. 4thly, That no Deſerters or Runaways from *Carolina*, ſhould have the Benefit of this Capitulation, but be ſurrendered at Diſcretion. This Fort was garriſoned by ſixty of the General's Forces; and from thence they returned to the Place of Rendezvous, where they were joined by Colonel *Vanderduſſen*, with the reſt of the *Carolina* Regiment, on the 19th of *May*, whence they marched again to *Diego* the 31ſt; and from thence, in two Days, to *Fort Mooſa*, in view of, and near two Miles diſtant from *St. Auguſtin*, and twenty-three from *Diego*. The *Spaniards* having deſerted *Mooſa*, the General ordered the Gates to be burnt, and three Breeches to be made in the Walls, which was plainly with a Deſign to prevent any of his own People from taking Poſt within the Place.

They then proceeded with the whole Army to reconnoitre the Town and Caſtle, after which they returned back to *Diego*; from thence the General ordered Colonel *Vanderduſſen* to march with his Regiment, and take Poſſeſſion of *Point Quartell*, lying to the North of the Bar, and ſeparated from *Port Mooſa* by a Creek; while the General with about two hundred and ſixty Men of his Regiment, and the greateſt Part of the *Indians* embarked on board the Men of War, and arrived at the Iſland of *Anaſtatia*, oppoſite to the Caſtle; leaving behind him on the *Main* but between ninety and one hundred white Men, *Highlanders* and others, in his Pay, with forty-two *Indians*, and two commiſſioned Officers, to alarm the *Spaniards* on that Side; but he gave a verbal Command of the whole to Colonel *Palmer*, a Volunteer from that Province. About the ſame Time two hundred Sailors, from the Ships, were landed upon that Iſland, which the *Spaniards* directly abandoned, under the Command of Captain *Warren*, Captain *Law*, and the Honourable Captain *Townſend*, who were all very inſtrumental in that Service.

While Things were in this Situation, the *Spaniards*, on the 15th of *June*, marched a very conſiderable Body of their Forces from *St. Auguſtin*, in the Grey of the Morning, in order to attack the People, under Colonel *Palmer*, at *Mooſa*, in which they were but too ſucceſsful; ſince they ſurprized the People that were there, cut many of them to Pieces, and took Part of the reſt Priſoners, which was owing to the Neglect of the Orders given them not to ſhut themſelves up in a Place which had been diſmantled and ruined, on purpoſe to ſhew that the General did not intend to keep or uſe it as a Fortification. But the Conveniency of lying under Cover, tempted them to forget thoſe ſalutary Inſtructions, which brought on their Miſfortune, and gave the General inexpreſſible Concern, more eſpecially for Colonel *Palmer*, who was a Gentleman of Experience and Intereſt, as well as a Volunteer, who ſerved purely out of Zeal for the public Good, and therefore juſtly eſteemed.

To prevent any Accident of the like Nature, and the more effectually to block up the Place, which for want of Numbers they were not able regularly to inveſt, the *Carolina* Regiment was ſent over to *Anaſtatia*. In this Iſland there were three Batteries erected, all above a Mile from *St. Auguſtin*: But, however, they fired from them warmly, with ſome Prejudice to the Place; from whence they were as warmly anſwered, but were moſt hurt from the Fire from ſix *Spaniſh* Half-Galleys that lay within the Harbour. This induced a Propoſal to the Captains of the three Men of War, to attempt the burning of theſe Half-Galleys; and upon a Conſultation between them and the Land Officers, this was agreed to; but afterwards the Sea-Captains declared they thought it impracticable, for want of ſufficient Depth of Water at the Entrance: Yet this was diſproved on the 27th of *June*, by the going in of Captain *Robert Tyrrel*, and his coming out again on board a Schooner, who reported that there was Water enough; yet the Majority voted the Deſign ſtill impracticable, which hindered any Attempt to carry it into Execution, though the Land Officers conſidered it as a Point that would have greatly contributed to the reducing of the Place.

When it was firſt propoſed to attack the Galleys, it was projected in the following Manner, *viz.* the General was to make a Diverſion on the *Main*, by attacking the Town; Colonel *Vanderduſſen*, with Part of the Regiment, was to keep a continual Fire on the Town and Caſtle, from the Batteries, while Captain *Tyrrel* was to have ſet upon the Galleys, with the Seamen and the reſt of the Colonel's Regiment. The General was accordingly on the *Main* with his Troops, expecting that Service; but the Commodore diſapproving this, and it being yet a ſecond Time agreed to be attempted, upon the Remonſtrances of Colonel *Vanderduſſen*, and Captain *Warren*; when the Commodore's Lieutenant was to have commanded the Attack, new Difficulties were further ſtarted when they came on Shore, and ſo it was ſtill unattempted. Yet it appears, that ſoon after the Men of War ſlipping their Cables, and putting out to Sea in a Storm, the Colonel endeavoured to revive the Attempt on the Galleys in their Abſence: But propoſing it to the Commodore's Lieutenant. Mr. *Swanton*, who appeared to be a Gentleman of Spirit, and commanded the Seamen left on Shore, he was told, "He had Orders left not to venture any of them before the Return of the Shipping."

Towards the End of *June*, ſome Sloops, with a Supply of Proviſions for the Garriſon, got in ſafe at the South Entrance, to the Harbour of *St. Auguſtin*, called the *Metanſas*, without having been diſcovered by any of our Men of War, till it was too late to intercept them. How this happened has not been hitherto accounted for, but it was a ſeaſonable Relief to the Garriſon, who had not then above three Days Proviſion of Bread-kind in the Place; and the Hurricane Seaſon coming on, the Commodore gave Notice to the General, that he muſt leave his Station, and ſail away with the King's Ships on the 5th of *July*. Upon this it was repreſented, "That ſince the Men of War were obliged to ſail away, it would be neceſſary to ſend the two Men of War Sloops into the *Metanſas*, to guard that, and either ſecure the Retreat of the Forces to *Anaſtatia*, if they ſhould be reduced to one, or aſſiſt in continuing the Blockade, till they ſhould be enabled to act more offenſively, by a further Aſſiſtance."

To this Propoſal it was agreed, provided the Sloops of War had Water enough to get in there; and a Council was held *July* the 3d, wherein ſome of the Pilots that had been ſent to ſound, declared upon Oath, "There was not Water enough on the Bar of the *Metanſas* for the Sloops to go in, and if they could go in, they could not lie ſafe there from a Hurricane, nor could they fight above one a-breaſt, in caſe they were attacked by the Galleys."

But the Commodore, afterwards aſking Mr. *Blomfield Barradel*, Lieutenant of the *Wolf* Sloop, who had been along with the Pilots, and happened to be aboard his Ship that Night, with ſome Captains, what he had to ſay in that Affair? he replied, that the Pilots had given their Opinion, and that he was not then to be examined; but if they aſked his Opinion, he would give it. They then deſired he would; he affirmed, "That there was Water enough on the Bar for the Sloops to get in; that they could lie ſafe from a Hurricane when in; and that there was alſo ſufficient Room, when in, to fight three a-breaſt, in caſe they were attacked." Upon the Pilots afterwards objecting to their lying ſafe, he aſked them, "Whether they remembred to have ſeen ſuch an Iſland when they were there?" And when they acknowledged they did, he replied, "That they ought to know they could lie ſafe from a Hurricane under that Iſland." Notwithſtanding which, it was reſolved afterwards in Council, that they ſhould take off all their Men, and ſail away, leaving Captain *Townſend* at *Frederica*; which put an End to the Enterprize.

Thus ended this Expedition, which, though not attended with the Succeſs ſome expected from it, I mean the taking the Fortreſs of *St. Auguſtin*, was nevertheleſs of very great Conſequence, inaſmuch as it kept the *Spaniards* for a long Time upon the defenſive; when if the Siege had not been undertaken, they would certainly have been otherwiſe employed; it laid all the Country open, ſo that the *Indians*, in Friendſhip with us, made Excurſions up to the Gates of the Fortreſs; and the War being carried on in this Manner for a length of Time, and in Conjunction with the *Indians*, bound them ſo ſtrongly to the *Engliſh* Intereſt, that with a very little Aſſiſtance from the People of *Georgia*, they kept the War at a Diſtance; ſo that the Inhabitants of *Carolina* felt none of its Effects as a Colony, except the Loſſes ſuffered by their Privateers, till the *Spaniards* executed their long projected Invaſion, in 1742; in which they employed the whole of their Strength, and from which they expected to have changed the whole Face of Affairs on the Continent of *America*; and even then the People of *Carolina* ſuffered only by their Fears.

12. This Expedition of the *Spaniards*, as has been already hinted to the Reader, was really meditated before the War commenced, and had very probably taken place, if Repriſals had not been made upon the *Spaniards*, on Account of the Depredations committed by their *Guarda Coſtas*; at leaſt we have Reaſon to judge ſo, from the Memorial of Sir *Thomas Fitzgerald*, before-mentioned; in which he aſſerted, that *Georgia* belonged to the Crown of *Spain*, and which he repeated in a ſubſequent Memorial. But the Operations of our Fleet in the *Weſt Indies*, under Admiral *Vernon*, put a Stop to their Preparations at the *Havanna*; and the Siege of *St. Auguſtin*, and its Conſequences, retarded them likewiſe for ſome time. Yet as the *Spaniards* are not apt to deſiſt from Projects they have once formed, and as the Miniſtry at *Madrid* had very high Expectations from the Execution of this, they ſtill kept it on foot, and only waited for a favourable Opportunity for performing what they imagined would have entirely changed the Scene of Things in *North America*. As to the Manner in which they executed it at laſt, and the amazing Diſappointment they met with notwithſtanding the vaſt Force they employed, and the ſmallneſs of that by which they were aſſiſted, we had ſo full, ſo clear, and ſo authentic an Account publiſhed by Authority, that I know of no Method more fit to convey an Idea of it, or leſs liable to any Exceptions, than tranſcribing it, the rather becauſe as it ſtands here connected with the Hiſtory of *Georgia*, the Reader will have all the Lights that are neceſſary to render every Circumſtance in it perfectly intelligible. Thus then that Account, tranſmitted to us by General *Oglethorpe*, ran: "The Beginning of *May* laſt the *Spaniards* fitted out their Fleet from the *Havanna*, conſiſting of fifty-ſix Sail and between ſeven and eight thouſand Men, with an Intent to invade *Georgia* and *South-Carolina*, and the other northern Colonies. At their firſt ſetting out, in turning the *Moor* Caſtle, they loſt a large Settee with one hundred and fifty Men, and a few Days after the Fleet was diſperſed by a Storm; ſo that all the Shipping did not arrive at *St. Auguſtin*. The latter end of *May*, or beginning of *June*, Capt. *Haymer* of the *Flamborough*, in his Cruiſe to the Southward, ſent in to General *Oglethorpe*

Oglethorpe for Intelligence; who acquainted him, that he would probably meet with ſome *Spaniſh* Veſſels to the Southward of *St. Auguſtin*; which he accordingly did, and engaged ten Sail of the *Moſquetos* and drove ſome of them aſhore; but in the Action loſt ſeventeen of his Men. He on his return acquainted the General with what had happened, and could not then come in for the Defence of *Georgia*, but proceeded to *Charles-Town*, to clean his Ship. The General thereupon ſent Lieutenant *Maxwell* by Water, and Lieutenant *Hugh Mackay* over Land to *Carolina*, with Advice to the Governor, but no Aſſiſtance came from thence till after the Retreat of the *Spaniards*. Lieutenant-Colonel *Cook* was at *Charles-Town*, in his Way to *London*, when Lieutenant *Maxwell* arrived with the ſaid Advice.

“ The 21ſt of *June*, nine Sail endeavoured to come into *Amelia* Sound; but the eighteen Pounders from *Fort-William*, and the Guard-Schooner with eighty Men, commanded by Capt. *Dunbar*, fired ſo briſkly, that they ſheered off as faſt as they could. The General, on this Advice, reſolving to ſupport the Forts on *Cumberland*, ſet out with a Detachment of the Regiment on board his Boats; ſent Capt. *Horton* with his Company of Grenadiers before, and was himſelf obliged to fight his Way with two Boats, through fourteen Sail of *Spaniſh* Veſſels which endeavoured to intercept him in *Cumberland* Sound. In this Engagement, ſeveral of the *Spaniards* being killed, the ſaid Veſſels ſet out to Sea, and did not join their Fleet till the Day before they left *St. Simon's* Sound. Lieutenant *Tolſon*, who commanded the Boat of the greateſt Strength, inſtead of following the General, run into a Marſh, where he remained till next Morning, when he returned to *St. Simon's*; for which Behaviour he was put in Arreſt, in order to be tried. Major *Heron*, from the Shore, ſeeing the General ſurrounded by the Enemy, and hid in Smoke, concluded him loſt; but next Day, to the great Joy of the People, he returned in the Guard-Schooner to *St. Simon's*, after having drawn the Command from *St. Andrew's*, and the Stores and Artillery that were there, and reinforced *Fort William*, where he left one of the Boats he had with him.

“ He having laid an Embargo on all Veſſels in the Harbour, took Capt. *Thomſon*'s Ship, which mounted twenty Guns, into the King's Service, and manned her out of the ſmall Veſſels which were of no Force. He alſo called in the *Highland* Company from *Darien*. Capt. *Carr*'s Company of Marines, and the Rangers, from where they were differently detached; and ſent Mr. *Mullryne* to *Carolina*, to get all the Men he could. The 28th of *June* the *Spaniſh* Fleet came to Anchor off *St. Simon's* Bar, who were diverted from coming in, or landing any of their Troops, for ſeveral Days; in which time the General raiſed another Troop of Rangers; and by rewarding thoſe who did extraordinary Duty, and promiſing great Encouragement to all who ſhould ſignalize themſelves on this Occaſion, he kept up the Spirits of the People, and increaſed their Numbers daily. The 5th of *July*, with the Tide of Flood, and a briſk Gale, thirty-ſix *Spaniſh* Veſſels entred *St. Simon's* Harbour, nine of which were large Top-maſt Veſſels. We received them with a briſk Fire from our Batteries and Ships, killed ſome of them with our eighteen Pounders from the Fort, and our four Pounders from the lower Battery. The *Spaniſh* Commodore, on board a Ship of twenty-two Guns, with a Settee, with an eighteen Pounder and two nine Pounders in her Bow, attempted to board Captain *Thomſon*'s Ship; but he with his great Guns, Captain *Carr* with his Company of Marines, Lieutenant *Wall* and Enſign *Otterbridge* with a Party of the Regiment, made ſo brave a Defence, that the *Spaniards* were obliged to retire with Loſs. A Snow of ſixteen Guns at the ſame time attempted to board our Guard-Schooner, but was alſo repulſed by Captain *Dunbar*; the Engagement laſted upwards of three Hours, in which the Enemy loſt ſeventeen Men, and had ten wounded. They paſſed all our Veſſels and proceeded up the River, upon which the General held a Council of War at the Head of his Regiment, where it was the Opinion of the whole immediately to march up to *Frederica*, for the Defence of that Place.

“ The General accordingly gave Orders for the Regiment to march, and ordered all the Troops, that were on board the Veſſels, to come aſhore, and directed Captain *Thompſon*, with the Guard-Schooner and Prize Sloop, to make the beſt of their Way to *Charles-Town*; and this was all done in Sight of the Enemy. The General, during this Action, being obliged to be ſometimes on Shipboard, ſometimes at the Batteries, and to act as Engineer, found himſelf under a Neceſſity of having a Lieutenant-Colonel with the Regiment; he therefore appointed Major *Alexander Heron* Lieutenant-Colonel, in the Abſence of Lieutenant-Colonel *Cook*, who was alſo Engineer, and the Sub-engineer, having attended him to *Charles-Town*, was alſo abſent. Late at Night the General arrived at *Frederica*, after having deſtroyed all the Stores at *St. Simon's*, and ſunk the Veſſels that might be of Uſe to the Enemy, and rendered the Guns incapable of Service, and ordered the Wounded to be carried off on Horſeback. That Night the Enemy landed their Forces on a dry Marſh, about a Mile and an half from the Camp, under Cover of their great Guns. They lay all that Night under Arms, and the next Morning took Poſſeſſion of the Camp which we left.

“ 13. About Noon the *Creek Indians* brought us five *Spaniſh* Priſoners, from whom we had Intelligence, that Don *Manuel de Monteano*, Governor of *St. Auguſtin*, commanded in chief the Expedition; and that Major-General *Antonio de Redondo* chief Engineer, and two Brigadiers, came with the Forces from *Cuba*; that their whole Number conſiſted of about five thouſand, and that the Night before they had landed about four thouſand three hundred Men. One of the Priſoners the General ſent with Mr. *Bedon* to *Charles-Town*. The 7th of *July*, at nine in the Morning, a Ranger of the Patrol brought an Account, that the Enemy were marching within a Mile and an Half of the Town. Whereupon the General immediately ordered four Platoons of the Regiment to march, and in the mean time went himſelf with the *Highland* Company, who was then under Arms. The *Indians*, and a Party of Rangers, came up with the Enemy about a Mile from the Town, as they were entring the *Savannah* to take Poſſeſſion of a Ditch they had a Mind to uſe as an Intrenchment, but the Enemy were attacked ſo briſkly that the General ſoon overcame them; moſt of their Party, which conſiſted of one hundred and twenty of their beſt Woods-Men, and forty *Indians*, being killed or taken Priſoners. The General took two Priſoners with his own Hands; Lieutenant *Scroggs* of the Rangers took Capt. *Sebaſtian Sachio*, Priſoner, who commanded the Party. *Tocanoeowi*, being ſhot through his Right Arm by Capt. *Mageleto*, drew his Piſtol with the Left, and ſhot him through the Head.

“ The General purſued the Enemy near two Miles, and halted on an advantageous Piece of Ground until the Party of the Regiment came up; he poſted them with the *Highlanders* in a Wood, with a large Savannah or Meadow in the Front, over which the *Spaniards* muſt paſs in their Way to *Frederica*. After which he haſtened back to *Frederica*, and ordered the Rangers and Company of Men, to make ready. In the mean time two Companies of *Spaniards* of fifty Men each, and two hundred more of the Enemy's beſt Troops, came up with Shouts, and Drums beating; whereupon the General hearing Platoons firing, immediately made haſte that way, and met three of the Platoons, who in the Smoke and drizling Rain had retreated in Diſorder, and the Fire continuing, he ordered his Men to rally and follow him, who haſtening on, found that Lieutenant *Sutherland*, with his Platoon, and Lieutenant *Charles Mackay*, with the *Highlanders*, had intirely defeated the ſaid three hundred of the Enemy, in which Action Don *Antonio Barba* was made Priſoner, and mortally wounded; ſeveral others were killed, and two Grenadiers were taken Priſoners. Capt. *Demeret*,

“ and Enſign *Gibbon*, rallied their Platoons, and came up to the Ground. Captain *Carr*, with his Company of Marines, and Lieutenat *Cadogan*, with a Party of the Regiment, came up at the ſame time, and were followed by Major *Heron*, with the Body of the Regiment. In both Actions the Enemy loſt two Captains, one Lieutenant, and two Sergeants; two Drummers, and about one hundred and ſixty private Men; and one Captain and nineteen Men were taken Priſoners. The General, with the Regiment, halted all Night, about a Mile and a Half from the Enemy's Camp, to intercept thoſe who had ſtraggled in the Woods; and expecting the Enemy to make a ſecond Attempt to march in the Morning; but the General having advanced with a Party of *Indians*, before Day-break, towards the *Spaniſh* Camp, found them all retreated into the Ruins of the Fort, and under Cover of their Cannon.

“ Next Morning, the 8th of *July*, the General and his Men returned to *Frederica*, and he appointed a General Staff, *viz.* Lieutenant *Primroſe Maxwell*, and *Hugh Mackay*, Aids de Camp; Lieutenant *Sutherland*, Brigade-Major; and Sergeant *John Stuart*, ſecond Enſign, for his brave Behaviour in the late Engagement. The 9th and 10th of *July* all Hands were employed in the Works at *Frederica*, and the *Indians* brought in ſome Scalps and Priſoners. The 11th of *July* a Settee and two Quarter-Galleys came within Gun-ſhot of the Town; but on our firing ſome Guns and Bombs from the Fort, and the General going towards them with his Boats, they returned to their Fleet, and with the reſt drew up in Line of Battle. The next Morning, being the 12th of *July*, an *Engliſh* Priſoner eſcaped from them, who informed us, that the Enemy, on their landing, had reſolved to give no Quarter; but from the Day their Grenadiers were defeated, they were in great Terror, and intrenched themſelves, and gave Orders that none ſhould go without their Sentinels, for fear of being ſurprized by the *Indians*. By other Priſoners and Deſerters we were alſo told, that upon their calling over their Rolls, there were two hundred and forty Men and nineteen of their *Indians* miſſing; that there were great Diviſions among them, inſomuch that Don *Antonio de Redondo*, who commanded the *Cuba* Forces, encamped ſeparate from thoſe of *St. Auguſtin*, and that the Commodore had ordered all his Seamen on board. That Night the General and five hundred Men marched within a Mile of the Enemy's Camp, intending to ſurprize them, but was prevented by the Treachery of a *Frenchman*, who was got among the Company of Boatmen, and fired his Piece, and gave Alarm to the Enemy, and then deſerted to them. When the General found his Intention diſcovered, he ordered all his Drums to beat the Grenadiers March, and then returned to *Frederica*.

“ The General the next Day, being the 13th of *July*, in order to defeat the Information of the *French* Deſerter, directed a Letter to be wrote, and ſent by a *Spaniſh* Priſoner, who, for the ſake of Money the General gave him, and the Promiſe of Liberty, undertook to deliver it to the ſaid *Frenchman*, wherein he was inſtructed to acquaint the Enemy's commanding Officer of the defenceleſs State of *Frederica*, and encourage them to come up by Water under his Pilotage; which Letter the *Spaniſh* Priſoner delivered to the Governor of *St. Auguſtin*, and it had ſo good an Effect, that the ſaid *Frenchman* was immediately taken into Cuſtody, and looked upon as a double Spy, and thereupon put into Irons. The next Morning, being the 14th of *July*, the *Spaniards* burnt the Barracks and Officers Houſes at *St. Simon's*, and Captain *Horton*'s Houſe on *Iekyll*; and the ſame Night they reimbarked with ſo much Precipitation, that they left a Quantity of Ammunition, Proviſions, and ſome Guns, behind them. On the 15th all the large Veſſels with the *Cuba* Forces on board ſailed Southward, and the Governor and Troops from *St. Auguſtin* on board the ſmall Craft, went within Land, and encamped in *St. Andrew's*, and caught fifty Horſes, with a Deſign to carry them away; but on the General's appearing in his Boats, the Enemy ſhot the ſaid Horſes, and burnt the Fort and Houſes at *St. Andrew's*. The General the next Day, being the 16th of *July*, followed the *Spaniards* with all his ſmall Craft, but was not ſtrong enough to attack them. He landed a Man out of his Boat on *Cumberland*, who that Night paſſed the Enemy's Camp, and early the next Morning came to *Fort-William*, with Advice to Enſign *Stuart* that the *Spaniards* were beat off *St. Simon's*, and that the General was coming with Succours, and ordered him to defend the Fort to the utmoſt. On the 18th of *July* twenty-eight Sail of *Spaniſh* appeared off *Fort-William*, fourteen of which came within Land, and attacked the Fort from their Galleys and other Veſſels, and attempted to land, but were repulſed by a Party of Rangers from behind the Sand-Hills. Enſign *Stuart*, who commanded with ſixty Men in the Fort, defended it ſo bravely, that after an Attack of upwards of three Hours, they were obliged to put to Sea with conſiderable Loſs.

“ The Eighteen Pounders there diſabled two of their Galleys. The 19th of *July* the General was on his Way to *Fort-William*. The 20th of *July* the General arrived at *Fort-William*, and ſent his Boats and Rangers as far as the River *St. John*, who returned next Day, and brought Advice that the Enemy was quite gone: Upon which the General gave the neceſſary Orders for repairing *Fort-William*, and on the 22d returned to *Frederica*. A few Days afterwards the Men of War from *Charles-Town* came off *St. Simon's* Bar, and Capt. *Thompſon* with ſome Volunteers from *Carolina*; our Guard-Schooner and two Galleys came into *St. Simon*'s Harbour; and Capt. *Hardy*, of the *Rye* Man of War, receiving a Meſſage from the General, by Lieutenant *Maxwell*, who went on board him, ſent for Anſwer, that he would take a Cruize with the reſt of the King's Ships. But the General apprehending the *Spaniards*, upon recovering their Fright, might return with more Courage and better Conduct, continued Capt. *Thompſon*'s Ship in the King's Service, and ſent Expreſſes over Land to the Northern Provinces on this Occaſion.

“ Theſe Forces were commanded by Don *Manuel de Monteano*, Governor of *St. Auguſtin*, Commander in Chief of the Expedition; Major-General *Antonio de Redondo* Engineer-General, two Colonels with Brevits of Brigadiers; and conſiſted of one Regiment of Dragoons diſmounted, with their Saddles and Bridles; the Regiment called the Battalion of the *Havanna*, ten Companies, of fifty Men each, draughted off from ſeveral Regiments at the *Havanna*; one Regiment of the *Havanna* Militia, conſiſting of ten Companies of 100 Men each; one Regiment of Negroes, regularly officered by Negroes; one ditto of Mulattoes, and one Company of Miquelets; one Company of Train, with proper Artillery; *Auguſtin* Forces conſiſting of about three hundred Men, ninety *Indians* and fifteen Negroes, who run away from *South Carolina*. To theſe Accounts I ſhall add the following Depoſition of *Samuel Cloake*, formerly belonging to his Majeſty's Ship the *Flamborough*, and taken Priſoner off *St. Auguſtin* by the *Spaniards* in *May* 1742.

Frederica in
Georgia, ſs.

“ This Deponent, being duly ſworn, ſaith, That he was put Priſoner on board a Ship called the *Pretty Nancy*, taken by the *Spaniards* from the *Engliſh*, fitted out with ten Carriage and ſix Swivel Guns, which was Part of the Fleet that carried the Troops from *St. Auguſtin* for the Invaſion of *Georgia* and *South Carolina*: That ſhe had one hundred and fifty Soldiers on board, beſides Sailors: That he counted forty-four Sail, beſides the Launches and thoſe that went in Land, and Pettiauguas which carried the *Indians*: That they ſailed from *St. Auguſtin* the Beginning of *June*, and met with very hard Gales for three Days, which diſperſed the Fleet: That the chief Pilot on board the Commodore was one

“ *Parris* belonging to *Port Royal* in *South Carolina*, and
“ who was married there, and had a Plantation in that Province:
“ That they came to an Anchor with Part of the
“ Fleet off *Frederica* Bar, to the Northward of it; and the
“ *Spaniards* ſaid that they ſhould not have found out
“ *Georgia*, had it not been been for *Parris* their Pilot: That
“ they lay ſeveral Days at Anchor off the Bar, during
“ which Time the Men were put into ſmall Boats in order
“ to land; but ſeeing ſeveral Men marching on the Beach,
“ they were afraid to land as they intended, and came
“ on board again; for about three Days after, holding
“ a Council of War, they reſolved not to land any Man
“ till they had made themſelves Maſters of the Harbour.
“ During the Time they lay off this Bar, the *Spaniards*
“ often whetted their Swords, and held their Knives to
“ this Deponent's and other *Engliſh* Priſoners Throats,
“ ſaying, they would cut the Throats of thoſe they
“ ſhould take at *Georgia*. They ſailed on the 5th
“ of *July* with a ſtrong Eaſterly Wind and Tide of
“ Flood: That the *Engliſh* fired from the Batteries and
“ Ships very briſkly, and the *Spaniards* ſaid that the
“ *Engliſh* ſtood very well: That a Four-Pound Shot
“ hulled the Ship where the Deponent was; and one
“ Eighteen-Pound Shot from the Battery killed ſeven
“ Men on board the large Ship: That there were of the
“ *Spaniards* eight Three-Maſts Ships; the Commodore's
“ was a Twenty-Gun Ship; there was alſo a Snow with
“ fourteen Nine-Pounders, and a Galley with three large
“ Guns, one of which he heard was a Twelve Pounder,
“ which was manned with above one hundred Men;
“ there were alſo ſeveral Privateers, ſome of them with
“ ten Guns, and ſome with eight: That the *Spaniards*
“ and ſome *Iriſhmen* on board told him, that in the whole
“ Fleet there were about five or ſix thouſand Men, and
“ were come with a Deſign to take *Georgia*, and after
“ that to go to *Port Royal* in *South Carolina*. He farther
“ ſays, that they had a whole Regiment of Negroes,
“ with a Company of Grenadiers, in the ſame Manner
“ as other Regiments have, and cloathed in the ſame
“ Livery as other *Spaniſh* Regiments; they were commanded
“ by Negro Officers, and he ſaw the Officers
“ walking along with the Governor of *St. Auguſtine* aſhore;
“ that they were dreſſed in gold and ſilver-laced Cloaths,
“ like other Officers, and that they were kept in the
“ ſame Pay as the other Regiments. He further ſaith,
“ that the Ship where this Deponent was, was loaded
“ with Grenadiers and Dragoons, who had on board
“ Saddles, Bridles, Piſtols, and all Accoutrements:
“ That they landed all them from on board his Ship,
“ and put a ſmall Guard of ten Men on board: That
“ two or three Days afterwards one of the Captains and
“ one Sergeant of the Grenadiers came on board, and
“ this Deponent aſking the Sergeant whether he had been
“ at *Frederica*, he anſwered, that the Woods were ſo full
“ of *Indians* that the Devil could not go through them,
“ and that the *Indians* had killed about one hundred and
“ fifty of their beſt Men, and that there were but very
“ few Soldiers: Thoſe who came on board were ſo downhearted
“ that they could hardly ſpeak a Word: That
“ upon this they were ordered to get Water on board, in
“ order to get to Sea in a Hurry, which this Deponent
“ took the Advantage of, and made his Eſcape to
“ General *Oglethorpe*.

Mark
SAMUEL × CLOAKE.

14. It may be truly ſaid, that there never happened in this Part of the World, any thing more honourable for the *Engliſh* Nation, or more likely to ſtrike a Terror into their Enemies, than this entire and total Defeat of ſo formidable an Invaſion, by ſuch a Handful of Forces. Inſtead of raiſing and heightening this Succeſs, to do Honour to the General's Character, we ought rather to leſſen or diminiſh ſome of its Circumſtances, to render it in ſuch an Age as this more credible; but we have taken no Liberties at all, the Facts are repreſented Step by Step as they happened; and the Reader is left to judge how far it appears from hence that *Georgia* is a true Frontier, in reſpect to *Carolina*; and what Advantages are to be hoped for in caſe the new Colony ſhould increaſe in a reaſonable Proportion, for twenty Years to come; but to help the Reader's Judgment in this Reſpect, and to ſhew him in what Light this Tranſaction was conſidered by all our Colonies in *America*; the Inhabitants of which were certainly the ableſt, and moſt equitable Judges; it is requiſite to obſerve, that *John Tinker*, Eſq; Governor of the *Bahama Iſlands*; *Lewis Morris*, Eſq; Governor of *New Jerſey*; *William Gooch*, Eſq; Governor of *Virginia*; *George Clark*, Eſq; Lieutenant-Governor of *New York*; *Gabriel Johnſon*, Eſq; Governor of *North Carolina*; *Thomas Bladen*, Eſq; Governor of *Maryland*; and *George Thomas*, Eſq; Governor of *Penſylvania*; all wrote to General *Oglethorpe* upon this memorable Occaſion, to congratulate him upon being the happy Inſtrument in ſo honourable and ſo important a Service; to aſſure him of the Share they took in the Honour he had acquired, and of the true Senſe they had of the great Deliverance that Providence had wrought for all the *Britiſh* Colonies in *North America*, by his Conduct and Courage. Stronger Teſtimonies than theſe, with reſpect to the Conſequence of the Action he had performed, it was impoſſible for him to receive, and better Evidence than theſe Letters afford it is likewiſe impoſſible that we ſhould have here at home; and therefore to ſet this Fact in its true Light, and that the People of *Great-Britain* may have a juſt Notion of the Advantages ariſing from this wiſe and well conducted Defence, in which the Bravery of *Britiſh* Soldiers, their Affection for, and Confidence in, their Commander, is ſo clearly expreſſed, I thought it reaſonable to annex the Copies of the Letters written by the three firſt mentioned Gentlemen, as being equally honourable for them, and for the Perſon to whom they are addreſſed; and if I add no more, it is to avoid being tedious, and that I may have an Opportuity of cloſing the hiſtorical Part of this Section, with Papers that do ſo much Honour to the new Colony of which it treats.

Copy of a Letter from his Excellency JOHN TINKER, *Eſq; Governor of the* Bahama Iſlands, *to General* JAMES OGLETHORPE.

S I R, *N. Providence*, *Nov.* 6, 1742.

I am favoured with both of your Excellency's Letters, of the 31ſt of *July* and 16th of *September*, with an incloſed Account of the *Spaniards* Deſcent upon your Province, and your fortunate Victory over them: Upon which I beg leave to congratulate you, and to aſſure you none of your Acquaintance can receive more real Satisfaction at an Event that muſt contribute ſo much to your Honour and Reputation as this laſt. I rejoice too for the Public, becauſe I am ſure if you had not given ſo good an Account of them, the neighbouring Provinces would have been in imminent Danger. I know the General had Orders to attack this Iſland upon their Return, ſo I may juſtly thank you for ſaving me a great deal of Trouble.

If there is any thing in this Government that can contribute to your Pleaſure, and facilitate the Continuance of our Friendſhip and future Correſpondence, I ſhall, with Joy, embrace the Propoſition. The Bearer has been a long Time here, and can give you an exact Account of the *Carte du Pais*. We are, at preſent, employed in repairing the Fortifications, and making ſome additional ones, which will, I hope, be compleated this Winter. I have the Honour to be, with great Regard and Truth,

Your Excellency's

moſt obedient humble Servant,

(ſigned) JOHN TINKER.

Copy of a Letter from his Excellency LEWIS MORRIS, *Eſq; Governor of* New Jerſey, *to General* JAMES OGLETHORPE.

S I R, *Burlington*, the 2d of *Nov.* 1742.

I received the Honour of yours of the 31ſt of *July* laſt, by the Expreſs you ſent along the Continent, who is now got thus far back in his Return to you. The Contents of it gave me very great Pleaſure, as it informed me of your Health, and of the great (or rather wonderful) Succeſs God has been pleaſed to give to his Majeſty's Arms under your Conduct: And I doubt not has effectually convinced the Aggreſſors how unable they are to cope with reſolute *Britiſh* Troops; and I hope will be a ſufficient Diſcouragement to a ſecond Attempt of that kind; which, if the firſt had ſucceded, might prove of dangerous Conſequence to his Majeſty's Plantations on the Continent, eſpecially the moſt ſouthern ones.

You have gathered unenvied Laurels, and well deſerve to wear them. I take Leave to aſſure you no body can be better pleaſed with your Succeſs, than,

S I R,

Your moſt humble,

and obedient Servant,

(ſigned) LEWIS MORRIS.

Extract of a Letter from the honourable WILLIAM GOOCH *Eſq; Governor of* Virginia, *to General* JAMES OGLETHORPE.

S I R, *October* the 12th, 1742.

I received the Letter of the 31ſt of *July* your Excellency honoured me with, by the Hands of your truſty Courier, Mr. *Watkins*, and with it a very ſenſible Satiſfaction: I rejoice to hear your Courage and Conduct have had their deſerved Succeſs in ſo unequal a Trial. Your prudential Behaviour on the Occaſion, cannot be too much applauded, nor Actions ſo truly laudable too much admired. The whole Continent is under laſting Obligations to you, for your extraordinary Vigilance and Magnanimity, when, not thinking your Services to your King and Country compleated, nor your Valour ſufficiently proved in the Defence of your infant Settlement, againſt the repeated Attacks of cruel and inhuman Foes, more than could be expected, conſidering their Numbers; with an uncommon Reſolution you forced them in the Field to a precipitate Retreat, and effectually defeated the deſperate Deſigns of an Enemy that had the Vanity to flatter themſelves with the Hopes of making an eaſy Conqueſt of ſome, at leaſt, of the *Britiſh* Provinces.

As theſe great Actions are to be attributed to your Fortitude, ſo in my Judgment the unexpected and vigorous Oppoſition they met with, ending in ſo ſevere a Rebuff, has thrown them into ſuch Diſorder, that I am confident thoſe Troops, were they all together in *St. Auguſtin*, could not ſo ſoon recover ſufficient Courage to animate them to the like Undertaking: The Confuſion and Hurry in which they reimbarked, are ſuch evident Tokens of their being terrified and diſmayed, that with your uſual Watchfulneſs you may reſt ſecure from further Diſturbance, *&c.*

I am,

S I R,

Your moſt obedient,

and moſt humble Servant,

(ſigned) WILLIAM GOOCH.

15. We have now compleated the Hiſtory of the *Engliſh* Colonies in *America*, in ſuch a Manner, that the Reader cannot help diſcerning their intrinſic Value and great Importance; there is therefore no Neceſſity of our adding any thing on this Subject here, and therefore we will confine our Remarks entirely to the Colony of *Georgia*, and endeavour to ſhew from what Views, upon what Hopes, and in how great a Degree the Public is intereſted in the Maintenance and Support of this new Colony. In the firſt Place, we have ſeen that the Truſtees originally deſigned it for a Boundary or Frontier to cover the other Provinces upon the Continent; that it was extremely proper for this, the very Situation of it ſhews; that it was extremely wanted we may gather from the Hiſtories of the other Provinces, in which we find various Inſtances of the Ruin of their advanced Settlements; from their leaving ſo large a Country as *Georgia* uncultivated, a plain Sign of their Fear of becoming nearer Neighbours to the *Spaniards*; and from the Names of Places, ſuch as *Bloody Point*, which commemorate the Maſſacres that have been heretofore committed in thoſe Parts; but the ſtrongeſt and cleareſt Proof of all, is the Memorial from the Aſſembly of *Carolina*, in which the Reader has ſeen this Matter ſtated in the fulleſt and faireſt Light; from all which I infer, that the eſtabliſhing of ſuch a Barrier, was a Point worthy of public Attention; and that the Benefits accruing from it to *Carolina*, and all the Provinces to the Northward, might very well be conſidered as a ſufficient Recompence for any Expence that might attend the eſtabliſhing of ſuch a Frontier. That the Public were not amuſed in the Hopes that were given them by the Truſtees of *Georgia*, in this reſpect; that the ſending a Regiment thither, was not a needleſs or uſeleſs Expence; and that the Money employed in fortifying there, was not either waſted or thrown away, manifeſtly appears by their repulſing the *Spaniards* in the late Invaſion. If this was ſolely owing to the Bravery, Firmneſs, and Strength of the new Colony, then ſurely there is no room to find Fault with it; and if the Province is as ſome People would have it, thinly peopled, and very little capable of Defence, what Applauſe is due to the General? Who, without the leaſt Aſſiſtance from any other Place, could repel ſuch a Force, and thereby ſecure all our Colonies in *North America*: Take it either Way, we are ſure of a Barrier while we have *Georgia* under his Direction.

In the ſecond Place, this Country was deſigned as an Aſylum for diſtreſſed People in our own Country, and for ſuch induſtrious foreign Proteſtants as ſhould be willing to go thither. If we conſider the thing in this Light, the ſupporting this Deſign was no Favour in the Government; for it is the Duty of every Government to provide for ſuch of its poor Subjects as are willing to work; and the leaſt they can do, is to ſend them to the Colonies, ſince it muſt be owing to their Miſmanagement that they have not Employment at home; but it is not their Duty only, it is their Intereſt alſo; for Men active and induſtrious, who can find nothing to do, and are at a Loſs to find any thing to eat, are not apt to remain long in ſuch a Condition: And ſurely it is better to ſend ſuch People abroad, though at a ſmall Expence, than ſee them, for want of ſuch Care, ſend themſelves to the Gallows. In Times of general and continued Peace, there will, however, be ſuch Overflowings in moſt Nations; under arbitrary Princes from Mens Averſion to Slavery, under free Governments from a ſuperabundance of People. In both Caſes that Government is to be commended, which laying hold of theſe Overflowings, applies them to its own Uſe. To give ſuch People Territories, is to acquire, though it ſeems a Solecism in Speech, the very Territories you give; for Land without People is of no Uſe; but Land inhabited and cultivated by white People, let it lie where it will, is of great Value; and that Value is much enhanced when that Land is cultivated, and thoſe People are ſettled preciſely where you want them moſt. This is the Caſe of *Georgia*; for the *Carolina* Memorial tells us, that white Men were not to be raiſed there for Money; which was the ſame thing as if they had told the Government, that the beſt Way they could employ their Money, was in ſending of white People thither. But when we conſider the Expence of ſending white Men, and compare it with the Purchaſe of Negroes, the Caſe appears ſtill more advantageous: Since the white Men come cheaper, and are of much greater Advantage: By ſettling them you acquire uſeful Subjects, and conſequently increaſe your Force; by purchaſing Negroes, you only gain ſo many Slaves that increaſe your Danger and Terror, by leſſening your Force. Your own People and foreign Proteſtants, that will be always yours, but Negroes are any Body's that will but promiſe them better Conditions than they have under you, which may be very eaſily done; and of what ill Conſequence this may prove, appears from the Negro Regiment in the *Spaniſh* Service; for had they ſucceeded in their Invaſion, and once penetrated into a Colony full of Negroes, they might have raiſed new Regiments by barely beating their Drums; Regiments that would have been equally terrible to us, and uſeful to them, from their Knowledge of the Country, and from their Hatred of their old Maſters.

There was a third Advantage propoſed in the ſettling this new Colony where it is ſettled, and from the Terms upon which it was ſettled; and that was, the ſecuring the Nations of *Indians* which inhabited the vaſt Countries to the South and South-weſt of *Georgia*, in the *Britiſh* Intereſt. A thing ſo much the more neceſſary, conſidering the Views that the *French* had of the ſame kind; and of vaſt Importance to all the Colonies, as the maintaining of Friendſhip with theſe Nations, muſt neceſſarily interrupt the Correſpondence between the *French* Colonies of *Canada* and *Louviſiana*, upon which their being formidable to us *North America* abſolutely depends; ſince if ever they complete it, every Child that can be brought to comprehend a Map, will ſee that they will ſurround all our Colonies on the Main, from *Nova Scotia* to *Georgia*; but by this laſt Colony, we have bid fair for the interrupting their Deſign by engaging in our Intereſt thoſe *Indian* Nations moſt capable of doing us good, and them hurt: As for Inſtance, the *Lower* and *Upper Creeks*, a Nation ſo called from their Country being interſected with Rivers, which Country extends from the River *Savannah* to the Lakes of *Florida*, Southward and Weſtward, the *Cherokee Mountains*, and the River *Couſa*; ſo that we may eaſily diſcern how uſeful their Friendſhip muſt be to the Colonies of *Georgia* and *Carolina*, more eſpecially when it is conſidered that they are a very brave, a very numerous, and a very faithful Nation, as appears from their Conduct in the preſent War; in which they have ſhewn as heroic Courage as any the *Greek* Hiſtory records, and a Fidelity to their Allies, equal to that of the early *Romans*, which has been owing to Alliances concluded with Equity and ſupported by Integrity, and the ſame Conduct conſtantly purſued towards them, will for ever bind them to our Service.

The *Cherokees* poſſeſs the mountainous Country Weſtwards to the River *Miſſiſſippi*, as the *Chickeſaws* do the Plains to the South-weſt of the Country of the *Chorokees*, hath brave and numerous Nations, enthuſiaſtically fond of Liberty; in which it is our Intereſt to ſupport and maintain them againſt the *French*. Hence it appears, that in this Light the Truſtees were both well informed, and have happily ſucceeded; the Reaſon of the thing, and the Hiſtory of the Country plainly proves this; and, beſides, they have the only kind of Evidence in Credit with the Moderns; I mean, that all they promiſed themſelves has been verified by the Event.

By the happy Situation of this Country, the Inhabitants of it will not only be enabled to protect and defend the Northern Colonies that lay behind it, but may be alſo of great Uſe to *Jamaica* and the *Leeward Iſlands*. I am ſenſible that there are many that will affect to treat the firſt Part of this Aſſertion as ridiculous, and to ſneer at the latter as chimerical; but I have conſidered very well what I have aſſerted, and am from thence convinced of the Truth of what I ſay. I can very eaſily foreſee that it may be objected, my own Book ſhews that there are thouſands and ten thouſands in *Virginia*, *Penſylvania*, *New York*, the *Jerſeys*, and *New England*; and therefore it is a Jeſt to ſay that theſe great and populous Countries are to be protected by a handful of poor People juſt ſettled in *Georgia*: Yet for all this the Fact muſt be true, or that Colony abandoned. If we, here at home, continue to protect and to ſupport the People of *Georgia*, and in Conſequence of that Protection and Support induce them to conſult their private Intereſt, by purſuing ſuch Schemes as are moſt for the public Advantage, *Georgia* will very ſoon be full of People, and of uſeful People, who muſt have their Tools, their Cloathing, and other Neceſſaries from hence; and who will be in a Condition to pay us plentifully for all they have. *Georgia* if attended to, may become as populous as *Barbadoes*, or the *Bahama Iſlands*, and that in a very ſhort Space of Time; for if a large Bounty were given for a certain Number of Years, upon every Pound of Silk imported from thence, we ſhould ſee it a rich and thriving Colony, and People would flock thither from all Parts; who, by maintaining their Treaties with the *Indians*, might eſtabliſh an effectual Barrier againſt both the *French* and *Spaniards*, with all their *Indian* Allies. All this is highly poſſible and practicable, nay, and very probable too; and when once it comes to be a Fact, there will be no Sort of Abſurdity in ſaying the People of this Colony, and their *Indian* Allies, will afford Shelter and Protection to the Settlements that lie to the North of them. But this is not all, for, as I obſerved before, if the Inhabitants of *Georgia* once become numerous, they will then. in Conſequence of their Situation, be moſt able to help *Jamaica*, by a Supply of ſtout, well diſciplined, white Men, in Caſe of any Attack by the *French* or *Spaniards*; or, which is an Evil they are not altogether ſecure from, any ſudden Inſurrection of their Negroes. I very readily grant that I argue from an Uncertainty, that is to ſay, we are not ſure that this Colony will be ſo protected and ſupported; but if it be, the Conſequences are abſolutely certain; and the Conſideration of theſe Conſequences ought to be no mean Argument with our Government to maintain and ſupport it.

We are now come to the very laſt Article of our Remarks, which is the Hopes that may be rationally entertained of the Produce of this Country. We will begin with what the Truſtees certainly deſigned ſhould be the Staple Commodity of *Georgia*; I mean Silk: that this Country is very happily ſituated, that its Soil and Climate render it very fit for producing Silk, cannot be denied by any who are at all acquainted with this rich Branch of Commerce, which ſome very good Judges have affirmed to be much more conſiderable than either the Linen or the Woollen Manufacture. This Country lies along the Sea-ſide, is well watered within Land, has a Soil extremely proper for the Culture of the Mulberry-Tree, and is ſeated in a Latitude and Climate we might judge would prove agreeable to the Silk-worm. Theſe Circumſtances might very naturally lead one to expect that the Inhabitants might ſet about the Production of Silk in this Country, for their own Advantage. With a View to this, proper Perſons have been ſent thither: The Experiment has been tried, Silk made in *Georgia* has been ſent over, and Sir *Thomas Lombe*, and other excellent Judges of that Commodity have declared, that it is in all Reſpects as good, and works to the full as well, or better, than any *Piedmont* Silk, which ſtands us in twenty Shillings a Pound. At the very Time that this Section is under my Hand a Letter has been received from the Reverend Miniſter of the Proteſtant Congregation at *Ebenezer*, by which it plainly appears, that Silk may be produced in the greateſt Perfection, and without any conſiderable Difficulty in this Country, provided the People had proper Encouragement. We are not to underſtand by this, that the People in that Country affect to make Terms with us, and refuſe to raiſe Silk unleſs we will give them more for it than it is worth; for the Fact is quite otherwiſe, the Encouragement they demand, is not ſo much on their own Behalf as for the ſake of the Commodity.

All Beginnings are hard, and theſe People, in undertaking this Work, are beginning two Things at the ſame time, *viz.* to raiſe Silk, and to raiſe a Subſtance: If theſe interfere with each other, 'tis very plain that the former muſt give way to the latter. It is natural for People to wiſh to live well, but it is neceſſary that they ſhould live ſome way or other; and therefore this poor Clergyman honeſtly tells us, that his People having now got into a Way of winding the Silk off the Cocones, they would apply themſelves more diligently to this Buſineſs, if they were not called off by other Cares, that is, to get wherewithal to live upon. If therefore we really mean to promote the raiſing of Silk in general, and aim, inſtead of Curioſity, to make it a Commodity, we need only declare a Bounty upon it: This would ſpeedily do the Bufineſs; it would encourage every body there to turn their Hands to this Work, and it is a Work to which all Hands may be turned, Women and Children as well as Men; and no ſuch hard Labour as to render Slaves neceſſary. What this might produce we may in ſome meaſure gueſs, from what the Culture of Silk produces in *Italy*; where four and five Pounds an Acre are common Prices for Lands that bear Mulberry-Trees, where the Leaves are ſold at a high Rate, and where the poor People willingly give their Time and Labour, in feeding and attending the Worms, for half the Price of the Silk; which is but divided between the Labourer and the Landholder; amounting commonly to between three and four Pounds a Tree. If once this Buſineſs was effectually ſet a-going, there is no Queſtion but the Progreſs would be very ſpeedy, and the Bounty paid for a few Years, would moſt effectually eſtabliſh both Commodity and Colony.

On the other Hand it ought to be conſidered, that the Price of *Georgia* Silk, and the Bounty upon it, would be both paid in our own Commodities, whereas we pay now for *Piedmont* Silk wholly in ready Money; ſo that the Difference to the Nation will be but a very Trifle; perhaps I ſhould not carry the Thing too far, if I ſaid nothing. It is very poſſible, that when this Trade came to flouriſh in *Georgia*, it might alſo be ſet up in *Carolina*, and even in *Virginia*, there being no ſort of Doubt, that with due Attention and Application, Silk might be produced in both theſe Colonies; neither is this any new Diſcovery, but what has been obſerved by all the Writers upon the Affairs of the Plantations for many Years paſt; but if it ſhould be the Caſe, it would not be at all detrimental to this Nation; but on the contrary, this very Thing will lay us under a new Obligation to *Georgia*, for then we ſhould have the Silk Manufacture as much in our Hands, if not more, than we have the Woollen; and how vaſt an Alteration this would make in the Balance of our Trade, may be eaſily ſhewn.

It is to be obſerved, that in all Silk Manufactures there are two Kinds of Silk employed, one for the Warp or Cane, which is the very Silk that our Colonies would produce; but before this Silk can be uſed, it muſt be thrown by an Engine into what is called Organzine, for which there is at preſent but one Engine in this Kingdom, which is the famous Silk-mill at *Derby*; ſince the erecting of which his *Sardinian* Majeſty has prohibited the Exportation of raw Silk from his Dominions; ſo that what we have from his Country is Organzine. He has done ſtill more for the Benefit of his Subjects; for he has laid ſuch high Duties upon our Manufactures, as amount almoſt to a Prohibition; ſo that as I have more than once ſaid, we are obliged to pay for this Silk in ready Money, for it is ſo neceſſary to us, that our Silk Manufactures cannot be carried on without it; and by this Means his Subjects take annually from this Nation about two hundred thouſand Pounds in Money. Beſides what we receive from *Piedmont*, we have likewiſe conſiderable Quantities of raw Silk of the ſame Kind with that from *Genoa*, and other Parts of *Italy*; which is thrown into Organzine by the Engine at *Derby*.

As to the other Kind of Silk, which makes the Woof, or Shute, it comes to us from many Places, but particularly by the Way of *Turkey*; ſo that if we had the former Kind of Silk from our Plantations, it would enable us to conſume a much greater Quantity of this other Silk that cometh to us by the Way of *Turkey*, for which we pay in our Woollen Manufactures: So that here is plainly a double Advantage; firſt, of ſaving the ready Money which is paid for one Kind of Silk; and next increaſing the Exportation of our own Goods, for which we bring Home in exchange that other Kind of Silk; and if once we were in poſſeſſion of theſe Advantages, there would follow a third, equal, if not ſuperior, to both; for we ſhould be then inconteſtibly able to fabricate all Kinds of wrought Silks at ſo cheap a Rate as to under-ſell moſt Parts of *Europe*; which would draw a Demand from *Germany*, *Flanders*, *Spain*, and *Portugal*, to the inconceivable Benefit of the Merchants and Manufacturers of this Kingdom, who are beyond all Queſtion, in conjunction with the Seamen, who muſt thrive when they do, the moſt valuable People in it, and by whoſe Induſtry the reſt are maintained. Thus we ſee that the Deſign of eſtabliſhing the Buſineſs of raiſing Silk in *Georgia*, is in itſelf a Matter of vaſt Moment, not to the Truſtees or the Inhabitants of that new Colony only, but to the whole Nation; a Thing that would give a new Turn to our Trade; employ a Multitude of Hands at Home, by promoting both the Silk and Woollen Manufactures; enlarge our Commerce Abroad; increaſe our Shipping; augment the Number of our Seamen, and enable us the better to bear thoſe vaſt Expences into which, it is ſaid, the Circumſtances of Affairs Abroad have neceſſarily plunged us.

Before I part with this Subject, I think it becomes me to add ſomewhat with reſpect to the Conduct of the King of *Sardinia*, which, from what I have ſaid above, may be thought in ſome meaſure unkind towards this Nation; whereas, properly underſtood, nothing of that ſort will appear. The firſt and great Concern of every Prince, or at leaſt of every wiſe and good Prince, is the Welfare of his own Subjects; and with reſpect to the Monarch of whom we are ſpeaking, he has purſued it with great Steadineſs and Prudence. His Duties upon *French* Commodities are very low; ſo that his Subjects are furniſhed from thence with Woollen Manufactures at very reaſonable Rates, and by putting our Goods under a very high Cuſtom, his Subjects ſell their Silk dear, and for ready Money: And thus, by the Interpoſition of the Government, they make the moſt of their Goods, and are as rich as the Nature and Extent of their Country will permit them to be. It muſt indeed be allowed, that as Things ſtand at preſent, his *Sardinian* Majeſty's political and commercial Concerns are in a manner oppoſite to each other; but this does not hinder him from purſuing both. The Balance of Power in *Italy* is a Thing of vaſt Importance to him, ſince, if it ſhould be loſt, he would ſcarce be able to keep his Dominions; but the Trade of his Subjects is likewiſe of very great Importance, for without that his Dominions would be hardly worth keeping. His Conduct therefore, in both Reſpects, is wiſe and juſt, though it falls out to be in ſome meaſure prejudicial to us, and that too in our tendereſt Concerns, our Manufactures and our Trade.

But what then, ought we to differ with or blame him? Nothing like it: We ought, on the contrary, to admire and imitate him; we ought to make the ſame Diſtinction that he does, between our political and commercial Intereſts; we ought to ſhew ourſelves firm in ſupporting the former, and in order to it we muſt be vigorous in promoting the latter. We ſee very plainly and clearly, or at leaſt we may ſee it if we will, that there is nothing more practicable in the World, than the raiſing the Silk Trade in *Georgia*; the Country is fit for it, the Climate is fit for it; we have raiſed, and may raiſe, what Quantities of Mulberry-Trees we will: The Silkworm thrives there wonderfully well, which however is the Caſe of very few Countries; and the Silk brought from thence has been found excellent. If all this does not paſs for Demonſtration in a Matter of this Nature, it is in vain to look for Demonſtration. On the other hand, that the raiſing of Silk in *Georgia* would fill that Country with White People; would ſecure to us the Affection, and the Aſſiſtance of the neighbouring *Indian* Nations, and ſo render it an effectual Frontier, is beyond all Diſpute; and that the Advantages accruing to this Kingdom, by enabling that Plantation to furniſh us with Silk equal in Quality to the *Italian*, are ſo plain and certain that I make no Scruple of affirming, that if due Care was taken in this Reſpect, all the Expence neceſſary to eſtabliſh the Silk Trade there, would not amount to above one Year's Purchaſe of the Profits, five and twenty Years hence: By which I mean, that the Advantages accruing from this Colony to *Great-Britain*, in 1771, ſuppoſing the Silk Trade immediately ſettled there, and by immediately, I mean no more than as ſoon as poſſible, will equal all that the Public has, or may lay out upon the Settlement before it becomes able to maintain itſelf. We manure our Lands before we expect Crops from them; we manufacture our Goods before we ſend them to Market; we educate our Children before we expect they ſhould provide for themſelves; and why ſhould not we take the ſame Care of this Colony, before we expect public Advantages from thence?

It has been already ſhewn what may be expected from the different Method purſued in the eſtabliſhing this and other Colonies; and how eaſily, and how entirely, it may be turned to the Service of *Great Britain*, ſo as in the Compaſs of a few Years to anſwer national Expectations, better than Colonies that have been much longer ſettled. But we muſt keep theſe Points in View; we muſt proceed as we have begun, or all that we have hitherto done will be thrown away; and if it ſhould, we can blame no body but ourſelves. We have ſeen the Silk Trade planted there; we have ſeen it take Root, and even bring forth Bloſſoms, which, if the beſt Judges may be truſted, promiſe the faireſt Fruit; let it not then be loſt for a little Care or a little Expence, if that be neceſſary, in pruning and watering it.

I might likewiſe take Notice of the raiſing Wine here; indeed I have promiſed it, but I have inſiſted ſo long upon Silk, that I can be but ſhort upon this Head; yet ſomething I will ſay. There were great Hopes that this Improvement might ſoon have been brought to Perfection, but ſome Difficulties have been found in the Way, and they are chiefly theſe: The Coat of the natural Grape is not ſtrong enough, and therefore when it grows ripe they burſt. The Froſt, about the vernal Equinox, frequently kills the Vines when they are ſhooting; and as to the *European* Grapes, it is found that the Inſects of the Country deſtroy them. Yet Experience has ſhewn, that by grafting the *European* on the wild Vine, all theſe Inconveniencies are in a great Meaſure prevented; for then it ſhoots later, and ſo eſcapes the Froſt better; the Grape Skins become thicker and ſtronger, and Inſects do it leſs Prejudice: So that there are ſtill Hopes that Wine may be made there, both in great Plenty, and in great Perfection; and if we reflect on the Miſtake we made, with reſpect to the *Cape of Good Hope*, which we abandoned as worth nothing, and which the *Dutch*, by their Induſtry, have made one of the fineſt and moſt valuable Plantations in the World; we ſhall not be haſty in ſlighting theſe Hopes.

Beſides, there is nothing wanting in this Country but a ſufficient Number of Inhabitants, to render it, in every reſpect, a fertile and pleaſant Settlement. They reap very good Wheat here in *May*; they mow their Graſs in *June*; they might cultivate Rice here to great Advantage, if that was judged proper, which, however, for many good Reaſons is thought not ſo; Olives flouriſh there in the greateſt Perfection; and ſo do Oranges in the South Part of the Province, where (I ſpeak on the Credit of Eye-witneſſes) an Orange Tree has been known, in ſeven Years Time, to have been fifteen Foot from the Root to the Branches.

Theſe Conſiderations, with Reſpect to the Conſequences that may follow from the Improvement of this laſt Settlement, which I look upon to be the Honour of the preſent Age, have proceeded ſolely from a regard to Truth, and to the public Service, which are the ſame Motives that have directed me through the Courſe of this Undertaking. It appeared to me that there were many things, in relation to moſt of the Colonies, and particularly in reſpect to this, about which the World in general was either miſinformed or not informed at all; and therefore I thought it would be doing ſome Service to Trade, to the Colonies, and to the Public, if theſe Points were fully and fairly treated; for which Purpoſe I took Pains to procure the beſt Materials I could, and have digeſted them in the beſt Method I was able, but in ſuch a way that the principal Facts appear all along with their proper Authorities; ſo that the Reader ſees to what he gives Credit, and is not obliged to take any thing upon Truſt from me; all my Reaſonings being ſubmitted, as they ought to be, to his Judgment, with full Liberty to admit as little or as much as he thinks fit, when he has duly weighed the Arguments that are offered in ſupport of them. It is in this way, and in this way only, that ſedentary Perſons can make themſelves uſeful to Society, and in this way they may be very uſeful, by furniſhing others with an Opportunity of viewing and reflecting upon things which otherwiſe might never have come to their Notice.

One thing more I muſt obſerve before I conclude this Section, which is, that if there be any thing in it, or indeed in any of thoſe relating to the *Britiſh* Plantations, which ought, in a particular Manner, to claim the Attention of the Public; it is, in a great Meaſure, due to the Lights afforded by the Honourable *James Oglethorpe*, Eſq; from whom, if the Author has caught any Part of that generous Spirit, which inclines a Man to bend all his Thoughts, and turn all his Labours to the Service of his Country, it is but juſt that he ſhould acknowledge it; and this he is the more ready to do, becauſe if there be any Merit in his Performance, capable of making it known to, and eſteemed by, Poſterity; he would willingly conſecrate it as a Mark of his Eſteem and Gratitude, for the many Informations he has received, and the right Turn that has been given to his Inquiries, by that knowing and worthy Perſon, who is equally happy in rendering the greateſt perſonal Services himſelf to the Community, and by infuſing the like Diſpoſition in thers, both by his Example and Converſation.

There remains, in order to complete our Hiſtory of the *Weſt Indies*, no more than an Account of the *French* and *Dutch* Settlements in that Part of the World, in reference to which we may have leave to be the ſhorter in our Relations, as we have already taken Occaſion to deliver many things concerning the former, and there cannot be a great deal ſaid with reſpect to the latter. In treating both, however, we ſhall endeavour to repreſent all things fairly and agreeable to Truth, without exaggerating, as ſome have done, the Power of the *French*, or as others, the Induſtry of the *Dutch*: Both indeed are worthy our Notice and our Attention, but neither as things ſtand at preſent can juſtly provoke our Envy, ſince there is no Compariſon between our Condition and theirs; nor can we juſtly apprehend any conſiderable Alteration in our Circumſtances but what muſt follow from our own Negligence, rather than from any Attempts of theirs; though it muſt be confeſſed that both are ready enough to catch at any Advantages for promoting their Intereſts in that Part of the World, though it ſhould be at the Expence of their Neighbours; things that ought to teach us Care and Circumſpection, which are as neceſſary to ſecure Proſperity, as to obtain it.

SECTION

SECTION XXII.

A ſuccinct Hiſtory of the DISCOVERIES, SETTLEMENTS, *and* CONQUESTS, *made by the* FRENCH *in* America; *a View of their Policy, Numbers, Commerce, and Strength in that Part of the World; and ſome Conjectures as to the Event of their Deſigns; extracted chiefly from their own Authors.*

1. *An introductory Account of the firſt Voyages made, or ſaid to be made, by the* French *to* America, *with a more particular Detail of that of* John Verazzano, *or* Verazani, *under the Reign of* Francis I. 2. *The Voyage of* James Cartier *of* St. Malo's, *who diſcovered* Canada; *and a curious Account of the Etymology of that Word.* 3. *The firſt Eſtabliſhment of the* French *on the Banks of the River of* St. Laurence; *the building of the Town of* Quebec, *and the Difficulties found in fixing a Colony in thoſe Parts.* 4. *A Deſcription of the Savages, Natives of* Canada, *their Cuſtoms, Manners, Superſtitions, and enthuſiaſtic Fondneſs for their own Way of Life.* 5. *A conciſe Account of the* Illinois, *by Mr.* Joutel; *and a larger Relation of the Cuſtoms and Manners of the ſame Nation, by Father* Marquette. 6. *A more particular Deſcription of the Colony of* Canada, *or* New France, *the City of* Quebec, *and other Places therein, with an Account of the* French *Commerce with the* Indians, *and their Force in thoſe Parts.* 7. *The preſent State of that Colony, its Strength, Produce, Shipping, and Importance to* France, *fairly repreſented.* 8. *The Conſequence of* Acadia, Placentia, *and* Iſle Royal *to* France, *in reſpect to their Fiſhery,* &c. *ſet in its true Light.* 9. *The firſt Expeditions of the* French *to the* Weſt Indies, *their Views, and the Conſequences of thoſe Expeditions in relation to Commerce.* 10. *The Settlements made by that Nation in the* Leeward Iſlands; *the Situation, Extent, Produce, Strength and Importance of thoſe Iſlands.* 11. *Their Trade with our Northern Colonies, their own directly to* France, *and the Value of the Sugars they export, with other Particulars.* 12. *A brief Relation of the firſt ſettling of the Subjects of* France *on the Iſland of* Hiſpaniola, *or* St. Domingo; *the amazing Progreſs of their Colony there; a true Repreſentation of its preſent Condition and vaſt Importance.* 13. *A ſhort Account of the various Attempts of the* French, *to ſeize Part of the Southern Coaſts of* Florida; *their repeated Diſappointments; and new Project of finding the Courſe and Mouth of the great River of* Miſſiſſippi. 14. *The Conſequences of theſe Inquiries; the making this Affair a Bubble; the Reſolution of ſettling* Louviſiana *owing to that Bubble; the Nature of that Settlement, and what may be probably expected from it in Time, both as to the Benefit and Diſadvantage of the* French *Trade.* 15. *A fair Proſpect of the preſent Situation of the* French *Colonies, Affairs and Commerce throughout all* America, *with ſome ſhort Obſervations and Remarks, in order to ſet the Subject of this Section in the cleareſt and juſteſt Light poſſible.*

1. THE national Vanity of the *French* is in nothing more viſible, than in the Accounts that ſome of their Authors have given us of their Settlements in *America*. *William Poſtel* has had the Aſſurance to aſſert, that the *French* were not only the firſt Diſcoverers of *America*, but that the ancient *Gauls* carried on the Fiſhery on the Banks of *Newfoundland*, before the coming of *Jeſus Chriſt*; but, that finding thoſe Countries without Corn, without Cities, and but very thinly inhabited, they deſpiſed and neglected theſe Diſcoveries; which Dream of his is as ridiculous and abſurd, as it is groundleſs and without Foundation. We have ſome Accounts of *Frenchmen* who viſited *North America* at the Cloſe of the fifteenth, and the Beginning of the ſixteenth, Century; but the Relations we have are very uncertain, and at moſt prove no more than this, that ſome *French* Seamen and Pilots that had been employed in the *Newfoundland* Fiſhery, had ſome Knowledge of the adjacent Continent, which is not a thing of very great Conſequence.

At length, in 1523, *Francis* the Iſt, one of the wiſeſt and greateſt Monarchs the *French* ever had, began to think of making Eſtabliſhments on the Coaſt of *America*; and with this View he fitted out *John Verazzano*, a *Florentine*, who had, under his Command, only one Ship, with fifty Men on board, and Proviſions for eight Months; he returned to *Dieppe* in *July* 1524; but we know nothing of his Diſcoveries at that Time. He ſailed, towards the latter end of the ſucceeding Year, on the ſame Deſign, and arrived on the Coaſt of *North America*, and it is not very clear upon what Part of that Coaſt he arrived. He ſeems to have been a timorous Navigator; for he did not care to venture himſelf within any of the Bays or Ports that he ſaw before him; but wanting Water, and lying in a Road very near the Shore, he perſuaded one of his Seamen to ſwim thither; and by the Help of Preſents, with which he furniſhed him, procure what they ſtood in need of from the Natives, who came down in Crouds upon the Strand, to gaze upon the Ship. The poor Fellow, when he got on Shore, and came to have a nearer View of the Savages, was ſo exceſſively amazed at their uncouth Appearance, that throwing his Preſents down upon the Ground, he ran as faſt as he could to throw himſelf again into the Sea, that without loſs of Time he might recover his Ship. But the Waves diſappointing his Deſign, threw him back upon the Shore, with ſuch Force, that he lay breathleſs upon the Sands, and had, in all probability, been drowned, if the Savages had not haſtened to his Relief; they took him up, carried him in their Arms to a Place at ſome Diſtance, and took all the Pains they could to bring him to himſelf.

But when he recovered his Senſes a little, and ſaw there were none but Savages about him, he ſet up ſuch a Cry, as made the Woods ring; and the poor *Indians*, hoping to quiet him, cried as loud or louder than he, which terrified him ſtill more. At laſt they began to make a great Fire, before which they undreſſed him, admiring greatly the Whiteneſs of his Skin, and the Hair on ſeveral Parts of his Body; the Seaman taking it for granted, that they were going to eat him, or burn him, trembled exceſſively, and thoſe on board the Ship were alſo very much frightened, for they ſaw every thing that was done, and expected every Moment when he ſhould have been ſacrificed; by degrees, however, they were all ſatisfied that the Savages meant him no manner of Harm; for after drying his Cloaths, they ſuffered him to put them on again, and having given him ſomething to eat, conducted him, at his Requeſt, to the Sea-ſide, and, retiring to ſome Diſtance, looked on till he ſwam ſafely aboard the Ship, and then quietly departed; as for *Verazzano*, he returned home to *France*, reported nothing but this Story, and that it happened in the Latitude of fifty Degrees. This very plainly ſhews, that neither he nor his People were of a Diſpoſition fit for the Taſk they had undertaken.

However, they engaged the next Year in a third Voyage, but what became of him was very uncertain; ſome ſay that he was loſt; others, that he went aſhore with Part of his Crew, and that falling into the Hands of the Savages, they killed and eat them, which, however, is very improbable; certain it is, that in this Voyage he was loſt: And from what the Reader has ſeen, he will be of Opinion that the *French* have no great Cauſe to boaſt of his Expeditions, which were thirty Years later than thoſe of the *Cabots*.

2. After this unlucky Adventure, it was ſome Years before the *French* thought of fitting out any more Ships for Diſcovery; but at length Admiral *Chabot* prevailed upon *James Cartier*, an experienced Pilot of *St. Malo*'s, to undertake another Expedition: Upon which he ſailed from that Port the 20th of *April* 1734, with two Ships of ſixty Ton's each, and one hundred and twenty Men. He arrived on the 10th of *May* on the Coaſt of *Newfoundland*, and finding the Country covered with Ice and Snow, ſailed to the Southward, and entered into a Bay, which bears, at preſent, the Name of *Spaniſh Harbour*; where, liking both the Country and the People, he went aſhore. It is reported that the *Spaniards* had long before viſited this Coaſt, and there are ſome Authorities to prove it; but finding no Signs of any Minerals, they were in a Hurry to go off again, crying out in their Language *Aca Nada!* that is, *there is nothing here*, meaning the Country was good for nothing; which Words the *Indians* retained, and when the *French* came aſhore, cried out *Aca Nada! Aca Nada!* which they took for the Name of the Country, ſo that it has been called *Canada* ever ſince. This is a very ſtrange Derivation, but as we find it in the beſt *French* Authors, it is worth ſetting down.

He afterwards diſcovered a good Part of the Gulph of *St. Laurence*, and of the Iſlands that are ſituated therein; after which he returned to *France*, where he arrived ſafely on the 5th of *September*. The next Year he was ſent again with three large Ships, in order to make a Settlement; and becauſe he entered the Gulph on the Feaſt of *St. Laurence*, he gave it that Name, which was afterwards extended to the River, which in his firſt Voyage he had called the River of *Canada*. He was very ſucceſsful in this Expedition, and went up as high as the Fall of *St. Louis*, giving Names to the Iſlands and Rivers as he thought proper; and it is certain that he ſhewed himſelf, in the Courſe of this Voyage, a very expert Seaman. But though at firſt he was extremely well pleaſed with the Country, yet the Scurvy getting among his People, and bringing them into a very low Condition, ſo that twenty-five of them died in a very ſhort Space of Time; he began to alter his Sentiments, and to fancy that it was a very unwholeſome and bad Climate. At laſt, however, when he found himſelf attacked with this Diſtemper, he applied to the Inhabitants, and enquired of them, as well as he could, whether they knew of any Cure for this Diſtemper? Upon which they taught him to make an Infuſion of the Leaves and Bark of the White-thorn-tree, by which they were all very ſpeedily recovered.

As ſoon as the Seaſon of the Year would permit, he returned into *France*, where he arrived in the Spring of 1536; but there is no obtaining any Certainty as to the Account he gave of the Country which he had diſcovered: If we truſt to his written Memoirs, it will appear, that he gave King *Francis* I. a very juſt and fair Account of the Places he had viſited, and repreſented the ſettling a Colony in that Part of the World, as an Action extremely worthy of the moſt Chriſtian King; but if we adhere to what is generally reported in *France*, either he, or ſome who came home with him, acted a very different Part, and gave ſo diſcouraging a View of this new-found Country, that the King looked upon it as not worth the keeping, or troubling himſelf about.

However, three or four Years after, the Project of ſettling in this Country began again to be talked of, and a Gentleman of *Picardy*, whoſe Name was *Francis de la Roque*, Lord of *Roberval*, undertook to accompliſh this Deſign; to qualify him for which, King *Francis* I. by Letters Patent, dated *January* 15, 1540, granted him abundance of fine Titles, ſuch as Viceroy, and Lieutenant General in *Canada*, *Hockelaga*, *Saguenay*, *Newfoundland*, *Belliſle*, *Cape Breton*, *Labrador*; the grand Bay and Coaſt of *Baccaloes*; giving him the ſame Power and Authority in thoſe Places that he had himſelf, which was very eaſily done, ſince there was not a *Frenchman*, or a Cottage, in any one of the Places, nor had he any more Title to moſt of them, than to Lands in the Moon. However this Gentleman, who had a good Eſtate, and was a Man of Family, reſolved to purſue this Expedition, and prevailed upon *James Cartier*, by the large Promiſes he made him, to undertake another Voyage to the Coaſt of *Canada* in Quality of his Pilot.

3. It was this Gentleman that, in two or three Voyages he made, firſt fixed ſome *French* Settlements in *America*, which however were afterwards abandoned. After this Time the Navigation of the River *St. Laurence* fell into different Hands, and from time to time Voyages were made thither to very little Purpoſe. In 1608, or thereabouts, they laid the Foundation of the City of *Quebec*, after having ſettled, and abandoned, ſeveral other Places. It was ſome time after, that *Champlain* beſtowed the Name of *New France* upon this Country; but then he took in likewiſe *Acadia*, and other Coaſts, that had long before been diſcovered by us; for the *French*, according to a Maxim natural enough with them, thought every Country which they had not ſeen before unknown to all the reſt of the World, and ſo ſet up Croſſes and the *French* Arms, to ſhew that they had taken Poſſeſſion of them. It muſt be obſerved, that moſt of theſe Expeditions were made in the Reign of our King *James* I. when the *Engliſh* Colonies were but thin, and far enough from being ſtrong; and yet his Subjects aſſerted their prior Rights to thoſe Places of which the *French* had taken Poſſeſſion, demoliſhed their Croſſes, drove away the People where they found them, and forced them to confine their Views to the Gulph and River of *St. Laurence*, where, with much-a-do, in the Space of twenty Years, they raiſed three or four Settlements, of which *Quebec* was, as it ſtill is, the chief.

In 1629 the *Engliſh*, under the Command of Sir *David Kerk*, followed them even thither, as looking upon *Canada* to be within the Limits of the *Engliſh* Dominions, and made themſelves Maſters of *Quebec*, and of all their Settlements. When this News arrived in *France*, that new diſcovered Country was looked upon to be of ſo little Conſequence, that it was long debated in the *French* Councils, whether they ſhould demand the Reſtitution of this Colony, though they already had eſtabliſhed a Company for managing that Commerce; but at laſt it was reſolved, that it ſhould be demanded; and it was accordingly reſtored by the Treaty of 1632, but in a very bad Condition, and as a Place hardly worth the keeping. Mr. *Champlain* was the firſt Governor after it fell again into the Hands of the *French*, and from this Time forward they purſued their Diſcoveries and Settlements in thoſe Parts, without any Moleſtation from us, but ſtill with many and great Difficulties; ſo that though they have often changed their Manner of conducting their Affairs in theſe Parts of the World; have applied to, and received the Protection of the ableſt of their Miniſters; and have had Company after Company ſet up, on purpoſe to promote and encourage their Commerce, yet have they been able to make no greater Matter of it, though, beſides their Pains and Attention, theſe Settlements in *Canada* have actually coſt the *French* vaſt Sums of Money.

The Reaſons of theſe many and great Difficulties are very eaſy to be found; for with reſpect to *France* itſelf, though it be a very large Country, and tolerably well peopled, yet it is the Inhabitants only of Part of its Coaſts, that are inclined to naval Expeditions, or, to ſay the Truth, are capable of them, and they have not a Force ſufficient for any great Undertakings. In the next place, the Country of *Canada* is very far from being agreeable to *French* Conſtitutions, more eſpecially before there were any regular Settlements made there; ſo that of Numbers of People ſent thither, a great Part periſhed by the Hardſhips they endured; many of them took the firſt Opportunity of returning; and at their Return gave ſuch a dreadful Account of the Colony they had left, as diſcouraged others from going thither, and made the Miniſtry repent of the Pains they had taken about it; but the greateſt Obſtacle of all was, their continual Wars with the Natives, of which they have given us very large Accounts, that in my Opinion, do no great Honour either to the particular Perſons who have had the Direction of their Affairs in thoſe Colonies, or the *French* Nation in general. Before we proceed, however, to an exact Deſcription of this Country, it will be very requiſite to ſay ſomething of its original Inhabitants, their Cuſtoms, and Manners, and the rather becauſe what we ſhall offer on that Subject, will be equally uſeful and entertaining.

4. Among all the *French* Writers who have taken upon them to treat of this Subject, and to deſcribe the *Indians* with whom they had converſed, the moſt ſenſible and moſt worthy of Credit that I have met with is Mr. *Joutel*, who accompanied the famous Monſ. *de Sale*, in his Diſcoveries on the River *Miſſiſſippi*. He behaved himſelf in every reſpect ſo as to obtain an eſtabliſhed Reputation; and as no body had better Opportunities than he to be acquainted with the Nations he deſcribes, ſo I ſee not the leaſt Reaſon to doubt of what he has delivered about them. As to the Accounts of *Lahontain*, and Father *Hennepin*, they have been formerly very much admired, yet we are now very well ſatisfied that they are rather Romances than Relations, and that their Authors had their particular Schemes ſo much in View, that they have made no manner of Scruple of abuſing the Confidence of Mankind; ſo that if we except ſome Parts of their Writings which relate to Matters in which they could not ſo well deceive their Readers, they are not much to be depended upon. But for Mr. *Joutel*, he did not ſet up for a great Politician, but confined himſelf barely to the reporting what he ſaw; which he does in a very plain, natural Way: Whereas moſt of the Miſſionaries either magnify the Savages at the Expence of *Europeans*, or elſe run them down, as if they were very little better than Beaſts. Our Author comes neareſt to the latter Opinion, which by comparing him with the later Writers, appears to be moſt conſiſtent with Truth; and if we follow the Lights he gives us, we muſt regard them as Men as much diſtinguiſhed from the reſt of the human Race, as the Country they live in is from the reſt of the World: He ſpeaks of them thus:

Allowing, ſays he, that there are ſome *Barbarians* leſs wicked and brutal than the others; yet there are none good, nor thoroughly capable of knowing ſuch Things as are above the Reach of our Senſes: There is no relying on them; there is always Cauſe to ſuſpect them: And in ſhort, before a Savage can be made a Chriſtian, it is requiſite to make him a Man; and we look upon theſe Savages as having neither King nor Laws, and, what is moſt deplorable, no God; for if we rightly examine their Sentiments and their Actions, it does not appear they have any ſort of Religion, or well formed Notion of a Deity; if ſome of them, upon certain Occaſions, do ſometimes own a firſt or ſovereign Being, or pay ſome Veneration to the Sun; as to the firſt Article, they deliver themſelves in ſuch a confuſed manner, and with ſo many Contradictions and Extravagancies that it plainly appears they neither know or believe any thing of it; and as for the ſecond, it is only bare Cuſtom, without any ſerious Reflections on their Part. The ſame Traveller, ſpeaking of an Interview he had with the Chiefs of another Nation, to the weſtward of the River *Miſſiſſippi*, ſays, their Elders came to meet us in their Formalities, which conſiſted in ſome Goat-ſkins dreſſed, and painted of ſeveral Colours; which they wore on their Shoulders like Belts, and Plumes of Feathers of ſeveral Colours on their Heads like Coronets; ſix or ſeven of them had ſquare Sword-Blades, like the *Spaniſh*, on the Hilts whereof they had faſtened great Plumes of Feathers, and Hawks-bells; ſome of them had Clubs, which they called Head-breakers; ſome only their Bows and Arrows; others Pieces of white Linen, reaching from Shoulder to Shoulder: All their Faces were daubed with black and red: There were twelve Elders, who walked in the Middle, and the Youth and Warriors in Ranks, on the right and left of the old Men. Being come up to us in that Manner, he that conducted us made a Sign for us to halt, which, when he had done, all the old Men lifted up their right Hand above their Heads, crying in a moſt ridiculous Manner; but it behoved us to have a care of Laughing. That done, they came and embraced us, uſing all Sorts of Endearments. The whole Company conducted us, afterwards, to their Chief's Cottage, and after we had ſtaid there a ſhort Time, they led us to a larger Cottage, a quarter of a League from thence, being the Hut in which they had their public Rejoicings, and great Aſſemblies: We found it furniſhed with Mats for us to ſit on. The Elders ſeated themſelves round about it, and they brought us to eat ſome Sagamite, which is their Pottage, little Beans, Bread made of *Indian* Corn, and another Sort they made with boiled Flour; and at laſt they made us ſmoak. The Cottages that are inhabited, are not each of them for a private Family, for in ſome of them there are fifteen or twenty, each of which has its Nook, or Corner-bed, and other Utenſils to itſelf, but without any Partition to ſeparate it from the reſt: However, they have nothing in common beſides the Fire, which is in the Midſt of the Hut, and never goes out: It is made of great Trees, the Ends whereof are laid together, ſo that when once lighted, it laſts a long Time, and the firſt Comer takes Care to keep it up.

The Cottages are round at the Top, after the manner of a Bee-Hive, or a Rick of Hay; ſome of them are ſix Foot in Diameter: In order to build them they ſet up long Poles as thick as a Man's Leg, tall and ſtrait; and placing them in a Circle, join the Tops together; then they faſten and cover them with Weeds. When they remove their Dwellings, they generally burn the Cottages, and build new ones on the Ground they deſign to inhabit. Their Moveables are ſome Buffaloes or Bullocks Skins well cured, ſome Mats cloſe wove, wherewith they adorn their Huts, and ſome Earthen Veſſels, which they are very ſkilful in making, and wherein they boil their Fleſh, Roots, and Sagamite Pottage. They have alſo ſome ſmall Baſkets made of Canes, ſerving to put their Fruit and other Proviſions in. Their Beds are made of Canes, raiſed two or three Feet above the Ground, handſomely fitted with Mats and Bullocks Hides, or Goats Skins, which ſerve them inſtead of Feather-beds, Quilts and Blankets, and theſe Beds are parted one from another by Mats hung up. Their Tillage conſiſts in breaking up juſt the Surface of the Earth with a wooden Inſtrument like a Pick-ax, which they make by ſplitting the End of a thick Piece of Wood, which ſerves for the Handle, and putting another Piece of Wood ſharp-pointed at one End into the Slit. This Inſtrument ſerves them inſtead of a Hoe or Spade; for they have no Iron Tools. When the Land has been thus broke up, the Women ſow and plant the *Indian* Corn, Beans, Pompions, Water-Melons, and other Grain and Garden-Stuff. The *Indians* are generally handſome, but diſfigure themſelves by making Streaks on their Jaws, from the Top of their Forehead down the Noſe to the Tip of the Chin, which is done by pricking the Skin till it bleeds, and then ſtrewing fine Charcoal on the Skin, which ſinks in and mixes with the Blood. They alſo make, after the ſame Manner, the Figures of living Creatures, of Leaves and Flowers, on their Shoulders, Thighs, and other Parts of their Bodies; and paint themſelves, as has been ſaid before, with Black and Red, and ſometimes both together. The Women are generally well-ſhaped, and would not be diſagreeable did they adhere to Nature; but they diſguiſe themſelves as ridiculouſly as the Men, not only with the Streaks they have like them down their Faces, but by other Figures they make at the Corner of their Eyes and on their Bodies, particularly on their Boſoms. The Women do all the Work in the Cottage, either in pounding the *Indian* Corn and baking their Bread, and dreſſing their other Proviſion, drying, parching, and ſmoaking their Fleſh, fetching the Wood they have Occaſion for, or the Fleſh of wild Beaſts killed by their Huſbands in the Woods, which are often at a great Diſtance. I did not obſerve that their Women were naturally given to Leudneſs; but their Virtue is not Proof againſt ſome of our Toys when preſented to them, as Needles, Knives, and more particularly Strings of Beads, whereof they make Necklaces and Bracelets: That Temptation is rarely reſiſted by them; and the leſs, becauſe they have no Religion or Law to prohibit that Practice. It is true, their Huſbands, when they take them in the Fact, ſometimes do puniſh them, either by Separation, or otherwiſe.

The Country of theſe *Indians* being generally warm, almoſt all of them go naked, unleſs when the North Wind blows; then they cover themſelves with a Buffalo's Hide, or a Goat's ſkin Card. The Women wear nothing but a Skin or ſome Sort of Clout, hanging round them like a Petticoat, and reaching half way down their Legs before and behind: On their Heads they wear nothing but their Hair platted and knotted behind. As for their Temper, it may be ſaid of theſe as of all other *Indians* of that great Continent, that they are not miſchievous, unleſs wronged or attacked, in which Caſe they are fierce and revengeful. They watch all Opportunities to be revenged, and never let any ſlip when offered, which is the Cauſe of their being continually at War with their Neighbours, and of that martial Humour ſo predominant among them. As to the Knowledge of God, they did not ſeem to us to have any fixed Notion of him; it is true, we met with ſome in our Way, who, as far as we could judge, believed there was ſome ſuperior Being which was above all things, and this they teſtified by lifting up their Hands and Eyes to Heaven, yet without any Manner of Concern, or believing that the ſaid exalted Being does regard at all what is done here below. However, none of them having any Places of Worſhip, Ceremonies, or Prayers, to manifeſt their Devotion, it may be ſaid of them all, that they have no Religion at all, at leaſt, thoſe that we ſaw. They obſerve ſome Ceremonies it is true, but whether they have any Regard to a ſuperior Being, or whether they are only popular, and proceeding from Cuſtom, is what we were not able to diſcover. Thoſe Ceremonies are as follow: When the Corn is ripe, they gather a certain Quantity in a Baſket, which is placed on a Stool dedicated to that Uſe, and ſerving only upon theſe myſterious Occaſions, which they have a great Veneration for. The Baſket with the Corn being placed on the venerated Stool, one of the Elders holds out his Hands over it, and talks a long Time; after which, the ſaid old Man diſtributes the Corn among the Women, and no Perſon is allowed to eat of the new Corn till eight Days after the Ceremony. This ſeems to be in the Nature of offering, or bleſſing, the firſt Fruits of their Harveſt.

At their Aſſemblies, when the Sagamite, or Pottage, which is the moſt eſſential Part of their Meal, is boiled in a great Pot, they place that Pot on the Stool abovementioned, and one of the Elders ſtretches out his Hands over it, muttering ſome Words between his Teeth for a conſiderable Time, after which they fall to eating. When the young Folks firſt take upon them to be Soldiers, their Garment, conſiſting of ſome Skin or Clout, together with their Bow, Quiver, and Arrows, are placed on the ſame Stool, an old Man ſtretching out his Hands over them, muttering the conſecrating Words, and then the Garments, Bows, Quivers, and Arrows, are given to the Perſons they belong to. Theſe ſame Ceremonies are uſed by them in the cultivating their Grain and Product, but of the Tobacco particularly.

There is one Particular relating to theſe People, which he does not mention; and that is, the ſtrong and general Paſſion for Liberty, which prevails through the whole Nation; which is born, and grows up, with them, governs all their Actions, and is never to be extinguiſhed but with their Lives. It is their Notion of Liberty, that induces them to prefer their own Manner of living, to that of the *Europeans:* and they ſay ſometimes, what is not altogether deſtitute of good Senſe, that if they poſſeſs fewer Conveniences, they have the leſs Trouble in acquiring what they think neceſſary, and conſequently the more Time to themſelves, which their middle-aged and old Men uſually ſpend in converſing together; and if we may truſt to ſome of our own Country, as well as the *French* Writers, there are as great Politicians among them, as in any Nation in *Europe*, the *Italians* themſelves not excepted. There is another *Indian* Nation of whom Mr. *Joutel* has given us a Relation, which deſerves to be conſidered, becauſe they are thought to be very different in their Manners from the *Iroquois*.

5. As for the Manners and Cuſtoms of the *Illinois*, they are, in many Particulars, the ſame as thoſe of the other Nations before-mentioned; they are naturally fierce and revengeful, and among them, the Toil of ſowing, planting, carrying of Burdens, and doing all other things that belong to the Support of Life, appertains peculiarly to the Women; the Men have no other Buſineſs, but going to the Wars and hunting. The Nations I have ſpoken of before, are not at all, or very little, addicted to thieving, but it was not ſo with the *Illinois*; it behoves every Man to watch their Feet as well as their Hands, for they know how to turn any thing out of the Way very dextrouſly. They are ſubject to the general Vice of other *Indians*, which is, to boaſt very much of their warlike Exploits, that is the main Subject of their Diſcourſe, and they are very great Liars. They pay a Reſpect to the Dead, as appears by their Care in burying them: This is alſo practiſed among the *Accanceas*, but they differ in this Particular: That the *Accanceas* weep and make their Complaints for ſome Days, whereas the *Chabouanous*, and other People of the *Illinois* Nation, do juſt the contrary; for when any of them die, they wrap them up in Skins, and then put them into Coffins, made of the Barks of Trees; then ſing and dance about them for four and twenty Hours; thoſe Dancers tying Gourds about their Bodies, with ſome *Indian* Wheat in them, to rattle and make a Noiſe; and ſome of them have a Drum, made of a great earthen Pot, on which they extend a Goat-ſkin, and beat thereon with a Stick; during that rejoicing, they throw their Preſents on the Coffin; ſuch as Bracelets, Pendants, or Pieces of Earthen-ware, and Strings of Beads, encouraging the Singers to perform their Duty well. If any Friend happens to come thither at that Time, he immediately throws down his Preſents, and falls a ſinging and dancing like the reſt. When the Ceremony is over, they bury the Body with Part of the Preſents, making Choice of ſuch as may be moſt proper for it: They alſo bury with it ſome Store of *Indian* Wheat, with a Pot to boil it in, and repeat the ſame Ceremony at the Year's End.

With reſpect to this People, there is a very large and curious Account in the Travels of Father *Marquette*, a Man of good Senſe and fair Character; and therefore I ſhall ſubjoin it, that we may not be obliged to dwell longer upon this Subject. His Account in his own Words runs thus: “ The Word *Illinois*, in their Language, ſignifies Men, as if they ſhould look upon the other Savages as Beaſts; and truly it may be confeſſed, that they are not altogether in the wrong, for they have more Humanity than all the other Nations that I have ſeen in *America*; the ſhort Time I remained with them, did not permit me to inform myſelf as much as I deſired of their Cuſtoms and Manners, but here is what I was able to obſerve: They are divided into ſeveral Villages, whereof ſome are very remote from thoſe that I have ſeen, they call them *Perouarea*. But as they live ſo far one from the other, their Language is alſo very different: However, it is a Dialect of the *Algonquin*, and therefore we were able to underſtand what they ſaid, and to converſe with them. They are good-natured Men, tractable and eaſy. They keep ſeveral Wives, and yet they are exceeding jealous; they obſerve with very great Care their Behaviour, and if they find them in any Fault as to their Chaſtity, they cut their Noſes and Ears; and I ſaw ſeveral of them, who carried upon their Faces theſe Marks of their Infidelity.

“ The *Illinois* are very well ſhaped, and very dextrous. They are good Marks-men with their Arrows and ſmall Guns, with which they are ſupplied by the Savages, and have a Commerce with the *Europeans*. This makes them formidable to the other Nations, inhabiting to the Weſtward, who have no Arms. The *Illinois* knowing how much they are frighted at the Noiſe of their Guns, make Excurſions very far to the Weſtward, and bring Slaves from thence, which they barter with other Nations for the Commodities they want. Thoſe Nations are altogether ignorant of Iron Tools, and their Knives, Axes, and other Inſtruments, are made of Flints, and other ſharp Stones. When the *Illinois* go upon any Expedition, the whole Village muſt have Notice of it, and therefore they uſe to make an Out-cry at the Door of their Huts the Evening before they go, and the Morning they are to ſet out. Their Captains are diſtinguiſhed from the Soldiers by red Scarfs, made with the Hair of Bears, or wild Oxen, that are curiouſly wrought. They have abundance of Game; and their Soil is ſo fertile, that their *Indian* Corn never fails, and therefore they never labour under Famine. They ſow Beans and Melons, which are excellent, and eſpecially thoſe whoſe Seed is red.

“ They eſteem much their Citruls, though they are none of the beſt; they dry them up and keep them till the Winter and Spring. Their Cabbins are very large, they are made covered, and paved with Mats of Marſh Ruſhes. Their Diſhes are of Wood, but their Spoons are made with the Bones of the Sculls of wild Oxen, which they cut ſo as to make them very convenient to eat their Sagamite. They have Phyſicians amongſt them, towards whom they are very liberal when they are ſick, thinking that the Operation of the Remedies they take, is proportionable to the Preſents they make unto them, who have preſcribed them. They have no other Clothes but Skins of Beaſts, which ſerve to cover their Women, for the Men go moſt of the Year ſtark naked. I don't know by what Superſtition ſome of the *Illinois*, and *Nadoneſſians*, wear Womens Apparel; when they have taken the ſame, which they do in their Youth, they never leave it off. And certainly there muſt be ſome Myſtery in this Matter, for they never marry, and work in the Cabbins with Women, which other Men think it below them to do. They may go, however, to the Wars, but they muſt uſe only a Club, and not Bows and Arrows, which are fit, as they ſay, only for Men. They aſſiſt at all the Superſtitions of their Jugglers, and their ſolemn Dances in honour of the Calumet, at which they may ſing, but it is not lawful for them to dance. They are called to their Councils, and nothing is determined without their Advice; for becauſe of their extraordinary way of living, they are looked upon as Manitoas, or, at leaſt, for great and incomparable Genii.

“ I muſt ſpeak here of the Calumet, the moſt extraordinary thing in the World. The Scepters of our Kings are not ſo much reſpected; for the Savages have ſuch a Deference for this Pipe, that one may call it the God of Peace and War, and the Arbiter of Life and Death. One, with this Calumet, may venture among his Enemies, and in the hotteſt Engagements, they lay down their Arms before this ſacred Pipe. The *Illinois* preſented me with one of them, which was very uſeful to us in our Voyage. Their Calumet of Peace is different from the Calumet of War. They make uſe of the former to ſeal their Alliances and Treaties, to travel with Safety, and receive Strangers; and the other is to proclaim War. It is made of a red Stone, like our Marble: The Head is like our common Tobacco-Pipes, but larger; and it is fixed to a hollow Reed to hold it for ſmoaking. They adorn it with fine Feathers of ſeveral Colours, and they call it the Calumet of the Sun, to whom they preſent it, eſpecially when they want fair Weather, or Rain; thinking that that Planet can have no leſs Reſpect for it than Men have, and therefore that they ſhall obtain their Deſires. They dare not waſh themſelves in Rivers in the Beginning of the Summer, or taſte the new Fruit of Trees, before they have danced the Calumet, which they do in the follow Manner:

“ This Dance of the Calumet, is a ſolemn Ceremony amongſt the Savages, which they perform upon important Occaſions, to confirm an Alliance, or make Peace with their Neighbours. They uſe it alſo to entertain any Nation that comes to viſit them; and in this Caſe we may conſider it as their Balls. They perform it in Winter-time in their Cabbins, and in open Fields in the Summer. They chuſe for this Purpoſe a ſet Place among Trees, to ſhelter themſelves againſt the Heat of the Sun, and lay in the Middle a large Mat, as a Carpet, and ſet upon it the God of the Chief of the Company who gave the Ball; for every one has his peculiar God, whom they call *Manitoa*: It is ſometimes a Stone, a Bird, a Serpent, or any Thing elſe that they dream of in their Sleep; for they think that this Manitoa will proſper their Undertakings, as Fiſhing, Hunting, and other Enterprizes. To the Right of their Manitoa they place the Calumet, their great Deity, making round about it a kind of Trophy with their Arms, *viz.* their Clubs, Axes, Bows, Quivers, and Arrows. Things being thus diſpoſed, and the Hour of Danceing coming on, thoſe who are to ſing take the moſt honourable Seats under the Shadow of the Trees, or green Arbours they make, in caſe the Trees be not thick enough to ſhadow them. They chuſe for this Service the beſt Wits amongſt them, either Men or Women. Every body ſits down afterwards round about, as they come, having firſt of all ſaluted the Manitoa, which they do by the blowing the Smoke of their Tobacco upon it, which is as much as offering to it Frankincenſe; every body, one after another, takes the Calumet, and holds it with his two Hands, dances with it, following the Cadence of the Songs.

“ This Preludium being over, he who is to begin the Dance appears in the Middle of the Aſſembly, and having taken the Calumet preſents it to the Sun, as if he would invite him to ſmoke; then he moves it into an infinite Number of Poſtures, ſometimes laying it near the Ground, then ſtretching its Wings as if he would make it fly, and then preſents it to the Spectators, who ſmoke with it one after another, dancing all the while: This is the firſt Scene of this famous Ball. The ſecond is, a Fight, with Vocal and Inſtrumental Muſic; for they have a kind of Drum, which agrees pretty well with the Voices; the Perſon who dances with the Calumet gives a Signal to one of their Warriors, who takes a Bow and Arrows with an Ax from the Trophies already mentioned, and fights the other, who defends himſelf with the Calumet alone, both of them dancing all the while. The Fight being over, he who holds the Calumet makes a Speech, wherein he gives an Account of the Battles he has fought and the Priſoners he has taken, and then receives a Gown, or any other Preſent, from the Chief of the Ball: He gives then the Calumet to another, who having acted his Part, gives it to another; and ſo to all the others, till the Calumet returns to the Captain, who preſents it to the Nation invited unto the Feaſt, as a Mark of their Friendſhip, and a Confirmation of their Alliance. I cannot pretend to be ſo much Maſter of the Language, as to judge of their Songs; but methinks they are very lively and witty.”

6. This Country of *Canada*, as we find it deſcribed by the beſt *French* Writers, is ſaid to be half as big as *Europe*, reaching from the Latitude of 39 Degrees to that of 65; that is, from the Lake of *Errie* to the North of *Hudſon's-Bay*, and from the Longitude of 248 Degrees to 336; *viz.* from the River *Miſſiſſippi* to that Part of the Continent which fronts *Cape Raſe* in *Newfoundland*. According to this Deſcription, it has *Hudſon*'s Bay on the North, the Sea on the Eaſt, the *Engliſh* Colonies on the South, *Louviſiana* on the South-eaſt, and the Territories of the Crown of *Spain* on the Weſt. This we muſt allow is a very large and noble Plan of *New France*, if it were in any Degree in the Poſſeſſions of the Subjects of that Crown; but the Truth of the Matter is, that a great Part of this Tract is not ſo much as known to them, and, at the very moſt, there is not a twentieth Part of the Country that can with any Propriety be ſaid to be under their Juriſdiction. The great River of *St. Laurence*

rence, which at its Mouth is about ſixty Miles big, and runs through the Middle of this Country, but the Source of it is ſtill unknown, though ſome of the *French* Buccaneers affirm, that they have gone eight hundred Leagues up it; but then they take it for granted, that it paſſes through five or ſix great Lakes, which are thoſe of *Frontiniac*, *Errie*, the Lake of the *Hurons*, the *Upper Lake*, the Lake of *Leuemipagon*, and that of the *Aſſinipouals*; beyond which the *Indians* tell them there is another Lake ſtill greater than any of theſe, out of which this River originally comes.

But the Truth however ſeems to be, that the River of *St. Laurence* flows from the Lake of *Frontiniac*, and from thence runs a Courſe of two hundred Leagues, to the Sea. At the Mouth of the River of *St. Laurence* lies the Iſland of *Anticoſty*, which ſome ſay was formed, but all agree, was very much enlarged by an Earthquake; the *French* have a very ſmall Settlement upon this Iſland, for the ſake of trading with the *Indian* Nations on both Sides, for Seal-ſkins and Furs; in exchange for which they give them Fire-arms and Ammunition. The Town or City of *Quebec* lies upon the great River of *St. Laurence*, at the Diſtance of about a hundred and ten Leagues from the Sea. The Foundation of it was laid, as we ſaid before, in the Year 1608; and that which is now called the *Lower Town*, was formerly the Bed of the River, which has ſince ſunk ſo far below this Place. It muſt be allowed to be both a large Town and a ſtrong one, for beſides a Fortreſs or kind of Citadel, in which the Governor reſides, the whole Extent of the Place is covered by a regular Fortification, with ſeveral Redoubts well furniſhed with Artillery; there is a Cathedral, and epiſcopal Palace, which are very ſtately Buildings; the Jeſuits have a fine College here, and there are ſeveral other religious Houſes; but after all, if we conſider that this is not only the Capital, but almoſt the only Town in *New France*, it is no great Affair, ſince according to the laſt Account which the *French* themſelves have publiſhed of it, there are not in it above ſeven thouſand Inhabitants, and none of theſe are ſaid to be very rich.

From *Quebec*, which lies in the Latitude of 47 Degrees 56 Minutes, to *Montreal*, which is in the Latitude of 44 Degrees 30 Minutes, the Banks of the River are pretty well ſettled; but without either Towns or Villages; and the *French* diſtinguiſh this Part of the Country by the Name of the Coaſts. Some of their Writers, indeed, making uſe of that Licence which is allowed to Travellers, ſpeak of two Villages between *Quebec* and the Iſland of *Montreal*, each of fifty Leagues in Extent, by which they mean, that both Sides of the River are ſo thoroughly planted, that the whole on each Bank may be conſidered as a Village. The Town of *Montreal* is ſtrong by Situation, but is only ſurrounded with a Palliſado, and is looked upon to have about a third as many Inhabitants as *Quebec*. The Savages come down hither in Boats, and ſell their Skins; for the ſake of which Trade the Place was built; but this Commerce is not now any thing comparable to what it was.

The Manner in which this is carried on is ſingular enough to deſerve Notice: When the Savages who are in Amity with the *French* come thither to trade, their Chief, firſt of all, demands Audience of the Governor-General, and if he is not there, of the Governor of *Montreal*, to which he is with great Ceremony admitted. This Audience is generally given in the great Square or Court, in the Middle of the Town; where a Chair of State is placed for the Governor, and the ſeveral *Indian* Nations, each by itſelf, take their Places round him, with their Pipes in their Mouths: After a due Silence kept, the oldeſt Chief of the *Indians* lays down his Pipe, then ſtands up and addreſſes himſelf to the Governor, to this Purpoſe: "He tells him, that his Brethren are "come to viſit him, and to renew their ancient League "and Friendſhip with his Nation: He adds, that having "nothing in View but the Eaſe and the Advantage of "the *French*, they have brought down with them good "Quantities of Skins and Furs, being ſenſible that the "*French* could not obtain ſo many, or ſo good, if they "did not bring them down to their Settlements; that "they are ſenſible how much theſe Things are valued "and eſteemed in *France*, and know, that what they "are to take in Exchange are but paltry Things, and of "little Value; but however, that their good Friends, "the *French*, may not be without Furs, they are content to deal with them; and therefore hope, that in "order to enable them to bring a greater Plenty of their "Goods the next Year, as well as to put them into a "Condition to fall upon the *Iroquois*, in caſe they "ſhould attack or diſturb their good Friends, they will let "them have Guns, Powder and Ball, upon reaſonable "Terms." At the Cloſe of his Speech he lays a String of Beads, and a Packet of Skins, at the Governor's Feet, and deſires "that he will ſecure them a free and "fair Trade, and protect them from Thieves." Then retires to his Place, and takes up his Pipe again. The Governor ſpeaks next, aſſures them of his Protection, and makes them a Preſent in return. The next Day the Trade begins, and is ſoon over; by which the *French* gain very conſiderably; but they are not allowed to ſell either Wine or Brandy to the Savages, becauſe they are extremely apt to drink to Exceſs, and are then furious and mad, and at ſuch times, if they do any Miſchief to one another, or to the *French*, they can ſcarce be brought to give any Satisfaction; for they affirm, it was the Liquor, and not the Man that did the Miſchief; and that it is unjuſt to puniſh a Perſon for what he does when he is out of his Senſes.

Chambli was formerly as great a Place of Trade as *Montreal*, and there was a pretty good Town there, but now the *French* have only a Port, to hinder the Natives, and their own People, from trading with the *Engliſh*. They have, beſides, three other Towns, none of them of any great Size, at the three Rivers, at a Place called *Tadouſas*, and at *Richlieu*; and yet, according to their Computation, there are two hundred thouſand Souls in *Canada*, but perhaps this is pretty largely reckoned; but their regular Troops and Militia, which are able Men and well diſciplined, amount to eight or ten thouſand, and this renders them formidable to their Neighbours, both of the *Engliſh* Colonies, and *Indians*. They ſometimes talk of drawing Lines, and extending a Chain of Fortifications from their advanced Settlements to the River *Miſſiſſippi*; but whoever conſiders the Extent of that Country, and compares it with their Force even as ſtated by themſelves, will plainly ſee that this is impoſſible and impracticable, or rather, to place it in its true Light, abſurd and ridiculous. But this, however, is no Reaſon that we ſhould grow careleſs or negligent; for there is no doubt they will extend themſelves as faſt as they can, and therefore it is our Buſineſs to interrupt their Deſigns as much as it lies in our Power.

7. Though this Country of *Canada* is ſituated in the midſt of the North temperate Zone, yet the Air of it is exceſſively ſharp, ſo that their Winter, which ſets in about the Middle of *November*, and laſts to the Middle of *May*, is exceſſively ſevere. It is not very difficult to aſſign the Cauſes of this Cold, which ſeems ſo little conſiſtent with the Climate; for we ought to conſider, in the firſt Place, that the Winds which blow from *Hudſon's Bay*, and from the Ocean, that is, from at leaſt half the Points of the Compaſs, paſs over vaſt Tracts of Snow and Ice, and are conſequently loaded with prodigious Quantities of nitrous Particles, which is one great Cauſe of their rigorous Seaſons. Secondly, there are vaſt Foreſts in this Country, of which, but a very ſmall Part is cultivated, and this is another great Cauſe of Cold; becauſe, as Experience ſhews us, in all northern Countries, where the Lands are well broken and tilled, the Climate becomes milder, by the ſulphureous Exhalations from the Earth, which are totally bound up in barren Soils, by the Influence of the Cold. I reſtrain this to the northern Countries, becauſe Experience has alſo ſhewn in the *Weſt Indies*, that the cutting down of the Wood alters the Seaſons, and where it is done without Judgment, has a very bad Effect, which is owing to the different Degree of Heat. A third cauſe of Cold is, the too great Quantity of Water; the Exhalations from thoſe vaſt Lakes and Rivers, which are found in this Country, occaſion

Fogs, Miſts, and Rains, which are extremely prejudicial. But notwithſtanding theſe Inconveniencies, the *French* boaſt very much of the Fertility of this Country, and, indeed, where it is cultivated, it yeilds *Indian*, and other Sorts of Corn, Peas, Beans, and, in ſhort, all kinds of Herbs, and Vegetables in great Plenty.

As for Trees and Fruits, they are much the ſame here as in *New England*, and the like may be ſaid of Animals; ſo that with a reaſonable Degree of Labour, there is no Doubt that People may ſubſiſt there tolerably well; and as they are not burthened with Taxes, and as the Gentry are allowed great Privileges in their Eſtates, the People of *Canada* live, as the *French* Authors themſelves expreſs it, very much at their Eaſe, and exerciſe a generous kind of Hoſpitality, which is very laudable, and makes them ſome amends for living, as it were, out of the World. As to the Produce of this Colony, it conſiſts of Furs, eſpecially Caſtors, which they purchaſe from the *Indians*; in ſeveral kind of Hides or Skins, which they likewiſe purchaſe from the Natives; in Fiſheries, which, however, are of no great Conſequence; in ſome Sorts of Drugs, and in what we call Lumber, that is, Planks, Pipe-ſtaves, and other things of that Nature. The greateſt Part of the Commerce of the Country is carried on in light Canoes, made of Bark, proper for the navigating their Lakes and Rivers, incumbered with Water-falls, which render them unfit for other kind of Veſſels; ſo that whatever Improvements are made here, no Increaſe of Shipping or Seamen can poſſibly be expected from them. In Winter they make uſe of a kind of Sledges, which are drawn either by Horſes, or by Dogs, and are very proper for paſſing over vaſt Tracts of Snow and Ice, and enable them to continue their Commerce with the *Indians* all the Winter; which, however, the *French* tell us, is attended with one great Inconveniency.

The Perſons who carry on this Trade muſt have Licences granted by the Governors, which are confined to a certain Number every Year; and though this brings them in large Sums, yet by hindering the Reſort of *Indians* to their Fairs in the Summer, when every Man is at Liberty to make the moſt of his Goods, this Practice turns to the Prejudice of the Colony in general. The *Normans* were the firſt who ingroſſed the Trade of *Canada*, and for many Years there were no Ships ſeen in the River of *St. Laurence*, but from *Rouen*, *Dieppe*, and *Havre de Grace*. The Trade then fell into the Hands of the Inhabitants of *St. Malo*'s and *Nantes*, and laſt of all it is become, in a great Meaſure, the Property of the People of *Rochelle*, except that ſome Ships are ſent from *Bourdeaux* and *Bayonne*, which are freighted with Wines, Brandies, Tobacco, and all Sorts of Iron and Steel Wares.

There are two Seaſons in which Ships ſail from *France* to this Country, *viz.* towards the End of *April*, or the Beginning of *May*, and at the Cloſe of *Auguſt*, or Beginning of *September*; the Reaſon of which is, that they may arrive as the Ice is juſt broke, or a little before it is formed, for with reſpect to the reſt of the Year, there is no going thither. The Veſſels employed in this Trade export all their Goods from *France* Cuſtom-free, neither are they liable to any Duties in *Canada*, except for Brazil Tobacco; upon which there is five Pence a Pound, or about twenty Shillings Sterling *per* hundred Weight; the Cargo of theſe Veſſels is pretty much the ſame with what is ſent to the *French* Iſlands, and as we ſhall ſpeak of them hereafter, there is no heed of mentioning them here; but it is proper to obſerve, that Tobacco, Sugar, and ſome other *Weſt Indian* Commodities, make a Part of thoſe Cargoes, the Soil and Climate of *Canada* not allowing its Inhabitants to raiſe any of theſe Commodities for their own Uſe; and we muſt likewiſe remark, that for the ſame Reaſon there is a Difference in the Woollen Goods exported thither, coarſe Cloths being ſent to *Canada*, and thin and light Stuffs to the Iſlands; the Profits upon theſe Goods are very large, ſeldom leſs than fifty *per Cent.* and thoſe that go off beſt are of leaſt Uſe, ſuch as Ribbands, Laces, Snuff-Boxes, Watches, Rings, Necklaces, and ſuch kind of things, of which there are never too many, though they are commonly ſold for four times their Worth, all Charges included.

As ſoon as the Veſſels arrive at *Quebec*, the Merchants there ſend away the greateſt Part of their Cargoes that are fit for the *Indian* Trade to *Montreal*, and the three Rivers, where they have Factors; but the fineſt Goods, more eſpecially thoſe before-mentioned, remain at *Quebec*, and are ſold amongſt the *French* themſelves; all theſe different Sorts of Merchandize are paid for in Money, in Bills of Exchange upon the Merchants of *Rochelle*, in Furs, or in Lumber.

It muſt, however, be obſerved, that it is ſeldom or never theſe Ships return full laden into *France*, becauſe the Colony does not produce what is ſufficient for that Purpoſe; and therefore, that their Voyages may turn to Account, they generally run down to *Cape Breton*, and there take on board a large Quantity of Coal for the *French* Sugar Iſlands, where they are ſure to complete their Cargoes with Eaſe. We may gather from all this, that whatever our own, or the *French*, Writers may ſay upon this Head, the Advantages received from *Canada*, by the *French*, are very far from being ſo great as moſt People imagine. If ever there is any Money in the Colony, it comes thither from *France*, in virtue of the Eſtabliſhment on the King's Account; this amounts to about one hundred thouſand Crowns of their Money, which makes ſomewhat more than twelve thouſand Pounds of ours, which is generally drawn off again by the Over-Balance of their Trade with *Old France*. This royal Eſtabliſhment accounts likewiſe, for the Bills of Exchange, but at the ſame Time it moſt evidently ſhews that this cannot be accounted a thriving Colony, when it cannot bear its own Expences, or even keep a Part of the Money that is ſent thither to pay the King's Officers; for it appears by the beſt Accounts that can be had from thence, that the running Caſh of *Canada* amounts but to a very inconſiderable Sum, and is ſometimes reduced even ſo low as a thouſand Crowns, and there is always three fourths of that at *Quebec*. The Calculations of the whole Trade of *Canada* are ſo various, that there is no reckoning upon any of them with tolerable Security; but I perſuade myſelf that I rather exceed than fall ſhort, in my Computation, when I eſtimate the Amount of this Trade at eight hundred thouſand Livres a Year, or at thirty-five or thirty-ſix thouſand Pounds Sterling.

The Reader will eaſily ſee from hence, that the Calculations, with reſpect to the People in *Canada*, which we have taken from *French* Authors, are exceſſive, and that after all there cannot be above half the Number of Souls they ſpeak of. The Danger, therefore, of our Colonies, does not at all ariſe from the Trade carried on between *Old* and *New France*, but from the Number of Inhabitants in the latter; who, while they can ſubſiſt themſelves there, will be always very dangerous and troubleſome Neighbours, and therefore we need not wonder that the People of *New England* are ſo uneaſy about them; but could we once people *Nova Scotia*, and ſecure the Poſſeſſion of the Iſland of *Cape Breton*, I muſt confeſs that, in my Opinion, our Fears would be ſoon over, ſince the Trade between *Old* and *New France*, in the Space of a few Years, would be leſſened half, and perhaps in a few Years more would decline to little or nothing.

8. While the *French* were in Poſſeſſion of *Acadia*, or *Nova Scotia*, they raiſed that Colony to a much greater Degree of Perfection, than they are ever like to do *Canada*; and, indeed, a great Part of the Trade of the latter was owing to the former, and to the Settlement of *Cape Breton*; the Loſs that the *French* have ſuffered by the Ceſſions made to us by the Treaty of *Utrecht*, and the true State of their Affairs in this Part of the World and ours, will beſt appear from the following Account taken from Father *Charlevoix*, who is, beyond Compariſon, the moſt accurate Writer that I have ever met with upon this Subject; the Perſon who knew moſt, and has ſhewn the greateſt Sincerity in ſpeaking what he knew, and not over-valuing things, as is the Cuſtom with moſt of

the Writers of his Nation, and, indeed, of all other Nations, when ſpeaking of their own Concerns.

By the Ceſſion of *Acadia* and *Placentia*, ſays he, to the *Engliſh*, there remained to *France* no other Place to carry on the Fiſhery of Cod Fiſh, or at leaſt to dry their Fiſh in, but the Iſland of *Cape Breton*, which is now only known by the Name of *Iſle Royal*; this Iſland is ſituated between 45 and 47 Degrees of North Latitude, and forms with the Iſland of *Newfoundland* (from which it is diſtant but about fifteen Leagues) the Entrance of the Gulph of *St. Laurence*; the Streight which ſeparates *Cape Breton* from *Acadia*, is about five common Leagues of *France* in Length, and about one in Breadth, it is called the Paſſage of *Fronſac*. The Length of the Iſland, from North-eaſt to South-weſt, is not quite fifty Leagues; its Figure is irregular, and it is in ſuch a Manner cut through by Lakes and Rivers, that the two principal Parts of it hold together only by an Iſthmus of about eight hundred Paces in Breadth, which Neck of Land ſeparates the Bottom of *Port Toulouſe* from ſeveral Lakes, which are called *Labrador*. The Lakes empty themſelves into the Sea to the Eaſt, by two Channels of unequal Breadth, which are formed by the Iſlands *Verderronne*, and *la Boularderie*, which is from ſeven to eight Leagues long. The Climate of this Iſland is pretty much the ſame with that of *Quebec*, and although Miſts and Fogs are more frequent here, yet no one complains that the Air is unwholeſome. All the Lands here are not good, nevertheleſs they produce Trees of all Sorts. There are Oaks of a prodigious Size, Pines for Maſts, and all Sorts of Timber fit for Carpenters Work; the moſt common Sorts, beſides the Oak, are the Cedar, Aſh, Maple, Plane Tree, and Aſpin; Fruits, particularly Apples, Pulſe, Herbs, and Roots; Wheat, and all other Grain neceſſary for Suſtenance; Hemp and Flax abound here leſs, but are every whit as good as in *Canada*.

It has been obſerved, that the Mountains may be cultivated up to the Tops, that the good Soil inclines always towards the South, and that it is covered from the North and North-weſt Winds by the Mountains which border upon the River *St. Laurence*. All the domeſtic Animals, ſuch as Horſes, Horned-cattle, Hogs, Sheep, Goats, and Poultry, pick up a good Living here. What is got by Hunting, Shooting, and Fiſhing, is able to maintain the Inhabitants a good Part of the Year. This Iſland abounds in Coal-pits, which are in the Mountains, conſequently the Trouble and Expence of digging deep, and making Drains to carry off the Water, are generally ſaved; here is likewiſe Plaiſter in great Abundance; 'tis ſaid that there is no Part of the World where more Cod-fiſh is caught, nor where there is ſo good Conveniency for drying it; formerly this Iſland was full of Deer, they are now very ſcarce, particularly Elks; Partridges are here almoſt as large as Pheaſants, and in their Feathers not unlike them: In a Word, the Fiſhery of Sea Pike, Porpoiſes, *&c.* is in great Abundance here, and carried on with great Eaſe.

All its Ports open to the Eaſt, turning a little to the South, and within the Space of fifty-five Leagues, beginning at *Port Dauphin*, and continuing to *Port Toulouſe*, which is almoſt at the Entrance of the Paſſage of *Fronſac*. In all other Ports of the Iſland it is difficult to find Anchorage for ſmall Veſſels, in ſmall Creeks, or amongſt the Iſlands. All the Northern Coaſts are very high, and almoſt inacceſſible; and it is very difficult to land on the Weſtern Coaſt, till you come to the Paſſage of *Fronſac*, out of which you are no ſooner got, but you meet with the *Port Toulouſe*, known formerly by the Name of *St. Peter*. This Port is ſtrictly between a kind of Gulph (which is called *Little St. Peter's*) and the Iſland *St. Peter* over againſt the Iſlands *Madame*, or *Maurepas*. From thence aſcending towards the South-eaſt, you find the Bay of *Gaborie*, of which the Entrance (which is near twenty Leagues Diſtance from *St. Peter's* Iſland) is a League broad, between Iſlands and Rocks. It is not very ſafe to come near theſe Iſlands, ſome of which advance a League and a half into the Sea. This Bay is two Leagues deep, and the Anchorage very good.

The Harbour of *Louiſburgh*, formerly called the *Engliſh Harbour*, is not above a League from the above Bay, and is, perhaps, one of the fineſt in *America*; it is near four Leagues in Circumference, and every where there are ſix or ſeven Fathom Water; the Anchorage is very good, and you may, without Danger, run a Ship aground upon the Mud. The Entrance is not above two hundred Fathoms wide, and lies between two ſmall Iſlands: It is diſcovered at the Diſtance of twelve Leagues at Sea, by the Cape of *Lorembec*, which is but at a ſmall Diſtance from it, to the North-eaſt. Two Leagues farther up is the *Port de la Baleine*, the Entrance of which is very difficult, occaſioned by many Rocks which the Sea covers when it runs high; no Ships of greater Burden than three hundred Tons can go into it, but they are quite ſafe there when they are got in. From thence, in leſs than the Diſtance of two Leagues, you come to the Bay of *Penadou*, or *Medanou*, the Entrance of which is about a League broad, and the Bay itſelf is about two Leagues deep. Almoſt over againſt this Bay, is the Iſland *Scatari* (formerly called *Little Cape Breton*) which is above two Leagues long; the Bay of *Mire* is ſeparated from it by a very narrow Neck of Land; the Entrance of this Bay is likewiſe near two Leagues wide, and it is, at leaſt, eight Leagues deep: It grows narrower the further you go into it; however, large Ships may go into it about ſix Leagues, and find there good Anchorage under Cover of the Hills.

Beſides the Iſland of *Scatari*, there are many other ſmall ones, and Rocks, which the Sea never covers, but may be diſcovered a great Way off. The largeſt of the Rocks is called the *Forillon*; the Bay of *Morienne* is higher up, ſeparated from the Bay of *Mire*, by the *Cape Brule*; and a little higher is *l' Iſle Plate*, or *l' Iſle a Pierre de Fuſil*, directly in the Longitude of 46 Degrees 8 Minutes. There is, between all theſe Iſlands and Rocks, very good Shelter, and you may go amongſt them, and near them, without Fear or Danger. From hence proceeding for about three Leagues to the North weſt, you find a very good Harbour, which is called *l'Indiane*, but is fit only for ſmall Veſſels; from thence to the Bay *des Eſpagnols* there are two Leagues. This Bay is a very fine Harbour; its Entrance is but about one thouſand Paces wide, but it grows wider, and at the Height of a League divides itſelf into two Branches, which may be ſailed up for two Leagues; both theſe Branches are excellent Ports, which might be made better at a very ſmall Expence. From this Bay, to the leſſer Entrance of *Labrador*, is a Gulph about twenty Leagues long, and is above three or four wide in its greateſt Breadth. It is counted a League and a half from the large Entrance of *Labrador* to *Port Dauphin*, or *St. Anne*, and you may come to an Anchor almoſt any where amongſt the Iſlands of *Cibou*; a Neck of Land almoſt entirely covers the Port, and leaves Room for no more than for one Ship at a Time to go in. The *Port Dauphin* is about two Leagues in Circumference, and Ships hardly feel the Wind there, by reaſon of the Height of the Mountains which ſurround it. They may come as near the Shore as they pleaſe. All the Harbours and Ports being ſo near each other, it would be very eaſy to make Roads by Land from one to the other; and nothing could be more advantageous to the Inhabitants, than theſe Communications, which would ſave them the Trouble in the Winter Seaſon of going ſo far about by Sea.

This is the Deſcription given of this Iſland in general, by the above-mentioned Jeſuit, who has been a long time there, pretends to be very exact in his Enquiries, and publiſhed his Hiſtory a very little while before this important Iſland was conquered by the *Engliſh* Nation: He afterwards proceeds to deſcribe more particularly ſome of the above Ports, ſuch as that of *Louiſburgh*, and that of *St. Anne* or *Port Dauphin*.

After the Ceſſion of *Placentia* and *Acadia* to the Crown of *England*, it is certain, the *French* had no other Place where they could dry their Fiſh, or even fiſh in Safety, but the Iſland of *Cape Breton*; they were therefore drove by Neceſſity to ſettle an Eſtabliſhment there, and to fortify it. They began by changing its Name, and called it the *Royal*; they next debated upon the Choice of a proper Place to ſettle the general Quarters in, and they were for a long time divided between *Louiſburgh* and *Port Dauphin*. It has been already ſaid, that the former is one of the fineſt Harbours in all *America*, that it has near four Leagues in Circumference, that there is Anchorage that is good, and that one may run a Ship a-ground in the Mud, without Danger. Its Entrance is not two hundred Fathoms wide between two little Iſlands, which may eaſily defend it, by having Batteries erected on them.

The Cod-fiſhing is there very abundant, and one may fiſh from the Beginning of the Month of *April* to the End of *December*; but then it was ſaid, that the Land about this Port is barren, and that it would coſt immenſe Sums to fortify it, becauſe all the Materials muſt be brought a great way; beſides which it had it ſeems been remarked, that there was no ſandy Bottom in this Harbour for more than about forty fiſhing Veſſels. It has likewiſe been obſerved, that the Port *St. Anne*, or *Dauphin*, has a ſure and ſafe Road for Ships at its Entrance, amongſt the Iſlands of *Cibou*; and that a Neck of Land, almoſt entirely ſhuts up the Port, leaving a Paſſage for no more than one Veſſel at a time.

This Port, thus ſhut up, has near two Leagues Circumference, in an oval Form; Ships may here lie juſt as they pleaſe; for the Land and the Mountains that ſurround it, keep off the Winds in ſuch a manner that they are hardly felt. They who were for opening this Port for the chief Settlement alledged, that it might be rendered impregnable at an eaſy Rate; that more might be done here for two thouſand Livres, than at *Louiſburgh* for two hundred thouſand; becauſe every thing neceſſary for building a large City, and fortifying it, was at Hand. It is further certain, that this ſandy Bottom is as extenſive here as at *Placentia*; that the Fiſhing is very good; that there is a great Quantity of excellent Timber about this Place, ſuch as Maple, Beech, and Wild Cherry-tree, but above all, Oaks of above thirty Feet high, fit for Building, *&c.* It is likewiſe true, that Marble is here very common; that the Lands are generally good; that about the great and ſmaller Entrances of *Labrador*, which are about the Diſtance of a League and a Half, its Soil is very good. In a Word, this Port is but four Leagues from the Bay of *Eſpaniola*, which is likewiſe a very good Harbour, where the Lands are excellent, and covered with Woods, fit for almoſt all Uſes: It is true, that here is no fiſhing in ſmall Boats, on Account of the weſterly Winds which generally blow here, but one may fiſh here, as in *New England*, in large ones; the only Inconveniency in *Port St. Anne* is, that the Entrance is difficult, and this Inconveniency alone determined the Controverſy in favour of *Louiſburgh*, where, ſays he, neither Pains nor Expence have been ſpared to render it both convenient and impregnable. With reſpect to the former, this Author was right; but in regard to the latter, Experience ſhews us that he was abſolutely in the wrong.

The *French* reaped many great Advantages from their Poſſeſſion of this Iſland, and promiſed themſelves many more; which might, however, be all reduced to theſe three Points: Firſt, That this Iſland might be planted to great Advantage, as containing in itſelf Commodities of conſiderable Value; ſuch as Cod-fiſh, Oil, Coals, Plaiſter, Timber, and other Things. Secondly, it was capable of being made a Magazine, or Staple, between *Old* and *New France*, and of becoming thereby of very great Advantage to both. And laſtly, a Fiſhery might be erected there, or rather ſeveral Fiſheries, from whence vaſt Benefits might be derived. It was with a View to the Execution of all theſe Projects, that ſo great Care was taken of this Iſland, ſuch mighty Fortifications erected at a very large Expence, and ſuch Encouragement given to thoſe who would ſettle there. And as their Plan was well laid, I think there is very good Reaſon to believe that the *French* were actually great Gainers with reſpect to every one of the three Heads before laid down, but more eſpecially with regard to the laſt, though I am alſo of Opinion, that the Calculations that have been made of their Profits by their Fiſhery, the Numbers of their Ships, and Seamen employed therein, very much exceed the Truth; but at the ſame time I readily admit, that in the Space of a few Years, thoſe Calculations would have been made good.

The Inferences I would draw from all that has been ſaid on this Subject, are three, which I eſteem of very great Conſequence, as being perfectly ſatisfied in regard to the Truth of every one of them: The firſt is, that *Canada* conſidered independently, and by itſelf, never was, or ever can be, of any great Conſequence to the *French*, either as to its Product, its Commerce, or the Number of Shipping and Seamen that are, or can be, employed thereby. My next is, that *Nova Scotia* and *Cape Breton*, which I eſteem but one, the latter being but Part of the former, and belonged to us of Right as much as any of our Colonies, were of far greater Uſe and Benefit to *France*, than *Canada*, and the Poſſeſſion of them all that could poſſibly have rendered *Canada* itſelf of any Uſe or Importance, and were, therefore, very dangerous to us, and what we could never ſuffer to remain in *French* Hands, without being wanting to ourſelves, and ſacrificing, at once, our Honour and our Intereſt. Our Honour, as theſe Places were indiſputably Part of our *American* Dominions; our Intereſt, as they were the only Countries by the Poſſeſſion of which the *French* might be able to increaſe their naval Power, and become troubleſome to us in that Part of the World. The third Obſervation I have to make is, That as Providence has put it in our Power to remove theſe Inconveniencies, and to rid ourſelves of theſe Dangers, it would be inexcuſable in us not to take the utmoſt Care to improve the Advantages gained in this War, or to neglect ſecuring them, when a general Peace ſhall be made; becauſe by this means we may be entirely ſafe, and *France* can have no Right to expect we ſhould reſtore what we always claimed as our own, and what ſhe kept only by deceiving or deluding our Miniſters, at the making the laſt general Peace at *Utrecht*. A thing ſo notorious to this Nation, that there is no great Reaſon to fear any other Miniſtry will ever be guilty of the like Miſtake, with which Remarks I ſhall cloſe this Part of my Subject.

9. We have already obſerved, in the Account we gave of the Iſland of *St. Chriſtopher's*, that the *Engliſh* and *French* took Poſſeſſion of that Iſland the ſame Day, and from thence we are to date the Power of the *French* in the *Weſt Indies*. The Reader muſt remember, that the *Leeward Iſlands* were originally diſcovered by the great *Columbus*; but after the *Spaniards* had ſettled themſelves in *Cuba*, *Hiſpaniola*, *Porto Rico*, and other great Iſlands, they neglected the reſt; and it was the Knowledge that the *Engliſh* and *French* had of this that induced them to think of ſettling theſe leſſer Iſlands. It was in the Year 1625, that Sir *Thomas Warner*, on our Part, and Mr. *Deſnambue*, for the *French*, took Poſſeſſion of this Iſland; but, in the Space of two Years, both the *Engliſh* and the *French*, who agreed very well together, were attacked and driven out of the Iſland by the *Spaniards*, and this was more fatal to the *French* than to us; for our Colony, after a ſhort Time, returned; the *French* being once ſeparated, ſcattered themſelves through all the adjacent Iſlands, and began to apply themſelves to the very worſt Sort of Methods, in order to get a Living; and from this Accident, as the *French* Writers with great Probability affirm, ſprung up two Sorts of People, that proved afterwards the Curſe and Plague of the *Weſt Indies*. We generally ſpeak of them under one Name; but the *French* Writers ſeem to have diſtinguiſhed them rightly enough into *Boucaniers*, or, as we write it, *Buccaneers*, and *Flibruſtiers*, whom we call *Freebooters*. The firſt of theſe were a kind of Huntſmen, and conſiſted of ſuch of theſe People as ſettled on the North-ſide of the Iſland of *Hiſpaniola*, where, by killing wild Cattle of all ſorts, they obtained an indifferent Livelihood; but ſome of theſe People growing weary of the Hardſhips to which they were expoſed, applied themſelves to the *Dutch*, to whom they ſold their Skins, to furniſh them with Veſſels to cruize upon the *Spaniards*, which they very readily did, and thoſe Veſſels being originally Flyboats, the Privateers who made Uſe of them received their *French* Name from thoſe Veſſels; whereas we affirm from the Trade

they carry on of robbing and ſpoiling all they meet with, they had the Name of *Freebooters*, which, as I apprehend, means pretty much the ſame thing with Pirates.

But Mr. *Deſnambuc*, who was a Gentleman of a very good Family, was very far from being guilty of any thing of this ſort; but with thoſe that remained faithful to him returned to *St. Chriſtopher*'s, fortified himſelf there, and laid the Foundations of a good Colony, for the Support of which there was a Company already formed in *France*. He ſaw with extreme Regret, that Sir *Thomas Warner* had got the Start of him; that the *Engliſh* Colony was in a much better Condition than his own, and that they had already made themſelves Maſters of ſeveral of the adjacent Iſlands. He reſolved therefore, and indeed he had no other Choice to make, to ſend over ſome of the principal Perſons in his Colony to *France*, that they might ſecure Supplies, and chiefly with a View of ſettling the Iſland of *Guardaloupe*. Amongſt the Perſons he ſent over there was one Mr. *Olive*, a bold enterprizing Man, and one who had nothing in View but his own Intereſt. He had it ſeems ſome Notice of the *French* Governor's Deſign, in which he reſolved to ſupplant him; and having entered for that Purpoſe into a Treaty with one Mr. *du Pleſſis*, and ſome other Merchants of *Dieppe*, who formed a Company for the Support of this Scheme; theſe two were ſent over Governors, with joint Authority to the Iſland of *Guardaloupe*, where they arrived on the 8th of *June* 1635, with about five hundred Men. It ſo fell out that in the very Beginning of their Enterprize they committed two Miſtakes; the firſt was, they ſettled on the wrong Side the Iſland, where the Soil was very bad; the ſecond, that they fell out with the Natives before their Colony was in a Condition to ſubſiſt. The bad Conſequences that actually attended theſe Errors, and the Foreſight he had of what muſt certainly follow, ſoon broke the Heart of Mr. *du Pleſſis*. As for Mr. *Olive*, who was now ſole Governor, his Haughtineſs and Pride had certainly brought the Colony to Ruin, if he had not fallen blind. Upon which the Company ſent over one Mr. *Aubert*, a very diſcreet and prudent Gentleman, who, in a few Years time, put the Affairs of this Colony into Order, and eſtabliſhed it ſo effectually, that the Inhabitants have ſubſiſted very happily ever ſince. But though Mr. *Deſnambuc* had the Misfortune to ſee this Country thus taken out of his Hands; yet he had the Pleaſure before his Death to ſettle the Iſland of *Martinico*, of which, by that Means, he became Proprietor, and by his Laſt Will and Teſtament left it to his Family.

At this time Cardinal *Richlieu* came to the Head of the *French* Councils; and having received an Account of the Advantages that were like to ariſe from the ſettling of theſe Iſlands, he thought proper to ſend over a Perſon of Diſtinction, to take the Direction of the whole Iſland, and accordingly made choice of Mr. *de Poincy*, a Knight of *Malta*, whom he ſent over thither, with the Title of Governor and Lieutenant General of the Iſlands in *America*: He embarked at *Dieppe* on the 15th of *January*, 1639, and after a very ſhort Paſſage arrived at *Martinico*, from whence he went to *Guardaloupe*, and afterwards to *St. Chriſtopher*'s. He was a Man of very great Parts, had read much, and was well acquainted with the World; and with all this he had the Qualities that rendered him the fitteſt Man in the World for his Office: He was very ſevere in the Execution of his Authority againſt thoſe who were for making haſty Eſtates, at the Expence of the Public: He was extremely kind and good to the induſtrious Part of the Inhabitants who were willing to diſcharge their Duty, and let their private fortunes depend upon the flouriſhing State of the Colonies: He had a true Notion of Religion, cauſed Churches to be built in all the Iſlands, took care that the Prieſts were well maintained; but would have no Monaſteries or Monks: He eſtabliſhed alſo an excellent Form of Juſtice, granted Commiſſions to Privateers, and hanged up Pirates with very little Ceremony. His Concern for the public Good was ſo apparent, that without any Aſſiſtance from the *French* Government he was in a manner abſolute, and his Orders were obeyed with the utmoſt Alacrity, becauſe the People were ſenſible that he had nothing in view but their Intereſt. In ſhort, he changed the whole Face of Things in that Part of the World, ſettled deſart Iſlands, and though he made many hundreds of People rich and happy, contented himſelf with the Pleaſure of doing it, without making any Fortune of his own.

But after the Death of Cardinal *Richlieu*, and the Diſturbances that followed in *France*, the Colonies ſunk, by the ill Management of the Company; and then the Chevalier *de Poincy*, in the Year 1651 purchaſed the Iſlands of *St. Chriſtopher*, *St. Bartholomew*, *St. Martin*, and of the *Holy Croſs*, for the Order of *Malta*. In the like Manner other Iſlands were diſpoſed of by the *French* Company, to ſuch as would give any thing for them; which, as may be eaſily conceived, was of very bad Conſequence, and brought the Affairs of the *French*, in that Part of the World, into a very ſtrange Situation. The *Dutch*, always attentive to their own Intereſt, takeing notice of the Condition things were in, eſtabliſhed Magazines at *Fluſhing* and *Middlebourgh*, for *Weſt India* Commodities; and employed, in the Trade of the *French* Iſlands, upwards of one hundred Ships every Year. This continued till about the Year 1664, when a new Company was ſet up in *France*, which, with the Aſſiſtance of the Government, purchaſed back from the Iſland of *Malta*, and from the other Proprietors, the Rights that they had acquired, put an End to the *Dutch* Trade, and brought the Commerce of the Colonies once more into a right Channel, which was what the Government had chiefly at Heart; for when after ten Years Poſſeſſion of their Grant, they began to increaſe their own Profit, by Methods prejudicial to the People, the Miniſtry thought fit to interpoſe again; and as they had made uſe of the Company to deliver the Inhabitants from the Oppreſſion of Foreigners; ſo when once it was diſcovered, that they meant to become Oppreſſors themſelves, that was put out of their Power, and every thing ſo ſettled, that ſuch as were diligent and induſtrious might be ſecure of reaping the Fruits of their own Labours, and the Profits of the Trade in general be ſecured to the *French* Nation. Theſe new Regulations took Place about the Year 1680; ſince which, the *French* Iſlands have been in a very flouriſhing Condition, and are, at this Day, of very high Conſequence to the Crown of *France*, as they contribute greatly to the promoting Manufactures at home, and are the Source of a very extenſive and profitable Commerce abroad.

10. This general View of the Manner in which theſe Iſlands were firſt ſettled and ſecured to *France* being given, we ſhall next proceed to a very ſhort Account of the Iſlands themſelves, as they lie from South to North; and then we ſhall give a more particular Detail of their Commodities, which will ſhew the general Value and Importance of theſe Settlements, and rectify ſome Miſtakes that have been made about them; a thing as uſeful and neceſſary to us, as to the *French* themſelves.

To begin then with *Granada*; it is ſituated in 12 Degrees North Latitude, about thirty Leagues South-weſt of *Barbadoes*, and about the ſame Diſtance North of *Caribiana*, or *New Andaluſia*; this Iſland is twenty-five Leagues in Circumference, and has ſeveral good Bays and Harbours, ſome of which are fortified. It is eſteemed a fruitful Soil, and well watered; producing Sugar, and ſuch other Plants as are found in the reſt of the *Caribbee Iſlands*; there are abundance of very ſmall Iſlands that lie at the North End of *Granada*, which are called the *Granadillas*.

Martinico is ſituated between 14 and 15 Degrees of North Latitude, and in 61 Degrees of Weſtern Longitude, lying about forty Leagues North-weſt of *Barbadoes*. It is twenty Leagues in Length, but of an unequal Breadth; the inland Part of it hilly, and, at a Diſtance, appears like three diſtinct Mountains, being exceedingly well watered by numerous Rivulets, which fall from the Hills; and there are ſeveral commodious Bays and Harbours on the Coaſt, ſome of them ſo well fortified, that they bid defiance to the *Engliſh*, when they made a Deſcent there, with ſeveral thouſand Men in the laſt War. They were forced to return to the Ships after they had burnt and plundered ſome Plantations in the open Country. The Produce of this Iſland is the ſame with that of *Barbadoes*, *viz.* Sugar, Cotton, Ginger, Indico, Aloes, Piemento, *&c.* and as it is much larger, it has many more Inhabitants, and produces greater Quantities of Sugar than *Barbadoes*. This Iſland was repleniſhed with *Indians*, when the *French* firſt attempted to ſettle here, *anno* 1635, and many Battles were fought between them and the Natives, with various Succeſs. But the *French*, at laſt, overpowered and extirpated the ancient Inhabitants, and it is now the Chief of all the *French Caribbee Iſlands*, and the Seat of their Governor-General.

Marigalante is ſituated in 16 Degrees North Latitude, a little to the South-weſt of *Guardaloupe*, and is about five Leagues in Length, and four in Breadth: It was diſcovered by *Columbus*, in his ſecond Voyage to *America*, *anno* 1493, and named by him *Marigalante*, or the *Gallant Mary*, after the Name of his Ship. The *French* began to ſend Colonies thither about the Year 1647; and having expelled the Natives, after ſeveral Years Wars, the *French* remained in the peaceable Poſſeſſion of this Iſland, the Produce of which is the ſame with the reſt of the *Caribbees*.

Guardaloupe, ſo named by *Columbus*, from its Hills reſembling thoſe of that Name in *Spain*, is ſituated in 16 Degrees North Latitude, and 61 Degrees of Weſtern Longitude, about thirty Leagues North of *Martinico*, and almoſt as much South of *Antigua*. It is ſaid to be the largeſt of all the *Caribbee Iſlands*, being twenty-two Leagues in Length, and half as much in Breadth at each End; but almoſt cut in two by a deep Gulph or Bay on each Side, ſo that the Ends are joined together by a narrow Iſthmus. This, like *Martinico*, abounds in Sugar, Cotton, Indigo, Ginger, *&c.* and is in a very flouriſhing Condition, and agreeable to the Conſequence it is of to the *French*, they have taken Care to fortify it with ſeveral regular Forts and Redoubts, which were in ſo good a Condition, when the *Engliſh* Admiral *Benbow* made a Deſcent here, with a conſiderable Body of Land Forces, *anno* 1702, that he did not think fit to attack them; but he deſtroyed a great many of their Plantations, and open Villages. The *French* began to ſend Colonies to this Iſland about the Year 1632, but knew ſo little what the Soil was good for then, that for many Years they were in Danger of ſtarving; and afterwards the Planters, by their Diviſions, almoſt ruined one another; ſo that this Iſland did not make any great Figure till the preſent Century; ſince the Beginning of which it has vaſtly increaſed, and makes more Sugar now than any of the *Britiſh Iſlands*, except *Jamaica*.

Deſiada or *Deſerada*, the deſirable Iſland, ſo called by *Columbus*, becauſe it was the firſt Land he diſcovered in his ſecond Voyage to *America*, *anno* 1493. It is ſituated about ten Leagues North-eaſt of *Guardaloupe*, a little inconſiderable Iſland, not ſo fruitful as ſome others which belong to the *French*. *St. Bartholomew*'s is a ſmall Iſland, about ten Leagues North of *St. Chriſtopher*'s, taken by the *Engliſh*, under the Command of Sir *Timothy Thornhill*, in the Year 1689, but reſtored to the *French* at the Peace of *Ryſwick*. *St. Croix*, or *Santa Cruz*, another ſmall Iſland, ſituate in 17 Degrees 30 Minutes North Latitude, about twenty Leagues Eaſt of *St. Chriſtopher*'s, and has been contended for by the *Engliſh*, *Dutch*, *Spaniards*, and *French*; but it is now in the peaceable Poſſeſſion of the *French Weſt India* Company. *St. Martin*'s, another Iſland of no great Conſequence, belonging to the *French*, ſituate a little to the North-weſt of *St. Bartholomew*'s.

The Iſland of *Martinico* is the chief of the *French* Settlements: The Governor-General, and Intendant, reſide there; it is alſo the Seat of the ſovereign Council, which has Juriſdiction, not only throughout the *Antilles*, but alſo over the *French* Settlements in *St. Domingo* and *Tortugo*. The Number of People in this Iſland, by which we are obliged to compute the reſt, are affirmed to be ten thouſand Whites, and twenty thouſand Negroes. It appears from hence, that the *French* are very numerous in theſe Iſlands, and though they have been expoſed to many and great Difficulties in raiſing and eſtabliſhing theſe Plantations, yet they are now brought to a very fair and flouriſhing Condition, carry on a great Trade, and are daily improved. The principal Commodity they raiſe at preſent in theſe Iſlands, is Sugar, whereas formerly it was Tobacco. Mr. *de Poincy*, before-mentioned, was the firſt who taught them the Art of raiſing the Sugar-cane, and curing the Juice of it. He was a Man of ſuch extraordinary Genius, that he improved upon the Methods then in Uſe at *Brazil*, and the *Madeiras*; the Mills he cauſed to be erected, were ſtronger, neater, and better fitted for Uſe; and his Furnaces likewiſe were contrived to much greater Advantage; ſo that he not only introduced it, but carried the Art of Sugar-making to a very high Degree of Perfection. Beſides Sugar, they raiſe alſo a great deal of Indigo, in which they did not ſo ſoon ſucceed as in Sugar; which, I find, the *French* Writers attribute to the intolerable Stench with which the making that Commodity is attended. But they were more happy in raiſing Cotton, which requires very little Pains or Labour.

They alſo cultivate Cacao to great Advantage, and draw conſiderable Profit from the Ginger, Caſſia, and Piemento, which is what we call *Jamaica* Pepper, or All-ſpice, of which they export conſiderable Quantities. They likewiſe manufacture Rocou, for the Uſe of Dyers, and ſend home Variety of medicinal Gums, and wet Sweet-meats of ſeveral kinds. Theſe Iſlands produce alſo ſeveral kinds of valuable Woods, which are uſed for dying, inlaying, and Cabinet-work; ſuch as Roſe-wood, which, when wrought and poliſhed, has a very beautiful Appearance, as well as a fine Smell. The *Indian* Wood is alſo of the ſame Nature, and the Iron Wood, ſo called from its being exceſſively hard, is eſteemed preferable either to Cedar or Cypreſs; Brazil-Wood they have in great Quantities, and Brazilleto, yellow Wood, or Fuſtick, and green Ebony, which is both uſed by the Cabinet-Makers and the Dyers. We may add to theſe Commodities, raw Hides, and Tortoiſe-ſhell, and then the Reader will have a tolerable Comprehenſion of all the Wealth and Riches of the *French Weſt Indies*. But to execute our Deſign effectually, it is neceſſary we ſhould give an Account of the Commerce of theſe Iſlands, which is what we ſhall endeavour to do in as few Words as poſſible, and in ſuch a Method, as may take in the full Extent of their Trade, a thing that has not hitherto been attempted, at leaſt in our Language.

11. In the firſt Place then, it is to be conſidered, that though theſe Iſlands produce ſo many rich and valuable Commodities, yet they ſtand in need of very large Supplies of various Kinds of Neceſſaries, without which they could not poſſibly ſubſiſt, ſuch as Horſes, and Cattle of all Kinds; Corn, Roots, dry Fiſh, and all ſorts of Lumber, of which they receive conſiderable Quantities from *Canada*, and the reſt from our Northern Colonies, in Exchange for Sugar, Tobacco, Indigo, and other Goods, which are ſent to *Canada*, and for Melaſſes or Moloſſes, to our Colonies, where it is diſtilled into Rum, of which Kind of Commerce we have ſpoken largely elſewhere, and therefore there is no need that we ſhould dwell upon it here. The Inhabitants of this Iſland ſtand always in want of Negroes, with which they were formerly ſupplied by their own *African* and *Senegal* Companies, which, as we have already ſhewn, have been long ago united to the *French Eaſt-India* Company, by whom this Slave-Trade is now carried on with great Regularity, and much Profit. The Negroes are ſent to *Martinico*, where they are purchaſed by the Inhabitants of the other Iſlands, at a ſettled Price of ſo many Hogſheads of Sugar a Head, as in the *Spaniſh* Ports they are bought for ſo many Pieces of Eight.

Before we ſpeak of the direct Trade between thoſe Iſlands and *France*, it will be proper to give a ſhort Account of the Quantities of Sugar, that, according to the beſt Computations, are raiſed in them; becauſe this being the Staple Commodity, it will enable us to form ſome ſort of Notion of the whole Extent and Value of their Exports. In *Martinico* it is computed that they make, one Year with another, ten thouſand Hogſheads of Sugar, each of about ſix hundred Weight; in *Guardaloupe*, about four thouſand Hogſheads; and in the other Iſlands, about one thouſand Hogſheads all together. The *French* employ in this Trade annually between two and three hundred Ships, from the Burden of one hundred to three hundred Tons. The time in which they ſail from *France* is between *September* and *February*, that they may avoid as much as poſſible the Hurricanes, and arrive in a fit Seaſon for compleating their Cargoes.

The Veſſels from *Rochelle* and *Bourdeaux* are, generally ſpeaking, laden with ſalt Beef and Pork, Flour, Brandy, all ſorts of Wines of the Growth of that Part of *France*, and alſo *Madeira*, which they take in at that Iſland; dried Cod, pickled Herrings, Oil, Cheeſe, Butter, Tallow, Iron, Linen, and moſt ſorts of Mercery Goods. The Ships from *Rouen* ſeldom carry Proviſions, but are freighted with Woollen and Linen Goods, Silk, Ribbons, Shoes, Stockings of all Sorts, Hats, Tin, Copper, and Braſs Ware; ſmall Arms, and Sword Blades, Pewter, Pins, Needles, Paper, Pens, Cards, and an infinite Number of other Things of the ſame Kind. The Ships from *Marſeilles* and *Toulon* are freighted with Oils, dried Fruit, Wines, and ſeveral Kinds of light Stuffs, that are manufactured in *Provence*. Thus we ſee what prodigious Advantages theſe Settlements bring to *France*, by encouraging Induſtry, employing a large Number of Ships, and conſequently raiſing and maintaining many hundreds of Seamen. It is no Wonder therefore that the *French* Government pay ſo much Attention to this important Branch of their Traffic, and are ſo careful in taking every poſſible Method to encourage theſe Colonies, and to protect their Trade, which, however, ſuffered conſiderably in the two laſt Wars, and ſtill more conſiderably at the Beginning of this.

As to the general Amount of their Trade, it is a very difficult thing to make ſo much as a probable Calculation, but if we may depend upon that of Mr. *Savary*, who was allowed to underſtand theſe Matters as well as any Man in *France*, the Goods exported from that Country riſe to the Value of about four Millions of Livres, or two hundred thouſand Pounds of our Money, annually; for which he computes they bring home very near double the Value in *Weſt India* Commodities; and if we take in the other Branches of Trade before-mentioned, we may fairly compute the Profits of theſe Iſlands at half a Million Sterling, provided the Calculations before-mentioned are tolerably exact.

We may venture, before we quit this Subject, to make ſome few Remarks, for the Service of the *Engliſh* Reader: As for inſtance, That it appears clearly from this Account, we were very conſiderable Gainers, by ſecuring to ourſelves that Part of the Iſland of *St. Chriſtopher*, which had been almoſt one hundred Years in the Poſſeſſion of the *French*, and in their Part of which they raiſed more and better Sugars than in any of the Iſlands they now poſſeſs, *Martinico* and *Guardaloupe* excepted; and perhaps we ſhould not carry the Matter too far, if we ſaid, more Sugar than in all their Iſlands, excluſive of thoſe before-mentioned. We may likewiſe obſerve of how great Conſequence it would be to us to plant the other Iſlands to which we lay claim; as this would increaſe our Trade and our Strength in that Part of the World, at the ſame time; and contribute alſo, in the time of a *French* War, to curb and annoy our Enemies. The *French* themſelves, for Reaſons that have been already aſſigned, do not ſeem very deſirous of extending their Plantations, and therefore cannot offer any juſt Reaſons why we ſhould be debarred any longer from ſettling thoſe Iſlands that belong to us, and which they do not deſire to ſettle themſelves. We may alſo conſider it as a Thing very practicable in any *French* War, to reduce theſe Iſlands to the greateſt Extremity, by the proper Diſtribution of our naval Force in the *Weſt Indies*, which in Proportion to the Value of their Commerce, would diſtreſs the Merchants in *France* to the laſt Degree, and give our own Colonies vaſt Advantages in ſupplying thoſe Markets which are at preſent ſupplied by the *French*; and there are ſome who are very good Judges of our Strength and theirs, who think theſe Iſlands might be entirely ruined by us in a few Years.

12. We reſerved the Iſland of *St. Domingo* to be treated of ſeparately, as being a diſtinct Government, and indeed a diſtinct Concern to the *French* from all their other Iſlands. When this Country was firſt diſcovered by *Columbus*, in 1492, it was called by the Inhabitants in their own Language *Ayty*; but their Followers gave it the Name of *Hiſpaniola*, or Little *Spain*; the Admiral himſelf intended to call it *Iſabella*; but the City he founded in 1494 being dedicated to St. *Dominic*, the Name was firſt extended to that Quarter, and, in Length of Time, to the whole Iſland; ſo that it is now equally well known in *Europe* and the *Weſt Indies*, by the Appellation of *St. Domingo*, and is generally ſo called in Charts: This Iſland is reckoned four hundred Leagues in Circumference; but if all the Creeks, Inlets, and Bays, be meaſured, it will be found ſix hundred at leaſt; it is allowed to be the moſt fruitful, and by much the pleaſanteſt, in the *Weſt Indies*; the Foreſts are vaſt in Extent, and the Trees taller and larger, the Fruit more lovely to the Eye, and better taſted than in the other Iſlands; the Meadows or Savannahs, as they are called, are extremely large, and in a manner boundleſs, in which there are innumerable Herds of Black Cattle that belong to the Country, as alſo wild Horſes, and wild Hogs, produced from the Stock of thoſe Animals brought over by the *Spaniards*. There is ſcarce a Country in the World better watered, either by ſmall Brooks or by navigable Rivers, all of which are full of Fiſh. Add to this, that there are many rich Mines of Gold, Silver, and Copper, which were formerly wrought with great Profit; but the *Spaniards* being now too weak to carry them on for their own Advantage, conceal them with all imaginable Care, to prevent any other Nation's driving them out, and reaping the Advantage of thoſe Treaſures which by their Indolence and ill Management are no longer in their Power.

The Reaſons that induced that Nation to abandon ſo rich and valuable a Country, were chiefly theſe: Firſt, the Severity of the Government; for the ſovereign Council of the *Indies* being eſtabliſhed at *St. Domingo*, kept the Inhabitants more within Bounds than in other Places. Secondly, the vaſt Riches gained by their Countrymen in *Mexico*, the Noiſe of which drew Numbers to forſake this Iſland, in Hopes of coming in for a Share of this Wealth that was to be had elſewhere. Thirdly, the great Demands for People to maintain and ſecure their Conqueſts on the Continent. Fourthly, the Deſtruction of the *Indians*, which put it out of the Power of the *Spaniards* to cultivate their Lands; for as yet, the Uſe of Negroes had not reached the *Spaniſh* Settlements; but was confined intirely to the *Portugueſe* in *Brazil*. And, laſtly, the Deſcents of the *Engliſh* and *French* on the weſtern Part of the Iſland, which by Degrees obliged the *Spaniards* to abandon all the Country between *Montchriſto* and *Cape Mongon*.

This made Way for the Settlement of the *Buccaneers* in thoſe Parts, but chiefly in the little Iſland of *Tortugo*, where they ſoon raiſed a kind of Settlement, which, however, the *Spaniards* deſtroyed in the Year 1638, with inexorable Cruelty; notwithſtanding which the *Buccaneers* were not hindred from returning, and reſettling in that Iſland, under the Command of Captain *Willes*, an *Engliſhman* of eſtabliſhed Reputation, whoſe Courage and Conduct ſoon put them out of Fear of being diſturbed by the *Spaniards*. It was not long however that they continued in this Situation, for Monſ. *de Poincy*, whom we have ſo often mentioned, thought fit to ſecure this Iſland for the *French*; and with that View ſent thither one Mr. *Vaſſeur*, with whom the *French Buccaneers* that were already in the Iſland joining, Capt. *Willes*, with the Forces under his Command, found himſelf under an abſolute Neceſſity of abandoning the Place.

This put the *French* in Poſſeſſion of it for that Time; but the *Spaniards* haraſſed them for many Years, and drove them out of the Iſland more than once; however, being conſtantly ſupported from their Iſlands, and being joined from Time to Time by Adventurers of all Nations, they ſtill kept up their Claim, and not only fixed themſelves effectually upon this little Iſland, but began alſo to make Settlements upon the Weſt End of *St. Domingo*; where, in twenty Years Time, they became ſo ſtrong, that the *Spaniards* were glad to live upon good Terms with them. Yet they never conſider them in any other Light, than as Uſurpers, and Men whom Force maintained in a Country to which they had no manner of Right. The Way in which the *French* ſettled themſelves was very ſingular, for they might well be divided, and, indeed, the *French* Hiſtorians have divided them into three very diſtinct Sorts of People.

Firſt, The *Buccaneers*, or Hunters, who, for the Conveniency of killing black Cattle, and ſelling their Skins, fixed upon the Continent of *Hiſpaniola*, and built ſome Villages for their Retreat, and ſeveral Fortreſſes for their Security. *Flibuſtiers*, or *Privateers*, who were furniſhed by Commiſſions from the *French* Governor of *Petit Guaves*, to cruize upon the *Spaniards*, and who were moſtly at Sea, ſometimes in ſmall Veſſels, every Crew upon its own Account, and ſometimes in large Squadrons with fifteen hundred or two thouſand Men on board them, but of all Nations, and who reſorted from Time to Time into the *French* Ports, to careen their Ships, diſpoſe of their Prizes, and to recruit. The third Sort of People were, Men of a more ſober way of Living, who ſettled in the Country, laid out Plantations, in which they raiſed Tobacco, and other valuable Commodities, whom the *French* therefore ſtile *Inhabitants*. Theſe three Sorts of People were very uſeful to each other; for the *Hunters* furniſhed Proviſions and Hides in vaſt Quantities; the *Privateers* brought in Prizes of great Value, and ſpent their Money very freely; and by enriching increaſed the Number of Inhabitants, ſo that in a ſhort Space of Time, the *French* extended their Settlements all along the South-weſt Coaſt of *St. Domingo*; and as for the Tortoiſe Iſland, ſo called from its being thought to reſemble that Animal, it was very thoroughly planted, and the Tobacco they raiſed there was very good, and grew into great Eſteem.

It is true, that in Time of Peace, both the *Spaniards* and the *Engliſh* complained loudly of the Conduct of the *French* Governors, under Colour of whoſe Commiſſions the Privateers committed great Diſorders, took Ships of all Nations, and diſturbed the whole Commerce of *America*. But the *French* did not give themſelves much Pain upon this Head; on the contrary, though they ſometimes gave good Words, and promiſed ſome Redreſs, yet they ſuffered the Governors to go on in the ſame Way, becauſe they found that it drew Numbers of People to their Settlements, and was like to ſecure them the Poſſeſſion of the Weſtern Part of *St. Domingo*. In 1664 they ſet up a particular Company for managing the Trade of theſe Parts, but that was ſoon found ineffectual; and therefore in about two Years Time they let it fall. It was not till the Year 1697 that they gained a legal Poſſeſſion of this Country, by the Treaty of *Ryſwick*, by which the *Spaniards* yielded to them one half of the Iſland; and the Boundaries between them and the *French* were ſettled, by a Line drawn croſs the Country, from North to South; ſo that the *French* enjoy all the Weſtern half of *St. Domingo*, which they have ſettled very effectually. In the Year 1726 the Number of People there was computed at thirty thouſand Whites, and one hundred thouſand Negroes, and Mulattoes. The principal Place they have on the North Side of the Iſland is *Cape Francoiſe*, which is very happily ſituated, and has a very good Port; the Town is large and well peopled, and is thought to contain four thouſand white, and as many Negro, Inhabitants; on the Weſt Side they have the Town and Port of *Leogane*, which is the Seat of the Government; and, beſides theſe, they have ſeveral other good Ports and great Towns.

The principal Trade of *St. Domingo*, for many Years, conſiſted in Tobacco, in which it is ſaid there have been from ſixty to one hundred Ships employed; but upon the eſtabliſhing an excluſive Farm of this Commodity in *France*, the Trade of *St. Domingo*, for that Commodity began to decline, and is, at laſt, ſunk to nothing. Inſtead of Tobacco, they fell to planting of Sugar, and though at firſt they met with ſome Difficulties, which was occaſioned by the too great Fertility of the Soil, yet theſe were ſoon got over, and Sugar became, in a ſhort Space of Time, the ſtaple Commodity of the Iſland; it is, in the Opinion of ſome, the very beſt Sugar made in the *Weſt Indies*, and, generally ſpeaking, yields three or four Shillings a hundred more, than the Sugar from any of their other Iſlands, which has occaſioned a ſurprizing Progreſs in the Cultivation of this Commodity in *St. Domingo*, which, in 1726, ſtood thus: There were then two hundred Sugar Works in the Iſland, which, it was computed, yielded, one with another, four hundred Hogſheads of Sugar, each Hogſhead of about five hundred Weight. At this Time Sugar yielded, upon the Spot, from twelve to thirteen Livres *per* hundred Weight; ſo that from this Computation, it appears that the Sugar of this Iſland produced the *French*, annually, about two hundred thouſand Pounds, and the Indigo is ſaid to produce near half as much; they raiſe, likewiſe, Cacao Ginger, and Cotton. Coffee grows there very well, and ſome are of Opinion, that Cinnamon, Clove, and Nutmeg Trees might be raiſed in this warm Climate; but the great Profit the Inhabitants make at preſent of their Sugar and Indigo, hinders them from running into any new Improvements; and as the *French* Ships that come hither return well laden with the Commodities beforementioned, and raw Hides, it is very probable they will continue to go on in the Way they are in, till ſuch Time as the Price of the Sugar falls conſiderably. The *French* are thoroughly perſuaded that there are conſiderable Mines of ſeveral Sorts in their Part of the Iſland, but as one of their Writers expreſſes it, while the Sugar Mine, and the Indigo Mine, produce ſo much, and with ſuch Certainty, they are never like to look for any other Mines.

Corn has been ſown here, but is ſaid to ripen at different Times, ſo that it cannot be reaped with any Profit; and though their Grapes are very fine, yet it is pretended they will neither make Wine, nor Raiſins; but the Truth of the Matter ſeems to be, that the Government diſcourages raiſing either, and this from very juſt and reaſonable Motives; for ſay they, if *France* takes off all the Sugar and Indigo, made by the Inhabitrnts of *St. Domingo*, it is but reaſonable that the People of that Colony ſhould take Corn and Wine from *France*; we may very well ſuppoſe, that from the ſame Motive they diſcourage Silk, of which the *Spaniards* made great Quantities, and very good. It is very apparent, from what has been ſaid of this Iſland, and what might be ſaid of it, that it is, beyond Compariſon, the moſt conſiderable, and moſt important, Colony, that the *French* have; which is the Reaſon they are ſo deſirous of obtaining the Ceſſion of the other half from the *Spaniards*; which, ſome Time or other, it is more than probable they will obtain, unleſs the other Powers of *Europe* provide againſt it, by a ſpecial Clauſe in their Treaties with the Houſe of *Bourbon*, which appears to me a Matter of the greateſt Conſequence.

For ſhould the *French* once carry their Point, and become ſole Maſters of this Iſland, we may very reaſonably believe, that in the Space of fifty or ſixty Years, it would become the richeſt and moſt valuable Country in that Part of the World, eſpecially if the *French* ſhould abandon their other Iſlands, and tranſport their Inhabitants thither; and even in that Caſe, there would be no Danger of its being over-peopled, and its Fertility is ſuch, that they would all find Room to exerciſe their Induſtry, and that Induſtry would be richly rewarded; beſides, this would afford them many Advantages; for whereas their other Iſlands are ſubject to many Inconveniencies, but more eſpecially the Want of Proviſions; theſe would be all remedied there, and it would afford them an Opportunity of increaſing their Strength to ſuch a Degree, as would put it out of the Power of any of their Neighbours to give them much Diſturbance; on the contrary, they would ſoon become formidable, both to us and to the *Spaniards*; which is an Evil, that as it has been foreſeen in Time, it is hoped Care will be taken to prevent its ever coming to paſs.

Before we quit this Subject, it is neceſſary to obſerve, that on the South Side of the *French* Part of *St. Domingo*, there lies a little Iſland, called *Avache*, at the Diſtance of about twelve Leagues from the Continent; this Iſland is about nine Leagues in Compaſs, the Soil very good, and there are two or three tolerable Ports, one of which is capable of receiving Ships of three hundred Ton. This Iſland lies very convenient for carrying on Trade with the *Spaniſh* Colonies on the Continent of *America*, and ſooner or later the *French* will, in that reſpect, make it turn to good Account. It is alſo very commodious for maintaining an Intercourſe with the only Settlement they have on the Coaſt of *South America*, I mean the Iſland of *Cayenne*, of which it is requiſite that we ſhould next give the Reader an Hiſtory, and ſhort Deſcription; becauſe that in Time, likewiſe, this may become a troubleſome Settlement, though hitherto the *French* have not drawn from it any very conſiderable Advantages.

The Iſland of *Cayenne* has been a *French* Colony ever ſince the Year 1625, it lies cloſe by the Continent of *Guiana*, and only cut off and made an Iſland by the Rivers *Ovia* on the Eaſt, and *Cayenne* on the Weſt, from which laſt it takes its Name, as may be ſeen in the Map. The Town and Fort where the great Road is, at the Mouth of the River *Guiana*, are exactly in 4 Degrees 50 Minutes of North Latitude, and 332 Degrees of Eaſt Longitude from *Ferro*. It is reckoned about eighteen or twenty Leagues in Compaſs, ſtanding high on the Coaſt, and looks, at a Diſtance, like Part of the Continent. The Length of the Iſland, from the River of *Ovia*, to the River *Cayenne*, is about ſeven Leagues, and the Breadth about three. The River *Cayenne* falls into the North Sea, on the Weſt Side of it, dividing the Country of the *Carribbees*, from that of the *Galibis*. The Iſland forms three principal Capes or Promontories, being thoſe of *Fort Lewis*, *Seperon*, and *Matiuri*; it has much meadow and paſture Ground in ſeveral Parts, the reſt is low and marſhy, eſpecially in the Middle, ſo as to be almoſt impaſſable. The Edges of it are moſtly covered with Trees, which we call Mangroves, having that peculiar Quality of growing in Salt Water, ſo deep, thick, and wide rooted, that from theſe very Roots other Trees riſe up without End, ſo wonderful cloſe, interwoven with one another, that in ſome Parts of the Iſland a Man may walk Leagues on them without touching the Ground.

About ſix Years ago the Iſland was extraordinary unhealthy, by reaſon of the long Rains, which laſted above nine Months in twelve, but eſpecially from *December* till *June*; as alſo becauſe the Ground was cloſe wooded, and ſo marſhy, that it occaſioned ſeveral Sorts of Diſeaſes among the Inhabitants, which in a more particular Manner affected young Infants, inſomuch that many died almoſt as ſoon as born, and others at a very tender Age; for which Reaſon the moſt ſubſtantial Planters uſed to ſend them over to *France* very young, to preſerve them from the Malignity of that bad Air; which is now nothing near ſo pernicious to thoſe young Babes, ſince the Land has been grubbed up, ſo that they grow up healthy and ſtrong; beſides, the Women are ſafer in Child-bed, and the generality of the Inhabitants are leſs ſubject to the Diſtempers than they were before the Iſland was cleared of moſt of the Wood; however, it is ſtill and always will be, an uncomfortable Place to be in, becauſe of the long rainy Seaſon every Year, and ſcorching cloſe Air Night and Day, which diſ-ſpirits a Man; and the heavy Showers and Vapours exhaled from the ſwampy Grounds, which ſtill occaſion Diſorders in Men and Beaſts, though not ſo much as formerly; large Cattle, particularly, can ſcarce live there. They are alſo continually tormented with Gnats, Flies, and Worms, Ants, Bugs, and other Sorts of Vermin, all which, together, render the Place very diſagreeable and uneaſy; for which Reaſon ſeveral Planters, when grown rich, retire into *France*, and lett their Plantations.

The Soil of *Cayenne*, by reaſon of the continual Rains, produces plenty of Sugar Canes, which, though ſmall and ſhort jointed, yield very plentifully; alſo Mandioca, or Caſſibi, *Indian* Wheat, Rocou, Cotton, Accajou-Apples, Banillas, Pete, Ebony, Letter, and Violet Wood, Ananas, Tuberoſes, very fine and large Papaias and ſeveral Sorts of *American* and *European* Grain and Seeds, beſides Lemons, Oranges, Indigo, and Figs, *&c.* The Country abounds in wild Boars, called there Packs, Deer, Agontils, Woodcocks, Ortolans, Nightingales, Arras, Occos, Toucans, Parrots, Parroquets, and other Birds, only remarkable for their Feathers: Alſo Flamingos, Birds about as big as a Hen, flying in Swarms like Ducks or Cranes; large wild Ducks with red Tufts on their Heads, Lizards, Cameleons, and very large Serpents, ſome of them above twenty-five Feet long, beſides many ſmaller. The chief Town of *Cayenne* ſtands on the Weſt Part of the Iſland, in an advantageous Situation, Nature and Art having equally contributed to the fortifiing of it. It is of an irregular hexagon Figure; the Fortifications of the Town, which are extenſive, were moſtly caſt up with Earth by the *Hollanders*, after they had driven the *French* from the Iſland, and have ſeveral Batteries mounted with Cannon, and a dry Ditch quite round, beſides rows of Trees that ſurround it in a Triangle, which makes a handſome Proſpect at a Diſtance; within this ſlight Fortification ſtand above two hundred Houſes, diſpoſed in ſuch a Manner, as to make two different Streets or Lanes; all built with Planks of a certain Tree, by the *French* called *Poirier*, and of other Sort of Timber, and thatched: Which is the Reaſon they are now and then burned down ſo faſt, that nothing can be ſaved, to the great Loſs and Damage, not only of the Owners, but of ſeveral Inhabitants round the Town. On the North-eaſt Part of it, towards the Gate of *Armire*, the Jeſuits have a little Chapel ſtanding in an open Place by itſelf, and before it a Grove of Lemon Trees, which afford a pleaſant Shade to walk under; the Chapel is adorned with a ſmall Spire of Planks, with good Bells.

On a pretty ſteep Hill, or Eminence, ſtands the Fort of *St. Lewis de Caperoux*, built by order of *Lewis* XIII. King of *France*, on the Sea-ſide, commanding every Way, mounted with forty-two Iron Guns; the Garriſon whereof commonly conſiſts of four Companies of regular Forces, beſides near five hundred Inhabitants, moſtly *French*, and divers *Indians*, who retire into the Iſland with their Canoes, and there make their Cottages and Carbets, living either in the Town, or on the Iſland round about, as far as mount *Sincry*, becauſe of the Goodneſs of the Soil, and the Wholeſomeneſs of the Air, as it lies much higher than the Iſland. Theſe, upon the leaſt Alarm, are obliged to ſtand to their Arms; the Signal to give Notice to them to come together, being to fire off ſome Cannon, eſpecially in the Night-time. The weakeſt Places of this Iſland are alſo defended by ſome Batteries and Guns. The next Town in the Iſland to this, is *Armire*, diſtant about three Leagues Eaſtward, but ſmall and thinly peopled, where the Jeſuits have a Chapel alſo for the Conveniency of the Inhabitants of that Part of the Iſland: and about a League farther Eaſt is the Point *Maturi*, and near it a very fine Plantation for Sugar, and is a fit Place to land at. Weſt of this Plantation ſtands an *Indian* Carbet. Theſe are all the remarkable Towns of *Cayenne*, except here and there ſome few Cottages and Plantations about the Iſland; the fourth Part of which is ſtored with fine large Meadows or paſture Ground, called *Savannahs*, and three Rivulets; they have uſually a Watch-houſe, and a Battery of ſome Iron Guns at *Armire*, to give Signals when they diſcover Ships coming from the Eaſtward. *Fort Lewis* commands both the Town and the Sea; the anchoring Place for Ships is under the Cannon of the Fort, within Muſket-ſhot from Land, in three Fathom and a half muddy Ground, South-weſt of the Water-gate, which has four good Guns to defend the Road.

The Colony is partly ſubſiſted by Proviſions brought from *France* in Merchant Ships by way of Trade, which commonly are Wine, Brandy, Meal, and powdered or ſalt Meats, for Beef is very ſcarce there, beſides that they are not allowed to kill any, nor Calves neither, without Leave of the Governor, or his Subſtitutes, that Cattle may multiply in the Iſland: All ſorts of Linen-Cloathing, Stuffs, Silks, Shoes, and other wearing Apparel, are alſo carried thither from *France*, for the Uſe of Men, Women, and Children; and all ſorts of Tools, and ſmall Wares, either for the Service of the Colony, or for the *Amazons* and *Indian* Trades, are barter'd for Sugar, Rocou, Indigo, Tortoiſe-ſhells, Tyger-ſkins, and other inconſiderable Curioſities of the Country, which did once turn to great Profit to the Traders there. The other neceſſary Proviſion of the Product of the Iſland are Mantada or Caſſibi, and *Indian* Wheat, of which each Planter ſows large Quantities, both for the Subſiſtance of their own Families and Slaves, and to ſell to the other inferior Inhabitants. The Sea and River Fiſh, Poultry, Pidgeons, Queſts, or Ring-doves, whereof there is great Plenty, and delicate Turkeys, Veniſon, Hares, Agontils, Hogs, and Packs, that is, wild Boars, are alſo a Part of their Subſiſtance.

But Lamentins and Sea-Tortoiſes are their chief Proviſions, and may be well called the *Manna* to the poorer ſort; the Manati's Fleſh uſed at *Cayenne* is brought ready ſalted from the River of the *Amazons*, ſeveral of the principal Inhabitants ſending the Barks and Brigantines thither with Men and Salt, to buy it of the *Indians* for Beads, Knives with white Hafts of a low Price, ſome Linen, Toys and Iron Tools. When theſe Veſſels have entered the River of the *Amazons*, the *Indians*, who always follow the Manati-fiſhery, go on board, take the Salt, and with it run up the River in Canoes or Frigates, to catch the Manaties, which they cut in Pieces, and ſalt as taken, returning with that ſalt Fiſh to the Brigantines, which go not up, becauſe the *Portugueſe* who dwell to the eaſtward, at *Para*, and other Places of *Brazil*, claim the Sovereignty of the North ſide of that River, and give no Quarter to the *French*, or other *Europeans*, they can take in their Liberties; which has occaſioned many Diſputes and Quarrels between them. That Controverſy was decided by the Treaty of *Utrecht*, in the Year 1713, which fixed that Boundary.

They have ever ſince been uſing all the Arts imaginable, to render this Colony of ſome Uſe, but hitherto they have been able to make no great Matter of it, the Expence being ſo large, that by their hardeſt Labour the Inhabitants find it difficult to gain wherewithal to purchaſe their Subſiſtance. As for the Trade carried on from *France*, it conſiſts chiefly in Proviſions, ſuch as ſalt Meats, Flour, Wine, Brandy, Linen, Stuffs, and Mercery Goods; in return for which they export Sugar, Dying-woods, and for the moſt part, the ſame Kind of Commodities they do from the *Leeward Iſlands*. It is thought, that the Number of Whites upon this Iſland may amount to twelve or fifteen hundred, and that the whole Number of the People, taking in Soldiers and Slaves, may amount to three thouſand, or there-abouts; amongſt theſe there are ſixty or ſeventy *Jews*, who, beſides cultivating their Plantations, carry on a kind of underhand Trade with the *Dutch* and the *Portugueſe*; and what little Quantity of Gold and Silver they have in that Country is in the Hands of theſe People, who notwithſtanding are far enough from being rich.

13. We have already, in the Hiſtory of the *French Eaſt India* Company, mentioned the ſeveral Attempts made by Monſ. *de la Salle*, for the Diſcovery of the *Miſſiſſippi*, and therefore we may be allowed to be the ſhorter here. This Gentleman was certainly a Perſon of great Worth and good Underſtanding; and the Notion he had of fixing Colonies in this Part of the World, was, in general, well enough founded; but it does not appear that he was ſo well qualified to govern or conduct a Colony: He had paſſed down the River he ſought, in the Spring of the Year 1683, to the very Mouth of it; he afterwards remounted that River, and returned to *Canada*, in the Month of *October* the ſame Year; from whence he took his Paſſage back to *France*, where he gave a large Account of the mighty Advantages that would certainly accrue from the ſettling of a Colony in thoſe Parts; upon which a new Company was formed in the Beginning of the ſucceeding Year, for the carrying thoſe great Deſigns into Execution; and on the 24th of *June*, 1684, he ſailed with a Squadron conſiſting of four Veſſels, having on board a ſufficient Number of Perſons, and all kind of Goods and Proviſions neceſſary for the Service of the new Colony, which he propoſed to fix at the Mouth of the *Miſſiſſippi*; but when he arrived in the Bay of *Mexico* he was not able to find the Mouth of the River, as he expected, and therefore attempted to fix a Colony at the Bay of *St. Lewis*, which is one hundred Miles to the Weſt of the River *Miſſiſſippi*; where they endured ſuch Hardſhips that moſt of them periſhed miſerably; while Monſ. *de la Salle*, ſtill intent upon Diſcoveries, made various Excurſions with ſuch of his Company as were ſtill able to move: in one of which he was barbarouſly murdered by two of his own People, which put an End to the Deſign for the preſent.

Seven Years after, Monſ. *d' Ibberville* undertook to perform all that Monſ. *de la Salle* had promiſed; and, as he was a Man who had already performed great Things, the Court encouraged him; and he was really as good as his Word. He carried his People very ſafely and happily to the Mouth of the great River, and there laid the Foundations of the firſt Colony the *French* ever had on the *Miſſiſſippi*. He took Care to provide them with every Thing neceſſary for their Subſiſtance, and obliged them to erect a ſtrong Fort, for their Protection againſt the *Indians*, before he would return to *France* in order to obtain Supplies. The Succeſs of his Voyage made him extremely welcome to the King, who promiſed him all the Aſſiſtance he could deſire; ſo that he was ſoon in a Condition to put to Sea again; and his ſecond Voyage was as fortunate as the firſt; but very unluckily for his Colony, he fell ſick and died, as he was preparing for the third. This had very near overturned the whole Deſign, if it had not been for the Generoſity and public Spirit of a private Man, who undertook to ſupport it at his own Expence, receiving from the Government an Authority to act.

In the Grant of *Louviſiana* to Mr. *Crozat*, by *Lewis* XIV, *anno* 1712, the Bounds of it are ſaid to be the River and Lake of *Illinois* on the North, *Carolina* on the Eaſt, the Gulph of *Mexico* on the South, and *New Mexico* on the Weſt. As to *Canada*, or *New France*, the *French* would ſcarce admit it had any Bounds to the North on this Side the Pole, till they were limited on that Side by an Article in the Treaty of *Utrecht*; which aſſigns *New Britain* and *Hudſon's Bay* on the North of *Canada* to *Great-Britain*; and Commiſſioners afterwards on both Sides, aſcertained the Limits by an imaginary Line, running from a Cape or Promontory of *New-Britain* to the *Atlantic Ocean*, in 38 Degrees 30 Seconds, North Latitude, and running from thence South-weſt to the Lake *Miſcoſink* or *Miſtaſim*, and from thence farther South-weſt directly to the Latitude of 49 Degrees. All the Lands to the North of the ſaid Line, being aſſigned to *Great-Britain*; and all the South of that Line, as far as the River of *St. Laurence* to the *French*. Theſe are the true Limits of *Louviſiana* and *Canada*.

This Grant to Mr. *Crozat* did not ſubſiſt long, for it being neceſſary to have ſome plauſible Pretence for ſetting on Foot a Project for changing the Face of public Affairs in *France*, this Settlement was thought the moſt convenient; and therefore all imaginable Pains were taken to repreſent it as a Paradiſe, and a Place from whence inexhauſtible Riches might be derived, provided due Encouragement could be obtained from the Government; and for this Purpoſe it was thought requiſite, that a new Company ſhould be erected; to make Way for which Mr. *Crozat* was to reſign his Grant, and this he accordingly did, as we have hinted in another Place.

14. This occaſioned that Noiſe that was made about the *Miſſiſſippi*, not in *France* only, but throughout all *Europe*, which was filled with romantic Stories of the vaſt Fruitfulneſs of the Banks of this great River, and the incredible Wealth that was like to flow from thence. It was theſe *Indies* in the *North Seas* that produced our Notions of finding *Indies* in the *South*; but in the End both proved Bubbles, partly from the Falſhood of thoſe Relations, and partly from there being no fixed and ſettled Reſolutions of promoting the Trade to either. This *Miſſiſſippi* or River of *St. Lewis*, according to the *French* Account, riſes in the North-weſt Part of *Canada*, taking its Courſe firſt to the South-eaſt, and in 45 Degrees, turning almoſt due South, continues that Courſe till it diſcharges itſelf into the Gulph of *Mexico* in 30 Degrees

North Latitude, and 95 Degrees of weſtern Longitude. By four or five Mouths of ſeveral large Rivers falling into it, both from the Eaſt and Weſt, the *Miſſiſſippi* is ſwelled into a very large deep River; and ſome *French* Writers add, that it is a gentle Stream, and navigable for large Veſſels from the Source almoſt to the Mouth; but other *French* Writers, and ſome *Engliſh* Seamen, affirm, that it has a very rapid Stream; and that there are Cataracts in ſeveral Parts of it, which obſtruct the Navigation, and that there are ſuch Shoals at the Mouth of the River, that large Ships cannot enter it.

The Country upon the Banks of this great River has nothing very extraordinary to recommend it, except that the Air is milder,, and the Soil more fruitful than that of *Canada*, which might be reaſonably expected from its Situation. There is no ſort of Queſtion that People may live there with the Help of their own Induſtry, in Peace and Plenty; but perhaps they might live with as little Pains and Trouble in *France* itſelf. But as to what was pretended when ſuch a Noiſe was made about the *Miſſiſſippi*, that the Country abounds with Silver Mines, and that it was not improbable that Gold might be found here, it was a mere Fable; and thoſe that have been ſent from *France* to make Trial of the Mines have reported, That they are far from being valuable, and that it would be very difficult, if not impracticable, to work them; ſo that now we hear no more of the Metals in this Country; but they are content to talk of Furs, raw Hides, Tobacco, Corn, and Silk, of which indeed there is more Probability; but no very great Progreſs has been hitherto made in raiſing any of them. As this Country lies in the Middle between the *Spaniſh* Settlements on one Side, and the *Engliſh* on the other, the *French* have fancied to themſelves a Poſſibility of driving out both; but this muſt certainly ariſe from their national Vanity, ſince there is no great Probability of their becoming in ſome Ages very formidable to either, unleſs both ſhould become very negligent, and the *French* more happy than they have hitherto been in their Improvements.

At preſent they have divided this Country into nine Provinces, in each of which they have ſome ſmall Poſts, but the only Place they have of any Conſequence is, *New Orleans*, ſo called from the late Regent, who was the Parent of this new Settlement. It is ſeated about one hundred and twenty Miles from the Mouth of the *Miſſiſſippi*, in a very fruitful Part of the Country, where the Inhabitants raiſe Corn ſufficient for their Subſiſtance, and ſome Tobacco. The Expence they have been at from time to time about their Colonies in this Country has been very large, but the Profits drawn from them very inconſiderable, and no way anſwerable to their Expectations; yet it muſt be allowed, that in its preſent Situation, *New Orleans* is a conſiderable Place, both with reſpect to its Size and Strength, and the Jeſuits ſent from *Europe* thither have taken a great deal of Pains to bring over the *Indian* Nations to the *French* Intereſt, the only Means by which they can become troubleſome to their Neighbours; but notwithſtanding this, they are not able to rely much upon their new Converts, there having been frequent Inſtances of their revolting, attacking, and deſtroying, their new Maſters or Allies, when they leaſt expected it: So that on what Grounds they build their Hopes of eſtabliſhing a powerful Empire in this Part of *America*, muſt be left to their own Writers to declare.

To ſay the Truth, I ſee but one Way that any Thing worth mentioning can ever be brought about here; and that is at the Expence of their own Colony of *Canada*; for if it ſhould ever appear that an eaſier Livelihood is to be gained in the Colonies on the Banks of *Miſſiſſippi*, than in thoſe on the River of *St. Laurence*, it is not at all impoſſible, that the People ſettled on the one may by Degrees remove to the other. This would become daily more and more practicable, and perhaps more neceſſary, if we proceed in the Settlement of *Nova Scotia*, and preſerve the Poſſeſſion of the Iſland of *Cape Breton*; for then, as I have before obſerved, *Canada* will rather become a Burden than an Advantage to *France*; and the wiſeſt Step ſhe could take would be to remove the Inhabitants hither. At the ſame time that I ſay this, I deſire the Reader will conſider it as a pure Conjecture, and as a Thing barely poſſible; and not at all as a Deſign thought of by the *French*, or that is ever likely to come to paſs: But, however, this we may be allowed to affirm, that if they do not take this Step, it is not at all likely that either of thoſe Colonies will become more conſiderable than they are at preſent. We have already obſerved, that the Computations they have given the World of the Inhabitants of *Canada* are very extravagant, and much beyond the Truth; and I doubt the ſame Thing may be with equal Truth affirmed, of what they report as to the Numbers of thoſe ſettled in *Louviſiana*, which ſome of their Authors raiſe to twelve thouſand Souls, while many intelligent People think there are not much above half that Number.

15. The Obſervations and Remarks upon this Period may be the more conciſe, ſince we have already taken Occaſion to deliver ſomething of that Nature, in reſpect to each of the Colonies we have mentioned. The *French* have not been very fortunate in the Management of their Intereſts in this Part of the World; for their Settlements are as unconnected and ill placed, as their Enemies could wiſh them. *Canada* is at a vaſt Diſtance from their Iſlands, and the Navigation of the River of *St. Laurence* ſo difficult, that they cannot make above two Voyages in a Year. We may ſay the ſame with reſpect to the Iſland of *Cayenne*, which lies out of the way of all the reſt of their Colonies, and for that Reaſon has little or no Correſpondence with any of them; and it is pretty much the ſame with their Settlements on the *Miſſiſſippi*, which is a great Diſadvantage to them; as may appear from the Conſideration of our own Colonies, that ſtrengthen and ſupport each other, by their mutual Commerce, there being ſeveral hundred Veſſels employed in the *American* Trade only, in which the *French* employ very few or none. We may, therefore, with ſtrict Regard to Truth, divide the *French* Settlements into thoſe which are profitable, and thoſe which are not; the former including their Iſlands, and the latter all the reſt.

It muſt, indeed, be owned, that it is very poſſible to raiſe ſeveral Commodities of Value, both on the River of *St. Laurence*, and on the *Miſſiſſippi*; but, as the *French* are at preſent circumſtanced, it may very well be doubted, whether they will be ever able to do this, becauſe it does not appear that they could do it to their own Advantage. While our Northern Colonies ſupply their Sugar Iſlands with Lumber, in Exchange for their Moloſſes, it will hinder their taking, except in Time of War, thoſe kind of Goods, even from their own Colonies, and nothing but an open and advantageous Market can tempt the Inhabitants to raiſe them. As for Tobacco, Wine, and Silk, in *Louviſiana*, they may ſerve to talk of, but there is little Reaſon to ſuppoſe they will ever apply to the Cultivation of them in earneſt. For, firſt, in regard to Tobacco, it is not at all likely that they ſhould raiſe it better or cheaper than in *Virginia*, from whence the *French* take that Commodity at preſent, in Preference to what might be raiſed in *St. Domingo*, and the adjacent Iſlands; and, with reſpect to Wine and Silk, though they would be valuable Commodities to us, they could ſcarce be ſo to them; conſidering how much of their own Wine they export to the Colonies, and what Quantities of Silk they raiſe in their own *European* Dominions. It is their Iſlands therefore that the *French* chiefly concern themſelves about; and as to the reſt, it is rather for the Credit of their Crown, and for the Sake of diſtant and very improbable Expectations, that they make a Point of maintaining their other Colonies.

It may be, if they were to transfer the People of *Canada* to their Settlements in *Louviſiana*, and be at ſome Pains to eſtabliſh a Correſpondence between that and their Sugar Iſlands, they might render both more beneficial than they are at preſent; but even in that Caſe, perhaps ſome inſurmountable Difficulties might be found, which are not at preſent foreſeen; and though they are not, yet even the Poſſeſſion of *St. Domingo* entire, if ever they ſhould obtain it, would make that Commerce decline. Upon the whole, though the *French* have great Views in *America*, and ſeem indefatigable in purſuing thoſe Views, yet, to ſpeak impartially, there is very little Ground to believe, if we mind our own Affairs, and could once come to a right Underſtanding with *Spain*, they will be ever able to ſucceed. I may add farther, that if ever we come to form right Notions of the Importance of the Sugar Trade, and in Conſequence thereof give all neceſſary Encouragement to the Inhabitants of our Iſlands, in Time of Peace, and make it our Buſineſs, in Time of War, to diſtreſs the *French* in this tender Point; it is poſſible we may drive them out of a great Part of that Trade, which would be the happieſt Event that could be for us, as well as the greateſt Diſappointment to them.

SECTION XXIII.

The DISCOVERIES, CONQUESTS, SETTLEMENTS, *and* PRESENT STATE *of the* DUTCH *Colonies in* America; *the Nature and Value of their Commerce with the* Spaniards, *and the Manner in which their Returns are made to* Europe; *to which is added an Account of the* Daniſh *Settlement*; *the whole collected chiefly from the* Dutch *Writers.*

1. *A ſhort View of the Scheme formed by Count* Maurice *of* Naſſau, *for erecting a* Dutch *Empire in* America, *equal, if not ſuperior, to that of the* Spaniards. 2. *The Expedition of General* Brewer, *in order to the Execution of that Scheme; and his Succeſſes in* Chili, *to the Time of his Death.* 3. *The Hiſtory of that Expedition continued, in which the principal Cauſes of its Miſcarriage are clearly pointed out.* 4. *The* Dutch *Settlements on the Continent of* South America, *at* Surinam, Boron, Berbice, *and* Approwack, *deſcribed; together with an Account of the Commodities raiſed there, and the Importance of thoſe Settlements.* 5. *A View of the Iſlands poſſeſſed by the* Dutch *in the* Weſt Indies, *viz.* Tabago, St. Euſtachius, St. Martin, Curacao, *and its Dependencies; their Produce, and the Nature of their Commerce with* Holland. 6. *A large and exact Relation of the clandeſtine Trade, carried on by the Inhabitants of theſe Iſlands, with the* Spaniards. 7. *The preſent State of the* Weſt India *Company in* Holland, *and the Cauſes of its declining Trade.* 8. *A Deſcription of the Iſland of* St. Thomas, *of the* Daniſh *Settlement there; its Produce, Commerce, and Importance.* 9. *Obſervations and Remarks on the foregoing Section, which concludes the Hiſtory and preſent State of the Continent of* America *and the* Weſt Indies.

1. WE have, in ſeveral former Sections, taken ſome Pains to explain the Riſe, Progreſs, and Extent of the *Dutch* naval Power; which, if I am not altogether miſtaken in my Judgment, was much ſuperior to any thing of the ſame Kind, that we read of in ancient or mordern Hiſtory; ſo that if their Project of eſtabliſhing a *Weſt India* Company had ſucceeded, as well as that did for erecting one for managing the Trade of the *Eaſt Indies*, I ſee no Reaſon to doubt of their becoming the moſt formidable Power in *Europe*. It would take up a great deal of Time, which we have not to ſpare, to ſhew how this miſcarried; but there is a particular Incident, which falls in with the Subject of this Section, that will fully prove the Truth of both theſe Aſſertions. The Reader may remember that we inſiſted in the Hiſtory of *Brazil* very largely, on the Conduct and Meaſures of Prince *Maurice* of *Naſſau*, as able a Captain, as great a Stateſman, and I muſt have leave to ſay, becauſe I am convinced of it, the honeſteſt Man, and the beſt Patriot, that Family ever produced. In that Section we clearly proved, that the running him down by the republican Faction in *Holland*, was the Ruin of their Affairs in *Brazil*, and, at preſent, it ſhall be our Buſineſs to ſhew, that it loſt an Opportunity of making them as great in the *Weſt Indies*, as they are now in the *Eaſt*; for that Prince had formed a Scheme of raiſing ſuch an Empire at once in *America*, as, had it been as ſteadily purſued as it was wiſely projected, would have defied the Rage of Enemies, defeated the Power of Accidents, and, perhaps, would have eſcaped the Teeth of Time itſelf.

He ſaw plainly, that their Eſtabliſhment in *Brazil*, as fair and as flouriſhing as it ſeemed, under his wiſe and glorious Adminiſtration, would ſink to nothing, if it was not ſupported by new Acquiſitions; for he knew that a naval Power is, of all others, leaſt at a ſtay; and that if it did not proceed, it would decline with the ſame Rapidity with which it roſe; and, to prevent this, he formed Project after Project, all of which ſucceeded but one; and, had that one ſucceeded, he knew that there had been need of no more. This Project we are to give an Account of here, and in few Words; it was this: He was informed that the Inhabitants of *Chili*, which lies at the back of *Brazil*, fronting the *South Seas*, as this does the North, and the richeſt Country in *America*, had revolted from, and driven out the *Spaniards*; he conceived therefore a deſign of fixing a *Dutch* Colony there, which he thought might be eaſily done, under the plauſible Pretences of aſſiſting the Natives againſt their late imperious Lords the *Spaniards*.

He communicated this Deſign to the States General; he ſhewed them the Utility of it; he explained to them the Advantages with which it would be attended, and which were chiefly three. Firſt, That it would give them the Poſſeſſion of a large, fruitful, and agreeable Country, abounding with the Neceſſaries of Life, and with what is capable of ſupplying Neceſſaries in any and all Countries, the richeſt Gold Mines in the World. Secondly, That it would humble the *Spaniards*, by diſtreſſing them in the tendereſt Part; ſecure, as well as open, a Commerce in the South Seas; and render their two great Empires in *Mexico* and *Peru* precarious, unleſs ſecured by a Peace with the *Dutch*. Thirdly, That it would complete, and firmly cement, the Circle of their Commerce; for the Slaves, procured by their Settlements in *Africa*, would be taken off by that Colony and by *Brazil*. The Paſſage from thence to the *Eaſt Indies*, and from them round to *Europe*, would, in Time, become common; that this new Trade would fill that Country with People, and facilitate a Correſpondence between their Dominions on both Sides the Continent of *South America*; which would ſoon put them in a Condition of rooting out all their Enemies, and enable them to keep the beſt and moſt valuable Part of the new World entirely to themſelves. Vaſt and prodigious as this Deſign was, every competent Judge will, at firſt Sight, perceive, that in the State things were then, it was both poſſible and practicable, and therefore we need not at all wonder that the States General readily embraced it, and chearfully diſpoſed all things requiſite for the carrying it into Execution, without much regarding either the Difficulty or the Expence.

2. The States, however, thought it requiſite, that a great Part of the Charge ſhould be borne by their *Weſt India* Company, becauſe in Caſe of Succeſs they were to reap the greateſt Part of the Benefit, ſince, in Virtue of their Charter, the new conquered Country was to belong to them; but, however, the regular Troops that were to ſerve in this Expedition were to remain in the Pay of the States. The Perſon fixed upon to command in chief, with the Title of General, was Captain *Henry Brewer*, a Man of great Abilities, and remarkable for his perſonal Courage; which had, however, a ſtrong Tincture of

what the *Dutch* called Severity, which, in any other Language, would have been denominated Cruelty. He had ſerved with Reputation in the *Eaſt Indies*, and was allowed to have a ſurprizing Power over the Seamen. He had under him four Captains of eſtabliſhed Character, and his Squadron conſiſted of five Sail of ſtout Ships, on board of which he had eighteen hundred Men, with every thing that was thought neceſſary, either for making a Deſcent, or for eſtabliſhing a Colony.

General *Brewer*, and his Squadron, ſailed from the *Texel* the 6th of *November*, 1642, and arrived at *Fernambuco* on the Coaſt of *Brazil*, in 9 Degrees of South Latitude, on the 22d of *December* following; where, having conſulted with Count *Maurice* of *Naſſau*, General and Commander in chief for the *Dutch* in *Brazil*, he ſailed from *Fernambuco* with five Ships well equipped, and provided with Neceſſaries, on the 16th of *January* 1642-3; and, on the 5th of *March*, they came in Sight of the Streights of *La Maire*, as they were then called, which is only a Paſſage between *States Iſland* and the moſt Eaſterly Point of *Terra del Fugo*, in 45 Degrees ſome Minutes South Latitude, and ſince ſtiled *Brewer's-Streights*, in Memory of this Expedition. They came to an Anchor in a Bay of *States Iſland*, to the Eaſtward of the Streights of *La Maire*; where, having remained till the 25th of *March*, they ſailed round *Cape Horn*, ſuffering pretty much by ſtormy Weather; and loſing the Company of one of their Ships, called the *Orange Tree*, and arrived with the other four on the Coaſt of *Chili*, on the 30th of *April* 1643; and on the 9th of *May* they came to an Anchor in a Bay of the South Sea, in 41 Degrees 30 Minutes South Latitude, to which they gave the Name of *Brewer's-Haven*.

An Officer being ſent on Shore with a Company of Soldiers, they diſcovered great Herds of Oxen, Sheep, and Horſes, and ſome Houſes; but the Inhabitants were fled. However, they ſuppoſed that Part of the Country to be in the Poſſeſſion of the *Spaniards*, by the large wooden Croſſes they ſaw fixed at the Entrance of the Houſes; and going aſhore the next Day they diſcovered a Party of *Spaniſh* Horſe, and ſome Cannon-ſhot were fired at the Boat. A Company of fifty Soldiers being ſent aſhore again, the 20th of *May*, they diſcovered the Town of *Carelmappa*, and had a ſmart Engagement with a *Spaniſh* Party, conſiſting of ninety Men, Horſe and Foot, whom they defeated; whereupon the *Spaniards* abandoned the Town of *Carelmappa*, and the *Dutch* took Poſſeſſion of it, where they remained till the 25th, and then ſetting fire to the Town, and killing the Horſes they had taken in the Engagement, they retired to their Ships. They afterwards ſailed to the Town of *Caſtro*, on the Iſland of *Chiloe*, where they arrived on the 6th of *June*.

There appeared a good Body of *Spaniſh* Horſe and Foot on Shore; but the *Dutch* no ſooner landed ſome Soldiers, than the Inhabitants ſet fire to the Town, and abandoned it, having before carried away every Thing that was valuable. This Place, called *Caſtro*, had been a fine *Spaniſh* Town, adorned with magnificent Buildings pleaſantly ſituated on a Hill, ſurrounded with fruitful Orchards and Gardens, and the Fields beyond well cultivated, and at the Time when the *Dutch* arrived there, the Fruit then remained on many of the Trees, though it was in the Beginning of their Winter. The *Dutch*, taking an hundred Sheep and ſome Hogs off the Iſland, re-embarked on the 17th of *June* and returned to *Brewer's-Harbour*. From hence they propoſed to ſail to the River *Baldivia*; but the North Wind blowing hard in their Teeth, they altered their Minds, and came before *Carelmappa* again; where landing a Company of Soldiers, on the 16th of *July*, they took three *Spaniſh* Priſoners, who informed them, that the Winters on that Coaſt were uſually tempeſtuous, but that the moſt ſtormy Month was paſt: That there were Gold Mines at *Orſorno*, and more at *Baldivia*; but that the Mines were not wrought of late, and that at *Caſtro* there were none to be ſeen, the *Indians* not having been compelled to work in the Mines ſince the general Revolt in 1595.

They learned alſo, from an old *Spaniſh* Woman they had taken, that before the ſaid general Revolt, the *Spaniards* lived in great Splendor at *Orſorno*, that the meaneſt of them had three hundred *Indian* Vaſſals at leaſt, who were compelled to pay their reſpective Lords a certain weekly Tribute in Gold, and were uſed ſo cruelly by the *Spaniards*, that the *Chileſe* aroſe as one Man, drove them from *Orſorno*, and other *Spaniſh* Towns; and they poſſeſſed little more in this Part of *Chili*, than *Carelmappa* and *St. Michael de Calembuco*; ſince which, however, the *Indians* of *Orſorno*, *Baldivia*, *Villarica*, *Imperial*, *Jucapel*, *Aurauco*, and *Puren*, had lived in a pretty good Intelligence with the *Spaniards* till very lately, when the *Indians* took up Arms again, and they were actually here in a State of War with the *Spaniards*, which was confirmed by five *Indian* Caziques, who came on board the 20th of *July*, and aſſured the *Dutch* they were extremely rejoiced that they were come to aſſiſt them againſt their ancient Enemies the *Spaniards*.

The *Dutch* anſwered, they had brought good Store of Arms to exchange with their Country men of *Orſorno*, *Baldavia*, and other Places, for ſuch Merchandize as *Chili* afforded, that they might be enabled to carry on that War againſt the *Spaniards*, and were ready to aſſiſt them to the utmoſt of their Power. The *Chileſe* replied, They lived very uneaſy under the *Spaniſh* Government of *Carelmappa*, and were contriving how to get to their Friends at *Orſorno* and *Baldivia*; but the *Spaniards* had poſſeſſed all the Paſſes, and the Country was ſo overflowed by the Winter Rains, that they found it impracticable to go by Land at preſent; and therefore deſired the *Dutch*, that they would carry them to *Baldivia* in their Ships; which the General agreeing to, they returned aſhore, to give their Friends an Account of it, and make Preparations for their Voyage. The next Day, more *Chileſe* went on board, and one of them brought the Head of a *Spaniard* with him whom he had killed, and declared they were determined to ſhake off the *Spaniſh* Yoke. Whereupon the General made a Preſent to them of ſome Spears and Swords, as alſo Muſkets with Powder and Ball; and the *Chileſe* ſent ſome black Cattle on board in Return.

3. Thus far this Expedition had ſucceeded perfectly well, as being entirely under the Management of one who was altogether equal to the Project he went upon; for it is eſſential to great Deſigns that ſucceed, that they are contrived and concerted by great Men, and that they are executed by great Men alſo; for when once People of mean Parts and narrow Underſtandings come to be lifted up into Employments beyond their Capacities, they ſoon ruin all that wiſer Heads have been long framing; and this, notwithſtanding they do their beſt, and uſe their utmoſt Endeavours to proſecute their Predeceſſor's Plan.

The *Dutch* Officers, who perhaps never conſidered this Maxim, were experimentally taught the Truth of it, by the Death of their General *Henry Brewer*, which happened the 7th of *Auguſt*; a fatal Day to them, though they did not perceive it at the Time. He had ſet his Heart upon the Undertaking, and died in the full Perſuaſion, that it might have been accompliſhed. Though Captain *Hackerman*, who ſucceeded him in the Command, might have no leſs Zeal to ſerve his Country, yet he certainly miſcarried for want of proper Addreſs. He too ſoon diſcovered to the Natives with what View the *Hollanders* viſited their Coaſts, and created Jealouſies in them, which he found it impoſſible afterwards to remove, as will appear hereafter. The late General was ſo confident of the Succeſs of the Enterprize, that he directed his Countrymen to take his Corpſe with them, and bury it at *Baldivia*, which he had intended to fortify; and appointed the *Chileſe* to rendezvous there and meet the Fleet, not doubting of a general Revolt in their Favour. His great Ambition was, to have a Tomb erected in that Place, which might perpetuate the Memory of his being the Author of ſo great a Good to his Country. But to proceed: The *Dutch* having taken four hundred and ſeventy *Chileſe* on board, who had furniſhed themſelves with Corn and Cattle, and other Proviſions for the Voyage, ſet ſail for the River *Baldivia* on the 21ſt of *Auguſt*, where they arrived the 24th of the ſame Month.

The River is about a League over at the Mouth, and the *Dutch* having ſailed half a League up it, they obſerved three Channels, of which, taking the Middlemoſt, they run aground, and it was two or three Days before they could get all their Ships afloat again; ſo that it was the 28th before they arrived at the Town of *Baldivia*, where they only found the Ruins of the ancient Gates, which were very high, and ſtrong built; but the Place was now over-run with Buſhes and Weeds, and more like a Wilderneſs than a City: Here they found three or four hundred *Chileſe* Horſe and Foot armed with Spears, eighteen Foot long, ſome of whom came on board, and welcomed them at their Arrival. The *Dutch* General harangued them by an Interpreter, and acquainted them, That the *Hollanders* were now in the Poſſeſſion of *Brazil*, upon the ſame Continent, not above two Months ſail from them, and were in a Condition to ſupply them from time to time with Arms and Ammunition, and would aſſiſt them to drive their Enemies, the *Spaniards*, out of the Country, deſiring they would enter into a League offenſive and defenſive with them. He alſo preſented them with the Letters from the Prince of *Orange*, of the like Tenour, which were interpreted to the *Indians*; for it is to be remarked here, that neither the People of the *Eaſt* or *Weſt Indies* have any Notion of a Republican Form of Government, and therefore the *Hollanders*, in all Negociations with thoſe diſtant Nations, pretended to be authorized to treat with them by the Prince of *Orange*, or ſome ſingle Perſon, whom they inſinuated to be their Monarch.

The Caziques gave the General no other Anſwer to his Propoſitions at preſent, but, That they would conſult their Brethren of *Orſorno* and *Coneo*, and then return to *Baldivia*. Whereupon the *Dutch* proceeded to land their Soldiers on the 2d of *September*, and the General took a View of the Ground, in order to erect a Fort. The ſame Evening arrived above one thouſand *Chileſe* from *Orſorno* and *Coneo*, to treat with the *Hollanders*; and the next Day the General, by his Interpreter, made them another Speech: He acquainted them, That the chief Motive of their Voyage was to aſſiſt the *Chileſe*, the Fame of whoſe great Actions had reached as far as *Holland*: That the *Dutch* had been at War with the *Spaniards* for upwards of fourſcore Years, as well as the *Chileſe*, for the Preſervation of their Liberties, and had met with the like Succeſs, extending their Conqueſts as far as *Brazil*; and if the *Chileſe* would now enter into a Confederacy with the *Hollanders*, they were ready to ſupply them with Cannon, ſmall Arms, and Ammunition; which they would exchange for the Product of their Country; and the *Chileſe* would be enabled thereby, not only to defend themſelves, but to expel the *Spaniards* from their Coaſts. After which a Letter was delivered to every one of the Caziques, as ſent them from the Prince of *Orange*. To which the Caziques anſwered, That they thought themſelves extremely fortunate to meet with a Supply of Arms from ſo diſtant a Country as *Holland*, at a Time when the War with the *Spaniards* was revived; and that they would conſider of what was propoſed.

The *Dutch* thereupon enquired if the *Chileſe* could ſupply their Fleet with Fleſh and other Proviſions, if they continued on their Coaſt to protect them againſt the *Spaniards?* To which they unanimouſly anſwered, They would not fail to bring them all the Proviſions they wanted, for they had Plenty of Corn and Cattle: provided the Fleet did not ſtir from the Coaſt. And they readily entered into a verbal Alliance Offenſive and Defenſive, with the *Hollanders* againſt the *Spaniards*; but would not be perſuaded to execute written Articles, which were offered, and interpreted to them; declaring, That this was not cuſtomary amongſt them; but, that Promiſes were ever looked upon as ſacred, and of equal Obligation with written Contracts. The *Hollanders* then proceeded to build a Fort at *Baldivia*, for their Security; which the Natives did not ſeem to oppoſe; but when the *Dutch* propoſed the Trafficking with the *Chileſe*, and exchanging Arms for their Gold, the Caziques immediately appeared jealous of their new Allies; and declared, they had no Gold Mines, nor was there any ſuch Thing as Gold in Uſe amongſt them: They remembred indeed that, heretofore, they had been obliged to pay heavy Taxes to the *Spaniards* in Gold, on Pain of loſing their Ears and Noſes, as many of them actually did who could not procure as much as was expected; and this had given them ſuch an Abhorrence of that Metal, that they could not bear to hear it named amongſt them; that they were very far from valuing or coveting it as they found all Strangers did; and that it was the Cauſe of many Miſchiefs to them, from which the *Indians* were free.

The General finding the Natives were not ignorant of his Views, replied they were not come to exact any thing of them, as the *Spaniards* had done; but were ready to pay them with Arms, or whatever Merchandize they liked beſt for their Gold; and every one was at Liberty to exchange what he pleaſed. Whereupon the Caziques ſtared at one another without returning one Word of Anſwer; and the *Dutch* relate, they did not think fit to urge them any farther on that Head, leſt they ſhould imagine they had a Mind to ſerve them as the *Spaniards* had done, though they were certain there were very rich Mines in that Part of the Country. The *Dutch* General, therefore, ſeeing now he could expect but little Aſſiſtance from the Natives, and that it would be impoſſible to maintain his Ground long againſt the *Spaniards*, and the reſt of the *Chileſe* in Alliance with them, diſpatched Captain *Chriſpinſon*, with two of his Ships, to *Fernambuco*, in *Brazil*, to give their Friends an Account of the State of their Affairs, and to deſire a further Reinforcement; and, in the mean Time, continued to fortify the Poſt he had taken at *Baldivia*, where he hoped to defend himſelf till thoſe Supplies arrived. In the Letter the *Dutch* General ſent by Capt. *Chriſpinſon* to *Brazil*, he informs the Government, that the *Spaniards* had not more than fifteen hundred Soldiers, either on the Continent or Iſlands of *Chili*, viz. three hundred in *Valperiſo* and *St. Jago*; one hundred in *Serena* or *Coquimbo*; one hundred on the Bank of *Riolio*; eighty in *Tucupel*; five hundred in the Forts in the Valley of *Arauco*; one hundred and twenty in the Iſland of *Chiloe*, *Carelmappa*, and *Calembuco*; what the Number of the *Spaniſh* Inhabitants were, he does not ſay, only that they were more numerous than the Garriſon Soldiers; and it is evident, that many of the *Chileſe* profeſſed the Chriſtian Religion, and were intermarried with the *Spaniards* at this Time; and therefore were, in a Manner, one People with them, and that ſome Tribes or Clans that were not under the *Spaniſh* Government, were in Alliance with them, though moſt of them were in a State of War with the *Spaniards*. And in thoſe Circumſtances the *Dutch* General informs the Government of *Brazil*, that in Caſe ten Ships, and three Yachts, with eight hundred Soldiers, Seamen, Cannon, and Ammunition in Proportion, were ſent to his Aſſiſtance, he did not doubt of making himſelf Maſter of all the *Spaniſh* Settlements above-mentioned; and ſhould have no Occaſion to be afraid of all the Force the *Spaniards* had, either in *Chili* or *Peru*; and if he could make himſelf Maſter of *Chili*, by this Means, it might encourage the Natives of *Peru* to throw off the *Spaniſh* Yoke.

Theſe *Indians* having entertained an inconceivable Averſion to the *Spaniards*, he informs his Employers alſo, that they had received the Advice, that the Natives of the neighbouring Provinces of *La Plata*, had roſe upon the Jeſuits (the then Sovereigns or Uſurpers of that Country) and had murdered many of thoſe Fathers, which was looked upon as an Indication of a general Revolution againſt the *Spaniards*; and then repeating his Importunities for a ſpeedy and effectual Supply, concludes, that when the War was once kindled on that Side, it might ſpread over all the *Spaniſh Weſt Indies*; and the *Hollanders* might ſupplant them in the *Weſt*, as they had done the *Portugueſe* in the *Eaſt Indies* and *Brazil*. This Expreſs had not been diſpatched a Week, before the *Dutch* General became ſenſible of his Miſtake; and that whatever Miſunderſtanding there might be between the *Chileſe* and the *Spaniards*, the Natives were much more afraid of the *Hollanders*, than of their ancient Enemies, and would probably join with the *Spaniards* to expel them their Country. For the next Conference he had with the Caziques, they gave him to underſtand, that he muſt expect no Proviſions

viſions from them; and endeavoured to terrify the *Dutch*, by reporting that the *Spaniards* were aſſembling their Forces by Sea and Land, to drive them from *Baldivia*; and it is probable that the *Dutch* General expected no Aſſiſtance from their new Alliance, but were rather apprehenſive they would betray them to the *Spaniards*; for he ſoon after demoliſhed his new erected Fortification; and, having reimbarked his People, ſet ſail for *Brazil* on the 28th of *October*, 1643; and, having doubled *Cape Horn*, repaſſed the Streights of *La Maire* on the 21ſt of *November*; and on the 28th of *December* arrived at *Fernambuco* in *Brazil*; ſo that they were but juſt two Months in their Voyage from *Baldivia* to the northern Part of *Brazil*.

This ſhews how eaſily the Communication might have been maintained between the two Colonies, if the *Dutch* had been ſo fortunate as to have eſtabliſhed themſelves in *Chili*; but at the Time the Fleet arrived at *Brazil*, Prince *Maurice* had reſigned the Government; ſo that they were no longer at a Loſs for the Reaſon of their not being ſupported in Time, as with great Juſtice they expected, and as the Importance of the Enterprize deſerved. We have been more particular and circumſtantial in the Hiſtory of this Expedition, becauſe it appears to have been of the higheſt Conſequence in itſelf, and in all reſpects the beſt concerted and contrived, of any in which the *Dutch* were ever concerned; and in Caſe it had ſucceeded, would abſolutely have been a Means of giving, not only a new Face to their Affairs, but to the general Situation of things in *America*; nor is it eaſy to ſay with what Conſequences it might have been attended. But it is Time to proceed from this Detail of the Ruin of their projected Empire, to an Account of the ſmall Remains of their Territories in *America*; which, though they would be of very little Uſe to any other Nation, are, notwithſtanding, highly beneficial to them.

4. We will begin with their Settlements upon the Continent; the firſt, and moſt conſiderable of which, is *Surinam*, that formerly belonged to us, and was the ſole Remains of Sir *Walter Raleigh*'s Diſcoveries in *Virginia*, of which we have given an Account already, and of the Manner in which it was exchanged for *New York*, which we had taken from the *Dutch*; this Settlement of *Surinam*, while in our Hands, was a Place of very little Conſequence or Advantage; but, however, we met with very little Difficulty in keeping it, as living upon very good Terms with the Natives; whereas the *Dutch* have been always upon ſo bad a footing with them, that they have been obliged to erect a ſtrong Fort, and to keep in it a good Garriſon, in order to cover their Settlements; without the Limit of which, if the *Indians* meet with any *Dutchman*, they are ſure to give him no Quarter. The Commodities they raiſe, are Sugar, Indigo, Ginger, and Cotton; for the Improvement of which they have conſtant Supplies of Negroes from their Colonies in *Africa*; where a Part of their Goods likewiſe are taken off, and when it amounts to more than the Value of their Negroes, the Ballance is commonly paid in Gold Duſt. This, however, returns into *Europe*, in Payment for the Goods ſent over to the Colony, by the Merchants of *Amſterdam*, who have ingroſſed almoſt all this Trade to themſelves.

They have, beſides this Settlement, three others upon the Continent, *viz. Boron*, *Berbice*, and *Approwack*, which are at no great Diſtance from each other; and in which they raiſe, for the moſt Part, the ſame Commodities as in *Surinam*, except that at *Berbice*, beſides an extraordinary Quantity of Cotton, they have likewiſe the Advantage of preparing of a very rich Dye, called *Orlane*, from an Herb of the ſame Name, much in the like Manner as they prepare Indigo. They have likewiſe the good Fortune to have for their Neighbours in that Colony, a Race of mild and good natured *Indians*, with whom they trade for Proviſions, Hides, and other kind of Merchandize.

But as theſe Colonies lie on the Frontiers of the Country of *Guiana*, the Reader will, very probably, be well pleaſed to ſee ſome Account of this Region, from thoſe who actually inhabit it; and the Relations they give us of it, amount to this: That this Country is, in many Parts, very wild and thinly peopled, eſpecially the loweſt Lands, which are often overflowed by the Rivers; but the upper hilly Countries are very populous, the Soil being watered by ſo many Rivers, very commodious for Travellers. The Air in that Up-land Country is much colder than towards the Coaſt; and the Hills are very rich in Mines of ſeveral Sorts. Fruit is very plentiful and good; and all Sorts of Grain grow there all the Year round, except Wheat, coming up in a ſhort Time, and with little or no Diſtinction of Seaſons; for there being no Winter, the Trees are always green and full of Leaves, Bloſſoms, and Fruit. Though this Country is between the Line and the Tropic of Cancer, that is, within the Torrid Zone, the Climate is pretty temperate, and the Air wholeſome; the Heats being generally allayed by a freſh eaſterly Wind, which reigns the greateſt Part of the Year, during the Day; and at Night the Land Breezes prevail, but do not reach to two or three Leagues out at Sea. The Waters are, likewiſe, excellent, and of ſuch a particular Nature, that they will keep ſweet and freſh during the longeſt Voyages, as has been often found by Experience. On the Sea-Coaſts, which, as has been ſaid, are generally low, there are many large Iſlands, fit, if improved, to feed Cattle.

The Sea, about the Coaſts, abounds in Fiſh, the moſt common is that which the *French* call Machoran, and the *Engliſh* Cat-fiſh, being of a yellow Colour, and very large, ſweet Mullets, and Thorn-backs, Lamentynes, and Sea-Tortoiſes. Fowl is alſo very plentiful, either tame or wild, and other Game, with all which they ſupply the *European* Settlements at the Sea Coaſts, exchanging for Toys and Iron. This Country produces divers Sorts of Phyſical Gums, Woods, and Roots, as well as ſeveral Sorts of Woods for dying, and for making of Cabinets, and inlaid Works; among which is the Letter-wood, by the *French* called *Bois de la Chine*, and which grows no where in the World but here. Yet the Natives cut and carry it quite to the Water-ſide, ſo cheap, that a Tun Weight of it does not coſt above ten Shillings; and in *Europe*, a Tun of that Wood has formerly yielded fifty Pounds Sterling, or more, and never under twenty-five or thirty Pounds to this Day. There is Ebony of a different Sort from the Letter-wood, and one Sort called *Bois de Violet*, and ſeveral others very common. There are alſo prodigious large Trees, whereof the *Indians* make Canoes, which carry twelve or thirteen Tuns in Caſks; beſides a prodigious Store of very lofty large Trees, the Wood of which is exceſſively hard and weighty, but has the Advantage of reſiſting Worms in Salt-water.

Here are alſo incredible Numbers of Monkeys of divers Sorts, among which is the Sort, called by the *Indians*, and after them by the *French*, *Sapajous*; a kind of little yellowiſh Ape, with large Eyes, a white Face, and black Chin: It is of a low Stature, and of a lively and diverting Nature; but ſo tender in cold Weather, that it is, with great difficulty, they can carry ſome over to *Europe* alive; where they are much eſteemed, and yield a conſiderable Price among Perſons of Quality. There are Tamerinds, Sagovias, Parrots, Cameleons, Agontils, Arras, Ocos, Tocaus, or Toucans, Flamans, and wild large Ducks, with red Feathers at their Head, but not in great plenty, which eat very well, being ſtewed, and ſeveral other Birds, which have nothing remarkable in them beſides their Feathers. It likewiſe abounds in ſmall Tygers, Deer, Pigs, little Porcupines, large and monſtrous Serpents, and divers other Sorts of Animals.

As to Fruits, beſides Sugar Canes (which grow very well in *Guiana*) the Caſia, Papaye, Accajou-Apples, Vanillas, Tobacco, Pete, and Rocou, it produces alſo *Indian* Wheat, Mandioca, Cotton, Indigo, and the other Fruits common in *Brazil*, and ſeveral others among the Plants, which the *Indians* cultivate in their Plantations. Cotton is one that abounds moſt, and is uſed by the Women, who adorn themſelves with it, and can ſpin it as fine as they pleaſe. There is ſuch Plenty of it every where, that if it were poſſible to have Women enough there to ſpin it, to ſave the great Trouble and Expence of tranſporting it in the Wool to *Europe*, which renders the Profit very inconſiderable to the Planters, it might furniſh all *Europe*, without coſting the *Dutch* any other Trouble than purchaſing it of the *Indians*, for very inconſiderable Toys, and Haberdaſhery Ware of little Value. The *Indians* eſteeming a Grain of Cryſtal, to adorn their Necks or Ears, as much as a Diamond of the ſame Bigneſs is valued among the *Europeans*; and if the Diſorders which have happened in the *European* Settlements in *Guiana*, at ſeveral Times, had not hindered the eſtabliſhing a regular Commerce, this advantageous Trade would have been already ſettled, and a vaſt Number of People enriched by it; but in a more peculiar Manner the Inhabitants of *Cayenne*, becauſe of the Situation of their Iſland, their Sea-port Town, and great Intereſt with the *Indians*.

The Pete is an Herb that can be peeled, as Hemp and Nettles with us, but the Threads are finer than Silk, and would have long ſince ſupplanted it, if it had been allowed to be tranſported into *Europe*. The Vanilla is a Weed that creeps up Trees as Ivy does; the Leaves are of a bright Green, long, ſtrait, thick, and pointed at the Ends. When it has been ſeven Years ſet in the Ground, it begins to bear a kind of Huſks, full of an oily Matter, and Seed much ſmaller than that of Poppy, which they uſe there to perfume Liquors and Tobacco, and is uſed in ſome Parts of *Europe*, in Chocolate. The Papaye is a thick Fruit, taſting ſomewhat like a Cucumber, of a round Shape, the Stem tall, but ſlender, with large Leaves, cleft like Vine-leaves; the Tree is hollow, and grows fifteen Foot high in one Year. The Accajou-apple is long, thick, and of an Orange-red; it has a ſharp Taſte, and is commonly eaten baked. At the End of this Fruit is a green Nut, which taſtes like *Spaniſh* Nuts or Filberts, much in the Shape of a little Sheep's Kidney; the Shell whereof is oily; the Oil ſtaining the Skin black, ſo as it does not rub off in a long Time, and is medicinal and very laxative. The Plant is a round Sort of Tree like a Cheſnut Tree, and the Leaves in Shape and Form reſembling thoſe of the Bay-Laurel. The Wood is very fine, proper to make all Sorts of Houſhold Goods. The *Indians* make their long Canoes, which they call *Piraguas*, of it; though theſe are commonly forty or fifty Feet long. It has been obſerved that wherever the Juice of this Apple falls, the Stain cannot be taken away till the Seaſon of the Apple is quite over.

We will now proceed from the Country and its Produce, to the People, of whom the *Dutch* Writers ſpeak to this Purpoſe: The *Indians* are generally red, and of a middling or rather low Stature, of a robuſt ſtrong Conſtitution, having black, long, and lank Hair, going all naked, their Privy-Parts covered only with a little Cotton-wool hanging down to the Legs: The Women are ſhorter generally than the Men, and of a red Colour, but tolerably handſome; their Eyes for the moſt part blue, and very regular Features in their Faces, and well framed; they uſe a Piece of Cloth about ſix Inches ſquare, which they call *Camiſa*, uſually wove in Stripes of divers Colours, and eſpecially white, which is the moſt valued among them.

The Men cut off their Beards, dye their Faces with Rocou, and cover their Arms and Faces with ſeveral Folds of the kind of Cloth before-mentioned. They wear, by way of Ornament, a ſort of Crown, or Garland, of Feathers of ſundry Colours, and bore a Hole between their Noſtrils, where they hang a little Piece of Money or a large green Stone, or rather Cryſtal, brought from the River of the *Amazons*, which they put a great Value on. Theſe *Indians* are generally of ſuch a robuſt Conſtitution, and live ſo long, that they reckon a Man dies young at a hundred Years of Age. They are endued with pretty good Senſe, their long Lives ſerving them to gain Experience, and improve their Judgments in ſuch Things as are within the Reach of the Light of Nature; they are judicious, ingenious, patient, and ſkilful in fiſhing and hunting, and ſpend the greateſt Part of their Time in thoſe Exerciſes, and ſpare no Pains to get their Living, being more inclined to Peace than War, which yet they engage in, either upon a juſt Quarrel, or Revenge, in Point of Honour. They perform their Promiſes to each other exactly, and will not do to others what they would not have others do to them.

It once happened that ſeveral of thoſe Nations near the River of *Amazons* entered into a League againſt another, and were about a Year in making great Preparations for War, which at laſt ended in one Night's Expedition, by ſurprizing two or three Carbets, ſo they call their Hamlets or Villages, where they burnt about an hundred Perſons of all Sexes and Ages, and returned home as proud and fierce as if they had conquered the whole Country; other Wars are ſeldom concluded till they make forty or fifty of their Enemies Priſoners, whom afterwards they either kill, boil in their Pots, and eat as the *Noragues* do, or ſell them to the *Europeans* at the Coaſt, for Slaves. This Barbarity ſeems in them to be rather the Effect of an ancient ill Cuſtom, to eat the Fleſh of their Enemies, than a natural Diſpoſition; for they ſeem to be aſhamed of it, when the *Europeans* repreſent to them, in their Language, That by the Laws of God we are forbid to kill an Enemy when he is taken Priſoner, and much more to eat him. And they did not offer to reply to it, and ſome of the *Alquas* have appeared full of Indignation when they heard that ſome *Galibis* inſinuated, they would be roaſted by them, if the *Europeans* ſhould venture to travel through their Country. Whence it may be inferred, that though this barbarous inhumane Practice is ſo much eſtabliſhed and received among theſe *Aſcquas* and *Noragues*, yet it ſeems to be no difficult Matter to reſtrain them from it.

They are generally great Eaters, and drink little or nothing at their ordinary Meals till they have done, and then commonly drink one Draught; but when they aſſemble together for warlike Enterprizes, or to begin a Canoe, or to launch it, or to admit one into their Council after they have expoſed him to ſeveral hard Trials, they make extraordinary Rejoicings, which frequently hold three or four Days, continuing till they have drank up all their Liquors; for upon thoſe Occaſions they make three or four different ſorts of Drink, ſome of which become very ſtrong by Fermentation, as that which they call *Palinot*, which they make of Caſſibi, that is, baked more than ordinary; their common Diet is that they call *Caſſibi*, being Cakes made of the Mandioca Root baked on the Embers, as alſo *Indian* Wheat, Fiſh, and Fruit.

Theſe Particulars ſhew, that the Accounts formerly publiſhed, when it was propoſed to fix an *Engliſh* Colony on theſe Coaſts, were perfectly well founded, and that there are no very conſiderable Obſtacles to be ſurmounted by the *Dutch*, in order to render *Surinam*, and the reſt of the Places they poſſeſs on the Coaſt of *South America*, much more advantageous than they are at preſent; the greateſt Difficulty is, to quiet the Minds of the Natives; the greateſt Part of the Nations in *Guiana*, having conceived an exceſſive Hatred to the *Dutch*, which is believed to ariſe chiefly from the Stories told them by the *French* and *Portugueſe* Miſſionaries, who make no ſort of Scruple of affirming any thing that may ſerve their Turns, and hinder the *Indians* from converſing or trading with Heretics. We are told that the Natives pretend to this Day a great Eſteem and Veneration for the *Engliſh*; and that they tell a great many romantic Stories about them, which are ſuppoſed to be owing to the Correſpondencies formerly ſettled there by Sir *Walter Raleigh*. In a Time of profound Peace perhaps it might not be impoſſible to attempt, and ſucceed in, fixing an *Engliſh* Colony upon one of the two great Rivers, by which *Guiana* is bounded; at leaſt it is right to keep alive the Memory of our having a Right to do this, and that we have a much better Title to this large and agreeable Country than any other Nation in *Europe*.

5. The Iſland of *Tobaga* lies in the Latitude of 11 Degrees 15 Minutes North, and is the moſt to the Eaſt of all the Iſlands called *Antilles*: It is about twelve Leagues in Length, four in Breadth, and thirty in Circumference. It originally belonged to us; for in 1628 we find that King *Charles* I. granted it, together with *Trinity Iſland*, *Barbuda*, and *St. Bernard*, to *Philip* Earl of *Pembroke* and *Montgomery*; but it does not appear that ever any

Settlement was made thereon, in Conſequence of this Grant. In 1642, or thereabouts, the *Dutch* from *Fluſhing*, ſent a conſiderable Colony thither, who fixed themſelves very commodiouſly; and though at firſt they found the Climate ſickly and unwholeſome, yet by Degrees, as they cleared it, the Air agreed with them better, and they began to extend their Settlements. The *Spaniards*, however, from the Iſland of *Trinity*, in Conjunction with the *Savages* from *St. Vincent*, fell upon the *Dutch*, murdered them to a Man, and deſtroyed their Plantations: After which the Iſland lay for ſeveral Years deſert.

About the Year 1664 Mr. *Adrian Lampſin*, a *Dutch Eaſt India* Director, and his Brother Mr. *Cornelius Lampſin*, Burgomaſter of *Fluſhing*, one of the Deputies to the States-General from the Province of *Zealand*, formed a Deſign of re-ſettling this Iſland entirely at their own Expence. Mr. *Cornelius Lampſin*, after obtaining a Licence for that Purpoſe from the States, applied himſelf to the Crown of *France* in order to prevent, if poſſible, any Danger to his new Colony from the Subjects of that Kingdom; and *Lewis* XIV. out of his great Generoſity, from a Deſire of ſhewing his Affection to the *Dutch*, and from a Principle of Indulgence to Men of noble Diſpoſitions, created Mr. *Lampſin* Baron of *Tabago*, with all the Privileges of a Baron of *France*, and aſſigned him alſo a fair Coat of Arms ſprinkled plentifully with Flower-de-Luces. Upon theſe Encouragements the two Brothers proceeded, and entirely at their own Charge, and by their prudent Management, from a waſte and deſart Country, in the ſhort Space of eleven Years, rendered it the moſt flouriſhing for its Size of all the *Leeward Iſlands*; they called it, from one of the largeſt Iſles in the Province of *Zealand*, *New Walcheren*, raiſed a very good Town, and a ſtrong Fortreſs, called *Lampſinberg*, and two other good Forts, *Beveren* and *Belleviſte*; and, which is very amazing, they ſettled, during their Adminiſtration, twelve hundred white People in that Iſland, where they ſucceeded in raiſing all the Commodities that are brought from the *Weſt Indies*, viz. Tobacco, Sugar, Ginger, Indigo, Cotton, Caſſia, Cacao, Rocou, Fuſtic, Citrons, Oranges, Ananas, *&c.* And beſides theſe, they had ſome very valuable Commodities which were not in the other Iſlands; ſuch as an excellent Kind of Saſſafras, a Kind of wild Mace and Nutmegs, and a great Quantity of Gum Copal.

They raiſed, beſides, all ſorts of Grain and Proviſions in Quantities ſufficient for their own Uſe, and for Exportation to the other Iſlands. But in 1678 Marſhal *d'Eſtrees*, by the expreſs Command of his Maſter *Lewis* XIV. ſailed with a great Fleet to deſtroy this very Settlement, notwithſtanding it had been made under his Protection, and by his Encouragement; for it ſeems it is one of the Privileges of the Barons of *France* to be beggared and deſtroyed whenever their grand Monarch pleaſes, which with ſome Difficulty was accompliſhed; for the *Dutch* defended themſelves obſtinately; but after two hard-fought general Engagements, they were defeated or rather over-powered by Numbers, and the Colony totally ruined, not more to the Loſs of the induſtrious Planters than to the eternal Infamy of that barbarous Prince, who placed his Glory in making better Men than himſelf miſerable. This Iſland was reſtored to the *Dutch* by the Treaty of *Nimeguen*; and they have repaired ſome of their Settlements; but it is now a Place not worth ſpeaking of, and very probably will never be, in any Degree, reſtored to its primitive Condition, becauſe, lying within Reach of the Savages of *St. Vincent* and the Continent, it will be a very difficult Matter to ſettle there with Safety, unleſs a new Colony was undertaken in the ſame Manner, and carried on with the ſame Spirit, as the laſt.

The Iſland of *St. Euſtachius* lies to the North-weſt of *St. Chriſtopher*'s, in the Latitude of 17 Degrees 40 Minutes North. It is but ſmall, being no more than five Leagues in Compaſs; it appears, to the ſouthward, like a high Mountain riſing out of the Sea, but ſtretches out northward into an indifferent good Country. The *Dutch* took Poſſeſſion of it in the Year 1635, and the States granted the Propriety of it to Mr. *Vanree*, and ſome other Merchants of *Fluſhing*, who very ſoon ſettled a Colony there of about ſix hundred Families. In the Year 1665 the *Engliſh* in *Jamaica* diſpoſſeſſed the *Dutch*, and ſent Colonel *Morgan* with three hundred *Buccaneers* to keep Poſſeſſion of the Place. He ſoon after, making an Attempt upon the *French* Part of the Iſland of *St. Kit*'s, was killed; and the next Year the *Dutch* and *French*, both then engaged in a War againſt *Great-Britain*, attacked and made themſelves Maſters of this Iſland, which by the Treaty of *Breda* was reſtored to the *Dutch*.

In 1689 it was taken from them by the *French*, but was reſtored to them again by the Treaty of *Ryſwick*, ſince which they have remained in the peaceable and quiet Poſſeſſion thereof. The Number of Plantations thereon, and the comfortable Condition of its Inhabitants, do very great Honour to the *Dutch* Induſtry; for without Doubt in any other Hands it would be a very indifferent Place; all the Sides of the Hill are laid out into ſmall Settlements, and cultivated; the Houſes are well built and well furniſhed; moſt of the Inhabitants are in good Circumſtances, and have Warehouſes well filled with *European* Commodities, with which they ſupply their Neighbours at a round Price, whenever they are diſappointed of Supplies from *France* and *England*. They likewiſe raiſe great Quantities of excellent Tobacco, which comes to a good Market in *Holland*, and ſome other Commodities; yet there is not a Drop of Water in the Iſland, but what they are ſupplied with from the Clouds, which they preſerve ſo carefully in Ciſterns, that they are very ſeldom diſtreſſed. The Top of the Mountain is covered with a vaſt Wood, and in the Midſt of it, inſtead of the Point one would expect, as it riſes in the Form of a Sugar-loaf, there is a wide and deep Cavern, whence ſome have imagined that it was formerly a Vulcano, or burning Mountain.

To the North-weſt of this Iſland lies that of *Saba*, in the Latitude of 17 Degrees 35 Minutes, which appears at firſt Sight to be a Rock; but the *Dutch* Governors of *St. Euſtachius* have ſent a ſmall Colony thither, who have found a tolerable Valley, where they raiſe Tobacco, and other Things. It is a great Misfortune to both theſe Iſlands that they have not ſo much as a Port; but in the former there is a good Road, to command which there is a pretty ſtrong Fort, and there all the Ships ride.

The Iſland of *St. Martin* lies in the Latitude of 18 Degrees 15 Minutes, is in Length about ſeven Leagues, and in Breadth four: The Climate is very far from being wholeſome, and the Soil cannot be very fertile, ſince there are no Rivers, and very few Springs in the Iſland, which are alſo dried up in the hot Seaſons; and then the Inhabitants are forced to have recourſe to their Ciſterns of Rain-water; yet, as inſignificant as this Place may appear, it has been contended for by three, and is actually inhabited by two, powerful Nations; ſo that the Hiſtory of it is extremely curious, and very well deſerves our Notice. The *Spaniards* in Right of Conqueſt took Poſſeſſion of it, built a Fort there which was very ſtrong, not ſo much for the ſake of what they were able to make of the Iſland, as to prevent any other Nation from ſettling there; but when they perceived that the *French*, *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, had ſeized the more valuable Iſlands, they thought it ridiculous to be any longer at the Expence of keeping this, and therefore reſolved to quit it. This Reſolution was taken in the Year 1648, and was executed very ſoon after. They deſtroyed their Ciſterns, burnt their Houſes, blew up their Fort, and then retired to *Porto Rico*.

It ſo fell out, that in this Garriſon there were four *Frenchmen*, five *Dutch* and a *Mulatto*, and all theſe ten hid themſelves in a Wood, till the *Spaniards* were embarked, and then courageouſly ſallied out and took Poſſeſſion of the whole Iſland of *St. Martin*. But they very ſoon made choice of different Places to ſettle in, and, by a very ſolemn Treaty, agreed to divide the Country between the *French* and *Dutch* Nations. The *Dutch* made a little Canoe, and ſent one of their Number to *St. Euſtachius*, to inform the Governor of their Situation; and they promiſed the *French*, that Care ſhould be taken to ſend the like Notice to the Governor of *St. Chriſtopher*'s; the former, being their own Affair, was performed very exactly; but the latter, concerning their Neighbours only, ſlipped out of their Heads. The *Dutch* did not neglect this new Accquiſition; on the contrary, one *Martin Thomas* was ſent from *St. Euſtachius*, to take Poſſeſſion of their Part of the Iſland, with a conſiderable Number of new Planters. After this they began to treat the *French* but very indifferently, who, receiving no News from their Countrymen, began to ſuſpect the Reaſon; and therefore, though with ſome Difficulty, found the Means of ſending a Perſon to *St. Chriſtopher*'s, to inform M. *de Poincy* of the Agreement they had made, and the Hardſhips they laboured under; whereupon he ſent an Officer and thirty Men, to take Poſſeſſion for the Crown of *France*; but the *Dutch* would not ſuffer them to land, declaring that they looked upon themſelves as the legal Poſſeſſors of that Iſland.

They founded this Claim upon a prior Poſſeſſion; of which it may not be amiſs to ſay ſomething. The *French* were the firſt who attempted to ſettle this Iſland; but allowing the *Dutch* to trade with them, they ſurprized and drove them out of it, and built a Fort for their own Security; but the *Spaniards*, not liking their Neighbourhood, drove them out in their Turn, and erected a ſtrong Fortreſs on the Iſland, as has been before-mentioned. As ſoon as the *French* Officer returned to *St. Chriſtopher*'s, M. *de Poincy* ſent his Nephew, with three hundred Men, to put an End to this Diſpute, and he did it very effectually; ſo that the *Dutch* Governor was glad to ſettle the Diviſion of the Iſland, according to the firſt Agreement; by which all that Part of the Iſland which looks towards *Anguilla*, was to belong to the *French*; and the other Side of the Iſland, in which formerly ſtood the *Spaniſh* Fort, remained to the *Dutch*. The former was the better half in every Reſpect, except the Salt-pits, which belonged to the *Dutch*. The Contract was ſettled on the Top of an Hill, the higheſt on the Iſland, which was from thence called *la Montange des Acordes*.

From this Time to the War in the Year 1688, the two Nations lived together in ſtrict Friendſhip, till the *French* called off the greateſt Part of their Inhabitants to people that Part of the Iſland of *St. Chriſtopher*'s, out of which they had driven the *Engliſh*; and being afterwards driven out by them, theſe poor People were, for the moſt Part, undone; ſo that when they endevoured to perſuade them in the next general War, to take the ſame Step, they would not liſten to the Propoſal at all, but reſolved to remain where they were; and the *Dutch* and *French* lived, while that War laſted, in great Quiet and Tranquillity; neither would they ſuffer the Privateers of either Nation to injure the other. The *French* Settlement is of very little Conſequence; but the *Dutch* are in a mighty good Condition, have large Warehouſes, and carry on a conſiderable Trade, eſpecially in Tobacco, which is very much eſteemed, and the Place would be ſtill more conſiderable, if they had a tolerable good Port; but they have only a Road, where Ships are much expoſed, and, beſides, it lies ſomewhat out of the Way, as being too much to the Leeward, which renders the Commerce to the Windward Iſlands very difficult. There is great Plenty in this Iſland of a kind of Tree, which both the *Dutch* and *French* call *Candlewood*. When it grows dry, and fit to burn, it yields a very pleaſant Smell; and the ſmall Sticks of it, when lighted, ſerve for Candles; and at the ſame Time that they light the Room, yield a very pleaſant Scent, which ariſes from a fragrant Gum in the Tree, which cannot otherwiſe be extracted.

Theſe are all the Poſſeſſions of the *Dutch* in this Part of the World, and it is equally ſurprizing that they have kept theſe ſo long, and that they have not been able to acquire better; ſince it is certain, that they have ſucceeded as well as any Nation, in thoſe they have ſettled, and carry on a conſiderable Trade to *Holland*, in all kinds of *Weſt India* Commodities; as on the other Hand, they maintain a very conſiderable Commerce in *America*, from the great Warehouſes of *European* Commodities, which they keep always full, and have ſmall Veſſels ready to carry their Goods wherever they hear of a Market, more eſpecially in the Time of War between *Great-Britain* and *France*; for then they have an Opportunity of ſupplying the Colonies of both Nations, in exchange for Sugar, and other *Weſt India* Goods, which they tranſport in their own Veſſels into *Europe*; ſo that in a very few Years ſuch a War cannot fail of making all the *Dutch* Planters prodigiouſly rich. We are now to proceed to their other Iſlands, which lie nearer the *Spaniſh* Coaſt, and are conſequently of more Value to them.

Curaçao, or as the *Dutch* pronounce, and ſometimes write it, *Curaſſow*, is a ſmall Iſland in the Latitude of 12 Degrees 40 Minutes North, about nine or ten Leagues in Length, and about five in Breadth; the Soil of which is far enough from being fruitful, and the Climate ſtill farther from being either wholeſome or agreeable; but notwithſtanding theſe Diſadvantages, ſuch have been the Care and Induſtry of the *Dutch*, that they have always drawn great Advantages from this ſmall, and ſeemingly inconſiderable, Country, in which formerly there were large Paſtures, and a great Quantity of Cattle; but of late they have turned theſe into Sugar and Tobacco Plantations, ſo that at preſent it is thought the Proviſions of all Sorts, that are raiſed in this Iſland, would ſcarce maintain its Inhabitants for one Day; yet ſuch is the Prudence of the *Dutch* Government, that the Inhabitants are ſo far from being expoſed to Want, that there is not a more plentiful, or better provided, Place in the *Weſt Indies*; but, at the ſame Time it is to be underſtood that every thing fetches a high Price there, which is ſo far from being a Diſadvantage, that, in reality, it is the principal Source of the great Wealth of the Inhabitants. On the South-ſide of the Eaſt End of this Iſland, there is an Harbour called *Santa Barbara*; but the chief Harbour is about three Leagues from the South-eaſt End, on the South-ſide where the *Dutch* have a very good Town and a ſtrong Fort. Ships bound in thither muſt be ſure to keep cloſe to the Harbour's Mouth, and have a Hauſar, or Rope, ready to ſend one End aſhore to the Fort; for there is no anchoring at the Entrance of the Harbour, and the Current always ſets to the Weſtward; but, being got in, it is a very ſure Place for Ships either to careen or lie ſafe; at the Eaſt End are two Hills, one of them is higher than the other, and ſteepeſt towards the North ſide.

The *Dutch* Town, upon this Iſland, is, for its Size, one of the fairſt and fineſt in *America*; and there are in it every thing requiſite to render it commodious and agreeable, as far as the Climate and Soil will admit; public Buildings there are of all kinds, very neat and commodious; the Port is rendered as ſafe as it is poſſible, and though the Entry is dangerous, yet the Precautions taken for the Service of Strangers, by the Government, are ſuch as not only free them from all Difficulties, but render them alſo, in a great Meaſure, inſenſible of any Hazard; ſo that though Nature has made it as inacceſſable as any, yet, by the Skill and Induſtry of the *Dutch*, it is become one of the moſt frequented Ports in the *Weſt Indies*. All kind of Labour here is performed by Engines, and that with ſuch Dexterity, that Ships are lifted at once into the Dock, where they are carefully and effectually careened, and furniſhed with Proviſions, naval Stores, Ammunition, and even Artillery if they want it; and all this is done with equal Readineſs to all Nations, the *Dutch* being in perpetual Alliance with ready Money, let it be *Engliſh*, *French*, or *Spaniſh*; as appeared clearly in our late Expedition to *Laguira*, and *Porto Cavallo*, where they furniſhed us with Cables, Ammunition, and even Men, for attacking the *Spaniards*, who they had before furniſhed with Powder and Ball, ſufficient to render that Attack ineffectual, and, but for the Neighbourhood of this *Dutch* Settlement, the *Spaniſh* Fortreſſes before-mentioned had been infallibly reduced, and in our Poſſeſſion.

Bonaira and *Aruba* are two Iſlands likewiſe in the Poſſeſſion of the *Dutch*, and dependent upon the Iſland of *Curaçao*; the former, which is twice as big as *Curaçao*, lies ten Leagues to the Eaſtward of it, and is about ſeventeen in Compaſs; the *Dutch* have a Deputy-Governor here, a Guard of Soldiers, and conſiderable Number of *Indians*; of late Years there is a Fort built for the Protection and Security of the Place, in which the Soldiers do Duty. The *Indians* are Huſbandmen, and plant

Maize and *Guinea* Corn, and ſome Yams, and Potatoes; but their chiefeſt Buſineſs is about Cattle, for this Iſland is plentifully ſtocked with Goats, and they ſend great Quantities every Year in Salt to *Curaçao*. There are ſome Horſes, Bulls, and Cows, but no Sheep or Hogs all over the Iſland, or any Animals, but thoſe before-mentioned; the South-ſide is plain Low-land, and there are ſeveral Sorts of Trees, but none very large; there is a ſmall Spring of Water by the Houſes, which ſerves the Inhabitants, though it is brackiſh; at the Weſt-End of the Iſland there is a good Spring of freſh Water, and three or four *Indian* Families live there, but there is no Water or Houſes in any other Place.

On the South-ſide, near the Eaſt End, is a good Salt-pond, where *Dutch* Sloops come for Salt, which is now become a very conſiderable Commodity, and the *Dutch* are contriving Methods for turning it to ſtill greater Advantage. The Iſland of *Aruba* lies ſeven Leagues Weſt from *Curaçao*, and is not very conſiderable; however, they breed ſome Cattle there, and a great many Horſes, which makes it uſeful to their chief Colony; to which it alſo furniſhes a great Quantity of Garden-ſtuff, without which the People at *Curaçao* could not ſubſiſt; for amongſt other Methods they have of getting Money, one is, allowing Strangers to erect Hoſpitals aſhore for their Sick, in which they conſume a great many Greens and Roots, and pay for them very largely, as indeed they do for every other Conveniency.

6. As this Iſland is not above ſeven Leagues diſtant from the *Spaniſh* Coaſt, a more convenient Station cannot be wiſhed for the carrying on a clandeſtine Trade; it was firſt introduced by the Sale of Negroes, brought thither by the *Dutch*, from their numerous Settlements on the Coaſt of *Guinea*. Theſe the *Spaniards* brought, in a Manner, openly, and have tranſported, in their own Veſſels, fifteen hundred at a Time. But ſince the *Engliſh*, from *Jamaica*, have interfered in this Trade, it is ſunk very conſiderably, though they ſtill ſupply the neighbouring Provinces, and reap a great Profit thereby, becauſe no Body underſtands the Management of this Buſineſs better than they do, can bring Slaves at a cheaper Rate, or vend them at a higher Price. Some Writers have aſſerted, that in its moſt flouriſhing Condition, the Slave Trade alone drew from the *Spaniards* conſiderably above a Million of Pieces of Eight *per annum*.

The Dealers at *Curaçao*, and their Correſpondents in *Holland*, were too knowing, and too converſant in Buſineſs, to let the Declenſion of the Slave Trade rob them of the Benefit of this Iſland. In order to replace what was loſt by the *Engliſh* interfering with them, they built vaſt Magazines, and ſtored them with *European* Goods, which had a very good Effect: In the firſt Place, it preſerved to them the Remainder of their Slave Trade, for the *Spaniards* knowing that this, of all others, was moſt winked at by their Governors, reſolved to keep up a Pretence of buying Slaves, in order to have an Opportunity of purchaſing other Things. Secondly, It tempted the *Spaniards* to run all Hazards, that they might, at a reaſonable Price, obtain any Sort of *European* Merchandize they wanted, and that too whenever they pleaſe. It is incredible what vaſt Sums have been annually traded for in this Way; beſides, the Inhabitants of *Curaçao*, to keep up a good Correſpondence with their Neighbours, and, as far as poſſible, to fix their Affections, refuſed to ſuffer any Privateers to enter their Ports; nor would, upon any Terms, purchaſe their Plunder, which, at the ſame Time, was publickly ſold at *Jamaica*, where the Privateers uſually ſpent their Money; this Spirit of Self-denial, however, did not hinder the Traders of *Curaçao* from directing the Privateers to put into the Iſland of *St. Thomas*, whither they inſtantly ſent Sloops with Money and Agents on board them, to purchaſe what the Privateers had to ſell; taking Care to ſend the Effects as ſoon as poſſible to *Europe*, that the *Spaniards* might have no Intelligence of this Contrivance.

It is to be obſerved, that in reſpect to this clandeſtine Commerce, it is chiefly carried on by the *Spaniards* themſelves, who run all Hazards, come in Perſon to the Iſland, and carry away whatever they have bought in their own Ships. In proceſs of Time, however, ſome Merchants deviſed another Way of carrying on the ſame kind of Commerce, by Ships ſent directly from *Europe* to the *Spaniſh* Coaſts. Theſe Veſſels were of ſuch Force, that thoſe aboard them ſtood in no Fear of any Precautions the Governors could take; and, on the other Hand, as their Cargoes paſſed immediately from their original Owners to the *Spaniards*, they could be afforded conſiderably cheaper than thoſe conſigned to Factors in *America*. The Method of trading, was by a Signal from the Ships, or from the Shore. The Long-boat was then ſent off well manned, brought the Merchants aboard with their Money, and carried them back with their Goods. The Reader has been elſewhere told, with what Obſtinacy one of theſe Ships was defended againſt two Guarda Coſtas, and, to ſay the Truth, thoſe aboard them choſe rather to ſink than be taken; a very extraordinary kind of Courage, for which, however, it is not impoſſible to account; and, as it may be uſeful as well as pleaſant, I think it not amiſs to enter into the Particulars thereof.

At the Time one of theſe Ships is fitting out, Notice is given to all Sailors, that they may have an Opportunity of entering; which they do with great Alacrity, there being, generally ſpeaking, twice as many who offer themſelves, as can be made Uſe of; when the Proprietors have their Complement of picked Seamen, they not only allow every Man his proper Cargo to a certain Value, but alſo furniſh it themſelves on Credit, at prime Coſt; by this Means every private Man aboard becomes a Proprietor; and if the Ship is attacked, fights for his own Property, which is the Reaſon that he will drown ſoon than part with it, and is one Cauſe why Guarda Coſtas are not over-fond of meeting with thoſe Veſſels, but chuſe rather to prey on fair Traders who have fewer Men, and are of leſs Force. The Scheme I have mentioned is certainly a right one, though in a wrong Cauſe. The only Way to ſupport the Spirits, and fix the Affections, of ordinary People, is to conſult their Intereſt; and thoſe who imagine that Juſtice, Honour, or any thing elſe, will anſwer the ſame End, without a due regard to this, muſt not expect much Pity when they find their Miſtake; ſo true in all Caſes is that divine Maxim, *That the Children of this World are wiſer in their Generation than the Children of Light.*

In a Time of full Peace, it has been computed that the Trade of this Iſland did not produce leſs to the *Dutch* than five Millions of Florins *per annum*, which is about half a Million Sterling; and conſidering that they derive this from a Parcel of Rocks, that any but they would ſcarce think worth keeping, it is a prodigious thing, and muſt, in the Opinion of every competent Judge, paſs for the cleareſt Proof of the *Dutch* Skill and Induſtry that can poſſibly be given. In Time of War the Profit is much larger; for then every Article of their Commerce is vaſtly increaſed, they ſell more Slaves, more naval and military Stores, and more *European* Goods to the *Spaniards*; and the Governors are themſelves leſs ſtrict in Point of Licences; for theſe are things that muſt be had, and there is ſcarce any other Market. Beſides, at ſuch a Time, they drive a good Trade with the *Engliſh* Squadrons, that come upon thoſe Coaſts, and have alſo conſiderable Dealings with their Privateers, for which, in Time of War, they always keep a regular Factory at *St. Thomas*, as will be ſhewn hereafter.

The Reader may collect from hence the true Reaſon of thoſe Diſputes, ſo often mentioned in the *Dutch* Gazettes, between the Crown of *Spain* and the Republic; the former looking upon all the Commerce of *Curaçao* as a kind of contraband Trade, which ought to ſubject the Veſſels employed in it to frequent Seizures, by the Law of Nations, which the latter will by no Means allow, pretending that the Tobacco, Indigo, and Hides, aboard thoſe Veſſels, are the Produce of their own Colonies; and that the Silver found in them, is nothing more than the Balance of their Trade with other Nations. The *Spaniards*, indeed, know, but are not always able to prove, the contrary, and therefore are ſometimes obliged to releaſe the *Dutch* Ships, taken by the Guarda Coſtas, and for thoſe that are confiſcated, though the *Dutch* always make a great Noiſe about it, yet they are ſenſible enough, that they have not much Reaſon; and this is the true Cauſe, notwithſtanding all their loud Complaints, that they never proceed to Extremities upon this Subject, but are content with what Reſtitution they can get, and ſtill keeping up a Claim to what they know will never be reſtored.

7. We have, in ſeveral Parts of this Work, had Occaſion to ſpeak of the *Dutch Weſt India* Company, and therefore we ſhall not repeat here what has been already ſaid upon that Subject, but content ourſelves with obſerving, that the *Weſt India* Company, which ſubſiſts at preſent in that Country, is not the ſame that formerly made ſo great a Figure in the World, were Maſters of *Brazil*, and the Scourge of the *Spaniards*; but another Company erected on the Ruin of that, in the Year 1674, into which the Proprietors of the *Old Weſt India* Company were indeed admitted, but admitted upon ſuch Terms, as ſhewed plainly enough how low they were fallen, and how near becoming Bankrupts, for they were allowed no more than fiften *per Cent.* in the new Capital; that is to ſay, if a Member of the *Old Weſt India* Company was poſſeſſed there of one hundred Florins in Property, it gave him a Title to no more than fifteen Florins in the new Stock; neither could they think this hard, ſince ſome of their Creditors bore a great Proportion in the Loſs, Thoſe that had lent Money upon the Stock, had no more than thirty *per Cent.* allowed them; but as to the fair Creditors, with whom the Company had run in Debt for the Support of their Commerce, they had their Demands converted into Stock at par; ſo that the Proprietors of the New Company were three different Sorts of People, in Favour of whom the Republic granted all the Privileges and Emoluments which the Old Company had enjoyed; and they entered, likewiſe, into the Poſſeſſion of all the Fortreſſes and Colonies which belonged to the ſame Old Company.

The Affairs of this New Company were managed, as they ſtill are, by Directors, in the ſame Manner as thoſe of the *Eaſt India* Company; and though by ſeveral Calls they raiſed conſiderable Sums of Money, and carried on their Trade with tolerable Spirit for ſome Years, yet they could never retrieve their Affairs, but have been always endeavouring to unite themſelves to the *Eaſt India* Company, as the only Means left for preſerving their Settlements in *Africa* and the *Weſt Indies.* As for *Surinam*, there is a particular Company eſtabliſhed for the Management of its Commerce; and the Trade to *Curaçao* is managed by private Perſons, who pay the Company for their Licences, and a ſmall Duty upon all the Goods exported or imported. The only excluſive Trade they now enjoy, is that of Negroes, which of late is very much declined. The Reader will eaſily perceive, that the great Cauſe why this Company has ſunk ſo low, is the Loſs of the Colonies in the *Weſt Indies*; for if they had more Plantations there, and thoſe of greater Extent, it would occaſion a Demand for Negroes; and as the *African* Trade is ſtill in the Hands of this Company, they would be great Gainers thereby, and a conſiderable Part of the Commodities brought from the *Weſt Indies*, muſt neceſſarily enter their Warehouſes.

As it is, the *Dutch* drive a large and a beneficial Trade to that Part of the World, ſo that the Nation in general ſuffers very little, if any thing, by the Company's being in a low Condition; which, in all Probability, is the true Cauſe why the Republic is at ſo little Pains to recover, or reſtore, the Affairs of that Company; and, perhaps, would be glad to ſee it united to that of the *Eaſt Indies*, as a Means, and, indeed, the only Means, of reviving and ſupporting the Slave-Trade. There was a Probability, as we have ſhewn in another Place, of ſeeing this accompliſhed, upon the Propoſal made by the *Weſt India* Company for that Purpoſe, in 1714, when they made it appear, that their Funds amounted to near one hundred and fifty thouſand Florins a Year, excluſive of a legal Demand they have upon the Crown of *Portugal* for a large Sum of Money; but, ſince that Time, the Affair ſeems to have been no more thought of, or is it at all likely that it will hereafter be brought to a Concluſion. Upon the whole, therefore, we have very good Reaſon to ſuppoſe, that as their Affairs now ſtand, the *Dutch* will never make any great Progreſs in this Part of the World; for, except their Colonies upon the Continent, they have none that are either capable of being improved or extended. *Tabago* can hardly be reſettled, unleſs we ſhould expel the *Indians* out of *St. Vincent*. *St. Euſtachius* and *Saba* are down-right Rocks, of which it is wonderful that they make ſo much as they do, but it is impoſſible that they ſhould make more; and the ſame thing may be ſaid of *Curaçao*, and the Iſlands which depend upon it; ſo that how much ſoever private People may gain by the contraband Trade, carried on from thence with the *Spaniards*, yet it is not at all probable that they ſhould ever become formidable to us, or to the *French* in the *Weſt Indies*.

We may add to this, that even a great Part of that Trade is now carried on with the *Spaniards* from *Holland* directly; ſo that many of the Ships employed therein barely touch at *Curaçao*, that they may have a Pretence for ſtanding over to the *Spaniſh Main*, where, eſpecially in Time of War, they find a Way to trade, in the following Manner: They bear away directly for a *Spaniſh* Port, and as they enter it make Signals of Diſtreſs, pretending, commonly, that they have ſprung a Leak, and that they are in imminent Danger of periſhing at Sea, which obliges them to ſeek for Shelter and Protection in the Port of a Crown allied to the Republic. As ſoon as they come to an Anchor, the firſt thing that is done, is to give Notice to the Governor of their great Diſtreſs, and, as a full Proof thereof, to ſend a very conſiderable Preſent. By this Means Leave is obtained to come aſhore, to erect a Warehouſe, and to unload the Ship; but then all this is performed under the Eye of the King's Officers, and the Goods are regularly entered in the Regiſter, as they are brought into the Warehouſe, which, when full, is ſhut up, and the Doors ſealed; all theſe Precautions taken, the Buſineſs is effectually carried on in the Night, by a Back-door, and the *European* Goods being taken out, Indigo, Cochineal, Vanillas, Tobacco, and above all, Bars of Silver, and Pieces of Eight, are very exactly packed in the ſame Caſes, and placed as they ſtood before.

But then, that ſuch as have bought may be able to ſell publicly, a new Scheme takes place, a Petition is preſented to the Governor, ſetting forth the Strangers Want of Money to pay for Proviſions, building the Warehouſe, Timber for repairing the Ships, and a proportionable Number of public *Items*; in Conſideration of all which, Leave is deſired to diſpoſe of ſome ſmall Part of their Cargo, in order to diſcharge thoſe Debts; theſe being obtained in the uſual Manner, ſomething of each Sort of Goods, which has been privately ſold, is now publicly brought to Market, and purchaſed by thoſe Perſons reſpectively who had large Quantities in their Warehouſes before. Thus this whole Scene of Iniquity is tranſacted with all the formal Solemnity which could attend an Act of Juſtice and Compaſſion, The larger Concern the *Dutch* have in this Kind of Trade, the leſs they will be inclined to planting; that is to ſay, while they have this Channel for the bringing in of Wealth open, they will be the leſs ready to think of ſettling new Colonies, or of extending and improving thoſe that they already have; and indeed, if they were to think otherwiſe upon this Subject, they would find infinite Difficulties in the Execution of any Deſign of that Nature, at a Time when all the Nations in *Europe* are thoroughly convinced of the Importance of their *American* Settlements, and are extremely jealous of each other's Progreſs therein.

8. There remains now but one little Iſland more in this Part of the World, of which the Nature of our Deſign obliges us to give an Account: This is, the ſmall Iſland of *St. Thomas*, which lies in the Latitude of 18 Degrees North, and is one of the largeſt of that Cluſter of Iſlands which are called *the Virgins*. This Iſland is not above ſeven Leagues in Circumference, but has the Advantage of a very good Situation in all Reſpects: The Port is excellent, the Form of it an Oval, almoſt entirely

ſurrounded by two Promontories, which defend the Ships that lie within from almoſt all Winds. In the Centre of the Port there is a ſmall Fortreſs, which ſtands in the Middle of a Plain; it is a regular Square, with four good Baſtions though very little, but has neither Outworks or Ditch; and the only Security, beſides its Walls, is a Palliſade, with which it is ſurrounded. On the Right and Left of the Fort, there are two ſmall Eminences, which in our Plantations would be called *Bluffs*, and ſeem by Nature deſigned for Batteries, which would command the whole Harbour; but whether the *Danes* have miſtaken her Intention, or are unwilling to be at any Expence that may be avoided, certain it is, that there are no Batteries here. The Iſland belongs to the King of *Denmark*, who has a Governor and a Garriſon here; but there is beſides, a large Factory on the Iſland, which belongs to the *Brandenburghers*, or Subjects to the King of *Pruſſia*.

The Neighbourhood of the *Spaniſh* Iſland of *Porto Rico*, which is at no greater Diſtance than ſeventeen Leagues, ſecures the Inhabitants of *St. Thomas*, from any Danger of wanting Proviſions, to which otherwiſe they would not fail to be expoſed; for though the Soil of their Iſland be tolerably good, and every Foot of it cultivated, yet it would not produce ſufficient for the Maintenance of the Inhabitants, which for the Size of the Place, are very numerous. The Town of *St. Thomas* conſiſts of one long Street, at the End of which is the *Daniſh* Magazine, which is a very large, magnificent, and convenient Building, wherein there is room for Stores, Slaves, and Goods of all Sorts. The *Brandenburgh* Factory is alſo very conſiderable, and the Perſons belonging to it are chiefly *French* Refugees, who fled thither when the Proteſtants were expelled from the *French* Iſlands. The chief Produce of their Plantations here is Sugar, which is very fine-grained, but is made in ſmall Quantities, and the whole Amount cannot be very conſiderable; yet the *Daniſh* Governor is generally a Man of ſome Rank, lives in a Manner very ſuitable to his Character, and generally acquires a very good Fortune in that Station. The Director of the *Daniſh* Trade becomes likewiſe rich in a few Years; and the Inhabitants in general, by the Neatneſs of their Houſes, and the Condition of their Plantations, ſhew plainly enough that they are in eaſy Circumſtances.

All this is derived from their Trade, which is very large and extenſive, and of very different Kinds; of all which, however, we will do the beſt we can to give the Reader a tolerable Idea. In the firſt Place, the *Spaniards* ſend hither large Veſſels continually, for the Purchaſe of Slaves, which is the chief Support of the *Daniſh* and *Brandenburgh* Commerce, as they draw the Slaves which they ſell, from their Settlements upon the Coaſt of *Africa*, and which, if they had not this Vent for them, would long ago have become uſeleſs, and conſequently have been deſerted. But beſides Slaves, the *Spaniards* buy here, as at *Curaçao*, all Sorts of *European* Goods, of which there is always a vaſt Stock in the Magazine, which belong chiefly to the *Dutch*, who carry on a prodigious Commerce here, by which they are great Gainers. Beſides this Trade with the *Spaniards*, there is a very great Reſort of *Engliſh*, *French*, and *Dutch* Veſſels to this Port, where there is a common Market for them all; where they can always depend upon the Sale of ſuperfluous, and the Purchaſe of, neceſſary Commodities; and this cannot be done without conſiderable Advantage to the Inhabitants of the Place where theſe Dealings are tranſacted. But if in Time of Peace there is a vaſt deal of Buſineſs done at *St. Thomas*, and immenſe Sums of Money turned in the Space of a Year, in Time of War this is vaſtly increaſed; for being a neutral Port, the Privateers of all Nations reſort thither to ſell their Prizes; and the *Dutch*, who will not receive any thing taken from the *Spaniards* at *Curaçao*, buy theſe Goods without Scruple at *St. Thomas*, and have always an Agent and large Sums of Money there, ready for that Purpoſe.

This Manner of dealing, in Time of War, is ſo advantageous, that in Time of Peace the People of *St. Thomas* can hardly leave it off, but are a little too apt to deal with that Sort of Privateers, which, in plain *Engliſh*, are ſtiled Pirates. This paſſes in the Eye of the World for the Work of the *Danes*, but the Truth of the Matter is, that the greateſt Part of this Commerce is driven by their Neighbours, who are not ſcrupulous of dealing with any Sort of People, provided always they can deal to Advantage. It was here that the famous Capt. *Avery*, or ſome of his Companions, diſpoſed of the greateſt Part of the rich Goods, taken in a Ship belonging to the Mogul, about forty Years ago, when the Magazines at *St. Thomas*, were ſo exceſſively crouded with *Indian* Goods, that they were not entirely emptied in twenty Years after, though they generally ſold them at low Prices; and it was by this Accident, that Pieces of *Arabian* Gold, which were, properly ſpeaking, Pagodas, were long current in the *Weſt Indies*, under the Name of Sequins, for they knew not what to call them, at the Rate of about ſix Shillings, and Nutmegs, Cloves, Cinnamon, and Mace, were likewiſe bought there very cheap, for many Years after.

9. We have now run through the entire Hiſtory of *America*, from its firſt Diſcovery to the preſent Time: We have ſhewn how, when, and by whom all the different Parts of the Continent; and all the ſeveral Iſlands of this new World were diſcovered, planted, or conquered; but we have been more particularly careful to explain the preſent State of its Commerce, and the Importance of their Settlements to the ſeveral Nations in *Europe* which have Territories in that Country. All therefore that we have now to do is, to add ſomewhat by Way of Conjecture, as to what may be the future State of theſe vaſt Countries, and what Changes may poſſibly happen in the Affairs of their preſent Poſſeſſors. It is very certain, that a Writer runs a great Riſk, who hazards his Credit upon ſuch Contingencies, and is commonly but very little pitied, if he is ſo unfortunate as to fall into Miſtakes, becauſe he might have avoided, if he had been wiſe, the running any ſuch Riſk; but there is great Difference between an Author who has nothing ſo much in view as raiſing his own Character, and one who conſiders only the Benefit of his Readers, and the Advantages that may reſult from his Writings to others. The latter I freely own is all I aim at, and as I am very certain, that whether the Event juſtifies my Conjectures or not, the Public will be Gainers, I am very little concerned about my Character as a Writer, and therefore am very willing to take my Chance, whether what I am going to ſay upon this Subject may raiſe, or ruin, my Reputation.

The *Spaniards* have undoubtedly, the faireſt, largeſt, and richeſt Countries in *America*; but I am very far from thinking that they are the moſt powerful Nation in thoſe Parts, or that they draw greater Advantages from their Settlements, than are derived from their Colonies to the *Britiſh* Nation. This will appear to many an abſurd and ridiculous Aſſertion, and will appear to moſt a Paradox hardly to be maintained; but to me it ſeems a Truth, and therefore I venture to lay it down; and ſhall next offer my Reaſons in the Support of it. In the firſt Place, though the *Spaniſh* Empire in *America* be very wide, yet it is alſo very weak: In the Kingdom of *Mexico*, where they are ſtrongeſt, the Government is in a very ticklish Situation, the People in general are diſcontented, and even thoſe entruſted with the Government are far enough from being pleaſed; inſomuch that I am very certain, if any Attempt had been made with a reaſonable Force upon that Country, in the Beginning of the preſent War, a general Inſurrection would have enſued. In *Peru* or *South America* their Situation is much worſe, their Force being not near ſo great, and the Diſpoſition of the People not at all better; ſo that if any Notice had been taken of a Project publiſhed when we firſt declared War againſt that Nation, under the Title of *A Propoſal for humbling* SPAIN, we might have made ourſelves Maſters of *Buenos Ayres*, with as little Loſs as was ſuſtained in the fruitleſs Attempt upon *Laguira* and *Porto Cavallo*, which could not have turned to any great Account if we had ſucceeded. The *Spaniards*, on the contrary, had it not in their Power to hurt us, as appears from their being defeated in an Attempt upon the leaſt and weakeſt of our Colonies, with all the Force they were able to raiſe. Such is the Difference between the Strength of their Governments in that Part of the World, and ours.

But to enter more cloſely into the Matter, let us conſider the vaſt Extent of the Country they have, and the Number of People they have in it, and compare it with our own Territory and Force. The *Spaniards*, on one Side of the Continent, poſſeſs a Tract of Land, from 37 Degrees of North Latitude, to 53 Degrees of South; that is to ſay, from *Cape Sebaſtian*, the moſt northern Part of *California*, to the Streights of *Magellan*, which makes about two thouſand Leagues; and on the other Side of the Continent from the River of *Plate*, to the Head of the Bay of *Mexico*, their Territories lie directly along the Shore, or immediately behind it. Yet to guard this immenſe Tract of Ground, they have not above ſix hundred thouſand white People of all Ranks, Sexes, and Ages, and not above three Millions of Subjects of all Colours; and of theſe it is generally reckoned that a ſixth Part are Eccleſiaſtics, and conſequently uſeleſs to the State for its Defence; on the other Side we have five or ſix hundred Leagues Coaſt, in which we have very near as many white People as the *Spaniards*, and thoſe continually increaſing, both by the Number of Perſons bred and born in thoſe Countries, and by the Acceſſion of People from other Places, drawn thither by the Hopes of Profit. The *Spaniſh* Colonies have been always held dangerous and deſtructive to *Old Spain*, by draining that Country of its People; but this is ſo far from our Caſe, that, as I have already obſerved, our Numbers have not only increaſed, ſince we began to make Settlements in *America*, but have really been increaſed by them, that is, in Conſequence of the Navigation and Trade which thoſe Colonies have produced.

At the Time *Spain* diſcovered the *Weſt Indies*, and for ſome Time after, ſhe was the greateſt maritime Power in *Europe*; but the Maxims ſhe laid down for ſecuring her Dominions in the New World, ruined her naval Strength in the Old; ſo that inſtead of great Fleets and numerous Squadrons, ſhe is now reduced to a few Ships of War of no great Strength; and the whole Trade of her *Weſt Indies* is, as to Shipping and the breeding of Sailors, very inconſiderable. On the other Hand, our naval Power took Riſe from our Diſputes with them, grew in Proportion as theirs declined, and is, at this Day, ſupported and maintained by what has weakened them, our *American* Settlements, where, comparatively ſpeaking, we carry on as great a Trade, and employ as much Shipping, as in *Europe*.

The *Spaniſh* Subjects in *America* are, generally ſpeaking, a weak, lazy, and effeminate People; ſo that whatever Good is derived from them to their Mother Country, ariſes not from the Induſtry, but from the Labour and Pains of their tributary *Indians* or Negro Slaves. With reſpect to our People it is the very reverſe; they are generally active and buſy, engaged in different Methods of getting their Living, and very ſeldom remain fixed to one Spot for their whole Lives; and whenever there is a War in that Part of the World, and tolerable Encouragement given them, they are able to raiſe conſiderable Armies, and fit out Numbers of Privateers. The Weakneſs and Declenſion of the *Spaniſh* Power, is viſible in all Parts of their Empire; where ſeveral great and flouriſhing Cities, erected by their firſt Conquerors, are either ſunk into Villages, or totally deſerted; but is more eſpecially apparent in their Iſlands, which were formerly the beſt peopled, and the moſt flouriſhing Parts of their Dominions; whereas they are now fallen ſo low, that it is with Difficulty they keep them, and there is no direct Trade between them and *Old Spain* at all. Our Colonies are ſo far from being in ſuch a State, that they are daily increaſing; and ſome of them, ſuch as the Iſlands of *Bermudas*, are rather over than under peopled; and whenever a long Peace, and a wiſe Adminiſtration, with reſpect to our Settlements ſhall take Place, they will become infinitely ſtronger, and more conſiderable than they they are at preſent; and perhaps it will be found both practicable and expedient to make new Settlements, a thing unthought of by the *Spaniards*, who can ſcarce keep what they have.

Upon the whole, all theſe Circumſtances conſidered, I flatter myſelf it will not be thought the mere Effects of Partiality, in Favour of *Britain*, that have led me into this Notion, but rather a ſerious and attentive Conſideration of the Situation and Circumſtances of both Countries, with reſpect to their *American* Dominions. I am very well aware of one Objection, which is, the general Computations made of the Profits of both Colonies. It may be ſaid, what Proportion does the Trade, or rather the Balance of Trade, from the *Engliſh* Settlements, bear to forty Millions of Pieces of Eight, which in a Time of Peace, it is computed, are annually brought home by the *Spaniſh Flota* and *Galleons*; and how idle and ridiculous a thing is it, to compare ſuch immenſe Treaſures of Gold and Silver, with our Cargoes of Sugar, Tobacco, naval Stores, and Fiſh? But, perhaps, when we conſider this more attentively, it will neither appear ſo ridiculous, nor ſo much to our Diſadvantage, as at firſt Sight it may ſeem.

We might, in the firſt Place, diſpute the Matter of Fact; for it is certain, that if we examine it nicely, and require all the neceſſary Proofs, it can never be brought any thing near that Sum; but this we are content to wave, becauſe if the fraudulent, as well as fair, Trade, be taken in, it is not impoſſible, in Time of Peace, that there may be in Jewels, Gold, Silver, and Goods, the Value of Eight Millions of our Money exported in one Year, from *America* into *Old Spain*. But the next Queſtion is, does it remain there? Does this prodigious Wealth belong to the Subjects of *Spain*? Does it circulate through that Nation? All theſe Queſtions muſt be anſwered in the Negative, and I believe it will be allowed me, That to ſuppoſe two Millions Sterling, or, at moſt, ten Millions of Pieces of Eight, become *Spaniſh* Property, is over-doing the thing, and allowing them more Riches than really comes to their Share. But admitting the Caſe to ſtand thus, the Compariſon between what they gain by their Colonies, and we by ours, is far enough from appearing ridiculous.

But it may be objected, that we do not bring home Money or intrinſic Riches, which is all that can add to the real Wealth of a Nation. Yet this very Objection, which ſeems to ſet us farther back than ever, confirms our Argument. The Commodities we receive from our Colonies, are the Produce of Labour and Induſtry; they are returned us for what was the Produce of Labour and Induſtry here, become, when imported, the Objects of Labour and Induſtry again; and after ſupplying our home Conſumption, for the Supply of which we muſt otherwiſe have ſent out ready Money, the Overplus is once more exported, and actually produces ready Money. Now if we reflect, that every Fact, and every Circumſtance attending each of theſe Facts, is ſtrictly true, with reſpect to ourſelves, and that nothing can be replied to it on the Behalf of the *Spaniards*, who have the Goods and Manufactures they ſend to the *Weſt Indies* carried to them in foreign Veſſels, and the Money which pays for them again, exported from *Spain* in foreign Veſſels; we ſhall be ſatisfied that this is no deluſive Scheme of the Advantages derived to *Great-Britain* from her Colonies in *America*. No ſpecious Dream of imaginary Treaſures, but a clear and ſtrict Demonſtration that Labour, Induſtry, and Commerce, are more valuable Mines than any in *Mexico* or *Peru*.

But all this is not ſaid with any Deſign to lift us up, or render us proud, lazy, and negligent, but quite the contrary; it is exhibited to the View of the Reader, that he may ſee the real Value of Induſtry and Navigation, and why the Author is of Opinion that the *Engliſh* are as powerful as any Nation at preſent in *America*, and may become, out of Compariſon, more ſo, if they are not wanting to themſelves. The *French* come certainly next, but with regard only to their Iſlands; for as to their Plantations on the River of *St. Laurence*, I cannot believe they will ever turn much to their Advantage; and as to their Settlements on the *Miſſiſſippi*, I am perſuaded they will never inrich the preſent Generation, and a thouſand Accidents may fall out that will hinder their turning to the Advantage of Poſterity.

Two Points thoroughly laboured, would ſet us free from all Apprehenſions of the *French*, and conſequently of any other Nation in *America*. The firſt is, giving Relief to the Sugar Planters, which either muſt be done, or, by degrees, that Trade will be loſt, at leaſt as to us, and fall, entirely, into the Hands of the *French* and *Dutch*. People do not go into the *Weſt Indies* to work for others, but for themſelves; and if it once comes to paſs, that they find they cannot do this in our Colonies, they will go where they can; we have certainly no Power, and I think it very doubtful whether we have any Right, to hinder them. To oblige People to work for little or nothing, at ſo great a Diſtance from their Country, and in ſuch uncomfortable Climates, ſuppoſing it could be done, would be degrading them into white Negroes, which, except to ſome modern Governors, would not, I preſume, appear a thing reaſonable to any of the Inhabitants of the *Britiſh* Iſles. We are free by Birth, by the Law of Nature, and the Law of theſe Realms, and therefore Freedom is our Inheritance, in the moſt diſtant Part of the *Britiſh* Dominions, as well as in the County of *Middleſex*; and the Intereſts of *Britiſh* Subjects, wherever they are ſettled abroad, ought to be the Care of the Government at home, becauſe they are the Intereſts of the People at home; and therefore I take it for granted, that the Reports of laying new Duties upon Sugar are abſolutely falſe and groundleſs; and that as ſoon as the War is over, proper Meaſures will be taken for removing ſome of thoſe Duties that have been laid upon this Commodity already, which are juſt as ſerviceable to the *French*, as prejudicial to our own Subjects.

The other Point neceſſary to be conſidered is, the raiſing of Silk, which would open a new Branch of Trade, equal in Value perhaps, to half of what is now gained by our Trade to the *Weſt Indies*. It is very probable that the introducing and eſtabliſhing this Commodity, may coſt us a great deal of trouble and Expence; but if Silk can be raiſed in our Colonies, upon any Terms whatever, it is worth our while to be at all this Trouble and Expence; ſince if we once have it, we ſhall, in Time, moſt certainly have it cheap. It was with vaſt Difficulty that Silk was introduced into *France*, nor was it done without Trouble and Expence; but it has paid that Nation abundantly for both, and there is no doubt, could we but get it, it would pay us as well. Beſides, laying out our Money is nothing with us, we lay it out every Day, not only for ourſelves, but other People, and in ſome Caſes lay it out viſibly to our Prejudice; the only Queſtion therefore ought to be, when we are laying it out, what we lay it out for? And if, as in this Caſe, it can be anſwered, that we lay it out to get more, all is well. The Sugar Trade preſerved, and the Silk Trade acquired, I, for my Part, ſee no more that can be wiſhed, except it be the improving and preſerving them, in order to make us an active and wealthy, as well as keep us a free and happy, People.

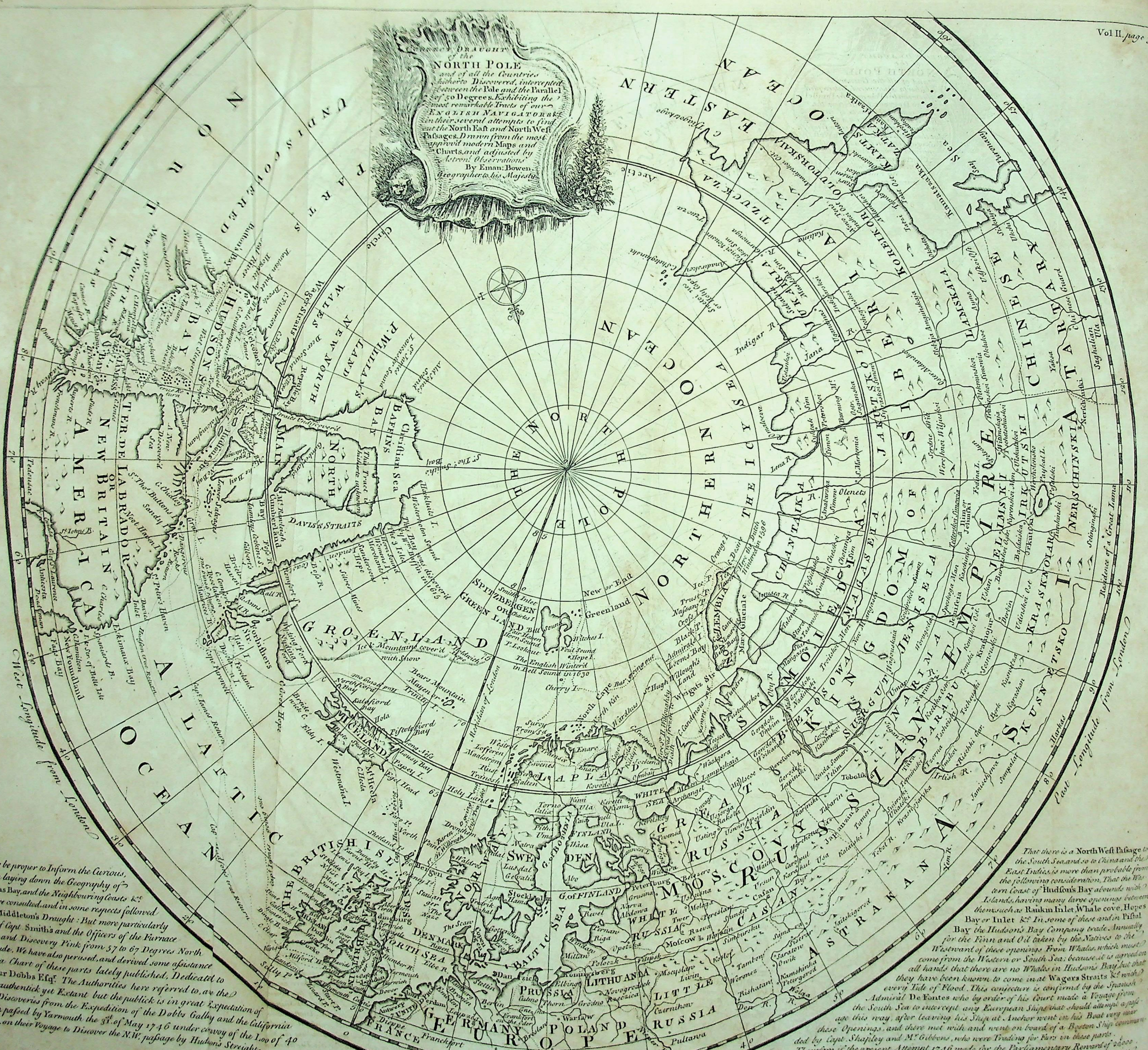
But if we ſhould neglect theſe Advantages, I take it for granted that the *French* would grow upon us in the *Weſt Indies*; for if once they become Maſter of the Sugar Trade, it will be very difficult, if not impoſſible, to get it from them: Becauſe it is much eaſier to preſerve a flouriſhing, than to raiſe a declining Commerce. If they get the Sugar Trade, and the Iſland of *St. Domingo*, they will certainly rival us in the Tobacco; and as their Plantations grow rich and populous, the very Overflowings of them may, for any thing I know, make their Settlements on the River *Miſſiſſippi*, turn to a good Account; which, without ſome ſuch lucky and unforeſeen Accident, they never will. Thus I make the efficient Cauſe of the *French* Greatneſs, in thoſe Parts, our Negligence, and not their own Power or Abilities, for theſe can do nothing, unleſs we give them room to work; then, indeed, they may, and certainly will, prove dangerous; for where they have the Capacity, we know they never want Will to hurt us.

As for the *Dutch*, whatever they may be elſewhere, it is certain they need not be here the Objects of our Apprehenſions; for they can neither extend their own Trade to a Degree of provoking our Jealouſy, nor is there any juſt Reaſon to fear they will ever hurt ours, unleſs by our ill Management we drive the moſt induſtrious of our Sugar Planters to take Shelter in *Surinam*, which, with all its Inconveniencies they would be apt to prefer to nearer and better Countries, under an arbitrary and popiſh Government. To conclude the whole, I cannot forbear ſaying, that I look upon the *Spaniſh* Empire in *America*, as a decaying Structure which cannot ſubſiſt long, unleſs its Neighbours will charitably contribute to its Support, in which perhaps they may conſider their own Intereſt enough, to be ſufficiently compenſated for their Labour. I look upon the *Engliſh* Acquiſitions there, as the Glory of our Crown, and if we manage them prudently, the inexhauſtible Treaſures of the Nation. The *French*, in my Apprehenſion, thrive; but not in ſuch a Degree as to be very formidable hitherto. And as for the *Dutch*, I reckon their Trade more beneficial, but leſs valuable, than that of the *French*, as being more precarious, and depending entirely upon the good Pleaſure of *Spain*, which if her Diſputes were thoroughly adjuſted with *Great-Britain*, might prove but a ſandy Foundation.

We might eaſily ſtrengthen theſe Remarks if it was neceſſary, by many others of the ſame Nature, and perhaps it may not be amiſs, for the ſake of Perſpicuity, to give the Reader a few; the rather, becauſe they will ſerve to illuſtrate this Subject in many other Reſpects. The Inhabitants of the *Spaniſh America* have it certainly in their Power to make ſtill great Diſcoveries, and to extend their Conqueſts in that Country conſiderably, if they had Men, or if they had not addicted themſelves ſo much to their Mines, which has been equally the Ruin of their *Indian* Subjects, and of themſelves. In the Iſland of *Hiſpaniola* it is ſaid to have deſtroyed Millions, and many more Millions in *Mexico*, which is the true Source of their own Weakneſs; for had they performed what they pretended in their Applications to the Court of *Rome*, on the Subject of their Diſcoveries in the *Weſt Indies*, had they ſtudied the Converſion of the People to the Chriſtian Faith, inſtead of converting them into Slaves, and had they contented themſelves with Settlements upon the Coaſts, their Power would have been ſufficiently great; the Induſtry of the *Spaniſh* Nation had been encouraged, and their Navigation extended; whereas, in the preſent State of Things they are Lords indeed, but precarious Lords only of wide Territories, which are diminiſhing daily; and at the ſame time have the Mortification of ſeeing mighty Acquiſitions practicable, if they had but Force ſufficient to keep them; but inſtead of graſping theſe, they are forced to withdraw their Colonies in the more diſtant Parts of their Territories, to ſuſtain the main Body of their Dominions, which ſhew their Government to be in a kind of paralytic State, likely to ſubſiſt long, though paſt all Hopes of Recovery. The *Engliſh*, as they have Numbers of People in *America*, ſo taking Things generally, they are not at all in Danger of wanting Room for their Inhabitants. To the North they have *Nova Scotia* and the Country of *New Britain*; to the South they have *Carolina* and *Georgia*, thinly peopled. A great Part of the Iſland of *Jamaica* is ſtill uncultivated, and many of the *Leeward Iſlands* that we claim are unplanted; ſo that as our Power is greater than that of the *Spaniards*, by being more connected at preſent, ſo it is very eaſy for us to extend that Power by Degrees, without leſſening this neceſſary, this ſalutary Connection. The *French* have indeed Room enough, and to ſpare, in *Canada*; but the more People they ſend there, the more they loſe to their Country; for if that Colony was twice as numerous as it now is, it would be very little, if at all, more advantageous to *France*, unleſs ſhe conſiders its being troubleſome to us in the Light of an Advantage, and of ſuch an Advantage as may balance the vaſt Expence ſhe muſt be at in maintaining and ſupporting it. Her Iſlands are already as well peopled as ſhe can wiſh, unleſs ſhe knew better how to furniſh them with Proviſions,

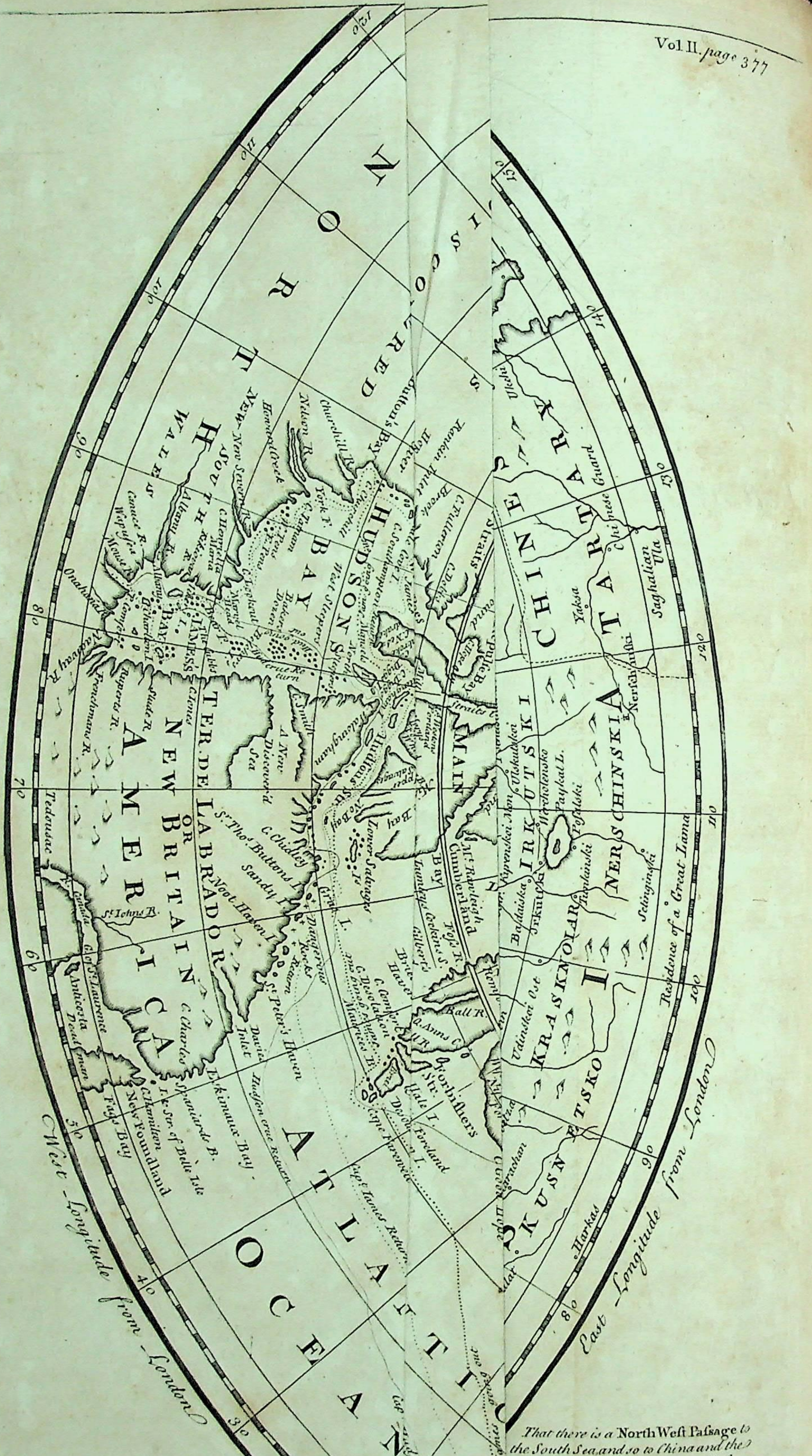
viſions, their Wants often putting them entirely into the Power of their Neighbours, and rendering, not their Trade only, but their very Subſiſtance precarious. In *St. Domingo*, indeed, they have more Room, but, perhaps, there may be Reaſons why, unleſs they can procure the entire Poſſeſſion of the Iſland, they may be unwilling to ſend more People there, than they have in it already. Upon the River *Miſſiſſippi* they might certainly eſtabliſh twenty times the Number of People they have there, but this they will be hardly able to do, if they cannot give them better Encouragement than thoſe Planters have had they have ſent thither already; ſo that take it altogether, the *French* have conſiderable Difficulties to ſtruggle under, but more eſpecially theſe three: The firſt is, the great Diſtance of their Colonies from each other, and their being ſituated in ſuch a Manner, as to have their Correſpondence eaſily interrupted by an Enemy more powerful than themſelves at Sea. The ſecond is, the Dangers and Inconveniencies that attend their Navigation, from their reſpective Colonies to each other; ſo that even in Time of Peace, they are very far from being either ſafe, regular, or expeditious. Thirdly, their Want of proper Commodities in their moſt Northern, and moſt Southern Colonies, to create, or to continue ſuch a Commerce; which therefore is ſcarce to be apprehended, notwithſtanding the Power and Policy of the *French* will be always bent to promote it. As for the *Dutch* and *Danes*, they are at their *Ne Plus ultra*; they may, indeed, increaſe their Traffic occaſionally, and by Intervals; but it is impoſſible they ſhould extend their Dominions, or, conſequently, that their future Power, in thoſe Parts, ſhould ever become much greater than we now ſee it. And though it may inrich themſelves, it can give their Neighbours no Umbrage.

Thus in parting with the Subject, I have endeavoured to give the Reader a Proſpect of the future Condition, as in the foregoing Sections I have endeavoured to exhibit the preſent State of this great Country, the Diſcovery of which gave Chriſtians an Opportunity of propagating their Religion, which they miſerably abuſed. If any thing that is ſaid herein could contribute to the redreſſing this and other Evils, and inſpire Men with free and generous Sentiments of promoting Virtue, Induſtry, and Peace, it will fully anſwer the Author's Intention, and, which is of far greater Conſequence, tend to the Welfare and Benefit of the Human Species; which it is our Intereſt, our Duty, and our Glory, to promote, the only good Thing we can deſire here, or hope to be rewarded for hereafter.


A Correct Draught of the
NORTH POLE
and of all the Countries
hitherto Discoverd, intercepted
between the Pole and the Parallel
of 50 Degrees. Exhibiting the
most remarkable Tracts of our
ENGLISH NAVIGATORS
in their several attempts to find
out the North Eaſt and North Weſt
Paſsages. Drawn from the most
approv'd modern Maps and
Charts, and adjusted by
Astron! Observations
By Eman: Bowen.
Geographer to his Majesty
THE NORTH POLE
NORTHERN OCEAN
THE ICY SEA
EASTERN OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
PART'S UNDISCOVERED
NORTH AMERICA
NEW BRITAIN OR TER DE LABRADOR
HUDSON'S BAY
NEW NORTH WALES
BAFFINS BAY
GROENLAND
SPITZBERGEN OR GREEN LAND
ICELAND
LAPLAND
SWEDEN
NORWAY
THE BRITISH ISLES
GERMANY
POLAND
PRUSSIA
LITHUANIA
FRANCE
EUROPE
MOSCOVY
RUSSIA
LITTLE RUSSIA
CASAN
ASTRACAN
SAMOIEDA
SIBERIA
KINGDOM OF SIBERIA
RUSSIAN EMPIRE
CHINESE TARTARY
Arctic Circle
West Longitude from London
East Longitude from London

It may be proper to Inform the Curious,
that in laying down the Geography of
Hudſons Bay, and the Neighbouring Coasts &c.
We have consulted, and in some respects followed
Capt. Middleton's Draught: But more particularly
that of Capt. Smith's and the Officers of the Furnace
Sloop and Discovery Pink from 57 to 67 Degrees North
Latitude. We have also perused, and derived some aſsistance
from a Chart of these parts lately published, Dedicated to
Arthur Dobbs Eſqr. The Authorities here referred to, are the
most authentick yet Extant but the publick is in great Expectation of
New Discoveries from the Expedition of the Dobbs Galley and the California
which paſsed by Yarmouth the 31st. of May 1746 under convoy of the Loo of 40
Guns, on their Voyage to Discover the N.W. paſsage by Hudson's Streights.

That there is a North West Paſsage to the South Sea and so to China and the East Indies, is more than probable from the following consideration, That the Western Coast of Hudſon's Bay abounds with Islands, having many large openings between them such as Raukin Inlet, Whale cove, Hopes Bay or Inlet &c. In some of these and in Pistol Bay the Hudson's Bay Company trade Annually for the Finn and Oil taken by the Natives to the Westward of these openings From Whales, which must come from the Western or South Sea; because it is agreed on all hands that there are no Whales in Hudson's Bay, but that they have been known to come in at Wagers Straits &c. with every Tide of Flood. This conjecture is confirmd by the Spanish Admiral De Fontes who by order of his Court made a Voyage from the South Sea to intercept any European Ships that should attempt a paſsage this way, after leaving his Ship at Anchor went on his Boat very near these Openings, and there met with and went on board of a Boston Ship commanded by Capt. Shapley and Mr. Gibbons, who were Trading for Furs in these parts. Therefore if the present Attempt 1746 made for the Parliamentary Reward of 20000 should fail, tis worth considering whether a Voyage by Cape Horn would not sooner determine this matter, for tho' tis a long way round, yet the Probability of Succeſs is much greater, as the desirable Paſsage, if any, will certainly show it self more naturally on the Western Side.


NORTH
AMERICA
NEW SOUTH WALES
NEW NORTH WALES
HUDSON'S BAY
TER. DE LABRADOR OR NEW BRITAIN
St. Johns R.
Canada
G. of St. Laurence
New Foundland
Esquimaux Bay
Davis Inlet
Hudson's Straits
Cumberland
ATLANTIC OCEAN
CHINESE TARTARY
IRKUTSKI
NERSCHINSKI
KRASKNOIAR
KUSNETSKO
Residence of a Great Lama
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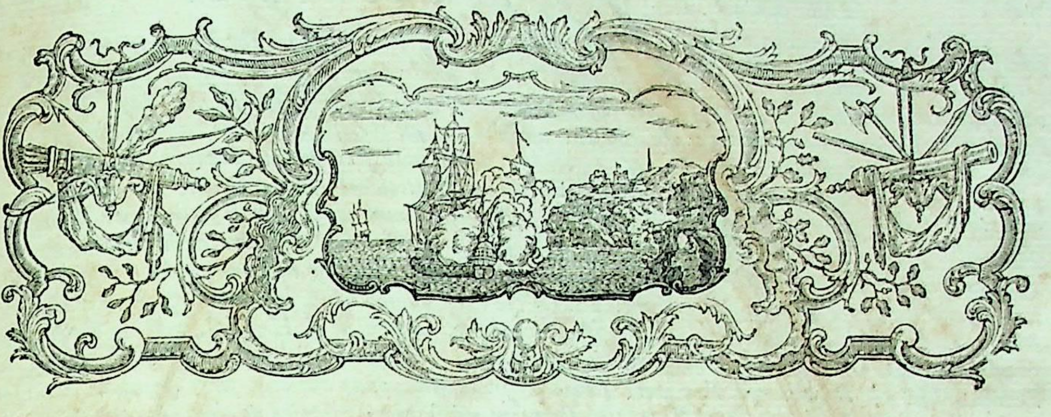


Navigantium atque Itinerantium Bibliotheca.

Or, A Complete COLLECTION of VOYAGES and TRAVELS.

BOOK II.

VOYAGES and DISCOVERIES towards the NORTH, and through moſt of the Countries of *Europe.*

CHAP. I.

The DISCOVERIES made directly towards the NORTH, and the Attempts hitherto made for finding the NORTH-EAST and NORTH-WEST Paſſages.

SECTION I.

The HISTORY *of the Countries lying round the* NORTH POLE; *their Climate, Soil, and Produce; together with an Account of the Cuſtoms, Manners, and Trade of their Inhabitants.*

1. *A ſuccinct Introduction to the Hiſtory of the northern Parts of the World, ſhewing the Reaſon of conſidering them in this Part of the Work, rather than in any other.* 2. *The firſt Diſcovery, Situation, and Plantation of* Groenland, *or old* Greenland, *and the Accidents by which the Knowledge of that Country was afterwards loſt.* 3. *The ſeveral Voyages for the Recovery of that Country, from the Reverend* Mr. John Egede, *a* Daniſh *Miſſionary, who reſided there fifteen Years.* 4. *The Soil, Produce, Plants,* &c. *in this Country, and the Probability of its being anciently much more fruitful than at preſent.* 5. *The Climate, Seaſons, Length of the Days, Fogs, Mountains of Ice,* &c. *in this Country, and in the Seas adjacent.* 6. *Of the various Animals in* Groenland, *and of the Manner in which the Inhabitants hunt the Rain-Deer in the Inland Part of the Country.* 7. *The different Methods practiſed by the Inhabitants in Fiſhing, particularly the various Inventions made uſe of for catching Seals, and other amphibious Animals.* 8. *Their Ingenuity in making Hooks, Lines, and other fiſhing Tackle; their Method of conſtructing Boats of ſeveral Sorts, and their ſurprizing Manner of navigating them.* 9. *Their Houſes in which they live in Winter; their Beds, Lamps, Kettles, and other Furniture; their Tents in which they live in Summer, and their Manner of tranſporting them.* 10. *Their Cuſtoms, Manner of Living, Virtues, Vices, Civility to Strangers, and whatever elſe concerns the Behaviour of the Natives.* 11. *Their Cloathing, Neatneſs, and Conveniency of it; Difference in the Habits of Men and Women, and the Changes wrought in this Reſpect, by the ſettling a* Daniſh *Colony in that Country.* 12. *The Commodities and Commerce of* Groenland; *the Religion of the Inhabitants; their Notions of Aſtronomy, and ſurprizing Paſſion for Poetry.* 13. *Remarks upon the foregoing Particulars; and the Reaſons which induced the* Engliſh, Dutch, *and other*

other Nations, to make Voyages for Diſcovery in theſe northern Parts. 14. *The Diſcovery of* Spitzbergen, *or* Greenland, *more properly* New Greenland; *and a ſhort Account of the Diſpute between the* Engliſh *and* Dutch, *about that Diſcovery.* 15. *A Deſcription of this Country, its Iſlands, Bays, Sounds, Harbours, and the uſual Places where the* Engliſh *and* Dutch *fix themſelves aſhore, during the Whale Fiſhing.* 16. *The Soil, Climate, and Seaſons, in this Country; with ſome curious Remarks on the Colour of the Sea Water.* 17. *Of the Animals that are found here, particularly Deer, Bears, Foxes, &c. with the Method of dreſſing their Skins upon the Spot.* 18. *A diſtinct Account of the Whale; the Size, Strength, and Manner of Swimming of that Creature; and the vaſt Quantities of Oil extracted from the Fat, or Blubber.* 19. *An accurate Account of the Manner of catching the Whale, cutting up, and making Train Oil, and Bone, from it, as practiſed in this Fiſhery.* 20. *Of the other valuable Fiſh in theſe Seas, ſuch as the Fin-fiſh, Morſe, Horſe-whales, Dragon-fiſh, White-fiſh, Sword-fiſh, Sea-unicorn, Hay-fiſh, and the Profits derived from them.* 21. *Of the Countries adjacent to* Spitzbergen, *or* Greenland, *ſuch as* Mayen's Iſland, Nova Zembla, *&c. the Reaſons why they were formerly frequented, and have been ſince deſerted.* 22. *Of the Land of* Yedzo, *or* Jedzo, *ſubject to the Emperor of* Japon; *ſuppoſed to join to, or to be divided by a narrow Streight from the North Continent, either of* Greenland *or* Nova Zembla. 23. *Of the undiſcovered Parts of the World, from the Borders of the Land of* Yedzo, *to the Frontiers of* North America *towards* Hudſon's Bay. 24. *Of the Advantages that might attend the farther and more complete Knowledge of theſe Countries, towards the perfect underſtanding of the terreſtrial Globe, and the mutual Relation between its Parts.* 25. *A circumſtantial Account of the preſent State of the Whale-fiſhery, and a Computation, as near as may be, of the Share of ſeveral Nations in the annual Produce of that Fiſhery.*

1. THERE is hardly a general Rule that admits of fewer Exceptions than this; That no Sort of Knowledge is burthenſome, or appears, upon Reflection, not worth obtaining. If there were any ſuch dark and uſeleſs Spot in the noble Science of Coſmography, or general Knowledge of this Globe, one might expect it ſhould lie in this very Quarter, upon which we are now entring; I mean the Hiſtory of theſe northern Countries lying round the Pole, of which, hitherto, we cannot, with any Certainty, ſay whether they belong to this or that Quarter of the World, or whether they do not form a fifth Part diſtinct; that is to ſay, divided from *Europe*, *Aſia*, *Africa*, and *America*; and, if ſo, there may be, very probably, a ſixth Part lying in the like Manner round the South Pole.

But Experience has taught us, that the Knowledge of theſe dark and dreary Regions is very far from being uſeleſs and unprofitable, and ſtill farther from being dry or unentertaning. We have thrown them into a Section by themſelves, for the Reaſon before aſſigned; becauſe there is no Certainty of theſe Countries being joined to any Part of the known World, and we have choſen to place them at the Head of this Book, becauſe all we know of them is from their being viſited by *Europeans*.

It is for the ſame Reaſon that we begin with *Groenland*, which, for any thing that appears from Hiſtory, was the firſt of them that was diſcovered. The Reader is to obſerve, that though *Groenland* and *Greenland* be the ſame Words, the former being only the *Daniſh* Way of pronouncing and writing the latter, yet they are now made uſe of to denote two different Countries, ſometimes alſo diſtinguiſhed by the Names of *Old* and *New Greenland*; for want of attending to which, many modern Authors have fallen into great Miſtakes and Abſurdities. We ſhall begin with the firſt of theſe, and after giving the beſt Account of it we can, we ſhall then proceed to the latter.

2. *Groenland* lies but forty Miles to the Weſt off of *Iceland*, beginning from the 59th Degree 50 Minutes of North Latitude. The Eaſtern Coaſt extends itſelf to the North, as far, probably, as *Spitzbergen*, or *Greenland*, between 78 and 80 Degrees, which is thought to be an Iſland ſeparated from the Continent of *Groenland*. The Weſtern Shore is diſcovered as far as 71 or 72 Degrees. Whether it be a large Iſland, or borders upon Countries to the North is not yet found out. There ſeems great Reaſon to believe it is contiguous to *America* on the North-weſt Side, becauſe there we meet with the Bay or Inlet, which in the Sea Charts is called *Davis's Streight*, from that famous *Engliſhman*, who in the Year 1585, was the firſt Diſcoverer of it, and is yearly frequented by Ships of different Nations, on Account of the Whale Fiſhery, but no body, as yet, has been able to find out the Bottom of it. And according to the Notice we have endeavoured to gather from thoſe *Groenlanders*, who live fartheſt to the North, there is either but a very narrow Paſſage between *America* and *Groenland*, or, as is moſt likely, they are quite contiguous; and one is the more inclined to believe this, becauſe the farther you go Northwards in the ſaid Streight, the lower is the Land, contrary to what we obſerve where it borders on the Sea or main Ocean, where it never wants lofty Promontories.

It is ſaid to have been firſt diſcovered by a *Norwegian* named *Eric Rotcop*, who, having committed a Murder in *Iceland*, reſolved to fly to ſome ſtrange Country. He landed here, and becauſe of its Greenneſs, called it *Groenland*; he ſent his Son to *Olaus Trugeer*, King of *Norway*, to get his Pardon, which was obtained. Upon this many Gentlemen ventured to plant there, ſettled Chriſtianity, and built two Towns, called *Garde* and *Albe*. The King ſent thither a Viceroy, who had his Seat at *Albe*, which was alſo made a Biſhop's See, and had a Cathedral. They write alſo of a Monaſtery, dedicated to *St. Thomas*, which they pretended was built of Pumice-Stone, and that it had a Spring ſo hot, as to boil their Meat, and being conveyed into the Rooms by Pipes, warmed them as well as Stoves: But this ſeems fabulous. This ſmall Colony failed in 1349, whether by a Diſeaſe they call the Black Plague, or the Barbarity of the Natives, is not certain. In 1406 the Biſhop of *Drontheim* ſent one *Andreas* to bring an Account of the State of Chriſtianity there, but he never returned.

The fabulous Accounts after this Period are not worth preſerving, becauſe they contain nothing certain, uſeful, or entertaining; as to Sir *Martin Frobiſher*'s Voyages, we ſhall have Occaſion to mention them in another Place. It is ſufficient for our Purpoſe to take Notice here, that his Diſcoveries upon the Coaſt of *Groenland* put the *Danes* upon attempting ſomething on that Side alſo, but with very little Succeſs; what they have ſince done, from that Time to this, is much more within our Power, and worthy of the Reader's Notice; which therefore we ſhall give him in the Words of the Reverend Mr. *John Egede*, a *Daniſh* Miſſonary, who has written a Hiſtory of this Country from his own Knowledge, and in his own Language, wherein, as to that Matter, he gives us the following, curious, and authentic Account.

3. " After the Expeditions of *Frederick* II. *Chriſtian*
" IV. his Succeſſor, with great Coſt, ordered four dif-
" ferent Expeditions for this Diſcovery. The firſt was
" undertaken under the Command of *Godſke Lindenow*,
" with three Ships. And, as the Hiſtory tells, *Linde-*
" *now*, with his Ship, arrived upon the Eaſt Coaſt of
" *Groenland* (which I can hardly believe) and found
" none but wild, uncivilized, People there, like thoſe
" *Frobiſher* is ſaid firſt to have met with. He ſtaid
" there three Days, during which Time the wild *Groen-*
" *landers* came to trade with him, changing Furs, Skins,
" &c. and

and precious Stones, againſt all Kinds of ſmall Iron-ware; ſuch as Knives, Sciſſars, Needles, common Looking Glaſſes, and other ſuch Trifles. When he ſet ſail from thence, there were two *Groenlanders* remained in the Ship, whom he carried off, and brought them home with him. Theſe, as they endeavoured to get away from him, and ſometimes would have jumped into the Sea, they were obliged to tie and ſecure, which, when their Countrymen obſerved, who flocked together on the Shore, they made an hideous Out-cry and Howling, flung Stones, and ſhot their Arrows at the Sailors; upon which thoſe from the Ship fired a Gun, which frightened and diſperſed them, and ſo the Ship left them. The two other Ships that ſet ſail in Company, and under the Command, of *Lindenow*, after they had doubled *Cape Farewell*, ſteered directly for the Streight of *Davis*, in which Navigation they diſcovered many fine Harbours, delightful green Meadow Lands, but all the Inhabitants along the Coaſts wild and ſavage. It is pretended alſo, that they, in ſome Places, found Stones which contained ſome Silver Ore, which they took along with them; of which one hundred Pound yielded twenty-ſix Ounces of Silver. Theſe two Ships alſo brought four Savages home with them to *Copenhagen*.

“ The ſecond Expedition was made by Order of the ſame King, in the Year 1606, with five Ships, under the Conduct of the afore-mentioned Admiral *Lindenow*, carrying along with him three of the Savages (one of them dying in the Voyage) which they had brought off the Year before from *Groenland*. But this Time he directed his Courſe to the Weſtward of *Cape Farewell*, ſtanding for the Streight of *Davis*, where, coaſting along, he took the Survey of ſeveral Places, and then returned home again. The third and laſt Expedition of this glorious King, was only of two Ships, commanded by Captain *Carſten Richards*, an *Holſtenian* by Birth. He eſpied the Land, and its high and craggy Rocks afar off, but could not come near it on Account of the Ice, and ſo returned home. The fourth Expedition of King *Chriſtian* IV. under the Conduct of Captain *Jens Munck*, in the Year 1616, was not made for the diſcovering of *Groenland*, but to find out a Paſſage between *Groenland* and *America* to *China*, the Misfortunes of which Expedition are related by the ſaid Commander.

“ There were beſides theſe four Expeditions at the King's Coſt, a fifth, undertaken in the ſame King's Reign, by a Company ſettled in *Copenhagen*, in the Year 1636; of which Company, the Preſident was the Lord High Chancellor *Chriſtian Friis*. Two Ships, fitted out by this Company, directed their Courſe for the Weſtward of *Groenland*, fell in with the *Streight of Davis*, where they traded for a while with the *Savages*; but this was not the main Deſign of the Commander, who was acquainted with a Coaſt whoſe Sand had the Colour and Weight of Gold, which he accordingly did not miſs, and filled both their Ships with the ſame. After their Return to *Copenhagen*, the Goldſmiths were ordered to make a Trial whether this Sand would yield any Gold or no; who not being ſkilful enough to make ſuch a Trial, condemned it to be all thrown over-board; which was done by Order of the High Chancellor, Preſident of the Company. Some Part of the ſaid Sand was yet kept out of Curioſity, out of which an Artificer, who afterwards came to *Copenhagen*, did extract a good deal of pure Gold. The honeſt and well-meaning Commander who went upon this Adventure was turned out of Favour, and ſoon afterwards died of Grief, whereby not only the Treaſure they had brought home, but alſo the Knowledge of the Place where it was to be found was entirely loſt, as he kept this abſolutely a Secret to himſelf.

“ In the Year 1654, during the Reign of King *Frederick* III. a noble and wealthy Adventurer, *Henry Muller*, fitted out a Ship for *Groenland*, under the Command of *David de Nelles*, who arrived ſafe in that Country, and brought from thence three Women, whoſe Names were *Kunelick*, *Kabelau*, and *Sigokou*, who, according to the Opinion of Biſhop *Torlais*, who had peruſed the ſaid Captain's Journal, were taken in the Neigbhourhod of *Herjolſneſs*, on the eaſtern Shore; but which I cannot believe. My Opinion is, they were brought from the weſtern Shore near *Baal's* River, as ſome of the Inhabitants who are ſtill living had in freſh Remembrance, telling me their Names, as the[illegible] are laid down in the afore-mentioned Journal. The [illegible] Adventurer that was ſent upon the Diſcovery of *Groenland*, according to *Torfæus* in his *Hiſtory of Groenland*, was Capt. *Otto Oxelſon*, in the Year 1670, in the Reign of *Chriſtian* V. of glorious Memory; but what Succeſs this Adventurer met with he leaves us to gueſs; nevertheleſs we find, in a Manuſcript Deſcription of *Groenland*, written by *Arngrim Vidalen*, That his ſaid Majeſty did invite, and with great Privileges encourage, Mr. *George Tormunten*, Counſellor of Commerce at *Bergen*, to fit out Ships for the ſaid Diſcovery; whereupon the ſaid Counſellor, not only got ready Shipping well-ſtored for ſuch an Expedition, but alſo got together a Number of Paſſengers, who reſolved to go and ſettle in thoſe Parts; whom he provided with all Things neceſſary for that Purpoſe; both Proviſion and Ammunition, as well as Houſes made of Timber, ready to be erected in that Country; but this great Deſign miſcarried, the Ship being taken by the *French*, and carried into *Dunkirk*.

“ Thus for a long while it ſeemed that all Thought of *Groenland* was laid aſide, until the Year 1721, when, after many well-meant Invitations and Projects propoſed by me to the *Groenland* Company at *Bergen* in *Norway*, appproved and authorized by his late Majeſty *Frederick* IV. of glorious Memory, the Company thereupon reſolved, not only to ſend Ships, but alſo to ſettle a Colony in *Groenland* in the 64th Degree; when I went over with my whole Family, and remained there fifteen Years. During my Stay, I endeavoured to get all the Intelligence that could be, both by Sea and Land, of the preſent State of the Country, and did not loſe my Labour; for I found ſome Places that formerly were inhabited by the *Norwegians* on the weſtern Shore.

“ But whereas my main Drift and Endeavour has been all along to diſcover the eaſtern Diſtrict of *Groenland*, which always was reckoned the beſt of our ancient Colonies; accordingly I received a Letter from the above-mentioned *Groenland* Company at *Bergen*, in the Year 1723, in which I was told, that it was his Majeſty's Pleaſure, That the Eaſt Diſtrict might likewiſe be viſited, and diſcovered; which, the better to effect, I took the Reſolution to make this Voyage in Perſon, and accordingly I coaſted it ſouthwards as far as the *States Promontory*, looking out for the *Streight of Frobiſher*, which would have been my ſhorteſt Way according to thoſe Charts, which lay the ſaid Streight down in this Place; but ſuch a Streight I could not find. Now, as it grew too late in the Year for me to proceed further, the Month of *September* being near at an End, when the Winter Seaſon begun in thoſe Parts, accompanied with dreadful Storms, I was obliged to return. In the Year 1724 the Directors of the ſaid *Bergen* Company, according to his Majeſty's Good-will and Pleaſure, fitted out a Ship to attempt a Landing on the eaſtern Shore, as had been formerly practiſed on that Coaſt which lies oppoſite to *Iceland*; but the ſurpriſing Quantities of Ice which barricaded the Coaſt made the Enterprize abortive and quite miſcarry, as many others had done, as there was no Convenience for Ships to approach this Shore.

“ The ſame King, in the Year 1728, reſolved, beſides other very conſiderable Expences, to have Horſes tranſported to this Colony, in hopes that, with their Help, they might travel by Land to this eaſtern Diſtrict: But nothing was more impoſſible than this Project, on Account of the impaſſable, high and craggy Mountains, perpetually covered with Ice and Snows, which never thaw. Another new Attempt by Sea was, by Order of the ſame King, made in the Year 1729, by Lieutenant *Richard*, who with his

“ Ship paſſed the Winter near the new *Daniſh* Colony in *Groenland*; and in his Voyage back to *Denmark* made all the Endeavours he could, to come at the aforeſaid Shore oppoſite to *Iceland*, but to no Purpoſe, being herein diſappointed like the reſt before him.

“ All theſe Difficulties and continual Diſappointments have made moſt People loſe all Hopes of ſucceeding in this Attempt; nevertheleſs I flatter myſelf to have hit luckily on an Expedient, which to me ſeems not impracticable, though hitherto not tried, or at leaſt but ſlightly executed, *viz.* To endeavour to leave the Land, from the *States Promontory*, (or as we call it) *Cape Prince Chriſtian*, northwards. The Information I have had from ſome *Groenlanders*, who in their Boats have coaſted a great Part of the Eaſt-ſide, confirms me in my Opinion; for although an incredible Quantity of driven Ice, yearly comes from *Spitzbergen*, or *New Greenland*, along this Coaſt, and paſſes by the *States Promontory*, which hinders the approaching of Ships, as far as the Ice ſtretches, where about the beſt Part of the *Norwegian* Colonies were ſettled, yet there have been found Breaks, and an open Sea, near the Shore, through which Boats and ſmall Veſſels might paſs according to the Relation of the *Groenlanders*, as well as agreeable to my own Experience, the Current that comes out of the Bays and Inlets, always running along the Shore South-weſtwards, hinders the Ice from adhering to the Land, and keeps it a Diſtance from the Shore. By which Means the *Groenlanders* at certain Times, without any Hindrance, have paſſed and re-paſſed part of this Coaſt in their *Coneboats* (ſo they call their large Boats) though they have not been ſo far as where the old *Norway* Colonies had their Settlements, of which, no doubt, there are ſtill ſome Ruins to be ſeen on the Eaſtern Shore.

“ Furthermore: I have been credibly informed by *Dutch* Seamen that frequent thoſe Seas, That ſeveral of their Ships have at times found the Eaſt-ſide of *Groenland* cleared of the Ice as far as the 62d Degree; and they had tarried ſome time among the Out-rocks on that Coaſt, where they carried on a profitable Trade with the *Savages*; and I myſelf, in my Return from *Groenland* homewards, in the Year 1736, found it to be ſo when we paſſed the *States Promontory* and *Cape Farewell*, and ſtood in for the Shore, where at that time there was no Ice to be ſeen, which at other Times is very uncommon; but as this happens ſo ſeldom, it is very uncertain, and unſafe for any Ship to venture ſo far up under the Eaſtern Shore.

“ But, as I obſerved a little before, it is more ſafe and practicable to coaſt it from the Promontory along the Shore in ſmall Veſſels, eſpecially if there was a Lodge erected in the Latitude of between 60 and 61 Degrees; and it would be ſtill more convenient, if there could be Ways and Means found likewiſe to place a Lodge on the eaſtern Shore, in the ſame Latitude; for according to the Account the Ancients have left us of *Groenland*, the Diſtance of Ground that lies uncultivated, between the Weſt and Eaſt-ſide is but twelve *Norway* Miles, by Water; or, according to a later Computation, it is a Journey of ſix Days in a Boat; and as the Ruins of old Habitations, which I have diſcovered between 60 and 61 Degrees, are without doubt in the moſt ſoutherly Part of the Weſt-ſide, it of Neceſſity follows that the Diſtance cannot be very great from thence to the moſt ſoutherly Part of the eaſtern Side. Now, if it ſhould be found practicable at certain Times to paſs along the Shore with Boats or ſmall Ships to the Eaſt-ſide, to the Latitude of 63 and 64 Degrees, little Lodges might be made, though larger Ships could not yearly viſit one of them, but only touch at the moſt ſouthern ones. I am alſo perſuaded that the Thing is poſſible, if it ſhould pleaſe God in his Mercy to forward this Affair, Colonies might be eſtabliſhed here, which without great Trouble might be ſupplied yearly with all Neceſſaries.

4. As to the Soil, we are informed by ancient Hiſtories that the *Groenland* Colonies breed Cattle, which afforded Milk, Butter and Cheeſe, in ſuch abundance, that a great Quantity was brought over to *Norway*, and, for its particular Goodneſs, was ſet apart for the King's Kitchen, which was practiſed until the Reign of Queen *Margaret*. We alſo read that ſome Parts of the Country yielded the choiceſt Wheat; and in the Valleys the Oak Trees produced Acorns of the Bigneſs of an Apple, very good to eat. The Woods afforded plenty of Game, ſuch as Rain-Deers, *&c.* The Rivers, Bays, and Seas, furniſhed an infinite Number of Fiſhes, Seals, Morſes, and Whales, of which the Inhabitants made a conſiderable Trade. And though the Country, at preſent, cannot boaſt of the ſame Plenty, as it lies deſtitute and uncultivated, yet, no doubt, but the old dwelling Places, formerly inhabited and manured by the ancient *Norway* Colonies, might recover their former Fertility, if again peopled, as about theſe Places there grows fine Graſs, eſpecially from the Latitude of 60 to 65 Degrees.

In the great Bay, which at preſent is called the Bay of *Good Hope* (from the *Daniſh* Colony ſettled near the Entrance of this Inlet) there are on both Sides of the Colony many good Pieces of Meadow Ground, for the graſing of Numbers of Cattle; beſides plenty of Proviſions, which the Sea, as well as the Land, yields. Woods of any Conſideration are rarely to be met with, yet there are Underwoods, and Shrubs in great Quantity, eſpecially of Birch, Elm, and Willows, which afford ſufficient Fuel for the Uſe of the Inhabitants. The largeſt Wood is in the Latitude of 60 and 61 Degrees, where the Birch Trees are two or three Fathom high, ſomewhat thicker than a Man's Arm. Small Juniper Trees grow here in abundance; the Berries of which are of the Bigneſs of Grey-peaſe.

The Herb called *Quaun*, which is our Angelica, is very common, as well as wild Roſemary, which has the Taſte and Smell of Turpentine, from which is extracted a fine Oil and Spirit, of great Uſe in Medicine. That precious Herb Scurvy-graſs, the moſt excellent Remedy for the Cure of the Diſtemper which gives its Name, grows every where on the Sea-ſide, and has not ſo bitter a Taſte as in ſofter Climates. The Country alſo produces a Graſs with yellow Flowers, the Roots of which ſmell in the Spring like Roſes, and are very wholeſome. In the Bays and Inlets you have wild Thyme, on the Side of the Mountains, which, after Sunſet, yields a fragrant Smell. Here alſo you meet with the Herb Tormentil, and a great many other Herbs. Their moſt common Berries, are thoſe called Blew-Berries, Tittle-Berries, and Bramble-Berries; Mult-Berries, which are common in *Norway*, do not come here to any Perfection, on Account of the Fogs that hang upon the Iſland at the Time theſe Plants bud.

This Country yields the pleaſanteſt Proſpect about the Latitude 60 to 64 Degrees, and ſeems fit to be manured for the Produce of all Sorts of Grain, and there is to this Day Marks of arable Land to be obſerved. The Author, himſelf, made a Trial of ſowing Barley in the Bay joining to their new Colony, which ſprung up ſo faſt, that it ſtood in its full Ear towards the latter End of *July*; but did not ripen on Account of the Night Froſts which nipped it, and hindered its Growth. But as this Grain was brought over from *Bergen* in *Norway*, no doubt it wanted a longer Summer, and more Heat to ripen. Turnips and Cole are very good here, and of a ſweet Taſte, eſpecially the Turnips, which are very large. It is to be obſerved, that all that has been ſaid of the Fruitfulneſs of the *Groenland* Soil, is to be underſtood of the Latitude from 60 Degrees to 65 Degrees, and differs according to the different Degrees of Latitude; for in the moſt Northern Parts, you find neither Herbs nor Plants; ſo that the Inhabitants cannot gather Graſs enough to put in their Shoes to keep their Feet warm, but are obliged to buy it from the Southern Parts.

5. The Natives of *Groenland* have no Reaſon to complain of Storms or Rain, which ſeldom trouble them, eſpecially in the Bay of *Diſco*, in the 69th Degree of Latitude, where they commonly have clear and ſettled Weather during the whole Summer Seaſon. But when foul Weather falls in, it rages with an incredible Violence, chiefly when the Wind comes about Southerly, or South-

weſt, and the Storm is ſucceeded by fair Weather, as ſoon as the Wind ſhifts to the Weſt and North. The Country would be exceeding pleaſant and healthful in Summer-time, if it was not for the heavy Fogs, eſpecially near the Sea-Coaſt, for it is as warm here as any where, when the Air is clear, which happens when the Wind blows Eaſterly; and ſometimes it is ſo hot, that the Sea-Water, which, after the Ebbing, has remained in the hollow Places in the Rocks, before Night, by the bare Heat of the Sun, is coagulated into a fine white Salt.

Sometimes for three Months together they have fair ſettled Weather, and warm Sun-ſhiny Days, without any Rain; the Length of the Summer is, from the latter End of *May* to the Midſt of *September*; all the remaining Part of the Year is Winter, which is tolerable in the Latitude of 64 Degrees; but to the Northward of 68 Degrees, and even there, the Cold is ſo exceſſive, that the moſt ſpirituous Liquors, as *French* Brandy, will freeze near the Fire-ſide. At the End of *Auguſt* the Sea is all covered with Ice, which does not thaw before *April* or *May*, and ſometimes not till the latter End of *June*. It is remarkable, that on the Weſtern Coaſts of different Countries, lying in one and the ſame Latitude, it is much colder than on the Eaſtern, as in ſome Parts of *Groenland* and *Norway*. And though *Groenland* is much colder than *Norway*, yet the Snow never lies ſo high, eſpecially in the Bays, where it is ſeldom above half a Yard higher than the Ground; whereas the Inland Parts, and the Mountains, are perpetually covered with Ice and Snow, which never melt, and not a Spot is bare, but near the Shore and in the Bays; where, in the Summer, you are delighted with a charming Verdure, cauſed by the Heat of the Sun; reverberated from Side to Side, and concentred in thoſe lower Parts of the Valleys, ſurrounded by high Rocks and Mountains, for many Hours together, without Intermiſſion. But at Sun-ſet the Air is changed at once, and the cold Ice Mountains make you ſoon feel the Nearneſs of their Neighbourhood, and oblige you to put on your Furs.

Beſides the Ice that covers the whole Face of the Land, the Sea is almoſt choaked with it: Some large and flat Fields of Ice, and ſome prodigious Mountains of an aſtoniſhing Bigneſs, lying as deep under Water as they ſoar high in the Air. Theſe are Pieces of the Ice Mountains on Land, which lie near the Sea, and, burſting, tumble down into the Sea, and are carried off. They repreſent to the Beholders, afar off, many odd and ſtrange Figures, ſome of Churches, Caſtles with Spires and Turrets; others you would take to be Ships under ſail, and many have been deluded by them, thinking they were real Ships,. and going to board them. Nor do their Figures and Shape alone ſurprize, but alſo their Diverſity of Colours pleaſes the Sight; for ſome are like white Chryſtal, others as blue as Sapphires, and others again green as Emeralds. One would attribute the Cauſe of theſe Colours to Metals or Minerals, in Places where this Ice was formed, or of Waters of which it was coagulated; but Experience teaches, that the blue Ice is the Concretion of freſh Water, which at firſt is white, and at length hardens and turns blue. But the greeniſh Colour comes from Salt-water. For it is obſerved, that if you put the blue Ice near the Fire, and let it melt, and afterwards remove it to a colder Place to freeze again, it does not recover its former blue Colour, but becomes white; from whence it ſeems that the volatile Sulphur which the Ice had attracted from the Air, by its Reſolution into Water, exhales and vaniſhes.

Though the Summer-ſeaſon is very hot in *Groenland*, it ſeldom cauſes any Thunder and Lightning; the Reaſon of which may be the Coldneſs of the Night, which allays the Heat of the Day, and cauſes the ſulphureous Exhalations to fall again, with the heavy Dew, to the Ground; as for the ordinary Meteors, frequently ſeen in other Countries, they are common in *Groenland*, as the Rainbow, flying and ſhooting Stars, and the like; but what is more peculiar to the Climate, is the Northern Light, or Aurora Borealis, which, in the Spring of the Year, about the Time of the new Moon, darts Streams of Light all over the Sky, as quick as Lightening, eſpecially if it be a clear Night, with ſuch a Brightneſs, that you may read by it as by Day-light. The Air is not at all unhealthy, for if you except the Scurvy, and Diſtempers in the Breaſt, they know nothing here of many other Diſeaſes; and theſe pectoral Infirmities are the Effects of that naſty foggiſh Weather which this Country is ſubject to; which we may impute to the vaſt Quantities of Ice that cover the Land, and drive in the Sea, from the Beginning of *April* to the End of *July*, which is therefore called the foggy Seaſon, and from that Time the Fog decreaſes.

But as in the Summer-time they are troubled with the Fog, ſo in the Winter-ſeaſon they are likewiſe plagued with the Vapour, called Froſt-ſmoak, which, when the Cold is exceſſive, riſes out of the Sea, as the Smoak out of a Chimney, and is as thick as the thickeſt Miſt, eſpecially in Bays where there is any Opening in the Ice; 'tis very remarkable, that this Froſt Damp, or Smoak, if you come near it, will ſinge the very Skin off your Face and Hands; but when you are in it, you find no ſuch piercing or ſinging Sharpneſs, but warm and ſoft, only it leaves a white Froſt upon your Hair and Cloaths. There is a wonderful Correſpondence obſerved in *Groenland*, between Fountains and the main Sea, *viz.* That at Spring-tides, in new and full Moon, when the ſtrongeſt Ebbing is at Sea, the hidden Fountains or Springs of freſh Water break out on Shore, and diſcover themſelves often in Places where one could ſcarce expect to meet with any ſuch, eſpecially in Winter, when the Ground is covered with Ice and Snow. Yet at other Times there are no Water-ſprings at all in thoſe Places.

6. There are no venomous Serpents, or ravenous wild Beaſts, in *Groenland*, if you except the Bear, which ſome will have to be an amphibious Animal, as he lives chiefly upon the Ice, in the moſt Northern Parts, and feeds upon Seals and Fiſh. He very ſeldom appears near the Colony in which our Author lived. He is of a very large Size, and of a hideous and frightful Aſpect, with white long Hair, greedy of human Blood. Rain-Deer are, in ſome Places, in ſo great Numbers, that you will ſee whole Herds of them; and when they go and feed in Herds, they are dangerous to come at. The Natives ſpend the whole Summer-ſeaſon in hunting them, going up to the innermoſt Parts of the Bays, and carrying, for the moſt part, their Wives and Children along with them, where they remain till the Harveſt Seaſon comes on. In that Space, they, with ſo much Eagerneſs, purſue and deſtroy thoſe poor Deer, that they have no Place of Safety but what the *Groenlanders* know; and where they are in any Number, there they chaſe them by Clap-hunting, ruſhing upon them on all Sides, and ſurrounding them with all their Women and Children, to force them into Defiles and narrow Paſſages, where the Men lie in wait for them and kill them. And when they have not People enough to ſurround them, then they put up white Poles with Pieces of Turf to head them, which frightens the Deer and hinders them from eſcaping.

There are alſo vaſt Numbers of Hares which are white, Summer and Winter, very fat, and of a good Taſte. There are Foxes of different Colours, white, grey, and blewiſh; they are of a leſſer Size than thoſe of *Denmark* and *Norway*, and not ſo hairy, but more like Martens. The Natives commonly catch them alive in Traps built of Stones, like little Huts; the reſt of four-footed Animals, which ancient Hiſtorians tell us are found in *Groenland*, are Sables, Martens, Wolves, Loſſes, Ermins, and ſeveral others, but none on the Weſtern Side; domeſtic Animals there are none, but Dogs in great Numbers, and of a large Size, with white Hairs, or white and black, and ſtanding Ears. They are, in their Kind, as timorous as their Maſters, for they never bark, but howl only. In the Northern Parts they uſe them inſtead of Horſes to drag their Sledges, yoaking four or ſix, and ſometimes eight or ten to a Sledge, loaden with five or ſix of the largeſt Seals, with the Maſter ſitting upon them himſelf, who drives as faſt with them as we can do with good Horſes, for they often travel fifteen *German* Miles with them in a Winter Day, upon the Ice; and though the poor Dogs are of ſo great Service to them, yet they don't uſe them well: For they are left to ſubſiſt themſelves as wild Beaſts, feeding upon Muſcles thrown upon the Sea-ſide, or upon Berries in the Summer-ſeaſon; but when they catch a Multitude of Seals, they give them their Blood boiled, and their Entrails.

As for Land-Fowls, or Birds, *Groenland* knows of none but the Rypper, which is a ſort of large Partridge, white in Winter, and grey in Summer-time, and theſe they have in great Numbers; Ravens ſeem to be domeſtic Birds with them, for they are always about their Huts, hovering about the Carcaſes of Seals that lie upon the Ground. There are likewiſe very large Eagles, their Wings ſpread out, being a Fathom wide, but they are ſeldom ſeen in the Northern Parts of the Country; Falcons or Hawks, ſome grey, ſome of a whitiſh Plumage, and ſome ſpeckled, as alſo large ſpeckled Owls. There are different Sorts of little Sparrows, Snow-Birds, and Ice-Birds, and a little Bird not unlike the Linnet, which has a very melodious Note. Amongſt the Inſects of *Groenland*, the Gnats are the moſt troubleſome, whoſe Sting leaves a ſwelling and burning Pain behind it; and this Trouble they are moſt expoſed to in the hot Seaſon, againſt which there is no Shelter to be found. There are alſo Spiders, Flies, Humble-Bees, Waſps. They know nothing of any venomous Animals, as Serpents and the like; nor have they any Snakes, Toads, Frogs, Beatles, Ants, or Bees; neither are they plagued with Rats, Mice, or any ſuch Vermin. In regard to the Fiſh in theſe Seas, more eſpecially Whales, and other large Fiſh, valued for the Sake of Oil, we ſhall have Occaſion to ſpeak of them ſo fully, when we come to treat of the Whale-fiſhing hereafter, that for the Readers Benefit, as well as our own, we ſhall, to avoid Repetitions, forbear ſpeaking of them here, and proceed to the Manner of theſe Peoples living, providing for their own Subſiſtance, and acquiring wherewithal to trade with Strangers.

7. If we meaſure the good Senſe, prudent Behaviour, and polite Carriage of other Nations, by what is eſteemed Wiſdom, Prudence, and Politeneſs amongſt ourſelves, which is the ordinary Way of ſettling the Standard of thoſe things, it is very certain that theſe *Groenlanders* will paſs for a Race of ſtupid, barbarous, and brutiſh People. But if we meaſure their Conduct by the Situation of the Country in which they live, the Neceſſities they are under, and the Want of Communication with any other Race of Men but themſelves, which we may juſtly call the Standard of Nature; we ſhall find they are neither deſpicable with reſpect to their Capacities, nor liable to Reproach from their Manner of living, which, however oppoſite to ours, is very conſiſtent with their Circumſtances, and the Helps with which Providence has furniſhed them. Their ordinary Employments are Hunting and Fiſhing: On Shore they hunt the Rain-Deer, and at Sea they purſue the Whales, Morſes, Seals, and other Animals. As for their hunting, we have ſpoke of it already, and ſhall therefore only add here, that their Bow is commonly of Fir-Tree, which, in *Norway*, is called *Tenel*, and on the Back ſtrengthened with Strings made of Sinews of Animals, twiſted like Thread; the String is made of a good ſtrong Strap of Seal-ſkin, or of ſeveral Sinews twiſted together, and the Bow is a good Fathom long; the Head of the Arrow is armed with Iron, or a ſharp-pointed Bone, with one or more Hooks, that it may keep hold when ſhot into a Deer's Body. The Arrows they ſhoot Birds with are covered with one or more Pieces of Bone, blunt at the End that they may kill the Fowl without tearing the Fleſh. The Sea-Fowls are not ſhot with Arrows, but ſtruck with Darts, headed with Bones, or with Iron, which they throw very dextrouſly, and with ſo ſteady a Hand, at a great Diſtance, that no body can hit ſurer with a Gun.

They are more frequently employed at Sea than on Shore, and they ſurpaſs therein moſt other Nations; for their Way of taking Whales and other Sea-Animals is by far the moſt ſkilful and eaſy. When they go a Whale-catching they put on their beſt Apparel, as if they were going to a Wedding-Feaſt; the *Groenlanders* fancying that if they did not come cleanly and neatly dreſſed, the Whale would ſhun and fly from them. The Manner of their Expedition is thus: About fifty Perſons, Men and Women, ſet out together in one of the large Boats, called a *Cone-Boat*. The Women carry with them their Sewing Tackle, conſiſting of Needles and Thread, to ſew and mend their Huſbands Spring Coats or Jackets, if they ſhould be torn or pierced through, as alſo to mend the Boat in Caſe it ſhould receive any Damage. The Men go in ſearch of the Whale, and when they have found him, they ſtrike him with their Harpoons, to which are faſtened Lines or Straps, two or three Fathoms long, and made of Seal-Skins; at the End of which they tie a Bag of a whole Seal-Skin, filled with Air like a Bladder, that the Whale, when he finds himſelf wounded, and runs away with the Harpoon, may the ſooner be tired, the Air-Bag hindering him from keeping long under Water. When he grows tired, and loſes Strength, they attack him with Spears and Lances till he is killed, and then they put on their Spring-Coats, made of dreſſed Seal-Skin, all of one Piece, with Boots, Gloves, and Caps, laced ſo tight together, that no Water can penetrate them. In this Garb they jump into the Sea, and begin to ſlice the Fat of him all round the Body, even under the Water; for in theſe Coats they cannot ſink, becauſe they are always full of Air, ſo that they can, like the Seal, ſtand upright in the Sea; nay, they are ſometimes ſo daring, that they will get upon the Whale's Back while there is yet Life in him, to make an End of him, and cut away his Fat the ſooner.

They go much the ſame Way to work in killing the Seals, except that the Harpoon is leſs, to which is faſtened a Line of Seal-Skin ſix or ſeven Fathom long, and at the End is a Bladder or Bag, made of a Seal-Skin, filled with Air, to keep the Seal, when he is wounded, from diving under the Water and being loſt again. In the Northern Parts, where the Sea is all frozen over in the Winter, they uſe other Methods in catching of Seals. They firſt look out for the Holes which the Seals themſelves make with their Claws, about the Bigneſs of a Half-penny, that they may fetch their Breath; after they have found any Hole, they ſeat themſelves near it in a Chair made for that Purpoſe; and as ſoon as they perceive the Seal coming up to the Hole, and putting his Snout into it for Air, they immediately ſtrike him with a ſmall Harpoon, which they have ready in their Hand; to which Harpoon is faſtened a Strap of a Fathom long, which they hold in the other Hand. After he is ſtruck, and cannot eſcape, they cut the Hole ſo large that they may get him up through it; and as ſoon as they have got his Head above the Ice, they kill him with one Blow of the Fiſt. But beſides theſe there is a third Way of catching of Seals. They make a great Hole in the Ice, or in the Spring they find out Holes made by the Seals, through which they get upon the Ice to lie and baſk themſelves in the Sun. Near theſe Holes they place a low Bench, upon which they lie down upon their Belly, having firſt made a ſmall Hole near the large one, through which they let ſoftly down a Perch, ſixteen or twenty Yards long, headed with a Harpoon, a Strap being faſtened to it, which one holds in his Hand, while another, who lies upon the Bench with his Face downwards, watching the coming of the Seal, which, when he perceives, he cries *Kæ*, whereupon he who holds the Pole puſhes and ſtrikes the Seal. The fourth Way is this: In the Spring, when the Seals lie upon the Ice near Holes which themſelves make to get up and down, the *Groenlanders*, diſguiſed in Seal-Skins, and a long Perch in their Hand, creep along upon the Ice, moving their Head forwards and backwards, and ſnoring like a Seal, till they come ſo near him, that they can reach him with the Perch and ſtrike him. A fifth Manner of catching Seals is, when in the Spring the Current makes large Holes in the Ice, the Seals flocking in great Shoals there; the Natives watch their Opportunity to ſtrike them with their Harpoons, and hawl them upon the Ice. There is yet a ſixth Way of catching them; when the Ice is not covered with Snow, but clear and tranſparent, then they lay under their Feet Foxes or Dogs Tails, or a Piece of a Bear's Hide to ſtand upon, and watch the Animal; and when, by his blowing and ſnoring, they find what

Courſe he takes, they ſoftly follow, and ſtrike him. All theſe Methods prove, that the *Groenlanders* are ſo far from being ſtupid, that they are ſubtile and ingenious.

8. As this Affair of their Fiſhing is in a manner the ſole Concern of theſe People, ſo, from thence we are beſt enabled to judge of their Characters and Capacities. It is true, that this appears to us a very inſignificant Thing; but it is not ſo to them; for upon their Ability in Hunting and Fiſhing depends their Subſiſtance, both as Individuals, and as a Nation, which alters the Caſe extremely, ſince with reſpect to every People upon Earth, the right Management of their principal Concern is what contributes moſt to their own Happineſs, and ought conſequently to fix the Notions of the reſt of the World about them. In fiſhing they make Uſe of Hooks of Iron, or Bones; their Lines are made of Whalebones cut very ſmall and thin, and at the End tacked together; and with ſuch Lines they will draw a hundred Fiſh, to one that our People can catch with their Hemp-Lines; but to catch Holy-Butts, they make uſe of ſtrong Lines made of Seal-ſkins, or thick Hemp-Lines. Their Way of fiſhing for ſmall Salmon, or Sea-Trout, is this: At low Water they build ſmall Incloſures with Stone, near the River's Mouth, or any other Place where the Salmon runs along; and when it begins to flow, and the Tide comes in, the Salmon retreats to the River, and in high Water paſſes over the Incloſure, and remains in the River till the Water falls again; and then the Salmon ſtrives to return to the Sea; but the Fiſhermen way-lay him at the Incloſure, and ſtop his Paſſage; and ſoon after, when the Water is quite fallen, and it is low Ebb, the Salmon remains upon dry Land, and may be caught with Hand; and when they are left in Holes, they take them with an Inſtrument made for this Purpoſe, *viz.* a Perch headed with two ſharp-hooked Bones, or with one or two Iron Hooks.

The Rogn-fiſh, or Roe-fiſh, ſo named from the great Quantity of Roe that is found in it; as he is commonly found in ſhallow Water, and upon the Sands, ſo is catched like the Salmon with the afore-mentioned Inſtrument. There is ſuch abundance of theſe Fiſh that, as they cannot conſume them while freſh, they are obliged to dry them on the Rocks, and keep them for Winter Proviſion: When catching of them is over, which happens in the Month of *May*, the *Groenlanders* retire into the Bays and Creeks where the Stint-fiſhing then takes place; there are ſuch numberleſs Shoals of them near the Shore, that they catch them in a kind of Sieves faſtened upon long Poles, and throw them upon the Shore. They open and dry them upon the Rocks, keeping them for their Winter Stock. This Fiſh is not either agreeable or wholeſome when eaten freſh; beſides, they have a nauſeous Smell, but when dried they are tolerable; the Natives eat them with a Bit of Fat, or ſouſed in Train-oil, and ſo they do all other ſorts of Fiſhes. What the *Groenlanders* cannot conſume freſh, they dry upon the Rocks in the Sun, or in the Wind, and lay them up for Winter's Proviſions.

As to the *Groenlanders* Boats, there are two ſorts of them; the one, of which the Men alone make uſe, is a ſmall Veſſel, ſharp, and pointed at both Ends, three Fathom in Length, and at moſt but three Quarters of a Yard broad, with a great Hole in the Midſt, juſt large enough for a Man's Body to enter it and ſit down: The Inſide of the Boat is made of thin Rafts, tacked together with the Sinews of Animals, and the Outſide is covered with Seal-ſkin dreſſed, and without Hair; one only can ſit in it, who faſtens it ſo tight about his Waiſt, that no Water can enter it. In theſe ſmall Boats they go to Sea, managing them with one Oar of a Fathom's length broad at both Ends, with which they paddle, ſometimes on one Side, and ſometimes on the other, with ſo much Strength and Swiftneſs, that they are ſaid to row ten or twelve *Norway* Miles in a Day; they chiefly make uſe of them in catching of Seals and Sea fowls, which they can approach on a ſudden and unawares: Whereas in our large Boats we can very ſeldom come ſo near as to touch them. They have no fear in venturing out to Sea in them in the greateſt Storms, becauſe they ſwim as light upon the largeſt Waves as a Bird can fly; and when the Waves come upon them with all their Fury, they only turn the Side of their Boat towards them, to let them paſs without the leaſt Danger of being ſunk; for though they may be overſet, yet they eaſily raiſe themſelves up again with the Paddle; but if they are overſet unawares, as it often happens, and the Boat be not cloſe and tight about their Waiſt, they are inevitably drowned.

The other Kind of Boats are large and open, like ours, ſome of them twenty Yards long, and thoſe are called *Cone-Boats*, that is, Womens-Boats, becauſe the Women commonly row them, for they think it unbecoming a Man to row ſuch a Boat, unleſs great Neceſſity requires it. And when they firſt ſet out for the Whale-fiſhing, the Men ſit in a very negligent Poſture, with their Faces turned towards the Prow, pulling with their little ordinary Paddle; but the Women ſit in the ordinary Way, with their Faces towards the Stern, rowing with long Oars: The Inſide of thoſe Boats is compoſed of thin Rafts, and the Outſides covered with thick Seal-ſkins. In thoſe Boats they tranſport their Baggage, as Tents, and the little Houſhold Furniture, when they go to ſettle in ſome diſtant Places, for Conveniency of Proviſion; in theſe Boats they alſo carry Sails made of the Inſide of Seals-Guts, faſtened to the Deck at the lower End; ſo they neither want Braces, Bowlines, or Sheet-ropes, and with theſe Sails they ſail well enough with the Wind, but not otherwiſe: Theſe Boats as they are flat-bottomed, are ſoon overſet. The Men meddle, at home, with nothing but what concerns their Tools for hunting, and their Fiſhing-Tackle, *viz.* their Boats, Bows, Arrows, and the like; all other Work, even of building and repairing their Houſes, belong to the Women, who are to the full as induſtrious, dextrous, and fearleſs as the Men.

9. As to their Houſes, they have one for the Winter and another for the Summer-ſeaſon: Their Winter-habitation is a low Hut, built with Stone and Turf, two or three Yards high with a flat Roof: In this Hut the Windows are on one Side, made of Seals Guts dreſſed, and ſewed together, or of the Maws of Holy-butts, and are white and tranſparent: On the other Side the Beds are placed, which conſiſt of Shelves or Benches, made of Deal-Boards raiſed half a Yard from the Ground: Their Bedding is made of Seals and Rain-Deer Skins. Several Families live in one of theſe Huts, each Family occupying a Room by itſelf, ſeparated from the reſt by a wooden Poſt, by which the Roof is ſupported; before it there is a Hearth, in which there is a great Lamp, in the Form of a Half-Moon; on a Trivet, over this, are hung their Kettles, of Braſs, Copper, or Marble, in which they boil their Victuals; under the Roof, juſt above the Lamp, they have a ſort of a Shelf to put their wet Cloaths upon, to dry.

The Fore door, or Entry of the Houſe, is very low, ſo that they muſt creep upon their Hands and Feet to get in at it, which is contrived ſo to keep the cold Air out as much as it is poſſible; the Inſide of the Houſe is covered, or lined with old Skins, which before have ſerved for their Boats; ſome of theſe Houſes are ſo large that they afford Lodgings for ſeven or eight Families. Upon the Benches, or Shelves, where their Beds are placed, is the Seat of the Women, attending their Work of ſewing, and making up of the Cloathing. The Men, with their Sons, ſit on the foremoſt Parts of the Benches, turning their Backs to the Women. On the oppoſite Side, under the Windows, the Men belonging to the Family, or Strangers, take their Seats upon Benches, placed for that Purpoſe. I cannot forbear taking Notice, that though in one of theſe Houſes there are ten or twenty Train-Lamps, one does not perceive the Steam or Smoke thereof to fill theſe ſmall Cottages; the Reaſon probably is, the Care they take in trimming theſe Lamps, *viz.* They take dry Moſs rubbed very ſmall, which they lay on one Side of the Lamp, which, being lighted, burns ſoftly, and does not cauſe any Smoke if they do not lay it on too thick, or in Lumps. This Fire gives ſuch a Heat that it not only ſerves to boil their Victuals, but alſo heats their Rooms to that Degree, that they are as hot as a Bagnio; but to thoſe who are not uſed to this Method the Smell is very diſagreeable, as well by the Number of burning Lamps, all ſupplied with Train Oil, as on Account of diverſe Sorts of raw Meat; Fiſh, and Fat, which they heap up in their Habitations; but eſpecially their Urine-Tubs ſmell moſt inſufferably, and ſtrike one that is not accuſtomed to it, to the very Heart.

Thoſe Winter Habitations they reſort to immediately after *Michaelmas*, and leave them again at the Approach of Spring, which is commonly about the latter End of *March*; and all the warm Part of the Year lodge in Tents, which are their Summer Habitations. Theſe Tents are made of Rafts or long Poles, ſet in a circular Form, bending at the Top, and reſembling a Sugar-Loaf, fenced by a double Cover, of which the Innermoſt is of Seal or Rain-Deer Skins, with the hairy Side inward (if they be rich) and the Outermoſt alſo of the ſame Skin, without Hair, dreſſed with Fat, that the Rain may not penetrate them. In theſe Tents they have their Beds, Lamps to dreſs Meat, and a Curtain made of the Guts of Seals ſewed together, through which they receive the Day-light, inſtead of Windows. Every Maſter of a Family has ſuch a Tent, and a great Woman's Boat to tranſport their Tents and Luggage from Place to Place, where their Buſineſs calls them, in the Manner beforementioned.

10. They are, undoubtedly, as good-natured, and as inoffenſive People in their Behaviour, as any in the World; Hatred and Envy, Strife and Anger, are never heard of among them; and though it may happen that one bears a Grudge to the other, yet it never breaks out into any ſcolding and fighting; neither in their Language have they any Words to expreſs ſuch Paſſions. It has, indeed, happened, that a very wicked and malicious Fellow, out of a ſecret Grudge, has killed another, which none of the Neighbours have taken Notice of, but all let it paſs with a ſurprizing Indolence, ſave the next of Kin to the Dead, if he finds himſelf ſtrong enough, revenges his Relation's Death upon the Murderer: They know no other Puniſhment. But as for a Sort of old Women, called *Witches*, and ſuch as pretend to kill or hurt by their Conjuration, to ſuch they ſhew great Rigour, making nothing of deſtroying and killing them without Mercy. And they inſiſt on it, that it is very well done, thoſe People not deſerving to live, who by ſecret Arts can hurt others. They have as great an Abhorrence of ſtealing among themſelves, as any Nation upon Earth, and therefore they keep nothing under Lock and Key, but leave all free that every body can come at it, without Fear of loſing it.

This Vice is ſo much hated among them, that if a Maid ſhould ſteal any thing, ſhe would forfeit all Hopes of a good Match. Yet if they can lay Hands upon any thing belonging to Foreigners, they make no great Scruple of Conſcience about it. But as the *Danes* have now lived ſome Time in their Neighbourhood, and are looked upon as ſettled Inhabitants of the Country, they at laſt have forbore to moleſt them any more that Way. As to any Treſpaſſes in point of Chaſtity, either in Words or Deeds, they are never guilty, except what paſſes amongſt the married People in their public Diverſions. They never enter any Houſe where they are Strangers, unleſs they are invited; and when they come in, the Maſter of the Houſe, to whom they pay the Viſit, ſhews them the Place where they are to take their Seat. As ſoon as a Viſitor enters the Houſe, he is deſired to ſtrip ſtark naked, and ſit down in this Manner, like all the reſt; for this is the grand Faſhion with them to dry the Cloaths of all their Gueſts.

When Victuals are put before him, he takes Care not to fall to eating immediately, for fear of being looked upon as ſtarved, or of paſſing for a Glutton. He muſt ſtay till all the Family be gone to Bed before he can lie down, for to them it ſeems unbecoming, that the Gueſts ſhould go to Reſt before the Landlord. When ever a Stranger comes into a Houſe, he never aſks for Victuals, though never ſo hungry, nor is there any need he ſhould; for they exerciſe great Hoſpitality, and are very free with what they have, and, what is highly to be admired and Praiſe worthy, they have moſt things in common; and if there be any among them who cannot work or get his Livelihood, they do not let him ſtarve, but admit him freely to their Table; in which they ought to confound, with Shame, ſuch as are called Chriſtians, who ſuffer, notwithſtanding, ſo many poor and diſtreſſed Creatures to periſh for Want of Neceſſaries.

But after all, the *Groenlanders*, as to their Manners and common Way of Life, are very ſlovenly, naſty, and filthy; they ſeldom waſh themſelves; will eat out of Plates and Bowls after their Dogs, without cleaning them; and what is moſt nauſeous, they eat the Vermin which feed on them. They do not bluſh to ſet down and eaſe themſelves in the Preſence of others; every Family has an Urine-Tub placed before the Entry, in which they make Water, and leave it ſo ſtanding till it ſmells inſufferably; for they put all the wet Skins which are to be dreſſed, to ſteep in it, which affords a loathſome Scent; to the increaſing of which, the rotten Pieces of Fleſh and Fat, thrown under their Benches, contribute a great deal. Yet notwithſtanding this naſty and moſt beaſtly Way of Living, they are very good-natured and friendly in Converſation. They can be merry, and bear a Joke, provided it be within due Bounds; never any of them offered to hurt the *Danes*, unleſs provoked to it; but on the contrary, reverence them as a Nation ſuperior to themſelves.

11. The Reader will not ſuppoſe theſe Folks are overnice in their Apparel, and yet they are far from being deficient in that Point. Their Cloaths are, for the moſt Part, made of Rain-Deer and Seal Skin, as alſo of Birds Skin nicely dreſſed and prepared, for in this lies their greateſt Ingenuity. The Mens Dreſs are a Coat or Jacket, with a Cap or Hood ſewed to it, to cover the Head and Shoulders, in the Faſhion of a Domino or Monk's Hood. This Coat reaches down to the Knees; their Breeches are very ſmall, not coming above their Loins, that they may not hinder them in getting into their ſmall Boats; and as they wear no Linen, the Hair of the Skins the Coat is made of is turned inward, to keep them warm. Over this Coat they put a large Frock made of Seal Skin, dreſſed and tanned without Hair, to keep the Water out; and thus they are dreſſed when they go to Sea. Between the Leathern Frock and the under Coat they wear a Linen Shirt, or for want of Linen, one made of Seal-Guts, which alſo helps to keep out the Water from the under Coat; of late they appear ſometimes in more ſhewy Dreſſes, as Shirts made of ſtriped Linen, and Coats and Breeches of red and blue Stuffs, which they buy of *Daniſh* or *Dutch* Merchants, but faſhioned after their own Way. In theſe they make Parade when they keep Holidays aſhore. The Stockings they wore formerly were made of Rain-Deer or Seal Skin, but now they are better, ſuch as worſted Stockings of different Colours, white, blue, and red, which they buy of the *Danes*; their Shoes and Boots are made of Seal-Skins, red or yellow, well dreſſed or tanned. They are nicely wrought with Folds behind and before, without Heels, and ſet well upon the Feet.

The only Difference in Dreſs between the Men and the Women is, that the Womens Coats are higher on the Shoulders, and wider than the Mens, with higher and larger Hoods. The married Women, that have got Children, have got much larger Coats than the reſt, moſt like Gowns, becauſe they muſt carry their Children in them upon their Backs, having got no other Cradle or ſwaddling Cloths for them. They wear Drawers which reach to the Middle of their Thigh, and over them Breeches. The Drawers they always keep on, and ſleep in them. Their Breeches come down to the Knee; theſe they do not wear in the Summer, nor in the Winter, but when they go abroad, and as ſoon as they come home they pull them off.

Next to their Body they wear a Waiſtcoat, made of a young Fawn's Skin, with the hairy Side inward. The Coat, or upper Garment, is alſo made of fine coloured Swan-Skins, trimmed and edged with white, and nicely wrought in the Seams, and about the Edges, which looks very well. Their Shoes and Boots, with little Difference, are like thoſe of the Men. Their Hair, which is very long and thick, is braided, and tied up in a Knot, which becomes them; they commonly go bare-headed, as well without as within Doors; nor are they covered with Hoods, but in Caſe it rains or ſnows. Their chief Finery is to wear Glaſs-Beads of divers Colours, or Corals about their Neck and Arms, and Pendants in their Ears; they alſo wear Bracelets of black Skin ſet with Pearls, with which they alſo trim their Cloaths and Shoes.

The *Groenland* fair Sex have, beſides this, another Sort of Embelliſhment, *viz.* they make long black Strokes between the Eyes on the Forehead, upon the Chin, Arms, and Hands, and even upon the Thighs and Legs. Theſe they make with a Needle and Thread made black, and though this to others ſeems disfiguring and frightful, yet they think it very handſome and ornamental; and they ſay thoſe who do not thus decorate or deform their Faces, their Heads ſhall be turned into Train-Tubs, which are placed under the Lamps in Heaven, or rather in the Land of Souls. They keep their Cloaths pretty clean, though in other things, eſpecially in their Victuals, they are not ſo nice, particularly the Women who have got Children are very dirty, well knowing that they cannot be repudiated or divorced. But thoſe which are barren, or whoſe Children are dead, and do not know the Moment they may be ſent away, are obliged to be more careful in point of Cleanlineſs, that they may pleaſe their Huſbands, and enjoy Maintenance and Protection from them.

12. The Commodities *Groenland* affords, for the entertaining of Commerce, are Whale-Blubber or Fat, and Whale-Bones, Sea-Unicorn-Horns, Rain-Deer Skins, and Bears, Seal and Fox-Skins. Theſe Wares they uſed to barter againſt the following Mercandizes, *viz.* Coats and Shirts, made of white, blue, red, and ſtriped Linen or Woollen-Cloth: as alſo Knives, Hand-ſaws, Needles, Hooks to angle with, Looking-glaſſes, and ſuch other Merchandizes, or hard Wares; beſides what they buy of Wood, as Rafts, Poles, Deal-Boards, Cheſts; and of Braſs and Copper, as Kettles, and the like; Tin Diſhes and Plates, for which they pay to the full Price. At the Beginning of the *Daniſh* Settlements in thoſe Parts, the Trade was much briſker than at preſent, and much more profitable; for foreign Traders flocking there in great Numbers, ſo over-ſtocked them with Goods, and underſold one another, to draw the Natives to them from others, that the Trade is now conſtantly ſlackened and fallen. Yet, ſays Mr. *Egede*, from whom we take this, if we once become Maſters of this Trade, as it in juſtice belongs to us, by the Right the King of *Denmark* claims to theſe Countries, as much as to any Kingdom or Province ſubject to him; I truſt, continues he, that with this Proviſo, the Trade to *Groenland* would prove as profitable as any other Trade whatſoever, which has been evidenced not long ago; when, by his Majeſty's ſpecial Order, the foreign Trade has been prohibited within a certain Diſtance on each Side of the Colonies. For if the lading of ſome Ships with Fiſh and Train, from *Finmark*, and others with Fiſh, Train, Salt-Meat, and Butter, from *Iceland* and *Ferro*, bring to the Traders conſiderable Profit: who would queſtion but the ſame, or better Advantage, may be expected from the imported Quantities of Whale-Train, Whale-Bones, Rain-Deer Hides, Fox and Seal-Skins, which are of more Value than the *Iceland* or *Ferro* Commodities? And if the Produce of *Groenland* was formerly reckoned of that Importance, that it was eſteemed ſufficient to maintain the King's Table, why not alſo at preſent, provided *Groenland* may, by Settlements and Improvement, receive its former Abundance, which is not impoſſible?

If the old Lands, formerly inhabited and manured by the *Norway* Colonies, were again peopled with Men and ſtocked with Cattle, they would, without doubt, yield as much as either *Iceland* or *Ferro*, ſeeing there is as good Paſture Ground as in thoſe Iſlands. I ſhall forbear to mention Salmon and Cod-fiſhing, as it ſeems at preſent to be of little or no Importance, eſpecially on the Weſt-ſide; though I am credibly informed by the Natives, that on the Southern Coaſt they catch abundance of fine large Cods; yet this may be more than ſufficiently compenſated by the Whale fiſhery on the North, and the Capture of Seals on the South, which, if rightly undertaken, and with Vigour ſet on foot, will bring as much, nay far more, Profit than the Salmon and Cod catching does in other Places, chiefly the catching of Seal, which can be undertaken at very ſmall Expence, *viz.* at the Coaſt, with ſtrong Nets, with which they may catch many thouſands in *Groenland*, which if hitherto not practiſed, ought to be imputed to Negligence, and want of a good Regulation. In ſhort, *Groenland*, as we ſee, is very convenient for trading, and may be very well worth one's while to take in hand, but there is little to be done without an eſtabliſhed and formed Company of Men of Subſtance as well as Reſolution, it being altogether impoſſible for any private Man to maſter and go through with it.

The Ignorance ſhewn by theſe People of a Creator would make one believe they were Atheiſts or Naturaliſts; for when they have been aſked whence they thought that Heaven and Earth had their Original? they have anſwered nothing but that it had always been ſo; but if we conſider that they have ſome Notion of the Immortality of Souls, and that there is another much happier Life after this; as they are addicted to different kinds of Superſtition, and that they hold there is a Spirit, which they call *Torngarſuk*, to whom they aſcribe a ſupernatural Power, though not the Creation or the Production of Creatures, one would think they did own a God. But notwithſtanding all their Superſtitions are grounded upon the Notion they have of *Torngarſuk*, whom their lying Angekuts or Prophets hold for their Oracle; yet the Commonality know little or nothing of him, except the Name only; nay even the Angekuts themſelves are divided in their whimſical Ideas they have formed of his Being; ſome ſaying he is without any Form or Shape, others giving him that of a Bear, others again pretending he has a large Body, and but one Arm, and ſome make him as little as a Finger, *&c.*

They aſſign him his Abode in the lower Regions of the Earth, where they tell you there is conſtantly fine ſun-ſhiny Weather, good Water, Deer and Fowls in abundance. They alſo ſay he lives in the Water, wherefore when they come to any Water, of which they have not drunk before, and there is any old Man in the Company, they make him drink firſt, to take away its Torngarſuk, or the malignant Quality of the Water, which might make them ſick and kill them. They hold likewiſe that a Spirit reſides in the Air, which they name *Innertirrorſok* that is, the Moderator, or Reſtrainer, becauſe it is purſuant to his Order, that the Angekuts command the People to reſtrain or abſtain from certain earthly things or Actions, that they may not come into Harms-Way. According to their Theology, they are Spirits that govern all the Elements, and their Conjurers pretend to have familiar Spirits, and to be able to do great Matters. They are however, a Crew of Knaves and Lyars, and it would give very little Satisfaction to the Reader to inſert their Fables, which are not at all more falſe than they are fooliſh, and ſerve to ſhew us that tho' Reaſon may go a great Way in teaching Men how to manage their Affairs in this World, yet it is far from being ſtrong enough to penetrate into the Secrets of the other World, and of a future State.

Their Notions of the heavenly Bodies are very whimſical: They ſay the Moon was once a young Man, and the Sun a young Woman his Siſter, with whom he was familiar in the Dark; but that ſhe, being deſirous to find out her Lover, rubbed her hands with Soot, with which ſhe marked his white Deer-Skin Coat, and hence they ſay are the Spots in the Moon. The Sun, flying from his Embraces, aſcended into the Air, whither the Moon followed her, and ſtill continues to purſue, without being able to overtake her.

Yet for all this Nonſenſe, they have given Names to many of the Stars, and Conſtellations, *viz.* The three Stars in the Belt of *Orion* they name *Sicktur*, that is Separated, becauſe theſe three, they ſay, before their Metempſychoſis, or rather Metamorphoſis, were three honeſt

Groenlanders, who being out at Sea a Seal-catching, were bewildered, and not being able to find the Shore again, were taken up into Heaven. *Urſa Major*, the great Bear Star, is ſtiled by thoſe who dwell in the 64th Degree, *Tugto*, or Rain-Deer; while they that live in the Bay of *Diſco*, at 69 Degrees, call it *Aſſelluit*, the Name of a Tree to which they tie their Line when they ſhoot Seals. *Taurus*, the ſecond Sign in the *Zodiac*, is named *Kelluckturſet*, or *Kennel of Hounds*, who ſeem to have a Bear among them; by this Conſtellation they reckon their Hours by Night. *Iverſuk*, that is two Perſons that contend with Songs or Verſes in taunting one another, as is cuſtomary among the *Groenlanders*. Theſe two Stars are in the Conſtellation *Taurus*, of which we have already ſpoken, and there too is *Aldebarent*, or *Nennerroak*, that is, a Light who lights the two Singers.

Canis Major is called *Neleragnek*, which is a Name of a Man among them. This they ſay has got on a Coat of Rain-Deer Skin. Gemini, Auriga, and Cupella, are named *Killnaub Kuttuk*, that is the Breaſt-Bone of Heaven. When two Stars ſeem to meet together, they ſay they are viſiting one another; others will have it to be two Women, who being Rivals, take one another by the Hair. Concerning Thunder and Lightning, they ſay that two old Women live together in one Houſe in the Air, who now and then fall out and quarrel about a thick and ſtiff out-ſtretched Seal-Skin; becauſe ſuch a Skin, if beaten as a Drum, has ſome Likeneſs to the Noiſe of Thunder; whilſt they are thus by the Ears together, down comes the Houſe with great bouncing and racking, and the Lamps are broken, the Fires and broken Pieces fly about the Air, and this, in their Philoſophy, is Thunder and Lightning. In their aſtronomical Syſtem, the Heaven turns about the Point of a huge Rock.

The Snow, according to their Fancy, is the Blood of the Dead, on account that it turns reddiſh if you keep it in the Mouth. The Rain comes from a Ditch or River above in Heaven. When it overflows there, it rains here below. They have no Kalendar or Almanacks, nor do they compute or meaſure the Time by Weeks or Years, but only by Months, beginning their Computation from the Sun's firſt riſing above the Horizon in the Winter, from whence they tell the Month, in order to know exactly the Seaſon in which every ſort of Fiſh, Sea-Animals, or Birds, ſeek the Land, according to which they order their Buſineſs. As to their Diverſions, they have many, ſuch as Running, Leaping, Wreſtling, Foot-ball and Dancing.

The moſt ſingular Circumſtance however in this Reſpect is, their Talent for, and mighty Delight in, Poetry. In this, from the Specimens we have received in the Relations of *Groenland* lately publiſh'd, it appears that they are far from wanting either Genius or Method. The Poems they compoſe are a kind of Lyric Odes, the Harmony of which depends both upon Rhyme and Quantity, there being a viſible Regularity in the Number of Syllables of which their Verſes are compoſed, and a plain Regard to Cadence even in our Manner of reading them. They uſe this ſort of Poetry, which, all Things conſidered, is as far from being rude as it is from being exact, to expreſs all their Paſſions, ſuch as Love, Joy, Grief, but more eſpecially Anger; for when two People quarrel in this Country, they challenge each other not to fight, for that they never do but in Jeſt, or by way of Diverſion, but to contend in Verſe; and he who firſt wants Words to expreſs himſelf in this poetical Duel, is held to be conquered, and ſo the Controverſy ends without either Blood or Law-ſuit.

13. We have given this large Deſcription of this Country, and theſe People, becauſe both were very much wanted; nothing of this kind having occurred in any of our Collections of Voyages. It accounts for what happened to Capt. *Davis* and his People, which we have related in the former Book; as alſo, for what befel Capt. *Hudſon*'s Crew, after they had baſely deſerted their Captain. It ſhews how conſiſtent thoſe Relations may be with Truth, which ſeem to be inconſiſtent with themſelves, by ſhewing that *Savages*, that are gentle, kind, and humane to each other, may be faithleſs, thieviſh, and cruel to Strangers, as theſe People really are from Principle; becauſe they look upon the reſt of Mankind to be of a different Race, and therefore they don't think that they are obliged to treat them as they do one another.

We may likewiſe ſee from hence, how ingenious thoſe People are in providing Neceſſaries for themſelves, who diſcover, notwithſtanding, very little Genius or good Senſe in contriving for the Conveniences of Life. The Boats of the *Groenlanders* are very perfect in their Kind; their Cloaths not only ſufficient for Covering, and very warm and ſtrong, but alſo well ſhaped and neatly put together; and their Inſtruments for Hunting and Fiſhing admirably contrived in every reſpect; but then their Houſes are very poor, their Manner of living very wretched, and the Bounds of their Knowledge almoſt as confined as the Animals upon which they feed. Their Skill and Succeſs in former Inſtances plainly ſhew that they do not want Capacity; and the Rudeneſs of their Condition in other Reſpects, is plainly owing to their Want of Education; or, if I may be allowed to uſe the Word, becauſe it expreſſes my Meaning better, Cultivation: Their Minds are not barren, but produce few Things for Want of a Variety of Seed ſown in them; and this ſhews the Advantage of Commerce, not only for improving the Circumſtances, but for enlarging and bettering the Underſtandings, of any People.

Trade will not mend the Climate of *Groenland*, but it may enable the People to live more comfortably there: Fiſh, Train-Oil, Skins, Furs, and whatever elſe the Country produces, or can be made to produce, when converted into Commodities, will bring the Inhabitants Variety of Conveniencies, will enable them to convert their Huts into Houſes, and change their inhoſpitable Deſerts, not into a fine and pleaſant, but into a tolerable Country; and at the ſame time will enrich thoſe who take the Pains to trade with, and civilize, theſe People. If this could be done effectually, they might be made uſe of to perfect thoſe Diſcoveries, that politer and wiſer Nations have not hitherto been able to make. They may be employed to find out how far the Country behind them is inhabited to the North; and whether, after advancing nearer the Pole, the Climate continues to grow more rigorous, or, as ſome have imagined, not altogether without Reaſon, becomes milder.

Our general Notions, with reſpect to the Situation of the different Parts of the Globe, are not always confirmed by Experience: The Ancints thought the *Torrid Zone* uninhabitable, on the Score of Heat, but we now know with Certainty, that they were miſtaken: neither is it impoſſible that in thinking the Land or Sea abſolutely frozen under the Pole, we may be miſtaken likewiſe. That an Experiment of this Kind would not be impracticable to the *Groenlanders*, appears from hence; that as cold as their Country is in 69 Degrees, there are Perſons living, who have advanced full ten Degrees, farther North without finding the leaſt Inconveniency from the Cold, in the Day-time. Upon this Occaſion, I will take the Liberty of obſerving, that there is no Country in the World, the Inhabitants of which might make Diſcoveries of more Importance than the *Groenlanders*, as may appear from what the Reverend Mr. *Egede* tells us he learned among them: " According, ſays he, to the Relation
" and Opinion of thoſe that inhabit the *Gulph of Diſco*,
" their Country is an Iſland, which they incur from the
" ſtrong Current that runs from the North, and keeps
" the Ice open, even in the Midſt of the Sea. They will
" alſo tell you, they have ſpoken with People different
" from themſelves, on the other ſide of the Ice, and
" haled them. Their Language, they ſay, is the ſame,
" but the Perſons different: ſo that a ſmall Streight only
" divides *Groenland* from *America*. The Streights are
" ſo narrow, that Men on both Sides can ſhoot, at one
" and the ſame Fiſh. The Continent fartheſt to the
" North, is all covered with Ice, the Iſlands only un-
" covered, where Rain-Deer, Geeſe, and other wild
" Birds, are found in great Numbers."

I muſt confeſs, I am not very well ſatisfied with this Account, and believe that the *Danes* may, with little

Trouble, engage the *Groenlanders* to gain them in time a better, and more certain Account; for, without doubt, in one Summer, they might do more towards the ſettling the Poſſibility, or Impoſſibility, of finding a North-weſt Paſſage by their Diſcoveries on Land than we have been able to do, in upwards of one hundred and fifty Years, by Sea; beſides, they might alſo make Diſcoveries on the oppoſite Coaſt looking towards *Spitzbergen*; which would lead us to a Certainty, whether there be an open Sea on that Side, or not; a Thing which, as the Reader will ſee hereafter, is a Matter of far greater Importance than is commonly imagined. It was to penetrate into theſe Secrets of Nature, and to open to Mankind the entire Knowledge of the Univerſe, that ſo many Expeditions were made towards the North, by the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, in the Beginning of the laſt Century; but which, after all, ſerved only to diſcover another Country to the Eaſt of *Groenland*, which, for any thing that is hitherto known, is abſolutely uninhabited, but muſt not therefore be left undeſcribed, eſpecially as we want not ſufficient Materials for that Purpoſe.

14. The Country of *Spitzbergen*, or *Greenland*, lies the neareſt to the North Pole of any yet examined by Seamen, that is, from 76 to 82 Degrees North Latitude; but whether it be Continent or Iſlands is not yet diſcovered. It received its Name of *Greenland* from the *Engliſh*, on Account of its being thought Part of *Old Greenland*; but the *Dutch* call it *Spitzbergen*, that is, ſharp Mountains, becauſe the icy Rocks of this Country mount like Pyramids, one behind, or rather above another, to marvellous Heights. There are great Diſputes as to the Diſcovery of this Place: For on the one hand, we aſſert that it was found out by Sir *Hugh Willoughby*, in 1553; which the *Dutch* deny, and have invented a Country called *Willoughby Land*, and placed it in their Maps, to quit themſelves of this Difficulty. He was afterwards frozen to death, with his Ship and Company, in the River *Arzana* in *Lapland*, leaving upon his Table an Account of his Diſcoveries, drawn up in very conciſe Terms: wherein he mentions ſailing for ſeveral Days on the Weſt-ſide of a Country, in a very high Latitude, which it is believed, and on very good Grounds, could be no other than *Greenland*. After this, Mr. *Stephen Burrows*, in the Year 1556, arrived in the Latitude of 78 Degrees, and ſailed along a Coaſt altogether deſolate, the Ice blue, and abounding with Birds, to the Latitude of 80 Degrees 11 Minutes; which was certainly no other than *Greenland*.

The *Dutch* Diſcoverers were *William Barentz*, and *John Cornelius*, who viſited this Country in 1595, and called it *Spitzbergen*. Our Maps differ from the *Dutch*, becauſe the Names of Places in them are all *Engliſh*; whereas, in the *Dutch* Maps, they are in their own Language; which however determines nothing as to the Matter of Fact, or who were the firſt Diſcoverers. If we decide the Points according to Evidence, the Diſcovery perhaps ought to be adjudged to the *Engliſh*; but the preſent Poſſeſſion, and the Profits reſulting from thence, are moſt undoubtedly wholly in the *Dutch*.

15. *Spitzbergen* is actually undiſcovered on the North, ſo that it is not poſſible to ſay with Certainty, how it is bounded: On the Weſt it has the Northern Ocean; on the South, the ſame Ocean between it and the *Muſcovite Lapland*; on the Eaſt an undiſcovered Country, to which it is joined by an Iſthmus; on the Weſt-ſide of it lies *Charles Iſland*, which is divided from the main Land by a narrow Streight called *Foreland Ford*, between which and *Muſcle Haven* are the higheſt Mountains, moſt of which are of a red Colour, and reflect the Sun-beams ſo as to ſeem all on fire; but ſeven of the Mountains, all of a remarkable Sharpneſs, are of a fine Sky-blue. *South-Haven* is the moſt commodious Place on the Iſland, affording all the Conveniencies neceſſary for repairing leaky or damaged Ships, and is ſo large that thirty or forty Sail may ride at Anchor there very conveniently; here alſo may be had freſh Water, from the melting of the Snows; for as to the Rivers they are brackiſh, as far as hitherto they have been diſcovered, and no Springs or Wells have been yet found.

The Mountains about *South Haven* are very high, eſpecially on the Left; and in the Midſt of the Harbour is an Iſland called *Deadman's Iſland*, becauſe ſuch as die in the Voyage are uſually buried here; if the Bodies can be preſerved from the Bears, they remain uncorrupt for many Years. There are ſeveral Iſlands in this Neighbourhood, called *Fowl Iſlands*, from the prodigious Number of Birds that are bred there. The next capacious Haven is that called by the *Dutch*, *Maurice Bay*, where ſome have wintered: Near this Place were a few Cottages built by the *Dutch*, for the Conveniency of making their Oil, and this Place they call *Smearbourg* or the *Haerlem Cookery*. In the North Bay there is an Iſland which the *Dutch* call *Voegelſang*, from the great Noiſe which the Fowls make when they take their Flight; whence ſome have imagined the famous Problem of our Birds of Paſſage may be eaſily ſolved, ſince they ſuppoſe they are bred in the *Fowl-Iſlands*, and at a certain Seaſon of the Year fly ſouthward from the Iſland before-mentioned. *Deer Sound* is ſo called from the Abundance of Deer which feed about it, though the Soil ſeems to be all Slates ſet edgewiſe. *Muſcle Haven* lies at the Mouth of the *Waygate*. *Martens*, a *Hamburgher*, who has given us the beſt Account of this Country, ſailed as high as 81 Degrees North, where the Ice hindered him from approaching.

16. The Soil of *Greenland* is for the moſt part nothing but Rocks, or Heaps of vaſt Stones, ſo very high, that half of them are loſt in Clouds; the Valleys between them are full of Stones and Ice, which fall from thoſe prodigious Mountains. Above *Deer Sound* and *Muſcle Haven* there is ſome low Land, which is alſo ſtony, and, for the moſt part, covered with Snow and Ice; and this being melted, as it ſometimes is in the Summer, diſcovers nothing but a barren Soil, covered with Heath, Moſs, and very few Plants. Such of the Mountains as are expoſed to the warm Air and Sun-beams are likewiſe covered with Heath and Moſs; and, in the Clifts of thoſe Rocks, there are infinite Numbers of Fowls, that reſt there all the Year.

The Dung of thoſe Birds, with the Moſs waſhed down by the melted Snow, makes a rich kind of Mould on ſome Places near the Shore, where it produces a kind of Lettuce, Scurvy-graſs, exceeding mild and pleaſant, Sorrel, Snakeweed, Mouſe-ear, Heart's-eaſe, wild Strawberries, Houſe-leeks, Wall-pepper, and ſome Plants unknown to us. The Sea is obſerved not to be ſo ſalt here as in other Places, and changes (as it does every where) its Colour with the Sky. If the Air be clear, the Sea is blue; if cloudy, green; if foggy, yellow; in ſtormy Weather, quite black: But there is one thing remarkable, which is, that, in fair Weather, the Sea is ſo clear, that you may ſee ten or twelve, or even fourteen Fathom deep. The Air is ſo cold, that there is almoſt a continual Froſt, which is ſtrongeſt in *April* and *May*, and then in a manner intolerable, eſpecially if the Wind blows from the North or Eaſt; South or Weſt Winds bring Snow or Rain, and moderate the Cold. In *June*, *July*, and *Auguſt* the Weather is uſually calm; and in the laſt two Months, but eſpecially in *July*, the Sun ſhines ſo hot, as to melt the Tar between the Seams of a Ship, if the Wind cannot come at it.

The Sun appears about the Middle of *February*, and diſappears about the 1ſt of *October*; but they have a Twylight when he comes near their Horizon. From the Beginning of *May* to the 1ſt of *Auguſt* the Sun never ſets; yet they reckon Day and Night very eaſily: for, when he is in the Weſt, they call it Night; and, when he comes about again to the Eaſt, they reckon another Day begins. It is obſerved, by *Martens*, that the Light of the Sun is then like that of the clear Moon, ſo that Men may look upon it without dazzling their Eyes.

17. The Beaſts of this Country are white Bears, very differently ſhaped from thoſe that are ſeen elſewhere; they have long Heads like Dogs, and bark like a Dog that is hoarſe. They are leaner and ſwifter than other Bears, and very bold. Some of them are ſix Feet high, and fourteen Feet long; and there has been ſometimes an hundred Weight of Fat taken out of one of them. When any of them are killed and not carried off, the reſt eat

them; but when they are attacked, and begin to howl, ſuch as are within hearing run to their Aſſiſtance, and the old ones will rather ſuffer themſelves to be killed, than deſert their Young. The largeſt are thoſe which are called Water-Bears, which live upon what they can get at Sea, and have been ſometimes found fourteen Miles from Shore. The Skins of thoſe Creatures make very comfortable Cloathing for ſuch as travel in the Winter, and are dreſſed at *Spitzbergen*, by treading them in hot Sawduſt.

The Deer in *Greenland* are grey and ſhaggy in Spring, afterwards of a duſky Colour, with cleſt Feet and Horns like a Hart, or Elk. They have three or four Branches on each Side, about two Inches broad, and a Foot long; their Ears are long, and their Tails ſhort. By feeding upon the yellow Moſs, they grow ſo very fat in three Months, that they cut ſometimes four Inches deep on the Ribs, which enables them to hold out during the Winter; and yet many of them are ſtarved, and in the Spring they are all very lean. At the Sight of a Man they fly; but, if he ſtops, they ſtop too, and this gives an Opportunity for ſhooting them. Their Fleſh is exceeding good roaſted. There are Foxes here of various Colours, and prodigious Numbers of Seals, or Sea-Dogs, and Sea-horſes, which are the ſame that, in the *South-Seas*, are called Sea-lions; Animals which we ſhall hereafter deſcribe. There are very few Land Fowl; but of Water Fowl abundance, yet none ſo curious as to merit a Deſcription here.

18. As for the Fiſh on this Coaſt, they deſerve Notice, becauſe the taking them is the ſole Motive that brings Ships into thoſe Seas, where the Whale-fiſhing is carried on with great Profit. The true large Whale differs from the reſt of the Fiſh ſo called by his having no Teeth, inſtead of which, on each Side of the upper Jaw, grows the Whale-bone, in four or five hundred different Blades, at equal Diſtances, ſome exceeding twelve Feet in Length, and a Foot broad at Bottom, growing narrow upwards, like the Sticks of a Fan inverted, the largeſt of them weighing about twenty Pounds.

He contracts and dilates the Diſtances of thoſe Blades at the ſhutting and opening his Mouth, making them ſerve as Strainers, to ſeparate the Water from the Shrimps, Prawns, and ſuch ſmall Fiſh as his Food conſiſts of; and, for the ſame Purpoſe, on the Inſide of the Bone, next the Tongue, grows a Quantity of Hair, to make ſtill a finer Percolation, which is the more neceſſary, becauſe, notwithſtanding the Bulk of a Whale's Body, the throat of the largeſt is not above a Foot wide. His Bones are hard, like thoſe of four-footed Beaſts; but, inſtead of having one large Cavity in the Middle, are porous, and full of Marrow. His Eyes meaſure about ſix Inches over, with Eye-lids and Hair like a Man's. His Belly and Back are quite red; his Fleſh is coarſe and hard, like that of a Bull, mixed with many Sinews, and is very dry and lean, becauſe the Fat lies between the Fleſh and the Skin. The Fat is mixed with Sinews, which holds the Oil as a Spunge does Water; the other ſtrong Sinews are about the Tail, with which he turns and winds himſelf, as a Ship is guided by a Rudder.

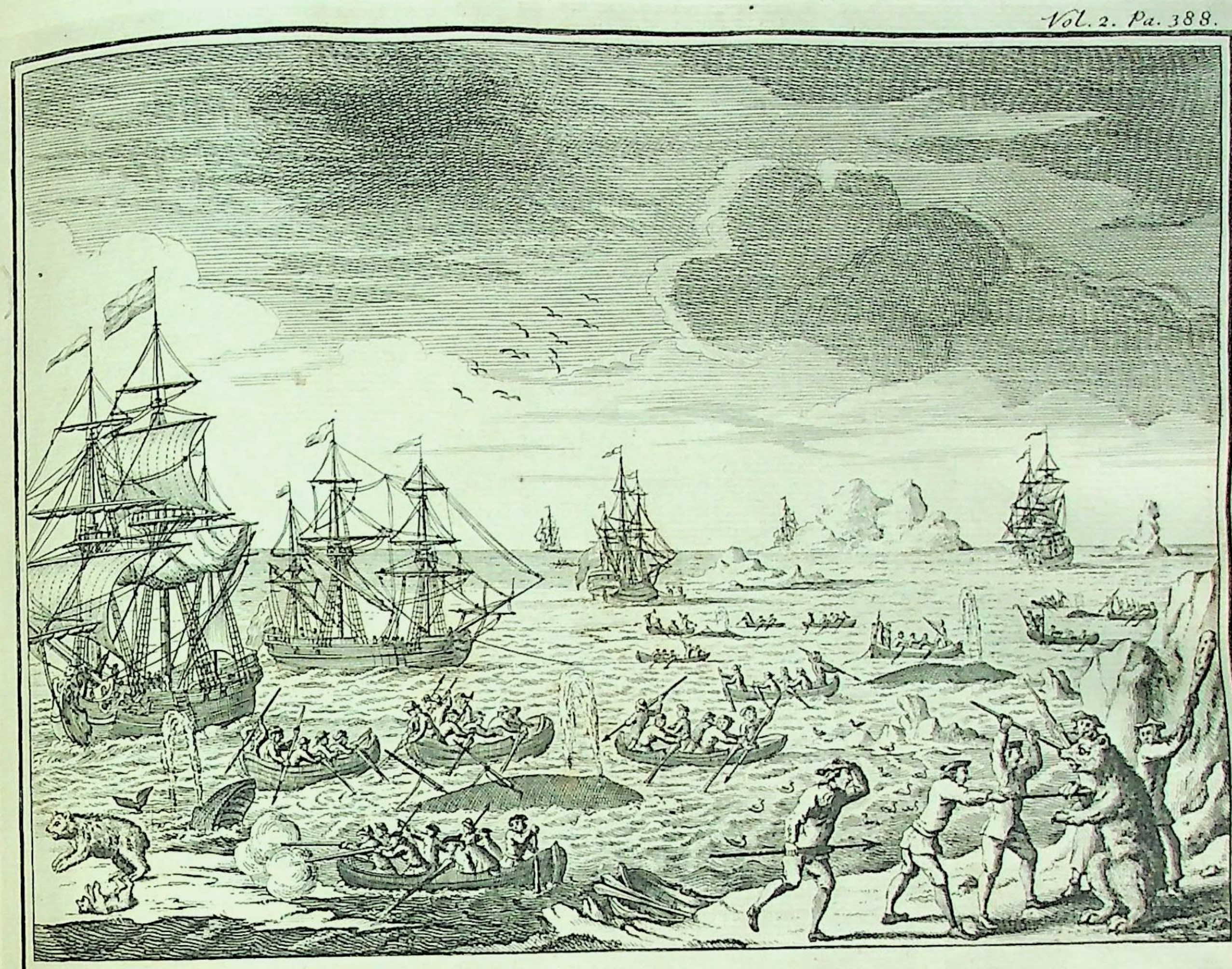
He ſwims as ſwift as a Bird flies, and makes a Track in the Sea like a large Ship under ſail: Beſides the uppermoſt thin Skin, there is another almoſt an Inch thick; but neither of them are very ſtrong, which is believed to be the Reaſon why the Whale does not exert that mighty Force that might be expected from a Fiſh of its Size. They are mightily tormented with Lice, which makes them ſometimes ſpring out of the Sea in an Agony. It is alſo believed they feel great Pains in their Bodies before a Storm, which makes them twiſt and tumble violently while the Wind blows from the Eaſt; but, notwithſtanding their violent Agitation, they are naturally very timorous. The middle Sort of them are from fifty to ſixty Feet long, and yield from ſeventy to a hundred Barrels of Blubber; though ſometimes they are much larger. *Martens* mentions one that yielded a hundred and thirty Hogſheads. This Blubber lies immediately under the Skin; they cut it into thin Slices, which are put into hot Coppers. The Oil ſoon melting out, the Skin is thrown away. The Tail ſerves for a Chopping-block, upon which they cut the Blubber before it is boiled. The manner of taking the Whale deſerves a particular Deſcription.

19. As ſoon as the Fiſhermen hear a Whale blow, they cry out, *Fall, fall!* And then every Ship gets out its Long-Boat, in each of which there are ſix or ſeven Men; they row till they come pretty near, then the Harpooneer ſtrikes him with his Harpoon, which is a ſharp Iron, reſembling the Head of an Arrow, fixed to a Stick; and this requires great Dexterity. Through the Bone of his Head there is no ſtriking; but, near his Spout, there is a ſoft Piece of Fleſh, into which the Iron ſinks with Eaſe. As ſoon as he is ſtruck, they take care to give him Rope enough; for otherwiſe, when he goes down, as he frequently does, he would inevitably ſink the Boat: and this Rope he draws ſo quick, that, if it were not well watered, it would ſet the Boat on fire. The Line faſtened to the Harpoon is ſix or ſeven Fathom long, and is called the Forerunner. It is made of the fineſt and the ſofteſt Hemp, that it may ſlip the eaſier. To this they join a Heap of Lines, of ninety or a hundred Fathom each; and, when there are not enough in one Long-Boat, they borrow from another.

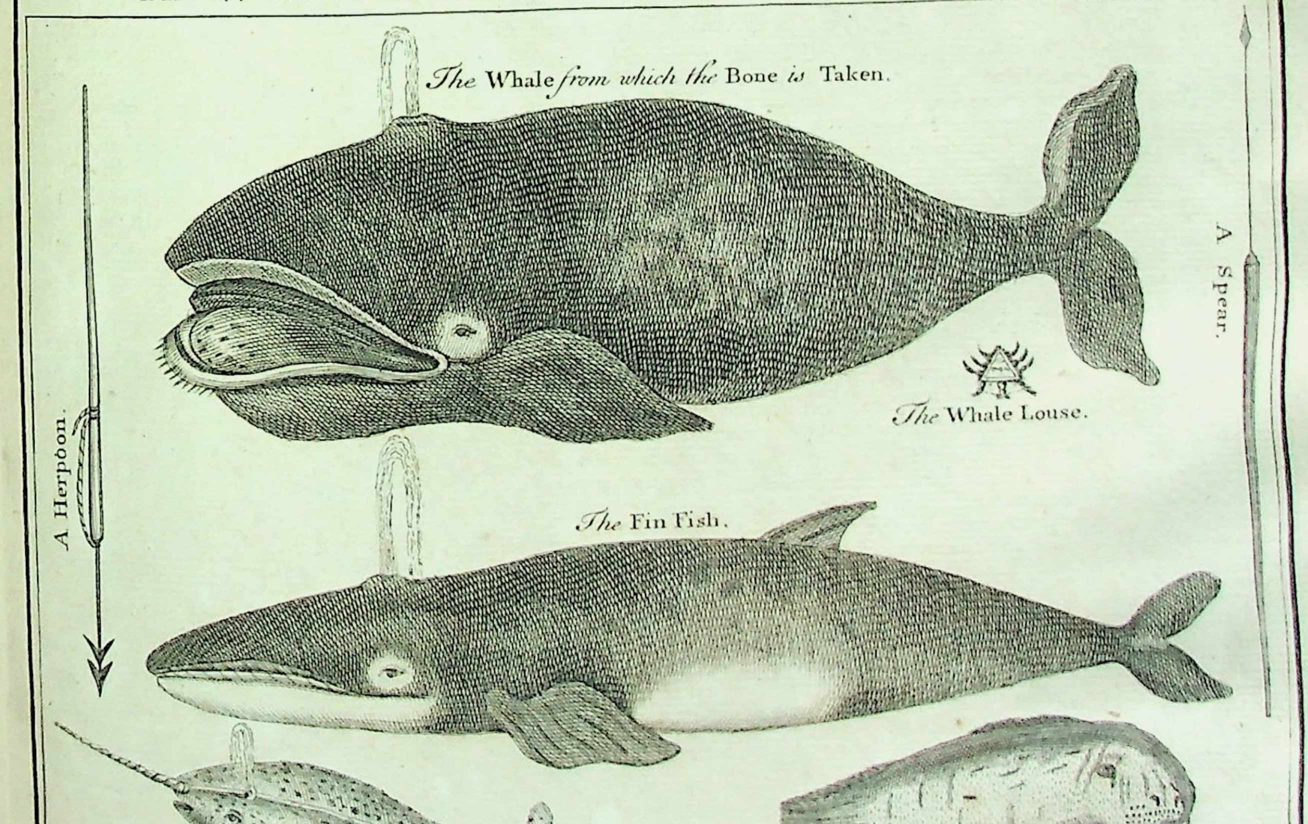
The Man at the Helm obſerves which Way the Rope goes, and ſteers the Boat accordingly, that it may run exactly out before; for the Whale runs away with the Line as faſt as the Wind, and would overturn the Boat if it were not kept ſtrait. When the Whale is ſtruck, the other Long Boats row before, and obſerve which Way the Line ſtands, and ſometimes pull it: If they feel it ſtiff, it is a Sign the Whale ſtill pulls in Strength; but if it hangs looſe, and the Boat lies equally high before and behind upon the Water, they pull it in gently, but take Care to lay it ſo that the Whale may have it eaſily again, if he recovers Strength. If he runs out one Level, as he ſometimes does, they take Care not to give him too much Line, becauſe he ſometimes intangles it about a Rock, and ſo pulls out the Harpoon. The fat Whales do not ſink as ſoon as dead, but the lean ones do, and come up ſome days afterwards. They begin to ſtink as ſoon as they expire, and their Fleſh ferments, creating ſuch a Steam as inflames weak Eyes. When they ſee him ſpout out Blood, they know that he draws towards his End, and then prepare for cutting him up. In order to this, they hawl him cloſe to the Ship-ſide, and with great Knives ſlice his Sides, raiſing the Blubber by a Hook and a Pully, which they lift up as they cut. Many of theſe great Flakes they ſtring upon a Rope, and ſo drag them on Shore, where they are heaved up by a Crane laid upon the Whale's Tail, and chopp'd into ſmall Pieces; afterwards hew'd into Pieces no bigger than Trenchers, and ſo thrown into Coppers; and as ſoon as they become brown, are called Fritters, taken out, and caſt away.

The Liquor is then laded out into a Boat half full of Water to cool and cleanſe it; and thence, by long Troughs, that it may be more cool, conveyed into Hogſheads cloſe to the Shore. In the mean time the Head is cut off, and drawn as near as can be to the Shore, and hoiſted up by a Crane till the Whale-Bone is cut out, and tied up by Fifties, and then the reſt of the Head is boiled for Oil. The Tongue, which in its Figure reſembles nearly that of a Wool-Pack, is craned up with great Care: That of a large Whale will weigh about eight Ton, and will yield from ſix to eleven Hogſheads of Oil, tho' there have been Inſtances of their yielding twenty-four Hogſheads; but this is look'd upon as a Thing very extraordinary. The Ships that uſe this Trade carry thirty or forty Men, five or ſix Sloops, and from four hundred to eight-hundred Hogſheads of Blubber. Their Arms conſiſt of ſixty Launces, ſix Sea-Horſe Launces, forty Harpoons, ten long Harpoons for ſtriking Whales under Water, ſix ſmall Sea-Horſe Harpoons, and thirty Lines of ninety or a hundred Fathom each.

20. There are in theſe Seas ſeveral other kind of valuable Fiſh, many of which are looked upon to be of the Whale-kind; of theſe the moſt remarkable is the Fin-Fiſh, which is full as long, tho' not ſo thick, as the Whale, by two Thirds: He blows Water higher than a Whale



The WHALE FISHERY and KILLING the BEARS.


The Whale from which the Bone is Taken.
A Spear.
A Herpoon.
The Whale Louse.
The Fin Fish.
The Morse.
The Sea Unicorn.

Whale of his Size, thence called the Trumpeter; his Lips are brown, and twiſted like a Rope, and the Whale-Bone hangs to his upper Lip; in Colour he reſembles a Tench; and is ſo nimble, as well as ſtrong, that the Fiſhermen dare not ſtrike him with a Harpoon near the Ice, becauſe by a ſudden Jerk he is able to pull them and the Boat under it. When theſe Fiſh come upon the Coaſt, it is a Sign that the Whales are gone. The Horſe-Whale, which is alſo called the Morſe, the Whaleruſh, or the Sea-Horſe, in Shape reſembling the Seal, but in Size is full as big as an Ox; the Head is thick, round, and exceeding ſtrong; the Neck is covered with ſhort Hair, and with a Skin near an Inch thick; upon the reſt of the Body the Hair is longer, but the Skin thicker; in their upper Jaw they have two long Teeth, from twelve to twenty-ſix Inches, which are cloſer, whiter, and keep their Colour better than any kind of Ivory. This Creature feeds upon Herbs and Fiſh, and is very bold, making toward the Boat as ſoon as he attacked, and endeavouring to overſet it, by leaping into it; and when he cannot effect this, he ſometimes beats Holes through it with his Tuſks. They are not eaſily killed either with Shot or Blows, and therefore the Seamen uſually diſpatch them with Launces.

When Whales happen to be ſcarce, the Oil and Teeth of this Creature make up the Voyage. The Dragon-Fiſh has two Fins on his Back, and two Holes in his Neck, through which he ſpouts the Water; his Body is long and thin, his Skin greyiſh, and glitters like Silver. The Butſhopf, or Place-head is another Fiſh of the Whale-kind, with a Spout-hole in his Neck, his Back brown, his Belly white; in Length from ſixteen to twenty Feet: And it is to be obſerved that they ſwim along by the Shore-ſide. The white Fiſh is as large as the Butſhopf, and is very fat. When there is Plenty of theſe Fiſh, it is a Sign of a good Whale-Seaſon. The Sea-Unicorn has no Fin upon his Back, but a Snout hole in his Neck, their Bellies are white; they are from ſixteen to twenty Feet long, and are chiefly valued for their long and wreathed Horn, which proceeds from their Snout, and is exceedingly white and firm; which Horn, when they are purſued, they ſometimes thruſt above Water. His *Daniſh* Majeſty's Throne is compoſed entirely of theſe Horns, which were formerly eſteemed as Specifics againſt Poiſon. All theſe Fiſh ſwim againſt the Wind, and are obſerved to tumble againſt Storms, which ſome attribute to their having the Cramp in their Bellies.

The Saw-fiſh, or Sword-Fiſh, is of all Sizes from two to twenty Feet long: He is ſhaped like a Man's Arm; his Eyes ſtand high out of his Head; his Sword is ſometimes ſmooth and ſometimes ribbed or indented like a Saw. This Creature is by Nature an Enemy to the Whale and Fin-Fiſh, purſuing them with the greateſt Eagerneſs. A few of them will diſpatch a great Whale, and then they eat no art Pbut the Tongue. In calm Weather the Fiſhermen are often Spectators of the Combat; and when they perceive the Whale dying, they row towards him, upon which the Sword-Fiſh retreats and leaves his Prey in their Hands. The Hay is another Enemy to the Whale, and of theſe there are ſeveral ſorts; they are generally of a grey Colour, and from one to three Fathom in Length. Of all Fiſh the Hay is the moſt voracious, for it bites great Pieces out of the Whale, as if they had been dug with Shovels, inſomuch that ſometimes Fiſhermen take Whales that have half their Blubber torn away in this Manner. The Liver of this Fiſh abounds in Oil, and is exceſſively large. The Fleſh of their Back, when dried ſome Days in the Air, is accounted tolerable Proviſion either boil'd or roaſted, and the leſs the Fiſh the better. They are caught by a large Hook baited with Fleſh, and faſtened to a ſtrong Iron Chain; and in the Sea, if Men fall over-board by Accident, the Hays in their Turn devour them.

21. There are, beſides *Spitzbergen* or *Greenland*, ſome other Iſlands in theſe Seas that deſerve our Notice, ſuch as *Cherry-Iſland*, which lies directly South of *Spitzbergen*, in the Midſt between it and the Continent of *Europe*. It was ſo called in 1603, in honour of Sir *Francis Cherry*, by a Ship's Crew which he had fitted out. There were for many Years after many profitable Voyages made to this Place, which lies in the Latitude of 74 Degrees and 5 Minutes; and where, in one Seaſon, they made twenty-two Tons of Oil out of the Fleſh, and got three Hogſheads of Morſe's Teeth. In the Year 1610, the *Ruſſian* Company took Poſſeſſion of it, and that Year they killed a thouſand Morſes, and made near fifty Tons of Oil: They likewiſe diſcovered three Lead and Coai Mines upon this and the ſmall Iſlands near it, and found the Country ſo hot towards the End of the Month of *June*, that the Pitch ran down the Side of their Ship. This Iſland alſo abounds with ſeveral ſorts of wild Fowl and Seals; and there are likewiſe in it a vaſt Number of Bears. It does not appear that for the laſt hundred Years any Ships have viſited this Coaſt.

On the South-Eaſt of *Spitzbergen* lies the great Country of *Nova Zembla*, which has been diſcovered from 58 to 68 Degrees of Latitude. It is very uncertain whether it be an Iſland, or joined to the Continent; for that which is called the Streights of *Weygatz*, and is ſuppoſed to divide this Country from *Ruſſia*, is but a freſh Water Bay. In the *Muſcovite* Tongue, *Nova Zembla*, ſignifies New Land. It is a moſt wretched Country, and yet not altogether deſtitute of Inhabitants. This Land was firſt diſcovered by the *Engliſh*, and afterwards frequented by the *Dutch*; and their famous Pilot, *William Barenz*, periſhed in a Voyage made hither in 1596. Some Maps lately publiſhed in *Ruſſia*, ſay, that this Country is joined to that of the *Sammoieds* by the *Pater-noſter* Mountains; and there are ſome Maps that join it with *Spitzbergen* or *Greenland* on the North. However, all this is very uncertain at leaſt, and I think very improbable. The *Dutch*, who winter'd therein, aſſert, that this Country produces neither Leaves nor Graſs; but Mr. *Hudſon*, who viſited it in the Summer, ſays, The High Land was very green and pleaſant, on which he ſaw large Herds of Deer grazing. Farther Diſcoveries are expected from the Induſtry of the *Ruſſians*, who have aleady made great Progreſs in their Searches on this Side.

John Mayens Iſland, as the *Dutch* call it, lies to the South-weſt of *Spitzbergen*; it lies from South-weſt to North-eaſt; the Extremity of it is in the Latitude of 71 Degrees 23 Minutes. There were formerly abundance of Whales in the Sea which waſh the Shore of this Iſland, but their being removed farther northward, is the Reaſon that this Iſland is in a Manner forſaken: There is a Mountain towards the northern Part of it, which extends quite a-croſs the Iſland: It is of a prodigious Height, and abſolutely perpendicular, being diſcernible thirty Miles off, at Sea; *Beerenbergen*, *i. e.* Bear-mountain, from the prodigious Number of thoſe Creatures that have been ſeen upon it; there are ſeveral good Bays, the Names of which I need not ſet down, becauſe they are no longer viſited. This Coaſt, though it is allowed that the Land is habitable, and abounds with Stone, Fiſh, and in all Kind of Deer, is forſaken. The greateſt Inconveniencies attending the Navigation thereabout, is the vaſt Quantities of Ice which float on all Sides, but eſpecially towards the Eaſt, where, in the Spring, it is abſolutely inacceſſible.

The many Hardſhips and Difficulties to which People are expoſed in Voyages to theſe Places, and the many Loſſes and Misfortunes that happened to ſuch as were employed in the Fiſheries upon theſe Coaſt, brought them into Diſcredit with us, and by Degrees occaſioned their being totally deſerted, notwithſtanding the great Pains that had been taken to promote theſe Diſcoveries originally; yet it is very certain, that the Confuſions which happened here, in the Time of the Civil War, contributed not a little to check Endeavours of this ſort; and one may very ſafely affirm, that thoſe unhappy Times were very prejudicial to our Navigation, by confining Mens Thoughts and Endeavours to Things of immediate Profit which are ſoon worn out, and diverting them from Diſcoveries which, how hard and difficult ſoever, in the Beginning, commonly turn in the End to the greateſt Account. Thus we were brought by Degrees to abandon theſe Northern Expeditions, as dangerous, uſeleſs, and unprofitable, though we had ſeveral Advantages over other

Nations; and from perſiſting in which the *Dutch* have actually raiſed one of the moſt conſiderable Branches of their Commerce; for ſuch, next to their Herring, the *Greenland* Fiſhery is eſteemed, and very juſtly too, as ſhall be fully ſhewn in its proper Place. This Advantage however may be ſaid to have reſulted to us from theſe Diſcoveries, that it has given us an indubitable Right to reſume and purſue them whenever it ſhall be judged neceſſary or expedient; and perhaps there may come a Time, when this will be thought an Undertaking worthy of Encouragment.

Cherry Iſland, before-mentioned, lies in the Latitude of 74 Degrees; the Weather in *June*, *July*, and *Auguſt*, is not only warm, but extreamly hot, ſo that, in 1610, the melted Pitch is ſaid to have run down the Ship-ſides. In this Iſland there are both Lead and Coal Mines, and in the Seaſon of the Year a very profitable Fiſhery might be carried on there; perhaps too, greater Advantages might be found out by leaving People to winter in that Iſland, which is very well ſeated for Diſcoveries. But it may be ſaid, that this can never be attempted, becauſe there is no Reaſon to imagine that any *Engliſh* would be prevailed upon to ſtay in ſuch a miſerable Place. But to this I anſwer, That two Things ought to be conſidered; the firſt is, that *Cherry Iſland*, in all Probability, cannot be a worſe Place than ſome of the Factories belonging to the *Hudſon*'s *Bay* Company; where ſome People actually reſide at no very conſiderable Expence; and that in the Compaſs of a Year, we have many condemned in *England* that, either from the Nature or Circumſtances of their Crimes, are very juſtly held to be no fit Objects of Royal Mercy; but if ſuch Perſons would make it their Choice to go and winter in this Iſland, in order to obtain their Pardon, in Caſe they ſurvived, it might turn to the Advantage of their Country. And I do not doubt, if the Profits that might be probably acquired by a regular Voyage thither every Year were clearly ſtated, there would be People enough found willing to furniſh the Expences neceſſary for recovering this Trade, which in a few Years would become equally beneficial to them, and to their Country in general. I hint this Matter here for the Employment of their Thoughts, who have a truly public Spirit, and would be glad to ſee any thing attempted that may encourage Induſtry, promote our Navigation and increaſe our Commerce. I ſhall add but one thing more upon this Head; which is, that ſo long ago as King *Alfred*, the Founder of our naval Force, theſe Seas were viſited, and a very profitable Fiſhery carried on; and therefore I can ſee no Reaſon why we ſhould ſuppoſe that it is impracticable now; and if not impracticable, why it may not be attempted with reaſonable Hopes of Succeſs, by the preſent Generation: We conſider ourſelves as much more knowing, and at the ſame time as much more powerful, than our Anceſtors were in thoſe Days, and therefore it ought to be thought ſcandalous in us, to fall ſhort of them in Induſtry, which every one muſt acknowledge to be the Caſe, when Branches of Commerce which were enjoyed by them are loſt to us, and that Loſs too abſolutely unregarded.

22. We are very far from having any Certainty that *Greenland* is united, on the Eaſt, to any other Country whatever: Some have imagined that it was joined to *Nova Zembla*, but the Diſcoveries made by the *Dutch* in 1670, have diſproved this; for they advanced a great way behind the laſt-mentioned Country, and found nothing but Snow and Ice. In order therefore to give ſome Account of the Arctic Regions lying next to *Greenland* on this Side, we muſt have Recourſe to the Expeditions made for Diſcovery from *Japon*. We have, in our former Volume, given ſome Account of the Land of *Yedzo*, or *Jeſſo*, which lies to the North of the great Iſland of *Niphon*, which is the largeſt of thoſe known to us by the general Name of *Japon*, and from which it is moſt probable that Word was framed. The *Japoneſe* are very bad Sailors, and conſequently have not been able to make any great Diſcoveries on that Side. Our Countryman Mr. *William Saris*, of whom I have given the beſt Account I was able, in the former Part of this Work, had a Commiſſion from the Government of *Japon* to make Diſcoveries on that Side; but it does not appear that he had any Opportunity of executing this Commiſſion; if he had we ſhould probably have had a better Account of this Country than we have at preſent, or indeed are ever like to have, in conſequence of any Diſcoveries made from *Japon* by the Natives.

This Commiſſion was granted to Mr. *Saris* in the Year 1613; and about ſeven Years after, Father *Angelis*, a *Sicilian* Jeſuit, actually went thither to plant the Chriſtian Faith, and from him we had the firſt tolerable Account of this Country. Some other Miſſionaries followed him, and from their Accounts it appeared, that *Jeſſo* was neither a very excellent nor a very deſpicable Country, in ſome things very far ſhort, in others rather better, than *Japon*. The Climate they found to be very cold, but withal very wholſome; the People leſs ſprightly, but much honeſter, than the *Japoneſe*; the Produce of the Place they found not much to be boaſted of, but as they came to be better acquainted with it, they were well informed that it was very rich in Silver Mines, and that prodigious Quantities of this precious Metal were yearly tranſported to *Japon*; notwithſtanding which the Traders from this Country brought thoſe People, annually, conſiderable Quantities of Silver Ear-rings, and other Toys; for which they paid a high Price. I mention this Circumſtance, becauſe ſome of the *Portugueze* Writers would perſuade us, that becauſe Silver Rings are brought from *Japon* to *Jeſſo*, there can be no Silver Mines in the laſt-mentioned Country; whereas, by comparing the original Authors, from whom they take their Accounts, it is very evident that the Fact is as we ſtate it; neither is there any thing ſtrange in it; for in *Mexico*, where Silver is the principal Commodity, Silver Toys, and indeed all ſorts wrought Plate, ſell very dear.

Theſe Miſſionaries however deliver it as their Opinion, that the Country of *Jeſſo* is an Iſland, which agrees very well with the *Japoneſe* Accounts; but then they diſtinguiſh better the *Upper* and *Lower Jeſſo*; the latter they make an Iſland, the former a Continent, the Northern Parts of which they ſay are not diſcovered, that is, they are not known to the *Japoneſe*; but, as we ſhall ſhew hereafter, they are not only known, but have been conquered by the *Ruſſians*, who have extended their Empire to the Frontiers of that *Japon*, if we allow the Country of *Jeſſo* to make a Part of the *Japoneſe* Dominions; and that it is really dependent upon the Empire of *Japon*, is no longer to be queſtioned.

But it is now time to ſpeak of the *Dutch* Diſcoveries on this Side; and in order to have a clear Notion of theſe it is requiſite to obſerve, that the *Dutch Eaſt-India* Company, after they had eſtabliſhed themſelves in the Iſland of *Formoſa*, and had ſettled their Commerce in *Japon*, began to think that it would contribute greatly to the Advancement of their Affairs, if they could find a nearer Paſſage into *Europe* from thoſe Countries, and therefore they determined to try whether a North-weſt Paſſage might not be found on that Side, which would have been the ſame Thing as finding a North-eaſt Paſſage from *Europe*. In 1643, the Company fitted out from *Batavia* two Sloops for this Diſcovery; the firſt was called the *Buſkins*, commanded by Capt. *Henry Cornelius Schaep*; the other, the *Caſtricoom*, under the Orders of *Martin Heritſzoom Van Uriez*. The Inſtructions that the Commanders received were, that they ſhould ſail on the moſt Northern Point of the Iſland of *Japon*, and from thence to the Height of 56 Degrees; but the former of theſe Veſſels being ſeparated from the latter in a Storm, and obliged to ſeek for Shelter in one of the Ports of *Japon*, there was an End of their Expedition, it being ſeized, and the Crew made Priſoners; but Capt. *Uriez*, in the *Caſtricoom*, continued his Voyage, and made thoſe Diſcoveries which will render his Name immortal. In the Latitude of 42 Degrees he diſcovered a Land, and ſailed to the Height of 43 Degrees, along a Coaſt which was tolerably well peopled, and landing ſeveral times, was informed by thoſe People, that there were ſeveral rich Mines in their Neighbourhood.

As he ſailed higher, he found the Country mountainous, covered with very high Trees, and, as the People informed him, abounding with Silver Mines; he called the higheſt of the Mountains *Pico Antonio*; and tells us farther, That the Country thereabouts was very like that of *England*, that is to ſay, a rich Clay, covered with Graſs and Herbs, and at a Diſtance he ſaw very wide Downs. There is no ſort of Doubt, that this was the Eaſt Coaſt of the Continent of *Jeſſo*. He proceeded from thence through a Gulph, which in the Latitude of 55 Degrees 50 Minutes, diſcovered itſelf to be a Streight about fourteen Leagues, or ſomewhat more than forty of our Miles broad, in the Midſt of which was an Iſland, and two vaſt Continents on each Side. He called the Iſland *States Land*; the new diſcovered Continent, *Company's Land*; and to the Streights he gave his own Name, which they have ever ſince borne, and theſe are the famous Streights of *Uriez*, which are ſuppoſed to divide the Continent of *Aſia* from that of *America*; the Land of *Jeſſo*, which belongs to *Aſia*, lying on the Left-hand, and *Company's Land*, which is ſuppoſed to be Part of *America*, on the Right.

If this Notion be well founded, then the Country between *California* and the Streights of *Uriez* comprehends no leſs than 80 Degrees of Longitude, and is conſequently one thouſand ſix hundred Leagues in Extent. The Account that Capt. *Uriez*, gives of *States Iſland* is, that it is full of high Mountains, the Tops of which are covered with Rocks, without Trees or Graſs: He gives us a large Deſcription of the Country on the Left-hand, which is the Land of *Jeſſo*; but I do not find that he landed upon the *Company's Land* at all, or made any farther Diſcoveries about it; we muſt therefore confine ourſelves at preſent to this Land of *Jeſſo*, with which the *Muſcovites* have brought us better acquainted; for they, by travelling from *Siberia*, have diſcovered that, in the Latitude of 59 Degrees, there is a Gulph which ſeparates the Continent of *Great Tartary* from a Peninſula, which they call the Country of *Kamtſchatcka*, which extends from the 42d Degree of Latitude, which is the moſt ſouthern Part of the Continent of *Jeſſo*, to 65 Degrees 30 Minutes, and there is bounded by the Ocean.

This Country is divided from the Peninſula of *Corea* and *Great Tartary*, by a Gulph of its own Name, and from *Company's Land* by the Streights of *Uriez*; ſo that we need be in no farther Perplexity about the Land of *Jeſſo*, ſince it appears plain to be the ſouthern Extremity of this vaſt Country, of which the *Ruſſians* are in a great meaſure Maſters, and actually navigate that great Sea which ſeparates *Aſia* from *America*, in which they have diſcovered large Iſlands, well peopled, and abounding with various rich Commodities.

All theſe Diſcoveries plainly ſhew what vaſt Advantage would accrue to the maritime Powers, if a Paſſage to the North-eaſt were practicable; and, perhaps, whoever conſiders theſe Diſcoveries attentively, will be apt to think it might be done, more eſpecially when it is remembred that the *Dutch*, who were employed in 1670, in endeavouring to find a North-weſt Paſſage, advanced within a very few Degrees of that open Sea which is commonly navigated by the *Ruſſians*, and which had infallibly brought them to the Coaſts of *Japon* and *China*; ſo that it ſeems equally ſtrange that in former Times, when there was no Sort of Knowledge in our Part of *Europe*, of the Vicinity of theſe Countries to the *Ruſſian* Dominions, ſo many Attempts ſhould be made (as will appear hereafter) to the North-eaſt, and that none at all ſhould be made now, when there is a kind of moral Certainty that ſuch a Paſſage might be diſcovered.

The only ſatisfactory Reaſon that, as I apprehend, can be given is, the *Dutch* are now of Opinion, that the Diſcovery of a North-eaſt Paſſage, or indeed of any other Paſſage to the *Indies*, except that by the *Cape of Good Hope*, would be extremely prejudicial to them, and therefore think no more of it; and as we are generally governed in our Notions of Things by what the reſt of the World thinks, we likewiſe have quitted all Thoughts of finding ſuch a Paſſage; but the Conſideration of this Matter belonging properly to another Place, we will ſay nothing more of it here, but proceed to the proper Buſineſs of this Section.

23. That there is ſome Country or other between *California* and *Japon*, is a Point I believe no reaſonable Man ever doubted, though it muſt be confeſſed, that no ſuch Country has been ever hitherto clearly diſcovered: I ſay, clearly, becauſe ſome obſcure Hints we have both of Continents and Iſlands within the Extent beforementioned. I have, in ſome *Spaniſh* Authors, met with an Account of one *Frederick de Gama*, who in paſſing from the *Philippines* to *Mexico*, diſcovered in a high Latitude a very fine Country, along which he ſailed for a few Days together, and if I am not miſtaken, there are in ſome *Spaniſh* Charts the Coaſts of this Country laid down; but as it is many Years ago ſince I ſaw theſe Charts, I cannot take upon me to ſpeak of this Matter with any Degree of Certainty. I muſt however obſerve, that there is no great Weight in the Objection commonly made to this Suppoſition, as if the *Spaniards* muſt certainly have diſcovered theſe Countries, or ſome of them at leaſt in their *Acapulco* Ships, and this for two Reaſons; firſt, becauſe it is certain they really have diſcovered ſeveral Iſlands; and next, becauſe for the ſake of an expeditious Paſſage, they ſail in too low a Latitude for making any of theſe Diſcoveries that we expect, ſince, I think, it is not probable that any Part of the Country between *Aſia* and *America* lies farther to the South than forty-five Degrees, and conſequently is not within their Rout from the *Philippines*: But we are not entirely deſtitute of Accounts relating to theſe Countries, though it muſt be confeſſed they are not ſo diſtinct and clear as we could wiſh, yet, ſuch as they are, the Reader will very probably be glad to ſee them, and it is our Buſineſs to give them.

The firſt that occurs is from the Account publiſhed by Dr. *Cox*, in his *Deſcription of the Province of* Carolana, of which he looks upon himſelf as the Proprietor, in virtue of ſeveral Grants from the Kings of *England*, the Validity of which I am ſure I ſhall not diſpute; and which takes in all, or the greateſt Part, of the *French* Settlements on the *Miſſiſſippi*. The Deſign of the Doctor's Book is to ſhew the Importance of this Country to the Crown of *Great-Britain*, which I think he has unqueſtionably made out, and in the fifth Chapter thereof he gives us a very large Account of a Part of that Country now under our Conſideration, and therefore we ſhall make no Scruple of inſerting it here for the Reader's Peruſal, who will very probably find many Things therein not eaſy to be credited, but which, notwithſtanding, deſerve to be known and examined, and which certainly ought not to be abſolutely exploded, till by ſome kind of poſitive Evidence the Facts he aſſerts are actually diſproved.

“ It will be one great Conveniency of this Country, if ever it comes to be ſettled, that there is an eaſy Communication therewith and the South-Sea, which lies between *America* and *China*, and that two Ways. By the North Branch of the great yellow River, by the Natives called the River of *Maſſorites*, which hath a Courſe of five hundred Miles, navigable to its Heads or Springs, and which proceeds from a Ridge of Hills ſomewhat North of *New Mexico*, paſſable by Horſe, Foot, or Waggon, in leſs than half a Day; on the other Side are Rivers which run into a great Lake that empties itſelf, by another great navigable River, into the South-Sea. The ſame may be ſaid of the River *Miſchaouay*, up which our People have been, but not ſo far as the Baron *le Hontain*, who paſſed on it above three hundred Miles almoſt due Weſt, and declares it comes from the ſame Ridge of Hills above-mentioned; and that divers Rivers from the other Side ſoon make a large River, which enters into a vaſt Lake, on which inhabit two or three great Nations, much more populous and civilized than other *Indians*. And out of that Lake a great River diſembogues into the South-Sea, which is, doubtleſs, the ſame with the before-mentioned, the Head of the two Rivers being little diſtant from each other.

“ About twelve or fourteen Years ſince, I had imparted unto me a Journal, from a Gentleman admirably well ſkilled in Geography, eſpecially of *America*; who had made thither divers Voyages from

“ *New England*, and all our *Engliſh* Plantations in *America*, and viſited moſt Parts of the Gulph of *Mexico*; where he became acquainted with one Captain *Coxton*, a famous Privateer, who, towards the latter End of the Reign of King *Charles* II. was entertained in his Majeſty's Service. But whether he was diſobliged, or his Genius prompted him to follow his old Trade, having with his Carpenters fitted up a Ship of twenty-ſix Guns, he ſailed to the South-Sea, with a Deſign to take the Ship which comes annually from the *Manillas*, or *Philippine Iſlands*, in the *Eaſt-Indies*, to *Acapulco*, the chief Port of *Mexico*; which Ship, as he had been well informed, uſually made that Part of the Continent that lies between *Japon* and *America*, at a famous Point in 42 Degrees; but when he came to the Head of the Iſland, or *Peninſula* of *California* (it being too ſoon, by ſome Months, for the putting in Execution his intended Deſign) rummaging the Coaſt, he diſcovered a great River in about —— Degrees North Latitude, which entered a great Lake near the Mouth, whereof he found a very convenient Iſland, where he ſtaid two or three Months to refit himſelf, happening to have a Man aboard who underſtood the Language of the Country.

“ The Natives finding he was engaged in Expeditions againſt the *Spaniards*, treated him very kindly, ſupplying him very chearfully with whatſoever he wanted, and he contracted great Friendſhip with them: He calls them the Nation *Thoya*. The *Spaniards*, as I find, in divers of their Expeditions, call it *Theyago*, ſometimes *Tejago*; they are often at War with the *Spaniards*, who have been always repulſed by them. They bring thirty or forty thouſand Men in one Body into the Field. Theſe, and two other neighbouring Nations, not much inferior unto them, are accounted the moſt ſenſible and civilized *Indians* in *America*. When the Seaſon came fit for their Expedition, they ſailed Weſt by South, and happened to ſtop, upon ſome Occaſion, at an Iſland called *Earinda*, or *Carinda*; there were five in all near each other, like the *Canary Iſlands*, but lay rounder, and were thought, one with another, about fifty or ſixty Miles in Compaſs. The Inhabitants were not ſhy of them, but ſupplied them with Proviſions, and brought them Gold to barter, for ſuch Commodities of ours as they liked, and in three or four Days they purchaſed eighty-ſix Pound Weight of that Metal. The Natives told them they were ſorry they had no more. They taking Care to provide only againſt a certain Time of the Year, for Perſons who come from the Sun-ſetting, at a particular Seaſon, and bartered divers Commodities with them for Gold.

“ Theſe Traders, or Merchants, muſt certainly be the Inhabitants of *Japon*, which I gather from a large Relation in the Hiſtory of that Iſland, publiſhed by the *Dutch*, and tranſlated into our Tongue, and makes the ſixth Volume of *Ogleby*'s Collections. They therein declare, That they ſent from *Batavia* two Ships (as they pretended) to diſcover a Paſſage for the North-eaſt Part of *Japon*, round *Tartary*, to *Europe*, though 'tis very probable they had other Views. Thoſe Ships were ſeparated a little Eaſt of *Japon*, by a Storm; the *Caſtricoom* proceeded, and found the Streight entering into the Gulph of *Tartary* or *Jeſſo*, and ſearched the Gulph on the Weſt-ſide to 49 Degrees. The other Ship, the *Bluſkins*, having ſuffered much by the Storm, put into the Port of *Nambo*, near the North-eaſt End of *Japon*, not doubting they ſhould be kindly received, being in League, and having a free Trade with their Empire; but while they were refitting, they were unexpectedly ſurprized by the *Japoneſe*, ſent to Court, and very ſtrictly examined, whether they had not been at, or went to diſcover, the Gold Iſlands, as they called them, lying to the Eaſt, of which the Emperor is ſo jealous, that it is capital for any to go thither without his Permiſſion, or to declare to others the Diſtance and Situation of them; and had not the *Dutch* given uncontroulable Evidence, that they had not been, nor were they going thither, but only upon the forementioned Diſcovery, they had been all executed.

“ There are, upon the Coaſt, between *America* and *Japon*, divers very large and ſafe Harbours, and a very good Climate; the Coaſt ſtretching South-weſt mostly from 40 to — Degrees of North Latitude. The Seas abounding with Fiſh, and the Land with Fowls and Veniſon; the Inhabitants are ſociable and hoſpitable. I have a Draught and Journals of all the Coaſts from *America*, with thoſe of diverſe Harbours, until you are within about one hundred Leagues of the Streight of *Uriez*, which the *Dutch* diſcovered about ſixty or ſeventy Years ſince; and which is the Entrance of the Sea or Gulph of *Tartary*, lying one hundred and twenty Leagues North-eaſt from *Namboe*, the moſt Northerly Haven or Promontory of *Japon*. This Streight, or rather theſe Streights (there being two made by a long Iſland) are the Inlets into a great Sea or Bay, into which diſembogues a vaſt River on the Weſt-ſide of it, between 49 and 50 Degrees of North Latitude, navigable many hundred Miles by the biggeſt Ships, and is made by the Conflux of many large Rivers, ſome of which come from the South-weſt, as *Chingola*, *Hiluras*, *Ola*, *Sungoro*, and their Fountains near the great Wall of *China*, and run through the Dominions of the Eaſtern *Tartars*, who are now Maſters of *China*. Other Rivers from the North-weſt, proceed from the Territories of the *Czar* of *Muſcovy*, who hath built divers large and well fortified Cities on the main River of *Yamour*, and ſeveral of its Branches, as *Negovim*, *Nepehou*, *Albazin*, *Argun*, *Nettinſkoy*, &c.

“ This River of *Yamour*, or *Amura*, hath a Courſe from its furtheſt Fountains above one thouſand two hundred Miles, without any Interruption by Cataracts, ſo frequent in all the other great Rivers in *Muſcovy*, as the *Oby*, *Jeneſſeg*, or *Jeneſſca*, &c. By this River you may trade with the Inhabitants of *Jedſo* for Furs, who have great Store, and thoſe very rich; they inhabit all the Coaſt on both Sides the Mouth of the River, and a conſiderable Way up it. You may likewiſe traffic with the *Muſcovites* for the ſame Commodities, who ſell them there for a fourth Part of what they yield in *Moſcow*, or *Archangel*; theſe Parts being above 40 Degrees almoſt due Eaſt from *Moſcow*, their capital City, a moſt prodigious tedious and difficult Journey, as appears by divers large and accurate Journals, which have been many Years publiſhed in Print; and by means of the Rivers which come from the South-weſt, you may correſpond with the Eaſtern *Tartars*, *Chineſe*, and the great rich Kingdom of *Tanguth*, all now united under one and the ſame Emperor, being very civilized Nations, and kind to Strangers. To ſay nothing of the great and rich *Peninſula* of *Corea*, which is contiguous to one or two Branches of this River, was once a Province of *China*, hath the ſame Manners and Language, and is now tributary to the preſent Emperor. This River, and its Branches, are in a good Climate; it never varying above two or three Degrees from a due eaſterly Courſe. Three or more Ships may be ſent every Year, who may part at the Streights of the *Tartarian Gulph*, or Sea; one for *Yedzo* and the River, another for *Japon*, and a third for *North China*, to the great City *Tunxo*, and the Port of *Pekin*, the Capital of that Kingdom, from which it is not above one Day's Journey by Land or Water; and there is not a better Commodity, or of which more Profit may be made, than of the Furs, which are ſo eaſily procured, and ſo ſoon brought into that imperial City, where, in the Court, and among the Grandees, there is a prodigious Conſumption of them, and moſt extravagant Prices given for them, eſpecially thoſe of the better Sort, though even the meaneſt come to an extraordinary good Market.”

It muſt be confeſſed, that there are ſome very ſtrange and ſingular Paſſages in this Relation, to which ſome Objections might be made; but, however, I think it better to paſs theſe by at preſent, that we may bring in all our Obſervations at once; ſo as that they may aſſiſt and give Light to each other, and render the Subject upon the whole more intelligible, I ſhall therefore proceed to another very curious and entertaining Relation, publiſhed many Years ago, and ſince reviſed; and ſome Remarks added by the ingenious Mr. *Dobbs*, to whom his Country is ſo much obliged for the Pains he has taken to revive the Concern taken for, and Endeavours to find out, a North-weſt Paſſage. This Narrative is very clear in itſelf, and there is therefore no Sort of Neceſſity that we ſhould trouble the Reader with any farther Introduction; only it may be right to obſerve, that it relates alſo to that Part of the Northern World of which we are now ſpeaking.

The Viceroys of *New Spain* and *Peru*, having Advice from the Court of *Spain*, that the Attempt for the finding a North-weſt Paſſage, which had been tried before by *Hudſon* and *James*, was again attempted in 1609, by ſome induſtrious Navigators from *Boſton* in *New England*, Admiral *de Fonte* received Orders from *Spain*, and the Viceroys, to equip four Ships of Force; and being ready to put to Sea the 3d of *April*, 1640, from *Lima*; the Admiral in the Ship *Spiritus*, the Vice-Admiral, *Don Diego Peneloſa*, in the *St. Lucia*, *Pedro de Bernarda*, in the *Reſſaria*, and *Philip de Ronquillo*, in the *King Philip*, the 7th of *April*, at five in the Evening, he got to *St. Helen*, in 2 Degrees South Latitude, where he took in a Quantity of Bitumen or Tar, by way of Medicine againſt the Scurvy and Dropſy. The 10th he paſſed the Equinox at *Cape del Paſſao*, the 11th *Cape St. Franciſco*, in 1 Degree 7 Minutes North Lattitude, and anchored at the Mouth of the River *St. Jago*, and took in there ſeveral Refreſhments. The 16th he ſailed from thence to the Port and Town of *Ralco*, three hundred and twenty Leagues Weſt-north-weſt, Weſterly about 11 Degrees 14 Minutes North Latitude. It is a ſafe Port covered from the Sea by the Iſlands *Ampallo* and *Mangreza*, both well inhabited by *Indians*. *Ralco* is but four Miles over Land to the Head of the Lake *Nicaragua*, that falls into the North Sea, in 12 Degrees North Latitude, near the *Corn* or *Pearl Iſlands*; here being Plenty of fine Timber, he bought four Shallops, built expreſly for ſailing and rowing, about twelve Tons each, and thirty-two Feet in the Keel.

The 26th he ſailed from thence to *Saragua*, within the Iſlands and Sholes of *Chamilly*, in 17 Degrees 31 Minutes North Latitude, four hundred and eighty Leagues North-weſt by Weſt from *Ralco*. From *Saragua*, and *Compoſtello*, near this Port, he took in a Maſter, and ſix Mariners uſed to trade on the Eaſt-ſide of *California* for Pearl, which the Natives catch on a Bank in Latitude 29 Degrees, North from the *Baxas St. Juan*, in 24 Degrees North Latitude, twenty Leagues North-north-eaſt from *Cape St. Lucas*, the South-eaſt Point of *California*. The Maſter the Admiral had hired, with his Veſſel and Mariners, informed him that two hundred Leagues North from *Cape St. Lucas*, a Flood from the North had met the South Flood, and he was ſure it muſt be an Iſland. *Don Diego Peneloſa* undertook with his Ship and four Shallops, to diſcover whether *California* was an Iſland or not, along with the Maſter and his Mariners, they hired at *Saragua*; but Admiral *de Fonte*, with three Ships, ſailed from them, within the Iſles of *Chamilly*, the 10th of *May* 1640; and having got the Length of *Cape Abel*, on the Weſt-ſouth-weſt of *California*, in 26 Degrees North Latitude, one hundred and ſixty Leagues North-weſt by Weſt from the Iſles of *Chamilly*, the Wind ſprung at South-ſouth-eaſt a ſteady Gale; that from the 26 of *May*, to the 14th of *June*, he had ſailed to the River of *Rays*, in 53 Degrees North Latitude, not having Occaſion to lower a Top-ſail in ſailing eight hundred and ſixty-ſix Leagues North-north-weſt, four hundred and ten Leagues from *Port Abel* to *Cape Blanco*, and four hundred and ſixty-ſix to *Rio los Reys*, and ſailed two hundred and ſixty Leagues in crooked Channels, amongſt the Iſlands, named the *Archipelago de St. Lazarus*, where the Ship's Boats always ſailed a Mile a-head, ſounding to ſee what Water, Sand, and Rocks there were.

The 22d of *June* Admiral *de Fonte* diſpatched one of his Captains to *Pedro de Bernarda*, to ſail up a fair River, a gentle Stream, and deep Water; he went firſt North-north-eaſt, and North-north-weſt, into a large Lake full of Iſlands, and one very large *Peninſula*, full of Inhabitants, a friendly honeſt People in this Lake. He named it *Velaſco*, where Captain *Bernarda* left his Ship, nor all up the River was it leſs than four, five, ſix, ſeven, and eight Fathom Water; both the Rivers and Lakes abounding with Salmon, Trouts, and Whale-Perch, very large ones, ſome two Feet long; and with three large *Indian* Boats, called *Piraguas*, made of two large Trees, fifty and ſixty Feet long, Captain *Bernarda* firſt ſailed from his Ships in the Lake *Velaſco*, one hundred and forty Leagues Weſt, and then four hundred thirty-ſix Eaſt-north-eaſt, to 77 Degrees North Latitude. Admiral *de Fonte*, after he had diſpatched Captain *Bernarda* on the Diſcovery of the North and Eaſt Part of the *Tartarian* Sea, ſailed up a very navigable River, which he named *Rio los Reys*, that ran neareſt North-eaſt, but on ſeveral Points of the Compaſs, ſixty Leagues at low Water, in a fair navigable Channel, not leſs than four or five Fathom Water; it flowed in both Rivers near the ſame Water, in the River *los Reys*, twenty-four Feet, full and change of the Moon, a South-ſouth-eaſt Moon made high Water; it flowed in the River *de Haro* twenty-two Feet and a half, full and change.

They had two Jeſuits with them, who had been on their Miſſion to 66 Degrees North Latitude, and had made curious Obſervations. The Admiral *de Fonte* received a Letter from Captain *Bernarda*, dated the 27th of *June*, 1640, that he had left his Ship in the Lake *Velaſco*, betwixt the Iſland *Bernarda*, and the Lake *Conibaſſet*, a very ſafe Port; he went down a River from the Lake, three Falls, eighty Leagues, and fell into the *Tartarian* Sea, in 61 Degrees with the Pater Jeſuits and thirty-ſix Natives, in three of his Boats, and twenty of his *Spaniſh* Seamen; that the Land trended away North-eaſt; that they ſhould want no Proviſions, the Country abounding with Veniſon of three Sorts, and the Sea and Rivers with excellent Fiſh (Bread, Salt, Oil, and Brandy, they carried with them); that he ſhould do what was poſſible. The Admiral, when he received that Letter, was arrived at an *Indian* Town called *Conaſſet*, on the South-ſide of the Lake *Belle* (where two Pater Jeſuits, on their Miſſion, had been two Years) a pleaſant Place. The Admiral, with his two Ships, entered the Lake the 22d of *June*, an Hour before high Water, and there was no Fall or Cataract, and four or five Fathom Water, and ſix and ſeven generally; in the Lake *Belle* there is a little Fall of Water till half Flood, and an Hour and a Quarter before high Water the Flood begins to ſet gently into the Lake *Belle*. The River is freſh at twenty Leagues Diſtance from the Mouth or Entrance of the River *los Reys*. The River and Lake abound with Salmon, Salmon-Trouts, Pike, Perch, and Mullets, and two other Sorts of Fiſh, peculiar to that River, admirable good; and Lake *Belle* alſo abounds with all thoſe Sorts of Fiſh, large and delicate; and Admiral *de Fonte* ſays, the Mullets, catched in *los Reys* and Lake *Belle*, are much delicater than are to be found in any other Part of the World.

The firſt of *July*, 1640, the Admiral ſailed (from the Ships in the Lake *Belle*, in a good Port, covered by a fine Iſland, before the Town *Conaſſet*) from thence to a River he named *Parmentiers*, after his Comrade Mr. *Parmentiers*, who had exactly marked every thing in and about that River, and paſſed eight Falls, in all thirty two Feet, perpendicular from its Source; out of Lake *Belle* it falls into the large Lake he called Lake *de Fonte*, at which Place he arrived the 6th of *July*. This Lake is one hundred and ſixty Leagues long, and ſixty broad; the Length is Eaſt-north-eaſt, and Weſt-ſouth-weſt, twenty, thirty, and in ſome Places ſixty, Fathom deep. The Lake abounds with excellent Cod and Ling, very large and well fed; there are ſeveral very large Iſlands, and ten ſmall ones; they are covered with ſhrubby Woods, the Moſs grows ſix or ſeven Feet long, with which the Mooſe, a very large Sort of Deer, are fat in the Winter, and other leſſer Deer, as fallow, *&c.* There are abundance of wild Cherries, Strawberries, Hurle-

Berries, and wild Currants, and alſo of wild Fowl, Heath-Cocks and Hens, likewiſe Partridges and Turkeys, and Sea-Fowl in great Plenty. On the South-ſide of the Lake is a very large, fruitful Iſland, which had a great many Inhabitants, and very excellent Timber; as Oak, Aſh, Elm, and Fig-Trees very large and tall.

The 14th of *July*, they ſailed out of the Eaſt-north-eaſt End of the Lake *de Fonte*, and paſſed a Lake he named *Eſtricho de Ronquillo*, thirty-four Leagues long, two or three broad, twenty, twenty-ſix, and twenty-eight Fathom Water: They paſſed this Streight in ten Hours, having a ſtout Gale of Wind and whole Ebb. As they ſailed more eaſterly, the Country grew very ſenſibly worſe as it is in the North and South of *America*; from thirty-ſix to the extreme Parts, North or South, the Weſt differs not only in Fertility, but in Temperature of Air, at leaſt ten Degrees; and it is warmer on the Weſt-ſide than on the Eaſt, as the beſt *Spaniſh* Diſcoverers found it, whoſe Buſineſs it was, as it is noted by *Alvarez Acoſto* and *Mariana*. The 17th they came to an *Indian* Town, and the *Indians* told their Interpreter, Mr. *Parmentiers*, that a little Way from them lay a great Ship, where there never had been one before; they ſailed to them, and found one Man advanced in Years, and a Youth: The Man was the greateſt Man in the mechanial Parts of the Mathematics he had ever met with; the Admiral's ſecond Mate was an *Engliſhman*, an excellent Seaman, as was his Gunner, who had been taken Priſoner in *Campeachy* as well as the Maſter's Son.

They told him the Ship was of *New England*, from a Town called *Boſton*, and the whole Ship's Company came on board the 30th, and the Navigator of the Ship, Capt. *Shapley*, told him his Owner was a fine Gentleman, and Major-General of the fineſt Colony in *New England*, called the *Maſſachuſets*, ſo he received him like a Gentleman, and told him his Commiſſion was to make Prize of any People ſeeking a North-weſt or Weſt Paſſage into the *South-Sea*; but he would look upon them as Merchants, trading with the Natives for Beavers, Otters, and other Furs and Skins; and ſo for a ſmall Preſent of Proviſions, he had no need of, he gave him his Diamond-Ring, which coſt him one thouſand two hundred Pieces of Eight (which the modeſt Gentleman received with Difficulty) and having given the brave Navigator Capt. *Shapley*, for his fine Charts and Journals, a thouſand Pieces of Eight, and the Owner of the Ship, *Seamor Gibbons*, a Quarter-Caſk of good *Peruvian* Wine, and the ten Seamen each twenty Pieces of Eight, the 6th of *Auguſt*, with as much Wind as they could fly before, and a Current, they arrived at the firſt Fall of the River *Parmentiers*; the 11th of *Auguſt*, eighty-ſix Leagues, and was on the South-ſide of the Lake *Belle*, on board their Ships; the 16th of *Auguſt*, before the fine Town *Conaſſet*, where they found all Things well; and the honeſt Natives of *Conaſſet* had, in his Abſence, treated his People with great Humanity; and Capt. *de Ronquillo* anſwered their Civility and Juſtice.

The 26th of *Auguſt* an *Indian* brought a Letter from *Conaſſet* on the Lake *Belle* from Capt. *Bernarda*, dated the 11th of *Auguſt*, where he ſent him word, he was returned from his cold Expedition, and did aſſure him, there was no Communication out of the *Spaniſh*, or *Atlantick*, Sea, by *Davis's Streights*, for the Natives had conducted one of his Seamen to the Head of *Davis's Streight*, which terminated in a freſh Lake about thirty Miles in Circumference, in the 80th Degree of North Latitude; and that there were prodigious Mountains North of it; beſides, North-weſt from that Lake the Ice was ſo fixed from the Shore, to a hundred Fathom Water, for aught he knew, from the Creation; for Mankind knew little of the wonderful Works of God, eſpecially near the North and South Poles: He wrote farther, that he had ſailed from *Baſſet Iſland* North-eaſt, and Eaſt-north-eaſt, and North-eaſt by Eaſt, to the 79th Degree of Latitude; and then the Land trended North, and the Ice reſted on the Land.

He received afterwards a ſecond Letter from Captain *Bernarda*, dated from *Minhanſet*, informing him he made the Port of *Arena* twenty Leagues up the River *del Roye*, the 26th of *Auguſt*, where he waited his Commands. The Admiral having good Store of ſalt Proviſions of Veniſon, and Fiſh, that Capt. *de Ronquillo* had ſalled by the Admiral's Orders in his Abſence, and an hundred Hogſheads of *Indian* Wheat, or Maize, he ſailed the 2d of *September*, 1640, accompanied with many of the honeſt Natives of *Conaſſet*; and, on the 5th of *September* in the Morning, about eight was at Anchor between *Arena* and *Minhanſet* in the River of *Reys*; after that he returned home, having found there was no Paſſage into the *South Sea* by that they call the *North-weſt Paſſage*: The Charts will make this much more demonſtrable.

“ The Style of the foregoing Piece, ſays Mr. *Dobbs*
“ very juſtly, is not polite (being wrote like a Man whoſe
“ Livelihood depended on another Way, but with
“ abundance of Experience, and like a Traveller) yet
“ there are in it ſo many curious and hitherto unknown,
“ Diſcoveries, that it was thought worthy a Place in theſe
“ Memoirs, and it is humbly preſumed, it will not be
“ unacceptable to thoſe who have either been in thoſe
“ Parts, or will give themſelves the Trouble of reviewing
“ the Charts. By this Abſtract of *de Fonte*'s Voyage,
“ which has all the Appearance of being authentic, it is
“ plain, that there is a navigable Paſſage from *Hudſon's*
“ *Bay* to *California*, and though it has not had Juſtice
“ done to it in the Tranſlation, and probably has not been
“ exactly copied, or printed; yet, making an Allowance
“ for Errors of that Kind, it has throughout the Air
“ of Truth: There may be, probably, ſome Errors in
“ the Figures relating to the Degrees of Latitude and
“ Leagues in their Courſe, for the Length of the Lake
“ *de Fonte* is ſaid to be one hundred and ſixty Leagues,
“ and the Streight *Ronquillo* thirty-four. Upon his Return
“ from the *Boſton* Ship. he is ſaid to have got again
“ to the Mouth of the River *Parmentiers* in five Days,
“ with a ſtout Gale and briſk Current, which, he ſays,
“ was eighty Leagues; which plainly ought to have
“ been one hundred and eighty, otherwiſe, with that
“ ſtout Gale and Current, it would have been but ſixteen
“ Leagues in twenty-four Hours, and the other would
“ be but thirty-ſix, which was reaſonable ſailing. As to
“ his ſaying there was no Paſſage, although he met the
“ *Boſton* Ship, I take his Meaning to be, that either
“ *Bernarda* found no Paſſage by the North-weſt of *Davis's*
“ *Streights*, the Way probably the *Spaniards* expected it,
“ or, that by his paſſing upon a River to Lake *Belle*,
“ and down another to Lake *de Fonte*, by what he called
“ Sharps or Falls, he apprehended there was no navigable
“ Paſſage for Ships the Way he went; or he deſired to
“ diſguiſe it, to prevent other *Europeans* from attempting
“ it to his Country's Prejudice; and therefore he did not
“ publiſh his Chart which he refers to in his Letter.

“ It is plain that it was an Iſland below the Lake *Belle*,
“ which divided the River *los Reys* from the River *Parmentiers*,
“ and as the Sea in Lake *de Fonte* was upon a
“ Level with the Sea at the Mouth of *Rio los Reys*, and
“ the Tide flowed up that River into the Lake *Belle*, it
“ muſt alſo flow up the River *Parmentiers*, and the Sharps
“ and Falls he obſerved in that River, were only the
“ Sharps occaſioned by the ſeveral Ebbs he had in ſailing
“ down the River, being five Days in paſſing to the Sea,
“ ſo that the great and true Paſſage was without that
“ Iſland, which the Admiral miſſed, by getting among
“ the Iſlands in the *Archipelago* of *St. Lazarus*. It is a
“ Misfortune his Chart was not publiſhed, which would
“ have given more Light as to the Lands, Lakes, and
“ Rivers he mentions, now we can only gueſs in the
“ dark, and may be miſtaken.

“ However, I ſhall venture to give my Opinion of
“ their Situation, though I may not judge right. As I
“ apprehend it the *Archipelago* of *St. Lazarus*, and *Rio*
“ *los Reys*, and Lake *Belle*, and alſo the Lake of *Velaſco*,
“ are no Part of *North America*, but a Country diſtinct
“ from it; the Paſſage lying betwixt thoſe Lands and
“ *America*; for in his Journal he ſays he ſailed eight
“ hundred and ſixty-ſix Leagues North-north-weſt from
“ *Cape Abel*, in *California*, in Latitude 26 Degrees,
“ the laſt two hundred and ſixty of which was in crooked
“ Channels, among Iſlands, until he got to *Rio los*

“ *Reys*, in Latitude 53 Degrees; ſince by all other Accounts
“ the Coaſt of *America* falls off North-eaſt from
“ *Cape Blanco*. This muſt have been a Country diſtinct
“ from *America*; here he found two Rivers, one came
“ from the North, from the Lake *Velaſco*, which *Bernarda*
“ ſailed up, and the other came from the North-eaſt,
“ from the Lake *Belle*, which lay betwixt Latitude
“ 45 and 55 Degrees. Upon what Point the *Parmentiers*
“ ran out of the Lake *Belle* is not mentioned,
“ but at *Rio los Reys* it ran South-weſt. We may
“ ſuppoſe the other ran Eaſt, or South-eaſt, and fell
“ into the Sea, which he calls the *Lake de Fonte*, in
“ near the ſame Latitude, that Lake, or Arm of the
“ Sea, ſtretching thence Eaſt-north-eaſt one hundred and
“ ſixty Leagues, if there was any Weſt Variation, as
“ there is now, the North-eaſt End of that Lake might
“ be in Latitude 57 or 58, almoſt Weſt of *Churchill*;
“ and the Streight *Ronquillo* running ſtill North-eaſt,
“ might end in Latitude 59. In two Days from thence
“ he came to an *Indian* Town, probably about Latitude
“ 60, near which the *Boſton* Ship lay; ſo that it may be
“ imagined the *Boſton* Ship had paſſed into ſome of the
“ Openings near *Whale Cove*, and got to Latitude
“ 60, or, perhaps, to 59 Degrees, and was trading
“ for Furs, and the Ship might have been afterwards
“ loſt or ſurprized by the *Eſkimaux*, upon her return,
“ having but twelve or thirteen Hands aboard, ſince no
“ Account of this Voyage was ever tranſmitted from
“ *Boſton*. Upon Enquiry, made by Order of Sir *Charles*
“ *Wager*, whether any one of the Name of *Shapley*, which
“ was the Maſter's Name, lived at that Time in *Boſton*,
“ it appeared from ſome Writings, that ſome of that
“ Name then lived in *Boſton*, which adds to the Weight
“ of *de Fonte*'s Letter, and confirms its being an authentic
“ Journal.”

24. We have now gone compleatly round the Globe, making the North Pole our Centre; and have, ſo far as the beſt Diſcoveries would enable us, given the Reader a Deſcription of the Countries which lie in theſe cold Climates; this, for any thing I know, is a Work never before performed, or at leaſt not ſo fully and circumſtantially. I muſt, however, admit there would be no great Merit in doing this, if no Uſe could be made of it; but this is very far from being the Caſe; for in the firſt Place it opens to us the entire Knowledge of the terraqueous Globe; I ſay the intire Knowledge, becauſe if we were once thoroughly acquainted with the Manner in which the Countries are diſpoſed about the North Pole, we might, from thence, gain tolerable Satisfaction with regard to the Antarctic Regions, in reſpect to which, from actual Diſcoveries, we know very little. In the next Place, we ought to conſider, that hitherto no new Countries have been found without conſiderable Advantages reſulting to thoſe who diſcovered them; and before we conclude this Section, we ſhall ſhew that the Whale-fiſhing, in theſe Northern Seas, is an abundant Recompence to ſuch as take the trouble of ſailing on them. There is yet a third Conſideration, which is the Means of finding a Paſſage this Way round the Globe, which every body knows would be not only a great, but a gainful, Diſcovery, more eſpecially to us who lie ſo conveniently for taking the Advantage of it, and to whom the bleak and barren Iſlands of the *Orkneys*, would become a kind of *Indies*, if once ſuch a Diſcovery was made. We can never, however, rationally hope for this, unleſs the Situation of all the Countries round the Globe, conſidering the Pole as the Centre of the Northern Hemiſphere, be tolerably well known.

What can be done with reſpect to this, from the Peruſal of actual Surveys has been already ſhewn; we will now therefore endeavour to carry it a little farther, by adding Reaſon to Experience, and reflecting upon the Lights we have received. It is certain, becauſe it is ſelf-evident to every Reader, that the Countries round the Pole muſt be diſpoſed in one of theſe three Manners: Firſt they may be joined together, and alſo to ſome of the great Continents already known. Or, 2dly, they may be joined together, and make a diſtinct Continent. Or, 3dly, they may be ſeparated from each other, and from all the other Continents. We muſt allow, that there are Authorities, in favour of each of the three Diſpoſitions, and therefore we will ſpeak of them ſeparately- though very briefly. Firſt then, that they are joined to,gether, and to the known Continents, there are two Matters of Fact alledged in the Nature of Proofs. The firſt is, that the People of *Groenland*, by which I mean the old Chriſtian Colonies, had a Tradition of a Harald Goat, that travelled into their Country from *Norway*, which, whether true or falſe, by the Way proves nothing, or at leaſt proves nothing to the purpoſe. If the Story of the Goat be a Fable, there is an End of it; but if it was Truth, which, however, is very improbable, then it came by Sea, that is, in the Winter-Seaſon upon the Ice; for that *Groenland* is not joined to *Norway*, is as certain as any thing can be. Tradition may probably prove ſomething, where there is no other Evidence; but Tradition againſt Evidence is Nonſenſe. The other Point of Fact is, that a Jeſuit, who had been in *California*, going afterwards to the *Philippines*, and from thence to *China*, ſays there he ſaw a Woman whom he had known in the firſt of theſe Countries, who ſaid ſhe was brought thither over Land, except one or two little Streights which ſhe paſſed in ſmall Veſſels; but this does not come up to the Point, ſince, however ſmall theſe Streights might be, they moſt certainly disjoin the Countries of each Side of them.

As to the ſecond Opinion, that theſe Lands join together, though disjoined from the great Continent, I know nothing that has been ſaid for it, except the Tradition of the *Groenlanders*, about the narrow Streight between their Country and *America*, and of there being great Countries to the Eaſt of them, of which they own they know nothing. The third Opinion, though it cannot be fully proved, ſeems to be very probable, and if it be not conſiſtent with Truth, looks, at leaſt, very like it. It is thought that *Groenland* is disjoined from *America* by *Davis*'s Streights, and that it is actually disjoined from *Groenland* we have tolerable Evidence from thoſe who have viſited the laſt mentioned Coaſt, none of them ſpeaking of any Land on the Weſt. It was formerly thought that *Groenland*, or *Spitzbergen*, and *Nova Zembla* were the ſame Continent, and that they were ſeparated from *Ruſſia*, or *Tartary*, by the Streights of *Waygatz*; but we are now ſatisfied it is not ſo, but that in all Probability *Groenland* is an Iſland, or rather a Cluſter of Iſlands, ſeparated by the Ocean, from the Land of *Yedzo*, as that Country moſt certainly is from *Companies Land*, by the Streights of *Uriez*; as on the other Hand, this Arctic Continent is thought to be ſeparated from *California*, by the Streights of *Anian*. The Truth of the Matter ſeems to be, that there are a Multitude of Iſlands of different Sizes, lying all round the North Pole, but how diſpoſed we cannot yet ſay; and it is upon this Suppoſition, that the Hopes of finding a North-eaſt, or a North-weſt, Paſſage has been built.

What Reaſons may be offered in both Caſes? what Attempts have been made? and how they have ended? the Reader will hereafter ſee. At preſent we will content ourſelves with obſerving, that ſome very great Men have been of Opinion, that the moſt probable, the moſt feaſible, and ſhorteſt Paſſage, muſt be by ſailing directly North, and under the very Pole itſelf. A bold and amazing Propoſition at firſt Sight, and which we have more than once promiſed the Reader ſhould be fairly examined; for ſtrange and ſurprizing as it ſeems, it is not all impoſſible that it may be true. It has been already obſerved, there are really ſufficient Reaſons to perſuade us, that the Countries round the Pole, are ſo many Iſlands ſeparated from the known Continents, as well as from each other, it will thence appear highly probable that there may be an open Paſſage immediately and directly under the Pole, becauſe it is plain there can be nothing but Sea there.

It may, indeed, be ſaid, that though there be Sea, there may, for all that, be no Paſſage; in Proof of which it may be alledged, that the *Dutch*, in 1679, found it impoſſible to paſs for Ice, to the Northward of *Nova Zembla*; and if the Sea be thus frozen, in 79 or 80 Degrees, what Reaſon is there to believe that it is not much more ſtrongly frozen in a higher Latitude? The Reaſon ſeems to be clearly this: That freezing does not depend ſo much upon the Latitude of Places, as upon their Situation, in other reſpects; as is very plain from hence, that the moſt intenſe Cold is felt in ſome Parts of *Hudſon's Bay*, which lies very near in the ſame Latitude with *London*. Now that under the Pole the Sea ſhould not freeze, ſome very ſtrong Reaſons may be given: Firſt, it is not known that the main Sea ever freezes. Thoſe vaſt Mountains of floating Ice, that frequently render the Coaſt of *Groenland* inacceſſible, are formed three Ways: Firſt, by the falling of vaſt Rocks of Ice, from the Mountains, into the Sea. Next by the Tides breaking up the Ice at the Mouths of great Rivers. And, laſtly, by the Addition of Snow and freſh Water to the Sea Water, which weakens its Force, and diſpoſes it to freeze. We may alſo take Notice of what we have before heard of the Froſt-Fogs or Vapours ariſing from the Sea, through the Ice, which are allowed to be warm, and from whence we may, in ſome Meaſure, diſcern the Cauſe why the Ocean does not freeze.

Secondly, under the Pole itſelf, for ſix Months, the Sun is continually above the Horizon, and conſequently muſt have a very great Effect, more eſpecially on the Sea; ſo that if we conſider this Matter attentively, we cannot but be convinced that it is abſolutely impoſſible the Sea ſhould be frozen; on the contrary, there ſeems to be more probable Grounds to ſuſpect that the Heat may be troubleſome. Thirdly, theſe Reaſons are ſupported, theſe Conjectures are verified, by daily Experience; for on the Coaſts of *Greenland*, in the Latitude of 82 Degrees, the Heat is known to melt Pitch, when great Quantities of Ice are unmelted on the Coaſt in 69 Degrees. We may, from theſe Reaſons, therefore conclude, not only with Probability, but with Certainty, that during the Summer, at leaſt, there is a clear and open Sea under the Pole, and, if ſo, the Paſſage that Way is indiſputably the ſhorteſt, the eaſieſt, and the moſt practicable, that has been hitherto thought of. This was long ago obſerved by the famous Sir *William Monſon*, as great a Seaman as this Nation could ever boaſt, who affirms that the Paſſage, this Way from *England*, to *China*, does not exceed fifteen hundred Leagues.

But we will now proceed to Matters of Fact, and ſhew that this not only may be done, but that it actually has been done; as will appear from the following Paper, communicated to the Royal Society, by Mr. *Joſeph Moxon*, one of its Members; which therefore we ſhall tranſcribe, as a Piece that cannot fail to give the Reader, on this Head, as full Satisfaction as he can deſire. Thus then it runs: “Among the many Eſſays that have been made to find a clear Paſſage to *Japon*, *China*, &c. the moſt probable and likely, hath as yet (in my Opinion) been overſeen, or, at leaſt, not attempted; and therefore I ſhall, hereby, communicate my Conception to public Approbation or Cenſure; it is, that a Paſſage may very probably be about the North Pole, and the Reaſons inducing me to conceive ſo is: That we have no Certainty, from all the Diſcoveries that have been made of any Land lying within eight Degrees about the Pole; but on the contrary, I have been credibly informed, by a Steerſman of a *Dutch Greenland* Ship, that there is a free and open Sea under the very Pole, and ſomewhat beyond it; and I, for my own Part, give Credit to his Relation, and do conceive that any ſober ingenious Man would do the like, did he know in what an honeſt Manner and by what an Accident, I happened to hear it; for thus it was:

“Being about twenty-two Years ago in *Amſterdam*, I went into a public Houſe to drink a Cup of Beer for my Thirſt; and ſitting by the public Fire, among ſeveral People, there happened a Seaman to come in, who ſeeing a Friend of his there, who he knew went in the *Greenland* Voyage, wondered to ſee him, becauſe it was not yet Time for the *Greenland* Fleet to come home, and aſked him what Accident brought him home ſo ſoon? His Friend (who was the Steerſman aforeſaid, in a *Greenland* Ship that Summer) told that their Ship went not out to fiſh as uſual, but only to take in the Lading of the whole Fleet, to bring it to an early Market, *&c.* But, ſaid he, before the Fleet had caught Fiſh enough to lade us, we, by Order of the *Greenland* Company, ſailed unto the North Pole and came back again. Whereupon I entered into Diſcourſe with him, and ſeemed to queſtion the Truth of what he ſaid; but he did aſſure me it was true, and that the Ship was then in *Amſterdam*, and many of the Seamen belong to her ready to juſtify the Truth of it; and told me, moreover, that they had ſailed two Degrees beyond the Pole. I aſked him if they found no Land or Iſlands about the Pole? He anſwered no, there was a free and open Sea. I aſked him if they did not meet with a great deal of Ice? he told me no, they ſaw no Ice. I aſked him what Weather they had there? He told me fine warm Weather, ſuch as was at *Amſterdam* in the Summer-time, and as hot. I ſhould have aſked him more Queſtions, but that he was engaged in Diſcourſe with his Friend, and I could not, in Modeſty, interrupt them longer. But I believe the Steerſman ſpoke Matter of Fact and Truth; for he ſeemed a plain, honeſt, and unaffectatious Perſon, and one who could have no Deſign upon me.

“But though I believe this Story, yet methinks I hear many object againſt it, and are apt to urge three plauſible Reaſons to prove it falſe, or, at leaſt, ſome Particulars of his Relation: And firſt, That it cannot be warm under the Pole, becauſe that about *Greenland*, and many other Parts leſs northerly, the Sea is ſo full of great Bodies of Ice that Ships can hardly ſail for it. Secondly, If warm, yetn ot ſo warm as at *Amſterdam* in the Summer-time, becauſe the farther northerly, the colder Weather. Thirdly, If they were under the Pole, they could not tell how to come back, but that they might as well go farther as return nearer to home; becauſe the Needle always pointing North, they muſt therefore loſe themſelves in the North Pole, where it muſt reſpect all Points of the Horizon alike.

“One Anſwer may ſerve to the firſt and ſecond Objection, That it cannot be warm under the North Pole, *&c.* If we conſider the Experience of Travellers and Navigators, we are told, that between the Tropicks, nay, under the Equinoctial, is generally as moderate Weather as here in *England* in Summer-time; why may it not then be as warm under the Pole as here, or at *Amſterdam*, in the Summer-time? The ſmall Height the Sun has there can be no Exception, for then we, having the Sun, in its Summer-Solſtice, in leſſer Altitude than between the Tropicks, it muſt needs be colder here; which is contradicted: But one Reaſon why it is as warm here as between the Tropicks is, becauſe between the Tropicks the Sun remains above twelve Hours of twenty-four above the Horizon, to warm it; when, as here, it remains almoſt ſeventeen Hours of twenty-four above the Horizon, and therefore leaves a greater Impreſſion of Heat upon it; and the farther northward we go, the longer it remains above the Horizon, and leſs under the Horizon every twenty-four Hours, till we come within the Arctic Circle, where the Sun remains for half a Year together; *viz.* all the Summer above the Horizon, and never ſets; and therefore, though his Beams are not ſo perpendicular, yet they muſt needs cauſe a great Degree of Heat upon the Horizon. And if it be argued, that it is ſo cold about *Greenland*, &c. and the Seas ſo full of Ice that Ships can hardly ſail for it, yet cannot that Argument prove that it is ſo about the Pole; becauſe the Ice is made about Shores of Land, but never in open Sea, and comes here only by Strength of Currents, or high Winds, which do indeed carry it ſome ſmall Diſtance from the Shore; but as this Relator ſaid, there is under the Pole a free and open Sea, *&c.* and conſequently clear of Ice, in Summer-time, at leaſt.

“Beſides, Experience tells us, that all Land-breezes

“ are colder than thoſe that come from the Sea, and therefore it may be cold about *Greenland*, becauſe of the Land, yet warmer under the Pole while the Sea is open, *&c.* The third Objection is, That if they were under the Pole they could not tell how to come back, becauſe of the Indifferency the Needle ſhould bear to every Point of the Horizon. I examined not my Relator upon this Argument, though when I was parted from him I was ſorry I did not; but it is eaſy to apprehend how to guide a Ship either forward or backward, by an Obſervation of the Sun a little before they enter the Pole; for by finding in, or near, what Meridian it is; or upon what Part of the Ship it bears, whether on the Head or Stern, or Star-board or Larboard; you may meaſure Time near enough with a Glaſs, to know ſeveral Days after, in, or near, what Meridian the Sun is, at any known or eſtimate Time, and conſequently know how to proceed, or come back with your Ship: Or, if the Moon have North Latitude, you may do the ſame by the Moon; but if the Pole were traded, in a ſhort time it might be found by Variation of the Needle; for there is doubtleſs Variation in it, and in all the Meridians about it ſeveral Variations.

“ Thus far it appears there is a free and open Sea in Summer-time (at leaſt) about the North-Pole. But I ſhall add another Relation of *James Ben*, whoſe Father lived about five Years ago in *Crown-court* in *Ruſſel-ſtreet*, *Covent-garden*, and himſelf now lives in *Wapping*: This Mr. *Ben* ſailed to *Japon* with the *Dutch*, as a Carpenter of the Ship, and he told me that that Year, *viz.* 1668, he was newly come home from *Japon.* I aſked him how long they were on there Way home from thence? He told me, he could not very well tell; becauſe when they ſailed from *Japon*, the Captain commanded the Steerſman to ſail due North, and they did ſail ſo from thence for about four hundred *Dutch* Miles, which is almoſt twenty-ſeven Degrees due North. I aſked him if they met with no Land or Iſlands, as I had done before the *Dutch Greenland* Steerſman? He told me, No, they ſaw no Land; but there was a free and open Sea; ſo far as they ſailed no Land appeared. I aſked him, why they ſailed ſo far northward? He told me he could not tell, only the Captain commanded it, *&c.* but I ſuppoſe the *Eaſt India* Company commanded the Captain either to make a Diſcovery of Land to increaſe Trade, or to ſatisfy themſelves with the Knowledge of another Sea, that when they ſaw Reaſon they might expedite their Voyages between *Holland* and thoſe Parts that Way. I was thus inquiſitive with him, becauſe ever ſince I heard the former Relation of the *Greenland* Steerſman, I harped on a Paſſage through, or about, the North-Pole to *Japon*, *China*, &c. And by theſe two Diſcoveries it appears very probable there is ſo, and that it is paſſable in Summer-time.”

It is very ſtrange, that a Paper of this Conſequence ſhould not be more conſidered; more eſpecially, as it is certain, that to this very Time the *Dutch* Men of War, when any are ſent with the *Greenland* Fleet, cruize conſtantly very far to the Northward, without meeting either with Obſtructions or Inconveniencies from Ice or Cold. And I have been informed by a Gentleman who was Surgeon to one of theſe Men of War, that in the Latitude of 82 Degrees, the Sea to the North was open, and the Weather very hot in the Month of *June.* I cannot ſay exactly what Year this was in; but by a Compariſon of Circumſtances I am led to think, that it might be in 1718 or 1719. There being an open Sea at that Seaſon very plainly ſhews it to be always open; for it is impoſſible, if it had been frozen in the Winter, that it ſhould have thawed ſo ſoon, or that there ſhould have been no Iſlands of Ice floating in it, as has been obſerved from the Latitude of 57 Degrees, or thereabouts, to 80.

The Reader will eaſily obſerve, that the Diſcoveries that have been lately made, as to the true Figure of the Earth, and its being flatted towards the Poles, favour this Opinion and account for the Sea's being always open. It may alſo deſerve ſome Notice, that perhaps there is no Occaſion for ſailing ſo high as 90 Degrees; for if a Paſſage is to be found either to the Eaſt or Weſt, and the Sea be open, a Ship might ſail either Way, perhaps in the Latitude of 85 Degrees, which would make this ſhorter and eaſier, by bringing the Veſſel ſooner upon known Coaſts. While I am upon this Subject I will take the Liberty of obſerving, that if any Attempts ſhould be made of this kind by us, the moſt probable Method of doing it would be in concert with the Court of *Ruſſia*, by procuring an Order from the Empreſs, to the Governors of the frontier Countries towards *Japon*, to give ſuch Aſſiſtance or Relief as might be neceſſary, to any Veſſel that arrived upon thoſe Coaſts; and it would be requiſite that ſuch an Order ſhould be procured, and expedited the Year before the Attempt was made from hence; and that the Commander of the Frigate employed in this Expedition, might carry with him an authentic Copy of that Order, for his own Security and Advantage.

I am very ſenſible that a Multitude of Objections may be raiſed againſt ſuch an Undertaking; but I am very confident they may be very eaſily anſwered, and whoever conſiders that ſo long ago as 1553, Sir *Hugh Willoughby* diſcovered the moſt Northern Part of *Ruſſia*; and though he periſhed in the Attempt, opened thereby that Trade which has been ſince of ſo great Advantage to this Nation, we may very well hope, that at this Diſtance of Time, and with all the great Advantages that modern Navigators have, farther and more uſeful Diſcoveries may be made, with much leſs Hazard: At leaſt, it is very right to ſuggeſt Deſigns of this Nature to the Public, whether they may, or may not, be thought practicable for the preſent; becauſe the very mentioning ſuch Things, and thereby creating Diſcourſes about them cannot but be attended with good Effects, becauſe we know that they were the very Means by which former Diſcoveries were brought about, and we cannot think ſo meanly of our Countrymen as to ſuppoſe that either their Courage, their Judgment, or their Spirit, is inferior to that of their Anceſtors, though Accidents and Circumſtances may induce ſome weak People to think or encourage ſome wicked Men to ſay ſo, in order to ſerve their own Purpoſes. But perhaps we can never entertain any probable Hopes of Succeſs in this great Affair, until we engage once again in the Whale Fiſhery; and that we may be encouraged to think ſeriouſly of that, we will conclude this Chapter with a clearer and more perfect Repreſentation of this Trade, than to our Knowledge has been hitherto publiſhed, which cannot therefore fail of giving the ingenious and inquiſitive Reader great Pleaſure and Satisfaction.

25. We are to obſerve then, that it was towards the latter End of the ſixteenth Century, that the Whale-fiſhing, on the Coaſt of *Spitzbergen*, became conſiderable, and was entirely in the Hands of the *Engliſh*, till the Year 1578. This Commerce was, by a Company, which ſent thither annually a few Ships, and they actually excluded the reſt of their Countrymen, and endeavoured to exclude Foreigners. In the Year 1613, they ſent a Squadron of ſeven Sail, which found there fifteen *Dutch*, *French*, and *Flemiſh* Ships, beſides *Engliſh* Interlopers. And the next Year, the *Dutch* ſent eighteen Sail, of which four were Men of War. And, in 1615, the King of *Denmark* ſent a Squadron of three Men of War, to aſſert his excluſive Right, but with ſuch indifferent Succeſs, that he thought fit to give up the Point. In 1617 our Company were more lucky than in any other Year, and actually made one thouſand nine hundred Ton of Oil. The *Dutch* made, for many Years after, very indifferent Voyages; and as their great Stateſman, M. *de Witte*, well obſerves, had certainly been beat out of the Trade, if it had not been laid open by the Diſſolution of their *Greenland* Company, to which he attributes their having beat the *Engliſh*, and almoſt all other Nations, out of that Trade, which they carry on to a prodigious Advantage. And as the ſame great Author obſerves, it is the beſt Nurſery of their boldeſt and moſt hardy Sailors. But as we do not affect to deal in general Terms, which never can convey any clear and diſtinct Notions of any Subject,

we ſhall endeavour to deſcend to ſuch Particulars, as may ſet this Matter in the cleareſt Light poſſible.

It is agreed by the *Dutch* Authors, who have written on Whale-fiſhing, that the moſt fortunate Seaſon they ever had, was in the Year 1697. We will therefore conſider the State of this Fiſhery, for that Year, in order to ſettle the Profits of it; and will afterwards compare it with Accounts received from *Holland*, of the Fiſhery for 1744, communicated while this Section was writing, that we may the better judge how things now ſtand. In 1697 there were one hundred and eighty-nine Veſſels, of ſeveral Nations, employed in the Fiſhery on the Coaſt of *Greenland*; of theſe the *Dutch* made one hundred and twenty-nine, but ſeven were loſt upon the Coaſt. The *Hamburghers* had fifty-one, of which they loſt four. The *Swedes* had two; the *Danes* four; the *Bremeners* twelve; the *Embdeners* two; and the *Lubeckers* one. The Number of Whales taken that Year amounted to one thouſand nine hundred and ſixty-eight, which the *Dutch*, and the Ships of other Nations before-mentioned, caught in the following Proportions, *viz.*

Nations.	N°. of Whales.	Caſks of Oil.
The *Dutch*	1255	41344
The *Hamburghers*	449½	16414
The *Swedes*	113	540
The *Danes*	52	1710
The *Bremeners*	96	3790
The *Embdeners*	2	68
The *Lubeckers*	½	17
	1968	63883

The Total Value of the Fiſhery of 1697.

The Caſk of Blubber ſold that Year for thirty Florins; the whole Number thereof came to	*f.* 1916490
The Fins, reckoning thoſe of each Whale at 2000 *l.* and the Current Price being 50 *f.* a Quintal; the whole therefore came to	*f.* 1868000
	f. 3784490
In our Money	*l.* 378449

The particular Account of the DUTCH Fiſhery ſtated.

Caſks. Their 41344 at 30 *f.* *per* Caſk, came to	*f.* 1240320
Their 25100 wt. at 50 *f.* *per* C. wt. came to	*f.* 1255000
	f. 2495320
In our Money	*l.* 249532

According to a Letter from *Amſterdam*, dated the 26th of *July*, the Whale-fiſhery, for the Year 1744, was pretty near over, and the Proportions ſtood then as follows, *viz.*

	Whales.
The *Dutch* had caught	662
The *Hamburghers*	45
Thoſe from *Altena*	20
The *Bremeners*	18
The *Embdeners*	8
In all	753

I have not been able to procure, hitherto, as clear and diſtinct an Account of the Whale-fiſhery, for the two laſt Years, as for that before given; but I am very well informed, that the Whale-fiſhery ſcarce ever anſwered better than it did in this preſent Year 1746, more eſpecially to the *Dutch*, who had more Ships, and better Luck with their Ships, than any other Nation. It is worth obſerving, that the wiſe Inhabitants of *Holland* have continually maintained and practiſed this Fiſhery, as *de Witte* adviſed them; and have thereby added immenſe Sums to the Wealth of their People, as well as to the Strength of their State, conſidered as a maritime Power. We will reflect a little upon both theſe Points, that we may be the better ſatisfied, as to the real Importance of the Whale-fiſhery. He judged it to be very beneficial to his Country, becauſe of the Eaſe and Expedition with which it was performed; for in ſix Day's Time the Ships ſailed out of Harbour, and were, actually, if the Seaſon was favourable, engaged in their Fiſhery. The whole Time it continues, does not exceed four Months, during which a great Number of Veſſels are employed, in which abundance of hardy and experienced Seamen are bred, by whom alſo the whole Buſineſs is performed abroad, and, upon their Return, a much greater Number of People find work at home; ſo that there is no great Reaſon to doubt, that *de Witte*'s Calculation, of twelve thouſand Perſons maintained by this Trade only, is very agreeable to Truth, and not at all tinctured with Partiality towards his Country. He very juſtly obſerves, that what renders this Trade ſtill more valuable, is the Exportation of the greateſt Part of its Produce; and if we conſider this attentively, and make the neceſſary Allowances in ſuch kind of Calculations, we ſhall be able to form to ourſelves a tolerable Notion of what the *Dutch* have got by the *Greenland* Fiſhery, from that Time to this.

It is now fourſcore Years ſince *de Witte* framed his Computation, and we ſhall certainly run no Hazard of over-valuing the Induſtry of our Neighbours in this Particular, if we ſuppoſe that the Whale-fiſhing has brought them in, one Year with another, in Whale-Bone and Oil, two Millions of Florins, of which we may alſo allow that they have exported, at leaſt, one Half; ſo that they have ſaved fourſcore Millions of Florins in what they have uſed themſelves in theſe Commodities, which they muſt otherwiſe have purchaſed, and have drawn beſides, from other Countries, into their own, as much in ready Money, which amounts to eight Millions Sterling. A prodigious Sum indeed, and which ought to cover us with Shame, conſidering that we have had, at leaſt, as great Opportunities as they, of making a like Advantage of this Fiſhery, of which, for many Years paſt, however, we have not made one Shilling. Whence this ariſes is very hard to ſay, and the more ſo as it is certain we were once the ſole Proprietors of the Whale-fiſhing, which we pointed out as worthy other Peoples Concern, and have ſince neglected ourſelves, though many of our beſt Writers upon Commerce, have taken Pains to expoſe the groſs Abſurdity and inexcuſable Negligence of ſuch a Conduct. At preſent, perhaps, an Opportunity might be gained of reviving this Fiſhery, if the Government ſhould think fit to erect a Fortreſs, and open a Port in the *Orkneys*, which might, in many reſpects, prove very beneficial; but more eſpecially in this, becauſe it would give us, immediately, very great Advantages over the *Dutch*, *Hamburghers*, and all other Nations that at preſent frequent the *Greenland* Seas, as we might have all kind of Utenſils neceſſary, erected in any of theſe Iſlands, which would enable us to make more, and better Oil, than any of our Neighbours, from the ſame Quantity of Fiſh; as it would alſo give us an Opportunity of viſiting the Coaſts of *Greenland* earlier, and remaining there later, than other People. There is no Doubt that, if any Attempt of this Sort was once made, at the Expence of *Engliſh* Merchants, they would be very ſoon able to raiſe a prodigious Number of ſtout and able Seamen in thoſe Parts, as capable and as enterprizing as thoſe of any other Nation whatever. It might alſo prove the Cauſe of opening to us ſome other Branches of Commerce hitherto not known, or which have been long diſuſed; and it might prove likewiſe a Means of renewing that Thirſt for Diſcoveries, for which this Nation was formerly ſo famous, and to which ſhe certainly ſtands indebted for the moſt valuable Branches of her Commerce. Theſe, I mean the *Orkney Iſlands*, are the Iſlands, *Shetland* excepted, the leaſt known, but not the leaſt valuable Part of the *Britiſh* Dominions; for beſides this *Greenland* Fiſhery, for the eſtabliſhing of which there is not in *Europe* a Place ſo proper, and a conſiderable Fiſhery round them, they might be made a general Magazine for ſuch Commodities as fell to Advantage to the

North, by which our Trade to ſeveral Parts of *Germany*, as well as to *Sweden*, *Denmark*, *Norway*, *Poland*, and *Ruſſia*, might be rendered twice as valuable to us, as it is at preſent. But it is now Time to cloſe the preſent Section, and to proceed to the Hiſtory of the Attempts made for the Diſcovery of a North-eaſt and North-weſt Paſſage into the Ocean; the latter of which, perhaps, may be diſcovered before this Volume is concluded.

SECTION II.

The rational and philoſophical MOTIVES *for ſeeking a Paſſage into the* SOUTH SEAS, *by the North-weſt, examined and explained; together with the Hiſtory of the Attempts made with that View, for the Space of one hundred and thirty Years.*

Collected from *Engliſh*, *Dutch*, and *Daniſh* Writers.

1. *An Introduction ſhewing the Nature and Deſign of this Section, and the Method purſued therein.* 2. *The Importance of a North-weſt Paſſage, if it could be found; and the Advantages that would reſult from thence to our Navigation, which fully juſtifies the Endeavours of ſuch as have laboured to find this Paſſage.* 3. *An Account of the Reaſons, Arguments, and Preſumptions in favour of ſuch a Paſſage; in which the Strength or Weakneſs of each Motive is ſhewn fairly, and in its proper Light.* 4. *The Hiſtory of the Attempts made for the Diſcovery of this Paſſage, by* John Cabot, *Sir* Martin Frobiſher, *Captain* Davis, *Mr.* Henry Hudſon, *Mr.* James Hall, *and Mr.* William Baffin, *from* Anno Domini 1497, *to* 1615. 5. *The Expedition of Sir* Thomas Button *into* Hudſon's Bay, *in* 1611, *with a ſuccinct Account of his Diſcoveries.* 6. *The Attempts made for the like Purpoſe by the* Danes; *and the unfortunate End of Captain* John Monk, *one of the ableſt Navigators ever bred in* Denmark, *occaſioned by his undertaking and failing in an Expedition for this Purpoſe.* 7. *The Expedition of Captain* Luke Fox, *in his Majeſty's Pinnace, the* Charles, *in the Year* 1630; *with the Reaſons which induced ſeveral Perſons of the firſt Diſtinction, and ſome of the greateſt Merchants in this Kingdom, to enter into an Aſſociation for the Diſcovery of the North-weſt Paſſage; and the Meaſures taken by them for carrying this Deſign into Execution.*

1. AFTER the Diſcovery of *America* by *Chriſtopher Columbus*, and the publiſhing to the World, the Reaſons which induced him to look upon this Diſcovery as a thing practicable; ſuch as were well acquainted with Coſmography, and ſuch as were practical Seamen, began to emulate his Succeſs, and to think of raiſing like Reputations to themſelves by Diſcoveries of the ſame Nature. Amongſt theſe, *John Cabot*, whom we have often had Occaſion to mention, was the firſt that ſuggeſted the Poſſibility of a Paſſage to the new found World, by the North-weſt. His Son, who lived to be a very old Man, was the moſt expert Mariner of his Time, and died Governor of our *Ruſſia* Company, always maintained this Opinion; which the more it was conſidered and examined, by Men of the brighteſt Parts and greateſt Experience, the more it grew into Credit, and the more it was generally believed. This Notion has prevailed to our Times, and if we follow the Opinion of *Cicero*, this alone is a conſiderable Argument in its Favour; for he obſerves that Truths founded in Nature, grow ſtronger in length of Time, and from a Courſe of Obſervations; whereas weak and groundleſs Opinions are ſoon deſtroyed, and become quickly out of date. There is, certainly, a great deal of good Senſe and ſound Reaſon in this Obſervation; which, I believe, will be found to have ſtood, generally ſpeaking, juſtified by Experience; and, perhaps, ſooner or later this may be ranked among the Number of Truths, that ought to give Weight and Authority to this Maxim.

At preſent it is our Buſineſs to exhibit to the Reader as full and clear an Account of this Matter as it is poſſible; the rather becauſe it is not only a Matter of great Importance in itſelf, and a Subject of general Enquiry, but alſo from a late Act of the Legiſlature, and a great Undertaking founded thereupon, become the Topic of common Diſcourſe, and of almoſt univerſal Expectation. In order therefore to diſcharge our Duty effectually, and to repreſent the Reaſon and Hiſtory of this Matter with the utmoſt Perſpicuity; we ſhall firſt of all enquire into the Nature of thoſe Advantages, that may be expected from the Diſcovery of ſuch a Paſſage, ſuppoſing it to be practicable. We ſhall next ſet forth the Reaſons that have been aſſigned in Favour of this Opinion, that ſuch a Paſſage may be found, by thoſe who have maintained it. And laſtly, we ſhall give a diſtinct hiſtorical Account of the Attempts that have been made, for the finding ſuch a Paſſage, and the Conſequences with which theſe Expeditions have been attended. We have, indeed, already had frequent Occaſions to touch this Subject, both in our former Volume, and in this; but wherever we have mentioned it, we have referred the Reader for a clearer and more particular Account to this Section; and we ſhall herein take all imaginable Care to avoid all unneceſſary Repetitions, by making the requiſite Allowances on thoſe Heads, which have been incidentally examined and explained already.

2. The Reader will perceive, from what has been laid down in the foregoing Section, that if ſuch a Paſſage could be diſcovered, it would open a Communication between the North and South Seas, infinitely ſhorter and eaſier than the only one that is at preſent known round *Cape Horne*, or through the Streights of *Magellan*. We have ſeen, in the Hiſtory of the Circum-navigators, how very tedious and troubleſome that Method of reaching the Coaſts of *Mexico* and *California* is, with how many and great Inconveniencies it muſt be always attended, and how far it lies out of our Power, all theſe Circumſtances conſidered, to make any conſiderable Uſe of it; which is the true Reaſon why the *Spaniards* enjoy, with ſo little Diſturbance, ſo many fine Countries, and hinder others from diſcovering many more, the Knowledge of which might be highly advantageous to this Northern Hemiſphere.

But if ever a Paſſage could be this Way found into the South Seas, we might, very probably, reach, in ſix Weeks, Countries that we cannot now viſit in twelve or fifteen Months; and this by an eaſy and wholſome Navigation, inſtead of thoſe dangerous and ſickly Voyages, that have hitherto rendered the Paſſage into the *South Seas* a thing ſo in frequent and ingrateful to *Britiſh* Seamen. If ſuch a Paſſage could be found, it would bring us upon the unknown Coaſts of *North America*; which we have many good Reaſons to believe are very populous, inhabited by a rich and civilized People, no Strangers to Trade, and with whom we might carry on a very great and beneficial Commerce; for this is, apparently, that Country, concerning which we have had ſome dark Hints given us by the *Savages* that come to trade at *Hudſon's Bay*, mentioned by ſeveral of the *French* Writers; from the Information of the *Indians* inhabiting about the Lakes beyond *Canada*; from Doctor *Cox*, in the Accounts cited from him in the former Section, concerning the Advantages that might be drawn from ſettling his Province of *Caroiana*; from various Paſſages in almoſt all the *Spaniſh* Hiſtorians, in reference to the Extremities of *North America*, of which they acknowledge themſelves to have very indifferent Accounts; and are, perhaps, not much inclined to gratify the reſt of the World, even with the beſt Accounts they have; from the memorable Fragment of the *Spaniſh* Admiral's Voyage, quoted in the former Section, with Mr. *Dobbs*'s judicious Remarks, and a multitude of other Paſſages, which it is needleſs to enumerate; all of which agree in this, that the Part of *America*, to which this North-weſt Paſſage would lead us, is a rich, fertile, and well inhabited Country, which would abundantly reward our Pains taken for the Diſcovery of it, even ſuppoſing this Paſſage would lead us to no other Country beſides.

Yet this is far from being the Caſe; ſince it is evident that it would likewiſe bring us to an Acquaintance with thoſe Countries that lie oppoſite to *America*, whether Continents or Iſlands, and that fill up that vaſt Space between *California* and the Land of *Yedzo*, of which, at preſent, we have heard ſo much, and yet know ſo little. But though we know ſo little of them from actual Diſcoveries, yet we may be confident from Reaſon, and the Conſideration of the Climate in which they lie, that theſe Countries abound with valuable Commodities, and that the Inhabitants living, as they do, in a cold Country, would be very glad to deal with us for Woollen-Goods, *&c.* and perhaps for Iron Ware, and many other Commodities. If to this it be objected, that in the few Accounts we have of this Country, and theſe People, it is expreſly ſaid, they are well cloathed, uſe large Ships, and have Arms, and various Utenſils of Iron, and other Metals, as well as the *Europeans*; which they barter with the Inhabitants of *North America* for Gold and other things; if I ſay this ſhould be objected, then the plain and eaſy Anſwer is, they are a mcreantile People; and conſidering the vaſt Diſtance between us and them, there is no doubt that a very great and profitable Trade may be driven between us; and this is more than ſufficient to prove the great and general Propoſition, that the Diſcovery of ſuch a Paſſage would be very profitable to this Nation, though we ſhould be ever ſo much miſtaken as to the Nature of the Commodities in which this Profit may lie. Some Benefit we ſee reſults to the *Danes*, by their Commerce with the poor barbarous *Groenlanders*, and can we doubt of bringing things to a better Market among a rich and civilized People? The former, indeed, part with what they have for a Trifle, but then they have not much to part with; the latter may not be ſo ſoon over-reached, but they have more to trade for, and conſequently more is like to be got by them.

There is ſtill another great Advantage, which would reſult from the Diſcovery of a South-weſt Paſſage; and was that originally propoſed from it, which is, the reaching *Japon*, the Land of *Yedzo*, &c. by a much eaſier and ſhorter Rout, than either that by the *Cape of Good Hope*, or round by *Cape Horn*; ſo that the finding it would give us a much more facile Paſſage to the *East-Indies*, as well as the *South Seas*, and which is more, to thoſe Parts of the *Eaſt Indies*, with which we have no Correſpondence, and conſequently would, in that reſpect, be abſolutely a new Branch of Commerce, probably of much greater Benefit to this Nation, than the whole of our *Eaſt India* Trade, as it is now carried on. All theſe Benefits are ſo far from being hazardous or uncertain, that at firſt Sight, and from the bare Inſpection of the Globe and Charts of the Northern Hemiſphere, they appear certain and indubitable; neither have they hitherto been called in queſtion, by any who have ſought to diſcredit this Paſſage, who all bend their Endeavours to prove the Diſcovery impracticable, without inſinuating any thing to the Prejudice of the Expectations raiſed from it, in caſe it could be diſcovered and ſailed through. We need not, therefore, wonder at all that ſo much has been written on this Subject, ſo many Undertakings ſet on Foot, ſuch a variety of Attempts made on all Sides, and by all means, to come at this North-weſt Paſſage; ſince, in reſpect to this Part of *Europe*, it would be a kind of maritime Philiſophers Stone; a Diſcovery every Way equal, if not ſuperior, to that of *Columbus*. I do not mean in regard to the Subject of the Diſcovery, but in reſpect to us; and what I would ſay is, that we ſhould, for our Part, owe as much Obligation to whoever ſhould find this new Paſſage, as to *Columbus*, who found out the new World; to which it is a Paſſage, and ſuch a one, as to us would double the Value of that Diſcovery. So much may ſuffice as to the firſt Point we promiſed to examine, let us now proceed to the ſecond, and ſhew why this Paſſage is thought practicable.

3. We have already obſerved that *Cabot* firſt projected this Paſſage, in the Life-time of *Columbus*; and from the ſame Motive which engaged that illuſtrious Perſon in the Diſcovery of the new World, *viz.* to find a ſhorter Way to the *Eaſt Indies*, than that practiſed by the *Portugueſe*, by the *Cape of Good Hope*; he offered many Arguments to prove this was practicable by the North-weſt; and ſince his Time, and from the mighty Improvements that have been made in Navigation, there have been added many more. That we may reduce theſe within the narroweſt Compaſs poſſible, without Prejudice to the Subject we will propoſe them ſeparately, not in the Order in which they were from Time to Time advanced, but in the Method the moſt eaſy, moſt natural, and beſt connected in our Power; ſo that the Reader may very fairly judge of the Merits of the Cauſe, though perhaps ſome frivolous or doubtful Evidence may remain unexamined, in order to ſpare Time and Trouble.

Firſt, It is thought probable there muſt be a free Circulation of the Waters at the Pole, becauſe if it were otherwiſe, it would not be eaſy to conceive how the Equilibrium of Land and Water is maintained, or that Regularity which is obſerved in the Tides, where the Shores are not covered by Iſlands, Rocks, or broken Lands. Becauſe if it was otherwiſe, there muſt fall out great Changes in the Tides, the nearer we approached the Pole, as is ſeen in the *Mediterranean* and *Baltic*, which are cloſe Seas, and therefore differ from the Ocean, there being a ſenſible Tide only in ſome Parts of the former, and that too not very conſiderable, and none at all in the latter; whereas in the moſt Northern Seas, the Tides are high and very regular, which renders it apparent there muſt be ſome Paſſage, or rather Communication with the reſt of the Ocean.

Secondly, This Argument becomes more preſſing when confined to *Hudſon's Bay*, where there are not only Tides, but ſuch irregular Tides in ſome Places, as ſeem to indicate the Reception of more Water into that Bay, than comes from *Hudſon's Streights*, or any other Paſſage into it hitherto known. But from the Nature and Height of theſe Tides, and the Situation of the Places where they are obſerved, it ſeems almoſt indiſputable that they come by the Weſt, either through ſome large and practicable, or through ſome icy and impaſſable, Channel; the former is Mr. *Dobbs*'s Sentiment, and the latter the Opinion of Captain *Chriſtopher Middleton*, a very knowing and ingenious Gentleman, who did not imbrace this Notion, however, till he made a Voyage for the Diſcovery of this Paſſage, and failed in it.

Thirdly, We may diſcern the Cogency of this Argument, from what has been actually diſcovered towards the South Pole, where the Situation of the Streights of *Magellan* agrees perfectly with this Notion, and ſuggeſts according to the Analogy of things, a like Communication between the Seas towards the North Pole. We may alſo obſerve, that thoſe Streights are through broken Lands and Iſlands, in a very cold Climate, and, in many other reſpects, agreeable, as far as hitherto has been diſcovered, to the Countries lying round the North Pole, more eſpecially under the Latitudes where of late this North-weſt Paſſage has been ſought for.

Fourthly, It has been generally believed from the great Difference between the Productions of all kinds, and even between the Animals, in *America*, and the other Parts of the World, that they are abſolutely ſeparate; and as to its Southern Extremity, Experience has juſtified the Conjecture, and ſo renders the Preſumption ſtrong, that there is a like Separation on the North, and that this Country is not contiguous to any of the other Continents.

Fifthly, The Situation of the Northern Parts of *America*, ſo far as they are yet diſcovered, afford very ſtrong Preſumptions in favour of this Opinion. The great Ridge of Mountains beyond the Lakes of *Canada*, have many Rivers running from them into thoſe Lakes, and we may from thence conclude, and the Teſtimony of the Natives ſufficiently confirm it, that there are alſo Rivers running on the oppoſite Side, and theſe muſt therefore neceſſarily fall into this Weſt Sea, or Channel, which we ſeek. Part of this Argument is real and certain, *viz.* that there are ſuch Mountains, and though we cannot affirm as much, in reſpect to the other, as no *European* has yet reached thoſe Mountains, yet there is nothing in it abſurd or improbable, but rather quite the contrary.

Sixthly, We have no Tradition, either on the *Groenland* or *American* Side, of any Communication between them; but quite the contrary: The *Groenlanders* never ſpeak of any civilized Nations near their Country diſtinct from the *Europeans*; whereas the *Americans* do, and have always perſiſted in a Story of Perſons coming in very large Canoes, or Ships, to the North-weſt Coaſt, and trading there with the People, who, according to their Accounts are alſo more civilized than any other Nation, Natives of *America*. If any Credit be due to this Account, then we muſt conceive that theſe Traders come from *Japon* (which is very improbable) or from ſome northern Country hitherto unknown, equally ſeparated from *America* and *Aſia*.

Seventhly, It is aſſerted that this Streight has been paſſed before and ſince the Diſcovery of *America*, and that various Memorials of theſe Tranſits are ſtill preſerved in authentic Hiſtories. *Gemma Friſius* reports, that it was paſſed by three Brethren, and thence received the Name of *Fretum Trium Fratrum*; but he does not tell us when or where theſe Brethren lived, whence they ſailed, or whither they returned after performing this Voyage. It is reported by an ancient *Latin* Author, that certain *Indians* being caſt on Shore in *Germany*, were preſented by a barbarous King, into whoſe Dominions they came, to *Quintus Metellus Celer*; and it is taken for granted they came through this Paſſage. It may be queſtioned whether theſe *Indians* were any other than *Groenlanders*; and if ſo, without queſtion, their being caſt upon the Coaſt of *Germany*, proves nothing. About the Year 1160, under the Reign of the Emperor *Frederic Barbaroſſa*, certain *Indians* alſo are reported to have been wrecked on the *German* Coaſt, and of theſe we may ſay the ſame thing. *William* of *Newberry* has a Story of much the ſame Nature, only accompanied with ſome very incredible, not to ſay ridiculous, Circumſtances, of two Green Children, which in the Reign of King *Stephen* came hither from the Land of *St. Martin*, which, by their Deſcription, appears to be *Iceland*: So that take them altogether theſe Stories prove little or nothing. One *Cortereal*, a *Portugueze*, is alſo ſaid to have paſſed this Streight, and to have beſtowed upon it his Name; but how, when, or where, is not to be enquired, or at leaſt not to be reſolved. One *Gomez* is ſaid to have offered the Diſcovery of this Paſſage to the Emperor *Charles* V. which muſt not be underſtood, as grounded on his own Knowledge, but from a Perſuaſion of Mind that the finding ſuch a Streight was practicable, in which however upon Trial he failed. Some flying Reports of much the ſame kind we meet with in many Writers, but though they have, without Cauſe, been urged as Proofs of ſuch a Paſſage, yet this by no Means turns againſt it; nor can it be alledged, that ſince theſe Stories are ſome of them abſurd, others dark, and the reſt incredible, therefore the North-weſt Paſſage they are brought to prove is fabulous. If Truths were to ſuffer by the bringing of improper or improbable Arguments to ſupport them, ſome even of greater Conſequence than this, of which we are at preſent ſpeaking, might run no ſmall Riſk; but as debaſing Gold or Silver does not deſtroy them, ſo the Addition of Falſhoods, though they may ſometimes diſcredit Truths, cannot change their Nature.

Eighthly, There is one Argument in favour of this Paſſage, which may be drawn even from thoſe Fables, without being at all tinctured with Fiction: It is this, that the general Opinion amongſt the Learned in favour of it was ſtrong; which induced them to refer every thing of this Nature to the North-weſt Streight: In the like manner, the Notion of the Garden of *Heſperides* made way for the Diſcovery of the *Canaries*; the Rumour of an *Atlantis*, or weſtern World, proved the Means of unfolding *America*; nay, in the preſent Caſe, though theſe Tales have not hitherto helped us to this ſo much deſired Paſſage to the North-weſt, yet they may be ſaid to have guided us to the oppoſite *Streight of Magallan*; for it was upon the Reaſons aſſigned by *Cabot*, in favour of this Way of going round the Globe, that *Magellan* formed his Project to diſcover a Paſſage into the ſame Seas, by ſailing ſouthward; which he happily effected at the firſt Trial, and by doing this, gave ſome Degree of Evidence that the original Scheme of opening a Way by the North-weſt, is neither againſt the Analogy of the Mundane Syſtem, nor in its Nature impracticable from the Difficulties to which thoſe employed to find it may be expoſed; for though it appears that many have ſuffered exceſſively in the Attempts hitherto made for that Purpoſe, yet no Account of Voyages to the North-weſt repreſents the Cold more intolerable, or the Troubles occaſioned by the Ice, greater than in going round *Cape Horn*, through the Streights of *le Maire*, or thoſe of *Magellan*. If therefore the Reaſons perſuading this Paſſage have (generally ſpeaking) appeared ſo concluſive to the Learned, as to give Credibility to ill-founded Stories; if they have actually led to the finding a Paſſage at the oppoſite Extremity of the Globe, and this Streight be practicable, notwithſtanding its being full of Ice, and the Weather rigorous beyond Deſcription, why ſhould we ſuſpect that an Opinion having ſo many Circumſtances in its Favour is notwithſtanding abſolutely groundleſs, becauſe it is as yet unſupported by Experience, as if every thing not hitherto performed muſt be in its Nature impoſſible, which though Warrant enough for a vulgar Notion, cannot be thought a fit Foundation for a philoſophical Principle; yet granting it were, even this Foundation perhaps might be ſhaken; for if nothing but Experience will prevail, there are ſome Inſtances independent of thoſe romantic Tales before-mentioned, which look very ſtrongly that way.

Ninthly, There was, ſo long ago as *A. D.* 1567, a Perſon in *Portugal* who affirmed, he had actually ſailed through this Streight into *Europe*, and publiſhed immediately, on his Return, a Relation of his Voyage, which, had it been falſe, might have been eaſily confuted; but inſtead of that, by the King of *Portugal*'s Command, the Book was called in, and very carefully ſuppreſſed. The Proof of this Fact, as it is very extraordinary and deciſive, is thus ſet down by the laborious *Purchas*, in the third Part of his *Pilgrims*, Pag. 840; *viz.* “ I *Thomas* “ *Cowles* of *Bedminſter* in the County of *Somerſet*, Mariner, “ do acknowledge, that ſix Years paſt, at my being at “ *Liſbon*, in the Kingdom of *Portugal*, I did hear one “ *Martin Chacke*, a *Portugueze* of *Liſbon*, read a Book “ of his own making, which he had ſet out ſix Years “ before that Time in Print, in the *Portugal* Tongue, “ declaring, That the ſaid *Martin Chacke* had found, “ twelves Years now paſt, a Way from the *Portugal* “ *Indies*, through a Gulph of the *Newfoundland*, which “ he thought to be in 59 Degrees of the Elevation of “ the North Pole, by Means that being in the ſaid “ *Indies* with four other Ships of great Burden, and he “ himſelf in a ſmall Ship of fourſcore Tons, was driven “ from the Company of the other four Ships, with a “ weſterly Wind; after which he paſſed along by a great “ Number of Iſlands, which were in the Gulph of the ſaid “ *Newfoundland*. And after he over-ſhot the Gulph, he “ ſaw no more of any other Iſland until he fell in with the “ North-weſt Part of *Ireland*, and from thence he took “ his Courſe homewards, and by that Means he came to “ *Liſbon*, four or five Weeks before the other four Ships “ of his Company that he was ſeparated from, as “ before-ſaid. And ſince the ſame time, I could “ never ſee any of thoſe Books, becauſe the King com-

" manded them to be called in, and no more of them " to be printed, leſt in time it would be to their Hindrance. In Witneſs whereof I ſet to my Hand and " Mark, the 9th of *April*, *Anno* 1579."

There is no doubt ſomething ſtrange enough in this Story, and one might be tempted to ſuſpect, that either the *Engliſh* Seaman had made ſome Miſtake, or that the *Portugueze* Pilot had boaſted of more than he had done, if in thoſe Days theſe kind of Points had not been much more thoroughly underſtood, as well as more narrowly enquired after than they are at preſent; ſo that if there had been any juſt Grounds for rejecting this Story, we ſhould hardly have found it mentioned by thoſe judicious Writers who ſeem to lay great Streſs upon it; but it ſo falls out, that I think I am able to join to this another Proof that has been very little taken notice of, and which notwithſtanding ſeems very ſtrongly to corroborate this Report, from which I do not at all doubt that it was derived.

The Fact upon which I depend is this, Captain *James Lancaſter*, afterwards Sir *James Lancaſter*, commanded the firſt Fleet ſent to the *Eaſt Indies* by our Company, which ſailed in the Month of *February* 1600, and a very proſperous Voyage he made: While this Gentleman was in the *Indies*, he heard a Report of another Paſſage into thoſe Parts, which, as I hinted, was probably that through which the *Portugueze* Pilot had ſailed; and this Gentleman, who was a very experienced Mariner in Theory as well as Practice, was entirely perſuaded of the Truth of it, as appears from the following remarkable Accident which will do Honour to his Memory, as long as any Records remain of our maritime Affairs. In his Return to *England*, on board the *Dragon*, a very fine large Ship, with a moſt valuable Cargo, he met with ſuch a Storm off the *Cape of Good Hope*, as tore away his Rudder, and put him in ſuch Danger, that he very much doubted the Poſſibility of his returning home; yet, inſtead of quitting his Ship in this Diſtreſs, he contented himſelf with writing a ſhort Letter to the Company; which he ſent on board the *Hector*, and to this Letter he added the following remarkable Poſtſcript: *The Paſſage to the* Eaſt Indies *lies in 62 Degrees 30 Minutes by the North-weſt, on the* American *Side.* Upon comparing this with the Map prefixed to Mr. *Dobbs*'s *Account of the Countries adjoining to* Hudſon's Bay, I find it falls in preciſely with an Opening called there by the Name of *Lovegrove.* And it agrees perfectly well with the *Portugueze* Pilot's Account; ſince he might very well ſail through broken Lands and Iſlands from thence, as he did to *Newfoundland*, or perhaps to *Labrador*, and thence to *Ireland*. I mention all theſe Facts together becauſe they ſeem to relate to the ſame Thing, and to confirm each other. I ſhall now proceed to another Inſtance.

Tenthly, Mr. *Michael Lock*, a very intelligent Perſon, who reſided at *Venice* in 1596, obtained there, by a very ſingular and extraordinary Accident, an Account of this very ſame Paſſage from a Man who had himſelf diſcovered it on the *American* Side, of which, from his own large Diſcourſe preſerved in *Purchas*'s *Pilgrims*, I ſhall give as ſhort and true an Extract as I am able. In the Month of *April*, in the Year before-mentioned, he met with *Juan de Fuca*, a Native of the Iſland of *Cephalonia*, then about threeſcore, who had long ſerved the *Spaniards* in Quality of a Pilot in the *South Seas*, and in this Station was taken in the *St. Anne*, an *Acapulco* Ship coming from the *Philippines*, in *A. D.* 1587, by Captain *Candiſh*, and by that Accident loſt ſixty thouſand Ducats. He told Mr. *Lock* that he was Pilot of three ſmall Ships ſent by the Viceroy of *Mexico* to fortify the Streights of *Anian*, to prevent the *Engliſh* from penetrating that Way into the *South Seas*, which miſcarried by the Commander's being guilty of ſome foul Practices that raiſed a Mutiny. He was afterwards employed again for the ſame Purpoſe, in 1594, with a ſmall Ship and a Pinance; and having ſailed along the Coaſts of *New Spain*, *California*, and, as he expreſly affirmed, Part of the Continent beyond, to the Height of 47 Degrees, and finding that the Land trended there North-north-eaſt, with a broad Inlet of the Sea, between 47 and 48 Degrees, he entered into this Streight, and ſailed therein more than twenty Days; and found that Land trended ſtill ſometimes North-weſt, and North-eaſt, and North and Eaſt, and South-eaſtward, the Sea growing much broader than at the Entrance, and having in it many Iſlands ſmall and great, by which he paſſed. He alſo took notice, that at the very Entrance of the Streight, there was a great Head-land, or Iſland, in which there was a prodigious large Rock, like a Pillar or Pyramid. He further affirmed, that he landed ſeveral times, and ſaw many of the Inhabitants, who were cloathed in Beaſt-ſkins, or Furs; and as to the Country, he deſcribed it as exceedingly fruitful, and rich in Gold and Silver, Pearl, and other valuable Commodities, and with every Thing that was to be found in *New Spain*.

He reported farther, that he having entered thus far into the ſaid Streight, and being come into the North Sea, and finding the Paſſage wide enough every where, and about thirty or forty Leagues wide in the Mouth of the Streights where he entered; he thought he had now well diſcharged this Office, and done the thing which he was ſent to do; and that not being armed to reſiſt the Force of the *Savage* People, he therefore ſet ſail, and returned homewards again, towards *New Spain*, where he arrived at *Acapulco*, *A. D.* 1594, hoping to be rewarded largely of the Viceroy, for the Service done in this Voyage. Alſo he ſaid, that after his coming to *Mexico*, he was welcomed by the Viceroy, and had had great Promiſes of great Reward; but that having ſued there two Years Time, and obtained nothing, the Viceroy told him that he ſhould be rewarded in *Spain* by the King himſelf, very largely; and deſired him therefore to go into *Spain*, which Voyage he performed. He added, that when he was come into *Spain*, he was well received there at the King's Court, in Words after the *Spaniſh* Manner; but after long Time of Suit there alſo, he could not get any Reward. And that therefore, at length he ſtole away out of *Spain*, and came into *Italy* to go home again, and live among his own Kindred and Countrymen in his old Age. He likewiſe owned, that he thought the Cauſe of his ill Uſage by the *Spaniards* was, becauſe they did underſtand, very well, that the *Engliſh* Nation had now given over all their Voyages for Diſcovery of the North-weſt Paſſage, wherefore they need not fear them any more to come that Way into the *South Sea*, and therefore they needed not his Service for the future.

This old *Greek* Pilot, offered Mr. *Lock* to go over to *England*; and in caſe Queen *Elizabeth* would have been pleaſed to make him Compenſation for the Loſſes ſuſtained when taken by Captain *Candiſh*, in caſe of Succeſs, he would, in her Majeſty's Service, attempt the Diſcovery of this North-weſt Paſſage from *Europe*, which, with a Veſſel of forty Tons and a Pinnace, he doubted not to perform in thirty Days. At the Time of his making this Offer, Mr. *Lock* had it not in his Power to bring him over, but he acquainted the Lord Treaſurer *Cecil*, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and Mr. *Richard Hackluit* therewith, who approved his Deſign, but ſent him no Money. At laſt, in 1602, his own Circumſtances being mended, he reſolved to bring this Man over, with whom he had all this while kept a conſtant Correſpondence on his proper Expence; but upon his Arrival at *Zant*, to his great Grief and Diſappointment, found him dead.

Eleventhly, Yet theſe Diſcoveries by Sea are not all that is in our Power to produce on this Subject; we have likewiſe ſome Proofs that are no leſs concluſive, drawn from Diſcoveries made by Land, of which we have partly ſpoken in another Place; but which it is abſolutely neceſſary we ſhould again mention here, though in Terms as ſuccinct as it is poſſible. In the Year 1568 Sir *John Hawkins*, after an Expedition attended with indifferent Succeſs againſt the *Spaniards*, found himſelf obliged to ſet about one hundred of his Crew aſhore, about ſix Leagues Weſt of the River *la Mina*, and about one hundred and forty Leagues Weſt by North of *Cape Florida*; amongſt theſe was *David Ingram*, of *Barking* in *Eſſex*, who, with ſome of his Companions, travelled Northwards through many unknown Countries, where they ſaw vaſt Riches, as well as precious Stones, as of Gold and

Silver. In the moſt Northern Countries, through which they paſſed, the People were cloathed with Bear-Skins and fine Furs. In the Month of *May* they came into a rich and fertile Country, which is particularly deſcribed in his Travels, preſerved by *Hackluit*. And in this Country he affirms he ſaw Elephants, and other ſtrange Beaſts, not known in *America*; and after marching, according to his Computation, near two thouſand Miles, and paſſing over ſeveral large Rivers, ſome four, ſome ſix, ſome eight, and ſome ten Miles over; and one ſo large, that they were twenty-four Hours in croſſing it in a Canoe; they came to *Cape Breton*, where himſelf, and two of his Companions, embarked aboard a *French* Ship, one Mr. *Champaigne*, to whom one of *Ingram*'s Companions, *Richard Brown*, gave a very large Pearl, that he had picked up in this Journey. They landed at *New Haven* in *France*, in 1569, and ſoon found a Paſſage to *England*; where, within a Fortnight after their Arrival, they came to their old Captain *Hawkins*, to whom they related this Story, affirming that they had travelled to the North Sea, by which they meant the Sea that waſhed the Northern Part of *America*, oppoſite to the Bay of *Mexico*; and they likewiſe affirmed, that for two Days together they travelled along the Shore of this Sea, and that the Inhabitants gave them to underſtand, that they were not unacquainted with Ships, drawing the Figure of them upon the Sand, with their Maſts, Sails, and Flags.

This Account of *Ingram*'s was not digeſted into writing till ſeveral Years after, as appears by his affirming that *Richard Brown* was ſlain five Years before, in a Ship called the *Elizabeth*, belonging to one Mr *Cockins* of *London*; and that his other Companion, *Richard Twide*, died three Years before, at the Houſe of Mr. *Sheerwood*, in *Ratcliffe*; but they had all given this Account upon their firſt Arrival, to Captain *Hawkins*. It cannot be denied that there are ſome very ſtrange and improbable things in this Relation of *Ingram*; which ſhew him either a very weak and credulous Man, or one that delighted in uſing the Privilege of Travellers, of exceeding the Truth. Notwithſtanding all this, Mr. *Hackluit* was of Opinion, that his Relation amounted to a ſtrong Proof of a North-weſt Paſſage; as to which, however, it does not appear that the Man himſelf had any Notion, for otherwiſe he might have pretended, that the River he was twenty-four Hours in paſſing was it; for ſo in all probability it really was. I muſt acknowledge, that upon reading and conſidering his Narrative, I was once in very great doubt, whether it deſerved any Credit at all, or whether it ought to find a Place amongſt thoſe Matters of Fact, that deſerve to be mentioned as Proofs of the Poſſibility and Probability of there being a Paſſage to the *South Seas* by the North-weſt; but I was at laſt determined to give it a Place, by meeting accidentally with another Account no leſs ſtrange and extraordinary, and which the Reader will perceive has ſuch an Agreement therewith, that is not eaſily to be accounted for, without allowing that there is at leaſt a conſiderable Mixture of Truth in them both; for that the one ſhould be copied from the other, conſidering the Perſons by whom both Relations were made, is, in my Judgement, abſolutely impoſſible. Beſides they ſeem alſo to be confirmed, both by the moſt ancient, and by the more modern *Spaniſh* Authors, who mention the Northern Extremities of *America*. But it is Time to come to the Matter of Fact.

Twelfthly, The Author of the *French Mercury Galant*, for the Year 1712, gives us the following Relation, *viz.* "That ten *Frenchmen*, and two *Savages*, ſet out from *Montreal* in *Canada*, and having continued for ſome Time in the Country of the *Illinois*, and on the Banks of the River *Miſſiſſippi*, they reſolved to proceed farther on new Diſcoveries. They made uſe of three Canoes of Bark of Trees, to remount the *Miſſiſſippi*, and being gone up the ſame one hundred and fifty Leagues, they were ſtopped by a Fall, which obliged them to carry their Canoes over Land, and then they embarked again on the ſaid River, and went up the ſame forty Leagues more, without meeting any People; they ſpent a Month and a half in hunting, and continuing their Deſign of attempting ſome new Diſcovery, they met, fifteen Leagues from thence, with a River running to the South-ſouth-weſt, from whence they conjectured it diſcharged itſelf into the South Sea, its Courſe being oppoſite and contrary to thoſe which Fall into the North Sea. They reſolved thereupon to carry their Canoes into it, and in their Way ſaw Lions, Leopards, and Tygers, which did not offer to attack them. They fell down that River about one hundred and fifty Leagues, and met with a Nation called *Eſcaaniba*, which poſſeſs a Country of two hundred Leagues at leaſt, in which they ſaw ſeveral Forts, Towns, and Villages, whereof the Houſes are built of Timber, and Bark of Trees. They have a King who pretends to deſcend from *Motezuma*, and who is commonly cloathed with Beaſts-ſkins, which is alſo the ordinary Cloathing of the Inhabitants.

" They ſeem, in their Manner, to be under ſome Rules of Policy. They are Idolaters, and their Idols, which are in their Kings Palaces, are frightful, and of a prodigious Size. There are two amongſt others, whereof one is the Figure of a Man armed with Lances and Arrows, having one Foot upon the Ground, and the other lifted up, with a Hand on the Figure of a Horſe, as if he were going to mount it. They ſay that this is the Statue of one of their Kings, who was a great Conqueror. That Statue holds in its Mouth a large ſquare Carbuncle, which caſts a Light in the Night as Fire. The other Figure is a Woman, who was a Queen, ſetting on a Saddle, upon an Unicorn, having four great Dogs on one Side. Theſe Figures are of maſſy Gold, but very ill made. They are ſet on a raiſed Place, being a Square about thirty Feet, covered with Gold. Between thoſe two Statues is the Way into the King's Apartment; and at the Door of the ſame ſtands his Guards, conſiſting of two hundred Men. The Palace is very large, and is three Stories high The Walls are eight Feet high, and of maſſy Gold, cut in ſquare little Bricks, and laid one upon another, faſtened with Hooks and Bars of the ſame Metal. The reſt of the Building is of Timber, and covered with the ſame. Thoſe People have a great Trade for Gold, but our Diſcoverers could never gueſs with what Nation, unleſs it be with the People of *Japon*; for they carry their Gold to ſo great a Diſtance, that they told the *French*, that they ſpent ſix Months in their Journey to that Nation. Our Adventurers were preſent at the ſetting out of one of their Carravans, which conſiſted of above three hundred Oxen laden with Gold, and guarded by the like Number of Men, armed with Lances and Arrows, and with a kind of Poniard.

" They barter their Gold for Iron, Steel, Lances, &c. They are altogether Strangers to writing, but uſe a Sort of Bark dreſſed for that Purpoſe, on which they mark the Quantity of Gold intruſted to each of the Men aforeſaid, for which he muſt be accountable at his Return. The King is called *Agauzan*, which ſignifies, in their Language, the great King; and though he is at War with nobody, he keeps a ſtanding Army of one hundred thouſand Men. Their Trumpets are of Gold, and ſtrait, and they ſound the ſame, in a diſagreeable Manner. Their Drums are large Kettles of Gold, covered with Hart-Skins, and ſo large, that they muſt be carried by Oxen. Theſe Troops excerciſe once a Week in the King's Preſence. The Inhabitants are of a browniſh Complexion, and look frightful, having a long narrow Head, which they form into that Shape, by preſſing the Heads of Children between two Pieces of Board. The Women are handſome, and as white as in *Europe*: They have, as well as the Men, large Ears, which they account a great Beauty, and adorn them with Gold Rings. They let their Nails grow as long as they can, and this is, amongſt them, a Mark of Diſtinction. The moſt hairy Men, are looked upon to be the moſt handſome. Polygamy is in uſe, and they ſhew little Concern for the Conduct of their Daughters. They love Rejoicing and Dancing, and are great Eaters. They make a Sort of

“ Wine of Palm-Trees, and have ſeveral other Sorts of Liquors. They ſmoak very much, and have good Tobacco, which grows in their Country without any Culture.

“ The Climate is very temperate, and the Inhabitants live to a great Age, without being troubled with Diſeaſes. The Country affords all ſorts of Fruits both of the *Indies* and of *Europe*. They have Abundance of *Indian* Wheat, and wild Oats, which are as white and as good as Rice. They make Bread of both, but cultivate only the former. They have large Plains, which afford excellent Paſture for all ſorts of Cattle. Their Rivers are full of Fiſh, and their Woods abound with all ſorts of Birds, eſpecially Parrots. They have Monkies and Animals peculiar to that Country. Their capital City lies within ſix Leagues of the River *Miſſi*, which ſignifies the River of Gold. The *French*, upon taking their Leave of that King, promiſed to return in 36 Moons, *i. e.* in three Years, and to bring with them ſeveral Goods from *Canada*, to barter with their Gold, which they value ſo little, that the King bid them take as much as they pleaſed, which they did, and brought away each ſixty Bars, weighing about two hundred and forty Pounds. Two of the Adventurers had the Curioſity to go to the Place from whence they bring their Gold, and informed the others, that the Mines are within the hollow Parts of the Mountains, from which the Gold is carried away by Rivers, and is found on the Banks of them. Thoſe Rivers are almoſt quite dried up for four Months in the Year. Moſt of theſe Adventurers returning home, were killed at the Mouth of the River *St. Laurence*, by an *Engliſh* Pirate, and two of them only eſcaped, who, after a long Captivity, during which they had been in ſeveral Bays in the *Eaſt* and *Weſt Indies*, and in *China*, at laſt arrived at *Breſt*; and offered, upon pain of their Lives, if conducted to the *Miſſiſſippi*, eaſily to find back again from thence the Way leading to that *New Peru*.”

It would be no very difficult Matter to aſſemble other Paſſages of a like Nature from the Works of various Authors, *Engliſh*, *French*, and *Spaniſh*, all concurring in the Report, that there are very great Nations in the moſt Northern Parts of *America*, and that they trade and have Correſpondence with the Inhabitants of ſome other Country abſolutely unknown; but that this ſeems to be unneceſſary after what has been before related. One Thing however I will take the Liberty of hinting to the Reader, becauſe I think it may contribute to give ſome Light to theſe Stories of a civilized Nation in *North America*; and it is this, that the *Mexicans* themſelves always acknowledged, that they came from the *North* and were not the original Inhabitants of that Country where the *Spaniards* found them: So that if we ſuppoſe the *French* Adventurers above-mentioned ſpoke Truth, we may very well conclude that it was not the laſt *Motezuma*, but a former Prince of that Name theſe *Indians* ſpoke of; and that inſtead of being the *Mexicans* expelled by the *Spaniards*, they may be the original Nation from whom thoſe *Mexicans* were derived that contended with the *Spaniards*. This I do not pretend to lay down as a Thing certain, but as a Thing poſſible, if not probable, and therefore worthy of future Conſideration.

Thirteenthly, The laſt Argument I ſhall offer is from the conferring and comparing together thoſe that have gone before; for I think it can hardly be eſteemed poſſible, that Nature, Art and Tradition, ſhould conſpire to lead Mankind into Error in this Reſpect, by affording ſo many probable Inducements to look upon the finding ſuch a Paſſage to the North-weſt as not only probable but practicable. The wiſeſt Philoſophers, as well as Coſmographers, have admitted this Propoſition, conſidering only the Reaſon of the Thing. The moſt able Seamen have been of that Opinion, after repeated Trials and Experiments; ſuch as *Cabot*, *Davis*, *Hudſon*, *Button* and *Baffin*, not to mention others that have been employed in the *Daniſh* Service. We find the Rumour of ſuch a Paſſage ſpread every where in *Italy*, *Spain* and *Portugal*, as well as in *Great Britain*, *Denmark* and *Holland*. In the *Eaſt Indies*, and in the *Weſt*, amongſt the *Indian* Natives, as well as *European* Planters: Whence I conclude, that as no Fiction was ever ſo generally believed, this will ſooner or later be found a Truth, and then the Wonder will be that it was found no ſooner. But let us now proceed, from the Reaſon of the Thing, which I have laboured to make as clear as I could, to an Hiſtorical Account of the Expeditions which the Perſuaſion that there is ſuch a Paſſage by the North-weſt has occaſioned; in diſcourſing of which I ſhall be as conciſe as it is poſſible.

4. The firſt who attempted this Diſcovery, as has been often ſaid, was the famous *John Cabot*, towards the latter end of the fifteenth Century, but was prevented from finiſhing his Diſcovery by a Mutiny on board his Ship. He conſtantly retained his Opinion that there was a Paſſage this Way, and that he ſhould have found it if this Accident had not happened. It was however fifty Years before another Attempt was made, and then Sir *Martin Frobiſher*, in 1576, ſailed with two Barks in ſearch of this Paſſage. He diſcovered in the Height of 62 Degrees, on the Coaſt of *Groenland*, a large Inlet, to which he gave the Name of *Frobiſher's Streights*, through which he ſailed about ſixty Leagues, with main Land on both Sides, and ſaw ſome of the Inhabitants. He made a ſecond and a third Voyage, and called the Country he diſcovered *Meta Incognita*. In 1583 Sir *Humphry Gilbert* ſailed to the River of *St. Laurence*, took Poſſeſſion of that Country which the *French* call *Canada*, and ſeetled our Fiſhery upon that Coaſt. In 1585 Capt. *John Davis*, of whom we have given elſewhere a large Account, made an Attempt to find this North-weſt Paſſage, and diſcovered a Part of *Groenland*, to which he gave the Name of the *Land of Deſolation*. He ſailed afterwards as high as 64 Degrees 15 Minutes, through that which has been ſince called *Davis's Streights*, and thence to the Latitude of 66 Degrees 40 Minutes. In 1586 he made another Voyage, in which he made farther Diſcoveries, and returned full of Hopes that a third Voyage would compleat his Deſign. Accordingly in 1587 he proceeded through *Davis's Streights* to the Height of 72 Degrees 12 Minutes, and found an open Sea to the South-weſt.

In 1610 Mr. *Henry Hudſon*, after he had in vain made Trial of the North-eaſt Paſſage, attempted a Diſcovery to the North-weſt, and made a great Progreſs therein; paſſing through the Streights that have ſince bore his Name into a large open Sea, called *Hudſon's Bay*, and would have proceeded further, but was hindred by a Mutiny among his Seamen, who baſely deſerted him, as we have formerly mentioned. In 1612 *James Hall* and *William Baffin* made a like Attempt, in which the former was killed by a Savage. This Accident did not hinder Mr. *Baffin* from going thither in the Year 1615, who proceeded to the utmoſt Extremity of that Sea, which communicated with *Davis's Streights*, and found it to be no other than a large Bay, which has been ſince known by his Name. He went thither again the next Year, and diſcovered an Inlet, which he called Sir *Thomas Smith's Sound*, in the Latitude of 78 Degrees, but returned to *England* without Succeſs, though he remained firm in his Opinion of a North-weſt Paſſage to his Death, which happened in the *Eaſt Indies*, yet his Miſcarriage diſcouraged for a long Time any Attempts from hence.

5. Mr *Henry Button*, (afterwards Sir *Henry*) in the Year 1611, having been encouraged by Prince *Henry* to attempt a more perfect Knowledge of that Sea which had been found by Mr. *Hudſon*, went thither accordingly, and proceeded 200 Leagues farther to the South-weſt, coaſting along a great Continent, to which he gave the Name of *New South Wales*, and winter'd at *Port-Nelſon*; then ſailing croſs that Sea, which has ſince been called *Button's Bay*, he diſcovered another Country, to which he gave the Name of *New North Wales*, which ſeems to be only an Iſland in that great Sea, which opens into the Northern Ocean by the Paſſages of *Hudſon's Streights* and *Davis's Streights*, and of which *Hudſon's Bay*, *Button's Bay*, and *Baffin's Bay*, are only Parts, bounded by the Continents of *Groenland* and *North America*. In his wintering at *Port-Nelſon*, which is in the Latitude of 57 Degrees 10 Minutes North, he loſt the beſt Part of his Crew through extreme Cold, notwithſtanding all the Precau-

tions he could take to prevent it; but it does not appear that he was in any Degree diſtreſſed for want of Proviſions, ſince he aſſures us that beſides Deer and other wild Beaſts, there was ſuch vaſt Plenty of Partridges, and other Fowls, that they killed upwards of one thouſand eight hundred Dozen; and he likewiſe obſerves, that the Natives fiſhed in their Seal-Skin Boats, without appearing to be much incommoded by the rigorous Seaſon. He, for Cauſes elſewhere related (eſpecially the Tides) concluded a North-weſt Paſſage certain, and thereby reſtored the Hopes of it, then fallen very low.

6. The King of *Denmark*, believing that the Vicinity of his Country gave him greater Advantages than any other *European* Power, reſolved to perfect theſe Diſcoveries, which the *Engliſh* had begun; in order to which he cauſed two Ships and a Pinnace to be fitted out in 1605, under the Command of Captain *John Cunningham*, a Native of *Scotland*; with whom one *Lindenaw*, a *Daniſh* Nobleman, was joined in Commiſſion; *James Hall*, and *John Knight*, both *Engliſhmen*, were Pilots. The *Dane* very ſoon returned, but *Cunningham* proceeded a little Way through *Davis's Streights*, to a Place called *Cunningham's Ford*; from whence he brought away a kind of Stone, which he took to be Silver Ore; out of one hundred Weight of which there were extracted twenty-ſix Ounces of fine Silver. In 1607 another Ship was ſent from *Denmark*, of which *James Hall* had the Command; but before they had advanced as high as *Cunningham's Ford*, the *Daniſh* Seamen mutined, and forced them to return. His *Daniſh* Majeſty, however, perſiſted ſo obſtinately in this Deſign, that he ſent for Seamen from *Norway* and *Iceland*, ſuppoſing that they were better able to endure Cold than other People; and having fitted out two Ships for Diſcovery, gave the Command of them to one *Chriſtian Richardſon*, a Native of *Holſtein*. Theſe People, however, behaved worſe than the *Danes* had done, for they mutinied before they ſaw the Coaſt of *Groenland*, and ſo diſappointed that Voyage. In 1619 Captain *John Munk* undertook this Voyage, and arrived ſafely at *Cape Farewell*, in the Latitude of 60 Degrees thirty Minutes, where, though their Tackle was ſo frozen, and full of Iſicles, that they could not handle them; yet the next Day was ſo hot and ſultry, that they were forced to work in their Shirts. He gave here Names to ſeveral Places in *Hudſon's Bay*, but made no great Diſcoveries, though he was obliged to winter in the Latitude of 63 Degrees 20 Minutes, in a Place which has ſince retained his Name, on the Weſt-ſide of the Bay before-mentioned.

The Hardſhips this Man endured in the long Winter he paſſed there, are almoſt incredible. In the Month of *May*, 1620, he found himſelf alone in a Hut, ſcarce alive himſelf, and almoſt morally certain that all his Mariners were dead: He collected his Spirits, however, as well as he could, crawled out, and found, of all his Crew, no more than two left, and thoſe in almoſt as weak a Condition as himſelf; however, they removed the Snow in ſome Places, and finding freſh Herbs underneath, recovered from the Scurvy by eating them; and when the Seaſon permitted, and they had collected a little Proviſion, they left their Ship behind them, and ventured to return in their Pinnace, with which, after overcoming great Difficulties, they ſafely arrived in *Norway*. This Captain *Munk* was not only a great Seaman, but a very ingenious Mathematician, and ſome Years after revived this Deſign of finding a North-weſt Paſſage, of which he gave ſo good an Account to ſeveral of the *Daniſh* Nobility, and made it ſo probable to ſome of the richeſt Merchants in *Norway*, that they raiſed a joint Stock to defray the Expences of his Voyage.

When all Things were in a Manner ready, *Munk* himſelf was taken off by a very odd Accident. The King aſked him how he came not to diſcover the North-weſt Paſſage the laſt Time, upon which he gave him a large Account of his Misfortunes. The King told him that he had deſtroyed a great many Men already, to which Captain *Munk* made a quick Reply, and provoked the King to ſtrike him over the Stomach with his Cane. This Indignity had ſuch an Effect upon the Man's Spirit, that as ſoon as he came Home, he obſtinately refuſed all Refreſhment, and died in two or three Days. The unfortunate Iſſue of this Affair ſo diſcouraged the *Danes*, that we hear nothing more of their Attempts, though it is certain, that with reſpect to ſuch Expeditions, they enjoy much greater Advantages than almoſt any other Nation.

7. As long as the *Greenland* Trade was carried on with Advantage to this Nation, the Endeavours for a Diſcovery were kept up, and a ſpecial Committee was appointed by the Merchants concerned in that Trade, for drawing Inſtructions to the Commanders of ſuch Veſſels as were ſent abroad in that Service, and Sir *John Wolſtenhome* the younger was appointed their Treaſurer. We have a great many Letters and Papers tranſmitted to this Committee, in the third Part of *Purchas*'s *Pilgrims*, and of theſe there are ſome that are very well worth the reading. It appears from them, that *Thomas Marmaduke*, of *Hull*, had ſailed as far as the Latitude of 82 Degrees North, which was to the utmoſt Extent of *Greenland*; but he ſeems to have kept too near the Shore, which was the Reaſon that he found himſelf much incommoded by Ice; whereas if he had kept a little to the Weſtward, it is allowed that he would have met with an open Sea. But by this Time other Nations began to interfere in the *Greenland* Trade, and the Company found themſelves under a Neceſſity of having Recourſe to the Crown for Protection and Aſſiſtance, as well for defending their Fiſhery, as for proſecuting their Diſcoveries; and accordingly they addreſſed themſelves to King *Charles* I. upon both Heads, who very readily granted them all that they deſired, particularly a Frigate, called the *Charles*, under the Command of Captain *Luke Fox*; which, being manned and victualled for eighteen Months, ſailed in the Spring of the Year 1631, in order to make Diſcoveries towards the North-weſt; and, as he tells us himſelf, this was the ſixteenth Voyage that had been undertaken expreſly for this Purpoſe.

He traced *Frobiſher*, *Hudſon*, *Davis*, *Baffin*, and *Button*, meeting with Whales, much Ice, and foul Weather. He built a Pinnace in River *Nelſon*, where he found ſeveral Remains left there by Sir *Thomas Button*. He obſerved Abundance of ſmall Spruce Fir-Trees on both Sides the River, almoſt covered with Moſs, and other Sorts of Trees, but ſmall. The Valleys had good Graſs, Blackberries, Strawberries, Vetches, Veniſon, *&c.* but no Natives or Inhabitants to be met with in this Place; tho' in other Parts of the Sea he ſaw ſeveral *Savages*. Captain *James* departing from *England* ſoon after Captain *Fox*, upon the ſame Deſign, they both met, and careſſed each other, near *Port Nelſon*, in the Month of *Aug.* 1631. *Fox* got Home before Winter, and ſome Time afterwards publiſhed a large Account of his Voyage, under a pompous Title, which, however, was never much eſteemed; and ſunk ſtill lower, in the Opinion of Mankind, after Mr. *James*'s Voyage was made public, which every Body allowed to be an excellent Performance, and to have all the Merit that could be expected from a Work of that Kind.

It appears from hence, that there was a ſurprizing Degree of Vigilance and Steadineſs in the Conduct of the mercantile Part of the Nation at that Time. They applied themſelves to the Study of Navigation and Commerce, as to Sciences capable of raiſing their Fame and Reputation, as well as their Fortunes; and this made them jealous of ſeeing themſelves rivalled, or out-done, by any other Nation whatever. The King too had great Knowledge in theſe Matters, conferred about them with the principal Commanders in his Navy, and the moſt able Seamen throughout his Kingdom; offering freely whatever Aſſiſtance his Prerogative enabled him to give, and encouraging the wealthier Sort of Merchants to continue theſe Kinds of Expeditions, by his own Example. It was this that became a kind of Law to the Nobility and Courtiers, who, in Imitation of the King, intereſted themſelves deeply in Attempts of this Nature, as manifeſtly appears by the Names given to Roads, Sounds, Bays, Iſlands, Headlands, Promontories, and Coaſts in *Hudſon's Bay*, and other Northern Regions, by which the Titles of ſome noble Families are preſerved, which are now extinguiſhed, and their Memories alſo almoſt totally forgotten.

SECTION III.

The accurate and admirable VOYAGE *of Captain* THOMAS JAMES, *for the Diſcovery of a* PASSAGE *into the* SOUTH SEAS, *by the* North-weſt; *his wintering in* Charlton Iſland, *and wonderful Return with his Ship, and moſt of the Crew, into* England.

Extracted from his own Account, and delivered in his own Words.

1. *An Introduction containing the Reaſons of this Expedition, and the Motives and Preparations of Captain* James, *for undertaking this Voyage.* 2. *The Author departs from* Briſtol, *and arrives upon the Coaſt of* Groenland. 3. *Finds himſelf and his Crew expoſed to great Danger, and prodigious Incoveniencies, by the vaſt Quantities of Ice in thoſe Parts.* 4. *An Account of their landing at ſeveral Places, the miſerable Barrenneſs of the Country, and the Sea deſtitute of Fiſh.* 5. *They fall into new Perils from the Ice, from which they free themſelves by inceſſant Labours.* 6. *A farther Account of the Country, Coaſts, and Seas.* 7. *The Methods taken by Captain* James, *to encourage and keep up the Spirits of his Seamen, in the Midſt of ſo many Difficulties.* 8. *Their Dangers and Labours ſtill increaſe, notwithſtanding all the Precautions that could be taken to avoid them.* 9. *A Misfortune happens in the weighing of their Anchor, by which ſeveral of the ableſt Men in the Ship are miſerably hurt.* 10. *They meet with Captain* Luke Fox, *who had been ſent out the Year before upon the ſame Diſcovery; and after mutual Civilities, part from, and ſee, each other no more.* 11. *A violent Storm, by which they are in great Danger; from which they are delivered by their own Induſtry, and the Care of their Commander, with the Bleſſing of God.* 12. *The Ship run aſhore by an Accident, which put them into ſo great Danger, that they had Thoughts of quitting their Veſſel, and making their Eſcape in their Boat; but afterwards are ſo lucky as to get the Ship off.* 13. *Another Storm in which they loſt their Shallop, and were driven to ſuch Diſtreſs, that they were forced to think of wintering in thoſe Seas.* 14. *They are miſerably incommoded with Fogs, ſtrong Currents, and floating Iſlands of Ice; by which they are put in the utmoſt Danger for ſeveral Days together.* 15. *The Captain lands upon an Iſland in order to make Diſcoveries; to procure Wood, Water, and other Conveniencies, and to ſearch out a proper Place for their wintering in.* 16. *Their Houſe is ſet up, a Deer taken, and one of their Men loſt in ſeeking for Refreſhments.* 17. *An Account of their various Precautions taken to avoid ſuch Accidents for the future; their Diſtreſs from the Severity of the Weather; and the Death of their Gunner.* 18. *Captain* James *inclines to run his Ship aground; the Reaſons which induced him to think of this Expedient; and the Accidents which hindered him from putting it in Execution.* 19. *They reſolved, after mature Deliberation, to ſink the Ship, as the ſureſt Means of preſerving her; this Reſolution executed, and the Difficulties they met with in getting aſhore.* 20. *Captain* James's *Speech to his Crew, in relation to their Wintering; the Aſſurances given him by them of their Fidelity and Obedience, together with the Diſtribution made of the Men to ſeveral Employments.* 21. *Farther Precautions taken for ſecuring themſelves in this uncomfortable Country, getting their Boat aſhore, and raiſing a Storehouſe for their Proviſions.* 22. *A large and very curious Account of their Habitations in this deſert Iſland, and of the Methods taken for the Eaſe and Refreſhment of the Sick.* 23. *Obſervations on the Cold, Ice, Snows, Spring-Tides, and other Things, at the Beginning of the Year* 1632. 24. *The Miſeries endured by the whole Crew, from the diſmal Effects of the Scurvy; and the great Pains taken by their Chirurgeon to give them all the Relief in his Power.* 25. *The Difficulties that attended the getting of Wood, and various Methods practiſed to overcome thoſe Difficulties.* 26. *The Captain reſolved to dig a Paſſage through the Ice to the Ship, which, with inexpreſſible Labour, was effected, and the Veſſel found ſafe and ſound.* 27. *The Order in which their Proviſions were ſerved to them, while they continued aſhore; and the Danger their Sick were in of being ſtarved, for Want of a Power of eating.* 28. *The Death of their Carpenter; their Rudder recovered; and the Iſland named, from their wintering upon it,* Charles Town, *or* Charlton Iſland. 29. *The Ship cleared; the Men recover chiefly by the Help of Sallads; the Nature of the Spring in this Country.* 30. *The Ship begins to float; Captain* James *takes Poſſeſſion of the Iſland for King* Charles I. *and begins to think of his Departure.* 31. *The Captain in Danger of being burnt by a very ſtrange Accident; erects Tombs for his dead Men; the Nature of freezing in this Country.* 32. *The Manner of the Waters thawing deſcribed; with a View of the Country in the Spring, and other Particulars.* 33. *They labour to leave* Charlton Iſland, *but are hindered by the Ice.* 34. *Put to Sea with much Difficulty, and meet with great Tempeſts and other Misfortunes.* 35. *Undergo vaſt Varieties of Hardſhips, through Storms, Rocks, Ice, &c.* 36. *In much greater Danger than ever; ſo that not only the Crew, but the Captain himſelf, began to deſpair of the Poſſibility of returning.* 37. *He lays hold, notwithſtanding, of the firſt Opportunity that offered for proſecuting the intended Diſcovery.* 38. *Expoſed to new Difficulties and Dangers, which engage them, after mature Deliberation, to reſolve upon ſhaping their Courſe Home, which was accordingly done.* 39. *Captain* James *changes his Sentiments, with reſpect to the Poſſibility of finding a North-weſt Paſſage; Motives aſſigned by him, in Support of that Change; and his Reaſons for thinking the Paſſage uſeleſs and unprofitable, if it could be diſcovered.* 40. *His Notions upon this Subject conſidered and confuted.* 41. *Concluſion of this Voyage, with Obſervations and Remarks.*

1. AS curious and inſtructive as the Hiſtory of the Expeditions made for finding a North-weſt Paſſage, muſt certainly be eſteemed by all competent Judges of a Collection of this kind, yet it is very natural for them to expect to ſee ſome Voyage entire, by which they may judge of the Nature of ſuch an Expedition; the Method of purſuing it; the Diſcoveries that incidentally fall in; the Difficulties that occur; the Nature of the Climate and Coaſts; and other Singularities, which render ſuch kind of Pieces equally uſeful and entertaining. The Foreſight of this, and the Deſire of complying, as far as poſſible, with the Expectations of

my Readers, induced me to think of giving Place to the Voyage of Captain *Thomas James*, undertaken for the Satisfaction of King *Charles* I. at the Expence of the Merchant Adventurers of *Briſtol*. And this for various Reaſons: Firſt, Becauſe the original Edition of 1633, publiſhed by the Author himſelf, from whence this, with the Omiſſions only of ſome obſolete Phraſes, and ſome Verſes, not much to the Purpoſe, is literally taken, is become exceeding ſcarce, and, indeed, hardly to be met with. Secondly, Becauſe it is very juſtly looked upon as the very beſt Work of its kind that ever was publiſhed, and this in every reſpect; the Author being a knowing, careful, and experienced Seamen, one who wrote every thing as it occurred, and framed the Hiſtory of his Voyage while it was making, and not after his return Home, from looſe Papers, or a bare Sea Journal. Thirdly, Becauſe the giving this Voyage will ſatisfy the Reader in all the Points of Enquiry that he can poſſibly frame, and this upon the Authority of ſo judicious and candid a Writer, that the famous Mr. *Robert Boyle* chiefly depended upon the Extracts he made from his Work, in framing one of the moſt valuable Pieces that he publiſhed, I mean his Hiſtory of Cold. Fourthly, Becauſe it will free us from the Neceſſity of inſerting any more Voyages into theſe Northern Parts, as containing every thing that is worth reading in the reſt of them; digeſted clearly and plainly, ſo as to carry Conviction throughout, and leave us no room to queſtion either the Abilities or the Sincerity of its Author. And fifthly, Becauſe it affords us an Opportunity of exhibiting, at once, the Reaſons from which it was for many Years after this believed, that the finding ſuch a Paſſage was impracticable, and adding thereto the Motives that have induced able and experienced Perſons in later Times to conceive, that how formidable ſoever theſe Objections may at firſt Sight appear, they are not abſolutely concluſive, but that ſuch a Paſſage may be ſtill ſought for with rational Hopes of Succeſs.

After having given this Account of the Cauſes of inſerting this long Voyage, I ſhall next preſent the Reader with an Account from Captain *James*'s Preface, which is to be found only in his original Edition; of the Manner in which this Voyage was undertaken, containing many Particulars that are very well worth Notice, and which will not fail to convince the Reader that never any Enterprize of this kind was better concerted, or more Deliberation uſed in providing for its Succeſs. Captain *James* had been employed, as he tell us, in ſome Northern Voyages before, whence he came to be thought the fitteſt Perſon in the Kingdom, for attempting this ſo long wiſhed for Diſcovery; which, however, he was not determined to undertake, till it was ſignified to him on the Part of the King, that it would be highly ſatisfactory to his Majeſty. After he was once come to a Reſolution, he ſignified to the Merchants of *Briſtol*, in whoſe Service probably he had been formerly employed, both his own Inclination to venture on this Voyage, and the Encouragement he received from his Majeſty; upon which they very readily raiſed ſuch a Sum of Money as was requiſite, and depoſited it in the Hands of a Treaſurer, for carrying it on with the utmoſt Facility and Expedition.

Captain *James* deſired only a ſingle Ship, and that a ſmall one, of the Burden only of ſeventy Tons. She was built for this Voyage; and it will appear from what follows, that ſhe was as well and ſtrongly built as ever any Veſſel of her Size was. The Number of Perſons that he deſired for the Execution of ſo difficult and ſo dangerous a Deſign, was no more than twenty-two; and the Proviſions and other Neceſſaries that he required, was for 18 Months; and he acknowledges that they were provided for him in the full Proportions he demanded, and that in their ſeveral kinds they were as wholſome and as good as he could wiſh. He had the free Choice of the Men that were to ſerve under him, but he abſolutely refuſed all Volunteers that had never been at Sea, in which there is nothing ſtrange; but it muſt be allowed that it was ſomewhat ſurprizing, that he ſhould reject alſo ſuch as had failed in thoſe Seas before, for which he ſays he wanted not good Reaſons, though it ſeems they were ſuch as he did not think fit to diſcloſe. The Qualities he required were, that they ſhould be unmarried, approved, able, and healthy Seamen; he likewiſe took care that they ſhould not have the leaſt Knowledge or Acquaintance with each other, and, inſtead of entering them all at once, he firſt fixed upon a Boatſwain and his Crew for rigging the Ship, and put them aboard before the reſt of the Seamen; then he ſhipped the common Men, and laſtly his Officers; ſo that all things were ready at once; the Expence kept as much within Bounds as it was poſſible, and the wiſeſt Precautions taken to prevent Factions and Mutinies, with which, as we ſhall ſee, he was never troubled, notwithſtanding all the Miſeries and Misfortunes that he and his People endured.

When all things were ready he made a ſhort Journey to *London*, to receive his Majeſty's laſt Commands, and ſuch Letters and Commiſſions as he judged might be of Service to him; and, upon his Return to *Briſtol*, he went directly aboard his Ship, with a Reſolution of ſailing the firſt fair Wind. After his Return he drew up the following Hiſtory of his Voyage, for his Maſter's Satisfaction; and prefixed to it the following Dedication, which is alſo not to be met with, entire and correct, in any but the original Edition.

“ *Moſt gracious Sovereign*: That my unſkilful ſelf was made Choice of for this Employment, and my Undertaking in it encouraged by your gracious Commandment, I muſt ever account of, as the greateſt Honour ever yet befel me. Many a Storm, and Rock, and Miſt, and Wind, and Tide, and Sea, and Mount of Ice, have I in this Diſcovery encountered withal; many a Deſpair and Death had almoſt overwhelmed me; but ſtill the Remembrance of the Account I was to give of it, to ſo gracious a Majeſty, put me in Heart again, made me not to give Way to my own Fears or the Infirmities of Humanity. Your Majeſty, in my Employment (like a true Father of your Country) intended the Good of your Subjects, and who is not bound to bleſs God for your royal Care in it, had it now been my Fortune to have done my Country this Service, as to have brought home the News of this ſuppoſed and long-ſought for Paſſage; then ſhould the Merchant have enjoyed the Sweetneſs of the hoped Profit, and the Subjects have been ſenſible of the Benefit of your Majeſty's Royal Intention in it. I have done my Good-will in it, and though I have not brought home the News, yet ſhall I here divulge theſe Obſervations, which may (I hope) become ſome Way beneficial unto my Country. The Account of them I here in all Humility offer unto your moſt judicious Majeſty; your gracious Acceptance of what I had done, though I had not done what was expected emboldneth me to do ſo; and ſince your Majeſty was pleaſed to ſignify your Deſires of having a brief Account of my Voyage preſented unto you, that Word became a Command unto me, to draw this rude Abſtract of it. Your Majeſty will pleaſe to conſider, that they were rough Elements which I had to do withal, and will, with Favour, vouchſafe to pardon, if a Seaman's Stile be like what he moſt converſeth with. In the Plainneſs therefore of well-meaning, ſince your Majeſty hath been ſo gracious to me, as to appoint me your Servant, I am now bound to vow you my Service, and it ſhall be my Honour to be commanded it; and I ſhall account no Danger too great in the going through it. Theſe are the Reſolutions of your Majeſty's humbleſt Subject and Servant *Thomas James*.”

But it is now Time to proceed to the Captain's Narrative, which is delivered moſtly in his own Words, becauſe it was found impoſſible to expreſs his Senſe in Words better choſen, or that could bring the Facts he relates into a narrower Compaſs.

2. The 2d of *May* I took my Leave of the Merchant-Adventures in this Action, in the City of *Briſtol*; and being accompanied by the Reverend Mr. *Palmer*, and ſeveral of the Merchants, I repaired on board, where Mr. *Palmer* made a Sermon, exhorting us to continue bro-

therly Love, and to be bold to profeſs the Chriſtian Religion, wherever we ſhould come in this our Peregrination. After they had received ſuch Entertainment as I could afford they departed for *Briſtol*. This Afternoon I made a Review of all Cloaths, Neceſſaries, and Victuals. The 3d of *May*, after Prayer, about three in the Afternoon, we ſailed down the *Severn* to the weſtward of *Lundy*, where the Wind oppoſed us ſo ſtongly, that we were obliged to anchor in *Lundy Road*; where we remained till the 8th in the Morning, when we ſailed; but were forced to put into *Milford*, where we anchored about Midnight: Here we remained till the 17th, when, in the Morning, with the firſt fair Wind we proceeded, and doubled *Cape Clear*, off *Ireland*. The 22d we were in Latitude 51 Degrees 26 Minutes, and the *Blaſkes* bore from us North-eaſt about twelve Leagues off; which *Blaſkes* is in Latitude 52 Degrees 4 Minutes; here I ordered the Courſe that ſhould be kept, which was generally Weſt-north-weſt, as the Wind would permit, which in this Courſe and Diſtance is very variable. The 4th of *June* we made the Land of *Groenland*, ſtanding in with it, to have Knowledge of the trending of it: It proved very foul Weather, and next Day, by two in the Morning, we found ourſelves encompaſſed with Ice; and endeavouring to clear ourſelves of it we were the more engaged, and ſtruck many fearful Blows againſt it. At length we made faſt to a great Piece, and, with Poles, wrought Day and Night to keep off the Ice; in which Labour we broke all our Poles.

The 6th, about two in the Morning, we were beſet with extraordinary Pieces of Ice, that came upon us with great Violence, and doubtleſs would have cruſhed us to Pieces if we had not let fall ſome Sail, which the Ship preſently felt. In eſcaping the Danger we ran againſt another great Piece, that we doubted whether our Ship had not been ſtaved to Pieces; but by pumping we found ſhe made no Water. The former Pieces of Ice had cruſhed our Shallop all to Pieces, wherefore I cauſed our Long-boat to be had up from betwixt the Decks and put over board, by the Help whereof we recovered our broken Shallop, and ſet her upon the Deck, intending to new-build her. All this Day we beat, and were beaten amongſt the Ice, it blowing a perfect Storm. In the Evening we were encloſed among great Pieces as high as our Poop, and ſome of the ſharp blue Corners of them reached quite under us. In this Extremity I made the Men let fall, and make what ſail they could, and the Ship forced herſelf through it, though ſo toſſed and beaten as I think never Ship was. When we were clear we tried the Pumps, and found them ſtaunch; upon which we went inſtantly to Prayer, to praiſe God for his merciful Delivery of us.

The ſeventh and eighth Days we endeavoured to double about *Cape Farewell*, being ſtill peſtered with much Ice. The 9th we were in the Latitude of 59 Degrees, and we made Account the *Cape Farewell* bore off us due Eaſt, and ſome ten Leagues off. The *Blaſkes* in *Ireland* is in Latitude 52 Degrees 4 Minutes, and *Cape Farewell* in Latitude 59. The Courſe is Weſt-north-weſt, and the Diſtance about four hundred and ten Leagues: I know very well theſe Latitudes, Courſes, and Diſtance, do not agree with mathematical Concluſions; but thus we found it by Practice. The Variation of the Compaſs in Latitude 52 Degrees 30 Minutes, and thirty Leagues to the weſtward of *Ireland*, is about 3 Degrees to the eaſtward; in Latitude 57, about three hundred and ten Leagues Weſt-north-weſt from the *Blaſkes*, the Compaſs doth vary nine Degrees to the weſtward; in Latitude 59 Degrees 15 Minutes, ſome forty Leagues to the eaſtward of *Cape Farewell*, the Variation is 14 Degrees 45 Minutes. In this Courſe I have been obſervant whether there were any Current that did ſet to the North-eaſt, as ſome have written there did, and that as well in calm Weather as otherwiſe, but I could not perceive any. The Winds here are variable, and the Seas of an unſearchable Depth; we have not ſeen from *Ireland* hitherto any Whales, or other Fiſh; the Weather for the moſt part was foggy.

3. On the 10th all the Morning was very foul, and high Sea, although we had Ice about us, and ſome Pieces as high as our Topmaſt Head. Our Long-boat, which we were forced to tow a-ſtern, broke away, and put us to ſome Trouble to recover her. This we did, and brought her into the Ship, though much bruiſed, and had two Men much hurt. By eight in the Morning we were ſhot up as high as *Cape Deſolation*; for finding the Land to trend away North and by Eaſt, we certainly knew it to be the *Cape*: It ſtands in Latitude 60 Degrees, and the Land from *Cape Farewell* to it trends North-weſt the Diſtance about forty Leagues, the Courſe Weſt half a Point North. The Latitude of the South-end of the Iſland being 61 Degrees 20 Minutes, ſome twelve Leagues to the weſtward of *Cape Deſolation*, the Variation 16 Degrees. In this Courſe we were much beaten with the Ice, many Pieces being higher than our Topmaſt Head. In our Way we ſaw many Grampuſſes amongſt the Ice, and the Sea is full of them; the Weather, a ſtinking Fog, and the Sea very black; which I conceive to be occaſioned by the Fog.

The 17th, at Night, we heard the Tract of the Shore, as we thought, but it proved to be the Rutt of a Bank of Ice. It made a hollow and hideous Noiſe, like an Overfall of Water, which made us to reaſon among ourſelves concerning it, for we were not able to ſee far, it being dark Night and foggy; we ſtood off from it till break of Day, then in again; and about four in the Morning we ſaw the Land above the Fog, which we knew to be the Iſland of *Reſolution*. This Night was ſo cold that all our Rigging and Sails were frozen. We endeavoured to compaſs the ſouthern Point of the Iſland, where runs a quick Tide into the Streight; but the Ebb is as ſtrong as the Flood. The Fog was of ſuch a piercing Nature that it ſpoiled all our Compaſſes, and made them flag, and ſo heavy that they would not traverſe; wherefore I would adviſe any that ſhall ſail this Way, to provide Compaſſes of *Moſcow* Glaſs, or ſome other Matter that endures the Moiſture of the Weather. As the Fog cleared up we could ſee the Entrance of the Streight to be full of Ice cloſe wedged together; endeavouring to go forward we were faſt encloſed amongſt it; and ſo drove to and again with it, finding no Ground at two hundred and thirty Fathoms four Leagues from the Shore.

The 20th in the Morning we had got about the ſouthern Point of the Iſland; and the Wind at Weſt drove both us and the Ice upon the Shore; when we were driven within two Leagues of the Coaſt, we came among the ſtrongeſt Whirlwinds of the Sea that can be conceived. There were great Pieces of Ice aground in forty Fathoms Water, and the Ebb coming out of the broken Grounds of the Iſland among thoſe Iſles of Ice, made ſuch a Deſtruction that we were carried round ſometimes cloſe by the Rocks, and ſometimes ſo cloſe by theſe high Pieces, that we were afraid they would fall upon us. We made faſt two great Pieces of the Ice to our Side, with our Sledges and Grapnels, that drew nine or ten Fathoms; that ſo they might be on Ground before us, if we were driven on the Shore; but that Deſign failed us. And now from the Top ſeeing in among the Rocks, I ſent the Boat to ſee if ſhe could find ſome Place of Security; but ſhe was no ſooner parted but ſhe was incloſed, and driven to trail upon the Ice, or elſe ſhe had been daſhed to Pieces; they ran her over the Ice from Place to Place, and in the mean while, with the whirling of the Ice, the two Pieces broke away from our Sides, and carried away our Kedger and Grapnels: Then we made Signs to the Boat to make all the haſte ſhe could to us, which ſhe perceiving, did; the Men being with much Difficulty forced to ſlide her over many Pieces of Ice. In the mean time we made ſome ſail, and got to that Piece of Ice, which had our Grapnel on it, which we recovered.

By this time our Boat was come, and we put a freſh Crew into her, and ſent her to fetch our Kedger, which ſhe endeavoured with much Danger of Boat and Men. By this time the Ship was driven ſo near the Shore that ſhe could ſee the Rocks under us, and about us, and we were carried by the Whirlings of the Water cloſe by the Points of Rocks, and then round about back again; and all this notwithſtanding the Sail we had aboard, and we expected continually when ſhe would be beaten to

Pieces. In this Extremity I made them open more Sail, and ſo forced her in among the Rocks and broken Grounds, and where there were many large Pieces of Ice aground. We went over many great Pieces of Rocks that had but twelve or thirteen Feet Water on them, and ſo let fall an Anchor; this Anchor had never been able to wind up the Ship, but that by good Fortune the Ship ran againſt a great Piece of Ice that was aground: This Shock broke the main Knee of her Beakhead, and a Corner of it tore away four of our main Shrouds, and an Anchor that we had at her Bow; and ſo ſtopped her Way that ſhe did wind up to her Anchor.

We ſaw the ſharp Rocks under us, and had but fifteen Feet Water; being alſo in the Tides Way, where the Ice would drive upon us. Our Boat we could not ſee, which made us doubt ſhe had been cruſhed to pieces; in her was the third Part of our Company; but ſoon after we ſaw her come about a Point among the Rocks, ſhe had recovered our Kedger, which made us joyful; with all Speed we laid out Hawſers to the Rocks, and every one worked to the beſt of his Strength to warp her out of this dangerous Place to the Rock's Side, where we had three Fathom Water, and were under the Shelter of a great Piece of Ice that was aground, which kept off the ſtraggling Ice that otherwiſe would have driven upon us. Here we lay very well at the Ebb, but when the Flood came we were aſſualted with Pieces of Ice, that every half Hour put us into deſperate Diſtreſs; we worked continually to keep off the Ice: At full Sea our great Piece of Ice which was our Buckler was afloat, and do what we could got away from us, and left us in imminent Danger from the Ice that drove in upon us; but the Ebb being once made, this great Piece of Ice came again aground, very favourable to us, and ſheltered us all the reſt of the Ebb. All Night we wrought hard to ſhift our Cables, Hawſers, and to make them faſt aloft on the Rocks, that the Ice might the better paſs under them. All Day and Night it ſnowed hard, and blew a Storm at Weſt, which drove in all the Ice out of the Sea upon us. In working againſt the Violence of the Ice, the Hook of our Kedger was broken, two Arms of our Grapnels, and two Hawſers, our Shallop being again very much bruiſed; whereupon we went to work to repair it. This Tide the Harbour was choaked full of Ice, ſo that it ſeemed firm and immoveable, but when the Ebb came it moved; ſome great Pieces came aground, which altered the Courſe of the other Ice, and put us on the Rocks.

Here, notwithſtanding our utmoſt Endeavours, ſhe ſettled upon a ſharp Rock, about a Yard above the main Maſt, and as the Water ebbed away, ſhe hung after her Head, and held to the Offing: We made faſt Cables and Hawſers aloft to her Maſts, and ſo to the Rocks, ſtraining them tough with our Tackles; but as the Water ebbed away ſhe was turned over, that we could not ſtand in her. Having now done to the beſt of our Underſtandings, but to little Purpoſe, we went all upon a Piece of Ice and fell to Prayer, beſeeching God to be merciful unto us. It wanted yet an Hour to low Water, and the Tide wanted a Foot and half to ebb to what it had ebbed the laſt Tide: We were careful Obſervers of low Water, and had Marks by Stones and other Things which we had ſet up, ſo that we could not be deceived. The Ship was ſo turned over that the Portleſs of the Forecaſtle was in the Water, and we looked every Minute when ſhe would overſet; indeed at one Time the Cables gave way, and ſhe ſunk down half a Foot at that Slip; but unexpectedly it began to flow, and ſenſibly we perceived the Water began to riſe apace, and the Ship withal; then was our Sorrow turned to Joy, and we all fell on our Knees, praiſing God for his Mercy in ſo miraculous a Deliverance. As ſoon as ſhe was freed from this Rock, we wrought to get her farther off. All the Flood we were pretty clear from the Ice, but when the Ebb came the Ice came driving again upon us, which drove us to great Extremity: We got as many Pieces between us and the Rocks as we could, but there came a great Piece upon our Quarter, which was above three hundred of my Paces about, but it came aground. Thus came divers great Pieces beſides; which was the Occaſion that this Tide the Harbour was quite choaked up, ſo that a Man might go any Way over it from Side to Side.

When it was three Quarters Ebb, thoſe great Pieces that came aground began to break with a moſt terrible thundering Noiſe, which put us in great Fear that thoſe about us would break us all to Pieces; but God preſerved us. This Morning the Water veered to a lower Ebb than the laſt Tide it had done by two Feet, whereby we ſaw God's Mercy appear to us in our late Extremity. That Flood we had ſome Reſpite from our Labours, but after full Sea our Hopes ebb'd too. The great Piece that was by us ſo ſtopt the Channel that the Sea came all driving upon us, ſo that now undoubtedly we thought to have loſt our Ship.

To work we went with Axes, Bars of Iron, and any thing proper for ſuch a Purpoſe, to break the Corners of the Ice, and to make way for it to go from us. It pleaſed God to give good Succeſs to our Labours, and we got ſo much of the ſofter Sort of the Ice betwixt us and the Rocks, that we thought ourſelves pretty ſecure: But at low Water thoſe Pieces that were aground breaking, kept a moſt thundering Noiſe about us. This Day I went aſhore, and built a great Beacon with Stones upon the higheſt Place of the Iſland, and put a Croſs upon it, and named this Haven, *The Harbour of good Providence.*

4. On the 23d in the Morning with the Flood the Ice drove up among the broken Grounds, and with the Ebb drove all out except one great Piece, which coming aground not far from us, ſettled itſelf in ſuch a Manner that we much feared it: But there came no more, otherwiſe we muſt have expected as great Danger as heretofore. I took the Boat and went aſhore upon the Eaſtern Side, to ſee if I could find any Place free from Danger, and where, among the Rocks, I deſcried a likely Place. From the Top of the Hill where I was I could ſee the Ship. It was now almoſt low Water: At which Inſtant the great Piece of Ice broke with a terrible Noiſe in four Pieces, which made me afraid it had ſpoiled the Ship, it being full half Maſt high. I made what Haſte I could to the Boat, and ſo to the Ship to be ſatisfied, where I found all well, God be thanked. I inſtantly ſent away the Boat to ſound the Way to a Cove which I had found, which was a very dangerous Paſſage for the Boat. At her Return we unmoored the Ship, and with what Speed poſſible warped away from among this terrible Ice. We were not a Mile from them before they broke all to Pieces, and would ſurely have made us bear them Company, but that God was more merciful to us.

We got round the Rocks, and ſo in to this little Cove. Here we made faſt to the Rocks, and thought ourſelves indifferently ſafe; which being done, I went aſhore again to wander up and down, to ſee what I could diſcover: I found it all broken rocky Ground, and not ſo much as a Tree, Herb, or Graſs upon it. Some Ponds of Water there were upon it, which were not yet thawed, and therefore not ready for the Fowl. We did not find in the Snow any Footing of Deer or Bears, but Foxes we ſaw one or two. We found where the Savages had been, but it appeared to have been long ſince: They had made five Hearths, and we found a few Fire-brands about them; and we found ſome Heads and Bones of Foxes about them, with ſome Whale-bones. I could not conceive to what Purpoſe they ſhould have come thither, for we could find none or very little Wood on the Shore-ſide, and no Fiſh at all, though we endeavoured to take ſome. But it may be the Seaſon was not yet come. I called this Cove by the Maſter's Name of my Ship, *Price's Cove:* The Latitude of it is 61 Degrees 24 Minues. The Fire-brands and Chips, which I ſpoke of, had been cut with ſome Hatchet or other Inſtrument of Iron. From the Top of the Hills we could ſee the Iſlands that are on the South Shore, commonly called *Sir Thomas Button's Iſlands.* They bear South and by Eaſt, half a Point Eaſterly, ſome fourteen or fifteen Leagues Diſtance. Upon the Change-Day it flows here at ſeven o'Clock and a half, and the Tide higheſt at moſt three Fathom. The Flood comes from the Eaſtward, and thither it returns. I have been obſervant from the Top of the Hills, and deſcried the great Pieces of Ice two or three Leagues from the Shore, drive to and againſt the Flood and Ebb indifferently; Hence I collected that aſſuredly no Current ſets in here, but that it is a mere Tide. Near the Shore the Eddies whirl in twenty Manners when the Ebb is made, which is becauſe it comes out of the broken Ground amongſt the Ice, that is, aground near the Shore; beſides which Reaſon there are divers Rocks lying under Water, on which you ſhall have thirty, then twelve, and anon but eight, and then twenty Fathoms; and thoſe Uncertainties occaſion ſuch Diſtractions, I would therefore adviſe no one to come near thoſe dangerous Shores, for fear he loſe his Ship.

This Morning, being the 24th, there ſprung up a freſh Gale of Wind at Eaſt; and after Prayer we unfaſtened our Ship, and came to ſail ſteering betwixt great Pieces of Ice that were aground in forty Fathoms, and twice as high as our Top-maſt-head. We ſailed out of this Cove upon the Flood, and had none of theſe Whirlings of the Waters as we had at our going into it. We endeavoured to gain the North Shore, kept ourſelves within a League of the Shore of the Iſland of *Reſolution*, where we had ſome clear Water to ſail through. In the Offing it was all as thick wedged together as poſſible. By twelve o'Clock we were faſt incloſed, and notwithſtanding it blew very hard at Eaſt, yet we could make no Way through it, but the Ice grated us with that Violence that I verily thought it would have wrenched the Planks from the Ship's Sides. Thus we continued in Terror till the 26th Day, driving to and fro in the Ice, not being able to ſee an Acre of Sea from Top maſt-head. The 26th was calm ſunſhiny Weather, and we took the Latitude and Variation, and had Ground, at a hundred and forty Fathom, ſmall white Sand. I cauſed the Men to lay out ſome Fiſhing-Lines, but to no Purpoſe, for I could not perceive the Bait had been ſo much as touched. The Nights are very cold, ſo that our Rigging freezes, and freſh Ponds of Water ſtand upon the Ice about half an Inch thick.

On the 27th there ſprung up a little Gale at South eaſt, and the Ice did ſomething open. Hereupon we let fall our Foreſail, and forced the Ship through the Ice. In the Evening the Wind came contrary, at Weſt-north-weſt, and blew hard, which cauſed us to faſten to a great Piece, to which we remained moored till the 29th. I am ſatisfied here is no Current by many Experiments I have made; ſuch as theſe, by making Marks on the Land, and noting our Drift to and again, with Ebb and Flood, for many Days together, as well in calm Weather as otherwiſe. By all theſe Experiments I found that the Tide was no ſtronger there than that betwixt *England* and *France*. This Morning there ſprung up a fine Gale at Eaſt, and the Ice opened ſomething, ſo that we forced the Ship through it with her Fore ſail. By twelve o'Clock we were got into ſome open Water, with a fine Gale of Wind at Eaſt, and ſo clear Weather that we could ſee the Iſland of *Reſolution*, the Eaſt End bears Eaſt-north-eaſt, ſome twelve Leagues off.

5. From the 29th to the 5th of *July* we ſailed continually through the Ice, with variable Winds and Fogs, and ſometimes calm. The 5th at Noon we had a good Obſervation, and were in Latitude 63 Degrees 15 Minutes, and then we ſaw *Saliſbury Iſland* bearing Weſt-by-north, ſome ſeven Leagues off, with much Ice betwixt it and us, to weather which we were driven to ſtand to the northward. Soon after we ſaw *Prince Charles's Cape*, and *Mill Iſland*; and to North-north-weſt (and indeed round about us) the Sea moſt infinitely peſter'd and cumber'd with Ice. This grieved me very much; for as I had determined to proſecute the Diſcovery to the North-weſtward, I ſaw it was not poſſible this Year. We were driven back again with contrary Winds, ſtill cloſed and peſtered with Ice, and with all the Perils and Dangers incident to ſuch Adventurers, ſo that we thought a thouſand times the Ship had been beaten to Pieces. By the 15th of *July* we were got betwixt *Digg's Iſland* and *Nottingham's Iſland*, not being able to get more Northward. There, for an Hour or two, we had ſome open Water.

But before I proceed further, it will not be amiſs in ſome manner to deſcribe the Streight which begins at the *Iſland of Reſolution*, and ends here at *Digg's Iſland*. If you go down into the Bay, the Streight is about a hundred and twenty Leagues long, and trends Weſt-north-weſt and Eaſt-ſouth-eaſt. Generally in the Entrance it is about fifteen Leagues broad, and then on the ſouthward Side is a great Bay: About the Midſt it is likewiſe about fifteen Leagues broad, and then the Land opens ſomething wider; ſo that betwixt *Digg's Iſland* and *Cape Charles* it is about twenty Leagues broad, betwixt which two ſtand *Saliſbury Iſland* and *Nottingham Iſland*. If it be clear Weather, you may ſee both the South and the North Shores. The Depth in the Middle of the Streight is a hundred and twenty Fathoms, white Sand, a certain Tide runs in it, and no Current. The North Shore is the ſtraiteſt and the cleareſt from Ice. Along this North Shore you have many low ſmall Iſlands, which cannot be ſeen far from Land, and in many Places the Land appears as if it had ſmall Sounds into it: The main Land on both Sides is indifferent high Land.

Being now convinced of the Impoſſibility of doing any thing to the North weſtward, for the Reaſons aforeſaid, I gave Orders to the Maſter of my Ship to ſteer away Weſt-ſouth-weſt, to have a Sight of *Mansfield Iſland*, which the next Day by three o'Clock in the Afternoon we had; having ſo much dangerous foul Weather among the Ice, we ſtruck more fearful Blows againſt it than we had ever yet done. This was the firſt Day that we went to Half allowance of Bread on Fleſh-Days, and I ordered Things as ſparingly as I could. Two of our Men likewiſe complained of Sickneſs, but ſoon recovered. In the Evening we came to an Anchor, and ſent the Boat aſhore to try the Tides: They brought me Word whilſt the Boat was aſhore it flowed about three Feet, as we found by the Ship and by the Ice. The Water at that Time came from the Weſt ſouth-weſt; and the higheſt Tides, ſo far as they could perceive, had not ſwelled above two Fathoms. They found that the Savages had been upon it by certain Fires which they left, and Heaps of Stones, Tracks of other Beaſts, but Foxes they could not find. The Wind was ſo contrary, and the Weather ſo foggy, that we were forced to ſpend ſome Powder to recover our Boat again.

Next Morning being the 17th, the Wind came favourable, and we weighed the Shore, being ſomething clear of Ice, though very thick all to the Offing. We ſtood along it South-and-by-weſt ten Leagues. In the Afternoon the Wind came contrary, and we came again to an Anchor, within a Mile of the Shore, for out to Sea was all thick Ice and impaſſable. I went aſhore myſelf, to be well reſolved of the Tide, and found whilſt I was aſhore that it flowed two Feet, and at that Time the Flood came from Southweſt-and-by-weſt. I doubted it was a Half-Tide, which afterwards I found to be true. I found where the Savages had been upon the Iſland, but could find little or no Drift-wood on Shore, no Beaſts on the Iſland, or Fiſhes in the Sea. It flows on the Change-Day about eleven o'Clock. We ſaw ſome Fowl on it, one of which we killed, and returned on board. This Iſland is a very low Land, little higher than a Sand-bank; it hath Ponds of freſh Water, but no Graſs, and is utterly barren. On the 18th in the Morning the Wind came favourable, we weighed and made ſail, for the Ice was all come about us.

We endeavoured to proceed to the Weſtward, intending to fall in with the Weſtern Land about the Latitude of 63 Degrees; by twelve o'Clock, having been much peſtered, we were come to a firm Range of Ice; but it pleaſed God that the Wind larged, and we ſtood away to Weſt-ſouth-weſt. At Noon in Latitude 62 Degrees, by four in the Evening, having eſcaped dangerous Shocks, we were come as we thought into an open Sea, and joyfully ſteered away Weſt and Weſt-by-North, though the Joy was ſoon quell'd, for by ten o'Clock at Night we heard the Rut of the Ice, and it grew a thick Fog, and very dark with it; nevertheleſs we proceeded, and the nearer we came to it the more hideous Noiſe it made. On the 19th by three in the Morning we were come to it, and as it cleared a little we could ſee the Ice as thick as any we had yet ſeen, theſe being impaſſable, and moreover the Wind at North-weſt. We ſtood along it hoping to weather it to the Southward, but at laſt we became ſo blind with Fog, and ſo encompaſſed with Ice, that we could go no farther.

7. On the 20th in the Morning, notwithſtanding the Fog, we endeavoured to get to the Weſtward, our Ship beating all this while dreadfully. In this Wilfulneſs we continued till the next Day, when, being faſt among the Ice, I obſerved we were in Latitude 60 Degrees 33 Minutes, and then looking what Damage our Ship might have received, we could perceive that below the Plate of Iron which was before her Cut-water ſhe was all bruiſed and broken, the two Knees ſhe had before to ſtrengthen her ſpoiled and torn, and many other Defects which we could not by any Means come to mend. Notwithſtanding all this, and the extraordinary thick Fog, that we could not ſee a Piſtol-ſhot about us, we proceeded with the Hazard of all till the 27th, which was the firſt Time we had clear Weather to look about us. The Wind withal came up at South, and the Ice opened ſomething, ſo that we made ſome Way through it to the Weſtward.

In the Evening we were faſt again, and could go no further, the Wind veering from the South to the Eaſt and blowing a freſh Gale. This occaſioned our Grief the more, that with a good Wind we could not go forward. Putting therefore a Hawſer upon a great Piece of Ice, to keep the Ship cloſe to it, we patiently expected better Fortune. Since we came from *Mansfield Iſland* our Depth was commonly a hundred, and a hundred and ten Fathoms, ouzy Ground. Now the Water began to ſhallow, for driving faſt to and again in the Ice we had but eighty Fathoms. On the 28th and 29th we were ſo faſt incloſed in the Ice, that notwithſtanding we put abroad all the Sail that was at Yards, and it blew a very hard Gale of Wind, the Ship ſtirred no more than if ſhe had been in a dry Dock. Hereupon we went all boldly out upon the Ice to ſport and recreate ourſelves, letting her ſtand ſtill under all her Sails. It was flat extraordinary large Ice, the worſt to deal withal that we had yet found. I meaſured ſome Pieces, which I found to be one thouſand of my Paces long.

This was the firſt Day that our Men began to murmur, thinking it impoſſible to get either forwards or backwards. Some were of Opinion that it was all ſuch Ice betwixt us and the Shore: Others, that the Bay was all covered over, and that it was a Doubt whether we could get any Way, or to any Land to winter in. The Nights were long, and every Night it freezed ſo hard that we could not ſail by Night, nor in the thick foggy Weather. I comforted and encouraged them the beſt I could; and to put away thoſe Thoughts we drank a Health to his Majeſty on the Ice, not one Man in the Ship, and ſhe ſtill under all her Sails. I muſt confeſs that their Murmuring was not without Reaſon; wherefore doubting that we ſhould be frozen up in the Sea, I ordered that Fire ſhould be made but once a Day, and that with but a certain Number of Shides that the Steward ſhould deliver to the Cook by Tale, the better to prolong our Fuel whatſoever ſhould happen.

On the 30th we made ſome Way through the Ice, heaving the Ship with our Shoulders, and with Mauls and Crows of Iron breaking the Corners of the Ice to make Way as we got forwards. The Water ſhoaled apace, ſo that I believed it to be ſome Iſland. At Noon we obſerved through the Fog, with the Quadrant upon a Piece of Ice, and were in Latitude 58 Degrees 54 Minutes, our Depth thirty Fathoms. We put out Hooks to try to catch ſome Fiſh, but to no Purpoſe, for there are none in this Bay. On the 31ſt we laboured as before, and got ſomething forward. At Noon we were in Latitude 58 Degrees 40 Minutes, our Depth twenty-three Fathoms. It was very thick hazy Weather, or elſe I think we ſhould have ſeen the Land.

8. On the 1ſt of *Auguſt* the Wind came up at Weſt, which drove us to the Eaſtward, where our Depth increaſed to 35 Fathom. At Noon, by Obſervation with the Quadrant on the Ice, we were in Latitude 58 Degrees 45 Minutes. At 6 o'Clock this Evening we might perceive the Ice to heave and ſet a little, which was occaſioned by a ſwelling Sea that came from the South-weſt. This did comfort us very much, hoping ſhortly we ſhould get out of the Ice. On the 2d it blew hard at South-weſt, and yet we could not feel the ſwelling Sea, which did again quench the Hopes we had formerly conceived. On the 3d we ſaw a little open Water to the North-weſtward, and felt a Sea from thence, which doth aſſure us that there is an open Sea to the Weſtward. On the 5th we ſaw the Sea clear, but could by no Means work ourſelves to it with our Sails, wherefore about 6 in the Evening we let fall an Anchor in 50 Fathom Water, and ſtood all with Poles and Oars to fend off the Ice and let it paſs to Leeward, and continued this Labour all Night. In the Morning the Wind came up at North-weſt, and we weighed with much Joy, as hoping now to get into an open Sea to the Southward. This by Noon we had done, and were in Latitude 58 Degrees 28 Minutes, very free of Ice. The Wind larged upon us, ſo that we ſtood away North-weſt to get us as high Northward as we could, and ſo come coaſting to the Southward. We went to Prayer and to give God Thanks for our Delivery out of the Ice. On the 9th being in Latitude 59 Degrees 40 Minutes, we came again to the Ice which lay very thick to North, ſince we came out of the Ice our Depth increaſed to 110, and ſince decreaſed again, ſo that I think we approached towards the Shore. The 10th proved very foggy Weather, the Wind contrary, and the Water ſhallowing apace, we came to an Anchor in 22 Fathom. On the 11th in the Morning we weighed and made in for the Shore, and about Noon ſaw the Land, our Depth being 16 Fathom in Latitude 59 Degrees 40 Minutes. The Land to the North of us did trend North by Eaſt, and ſo made a Point to the Southward, and trending away Weſt by South, which we followed, taking it for that Place which was formerly called *Hubbart's Hope*, and ſo it proved indeed, but it is now hopeleſs. The Tide ſet in the Middle of the Bay Eaſt and Weſt, as we have often tried by our Lead aground but near the Shore, as they forced by the Land; I am of Opinion, that in the Ocean or large Bays the Tide naturally ſat Eaſt and Weſt, and that this gives little Hope of a Paſſage. The greateſt Depth we had in the Bay was 110 Fathom, and ſo ſhoaling as you approach the Land, we coaſted round this forementioned little Bay, which is 18 Leagues deep in 8 and 6 Fathom, and in the Bottom of it we were two Fathom and a half Water, and ſaw the firm Land almoſt round about us. Then we proceeded to the Southward 6 and 7 Fathoms Water, within Sight of the Breach of the Shore keeping the Lead continually going, and in the Night we came to an Anchor.

This Night having little Wind we came to an Anchor with our Kedger, but in weighing of him we loſt him, having no more aboard us. The 12th we were in Latitude 58 Degrees 46 Minutes, ſome two Leagues from the Shore, the Variation is about 17 Degrees. On the 13th in the Afternoon it being ſomething hazy, we ſaw ſome Breaches a-head of us, our Depth was 9 and 10 Fathom, and looſing to clear ourſelves of them, we ſuddenly ſtruck upon the Rocks, the Ship being under our two Top-Sails, Fore-Sail and Sprit-Sail, with a freſh Gale of Wind. In this dreadful Accident we ſtruck all our Sails amain, and it pleaſed God to ſend two or three good ſwelling Seas, which heaved us over the Rocks into three Fathom, and preſently into three Fathom and an half, where we chop'd to an Anchor and tried the Pumps, but we found ſhe made no Water, though ſhe had three ſuch terrible Blows that we thought her Maſt would have ſhivered to Pieces, and that ſhe had been aſſuredly bulged. We hoiſted the Boat over-board and double mann'd her to go and found a Way out of this perilous Place; ſhe was no ſooner gone but there aroſe a Fog, ſo that we were obliged to ſpend ſome Powder that ſhe might hear whereabouts we were. The Wind dull'd ſomething, otherwiſe it had been doubtful whether ſhe could ever have recovered us again. After ſhe had been abſent two or three Hours, ſhe brought us Word that it was all Rocks and Breaches round about us, and that withal, ſhe had found a Way where there was no leſs than two Fathom and an half Water, and that afterwards the Water deepened; we preſently weighed and followed the Boat, and paſſed over two Ledges of Rocks on which there were but 14 Feet Water, then it deepened to three or four, and ſo to 14 Fathom, then it ſhoaled again to nine.

It being now dark, we came to an Anchor where we rid all the Night. In the Morning the Wind came contrary, ſo that we could not go that Way we intended to clear ourſelves; and therefore we went to work to fit our Holds, to ſplice our Cables, and made ready two Shot, and ſo placed them in the Hold that they might on all Occaſions run clear, the Ends of them being faſtened to the Main-maſt. We alſo looked to our Anchors and fitted our ſpare ones. We got out our long Boat from betwixt the Decks, which was very much broken and bruiſed. The Carpenter went to fit her, for I intended to tow the Shallop a-ſtern, and to have the Boats ready at an Inſtant, either to lay out Anchors, or to be ſerviceable to what God ſhould be pleaſed to try our Faith and Patience with, for in him was our only Truſt and Hope.

At Noon, in Latitude 57 Degrees 45 Minutes, we could ſee the Land from the North-weſt to the South-eaſt by Eaſt, with Rocks and Breaches, and the Rocks that we came over dry above Water, whereby I knew it flows here above two Fathoms at leaſt. At Noon I ſent the Boat off to ſound to the Eaſtward, becauſe the Water ſhallowed when we came to an Anchor. She brought us Word the ſhalloweſt Water ſhe had been in was ſeven Fathom: We intending thereupon to weigh, the Wind came Eaſt early, ſo that we could not ſtir, but lay here the 14th all Night with a ſtiff Gale of Wind. On the 15th in the Evening our Cable rubbed off, by Reaſon of which perilous and ſudden Accident, in which we had not Time to put a Buoy to it, we loſt our Anchor, and were driven into four Fathom Water before we could ſet our Sails. When we had done we ſtood South-ſouth-eaſt, the Wind being at Eaſt, but the Water ſhallowed to three Fathom Water, then we ſtood North-north-eaſt, and it deepened by Degrees to 10 Fathom, and becauſe it grew dark they came to an Anchor, and rid there all Night.

9. On the 16th in the Morning the Wind came up at North, a freſh Gale, and we weighed and made ſail; by 9 o'Clock it came to a very Storm, and we turned to and again in ten Fathom Water. In the Evening the Wind dulled, and we ſtood South-weſt to have a Sight of Port *Nelſon*, which Courſe we ſtood all Night, by the Stars being in the Latitude 57 Degrees 25 Minutes, the Variation about 17 Degrees. On the 17th in the Morning we ſtood South, and our Depth decreaſed to eight Fathom; at Noon we had good Obſervation, being in Latitude 57 Degrees 15 Minutes, and made Account that we were come ſix or ſeven Leagues of the Southern Side of Port *Nelſon*. Here the Appearance of the Water changed, and was of a ſandy red Colour: We ſtood into ſix Fathoms, and could not ſee the Land from Top-maſt Head; ſo Night coming on, and it beginning to blow hard at Eaſt by South, we ſtood in again to ten and twelve Fathom, where the Water was again of the uſual Colour of the Sea.

On the 18th, as the Wind and Weather favoured us, we ſtood in again South and came into thick Water, into eight, ſeven, and ſix Fathom, and then off again, ſo it grew foggy Weather, keeping our Lead continually going Night and Day. The 19th being clear ſun-ſhiny Weather, we ſtood in again into the thick Water into eight Fathom, where we came to an Anchor to try the Tides, for from the Top-maſt Heads we could not ſee the Land; we were at Noon, by good Obſervation, in Latitude 57 Degrees 20 Minutes, and the Tide ſet North-weſt-and-by-weſt, and South-eaſt by-eaſt. It ran two Knots and a half in two Glaſſes; I perceived that there were nothing but Shoals to the Land. In the Afternoon it began to blow, ſo that we had much ado to get up our Anchor; this done, we ſtood Eaſt-ſouth-eaſt, but the Water ſhallowed apace, and then we ſtood Eaſt and deepened a little. In the Evening the Wind came up at Weſt, and then we ſtood Eaſt-ſouth-eaſt into ten and eight, and afterwards South-eaſt as our Depth guided us by our Lead and the Colour of the Water into ſeven and ſix Fathom.

On the 20th at ſix in the Morning we ſaw the Land; it being very low Land, we ſtood in to five Fathom to make it the better, and ſo ſtood along it. At Noon we were in Latitude 57; we named it the *Principality of South Wales*, and drank a Health, of the beſt Liquor we had, to his Royal Highneſs Prince *Charles*, whom God preſerve; we ſtood along it, and came to a Point where it trends to the Southward, near to which Point there are two ſmall Iſlands. In the Evening it was calm, and we came to an Anchor; the Tide came as before. There we rid all that Night and the next Day. About nine at Night it was very dark and it blew hard.

We perceived by the Lead that the Ship drove, wherefore bringing the Cable to the Capſtang to heave in our Cable, for we thought we had loſt our Anchor, the Anchor hitched again, and upon the Chopping of a Sea threw the Men from the Capſtang; a ſmall Rope, in the Dark, had gotten foul about the Cable and about the Maſter's Leg too; but by the Help of God he cleared himſelf, tho' not without bruiſing. The two Mates were hurt, the one in the Head, the other in the Arm; one of our luſtieſt Men was ſtruck on the Breaſt with the Bar, that he lay ſprawling for Life; another had his Head betwixt the Cable, and hardly eſcaped. The reſt were flung where they were much bruiſed, but our Gunner, an honeſt and diligent Man, had his Leg taken betwixt the Cable and the Capſtang, which wrung off his Foot, and tore the Fleſh all off his Leg, and cruſhed the Bone to Pieces, and bruiſed his whole Body, in which miſerable Manner he remained crying till we had recovered ourſelves, and had Strength to clear him. Whilſt we were putting him and the reſt down to the Chirurgeon, the Ship drove into ſhallow Water, which put us all in Fear, we being ſo ſorely weakened by the Blows which had hurt eight of our Men. It pleaſed God that our Anchor held again, and ſhe rid it out all Night. By Midnight the Chirurgeon had taken off the Gunner's Leg at the gartering Place, and dreſſed the others that were hurt and bruiſed, after which we comforted each other as well as we could.

On the 22d we weighed and ſtood a little off into deeper Water, expecting a better Wind, which in the Afternoon favoured us; we ſtood in again for the Shore, and we proceeded along it; it is very ſhallow about 14 Leagues off and full of Breaches. On the 23d at Noon we were in Latitude 56 Degrees 28 Minutes; in the Evening the Wind came contrary, and we were fain to turn to and again. All this Month the Wind was very variable, and continued not long upon one Point, yet it happened ſo that we could get but little forward.

10. On the 26th there ſprung up a fine Gale at Weſt, but thick Weather nevertheleſs; we ſtood in to ſeven and ſix Fathom, the Water very thick. At Noon it cleared, and we could ſee that we were in a little Bay, the Land being almoſt round about us; we ſtood out of it, and ſo along it in Sight till the 27th in the Morning, when we came to higher Land than we had yet ſeen ſince we came from *Nottingham Iſland*; we ſtood in to it, and came to an Anchor in five Fathom; I ſent off the Boat well manned and armed, with Order in Writing what they were to do, and a Charge to return again before Sun-ſet. The Evening came, and no News of our Boat; we ſhot, and made alſo Fires, but had no Anſwer, which much perplexed us, fearing there had ſome Diſaſter befallen her through Careleſsneſs, and in her we ſhould loſe all, we aboard at preſent not being able to weigh our Anchor nor ſail the Ship.

At laſt we ſaw a Fire upon the Shore, which made us the more doubtful, becauſe they did not anſwer our Shot nor falſe Fires with the like; we thought it had been the Savages that triumphed in their Conqueſt; at length they came all ſafe and well, and excuſed themſelves, that upon their coming on Shore it ebbed ſo ſuddenly, that a Bank of Sand was preſently dried, ſo that they could not come away till that was covered again, and with that they pacified me. They reported that there was great Store of Drift-wood on the Shore, and a good

Quantity growing on the Land. That they ſaw the Tracks of Deer and Bears, and ſtore of Fowl; of which they killed ſome, but no Sign of People. That they paſſed over two little Rivers, and came to a third, which they could not paſs. That it flowed very near three Fathom ſometimes, as appears by the Shore. That it was low Water at four o'Clock; that the Flood came from the North-weſt; and that it flowed half Tide, which both they and we had perceived by the Ship. At low Water we had but three Fathoms where we rid.

On the 29th in the Morning we made Account we had driven back again ſome ſixteen or eighteen Leagues, and in the Morning, as it cleared, we ſaw a Ship to Leeward of us three or four Leagues, ſo we made ſail and bore up with her; ſhe was then at anchor in thirteen Fathom. It was his Majeſty's Ship, commanded by Captain *Fox*; I ſaluted him according to the Manner of the Sea, and received the like of him; ſo I ſtood in to ſee the Land, and thought to tack about, and keep the Weather of him, and to ſend my Boat aboard of him; but the Wind ſhifted, ſo that for that Time I could not. Yet in the Evening I came to weather of him, who preſently weighed, and ſtood off with me till Midnight, and then we ſtood in again. In the Morning Captain *Fox* and his Friends came aboard of me, where I entertained them in the beſt Manner I could, and with ſome freſh Meat I had gotten from the Shore. I told him that I had named the Land the *Principality of South Wales*. I ſhewed him how far I had been to the Eaſtward, where I had landed, and, in brief, I made known to him all the Dangers of this Coaſt, as far as I had been. He told me he had been in *Port Nelſon*, and had made but a curſory Diſcovery hitherto; and that he had not landed, nor had many times ſeen the Land. In the Evening after I had given his Men ſome Neceſſaries, with Tobacco, and other things they wanted, he departed aboard his Ship, and the next Morning ſtood away South-ſouth-weſt, ſince which Time I never ſaw him. The Wind ſometimes favouring me, I ſtood in for the Shore, and ſo proceeded along. The Month of *Auguſt* ended with Snow and Hail; the Weather being as cold as at any Time I have felt in *England*.

11 *September* the 1ſt we coaſted along the Shore in ten Fathom, when it cleared in ſight of Land; at length the Water ſhallowed to ſix and five, and, as it cleared, we ſaw it all Breaches to Leeward, ſo we hulled off North-north-eaſt, but ſtill raiſed Land; by Night we had much ado to get out of this dangerous Bay. At Midnight the Wind came up at South, and ſo we took in our Sails, and let the Ship drive to the Northward, into deeper Water. This Day was the firſt Time the Chirurgeon told me that there were diverſe of the Men tainted with Sickneſs. At Noon we were in Latitude 55 Degrees 12 Minutes.

On the 2d we ſtood in for the Shore; but as we came into ſhallow Water it began to ſhew the Weather threatening a Storm, wherein we were not deceived; for in ſtanding off we had a violent one. By Midnight it broke up, and the 3d in the Morning we ſtood in for the Shore, and by eleven we ſaw it; here we found the Land to trend South-ſouth-eaſt, and South, ſo that we knew that we were at a Cape Land, and named it *Henrietta Maria*, by her Majeſty's Name, who had before named our Ship. At Noon we were in Latitude 55 Degrees 5 Minutes, and that is the Height of the Cape. From Port *Nelſon* to this Cape the Land trends generally Eaſt-ſouth-eaſt, but makes with Points and Bays, which in the Particulars doth alter it, a Point two or three; the Diſtance is about one hundred and thirty Leagues. The Variation at this Cape, taken by Amplitude, is about 16 Degrees, a moſt ſhallow and perilous Coaſt, in which there is not one Harbour to be found. The 3d Day in the Afternoon, we had a Storm at North, which continued till Midnight with extreme Violence. The 4th in the Morning the Storm being broke up, we ſtood in again South-weſt, the Weather being very thick, and we continued ſounding. By Noon it cleared, and we ſaw the Land; here it treaded South-eaſt, and the Tides ſat along it with a quick Motion. In the Evening there came a great rolling Sea out of the North-north-eaſt, and at eight o'Clock it blew very hard at South-eaſt; and by Reaſon of the Encounter of the Wind, and this great Sea, the Sea was all in a Breach; and to make up a perfect Tempeſt, it did ſo lighten, ſnow, rain, and blow all the Night long, that I was never in the like. We ſhipped many Seas, but one more dangerous, which racked us fore and aft; and I verily thought it had ſunk the Ship, it ſtruck her with ſuch Violence. The Ship did labour moſt terribly in this Diſtraction of Wind and Waves; and we had much ado to keep all things faſt in the Hold, and betwixt Decks.

The 5th in the Morning the Wind ſhifted South-weſt, but changed not its Condition; in the Afternoon it changed again to the North-weſt, with that tearing Violence, that not I, nor any that were then with me, ever ſaw the Sea in ſuch a Breach. Our Ship was ſo tormented, and ſo laboured with taking it in on both Sides, and at both Ends, that we were in moſt miſerable Diſtreſs, in this ſo unknown a Place; at eight o'Clock in the Evening the Storm broke up, and we had ſome Quietneſs in the Night following, not one having ſlept a Wink in twenty Hours before. If this Storm had continued Eaſterly, as it was at firſt, without God's Goodneſs we had all periſhed.

On the 6th the Wind was at South-weſt, ſo that we could do no good to the Windward. We ſpent the Time therefore in trimming our Ship; we brought all our Coals, which for the moſt Part was great Coal, aft, as we alſo did ſome other things, and all to lighten her afore. Others picked our Bread, whereof there was much wet; for do what we could we ſhipped abundance of Water between Decks, which ran into the Hold, and into our Bread-Room; for the Sea ſo continually overracked us, that we were like *Jonas* in the Whale's Belly. We overlooked our Tacks and Sheets, with other Riggings of Streſs, becauſe that henceforwapd they were to look for no other but Winter Weather. This Evening our Boatſwain, a careful Man, and one that had laboured extremely theſe two or three Days, was very ſick, ſwooning away three or four Times, inſomuch that we thought he would preſently have died.

The 7th in the Morning the Wind came up to South-weſt, and we ſtood away South weſt, under all the Sail that we could make. In this Courſe we ſaw an Iſland, and came cloſe aboard it, and had twenty Fathom Water, which was ſome Comfort to us; for hitherto we could not come within four or five Leagues to the Shore at that Depth. This Iſland ſtands in 54 Degrees 10 Minutes. The Afternoon we ſtood away South-weſt, and in the Evening had the ſhallowing of the Weſtern Shore, in eight, ten, and ſeven Fathom, but it was ſo thick, that we could not ſee the Land. It is about fourteen Leagues between this Iſland and the Main. The 8th was foggy and calm, which ſo continued till the 9th in the Morning, the Wind then coming up at South-ſouth-weſt. In the Evening the Water ſhallowed to ten and nine Fathoms, wherefore we ſtood off and on all Night. The 10th we made it, finding it an Iſland of about eight or nine Leagues long. It ſtands in Latitude 53 Degrees 5 Minutes, and about fifteen Leagues from the Weſtern Shore. The Part of it that we coaſted, trends Weſt-north-weſt, I named it my Lord *Weſton's Iſland*. We ſtood ſtill away to the Eaſtward, it being foggy Weather. In the Aftenoon we deſcried Land to the Eaſtward of us, which made like three Hills. Towards them we ſailed, keeping our Lead ſtill going and very circumſpect.

At length we alſo ſaw Land to the Southward of us, whereupon we loofed up and made to that by Courſe, as we had ſet it in the thick Fog. We came in among ſuch low broken Grounds, Breaches, and Rocks, that we knew not which Way to turn us; but, God be thanked, it was but little Wind, and ſoon came to an Anchor. Soon after it cleared, at which Time we could ſee nothing but Sands, Rocks, and Breaches, round about us, that Way only excepted which we came in. I ſent preſently the Boat to ſound among the Sholes and Rocks, that if we ſhould be put to Extremity, we might have ſome Knowledge which Way to go. This Night proved calm, and fair Weather, and we rid quietly.

12. On the 11th, in the Morning, I went in the Boat aſhore myſelf, and ſent the Boat about among broken Grounds, to ſound; I found the Land utterly barren, even of that which I thought eaſily to be found; which was Scurvy-graſs, Sorrel, or ſome Herb or other, to have refreſhed our ſick People. I could not perceive that the Tide flowed here ordinarily above two Feet. There was much Drift-Wood on the Shore, and ſome of it drove up very high in the North-ſide of the Iſland, where I judged that the Storms were very great at North, in the Winter. Thus I returned aboard, and ſent many of our ſick Men to another Part of the Iſland, to ſee if themſelves could fortunately find out any Relief for their Grief. At Noon, by good Obſervation, we were in Latitude 52 Degrees 45 Minutes. In the Evening our Men returned comfortleſs, and then we weighed, and ſtood to the Weſtward, coming to an Anchor under another Iſland, in twenty Fathom.

The 12th in the Morning it began to blow hard at South-eaſt, which was partly off the Shore, and the Ship began to drive, it being ſoft oozy Ground We heaved in our Anchor thereupon, and ſailed under two Courſes. Whilſt moſt were buſy in heaving out the Top-Sails, ſome, that ſhould have had eſpecial Care of the Ship, ran her aſhore upon the Rocks, out of mere Careleſſneſs in looking out and about, or heaving of the Lead, after they had ſeen Land all Night long, and might even then have ſeen it, if they had not been blind with Self conceit, and been enviouſly oppoſite in Opinion. The firſt Blow ſtruck me out of a deep Sleep, and I, running out of my Cabin, thought no other, at firſt, but I had been wakened to provide myſelf for another World.

After I had controuled a little Paſſion, and had checked ſome bad Council that was given me to revenge myſelf upon them that had committed this Error, I ordered what ſhould be done to get off theſe Rocks. Firſt we hawled all our Sails back, but that did no good, but made her beat the harder. Whereupon we ſtruck all our Sails amain, and furled them up cloſe, tearing down our Stern to bring the Cable through the Cabin, to Capſtang, and ſo laid out an Anchor to heave her aſtern. I ordered all the Water in the Hold to be ſtaved, and ſet ſome to the Pumps to pump it out, and intended to do the like with our Beer; others I put to throw out all our Coals which was ſoon and readily done. We coiled out our Cables into the Long-boat, all this while the Ship beating ſo furiouſly, that we ſaw ſome of the Sheathing ſwim by us. Then we ſtood, as many as could, to the Capſtang, and heaved with ſuch a good Will, that the Cable broke, and we loſt our Anchor, but with all Speed therefore we put another. We could not now perceive whether ſhe leaked or no, and that by Reaſon we were employed in pumping out the Water, which we had bulged in Hold, though we feared ſhe had received her Death's Wound. Therefore we put into the Boat the Carpenter's Tools, a Barrel of Bread, a Barrel of Powder, ſix Muſkets, with ſome Matches and a Tinder-Box; Fiſh-Hooks and Lines; Pitch and Ockham; and, to be brief, whatever could be thought on in ſuch an Extremity. All this we ſent aſhore to prolong a miſerable Life for a few Days. We were five Hours thus beating, in which Time ſhe ſtruck an hundred Blows, inſomuch that we thought every Stroke had been the laſt that it was poſſible ſhe could have endured. The Water we could not perceive all this while to flow any thing at all.

At length it pleaſed God ſhe beat over all the Rocks, though yet we knew not whether ſhe was ſtaunch; whereupon we went to pumping all Hands, till we made the Pumps ſuck, and then we ſaw how much Water ſhe made in a Glaſs. We found her to be very leaky, but we went to Prayer, and gave God Thanks it was no worſe; and ſo fitted all things again, and got further off and came to an Anchor. In the Evening it began to blow very hard at Weſt-ſouth-weſt, which if it had done whilſt we were on the Rocks, we had loſt our Ship without any Redemption. With much ado we weighed our Anchor, and let her drive to the Eaſtward, among the broken Ground and Rocks, the Boat going before ſounding; at length we came among Breaches, and the Boat made Signs to us that there was no going further among the Rocks, therefore we again came to an Anchor, where we rid all Night, and where our Men, which were tired out with extreme Labour, were indifferent well refreſhed. Here I muſt obſerve, that when the Wind was at South, it flowed very little, or no Water at all, ſo that we could not bring our Ship aground to look to her, for we pumped almoſt continually.

13. The 13th at Noon we weighed, and ſtood to the Weſtward, but in that Courſe it was all broken Ground, Sholes, and ſunken Rocks; ſo that we wondered how we came in among them in a thick Fog. Then we ſhaped our Courſe to the Northward, and after ſome Conſultations with my Aſſociates, I reſolved to get about this Land, and ſo to go down into the Bottom of *Hudſon's Bay*, and ſee if I could diſcover a Way into the River *Canada*; and if I failed in that, then to winter on the main Land, where there is more Comfort to be expected than among the Rocks or Iſlands. We ſtood along the Shore in Sight of many Breaches. When it was Night we ſtood under our Fore-ſail, the Lead ſtill going. At laſt the Water ſhallowed upon us to ten Fathom, and it began to blow hard. We tacked about, and it deepened to twelve or fourteen Fathom, but by and by it ſhallowed again to eight Fathom; then we tacked about again, and ſuddenly it ſhallowed to ſix and five; ſo we ſtruck our Sails amain, and came to an Anchor, reſolving to ride it for Life and Death. We rid all Night, and thought our Ship would have been torn to Pieces. At Break of Day, the 14th, we were joyful Men when we could look about; we deſcried an Iſland ſome two Leagues off at Weſt and by North, and this was the Shole that lay about it. Here ran a diſtracted, but yet a very quick, Tide, of which we taking the Opportunity, got up our Anchor, and ſtood North-weſt, to clear ourſelves of this Shole; in the Afternoon the Wind came up at North-eaſt, and we ſtood along the Weſtern Shore, in Sight of a Multitude of Breaches. In the Evening it began to blow a Storm, and the Sea went very high, and was all in a Breach. Our Shallop, which we now towed at Stern, being moored with two Hawſers, was ſunk, with her Keel up. This made our Ship to hull very broad, ſo that the Sea did continually over-rack us. Yet we endured it, and thought to recover her. All Night the Storm continued with Violence, and with ſome Rain; in the Morning it was very thick Weather.

The Water ſhoaled apace, with ſuch an over-grown Sea withal, that a Sail was not to be endured; and what was worſe, there was no truſting to an Anchor. Now therefore we began to prepare ourſelves, how to make a good End of a miſerable tormented Life. About Noon, as it cleared up, we ſaw two Iſlands under our Lee, whereupon we bore up to them, and ſeeing an Opening betwixt them, we endeavoured to get into it before Night, for that there was no hope of us if we continued out at Sea that Night, therefore come Life, or come Death, we muſt run this Hazard. We found it to be a good Sound, where we rid all Night ſafely, and recovered our Strengths again, which were much impaired with continual Labour; but before we could get into this good Place, our Shallop broke away, being moored with two Hawſers, and we loſt her to our great Grief. Thus now we had but the Ship's Boat, and ſhe was all torn and bruiſed too. This Iſland was the ſame that we had formerly coaſted the Weſtern Side of, and had named Lord *Weſton's Iſland*. Here we remained till the 19th, all which Time it did nothing but ſnow and blow extremely, inſomuch that we durſt not put our Boat overboard.

This Day the Wind ſhifted North-north-eaſt, and we weighed and ſtood to the Southward, but by Noon the Wind came up at South, and ſo we came to an Anchor under another Iſland; on which I went on Shore, and named it *The Earl of Briſtol's Iſland*. The Carpenter wrought hard in repairing our Boat, whilſt I wandered up and down in this deſart Iſland. I could not perceive that there had been any Savages on it, and in brief, we could neither find Fiſh, Fowl, nor any Herb upon it; ſo that I returned comfortleſs again. The Tides high, about ſome ſix Feet, now the Wind is northerly. The Flood comes from the North, and it flows Half Tide; the full Sea this Day was at one o'Clock. Here, ſeeing the Winds continue ſo northerly that we could not get about to go into *Hudſon's Bay*, we conſidered again what was beſt to do, to look out for a wintering Place; ſome adviſed me to go for *Port Nelſon*, becauſe we were certain that there was a Cove where we might bring in our Ship. I liked not that Counſel, for that is a moſt dangerous Place, and it might be ſo long ere we got thither, that we might be debarred by the Ice; moreover, ſeeing it was ſo cold here that every Night our Rigging froze, and ſometimes in the Morning we ſhoveled away the Snow, half a Foot thick, off our Decks; and in that Latitude too I thought it far worſe than the other Place: I reſolved thereupon to ſtand again to the Southward, there to look for ſome little Creek, or Cove, for our Ship.

14. On the 21ſt the Wind came up at North, and we weighed although it was a very thick Fog, and ſtood away South-weſt, to clear ourſelves of the Sholes, that were on the Point of this Iſland. This Iſland is in Latitude 53 Degrees 10 Minutes. When we were clear we ſteered away South. At Noon the Fog turned into Rain, but very thick Weather, and it thundered all the Afternoon, which made us fear a Storm, yet we ventured to proceed. In the Evening the Wind blew hard, therefore we took in all our Sails, and let her drive to the ſouthward, heaving the Land every Glaſs. Our Depth, when we took in our Sails, was thirty Fathom, and it increaſed to forty-five, which was a great Comfort to us in the Dark. At Midnight our Depth began ſuddenly to decreaſe, and as faſt as the Lead could be heaved it ſhoaled to twenty Fathom, wherefore we hop'd to come to an Anchor, and trimmed our Ship aft, to mount to the Sea, and fitted all Things to ride it out. There was no Need to bid our Men watch now. We rid it out all Night although it blew very hard.

The 22d in the Morning, when we could look about us, we ſaw an Iſland under our Lee ſome Leagues off, all Sholes and Breaches between us and it. At Noon, by the Help of the windward Tide, we attempted to heave up our Anchor, although the Sea went Mountains high; joining all our Strength therefore with our beſt Skills, God be thanked, we had it up; but before we could ſet our Sails we were driven into nine Fathoms, endeavouring thereupon to double a Point, to get under the Lee of this Iſland, the Water ſhoaled to five Fathoms; but when we were about it, deepened again; and we came to an Anchor in a very good Place, and it was well for us that we did; for the Wind increaſed to a very Storm; here we rid well all Night, and recovered our Strength again. The laſt Night, and this Morning it ſnowed and hailed, and was very cold; nevertheleſs I took the Boat and went aſhore to look for ſome Creek or Cove to carry in our Ship; for ſhe was very leaky, and the Company became very ſickly and weak with much pumping and extreme Labour. This Iſland, when we came to the Shore, was nothing but Ledges of Rocks and Banks of Sand, and there was a very great Surf on them; nevertheleſs I made them row through it: And on Shore I got with two more, and made them row off without the Breaches, and come to an Anchor and ſtay for me. I made what Speed I could to the Top of a Hill, to diſcover; but could not ſee what we looked for; and becauſe it began to blow hard, I made haſte toward the Boat again. I found that it had ebbed ſo low that the Boat could not, by any Means, come near Shore for me, ſo that we were forced to wade through the Surf and Breaches to her, in which ſome got ſuch a Cold that they complained of it to their dying Day.

But now it began to blow hard, ſo that we could but get little to Windward toward our Ship, for the Wind was ſhifted ſince we went aſhore; and return to the Shore we could not, by Means of the Surf. We rowed for Life: They in the Ship let out a Buoy by a long Warp, and by God's Aſſiſtance we got to it, and ſo hawled up to the Ship, where we all rejoiced together. This was a Premonition to us to be careful how we ſent off the Boat in ſuch Weather. I named this Iſland *Sir Thomas Roe's Iſland*; it is full of ſmall Wood, but in other Benefits not very rich, and ſtands in Latitude 52 Degrees 10 Minutes. At Noon we weighed, ſeeing an Iſland that bore South-ſouth eaſt of us ſome four Leagues off, which was the higheſt Land we had yet ſeen in this Bay; but as we came near, it ſuddenly ſhoaled to ſix, five, and four Fathom; wherefore we ſtruck our Sails amain, and chopped to an Anchor, but it was very foul Ground; and when the Ship was wound up we had but three Fathom Water at her Stern; as it cleared, we could ſee the Breaches all along under our Lee; holding it not ſafe therefore to ſtay long here, we ſettled every thing, in order for the Ship to fall the right Way. We had up our Anchor, got into deeper Water, and ſtood up again for *Sir Thomas Roe's Iſland*, which by Night we brought in the Wind of us, ſome two Leagues off; which did well ſhelter us. The Tides run very quick here, and the Times of running Ebb or Flood, very uncertain; their Currents are likewiſe ſo diſtracted, that in the Night there is no ſailing by the Compaſs, therefore we were forced to ſeek, every Night, ſome new Place of Security, to come to an Anchor.

The 24th in the Morning it loured, and threatened a Storm, which made us, with the windward Tide, weigh, to get near under the Iſland. It was very foggy Weather, and as we ſtood to the North-eaſtward we came to uncertain Depths; at one Caſt twenty Fathom, the next ſeven, then ten, five, eight, and three; and coming to the other Tack, we were worſe than we were before. The Currents defeating our Judgments in the thick Fog, when we could ſee no Land-marks. It pleaſed God that we got clear of them, and endeavoured to get under the Lee of the Iſland; which being not able to do, we were obliged to come to an Anchor in thirty-five Fathom ſome two Leagues off the Shore: All this Afternoon, and indeed all Night too, it ſnowed, hailed, and was very cold. The 25th we weighed, and thought to get to the eaſtward; but as we tacked to and again, the Wind ſhifted ſo in our Teeth, that it put us within a Quarter of a Mile of the very Shore, where we chopped to an Anchor, and rid it out for Life and Death. Such Miſeries as theſe we endured among the Sholes and broken Grounds, or rather more deſperate than I have related, with Snow, Hail, and ſtormy Weather, and colder than ever I felt in *England* in my Life. Our Sheet Anchors were down twice or thrice in a Day; which extreme Pains made a great Part of our Company ſickly. All this laſted with us until the 30th of this Month *September*, which we thought would have put an End to our Miſeries, for now we were driven among Rocks, Sholes, Overfalls, and Breaches round about us, that which Way to turn we knew not, but there rid among them in Extremity of Diſtreſs.

15. The 1ſt of *October* was indifferently fair Weather, and with a windward Tide our Boat went to ſound a Channel, to help us out of this dangerous Place; the Boat within two Hours returned, and told us ſhe had been a Way where there was not leſs than ten Fathom; we thereupon weighed, but found it otherwiſe, and came among many ſtrange Races and Overfalls, upon which there went a very great and breaking Sea; as we proceeded, the Water ſhoaled to ſix Fathoms. Well! there was no Remedy, we muſt go forward, ſeeing there neither was any riding, and as little Hope to turn any Way with a Sail, but that there appeared preſent Death in it: It pleaſed God ſo to direct us that we got through it. The Water ſometimes deepened to twenty Fathom, then upon a ſudden it ſhoaled to ſeven, ſix, and five Fathoms, ſo that we ſtruck all our Sails amain, and chopped to an Anchor, where we rid till Midnight for Life and Death, it blowing a mercileſs Gale of Wind, and the Sea going very lofty, and all in a Breach; the Ground was foul Ground too, inſomuch that we doubted our Cable every Minute.

The 2d in the Morning there was little Wind, whereupon,

upon, taking the Opportunity of the Tide, the Boat went forth to ſound, which returning again in two Hours told us, they had ſounded about that Shole, and had found a Place of ſome Safety to ride in, and had been in no leſs Water than five Fathom. We weighed, and found our Cable galled in two Places; which had ſoon failed us if the Weather had continued. We ſtood the ſame Way that the Boat directed us; but it proved ſo calm that we came to an Anchor in 18 Fathom, hooked the Boat, and went on Shore on an Iſland that was on the ſouthward of us; which I named the *Earl of Danby's Iſland:* From the higheſt Place in it I could ſee all broken Grounds and Sholes to the ſouthward, and rather worſe, than any thing better, than that which I had been in. I found that the Savages had been upon it, and that it was full of Wood. I made haſte to ſound the Bay, for fear of Sholes and ſudden Rocks; but found it indifferent good.

Toward the Evening it began to blow hard, whereſore we made towards the Ship; ſhe put forth her Buoy, and a Warp, and we rowing for Life reached her, wore to Leeward of her; but by getting hold of the Warp, we hauled up to her. The Boat we left half full of Water, ourſelves being as wet as drowned Rats; and it made us the more rejoice that we had eſcaped ſo great Danger; all Night it blowing a moſt violent Gale of Wind, with Snow and Hail. On the 3d, about Noon, the Wind dulled, and we had up her Anchor, ſtanding farther into the Bay in four Fathom and an half Water; here we came again to an Anchor with our ſecond Anchor, for many of our Men are ſick, and the reſt ſo weakened that we can hardly weigh our Sheet-Anchor. I took the Boat and went preſently on Shore to ſee what Comfort I could find: This was the firſt time that I put Foot on this Iſland, which was the ſame that we afterwards wintered upon; I found the Tracks of Deer, and ſaw ſome Fowl; but that which rejoiced me moſt was, that I ſaw an Opening into the Land, as if it had been a River. To it we made with all Speed, but found it to be barred, and not a Foot Water at full Sea, on the Bay, and yet within a moſt excellent fine Harbour, having five Fathom Water. In the Evening I returned aboard, bringing little Comfort for our ſick Men, more than Hopes.

On the 4th it ſnowed very hard, yet I got aſhore and appointed the Boat to go to another Place (which made like a River) and to ſound it; in the mean time I went with four more ſome four or five Miles up into the Country, but could find no Relief for my Sick, but a few Berries only. After we had well wearied ourſelves, I returned to the Place I had appointed them to tarry for me; where at my coming I ſtill found her, ſhe having not been where I ordered her, for it had blown ſuch a ſevere Gale of Wind that ſhe could not row to Windward; thus we returned aboard with no good News. It continued foul Weather with Snow and Hail, and extremely cold till the 6th, when with a favourable Wind I ſtood in nearer to the Shore and moored the Ship. On the 7th it ſnowed all Day, ſo that we were fain to clear it off the Decks with Shovels, and it blew a very hard Storm withal; it continued ſnowing and very cold Weather, and it froze ſo that all the Bows of the Ship with her Beak-head were all Ice; about the Cables alſo was Ice as thick as a Man's Middle; the Bows of the Boat were likewiſe frozen half a Foot thick, ſo that we were fain to beat it off. The Sun ſhined very clear, and we bore the Topſails out of the Tops which were hard frozen in them into a Lump, ſo that there they hung a ſunning all Day in a very Lump, the Sun not having Power to thaw one Drop of them. After the Boat was fitted we rowed towards the Shore, but could not come near the Place where we were uſed to land, for it was all thick Water with the Snow that had fell upon the Sands that are dry at low Water; this made it ſo difficult to row that we could not get through it with four Oars; yet ſomething higher to the Weſtward we got aſhore. Seeing now the Winter to come thus extremely on upon us, and that we had very little Wood, I made them fill the Boat and went aboard, and ſent the Carpenter to cut Wood, others to carry it to the Water-ſide whilſt the Boat brought it on board; for I doubted that we ſhould not be able to go to and again with the Boat. It was miſerable cold already aboard the Ship, every Thing froze in the Hold and by the Fire-ſide; ſeeing therefore we could no longer make uſe of our Sails, it raiſed many Doubts in our Minds that we muſt ſtay and winter.

After we had brought as much Wood on board as we could conveniently ſtow, and enough, as I thought, to have laſted two or three Months, the ſick Men deſired that ſome little Houſe or Hovel, might be built on Shore, whereby they might be the better ſheltered to recover their Healths: I took the Carpenter and others whom I thought fit for ſuch a Purpoſe, and chuſing out a Place, they went immediately to work upon it; in the mean time, I accompanied with ſome others wandered up and down the Woods to ſee if we could diſcover any Signs of Savages, that we might the better provide for our Safeties againſt them; we found no Appearance that there were any upon this Iſland nor near it; the Snow by this Time was half Leg high, and through it we returned comfortleſs to our Companions, who had all this Time wrought upon our Houſe; they on board our Ship took down our Top-ſails the mean while, and made great Fires upon the Hearth in the Hatch-way; ſo that having well thawed them, they folded them up and put them betwixt Decks, that if we had an Occaſion they might bring them again to Yard.

16. The 12th we took our Main-ſail from the Yard which was hard frozen to it, and carried it on Shore to cover our Houſe withal, having been forced to thaw it by a great Fire; by Night they had covered it, and had almoſt hedged it about, and the ſix Builders deſired to lie in it aſhore that Night, which I condeſcended unto, having firſt fitted them with Muſkets and other Furniture, and a Charge to keep good Watch all Night: They had on Shore two Buckhounds, a Dog and a Bitch, which I had brought out of *England*, to kill us ſome Deer, if happily we could find any. By the 13th at Night our Houſe was ready, and our ſix Builders deſired they might travel up into the Country to ſee what they could diſcover. On the 14th by Times in the Morning, being fitted with Ammunition and their Order to keep together, but eſpecially to ſeek out ſome Creek or Cove for the Ship, they departed. We on board took down our two Top-maſts and their Rigging, making Account, if we removed, to make uſe of our Fore-ſail and Miſen.

The 15th in the Evening our Hunters returned very weary, and brought with them a ſmall lean Deer in four Quarters, which rejoiced us all, hoping we ſhould have more of them to refreſh our ſick Men withal; they reported that they had wandered above twenty Miles, and that and had brought this Deer above twelve Miles, and that they had ſeen nine or ten more. The laſt Night they had a very cold Lodging in the Woods, and ſo it appeared, for they looked almoſt ſtarved, nor could they recover themſelves in three or four Days after; they ſaw no Sign of Savages nor of any ravenous wild Beaſts, nor yet any Hope of Harbour.

The 19th my Lieutenant and five more deſired they might try their Fortune in travelling about the Iſland, but they had far worſe Luck than the others, although they endured all Night, and had wandered very far in the Snow, and returned comfortleſs and miſerably diſabled with the Cold. But what was worſe than all this, they had loſt one of their Company, *John Barton*, our Gunner's Mate, who being very weary, merely to ſave the going about, had attempted to go over a Pond that was a Quarter of a Mile over, where when he was in the very Middle the Ice broke and cloſed upon him, and we never ſaw him more. Conſidering theſe Diſaſters, I reſolved to fiſh no more with a golden Hook for fear I ſhould weaken myſelf more with one Hunting than twenty ſuch dear Deers could do me Good. Being now aſſured that there were no Savages upon the Iſland, nor yet about us on the other Iſlands on the Main, as far as we could diſcover, and that the cold Seaſon was now in that Extremity that they could not come to us, if there were any, we comforted and refreſhed ourſelves by ſleeping the more ſecurely.

We changed our Iſland Garriſon every Week, for other refreſhing we were likely to have none till the Spring. From the 19th to the 20th it ſnowed and blowed ſo hard that the Boat could hardly venture on Shore, and but ſeldom land unleſs the Men waded in the thick congealed Water, carrying one another; we ſenſibly perceived withal, how we daily ſunk into more Miſeries. The Land was all deep covered with Snow, the Cold ſtrengthened and the thick Snow Water increaſed, and what would become of us, our moſt merciful God and Preſerver knew only. The 29th I obſerved an Eclipſe of the Moon with what Care poſſible I could, both in the Trial of the Exactneſs of our Inſtruments, as alſo in the Obſervation. This Month of *October* ended with Snow and bitter cold Weather.

17. On the firſt of *November* I caſt up Accounts with the Steward concerning Victuals, the third Part of our Time being this Day out. I found him an honeſt Man, for he gave me an Account every Week what was ſpent and what was ſtill in the Hold remaining under his Hand. I would take no Excuſe for Leakage or other Waſte, unleſs he daily ſhewed it to me. Every Month I made a new Survey, and every ſix Months put what he ſpared by itſelf, which now was at leaſt a Month's Proviſion of Bread, and a Fortnight's Peaſe, Fiſh, *&c.* The 3d Day the Boat endeavoured to get on Shore, but could not go through the congealed Water.

On the 4th they found a Place to get on Shore, and ſo once in two or three Days till the 9th, bringing Beer to our Men on Shore in a Barrel, which would freeze firmly in the Houſe in one Night; other Proviſions they had ſtore. The Ice Beer being thawed in a Kettle was not good, and they broke the Ice of the Ponds to come at Water to drink. This Pond Water had a moſt loathſome Smell with it, ſo that doubting leaſt it might be infectious, I cauſed a Well to be ſunk near the Houſe; there we had very good Water, which taſted, as we flattered ourſelves, like Milk. The 10th, having enough Boards for ſuch a Purpoſe, I ſet the Carpenter to work to make a Boat which we might carry over the Ice, and make uſe of her wherever there was Water. At Noon I took the Latitude of this Iſland by two Quadrants; which I found to be 52 Degrees. I urged the Men to make Traps to catch Foxes, for we daily ſaw many; ſome of them were pied black and white, whereby I gathered that there were ſome black Foxes, whoſe Skins I told them were of great Value, and I promiſed that whoever could take one of them ſhould have the Skin for his Reward; hereupon they made divers Traps, and waded in the Snow, which was very deep, to place them in the Woods.

The 12th our Houſe took Fire, but we ſoon quenched it; we were obliged to keep an extraordinary Fire Night and Day, and this Accident made me order a Watch to look to it continually, ſince if our Houſe and Cloathing ſhould be burnt we ſhould be in a woeful Condition; I lay aſhore till the 17th, all which Time our Miſeries increaſed.

It ſnowed and froze extremely, at which Time we looking from the Shore towards the Ship, ſhe appeared a Piece of Ice in the Faſhion of a Ship, or a Ship reſembling a Piece of Ice; the Snow was all frozen about her, and all her Fore-part firm Ice, and ſo ſhe was on both Sides, alſo our Cables frozen in the Hawſe. I got me aboard, where the long Nights I ſpent with tormenting Cogitations, and in the Day-Time I could not ſee any Hopes of ſaving the Ship. This I was aſſured of, that it was impoſſible to endure thoſe Extremities long; every Day the Men muſt beat the Ice off the Cables, while ſome within, with the Carpenter's long calking Iron, digged the Ice out of the Hawſers: In which Work the Water would freeze on their Cloaths and Hands, and would ſo benumb them that they could hardly get into the Ship without being heaved in with a Rope. The 19th, our Gunner who, as may you remember, had his Leg cut off, languiſhed irrecoverably, and now grew very weak, deſiring that for the little Time he had to live he might drink Sack altogether, which I ordered he ſhould.

The 22d in the Morning he died, an honeſt and a ſtrong-hearted Man. He had a cloſe boarded Cabin in the Gun-room, which was very cloſe indeed, and as many Cloaths on him as was convenient, and a Pan of Coals and a Fire continually in his Cabin, notwithſtanding which Warmth his Plaiſters would freeze at his Wound, and his Bottle of Sack at his Head; we committed him, at a good Diſtance from the Ship, unto the Sea.

18. On the 23d the Ice increaſed extraordinarily, and the Snow lay in Flakes as it fell, much Ice alſo drove by us, yet nothing hard all this while. In the Evening, when the Watch was ſet, a great Piece of Ice came athwart the Hawſer, and four more followed after it, the leaſt of them a Quarter of a Mile broad, which in the Dark very much aſtoniſhed us, thinking it would carry us out of the Harbour upon the Shoal's eaſtern Point, which was full of Rocks. It was newly congealed two Inches thick, and we broke through it, the Cable and Anchor enduring an incredible Streſs, ſome Time ſtopping the whole Ice. We ſhot off three Muſkets, ſignifying to our Men aſhore that we were in Diſtreſs, who anſwered us again, but could not help us. By ten o'Clock it was all paſſed, nevertheleſs we watched carefully, and the Weather was warmer than we had felt it any Time this Month.

In the Morning by break of Day I ſent for our Men aboard, who ſhut up the Houſe and arrived by ten, being forced to wade through the congealed Water, ſo that they received the Boat with Difficulty. There drove by the Ship many Pieces of Ice, tho' not ſo large as the former, but much thicker: One Piece came foul of the Cable and made the Ship drive. As ſoon as we were clear of it we joined our Strength together, and had up our eaſtermoſt Anchor; and now I reſolved to bring the Ship aground, which I had delayed for the following Reaſons. Firſt, It was all ſtony Ground, ſome Stones lying dry three or four Feet above the Water, ſo that it was to be ſuſpected that it was the like all round. Secondly, It ordinarily flowed but two Feet and a half here, and if ſhe ſhould bed deep in the Sands, we could not ever come to dig her out again, for that ſhe would not be dry by four or five Feet. Thirdly, It was a cloſe Sand which might riſe with the Surface, or ſo mount about her, that all our weak Powers could not heave it away the next Spring. Fourthly, We doubted the Tides would not riſe ſo much in the Summer as they did now. Fifthly, We could not bring her out of the Tide's Way, which ran ſomething quick here, and the Ice beſide might drive and mount up upon her, and ſo overſet her, and tear her, and carry away her Planks and Iron Work; and alſo that we ſhould have nothing left to finiſh our Pinnace with. Sixthly, If it blew a Storm at North-weſt or thereabouts, the Water would flow ten Feet and upwards, and that Wind being off the Shore, it would blow away all the Ice, and there would come in an extraordinary great Surf about the Shoal to the eaſtward Point, which was occaſioned by a deep Overfall, beſides ſhe would beat extremely, and if ſhe were put up by the Sea or that Surf, it was very doubtful that we ſhould never heave her off again; for theſe Reaſons we endured all, ſtill hoping for ſome fortunate Accident: But now all our Deſigns we ſaw Fooliſhneſs, and that a great deal of Labour had been ſpent in vain by us. With the Flood we weighed our weſtermoſt Anchor, perceiving God's Aſſiſtance manifeſtly, becauſe it happened to be fine warm Weather, otherwiſe we had not been able to work.

The Wind was now South, which blew in upon the Shore, and made the loweſt Tides. We brought the Ship into twelve Feet Water, and laid out one Anchor in the Offing, and another in Shoal-Water, to draw her on Land at Command: Our Hope alſo was, that ſome Stones that were to the Weſtward of us would fend off ſome of the Ice; we then being about a Mile from the Shore. About ten o'Clock in the dark Night the Ice came driving upon us, and our Anchors came home. She drove ſome two Cables-length, and the Wind blowing on the Shore, by two o'Clock ſhe came aground and ſtopt much Ice, yet ſhe lay well all Night, and we took ſome Reſt.

The 25th the Wind ſhifted Eaſterly, and put abundance of Ice on us. When the Flood came we encouraged one another, and drew home our Anchor by main Force, under great Pieces of Ice, our Endeavour being to put the Ship to the Shore: But to our great Diſcomfort when the Half-Tide was made, the Ship drove among the Ice to the Eaſtward, do what we could, and ſo ſhe would on the Shoal of Rocks. As I have ſaid before, theſe two Days and this Day was very warm Weather, and it rained, which it had not yet but once done ſince we came hither, otherwiſe it had been impoſſible we could have wrought. Withal the Wind ſhifted alſo to the South, and at the very Inſtant blew a hard Puff, which ſo continued half an Hour. I cauſed the two Top-ſails to be had up from betwixt Decks, and we hoiſted them with two Ropes in all Haſte, and we found the Ship aſhore when ſhe had not half a Cable's Length to drive on the rocky Shoals. In the Evening we broke Way through the Ice, and put an Anchor to Shoreward in five Feet Water, to keep her to the Shore if poſſible. Here Sir *Hugh Willoughby* came into my Mind, who without Doubt was driven out of his Harbour in this Manner, and ſo ſtarved at Sea. But God was more merciful to us. About nine at Night the Wind came up at North-weſt, and blew a Storm. This Wind was off the Shore, which blew away all the Ice from about us long before we were afloat. There came in a great rolling Sea withal about the Point, accompanied with a great Surf on the Shore. And now we were left to the Mercy of the Sea on the Ground. By ten ſhe began to roll in her Deck, and ſoon after began to beat againſt the Ground. We ſtood at the Capſtang as many as could, others at the Pumps, for we thought that every fifth or ſixth Blow would have ſtaved her to Pieces. We heaved to the uttermoſt of our Strength to keep her as near the Ground as we could.

By reaſon of this Wind it flowed very much Water, and we drew her up ſo high that it was doubtful if ever we got her off again. She continued thus beating till two o'Clock the next Morning, and then ſhe ſettled again, whereupon we went to ſleep, ſeeing the next Tide we expected again to be tormented.

19. The 26th in the Morning-Tide our Ship did not float. After Prayers I called a Conſultation of the Maſter, my Lieutenant, the Mate's Carpenter and Boatſwain, to whom I propoſed, that now we were put to our laſt Shifts, and therefore they ſhould tell me what they thought of it, *viz.* Whether it was not beſt to carry all our Proviſions on Shore; and, when the Wind ſhould come Northerly, to draw her further off and ſink her? After many Reaſonings they allowed of my Purpoſe, and ſo I communicated it to the Company, who all willingly agreed to it; and ſo we fell to getting up of our Proviſions: Firſt, of our Bread, of which we landed this Day two Dryfats, with a Hogſhead of Beef, having much ado to get the Boats thro' the congealed Water. In the Evening the Wind came up at North-eaſt and Eaſt, and filled the Bay full of Ice.

The 27th the Bay continued full of Ice, which I hoped would ſo continue and freeze, that we ſhould not be forced to ſink our Ship. This Day we could land nothing. The 28th, at Break of Day, three of our Men went over the Ice unknown to me, and the Wind coming up at Weſt drove the Ice from betwixt us and the Shore, and moſt Part of the Day alſo; and yet not ſo but the Boat could go aſhore for any thing. I made the Carpenter fit a Place againſt all ſudden Extremities, for that with the North-weſt or Northerly Wind I meant to effect our laſt Project. In the Run of her on the Starboard Side he cut away the Cieling and the Plank to the Sheathing ſome four or five Inches ſquare, ſome four Feet high from the Keel of her, ſo that it might be bored out at an Inſtant. We brought our Bread which was remaining in the Bread Room up into the great Cabin, and likewiſe all our Powder, ſetting much of our light dry Things betwixt Decks.

The 29th at five in the Morning the Wind came up at Weſt north-weſt, and began to blow very hard. It was ordinary for the Wind to ſhift from the Weſt by the North round about: So firſt I ordered the Cooper to go down into the Hold, and look to all our Caſks; thoſe that were full to mell in the Bungs of them, and thoſe that were empty to get up, or if they could not be gotten up to ſtave them; then to coil all our Cables upon our lower Tire, and to lay on our ſpare Anchors, and any thing that was weighty, to keep it down from riſing. By ſeven o'Clock it blew a Storm at North-weſt. The Ship was already bedded ſome two Feet in the Sand; and whilſt that was a-flowing ſhe muſt beat. This I before had in my Conſideration, for I thought ſhe was ſo far driven up that we ſhould never get her off. Yet we had been ſo ferretted by her laſt Beating, that I reſolved to ſink her right down, rather than run that Hazard. By nine ſhe began to roll in her Deck with a moſt extraordinary great Sea, which I found to be occaſioned by the forementioned Overfall. And this was the fatal Hour that put us to our Wits end: Wherefore I went down into the Hold with the Carpenter, and took his Augre and bored a Hole in the Ship and let in the Water. Thus with all Speed we began to cut out other Places to bore through, but every Place was full of Nails. By ten, notwithſtanding the lower Tire was covered with Water, for all which ſhe began ſo to beat in her Deck more and more, that we could not work nor ſtand to do any thing in her, nor would ſhe ſink ſo faſt as we would have her, but continued beating double Blows, firſt abaſt and then before, that it was wonderful how ſhe could endure a Quarter of an Hour with it.

By Twelve her lower Tire roſe, and that did ſo counterbeat on the Inſide, that it bored the Bulk-Heads of the Bread-Room, Powder-Room, and Fore-piece, all to Pieces. And when it came betwixt Decks, the Cheſts fled about, and the Water did flaſh and fly wonderfully, ſo that now we expected every Minute when the Ship would open and break to Pieces. At One ſhe beat off her Rudder, and that was gone we knew not which Way. Thus ſhe continued beating till Three, and then the Sea came upon the upper Deck, and ſoon after ſhe began to ſettle. In her we were fain to ſink the moſt Part of our Bedding and Cloaths, and the Chirurgeon's Cheſt. Our Men that were on Shore ſtood looking upon us, almoſt dead with Cold and Sorrow to ſee our Miſeries and their own; we looked upon them again, and both upon each other with woeful Hearts. Dark Night drew on, and I ordered the Boat to be hawled up, and commanded my loving Companions to go all into her, who expreſſed their faithful Affection to me, as loth to part from me. I told them that my Meaning was to go aſhore with them, and thus laſtly I forſook the Ship. We were fourteen poor Souls now in the Boat, and we imagined that we were leaped out of the Frying-pan into the Fire. The Ebb was made, and the Water extraordinary thick with Snow, ſo that we thought aſſuredly it would carry us away into the Sea. We thereupon double manned four Oars, appointing four more to ſit ready with Oars; and ſo with the Help of God we got to Shore, hawling up the Boat after.

One Thing was moſt ſtrange in this thick Water, that there went a great ſwelling Sea. Being arrived upon the Land, we ſaluted our Fellows the beſt we could; at which Time they could not know us, nor we them, by our Habits and Voices, ſo frozen we were, Faces, Hair and Apparel. And here I mean to take Breath a-while, after all this long and unpleaſant Relation of our miſerable Endeavours, craving Leave firſt of all to ſpeak a Word or two in general. The Winds ſince we came hither have been very variable and inconſtant, and, till within this Fortnight, the Southerly Wind was the coldeſt. The Reaſon I conceive to be, that it blew from the main Land, which was all covered with Snow; and the North Winds came out of the great Bay, which hitherto was open; ſo that we were under a South Bank, that ſheltered us ſo that we were not ſenſible of it.

20. After we had hawled up the Boat on the 29th of *November*, we went along the Beach-ſide in the Dark towards our Houſe, where we made a good Fire, and with it and Bread and Water we comforted ourſelves, beginning after that to reaſon one with another concerning our Ship. I required that every one ſhould ſpeak his Mind

freely. The Carpenter eſpecially was of Opinion, that ſhe was foundered, and would never be ſerviceable. He alledged, that ſhe had ſo beaten that it was not poſſible but that all her Joints were looſe and Seams open; and that by Reaſon it flowed ſo little Water, and no Creek being near to bring her aground, he could not deviſe how he might come to mend it; moreover, her Rudder was loſt, and he had no Iron-Work to hang on another. Some alledged, that we had heaved her up ſo high on the Sands that they thought we ſhould never get her off again, and that they were aſſured ſhe was already docked three Feet; others, that ſhe lay in the Tide's Way, and that the Tides might tear her to Pieces off the Ground. Beſides which, two of our Anchors we could not now get from under the Ice, which, when the Ice broke, would break them to Pieces, and then we ſhould have no Anchors to bring us home withal, provided we got off the Ship, and that ſhe proved ſound alſo. I comforted them the beſt I could to this Effect.

“ My Maſters and faithful Companions, be not diſmayed for any of theſe Diſaſters, but let us put our whole Truſt in God. It is he that giveth and he that taketh away; he throweth down with one Hand, and raiſeth up with another. His Will be done. If it be our Fortunes to end our Days here, we are as near Heaven as in *England*, and we are much bound to God Almighty for giving us ſo large a Time of Repentance, who, as it were, daily calls upon us to prepare our Souls for a better Life in Heaven. I make no doubt but he will be merciful unto us both here on Earth and in his bleſſed Kingdom. He doth not in the mean time deny that we may uſe all honeſt Means to ſave and prolong our natural Lives; and in my Judgment we are not ſo far paſt Hope of returning into our native Country, but that I ſee a fair Way by which we may effect it. Admit the Ship be foundered, (which God forbid, I hope for the beſt) yet have thoſe of our own Nation and others, when they have been put to thoſe Extremities, even out of the Wreck of their loſt Ship built a Pinnace, and returned to their Friends again. If it be objected that they have happened into better Climates, both for Temperateneſs of the Air, and for pacific and open Seas, and provided withal of abundance of freſh Victuals, yet there is nothing too hard for courageous Minds, which hitherto you have ſhewn, and I doubt not will ſtill do to the uttermoſt of your Power.”

They all proteſted to work to the utmoſt of their Strength, and that they would refuſe nothing that I ſhould order them to do to the utmoſt Hazard of their Lives. I thanked them all, and to the Carpenter for his chearful Undertaking I promiſed to give him ſo much Plate preſently as ſhould be worth 10*l.* and if ſo be I went to *England* in the Pinnace, I would give him her freely, and 50*l.* in Money over and above, and would moreover gratify all them that I ſhould ſee induſtrious. Thus we reſolved to build us a new Pinnace with the Timber we ſhould get upon the Iſland, that ſo in the Spring, if we found the Ship not ſerviceable, we might tear her up, and plank her with the Ship's Planks; and ſo for this Night we ſettled ourſelves cloſe about the Fire, and took ſome Reſt till Day-light.

The 30th, betimes in the Morning, I cauſed the Chirurgeon ſo cut off my Hair ſhort, and to ſhave away all the Hair of my Face, for it was become intolerable, and becauſe it would be frozen ſo great with Iſicles. The like did all the reſt, and we fitted ourſelves to work. The firſt Thing we were to do was to get our Cloaths and Proviſions aſhore, and therefore I divided the Company. The Maſter and a convenient Company with him were to go aboard and get Things out of the Hold. The Cockſwain with his Gang were to go into the Boat, to bring and carry Things aſhore. Myſelf with the reſt to carry them half a Mile through the Snow, unto the Place where we intended to build a Store-houſe. As for the heavier Things, we propoſed to lay them on the Beach. In the Afternoon the Wind was at South-ſouth-weſt, and the Water veered ſo low an Ebb, that we thought we might get ſomething out of the Hold. We launched out our Boat therefore, and with Oars got through the thick congealed Water. It froze extreme hard, and I ſtood on the Shore with a troubled Mind, thinking verily that with the Ebb the Boat would be carried into the Sea, and then we were all loſt Men: But by God's Aſſiſtance they got all ſafe to the Ship, and made a Fire there to ſignify their Arrival on board. They fell preſently to work, and got ſomething out of the Hold upon the Decks, but Night coming on, they durſt not venture to come on Shore, but lay on the Bed in the great Cabin being almoſt ſtarved.

21. The 1ſt of *December* was ſo cold that I went the ſame Way over the Ice to the Ship where the Boat had gone Yeſterday. This Day we carried upon our Backs in Bundles five hundred of our Fiſh, and much of our Bedding and Cloaths, which we were fain to dig out of the Ice. The 2d was mild Weather, and ſome of the Men going over the Ice fell in, and very hardly recovered; ſo that this Day we could land nothing, neither by Boat nor Back. I put them therefore to make us a Storehouſe on Shore. In the Evening the Wind came up at Weſt, and the Ice broke and drove out of the Bay. It was very deep and large Ice, that we were afraid it would have ſpoiled the Ship. The 3d Day there were divers great Pieces of Ice that came athwart the Ship and ſhe ſtopt them, yet not ſo as we could go over them. We found a Way for the Boat, but when ſhe was laden ſhe drew four Feet Water, and could not come within a ſight Shot of the Shore; the Men therefore muſt wade through the congealed Water, and carry Things out of the Boat upon their Backs. Every time they waded in the Ice it was moſt lamentable to behold. In this extreme cold Evening they cut away as much Ice from about the Boat as they could, and picked it with Handſpikes out of her, and endeavoured to hoiſt her into the Ship, there being ſmall Hopes that ſhe could go to and again any more: But uſe what Means they could, ſhe was ſo heavy that they could not hoiſt her in, but were forced to leave her in the Tackles by the Ship-ſide.

The 4th being *Sunday* we reſted and performed the Sabbath Duties of Chriſtians. The 5th and 6th were extreme cold, and we made Bags of our Store-Shirts, and in them we carried our looſe Bread over the Ice on Shore upon our Backs: We alſo digged our Cloaths and new Sails with Handſpikes of Iron out of the Ice, and carried them aſhore, which we dried by a great Fire. The 7th Day was ſo exceeding cold, that our Noſes, Cheeks, and Hands, did freeze as white as Paper. The 8th and 9th it was extremely cold, and it ſnowed much; yet we continued our Labour in carrying and rolling Things on Shore. In the Evening the Water raiſed the Ice very high, and it broke two Thawghts of our Boat, and broke in the Side of her, but for that Time we could not help it.

The 10th our Carpenter found Timber to make a Keel and a Stern for our Pinnace, the reſt wrought about our Proviſions until the 13th Day, and that we ſpent in digging our Boat out of the Ice, which we were fain to do to the very Keel, and dig the Ice out of her, then we got her up; in doing which many of their Noſes, Cheeks and Fingers did freeze. The Cold now increaſed moſt extremely. By the 19th we could get no more Things out of the Hold, but were fain to leave five Barrels of Beef and Pork, all our Beer, and divers other Things, which were all frozen in her. The 21ſt was ſo cold that we could not go out of the Houſe. The 23d we went to get our Boat aſhore, running her with our Oars, but by ten o'Clock there came ſuch a thick Fog that it was as dark as Night. I made them give over, and we made what Haſte we could to the Shore, which we had much ado to find without loſing one another. At laſt we met all at the Houſe, the moſt miſerable and frozen that can be conceived. Upon divers the Cold had raiſed Bliſters as big as Walnuts. This we imagined to come by Reaſon that they came too haſtily to the Fire. Our Well was now frozen up, ſo that dig as deep as we would, we could come at no Water: Melted Snow-Water is very unwholſome, either to drink or to dreſs Victuals: It made us ſo ſhort-breath'd, that we were ſcarce able to ſpeak.

All our Sack, Vinegar, Oil, and every thing elſe that was liquid, was now frozen as hard as a Piece of Wood, and we cut it with a Hatchet. Our Houſe was all frozen on the Inſide; and it froze hard within a Yard of the Fire-ſide. When I landed firſt upon this Iſland, I found a Spring under a Hill's Side, which I then obſerving, I cauſed ſome Trees to be cut, for Marks to know the Place again by. It was about three Fourths of a Mile from our Houſe. I ſent three of our Men which had been with me thither. Upon the 24th theſe wandering through the Snow, at laſt found the Place, and ſhoveling away the Snow they made Way to the very Head of it. They found it ſpring very ſtrongly, and brought me a Can of it, for which I was right joyful. This Spring continued all the Year, and did not freeze, but that we could break the Ice and come to it. We laboured very hard theſe three or four Days to get Wood to the Houſe, which we found to be very troubleſome, through the deep Snow.

22. We then ſettled our Bedding and Proviſions, providing to keep Chriſtmas-Day holy, which we ſolemnized in the joyfulleſt Manner we could. So likewiſe did we *St. John's* Day, upon which we named the Wood we did winter in, in Memory of that honourable Knight, Sir *John Winter*, *Winter's Froſt*, and now, inſtead of a Chriſtmas Tale, I will deſcribe the Houſe that we did live in, with thoſe adjoining. When I firſt reſolved to build a Houſe, I choſe the warmeſt, and convenienteſt Place, and the neareſt the Ship withal. It was among a Tuft of thick Trees, under a South Bank, about a ſlight Shot from the Sea-ſide. True it is, that at that Time we could not dig into the Ground to make us a Hole or Cave in the Earth, which had been the beſt Way, becauſe we found Water digging within two Feet, and therefore that Project failed; it was a white light Sand, ſo that we could by no Means make up a Mud-Wall.

As for Stones there were none near us; beſides we were all now covered with the Snow. We had no Boards for ſuch a Purpoſe, and therefore we muſt do the beſt we could with ſuch Materials as we had about us. The Houſe was ſquare, about twenty Feet every Way, as much namely as our main Courſe could well cover. Firſt we drove long Stakes into the Earth, round about which we wattled with Boughs, as thick as might be, beating them down very cloſe. This, our firſt Work, was ſix Feet high on both Sides, but at the Ends was almoſt up to the very Top. There we left two Holes for the Light to come in at, and the ſame Way the Smoak did vent out alſo. Moreover I cauſed, at both Ends, three Rows of Buſh Trees to be ſtuck up, as cloſe together as poſſible. Then, at a Diſtance from the Houſe, we cut down Trees, proportioning them into Lengths of ſix Feet, with which we made a Pile on both Sides, ſix Feet thick, and ſix Feet high; but at both Ends ten Feet high, and ſix Feet thick. We left a little low Door to creep into, and a Portal before that, made with Piles of Wood, that the Wind might not blow into it. We next faſtened a rough Tree aloft, over all, upon which we laid our Rafters, and our main Courſe, over them again; which lying thwartways over all, reached down to the very Ground on either Side; and this was the Fabric of the Outſide of it.

On the Inſide we made faſt our Bonnet Sails round about, then we drove in Stakes, and made us Bedſtead Frames, about three Sides of the Houſe, which Bedſteads we doubled one under another, the lowermoſt being a Foot from the Ground. Theſe we firſt filled with Boughs, then we laid our ſpare Sails on that, and then our Bedding and Cloaths. We made a Hearth in the Middle of the Houſe, and on it made our Fire; ſome Boards we laid round our Hearth to ſtand upon, that the cold Damp ſhould not ſtrike up into us. With our waſte Cloaths we made us Canopies and Curtains, others did the like with our ſmall Sails. Our ſecond Houſe was not more than twenty Feet Diſtance from this, and made, for the Wattling, much after the ſame Manner, but it was leſs, and covered with our fore Courſe. It had no Piles on the South-ſide, but, in lieu of that, we piled up all our Cheſts on the Inſide; and, indeed, the Reflex of the Heat of the Fire againſt them did make it warmer than the Manſion-Houſe. In this Houſe we dreſſed our Victuals, and the ſubordinate Crew did refreſh themſelves all Day in it. A third Houſe, which was our Store-houſe, was twenty-nine Paces off from this, for fear of firing.

This Houſe was only a rough Tree faſtened aloft, with Rafters laid from it to the Ground, and covered over with our new ſuit of Sails. On the Inſide we had laid ſmall Trees, and covered them over with Boughs, and ſo ſtored up our Bread and Fiſh in it, about two Feet from the Ground, the better to preſerve them; the other things lay more careleſsly. Long before Chriſtmas our Manſion-Houſe was covered thick over with Snow, almoſt to the very Roof of it; and ſo likewiſe was our ſecond Houſe, but our Store-houſe all over, by Reaſon we made no Fire in it.

Thus we ſeemed to live in a Heap and a Wilderneſs of Snow; for out of our Doors we could not go, but upon the Snow, in which we made us Paths Middle deep in ſome Places, and in one ſpecial Place the Length of ten Steps. To do this, we muſt ſhovel away the Snow firſt, and then, by treading, make it ſomething hard under Foot. The Snow, in this Path, was a full Yard thick under us. And this was our beſt Gallery for our ſick Men, and for my own ordinary walking; and both Houſes and Walks we daily accommodated more and more, and made fitter for our Uſes. On the 27th we got our Boat aſhore, and fetched up ſome of our Proviſions from the Beach-ſide, into the Store-houſe, and ſo by Degrees did we with the reſt of our Proviſions, with Extremity of Cold and Labour, making Way with Shovels through the thick Snow, even from the Sea-ſide to our Store-houſe; and thus concluded we the old Year 1631.

23. The firſt of *January*, 1632, and for the moſt Part all the Month, was extreme cold. The 6th I obſerved the Latitude with what Exactneſs I could, it being clear ſunſhiny Weather, which I found to be 51 Degrees 52 Minutes: This Difference is by Reaſon that there is a great Refraction. On the 21ſt I obſerved the Sun to riſe like an Oval along the Horizon; I called three or four to ſee it, the better to confirm my Judgment; and we all agreed that it was twice as long as it was broad. We plainly perceived withal, that by Degrees, as it got up higher, it alſo recovered its roundneſs. The 30th and 31ſt there appeared, in the Beginning of the Night, more Stars in the Firmament than ever I had before ſeen, by two Thirds; I could ſee the Clouds in *Cancer* full of ſmall Stars. About ten o'Clock the Moon roſe, and then a Quarter of them were not to be ſeen. The Wind, for the moſt Part of this Month, hath been Northerly, and very cold. The warmeſt of which Time we employed ourſelves in fetching Wood, working upon our Pinnace, and other things. In the Beginning of this Month the Sea was all firmly frozen over, ſo that we could ſee no Water any where. I hope it will not ſeem tedious to the Readers, if I here deliver my Opinion, how this Abundance of Ice comes to be ingendered.

The Land that incircles this great Bay, which lies in a broken irregular Form, making many little Shole-Bays and Guts, full of Iſlands and dry Sands, is, for the moſt Part, low and flat, and hath Sholes adjoining to it half a Mile or Mile, that are dry at low Water. Now you muſt know that it flows half Tide, that is, from whence the Flood cometh, the Water returneth two Hours before it is high Water, or full Sea. It ſeldom rains after the Middle of *September*, but then falls Snow, and that Snow will not melt on the Land, or Sands. At low Water, when it ſnows, the Sands are all covered over, which the half Tide carries twice in four Hours into the great Bay, which is the common Rendezvous of it. Every low Water the Sands are left clear, to gather more to the Increaſe of it.

Thus it daily gathers together in this Manner, till the latter End of *October*; and by that Time it brings the Sea to that Coldneſs, that as it ſnows, the Snow will lie upon the Water in Flakes, without changing Colour; but with the Wind is wrought together, and as the Winter goes forward, it begins to freeze upon the Surface of it, two or three Inches or more in one Night; which being carried with the half Tide, meets with ſome Obſtacle, and then it crumples, and ſo runs upon itſelf, that in a few Hours it will be five or ſix Feet thick. The half Tide ſtill flowing carries it quite away, that by *December* it is grown to an infinite Multiplication of Ice: And thus, by this ſtoring of it up, the Cold gets the Predominancy in the Sea, which alſo furniſhes the Springs and Water in the low flat Lands, that it cools it like itſelf. This may appear by our Experience; though in all this I freely ſubmit myſelf to the more Learned.

Our Men found it more mortifying cold to wade through the Water in the Beginning of *June*, when the Sea was full of Ice, than in *December*, when it was increaſing; our Well, out of which we had Water in *December*, dried up in *July*; the Ground, at ten Feet deep, was frozen. The Quantity of Ice may very eaſily be made to appear by mathematical Demonſtration; and yet I am not of the Opinion that the Bay freezes all over. For the 21ſt the Wind blowing a Storm at North, we could perceive the Ice to riſe ſomething in the Bay.

24. *February* 1632. The Cold was as extreme this Month as at any Time we had felt it this Year, and many of our Men complained of Infirmities; ſome of ſore Mouths, all the Teeth in their Heads being looſe; their Gums ſwoln with black rotten Fleſh, which every Day was to be cut away; the Pain was ſo great, that they could not eat their ordinary Meat; others complained of Pains in their Heads and their Breaſts; ſome of Weakneſs in their Backs; others of Aches in their Thighs and Knees; and others of Swellings in their Legs. Thus were two thirds of the Company under the Chirurgeon's Hands; and yet, nevertheleſs, they were forced to work daily, and go abroad to fetch Wood and Timber, notwithſtanding moſt of them had no Shoes to put on. Their Shoes, upon their coming to the Fire out of the Snow, were burnt and ſcorched upon their Feet, and our Store-ſhoes were all ſunk in the Ship. In this Neceſſity they made this Shift to bind Clouts about their Feet, and endeavoured, by that poor Help, the beſt they could, to perform their Duties. Our Carpenter, likewiſe, by this Time fell ſick, to our great Diſcomfort.

I practiſed ſome Obſervations by the riſing and ſetting of the Sun; calculating the Time of his riſing and ſetting by very true running Glaſſes. As for our Clock and Watch, notwithſtanding we ſtill kept them by the Fireſide in a Cheſt, wrapped in Cloths, yet were they ſo frozen that they could not go. My Obſervations by theſe Glaſſes I compared with the Stars coming to the Meridian. By this Means we found the Sun to riſe twenty Minutes before it ſhould; and in the Evening to remain twenty Minutes, or thereabouts, longer than it ſhould; all this by Reaſon of the Refraction. Since now I have ſpoken ſo much of the Cold, I hope it will not be taken ill, if I, in a few Words, make it ſome Way appear to our Readers.

We made three Differences of the Cold, all according to the Places. In our Houſe, in the Woods, and in the open Air, in our going to the Ship. For the laſt, it would be ſometimes ſo extreme, that it was almoſt unindurable; no Cloaths were Proof againſt it; no Motion could reſiſt it; it would ſo freeze the Hair on the Eyelids that we could not ſee; and I verily believe that it would have ſtifled a Man in a very few Hours. We daily found, by Experience, that the Cold in the Woods would freeze our Faces, or any Part of our Fleſh that was bare, but it was not ſo mortifying as the other. Our Houſe, on the Outſide, was covered two third Parts with Snow, and, on the Inſide, frozen and hung with Iſicles. The Cloaths on our Beds would be covered with Hoar-Froſt, which in this Habitation was not far from the Fire. The Cook's Tubs, wherein he watered his Meat, ſtanding about a Yard from the Fire, and which he all Day plied with Snow Water; yet in the Night Seaſon, whilſt he ſleeped but on Watch, they would be firm frozen to the very Bottom. And therefore he was forced to water his Meat in a Braſs Kettle, cloſe adjoining to the Fire. And I have many Times both ſeen and felt, by putting my Hand into it, that Side which was next the Fire very warm, and the other Side an Inch frozen.

The Chirurgeon, who had hung his Bottles of Sirrups, and other liquid Things, as conveniently as he could, to preſerve them, had them all frozen. Our Vinegar, Oil, and Sack, which we had in ſmall Caſks in the Houſe, were all firm frozen. It may further, in general, be conceived, that in the Beginning of *June* the Sea was not broken up, and the Ground was yet frozen; and this we found by Experience, in the burying of our Men, in ſetting up the King's Standard, towards the latter End of *June*, and by our Well; in coming away in the Beginning of *July*, at which Time, upon the Land, for ſome other Reaſons, it was very hot Weather.

25. *March* 1632. The firſt of this Month, being *St. David's* Day, we kept Holiday, and ſolemnized it in the Manner of the *Ancient Britons*; praying for the Happineſs of his Royal Highneſs, *Charles*, Prince of *Wales*, afterwards *Charles* II. The 15th one of our Men thought he had ſeen a Deer, whereupon he, with two or three more, deſired that that they might go to ſee if they could take it. I gave them Leave, but they returned in the Evening ſo diſabled with Cold, which roſe up in Bliſters under the Soles of their Feet, and upon their Legs, to the Bigneſs of Walnuts, that they could not recover their former State, which was not very well, in a Fortnight after.

The 26th three others alſo deſired to go out to try their Fortunes, but they returned worſe diſabled, and even almoſt ſtified with the Cold. This Evening the Moon roſe in a very long Oval along the Horizon. By the laſt of this Month the Carpenter had ſet up ſeventeen Ground Timbers, and thirty-four Staddles, and, poor Man, he proceeded the beſt he could, though forced to be led to his Labour. In ſhort, all this Month it was very cold, the Wind about the North-weſt, the Snow as deep as it was all this Winter. But to anſwer an Objection that might be made; you were in a Wood (ſome Men may ſay unto us) and therefore you might make Fire enough to keep you from the Cold, It is true, we were in a Wood, and under a South Bank too, or otherwiſe we had all ſtarved.

But I muſt tell you withal, how difficult it was to have Wood in a Wood. And firſt I will make a Muſter of the Tools we had. The Carpenter, in his Cheſt, had two Axes indeed, but one of them was ſpoiled in cutting down Wood to pile about our Houſe before *Chriſtmas*. When we firſt landed we had but two whole Hatchets; which, in a few Days, broke two Inches below the Sockets. I called for three of the Cooper's Hatchets. The Carpenter's Axe, and the Cooper's beſt Hatchet I cauſed to be locked up; the other two Hatchets to be new helved; and the Blades of the two broken Hatchets to be put into a cleft Piece of Wood, and then to be bound about with Rope Yarn as faſt as might be, which was to be repaired every Day; and theſe were all the cutting Tools we had. Beſides, the 6th of *February* the Carpenter had out his beſt Axe about ſomething, and one of the Company, in his Abſence, by his indiſcreet handling of it, broke that too two Inches below the Socket; we were henceforward forced to uſe theſe Pieces of Tools the beſt we could. Wherefore I gave Orders that the Carpenter ſhould have one of the Cooper's Hatchets; they that looked for Timber in the Woods to have the other; and they that cut down Wood to burn were to have the two Pieces; and this was before *Chriſtmas*.

The three that were appointed to look crooked Timber, ſtalked and waded ſometimes on all fours through the Snow, and where they ſaw a Tree likely to fit the Mould, they heaved away the Snow, and then ſaw if it would fit the Mould, and then they muſt make a Fire to it to thaw it, otherwiſe it could not be cut; then they cut it down and fit it to the Mould, and then with other Help get it home, a Mile through the Snow. Now, for our firing we could not burn green Wood, it would ſmoke ſo intolerably; nay, the Men would rather ſtarve without in the Cold than ſit by it; as for the dry Wood, that alſo was bad enough, for it was full of Turpentine, and would ſend forth ſuch a thick Smoak that would make abundance of Soot, which would make us all look as if we had been free of the Company of Chimney-Sweepers.

Our Cloaths were quite burnt to Pieces about us, and for the moſt part, we were without Shoes. But to our Fuelers again: They muſt firſt, as the former, go up and down in the Snow till they ſaw a Tree ſtanding, for the Snow covered thoſe that were down-fallen; then they muſt hack it down with their Pieces of Hatchets, and then others muſt carry it home through the Snow. The Boys with Cutlaſſes muſt cut Boughs for the Carpenter; for every Piece of Timber that he worked muſt firſt be thawed in the Fire, and he muſt have a Fire by him or he could not work. And this was our continual Labour throughout the forementioned Cold, beſides our tending upon the Sick, and other neceſſary Employments.

26. *April* 1632. The firſt of this Month being *Eaſter-day*, we ſolemnized it as religiouſly as God gave us Grace to do. Both this Day, and the two following Holidays, were extreme cold; and now ſitting all about the Fire, we reaſoned and conſidered together about our Eſtate; we had five Men, whereof the Carpenter was one, not able to do any thing; the Boatſwain and many more were very infirm, and of all the reſt we had but five that could eat of their ordinary Allowance. The Time and Seaſon of the Year came on apace, and the Cold very little abated. Our Pinnace was in an indifferent Forwardneſs, but the Carpenter grew worſe and worſe. The Ship, as we then thought, lay all full of ſolid Ice; which was Weight ſufficient to open the Seams of any new and ſound Veſſel, eſpecially one that had lain ſo long upon the Ground as ſhe had done. In ſhort, after many Diſputes and laying open of our miſerable and helpleſs Eſtates, I reſolved upon this Courſe, that notwithſtanding it was more Labour, and the Men weaker and weaker, yet with the firſt warm Weather we would begin to clear the Ship, that we might have the Time before us to think of ſome other Courſe: This being ordered, we looked to thoſe Tools we had to dig the Ice out of her; we had but two Iron Bars on Shore, the reſt were ſunk in the Ship, and one of them was broken too.

We fell to fitting of thoſe Bars and four broken Shovels that we had, with which we intended, and afterwards we did, to dig the Ice out of her, and to lay the Ice on a Heap upon the larboard Bow, and ſo ſink it down to the Ground, ſo faſt that it ſhould be a Barricado to us when the Ice brake up, which we feared would tear us to Pieces. The 6th was the deepeſt Snow we had had all this Year, which filled up all our Paths and Ways by which we were uſed to go to the Woods; this Snow was ſomething moiſter and greater than any we had had this Year, for formerly it was as dry as Duſt and as ſmall Sand, and would drive like Duſt with the Wind: The Weather continued with this Extremity till the 15th, at which Time the Spring was harder frozen than it had been all the Year before. I had often obſerved the Difference betwixt clear Weather and miſty refracting Weather, in this Manner, from a little Hill which was near adjoining our Houſe; in the clear Weather when the Sun ſhone with all the Purity of Air, that I could not ſee a little Iſland which bore off us South-ſouth-eaſt four Leagues, but if the Weather was miſty as aforeſaid, then we could often ſee it from the loweſt Place.

This little Iſland I had ſeen the laſt Year when I was on *Danby Iſland*. The 13th I took the Height of it by an Inſtrument ſtanding near the Sea-ſide, which Iſland I take to be 34 Minutes, the Sun being 28 Degrees high; this ſhews how great a Refraction here is; yet this may be noted by the Way, that I have ſeen the Land elevated by Reaſon of the reflected Air, and nevertheleſs the Sun hath riſen perfect round. The 16th was the moſt comfortable ſunſhiny Day that came this Year, and I put ſome to clear off the Snow in the under Decks of the Ship, and to clean and dry the great Cabin, by making Fire in it; others I put to dig down through the Ice to come by our Anchor that was in Shoal-water; which the 17th in the Afternoon we got up and carried aboard. The 18th I put them to dig through the Ice near the Place where we thought our Rudder might be; they digged down and came to Water, but no Hopes of finding it.

We had many Doubts that it might be ſanded, or that the Ice might have carried it away already the laſt Year. Or if we could not recover it by digging before the Ice broke up and drove, there were little Hopes of it. The 19th we continued minding our Work aboard the Ship, and returned in the Evening to Supper aſhore. This Day the Maſter and two others deſired they might lie aboard, which I agreed to; for, indeed, they had lain very diſcommodiouſly all the Winter, and with ſick Bedfellows, as I myſelf had done, every one in that kind taking their Fortunes. By lying aboard, they avoided the hearing the miſerable Groanings and Lamentations of the ſick Men, all Night long enduring, poor Souls, miſerable Torments. By the 24th we had laboured ſo hard, that we came to the Sight of a Caſk, and could likewiſe perceive that there was ſome Water in the Hold. This we knew could not be thawed Water, becauſe it froze very hard Night and Day aboard the Ship, and on the Land alſo. By the 23d in the Evening we came to pierce the fore-mentioned Caſk, and found it full of very good Beer, which much rejoiced us all, eſpecially the ſick Men, notwithſtanding it taſted a little of the bulged Water. By this we thought that the Holes we had cut to ſink the Ship were frozen, and that this Water had ſtood in the Ship all the Winter.

The 24th we went betimes in the Morning to work, but we found that the Water was riſen above the Ice where we had left Work above two Feet, for the Wind had blown very hard at North the Night before. In the Morning the Wind came about South and blew hard, and, although we had little Reaſon for it, we yet expected a lower Veer of Water. I thereupon put them to work on the Outſide of the Ship, that we might come to the lower Hole, which we had cut in the Stern-Shoots; with much Labour, by Night, we digged down through the Ice to it, and found it unfrozen, as it had been all the Winter; and, to our great Comforts, we found that on the Inſide the Water was ebbed within the Hole, and that on the Outſide it was ebbed a Foot lower. Whereupon I cauſed a Shot-board to be nailed upon it, and to be made as tight as might be, to try if the Water came in any other Way; to the other two Holes we had digged on the Inſide, and found them frozen. Now I did this betimes, that if we found the Ship foundered, we might reſolve on ſome Courſe to ſave or prolong our Lives, by getting to the Main before the Ice was broken up; as for our Boat it was too little, and bulged beſides that.

Our Carpenter was by this Time paſt Hopes, and therefore little Hope had we of our Pinnace. But which was worſt of all, we had not four Men able to travel through the Snow over the Ice, and in this miſerable State were we at this preſent. The 25th we ſatisfied our Longing, for the Wind now coming about Northerly, the Water roſe by the Ship's Side, where we had digged down a Foot and more above the Hold, and yet did not riſe within Board. This ſo encouraged us, that we fell luſtily to digging, and to heave the Ice out of the Ship. I put the Cook and ſome others to thaw the Pumps, who, by continual pouring of hot Water into them, by the 27th in the Morning had cleared one of them, which we proving, found it delivered Water very ſufficiently. Thus we fell to pumping, and having cleared two Feet Water, we left the other to a ſecond Trial, continuing our Work thus in digging the Ice. By the 28th we had cleared our other Pump, which we alſo found to deliver Water very well. We found likewiſe that the Water did not riſe any thing in the Hold.

The 29th it rained all Day long, a ſure Sign to us that Winter was broken up. The 30th we were betimes aboard at work, which Day, and the 31ſt, were very cold with Snow and Hail, which pinched our ſick Men more than any Time this Year. This Evening being *May* Eve, we returned late from our Work to our Houſe, and made a good Fire, and choſe Ladies, and ceremoniouſly wore their Names in our Caps, endeavouring to revive ourſelves by any Means.

27. At our coming from *England* we were ſtored with all Sorts of Sea-Proviſions, as Beef, Pork, &c. but now, as we had little Hopes of recruiting, our Cook ordered it in this Manner: The Beef which was to ſerve on *Sunday* Night to Supper he boiled on *Saturday* Night in a Kettle full of Water, with a Quart of Oatmeal, about

an Hour; then taking the Beef out, he boiled the reſt to half the Quantity; and this we called *Pottage*, which we eat with Bread as hot as we could, and after this we had our Ordinary of Fiſh. *Sunday*, for Dinner we had Pork and Peaſe, and at Night the former boiled Beef made more Pottage. In this Manner our *Tueſday's* Beef was boiled on the *Monday* Nights, and the *Thurſday's* upon *Wedneſdays*; and thus all the Week, except *Friday* Night, we had ſomething warm in our Bellies every Supper; and ſurely this did us a great deal of Good: But ſoon after *Chriſtmas* many of us fell ſick, and had ſore Mouths, and could neither eat Beef, Pork, Fiſh, nor Pottage. Their Diet was only this; they would pound Bread in a Mortar to Meal, then fry it in a Frying-pan with a little Oil, and ſo eat it. Some would boil Peaſe to a ſoft Paſte, and feed, as well as they could, upon that; for the moſt part of the Winter Water was our Drink. In the whole Winter we took not above dozen Foxes, many of which would be dead in the Traps two or three Days oftentimes; and then, when the Blood was ſettled, they would be unwholſome; but if we took one alive, and he had not been long in the Trap, him we boiled and made Broth for the weakeſt ſick Men; the Fleſh of them being ſoft boiled they eat alſo. Some white Partridges we killed, but not worth mentioning.

We had three Sorts of ſick Men; thoſe that could not move, nor turn themſelves in their Beds, who muſt be tended like Infants; others were, as it were, crippled with Aches; and others that were ſomething better; moſt had ſore Mouths. You may now aſk me, How theſe infirm Men could work? I will tell you: Our Surgeon, who was a diligent and ſweet conditioned Man as ever I ſaw, would be up betimes in the Morning, and whilſt he picked their Teeth, and cut away the Pieces of Fleſh from their Gums, they would bathe their Thighs, Knees, and Legs. The Manner of it was thus; there was no Tree, Bud, or Herb, but we made Trial of it; and this being firſt boiled in a Kettle, and then put in a ſmall Tub and Baſons, they put it under them, and covered them with Cloths upon it. This ſo mollified the grieved Parts, that though, when they roſe out of their Beds, they would be ſo crippled that they could ſcarce ſtand, yet after this was done half an Hour they would be able to go, (and go they muſt) to wade through the Snow to the Ship, and about other Buſineſs; by Night they would be as bad again, and then they muſt be bathed, anointed, and their Mouths dreſſed again before they went to Bed; and in this Diet, and in this Manner we went through our Miſeries.

I was always afraid that we ſhould be weakeſt in the Spring, and therefore I reſerved a Tun of *Alicant* Wine unto this Time: Of this, by putting ſeven Parts of Water to one of Wine, we made ſome weak Beverage, which, by reaſon that the Wine had been froze and loſt its Virtue, was little better than Water. The ſicker Sort had a Pint of *Alicant* a Day by itſelf, and of ſuch poor *Aqua Vitæ* too as we had, they had a Dram allowed them next their Hearts every Morning: And thus we made the beſt Uſe of what we had, according to the Seaſons. *May* 1632, the 1ſt, we went aboard by-times, to heave out the Ice; the 2d, it did ſnow and blow, and was ſo cold that we were forced to keep houſe all Day. This unexpected Cold, at this time of the Year, did ſo vex our ſick Men that they grew worſe and worſe; we could not now take them out of their Beds, but they would ſwoon, and we had much ado to keep Life in them.

On the 3d, thoſe that were able, went on board betimes, to heave up the Ice; the Snow was now melted in many Places upon the Land, and ſtood in Plaſhes; and now there came ſome Cranes and Geeſe to it. The 4th, while the reſt wrought on board, I and the Surgeon went with a Couple of Pieces, to ſee if we could kill any of thoſe Fowls for our ſick Men; but never did I ſee ſuch wild Fowl; they would not endure to ſee any thing move; wherefore we returned in two Hours, not being able to endure any longer ſtalking through the Snow and the wet Plaſhes. I verily thought my Feet and Legs would have fallen off, they ſo tormented me with aching. The 6th, *John Wardon*, the Maſter or my Ship's Chief Mate, died, whom we buried in the Evening, in the moſt Chriſtian-like manner, on the Top of a bare Hill of Land, which we called *Brandon-hill*. The Weather continued very cold, it freezing ſo hard in the Night that it would bear a Man. By the 9th we were come to, and got up, our five Barrels of Beef and Pork, and had found four Butts of Beer and one of Cyder, which God had preſerved for us; it had lain under Water all the Winter, yet we could not perceive it was any worſe. God make us ever thankful for the great and ſeaſonable Comfort it gave us.

The 10th it ſnowed, and blew ſo cold that we could not ſtir out of the Houſe, yet nevertheleſs, by Day, the Snow vaniſhed apace on the Land. The 11th we were on board betimes, to heave out Ice. By the 12th at Night we had cleaned out all the Ice out of the Hold, and found likewiſe our Store Shoes, which had lain ſoaked in the Water all the Winter, but we dried them by the Fire, and fitted ourſelves with them. We ſtruck again our Cables into the Hold; there ſtood a Butt of Wine alſo, which had been all the Winter on the Upper-deck, and continued as yet all frozen. We fitted the Ship alſo, making her ready to ſink again when the Ice broke up. We could find no Defect in her, and therefore we hoped that ſhe was ſtaunch; the Carpenter nevertheleſs argued to the contrary, alledging that now ſhe lay on the Ground, in her Deck the Ice had filled her Defects, and the Ice was the thing that kept out the Water; but when ſhe ſhould come to labour in the Sea, ſhe would certainly open, and indeed we could now ſee quite through her Seams betwixt Wind and Water; but that which troubled us moſt was, the Loſs of her Rudder, and ſhe now lay in the very Strength of the Tide, which whenever the Ice drove might tear her to Pieces; but we ſtill hoped the beſt.

28. The 13th, being the *Sabbath-day*, we ſolemnized it, giving God Thanks for thoſe Hopes and Comforts we daily had. The Weather in the Day-time was pretty warm, but it froze by Night, yet now we could ſee ſome Land. The 14th we began a new ſort of Work: The Boatſwain, and a convenient Number, brought on Shore the reſt of our Rigging, which was much ſpoiled by pecking it out of the Ice, and this they now fell to fitting. I ſet the Cooper to fit our Caſk, although, poor Man, he was very infirm; my Intent being to paſs ſome Cables under the Ship, and ſo to buoy her up with thoſe Caſks, if we could not get her off otherwiſe; ſome others I ordered to go and ſee if they could kill ſome wild Fowl for our ſick Men, who now grew worſe and worſe; but this is to be remembred, that we had no Shot but what we made of the Aprons of our Guns, and ſome old Pewter that we had; for the Carpenter's Sheet-Lead we durſt not uſe.

The 15th I manured a little Patch of Ground that was bare of Snow, and ſowed it with Peaſe, hoping to have ſome ſhortly to eat; for as yet we could ſee no green Thing to comfort us. The 18th our Carpenter *William Cole* died; a Man beloved of us all, as much for his innate Goodneſs, as for the preſent Neceſſity we had of a Man of his Quality: He had endured a long Sickneſs with Patience, and made a very godly End. In the Evening we buried him by Mr. *Wardon*, accompanied with as many as could go, for three more of our principal Men lay then expecting a good Hour. And now were we in the moſt miſerable State that we were in all the Voyage. Before this extreme Weakneſs, he had brought the Pinnace to that paſs, that ſhe was ready to be bolted, *&c.* and to be joined to receive the Planks; ſo that we were not ſo diſcouraged by his Death, but that we hoped, ourſelves, to finiſh her, if the Ship proved unſerviceable. This Pinnace was twenty-ſeven Feet by the Keel; ſhe had ſeventeen Ground-Timbers, thirty-four principal Staddles, and eight ſhort Staddles: He had contrived her with a round Stern, to ſave Labour, and indeed ſhe was a well-proportioned Veſſel; her Burden was twelve or fourteen Tons.

In the Evening the Maſter of our Ship, after the Burial, returned aboard, and, looking about him, diſcovered ſome Part of our Gunner under the Gun-Room Ports. This Man we had committed to the Sea at a good Diſtance from the Ship, and in deep Water, near ſix Months before. The 19th, in the Morning, I ſent Men to dig him out. He was faſt in the Ice, his Head downwards, and his Heel upwards, for he had but one Leg; and the Plaiſter was yet at the Wound. In the Afternoon they had digged him clear out, and he was as free from Noiſomneſs, as when we firſt committed him to the Sea. This Alteration had the Ice, and Water, and Time only wrought on him, that his Fleſh would ſlip up and down, upon his Bones, like a Glove on a Man's Hand. In the Evening we buried him by the others. This Day one *George Ugganes*, who could handle a Tool beſt of us all, had pretty well repaired our Boat, and ſo ended this mournful Week. The Snow was by this time pretty well waſted in the Wood; and we having a high Tree on the higheſt Place of the Iſland, which was called our Watch-Tree, from the Top of it might ſee into the Sea, but found no Appearance of breaking up yet.

The 20th, being *Whitſunday*, we ſadly ſolemnized it, and had ſome Taſte of the wild Fowl, but not worth the writing. The 21ſt was the warmeſt ſunſhiny Day that came this Year. I ſent two a fowling; and myſelf, the Maſter, Chirurgeon, and one more, with our Pieces and Dogs. We went into the Woods to ſee what we could find; we wandered from the Houſe eight Miles, and ſearched with all Diligence, but returned comfortleſs; not an Herb or Leaf eatable could we find. Our Fowlers had as bad Succeſs. In the Woods we found the Snow partly melted away, ſo that it was paſſable. The Snow does not melt away here with the Sun or Rain, and ſo make Land-Floods, as in *England*, but is exhaled by the Sun, and ſucked full of Holes like the Honey-combs; ſo that the Sand whereon it lies will not be wetted. The like Obſervations we alſo made, that let it rain ever ſo much you ſhall ſee no Land-Floods after it. The 22d we went aboard the Ship, and found ſhe had made ſo much Water that it was riſen above the Ballaſt, which made us doubt again of her Soundneſs. We fell to pumping, and pumped her quite dry. And now by Day ſometimes we have ſuch hot Glooms that we cannot endure the Sun, and yet in the Night it freezes very hard. This Unnaturalneſs of the Seaſon tormented our Men that they grew worſe and worſe daily.

The 23d our Boatſwain, a careful Man, having been long ſick, which he had heartily reſiſted, was taken with ſuch a Pain in one of his Thighs, that we thought he would have died preſently. He kept his Bed in great Extremity. And it was a Maxim among us, that if any one kept his Bed he could riſe no more. This made every Man to ſtrive to keep up for Life.

The 24th was very warm Sunſhine, and the Ice conſumed by the Shore-ſide, and cracked all over the Bay with dreadful Noiſe. About three in the Afternoon we could perceive the Ice with the Ebb to drive by the Ship, whereupon I ſent two with all Speed to the Maſter, with Order to beat out the Hole and to ſink the Ship, as likewiſe to look for the Rudder betwixt the Ice. This he preſently performed; and a happy Fellow, one *David Hammon* pecking betwixt the Ice, ſtruck upon it, and it came up with his Launce, who crying that he had found it, the reſt came and got it upon the Ice, and ſo into the Ship. In the mean time the little Drift which the Ice had began to riſe and mount into high Heaps againſt the ſhole Shores and Rocks, and likewiſe againſt the Heap of Ice which we had put for a Barricado to our Ship, but with little Harm to us; yet we were forced to cut away twenty Fathom of Cable which was frozen in the Ice. After an Hour the Ice ſettled again, not having any Vent outwards. This was a joyful Day to us all, and we gave God Thanks for the Hopes we had of it.

The 25th was a fine warm Day, and with the Ebb the Ice drove againſt the Ship and ſtruck her ſoundly. The 26th I took the Chirurgeon with me, and went again to the Wood, and to that Bay where laſt Year we had loſt our Man *John Barton*, but we could find no Sign of him. The 28th it was pretty clear betwixt the Ship and the Shore, and I hoped the Ice would no more oppreſs us; wherefore I cauſed the lower Holes to be firmly ſtopped, the Water then remaining three Feet above the Ballaſt. The 29th being Prince *Charles*'s Birth-day, we kept Holiday, and diſplayed his Majeſty's Colours both on Land and aboard, and named our Habitation *Charles-Town*, by Contraction *Charlton*, and the Iſland *Charlton Iſland*.

The 30th we launched our Boat, and had Intercourſe ſometimes between the Ship and the Shore by Boat, which was new to us. The laſt Day of this Month we found ſome Vetches to appear out of the Ground, which I made our Men pick up and boil for our Sick. This Day we made an end of fitting all our Rigging and Sails, and it being a very hot Day we dried our Fiſh in the Sun, and aired all our other Proviſions. There was not a Man of us at preſent able to eat of our ſalt Proviſions but myſelf and the Maſter. It may be remembered that all this Winter we had not been troubled with any Rheums nor Phlegmatic Diſeaſes. All this Month the Wind was variable, but for the moſt part northerly.

29. *June* 1632. The firſt four Days ſnowed and hailed, and blew very hard, and it was ſo cold that the Ponds of Water froze over, and the Water in our Cans was frozen even in the very Houſe. Our Cloaths alſo that had been waſhed and hung out to dry did not thaw. All Day the 5th it continued blowing very hard on the broad Side of the Ship, which made her ſwag and wallow in her Dock, notwithſtanding ſhe was ſunk, which ſhook her very much. The Ice withal drove againſt her, and gave her many fearful Blows. I reſolved to endeavour to hang the Rudder, and when God ſent us Water, notwithſtanding the abundance of Ice that was yet about us, to heave her further off. In the Afternoon we under-run our ſmall Cable to our Anchor, which lay a-ſtern in deep Water, and ſo with ſome Difficulty got up our Anchor. This Cable had lain ſlack under Foot, and under the Ice all Winter, and we could never have a clear Slatch from Ice to have it up before now. We found it not a Jot the worſe. I put ſome to make Coal-rakes, that they might go into the Water and rake a Hole in the Sand to let down our Rudder. The 6th we went about to hang it; and our young luſtieſt Men took it by Turns to go into the Water and to rake away the Sand, but they were not able to endure the Cold half a Quarter of an Hour, it was ſo mortifying; and uſe what Comforts we could, it would make them ſwoon and die away. We brought it to the Stern-Poſt, but then we were forced to give it over, being able to work at it no longer. Then we plugged the upper Holes aboard, and fell to pumping the Water out of her again.

The 7th we wrought about our Rudder, but were again forced to give over, and ſo put our Cables over board with Meſſengers unto them, the Anchor lying to that Paſs that we might keep her right in the Dock when we had brought her light. By the 8th at Night we had pumped all the Water out of her, ſo that at high Water ſhe would float in her Dock, tho' ſhe were ſtill docked in the Sand almoſt four Feet. This made us conſider what was to be done. I reſolved to heave out all the Ballaſt; for the Bottom of her being ſo ſoaked all the Winter, I hoped was ſo heavy that it would bear her. If we could not get her off that Way, I then thought to cut her down to the lower Deck, and take out her Maſts, and ſo with our Caſks to buoy her off. The 9th betimes in the Morning we fell to work, we hoiſted out our Beer and Cyder, and made a Raft of it, faſtening it to our Shore-Anchor. The Beer and Cyder ſunk preſently to the Ground, which was nothing ſtrange to us, for any Wood or Pipe-ſtaves that had laid under the Ice all the Winter would alſo ſink down as ſoon as ever it was hove over board.

This Day we heaved out ten Ton of Ballaſt; and here I am to remember God's Goodneſs towards us, in ſending thoſe forementioned green Vetches; for now our feeble ſick Men, that could not for their Lives ſtir theſe two or three Months, could endure the Air, and walk about the Houſe. Our other ſick Men gathered Strength alſo: And it was wonderful to ſee how ſoon they were recovered. We uſe them in this manner twice a Day; we went to gather the Herb or Leaf of thoſe Vetches as they firſt appeared out of the Ground, and then we waſhed and boiled them, and ſo with Oil and Vinegar that had been frozen we eat them. It was an excellent Suſtenance and refreſhing; the moſt part of us eat nothing elſe. We likewiſe bruiſed them, and took the Juice of them and mixed it with our Drink: We alſo eat them raw with our Bread.

The 11th was very warm Weather, and we hung our Rudder. The Tides now very much deceived us, for a Northerly Wind would very little raiſe the Water. This made us doubt of getting off our Ship. The 13th I reſolved to know the Latitude of this Place; ſo having examined the Inſtruments and practiſed about it this Fortnight, I found it to be 52 Degrees 3 Minutes. The 14th we had heaved out all the Ballaſt, and carried all our Yards and every thing elſe on Shore, ſo that we now had the Ship as light as poſſible it could be.

The 13th we did little but exerciſe ourſelves. By this Time our Men that were moſt feeble grew ſtrong and run about, the Fleſh of their Gums being ſettled again, and their Teeth faſtened ſo that they eat Beef with their Vetches. This Day I went to our Watch-Tree, but the Sea, for any thing I could perceive, was ſtill firm frozen, and the Bay full of Ice, having no Way to vent it.

The 16th was wondrous hot, with ſome Thunder and Lightning, ſo that our Men went into the Ponds aſhore to ſwim and cool themſelves, yet the Water was very cool ſtill. Here had lately appeared divers ſorts of Flies, as Butter-flies, Butchers-flies, Horſe-flies and ſuch an infinite Number of blood-thirſty Muſketoes, that we were more tormented with them then ever we were with the cold Weather. Thoſe I think lie dead in the old rotten Wood all the Winter, and in Summer they revive again. Here are likewiſe infinite Numbers of Ants and Frogs in the Ponds upon the Land, but we durſt not eat of them: They looked ſpeckled like Toads. By this Time there were neither Bears, Foxes, nor Fowl to be ſeen.

30. The 17th the Wind came Northerly, and we, expecting a high Tide, in the Morning betimes put out our ſmall Cable aſtern out at the Gun-Room Port, but the Morning-Tide we had not Water by a Foot. In the Evening I had laid Marks by Stones, *&c.* and thought that the Water flowed apace: Making Signs therefore for the Boat to come aſhore, I took all that were able to do any thing with me aboard; and at high Water, although ſhe wanted ſomething to riſe clear out of the Dock, yet we heaved with ſuch Good-will, that we heaved her through the Sand into a Foot and an half deeper Water, and further we durſt not bring her; for the Ice was all thick about us. After we had moved her we all went to Prayers, and gave God Thanks that he had given us our Ship again. The 18th were were up betimes, the Cooper and ſome with him to bring freſh Water, myſelf with others to gather Stones at low Water, which we piling up at low Water, the Cockſwain and his Gang fetched them aboard, where the Maſter with the reſt ſtowed them to the Offing, by which means we could the better come and ſtop the two upper Holes firmly: After which we fitted other convenient Places to make others to ſink her, if Occaſion were.

The 19th we were all up betimes to work as afore ſpecified. Theſe two Days our Ship did not float, and it was a very happy Hour which we got her off, for we never had ſuch a high Tide all the Time we were here. In the Evening we went up to our Watch-Tree; and this was the firſt Time I could ſee open Water any Way except that little by the Shore-ſide where we were. This put us in ſome Comfort that the Sea would ſhortly break up, which we knew muſt be ſo to the Northward, ſeeing that Way we were certain there were about two hundred Leagues of Sea. The 20th we laboured as formerly, the Wind at North-north-weſt. The Tide roſe ſo high that our Ship floated, and we drew her off into a Foot and half deeper Water. Thus we did it by little and little, for the Ice was ſtill wonderfully thick round about us.

The 22d there drove much Ice about us and within us, and brought home our Stern-Anchor at high Water. Notwithſtanding all the Ice we heaved our Ship further off, that ſo ſhe might lie afloat at low Water. The next low Water we ſounded all about the Ship, and found it very ſound Ground. We diſcovered Stones three Feet high above the Ground, and two of them within a Ship's-breadth of the Ship, whereby did more manifeſtly appear God's Mercy to us; for if when we found her on Shore ſhe had ſtruck one Blow againſt thoſe Stones, it had bulged her. Many ſuch Dangers were there in this Bay, which we now firſt perceived. In the Evening we towed off the Ship into the Place were ſhe rode the laſt Year, and there moored her, ſteering the Ship Night and Day, Flood and Ebb, among the diſperſed Ice that came athwart us.

The 23d we laboured in fetching the Proviſions on board, which to do we were forced to wade to carry it to the Boat a full Bow-ſhot, and all by reaſon the Wind was Southerly. This Morning I took an Obſervation of the Moon's coming to the South, by a Meridian Line of a hundred and twenty Yards long, which I had rectified many Weeks beforehand,

The 24th I took another Obſervation of the Moon's coming to the Meridian. I had formerly cut down a very high Tree and made a Croſs of it: To it I now faſtened uppermoſt the King and Queen's Pictures drawn to the Life, and doubly wrapped in Lead, and ſo cloſe that no Weather could hurt them. Betwixt both theſe I affixed his Majeſty's Royal Title, *viz. Charles* the firſt, King of *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland*, as alſo of *Newfoundland*, and of theſe Territories, and to the Weſtward as far as *Nova Albion*, and to the Northward to the Latitude of 80 Degrees, *&c.* On the Outſide of the Lead I faſtened a Shilling and a Sixpence of his Majeſty's Coin; under that we faſtened the King's Arms fairly cut in Lead, and under that the Arms of the City of *Briſtol:* And this being Midſummer-day, we raiſed it on the Top of the Bar-hill, where we had buried our dead Fellows, by this Ceremony taking Poſſeſſion of theſe Territories for his Majeſty's Uſe. The Wind continuing Southerly, and blowing hard, put the Ice upon us, ſo that the Ship now rode among it in ſuch apparent Danger, that I thought verily we ſhould have loſt her.

We laboured Flood and Ebb with Poles and Oars to heave away and part the Ice, but it was God that protected and preſerved us; for it was paſt any Man's Underſtanding how the Ship could endure it, or we by our Labour ſave her. In the Night the Wind ſhifted to the Weſtward, and blew the Ice from us, which gave us ſome Reſt.

31. The 25th in the Morning the Boatſwain with a convenient Crew began to rig the Ship, the reſt fetching our Proviſion on board. About ten o'Clock when it was ſomething dark, I took a Launce in my Hand, and one with me with a Muſket, and went to our Watch-Tree to make a Fire on the moſt eminent Place of the Iſland, to ſee if it would be anſwered. Such Fires I have formerly made to have Knowledge if there were any Savages on the Main or the Iſlands about us. Had there been any, my Purpoſe was to have gone to them to get Intelligence of Chriſtians, or ſome Ocean Seas thereabouts. When I was come to the Tree I laid down my Launce, and ſo did my Conſort his Muſket, whilſt I climbed up to the Top of the Tree. I ordered him to put Fire to ſome low Tree thereabouts. He unadviſedly put Fire to ſome Trees that were to Windward, ſo that they and all the reſt too, by reaſon it had beeen very hot Weather, being dry, took Fire like Flax and Hemp; and the Wind blowing towards me, I made haſte down the Tree; but before I was half Way down the Fire took on the Bottom of it, and blazed ſo fiercely upward that I was forced to leap off the Tree and down a ſteep Hill, and in ſhort with much ado eſcaped Burning. The Moſs on the Ground was as dry as Flax, and it run moſt ſtrangely, like a Train along the Earth. The Muſket and Launce were both burnt. My Conſort at laſt came to me, and was joyful to ſee me, for he thought verily I had been burnt: And thus we went homeward together, leaving the Fire increaſing and burning moſt furiouſly.

I ſlept but little all Night after, and at break of Day ordered all our Powder and Beef to be carried aboard this Day. I went to the Hills to look to the Fire, where I ſaw it ſtill burn both to Weſtward and Northward, leaving one upon the Hills to watch it. I came home immediately, and made them take down our now Suit of Sails, and carry them to the Sea-ſide, ready to be caſt in if Occaſion were, and to make haſte to take down our Houſes. About Noon the Wind ſhifted Northward, and our Centinel came running home, bringing us Word that the Fire followed him at his Heels, like a Train of Powder. There was no Occaſion to bid us pull down, and carry all to the Sea-ſide. The Fire came towards us with a moſt terrible rattling Noiſe, bearing a full Mile in Breadth; and by that Time we had uncovered our Houſes, and going to carry away our laſt things, the Fire was come to our Town and ſeized it, and, in a Trice, burnt it down to the Ground. We loſt nothing of any Value, for we had brought all into a Place of Security. Our Dogs, in this Condition, would ſit down on their Tails, and howl, and then run into the Sea, and there ſtay. The Wind ſhifted Eaſterly, and the Fire ranged to the Weſtward, ſeeking what it might devour. This Night we lay together aboard the Ship, and gave God Thanks, who had been thus merciful unto us.

The 27th, 28th, and 29th, we wrought hard in fetching our things aboard, as likewiſe our Water, which we towed off with the Ebb, and ſent it to the Ship with the Flood; we were forced to go about the Eaſtern Point for Drift-wood, for the Tools were all ſo ſpent, that we could cut none. Therefore about three Days before I had cauſed our Pinnace to be ſawed to pieces, and with that we ſtowed our Caſk, intending to burn it at Low-water; and ſuch other times as we could not work in carrying things aboard, I employed in fetching Stones; and we built three Tombs over our three dead Companions, filling them in with Sand, in a decent and handſome Manner. The leaſt Tomb had three Tons of Stones about it. The 30th we earneſtly continued our Labour, and brought our Sails to Yard; and by eleven o'Clock at Night had made a pretty Ship, meaning to have finiſhed our Buſineſs with the Week and Month, that we might the better ſolemnize the Sabbath aſhore, and ſo take leave of our wintering Iſland.

The Wind had been variable a great while, and the Bay, ſo clear of Ice, that we could not ſee a Piece of it, for it was all gone to the Northward. Hoping that it may give Content to ſome Readers, I will relate the Manner of the breaking of it up. It is firſt to be noted, that it did not freeze naturally above ſix Feet, the reſt is by Accident; ſuch is that Ice, that you may ſee here ſix Fathom thick; this we had manifeſt Proof of, by digging the Ice out of the Ship, and by digging to our Anchors before the Ice broke up.

32. In *May*, when the Heat increaſeth, it thaws firſt on the Shole by the Shore-ſide, which when it hath done round about, then the Courſes of the Tides, as well by the Ebb and Flood, as by their riſing and falling, do ſo ſhake the main Ice, that it cracks and breaks it. Thus, when it hath got Room for Motion, then runs one Piece of it upon another, and ſo bruiſes and grinds itſelf againſt the Sholes and Rocks, that a Ship may run through it. Beſides this, much of it is thruſt upon the Sholes, where it is conſumed by the Heat of the Sun. The Seaſon of this Climate is moſt unnatural; for in the Day time it will be extreme hot, nay intolerable, by Reaſon it is a ſandy Country. In the Night again it will freeze an Inch thick in the Ponds, and in the Tubs about, and in our Houſes; and all this towards the latter End of *June*. The Muſketoes, upon our coming away, were inſupportable. We tore an old Flag in Pieces, and made us Bags of it to put our Heads in, but it was no Fortification againſt them; they would find ways and means to ſting us, that our Faces were ſwoln out in Pimples, which would ſo itch and ſmart, that we muſt needs rub and ſcar them; and theſe Flies, indeed, were more tormenting to us, than all the Cold we had endured before.

July 1632. The 1ſt of this Month we were up betimes, and I cauſed our Ship to be adorned the beſt we could. Our Flag in the Poop, and the King's Colours in the Main-Top. I had provided a ſhort Account of all the Paſſages of our Voyage to this Day. I likewiſe wrote in what State we were in at preſent, and how I intended to proſecute this Diſcovery, both to the Weſtward and to the Southward, about this Iſland. This brief Diſcourſe I had concluded, with a Requeſt to any noble minded Traveller that ſhould take it down, or come to the Notice of it; that if we ſhould periſh in the Action, then to make our Endeavours known to our Sovereign Lord the King. And thus, with our Arms, Drums, and Colours, Cook and Kettle, we went aſhore, and at firſt we marched up to our eminent Croſs, adjoining to which we had buried our dead Fellows. There we read Morning Prayers, and then walked up and down till Dinner-time. After Dinner we walked up to the higheſt Hills, to ſee which way the Fire had waſted; we deſcried that it had conſumed to the Weſtward ſixteen Miles at leaſt, and the whole Breadth of the Iſland. Near our Croſs and Dead it could not come, by reaſon it was bare Sand. After Evening Prayer I happened to walk along the Beach-ſide, where I found an Herb reſembling Scurvy-Graſs; I had ſome gathered, which we boiled with our Meat to Supper.

It was moſt excellent good, and far better than our Vetches. After Supper we went to ſeek for more of it, which we carried off to the Quantity of two Buſhels, which did afterwards much refreſh us; and now the Sun was ſet, and the Boat came aſhore for us; whereupon we aſſembled ourſelves together, and went up to take the laſt View of our Dead, and to look to their Tombs, and other things. So faſtening my Brief, which was ſecurely wrapped up in Lead to the Croſs, we preſently took Boat and departed, and never put Foot more on that Iſland. This Iſland, and all the reſt, as likewiſe the Main, is a light white Sand, covered over with a white Moſs, and full of Shrubs and low Buſhes, excepting ſome bare Hills and other Patches: In theſe bare Places the Sand will drive with the Wind like Duſt. It is very full of Trees, as Spruce and Juniper, but the biggeſt Tree I ſaw was but a Foot and a half Diameter.

At our firſt coming hither we ſaw ſome Deer, and killed one, but never any ſince; Foxes all the Winter we ſaw many, and killed ſome Dozens of them; but they went all away in *May*; Bears we ſaw a few, but killed none; we ſaw ſome other little Beaſts. In *May* there came ſome Fowl, as Ducks and Geeſe, of which we killed very few; white Patridges we ſaw, but in ſmall Quantities, nor had we any Shot to ſhoot at them. Fiſh we could never ſee any in the Sea, nor no Bones of Fiſh on the Shore-ſide, excepting a few Cockle-Shells, and yet nothing in them neither.

33. *Sunday* being the 2d of *July*, 1632, we were up betimes, about ſtowing and fitting our Ship, and weighing our Anchors; which, when the laſt was a Trip, we went to Prayers, beſeeching God to continue his Mercy to us, and rendering him Thanks for having thus reſtored us. Our Ship we found no Defect in. We had abundance of ſuch Proviſions as we brought out of *England*, and we were in indifferent Health, and gathered Strength daily. This being done, we weighed and came chearfully to ſail. The Wind at North-weſt, bad to get away, wherefore we ſtood over to *Danby Iſland*, to take in more Wood, and there to be ready to take the Opportunity of a fair Wind. I went aſhore with the Boat, for ſome of the Company had told me they had ſeen ſome Stakes the laſt Year driven into the Ground, where we came aſhore, whilſt ſome gathered Wood. I went to the Place, where I found two Stakes drove into the Ground a Foot and a half, and Fire-brands, where a Fire had been made by them. I pulled up the Stakes, which were about the Thickneſs of my Arm, and they had been cut ſharp at the Ends with a Hatchet, or ſome other good Iron Tool, and driven in as it were with the Head of it. They were diſtant above a Stones-throw from the Water-ſide. I could not conceive to what Purpoſe they ſhould be there ſet, unleſs it were for ſome Mark for Boats. This augmented my Deſire to ſpeak with the *Savages*, for, without doubt, they could have given us Notice of ſome Chriſtians with whom they had Commerce.

About four in the Evening I returned with a Boat's

Lading of Wood, and the Wind ſomething favouring, we weighed with our Lead, ſeeking out a Channel amongſt thoſe dangerous Sholes. In the Evening the Wind oppoſing itſelf, we came to Anchor betwixt *Charlton Iſland*, and that Iſland we named the laſt Year, in Memory of that honourable Gentleman Mr. *Thomas Cary*, one of the Bed-chamber to the King, *Cary's Iſland*, where we rid all Night. On the 3d, at break of Day, we weighed, with a bare Wind, and, ſounding up and down for a Channel, we were many times in five and four Fathom Water. The Wind larging upon us we ſtood away Weſt; by Noon we ſaw all the Ice Southward of us, endeavouring therefore to compaſs about the Weſtern Point of *Charlton Iſland*, and ſo to ſeek to the Southward, we found it all Sholes, Rocks, and Breaches. By four in the Afternoon we ſaw the Weſtern Land, but all full of Ice; whereupon, as the Wind favoured us, we ſtood along it in Sight to the Northward.

The fourth was calm, but ſo very thick and foggy withal, that we could not ſee a Piſtol-ſhot about us; we knew not which Way to turn us. Now to avoid telling the ſame thing twenty times, we were continually till the 22d ſo peſtered and tormented with Ice, that it would ſeem incredible to relate it; ſometimes we were ſo blinded with Fog, that we could not ſee about us; and we did ſo ſtrike againſt the Ice, that the Fore-part of the Ship would crack again, and make our Cook and others to run up all amazed, and think the Ship had been beaten all to Pieces. Indeed we did hourly ſtrike ſuch unavoidable Blows, that we left the Hatches open, and twenty times in a Day the Men would run down into the Hold to ſee if ſhe were bulged. Sometimes when we had made her faſt in the Night to a great Piece of Ice, we ſhould have ſuch violent Storms, that our faſtning would break, and then the Storm would beat us from Piece to Piece moſt dreadfully; other times we ſhould be faſt incloſed among great Ice as high as our Poop: This was made, as I have formerly ſaid, by one Piece running upon another, which made it draw eight or ten Fathom Water; beſides which the lowermoſt would riſe from underneath, and ſtrike us under the Bulge with Pieces of five, ſix, nay of eight Tons, that many times we have pumped clear Water for an Hour together, before we could make the Pump ſuck. Among theſe ſeveral and hourly Dangers, I overheard the Men murmur, and ſay, That they were happy that I had buried, and that if they had a thouſand Pounds they would give it, ſo they lay fairly by them; for we, ſay they, are deſtined to ſtarve upon a Piece of Ice. I was forced to ſuffer all this with Patience, and to comfort them again, when I had them in a better Humour.

34. The 22d, having been vexed with a Storm all Night, and this Morning with a thick Fog, we drove in thirteen Fathom Water. About Noon it cleared, and we ſaw the Land, and at that Inſtant had a good Obſervation, whereby we knew it to be the Cape *Henrietta Maria*. I made the Maſter ſtand in with it, and in the mean Time we fitted a Croſs, and faſtened the King's Arms, and the Arms of the City of *Briſtol* to it. We came to an Anchor within a Mile of the Shore, in ſix Fathom Water, ſo we hoiſted out our Boat, and took our Arms and our Dogs, and went aſhore. Upon the moſt eminent Place we erected the Croſs; and then ſeeking about we ſoon ſaw ſome Deer, and by and by more and more. We ſtole to them with the beſt Skill we had, and then put our Dogs on them, but the Deer ran clear away from them at Pleaſure. We tired the Dogs, and wearied ourſelves, but to no purpoſe, neither could we come to ſhoot at them. I ſaw, in all, about a dozen old and young, very goodly Beaſts. We took half a dozen young Geeſe on the Pools, by wading into them; and ſo returned to our Boat, vexed that we had found a Place where there were Refreſhments, and we could get none of them. Whereas we had kept our Dogs with a great deal of Inconveniency aboard the Ship all the Winter, and had pardoned them many Miſdemeanours (for they would ſteal our Meat out of the ſteeping Tubs) in Hopes they might hereafter do us ſome Service; and ſeeing they now did not, and that there were no Hopes they could hereafter, I cauſed them to be left aſhore. They were a Dog and a Bitch, Buck Dogs, of a very good Breed. The Dog had a Collar about his Neck, which, perhaps, hereafter may come to Light.

I ſaw no Sign of any *Savages*, nor could we find any Herbs, or other Refreſhments here. In the Evening, being returned aboard, and the Wind blowing fair at South, I cauſed the Maſter to weigh, and come to Sail, and to loſe no Time, for we hoped for an open Sea to the North-weſt. This Cape has a very ſhole Point that lies off it, which we endeavoured to compaſs. Sailing therefore upon ſhattered Ice, we came to very ſhole Water, four and five Fathom deep, and could not avoid it. At length, ſtanding North, the Water deepened, but we came withal among great Pieces of Ice, which by reaſon of ſome open Water there were a pretty Sea. Theſe hard Pieces of Ice made a moſt dreadful Noiſe. It proved a fair Moonſhine Night, otherwiſe it had gone ill with us. We turned among this Ice, ſtaying the Ship, ſometimes within her Length of great Pieces as bad has Rocks; but by Reaſon we were often forced to bear up, we let fall an Anchor, and ſtood all on the Decks to watch the Ice, ſheering off the Ship to and again to avoid it. Thus having Poles and Oars to fend it, we could not keep ourſelves ſo clear, but many Pieces came foul of us. We broke two of our great Poles with it, which were made to be handled by four Men, beſides ſome other Damage. At break of Day we weighed and ſought all Ways to clear ourſelves of Ice, but it was impoſſible. I conceive it impertinent to relate every particular Day's Paſſage, ſince they were much alike to us. Our Endeavours were ſometimes with our Sails, giving and receiving five hundred dreadful Blows in a Day.

Sometimes we ſtopped at an Anchor, when we could get a little open Water, and ſo ſuffer the Ice to drive to Leeward. Other times we ſhould be encloſed among it, and then it would ſo break and riſe, and leap up under us, that we expected every Hour to be beaten to Pieces. Beſides we had ſuch Storms in the dark Nights, as would break our Moorings we had made faſt to ſome Pieces of Ice, for Security in the Night Seaſon; and then we were beat moſt dangerouſly from Piece to Piece till Day-light, that we could ſee to make her faſt again. I forbear to ſpeak of the Fogs which we had daily, which froze our Rigging Day and Night; beſides all which, we ſhould come into moſt uncertain Depths, ſometimes twenty Fathom, next Caſt ten, next fifteen, then nine, rocky foul Ground; the great deep Ice withal, driving on theſe uncertain Depths, did ſo diſtract the Tides, and deceive us ſo much in our Account, that by the 30th we were driven back ſo far to the Eaſtward, and to the Southward of the Cape, that at five o'Clock in the Evening it bore North-weſt of us ſome three Leagues off, contrary to our Expectations.

With all theſe Miſchiefs, our Ship now became very leaky, that we pumped every half Watch. Here I called a Conſultation, and after conſidering all our Experience, we were of Opinion that it was impoſſible to get to the Northward, or to the Eaſtward, by Reaſon of the Ice; wherefore I reſolved upon this Courſe; when the Wind blew South, it would blow the Ice off the South Shore, then we would ſeek to get to the Weſtward, betwixt it and the Shore. I muſt confeſs that this was a deſperate Reſolution, for all the Coaſt we knew to be ſhole and foul Ground, all Rocks and Stones; ſo that if the Wind ſhould ſhift to the Northward, there would be, without God's Mercies, little Hopes of us. But here we muſt not ſtay, the Nights grew long, the Cold ſo increaſed, that betwixt the Pieces of Ice the Sea would be frozen. I cauſed the Ship to be fitted, and Places again prepared to ſink her a ſecond Time, if ſo be, we were put to Extremities. We preſently put our Project in Execution (the Wind being at South) and got about the Sholes of the Cape, ſtanding then into the Shoreward, to get betwixt it and the Ice. We came into four Fathom Water (very foul rocky Ground) thinking to come to an Anchor all Night, and let the Ice drive to Leeward. But ſtill there was ſo much Ice betwixt us and the Shore, that we were forced to bear up againſt it into deeper Water, and to let the Ship drive among it; the Wind increaſing we endured a moſt dangerous dark Night of it.

In the Morning we fell to work to get the Ship again out of the Ice into ſome clear Water, which we ſaw Weſt by South of us. Some of our Company went out upon the Ice to heave her with their Shoulders, whilſt others ſtood aboard with their Poles; the reſt ſtood to fill and ſpill the Sail. By nine in the Morning we had got into ſome clear Water, and ſtood Weſt and by South into four Fathom Water, foul Ground; but being not able to weather ſome Rands of Ice which drove, we were forced to ſtand off again, and when the Evening grew dark to come to an Anchor. About Midnight there came a great Piece of Ice (which we could not avoid) atwhart of our Cable, and made her drive and drag her Anchor: This drove her into ſhole Water, it being very rocky and foul Ground: We brought the Cable to Capſtang, and heaved with ſuch a Courage that we heaved home our Anchor from under it. Thus we endeavoured the beſt we could to keep ourſelves in eight or ten Fathom Water. It then pleaſed God that the Wind blew along the Shore, otherwiſe it had gone far worſe with us.

35. *Auguſt* 1632. The 1ſt of this Month, at break of Day, when we could ſee all about us, we were forced to ſtruggle again with the Ice, and to get in nearer to the Shore, by Reaſon the Wind was oppoſite, to come to an Anchor; we let the Ice drive to Leeward, hoping there was a clearing Sea to the Weſtward: The Ice drove very thick upon us, and one Piece came foul of us, which touched our Sprit-ſail Yard, and made the Ship drive; but we ſoon cleared ourſelves of it. Then we weighed, and ſtood in nearer to the Shore; but the Water ſhoaled, and there were ſo many thick Rands of Ice betwixt us and the Shore that there was no coming to an Anchor, ſo we turned betwixt the Ice, many Pieces of it being aground in ſhole Water, and few Pieces diſtant one from the other a Cable's Length: This Day we ſaw two Sea Mawes on the Ice. The 2d in the Morning we were glad at break of Day, having moſt dangerouſly turned among the Ice, and endured many a Blow; we ſtood in again to the Shoreward, to ſee if we could get ſome clear Water; for to the Northward it was all impaſſable Ice: We ſtood into five and four Fathom, but ſtill all impaſſable with Ice, ſo we ſtood off again into deeper Water; and in the Evening we were incloſed with extraordinary great Pieces; it was a very thick Fog withal, ſo that we made faſt the Ship to a great flat Piece and went to ſleep, after our extreme Painstaking.

The 3d, 4th, and 5th we were incloſed among very great Ice, and it blew ſuch a Storm of Wind that we, endeavouring to get forward to the Weſtward, ſtruck ſuch heavy Blows that made all the Fore-part of the Ship crack again; then we gave over working, and let her alone among it, but then the Ice would break and riſe under us, and that endangered us as bad as the former. Our Ship made now above a Ton of Water every Watch, which we pumped out before our other Labour. God be merciful unto us among all theſe Dangers.

The 5th at Noon we were in Latitude 55 Degrees, the Cape bearing off us South-eaſt by Eaſt, twelve Leagues off, and this all we have got ſince the 22d of *July*; all Night it blew a violent Gale of Wind at Weſt-north-weſt, and about Midnight our Hawſer (by which we made faſt to a Piece of Ice) broke, and we loſt four Fathom of it. We beat all Night moſt fearfully, being toſſed from Piece to Piece, becauſe in the Dark we duſt not venture our Men to go on the Ice, for fear of loſing them. All the 6th the Storm continued, and drove us again quite with the Ice almoſt to the Cape. The 7th was the moſt comfortable Day we had ſince we came out of our Wintering place. The Wind came up fair at Eaſt, and we got, although with our former Inconveniencies and Dangers, nearer the Shore, and into ſome open Water, making good way to the Weſtward. Add to this that our Leak now ſtopped of its own Accord, ſo that we pumped but little. We ſailed all Night, keeping good Watch on the Forecaſtle, bearing up from one and looſing from another. Thus we did the 8th alſo; but then the Wind ſhifting to the North-weſt, it drove the Ice on the Shore, and we came to an Anchor in eight Fathom Water. The main Ice we had ſome two Miles to windward of us; but the Set of the Tide kept it off from us. At Noon we were in Latitude 55 Degrees 34 Minutes. In the Evening a Range of Ice drove upon us, which made us weigh, and ſtand in nearer the Shore into ſix Fathom, and there come to an Anchor. The Wind increaſing about Midnight, the Ship drove, and was quickly in five Fathom Water, wherefore we let fall our Sheet Anchor, and both held her; but what troubled us was, we expected every Minute that the main Ice would come upon us, then there would be no Hope but to run on Shore.

The 9th in the Morning we weighed our ſecond Anchor, the Ice being within leſs than a Mile of us. About eight in the Morning a Point of it came foul of us, which we prevented by weighing, and came to Anchor in three Fathoms and a half Water. The Wind continued North-north-weſt, which was in on the Shore. This Morning I cauſed all our empty Caſks to be filled with Water, and the Ship to be left unpumped, and the Place looked to that we had prepared to ſink her, for we were at preſent in as apparent Danger as any time this Voyage, and to our great Grief it was all full of foul rocky Ground. The Danger of this was, if we made faſt to a Piece of Ice that drew deep Water, then as ſoon as it came to Ground on the Rocks it would break all to Pieces and betray us to our Deſtruction. About Noon there came foul of us the Point of a Range of Ice which we reſolved to endure the Extremity of with an Anchor, thinking to ride and break through it, we now perceiving ſome open Water beyond it; thruſting therefore, and fending with our Poles, at laſt a great Piece of Ice came athwart our Hawſer, and there was a briſk Sea among it: The Ship now fell upon it ſo violently that I expected every Blow ſhe would beat out her Bows; at length ſhe drove with it ſo that I thought the Cable had been broke; we brought it to Capſtang to heave it in, but found that our Sheet Anchor was broke in the Middle of the Shank. We preſently ſet our Sails thereupon, endeavouring that Way to edge in among the Ice off of this dangerous Shore. It pleaſed God to favour our Labour ſo, that by eight in the Evening we got off into ſeven Fathoms Water, and a dark Night coming on we made faſt to the biggeſt Piece we could find. It blew all Night, but at Midnight the Wind came up at North, which was more on the Shore than before.

By break of Day, on the 10th, we were driven into four Fathom very foul Ground, ſo that the Lead fell off the Rocks three or four Feet, we ſet our Sails and uſed our utmoſt Endeavours to edge off. Some of us went upon the Ice to haul her, others ſtood with Poles to thruſt by Night. At Night we got off to eight Fathoms, and made faſt to the biggeſt Piece we could find. If any Man ſhould aſk, Why we kept ſo near the Shore in this continual Danger? I anſwer, becauſe in the Offing, the Ice was ſo extraordinary thick that we could make no Way through it; beſides, when we were in that great thick Ice, and the Wind came up fair at South, or South-eaſt, or Eaſt, we could not get out of it; therefore we choſe to run this Adventure, and ſo prevent and overcome all Dangers with God's Aſſiſtance, and our extreme Labour.

36. The 11th in the Morning was a thick Fog, yet there ſprung up a Gale of Wind at Eaſt, and we made in for the Shore. From the 11th to the 14th the Wind continued fair, and we made all the Sail we could Night and Day as the Ice would ſuffer us; we had the Shore in ſight by Day on one Side, and the Ice within two Miles on the other; and we ſailed among diſperſed Pieces looſing from one, and bearing up for another, The 14th at Noon we were in Latitude 57 Degrees 55 Minutes. In the Evening we were embayed in Ice, and ſtood South-eaſt to clear ourſelves of it, but could not; but ſeeing from the Topmaſt-head clear Water over it, we put up to it.

But there aroſe a very thick Fog, and Night came on withal, that we were forced to faſten to a Piece of Ice, expecting Day and better Weather.

The 15th in the Morning, although the Fog was very thick, we would endeavour to get out of the Ice, and ſtood away Weſt; but within two Hours the Water ſhoaled from forty to twenty-five Fathoms; whereby we knew that we had the Shoaling of the weſtern Shore. Then we ſhaped our Courſe to the northward; the Fog continued ſo thick, that we could not ſee a Piſtol-ſhot about us. We had not ſtood this Way two Hours, but we heard a Rut of Ice a-head of us, which made the moſt hideous Noiſe of any I had heard this Voyage. We hauled our Tacks aboard, and ſtood to the weſtward in this Day-darkneſs; hearing it ſometimes, and ſeeing it ſometimes, which was very large, deep, and high Ice above the Water; we weathered it all except ſome few Pieces, and got into open Water. About Sun-ſet there came a ſudden Guſt at North-north-weſt, and before we could handle our Sails it was with us, and put us into ſome Trouble; it dallied with us, by Guſts, till nine o'Clock; and then it fell into a moſt violent Storm. We conſidered where we might have the cleareſt Drift, and ſo took in all, and let her drive her Head to the ſhoreward. Before Midnight the Water ſhoaled on us unto fifteen Fathoms.

Then we turned her Head to the eaſtward, and ſet our main Courſe low-ſet, but as much as ſhe could bear. The Water deepened but little, and we knew that we were on thoſe rocky Shoals which we ſtruck on the laſt Year; God be merciful unto us. Here was the firſt great breaking Sea we had this Year. The 16th, in the Morning, we were driven to a great Rand of Ice; to avoid which we ſet our Force and Courſe too, and ſtood to the ſhoreward in fifteen Fathom Water, and then about again. We ſtood in a Mile to the Ice, but there was a great ſwelling Sea in it, that it was not durable; ſo we ſtood out again. About three in the Afternoon the Storm broke up, and blew fair at North-weſt, which produced Good for us, for we had not Drift for four Hours, beſides, it was but five Leagues betwixt the Shoals and the Ice: We ſet all our Sails, and endeavoured to weather the Ice, but in the Evening we were ſtill peſtered with it. By Midnight we knew not which Way to turn, nor what to do; ſo we took in all our Sails, and let her drive among it. The Ice beat us on every Side, for there went among it a very great full Sea. The 17th in the Morning, when we could ſee about us, we were in the Midſt of it; but in the laſt Storm it was all broken to Pieces, as big as a Boat of three or four Ton, which gave us many a heavy Blow in the dark Night. If this Storm had taken us among it, it had broken us all to Pieces without God's miraculous Preſervation. We made ſail, and endeavoured to clear ourſelves of it to the northward, which, by eight in the Morning, we had done; we then went to Prayer, and gave God hearty Thanks, that had delivered us out of it; for we were hourly, for the Space of ſix Weeks, as it were in the Jaws of Death; yea, never had any, that I have heard of, been for ſuch a Space in ſuch long Nights upon a foul Shore, tormented with Ice, as we have been.

At Noon we were in 58 Degrees 20 Minutes. Now, as touching the Diſſolution of the Ice, we found that this Storm had torn and ſhattered this Rand of Ice which was on the Outſide, although it muſt have a long Time to work into the main Body of it. I have in *July*, and in the Beginning of *Auguſt*, taken ſome of the Ice into the Ship, and cut it ſquare two Feet, and put it into the Boat where the Sun ſhone with a very ſtrong Reflexion about it, and notwithſtanding the Warmth of the Ship, for we kept a good Fire, and all our Breathings and Motion, it would not melt in eight or ten Days. It was our Practice, when we ſhould be two Days together faſt to a Piece of Ice, to ſet Marks to it, to ſee how it conſumed, but it yielded us ſmall Hope of diſſolving; we could not, in that Time, perceive any Diminution by the ſinking of it, or otherwiſe; nevertheleſs, I think that it is ruined by Storms, or conſumed by Heat ſome Years, or elſe the Bay would be choaked up; but I confeſs theſe Secrets of Nature are paſt my Comprehenſion. Being out of it (but we yet ſaw it from off the Decks to the Eaſtward) I ordered the Maſter to ſteer away North and by Eaſt, keeping the Shoalings of the weſtern Shore. The 18th at Noon we were in Latitude 58 Degrees 36 Minutes.

37. The 19th we continued our Courſe betwixt the North-north-eaſt, and the North and by Eaſt, and by Noon were in Latitude 61 Degrees 7 Minutes, ſome twelve Leagues off the Shore: I ordered the Maſter to ſhape his Courſe North-eaſt, to look into that Place betwixt *Cary's Swans-neſt* and *Ne plus ultra*. The 20th we were in Latitude 61 Degrees 45 Minutes. This Day we ſaw ſome few Seals about the Ship. The 21ſt the Water ſhoaled, ſo that it was concluded we were near Land; but about Noon the Wind came up at North eaſt, directly oppoſite; we looſed as near as we could, and as it larged we came to ſtand Eaſt, and Eaſt and by North. The 22d we fell in with the Land to the Weſtward of *Cary's Swans-neſt*, where we had forty Fathoms three Leagues off. We ſtood in within a League of the Shore into eighteen Fathoms, and ſeeing the Land to the Southward of us, we compaſſed about it, it being *Cary's Swans-neſt*, which is in the Latitude of 62 Degrees All the 23d we ſailed North-eaſt, and, for the moſt Part, in Sight of Land.

The 24th at Noon, by Judgment, we were in Latitude 69 Degrees 30 Minutes, having ſailed a North-eaſt Courſe: All this Day was a very thick Fog, which about one o'Clock cleared a little, ſo that I expected to ſee the Land; ſome of our Men, better ſighted, ſpied it about two Leagues off. I knew it could be none other than *Nottingham Iſland*, though it was ſomething contrary to the Expectation of our beſt Mariners: We ſtood in to make it, it was the North End of it, and it bore off us due Eaſt; I was ſoon aſſured of it, and I ordered the Maſter to ſhape his Courſe North-weſt and by North. Both he and others were unwilling, but without much-ado ſubmitted themſelves: It was very foul, thick Weather. The Reaſons of my Reſolution were theſe: The Time of the Year was far ſpent, and the Winter came upon us, therefore I would make the ſhorteſt Way betwixt the Lands already diſcovered. If I found an open Sea I had my Deſire, and then I intended to proceed to the utmoſt of our Power.

If I met with Land I ſhould then finiſh the Diſcovery, it being not above fifteen Leagues from Land to Land, and not above ten Leagues from *Nottingham Iſland* to the Main of the North Shore; we made what ſail we could, it blowing a very ſtiff Gale of Wind till eight in the Evening; then it began to blow fiercely, and we took in our Topſails, and ſtood under our two Courſes and Bonnets; at nine it blew a violent Storm at South-ſouth-eaſt, ſo that we took in our Foreſail, and let her drive North-weſt. All Night it continued an extraordinary Storm, that we heaved the Lead every half Watch; but the Ship drove ſo faſt, that ſhe would be paſt the Lead before there were two Fathoms of Line out, all the Night being exceeding cold withal. The 25th the Storm continued, and ſo perplexed us, that there were but few that could ſleep or eat for twenty-four Hours. About ſix in the Afternoon the Storm began to abate, yet there blew a freſh Gale of Wind between the South and South-weſt: We ſtood Weſt-north-weſt and made a North-weſt Way; when ſuddenly the Sea became very ſmooth. We reaſoned thereupon among ourſelves, What might be the Cauſe of it? We all thought it to be a Leeward Tide, nothing doubting what we afterwards encountred; the Ship had a very quick Way in the ſmooth Water.

38. The 26th by two in the Morning we were ſuddenly got among the Ice, and it pleaſed God that the Moon at that Inſtant gave us ſo much Light that we could ſee a little about us. We would have ſtayed the Ship, but it was ſo thick to the Windward, and ſo near us, that we durſt not. We then bore up in this unexpected Accident, and I verily believe did not eſcape ſtriking the Length of a Foot againſt the Ice, as hard as Rocks, two or three Times, as the Ship now having Way after 12 Leagues a Watch. Then we ſtood cloſe by the Wind to the Eaſtward, expecting Day that we might ſee about

us. We could from Top-maſt Head ſee the Ice from the North-north-weſt, the North-weſt, and ſo round about by the South to the Eaſt; and ſome there was to the Leeward of us. It was all flat ſound Ice, and the Sea as ſmooth as a Wall amongſt it. This ſtruck us all into a Damp, whereupon I called a Conſultation of my Aſſociates, namely, *Arthur Price*, Maſter; *William Clements*, Lieutenant; *John Whittered*, Maſter's Mate; *Nathaniel Bilſon*, Chirurgeon; and *John Palmer*, Boatſwain; requiring them to adviſe and counſel me how to proſecute our Buſineſs to Effect. Theſe went all together and reaſoned amongſt themſelves, and then brought me their Opinions in Writing under their own Hands, *viz.* Our Advice is, that you repair Homeward from this preſent 26th, and that for theſe Reaſons:

Firſt, That the Nights are long, and ſo extreme cold withal, that we can hardly handle our Sails and Rigging. Secondly, The Seaſon is now ſubject to ſtormy and guſty Weather, as witneſs the preſent, it having continued a Storm ever ſince the 24th, and yet doth continue no Weather to diſcover in. Thirdly, We doubt whether *Hudſon's Streights* be ſo clear of Ice that it may be paſſable in convenient Time, Winter coming on apace, before we are frozen up, ſeeing the Ice lies here all over the Sea. Fourthly, We muſt have fair Weather to paſs the Streight, for which we may ſtay a long Time, if we neglect the firſt Opportunity. Fifthly, Our Ship is ſo very leaky, that in foul Weather we are forced to pump every Glaſs, which is great Labour. Moreover, we know her to be ſo bruiſed with Rocks and Blows of the Ice, that ſhe is no more to be adventured among it, but in ſaving our Lives homewards. Beſides all this, our Men grow very weak and ſickly with extreme Labour. Sixthly, The Seaſon of the Year is ſo far ſpent, that we can expect no other Weather than we have had, both lately and at preſent; that is to ſay, Snow and Fog freezing our Rigging, and making every Thing ſo ſlippery that a Man can ſcarce ſtand, and all this with the Wind Southerly, which, if it ſhould come to the Northward, then we are to expect far worſe. Seventhly and laſtly, That the Ice lies all in thick Rands and Ranges in the very Way we ſhould go, as you and all Men here may ſee; and therefore we conclude as aforeſaid, that there is no Poſſibility of proceeding further: Wherefore we now counſel you to return Homeward, hoping that God will give us a favourable Paſſage to return to our native Country, if we take Time and not tempt him too far by our Wilfulneſs.

Indeed moſt of theſe Difficulties were in View, and I could not reaſonably oppoſe them, nor any Reaſon could I give for proceeding further; wherefore with a ſorrowful Heart, God knows, I conſented that the Helm ſhould be borne up, and a Courſe ſhaped for *England*, hoping that his Majeſty would graciouſly conſider our Endeavours, and pardon our Return. And although we have not diſcovered populous Kingdoms, and taken ſpecial Notice of their Magnificence, Power, Policy, &c. brought Samples Home of their Riches and Commodities, pried into Myſteries of their Trade and Traffic, nor made any great Fight againſt the Enemies of God and our Nation; yet I hoped that our Willingneſs in thoſe deſart Parts may be acceptable to our Readers.

When we bore up Helm we were in Latitude 65 Degrees 30 Minutes, at Weſt-north-weſt and by North from *Nottingham Iſland*. Some were of Opinion that we were farther to the Northward; but by Reaſon it was my Judgment, I choſe to ſet down the leſſer Diſtance. The 27th the Wind came up at North-weſt, with which we could not have gone on with our Deſign. That Wind made no great ſwelling Sea. By Noon we were athwart of *Cape Charles*, ſo that we went in between that Cape and *Mill Iſlands*. The laſt Night it ſnowed very much, and was very cold, ſo that all our Rigging and Sails were frozen, and all the Land covered with Snow. And here it will not be amiſs to conſider the Reaſons of it: When I was upon *Charles Iſland* (our Wintering-place) and in *June* when the Snow was cleareſt off the Ground, I have in the Nights, and ſome of them following the hotteſt Days, obſerved whether there fell any Dew or no, but I could never perceive any, and from Moſs and Sand little I thought was to be expected. Now of what was exhaled from the ſnowy Ice and cold Sea could there probably be returned, but the like again? Generally we continued on our Courſe blinded with Fog and dirty Weather, and that intermixed with Snow and Froſt among diſperſed Pieces of Ice, many of them higher than our Top-maſt Head. With great Variety of Windfalls we were driven within three Leagues of both Shores; ſo that the laſt of this Month we were in the Narrow of the Streight, which is about fifteen Leagues over; the South Shore was much peſtered with Ice.

September 1632. The 1ſt and 2d we endeavoured to get on our Way. The 3d in the Evening, as the Weather cleared up, we ſaw the South-End of the Iſland *Reſolution*. Theſe three Days and Nights had been extreme cold with Fog and Froſt, inſomuch that our Men in the Evening could hardly take in our Top and Sprit-ſails. We have ſailed through much mountainous Ice, far higher than the Top-maſt Head, but this Day we ſailed by the higheſt I ever yet ſaw, which is incredible indeed to be related. Now as the Wind comes Eaſterly, we feel another Sea out of the Ocean, and the Ship labours with another Motion than ſhe hath done with any that we ever obſerved to come out of the Weſtward. From the 3d to the 8th we had Variety of Winds, and were got clear out of the Streights, but were now come into ſuch a tumbling Sea, the Weather dirty and windy, and by Intervals calm again, that the Ship did ſo labour and roll, that we thought verily ſhe would have rolled her Maſts by the Board. This made her ſo leaky that we were forced to pump every Glaſs; nay, her Seams ſo opened aloft that we lay all wet in her.

39. This was the laſt Day we ſaw any Ice. The Wind now favouring us we made all the Haſte we could homeward, by the Way having endeavoured, obſerved, and experimented ſome Things, in this our unfortunate Voyage. I perfected my Obſervations, which being afterwards commanded to publiſh, I here moſt ſubmiſſively offer unto the judicious Reader. What hath been long ago fabled by ſome *Portugueſe* that ſhould have come this Way out of the South Sea, the mere Shadows of whoſe miſtaken Relation have come to us, I leave to be confuted by their own Vanity; theſe Hopes have ſtirred up from Time to Time the more active Spirits of this our Kingdom to reſearch that merely imagined Paſſage. For my Part I give no Credit to them at all, and as little to the vicious and abuſive Wits of later *Portugueſe* and *Spaniards*, who never ſpeak of any Difficulties, as Shoal-Water, Ice, nor Sight of Land, but as if they had been brought Home in a Dream or Engine; and indeed their Diſcourſes are found abſurd; and the Maps by which ſome of them have practiſed to deceive the World mere Falſities, making Sea where there is known to be main Land, and Land where there is nothing but Sea.

Moſt certain it is, that by the Induſtry of our own Nation thoſe northern Parts of *America* have been diſcovered to the Latitude of 80 Degrees or upwards; and it hath been ſo curiouſly done, the Labours of ſeveral Men being joined together, that the main Land may be ſeen and ſearched; and they have brought this ſuppoſed Paſſage to this Paſs, that it muſt be to the North of 66 Degrees of Latitude, a cold Climate peſtered with Ice and other Inconveniencies, and where the *Spaniards* Diſpoſitions and their weak Ships can hardly endure it: And withal it is known, that the Entrance of *Hudſon's Streights* is but fifteen Leagues broad, and in the Middle not ſo much; and between *Saliſbury Iſland* and the Main it is but eight Leagues. Then proceeding to the Northward toward the forementioned Latitude, it is but fifteen Leagues from Main to Main. This in Length is about a hundred and forty Leagues, as will more plainly appear by the Map, and infinitely peſtered with Ice until *Auguſt*, and ſome Years not paſſable then; and I believe the Streight is never clear of Ice entirely. Now it is moſt probable there is no Paſſage for the following Reaſons: Firſt, There is a conſtant Tide, Flood and Ebb, ſetting in to *Hudſon's Streights*, the Flood ſtill coming from the Eaſtward, which, as it proceeds, correſpondent to the Diſtance, it alters his Time of full Sea. This alſo entering into Bays and broken Ground, it becomes diſturbed, and overſets with Half-

Tides. Secondly, Here are no ſmall Fiſhes, as Cod, *&c.* and very few great ones, which are rarely to be ſeen, nor are there any Bones of Whales, Sea-Horſes, or other great Fiſh to be found on the Shore, nor any Drift-Wood.

Thirdly, We find the Ice in the Latitude 65 Degrees 30 Minutes, to be lying all over the Sea in Rands, and I am moſt certain that the Sholes, and Shole Bays, are the Mother of it. Had there been any Ocean beyond, it would have been broke all to Pieces, for ſo we found it coming through the Streight into the Sea, to the Eaſtward. Fourthly, The Ice ſeeks its Way to the Eaſtward, and ſo drives out at *Hudſon's Streight*; which I have often obſerved upon the Iſland of *Reſolution*, and driving among the Ice in the Streight. Admit there were a Paſſage, yet it is known that it is narrow for one hundred and forty Leagues, and infinitely peſtered with Ice, as every one has found who has gone that Way; comparing therefore ſome Obſervations taken at *Bantam*, *Gilolo*, and *Firando*, in *Japon*; and the Diſtance between *Japon* and the Weſtern Part of *California*; with the Obſervations taken at *Charlton Iſland*, referring all to the Meridian of *London*; and then the Diſtance betwixt the Meridians of *Cape Charles*, and the Weſtern Part of *California*, will be found to be about five hundred Leagues, in Latitude 66 Degrees, where yet the Meridians incline very much together. To this may be added, that near about *Cape Charles* the Variation is 29 Degrees to the Weſt, which is a probable Argument that there is much Land to the Weſtward, and that this Streight muſt be very long, and that you have no Time to paſs it, but in *Auguſt* and *September*; when the Nights are ſo long, and the Weather ſo cold, that it will not be bearable. Add to this, that neither can any great Ships, which are fit for carrying of Merchandize, endure the Ice, and other Inconveniencies, without extraordinary Danger.

Moreover, one thouſand Leagues is ſooner ſailed to the Southward, and about the *Cape de Bona Speranza*, where the Winds are conſtant, and that with Safety, than one hundred in theſe Seas, where you muſt daily run the Hazard of loſing Ship and Lives. Add hereunto that Comfort for the Sick, or Refreſhment for your Men, here is none to be had in theſe Quarters. Towards the latter End of *Auguſt*, and in *September*, the Weather grows tempeſtuous, and the Winds incline to be Weſterly, that there will be but ſmall Hopes of performing your Voyage this Way. But let us, by Way of Imagination, enlarge this Streight in this Latitude, and free it of Ice. Yet what Advantage in ſpeedy Performance will be got by this Paſſage, if the Winds be withal conſidered, to *Japon*, *China*, and the Northern Parts of *Aſia?* It may be the nearer Cut, but in Navigations the fartheſt Way about is well known, in fewer Days, to be performed, yea with leſſer Pains, and more Safety of Ship and Goods. Again to the *Eaſt-Indies*, and other Parts, where we have the greateſt Commerce and Employment of Shipping, the other Way is as near.

What Benefit of Trade might have been obtained in thoſe Northern Parts of *Aſia*, I will not preſume to ſpeak of? Holding that there is a great Difference betwixt thoſe Parts, and the Northern Parts of *America*, whereas I am ſure that there is none in any Place where I have been in all this Voyage.

40. “ Before we proceed to the Account our Author gives us of his return home, it will be requiſite to conſider the Force of his Arguments againſt the Probability of finding any ſuch Paſſage; becauſe if they were as concluſive as he imagined, they muſt abſolutely prove that all future Attempts of this kind, are weak and raſh in themſelves, and will appear abſolutely abſurd and ridiculous in their Conſequences. In this reſpect, however, we differ from him. And though we are very far from pretending, that Captain *James's* Temper might be ſo far ſouered by Diſappointment, as to miſtake things difficult for things impracticable; yet we may have leave to ſay, that the want of Succeſs in his Voyage, had ſome Influence on his Judgment; becauſe it is very evident that he now treated as light and idle Fables, theſe *Portugueſe* Relations, which he had formerly conſidered as carrying a great degree of Evidence; for otherwiſe one can hardly account for his taking up the Opinion of a North-weſt Paſſage, and that ſo ſtrongly, as to offer his own Service for the Diſcovery of that Paſſage. Let us next then conſider the Reaſons by which he refutes the *Porgueſe* Relations.

“ He ſays, Firſt, that they proceed from their Vanity; next, that they are inconſiſtent with Experience; and, Laſtly, that their Maps and Charts are falſe and groundleſs, and therefore not to be truſted. With reſpect to the firſt, if what the *Portugueſe* delivered, had been the pure Effects of a vain-glorious and boaſting Temper, their Government would not have ſuppreſſed ſuch Relations, but rather have taken Pains to diſcover their Falſhood, which had been no difficult Taſk, and would have effectually anſwered their Purpoſe; for at this Time there was no Nation in the World ſo much concerned in Point of Intereſt, to diſcredit the Belief of a North-weſt Paſſage, as the *Porgueſe*. If, therefore, the Pilot before mentioned, publiſhed, as perhaps he did, an Account of his Paſſage through this Streight, out of Vanity; the Court need only have ſhewn that the Fact was falſe, as, if it had been ſo, was in their Power, and it had done their Buſineſs; whereas the calling in, and ſuppreſſing his Book, was a kind of Proof, that what he ſaid was true. As to the Inconſiſtency of ſuch Accounts, becauſe they do not mention any Hardſhips ſuſtained in the Voyage, or Troubles that they met with from Ice and Snow; we ſhould be able to ſpeak of them more clearly, if we had thoſe Accounts, or if we were ſure that Captain *James* himſelf peruſed them at large any more than we.

“ But ſuppoſing the thing as he ſtates it, perhaps we ſhall not find any good Cauſe to conclude that they talked idly, and as if they came in an Engine, becauſe they mentioned no ſuch Difficulties. It is very poſſible, That Voyages between the ſame Places may be performed at very different Times, and under very different Circumſtances: As for Inſtance, the *Spaniards* ſail from *Acapulco* to *Manilla*, in thirteen Weeks; but from *Manilla* to *Acapulco*, is commonly a Voyage of thirty Weeks; in ſailing to *Cape-Breton*, in the Summer Months, able Seamen ſteer one Courſe, but when they go later in the Year, they ſteer another; and by this Management they generally avoid any Difficulties in either Seaſon.

“ We do not know at what Seaſon of the Year the *Portugueſe* Pilot made his Voyage through the North-weſt Streight, but we know that he failed in a pretty high Latitude; and as he tells us, had a fair Wind through the whole Paſſage; if ſo, there is nothing improbable in ſuppoſing that he reached the Streight in the ſame Time, that the *Spaniards* make the ſame Tranſit from the *Weſt* to the *Eaſt Indies*, and then there is nothing ſtrange in his reaching *Newfoundland* in ſixteen Weeks, which will account for his arriving at *Liſbon* a Month ſooner than the Fleet that came home by the *Cape of Good Hope*; and if he came through the North-weſt Streight in the Month of *Auguſt*, which is alſo very probable, he might not be much incommoded by the Ice.

“ Beſides, we know that Captain *Candiſhe* made the Tour of the Globe, in much leſs Time than any other Circum-navigator; and we find ſome Voyages round *Cape Horn*, much more eaſy and fortunate than others; ſo that if this *Portugueſe* Pilot was remarkably lucky, the thing is very poſſible, and there is no Ground at all for denying the Fact, becauſe hitherto no other Man has met with the ſame Succeſs. As to falſe Charts and Maps, we are far from denying the Fact, but we know another Reaſon has been given for this, directly oppoſite to, and yet no leſs probable than, that aſſigned by Captain *James*, *viz.* that by theſe falſe Repreſentations they may conceal this Paſſage from the Knowledge of Strangers, and diſcourage them from looking for it. This laſt Reaſon may be ſupported by Facts, becauſe it is apparently againſt their Intereſt to have ſuch a Paſſage diſcovered, and becauſe we have authentic Proofs that the *Spaniards* have actually taken all the Precautions in their Power, to guard againſt the *Engliſh* coming, by this North-weſt Paſſage, into the South Seas.

“ As to what he ſays of the Coaſts being examined as far as the Latitude of 66 Degrees, and that all the Coaſts of *America* had been ſearched, as far as 80 Degrees, by *Engliſhmen*, is only in Part agreeable to Fact; ſome great Navigators having, indeed, ſailed ſo far, and reported that they had examined the Coaſts, but it has been ſince found that they had not done this, at leaſt, very accurately; and that it was very poſſible, and very probable too, that the Streight lay to the Southward of 66 Degrees; neither is this a Matter yet cleared up, for other Sea Officers who have been ſent upon this Expedition, have fallen into Captain *James*'s Sentiments, and upon their Return have reported the Coaſts thoroughly ſearched, and no Streight to be met with.

“ The thing, indeed, is natural enough; for when a Man has attempted the Diſcovery of this Paſſage, and failed, why ſhould he not endeavour to conſole himſelf, by pretending to have diſcovered that all former Hopes were in vain, and that in reality there is no ſuch Paſſage to be found? By this he ſecures a Reverſion of Fame, and exchanges one kind of Reputation for another; if he cannot be tranſmitted to Poſterity as a fortunate Man, he may, at leaſt, tranſmit the Memory of his Prudence, by which an Error long received was detected. But if we ſhould ever reſolve to be ſatisfied, at all Events, of the Truth of the Fact, notwithſtanding Diſappointments at Sea, it muſt be by fixing Colonies upon *Hudſon's Bay*, and offering a large Reward to any that ſhould have Boldneſs enough to traverſe the Countries behind the great Lakes, and bring us an Account of them, which would effectually clear up all our Doubts and Difficulties; which till this be done, or the Paſſage diſcovered by Sea, muſt remain ſtill, and prove, as fatiguing to Poſterity, as they have been to paſt and preſent Ages.

“ But let us now proceed to the reſt of his Arguments. As to the Regularity of the Tides in *Hudſon's Bay*, ſubſequent Diſcoveries ſhew plainly, that not only no Argument can be drawn from them againſt a Paſſage, but quite the contrary; for *Hudſon's Streight*, at the Entrance, is only thirteen to fourteen Leagues wide, from the South-ſide to *Reſolution Iſle*; and a ſmall Channel, ſome Leagues wide, to the Northward of that Iſland, in which is no great Current; it runs in the Entrance about five or ſix Miles an Hour, and riſes about eighteen Feet at Spring-Tide. At *Cape Charles*, in the Middle of the Streight, it is about fifteen Leagues wide, and has there loſt nigh half its Force. At *Cape Diggs*, the Weſt End of the Streight, it is about twenty Leagues wide, and is ſtill more diminiſhed in its Heighth and Current; and when it enters the Bay at *Cary's Swans-neſt*, it riſes but ſix Feet. Now it is very reaſonable it ſhould be diminiſhed ſo; when it is conſidered what Space it has to fill in its Courſe ſo far, for there is a great Bay or Inlet on the South-weſt Side, within *Button's Iſle*, and ſeveral others betwixt *Cape Charles* and *Cape Diggs*, and great Inlets on the North-ſide; and the Streight being one hundred and forty Leagues in Length before it reaches the Bay, it requires a great Current even to fill the Streight; when to theſe is added the Space it has to fill in the great Bays and Inlets above *Mill Iſles*, by *Cape Comfort*, and *Weſtland's Portland*, it may be eaſily conceived to be almoſt ſpent, before it paſſes *Manſell's Iſle* and *Cary's Swans-neſt*.

“ How then is it poſſible that a Tide or Current, running through ſo narrow a Paſſage, only five or ſix Miles an Hour, which is not above thirty Miles each Tide, ſhould raiſe a high Tide, not only for one hundred and forty Leagues, beſides all the Bays and Inlets on each Side the Streight, and above *Mill Iſles*, but alſo fill a great Inland Sea, above eight hundred Miles long, and five hundred broad; and after it is expanded in the Bay, and the Current loſt, ſhould be able to raiſe a Tide on the Weſt and North-weſt Side of the Bay, from twelve to ſixteen Feet, nay ſometimes to twenty-two Feet? And if *Norton* and *Scroggs* are to be believed, even to five Fathom, and occaſion ſuch rapid Currents, as at *Brook Cobham*, *Marble Iſland*, *Wager River*, &c. ſo as to run there from four to ſix and ſeven Miles an Hour, if only filled from *Hudſon's Streight*; when at the ſame Time the Tide flowing through *Davis's Streights*, which are above forty Leagues wide up into *Baffin's Bay*, in Latitude ſeventy-eight Degrees, does not there exceed five or ſix Feet any where. Since therefore no other inland Sea has any ſenſible Tide, and even the Tide in the South End of *Hudſon's Bay*, does not riſe above four Feet without a ſtrong Wind at North; how can theſe high and rapid Tides beat the North-weſt Side, without a Communication with ſome other Ocean than that which flows through *Hudſon's Streight?* When it is alſo known that a North and North-weſt Wind raiſes a higher Tide on the Weſt-ſide of the Bay at Neap-Tides, than an Eaſterly or South-weſt Wind does at Spring-Tides, which blows from our Ocean; does not that almoſt amount to a Demonſtration, without further corroborating Proofs? And yet of theſe there want not many, as the Reader will ſee as we proceed in anſwering his Reaſons.

“ His ſecond Objection is, that no Fiſh, more eſpecially Whales, are to be met with in theſe Seas, or Driftwood; whence he infers they have no Communication with the Ocean Weſtward. This Objection is very juſt in itſelf, and well founded, neither can it be denied that it proves very ſtrongly, that no ſuch Paſſage was to be expected near *Charlton Iſland*; but when this is admitted and allowed as a negative Argument, it follows that the contrary, *viz.* the ſeeing Fiſh, more eſpecially large ones of the Whale kind, is an Indication of ſuch an Opening, Paſſage or Streight, and a Proof that there is a Communication between the two Oceans in this Bay. But we know from all the later Voyages into this Bay, that on the North-weſt there are abundance of Whales, though it is true there are none in other Parts of the Bay; whence, according to Captain *James*'s Method of Reaſoning, it is plain ſuch a Paſſage there is; and as from about ſixty Degrees to that Inlet, which Captain *Middleton* called lately *Wager River*, thoſe great Fiſh abound moſt, it is very rational, on the Principles laid down by both theſe great Seamen, to conclude that this Paſſage is ſomewhere thereabouts. Thus it plainly appears, that when duly weighed, this Objection extends no farther than to the Seas and Country about *Charlton Iſland*; and as it affords a Proof there is no Paſſage there, it alſo affords a Preſumption that ſuch a Paſſage there is on the North-weſt Side of the Bay; where, for many other Reaſons, it was moſt likely to expect it.

“ His next Motive for concluding no Paſſage, is the Quantity of Ice, and its driving Eaſtward. But, in reſpect to this, granting him all he lays down, it proves nothing. For as to the vaſt Quantities of Ice formed in that Part of the Bay, where he navigated, no doubt, as he obſerves, it proceeded from Shole-water, and there is as little Doubt that this Ice paſſes out at the Streights; but this ſignifies but little, ſince the very ſame thing happens in regard to *Magellan's Streights* into the *South Seas*, where no ſtronger Signs are to be met with than here. I muſt, upon this Occaſion, obſerve, that if *Magellan's Streights* had not been diſcovered at once, there might have been as many, and as ſtrong Reaſons given, why no ſuch Paſſage ſhould have been expected at the *South Pole*, as our Author, or any other Man, could alledge againſt this Paſſage by the North-weſt; which ought certainly to afford us a Caution againſt too haſty Concluſions upon this Subject, let them be grounded on any Reaſons or Authority whatever. For though human Reaſon is ſufficient to give us a juſt Senſe of the Wiſdom of the Creator, in diſpoſing all Parts of the terraqueous Globe, yet we know by Experience, that Reaſon is not always capable of penetrating the Diſpoſition of the different Parts of the Globe, independent of Diſcoveries which frequently owe as much to Accident as to Reaſon: In regard to Authority, *Americus Veſputius*, who had the beſt Genius for Theory of any Man of his Time, and gave his Name to the new diſcovered Continent, not becauſe he firſt found it, but becauſe he firſt laid it down handſomely in a Map, and was miſtaken in reference to the Southern Paſſage; therefore though we may allow Capt. *James* to be as great a Man, in doing which perhaps we pay him no great Compliment; yet this will give no great Sanction to his Authority; for he may as well be miſtaken in the North, as the famous *Florentin* in the South: Beſides, Diſappointment gives a Bias to moſt Mens Opinion, and, Why may we not ſuppoſe ſomething of this in both Caſes? The Paſſage from the *North Seas* into the *South*, by the *Streights* before mentioned, and the Coaſt to the Northward in the ſame Latitudes, reſembling, in all Reſpects, that to the Southward, being low broken Iſlands before a bold rocky Shore, ſuggeſts very naturally, that there is ſome ſuch Paſſage there.

“ But after laying down theſe Reaſons, Capt. *James* very plainly diſcovers how much they have operated upon his own Mind, and to how great a Degree he is ſatisfied no North-weſt Paſſage is to be found; he attacks the very Expediency of finding it, and ſeems to think it an Argument there is no ſuch Paſſage, becauſe he has wrought himſelf into a Notion that it would be of no great Conſequence, if there was ſuch a Paſſage. Why be it ſo: But there was no ſort of Occaſion for making his perilous Voyage into *Hudſon's Bay*, to know this; he might have ſaid all that he has ſaid againſt the Expediency of enquiring any farther after the North weſt Paſſage, without ſtirring from *Briſtol*. It is therefore manifeſt, that his failing in his hoped-for Diſcovery changed his Mind, and induced him to ſee Things in a different Light, than he did before; becauſe otherwiſe, thoſe very Arguments which he urges at laſt againſt making any future Attempts on this Side were as ſtrong, to have diſſuaded his going. If before he went he never thought of, or regarded, theſe Arguments, he did not ſufficiently weigh and examine the Nature of the Expedition in which he riſqued his Life, and on which he ſet his Reputation at Stake. But if he had (which is certainly much more probable) taken Pains to examine all theſe Reaſons; then his very going, his wintering, and the Conſtancy he ſhewed in aiming at the Proſecution of the Diſcovery afterwards, viſibly demonſtrate thoſe Reaſons made no Impreſſion on him then; if they had he would have ſtaid at home, and never have given the King, or the *Briſtol* Adventurers, ſuch Encouragement as was requiſite for the fitting him out for that Voyage; but this we muſt own would be not much to the Purpoſe, if the Reaſons he gives us were abſolutely concluſive; for whether he bethought himſelf of them firſt or laſt, makes nothing for or againſt the Reaſons themſelves; but it ſo falls out that when maturely conſidered, they will be found to have very little or no Weight at all. As to the Narrowneſs, or Inconvenience, of the Streight, if there be one, that is mere Matter of Conjecture, ſo is the Length of it; the Hardſhips of the Voyage are now known to be very inconſiderable; and as to its being no ſhorter Rout to the *Eaſt-Indies* than by the *Cape of Good Hope*, no body ever ſaid that it was. He acknowledges it is much nearer to the *South Seas*, to *Terra Borealis Incognita*, to *Japon* and *China*, which is all that is deſired, and more than ſufficient to recommend it.

“ It is clear enough, from the whole of Capt. *James*'s Account that he had a very indifferent Opinion of his Expedition, and conſidered it in no other Light than as tending to ſatisfy the *Engliſh* Nation; that it was to no ſort of Pupoſe to venture any more Veſſels into thoſe Seas, and upon thoſe Coaſts, upon that or any other Deſign; for it is plain that he thought a more barren, a more inhoſpitable, and more worthleſs, Part of the World was not to be found; yet Experience has ſince ſhewn us, that as wild and waſte as the Countries about *Hudſon's Bay* were and are, yet they have been found to deſerve both Notice and Keeping; and I dare ſay, have produced this Nation full as much, if not more, than the Colony of *Canada*, ſtrictly and diſtinctly conſidered, ever did to the *French*; which is a Proof that no Man's Authority ought to be regarded where it tends to diſcourage a Nation from extending its Navigations or Diſcoveries. It is not intended by this, to leſſen the Reputation of Capt. *James*, or that Eſteem which his Work has very juſtly procured him from the very beſt Judges. There is no doubt, that he did what he could, and much more than moſt other Men could have done; and there is as little Reaſon to doubt, that he ſpoke what he thought, and what he ſpoke was upon good Grounds; but notwithſtanding this, we ſee he was miſtaken, and miſtaken in many Reſpects. He doubtleſs conceived, that a more perilous Navigation could not be, and that it would be a very difficult Thing to ſend Ships into this Bay conſtantly without loſing them; yet this is a Thing now ſo common, that there is nothing of Wonder in it; he apprehended that there muſt be always an infinite Difficulty in ſailing amongſt Miſts and Ice, but we ſee from Capt. *Middleton*'s Letters that there is now very little in this, and that the Seamen and Officers uſed to the *Hudſon's Bay* Trade, have ſo far overcame all Inconveniencies, that taking it with every Circumſtance, there is, perhaps, no Navigation now uſed, ſo ſafe as this; and from the Account he has given us of his Wintering, we may very fairly infer, that he never ſo much as ſuſpected that an *Engliſh* Factory would be ſettled in a higher Latitude than *Charlton Iſland*, and yet the Factory of *Fort Churchill* has ſubſiſted for many Years. There is one Paſſage in his *Voyage* which ſhews his very great Sagacity; for by pulling up ſome Stakes in a deſart Iſland, and perceiving they were cut by a ſharp Inſtrument, he judged that the Savages muſt have had ſome Communication with Chriſtians, in which he judged very right; but it was near half a Century after, before this Riddle could be explained, or any body could gueſs, that theſe Savages had thoſe Hatchets from the *French*.

“ But to return to the North-weſt Paſſage. The Experience we have of theſe Countries has convinced us of many things, that to Captain *James*, without doubt, after his Return from this Expedition, would have appeared abſurd and incredible. As for Inſtance, that the Continent Weſt and North-weſt from *Charlton Iſland*, is inhabited by ſeveral Nations, and that the moſt Northern of theſe Nations are the beſt clad and the moſt civilized. Amongſt theſe there is a Nation, diſtinguiſhed by the Name of the *Moſemleek Indians*, who are not only a very rational People themſelves, but who conſtantly affirm, and there is no Reaſon to ſuſpect that they affirm a Falſhood, there are large Towns and a civilized People, to the North-weſt of them, who trade upon a large ſalt Lake, in Veſſels twenty times as big as their Canoes; and what Nations may live beyond theſe, is, indeed, to us uncertain; but this is very certain, that if there be a North-weſt Paſſage they muſt inhabit the Coaſts of it; and there never yet was a Country found inhabited, but it was found alſo that thoſe Inhabitants might be traded with to Advantage. But this is not all, the oppoſite Coaſt muſt, very probably, be inhabited too, and it is very likely that the Streight that falls into the South Seas, may be under a Climate, milder, in many reſpects, than *Charlton Iſland* in the Summer. Upon the whole, therefore, all the Difficulties and Diſcouragements, which, from too ſtrong a Senſe of his own Diſappointment, Captain *James* has conjured up, ſink to nothing, when duly conſidered and compared with the Circumſtances that later Diſcoveries have brought to light; ſo that there ſeems to be no Reaſon his Conjectures ſhould have any Weight to deter us from proſecuting Attempts on this Side, even though they ſhould ſtill continue to prove, in ſeveral Inſtances, as they have hitherto done, abortive.

“ Theſe Reflections may, to ſome Readers, appear long, but I hope to very few they will appear uſeleſs or unentertaining; for I will freely confeſs, that if I had not intended theſe Reflections, I would not have inſerted this Voyage, though in all reſpects the beſt of its kind that ever was written. But the Excellency of *Ramuſio*'s Collection, is allowed to conſiſt in his Remarks; and without Remarks, this Voyage, as well written as it is, might do a great deal of Miſchief. Nay, I am perſuaded did do a great deal of Miſchief; for from the Time of his Return in 1632, to 1667, there never was any Voyage made into theſe Parts, nor probably ever would have been made, but for the Sagacity of Mr. *Montague*, our Embaſſador in *France*, afterwards Duke of *Montague*, and Father to the preſent Duke, both eminent Friends to the Commerce of this Nation. He it was that furniſhed us with the firſt Lights that revived our Correſpondence to *Hudſon's Bay*, to which Captain *Guillam* was ſent in 1668, and we have been poſſeſſed of the Trade thither ever ſince. A Trade granted to private Perſons, by a Charter in Truſt for the public Benefit, which was to ariſe from their Endeavours to find a North-weſt Paſſage; which public Advantage they have neglected in the very ſame Proportion they have been ſtudious after their own; a thing ſo very common with Companies, that they might certainly be acquitted, if Cuſtom could be eſteemed a juſt Excuſe. Yet from their ſettling a Trade in theſe Parts it has been found extremely advantageous, as drawing to their Factories *Indians* from very diſtant Countries, who bring them very rich Furs, but who declared alſo that a much larger Trade might be carried on, provided their Factories were more in Number, and fixed more conveniently; nay, they have brought down and ſold, at ſome of the Settlements, Copper Oar, ſo very rich, that by barely beating it between two Stones, it has been reduced into Metal. But neither what they ſaw nor what they heard, could tempt them to alter their Manner of proceeding; they judged, and no Queſtion judged right, that as they were circumſtanced, the Method they are in was the moſt beneficial that could be, and that by extending their Commerce they muſt open it, and ſo render it leſs beneficial.

“ All this was natural enough, and I do not repeat it here (for I know that I have touched it often before) out of any Spirit of Malice or Ill-will; for I really wiſh the *Hudſon's Bay* as well as I do any Company; but only as it makes for my Purpoſe; which is to ſhew, that notwithſtanding Capt. *James* was a very honeſt Man, a very experienced Seaman, and one who very probably had no private Views; yet, in his Coclusions from this his perilous Expedition, he was abſolutely wrong, and by his Authority gave Credit to many Falſhoods, of which theſe Inſtances may ſuffice: 1. He thought the Hardſhips in navigating theſe Seas, and wintering on theſe Coaſts, were invincible; but we know the contrary. 2. He judged the Country ſo barren as to furniſh no Subſiſtance, and the Inhabitants ſo poor as to have nothing worth ſeeking; in both which Experience ſhews he was miſtaken. 3. He firmly believed, that if any Streight was diſcovered more to the North than about the Place he wintered, it would be impaſſable, and its Coaſts uninhabited; but we are ſatisfied this is groundleſs, from the many Openings diſcovered along the *Welcome*; and their being all in the Neighbourhood of very friendly and tractable *Indian* Nations. 4. He was clearly ſatisfied, that from what he had ſeen and diſcovered in his Voyage, there no longer remained any Hopes of finding ſuch a North-weſt Paſſage through *Hudſon's Bay*: But here too his Art failed him; for even Capt. *Middleton*, who I think his Equal as a Mariner, thought it highly probable, till very lately. 5. He does not appear, from what he has written, to have had any diſtinct Notion of what Part of the World he was in, or how the Countries lay round about him; but to the preſent Navigators all this is very clear and certain; we know that from *Canada* to *New Mexico*, and probably even to *California*, is all one Continent, the Weſt-ſide of which only remains undiſcovered; and we further know, that all that has been hitherto found, agrees exactly with, and is every way conformable to, the Notions that have been entertained of ſuch a North-weſt Paſſage, and even with all the traditional, and other kind of Accounts, that we have received of it. But having now made this Piece as uſeful as we can, without curtailing or interpolating it, let us return to Captain *James*'s Concluſion; and having attended him through his long and dangerous Voyage, his cold and comfortleſs wintering, his difficult and wonderful Paſſage homewards, let us ſee him ſafe aſhore, and ſo take our leaves.”

41. The 22d of *October* we arrived in the Road of *Briſtol*, having been hindered and croſſed with much contrary and tempeſtuous Winds and Weather. The Ship being brought into Harbour, and haled on dry Ground, to look to her, it was there found, that all her cut Water were torn and beaten away, together with fourteen Feet of her Keel; much of her Sheathing cut away, her Bows broken and bruiſed, and much Timber cracked aboard, and under the Starboard bulged; ſharp Rocks had cut through the Sheathing, the Plank, and an Inch and an half into a Timber that it met withal. Many other Defects there were beſides; ſo that it was miraculous how this Veſſel could bring us home again. Being all arrived we went to Church, and gave God Thanks for his Preſervation of us amidſt ſo many Dangers. I very well know that what I have here haſtily written, will never diſcourage any noble Spirit, that is minded to bring this ſo long-tried Action to abſolute Effect; and it is likely withal, that there be ſome who have a better Underſtanding, and a ſurer Way of proſecuting it than myſelf have, to whoſe Deſigns I wiſh a happy Succeſs.

And if they do but make a Review of what hath been done, and give more celeſtial Obſervations by hydrographical Deſcriptions, or exacter Practice in Navigation, it will be a moſt commendable Labour; for although I have ſpent ſome Years of my ripeſt Age, in procuring Intelligence from foreign Nations, and have travelled with diverſe honourable and learned Perſonages of this Kingdom, for their Inſtructions; have bought up whatever I could find in Print or Manuſcript, and what Maps or Papers ſoever conducive to this Buſineſs, that poſſibly I could procure; and have ſerved voluntary beſides, and ſpent ſome time in rendering a Relation ſince my coming home, and expended withal, of my own Money, in my aforeſaid Endeavours, and in furniſhing extraordinary Neceſſaries, above 200 *l.* in ready Money; yet I repent not, but take a great deal of Comfort and Joy, that I am able to give an Account, in ſome reaſonable Way, of thoſe Parts of the World, which heretofore I was not ſo well ſatisfied in.

Thus ends this Voyage, which, as I have hinted before, has been ſeveral times abridged, and more than once reprinted at large, but never, that I know of, compleat, and as it ſtands in the original Edition of 1633; which is the Reaſon this Book has been ſo much valued. I have ſeen many Copies that concluded with Profeſſor *Gellibrand*'s Obſervations aſtronomical; but I never met with more than one Copy that had the Addreſs to the Univerſity of *Cambridge*; which, though printed in a different Character, and in ſuch a Manner as if it were a Piece by itſelf, yet is thus mentioned in the Title Page of this Book: *An Advice concerning the Philoſophy of theſe late Diſcoveries, by* W. W. though the Diſcourſe itſelf is ſubſcribed *X. Z.* Who was the Author of it I cannot ſay; but whoever he was, it is plain that he had the Correction of Captain *James*'s Work, and was himſelf, for thoſe times, a Perſon of ſurprizing Knowledge and Freedom of Thought; and therefore I judged the preſerving this little Piece, by reprinting it, would be highly agreeable to all true Lovers of Learning; and therefore it is here ſubjoined.

To the venerable ARTISTS, and younger STUDENTS in Divinity, in the famous Univerſity of *Cambridge*.

“ You Nobly-witted, and Ingenuouſly-ſtudied, Aca-

“ demians, whoſe Excellency in all kind of Learning, all foreign Univerſities do admire, and none attain unto. I here preſent you a Voyage to *Cholcos*, though not the *Golden Fleece* with it. The Search I mean, but not the finding, of that ſo much talked of, ſo often ſought for, *North-weſt Paſſage*, and nearer Way into the *South Sea*. That wherein ſo much *Time* and *Treaſure* hath been expended, ſo many brave Spirits employed, and yet none diſcovered. Perchance there is no ſuch *Paſſage* to be found; and that the *Spaniards*, by the Gullery of their falſe *Sea Cards*, and the Fable of an old *Greek Pilot*, have but diverted our *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Seamen from the Golden *Indies*. This Plot of theirs has taken for theſe many Years, and it appears to be but a Plot; for that themſelves never made uſe of this *Paſſage*. For mine own Part, I ſuppoſe that the *Philoſopher's Stone* is in the *North-weſt Paſſage*. My Argument for it is, that there is ſo much *Philoſophy* in the Way to it.

“ So much and ſuch Variety, and that ſo various (I think) from what is received in the *Schools*, that it were well worth the Diſquiſition of an *Univerſity* (and I wiſh you the firſt Honour of it) either to find out how theſe *Obſervations* may be reduced to *Ariſtotle's Philoſophy*, or whether they need any other Enquiry, and ought to be examined by ſome other Rules than *Ariſtotle* hath yet lit upon. This is my Purpoſe of inſcribing it unto you. Of this one thing am I confident, That you are all ſo *rational* and *ingenuous*, as to prefer *Truth* before *Authority*; *Amicus Plato, amicus Ariſtoteles* but *magis amica veritas.* Your *Sciences* then being *liberal*, your *Studies* I know have ſo far paſſed into your Manners, that your Minds are ſo too; and that ſuch as have already profited beyond the Credulity required in a young Learner, and are themſelves prompted to be *Maſters* of the *Arts*, though they ſtill reverence their old *Greek Tutor*, yet they will not ſuffer that of *Pythagoras's School*, ſo to domineer in *Ariſtotle's*, as to let an *ipſe dixit* go away with it; much leſs allow it the Authority of a *Mayor's Hammer*, with one *Knock* to ſilence all Arguments.

“ Upon this Confidence, I, with all due Reſpects, here prefer two *Propoſitions* unto your diſcuſſing. The firſt this, *Whether theſe Rules of* Ariſtotle's *Philoſophy be to be allowed ſo univerſal, that they hold all the World over.* The ſecond this, *Whether they ought to be ſo magiſterial as to preſcribe againſt all other Examinations.* The firſt of theſe I ſhall but problematically propound unto you; but in the ſecond, I hope a Man of my cloathing may be allowed the Freedom of being ſomething more earneſt.

“ But that I may not come with Prejudice to the making of theſe Motions, or be thought upon ſome *Ignorance or Ambition* to ſpeak againſt the *incomparable Ariſtotle*, I ſhall deſire all my *fellow Academians* to allow me ſo much Diſcretion, as to know, That he that ſhall in your Hearings, oppoſe your *Ariſtotle*, does like the Ship here ſpoken of, run againſt a Rock, endanger his own Bulge, and the ſtaving of his Veſſel. No, I ſo far honour the old *Ariſtotle*, that I will allow him to be *Maſter and Moderator of the Schools*; and that there is the ſame Reſpect due to him in the *Schools*, which, by *Reaſon of long Cuſtom*, is due to one of the *King's Ships* in the *narrow Seas*. *That in Acknowledgment of Sovereignty every other Name ought to ſtrike Sail to him.* *Ariſtotle* (it muſt be confeſſed) hath made all Learning beholding to him. No Man hath learned to confute him, but by him, and unleſs he hath plowed with his *Heifer*. He had the moſt incomparable Wit, and was the moſt logical and demonſtrative Deliverer of himſelf, of all the Sons of Nature. One who beſt of all deſerved to be called her *principal Secretary*: One who not only adorns a Library, but makes it *Qui habet Ariſtotelem, habet Bibliothecam*, is truer of him than of the great Comparer. This is my Opinion of him, and I wiſh him more ſtudied.

“ 'Tis not therefore the Name, or the Authority, of the great *Ariſtotle*, that my Propoſitions meddle withal; but whether his Propoſitions, gathered out of this Part of the World alone, could, like a *royal Paſs, or a Commiſſion*, carry a Man all the World over.

“ It muſt be confeſſed, that in reſpect to the *Equinoctial* and the *Latitude* that *Ariſtotle* lived in, he was but a *Northern Man*, and it was his own Rule, that *nihil agit extra Sphæram activitatis ſuæ*, ſo then it would be put to Voices to conſider, whether he that knew but thoſe Northern Parts, and the *Mediterranean Sea*, could poſſibly make ſuch Collections by what was there to be learned, as ſhould be infallible in the *Southern Hemiſphere*, and the two *Indies*. Plainly, thoſe that are converſant in the *Navigations and Books of Voyages* into thoſe Parts, have found ſo many Contrarities to obſerve, that it was rather tedious than difficult to fill up a *Note Book* with them.

“ The Ancients we know (as if they had meaſured the World by the Yard-Wand) reſtrained the Limits of *Temperature* and *Habitation* by the five *Zones*, without Conſideration of any interloping or concurring Cauſes, which Experience hath now found out to have quite altered their Obſervations. I add, that a good Leiſure and Diligence might obſerve how, in a contrary Part of the World, there be found clean contrary *Cauſes and Effects* unto theſe in this Part of the World. The *South Wind* there brings *Cold*, and *Winter*; and the *North* is the *rainy Wind*. How will the *Thunder* and *Wind* be made to agree with *Ariſtotle*'s *Diſtinction* of a *Meteor?* In ſome Places of the Mountains *Andes*, by *Peru*, it thunders ever. The *Eaſt Indies* have their *Monſons*, and their *Steady Winds*, conſtant for ſix Months together, and who ſhall aſſign their Cauſes? Then the *Doctrines* of the *Tides*, nothing ſo uncertain which *ebb* and *flow* in ſome Places *different*, and in others *contrary* to the *Moon* and her *Motions*. This (as I remember) is *Ariſtotle*'s Diſtinction of a *Meteor*; that it is an *imperfect mixed Body generated out of an infirm and inconſtant Concretion of Elements, which therefore cannot be durable.* Now the *Monſons* are both conſtant in their Continuance this Year; and in their Return next Year, moſt conſtantly keeping their Seaſons half Year one Way and half another Way, for all Ages nothing more conſtant and durable, and therefore nothing like *Ariſtotle's Meteor*. And ſo for the *Thunder* upon the *Andes*; it is firſt perpetual; and ſecondly, not cauſed by a dry *Exhalation* (as *Ariſtotle* wills); but hanging over ſuch *Hills* as are covered with Snow, and a perpetual Winter; witneſs the Thunder on the *Alps* alſo; yea, and that in the Middle of the Sea, five hundred Leagues from Shore, or any thing that is dry; nay, it frequently both *ſnows* and *thunders* upon the *Andes* at the ſame Inſtant; and in *dry* Places, that are hard by, ſcarce ever *thundering*.

“ But not to paſs the Line for it: You ſee in this little Book how *Charlton Iſland*, which is no more northerly than your *Cambridge*, yet is ſo inſufferably cold that it is not habitable, and that there encounter ſo many different (at leaſt ſo ſeeming) Occurences of *Nature*, as were well worthy the Diſquiſition of a *Philoſopher*. I could (in my ſmall Reading) inſtance in many other Particulars, which I had rather ſhould be found out by ſome induſtrious Searchers after *Nature* in the *modern Relations* of our *Diſcoverers*, than in this my ſhort Propoſition. 'Tis not to be doubted but that the careful reading of our *Books* of *Voyages* would more illuſtrate the Hiſtory of *Nature*, and more conduce to the Improvement of *Philoſophy* than any Thing that hath been lately thought upon. Theſe *Navigations* have in part fulfilled that of the *Prophet*: *Many ſhall paſs to and fro, and Knowledge ſhall be increaſed.* This I ſuppoſe might be obſerved from this Study, That the great and infinite *Creator* hath ſo diſpoſed and varied every thing, that it is impoſſible for Man's Reaſon and Obſervation to conclude him; and therefore though the *vulgar* and *received Philoſophy* may give a Man a *general Hint* all the World over; yet no univerſal and unfailing Certainty.

“ This brings me to my *ſecond Propoſition*: That ſeeing God will not have his Works, (no more than his King-

“ dom) to come by Obſervation, *Whether then ought any Human Dictates to be ſo magiſterial as to preſcribe againſt all other Imagination?*

“ No Human Study more conduces to the ſetting forth of *God's* Glory, than the Contemplation of his great Works in *Philoſophy*; for though a ſmattering Knowledge in *ſecond Cauſes* works the Mind towards Atheiſm, yet a higher Speculation of them brings it about again to Religion. No Man I believe will think it fit for us to have a Pope in Philoſophy, one that no body ſhall preſume to cenſure; but all be bound to advance his Decretals above the holy Scripture. This is the Scandal that myſelf and divers good Men take at the undue Authority in ſome Heats pinned upon the *Stagerite*.

“ I am ſorry that the *Iſraelites* Dotage upon *Solomon*'s Philoſophy, ſhould have cauſed the zealous *Hezekiah* to call in and ſuppreſs thoſe invaluable Phyſics, for fear, I ſuppoſe, leſt their Credit ſhould have as much derogated from the Authority of the holy Scriptures, as the brazen Serpent (which he deſtroyed about the ſame time) had done from *Religion*; none will believe that *Solomon's Philoſophy* was contrary to the *Scriptures*, ſeeing the *Scriptures* commend *Solomon* for them. It was not *Hezekiah*'s Fear therefore (or not only) leſt there might have been a Competition between them, but a Neglect of one them: He was zealous, leſt the *Scripture* might have any Writing ſet upon *by it*, though not *againſt it*.

“ Can Divines then be blamed for ſpeaking, when they hear *Ariſtotle's Philoſophy* to be ſolely magnified, and the Study of the *Scripture Philoſophy* diſreſpected; or, that when 'tis confeſſed that ſuch a Thing is true in *Divinity*, and yet the moderating the Point determine for *Philoſophy?* Nay, to hear it called abſurd and ridiculous to have *Scripture* urged at all in Point of *Philoſophy?* No doubt there is *but whatſoever is falſe in Divinity is alſo falſe in Nature*, how much Shew of Truth ſoever it paſſes within *Philoſophy*: *Philoſophy* hath taken its Turn in the *Schools*, and the *holy* Texts, by the *Schoolmen*, have even been ſubmitted unto *Ariſtotle*'s; yea, to the great Corruption of *Theology*, as the Complaint is, hath this Man been ſo far advanced, that *Contra eſt Philoſophus, & contra eſt Apoſtolus*, have familiarly paſſed up and down for equal *Oppoſitians*; ſo that it hath been a *meaſuring Caſt* oftentimes, betwixt the *Prophet* and the *Peripatetic*; and by foul Play hath the Meaſure been made to ſtand the harder at the *Peripatetic*, for that the *Prophet* hath been forced to comply with him by a *wreſted Interpretation*.

“ Thus had St. *Paul* need give his Caveat unto *Theology* as well as unto *Theologues*; *Beware leſt any Man ſpoil you through Philoſophy*.

“ All this were to no Purpoſe, unleſs the Text of *God* were excellent in this Kind, and embelliſhed here and there with moſt admirable *Philoſophy*; what incomparable rare Footſteps of it have we in the Books of *Geneſis*, *Job*, and the *Pſalms?* How noble a Study then were it, and how worthy the Leiſure of ſome excellently learned Men to beſtow ſome Time upon it? *Valeſius* the *Phyſician* hath, in his *Sacra Philoſophia*, done ſomething in this Kind, who yet might have done better here and there for the Honour of the *Scriptures*. I am not ſo ſottiſh, to believe that every Particular is to be drawn out of the *Scriptures*; 'tis none of my Dotage that; or that *God*, in *Scripture*, did intend every where the Accurateneſs of *Philoſophy*, or ſtand to be ſo curious in Definitions and Diſcuſſions; nor that nothing ſhould be determined on till a *Text* confirmed it. But this perchance might profitably be thought upon; that where the *Scriptures* have any thing of this Kind, it ſhould more reverently be eſteemed; Collections out of ſcattered Places (as is done out of *Ariſtotle*'s) made; theſe compared, and their Reſultances obſerved. This ſurely would amount to more than is yet thought of; and in *God's* Name let Scholars be ſo bold with *Ariſtotle* as to examine him upon good Aſſurance by what is *Truth's Touchſtone*: Received *Philoſophy* is a moſt neceſſary Handmaid to the *Scriptures*; but let her not be ſet above her Lady; nor no Competition be made betwixt them.

“ Something elſe remains to be thought of. That ſeeing the ſame *God* who gave *Ariſtotle* theſe good Parts, hath, in like Manner, raiſed up many excellent *Spirits* more; whether it were not injurious to what is done, and a Diſcouragement to what might be done, to have the Inventions, or Obſervations, of thoſe excellent Wits, and great Induſtries, ſo abaſhed with *Ariſtotle*'s Authority, that they can have no Credit in the World; for that his Dictates have pre-occupated all good Opinion? Let it not then be thought unequal to examine the *firſt Cogitation of the old Philoſophy*, by the *ſecond Thoughts* of our more modern *Artiſts*; for that the ſame Improvement may by this means accrue unto the *Phyſics*, that hath advanced our *Geography*, our *Mathematics*, and our *Mechanics*; and let it not be thought ſo inſolent to refuſe *Ariſtotle*'s Authority ſingly, where his Reaſon is not ſo concluding. Seeing other Men have taken the Boldneſs to do that before in ſeveral Kinds; ſome have perfected, and others controlled his *Ethics*, by the *Scriptures*, as *Sculletus Wallæus*, and ſome others. *Juſtin Martyr*, ſirnamed the *Philoſopher*, hath purpoſely written *contra Dogmata Ariſtotelis*. *Baſſon* and *Gaſſendus* (two brave Men) have newly written point-blank againſt him. nor have they taken away all Liberty from thoſe that are to follow them.

“ And thus, with renewing my former Proteſtation for mine own Reſpect to *Ariſtotle*, I conclude my two *Propoſitions*; which I deſire may receive a favourable Conſtruction from all ingenuous, incapricious *Scholars*; I mean them out of Good-will to promote Learning; to encourage and countenance future Undertakings; and, in ſuch a Caſe, a little too much ſaying may be thought not to have exceeded an *honeſt Rhetorication*; for I would not be thought too earneſt in it. The Hint, for all this, I took from this Book, which in mine own, and ſome better, Judgments, is (to ſay no more) as well done, and inriched with as ſure and uſeful Obſervations, as any in this kind. I was deſired by the able Author, and ſome other Friends to overlook the written Copy of it, and to amend the *Engliſh* here and there, in which I did not deſpair of doing ſomething: For that in my younger Time, I had a little acquainted myſelf with the *Language of the Sea*, that which put me in the Head to inſcribe it unto your Names (moſt excellent learned *Academians*) was, for that the Place of this *wintering* was within a *Minute* or two of the Height of our *Cambridge*: Which my Prayer to *God* is, that your Studies may make famous.

“ *Yours*,

X. Z.

SECTION IV.

The late ATTEMPTS *made for the* DISCOVERY *of a* PASSAGE *to the* SOUTH SEAS, *from* Hudſon's Bay; *more particularly that of Captain* CHRISTOPHER MIDDLETON, *Commander of his Majeſty's Sloop the* Furnace.

Interſperſed with Original Papers.

1. *The Reaſons why there have not hitherto been any great Diſcoveries made from* Hudſon's Bay, *notwithſtanding our Settlements in, and Trade thereto.* 2. *Captain* Chriſtopher Middleton*'s accurate and curious Account of the ſtrange Effects of Cold; the Nature of Animals, and Manner of living on the Coaſts of* Hudſon's Bay. 3. *Mr.* Middleton *enters into a Correſpondence with* Arthur Dobbs, *Eſq; for the Diſcovery of a North-weſt Paſſage.* 4. *Reaſons aſſigned by him, to ſhew the Probability of finding ſuch a Paſſage, which actually produced this Voyage.* 5. *An Account of the Undertaking, and of the Impediments thrown in the Way, to hinder Captain* Middleton*'s going, or meeting with Succeſs, in Caſe of attempting this Diſcovery.* 6. *Captain* Middleton*'s Journal of his Voyage for Diſcovery, from his Departure to his Return.* 7. *The Point of Fact as to the Streight, by him called* Wager River, *more clearly ſtated, with Copies of original and amended Declarations.* 8. *An Account of Mr.* Dobbs*'s Exceptions taken to the Relation given by Captain* Middleton *of his Diſcoveries, and Opinion grounded on them, that there is no Streight, or that it is not practicable.* 9. *Mr.* Dobbs*'s Reaſons why the River* Wager *ought rather to be conſidered as a Streight; Captain* Middleton*'s Anſwer, and Replies, to them.* 10. *Captain* Middleton*'s poſitive Proofs that this Opening is a freſh Water River, and not a Streight, communicating with any Ocean or Sea, except* Hudſon's Bay; *with Refutations of thoſe Proofs.* 11. *An Account of a late Act of Parliament, for encouraging the Diſcovery of a* North-weſt *Paſſage.*

1. IN the two foregoing Sections, we have given the Reader as full and as fair an Account as it was in our Power, of the Motives which induced the moſt knowing and able Perſons, in the laſt Century, to ſuppoſe that a Paſſage might be found, through *Hudſon's Bay*, into the *South Seas*; and how this Notion, after prevailing long, and being generally entertained, grew into Diſcredit, by the Miſcarriage of Captain *James*, and by the Account he gave of the Nature and Cauſes of his Diſappointment. We have alſo touched upon the Foundation of the *Hudſon's Bay* Company; but having conſidered that Point more largely in another Place, we thought there was no Neceſſity for dwelling upon it here. In this Section we propoſe to ſpeak of the late Expeditions made that Way, and particularly of Captain *Chriſtopher Middleton*'s, which has afforded Occaſion to the Legiſlature to paſs a Law for encouraging Attempts for this Diſcovery, which ſooner or later there is great Reaſon to hope will be attended with Succeſs.

One would have imagined, that after the Company was eſtabliſhed, for carrying on the Trade to *Hudſon's Bay*, with a View to the finding a North-weſt Paſſage, continual Attempts would have been made for that Purpoſe, agreeable to the Petition upon which that Charter was granted, and to the Preamble of the Charter itſelf, which has been ſo often mentioned; but ſo far has this been from the Practice of the Company, that they have taken all Methods poſſible to prevent the Notion of a Paſſage being found that Way from reviving in the World, by preventing their Captains from publiſhing their Journals; and as by their Charter they have an excluſive Trade, if they do nothing in this Matter, it is impoſſible any body elſe ſhould. There was, indeed, one Captain *Barlow* employed for this Purpoſe about twenty Years ago, but he was never heard of more; and whether he made the Paſſage, and never returned, or whether he was loſt as the Company's Servants report, in the Latitude of 63 Degrees, is what we can give no Account of, at leaſt with any Degree of Certainty. The Reader will hereafter find ſome Account of another Attempt, made by Mr. *John Scroggs*, which, though not attended with Succeſs, was far from giving any Diſcouragement to future Endeavours of the ſame Kind. But what gave Occaſion to the laſt Attempts, was the Informations received from Captain *Middleton* before-mentioned.

This Gentleman had been for many Years in the Service of the *Hudſon's Bay* Company, which gave him an Opportunity of making all the Enquiries neceſſary, and acquiring all the Lights poſſible, to direct him in an Affair of this Nature; and of his Capacity and Knowledge in this Reſpect, the Reader will find an ample Teſtimony in the following Extract of a Relation delivered by him to the worthy Sir *Hans Sloane*, then Preſident of the Royal Society; from whom he received the Prize Medal, which, by the Will of the late Sir *Godfrey Copley*, is annually beſtowed by the ſaid Society. A Relation equally curious in itſelf, and extremely ſuited to our Purpoſe; as it very fully ſhews how much better we are now qualified for making Diſcoveries in thoſe frozen Climates, than in the Days of Captain *James*; and how far the Difficulties, which that Gentleman looked upon as inſupportable, are in the preſent Age overcome. But this Paper has ſo much Merit, that it really needs no farther Introduction.

2. It is obſerved that the Hares, Rabbets, Foxes, Partridges, in *September*, and the Beginning of *October*, changed their native Colours to a Snowy-white, and that for ſix Months in the ſevereſt Part of the Winter. I never ſaw any but what were white, except ſome Foxes of a different Sort, which were grizled, and ſome half red half white.

That Lakes and ſtanding Waters, which are not above ten or twelve Feet deep, are frozen to the Ground in Winter, and the Fiſh therein all periſh.

Yet in Rivers near the Sea, and Lakes of a greater Depth than ten or twelve Feet, Fiſh are caught all the Winter, by cutting Holes through the Ice down to the Water, and therein putting Lines and Hooks. But if they are to be taken with Nets, they cut ſeveral Holes in a ſtrait Line, the Length of the Net, and paſs the Net with a Stick faſtened to the Head-line from Hole to Hole, till it reaches the utmoſt Extent; and what Fiſh come to theſe Holes for Air, are thereby entangled in the Net; and theſe Fiſh, as ſoon as brought into the open Air, are inſtantly frozen as ſtiff as a Stock-fiſh. The Seamen likewiſe freſhen their ſalt Proviſions, by cutting a large Hole through the Ice in the Stream, or Tide of the River; which they do at the Beginning of the Winter, and keep it open all that Seaſon. In this Hole they put their Salt-meat, and the Minute it is immerſed under Water it becomes pliable and ſoft, though before its Immerſion it was hard frozen.

Beef, Pork, Mutton, and Veniſon, that are killed at the Beginning of the Winter, are preſerved by the Froſt for ſix or ſeven Months, entirely free from Putrefaction, and prove tolerable good eating; ſo likewiſe Geeſe, Partridges, and other Fowl, that are killed at the ſame Time, and kept with their Feathers on, and Guts in, require no other Preſervation but the Froſt, to make them good wholeſome eating, as long as the Winter continues. All Kind of Fiſh are preſerved in the like Manner.

In large Lakes and Rivers the Ice is ſometimes broken by impriſoned Vapours, and the Rocks, Trees, Joiſts, and Rafters of our Buildings, are burſt, with a Noiſe not leſs terrible than the firing off a great many Guns together. The Rocks which are ſplit by the Froſt are heaved up in great Heaps, leaving large Cavities behind, which I take to be cauſed by impriſoned watery Vapours that require more Room when frozen, than they occupy in their fluid State. Neither do I think it unaccountable, that the Froſt ſhould be able to tear up Rocks and Trees, and ſplit the Beams of our Houſes, when I conſider the great Force and Elaſticity thereof. If Beer or Water is left in Mugs, Cans, Bottles, nay, in Copper Pots, though they were put by our Bed Sides in a ſevere Night, they were ſurely ſplit to Pieces before Morning, not being able to withſtand the expanſive Force of the incloſed Ice.

The Air is filled with innumerable Particles of Ice, very ſharp and angular, and plainly perceptible to the naked Eye. I have ſeveral Times tried this Winter to make Obſervations of ſome celeſtial Bodies, particularly the Emerſions of the Satellites of *Jupiter*, with reflecting and refracting Teleſcopes; but the Metals and Glaſſes, by that Time I could fix them to the Object, were covered a quarter of an Inch thick with Ice, and thereby the Object rendered indiſtinct; ſo that it is not without great Difficulties that any Obſervations can be taken.

Bottles of ſtrong Beer, Brandy, ſtrong Brine, Spirits of Wine, ſet out in the open Air for three or four Hours, freeze to ſolid Ice. I have tried to get the Sun's Refraction here, to every Degree above the Horizon, with *Elton*'s Quadrant, but to no Purpoſe, for the Spirits freeze almoſt as ſoon as brought into open Air.

The Froſt is never out of the Ground, how deep we cannot be certain. We have dug down ten or twelve Feet, and found the Earth hard frozen in the two Summer Months; and what Moiſture we find five or ſix Feet down, is white like Ice. The Waters, or Rivers, near the Sea, where the Current of the Tides flow ſtrong, do not freeze above nine or ten Feet deep.

All the Water we uſe for Cooking, Brewing, &c. is melted Snow and Ice. No Spring is yet found free from freezing, though dug never ſo deep down. All Waters on Land are frozen faſt by the Beginning of *October*, and continue ſo till the Middle of *May*.

The Walls of the Houſe we live in are of Stone, two Feet thick; the Windows very ſmall, with thick wooden Shutters, which are cloſe ſhut eighteen Hours every Day in Winter.

There are Cellars under the Houſe, wherein we put our Wines, Brandy, ſtrong Beer, Butter, Cheeſe, &c. Four large Fires are made in great Stoves built on purpoſe; every Day, as ſoon as the Wood is burnt down to a Coal, the Tops of the Chimnies are cloſe ſtopt with an Iron Cover. This keeps the Heat within the Houſe (though at the ſame Time the Smoak makes our Heads ach, and is very offenſive and unwholſome.) Notwithſtanding which, in four or five Hours after the Fire is out, the Inſide of the Walls of our Houſe and Bed-Places will be two or three Inches thick with Ice, which is every Morning cut away with a Hatchet. Three or four Times a Day we make Iron Shot, of twenty-four Pounds Weight, red hot, and hang them up in the Windows of our Apartments. I have a good Fire in my Room the major Part of the twenty-four Hours; yet all this will not preſerve my Beer, Wine, Ink, &c. from freezing.

For our Winter Dreſs we make uſe of three Pair of Socks, of coarſe Blanketting or Duffel, for the Feet, with a Pair of Deer-Skin Shoes over them; two Pair of thick *Engliſh* Stockings, and a Pair of Cloth Stockings upon them; Breeches lined with Flannel; two or three *Engliſh* Jackets, and a Furr Coat, or rather Gown, over them; a large Beaver Cap, double, to come over the Face and Shoulders, and a Cloth of Blanketting under the Chin; with Yarn Gloves, and a large Pair of Beaver Mittens, hanging down from the Shoulder before, to put our Hands in, which reach up as high as our Elbows. Yet notwithſtanding this warm Cloathing, almoſt every Day, ſome of the Men that ſtir abroad, if any Wind blows from the Northward, are dreadfully frozen. Some have their Arms, Hands, and Face, bliſtered and frozen in a terrible Manner, the Skin coming off ſoon after they enter the warm Houſe; and ſome have loſt their Toes. Now their lying Indoors for the Cure of theſe frozen Parts, brings on the Scurvy in a very lamentable Manner: Many have died of it, and few are free from that Diſtemper. I have procured them all the Help I could, from the Diet this Country affords in Winter; ſuch as freſh Fiſh, Partridges, Broths, &c. and the Doctors have uſed their utmoſt Skill in vain; for I find nothing will prevent that Diſtemper from being mortal, but Exerciſe and ſtirring abroad.

Coronæ and *Parhelia*, commonly called *Halos* and *Mock-Suns*, appear frequently about the Sun and Moon here. They are ſeen once or twice a Week about the Sun, and once or twice a Month about the Moon, for four or five Months in the Winter; ſeveral *Coronæ* of different Diameters appearing at the ſame Time.

I have ſeen five or ſix Parallel *Coronæ* concentric with the Sun, ſeveral Times in the Winter, being for the moſt Part very bright, and always attended with *Parhelia* or *Mock Suns*. The *Parhelia* are always accompanied with *Coronæ*, if the Weather is clear, and continue for ſeveral Days together, from the Sun's riſing to his ſetting. Theſe Rings are of various Colours, and about 40 or 50 Degrees in Diameter.

The frequent Appearance of theſe *Phænomena*, in this frozen Clime, ſeems to confirm *Deſcartes*'s Hypotheſis, who ſuppoſes them to proceed from Ice ſuſpended in the Air.

The *Aurora Borealis* is much oftner ſeen here than in *England*; ſeldom a Night paſſes in the Winter free from its Appearance; they ſhine with a ſurprizing Brightneſs, extinguiſhing all the Stars and Planets, and covering the whole Hemiſphere. Their tremulous Motion from all Parts; their Beauty and Luſtre are much the ſame as in the Northern Parts of *Scotland*, *Denmark*, &c.

The dreadful long Winters here, may almoſt be compared to the Polar Parts, where the Abſence of the Sun continues for ſix Months; the Air being perpetually chilled and frozen by the Northerly Winds in Winter, and the cold Fogs and Miſts obſtructing the Sun's Beams in the ſhort Summer we have here; for notwithſtanding the Snow and Ice is then diſſolved in the Lowlands and Plains, yet the Mountains are perpetually covered with Snow, and incredible large Bodies of Ice, continue in the adjacent Seas. If the Wind blows from the Southern Parts the Air is tolerably warm, but inſufferable cold when it comes from the Northward; and it ſeldom blows any otherwiſe, than between the North-eaſt and the North-weſt, except in the two Summer Months, when we have for the major Part light Gales, between the Eaſt and the North, and Calms. The Northerly Winds being ſo extremely cold, is owing to the Neighbourhood of high Mountains, whoſe Tops are perpetually covered with Snow, which exceedingly chills the Air paſſing over them. The Fogs and Miſts that are brought here from the Polar Parts in Winter, appear viſible to the naked Eye, in Iſicles innumerable, as ſmall as fine Hairs or Threads, and pointed as ſharp as Needles. Theſe Iſicles lodge in our Cloaths, and if our Faces or Hands are uncovered, they preſently raiſe Bliſters as white as a Linnen Cloth, and as hard as Horn: Yet if we immediately turn our Backs to the Weather, and can bear our Hand out of the Mitten, and with it rub the bliſtered Part for a ſmall Time, we ſometimes bring the Skin to its former State, if not, we make the beſt of our Way to a Fire, and get warm Water, wherewith we bathe it, and thereby diſſipate the Humours raiſed by the frozen Air, otherwiſe the Skin would be off in a ſhort Time, with much hot ſerous watery Matter, coming from under it along with the Skin; and this happens to ſome almoſt every Time they go abroad, for five or ſix Months in the Winter; ſo extreme cold is the Air when the Wind blows any thing ſtrong.

Now I have obſerved, that when it has been extreme hard Froſt, by the Thermometer, and little or no Wind that Day, the Cold has not near ſo ſenſibly affected us, as when the Thermometer has ſhewed much leſs freezing, having a briſk Gale of Northerly Wind at the ſame Time. This Difference, perhaps, may be occaſioned by thoſe ſharp-pointed Iſicles before-mentioned, ſtriking more forcibly on a windy Day than in calm Weather, thereby penetrating the naked Skin, or Parts but thinly covered, and cauſe an acute Senſation of Pain or Cold. And the ſame Reaſon, I think, will hold good in other Places; for ſhould the Wind blow Northerly any thing hard for many Days together, in *England*, the Iſicles that would be brought from the Polar Parts, by the Continuance of ſuch a Wind, though imperceptible to the naked Eye, would more ſenſibly affect the naked Skin, or Parts but lightly covered, than when the Thermometer has ſhewn a greater Degree of freezing, and there has been little or no Wind at the ſame Time.

It is not a little ſurprizing to many, that ſuch extreme Cold ſhould be felt in theſe Parts of *America*, more than in Places of the ſame Latitude, on the Coaſt of *Norway*; but the Difference I take to be occaſioned by the Winds blowing conſtantly here, for ſeven Months in the twelve, between the North-eaſt and North-weſt, and paſſing over a large Tract of Land, and exceeding high Mountains, *&c.* as before-mentioned. Whereas at *Drontheim* in *Norway*, as I obſerved ſome Years ago in wintering there, the Wind all the Winter comes from the North and North-north-weſt, and croſſes a great Part of the Ocean, clear of thoſe large Bodies of Ice we find here perpetually. At this Place we have conſtantly, every Year, nine Months Froſt and Snow, and unſufferable Cold, from *October* to the Beginning of *May*. In the long Winter, as Air becomes leſs ponderous towards the Polar Parts, and nearer to an Equilibrium, as it happens about one Day in a Week, we then have Calms and light Airs all round about the Compaſs continuing ſometimes four and twenty Hours, and then back to its own Place again, in the ſame Manner as it happens every Night in the *Weſt Indies*, near ſome of the Iſlands.

The Snow that falls here is as white and ſmall as Duſt, but never any Hail except at the Beginning and End of Winter: Almoſt every Full and Change of the Moon, very hard Gales from the North.

The conſtant Trade-Winds in theſe northern Parts, I think undoubtedly proceed from the ſame Principle which our learned Dr. *Halley* conceives to be the Cauſe of the Trade-Winds near the Equator; and their Variation. “Wind, ſays he, is moſt properly defined to be the Stream or Current of the Air, and where ſuch Current is perpetual and fixed in its Courſe, it is neceſſary that it proceed from a permanent and unintermitting Cauſe, capable of producing a like conſtant Effect, and agreeable to the known Properties of Air and Water, and the Laws of Motion of fluid Bodies. Such an one is, I conceive, the Action of the Sun's Beams upon Air and Water, as he paſſes every Day over the Oceans, conſidered together with the Nature of the Soil, and Situation of the adjoining Continents: I ſay therefore, firſt, that according to the Law of Statics; the Air which is leſs rarefied and leſs ponderous, muſt have a Motion towards thoſe Parts thereof which are more rarefied, and leſs ponderous, to bring it to an Equilibrium, *&c.*”

Now that the cold denſe Air, by reaſon of its greater Gravity, continually paſſes from the ſolar Parts to the Equator, where Air is more rarefied, to preſerve an Equilibrium, or Balance of the Atmoſphere, I think is very evident from the Wind in thoſe frozen Regions blowing from the North and North-weſt, from the Beginning of *October* until *May*; for we find that when the Sun, at the Beginning of *June*, has warmed thoſe Countries to the Northward, then the South-eaſt, Eaſt, and variable Winds continue till *October* again, and I do not doubt but the Trade-Winds and hard Gales may be found in the Southern Polar Parts, to blow towards the Equator when the Sun is in the Northern Signs, from the ſame Principle.

The Limit of theſe Winds from the Polar Parts towards the Equator, is ſeldom known to reach beyond the 30th Degree of Latitude; and the nearer they approach to that Limit the ſhorter is the Continuance of theſe Winds. In *New England* it blows from the North near four Months, in the Winter; at *Canada*, about five Months; at the *Danes* Settlements in *Streight Davis*, in the 63d Degree of Latitude, near ſeven Months; on the Coaſt of *Norway*, in 64 Degrees, not above five Months and a half, by reaſon of blowing over a great Part of the Ocean, as was before mentioned; for theſe northerly Winds continue a longer, or ſhorter Space of Time, according to the Air's being more or leſs rarefied, which may very probably be altered ſeveral Degrees, by the Nature of the Soil, and the Situation of the adjoining Continents.

The vaſt Bodies of Ice we meet with in our Paſſage from *England* to *Hudſon's Bay*, are very ſurpriſing; not only as to the Number, but Magnitude. It is in truth unaccountable how they are formed of ſo great a Bulk, ſome of them being immerſed a hundred Fathoms or more under the Surface of the Ocean, a fifth or ſixth Part above, and three or four Miles in Circumference: Some hundreds of theſe we ſometimes meet in our Voyage here, all in Sight at once if the Weather is clear; ſome of them are frequently ſeen on the Coaſts and Banks of *Newfoundland* and *New England*, though much diminiſhed.

When I have been becalmed in *Hudſon's Streights*, for three or four Tides together, I have taken my Boat and lain cloſe to the Sides of one of them, ſounded, and found a hundred Fathoms Water all round it. The Tide floweth here above four Fathoms, and I have obſerved upon a Body of Ice, the Tide to riſe and fall that Difference; which was a Certainty of its being aground: Likewiſe, in a Harbour in the Iſland of *Reſolution*, where I continued four Days, three of theſe Iſlands of Ice (as we call them) came a-ground; I ſounded along by the Sides of one of them quite round it, and found thirty-two Fathoms Water, and the Height above the Surface but ten Yards, another was twenty-eight Fathoms under, and the perpendicular Height but nine Yards above the Water.

I can in no other manner account for the Aggregation of ſuch large Bodies of Ice; but that along the Coaſts of *Streight Davis*, both Sides of *Baffin's Bay*, *Hudſon's Streights*, *Anticoſti* or *Labradore*, the Land is very high and bold, and a hundred Fathom and more cloſe to the Shore. Theſe Shores have many Inlets or Firths, the Cavities of which are full of Ice and Snow by the almoſt perpetual Winter there, and frozen to the Ground, increaſing for four, five, or ſeven Years, till a kind of Deluge, or Land-flood, which commonly happens in that Space of Time throughout thoſe Parts, breaks them looſe and launches them into the Streights or Ocean, where they are driven about by the variable Winds and Currents, in the Months of *June*, *July*, and *Auguſt*, rather increaſing than diminiſhing in Bulk, being ſurrounded (except in four or five Points of the Compaſs) with ſmaller Ice for many hundred Leagues; and Land covered all the Year with Snow, the Weather being extreme cold for the moſt Part in thoſe Summer Months. The ſmaller Ice that almoſt fills the Streights and Bays, and covers many Leagues out into the Ocean along the Coaſt, is from four to ten Fathoms thick; and chills the Air to that Degree, that there is a conſtant Increaſe to the large Iſles, by the Sea's waſhing againſt them, and the perpetual wet Fogs like ſmall Rain, freezing as they ſettle upon the Ice; and their being ſo deeply immerſed under Water, and ſuch a ſmall Part above, prevents the Wind's having much Power to move them; for though it blows from the North-weſt Quarter near nine Months in twelve, and conſequently thoſe Iſles are driven towards a warmer Climate, yet the progreſſive Motion is ſo ſlow, that it muſt take up many Years before they can get five or ſix hundred Leagues to the Southward: I am of Opinion, ſome hundred Years are required; for they cannot, I think, diſſolve, before they come between the 50th and 40th Degrees of Latitude; where the Heat of the Sun conſuming the Upper-parts, they lighten, and waſte in Time; yet there is a perpetual Supply from the Northern Parts, which will ſo continue as long as it pleaſes the Author of all Beings to keep Things in their preſent State.

Obſervations of the Longitude, Latitude, *and the* Declination of the Magnetic-Needle *at* Prince of Wales's Fort, Churchill *River*.

	Hou.	*Min.*	*Sec.*
Having obſerved the apparent Time of an Emerſion of *Jupiter*'s firſt Satellite at *Fort Churchill*, on *Saturday* the 20th of *March* laſt, 1741-2, at - - - - - -	11	55	50
I find the ſame Emerſion happened at *London*, by Mr. *Pound*'s Tables compared with ſome Emerſions actually obſerved in *England*, near the ſame Time, at - - - -	18	15	10
Whence the horary Difference of Meridians, between *Fort Churchill* and *London*, comes out	06	19	20
Which converted into Degrees of the Equator, gives for the Diſtance of the ſame Meridians - - -	94	50	00

Wherefore, ſince the Time at *London* was later in Denomination than that at *Churchill*, it follows that, according to this Obſervation, *Churchill* is 94 Degrees 50 Minutes in Longitude Weſt of *London*.

I took ſeveral other Obſervations, which agreed one with another to leſs than a Minute; but this I looked upon as the moſt diſtinct and beſt.

The Obſervation was made with a good fifteen Feet refracting Teleſcope and a two Feet Reflector of *Gregory*'s Kind, having a good Watch of Mr. *Graham*'s that I could depend upon; for I have frequent Opportunities of diſcovering how much its Variation amounted to, and conſtantly found its daily Deviation or Error to be fifteen Seconds too ſlow; by which Means it was as uſeful to me, for all Purpoſes, as if it had gone moſt conſtantly true, without any Change. This Watch I kept in my Fob in the Day, and in Bed in the Night, to preſerve it from the Severity of the Weather; for I obſerved that all other Watches were ſpoiled by the extreme Cold.

I have found, from repeated Obſervations, a Method of obtaining the true Time of the Day at Sea, by taking eight or ten Altitudes of the Sun or Stars, when near the prime Verticle, by Mr. *Smith*'s or Mr. *Hadley*'s Quadrant, which I have practiſed theſe three or four Years paſt, and never found, from the Calculations, that they differed one from another above ten or fifteen Seconds of Time. This Certainty of true Time at Sea, is of greater Uſe, in the Practice of Navigation, than may appear at firſt Sight; for you not only thereby get the Variation of the Compaſs, without the Help of Altitudes, but likewiſe the Variation of the Needle from the true Meridian every time the Sun or Star is ſeen to tranſit the ſame. Alſo, having the true Time of Day or Night, you may be ſure of the Meridian Altitude of the Sun or Star, if you get a Sight fifteen or twenty Minutes before or after it paſſes the Meridian; and the Latitude may be obtained to leſs than five Minutes; with ſeveral other Uſes in aſtronomical Obſervations, as the Refraction of the Atmoſphere; and ſo allow for it by getting the Sun's apparent Riſing and Setting, which any-body is capable of doing; and from thence you will have the Refraction.

If we had ſuch a Teleſcope contrived as Mr. *Smith* recommends to be uſed on Shipboard at Sea, now we can have an exact Knowledge of the true Time of the Day or Night, from the above Inſtruments, and a good Watch, we ſhould probably be able to obſerve the Eclipſes of the firſt Satellite of *Jupiter*, or any other Phænomenon of the like Kind, and thereby find the Diſtance of Meridians or Longitude at Sea.

The Variation of the Magnetic-Needle, or Sea Compaſs, obſerved by me at *Churchill* in 1725 (as in N° 393 of the *Philoſophical Tranſactions*, for the Months of *March* and *April*, 1746) was at that Time North 21 Degrees weſterly; and this Winter I have carefully obſerved it, and find it no more than 17 Degrees; ſo that it has differed about one Degree in four Years; for in 1738 I obſerved it here, and found its Declination 18 Degrees weſterly. I have carefully obſerved, and made proper Allowance for the Sun's Declination and Refraction, and find the Latitude here to be 58 Degrees 36 Minutes North; but in moſt Parts of the World where the Latitudes are fixed by Seamen, they are, for the moſt Part, falſely laid down, for want of having regard to the Variation of the Sun's Declination, which computed at a diſtant Meridian, when the Sun is near the Equator, may make a great Error in the Sun's riſing and ſetting, *Azimuths*, &c.

3. We cannot, after the Peruſal of this ingenious Diſcouſe, full of ſo much curious Matter, and containing ſuch pregnant Proofs of the Author's perfect Acquaintance with his Subject, doubt, that ſuch a Perſon ſhould be received with all the Marks of Eſteem and Confidence poſſible; by one who had formed a Deſign of reviving this ſo long neglected Diſcovery, by an Attempt through *Hudſon's Bay*, The Gentleman who had then, and ſtill has, this Matter at Heart, was *Arthur Dobbs*, Eſq; a Man born to revive the old heroic Spirit, of turning all our Endeavours to the Service of the Public. This had led him to obſerve, that the ſureſt and moſt effectual Means of improving our naval Force, and extending our Navigation (things that have hitherto gone, and, indeed, muſt always go together) was to open ſome new Branches of Commerce, to which, as we ſhould thereby have a better Title, ſo by getting the Start of other Nations, we might be able to manage to greater Advantage.

He ſaw, likewiſe, that with whatever Expence this might be attended to the Public, it would not only repay the ſame abundantly, but would alſo be, at the Bottom, much leſs chargeable than in Appearance; for there is in this reſpect, ſuch a Difference between public and private Expence, as deſerves to be thoroughly examined; becauſe the comprehending of it is a thing of much greater Conſequence, than can, at firſt Sight, be eaſily conceived. For if private Men embark in any Undertaking which demands the Diſburſement of large Sums of Money, they can do it only with a View of Profit to themſelves; and conſequently if they are either miſtaken in their Deſign, or miſcarry in the Execution of it, they are real Sufferers in proportion to the Loſs with which ſuch an Attempt is attended; but the Caſe is very far from being the ſame, when Undertakings of the like Kind are managed by the Public; for then the Money diſburſed falls into the Hands of Individuals, and conſequently though the Attempt may be diſappointed, yet the real Loſs is little or nothing; becauſe thoſe who furniſh the public Expences receive the Money that is thus ſpent, and it is no more than a different kind of Circulation, which, in the End, comes to very near the ſame thing, as if the original Undertaking had coſt little or nothing.

On the other Hand, the Views of private Perſons tend to their particular Advantage; and though this turns to the general Good of the Society, yet this is in a very ſmall Proportion in Compariſon of what may be expected, and, indeed, muſt neceſſarily follow from Undertakings of ſuch a public Nature, when attended with Succeſs. An Inſtance will make this plain. The *Hudſon's Bay* Company has now ſubſiſted near fourſcore Years, within which ſpace of Time the Proprietors have been very large Gainers, but the Advantage to the Public has been very far from being great. They have exported our Manufactures, but in very ſmall Quantities; their Profit, upon ſuch Exportations, has been very conſiderable; but the Gain to the Public would have been much greater, if thoſe Exportations had been larger, though the Balance, in favour of the Company, would then have been leſs. They employ but a few Ships, and a ſmall Number of Seamen; their Factories are few and thin, all which may anſwer their Purpoſes very well; but 'tis plain they do not anſwer the national Purpoſe of enlarging our Navigation, and increaſing our Seamen.

Yet this is not all; we ought to conſider the wide Difference between the Advantages accruing to the Public from the Trade of the Company, and the Advantages that would have accrued if a North-weſt Paſſage had been ſearched for and found; for if ever this ſhould be brought about, it is very clear, that for a great Part of this Time the Nation has loſt all that might have been acquired thereby. It may be anſwered that this is founded upon a Suppoſition only, to which I anſwer, that it is founded upon the ſame Suppoſition with their Charter; and therefore it was their Duty to look for it, which they have not done. But let us now ſee what Hopes Captain *Middleton* gave Mr. *Dobbs* of the finding ſuch a Paſſage; and theſe we ſhall give in this Gentleman's own Words, which are as follow.

4. “ In his Letter to me of *October* the 18th, 1739, he ſays I was this Year at *Churchill* Factory, where Mr. *Norton* is Governor; he was along with *Scroggs* in the Year 1722, and remembers very well, that when they came to an Anchor in the *Welcome*, near the Latitude of 65 Degrees, they had twelve Fathom at high Water, and but ſeven Fathom at low Water; and he ſeems confident, from a View that he took from a Promontary aſhore, that there muſt be a clear Paſſage. The Land is very high, and falls off to the Southward of the Weſt. This Year ſome of the Natives, who came down to treat at *Churchill*, and had never been before at any of our *Engliſh* Settlements, informed him that they frequently traded with *Europeans*, on the Weſt Side of *America*, near the Latitude of *Churchill*, by their Account, which ſeems to confirm the two Seas muſt meet. I remain, *&c. Chriſtopher Middleton*.

“ In another of his Letters of the 21ſt of *January*, 1737, he ſays, That the Company think it their Intereſt, rather to prevent than forward new Diſcoveries in that Part of the World; and for that Reaſon they won't ſuffer any of our Journals to be made public. All the Intimation I am able to give is, that the Tides riſe more with a North and a North-weſt Wind, at neap Tides, than ever the Spring-Tides do at *Churchill* or *Albany*, with a Southerly or Eaſterly Wind, and as there is little or no Tide between *Mansfield* and *Cary's Swans Neſt*, nor any in the North, or North-north-weſt of *Mill Iſles*, in that Bay, it muſt come from the *Welcome*, which cannot be far from ſome Weſtern Ocean. Alſo in Mr. *John Scroggs*'s Journal of 1722, he mentions, that in Latitude 64 Degrees 50 Minutes, the Tide ebbed five Fathoms, but gives no Account which Way, or from whence, the Tide came, and they all agree that a great many Whales are ſeen in the *Welcome*. Whereas I don't remember to have ſeen any in other Parts of *Hudſon's Bay*, and I have been in all Parts of it except the *Welcome*; all which are favourable Circumſtances. I ſhall be glad, at all times, to contribute what I can to your Information, and beg you will believe me to be, Sir, *&c. Chriſtopher Middleton*.

“ In another of his Letters of *November* the 5th, 1737, he mentions the Company's having ſent out two Sloops (at my Solicitation) upon the Diſcovery; they proſecuted their Voyage no farther then Latitude 62 Degrees 15 Minutes North, and returned without making any new or uſeful Diſcovery; ſo far as I can learn, they found a great many Iſlands, abundance of black Whales, but no very great Tides, the higheſt about two Fathoms, the Flood coming from the Northward.

“ In his Extract from *Scroggs*'s Journal, of the *Welcome*, he alſo ſays, that he had two Northern *Indians* aboard, who had been entertained in the Factory all the foregoing Winter, upon the Account of his Diſcovery; they gave us Information of a rich Copper Mine that lay near the Surface of the Earth, and ſaid they could direct the Sloop or Ship to lay her Side to it, where ſhe might land very ſoon. We had ſeveral Pieces of Copper brought to *Churchill*, and made it evident there is a Mine ſomewhere in that Country. Theſe *Indians* ſketched out the Lands with Charcoal, upon a Skin of Parchment, before they left the Factory, and as far as they went they found it agree very well.

“ He afterwards ſays, when they returned, which was in a Month's Time, or thereabouts, I examined the Officers and Men; ſeveral had been my Scholars, in the Winter, to learn Navigation. They told me they ſaw nothing at thoſe times they were aſhore to hinder their going farther; for when they were eight or ten Miles from *Whale-bone Point*, which bore Eaſt-north-eaſt from them, they ſaw an open Sea, and the Land ſtretched away to the Southward of the Weſt. This they ſaid to *Scroggs*'s Face, as ſoon as they were got aboard our Ship at *Churchill*; though while they were under his Command they diſſembled it, and ſaid what he pleaſed to have them. From this, and all other Accounts, it appears there muſt be a Paſſage for the Tides, from the Weſtern Ocean.”

We need not at all wonder, that upon having ſuch Lights as theſe, Mr. *Dobbs* reſolved to proceed, and to make uſe of all his Intereſt at the Admiralty Board, to procure ſuch Aſſiſtance, and ſuch Encouragement, to Captain *Middleton*, as ſhould appear requiſite for carrying this Deſign into Execution. It is very evident that there was nothing precipitate, raſh, or haſty, in this whole Proceeding; but Mr. *Dobbs* acted with all the Caution and Diſcretion, that in a Matter of ſo great Importance to the Public, and of ſo great Conſequence to his own Character, it became him to do. He had advanced as far in this Enquiry, as it was poſſible for a Man to do, without going to *Hudſon's Bay* in Perſon; and his Acquaintance with Captain *Middleton* ſeemed ſufficient to ſupply that Defect; for he was allowed to be an excellent Seaman, and therefore a very proper Judge of the Probability, or Improbability of ſuch a Paſſage; he had conſidered that Point of his own Accord, and as we have ſeen before, had collected Reaſons ſufficient to determine him to believe it probable. He had been, not once, but twenty times, at *Hudſon's Bay*, and conſequently appeared one of the fitteſt Men living, to be intruſted with the Direction of this Diſcovery. Mr. *Dobbs*, therefore, acted with Wiſdom and Prudence, as well as Honour and Gratitude, recommending him to the Admiralty, as the moſt proper Perſon to be employed in an Expedition for the diſcovering a North-weſt Paſſage. All theſe Facts I have related as they appear to me, and with the Impartiality becoming an Hiſtorian. I have no perſonal Knowledge of either of theſe Gentlemen, and I never ſought it, that I might not fall under any Prejudices, or Prepoſſeſſions. I report all things as fairly as I can, and if there be any Errors or Miſtakes, they muſt proceed, not from any Fault in my Will, but in my Underſtanding. And with this I thought it neceſſary to acquaint the Reader, as well as that I am not at all a Party in this Diſpute; and that my only Motive to meddle therewith, is for his Service.

5. It was natural for Mr. *Dobbs* to expect this Expedition ſhould meet with ſome Checks and Diſcouragements, from thoſe who were moſt capable of promoting it, I mean the *Hudſon's Bay* Company; but it is certain that he did not expect near ſo much Trouble in this Affair, as he met with. Speaking of it after the Return of Captain *Middleton*, he throws all the Paſſages relating to this Matter together; and having firſt obſerved that this was an Undertaking the Company was by their Charter bound to promote, goes on in the following Manner:

“ This, ſays he, they have not only neglected to do, but have concealed the Knowledge or Preſumptions they had of it as much as poſſible; and have not only chicaned when applied to, but have actually, by Letter from their Governor, refuſed to look for it, when applied to upon that Account; and have alſo diſcouraged the Attempts of others, not only by concealing the Navigation into thoſe Seas, by obliging their Captains, under a Penalty, not to make or publiſh any Charts or Journals of thoſe Seas and Coaſts, or Voyages thither, but alſo by putting all the Difficulties they durſt, upon the King's Ships lately ſent upon the Diſcovery; having claimed, and taken from Captain *Middleton* an *Indian* Boy, whom he had brought to *England*, and having learned the *Engliſh* Tongue, would have proved a good Interpreter; and made his Clerk a Governor of one of their Factories, to induce him to leave him, and alſo ſent away their Ships a Month earlier than uſual, to lie in the *Orkneys*, leſt he ſhould have gotten any of the Sailors, who had been accuſtomed to, and acquainted with, the Navigation;

"but even went farther, to tempt the Captain to quit the King's Service, and not to attempt the Diſcovery; and offered him 5000*l.* either to return to their Service, or look for it in *Davis*'s Streight, or *Baffin's Bay*, and not to look for it in *Hudſon's Bay*, or at the *Welcome*. Alledging it would coſt the Company ſo much to ſupport their Right againſt the Crown; and as he had been their Friend, and knew all their Concerns, it would be better to give him that Sum, than to give it to the Lawyers.

"When they found him Proof againſt their Bribery, they then thought to diſtreſs him another Way, by writing to their Governor at *Churchill*, which was the moſt convenient Harbour for the King's Ships to winter in, and was neareſt to the Paſſage, not to receive him into their Port. And afterwards, when the Company was applied to by the Lords of the Admiralty, to allow him to winter there, if it was neceſſary for him, and to give him what Aſſiſtance they could, in ſupplying his Wants, which they would thankfully repay the Company in *London*; after deliberating ſome Time upon an Anſwer, they wrote to the Lords of the Admiralty, that they had ſent ſuch a Letter as their Lordſhips deſired, to their Governor at *Churchill*, and diſpatched it by Poſt to their Ships at the *Orkneys*. This being no way ſatisfactory to Captain *Middleton*, who had been informed of their Letter to the Governor not to admit him, he applied for a Duplicate, to carry it with him, in caſe the other ſhould miſcarry, there being no ſettled Poſt to the *Orkneys*; upon which they gave him a Duplicate ſealed up, and, upon Application, a Copy of it, to know what it contained, which was in theſe Words:

Hudſon's Bay Houſe, *London*, *May* 15, 1741.

Mr. *James Iſham*, and Council, at *Prince of Wales*'s *Fort*, *Churchill River*.

GENTLEMEN,

"Notwithſtanding our Orders to you, if Captain *Middleton* (who is ſent abroad in the Government's Service, to diſcover a Paſſage North-weſt) ſhould, by inevitable Neceſſity, be brought into real Diſtreſs, and Danger of his Life, and Loſs of his Ship; in ſuch Caſe you are then to give him the beſt Aſſiſtance and Relief you can. We remain,

"*Your loving Friends,*

"*Bibye Lake*, Governor,
"*William Ederton*,
"*J. Winter*,
"*Atwell Lake*,
"*John Anthony Merle*,
"*John Merry*.

"Upon ſo extraordinary a Diſcovery of the Inclinations of the Company, to baffle the Attempt of finding out the Paſſage, and to diſcourage Captain *Middleton* from proſecuting the Diſcovery; the Lords of the Admiralty thought it neceſſary to apply to the Lords of the Regency, that the Secretary of State might, by their Orders, write to the Company, to require that Aſſiſtance which they refuſed to the Admiralty, which was ſent, and upon that the Company gave a Letter to the Captain, in a more humane and friendly Stile; but in Conſequence of their Offer, it is plain that he ſtifled and diſguiſed the Diſcovery of the Paſſage. By this it is evident that the Company believe there is a Paſſage, which they want to conceal; for otherwiſe it had been their Intereſt to have had the Attempt made, and if not found, there would have been an End put to the proſecuting it any farther; and they might probably have enjoyed their Trade to the Bay, without its being coveted or enquired into."

When all Difficulties were overcome, and things ſo diſpoſed that nothing was wanting to Captain *Middleton*'s purſuing his Voyage, but his Inſtructions from the Admiralty, with reſpect to the Meaſures he was to purſue in his intended Diſcovery; theſe were very ſoon procured, and appeared to have been drawn up with great Circumſpection, and the moſt perfect Knowledge of the Subject to which they relate, as the Reader cannot but allow, after the ſerious Peruſal of them.

Theſe Inſtructions ran thus: "Whereas we have, in Obedience to his Majeſty's Commands, ordered the *Furnace* Sloop, whereof you are Commander, to be fitted out, in a proper Manner, to proceed on a Voyage towards *Hudſon's Streight*, in order to attempt a Diſcovery of a Paſſage, that Way, into the Weſtern *American* Ocean; and have appointed the *Diſcovery* Pink, *William Moor*, Maſter (who is hereby required, and directed to follow, your Orders) to attend you on the Service: You are hereby required and directed, ſo ſoon as the ſaid Sloop and Pink are ready for the Sea, to fall down to the *Nore*; and when they have been paid what is due to their Companies, to proceed to *Leith*, and deliver the incloſed Packet to Captain *Holbourn*, Commander of his Majeſty's Ship the *Dolphin*; containing Orders for the ſaid Captain to proceed, in Company with you, as far as the Iſlands of *Orkney*, for your better Security againſt the Privateers of the Enemy, ſaid to be cruizing thereabout.

"You are accordingly to proceed with the ſaid Ship *Dolphin*, as far as the aforeſaid Iſlands, and then to make the beſt of your Way with the Sloop and Pink, under your Command, towards *Hudſon's Streight*; and, after paſſing the ſame, to proceed to *Cary's Swans Neſt*, and then ſteer North-weſterly, ſo as to fall in with the North-weſt Land, at Sir *Thomas Roe's Welcome*, or *ne ultra*, near the Latitude of 65 Degrees North.

"You are there to make the beſt Obſervations you can, of the Height, Direction, and Courſe of the Tides, Bearing of the Lands, Depth and Soundings of the Sea and Sholes, with the Variations of the Needle.

"When you come up with the *Whalebone Point*, in 65 Degrees, you are to try the beſt Paſſage in doubling that Land, whether to Weſtward or Eaſtward, in caſe it be an Iſland; and on which Side ſoever you meet the Tide and Flood, to direct your Courſe, ſo as to meet the Tide, whether North-weſterly or South-weſterly.

"If after, in doubling that Cape, you find either a Streight or an open Sea, you are to keep on your Courſe, till meeting the Tide of Flood; and if it be ſo wide as to loſe Sight of Land, then keep to the Larboard or *American* Shore, ſteering South-weſterly, ſo as to take the Bearings of the Lands and Soundings, and obſerve whether there are any Inlets, Bays, or Rivers, to ſhelter the Ships in, in caſe bad Weather, or contrary Winds, oblige you to take Harbour; and there make the beſt Plans you can of ſuch Harbours, and the Charts of the Coaſt.

"You muſt make no ſtay any where, whilſt Wind and Weather permits (except for making Obſervations for your Safety in your return) until you get to the Southward of 60 Degrees North; and then, if you continue to find an open Sea, make more careful Obſervations of the *American* Coaſt or Iſlands, and of the Head-lands, Bays, and Rivers, until you make the Latitude of 50 Degrees, or any more Southerly Latitude, in caſe you find it convenient to winter on the Weſtern Side of *America*. But if you ſhould find it more convenient to come into the Bay to winter, or can make your Paſſage home in Time, after making a Diſcovery of the Paſſage to the Weſtern *American* Ocean (which is more eligible) in order to proſecute the Diſcovery to Advantage next Seaſon; then you need proceed no farther Southely than 50 or 60 Degrees Latitude, and make all proper Obſervations of the Tides, Bays, Head lands, Sholes, and Rocks, on both Sides, if the Paſſage be narrow, on which ever Side the Wind and Weather permits you; with the Variation, or any other curious Obſervations you can make.

"If you find any Inhabitants upon the Coaſt, or any populous Nation to the Southward, you are to endeayour, by all proper Means, to cultivate a Friendſhip and Alliance with them; preſenting them with ſuch Trifles as they value, and ſhewing them all poſſible Civility and Reſpect; but to take Caution, if they be numerous, not to let yourſelf be ſurpriſed; but to be conſtantly on your Guard againſt any Accidents.

“ If you find it proper to winter on the other Side of the Paſſage, get to a warm Climate, not more northerly than 42 Degrees, in ſome ſafe Harbour that may be of Uſe in a future Settlement, and rather make an Iſland, if there be a good Harbour, which would be ſafer than on the Continent for an Infant Settlement.

“ If your Place of wintering is within a proper Diſtance to be ſupplied by the Natives on the Continent, take proper Seeds of Fruit-Trees, Plants, Grain, and Pulſe, and ſow them in the Spring; or in caſe you find any civilized Nation who want ſuch Kinds, you may preſent ſome to them, and make them ſenſible of their Uſe and Manner of Culture.

“ In Places where you meet with Inhabitants, make Purchaſes with their Conſent, and take Poſſeſſion of convenient Situations in the Country, in the Name of his Majeſty of *Great Britain*.

“ But when there are no Inhabitants, you muſt take Poſſeſſion by ſetting up proper Inſcriptions as firſt Diſcoverers and Poſſeſſors.

“ If in your Paſſage you meet with any Ships trading to the weſtern Countries eaſtward of *Japon*, or any *Japoneſe* Ships, and you apprehend any Danger from them, either from their Force or Number, you are to proceed no farther in the Diſcovery, but are immediately to return that Ships of ſufficient Force may be ſent out the next Seaſon to begin a Trade, or to make a Settlement without any Apprehenſion of Diſturbance from any powerful Nation on that Side, leſt any Accident ſhould prevent your Return, and diſcourage any farther Attempts to be made for the future. If you ſhould arrive at *California* without any Apprehenſion of Danger, and chuſe to winter in 42 Degrees (where *Caxton* is ſaid to have found a civilized Nation and a good Harbour) or more ſoutherly, then endeavour to meet Capt. *Anſon* in the Month of *December*, before the Arrival of the *Manilla* Ship at the *Cape St. Lucas*, the ſouthern Cape of *California*, and leave a Copy of your Journal with him, leſt any Accident ſhould happen to you upon your Return, and ſo the Diſcovery be loſt, and it might prevent Ships being ſent out to your Relief in caſe of Shipwreck.

“ But foraſmuch as in an Undertaking of this Nature, ſeveral Emergencies may ariſe not to be foreſeen, and therefore not ſo particularly to be provided for by Inſtructions before-hand, you are in ſuch Caſe to proceed as upon Advice with your Officers you ſhall judge may be moſt advantageous to the Service on which you are employed.

“ When you return home, you are to proceed into the River *Thames*, and ſend our Secretary an Account of your Arrival, and Proceedings, for our Information. Given under our Hands the 20th of *May*, 1741.

“ *Charles Wager*,
“ *Thomas Frankland*,
“ *Glenorchy*.

“ *To Capt.* Middleton, *Commander of His Majeſty's Sloop the* Furnace, Deptford.

“ By Command of their Lordſhips.
“ *Thomas Corbett*.

“ *By the Commiſſioners for executing the Office of Lord High Admiral of* Great Britain *and* Ireland, *&c.*

“ You are hereby directed, during the Courſe of your intended Voyage, not to give ony Diſturbance or Moleſtation to any of the Ships or Sloops employed in the Service of the *Hudſon's Bay* Company; but to give them all Protection and Aſſiſtance that lies in your Power, whenever any Opportunity offers of your being ſerviceable to them. Given under our Hands the 29th Day of *May*, 1741.

“ *Charles Wager*,
“ *Vere Beauclerk*,
“ *Glenorchy*.

“ By Command of their Lordſhips.
“ *Thomas Corbett*.”

We may plainly ſee from theſe Inſtructions, that nothing was wanting on the Part of the Admiralty to further this important Diſcovery, but that however Captain *Middleton* was left ſufficiently at his Liberty, as indeed it was very reaſonable he ſhould, to proſecute whatever Methods his own Circumſtances and the Situation of Things ſhould ſuggeſt to him for the Furtherance of the Deſign when he came to be engaged in the Execution of it, and which it was impoſſible to forſee and provide for before that time. It is plain alſo, that all due Care was taken of the *Hudſon's Bay* Company, in that they had not the leaſt Reaſon to complain that this Expedition made by the King's Ships, within the Limits of their Charter, could in any Degree turn to their Prejudice. But it is now time to ſee what Effects a Scheme executed with ſo much Judgment and Deliberation produced, and this will be beſt ſeen from an Extract of the Captain's own Journal which we ſhall give the Reader; and ſhall then furniſh him with ſome other Lights, in order to ſhew why the want of Succeſs in this Undertaking did not entirely deſtroy all Thoughts of finding ſuch a Paſſage as Captain *Middleton* ſought for through *Hudſon's Bay*.

An ABSTRACT *of Captain* Chriſtopher Middleton's *Journal*.

6. I ſailed from *Churchill* the 1ſt Day of *July*, and continued ſailing with a fair Wind till the 3d, when we ſaw an Iſland, the two Extremities bearing North by Eaſt, and Eaſt by North, lying in the Latitude of 63 Degrees North, and Longitude from *Churchill* 3 Degrees 40 Minutes Eaſt; which I took to be the ſame which *Fox* named *Brook Cobham*. On the 5th Day I ſaw a Head-land on the North-ſide of the *Welcome*, bearing North-weſt by North, ſeven or eight Leagues diſtant, in the Latitude of 63 Degrees 20 Minutes, and Longitude from *Churchill* 4 Degrees. Here I tried the Tides ſeveral times, and found cloſe in with the Land the Tide to run two Miles an Hour from the North by Eaſt, which I took to be the Flood; and by the Slacks, from ſeveral Trials, I found that a Weſt, or Weſt by North Moon, made high Water, having a Full Moon that Day. On the 8th Day I ſaw the North-ſide of the *Welcome*, with much Ice in Shore: I tried the Tide, and found it ſet Eaſt-north-eaſt, two Fathoms. On the 9th, continuing my Courſe, and ſailing through much Ice, I was obliged at length to grapple to a large Piece, the Tender did the ſame to keep off from Shore, the Wind blowing us right upon it: I tried the Tide frequently, and could diſcover neither Flood nor Ebb by my Current-Log: Here we were faſt jammed up in Ice, being totally ſurrounded for many Miles, and the Wind ſetting it right upon us: It was all Ice for ten Leagues to windward, and we were in great Danger of being forced aſhore; but it happily falling calm after we had lain in this Condition two or three Days, the Pieces of Ice ſeparated, or made ſmall Openings; we being then within two Miles of the Shore, and with no ſmall Difficulty hauled the Ship from one Place to another, till we got amongſt what we call *Sailing Ice*, that is, where there are ſuch Intervals of Water as a Ship, by ſeveral Traverſes, may get forward towards the intended Courſe. In this Manner we continued till we ſaw a fair Cape or Head-land to the northward of the *Whalebone Point*, in the Latitude of 65 Degrees 10 Minutes; Longitude from *Churchill* 8 Degrees 54 Minutes Eaſt; and this I named, after my worthy Friend, *Cape Dobbs*.

I had very good Soundings between the two Shores of the *Welcome*, having forty-ſix, forty-eight, and forty-nine Fathoms Water. At the ſame time that I ſaw *Cape Dobbs*, I ſaw a fair Opening bearing North by Weſt, which, according to my Inſtructions, I ſtood in for, among the ſailing Ice; it was juſt Flood when we entered it, the Tide running ſtrong; which, by Obſervations afterwards I found to run five or ſix Miles an Hour. I run over ſome Rocks on the North-ſide of it very luckily, being juſt high Water, and anchored in about thirty-four Fathoms; but ſo ſoon as the Tide of Ebb was made, it ran ſo ſtrong, and ſuch Quantities and Bodies of Ice came down upon us, that we were obliged to ſteer the Ship all the time, and keep all Hands upon their Guard with Ice-poles, to ſhove off the Ice; notwithſtanding which we brought our Anchor home, and taking hold again, one of the Arms of the Anchor was broke off.

The next Day I ſent my Lieutenant in the Boat, to ſeek out ſome ſcurrer Place for the Ships, it being impoſſible to keep afloat where we were. Some *Uſkimay* Savages came off to us; I uſed them civilly, made them Preſents, and diſmiſſed them. As ſoon as I got the Ships ſecured, I employed all my Officers and Boats, having myſelf no little Share in the Labour, in trying the Tides, and diſcovering the Courſe and Nature of this Opening; and after repeated Trials, for three Weeks ſucceſſively, I found the Flood conſtantly to come from the Eaſtward; and that it was a large River we had got into, but ſo full of Ice there was no ſteering the Veſſel with any Probability of Safety, while the Ice was driving up and down with the ſtrong Tides.

Here I lay not a little impatient to get out, went ſeveral times in my Boat towards the Mouth of the River, and from a Hill that over-looked Part of the *Welcome*, ſaw that Place full of Ice, ſo that I found there was no Time loſt by our being in Security; however, I ſent my Lieutenant and Maſter, in the eight-oared Boat, to look out for a Harbour near the Entrance of the River, but they found none; and it was no ſmall Miracle they got on Board again, for they were ſo jammed up with Ice, which driving the ſtrong Tides, would inevitably have ſtove the Boat to Pieces, and all muſt have periſhed, had it not been for an Opening in a large Piece of Ice, into which they got the Boat, and with it drove out of the River's Mouth; but when the Tides ſlacked, the Ice opened as uſual, and they rowed over to the North Shore, ſo got in with the Flood. I ſeveral Times ſent the *Indians* aſhore to ſee if they knew any thing of the Land, but they were quite ignorant of it. In this vexatious Condition I continued three Weeks, reſolving to get out the firſt Opportunity the River was any thing clear of Ice, and make what Diſcoveries I could by meeting the Flood-tide. This River, of which by frequent Trials of the Lands, Soundings, Tides, *&c.* I was able to take a Draught, I named the River *Wager*, after the Right Honourable Sir *Charles Wager*.

On the 3d of *Auguſt* the River, for the firſt Time, was a little clear of Ice; and accordingly, in Perſuance of our Diſcovery, on the 5th by Noon I got into the Latitude 66 Degrees 14 Minutes; we had then got into a new Streight, much peſtered with Ice, and on the North-ſide of which we ſaw a Cape or Head-land bearing North; we had deep Water, and very ſtrong Tides within four or five Leagues of it; I named this Head-land *Cape Hope*, as it gave us all great Joy, and Hopes of its being the extreme North Part of *America*. Seeing little or no Land to the Northward of it, we turned or worked round it the ſame Night, and got five or ſix Leagues to the North by Weſt, before we could perceive any otherwiſe than a fair Opening; but about Noon the 6th Day, having got into the Latitude of 66 Degrees 40 Minutes, found we were embayed, and, by two in the Afternoon, could not go above three Leagues further; and having tried the Tides all the Forenoon every two Hours 'till two o'Clock in the Afternoon, found neither Ebb nor Flood, yet deep Waters. From this it was concluded, that we had overſhot the Streight on the North-eaſt Shore, from whence the Flood came; and as there was no proceeding above three or four Leagues further, it was agreed upon by all, to turn back and ſearch narrowly for a Streight or Opening, near where we found the ſtrong Tides.

On the 7th, after we were confirmed the Flood came in at the North-eaſt from the Eaſt by South, I went on Shore in the Boat, and found it flowed fifteen Feet three Days after the Full, and a Weſt by South Moon made high Water. I travelled twelve or fifteen Miles, from Hill to Hill, on Land, 'till I came to a very high Mountain, from whence I ſaw a Streight or Opening the Flood came in at, and, the Mountain I ſtood on being pretty near the Middle of this Streight, I could ſee both Ends of it, the whole being about eighteen or twenty Leagues long, and ſix or ſeven broad, and very high Land on both Sides; but it was all frozen faſt from Side to Side, and no Appearance of its clearing this Year, and near the 67th Degree of Latitude, and no anchoring the Ships, being very deep Water cloſe to the Shore, and much large Ice driving with the Ebb and Flood, and but little Room if thick Weather ſhould happen, which we continually expected in thoſe Parts, it was agreed upon in Council to make the beſt of our Way out of this dangerous narrow Streight, and to make Obſervations between the 64th and 62d Degrees of Latitude. The frozen Streight I take to run towards which *Bylot* named *Cape Comfort*, and the Bay where *Fox* had named a Place *Lord Weſton's Portland*; it is in the Latitude of 66 Degrees 40 Minutes, and 12 Degrees 49 Minutes Eaſt from *Churchill*.

Purſuant to this Reſolution we bore away, and tried the Tides on the other Side the *Welcome*, ſounding and obſerving cloſe in Shore, but met with little Encouragement. On the 11th of *Auguſt* I once more ſaw the Iſland of *Brook Cobham*, and continued trying the Tides; and ſtill finding the Flood come from the Eaſtward, and by coaſting along the *Welcome* was certain of its being the main Land, though there are ſeveral ſmall Iſlands and deep Bays, and ſaw ſeveral black Whales of the right Whale-bone Kind, I worked off and on by *Brook Cobham*, ſent the Northern *Indians* on Shore upon the Iſland, who, at their Return, gave me to underſtand, it was not far from their Country, and deſired I would let them go Home, being tired of the Sea. I kept them with Aſſurances that I would act according to my Promiſe, and finding no Probability of a Paſſage, in two or three Days after I gave them a ſmall Boat, well fitted with Sails and Oars, the Uſe of which they had been taught, and loaded it with Fire-arms, Powder, Shot, Hatchets, and every thing deſirable to them; they took their Leave of me, and I ſent another Boat for Water, which accompanied them on Shore, the Southern *Indian* being with them.

The Southern *Indian*, who was Linguiſt for the Northern ones, returned with the Boat; being uſed to the *Engliſh* Cuſtoms at the Factory, and deſirous of ſeeing *England*, being a willing handy Man, I brought him with me; and the ſame Evening, which was the 15th of *Auguſt*, I bore away for *England* thinking to have tried the Tide at *Cary's Swans Neſt*, but could not fetch it. On the 20th I ſaw *Manſells Iſle*, on the 21ſt *Cape Diggs* was in Sight; on the 26th made *Cape Reſolution*, and arrived at *Carriſton*, in *Pomona*, one of the Iſlands of *Orkney*. Moſt of my Men being ſo very much afflicted with the Scurvy, and otherwiſe ſick and diſtempered, that I was obliged to leave Part of them behind me, and only wait to impreſs Hands to carry the Ship ſafe to *London*.

This Account appeared very clear and very ſatisfactory, even to Mr *Dobbs* for ſome Time; but upon re-conſidering the Motives which induced him to believe there was ſuch a Paſſage, the Accounts given him by Captain *Middleton* formerly, and what he delivered upon this Subject in his Journal, he began to ſuſpect that Things were not ſo clear as they ſeemed to be, but that ſomewhere or other there was a Miſtake; yet without charging Captain *Middleton* with any Breach of Duty, or ſo much as ſuſpecting a Deſign in him to conceal any Part of his Diſcovery.

7. By Degrees, however, the Scene began to change. Mr. *Dobbs* came into an Opinion, that the Opening to which Captatn *Middleton* had given the Name of the River *Wager*, was, in Reality, the Streight he was ſent to diſcover. He ſuggeſted this to that Gentleman, who adhered to his former Opinion, that it was a River and no Streight, that it was freſh Water and not ſalt, and that the Whales which were ſeen in it, came through the frozen

Streight from the Eaſtward. But while Mr. *Dobbs* and Captain *Middleton* were diſputing this Matter in Letters, a new Affair broke out, which made a great Noiſe; for ſome of the Officers who had ſerved under Captain *Middleton* declared poſitively, that in their Judgment there was a Paſſage, and that the Captain's Journal was calculated to conceal it. This produced a long Controverſy, attended with may perſonal Reflections on both Sides, into which it is not my Buſineſs, nor have I any Inclination, to enter; but ſhall content myſelf with giving the Reader what I take to be the moſt material Part of Mr. *Dobbs*'s Charge, as it ſhews upon what Grounds he believed the River *Wager* to be a Streight, and the Methods which, in his Opinion, Captain *Middleton* had taken to conceal its being thought ſo; and this I ſhall give in Mr. *Dobbs*'s own Words, that I may not ſeem prepoſſeſſed in Favour of one Side, or prejudiced againſt the other.

8. “In Captain *Middleton*'s going out, ſays Mr. *Dobbs*, he ſaw much Ice from Latitude 63 Degrees 35 Minutes to *Cape Dobbs*, as well as to *Deer Sound* in *Wager River*, and in the Streight and Bay near *Cape Hope* this Year; but none was ſeen in the *Welcome* by *Button*, *Fox*, and *Scroggs*, the ſeveral Years they were there at the ſame Seaſon, though *Button* and *Scroggs* were as high up as *Wholebone Point*, in Latitude 65 Degrees, and *Fox* ſaw as far from Latitude 64 Degrees 10 Minutes, without ſeeing any Ice in the Sea, or Snow upon the Land, but ſaw great Numbers of ſmall Fiſh leaping, as well as many Whales near *Brook Cobham*. Captain *Middleton* had, during his whole Voyage out from *Churchill* and back again to *Brook Cobham*, very fine Weather, without any Storm, or Froſt, or Snow, the Winds for the moſt part blowing from the Eaſtern Quarter, ſo that he had no Pretence, upon his Return, to avoid ſearching the Weſt Side of the *Welcome*. It was theſe Eaſterly Winds that Year which carried ſo much Ice into the *Welcome* from the South-eaſt as well as from the Bay and Streight near *Cape Hope*, all which was forced by the rapid Tide into *Wager River*; and it appears from the Journal, that it was theſe Winds which cauſed ſo great a Quantity of Ice in the River as far as *Deer Sound*, and not from the breaking out of the Ice above in a Freſh-water River as he gave out; and he would have made the flowing in of the Tide ſo far from the South-eaſtward, to have been a Confirmation of it; whereas, by what he has mentioned in his Journal, it is by all Circumſtances a Salt-water Streight or Paſſage; for the Increaſe of its Wideneſs from ſeven Miles at its Entrance to eight Leagues, and of its Depth from fourteen to eighty Fathoms, the Boldneſs, Height, and Craggedneſs of the Coaſt, without Tree or Shrub, and without any Snow or Ice in the Valleys or Hills, are all Symptoms of its being a Salt-water Paſſage; but the Number of Whales and other Fiſh ſeen above in the Streight, at leaſt twenty Leagues up the River, when none were ſeen below, or in the *Welcome* or Streight, and Bay above *Cape Hope*, is a Demonſtration they did not come under the Ice into *Wager River* from the Eaſtward, and there being none ever ſeen in the Bay or Streights of *Hudſon*, but by broken Lands on the North-weſt Coaſt, it is next to a Certainty that they came from the *Weſtern Ocean* to that Place; for it is contrary to Reaſon and Fact, to ſuppoſe that Whales and other Sea-fiſh ſhould go up a Freſh-water River, as he affirms it to be; but it was very natural for the Whales to be there, if they come in from the *Weſtern Ocean*, which was not ſo liable to be frozen as an Inland Bay, for they would puſh their Way through the Streights and broken Lands, until they were prevented by the Ice, which the Eaſterly Winds drove into the Streight from the *Welcome* along with the Flood; and this was jammed in among the Iſlands in the Paſſage, and appeared to be firm Ice, as it alſo appeared from the Hills to be ſo below them to the Mouth of the River.

“This alſo eaſily accounts for the Number of Whales ſeen from *Whalebone Point* to *Brook Cobham*, and even to *Whalecove*, in Latitude 62 Degrees 30 Minutes, where many are caught by the *Eſkimaux Indians*, when none are ſeen in the other Parts of the Bay, or in the Streights; for if there be a Communication between the *Weſtern Ocean* and the Bay in this Place, the Preſumption is, that it is not by one Paſſage, but that it may be all a broken Land, interſperſed with Iſlands, as the Iſlands of *Terra del Fuego* are at the Streights of *Magellan*, which is almoſt a parallel Inſtance; and therefore this Streight of *Wager* may not be the only Inlet into the Bay, but from *Whalecove* unto that River may be all broken Lands, with ſeveral Sounds among the Iſlands which are mentioned by *Scroggs* and *Fox*, and cannot be controverted from this Journal; ſo that the Whales might get to that Part of the Bay ſooner, as there was no Ice there to obſtruct their Paſſage, when there was much Ice in the *Welcome* and Eaſt Entrance of *Wager Streight*, which prevented theſe Whales getting any farther than *Deer Sound*. This, I think, makes it highly probable, that there is a better and eaſier Paſſage Southward of *Cape Dobbs* betwixt that and *Whalecove*, in Latitude 62 Degrees 30 Minutes, where there is no Ice to obſtruct the Paſſage from the Middle of *June* to *October*; and if the Trade was once opened, this might be diſcovered by any Ships who would go there to fiſh for Whales, or would trade with the Natives for Fin or Oil, who might follow them into Inlets, through which they come into the Bay; and this may be done without wintering in the Bay; for they may return any Time in *September* or *October*, ſafe from any Obſtruction from the Ice.”

The only ſeeming Objection to this, and which gave a Hand to Captain *Middleton* to repreſent *Wager Streight* as a Freſh-water River was, the Tide flowing into it from the Eaſtward, when if it had been a Streight, he imagined he might have met a Tide of Flood from the Weſtward, and therefore repreſented it as if the Ice was but breaking up in the River after he had entered it. But ſince this is a Streight, and not an immediate Communication with the *Weſtern Ocean*, he could not expect to meet the Weſtern Tide 'till he had got half Way through the Streight; for each Tide flows up its own End of the Streight, andmeet in the Middle. This is not only founded upon Reaſon, but upon Fact, in the only parallel Inſtance we know, that is, in the *Magellanic Streight*; though, by Appearance, this Streight is a greater and bolder Streight than the other.

The Tide at the North-eaſt Entrance of *Magellan Streight* flows from the Eaſtward, and riſes four Fathoms before it comes to the firſt Narrow, which is but half a League wide, and from thirty to thirty-five Fathoms deep; after a League or two it increaſes to ſix or ſeven Leagues wide, to the ſecond, where it is about a League wide, and thirty Fathom deep. Within the ſecond Narrow it increaſeth again to five or ſix Leagues wide, and the Tide ſtill flows from the Eaſtward, and riſes about ten Feet. In the middleChannel, about thirty Leagues within the Streight, it is two hundred Fathom, and the Channel but three Leagues wide, and from thence to the Middle of the Streight it leſſens to two Leagues wide, and about a hundred Fathom deep, and the Tide ſtill flows from the Eaſtward for above fifty Leagues. As they come near the Middle of the Streight, the Current of the Tide is not above an Hour at each Tide, and the Tide riſes nine Feet. Near *Cape Quad*, beyond the Middle of the Streight, it is but two Leagues wide, and for about thirteen Leagues farther it is rather leſs, ſometimes not four Miles wide, from whence it gradually widens to the Weſt Entrance, where it is five Leagues wide: So that *Wager Streight* is much larger ſo far as they were in it, which was about thirty Leagues; it being by the Account, as mentioned in the Journal, ſix or ſeven Leagues wide, and eighty Fathom deep; which, if there be no other, is a noble Paſſage But there is a great Probability of there being a better and ſafer Paſſage to the Southward of *Whalebone Point*, by which the Whales get into that Part of the Bay.

Thus, ſays Mr. *Dobbs*, from the former Accounts, and what has been divulged by Captain *Middleton* in his Journal, there ſeems to be ſtrong Preſumptions of a Paſſage.

But after ſhewing what he has concealed, and falſified in his Journal, and his whole Conduct from his going to *Churchill*, until his Return to *England*, and even ſince his Return, it will appear plainly that he intended to ſerve the Company at the public Expence, and contrived every Thing ſo as to ſtifle the Diſcovery, and to prevent others from undertaking it for the future, ſo as to ſecure the Favour of the Company, and the Reward he ſaid they promiſed him before he began the Voyage.

As to his Declarations and Conduct during the Voyage, it appears by undeniable Evidence, that he declared, in Preſence of ſome of his Officers, to the Company's Governor at *Churchill*, that he ſhould be able to make that Voyage, and none on board him ſhould know whether there was a Paſſage or not, and he would be a better Friend to the Company than ever.

The Lieutenant finding one of the Men at the Factory, who very well underſtood the Northern *Indian* Language, and would have been of great Uſe upon the Diſcovery, offered to take him with him at his own Riſque, ſaying, he would anſwer it when he came back, it being for the Good of the Service they were upon; but the Captain would not allow of it, for fear of diſobliging the Company. The Captain, in going Northward from *Churchill*, never once went aſhore, nor ſent his Boat to look out for any Inlet, or try the Tide, having only once tried the Current at Sea in Latitude 63 Degrees 20 Minutes, where he found a very rapid Tide, although he found much Ice to the Northward, and had Time enough before he entered the Ice to try all the Coaſt, but ſtood off to the Eaſtward until he paſſed *Cape Dobbs*, and tho' he then found an Opening North-weſtward, he only went in with a View to ſhelter his Ships, but not to look out for a Paſſage; and therefore, when he went in, got to the North-eaſt Side out of the Tide, inſtead of out of the South-weſt Side, where he ought to have gone if he had puſhed for a Paſſage; and though he lay there three Weeks, he never but once went croſs to the Weſtern Shore, and that only one Day or two before he quitted the River, pretending that he could not do it for the Ice; and even this he does not mention in his Journal, although he found there an excellent Cove for ſheltering his Ships He once pretended to croſs the Streight from *Deer Sound*, where he had no Ice to prevent him; but after going two Leagues he returned and ſaid, it was too far, and he had taſted the Water, which was freſh, aſking the Boat-men if it was not ſo, which they contradicted, ſaying only, it was not very ſalt. When the Lieutenant went up to *Deer Sound*, he diſcovered from a Mountain an Opening South-weſtward, upon the other Shore, ten Leagues diſtant betwixt a high and low Headland, and alſo obſerved the Ice there, when it was a Quarter Flood at *Wager River*, move down the River againſt that Tide. Upon his mentioning this to the Captain, he was laughed at, who aſked him, From whence that Tide could come? and no farther Enquiry was made into it.

Afterwards, when from the Numbers of Whales, and Breadth and Depth of the River, it was given out among the Ship's Company, that they believed it was a Streight and no River, he rated ſeveral of them for pretending to ſay ſo againſt his Opinion, ſaying, his Clerk was a double-tongued Raſcal; that he would cane the Lieutenant, broomſtick the Maſter, and laſh any others who ſhould concern themſelves about the Voyage, and threatened that if any kept private Journals, he would break up their Boxes, and take them from them; and though he allowed his Clerk to take the Bearings of the Land, and Proſpects in other Parts of the Voyage, yet, when in the *Wager River* and at the *Welcome*, he forbid him from taking any. This happened when the Lieutenant and Maſter were down the River to look out for a Cove for the Ships, when they ſhould ſail out of the River. When they returned, he, imagining that Rumour would turn out to his Prejudice, in caſe no farther Enquiry was made about its being a Streight or River, ſaid they might go up and try the Tide, and ſee if there was any other Way out into the *Welcome*, which was into the Bay, not into the *Weſtern Ocean*; but by his Warrant limitted them to go to *Deer Sound*, or thereabouts, which was only where he had been himſelf before, and ordered them to come back with the utmoſt Diſpatch the Nature of the Service would allow. This was the 28th of *July*. When they were gone he ſaid, he ſuppoſed the Lieutenant would bring back ſome romantic Account of a Streight or a Paſſage, but for his Part he would not take the Ships a Foot farther; and accordingly before their Return unmoored, and was preparing to warp out of the Cove, which he did the Morning after they returned. The Lieutenant, upon his Return, gave the following Report under his Hand, *viz.* *July* 27, 1742, I was ordered with the Maſter to take the ſix-oared Boat, and go up *Savage Sound* as high as *Deer Sound*, and try the Tides. I found that the Flood there comes from the River *Wager*. It flowed there ten Feet Water.

We then ſailed from *Deer Sound* from the high bluff Land on the Weſt Side of the River *Wager*. The Courſe from the Iſlands off the North Side of *Deer Sound* is North-weſt, and North-weſt by North. By Compaſs Variation allowed Weſt by North. We ſounded all the Way over, and had no Ground with a Line of ſixty-eight Fathom to the high bluff Land. We then ran up a Branch of the main River, and ſounded and found fifty Fathom one third, over that Branch; there were ſeveral Iſlands in it ſounded about a League off an Iſland on the North Side, and found thirty Fathom Water, in running between the Iſlands and the ſuppoſed Main, which was on the Weſt Side of that Branch; the Freſhes ſuddenly turned againſt us, the Boat altering the Land very much before, ſounded, and had no Ground at ſixty-eight Fathom; as we run up it we ſounded near a ſmall Iſland, and had twenty-nine Fathom. We ſteered Weſt North-weſt, between the Iſlands and the Weſt Land, by Compaſs (Weſt by South) there being ſeveral Iſlands in the *Fair Way*, and no Ground in the Middle of the Channel at ſixty-eight Fathom. We went about fifteen Leagues above *Deer Sound*, and ſaw a Freſh or Run of Water coming againſt us; and the Wind being fair, I was afraid of ſtaying any longer, for fear of hindering the Ships from going to Sea; there is a great Probability of an Opening on the Weſt Side, by the coming in of the Whales; but I could not go higher up to try it, for the above-mentioned Reaſons.

We went to the Top of a high mountainous Land, from whence we ſaw a great Run or Fall of Water between the Weſt Land and the Iſlands. It was very narrow, and, ſeemingly, not a Mile broad; and at the ſame Time ſaw a fair Channel or Streight to the Northwards of the Iſlands, with Land on both Sides, as high as the *Cape of Good Hope*, running away to the Weſtward, with many bluff Points and broken Lands; in coming down we ſaw ſeveral very large black Whales, playing about the Boat and aſhore.

John Rankin.

Auguſt 1,
1742.

This being a ſtrong Proof of an open Channel or Streight going to the Southward of a Weſt, the Captain thought it too flagrant, and therefore there being ſome little Variation between his Account and the Maſter's, made them cook up the following Report between them, which both were to ſign; which being not ſo particular, did not appear ſo ſtrong for the Paſſage. It run in theſe Words:

Purſuant to an Order from Captain *Chriſtopher Middleton*, Commander of his Majeſty's Ship the *Furnace*, bearing Date the 27th of *July*, 1742, We whoſe Names are hereunto ſubſcribed, took the *Furnace's* ſix-oared Boat, and went from *Savage Sound*, where his Majeſty's Ships, *Furnace* and *Diſcovery*, then lay; and on the 28th, at one in the Morning, arrived at *Deer Sound*, where we tried the Tide, and found the Flood came into that Place from the River *Wager*, and roſe at that Time ten Feet. At ſix o'Clock the ſame Morning we left *Deer Sound* (where we put the two Northern *Indians* aſhore to kill ſome Deer) and ſailed for a high bluff Land, on the North-weſt Side of the River *Wager*. Our Courſe from the Iſlands on the North Side of *Deer Sound*, to the high bluff Land, was North-weſt by North, by Compaſs. We ſounded frequently, and had no Ground with a Line of ſixty-eight Fathom, all the Way over. When we were a-breaſt of the high bluff Land, we ſteered Weſt-north-weſt keeping the Mid-Channel, and ſtill found no Ground at ſixty-eight Fathom, excepting ſome Iſlands that lay in the fair Way, about one third over the River, and thirty Fathom within a League of one of them. This Courſe we kept until we got about fifteen Leagues from *Deer Sound*; but finding the Tide or Freſh againſt us, and the Wind coming fair, we were afraid of ſtaying any longer, for fear of hindring the Ships from going to Sea. However, we came to a Grapnel with the Boat, and went up a high mountainous Land, where we had a fair View of the River, from whence we ſaw a great Run or Fall of Water, between the ſuppoſed main Land, and the aforeſaid Iſland, very narrow ſeemingly, not a Mile broad, about a League from where the Boat lay. But to the Northward we diſcovered a large Collection of Waters, in which were many Iſlands, and high mountainous Lands on both Sides of it; the Weſt-ſide of it having many bluff Points and broken Lands. In our Return towards the Ships, and not far from *Deer Sound*, we ſaw ſeveral large black Whales, of the Whale-bone kind, ſome of which came very near the Boat; ſo that upon the whole, we think there may be ſome other Paſſage into the Sea, from the River *Wager*, beſides that which his Majeſty's Ships, *Furnace* and *Diſcovery*, came in at; and imagine there is a great Probability of an Opening or Inlet into the Sea, ſomewhere on the Eaſt-ſide thereof, though we cannot fix the Place. Given under our Hands this 1ſt Day of *Auguſt*, 1742.

John Rankin.
Robert Wilſon.

It may be eaſily ſeen with what View the Report was altered, the moſt material Points being changed; for when they got beyond the North-weſt *Bluff*, inſtead of ſaying that the Current or freſh Water ſuddenly turned againſt them; it is here ſaid, being againſt them, the firſt being a Tide, the other a Stream. Again, inſtead of mentioning a fair Channel or Streight over the Iſlands, running between the high Land to the Weſtward, it is here altered to a large Collection of Water to the Northward, in which were ſeveral Iſlands with high Land on each Side of it; the Weſt-ſide having bluff Points and broken Lands, without determining the Courſe of the Streight to the Weſtward. And inſtead of ſaying there was a great Probability of an Opening on the Weſt-ſide, by the coming in of the Whales, it is here altered to, Upon the whole, we think there may be ſome other Paſſage into the Sea, from the River *Wager*, beſides that which his Majeſty's Ships came in at, without determining it to the Weſtward, as in the other; but on the contrary, to make it ſeem otherwiſe, they ſay, and imagine, there is a great Probability of an Opening or Inlet into the Sea, ſomewhere on the Eaſt-ſide thereof, though we cannot fix the Place. This Change ſeems wholly calculated with a View to leave it undetermined, that the Captain might have it in his Power to ſay, that the Opening was to the Northward or Eaſtward, from *Baffin's Bay*, and pretend that the Whales came from thence. But both the Lieutenant and Maſter have ſince confirmed that the Streight beyond the Iſlands, was four or five Leagues wide, free from Ice, and its Courſe ran Weſt South-weſt; and the Maſter having ſeen further than the Lieutenant, from the Top of a Mountain, where he killed two Deer, was for going further; but the Lieutenant, his Proviſions being ſpent, and he having exceeded his Orders by fifteen Leagues at leaſt (for he computed it twenty Leagues, but the Captain would not allow it to be ſo far) and had alſo out-ſtaid his Time, he was afraid he ſhould be put in Arreſt, if he proceeded farther, and durſt not proceed. However, he took a Bottle of Water filled there at the Shore, and two Bottles filled further down the Streight Eaſtward. And the Captain, when he came aboard, owned that the Bottle of Water, taken up at the Weſtern End of the Streight, near the Current or Fall of Water, was the ſalteſt, which the Maſter ſaid was as ſalt as any he had taſted in thoſe Seas, which was alſo confirmed by others who had taſted it aboard. The Lieutenant is now convinced that it was a Tide or Ripling, which came from the Weſt South-weſt, which ſtopped the Way of the Boat, and made them come to a Grapnel, and that it was the Tide of Flood; for it was then flowing Water, and flowed ſix Feet when he was aſhore. But the Captain, under pretence it was brakiſh, would not purſue the Diſcovery of that South-Weſtern Streight or Paſſage, but immediately warped out of the Cove; and on the 4th of *Auguſt*, the beſt Month in the Year to perfect the Diſcovery, he ſailed out of the River to make the Diſcovery North-eaſtward, the quite contrary Courſe he ſhould have taken, according to his Inſtructions. Nor did he call a Council to warrant him for quitting the Diſcovery; though on all Emergencies, or where it was likely to turn out to Advantage in promoting the Diſcovery, he was directed to call one, and act for the beſt of the Service he went upon; but quitted the Paſſage without Advice, by his own Authority and Pleaſure; pretending all the while he was in the Paſſage, to regret that he could not get out of the River for the Ice in it and the *Welcome*, in order to proſecute the Diſcovery. After this, in order to have an Excuſe, and to pretend that he had followed his Inſtructions, which was to proceed, without loſs of Time, to *Whalebone Point*, and there to endeavour to meet the Tide of Flood, on either Side of that Point he found the beſt Paſſage, in caſe it were an Iſland, whether the Flood came from the North-weſt or South-weſt; and if he found, after doubling the Cape, either a Streight or open Sea, to purſue his Courſe, ſtill meeting the Tide of Flood; though this limited him to meet the Tide, if it came from any Part to the Weſtward, yet he finding the Tide did not meet him, but followed him into *Wager River*; and having taken no Pains to know how the Flood was at the Weſt End of the Streight, beyond *Deer Sound*, deſpiſing the Lieutenant's firſt Report, which mentioned a Tide from the Weſt South-weſt meeting them; thought if he could find a Tide, or have a Probability to account for a Tide's coming from the North Eaſtwards into *Wager River*, he might then ſay he followed his Inſtructions in meeting the Tide, although it came from the North-eaſt; and accordingly, without allowing any Boat to go aſhore to try the Tide, until he himſelf landed at *Frigid*, at what he calls the *Frozen Streight*, he, in his Journal from his own Obſervations of the Current, always affirms the Tide of Flood came from the North-eaſt, by *Cape Hope* or *Wager River*; and affirms, that at *Cape Frigid* a Weſt by-ſouth Moon made high Water, and that it flowed from the South Eaſtward, through a frozen Streight, from four to ſeven Leagues wide; and accordingly he has laid it down ſo in his new Chart, ſince his Return, and pointed all the Darts in it; ſhewing the Courſe of the Flood through the *Frozen Streight*, up into *Wager River*, and as far as *Brook Cobham*, along the *Welcome*, where he pretends the South Eaſtern Tide meets it.

9. Now I ſhall plainly make it appear from Reaſon, and from the Obſervations of experienced Men aboard him, his own Officers, and from his Caution in preventing any aboard him from knowing the Time, Current, and Heighth of the Tide, by his making his Obſervations only aboard, and regulating and minuting them down only in his Log-Book and Journal, only as he thought proper; that there was no ſuch Tide from the North-eaſt, and that he muſt have known that there is no ſuch Tide; but endeavoured to conceal the true Tide from his People aboard. I ſhall alſo ſhew that the Tide of Flood came the contrary Way from the South Weſtward, near *Brook Cobham*, and ſo went up Part of *Wager River*. I ſhall alſo ſhew there was no ſuch *Frozen Streight* as he has laid down in his Chart, but the whole is falſely laid down, and the only Streight there was round the Iſland he ſtood upon, which was but three Leagues wide, and full of ſmaller Iſlands, which Streight went round the Iſland from North by the Eaſt, and came out again by the South and Weſt, between the Iſland he was on, and the low Beach of *Cape Hope*;

Hope; ſo that to make out the Point, that he had ſo far followed his Inſtructions in meeting the Tide of Flood, he has manifeſtly and falſely impoſed upon the Public in his Chart, by making a Streight and Tide where there was none.

To ſhew that he has given a falſe Account of this Tide and frozen Streight I muſt obſerve, That when he ſent down the Lieutenant and Maſter to look out for a Cove at the Mouth of *Wager River*, they were incloſed in the Ice, and drew up the Boat upon a large Piece of Ice, which was carried by the Tide of Ebb to the South-eaſtward, cloſe by the Shore, about *Cape Dobbs*; and when the Tide ſlacked they rowed over with the Flood to the North Shore, to get into the Eddy out of the Current, and next Day went up the River. Again, When the Ship ſailed up the River they were becalmed, and were afraid of being forced up again by the Return of the Flood; upon which they towed with their Boats a-head, and plied with the Ship's Oars with all their Force to the North-eaſtward to get out of the Way of the Tide of Flood; but if the Flood had come from the North-eaſt, they wouldhave been juſt in the Way of the Tide of Flood, and to have avoided it they ought to have ſteered their Courſe South-eaſt, to *Cape Dobbs*; ſo that both the Accounts tally, that the Flood came from the South-weſt round *Cape Dobbs*. At half an Hour after two, on the 6th of *Auguſt*, he ordered the Lieutenant aſhore at the low Beach, to try the Tide, being then four Miles from the Shore; at three he made the Signal for him to come on board before he got to the Shore; but he was ſo near as to report, That the Tide had fallen two Feet; ſo that he ſeemed to repent his having ſent him to try the Tide, leſt he ſhould find a contrary Tide to what he gave out. Tho' the Lieutenant, when he got aboard, told him it was ebbing Water, and that the Ebb went to the South-weſtward, yet he minuted it down in his Log-Book, and printed it ſo in his *Defence*, that it was flowing Water, and the Flood came from Eaſtward; but in his *Journal* he ſays, it had ebbed two Feet, and the Flood came from the Eaſtward.

The Captain's Clerk, Gunner, and Carpenter, went aſhore at *Cape Frigid* the 8th of *Auguſt*, about ten in the Morning; and after going fifteen Miles into the Country returned to the Boat about ſeven at Night, when he found it was low Water, and roſe fifteen Feet, which being three Days and a half after the full Moon, a Weſt-ſouth-weſt Moon made low Water, and conſequently a North-north-weſt Moon made high Water; and having aſcertained that a Weſt by North Moon made high Water in *Wager River*, the Tide at *Cape Frigid* being five Points later, could not raiſe that Tide; for the Tide, the further it flows, is always the later in flowing; and therefore the Tide in *Wager River*, being at leaſt three Hours ſooner than at *Cape Frigid*, it could not poſſibly be cauſed by any Tide from thence, nor could the Tide near *Brook Cobham*, where a Weſt Moon made high Water, be cauſed from that Tide for the ſame Reaſon, it being above four Hours ſooner than the Tide at *Cape Frigid*.

It appears alſo, that there was no Tide or Current in the Bay above *Cape Hope*; and the Gunner, who was aſhore with the Captain, went with the Carpenter two or three Miles farther than the Captain and Clerk, even to the very Shore of what he called the *Frozen Streight*, and conſequently knew it better than the Captain. He ſays it was an Iſland they were upon, and the Streight was only an Arm of the Sea that ſurrounded the Iſland, and detached it from the low Beach; that it was not above three Leagues wide on the Eaſt Side, and full of Iſlands; that the Ice was frozen faſt from Side to Side; ſo that it is impoſſible ſo great a Quantity of Water could paſs through that Paſſage if it had a Communication with *Hudſon's Streights* by *Cape Comfort*, as would fill ſo large a Bay as that above *Cape Hope* (the Streight from *Cape Hope* to *Wager River*) all that River for thirty or forty Leagues, which was from four to twelve Leagues wide, and the whole Coaſt of the *Welcome* to *Brook Cobham* above ſixty Leagues, and that from a Streight which was but three Leagues wide, and had many Iſlands in it; ſo that the Streight, excluſive of the Iſlands, was not probably four Miles wide. Beſides, had ſo much Water flowed from that Streight, as he has laid down in his Chart, it muſt have cauſed a very rapid Current in the Bay above *Cape Hope*, it being in the direct Courſe of the Tide. The Captain of the *Diſcovery* alſo, in his Anſwer allows, that the Opening of the Streight he ſaw, which was betwixt *Cape Frigid* and the *Low Beach* was not above three Miles wide, and no ſuch Tide flowed there as in *Wager River*, although it was ſo narrow in that Place.

This alſo accounts for that Arm of the Sea's being frozen which ſurrounded the Iſland, becauſe there was no Tide or Current there to break it up. It alſo appears from the Lieutenant who was left on board to command when the Captain went aſhore, that, at eleven o'Clock, after the Captain left the Ship, a ſtrong Current forced him to northward, which muſt have been the Flood, as it was not high Water till one o'Clock. And it appears alſo the ſame from the Men who were left with the Boat; for upon the Captain's Return to the Boat he aſked them which Way the Flood ſet, and they ſaid to the Northward; which he contradicted, and ſaid, they were miſtaken, for it could not be ſo. So that from all theſe Facts, as well as from Reaſon, it appears, that the Tide of Flood came from the South-weſtward to that Place and the River *Wager*; and that the Tide and Streight which he has laid down in his Chart, and publiſhed in his Journal, is falſe, and an Impoſition upon the Public, and only calculated to ſerve his Purpoſe of concealing the Paſſage, by endeavouring to make out that no Tide came from the Weſtward, but all through *Hudſon's Streight* and *Baffin's Bay*; and that *Wager* was a freſh Water River, and that the Whales ſeen there came all in through that frozen Streight from *Baffin's Bay* or *Cumberland's Inlet*, he having allowed that none came in through *Hudſon's Streight*, or round *Cary's Swans Neſt*.

But as a further Confirmation of this South-weſtern Tide, and that it came from the weſtern Ocean, it appears that, after the Captain had neglected looking into the Bays and Inlets in the Weſt Side of the *Welcome*, from *Cape Dobbs* to *Marble Iſland* (although it had been ordered in Council) in theſe Words, " It was agreed upon to
" make the beſt of our Way out of this cold, dangerous
" and narrow Streight, and to make further Obſervations
" between the Latitude of 64 and 62 Degrees on the
" North Side of the *Welcome*, having ſeen large Openings,
" broken Land, and Iſlands, with ſtrong Tides; but
" had not an Opportunity of trying from whence the
" Flood came, in our Paſſage hither. Given under our
" Hands this 7th of *Auguſt*, 1742.

" *Chr. Middleton.*
" *J. Rankin.*
" *Rob. Wilſon.*
" *Geo. Axx.*
" *J. Hodgton.*
" *W. Moor*, Maſter of the *Diſcovery*."

When he came to *Marble Iſland*, which he called *Brook Cobham*, having called another Iſland ſo upon his going northward, the ſame *Fox* had called ſo before on the 12th, at three in the Morning, he ſent the Lieutenant aſhore to try the Tide, and to look out for a Place of Safety, to water the Ships before they returned to *England*. The Iſland was ſeven Leagues long and three over in the broadeſt Place. It lay Eaſt by South, and Weſt by North, the true bearing Variation allowed, and about three Leagues from what they called the *Weſtern Main*. The Lieutenant on the South-ſide found an excellent Cove ſafe from all Winds, with a ſmall Iſland lying croſs the Entrance: He ſounded without and within the Cove, and found two and a half Fathom in the Entrance at low Water, and deep and ſafe lying within it; whilſt he was ſounding, taking a Draught of the Cove, and upon the Iſland taking a View of an Opening, he obſerved on the Weſt Main the *Indians* killed a Deer and a white Bear; and about eight at Night, as they were taking off the Bear-Skin, a ſtrong Tide of Flood came from the North-weſt by the Compaſs, and had almoſt carried the Bear away; which proves that the Tide of Flood came from the Weſtward. This I ſhall give in his own Words, as he minuted it down at *Marble Iſland* at the ſame Time it happened, annexed to the rough Draught he made of the Cove, *viz.*

This is the Cove upon *Brook Cobham* or *Marble Iſland*; it was almoſt dark; my Men were taking the Skin off the Bear they had killed in the Water.

The Tide came ſuddenly from Weſt-north-weſt, round the North-weſt end of the Iſland, upon us, and flowed ſo faſt that we had almoſt loſt the Bear; we were forced to throw it into the Boat, our Men up to the Middle in Water, by the ſudden Flowing of the Tide; as all the Men can prove.

I am very certain that there is a great Probability of a Paſſage or Streight leading to ſome Weſtern Ocean, from the above Reaſon; for I did obſerve an Opening to the Weſtward of *Marble Iſland*, and deſired I might go there: But he told me it did not ſignify much to go thither; but if I had a Mind to go to *Marble Iſland* for Water, I might. So I did not come near the Opening I perceived to the Weſtward; it was almoſt calm all the Day we lay there.

Auguſt 12, *John Rankin.*
1742.

After the Lieutenant returned aboard, the Maſter was ſent aſhore; upon his Return, he told him, the Tides roſe there very high, and wanted to go aſhore again to obſerve them, which he refuſed, under Pretence he had ſtaid too long aſhore before. It appears from the Journal, that by the Marks on the Shore, it ſometimes roſe there twenty-two Feet.

It is allowed alſo, that a North-weſterly Wind, at *Churchill*, always raiſed the Tides higher at Neap Tides, than a South-eaſterly Wind did at Spring Tides.

The two Northern *Indians*, who were aboard Captain *Middleton*, were very intelligent Men; and the other *Indian* being a very bad Interpreter for them, Mr. *Thompſon* the Surgeon, who could ſpeak ſome of the Southern *Indian* Tongue, was endeavouring to learn their Language, and to teach them *Engliſh*; and was making out a Vocabulary of their Language, which the Captain obſerving, threatened to uſe him ill, or crop him, in caſe he had any Correſpondence with them; ſo that he was obliged to meet them in private; and for that Reaſon could not know ſo much from them, as he otherwiſe would; but from the beſt Account he could get from them, they told him, that the Copper Mine, which they generally went to once in two Years, was not far from the Coaſt where they were, between Latitude 62 Degrees and 64 Degrees; that it was upon an Arm of the Sea, the Water being ſalt; that they were five Days in paſſing it in their Canoes; that it was ſo deep, that if they cut a Deer's Skin into Thongs, it would not reach the Bottom; that the Streight went towards the Sun almoſt at Noon, and that there were many large black Fiſh in it, ſpouting up Water. *Lovegrove*, one of the Factory Men at *Churchill*, who had been often at *Whalecove*, in Latitude 62 Degrees 30 Minutes, in the Company's Sloop, trading for Whale-Fin with the Natives, alſo told them, that the Coaſt there was all a broken Land and Iſlands; and that upon his going upon one of theſe Iſlands, he ſaw an open Sea Weſtward of it. *Wilſon* alſo, who has been Maſter of the Sloop which goes to *Whalecove*, for ſeveral Years, told, at *Churchill*, that he had the Curioſity to paſs in through thoſe Iſlands, near the *Whalecove*, and found the Opening enlarge itſelf South-weſt, and became ſo wide, that he could ſee no Land on either Side. Yet though the Captain might have known this, and much more, which he had from *Norton* and *Scroggs*'s Crew, as well as Accounts from the *Indians* before this Voyage to the ſame Purpoſe, he never once made an Eſſay to land upon the Weſtern Coaſt, or to look out for a Weſtern Tide or Inlet.

What was ſtill as unpardonable as neglecting the Diſcovery, was his putting the two Northern *Indians* aſhore, at *Marble Iſland*, againſt their Inclinations, when they were deſirous to come to *England*, in a very bad Boat he got at *Churchill*, which they did not know how to manage in an Iſland three Leagues from the ſuppoſed Main; the *Eſkimaux Indians*, their Enemies, living upon that Coaſt, and ſome hundred Miles diſtance from their own Country, inſomuch that one of them, who was about forty Years old, when he parted with Mr. *Thompſon* the Surgeon, with Tears, told him, he did not know what would become of them. He told them, he was very much concerned at it, but ſince it was the Captain's Pleaſure, it muſt be complied with.

The Captain gave them ſome Proviſions, Ammunition, Hatchets, and Toys; but leaving them in a deſolate Iſland, with a bad Boat among their Enemies, at ſo great a Diſtance from their own Country, was unpardonable; when by a Day or two ſailing to the Southward, he could have landed them in a Country they knew, where they had no Enemies to be afraid of. The Excuſe he made for not bringing them to *England* was, That upon his Return his Friends might be out of the Admiralty, and as he had no Orders to take them home, they would be left a Charge upon him; and when they learned to ſpeak *Engliſh*, they would be talking of the Copper Mine and Paſſage, and would put the Public to the Expence of ſending out more Ships in queſt of it. And this, no doubt, was the true Reaſon for that Piece of Cruelty; for he thought if they came to *England*, he ſhould not be able to conceal the Paſſage.

It is, however, to be obſerved, that Captain *Middleton*, being an excellent Seaman, has very vigorouſly defended himſelf againſt all theſe Objections and Imputations; and has offered many plauſible Arguments to deſtroy the moſt weighty of thoſe Reaſons alledged by Mr. *Dobbs*, to prove, that what he calls a River, ought to be accounted a Streight. Thus, in anſwer to what Mr. *Dobbs* ſays of its increaſing in Breadth and Depth the farther they advanced, Captain *Middleton* obſerves, that this happens frequently in Rivers, more eſpecially on the *Swediſh* and *Norwegian* Coaſts; where, though they are narrow, and have no great Depth at their Entrance, perhaps, but ten or twelve Fathoms, yet they afterwards grow wider, and diſcover no Ground with Lines of two or three hundred Fathoms.

All this may be, and yet this Inlet may be a Streight and not a River; for though there may be Rivers with theſe Properties, yet Experience ſhews us that they belong alſo to Streights; and though the Argument, urged by Mr. *Dobbs*, muſt be allowed not to be concluſive, if what the Captain ſays be true, yet it ſtill has great Weight, taking it in Conjunction with the other Reaſons offered; becauſe if it is a Streight, we ſhould naturally expect to find things ſo; and therefore their being found ſo, ſtill argues this to be a Streight, till ſome poſitive Reaſon can be ſhewn that it is not ſo. In ſhort, what Mr. *Dobbs* ſays amounts to no more than that probably it may be a Streight; and what the Captain anſwers, allowing it to be true, proves no more than that poſſibly it may be a River; not that it is ſo.

As to the Height of the neighbouring Lands, the Captain ſays, that the Lands about the *Swediſh* and *Norwegian* Rivers, are as high as any he ſaw about the River *Wager*. But allowing this alſo, it is not all concluſive. If the Lands had been low, it would have been very improbable that this ſhould be a Streight; but as it is on all Hands allowed that they are high, it is very probable it may be ſo; the Proof makes one Way as ſtrong as the other, but then it depends entirely on the Strength of the Captain's Memory; and it would have been ſtronger in his Favour, if he had mentioned the particular Rivers, on the Banks of which he had ſeen as high Lands, as he owns to be on this.

As to the want of Trees and Shrubs, Captain *Middleton* ſays, that all who have travelled the Country between the Latitude 58 and 66 Degrees 30 Minutes by Land, agree, that higher than 61 Degrees they ſaw neither Tree nor Shrub, but only Moſs, even among freſh Rivers and Lakes. This again is only a general Aſſertion, and does not at all prove that it is not a Streight; perhaps, however, Trees and Shrubs might be ſhewn to grow on the Banks of Rivers in a more Northerly Latitude, at leaſt ſome Travellers tells us ſo; but the thing is not very material either Way; but if there had been Trees or

Shrubs, they would have been eſteemed Proofs of its being a River; and therefore among the Arguments of its not being ſo, there was no Impropriety in mentioning the Want of Trees and Shrubs on all the Lands near it.

As to the black Whales, Seals, and Sea-Horſes, ſeen at twenty Leagues above the Entrance, the Captain gives a very large Return. He ſays it does not appear, from any Journals, Reports, or Anſwers, that one Whale was ſeen higher than *Deer Sound*, which is but fifteen Leagues up; whereas the Weſtward is above thirty Leagues; or that one Sea-Horſe or Seal was ſeen in any Part of the River; but that ſeveral were ſeen juſt without the Mouth of the River, in the *Welcome*, is atteſted by the Log-Book, and by the Affidavits of *Towns*, *Van Sobric*, and *Grant*; and Captain *Middleton* has traded for Whalebone in all Parts of the Bay and Streights where the *Eſkimaux* frequent, which could not be if the Whales, from whence they get it, were not killed there; becauſe in ten or twelve Days after they are dead, the Bone all drops from their Mouths; all which amounts, together, to almoſt a Demonſtration, that the Whales, both in the Bay, and *Wager River*, come from the North-eaſt; which is alſo ſomewhat comfirmed from the great Number of *Indian* Store-Houſes, of Oil, Fin, and Blubber, not above eight Leagues upon the North-eaſt Coaſt of the River; whereas their proper Habitations are on the Main, on the other Side the River. Moreover, if theſe Whales come out of any Sea from the Weſtward, they would have been ſeen in plenty the higher they had gone up, which was not ſo. However, Concluſions drawn from Whales being ſeen in any Place, are, at the beſt, but very precarious.

In Reply to this, it is neceſſary to take Notice of a Fact which ſeems directly oppoſite to the Account given in Captain *Middleton*'s Anſwer. Mr. *Rankin*, in his Report, has the following Paſſage: “We went above fifteen Leagues above *Deer Sound*, and ſaw a Freſh or Run of Water coming againſt us; and the Wind being fair, I was afraid of ſtaying any longer, for fear of hindering the Ships from going to Sea. *There is a great Probabily of an Opening on the Weſt Side, by the coming in of the Whales*; but I could not go higher up to try it, for the above-mentioned Reaſons.” In the amended Report this Paſſage is entirely left out; for as to what is ſaid therein, I mean in the amended Report, ſigned by *Rankin* and *Wilſon*, of their ſeeing large black Whales in their Return from the Ships, not far from *Deer Sound*; this is alſo contained in the original Report, wherein Mr. *Rankin* ſays, *In coming down we ſaw ſeveral very large black Whales playing about the Boat, and aſhore*; ſo that nothing can be plainer, than that the Meaning of *Rankin*, was to diſtinguiſh between *thoſe Whales*, the Sight of which induced him to believe there was *an Opening to the Weſt*, and the *black Whales* that he ſaw *in returning to the Ships*. And why the former Whales were left out in the amended Report, is a Matter that deſerves Conſideration; but it is very plain, that as it ſtood in the original Report, it is irreconcileable to the Captain's Anſwer; and therefore he was in the right to guard againſt it, by ſaying, *However, Concluſions drawn from Whales being ſeen in any Place, are at the beſt very precarious.* It may be ſo; but it is very evident that Mr. *Rankin* concluded from thence, that there was an Opening to the Weſt; and thoſe who incline to believe him, will conclude ſo ſtill, though, as the Captain ſays, that Concluſion be but precarious. And yet their other Concluſion of their coming in from their *Frozen Streight* muſt be allowed to be altogether as precarious.

As to the laſt Reaſon aſſigned by Mr. *Dobbs*, *viz.* from broken Lands North-weſtwards, and a vaſt Collection of Waters, full of Iſlands on the South-weſt-ſide, this Anſwer is given by Captain *Middleton*, *viz.* It is moſt likely that theſe watery Places, ſeen at a Diſtance, are the ſame Sort of Lakes of melted Snow from the Mountains, as were every where ſeen from the Eminences they aſcended in that Country, to over-ſpread the Vallies; but be that as it will, there was no coming nigh them for the Rapidity of the Water-falls, that hindered the Boat from going higher up then ſhe did, and the immenſe Quantities of Ice along the South-weſt Shore.

This Anſwer is plainly conjectural, and Captain *Middleton* only offers a Suppoſition to refute what others had affirmed to be a Fact; for Mr. *Dobbs* tells us, that when the Lieutenant and another Perſon were examined before the Lords of the Admiralty, they poſitively affirmed that they had ſeen a fair open Channel, with Lands on each Side, as high as the *Cape of Good Hope*. It likewiſe appears, that the Lieutenant was preſſed to go up this Channel; and the Reaſon he gave for not complying with this Requeſt, was, that he had already exceeded his Orders in extent of Time, and of the Diſcovery, which he had proſecuted farther than he was directed to do; and therefore declined what was propoſed from an Apprehenſion of being puniſhed upon his Return, if he had complied with it.

10. But we are now to come to thoſe Arguments, which have been produced by Captain *Middleton* in the Affirmative, and in Proof of his Aſſertion that this is no Streight, but a Freſh-water River. In the firſt Place, he ſays, that he conceives it can have no Communication with the Sea Weſtward, becauſe the Tide of Flood comes in at its Mouth Eaſtward. To this Mr. *Dobbs* replies, that it was to be conſidered as a Streight, like the *Magellan*, and therefore he was not to look for the contrary Tide, till they were in the Middle of the Streight. In Confirmation of this, Mr. *Dobbs* farther obſerves, the Tide at the North-eaſt Entrance of *Magellan Streight* flows from the Eaſtward, and riſes four Fathom before it comes to the firſt Narrow, which is but half a League wide, and from thirty to thirty-five Fathom deep; after a League or two it increaſes to ſix or ſeven Leagues wide, to the ſecond Narrow, where it is about a League wide, and thirty Fathom deep; within the ſecond Narrow it increaſes again to five or ſix Leagues wide, and the Tide ſtill flows from the Eaſtward, and riſes about ten Feet. In the Middle Channel, about thirty Leagues within the Streight, it is two hundred Fathom, and the Channel but three Leagues wide; and from thence to the Middle of the Streight, it is leſſened to two Leagues wide, and about one hundred Fathom deep, and the Tide ſtill flows from the Eaſtwards for above fifty Leagues. As they come near the Middle of the Streight, the Current of the Tide is not above half an Hour at each Tide, and the Tide riſes nine Feet near *Cape Quad*; beyond the Middle of the Streight it is but two Leagues wide, and for about thirteen Leagues farther it is rather leſs; ſometimes not four Miles wide; from whence it gradually widens to the Weſt Entrance, where it is five Leagues wide, ſo that *Wager Streight* is much larger; for ſo far as they were in it, which was about thirty Leagues, it being by the Account as mentioned in the Journal ſix or ſeven Leagues wide, and eighty Fathom deep; which if there be no other, is a noble Paſſage; but there is a great Probability of there being a better and ſafer Paſſage to the Southward of *Whalebone Point*, by which the Whales get into that Part of the Bay.

The ſecond Reaſon offered by Captain *Middleton* is, becauſe of the gradual Declenſion in the riſing of the Tides, which flowed eighteen Feet at the Entrance, but thirteen at *Deer Sound*; and the higheſt the Boat could go for Water-falls, was no more than five or ſix Feet. But whoever conſiders what is before replied to the Argument, drawn from the Tides coming in from the Eaſtward, will very eaſily ſee, that allowing all the Captain ſays to be true, this is very far from being concluſive; ſince it appears to agree well enough with what happens in the Streight of *Magellan*; and, beſides all this, Mr. *Dobbs* ſays, that in the Captain's Journal, the Tide at *Savage Sound* is ſaid to have roſe but twelve Feet ſix Inches, inſtead of fifteen, and at the ſame Time it roſe ten Feet in *Deer Sound*. He likewiſe ſays, that when they were behind the *Weſt Bluff*, they did not ſtay a Tide, and could only conjecture how much it flowed; nor did they obſerve in their Report, whether the Eaſtern or Weſtern Current was Ebb or Flood; though upon Recollection, the Lieutenant was poſitive it was the Tide of Flood from the Weſtward, which brought the Boat to a Grapnel, it having flowed ſix Feet immediately after he anchored the Boat.

The third Reaſon aſſigned ſeems the ſtrongeſt of all; for the Captain therein aſſerts, that the Water was found to be ſo freſh in the Mid-Channel, above *Deer Sound*, that the Men freely drank it, along-ſide the Boat, inſtead of Beer; and the higher they went they found it the freſher. But it has been before obſerved, that the Lieutenant, in his Expedition, filled a Bottle of Water at the Shore, and two Bottles farther down to the Eaſtward; and that the Captain, when he came aboard, owned, that the Water taken up at the Weſt-end, near the Fall of Water, was the ſalteſt; and the Maſter ſaid, that it was as ſalt as any he taſted in thoſe Seas, which was confirmed by all thoſe who taſted it aboard. It is alſo affirmed, that when the Captain cauſed the Water to be taken up, which he ſays was freſh, the Crew did not come entirely into his Opinion, but only ſaid that it was not very ſalt.

The Captain urges next, that no Whales were ſeen there; but at the Entrance of the River, and at *Deer Sound*; this being an Argument that they came not from any Sea to the Weſtward, but entered by ſome Inlet from the North-eaſt. We have already taken notice, that the Lieutenant contradicts this in his original Report, by aſſerting poſitively that the Whales came from the Weſt.

And Mr. *Dobbs*, in anſwer to this very Argument of Capt. *Middleton*'s expreſſes himſelf thus: "The next Falſity he would have impoſed upon was, that the Whales came in certainly at the Eaſt Entrance of *Wager River*, for he ſaw ſeveral in the *Welcome* and *Cape Dobbs*, before they came in and after they went out, which none of them ſaw but himſelf." And the Journal expreſly ſays, when they came up with the Ice, "Hitherto have been ſeen no Whales, except one white Whale as big as a Grampus, and five or ſix Seals: And both Log-Book and Journal are entirely ſilent about any when they came out, until they came near *Brook Cobham*. When I taxed the Captain with this, all he could ſay was, he heard one or two blow; yet in the Log-Book which he has printed, he ſays he heard two or three blow in that Watch, though nothing of it is entered in the original large Log-Book, nor was any ſeen by any other Perſon on board the *Furnace*; nor did Capt. *More*, in the *Diſcovery*, ſee any, though two on board him took upon them to ſwear, they ſaw or heard two or three blow."

Another Reaſon made uſe of by Capt. *Middleton* is, becauſe Travellers which have gone from *Churchill* by Land, as high as the *Arctic Circle*, affirm, that they met with neither ſalt Water, River, nor Sea, in any Part of their Journey. This Argument would alſo be very concluſive, if the Fact was abſolutely certain; but if it was, it is not eaſy to conceive why Capt. *Middleton* by his Letters to Mr. *Dobbs*, written before the undertaking of this laſt Expedition, ſhould give him any Hopes of Succeſs in ſuch an Undertaking; for had he known and conſidered the Force of this Argument at that Time, in its full Extent, he muſt have ſeen that it proved any ſuch Paſſage as he went in Search of, if not impoſſible, at leaſt impracticable, and therefore not worth the ſeeking. When the Reader reflects upon the Obſervations made in the very laſt Article upon the Conduct and Sentiments of Capt. *James*, after his Return from *Charlton Iſland*, he will probably ſee good Grounds to believe, that Diſappointment operates very powerfully upon ſome Mens Underſtandings, and engages them to treat as vulgar Errors what themſelves formerly eſteemed undoubted Truths, either from an Over-weaning Fondneſs for their own Abilities, or from an envious Deſire to put that out of the Thoughts of others, which by Accident was put out of their own Power.

11. It was however natural enough for Mr. *Dobbs*, after examining this Matter attentively, to wiſh that all the Doubts about it might be removed by a ſubſequent Expedition, and one would have thought that this Scheme muſt have been alſo ſatisfactory to Captain *Chriſtopher Middleton* and the *Hudſon's Bay* Company; becauſe being ſo firmly perſuaded as they ſeem to be, that no ſuch Paſſage can ever be found from *Hudſon's Bay* into the *Weſt Ocean*, they ſhould have been willing to have had this Truth, as they eſteem it, ſo fairly and fully made out as to leave no Grounds, or, if poſſible, no Colour, of Suſpicion about it, as this would have intirely juſtified that Gentleman's Conduct, and have ſaved the Company all future Trouble.

But it does not appear that this actually was the Caſe; on the contrary, ſuch Objections were ſtarted, and ſo many Difficulties ſuggeſted, as quite overthrew all Hopes of obtaining ſuch Aſſiſtance from the Admiralty as they had before; but the Spirit of the Nation being awakened, the Opinion of there being ſuch a Paſſage gaining Ground, and the Deſire of finding it increaſing daily, produced an Application to Parliament in 1744, when, after mature Deliberation, a Law paſſed upon that Subject, in Conſequence of which another Expedition has been ſet on foot.

The Preamble of this Act takes Notice, that as the diſcovering another Weſt Paſſage through *Hudſon's Streight* to the Weſtern *American Ocean*, would be of great Benefit and Advantage to this Kingdom, and that it would be of great Encouragement to the Adventurers to attempt the ſame, if a public Reward was given to ſuch Perſons as ſhould make a perfect Diſcovery of the ſaid Paſſage, it is therefore Enacted, That if any Ships or Veſſels belonging to his Majeſty's Subjects ſhall find out, and ſail through any Paſſage by Sea, between *Hudſon's Bay* and the *Weſtern Ocean* of *America*, the Owners of ſuch Ships or Veſſels ſhall be intitled to receive as a Reward for ſuch Diſcovery, the Sum of *Twenty Thouſand Pounds*. The following Perſons are, by the ſaid Act, appointed Commiſſioners for examining the Claims that may be made under it; *viz.* the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Preſident of the Council, the Lord Privy-Seal, the Lord Steward of his Majeſty's Houſhold, the Lord Chamberlain, the firſt Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, the firſt Commiſſioner of the Admiralty, the principal Secretaries of State, the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the firſt Commiſſioner for Trade and Plantations, the Treaſurer of his Majeſty's Navy, and the Admirals of the Red, White, and Blue Squadrons for the Time being; and theſe Commiſſioners are empowered to examine the Claimants Witneſſes upon Oath; and the Certificate of the Majority of them (of which the firſt Commiſſioner of the Admiralty ſhall be one) under their Hands and Seals given, ſhall intitle the Perſon or Perſons, having ſuch Certificate, to receive of the Lord High Treaſurer, or Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, the ſaid Sum of *Twenty Thouſand Pounds* after the ſaid Diſcovery ſhall be completed, and the Certificate thereof produced as aforeſaid. As a farther Encouragement, and to promote the executing of, and finding out, ſuch Paſſage, It is further Enacted, That all Perſons, Subjects of his Majeſty, reſiding in any Place where the ſaid Adventurers may come, in the Proſecution of this Diſcovery, ſhall give the ſaid Adventurers all Aſſiſtance; and Perſons, Subjects, as aforeſaid, ſhall no Way obſtruct, moleſt, or refuſe the ſaid Adventurers reaſonable Succour in any Diſtreſs they may fall into in the proſecuting this Diſcovery. A Proviſo is added, that nothing in this Act ſhall extend to prejudice the Eſtate, Rights or Privileges of the Governor and Company of Adventurers of *England*, trading into *Hudſon's Bay*.

Such is the Hiſtory of the Deſign for penetrating into the *Weſtern Ocean*, by a Paſſage to the North-weſt; ſuch have been the Steps taken for putting it in Execution; ſuch the Diſappointments with which Expeditions of this Sort have been attended; and ſuch, finally, the Proviſion made by the Legiſlature, that whoever ſhall be at the Expence and Hazard of this Diſcovery for the public Service, ſhall receive a public Reward.

SECTION.

SECTION V.

A ſuccinct Account of the Grounds upon which a NORTH-EAST PASSAGE *into the Sea of* Japon *has been expected and ſought for. The Attempts of the* Engliſh *and* Dutch *on that Side, with the Reaſons why all Thoughts of a Paſſage that Way have been for many Years given up.*

Collected from *Dutch* as well as *Engliſh* Authors.

1. *A View of the Advantages propoſed from the Diſcovery of a North-eaſt Paſſage, and of the principal Reaſons which have induced ſkilful Geographers, and able Seamen, to believe that ſuch a Paſſage might be found.* 2. *The Attempts made by Sir* Hugh Willoughby, *Captain* Stephen Burroughs, *Captain* Arthur Pett, *and Captain* Charles Jackman, *for the Diſcovery of that Paſſage, without Effect.* 3. *An Account of three Voyages made by the famous* Dutch *Pilot,* William Barentz, *for that Purpoſe, and with no better Succeſs; the Reaſons that induced* Barentz *to die in the Perſwaſion that ſuch a Paſſage might ſtill be found; and the Motives upon which the Hopes of diſcovering this Paſſage were revived after all Thoughts of it had, for a long Time, been laid aſide.* 4. *A ſhort Account of Captain* Wood's *Voyage, in Search of that Paſſage, by the Direction of King* Charles II. *and his Miſcarriage.* 5. *The Reaſons publiſhed by him, after his Diſappointment, to prove the finding ſuch a Paſſage impoſſible, or at leaſt impracticable.* 6. *The Diſcoveries made by the* Ruſſians *in their* Aſiatic *Dominions, and more particularly their late important Diſcovery, that there is a very eaſy Paſſage that Way to* North America. 7. *The Concluſion of this Subject, with ſome free Thoughts thereupon, tending to prove, that if we are diſapappointed in all Attempts of finding either a North-weſt or North-eaſt Paſſage, it will amount to a Demonſtration that there is a clear Paſſage by the North, in or near the Pole.*

1. THE Advantages propoſed by the Diſcovery of a Paſſage to the North-eaſt, may be reduced to three. The firſt is, That it would ſave a great deal of Time; for, whereas we are now obliged to go round by the Cape of *Good Hope*, or, which is ſtill a longer Navigation, by the Streights of *Magellan*, we might then paſs by the Coaſt of *Muſcovy*, and *Great Tartary* into the Sea of *Japon*, in little more than three Months. The ſecond turns on the Wholſomeneſs of the Voyage, which, according to the Methods now in Uſe, conſumes abundance of Seamen; but by this means would become as healthy as any Navigation can be, and be performed with very little Hazard. In the third Place, there is good Reaſon to hope that it would change the very Nature of the *Eaſt India* Trade, by bringing the Balance over to the Side of *Europe*; whereas in the Way we now carry it on, it is morally certain, that if the *Weſt Indies* had not been diſcovered, the *Eaſt India* Trade muſt have eat up and deſtroyed us, I mean the People of *Europe* in general; for whatever there may be gained by us, or by the *Dutch*, it is an uncontroverted Point, that immenſe Sums in Silver are annually ſent from *Europe* to balance the Accounts of our Traders with thoſe in the *Eaſt Indies*; but if a Paſſage ſhould be found to this Country by the North-eaſt, we might then hope to gain as much by cloathing the Inhabitants of the Northern Countries as would balance our Commerce with thoſe in other Parts. We are next to examine the Reaſons why ſuch a Paſſage has been expected and ſought for; and this may be likewiſe reduced under three Heads. The Firſt is grounded on the Diſpoſition of the terraqueous Globe, which ſeems to require a perfect Circulation of that great Body of Water which is intermixed with the Earth; and as we find this Conjecture verified towards the South Pole, it makes the Argument ſo much the ſtronger with reſpect to the North. The Second ariſes from Obſervation, which affords Variety of Inſtances, in Confirmation of the ſame Notion. We will mention one or two: All the Wood that is thrown on the Coaſts of *Greenland*, *Nova Zembla*, *Lapland*, and other Northern Countries is Worm-eaten; which is a Proof that this Wood came from a warmer Climate; ſince it is certain that Ships are not Worm-eaten in the Northern Seas. There is likewiſe a Kind of *Molucca* Bean thrown almoſt by every Tide upon the Northern Coaſts, which is with great Probability believed to be the Product of the Eaſtern Climes; and, what ſtill more ſtrongly corroborates this Manner of Reaſoning, ſome *Dutch* Seamen, who were ſhipwrecked at *Gorea*, obſerved a Harpoon in the Head of a Whale caſt upon that Coaſt, which muſt therefore have come thither from the Northern Seas. Laſtly, there are ſome Facts which, if they could be depended upon, would put this Matter out of Diſpute, ſince they relate to Ships which have actually paſſed this Way, or at leaſt have diſcovered an open Sea through which they might have paſſed; but as this cannot be verified by proper Vouchers, they ought to be conſidered only as Reports, and as ſuch I lay no great Streſs upon them.

2. The firſt who attempted the actual Diſcovery of ſuch a Paſſage to the North-eaſt, was Sir *Hugh Willoughby*, in 1553. He advanced as far as 72 Degrees North Latitude; but finding himſelf blocked up by the Ice, he retired, as well as he could, into the Mouth of the River *Arzina*, in *Lapland*; where he and all his Company were frozen to Death, and were the next Year found in that Condition. This did not diſcourage Captain *Stephen Burroughs*, afterwards Comptroller of the Navy, in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, from purſuing this Diſcovery; on which he ſailed in 1556, and having doubled the *North Cape*, entered the Streights of *Weygatz*, between the South of *Nova Zembla*, and the Country of the *Samoieds*, believing the Gulph, on the Eaſt of that Streight, to be a free and open Sea, in which Opinion he returned to *England*. This occaſioned a third Voyage, by the Direction of that glorious Queen, who, in 1580, ſent Captain *Arthur Pett*, and Captain *Charles Jackman*, to perfect this Diſcovery. They entered the Streight, but found themſelves ſo embarraſſed among the Ice, that after long ſtruggling, with much Difficulty, they got out again, and reſolved to return home; but meeting with very bad Weather, they were ſeparated; and Captain *Pett* was never heard of afterwards, which gave a Check to all farther Thoughts of ſearching for a North-eaſt Paſſage, by our Countrymen.

3. But the *Dutch*, who were extremely ſenſible of the Benefits that might reſult from ſuch a Diſcovery, and being withal very emulous of the *Engliſh* Glory, reſolved to try what might be done in this Reſpect; and with this View they ſent the famous *William Barentz* thither, in 1594, who paſſed the Streights of *Weygatz*, and having

examined the Gulph into which they open, abandoned the Deſign, after having obſerved that the Water was freſh, which had not been taken notice of before. He thought, however, that ſomething might ſtill be done, though not that Way, and therefore undertook a ſecond and a third Voyage to *Nova Zembla*, in Hopes of ſucceeding better. In 1596, which was his laſt Voyage, he and his Crew wintered in that Country, in the Latitude of 78 Degrees. After having loſt their Veſſel, they got off the next Spring in their two Shallops, deſigning for *Cola* in *Lapland*, where they ſafely arrived; but *Barentz* died in the Paſſage. He remained to the laſt Moment in the Sentiments he entertained after his firſt Voyage, and declared if he had lived, he would have made another Voyage, from a thorough Perſuaſion, that notwithſtanding all he had ſuffered, there was a free and open Sea between *Nova Zembla* and *Greenland*.

The beſt Accounts we have of this Undertaking, and of the Extremities of *Norway*, *Lapland*, *Nova Zembla*, *Weygatz*, the Mouth of the River *Oby*, the Coaſt of *Tartary* at the Mouth of that River, and of the *White Sea*, are in the Works of the famous *Linſchooten*, who made this Voyage at the ſame time with *Barentz*. Our great Navigator *Henry Hudſon* had ſome Thoughts of diſcovering the Paſſage, and actually made a Voyage for that Purpoſe in 1610; but the Fate of *Barentz*, and the unpromiſing Appearance of the Frozen Coaſts, obliged him to abandon very ſoon ſo troubleſome an Expedition. In 1653 the King of *Denmark* fitted out three Ships for the finding the North-eaſt Paſſage, and directed the making an exact Chart of their Diſcoveries: Theſe Ships paſſed the Streights of *Weygatz*, and in the Bay beyond them found ſome of the Inhabitants of *Nova Zembla* in their Canoes; which were the moſt brutal and intolerable Savages that were ever ſeen: Their Garments were made of the Skins of Penguins, Pelicans, and other large Birds, with their Feathers on: They lived upon raw Fiſh, and had the utmoſt Abhorrence of more civilized Nations; which was not by any Means to be ſoftened by Preſents or kind Uſage. This made the *Danes* ſoon weary of ſo inhoſpitable a Coaſt, and ſo put an End to the Expedition, which brought ſuch a Diſcredit on the North-eaſt Paſſage as prevented any farther Attempts for near twenty Years. At laſt, after the *Royal Society* was founded here, by which Means Subjects of this ſort came to be more known and more freely examined, the Hopes of finding a North-eaſt Paſſage was again renewed, and ſeveral Papers were written, to ſhew both the Utility of ſuch a Paſſage, and that the finding of it was practicable.

The firſt that revived, at leaſt with any Degree of Vigour, the Notion of diſcovering a Paſſage to the North-eaſt, after that Scheme had lain ſo long under Diſcredit, was a Company of Merchants in *Holland*, who fitted out a Ship for the Diſcovery; which, upon its Return, brought an Account, That they had ſailed to the Height of between 70 and 80 Degrees, and had diſcovered a fair open Sea, without any Ice to the Eaſtward of *Nova Zembla*, which ſeemed ſo plain and ſo perfect a Proof of the Probability of a ſafe Navigation on that Side, that the Merchants concerned in that Undertaking applied to the States for a Charter, that might ſecure to them the Advantages that might reſult from this new-found Paſſage. But the *Eaſt India* Company having Notice of this Application, and foreſeeing how far it might affect their Trade, inſtantly petitioned the States on their Side, ſetting forth the great Services they had done the Republic, the Nature of the Charters which had been granted to them, and the Conſequences that muſt attend the beſtowing on this new Company, the Privileges that they demanded. The States had Regard to their Repreſentations, and refuſed the Charter applied for. The Merchants, upon this, applied to the King of *Denmark*, and having obtained his Licence, an Expedition was made for Diſcovery; but by reaſon of a Mutiny on board the Ship, it came to nothing. A large Account of all theſe Tranſactions was printed in the *Memoirs* of our *Royal Society*, in the Year 1675, but without any Date; one, however, I have with much Difficulty recovered, which is the Voyage wherein the *Dutch* Merchants were ſucceſsful, and which I find was in 1670. The ſame Perſon that gave me this Date acquainted me, that at the Time this Application was made to the States, it was aſſerted that there was no Difficulty in ſailing North about *Greenland*; that ſeveral *Dutch* Ships had actually done it, and that the Merchants being required to verify this Fact, they deſired that the Journals of the *Greenland* Squadron in 1655, might be produced; in ſeven of which there was Notice taken of a Ship, which that Year had ſailed as high as the Latitude of 89, within one Degree of the Pole; and three Journals of that Ship being produced, they all agreed as to an Obſervation taken by the Maſter, *Auguſt* the 1ſt, 1655, in 88 Degrees 56 Minutes; and it was farther ſet forth in thoſe Journals, that the Sea was entirely clear of Ice, and was a hollow rolling Sea, like that of the *Bay of Biſcay*.

4. Soon after the publiſhing the Accounts beforementioned in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions*, Capt. *John Wood*, an experienced Seaman, who had accompanied Sir *John Narborough* in his Voyage through the *Streights of Magellan*, offered his Service to attempt the Diſcovery of the North-eaſt Paſſage; which was accepted, and the eight following Perſons, *viz.* *James* Duke of *York*, Lord *Berkeley*, Sir *Joſeph Williamſon*, Sir *John Banks*, Mr. *Samuel Peeps*, Capt. *Herbert*, Mr. *Dupuy*, and Mr. *Hoopgood*, at their own proper Charge, bought a Pink called the *Proſperous*, of the Burden of one hundred and twenty Tons, fitted her to Sea, with Men, Ammunition, Proviſion, and Merchandize, which was ſuch as was reaſonably propoſed to vend on the Coaſt of *Tartaria*, or at *Japon*, if a Paſſage had been found. The Command of this Veſſel was given to Captain *William Flawes*, and a new Ship of the King's called the *Speedwell*, manned and victualled at the King's Expence, was given to Captain *Wood*, who had the Conduct of the Expedition.

They ſailed from the Buoy at the *Nore*, *May* the 28th, 1676, but the Voyage was very unfortunate; for the *Speedwell* was ſhipwrecked on the Coaſt of *Nova Zembla*, and Captain *Wood*, and his People, returned aboard the *Proſperous*, which put an End to all Thoughts of Expeditions of this Nature; for Captain *Wood*, like other diſappointed Commanders, changed his Opinion upon his Return, and undertook to prove that it was impoſſible to find any Paſſage to the North-eaſt. There is nothing very remarkable, either in his Journal or in that of Captain *Flawes*; but his Relation of his Shipwreck, of the Country of *Nova Zembla*, and his Reaſons for changing his Sentiments, are, in themſelves, very curious, and therefore deſerve the Reader's Notice.

5. " After giving both theſe Journals, ſays he, mean-
" ing his own, and that of Captain *Flawes*, I intend to
" ſhew my Conceptions of the ſaid Voyage, and a true
" Relation of our Miſcarriage, with ſome Obſervations
" made in the ſaid Voyage. The firſt was, the following
" the Opinion of *William Barentz*, that was to ſteer
" directly North-eaſt from the *North-Cape*, and ſo fall
" in the Middle-way, between *Greenland* and *Nova*
" *Zembla*; ſo having made the Land to the Weſtward
" of the *North Cape*, the 19th Day of *June*, I ſteered
" away North-eaſt by Compaſs, which was not ſo much
" by the true Courſe, becauſe of the Variation that is
" there Weſterly; and the 22d Day at Noon we ſaw the
" main Body of Ice, being in the Latitude of 76 Degrees,
" and about ſixty Leagues to the Eaſtward of *Greenland*.
" At the firſt ſeeing of Ice, I did imagine it had been the
" Ice that joined to *Greenland*, and that if I went more
" Eaſterly there might be a free Sea; ſo I ran cloſe by
" the Ice, it lying away Eaſt-ſouth-eaſt, and Weſt-north-
" weſt; and every League or leſs that we ran, we met
" with a Cape of Ice; ſo when we were about that we
" could ſee no Ice to the Northward; ſo ſtanding in
" North-eaſt ſometimes two Glaſſes, that is one Hour,
" we could ſee more Ice ahead, and then we were forced
" to go out the ſame Way we came in, and thus I
" continued coaſting the Ice, ſometimes in Hopes of a
" clear Sea, and then again diſheartened by ſeeing more
" Ice, till at laſt I had no Hopes at all; which was
" when I ſaw the Land of *Nova Zembla* and the Ice join
" to it. So here the Opinion of *William Barentz* was
" confuted, and the reſt of the *Dutch* Relations, which

certainly are all forged abuſive Pamphlets, as alſo the Relations of our own Countrymen.

" But certainly if Men did really conſider the many inevitable Dangers and Miſchiefs that come upon the broaching of ſuch Untruths, they would never do it; for I do now verily believe, that if there be no Land to the Northward of the Latitude of 80 Degrees, that the Sea that is there is all frozen, and always continueth ſo; for I, that could get no farther than 76 Degrees, found it ſo frozen without Intermiſſion, and ſome of the Ice that we ſaw, that was on the main Body, if it had been conveyed 10 Degrees more Southward, would have taken ſome Centuries of Years to thaw it; for the looſe Ice that lay about the Edges of the main Body, was not more than a Foot thick, in ſome Pieces, above the Superficies of the Water, and the reſt of the Cake that was ſunk, was more than 18 Feet below; ſo I conclude that thoſe vaſt Mountains that were on the main Body, were all aſhore, as of Neceſſity they muſt if they hold the ſame Proportion; and conſidering the Shallowneſs of the Water, which I found all along the Ice, which in the Mid-way, between the two Lands, I found to be no more than ten Fathom, was doubtleſs a Sign that to the Northward is Land, and that the main Body of Ice, that lieth cluſtered about the Shore, may be twenty Leagues or more; and that *Nova Zembla* and *Greenland* are the ſame Continent; for if there had been any Paſſage, there would have been ſome Current, which I could never, or very hardly, find to be any; and the little there was run Eaſt-ſouth-eaſt along the Ice, which is nothing elſe but a ſmall Tide, which riſes ſome eight Feet. Thus the Ice having been an Obſtacle in our Way, as alſo the Cauſe of my coming ſo far to the Eaſtward, which, before I never intended, I will come to the Misfortune that happened to us in the Loſs of our Ship, which was thus: Being long amongſt the Ice, the 29th Day of *June*, in the Morning, we had like to have been incloſed in it; it proving likewiſe foggy Weather, I ſtood out to the Southward, thinking to lie there till fairer Weather, or to ſpend ſome Time to the Southward, and then come to the Ice again, to ſee if there might be any Alteration in it, as to its Removal, either to the Eaſt, Weſt, North, or South; but all this Day it proved foggy dirty Weather, the Wind being at Weſt, ſo we lay South-ſouth-weſt with the Stern, and by our Judgment and Reckoning, the Weſtermoſt Land of *Nova Zembla* bore from us Eaſt-ſouth-eaſt, that was four Points under our Lee-Bow; but ſuch was our Misfortune, that it proved not ſo; for about ten o'Clock Captain *Flawes*, being upon our Weather Quarter, fired a Gun, and bore to me, and called out that there was Ice ahead; then I looked out ahead, ſaw ſomething white juſt under the Bow, which preſently I perceived to be a Breach and no Ice; now if I had ſtaid with the Ship, Captain *Flawes* being to the Windward, I ſhould have been aboard of him, and then certainly we had been both loſt; ſo I was forced to bear up with Hope that I might get clear of it; but the Ship being a great while wearing ſtruck on the Rock, her Head lying to Seaward, which if it had not, but that the Broad ſide had been to the Sea, we had all periſhed, without God's great Mercy.

" Captain *Flawes*, in the mean Time (being a ſhorter Ship) wore round, and came cloſe under our Stern, and with great Providence eſcaped and ſtood off to Sea; here we lay beating on the Rock in a moſt cruel Manner, for the Space of three or four Hours, uſing all poſſible Means to ſave her, but all in vain; for it blew ſo hard, that it was impoſſible to carry out an Anchor, capable of doing us any Service; though we had an Opportunity to carry out a ſmall Anchor, and Warp to haul another out by, which ſignified but little; the Ship all this while lay, and at the End of four or five Hours we ſaw Land cloſe under our Stern, to the great Amazement of us all, which before we could not ſee for foggy Weather; ſo I commanded the Men to get out our Boat before our Maſt came by the Board; which was done. I ſent the Boatſwain toward the Shore in the Pinnace, to ſee if there was any Poſſibility of landing, which I much feared, becauſe the Sea ran ſo high. In half an Hour he returned with this Anſwer: That it was impoſſible to ſave a Man the Sea ran ſo high; and the Snow being in high Cliffs on Shore it was inacceſſible, which was but bad Tidings; ſo then it was high time to think on the Safety of our Souls, and we all went together to Prayers, to beſeech God to have Mercy on us; for here nothing but inevitable Ruin appeared before our Eyes. After Prayers were done it proved a little clearer Weather, and I, looking over the Stern, ſaw a ſmall Beach directly with the Stern of the Ship, where I thought there might be ſome Poſſibility of landing; ſo I ſent the Pinnace again with ſome Men, to be landed; but they durſt not venture on Shore; ſo I ſent the Long-boat with ſome twenty Men, to land, who attempted it, and got ſafe on Shore; ſo they in the Pinnace ſeeing that followed them and their Men likewiſe, and both returned on board again. Now the Men on the Shore ſent to me to deſire ſome Fire-arms and Ammunition; for there were many Bears on Shore: So I cauſed to be put into the Pinnace two Barrels of Powder that we had ſaved dry, before the Ship was bulged, and ſome ſmall Arms and Proviſions, with my own Papers and Money; but as ſhe put off from the Ship-ſide a Sea over-ſet her, ſo that all was loſt, with the Life of one Man, by Name *John Boſman*, being Cooper's Mate, and ſeveral others, taken up for dead. The Long-boat being then on ſhore to land more Men; and they hearing us call from aboard (when, as then, we could not ſee the Shore) they came on board, and ſaved the Men; but the Pinnace was all broken to Pieces, which was no ſmall Grief to us; ſo the Lug-boat being on board, and the Sea running prodigious high, the Boatſwain, and ſome others, would compel me and the Lieutenant to leave the Ship, ſaying, It was impoſſible for the Boat to live any longer in that Sea; and that they had rather be drowned than I; but deſiring me when I came aſhore (if it was poſſible) to ſend the Boat again for them; ſo I being half Way on Shore, the Ship overſet, ſo I made all the haſte poſſible to land the Men I had in the Boat; and, having landed them, I went off to the Ship again, to ſave thoſe poor Men that had been ſo kind to me; and, with great Hazard, I got with the Boat to the Quarter of the Ship, and they came down the Ladder into the Boat, only one Man who was left for dead, which was one that had been caſt away in the Pinnace, whoſe Name was *Alexander Frazer*, a very pretty Sailor; ſo I returned to the Shore and got ſafe to Land, though very wet and cold; ſo we hauled up the Boat on Shore, and went up the Land about a Flight-Shot, where our Men were making a Fire, and a Tent with Canvas and Oars, which we had ſaved for that Purpoſe; ſo we lay all that Night very cold, wet, and weary.

" The next Morning, the Man that was left on board recovered, and got unto the Mizen-top, for that Maſt was left ſtanding when we came away, the others we had cut all down. The Ship laboured, and beat violently, but it blew ſo hard, and the Sea ran ſo high, that it was impoſſible to ſave him; ſo the Weather continuing blowing, with extreme Fogs, and with Froſt and Snow, and all the ill-compacted Weather that could be imagined together; we built more Tents to preſerve ourſelves, and the Ship breaking in Pieces came all aſhore to the ſame Place where we landed, which ſerved for Shelter and Firing; beſides, there came to us ſome Hogſheads of Flour, good Store, which was no ſmall Comfort in our great Extremity; and we lay betwixt Hope and Deſpair, hoping for fair Weather, that Capt. *Flawes* might find us, which was impoſſible that ever he ſhould, if it continued foggy; ſome deſpairing of his being ſafe; but that he might be loſt as well as me.

" But ſuppoſing we were never to ſee him again, I was reſolved to try the utmoſt to ſave as many as I could in the Long boat; in order thereunto we raiſed her two

Feet higher, and laid a Deck upon her, to keep the Sea out as much as poſſible; and with this Boat and thirty Men (for ſhe would carry no more) I intended to row and ſail to *Ruſſia*; but the Crew, being not ſatiſfied who ſhould be the Men, began to be very unruly in their Minds and Behaviour, every one having as much Reaſon to ſave himſelf as another, ſome holding Conſultation to ſtave the Boat, and all to run the like Fortune; but here Brandy was our beſt Friend, for it kept them always foxed; ſo that in all their Deſigns I could prevent them. Some were of the Mind to go by Land, but that I knew was impoſſible for any Man; neither had we Proviſions or Ammunition to defend ourſelves from the wild Beaſts; and if it had been paſſable, that is, any going on the Ground for Bogs, they would have met with Rivers, that they knew not whither to go; ſo there being no Probability of going by Land, nor for any to attempt going by Boat with forty Men, leaving the reſt to be deſtroyed, I will ſubmit to the Conſideration of any, whether we were not in a very miſerable Condition, without the Intervention of divine Providence. To write my Thoughts I had at that Time, to ſave as many Men as I could, it is not pertinent at all to the Diſcourſe, ſince it cannot but be tragical.

" The Weather continued ſtill very bad, with Fogs, Snow, Rain, and Froſt, till the ninth Day of our being on Shore, which was the 8th Day of *July*, when, in the Morning it cleared up, and to our great Joy one of the Sailors cried out, *A Sail*; which proved Capt. *Flawes*, as reaſonably may be imagined; ſo we ſet Fire to our Town, that he might ſee where we were, which he preſently ſaw, ſo came and ſent his Boat to us; but before I went off I wrote a brief Relation of the Intention of the Voyage, with the Accidents that had befallen us, and put it into a Glaſs Bottle, and left it in the Fortification I had there built. So by twelve o'Clock we all got ſafe on board, but left all on Shore that we had ſaved from the Ship, for we much feared it ſhould prove foggy Weather again. Now I intend to give a brief Deſcription of the Land, and the Obſervations I made there.

" *Nova Zembla* is ſo called by the *Ruſſians*, which ſignifies *New Land*, in their Language. To prove either that it is an Iſland, or whether it joineth to the Continent of *Tartaria*, would be a very hard Taſk, nor is it certainly known to any; for by Circumſtances I think it impoſſible to prove, and by Experience the Search thereof is ſo impoſſible that it will hardly be tried; but let it be either, I think the Matter is not much, ſince it is the moſt miſerable Country that lieth on the Foundation of the Earth; a Country, moſt Part of it covered perpetually with Snow; and that which is bare is not to be walked on, being like Bogs; upon whoſe Superficies grows a Kind of Moſs, which beareth a ſmall blue and yellow Flower; and this is all the Product of the Earth of this Country. Under the Superficies of the Earth, about two Feet deep, after we had dug ſo low, we came to a firm Body of Ice, which, as I think, was never heard of before; ſo thoſe Men that did imagine, if they were forced to winter to the Northward, to dig Caves in the Earth to preſerve themſelves from Cold, would find here but very bad Lodging. The Snow lieth here contrary to what it doth in any other Country; for in all other Climates the Snow melteth ſooneſt away near the Sea Side, but here in ſome Places it riſes as high as either of the Forelands in *Kent*.

" The Sea has waſhed underneath the Snow a prodigious Way, and the Snow from the Weſtern Sea, upon the high Ridge, over-hanging, is moſt fearful to behold, and up from the Water Side, upon the firſt Ridge of Hills, the Snow was melted, till you came to the next Ridge, which are mountainous, and they all the Way up are covered with Snow, which I believe hath lain there ever ſince the Creation; but after we had aſcended this, which in ſome Places was almoſt perpendicular, we came to the Top of all the Mountains, as we ſuppoſed, for we could not ſee far, for we could hardly ſee one or the other, the Fog was ſo thick, and remained ſo all the Time we were in the Country; but on the Top of the Hills we found it bare from Snow, and indifferent good walking. The Beaſts that I found in the Country were only Bears. I continued on the Top of thoſe Hills ſome two Hours, and went as far as was convenient, that we might find the Way back again. Here I found the Track of many large Deer; alſo we found an Horn or Branches of Deer. Beſides Deer, there are abundance of large white Bears, and ſome Foxes, and a little Creature much like a Coney, but not ſo big as a Rat; and ſome few little Birds like Larks; and theſe are all the Beaſts or Fowls we found in the Country. Every quarter of a Mile there runneth down from the Hills, into the Sea, a ſmall Rivulet of very good Water, which is melted from Snow. Upon the Hills we found abundance of Slate Stone, which made it good walking; but at the Sea Side, where the Rivulet came down, we found very good black Marble, with white Veins in it.

" The Point where we loſt our Ship I called *Speedill*; the high Hills I called King *Charles's Snow Hills*; and the next Point to the Southward, which is the Weſtermoſt Point of *Nova Zembla*, I named *James's Foreland*, and the Point to the Northward, *York Point*. *Speedill* lieth in the Latitude of 74 Degrees 30 Minutes North, and in the Longitude, Eaſt from the City of *London*, 63 Degrees; the Variation of the Compaſs is 13 Degrees Weſt, and it is full Sea at the South-weſt Moon. The Tide riſeth eight Feet, and ſetteth directly upon the Shore, which is a certain Sign that there is no Paſſage to the Northward. The Sea Water, about the Ice and Land, is very ſalt, and much ſalter than any I ever taſted, and a great deal heavier, and, I may certainly ſay, the cleareſt in the World; for I could ſee the Ground very plain in eighty Fathom, which is four hundred and eighty Feet, there being few Steeples ſo high as that was deep, and I could ſee the Shells at the Bottom very plain."

Upon this Account, and theſe Reflections, I have only a few of theſe Obſervations to make. In the firſt Place, it is owned by Captain *Wood*, that he did not ſail ſo high as the *Dutch* did by four Degrees; in this he ſays he was hindered by Ice, and no Doubt he might be ſo; but his Concluſions from thence, that it is impoſſible to proceed higher that Way, and that the Accounts we have of thoſe who have proceeded farther, are to be regarded as fictitious, is very wild and extravagant; for that it is poſſible to ſail to the ſouth of *Greenland* is notorious, and that there may be a Channel between this broken Land and *Nova Zembla*, is more than probable; but that this Channel may be very difficult to find, may be free from Ice but for a ſmall Part of the Year, and that in ſome hard Winters it may not be free at all, is very poſſible.

In the next Place, I muſt take notice, that notwithſtanding we ſee it laid down, that ſearching higher than ſixty-four Degrees on the North-weſt Side is to no Purpoſe, becauſe if a Paſſage could be found in a higher Latitude, it would be impracticable on the Score of Ice and Cold, yet we ſee that a Paſſage has been ſought on the North eaſt Side; and as a Company of *Dutch* Merchants affirm, without any Reaſon for affirming it if it was not true, that ſuch a Paſſage has been found into a Sea free from Ice; this ſhews that Opinions ought not to be too haſtily taken up, which limit the Intelligence and Power of Mankind; and that we ſhould not be over-ready to liſten to ſuch Doctrines in Geography or Navigation, as are evidently dictated by Diſappointment.

My laſt Obſervation is, that on the North-eaſt, as well as on the North weſt, there appear to be broken Lands, which, if we conſider the Nature of Things, ſeem to indicate a Paſſage; and that ſuch a Paſſage on either Side is worth ſeeking, by the Inhabitants in the Northern Part of the World, will appear plainly to any Man who conſiders the Nearneſs of that Paſſage, in Compariſon of the Streight of *Magellan*; and therefore we need not at all wonder, that from Time to Time new Attempts are made, notwithſtanding repeated Diſappointments. I muſt confeſs, that with reſpect to us, a North weſt Paſſage deſerves the Preference, becauſe of our Poſſeſſions in *Hudſon's Bay*, which would enable us the better to ſecure it;

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and therefore I confeſs it appears to me highly reaſonable, that if a Reward of 20000*l.* ſhall be found not to produce the deſired Effect, it ſhould be enlarged to 100000*l.* for this plain Reaſon, that the Benefit of this Paſſage, when found, would reſult to the Public; and the Reward for finding it, however large, as it would be paid to our own Subjects, ought not to be eſteemed either a Burden or a Loſs to the Public.

6. The Situation of the Dominions of *Ruſſia* is ſo favourable for Diſcoveries on this Side, that it may be juſtly wondered we have not long ago had a clear and certain Relation from the Subjects of that Empire, in Reference to their Commerce with the Nations inhabiting the Northern Parts of *Aſia*; but partly from our Want of Correſpondence formerly with the *Ruſſian* Court, partly from the great Ignorance of the People inhabiting the Northern Provinces of that Empire, and partly from the frequent Revolutions to which their Government has been always ſubject; ſo it has fallen out, that till within this laſt Century we have never had any conſiderable Informations from thence; and even now we are very far from having ſuch clear and diſtinct Accounts, as are neceſſary to reſolve this great Queſtion, whether there is, or is not, a Paſſage to the North eaſt?

Thus much, however, is pretty clear, that the Streights of *Weygatz*, as they were called, do not open into the Sea of *Tartary*, or the *Northern Ocean*, but into a Gulph which is bounded on the North-eaſt by a high mountainous Country, by which it is joined to the Continent; neither have we any abſolute or poſitive Account, that the Sea, to the North of *Nova Zembla*, is navigable or free from Ice. But in the Reign of *Peter the Great*, and ſince his Time, vaſt Diſcoveries have been made to the Eaſtward, and through that Sea, into which Ships muſt neceſſarily come, if a North-eaſt Paſſage could be found. The River *Lena* falls into the *Northern Ocean* very near, if not under, the *Polar Circle*; and from thence the Continent extends two hundred Leagues to the Mouth of the River *Kebuma*, all which is ſubject to the *Ruſſians*.

Beyond this River lies the Country of the *Tychaltſki*, a very barbarous and warlike People, who poſſeſs a Country one hundred and twenty Leagues in Extent, from Weſt to Eaſt, and is the utmoſt Bounds of *Aſia* on that Side. This Country, which reaches as far North as 66 Degrees, is alſo the Extremity of that great Peninſula, to which the *Ruſſians* have given the Name of *Kamſchatka*; the Weſt-ſide of which is, in a good Meaſure, under their Power, and ſome Settlements they have on the Eaſt. The Southern Extremity of this Peninſula, is that Country ſo well known to the World, by the Name of the Land of *Jedzo*, directly over againſt *Japon*; ſo that this great Peninſula has the Ocean on the North and on the Eaſt, the Sea of *Japon* on the South, a Gulph of its own Name, which divides it from *Corea*, *Chineſe Tartary*, and the Dominions of *Ruſſia*, to the Weſt; it extends from the Latitude of 39 to 66 Degrees, and contains 15 Degrees of Longitude, or thereabouts.

On the Eaſt-ſide of this Country lies a very large Iſland, called *Puchochotſki*, extending from the Latitude of 59 to 63 Degrees; the Inhabitants of which are tributary to the *Ruſſians*. To the South of this lies another large Iſland, from 51 to 55 Degrees; the Inhabitants of which are a very warlike People, hitherto unſubdued, and with whom the *Ruſſians* trade for Caſtors, and other rich Furs. It is from this Iſland that one Mr. *Stoller*, a famous Botaniſt, failed laſt Year upon Diſcoveries, and is ſaid to have found but a very ſhort Paſſage to the Coaſts of *North America*. The Reader will eaſily apprehend this, if he pleaſeth to conſider what we have heretofore delivered, of the Situation of the Countries on this Side, from the Frontiers of the *Ruſſian* Dominions, to *California*; for, without doubt, in the Accounts we have from *Peterſburgh* of this Matter, they can mean no more by *North America*, than that Mr. *Stoller* had diſcovered Iſlands to the Eaſtward of thoſe with which the *Ruſſians* were hitherto acquainted; but whether theſe belong ſtrictly to *America* or not, is a Queſtion, that till we are better acquainted with the Nature of this Diſcovery, cannot be reſolved. The Reaſon I have mentioned it is, becauſe it affords a clear and certain Proof, that if we could paſs to the North-eaſt of *Nova Zembla*, we ſhould find a ſhort and eaſy Way to *Japon* and *China*; notwithſtanding all that has been before aſſerted by Captain *Wood*, who, from his own Account, appears not to have failed far enough to the North, to be able to contradict, with any tolerable degree of Aſſurance, the Truth of what was aſſerted by the *Dutch* Navigators, upon the Faith of actual Diſcoveries; for he was ſhipwrecked in the Latitude of 74 Degrees, and they paſt to the North of *Nova Zembla*, in the Latitude of 80 Degrees; and if they could have perfected that Diſcovery, there is no doubt but that, by this Time, all the Trade of *China* and *Japon* had been carried on that Way; for it appears clearly, from the *Ruſſian* Accounts, that thoſe *Dutch* Navigators were actually advanced into that Part of the *Northern Ocean*, which waſhes the Coaſt of *Kamſchatka*, and conſequently had no great Impediments to hinder them in their Paſſage to *Japon*, and from thence to *China*.

7. We will conclude this Section, with obſerving, that from the Nature of the Tides in *Hudſon's Bay*, on the Coaſt of *Greenland*, and in other Parts of the North Seas, it is apparent that ſome Way or other they have a Communication with the Ocean, for otherwiſe it is ſimply impoſſible they ſhould riſe ſo high as they do; and therefore if after all our Endeavours no Paſſage ſhould be found to the North-weſt or North-eaſt, we may reſt ſatisfied, that this Communication is from the North; and that by paſſing round *Spitzbergen* or *Greenland*, we might enter what is called the *Tartarian* Sea, or that Part of the Ocean which waſhes the Northern and Eaſtern Extremities of *Aſia*. This might always have been diſcovered by dint of reaſoning, ſince the Figure of the Globe, and the Diſpoſition of the ſeveral Parts of it, have been tolerably known; but in Proportion as the true Figure of the Earth has been found out, by the Skill and Labour of Mathematicians; and as their Accounts of this Matter have been juſtified by Experiments, this has grown clearer and clearer; ſo that at preſent there can remain few or no Doubts about it, in the Minds of thoſe who are competent Judges of the Subject.

It ſeems therefore to be a Point of the greateſt Importance to make the beſt and ſpeedieſt Uſe of the ſeveral Lights we have received that is poſſible, in order to obtain a Share, at leaſt, in the vaſt Advantages that muſt neceſſarily accrue from the being able to extend our Navigation through any of theſe Paſſages. We have certainly, in this Reſpect, as great or greater Opportunities than any of our Neighbours; and there ſeems to be, at preſent, ſuch a Spirit in the trading Part of our People, as would diſpoſe them to be at any Expence that ſhould be neceſſary to carry Attempts of this Nature into Execution. There is, likewiſe, another Motive to excite our Induſtry, in this Reſpect, which is the Incertainty of our being able to ſecure any Advantages we might deſire from a Trade through *Ruſſia*, which we are told, of late, is become more and more precarious. But if we could once perfect this Deſign, of penetrating into the Eaſt by a new Paſſage, we ſhould not only be leſs dependent upon the Courteſy of that Government, but likewiſe have it in our Power to make it more dependent upon us, in caſe we ſhould be able to fix a conſiderable Settlement on any Iſland in thoſe Parts.

There is no doubt but abundance of Objections may be raiſed to a Scheme of this Nature, which at preſent would be very difficult to anſwer, becauſe we muſt proceed on both Sides, merely upon Suppoſition; but if the Diſcovery was once made, the Caſe would be altered, and the Advantages flowing from it would encourage us to take ſuch Meaſures, as by the Help of our great maritime Power, which can never be better employed than in ſupporting the Commerce of the Nation, might ſecure to us the Trade of theſe *New Indies*. If any thing delivered in this Performance, either now or at any Diſtance of Time, ſhall fortunately lead to promote or facilitate ſuch a Diſcovery, it would fully anſwer the Ends of its Author; and if not, he muſt be content with the Satiſfaction of having offered all that occurred to him upon a Subject, which he thought might be improved to the Benefit of his Country.

CHAP.

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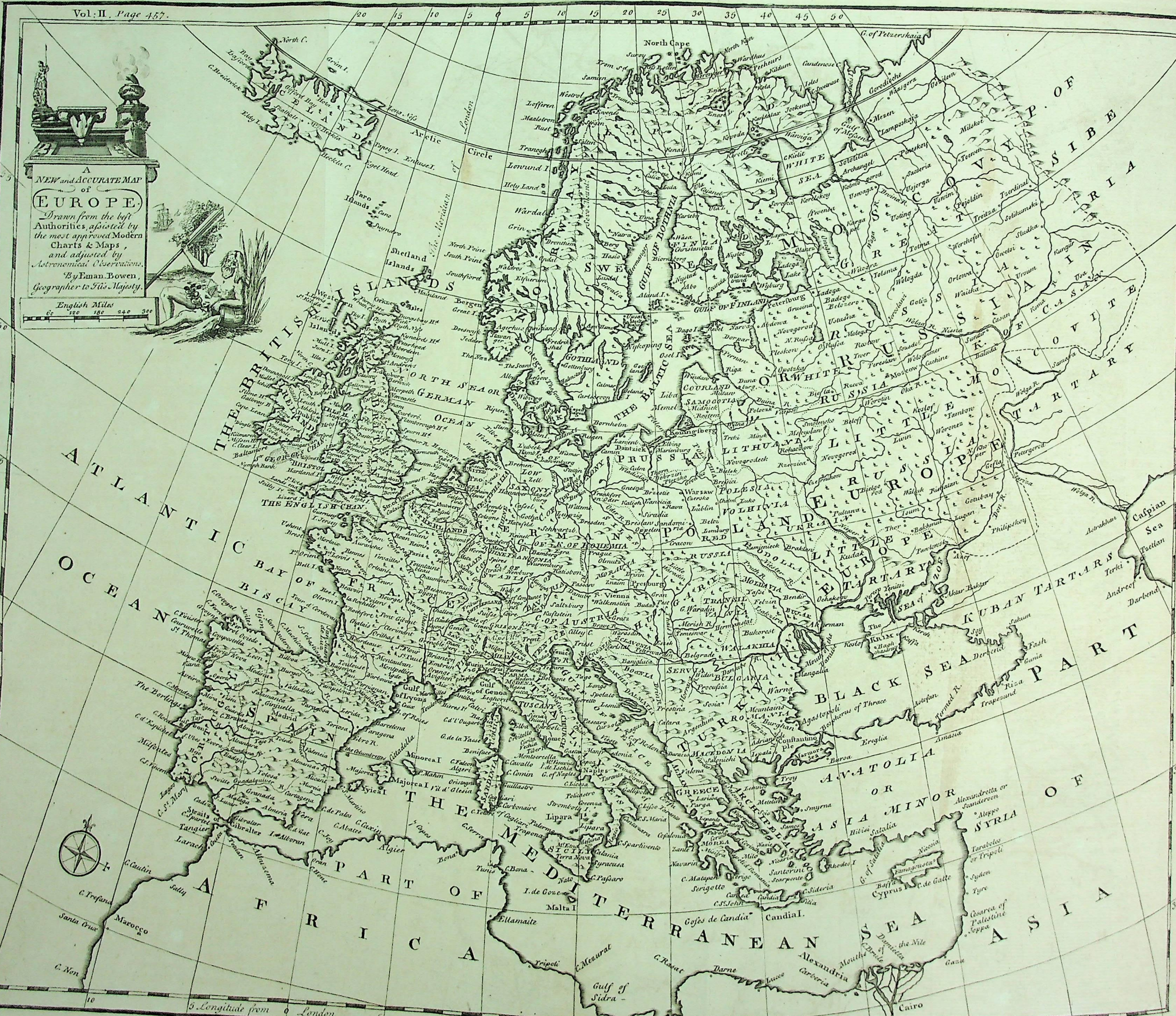

A NEW and ACCURATE MAP of EUROPE. Drawn from the best Authorities, assisted by the most approved Modern Charts & Maps, and adjusted by Astronomical Observations. By Eman. Bowen, Geographer to His Majesty.

English Miles
60 120 180 240 300
ICELAND
North Cape
Arctic Circle
Faro Islands
Shetland Islands
THE BRITISH ISLANDS
NORTH SEA OR GERMAN OCEAN
THE ENGLISH CHAN.
ATLANTIC OCEAN
BAY OF BISCAY
SPAIN
FRANCE
GERMANY
K. OF BOHEMIA
C. OF AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
TRANSILVANIA
WALAKHIA
SERVIA
BULGARIA
BOSNIA
DALMATIA
ITALY
TUSCANY
SICILY
SARDINIA
CORSICA
Majorca I.
Minorca I.
Malta I.
GREECE
MACEDONIA
ARCHIPELAGO
MOREA
Candia I.
TURKEY IN EUROPE
POLAND
PRUSSIA
LITHUANIA
VOLHINIA
PODOLIA
UKRAINE
LITTLE TARTARY
SEA OF AZOF
BLACK SEA
KUBAN TARTARS
CRIM
Constantinople
ANATOLIA OR ASIA MINOR
Cyprus I.
SYRIA
PART OF ASIA
Caspian Sea
Astrakhan
TARTARY
MOSCOVITE TARTARY
GREAT RUSSIA OR MOSCOVY
WHITE RUSSIA
LITTLE RUSSIA
K. OF CASAN
P. OF SIBERIA
Moscow
Petersburg
WHITE SEA
Archangel
LAPLAND
NORWAY
SWEDEN
FINLAND
GULF OF BOTHNIA
GULF OF FINLAND
THE BALTIC SEA
GOTHLAND
DENMARK
THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA
PART OF AFRICA
Straits of Gibralter
Gulf of Lyons
Gulf of Sidra
Alexandria
Cairo
Marocco
Tripoli
Tunis
Algier
Longitude from London

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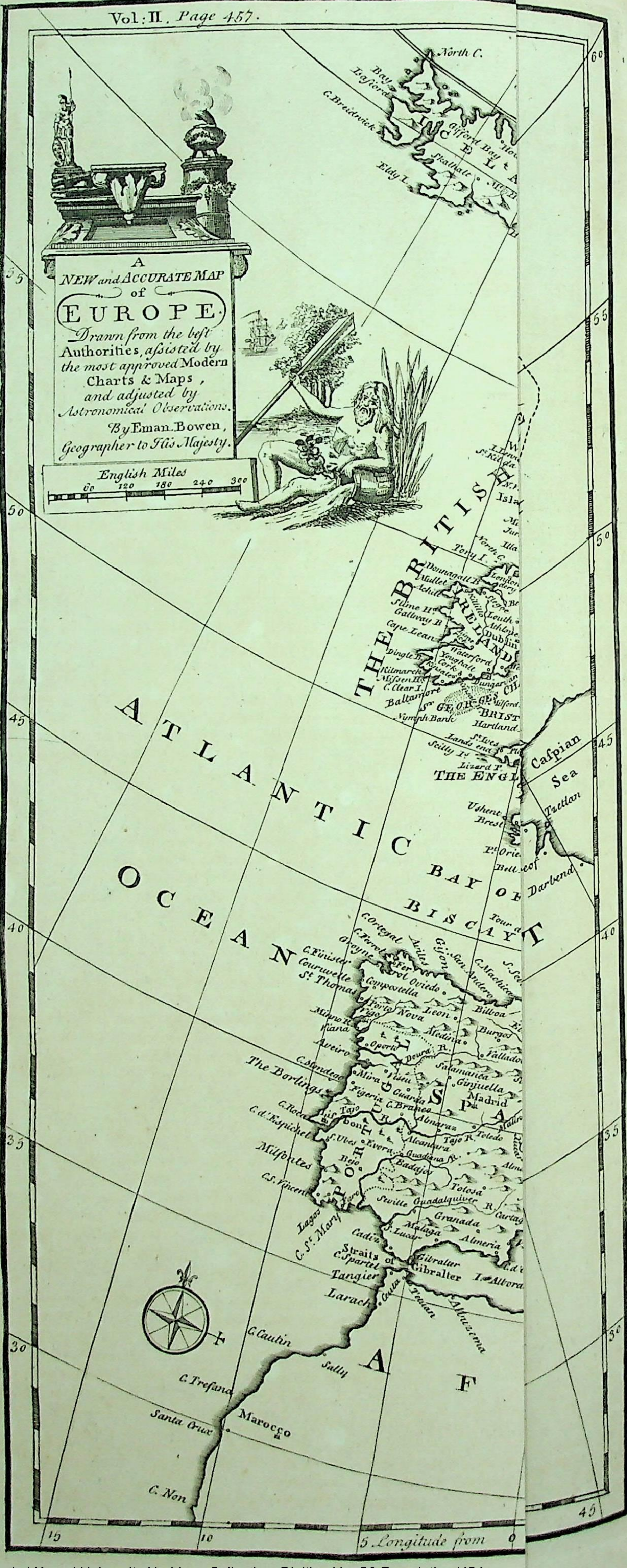
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English Miles
60 120 180 240 300
ATLANTIC OCEAN
THE BRITISH
IRELAND
BAY OF BISCAY
Caspian Sea
THE ENGL
PORTUGAL
SPA
A F
North C.
Eldy I.
Tory I.
Donnagall B.
Londonderry
Achill
Galway B.
Dublin
Athlone
Waterford
Cork
Kinsale
Dingle B.
C. Clear I.
Baltimore
St. George's Ch.
Bristol
Hartland
Nymph Bank
St. Ives
Lands end
Scilly Is.
Lizard P.
Ushent
Brest
Pt. Orient
Bellisle
Darbend
C. Ortegal
C. Finister
St. Thomas
Compostella
Oviedo
Leon
Bilboa
Burgos
Valladolid
Medina
Oporto
Salamanca
Madrid
Aveiro
C. Mondego
The Borlings
C. Roca
Lisbon
C. d'Espichel
St. Ubes
Alcantara
Toledo
Evora
Badajos
Milfontes
C. St. Vincent
Lagos
Seville
Guadalquiver R.
Granada
Malaga
Almeria
Cadiz
Straits of Gibralter
Tangier
Larach
Ceuta
Tetuan
Albuzema
C. Cautin
Sally
C. Trefana
Santa Crux
Marocco
C. Non
60
55
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5 Longitude from

CHAPTER II.

Comprehending ſuch VOYAGES and TRAVELS, as relate to the Northern Parts of *Europe*, and ſuch of the Countries adjacent, as are ſubject to any of the *European* Powers.

SECTION I.

A VOYAGE *to the* NORTH, *containing an Account of the* SEA COASTS *and* MINES *of* Norway, *the* Daniſh, Swediſh, *and* Muſcovite Laplands; Borandia, Siberia, Samojedia, Zembla, *and* Iceland; *with ſome very curious Remarks on the* Norwegians, Laplanders, Ruſſians, Poles, Circaſſians, Coſſacks, *and other Nations.*

Extracted from the Journal of a Gentleman employed by the North-Sea Company at *Copenhagen*; and from the Memoirs of a *French* Gentleman, who, after ſerving many Years in the Armies of *Ruſſia*, was at laſt baniſhed into *Siberia*.

1. *Introduction to this Section; an Account of the Author; the Occaſion of his Voyage; his Arrival in* Norway; *and Obſervations made by him on the Country; its Produce and Inhabitants.* 2. *His Arrival at* Berghen; *Journey from thence to the Copper and Silver Mines; with other curious and entertaining Particulars.* 3. *He proſecutes his Voyage from* Drontheim; *the Practice of the* Laplanders *in ſelling Winds; and the Nature of that Impoſture detected.* 4. *He is driven by a Storm on the Coaſt of* Daniſh Lapland; *an Account of that Country; its Produce and Inhabitants; their great Poverty, and their Willingneſs to exerciſe Hoſpitality ſo far as is in their Power.* 5. *The Author's Journey, from the* Daniſh *to the* Muſcovite Lapland; *a Deſcription of the Sledges, Rain Deer, and other Singularities of thoſe Parts.* 6. *The Proſecution of this Subject; an Account of the* Kilops, *the moſt brutal and Savage of any of the* Lapland *Nations; and the Author's Arrival at* Kola, *the Capital of the* Muſcovite Lapland. 7. *His Departure from* Kola, *and his Adventures in his Return; with a Deſcription of the Manner in which the* Laplanders *travel in their Snow-Shoes.* 8. *A Deſcription of the Coaſts of* Borandia; *the Manner of his firſt Interview with the People of that Country; the Motives which induced him to think of making a Journey from thence by Land, to* Siberia. 9. *The Manner in which he and his Companions travelled to* Vitzora; *their Reception by a* Ruſſian *Governor; Trade with him for Furs; and obtain his Leave and Aſſiſtance for continuing their intended Journey.* 10. *They proceed from thence to* Petzora, *trade by the Way, and are kindly treated by the Inhabitants.* 11. *The Author enters* Siberia; *Deſcription of that Country; Manner in which thoſe People live, who are exiled; his Conference with a* French *Gentleman baniſhed thither, who made him a Preſent of his Memoirs.* 12. *An Account from thoſe Memoirs, of the Manners, Cuſtoms, and Vices of the* Ruſſians; *their Religion, Contempt for Learning, and Obſtinacy in adhering to their own Sentiments.* 13. *The ſecret Hiſtory of a* Ruſſian *Princeſs, who, by a malicious Contrivance, was hindered from eſpouſing the* Czar Alexis, *Father to the late* Peter I. *and other Particulars.* 14. *Of the Dignity of the Patriarchs of* Ruſſia; *the ſtrange Superſtition of the People; the Manner of their puniſhing Heretics, and other things worthy of Notice.* 15. *Of the* Circaſſians *and* Coſſacs; *of the Laws of* Ruſſia; *of the* Ruſſian *Letters; Manner of writing; and Character of the then reigning Emperor.* 16. *The Riſe and Progreſs of the* Ruſſian *Empire; the Hiſtory of* John Baſilowitz; *and a remarkeable Story of the* Engliſh *Embaſſador, Sir* Jerom Bowes, *with other Events during his Reign.* 17. *The Derivation of the Word* Czar; *the Stile of the* Ruſſian *Emperor; and an Account of his Family and Court.* 18. *Of the* Czar's *Revenues; the Empreſs's Court; and the Manner in which Ladies of Quality travel in that Country.* 19. *Of the Nature of the Puniſhments in* Ruſſia; *Manner of inflicting them; with various other Particulars.* 20. *Some Account of the* Poles; *the ſtrange Diſeaſes to which they are ſubject; and a Compariſon between the* Poliſh *and* Ruſſian *Language.* 21. *The State of the* Ruſſian *Empire at that time; the principal Favourites and Miniſters; with ſome very curious and remarkable Paſſages relating to the Politics of that Court.* 22. *Of the Commodities and Trade of* Ruſſia; *and of the Methods uſed by the* Dutch *to recommend their own Wares, and prejudice thoſe of the* Engliſh. 23. *A large Deſcription of* Siberia; *the Manners of the Inhabitants, and thoſe who live amongſt them; with an Account of the Produce of that Country.* 24. *This Subject continued; and a Deſcription of the Fruits, ſtrange Beaſts, Birds, &c.* 25. *A ſhort Account of* Tartary, *and ſome of its Inhabitants, particularly the* Calmucs, *&c.* 26. *The Hiſtory of the Author's Travels reſumed; his Arrival at* Papinogorod; *and his Journey thence into* Samojeda; *Deſcription of that Country, and its Inhabitants.* 27. *He proſecutes his Travels to* Zembla; *Account of that Country, its Inhabitants, and the Fiſhery upon its Coaſts.* 28. *This Subject further proſecuted;*

cuted; the Fierceneſs of the Bears; ſtrange Birds there, and other Circumſtancies. 29. *Of the Author's Arrival in* Greenland; *an Account of the Herring Fiſhery, and his Voyage thence to* Iceland. 30. *A Deſcription of that Iſland, and its Inhabitants, with various other Particulars.* 31. *The Author's ſafe Return to* Copenhagen; *the Rarities preſented to the King of* Denmark; *and his Majeſty's Satisfaction with the Account given him of this Voyage.* 32. *The Author's Remarks, on the erroneous Accounts formerly publiſhed of the Countries through which he travelled.* 33. *Some farther Obſervations upon the Facts delivered in this Section.*

1. THE following Voyage, though written juſt a Century ago, has, notwithſtanding, a great Variety of Circumſtances, which ought effectually to recommend it: As for Inſtance, it relates to Countries that have been very little viſited ſince; and therefore what is written about them here may be conſidered as new, though penned at ſuch a Diſtance. The Author appears plainly to have been a Man of great Curioſity; one great End of his travelling being to inform himſelf; to which his principal Motive was the Deſire he had of informing others. He was remarkably fortunate in the Opportunities that offered themſelves for this Purpoſe; and he was no leſs diligent and aſſiduous in improving theſe Opportunities to the utmoſt. The Accounts he gives us are equally candid and circumſtantial; he ſhews much Willingneſs to acquaint us with what he ſaw, and with his Notions upon every Subject; he has added to his own Performance, that of another Perſon; who had the ſame Occaſions to make himſelf acquainted with the Interior of the Country, that he had to examine the Sea-Coaſt; he tells us very fairly how he came by theſe Memoirs; ſo that we have all the Reaſon in the World to be ſatisfied with his Conduct, and to think ourſelves obliged for the Care and Circumſpection he has uſed. There is no doubt, that many things will occur in the Peruſal of this Section, which critical Readers may ſee juſt Cauſe to diſlike; but we cannot expect that Men, who, like our Author, are driven all the World over for a Subſiſtence, ſhould have the ſame Qualifications with thoſe who ſpend all their Days at Eaſe, and in the quiet Purſuit of Learning, in a regular Method. We muſt take Mankind as they are, and judge of their Writings according to their Capacities; making ſuch Allowances as are reaſonable, and as we ſhould expect if we were in their Places. Theſe Travels follow very naturally, and may ſerve as a proper Supplement, in many reſpects, to what is laid down in the former Chapter; and having thus ſhewn the Nature of this Performance, and why we give it a Place here, let us proceed next in the Words of our Author:

About the Year 1647, *Frederick* the IIId King of *Denmark*, being deſirous to advance and increaſe the Trade of his Kingdom, eſtabliſhed two Companies of Merchants at *Copenhagen*, his capital City; the one was an *Iceland* Company, and the other was a Company of Traders to the North. The latter, having obſerved that the Trade to *Norway* was very beneficial, obliged all that were concerned in that Company to ſign a Petition to his *Daniſh* Majeſty, in *February* 1653, repreſenting that a great Profit would ariſe to his Subjects, by encouraging that Trade more, and enabling them to enlarge it, by making further Diſcoveries to the North, whence ſeveral rich Merchandizes might be imported. His Majeſty liſtened to their Requeſt, granted it, and allowed them to extend their Commerce as far Northward as they ſhould think fit; upon which they fitted out ſeverale Ships, to make a Voyage to *Norway* and the North. It happened I was at *Copenhagen* when one of the Northern Fleets was outward bound; and underſtanding the King had commanded the Undertakers of this Enterprize to make all poſſible Diſcoveries of the Countries to which they came, and to bring back the moſt rare Curioſities that they could find, I took a Fancy to the Voyage; one of the Company being my Friend, I went to him, deſired him to recommend me to his Partners, as a Perſon qualified to go Surgeon of one of the Ships. It was not difficult for him to ſucceed in procuring that Employment; the Company entertained me, and I entered into their Service.

All our Merchandize, Proviſions, and Neceſſaries, being aboard, we embarked in the Beginning of *April*, 1670, weighed Anchor, and ſet ſail with two Ships in our Company, and fair Wind and Weather, from the Port of *Copenhagen*. We had a freſh Gale at South-eaſt, till we arrived at *Kat-Gat*, a Streight which divides the *German* Ocean from the *Baltic Sea*. It is a very dangerous Paſſage, full of Rocks, and is forty Leagues in Length, from *Elſenore* to *Schagerhort*. When we came over againſt *Mailſtrand*, a little City and Sea-Port about thirty Leagues from *Copenhagen*, the Wind turned Northward, drove us back ten Leagues, and forced us to make ſome Port on the Coaſt. The firſt we came at we put into, and that was *Schalot*, a Creek; where we caſt Anchor, and rode ſafe under the Caſtle, which looked rather like a Heap of Ruins, than a Place that was inhabited: 'Tis famous only for its Promontory; well known to Mariners who uſe the *Baltic*. We ſtaid there near three Days; on the fourth, an Hour before Sun-riſing, the Wind ſhifted again to the Eaſt, ſo we weighed Anchor to proceed on our Voyage. We had not been at Sea above four Hours before the Wind varied to the North-eaſt, and blew ſo ſtiff a Gale, that we were obliged to leave the Coaſt of *Gottenburgh*, on which Shore we were then, and to ſteer directly over to that of *Jutland*. The Sands being frequent and ſhallow in thoſe Parts, we were obliged to be almoſt always caſting our Lead. As we ſailed along this Coaſt, a Guſt of Wind drove us to a Place where there were but three Fathom and a half Water; and we ſhould certainly have run aground, had not our Pilot, who was a very dexterous Seaman, immediately tacked; when, getting the Advantage of the Wind, in half an Hour we ſounded, and had fifteen Fathom Water.

By the Help of a ſide Wind, we held on our Way for near two Leagues from the Sands; here we found ourſelves in an Eddy, where we were as ſteady as if we had been at an Anchor. We preſently furled all our Sails except the Top-Maſt, endeavouring to keep ourſelves out of it; but all our Endeavours would have been in vain, had not the Wind varied a Point or two to the South-eaſt. We then looſed our Sails, got through it, the Wind blowing freſh, and ſailed towards the Coaſt of *Babus*; we continued our Courſe ſeveral Days and Nights; and about eight o'Clock one Morning diſcovered the Promontory of *Chriſtian Sand*, in *Norway*. The Village that gives Name to the Mountain is ſmall, the Port, however, is commodious. We did not ſtay long there, for the next Day we arrived at *Chriſtania*, or *Obſlo*, the capital City of one of the five Governments of that Kingdom. As ſoon as we were got into Port, we went aſhore to deliver our Letters to the Company's Agents; who received us with Joy, for the good News we brought them, of the King's giving Encouragement to the *Norway* Company, to make their Diſcoveries, and enlarge their Trade in the North. One of theſe Agents hearing I was a Stranger, and had been recommended to his Principals, by one of their Society, and not the leaſt conſiderable Merchant among them, was very civil to me, ſhewed me all that was worth ſeeing, and told me all that was worth knowing, relating to the Place at which we arrived. He alſo commanded a Servant of his, who ſpoke *French* tolerably well, to go with me into the Country three or four Leagues, that I might ſee more of it. Early next Morning we took Horſe, and rode to *Wiſby*, a large Village, nine Miles from *Chriſtiana*, which ſtands between two Mountains; the Houſes are very low, and of Wood, without Iron-work or Windows. There is a ſort of Lattice on the Top of the Houſes, to admit the Light, and they are all covered with Turf.

The Reader is deſired to take notice, that this is not

Wiſby, the capital City of *Gothland*, where the Marine Laws were made, which are ſo famous. The *Norwegian* Peaſants are ſimple, and very hoſpitable: They are all Fiſhermen; their only Trade is in Herrings, Cod, Stock-fiſh, and other Fiſh freſh ſalted or dried: They are Slaves to the Nobility. The *Norwegian* Women are very handſome, though they are red-haired; they love Strangers, and are good Houſewives: They ſpin, and make Cloth for their Families; they look after the Cattle, of which their are great Numbers of all Kinds, as in *France*. There is alſo plenty of Game in this Country; as Elks, Stags, Roebucks, Boars, Goats, Rabbets, Hares; all Sorts of wild Fowl, Otters, Linxes, and wild Cats of divers Colours. All *Norway* is a mountainous Country, and conſequently Bread-Corn will not grow there in any Quantity; but the Inhabitants are abundantly ſupplied from other Parts, by their Commerce, and what they want of Corn-Ground, is made up in Paſtures and Woods. As we were returning towards *Chriſtiana*, we met a Gentleman of the Neighbourhood, followed by two Servants and ſome Dogs, going a Hunting: He knew the Man that was with me, and aſked him if he would divert himſelf with an Elk-Chace, bidding him aſk the ſame Queſtion of me. We had Time enough upon our Hands, ſo we readily accepted his Propoſal. After we had rid about a Mile we met his Huntſman, ſome other of his Servants, and ten or twelve Boors, who led us three Miles further, to a Wood full of Buſhes; when we came to the Entrance of it we alighted, and gave our Horſes to one of his Domeſtics.

The Chace had been prepared the Day before by the Gentleman's Vaſſals, or rather Subjects; for the Nobility of *Norway* are Sovereigns under the King, in their own Territories. We were ſcarce forty Yards within the Wood, before we perceived an Elk running towards us; but before we could fire a Piece he dropped. I aſked of my Guide and Interpreter, how the Beaſt came to fall down dead in that manner? He anſwered, It was the Nature of that Animal to be taken thus with a kind of Falling-Sickneſs, which often ſeized him in the Beginning of the Chace. I did not ſtand to reflect whether his Fears might not contribute to his Diſtemper. I ſeemed to doubt the Truth of it, and thought it to be an Accident which did not often happen; my Guide aſſured me to the contrary, adding, that from this Diſeaſe they were called *Elks*, or miſerable Creatures. The Beaſt is as big as a great Horſe, his Body like a Stag's, but larger and longer; his Legs are long, his Feet broad and cloven, his Antlers great, hairy, and broad, like a Fallow-Deer's, but not ſo well furniſhed with Horns as a Stag. Had he not dropped as he did, I believe it would have been hard for us to have brought him down, as I perceived ſoon after when we had rouzed another, which we chaſed above two Hours before we could catch him; and we had never caught him had he not dropped down dead, as the other did. He killed three of the Gentleman's beſt Dogs with his Forefeet; the Gentleman was extremely ſorry for the Loſs of them, and would hunt no more. He ſent to a Farm of his a Mile off for a Cart, to carry the Game we had caught to his Caſtle; we accompanied him thither at his Requeſt: It was built like the reſt in that Country, after an odd manner; ſtood four Miles from *Wiſby*, and he treated us there very ſplendidly.

My Guide telling the Lord of the Caſtle that I was a *Frenchman*, employed by the *Norway* Company at *Copenhagen*, he made me a Preſent of the twohinder Left-legs of the two Elks we had killed, or rather ſeen die of themſelves; giving me to underſtand it was no ſmall Favour, thoſe Legs being an infallible Cure of the Falling-Sickneſs. I replied by my Interpreter, I wondered, ſince the Foot of an Elk had ſo much Virtue in it, why the Animal that carried it always about with him, did not cure himſelf. The Gentleman reflecting on what I had ſaid, laughed out aloud, and told me I was in the right; for that he had given it to ſeveral Perſons afflicted with the ſame Diſeaſe, and it did not cure them; wherefore he had a long time ſuſpected that the pretended Virtue of the Elks Foot was a vulgar Miſtake; of which, he ſaid, he did no more doubt than that the eating of the Fleſh of the Beaſt infected People with their Diſtemper. He gave me many Inſtances of the bad Effects eating Elks Fleſh had on Human Bodies. I anſwered, the Nails of theſe unhappy Perſons would be a more ſovereign Cure in an Epilepſy, than thoſe of an Elk.

The Gentleman obliged us to lodge with him that Night; and early the next Morning, after we had made a good Breakfaſt, we took our Leaves of him and returned to *Chriſtiana*, where we ſtaid four or five Days; and having received further Orders and Directions from the Company's Agents there, embarked, weighed Anchor, and made the beſt of our Way for *Berghen*. We had a freſh Gale at North-eaſt till we arrived at *Strafanger*, where we were on a ſudden becalmed; and having nothing elſe to employ ourſelves about, we fell all to fiſhing; there is abundance of all Sorts of Fiſh on the Coaſts of *Norway*; we got ſuch Store by our Fiſhing that we were forced to keep *Lent* a long while after, being unwilling to throw the Fiſh overboard: The Calm laſted five Days. On the 6th, towards Evening, it blew up a briſk Gale South-eaſt, by which in a few Days we reached the Port whither we were bound to unload the Merchandize we had taken in for that Place.

2. We anchored in the Port of *Berghen*, one of the fineſt in *Europe*; and when our Cargo was unladen, I went to ſee the City, which is as large as *Abbeville*; it is divided into the high and low Town; the one built on Rocks, the other on the Sea-Shore. It is full of Merchants, and was formerly an Archbiſhopric, which was aboliſhed upon the Reformation of Religion in the King of *Denmark*'s Territories. The Epiſcopal Palace was given to the *Hanſe-Towns*, the principal of which are *Hamburgh*, *Lubeck*, and *Bremen*, for the antient Merchants to live; and the greateſt Part of the Houſes were turned into Warehouſes, from whence they are called *Cloiſters*, and the Merchants *Monks*, though they do not wear a Cowl, nor obſerve the Rules of any Order. This Place, in the Popiſh Times, belonged to a Convent adjoining to the Epiſcopal Palace; and when it was granted to the Merchants, trading to and from the *Hanſe-Towns*, the King obliged them to keep up the Form of a religious Houſe ſo far, that no-body ſhould marry who lived in it.

He that will have a Wife muſt leave the Cloiſter, and live elſewhere; however, he may deal and correſpond with his Brethren, whoſe principal Trade is in Herrings, Cod, and Stock-fiſh, Commodities that go off in great Quantities, in *Muſcovy*, *Sweden*, *Poland*, *Denmark*, *Germany*, *Holland*, and other Parts of *Europe*. As ſoon as we had diſcharged the Cargo we had to deliver at *Berghen*, we ſet ſail for *Drontheim* with a South-Weſterly Wind; we were to unlade above half our Lading there; it was conſigned to the Surveyor of the Copper and Silver Mines, for the Uſe of the Workmen and Miners whom he employed in that Service, and conſiſted in a Supply of Bread and Bear. We were ſcarce half Way thither when the Wind blew ſo ſtiff, that in fifteen or ſixteen Hours we found ourſelves over-againſt *Stora*, where it ceaſed on a ſudden, and the Storm was followed by a Calm, the moſt uneaſy Thing in the World to Mariners. We were obliged to return to our former Diverſions, and ſo ſpend the Time, that we could not tell how to paſs away better, in fiſhing. We took ſuch a prodigious Quantity of Klip Fiſh, that we were forced to ſalt and barrel a great Part of them up; and they were very ſerviceable to us in the Courſe of our Voyage. Klip Fiſh are a Sort of Cod, bigger than thoſe of *Newfoundland*; they never leave the Rocks, lying always upon or under them, from whence they are called *Klip Fiſh* in *Germany*, which ſignifies *Rock Fiſh*.

The Calm held ſeveral Days, and then the Wind blew a freſh Gale Weſt-ſouth-weſt, which was fair for us, and in three Days we arrived at *Drontheim*. When we came aſhore we delivered our Letters to the Surveyor-General of the Mines. By theſe Letters the Surveyor was ordered to unlade our Ships as faſt as poſſible, that we might purſue our Voyage. He told us he could not go to work until the Officers who were to receive the Proviſions came back from the Mines, whither they were gone about thoſe Works: We preſſed him to haſten our Diſcharge, and he offered to ſend a Meſſenger on purpoſe to fetch an Officer to unlade us. I deſired Leave of our Maſter to accompany the Meſſenger, which having obtained, the next Day by times in the Morning the Surveyor's Man and I mounted on Horſeback, and departed for the Mines. When we came to *Steckby* we were obliged to put up, the Night coming on, and we had a long Wood to go through, wherein were Boars, Wolves, and Linxes, in great Numbers, very dangerous for Paſſengers to encounter.

The Road was ſo rocky, that we could reach no farther in a whole Day, though that Town was ſcarce eighteen Miles from *Drontheim*. The next Morning, before Sun-riſe, we left *Steckby*, and proceeded towards the Mines, where we arrived juſt as it was Night, and lodged at the Forges; we were entertained by the People who had the Charge of the Mines, according to the Cuſtom of the Country, with Tobacco, Beer, and Brandy.

Our Hoſt believed we would not think ourſelves welcome unleſs we were made drunk, and therefore plied us ſo faſt with Bumpers that there was no avoiding a Debauch. I met with an Officer there who ſpoke *French*, having waited upon a *Norwegian* Gentleman in *France*. I told him that I came out of Curioſity to ſee the Mines, and I begged him to let me enter them; he promiſed I ſhould do it on the Morrow; and after two Hours drinking and talking, he permitted me to go to Bed. The next Day as ſoon as it was light, the Meſſenger that came with me to the Mines poſted for *Drontheim* with one of the Officers who were to receive the Proviſions we brought for the Mines. I was left at the Houſe of a Maſter-Miner, who went to *Drontheim* the next Day, and I was glad of the Opportunity of his Company, by which Means I had a whole Day to ſpare to viſit the Mines and Miners. When I roſe I went to the Officer that ſpoke *French*, and he had provided a Breakfaſt for me and the Maſter Miner, my Landlord, whom he deſired to ſhew me the Way down into the Mines, that I might ſee them work. When we had breakfaſted, and it is obſervable that the *Norwegians* are much given to Drinking and Good-cheer, we went fifty or ſixty Paces from the Forges, which are on a high Mountain; there we came to the Mouth of one of the Mines; over which was erected a Machine like a Crane, turned by two Men in two great Wheels, to draw up Pieces of the Mine, as Maſons draw Free-ſtones out of the Quarries near *Paris*, or Potters their Clay, in many Places in *France*. The Maſter-Miner and I were put into a wooden Tub, and our Hands into Iron Bands faſtened to it: Thus we deſcended into the Mine above fifty Fathom deep.

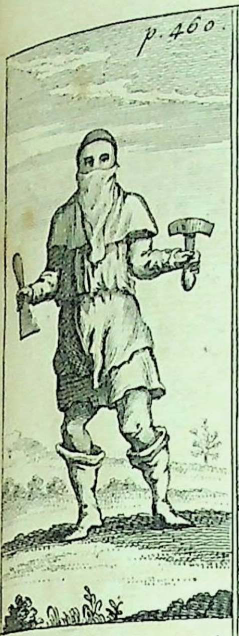
When we got to the Bottom of it, it looked like *Pluto*'s Kingdom; there was nothing to be ſeen all round but frightful Caverns, flaming Fire, and Creatures more like Devils than Men: They were cloathed with black leathern Jackets, each having a Camail, ſuch as our Prieſts in *France* wear in Winter; a Piece of patched Leather about the Head of each Miner, a little above the Noſe, and hangs down to his Breaſt like a Muffler; they have all Aprons of the ſame. The Miners are conſtantly and differently employed; ſome uſe the Chiſſel, ſome the Hatchet, to knock out the Copper Stones; others look after the Veins of Copper, or ſound, to try if they can diſcover any Water-place, which ſometimes is hid in the Bowels of the Earth, and breaking forth on a ſudden drowns them all that don't take care. The Maſter-Miner who deſcended with me into the Mine, perceiving I was afraid, and that I was taken with a cold Fit, rung a Bell; which was to give Notice to the People above, that they ſhould draw us up again; accordingly we got up with the ſame Eaſe that we went down. I was very glad to breathe the ſerene Air, free from the unwholſome Damps of theſe ſubterranean Dwellings. I had ſeen enough to ſatiſfy my Curioſity, and could I with Safety have ſtaid longer, there was little more to be ſeen.

We went to the Officer's Houſe, who could diſcourſe with me in my own Language, and were entertained very handſomely and generouſly by him; his travelling having rendered him more polite than his Bretheren at the Mines; after Dinner he ordered Horſes to be got ready, to ride to the Silver Mines. The Officer, the Maſter-Miner, and myſelf, went thither; where we waited on the Surveyor of the Works, who made us heartily welcome, preſented each of us with a great Glaſs full of Brandy, drank off one of the ſame Size to ſhew us the Way, and then gave us the ſecond Courſe in the *Norwegian* Collation, Beer and Tobacco. When we had ſmoaked and drank as much as the Surveyor thought fit, he conducted us to the Forges, a Mile off his Houſe; at which, as in the Copper Mines, there are ſeveral Workmen always employed. Some break the Stones, others waſh them, others melt and refine the Ore, and others coin the Money for the King of *Denmark*. Theſe Mines turn both very well to account, and are not the leaſt Part of his *Daniſh* Majeſty's Revenue. From the Forges we went to the Mine that was next to it; 'twas on a high Mountain; the Maſter Miner and I were let down, as at his own Mine, and I ſaw nothing there which I had not ſeen before in that of Copper. Theſe Miners are cloathed like the others; and their Work and Habitations ſeemed much the ſame. They, both the one and the other, leave off working in the Mines in the Winter; Spring, Summer, and Autumn, being the only Time of their Buſineſs. They work in the Spring and Fall three Hours in the Forenoon, and three after Dinner; in the Summer, four Hours in the Morning, and five after Dinner; the reſt of their Time they ſpend in Mirth and Feaſting. They delight much in dancing, and have their Hautboys, Violins, and other Inſtruments, for that Purpoſe.

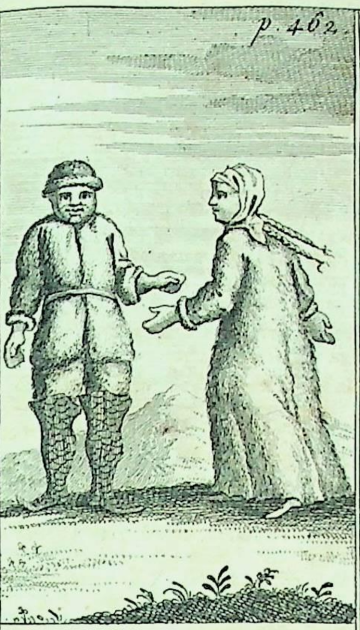
When I returned to the Copper Forges, I found the People at their Sports, and was not a little pleaſed to ſee the Variety of their Humours and Paſtimes. For three Months, in the dead of the Winter, they don't work at all; nevertheleſs they receive their full Pay, at the rate of a Crown a Day. Having ſeen all that was to be ſeen at the Silver Mines, the Surveyor took us home with him, gave us ſuch another Collation as we had before, and a good Supper after it. When we had all of us ſufficiently refreſhed ourſelves, we went to Bed; and the next Morning the Maſter Miner and I took our Leaves of the Surveyor, who had provided a plentiful Breakfaſt againſt we got up; and rode from his Houſe to the Copper Mines, where I thanked the Officer, that ſpoke *French*, for his Civilities; and the Maſter-Miner, and myſelf, ſet out for *Drontheim*. Night overtook us by the Time we were got eight Miles from the Mines, which put us on a Neceſſity of taking up our Quarters at a Boor's Houſe, in the next Village we came to. The Peaſant knew my Companion, and thought himſelf highly honoured in ſuch a Gueſt: He therefore did his utmoſt to treat us to our liking.

He provided two Pheaſants, and a Hare he had lately killed, for our Supper; that Game being free for the Boors in thoſe Parts, they are ſeldom unfurniſhed with it. Before we ſat down he brought us his Tobacco, Beer, and Brandy, made of Malt Spirits. After Supper we all of us fell to ſmoaking like Dragons, and drank Brandy and Beer almoſt all Night, which was the moſt beaſtly one I ever ſaw in my Life; but 'tis the Cuſtom of the Country; and both the Gentry and People, by Converſation and Merriment, mean only Lewdneſs and Debauchery. The Peaſant perceiving the Maſter Miner was quite drunk, was ſo rejoiced at it, that he ſoon became in as bad a Condition himſelf. We had all now had our Doſe, and ſome clean Straw was brought and ſpread in the Middle of the Chamber, to ſerve us inſtead of Beds. We lay down together and ſlept till Morning. The Sun was up before the Maſter-Miner and the Boor waked. I ordered, as well as I could, our Horſes to be got ready; reſolving, if poſſible, to get to *Drontheim* that Day. I made the Boor's Sons gueſs at my meaning by Signs. Our Horſes were ſaddled, and then I waked my Companion and his Hoſt. They were no ſooner up, than we muſt again fall to eating and drinking; that Work done we mounted on Horſeback, took our Leaves of the Peaſant, and made the beſt of our Way to *Drontheim*; where we arrived before it was dark.

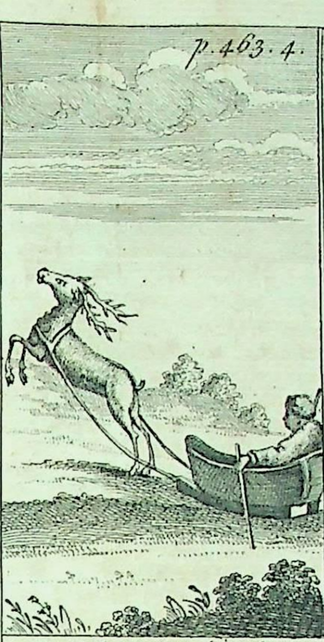
3. Two Days after I thus returned to *Drontheim*, all our Cargo was unladen, and we had taken aboard the Pro-



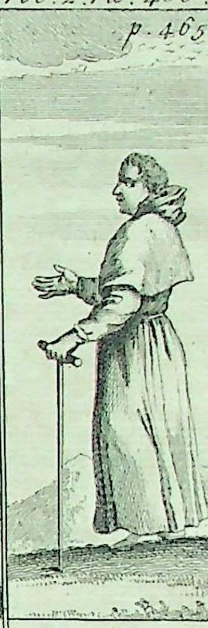
A Miner of Droatheim



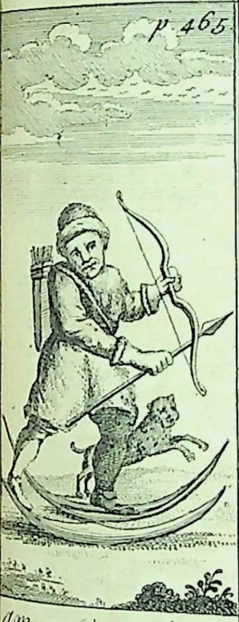
Danish Laplanders



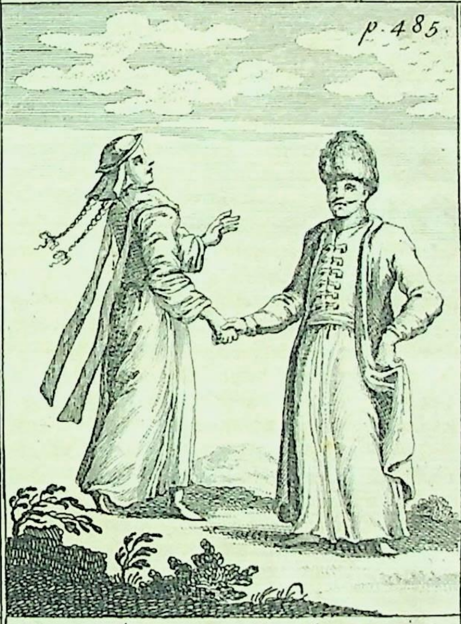
A Kilop Laplander drawn by a Rain Deer



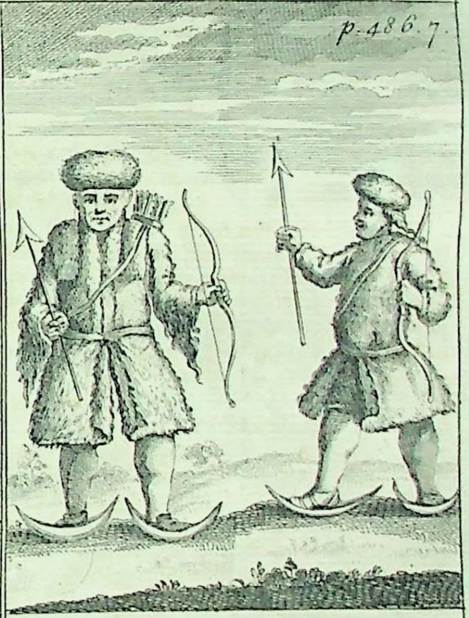
St. Nicholas ye Deacon



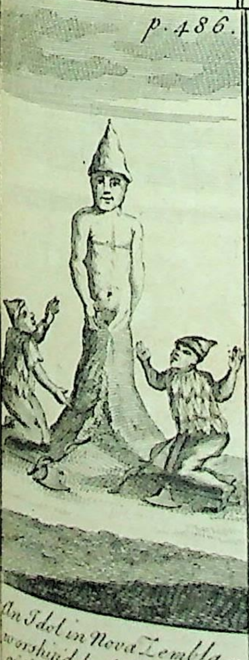
A Muscovite Laplander Hunting



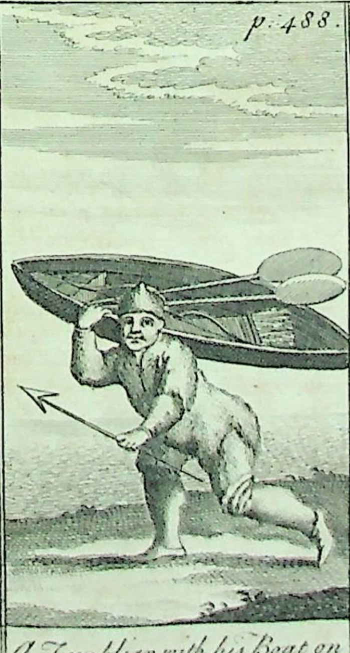
A Gentleman & Gentlewoman of Papinogorod



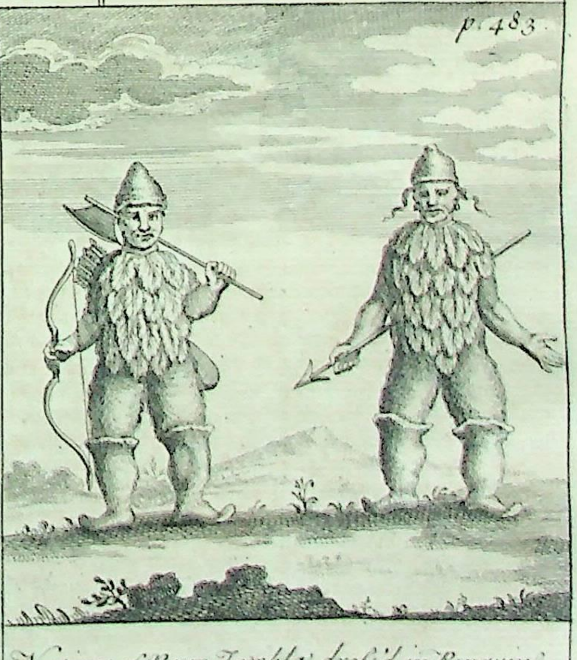
A Samoied Man & Woman



An Idol in Nova Zembla worship'd by ye Inhabitants of that Country.



A Zemblian with his Boat on his Back & Spear in his hand



Natives of Nova Zembla dreſs'd in Penguin Skins.

Proviſions the Surveyor General of the Mines was to furniſh us with; the Wind ſetting fair we embarked, and a few Hours after ſet ſail to continue our Voyage to the North. The Wind held fair ſeveral Days, till we were under the Arctic Polar Circle, where we were becalmed on the Coaſt; ſome of our Crew were ſo ſuperſtitious, as to give Credit to the common Tradition, that the Inhabitants of the Country, under that Circle, as well as thoſe that dwell on the Coaſts of *Finland*, are Wind Merchants, and can raiſe and ſell a Gale when they pleaſe: Certain it is they are almoſt all of them Wizards, and, as Children of the Prince of the Air, pretend to diſpoſe of the Wind as their proper Merchandize. We were impatient of lying on that Coaſt, and that Impatience put us upon trying any Means, however improbable, to ſucceed, rather than ſtay there any longer. The Captain of our Ship was for trading with the Wizards; accordingly he ſent his Long boat aſhore with his Mate, to traffic with theſe Traders, and purchaſe a Wind of them, the Commodity we ſtood moſt in need on at that Time. Though I believed nothing of the Matter, I had the Curioſity to accompany him. We landed at the firſt Village we came to, applied ourſelves to the chief Necromancer, told him what we wanted, and aſked if he could furniſh us with a Wind that would laſt till we arrived at *Mourmanſkincre*. The Mate could ſpeak enough of his Language to underſtand him, and to be underſtood. The Conjurer gravely replied, No; his Power extended no farther than the Promontory of *Rouxella*. We had a great Way thither, and if we reached ſo far, we thought we might eaſily make the North Cape; ſo the Mate deſired him to go aboard with us, and drive a Bargain with our Captain. The Wizard conſented to the Propoſal, took three of his Comrades with him, leapt into a ſmall Fiſher-Boat, and went aboard our Ship.

Our Captain and he ſoon agreed upon the Price; he was to give him ten Kronen, about five or ſix and thirty Shillings in *Engliſh* Money, and a Pound of Tobacco; for which the Wizard was to furniſh a fair Wind as far as *Rouxella*. When the Bargain was made, and the Money paid, the Wizard tied a Woollen Rag to the Corner of our Foremaſt; 'twas about half a Yard long and a Nail broad; it had three Knots; and this was all our Captain had for his ten Kronen. When the Necromancer had done this Feat, he returned in his Boat to the Village with his Companions. The Captain of our Ship, according to the Inſtructions he had received from the Conjurer, untied the firſt Knot in the Rag, and immediately the Wind ſtruck up Weſt-ſouth-weſt a briſk Gale, and drove us, and the other Ship in our Company, thirty Leagues beyond *Maelſtroom*, without giving our Captain any Occaſſion to untie the ſecond Knot; and this Accident confirmed our Crew in their diabolical Superſtition. This *Maelſtroom* is the greateſt Eddy or Whirlpool in the *Norwegian* Sea; in which many Veſſels that approached too near it have periſhed. For this Reaſon, ſuch as are acquainted with thoſe Coaſts, keep out to Sea eight or ten Leagues to avoid it, and the Rocks that lie off *Oſtraford*, oppoſite to *Maelſtroom*. There are ſeveral ſuch Eddies, five, ſix, and ſeven Leagues from the Shore; and this Danger obliges all Pilots to keep far out to Sea.

The Wind beginning to ſhift a little, and inclining to the North, our Captain untied the ſecond Knot, which kept it in its old Corner, till we made the Promontory of *Rouxella*. When we had paſſed it, the Needle of our Compaſs turned back half an Inch, by which ſome fancied that there was Loadſtone in the Mountain; and had not we had a very dextrous Pilot, we ſhould certainly have loſt our Courſe. Knowing that the other Ships in our Company were in the ſame Trouble as ourſelves, our Pilot ſhut up his Compaſs, and hung out a Flag on his Foremaſt Top, as a Signal for the other Ships to follow us; he was very well acquainted with the Coaſts and Courſe, having often piloted the *Dutch* Ships trading that Way; in which he had no other Helps than his Sea Charts. We were two Days and two Nights in this dangerous Condition, having nothing to depend on but the Pilot's Experience. On the third Day, being far diſtant from the Mountains of *Rouxella*, the Needle of our Compaſs pointed again to its Object; from whence we concluded that we drew near the North Cape; where the Wind failing us, our Captain untied the third Knot, at which there aroſe a North-north-eaſt Wind, ſo furious, that we thought the Heavens would fall down upon us; and that God would juſtly puniſh us with Deſtruction, for dealing with infernal Artiſts, and not truſting to his Providence; we could bear no ſail during the Tempeſt; our Ship drove at the Mercy of the Winds and Waves, which toſt us ſo violently, that we expected every Minute to go to the Bottom.

The Reader will, doubtleſs, wonder at theſe ſtrange and extraordinary Paſſages, in regard to the Witchcraft of theſe Northern People; and therefore it is neceſſary to inform him, that their Witchcraft, like moſt other ſorts of Witchcraft, is downright Fraud and Impoſture. They have in theſe Countries many deep Caverns, and ſubterreaneous Grottoes; by their Obſervations in which, they are able to judge of the Variation of Winds for ſeveral Days to come; and they take care to ſtart ſo many Difficulties in making their Bargains, that they are ſure never to come to a Concluſion till the Signs appear, by which they are morally certain that thoſe Winds will blow which they pretend to ſell. In the preſent Caſe it is evident, that the pretended Conjurer made a very prudent Obſervation before he made his Bargain with the Captain; which was, that his Power extended only to a certain Cape; but the Truth of the Matter was, that he very well knew, by Experience, that Cape was the Limit of his Obſervations, and that he ſhould riſque his Credit if he preſumed to exceed his Bounds. The People in *Iceland* are the moſt famous of any for carrying on this Trade of ſelling of Winds; and they ſell them with leſs Limitation, becauſe living in an Iſland, they are more able to judge of the Variation of Winds in all the Seas rounda bout them; and therefore it is from the Accounts given by ſenſible People who have lived in that Iſland, and who have taken Pains to enquire into this Matter, that we are able to give ſo good an Account of it. This Sort of Knowledge is kept in the Hands of a few People, who thereby awe their Neighbours, and cheat Foreigners. All this may be very naturally expected in a barbarous Country, where Learning and Religion are at a very low Ebb; and I believe it will be generally found, that in Proportion as People are little acquainted with the Word and Works of God, they are moſt apt to pretend to converſe with the Devil; and this ſeems to be confirmed by the declining of ſuch Notions, wherever the Lights of Reaſon and the Goſpel prevail.

4. Though we were not above ten or twelve Leagues from the Coaſt of the *Daniſh Lapland*, yet we did not imagine the Storm would throw us upon it; we feared the Winds ſo much, we did not think of Land; and when we thought ourſelves ſecure from the Rocks, we were almoſt driven upon one, by a ſudden Blaſt thirty Leagues above the Cape, and four from Shore; every Man fell upon his Knees, and begged Pardon of God, believing we ſhould, at that very Inſtant, be daſhed to pieces; I confeſs I never was ſo afraid in my Life, and I believe all the Crew was in as great Conſternation as myſelf; when by good Luck, or rather through divine Mercy, the extraordinary Force and Agitation of the Waves prevented our ſtriking, and drove us a Muſket Shot from the Rock. Our Ship having received no Damage, only by a little ſlight Touch on the Skirt of the Rock, ſprung a Leak a little above the Keel, and two or three Planks were ſomewhat bulged in the Bottom of the Ship's Hold; the Water entered, and we were obliged to pump inceſſantly. On the fourth Day the Wind fell; however, we could not heartily rejoice for our Safety, having loſt Sight of our Friends in the other Veſſels, who, we feared, were at the Bottom by this Time. Notwithſtanding we continued our Courſe with a favourable Gale; we had ſeveral Feet Water in our Hold, and had much ado to live. The Wind was pretty fair, wherefore we reſolved to make the firſt Port, to ſtop our Leaks and refit.

But the Coaſts of the Sea, all over the North, are ſo full of Rocks, that the Ports and Creeks are inacceſſible; and we were forced to ſail on two Days longer, before we could find any Place for our Purpoſe; the next Morning we arrived on the Coaſt of *Wardhus*, the chief Town of the Government of *Daniſh Lapland*; where the King of *Denmark* has a Caſtle garriſoned by two Companies of Soldiers. Here is alſo a Collector to receive the Duties impoſed on Foreigners trading to, or from, *Archangel*, on the *White Sea*; this Officer ſuffered us to paſs without examining us, believing, by our Colours and the Guns we gave him to ſalute the Caſtle, that our Ship was a *Dane*. We then ſailed to *Varanger*, and caſt Anchor half a League from the Town. We preſently put our Long-boat by our Ship's Side, to carry ſome of the Crew aſhore; no body aboard had any Knowledge of the Place, which ſeemed to us to be very wild; wherefore our Captain took eight Men well armed with him, and reſolved to ſee whether there was any Conveniencies for us there to refit, or any Trade to be driven with the Inhabitants. In leſs than half an Hour we arrived at *Varanger*, a populous Town, and a convenient Port; but ſo little frequented, that the Inhabitants were amazed to ſee us. Whether their Aſtoniſhment proceeded from the Sight of Men armed, or of Men leſs barbarous than themſelves, I ſhall not pretend to determine.

But our Captain addreſſed himſelf to thoſe who ſeemed to have moſt Authority among them; demanding if they would permit us to enter their Port, and aſſiſt us to refit our Ship, and were diſpoſed to trade with us. They gave him little Encouragement for Traffic; but underſtanding we were Merchants, who were going to catch *Walrus*, they offered us their Aſſiſtance to refit our Ship, which we thankfully received. Having obſerved the Commodiouſneſs of the Harbour, we returned to our Ship, weighed Anchor, and entered the Port; where we diſcharged our Ballaſt, which was only Sand, to ſerve for Counterpoiſe to ſome Bundles of Tobacco, and Bales of Cloth, which were the Cargo we were to trade with. When the Ship was unladen, we ſecured the Goods in a Houſe near the Shore, that was locked up; and the Captain and Supercargo ordered a Watch to be ſet over it. To gain the Good-will of the Inhabitants of the Country, who, as I have ſaid, were *Laplanders*, ſubject to the King of *Denmark*, we gave them ſome Rolls of Tobacco, a more grateful Preſent to them than Gold. To retaliate our Kindneſs, they treated us with the beſt they had, ſome dry Fiſh, that ſerves inſtead of Bread; ſome Veniſon, not very extraordinary, being the Fleſh of Rain-Deer, an Animal that is often to be met with in *Lapland*, *Borandia*, *Samojedia* and *Siberia*. They brought us Bears Fleſh, and the Fleſh of other wild Beaſts which we had no Knowledge of; alſo freſh Fiſh, boiled without Salt; the Sauce to this Diſh, is either the Oil of other Fiſh, or a ſour Drink; which is one of the beſt of Liquors in their Opinion. We could none of us bear them Company at this Repaſt; their Ragouts were not to our liking, ſo we ſent for Proviſions from aboard, and endeavoured to be as merry as we could in ſuch a Place, and among ſuch Barbarians. Salt Beef and Biſket was our choiceſt Diſh; we offered ſome of it to the *Laplanders*, but when they had taſted it, our Food ſeemed as unſavoury to them, as theirs did to us.

Our Beer was more acceptable; they drank of it freely, and were pleaſed with the Brandy we gave them; yet their own ſour Drink they had more Goût to, than either our Brandy or Beer. It conſiſts of an Infuſion of Juniper Berries, and of a Grain like Lentils, the Name of which I have forgot: It grows there in abundance, as Juniper Trees do. I never ſaw any thing ſo like that Grain as Lentils; and our Botaniſts have made no mention of it in any of our Diſcoveries; they make Brandy with the ſame Grain; it has the like Effect as ours that is drawn off of Grapes; and their common Drink is as ſtrong as our common Wine, and ſerves for the ſame Uſes.

Theſe *Laplanders* are *Lutherans*, and have Prieſts to inſtruct them; they are ſaid, however, to deal ſtill with the Devil; almoſt all of them are Wizards, and ſo ſuperſtitious, that if they meet a Beaſt in the Way, whoſe Appearance is reckoned ominous, they return home, and do not ſtir out all that Day; and when they go a fiſhing, if they have but one Fiſh in the firſt Draught, they take it for an ill Augury, pack up their Nets, and leave Work for that Time. Both Men and Women are low of Stature, yet ſtrong and active: Their Faces broad and flat; they are flat-noſed; their Complexions ſwarthy, like the reſt of the People in the North; their Eyes are like a Hog's, and their Eyelids are almoſt all like thoſe that are bleareyed. They are ſtupid, brutal, and laſcivious, eſpecially the Women, who proſtitute themſelves to all Comers, if they can do it unknown to their Huſbands. The Womens Cloaths are made either of coarſe Cloth or Rain-Deer Skins, with the Hair outward; their Stockings are of the ſame; their Shoes of Fiſh-Skins, the Scales hanging on them; they have no Straps, and reſemble ſomewhat the wooden Shoes worn by the Poor in *France*. Their Coifs are like the *Norwegian* Womens; their Hair is twiſted up in two Rolls, one hangs down on one Shoulder, and the other on t'other. They wear a Cornet Coif on their Heads, made of coarſe Canvas; all their Linnen is of the ſame Fineneſs; ſome of them wear a Sort of Ruff eight Fingers broad, which they tie behind as the Gypſies do in other Countries.

As for the Men they are cloathed in Rain-Deer Skins, the Hair outwards; their Coats are ſhort and come down but half Way to their Thighs, like a Waiſtcoat; their Breeches and Stockings are of the ſame, the Hair always outwards. On theſe they wear a Sort of Boots, made of Fiſh-Skin, which though rough and coarſe, are ſtitched ſo neatly, that the Seams are not to be ſeen. Some of them wear no Boots at all, but Stockings, like the Women, their Bonnets are round like a Seaman's Cap; they are always made of Rain-Deer Skins, the Hair ſtill outwards, and edged with a Band of a Fox's Skin, ſome white, ſome grey. Theſe *Laplanders* Lodgings are like thoſe of the Boors about *Chriſtiana*.

They have no Light but what enters by a Hole at the Top of the Hut. They don't make uſe of Beds to lie on, any more than the other *Laplanders*, the *Borandians*, *Samojedians*, *Siberians*, *Zemblians*, *Iſlanders*, or the reſt of the Northern Nations. The whole Family of a *Daniſh Laplander*, Maſter, Miſtreſs, Children, Men and Maids, lie down altogether very familiarly, on Bear-Skins ſpread in the Middle of the Room; and when they riſe in the Morning the Bear-Skins are taken up, and laid by till they are wanted again at Night. In each Houſe there is a great black Cat, which is highly valued by them; the *Laplanders* talk to it as if it was a reaſonable Creature; every Night they go out of their Huts with it, to conſult it alone; and it will follow like a Dog, either in Fiſhing or Hunting. Though this Animal looks like a Cat in Appearance, yet if I had a little more Superſtition, I ſhould have believed it to have been a familiar Spirit.

5. We unloaded our Ship the next Day after our Arrival at *Varanger*; the Inhabitants helped us to haul her aſhore, that we might refit her; the Captain found her much more damaged than he expected, and deſired the *Laplanders* to provide him Timber proper for the Carpenter's uſe; they readily anſwered his Requeſt, and went to a neighbouring Mountain to fell ſome for him. Our Supercargo, as he found the Ship would be ſome time refitting, thought it would not be improper to take a Journey into the Country, to try there whether any Trade could be had; to this Purpoſe he picked out myſelf and two more of the Ship's Company, to accompany him. Early the next Morning, being the 12th of *May*, we ſet out for our Journey, taking with us ſome Tobacco and Cloth to trade with; and Biſket, and ſalt Beef, and Pork, to eat. We deſired three of the Inhabitants of *Varanger* to go along with us, as well to ſhew us the Way, as to help to carry our Goods and Proviſions to the next Village. The *Laplanders* were willing enough to ſerve us; ſo we followed them through the Woods, and Mountains, and Valleys, without meeting any living Creature, till towards four o'Clock in the Afternoon, when we perceived two white Bears of an exceſſive Bigneſs, coming, as we Strangers thought, to devour us.

Our Guides perceiving the Terror we were in, bid us not be afraid, for we need only have our Arms ready to defend ourſelves, in caſe they approached too near us; which we did, cocking and priming our Pieces, and hacking our Flints. Whether or no the Bears were frightened at the Fire we ſtruck out of the Flints, or with the Smell of the Powder, I ſhall not undertake to decide; but they preſently fled away from us ſo faſt, that in a Moment they were out of Sight. An Hour before Night, as we deſcended a Mountain, we eſpied a dozen Houſes at the Foot of it; they were at a great Diſtance one from another. Somewhat farther off we ſaw a Herd of Beaſts like Stags, which our Guides told us were Rain-Deer. When we came to the Village, the *Laplanders* that travelled with us conducted us to a Hut, where being very weary, we were glad to reſt ourſelves, for we had a long Journey in a very bad Way, with Luggage on our Backs, that incumbered and tired us. We gave a Piece of a Roll of Tobacco to our Hoſt, who received it with Joy, aſſuring us he had not had ſo valuable a Preſent in nine Months before; to make us Amends he brought out his Brandy Bottle, ſome Rain-Deers Fleſh dreſſed without ſalting, and ſome dried Fiſh; which we gave to our Guides, and ſupped ourſelves with the Victuals we had brought with us; when we had made an End of our Supper we went to our Repoſe, and lay down on Bears-Skins, after the Country Faſhion. When we roſe in the Morning, we aſked our Hoſt if he had nothing to barter with us for Cloth and Tobacco; he replied he had ſome Wolf, Fox, and white Squirrel Skins, and his Neighbours had ſome of the ſame Commodities, and would gladly truck with us. We bid him, by our Interpreters, bring out his Skins; and if he had any Cloaths made of Rain-Deer Skins, we would deal with him for four Suits, which we wanted to keep us warm; accordingly, he brought forth his Merchandize, and we bought it of him, paying him Part in Tobacco, and Part in Cloth. We trucked alſo with his Neighbours, as long as they had any thing to offer us worthy our buying; and when we had drained that Market, we prayed the Hoſt to lend us ſome Rain-Deers, to carry us farther up the Country; and he was very willing to help us to the utmoſt of his Power.

The Tobacco we gave him having gained his Friendſhip intirely, he took down a Horn that hung up in his Cottage, went out and blew it to call the Rain-Deer to him. Immediately fourteen or fifteen of thoſe Animals came running towards the Hut: He put ſix of them to ſix Sledges, each Sledge made ſomewhat like a Gondola; it was placed on four Poſts joined together by other croſs Poſts nailed to them, and this was faſtened to two Poſts two Feet longer than the Sledge that run on the Ground. We put our Merchandize in one Sledge, each of us had one for himſelf, and the other we aſſigned to one of our Guides, who underſtood the Language of the *Muſcovite Laplander*, and that of the *Kilops*; him we took with us; the other two Inhabitants of *Varanger* we diſmiſſed, having paid them in Tobacco for their Trouble. We put on our *Lapland* Cloaths, and lay down each of us in his Sledge covered with a Bear-Skin; at the Back of the Sledge there were two Girts made of Rain-Deer Skin Leather, in which we thruſt our Arms up to the Shoulders, to keep ourſelves ſteady; and we had each a Stick with a ſtrong Ferrel to it, to ſupport the Sledge if it ſhould be likely to overturn by Stumps of Trees, or Stones lying in the Way. When we were ready to ſet out, our Hoſt muttered ſome Words in the Ear of the Rain Deer; I enquired afterwards of our Guide, what he meant by it. He ſaid, it was to tell them whither they ſhould carry us; ſo ſilly are theſe barbarous Wretches.

Cuſtom had made that muttering ſo familiar to the Beaſts that drew us, that when our Hoſt had gone to all ſix, they ran away with us ſo ſwiftly, that we thought we were drawn by ſo many Devils; they continued their Pace over Hills and Dales, without keeping the beaten Road all Day long, till ſeven o'Clock in the Evening, when they brought us to a large Village ſituate between two Mountains, near a great Lake; here they ſtopped ſhort at the fourth Houſe in the Place, which though large was very ordinary and clowniſh. They beat the Ground with their Feet; and the Man hearing a Noiſe, came forth with his Servants, to take us out of the Sledges, and unharneſs our Cattle, and one of them brought out a little Juniper Can, full of Brandy, of which he gave each of us a Brimmer, out of a Bowl made alſo of Juniper Wood. This was to put us in heart; for our Guide had informed him that we were afraid of our Lives, being drawn away ſo ſwiftly by theſe Animals in Sledges, which was a Way of Travelling we were not uſed to. The Horns of theſe Beaſts, both Male and Female, are ſomewhat higher than the Stag's, but more crooked, hairy, and not ſo well furniſhed with Sprouts as a Stag's are; they are of the ſame Colour as Stags, and not much bigger; their Feet are cloven like theirs, but as big as Hoofs of Oxen: They live upon Moſs, which grows every where in thoſe Parts: The Females yield Milk like Cows; the *Laplanders* make Butter and Cheeſe of it, and both are very good. Their Harneſs is a Collar of Rain-Deer Leather, by which they are faſtened to the two Shafts of the Sledge, not much unlike our Horſes to a Coach; thus they draw it with incredible Speed directly to the Place whither you are to go, without being guided by him who rides in it.

6. When we got out of our Sledges, we were conducted by our Hoſt into his Hut, which, like the reſt of the Cottages in the Place, was very little, low, and covered with the Bark of Trees, the Light entering in at a Hole at the Top of it, as we have elſewhere obſerved. Theſe *Laplanders* were cloathed in a manner little differing from thoſe of *Varanger*; their Apparel was of the ſame Make and Materials, but longer; their Coats were of Rain-Deer Skins, the Hair turned outwards. The Women were dreſſed in Garments of the ſame Skin, their Hair twiſted as the Women of *Varanger*; on their Heads they wore a high Bonnet inſtead of a Coif, which was made of the ſame Skins with their Cloaths, and the Hair ſtill outwards.

We gave our Hoſt an End of Tobacco about two Inches long, with which he was mightily pleaſed, and thanked us heartily for it: We gave an End not quite ſo long to each of the Inhabitants of the Place, to make them our Friends, and to ſecure us the better againſt any Attempts of theſe *Barbarians*, who were more brutal than thoſe we laſt dealt with. We ſupped on the Proviſions we brought with us, and our Guides eat ſome of our Hoſt's ſalt Fiſh, and freſh Rain-Deer Veniſon. We aſked him how many Leagues we had come that Day? he anſwered, about thirty, and that we were in the Territories of *Mourmanſkeimore*. The Inhabitants talked a Language quite different from thoſe at *Varanger*; but our Guide had been often in the Country, and underſtood them, and was underſtood by them. After Supper we lay down on Bear Skins to take our Reſt, as we had done the Night before, having firſt bartered away our *Lapland* Habits with our Hoſt for others that were longer, and a Parcel of Tobacco for a hundred grey Squirrels, a Fur very much eſteemed in *Denmark*, and other Parts of *Europe*. The next Day, being the 14th of *May*, we told our Hoſt, by our Interpreter, that we deſired him to provide Sledges to go farther into the Country; this he did accordingly. The other Inhabitants of the Village came to help us forward in our Journey, bringing Brandy with them to drink to us at parting. They put ſix Rain-Deer to ſix Sledges, in one of them we ſtowed our Merchandize and Proviſions; and our Hoſt having performed the Ceremony of muttering in the Ears of the Beaſts, we were drawn along with the ſame Swiftneſs as before. We came to no Place that was inhabited till about three o'Clock in the Afternoon, and then we arrived at a Village, wherein were eight Cottages, built on a high Mountain by a Wood-ſide, where our Cattle ſtopped; by which we gueſſed that there were ſome Inhabitants; but ſeeing nobody come to us, we baited our Rain-Deer with Moſs, which grew there plentifully, and refreſhed ourſelves with ſalt Beef and Biſket; our Interpreter regaled himſelf upon ſome Rain-Deer Veniſon, and dried Fiſh: All of us making merry with the Brandy we had given us in the laſt Village. We ſtaid in this Place near an Hour, and then our Guide, who underſtood the Way of making Rain-Deers go as well as the other *Laplanders* did, endeavoured to get them forward; but he had much-ado to effect it.

This Place being their uſual Stage, he was forced to perform ſeveral myſterious and ridiculous Ceremonies; he went alone into the Wood, and coming out again, muttered ſome Words in the Ears of theſe Animals, which whether they underſtood or not, had little Effect upon them, for they did not ſtir. He did ſo four or five times, and then he began to proceed, though not ſo ſwiftly as before. We aſked him the Reaſon why we ſaw no body in the Village? He replied, 'twas a very common thing in that Country; theſe Dwellings belong to the *Kilops*, a Nation of *Laplanders* more wild than the others; who often change their Habitations; fly from Strangers, and ſubſiſt only by what they get by hunting. Continuing our Journey, we deſcended the Mountain; about nine o'Clock we ſpied four *Kilops* not far off, returning from hunting, in Sledges drawn by Rain-Deer; to avoid us they turned aſide out of our Way, and took another. In leſs than half an Hour we entered a long Wood, in which we heard terrible howlings and cryings, but ſaw nothing; when we got through the Wood, we had another Mountain to deſcend, at the Bottom of which we perceived there was a Village; our Cattle carried us to it, and ſtopped and beat the Ground at what Cottage they pleaſed. Our uſual Preſent of Tobacco, purchaſed us our uſual Welcome of the Maſter of the Houſe; we made a good Supper on our Proviſions, as our Guide did on his, and down we lay, according to Cuſtom, to take our Reſt on Bear-Skins; which, though homely, was a welcome Repoſe to our wearied Limbs, ſufficiently jogged in the Sledges.

In the Morning we roſe as early as the Hoſt, and demanded of our Interpreter how many Leagues we had travelled the Day before? He replied, at leaſt forty. But he muſt be out, either in his reckoning, or the Leagues muſt not be ſo long as they are generally calculated to be; for forty of their Leagues make one hundred and ſixty of thoſe between *Paris* and *Lyons*; each *Lapland* League being as long as a *German*: Let a Man be ever ſo well mounted, he cannot ride on Horſe-back above five a Day. Our Guide alſo informed us that we were in the *Muſcovite Lapland*; we bid him aſk the Inhabitants of the Village, whom we had preſented with Tobacco, and been treated by them with Brandy, whether they had any Commodities to truck with us for Tobacco and Cloth? We had ſome Rolls of the former left, and moſt of our Bales of the latter. Tobacco being by much the better Commodity, the *Laplanders* replied, they had ſome Furs; we aſked to ſee them, and they brought them out to ſhew us: They were white Fox-Skins, black and grey Fox-Skins, grey Squirrels, and Sables though not of ſo fine a Colour as thoſe of *Borandia*, *Samojedia*, and *Siberia*. Theſe Merchandizes were what we wanted, ſo we ſoon ſtruck a Bargain, and paid the Inhabitants in Cloth and Tobacco. When our Market was over, we fell to drinking with them; they were not quite ſo brutal as the other *Laplanders* we had dealt with, but they were very rude and indecent in Converſation, doing things before us that Decency will not permit me to name. It growing late, and we deſigning to proceed yet further, to diſpoſe of the few Rolls of Tobacco we had left; we prayed our Hoſt, by our Interpreter, to furniſh us with Sledges and freſh Rain-Deer.

He harneſſed and prepared as many as we had Occaſion for; we mounted our Sledges and departed at one o'Clock; we ran with our former Speed, through different and unbeaten Paths, till ſix, without meeting with one Habitation; half an Hour after we were deſcending a Hill, we ſpied two Huts under a Rock, a little out of the Way; our Guide told us that two *Kilops* lived there, who, as ſoon as they ſaw us, fled with their Wives and Families. We travelled two Hours longer, and came to no Houſe, or any thing like a Dwelling Place; till at laſt we diſcovered a great Village on the Side of a Hill, and on the Banks of a River; here we arrived at eleven o'Clock at Night, and went to the Cottage for a Lodging, whither our Cattle were pleaſed to conduct us. It happened to be in the Middle of the Village; the Maſter of the Houſe received us very kindly, made a Fire in the Middle of his Hut, gave us Brandy, dried Fiſh, and Rain-Deer Veniſon ſalted, at which we were a little ſurpriſed, having not met with any in our Travels hitherto, who made uſe of Salt as theſe did; he alſo gave us Milk and ſalt Butter, very good, and it would have been better, had we had any Bread to eat with it; but we had conſumed our Store, and ſhould have been very much put to it, had we not met with ſo good Entertainment here. Our Guide would not taſte a Bit of ſalt Meat, ſo he was obliged to live on the freſh Veniſon he brought with him. Having ſupped plentifully, we lay down on Bear-Skins, and ſlept till Morning; we roſe early the next Day, took our Leave of our Hoſt, and there being no trading in that Village, paſſed the River to proceed to *Kola*, on the other Side of that Stream, which is as big as the *Seine*.

We came to another Village, and went to the moſt likely Houſe to hire Sledges and Rain-Deer, to carry us to *Kola*, for we could get none in the Place where we lodged; here we furniſhed ourſelves, and about Noon arrived at *Kola*, a little City, or rather a great Town; built among Mountains, on the Side of a River, near ten Leagues from the North Sea. To the Eaſt of it are large Foreſts and Deſarts; *Mourmanſkeimore* to the Weſt, and prodigious high Mountains to the South. The Houſes are very low, built of Wood, and handſomely covered with Fiſh-bones: On the Top of them the Light enters in at a Hole, as in other Places in *Lapland*. There is but one Street in it, and that no fine one. The Inhabitants, like the other *Muſcovites*, are ſevere, ſuſpicious, and ſo jealous, that they lock up their Wives, that Strangers may not ſee them. Our Hoſt took all our Cloth off our Hands, for which he gave us, in Exchange, two Lynx-Skins, ſpotted like a Leopard's, three Dozen of white Fox-Skins, half a Dozen of *Wyetfras*, an Animal which ſomewhat reſembles a Badger, but its Hair is longer and rougher; his Colour is a blackiſh red, and his Tail like a Fox's; we had alſo ſome Ermines of him. There were ſome Ells of Cloth above what we were to give him, for which he obliged himſelf to ſupply us with Proviſions for our Journey back to *Varanger*, and to help us to Sledges, as far as the River we lately paſſed; he treated us as well as he could, and we ſupped, and ſlept as we had done elſewhere.

7. The next Morning, as we were preparing to depart, our Hoſt, having provided Biſket, Ginger, Bread, and Rain-Deer Veniſon ſalted and dried, as alſo a Barrel of Brandy, to ſerve us in our Return; before we had quite packed up our Furs in Bales, his Neighbours underſtanding we had ſtill a few Rolls of Tobacco left, came to aſk if we would truck them for more Skins? We replied, with all our Hearts; ſo they fetched them, being a Dozen of Ermines, two white Foxes-Skins, and four Lynxes, not ſo good as thoſe we had of our Hoſt. The Bargain made, we took their Furs, and gave them the Reſidue of our Cargo of Tobacco, except ſeven or eight Rolls, which we reſerved for our own Uſe, and to pay for the Hire of our Rain-Deer and Sledges in our Way back. Tobacco is more neceſſary than Money, to thoſe who travel in that wild and unfrequented Country; the *Laplanders* valuing an End of Tobacco as long as ones Finger, more than a Crown Piece. The Kings of *Denmark* and *Sweden*, and the Czar of *Muſcovy*, have laid ſeveral Taxes upon it; and there are Officers ſettled in their frontier Towns, to collect their Impoſts upon it. When we had done our Buſineſs, according to the Cuſtom of the Place, we muſt drink with our Chapman; our Entertainment every where was Brandy, and it held till two o'Clock in the Afternoon. We then intreated our Hoſt to get the Sledges, we had hired of him, ready; which he did in one Minute. We ſtored our Merchandize in one of them, got into the other ourſelves, drank a full Glaſs at parting with our Dealers, bid them adieu, and ſet out for the Village on the other Side of the River we

paſſed the Day before. Our Rain-Deer, to our Apprehenſion, ran faſter than any we had hired in our Journey to *Kola*.

We arrived at the firſt Village by ſeven o'Clock; we paſſed the River and came to the ſecond; where we put up at our old Landlord's, who received us with Joy, hoping that we had ſtill an End of Tobacco left, to give him for the Hire of ſome Rain-Deer and Sledges. He preſently gave each of us a Cup of Brandy, for they toſs it off there as we do Beer in the South; and aſked us if we would have the Rain-Deer put to the Sledges? We replied, we had rather reſt ourſelves till Morning, for there was no Village beſides in ſome ſcores of Miles from this. He filled out another Cup, which when we had drank, he offered to take us with him to the Funeral of one of his Neighbours, who had been dead about four Hours. We were very glad of the Opportunity of ſeeing their Ceremonies on this Occaſion, hearing much talk of them. We accompanied him to the Houſe of the Deceaſed; we ſaw his Corpſe taken from the Bear-Skins, on which it lay, and removed by ſix of his moſt intimate Friends, into a wooden Coffin, being firſt wrapped in Linnen, his Face and Hands only bare. In one Hand they put a Purſe with Money in it, to pay the Fee of the Porter at Paradiſe Gate, and in the other a Paſs, ſigned by a Prieſt, to be given to *St. Peter*, as a Certificate that he was a good Chriſtian, and ought to be admitted into Heaven. They alſo put into his Coffin a Barrel of Brandy, ſome dried Fiſh, and Rain-Deer Veniſon, to ſerve him to eat and drink on the Road, having a long Journey to take. They then lighted ſome Fir-Tree Roots, piled up to a convenient Diſtance from the Coffin, wept and howled plentiſully, making ſtrange Geſtures, and turning themſelves in a thouſand different Poſtures, to ſhew the Extravagance of their real and affected Sorrow. When this Noiſe and Geſticulation was over, they marched round the Corpſe ſeveral times in Proceſſion, aſking the dead Man why he died? if he was angry with his Wife? if he wanted any thing? if he was hungry or a dry? if he had loſt his Game at hunting? or had bad Luck at fiſhing? or had not Cloaths to his Mind? Then they fell a howling again, and ſtamping like ſo many Madmen. One of their Prieſts, who aſſiſted at the Solemnity, every now and then ſprinkled ſome Holy-water on the Corpſe; the ſame did the Mourners. I forgot to inform the Reader, that having an extraordinary Veneration for *St. Nicholas*, they, as well as the *Muſcovites*, are *Nicholatians* by Religion, and always place the Image of that Saint near the Bodies of their Dead, inſtead of a Crucifix. This Saint is not the ſame for whom we celebrate a Feſtival in *France*; but *Nicholas*, one of the ſeven Deacons, mentioned in the *Acts of the Apoſtles*. His Image is dreſſed up by them in a Pilgrim's Habit, in a long Robe, with a Camail hanging down over his Shoulders, a broad Girdle about his Middle, and a Staff in his Hand.

The Noiſe they made having almoſt deafened us, and being weary with looking on their barbarous Rites, we left the Cottage of the Defunct, to go to our Hoſt's, where we found only our Hoſtreſs at Home. She had made a Sally out of the Place to which her Huſband had confined her, on our Arrival; as ſoon as ſhe ſaw us, ſuppoſing he was with us, ſhe would have retired to her Corner; but our Guide and Interpreter, giving her to underſtand the good Man was at the Funeral, and would not come home preſently, ſhe ſtayed and viewed us all round, one after another, looked very kindly on us, drew her Seat near us, and ſhewed us a Bonnet of her own embroidering, done very curiouſly with Tinſel Threads. The Work of all the *Muſcovite Laplanders*, is to make Cloaths for themſelves, their Huſbands, and their Children. The Edges of them are all embroidered with Tinſel Thread. They draw them between their Teeth, as fine as the Wire-drawers do their Gold and Silver Threads with their drawing Iron. They work with a good Grace. They are handſome, well ſhaped, and good humoured, and, if they did not very well know how jealous their Huſbands are of them, and fear their Reſentments, they would willingly Proſtitute themſelves to Strangers; for which Reaſon they are ſhut up when any come among them. While our Hoſt was buſied about the Funeral, we pulled out ſome of our Proviſions, and gave our Landlady ſome of every Sort to taſte. She liked all, but eſpecially the Gingerbread; ſhe drank two or three Glaſſes of Brandy, and then withdrew to the Place of Confinement, fearing her Huſband might ſurprize her with us, which would have raiſed his Jealouſy to ſuch a Degree, that he certainly would have uſed her very indifferently. When our Landlord came home, he obliged us to take a Cup or two more with him, to ſmoak a Pipe, and ſup together; for us he brought forth the Victuals he had in the Houſe, which he thought would be moſt grateful to our Taſte, as Salt-butter, which we eat with Bread; our Guide would not touch it, and for him the Man of the Houſe got ſome Bear's Fleſh, which he broiled on the Coals, and ſome dried Fiſh.

All the Cottages in this Village were like the others we had obſerved elſewhere, built of Wood, and covered with Turf; but they were handſomer and better ſet off than any we had ſeen in the Country; being both within and without adorned with Works of Fiſh-bones, curiouſly inlaid. We made as good a Supper as we could, and, according to Cuſtom, lay down with the Family on Bears-Skins; our Landlady only was miſſing, and ſhe was to do Penance by herſelf in a Corner, till we were gone. In the Morning early, on the 18th of *May*, our Hoſt provided our Rain-Deer and Sledges. We ſtowed our Bales, ſeated ourſelves, and away went our Rain-Deer, running as faſt as thoſe we hired at *Kola*. In two Hours they carried us ſix Leagues, where, paſſing between two Hills, we eſpied a *Laplander* going a Hunting; he came up towards us, ſliding on the Snow, which, in that Country, does not melt till Midſummer, as faſt as we rid in our Sledges; his Skates were made of the Bark of a certain Tree; they were ſeven Feet and a half long, only four Fingers broad, and flat at Bottom; he was dreſſed like the other *Laplanders*, in a Garment made of Rain-Deer-Skin, with the Hair outwards; his Cap, his Gloves, his Coat, his Breeches, and Boots, were embroidered with Tinſel; he had a Girt of Rain-Deer-Skin about his Waiſt, a Dart in one Hand, and a Bow in the other, a large Quiver hanging at his Back, and a black Cat followed him. He kept Company with us about half a League; we parted at the Foot of the next Mountain; we deſcended it, and he ſtruck off another Way. We continued our Rout three Days, ſtopping at the ſame Places where we lay in our Journey outwards; and meeting with no new Adventures, our Entertainment, our way of Travelling, and every thing was the ſame as before.

About nine o'Clock at Night, on the 21ſt of *May*, we arrived ſafe at *Varanger*, having received many Services, and no Wrong, throughout the whole Country of *Daniſh Lapland*; for though the Inhabitants are poor and ignorant, they are, however, faithful, and given to no Manner of Theft or Fraud. Their Honeſty is their greateſt, if not their only, Virtue. They are ſo dextrous in throwing a Dart, that they will put a Crown Piece, thirty Paces off, and ſtrike through it; as for the Bow, they are ſo ſkilful, that they will ſhoot their Game in what Part they pleaſe. They don't much care to go to the Wars; and whenever the Kings of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, or the *Czar* of *Muſcovy*, have occaſion for Soldiers, for fear of being forced to ſerve, they leave their Dwellings, and fly to the Woods. They have plenty of Fowl, as Geeſe, Ducks, Pullets, and other Sorts. They feed them not with Juniper Berries, but with another Grain of which they make their Drink; and when that is ſcarce, or for Variety, they give them Fiſh to eat. The greateſt Part of the wild Beaſts in *Lapland* are white, as Bears, Wolves, Foxes, and Hares; and even their Crows are ſo white, that they may be compared to the Swan, having nothing black about them, but their Bills and Feet.

The Fiſh they dry to eat inſtead of Bread is very broad, and two or three Ells long, without Bones, and, excepting the Fat, has a very good Taſte; it is firm and ſubſtantial, and they call it Raff. As for other Fiſh they eat boiled, they have all Sorts among them. Their Utenſils, within Doors, are made of Copper or Wood; and though they eat no Salt, and in general hate it, yet they boil all their Meat in Sea-Water, if they are near enough to get it conveniently. They have a kind of Dogs a Foot long, and four Inches high; their Hair is an Inch long, of a yellowiſh white Colour, rough, and ſtanding up like a Hog's Briſtles. They have curled Tails, ſtrait Ears like a Wolf; Head and Snout like a Rat; are very fit to catch Mice, which they watch like out Cats; and when they have caught them, eat them; for this Reaſon the *Laplanders* value them at an high Rate, though they are very ugly. There is alſo a Sort of wild Bird in *Lapland* of a grey pearl Colour, as big as a Sheep; his Head is like a Cat's, his Eyes red and ſparkling, his Claws and Beak like an Eagle's, with which he will take up Hares, and other ſmall Game.

8. Our Captain began to caulk the Ship the ſame Day we returned to the Port. In two or three Days after, it was in a Condition to put to Sea, and we loaded our Ballaſt. In the mean Time we treated the Inhabitants with Tobacco and Brandy, to keep them in good Humour; for our Crew fancied, that if we did not bribe them to be out Friends, they might, in revenge, raiſe contrary Winds by their Conjurations. They were very good to us in the Opinion of our Mariners; for five Days after, being the 26th of *May* there ſprung up a Wind the moſt favourable for us in the Compaſs, to carry us out of the little Sea of *Varanger*; wherefore we weighed Anchor, and ſailed at ſeven o'Clock in the Morning. The Wind ſhifting afterwards from one Quarter to another, we were obliged to caſt Anchor under the Shore, overagainſt the Iſland of *Wardhus.* The Captain of the Caſtle ſpying us, and knowing who we were, came to us in a Shallop; when he was aboard we entertained him as well as we could, and he returned to the Caſtle very well ſatisfied with his Reception. The next Day the Wind ſettling to a Point, we kept out to Sea, and held our Courſe North-north-eaſt, with all our Sails looſe. In three Days Sail we were got into a Climate where was no Night; we never loſt Sight of the Sun there, it always ſetting on one Side or the other of us, before us, or behind us.

On the laſt Day of *May* we ſpied the Mountains called *Spitzbergen*; at which Time a North Wind blew ſo violently, that we could not keep to Sea, and were forced to leave them to the North-north-weſt, and ſteer our Courſe Eaſt-ſouth-eaſt, endeavouring to make the Shore, that we might lie under it, and be ſheltered from the Weather. We continued our Courſe three Days longer, very much incommoded by the Ice; which being broken, and toſſed by the Tempeſt, beat againſt our Ship's Stern and Sides, ſo furiouſly, that we expected every Minute to founder. On the 4th of *June* we ſpied ſome high Mountains to the Eaſt; we ſteered that Way to make them, and ſhelter ourſelves under a Promontory; but the Wind blowing freſher and freſher, and ſtill North, we were obliged to tack about towards the Coaſts of *Borandia.* We arrived at a Bay, and entered it in a few Hours. The Haven was very commodious; we lay there ſafe from all Weather, in twelve or thirteen Fathom Water. We had ſcarce caſt Anchor before we ſpied two Ships in the Bay, about a Muſket Shot of us. We perceived they were two of our Company, from whom we were ſeparated, in the Storm that drove us into *Varanger.* We were extremely glad to meet with them, fired three Guns, and hung out our Flag in the Stern, as a Signal of our Arrival. They rejoiced as much to ſee us ſafe; for we reciprocally believed, that they and we were gone to the Bottom. They anſwered our Guns by twice as many, hung out all their Flags and Pendants. We did the like, wiſhing for an Opportunity to throw out our Long-boat and go aboard; but the Wind blew ſo ſtiff we durſt not attempt it till four and twenty Hours after. They were as impatient as we, to know how we eſcaped in the Storm, in which we were ſeparated from them; and as ſoon as the Wind ſlackened, a Boat came off from each of them to board us. We embraced one another with extraordinary Affection and Joy, as People that had found Friends whom they thought had been buried in the Deep.

They told us how the Storm drove them on the Coaſt of *Juborſkt*, near an Iſland, where they could not anchor becauſe of the Rocks, which they diſcovered by ſounding. They had ſcarce three Fathom Water, and were forced to tack about immediately, for fear of running upon them. By the Favour of a Point of Wind North-north-eaſt, they continued their Courſe, keeping to Sea as well as they could, though with much Difficulty. In three Days time they reached the Bay, where we met them, and anchored under the Promontories of *Borandia*, eight or nine Leagues from the Iſland called *Kildomovia.* We told them in our Turn, what Perils we had run, and that we were forced to enter the Sea of *Varanger*, and to anchor there to refit our Ship, or we ſhould not have been able to have performed our Voyage. We informed them alſo of our Supercargo's and my Journey into, and through, all *Lapland*, both *Daniſh*, *Swediſh*, and *Muſcovite*; and of our Traffic and Adventures. The Account we gave them of our Trade, encouraged them to go aſhore, and try if they could find any body there to trade with them. We held a Council, and reſolved, that a Captain, a Supercargo, two Accountants, who underſtood both the Language of the *North* and the *Ruſſians*; twenty Seamen out of all our Crews, and myſelf, well armed, ſhould land, taking with us ſeveral Days Proviſions.

Purſuant to this Reſolution two Long-boats were got ready, we went into them, and ſailed to ſhore; where we landed and aſcended a Hill, to ſee if we could diſcover any Habitations; but ſeeing none, we marched to a neighbouring Mountain, half a League from thence; where we ſpied five or ſix Perſons, at two or three Leagues Diſtance, among Buſhes of Thorns and Briars; they came towards us till they perceived us advancing, then they turned their Backs, and fled away ſo faſt, that we loſt Sight of them in an Inſtant. However, we followed their Tracks ſo diligently, imagining it would lead us to ſome Village, that in two Hours March, as we deſcended a Mountain, we ſaw ſome Huts in the Vale below, and advanced towards them, and ſaw thirty or forty Men, armed with Darts and Arrows, prepared to receive and give us Battle; for the Inhabitants ſeeing us come in ſo ſtrong a Body, took us for Enemies. We halted a while, and conſulted what we had beſt to do, whether we ſhould retreat to our Ships, or attack them. They were wild and bold, and nothing was to be got by defeating them, which inclined us to retire; but one of our Accountants offered to go up to them by himſelf, and let them know that we were Friends and Merchants who came to trade with them, if they had any Commodity to truck with us for ours. All the Company approved of this Propoſal.

He approached nearer to them, carrying two Rolls of Tobacco, and a little Barrel of Brandy; when he was ſo near that he might hear what they ſaid, one of them, who ſeemed to be their Captain, aſked him, in the *Muſcovite* Language, who we were, and what we would have? The Man replied, we were Merchants and Friends, and deſired nothing but their Friendſhip, and to trade with them, if they had any thing to ſell us that was for our Purpoſe. They immediately abated of their Fury, ſeemed very well diſpoſed to deal with us, and made Signs to the Man to come up to them. He returned the Signal to us, and we joined Companies, to our mutual Satisfaction. When we came near them, I was amazed to ſee them much ſhorter than the *Laplanders*; their Eyes were little, the white of them inclined to a reddiſh Yellow; their Faces flat and broad; their Heads great; their Noſes flat; their Legs thick, and their Complexion ſwarthy; their Cloaths were a Jerkin that reached down to their Knees, a ſtrait Pair of Breeches, a Cap and Stockings, all of white Bear-Skin, the Hair turned outwards; their Shoes were made of the Bark of Trees. Their Huts were all built and covered with Fiſh-Bones, very low and oval; their Light entering only at the Door, which was made like the Mouth of an Oven.

They ſubſiſt by hunting and fiſhing, eat all their Meat roaſted, without Salt, and uſe undried Fiſh inſtead of Bread; they drink Water after they have infuſed ſome Juniper Berries in it, without boiling or any other Preparation; they put the Berries and the Water into a Tub together, and let it ſtand till the Berries rot there, which gives the Water an agreeable Taſte, at leaſt in a Country where there is nothing better to be got. The *Borandian* Women are as ugly as the Men; they are dreſſed alike, and go as well as them a fiſhing and hunting. They have no Notion of Religion, and live like Beaſts. We bartered away all the Tobacco and Brandy we brought with us, for Fox-Skins, Wolf-Skins, and a few Ermines; they had a great many more Skins of all Sorts, and would fain have trucked with us for Brandy and Tobacco. We told them we had enough of both Commodities on board; if they would go with us we would be ſure to give them all poſſible Satisfaction. They agreed to it, took up their Skins, and carried them to the Shore, where they ſtood admiring our Ships. We made a Signal to them to ſend us off Boats to fetch our Chapmen; each Ship ſent us two. I went in one of them, with the Supercargo, the Accountant that treated with the *Borandians*, the *Borandians* with whom he firſt treated, and another of them, who underſtood the *Muſcovite* Language, having been in *Muſcovy*; the other *Borandians* ſtood on the Sea-ſhore. When we came on board, our Captain underſtanding what ſort of Perſons they were, how wild and brutal; to tame them a little, and render them ſerviceable to us, gave each of them an End of Tobacco about an Inch long, which they took with Joy; he alſo filled out a Brimmer of Brandy to each; and I never ſaw ſo many of the *Borandians* ſo much tranſported as they were at this Entertainment.

They brought ſome Furs with them, which we bought for Tobacco and Brandy. We demanded of them if there was any Conveniency of travelling in their Country to trade with the Inhabitants. They told us there was; but that we muſt expect nothing but Furs. We replied that was the Commodity we wanted. They anſwered, we might have what we would of that Kind, for Tobacco, Brandy, and Money; and, if we pleaſed, might trade as far as *Siberia*, whither they would conduct us. We hired them to be our Guides forwards and backwards, and to furniſh us with what Conveniencies the Country afforded in our Journey, for two Rolls of Tobacco and two Quarts of Brandy, promiſing them further Rewards in caſe the Trade tured to Account, and they aſſiſted us in it. They ſaid that we muſt pay for our Rain-Deer and Sledges, and as for other Things, they would take care to provide what we ſhould think neceſſary. Our Captain made the Bargain with them, gave them another Brimmer of Brandy and ſent them aſhore, to prepare what was proper for our Journey. They got Things ready in an Inſtant, and made ſuch a Report of our Kindneſs to them aboard, and our Generoſity, that their Countrymen were very much our Friends; two Boats Crew went aſhore, and our Supercargo with them, to truck with the other *Borandians*, Brandy and Tobacco for Furs. They were unwilling at firſt to come on board our Ships; but afterwards, when we were better acquainted, they came freely, if they had any Opportunity. We bought their Furs of them, treated them with Brandy; and in return they invited us by ſeveral Signs to their Habitations.

9. In ſeven or eight Hours we had provided ourſelves for our Journey, and our two *Borandians* had brought down ſix Sledges, drawn by ſix Rain-Deer, to the Water-ſide. We aſked them why they did not bring more? They anſwered, there were no more to be had in thoſe Parts. Obſerving that theſe Rain-Deer were larger than the Rain-Deer of *Lapland*, we demanded if they were alſo ſtronger? They replied, Yes; and that one of their Rain-Deer would draw two Men, whereas thoſe of *Lapland* could draw but one. There was Convenience in the *Borandian* Sledges for two Men to ſit. Upon this our Captain called a Council of all the Officers, and it was agreed, That our Supercargo, the two Accountants that could ſpeak the *Ruſſian* Lanuage, myſelf, and a Seaman out of each Ship, ſhould go with the two *Borandians* to trade. One of the Sledges we loaded with Tobacco, Brandy, Gold, Silver, and Copper, to the Value of three or four thouſand Pounds. Our Supercargo and myſelf rode together in one of theſe Sledges; one Accountant and a *Borandian* in another; the other Accountant and the other *Borandian* in a third; two Seamen in the fourth, the other Seaman in the fifth; and he riding by himſelf we ſtowed ſome Barrels of Brandy and Tobacco in his Sledge; the ſixth carried our Proviſions and other Merchandize. We ſat one at one End of the Sledge and the other at the other, facing each other. The Rain-Deer ran away with us as faſt as thoſe of *Lapland*. In eight Hours time they drew us twenty Leagues over Hills and Dales, through Woods and Valleys; and we met no-body in our Way. At the Village we baited our Rain-Deer with Moſs, and ourſelves with Biſket and Beef; our *Borandians* eat dried Fiſh dipped in Fiſh-oil, for they would not touch our ſalt Meat, and did not love our Biſket. They drank at a neighbouring Fountain, and then cheared themſelves with a Glaſs of Brandy; we did the like: And being refreſhed mounted our Sledges, ſet our Rain-Deer a going, and travelled three Hours longer; when we perceived a large Village at the Foot of a Mountain. The Huts were better built, and cloſer together, and thither we haſted to take up our Lodging that Night: We were obliged to divide our Company, for one Cottage would not hold us all. We met with the ſame Reception from our Hoſts as we had in *Lapland*; we gratified them with an End of Tobacco and a Cup of Brandy. Our Guides took Care of our Rain-Deer, and we lay down to reſt on Bears-Skins: I diſtinguiſh one Part of the Day from the other by Day and Night, though really there was no Night at all; but I do it to make myſelf the better underſtood by the Reader. We ſlept ſix or ſeven Hours, then roſe to ſee if we could trade with the Inhabitants of the Village: Our Guides informed them what our Buſineſs was there, and that we would barter our Commodities for theirs. They preſently produced ſome Wolf-Skins, white Fox-Skins, two dozen of Ermines, three hundred grey Squirrels, and ſeven Pair of Sables. They did not care to deal for Tobacco ſo much as the *Laplanders* did, nor as the *Borandians* dwelling on the Coaſts; they were not ſuch good Fellows. Hunting was their only Diverſion and Employment. In the Summer they eat their Meat freſh boiled, or broiled on the Coals; in Winter they eat it dried, providing enough in Summer to laſt them the whole Seaſon; their Manner of drying it is thus: They cut it out in Pieces, ſpread it on the Tops of their Houſes, and leave it in the Sun. Their Huts are flat at Top, covered with Branches of Trees and Turf; they are very low, having no Place but the Door for the Light to enter at; the Doors of their Huts are like the Mouth of an Oven. Theſe *Borandians*, as our Guides told us, change their Dwellings from time to time, like *Kilops*; they, like Beaſts, live without any Knowledge of Religion; they are ſtupid and ugly; their Shoes are made of the Bark of a Tree; their Stockings, Breeches, Caps, Coats, which come down below the Calf of their Legs, and are tied round their Waiſt with a Girdle four Inches broad, are all of white Bear-Skin, the Hair outward.

One cannot diſtinguiſh the Women from the Men but by their Hair which is twiſted and hangs down on their Shoulders; they are as dextrous at hunting as the Men, and only carry a Stick, ſharp at one End, in their Hands; it is of a tough Wood, and ſerves them for a defenſive Weapon; the Strings of their Bows are made only of the Paring of a Tree; they hang a Quiver at their Backs, and a Stone that will cut like a Razor at their Girdles. We bought the Furs the Inhabitants had to ſell for Money and Copper, and ordered our Rain-Deer to be put to the Sledges, mounted them, and having drank each a good Glaſs of Brandy, which may be called *Liquor of Life*, in the North, we proceeded on our Journey. We ran eight or nine Hours before we came to any Habitation: At laſt our Guides ſpied three or four Huts, and turned our Rain-Deer up to them. We found no body in them; however, thither we went and refreſhed ourſelves on our own Proviſions, while our Cattle baited on the Moſs, which grew there in abundance. We reſted three Hours, and then mounted again, to proceed on our Journey: We went fifteen Hours before we came to any Dwelling, or ſaw any human Creature; when we had been ſo long on our Way we eſpied three Hunters riding before us: We overtook them under a Hill. One of them was dreſſed in a long Robe, after the *Muſcovite* Faſhion, tied round his Waiſt with a Girdle four Inches broad. It was all Bear Skin, Hair outwards, and as white as Snow, the Edges black as a Coal. His Cap was like a Seaman's, made of black Fox-Skin. His Breeches and Stockings were of Rain-Deer-Skin. His Shoes of Fiſh-Skin, ſomewhat like thoſe we ſaw at *Varanger*. The two others were dreſſed as we were; their Robes were of white Bear-Skin, the Hair outwards. They had each a dozen of Furs at their Backs, Bear-Skins, Wolf-Skins, and white Fox-Skins, ſome Ermines, and very fine Sables; the Bears Tails hanging ſtill to the Skin. The firſt of them carried only a dozen of white Crows and ſeven Sables hanging at his Girdle. When we came up near enough, one of our Guides ſtopt to talk with him. He lighted out of his Sledge, and the other went into it. While our Accountant rode with him, we admired to ſee our *Borandian* leave us, and this Man ſupply his room. Our Supercargo could not tell what to make of it. The Hunter travelled with us for above an Hour, and we had as bad Luck as before in this uninhabited Country. We met with neither Houſe nor Man. At laſt we drew near the Brow of a high Mountain. We perceived the Sea at a Diſtance, and at the Foot of the Mountain ſeveral Houſes built cloſe together, which looked like a little Town. Thither our Rain-Deer carried us. We alighted to repoſe our wearied Limbs at that Man's Door, who had taken our Guide's Place in one of our Sledges. We found he was a Man of Authority in the Place by Office, and deſired of the Inhabitants to ſerve us as his Friends.

The Name of the Village was *Vitzora*; the People that belonged to it, as ſoon as they ſaw that Perſon in our Company, ran to help us out of the Sledges, and to unharneſs our Rain-Deer. He bartered all his Skins with us for Tobacco and Brandy, except his Bear-Skins, which we did not care to buy, and his Sables, which he would not ſell; indeed, he durſt not. The Great Duke of *Muſcovy*, in whoſe Territories we were, and whom his Subjects call *Czar*, reſerves that Commodity for himſelf. Thoſe who ſell it without Licence from him, in any Part of his Dominions, are ſeverely puniſhed. He appoints certain Officers to take thoſe Furs of ſuch as have them. Thoſe Officers have Warehouſes in ſeveral Places of his Empire, and only they trade in that Merchandize. If any one elſe ſells a Sable-Skin, it is by Stealth and in ſecret, and thoſe that buy it muſt be careful how it is ſeen; for if the Officers we have mentioned, or the Governors of Places that Strangers go through, find any Sable-Skin, or Skins among their Goods which were not bought of the proper Officer, all their Merchandize will be ſeized, and condemned. Having dealt with the *Borandian* Gentleman, if any of that Country deſerve the Name, for all the Furs he had by him that were to be ſold, he ſent two of his Servants about the Village to tell the Inhabitants, That if they would bring us their Skins to his Houſe, they might have Brandy and Tobacco for them, as their Maſter had already had for his. The *Borandians* of *Vitzora* were glad to hear of ſo good a Market; they brought us all their Furs immediately, and we gave them Tobacco and Brandy in Exchange for them. We bought in this Place fifteen hundred Skins of all ſorts; and our Cargo being too great for a Sledge, we deſired our Landlord to do us the Favour to lend us a Bark, which he had, and ſome of his Servants to go in it with one of our Seamen who was a good Sailor, and one we could truſt to carry our Goods a-ſhip-board. Our Ship, it is true, lay above an hundred Leagues off; but the Sailor and the *Borandian*'s Servants, who were uſed to the Coaſts, could eaſily manage that ſmall Veſſel, and convey our Merchandize to our Companions on the Coaſt of *Borandia*. The Gentleman agreed to lend us the Bark at ſuch a Price, and his Servants to help our Sailor. We paid him in Tobacco and Brandy, as current as ready Caſh at *Vitzora*.

The Bark was built in the Form of a Gondola, broad in the Middle, and ſharp at each End. It was all of Wood. There was in it no Iron or Nails. It had a Fir-Tree Maſt in the Middle, and a ſquare Piece of coarſe Cloth, the Thread of it wove of the Rind of a Tree, tied to the Maſt to ſerve for a Sail. The Cordage was of the ſame Make as the Sail. The two Anchors were of Wood, and very heavy. The Cables that held them were made alſo of Ropes of the ſame kind as the other Cordage. He lent us two of his Servants to aſſiſt our Sailor: And when they were about to put to Sea, he ſhewed them privately thirty Pair of Sable-Skins, which we bought with ready Money, clapped them aboard, and ſent them away. We were glad we had got them ſo; for otherwiſe he would not have ſold them to us; the Bark being ready to ſail was a fair Temptation; and ſeeing there was no Likelihood of the Officers ſearching, he let us have them. The Veſſel was now put off immediately, and there was no Officer near to examine it. It was a dangerous Riſk, had there been any Searchers at hand, for himſelf would have been corporally puniſhed, and he and all his Family ſent Slaves into *Siberia*. Our Seaman and the two *Borandians* ſet ſail with our Merchandize; and our Supercargo and Accountants fell to drinking with the *Borandian* Gentleman. While they were making a Debauch, I went about the Town with our other two Seamen. I was pleaſed with its Situation between two Mountains, each of them almoſt a League high. All the Houſes were built and covered with Fiſh Bones very artificially; the Crannies were every where ſtopped up with Moſs as faſt as a Ship new caulked; and above all, Turf was laid handſomely in ſome Places that were moſt expoſed to the Wind, which had no Paſſage into the Houſes, except at the Doors, which were like Ovens Mouths, as in other Places in *Borandia*. At the Top of the Houſes where were Lattices or Windows for the Light to enter, I ſaw abundance of Women and Children at work, ſome making Fiſhing-Nets of the Rind of Trees; others were making of Sails, which looked like fine Mats; others uſing their Hatchets; others Knives. Their Needles were of Fiſh Bones. All of them are ugly, dwarfiſh, flat-noſed and ſwarthy.

10. When we returned to our Lodgings, we conſulted with our Supercargo and Accountants, what we had beſt to do; our Commodities were not half diſpoſed of, and we were in a Country that was full of Furs; the farther we went, the Plenty was the greater, and conſequently the Markets the more encouraging. We had a great deal of Caſh, and our Commiſſions being as large as our Captains, who were to go whither they thought fit, for the Service of the Company; we reſolved to proceed as long as we found the Trade to be good. We ſent our Guides back with the Rain-Deer, and Letters to our Captains, to acquaint them with our Intentions, and give them an Account of our Succeſs. We then hired a Bark to carry us to *Petzora*, the Capital City of a Principality of the ſame Name, on the North Coaſt of the *Muſcovite* Sea. Our Landlord got us a ſmall Veſſel and two Men. We embarked on board it with our Cargo, and by the help of an Eaſterly Wind, coaſted along Shore till we arrived at *Petzora*. We got there in fifteen Hours.

The City is not very big, it is ſituated on the Coaſt, and gives Name to the Sea as well as the Province about it. We went to wait on the Governor ot the Caſtle. He aſſumes that Title, tho' in reality he is no more than a Collector of Cuſtoms. Indeed all the Czar's Governors are ſuch ſort of Perſons, for there are few Noblemen or Gentlemen in *Muſcovy*. They are all uncivil and jealous; Qualities that are incompatible with Nobility. This Governor was a *Muſcovite*; he was dreſs'd after the Faſhion of his Country, in a Robe of Violet-coloured Cloth, with a Mixture of Red. He gave us ſome excellent Metheglin, which went down very pleaſantly, and was as racy as Sack; after that we had Brandy and Gingerbread, the common Collation in *Muſcovy*. Knowing he had the Charge of the Czar's Sables, we aſked him if he would ſell us ſome? He anſwered, he would, enquiring how many we wanted? We anſwered, all he had, if he would let us have them a Pennyworth. He then carried us to the Warehouſe, where there were five Zimmers, each Zimmer fifty Pair; among which there were two Zimmers of the fineſt I ever ſaw, as black as Jet; for which we paid him five hundred Ducats; and we had the other three Zimmers for eight hundred Crowns, or four hundred Ducats. We bought all the Skins he had; they were ſealed with the Czar's Arms. After we had paid him his Money, he would treat us again at the Caſtle.

He ordered two Boats preſently to get ſome freſh Fiſh for us; he killed a young Rain-Deer, and roaſted ſome Wild-fowl that his Servants had brought in. We had a noble Entertainment of Fiſh, and Fowl, and young Rain-Deer Veniſon, which is good Meat; we drank Brandy and Metheglin eight Hours together; and the Fumes had got up into my Head ſooner, had I not every now and then eat a *Muſcovite* Biſket, the beſt Bread in the World. The Governor and his Gueſts at laſt began to be top-heavy; and we all lay down to Reſt on white Bear-Skins, for he had no Beds to lodge us in. We ſlept ſix or ſeven Hours, and then roſe. Our Hoſt preſented each at our Upriſing with a Brimmer of Brandy.

We then went about the Town to try if there was any Trade to be driven with the Inhabitants. The Governor ordered one of his Under-Officers to accompany us; and we bought of ſeveral People two thouſand grey Squirrels, four dozen of Ermines, five hundred Fox-Skins, the greateſt Part of them as white as Snow, ſix ſcore of white Wolf-Skins, two hundred Martens of a greyiſh Colour. All of them coſt four hundred Ducats. We obliged them to take half in Copper, becauſe it incumbered us, and half in Caſh. We went back to the Caſtle, whither we ſent our Merchandize, and where we packed it up in Bales. The packing Cloth was made of the ſame Sort of Stuff as the Sails of the Bark ſent to the Ships. Our Goods being thus taken care of, we reſolved that one of our Accountants ſhould return with them to our Ships. To that end we entreated our Hoſt the Governor to furniſh us with a Bark, which he did; and we hired three *Borandians* to aſſiſt the Accountant in his Voyage; the Governor paſſing his Word for them that they ſhould be truſty and do us no Wrong. For the Hire of the Bark and the *Borandians* Wages, we paid him ten Ducats more, and preſented the *Borandians* with ſome Ends of Tobacco. The Governor engaged to ſatisfy them farther for their Trouble when they came back.

Our Accountant embarking, ſet ſail, the Wind Eaſt-ſouth-eaſt, and we fell to drinking again with our Hoſt the Governor. The Gentleman who had entertained us at *Vitzora*, accompanied us to *Petzora*, and drank ſo hard, that I could not imagine where he found Stowage for ſo much Brandy and Metheglin as he ſwallowed. We continued tippling four Hours together, and then lay down, according to Cuſtom, on Bear-Skins, to repoſe ourſelves. As ſoon as we awoke, our Supercargo deſired the Governor of *Petzora* to hire us ſome Rain-Deer, to carry us into *Siberia*, a Province which ſome Geographers place in *Europe*, and others in *Aſia*. He furniſhed us with ſeven Rain-Deer and ſeven Sledges; one for our Supercargo, one for our other Accountant, one for myſelf, two for our two Seamen, one for our Guide, and the other to load our Tobacco and Brandy. The Proviſions he ſupplied us with, were to laſt till we arrived at *Papinowgorod*, another City in the Province of *Petzora*, on the Borders of *Siberia*. Our Factor took what Money he had left with him; and the ſeven Rain-Deer being put to the ſeven Sledges, the Governor ordered another to be got ready for one of his Domeſtics, whom he commanded to wait upon us ſeven Leagues of our Way to a Village, where we were to change our Rain-Deer, and give them to the Governor's Servant to carry back. For all which he was to have four Ducats. He would not let us go till we had drank five or ſix Glaſſes of Brandy at parting.

We gave both him and our Hoſt of *Vitzora* hearty Thanks for their kind Entertainment, and then got into our Sledges. The Ways were very difficult to paſs. We had no beaten Road, and were four Hours before we could ſee any living Creature; at laſt we met four white Bears, of an exceſſive Bigneſs; they croſſed our Way, and ſeeing us, fled into a Wood. Two Hours after we came to a Village, conſiſting of ſeven or eight Cottages; there was no body in them, the Inhabitants being all gone a Hunting. We alighted out of our Sledges to bait a little on the Proviſions we brought with us. While we were eating, five or ſix Men, with their Wives and Children, returned from hunting, which it ſeems had been very lucky to them, for they brought in with them ſix Bear-Skins, four Wolf-Skins, a couple of Ermines, and eight Sables. The People of the Place were ſurprized to ſee us there, and would have fled from us, had not the Governor of *Petzora*'s Servant aſſured them we were Friends and Merchants, bound for *Papinowgorod.* When they underſtood we were Traders, they came up to us, and viewed us narrowly. They wondered to ſee ſo many Strangers in a Place ſo unfrequented. They were aſtoniſhed at our Way of Dreſs, our Looks and Shape, as alſo at our Language, ſo different from theirs, and ſo unintelligible to them; however, we dealt with them, by the Aſſiſtance of our Interpreter; we bought all the Skins that they dared to ſell us; and they lent us Rain-Deer and Sledges, to carry us as far as the Mouth of the River *Papinowgorod*.

11. When we parted from them, we left the Courſe of the River *Petzora*, and proceeded to that of *Papinowgorod*; the Ways were almoſt unpaſſable, yet with much Difficulty and Fatigue, our Rain-Deer drew us over Mountains and Valleys, through Woods and Foreſts, for three Hours before we met with Man, Woman, or Habitation. When we had travelled ſo long, and approached near a thick Wood, we eſpied five Men in white Bear-Skin Robes, after the *Muſcovite* Faſhion; each of them had a Fuzee on his Shoulder, a Pouch on one Side, and a Knife and Sheath on the other, like the *Borandian* Huntſmen. They ſeemed to make up towards us, for which Reaſon our Guide, who underſtood the Management of Rain-Deer, immediately ſtopped them; and by that Time the five Men were advanced ſo near us, that we could hear them; one of them perceiving that we were Strangers, bid us Good-morrow in the *German* Language, wiſhing they were as free as we were. Our Supercargo, who was a Native of the *Lower Saxony*, hearing him talk his own Tongue, aſked him what Countryman he was? The Man anſwered him to his Satisfaction; and, entering into a longer Converſation, they recollected Things in their Minds, by which they underſtood that they had formerly been intimately acquainted. Our Supercargo alighted out of his Sledge, embraced him, and demanded how he came there? The Man replied, he was one of thoſe whom the Grand King, or Czar, had lately baniſhed for hunting Sables.

This is a Crime that is puniſhed with Baniſhment, and that in *Muſcovy* is equivalent to the Galleys in *France*. Some are baniſhed for ten Years, ſome for ſix, ſome for three, ſome for more, and ſome for leſs; after which they have their Liberty to go where they pleaſe. The more I looked on one of the five Men, the more I thought I had ſeen him before, and alighted out of my Sledge to ſatisfy my Curioſity. As ſoon as I was on the Ground, the Man, who remembered me better than I did him, ran to me and embraced me; ſighing, aſked me, in the *French* Tongue, whence I came, and whither I went? I was ſomewhat ſurprized at it, becauſe I could not yet call to mind who he was; his Habit had ſtrangely altered him; his Beard was long, and his Head bald; beſides, he was ſo fallen away, he was nothing but Skin and Bones. Seeing I could not recollect where I had known him, he told me his Name, and that he had drank very often with me at *Stockholm*. I then remembered that, indeed, he was the Man to whom I had been very much obliged, for the many Civilities I had received from him in *Sweden*: He was a Gentleman by Birth, a *Lorrainer*, and was Lieutenant-Colonel of a Regiment of *Muſcovite* Horſe. He would fain have perſuaded me to go with him to *Moſcow*, promiſing to procure me an honourable and profitable Place, in the Service of the Czar, but I did not think fit to accept of his Propoſal.

The fine Appearance he made at that Time, the Reſpect that every one paid him, as well on Account of his Eſtate, for he was rich, as for the Place he enjoyed, and the Character he bore, of a Man of Courage and Honour, and the miſerable Condition I now ſaw him in, made me ſigh; when I embraced him again with extraordinary Affection and Tenderneſs, aſking him what was the Occaſion of his Diſgrace? He anſwered, the Czar ſuſpected he had not been ſo zealous in his Service as he might have been, and for that Reaſon only baniſhed him to *Siberia* for three Years; that he was to endure Miſeries which were not to be expreſſed, beſides the Dangers to which all baniſhed Perſons are expoſed in hunting wild Beaſts for their Subſiſtence; as likewiſe Hunger, and the Rigour of the Seaſon, which they were forced to ſuffer, and none durſt relieve them. He ſaid they were almoſt every Day attacked by wild Beaſts, which they met in Herds, ſeeking for Paſture; and that they had often much ado to defend themſelves: And further, if they did not each of them catch ſuch a Number of Sables, as they were condemned to furniſh the Czar's Officers with, they were each of them laſhed with a Whip made of Leathern Thongs, thick and hard, on their naked Backs, and ſometimes all over their whole Bodies, till they were all in a gore Blood.

Our Supercargo's Acquaintance told him the ſame Story, ſo did the other three, who ſpoke the *German* and *French* Tongues tolerably well. One of them had been Receiver General of the Czar's Revenues, in one of his Provinces; the ſecond had been a Major General, and the third a Man of Note. They all deplored their Miſfortune, aſſuring us, that when the Time of their Baniſhment was out, they would get far enough from the Czar's Power. We were extremely touched with the Relation of their miſerable Condition. We ſat down on the Moſs, took out the beſt Proviſion we had, and deſired them to take Part of it. We offered them our Help to make their Eſcapes, but they told us it was impracticable; for that they were known to all the Governors of the Forts and Places through which they and we muſt neceſſarily paſs: And in caſe they ſhould be taken, all our, and their, Lives muſt pay for their Attempt to get off. That Death would certainly be our Puniſhment, and theirs; and the moſt cruel Death, which boundleſs Power, and Northern Barbarity, could inflict. This increaſed our Concern for thoſe poor unfortunate Gentlemen; we all weeped heartily at the ſad Sight of what they ſuffered, and the Idea of what they were ſtill to ſuffer.

We could not think of parting preſently with Perſons in their diſconſolate State. We had ſeen them when Fortune ſmiled on them, at leaſt ſome of them; we had been their Friends, and we thought it had been cruel to leave them, without endeavouring to render a Day or two of the diſmal Time they were to paſs, pleaſant to them; the Society of ſuch as they had formerly had a Friendſhip for, would contribute towards eaſing them a little of the Load of Grief that hung at their Hearts. We told them what we wiſhed, and that we were loth to part ſo ſoon; our Trade was not in ſo much Haſte, conſidering the two large Parcels of Goods we had already ſent to our Veſſels, as to hinder us ſpending a Day or two with Men in their Circumſtances, whom we equally loved and eſteemed. The meeting them in ſuch a Place, and in ſo ſad a Condition, had ſomething romantic in it; and as much as we were Merchants, we had more of Heroes than to fly from our Friends in Adverſity, without taking a few Days to condole with them, and endeavour to alleviate their Sorrows.

Beſides theſe Conſiderations, I had another. My Deſign, in the Beginning of my Voyage, was more to make Obſervations on the North Parts of the World, than to reap any Benefit by it. I had formerly made more beneficial Voyages to the *Indies* and *Africa*, than any thing I could propoſe to myſelf by travelling into the North. But having ſeen theſe two Parts of the World, I had a Curioſity to viſit that in which I was now trading, and to inform myſelf of the Manners and Cuſtoms of a People leſs known to us than the *Indians* in the Eaſt and Weſt, though they are at a greater Diſtance from us. I knew the Gentleman of *Lorrain* to be a ſenſible Man, who had lived a long Time in *Muſcovy*, underſtood the State of the Empire, and the Court of the Czar, as well as any Man; and intending to communicate my own Obſervations to the World, I thought I could not better ſecure the Reader's Satisfaction, than by giving him his, which would make my Account of the North complete; wherefore I reſolved to ſtay a Day or two with him, and his poor Brethren in Adverſity, and learn of him what he could inform me of, as to the more noted and more populous Part of *Muſcovy*; the City of *Moſcow*, and the Czar's Court. Our Buſineſs obliged us to keep as near the Coaſt as poſſible; and the Countries that lay near the Sea came within my own Knowledge; but the Inland Provinces were out of our Way, and we had no Pretence to viſit them; my Companions travelling for Profit and not for Pleaſure. Our unhappy Friends rejoiced mightily at our offering to ſpend ſome Hours with them.

To encourage us, they told us they had built themſelves five little Huts in the Wood, which they came out of, where each of them retired when he choſe to be alone; that there was Room enough to entertain us all; and if we would be ſo kind as to go thither with them, they would be infinitely obliged to us. They knew our Buſineſs, and we ſhould not loſe our Time; all the Skins they had were at our Service, except the Sables, which they were forced to reſerve for the Czar; but they were little to be valued, in reſpect to the Joy they ſhould have in our Company. They ſaid, the very Remembrance of the happy Hours they ſpent with us, in their profound Solitude, would make many future Months glide on the more ſweetly. Our Supercargo and I conſented to ſtay with them, out of Reſpect, as the reſt of our Company did out of Hopes of Profit, hearing them offer to give us their Furs. The baniſhed Men told us we muſt travel ſome ſcores of Leagues before we could meet with a Market for our Commodities. We readily agreed to the Propoſals they made us. When we had refreſhed ourſelves on our own Proviſions, we ordered our Guide to unharneſs the Rain-Deer, and convey our Goods into the Huts the Gentlemen had built to defend them from the Weather. Their Neceſſity made them ingenious, and nothing could be better contrived, either for Pleaſure or Convenience, in ſo wretched a Place.

They were built of Fir, higher than any we had ſeen in our Travels; there were two or three Rooms in each of them, and Lattices to let in the Light at the Side. They were each ſhaded by a Tuft of Trees, and paved with broad Fiſh-Bones, ſo artificially, that they looked as if the Floors were inlaid with Ivory. They had digged a Trench round them, and palliſaded the Circumference of the Ground, on which they were built, with ſtrong Poſts, which were joined together with croſs Sticks of ſtrong Wood, and on the Top were Spikes of Fiſh-Bones. By this means, when the Gate, that was the Entrance into it, was ſhut, they were ſafe againſt the Inſults of wild Beaſts, and as ſecure as in a fortified Place. They had all Sorts of hunting and fiſhing Tackle, Store of Metheglin, Biſket, and ſalted Rain-Deer Veniſon. The *Lorrainer* was a temperate Man, but the others loved drinking; ſo they and my Companions fell to it. I always abhorred the Debauches we were forced to make in the North, and was very glad I had an Excuſe to avoid tippling now.

My Friend and I withdrew to converſe together, and the Company perceiving we were old Acquaintance, permitted us to do ſo. We retired into his Hut, and left the reſt with the *Saxon* in his; where they drank away Sorrow at that Time; and after ſix or ſeven Hours ſpent over Brandy and Tobacco, they lay all down on Bear-Skins to take their Reſt. The *Lorrainer* and I, in the mean Time, entered into a Diſcourſe on his own Adventures. He told me how he intended to return home, after his Time of Exile was expired, and how I might hear of him *in France.* Our Converſation was tender and pleaſant; it ran partly on our former Acquaintance, and partly on the Wildneſs of the Country, and the Barbarity of the Inhabitants; upon which I took Occaſion to deſire him to communicate to me the Obſervations he had made of the Court, Country, and Cuſtoms of *Muſcovy*; telling him I intended to publiſh my Voyage to the North, and wanted only ſome Account of the Inland Provinces, to render it, in ſome Meaſure, perfect.

He replied, he was loth to ſpend any of the little Time we had to be together on ſo general a Subject: But if I thought his Reflections and Remarks would be of any Uſe to me, he would give me the Memoirs he had collected when he came firſt into *Muſcovy*, for his private Satisfaction. He could not recommend them to me as Things that did not require to be carefully digeſted and methodized: But he aſſured me the Obſervations were as juſt and entertaining as any he had been able to make ſince, in fifteen or ſixteen Reſidence in that Country.

He then went to a Cheſt he had in a Corner of an inner Room, and took out about twenty Sheets of Paper, containing the Subſtance of what I inſert in the following Pages, relating to the Manners and Policy of the *Ruſſians*; as alſo the Account I give of *Siberia*, which I took entirely from his Memoirs. I would fain have excuſed myſelf, and not accepted his Preſent, believing he could finiſh his Work, and make it uſeful to the Public, with more Succeſs than I could: But he obliged me to take the Memoirs, ſaying, The Things in it were now ſo common to him, that he needed no Remembrances; and his Sufferings had given him ſuch a Diſguſt to the Country, that he ſhould never more have any Curioſity concerning it, or deſire to let the World know any thing of it. And as to theſe Memoirs, though probably they might be of Service to me, they could not be ſo to him: In a Word, he obliged me to take them with me, and I reſolved to add them to my own, when I returned to *France*, and ſhould put the Journal of my Voyage into Order for the Preſs. I have not publiſhed above half the Obſervations the *Lorrain* Gentleman gave me: However, they are the moſt uſeful and diverting of them, and what I doubt not the Reader will be pleaſed with. The Perſon that made them being a Perſon of good Senſe, and very curious in his Reflections on Places and Perſons, he mingled ſeveral Paſſages of the *Muſcovite* Hiſtory with his Memoirs, which he took from their own Books; for he underſtood their Language as well as the Natives; ſpoke it and wrote it as well as their beſt Scholars; who, indeed, are not the moſt learned or elegant Perſons in *Europe*: For Learning is held in Contempt by almoſt all the *Ruſſians*; their Clergy being as brutal and illiterate as their Laity. When my Friend and I had tired ourſelves with talking, we lay down as uſual on Bear-Skins, and ſlept ſound till the next Morning.

We roſe early, and at the Deſire of the five baniſhed Gentlemen, took each of us, our Guide excepted, a Fuzee in our Hands, which they lent us; and we went with them into the Woods, to their Walks, to ſee if their Game were caught in the Snares we had laid for them. We killed among us ten or twelve white Foxes, and half a dozen grey Martens; we met with none of the larger Game; and both the Gentlemen and we were loth to ſpend any more Time about it, for we intended to proceed on our Journey when we had dined; ſo we returned to their Huts, brought forth our Proviſions, the ſame did our Hoſts, and refreſhed ourſelves, as well as could be expected in ſo wretched a Place. After we had drank plentifully, the Gentlemen forced us to take ſeven Bear-Skins, ten white Fox-Skins, two Pair of Ermines, and eight Wolf-Skins; they would not have any Money for them, and it was with Difficulty that we could perſuade them to accept of ſome Brandy, Tobacco, and Cloth, to the Value of their Furs. We were ſo grateful to them for their Civilities to us, that we took care our Commodities ſhould be rather worth more than leſs than theirs. Having eat and drank ſufficiently, we took our Leaves of them, embracing them heartily, and wiſhed them Patience to endure their Sufferings, and a happy Deliverance out of them, and ſaluting them all round, wept reciprocally at parting. Our Rain-Deer and Sledges being got ready we mounted, and bid them all adieu; the like did the Gentlemen to us. Our Rain Deer, at our Guide's Signal, ran away with us; and the unfortunate Exiles went to their Huts.

12. The Territories of the Czar or Emperor of *Ruſſia* are ſo little known, that we have few Deſcriptions of them worth reading, which proceeds from the little Commerce there is between his Dominions and other Parts of *Europe*, and indeed between ſome of his Provinces with the reſt; his Country is the largeſt in *Europe*, beſides what he poſſeſſes in *Aſia*, but moſt of it is thinly peopled; and being uninhabited in many Places, it is conſequently unfrequented. By this Means Travellers never give themſelves the Trouble of going far beyond the Coaſt, or the Province of *Moſcow*; and the Czar's Subjects are ſo illiterate, they can give no Account of Things; for they are ſo ignorant, that they know as little of their own Country as thoſe that were never in it. I found very few Obſervations on the geographical Part of *Muſcovy* among my Friend's Papers; but ſeveral Remarks on the Cuſtoms and Religion of the *Muſcovites*, with which I believe the Reader will be diverted; for they were made by one who had more Opportunities of informing himſelf, than ever any other Man had before him.

Every body that travels into *Muſcovy*, with a Deſign to ſatisfy their Curioſity, about the Manners and Polity, Eccleſiaſtical and Civil, of the *Muſcovites*, will meet with many Difficulties that they will hardly have Patience to ſurmount: The People of *Ruſſia* are naturally jealous, and miſtruſtful; they have no Knowledge of the World, and but very little in any kind of Affairs either Spiritual or Temporal; wherefore they ſuſpect all that make any Enquiries into the State of their Government or Religion, and yet know not why or for what. Printing was brought into *Muſcovy* in the Year 1560, and the Czar then reigning erected a College for teaching Grammar, and the *Latin* Tongue; but it came to nothing in a few Years. The Prieſts, the moſt ignorant, illiterate Creatures that ever aſſumed that Office, ruined it, for fear it might in Time ruin them: Theſe Prieſts are only Laics of good Lives and Converſation, who are for that Reaſon choſen into the Prieſthood. The Occaſion of the *Muſcovites* embracing the Chriſtian Religion, was from the Prayers of a Prieſt of *Chioff*, who praying to Almighty God for the Duke, who was dangerouſly ill, his Prayers were heard, and that Prince miraculouſly recovered to his Health. Their Liturgy is taken from that of the *Greeks* in the *Sclavonian* Language, the Knowledge of which is as rare among them, as that of the *Latin* among the *Roman* Catholics. They imitate the *Greeks* in the Manner of building their Churches.

They have Pictures in them, and formerly had Images richly adorned with Jewels, and other coſtly Ornaments; but this is not ſuffered now, all Sorts of Sculptures being forbidden; and they looked upon the Worſhip rendered them by the Papiſts to be Idolatry. They don't kneel at their Prayers, but proſtrate themſelves on the Ground. On the Eve of certain Feaſts celebrated among them, they ſpend the whole Night at Church in their Devotions. They often throw themſelves on the Floor, ſign themſelves with the Sign of the Croſs, and beat their Heads againſt the Ground. Amidſt the ſeveral Parts of their Services, there are Intervals in which they diſcourſe of their temporal Affairs. The Emperor ſeldom miſſes aſſiſting at the public Worſhip; he is generally attended by the whole Court: He diſpatches Buſineſs at Church, and if any of the Courtiers are not preſent he ſeverely reprimands them.

On *Whitſunday* their Churches are filled with Maple Boughs, which the *Ruſſians* miſtake for Sycamore. Whenever they proſtrate themſelves, they verily believe the Holy Ghoſt deſcends on thoſe Boughs, as Manna fell on the Leaves of Oak in the Deſart. Muſical Inſtruments are not uſed in Churches; the laſt Patriarch aboliſhed that Cuſtom. Their Prayers, which are performed three

Hours after Sun-riſing, are called *Obedni*; thoſe that are made after Sun-ſetting are called *Vackerny*; and thoſe an Hour after Midnight, *Zaoutrinys*.

Their *Obedni*, or Morning Prayer is: *Have Mercy upon me, O Lord, according to thy loving Kindneſs, and blot out my Tranſgreſſion, according to thy Greatneſs, and Multitude of thy Bounties.*

Their *Vackerny*, or Evening Prayer is: *O Lord! hear my Prayer when I call upon thee, and let my Cry come unto thee.*

Their *Zaoutrinys*, or Prayer an Hour after Midnight is: *We put our Truſt in Chriſt, our Saviour; and all our Hope is in him.*

They repeat the *Miſerere*, which they call *Hoſpody Pomelee*, a hundred times over, and the Prieſt who can repeat it ofteneſt in a Breath is reckoned the beſt Man; five or ſix of them will all read aloud together; one a Chapter, the other a Pſalm, the third a Prayer, and the reſt ſo many other different Things, with Noiſe and Confuſion inexpreſſible. Every Prieſt is called *Pope*, or Father; as Pope *John*, or Pope *Peter*; every Biſhop is ſtiled a *Metropolitan*, and the Chief Prieſt, *Proto-Pope*: The Pariſh-Prieſts are commonly cloathed in red Veſtments, ſome wear green, and others blue, according to their ſeveral Fancies; the Form of their Garments is diſtinguiſhed from that of Laymen, by two little Pieces of Stuff ſewed on each Breaſt.

They wear a red Leather Cap on their bald Pates, and that is all the Difference between their Dreſs and the Laity; the Hair of their Heads and Beards is never ſhaved, only the Crown of their Heads, which is always ſhorn; they muſt have Wives, but, according to the Apoſtle St. *Paul*'s Rule, no Prieſt is allowed to have any more than one during his whole Life: Thus their Prieſthood depends on their Wives, and when they die it ceaſes; for which Reaſon they marry young, that they may have a Benefice early, and uſe their Wives better than other Men. Their Wives Garments are diſtinguiſhed like the Huſbands, by two little Pieces of Stuff ſewed on each Breaſt. Their Manner of Baptiſm is much like that of the *Roman* Catholics, except that they always dip the Children they baptize quite under the Water. The Cuſtom of buying Foreigners, on Purpoſe to oblige them to turn Chriſtians, which was very much practiſed by them formerly, is now out of Uſe. When any Man, either Proteſtant or Papiſt, renounces his own Religion to embrace the *Ruſſian*, he muſt renounce his firſt Baptiſm, his Father and Mother, and ſpit three Times over his Shoulder. Some antient Inhabitants of the Country have obſerved, that of two hundred *Engliſh*, *Scotch*, and *Dutch*, who have made Profeſſion of the *Ruſſian* Religion, hardly one died a natural Death.

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If a Woman is barren, a Man may do what he can to perſuade her to retire into a Convent willingly, and if ſhe will not, he may beat her till ſhe gives her Conſent to it. It is reported that the laſt Empreſs would have been ſhut up in a Monaſtery, had ſhe not at laſt brought forth the *Czarowitz*, or Prince Royal, who was born nine Years ago, on the 2d of *June 1661*. The Empreſs had ſeveral Daughters, but that would not have excuſed her, unleſs ſhe had had a Son and Heir. When the Czar of *Muſcovy* is willing to marry, there are ſeveral young and beautiful Ladies preſented to him, out of which he generally chuſes one to be his Wife.

The laſt Czar on this Occaſion made Choice of a young Lady who was not at all liked by *Boaris Juanowitz*, the reigning Favourite and Miniſter. This Lord would fain have had his Maſter accept of a Wife of his chuſing, and endeavoured to ſet him againſt the Lady he had himſelf choſen. He propoſed to him the Daughter of *Eliah Danelowitz*, a Man of obſcure Birth, who had got into ſome Credit, by Means of a good Eſtate left him by his Uncle, one *Gramatin*, Secretary of the Embaſſador's Office. The young Gentlewoman's Name was *Mary*, ſhe was not extraordinary handſome, but witty and cunning, modeſt and devout, at leaſt in Appearance. *Boaris* thought if ſhe was advanced to the Emperor's Bed, by his Procurement, ſhe would be governed by him; and his Favour with the Czar made his Hopes the more probable. He intended to marry the younger Siſter himſelf, to ſtrengthen his Intereſt by that Alliance. The Propoſal he made to the Emperor, was not, at firſt, approved of. He was very much troubled at it, but thought it would be his ſafeſt Way to diſſemble his Diſcontent; and knowing the Emperor's Inclination for the young Lady he had choſen was too powerful for him to reſiſt openly, and that it might, perhaps, irritate him, if he diſcovered his Averſion for the Match; he reſolved to break it off by Treachery, to prevent any Suſpicion of his Deſigns. He bribed the Women that were, according to Cuſtom, to preſent her with the Crown, and they tied the young Lady's Hair ſo hard, that ſhe fell down into a Swoon; the Women gave out that ſhe had the falling Sickneſs; her Father, who brought her, was ſeized, accuſed of Treaſon, whipt, and baniſhed into *Siberia*.

The Gentlewoman, when ſhe came to herſelf, found ſhe was a vaſt Diſtance from the Throne, to which a few Minutes before ſhe was ſo near: However, ſhe valued herſelf ſo much on the Emperor's Choice of her, that ſhe would never afterwards marry, though ſeveral beneficial Matches were offered her. She was not troubled with the falling Sickneſs any more. The Ring and a Pocket Handkerchief which the Czar gave her, ſhe always kept as Tokens of her Preference in his Favour, though of ſo ſhort Duration. When the Emperor underſtood it was only an Accident occaſioned by the tying her Hair too ſtrait, he was very much troubled at it, and aſſigned her a conſiderable Penſion to make Amends for the Loſs of a Crown, and the ill Uſage her Father had ſuffered on her Account. *Boaris* prevailed with him to marry *Danelowitz*'s Daughter, to which he was the rather induced, becauſe he was afraid of being bewitched if he refuſed; and the Favourite married *Anne* the *Czarina*'s Siſter, as he intended to do, if the Czar conſented to marry *Mary* the eldeſt Siſter.

Though he got ſeveral Advantages by this Marriage, he loſt one that was more valuable than all the reſt, which was his Quiet. He was old and jealous. His Wife handſome and young. They quarrelled in a ſhort Time; and he cauſed Mr. *William Barnſley*, an *Engliſhman* of *Worceſterſhire*, to be baniſhed to *Siberia*, becauſe he ſuſpected that he was too familiar with her. *Barnſley* lived twenty Years in Exile, and afterwards was recalled; he turned from the Proteſtant Religion to the *Ruſſian*, married a great Fortune, and lived at *Moſcow* in Splendour. *Eliah* the Emperor's Father-in-law durſt not ſay that the Empreſs was his Daughter, nor any of the Family, that they were related to her, even not her Uncle, *John Paolowitz Martiſcha*, who was preferred to ſeveral Poſts, one after another. When the *Czarowitz*, or Prince Royal, is fifteen Years old, he is carried to the Market Place, and ſhewn on Mens Shoulders, that he may be known; thereby to prevent any Impoſture, there having been many Cheats impoſed on the *Muſcovites* for real Princes. Till he arrives at that Age nobody ſees him, but thoſe who are intruſted with his Education, and ſome of the Chief of his Domeſtics.

Even the ordinary Sort of People, in *Muſcovy*, hide their Children from every body, but their intimate Friends, and neareſt Relations; they having a Supe--ſtition among them, that Strangers have certain Looks that are unlucky. Their Children are ſtrong and robuſt; they never ſuck above a Month, or two Months at the moſt; after which they give them a Horn, or a Sort of Silver Cup, made like a Horn, with a dry Dug of a Cow tied to the End of it, for them to ſuck.

At two Years old they make them obſerve Faſts, which are very ſtrict. They have four general ones in a Year. In Lent they faſt three Days in a Week; *Wedneſdays*, *Fridays*, and *Saturdays*. On which Days they don't ſo much as eat Fiſh, living on Cabbage, Cucumbers, and Rye-bread. They then drink nothing but *Quaſſi*, a Sort of Beverage, weaker than Small-beer. They won't drink after a Man who has eat Fleſh; and when they are ſick, they will take no Phyſic in the Compound, of which there is either *Cor Cervi*, or *Pil. Lepor*; ſo ſcrupulous are they in the Obſervation of their Faſts.

Their uſual Penances are, to bend their Bodies crooked; to ſtrike their Heads againſt an Image; ſometimes to eat nothing but Bread, Salt, and Cucumbers, and to drink only fair Water. They never eat any thing that they call *Pagano*, i. e. impure; as Horſe-fleſh, Hares, Rabbets, Elks, or Mares-milk, Aſſes-milk, *&c.* in which they obſerve the *Moſaical* Law in ſome Meaſure. The Emperor's Magazines being burnt lately, no leſs than ſix thouſand Flitches of Bacon were burnt with them. By which we may ſee there is ſome Difference between their Religion, and that of the *Tartars*, who abhor all Manner of Swine's Fleſh. Veal is reckoned impure, yet Lamb is not. Venice Treacle is alſo not allowed by them, becauſe there is Viper's Fleſh in the Compoſition of it; nor will they eat any thing, if there is the leaſt Muſk, Civet, or Caſtor Fleſh in it; though the Barbarians feed on it in the North very frequently. Sugar and Sugarcandy, are Scarmunas, *i. e.* forbidden on Faſt Days; and a Knife that has cut Fleſh, muſt not be uſed for twenty-four Hours after.

The Regularity that the *Muſcovites* obſerve in their Faſts is of great Advantage to them; they would not, without it, have Meat enough to ſerve their Occaſions; becauſe they are forced all the Winter long to ſhut up their Cattle in Houſes, for five or ſix Months together; and the Peaſants, who are perfect Slaves, don't much care to trouble themſelves about increaſing their Stock of Cattle, for fear their Lord ſhould come and take them away from them, which is very common for them to do.

14. The Patriarch is Chief of all the Eccleſiaſtics. The Perſon who executes that Office at preſent left the Court two or three Years ago, on ſome Diſguſt he took at the Miniſters. It was ſaid he began to make Innovations, and that he did not love Pictures; to which the *Muſcovites* have a great deal of Reſpect. The patriarchal See has been ever ſince vacant. But the Metropolitan, or Biſhop, or rather Coadjutor, performs all the Duties of this Office. And the Czar dares not fill the patriarchal Chair, ſo long as the abdicated Prelate lives; ſo highly is his Perſon reverenced in *Ruſſia*. Of all the *Muſcovite* Ceremonies, that of *Palm Sunday* is the moſt extraordinary. A hundred Men are ordered to clean the Streets, for the magnificent Proceſſion.

The Emperor marches afoot, richly dreſſed in Cloth of Gold; the Train of his Robe borne up by Princes, and

Hours after Sun-riſing, are called *Obedni*; thoſe that are made after Sun-ſetting are called *Vackerny*; and thoſe an Hour after Midnight, *Zaoutrinys*.

Their *Obedni*, or Morning Prayer is: *Have Mercy upon me, O Lord, according to thy loving Kindneſs, and blot out my Tranſgreſſion, according to thy Greatneſs, and Multitude of thy Bounties.*

Their *Vackerny*, or Evening Prayer is: *O Lord! hear my Prayer when I call upon thee, and let my Cry come unto thee.*

Their *Zaoutrinys*, or Prayer an Hour after Midnight is: *We put our Truſt in Chriſt, our Saviour; and all our Hope is in him.*

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That Woman who kills her Huſband is buried alive all but her Head, and ſo left to expire in that miſerable Condition. There is ſeldom any Marriage celebrated in *Muſcovy*, eſpecially among Perſons of Rank, without ſome conjuring or uſing Charms: The Friars and Nuns are accuſed as the moſt guilty of this wicked Practice, which, it is ſaid, they ſtudy in their Solitude. My Friend writes, that he has ſeen a Man come out of the Wedding-chamber like a mad Man, tearing his Hair and crying, he was undone and bewitched. The Cure in theſe Caſes is to apply to ſome, commonly called, *white Magicians*, who for a ſmall Matter of Money diſſolves the Charm, and unties the Knot that others had tied. This Man was ſo ſerved, ſo diſtempered, and ſo cured, as my Papers report; but Credulity perhaps infects even Strangers in *Ruſſia*. The *Muſcovite* Canon forbids any

Man to have conjugal Commerce with his Wife, three Days in the Week, as *Monday*, *Wedneſday*, and *Friday*. Thoſe who break this Law, muſt bathe themſelves before they enter the Church-Door. No Man is admitted into the Church that has had two Wives; every ſuch Perſon muſt ſtay in the Porch; and he who marries a third Time, is excommunicated.

If a Woman is barren, a Man may do what he can to perſuade her to retire into a Convent willingly, and if ſhe will not, he may beat her till ſhe gives her Conſent to it. It is reported that the laſt Empreſs would have been ſhut up in a Monaſtery, had ſhe not at laſt brought forth the *Czarowitz*, or Prince Royal, who was born nine Years ago, on the 2d of *June* 1661. The Empreſs had ſeveral Daughters, but that would not have excuſed her, unleſs ſhe had had a Son and Heir. When the Czar of *Muſcovy* is willing to marry, there are ſeveral young and beautiful Ladies preſented to him, out of which he generally chuſes one to be his Wife.

The laſt Czar on this Occaſion made Choice of a young Lady who was not at all liked by *Boaris Juanowitz*, the reigning Favourite and Miniſter. This Lord would fain have had his Maſter accept of a Wife of his chuſing, and endeavoured to ſet him againſt the Lady he had himſelf choſen. He propoſed to him the Daughter of *Eliah Danelowitz*, a Man of obſcure Birth, who had got into ſome Credit, by Means of a good Eſtate left him by his Uncle, one *Gramatin*, Secretary of the Embaſſador's Office. The young Gentlewoman's Name was *Mary*, ſhe was not extraordinary handſome, but witty and cunning, modeſt and devout, at leaſt in Appearance. *Boaris* thought if ſhe was advanced to the Emperor's Bed, by his Procurement, ſhe would be governed by him; and his Favour with the Czar made his Hopes the more probable. He intended to marry the younger Siſter himſelf, to ſtrengthen his Intereſt by that Alliance. The Propoſal he made to the Emperor, was not, at firſt, approved of. He was very much troubled at it, but thought it would be his ſafeſt Way to diſſemble his Diſcontent; and knowing the Emperor's Inclination for the young Lady he had choſen was too powerful for him to reſiſt openly, and that it might, perhaps, irritate him, if he diſcovered his Averſion for the Match; he reſolved to break it off by Treachery, to prevent any Suſpicion of his Deſigns. He bribed the Women that were, according to Cuſtom, to preſent her with the Crown, and they tied the young Lady's Hair ſo hard, that ſhe fell down into a Swoon; the Women gave out that ſhe had the falling Sickneſs; her Father, who brought her, was ſeized, accuſed of Treaſon, whipt, and baniſhed into *Siberia*.

The Gentlewoman, when ſhe came to herſelf, found ſhe was a vaſt Diſtance from the Throne, to which a few Minutes before ſhe was ſo near: However, ſhe valued herſelf ſo much on the Emperor's Choice of her, that ſhe would never afterwards marry, though ſeveral beneficial Matches were offered her. She was not troubled with the falling Sickneſs any more. The Ring and a Pocket Handkerchief which the Czar gave her, ſhe always kept as Tokens of her Preference in his Favour, though of ſo ſhort Duration. When the Emperor underſtood it was only an Accident occaſioned by the tying her Hair too ſtrait, he was very much troubled at it, and aſſigned her a conſiderable Penſion to make Amends for the Loſs of a Crown, and the ill Uſage her Father had ſuffered on her Account. *Boaris* prevailed with him to marry *Danelowitz*'s Daughter, to which he was the rather induced, becauſe he was afraid of being bewitched if he refuſed; and the Favourite married *Anne* the *Czarina*'s Siſter, as he intended to do, if the Czar conſented to marry *Mary* the eldeſt Siſter.

Though he got ſeveral Advantages by this Marriage, he loſt one that was more valuable than all the reſt, which was his Quiet. He was old and jealous. His Wife handſome and young. They quarrelled in a ſhort Time; and he cauſed Mr. *William Barnſley*, an *Engliſhman* of *Worceſterſhire*, to be baniſhed to *Siberia*, becauſe he ſuſpected that he was too familiar with her. *Barnſley* lived twenty Years in Exile, and afterwards was recalled; he turned from the Proteſtant Religion to the *Ruſſian*, married a great Fortune, and lived at *Moſcow* in Splendour. *Eliah* the Emperor's Father-in-law durſt not ſay that the Empreſs was his Daughter, nor any of the Family, that they were related to her, even not her Uncle, *John Paolowitz Martiſcha*, who was preferred to ſeveral Poſts, one after another. When the *Czarowitz*, or Prince Royal, is fifteen Years old, he is carried to the Market Place, and ſhewn on Mens Shoulders, that he may be known; thereby to prevent any Impoſture, there having been many Cheats impoſed on the *Muſcovites* for real Princes. Till he arrives at that Age nobody ſees him, but thoſe who are intruſted with his Education, and ſome of the Chief of his Domeſtics.

Even the ordinary Sort of People, in *Muſcovy*, hide their Children from every body, but their intimate Friends, and neareſt Relations; they having a Supeſtition among them, that Strangers have certain Looks that are unlucky. Their Children are ſtrong and robuſt; they never ſuck above a Month, or two Months at the moſt; after which they give them a Horn, or a Sort of Silver Cup, made like a Horn, with a dry Dug of a Cow tied to the End of it, for them to ſuck.

At two Years old they make them obſerve Faſts, which are very ſtrict. They have four general ones in a Year. In Lent they faſt three Days in a Week; *Wedneſdays*, *Fridays*, and *Saturdays*. On which Days they don't ſo much as eat Fiſh, living on Cabbage, Cucumbers, and Rye-bread. They then drink nothing but *Quaſſi*, a Sort of Beverage, weaker than Small-beer. They won't drink after a Man who has eat Fleſh; and when they are ſick, they will take no Phyſic in the Compound, of which there is either *Cor Cervi*, or *Pil. Lepor*; ſo ſcrupulous are they in the Obſervation of their Faſts.

Their uſual Penances are, to bend their Bodies crooked; to ſtrike their Heads againſt an Image; ſometimes to eat nothing but Bread, Salt, and Cucumbers, and to drink only fair Water. They never eat any thing that they call *Pagano*, i. e. impure; as Horſe-fleſh, Hares, Rabbets, Elks, or Mares-milk, Aſſes-milk, *&c.* in which they obſerve the *Moſaical* Law in ſome Meaſure. The Emperor's Magazines being burnt lately, no leſs than ſix thouſand Flitches of Bacon were burnt with them. By which we may ſee there is ſome Difference between their Religion, and that of the *Tartars*, who abhor all Manner of Swine's Fleſh. Veal is reckoned impure, yet Lamb is not. Venice Treacle is alſo not allowed by them, becauſe there is Viper's Fleſh in the Compoſition of it; nor will they eat any thing, if there is the leaſt Muſk, Civet, or Caſtor Fleſh in it; though the Barbarians feed on it in the North very frequently. Sugar and Sugarcandy, are Scarmunas, *i. e.* forbidden on Faſt Days; and a Knife that has cut Fleſh, muſt not be uſed for twenty-four Hours after.

The Regularity that the *Muſcovites* obſerve in their Faſts is of great Advantage to them; they would not, without it, have Meat enough to ſerve their Occaſions; becauſe they are forced all the Winter long to ſhut up their Cattle in Houſes, for five or ſix Months together; and the Peaſants, who are perfect Slaves, don't much care to trouble themſelves about increaſing their Stock of Cattle, for fear their Lord ſhould come and take them away from them, which is very common for them to do.

14. The Patriarch is Chief of all the Eccleſiaſtics. The Perſon who executes that Office at preſent left the Court two or three Years ago, on ſome Diſguſt he took at the Miniſters. It was ſaid he began to make Innovations, and that he did not love Pictures; to which the *Muſcovites* have a great deal of Reſpect. The patriarchal See has been ever ſince vacant. But the Metropolitan, or Biſhop, or rather Coadjutor, performs all the Duties of this Office. And the Czar dares not fill the patriarchal Chair, ſo long as the abdicated Prelate lives; ſo highly is his Perſon reverenced in *Ruſſia*. Of all the *Muſcovite* Ceremonies, that of *Palm Sunday* is the moſt extraordinary. A hundred Men are ordered to clean the Streets, for the magnificent Proceſſion.

The Emperor marches afoot, richly dreſſed in Cloth of Gold; the Train of his Robe borne up by Princes, and all the Court waiting on him. The firſt that goes before him, is the Officer that carries his Handkerchief, lying on another embroidered all over, which hangs on his Arm. The Servants of his Houſhold going before him. In this Order they proceed to the Church, called *Jeruſalem*, but they ſtop by the Way, at a Place built of Free-Stone, in the Manner of a Platform, where he ſays his Prayers, bends his Body almoſt double, turning towards the Eaſt; and then he enters the Church of *Jeruſalem*, which is not far off. He ſtays there an Hour, and then returns back to his Palace; holding on his Arm the Bridle of the Patriarch's Horſe, capariſoned with white Linnen, on which the Prelate rides aſide, carrying a Croſs in his Hand, and giving his Benediction to the People. The Reins of his Bridle are three Ells long, ſupported by three Gentlemen, marching behind the Emperor. Inſtead of a Mitre, the Patriarch wears, at that Time, a flat Cap on his Head, adorned with Diamonds and Gold Loops, edged round with Ermines. A Band of young Men carry ſeveral Pieces of Stuff, of three or four Ells long, before him; ſome red, ſome blue, ſome green, ſome yellow, and ſome of other Colours. The *Metropolites*, the *Protopopes*, and the *Popes*, have all of them Chaſubles, or a Sort of Caps uſed by the Popiſh Prieſts, when they ſay Maſs. The Gentlemen and Lawyers have Boughs of Willow, inſtead of Branches of Palm, in their Hands.

The Czar's Guards, who are pretty numerous, proſtrate themſelves flat on the Ground, and a triumphal Arch is borne along with a Tree on it, from which ſeveral Boys, in the Machine, ſtrive to reach the Apples. When the Ceremony is over, the Patriarch ſends the Emperor a Purſe, with a hundred Rubles in it. The Bells in the Church called *Jeruſalem*, are ſaid to be the biggeſt in the World. There is one of them that weighs thirty Ton; and when it is rung, it almoſt deafens all that ſtand near it. The Czar delights mightily in hearing them. There is a Niche in the Church, where the Patriarch ſtands to give the People his Bleſſing; after which he ſays theſe Words: *Go and eat nothing theſe three Days.* As for him himſelf he lies proſtrate on the Ground all Night, and continues in Prayer till *Eaſter Day*. The Gentleman of *Lorrain*, from whoſe Memoirs this Account is taken, told me a Story of an Accident that happened to an *Engliſh* Merchant's Servant on this Occaſion.

The Servant was a *Ruſſian* by Birth, but born far in the Country; and having never ſeen ſuch a Ceremony before, when he went to Church, he came back ſo very melancholy, that his Maſter took notice of it, and aſked him the Reaſon of it: The *Ruſſian* told him the Orders that were given by the Patriarch, that no body ſhould eat any thing in three Days Time, and was afraid, in the mean Time, that he ſhould die of Hunger. He faſted two or three Days, and was ready to eat himſelf, not being uſed to ſuch Penance: However, he held out, and then ſwore he would never go to Church to hear the Patriarch's Bleſſing again. On *Eaſter Day* the *Muſcovite* Men and Women ſalute one another with a Kiſs, give a red Egg, and cry, *Chriſtos vas Chreſch, God bleſs you.*

In Eaſter Week all the Emperor's Gentlemen and Domeſtics kiſs the Patriarch's Hand, and he preſents them with red Eggs, or thoſe that are gilt. Thoſe of the higheſt Quality have three; thoſe of the middle Rank two; and thoſe of the loweſt one. The Patriarch's Palace joins to that of the Emperor's; but it is built of Stone, and, for its Largeneſs, is very ſtately; but elſe it is a mean Building. The greateſt Sign of Joy in the *Ruſſians*, on their Feſtivals, is their drinking; and their moſt ſolemn Days are thoſe in which they make their moſt Debauches. It is no great Shame among them, for Men, Women, Prieſts, and Lawyers, to be ſeen reeling in the Streets. When the Women of Quality have a merry meeting together, ſhe who makes the Entertainment, ſends to all of them, the next Day, to know how they got home, and how they paſt the Night? The common Anſwer to this Compliment is, I thank your Miſtreſs for our good Cheer, I was ſo merry laſt Night, I can't tell how I found our Houſe out.

The Burials of the *Ruſſians* are very particular. As ſoon as a Man has given up the Ghoſt, all the Windows in the Chamber, in which he died, are ſet open. A Baſon of Holy Water is brought for him to bathe his Soul in; a Piece of Bread is put on the Crown of his Head, that he may not die of Hunger, in the long Journey he has to take. They put a Pair of black Shoes on his Feet; ſome Copeaks, or Pieces of Money in his Mouth; and, in his Hand, a Certificate, ſigned by the Metropolite of the Place, to inform *St. Nicholas* of his Life and Converſation. When that is done his Body is carried to Church, where it is kept a very little while before it is interred. The Wife of the Deceaſed is obliged to ſhew an inconſolable Affliction, and to hire other Women to mourn with her. The moſt pompous Funerals are thoſe at which a great Number of theſe mercenary Mourners aſſiſt.

Theſe Women have ſeveral mournful Queſtions which they aſk of the Deceaſed, in a diſmal Tone, as, *Ah my Dear! why have you left us? did not your Wife do every thing you would have her? did ſhe not take Care of your Houſe? did ſhe not bring you ſeveral pretty Children? did you want any thing?* Or elſe they aſk him, *Why did you die? had you not a handſome Wife, lovely Children, and as much Brandy as you could drink?* For it ſeems Brandy is ſo divine a Liquor with them, they fancy it will make them immortal. When a Man dies without having confeſſed himſelf, or received the extreme Unction, he muſt not have Chriſtian Burial.

Such as have been killed, or are ſtarved to Death with Cold, are removed to a Place, where the *Zemſky precaus* is; there they lie expoſed for three or four Days; thoſe that own them in that Time are permitted to bury them, or elſe they are ſent to *Boſke*, or *Bogzi Dome*, that is, the Houſe of God; where, in a vaulted Cave, may ſometimes be ſeen three or four hundred Carcaſes at a Time, which the Prieſts bury, one after another, in *St. John*'s Church-yard. They read a Pſalm over their Graves every Day for a Month after they are buried; during all that Time the Dirt is not thrown in upon them, but their Graves are covered with a thick Mat, to keep out the Rain. All the *Carnival* Time the *Muſcovites* abandon themſelves to all Manner of Debauchery, and drink ſo exceſſively the laſt Week before Lent, that one would think they ought to drink no more as long as they lived. There is a Sort of Brandy drank among them, ſo ſtrong, and ſo ſubtle, that it will take Fire in their Mouths; from whence I have been told, that ſometimes Flame will iſſue out, and the Country People fancy it would kill them preſently, if they had not Milk ready at Hand to extinguiſh it. Many of them, after a Debauch, in the Time of *Carnival*, going home, fall down on the Snow, and would freeze to Death, if others, ſomewhat more ſober, did not meet with them.

It is a very melancholy Sight, at that Time, to ſee ten or twelve dead Men drawn along on a Sledge, one having a Shoulder eaten off by Dogs, another his Face, and ſome nothing but Bones left. There ſeldom paſſes a *Carnival* without two or three hundred ſuch terrible Accidents. If a *Ruſſian* finds any one of his Acquaintance in Danger of Death, he will not aſſiſt him to get out of it; becauſe if he dies in his Hands, he muſt paſs Examination by the Judge of the *Zemſky precaus*, who always takes Care to make him pay ſeverely before he acquits him.

The *Muſcovite* Images, while they had any, were like the ancient *Greeks*, only they were more ugly and coarſe My Friend aſking them, *Why they repreſented their Gods under ſuch deformed Figures?* they replied, *Their Gods were not proud.* When the Painting of any Images was worn out, it was carried to a Place, called *Gods Market*, where thoſe that bought it had another given them in Exchange, for which they paid ſome Money. If the Man who made the Image was not ſatisfied with it, he gave the Perſons that would exchange the Image a Puſh on the Back, which was a Token that he did not like the Sum, and the Perſons gave him more, till he was content. This Traffic was carried on without any Words, to ſave Decencies, for they would not have it thought they ſold their Gods. It was a great Crime for any one to ſay he bought an Image; he only called it exchanging. Thoſe Images that were done with were thrown into the River, with a Piece of Silver. Thoſe that flung them in, making the Sign of the Croſs, and ſaying, *Proſti*; in *Engliſh*, *Adieu Brother*; or elſe, *Proſti Grandi*, that is, *God be with you my Brother.* When there happens a Fire any where, the firſt Care of the Inhabitants was to ſave their Images; and if by Chance they were burnt, they did not ſay they were burnt, but vaniſhed on high. When a Church is burnt, they do not call it burning, but aſcending; as that, *Such a Church is aſcended.* They give to their *Nicholas*'s, ſo their Images were named, becauſe, generally, they were that of *St. Nicholas*, their moſt precious Treaſures. A Woman who had dreſſed up her *Nicholas* very rich with Pearls and Diamonds, being fallen to Decay, went to Church to beg him to lend her ſomething, repreſenting the Neceſſity ſhe was in.

The *Nicholas* made her never a Word of Anſwer. She took his Silence for Conſent, and preſumed upon it to take away a Ruby or two. The Prieſts watching her narrowly, ſaw her take it off, ſeized her, and carried her before a Magiſtrate, who condemned the poor Woman to have both her Hands cut off; which Sentence was executed accordingly. As for the Images that were in private Houſes, they put Jewels upon them, and took them away as they thought fit; and when they were ſtreightened in their Affairs, they ſometimes ſtript them to their very Shirts. When one is convicted of Hereſy, he is put upon the Top of a low Houſe, whence he is to be thrown down headlong into a Fire, and there conſumed to Aſhes. The Rules of the *Muſcovite* Monks and Nuns are not very ſtrict. The Monks are great dealers in Wheat, Barley, Hops, Horſes, and every thing they can get a Penny by. The Nuns take a great deal of Liberty; they go out of their Nunneries when they pleaſe, viſit their Friends, and commonly live with more Licence than becomes their Sex, as well as their Profeſſion.

The *Ruſſian* Muſick is very bad, notwithſtanding they have ſeveral Schools where their Children are taught to ſing and play upon muſical Inſtruments, with Care and ſevere Diſcipline. They borrowed their Notes either from the *Greeks* or *Sclavonians*; their Gamot is not at all varied; inſtead of *Sol fa la*, they ſing, *Ga ga ge.* Their Cadences are the moſt extravagant of any in the World; and nothing can be more ridiculous, or rather monſtrous, than their awkard Imitation of the *Italian Recitativo.* The laſt Patriarch having forbidden the making muſical Inſtruments, and it being thought by ſome of the *Ruſſian* Miniſters, that the Uſe of them was prejudicial to the good of the State; they have very few Inſtruments, of any Sort, left among them: However, they ſtill reſerve the Bag-pipe, which is in great Reputation there. They have ſome Violins, the Bellies of which are made like a Lute; but they can't play above four or five Notes upon them.

Eliab, the Emperor's Father-in-law, being ſent Embaſſador to the *Hague*, the *Dutch*, who were willing to gain his good Graces, prepared an Entertainment for him; at which their beſt Muſicians, and beſt Voices, performed their utmoſt to divert him. Some Gentlemen, aſking him, *How he liked the Muſic and Singing?* he anſwered, *Very well; for the Beggars in his Country aſked Alms after the ſame Manner*; meaning the Beggars there always ſing when they beg, as they really do in *Muſcovy.* The warlike Muſic of the *Muſcovites*, is the Kettle Drum, whoſe dull Sound agrees with the melancholy Genius of the Nation. They have ſome Trumpets which they ſound very ill, and hunting Horns made of Braſs. I have ſeen ſome Anthems of theirs ſet by the Patriarch of one of their Choirs, for ſo the chief Muſician is called. The *Ruſſians* do not know how to dance; they imagine it does not ſuit well with their Gravity. Their chief Dancers are their *Tartarian* and *Poliſh* Slaves, whom they call in to divert them at their Debauches with rude Dances.

15. The *Circaſſians* inhabit Part of *Tartary*. They are barbarous in their Manners, and ſwarthy in their Complexions. The *Circaſſian* Women are fat, and extremely given to drinking; they ſometimes get drunk at a Feaſt, before they ſet down to Table; grow ſober with eating; get drunk a ſecond Time, as ſoon as their Meal is over; and a ſecond Time grow ſober, either with dancing, or ſome other Exerciſe. They are all, in general, ſo much in Love with dancing, that he who has not a Fiddle in his Houſe, is looked upon as a very pitiful Fellow. Their Government is entirely an Anarchy. The People, in an Inſurrection they made, deſtroyed all the Nobility; and they are now governed by Chiefs or Colonels, choſen among themſelves, with whom the Vulgar are as familiar as they pleaſe. Though their Religion is the ſame, they don't like the *Ruſſians*, forbid all the Strangers to enter their Church-doors; on the contrary, they are open to all Nations, and they receive every body with all poſſible Demonſtrations of Good-nature and Hoſpitality.

Their Soldiers are called *Coſſacs*, in the Language of the Country; from whence ſome Perſons have imagined, that the *Coſſacs* are a Nation of themſelves, whereas they are only the Militia of the *Circaſſians.* The Soil of *Ruſſia* is not ſo fruitful and warm as that of *Circaſſia.* Witchcraft is very common among them, and the Women of the higheſt Rank, ſtudy what they eſteem ſo. The Government of *Muſcovy* is an abſolute Monarchy. There are ſeveral Courts of Juſtice, called *Precauces*; and the Judgments they pronounce are deciſive. The *Ruſſians* have few written Laws; and their Judges, when not biaſſed with Bribes, which have more Power over them than Right and Precedents, govern themſelves in all Cauſes by Cuſtom. Their Clerks write always kneeling, notwithſtanding they have Tables before them. They leave a great Space between each Line, to waſte Paper, of which prodigious Quantities are conſumed amongſt them, and thus pick their Clients Pockets. *Podiack* is a Name given to the Clerks, or Secretaries of their Courts; and their principal is called *Diack.*

All their Buſineſs at Law runs in the Nature of Petitions. They are rolled up in Rolls. The Advocate preſents them to the Judge, over whom there is commonly a *Boyar* ſet, to obſerve his Actions, and to interpoſe his ſuperior Authority, when he thinks fit. If the *Boyar* ſits in Perſon, all Petitions are preſented to him, who gives it to the Secretary, if he does not incline to return an Anſwer preſently; and the Secretary will not put him in Mind of it, unleſs the Advocate bribes him. They have two and forty Characters in their Alphabet, and moſt of them *Greek.*

The Czar now reigning, *Anno* 1670, was born in the Year 1630. He deſcended, by his Mother's Side, from *John Baſilowitz*, and had an elder Brother that died young, who was a Prince of great Hopes, only he ſhewed too much Inclination to Cruelty. He took Delight in plucking out Pidgeon's Eyes, calling them Rebels and Traitors, and ſometimes to pull off their Heads; ſaying, they had betrayed his Father and himſelf, and deſerved to be ſo uſed. The preſent Czar is ſix Feet high; his Mien is lofty and majeſtic; he is fat and of a ſanguine Complexion. His Hair is of a light-brown Colour; he never ſhaves his Beard. When he is angry he is very cruel, but otherwiſe good-natured. Being one Day preſſed very hard by the Officers of his Army to condemn a Deſerter, he anſwered, *It was not reaſonable to do it, for God hath not given Courage alike ta all Men.* He loves his Wife tenderly, and is given to no Manner of Debauchery; he is very kind to his Children and Siſters. He has an excellent Memory; is very devout; and never miſſes to go to Morning and Evening Prayer. If he is not well, he has divine Service performed in his Bed-chamber; but if his Health permits him, he conſtantly goes to Chapel at Prayer Hours, to be preſent at the public Worſhip.

In general Faſts he always aſſiſts at the Midnight Devotions, and ſtands upright two or three Hours together; on ſome Occaſions proſtrates himſelf to the Ground a thouſand times; and on others more ſolemn, fifteen hundred times: He never makes any ſet Meal during the general Faſts, except on *Sundays*, *Tueſdays*, and *Saturdays*; on the other Days he eats only a Bit of brown Bread and Salt, ſome Cucumbers and pickled Muſhrooms, and drinks only a little ſmall Beer; in Lent he never eats Fiſh above twice; he obſerves an exact Faſt for the ſeven Weeks; during which time he lives on Eggs and Milk; beſides the great Faſt, and ſome little ones particular to the *Ruſſians*, every *Monday*, *Wedneſday*, and *Friday*, throughout the Year, he wont touch a Bit of any thing that comes from Fleſh Meat; ſo that of the twelve Months he faſts eight: In public Proceſſions he walks with his Head bare in dry Weather. Though he is thus a great Bigot to his own Religion, nevertheleſs he will not ſuffer his Subjects, when they die, to bequeath large Legacies to his Church; nay, in time of War, and ſometimes under the Pretence of Borrowing, he takes away the Church Plate, and never returns it; if he did not ſo, his Revenues would not anſwer his Expence, the Church being in Poſſeſſion of two Thirds of the Riches of his Empire.

There is an Hoſpital for old Men in his Palace, in which ſome have lived to be one hundred and twenty Years old; he takes a Pleaſure in viſiting them, and talking with them of Events that happened in the Reigns of his Anceſtors. On *Good Friday*, at Night, he viſits all the Priſons, pays ſome of the Priſoners Debts, pardons ſome Criminals according to their ſeveral Deſerts, or the Smallneſs of their Offences, and gives Alms to all that are in Want. All the Eccleſiaſtical Benefices in the Empire are in his Gift; but he was ſo angry with the laſt Patriarch, that he would not nominate another to ſucceed him; wherefore he ordered, that the Pretenders to the Patriarchate ſhould caſt Lots; which Cuſtom is ſince abrogated. In ſhort, the Emperor has a great many good Qualities, and was it not that he has abundance of ill Counſellors about him, who turn him from the good Way he would otherwiſe chuſe to walk in, he might be reckoned amongſt the greateſt and wiſeſt Princes of his Age.

His Father's Inclinations tended to Peace, his own to War; he has had ſeveral Quarrels with the *Tartars*, *Swedes*, and *Poles*; by which his Dominions have been ſo impoveriſhed and depopulated, in ten Years time, that they will not recover their Loſs in forty, nor be in the flouriſhing Condition they were in at his coming to the Crown. The laſt Plague in *Muſcovy* carried off, in ſix Years time, ſeven or eight hundred thouſand Men, Women, and Children: The Cham of *Tartary*, in four or five Years, led above four hundred thouſand into Captivity, who never will return to *Muſcovy* more; and three hundred thouſand at leaſt were killed in the Wars. The beſt Lands in *Ruſſia* are worn out, and the worſt cannot be cultivated for want of Labourers. Thoſe who ſail up the *Volga*, all the Way meet with ſix Women to one Man. The Price of all Commodities are riſen to ſix times the Value before thoſe Troubles; and Copper Money, which formerly uſed to paſs current among them, is now in no Credit, the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* refuſing to take it in all Payments.

16. The *Ruſſians* were freed from the Slavery of the *Tartars* in the Year 1479, by *John* Duke of *Volodomir*, who at firſt had only the Sovereignty of that Duchy; but at laſt he extended his Conqueſts, ſeized the City of *Moſcow*, the Capital of the *Ruſſian* Empire, and expelled the *Tartars* out of his Territories. His Succeſſor, *John Baſilowitz* rendered the *Ruſſian* Name, which had for ſeveral Ages been the Contempt of the North, formidable to their Neighbours. He was cruel, and therefore was called *the Tyrant*; however, that Cruelty was exerciſed moſtly on the Enemies of his Empire, whom he ſubdued, and made way for its future Growth. He was brave, but of a very whimſical Humour: One Day he went to his Diack, or Secretary of State, and preſented him with a Petition drawn up in form in his own Name, and addreſſed to the Diack; wherein he prayed him to furniſh him, by ſuch a Time, with an Army of two hundred thouſand Men; which would extremely oblige him, and engage him to mind him always in his Prayers.

The Diack, who knew his Humour, received the Petition, and ſaid it ſhould be anſwered. He raiſed the Men with extreme Diligence; and it was with this Army he conquered *Caſan* and *Aſtracan*, and made himſelf Maſter of *Siberia*. The *Muſcovites* loved him for his Valour and Familiarity with them. He affected to be as kind to the Populace as he was ſevere to the *Boyars*; he always held a Stick in his Hand, with an Iron-ſpike in it, the Point of which was very ſharp; and often, as he talked with them, he would prick them in the Legs. If they endured the Pain with Conſtancy, he ever after took them into his Favour, and ever after had a great Eſteem for them. Complaint being made to him, that a *Wayvod*, or the Governor of a Province, had received the Preſent of a Gooſe full of Ducats, he ſent for him to Court, making as if he knew nothing of the Bribe: When he came there, he took him to a Place where Criminals were commonly executed, and commanded the Hangman to cut off his Arms and Legs, and at every Blow he aſked him, *how he liked Gooſe-Fleſh?*

Hearing the Inhabitants of *Bologda* cheated their Cuſtomers by ſhort Meaſure, he ſent Orders to his Officers there to get them a certain Yard or Meaſure, to ſee whether it was ſo long as it ſhould be, and finding it fall ſhort of the lawful Length, he fined them ſeverely. Some *Engliſh* and *Scots* Men laughing at ſome of his Freaks, he commanded they ſhould be brought before him ſtripped naked, and in that Condition he forced them to pick up five or ſix Buſhels of Peaſe one by one, which he had thrown about his Chamber on Purpoſe. When they had done he let them go, having firſt made them drink, and admoniſhed them not to laugh at him another time: He ordered a Perſon of the Province of *Caſſan*, whoſe Name was *Plehaſve*, or Baldpate, to be ſent for: His Secretary miſtook him; for inſtead of writing to the *Wayvod* of the Province to ſend up *Plehaſve*, he wrote for one hundred and fifty baldpated Men. The *Wayvod* could find but foreſcore, which he ſent to the Secretary with a Letter of Excuſe, that he could not complete the Number he required of him. The Emperor reading the Letter was amazed at it, and could not imagine what he meant by ſo many Baldpates. At laſt the Secretary's Overſight was found out, and the Czar was ſo far from being angry at it, that he made them drink; and ſo diſſmiſſed them.

He had ſuch an Eſteem and Friendſhip for Q. *Elizabeth*, that he took hold of all Opportunities to ſhew it. It was thought by ſome Perſons of thoſe Times, who pretended to be very good Politicians, that he deſired to marry her, though we ſuppoſe they had very little Grounds for their Conjectures; nor was it likely, that the greateſt and moſt polite Princeſs of *Europe*, would marry a *Barbarian*; however it was ſaid, when his Affairs were in a bad Condition, and he was obliged to fly with his Treaſures to *Wologda*, which City he fortified, that he deſigned to make his Eſcape to *England*, in caſe he had been forced to quit *Muſcovy*, of which he was not without Fear, in a Tumult of the People, and an Incurſion of the *Tartars*; but he triumphed over all his Enemies. It was this Prince who ordered a foreign Embaſſador's Hat to be nailed to his Head for daring to wear it in his Preſence. Notwithſtanding which Sir *Jeremy Bows*, the Queen of *England*'s Embaſſador coming to *Moſcow* ſoon after, not only put on his Hat before him, but cocked it boldly: The Emperor aſked him, *If he had not heard how another Embaſſador had been uſed for the like, or leſs Preſumption?* Sir *Jeremy* replied, *Yes, Sir; but I am the Embaſſador of Queen* Elizabeth *of* England, *who neither takes off her Bonnet, nor ſtands bare-headed to any Prince whatſoever: Her Perſon I repreſent, and ſhe will revenge to the utmoſt whatever Affront is put on her Miniſters.* Upon this the Emperor turned about to his Courtiers, and ſaid: *Here's a brave Man for you, that dares talk and act thus for the Honour and Intereſt of his Miſtreſs: Which of you would do as much for me?*

Sir *Jeremy Bows* was envied by the *Boyars* on this

Account, and thoſe of them who had the Czar's Ear moſt, perſuaded him to give the Knight a wild Horſe to back, hoping he would break his Neck in attempting it. *Bows* undertook the Taſk, and managed the Beaſt with ſuch Addreſs, that he mounted him, rode him, and ſo tired him, that he lay down under him, loſt his Mettle, and did not long ſurvive the Experiment. After which the Czar highly honoured Sir *Jeremy*, and gave him ſeveral particular Marks of his Eſteem.

John Baſilowitz making a Progreſs through ſeveral Provinces of his Empire, divers *Boyars*, and ſome other Perſons, preſented him with ſuch Gifts as they thought would be moſt acceptable to him. Among the reſt, a Shoe-maker conſulted with his Wife what Preſent he ſhould make his Majeſty; a Pair of *Lopkies*, or Shoes, ſhe thought was too little by itſelf, and ſhe adviſed him to root up a great Turnip they had in the Garden, and carry it with the *Lopkies* to the Czar. The Emperor was ſo well pleaſed with the Preſent, that he ordered all his Attendants to buy Shoes of him, and to give him for them twice as much as they were worth: He bought a Pair of them for himſelf. By this Means the Shoemaker got into a Condition to drive a better Trade, and growing rich in a ſhort time left off his Shop. His Children, who inherited his Eſtate, became Gentlemen, and are known to this Day by the Name of the *Lopoſtkies*. There is a Tree near the Place where the Houſe ſtood, which, when any one comes by, he throws off his old Shoes, in Remembrance of the Shoemaker: A Gentleman who underſtood how well it had fared with this honeſt Man, thought if he preſented the Emperor with ſomething conſiderable he might have a proportionable Recompence; ſo he gave him a very fine Horſe; and the Czar, in return, made him a Preſent of the Turnip the Shoemaker had given him.

This Emperor diſguiſing himſelf one Day, rambled into the Country near *Moſcow*; and coming to a Village enquired at it for a Lodging: Every body refuſed to take him in, except a poor Man whoſe Wife was crying-out, and was delivered in the Preſence of the Emperor. He returned to *Moſcow* early the next Morning; promiſing his Landlord to bring him ſome Godfathers and Godmothers the next Day: He was as good as his Word; he went to his Houſe attended by his whole Court, made him ſeveral rich Preſents, and ſet fire to all the Houſes in the Village, except his, only warning the Inhabitants to be more charitable for the future, telling them that the beſt Way to teach them how to treat Strangers hereafter was, for them to experience themſelves how pleaſant it was to be driven to Neceſſity and lie out in the Air in Winter.

He often took delight in aſſociating himſelf with Robbers. He adviſed them once to rob the Emperor's Treaſury, aſſuring them he knew how it was to be done: How? ſays one of the Thieves, giving him a Box on the Ear, You Raſcal, you, would you rob the Emperor, who is ſo good and generous a Prince. Had we not better fall upon one of the rich *Boyars*, who cheat and plunder him every Day? The Czar was ſo well pleaſed with his Anſwer, that he changed Caps with him, and bad him meet him the next Day at *Duretz*, a Place by which he uſed to go frequently; he told the Thief they would be very merry, and drink a Cup of Brandy and Metheglin together. The Robber came at the Time appointed; the Czar ſeeing him, called him to him, and adviſed him to change his Courſe of Life; gave him a Place at Court; and made uſe of him to diſcover and puniſh the other Rogues of his Gang.

17. The Word *Czar* is ſo like that of *Cæſar*, that it is apparently derived from it, and ſignifies *Emperor* in the *Muſcovite* Tongue: The *Ruſſians* ſay it means a Title above a King: They called *David* Czar, and the other Kings of *Europe*, *Kyrlos*, which ſeems to come from *Carolus Quintus*, whoſe Hiſtory they have among them. The Name of the Czar now reigning is *Alexis Michaelowitz Romanow*, i. e. *Alexis* the Son of *Michael* the *Roman*. He has ſeveral Titles; thoſe in the Great-Seal run thus: We *Alexis Michaelowitz*, by the Grace of God, Great Lord, Czar, Duke of *Great*, *Little*, and *White Ruſſia*, Sovereign of *Moſcow*, *Kiovia*, *Uladomir*, and *Novogorod*, &c. Czar of *Caſan*, Czar of *Aſtracan*, Czar of *Siberia*, Lord *Plaſgow*, Great Duke of *Smolenſko*, *Twerſko*, *Ugoſko*, *Perinſko*, *Vealſko*, *Bolgariko*; Lord and Great Duke of *Novogorod*, of the Provinces of *Charnigora*, *Reſan*, *Roſtore*, *Yaraſlave*, *Belouzer*, *Odouria*, *Obderia*, and *Condinea*; Lord of all the Countries lying to the North; Lord of the Land of *Yaveria*, of all the Duchies of *Cartileran*, of *Grenzintan*, and of ſeveral other Countries and Sovereignties Eaſt, Weſt, and North, which we inherit of our Lord and Monarchs our Predeceſſors, our Father and Grandfather.

The Czar's Arms are the ſame with the *German* Emperor's, *viz.* a *Spread Eagle*; but the *Ruſſian* Spread Eagle has a *St. George* on Horſeback on its Breaſt, and a Mitre with a Crown on it between the two Heads. Some Perſons pretend *John Baſilowitz* added the *George* to his Coat, on Account of the Order of the *Garter*, which he received from Queen *Elizabeth* of *England*. The Czar never marries a Woman out of his own Dominions; he chuſes one to his Liking, generally among the Nobility, ſometimes among the Gentry and Commonalty: *Eliab*, the Emperor's Father-in-law, kept a Tavern twenty Years ago, and his Daughter, the Empreſs, ſold Muſhrooms in the Market. As ſoon as the Czar's Wife is dead, all her Family loſe their Credit, and all their Hopes die with her. The Emperor never ſhews himſelf to his People but on certain Days of public rejoicing: When he appears it is always with Pomp; he is very magnificently dreſſed, his Robes glittering with Gold and Jewels; and his Attendants are numerous, all of them handſomely apparelled: It is very ſeldom that he dines in public; when he does, his Nobles dine in his Preſence; his Guards are poſted all round his Palace; they ſtand like ſo many Statues, not daring to ſtir or ſpeak, for fear of making a Noiſe. One would think, by the profound Silence that is always there, that the Place was a Deſart; nobody enters the Inner-court, but his Domeſtics, and ſome Lords, whoſe Offices require their perſonal Attendance in the Imperial Palace.

He is very ſober, drinks little or nothing, and ſometimes puts Oil of Cinnamon or Cinnamon-water into his ſmall Beer, to make it the more pleaſant; for Cinnamon-water is as much uſed by Perſons of Quality, in *Ruſſia*, as Roſe-water is elſewhere. The Smell of Ambergreaſe, or Muſk, is not much valued by them; they have a Drink called *Brague*, which he commonly drinks; it is what in *England* is called *Oat-Ale*. His Bread is all made of Rye, which the *Ruſſians* imagine to be more nouriſhing than Wheat. When he has a Mind to treat his Domeſtics, he commands them to ſit round about him, and plies them with a Sort of ſtrong Water double and treble diſtilled. Thoſe that are not uſed to it are apt to be very ſick with it. He will often put a little Opium in it, and takes Pleaſure in making them drunk. At each Meal he ſends a Diſh from his Table to his Favourites. On *Eaſter-day* all the Courtiers, and the Nobility and Gentry in and about *Moſcow*, wait upon him, kiſs his Hands, and he gives them Eggs. He never paid a Viſit to any one of his Subjects except his Governor, and he being ſick he went once to ſee him.

When he goes out of Town, the eaſtern Gate of the outer Wall is ſhut, and ſo remains till he comes back again; he generally goes out at that Gate unleſs upon an extraordinary Occaſion, as happened a few Years ago, when the Wall fell down on that Side, and ſo he was forced to go another Way: He lies in his Shirt and Drawers, under a rich Quilt made of Marten-Skins; he has but one Sheet under or over him. His greateſt Recreation is in Hunting Fallow-Deer, he does not mind killing of them, provided he can but hunt them down; He loves Fowling, has three hundred Faulconers, and the beſt Ger-Faulcons in the World; they are brought out of *Siberia*. He hunts wild Ducks with them. The Son of the Emperor is called *Czarowitz*, and ſo are all his Children. When the Empreſs is brought to-bed, the People to ſhew their Joy, preſent the Czar with ſomething or other; which he commonly returns. If he likes any

Preſent, and keeps it, he pays a great deal more for it than it is worth.

18. As the Czar's Dominions are very large, ſo likewiſe are his Revenues. In the firſt Place, he is Maſter of the Eſtates and Goods of all his Subjects. No Heir can enter upon his Father's Lands, on his Death, without the Emperor's Conſent; to obtain which, he muſt preſent a Petition to a Court erected for that Purpoſe, to give Poſſeſſion to the Children of ſuch as die, and have made their Wills; and to ſeize the Eſtates of ſuch as die inteſtate, or without Heirs, or are convicted of any Crime, by which their Eſtates become forfeited to the Czar. Secondly, His Cuſtoms on all Goods exported, or imported, are very conſiderable. Thirdly, The Cabucks, or Shops where Brandy is ſold, as alſo thoſe of Strong-beer, belong to him, and he letts them at what Rent he pleaſes. Some pay one thouſand Piſtoles, and others two thouſand a Year, according to their Abilities and Trade. Fourthly, His Baths and Stoves bring him in a good deal; becauſe the *Muſcovites*, both Men, Women, and Children, are obliged to bathe often, out of a Principle of Religion. When the Water of the Bath is too hot, they throw cold Water upon thoſe that are in it. And ſome of them, before they enter the Stove-Chamber, roll themſelves in Snow. Fifthly, The Emperor is the chief Merchant in his Territories. Sixthly, The Trade of *Siberia*, in Marten and Sable-Skins raiſes prodigious Sums; thoſe that are ſent to get them, are either Slaves or Criminals. In ſhort, there is a Tax almoſt upon every thing in *Ruſſia*; that on the *Caviare* of *Aſtracan* only, of which I ſhall ſay more hereafter, is enough to maintain the Expence of his Houſe. All that hold Lands immediately of the Emperor, are obliged to furniſh him with Proviſions. He ingroſſes all the Merchandize that is brought to *Moſcow*, by the *Greeks* and *Perſians*. He ſends vaſt Quantities of Furs to *Archangel*; as alſo Pot-aſhes, Hemp, and Flax, which he barters for Silk, Sables, Velvets, and Cloths of Gold, Sattin, broad Cloth and Damaſk; which Commodities he wants moſt, becauſe he makes all his Preſents of thoſe things. All the Servants of his Houſhold have each a Portion of Meal, Oats, Honey, Fiſh, Nut-Oil, Beer, and Metheglin, delivered out to them.

The *Strelſicks* and *Lanlarics*, who are regular Troops, have nothing but Corn and dried Fiſh, of which the Czar has very large Stores; they have very little Money given them, becauſe they trade and have great Privileges allowed them. The Imperial Palace is very large, and all built of Stone and Brick, except the Czar's Winter-Lodgings, which are three Stories high; theſe are built with Timber, becauſe boarded Floors are reckoned, with them, more wholeſome in cold Weather, than others; filthy Damps being apt to aſcend from the Vaults of thoſe Stoves, where the Walls are Stone. The whole Palace is incompaſſed with a Brick-Wall, in the Circuit of which there are fourſcore Churches and Chapels, the greateſt Part of which have Cupolas and gilt Croſſes upon them. The Princes and prime Miniſters have alſo their Palaces within this Wall; as, *Jacob*, a *Circaſſian* Prince; *Boaris Juanowitz Morolos*, who was the Emperor's Governor, during his Minority; *Knez Alexis*, Maſter of the Fur-Office; *Trebotſky*, General of the Czar's Army; *Eliab Danelowitz*, the Empreſs's Father; *Knez Juan Vaſſilowitz*, a Prince of the Blood, and others of the firſt Rank. There are five Monaſteries, two or three Nunneries, the greateſt Part of the Precauces or Courts of Juſtice, and the Magazine of Arms and Ammunition for War. The Tower called *Velichy*, ſtands by itſelf; it is built of Brick and Free-ſtone; *John Baſilowitz* began it, and his Succeſſor finiſhed it, as it is at this Day; there is a very fine gilt Cupola upon it, and a Ring of Bells in it; it is as high as *St. Mark*'s Tower at *Venice*.

The Czar, as well as other Princes, has his Miniſters of State, but they are not ſo much reſpected as in other Places. The Gentlemen of his Bedchamber never enter it; they wait two or three Rooms off, and further when he is at Dinner. The City of *Moſcow* takes up a great deal of Ground; it is incompaſſed with three Walls, beſides that about the imperial Palace. The firſt, and that which is neareſt the Heart of the Town, is of red Brick; the next to it is of white, and the third of Earth, ſupported by Planks and Boards of Fir; it is fifteen or ſixteen Miles about, and was built in four Days, on Report of the Approach of the Cham of *Crim Tartary*. Since the Czar's Journies that he has lately made to *Poland*, where he ſaw the Manners and Houſes of the *Poliſh* Princes and great Lords, his Court is grown a little more magnificent; his Apartments are hung with Tapeſtries, very rich and beautiful; and he has ſeveral Country-Houſes and Palaces. There is no Prince in the World has more Jewels than he; it is true, moſt of them have Flaws in them, but the *Ruſſians* don't mind that, provided they are large.

All the Difference between the Czar's Cloaths, and thoſe of his Nobles, is, that the Emperor's is a little richer; it is the ſame with the Empreſs, and other Women of Quality; her Head-dreſs is only a little higher than that of other Ladies, and her Shift-Sleeves a little longer. They are about ſix or ſeven Ells in Length; and her Gown, and the Gowns of her Ladies of Honour, are made like our Judges. The Empreſs generally travels in a Chariot, and by Night, attended by moſt of her Ladies of Honour, her Women of the Bedchamber, her Embroiderers, and all her Women Attendants, that are neceſſary to her Perſon. Lately they rid on Horſe-back, very much a Cuſtom, mightily uſed formerly amongſt them, but was a long Time diſuſed upon the bringing in of Chariots into *Ruſſia*. The preſent Empreſs has revived it: She and her Train rid as Men do, aſtride, when they hunt; which is very rarely: They then wear a white Hat on their Head, and a Skain of Silk about their Necks. Men or Women, rich or poor, dreſs after one Manner. There is but one Language, and one Religion, throughout all that vaſt Empire. They differ from all other Nations, even in the leaſt Actions, and are no more like the other Northern Kingdoms, than they are to the Southern or Weſtern.

19. They wear their Shirts above their Drawers, tied round about their Middles, a little above the Navel. They believe a Girdle makes them ſtrong, and that if they did not wear one, they ſhould be unlucky. When they ſpit, one would think they ſneeze. Their Language and their Accent are quite different from other People's. They whiſtle with their Teeth, and not with their Lips. They ſhake their Heads, when they ſhew a Sign of Admiration. It is a great Sin in them, as they fancy, not to waſh their Hands after making Water. Even in their neceſſary Occaſions, they do not do like other Men; they make no uſe of Paper, but have little Spatula's of Tin, well ſmoothed, to ſupply the Place of other Conveniencies uſed elſewhere. As the Hands of our Clocks turn round, in theirs, the Hours turn about the Hand. They imagine it a very ſinful thing for a *Muſcovite* to lie with an *Engliſh* or *Dutch* Woman; but they believe a *Ruſſian* Woman may lie with any Strangers, without committing a Crime worth taking notice of, becauſe the Children ſhe has by them, are born and bred up in the *Ruſſian* Religion.

They love Rye better than Wheat, for the Reaſon I have already mentioned; and ſtale Fiſh better than freſh. They count their thouſand by ſo many four-ſcores and tens, and not by ſo many hundreds. The firſt of *September* is their New-Year's-Day. Their Æra from the Creation amounts to ſeven thouſand and ſixty odd Years. They are very credulous, and any thing will go down with them, let it be never ſo incredible; things that are probable and reaſonable, do not find ſo eaſy Belief among them. When they kiſs a Woman they do it on the right Cheek. Lands that have not been above twenty Years in a Family, fall to the younger Children, proportionably with the eldeſt. When they ſow, they thruſt the Needle in with the Fore-finger. They eat Carrots without ſcraping, and Peaſe without ſhelling. They don't gather them as we do, but tear them up Roots and all, and ſo ſell them in the Market. To ſay that a Man has an inconſtant Wife, they ſay he lies on a Bank of Sand. A Man's bare Word that has got a Beard, is more valued among them, than an Oath of one that has none.

Their fineſt Pieces of Painting are not better than what is commonly done on *Dutch* Chimneys with red Oker and *Spaniſh* white. They are as careful to keep their Teeth black, as we are to whiten ours; they have an Art of painting them, as alſo their Eye-balls. They reckon long Eyes, and little Foreheads, handſome. The *Ruſſian* Women hide Part of theirs in their Coifs. Little Feet, and a ſlender Shape, are Deformity with them. They do their utmoſt to grow fat; for which purpoſe they eat exceſſively, and will lie in Bed whole Days together; that they may increaſe in Bulk, by much eating and much ſleeping. Brandy, which one would imagine ſhould rather waſte than plump them, is thought to be a great Fatner by them. There is ſo much Confuſion in the Ways of Proceedings of the *Ruſſian* Judicature, that it is almoſt impoſſible to give a clear Account of it.

There is a *Precauce*, or Court of it Juſtice, in each Province, in which a *Boyar*, or Lord, preſides, to repreſent the Emperor's Preſon. He has under him a Chancellor, a *Dyack*, or Secretary; ſeveral Sub-ſecretaries and Clerks. If a Plaintiff brings a Suit before the Judge, and he is not corrupted by the Defendant, the former is almoſt ſure to carry the Cauſe; for that it is ſuppoſed the Right commonly lies on his Side. Criminals are ſeldom condemned to Death in *Ruſſia*; they are ſeverely whipt; and, beſides, there is a Sort of Puniſhment worſe than Death. A Murder may be bought off with Money. If one Man kills another, and no body proſecutes him, the Magiſtracy takes no Notice of it. If there be a thouſand Witneſſes againſt a Man accuſed of a capital Crime, he cannot be convicted, unleſs he confeſſes himſelf. It is true, to extort that Confeſſion from him, he is expoſed to the moſt cruel Torture that can be inflicted on the Body of Man. They firſt give him the Strapado. If he confeſſes nothing he is whipt, and the Hangman does it ſo terribly, that he can kill the Criminal with ſix or ſeven Laſhes. Sometimes they pierce his Sides with red hot Irons, or elſe they ſlit his Bones, ſalt them, and put them, hanging to this Body, on the Fire to broil. If he ſays nothing ſtill, they cure him as well as they can; and twenty Days after, if he ſurvives the Torment, they renew it again. Sometimes they will half flea them, and if they endure all with Reſolution, which rarely happens, they pour boiling Lead, Drop by Drop, on the Crown of his Head, cloſe ſhaven, which is the laſt Trial of his Conſtancy.

The Puniſhment of Coiners, is to melt ſome of the Metal of which their falſe Money was made, and force them to ſwallow it. A young Man ſhooting an Owl in the Court of the Imperial Palace, had his left Leg and his right Hand cut off, becauſe ſome of the Shot glanced into the Emperor's Chamber. If a Conſpiracy againſt the Government be detected, the Conſpirators are ſeverely tortured; after which they are ſent to *Sibera*, and are either ſuffered to ſtarve to Death with Cold on the Way, or elſe have their Eyes plucked out, or their Ears cut off; and are left in that diſmal Province fiften hundred Miles from *Moſcow*. It is but lately that the *Ruſſians* have hanged their Criminals; the Reaſon why they would not permit any ſuch Execution before, was out of a fooliſh Fancy, that when the Man was ſtrangled, his Soul departed downwards, and that defiled it. The Criminal ties the Rope about his own Neck, and flings himſelf off from the Ladder, when the Executioner bids him. The Hangman's Place is hereditary, and he is careful to inſtruct his Children in his Trade; which, however, is not ſo reputable as in ſome Parts of *France*, where the Executioner pretends to be a Gentleman by his Office. The common People in *Muſcovy* are very ignorant, and much given to Idolatry. Thoſe that live in the Northern Provinces, about *Archangel*, *Cola*, &c. know no other God but *St. Nicholas*, who, they believe, governs the World. They affirm he failed upon a Mill-Stone, from *Italy* to a Place near *Archangel*, now called *St. Nicholas*'s Port; and if a *Ruſſian* ſeem but to ſuſpect the Truth of this Story, he would be in no ſmall Danger of his Life. They celebrate the Feſtivals of their own Saints with more Devotion than thoſe of the Apoſtles. *St. Nicholas*, they ſay, is *Naſha Bradt*, i. e. *one of their Brethren*, who, being of their own Country, has more Kindneſs for them than either *St. Peter* or *St. Paul*, who never knew them. Thoſe who have made Inroads on other Nations, or plundered Strangers, think they expiate all their Offenes, by building a Church, furniſhing it with a good Ring of Bells, and Store of *St. Nicholas*'s, adorned and ſet off with Jewels. The greateſt Part of the *Ruſſians* are rude and barbarous, except ſome of them, who are civilized by their Commerce with Foreigners, or who have travelled to *Poland* and ſeen that Court.

20. The *Poles* are leſs barbarous than the *Muſcovites*. Some of them improve their Minds by Study; and Arts with the *Ruſſians*, Enemies to the Sciences, are never encouraged. The Gentlemen of *Poland* are at Liberty to travel where-ever they pleaſe. The *Muſcovites* cannot go out of their own Country without Leave of the Emperor, which is not eaſily obtained. However, with all thoſe Advantages, the *Poles* are not ſo refined a People as other Nations. They are proud, inſolent, ſelf-conceited, and have high Opinions of themſelves, and their own Country, which they fancy excels all others. They are whimſical in their Dreſs, vain, prodigal, and very oſtentatious. Their Horſes are fine, and their Furniture magnificent. They affect this, becauſe it is what is moſt ſeen. They are civil to Strangers, and entertain them very handſomely, for two or three Days, till they have ſeen all they have to ſhew them, and have made them drunk four or five times. They drink harder than the *Ruſſians*, and are ſo quarrelſome over their Liquor, that there is ſcarce a Gentleman in the whole Kingdom, but one time or other has been wounded in a Debauch. Their Laws are barbarous to the laſt Degree. Murder is only puniſhed by a pecuniary Mulct.

They pay no more than four or five Crowns for killing a Clown; the Price riſing higher according to the Diſtinction of the Perſon murdered. Their Kings are, in Truth, but Shadows of Monarchs. *Henry* III. was King of *Poland* before he reigned in *France*. He had Reaſon to be weary of their Crown, and would not, by any Perſuaſions they made uſe of, be prevailed upon to keep it. A thing of the higheſt Conſequence, when debated in their general Diet, may be ſtopped by one Senator's Vote, who has Power to proteſt againſt it, without giving his Reaſons for it. The Ceremony is, he ſets his Hand to his Scymitar, and that ſignifies he is ready to oppoſe that Propoſition, in diſpute, to Death; which damns it for that Seſſion; and though, perhaps, the next Day the proteſting Senator changes his Opinion, yet he cannot revoke his Proteſtation. The Pox is very common and dangerous in *Poland*.

The *Muſcovites* got it of the *Poliſh* Women, at the Time they conquered *Vilna*, and ſome other Towns and Provinces on the Frontiers of *Poland*; before which Expedition the *Ruſſians* did not know what that Diſeaſe was. The Scurf, or Plica, is ſtill more common than the Pox. The Cauſe of it is, that moſt of their Springs are poiſoned by Mines of Arſenic, very frequent in thoſe Parts; by which it is almoſt impoſſible to travel thither and not have it. When once it gets into a Family, it goes round it, no body eſcapes the Infection. It is the filthieſt and loathſomeſt Diſtemper in the World. A Man cannot look upon ſome *Polanders*, who have it in Extremity, without turning his Stomach. Beſides that the Symptoms of this Diſtemper are terrible to the Eyes, the Stench of it is abominable; there is no old Wound or Ulcer ſmells ſo intolerably. I have ſeen ſome Monks, whoſe Heads have been all over Scurf, and their Hair clotted together, than which there can be nothing more beaſtly and ſhocking to the Sight; nevertheleſs it is taken no Notice of in *Poland*; the *Poles*, thinking it a Sign of Health; and Gentlemen being moſt troubled with it, it is alſo taken for a Token of their Quality. Thoſe Horſes that have it, whoſe Manes are matted, and whoſe Tails are glewed together with it, are eſteemed the more bold, and the moſt fit for Service; and of if never ſo little this Scurf is cut off, the Beaſts die, or run mad, immediately, or elſe fall lame or blind. It is ſaid the *Poles* were the firſt who brought up the Faſhion of powdering Hair to hide their Plica, which is the more probable, as Starch is the Manufacture of *Poland.* They are more faithful in obſerving their Treaties than the *Ruſſians*, the latter making no Scruple to break the moſt ſolemn Alliances, when it is for their Intereſt: And yet in their private Negociations, the *Muſcovites* are very exact in making good what they ſwear to, and careful how they take a falſe Oath, or indeed how they take any.

The *Poliſh* and *Ruſſian* Languages differ one from the other, as the *Engliſh* does from the *Scots.* The *Poliſh* Tongue, paſſes for the more copious and polite; and yet the Pronunciation is not ſofter, nor the Orthography leſs rude than the *Ruſſian* Language. In ſome of their Words there are ſix Conſonants for one Vowel; they can hardly ſpeak without ſputtering in the Faces of thoſe to whom they ſpeak. They are ſtately in their Salutations, and do not bow ſo low as the *Ruſſians.* The *Tartars* ſalute their Superiors by embracing their Knees. The common People ſalute one another, by putting the Fore-finger on the Mouth of the Perſon ſaluted, and ſhaking the Head a little. The Manner of the *Circaſſians* in this Caſe, is odder ſtill; they aſk the Man whom they would ſalute, if his Servants, his Cows, his Sheep, his Horſes, his Goats, his Hogs, his Cocks, his Hens, and his Turkeys, are all ſafe and well.

21. I ſhall not pretend to write a complete Hiſtory of the Houſe of *Romanzow* now reigning in *Muſcovy*, what is ſaid here hiſtorically, being a ſort of Digreſſion; but believing the Reader will be diverted with a ſhort Account of the preſent Czar's Family I thought fit to give it, and ſome other entertaining Occurrences with I met in the Memoirs ſo often mentioned before. It would be too tedious to give, as the Gentleman who wrote them has done, a long Etymology of the Word *Czar*, and how the firſt *Romanzow* was advanced to the Title, or how *Baſilowitz*, having reduced all the petty Dukes that had Sovereignties in *Muſcovy*, erected a Monarchy on their Ruins. *John Baſilowitz*, his Son, followed his Steps, was ſucceſsful, and ſubdued the Kings of *Caſan*, *Aſtracan*, and *Siberia.* To write all theſe Events, would make a long Hiſtory of itſelf, *Baſilowitz* reigning many Years. And though he was the greateſt Tyrant in the World, he was alſo one of the moſt happy Monarchs, if Victory alone can make a Prince happy.

The Czar *Michael*, Father to the preſent Czar (*Anno* 1670) was a very merciful, religious and good Prince, courteous to Strangers, and one who delighted in maintaining a friendly Correſpondence with all Chriſtian Potentates. Count *Wolmer*, the laſt King of *Denmark*'s natural Son, would have married his Daughter, but the Clergy of *Ruſſia* oppoſed it, ſaying *Wolmer* was a Heretic, and therefore the *Princeſs could not lawfully marry him.* The *Daniſh* Prince reſenting that the *Ruſſian* Prieſts ſhould oppoſe his Match, challenged them to diſpute with his Chaplains, whoſe Religion was the trueſt, his or theirs. The *Ruſſians* refuſed his Challenge. The Czar was highly enraged againſt them for it, demanding, *what Sort of Faith they profeſſed, that they could not defend it by Reaſon and Argument:* Some Days after, as he was going to Bed, he was taken with a Vomiting, and died the next Morning, not without Suſpicion of being poiſoned, the Prieſts apprehending he would make Innovations in their Religion. The Czarina or Empreſs, did not long ſurvive him, and Count *Wolmer* thereupon gave over all Thoughts of the Marriage.

This Emperor often recommended to his Son *Alexis Michaelowitz* to follow the Advice of *Boaris Juanowitz* his Governor. There is an odd Story of the Fate of this *Boaris*'s Father, being a Widower, and the Emperor *Baſilowitz*'s Favourite. He deſired him to beſtow one of his Concubines upon him in Marriage. *Baſilowitz* granted his Requeſt, without naming any of them in particular. The Favourite having a Licence at large, took the handſomeſt of them all. At which *Baſilowitz* fell into a violent Paſſion; and hearing they were retired together to one of his Stove-Chambers or Hummums, to enjoy themſelves with the greater Liberty, as they thought they might lawfully do, having the Emperor and the Prieſt's Conſent; the Czar commaned a Bear to be let looſe upon them; which was done; and the two Lovers were immediately devoured by him. *Boaris* and *Cleab*, the unhappy Favourite's two Sons, were bred up with the Emperor *Michael:* And *Boaris* gained ſuch an Influence over him, by a long Familiarity, that he governed all things as he thought fit, and was more abſolute than his Maſter. He leſſened the Czar's Officers; and thoſe he kept in their Poſts were glad to ſerve for half Pay; even the very Embaſſador's Penſions were retrenched: He impoſed new Taxes, and ſent thoſe Dukes, who having been Sovereigns formerly were moſt dangerous, to diſtant Governments, as to *Pripnin*, to *Bolgorod* and *Corathin*, and to *Caſan:* In ſhort he was ſo ſevere in his Miniſtry, that the Nobility hated him as much as they envied him; and he, deſpiſing their Intrigues to deſpoſe him from his exalted Station of chief Favourite and Miniſter, depreſſed them to raiſe his own Creatures.

The People murmured at the new Impoſitions; there was an Inſurrection upon it; they required Juſtice, and that the Emperor ſhould deliver *Boaris* over to them to be made an Example of for his Mal-Adminiſtration. The Czar was ſuprized at their Demands, not expecting any ſuch Inſolence from his Slaves, for ſo his Favourite had repreſented all his Subjects. He endeavoured to moliſy thoſe of them who were moſt outrageous. And to gain time, and ſave his Favourite's Life, he ſwore he would baniſh him from Court for ever. This Compliance appeaſed them; *Boaris* was ordered to retire, and the Nobility were reſtored to the Czar's Favour, which they managed as little to the People's Satisfaction as *Boaris* had done, who being a cunning Stateſman, obſerved their Diſcontents, and improved them to his Advantage, by encouraging the Clamour againſt the Nobility, who oppreſſed the People ſo much, that thoſe who were lately moſt for baniſhing the Favourite, were now hotteſt for recalling him. They found it no difficult Matter to ſucceed in their Enterprize; the Czar, on their Petition, did readily what they would have him do; ſent for *Boaris* to Court: And he was afterwards very kind to thoſe that had been inſtrumental in his Reſtoration. Ever after, he careſſed the People on all Occaſions, and favoured them to the utmoſt of his Power: He undertook to protect all Foreigners, and was equally beloved by Natives and Strangers. He died about ſixteen Years ſince, *i. e.* in 1650, in a very old Age, beloved by his Prince, and regretted by his People. He had the Character of an able Politician, whoſe Councils were ſucceſsful. He died lamented by every body but the ancient Nobility, whoſe ambitious Deſigns he always thwarted.

It was he that made *Eliab Danalowitz* General of the Czar's Army; who, before he had a Fit of the Apoplexy, was reckoned a Man of great Worth and Capacity. He was bold, daring, and vigilant: His Memory was ſo good, that he knew every one's Buſineſs in all the Employments Civil and Military. He could diſtinctly tell the ſeveral Quarters of an Army of fourſcore thouſand Men: He could tell the Names and Characters of all his Officers; but the Accident that happened as we have already ſaid, weakened him extremely both in Body and Mind: And his Memory is now ſo bad, that he hardly remembers thoſe Perſons with whom he was moſt familiar. He was Treaſurer, and held five or ſix more great Offices, which he managed with equal Skill and Succeſs. 'Tis true, he plundered a great deal, and the Emperor, who feared more than he loved him, winked at it more willingly, becauſe whatever *Eliab* ſcrap'd up, would fall to him in right of his Wife, *Eliab*'s Daughter. Nevertheleſs, after the Death of *Danelowitz*'s Wife, obſerving that he was too kind to ſome *Tartarian* and *Poliſh* Women, he ordered him either to marry or leave the Court. On which Occaſion, I cannot help remarking, that Marriages are in high Eſteem in *Ruſſia*, either out of Policy to encourage what helps to people the Country, or to prevent the *Ruſſians* abandoning themſelves to Boys and Beaſts, to which they are not a little inclined; nor is that Crime puniſhed with Death there, as in other Countries.

I

It is called *Ne Miſheay*, and it got that Name by this Means: A young Raſcal which was ſurprized committing an abominable Action with a Cow, cried out to the Perſon that ſpied him, *Ne Miſheay, Do not diſturb me.* This was done about eight Years ago; and ever ſince, that horrid Sin has been ſo called.

Eliab's Misfortune would have been regretted more, had not *Naſhokin* ſucceeded him in the Adminiſtration of Public Affairs. This Lord is one of the wiſeſt Miniſters in *Europe*; he is a Man of Temper and Integrity; he is indefatigable in the Diſcharge of his Offices committed to his Management, and a hearty Aſſertor of monarchical Government; he is Chancellor of the Office of Embaſſadors, and Governor of *Ruſſia Minor*; and has ſeveral other Employments, which his Predeceſſor *Eliab* held before him. It was *Naſhokin* that concluded the Peace with *Poland*, very honourable to his Maſter. He alſo formed the *Swediſh* Alliance, and erected the Silk Manuſacture throughout all *Ruſſia*; and by his Means *Ruſſia* is made the Mart of the Silk Trade; moſt of that Commodity either from *Perſia* or the *Indies* being brought thither, and ſent from thence into other Parts of *Europe*; but this Commerce did not laſt long.

His next Work was to reform the Emperor's Houſhold, and the Laws of the Empire. He contrived it ſo, that no Suit ſhould be long depending; and every Governor of a Province, aſſiſted by his Council, had a Power given him of Life or Death. Before that Order, Criminals of all Sorts were brought to *Moſcow* to be tried, which was very troubleſome and inconvenient for the Czar. The laſt Summer a *Jew*, who had turned *Turk*, and was Interpreter to the *Perſian* Merchants, accuſed *Naſhokin* on their Behalf, before the Emperor, for doing them ſome Injuſtice in the Precauce, or Court of Embaſſadors, of which he was Chancellor:. The Emperor anſwered, That *Naſhokin* had the Management of all Affairs relating to Trade; that he referred them to him; and if he was unjuſtly accuſed, their Interpreter ſhould pay dear for it. The Czar was as good as his Word, the Accuſation being found to be groundleſs; and the Renegado *Jew* had thirty Laſhes with a Whip, which threw him into a miſerable Condition. *Naſhokin* has often told my Author, That it was the Czar's Intereſt to keep up a friendly Coreſpondence with the King of *England*, more than with any other Prince in *Chriſtendom*; and it will not be improper in this Place to mention ſomething relating to him. Some *Engliſh* Merchants petitioned *Naſhokin*, that they might land ſome Goods which were on board the Ships lately arrived from *England*:

"He told them, he had a Paper printed, giving an Account of the Plague in *London*; that probably this Merchandize might come out of Houſes that were infected, and they knew very well a Spark might ſet a whole City on Fire; that he thought their Way of publiſhing their Infirmities was very ſtrange; adding, that if the Poor and Miſerable expoſe their Miſery and Poverty, it is to excite Compaſſion, and get ſomething by it; but the *Engliſh* ſpread it about every where, that the Plague laid their Country waſte, and gave the World a fair Warning not to have any thing to do with them; as Lanthorns or Light-houſes near the Coaſts warn the Pilots not to come near them for fear of being ſhipwrecked." He ſaid one Day, "He wondered any Princes ſhould ſend Letters of Recommendation in Favour of their Subjects, demanding Juſtice in their Behalf, as if the Czar did not know how to deal juſtly by Strangers as well as by his own Subjects. Sure ſuch muſt be very cheap in *Denmark*, continued he, becauſe I receive more from thence than from any other Kingdom. I do not know what they might coſt in *England*, but I am very well ſatisfied they are all to no Purpoſe. The *Muſcovites* do not govern themſelves like the *Engliſh*, by the Cuſtom of their Countries; and if the *Ruſſian* Dreſs becomes them, theirs will never become the *Ruſſians*." Being once diſcourſing on the Affairs of *England*, and particularly on the Succours ſent by the Kings of *France* and *Denmark* to the *Dutch* againſt the King of *England*, he declared, "He could not penetrate into the Politics of thoſe Monarchs, who in other Things were diſcreet, in doing ſo prepoſterous an Action; that in his Opinion, the beſt Thing for them had been to have joined with the King of *England*, and other Princes of *Europe*, to form an Alliance for the rooting up all Republics, which are good for nothing, but to ſerve for an Aſylum to Rebels and Heretics."

There have lately been a great many *Jews* admitted into the Czar's Court, by means of a *Jewiſh* Surgeon, who pretends to be a *Lutheran*. He was bred up in *Poland*, and advanced himſelf in the Court of *Muſcovy*, by furniſhing *Bogdan Matſeig*, High Steward of the Emperor's Houſhold, with *Poliſh* Girls, of whom he is very fond. This Miniſter was the Companion of the Czar's Youth, and has inſinuated himſelf ſo far into his good Graces, that for ſome Time he has been the reigning Favourite, and managed all the Concerns of the Houſhold as he pleaſed. His Wife obſerving his Intrigues, and underſtanding that he met *Poliſh* Girls, and other handſome young Women, Slaves, as well as thoſe that were free, was ſo jealous of him, that her Ill-humour became inſupportable to him, and he poiſoned her to get rid of it. The People murmured at the Murder, and the Czar commanded *Matſeig*, either to quit his Poſt or marry, and leave his Miſtreſſes. It is ſaid he intended to take one of his Concubines to be his Wife. He cannot agree with *Naſhokin*, and does not love the *Engliſh*, becauſe the *Dutch* have drawn him to their Intereſt by rich Preſents.

22. The Czar has lately built a Work-houſe, about a League from *Moſcow*, where the Poor are employed in Manufactures of Hemp and Flax. The Houſe is beautiful, large, and ſo well contrived, that all the Beggars in his Empire may be employed there; for whoſe Maintenance the Emperor has ſettled Lands upon it, to a conſiderable Value. The *Czaritza*, or *Czarina*, manages the Women's Work, and employs them for her own Benefit. The Czar is every Day buſy in contriving the Increaſe of Manufactures, how to invent new ones, or improve the old. His Workmen coſt little or nothing for their Subſiſtance; he rather gets than loſes by them; ſo that he ſaves his Revenues ariſing by the Cabacks, the Bagnios, and Stove-Chambers, Pitch, Hemp, Flax, Honey, Wax, Caviare, Sturgeons, and the ſalted and dried Fiſh that comes from *Aſtracan*, *Caſan*, the Lake of *Belſire*, and ſeveral other Lakes and Rivers in his Dominions, particularly in *Siberia*, where there are Abundance of them, and yield plentifully.

The Czar goes every Year, about the End of *May*, to a Country Houſe about three Miles from *Moſcow*, called *Obraſanſky*, or the Transfiguration, to which it is dedicated in Obedience to what is ſaid by the Evangeliſt St. *Luke*, Chap. ix. 13. *Maſter, it is good for us to be here, let us make three Tabernacles, one for thee, one for* Moſes, *and one for* Elias, &c. The Emperor ordered ſeveral magnificent Tents to be ſet up; his own was of Cloth of Gold, lined with Sables; that of the *Czarina* of Cloth of Silver, lined with Ermine; and thoſe of the Princes and chief Lords, of other Stuff, and other Linings, according to their ſeveral Ranks. The Czar, and *Czarina*'s Tents, thoſe of their Children, ten in Number, and their five Siſters, were round; in the Middle ſtands one which ſerves for a Church, and, all together, make one of the fineſt Sights in the World. Guards are poſted round about them, at a Muſket-ſhot Diſtance.

There are Palliſadoes placed to keep off the People. None durſt paſs beyond theſe Bounds; for the Czar will not ſuffer his Recreations to be prophaned by vulgar Eyes. When the Emperor goes into the Country for his Pleaſure, no Man is permitted to preſent any Petition unto him. A Captain of *White Ruſſia*, when *Peter Selticoro*, Governor of the Province, refuſed his Pay for above three Years, not knowing how to have Juſtice, thought his beſt Way was to addreſs himſelf immediately to the Emperor. He came up to him where he was in the Country, and approaching too near his Coach to give him his Petition, the Czar miſtruſting he had ſome ill Deſign, perhaps that it was to aſſaſſinate him, thruſt him to the Heart, with a Cane that had an Iron Spike at the End of it. He fell down dead on the Spot, and the Emperor ordering him to be ſearched, to ſee what Arms he had about him, there was nothing to be found but the Petition. The Emperor having read it, ſmote his Breaſt, and appeared mightily concerned that he had murdered an innocent Perſon, ſaying, "His Blood ſhall "lie at *Selticoro*'s Door, who was the real Cauſe of his "Death." He ſent for him, and not being ſatisfied with giving him a ſevere Reprimand, baniſhed him the Court, turned him out of all his Places, which he gave to *Naſhokin*, with an expreſs Command to enquire out *Selticoro*'s Miſdemeanours.

This Accident happened not long ago, and yet is not much talked of. For it is Death to tell what is ſaid or done in the Czar's Court. The Author going once to view the Workhouſe, built for thoſe that were to manufacture Hemp and Flax, juſt as it was finiſhed; and aſking the Workmen what Uſe it was deſigned for, not one of them durſt make any Anſwer, though they knew what was the Deſign well enough. All that he could get out of them was, *That God and the Czar only knew.* The Czar uſed every Night to viſit the Chancellor's Regiſters, to examine what Decrees had paſt, and what Cauſes were depending. Such poor Gentlemen as have nothing to maintain them, but what he gives them, are his Spies, of whom he has many in all Places. In his Armies, at all Wedding Feaſts, in all Embaſſadors Houſes, in all public or private Aſſemblies, they tell him what they hear or ſee, and he governs himſelf accordingly. The Czar's Children are ſerved by other Children, who are bred up with them, and are well educated in all Sorts of Knowledge, ſuitable to their Birth.

Trade is now very low in *Muſcovy*, two fifths of all the Inhabitants having periſhed in the late War; beſides the new Impoſitions laid on all Merchandize, the Cuſtom-Houſe Officers take away Merchants Goods by Force, and compel them to ſell them for Copper Money, which has ſunk the Price of ſeveral Commodities, and raiſed others as much, and put a Stop to the Currency of Commerce in general. Several great Traders were undone by it; ſome of them fell ſo in Deſpair upon it, that they hanged themſelves; and others ſpent what they had, in Cabacks and Brandy-ſhops, to drive away Care; which not being uſed to before, their Debaucheries ſoon put an End to their Lives. *Engliſh* Cloth is not ſo good a Commodity in *Ruſſia*, as that of *Holland*; and though the latter ſhrinks above a ſixteenth Part when it is wet, yet the *Ruſſians* prefer it to the former, becauſe they are of Opinion that it is only new Cloth which ſhrinks. The *Engliſh* are to blame to give way to their Fancy, and to carry on a Trade with them, which the *Hollanders* manage ſo much more to their Intereſt; their ordinary Cloth and Trifles turning to better Account than the beſt Commodity the *Engliſh* can bring them, by the wrong Judgment of the *Ruſſians*. If the Trade for Silks to *Perſia* and the *Indies* ſhould increaſe, the *Engliſh* will find it a hard Matter to recover their former Privileges and Immunities in *Ruſſia*; for the *Ruſſians* are grown ſharper, and corrupted by the *Dutch* correſponding ſo long with them. They are more numerous in *Muſcovy*, and richer than the *Engliſh*. They ſpare for nothing to ruin the Trade of *England* in *Ruſſia*, and ſucceed in it more than ſome imagine. They bribe the Nobility, by Preſents, to defend and protect them, and render the *Engliſh* contemptible and ridiculous, by ſcandalous Libels and abuſive Pictures.

They looked upon the *Engliſh*, a few Years ago, as a loſt and undone People. They are ſuch perfect Slaves, that they have a mean Opinion of all thoſe who are free. The *Dutch* would fare no better, did they not pay dearly for the Friendſhip of the Favourites and Miniſters in *Muſcovy*. They repreſent the *Engliſh* Nation by a Lion without a Tail, with three Crowns on his Head, turned upſide down; or by Maſtiffs, with their Ears and Tails cut off. Theſe fooliſh droll Pieces were done at a Time when they had no Reaſon to ſpeak very well of the *Engliſh*, who had begun a War with them for the leaſt Provocation in the World. The only Way for the *Engliſh* to recover their Reputation and Trade in *Ruſſia*, and to leſſen the Credit and Commerce of the *Dutch*, would be for them to ſuffer no body to deal there, but ſuch as could trade with ready Money, and not upon Truſt, as their Merchants have done for theſe twenty Years; and to ſend an Embaſſy to the Czar, to inform him of the flouriſhing Condition of the *Engliſh* Dominions; of their Strength, Greatneſs, Revenues, and their Colonies in both the *Indies*; to ſhew him Maps of all their Territories over the whole Earth, and Plans of their Forts and Cities. They ought alſo to undeceive *Aſſanaſty Naſhokin*, to whom their Nation has been vilely miſrepreſented by the *Hollanders*, and to preſent *Cogden Matſeig* with ſome Curioſities that he loves. The firſt would make it a Point of Policy to encourage them, when he underſtood the true Nature of the Caſe; and the other would procure them the Emperor's Favour, of which he is always ſure. The Author's Arguments on this Subject are of no Weight now; the Figure the *Engliſh* Nation has made abroad ſince the Revolution, needs no Embaſſy to ſound its Fame. The Ends of the Earth have heard of it with Wonder, and the Czar, as the Queen of *Sheba* did to *Jeruſalem*, came in Perſon to be a Witneſs of its Glory.

23. *Siberia* is a large Province, the greateſt Part of which is *Terra Incognita*, which reaches to the Walls of *Cathay*. Beſides what Account of it I had from the Gentleman of *Lorrain*, I met with ſeveral Perſons in my Travels in theſe Parts, who had been over a great Part of *Siberia*, and on whoſe Relations I can depend. One of them in particular, had travelled ſo far, that he traded with the *Chineſe*; and the other, who was more ignorant, though not leſs faithful, aſſured me that he went ſo far, that he ſaw a Sea with Ships, and Men aboard them, who wore no Hair but on their upper Lips, who were richly dreſſed, and covered all over with Gold and Jewels. Their Garments being quite different from thoſe of the *Ruſſians*, by the Deſcription he gave of them, in all Probability they muſt be *Chineſe* Merchants; for the Sea could be no other than that of the *Kaimochites*, on the North-eaſt Part of *Great Tartary*, or that of the Gulph of *Nankin* in *China*. The latter brought ſome *Chay* and *Bourdian* out of *Siberia* with him. The former is what we call *Tea*, the latter *Aniſum Indicum Stellatum*, a phyſical Drug.

The *Chineſe* Merchants have taught thoſe of *Siberia* to drink the Chay with Sugar as we do; and they take it to be an excellent Remedy for all ſuch as are troubled with any Diſeaſe of the Lungs, with Hypochondriacal Flatus's, and ill Diſpoſition of Stomach. They bring it to them in Papers, containing each a Pound, the Weight and Name being written on each Paper in *Chineſe* Characters. Thoſe that would travel through *Siberia*, are ſix Years on their Journey, occaſioned by the extraordinary Heat and Cold of the Climate, which obliges them to lodge all the Winter in cerrtain Places, and all the Summer in others. *Tumbut*, or as others ſay, *Siber*, is the Capital of this vaſt Province; here the chief Waywod, or Viceroy, reſides. Furs, Marten-Skins eſpecially, which are to be had no where elſe, are the principal Commodities of this Country. They eat dried Fiſh inſtead of Bread, which is not to be ſeen in all the Province, unleſs the Traveller carries it along with him. There is Plenty of all Manner of Fiſh in their Lakes and Rivers, in which they abound. They feed their Dogs with it, and even their Cows in cold Weather, which is exceſſive in *Siberia*, by which Means their Milk, generally ſpeaking, has a fiſhy Taſte.

There is Abundance of Filbert-trees of a prodigious Bigneſs, and the Kernel of the Nut is of a Size anſwerable to that of the Tree that bears it. They go a hunting in Troops, for ſix or ſeven Weeks together, covered over with three or four Skins, and drawn along in a Sledge by thirty or forty huge Dogs. They lie in the open Fields all Night, in the midſt of Winter; but they make good Fires about them to warm themſelves, and broil their Fiſh. Their Dogs are very expert in finding out Martens; and when they have found them, they never miſs taking them. When once the *Siberians* have ſhot them, which they do with a Cuſs, ſo dextrouſly, that they always wound them in the Noſe, that they may not prejudice the Skin. Beſides, if they do not hit them in that Part, it is rare that they catch them,

them; for it is a robuſt Animal, and will eſcape them, ſometimes, though he be ſhot quite through the Body. The River *Ob* runs through this Province; it is very broad, and falls into the *Mare Glaciale*; it is ſtored with Sturgeons and Belugas. The latter is a Fiſh, twelve or fifteen Feet long, reſembles a Sturgeon, but is not ſo pleaſant taſted when it is ſalted, as the former. The Meat is whiter than Veal, and as delicious as Marrow, while it is freſh.

The *Volga* is ſtored with that Fiſh, and with Sturgeon, moſt of all the Rivers in the North. When the Flood comes down the Mountains, by the melting of the Snow, and the Stream grows the more rapid, theſe Fiſh ſwallow great Stones to make them the heavier, that they may ſtem the Torrent the better. They throw them up again when the Waters abate, and the Current is not ſo ſtrong. It is out of the ſoft Roes of theſe Beluga's and Sturgeons, mingled together, that the People of *Aſtracan* make Caviare in this Manner: They put their Roes in a Heap of Salt, and when they have fermented a little, they ſqueeze them, and barrel them up. There are ſome who will not ſqueeze them at all. That Caviare is the moſt delicious, but will not keep ſo long as the other. The *Turks* make it with the Eggs of the Sturgeon, which are black and clammy. This the *Ruſſians* call *Fekra*. There is another Sort, which is nothing but the Roe of a Beluga. The *Armenians*, who I believe firſt made Caviare, do it after another Manner. They begin with cleaning the Roe, and throwing away all that is uſeleſs in them, then ſalt and lay them on crooked Planks, that the fat oily Parts may be drained off; after which they pack them up in Barrels, and beat them down till they are hard. The Beluga has one hundred and fifty Roes, and two hundred weight of Eggs, which the *Armenians* call *Arminſko Fekra*.

The Northern Part of *Siberia* is called *Samojedia*, or *Taſambeida*, which ſignifies Canibals or Men-eaters, becauſe the Inhabitants are ſaid to eat all the Priſoners they take in War. They live in round Tents, covered with Mats and Stags-Skins. They make their Fires in the Middle, and lie about them. There is but one Hole to a Tent, beſides the Door, and that is on the Top, to let out the Smoak. In Summer-time they remove to the Banks of Rivers, for the Conveniency of fiſhing. They live altogether upon Fiſh, which they often eat raw. In Summer they dry it, to keep for their Winter ſtore. Young Dogs are accounted one of their niceſt Diſhes. Their Cuſtoms, Language, and Religion, are entirely barbarous. They worſhip the Sun and Moon. Both Men and Women are dreſſed in Cloaths made of Stags-Skins, the Hair outwards, which they fancy is the warmeſt Way of wearing it. The Men have no Beards. The Women are abominably ugly, and ſo hard favoured, that they can ſcarce be diſtinguiſhed from the Men, the one being often taken for the other by Strangers. Yet as deformed as they are, they do well enough for the Canibals, who like them better than thoſe we think handſome. The Riches of the *Samojedas* conſiſt in Stags. There are ſome of them ſo tame, that they graze in Troops, ſtand ſtill to be harneſſed, and draw Sledges fourſcore Miles a Day, ſo incredible ſwift are thoſe Creatures.

Before the Inhabitants go a hunting of Stags, they conſult a Prieſt, who tells them the Place where they ſhall find their Game; and it is rare that they are out in their Gueſſes. Young Girls are a conſiderable Part of their Father's Wealth; they are never ſeen till they are betrothed in Marriage, and that is frequently done when they are ſix or ſeven Years old; for at that Age, ſomebody or other will buy them for a certain Number of Stags, that they may be ſure to have their Maidenheads. Huſbands are there ſo jealous of their Wives, that they lock them up cloſer than they do in *Italy*; and when they go a hunting, they have a Device to ſecure them from making them Cuckolds in their Abſence. The Emperor does not think theſe People worthy of living under his Government; they are liable to no Impoſts; what they pay is voluntary, and generally is in Stags; which from Time to Time they deliver to the Czar's Officers on the Frontiers. No body underſtands their Language, nor their Laws, which they execute with great Severity. When they ſell a Stag to a Foreigner, they preſerve the Entrails and eat them, even the filthieſt Part of them, after they have ſqueezed out the Excrement. Thoſe who underſtand Magic, are the moſt honourable Perſons among them. They are very dextrous in that fallacious Art, and exerciſe it very commonly towards Strangers; but they dare not play the *Ruſſians* any Tricks for fear of being ſeverely puniſhed. An *Engliſh* Merchant inviting ſome of them to Dinner, one of them got ſo drunk that he could not ſtand, ſpeak, nor ſit; and his Drunkenneſs continued ſo, till an old Woman touched his Forehead, and muttered ſome Words in his Ear; after which, if we may give Credit to Eye-witneſſes, from whom I had it, he grew as ſober as ever he was in his Life.

24. In the South Part of *Siberia* there is a Foreſt, or, as called by them, *a Step* about ſix or ſeven hundred Wreſts long, where there are few Rivers; and yet the Soil is extremely fertile. One may ride there ſeveral Days Journey in vaſt Fields full of Cherry-Trees not above two or three Feet high; not that they won't grow taller, but they were hindered by the Negligence of Travellers, who having made Fires in the Middle of the Fields, go their Ways without thinking of putting them out, and the Graſs of the Foreſt being very long and very dry, catches Fire, and burns up every Thing that lies in its Way. It is no uncommon thing to ſee a Fire burn for thirty or forty Wreſts together, and purſue Travellers ſo nimbly that often they have not Time to ſave themſelves. Theſe Cherry-Trees bear red Cherries, fair to look to, but ſour. The Fruit of ſome of theſe Trees that have been tranſplanted has been very good. I have talked with ſeveral Perſons who have ſeen Tulips, red Roſes, Roſes like Damaſk Roſes, Aſparagus larger and finer than ours, Onions, Marjoram, Thyme, Succory, Sage, Endive or white Succory, and other Flowers, Herbs, and Roots in the Foreſt, which we with a great deal of Care raiſe in our Gardens. The Turnip is very frequently met with there; they have good Carrots and Parſnips in *Samojedia*, and the Merchants of other Nations export a great deal of Nitre and Sal Gemet from thence. Elks are larger there than any where elſe. There is a little Animal called *Zouricks*, and another whoſe Name is *Perivoſkicks*, which are pretty Creatures.

The *Zourick* is ſomething ſhaped like a Badger, but different in the Face; his Skin is of an agreeable Colour; it is black, ſleek, and ſpotted a little, and his Legs ſhort, his Back almoſt a Foot long; they live like Coneys in Burrows under Ground. The *Ruſſians* tell a great many Stories of the Wars of theſe Animals, one with another, of their Dexterity in taking Priſoners, and ſending the Enemy away into Captivity; that they force their Slaves to fetch in Hay and Oats for them to lay up againſt Winter: It is ſaid their Burrows are very clean, neat, and artfully contrived; and if one of them dies the others carry out his Body and bury it elſewhere. Colonel *Crawford*'s Regiment quartering near the Place where they are to be found, theſe Creatures met one Day, to a prodigious Number, and made ſuch a frightful Noiſe as terrified the Soldiers and their Horſes ſo much that they ran away from their Paſture near the Place ten Miles, without ſtopping. The *Perivoſkicks* Skin is brown inclining to yellow, being a Mixture of white and black: The *Ruſſians* make Coats of them, but they are not much valued becauſe the Fur is not long, nor the Skin warm. I have heard, they take a great deal of Pleaſure to carry Squirrels and Ermines from one Side of the River to the other, on their Backs; from whence they derive their Name *Perivoſkicks*, i. e. to carry a Thing from Place to Place. Several Perſons have aſſured me, that the Squirrels in *Siberia*, when they can get nothing to eat on one Side the Water, will paſs over to the other on a little Piece of Wood, and make uſe of their Tails inſtead of a Sail. If the Wind ſets fair, they get over ſometimes; but if it changes they are infallibly drowned. There are many more Reports as extravagant, which have been averred to be true, relating to *Siberia*; but I will not impoſe farther on the Faith of the Reader.

There is a Bird in the Neighbourhood of *Caſan* and *Aſtracan*, about the Bigneſs of a Woodcock, whoſe Beak and Legs are like a Snipe's, and his Neck like a Cock's both for Feathers and Size: They fight like the Game-Cocks in *England*; they ſtand on their Guard when they put their Beaks to the Ground, and when they can do it to Advantage they leap at the Enemy with Vigour, and attack him as violently as the *Engliſh* Cocks of the Game do. They are better to eat than Quails. Sometimes one may catch this Bird near *Archangel*; where is alſo to be found a Bird as big as a Blackbird, reſembling a Hawk; like him he flies after little Birds, takes them, pulls them, cleanſes them, and then eats them. There is another Sort of Fowl as tall as a Swan, which is brought from *Aſtracan*; his Body and Feet reſembles thoſe of a Swan, his Neck is ſhort, thick, and ſo wide, that he will ſwallow a Fiſh ſix Inches broad.

Some Travellers make mention of a Plant in thoſe Parts called the *Lamb*; which deſtroys all the Herbs that grow near it, and then dies; but as this Quality agrees very ill with its Name of a Lamb, ſo the Story is accounted fabulous by Perſons of Judgment. This deſerves to be more particularly conſidered, and therefore we ſhall take the Liberty of adding ſomewhat to the Author's Remarks upon this Subject: This vegetative Animal is called *Borometz*, or *Barannetz*; the latter is the true Name, the Word *Baran* ſignifying, in the *Sclavonian* Tongue, a Sheep, and the Word *netz* being a Diminutive makes it ſignify a little Sheep or Lamb: The Baron *de Heberſtein* deſcribes it thus: He ſays, That it is of the Figure of a Lamb, grows to be very large, with a very ſoft Down, and deſtroys all the Graſs round it. We have Relations of the ſame Kind in other Travels, which are to the full as ſtrong, and ſome of them are pretended to come from Eye-Witneſſes. We ſhall perhaps have Occaſion hereafter to mention ſome of theſe Accounts in ſpeaking of the Countries to which they belong; but at preſent it may be ſufficient to clear up this Wonder, with which ſo many Naturaliſts have been puzzled, and ſome very ingenious and well-meaning Travellers abuſed.

The Truth then of the Matter is this: Some People in theſe Countries, for the Sake of Gain, have had Recourſe to a moſt wicked and barbarous Practice: They have opened their Sheep when at the very Point of Yeaning, and then taking out the Lamb they flea it, cleanſe the Wool; and while the Skin is wet extend it gently, and on all Sides, as faſt as they are able to ſtretch it upon the Graſs; and then, by the Aſſiſtance of Dew and ſour Milk, with which they ſprinkle it as it grows dry, bleach it in the Sun-ſhine till it is as white as Snow itſelf. By theſe Contrivances they obtain a Lamb-ſkin wonderfully thin, ſmooth and ſoft, and extremely fit for lining the under Garments of the Great and Wealthy. But as in all *Mohammedan* Countries, they look upon the Skins of Beaſts as an impure kind of Cloathing, and therefore abſtain from them on the Score of Religion, the People who take all this Pains have been forced to invent this Story of a vegetative Lamb, a Kind of Plant-Animal. And Travellers ſeeing the Skins, and hearing the Tale roundly affirmed, have ſuffered themſelves to be ſo far impoſed upon as to lend their Authorities to impoſe this Cheat upon Mankind, than which, without doubt, there never was a greater or more groundleſs; which is the Reaſon that we have taken the Pains to expoſe it; as we ſhall not fail to do whatever occurs of the like kind in any of the Voyages or Travels that we publiſh; for Credulity and Incredulity are alike dangerous, and without a cautious and judicious Enquiry not eaſy to be diſtinguiſhed. As in the preſent Caſe it would be equally wrong to believe, that no ſuch Skins as Travellers ſpeak of were ever ſeen or met with, as on the other hand it would be to ſwallow the whole Story upon the Credit of ſuch Skins having been ſeen.

25. The City of *Crim*, from whence the Prince of *Tartary* is ſtiled the Grand Cham of *Crim*, the Capital of his Empire, is ſituated on the *Tartarian* Sea, built of Stone and Brick, and encompaſſed with ſtrong Walls. The *Tartars* are tributary to the *Turks*; and it is not long ſince that the Czar of *Muſcovy* paid the Cham of *Tartary* Homage, as being obliged by Oath to feed his Horſe with Oats out of his Cap. The City of *Moſcow* alſo paid the *Tartarian* a Tribute of ten thouſand Coats made of Stags-Skins. The *Muſcovites* have for ten Years paſt refuſed paying it, alledging, that the *Tartars* made void the Treaty by Inroads into *Ruſſia*, and Robberies on their Borders. Indeed they are very troubleſome Neighbours; if they are routed they vaniſh in a Moment, and diſperſe; notwithſtanding which they meet again at Night at the Place of Rendezvous, and the next Day renew their Incurſions with as much Violence as ever: They will march fourſcore Miles a Day, in which time they change Horſes thrice, each of them having three or four Horſes If any one of their Cattle dies, either of Fatigue or Sickneſs, they cut the Fleſh out in Pieces and diſtribute it amongſt their Comrades, who eat it with as much Appetite as we do Beef or Mutton; they often devour it raw, but their common Way of cooking it is to put it between the Saddle and the Back of the Horſe, on which the *Tartar* rides, and that ſoddens the Fleſh enough for them to feaſt upon.

Thoſe Horſes that are in the Fields are very difficult to be caught, becauſe it is almoſt impoſſible to take them from their Company. If a *Tartar* falls ſick, they give him Mares-Milk, and the Blood of a Horſe, whoſe Veins they open on purpoſe. The Reaſon why they eat no Bread nor Salt, is that they believe Bread to be coarſe Feeding, which renders ſuch as eat it heavy and unactive; and that Salt is bad for the Eyes. It is certain their Sight is better than any Peoples in the World; they can ſee forty or fifty Miles when the Proſpect will admit it, and can diſcern a ſingle Man at the ſame Diſtance where the *Ruſſians* could not diſcern a Troop of *Tartars*. They are excellent Horſemen; they ride with a looſe Rein; lift themſelves up in their Stirrups, and ſhoot backwards on their Enemies that purſue them. The *Colmuck Tartars*, among whom *Tamerlane* was born, have a large Extent of Territory: They dwell in Tents, and live in their Paſtures: They are bigger and more ſwarthy than the *Crim Tartars*, and are not at all like them in the Face: Some Part of their Country is ſubject to the Emperor of *Ruſſia*: Their Women are as fit for War, and accuſtomed to it as well as their Men: Lately an Army of them defeated the *Crim Tartars*, who had carried away ſome of their Children into Captivity.

The *Crim Tartars* are flat-noſed; their Eyes are little and ſunk into their Heads; their Foreheads are narrow; their Shoulders low and broad; they are middle-ſized; as to their Shapes and their Make, they are every way ſo ſingular, that it is eaſy to diſcover a *Tartar* at firſt Sight among an hundred other Men. They flat the Noſes of their Children as ſoon as they are born, thinking it to be a Piece of Folly to let their Noſes ſtand in their Light: They are all *Mohammedans*; they laugh at the Worſhip the *Muſcovites* pay their St. *Nicholas*; and maintain that they had better adore the Sun, who is a glorious Body, the Life and Light of the World, than fall down before wooden Images. “ See, ſay they, what your Gods come to. When the Painting is worn out, you throw them into the River with a Coptack or two, and a little Bit of Olibanus; thus they ſail down the *Volga* to the *Caſpian Sea*; there we take them up, dry them, and burn them to roaſt our Horſe-fleſh by the Fire. Are not they very fine Gods that ſerve us inſtead of Faggots, and that cannot reſiſt thoſe that deſtroy them?” Before I have done with my Relation of *Ruſſia*, I will ſay a Word or two of ſeveral ſorts of Muſhrooms that grow there and no where elſe in that Form. There are ſeven which are moſt remarkable in their Figures and Qualities. The ſort called *Rizbiees*, are a little black and red, and ſpring up in a Night in the Marſhes. The *Smitzſkies* or Honey Muſhrooms, which *Gerbard* calls *Fungi farinoſi*, reckoning them among Poiſons, are excellent, and very dear in *Ruſſia*; it is the moſt delicate Diſh that is brought to the Tables of Perſons of the higheſt Quality; they put it in Soups and Pies. They come up before the other ſorts in *April* and *May*.

The *Gribbeys* are of a brown Colour, or rather of a black Yellow; the Tail of one is like a Pilaſter, and ſwells out in the Middle; they come up before the *Somtzſkies.* The *Volnitzies* are brown and black, mixed with red, and grow ſharp at top. The *Grouzbdys* are the biggeſt Sort of all of them, as hollow as a Honey-comb, and whiter than a Tulip when they are dead: Before they are boiled they are full of Juice, ſo tart and bitter, that it will bliſter the Mouth of thoſe that taſte it. I thought I ſhould have died after I had put a little of it within my Lips. The *Maſtamicks* are ſo called from *Maſta*, which ſignifies Butter, Oil, Suet, or any thing that is fat and oily. *Maſta Conova* is Milk or Butter. *Denavanna maſta* is Oil of Olives, or rather the Oil of a Tree; for *Denava* is in *Engliſh* a Tree. There are ſo many ſorts of Muſhrooms beſides, and ſo many of thoſe I have mentioned, that I have been told, a thouſand Waggon Loads a Year are brought to *Moſcow*: The Poor live upon them, and the Rich make them a ſecond Courſe. Almoſt all the *Ruſſian* Muſhrooms are good to eat, and there are very few of thoſe kinds which the Botaniſts call venomous. But to return to our Voyage.

26. We took our Leaves of theſe unhappy Exiles with reciprocal Tears, and mounting our Sledges, travelled on three Hours before we met with any Habitation: We then diſcovered five or ſix Huts together, in which were about a dozen Perſons: We aſked by our Interpreter, if they had any thing to truck for our Money or Brandy? They brought us out what Skins they had, and we dealt with them for them. We followed the Courſe of the River *Petzora*, which gives the Name to the Town; and near the Banks of it came to ſmall Villages pretty often; in ſome of which we found Inhabitants, in ſome others none. Where we met with any body to trade with us, we bought their Furs with Money of ſome, but more with Brandy. They would not part with their Sables for fear of being detected by the Governor of *Papinogorod*, whither we were going, who always ſearches whatever Merchandize is brought thither, to ſee if there are no Sables among it. We croſſed the Mountains which divide *Borandia* from *Siberia*. That was one of the worſt Journeys we had in all our Undertaking; thoſe Mountains being difficult to paſs, and ſo barren, that no Creature, Man or Beaſt, can live upon them: Beſides they are almoſt always covered with Snow; and towards the Aſcent and Deſcent, there are ſuch vaſt Numbers of Bears and white Wolves, that we were afraid of our Lives, expecting every Minute when they would have fallen upon us; though, perhaps, we needed not to have been in ſo much Fear, for thoſe Animals were, probably, as much terrified at us, as we at them.

They fled before us, ſome on one Hand, and ſome on the other, miſtaking us by the glittering of our Arms to be Hunters, and not Merchants. We were twelve Hours in croſſing the Mountains, and our Cattle had much ado to draw us over them. At laſt we reached the Deſcent, and arrived in a Village in *Siberia*, where the Inhabitants were all cloathed in Bears-Skins, with the Hair outwards, having Linnen Shirts on and cloſe Buſkins, by which we perceived we were come among People that were not ſo barbarous as thoſe we had parted from: They, in Effect, received us more civilly, aſked whence we came, and whither we were going. We eat and drank together of the beſt we and they had; ours was Rice-cake and Brandy; theirs, dried Wolfs and Bears Fleſh, Ginger-bread and Spirits. We bought all their Furs, except their Sables, with ready Money.

We reſted in their Houſes, which were built after the manner of the *Laplanders*. We ſlept on Bears-Skins, after having drank each of us a Cup of Brandy. When we awaked, we got upon our Sledges, and travelled without any further Delay for about twenty Hours together, till we came to *Papinogorod*. The Governor of the Place, hearing of our Arrival, ordered us to come to his Caſtle to examine for what, and from whence, we came. We waited upon him as we were commanded, and entered the Caſtle; he ſaluted us in a very friendly manner; and our Accountant, who underſtood the *Muſcovite* Language, gave a ſatisfactory Anſwer to all the Queſtions he demanded of him. When he knew that we were *Danes*, and Dealers, whoſe Buſineſs it was to buy Furs, he entertained us as handſomely as he could; and to ſhew us that he had a great Kindneſs for, and Confidence in, us, he ſent for his Wife to come and ſee us; which ſhe did, bringing in one Hand a Bottle of Brandy, and in the other a Silver Cup, according to the *Muſcovite* Faſhion; as alſo a Plate of Ginger-bread, which a Maid brought after her. We ſaluted her, as is the Cuſtom of the Country, by bowing our Heads. She preſently untied the Knot of her Smock Sleeve, and let it fall to the Ground: Our Supercargo preſently took it up, and kiſſed it, and our Accountant did the like, and ſo did I; then ſhe furled it up again with the left Hand; and taking the Bottle and Cup, which ſhe had ſet down to pay this Ceremony, gave to each of us a Brimmer of Brandy, and a Piece of Ginger-bread, herſelf ſtanding at the End of the Table, by the Side of her Huſband. She then returned to her own Chamber, and the Governor afterwards regaled us with good Cheer.

When we had done Supper, we were conducted to our Lodgings prepared for us in the Caſtle, and, conſidering the Country, lay in very good Beds. We ſlept about ſeven Hours, and then roſe; which the Governor having Notice of by one of his Servants, he got up, and came to ſee us, and brought alſo a Bottle of Brandy with him; one of his Domeſtics held another in his Hand, and filled us out a great Cup for our Morning's Draught. We each of us drank one; after that, we fell to Buſineſs. The Governor demanded if we would buy his Skins? our Supercargo ſaid he would, if he liked them, and could agree on the Price. His Furs were extraordinary well choſen, and though they were the deareſt we met with in all our Travels, yet they were the beſt worth our Money. Having ſeen them bought and paid for them, he ordered one of his Men to call in ſome of the Inhabitants who had Skins to diſpoſe of; but he would not ſuffer them to ſell one ſingle Skin till he had driven his Bargain. While our Supercargo was dealing with the Governor and his Neighbours, I walked up and down the Town.

It is ſituated in a very fine commodious Place, in a little Plain, the Country about it fruitful, ſurrounded with high Mountains, and near it runs a large River, well ſtocked with Fiſh; the Houſes are built very poorly, they are low, and the Walls are of Wood or Mud, caulked between the Beams with Moſs. The Town is paved with Pieces of Timber laid cloſe together. The People of Faſhion in *Papinogorod* are dreſſed in Breeches and Stockings of Cloth, and a long Robe over them of the ſame, which comes down to their Toes. Their Sleeves are made as cloſe as poſſible, ſome of one Colour, ſome another: Their Shoes are like the *Polanders*, they are rather Boots than Shoes, buttoned a-top, and the Leather is dyed, ſome of it blue, ſome red, and ſome yellow: Upon their Heads they wear Cloth Caps, lined and bordered, ſome with black Fox-Skin Fur, ſome with Ermines, and ſome with Sables. As for the Women, they are beautiful, fair and fat; their Hairs are of a light Cheſnut Colour, and their Mien gallant for *Muſcovites*; their Robe or Upper-Garment, like the Mens, comes down to the Toes; it is alſo made of Cloth, either Red, Blue, or Violet Colour; the Shape of it reſembles our long Waiſtcoats; it is lined with white Fox-Skin or Sable; they have long Sleeves pinned to it, for they cannot put their Arms into them, becauſe their Smock-Sleeves are of ſuch a prodigious length; ſome of them are five Ells long; they are made of fine Callico, and plaited up from their Wriſts to their Shoulders; their Head-dreſs is an oval Cap, their Hair hangs a long way down their Backs; their Shoes are made of *Ruſſia* Leather, and they have a Girdle of Pearl, pretty large, round their Waiſts. Thoſe that are Natives of *Siberia*, differ as to their manner or way of Living from the *Samojedas*, *Borandians*, and other Natives of the *North*. All the *Muſcovites* are *Nicholatians* by Religion.

They are grave, robuſt, ſwift, and dextrous at ſhooting with the Croſs-Bow. There are no Pettyfoggers in *Ruſſia*; no Villains who rob the Poor, under Pretence of recovering their Right; who ruin the Fatherleſs by feigned Attempts to ſave their Inheritance, and enrich their own Families with the Spoils of their Neighbours. The *Muſcovite* Law is all Equity, and all Courts of Juſtice are Courts of Chancery; but there is ſuch Care taken to expedite

Cauſes, that there is no Occaſion of Complaint given, as in ſome Countries more polite. Falſe Wittneſſes are ſeverely puniſhed, ſo are Traitors and Robbers; and the Friends of the Deceaſed proſecute Murderers. The *Ruſſians*, eſpecially in *Siberia*, are ignorant, ſelf-intereſted, Drunkards, churliſh, and ſo jealous, that their Wives are almoſt always locked up in their Chambers; nor dare they to ſtir out when they are more at Liberty, unleſs they are commanded by their Huſbands: They are afraid to ſhew the leaſt kind Look or Action to Strangers; and if their Huſbands do not beat them, it is ſo cuſtomary to do it, that they believe they do not love them. When we had bought up all the Furs we liked at *Papinogorod*, conſiſting of white Wolf Skins, white Fox-Skins, black of the ſame, Lynxes, and Sables (for ſome we had of the Governor by Stealth) Ermines and grey Squirrels, we packed up; and with what we bought at *Petzora*, had enough to load one Sledge, and almoſt half another. We had ſtill ſome Tobacco, and about five thouſand Ducats left; wherefore our Supercargo reſolved to go farther to get more Furs, and to return to our Ships through *Samojeda*.

Our Brandy falling ſhort, we bought the beſt the Governor, our Hoſt, had, and bargained with him for Proviſions ſufficient to laſt twelve Days, and for Rain-Deer to carry us to our Journey's End. When we had quite done dealing, and paid our Money, we muſt have a drunken Bout at parting; without which, there is no getting away from a Houſe in *Ruſſia*. We eat and drank for ten Hours together, and then lay down to Reſt eight more, when we got up and harneſſed our Rain-Deer, baled and loaded our Merchandize and Proviſions, we mounted our Sledges, took our Leaves of our Hoſt, and departed. We ran ſeventeen Hours; and all the Way we went bought up what Furs we could light on of the *Siberians*. We then croſſed the *Riphæan* Mountains in ſix Hours more, after which we entered *Samojeda*, a deſolate mountainous Country, full of Juniper Trees, Pine Trees, and Firs. It abounds in Moſs as well as Snow, Wolves, Bears, and Foxes, all white, we met every Moment, to our no ſmall Terror. When we aſcended the Mountain *Stolpboen*, out of which riſes the River of *Borſagatz*, we came to eight or nine Houſes, where we ſtopt, as well to bait our Cattle as to reſt ourſelves. We trucked with the Inhabitants Brandy for white and black Wolf and Fox-Skins, Caſtor and Otter-Skins; they had ſeveral dozen of Ermines, which they would not ſell us upon any Terms, notwithſtanding our *Borandian* Guide aſſured them with a thouſand Proteſtations, that there was no manner of Danger, we being Traders that were going to our Ships, and could not be ſearched before we got to the Coaſts, becauſe we were not to paſs through any Place where there were any Officers to ſearch for prohibited Goods. They would not hearken to us till we had drank them all down; and when the Liquor was gotten up into their Heads, they grew bold, brought out their Sables, and ſold us the beſt and moſt that we picked up in our whole Journey.

We ſtaid to reſt ourſelves in one of the chief Huts of the Village; the Maſter of the Houſe, his Wife, and Children, lay all together, without Diſtinction, and we amongſt them, on Bear-Skins. After we had ſlept four or five Hours, I awoke at a Noiſe our Hoſt made to raiſe his Family. They all roſe and went out; I had the Curioſity to obſerve them; I followed them at a little Diſtance, and perceived they all fell down on their Knees behind the Cottage, lifting up their Hands and Eyes to Heaven to adore the Sun, whom they believe to be God. The *Samojedes* are ſhorter and thicker than either the *Laplanders* or *Borandians*; their Heads are big, their Faces flat, as alſo their Noſes; they have ſcarce any Hair at all, and are as ſwarthy as the Ground itſelf; their Dreſs is a round Cap, furred like a Lamb Skin, a Pair of Breeches, and a white Bear-Skin Coat that comes down no farther than their Knees; they wear about their Middle a Girdle four Inches broad; their Shoes and Stockings are made of the ſame ſort of Skin, with the Hair outwards; under their Shoes they wear a ſort of Skates two Feet long, made like a Gondola, with which they ſlide prodigiouſly faſt on the Snow, that lie almoſt always on the Mountains; inſtead of a Cloak, they hang a Bear's-Skin with black Hair upon it over their Shoulders, the Feet dangling down at the four Corners; it hangs more on the left Side than on the right, to leave their Hands at Liberty for the Managemenr of their Bows. Upon this Skin they tie their Quivers.

The *Samojedian* Women are uglier than the Men; they will endure a great deal of Hardſhip, and take care to breed up their Children well in the handling of their Bows; at which they teach them to be very dextrous; they are dreſſed like Men, only their Upper-Garment is a little longer; their Caps are the ſame with the Mens; and all the Difference in their Head-dreſs is, that the Women have a Lock of Hair twiſted, which hangs down on their Shoulders; at the End there is a Knot of Ribbons made of the Rind of a Tree, and that reaches down to their Heels. This is all their Finery; they hunt as well as the Men, and are armed with Bows and Arrows, as they are; the Huſbands are true to their Wives, and the Wives to their Huſbands. If any one among them is found guilty of Adultery, either Man or Women, the Criminal is immediately ſtoned to Death.

27. Having traverſed *Samojeda*, bartered all our Wares, and loaded ourſelves with Skins, we returned, and met with no Adventurers worth remarking. We made what haſte we could, and reached the Coaſts of *Borandia*. In twelve Days after our Departure from *Papinogorod*, our Ships rendezvouſed at a Place on that Shore, where we had appointed them to meet us. We loaded all our Merchandize aboard them, paid off our *Borandian* Guide, and embarked. We weighed Anchor two Hours after, and ſailed with a fair Wind for *Zembla*, where we arrived the next Day in the Afternoon. We caſt Anchor in a convenient Place, near which we ſpied, upon the Shore, a Company of about thirty Perſons, with Quivers at their Backs, on their Knees, worſhipping the Sun that was then ſetting. Our Maſter and Supercargo conſulted together, what Courſe they ſhould take to come at the Speech of them. They thought them to be more wild than any they had yet ſeen, and that it would be difficult to get them to deal with us. They reſolved to ſend out three Long-boats, with ten Men, well armed, in each, to defend themſelves in caſe they were attacked. I was commanded to make one among them. We rowed to Shore; when we came about a quarter of a Mile off Land, all the Savages, who were ſtill on their Knees, got up, let fly at us; after which they ran away, like ſo many Stags before Hunters. They ſhot at us when we were at too great a Diſtance from them to receive any Hurt by their Arrows.

We landed, and purſued them to the Place whither we thought they were fled, in Hopes that we might be able to catch one or two of them, which, however, was not to be done. We loſt Sight of them, and could not tell which Way they were gone; yet we followed them till we came near ſome Mountains covered with Snow. We advanced farther into the Country, where, on a ſmall Hillock, we perceived a Piece of Wood cut out in the Figure of a Man, but very wretchedly. Before it were two *Zemblians* on their Knees, their Arms lying by them. They were worſhipping this Idol, as the others on the Shore were adoring the Sun. They fled from us, and it growing Night, we did not care to purſue them very far; they ran into a Fir-wood, and we thought it would be in vain to go after them. We therefore concluded our beſt Way was to return to our Ships, and make a Report of what we had ſeen and done. This Idol is called *Fetizo*; one of our Maſters had been there before, and ſeemed to believe that the Devil entered the Idol ſometimes, and from it pronounced his infernal Oracles.

Seven or eight Hours after I was got aboard again, I was taken with a violent Pain in my Head, and a Vomiting, which laſted three Hours; after that I had a ſore Throat, inſomuch that I could ſcarce ſwallow any thing. The Glands were ſwoln to a high Degree. I felt a great Ebullition of Blood, and an Itching over all my Body; my Gums ſwelled, and bled mightily; my Teeth ſhook; and I was ſo faint, that I could ſcarce keep upon my Legs. I loſt my Stomach, and eat nothing;

became extreme weak, and had a Fever almoſt always upon me. My Breath was ſhort and offenſive. I was very dry, and to quench my Thirſt I often drank Water and Vinegar. Perceiving my Diſtemper continued the two following Days, and conſidering that it was cauſed partly by exceſſive Cold, and partly by eating ſalt Meats, which had inflamed my pituitous Glands in ſuch a Manner, that my Phlegm had infected my other Humours, inſtead of Oxycrate, or Water and Vinegar, I reſolved to take ſome Brandy and Syrup of Liquoriſh, of which I drank a Spoonful every Hour. I eat no ſalt Fiſh, all my Food was freſh. I gargled my Mouth ſometimes with Brandy, and ſometimes with Vinegar, to ſtrengthen my Gums, and rubbed my Teeth with *Mel Roſat.* The greateſt Part of our Ship's Crew was taken with the ſame Diſeaſe as well as myſelf. I preſcribed the ſame Remedy; and in fifteen Day's Time I cured them and myſelf too. Our other Ship's Crew were as much troubled with it as our own; their Surgeons did whatever their Art ſuggeſted to them, by way of bleeding and purging to cure them; but thoſe Remedies rather increaſed than helped the Diſeaſe; two of their Sailors died of it, and one of their Accountants was likely to die of it, as alſo ſeveral other Mariners, upon which I was ſent for to a Conſultation. I adviſed them to do as I had done, and to give over purging and bleeding, which are mortal in that Caſe.

It was obſerved, in a very hard Winter, in *France*, that in this Diſtemper, which ſome took for the Plague, and was occaſioned by the Rigour of the Seaſon, that ſeveral Perſons, died immediately upon bleeding, which is of no Uſe in Cacochymical Diſtempers. Bleeding and purging in ſuch Caſes, are good for nothing but to weaken the Sight, to injure the Nerves, to conſume the radical Moiſture, to diminiſh the natural Heat; and, in ſhort, to diſlodge Mens Souls from their Bodies, ſooner than they ought to go; and to fill the Church-yards. However, I would not be underſtood to ſpeak againſt bleeding; in ſome Diſtempers it is good, as in all hot and plethoric Caſes, provided it is not uſed above twice or thrice. Being once at *Algiers*, ſeveral of our Crew were taken with this Diſeaſe, which I call the Scurvy; their Glands were ſo ſwoln, that one would have thought that they had had a Piece of Fleſh in their Throats. They had the ſame Symptoms as I had on the Coaſts of *Zembla*; their Phlegm was ſharp and corroſive, it affected their other Humours, and eſpecially the Maſs of Blood, as the Pox does, which is a Species of it; and I was forced to deal with my Patients as if they had really been poxed, not with Mercury, which by its cold, moiſt, and venomous Quality, exaſperates the Humours of the Body, and infects the Ventricles of the Brain, inſtead of cleanſing them, cauſing a Flux at the Mouth, by which, without Danger, one may cure the Itch, but not the Pox; the latter being cauſed by a cold, moiſt, venomous Humour, oppoſite to the Nature of Mercury; and this the Mercurialiſts cannot deny.

This Scurvy, with which ſea-faring Men are ſo troubled, proceeds from groſs Vapours which come from the bad Water they drink, the bad Bread, and the bad Victuals they eat; the melancholy, cloſe, and foul Air which they breathe: And the Infection of Scorbuticks is only to be remedied by Cordials. I could not forbear making this Reflection, which, as it relates to the Diſtempers incident to ſuch as go the Northern Voyage, I hope it will meet with a favourable Reception.

We ſtaid ſixteen Days on that Part of the Coaſt of *Zembla*, where we at firſt caſt Anchor; where our Crews were all cured, except three or four, who were on the mending hand. Our Maſters ſeeing there was a fair and freſh Gale, reſolved to ſail to *Weygatz*, to fiſh for Walrus, the Fiſh by us called a *Sea Horſe.* We ſailed about ſix Leagues, then cruized up and down for the Conveniency of our fiſhing. We kept near Shore, and put out our Long-boats, and ſent our Harponiers and Fiſhers in them, eight in each, without reckoning the Rowers. We were three Days a fiſhing, without catching any thing; at laſt we ſpied two large Fiſh approaching us; one of them had a Horn in his Forehead, that was of a good Length; our Fiſhers prepared to ſeize him; they came within a Stone's Caſt of him; our Harponiers threw their Harping-Irons at him, ſome on one Side, and ſome on the other, letting looſe the Ropes by which they were faſtened, and then they got off as nimbly as they could, for fear of the Monſter. When our Harponiers and Fiſhers ſaw that the Harping-Irons ſtuck in the Fiſh, they made towards our Ship's Sides, being ſure they had him faſt, becauſe he ſwam above Water, which is a Sign of his Weakneſs; they drew him nearer and nearer, by the Ropes that were faſtened to the Harping-Irons. The Monſter endured all without ſtruggling; he had loſt ſo much Blood, he had no Strength left.

The Fiſhers doing their Office, cut off his Head, which we kept, and flung the Body into the Sea, it being neither good to eat nor for Oil. People fiſh for the Sea-Horſe, purely for the ſake of his Teeth, which are as good as Ivory, and ſomewhat in a Pound dearer, being whiter than Elephants Teeth, and not ſo apt to turn yellow as Ivory is. The Horn of the Sea-Horſe we took, was ten Feet long, very heavy, winding, and as big as a Man's Arm near the Shoulder; very ſmall and ſharp a-top, growing bigger and bigger downwards to the Root. One of our Boats coming too cloſe to the other Fiſh, thinking to make ſure of him, the Monſter, as ſoon as he felt the Iron in his Sides, ſtruck his Tail againſt the Boat with ſuch Violence, in ſtruggling to free himſelf, that he over-ſet the Boat; and the other Boats were ſo far off, that before they could get thither to take up the Men, two of them were drowned; for whoſe Deaths we were troubled, the Prize being by no means a Recompence to us for the Loſs. The Fiſh was taken and his Head cut off, as the other was. I ſaw it had no Horn, but, to make amends, his Teeth were whiter and larger than that of the former.

We cruized up and down four Days before we ſpied any more Fiſh, wherefore it was reſolved to change our Station. As we were preparing to depart, we ſaw four of the ſame Fiſh, which ſeemed to be bigger than thoſe we had caught; ſo we furled our Sails, and made our Harponiers go out in our Long-boats, with the other Fellows that were employed in the Fiſhery. We took three of them; one eſcaped us; that which our Fiſhers brought aboard the Ship I belonged to, had no Horn; neither had the other two any. Twelve Hours after we diſcovered five Fiſh more. Our Harponiers and Fiſhermen got preſently into their Boats, to endeavour to take them, eſpecially one of them, which had a Horn in his Head. But though the Fellows did whatever Men could do to catch them, three of them made their Eſcapes; among which was the horned Fiſh; and the other two were taken, and had their Heads cut off. Two Hours after we ſpied three more; our Fiſhers went out after them; they took one, whoſe Head was brought aboard us, and was ſo big, that each of his great Teeth weighed twenty-nine Pounds.

Two Days after we ſaw ſeven or eight more of theſe Fiſh, and a horned one among them. We put out all our Boats, and our Fiſhers were ſo fortunate as to catch five of them, of which one was the horned Fiſh; it was our Lot to have him; his Horn was like that of the firſt Fiſh we caught, but not ſo heavy or ſo large, it being ſcarce ſeven Feet long. We ſtaid there five Days longer, and ſeeing nothing all that while, took Advantage of a North-north-eaſt Wind, which ſprung up, and ſailed towards *Weygatz*, in Hopes to paſs thoſe Streights. We kept our Courſe pretty well for thirty-ſix Leagues, but then we could go no farther, becauſe of the huge Pieces of Ice that oppoſed our Paſſage, and the Mountains of Ice covered with Snow, called *Pater Noſters*, which lie at the Mouth of the *Mare glaciale* (the frozen Sea) and the great Sea of *Tartary*. If a Ship could paſs through thoſe dreadful Streights, a Paſſage to the *Eaſt Indies* would not be above a Quarter ſo long as it is now, through the *Atlantic Ocean*. For this Reaſon the Streight is called *Weygatz*, as much as to ſay, in *Engliſh*, a Place one cannot paſs through.

28. We came to an Anchor in thoſe Streights, near

the Shore, on the Eaſtern Coaſt of *Zembla*; one of our Seamen landing there, and going about his neceſſary Occaſions, a Bear came behind him, and ſtruck him down with his Paw, and would have certainly deſtroyed him, had we not perceived it. We immediately fired a Fuzee, and by good Fortune ſhot him dead, otherwiſe the poor Sailor would not ſo eaſily have got out of his Clutches; he was not ſoon eaſed of his Fears, and the reſt of his Comrades were ſo terrified by his Example, that they durſt not venture aſhore. A little while after there came three Bears to our Ship Sides, and ſtrove to come aboard. We cut off the Paws of one of them, with our Hatchets, and ſhot the other with a Muſket. While we were diſpatching theſe two, the third mounted the Side of our Ship, and entered it; a Sailor who ſtood near him, cried out as if he were about to be devoured; and well he might, for the Bear was at his Heels. We all took up Oars and Pieces of Timber, with which we knocked him down, others ſhot at him, and two more that were ſwimming towards us, and killed them. We thought this Deſtruction would hinder any more from coming towards us, but we were miſtaken; for four or five Hours afterwards we diſcovered eight or ten more upon the Ice, and taking the Water they ſwam towards us, which obliged us to handle our Arms, and fire at them. We aimed ſo well that not one of them eſcaped us. More and more ſtill approaching from the high Mountains, as if they had declared War with us, we reſolved to retreat before ſuch a terrible Enemy.

We weighed Anchor, and returned to the Place where we firſt anchored, on the Weſtern Shore of *Zembla*. After fifteen Hours ſail, we got out of the Streight, by favour of an Eaſterly Wind. We had much ado to avoid running againſt Rocks of Ice that lay in our Way. At the Mouth of the Streight there is an Iſland which looks very green, covered with Fir and Juniper-Trees. Some of our Crew went aſhore, and ſaw a ſort of Birds there ſo big they could hardly fly. They came and told us what they had ſeen; upon which I deſired Leave to go aſhore, with about forty Men detached from the Crews, to hunt thoſe Birds, and make Diſcoveries. We killed about ſixty of them, ſome we ſhot, and ſome we knocked down with Clubs; their Carcaſſes were carried aboard with us. The Maſter of our Ship, called theſe Birds *Penguins*. They are not much higher than Swans, but a great deal bigger. They are ſharp-beaked, of a brown Colour; their Feet are webbed like thoſe of a Gooſe, and at their Gullet there hangs ſomething like a Bag, about a Foot long; it begins juſt under their Beaks, and comes down to their Breaſts, widening as it lengthens; it is not unlike an Urinal, only it is bigger. In this Bag they put their Victuals, and take it out of it when they have a mind to eat. We were forced to ſkin them before we could eat them; their Skin being very tough, and we had much ado to pull them and dreſs them. The Fleſh was extraordinary good, it taſtes like that of wild Duck, only it is fatter. We eat heartily of it, and had not had ſuch a Feaſt in all our Voyage. We ſtaid at Anchor off of the Iſland, where we caught the Penguins two Days, and then a South-eaſt Wind ſpringing up, we weighed again, and held on our Courſe North-north weſt; in a few Hours we got out of the Streight, then the Wind varied, and we coaſted it along to a high Cape, where we arrived in about thirty Hours. That Cape is not far from the Place where we ſaw the *Zemblians* adoring the Sun.

His *Daniſh* Majeſty having commanded our Captains and Officers to bring off ſome *Zemblians*, if they could poſſibly, that he might learn of them what was the Growth and Riches of their Country, they dropped Anchor, and reſolved to do the utmoſt to obey the King's Command. As ſoon as we were ready, ſome of us went aſhore, in our Long-boats, to ſee what we could diſcover; there were thirty Perſons in all, of whom I made one. We had ſcarce got over the Ship's Side before we diſcovered a *Zemblian* in his Canoe, about half a League off Land; who, ſeeing us make towards him, rowed ſo nimbly, that it was impoſſible for us to get up with him; as ſoon as he ſet foot aſhore, he took up his Canoe and ran away with it on his Shoulder, ſo ſwiftly, that we perceived it would be a difficult Matter for us to overtake him. He held his Dart in his Hand all the while, and yet did not ſeem to be incumbered in his Flight. We landed, and purſued him towards a Hill which we ſaw him mount, but he was nimbler than we, and it was in vain for us to follow him, when we had once loſt Sight of him. We therefore gave over all Thoughts of taking him, and returned to our Ships, very ſorry that we had miſſed our Prize. As we were ſailing back to our Ships we ſaw two *Zemblians* in a Canoe out at Sea, they ſpying us rowed toward the Promontories and Rocks, on the Coaſts, to hide themſelves; but we took to our Oars ſo briſkly, that we came up with them as they were rowing, with all their Might towards a Rock. We ſurrounded them, being in four Boats; and when they found they could not eſcape us, they ſet up a hideous Howling, the moſt horrid Noiſe that ever I heard in my Life. We carried the Men aboard with us, towed the Canoe along, having faſtened it to one of our Boats. It was like a Gondola in Form, fifteen or ſixteen Feet in Length, and two and a half in Breadth. It was made of the Rib-bones of Fiſh, very artificially; the Sides were of Fiſh-Skins ſewed together, it all looked like a huge Purſe, from one End of the Cano to the other; the Bottom was of the ſame Materials with the Sides. The *Zemblians* are ſhut up in it as high as their Waiſts; a Drop of Water cannot get into it; and they expoſe themſelves in the fouleſt Weather, without Fear of foundering. We perceived one of the *Zemblians* we had taken was a Man, and the other a Woman. We made all the friendly Signs we could to them, and careſſed them, to find out where their Habitations were, but we could learn nothing.

Upon this thirty of us landed again, took ſeveral Days Proviſions with us, and went in two Troops, well armed, at about an hundred Yards Diſtance one from another, to try if we could meet with any more of the Inhabitants. We hid ourſelves in Caverns under the Rocks, poſting Sentinels near Trees, in open Places, proper for diſcovering, if any of the *Zemblians* came that Way; where we intended to ſeize them, and force them to ſhew us their Habitations. We were two Days before we could hear of any thing to our Purpoſe; at laſt our Sentinels gave us Notice that they ſpied two coming down a Hill, towards the Sea-ſide. Six of our Company ſtaid in the Cavern; five more, and myſelf, removed to one a little farther off; and a quarter of an Hour after, theſe two *Zemblians* paſſed by our Caverns without perceiving us; one of our Companions ſhot off a Fuzee, to give Notice to thoſe in the other Cavern, that they were hemmed in between us and them; when they came near their Cavern, they ſallied out, and we did the like from ours. The *Savages* being thus trapped, ſaw it was in vain to fly, ſo we eaſily took them. Their Garments were of Penguins-Skins, the Feathers outwards; they had each a Pair of ſtrait Breeches on, which came down no farther than their Knees; a Waiſtcoat of the ſame; the Sleeves no longer than to the Elbows. The reſt of their Arms was naked; their Waſtecoats were picked before and behind; their Caps were in the Form of a Sugar-loaf; their Stockings of the Skin of a Sea-Calf, the Hair outwards. Though their Dreſs was the ſame, yet we ſoon perceived which was the Man, and which the Woman. The Man ſeemed to be about twenty-four Years of Age, his Face like the reſt of thoſe Savages, was very broad, his Complexion ſwarthy, his Noſe flat; he had neither Beard on his Chin, or Hair on his Head. At his Back hung a Quiver full of Arrows, and on his Shoulder he carried an Axe; in his other Hand he held a Bow. The Woman was about twenty Years old, her Hair hung down on each Shoulder, twiſted in two Locks. She had blue Streaks on her Chin, and four or five on her Forehead; her Ears and Noſtrils had Holes bored in them, in which ſome blue Stones, or Rings of Fiſh-bone, were hung. Thoſe in her Ears were as big as a Filberd, and thoſe in her Noſe as a Pea. She held a Dart in her Hand.

We tried all the Ways we could think of to oblige them to ſhew us where they dwelt, but they would not give us the leaſt Token to direct us; they were as ſtubborn as thoſe we had taken in the Canoe, and we were forced to carry them on board without making any further Diſcoveries: When we brought them to their Fellow-Priſoners, we perceived they knew one another, though their Garments were quite different: Thoſe we took in the Canoe being dreſſed in Sea-Calf-Skin Cloaths; and theſe in *Penguins* Skins. The Hair of the Sea-Calf-Skin was put outwards; the Waiſtcoats of theſe *Zemblians* were made of two Skins joined together, the Tails dangling, the one before and the other behind, almoſt as low as their Knees; their Drawers were very ſtrait: The oldeſt was about fifty Years of Age; he had a round Beard of a Cheſnut Colour; he had no Hair on his Head. The Woman that was with him, ſeemed to be about thirty Years old; her Ears and Noſe were bored, as the other Woman's were, and blue Stones hung in them; her Hair was twiſted, and dangled like the Country Woman's: They were both extreme ugly, and the Man and Woman ſhorter and ſquatter, than either the *Laplanders*, *Samojeds*, *Borandians*, or *Siberians*: They had ſqueaking Voices, and ſtinking Breaths, which latter was cauſed by eating of Fleſh without Salt, or Fiſh dipped in Fiſh-Oil. They drank nothing but Water. We could never make them eat any Bread, ſalt Meat, or Fiſh, nor drink any Beer; they taſted Brandy now-and-then, but hated the Smell of Tobacco: Their Needles, the Points of their Darts and Arrows, and all their other Inſtruments were made of Fiſh-bones: The Wood-work of their Bows and Darts was very heavy, of a red-brown Colour; that of their Arrows is much lighter and whiter. When they go, they waddle along like a Duck, and are the moſt deſpicable Creatures I ever ſaw of the Race of Men.

29. The Summer Seaſon being very far advanced, for it was now the latter End of *Auguſt*, and the Days growing ſhorter, we having half an Hour's more Night than we had; the Cold alſo increaſing, and all our Companions longing to ſee their own Country again, we weighed Anchor, the Wind at North north-eaſt, and held our Courſe South-weſt. We ſailed before the Wind ſeveral Hours, and then veered to the South-ſouth-eaſt, which obliged us to make our Way northward, to endeavour to reach ſome Shore. We coaſted along with a South-ſouth-eaſt Gale till we came to *Greenland*, where the Wind ſhifted again to Weſt-ſouth-weſt, and forced us to drop Anchor near a Fleet of *French* and *Dutch* Ships that were come thither a fiſhing; the Whale-fiſhery being the Trade of that Place. The Ships did not lie far off Shore, for the Whale, as well as the Sea-horſe, is caught near Land; they are taken after the ſame Manner as we took the Sea-horſes, and when they are caught they are cut to Pieces and the Greaſe taken out of them; which is put into an huge Kettle, and melted to Oil, near ſome Huts which the Fiſhermen built for their Conveniency along the Sea Shore. It was very well for our *Zemblians*, that we came where there was ſome Whale-oil to be had: They had loſt their Stomachs, and could eat nothing for want of it; they could get nothing down unleſs it was ſoaked in that Oil; and all our Store was out.

I ſaw a Whale dreſſed that had no leſs than three hundred and fifty Pound weight of Bone in her fit for Bodice-makers, beſides the Oil that came out of her Greaſe. We ſtaid but two Days in *Greenland*. The Wind ſpringing up North-eaſterly we weighed Anchor, and proceeded on our Voyage homewards. We had a fair Gale all that Day and the following Night till five o'Clock the next Morning, when we ſaw three Suns in the Heavens one above the other; theſe Meteors were ſo like the Sun in Brightneſs that we could not diſtinguiſh the one from the other; we alſo perceived foul Weather gathering from the ſouthward, and ſoon after we were overtaken by a violent Storm, which obliged us to furl moſt of our Sails, and fire a Gun, for a Signal to our Company of the Danger we were in, thereby warning them to do as we had done. We gave ourſelves over for loſt, and intirely ſubmitted to the Will of Heaven; three Hours after it blew terribly South-ſouth-eaſt; it thundered with louder Claps than ever I heard it before.

The Sea was ſo rough, and our Ship ſo toſſed that we could only carry our Mizen-ſail; the Yard lowered almoſt to the Ship's Deck; two Sailors were forced to tug at the Oar with Ropes, we having much to do to manage the Ship. We ſailed thus all that Day, and the next Night the Wind continuing as ſtiff as at firſt, our Captain commanded one of the Men to get upon the Main-top, to ſee if he could ſpy Land, and diſcover whereabouts we were: The Sailor looking round him, cried out he ſaw a great Fire; our Maſter ſaid it was *Mount Hæcla* in *Iceland*, a Mountain that burns like *Ætna* and *Veſuvius*. The Weather being ſtill foul, we reſolved to make Land as faſt as we could, though we had nothing to do there; we were afraid to keep out to Sea, our Ships having ſuffered much by the Storm. We arrived near the Shore about Night, and as we lay by, heard dreadful Noiſes at Land; they were like the Fire of ſeveral Cannons, after which we ſaw Flames iſſue out of *Mount Hæcla* in abundance. We found ſo many Rocks on the Coaſt of this Iſle, and the Sea was ſo rough, that we did not care to venture nearer the Land than a League; but our Pilot aſſuring us he underſtood the Coaſts well, we made into *Cape Heri*, where by the Skill and Care of the Pilot we anchored in Safety. One of our Company broke her Beakhead againſt a Rock, and had like to have ſplit; the other received no more Damage than we did. We immediately went aſhore; our Maſters, Supercargo, myſelf, and fifteen of our Crew, the Maſter and Merchants of the other Ships accompanying us.

We landed at a Village called *Heri*, and hence we went to *Kirkebar*, a little City or large Town of *Iceland*, where we met eight or nine *Daniſh* Merchants, who were ſurprized to ſee us there. They entertained us very cordially, and told us, that the Day before the whole Iſland ſhook ſo violently that they thought they ſhould be all ſwallowed up. They gave us good Wine, good Bread, and good freſh Meat. There is Plenty of all Sorts of Cattle in this Iſland, which abounds in rich Paſtures; and the Beaſts that feed on them delight ſo much in *Caitophe* Herb, that the Inhabitants are forced to ſtint them to ſuch a Meaſure, or they would eat till they burſt; which they would certainly do if they were ſuffered to eat their Fill, as in other Countries.

30. Our Captain, Supercargo, and the others of our Company, gave the chief Merchant at *Kirkebar* an Intimation, that they would fain ſee what was to be ſeen in the Iſland that was rare. The Merchant preſently ordered Horſes to be got ready for all of us that were willing to go far into the Country: I ſaid I would make one, and we mounted eight in all; the reſt, not having ſo much Curioſity as we, choſe rather to ſtay and drink at this Merchant's. The Merchant ſent one of his Servants and two Iſlanders along with us to be our Guides, and furniſhed us with a Horſe-load of Proviſions. We travelled two Days together in Bye-ways very difficult to paſs, rugged, and unfrequented: At laſt we came near *Mount Hæcla*; five Miles off it we found the Ground ſtrewed with Aſhes and Pummic-ſtones; over which we paſſed, by the Foot of the Mountain. The Weather was very ſerene and calm, and we ſaw neither Fire nor Flames come out of the Mountain: Upon this we reſolved to go up to the Top; but our Guides informed us that, if we went farther, we ſhould be apt to fall into Pits of fiery Fumes, and it was impoſſible to pull us out. Thus all our Company except myſelf declared againſt proceeding. I told them if they would ſtay for me, I would go up myſelf: They promiſed they would; ſo I alighted, and prepared to aſcend the Mountain. One of the *Daniſh* Merchants whom we met at *Kirkebar*, and who accompanied us out of Curioſity, ſaid he would go along with me.

We gave our Horſes to our Guides, who ſtaid behind with the others who came out with us: We footed it over Aſhes and Pummice-ſtones, and ſometimes we were up to the Calves of our Legs in Aſhes, and yet we ſtill went forward, as we reſolved to reach the Top of *Hæcla*. We had not gone far before we eſpied a Flight of Crows and Vultures, that had their Neſts in the Top of the Mountain: We aſcended half a League, and then felt the

Ground ſhake under us; we alſo heard ſuch a terrible Noiſe in the Bowels of the Earth, that it ſeemed as if it would burſt open: At the ſame time there appeared, on all Sides, Chinks; out of which there iſſued bluiſh Flames, which ſmelt like the Stench of burning Brimſtone. This Sight made us turn back, for fear of being conſumed to Aſhes by them. We had ſcarce got down thirty Yards, before a black, ſmoky Cloud aſcended out of the Mountain, ſo that it darkened the Light of the Sun, and covered us ſo that we could not ſee one another; our Fears grew upon us every Step we took; for behind us came Flames of Fire, Showers of Aſhes, and Pummice-ſtones, which fell as think as Hail; and this dreadful Storm was attended with horrible Noiſes, which made us cry out in a frightful Manner, fancying that the infernal Furies were coming out of the Mountain to devour us; beſides, we expected every Moment that the Earth ſhould open, and ſwallow us up, which added Wings to our Flight, and we ran as faſt as we could, to eſcape the Danger, to which our idle and ridiculous Curioſity had expoſed us.

Fear made us ſo nimble, that in a Quarter of an Hour we deſcended ſo much of the Mountain as we were a full Hour in aſcending. When our Companies perceived us come down ſo faſt upon them, they burſt out a laughing at us, and their Laughter grew louder when they ſaw us in ſuch a Pickle, as black as if we had been plunged in Soot; but their Mirth abated as ſoon as we came nearer them and dropped down dead, for ſo they thought us, we being neither able to ſtir nor ſpeak. They rubbed our Temples, Noſtrils, and Hands with Vinegar, and did what they could to bring us to our Senſes again: It was not long before we came to ourſelves; they gave us a good Cup of Canary; and when we recovered Strength, we told them what had happened to us; and they rejoiced that we came off ſo well. We all left the Foot of the Mountain, to go to ſee two Fountains ten or twelve Miles off; the one is always boiling, and the other always ſo cold that it turned every Thing that was put into it to Iron. About a hundred Yards off the Foot of the Moutain we found a Pummice-Stone as big as a Wine-Hogſhead, which had lately been caſt out of *Hæcla.* Our Guides ſeeing that we were aſtoniſhed at the Bigneſs of the Stone, ſaid, they had ſeen ſeveral much bigger than that, which ten Men could not ſtir; and that inſtead of Flames, Aſhes, and Pummice-Stones, there ſometimes iſſued out Floods of Water, as out of Spouts; ſometimes nothing but Flames, ſometimes nothing but Aſhes, and ſometimes nothing but Stones. After three Hours riding we drew near to the Fountains; they are about thirty Yards Diſtance from each other: We came to the cold one firſt, and put in a little Cane I had in my Hand, when I took it out again I was ſurprized to ſee the End of it which had touched the Bottom, metamorphoſed into Iron, and weighing as heavy as that Metal.

From thence we went to the boiling Fountain. At ten Yards Diſtance from it we ſaw a Parcel of Animals as big as Ducks, moſt of them red, which were friſking about and playing together. We ſtood looking on them awhile, pleaſed with the Novelty of the Sight; when we came nearer to the Place we ſaw nothing, and when we were gone they appeared playing and friſking, as before. They do ſo when they ſee no body, but if any body appears they plunge down to the Bottom of the Fountain, which, as our Guides informed us, is ſixty Fathoms deep. From the boiling Fountain we travelled towards the Seaſide, and arriving within half a League of it, we heard Noiſes like the Voices of Perſons complaining. Our ignorant Guides, Natives of the Country, would fain have perſuaded us that theſe Noiſes were the Lamentations of the Damned whom the Devil tormented, and that when he had roaſted them in the Flames of *Hæcla*, he cooled them in the Ice of the Coaſts. Though we did not give much Credit to this *Iceland* Tradition, we reſolved to ſee thoſe Seas of Ice which bound that Part of the Iſland and no other. When we arrived at the Coaſt I found that thoſe imaginary Complaints were occaſioned only by the Agitation of the Wind and Water, the Ice beating againſt it, and the Ice againſt the Rocks. This Ice, ſay our Guides, comes on their Coaſts in *June*, and goes away the fifteenth of *September*.

It was the thirteenth when we were there; and having ſeen all that was worth ſeeing, we returned to *Kirkebar*, where we arrived three Days after; we ſtaid a few Hours in Town, and then went aboard; where we found the Governor of the Iſle accompanied by the Biſhop of *Scelitbolt*, who came to ſee our Ships, and diſcourſe with us, underſtanding we had been at *Zembla*. The Iſlanders for the moſt part dwell in Caverns cut out of Rocks, the reſt live in Huts built after the Manner of thoſe in *Lapland*, ſome with Fiſh-bones, and others with Wood covered with Turf: They and their Cattle lie under the ſame Roof: They are all ugly, both Men and Women; they are ſwarthy, and dreſſed like the *Norwegians*; their Shifts and Smocks are made of Packing-Cloth, or Sarplier; and ſome few wear Coats made of Sea-Calf-Skins, with the Hair outward. They live very plainly, as do all the Nations of the North; they lie on Hay or Straw in their Cloaths with Skins upon them, and make but one Bed for the whole Family. All their Work is fiſhing; they are naſty and brutal; they are almoſt all of them Wizards or Witches. They worſhip the Devil by the Name of *Kobald:* It is ſaid he often appears to them under a human Figure. They have alſo a Sort of Houſhold God or Idol cut out of a Piece of Wood with a Knife, very hideous to look on, which they adore privately, and hide for fear the *Lutheràn* Prieſts, who teach them as they can, the Chriſtian Faith, and endeavour to deliver them from the Bondage of Satan: But theſe *Barbarians* were fonder of their diabolical Idol, and more conſtant to him than ſome Chriſtians to the Profeſſion of their moſt holy Religion. Though the Fields in *Iceland* look fair, and there is Plenty of Paſture, no Wheat grows there, nor any other Grain fit to make Bread with; the Cold is ſo extreme it kills the Seed, or green Corn, by a North-eaſt Wind; which is very violent in thoſe Parts.

31. Three Days after our Return from our Journey to *Mount Hæcla*, and that we were a Ship-board, we took the Opportunity of a North Wind which ſtood fair for us, weighed Anchor and ſet ſail, holding our Courſe South-ſouth-eaſt. We ſailed before the Wind ſeveral Days, and then it blowing a very ſtiff Gale, it drove us on the Coaſt of *Norway*, where we made the Promontory of *Talſo*, a little City built on an Eminence four Leagues from the Sea, there is a fine Caſtle in it; and we rejoiced that we were ſo near Land, hoping that we ſhould ſoon ſee an End of our Voyage. We coaſted along Shore about twelve Hours, and then the Wind changed with the Moon, which obliged us to keep out to Sea, for fear of being driven back; notwithſtanding our Caution, it blew ſo hard that we were forced to drive before the Wind forty Leagues backward.

Then the Weather grew a little more calm; ſoon after that, we had not Wind enough in our Sails to ſtir us. Nothing is ſo tedious to a Sailor as a Calm, eſpecially upon a long Voyage, when he has been out a conſiderable Time, and is impatient to reach home; a Storm would be be more welcome to him: He cannot tell how to employ his Time, all his Thoughts run upon his Country, made dearer to him by many Months Abſence; and his Impatience to ſee it, torments him more under the Delay of a Calm, than the Fear of Shipwreck in a Tempeſt. In about two Hours we had a Water-Cloud to the South-weſt; our Mariners were preſently ſtruck with a dreadful Conſternation, apprehending it would fall upon us. We were obliged to furl all our Sails, and lower our Yards down a Port, fearing it would pour upon us; but it did not come nearer than two Leagues; we ſaw it fall at about that Diſtance. Theſe Clouds are in Form like a black Column or Pillar, which appears in the Heavens over the Sea; and if by Chance they fall on Ships, they ſink them to the Bottom, with the Flood of Water, which pours down from them like Cataracts, eſpecially if it chance to fall perpendicularly. The Wind ſpringing North-north-eaſt, we proceeded on our Voyage, ſo happily, that in ten Days Time we arrived at *Copenhagen*; where having ſaluted the Caſtle, we dropped Anchor, put out our Boat, and went to Shore.

When we entered the City, his Majeſty being informed that we had brought ſome *Zemblians* with us, he commanded us to bring them to Court; which we did, every body gazing at them as if they had been born in another World. The King himſelf admired the Oddneſs of their Dreſs, and the Strangeneſs of their Figures. He ordered the Steward of his Houſhold to give Directions that they might be carefully kept and provided for, and be taught the *Daniſh* Language, hoping he might then get ſomething out of them, relating to their Country, that would be beneficial to his own. He commanded us to give him an Account of the ſeveral Places we had been at; of the Manners of the People, and their Way of living. We gave his Majeſty full Satisfaction in all his Demands, and went then to wait upon our Owners, to inform them what Markets we had met with, and what Returns we had brought them home; which proved mightily to their Advantage and Content. Our Ships were ordered up to *Chriſtian Haven*, to be unladen, which was done in two Days time. One of the chief Merchants of the Company trading to the North, preſented the King in the Name of the reſt, with the two Sea-Horns, which we brought home with us. He received them as Rarities, that were of ineſtimable Price, believing they were really Unicorns Horns, of which abundance of Authors have written, and pretended there is a great Virtue in them. The King commanded they ſhould be depoſited in the Treaſury Chamber, and promiſed to grant the Company, in return, as many Privileges as it was in the Power of his Prerogative to beſtow on them. The Merchant who preſented the Horns, was rewarded with a Chain of Gold, with his Majeſty's Picture hanging to it; and had a Licence to trade, Cuſtom-free, for a certain Term of Years.

32. As I have mentioned the Unicorn, whoſe Horn is ſo much ſpoken of, and valued for the Virtues that are attributed to it, I ſhall take this Occaſion to ſpeak my Thoughts of this Matter, after I have given the Reader an Account of the Sentiments of others. It is very difficult to decide what Creature it is which is properly the Unicorn. There are ſeveral Animals called by the *Greeks*, *Monoceros*, and by the *Latins*, *Unicornu*. Among the four-footed Beaſts, ſeveral wild Aſſes, and wild Bulls, particularly the Bull of *Florida*. Among Serpents, it is the horned Aſp, and the red Salamander. Among Fiſh, the Sea-horſe, and many more, whoſe Names are unknown to *Europeans*. There are ſome Fowl, and even ſome Inſects, that have been thought to be Unicorns; ſuch as the *Flemiſh* and *Engliſh* Beetle, both which are frequently mentioned by Naturaliſts; and beſides theſe, other Animals of different kinds in the *Indies* have been, by ſome, fancied to be the Creature, called by the *Latins*, *Unicornu*. Some Authors will have it to be a Land-Beaſt; others a Water-Animal; and ſome again an amphibious Creature, that lives either on Land or in Water.

Pliny ſays, the Unicorn is like a Bull, ſpeckled with white Spots; her Hoof hard, and cloſed like a Horſe's. *Munſter* writes, that it reſembles a Colt of three Years old, of the Colour of a Weazel; her Head like a Stag's; her Legs and Feet little, and her Horn growing out in the Middle of her Forehead, about two Cubits long. *Marco Paulo*, the *Venetian*, ſays, ſhe reſembles an Elephant, only ſhe is ſomething leſs; that her Colour is the ſame, and alſo her Shape or Form, excepting her Tail, which is like a Bull's; and her Head like a Hog's, but ſo heavy, that ſhe cannot hold it up; this evidently is the Rhinoceros. *Philoſtorgius* writes, that her Head is like a Dragon's; that in the Midſt of her Forehead, her Horn grows out of an indifferent Size, reſembling that of a Snail; that ſhe has a Beard like a Goat; a long Neck; her Feet like thoſe of a Lion, and the reſt of her Body much like that of a Stag, excepting her Skin, which is like a Snake's. *Heliodorus* adds, that ſhe is ſo nimble a Beaſt, the Hunters can never come at her. *Louis Paridis* will have it, that ſometimes ſhe is taken, and that her Food, afterwards, is Peaſe, Lentils, and Beans; that ſhe is not much bigger than a large Greyhound, but is not of ſo ſlender a Make; her Skin, in Colour, like a Caſtor's, only ſleek; her Neck ſmall, but long; and her Feet cloven, like a Stag's; her Tail ſhort; her Muzzle like a Cow's; her Eyes great; her Ears little; and between them grows her Horn, about a Foot long.

Thevet affirms, that the Unicorn is as big as a Bull-Calf ſix Months old, that her Legs and Feet reſemble thoſe of an Aſs; her Ears like a Rain-Deer's, and that her Horn grows up ſtrait on the Top of her Head. *Louis de Bartheme* imagines the Unicorn is like a Bay-Horſe, cloven footed; and that her Horn grows in the Middle of her Forehead. Some ſay, that the Rhinoceros is the Unicorn; *Kircher*, that it is the Sea-Horſe, which he alſo calls Lamia; wherein he is very much miſtaken; for the Lamia is another Sort of Fiſh, called by the *Engliſh* Rahen, of which the Inhabitants of *Martinico*, *Guardaloupe*, *St. Chriſtophers*, and the other *American* Iſlands, ſtand in great fear; for they are in danger of being devoured by them, as often as they bathe in the Sea.

Authors differ widely about the Size and Shape of this Horn. *Albertus* ſays, that at the Bottom, or Root, it is as broad as one's Hand; that from thence it riſes taper to a Point, and that it is ten Feet long. *Munſter* will have it only three Cubits in length, which is only four Feet and a half. *Marco Paulo* ſhortens it to leſs than two Feet. *Paradis* reduces it to a Foot and a half. *Nicolaus Venetus* brings it down to a Foot: And the famous *Jerom Cardan* will have it the length but of three Inches. We find as great or greater Differences as to Colour. *Pliny* is very clear that the Unicorn's Horn is black. *Solinus* ſays it is of a purple Colour. *Paradis* ſays it is red, or of a reddiſh yellow. *Albertus Magnus* thinks it may be like a Stag's Horn: But other Writers are very poſitive that it is much whiter than any Ivory. We are likewiſe aſſured, by ſome, that it is quite ſtrait and ſmooth; others perſuade us, that it is finely wreathed, and ſhines as if it was poliſhed; neither are there Authorities wanting to prove, that ſome are very finely ſpotted with brown and black, but they do not tell us where. When I reflect on the ſeveral Opinions of thoſe who have written of the Unicorn, and how they differ from one another, I ſometimes believe that each of them ſpoke after his own Invention, to raiſe the Admiration of the Reader.

As for the imaginary Virtues of the Unicorn's Horn, they are conſequently fictitious; but ſuppoſing that what has been pretended to be the true Horn was really ſuch, I will venture to affirm, there is no more Virtue in it than in that of a Stag, a Goat, or Elephant's Tooth, which is made uſe of to ſtop the ſpitting of Blood and Bloody-flux, which is done by the aſtringent Quality of theſe Horns, and that cannot ſo properly be called a Virtue as a Malignity. The Unicorn's Horn, or what has been ſaid to be ſo, has neither Smell nor Taſte, and of courſe can have nothing in it of ſuch cordial Virtue as is pretended.

Since my Voyage to the North I have looked over ſeveral Charts drawn by the moſt celebrated Geographers, and I wonder to ſee they placed *Zembla* no farther to the Eaſt-north-eaſt of *Lapland*. It is more to the Northward than they make it. They are alſo in the wrong to divide it from the Continent, and to place it twelve hundred Leagues from *Greenland*, as many of them do; for indeed it is contiguous with it. The Coaſts of *Greenland* join to thoſe of *Zembla*; and were it not for the prodigious Snows that fall there, and the Rigour of the Seaſon, which render the Place uninhabitable, one might eaſily go from *Greenland* to *Zembla* by Land, and from *Zembla* paſſing the *Pater Noſters*, a Ridge of vaſt Mountains, enter *Samojeda*, and thence either into the *Great Tartary* or *Muſcovy*.

I admired alſo, that they did not make the Streights, called *Weygatz*, above ten *French* Leagues long; whereas they are five and thirty *German* Leagues in length. They ſhew by their Charts that Ships may by that Streight enter the great Sea of *Tartary*; which, whatever they pretend to, is not to be done. Some have ſaid, that in the Days of Prince *Maurice* a Ship paſſed the Streights of *Weygatz*, and ſailed into the *Tartarian* Sea, which is a plain Falſity, as I ſhall make appear. This Streight, as I have ſaid, is bounded by the *Pater Noſter* Mountains, the leaſt of which is half a League high; and it is agreed, on all Hands, that they are of Ice which never melts. I am of the ſame Opinion, having been in the Streights near thoſe Mountains in the Dog-Days, the hotteſt Seaſon of the whole Year, and was as cold then as ever I was in *France* in the coldeſt Winter; which Seaſon laſts there all the Year.

33. The many cruious Particulars contained in theſe Voyages and Travels may very well atone for ſome Deficiencies and Miſtakes in them. It appears from hence, that there are no Countries in the World through which Men travel with more Expedition than in thoſe frozen Climates, where one would imagine that Men could ſcarce travel at all; and this induces one to wonder, that they have not been more thoroughly and effectually examined, eſpecially conſidering with how great Eaſe this might be done, if the Court of *Ruſſia* intereſted itſelf in the Matter. Our Author appears to be a Man of great Sincerity, and relates every thing he ſaw diſtinctly; and at the ſame time tells us his Sentiments of the Matter. The Account he has given us of *Ruſſia* is prior in Point of Time to the Reign of *Peter the Great*; who, in ſome meaſure, changed the Nature of his Subjects: But, however, as this has been done very ſlowly, there is good reaſon to believe, that with reſpect to the Bulk of the People in the diſtant Provinces of the *Ruſſian* Empire, they are not much altered from what they were. It is not eaſy to gueſs what part of *Circaſſia* he means, when he ſpeaks of the Inhabitants of it in the manner he does; and for my own Part, I am apt to think he calls the People of the *Ukrain*, *Circaſſians*; and my Reaſon for thinking ſo is, that both in their Language and in that of the *Poles*, the Word *Coſſack* ſignifies a regular Soldier, a Man trained to War, and in conſtant Pay. It is very true, that we now conſider the *Coſſacks* as a Nation, and not as a Militia; and this with Propriety enough, becauſe the *Poles* having given that Country to their Soldiers, they ſtill retain the Name of *Coſſacks*. Though they are no longer regular Troops.

By the way, it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that it was breaking through their military Tenures, and endeavouring to make theſe People pay a rack Rent for their Lands, that induced them to rebel againſt the *Poles*, and to put themſelves under the Protection of the Czar. His Account of *Siberia* is very entertaining and curious, and the *Tinquiſes* he ſpeaks of are the Inhabitants of the very Extremity of *Aſia*, towards the Sea of *Japon*, a very brave, though a very barbarous Nation, with whom the *Muſcovites* have been long at War, but whom hitherto they could never ſubdue. The manner in which the Exiles live in that dreadful Country, is alſo very well and very truly deſcribed. The Mines that have been ſince diſcovered there, have indeed furniſhed another and more laborious kind of Employment. But the ſhooting wild beaſts ahd collecting their Furs, ſtill continues to be the principal Buſineſs of the unhappy Perſons who are baniſhed thither; and theſe are not only Men of as great Rank as any this Gentleman mentions, but ſome alſo of much ſuperior Quality; ſuch as Prince *Menzicoff*, the Duke of *Courland*, the High Chancellor *Oſterman*, whom we remember ſent into thoſe Deſarts as Victims of State rather than Criminals.

The Account he gives us of *Nova Zembla* is very curious and circumſtantial; and what he ſays about the Errors in the Maps publiſhed before his time may be very juſt, but we have had better ſince that. I cannot, by any Means agree, that this Country is contiguous with that of *Spitzbergen* or *Greenland*, though it may be true, that it extends itſelf farther to the North than is generally imagined: Neither do I think that the Seas beyond this Country, are always choaked up with Ice; but if a Paſſage is to be ſought this Way, my Opinion is, that inſtead of ſearching the Coaſts of *Zembla*, the ſhorter and better Method would be to make the South Point of *Greenland*, and then to ſteer North-eaſt, into as high a Latitude as ſhould be judged convenient; Experience having ſhewn that the Weather is not more rigorous, or the Ice more troubleſome, the farther People ſail towards the *Pole*.

What he ſays concerning Unicorns and their Horns, ſeems rather calculated to diſplay his Learning than for any other Purpoſe; ſince it is now univerſally agreed, that the Horns which are ſhewn in *Europe* under this Title are the very Horns he ſpeaks of, and are taken from the Heads of Fiſh called Sea Unicorns; but which, in reality, are a kind of Sword-Fiſh. The Shape of their Body is like a Seal, but the under Fins and the Tail reſemble thoſe of a Whale. They ſwim in Shoals, and generally carry their Horns out of Water, but then they ſwim ſo ſwiftly, that they are very ſeldom taken; there is another kind of Sword-Fiſh, which may be alſo ſtiled a Unicorn, but is generally called a Saw-Fiſh, becauſe the Bone is filled with Teeth or Pegs from the Root to the Top. It was formerly thought that theſe Horns had great Virtue; but Experience has ſhewn that they are of no farther Uſe in Phyſic than as Abſorbents; and in this reſpect Oyſter-ſhells or Crabs-eyes do as well. There is one Obſervation more that may be made on this Section worth Notice, and that is, the Poſſibility of making ſuch Voyages for Diſcovery, they bearing their own Expences, as this plainly did; and a great deal of public Spirit there would be in ſending a Ship or two now and then to trade in this Way, which ſooner or later, would produce us more Advantages than we are able to foreſee: Of this, at leaſt, we are certain, that by Voyages of this kind we eſtabliſhed a Trade to *Archangel*, which was the Foundation of our *Ruſſia* Company; but it is now time to proceed to Countries better known, and into Climates more agreeable than thoſe of which hitherto we have been ſpeaking.

SECTION II.

A ſuccinct and impartial Account of the Kingdom of SWEDEN, *with reſpect to its Climate, Soil, and Produce; as alſo of the Temper, Genius, Cuſtoms, Policy, Form of Government, Force, and Trade of its Inhabitants.*

Collected from the Writings of an *Engliſh* Miniſter reſiding there.

1. *A ſhort but neceſſary Introduction to the ſubſequent Section.* 2. *A clear and comprehenſive View of the Kingdom of* Sweden *and Duchy of* Finland; *the Soil, Climate, Woods, Lakes, Rivers, Produce, Birds, Beaſts and Fiſh found therein.* 3. *An Account of the Mines in* Sweden, *their Value, Methods of working them; as alſo of the Weather and Seaſons of the Year in* Sweden. 4. *A more particular Account of the ſeveral Provinces and Cities of this Kingdom, eſpecially that of* Stockholm. 5. *A diſtinct and copious Detail of the Courts of Juſtice, Laws, and Domeſtic Government, as adminiſtered in the Time of* Charles XI. 6. *The Temper, Genius, Manners, Cuſtoms, and Way of living of the People in that Country.* 7. *A ſuccinct View of the Eccleſiaſtical State of* Sweden; *the Archbiſhoprics, Biſhoprics, Deaneries, Parochial Benefices, Number and Maintenance of the Clergy.* 8. *The Conſtitution, Government, and Revenues of the Kingdom.* 9. *A curious and circumſtantial Relation of the Military Eſtabliſhment and Force of the Kingdom of* Sweden, *the only Country in which a large ſtanding Army is kept up, without any Danger to the Liberties of the People.* 10. *Of their Trade more particularly with* England, *its Advantages and Diſadvantages, and ſome particular Grievances to which Merchants are ſubject in that Country.* 11. *A few additional Obſervations and Remarks upon the foregoing Section, and on the Alterations which have ſince happened in the Government of that Country, and the Condition of its Inhabitants.*

1. THE ſhort Stay that Travellers make in Countries through which they paſs, very ſeldom affords them an Opportunity of looking into the Temper, Genius and Cuſtoms, much leſs into the Religion, Laws, and Government of the People with whom they converſe; which is the Reaſon that in moſt Books of Travels there are a kind of Blanks left for theſe important Paſſages; or if they are filled up, it is done at random, according to the good or bad Impreſſions of the Author, received from the particular Uſage he met with, or from hearſay: So that if either our Traveller has a bad Taſte, or has the ill Luck to keep indifferent Company, we, who are his Readers, are ſure to feel the Effects of it, and to have all Things impoſed upon us, under the fair and ſpecious Pretence of a clear and candid Relation of the naked Truth.

But to prevent the bad Effects of this, and to provide againſt both Evils; that is to ſay, the want of thoſe Informations, which a judicious Peruſer would be moſt deſirous of finding; and to ſecure him from meeting with haſty or falſe Repreſentations in their Stead, we have thought it our Duty in reſpect of the northern Kingdoms; the Conſtitutions of which are beſt worth our Knowledge, and yet are very ſuperficially treated in moſt Books of Travels, to have recourſe to Authors of known Veracity and Experience, who have had Leiſure and Opportunity to conſider the Subjects of which they wrote, and a ſincere Intention to treat them as they ought to be treated. By this means the Defects will be ſupplied which occur in the ſubſequent Travels; and the Reader will be enabled to judge, with critical Exactneſs, of the Truth or Falſity of the Remarks and Obſervations thoſe Writers make; a farther Advantage, becauſe theſe Countries lie at too great a Diſtance to be frequently viſited, and yet near enough for us to be conſiderably affected by whatever Revolutions happen in them, with reſpect either to their Syſtems of Politics or Government. We will begin with *Sweden*, a Country always famous for the Bravery of its Inhabitants, and perhaps by a natural Conſequence, no leſs famous for its Conqueſts Abroad and Changes at Home, than which no Nation of its natural Force has either atchieved or ſuffered greater.

The following Remarks were made by a Miniſter of our own, who reſided there on the Part of King *William* in the Reign of *Charles* XI. a Man in all Reſpects qualified for his Miniſtry in that Country, as having a ſolid Underſtanding, great Uprightneſs of Heart, and a hearty Deſire to ſerve both Nations. In order to this, he thought no Method ſo proper, as that of enquiring ſtrictly, and forming an impartial Notion of the Manners, Laws, and Policy of the People amongſt whom he reſided. It was with this View that he undertook the compoſing that Work, the moſt curious and uſeful Parts of which we have digeſted into this Section; and as the Nation, to whom it relates, are very ſteady in their Tempers, and are not much affected in their Cuſtoms by their Commerce with other Nations; it is like to preſerve its Character for Truth, as long as they preſerve theirs as a People. Thus much by way of Introduction; let us now proceed to this worthy Perſon's Account, for the moſt part in his own Words.

2. The Kingdom of *Sweden* and Dukedom of *Finland* have the *Baltic Sea* on the South, the unpaſſable Mountains of *Norway* on the Weſt, *Lapland* on the North, and *Muſcovy* on the Eaſt; being extended from 56 to 69 Degrees of northern Latitude, and from 32 to 55 Degrees in Longitude, and conſequently are more than twice as big as the Kingdom of *France*; but the Abatements that muſt be made for ſeveral Seas and many great Lakes, ſome whereof are above eighty *Engliſh* Miles long and twenty broad; as alſo for Rocks, Woods, Heaths, and Moraſſes that cover much of theſe Countries, will reduce the habitable Part to a very ſmall Portion comparatively to the Extent of the whole. The Soil, in Places capable of cultivating, is tolerably fruitful; though ſeldom above half a Foot deep, and therefore more eaſily ploughed, as it frequently is by one Maid and an Ox, and is generally beſt where there is leaſt of it, that is, in the little Spaces betwixt the Rocks; and frequently the barren Lands are enriched with Aſhes of Trees growing on the Places, which are burnt, and the Seeds baked amongſt the Aſhes produce a plentiful Crop without further Cultivation.

This Practice is ſo antient, that their Writers derive the Name of *Sweden* from a Word in their Language that expreſſes it; but the Danger of deſtroying the Woods has of late occaſioned ſome Laws to limit that Cuſtom. If the Inhabitants were induſtrious above what Neceſſity forces them to, they might at leaſt have Corn ſufficient of their own; but as Things are managed, they cannot ſubſiſt without great Importations of all ſorts of Grain from the Country of *Leifland*, and other Parts of *Germany* adjacent to the *Baltic Sea*. And notwithſtanding theſe Supplies, the pooreſt Sort, in many Places remote from Traffic, are forced to grind the Bark of Trees to mix with their Corn, and make Bread, of which they have not always Plenty. The Cattle, as in all other northern Countries, are generally of a very ſmall Size; neither can the Breed be bettered by bringing in larger from Abroad, which ſoon degenerate; becauſe in Summer the Graſs is leſs nouriſhing than in the Places from whence they come, and in Winter they are half ſtarved for want of Fodder of all Kinds, which often falls ſo very ſhort that they are forced to unthatch their Houſes, to keep a Part of their Cattle alive. Their Sheep bear a very coarſe Wool, only fit to make cloathing for the Peaſants. The Horſes, eſpecially the fineſt, though ſmall, are hardy, vigorous, ſtrong, ſure-footed, and nimble Trotters; which is of great Uſe to them, becauſe of the Length of their Winters, and their Fitneſs for Sleds, which is the only Carriage in that Seaſon; and the Soldiers pretend, that in War they are not only able to reſiſt, but to break a Body of the beſt *German* Horſe. Of wild Beaſts, which are very plentiful in thoſe Parts, Elks, Deer, and Hares, are hunted for their Fleſh; as alſo together with Wolves, Foxes, wild Cats, *&c.* for their Furs and Hides.

They hunt with leſs Ceremony than elſewhere is uſed, taking all Advantages to ſhoot their Game, at which they are generally dextrous: Parks there are but few, and meanly ſtocked, the Charge of feeding Deer all Winter exceeding the Profit, and abating the Pleaſure of them. There are no Rabbets in theſe Countries but what are brought in for Curioſity, and kept tame. In Winter Foxes and Squirrels ſomewhat change Colour, and become greyiſh; but Hares turn white as Snow. Fowl, both wild and tame, are very plentiful, and good in their Kind, except Sea Fowl, which feed and taſte of Fiſh; the moſt common are the Orras and Keders, the former of the Bigneſs of a Hen, the other of a Turkey: As alſo Partridges, and a Bird ſomewhat reſembling them, called *Yerpers.* There are taken in Winter great Numbers of ſmall Birds, as Thruſhes, Blackbirds and Sydenſewans, the laſt of the Bigneſs of Fieldfares, but better Meat; ſuppoſed to come from *Lapland* or yet farther North, and have their Name from the Beautifulneſs of their Feathers, ſome of which are tipped at the Point with Scarlet: Pigeons there are, thoſe of the Woods very ſcarce, becauſe of the Hawks; and of the Houſe Pigeons none but what are kept tame, becauſe their Food is ſcarce, and the Danger of the Hawks very great if they go abroad. Eagles, Hawks, and other rapacious Fowl, abound moſt in the northern and deſart Parts, whither Nature ſeems to call them, as may be gathered from a Story credibly related of a large Hawk ſhot ſome Years ago in the northern Parts of *Finland*, which had on one Leg a ſmall Piece of Gold with this Inſcription, *Je ſuis au Roy*, on the other, one of Silver, with theſe Words, *Duc de Chevereuſe me garde.*

The chiefeſt Lakes in *Sweden* are, the *Vetter*, the *Wenner*, and *Waſter*; the firſt in *Oſtrogothia*, remarkable for its foretelling of Storms by a continual thundering Noiſe the Day before in that Quarter whence they ariſe; as alſo for ſudden breaking of the Ice on it, which ſometimes ſurpriſes Travellers, and in half an Hour becomes navigable; for its great Depth, in ſome Places above three Hundred Fathom, though no Part of the *Baltic Sea* exceeds fifty; it ſupplies the *Motala*, which runs through *Norcopingh*, where it has a Fall of about 30 Feet; and ſome Winters is ſo choaked up with Ice, that for many Hours no Water paſſes. The ſecond is in *Weſtrogothia*, from which iſſues the River *Elve*, that falling down a Rock near ſixty Feet, paſſes by *Gottenburgh.* The third empties itſelf near *Stockholm*, furniſhing one Side of the Town with freſh Water, as the Sea does the other with Salt. There are abundance of other Lakes, whereof many, like Ponds, have no Vents, and are called *In Seas*; are not ill ſtored with Variety of Fiſh; Salmon, Pike, Tench, Perch, Eels, and many other Sorts unknown elſewhere, of which the moſt plentiful is the Streamling, a Fiſh leſs than a Pilcher, taken in great Quantities, and ſalted in Barrels, and diſtributed over all the Country.

Beſides, the North Bottom or Bay that ſeparates *Sweden* and *Finland*, abounds with Seals, of which a conſiderable Quantity of Train Oil is made and exported; and in the Lakes in *Finland* are vaſt Quantities of Pikes, which being taken are ſalted, dried, and ſold at very cheap Rates. Theſe Lakes are of great Uſe for the Conveyance of Carriages, both in Summer by Boats, and by Sleds in Winter; and among them, and on the Sea-Coaſts, are almoſt innumerable Iſlands of different Sizes; whereof there are, in *Sweden*, above ſix thouſand that are inhabited; the reſt are either bare Rocks, or covered with Wood; *Gotland*, *Oland*, and *Aland*, are Iſles of large Extent, one being ſixty Miles long, and the other two little leſs: Their Woods and vaſt Foreſts, overſpread much of the Country, and are for the moſt part of Pines, Fir, Beech, Birch, Alder, Juniper, and ſome Oak, eſpecially in the Province of *Bleaking*, the Trees growing in moſt Places ſo cloſe together, and lying to rot where they fall, that the Woods are ſcarce paſſable: Theſe afford a plentiful and cheap Firing, and being generally very ſtrait and tall are eaſily convertible into Timber fit for all Uſes. In the Parts near the Mines, the Woods are much deſtroyed; but that Want is ſo well ſupplied from diſtant Places, by the Convenience of Rivers and Winter Carriages, that they have Charcoal above ſix times as cheap as in *England*, though indeed from the manner of making, it is not ſo good.

3. Of Mines in *Sweden*: There is one of Silver, into which Workmen are let down in Baſkets to the firſt Floor, which is one hundred and fifty Fathoms under Ground. The Roof there is as high as a Church, ſupported by vaſt Arches of Ore. The next Deſcent is by Ladders and Baſkets to the loweſt Mine, above forty Fathoms, where they now work. They have no Records ſo antient as the firſt Diſcovery either of this, or the Copper Mines, which muſt needs have been the Work of many Ages. The Ore ſeldom yields above four *per Cent.* and requires great Pains to refine it. They are alſo at the Charge of a Water-mill to drain the Mine, and have the Benefit of another that draws up the Ore. It yearly produces about twenty thouſand Crowns of fine Silver, of which the King has the Preemption, paying only one fourth leſs than the real Value.

The Copper Mine is about eighty Fathom deep, of great Extent, but ſubject to Damage by the falling in of the Roof; yet that is ſometimes recompenſed by the Abundance of Ore that the ruined Pillars yield, though moſt commonly the Loſs in that Caſe is very great: The Occaſion of which Falls is attributed to the throwing the Earth and Stones brought out upon the Ground over the Mine, by which the Pillars become overcharged, and give way; and the Reaſon of this is ſaid to be, that the Profit ariſing to thoſe that are concerned is ſo little that they are not able to carry it off as they ought; and unleſs the King abates a conſiderable Part of the Profit ariſing to the Crown from this Mine, it is believed it will, in a few Years, be at a Stand, eſpecially if the Deſigns of making Copper, that are on foot elſewhere, ſhould take any tolerable Effect.

The Copper yearly made out of this Mine amounts to the Value of about two hundred thouſand Pounds, of which the King has a fourth Part, not by way of Preemption, but in Kind; beſides that, upon the Remainder he has a Cuſtom of twenty-five *per Cent.* when it is exported unwrought. Lately a Gentleman of *Italy* came to *Sweden*, with Propoſals to make Copper a ſhorter and cheaper Way than has hitherto been practiſed, as to make that in four Days which before required three Weeks, and with one fifth Part of the Charge, and with fewer Hands. The Bargain was made, and his Reward agreed to be a hundred thouſand Crowns; and the firſt Proof he made ſucceeded to Admiration: But when he came to work in earneſt, and had got his new invented Ovens made to his Mind, the Miners, as he complained, picked out the very worſt Ore, and were otherwiſe ſo envious and untractable that he failed of Succeſs, and loſt his Reward, and not without Difficulty obtained Leave to buy Ore, and practiſe his Invention at his own Charge, as he now does. Iron Mines and Forges are in great Numbers, eſpecially towards the mountainous Parts, where they have the Convenience of Water-falls to turn their Mills. From theſe, beſides ſupplying the Country, there is yearly exported Iron, to the Value of near three hundred thouſand Pounds; but of late Years the Number of thoſe Forges has been ſo much increaſed, that each endeavouring to underſell others, the Price has been much lowered; and ſince the Prohibition of foreign Manufactures, in exchanging of which Iron was plentifully taken off, it is grown ſo cheap that it is found neceſſary to leſſen the Number of Forges. Neither has that Contrivance had the Effect intended; but, on the contrary, many more are likely to fall of themſelves, becauſe they cannot work but to Loſs, in which Caſe many Thouſands of poor People, whoſe Livelihoods depend upon theſe Forges and Mines, will be reduced to a ſtarving Condition.

The Seaſons of the Year, though regular in themſelves, do not altogether anſwer thoſe of other Climates. As a *French* Embaſſador obſerved, who, in Raillery ſaid, there were in *Sweden* only nine Months Winter, and all the reſt was Summer; for as Winter commonly begins very ſoon, ſo Summer immediately ſucceeds it, and leaves little or no Space to be called Spring. The Productions of the Earth therefore ought to be, as they are, more ſpeedy in their Growth than in other Parts. The Reaſon of which ſeems to be, that the Oil and Sulphur in the Earth (as it appears by the Trees and Minerals it produces) being bound up all the Winter, are then of a ſudden actuated by the Heat of a warm Sun, which almoſt continually ſhines, and thereby makes amends for its ſhort Stay, and brings to Maturity the Fruits proper for the Climate; yet withal, its Heat is ſo intenſe, that it often ſets the Woods on Fire, which ſometimes ſpreads itſelf many Leagues, and can ſcarce be ſtopt, till it comes to ſome Lake or very large Plain. In the Summer Seaſon the Fields are cloathed with Variety of Flowers, and the whole Country overſpread with Strawberries, Raſpberries, Currants, and the like, which grow upon every Rock.

In their Gardens Melons are brought to Perfection in dry Years, but Apricots, Peaches, and other Wall-Fruits, are almoſt as rare as Oranges. They have Cherries of ſeveral Sorts, and ſome tolerably good; which cannot be ſaid of their Apples, Pears and Plumbs, that are neither common nor well taſted. All Kinds of Roots are in Plenty, and contribute much to the Nouriſhment of the poor People. The Sun at higheſt is above the Horizon of *Stockholm*, eighteen Hours and an half, and for ſome Weeks makes a continual Day. In Winter the Days are proportionably ſhorter, the Sun being up but five Hours and an half; which Defect is ſo well ſupplied as to Lights by the Moon, and the Whiteneſs of the Snow, and the Clearneſs of the Sky, that travelling by Night is as uſual as by Day, and Journies begun in the Evening are as frequent as in the Morning. The want of the Sun's Heat is repaired by Stoves within Doors, and warm Furs abroad. Inſtead of which, the meaner Sort uſe Sheep-ſkins, and other the like Defences, and are generally better provided with Cloathing befitting their Condition, and the Climate they live in, than the common People of any Part of *Europe*; though, where any Neglect or Failure happens it uſually proves fatal, and occaſions the Loſs of Noſes, or other Members, and ſometimes the Loſs of Life; unleſs the uſual Remedy to expel the Froſt, when it has ſeized any Part, be early applied, which is to remain in the Cold, and rub the Part afflicted with the Snow till the Blood return to it again.

4. This Country is divided into twenty-five Provinces; each of which is governed by an Officer called *Landſhofding*, whoſe Authority comprehends that of Lord Lieutenant and Sheriff together, except where there is a general Governor, as in *Finland* or upon the Borders of *Denmark* and *Norway*, to whom the Governor of each Province is ſubordinate, and has thereby a more reſtrained Authority. Theſe Officers are placed by the King, and take an Oath to keep the Province for his Majeſty and his Heirs, to govern according to the Laws of *Sweden*, and ſuch Inſtructions as they ſhall receive from his Majeſty, and to quit the Province whenever he ſhall call them thence. To them and their ſubordinate Officers (who are all of the King's chuſing) the Execution of judicial Sentences, the Collection of the King's Revenues, the Care of Foreſts, Parks, and other Crown Lands, *&c.* is committed.

Of Cities, thoſe of *Stockholm*, *Gottenburgh*, *Calmar*, and two or three more may deſerve that Name; the other Corporations, which, in all, make not an hundred, ſcarce exceed ſome Villages in *England*. They are all governed by Burgomaſters and Counſellors, choſen by the King out of their own Body, or at leaſt ſuch as are of the Quality of Burghers; no Gentleman accepting of thoſe Employments. Their Offices and Salaries are for Life, or rather during their good Behaviour. The Privilege of Cities are derived from the King, and for the moſt Part are owing to the Wiſdom of *Guſtavus Adolphus*, the Author of their beſt and moſt regular Conſtitutions at Home, as well as of their Glory Abroad.

The City of *Stockholm* lies in 59 Deg 20 Min. N. Lat. and about 41 Longitude. About three hundred Years ago it was only a bare Iſland with two or three Cottages for Fiſhers; but upon the building of a Caſtle there, to ſtop the Inroads of the *Ruſſians*, and the Tranſlation of the Court thither, it grew, by Degrees, to ſurpaſs the other more ancient Cities, and is at preſent the Metropolis of this Kingdom, and ſuppoſed to be as populous as *Briſtol*. The Caſtle here, which is covered with Copper, is a Place of no Strength or Beauty, but of great Uſe, being a ſpacious Building, that beſides entertaining the Court, furniſhes Room for moſt of the great Offices; the national Court of Juſtice, Colleges of War, Chancery, Treaſury, Reduction, Liquidation, Commerce, Execution; as alſo an Armory, Chapel, Library, Archives, *&c.* It lodges very few of the inferior Officers and Servants of the Court; they, together with the Foot-Guards, being quartered upon the Burghers at their Landlord's Charge, for Lodging, Fire and Candle. In this City there are ſeven large Churches built of Brick and covered with Copper, beſides two more now in building, and three or four wooden Chapels. The Palace of the Nobility, which is the Place of their Aſſembly at the Convention of Eſtates and the Depoſitory of their Privileges, Titles, and ſuch other Records as concern their Body, is a very ſtately Pile; as is alſo the Bank, built at the City's Charge; which, together with ſeveral magnificent Houſes of the Nobility, are covered with Copper, and make a handſome Proſpect. Moſt of the Burgher's Houſes are built of Brick, except in the Suburbs, where they are of Wood, and therefore expoſed to the Danger of Fire; which commonly, when it gets to a Head, deſtroys all before it in the Quarter where it happens: To repair which Misfortune they ſometimes ſend the Dimenſions of the Houſe they intend to *Finland*; where the Walls and ſeveral Separations are built of Pieces of Timber laid one upon another, and joined at the Corners, and afterwards marked, taken down, and ſent by Water to *Stockholm*, there to be ſet up and finiſhed; and when they are kept in good Repair will laſt thirty or forty Years, and are warmer, cleaner, and more healthful than thoſe of either Brick or Stone.

To prevent the Danger of Fire the City is divided into twelve Wards; and in each of theſe is a Maſter and four Aſſiſtants, who upon Notice of any Fire are immediately to repair to it, as alſo all Porters and Labourers, and to range themſelves under the Maſter of their reſpective Wards. There is alſo a Fire-Watch by Night, who walk about only for that Purpoſe; and in each Church-Steeple Watch is kept, and a Bell tolled upon the firſt Appearance of any Fire. The Government of this City is in the Hands of the great Stadtholder, who is alſo a Privy Counſellor. He ſits once a Week in the Town-houſe, and preſides alſo in the College-houſe of *Execution*, aſſiſted by an under Stadtholder and the Bailiff of the Caſtle. Next to him are the four Burgomaſters, one for Juſtice, another for Trade, the third for the Policy of the City, and the fourth has the Inſpection over all public and private Buildings, and determines ſuch Caſes as ariſe on that Account. With them the Counſellors of the City always ſit and give their Votes, the Majority of which concludes. Their Number is uncertain, but uſually about twenty, moſt Merchants and Shopkeepers, or ſuch as have ſerved the King in ſome inferior Employments; and beſides their Salary they have an Immunity from ſuch Impoſitions as are laid on the Inhabitants to ſupport the Government of the City, which pays all its Officers and Servants, and maintains a Guard of 300 Men, and defrays the Charge of all public Buildings and Repairs.

To ſupport this Expence, beſides a Duty belonging to the City upon Goods imported and exported (which is above four *per Cent.* of the Cuſtoms paid the King, and amounts to about four thouſand Pounds *per Ann.*) the Magiſtrates impoſe a yearly Tax on the Burghers, in which they are aſſiſted by a Common Council of forty-eight (which chuſes its own Members every Spring) to proportion the Payments for the enſuing Year. On the richer Traders they uſually impoſe forty, fifty or ſixty Pounds Sterling; and upon others of a meaner Condition, as Shoemakers, Taylors, *&c.* five or ſix Pounds, and no Houſekeeper leſs than fifteen Shillings, beſides quartering the Guards, inferior Officers, and Servants of the Court with other leſs Charges, which all together would be thought a great Burthen, even in richer Countries; neither is it otherwiſe eſteemed by the Inhabitants of this City, who can ſcarce be kept in Heart, by the Privileges they enjoy, as well in Cuſtoms as the Trade of the Place which muſt needs paſs through their Hands. The Natives of other Parts of the Kingdom as well as Foreigners being obliged to deal only with the Burghers, except thoſe of the Gentry that make Iron, who have a Privilege to ſell it immediately to Strangers. This City is in a manner the Staple of *Sweden*, to which moſt of the Goods of their own Growth, *viz.* Iron, Copper, Wire, Pitch, Tar, Maſts, Deals, *&c.* are brought to be exported. The greateſt Part of the Commodities imported from abroad come to this Port, where there is a Haven capable of receiving a thouſand Ships, and has a Bridge or Key near an *Engliſh* Mile long, to which the greater Veſſels may lie with their Broadſides. The only Inconvenience is, that it is ten Miles from the Sea, and the River very crooked, and no Tides.

5. The Laws of *Sweden* were antiently as various as the Provinces were numerous; each of which had Statutes and Cuſtoms peculiar to itſelf, enacted, as Occaſion required, by the Laghman or Governor of the Province; who was choſen by the People, and inveſted with great Authority, eſpecially while the King was elective; his Suffrage concluding the Province he governed. This Variety was neceſſarily attended with great Confuſion; for Remedy whereof, about fourſcore Years ago one Body of Laws was compiled for the Direction of the whole Kingdom: Yet this Collection is but an imperfect Piece, and the Laws ſo few, and conceived in ſuch general Terms, that in moſt Caſes they need the Aſſiſtance of the Civil Law; and after all, the final Determination depends much upon the Inclinations of the Bench; which in a poor Country, where Salaries are ſmall, is often filled with ſuch as are of weak Parts, and ſubject to Corruption on very ſmall Temptations.

The Effects of this would be more viſible, if each ſuperior Court did not keep a Check upon the lower, and the King's Court of Reviſion over-awe them all; to which all Civil Cauſes, exceeding the Sum of ſeventy Pounds, are appealable; and very few end before they have been brought thither. In this Court the Preſident of the Chancery and two or three other Privy Counſellors alſo ſit, ſo does the Chancellor of the Court (an Officer next in Degree to the Privy Counſellor) who is Preſident of the under Reviſion, where he and two Secretaries put Buſineſs into a Method fit to be brought before the King. The Courts of Juſtice inferior to this are of three Degrees; of the loweſt Degree, or firſt Inſtance, there is one in each Corporation (beſides *Stockholm*, in which there are three) as alſo in each Diſtrict or Territory, whereof every Province contains ſeveral, ſome above twenty. In the former (Cities) an Alderman or Counſellor preſides, and has ſome of his Brethren for Aſſiſtants; in the latter the Governor of the Territory with a ſtanding Jury; his Courts being ambulatory are uſually near or upon the Spot where the Fact or Treſpaſs was committed. In theſe Courts Examinations are taken, and Matters not exceeding forty Shillings are determined, the reſt tranſmitted to the next ſuperior Court; of which in every Corporation the Preſident thereof retains the Name of Laghman, without other Authority than that of a Judge. From theſe all Cauſes of Blood muſt be tranſmitted to the reſpective national Courts, where they are determined without farther Appeal; and thither alſo all Civil Actions, not exceeding twenty Pounds, may be appealed.

Of theſe national Courts there are three, one for the Kingdom of *Sweden*, held at *Stockholm*, another for the Kingdom of *Gothia*, kept at *Jencopingh*, and a third for the Dukedom of *Finland*; in each of theſe a Privy Counſellor is Preſident, and above half the Aſſeſſors are to be Gentlemen. All theſe Courts ſit continually, or at moſt have but ſhort Vacations; and not being peſtered with too much Formality, give Cauſes a ſpeedy Diſpatch, unleſs they be retarded by ſome underhand Engagements. Actions relating to the Sea are tried in the ordinary Courts, according to their Sea Laws founded upon thoſe antient ones of *Wiſby* in *Gothland*, which have formerly been as famous in the *Baltic Sea* as the Laws of *Rhodes* and *Oleron* in other Places. The Court of Admiralty has not any peculiar Juriſdiction in the Adminiſtration of theſe Laws, but only in ſuch Matters as directly concern the King's Fleet, and in ſome Places that belong immediately to the Admiralty.

For Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical there is a Conſiſtory in each Dioceſe, of which the reſpective Biſhop is Preſident; where Cauſes of Baſtardy, Contracts of Marriage, and other Cauſes of that Nature are tried, and Church Cenſures of Penance, Divorce, *&c.* inflicted. Theſe Courts have no Power to adminiſter an Oath, nor to inflict any corporal Puniſhment; from them there lies an Appeal to the reſpective national Court; and in ſome Caſes to the King, as is in all other Matters.

For Matters relating to the Mines, beſides inferior Courts and Officers ſettled in the reſpective Parts of the Country, a general Court, called the College of the Mines, ſits at *Stockholm*, of which moſt commonly the Preſident of the Treaſury is Chief, with a Vice-Preſident and other Aſſeſſors. The Laws, in this Regard, are more ſtrict and particular than in other Matters, and for the moſt part Juſtice is very carefully adminiſtered. The Power of executing all judicial Sentences is lodged in the Governors of Provinces, the Stadtholders of *Stockholm*, and other Places, and from them derived to inferior Officers, who are accountable to the national Courts, whither they may be convened and puniſhed upon plain Proof of Default; but the Proof being difficult, and Miniſters of Juſtice apt to favour one another, they take great Liberty to delay Execution, or to arbitrate and put their own Senſe upon Sentences; ſo that their Part of Juſtice is adminiſtered the worſt of all others, and has an Influence not only at Home, but leſſens the Credit of the *Swediſh* Subjects Abroad, againſt whom Juſtice cannot be obtained without great Difficulty.

The ordinary Charges of Law Suits are no where more moderate than in *Sweden*; the greateſt Burthen ariſing from a late Conſtitution, that all Declarations, Acts and Sentences muſt be written upon ſealed Paper, of different Prices, from Two-pence to Seven Shillings a Sheet, according to the Quality of the Cauſe; the Benefit of which accrues to the King, and is computed to bring in 3000*l.* a Year. Other Charges are very few, every Man being permitted (in criminal Actions compelled) to plead his own Cauſe. Accordingly the Practice of the Law is below a Gentleman, and rather the Refuge than the Choice of meaner Perſons, who are very few in Number, and for the moſt part very poor. The Cuſtom of a Jury of twelve Men is ſo antient in *Sweden*, that their Writers pretend it had its Original among them, and was thence derived to other Nations; but at preſent it is diſuſed every where, except only in the lower Courts in the Country, and there the Jurymen are for Life, and have Salaries. They have this peculiar to themſelves; that among them there muſt be an unanimous Concurrence to determine a Cauſe, which in other Courts is done by a Majority of Voices. Titles to Eſtates are rendered more ſecure, and leſs ſubject to Conteſts, by the Regiſters that are kept of all Sales and Alienations, as well as of other Engagements of them, the Purchaſer running the Hazard of having an after-Bargain take Place of his. If he omit the recording of his Tranſaction in the proper Court in criminal Matters where the Fact is not very evident, or where the Judges are not very favourable, the Defendant is admitted to purge himſelf by Oath, to which is oftentimes added the Oath of ſix or twelve Men, who are all Vouchers of his Integrity. Treaſon, Murder, double Adulteries, Burning of Houſes, Witchcraft, and the like heinous Crimes, are puniſhed with Death, which is executed by hanging of Men, and beheading of Women. To which burning alive or dead, quartering and hanging in Chains, is ſometimes added, according to the Nature of the Crime. Criminals of the Nobility and Gentry are generally ſhot to Death.

The Puniſhment of Stealing is of late, inſtead of Death, changed into a perpetual Slavery; the guilty Party being condemned to work all his Life for the King in making Fortifications or other Drudgery, and always has a Collar of Iron about his Neck, with a Bow coming over his Head, to which a Bell is faſtened, that rings as he goes along. Duels between Gentlemen, if the one Party be killed, are puniſhed by the Survivor's Death, and a Note of Infamy upon the Memory of both; if neither be killed, they are both condemned to a Priſon with Bread and Water for two Years; to which is added, a Fine of one thouſand Crowns, or one Year's Impriſonment, and two thouſand Crowns. Reparation of Honour, in Caſe of an Affront, is referred to the reſpective national Courts, where Recantation and public begging of Pardon is uſually inflicted. Eſtates, as well acquired as inherited, deſcend to the Children in equal Portions, of which a Son has two and a Daughter one; nor is it in the Power of the Parents to alter this Proportion, without the Intervention of a Judicial Sentence. In Caſe of their Childrens Diſobedience only, they may bequeath a tenth of their acquired Poſſeſſions to ſuch Child or other as they will favour: Where an Eſtate deſcends incumbered with Debts, the Heir uſually takes two or three Months Time, as the Law allows, to ſearch into the Condition of the Deceaſed's Eſtate, and then either accepts the Inheritance or leaves it to the Law, which in that Caſe adminiſters.

6. The Nature of the Climate, which is very healthful and dry, as well as ſharp, diſpoſes the Natives to a very vigorous Conſtitution; and that confirmed by a hardy Education, coarſe Fare, and hard Lodging, qualifies them to endure whatever uneaſy Circumſtance befalls them, better than thoſe that are born in a milder Climate, and more indulgently bred. But, on the other Side, it ſeems, as if the Severity of the Clime does, in a manner, cramp the Faculties of their Minds, which ſeldom are found endued with any eminent Pregnancy of Wit; yet, by Induſtry, Experience, and Travelling, not a few of them arrive at a mature and ſolid Judgment, being led by their Genius to ſerious Things, in which ſuch as have Patience to go through with the Studies they apply themſelves to become excellent, and merit the Title of great and able Men: But this ſeems not be the Talent of this Nation, for they are more apt to ſit down with ſuperficial Acquiſitions than to purſue their Studies to the utmoſt Extent.

Theſe Diſpoſitions of Body and Mind, qualify them more for a Life of Labour and Fatigue, than of Art and Curioſity; and the Effect of it is viſible in all Orders of Men amongſt them. The Nobility moſtly apply themſelves to a Military Life, in which they are more diſtinguiſhed for Courage, and enduring Hardſhips, than for Stratagems and Intrigues. They that are employed in the Adminiſtration of Civil Affairs, though they are indeed laborious and indefatigable in their Buſineſs, yet they ſeldom raiſe their Speculations above what the Neceſſity of their Employments require, their Abilities proceeding not ſo much from Study as Experience in the Courſe of Buſineſs.

In Point of Learning, they, like their Neighbours the *Germans*, are more given to tranſcribe and make Collections, than to digeſt their own Thoughts; and commonly proportion their Studies to their Occaſions. In Matters of Trade they rather undergo the Drudgery, than dive into the Myſtery either of Commerce or Manufactures, in which they generally ſet up for Maſters before half taught; ſo that in all ſuch Things as require Ingenuity, Neatneſs, or Dexterity, they are forced to be ſerved by Strangers. Their common Soldiers are allowed to endure Cold and Hunger, long Marches, and hard Labour, to Admiration; but they learn their Duty very ſlowly, and are ſerviceable more by Obedience to command, and ſtanding their Ground, than by any great Forwardneſs to attack their Enemy; or Addreſs, in executing their Orders; and ſo their Peaſants are tolerably laborious when Need compels them, but have little Regard to Neatneſs in their Work, and are hardly brought to quit their old ſlow Methods for ſuch new Inventions as are more dextrous and eaſy. The Diſpoſitions peculiar to the ſeveral Degrees of theſe People are: That the Nobility and Gentry are naturally Men of Courage and of a warlike Temper; have a graceful Deportment, incline to value themſelves at a high Rate, and make the beſt Appearance they can, that they may gain the Reſpect of others; and are therefore more exceſſive in the Number of their Attendants, ſumptuous Buildings, and rich Apparel, than in the Plentifulneſs of their Tables, or other leſs obſerved Occaſions. They never deſcend to any Employments in the Church, the Practice of Law, or Phyſic, or the Exerciſe of any Trade; and though to gain Experience in maritime Affairs they ſubmit to the loweſt Offices in other Countries; yet, at home, there is but one Example known of a Gentleman that accepted the Command of a Merchant Ship.

The Clergy are but moderately learned, and little acquainted with Diſputes about Religion, as having no Adverſaries to oppoſe. They affect Gravity and long Beards, are eſteemed for their Hoſpitality, and have great Authority among the common People. The Burghers are not intelligent in Trade, nor able to do their Buſineſs without Credit from abroad; inclined to impoſe upon thoſe they can over-reach, rather than follow their Calling in a fair Way. The Peaſants, when ſober, are more obſequious and reſpectful; but Drink makes them mad, and ungovernable: Moſt of them live in a very poor Condition, are taught by Neceſſity to practiſe ſeveral Arts in a rude Manner, as the making their Shoes, Cloaths, *&c.* and the ſeveral Inſtruments of Huſbandry, and other Neceſſaries, they cannot ſpare Money to buy. And to keep them to this, as alſo to favour the Cities, it is not permitted for more than one Taylor, or other Artiſan, to dwell in the ſame Pariſh, though it be never ſo large, as many of them are above twenty Miles in Compaſs. In general, it may be ſaid of the whole Nation, that they are a People very religious in their Way, and Frequenters of the Church, eminently loyal and affected to Monarchy; grave even to Formality, ſober more out of Neceſſity than Temperance; apt to entertain Suſpicions, and envy each other as well as Strangers; more inclined to pilfering, and ſuch ſecret Frauds, than to open Violence, or robbing on Highways; Crimes as rarely committed in this, as in any Country whatever.

7. The Chriſtian Faith was received in *Sweden* about the Beginning of the ninth Century, and in *Finland* about three hundred Years after; and firſt preached, or at leaſt firſt eſtabliſhed, by *Engliſh* Divines, of whom the chiefeſt was St. *Sigifrid*; who, as their Hiſtories relate, quitted the Archbiſhopric of *York* to become the Apoſtle of the *Goths*. With him three of his Nephews that he brought were martyred by the Heathen *Goths*; ſo alſo was St. *Eſkill* and other *Engliſh* by the *Swedes*: And about the Year 1150, St. *Henry*, an *Engliſh* Biſhop, accompanied St. *Erick*, King of *Sweden*, in his Expedition into *Finland*, which the King conquered, and the Biſhop converted. He alſo was martyred by the Infidels, and lies buried at *Abo*, the Metropolis of that Country. The Reformation there, as in *Denmark* and *Norway*, began ſoon after the neighbouring Parts of *Germany* had embraced *Luther*'s Tenets, and was eſtabliſhed according to his Platform. The Tyranny of King *Chriſtiern* the Second, gave an Opportunity to *Guſtavus*, the Founder of the preſent Royal Family, to alter Religion,

and advanced himſelf to the Regal Dignity, which till that Time was elective, but was made hereditary to his Family, in which it has ſince continued.

As the *Lutheran* Religion has alſo been, never but once, diſturbed from Abroad, and ſince that Diſturbance never diſtracted at Home with Non-conformity; ſo it becomes the Buſineſs of their Preachers rather to perſuade the Practice of Piety than oppoſe the Doctrine of others, or defend their own. The Church is governed by an Archbiſhop, and ten Biſhops, whoſe Studies are confined to their own Employments, being never called to Council, but at the Aſſembly of the States, nor troubled with the Adminiſtration of ſecular Affairs. Their Revenues are very moderate. The Archbiſhopric of *Upſal* is not worth 400 *l.* a Year, and their Biſhops are in Proportion. Under them are ſeven or eight Superintendants, who have all the Power of Biſhops. And over each ten Churches is a Provoſt or rural Dean, with ſome Authority over the inferior Clergy, of whom the Total may be computed by the Number of Churches, which in *Sweden* and *Finland* are about two thouſand; to which the Addition of Chaplains and Curates will increaſe the Clergy to near two thouſand five hundred Perſons; they are all the Sons of Peaſants or Burghers, and can therefore content themſelves with their ſmall Income, which, beſides more inconſiderable Dues, ariſe from Glebe Lands, and one third of the Tithes, of which the other two Thirds are annexed to the Crown, to be employed in pious Uſes: However, the Clergy have generally wherewithal to exerciſe Hoſpitality, and are the conſtant Refuge of poor Travellers, eſpecially Strangers, who go from Prieſt to Prieſt, as elſewhere from Conſtable to Conſtable.

The Clergy of each Dioceſe, upon the Death of their Biſhops, propoſe three Perſons to the King, who chuſes one of them, or ſome other to ſucceed in that Office, which is alſo practiſed in the Choice of Superintendants. In the Choice of an Archbiſhop all the Chapters vote, but the Determination is in the King's Breaſt. His Majeſty hath alſo the Patronage of moſt Churches; ſome few being in the Diſpoſal of the Nobility. Many of their Churches are adorned with Variety of Sculptures, Painting, Gilding, *&c.* all of them are kept clean and in good Repair, furniſhed as well in the Country as City, with rich Altar-cloths, Copes, and other Veſtments. For the regular Government of the Church, it has been found neceſſary to cauſe the antient Eccleſiaſtical Laws and Canons to be reviſed by a Committee of the ſeveral Bodies, and the Eſtates having ſpent ſome Years in that Matter, I at laſt preſented the King with a new Syſtem of Church Laws, wherein his Majeſty having cauſed ſuch Alterations to be made as he thought fit, approved, and publiſhed them. By this means, the Church Affairs of *Sweden* have been ſo well and ſo effectually regulated, that in a long Courſe of Years they have gone on peaceably and quietly, beyond any thing of the ſame Nature in any other Country, if we except *Denmark*; which, as it reſembles *Sweden*, in the Nature of its Church Government, ſo the like Conſequences have followed there.

8. As to the Government and Revenue of *Sweden* they are like thoſe of other Places, ſubject to ſo many and ſo great Changes that one would imagine our Author's Account ſhould, at this Diſtance of Time, be almoſt out of Date; but there is one Advantage attends whatever has the Appearance of a Parliament, which is, that how much ſoever it may ſink and be depreſſed by Fraud, or Force, under certain Conjunctures, it has nevertheleſs Strength to riſe again, in more favourable Seaſons, and even to recover all that it has loſt. In our Author's Time the States of *Sweden* were but Inſtruments of the King's Authority, and only met to ſanctify ſuch Acts of Power as the Crown did not care to take upon itſelf. At this Day things have quite changed their Face; the Kings of *Sweden* have wholly loſt their abſolute Power, which remains where it ought to remain, in the Repreſentatives of the Nobility, Clergy, and People of the Kingdom. The uſual Time of aſſembling the States is once in three Years, or oftner, if Affairs require it. The Letters for calling them together are ſent to the Governors of Provinces, who thereupon write to each Nobleman and Gentleman, and to the Biſhops, who cauſe the ſame to be publiſhed in all Churches.

The Body of the Nobility and Gentry are repreſented by one in each Family, of which there are about a thouſand in *Sweden*, and with them the Colonel, Lieutenant-Colonel, Major, and one Captain of each Regiment ſit and vote. For the Clergy, beſides the Biſhops and Superintendants in each rural Deanery, or ten Pariſhes, one is choſen and maintained at the Charge of his Electors. Theſe make a Body of about five hundred. The Repreſentatives of the Burghers are choſen by the Magiſtrates and Common Council of each Corporation, of which *Stockholm* ſends four, others two, and ſome one; who make about one hundred and fifty. The Peaſants of each Diſtrict chooſe one of their own Quality to appear for them, whoſe Charges they bear; and give him Inſtructions, in ſuch Matters, as they think need Redreſs; they are about two hundred and fifty. The firſt Meeting, when at *Stockholm*, is in a large Room in the Caſtle, called *The Hall of the Kingdom*; where his Majeſty being ſeated on the Throne, and the Privy Counſellors ſitting at ſome Diſtance, the Preſident of the Chancery makes them a Compliment in the King's Name, and then a Secretary reads the King's Propoſals to them; in which they are acquainted with the State of Affairs ſince their Receſs, and the preſent Occaſion of their Advice and Aſſiſtance. To which, firſt the Marſhal of the Nobility, who is choſen by the King, returns an Anſwer, and kiſſes the King's Hand, and after him the Archbiſhop in the Name of the Clergy; the firſt Burgomaſter of *Stockholm* in the Name of the Burghers; and one of the Peaſants for his Brethren. They then ſeparate into four different Houſes, and chuſe a Secret Committee, compoſed of an equal Number of each Body, who receive from the King's Miniſters ſuch further Informations of his Majeſty's Pleaſure, as are not thought fit to be communicated in Public; and thereupon prepare ſuch Matters as are to be propoſed to the ſeveral Bodies. In each Houſe Matters are concluded by Majority of Voices, and if one or more of theſe Bodies differ in Opinion from the reſt, they are either brought over by Perſuaſions, or the Point remains unconcluded.

When the Affairs propoſed by the King are finiſhed, they then inſinuate their Grievances. Each Body ſeverally. To which the King returns ſuch Anſwers as he thinks fit; and to each Member of the three inferior Bodies an authentic Copy is delivered, as well of the general Concluſion made by the whole States, as of the King's Anſwer to the Grievances of his reſpective Body, which he carries Home to his Electors.

The ſtanding Revenues of *Sweden* ariſe from Crown Lands, Cuſtoms, Poll-Money, Tithes, Copper and Silver Mines, Proceedings at Law, and other leſs conſiderable Particulars, which are calculated in all to near a Million a Year; of which the Lands make above one Third, and the Cuſtoms almoſt a Fourth. The Poll-Money is paid only by the Peaſants, each of which above Sixteen and under Sixty pays above twelve Pounds a Year. In the Treaſury-Chamber a Preſident, with four Chancellors, and other Officers, ſit and act as a Court of Juſtice, in ſuch Matters as relate to the King's Revenue, or rather that of the State.

As for the Adminiſtration of the Government, at the Time when the Dyet is not ſitting, it is inveſted in the King, aſſiſted by the Senate, without whoſe Conſent he cannot legally do any thing of great Importance. As to the Number of Senators; we know, by Experience, that the States of the Kingdom think themſelves at Liberty to augment or diminiſh it at Pleaſure; but, at preſent, it is fixed to fourteen. Theſe Senators are not only at Liberty to give their Sentiments upon all Affairs that are brought before them, but are intruſted alſo with the entire Management of public Concerns, in caſe of the Indiſpoſition or Abſence of the Prince. A Senator preſides in each of the great Courts of Juſtice in the Kingdom, and are uſually placed at the Head of all particular Commiſſions, Civil and Military. Their Salaries, as Senators, amount to about three hundred Pounds a Year;

but their being generally poſſeſſed of the moſt beneficial Employments, enables them ſufficiently to ſupport their Dignity with becoming Magnificence.

The King is not at Liberty to fill up the Number upon a Vacancy, but muſt wait till the Dyet aſſembles; when the Secret Committee propoſes to his Majeſty the Names of three Perſons for each Vacancy, one of which he appoints. The Order of Peaſants was formerly excluded from the Secret Committee, which they thought very hard, and made frequent Struggles in order to gain Admittance; in which, till within theſe few Years, they were always unſucceſsful. But the laſt War with *Ruſſia* enabled them to carry their Point, and to gain Entrance for their Deputies; the other Orders, however, attempted to exclude them again in the preſent Dyet, but miſcarried; ſo that in all Probability they will be conſtantly admitted for the future.

9. The Conqueſts made by *Sweden* in the laſt Age, were not ſo much owing to its native Strength, as to the foreign Aſſiſtance of *Germans*, *French*, *Engliſh*, and eſpecially *Scots*, of whom they have uſed great Numbers in all their Wars with *Muſcovy*, *Poland*, *Germany*, and *Denmark*; and by them the Art of War and Military Diſcipline has been by Degrees introduced into this Nation, that in former Times had only the Advantage of Courage and Numbers: For though the original Conſtitution of the Country, and its Diviſion into Hundreds and other large Portions, that ſtill retain Military Names, ſeems to have been the Work of Armies, and the frequent Expeditions of the *Goths*, and other Inhabitants of thoſe Parts, ſhew that in all Ages they were addicted to War and Violence, yet it was in a tumultuous Manner, their Infantry always conſiſting of unexperienced Peaſants raiſed for the Occaſion, and diſbanded as ſoon as it was over.

The Feudal Laws indeed provided for a competent Number of Cavalry; all Eſtates of the Nobility and Gentry being held by Knights-Service: And while the Kingdom was elective, the Kings were bound to maintain ſome Horſe out of the Revenue of the Crown. But this Eſtabliſhment had been in a great Meaſure corrupted, and the Kingdom ſo ſhattered by domeſtic Broils, that it made a very inconſiderable Figure, and was little known in *Europe* till the Crown became hereditary, and the Intereſt of the Royal Family conſiſted in the Strength and Proſperity of the Nation. Since that Time the ſtanding Forces of the Kingdom have been augmented, yet not ſo effectually eſtabliſhed as its Neceſſities required; for it generally happened that the Nobility and Gentry were ſo backward in fitting out their Horſe, and the Levies of Foot not being to be made without the Conſent of the Peaſants in the Aſſembly of the States, it was ſo hardly obtained, that the Regiments were very thin, and Recruits extreme difficult; nor were the Officers Salaries ſo punctually paid as to enable them to be in Readineſs on all Occaſions.

To remedy theſe Inconveniencies, *Charles* the XIth, on whom the States had conferred an abſolute Power to put the Militia into ſuch a Method as he ſhould think fit, made ſuch Regulations in all the Particulars relating to this Matter, as were required to bring it to Perfection. The new Injunctions he made about the Cavalry that the Nobility and Gentry furniſhed, are ſo exact, that it is not in their Power to put either the Men or the Horſe, that are once liſted, to other Employments than what are there ſpecified; but muſt have them in a continual Readineſs whenever they are called upon, with ſuch Arms and Equipage as his Majeſty hath directed; in default of which, ſevere Penalties are inflicted, and the Eſtates they hold by that Service, ſubject to Confiſcation.

For the Infantry the King has taken the like Care; and whereas formerly Levies could not be made but by Conſent of the States, and that but by ſmall Parcels at a Time, and with ſuch Diſturbance, that on theſe Occaſions it was uſual for half the Peaſants to run into the Woods and other hiding Places, to eſcape being Soldiers: This has been remedied by the King's Commiſſioners, who have diſtributed the Infantry of each Province proportionably to the Number of Farms, each of which of the Value of above ſixty or ſeventy Pounds a Year (not being appropriated to the Officers or other peculiar Services) is charged with one Foot Soldier, who receives from the Farmer, Diet, Lodging, ordinary Cloaths, and about twenty Shillings a Year in Money; or elſe a little wooden Houſe is built for him at the Farmer's Charge, who muſt alſo furniſh him with as much Hay as will keep a Cow in Winter, and Paſture in Summer, and plough and ſow for him ſuch a Parcel of Ground as will afford him Bread: They that are married generally accept this latter Condition. The unmarried Soldiers uſually lodge with the Farmer; but are not bound to do him any Service without Wages. When they have once taken the Farmer's Money, and are liſted into the King's Service, they can never quit it ſo long as they are able to ſerve; and if they deſert are puniſhed with Death.

The firſt Inſtitution of this Method was very burdenſome to the Peaſants, who were at great Charge to hire their Men, which coſt fourteen, and ſometimes twenty Pounds a piece; and the ſame whenever their Soldiers died. This in peaceable Times will not be ſo chargeable as it is in Times of War, when Men are unwilling to ſerve, and Recruits more frequently needed. As all the common Soldiers are thus provided for at the Country's Expence, ſo all Officers, both of Horſe and Foot, are maintained by the King, who hath appointed ſo much of the Lands lately reunited, or formerly belonging to the Crown, to that Purpoſe: So that every Officer hath a convenient Houſe and competent Portion of Land to live upon, ſituate in that Part of the Country where the Regiment he belongs to is quartered; as alſo the Rent of ſo many other Farms as make up his Pay eighteen Pounds, though it be ſomewhat leſs than formerly; yet, being punctually paid, either in Money, Corn, or other Commodities, they find it more profitable than when they were to ſolicit for it at the Treaſury: A Colonel of Foot has of theſe Lands the yearly Rent of about three hundred Pounds, and the reſt proportionably; which amounts to about two thouſand five hundred Pounds a Year for all the Officers of one Foot Regiment; and there being in *Sweden*, *Finland*, and *Leiſland*, twenty Regiments of Foot under this Eſtabliſhment, the Maintenance of all the Officers belonging to them coſts the King about fifty thouſand Pounds a Year. What Charge the Cloathing of the common Soldiers once in two or three Years, their Arms and other Neceſſaries, may put the King to, cannot be ſo eaſily computed.

The Officers of Horſe are provided for after the ſame Manner, with ſuch larger Allowance as is requiſite: There are fifteen Regiments of Horſe thus eſtabliſhed, and the Maintenance of their Officers is computed to be about eighty thouſand Pounds a Year; all which ariſes from the Rents of Crown-Lands, as do alſo the Wages of Civil Officers in the Country, who have Farms annexed to their Employments in the ſame Manner as the Militia. The Laws the King has made for maintaining this Conſtitution are very exact, and provide with great Caution, that neither the Peaſants ſhall be oppreſſed, nor the Lands and Houſes ruined; to which End all ſuch Lands are yearly viſited, and the Poſſeſſor compelled to make ſuch Repairs as are found needful: And as every Officer upon his firſt coming to ſuch an Eſtate, ſubſcribes an Inventory of it, ſo upon Advancement he cannot take Poſſeſſion of another Charge till he hath put the Eſtate into as good a Condition as he found it; and in Caſe of Death, his Heirs cannot inherit till that be done.

In Times of Peace, all Treſpaſſes committed by the Soldiery fall ordinarily under the Cognizance of a Civil Magiſtrate, who has the ſame Authority over them, as over the reſt of the King's Subjects, except when they are encamped, or in Garriſon, or in any way under flying Colours; in all which Caſes, as alſo in Matters that relate ſolely to their Profeſſion, their Officers have Juriſdiction over them, without whoſe Leave a private Soldier is not permitted to lodge out of his Quarters, or be out a Day from the Pariſh he belongs to.

The inferior Officers cannot be abſent from their Charge but by the Colonel's Permiſſion; nor Captains, nor thoſe above them, without the King's Leave; and the good Effect of the Officers conſtant Reſidence upon their reſpective Charges, appears in the quiet and peaceable Behaviour of the Soldiers, who have not hitherto broke out into any Enormities, nor given the common People any great Occaſion of Complaint. To keep them in Diſcipline, each Company meets, and is exerciſed once a Month, and every Regiment once or twice a Year; at which time only they wear the King's Cloaths, which, at their Return, are carefully laid up in the Churches. For their Government in Time of War, the King hath lately cauſed the Articles of War to be reviewed and printed, together with a new Eſtabliſhment of Courts Martial, and Inſtructions for the Auditors, Governors, and other Officers concerned in the Miniſtration of Juſtice; and for his Majeſty's Information on all Occaſions, a Book hath been lately made, ſpecifying the Names of every Military Officer in the King's Army, the Time when they firſt came into the Service, and by what Steps they have riſen; by which Means, at one View, his Majeſty knows the Merit and Service of any Officer. The whole Body of the King of *Sweden*'s Forces, according to the beſt and moſt exact Accounts are as follow:

The eſtabliſhed Militia in Sweden, Finland, *and* Liefland *or* Livonia, *are*

	Men
Cavalry, fifteen Regiments, is - - - -	17,000
Infantry, twenty-eight Regiments, is - - -	35,000
Foot-Guards, one Regiment, is - - - -	2,000
Forces in *Pomoren* and *Bremen*, ſix Regim. (now loſt)	6,000
In all fifty Regiments, is - - - - - -	60,000

10. *Sweden* has in all Times furniſhed *Europe* with thoſe Commodities it abounds with, yet either the Warlike Temper, Idleneſs, or Ignorance of the Inhabitants formerly, kept them from being much concerned in Trade, and gave Strangers the Management and Advantage of it; which for a long Time the Hanſe-Towns ſituate on the *Baltic* Sea monopolized, till the ſeven Provinces of the *Netherlands* were erected into a Republic, and became Sharers with them. Before that Time very little Iron was made in *Sweden*; but the Ore being run into Pigs, was carried into *Dantzick*, and other Parts of *Pruſſia*, and there forged into Bars; for which Reaſon the Country Smiths in *England*, call foreign Iron *Dantzick* or *Spruce* Iron. This Nation owes the greateſt Improvements it has made in Trade, to the Art and Induſtry of ſome ingenious Mechanics that the Cruelty of the Duke of *Alva* drove into thoſe Parts. Their Succeſs invited great Numbers of reformed *Walloons* to tranſplant themſelves thither, whoſe Language and Religion remain in the Places they ſettled in; where they erected Forges and other Conveniencies for making of Iron Guns, Wire, and all other Manufactures of Copper, Braſs, and Iron; which for the moſt Part are ſtill carried on by their Poſterity.

The *Swediſh* Navigation was very inconſiderable till Queen *Chriſtiana*, at the Concluſion of the Wars in 1644, obtained from *Denmark* a Freedom from Cuſtoms for all Ships and Goods belonging to *Swediſh* Subjects in their Paſſage through the *Sound*, and eſtabliſhed in her own Dominions that Difference in Cuſtoms that ſtill ſubſiſts between *Swediſh* and foreign Ships, and is in Proportion of four, five, ſix; the firſt called Whole Free; the ſecond, Half; and the laſt, Unfree: So that where a Whole Free *Swediſh* Ship pays four hundred Crowns, Half Free pays five hundred, and a foreign Veſſel ſix hundred. But as great as this Advantage was it had but little Effect, till the *Engliſh* Act of Navigation bridled the *Hollanders*, and opened the Intercourſe between *England* and *Sweden*. Since that Time, their Commerce has been much augmented as well as ours, that Way; and Goods tranſported by both, or either Party, according to the various Junctures of Affairs.

When *Sweden* has been engaged in a War, the *Engliſh* Ships have had the whole Employ; but in Times of Peace, the Advantage is ſo great on the *Swediſh* Side, and Merchants ſo much encouraged by Freedom in Cuſtoms to employ their Ships, that *Engliſh* Bottoms cannot be uſed in that Trade, but while *Sweden* is unprovided with a Number of Ships ſufficient for the Tranſportation of their own Commodities. The chief Commodities of *Sweden* are Copper, Iron, Pitch, Tar, Maſts, Deals, and wooden Ware, to the Value of about ſeven hundred thouſand Pounds a Year. In Return of which they receive from Abroad, Salt, Wines, and Brandy, Cloths, Shifts, Tobacco, Sugar, Spices, Paper, Linnen, and ſeveral other Sorts of Goods; which are ſuppoſed commonly to balance their Exportations, and ſometimes exceed them. Their Trade to *Portugal* for Salt is accounted moſt neceſſary, as without great Quantities of which they cannot ſubſiſt. That with *England* is more beneficial, becauſe it takes off almoſt half their own Commodities, and brings in near two thirds of Money for one of Goods. The worſt is their *French* Trade, as it rather ſupplies their Vanities than their Neceſſities, and gives little or no Vent to the Commodities of the Country.

The general Direction of their Trade belongs to the College of Commerce; which conſiſts of the Preſident of the Treaſury, and four Counſellors, who hear Cauſes of that Nature, and redreſs any Diſorders that happen. The Bank at *Stockholm* is of great Benefit to Trade, as well in regard that the King's Cuſtoms for that City are paid in there; as alſo that the Merchants ordinarily make Payments to each other by Bills drawn upon it, which eaſes them of a great deal of Trouble in tranſporting their Money from Place to Place, that would otherwiſe be very difficult and chargeable. The Management of the Trade of *Sweden* has always been in the Hands of Strangers, moſt the Natives wanting either Capacity or Application, and all of them Stocks to drive it: For without Credit from Abroad, they are not able to keep their Iron Works going; and therefore at the Beginning of Winter they uſually made Contracts with the *Engliſh*, and other Foreigners, who then advance conſiderable Sums, and receive Iron in Summer.

Were it not for this Neceſſity foreign Merchants would have but little Encouragement, or ſcarce Permiſſion, to live and trade amongſt them; and even, as the Caſe ſtands, the Treatment of them is as rigorous as in any Country, occaſioned chiefly by the Burghers; who cannot, with any Patience, ſee a Stranger live among them. This is the leſs ſenſible to the *Dutch* and others, who ſome become Burghers, and the reſt by their near Way of Living are leſs ſubject to Envy; but is more eſpecially the Caſe of the *Engliſh* Merchants, who find it not their Intereſt to become Burghers, and uſually live ſomewhat too high. The Intereſt of *England* in the Trade of *Sweden*, may be computed by the Neceſſaries to us, and the Vent of ours there: Their Copper, Iron, Tar, Pitch, Maſts, *&c.* cannot be had elſewhere, except from *America*, whence it has been ſuppoſed ſuch Supplies were furniſhed; and, if ſo, this Conſideration ought in Reaſon to have an Influence on the *Swediſh* Counſels, and engage them to make the *Engliſh* Trade with them as eaſy as poſſible, that the Merchants be not driven upon new Deſigns. As to our Importations thither, it has already been ſaid that they ſcarce amount to one third of what we export from thence, and conſiſt chiefly of Cloth, Stuffs, and other woollen Manufactures, of which there have been formerly vended yearly there, to the Value of about fifty thouſand Pounds. Beſides thoſe, Tobacco, *Newcaſtle* Coals, Pewter, Lead, Tin, Fruits, and Sugar, with ſeveral other of our Commodities, are ſold at the Market; as alſo good Quantities of Herrings from *Scotland*, with other of their Wares: That in all, we are ſuppoſed to vend Goods to about one hundred thouſand Pounds a Year. If any more than Half be paid for it is looked on as very extraordinary.

But the making of Cloth in *Sweden* to ſupply the Army, *&c.* which has been formerly endeavoured without Succeſs, being now encouraged and aſſiſted by the Public, and undertaken, has of late, and does now, prove a great Hindrance to the Vent of our Cloth there. And to favour this Undertaking, *Engliſh* Cloth now (unleſs it be ſuch finer Cloths as cannot be made there) is clogged with ſuch exceſſive Duties as render the Importation impracticable. Theſe Undertakers have got Workmen from *Germany*, and ſome from *England*; and beſides the *German* Wool they uſe, they receive great Quantities from

Scotland, (ſuppoſed to be purchaſed out of *England*) without which they cannot work; yet, as at preſent, the *Engliſh* Trade in *Sweden* is of the Importance abovementioned, notwithſtanding the Abatements aforeſaid. It is, however, conſiderable, and will be ſo while their Commodities continue to be neceſſary, and thoſe that are concerned in it will deſerve, as they need, Protection and Encouragement.

The laſt Treaty of Commerce between the two Nations, expired ſeveral Years ago, and that of an older, neither ſuits the preſent State of Things, nor has been thought by the *Swedes* to ſubſiſt; tho' now, for their own Intereſt, they inſiſt upon the contrary: Accordingly their Treatment of the *Engliſh* only, in reference to their own Convenience; and as the Subject of former Complaint ſtill remains, ſo new Burdens are frequently impoſed upon them. Sometimes they have demanded of Merchants that were leaving the Country, a ſixth Part of their Eſtates they had got in it, and arreſted their Effects upon that Account. And beſides others that more directly concerns their Trade, the quartering of Soldiers, and paying of Contributions, have been enacted for ſome Years, and ſometimes the *Engliſh* are forced to ſubmit to it. In the Year 1687, they petitioned the King, for redreſs of theſe Impoſitions, which were then very high; upon ſome above fifty Pounds, upon others forty, thirty, *&c.* Beſides that, ſuch of them as kept Houſe had Soldiers quartered upon them, ſome three ſix, or eight. In anſwer to their Petition, a Placart was publiſhed, declaring, that they ſhould be exempt from theſe Payments, but withal, that no foreign Merchants ſhould continue to trade in *Sweden* above two Months in a Year, unleſs he would become a Burgher.

In purſuance of which Reſolution, their Warehouſes were ſhut up for ſome time, and the *Swedes* ſeem reſolved to proceed to Extremity, but have not put that Reſolution generally in Execution, though they ſeem to wait for an Opportunity, and now and then they try it upon particular Perſons, to ſee how foreign Princes will take it. The Law that exacts the third Part of ſuch foreign Merchants Eſtates as die in *Sweden*, has not in effect been ſo beneficial to the *Swedes*, as frightful to the Merchants, who for that and other Reaſons, never think of marrying and ſettling there ſo long as their Affairs are in good Order, and they in a Condition to return home with a competent Eſtate, and Credit too; from which Account *England* ſeems to be leſs concerned to endeavour the Repeal of that Law, it being more uſeful to have *Sweden* a Nurſery for young Merchants, than a Place of Settlement for thoſe that have got Eſtates.

11. Theſe Obſervations and Remarks upon the Kingdom of *Sweden* were written about fifty Years ago, and yet I judged it proper to inſert them here with very few Alterations; and this the rather, becauſe having taken ſome Pains to make myſelf Maſter of the Subject, I have been from thence led to judge, that it is not eaſy to obtain any thing relating thereto more perfect in its kind. The Judgment of its Author ſhines through the whole Piece, and ſhews that he was a very ſenſible, intelligent, and capable Perſon; one who underſtood both Mankind and Government perfectly well, who had many more Opportunities to make, as well as much more Leiſure to digeſt, his Inquiries than ordinary Travellers can be preſumed to have, and therefore his Accounts are more to be depended on, and his Reflections deſerve greater Regard than thoſe that occur in common Books of Travels.

It muſt be allowed that great Alterations have happened in *Sweden* ſince his Time. Upon the Death of the late King *Charles* XII. the *Swediſh* Nation very wiſely laid hold of that Opportunity to recover their ancient Conſtitution, to reſtrain the Power of the Crown within juſt Bounds, to reſtore that of the States, and of the Senate; and they have made the beſt Uſe that could be of this Alteration, by electing a Prince of the Royal Family to be the Succeſſor of the preſent King, and making the Crown hereditary in his Family; but in ſuch a Manner as is conſiſtent with their Freedom. They have likewiſe taken very juſt and prudent Precautions for preſerving, increaſing, and extending the Commerce of their Country, which, though at preſent leſs conſiderable than it formerly was, is, however, in ſuch Circumſtances as ſeem to promiſe the Recovery of its former interior Strength, which muſt be attended ſooner or later, with the Reſtoration of its ancient Grandeur, ſince both Reaſon and Experience teach us, that when due Care is taken for ſecuring the Peace, the Freedom, and Proſperity of any People at home, they certainly become reſpected by their Neighbours, and conſequently as conſiderable abroad, as it is conſiſtent with their own Intereſt and thoſe of their Neighbours that they ſhould be. After thus preſenting the Reader with a fair Idea of the State and Condition of *Sweden*, it is requiſite that we ſhould proceed to that of the next northern Crown, of which we ſhall ſpeak as clearly and as ſuccinctly as may be, without adhering to any particular Author, that we may take in a great Variety of Obſervations, and bring theſe within the narrower Compaſs.

SECTION III.

The preſent State of the Dominions of the Crown of DENMARK, *and of its Subjects, in reſpect to their Manners, Cuſtoms, Laws, Forces, Revenues, Commodities, and Commerce; with occaſional Obſervations and Remarks.*

Collected from the Writings of Mr. *Moleſworth*, and other Authors of Credit.

1. *An Introduction, ſhewing the Nature and Importance of this Section; and the Authorities upon which it is founded.* 2. *The Climate of the ſeveral Parts of the* Daniſh *Dominions, the Seas by which they are bounded, and the Nature of the Toll which the* Danes *exact in the* Sound. 3. *The Soil and Produce of the ſeveral Countries and Iſlands belonging to the Crown of* Denmark. 4. *Of the Commodities and Commerce of this Country.* 5. *Of the Forces of the* Danes *by Sea and Land.* 6. *Of the King's Revenues, and the Manner of Living, and the Amount of them.* 7. *The Temper, Genius, Manners and Cuſtoms of the* Danes. 8. *The Laws in this Country, with reſpect to Civil, Eccleſiaſtical, and Commercial Affairs.* 9. *The preſent State of Religion, and of their Clergy; with other Matters of the like Nature.* 10. *The Nature of the Tenures in* Denmark, *and the Manner in which Eſtates are held there; with other Particulars relative to that Subject.* 11. *Obſervations and Remarks upon the foregoing Section; with ſome Conjectures as to the future State of this Country and its Inhabitants.*

1. THERE is ſcare any Country in *Europe*, or at leaſt in the North, with which we ought to be better acquainted than with *Denmark*, conſidering that the Inhabitants of it were once Maſters of a great Part of this Iſland, that our Princes have frequently intermarried with the Families of the *Daniſh* Kings, and that we have ſtill as great Connection with this Kingdom and Court as with any of the Northen Powers. But notwithſtanding this it ſo happens that we are very far from being generally well informed as to this Nation and its Concerns. It is true that Mr. *Moleſworth*, who reſided at *Copenhagen* in the Reign of the late King *William*, has written a valuable and much eſteemed Treatiſe upon this Subject; in which he very fully explains the Cauſes of, and the Manner in which, that great Revolution happened, whereby the Kings of *Denmark* from being elective and limited became hereditary and abſolute in 1660. And by the Way it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that this is the only legal abſolute Monarchy, perhaps, in the World; the King being declared ſo by the States of the Kingdom, who had that Power by the Conſtitution.

It is indeed true that there was a Force put upon the Nobility; but it was a Force put upon them by the People, who knew that they made a very bad Uſe of the Authority they enjoyed in virtue of their old Conſtitution; and therefore made it their Choice to live under an abſolute King, rather than under a tyrannical Ariſtocracy. We may learn, from hence, ſeveral Things worthy of our Obſervation; and, among them, theſe: That when, in a mixed or limited Government, any Part of it gains ſuch a Superiority over the reſt as is deſtructive of the End of ſuch a Government, which is the Good of the whole, it cannot long ſubſiſt; but muſt infallibly be diſſolved, either by the Uſurpers of ſuch Power being in a Condition to preſerve it, or by the joining of the oppreſſed Parts of the Government; as in this Caſe, to raiſe up another Power capable of controlling ſuch an Uſurpation. That as a Democracy, or popular State, is, of all others, ſooneſt corrupted; ſo an Ariſtocracy, or Government by a few, is, when corrupted, the leaſt to be borne, eſpecially in States which have a viſible Head; and that, in ſuch Revolutions, the Change is ſeldom, if ever, from a tyrannical to a mixed Government; but from one deſpotic Power to another But though the Book before-mentioned ſtates thoſe Points very clearly; and, for the Time in which it was written, is certainly as good a one as can be wiſhed; yet it is now, in ſome Meaſure, out of Date: And, therefore, in order to have a tolerable Idea of the preſent State of this Country, we muſt have recourſe to other and later Obſervations.

The Dominions of the Crown of *Denmark* conſiſt of the great Kingdom of *Norway*, of which ſome Account has been given in the former Section, and therefore we ſhall ſay but little of it here; of the Peninſula of *Jutland*, which, from the Frontiers of *Germany* to its utmoſt northern Bounds, is about two hundred and ſeventy Miles in Length, and of different Breadths; of the Duchy of *Holſtein*, which the King of *Denmark* holds jointly with the Duke of that Title; of the *Daniſh* Iſlands, the Chief of which are *Zealand*, *Funen*, and *Iceland*; and of ſeveral Countries in *Germany*, ſuch as *Oldenbourg*, *Delmenhorſt*, and other Places, partly the hereditary Dominions of the Royal Family, and partly obtained by Conqueſt. We may eaſily diſcern, from hence, that this Crown muſt always have a conſiderable Share in the general Syſtem of Things in *Europe*, as well as in the particular Diſtribution of Power in the North; and conſequently, though its Dominions lie a little out of the way, and we do not very frequently hear of the Effects either of the Power or Policy of the Kings of *Denmark*, yet the Nature of their Dominions, and the Temper of their Subjects, is very well worth the knowing. For ſuch is the Nature of Things in this World, and ſuch the conſtant Fluctuation of Intereſt and Power, that we can never rely, with any Certainty, on the preſent Syſtem; nor can we eaſily foreſee what Turns or Changes may happen, ſo as to judge, with any Degree of Accuracy, which of the Powers, at preſent great, ſhall decline; or which of thoſe, that are now low, ſhall riſe, and become conſiderable, unleſs we look into their reſpective Conditions narrowly, and thereby gain ſome tolerable Notion of the Chances they have of changing their preſent Situations, either for the better or the worſe. After ſhewing, as we have done, the Uſe and Importance of the preſent Section, let us now proceed to the proper Buſineſs of it, with as much Clearneſs and Brevity as poſſible.

2. The Air of *Denmark* is not good, eſpecially near *Copenhagen*, which is ſuppoſed to proceed from its low Situation, and the frequent Fogs there. The Air of *Sleſwick* and *Holſtein* is better than that in the northern Parts, and the Country more deſirable upon many Accounts, as will appear hereafter. The ſame Obſervations are made as to the Seaſons in *Denmark* as in *Sweden*, viz. That the Year is divided into Winter and Summer; that they have no Spring, and very ſeldom any Autumn; but they proceed immediately from an extreme Cold to an Extremity of Heat; and, in the latter End of the Year, from violent hot Weather to an Extremity of Cold. During the Months of *June*, *July*, and *Auguſt*, the Heat is more intenſe than in *England*, and the Nights not near ſo cool as with us, though they are ſo many Degrees to the Northward; nor do they enjoy a clear Sunſhine during thoſe Heats, but thick Vapours all the time between them and the Sun: And indeed it is a general Obſervation, that the Heaven is much brighter and more ſerene far within the Continent, than it is near the Sea-coaſt; nor is the Air leſs clear and pleaſant at Sea, a great Diſtance from Land, than it is in the Middle of the Continent. But this Obſervation holds more true within the Tropics, than it does either in the Northern or the Southern Latitudes. The Air of *Norway* is exceſſive cold; but eſpecially within the Polar Circle, which is inhabited by the *Laplanders*. The more Southerly Part of the Country differs but little from *Sweden*, from which it is ſeparated only by the *Doffrine* Hills.

The Seas bordering on the *Daniſh* Dominions are the *German* Ocean, the *Baltic*, in which is that famous Streight or Paſſage into the *Eaſt-Sea*, called the *Ore Sound*, or generally the *Sound* of the *Baltic*. It hath been obſerved, that there are no Tides in it, and that its Waters are freſher than the Ocean, ſuppoſed to be occaſioned by the Rivers that run into it. The *Sound* is about four Miles over, having the Iſland of *Zealand* on the Weſt, and the Continent of *Schonen* on the Eaſt. In the narroweſt Part of the Streight of *Zealand*, or *Denmark* Side, ſtands the Town of *Elſenore*, and the ſtrong Caſtle of *Cronenbourg*, before which there is a tolerable Road for Shipping. On the Side of *Schonen*, in the Poſſeſſion of the *Swedes*, is the Town of *Helſingbourg*, and a ſmall Battery of Guns, which ſerve only to ſalute the Ships which paſs by it. Between thoſe two Places ſail all the Shipping bound to the *Baltic*. The *Danes*, however, only receive the Toll of all Merchantmen who paſs by it; though the *Swedes* are Maſters of the oppoſite Shore, by virtue of the Treaty concluded when they yielded up *Schonen* to them. But the *Swedes* themſelves were exempted from paying any Duties, till the laſt Peace in the Year 1721, when the Affairs of the *Swedes* were in a very deſperate Condition, and then they condeſcended to pay a Toll to *Denmark*, as other Nations did, on their paſſing the *Sound*.

This Duty is ſuppoſed to have ariſen from the mutual Conſent of the Merchants trading to the Eaſt Country, who at firſt contributed a ſmall Sum towards maintaining of Light-houſes on the Coaſt for their own Security; and thereupon this Paſſage of the *Sound* came to be more uſed than that of either *Belt* to the Weſtward of the Iſle of *Zealand*, which, in other Reſpects, ſeem as commodious as this. From ſome ſuch Beginnings the *Danes* proceeded to demand large Sums, and that as their undoubted Right, being Maſters of both Shores. The Emperor *Charles* V. in behalf of his Subjects of the ſeventeen Provinces of the *Low Countries*, came to an Agreement with the *Danes*, That every Ship of two hundred Tons and under, paſſing the *Sound*, ſhould pay two Roſe Nobles going and coming from the *Baltic*; and every Ship above that Burden, three Nobles; which Agreement remained in force until the United Provinces ſet up for independent States; after which the *Danes* obliged the *Dutch* to pay extravagant Rates.

But the *Hollanders* and *Lubeckers* oppoſing theſe Exactions about the Year 1600, obliged the *Danes* to accept of more moderate Duties. The firſt ſolemn Treaty the *Dutch* made with the *Danes* concerning this Toll was in the Year 1647, wherein they agreed to pay about twenty-five Pounds for every Ship of two hundred Tons paſſing the Streights for forty Years, at the Expiration of which, the firſt Agreement with the Emperor was to be in force. And the *Engliſh*, in their Treaties with *Denmark*, agreed to pay Toll as the *Dutch* and other Nations in Friendſhip with them did. As to the free States of *England* and *Holland*, they aſk no Permiſſion of the *Danes* to paſs the *Sound*; for the Caſtles on the Shores are at too great a Diſtance to prevent it, and, if they had not a Squadron of Men of War ready to compel the Merchant to pay the Toll, he might paſs by unhurt. Beſides, the Paſſage called the *Great Belt*, between the Iſlands of *Zealand* and *Funen* is much wider; and that of the *Leſſer Belt*, between *Funen* and the Continent of *Jutland* is not at all impracticable.

3. The Nature of the Soil, in Dominions ſo far extended, and ſo much disjoined, as thoſe of *Denmark* are, muſt be various. The Iſland of *Zealand*, wherein the capital City of *Copenhagen* ſtands, produces no Corn, but Rye, of which moſt of their Bread is made. Of this they have enough for the Subſiſtence of the Inhabitants, but not to export. There is not much Meadow or Paſture Ground in the Iſland; but what they have is ſhort and ſweet. One fourth Part of the Country is Foreſt, and reſerved for the King's Game, ſuch as Stags, wild Boars, *&c.* which no Subject dares meddle with, though he finds whole Herds of them devouring his Corn, and the Farmers are generally great Sufferers by them. In a wet Seaſon they have the greateſt Plenty of Grain in *Zealand*. Their Cattle are ſmall, and lean in the Winter, kept within Doors for ſeven or eight Months of the Year, and fed with Grains, Roots, Weeds, and ſuch Stuff as their Owners can provide; but in Summer, when there is Graſs to be had, their Beef is pretty good. Near *Copenhagen* the Sea is not ſtored with Fiſh, which is ſuppoſed to proceed from the Water not being ſo ſalt as that in other Seas. The Iſland of *Funen* produces Corn and Wood ſufficient for the Natives, and they have Cattle for their Uſe; but it affords nothing for Exportation, except a few Horſes. *Lapland* is a plentiful Iſland, and produces all Sorts of Corn in Abundance, particularly Wheat, with which it ſupplies *Copenhagen*, and all other Parts of *Denmark*, in ſmall Quantities; for Wheat is a great Rarity among them.

The Iſlands of *Falſtria*, *Langland*, and *Mona*, are reckoned tolerable fruitful; *Arroe* and *Alſen* produce Anniſeeds, which they mix with their Bread, and uſe it in ſeaſoning their Meat. *Jutland* hath Corn enough for the Natives, and abounds in Cattle. The Horſes and Hogs of this Country are reckoned very good, and black Cattle are tranſported lean from hence to *Holland*, where they grow fat in a ſhort time, of which the *Dutch* make a conſiderable Profit. The Country of *Sleſwick* hath a ſufficient Quantity of Corn, Cattle, and Horſes, with which they furniſh their Neighbours. *Holſtein* is a pleaſant, fruitful Country, ſaid to reſemble *England* in its Variety of Hills, Woods, Rivers, Meadows, and Corn Fields. *Stormar* and *Ditmarch* lie down near the *Elb*, being a rich Soil, compared to *Holland* for Fertility and Improvement of its Lands, which are ſometimes overflowed, however, by the neighbouring Ocean. *Oldenbourg* alſo is a flat Country, much expoſed to Inundations; but abounds in Cattle, and hath a Breed of Horſes eſteemed for being of a white or cream Colour; tho' they have generally tender Feet, and laſt but a little while. *Delmenhorſt* is a more hilly Country than *Oldenbourg*, and pretty well wooded. *Norway* and *Lapland* having been largely deſcribed in the firſt Section of this Chapter, there is no Need of dwelling upon them here.

The Iſlands of *Iceland*, *Fero*, and *Schetland* are almoſt as barren as *Norway*; Corn will ſcarce grow in any of them; but they abound in Cattle. The Natives of *Iceland* feed on the Fleſh of Bears, Wolves, and Foxes, and Bread made of dried Fiſh beat to Powder. They barter their dried Fiſh, Tallow, and Sulphur for ſuch other Commodities as they want. There are not, either in he Iſlands of *Iceland* or *Fero*, any Trees, except Juniper-ſhrubs, Birch, and Willows; but they have Roots, and other Garden-ſtuff, which, with their Fiſh, are their greateſt Support. They have good Paſture, and a tolerable Breed of Black Cattle, ſmall-ſized Horſes, and ſome Flocks of Sheep, and almoſt all manner of Roots and Herbs which grow in other Kitchen-gardens; and are pretty well ſtocked with Fiſh and Fowl. But the Cold is very ſevere in all theſe Iſlands, and their Winter is dark, as may eaſily be gathered from their Situation.

4. As to the Manufactures of *Denmark* and *Norway*, there are none, except that of Iron; which is not very conſiderable. *Holſtein* and *Sleſwick* ſeem to be extremely well ſituated for foreign Trade, lying both upon the *Baltic* and the Ocean; but reap little Advantage from their Situation at preſent. *Hamburgh* on one Side, and *Lubec* on the other, which border upon *Holſtein*, are indeed Towns of great Trade, and the *Dane* ſometimes pretends to the Sovereignty of *Hamburgh*; but, by the Countenance of the neighbouring Powers, that City hath hitherto preſerved her Liberties. *Jutland* and *Holſtein* export nothing but Horſes and Cattle. From *Norway*, indeed, there are great Quantities of Fir-timber, for Maſts, Yards, and Planks exported, with Pitch, Tar, Stock-fiſh, Oil, and Iron, for which they receive ready Money chiefly of the *Engliſh*; but of the *French*, Wine, Brandy, Alamodes, and other Trifles.

The *Danes* have ſome inconſiderable Factories in the *Weſt-Indies*, and on the Coaſts of *Guinea*; and in the *Eaſt-Indies*, they are Maſters of the City and Fort of *Tranquebar*, one of the moſt conſiderable Towns on the Eaſt-ſide of the Continent; and from hence are ſent home, ſome Years, two or three Ships. The *Dutch* have, for many Years, been endeavouring to undermine the *Danes* in the *Eaſt-Indies*, and make themſelves Maſters of the Town of *Tranquebar*, inciting the Natives to lay ſiege to it; and the *Danes* were in great Danger of loſing it about five-and-twenty Years ago; but were generouſly ſupported by Mr. *Pitt*, the Governor of *Fort St. George*, as we have ſhewn at large in our former Volume. The *Danes* are reckoned to have more Shipping than the *Swedes*, the Reaſon whereof may be, that *Norway* furniſhes a conſiderable Number of hardy Seamen, who are uſed to thoſe boiſterous Seas; and the *Dutch* alſo maintain great Numbers of *Norwegians* in their Fleets, where they live better than on their own barren Coaſts, which makes theſe People apply themſelves more to the Sea-ſervice than any other Subjects of *Denmark*; and there is always a conſiderable Number of them ready to man the royal Navy: Which brings us to enquire into the Strength and Forces of the *Danes* by Sea and Land.

5. We cannot enter upon this Head without making the ſame Reflections that Mr. *Moleſworth* does. It is certain that the levying Taxes here is not more grievous to the People, than the Reaſon for which they are levied; the Maintenance of a great ſtanding Army. The People are made Contributors to their own Miſery, and their Purſes drained in order to maintain their Slavery. The *French* King has taught the Princes of *Europe* that pernicious Secret of making one Part of the People bridle and ſcourge the other; which, in time, muſt needs end in a general Deſolation. The King of *Denmark* hath even endeavoured to exceed his Original, in raiſing more Men than his Country will maintain; and, at preſent, the Northern and *German* Princes eſtimate their Wealth not by the Fertility or Extent of their Territory, by the Trade or Induſtry of the People, but by the Numbers of Horſe and Foot in their Service; for the Subſiſtence of which, after they have eaten up their own Subjects, they make uſe of an hundred cruel and unjuſt Pretences to ruin and encroach on their Neighbours; and, when they cannot accompliſh ſuch Projects, foment Quarrels among other Princes, that they may have an Opportunity of letting out their Troops for Hire; and have found the Art of receiving Pay, without intereſting themſelves in the Quarrel; which hath been the conſtant Practice of the *Danes*, and ſome neighbouring Princes, for many Years paſt. Thoſe Practices, however, have been very pernicious to *Denmark*.

Nor have the *Danes* ſucceeded in any of their Attempts againſt the City of *Hamburgh*; but, in the laſt War, taking Advantage of the Diſtreſs the *Swedes* were reduced to by a potent Confederacy, the *Dane* made himſelf Maſter of *Bremen* and *Verden*, which he afterwards conveyed to the Sovereign of *Hanover*; and ſeized alſo on the late Duke of *Holſtein*'s Territories, in his Minority, which he ſtill keeps. It is computed that *Denmark*, *Holſtein*, and *Oldenbourg* maintain five thouſand four hundred and fifty Horſe, fifteen hundred Dragoons, and ſeventeen thouſand Foot. *Norway* maintains twelve hundred and thirty-ſix Horſe and Dragoons, and fourteen thouſand three hundred Foot, making in all a Body of near forty thouſand Men. The Foot Soldiers, both Officers and private Men, are generally Foreigners, of all Countries, *Poles*, *Germans*, *Swedes*, *Scots*, &c. There are more Reaſons than one for not employing too many of the Natives; but the principal, leaſt they ſhould ſhew too much Affection to their own Country and not ſo readily obey the arbitrary Commands of their Princes. Officers of Horſe receive no more Pay, in time of Peace, than thoſe of the Foot. The Horſe are uſually Natives, and maintained every one by a Free-holder or Farmer, who is obliged to provide him and his Horſe Meat, and ſix Shillings a Month in Money, half of which the Colonel takes towards his Mounting; and in *Holſtein* they have ſomething better Pay than in *Denmark*. In *Norway* little Money is expended in paying the Forces; the private Soldiers being quartered by the Boors, and, which is an heavy Burthen, ſubſiſted by them.

For the Sea-Service three thouſand Mariners are conſtantly maintained at *Copenhagen*, as well in Peace as War; having a weekly Allowance of Salt, Fleſh, Stock-Fiſh, or Meal, Grout, *&c.* for themſelves and their Families, and about eighty Rix-Dollars a Year in Money. And there are ſeveral Streets of little Houſes, or Barracks, near the Walls where they live, and where their Wives and Children reſide while they are at Sea. Their Buſineſs, in time of Peace, is to work in the King's Yards and Docks, which are over-againſt the Palace in *Copenhagen*, where they take it by Turns to ſerve in all laborious Works relating to the Shipping; and once a Year it is uſual to equip a ſmall Squadron of Men of War, and ſail with them two or three Months for exerciſing the Sailors. All the Officers in the Fleet are in conſtant Pay, as well in Peace as War; and the *Danes* compute, that they can rig out thirty Sail of Men of War and upwards at a very ſhort Warning.

6. The King's Revenues ariſe from the Duties paid by his own Subjects, the Cuſtoms paid by Foreigners, the Crown Lands, Fines, and Confiſcations. The Taxes paid by his Subjects are either fixed or variable; that is, the Prince, in ſome Caſes, chuſes to follow a certain Rule, eſtabliſhed by himſelf; which, he may, however alter, if he ſees fit, and in others he frequently varies. Of the firſt Sort are the Duties of Import and Export, and the Exciſe commmonly called Conſumption laid upon every thing that is eat or drank in the Kingdom. There are alſo Duties paid for Marriage Licences, Duties on Stamp-Paper; on which all Bargains, Contracts, Proceedings at Law, *&c.* are written; ſome of theſe Duties amounting to ſeveral Rix-Dollars *per* Sheet. Duties are alſo laid upon Brewing and Malt, and Corn that is ground on Mills. Theſe Duties are certain, or ſeldom altered. The uncertain Duties are the Taxes on Land, which are not aſſeſſed by the Acre, but according to the annual Value of the Farm. Poll-Money impoſed upon every one according to the perſonal Eſtate he is ſuppoſed to have, which is ſometimes levied twice a Year. Money levied for erecting or repairing the Fortifications.

An occaſional Tax, raiſed only when a Daughter of *Denmark* is to be married, whoſe Portion is uſually an hundred thouſand Crowns. A Tax laid upon every Tradeſman for the Liberty of exerciſing his Calling, and the Gain he is ſuppoſed to make by it, who is obliged alſo to quarter Soldiers. The Ground-Rents, in all Cities and Towns, which the King taxes, according to the Value of the Houſe or the Ability of the Poſſeſſor. In *Holſtein* the Lands are taxed according to the Ploughs, each Plough paying a certain Sum every Month. Not many Years ſince an Eſtimate was made of all the Houſes in the Cities and Towns in the King's Dominions; and all the Lands were meaſured, that the Crown might the better underſtand their Value; and the Ground-Tax, in the Cities and Towns, was aſſeſſed at four *per Cent.* of the whole Value the Ground was rated at, if it was to be purchaſed; and the like Proportion was obſerved towards others, in regard to their Houſes and Profeſſion. The moſt moderate Aſſeſſment of their Poll-Tax is according to the following Proportion, *viz.* A Citizen worth eight or ten thouſand Rix-Dollars pays four Rix-Dollars for himſelf, four for his Wifs, two for every Child, and one for each Servant, and for every Horſe a Rix-Dollar. An Alehouſe-keeper pays one Rix-Dollar for himſelf, another for his Wife, twenty-four Stivers for every Child, and ſixteen for every Servant. The Fortification Tax is uſually high. A Merchant worth ſix or eight thouſand Rix-Dollars, hath ſometimes paid ſixty-eight Dollars, an ordinary Citizen eight or ten, and others in Proportion.

A late Writer hath computed the Revenues of the Crown of *Denmark*, as follows: The Toll of the Sound at 65,000 Rix-Dollars *per Ann.* The reſt of the Toll of *Denmark* farmed at 165,000 Rix-Dollars. The Conſumption or Exciſe of *Copenhagen*, farmed at 140,000 Rix-Dollars. The Conſumption of the reſt of *Denmark* at 140,000 Rix-Dollars. The ſmaller Taxes of *Denmark* at 100,000 Rix-Dollars. Poll-Tax, Fortification-Tax, Ground-Rents and Land-Tax, at 100,000 Rix-Dollars. The whole Revenue of *Norway* at 700,000 Rix-Dollars. The Crown-Lands, Confiſcations, *&c.* at 200,000 Rix-Dollars. The Revenue of *Iceland* farmed at 27,000 Rix-Dollars. *Oldenbourg* and *Delmenhorſt* 8000 Rix-Dollars; and the Toll upon the *Weſer* 5000 Rix-Dollars: So that the whole Revenue of *Denmark* amounts to 2,622,000 Rix-Dollars *per Ann.* But as the Gentleman, who makes this Calculation, obſerves that the Poll-Tax and Fortification-Tax are never raiſed the ſame Year; we muſt, upon that Account, deduct 400,000 Rix-Dollars out of the Sum total, and the whole Revenue will then amount to two Millions two hundred twenty-two thouſand Rix-Dollars, or about five hundred thouſand Pounds of our Money, which in that Part of the World will go near as far as three Times the Sum with us, conſidering the Cheapneſs of Proviſion and Labour in *Denmark* and *Norway*.

7. As to the Perſons of the *Danes* they are generally tall, and ſtrong limbed; their Complexion good; their Hair fair, yellow, or red; and as few of the Men wear Wigs, they take a great deal of Pains in curling their yellow Locks; neither Men nor Women are aſhamed of red Hair, or endeavour to change the Colour. They have bad Shapes, and their Mien is not to be admired. When we ſee the *Daniſh* Women ſitting in a Coach or Chair, ſome of them appear exquiſitely beautiful; but if they riſe and attempt to walk they ſpoil all. Both Ladies and Gentlemen in Summer affect to imitate the *French* Dreſs; but in Winter wrap themſelves up in Furs or Wool, like the reſt of the Northern People. They are neat in their Linnen, changing it often, and affect too much Magnificence. It is obſerved that *Denmark* ſeldom produces a great Genius; they are not good at Invention or Imitation, and are neither deeply learned, nor exquiſite Mechanics. Polite Learning they are perfect Strangers to, and few Books are found amongſt them, except thoſe of controverſial Religion.

Mr. *Moleſworth*, in ſumming up their Character, ſays, he never knew a Country where the Minds of People were more upon a Level. As we find none of extraordinary Parts or Qualifications, or excellent in particular Studies or Arts, ſo we ſee no Enthuſiaſts, Madmen, natural Fools, or whimſical People, but a certain Equality of Underſtanding reigns among them; every one plods on in the ordinary Track of Common ſenſe, without deviating to the right or left. The common People, however, in general, write and read, and their Clergy uſually talk *Latin*, but not in the greateſt Purity. The Vices the Gentry are moſt addicted to, are Gluttony and Drunkenneſs. When they ſit down to eat and drink, they never know when to riſe, but the Debauch ſometimes continues whole Days and Nights. The firſt Thing a Friend is preſented with at his coming into the Houſe is a Dram of Brandy; and they are no ſooner ſet down to Dinner, but every Man and Woman hath alſo a Glaſs ſet by their Plate, and on propoſing a Health take off their Glaſſes together, and by that means make a quick Diſpatch. The Women indeed retire after Dinner, but the Men ſit it out till they have loſt (which is not ſoon done) their little Senſe.

The Liquors drank by People of Condition are *Rheniſh*-Wines, Cherry-Brandy, and all Sorts of *French*-Wines. The Men are fond of them, and the fair Sex do not refuſe them. The poor People indulge in bad Beer and Spirits extracted from Malt or Barley. Nor do the *Norwegians* who can afford it come behind the *Danes*; 'tis the Cuſtom of the Country; and both among the Gentry and common People, Lewdneſs and Intemperance paſs for Wit and ingenious Converſation. As to their Eating, the Tables of People of Condition are covered with a Variety of Diſhes; but the Fleſh, except Beef and Veal, is generally lean and ill taſted; their tame Fowls and wild Ducks are ſcarce eatable. There are no fallow Deer, Woodcocks, Pheaſants or Rabbets; and red Deer are the King's Game, and not to be purchaſed. Their Hares and their Bacon are excellent, as are their freſh-water Fiſh, particularly the Carp, Perch, and Craw-fiſh; but Sea-fiſh is ſcarce and ill taſted; and in general, their Cookery is not agreeable to an *Engliſh* Palate. The common People in Town and Country live upon coarſe Rye Bread, lean ſalt Fiſh, Stock-Fiſh, Roots, and very bad Cheeſe, ſeldom taſting freſh Fiſh, and hardly ever Fleſh. As to the Character of the common People, they are poor, and mean-ſpirited, far from the warlike Temper of their Anceſtors, inclined to cheating, and intolerably jealous and ſuſpicious that others have a Deſign upon them; which may be obſerved to be the Caſe of moſt Men of limited Underſtandings. In our Age, ſays *Puffendorf*, the *Danes* have loſt much of their ancient Glory, becauſe the preſent Nobility and Gentry are rather for enjoying their Revenues in Eaſe and Luxury, than for undergoing the Fatigues of War; and the Commonality have followed their Example.

The *Norwegians* undergo all kinds of Hardſhips with more Courage and Vigour, to which they are inured by the Climate they live in; but the *Danes* ever ſince they have been Maſters of *Norway*, have endeavoured to depreſs and keep that People under, by taking from them all the Opportunities of exerting themſelves; and there are now very few of the ancient Nobility left in *Norway*. The *Danes* travel either in Waggons, on Horſeback, or in Sledges; and there is an Officer who regulates the Prices of Carriage, and puniſhes thoſe who extort more than their Due. If any Gentleman can procure a Warrant from the Court, when he is about to undertake a Journey, the Peaſants or Farmers are obliged to furniſh him with Horſes and Carriage, in every Country through which he paſſes, without being allowed any thing, as they do for the King and Court whenever they travel. The *Danes* have their Playhouſe for their Diverſion; they take their Pleaſure alſo in their Sleds upon the Ice in Winter. But downright Drinking is their favourite Recreation; the moſt ſerious Affairs ſubmit to this, the great Buſineſs of the Day and Night. Nor do the *Danes* indulge more in Eating and Drinking than in their Lodging; for as there is no Place where there is greater Plenty of good Feather-beds, they lay one under, another over them, all the Winter Seaſon. But Lodgings for Strangers are procured with Difficulty in private Houſes, and in Public-Houſes they are obliged to eat and ſleep, in common, no Man being allowed a Room to himſelf, except his Quality be very high indeed.

8. The King of *Denmark* is the great Interpreter of his Laws, and can change them at Pleaſure. He is the ſupreme Judge and Preſident of the High Court of Juſtice, when he pleaſes to ſit there, which is not often: However, whether preſent or abſent, the Advocates always addreſs themſelves to the King. The Princes of the Blood, and the Nobility and Gentry, are commonly tried in this High Court; and the Super-intendants, or Biſhops, have the ſame Privilege, if charged with Hereſy, or any other notorious Crime. Where any Perſon calumniates the Government, or the Adminiſtration, he is declared infamous, and his Goods confiſcated; but if ſuch Diſcourſes tend to a Sedition, they are to be puniſhed with the utmoſt Severity. As to thoſe who endeavour to defame a Magiſtrate, either Civil or Eccleſiaſtical, or injure the Reputation of a Perſon of Honour, by Writing, or otherwiſe, they are to pay eighty Rix-Dollars to the Party grieved, and a Fine of three Marks to the Crown; and in Default of Payment are condemned to the Pillory, and to carry Stones for the Repair of the Fortifications and public Buildings. If any Perſon refuſes to take up Arms, and ſerve the Government, either by Sea or Land, in Caſe of an Invaſion, when he is ſummoned to attend the Royal Standard, he is to be declared infamous, and to forfeit his Eſtate.

A Perſon guilty of Theft is not only ſentenced to be whipped, and to hard Labour in the public Works, but to reſtore double the Value of the Goods ſtolen to the Owner. Coining is puniſhed with the Loſs of Life and Honour, and Confiſcation of the Eſtate of the Offender, and the ſame Puniſhment is inflicted on him who removes an antient Landmark. He who counterfeits the Hand and Seal of another, or forges a Writing, is ſentenced to have his Head cut off; his Goods confiſcated and declared infamous. The Torture is ſeldom uſed in *Denmark*, but in Caſes of High Treaſon; and then only upon Perſons already convicted of the ſame Crime, in order to make them diſcover their Accomplices. Duels, and even the challenging another to fight is puniſhed with the Loſs of Life and Eſtate; and Seconds, who do not endeavour to prevent it, are puniſhed in like manner. He who is killed in a Duel is not ſuffered to be buried in conſecrated Ground; whoever reflects upon another for refuſing a Challenge, is puniſhable, and declared infamous by a *Daniſh* Law. In Caſes of Shipwrecks, the *Daniſh* Subjects are required to give all imaginable Aſſiſtance to thoſe in Diſtreſs, and to preſerve the Goods for the Owner's Uſe.

The Ships which guard the Coaſts are directed to ſave what Effects they can, for which they have a moderate Reward; and the Owners are permitted to ſell them in the Country, or embark them on board other Veſſels. If a Ship or Goods be driven on the Coaſt, and no body appears to claim them, the King's Officers, or the Lord of the Manor takes care to preſerve them; or if they are periſhable Goods they ſell them to the beſt Advantage, and reſtore them to the Owner; but if they are not reclaimed within a Year and a Day, they become the Property of the King, or the Lord of the Place. If the Maſter of any Ship finds Goods floating on the Sea, he is to take Care of, and deliver them to the next Magiſtrate, who muſt keep them a Year and a Day, to ſee if any one can claim them; and if no body owns them they belong to the King; and if any conceal or embezzle ſuch wrecked Goods, he is to be puniſhed as a *Felon*; and the Law is much the ſame where the Perſon finds Goods or Cattle upon the Road; for he is obliged to publiſh them in the Court of the Diſtrict, and can have no Property in the Goods till a Year and a Day be paſt, where no body comes in to reclaim them.

There being but one Univerſity in *Denmark*, a Divinity Reader is appointed to reſide in every Cathedral, to expound the Scriptures to the People; and theſe Divinity Readers, as well as the Maſters of Colleges, are examined by the Profeſſors of the Royal Academy of *Copenhagen* before they are admitted to officiate; private Schools are expreſly prohibited by the Laws of *Denmark*, and none allowed but thoſe eſtabliſhed by public Authority in the Cities and great Towns; and they have two or three Maſters belonging to each School, who have taken their Degree of Maſters of Art at leaſt, as well as the Rector. The firſt Maſter or Rector, is choſen by the Super-intendant, or Biſhop, having paſſed an Examination before him and the Miniſter of the Pariſh. The Under-Maſters are appointed by the Rector, with the Approbation of the Miniſter of the Place. The leſſer Schools, where only Writing and Accompts are taught, are appointed by the

Magiſtrate; the Teacher having been firſt examined by the Prieſt of the Pariſh, who is alſo to take Care that they are inſtructed in the *Lutheran* Doctrine.

No Perſon is at Liberty to ſend a Tutor to travel with his Son, who hath not been firſt examined by the Super-intendant of the Dioceſe, and found to be orthodox in Religion; and the ſame is required where one takes a Tutor into his Houſe, who alſo ought to be a Student of the Univerſity of *Copenhagen.* As no other Method of Teaching is allowed, than that preſcribed by the Government; ſo no other Books may be read, but ſuch as are approved by Authority, which are compoſed by the Profeſſors of their Univerſity. The Importation of Books is alſo prohibited, eſpecially thoſe which treat of any other Sort of Religion, than that eſtabliſhed amongſt them. No other Calendars or Almanacks are allowed to be publiſhed than thoſe made by the Order of the Rector and Senate of the Univerſity, on Pain of Confiſcation of Goods; they are prohibited alſo to inſert in them Predictions relating to War, Plague, or Famine, or any other Calamities.

9. The Clergy of this Kingdom are divided into three Claſſes *viz.* Super-intendants or Biſhops, Intendants, which ſome compare to our Arch-deacons, and Curates or Pariſh Prieſts. The Super-intendant is obliged to viſit his Dioceſe once every Year, and to lie in the Perſon's Houſe, when he comes to any Place; who is to entertain him, Servants and four Horſes, *gratis.* The Super-intendants are conſecrated by the Biſhop, or Super-intendant of *Zealand*, aſſiſted by five or ſix Prieſts; but are all nominated by the King. The Peaſants, who pay Tithes of all their Corn, Cattle, Poultry, and Bees, pay one Third thereof to the Crown, another to the Biſhop and other Uſes of the Church, and the remaining Third to their Pariſh Clerk. But of Graſs and Fruits which grow ſpontaneouſly no Tithes are paid; there are ſome other Dues alſo payable to the Clergy by the Peaſants, for Confeſſion, Burials, Marriages, *&c.*

The Super-intendant holds a kind of Synod twice a Year, conſiſting of the Intendant in his Dioceſe, where the Governor of the Province preſides for the King. The Overſeers are choſen by the Pariſh Prieſts of each County or Diſtrict, in Conjunction with the Super-intendant; and he is obliged to viſit all the Pariſhes under his Inſpection once a Year, at leaſt, and hath a Power of cenſuring the Lives and Converſations of the Prieſts in their reſpective Diviſions. They ſee that the Churches are kept in repair, and that their Revenues are not alienated or miſapplied. No Perſon can be admitted into Prieſts Orders until he hath a Cure provided for him. He muſt have a Certificate alſo from the Divinity-Profeſſor of the Univerſity, concerning the Progreſs he hath made in his Studies, and his Qualifications for the Pulpit; and if he do not come immediately from the Univerſity, he muſt have them from the Overſeer and Pariſh Prieſt, where he reſides; and if the Super-intendant approves of the Clerk, he is inſtituted and inducted as with us. But their Law requires, that none be admitted into Prieſts Orders who are under five and twenty Years of Age; and the giving any Money, or Conſideration, either for Orders or the Preſentment to a Living, is forbidden. And they are obliged to perform Divine Service according to the eſtabliſhed Form or Ritual, obſerved at St. *Mary*'s in *Copenhagen.*

They are obliged to pray for the King and Magiſtracy, and for the Propagation of the Goſpel; and are prohibited to admit any to the Sacrament, who have not firſt been at Confeſſion. But the Penitent, it is ſaid, need not give an Account of every particular Sin. A general Confeſſion, according to the Order the Commands ſtand in, intitles him to Abſolution. The Prieſt is alſo forbid to take any Money, which the *Lutheran* Miniſters frequently do notwithſtanding. The Prieſt may not divulge the Confeſſion of any one, where it is particular; unleſs in Caſes of High Treaſon, or for the Prevention of ſome great Miſchief by ſuch Diſcovery, on Pain of Deprivation; and in this Caſe the Name of the Penitent ought to be concealed as long as poſſible. The *Danes* look upon all who have any Service appointed them in the Church as Eccleſiaſtics; and they are accordingly taken from among the Students, whether they be Clerks, Sextons, or Singingmen, and wholly depend on the Prieſt or Curate of the Pariſh. The Lands of every Perſon convicted of turning Papiſt are forfeited to the next Heir, unleſs he diſpoſes of them before he changes his Religion, and ſuch Apoſtate is baniſhed the *Daniſh* Dominions. Whoever hath received his Education from the Jeſuits is diſabled to have any Employment, Eccleſiaſtical or Civil, and Popiſh Prieſts are prohibited to enter the *Daniſh* Dominions, on Pain of Death; nor is their Law leſs ſevere againſt thoſe they denominate Heretics. *Jews* are forbid to come into the Kingdom without a Royal Licence; and whoſoever diſcovers a *Jew* is intitled to a Reward of fifty Crowns. Their Laws alſo are pretty ſevere againſt Gypſies and Fortune-tellers, who pretend to foretell future Events, and to be acquainted with the Stars; Baniſhment being the Pain of the firſt Offence, and the ſecond Capital. Blaſphemers of GOD and Religion are ſentenced, firſt, to have the Tongues cut out, and afterwards to loſe their Heads; and if their Prieſt or Eccleſiaſtic is guilty of profaning the Name of GOD; or of any other notorious Vice, his Puniſhment is heavier than that of a Layman.

Their Laws concerning Marriage, require that the Conſent of the Relations be had as well as the Woman's. And if ſhe marries without the Conſent of the Guardian, he ſhall receive the Profit of her Fortune during his Life; but if a Guardian neglect to marry his Ward till ſhe is paſt eighteen Years of Age, the Magiſtrate is impowered to relieve her. Their Marriages are diſſolvable, and a Divorce may be obtained in *Denmark* for Adultery; on a voluntary and malicious Elopement; and for Impotence; but in caſe of Adultery the Crime muſt be well proved by Witneſſes, or Circumſtances, the Confeſſion of the offending Party not being ſufficient, ſince many have falſely accuſed themſelves, in order to obtain a Separation: The *Daniſh* Law alſo requires, that the Party who brings the Accuſation be innocent; for otherwiſe no Divorce can be obtained; unleſs it appear, that the ill Uſage of the Huſband hath occaſioned the Wife to offend; and if the Huſband, after he has diſcovered his Wife to be guilty of Adultery, ſhall cohabit with her afterwards, a Separation will not be granted. Where a Woman is divorced for Adultery, ſhe may marry again after three Years are elaſped, with a Royal Licence, provided ſhe has lived chaſtely during that Time; but ſhe may not marry, or reſide within the ſaid Town, or Diſtrict, where her former Huſband lived; and the like where the former Huſband is divorced for Adultery, committed by him; but the innocent Party is at Liberty to marry ſo ſoon as the Sentence of Divorce is pronounced. What they term a malicious Elopement, is where one of the Parties abſents him, or herſelf, from his, or her Spouſe, by the Space of three Years; but if the Party deſerted hath cohabited with another in the mean, time, a Divorce cannot be obtained on this Account.

10. A Man is not to ſell or alienate his Lands before he is five and twenty Years of Age, without the Conſent of his neareſt Relation; and a Woman, whether ſhe be Maid or Widow, can never part with her Lands, but muſt leave them to deſcend as the Law directs. An uninterrupted Poſſeſſion of twenty Years is held to make a good Title, and they are not permitted to run further back in a Trial of the Right. All Obligations alſo, and perſonal Debts, are held to be void if not renewed within twenty Years; for Notes, and Bills of Exchange, are of equal Force with an Obligation; but the Law allows eight Days for all kinds of Payments to be made beyond the Time prefixed, and if that Time be elaſped four and twenty Hours, the Creditor may proteſt it, and have Proceſſes thereon againſt the original Debtor or Acceptor. No Perſon is obliged to pay any Money loſt at Gaming.

The Tenure of Villainage ſtill prevails in many Parts of *Denmark*; and their Vaſſals, or Tenants, who hold by this baſe Tenure, are purchaſed, and deſcend with the Lands they live upon, like Fiſh in the Waters, or Deer in a Park; nor can theſe Peaſants leave the Lands they belong to, and retire elſewhere; if they do, the Lord of the Soil may reclaim them, with their Goods; nor can any Town or Place receive them, unleſs they produce a Licence from their Lord, and a Certificate from the Miniſter of the Pariſh where they laſt inhabited: And if a Peaſant of this Claſs endeavours to conceal himſelf, his Lord may ſeize him, and put him in Priſon, or remove him to any other Tenement or Farm, by way of Puniſhment. And if the Wife of one of theſe Peaſants be brought to-bed on the Lands of another Lord, the Child ſhall, however, belong to the Lord where the Father lives. Although the Lord has a Power to infranchize his Peaſant, or ſell him with the Land, yet he cannot ſell him ſingly or ſeparate from the Manor or Eſtate. The Children of the Eccleſiaſticks of the Peaſants Race are free, and ſo are all Students in the liberal Arts.

A Peaſant cannot have the Freedom of any Town till he is firſt infranchiſed by the Lord; but if he hath reſided ten Years in any City unreclaimed, and becomes a Tradeſman, or Artificer, or applies himſelf to the Sea, he is free. A Peaſant alſo who hath lived twenty Years in a foreign Village out of the Lord's Land, thereby procures his Freedom; or if he goes into the Army and obtains a Commiſſion, this gives him his Freedom. As to Game Laws, every Freeholder may hunt, and fiſh in his own Grounds; and the Nobility and Gentry have the Privilege of hunting in common or waſte Grounds within ten Miles of their Seats, except in the King's Parks; and they may fiſh in Lakes and Ponds which are not the King's; but if any Lord hunt, ſhoot, or fiſh, in any Place belonging to his Majeſty, he forfeits for every Stag one thouſand Rix-Dollars, for a fallow Deer eight hundred, for a Hare four hundred; and for every Swan, Gooſe, Duck, Partridge, or other Fowl two hundred. And whoever is convicted of hunting in another's Lands, forfeits an hundred Ounces of Silver for every Offence.

The People in this Country being pretty much addicted to drinking, all Buſineſs is prohibited to be tranſacted in Taverns, and the ſitting in public Houſes very much diſcouraged; if they will drink, it muſt be at home: And the Reaſon of it is ſuppoſed to be, leſt the People in their Cups ſhould be too free with the Government. It is obſerved alſo, that the Subjects uſually endeavour to imitate the Court: If it happens to be a ſober Reign, the People are leſs given to Exceſs; and where they have luxurious Princes and Miniſters, the lower Part of Mankind do not fail to follow the lewd Example their Superiors ſet them; which is alſo practiſed in other Places. If any Perſon ſends his Effects or Money out of the Kingdom, to be lodged in foreign Banks, the King claims a ſixth Part, and he is obliged to pay a tenth to the Magiſtrates of the Town, or the Lord of the Soil where he reſides; even foreign Merchants have been obliged to ſubmit to theſe Exactions in their returning home, notwithſtanding their reſpective Sovereigns have inſiſted upon an Exemption.

II. The great Alteration that has happened in *Denmark*, from the changing the Monarchy from elective to hereditary, and from being the moſt limited, into the moſt abſolute of any in *Europe*, has had a very ſtrong Effect upon all Ranks and Degrees of People in that Country; and may be ſaid, in ſome Meaſure, to have made a total Change in their Temper, and in the Nation. The Nobility of *Denmark* who were formerly as remarkable for their military Virtues as any in *Europe*, are now very ſeldom mentioned; and thoſe of *Norway* are in a manner extinguiſhed. The *Danes* have a better Army it is true, than they had formerly, but it is an Army entirely in the Diſpoſition of the King, and not, as before, ſufficient to make any great Conqueſts. The naval Force of *Denmark* is more conſiderable; but yet it does not appear capable of ſtriking any great Terror into its Neighbours; whence we may conclude, and that too very juſtly, that the Crown of *Denmark* is far from being ſo formidable as it was in former Times; yet, with reſpect to its own Security, it ſeems to be as well or better provided than ever; for whereas the *Swedes* in the laſt Age, were more than once on the very Point of deſtroying this Kingdom, there is not now the leaſt Danger either of their undertaking or effecting any ſuch Deſign; becauſe the Neighbours of *Denmark*, and the Maritime Powers are bound, both by their Treaties and their Intereſts, to ſupport this Crown if it ſhould be attacked. It is indeed true, that if the Houſe of *Holſtein* ſhould ſucceed to the full and peaceable Poſſeſſion of the *Ruſſian* Dominions, *Denmark* might be in great Danger from thence, as well on Account of the ſuperior Forces of that Empire, as becauſe the Houſe of *Holſtein* have very conſiderable Claims upon *Denmark*, which are hitherto unadjuſted. But on the other Side it is to be conſidered, that as yet that Succeſſion has not taken place, and that in all Probability it will be found more for the Intereſt of the *Ruſſian* Empire to adjuſt thoſe Diſputes amicably, before that Succeſſion takes place, than to run the Hazard of a War about them; which might, and indeed muſt, be attended with many dangerous Conſequences, conſidering how many Powers are intereſted in the Support of *Denmark*, even with Regard to theſe very Claims of the Houſe of *Holſtein* upon her.

According therefore to the beſt Maxims of Policy, we may very fairly conclude, that in Caſe the Kings of *Denmark* act with the ſame Prudence and Caution that they have done for many Years paſt, they will be in a Condition to preſerve what they at preſent enjoy, and be alſo at Liberty to promote and improve the domeſtic Proſperity of their Subjects. By this I mean, their Application to Manufactures and Commerce, which have been greatly encouraged of late Years, and this Encouragement has been likewiſe attended with all the Succeſs they could reaſonably expect. We have ſhewn, in ſpeaking of *Groenland*, that the Subjects of *Denmark* have eſtabliſhed conſiderable Colonies there, and are in Poſſeſſion of a very beneficial Trade upon thoſe Coaſts. We may ſay the ſame thing with reſpect to *Iceland*, the Trade of which is entirely in their Poſſeſſion, and that of *Norway* alſo is much improved and extended: But beſides all this, as we have ſhewn in a former Volume, an *Eaſt-India* Company has been long ſettled at *Copenhagen*, and is now in a flouriſhing Condition. We are alſo to obſerve, that within theſe few Years the *Danes* have opened a Trade to the *Mediterranean*; and as the preſent Monarch ſeems to follow cloſely the Examples of his Predeceſſors, in avoiding as much as poſſible entering in any Degree into the Troubles and Diſputes that for ſeveral Years have kept *Europe* in a Flame, with a View not only to preſerve the Quiet of his Subjects, but to cultivate alſo the Arts of Peace; we have Reaſon therefore to conclude, that in the Space of a few Years, the good Effects of this wiſe Conduct will appear, and the People become much richer than formerly. It is alſo very likely, that when theſe happy Conſequences of a growing and flouriſhing Trade become more conſpicuous, the Government will find it expedient and even neceſſary to relax ſome of thoſe ſevere Laws which are moſt likely to bear hard upon Perſons engaged in Traffic; for without ſuch Indulgences it is impoſſible that the Schemes the *Daniſh* Monarchs ſeem of late to have ſo much at heart, ſhould be ever brought to Perfection.

We may add to all this, that the Benefits immediately reſulting to the Crown from the Increaſe of the Commerce and Navigation of its Subjects, will ſo fully compenſate for ſuch Diminutions of Power, that it is impoſſible any juſt and good Prince, or any wiſe and able Miniſtry ſhould doubt, as to the Propriety of ſuch reaſonable and moderate Changes. By theſe Methods the interior Strength of the Kingdom will be daily augmenting; the Shipping, and conſequently the naval Force, of *Denmark* continually increaſing, and though theſe Advantages may be ſlow in their Nature, yet they are at the ſame time ſo very certain, and of ſuch high Importance, that I make no Scruple of affirming they will, if ſteadily proſecuted, change the whole Face of Affairs in this Country; and before the Cloſe of the preſent Century, reſtore the antient Luſtre of the Crown of *Denmark*, and perhaps raiſe its Sovereigns to a higher Rank, than hitherto they have ever held amongſt the *European* Powers.

SECTION IV.

A comprehenſive Account of the Kingdom of POLAND, *the Situation, Extent, Climate, Soil, Produce, and Commerce of that Country, together with the Laws, Cuſtoms, Manners, Form of Government, and Genius of the Inhabitants; the Privileges of their Nobility, and Power of their Kings.*

Collected chiefly from the Writings of Dr. *Bernard Conner*, who reſided in that Kingdom in Quality of Phyſician to King *John Sobieſki.*

1. *The Situation, Extent, and Limits of the* Poliſh *Dominions, including the grand Duchy of* Lithuania *and that Part of* Pruſſia *which belongs to* Poland. 2. *The Soil, Climate, Produce, Commodities,* &c. *of the Country.* 3. *The Nature of its Domeſtic Trade and Foreign Commerce, and the Reaſon why the latter is ſo inconſiderable.* 4. *An Account of the Dyet of* Poland, *the Perſons who compoſe it, and the Reaſon why* Poland *is called a Republic.* 5. *The legal Powers, Prerogative, and State of the King of* Poland. 6. *A farther Account of the ſame Subject, and of the Revenues of this Monarch; from whence it appears that he is far from being ſo weak, or ſo reſtrained, as is generally imagined.* 7. *The Rights, Immunities, Privileges, extenſive Power and Authority of the Nobility or Gentry of* Poland; *with the Reaſon of their declining Titles; and particular Inſtances of the vaſt Power and large Eſtates of ſome of the Grandees of* Poland. 8. *An Account of the Condition of the Peaſants, and of the Services they owe their Lords; with Remarks on the Patience and Submiſſion of thoſe unhappy People.* 9. *The natural Temper, Diſpoſition, Cuſtoms, Manner of Living,* &c. *of the* Poliſh *Nobility and Commons.* 10. *This Subject continued, particularly with Regard to the Ladies, and ſome Remarks on the Ceremonies at Marriages, Funerals, and other ſuch like Occaſions.* 11. *Of the State of Learning and the Sciences in this Kingdom; and of the Diſeaſes common in* Poland. 12. *A ſuccinct Hiſtory of the Changes that have happened in the Government of* Poland, *and in the Power and Succeſſion of their Kings.* 13. *Obſervations and Remarks upon the foregoing Section.*

1. THE great Kingdom of *Poland* next demands our Conſideration, as being naturally, both with reſpect to the Situation and Produce of the Country, and the Force of the Inhabitants, none of the leaſt conſiderable; though it is very far from being the beſt known in *Europe*. It is thought to extend in Length from Eaſt to Weſt, about ſeven hundred Miles; and in Breadth, from North to South, about ſix hundred. On the North it has *Livonia* and other Provinces of the *Muſcovite* Empire. On the Eaſt it is alſo bounded by the *Ruſſian* Dominions and *Leſſer Tartary*. On the South by *Moldavia*, *Tranſylvania*, and *Hungary*; and on the Weſt by *Pomerania*, *Brandenburgh*, *Sileſia*, and *Moravia*. By this Deſcription, it appears, that the Inhabitants of *Poland* have for their Neighbours, the *Ruſſians*, *Turks*, *Tartars*, *Hungarians*, and other Subjects of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and thoſe of the King of *Pruſſia*. The Air of this Country is in general temperate and healthful, but exceeding ſerene, and more ſettled both in Winter and Summer, than in thoſe Countries, which border on the Ocean. The only Sea which waſhes any Part of *Poland* is the *Baltic*, which lies to the Northward of it; but it is well watered, however, by Lakes and Rivers.

Their Lakes lie chiefly in the *Greater Poland*, *Cujavia*, and the Territory of *Lublin*; and both Lakes and Rivers abound with Fiſh. Their principal Rivers are the *Weiſel*, or *Viſtula*, which riſes in the *Crapatch* or *Carpathian* Mountains, which divide *Hungary* from *Poland*; its Courſes are partly to the Eaſtward, but generally it runs from South to North, watering many great Cities, particularly *Cracow*, *Lublin*, *Warſaw*, *Thorn*, *Marienburgh*, and *Dantzick*, after which it diſcharges itſelf into the *Baltic Sea*. The *Warta* or *Varta*, which riſes in the *Leſſer Poland*, and running towards the North-weſt, paſſes by *Kaliſch*, *Poſnan*, and ſeveral other great Towns, after which it falls into the *Oder*. The *Nieper* or *Boriſthenes*, which dividing the Dominions of *Muſcovy* from thoſe of *Poland*, in ſeveral Places, falls at length into the *Black Sea* near *Oczakow*. The *Neiſter* or *Tyra*, which riſes in *Red Ruſſia*, and running to the South-eaſt through *Podolia*, paſſes on to *Bender* in *Turkey*, and falls into the *Black Sea*, about ſixty Miles to the Northward of the Mouth of the *Danube*.

The *Dwina*, which divides *Livonia* from *Courland*, and falls into the *Baltic* near *Riga*. The *Bog* which riſes from a Lake in *Podolia*, and bending its Courſe to the South-eaſt, unites its Waters with the *Nieper*, a little before that River falls into the *Black Sea*. Near the Mouth of theſe two united Rivers ſtands the Fortreſs of *Kaſſicarmen*, which the late Czar of *Muſcovy* took from the *Turks*; and by that means, is opened a Communication with the *Black Sea*; but he was obliged to reſtore this Place as well as *Aſoph* to the Grand Seignior, upon the Defeat he met with on the Banks of the *Pruth*. *Niemen* or *Ruſſe* riſes in the Palatinate of *Novogrodeck*, and taking its Courſe to the North-weſt paſſes by *Grodno*, and at length falls into the *Baltic*.

2. The Dominions of *Poland* are uſually divided into eight large Provinces, *viz.* *Proper Poland*, the great Dukedom of *Lithuania*, *Pruſſia*, *Samogitia*, and *Courland*, *Warſovia*, or *Maſſovia*, *Polachia* and *Poleſia*, *Red* or *Little Ruſſia*, *Podolia*, and *Volhinia*, and the *Ukrain*. The Soil for the moſt Part is champain and open; but towards the Borders of *Hungary* mountainous and woody; ſo that the Places furtheſt diſtant from *Hungary* are moſt fruitful. There is only one great Mountain in the Middle of *Leſſer Poland*, called *Mons Calvus*. It has a Monaſtery on the Top, famous, as they pretend, for the real Croſs of CHRIST; what other Hills one meets with here, are rather riſing Grounds than Mountains; the Eaſtern Parts of the Kingdom are full of Woods, Foreſts, Lakes, Marſhes, and Rivers, which afford a delightful Proſpect to that open Country; almoſt all of it, is ſaid to have been overgrown with Wood, but now being cultivated by the Inhabitants is very fertile, and produces every where all kind of Fruit, Corn, and Herbs. A great Part of the Corn made uſe of in *Holland* comes from this Country by way of *Denmark*.

They have a good Breed of Horſes, ſo that their Cavalry is numerous, and well mounted. Their Paſtures are good, and feed a great many Cattle, which they export to foreign Countries; the Foreſts abound with wild Beaſts, and alſo with Bees, that afford vaſt Quantities of Honey and Wax. They have alſo abundance of Flax and Hemp, and Vines in many Places, whoſe Grapes are grateful to the Taſte, eſpecially if the Summer and Harveſt be favourable; but the Wine is generally very ſharp when drawn off. In the Mountains there are Mines of

Lead, Silver, Copper, and Iron, with other kinds of Minerals, as Quickſilver at *Tuſtan* in *Red Ruſſia*, and Vitriol near *Biecz* in the Palatinate of *Cracovia*; but the moſt conſiderable of all are the Salt Mines at *Bochnia* and *Veliſca* in *Leſſer Poland*, which are the chief Riches of the Country. They work in thoſe Mines as we do in our Coal-Pits; the Salt is generally of a bluiſh Colour, but ſome of it white and tranſparent, like Cryſtal; when it is new dug it has a brackiſh Taſte, but when expoſed to the Air becomes brittle, and more ſweet; they have alſo ſome Veins of *Sal Gemmæ*. The Woods are well ſtored with Hares, Coneys, Squirrels, Deer, Foxes, Bears, Wolves, and Boars. The *Maſovian* Foreſts have Plenty of Elks, wild Aſſes, Buffaloes, and Biſonets, which in Shape and Horns reſemble an Ox; have Manes like Horſes, Beards on their lower Jaws, Tongues rough like a File, and very hard, a Bunch on their Backs, and their Hair ſmells like Muſk. They are incredibly ſtrong; the *Poliſh* Nobility hunt them, and eſteem their Fleſh when powdered a great Dainty. The Urus, called by the *Polanders* Thur, is a kind of wild Ox; bigger, ſtronger, and ſwifter than the tame; he has a ſhort black Beard, a Buſh of Hair upon his Forehead, and Horns very wide and large: *Pliny* ſays, the *Romans* made Lanthorns of them. The Elk, called by the *Poles* Loſs, by the *Germans* Elland, which ſignifies miſerable, becauſe of the Falling-Sickneſs, is about the Size of a large Horſe, bodied like a Stag, but broader, its Legs longer, and its Feet cloven and large; their Hoofs are reckoned a Specific againſt the Falling Sickneſs.

In the Deſerts near the *Nieper*, there is a Sort of wild Sheep, called *Solback*, ſhaped like a Goat, but with ſhorter Legs, and Horns growing ſtraiter up. They are exceeding ſwift, and leap very high. They have a Sort of wild Horſes in the *Ukrain*, called by them Dzikiekonil, which their Nobles eat for a great Rarity. In *Lithuania* and *Muſcovy* there is a voracious unſerviceable Beaſt not found elſewhere, called Roſſomoko, with the Body and Tail of a Wolf, and the Face of a Cat; it feeds on dead Carcaſſes, and eats till its Belly is ſwelled to the utmoſt Stretch, then it ſqueezes itſelf betwixt two Trees, forces the Load from its Stomach, and returns to its Prey, devouring and diſgorging ſucceſſively till all is conſumed.

3. The weſtern Parts of this Kingdom produce a great deal of Corn of all Sorts, which is exported from *Dantzick*; as alſo Honey, Wax, Amber, Hides, tanned Leather, *Muſcovite* and *Poliſh* Furs, Oak, Wainſcot, Maſts, Planks, Fir, Deal, Pitch, Tallow, Salt, Hops, Hemp, Flax, Salt-petre, Pot-aſhes, Opium, *Pruſſian* Wool, for coarſe Manufactures; Vitriol, Lapis Lazuli, Vermilion, Braſs, Lead, Iron, Copper, Glaſs, and Earthen-ware, Oxen, Sheep, Hogs, *&c.* to different Parts of *Europe*. They import Stuffs, Silk, and Worſted; *Engliſh* Cloths, Tapeſtry, Jewels, Sables, Salt-Fiſh, Tin, Steel, Martens, *&c.* Iron-ware, *Rheniſh*, *French*, *Spaniſh*, and *Hungarian* Wines, Spirits, Aqua Vitæ, Brandy, Spice, of which they make great Conſumption. They might be much richer, if they were induſtrious and frugal, and applied themſelves to Manufactures; but the *Poles* are little inclined to either; for the Gentry are abſolutely forbid to follow Trade, of any Kind, on Pain of forfeiting their Honour; and the Commonalty commonly want Funds, ſo that all the Trade there is chiefly carried on by foreign Merchants; beſides, ſuch of the *Poles* as have any Fortunes, ſpend too much of their Revenues in coſtly Habits and Luxury, to be able to undertake any conſiderable Traffic. Nor have they any good Ports, except *Dantzick*, which is not enough to improve the Trade of ſo large a Country. It is to this want of Commerce with other Nations, that the *Poles* owe moſt of their Defects in their Government; for if they were once convinced of them, there is not a Nation in *Europe* more capable of correcting them, as we may gather from a very familiar Inſtance: One of their Monarchs being in *Germany*, and not having it in his Power to converſe with Strangers in *Latin*; he was ſo ſenſible of the Defect, that upon his Return to *Poland*, he cauſed a Grammar-School to be erected in every Town throughout the Kingdom; ſo that now there is not a Country in *Europe* where *Latin* is ſo generally underſtood as it is here.

4. From the Time of *Lechus*, the Kings of *Poland* have been elected to the Crown in a regular Deſcent, though not by an hereditary Title. They have really been abſolute, and their Will went for Law; for they made Peace and War when they pleaſed, levied Troops as they thought fit, puniſhed or pardoned at Pleaſure; and all the Adminiſtration, either of public or private Affairs, was ſo wholly lodged in the King's Hands, that the *Poles* themſelves ſay, That *Sigiſmund* II. the laſt King of the *Jagellon* Family, was, to the full, as abſolute as either the King of *France* or *Denmark* is now. Whilſt the Kings of *Poland* thus maintained a ſupreme Power over their Subjects, they exceedingly enlarged their Dominions, were feared Abroad and beloved at Home, commanded numerous Armies, executed Enterprizes ſpeedily, and were always ſure of Succeſs; and this, becauſe they did not then as now, depend upon the lingering and tedious Concluſions of a turbulent Dyet. But the Family of *Jagello* being once extinct by the Death of *Sigiſmund* II. who had reſigned his Kingdom to the Senate and *Poliſh* Gentry, and given them full Power and Authority, to diſpoſe thereof as they thought fit, the Crown of *Poland* was declared once more elective; to the End, that all the Princes of *Chriſtendom*, who had due Merits and Qualifications, might have a Right to aſpire thereunto.

This has given Occaſion to moſt of the Princes of *Europe* ever ſince to court the *Poliſh* Nobility, either to get the Election determined in their own Favour, or elſe to have ſome of their Friends advanced to that great Dignity; but this commonly, with regard to their own private Intereſts, rather than out of any Reſpect to the Perſon they deſired to promote. The Gentry of *Poland* therefore obſerving, that ſeveral Princes always aſpired to their Crown; and conſidering that none of them had more Right than the reſt, and that it lay altogether in their own Power to chooſe whom they pleaſed, reſolved unanimouſly to elect none but ſuch as could condeſcend, nay ſwear, to obſerve the Terms and Conditions they propoſed. By this means, the *Poles* have clipped and limited the antient Power of their Kings, and have reduced them to the Bounds we now find them, that is, barely to a third Part of the Dyet. For the *Poles* knew that no Prince would be ſo imprudent as to ſcruple ſubmitting to any Conditions, to become Maſter of ſo conſiderable a Kingdom, to which he had no Right, either by Birth or any other Claim; and more eſpecially, ſince theſe Conditions are neither rigorous nor diſhonourable, but ſuch as are conſiſtent enough with the regal Character he is to be inveſted with.

Thus the *Poliſh* Gentry, of an abſolute monarchical Government, have in time made a perfect Republic, conſiſting of three Orders. The King, Senate, and Nobility. The *Poliſh* Nation is divided into two Sorts of People. The Nobility, Gentry, or Free-born Subjects, who are hardly a tenth Part of the Kingdom; and their Vaſſals, who are no better than Slaves; for they have no Benefit of the Laws, can buy no Eſtates, nor enjoy any Property; and this, becauſe, ſome Ages ſince, the common People revolting againſt their Lords, and having driven them out of the Nation, the Gentry came with a foreign Power, and reduced them to greater Subjection than before, in which they have been kept ever ſince: So that the Government of *Poland*, at preſent, comprehends only the King and the Nobility. By a Gentleman, or Nobleman of *Poland*, is underſtood a Perſon, who himſelf, or his Family, has Poſſeſſions in Land, for they never intermarry with the common People. All the Gentry, from the King's Sons to thoſe that are Maſters of an Acre, are equally noble, both by their Birth and the Conſtitution of the Kingdom; for no body is born either a Palatine, Senator, or Lord, but their Titles are always annexed to Employments, which the King gives to Perſons advanced in Age, and recommended by their Merit.

The Dyet of *Poland* is compoſed of two Houſes; the Houſe of Senators, anſwerable to our Houſe of Lords; and the Houſe of Nuncios, not unlike our Houſe of Commons; the Senators are the Biſhops, Palatines, *Caſtellans*, and the ten great Officers of the Crown; in all about one hundred and forty-two. In the Upper-houſe the Senators ſit, not by any Writ of Summons, or Letters Patent, as in *England*; but only by Virtue of the great Preferments in the King's Gift, which they enjoy for Life; ſo that the King conſtitutes the whole Upper-houſe, but the Lower, are the Reprentatives of the Gentry, elected by them alone in their reſpective Provinces, without the Concurrence of the common People, who have no Privilege in their Election; inſomuch that nine Parts in ten of the People in *Poland* are excluded from any Share in the Government.

The grand Dyet of *Poland* is nothing elſe but the King, Senators, and Deputies, aſſembled in any Part of the Kingdom his Majeſty commands. Without this great Aſſembly of the States, the King can neither make nor repeal Laws, declare War, conclude a Peace, make Alliance with any foreign Prince, raiſe Troops, impoſe Taxes, or coin Money; in a Word, determine no Matter of any Importance, without the unanimous Concurrence of this Parliament, which they ſtile the free States of *Poland*. Several Motives have inclined the *Poles* to eſtabliſh this Kind of mixt Government; which they take to be a juſt Temperament, of whatever is to be found moſt excellent in the ſeveral Monarchies, Ariſtocracies, and Democracies that have been in the World. It has however appeared from Experience, that their Endeavours in this reſpect have not been very ſucceſsful, ſince there is hardly a Conſtitution in the World, or at leaſt in *Europe*, that anſwers the Ends of Government worſe than theirs; which is very often the Caſe, where People aim at ſuch a Degree of Perfection as is not to be attained in human Affairs.

5. The Republic is divided into two States, the Kingdom of *Poland*, and the great Duchy of *Lithuania*; both which are but as one Body, having the ſame King, the ſame Dyet, the ſame Laws, the ſame Privileges, the ſame Religion, and, as the natural Reſult of all theſe, the ſame Intereſt: Theſe two States are ſo well united, that a King cannot be elected, a Law made, or any thing of Conſequence done, without the mutual Conſent of both. The *Poles* are too proud to agree to deſpotic Power: And therefore thoſe pernicious Maxims of Tyrants, *Si lubet licet, oderint dum metuant*, and the like, would be but ill received among People that have all along ſecured their Liberties by their Valour. As for the Kings of *Poland*, they may reſt in Security in the Boſom of their Country, either without or within their Dominions, ſince they have always their Subjects for their Guards, through indiſpenſable Inclinations; for what contributes chiefly to the Happineſs of theſe Princes, is the loyal Obſervance and voluntary Obedience paid to them even by thoſe that are at Liberty to do the contrary.

Monſieur *de Polignac*, the *French* Embaſſador, uſed to ſay at *Warſaw*, That he thought a King of *Poland* more happy in his Perſon and Condition than a King of *France*; nevertheleſs this Authority of the King of *Poland* is ſo limited by the Laws of the Land, that it does not exact more from the Nobles or Gentry than they think he deſerves; for though their Behaviour be generally obſervant, yet do they tacitly ſeem to call in Queſtion his Power. The *Poliſh* Nobility make no Difference between the King's Right and thoſe of the Senate and Deputies, affirming that ſince three Members compoſe but one Body, they ought equally to ſhare in the ſame. The ſmall Authority therefore of their Kings, and the Impoſſibility of their acting, have expoſed *Poland* to the Inſults of their Neighbours, and the Rage of their own People; as may be ſeen in the Civil Wars of the *Coſſacks*, and the Treachery and Sedition of the Confederates; which could never have arrived at ſo great a Height, if the King had had ſufficient Power to ſuppreſs them. Alſo the great Marſhal of the Crown, *Lumberſkin*, would never have had the Boldneſs to have oppoſed King *Caſimir*'s Deſigns ſo openly, and to have formed ſo many Factions againſt the Court, had he not had Aſſurance of remaining unpuniſhed. We have divers Inſtances of the *Poles* Love for their Kings, and particularly their long enforcing the Right of *Sigiſmund* III. to the Kingdom of *Sweden* in an obſtinate War, which they revived ſeveral Times; as likewiſe the ſupporting afterwards the Pretences of *Uladiſlaus* VII. to *Muſcovy*; to omit divers others of a more ancient Date.

This Reſpect of theirs obliges them to come and ſpend their Eſtates at Court, to augment their Prince's Grandeur by their Prodigality and Magnificence. This appears by a Miſtake made by a King of *Bohemia*, at the Interview between him and *Caſimir the Great*, at *Glogau* (which Place the former had demanded to bound the Limits of *Sileſia*) when he ſaluted a private Gentleman, ſplendidly cloathed, for the King of *Poland*: The Inclination of the *Poles* towards honouring their Prince is ſo ſtrong, that all they are able, even to the Hazard of their Lives and Fortunes, they are willing to laviſh in his Service, without expecting any greater Recompence than the Glory of waiting on his Majeſty's Perſon. A King of *Poland*, when he is juſt, liberal, and religious; one, who obſerves the Laws and Conſtitutions, and, in a Word, who has no other Intereſt but the Good and Safety of his Subjects, is as much reſpected, and as faithfully obeyed in Times of Peace and War, as moſt Princes in *Europe*. As to what relates to War, no Monarch has greater Advantages; for he is neither at the Trouble of raiſing Forces, or Expence in maintaining them; his Buſineſs being only to convene the Dyet, and they do all theſe Things. After War declared, he can continue the ſame either by himſelf or his Generals, can regulate his Troops, and ſee his Army paid out of the Treaſury of the Republic; he has great Reaſon to hope for Succeſs in his Expeditions, becauſe he not having undertaken them on his own Account, thoſe that engaged him will infallibly ſupport him in them, and the rather, by Reaſon that what was done was done with their Conſent. This has proved the Cauſe of almoſt never failing Succeſs to the *Poliſh* Army till of late Days, when the King and his Subjects have not been in ſo good Intelligence with each other as formerly.

6. When the King is in the Army he has the ſupreme Authority, gives Battle when he pleaſes, and beſieges Towns as he thinks fit, and commands abſolutely all the Gentry to follow him into the Field on Horſeback at ever ſo little Warning. At Home he has the Nomination of all eccleſiaſtical Benefices, and of all ſecular Employments, as well Military as Civil, through the whole Extent of his Dominions, with a great Number of royal Demeſnes; which, together with the State Dignities, he confers on thoſe that have deſerved them. He can beſtow as conſiderable Preferments as any Prince in *Europe*, and oblige and raiſe the Fortunes of whom he pleaſes. He has a Right in naming Cardinals, as well as other *Roman* Catholic Kings. He can ſend and receive Embaſſadors privately, in Matters relating to himſelf; but as to what concerns the Republic, the Senate muſt have their Share in it. He can call, prorogue, and diſſolve the Dyet at Pleaſure: In a Word, the *Poles* term him the Protector of their Laws and Privileges, the chief Diſtributor of Honours, the Head of their Republic, and ſupreme General of their Forces.

The *Poles* attend his Perſon uncovered. The chief Senators generally ſerve him at Table; firſt taſting of the Cup before they preſent him with it. His Subjects never ſit before him, nor cover their Heads any where but in the Dyet, and there too the Senators are only allowed that Liberty, for the Deputies ſtand behind with their furred Caps in their Hands. All Sorts of Gold, Silver, or Braſs Coin, are ſtamped with his Image. All Juſtice is adminiſtered in his Name; and at Church they pray for the King and Royal Family. When he is crowned, the Dyet allows him a Penſion of about 140,000*l. per Ann.* which, together with his Patrimonial Eſtate, maintains him a very ſplendid Court. He has his *Poliſh*, *German*, and *Hungarian* Guards, and has the ſame Officers of his Houſhold, as other Kings have. While the Queen-Dowager lives, the Queen Conſort maintains her Court at the King's Charge. But after the Queen Dowager's Death, or Marriage, or the King's Death, ſhe has a Revenue aſſigned for that Purpoſe, over and above the Penſion, which the Dyet ſettles upon the King and Queen; which, in that cheap Country, ſerves to maintain them as high as our Kings live here.

The King of *Poland* has great Incomes of his own; for the *Poles* never care to elect a poor Prince, for fear his Children may come to be a Charge to them after his Death. He gets beſides vaſt Sums of Money for Nominations to Employments; which the late King did not ſcruple to ſell, though directly contrary to the Conſtitutions of the Kingdom; nay, the Eccleſiaſtical Benefices which are very conſiderable, are alſo put under Contribution by ſome cunning Artifice or other; thus the Promotion of the Biſhop of *Cracow*, whoſe Biſhopric is worth eight thouſand Pounds Sterling *per Annum*, which will go further than twenty thouſand Pounds in *England*, was, in the Reign of King *John Sobieſki* procured, by laying a Wager with the Queen of fifty thouſand Crowns, that he did not obtain that Preferment, which as ſoon as the King knew he beſtowed upon him, and ſo the Queen won her Wager. The Crown Revenues ariſe from Cuſtoms and Exciſes, from Part of the Duties of the Port of *Dantzick*, from the heavy Tax laid upon the *Jews*, and from the Salt Mines, which all together bring in rather more than leſs than three hundred thouſand Pounds of our Money annually. But the King's Power in beſtowing Preferments does not extend to Foreigners; neither can he take away any Poſt that he beſtows, or leſſen its Revenues or Privileges. His eldeſt Son has the Title of Prince of *Poland* while his Father lives, but he loſes it upon the Acceſſion of a new King, and is ſtiled Prince by the Name of his Family; and ſuch Precautions are taken, that it is very difficult for a King of *Poland* to make the Crown hereditary in his own Family.

7. We come now to ſpeak of the Nobility of *Poland*, which comprehends all the Gentry in that Country, and even all thoſe whom in *England* we ſtile only Freeholders. Of theſe every Gentleman or Nobleman has his Coat of Arms granted by the Republic; but then he, or ſome of his Family, muſt have an Eſtate in Land. They are capable of the greateſt Offices in the Kingdom, and may buy Lands where they pleaſe, and have a Right to be elected King, if their Credit and Intereſt can procure it. Every Gentleman is a ſovereign Prince in his own Lands, and has Power of Life and Death over his Tenants, who have no Laws nor Privileges to protect them. They dare not leave his Lands to go to others, on Pain of Death, unleſs he ſells them; and if he do his Tenants paſs with his Lands. But if their Lords raviſh their Wives, or Daughters, the Tenants may leave his Service.

If one Lord kills another's Servant he is not puniſhed for it, but only obliged to give him another in his room, or as much Money as will buy one, and to maintain the Family of him that is killed. If he kills one of his own Slaves he only pays a Fine; nay, if one Gentleman kills another, he cannot be apprehended or impriſoned, unleſs convicted by a Court of Juſtice, which gives him Time enough to eſcape, and when condemned he cannot be executed without the King's Conſent. No Soldiers can be quartered upon the Gentry; if any Officer does it, the Dyet either ſentences him to die, or declares him infamous. The Houſes of the Nobility are Sanctuaries, ſo that no Delinquent can be taken there by Force, though he has been arreſted. If a Nobleman will ſwear that his Goods were not bought, but are the Product of his Lands, he may ſend them any where out of the Kingdom, and without Cuſtom; and after he has ſworn, his Certificate ſuffices to exempt the Purchaſer from the Duty. In *Pruſſia* the Nobles are not only free from Cuſtoms, but likewiſe all other Inhabitants by the *Magna Charta* of *Culm*. The *Poliſh* Noblemen have alſo the Privilege of Pre-emption. All the Gentry of *Poland* are equal by Birth, and therefore they don't value Titles of Honour; but think that of a noble *Pole*, or Gentleman of *Poland*, the greateſt they can have. Neither the King nor the Republic beſtow the Title of Prince, which belongs only to the Sons of the Royal Family; for though ſome are made Princes of the Empire, and as ſuch enjoy the Title of Prince, they have no Precedency upon that Account. Nor have they any Dukes, Marquiſſes, Counts, Viſcounts, or Barons, but what have foreign Titles, which the reſt generally deſpiſe; for they do not value any borrowed Character, or external Denomination; but ſay, that it is intrinſic Worth and Service done to their Country, that deſerves Preferment. King *Sigiſmund* III. eſtabliſhed an Order of Knighthood of the Immaculate Conception, created ſeveral Knights, and allowed them Privileges and Superiority above others, but they were ſo much undervalued and deſpiſed by the reſt of the Gentlemen, that the Order (in ſpite of the royal Protection) ſoon came to nothing.

Thoſe great Privileges make the *Poliſh* Gentry powerful; many of them have large Territories, with a deſpotic Power over their Tenants, whom they call their Subjects; ſome of them have Eſtates of five, ſome fifteen, ſome twenty, and ſome thirty Leagues in Extent. But the poor Gentry have their Votes in the Dyet as well as the richeſt. Some of them are hereditary Sovereigns of Cities, with which the King has nothing to do. *Lubomirſki* poſſeſſes above four thouſand Towns and Villages; ſome of them can raiſe five, ſix, eight, and ten thouſand Men, and maintain them at their own Charge. The Gentry of Note have Horſe and Foot Guards, which keep Centry Night and Day at their Gates. They make an extraordinary Figure when they come to the Dyet; ſome of them have five thouſand Guards, ſome had formerly ten thouſand. They eſteem themſelves, eſpecially the Senators, above any Prince in *Germany*, and want nothing of ſovereign Power, but the Liberty of coining Money, which is reſerved to the Republic. Foreign Embaſſadors are obliged to make a great Figure here, otherwiſe the Gentry deſpiſe them. When great Men have Suits at Law, the Dyet, or other Tribunals decide them; yet the Execution of the Sentence muſt be left to the longeſt Sword; for the Juſtice of the Kingdom is commonly too weak for the Grandees. Sometimes they raiſe five or ſix thouſand Men of a Side, plunder and burn one another's Cities, and beſiege Caſtles and Forts; for they think it below them to ſubmit to the Sentence of Judges without a Field Battle; yet formerly, their Noblemen were little better than Slaves. *Cromercus* ſays, that they were obliged to keep the King's Dog. The firſt Riſe is aſcribed to the Privileges granted by *Boleſlaus the Chaſte* to the Clergy; and afterwards when *Poland* was harraſſed by Civil Wars, the Gentry obtained many Privileges from their Kings, which they have ſince taken care to get augmented at every new Election.

The moſt flouriſhing Families in *Poland* are thoſe of *Radzivil*, which has the Title of Prince; the Dukes of *Wiſniowec* and *Zbaraw*, one of which Family was elected King of *Poland* in 1664; the Prince of *Lubomirſky*, whoſe Family are Princes of the Empire; the Princes of *Czartoriſky*; the Princes of *Sapieta*, great Governors of *Lithuania*, the Family of *Lezeinſki*; the Family of *Jablenowſki*; the Family of *Priyemſki*; and that of *Lipſki*. Thoſe that are not noble by Birth, may be created Noblemen. This was formerly at the King's Pleaſure, but of late is at the Diſpoſal of the Senate or Dyet. All the little Dyets of the Republic muſt give their Conſent; and this muſt afterwards be approved by the great Dyet, before they have their Patent. A *Jew* is made a Gentleman by marrying a Chriſtian, and by ſignalizing himſelf in the Wars; but the King muſt propoſe it, and the Dyet approve it. The new made Nobility are liable to ſeveral Impoſitions and Inconveniencies, from which others are exempted; if any one be a Magiſtrate in *Cracow* or *Vilna*, he and his Poſterity are noble. Nobility is forfeited here three Ways; by ſome heinous Crime; for Inſtance, when a Nobleman permits one that is ignoble to uſurp his Coat of Arms; by exerciſing any Trade or Merchandize; ſometimes Poſterity are reſtored, when Parents have quitted their Title through Poverty, and by bearing Office in any City that is not privileged. All the Nobility love to make a Shew, and to be ſplendidly clad.

They formerly delighted in foreign Faſhions; when they had Wars againſt the *Muſcovites* they followed theirs, and when with the *Turks* they took up their Habits. Their preſent Garb is a Veſt, that reaches to the Middle of their Legs, with a long Robe lined with Fur, and tied about their Middle with a Saſh, little Boots, with Iron Heels, Fur Caps, and a Sabre by their Side. When they ride they have a ſhort Cloak, like an *Iriſh* Mantle, furred within and without. The better Sort have rich Furs from *Muſcovy*, but the poorer Gentry content themſelves with the Skins of Tygers, Leopards, Panthers, and a kind of grey Furs. The fineſt of their Fur-ſuits coſt above a thouſand Crowns, are worn only at Dyets, and deſcend from Father to Son. Some of the *Poliſh* Gentry imitate the *French* Faſhion, and wear Linnen, Lace, Perukes, and Swords. The ordinary Sort of Gentry put Chaff into their Boots. Some of their Nobles have fifty Suits of Cloaths, all as rich as poſſible, and they love to have their Servants as well apparelled almoſt as themſelves.

8. As to the Peaſants they are born Slaves, have no Notion of Liberty, but live well ſatisfied without it; in *Courland* they are as ſubject to their Landlords as in *Poland*, and in both Countries almoſt adore them. They love their Landlords, fight for them, and all they have is abſolutely at their Devotion. When they debauch their Wives, or Daughters, thoſe poor Wretches do not think their Women the worſe, or that they themſelves are diſhonoured by it. They have ſcarce any Religion, but, like Brutes, work on *Sundays* for their own Subſiſtence, being obliged to work three or four Days in a Week for their Maſters, without Meat or Wages. Each of them earns his Maſter, at leaſt, ten Pounds *per Annum.* They have no Property, nor can they be made free, except they go into ſome Convent, and are ordained Prieſts, or their Maſters raviſh their Wives, or Daughters. When a Lord lets any Ground to a Peaſant, he orders his other Peaſants, at their Charge, to build him a Houſe, to give him a Cow, Hens, Geeſe, and as much Rye as will keep him a Year. A Slave cannot ſend his Son to the Univerſity without Liberty from his Lord. They reap their Maſter's Corn, and have rigid Taſk-maſters over them, who puniſh them ſeverely, if they do not do as much as is required of them. Their Maſters commonly boaſt of their Clemency, and ſay, that though they have an abſolute Power over them, they ſeldom make uſe of it any more than other Chriſtians do over their Horſes and Dogs.

Doctor *Connor* informs us, he aſked ſome *Poliſh* Noblemen, why they ſo inhumanly treated and undervalued their Boors; who anſwered, that formerly all the Boors revolted from their Landlords, and conſpired to extirpate them, and murdered ſo many, that the reſt were obliged to hide themſelves, or to leave the Kingdom. But, at laſt, the Gentry getting together from all Parts, and being aſſiſted by their Neighbours, quelled the Peaſants, who intended to have ſet up a Commonwealth of their own, and brought them to ſuch Extremities, that ever ſince they have been contented to live like Slaves. In Winter they wear a Sheep-ſkin with the Wool inwards, and in Summer a cloſe-bodied Coat of coarſe Stuff, of a Colour much like our Chimney-ſweepers, with ſorry Caps; their Boots are the Rinds of Trees wrapped about their Legs, with the thicker Parts to guard the Soles of their Feet againſt the Stones; they cut their Hair cloſe like Monks, and ſhave all from their Faces but a large Whiſker. They walk gravely with a Pole-Axe in their Hand, and a Sabre by their Side, which they never put off till they go to Bed; it hangs by a Strap of Leather, to which there is faſtened a Handkerchief, Knife, and Sheath, and a ſmall Stone to whet their Knives.

In *Lithuania* the Boors Shoes are of the Barks of Trees, and their Stockings of thinner Bark, which they wrap about the Calves of their Legs. Before they enter any Town, they always take care to put on freſh Shoes; they alſo wear a Sort of Aſh-coloured Habit, with Sleeves woven all of a Piece. The Boors here are more miſerable than in *Poland*; for Gentlemen commonly go into Boors Houſes, though not their own, take all they have, and beat and wound them, becauſe they are not able to bribe ſuch as have Power to do them Juſtice. The *Pruſſian* Gentry are not ſo gaudy in their Habits as thoſe of the more ſouthern Parts of *Poland*; their Peaſants differ alſo in Habits from thoſe of *Poland*, and wear ſometimes long ſtrait Coats of Leather.

9. The *Poles* never live above Stairs, and their Apartments are not united; the Kitchen is on one Side, the Stable on another, the Dwelling-Houſe on the third, and the Gate in the Front. Their Houſes are for the moſt part of Wood, but they have ſome of Brick and Stone. Their Rooms are generally hung with Tapeſtry, or Arras, but towards *Tartary* they keep no extraordinary Furniture, becauſe of the Incurſions of that barbarous People. They content themſelves with a few ſmall Beds, with Taffaty Curtains; and if any one lodge at their Houſes they muſt carry their Bedding with them. The Moveables of the Peaſants are a few earthen and wooden Diſhes, a hard Bed, and a wretched Coverlid; their Children are not allowed Beds till they marry, but lie upon Boards by the Fire; they have have no Chimnies, but little Holes in the Tops of their Houſes. The Peaſants Children go naked till they are four or five Years old, and frequently eat in the ſame Trough with the Pigs. They crawl on their Hands and Feet till they are ſtrong enough to walk, and when they are dirty the Mother waſhes them in cold Water, which makes them exceeding hardy.

The Peaſants of *Lithuania* and *Samogitia*, build their Houſes round, narrow, and open at Top to let out the Smoke and Stink; they are generally covered with Boards, Straws, Bark of Trees, and live with the Family and Cattle under the ſame Roof. The *Poliſh* Gentry have ſeldom any Gardens or Orchards, though their Country be very proper for it, and might, by making Cyder and Perry, ſave a great deal of Corn which they conſume in Beer. Their ordinary Meat is Beef and Veal; for they leave the Mutton to their Servants. They have Store of grey but no red Partridges; many Hares, but no Rabbets, than which they ſay they would rather eat Cats; but they breed white Rabbets for the ſake of their Furs; they have many Roebucks, but few Stags; Plenty of wild Oxen, wild Boars, Hogs, Poultry, Pigeons, *&c.* There are many Heathcocks and Pheaſants in *Lithuania*, and Buſtards in *Pruſſia.* The *Baltic Sea* has ſcarce any Fiſh; but that Defect is ſupplied by great Plenty of freſh Water Fiſh from Lakes and Rivers. The *Poles* have a peculiar Way of preſerving Cabbage; they chop it ſmall, put it into a Tub between Lays of Salt, preſs it very hard, and afterwards pour warm Water upon it, which makes it ferment and ſerves them for Pickle: This they preſerve all Winter, and ſometimes the whole Year; though it ſmells ſtrong even at a Diſtance, yet they think it a great Rarity.

Their uſual Drink is Beer, which in *Pruſſia* is made only of Malt; but in the reſt of *Poland*, of Wheat ground ſmall and boiled with Hops. Sometimes they mix it with Oats and Spelt, a Kind of Wheat which grows in *Italy* and *Flanders*; in *Lithuania*, *Ruſſia*, and *Ukrain*, they make both a red and a white Liquor with Honey, which they call Mead; at *Warſaw* they mix it with Spice, and Juice of Cherries and Blackberries. The *Lithuanians* and *Poles* have Wine from *Hungary*, *Italy*, *France*, and *Germany*; that of *Hungary* exceeds *Spaniſh* Wine in Strength, is brought to *Cracow* over the *Carpathian* Mountains in large Caſks drawn by Oxen, and ſold at twenty Shillings the *Poliſh* Pot, which is about three Quarts; the *Italian* Wine is alſo brought over Land, and on that Account is dearer than the other. In the Morning, both Men and Women generally drink Ginger, Yolks of Eggs, and Sugar, boiled in Beer; they are immoderate Lovers of ruſty Bacon and Peaſe; they eat all Manner of Muſhrooms, and preſerve them for Pickles; they eat great Quantities of Poppy-ſeed, drink the Milk of them, and make it into ſeveral Diſhes and Sauces; they make likewiſe Abundance of Oil of the Seeds of Hemp and Flax, which they eat on Faſt-days; they uſe Spice to that Exceſs, that ſome great Men ſpend twenty-five hundred Pounds *per Annum* in that ſingle Commodity: They uſe Spice and Pickles in all their Sauces, which differ much from ours; ſome of them are yellow, made with Saffron; others white, made with Cream; ſome grey, made of Onions;

Onions, and others black, made of the Juice of Plumbs. They have Choice of all Sorts of Pot herbs, and ſome that were found no where elſe; they have alſo Sweetmeats of ſeveral Kinds, and make much Uſe of Piſtachio Nuts.

They generally eat a great deal of Meat to a little Bread, though they have Plenty of Corn, eſpecially Rye, which is much better than in other Countries. They are great Admirers of Roots, have a Diſh called Crakat, made of coarſe Flour of Wheat, Barley, Millet, or Oats, and ſometimes of a ſmall Grain they call Manna; on Fleſh-days they eat it with Milk and Butter, and on Faſt-days with Oil. When the Boors want Bread, they make it of Acorns dried and ground. Near the Mountains of *Hungary* there are wild Goats, which they admire as very good Meat: They alſo make a Diſh of Beavers-Tails; Bears-Paws pickled they reckon a great Dainty. When they kill Elks, they do not gut them for fourteen or fifteen Days, and in the Winter, not in a Month. When the Grandees come to the Dyet, they bring them in their Skins and Guts, and hang them at their Windows by five or ſix at a time, till they grow rank, then they roaſt ſome, and dreſs others like Beef A-la-mode; and none but great Men have this Diſh at their Tables. The *Poles* are generally courteous and hoſpitable to Strangers, invite them to their Houſes, converſe with them freely, and endeavour to imitate them. The Slavery of their Boors is ſo much the more tolerable to them, becauſe they ſeldom want Victuals and Drink; they have generally three or four Sorts of Things at a Meal, one Diſh of Peaſe with ſliced Bacon, another of Crakat, and two more of ſeveral Sorts of ſtrengthening Roots, which they have in great Plenty in *Lithuania*; their Bread is coarſe and black, made of Rye, ſmutty Wheat and Barley, all ground together.

They have abundance of Fleſh, Fiſh and Fowl; and Cattle or Poultry, they think they cannot keep in Winter, they kill in Harveſt. They are good Marks-Men, and maintain their Families, in a great meaſure, by Fowling. Every Houſe has four or five Hand-mills to grind their Corn. The Peaſants of *Samogitia* are not ſo laborious as thoſe of *Lithuania*, and conſequently have not ſuch Plenty; inſtead of Bread they eat a Sort of Turnips as big as one's Head, which grow of themſelves, without Cultivation. They quench many red hot Stones one after another, in their Beer, Metheglin, and Mead, after they have boiled it a whole Night, in order to make their Bellies ſoluble; this Liquor they put in Veſſels made of the Barks of Trees. They reward the ſtouteſt Drinkers at Feaſts with a Shirt, Handkerchief, Frock, or the like. They live longer here than in *Lithuania*, and many of them reach a hundred and twenty Years. Formerly the *Pruſſians* dwelt in Waggons or Huts made of Boughs, and the Peaſants are not yet much improved in Architecture, for they generally live in Hovels built of Stakes, Roof and all, twiſted over with Rods, without any Covering; their Furniture is not much better, for the old *Pruſſians* ſlept on the Ground, or on the Skins of Beaſts, and theſe lie upon the Straw: They are content with ſpare Diet, and more addicted to Sloth than Gluttony, yet, like the *Poles* and *Lithuanians*, they drink hard, eſpecially at Feaſts; their former Drink was Water or Mares Milk mixed ſometimes with Blood; but now it is Mead and Beer. Their ordinary Food is Fiſh; they knew not the Uſe of Roots till the Knights of the *Teutonic* Order came among them; but now the Peaſants make them their chief Dainties.

When the Gentry make a Feaſt, they never ſupply their Gueſts with Spoons, Knives, or Forks; they muſt bring them with them: They have a broad Piece of ſtarched Linnen ſewed round the Table-cloth, for Napkins; the Reaſon they give for it is, to prevent their Servants ſtealing. Their Servants have their Meat reached them by their Maſters, which they eat behind their Backs: They bring twice as much Wine as their Maſters need, and drink the Remainder themſelves; they ſeize on what is left after Dinner, and their Ladies each of them carry a Napkin for dried Sweat-meats or Fruits. Their Feaſts are made by Friends and Neighbours by Turns; Brimmers are much in uſe among the *Poles*; they will ſcarce excuſe a Man except he pledges them. This Vice reigns equally at Feaſts and Taverns; and Saints-days are not excepted out of their Drunkards Calendar. Theſe Diſorders are tolerated becauſe of the great Exciſe they bring to the State. The Maſter of the Feaſt is eſteemed a Niggard, that does not allow his Gueſts as much as will fuddle them.

The Inns in this Country are long Stables built up with Boards, and covered with Straw, without Funiture or Windows; there is a Chamber at one End, but none can lodge there; becauſe of Flies, Fleas, and noiſome Smells; ſo that Strangers chuſe rather to lodge among the Horſes, where there is alſo an intolerable Smell of rotten Cabbages, which theſe People keep always by them. Travellers are obliged to carry Proviſions with them; and when Foreigners want, they apply themſelves to the Lord of the Village, who forthwith ſupplies them. *Poland* being for moſt part a champaign Country, a Calaſh and two Horſes will rid a good deal of Ground there in a Day. Travellers ought to take more than ordinary Care as they paſs Bridges in this Country, becauſe they are generally very bad, and ſeldom repaired. When they go a hunting for Bears they catch thoſe of the biggeſt Size with Nets, and when they have hampered him, all the Hunters ride about him, and having pinned down his Head and his Feet with great wooden Forks, they bind him ſo about with ſtrong hempen Cords that he is not able to ſtir; then they roll him into a great wooden Cheſt; the Knots of the Cords are ſo contrived, that with one pull they may be untied. The Bear is kept thus, till they have a mind to hunt him, and then they let him out at a Trap-door made on purpoſe.

They ſurround wild Bulls with a great Number of Horſemen, when each of them rides up and darts an Arrow at him; upon this the Ox purſues his Enemy, then another darts him behind, and as he turns about to purſue him, they dart him ſo by turns, till the Beaſt being tired with purſuing ſo many Aſſailants, falls down, and is eaſily taken or killed. They have another way of hunting, by making the Boors fell a great Number of Trees; each Hunter ſecures his Poſt aſſigned him, at which they throw Darts, and as the Bull runs towards his Enemy, the Hunters from behind give him his Death's Wound; but if he breaks through the Incloſure, the next Hunter holds out a Piece of red Cloth, againſt which the Beaſt having an Antipathy, he immediately leaves that Perſon and runs at another, who being provided for him, commonly kills him.

10. The *Poliſh* Ladies are generally very modeſt, and not very apt to abuſe the great Liberty allowed them. They ſeldom ſtir out of Doors without a Coach and Six to Church, or to viſit a near Neighbour, and are always attended by a great Number of Servants. When they go abroad at Night, they have twenty-four or more Flambeaux carried before their Coach. Their Train is borne up by He or She-Dwarfs; and they have always an old Woman to attend them, whom they call Governante, and an old Gentleman for their Uſher. Notwithſtanding all theſe Honours, they are entirely managed by their Huſbands, and diſpoſe of no Money without his leave. When they want any thing they muſt aſk him for it, kneeling, embrace his Knees, and call him their Benefactor: But ſome few Trifles are allowed them of Courſe. The Faſhion of the Womens Cloaths comes nearer to that of the Men than in moſt other Countries. They formerly wore Garlands on their Heads, compoſed of Gold, Jewels, Flowers, Silk, and the like; but now they wear Silk Caps, lined with Fur, like the Men; in King *John* III's Time they imitated the *French* Mode, becauſe the Queen was of that Nation.

The Peaſants Daughters are ſo extremely reſerved, that they will draw a Knife at any Man that offers to kiſs them; beſides their Mothers have a watchful Eye over them, and make them wear little Bells before and behind, to give Notice where they are, and what they are doing; but theſe Precautions do not always ſecure them. The Countrywomen are habited as in other Countries; but their Petticoats are very ſhort; thoſe in *Red Ruſſia* go generally in Summer with an Apron before them that reaches lower than ordinary. The wedding Feaſts of the Gentry laſt commonly three Days. If a Lady marry any of her Waiting-Maids, ſhe coſts her almoſt as much as one of her Daughters. On the ſecond Day all the Gueſts preſent the Bride with ſomething new, which makes a good Part of her Portion. The Princeſs of *Poland*, when married to the Elector of *Bavaria*, had above one hundred thouſand Crowns preſented her.

Among the Boors a Maid never marries till ſhe be twenty-four or thirty Years of Age, and has wrought, with her own Hands, ſeveral Baſkets full of Cloths, of different Sorts; which, at the time of her Eſpouſals, ſhe is to diſtribute among the Gueſts that her Huſband brings with him. She muſt alſo have ſerved her Mother for a certain time. The ſame Right is obſerved with reſpect to their Sons; it is alſo obſervable, that thoſe employed to make up the Match, always enquire more ſtrictly into the Manners and Behaviour of the Perſons, than as to their Stock of Corn and Cattle. Their Godfathers and Godmothers are always accounted Relations, though they be nothing a-kin, and they cannot marry ſuch Kindred without a Diſpenſation from the Biſhop.

The Burials of thoſe of Quality are celebrated with ſuch Pomp and Magnificence that they are more like Triumphs. The Corpſe is carried in a Hearſe or Chariot, with ſix Horſes, all covered with black; the Coffin has a large black Velvet Pall over it, with a Croſs of red Sattin in the Middle, and ſix long black Silk Taſſels, ſupported by as many of the Deceaſed's domeſtic Servants in cloſe Mourning; ſeveral Prieſts, Monks, and others, march before the Hearſe; each of which carries a white Wax Torch in his Hand. Immediately before the Hearſe come three Men on Horſeback, who carry the Arms of the Deceaſed; one his Sword, another his Lance, and a third his Dart. After the Burial Service is over, thoſe who carry the Armour enter the Church on Horſeback, and riding furiouſly to the Coffin, break the Arms of the Deceaſed upon it, after which the Body is interred. Then there is a Feaſt, where the Lay-Gueſts not only drink to exceſs, but likewiſe force the Clergy to follow their Example. When the King dies he is laid on a Bed of State; and a certain Number of Senators, Eccleſiaſtical and Temporal, are appointed to attend his Corpſe. The Republic defrays the Expences out of the Revenues of the Crown. The deceaſed Queen has the ſame Ceremonies and Honours allowed her. When Women of Quality mourn they wear a coarſe black Stuff, and their Linnen is not much finer than Canvas; and the greater their Quality their mourning Weeds are the coarſer. All Senators, Deputies, and others, that appear at the Dyet for electing the new King muſt be in black.

21. The Language of the *Poles* is the *Sclavonian*; but there are ſo many different Dialects of it ſpoken in the ſeveral Parts of this Kingdom, that one Part of the People ſcarce underſtand the other; they all agree, however, in multiplying Conſonants; and if they did not ſound more Vowels when they ſpeak, than are contained in the Words they write, it would be impoſſible to utter them. The *Latin* is almoſt as univerſally ſpoken as the *Sclavonian*, there being a School in every Village for the teaching it; and the Girls learn it in the Nunneries. Their Terms of Art are chiefly *German*, and indeed there are whole Towns and Villages in *Pruſſia* which are of *German* Extract, and ſtill ſpeak the *German* or *High Dutch* Tongue. The *Armenian*, *Perſian*, and *Tartarian* Languages, are alſo ſpoken upon their Frontiers; and the *Jews* have introduced the *Hebrew* in ſome Places; but with all theſe Languages, it is obſerved, that their Learning is but ſuperficial.

As to their Divines, their Learning, it is ſaid, conſiſts in adapting *Ariſtotle*'s Logic and Mytaphyſics to their School-Divinty; and they value themſelves more on being verſed in the Signification of logical Terms, than in the Nature of the Things they reaſon about. They enquire but little into Church-Hiſtory, or the Practice of the primitive Times, but ſeem to have an implicit Faith, and to be entirely governed by the Deciſions of the Church of *Rome*; nor will they ſuffer any Perſon to enquire into the Reaſonableneſs of their Tenets.

There are few native *Poles* that ſtudy Phyſic. The Phyſicians are generally *Germans*, *French*, or *Italians*. An illiterate Quack of this Kingdom, Doctor *Connor* mentions, however, who lived in a Wood about ſix Miles from *Warſaw*, undertook to cure the Venereal Diſeaſe in ſeven or eight Days by Bathing and Sweating. In the Water the Bath was made of, he boiled ſeveral Plants, which the Man made a Secret of; but the Doctor ſays, as well as he could diſcover, the chief of them were Hellebore, Aſter, and the Capillus Veneris, or Maiden-hair. That he bathed his Patients in a hot Decoction of theſe Herbs for four Days together, and made them drink of it while they were in the Bath frequently; that for four Days afterwards he laid them over the Tub to receive the hot Steams, covering them with Blankets, and making them drink of the Decoction as before. And thus by ſweating, bathing, and drinking, he was aſſured he had done many wonderful Cures in venereal Caſes; and for the whole Cure demanded but two Rix-Dollars, which is leſs than ten Shillings *Engliſh*. They ſeldom uſe Salivation in this Country, though venereal Diſtempers are very common.

The Diſeaſe peculiar to the *Poles*, is that called the Plica, in which the Hair of the Head is matted together, and grows ſo long, that it ſometimes reaches down to the Middle, covering their Backs, but generally it hangs in twiſted Ropes; others have their Hair only matted cloſe to their Heads, without growing to any length; and the Hair will be thus intangled and matted together in one Night's time, though never ſo much Care is taken to prevent it; if the Hair be cut off it occaſions a Dimneſs in the Sight, and ſometimes a total Blindneſs; it alſo occaſions Pain in the Head and Limbs, and Puſtules to come out all over the Body; the Foreigners that have been infected with this Diſeaſe, relate, that they have cut off their Hair without any Inconveniency attending it. The Biſhop of *Poſen* acquainted Doctor *Connor* that he was afflicted with this Diſtemper in his Youth, and that cutting off his Hair, unknown to his Friends, he felt a thouſand racking Pains, which left him as his Hair grew again, but then the Diſtemper returned. He obſerved alſo, that on the cutting off his Hair he could ſenſibly perceive a volatile Matter paſs in great Abundance through the Tubes of his Hair which twiſted and contracted the Locks, that when he put a Cap on his Head, it occaſioned an intolerable Pain and Heat, which he ſuppoſed proceeded from the Preſſure, by which the Humours were repelled, and forced back upon the Head. As to other Diſeaſes, it ſeems, the *Poles* are very little troubled with them. The Scurvy, or malignant Fevers, and Pleuriſies, are ſeldom of ſuch ill Conſequence in *Poland* as in other Countries.

By the Laws of *Poland* the Eſtate of the Father is equally divided among his Children, except any of them go into the Monaſtery, and then their Parts are equally divided among the reſt; and the young Children here, as in other *Popiſh* Countries, are encouraged by their Parents to take the Vow upon them, that their Eſtates may be preſerved entire to the eldeſt Son, which would otherwiſe dwindle away to nothing, where there happens to be a numerous Iſſue.

12. We are ſo apt to be biaſſed in our Sentiments, by what happens in our own Times, and as it were under our own Eyes, that we can ſcarce bring ourſelves to think things ever were otherwiſe than as we now perceive them. But it is certain, that as reſtleſs and turbulent as the *Poles* now are, they were formerly of a different Diſpoſition, and very much attached to the Perſons and Families of their Princes: Thus for ſeveral Ages they obeyed the Family of *Piaſtus*, who was raiſed to the Throne by his Merit; and upon the Death of *Lewis*, King of *Poland* and *Hungary*, the laſt Male-Heir of his Family, they choſe his Daughter, and reſolved to beſtow their Crown upon her Huſband, who was *Jagello*, Duke of *Lithuania*, who took upon him the Name of *Uladiſlaus*, by whoſe Poſterity they were governed

till the Death of *Sigiſmund* II. who was the laſt of that Family, and died in 1574, when they choſe *Henry de Bourbon*, afterwards *Henry* III. of *France*, for their King; upon a Promiſe, that he would marry the Princeſs *Anne*, Siſter to their late Monarch.

When he abdicated they made choice of *Stephen Batori*, Prince of *Tranſilvania*, who actually married the Princeſs before-mentioned, but had no Iſſue by her. Upon his Death in 1586, they made choice of *Sigiſmund de Vaſa*, Prince of *Sweden*, becauſe he was the Nephew of *Sigiſmund* II. and conſequently by the Mother's Side of the Race of their antient Kings. The laſt of his Race was *Caſimir*, who abdicated the Government and retired to *France*; and in 1670 they choſe *Michael Wieſnowiſki*, whoſe Succeſſor was *John Sobieſki*; upon whoſe Deceaſe in 1696, the *Poles*, contrary to their uſual Cuſtom, rejected his Family, and made choice of *Auguſtus*, Elector of *Saxony*, the Father of the preſent King *Auguſtus* III. The Factions that have long reigned in *Poland*, have hindered theſe laſt Monarchs from making that Figure in *Europe*, which their Predeceſſors had done; but it does not follow, from hence, that the *Poles* will always continue uneaſy and diſcontented.

On the contrary, they ſeem now to have a juſt Senſe of the ill Conſequences of their Diviſions, and are endeavouring to put an End to them by deciding as faſt as poſſible the Quarrels amongſt their Grandees, which is the ſureſt Way of reſtoring the public Tranquillity: And whenever this ſhall be effectually brought about, there is no Queſtion to be made, that the antient Glory of the *Poliſh* Nation will revive; for they are ſtill poſſeſſed of very large Territories, capable of great Improvements, and are very able to raiſe a Force ſufficient to defend themſelves againſt the Incroachments of any of their Neighbours, and even to render themſelves as formidable as any of the northern Powers. It is indeed true, that in their laſt Election they were awed by the *Ruſſians*; but this did not ſo much proceed from the ſuperior Power of that Empire, as from the want of Union among the *Poles*; and perhaps before their Throne again becomes vacant, they may be in a Condition to repair their paſt Errors, and to make a free Choice of ſome Prince, capable of governing them, according to their Conſtitution, and thereby extinguiſhing thoſe Feuds and Jealouſies, which have rendered them ſo inconſiderable ſince the Days of *John Sobieſki*, the laſt of their Monarchs under whom they made any Figure; and whoſe Covetouſneſs, which proceeded from the Deſire of fixing the Crown in his Family, was the chief Reaſon that Deſign of his did not take place.

The unfortunate *Staniſlaus Lezinſki* who ſtill wears the Title of King of *Poland*, was endowed with all the Qualities requiſite to make his People happy, brave, generous, pious, juſt, and affable to all Ranks of People; he was only unhappy in being the Inſtrument of *Sweden* firſt, and afterwards of *France*; which rendered him very juſtly ſuſpected to a great Part of his Countrymen; ſo that we may reckon it an Happineſs to *Poland* that he has no Male Iſſue, and that his Daughter, the *French* Queen, has but one Son; ſince this might otherwiſe prove a new Source of Trouble, not to this Country only, but to all its Neighbours; for though in Time of Peace *Poland* has been little regarded, yet the Diſturbances there have proved more than once the Cauſe of Wars in many other Parts of *Europe*.

13. We will cloſe this Section with obſerving, that nothing ſhews more clearly the Folly of that kind of modern Policy, which conſiſts in weakening and diſtreſſing our Neighbours, than the preſent State of *Poland*. This Country, as well by its Situation, as from the natural Genius and Diſpoſition of its Inhabitants, is the proper Bulwark of Chriſtendom againſt the *Turks*, whom they have reſiſted with as much Succeſs, and over whom they have gained greater Victories, than almoſt any other Nation. If we conſider them in this Light, it is very eaſy to ſee that it can never be the true and natural Intereſt either of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, or of the *Ruſſians*, to promote Troubles in this Kingdom, becauſe the more powerful and formidable the *Poles* were, the leſs able the *Turks* would be to alarm either of theſe Potentates. The Grand Signior indeed has ſhewn a true Spirit of Policy, in never attempting to diſturb this Nation even in its loweſt Circumſtances; but contented himſelf with the Security that he reaps from their Confuſions; ſince, if he had ever attacked *Poland*, it would probably have put an End to them; and though at firſt he might have made great Conqueſts, yet when the Spirit of the Nation was once rouſed, he would have been quickly driven out of them, as he knew, from the Experience of former Times.

If the *Poles* could once ſo ſettle their Affairs as to have time to conſider the Advantages that might reſult to their Country by the extending their Commerce, it is not at all impoſſible they ſhould ſucceed therein, though they have neglected it ſo long. I have been led to this Remark by the Knowledge I have of a Project that was formed by the late King *Auguſtus*, for opening a Trade with *Aſia* by the Help of the *Crim Tartars*, and tranſporting the Commodities that are brought from the *Black Sea* by the *Nieſter* and the *Bog*. He had other great Views with Regard to *Ruſſia*, and though at preſent they ſeem to have died with him, the Time may come when they ſhall revive again, and be carried into Execution by ſome *Poliſh* Monarch, either of his or ſome other Family.

That Luxury and Wantonneſs, which are the natural Effects of Plenty, as that generally ſprings from Trade, commonly produce ſuch a Spirit of Idleneſs and Profuſion, as is inconſiſtent with the Preſervation of Manufactures and Commerce; and this occaſions thoſe Changes in theſe Bleſſings, which appear abſolutely unaccountable to the unthinking Part of Mankind. The Country of *Poland* abounds with natural Commodities, if the Inhabitants knew how to make uſe of them; and with a numerous and laborious Race of People, who would ſoon become rich if they were properly employed. We have Reaſon to expect therefore, that ſome Time or other, awakened by their own Neceſſities, or provoked by the Example of their Neighbours, they will think of improving their Lands, working up their Commodities, and vending them in different Parts of *Europe*; which, whenever they do, will infallibly make them a rich and happy Nation.

SECTION V.

A ſhort Account of the UKRAIN, *and of its Inhabitants the* COSSACKS.

Collected from the Writings of Mr. *Beauplan*, and others.

1. *An Acount of the Etymology of the Name and Origin of the People called* Coſſacks, *with the regular Detail of their Hiſtory to the Time of their being diſperſed, and obliged to put themſelves under the Protection of the* Muſcovites, Turks, *and* Tartars. 2. *A ſhort Deſcription of the* Ukrain, *and of the principal Places therein; the Nature and Extent of the Country, and the Manner in which it was ſettled, and inhabited by the* Coſſacks, *while they acknowledged themſelves Subjects to the Crown of* Poland. 3. *The Temper and Genius of the People; their ſingular Cuſtoms, and odd Way of Living; as alſo of the Rarities and Remarkables in their Country.* 4. *The Manner of their making War both by Sea and Land, the Terror ſpread by them through the whole* Turkiſh *Empire, and even through* Conſtantinople *itſelf, and the dextrous Method they uſe for marching through a flat Country, in Sight of ſuperior Bodies of Horſe.* 5. *Of the preſent State and Condition of the* Coſſacks; *with Remarks and Obſervations upon the foregoing Section.*

1. According to ſome Authors, the Word *Coſſack*, in the *Ruſſian* Tongue, ſignifies Free-booter or Banditti; others derive it from Coſa, ſignifying a Goat, becauſe of their Nimbleneſs. Some ſay, that Coſa, in the *Sclavonian* Language, ſignifies a Scythe, their ordinary Weapon. They are thought to have come firſt from the Iſlands of the *Boriſthenes*, near the Mouth of that River, and were called *Zaporowſki*, or *Zaporienſes*, from the *Porowis*, or Cataracts and Rocks in the *Nieper*. The *Turks* uſually call them *Ruſſians*. They dwell in a Part of *Red Ruſſia* in *Poland*, and in *Baſſerabia*, betwixt the Rivers *Boriſthenes* and the *Nieſter*. They are terrible to the *Turks*, becauſe of their Invaſions by the Way of the *Black Sea*. In 1548, in the Time of *Sigiſmund* I. King of *Poland*, theſe *Coſſacks* were only Volunteers of the Frontiers of *Ruſſia*, *Volhinia*, *Podolia*, and the other Provinces of *Poland*; who aſſembled together partly to defend themſelves from the *Tartars*, by ſecuring the Paſſes of the *Nieper*, and attacking them, as they returned with their Prey; and partly to rob upon the *Black Sea*, where getting rich Booty, they drew more into their Aſſociation. Sometimes they made Deſcents upon *Natolia*, and plundered the great Towns, as *Trebiſond* and *Sinope*; at other Times they have advanced within two Miles of *Conſtantinople*, and brought off Booty and Priſoners.

At firſt they were about ſix thouſand, under *Euſtachicus Doſcovitus*, their General; but their Numbers were quickly increaſed by their Neighbours, becauſe of the Gain they made by their Piracies, Part of which they laid up in their Magazine, and the reſt they brought Home to their Houſes. About the End of the Seaſon, theſe Adventurers ſeparate, and agree upon the Time and Place of Rendezvous next Spring in the Iſles and Rocks of the *Nieper*, whence they return to their Piracy. *Stephen Batori*, King of *Poland*, who began his Reign in 1576, conſidering the Service that might be made of thoſe Thieves, for guarding the Country and Frontiers againſt the Inroads of the *Tartars*, formed them into a regular Body; and they ſerved him as Foot-Soldiers; for the *Poliſh* Army conſiſts chiefly of Horſe. He gave them the Town and Territories of *Tetchtimorow*, about eighty Miles in length, in the Palatinate of *Kiow*, upon the *Boriſthenes*; which Town they made their Magazine, and the Reſidence of their Governor-General, whom they named, and gave him Power to chuſe Subalterns. *Stephen Batori* alſo joined two thouſand Horſe to this *Coſſack* Infantry, to whoſe Maintenance he aſſigned the fourth Part of his Royal Revenues, whence they are called *Quartani.* Theſe Forces ſo well ſecured the Frontier, that the Country beyond *Breſlaw*, *Bar*, and *Kiow*, betwixt the *Nieſter* and *Nieper* was re-peopled, the Towns rebuilt, and Colonies planted there from the neighbouring Places.

The *Coſſacks* being thus brought into good Diſcipline, did conſiderable Service to the Crown of *Poland*, but have ſince done the Republic much Miſchief by their frequent Rebellions; for the *Coſſacks* knowing their own Strength, and of what Importance they were to the *Poles*, began to ſet up for themſelves, and would not obey the Orders of their Superiors, and acknowledge the Power of the *Poles* over them. Their firſt Rebellion was in 1587, under their General *John Podkowa*, who was taken, and his Head ſtruck off. In 1596, *Sigiſmund* III. upon the Complaints and Threats of the Grand Signior, forbad them to pillage any more upon the *Black Sea*. They obeyed his Orders for a while, but then turned their Force againſt *Ruſſia* and *Lithuania*, under the Command of their General *Nalevakio*; and having had ſome Advantages over the *Poliſh* Army, commanded by General *Zolſkiowki*, they looked upon themſelves as invincible; yet that noble Warrior found means to block them up ſo cloſe, that he forced them to deliver him their General, who was beheaded.

In 1637 was laid the Ground of a new War with the *Coſſacks*, their Numbers being greatly increaſed by the Multitude of Boors, who frequently went over to them, to ſhare their Privileges. Some great Men in *Poland* who had got Eſtates in the Places appointed for the Quarters of the *Coſſacks*, were of Opinion, that their Revenues would be conſiderably increaſed, if the Liberties of the *Coſſacks* were abridged. Whereupon they adviſed the King to reſtrain them, and began to uſe the ſame Severity to the *Coſſacks* as to the *Poliſh* Boors, who are obliged to work three Days in a Week with Man and Horſe for their Lords, and to pay ſo much Corn, Poultry, *&c.* to carry Home their Maſter's Wood, to pay him ſo much Money, and the Tenth of their Poſſeſſions. The *Poliſh* Lords being abſolute at Home, and not puniſhed for killing their Slaves, they repreſented, That the *Coſſacks* deprived them of all Advantages they could expect from their Lands in the *Ukrain*; for when the Boors were diſobliged they went to them. Therefore they reſolved to build a Fort at *Kudac*, at a Point where the River *Ziwmer* falls into the *Nieper* or *Boriſthenes*, and therefore very convenient to bridle the *Coſſacks*; who underſtanding the Deſign, cut in Pieces two hundred Men, that guarded the Building; but being attacked by the *Poliſh* General *Potoſki*, and divided among themſelves; they were routed at *Korſun*, and forced to deliver up their General, and four more of their chief Officers, who were put to Death at *Warſaw*, though *Potoſki* had promiſed them their Lives. After this, all their former Privileges were taken from them, with their Fortreſs *Tetchtimorow*, and in their Stead a new Body of Militia was ſettled there. This inraged the *Coſſacks*, who again tried their Fortune with *Potoſki*, but were worſted, though they fought with great Bravery. Then they fortified themſelves upon the River *Mareza*, beyond the *Boriſthenes*. After this, the *Poles* having loſt ſo many Men, by endeavouring to ſuppreſs them, they were forced to promiſe that their ancient Privileges ſhould be reſtored, and that their Militia of ſix thouſand Men, ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed under a General appointed by the King. The *Coſſacks* returned to their Homes, and laying down their Arms upon the Faith of their Treaty, were killed or plundered by the *Poliſh* Soldiers, and another Militia ſet up, excluding the true *Coſſacks*; and, among other oppreſſive Methods, the *Poles* took from them ſome of their *Greek* Churches.

But the *Tartars* afterwards ruining a great Part of the *Ukrain*, convinced the *Poles* of the Neceſſity of reſtoring the *Coſſacks*. *Uladiſlaus* IV. making War upon the *Tartars*, was very careful to ſee it done, and gave them for their General *Theodore Chimielinſki*, and granted him a Privilege to build ſome Mills; but a *Poliſh* Gentleman, named *Jarinſki*, burnt them, raviſhed his Wife, and afterwards killed both her and her Son. The *Coſſacks* were alſo provoked by their Landlords, who farmed out their Lands to the *Jews*, who monopolized all the Trade of the Country, and got ſo much Power that they would not ſuffer them to marry, or baptize, but upon their own Terms. *Theodore* and his *Coſſacks* obtaining no Redreſs, or Satisfaction, for thoſe Injuries, raiſed an Army of above twenty thouſand Men, burnt, plundered, and ravaged the Country, and did what Miſchief they could to the *Poliſh* Nobility. Upon which the Senators deſired the King to march againſt them; who anſwered, that they ought not to have burnt their Mills. King *John Caſimir* favoured them underhand, and deſigned to make uſe of them for the Conqueſt of *Crim Tartary*; at which the *Poles*, being diſſatisfied, levied an Army of fifty thouſand Men, whom the *Coſſacks* defeated, killed ten thouſand upon the Spot, and took the City of *Kiow*. To revenge this Affront, the *Poles* ſummoned the ſeventh Man throughout the Kingdom, and marched againſt the *Coſſacks*, without the Conſent of the King, and were again defeated by them.

But while *Chimielinſki* was celebrating the Nuptials of his Son, with the Daughter of the Prince of *Walachia*, at *Kiow*, the *Poles* ſurprized the *Coſſacks*, plundered the City, and took the *Grecian* Patriarch Priſoner. The *Coſſacks* ſent to the King, to know whether this had been done by his Authority? He anſwered, No; and that it was done by the Nobility out of Revenge. Upon this *Chimielinſki* called in the *Crim Tartar* with one hundred thouſand Horſe, againſt whom the King went in Perſon, at the Head of the Nobility, and totally routed them, though they were three to one ſtronger than the *Poles*. *Chimielinſki* gathered up the Remainders of his ſcattered Army, and continually harraſſed the Country, ſo that the King was obliged to make an Agreement with them; but the Nobility were diſcontented at it, and alledged, the King had granted too much: This Peace was made in 1649. *Chimielinſki* fearing the *Poles* would not obſerve that Treaty, made an Alliance with the Grand Signior and the Prince of *Moldavia*, and at a Dyet he propoſed ſuch Terms as ſhewed he intended to make himſelf an abſolute Prince, under the Protection of the *Turks*.

Thus a new War broke out in 1651, when the *Coſſacks*, and their Confederates, beſieged *Smolenſko*, took it next Year, and ravaged *Lithuania*; they took *Wilna*, and ſome other Cities, where they committed great Barbarities: It was chiefly owing to them that the *Muſcovites* got Poſſeſſion of the Provinces of *Smolenſko* and *Siberia*, and the greateſt Part of the Palatinate of *Kiovia*, which were confirmed to them by the Treaty of *Oliva*, in 1666. They have ſince thoſe Days ſuffered many Changes of Fortune, as well as Diminution in Numbers; but at this Time however they are tolerably free, ſome under the Protection of the *Turk*, others under the *Poles*; but the greateſt Part of them own themſelves Subjects to *Ruſſia*. After giving their Hiſtory, which is ſingular enough, and very well deſerves the Reader's Attention, we will next conſider the Country in which they live, and which from the Flatneſs of it, has been ſuppoſed, not without great Probability, to have been left partly by the Sea, and partly by the great Rivers that run through it, in the ſame Manner as the Antients report of *Lower Egypt*, and as we know that Tract of Country was certainly left, which is called *Marſhland*, in the County of *Norfolk*.

2. The Word *Ukrain* ſignifies a frontier Country, and lies betwixt 48 and 52 Degrees of North Latitude, the *Nieſter* is their weſtern, and the *Nieper* their eaſtern, Boundary. According to ſome Authors *Kiow* is the chief Town, and belongs to the *Muſcovites*, being taken from the *Poles* in 1633, by the confederate Army of the *Muſcovites* and *Coſſacks*. This City gives Name to the Palatinate of *Kiow*, which had Princes of its own till it was reduced to a Province by *Caſimir* III. who began his Reign in the Year 1333. The Ruins of the Walls ſhew it to have been eight Miles in Compaſs: Here are to be ſeen ſtill the Ruins of many Arches, high Walls, Churches, and the Sepulchres of many Kings, with *Greek* Inſcriptions. The Church of St. *Sophia*, whoſe Walls are lined with Moſaic Work; and that of St. *Michael*, remarkable for its gilded Roof, are ſtill in a tolerable Conditon.

Betwixt this Town and the *Nieper* lies *New Kiow* along the Banks of the *Nieper*, which has about ſix thouſand Inhabitants. The Papiſts have four Churches, and the *Greeks* ten, with a ſort of an Univerſity. The ſecond Town of Note is *Pereſlaw*, on the Eaſt-ſide of the *Nieper*, upon the River *Trubicz*, which falls into the *Nieper* two Miles below it: It lies ten *German* Leagues South-eaſt from *Kiow*; is a ſtrong Town, and contains ſix thouſand Families. Here the *Coſſacks* have a Regiment, and another at *Kaniow*, a little lower on the Eaſt bank of the *Nieper*: On the ſame Side is *Cirkacſe*, the Center of all their Retreats; which was burnt by the *Polanders* in 1637.

On the ſame Side lies *Krilow*, and below that *Cremierczow*, the loweſt Town upon the River, all the Country below it being deſert. Further down the River there are many Iſles, moſt of them uninhabited, becauſe overflowed in the Spring, but much frequented by Fiſhermen. Several other Rivers increaſe the *Nieper* at *Romonow*, but chiefly *Sama*, which ſupplies the Country not only with Fiſh, but with other Commodities, as Honey, Wax, Veniſon, and eſpecially Timber: The *Coſſacks* call this River the *Holy River*: In the Spring they catch Sturgeons and Herring here.

A little below this, the *Poles* in 1635, built a Fort at *Kuda*, which is the firſt of the *Porouki*, *Conſtantinow* on the River *Sliez*, which runs into the *Nieper*. *Porowi* or *Porouki*, in the *Ruſſian* Language, ſignifies a Rock: Of theſe there are thirteen Chains that croſs the *Nieper*, and render the Navigation from the *Ukrain* to the *Black Sea* impracticable; ſo that though the *Ukrain* be fruitful in Corn, yet the Inhabitants not being able to export it, ſuffer much of it to lie untilled. Of theſe Rocks, ſome are under Water, ſome above, as big as Houſes, very near to one another, and ſtop the Courſe of the River; ſo that when it is low they make Cataracts ſometimes of fifteen Feet high; but in the Spring, when the melted Snow ſwells the River, all the Rocks are covered with Water, except the Seventh, which ſtill hinders the River from being navigable; near the loweſt *Porouki* the River is not above a hundred and fifty Paces broad, and therefore is the beſt Paſſage for the *Tartars*.

Below there lies *Tomakouka*, the Place where the *Coſſacks* rendezvous, but their principal Retreat is below the *Czertomelick*, upon an Iſland ſurrounded with a vaſt Number of ſmall ones; ſome of them dry, and others overflowed in the Spring; ſome of them are Moraſſes, but all of them covered over with Reeds and Canes as big as Pikes, which hides the Paſſages between the Iſlands, and makes it a Labyrinth, known only to the *Coſſacks*, who call it *Scarbniza-Woyſkowa*, or the Treaſury of the Army. Here they lay up their Money and Ordnance: The *Turks* have loſt many Galleys among theſe Iſlands, which not being able to diſentangle themſelves, fell into the Hands of the *Coſſacks*. From theſe *Porouki* the *Coſſacks* are called *Zaperouſki*, which is, the great Body of the Nation; and none can be liſted among their Number, till he has paſſed in his little Boat all the *Porouki's*, and from thence, by the Mouth of the *Nieper*, to the *Black Sea*.

The River there is three Miles broad; yet both the *Coſſacks*, and others, paſs it in this Manner: They furniſh themſelves with flat-bottom Boats, at the Stern of which they faſten croſs Poles of a good Length, to which they tie the Heads of their Horſes, as many on the one Side as on the other, to balance them; and putting their Baggage in the Boat, they row over, their Horſes ſwimming after them.

The *Ukrain* is a very fertile Country, though the third Part of it is ſcarcely cultivated; it produces ſuch a vaſt Quantity of Grain of all Sorts, that the Inhabitants are at a Loſs how to conſume it; they cannot export any of it, becauſe their Rivers are not navigable. They abound in Honey, Wax, Wood, Cattle, Fowl, and Fiſh. *Hungary*, *Tranſylvania*, *Wallachia*, and *Moldavia*, ſupply them with Wine; they alſo make good Beer, and *Aqua Vitæ*, out of their Corn; they have much Mead; the Salt-pits near *Cracow* furniſh them with Salt; they have alſo ſome out of the Country of *Pekutia*, on the Borders of *Moldavia* and *Tranſylvania*, where there are Salt-ſprings: Their Houſes are of Wood, and their Fortifications of Earth and Wood, which they account better againſt Cannon, than Brick Walls; but they are ſoon ſet on Fire.

The Rivers of note here are the *Boriſthenes* or *Nieper*, the *Bog*, *Tyras* or *Neiſter*, the common Border betwixt them and *Wallachia*, the *Dezna*, the *Roſs*, the *Horin*, the *Stouez*, and the *Ster*, near which was fought the laſt Battle between the *Poles* and *Coſſacks*, in 1651; which obliged the *Coſſacks* to ſeek Protection among the *Muſcovites* and *Turks*. The Language of the *Coſſacks* is a Dialect of the *Poliſh* Tongue, as the *Poliſh* is of the *Sclavonian*; but that of the *Coſſacks* is much more ſmooth, and full of Diminutives, which makes it very agreeable.

3. The common People are of the *Greek* Church: Their Worſhip is the ſame with that of the *Ruſſians*; their Metropolitan reſides at *Kiow*, is conſecrated by the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, and ſubject to him; the whole almoſt of their Religion conſiſts in Feaſts and Holy-days; but the greater Part of the Gentry are Papiſts, and a few Proteſtants. It is very common in this Country for Maids to woo the Men; if a young Woman be in love with a young Man, ſhe is not aſhamed to go to his Father's Houſe, and reveal her Paſſion in the moſt tender Expreſſions, and promiſes all Obedience if he pleaſe to accept of her in Marriage: If ſhe be rejected by the young Man becauſe he is too young, or not diſpoſed to marry, or the like, ſhe tells him that ſhe is reſolved never to go out of the Houſe till he conſent, and accordingly takes up her Lodgings there: To force her out would be to provoke all her Kindred; nor would the Church ſuffer them to uſe any Violence to her without inflicting heavy Penance, and branding the Houſe with Infamy; ſo that after two or three Weeks the Parents, or the young Man himſelf, being moved with the Conſtancy of the Woman, accommodate Matters as well as they can, and make up the Match.

Their Manners are like thoſe of Soldiers, not ſolicitous for what is to come, but ſpend freely what they have among their Companions, and leave Futurity to ſhift for itſelf; they are very inconſtant, mutinous, and purſue their preſent Advantage rather than their Faith and Promiſe; they are great Drinkers, but by reaſon of their Labour and Hardſhips, they have ſo much Health that Phyſicians are of little Uſe among them: They are of a good Stature, ſtrong, nimble, great Lovers of Liberty, uneaſy under any Yoke, and indefatigable: They are much given to fiſhing and hunting. None know better the Way of preparing Saltpetre, and making Gunpowder, their Country abounds with it, and ſeveral Parts of *Europe* are furniſhed from thence. This Territory was almoſt a Deſart till improved by the Induſtry of the *Coſſacks*, and other Colonies; the many Rivers which run through it add much to its Fruitfulneſs.

They have ſome Animals peculiar to their Country, ſuch as a Beaſt called *Bobac*, not unlike a *Guiney* Pig; it makes Holes in the Earth, which it enters in *October*, and never comes Abroad till *April*; within theſe Holes there are many little Apartments for their Proviſions, Lodgings, and Dead; eight or nine Herds of thoſe Beaſts live together in ſuch Caves. They are eaſily tamed, and are very diverting. When they go out for Proviſions, they place a Sentinel, who as ſoon as he ſpies any Body gives a Signal, and they all run to their Caves. The *Jounaky* is a Kind of Goat, remarkable for his beautiful Fur, reſembling Sattin, and a white Skin and ſmooth Horns; he has no Horn in his Noſe, as ſome report, but as he feeds goes backwards. They have many wild Horſes, of no Value but for their Fleſh, which they ſell in their Markets, and think it better than Beef or Veal: When thoſe Horſes come to be old, their Hoofs, never pared, ſo contract their Feet that they cannot go; in Summer they are mightily incommoded with Flies and Graſhoppers, in ſuch vaſt Numbers, that they form a Cloud of five or ſix Leagues long, and three or four broad, darken the Air in the cleareſt Day, and deſtroy all the Corn they light on in leſs than two Hours Time.

4. When they rendezvous upon the Iſlands of *Scarbniza Waſkowa*, the firſt Thing they do is to chuſe their General for that Expedition; and to make their Boats, which they call Colna, of about ſixty Feet long, twelve Feet deep, and as many wide. They are built very light, one Plank pinned on the Edge of another, and widening upwards. They have a Stern at each End, and about twelve or fifteen Oars of a Side. They have no Deck; but to prevent their ſinking, though full of Water, they compaſs them round with a Border of Reeds, as big as a Barrel, tied together, and faſtened to their Boats with Ropes; they have a ſorry Maſt and Sail, but ſeldom uſe them, except in very fair Weather. Their Proviſion is a Ton of Biſket, which they take out of the Bung as they uſe it; a Barrel of boiled Millet, and another of Paſte, made with Water, which they eat with their Millet; every Boat carries about ſixty Perſons; every Man having two Guns, and each Boat five or ſix Falconets or ſmall Pieces of Cannon. They ſet out about the Beginning of *June*, and return about the firſt of *Auguſt*.

They wait for a dark Night, that they may paſs undiſcovered by the *Turks* Galleys, which lie at *Oczakow* to intercept them. With theſe Boats they cruize over all the *Black Sea*. If they ſpy a Galley, they keep at a Diſtance till Night, obſerve the Courſe of the Veſſel, and when it is dark come up and board it; they take out all the Cannon, Money, and Merchandize, and then ſink the Ship, becauſe they have neither Skill nor Opportunity to uſe it. No ſooner have the *Turks* Intelligence that the *Coſſacks* are at Sea but the Alarm is taken immediately, which reaches quickly to *Conſtantinople*; from thence Couriers are diſpatched to the Coaſts of *Natolia*, *Romelia*, and *Bulgaria*, to bid them be upon their Guard; but the *Coſſacks* are generally too nimble for them, and are forty Hours on the Coaſts before them. If a Galley ſpy them in the Day-time (which is very uncommon, for their Veſſels are not above two Feet and a half above Water) they avoid fighting, by rowing away from her, or retiring to Shallows among Reeds, where the Galleys cannot follow them.

This was their Way of living till the Grand Signior obliged *Sigiſmund*, King of *Poland*, to prohibit thoſe Piracies. It was bad Policy in the *Poles* to let them chuſe their own General; for this General being abſolutely their own Creature, is forced to comply with their Methods. They handle their Guns very dextrouſly, and have Scythes ſet long-ways upon Poles, with which they fight very fiercely, and at the ſame Time ſkilfully; ſo that regular Troops are often beat by them. They are very indifferent Horſemen, but excellent Soldiers on Foot. They are inured to all Manner of Fatigues and Hardſhips, obedient to their Commanders, active, and dextrous in intrenching themſelves, not only in the ordinary Way, but alſo by making a Fence of their Baggage Waggons, which cover them as they march. Theſe moving Intrenchments are abſolutely neceſſary for them, when they march without Horſe in open Plains in the Deſarts of the *Tartars*, againſt whom they are forced to ſtand wherever they meet them. There have been ſeveral Inſtances, that one thouſand *Coſſack* Foot marching betwixt their Chariots and Waggons, have, in a Plain, repulſed five or ſix thouſand *Tartars* on Horſeback. Their Horſes, though ſwift, are but weak, and ſtopped by the leaſt Barricade. But, however, this Way of marching, in the midſt of their Baggage and Ammunition Waggons, would ſcarcely be practicable in any other Country but *Poland* and the Deſarts of *Tartary*, which lie upon a Level.

5. It is eaſy, from theſe Accounts, to form a juſt Notion of the original and ancient State of the *Coſſacks*; but ſome farther Explanations will be neceſſary, in order to have a juſt Idea of the Condition of this People at this Day. We will begin with what is requiſite to be ſaid of their Country. In its utmoſt Extent, it may be conſidered as three hundred Miles long, and in ſome Places above a hundred broad; but then this comprehends the Territory, inhabited by all the *Coſſacks*; for they are, at preſent, diſtinguiſhed into various Nations. When we reflect on the Manners of the *Muſcovites*, *Poles*, *Turks*, and *Tartars*, and remember that their Dominions border upon each other, we ſhall very eaſily conceive, that the Frontiers could not afford very ſafe or pleaſant Habitations, and ſhall not be ſurprized to hear that they were deſert. Hence it was, that this otherwiſe large and conſiderable Tract of Country, came to be ſtiled *the Ukrain*, which, in our Language, properly ſignifies *the Marches*. The People who firſt ſettled on the Rocks in the *Nieper* were Vagabonds from all Countries, who built their Huts in the moſt inacceſſible Places, and were from thence called *Coſſacks* or *Goats*, becauſe, like them, they dwelt out of reach.

But, by Degrees, as theſe People became numerous, they began to plant and improve their Country, which is naturally one of the richeſt and fineſt in *Europe*; but from its very Situation, ſo liable to be ranſacked and eat up, whenever any Wars break out among the neighbouring Nations, which are none of them polite, or well governed, that we cannot expect it ſhould ever be brought into any tolerable Condition. Beſides, the *Coſſacks*, like the Buccaneers in *America*, were Planters only by Accident; they looked upon living at Home as a Hardſhip, unleſs in the Time they wanted Winter-Quarters; for their proper Buſineſs was War, and they grew rich, not by Induſtry but Plunder. They were from hence regarded as Barbarians, and in that Senſe very juſtly; becauſe, to live by ſpoiling others is the higheſt Barbarity; inaſmuch as it is that Sort of Life moſt repugnant to Reaſon and the Laws of Nature. But there is another Signification of the Word *barbarous*, which implies Stupidity and Ignorance; and this cannot, with any Degree of Juſtice, be charged upon the *Coſſacks*, who have made as great Improvements in the Art of War as any Nation in the World. It is very true, that with reſpect to us, and our manner of making War, theſe very Improvements appear barbarous, but that is for want of Conſideration in us; for, if we reflect upon the Situation of their Affairs, and on the Contrivances made uſe of by the *Coſſacks* for their own Security, we cannot but perceive the greateſt Ingenuity in them; and I think a little Time will not be ill beſtowed to ſet this Matter in a clear Light.

It has been before laid down that War was their Buſineſs; and this was of two Kinds, defenſive by Land, and offenſive by Sea. In reſpect to the former, the Country round about them was flat, and the Enemies they had to deal with were *Poles* and *Tartars*, who brought great Bodies of Horſe into the Field; to oppoſe theſe with inferior Bodies of light-armed Foot, the *Coſſacks* invented the *Tabor*, or Waggon, in theſe they carried their Baggage, Ammunition, and Proviſions upon a March; and when they encamped, they took Care to have a River in Front, and a Moraſs in the Rear; covering their Flanks with an Intrenchment of Waggons; and by the Help of this Diſcipline, they have defeated Troops, that would have appeared terrible, even to the moſt regular Armies; nay, to ſuch a Degree they carried this Art of fortifying with Waggons, that Field-Marſhal *Munich*, who was an Officer of great Skill and Experience, thought fit to adopt their Method in his laſt War againſt the *Turks*; and that with ſuch Succeſs, as enabled him to come off with Honour and Victory, when attacked by the moſt numerous Armies the *Ottoman* Power could bring into the Field. This ſhewed great Skill and military Prudence in that Officer, who alſo brought ſeveral Regiments of *Coſſacks* into the *Ruſſian* Service: I will not ſay as regular, but I may ſay as ſettled and eſtabliſhed Troops, and they have been found very ſerviceable. We muſt, however, diſtinguiſh between the *Coſſacks* in the Pay of *Ruſſia* and the *Coſſacks* under the Protection of *Ruſſia*; the former are a Body of Troops of between ten and twelve thouſand Men, that may be marched any where, as Occaſion ſhall require; but the latter are a great People, capable of bringing fifty or ſixty thouſand Men into the Field, for the Service of the *Ruſſians*, againſt the *Turks* or *Tartars*, but as ſoon as the War is over they will expect to return Home.

In their offenſive Wars, which, as we have ſhewn, the *Coſſacks* carry on by Sea, the Invention of their Boats is admirable; for, in the firſt Place, they are very light, ſo that they may be tranſported from Rock to Rock with great Eaſe. In the next Place, they are capacious, ſo as to hold a great Number of Men, which gives them ſuch a Power in boarding and attacking Places on the Sea Coaſts, as it is hardly poſſible to reſiſt. Their Method of Building without Keels, and Sheathing with Reeds, defends them from ſinking, even if full of Water. Beſides this, it makes their Boats, when filled with Men, lie ſo deep in the Water, that they are not to be ſeen at any great Diſtance, and yet they go at a prodigious Rate, ſo as to be in no Danger, when purſued by any kind of Shipping in uſe among the *Turks*.

If indeed we take theſe Bark Boats out of the Water, and conſider them independent of the *Coſſacks*, who uſe them, and of the Uſes they make of them, they will appear very poor and deſpicable Things, and we may ſay the ſame of their Waggons; but notwithſtanding this, when all Circumſtances are duly weighed, when we remember that theſe People are poor, weak, and defenceleſs, in Compariſon of their Neighbours, have very few Fortreſſes, and thoſe compoſed only of Wood and Earth; and that notwithſtanding theſe Advantages, they have made a Shift to cover their Country ſo well, and defended themſelves ſo obſtinately, as to make the *Poles* and *Tartars* weary of their Wars with them; we muſt allow them ſome Merit, with reſpect to military Skill; on the other Hand, when we call to mind, that they have no Trade, no Veſſels, no Ports to receive them, if they had any; no Yards, little Timber, no Docks, Carpenters, or Seamen, we cannot help owning that the naval Exploits of ſuch People, are in a great Meaſure aſtoniſhing.

Their Government is entirely military, inſomuch that in Time of Peace they have hardly any Magiſtrates or Laws; but when the Nation, by whom they are protected (and at preſent ſome of them are under the *Poles*, ſome under the *Turks*, but the far greateſt Part of them under the *Ruſſians*) propoſe they ſhould riſe and take the Field; the firſt Step is to give them leave to elect a General, who in their Language is called HETMAN or HATMAN, which ſome modern Writers have miſtaken for a proper Name; whereas, in reality, it is the Stile of Office, and anſwers to that of *Imperator* amongſt the ancient *Romans*; and he has the abſolute Command ſo long as the War continues; neither is it eaſy to deſpoſe him afterwards; for in this, as well as in all other Countries, Power has in it ſomething ſo pleaſing, that no ſmall Difficulty is found in reducing him who has been once a Prince, to the Rank of a private Man.

In the Hiſtories of the Wars in the North, from the Beginning of the preſent Century to the Death of *Peter the Great*, Emperor of *Ruſſia*, the HATMAN of the *Coſſacks* is often mentioned, and ſome of them made a great Figure; but of late, and indeed in all Times of Peace, we hear of no ſuch Perſon; but when the Circumſtances of Things ſhall alter (and no body knows how ſoon this may happen) it is very probable we ſhall hear of them again; as the *Croats*, *Pandours*, and *Talpatches*, with many other barbarous Nations, lay hid in their Dens and Marſhes, till the preſent War called them Abroad, and ſhewed more civilized Nations the dreadful Appearance of theſe terrible Militia. But it is right to enquire after, and have ſome tolerable Knowledge, even of the moſt obſcure Nations, that when thoſe Accidents, which are always in the Womb of Time, bring them upon the Stage; we may not be amazed at their Names, or in Doubt about their Force.

It was the Praiſe of *Ulyſſes*, the wiſeſt Man in his Day in *Greece*, That he had ſeen and was acquainted with the Laws and Cuſtoms, the Manners and Modes, of different Places and People. And this was a great Commendation, worthy the Pen and Pains of the immortal *Homer*, who has juſtly celebrated the Labours and Travels of that excellent Man: But it is the Felicity of modern Times, that every Man may be an *Ulyſſes* in his Cloſet; may ſail over the Ocean in his Elbow-chair, and travel all the World over in his Study. Neither is this a Flight of Oratory, a lively or extravagant Picture; but a plain, certain, and undeniable Truth: Books and Maps will do the Work effectually; and a ſmall Degree of Application, and that only for a few Months, will enable us to acquire more real and uſeful Knowledge than it was poſſible for any of the Ancients to become Maſter of in the Courſe of his Life; and therefore if we do not excel them, is not more their Glory than our Fault: *He who has never travelled*, ſay the *Turks*; *he who has never read*, may we ſay, *thinks all the World like his Father's Houſe*; that is, has ſuch narrow and confined Notions, as are unworthy of the human Mind, and ſubject him to Wonder and Amaze, the moſt ſhameful Marks of Ignorance and Folly, upon every new Event; for to him all Changes are ſtrange, and every Incident, becauſe unlooked for, is ſurprizing.

It was proper to throw together theſe Reflections at the Cloſe of this Section, becauſe it is the laſt in which we ſhall have occaſion to treat this Subject; for we are now to look abroad into more civilized Countries, where every thing has a ſofter Air, and the Inhabitants are learned and polite. It is true, that the viſiting Countries, like theſe, ſeems to be moſt expedient for modern Travellers, who are ſent abroad to acquire a genteel Manner, and a correct Taſte; but for ſuch as travel at home, though it is certainly more delightful and entertaining, to read the Deſcriptions of fair and fruitful Countries, thoroughly planted and carefully cultivated, abounding with rich Cities, great Towns, and pleaſant Villages, adorned in all Quarters with elegant Structures, and affording every where pleaſing Objects to the wandering Eye of the inquiſitive Beholders, yet to thoſe whoſe Studies tend to higher Purpoſes, this will ſeem no more than an Amuſement; for to them the Variation of Power, the Change of Circumſtances, the riſing and falling of Nations in the Balance of ſound Policy, ſeems to be the great, if not the only rational, End of ſuch Enquiries. An Inſtance will render my Meaning in this Reſpect perfectly clear. The Beauties of *Italy* are very far from declining, her Artiſts are as famous as ever, and her *Virtuoſi* more ſo; but it unluckily falls out, that while the *Italians* grow more polite, they ſink more and more in their Power. There was a Time when the *Italian* Liberty was talked of, and before that there was a Time when it exiſted, but now the Diſcourſe of it is as little heard as the Thing itſelf is ſeen. The great Topic now, is the Balance of Power; which is no other than a Contrivance to render Slavery lighter, or at leaſt make it appear ſo, by dividing it into ſeveral Hands. The Expedient is neceſſary and therefore proper enough, ſince a foreign Yoke cannot be thrown off, or the antient Freedom of the *Italian* States reſtored. But this is not the Caſe in the North, and amongſt Nations of whom moſt People are content to know but little: It is to combat theſe Notions that we venture upon theſe Remarks, in order to inſpire our Countrymen with an Inclination to examine into Matters of more real Importance, and which will very ſoon, perhaps while the preſent Generation ſubſiſts, more nearly concerns us.

The Power of *Ruſſia* is not yet of fifty Years ſtanding; but, in that time, it has made a prodigious Progreſs; and, at this Day, appears with formidable Greatneſs. From being inſulted by the *Poles*, trampled on by the *Swedes*, and over-run by the *Tartars*, it has not only grown ſtrong enough to keep all theſe Nations in awe, but has likewiſe made conſiderable Conqueſts upon *Perſia*, given a Check to the *Turkiſh* Power, alarmed the *Chineſe* Empire, and ſpread the Terror of its Arms among the *Japoneſe*, who have ſcarce heard the Names of other *European* Powers. It is worth while, therefore, to enquire into the State and Forces of this Empire, and to learn ſomething of that Policy, by which thirty Millions of People are kept in Subjection. We ſhall take a proper time to examine this. It is indeed true, that the Power of *Sweden* is very much decreaſed, but we cannot ſay the ſame thing of their Trade. They have lately opened a Paſſage to the *Eaſt-Indies*; and their Dyets are very intent upon promoting every Branch of their Commerce; nor is there any Reaſon to ſuſpect, that their Pains will be thrown away. The ſame Spirit exerts itſelf, with at leaſt equal Vigour, in *Denmark*; and when once the preſent War is over, and the Power of *Pruſſia* thoroughly eſtabliſhed by a general Peace, I dare propheſy, that ſome Attempts, of the ſame Kind, will be made on that Side. By Methods like theſe, the whole Face of the North will be changed, Induſtry and Navigation will become the Buſineſs of People that heretofore knew nothing of either, and in the Space of a few Years, that Emulation which appears ſo ſtrongly among thoſe Princes, muſt neceſſarily produce great Effects. All the old Ports in the North will be opened and improved, and new will be heard of, that at preſent want Names. Every Creek will be rendered advantageous, and every fiſhing Town will become a Place of Trade; new Commodities will be raiſed, new Manufactures ſet on Foot, and new Schemes formed, to render theſe beneficial to the Subjects of theſe States, under whoſe Protection they riſe.

I do not pretend to ſay, that ſuch Changes or Alterations will prove detrimental to *Great-Britain*; I hope they will not. I am far from ſuggeſting, that they ſhould become Grounds to us of Jealouſy, or Envy; but what I aim at, is to prove, that they are Objects that demand our Attention. While Deſigns, like theſe, are in their Infancy, they may be bent, and turned, by a ſuperior maritime Power, to its Advantage. We may perhaps be Gainers by the Variation, that will be occaſioned thereby in the State of commerical Affairs, and the Riſe of theſe new trading Countries may be made very profitable to our own: But, in order to this, their Views muſt be conſidered in time, and muſt be conſidered with great Coolneſs and Deliberation; that we may not attempt to oppoſe what may turn to our Intereſt, or to be drawn in to promote Projects beneficial to others and detrimental to ourſelves. Theſe are Motives, that ſhould incline us, to look very circumſpectly into the Condition of the North. We gained a great Part of the Trade we have at preſent, by doing this, in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*; and we loſt a Part of our Trade, by that Negligence; which, among other miſchievous Conſequences, attended our fatal Civil War. It imports us now to provide againſt any new Miſfortunes of the ſame Kind; which can be only done by a provident Application to our own Intereſts, and uſing, in due Time, the moſt effectual Means to prevent the Current of Trade from running too ſtrongly into the North; a thing that muſt be attended with extraordinary Conſequences, which it will be for the Reputation of our Governors to foreſee, and in reſpect of which it is their Duty to provide. That theſe Hints may prove ſome way uſeful to ſo great and ſalutary a Purpoſe, and prevent that Spirit from being extinguiſhed here, which begins to be ſo conſpicuous amongſt our Neighbours, is the ſole View of their Author; who, ſince he can be no otherwiſe uſeful to his Country, thinks it incumbent upon him to expreſs his good Will towards it, by furniſhing Remarks worthy the Notice of thoſe, who have more in their Power, and to whom he moſt ardently wiſhes Prudence, Diligence, and Succeſs.

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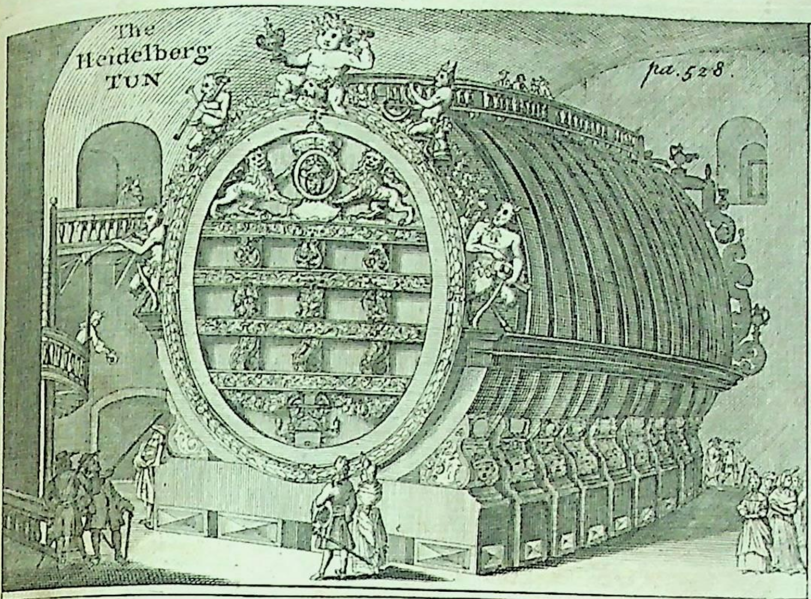
The Heidelberg TUN

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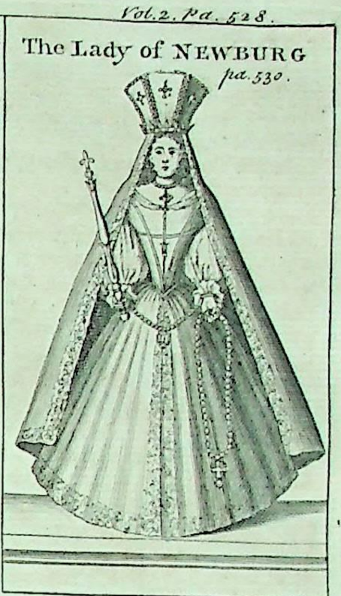
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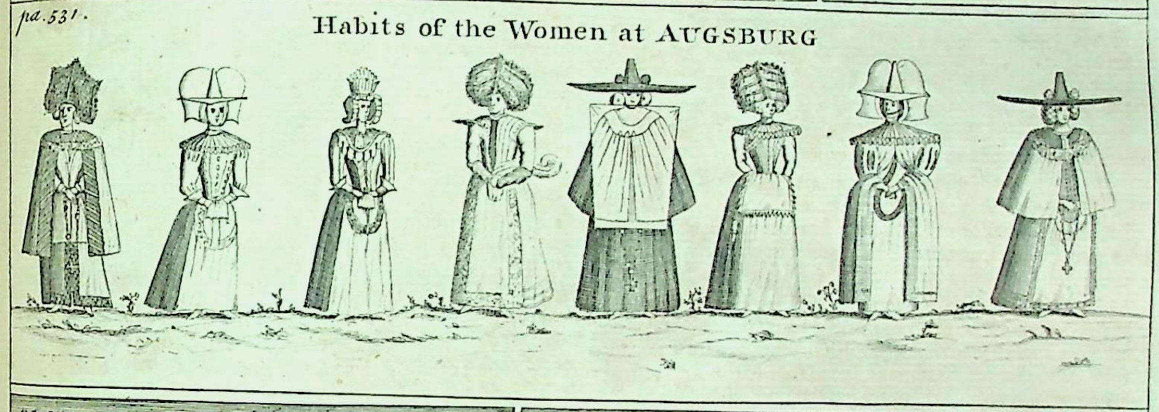
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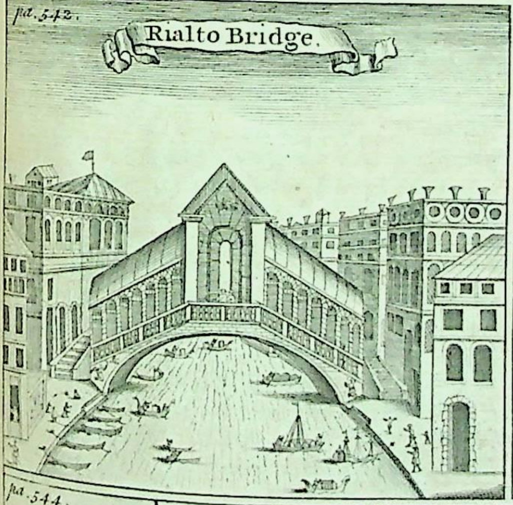
Habits of the Women at AUGSBURG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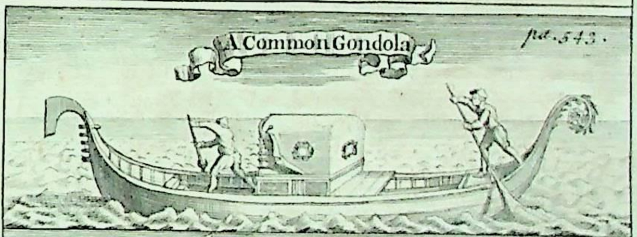
Rialto Bridge


A Common Gondola

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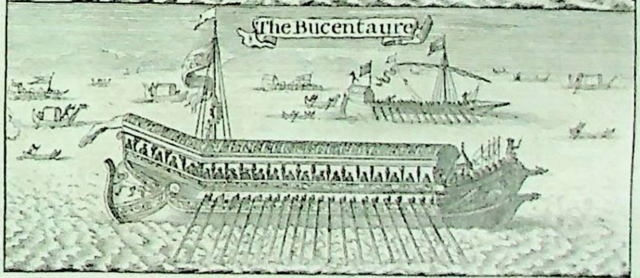
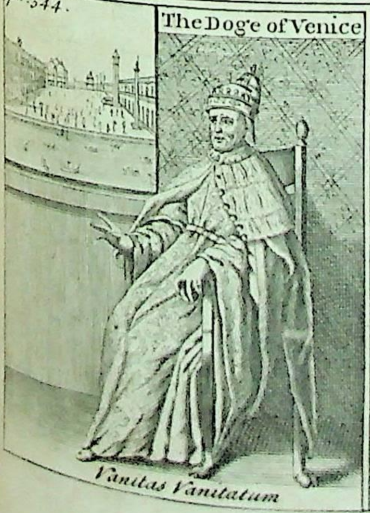

The Bucentaure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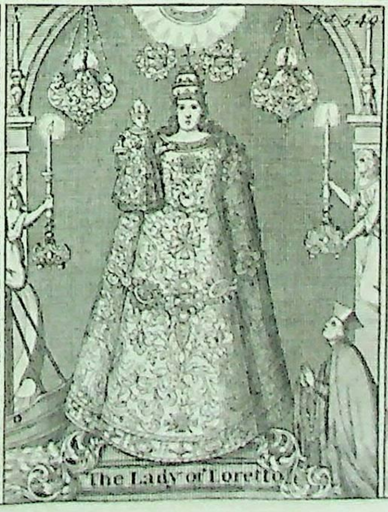
The Doge of Venice

Vanitas Vanitatum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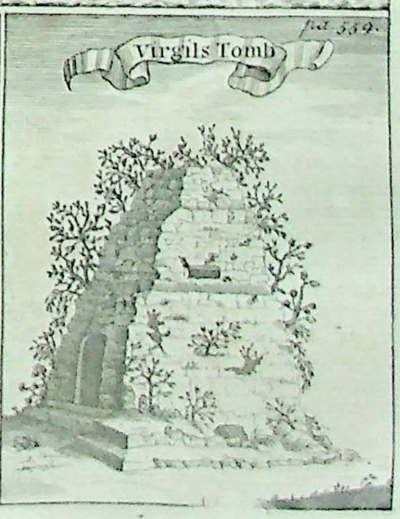
The Lady of Loretto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Virgils Tomb

CHAPTER III.

Comprehending TRAVELS through the middle Parts of *Europe*, particularly, the *United Provinces*, the *Auſtrian* Low Countries, *Germany*, *Italy*, *Switzerland*, *Savoy*, and the Territories of the Republick of *Genoa*.

SECTION I.

The TRAVELS *of Mr.* MAXIMILIAN MISSON, *through Part of* Holland, *the* Spaniſh *Low Countries*, Germany, Tyrol, *and the Biſhoprick of* Trent, *in his Way to* Italy, *containing a diſtinct Account of whatever appeared to him remarkable in the Places through which he paſſed; together with Political, Hiſtorical, and Critical Remarks upon Perſons and Things, as he has Occaſion to mention them.*

1. *A ſhort Introduction, containing ſome Account of the Author, the Occaſion of his Travels, the Nature and Deſign of his Work, the ſeveral Editions it has gone through, and what is to be expected from this Abridgement.* 2. *A Deſcription of the Country of* Holland, *the Neatneſs of the Cities and great Towns, the Conveniencies of Travelling, together with ſome Account of the two great Cities of* Amſterdam *and* Rotterdam. 3. *A Proſecution of the ſame Subject, including a Deſcription of the Town of* Delft, *the celebrated Village of the* Hague, *the Univerſity of* Leyden *and its Curioſities, and the Town of* Haerlem. 4. *A more particular Deſcription of the great City of* Amſterdam, *the publick and private Buildings there; an Account of an Order of Nuns called* Beguines, *and other Things worthy of Obſervation.* 5. *The Author's Journey from* Amſterdam *to* Utrecht, *Deſcription of the Places upon the Road, and Remarks on the Harmony which ſubſiſts in* Germany *between Perſons of different Religions.* 6. *A circumſtantial Deſcription of the great City of* Cologn, *the Capital of the Archbiſhoprick and Electorate of that Name, the publick Edifices therein, with ſome judicious Remarks upon Popiſh Superſtition.* 7. *The Author's Paſſage on the* Rhine *from* Cologn *to* Mentz, *Deſcription of the Country and Villages on both Sides that River, with a Correction of a vulgar Miſtake about the Tomb of* Druſus *at* Mentz. 8. *His Paſſage on the* Maine *from* Mentz *to* Franckfort, *Deſcription of this City; a very curious Account of the Golden Bull, the Original of which is kept there, and other Particulars.* 9. *His Journey from* Franckfort *to* Worms; *a large Account of the laſt mentioned Place, as alſo of* Frankendal, Manheim, *and* Heidelberg. 10. *His Paſſage from the laſt mentioned City, through a very pleaſant and agreeable Country, to* Nuremberg; *a Deſcription of that Place, and of the Diadem of* Charlemagne *kept there; of a Book printed by* Fauſtus *in* 1446, *and another in* 1449; *with ſome Remarks on the Invention of* Gunpowder, *and other Curioſities.* 11. *A Deſcription of* Ingolſtadt, Neubourgh, *and a very particular Account of the Imperial City of* Augſbourg, *the publick Edifices therein, the Dreſs, Cuſtoms and Manners of its Inhabitants.* 12. *An Account of the Country of* Bavaria; *of the Capital City of* Munich, *the Electoral Palace there, and other Curioſities.* 13. *A Deſcription of the Country of* Tyrol, *of the City of* Inſpruck, *of the Houſe there, the Porch of which is ſaid to be covered with Gold, the Country Palace of the Archdukes at* Amras. 14. *A View of the remaining Part of the Country of* Tyrol, *and of the Biſhoprick of* Trent, *with a Deſcription of the City of that Name, and of whatever is therein remarkable.* 15. *Remarks and Obſervations upon the foregoing Section.*

1. THERE are very few Books of Travels, that have maintained their Credit ſo well as theſe of which we propoſe in this and the following Sections to give a ſuccinct Abridgement. Mr. *Miſſon* was a Gentleman of great Reading and general Knowledge, which recommended him to the Favour and Protection of the old Duke of *Ormond*, who committed to his Care his Grandſon, the preſent Earl of *Arran*. He travelled alſo with ſeveral other Noblemen and Gentlemen, which gave him an Opportunity of examining very attentively the Places through which he paſſed, and of which he has given us a Deſcription. His Work was originally ſmall to what it now appears, but as it was very well received, he reviewed it more than once, and made large Additions from Time to Time to the ſeveral Editions of it that were printed in *French*; all of which are preſerved in the laſt *Engliſh* Tranſlation, in which we find a Multitude of Paſſages corrected, or rendered more clear and explicit, than in any of the former, and therefore we have taken Care, in reviewing this Abridgement, to compare it therewith, ſo as to render it as compleat as it is poſſible, as well as to free it from the numerous Miſtakes that had crept into the former Extract of it publiſhed by Dr. *Harris*.

The Author divided his Work in the Original into Letters, which are dated from ſeveral Places; but to render it more agreeable to the Form of this Work, we have digeſted it in the ſame Manner with the other Parts of it; which, we flatter ourſelves, will render it more eaſy and intelligible to our Readers. The great Number of Inſcriptions, literary Diſſertations, hiſtorical and critical Diſcuſſions, with which the Author, from Time to Time, augmented his original Performance, ſwelled it to four Volumes; and though many of theſe are very curious and uſeful, yet as they did not ſuit either the Deſign of our Work, or the Bounds within which we are obliged to confine it, we have contracted them as far as it was neceſſary, to bring the whole into a reaſonable Compaſs, with as little Prejudice as might be to the Sentiments of the Author.

It is requiſite farther to obſerve, that theſe Travels were made in 1687, and 1688; ſo that the Reader will make the proper Allowances for the Alterations that have happened, in reſpect both to Perſons and Things ſince that Time. The Rout he took has been eſteemed, by the ableſt Judges, one of the beſt, for making what is called the *Grand Tour*, in order to give young Travellers a View of the moſt remarkable Parts of *Europe*, and the Method he has taken in deſcribing the Countries and Cities through which he paſſed, has been looked upon as equally inſtructive and entertaining; ſo that hitherto nothing of the ſame Kind has appeared, either ſo extenſive in its Deſign, or ſo well executed in the ſeveral Parts of it. Our Author was a very zealous as well as learned Proteſtant, and he has left us great Marks of both in this Performance, which ſtirred up ſome Perſons abroad to criticiſe various Paſſages in his Travels; but he was, generally ſpeaking, ſo much in the Right, and in the Diſcourſes before-mentioned, which may be ſtill found in the laſt *Engliſh* Tranſlation of his Book, he has defended himſelf ſo well, that his Adverſaries have had no great Occaſion to triumph. Theſe Particulars, which were neceſſary for the Reader's Satisfaction, being diſpatched, there is no Neceſſity for enlarging any farther this Introduction, and therefore we ſhall proceed, as near may be, in the Author's own Words, after putting the Peruſer in Mind, that the Plainneſs and Familiarity of the Stile is ſuch as may be expected, and has been always allowed to Epiſtolary Writings.

2. H*Olland* being a flat Country, like a continued Meadow, as we approached the Shore, the Pinacles of the Steeples and the Trees appeared as riſing out of the Water. The whole Country is cut into Canals and Ditches with incredible Labour, without which the Grounds would be ſo ſoaked with Water, as would render it not habitable; whereas now, by the Induſtry of its Inhabitants, it is the richeſt and beſt peopled in the World, in Proportion to its Extent: Some make their Number amount to two Millions five hundred thouſand Souls, in the ſingle Province of *Holland*; ſome account only two Millions in all the Seven Provinces.

The Cities of *Holland* are generally very neat and beautiful, their Inhabitants ſparing no Pains or Coſt for that Purpoſe, as appears by their conſtantly waſhing them; and having the Inſides of their Houſes curiouſly painted; and their Windows, generally of Glaſs, as clear as Cryſtal: Their Cleanlineſs extends even to their Shops and Stables, which are kept neater here, than the beſt Apartments are in ſome Countries. Their Streets are ſo clean, that you ſee the Women walk almoſt conſtantly in Slippers; and the Canals being on both Sides planted with Trees, afford a moſt delightful ſhady Paſſage through all the chief Streets of the Cities, and of ſome of the Towns and Villages alſo. They reckon in the United Provinces one City (*Amſterdam*) of the firſt Rank, about twenty of the ſecond, upwards of thirty of the third, two hundred large Towns, and eight hundred Villages. But to return to their Canals.

Theſe are very convenient for travelling, which is generally performed in large Boats covered againſt the Injuries of the Air, and drawn by Horſes, which go off and bring you to your Journey's End exactly at certain Hours; they ſerve for the Tranſportation of Commdities from one Place to another: And ſome of theſe Canals afford tolerable Store of ſeveral Kinds of Fiſh.

Notwithſtanding all theſe Advantages, there are many Things wanting in *Holland*, their Supplies of Wines, nay, even of Corn, and moſt other Things neceſſary for the Suſtenance of Life, are derived from foreign Countries, which occaſions their having ſuch a prodigious Number of Ships, ſo that ſome have computed them equal to all the reſt that *Europe* can produce. But as on one Side they are chiefly obliged to the Sea for their Riches, ſo on the other Hand it proves the Occaſion of almoſt irreparable Deſolations; for though they take all poſſible Precautions to maintain their Dams and Mills for the emptying of the Water, yet ſometimes the Impetuoſity of this Element breaks through all theſe Fences, which has coſt at ſeveral Times the Lives of ſome Millions of People. Thus, *April* 17, 1429, a hundred thouſand People were drowned about *Dort*. In 1446, there were fifteen Pariſhes overflowed in the Village of *Scheveling*, 121 Houſes were carried away, and the Church, now cloſe by the Sea-ſide, ſtood in the Middle of the Place.

Another Inconveniency is, the ſudden Change of the Weather from Heat to Cold, a Thing not agreeable to thoſe who are not uſed to it. Their Impoſitions are alſo very heavy, which conſequently occaſions a Dearneſs of all Sorts of Victuals; but their Plenty of Trade ſeems to make them a ſufficient Amends for this and every other Inconveniency.

We were not a little ſurprized with the firſt Sight of *Rotterdam*, for its Canals being, for the moſt Part, ſo deep and broad, that they are capable of receiving Veſſels of a great Bulk; this affords the moſt agreeable Proſpect of a Mixture of Trees, Tops of lofty Houſes and Maſts, which at a Diſtance appear wonderfully beautiful.

The City of *Rotterdam* has not always been in the ſame flouriſhing Condition, which makes it now challenge a Place among the Cities of the ſecond Rank, its Port being both large and commodious, the City rich, populous, pleaſant, and extreamly flouriſhing; their Store-houſes for the Navy, the Town-houſe, and the Bank, are beautiful Structures; their Glaſs-houſe (famous through all the Seven Provinces) manufactures abundance of little enamel'd Bowls, and ſuch-like Baubles, curiouſly done, which are ſold to prodigious Profit to the Savages in the *Indies*.

There are two *French* Churches here: The Statue of Braſs of *Eraſmus* is fixed on a Pedeſtal of Marble in the Place called the *Great Bridge*, ſurrounded with Iron Rails. *Eraſmus* is dreſſed in his Doctor's Robe, with a Book in his Hand; and near it you ſee the following Diſtich, wrote over the Door of a little Houſe where he was born, *Octob.* 27, 1467, but died at *Baſil*, *June* 12, 1536.

Ædibus hic ortus, mundum decoravit Eraſmus
Artibus ingenuis, Religione, Fide.

There has been due Care expreſſed in this Reſpect, for the firſt Statue was erected 1540, of Wood; after that another of Stone, 1657; and this of Braſs, 1622.

We made a little Journey from hence to a ſmall Village called *Leckerkeck*, about three Leagues from the City, upon the River *Leck*, where the Lord of the Manor told us, that the Salmon-fiſhing (the fifth Part whereof belongs to him) uſed formerly to produce twenty thouſand Livres *per Annum* for his Share, but of late Years the Salmon having left that River, the Fiſhing (which they are forced to continue only to maintain their Right) does not defray the Charges.

At the ſame Place they ſhewed us a Woman, who was the Year before, *i. e.* 1686, brought to Bed of ſix Sons at one Birth, four of them were baptized, and the eldeſt lived four Months after.

At the Lord of the Manor's Houſe, we ſaw alſo a Servant-maid, named *la Bonte*, who under that Name was muſtered, and ſerved no leſs than ſeven Years in the Quality of a Muſqueteer.

We were credibly inform'd, that a few Years before there died in this Place one *Gerard Baſtianſon*, a Fiſherman, who was full eight Feet high, and though a very lean Perſon, weigh'd five hundred Weight: The Doors of his Houſe, and his Clothes, which were ſhewn, ſufficiently confirm'd what they told us of his Size.

The Tower of the great Church here is very remarkable. It leaned formerly on the Nave of the Building; that is, bent towards the North-Eaſt three Feet and a half, but by opening the Foundation, they have found Means to ſet it up quite ſtraight, as appears by a proſe Inſcription in *Dutch*; which alſo acquaints us the Ground was opened *September* the 25th, 1651, and was cloſed again *April* the 22d, 1655. The Architect who performed this ſingular Piece of Work was one *Nicholas Jeremy Perſoons*. *Dion Caſſius*, under the Reign of *Tiberius*, mentions ſomething of the ſame Sort done, and that the Artiſt was but ill rewarded.

3. The ordinary Paſſage-boat carried us in two Hours to *Delft*, a City that holds the third Rank in the Aſſembly of the States of *Holland*. One of the chief Curioſities they ſhew you in this City is, the Tomb of *William* Prince of *Orange*, aſſaſſinated here by *Balthaſar Gerard*, 1584. The Arſenal, the Townhouſe, the *Stadtholder*'s Palace, the Grand Place, and the great Hoſpital, with its Gardens, are well worth the Sight of a Traveller. The *Canal* betwixt this City and the *Hague* is not above a League in Length, in Sight of *Reſwyck* and *Voerburgh*, two pleaſant Villages, and adorn'd on both Sides with moſt delightful Summer Villa's, fine Walks, and noble Gardens.

The *Hague*, being without Gates or Walls, is reckoned among the Villages, notwithſtanding which, as it enjoys the Privilege of a City, ſo its Grandeur and Beauty ſeems to deſerve that Name, being beſides this the Reſidence of the Princes of *Orange* when *Stadtholders*, of all the foreign Miniſter, and the Place of Aſſembly of the *States General*; beſides that, the great Concourſe of Foreigners of all Sorts, renders the People more obliging and ſociable than in any other Place of *Holland*. Add to this, that the Air is very good, the Wood near the Town extremely delightful, and the Walk from thence to the Village of *Scheveling*, near the Sea-ſide, very diverting. Here they ſhew a Chariot furniſh'd both with Wheels and Sails, which is carried along by the Wind upon the Sea-ſhore, very pleaſant to walk on, it being both hard and level.

Its Situation is certainly the moſt pleaſant of any Place in *Holland*, having the before-mentioned Wood to the North, very fertile Meadows to the South, good arable Lands to the Eaſt, and the Sea to the Weſt.

The Princes of *Orange* keep their Reſidence in the Palace of the ancient Earls of *Holland*; but that called the *Old Court*, where they formerly lodg'd, is by much the more regular Structure; the Houſes of Pleaſure about the *Hague* are generally very beautiful.

We took, among other Things, a View of the Church of the Village of *Loſdun*, ſo famous for the two Baſons of Braſs preſerved there, in Memory of the three hundred ſixty-five Children of the Counteſs of *Hennebergh*, Daughter to *Florent* IV. Earl of *Holland*, that were baptiz'd in them. The Story goes, that the ſaid Counteſs having reproach'd a Beggar-woman with having too many Children, the poor Wretch, by way of Imprecation, wiſh'd her as many as there were Days in the Year; which being fulfill'd, they were all chriſtened, (the Boys by the Name of *John*, the Girls *Elizabeth*) and buried in the Church of *Loſdun*. The whole Hiſtory is painted at large in the ſaid Church, on both Ends of which Picture the two Baſons are fix'd. The Truth of it is atteſted by *Eraſmus*, *Vives*, *Guicciardine*, and others.

From the *Hague* we went forward to *Leyden*, a Place not ſo much frequented by Courtiers and Officers, nor ſo much diſturbed with Buſineſs and Traffick as the *Hague* and *Rotterdam*, but exceeding charming by its intrinſick Beauty and Quiet, ſo that you ſeem to enjoy the Benefit of a Country Life in the Midſt of a great City: Its chief Trade conſiſts in the Woollen Manufactory, which, together with the Univerſity, makes it one of the moſt conſiderable Cities in *Holland*. There are commonly about 1500 Students.

In the *Anatomy-Hall* they ſhew you a great many Skeletons both Men and Beaſts, abundance of Plants, Fruits, Animals, Arms, Habits, Pictures, Mummies, Urns, Images, *&c.* and among the reſt, the Picture of a *Pruſſian* Peaſant, who having ſwallowed a large Knife, the ſame (as they tell you) was cut out again of his Stomach, and he lived eight Years after.

In the Gallery of the Phyſick-Garden, and the adjoining Cabinet, called the *Indian Cabinet*, we ſaw divers natural Curioſities, among the reſt a wing'd Cat and Ape; the Hand of a Mermaid; a vegetable *Priapus*, a moſt curious Plant; a Monſter produced from a Hen's Egg; a Piece of Money of Paper, made during the Siege of *Leyden* by the *Spaniards* in 1574, with this Inſcription on one Side *Hæc libertatis ergo*; on the other, *Pugno pro Patria*: An *Eaſt-India* Serpent, on whoſe Skin are to be ſeen, as ſome fancy, ſeveral natural Figures reſembling *Arabick* Characters; beſides a great Number of Animals, Inſects, and other Things, preſerved in Vials fill'd with Spirit of Wine.

Before I take my Leave of *Leyden*, I muſt not forget to give you an Account of the *Rhine*, which is loſt near its Mouth, where moſt other Rivers are at the largeſt; for the *Rhine* dividing itſelf into two Branches near *Schenkerſchontz*, one of them takes the Name of *Wakle*, the other a little above *Arnheim*, that of *Yſſel*; and continuing its Courſe about ſeven or eight Leagues below that City, as far as *Duarſtadt*, is there again ſubdivided into two other ſmall Channels, the chiefeſt whereof takes the Name of the *Leck*; and the other Rivulet, which turns more to the right, retains the Name of the *Rhine*; till coming to *Utrecht*, it emits another Branch, which taking its Courſe to the North, is known by the Name of the *Vecht*; and the other continuing its Courſe, by the Name of the *Rhine*, to *Worden*, it at laſt loſes itſelf in two or three Canals at *Leyden*. The Cauſe of this odd Fate of the *Rhine*, is attributed to an Earthquake, which throwing Part of the *Downs* into the Mouth of this River, ſhut it ever ſince, the Waters were driven back, and conſequently enlarged and deepened the Channel of the *Leck* as you ſee it now.

They ſhew you here the Shopboard belonging to that noted Taylor called *John* of *Leyden*, (where he was born) the chief of the *Anabaptiſts*. His true Name was *John Bucold*.

From hence to *Haerlem* is five Hours travelling by the Paſſage-boat, the *Canal* being lined with a great Number of Country-ſeats and Summer-houſes.

Haerlem is a large and pleaſant City, and, for its agreeable Situation, may challenge the Preference before *Leyden*, moſt of its *Canals* being mix'd with the little River *Sparm*. This City is chiefly famous for the Linnen Manufactory, and that of Tape, though of late Years they have made alſo great Quantities of Silk-ſtuffs. The great Church (the largeſt in all the Seven Provinces) and the Town-houſe, are ſtately Structures; and the Wood without the City is a great Addition to its pleaſant Situation; for which it is deſervedly admired.

Lawrence Coſter, who challenges the firſt Invention of Printing, was a Native of this City; though *John Guttenbergh* of *Straſburgh*, and *Conrade* and *Arnold*, two Brothers of *Mayence*, challenge that Honour before him. However, thoſe of *Haerlem*, in reſpect to their Townſman, keep in their Town-houſe the firſt Book that ever was printed, in a Silver Caſe wrapt in Silk, the keeping whereof is committed to the Care of ſeveral of the Magiſtrates; and the Statue of *Lawrence Coſter* is to be view'd in the ſame Place. This Inſcription is to be ſeen in golden Letters over the Door of the Houſe where the ſaid *Lawrence Coſter* lived.

MEMORIÆ SACRUM,
Typographia ars artium omnium Conſervatrix, hic primum
inventa circa annum 1440.

Meyer aſſures us, that in 1403, a Mermaid was caſt aſhore by a Tempeſt near *Haerlem*, who was brought to feed upon Bread and Milk, taught to ſpin, and lived for many Years. *John Gerard* of *Leyden* adds, that ſhe would frequently pull off her Clothes, and run towards the Water, and that her Speech was ſo confuſed a Noiſe, as not to be underſtood by any body: She was buried in the Church-yard, becauſe ſhe had learnt to make the Sign of the Croſs. He ſpeaks this upon the Credit of ſeveral Perſons that had ſeen her.

4. As it would require a long Continuance in the City of *Amſterdam* to learn every Thing that belongs to it, and a large Volume to deſcribe it all, I will content myſelf with giving rather a Scheme than a Deſcription of a Place, which is, beyond all Diſpute, one of the moſt beautiful and conſiderable Cities in the World; however, for its Extent it is in no wiſe to be compared to *London*, there being, according to a good Calculation, in *London* about ſeven hundred thouſand Souls, but in *Amſterdam* not above two hundred thouſand; but for Riches and Trade it may vie with any City in the World, witneſs their *Eaſt-India Company*, which was founded in 1594, and has waged Wars againſt very potent Princes, without any conſiderable Interruption of their Trade.

This City is built upon Piles fix'd in the Marſhes on the South Side of the River *Ye* or *Tye*, which is a Branch of the *Zuyder-Zee*. Its Fortifications are very conſiderable, conſiſting of many Baſtions faced with Brick, ſurrounded with a Ditch eighty Paces broad, fill'd with running Water, which, together with the Sluices, whereby they can lay all the adjacent Country under Water, renders it almoſt impregnable; beſides the ordinary Garriſon, the Militia or Train'd Bands of the City conſiſt of ſixty Companies of a hundred and fifty Men each, commanded by Citizens.

The Town-houſe, which is reported to have coſt three Millions, is a ſpacious and moſt magnificent Structure, of hewn Stone; its Length is a hundred and ten Paces, and its Breadth twenty-four: It is highly eſteem'd for its regular Architecture; many are of Opinion, that the Foundation coſt as much as the Fabrick above Ground; however, the Doors which give Entrance to this great and ſplendid Palace ſeem to be too ſmall, in Proportion to the whole, and the Square or Space before it is not either neat or regular.

The principal Church of the City was formerly dedicated to St. *Catherine*, but is now called *The New Church*: It is not ſo large as either of the great Churches at *Leyden* or *Haerlem*; for as *Amſterdam* was no more than a poor Village within theſe five hundred Years, and its Condition, even in our Age, was not comparable to what you ſee it now, this Church was built anſwerable to its State at that Time. They affirm, that the Pulpit. made of Wood of *Gothick* Carving, with its Canopy, coſt two hundred thouſand Crowns; with the Organs (which are extraordinary fine) at leaſt a hundred thouſand Crowns, the Steeple intended to be erected remains imperfect. On the Glaſs Windows is painted the Hiſtory of the Emperor *Maximilian* V. who beſtow'd the Imperial Crown upon the Arms of this City. The Tomb of the famous Admiral *de Ruyter*, in this Church, is a fine Piece. The Synagogue of the *Portugueſe Jews* is a ſtately Fabrick; but that of the *High-Dutch* is but very indifferent. It is obſervable, that notwithſtanding the Inquiſition of *Spain* and *Portugal*, the Agents from both theſe Crown at *Amſterdam* were *Jews* in 1687.

One of their Houſes of Correction, called the *Raſphuys*, is for the young Debauchees, where they are kept to their Taſks, under the Penalty of Whipping. There is another ſuch a one for the Whores, ſtiled the *Spinhuys*, who are not treated with the ſame Severity. But there are enough of them alſo at Liberty here as well as in other great Cities.

The *Rowan* Catholicks enjoy Liberty of Conſcience as in other Parts of the Seven Provinces, tho' their Number is not ſo conſiderable as ſome have endeavour'd to perſuade us; for I have been inform'd by Perſons of Knowledge and Credit, that the *Roman* Catholiks, and all other Sectaries together, do not make a fourth Part of the Inhabitants of *Amſterdam*.

In this City remains ſtill a Convent of certain Nuns called *Beguines*, an Order erected *A. D.* 1207, compoſed of Maidens and Widows, who have no Children, and who need no other Qualifications to be admitted into this Society, than a Teſtimonial of their good Behaviour, and a Competency to live upon, either by themſelves or in Conjunction with one or more of the Siſters, as they find it moſt ſuitable to their Purpoſe. Their Convent (which contains about a hundred and thirty Siſters) is built like a little City with a Wall and Ditch about it, within which ſtands a Church, where they are obliged to perform their Devotions at certain Hours. They wear an odd looking black Habit, receive and pay Viſits, and quit the Convent when they pleaſe.

The Houſes of *Amſterdam* being founded upon wooden Piles, this is the Reaſon they will not allow any Coaches here, except to Phyſicians and to ſome Strangers of Note; inſtead whereof, they make Uſe of a Kind of Sleds made like Coaches; but this Carriage being but ſlow and uneaſy, is not generally in Faſhion.

We ſaw at *Amſterdam* a *French* Opera, but in Want both of good Machines and Actors; ſo that we were not much delighted with it.

The Muſick-houſes of *Amſterdam*, ſo much talk'd of, are publick Houſes or Taverns, where young Fellows of the Dregs of the People, come under Pretence, of Dancing, but in effect to pick up lewd Women, who reſort thither in great Numbers, and carry them to other convenient Lodgings, theſe being intended only for their meeting Places. They are generally viſited by Strangers, out of Curioſity; and you muſt either drink what they offer, or pay as if you did.

The Exchange of *Amſterdam* is two hundred Feet long, and a hundred and twenty broad: The Galleries above are ſupported by forty-ſix Pillars, but are not ſo ſpacious, nor are the Shops ſo many, as thoſe over the *London* Exchange.

The Academy, ſtiled the *Illuſtrious School*, is alſo an elegant Structure, divided into ſeveral Schools for Divinity, Philoſophy, Hiſtory, Law and Phyſick.

There are five high Towers in this City, which have each a great Clock, and are placed at ſuch a convenient Diſtance, as that the Hours of the Day are ſhown all over the Town.

I took another Turn to *Loſdun* where I obſerved, that the Inſcription in the Church of this Village differs from the Paſſage, relating to this Matter, found in the Annals, where the Biſhop that bapized the three hundred ſixty-five Children is called *Guido*, Suffragan of *Utrecht*; whereas in the Annals he is ſtiled *William*, Suffragan of *Treves*; but this might be occaſioned by the Careleſſneſs of the Tranſcribers.

5. We paſs'd ſeven Hours upon the Canal betwixt *Amſterdam* and *Utrecht* very pleaſantly; leaving on the Right-hand the old Caſtle of *Abeow*, and the Village of the ſame Name, the Boundary of the Province of *Holland* on that Side, about three Leagues from *Amſterdam*: We no ſooner came to *Utrecht*, but we found it to fall very much ſhort of that extream Neatneſs we obſerved in the Province of *Holland*, and yet it retains a ſufficient Share of it too.

This City is famous for its Antiquity, its Univerſity, and the Union made here in 1579, which was the Foundation of the whole *Dutch* Republick. The Steeple of the Cathedral is very high, and the Church contains many Relicks highly valued by the *Roman* Catholicks.

The Mall and the Walks about it, without the Gates of the City, are infinitely pleaſant, being upon that Score ſpared by the *French* King's expreſs Command, when his Troops ravaged all the Country round about. A certain Gentleman of *Utrecht* told me, that there were no leſs than forty-eight Towns within the Reach of a Day's Journey from this City, and among them thirty-three to which you may go, and come back the ſame Day. The Country about *Utrecht* has a far different Face from what you ſee in *Holland*, their Fields being for the moſt part plough'd Lands encloſed with ſtrong Hedges.

Two Hours from *Utrecht* we paſs'd in Sight of *Zeiſt*, and of the Caſtle on the Right-Hand: It is a very handſome Structure, encloſed with a Ditch full of running Water, adorn'd with Labyrinths, Gardens, Statues, Fountains, and other Ornaments, being built not many Years ago by one of the richeſt Lords of this Country. The Fields betwixt *Rhenen* and *Arnheim* are for the moſt part planted with Tobacco, propp'd by Stakes; and at *Rhincom*, a Village three Hours on this Side of *Rhenen*, you ſee a Stone, which is the Boundary betwixt the Lordſhip of *Utrecht* and the Province of *Guelders*.

Arnheim has nothing remarkable but its Fortifications. Two Hours and a half beyond it we paſs'd the *Yſſel*, divided into three Branches near each other; and afterwards continuing our Journey through *Doeſburgh*, (a little City on that River, in the Province of *Zutphen*) we dined in a poor Village, if Milk with Biſcuit may be call'd a Dinner; but the worſt is, that our Fare was no better at Night, when we lodg'd at *Yſſelburgh*, a ſmall diſmantled Town upon the Borders of *Cleves*.

Between this laſt Place and the City of *Weſel* the Country is ſandy, and full of Woods: Its Fortifications are but indifferent, but they were then buſy in erecting a Citadel betwixt this City and the Fort of *Lippe* upon the Bank of the *Rhine*. It is under the Juriſdiction of the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, who, by virtue of a Treaty made with the Duke of *Newburgh*, (now Elector *Palatine*) grants Liberty of Conſcience to the *Roman Catholicks*, the ſame being allow'd reciprocally to the *Proteſtants* in the Dutchies of *Juliers* and *Berg*, under the Elector *Palatine*'s Juriſdiction. The *Calviniſts* have two Churches, the *Lutherans* and *Roman Catholicks* each of them one, for the Exerciſe of their Divine Worſhip. The *Jews* have likewiſe a little Synagogue there.

About half an Hour beyond *Weſel* we paſs'd the River *Lippe*, which joins its Waters with the *Rhine*, and arrived before Night at *Duiſburgh*, a City of the ſame Bigneſs with *Weſel*, but without any Fortifications: It has however an Univerſity, but no great Concourſe of Scholars. The great Church belongs to the *Proteſtants*, but the *Roman Catholicks* enjoy alſo the ſame Exerciſe of their Religion, and have even the Liberty of carrying the Hoſt in publick Proceſſion, though they refrain from doing it, for Fear of giving Occaſion of Diſturbance.

Not above half a League beyond *Duiſburgh* we entred the Country of *Berg*, and in two Hours after paſs'd through the little City of *Keyſerwaert*, ſeated upon the *Rhine*, and very well fortified,

Hence we continued our Journey to *Duſſeldorp*, the Reſidence of the Electoral Prince *Palatine*. It is much larger and better peopled than *Duiſburgh*, and its Fortifications in a very good State, but has no Suburbs, any more than *Keyſerwaert*.

6. The City of *Cologne* affords a moſt agreeable Proſpect at a Diſtance, by its Situation in a plain and level Country, and the vaſt Number of Steeples, which make a moſt glorious Shew. Though it be of prodigious Extent, yet is it ſurrounded with a Wall, Towers, Baſtions, and a dry Ditch. It has twenty-four Gates, thirteen to the Land, and eleven on the *Rhine*. It is an Imperial City, govern'd by its own Magiſtrates, though the Archbiſhop and Elector of that Name has ſome Share both in the Civil and Criminal Juriſdiction, and a Prerogative of pardoning Criminals. The Oath, which the Citizens take to this Prince, ſeems to be a Kind of Homage, conceived in theſe Terms:

We the free Citizens of Cologne *do this Day, for now and for ever, promiſe to* A. B. *Archbiſhop of* Cologne, *to be faithful and favourable to him, as long as he ſhall preſerve, in our Rights and Honour, and in our ancient Privileges, Us, our Wives, our Children, and our City of* Cologne.

So God and his Saints help us.

The Anſwer of the Archbiſhop is as follows:

We A. B. *by the Grace of God, Archbiſhop of the holy Church of* Cologne, *and Arch-Chancellor of the Empire in* Italy, *to the End that an amicable Confederacy, entire Confidence, and ſincere and laſting Peace, may be cultivated betwixt Us and our dear Burgeſſes of the City of* Cologne, *do make known by theſe Preſents, and promiſe and declare ſincerely, without Fraud, that we do confirm all their Rights and Privileges, written or not written, old or new, within or without the City of* Cologne, *which have been granted to it by the Popes, Emperors, Kings, and Archbiſhops of* Cologne, *without ever doing any Thing to violate the ſame. In Teſtimony whereof*, &c.

The whole Chapter of *Cologne* is compoſed of ſixty Canons, who muſt be Princes or Counts, but the twenty-four eldeſt are the Capitularies. According to the *Golden Bull*, the Electors of *Cologne* uſed to crown the Emperor; but theſe Archbiſhops not having been Prieſts for a conſiderable Time, thoſe of *Mentz* have perform'd the ſame in their Stead, and ſince that challenge it as a Right.

There are a conſiderable Number of *Proteſtants* in this City, who have a Church not far thence, in the Territories of the Duke of *Newburgh*; they ſtile them *Gueux* or Beggars to this Day, by the ſame Name that was given at *Bruſſels* to the firſt Authors of the Agreement by the Count *de Barlemont*.

The Town-houſe is a vaſt Fabrick, after the *Gothick* Manner: Here they ſhew whole Rooms full of Bows, Arrows, Croſs-bows, Bucklers, and ſuch Sort of antick Arms. One of theſe Croſs-bows was of Whalebone, and twelve Feet long, eight Inches broad, and four Inches thick. From the Tower of this Houſe there is a moſt delightful Proſpect of the whole City and of the adjacent Country. That Part which lies oppoſite to the City, on the other Side of the River, is chiefly inhabited by the *Jews*, and belongs to the Territories of *Newburgh*. The Cathedral Church (or rather its Beginning) is ſo fine, that it is a thouſand Pities it ſhould not be brought to Perfection. Here lies entomb'd, as is pretended, the three Kings of the Eaſt, that came to worſhip our Saviour, being transferr'd hither from *Milan*, *A. D.* 1162, at the Time when *Frederick Barbaroſſa* laid that City deſolate. They report here abundance of Miracles wrought by them; and among the reſt, that an exceſſive Dearth having been occaſioned by a great Drought in *Hungary*, abundance of that Country came hither to implore the Aſſiſtance of theſe three Kings, who promiſed them Rain, which following ſoon after in great Plenty, the *Hungarians*, in Remembrance of this Miracle, come every ſeven Years in Pilgrimage to *Cologne*, where they are entertained by the Magiſtrates for a Fortnight, in a handſome Houſe built for that Purpoſe.

In the vaulted Roof of this Church, almoſt over the Chapel that contains theſe precious Relicks, is a Hole of three or four Feet wide, round the Opening of which you ſee theſe Words; *Anno* 1404, 30 *Oct. Ventus de nocte flat ingens, grandem per tectum lapidem pellit*; i. e. *On the 30th of* October, 1404, *the Wind blew very hard in the Night, and forc'd a great Stone through the Roof*: The Stone is ſtill to be ſeen upon the Floor near this Chapel; they call it the *Devil's Stone*, becauſe they were of Opinion that the Devil threw it out of Malice. Over one of the Doors of the ſame Church we ſaw thirty-ſix gilt Staves about three Feet long each, with this Diſtich under them:

Quot pendere vides Baculos tot Epiſcopus Annos
Huic Agrippinæ præfuit Eccleſiæ.

Upon Enquiry we found, that the preſent Elector was then in the thirty-ſeventh Year of his Reign, but could not learn either the true Original or Uſe of this Cuſtom.

In the Church of St. *Urſula* they ſhew you the Tombs of the eleven thouſand Virgins that were maſſacred by the *Huns* at *Cologne*, in the Year 238, together with this Saint, unto whoſe Memory is dedicated this Church;

Church. They tell you, that the Earth will not admit of any other dead Corps; for Inſtance of which, they ſhew the Tomb of a Daughter of a certain Duke of *Brabant*, who being interr'd there, rais'd up herſelf, and remaining thus in the Air, they were forc'd to put her in this Tomb, fix'd upon Iron Supporters, two or three Feet from the Ground, againſt one of the Pillars of the Church. In a great Chapel on one Side of the ſame Church, you ſee the Bones of theſe Saints hung up in as decent a Manner as you ſee the Swords and Piſtols ranged in the Guard-chamber of St. *James*, or in any other Armoury; theſe Bones have no Ornaments except the Heads, ſome of which are kept in Caſes of Silver, others are cover'd with Stuffs of Gold, and ſome have Bonnets or Caps of Cloth of Gold, Velvet, rich Silks, *&c.* Hence it is that the City of *Cologne* challenges the Title of *Cologne the holy*; and its Arms are, *Argent eleven Flames Gules, with a Chef of the Second, charg'd with three Crowns Or*; the eleven Flames intimating the eleven thouſand Virgins, and the three Crowns the three Kings. But this idle Story, which was grounded on the ignorant Miſtake of the following Inſcription, *SS. URSULA & UNDECIMILLA, V. M.* which means no more than *the Saints* Urſula *and* Undecimilla *Virgins and Matyrs*; for *Sancta Urſula & undecim millea Virginum Martyrum*, that is, *St. Urſula and eleven thouſand Virgins and Martyrs*; has been ſo fully refuted by Archbiſhop *Uſher*, and other learned Men, that no body now pays any Regard to it.

In the Church of the *Maccabees* is a Crucifix, with an everlaſting and miraculous Perriwig on its Head; for though the *Hungarian* Pilgrims, at their coming to *Cologne*, each cut a Lock of Hair off, yet has it not been diminiſh'd hitherto, by all this Polling.

At the Entrance of the Church of the *Twelve Apoſtles*, is to be ſeen a Picture, which is remarkable chiefly for the Story it repreſents: They relate, that a Burgher-maſter's Wife of this City, being, in 1571, buried in this Church, with a Ring of great Value on her Hand, the Sexton made bold to viſit the Grave afterwards for the Ring's Sake, but was not a little amaz'd, when he found the ſuppoſed dead Lady graſp him by the Hand, which made him retreat very ſpeedily. However, the Lady having made hard ſhift to get out of the Sepulchre, went to her own Houſe, where knocking at the Door, ſhe call'd to a Servant, and related unto him the whole Adventure; but the Servant taking her for a Ghoſt, ran in a Fright to recount unto his Maſter what had happened; who told him, that he would as ſoon believe his Horſes in the Garret: He had no ſooner ſaid theſe Words, but a great Noiſe being heard in the Garret, the Servant went up, and, to his great Amazement, found ſix Coach-horſes there: By this time the Woman had made ſhift to get in, and by the Care of her Servant was ſo well recovered, that there was no great Likelihood of her returning to the Grave for that Time; and the Horſes were the next Day let down out of the Garret by certain Machines. They ſhew you to this Day, in the ſame Garret, ſeveral wooden Horſes, ſaid to be covered with the Skins of thoſe that were ſeen there; and in the Church of the *Twelve Apoſtles*, there is a great Piece of Linnen-cloth, which, they ſay, was of this Woman's ſpinning after her Releaſement from the Grave, which ſhe ſurvived ſeven Years. We find ſome authentick Teſtimonies of the Truth of this memorable Story, but in them the Epiſode of the Horſes is entirely left out, as being an evident and very abſurd Fiction.

There are ſome Families now in *Cologne*, who deduce their Genealogies from the *Roman* Race, that ſettled a Colony here the firſt Time.

7. The Roads betwixt *Cologne* and *Mentz* being extremely bad, we choſe to embark upon the *Rhine*: The firſt Town we came to was *Bonn*, a ſmall inconſiderable Place, the Fortifications whereof lie neglected, and the Electoral Palace of *Cologne* made but a very indifferent Appearance.

As we came nearer to *Andernach*, at which, as well as at *Keyſerwaert*, they receive a Toll; a Burgher-maſter of that Place told us, that there were certain Gentlemen belonging to that City, who have the Title of *Free Knights*, and enjoy peculiar Privileges.

Coming to *Coblentz*, we obſerved its Situation upon a Neck of Land made by the *Moſelle*, where it joins its Current with the *Rhine*, by which it is render'd very agreeable. We were told, that it is very well fortified on the Land ſide, but near the Water-ſide we ſaw only a ſingle Wall. The Caſtle of *Ehrenbreitſtein*, i. e. *the Rock of Honour*, built juſt over againſt it, upon a riſing Ground on the other Side of the River, is very ſtrong both by Art and Nature, its Foundations being laid upon the Ruins of the old Fort of *Hermanſtein*, the Remains whereof are ſeen on one Corner only of the Rock on which the Windmill ſtands. It is always well provided with a good Garriſon, and Ammunition in Proportion. The Palace (where the Elector of *Cologne* commonly reſides) is at the Foot of the Hill, upon the very Bank of the *Rhine*, juſt under the Caſtle.

About half a League on this Side of *Baccharach*, directly over againſt *Coub*, (a Town under the Juriſdiction of the Elector *Palatine*) ſtands an old Caſtle in the Middle of the *Rhine*, called *Pfaltz*; whence ſome, but improperly, have derived the Titles of the *Pfaltz Graves*, or *Counts Palatines*.

Baccharach is a ſmall City belonging to the Elector *Palatine*, built on the Side of a Hill, chiefly famous for its excellent Wines that grow thereabouts. We dined with one of the Miniſters of the Place, who would needs frame the Etymology of *Baccharach* from *Bachi ara*, or the *Alter of Bacchus*; and for a Confirmation of his Opinion, told us, that in the ſame Neighbourhood there were four other ancient Towns which ow'd their Name to *Bacchus*, viz. *Steegbach*, which lying on a Hillock, ſignifies as much as *Scala Bacchi*, or the *Ladder of Bacchus*; *Diabach*, i. e. *Digitus Bacchi*, or the *Finger of Bacchus*; *Handbach*, or *Mannerſbach*, i. e. *Manus Bacchi*, the *Hand of Bacchus*; and *Lorch*, i. e. *Laurea Bacchi*, or the *Bays of Bacchus*.

Soon after we were paſs'd *Baccharach*, a furious Tempeſt obliged us to ſeek Shelter aſhore, a little on this Side *Rudeſheim*. In our Way we paſs'd by an old ruin'd Caſtle or ſquare Tower, known by the Name of the *Tower of Rats*, whither, they ſay, a certain Archbiſhop of *Mentz* retreated (its Situation being on a little Iſle in the *Rhine*) to avoid the Rats, that devour'd him at laſt. Some look upon it as a Fable, becauſe the old Chronicles of the Country mention different Names and Times when this Accident happened; but others, who conſider it as a Truth, (as it is generally taken for ſuch hereabouts) alledge in Behalf of their Opinion, ſeveral Hiſtories of this Nature related by Authors of unqueſtionable Authority.

From *Bonn*, as far as *Binghen*, three Leagues on this Side *Mentz*, the *Rhine* carries its Current through the Mountains, at the Foot of which you ſee all the Country on both Sides cover'd with Vineyards, interſpers'd with a great Number of ſmall Cities, good large Villages and Caſtles, of the laſt of which I counted forty ſince I parted from *Cologne*, built, for the moſt Part, upon the Aſcents of the Mountains, and ſome on the very Points of the Rocks. The Country People, in theſe Parts, but eſpecially the Women, appear in a very odd Dreſs; on their Heads they wear little Caps of ſome colour'd Stuff, border'd with an Edging of a different Colour, their Hair hanging in Treſſes quite down their Backs. Their Waiſts appear very ſhort, half a Foot below which they gird themſelves with a broad Leather Girdle, and underneath it is a thick Roll, which bears up their Petticoats almoſt as high as their Knees.

From *Binghen* to *Mentz* the *Rhine* is very broad: Here you go over a Bridge of Boats, and as ſoon as you enter the City, the Electoral Palace preſents itſelf to View, a Fabrick of a reddiſh Stone, embeliſh'd with divers Ornaments, wanting neither Regularity nor Magnificence, though built after the old *German* Faſhion. They told us, that in the Middle of the Citadel was to be ſeen the Ruins of a Tower called commonly the *Tomb of Druſus*: 'Tis true, *Druſus Germanicus*, the Brother of *Tiberius*, died in *Germany*, but not near the *Rhine*, and he was buried in the *Campo Martio* at *Rome*; ſo that in all likelihood this was one of the Statues or triumphal Arches erected near the Banks of the *Rhine* to his Memory, after the Senate had beſtowed upon him the Sirname of *Germanicus*.

The Church Ornaments in which the Elector ſays Maſs, are remarkable for their Riches; and the Canopy under which the Hoſt is carried, upon certain Feſtivals, in Proceſſion, is all covered with Pearls.

Every one of the Electors of *Mentz* bears the Arms of his own Family, but he quarters *Gules a Wheel Argent*, which are the Arms of the Electorate, the Original of which they deduce from the firſt Elector, who was the Son of a Wheelwright.

In the Cathedral you ſee a great many magnificent Tombs of the Electors interred here. The Chapter conſiſts of forty-two Gentlemen, twenty-four of which only are Capitularies. The Proteſtants are allowed Habitations at *Mentz*, but not the Exerciſe of their Religion. The City is ſufficiently large, but indifferently peopled, neither is the Univerſity in any great Eſteem now: However, its Situation is very pleaſant, in a moſt excellent Country. The Elector of *Mentz* is the firſt among the Eccleſiaſtical Electors, Chancellor of the Empire, and Dean of the Electoral College; in Right of which he preſides in the Diets, and at Imperial Elections.

8. After having croſſed the *Rhine* at *Mentz*, we embarked on the River *Maine* in the ordinary Paſſage boat, which carried us in one Day to *Frankfort*, a City much exceeding *Mentz* in Beauty, Riches, Bigneſs, Number of Inhabitants, and Strength, being fortified with eleven Baſtions, which though they have ſome Defects, yet they are in ſome Meaſure repaired by its Situation in a flat Country: The Houſes are generally built of the ſame red Stone I mentioned before, or elſe of Wood, or Plaiſter covered with Slates. The *Maine*, a conſiderable large River, leaves it on the Right, and a Stone Bridge of four hundred Paces in Length joins it with *Sakerhauſen*. The Territories of this City are of no great Extent: The Senate, as well as the greateſt Part of the Inhabitants, are *Lutherans*, though the *Roman Catholicks* are poſſeſſed of the Cathedral Church, where the Ceremony of anointing the Emperor is performed; however, they are not allowed to make any publick Proceſſions. The *Calviniſts* inhabiting here, have a Church at *Bochenheim*, a ſmall Hour's Walk from thence, in the Country of *Hanaw*, but are obliged to marry and to chriſten their Children in the *Lutheran* Churches.

In the Town-houſe is the Apartment where the Solemnity of the Election of the Emperor is performed, and where one of the Originals of the *Golden Bull* is preſerv'd. It is hung only with Tapeſtry, and furniſhed with ſome Elbow Chairs of black Velvet, and a large Table covered with a green Carpet. On one Side of this Apartment is a Hall, where certain Ceremonies are performed immediately after the Election, which being over, the Emperor goes from thence to the Church, where he is crowned.

The *Golden Bull* is a Book in *Quarto*, of twenty-four Leaves in Parchment ſtitched together, and covered with a Piece of Vellum, without any further Ornament. The Seal, which is about two Inches and a half broad, and covered with Gold, is faſtened to it by a String of twiſted Silk of divers Colours; upon this Seal, which appears not unlike a Medal, you ſee the Effigies of the Emperor *Charles* IV. ſeated and crowned, with a Scepter in his Right Hand, and the Globe in the Left, having the Shield of the Empire on his Right, and that of *Bohemia* on his Left, with this Inſcription round it.

Carolus Quartus Divinâ favente Clementiâ Romanorum
Imperator ſemper Auguſtus.

And on each Side near the two Scutcheons, *Et Bohemiæ Rex*. On the Reverſe is a Gate of a Caſtle betwixt two Towers, which denotes *Rome*, as is apparent by the following Inſcription about it.

Roma Caput Mundi regit Orbis fræna rotundi.

And upon the Gate betwixt theſe two Towers,

Roma Aurea.

This Bull, intended to be the Foundation of the Conſtitution of the Empire, was made at *Nuremburgh* by *Charles* IV. with the general Conſent of the States, in 1356, and contains the Manner of the Election of the Emperor, and of the King of the *Romans*, as alſo many Things relating to the Rank, Aſſemblies, Rights, Immunities, and Succeſſions of the Electors, and in what Manner every one of them is to perform his Function. *Frankfort* is by this Bull appointed for the Election of the Emperor; notwithſtanding which, *Henry* II. was elected at *Mentz*, and *Henry* III. at *Aix la Chapelle*; ſome others have been choſen at *Cologne*, *Augſburgh*, and *Ratiſbon*, not to mention ſeveral other Innovations introduced ſince that Time, eſpecially by the Treaties of *Weſtphalia*.

At Dr. *Peter*'s, who makes the famous Treacle of *Frankfort*, we ſaw many Curioſities, and among the reſt, a Stone taken out of a human Body, of the Bigneſs of a Man's Head, which he bought for ſixteen hundred Crowns.

There are abundance of *Jews* at *Frankfort*, but they are not near ſo rich as thoſe of *Amſterdam*, being uſed in a Manner like Slaves here, *viz.* to fetch the Water when any Fire happens to break out in the City; for the reſt, their chief Employment is to go from one Inn to another to ſell their Commodities to Foreigners, and ſo pick up a poor Living.

I need not tell you, that the three annual Fairs of *Frankfort* contribute not a little to its Fame and Riches.

The Univerſity acknowledges for its Founders, *Joachim* and *Albert* of *Brandenburgh*, in 1506.

9. As we were taking Coach to leave *Frankfort*, we obſerved the Coachman to put ſome Salt upon each of his Horſes, which he told us was a never-failing Antidote againſt Witchcraft, and other unlucky Accidents.

Having paſſed the *Rhine* at *Gernſheim*, we entred a Wood, where the Roads proved very bad; but after that, for two Leagues, till we came to *Worms*, exceeding good.

The City of *Worms* is ſeated about three or four hundred Paces from the *Rhine*, on the Left, in a moſt fruitful Country, having no other Fortifications but a double Wall: It was formerly an Archbiſhoprick, till the See was removed to *Mentz* by Pope *Zachary*, but ſtill remains a Biſhop's See, and that Prelate has great Authority there though it is an Imperial City. It is not inferior in Bigneſs to *Frankfort*, but ill peopled and poor. I ſaw a Houſe that was ſold for a thouſand Crowns, which had yielded formerly as much annual Rent; and there are ſo many void Spaces within the Compaſs of the Place, that the Vines planted there are computed to produce every Year fifteen hundred Fuders of Wine, a Fuder being a Caſk that holds no leſs than two hundred and fifty *Engliſh* Gallons. This Wine is in ſuch high Eſteem in thoſe Parts, that they have turned it into a Proverb, and ſay, *It is ſweeter than the Virgin's Milk*; whence queſtionleſs is alſo ariſen the Cuſtom of preſenting it to Perſons of Note that travel that Way, with ſome Fiſh, *&c.* and this is ſtiled Wine of Honour. Beſides that, the *Lutherans* have one Church for their own Uſe here; they preach by Turns with the *Romaniſts* in the *Dominican* Church, all the reſt being in the Poſſeſſion of the *Roman Catholicks*, who don't carry the Hoſt in publick, nor make any Proceſſion, except on the Day after *Eaſter*. The *Calviniſts* have a Church at *Newhauſel* in the Palatinate, about half a League from *Worms*, where the *Lutherans* now and then chriſten their Children, quite contrary to what is practiſed by the *Lutherans* at *Frankfort*.

The Church of St. *Paul*, as well as that of St. *John*, are very ancient Structures, the beſt of the two being built of vaſt ſquare Stones, in a very irregular Manner, with narrow Windows, and Galleries all round the Outſide juſt under the Roof; the Walls are twelve

Feet thick, and ſeem as if they were not at firſt deſigned for a Church, but rather for a Fortreſs. The Cathedral is both very long and lofty, adorn'd with a Tower on each of the four Corners; it is a ſtrong Fabrick with ſome Ornaments after the *Gothick* Way. Over one Door of this Church they ſhew you the Figure of a ſtrange Animal of the Bigneſs of an Aſs, with four Heads, one the Head of a Man, the ſecond of an Ox, the third of an Eagle, and the fourth of a Lion; the two firſt ſtand upright, and the two others hang downwards; the right Fore-foot is of a Man, the left of an Ox, and the two hinder of an Eagle and a Lion; a Woman ſits on the Back of it. The People here tell you very odd Stories concerning it, but we may ſuppoſe it to be an Hieroglyphick compoſed of the four Beaſts in the Viſion of *Ezekiel*, and the Woman to repreſent the Goſpel. Over the Altar of one of the Chapels of the ſame Church I obſerved a Picture, in which the Virgin received Chriſt as he was deſcending from the Croſs, whilſt the Angels were carrying the Inſtruments of his Crucifixion to Heaven. But the Picture at the Entrance of St. *Martin*'s Church, juſt over a moveable Altar, is of any here moſt worth the peculiar Obſervation of a Traveller; it is about five Feet ſquare, and in it God the Father is repreſented on the very Top of one Corner, from whence he ſeems to addreſs himſelf to the Virgin *Mary*, who is on her Knees in the Midſt of the Picture, holding the Infant Chriſt by the Feet, and putting his Head into the Hopper of a Mill, which is turned by the twelve Apoſtles Hands by the Help of a Wheel, aſſiſted by the four Beaſts of *Ezekiel*, who give a helping Hand on the other Side. Hard by the Pope is painted upon his Knees, receiving the Hoſts, which fall ready made from the Mill into a golden Chalice or Cup, one of which he preſents to a Cardinal, who gives it to a Biſhop, the Biſhop to a Prieſt, and the Prieſt to a Layman. There are two publick Edifices in this City, one intended for the Senate, where they meet twice a Week about Matters of State, the other for the Courts of Juſtice. It was in the firſt that *Luther* made his ſolemn Appeal, concerning which they tell you, that the Doctor being much heated with the Eagerneſs of the Diſpute, as alſo by a Fire that was near him, he deſired a Glaſs of Wine; which being brought, he forgot to drink it, but being ſtill eager in the Purſuit of his Diſcourſe, ſet it down upon a Bench, where ſoon after it broke without being touched by any body, which made it paſs for current, that there was ſome Poiſon mixed with the Wine, of which the *Lutherans* were ſo fully perſuaded, that they broke the Bench on which the Glaſs ſtood into Shivers, and kept ſome Pieces of it, which are ſtill preſerved in Memory of *Luther*'s Deliverance. We alſo took a View of the Houſe called the *Mint*, where, among other Curioſities, they ſhewed us a ſquare Piece of Parchment in a Frame, upon which there are twelve Sorts of Hands written with divers Miniatures and Draughts excellently done with a Pen, by one *Thomas Schweiker*, only with his Feet, he being born without Arms, as the following Inſcription teſtifies:

Mira vides, pedibus Juvenis facit omnia recta
Cui pariens Mater brachia nulla dedit.

In a ſpacious Portico belonging to this Houſe you ſee a vaſt Number of Bones and Horns hanging betwixt the Arches: The firſt, they ſay, are the Remnants of Giants, and the laſt of the Oxen which drew the Stones with which the Cathedral was built. The Outſide of the Houſe was adorned with Variety of Pictures, and among the reſt with many armed Giants, which, in the Inſcription underneath, are called *Vangiones*: That this Part of the *Rhine* was inhabited by a Race of People called *Vangiones*, is evident from *Tacitus* and others; but how they became Giants, I am not able to tell. Proceeding on our Journey, we paſſed by *Frankendal*, the Fortifications of which Place would not be deſpicable, if they were faced with Brick; whereas now they are ſloped too much, by reaſon of the Softneſs of the Earth, which could not be ſupported otherwiſe, but would ſink into a Heap.

The ſame Defect, but in a higher Degree, is evident in the Fortifications of *Manheim*, both which belong to the Elector *Palatine*, and are not above two Hours diſtant from each other; but the laſt has a conſiderable Advantage by its Situation in a flat Country, and its being almoſt incloſed by the *Neckar* and the *Rhine*. The moſt remarkable Piece in *Manheim* is the *Temple of Concord*, founded by the Elector *Charles Lewis*, Father of *Charles*, the laſt of that Race, who being a Perſon of no harſh Diſpoſition, eſpecially in Matters of Religion, ordered, that the *Lutherans* and *Calviniſts* ſhould by Turns exerciſe their Divine Worſhip in this Church; and the preſent Elector *Palatine*, who is a *Roman Catholick*, has thought fit to join the *Romaniſts* with the others; ſince which Time, the Miniſters of three different Religions perform, each in their Turn, their religious Service in the *Church of Concord*; ſo that in three ſucceſſive *Sundays*, each of the three Miniſters has the Privilege of beginning firſt. The Church is not very large, but exceeding neat; the Pulpit common to all three. The *Roman Catholicks*, after they have ſaid Maſs, draw a Curtain, and ſo hide the Altar, at which they have performed it.

Manheim was about forty Years ago no more than a Village, and owes its Increaſe to *Frederick* the Father of *Charles Lewis*, who at the ſame Time built and fortified it: The Streets are very ſtreight and regular, and ſome of them planted with Trees, as in *Holland*. After having paſſed the *Neckar* at *Manheim*, over a Bridge of Boats, we travelled for three Hours through a fertile Plain, extending to the Foot of the Mountains of *Heidelburgh*, which, by a continued Ridge, ſeemed to intercept our Paſſage; but that the *Neckar* paſſes thro' an Opening, and ſhews you a direct Way to *Heidelburgh*, by a covered Bridge, which brings you to the other Side, where this City is ſeated very pleaſantly among the Trees and Rocks. But as to its interior Beauties, we cannot boaſt, for the City is neither fine nor well built, moſt of their Houſes being of Wood, though they dwell among the Rocks: The Electoral Palace is of hewn Stone, ſome Parts whereof are of good Architecture, but none of them quite finiſhed. They have made divers fine Gardens among the Rocks, but at the beſt they are irregular.

Not long before the Dutcheſs of *Orleans*, Siſter to the laſt Elector, and Heireſs to Part of his perſonal Eſtate, had taken the Furniture of this Palace away, at the ſame Time they ſold every Thing, even to the Wine of the famous Tun of *Heidelburgh*. This ſo much celebrated Tun is thirty-one Feet long, and twenty-one high, unto which you aſcend by a Pair of Stairs of fifty Steps, to a Kind of Platform or Balcony of twenty Feet long incloſed with Rails: The Elector's Arms are placed on the Front of the Tun, and *Bacchus* on the Top, attended by Satyrs, Drunkards, and ſuch-like. Vines, Grapes, Glaſſes, and Leather Jacks, make a great Part of the Ornaments of this Tun, in *baſſo relievo*. Abundance of Jeſts and Apothegms, relating to the ſame Subject, are to be ſeen in *High Dutch*, on divers Parts of this enormous Tun.

The various Chances of War have reduced this Country to a poor Condition, tho' naturally very good. All Religions are tolerated, but the Magiſtrates are generally *Proteſtants*, as in other Parts of the *Palatinate*. The great Church of this City contains many magnificent Tombs of the *Counts Palatines*, and among the reſt that of *Robert* King of the *Romans*, the Founder of the Univerſity of *Heidelburgh*. You know by what ill Fate this City loſt its famous Library, which, in 1622, was tranſported thence to the *Vatican*.

9. We were ſcarce two Hours riding from *Heidelburgh*, but we met with nothing but whole Foreſts of Fir-trees, and a Country ſo poor, that about *Wiſeloth* and *Sintzheim*, you might buy a wheaten Loaf of eight Pounds for two Pence; and in four Days Journey we did not ſo much as get Sight of one conſiderable Town: The beſt of them is *Winſheim*, an Imperial City, as well as *Wimphen*,

Wimphen, both inhabited by *Lutherans*. What diverted us moſt in all this Journey was, a Meeting of the Magiſtrates of the little City of *Palemburgh*, which happening to be in the ſame Inn where we dined, we were well diverted with the Sight of twelve or fifteen Peaſants with high-crown'd Hats, covered with green and yellow Ribbon, with red or blue Veſts, Ruffs of black Taffata, their Hair cut round cloſe juſt below their Ears, and their Beards like thoſe of the *Capuchins*: In this Habit we ſaw them ſitting together, with their Elbows reſting on a Table, and explaining the Law (after their Manner) each with a good Glaſs of Wine in his Hand, every one ſtriving to get the better of another more by Strength of Voice than of Argument.

It is not to be wondered, that Drinking ſhould be ſo common in this Country, conſidering the Temptations they lie under here, for you buy four great Pots of Wine for a Penny; and if a Paſſenger happens to aſk for a Cup of Wine, they bring him a large Jack, ſcarce knowing what a little Meaſure is. As you travel from the mountainous Country into the Plains that lead to *Nurenbergh*, the Tobacco and Hops ſucceed by Degrees the Vineyards: We had a fair Proſpect of this beautiful City at a conſiderable Diſtance, as we were travelling along the Banks of the River *Pegnitz*, which runs from it, but ſerves only to turn ſome Mills, whereas without any great Difficulty it might be made navigable, and conſequently much increaſe the Grandeur of this City, ſo that the Coſt of making it ſo would be amply repaid.

However, this Defect does not hinder *Nurenbergh* from being a Place of great Trade, great Riches, and well peopled; and for its Bigneſs it is reputed to be twice as large as *Frankfort upon the Maine*, and contains under its Juriſdiction ſeven other Cities, and four hundred and eighty Boroughs and Villages: It has ſix Gates, two hundred twenty-eight large Streets, and one hundred and eighteen Fountains and Wells: Fortifications after the ancient Manner, which are of no great Conſideration, its Situation in the very Heart of *Germany* being its chief Security, and indeed this little Republick generally enjoys Peace. *Nurenbergh* is a very handſome City, its Houſes being generally lofty and ſtrong, of hewn Stone, and many adorned with Pictures on the Outſide, after the *Gothick* Manner, and conſequently not very regular: Beſides this, it has many good Braſs Fountains, one whereof we ſaw at the Artificer's Houſe, the Statues of which alone coſt ſeventy thouſand Crowns. The Streets are broad, clean, and well paved, but not ſtreight. One of the Towers of the Caſtle bears the Name of *Nero*'s *Tower*, whence ſome would look for the Original of this City as far as *Nero*, whereas 'tis more probable, that *Noriberga*, or *Mons Noricum*, as it is called in *Latin*, has its Etymology from the *Norici*, the old Inhabitants of the Country, and *Bergi*, *i. e.* a Mountain. The Caſtle is ſeated on a high Rock, though all the reſt of the City be very flat; it is irregular, being built according to the unequal Shape of the Rock. They ſhewed us a Well, which they affirmed to be ſixteen hundred Feet deep, and that the Chain of the Bucket weighed three thouſand Pounds, but we did not believe them.

In one of the Halls of this Caſtle are to be ſeen four *Corinthian* Pillars forty-five Feet high, which were brought (ſay they) from *Rome* by the Devil, upon a Challenge which a Monk made him. On the Stones of the Parapet of the Caſtle, they ſhew the Print of a Horſe's Shoe, where they ſay a Conjurer leaped over the Ditch. The Ornaments uſed at the anointing of the Emperors are preſerved in the Church of the Hoſpital; the Diadem of *Charlemagne* (called the *Inſula*) is of pure Gold, weighing fourteen Pounds, and covered with precious Stones, being not cloſed on the Top, as the Imperial Crowns are generally repreſented, but ſuppoſe, inſtead of the Fleurets on Ducal Coronets, you ſee Plates rounded on the Top, which, being joined by the Sides, make the Compaſs of the Bonnet; of theſe there are ſeven, that before exceeding the reſt in the Luſtre of the precious Stones; on the Top of all is a Croſs, and a Semicircle, supported by the two Head-plates behind, raiſed above the Bonnet, and joined to the Top of the Croſs. The Scepter and Globe are of Gold, and the Sword is ſaid to have been brought from Heaven. The Robe of *Charlemagne* is of a Violet Colour, embroidered with Pearls, and the Imperial Cloak edged with the ſame, and ſtrewed with Eagles of Gold, and a great Number of precious Stones. Here are alſo the Cope, the Stole, the Breeches embroidered with Stones, the Stockings and the Buſkins covered with Plates of Gold.

Amongſt divers other Relicks, they keep in this Church the Iron Head of St. *Longinus*'s Launce; and becauſe they are not ignorant that the ſame is ſhewn in above ten other Places in the World, they ſay all theſe are Counterfeits, and that theirs was found by St. *Andrew*, and brought from *Antioch* to this City.

Their Arſenal is one of the moſt renowed in *Germany*; in the two great Halls (each two hundred and fifty Paces long) we ſaw three hundred Pieces of Cannon, and among them many of a very large Bore, the biggeſt whereof carried a Ball of three hundred Pounds; but to ſpeak the Truth, the reſt, being Arms of more Antiquity than Uſe, ſerve only for a Shew. The publick Library is in a Cloyſter formerly belonging to the *Dominicans*, and contains, as they ſay, twenty thouſand Volumes: The moſt ancient Manuſcript is of nine hundred Years, being a Copy of the Goſpels, with the Prayers and Hymns formerly uſed in the *Greek* Church; the Characters are very different from what is uſed now: They alſo ſhewed us a Book printed at *Spires* 1446, but it ſeems as if there had been an Error in the Cyphers; for at the ſame Time we were ſhewn another of the Impreſſion of *Fauſtus* at *Mentz* in 1459, which had, by way of Advertiſement, annexed to it, *That this Book was not written by the Hand, but was printed by an admirable Secret newly invented.* They keep in this Library many Rarities, but the Cabinet of Mr. *Viati* exceeds them, it being almoſt impoſſible to conceive how a Man of a private Fortune could heap together ſo many Things brought from all Parts of the World. There is one great Apartment filled with the divers Arms of all Countries; from whence you go into another ſtored with excellent Pictures, Medals, curious Works both ancient and modern, Idols, Shells, Plants, Minerals, and other natural Productions. He ſhewed us a Wind-Gun, wherewith conſiderable Miſchief may be done at a Diſtance without any Noiſe.

The Town-houſe is a ſpacious Fabrick, with a beautiful well-proportioned Front, but no Court before it. And from hence we were carried to the publick Cellar, which is two hundred and fifty Paces long, and contains twenty thouſand middle-ſiz'd Tuns (they call them *Auns*) of Wine, a Proviſion the *Germans* always take extraordinary Care of; for it muſt be confeſſed, that the *Germans* are the moſt civil and obliging People in the World, but exceſſive Drinkers. You ſcarce enter a Houſe to make a Viſit, but before you can ſpeak three Words, you are ſaluted with a ſavoury Collation, and large Jacks of Wine: To refuſe a Health, or to leave a Drop in your Glaſs, is a capital Fault; by which Means the Cup never ſtands ſtill. This made the Duke of *Rhoan* ſay pleaſantly of the *Germans*, *That they had found out the Perpetual Motion in their Cups, which puzzled all the Mathematicians in the World*: Hence it is, that Glaſſes of all Sizes are in ſo high an Eſteem with them, that they are ranged in good Order in ſome of their beſt Apartments, and make a Part of their ornamental Furniture.

In the Evening we had the Opportunity of ſeeing Part of the Celebration of a Wedding: The Bridegroom, attended by his Friends and Kindred, marched firſt on Foot from a Houſe to the Church, which was not above two hundred Paces diſtant, his future Spouſe following ſoon after, with her Friends, from the ſame Houſe. Being come into the Church, the Bridegroom ſate down with his Relations on one Side, and the Bride on the other oppoſite to him; over each of their Heads againſt the Wall, being painted the Figure of Death: From thence they both approached to the Miniſter, who ſtood in the Midſt of the Choir, who had no ſooner performed the Ceremony, but four or five Trumpets ſounded from the Top of the Steeple; and ſo the new-married Couple returned in the ſame Manner and to the ſame Place from whence they came. The Bridegroom appeared all in black, with a Cloak trimmed with Lace, a great Ruff, and a little Crown of Gold Plate-Lace upon his Perriwig; but the Bride's Dreſs is not ſo eaſy to be deſcribed; the beſt Way to give you an Idea of it, is, to fancy a Head-tire compoſed of Plate-Wire gilt, like a Bob-perriwig, half a Foot higher than the Forehead, and frizzled out on the Sides; theſe Threads or Wires are ſo cloſe together, that there is no more Diſtance between them than is juſt ſufficient to faſten to them an infinite Number of very ſmall thin Plates of Gold, round, poliſhed, and bright, which hanging both within and without, wave with the leaſt Motion, and, in the Opinions of theſe People, are very ornamental. Her Habit was a Kind of black Veſt with long Skirts, reſembling the *Hongrelines* uſed not long ago in *France*; and the Body of this Caſſock, which was cut very ſhort, was covered with Gold Lace all over the Seams, as the Skirts were with little cloſe Knots of black Sattin Ribbon, and the ſtreight Cuffs reach down below the Wriſts. Over this ſhe wore a Neckband of very fine antique Lace, ſhaped before like a Man's Band, but ending behind in a Point, which reached down to the Middle of her Back: About her Shoulders ſhe had a Gold Chain like the Collar of ſome Order; and ſuch another Chain inſtead of a Girdle. The Petticoat was pretty ſhort, trimmed towards the Bottom with Gold Fringe and black Bone Lace. We ſaw this Bride dance at the Wedding with one of the Senators in a great Ruff; and, to tell you the plain Truth, the Cuſtoms I obſerved at this Feaſt were ſo very different from ours, that I rather fancied myſelf in *China* than in *Europe*. It would be an endleſs Piece of Work, if I ſhould deſcribe to you all the other Habits I ſaw here; but I will only tell you, that as odd and fantaſtical as they appear at firſt Sight, they are not unbecoming, as indeed what are on agreeable Perſons?

Nurenbergh can boaſt of better Artiſans and greater Numbers than perhaps any City in *Europe*: Some have attributed to them the Invention of Fire-arms, and of Gunpowder, by *Bertold Swartz* a Monk; though others would have the ſame to owe its Origin to the City of *Chioggia* in the *Venetian* State, and others to *Denmark*. But the curious Works of *Nurenbergh* of Wood, Ivory, Alabaſter, nay, of Paper and Starch, are famous over all *Europe*. Their Houſes are both ſpacious and neat, and I never ſaw one Cieling in all the City, but what had ſome Underſetting of curious Joiners-work. They have here a peculiar Reſpect for Horns, for with them they adorn even their beſt Apartments and Chambers. All the Way betwixt *Heidelburgh* and *Nurenbergh* we met with very poor Entertainment, but the Inns of *Nurenbergh* made us an ample Amends for it, where, among other Things, we had every Day a Deſert of late Fruit, and Plenty of very good Fiſh, at very reaſonable Rates. In the Church of St. *Sebald* you ſee a wooden Crucifix, which is eſteemed a great Maſter-piece; but the Church of St. *Lawrence* exceeds all the reſt in Bigneſs. They are both built after the *Gothick* Manner, but the laſt has eight Doors. The great Church-yard is worth the Obſervation of a Traveller, for it has above three thouſand Tombs with Epitaphs and Coats of Arms wrought in Braſs. The *Jews* are reſtrained to a Village near the City, from whence they may come daily into the Town for a ſmall Piece of Money, but muſt return before Night. The few *Roman Catholicks* that inhabit here have the Privilege of performing their Religious Service in one of the *Lutheran* Churches, at certain Hours when their Service is over. The *Calviniſts* have their Church a League from the City, in the Marquiſate of *Anſpach*, and baptize their Children in the *Lutheran* Churches, as at *Frankfort*.

10. From *Nurenbergh* the Roads are very bad and woody till you come towards *Ingolſtad*, where you meet with a well cultivated champaign Country. *Ingolſtad* (under the Juriſdiction of the Elector of *Bavaria*) ſtands upon the *Danube*, of an indifferent Bigneſs and Strength, with broad, ſtreight, and well-paved Streets, and pleaſantly ſituated, but poor and ill peopled; the Houſes are on the Outſide, for the moſt Part, painted white. They told us Wonders of their Arſenal, but as they were very unwilling to ſhew it, I ſuppoſe its Fame ſurpaſſed its Worth, it being generally obſervable, that Things of this Nature are ſeldom kept from the Sight of Strangers, unleſs not worth their ſeeing. I took Notice at *Ingolſtad* (as in many other Cities of *Germany*) of certain Veſſels of Wood or Braſs mounted upon four Wheels; near the Fountains, which are kept to carry Water when any Fire breaks out, and for that Purpoſe are very convenient.

From *Ingolſtad* we travelled to *Newburgh*, a little City without any Strength, ſituated on the right Bank of the *Danube*, where this River begins to be pretty broad and rapid: We paſſed it over a Bridge, which brought us into the City, where, at our firſt Entry, we took a View of the Caſtle, built on a Rock, the Apartments whereof, eſpecially on the Ground-floor, are very handſome and convenient, though all the Furniture had been lately removed from thence to the Caſtle of *Heidelburgh*, there remaining only a Cabinet full of rare Pictures and other Curioſities; among the reſt I obſerved a round hard Stone, which weighed four Pounds, and was found in the Body of a Horſe. This, in my Judgment, might be called Bezoar. The Church of the *Jeſuits* is the handſomeſt in the City, though that of St. *Peter* has of late Years rendered itſelf famous by a pretended Miracle that happened to the *Capuchin*, *Mark de Avilano*, who made himſelf ſo much talked of during the *Hungarian* War. This Father coming ſome Years ago to *Newburgh*, and perceiving an old *Noſtre Dame* of Wood in one Corner of the Church of St. *Peter*, that was all covered with Duſt, the good Father proſtrated himſelf before it, and whilſt he was offering his fervent Prayers, he cried out on a ſudden, *A Miracle!* proteſting that the *good Lady* had lifted up her Eyes towards him: The Story, backed by the Reputation of the Father, ſoon got ſuch univerſal Credit among the Inhabitants, that they went in Proceſſion to St. *Peter*'s Church, whence they took the Statue, and having cleaned and dreſſed it in a ſumptuous Habit, placed her on the high Altar, where ſhe is viſited by a great Number of Pilgrims from all Parts, and is famous by the Title of *Our Lady of Newburgh*.

The Country betwixt *Newburgh* and *Augsburgh* is very fruitful and pleaſant, except that near the laſt the Grounds are boggy and barren; notwithſtanding which, the *Augsburghers* boaſt their City to be the faireſt in all *Germany*, and that in Bigneſs it exceeds *Nurenbergh* itſelf, though they own it not ſo well peopled; beſides, though their Streets are broader and ſtreighter, their Houſes are not near ſo handſome, few of them being built with hewn Stones, but for the moſt Part plaiſtered only, and whitened without, and ſometimes adorned with Pictures; however, the Floors of their Apartments are for the moſt Part paved with a Kind of yellowiſh Marble, brought thither from *Tyrol*; and their Cielings are either of curious Joiners-work divided into Compartments, or of a certain Cement well poliſhed, which is very durable: The worſt of their Buildings is, that their Chambers have no regular Figure, the Stairs which lead to them taking away all their Uniformity.

Augsburgh is the Metropolis of *Swabia*: *Auguſtus* ſent thither a Colony, and gave it the Name of *Auguſta Vindelicorum*, from the *Vindelici*, a People inhabiting about the Rivers *Vindo* and *Licus*, called at this Day the *Werda* and *Leck*, between which alſo the City of *Augſburgh* is ſeated, to diſtinguiſh it from *Auguſta Trevirorum*, *Taurinorum*, &c. but this City having been ſo often pillaged, (eſpecially by *Attila*) there are ſcarce any Remainders of Antiquity to be found here. However, not long ſince there was dug out here a Pillar of five or ſix Feet high, with the Figure of a Pine-Apple on the Top of it: They alſo found certain Medals of *Auguſtus* with ſuch a Pillar on the Reverſe: It is very probable that this Pillar was intended to mark out the Boundary of the Empire on that Side: For it being a conſtant Cuſtom among the *Romans* to diſtinguiſh the Limits of a new-conquered Country by ſome Mark or other diſtinct from the reſt, and by ſomething relating more peculiarly to that Country; it is likely that they choſe the Pine-apple for this Pillar, becauſe this Part of *Germany* abounds in Fir and Pine-trees; and it is perhaps for the ſame Reaſon that *Augsburgh* bears the Pine-apple in its Arms.

Though the Fortifications of this City are not very conſiderable, the Inhabitants of this City have endured divers Sieges with a great deal of Bravery. The Senate here is compoſed of Half *Lutherans* and Half *Roman* Catholicks, tho' the Biſhop has alſo a conſiderable Sway, who has a Palace in the City, (but he reſides generally at *Dillengen*) and is Maſter of the greateſt Part of the Territories belonging to this City. The *Roman* Catholicks make publick Proceſſions here, and carry the Hoſt through the Streets, which the *Lutherans* ſalute by pulling off their Hats; for as they live in a good Correſpondence with each other, ſo they avoid all Opportunites of giving Scandal, the Poor of both Religions being maintained in one Hoſpital. The *Jews* are confined to a ſeparate Place, and for every Hour they ſtay in the City are obliged to pay a Florin, which amounts to three of our Shillings.

The Town-houſe is a lofty and ſpacious ſquare Fabrick, of very fine hewn Stones; the Portal is of Marble, and almoſt all the Rooms wainſcotted and cieled with *Poliſh* Aſh, which looks very fine. The great Hall makes a very noble Appearance, being a hundred and ten Feet long, fifty-eight broad, and fifty two high, with a fine Jaſper Floor. The Walls are adorned with Paintings intermixed, according to the *German* Cuſtom, with Emblems and Devices relating to the Government; but the Roof exceeds all the reſt for its ſingular Beauty, being compoſed of regular Compartments, the Squares and Pannels whereof are enriched with Sculptures richly gilt, and beautified with curious Pictures and other Ornaments. The Arſenal is alſo a very large Structure; the two Halls below are full of Cannon, moſt of which are of Braſs; but among the reſt, there is a Culverine, a ſix Pounder, of Leather, twenty-ſix Feet long; the other Arms are kept above Stairs. During the Wars of this laſt Age, the *Augsburghers* uſed to keep frequently their Gates ſhut, for Fear of a Surprize; but at laſt, for the Conveniency of admitting Strangers and others without Danger into the City, they contrived a ſecret Gate, which remains ſtill, with all its Locks and Engines, the Deſign of which is very nicely and well contrived, but too tedious and difficult to deſcribe.

Augsburgh was formerly a City of great Traffick, whilſt all the Merchandize from the *Mediterranean* was landed at *Venice*, and from thence, by the Way of *Augsburgh*, diſperſed through all *Germany*: But ſince *Holland* has almoſt engroſſed all that Trade, *Augsburgh* bears its Share in the general Loſs, as well as *Venice*, *Milan*, *Antwerp*, and many other Cities, that were formerly famous for Commerce. In the Biſhop's Palace they ſhew you the Apartment where the Confeſſion of *Augsburgh* was preſented to the Emperor *Charles* V. in 1540, by *Luther* and *Melancthon*. The Cathedral here has a Gate of Braſs, over which are repreſented ſeveral hiſtorical Paſſages of the Holy Scripture in *baſſo relievo*. In the Hiſtory of the Creation the Virgin *Mary* is repreſented framing *Eve* out of one of *Adam*'s Ribs; which paſſes here for a great Elegance.

The Artiſans of *Augsburgh* are not inferior to thoſe of *Nurenbergh*; nay, they even excel them in Clocks, Goldſmiths Work, and in Ivory. They ſhewed us here ſeveral Clocks valued at fifteen or twenty thouſand Crowns a-piece; but the worſt is, they are ſo very nice that they are not durable. Their Ivory Work is no leſs admirable, and among the reſt certain Cups hollowed and well ſhaped, with a Ring made of the ſame Piece in turning, which plays betwixt the Foot and the Bowl of the Cup, without Poſſibility of coming off. Of theſe there are an hundred, with their Rings in a Pepper-corn of an ordinary Size: I have ſome of them. Upon Examination I obſerved diſtinctly the Traces of the Tool wherewith they are turned, which ſhews it a pure Work of the Eyes and Hand, and no Artifice. They have another curious Bauble, *viz.* Fleas faſtened about the Neck with Chains of Steel, ſo finely wrought, that though they are a Span long, they are ſo light, that a Flea will lift it up when it leaps. They ſell one of theſe Fleas, with Chain and all, for ten Pence.

The Singularity and Variety of Habits is ſtill more conſpicuous at *Augsburgh* than at *Nurenburgh*, that Affair being ſo exactly regulated here by the Magiſtrates, that the Difference of Religion, and Quality of People, is for the moſt Part ſeen by their Cloaths. As for Inſtance, I ſaw a *Roman* Catholick Merchant's Widow in Mourning for her Huſband; ſhe had a Kercher well whited and ſtarched, with Wings and Cornets belonging to this Dreſs; a black Petticoat, and black Cloak, made like that of a Man, reaching down to her Knees; a great white Veil behind, hanging at the Tail of the Kercher down to her Heels, enlarging itſelf by Degrees; a Piece of the ſame Linnen with the Kercher, four Feet long, and at leaſt two broad, which is very much ſtarched and ſtretched on a ſquare Wire Thread, faſtened juſt below the Hips, and covers all the Forepart of the Body.

They have found Means to turn a Branch of the River *Leck* into the City, the Waters whereof are exceeding clear and good. Upon this Channel ſtand four or five Towers, on the Tops of which are certain Ciſterns, which are filled by the Help of ſeveral Pumps moved by Mills, from whence the Water is conveyed into all Parts of the City. A Thing not to be admired only, but imitated. I muſt not forget to tell you, that *Augsburgh* has many Fountains, ſome of which are not inferior to the magnificent Fountain of *Nurenbergh*, which I formerly deſcribed.

11. As we were leaving *Augsburgh*, we took Notice upon the Road, that they cover the Vines and Fig-trees hereabouts with Straw or Mats againſt the Cold, which is ſharper than in *England*, though they do not lie ſo far to the North. The Country is all upon a Level betwixt *Augsburgh* and *Munich*, but none of the beſt, being full of Woods of Fir-trees.

Munich is a beautiful City, built *A. D.* 965, but very indifferently fortified, ſcarce half ſo big as *Augsburgh*, and of no Trade; the chief Thing it has to boaſt of being the Reſidence of their Prince, and his magnificent Palace. The firſt Thing we did, was to viſit the *Jeſuits* Library, of which we had heard Wonders, but found it far below our Expectation; and the Library-keeper, or his Deputy, who was ordered to ſhew it us, was ſo prodigious a Blockhead, that we could ſcarce imagine there could be ſo much Ignorance found among thoſe of that Order. However, both their Convent and Church are exceeding fine, and the laſt very large, light, and lofty; the Veſtry is very rich, and among their Relicks they ſhew a Joint as big as that of an Elephant, which, they told us, was one of St. *Chriſtopher*'s Joints of the Back-bone. In the *Auſtins* Church they have many excellent Pictures; and that of the *Cajetans* is an handſome Structure. The City of *Munich* bears a Monk in its Arms, which ſeems to confirm the common Opinion, that it got the *Latin* Name of *Monacum* or *Monachium*, from a Monaſtery that ſtood formerly on the Place where it was built.

In the Church of *Noſtre Dame* is the magnificent Tomb of the Emperor *Lewis* IV. beautified with many Marble and Braſs Figures. About ten or twelve Steps from the Entrance of the great Door of the Church, one of the Stones of the Pavement is marked with a double Croſs; and if you ſtand upright upon this Stone, you find the Pillars of the Church ſo placed, that you can't ſee one of the Windows of the Church. The Outſide of the Electoral Palace is no Way anſwerable to the Beauty of its Inſide, though, at the ſame Time, moſt of its Apartments are not very regular; for this vaſt Structure being not built by one Perſon, nor at the ſame Time, it differs according to the various Fancies of the Perſons that had the Management of its Fronts; notwithſtanding all which, it is, one the whole, a very beautiful Fabrick. The great Hall of the Elector's

Apartment is an hundred and eighteen Feet long, and fifty-two broad; it is truly magnificent, eſpecially in reſpect of its curious Pictures, which are all *Hiſtories*, the ſacred on one Side, and the profane on the other, every *Hiſtory* having a *Latin* Inſcription in Verſe, one of the beſt of which is the Diſtich annexed to that of *Suſannah.*

Caſta Suſanna placet ; *Lucretia cede Suſannæ,*
Tu poſt, Illa mori, maluit ante ſcelus.

In the little Chapel belonging to the Apartment of the Electoreſs, you ſee nothing almoſt but Gold, Pearls and Gems. Among the Relicks they ſhew you a Piece of Gold Mohair, which they pretend to be Part of the Virgin's Robes. The Parlour of Perſpectives is extremely fine; but the Hall of Antiquities, that were brought hither from *Rome*, exceeds all the reſt; we counted no leſs than one hundred ninety-two Buſts, and four hundred other Pieces here, all highly eſteemed for their exquiſite Workmanſhip and Antiquity. The Furniture of this Palace is rich beyond what can be imagined, and they told us, that beſides the Tapeſtry in Uſe, there were laid up in the Wardrobe to the Value of eight Millions of Crowns; but here, I am afraid, they overſhoot the Mark. The Treaſury contains whole Services of Gold, and many other precious Veſſels, vaſt Quantity of Pearls, Diamonds, Rubies, and other precious Stones, beſides an infinite Number of rare Pictures, curious Works, Medals, and valuable Rarities; among the reſt is a Cherry-ſtone, upon which you ſee diſtinctly engraven one hundred and forty Heads; with a Gondola of Palm-tree Wood turn'd into Stone, with this Inſcription:

Palma fui, cœpi lapideſcere, cymbula nunc ſum,
Si non Neptunus, Navita Bacchus erit.

Wherever you turn your Eyes in this Palace, you ſee nothing but Marble, though, to unravel the Secret, it is to be told, that this is only a certain Compoſition, which they know how to harden and poliſh ſo artificially, that it appears like, and laſts as well as, Marble. They have divers ſubterraneous Walks or Galleries, leading from the Palace to all the Churches and Convents of the City. The Arſenal was at that Time almoſt unfurniſhed, moſt of the beſt Arms and Cannon being carried from thence into *Hungary.* The ſhewed us here the Grand Vizier's Tent taken in the laſt Battle, which was more remarkable for its Bigneſs than its Beauty; the Materials were only of painted Callico, with fine Sattin Strings, covered with Silk Braid, and the Lozenges of the ſame, interwoven betwixt the Strings. This Country produces no Wine, and as they know no other Religion but the *Roman*, ſo they look upon thoſe of another Perſuaſion as Monſters rather than Men.

12. After we had travelled for ſome Time along the Banks of the River *Iſer*, (upon which *Munich* is ſeated) we paſſed through a Foreſt, and immediately on our coming out from thence, diſcovered the ſnowy Tops of the *Alps*, which at a Diſtance appeared like the foaming Waves of a raging Sea: We came the ſame Day to a Village called *Legrem*, ſeated near a ſmall Lake of freſh Water at the Foot of the Mountains; we eat here ſome Fiſh of a Kind which we had never ſeen before. We coaſted along the Mountains for two Hours, and by Degrees got within the Rocks covered with Fir-trees and Snow, being a moſt deſolate Place, and deſtitute of Inhabitants, except that near two or three Lakes you meet with a few Fiſhers Huts, made of the Roots of Fir-trees, well joined together, their Boats being made of the ſame Trees hollowed out, like *Indian* Canoes. At the Village of *Mittenwald*, three Leagues within the Mountains, ſeated in a pleaſant Valley ſurrounded with Rocks, they treated us with ſome Goats Fleſh and Salmon Trouts. Our Hoſt ſhewed us a certain Kind of round Stones of the Bigneſs of a Hen's Egg, which he aſſured us were found in the Stomach of their Goats, and reſembled a ſoft, imperfect *Bezoar*; he aſked ten Crowns a piece for them.

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Inſpruck, a City ſeated upon the River *Ihn*, about two Hours beyond the Middle of the before-mentioned Valley: Before you enter the City, you paſs that River over a Bridge, whence it received the Name of *Inſpruck*, i. e. *The Bridge of the Ihn*, and *Ænipons* or *Ænipontum* in *Latin.* The Houſes of *Inſpruck* are very fine, but their Roofs are built after an odd Manner, being flat on the Top, and the Rafters, inſtead of riſing to a Point, are reverſed, ſo that the Rain ſettles always in the Middle of the Roof. The Palace of *Inſpruck*, where the Duke of *Lorrain* reſided as Governor, is both convenient and large, but neither beautiful nor regular, having been built at different Times. There is one Thing particular here, of which I will endeavour to give you the beſt Account I can: There ſtands in the Middle of the City a Houſe called the *Chancery*, the Roof of the Porch of which, they tell you, was cover'd with Plates of Gold, by Archduke *Frederick*, after he return'd from his Exile. I made the beſt Obſervation I could concerning the Truth of this Story, and found that Plates of Braſs were faſtened to the Timber inſtead of Tiles, and that each of theſe Tiles was cover'd with another thin one of another Metal, which, if they be not Gold, I am ſure they are gilded; the Roof being about fifteen Feet ſquare, it could not by Calculation amount, ſuppoſing them to be Gold, to above two hundred thouſand Crowns. The twenty-eight magnificent Braſs Statues in the Church of the *Cordeliers*, were the Gift of the ſame *Frederick*: They are bigger than the Life, and repreſent Emperors, Archdukes, Dukes of *Burgundy*, two Empreſſ's, and two Princeſſes; the Names of whom they are not able to tell you, as much as they reverence that Family.

About half an Hour from *Inſpruck*, at the Foot of a Mountain, ſtands *Amras*, called in *Latin*, *Arx Ambroſiena*, a Country-Seat of the Archdukes, being remarkable only for its Situation and the Curioſities they ſhew to Strangers. There is a large Hall fill'd with all Sorts of Arms, which were more curious than uſeful; and among other Things, a Lance uſed by Archduke *Ferdinand* in Turnaments. They tell you moſt ſurprizing Things of the Strength of this Prince; as for Inſtance, That he could ſtop a Coach with ſix Horſes, by taking hold of a Spoke of the Wheel; and would break two Crown Pieces joined together. In an adjacent Gallery we ſaw the Effigies of many Princes mounted on their Horſes in Armour, with all the Ornaments uſed in Turnaments; and the Skin of a Serpent fifteen Feet long, taken near *Ulm*, upon the Banks of the *Danube*. At the End of this Gallery is an Apartment fill'd with the Spoils and Arms taken from the *Turks*. Here you ſee a *Baſſa* and an *Aga* of the *Janizaries* repreſented on Horſeback, in the ſame magnificent Habits and Harneſſes, embelliſh'd with Gold, Silver, and precious Stones, they had when they were taken Priſoners.

In another Gallery they ſhew'd us a double Rank of Cupboards, join'd by Backs and Sides extended along the Middle of the Gallery, there being but a little Room left to walk on both Sides: The three firſt were full of curious Works of all Sorts, as Alabaſter, Glaſs, Coral, and Mother of Pearl; the fourth contain'd Medals, and Gold and Silver Coins; the fifth, Veſſels of Porcelain and ſeal'd Earth; in the ſixth were many rare little Cabinets richly inlaid, the Drawers whereof were fill'd with Medals and little Curioſities of *Agate* and *Ambergriſe*. Beſides theſe, you ſee here ſeven large Volumes, bound in black Velvet, with Edges and Claſps of Silver, which inſtead of Leaves, contain'd ſmall Boxes fill'd with a great Number of Medals. The ſeventh Cupboard has many very ancient Arms curiouſly wrought; and amongſt the reſt, a Croſsbow with thirty-four leſſer Bows within its Compaſs, diſcharging as many Arrows at a Time. The eighth is fill'd with Animals, Plants, and ſuch-like natural Curioſities; here you ſee a Horn of an Ox of ſix Inches Diameter. The three following Cupboards are furniſh'd with Works of Ivory, of Wood, and of the Pen; the twelfth with Manuſcripts and rare Books; the thirteenth with Works of Steel, and particularly Padlocks, and other Locks of a rare Invention: In the fourteenth they ſhewed us Stones repreſenting Trees, Fruits, Shells and Animals, all the pure Productions of Nature: In the fifteenth and ſixteenth, all Sorts of Clock-work and muſical Inſtruments. The ſeventeenth contains a conſiderable Quantity of precious Stones unpoliſh'd, and of metallick and mineral Ores. The eighteenth, a good Number of ſmall Veſſels of precious Materials, and of the rareſt Shells in the World. The nineteenth ſurpaſſes all the reſt in Riches, being fill'd with Veſſels of Gold, Cryſtal, Agate, Chalcedony, Onyx, Cornelian, *Lapis Lazuli*, and other precious Stones, enrich'd with Gold and Diamonds in *baſſo relievo*, and other rare Workmanſhip. The twentieth and laſt contains Antiquities of all Sorts, Sepulchral Lamps, Urns, Idols, *&c.* and among the reſt a Piece of a Rope about the Length of a Hand, which, they tell you, is Part of the ſame wherewith *Judas* hang'd himſelf. On the Walls and Cieling you ſee an infinite Number of other Curioſities, among which the Bow of *Noah* is an admirable Piece of Painting, for which, they affirm, the Great Duke of *Tuſcany* offer'd an hundred thouſands Crowns; and in a great Cheſt you ſee a whole Cart-load of Medals laid up together; a ſure Sign they are not valuable. From hence they carried us into the Library, which we found much out of Order; and from thence into another Gallery full of Statues, Buſts, and other Pieces of Antiquity; beſides a great many other Apartments adorn'd with Pictures of a great Value. At our Inn (the *Golden Hart*) we ſaw a middle-aged Clown, who would lay his Arm ſtretch'd upon the Ground, upon which a luſty Fellow ſtanding with both his Feet, he lifted him up with the ſame Hand only, and carried him croſs the Room.

13. About a League beyond *Inſpruck* we re-enter'd the Mountains, and by a troubleſome and tedious Aſcent of ſeven Hours, came late at Night to a little Village (not quite at the Top of the Mountain) call'd *Gruſs*, i. e. *Salutation*, having acquired its Name from the Meeting of the two illuſtrious Brothers near it, *viz.* *Charles* V. and his Brother *Ferdinand*, the whole Account whereof you find engraven on a Marble Stone two hundred Paces from the Village, the exact Place where they firſt ſaluted each other. They treated us at Night with ſeveral Sorts of Wild Fowl and Veniſon; all the Hares, Foxes and Bears are white here, as well as moſt of their Partridges: They abound alſo in Heath Cocks and Hens, Pheaſants, and another Kind of large Wild Fowl, call'd by them *Schneebahn* or *Snow-gooſe*. All theſe Sorts of Wild Fowl have their Feet velveted about the Claws, with a Kind of Furr which is neither Hair nor Feathers, but ſo thick, that the Snow cannot penetrate it, a Point of natural Hiſtory that very well deſerves Notice.

This Mountain is call'd the *Brennerberg*, i. e. the *Burning Hill*, by reaſon of the piercing and burning Winds, which (together with both Thunder and Lightning) reign frequently there in the Summer Seaſon. Theſe Winds forcing their Paſſage thro' the Hollowneſs of the neighbouring Mountains, as it were thro' Pipes, raiſe ſuch furious Hurricanes, as ſometimes overthrow both Trees and Rocks. Having travell'd about two Hours the next Day, we came to the Top of the Mountain, where we diſcover'd a remarkable Spring, which diſcharging itſelf upon a Rock, there ſeparates into two Currents, which ſoon after become conſiderable Rivers, one turning to the South, and joining with the *Inn* near *Inſpruck*, the other to the North, after it has paſſed *Brixen* and *Bolſano*, diſcharges itſelf into the *Adige* a little above *Trent*. We dined at *Steerzingen*, where we eat the Fleſh of a certain Creature call'd by them *Steinbocks* or *Rock-Goats*, (*Rupæ Capræ*) Creatures betwixt a He-goat and a Doe, which were moſt excellent Meat.

From hence, the direct Way to *Trent* being very rough, we took that over *Brixen*, which is leſs dangerous: We met this Day above a hundred Waggons drawn by Oxen, the cloven Feet whereof were ſhod with Iron; they came from the Fair of *Bolſano*. We ſaw alſo, in theſe Mountains, Abundance of ſmall Carts with two Wheels, which the Peaſants draw themſelves, and chiefly make Uſe of to fetch Salt from *Hall*, a little City in the Valley of *Inſpruck*: It is made of Water boil'd into Salt. The Habits of theſe Mountaineers are very odd, ſome wearing green, others yellow, and other blue Hats, and that with ſuch little Difference in their Garments, that the Women are ſcarce to be diſtinguiſhed from the Men. *Brixen* is a very ſmall City in the Country of *Tyrol*, though it is the Reſidence of the Biſhop. They keep their beſt Apartments here in the higheſt Stories, but for what Reaſon I know not.

From hence to *Bolſano* is only ſeven Hours travelling; but as the Road lies betwixt the River and the high Mountains, if a ſudden Thaw happens to melt the Snow, it rolls down from the Precipices with ſuch Violence, that it ſwallows up both Man and Beaſt; whence it is, that on the Road you ſee ſo many ſmall Monuments, fill'd with the Hiſtories of ſuch as have

Apartment is an hundred and eighteen Feet long, and fifty-two broad; it is truly magnificent, eſpecially in reſpect of its curious Pictures, which are all *Hiſtories*, the ſacred on one Side, and the profane on the other, every *Hiſtory* having a *Latin* Inſcription in Verſe, one of the beſt of which is the Diſtich annexed to that of *Suſannah*.

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About two Leagues beyond *Seefeld* we began to deſcend into a Valley, at leaſt a Mile in Breadth, ſprinkled with divers pretty little Villages, watered by the River *Ihn*: We paſſed only on the right Side of it, along the Foot of the Mountain, where, after we had travelled a League further, they ſhewed us a ſtreight and craggy Rock, called the *Emperor's Rock*, above a hundred Fathoms high (as they aſſured us), at about three Quarters of the Height of which we could obſerve a Niche dug, in which ſtood a Crucifix, with a Statue on each Side: They tell you, that the Emperor *Maximilian* I. being in chaſe of a wild Goat, purſued her to this Place, where alighting from his Horſe, he durſt not remount it, but was forced to be brought down by the Help of Engines. There is indeed another Account of this Matter, which has received the Sanction of many great Names, particularly of *Stephen Pigghius*, who relates, that the Archduke *Maximilian*, after remaining two Days and two Nights in the Sight of Multitudes of People, in the Place where this Crucifix now ſtands, was at length conducted ſafely back by a Perſon unknown, and therefore ſuppoſed to have been an Angel, in Memory of which theſe Monuments are placed. Our Author added this Story in his later Editions, and brought ſome Inſtances to ſupport it, yet to many Readers, no doubt, his firſt Account will appear the moſt ſatisfactory.

Inſpruck, a City ſeated upon the River *Ihn*, about two Hours beyond the Middle of the before-mentioned Valley: Before you enter the City, you paſs that River over a Bridge, whence it received the Name of *Inſpruck*, i. e. *The Bridge of the Ihn*, and *Ænipons* or *Ænipontum* in *Latin*. The Houſes of *Inſpruck* are very fine, but their Roofs are built after an odd Manner, being flat on the Top, and the Rafters, inſtead of riſing to a Point, are reverſed, ſo that the Rain ſettles always in the Middle of the Roof. The Palace of *Inſpruck*, where the Duke of *Lorrain* reſided as Governor, is both convenient and large, but neither beautiful nor regular, having been built at different Times. There is one Thing particular here, of which I will endeavour to give you the beſt Account I can: There ſtands in the Middle of the City a Houſe called the *Chancery*, the Roof of the Porch of which, they tell you, was cover'd with Plates of Gold, by Archduke *Frederick*, after he return'd from his Exile. I made the beſt Obſervation I could concerning the Truth of this Story, and found that Plates of Braſs were faſtened to the Timber inſtead of Tiles, and that each of theſe Tiles was cover'd with another thin one of another Metal, which, if they be not Gold, I am ſure they are gilded; the Roof being about fifteen Feet ſquare, it could not by Calculation amount, ſuppoſing them to be Gold, to above two hundred thouſand Crowns. The twenty-eight magnificent Braſs Statues in the Church of the *Cordeliers*, were the Gift of the ſame *Frederick*: They are bigger than the Life, and repreſent Emperors, Archdukes, Dukes of *Burgundy*, two Empreſſ's, and two Princeſſes; the Names of whom they are not able to tell you, as much as they reverence that Family.

About half an Hour from *Inſpruck*, at the Foot of a Mountain, ſtands *Amras*, called in *Latin*, *Arx Ambroſiena*, a Country-Seat of the Archdukes, being remarkable only for its Situation and the Curioſities they ſhew to Strangers. There is a large Hall fill'd with all Sorts of Arms, which were more curious than uſeful; and among other Things, a Lance uſed by Archduke *Ferdinand* in Turnaments. They tell you moſt ſurprizing Things of the Strength of this Prince; as for Inſtance, That he could ſtop a Coach with ſix Horſes, by taking hold of a Spoke of the Wheel; and would break two Crown Pieces joined together. In an adjacent Gallery we ſaw the Effigies of many Princes mounted on their Horſes in Armour, with all the Ornaments uſed in Turnaments; and the Skin of a Serpent fifteen Feet long, taken near *Ulm*, upon the Banks of the *Danube*. At the End of this Gallery is an Apartment fill'd with the Spoils and Arms taken from the *Turks*. Here you ſee a *Baſſa* and an *Aga* of the *Janizaries* repreſented on Horſeback, in the ſame magnificent Habits and Harneſſes, embelliſh'd with Gold, Silver, and precious Stones, they had when they were taken Priſoners.

In another Gallery they ſhew'd us a double Rank of Cupboards, join'd by Backs and Sides extended along the Middle of the Gallery, there being but a little Room left to walk on both Sides: The three firſt were full of curious Works of all Sorts, as Alabaſter, Glaſs, Coral, and Mother of Pearl; the fourth contain'd Medals, and Gold and Silver Coins; the fifth, Veſſels of Porcelain and ſeal'd Earth; in the ſixth were many rare little Cabinets richly inlaid, the Drawers whereof were fill'd with Medals and little Curioſities of *Agate* and *Ambergriſe*. Beſides theſe, you ſee here ſeven large Volumes, bound in black Velvet, with Edges and Claſps of Silver, which inſtead of Leaves, contain'd ſmall Boxes fill'd with a great Number of Medals. The ſeventh Cupboard has many very ancient Arms curiouſly wrought; and amongſt the reſt, a Croſsbow with thirty-four leſſer Bows within its Compaſs, diſcharging as many Arrows at a Time. The eighth is fill'd with Animals, Plants, and ſuch-like natural Curioſities; here you ſee a Horn of an Ox of ſix Inches Diameter. The three following Cupboards are furniſh'd with Works of Ivory, of Wood, and of the Pen; the twelfth with Manuſcripts and rare Books; the thirteenth with Works of Steel, and particularly Padlocks, and other Locks of a rare Invention: In the fourteenth they ſhewed us Stones repreſenting Trees, Fruits, Shells and Animals, all the pure Productions of Nature: In the fifteenth and ſixteenth, all Sorts of Clock-work and muſical Inſtruments. The ſeventeenth contains a conſiderable Quantity of precious Stones unpoliſh'd, and of metallick and mineral Ores. The eighteenth, a good Number of ſmall Veſſels of precious Materials, and of the rareſt Shells in the World. The nineteenth ſurpaſſes all the reſt in Riches, being fill'd with Veſſels of Gold, Cryſtal, Agate, Chalcedony, Onyx, Cornelian, *Lapis Lazuli*, and other precious Stones, enrich'd with Gold and Diamonds in *baſſo relievo*, and other rare Workmanſhip. The twentieth and laſt contains Antiquities of all Sorts, Sepulchral Lamps, Urns, Idols, &c. and among the reſt a Piece of a Rope about the Length of a Hand, which, they tell you, is Part of the ſame wherewith *Judas* hang'd himſelf. On the Walls and Cieling you ſee an infinite Number of other Curioſities, among which the Bow of *Noah* is an admirable Piece of Painting, for which, they affirm, the Great Duke of *Tuſcany* offer'd an hundred thouſands Crowns; and in a great Cheſt you ſee a whole Cart-load of Medals laid up together; a ſure Sign they are not valuable. From hence they carried us into the Library, which we found much out of Order; and from thence into another Gallery full of Statues, Buſts, and other Pieces of Antiquity; beſides a great many other Apartments adorn'd with Pictures of a great Value. At our Inn (the *Golden Hart*) we ſaw a middle-aged Clown, who would lay his Arm ſtretch'd upon the Ground, upon which a luſty Fellow ſtanding with both his Feet, he lifted him up with the ſame Hand only, and carried him croſs the Room.

13. About a League beyond *Inſpruck* we re-enter'd the Mountains, and by a troubleſome and tedious Aſcent of ſeven Hours, came late at Night to a little Village (not quite at the Top of the Mountain) call'd *Gruſs*, i. e. *Salutation*, having acquired its Name from the Meeting of the two illuſtrious Brothers near it, *viz.* *Charles* V. and his Brother *Ferdinand*, the whole Account whereof you find engraven on a Marble Stone two hundred Paces from the Village, the exact Place where they firſt ſaluted each other. They treated us at Night with ſeveral Sorts of Wild Fowl and Veniſon; all the Hares, Foxes and Bears are white here, as well as moſt of their Partridges: They abound alſo in Heath Cocks and Hens, Pheaſants, and another Kind of large Wild Fowl, call'd by them *Schneehahn* or *Snow-gooſe*. All theſe Sorts of Wild Fowl have their Feet velveted about the Claws, with a Kind of Furr which is neither Hair nor Feathers, but ſo thick, that the Snow cannot penetrate it, a Point of natural Hiſtory that very well deſerves Notice.

This Mountain is call'd the *Brennerberg*, i. e. the *Burning Hill*, by reaſon of the piercing and burning Winds, which (together with both Thunder and Lightning) reign frequently there in the Summer Seaſon. Theſe Winds forcing their Paſſage thro' the Hollowneſs of the neighbouring Mountains, as it were thro' Pipes, raiſe ſuch furious Hurricanes, as ſometimes overthrow both Trees and Rocks. Having travell'd about two Hours the next Day, we came to the Top of the Mountain, where we diſcover'd a remarkable Spring, which diſcharging itſelf upon a Rock, there ſeparates into two Currents, which ſoon after become conſiderable Rivers, one turning to the South, and joining with the *Inn* near *Inſpruck*, the other to the North, after it has paſſed *Brixen* and *Bolſano*, diſcharges itſelf into the *Adige* a little above *Trent*. We dined at *Steerzingen*, where we eat the Fleſh of a certain Creature call'd by them *Steinbocks* or *Rock-Goats*, (*Rupæ Capræ*) Creatures betwixt a He-goat and a Doe, which were moſt excellent Meat.

From hence, the direct Way to *Trent* being very rough, we took that over *Brixen*, which is leſs dangerous: We met this Day above a hundred Waggons drawn by Oxen, the cloven Feet whereof were ſhod with Iron; they came from the Fair of *Bolſano*. We ſaw alſo, in theſe Mountains, Abundance of ſmall Carts with two Wheels, which the Peaſants draw themſelves, and chiefly make Uſe of to fetch Salt from *Hall*, a little City in the Valley of *Inſpruck*: It is made of Water boil'd into Salt. The Habits of theſe Mountaineers are very odd, ſome wearing green, others yellow, and other blue Hats, and that with ſuch little Difference in their Garments, that the Women are ſcarce to be diſtinguiſhed from the Men. *Brixen* is a very ſmall City in the Country of *Tyrol*, though it is the Reſidence of the Biſhop. They keep their beſt Apartments here in the higheſt Stories, but for what Reaſon I know not.

From hence to *Bolſano* is only ſeven Hours travelling; but as the Road lies betwixt the River and the high Mountains, if a ſudden Thaw happens to melt the Snow, it rolls down from the Precipices with ſuch Violence, that it ſwallows up both Man and Beaſt; whence it is, that on the Road you ſee ſo many ſmall Monuments, fill'd with the Hiſtories of ſuch as have either eſcaped narrowly, or periſh'd by theſe Accidents; and hence alſo it is that the Churches hereabouts, and eſpecially our Lady of *Newburgh*'s, are almoſt overladen with Preſents. We were not not a little ſurpized when we found the Valley of *Bolſano*, in the Middle of the Winter, cover'd with green Willows, Roſes and Mulberry-trees, the Reaſon whereof may be attributed to the Situation of the Valley, which on all Sides is ſhelter'd from the Winds.

The City of *Bolſano* belongs alſo to the Biſhoprick of *Trent*, but is of very little Compaſs; its chief Traffick ariſes from four Fairs a Year, each of which laſts fifteen Days, in which they exchange the Commodities brought thither from *Germany* and *Italy*. They ſhew'd us a round Hole of three Feet Diameter in the Roof of the Church, ſurrounded with a Garland of Ribbons of different Colours, on which hang a great Number of large Wafers: They told us, That an Opera being acted in that Church on *Aſcenſion Day*, the Perſon that repreſented Chriſt was taken up into Heaven thro' this Hole. The Valley of *Bolſano* is full of Vineyards, which produce a Wine much eſteemed thereabouts; but is not ſo pleaſing to Strangers, by reaſon of its fulſome Sweetneſs. The Road betwixt *Bolſano* and *Trent* (juſt a Day's Journey) is planted all along the Valley with Vines, where you ſee, at certain Diſtances, little Straw Hutts, ſupported by three high Fir-poles, like a Trevet, from whence they kill the Bears with Fuſils, that come from the Mountains to eat the Grapes.

Trent is much of the ſame Bigneſs as *Bolſano*, and ſeated after the ſame Manner, on a flat Rock of a Kind of red and white Marble, which alſo furniſhes the Materials for their Houſes. This City is ſubject to moſt dangerous Inundations, not only from the Overflowing of the River, but alſo from the Brooks of *Levis* and *Ferſena*, which ſometimes diſgorge themſelves with ſuch Impetuoſity from the adjacent Mountains, that they force great Rocks along with them even into the Town. *Trent* is fortified only with a ſingle Wall, waſh'd by the River *Adige*. The Bridge and Biſhop's Palace are much boaſted of by the Country People, tho' the laſt is low and but indifferently large. The Biſhop is both a Temporal and Spiritual Lord, and his Territories are of a conſiderable Extent. Some place this Country in *Germany*, others in *Italy*, becauſe the Biſhop is a Prince of the Empire; but the common Language of *Trent* is *Italian*, and the Inhabitants of the Country reckon it Part of *Italy*, in which, however, they are not follow'd by their Neighbours. In one of the Chapels of the Cathedral they ſhew a Crucifix as big as the Life, which, they very gravely ſay, bow'd its Head at the Time of the Council's being ſworn and proclaimed under it, to ſhew its Approbation of the Veracity of their Decrees. They add, That no body knows the Materials of which it is compoſed; and for that Reaſon would have you believe it was made without Hands. They are building a moſt magnificent Chapel, where it is to be placed, this being ſomewhat dark: They call it the *Holy Crucifix*.

The Church of St. *Mary major*, where this Council ſate, is a little Church, built of a kind of baſe Marble. The Organs here are worth taking Notice of, for they not only play'd to us many new Airs, but alſo counterfeited the Cries of divers Beaſts, the Beat of Drums, and ſeveral other Things of this Nature, which ſeem'd to us inconſiſtent with the Gravity of ſuch a Council, the Hiſtory whereof is painted near it.

In the Church of St. *Peter* they ſhew the Chapel of the little Saint *Simonin*, They tell you, that in 1276, the *Jews* ſtole their *Simonin*, (or little *Simon*) a Shoemaker's Son, in the 28th Month of his Age, and after having kill'd the Child in a moſt cruel Manner, to drink the Blood at one of their Feaſts, threw his Carcaſs into a Water pipe, (which now paſſes to the Houſe where the Thing was committed, and where their Synagogue was at that time) which being thence carried into the River, and found by ſome Fiſhermen, the whole Buſineſs was diſcovered, the *Jews* convicted, thirty-nine of them executed, and the reſt for ever baniſh'd the City. Pope *Sixtus* IV. canoniz'd the Child, who being embalm'd, is now to be ſeen in a Caſe upon the Altar of a Chapel dedicated to his Memory, with a Knife, Pincers, and four great Iron Needles they made Uſe of in tormenting him, and two Silver Goblets, in which they drank the Blood. The ſame Story is painted at *Frankfort on the Maine*, under the Bridge Gate. In the later Editions of our Author's Book there are many Hiſtories of the ſame Nature mentioned, to ſhew, that this is not altogether incredible.

15. The Additions and Alterations that our Author has made in the Courſe of numerous Editions through which his Book has paſs'd, renders it extremely difficult to make ſuch an Abridgement of it as was requiſite for our Purpoſe; ſince in order to this, we are obliged to run through all his Volumes, that we may bring together and unite the many different Paſſages in them that relate to the ſame Place; yet after all this is done, there remain ſome Things ſtill to be mention'd for the Satisfaction of a judicious Reader. As for Inſtance, at the End of his ſecond Volume, our Author has added a diſtinct Treatiſe under the Title of, *Inſtructions to a Traveller*, which at the Time he wrote it, was certainly one of the moſt uſeful and entertaining Parts of his Work; but we know by Experience, that the Length of Time has hurt it extremely.

He tells us therein, what Carriages a Traveller ſhould make uſe of, the Times when they ſet out and come in, and their Expence; but we know with Certainty that Things are much altered ſince, and that in this reſpect, the wiſeſt Thing a Traveller can do, is to provide himſelf with a *Dutch* Almanack for the Year in which he travels, where he will find every Thing ſet down of that Nature as it ſtands at preſent. We may ſay the ſame Thing with reſpect to the beſt Inns at every Place, and the Houſes where they ſpeak *French* and *Engliſh*, which alter ſo frequently, that they would be of little or no Uſe in a Collection of this Nature. He ſuggeſts likewiſe the Enquiries a Traveller ought to make, which is quite beſide our Purpoſe, and are alſo ſubject to many Variations.

We the rather mention theſe Particulars, that it may appear we conſider'd well what we were doing, and that we have left nothing untouch'd from Haſte or Inadvertency. There are alſo ſome long Diſſertations of his upon various Subjects, founded only upon Hints that he met with in his Travels; ſuch, for Example, as the Hiſtory of the Art of *Printing*, in which there are many Things curious and uſeful, but the taking in theſe would ſwell our Work far beyond its proper Bounds, or would oblige us to exclude other Things that the Publick have more Reaſon to expect from us; and after all, they would not anſwer very well the Intention for which they were introduced, ſince they really require much more Room than he has allowed them. But it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that what has been lately publiſhed to the World as a new Invention in this uſeful Art, under the Title of *Block Printing*, is in reality no more than what was firſt practiſed by *Coſter* and *Fauſtus*, and which was juſtly laid aſide upon *Mentel*'s inventing the Art of caſting ſeparate Letters. For according to the antient Method, which is ſtill in Uſe in *China*, the Letters were cut in Blocks of Wood or of Metal, from which the Sheets were wrought; but then it was neceſſary to cut Plates for every Page of a Book, which were of no Uſe but for the printing of that Book; and beſides their being very expenſive, took up a vaſt deal of Room, and after all, could never be brought to furniſh ſuch neat, beautiful, and correct Impreſſions, as we have from the Method that is now practiſed.

In regard to the Alterations that have happen'd in the Places through which he paſſed, with reſpect to their Change of Maſters or Forms of Government, it would be equally needleſs and endleſs to aim at Corrections, becauſe we muſt then write the Hiſtory of every City and Territory, which would require many Volumes, All that in this reſpect could be done, was to retrench ſuch Paſſages as are no longer either uſeful or entertaining upon account of ſuch Changes, and preſerving only thoſe that are and will be inſtructive and pleaſant as long as the Places remain to which they refer.

Theſe Obſervations and Remarks are placed at the End of this Section, that the Reader may the better judge of the Reaſons upon which they are founded, as well as to ſpare ourſelves and him the Trouble of repeating the ſame Things, where thoſe Reaſons have made the ſame Conduct neceſſary in the remaining Part of his Work, of which it is but Juſtice to ſay, that moſt of its Imperfections are ſuch as no Performance of the ſame Kind can be exempted from, and that moſt of his Superfluities are owing to his Endeavours to render his Book complete; which from the Nature of Things, neither it nor any of its Kind ever can be; for while Things are ſubject to perpetual Alterations, it is impoſſible to frame any Deſcriptions of them that will laſt for any conſiderable Length of Time; this therefore we hope will be a ſufficient Apology, both for him and for us, and ſhall, for that Reaſon, inſiſt upon this Subject no longer, but return again to our Author's Travels.

SECTION II.

The TRAVELS *of Mr.* MAXIMILIAN MISSON, *through a great Part of* Italy, *with a diſtinct Detail of whatever is curious or worthy of Obſervation in the Places he viſited, and many judicious and important Remarks on the Manners, Cuſtoms,* &c. *of the Inhabitants.*

1. *A Deſcription of what is remarkable in the Road to* Verona; *of that City and of the chief Edifices, and other Things that are remarkable therein.* 2. *An Account of his Journey from thence to* Vicenza; *a Deſcription of that City, and of* Padua, *with Abundance of Remarks upon the ancient and modern State of that famous Univerſity.* 3. *The Author's Paſſage from thence to* Venice; *a very large Account of that famous City, and of all the publick Buildings, and other Places of Note therein.* 4. *This Subject continued, with various Remarks upon a Multitude of curious and entertaining Topicks.* 5. *The Concluſion of this Subject, interſperſed with Obſervations upon the Government of the Republick, and the Hiſtory of the ſeveral Dukes of* Venice. 6. *A Deſcription of* Rovigo, Ferrara, Ravenna, Rimini, Peſaro, *and* Fano, *with an Account of what is remarkable in each of them, and in the Country about them.* 7. *A very copious and circumſtantial Deſcription of* Loretto, *of the holy Houſe there, with many curious and entertaining Reflections.* 8. *The Author's Journey from* Loretto *to* Rome, *with a Deſcription of all the Places of Note he paſſed through in his Way, with Obſervations upon their Situation, Produce, ancient and modern Condition,* &c. 9. *An Account of whatever is remarkable in the Way between* Rome *and* Naples; *a Deſcription of the* Roman *High-ways, and ſome Account of the City of* Naples. 10. *That Subject continued, together with a particular and moſt entertaining Relation of the Author's Journey to Mount* Veſuvius, *and other remarkable Places in the Neighbourhood of that City.* 11. *A very large and uſeful Collection of Remarks and Obſervations on the City and Republick of* Venice, *occaſioned by a long Letter written to the Author during his Stay in* Italy, *in which are contained a Multitude of very important Particulars, and wherein many vulgar Errors are enumerated and refuted.*

1. FROM hence we travelled on to *Roveredo*, a little City famous for its Trade in Silk, and ſo on to *Borguetto*, the laſt Village in the Territority of *Trent*, and to *Oſſenigo*, the firſt belonging to the *Venetians*, a little wooden Croſs being the Mark that ſhews the Boundary of theſe two States. On this Side of the firſt mentioned City, you travel thro' the *Wood of Roveredo*, as they call it, tho' there is ſcarce a Shrub to be ſeen all the Way, the Ground being covered with Rocks, that lie ſcattered up and down, at ſome Diſtance from one another. It is a dangerous Paſſage for Travellers, as well as the Foreſt of *Vergnara*, between *Oſſenigo* and the Fort of *Guardara*, by Reaſon of the Multitude of Robbers that frequent theſe deſart Places. It being too late to reach the Fort *Scluſe*, we were forced to lodge in the little Village of *Seraino*. The Fort is ſeated at the Foot of a high Rock, the Way leading to it being cut out of the craggy Rock, which is a Precipice on the Back-ſide, at the Bottom whereof the *Adige* runs with a ſwift Current.

After we had paſſed the Fort, and had coaſted for ſome Time the Banks of the ſaid River, which here glides along among the Rocks, we came at laſt into a vaſt Plain, which is ſtony and barren in divers Places, tho' in others you ſee it well planted with Olive and white Mulberry-trees for Silk-worms, as well as with Vines, the laſt of which are planted at the Foot of Cherry-trees and young Elms, and join themſelves from Tree to Tree, forming thereby a very agreeable Proſpect. Having paſſed the *Adige* in a Ferry-boat two Leagues from *Seraino*, we diſcovered ſoon after the City of *Verona*, where we arrived the ſame Day.

On that Side where we entered the Gates, we found a great many void Spaces, and the Graſs growing in the Streets, which were ſcarce half-paved; and though the reſt is ſomething better, yet, generally ſpeaking, it is a poor Place, and very indifferently peopled. The Houſes are commonly low and unequal, the Balconies for the moſt part of Wood, and the Streets dirty and generally very narrow; however, its Situation is infinitely pleaſing, and the Air very good. The *Adige* divides it in two Parts, which are joined again by four Stone Bridges. The Caſtle of St. *Peter* being ſeated upon a riſing Ground, affords a moſt admirable Proſpect of the adjacent Country. The Fort of St. *Felix* is behind that of St. *Peter*, and both together command the City; the reſt of the Fortifications are both irregular, and much out of Repair.

The Amphitheatre of *Verona* is all deſtroyed as to the Front or outward Wall, but the Benches have been kept in tolerable Repair: There are forty four of them, the Circumference of the higheſt I found five hundred and thirty Paces, and of the loweſt two hundred and fifty; each Step is a Foot and a half high, and twenty-ſix Inches broad. At each End of the *Arena*, betwixt the Benches, is a Portal of twenty-five Feet high, by which you may enter out of the Street into the *Arena*; and above each of theſe Portals, a Balcony of twenty Feet long and ten broad, ſurrounded with Marble Rails.

In the Cathedral, which is a little dark Building, you ſee the Tomb of Pope *Lucius* III. with this Inſcription only.

Oſſa Lucii III. *Roma pulſus invidia.* i. e.

The Remains of Lucius III. *enviouſly driven from* Rome.

The Church of St. *Zeno* at *Verona* acknowledges *Pepin* the Son of *Charlemagne* for its Founder; it has moſt wretched Carving on the Frontiſpiece. On the Portal I took Notice of two Birds that, I ſuppoſe, were made for Cocks, holding between them a Creature with a long Tail, intended perhaps for a Fox, by which, ſome believe, is repreſented *Pepin* and *Charlemagne*, (two *Frenchmen*) who diſpoſſeſs'd *Didier* King of the *Lombards*. On the ſame Portal is another Hieroglyphick, *viz.* a Man on Horſeback in *baſſo relievo*, over whom the following three Verſes are engraved, in half *Roman* and half *Gothick* Characters:

O Regem ſtultum, petit infernale tributum,
Moxque paratur equus, quem miſit Dæmon iniquus.
Exit aquæ nudus, petit infera non rediturus.

But though we gueſs'd at the *Rebus* of the Cocks and Fox, yet I muſt own I could not meet with any body that could give me an Interpretation of this Devil's Horſe. Near the Church of St. *Mary the Old* you ſee many magnificent Tombs of the *Scaligers*, who were Princes of *Verona* before this City was forc'd to ſubmit to the *Venetians*, and from whom the learned *Julius* and *Joſeph Scaligers* pretended to derive themſelves.

The Cabinet of Count *Maſcardo*, conſiſting of a Gallery and ſix Chambers full of Pictures, Books, Rings, Animals, Plants, Metals, monſtrous or extravagant Productions of Nature, and the moſt exquiſite Pieces of Art, is ſo admirable, and their Number ſo great, that even a Catalogue of them would fill a good Volume; however, I can't forbear to mention ſome of them, not ſpoken of before: It has many Inſtruments and Utenſils uſed in the *Pagan* Sacrifices, and divers Figures of Braſs, which they uſed to hang up in their Temples in Remembrance of ſome ſignal Deliverance; divers Pieces of Workmanſhip out of the Stone *Amianthos*, or the *Aſbeſtos*, ſpun into Thread like Cotton. Here I obſerv'd alſo many of thoſe Parts of Trees uſed among the Ancients before the inventing of Paper; two Trees of black Coral three Feet high each; a Hen's Egg of this Figure (═); a Circumciſion Knife, uſed by the *Jews* to thoſe Children that died before the eighth Day.

We ſaw a very ſingular Funeral at *Verona*, the Body being dreſt all in Black, with a white Linnen Cloak, a fine Periwig upon the Head, and a Hat adorn'd with a Garland of Flowers, was thus laid upon a Quilt, with a Counterpane of flower'd Silk yellow and red, and a Pillow of the ſame Stuff. It was carried thus open by four Men thro' the Streets, the Company following two by two, and ſuch as were never married wearing Garlands, in Imitation of the Ancients, who had their *Corona Pudicitiæ*, or *Garland of Chaſtity*. One Mr. *Montel*, a *French* Merchant living at *Verona*, and ſince in *London*, gave me an Account of a Proceſſion he had often ſeen, which I can't but give you; the Story runs thus.

Jeſus Chriſt having a Compaſſion for the Aſs he made his Entrance upon into *Jeruſalem*, gave her a Key to the Fields, where ſhe was to feed quietly all her Life-time after; but the Aſs, it ſeems, being tired with her own Country Paſture, had a Mind to try thoſe of foreign Countries, and coming to the Sea, the Waves became ſmooth and ſolid, ſo that with little Trouble ſhe viſited the Iſles of *Cyprus*, *Rhodes*, *Candia*, *Maltha* and *Sicily*, and thence coming to the Gulph of *Venice*, ſtaid for ſome Time in the ſame Place where *Venice* was built ſince; but finding the Air not very healthy, and the Marſhy Paſtures not ſweet enough for her Palate, ſhe march'd up the River *Adige* to *Verona*, where ſhe liv'd and ended her Days. This you obſerve is the Legend; now for the Proceſſion.

To preſerve the Memory of this renown'd Aſs, they have put his Relicks into the Belly of an artificial Aſs, which is kept in the Church of *Noſtre Dame* of the Organs, and which is carried two or three Times every Year, by four of the ſtrongeſt Monks of the Convent, in Pontifical Habits, in Proceſſion round the City. This I believe is more than was ever done in *Arcadia*, where they had a ſingular Veneration for this Animal, and may be juſtly ſtiled the *Proceſſion* of *Aſſes*.

I have juſt now made a ſecond Viſit to the Cabin of the Count *Maſcardo*; and the obliging Perſon who received me was pleaſed with my Curioſity, inſtead of looking upon it as a Trouble. He aſſured me that he never thought any Part of his Time ſo agreeably employed, as that which he ſpent in ſhewing his Curioſities to thoſe who love them, and that he was extreamly pleaſed he could entertain me alone without being diſturbed by the Crowd, which for ſeveral Reaſons he ſaid, made him always very uneaſy. We began immediately to take another View of many Rarities and Curioſities, and I found him more communicative than the firſt Time I ſaw him, for he talk'd very much, all he ſaid ſhewing a great deal of Knowledge and Literature. We fell upon Drawers of precious Stones, and he ſhewed me very fine Amethyſts, and quoted ſeveral Authors, who affirm that *Joſeph* preſented one ſet in a Ring to the Virgin, when he eſpouſed her; and when I was looking upon the Sapphires, he cited a Paſſage of St. *Epiphanius*, who believed that GOD wrote the Decalogue upon a Sapphire. The Virtues that are aſcribed to thoſe and other Stones, furniſhed us with Matter for a new Converſation. He has a conſiderable Number of the Stones which he calls *Saette*, *Fulmini*, *Pietre ceraunei*, and Thunderbolts. This is a Matter of Fact, that if true, deſerves to be examin'd, and perhaps I may another Time give you a more poſitive Account relating to this Subject.

But at preſent I muſt make haſte to finiſh my Letter. I took Notice of ſome Mirrors of mix'd Metal that were dug up near *Verona*, and are probably very ancient. The Uſe of Mirrors made of Glaſs, is an Invention that one may reckon amongſt thoſe that are new; but thoſe that have written, without any Manner of Diſtinction, that Mirrors in general were unknown to the Ancients, are fallen into a groſs Miſtake, for both ſacred and profane Books make frequent Mention of them. Among the great Variety of Coins that are to be ſeen in the Cabinet, there are ſome of Leather, but ſo diſfigur'd, that I could not make any certain Judgment of them. I remember the obliging and learned Mr. *Hearne*, one of the Keepers of the famous *Bodleian* Library at *Oxford*, has ſhewn me one which was better preſerved in the Cabinet of the *Schola Academica*, of which Cabinet he has the Care and Management. No Man is ignorant of the Uſe that has been made of this Sort of Money at ſeveral Times, and on different Occaſions.

2. As we travell'd from *Verona* to *Vicenza*, we found the Country very fertile, well cultivated, and generally level: Their Trees they plant here Lozenge wiſe, on which they raiſe their Vines. We dined at the little Village *La Torre*, the Boundary betwixt the *Veroneſe* and *Vincentin* Territories: Their Wines are fulſome and ſweet; their Bread, tho' made of excellent and very white Flower, is as heavy as a Lump of Earth, for want of good Management; and the reſt of our Dinner was only a Diſh of grey Peaſe fry'd in Oil, a Thing ſurprizing enough in ſo plentiful a Country, when we had better Fare among the Mountains.

Vicenza is ſcarce half ſo big as *Verona*, and but ſlenderly fortified with an old Wall. There are four Rivulets meet near it, but none are navigable. Among their Churches, the *Coronata* is finely paved and wainſcotted; and that of the Religious of St. *Catherine* is remarkable for three very fine Altars, as the Cathedral is for divers good Pictures. Their Town-houſe, though much boaſted of by the *Italians*, is but an indifferent Structure, as indeed are many others, which paſs among them for mighty magnificent Buildings, there being nothing more natural to the *Italians*, than to be laviſh in their Titles, whence they give frequently the Name of a *Palace* to thoſe Structures that would ſcarce paſs for a handſome Seat in other Parts; as they often ſtile that a *Chamber of Audience*, which in *England* they call a large *Parlour*. Among other Fabricks, we ſaw a little Country Seat belonging to the Marquiſs of *Capra*, about half a League from the City: It is a ſquare Building, in the Midſt whereof is the Hall, under a ſmall Dome, having at each Angle of the Square two Chambers and a Cloſet: It has ſome good Pictures, and its Situation on an Aſcent makes it very pleaſant.

In our Return we look'd upon the Church of our Lady of *Montberic*; the Prior gravely told us, that this Image of our Lady came out of the Earth, in the ſame Place where ſhe now ſtands, and from whence ſhe is not to be removed; for if you will believe him, ten thouſand Men have been employ'd to carry her to *Vicenza*, but could not perform that Taſk. The Picture by the Hand of *Paul* of *Verona*, in the Dining-Room, repreſenting St. *Gregory* at Dinner with ſome Pilgrims, is a moſt excellent Piece. The Ruins of the old Amphitheatre at *Vicenza* are hid under other Buildings. The Theatre, which is in the Academy of the *Olympicks*, is the Work of the great Architect *Palladio*; as is the Triumphal Arch without the Gates that lead into the Plain call'd the *Field of Mars*, in Imitation of the Ancients.

The Garden of the Count *Valmanara* is a Thing much boaſted of among the *Vincentins*: It is, indeed, true, it has a handſome Canal, curious Diviſions, Knots, and Cloſets, and a moſt delightful Alley of Oranges and Citrons; but, after all, it wants much of being an accompliſh'd Piece, ſuitable to the Inſcription over the Garden Gate, which begins (and is continued) in the following pompous Strain.

> *Stop, dear Traveller, thou who ſearcheſt for rare Things and enchanted Places, for here thou mayſt find Satiſfaction: Enter into this delicious Garden, and take a full Taſte of all Sorts of Pleaſures; the Count* de Valmanara *gives thee Leave*, &c.

The Road betwixt *Vicenza* and *Padua* is much the ſame as betwixt *Verona* and *Vicenza*. We paſſed the *Tezenza* about an Hour after we left *Vicenza*, and the *Brenta* an Hour on this Side of *Padua*, call'd, on Account of its Univerſity, *the Learned*, a large and yet a very poor City, ſeated in the Midſt of a moſt fruitful Country, having many void Places without Houſes, and many Houſes without Inhabitants; which is alſo the Caſe of ſome other neighbouring Places. This City fell into the Hands of the *Venetians* in 1406, and in 1519, they included the Suburbs within the Fortifications, which are now ready to fall. The Streets of this City are lined on both Sides with Portico's or Piazza's, which, tho' they afford a convenient Shelter againſt the Rains and Sun-beams, make them narrow and dark, and give Opportunity to many Murders, Robberies, and other Inſolencies committed by the Scholars, known by the Name of the *Qui-va-li* of *Padua*.

Theſe Scholars had a Cuſtom of going abroad arm'd in the Night-time in whole Troops, and lurking between the Pillars of theſe *Piazza's*, aſſault ſuch as happen to paſs by that Way; for whilſt one aſks the Queſtion, *Qui-va-li?* Another immediately cries *Qui-va-la?* And ſo, without giving Time to the Paſſenger to recollect himſelf, knock him down, and ſometimes break an Arm or a Leg, or perhaps give him a Paſſport to the other World. Some underſtanding Perſons in theſe Parts are of Opinion, that *Padua* was formerly a Sea-port, by reaſon of its ancient Grandeur and Riches, and that now they ſometimes dig Maſts and Anchors out of the Ground; but theſe may perhaps be the Remnants of Ships left in a Canal leading to that City.

The *Paduans* boaſt of *Antenor* as their firſt Founder; but not to inſiſt upon the Improbability of this Aſſertion, or enquire whether *Padua* be the *Patavium* of *Antenor*, I will only tell you, that their pretended Tomb of *Antenor* is a mere Impoſition upon the World; for, about four hundred Years ago, as they were laying the Foundation of an Hoſpital, they happened to dig up a Leaden Coffin, near which lay a Sword; the Coffin was without any Inſcription, but the Sword had ſome Verſes in *barbarous Latin*, having but very little Relation to what was uſed in *Antenor*'s Days: Notwithſtanding which, the *Paduans* in general, but eſpecially one *Lupatus*, a Man of ſome Learning, and who was one of their Magiſtrates, were ſo much prepoſſeſs'd with the Conceit of their pretended Founder, that they would needs erect this Monument at the Entrance of St. *Lawrence*'s Street, and beſtow the Title of *Antenor*'s *Tomb* upon it, with the following Inſcription in *Gothick* Characters:

C. *Inclytus, Antenor. patriam vox niſa quietem,*
Tranſtulit huc Enetum Dardanidumque fugas
Expulit Euganeos, Patavinam condidit Urbem
Quem tenet hic humili, marmore ceſa domus.

Several Criticiſms have been made upon this Inſcription, but among all the reſt, no body has been able to find out yet the Intention of the C. at the Beginning of theſe Verſes. The Tomb of *Lupatus* ſtands juſt by that of his dear *Antenor*, to whom he gave a Name, tho' not a Being.

The Church of St. *Anthony* of *Liſbon*, otherwiſe call'd St. *Anthony* of *Padua*, is both very large and exceeding magnificent in Carving and Painting, and many very ſumptuous Tombs; among the laſt are that of *Alexender Contarini* the *Venetian* Admiral, and of Count *Horatio Sicco*, kill'd at the laſt Siege of *Vienna*. The Picture in *Freſco* in the Chapel of St. *Felix*, done by the famous *Giotto*, is a moſt admirable Piece: But the moſt conſiderable Piece of all in this City, is, the Chapel of St. *Anthony*, which is forty Feet long, and twenty-five broad; his Body lies entomb'd under the Altar, which is very magnificent and rich: They pretend that his Bones ſend forth an odoriferous Scent, for which Reaſon there is kept a Place behind the Altar, which being not well joined, it is no difficult Matter to put ſome Balſam into the Opening. The Chapel is cover'd all over with a *Baſſo relievo* Work of white Marble, repreſenting the Miracles wrought by this Saint, the Works of *Tullius Lombardus* and *Sanſovin*. Before the Altar hang thirty-ſix great Silver Lamps, which burn Night and Day, to the Honour of this Saint.

The Church of St. *Juſtina* is both very large and very magnificent, tho' not brought yet to its full Perfection; the Pavement is compoſed of red, black, and white Marble Squares; and the Roof of the great Church hath ſeven Domes, which afford it both Light and Ornament, and two more on each Arm of the Croſs: In it there are twenty-four fine Marble Altars, all of a different Colour, beſides the *great Altar*, which is a moſt magnificent Work: They ſuffer no Monuments to be erected in this Church. The *Baſſo relievo* of the Benches of the Choir, repreſenting the Prophecies of the *Old Teſtament* concerning Chriſt, with their Accompliſhment in the *New*, is almoſt ſurprizing: It was not finiſhed in leſs Time than twenty-two Years. The Hiſtory of the Martyrdom of St. *Juſtina* over the *great Altar*, is of the excellent Hand of *Paul* of *Verona*. The Monaſtery is a vaſt Pile of Building, having no leſs than ſix Cloyſters, and as many Courts and Gardens: I will not trouble you with the Story of the Image of the Virgin, which flew from *Conſtantinople* when the *Turks* became Maſters of that City, no more than with an Account of the other Saints that are kept in this Church. The great Place near it, 256 Feet long, and 86 broad, was formerly called the *Field of Mars*, but has ſince changed its Name into that of *Prato della Valle*, or the *Meadow of the Valley*. The Hall of the Town-houſe is a hundred and ten Paces long, and forty broad, but dark: It contains many Monuments of illuſtrious Perſons. The *Paduans* have had no leſs Succeſs in finding the Tomb of their Countryman *T. Livius*, than in that of *Antenor*, for in 1413, a Shrine of Lead having been found in the Gardens of St. *Juſtina*, they did not in the leaſt queſtion but that this Coffin muſt be that of *Titus Livius*, conſidering this noted Hiſtorian was the *Prieſt of Concord*, and that this Monaſtery of the *Benedictines* of St. *Juſtina* was built upon the Ruins of the ancient *Temple of Concord*.

To be ſhort, this pretended Coffin of *Livius* being changed for one of Wood, was carried with a great deal of Pomp to the Palace of Juſtice, where they erected the ſame Monument that is ſeen to this Day, and afterwards added the following Inſcription, which was found in the Neighbourhood of the Place where the *Temple of Concord* formerly ſtood:

V. F. (*)
Titus Livius
Liviæ T. F.
Quartæ L.
Halys
Concordialis
Patavi
Sibi & ſuis
Omnibus.

(*) *Vivens Fecit.*

Over this Inſcription they have placed a Head of Marble, which paſſes for that of *Titus Livius*; but tho' both the Head and the Inſcription are ancient, yet *Orſato* has, in his late Diſſertation, ſufficiently proved, that the *Titus Livius*, mentioned in this Inſcription, was no more than a freed Man of one of the Daughters of *Titus Livius* the Hiſtorian. But ſatisfying the Learned and the People are two Things.

To leave the Fables and Incertainties of Antiquity, I ſhall give you an Account of another Monument which we ſaw in the ſame Hall, and which is worthy of Obſervation. Some have exalted *Suſannah* above *Lucretia*; but it may be juſtly ſaid, that the Marchioneſs *d'Obizzi* ſurpaſſed *Suſannah* and *Lucretia* both. Since when ſhe ſaw Death preſent before her, ſhe reſolved to ſuffer it courageouſly, rather than to permit her Chaſtity to be violated. A Gentleman of *Padua* was paſſionately in Love with this young and beautiful Lady, and found an Opportunity to get into her Chamber when ſhe was in Bed, in the Abſence of the Marquis *d'Obizzi* her Huſband. It is probable that he tried the ſofteſt and moſt gentle Ways before he proceeded to Acts of Violence: But at laſt, when he ſaw he could not prevail, his Love turned to Fury, and he was ſo tranſported with Rage, that he ſtabb'd this virtuous Lady. Here is the Inſcription.

Venerare, Hoſpes, Pudicitiæ Simulacrum & Victimam,
Cui hanc Aram Patavini erexere Proceres:
LUCRETIAM, *ſcilicet*, DE DONDIS AB HOROLOGIO,
Quæ Latinam Lucretiam Intemerati Thori
Gloria vicit.
Hæc, inter Noctis Tenebras Maritales aſſeruit Tedas,
Et furiales recentis Tarquinii faces,
Caſto Cruore extinxit.
Per Januas Saucii oris juguli Pectoriſque
Impiâ Novacula reſoratas,
Candidam efflavit Animam.
Tam fortis Heroinæ
Quam Numen Pio ANEÆ *ex* OBIZZONIBUS,
Orciani Dynaſtæ Connubio junxit,
Gloroſis Manibus,
Patria Lacrymis, Italia Atramento
Parentavit.
Anno M.DC.LXXII.

You will, doubtleſs, commend the *Paduans* for taking Care to eternize the Memory of ſo rare a Virtue, that met with ſuch a barbarous Treatment: And perhaps your Curioſity will prompt you to deſire the Continuation of the Story. When the Marchioneſs was ſurprized in her Bed, her only Son, about five Years old, was with her; but the Murderer having carried him into a neighbouring Chamber before he perform'd his horrid Villainy, the Child could not ſee all that paſſed. The Thing being brought to Light, the ſaid Murderer was taken into Cuſtody upon Suſpicion. It was known that he had an Inclination to the Marchioneſs. The Child gave ſome Information: Some Neighbours affirm'd, they had ſeen the Gentleman in that Part of the City. They found a Button of his Sleeve upon the Bed, Fellow to that which he ſtill wore; and theſe Things were ſtrong Preſumptions of his Guilt. They then put him to the Torture, both ordinarily and extraordinarily; but he ſtill denied the Fact, and after fifteen Years Impriſonment, his Friends, by their Importunity, ſaved his Life, and even, as I ſuppoſe, obtained his Liberty, which yet he enjoyed not long; for ſome Months after his Deliverance, the young Marquiſs, which was the Child I ſpoke of, ſhot him with a Piſtol in the Head, and ſo revenged the Death of his Mother. He is at preſent (1687) in *Germany* in the Emperor's Service.

The Amphitheatre of *Padua* exceeded that of *Verona*; however, nothing is to be ſeen of it now, but an Heap of Ruins. I muſt tell you, to ſhew how different People's Notions are, that going into a Tennis-court here, I found the Walls white, the Balls black, and the Rackets of the Bigneſs of a large Sieve.

3. We left *Padua* the 20th of *December*, and came to *Venice* the ſame Night in good Time. By the Way we ſaw many good Villages and fine Country-houſes belonging to *Noble Venetians*. Coming to *Meſtre*, a little City on the Shore of the Gulph, five Miles from *Venice*, we took a *Gondola*, which carried us in an Hour and a half thither.

To give a true Idea of *Venice*, I muſt ſay ſomething of the Waters, in the Midſt whereof it is built. It is certain, that the Grounds upon which *Venice* now ſtands were, thirteen or fourteen hundred Years ago, drowned by the Sea, till afterwards they were raiſed out of the Water, and Channels made betwixt them, for the more convenient Approach of Veſſels to the City, ſome of them being capable of admitting Ships of the greateſt Burthen; whereas ſome cannot carry Veſſels of above two hundred Tons. To empty the Mud out of theſe Channels, they have Mills and other Engines, and have turn'd the Mouth of the *Brent* and other Rivers, to prevent their forcing the Sands into the Lagunes or Channels, for Fear the Earth ſhould gain upon them, who put their greateſt Safety and Strength in their watery Situation: But as they are obliged on one Side to keep the Depth of their Waters, ſo on the other Hand, it is not for their Intereſt that theſe Channels ſhould be of an equal Depth in all Places, this being one of their main Securities, which has ſtood them in good Stead at ſeveral Times, witneſs the Miſcarriage of *Pepin*'s Veſſels in theſe Channels, and of the *Genoeſe* Fleet about three hundred Years ago.

Imagine then, a City with thirty or forty tall Steeples to riſe from among theſe Channels, at a League and a half Diſtance from the Continent, without any other Defence than the Waves of the Sea, and you will have a tolerable Idea of *Venice*.

I know that all Geographers agree, that *Venice* is compoſed of ſeventy-two Iſles; nor will I controvert ſo received an Opinion: But I muſt confeſs, that I can by no Means conceive where theſe ſeventy-two Iſles ſhould be; and I dare aſſure you, that this Account gives a falſe Notion of the Situation of this City. It ſhould ſeem by this Deſcription, that there were ſeventy-two little Hills, one near the other; and that theſe little Eminencies being all inhabited, had at laſt formed the City of *Venice*; which is not true. *Venice* is generally flat, built on Piles in the Water, which waſhes the Foundations of the Houſes, to the Height of four or five Feet. It is true, they have made the beſt Uſe of ſeveral Spaces of Ground of a reaſonable Bigneſs, which may, indeed, give Occaſion for one to believe, there was formerly ſome Land there; but not ſeventy-two Iſles, or any Thing like them. For the Streets, they are very narrow, and the moſt Part of them ſeem to have been filled up, and raiſed with Mud and Rubbiſh, eſpecially along the Canals; but it is not at all probable, that they have a ſolid natural Ground at the Bottom. If all the Diviſions which the Canals make, were reckoned for Iſles, we ſhould find near two hundred inſtead of ſeventy two. It muſt be farther obſerved, that the Number of theſe Iſles might be arbitrarily increaſed, and new ones made in any Place, by fixing Piles, and building Houſes upon them, as Bridges are built by Means of *Baſterdeaux*, in the deepeſt and moſt rapid Rivers; nay, even in the Sea alſo, as at *Pozzuolo* and *Dunkirk*, beſides ſeveral Moles. So that taking the Thing after this Manner, they could make ſuch artificial Iſlands wherever they pleaſed.

We are not to give Credit to what is commonly ſaid of the Extent of *Venice*; ſome reckon it eight Miles in Circuit, and others allow but ſeven; as for me, I aſſure you, *Venice* is not either eight or ſeven Miles in Compaſs; they reckon five Miles from *Meſtre* to *Venice*, which Way we came in an Hour and an Half with two Rowers, and we took a Turn about *Venice* in the ſame Space of Time with two other Rowers, who made neither more nor leſs Haſte than thoſe of *Meſtre*. Judge then by this of the Circuit of that City; conſider too, that our Gondola was frequently obliged to deſcribe a larger Compaſs, to avoid the little Capes which the City makes in ſeveral Places; and by Conſequence the Line that it made, was much greater than the true Circuit of the City. Add to all this, that to mark the Circumference of a City, without conſidering its Figure, is not a competent Way to determine the Largeneſs of its Extent. One might eaſily demonſtrate, without great Help of Mathematicks, that a City which is eight Miles in Compaſs, for Example, may contain a leſs Number of Houſes, than a City which is only four Miles or leſs, if you pleaſe. This depends upon the Regularity or Irregularity of the Figure.

The Number of Inhabitants is another Thing which has often been determined, but ſeldom well examined. It is commonly reported at *Venice*, that there are two hundred thouſand Souls in the City, and ſome have advanced the Number to three hundred thouſand; but we muſt not rely upon thoſe frivolous Opinions: When the Trade of *Venice* flouriſhed, it is probable enough that the Number of its Inhabitants was much greater than it is at preſent; but if we may give Credit to the Report of a Perſon who hath been ſettled here for a long Time, and aſſures me that his Calculation is very exact, *Venice* does not at preſent contain more than an hundred and thirty or forty thouſand Souls, comprehending the Iſle of *Giudeca*. Thoſe who pleaſe themſelves with repreſenting *Venice* as a very populous City, take great Care to put us in Mind, that it has neither Gardens, void Places, or Church-yards, and that the Streets are very narrow. But when, on the other Hand, they would deſcribe the Beauty of *Venice*, they magnify its Gardens, its Places or Squares, and the Breadth and Number of its Canals. I read the other Day, in a *Venetian* Author, that he counted in *Venice* fifty-three publick Places, and three hundred and thirty-five Gardens. Thus you may ſee how variouſly Things are repreſented. But to ſpeak freely, there is a Mixture of Truth and Falſhood on both Sides. I will not deny that there may be fifty-three Spaces, great and ſmall, to which this Author hath thought fit to give the Name of Places; and the ſame might be ſaid of his Gardens; but if we take a particular View of thoſe Places and Gardens, we muſt conclude him to be too prodigal of ſuch honourable Titles. To ſpeak properly, there is but one Place at *Venice*, the famous and magnificent Palace of St. *Mark*. But let us allow him the Liberty of that Name to five or ſix void Spaces more, which are neither large nor beautiful; yet all this comes far ſhort of fifty-three Places. There are alſo ſome Gardens here, and particularly towards *Santa Maria del' Orto*, but if we ſet aſide fifteen or twenty, or ſhould even allow thirty or thirty-five to be ſo called, I can poſitively aver, that the three hundred which remain would not, one with another, be ten Feet ſquare; and are not theſe very noble Gardens? Nor is the other Account exactly true, for beſides the Gardens and void Spaces that are in *Venice*, there are many Places very thinly inhabited. It is true, indeed, there are no Church-yards.

As for the Argument that is brought from the Narrowneſs of the Streets, it is a Sophiſm eaſy to be cleared. The Streets are narrow, I confeſs, and ſo narrow, that the Joſtling of Elbows, in the moſt frequented of them, is very troubleſome; but then, ſure, the Canals ought to be reckoned inſtead of Streets? If the Canals were filled and paved, the Narrowneſs of the Streets could not be alledged. I muſt tell you, ſince we are on this Subject, that all the City is ſo divided with theſe Canals and Streets, that there are but few Houſes which you may not go to by Water as well as by Land, though every Canal is not bordered with a double Quay, as in *Holland*; for the Conveniency of thoſe who go on Foot, there are indeed ſome of thoſe, but very often the Canal takes all the Space from one Row of Buildings to another. The Streets are in the little Iſles that are borrowed from the Canals, and there are about four hundred and fifty Bridges diſperſed among thoſe Canals; ſo that there are few Parts of the City to which one may not go either with or without a Gondola. It is true, all theſe little Paſſages, and all the Turns that muſt be made to find the Bridges, make *Venice* a true Labyrinth; but the beſt Way of giving you a true Idea of the Plan of *Venice*, is to ſend you a Draught of it, which is the moſt exact of all thoſe that have been ſeen by me:

The firſt Place we viſited was the Palace of St. *Mark*, the Glory of *Venice*; the Church of St. *Mark* fronts one End of it, and that of St. *Geminian* the other; and betwixt both theſe Churches, the *Procuraties*, or Inns of Court and Officers of Lawyers; built very regularly of fine Marble, border both Sides of it with lofty Piazzas. This Place is two hundred and eighty Feet long, and one hundred and ten broad. As you are going from the Church of St. *Geminian* towards that of St. *Mark*, and inſtead of entering there, to the right Hand you come into another Square two hundred and fifty Paces long, and eighty broad, called the *Broglio*, the Extremity of which reaches to the Sea-ſide. The *Doge*'s Palace takes up one Side of it, and the *Procuraties* are continued on the other.

The Tower of St. *Mark* being near the Angle of the Square within, does in ſome Meaſure ſpoil the Symmetry of the Place; its Height is three hundred and ſixty Feet, including the Angel that ſerves for a Weathercock; formerly it was finely gilt, and could be diſcerned thirty Leagues at Sea, but the Gold being now worn off, it appears at no great Diſtance. The *Broglio* is the Place where the Nobles walk, who ſometimes take one, ſometimes the other Side, according to the Conveniency of the Sun or Shade, and no body elſe is admitted to mix with them on that Side of the Walk, but the other is free for every body; they are ſo nice in this Point, that when a young Nobleman comes to an Age that qualifies him for the Council, and to take the Robe, four Noblemen of his Friends introduce him the firſt Day into the *Broglio*; and if any Nobleman is excluded from the Council, he is no longer admitted into the *Broglio*.

About the ninth Age, the Merchants of *Venice* tranſported the Body of St. *Mark* from *Alexandria* in *Egypt* to *Venice*; and as Chriſt is ſaid to have ſaluted this Evangeliſt in Priſon with theſe Words, *Peace be unto thee*, Mark, *my Evangeliſt*; ſo the Body of this Saint was received with the ſame Words by the Senate of *Venice*; who ordered the ſame to be written in the open Book held by the Lion of St. *Mark* in the Arms of *Venice*, and the Church of St. *Mark* to be built to his Honour, though at the ſame Time they were ſo careleſs in obſerving his Shrine or Tomb, that now they can't preciſely tell where it is. I will not detain you with the Story of his Apparition, when he ſhewed his Arm to the *Doge*, and beſtowed upon him the Golden Ring, which is carried with great Solemnity in Proceſſion every Year on the 28th of *June*, becauſe it is fabulous.

The Patriachal Church, dedicated to St. *Peter* and St. *Mark*, is no more than the *Doge*'s Chapel, and the *Primicerio* or Dean of the Canons of St. *Mark* wears a Mitre and Rochet like a Biſhop, and has no Dependance on the Patriarch; I ſaw him officiate in great Pomp on *Chriſtmas-Day*; he muſt be always a noble *Venetian*, and his annual Revenue may be about a thouſand Pounds Sterling.

The Church of St. *Mark* is a ſquare Structure after the *Greek* Way, being a Croſs ſhortened, but not very lofty, and ſomewhat dark; its chief Ornaments conſiſt in excellent *Moſaick* Work and Marble; the Roof has ſeveral Domes, among which, that in the Middle exceeds the reſt: It has a vaſt Number of Statues on the Outſide, among which, the *Adam* and *Eve*, by *Ricedo*, are chiefly remarkable: I don't ſpeak, in this Place, of the four Brazen Horſes over the Porch, as being foreign Pieces brought thither by Accident. A certain learned Antiquary told me, that theſe Horſes belonged formerly to the Chariot of the Sun, which was made as a ſingular Ornament to a triumphal Arch erected by the *Roman* Senate to the Honour of *Nero*, after his Victory over the *Parthians*; *Conſtantine the Great* carried them from *Rome* to *Conſtantinople*, where they ſtood in the *Hippodrome* till the *Venetians* brought them from thence: One may ſtill ſee they were gilt when firſt erected. But the greateſt Curioſity belonging to the Church of St. *Mark* is the vaſt Quantity of *Moſaick* Work wherewith both the Roof and Pavement is covered. To give you ſome Idea of this Work; it deduces its Origin from *Greece*, though they tell you that its Uſe has been in *Italy* near two thouſand Years; for *Vitruvius* (who lived under *Auguſtus*) calls it *Opus ſectile*, *Pavimenta ſectilia*, *Opera muſæa* and *muſiva*; by others it is called *Opus vaniculatum* or *teſſalaum*. All Works therefore compoſed of ſmall inlaid Pieces, whether of Stone, Wood, Ivory, or any other Matter, let their Repreſentations be what they will, come within the Compaſs of what is called *Moſaick* Work: The moſt curious Works made out of *Florence* Stone, come alſo under this Denomination; but inſtead of natural Stones, which would take up too much Time to be poliſhed and prepared, they have made Uſe here of a certain Compoſition of Glaſs and Enamel, melted together in a Crucible, which takes a moſt lively and bright Colour, that never fades nor ſtains. Every Piece of the *Moſaick* of St. *Mark* is a little Cube; the Field is *Moſaick* finely gilt, and incorporated in the Fire, upon the Superficies of one of the Faces of the Square, all the Figures (with their Draperies and Ornaments) being coloured according to Nature, by the artificial joining together of all the Pieces of the Work, according to the Deſign which the Workman has before him, being nicely fixed in the compound Matter or Plaiſter prepared to receive them, which immediately after becomes ſo hard and ſolid, that this Work has laſted near eight hundred and fifty Years without loſing any Thing of its Beauty.

The Pavement of the Church is not inferior to the Roof, being compoſed of Jaſper, Porphyry, ſpotted-green, Marble of ſeveral Colours, which make Compartments different from each other. Among all the Relicks, miraculous Images, and other holy Rarities kept here, I will mention only the Rock which *Moſes* ſtruck in the Wilderneſs, in the Chapel of *Madona della Scarpa*, at the End of the Font, of a greyiſh Marble; the three Holes out of which the Water iſſued, are placed triangularwiſe, about two Inches aſunder; but as each of them is no bigger than a Gooſe Quill, how theſe could furniſh Water ſufficient, in ſo ſmall a Time, to quench the Thirſt of ſix hundred thouſand Men, with their Wives, Children and Cattle, is what I am not able to determine. In the Middle of the Portico of the Church, over-againſt the Door, they ſhew a Piece of Porphyry enchaſed in the Pavement where Pope *Alexander* III. ſet his Foot on the Neck of the Emperor *Frederick Barbaroſſa*.

From the Church of St. *Mark* we were conducted to the Treaſury, of which three Procurators of St. *Mark* are always Guardians, and which is never opened but in the Preſence of one of them. In the firſt Apartment they ſhew you ſome Relicks, ſeveral Pieces of the true Croſs, the Hair and Milk of the Virgin. Thence you go into another Room, where the real Treaſure is kept, moſt of which was brought from *Conſtantinople* with the before-mentioned brazen Horſes. The moſt conſiderable Pieces here are the two Crowns of the Kingdoms of *Cyprus* and *Candia*, Abundance of precious Veſſels of Agate, the Root of an Emerald and of Rock Cryſtal; all theſe, they tell you, belonged to *Conſtantine*'s Cupboard: A Seal eight Inches deep, and as many in Diameter, made of one ſingle Granate; a Sapphire weighing ten Ounces; twelve Croſlets of Gold, adorned with Pearls; as many Head-tires in Form of a Crown, worn upon certain Feſtivals by the Maids of Honour to the Empreſs *Helen*; a Cup made out of a ſingle *Turquoiſe*, with *Egyptian* Characters; it is ſeven Inches Diameter, and three and a half deep; a Picture of St. *Jerome* in curious *Moſaick*; and many other rich Things of this Nature: But the Duke's *Corno* is, in my Opinion, the fineſt Piece of all, (which *Camerarius* values at no more than two hundred thouſand Crowns) the Circle is of Gold, the Bonnet of Crimſon Velvet, enriched all over with precious Stones and Pearls of a large Size: *Charles Paſchal* is of Opinion, that this *Corno* is the *Phrygian* Bonnet or *Trojan* Mitre brought into *Italy* by *Antenor*, the Figure whereof is expreſſed in ſeveral ancient Pieces, as in the Statue of *Ganymede*, which is to be ſeen in the Porch of the Library of St. *Mark*, upon ſome Medals of the God *Lunus*; in ſome others where *Æneas* carries *Anchiſes* upon his Back, and in the Miniatures of the ancient Manuſcript of *Virgil* in the *Vatican*.

This Manuſcript puts me in Mind of another, *viz.* the ſo much celebrated *Goſpel of St. Mark*, kept in this Treaſury, which I had Leave, by a ſpecial Favour, to conſider all over; its Leaves are of Parchment looſened from each other, very much worn and torn, defaced, and ſo rotted, that wherever you touch it ſomething will ſtick to your Fingers; it is very hard to diſcern any thing diſtinctly of it; it was in Quarto, of the Thickneſs of two Fingers, and the Remnants of this precious Treaſure are kept ſhut up in a Box of Vermillion gilt, made in the Shape of a Book. Here and there you may ſtill diſcern the Traces of ſome imperfect Characters upon the moiſt Parchment, but ſo as ſcarce to be diſtinctly ſeen what they were; by a nice Inſpection I diſcovered three or four Letters well formed, and met with the Word KATA diſtinctly written as you ſee it here. The Abbot *Lith*, Library-keeper of St. *Mark*, aſſiſted me in turning over, with a great deal of Exactneſs, all the Leaves, but could diſcover nothing material, except that it had a very broad Margin, and the Lines were placed at a great Diſtance from one another, ruled with two parallel Lines, to make the Writing equal and ſtreight. The before-mentioned Word KATA, with one Δ and one Σ, which we alſo plainly diſcerned, prove that it is a *Greek* Manuſcript; *Alphonſus* ſays 'tis *Latin*, and *Baronius* confirms it; but that it ſhould be of St. *Mark*'s own Hand-writing, I can't find ſufficient Reaſon to believe, being rather of Opinion, that (the Manner of Writing conſidered) it is the Work of ſome profeſſed Tranſcriber; and as for the reſt, we muſt rely upon Tradition and common Fame, that it is the Goſpel of St. *Mark*; it being ſo much defaced by the Injuries of Time, that few Letters can be decypher'd in it, and conſequently it is a difficult Taſk to prove or diſprove whether it really be, or not, what they pretend it is.

In the Year 1427, one *Stamati*, a *Candiot* by Birth, robbed this Treaſury, and broke the Wall, but was taken, and every Thing recovered, and he ſentenced to be hanged, which was executed accordingly betwixt the Marble Pillars which ſtand at the Entrance of the Palace over-againſt the *Lagietta*: They ſay, he begged of the Judges that he might be hanged in a golden Halter, which was granted. Next adjoining to the Church of St. *Mark* is the Palace of St. *Mark*, a great Maſs of Building after the *Gothick* Manner, but nevertheleſs very magnificent: It has been very often defaced by Fire, ſo that the Reparations made at divers Times, have made it not ſo uniform as it would be otherwiſe. That Part which faces the Canal, is built of a very hard Kind of Stone brought from *Iſtria*, and excellently well deſigned; were all the reſt like this, it might paſs for an equiſite Piece of Architecture; as it is, it is very venerable. It is in this Place that the Duke keeps his conſtant Reſidence; and here it is that the Council of State and the other Aſſemblies meet. The Apartments are ſpacious and lofty enough, and well wainſcotted, but want Light in reſpect to our modern Way of Building.

The Hall appointed for the Meeting of the Great Council (where, in Effect, the Sovereignty is lodged) is of a large Size, and adorned with curious Paintings here you ſee the Pictures of all their Dukes, the Hiſtory of the taking of *Conſtantinople* in 1192, but was loſt again within ſixty Years after; among the reſt they ſhew you the Hiſtory of Pope *Alexander* and *Frederick Barbaroſſa*, with the Pope's Foot on the Emperor's Neck, or rather his Shoulder, as it is expreſſed here. If you remember the Story of the Rebellion of *Bajamonta* againſt the Senate, in 1210, I muſt tell you, that this was the Occaſion of the little Arſenal kept in this Palace, from whence there is a Paſſage to the Hall of the *Great Council* where the Nobility aſſemble, that in Caſe ſuch another Deſign ſhould break out whilſt they are aſſembled in Council, they might readily be ſupplied with Arms from thence for their Defence. It was upon the ſame Score that they built the little Judgment-Seat called the *Loggietta*, at the Foot of St. *Mark*'s Tower, in Sight of the Palace and the *Grand Council* Chamber: Here are always ſome Procurators of St. *Mark* upon the Watch whilſt the *Great Council* meet, and deliberate of Matters of State, for the Security of the Republick.

This Arſenal is provided with a good Number of Fuſils and Muſquets ready charged, beſides many other Arms. Here they have an Engine that will light five hundred Matches at once: They preſerve here alſo ſome very curious Arms of an ancient Make, and among the reſt, the Sword of the ſamous *Scanderbeg*. Here alſo they ſhew you the Buſt of *Francis Carrara*, the laſt Lord of *Padua*, who for his Cruelties was ſtrangled, with four of his Children, by the Command of the Senate of *Venice*, in 1405. I obſerved likewiſe a little Trunk with ſix little Guns, which the ſame *Carrara* ſent for a Preſent to a Lady, and was ſo contrived by certain Springs, that upon opening of the Trunk the Guns all fired at once, and killed the Lady. They alſo ſhewed us ſome little Pocket Croſs-bows and Arrows of Steel of this Tyrant, with which his Cuſtom was to kill ſuch as paſſed by, without knowing from whence they received their Wounds; and various whimſical Sorts of Locks and Bolts he uſed, to keep his Concubines confin'd. Here I alſo ſaw the two little Statues of *Adam* and *Eve*, which *Albert Durer* made in Priſon with the Point of his Penknife only, and which purchaſed him his Liberty. We muſt not forget the antick Mouths under the inner Portico of this Palace, and in divers Places of the Galleries, into the Throat of which any body may caſt a Note, to give Advice or Notice of any Thing he is able to the Inquiſitors, who have the Keys of theſe Boxes, and ſometimes reward thoſe who make what they call the *Secret Accuſation*, who, to diſcover themſelves, tear a Piece off the Billet, and by joining it again are known.

The Library is kept in the *Procuraties* oppoſite to the Palace, on the other Side of the *Broglio*; it is none of the moſt numerous, rare, and beſt conditioned, and has but few Manuſcripts, which are, for the moſt Part, *Greek*; though they alſo ſhew you a Treatiſe, entituled, *De Conſideratione Dei*, attributed to St. *Auſtin*; but to make Amends, it has many excellent Pictures, done by *Titian* and other great Maſters, and ſeveral exquiſite *Greeks* Statues, as that of *Ganymede*, a *Venus*, an *Apollo*, and two Gladiators. It is the Opinion of ſome, that *Venice* has as many rare Pictures as *Rome*; I will not pretend to determine that Matter, but only tell you, that the three moſt celebrated Pieces we could ſee, either in the Churches or in any other publick Place, are the Wedding of *Cana* by *Paul Veroneſe*, in the Refectory of St. *George Major*; the Preſentation of the Virgin in the School of Charity; and St. *Peter Martyr*, in St. *John* and St. *Paul's*, both by *Titian*. *Venice* is the propereſt Place in *Europe* for young Painters to improve themſelves, for in both the Academies they have the Opportunity of viewing naked Perſons of both Sexes, in what Poſture they pleaſe.

In Anſwer to your Queſtion concerning the Flux and Reflux, I can only tell you, that the Sea flows ſix Hours, and ebbs as many; it is later every Day about three Quarters of an Hour, as it is generally upon the Coaſts. The Tide commonly riſes at *Venice* four Feet, or four and a half, ſometimes more, ſometimes leſs. The Shore beyond *Venice* is extremely pleaſant, the long and narrow Iſles encloſing this City from North to South, in the Form of a Semicircle. The main Sea affords ſome Shell-fiſh, and abundance of Oyſters, but they are neither ſo ſavoury nor ſo wholeſome as ours.

The *Venetians* boaſt much of their *Policy* and *Liberty*; for the Proof of the firſt they generally alledge, that they have maintained themſelves for thirteen hundred Years. This Reaſon might perhaps ſtand, if they could boaſt to have maintained the ſame Form of Government; whereas it is beyond all Contradiction, that the Government of *Venice* has often changed its Conſtitution, ſince their Dukes were heretoſore as abſolute as *Cæſar* was at *Rome* not long before his Death. Another Conſideration is, that the Republick of *Venice* being confined to ſuch narrow Bounds, in Compariſon of the more powerful States of *Europe*, and ſurrounded by Neighbours leſs potent than itſelf, it ſeems not to require ſuch profound Maxims of Policy to maintain itſelf, by living quietly and peaceably with the reſt; and notwithſtanding all this, the Senate of *Venice* have, with all their Policy, not been able to prevent the Declenſion of their State at divers Times. As for their Liberty, of which they ſo loudly talk, it amounts chiefly to this; that provided they do not intermeddle with State Affairs, and commit no enormous Crime, that muſt of Neceſſity, or by its Notoriety, fall under the Cenſure of Juſtice, every body is at Liberty to live as he pleaſes: Hence it is that the *Greeks*, *Armenians*, and *Jews*, are allowed the publick Exerciſe of their Religions; and all the other Sects are tolerated, or at leaſt connived at, provided they manage with a little Diſcretion: It is true, the worſhipping of Images and Relicks, and ſuch-like Superſtitions, abound as much among the common People of *Venice*, as in other Places, but the better Sort ſet no great Value upon them. They are now as jealous of the Liberty of the *Venetian* Church, as the *French* were of the *Gallican*; and it is for this Reaſon they keep the Jeſuits ſo much in Awe; they allow none in their Convents but their own Subjects, and will not admit any Superior, except a Native of the City. They do not heſitate to permit theſe Fathers to wear Maſks during the Carnival, to entertain their Concubines, to ſing on the Stages, and what elſe they think fit, provided only they keep their Fingers out of publick Affairs.

Concerning the Faith of the *Greeks* here, I cannot but be of Opinion, that they differ in many Points from the *Greek* Churches of the *Eaſt*, though they exclaim heavily againſt the Uſurpation of the Church of *Rome*; they declare for Tranſubſtantiation; they make uſe of common Bread, mingle Water with Wine, and communicate under both Kinds. In their Churches they have two Altars, one called the *Altar of Preparation*, and the other of *Conſecration*; the firſt they make uſe of to cut the Bread with a Knife ſhaped like the Iron Point of a Lance, where they alſo mix the Water and Wine, and the Prieſt takes it with a Sponge out of the Veſſel in which it was firſt mixed, and afterwards ſqueezes it into the Chalice. They embrace one another before they have communicated, and the Communicants receive the Bread ſteeped in the Wine, the Prieſt putting it with a Spoon into their Mouths: Of all this I was an Eye-witneſs. The Archbiſhop officiated in a Mitre not unlike an Imperial Crown, and all his Ornaments were exceeding magnificent, and were changed ſeveral Times, according to the different Parts of the Service. They abound in myſterious Ceremonies; whenever the Biſhop bleſſes the People, he has in his Right-hand a three-branched Candleſtick, with as many lighted Tapers; this, they ſay, is an Emblem of the Trinity, as the Candleſtick with two Branches he holds in his Left, is of the two Natures of *Jeſus Chriſt*. They divide their Churches into four ſeveral Parts; the Altars ſtand at one End, which they call *holy*, none but the Prieſt who officiates, and his Attendants, are admitted there; the next to that is appointed for the other Service; the third is where the Men are ſeparated from the Women by little Balluſters; the Women ſitting behind Lattices at the other End of the Church, or in the Galleries. They perform their Divine Service in the vulgar *Greek*, and highly condemn the Uſe of an unknown Language in the Church. They worſhip ſtanding, bow their Heads, and put their Hands at the ſame Time on their Breaſts. Marriage is among them no Bar to Prieſthood, but if they are ſingle at the Time of their being admitted into Orders, they muſt not marry afterwards, and they forbid the fourth Marriage for Decency ſake, deny the Popiſh Purgatory, and yet pray for the Dead. They uſe Confeſſion, but not after the Manner of the *Romaniſts.* Concerning the Article of the *Proceeding of the Holy Ghoſt*, they ſay as little now as they formerly diſputed upon it, looking upon it as a Point that has more of Nicety than Uſe; they alſo preſerve Relicks, but never worſhip them.

I have made the beſt Enquiry I was able about the Doctrines of the *Armenians*, but their Church being repairing at preſent, I have had no Opportunity to ſee their Worſhip, nor to learn the Truth of it from others, except that a Friend of mine told me, that they were of very different Opinions in reſpect of ſeveral Articles, but that theſe four or five were moſt generally received among them, *viz.* They communicate under both Kinds, they give the Sacrament even to Infants, acknowledge the Sequeſtration of Souls as the *Greeks* do, allow of Divorces, and believe, that at the Time of the Reſurrection there will be no Difference of Sexes.

4. Before I leave *Venice*, I muſt add ſome few other Obſervations to what I have already ſaid concerning this City, and all the Curioſities therein. The Bridge of *Rialto* challenges the firſt Place, founded on ten thouſand Elm Piles, and which coſt two hundred and fifty thouſand *Venetian* Ducats. It is built over the Middle of the great Canal which divides this City in the Figure of an S. The *Venetians* are ſo much taken with this Bridge, that they often want Terms to expreſs its Grandeur, whereas it is certain that it has nothing extraordinary belonging to it, except that it is built upon one Arch: As I took particular Care to meaſure it, ſo I can give you an exact Account of it. The Compaſs of the Arch makes the third Part of a Circle; the whole Extent, from one Extremity of the Arch to the other, on the Level of the Canal, is ninety Feet, and its Height twenty-four. I know ſome have blamed the Architecture, which, according to the ſtrict Rules of Art, might, for its greater Strength, be an exact Semicircle; but, in my Opinion, this Objection may ſoon be anſwered, it being reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that the remaining Part of the Semicircle is taken up in the Foundation under Water. It is ſtrongly built of great Pieces of a kind of white Marble; it has two Rows of Shops, which divide it into three Streets, *viz.* one large one in the Middle, and two other little ones, between the Rails and the Backſides of the Shops. Almoſt all the other Bridges of *Venice* have but ſingle Arches, and Steps of a white and hard Stone, and moſt commonly very ſlippery, which in Part has given Occaſion to the common Proverb of *Venice*,

Beware here, of White Stones,
Whores, Prieſts, and Pantaloons.

All the beſt Houſes ſtand on both Sides of the *Great Canal*, among which are the magnificent Palaces of *Piſani, Moroſini, Loredano, Roſini, Vandramino*, and *Grimani*, but their chief Beauty conſiſts in their Frontiſpieces, which commonly are of two or three Sorts of Architecture, the reſt being but very indifferent. The *Lagunes* contribute not a little to the Unwholſomneſs of the Air of *Venice*, though the *Venetians* are very unwilling to own it, but their Water is generally bad; for among an hundred and fifty Springs they have here, there are not above two or three that afford good Water, which is the Reaſon that moſt private Perſons of Note are forced to preſerve the Rain-water in Ciſterns. The Wines generally drank here are either fulſomely ſweet, or ſour and eager: Their Bread is alſo very ill made, for let it be never ſo freſh, it is as hard as a Biſcuit, and muſt be broken with a Hammer. The little Opportunity a Stranger has of converſing with the *Venetians* in their Houſes, makes me give you no Account of their Manner of Houſe-keeping, but it puts me in Mind of what I read the other Day in a Preface of *Henry Stephens*, That in his Time, a Woman that appeared bare-necked abroad, was looked upon with a very indifferent Eye in *France*; whereas in *Italy*, and eſpecially in *Venice*, every old Hag ſhewed her withered Neck, but at preſent none but declared Whores ſhew their Necks bare; nay, the Women of Quality do not even ſhew their Faces in the Churches, the only Places where they appear in Publick; and the ordinary Women wear over their Heads a great Scarf, opening only a little about the Eyes. Their Females they educate in the Convents, from their tender Age till they are married, which is done commonly by their Parents or Kindred, without letting them ſee their future Huſbands: For it is to be obſerved, that among Perſons of Quality there are no Regards in Reference to this Point, but a good Family and Riches, the reſt being left to Chance: Whence it is that the Men commonly remedy the Defects of their Wives, by maintaining Concubines: They have here a peculiar Way of cohabiting with certain Women, much uſed among thoſe of a tender Conſcience: It is a Kind of clandeſtine Marriage, the Ceremony whereof is not performed ſometimes till many Years after they have lived together, and often not till a few Days or Hours before the Death of one of the Parties: But the moſt general Way is, to keep their Miſtreſs at a certain Allowance as long as both Parties agree; and this is ſo frequently practiſed here, that ſuch as are not able to keep one ſingly, join with two or three more, who enjoy the Woman, without the leaſt Jealouſy, each in his Turn.

This Kind of Libertiniſm is ſo general at *Venice*, that the Mothers of young Noblemen are commonly the firſt who agree with a poor Maiden's Father or Mother, for the Uſe of their Sons, at a certain Rate, to be paid monthly or yearly, as they can agree beſt. I have it from credible Hands, and *Roman Catholicks*, that the Confeſſors look upon this as ſuch a Trifle, that they take not the leaſt Notice of it in their Confeſſions. For Strangers and Paſſengers you have whole Streets filled with Ladies, eaſily diſtinguiſhed from others by their Habits, being dreſſed in red and yellow, with naked Breaſts, painted Faces, and Noſegays above their Ears; whereas all the other Ladies appear in black. The Carnival commences here the ſecond Holiday in *Chriſtmas*; then it is they begin to wear Maſks, and open their Playhouſes and Gaming-houſes: The Place of St. *Mark* is filled with *Mountebanks, Jack-puddings, Pedlars, Whores*, and ſuch Sort of Cattle, who flock thither from all Parts. In the Beginning they act with ſome Moderation; but the nearer they come towards *Shrove-Tueſday*, the more their Madneſs encreaſes. The Senate of *Venice* allow theſe Extravagancies, to divert the People from feeling the heavy Burthen of their Government, which, without ſuch like Amuſements, would be inſupportable to them: Beſides that, the vaſt Number of Strangers, which come from all Parts to *Venice*, to the Diverſions of the *Carnival*, brings a vaſt Sum of Money to the City: I was credibly informed, that during the laſt *Carnival*, there were no leſs than ſeven Sovereign Princes, and thirty thouſand other Foreigners there.

To give you my Opinion of the *Operas* and *Comedies* of *Venice*, in reſpect to thoſe of *Paris*, I muſt be plain with you, That the Ornaments of the firſt are infinitely inferior to thoſe of *France*: Their Habits are mean, without Dances, and generally without any Machines or Illuminations, except here and there a few Candles, ſcarce worth mentioning. I will not venture to contradict the general Opinion of the World concerning the *Italian* Muſick; and it muſt really be confeſſed, that they have ſome excellent Airs, and moſt exquiſite Voices: But, to tell you my Sentiment of the Matter, there is a certain unpleaſant Confuſion in ſeveral Songs of their *Operas*, and they dwell many Times longer in one Quavering, than in ſinging four whole Lines, and immediately after they run ſo faſt, that you cannot tell whether they ſing or ſpeak, or do both by Turns. It is certain, that the overſtrained Scream is not ſo pleaſing to Foreigners as to the *Italians*. The Orcheſtre is much leſs than at *Paris*; but this may perhaps be eſteemed rather a Perfection than a Fault. There is another Thing I cannot paſs by without a Remark, I mean the prepoſterous Figure which their Eunuchs make on the Theatre: It is a very odd Sight to ſee one of theſe mutilated Fellows act the Part of a Bully with his effeminate Voice; and another to repreſent a young Lover, with his withered wrinkled Face.

There are at preſent no leſs than ſeven *Operas* at *Venice*, which by Foreigners are frequented chiefly for the good Company's Sake: They have a Buffoon in every *Opera*, who intermixes his Fooleries, without Diſcretion, with the moſt ſerious and tragical Part of the Play. Their Comedies are fill'd with ſuch ridiculous Buffooneries, that in other Parts they would not paſs for tolerable Farces, *Harlequin* being commonly the Head Actor, who is back'd in his Grimaces with the moſt rank Bawdry that can be invented, to make the Spectators laugh; and for Fear they ſhould be diſappointed in their Aim, they admit whole Troops of the *Gondoliers*, or Watermen, into the Playhouſe for nothing, when they are ready to begin: Theſe are very diligent on this Occaſion, by bawling and clapping their Hands, to extort, as it were, a general Applauſe from the Spectators. Theſe Theatres belong to ſome Noblemen, who make a conſiderable Profit of them during the Carnival.

Their Aſſemblies, where they play at Baſſet, they call *Ridotti*, which are kept open as long as the Theatres: They allow none but Noblemen to cut: You ſhall ſee ſometimes ten or twelve Rooms on a Floor, with Gaming-tables in all, crowded with Gameſters maſked, with Courteſans and Ladies of Quality, who, under this Diſguiſe, have the Privilege of enjoying all the Diverſions of the Carnival, provided they can get a little out of the Way of their Spies or jealous Huſbands. They have alſo certain Rooms, where they ſell Liquors, Sweatmeats, and ſuch-like Things, to relieve ſuch as are fatigued with ſtanding. Every one thus maſked, provided he be in good Apparel, has the Liberty of talking to the Ladies even of the higheſt Quality, no body, not even the Huſband himſelf, taking Notice at that Time what is ſaid to his Wife, becauſe the Maſk is ſacred: Though this ſometimes gives Occaſion to an Intrigue, in a Place where the Scarcity of Opportunity prompts them to do more with the Wink of an Eye, than in other Countries with a longer Courtſhip.

But the chief Place for Maſquerading is the Place of St. *Mark*, where you may put yourſelf in what Diſguiſe you pleaſe, provided you can maintain the Figure of the Perſon you aſſume; for here you ſee the *Harlequins* jeer one another handſomely; thoſe who perſonate Doctors, diſpute learnedly; and ſo with the reſt: But ſuch as have no Inclination to venture upon theſe Engagements, may appear in the Habit of a Nobleman, or ſome foreign Dreſs, and be only Spectators. All the Maſquers muſt appear without Swords. Here you ſee, beſides *Puppet-players*, *Rope-dancers*, and *Fortune-tellers*, whoſe little Stages are fill'd with *Globes*, *Spheres*, and other *Aſtronomical Inſtruments*: They make Uſe of a Tube of Tin to ſpeak into the Ears of thoſe who conſult them; and it is a pleaſant Sight to ſee the Prieſts and Monks more frequently taking up the Tube than the reſt.

I will not pretend to give you an Account of their *Bull-baitings*, *Gooſe-hunting*, *Wreſtling*, or *Boxing*, *Balls*, *Races* upon the Water, or of their *Feaſt* on *Shrove-Tueſday*, when they cut off a Bull's Head in the Preſence of the whole Senate, in Memory of a Victory in *Friuli*: But I muſt not omit to tell you, that the Carnival is not the only Time when *Maſks* are in Requeſt at *Venice*, there being no Feaſt of Pleaſure where they are not uſed more or leſs, as at the Audiences of Ambaſſadors, on *Aſcenſion day*, &c. All theſe Days are very profitable to the Watermen, who knowing all the Turns and By-ways, keep Correſpondence with the Waiting-women, and for a good Reward will furniſh Ladders of Cords for an Intrigue, one of their main Buſineſſes being Pimping; in which Art they are ſo well verſed, that they will depoſit a Sum of Money, as a Security, that their Ware ſhall prove good. They hire *Venetian Gondola's*, or *Boats*, either from Place to Place, or by the Hour, or by the Day. You may have one of the beſt for five or ſix Shillings a Day. Theſe Boats are prettily contrived, and very light: Their Length is generally thirty or thirty-two Feet, and their Breadth four or five, in which you may ſit with a great deal of Conveniency, under a Cover like a Coach, with Glaſſes on both Sides; the left is reckoned the beſt Place, becauſe there you can beſt ſee the Boatman, and command him as you pleaſe. Theſe Fellows are very dextrous in their Buſineſs, and will, with a ſurprizing Facility, manage their Oars, ſtanding with their Faces towards the Place where they are to go All the *Gondola's*, or *Boats*, muſt be black, even the little Chamber, which is generally covered with black Cloth or Serge; but Foreigners are not ſo ſtrictly tied to this Rule; the *Gondola's* eſpecially of the Ambaſſadors are generally exceeding magnificent: They have commonly four or five, and make their Entries in them.

The Arſenal of *Venice* challenges Precedence among the firſt of *Europe*; but as it muſt be confeſs'd, that it is a Place of great Conſequence, ſo on the other Hand it ought to be conſider'd, that it is the only one the *Venetians* have in *Italy*, and that in its Encloſure it comprehends all their Ammunition, Stores for their Navy, Caſting-houſes, Rope-yards, Forges, Lodges for the Galleys, and Galeaſſes, and the *Bucentoro* itſelf, beſides the Docks for refitting their Ships: And notwithſtanding all this, you muſt not believe above half they tell you upon this Head. I remember that our Guide would fain have perſuaded us, that it contained no leſs than two thouſand five hundred Pieces of great Cannon, Arms for a hundred thouſand Foot, and compleat Accoutrements for twenty thouſand Horſe; but theſe are only Words. Among their Men of War, that call'd *The Redeemer* is the biggeſt, and, as they told us, carried eighty Pieces of Cannon and fourteen Pattareroes, and is now at Sea. Their Galeaſſes have three Rows of Guns in the Prow, but only two in the Poop; their Complement of Slaves is ninety-two, ſix on a Bench. The *Bucentaure* is a large Galeaſs of State finely carved and gilt, in which the Doge and Senate, with many of the Nobles, go out to Sea every Year on *Aſcenſion-day*, to perform the Ceremony of marrying the Sea.

As to the Rank the Noblemen of *Venice* aſpire to, which they have puſh'd to that Degree, that they pretend their Nobility to comprehend all other Titles, ſo as even to compare themſelves with Princes of Royal Blood; I muſt tell you, that it appears to me rather founded upon Opinion than ſolid Reaſon. It is true, that conſidering the *Noble Venetians*, by Right of Inheritance, are Members of the great Council, which gives Life to all the reſt; they are born with ſome Character of Sovereignty, but at that Rate the Nobility of *Genoa* might challenge the ſame Prerogative; and, after all their Boaſting, the Commands, great Offices, Wealth, and ancient Extraction, make new Diſtinctions among them; and they are not ſo nice, but that they will ſell this Title for a certain Sum of Money. They never appear in Publick but in their Robes, which are of black Cloth, and ought to be lined with greyiſh Cloth in the Winter, and Ermine in the Summer. The Stole is of the ſame Cloth, as well as the Girdle, which, being about four Inches broad, is adorned with Silver Buckles and Plates. Their Bonnets are no more than a Kind of Caps of black Worſted, with a Fringe of the ſame Stuff, which they commonly bear in their Hands, becauſe they are unwilling to incommode their great Periwigs; however, the Procurators of St. *Mark*, the *Sacri Grandi*, and ſome others of the great Officers of the State, are diſtinguiſhed by their peculiar Habits: Thoſe that have been Ambaſſadors have the Privilege of wearing a Stole of Cloth of Gold, and Golden Buckles on their Girdles, but they generally content themſelves with a little Gold Galloon upon their black Stole.

The *Phyſicians*, *Advocates*, *Notaries*, and all thoſe they call *Cittadini*, wear the ſame Habits as the *Nobles*; they challenge the Title of *Excellency*, and the Manner of ſaluting them is to kiſs their Sleeve, which about the Elbow is as big as a moderate Sack, and ſerve ſometimes to carry Proviſions in from the Market, becauſe they ſcarce ever appear with any Attendance at their Heels. They are never ſaluted in the Street, except by thoſe who wear the ſame Robe, being rather fear'd than lov'd by the People, not ſo much on account of the Hardſhips they ſuffer from them, as for want of knowing them, the Nobles being not permitted to converſe familiarly with any body. The Nobility of *Venice* is not reſtrained to the eldeſt Sons, as in *England*, but they are not permitted to traffick, much leſs to marry with Foreigners. Thoſe *Marquiſſes*, *Counts*, and other titular Nobles belonging to the *Venetian* State, are no Noblemen of *Venice*, but either ſuch as really enjoy'd theſe Dignities in their reſpective Countries before they became ſubject to the *Venetians*, or by the *Venetians*, ſince their Conqueſts, have been dignified with theſe Titles to humble the reſt, and by a Confuſion of new Titles, abate the Pretenſions of the ancient Nobility of thoſe Countries. There are a third Sort of titular Nobility in the *Venetian* State, whoſe Anceſtors, though not fully entitled to thoſe Dignities, yet had ſome Pretenſions to them, and upon the Change of the Government, aſſumed theſe Titles by the Connivance of the *Venetians*.

Your Information concerning the Duke or Doge of *Venice*, is wrong in all its Parts; for, I can aſſure you, he bears only the Figure of a Prince, and the Shadow of Greatneſs without any real Subſtance; much in the ſame Manner the Dukes of *Aquitain* and *Normandy* do at the Coronation of a King of *England*. It is true, he has ſome outward Marks of Grandeur annex'd to his lofty Title, but theſe are beſtow'd on him no otherwiſe than as he is a Repreſentative of the Republick, as Ambaſſadors are of their Maſters. That this is true beyond all Contradiction, you will very clearly perceive, if you conſider, that all his Counſellors have a conſtant Eye over all his Actions, and have an Authority to viſit his Cloſet every Hour. It is not in his Power to pardon any Criminal; he can't ſo much as paſs over to the Continent without Permiſſion from the State; and he no ſooner ſets Foot aſhore on that Side, but his Ducal Authority and Dignity ceaſe, and he is conſider'd as nothing more than a bare Nobleman of *Venice*; immediately all his Kindred, that were before in any Offices, are turn'd out, and when he dies, there is no ſuch Things as the leaſt publick Mourning upon that Occaſion. He is, beſides this, as much ſubject to the Law as the meaneſt Perſon, and the Inquiſition of State is chiefly levell'd at his Power, which is ſo ſtreightned, that except two or three inconſiderable Privileges, he poſſeſſes nothing beyond other Noblemen; theſe are, that he has a double Voice in the *Grand Council*, and the Diſpoſal of divers little Offices belonging to the Palace, and the Nomination of the *Primicerio* and Canons of St. *Mark*. The Honours, as I told you before, which are paid to him, being nothing elſe than the Marks of the Sovereignty of the Common-wealth in their Repreſentative; it is in this Senſe he bears the Title of Duke and of *His Serenity*, (a Title eſteemed here beyond that of *Highneſs*) and when he appears abroad upon any ſolemn Occaſion, has a Torch carried before him, a folding Chair (having two Arms and no Back) with its Cuſhion, eight Silver Trumpets, and as many Standards with the Arms of *Venice*, and perhaps ſome Hautboys: Of theſe Standards two are white, two red, two violet, and two blue, which, they ſay, ſignify, *Peace*, *War*, *Truce*, and the *League*: They ſhew'd us that the two red ones were carried firſt, the State being then engaged in a War againſt the *Turks*, whereas in Time of Peace, the white ones precede the reſt. He has alſo a Kind of Umbrello carried after him.

Upon theſe Occaſions the *Doge* is generally accompanied by the *Nuncio*, and the Ambaſſadors reſiding at *Venice*, except the Miniſter of *Spain*, who never appears at theſe Solemnities, to avoid diſputing with the *French* Ambaſſador about Precedence; all theſe Miniſters have their Hats on; the Duke never pulls off his ducal Coronet, except when the Hoſt is elevated, or when he is viſited by a Prince of Royal Extraction, or by a Cardinal, who ſits in a like Chair with the Duke, and even on his right Hand. After theſe march the chief Senators, before whom is carried the Sword of State, as an evident Mark of the Sovereignty of the Council. It is true, upon their Coin the Duke's Name is ſtamp'd, but on the Reverſe you ſee him on his Knees, at the Feet of the *Primicerio*, who ſits and repreſents St. *Mark*; of him the *Doge* takes the Oath of Fidelity, with the Maſs-book in one Hand, and with the other receiving the Standard of *Venice*; ſo it is evident, that his Image bears no more Marks of Honour here than that of the *Primicerio*. The Letters of foreign Princes are alſo directed and delivered to the *Doge*, but he is ſo far from having any Power of opening them, that he muſt deliver them to the Council: The ſame Thing is obſerved in reſpect to Ambaſſadors; for after Matters have been deliberated and concluded in the Council, the Anſwer is put ſo exactly into the Duke's Mouth, that ſhould he commit the leaſt Miſtake, he is corrected upon the Spot. Thus in all Acts or Declarations, of State, he is no more than the Herald, who has the Honour of publiſhing what is enacted by the Senate.

I will not pretend to unravel to you the Myſteries of the *Venetian* Common-wealth, the ſame being above my Purpoſe, and even out of my Knowledge, for want of ſufficient Time to be fully inſtructed in ſo many Things: I will only add concerning the Patriarch of *Venice*, that after he is elected by the Senate, he receives his Confirmation from the Pope: Though his Station is very eminent, yet his Authority is kept within very narrow Bounds; for, except two or three Benefices, the People of each Pariſh chuſe their own Curates, and the Clergy acknowledge no Superiority but that of the Senate. This Prelate muſt always be choſen out of the Nobility, and his Garment is of a Violet Colour; he ſtiles himſelf *Divini Miſeratione Venetiarum Patriarcha*, i. e. *by God's Mercy Patriarch of* Venice; but not as others do, *Et Sanctæ Sedis Apoſtolicæ Gratia*; *and by the Grace of the Holy Apoſtolick See*; the *Venetians* acknowledging no ſuch Superiority. For the reſt, this Election is commonly carried on by Intereſt and Intrigue, as in the chuſing of a Pope, little Regard being had to Merit; and it is beyond all Diſpute, that the Ignorance of the Clergy here is greater than what can well be expreſs'd or imagin'd; to remedy which, as alſo their Licentiouſneſs, and the too free Converſation with the Nuns, Cardinal *Barberigo*, Biſhop of *Padua*, a wiſe and venerable Perſon; has taken a great deal of Pains of late Years, but to little Purpoſe.

I muſt not forget to tell you a pleaſant Secret they make uſe of here, in Behalf of ſome Prieſts that are Muſicians: You are not ignorant, that one of the main Qualifications belonging to a Prieſt, is to be a compleat Man; but as the Sweetneſs of the Voice is of great Uſe, both in their Operas and Churches, they have found out this Expedient, that a Prieſt thus fitted for Muſick, may exerciſe the Functions of Prieſthood, provided he carry the ſame Implements that belong'd to his Body in his Pocket. Is not this a moſt religious Diſtinction!

Father *Mark Aviano*, whom I mention'd in my Letter from *Augsburgh*, is here at preſent, but I could never hear him preach, the Crowd of the People being ſuch, that they were forc'd to break a Hole through the Wall of the Church, to let him go into it from a neighbouring Houſe.

5. It is one of the Peculiarities of *Venice*, that ſome of the Churches are dedicated to Saints that were never canonized, ſuch as the good Man *Job*, the Prophets *Moſes*, *Samuel*, *Jeremiah*, *Daniel*, and *Zachary*, to whom there might be ſome others added. I had the Curioſity to viſit the Temples that are conſecrated to thoſe illuſtrious Names, but could not find any Thing more extraordinary in them, than their Dedication. One of the fineſt of thoſe ſacred Structures is that which is dedicated to St. *Moſes*; it has a majeſtick Front, which was built by *Alexander Tremignone*, at the Charge of the Procurator *Vincint Vini*. They preſerve ſeveral Re-

licks in this Church, and pretend, that they are both very authentick and potent; however, ſince they conſiſt only of Arms, Legs, and Jaw Bones, I will not trouble you with a Catalogue of them: But when I meet with ſome holy Curioſity, which deſerves to be particularly taken Notice of, as ſome Foreſkin of a *Philiſtine*, ſome Peaſe of St. *Francis*'s Iſſue, or a Shoe of the *Trojan* Horſe, you may expect to hear of it. As for the Church of St. *Samuel*, it will be ſufficient to tell you, that there is nothing remarkable to be ſeen in it: St. *Job*'s is a very fine Building. In the Veſtry they keep a Body of St. *Luke*, and the *Benedictins* of St. *Juſtina* at *Padua*, have another: But ſince the Pope declared for the former, the Monks of *Padua* have very prudently taken the Reſolution to be ſilent.

At St. *Jeremy*'s, which is a fine Edifice, they have one of that Prophet's Teeth, and it is reaſonable they ſhould have a Relick of their Nation. If the reſt had imitated ſo judicious an Example, we might, perhaps, have had the Pleaſure to have ſeen one of *Moſes*'s Horns and *Job*'s Scabs. The great Altar, and the Tomb of St. *John* the Martyr, Duke of *Alexandria*, are the moſt remarkable Things I obſerved at St. *Daniel*'s. St. *Zachary*'s is a fine Building. The Architecture is not modern, but the Front is enriched with fine Marble, and the Inſide beautified with many Ornaments. There are alſo magnificent Altars in it. The famous Church of St. *Mark* is ſo enriched with *Moſaick* Work, that, in this Reſpect, the Churches of St. *George Major* and *della Salute* ought not to come in Competition with it: But if we conſider the Architecture of St. *Mark*, it is an obſcure Place, in Compariſon to thoſe Churches. The beſt Judges give the Preference to St. *George*'s, but common Eyes find ſomething in the Church *della Salute* that is more agreeable to them. The Deſigns are quite different: St. *George*'s is not unlike to St. *Juſtina*'s at *Padua*, for the Contrivance or Guſto is the ſame in both. It is true, St. *Juſtina*'s is larger, and perhaps more magnificent within, but its Outſide is naked; whereas the other is adorned with an admirable Front. The great Altar in this Church is enriched with Marble of the fineſt Sort, and curiouſly wrought: It is alſo adorned with ſeveral Statues, the chief of which are the four Evangeliſts ſupporting a World, on which there is a *Padre Eterno*. The whole is of Braſs gilt. The Seats of the Canons round the Choir are of Walnut Tree, on which the Life of St. *Benedict* is deſcribed in very fine *Baſſo relievo*, where the Rules of Perſpective are well obſerved. In a Chapel near the Tomb of the Procurator *Vincent Moroſini*, thoſe, who have good Eyes, obſerve on a Marble Pillar, and on ſome Places on the Balluſters, Fiſhes, Birds, and other Things naturally figured, and even an entire Crucifix; I mean the Eyes of Imagination; for there is nothing like it in Reality, though certain little Books, that are to be bought at *Venice*, ſay ſo.

In this Church they have the Body of St. *Stephen* the Proto-martyr, which a pious Woman called *Juliana*, brought from *Jeruſalem* to *Conſtantinople*, from whence it was afterwards tranſported to *Venice* by one *Peter* a Monk. The whole Story is deſcribed at Length in two long *Latin* Inſcriptions, which I had the Patience to tranſcribe, but I am afraid you would not have the Patience to read. The Choir, Altars, Floor, Dome, and Veſtry, of the Church *della Salute*, are all extremely beautiful: The Foundations of this Structure were laid *March* the 25th, 1631, two Years being ſpent in fixing the Piles. The Occaſion is related in an Inſcription which was placed on the firſt Stone; importing a Vow to the Virgin for Deliverance from the Plague. This Church was built by *Balthaſar Longhena*: It is adorned both without and within with about one hundred and thirty Marble Statues. It was erected at the Charge of the Publick; whereas moſt of the other Churches were built by private Families, and conſequently may be looked upon as ſo many Marks either of their Vanity or Piety, and at the ſame time, of their vaſt Riches. On the great Altar there is a Statue of the Virgin holding the little *Jeſus* in her Arms. The *Genius* of *Venice* on her Right Hand imploring her Aſſiſtance to ſtop the Progreſs of that mortal and contagious Diſtemper: On the other Side is *Peſtilence* flying, purſued by an Angel with a Torch in his Hand. St. *Mark* is preſent with the bleſſed *Lawrence*, *Juſtiniani*, and ſeveral others. All theſe Statues are of fine Marble, and wrought by a curious Hand. I dare not undertake to deſcribe all the Embelliſhments of this noble Structure.

St. *James de Rialto* is ſaid to be the firſt Church that was built on theſe Spots of Ground on which *Venice* is founded; but it has been ſo often deſtroyed and rebuilt, that it may be reckoned a new Church, notwithſtanding all its boaſted Antiquity. The Altar in the great Chapel is of white Marble, and adorned with a fine Statue of St. *James* by *Alex. Victoria*. St. *Mark*'s Church is but a Chapel to the Doge's Palace. St. *Peter di Caſtello* is the Epiſcopal and Patriarchal Church, pretty large, and the Front deſerves to be taken Notice of for its beautiful Simplicity; and though no extraordinary Care has been taken to embelliſh this Church, there are ſome very conſiderable Ornaments, and ſeveral remarkable Things to be ſeen in it. The great Altar was erected by the Senate, in Purſuance of a Vow they had made during the War againſt the *Turks* in 1649. It is dedicated to the *Beato Lorenzo*; and the Body of that Demi-Saint is placed there, in a ſtately Marble Tomb, ſupported by Angels and Apoſtles. The Statue of *Beato* ſtands upon the Tomb, and that contains his Bones. I have ſeen ſome devout Perſons kiſs a Stone Chair, which is kept in this Church, on the Right Hand as you enter betwixt the ſecond and third Altar, by the Wall. They pretend that St. *Peter* made Uſe of it when he was at *Antioch*; and a Sacriſtan informed me, that it was a Preſent of *Michael Palæologus*, Emperor of *Conſtantinople*. The ſame Perſon told me a Story of a Brazen Croſs that was found floating in ſome Part of the Lagunes, and brought with a great deal of Ceremony to this Church. They have a Veneration for it, but the Croſs could never tell them what kept it from ſinking when it was in the Water; and though it is evidently miraculous, no body may ſay that he remembers to have ſeen it working any Miracle: So that notwithſtanding every Church, and almoſt every Chapel, is abundantly provided with Pieces of the true Croſs, this brazen one, as extraordinary as it is, is ſomewhat neglected.

The Monks of St. *Michael*, betwixt *Venice* and *Murano*, have, in the Chapel of the Family *Priolo*, a fine one, which is endued with a particular Virtue to appeaſe Tempeſts: The Hiſtory of it is full of ſurpriſing Wonders: It is written on a Scroll of Vellum in ſo antique a Manner, that this Conſideration alone would be ſufficient to prove the Truth of the Relation, though they had no other Arguments to confirm it. It was in Uſage heretofore, that never any Veſſel ſet ſail from the Port of *Venice*, till the Pilot and all the Ship's Crew had recommended themſelves to the Protection of this miraculous Croſs: But the Heat of this Devotion is much abated, for it ſeems it is the Miſfortune of *Venice*, as well as of other Places, that good Cuſtoms are ſooner forgotten than bad ones. The Choir of the Church is much commended for the Richneſs and Beauty of the Work. In a little Chamber near the Choir there is a Map of the World drawn with the Hand, and adorned with Miniatures, which is certainly a curious Piece. He that made it was a Monk of this Convent, as it appears by the Medals that were ſtruck on that Occaſion, with this Motto, *Frater Maurus S. Michaelis, Merianenſis, de Venetiis, Ordinis Camaldulenſis, Coſmographus incomparabilis.* The Monk, who ſhewed us theſe Things, carried us to a little but magnificent Chapel near the Church: He ſaid, the People generally believed that it was built by a Courtezan, with the Profits of her Vocation; yet at the ſame Time he aſſured us, in ſtrong Terms, that they were miſtaken. But what ſignifies it, whether true or falſe. *Solon* built a Temple to *Venus*, with the Money that was earned by common Proſtitutes; and why ſhould they not do the ſame at *Rome* and *Venice*, where ſuch lewd Women are not only tolerated, but invited, protected, countenanced, and publickly allowed? The Convent cannot be termed a magnificent Structure, but it is certainly a great Building and agreeably ſituated, for from hence you have the Proſpect of *Venice*, *Murano*, *Lido*, *Terra Firma*, and ſeveral Places in the *Lagunes*, without mentioning the Walks and Gardens that belong to the Convent. In the Year 1497, a *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador was ſo charmed with the Beauties of this Place, that he reſolved to ſpend the Remainder of his Days in it: They made us take Notice of his Epitaph, which they told us was written by the famous *Aldus Manutius*.

I will not trouble you with any Account of the other Tombs and Epitaphs that are to be ſeen in this Place; but ſince we are ſo near the Glaſs-houſes of *Murano*, I ſhall take this Occaſion to make ſome Remarks upon them. *Murano* is one of the largeſt and moſt agreeable Iſlands in the *Lagunes*, about a ſhort Mile from *Venice*: It contains fifteen Churches, comprehending thoſe of the Convents. There are ſome fine Houſes in it, and a great many more Gardens proportionably than at *Venice*. There is a Canal which runs croſs the Iſland, which is larger than the other Canals in the ſame Place, and the famous Glaſs-houſes which you have heard ſo often mentioned, are ſeated on this Canal. You muſt not imagine that there is any Thing at all extraordinary in theſe Buildings; they are divided into ſeveral Lodgings, Halls, Warehouſes, Furnaces, *&c.* as in other Places. Formerly, the Glaſs called *Venice Cryſtal* was the fineſt in *Europe*, but at preſent it does not merit that Title, not that it is coarſer than before, but becauſe they have found the Secret in other Places to make Glaſs at leaſt as fine as that of *Venice*. Mr. *de S. Didier* writes, that he heard a Maſter of a Glaſs-houſe at *Venice* offer an hundred thouſand Franks to any Man that would teach him the Secret of making Glaſs as white as that of a Cup that was brought from *Paris*; and one of my Friends aſſured me, that a few Years ago having carried a Vial of the fineſt Cryſtal of *Murano* to *London*, the Workmen there were ſo far from looking upon it as extraordinary or inimitable, that they ſaid they could, and ſometimes did, make finer Work. The Skill they have acquired in other Countries, and the Manufactures they have erected, have almoſt ruined the Trade of *Murano*. Their whiteſt and pureſt Glaſs is made of certain Stones that are found in *Jeſina*, the Aſhes of ſeveral Herbs that are found in the Country about *Tripoli* in *Barbary*, and the other uſual Ingredients; they make it alſo of certain Stones that they found in the *Adige*, and the Sand that is gathered on the Shore of the Gulph on the *Dalmatian* Side: But this is only for common Glaſs. The Glaſs-makers of *Murano* ſtile themſelves Gentlemen, ſince they were ennobled by *Henry* III. who had the Curioſity to ſee them at work when he paſſed through *Venice*, and they enjoy all the Privileges of the *Citadinance*.

But let us return to our Churches. I will not loſe Time in deſcribing that which bears the Name of St. *Nicholas of the Lettice*, which was founded by the famous *Nicholas Leono*, on Occaſion of his being cured by the ſanctified Lettices that were ſent to him by the Monks. Nor that of St. *Maria Cæleſtis*, which took its Name from an Image that fell from Heaven, and is enriched with a precious Leg of St. *Lawrence*, which ſerves to extinguiſh Fire; nor will I trouble you with an Account of *Jonas*'s Head, which is kept at St. *Appollinaris*'s; nor of St. *Claras*'s Nail; nor of the Coif at St. *Lawrence*'s; nor of other Rarities of the ſame Nature, which perhaps you would look upon as Trifles. *Sancta Maria Glorioſa* is another of the principal Churches in *Venice*; it is large, and very much embelliſhed with divers Ornaments. They pretend that the Seraphick St. *Francis*, in proper Perſon, marked the Place where it ſhould be built. I ſpent two whole Afternoons in viewing and decyphering the Epitaphs that were to be ſeen in it, but I only tranſcribed two of them; one of a Woman, which is the only Monument of that Kind I obſerved there; and the other of a *Doge*, who is made to ſpeak his own Elegy. It is *Francis Foſcari* who was depoſed, or rather removed from his Seat of Authority and Power to that of a private Perſon, in the 84th Year of his Age, as not being capable of performing longer any Function belonging to his Ducal Office, in which he had honourably acquitted himſelf for the Space of thirty-four Years. In all States they depoſe their Princes when they become traiterous to their Country, and declare themſelves Enemies inſtead of nurſing Fathers and Protectors of it, according to natural Equity, and the ſolemn Oath they are obliged to take on the Day of their Inſtallment. They depoſe alſo Fools and Madmen, ſuch as *Alphonſo* of *Portugal*, Uncle to the preſent King; and when they fall into an irrecoverable State of Infirmity, why ſhould they not exhort them to make an honourable Reſignation of their Power? Does a General of an Army that grows old and infirm, make any Scruple of reſigning his Poſt to another? I ſhall take this Occaſion to obſerve, that by the Epitaphs I have ſeen in this Place, I find that a conſiderable Number of the Perſons on whom they are written, died above eighty Years old; a Sign that the Air of *Venice* is not ſo bad as is commonly reported.

I liked much the greater Altar of St. *Juſtina*'s, with the Tabernacle; the devout Adorers of that Saint are always careful to viſit the Stone where ſhe left the Print of her Knees when ſhe ſaid her laſt Prayer before her Martyrdom, as the Story is related in an Inſcription beneath the Stone. Thoſe who chuſe the huge St. *Chriſtopher* for their Patron, have an extraordinary Veneration for a Statue of that Saint, which is to be ſeen in the Church of St. *Maria del Horto*, on the great Altar. It was made by an excellent Sculptor, according to the Proportion of a Bone of the Original, which was heretofore brought from *England* by a very curious Perſon, who was a nice Judge of Relicks; ſo that a devout Spectator has the Pleaſure to behold the exact Dimentions of that Saint; and this Conſideration has ſo enhanced the Value of the Statue, that thoſe who have moſt Experience in Affairs of this Nature, are confident that it will quickly begin to work Miracles. I could eaſily reckon up a vaſt Number of fine Paintings with which the Churches are adorned, but I know not whether you would have the Patience to read ſuch a dry Catalogue, nor will I undertake to give you an Account of thoſe half ſacred Places, which are here called *Scuole*; theſe are publick Edifices divided into Chapels, Halls, Chambers, and Lodgings, which belong to Fraternities of Monks, or ſome other particular Societies. I have ſeen at leaſt thirty-five of them, and I doubt not but that there are more. Among the reſt there are ſix called *Scuole grandi*, which are embelliſhed with ſo much Art and Coſt, that they may vie with the fineſt Churches both in the Richneſs and Beauty of their Ornaments.

In many Churches and Fraternities, there are annual Funds eſtabliſhed to raiſe Portions and procure comfortable Matches for poor Maids; and generally over all *Italy* Care is taken by ſuch charitable Foundations to provide for the Neceſſities of the Sex. After I have given you my Obſervations on the Chriſtian Churches, you will perhaps expect an Account of the *Jewiſh* Synagogues; but all that I can ſay on this Subject is, that there are ſeven of them, and that the beſt of the ſeven is not near ſo fine as the *Portugueſe* Synagogue in *London*. If we give Credit to the vulgar Computation, there are about two thouſand *Jews* at *Venice*; ſome of them are rich, but few in Compariſon to the Poor. They are obliged to wear red Hats; but I find by *Martinelli* in his *Ritratto*, that they may be exempt from that diſagreeable Diſtinction by paying a ſmall Sum of Money. They have a Sort of Court that determines petty Suits among themſelves. They are generally a Kind of People that never refuſe any Sort of Employment, and are made uſe of on ſeveral Occaſions, eſpecially by the Nobles, who are a very great Support to them. They may take the Degree of Doctors in Medicine at *Padua*, and practiſe Phyſick any where in the City and State of *Venice*.

6. The only Thing worth taking Notice of betwixt *Padua* and *Rovigo* is the Country, which is flat and fruitful, adorned with Vineyards, Groves, Meadows, and well-tilled Grounds, and watered by many Rivulets. Upon the Road you ſee ſome Houſes of Pleaſure belonging to the *Venetians*, but the Country People about *Rovigo* dwell only in Huts made of Reeds. The City of

Rovigo itſelf is very poor, and of no great Extent, and yet it is the Reſidence of the Biſhop of *Adria*, that famous City, which imparted its Name to the Gulph, though now no more than a half-drown'd Village.

Ferrara is a large and beautiful City, but poor and ill peopled: We went on Purpoſe to one of the beſt Places of the whole City, where four Streets meet, but could not perceive one Perſon in any of them, though the Country about it is one of the beſt in *Lombardy*, but wants Tillage for Want of Inhabitants, this fruitful Country being almoſt deſolate, by the Severity of the Papal Government. *Ferrara* was united to the Eccleſiaſtical State under the Pontificate of *Clement* VIII. who built a very ſtrong Citadel, which is ſtill in good Repair. Of the ancient Univerſity of *Ferrara*, there remains only a poor College, belonging to the *Jeſuits*. Near the Cathedral ſtand ſome Statues on Horſeback of Braſs; and directly over againſt the Palace of the Nobility is one of Duke *Hercules* II. on Horſeback, on the Pedeſtal of which is an Inſcription granting a Sanctuary to Criminals for twenty Paces round it. We alſo ſaw the Ducal Palace, the Houſe of the Marquiſs *de Villa*, and divers Churches and Convents, which have all their peculiar Beauties; and, among the reſt, took Notice of the Tomb and Epitaph of *Arioſto*, in the Church of the *Benedictins*. In the Opera we heard a pretty little Songſtreſs of twelve or thirteen Years of Age; moſt of the Boxes were filled with Jeſuits and Clergymen.

From *Ferrara* to *Ravenna* is fifty Miles; all the Way we ſaw not one Town or Village worth taking Notice of. The firſt Day's Journey was very paſſable, but afterward the Road becomes very deep, betwixt the Branches of the *Adige* and the *Po*: The ancient Geographers deſcribe its Situation like that of *Venice*, amongſt the Waters, and it is certain this was the beſt Harbour the *Romans* were Maſters of in the *Adriatick* Gulph, but ſince that the *Lagunes* are dried up, and the Sea is at leaſt three Miles from it, the City being now ſurrounded with the moſt fruitful Fields of *Italy*: Neither is there the leaſt Doubt, but that the preſent *Ravenna* ſtands in the ſame Place where the ancient *Ravenna* was, there being in the Walls that face the Sea-ſide many great Iron Rings, by which they uſed formerly to faſten their Veſſels; and the Ruins of the ancient Beacon are to be ſeen to this Day. This City is ſeated in a flat Country, is not above half as big as *Ferrara*, but meanly built, and as thinly peopled. Without the Walls, near the ancient Harbour, you ſee the *Mauſoleum* erected to the Memory of *Theodoric* King of the *Oſtrogoths*, by *Amalaſintha* his Daughter; it is ſince turned into a little Church called the *Rotunda*; it is covered with one hewn Stone of thirty-eight Feet Diameter, and fifteen in Thickneſs, on the Top of which ſtood the Tomb of *Theodoric*, ſurrounded by the Statues of the Twelve Apoſtles, which were deſtroyed during the laſt Wars of *Lewis* XII. together with the Tomb of *Porphyry*, which ſince has been fixed in the Wall of an ancient Palace within the City.

The Cathedral is a very ancient Structure, ſupported by fifty-ſix Pillars of Marble of the *Archipelago*, placed in a double Range on each Side. The Choir is vaulted with excellent *Moſaick* Work, where they ſhew you, as a precious Relick, one of the Stones with which St. *Stephen* was martyred. But the great Door of this Church is the moſt curious Thing, and deſerves moſt a Traveller's Obſervation, being made of Planks of Vines, ſome of which are twelve Feet high, and fourteen or fifteen Inches broad; for it is to be obſerved, that hereabouts, in thoſe Places that were formerly covered by the Sea, the Vines grow to a prodigious Bigneſs. In the Church of the *Theatins* (or *Jeſuits*) they ſhew a little Window juſt over the Altar, with the Figure of a white Pigeon upon it, placed there, as they tell you, in Memory of a Miracle that happened at the Election of the ſecond Biſhop of *Ravenna*, after the Death of St. *Apollinarus*, when a Pigeon coming into the Window, perched upon him who was to be elected; and the ſame Thing happened eleven Times after ſucceſſively.

The Churches of St. *Vitalis*, St. *Apollinarius*, St. *Romualdus*, and St. *Andrew*, have many ſtately Pieces of *Marble* and *Porphyry*, brought from *Greece* during the Time of the *Exarchy*, or while under that Name it continued a Province of the *Greek* Empire. The Tomb of *Galla Placidia*, the Daughter of *Theodoſius the Great*, is to be ſeen in the Church of St. *Celſus*, between thoſe of *Valentinian* and *Honorius*.

In the *Grand Place* you ſee a noble Statue of Braſs of Pope *Alexander* VII. And at the other End of the ſame Square, two Columns, on which formerly ſtood the ancient Patron and the Arms of *Venice*, whilſt *Ravenna* was under their Juriſdiction; the like Columns they erect in all Cities belonging to their State; but ſince that Time the Pope has put the Statues of St. *Victor* and *Apollinarius* upon the ſame Columns. Near them, under a Portico, they ſhew the Gates of Braſs, and ſome other Spoils, thoſe of *Ravenna* took from thoſe of *Pavia*.

We had ſcarce travelled a good Hour from *Ravenna*, but we entered a Foreſt of Pine-trees, which is four Miles long, after which we travelled within Sight of the Sea to the left, and the Marſhes to the right.

Having paſſed the River *Savio* in a Ferry-boat, we continued our Journey thro' the little City of *Cervia*, ſeated among the Bogs; the Inhabitants live by making of Salt. We dined at *Coſenate*, near the Sea-ſide, and before we had made three Miles more, came to the Banks of the famous River *Rubicon*, called alſo the *Piſatello*, and by ſome the *Frumicino*; and we were not a little ſurprized to ſee our Coach paſs it without a Bridge or Ferry-boat, yet *Lucan* in his Time gives it the following Character:

Fonte cadit modico, parviſque impellitur undis.

Within an Hour after we travell'd cloſe along the Sea-ſhore, which was even, ſandy, and firm, without any Rocks or Shells, till within a Mile of *Rimini*, where we were forced to travel deeper into the Country, for the Conveniency of paſſing the River *Ariminum*, which waſhes the Walls of the City of *Rimini*; it is now called *Marechia*.

Rimini is a ſmall and poor City, ſeated in a rich Country. On the Bridge of Marble are two entire Inſcriptions, intimating, that *Auguſtus* and *Tiberius* were the Founders of this City, and that the triumphal Arch was built by the firſt. Behind the Gardens of the *Capuchins* are to be ſeen the Ruins of an Amphitheatre, and five hundred Paces thence, without the City, a Brick Tower, which was the *Pharos* of the ancient Harbour, but is now encompaſſed with Gardens, the Sea being retired at leaſt half a Mile thence.

The Church of St. *Francis* was built out of the Ruins of the Harbour, which was once one of the beſt in *Italy*. The Library of the Count *de Gambalonga* is numerous, but without any rare Books that deſerve Notice. In the Midſt of the Market is a Marble Pedeſtal with theſe Words upon it, *Caius Cæſar Dict: Rubicone ſuperato civili bell: Commilit: ſuos hic in foro Ar: adlocutus.* In another Place you ſee the brazen Statue of *Paul* V. and near it a curious Marble Fountain.

From *Rimini* we travelled for fifteen Miles along the *Downs* betwixt the Sea and the Fields. As we paſſed thro' the Village *Catholica*, we found over the Portal of the great Church an Inſcription, by which it appeared that this Village received its Name from certain Orthodox Fathers, who, during the Council of *Rimini* in 359, compoſed, for the moſt Part of *Arians*, uſed to perform their religious Service here, in Spite of that Aſſembly. About ten or twelve Miles thence, towards the *Apennines*, we diſcovered the City and little Republick of *Marino* on the Top of a Mountain, at the Foot of which are the Limits of its Territories: This ſmall and inconſiderable Commonwealth being below the Envy and Jealouſy of its Neighbours, has maintained its Liberty for many Ages. The Country between *Catholica* and *Peſaro* is for ſeven Miles together very well inhabited and cultivated.

The City of *Peſaro* exceeds *Rimini* as well in Bigneſs and the Pleaſantneſs of its Situation, upon an eaſy Aſcent, as in the Neatneſs and Beauty of its Buildings. Nothing can be more pleaſant to the Eye, than the little Hills that ſurround it, with the agreeable Mixture of *Paſtures*, *Vineyards*, and *Orchards*. Their Olives are very good, but their Figs are abſolutely eſteemed the beſt in *Italy*. Meat is ſo cheap here, that you may buy a Pound (which contains eighteen Ounces here) for leſs than a Halfpenny; Bread and Wine are cheaper in Proportion than Meat; and as both the Sea and Rivers furniſh them with Plenty of Fiſh, ſo this City abounds in all Things neceſſary for Life. Its Fortifications are none of the worſt, conſidering they are after the old Faſhion. In the Market-place is a fine Fountain, and a Statue of Pope *Urban* VIII. under whoſe Pontificate this City and the Dukedom of *Urbin* were incorporated with the Eccleſiaſtical State, as they have ever ſince continued.

From *Peſaro* we continued our Journey along the ſandy Shore for ſeven Miles, as far as *Fano*. We ſaw Abundance of Walnuts, Cheſnuts, Ruſhes, and many other Things, forced by the Winds from the neighbouring Rivers to this Shore. One of our Company, among the reſt, took up here a certain little Fiſh called *Cavaletto* by the *Italians*, in *France*, *Cheval Marin*, or the *Sea-horſe:* It is frequently to be met with in Cabinets, being eaſily dried and preſerved; its Head and Neck has ſome Reſemblance to thoſe of a Horſe. The *Italians* attribute to it a peculiar Quality of curing the Bite of a mad Dog, if eaten roaſted, and applied to the affected Part, ſkined and beaten with Honey and Vinegar. *Fano* itſelf is a ſmall but neat City, having nothing in it worth taking Notice of, except one Triumphal Arch, but the Inſcription on it is quite defaced. It is compoſed of three diſtinct Gates.

About a Mile from *Fano* we travelled over a wooden Bridge five or ſix hundred Paces long, built over the ſeveral Branches of the *Pongio*, which overflow all the circumjacent Country, when the Snow begins to melt on the *Apennines*; afterwards coaſting along the Sea-ſide for fifteen Miles, we came to *Senegallia*, an old City, encloſed with a ſtrong Wall, and ſome Baſtions, but not very regular. Our Wearineſs, after a tedious Day's Journey, proved the Occaſion of our good Fortune, without which we had run the ſame Danger that beſel ſeveral of the Inhabitants, who were the ſame Night at a Play acted at the Governor's Houſe, but the Arch, which ſupported the Stage, with ſome of the neareſt Seats, being overladen, gave Way, and above thirty Perſons were killed, and many more wounded by this Accident.

From *Senegallia* we kept ſtill all along the Shore, but for ſeventeen Miles met with no Houſes, except an old Caſtle and ſome Inns, about a hundred Paces from the Sea-ſide. Near a little Village called *Turreet*, about three Miles from *Ancona*, we turned into the Land-way, where we arrived in a good Time. This City is ſeated upon a double Hillock, at the very Point of the Cape, being much larger than any of the four or five laſt-mentioned Cities, but not much richer, though the Excellency of its Harbour, and the Fertility of the adjacent Country ſeems to entitle it to Traffick, of which it had a ſufficient Share formerly, but is much decayed of late Years, by being under the Papal Dominion. The Streets of *Ancona* are both narrow and dark, and their Buildings but indifferent; beſides that, its Situation up and down Hill renders it very inconvenient. The Citadel is ſeated on the firſt Hill, which commands both the City and Harbour; and on the other, which makes the Point of the Cape, ſtands the Church of St. *Cyriaca*, being a low dark Fabrick, the Front whereof is of Marble, but without any Ornament. Here they boaſt of the Body of St. *Urſula*, as well as thoſe of *Cologne*, beſides many other Saints and Relicks, in high Veneration among the People. From hence we had a very delightful Proſpect of the Sea, City, and Country at once.

At the Entrance of the Mole is a magnificent triumphal Arch of white Marble, erected to the Honour of *Trajan*, by the Senate, in Acknowledgment of the Charge he had been at in repairing this Harbour, as the Inſcription, which is not in the leaſt defaced, tells the Reader; but it was with ſome Difficulty defended from the Monks, who would often have demoliſhed it to repair their Convents. The Exchange where the Merchants meet, is built in the Nature of a Portico of an indifferent Bigneſs; at the four Corners ſtand as many Statues, repreſenting *Faith*, *Hope*, *Charity*, and *Religion*, the laſt of which was thrown down by an Earthquake, and the reſt ſhaken. Before I leave *Ancona*, I muſt tell you ſomething of the Oddneſs of the Dreſs of the Inhabitants: We ſaw the chiefeſt Burghers, on a Holiday, appear in a black Cloak lined with green, with blue or fillemot Stockings, Shoes whitened with Chalk, and tied with Ribbons of all Sorts of Colours; their unbuttoned Doublets were embroidered with divers Colours, and the great Sleeves of their Shirts hung down to their Fingers Ends. The ordinary Sort of Women wear a Kind of Coif, with a long Fringe hanging over their Faces; the Body of the Gown is generally red or yellow, faſtened on four Sides with Laces, and trimmed all over with coloured Galloon; their Waiſtcoats and Petticoats are both very ſhort, and of various Colours. The Ladies of Quality imitate in their Dreſs the *French* Faſhion, but after ſo aukward a Manner, that they appear more ridiculous than the others in their own Country Dreſs.

We obſerved another Cuſtom upon this Road, which, they told us, runs from *Ferrara* all over *Italy*; I mean their Paper Windows, which being always torn, prove very inconvenient in the Winter, and afford a very odd Proſpect to Foreigners, as well as very inconvenient. To compleat our Miſery, they would commonly bring a Fricacy of three Eggs, and perhaps as many Pilchards, for a Supper for five or ſix Perſons, and at laſt make us pay as dear as if we had extraordinary good Cheer, our Dinner and Supper amounting generally to four Shillings a Head. The Flux and Reflux of the Sea increaſe and decreaſe according to the Diſtance from the Extremity of the Gulph; for at *Venice* the Tide riſes about four Feet, near *Ravenna* to three, at *Peſaro* two, and ſcarce above one at *Ancona*, and ſo decreaſes till at laſt it comes to nothing.

7. The Country between *Ancona* and *Loretto* is the beſt in *Italy*, but the Roads the worſt, which obliged us to alight ſeveral Times to eaſe the Coach. I don't queſtion but you have ſeen ſeveral Accounts of our famous Lady of *Loretto*; but ſince Matters of this Nature are variouſly repreſented, the Curioſity of the Thing deſerves very well an exact Abridgement of what I was able either to learn or ſee, which I will give you with great Fidelity. This Houſe, ſo much celebrated among the *Roman Catholicks*, is the ſame (if you will take their Word for it) in which the Virgin was born, where ſhe was betrothed and married to *Joſeph*, where ſhe received the Salute of the Angel, and where the Son of GOD was incarnate. This Houſe was from *Nazareth* tranſported by the Angels into *Dalmatia*, and placed on the Hill of *Terſatto*, 10 *May*, 1291, where, after it had continued for three Years and ſeven Months, the Angels removed it from thence into the Middle of a Foreſt in the Territory of *Recanati*, Part of the Marquiſate of *Ancona*; but this Wood being famous for many Robberies committed thereabouts, this *Holy Houſe* was, after eight Months, removed a third third Time from thence, to the ſame Hill on which it now ſtands; but ſoon after a Controverſy ariſing betwixt two Brothers, Coheirs of the Ground on which it ſtood, about the Poſſeſſion of this Houſe, it was in four Months after placed by the Angels ſome Paces from thence, in the high Road, where it is to be ſeen to this Day.

To prevent all Inconveniencies that might happen to ſo ſacred a Place, they built a moſt ſumptuous Church about it, in the Middle of which it ſtands free from all Injuries; and for its better Preſervation, they have ſince erected four Walls, which encloſe it on all Sides like a Box, without touching the Walls of the *Santa Caſa*, or *Holy Houſe*; all that Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture, were able to perform in the Beginning of the laſt Age, has been beſtowed on this Fabrick, which is built of white Marble of *Carrara*, after the *Corinthian* Order, adorned adorn'd with the moſt exquiſite *Baſſo relievo*, in which the whole Hiſtory of the Virgin is repreſented. Between the double Pillars are two Niches, one above the other; the ten Niches below contain the Statues of the ten Prophets, and thoſe above, the ten *Sybils*. In the Middle of this, the *Santa Caſa*, or *holy Houſe*, is enclos'd, which is only a ſingle Chamber forty-four Palms long within, eighteen broad, and thirteen high, each Palm and a half being equivalent to thirteen Inches of our *Engliſh* Meaſure. To make the Story of the Removal of this Hall or Chamber the more probable, they pretend it to be built of ſome unknown Stones; but, upon the ſtricteſt Examination I could make, I found the ſame to be true Brick, of a different Bigneſs and unequal Shape, mix'd with ſome flat, greyiſh, or reddiſh Stones, which are very common here; the whole is cemented with Lime and Sand, but the Pieces are ill join'd, as if it had been done in great Haſte: The Maſon's Work is almoſt open to View on the Inſide, except in ſome Places, where you ſee certain Fragments of Plaiſter-work cover'd with Painting, repreſenting the Virgin, with the little *Jeſus* between her Arms; this appears plainly in five or ſix different Places. The *holy Houſe* ſtands from Eaſt to Weſt, a Thing not much uſed in *Italy*; on the Eaſt Side is a little Chimney, over which, in a Niche, ſtands the Image of the great Lady of *Loretto*, made, as they ſay, of Cedar Wood, and by the Hands of St. *Luke*, being about four Feet high. Her Ornaments are of an ineſtimable Value, and if we may believe thoſe that live thereabouts, ſhe has a great many Robes for Change, and ſeven different Mourning Habits for the Holy Week: Her triple Crown, which is all over cover'd with precious Stones, was the Preſent of *Lewis* XIII. King of *France*; they told us this Diſtich was engraven upon it;

> *Tu Caput ante meum cinxiſti*; VIRGO, *Coronæ*
> *Nunc Caput ecce tenet noſtra Corona tuum.*

He gave alſo a Crown to the Infant.

On both Sides of the Niche are Cupboards fill'd with ancient Ornaments of this Statue; and in a little Window in the Wall, on the South-ſide, they ſhew you ſome Earthen Diſhes which were uſed by the holy Family; ſome of theſe Veſſels have ſince been edg'd with Gold, but that which they ſhew'd us was a Porringer with a Silver Foot at the Bottom, done on Purpoſe to perſuade the World that it was made of a ſtrange Earth, whereas it is no more than Potters Ware, the Glazing whereof is not ſo nicely taken off, but that ſome Parts of it remain to be diſcover'd by a curious Eye. At the Weſt end, juſt oppoſite to our Lady, they ſhew you a Window about three Feet ſquare, through which the Angel enter'd: The preſent Arch of this Houſe being of a modern Fabrick, I aſk'd them what was become of the old Roof, but they could tell me no Tidings of it. Here are alſo two remarkable Things, which, they ſay, were tranſported at the ſame Time with the Houſe, *viz.* the Altar made by the Apoſtle's own Hands, and the Stone on which St. *Peter* celebrated Maſs the firſt Time; it is cover'd with Silver, and kept as a precious Relick under the Altar where they uſually officiate. The Floor of the *Santa Caſa* is of Squares of red and white Marble; but this is not the old Floor, becauſe that was left, together with the Foundations, at *Nazareth*. This ſacred Place has three Doors, two of which are at the End facing the Eaſt, and give Paſſage to croſs from North to South; here the Pilgrims are let in: The other is on the South-ſide, and leads to the Sanctuary, *i. e.* the Space between the Altar and the End of our Lady's Chamber.

To enumerate all the Riches of this Place, would be an endleſs Piece of Work, the infinite Number of precious Stones wherewith the Mantle of this Image is adorn'd, are alone ſufficient to dazzle the Sight of the Spectators; beſides that, all about you ſee nothing but Lamps, Statues, Buſts, and other Figures of Gold and Silver, not including the twenty-eight Candleſticks of Silver and Vermilion, and the twelve of maſſy Gold of twenty-ſeven Pounds Weight each. They have a Cuſtom of expoſing the laſt Offering of Value for a certain Time, before the Eyes of our Lady, in a Place made for that Purpoſe. That which we ſaw there was an Angel of Gold, with a Heart of the Bigneſs of an Egg in his Hands, ſet all over with Diamonds of a great Value. Our Conductor being an *Engliſh* Jeſuit, did not forget to tell us, that it was a Preſent of the Queen of *England*, and that the ſaid Princeſs had conceiv'd at the ſame Minute the ſaid Preſent was offer'd to our Lady, and was then big with Child. He had taken the Pains to make a whole Copy of Verſes upon this Subject, by Way of Dialogue between our Lady and the Angel, and took a great deal of Care to recite them to us more than once with an audible Tone, and would at laſt force a Copy of them upon me. This Queen was *Mary* of *Eſtè*, Conſort to *James* II.

Round the Walls of the Chapel that encloſe the *holy Houſe*, you ſee a vaſt Number of branch'd Candleſticks, to illuminate the whole Fabrick: But the greateſt Curioſity is the Proceſſions of thoſe Devotees, who crawl round the *holy Houſe* upon their Knees, ſome five Times, other ſeven, and others twelve Times, according to the different Degrees of their Devotions; ſome of theſe creep along from one Side, whilſt others meet them coming from the other, but all furniſh'd with Beads, and muttering *Pater noſters*; but as they all covet to come neareſt to the holy Place, this ſometimes occaſions no ſmall Confuſion, which is the Reaſon that this is never done but when there is only a ſlender Number of Pilgrims. The chief Reſort is at *Eaſter*, and the Virgin's Nativity, which they celebrate in *September*: I had it from credible Hands, that in ſome Years they have had here above two hundred thouſand Pilgrims during theſe two Feaſts. It is no unpleaſant Sight to obſerve the Caravans of theſe Pilgrims of both Sexes, who commonly come in Societies: As for Inſtance; a certain Body of Men join at *Bologna*, each of whom has a Frock of coarſe Linnen, and a Cawl of the ſame made like a Strainer for *Hippocras*, which covers their Head, leaving only three Holes for the Eyes and Mouth. They appear in different Colours, each Society chuſing their own, but are all provided with Beads, Girdles, Pilgrims Staves, and the Arms of the Society, which are either painted or wrought on the Back and Breaſt of every Member of the Fraternity. They commonly ride on Aſſes. The Women appear in as rich Apparel as poſſibly they can, and fix to the Bodies of their Gowns a little Pilgrim's Staff of the Length of a Hand, ſome of which are of Gold and Silver, adorn'd with Gems and Pearls, others of Ebony, Ivory, *&c.* artificially wrought. The Ladies commonly ride in Calaſhes, attended by whole Squadrons of Aſs-troopers.

After the extraordinary Things that have been ſaid of the *holy Houſe*, the Treaſury infinitely ſurpaſſes it in Riches; this is a ſpacious Chamber or Hall, wainſcotted, with ten large Preſſes with folding Doors, the arched Roof being a moſt curious Sort of Plaiſter, divided by gilt Compartments, beautified with excellent Pictures. Formerly they were glad to keep Abundance of Silver Work here, but the ſame having ſince given Place to Gold, is laid up elſewhere in great Heaps in private Places, and perhaps for private Uſes. Theſe Preſſes therefore are now quite fill'd up with nothing but pure Gold, precious Jewels, among which they ſhew a Pearl of an ineſtimable Value, ſhap'd after the Faſhion of a *Gondola*, or ſuch Veſſels and Ornaments as exceed the Value of Gold and Gems, by their Rarity. It would be a Piece of Folly to attempt a particular Account of what exceeds even Imagination itſelf; the beſt Idea I am able to give you of this Treaſure is, that you muſt conſider, that all the People, Princes and States, who acknowledge the papal Authority, have, for theſe four hundred Years paſt, endeavour'd to outvie each other in beſtowing the richeſt Preſents that could be had upon this *holy Houſe*. They have, beſides this, a ſettled Revenue, and vaſt Tracks of Land belonging to it; and the Boxes in which they gather the Alms of the Pilgrims, furniſh them every Year with more Money to make freſh Purchaſes. To excite the Charity of the Pilgrims, they do not forget to give it out, that the annual Charges of maintaining all that belong to the *holy Houſe*, amounts to no leſs than 38634 Crowns, whereas their ordinary yearly Revenue is no more than 27000 Crowns.

From the Treaſury we were conducted to a little Arſenal, which has ſcarce any Thing remarkable but ſome Arms taken from the *Turks*, who about fifty Years before (under the Reign of *Mahomet* II. and *Selim*) made a Deſcent thereabouts, to plunder this ſacred Place, but were ſtruck blind by our Lady, as they were endeavouring to break into the Houſe. From the Windows of this Arſenal, they ſhew you that Part of the Sea over which the Houſe was carried by the Angels; and our Jeſuit made moſt ſolemn Proteſtations, that ever ſince there remains a certain white Track on the Water, and that he had often obſerved it. I can't paſs by in Silence, that as we were going towards the *holy Houſe*, the Rabble flock'd about us, telling us, that we muſt not approach the holy Place without confeſſing and communicating, unleſs we would throw ourſelves into manifeſt Danger of ſudden Death.

From hence we went to the great Wine Cellar, ſtor'd with an hundred and fifty Tuns of excellent Wine. And in the *Apothecary*'s Office they ſhew'd us an hundred and forty-five Earthen Veſſels, highly eſteem'd, becauſe they believe them to have been painted by *Raphael*. On five of the largeſt are painted St. *Paul* and the four *Evangeliſts*, the reſt being adorn'd with the Hiſtories of ſome Saints, the Metamorphoſes of *Ovid*, *&c.* The City of *Loretto* is but ſmall, yet well fortified, and has the Title of a Biſhoprick. In the *Great Place* ſtands a moſt noble Fountain of Marble, beautified with divers Braſs Statues, and another erected by the Citizens of *Loretto*, in Acknowldgement of certain Privileges granted them by Pope *Sixtus* V. The Inhabitants get their Livelihood by making and ſelling Medals, Roſaries, ſanctified Beads, Images, *Agnus Dei*'s, Meaſures of the Height of the Image of our Lady, and ſuch Trifles. They ſell here Chaplets, the Beads of which were as big as Gooſe-Eggs, and are uſed on Days of extraordinary Devotion. The Tradition of the Removal of the *holy Houſe* is ſo ſtedfaſtly maintain'd in this Place, that there is ſcarce an Inhabitant ſo mean, but pretends to be deſcended from the Race of thoſe that ſaw the *holy Houſe* fix'd where now it is, by which Means they tranſplant this Tradition from Father to Son *in infinita*

8. Travelling from hence through *Recanati*, a little City ſeated on the Top of a Hill, three Miles from *Loretto*, I look'd into the great Church, where I could ſee nothing worth mentioning but the Tomb of Pope *Gregory* XII. who was depoſed from the Pontificate by the Council of *Piſa*. Ten Miles further, in a moſt fertile Country, on the Bank of the *Cotenza*, we paſſed thro' the Ruins of the City formerly known by the Name of *Helvia Ricina*, where we ſaw vaſt Fragments of an Amphitheatre built of Stone and Brick mingled together. We travell'd on this Side of the River for two Miles among the Hills, till we came to *Macerata*, where we lodg'd that Night; it being foul Weather, we could not ſtir abroad, but were told by the Inhabitants, that it was a pretty large and pleaſant Place. The Country between *Macerata* and *Tolentino* lies all upon a Level, and is extremely fruitful, but very indifferently peopled. They prop their Vines with Reeds, and plough with Buffaloes, theſe Beaſts being ſtronger than Oxen, and eaſier fed.

Tolentino is ſeated on a riſing Ground; for the reſt, a Place that has nothing remarkable belonging to it. The next Place we came to was *Belfort*, built all of Stone: A Mile beyond it begins the Province of *Umbria*, where we enter into the *Apennine*. I remember we fell into the Company of a Gentleman, who was going from *Macerata* to *Foligno*, who, after ſome Diſcourſe relating to the Lady of *Loretto*, told us, among other Things, that they were extremely pleaſed in *Italy* at the News they had lately received from *England*, that their King was turn'd Chriſtian. I deſir'd him to explain his Meaning, which he did in ſuch Terms, that I could not but ſtand amaz'd at his Ignorance, his Notions of the *Proteſtants* being very near the ſame the *Pagans* entertain'd of the *Primitive Chriſtians*, ſo that with all the Art I had, I could not perſuade him that we uſed Baptiſm among us: This Simplicity is ſo univerſal in this Country, that they are more ignorant of our Religion than the *Chineſe* themſelves, in which they are encourag'd by their Clergy, who leave no Stone unturn'd to make the *Proteſtants* odious to the People at any rate.

After we had left *Tolentino*, we travell'd for forty Miles among the Rocks; the chief Villages we took Notice of in our Way, were *Valcimara*, *Ponte di Trava*, *Metia*, *Dignano*, *Colſiorito*, *Caſa Nuova*, &c. We left the Mountains near the Village of *Pala*, from whence we diſcover'd the Plain of *Foligno*, which affords the moſt delightful Proſpect from the Hill, being water'd with many Rivulets, well inhabited, and extraordinarily improv'd; ſo that we had no ſooner quitted the Mountains, but we found ourſelves, as it were, on a ſudden, in a ſweet and agreeable Climate, where we ſaw the Almond-trees already in Bloſſom, after we had ſcarce recover'd ourſelves from the Cold of the froſty Rocks. Having continued our Journey for four Miles in a continual eaſy Deſcent, we came into a narrow level Way, on one Side whereof runs a ſmall and clear River, at the End of which lies *Foligno*, in the moſt fertile Country in the World; it has the Reputation of a better Traffick than moſt of the other Cities in the Eccleſiaſtical State; their Trade conſiſts chiefly in Draperies, Gold and Silver Laces, Silk Stuffs, and Spices. Soon after we came out of *Foligno*, we diſcover'd, on the other Side of the Plain, upon an Eminency, the Town of *Monteſalco*, famous for the Interment of St. *Clara*. They ſhew here the three Stones of the Bigneſs of ſmall Nuts, ſaid to be found in the Heart of that Saint, upon which the Hiſtory of the Paſſion is engrav'd. Near the Village of *Peſignano*, between *Foligno* and *Spoletto*, at the Foot of the Hill which encloſes the Plain, a large Spring ariſes through four ſeveral Outlets from under the Rocks, which make a ſmall Lake by their Conjunction, and thence ſend forth a pleaſant Rivulet, which waters the adjacent Country.

Not above two hundred Paces from the Spring-head, you ſee, near the Road, a ſmall Temple of the *Corinthian* Order, called St. *Salvatore*, where the Biſhop of *Spoletto* ſays Maſs once a Year. We obſerved the three following Inſcriptions on the Front, and on both Sides;

(1.) + S. C. S. *Deus Profetarum qui fecit Redemptionem.*

(2.) *Deus Angelorum qui fecit Reſurrectionem.*

(3.) + S. C. S. *Deus Apoſt.* * * *

the reſt being quite defac'd; which together with its Manner of building Croſs-wiſe and Eaſtward, as moſt other Churches, and the Croſſes carv'd in divers Parts of the Pediments, ſufficiently contradict the Opinion of thoſe who would have this Temple to have been conſecrated to *Clitumnus*, though perhaps it may have been erected upon or out of the Ruins of that of *Clitumnus*. But it is much more probable what I heard a ſkilful Antiquary ſay at *Spoletto*, *viz.* that the River before-mentioned is the *Clitumnus* mention'd by the Ancients, and among the reſt, by *Virgil*, in the ſecond of his *Georgicks*.

From *Peſignano* to *Spoletto* you travel for ſeven Miles in a plain Country, at the Foot of the Hills, full of Inhabitants. *Spoletto* is ſeated within the Mountains, beyond the before-mention'd Plain, a poor, ill-built, and thinly-peopled City. The Cathedral is celebrated for its Height, which however is not extraordinary. The Pavement is inlaid with ſmall Pieces of Marble, like St. *Mark*'s Church at *Venice*, and the Pediment of the great Portal is very fine *Moſaic* Work on a golden Ground. The Caſtle is ſeated on the higheſt Ground, and has nothing to boaſt of but its Situation. About five hundred Paces without the City, is a Church conſecrated to *Concord*, and ſince called the Chapel of the Crucifix. *Spoletto* has alſo ſome Remnants of Antiquity, a triumphal Arch half ruin'd, and the Fragments of an Amphitheatre with divers looſe Marble Stones, without Inſcriptions, except that the Arch ſtill retains a few Characters. The moſt remarkable Thing here is, the Aqueduct, which joins the Mountain of St. *Francis* to that of *Spoletto.* It is a *Gothic* Work, and remains entire and uſeful to this Day: Its Length is three hundred and fifty Paces, and its Height, from the Bottom of the Valley, two hundred and thirty.

Three Miles beyond *Spoletto* we paſs'd the higheſt Mountain hereabouts, called *Semma*; and after we had travell'd about five or ſix Miles among the barren Rocks, we found the ſucceeding Hills, for four or five Miles, covered with Laurels, wild Olive-trees, Tamarinds, Junipers, ever-green Oaks, and divers other ſempervirent Trees and Shrubs, which is very pleaſant. At our Approach to *Terni*, the Mountains, which had encloſed us in a ſtreight Paſſage upon the Brink of a Torrent, which runs at the Bottom of the Valley, extended themſelves by Degrees to a great Foreſt of Olive-trees laden with Fruit, which they generally ſuffer to hang till they drop off themſelves: The Olives for Pickling are gathered before they are ripe, and their Bitterneſs is removed by Art; the ripe are as bitter as the green ones, notwithſtanding which they produce the ſweeteſt Liquor that can be imagined.

From this Wood of Olives we travell'd for a Mile in an agreeable Plain, which brought us to *Terni*, ſeated upon the River *Nera*, in a moſt fruitful Country. This City is not ſo large in Compaſs as *Spoletto*, but much more populous; they ſell Abundance of Oil: We were told, that during ſix Months of the Year they make here an hundred Charges of Oil every Day, each Charge weighing ſix hundred Pounds, and is generally ſold at the Rate of twelve *Engliſh* Crowns. By an Inſcription to be ſeen on the Porch of the Seminary near the Cathedral, it appears, that it may contend for its Antiquity with *Rome* itſelf; the Inſcription being made for *Tiberius*, is dated thus;

Poſt Interamnam conditam DCCIIII.

Terni being anciently called *Interamna* and *Interamnium*, from its Situation *inter amnes*, or the two Branches of the River that waters it. On the Bridge is to be ſeen another Inſcription, put there in the Time of Pope *Urban* the Eighth, intimating, that this Bridge was built by *Pompey the Great*. About three Miles from *Terni* is the famous Water-fall of Mount *del Marmore*; the Way that leads up to it is very rocky, ſo that we were forced to alight often from our Horſes. By the Way we obſerved, on the South Side of the Mountain, divers Corners, which never felt the Rigour of the Winter-Seaſon, and among the Buſto's Abundance of *Jeſmins*, *Laurels*, *Myrtles*, *Roſemary* as freſh then (in *February*) as they are with us in *April*.

As we were aſcending the Hill *Papirio*, we obſerved, in a Valley near the Bank of a River, a Tract of Ground planted with at leaſt ſeven hundred Orange trees, a Thing rarely to be ſeen in the open Field, where they have no Shelter. But to retrun to our Cataract. The River *Valerio* has its Riſe among the Mountains, twelve or thirteen Miles from the Place where the Water falls down. At about nine Miles from its Head Spring it falls into the Lake of *Luco*, whence continuing its Current, with a much larger Stream than before, to a Plain, which, in reſpect of the Depth below it, proves a Mountain, it falls with great Force down from a craggy Rock three hundred Paces high, into the Concavity of another Rock underneath it, againſt which the Waters break with ſuch a violent Agitation, that it riſes like a Cloud of Duſt twice as high as the Fall, and occaſions a kind of perpetual Rain in all the adjacent Parts: The Repercuſſion of the Sun-beams in this pulverized Water produces an infinite Number of Rainbows, according to the various rebounding and ſpurting of this watery Cloud, the Sight whereof fills the Spectators with Amazement; at laſt all theſe Waters gather into an Abyſs, occaſioned by the continual Falling down of the Waters, and from thence break forth with incredible Force through the Crevices of divers Rocks, and ſo continuing their Courſe with a murmuring Noiſe a little further, at laſt join themſelves with the little River *Nera*, which is much enlarged by the Acceſſion of theſe Waters.

From *Terni* to *Narni* you travel for ſeven Miles thro' a plain and fertile Country; it affords an indifferent good Proſpect from the adjacent Hills on the Side you come from *Terni*, but deceives you in your Expectation after you come into it, being in a Manner deſtitute of Inhabitants, with narrow dirty Streets, and ſo uneven, that you cannot go five Steps without aſcending or deſcending; and their Paper Windows make a very beggarly Show. I took Notice *en paſſant*, of two tolerable handſome Fountains of Braſs. The Emperor *Nerva* was a Native of this City. A little before you enter the City, you ſee the Ruins of a Bridge, ſaid to have been built under the Reign of *Auguſtus*: It is admirable both for its Height and Structure, becauſe, after having joined the Mountain of *Spoletto* to another neighbouring Mount, it ends in the high Road towards *Pemſa*. The vaſt Pieces of Marble, which are the Materials of this Bridge, are joined together without any Cement or Iron-work: It hath four or five Arches, of which only one remains entire, the Top of the Mould of the largeſt being broken. I was credibly inform'd, that this Arch is a hundred and ſeventy Feet in Extent, which, if ſo, far exceeds the celebrated Bridge of *Rialto*.

We had no ſooner left *Narni*, but we found ourſelves again among the Mountains. Thus travelling on for eight Miles, we came to the Town of *Otricoli*, near which, at the Entrance of a Plain, are to be ſeen the Ruins of the ancient *Ocriculum*; but we could find nothing worth our Obſervation among them. Not long after we paſſed the *Tyber* over a Stone Bridge, that owes its Foundation to *Sixtus* V. and its Perfection to *Urban* VIII. as the Inſcription tells you. We came very late to *Citta Caſtellana*, and departed again early in the Morning, this Place having nothing that could invite us to ſtay therein. Near to *Regnano* we found the old *Via Flaminia*, with its Pavement entire, having not perceived any Footſteps of it before ſince we left *Rimini*, to which Place it extended itſelf, as ancient Authors inform us. After we had dined at *Caſtel Nuova*, an inconſiderable Place as well as *Regnano*, we continued our Journey to *Rome*, through an infinite Number of ancient Ruins; but moſt of the Country lay untill'd, and almoſt deſtitute of Inhabitants. Having repaſs'd the *Tyber* by the *Pons Milvius*, (as the ancient Authors call it) ſince by Corruption call'd *Ponte Molle*, we came upon a paved Way, which brought us betwixt many Gardens and Summer-ſeats, to the famous City of *Rome*.

9. After we had rambled two or three Days about *Rome*, good Company invited us to haſten our intended Journey for *Naples* which is reckon'd eight Days diſtant from *Rome*. About twelve Miles from this City we came to *Marino*, a great Town now belonging to the Prince *Colonna*, and formerly known by the Name of *Villa Mariana*. From *Marino* we aſcended a rocky Mountain, where we ſaw nothing but Wood and Buffaloes: Of the Lake of *Caſtel Gondalfo*, which we coaſted near an Hour, we ſhall have Occaſion to ſpeak in our Return. About five Miles after we had left the Lake, at the Deſcent of the Mountain, we diſcovered the Sea, and on our Right Hand, on a little Hillock, the City call'd *Citta de la Vigna*, being the ancient *Lanuvium*, a Municipal City, which gave Birth to *Antoninus Pius*, but not the *Lavinium* of *Æneas*, according to the common Opinion: *Lavina littora* is twelve Miles thence, towards *Prattica*.

It was late before we reached *Velitri*, a little City ſeated on a Hill, and ſurrounded by a Wall; it was anciently a conſiderable Place, when it durſt ſtrive with *Rome* itſelf, but now makes a very indifferent Figure. The People here are generally of Opinion, that *Auguſtus* was a Native of this City; and one of the Servants in the Inn was ſo communicative as to tell us ſo; but being aſk'd who that *Auguſtus* was, he anſwer'd, He was the firſt Chriſtian Emperor; for you muſt obſerve, that nothing is more common in *Velitri*, among the *Italians*,

Italians, than to canonize all the illuſtrious Men of Antiquity, whether *Chriſtians* or *Pagans*. It is certain that *Auguſtus* was born at *Rome*, under the Conſulate of *Cicero* and *Anthony*, as *Suetonius* poſitively affirms: It is however true, that his Family deduced its Origin from *Velitri*, *Gentem Octavium Velitris præcipuam olim fuiſſe, multa declarant.* The ſame Author tells us, that the Chamber in which he was nurs'd, near *Velitri*, was held in the ſame Veneration as now the *holy Houſe* of *Loretto: Huc introire*, ſays he, *niſi neceſſariò & caſtè religio eſt. Temerè adeuntibus metus & horror objiciebatur.* In the Midſt of the Market-place of *Velitri* ſtands a curious Brazen Statue of Pope *Urban* VIII. ſitting, as generally all the Statues of Popes are repreſented, to denote (as I ſuppoſe) their Superiority over other Princes. The Marquis *de Ginetti*'s Houſe is worth viewing, both for its pleaſant Situation, and the many Antiquities preſerved there; which are fine and judiciouſly choſen.

Deſcending from the Hill of *Velitri*, we took Notice of a great many Caves dug on purpoſe to keep their Wines cool; after which we travell'd for fifteen Miles through a poor Country, to the Foot of the Mountain, on the Top whereof ſtands the little City of *Lermonetta*, built upon the Ruins of the old *Lera*. About four Miles further we ſaw, on the Left Hand, about fifty Paces from the Highway, certain ancient Ruins, which they told us were the Remains of the Place called by St. *Paul* the *Three Shops*, but now the *Three Taverns*. On the Right Hand we diſcovered the Cape called now-a-days *Monte Circello*, ſuppoſed by ſome to have been an Iſland formerly: Here it was that the jealous *Circe* changed her Rival *Scylla*, the Miſtreſs of *Glaucus*, into a Sea Monſter, and *Ulyſſes*'s Companions into Hogs. A little Way from the *Three Taverns* you ſee the City of *Letia*, ſeated on a Mountain; its ancient Fame for the Goodneſs of its Wine is now quite loſt, the Mountain producing nothing of that Nature at preſent. It is true, the Woods, wherewith theſe Mountains are almoſt covered, produce Abundance of thoſe Trees, called *Ficus Indica*, ſome of which grow up to the Height of thirty or forty Feet, with Trunks as thick as a Man: Laurels and Myrtles you find in great Plenty in the Hedges, and Abundance of Orange-trees in the open Field.

Not far from *Letia*, at the Village of *Caſa Nuova*, you may take Boat upon the Lake, which brings you to *Terracina*, but we continued our Journey by Land, and turning to the Left, entered into a Valley, which brought us to the Mountain and City of *Piperno*. In our Paſſage thither I obſerved a Church-yard planted with Orange-trees, a Thing not uſually ſeen in *Italy*, where all People of Faſhion have their Chapels or Vault in ſome Church or Convent, and the poorer Sort are buried in ſome private Corner, without the Cities; beſides, whenever they have any Church-yards, they plant them with Pines, Yew-trees or Cypreſſes, but never with Orange-trees.

Piperno is a modern City, built near the Place where the ancient *Privernum* ſtood, the Metropolis of the *Volſei*, and the Reſidence of their King *Metabus*, Father to the famous *Camilla*. The Biſhoprick of *Piperno* was united with that of *Terracina*, by Reaſon of its Poverty: They keep the Biſhop's Chair in the Choir of the Cathedral. In the Church of St. *Benedict* they ſhew you an Image of our Lady, made by St. *Luke*, which, they ſay, could not be burnt at the Time of the Conflagration of *Piperno*. On the Hill of *Piperno*, called *Colle roſſo*, the Lilies and Daffodils grow naturally in great Plenty: This Hill alſo affords a peculiar fine Earth for Potters Ware. From the Top of this Hill you may ſee a little City called *Mayença*, near which is a Lake, the Waters whereof riſe conſiderably two Days before Rain.

From *Piperno* we travell'd over ſandy Hillocks, cover'd with various Sorts of ſempervive Shrubs; we got afterwards into a Wood, where we ſaw Abundance of Cork-trees much reſembling an ever-green Oak, and, to ſpeak Truth, I believe it to be a Kind of Oak, ſince it bears Acrons: It has this peculiar Quality, that the more you ſtrip it of its Bark, the ſtronger it grows, and produces immediately a new one, which renders it very profitable. Soon after we came out of the Wood, we went to ſee the Abby of *Foſſa Nuova*, ſaid to be built upon the Ruins of the *Forum Appii*, about ſome three hundred Paces from the high Road. The Story the Monks told us concerning *Thomas Aquinas* is a very odd one; they affirm, that the ſaid *Thomas Aquinas*, in his Way from *Fondi* to the Council of *Lyons*, finding himſelf very ill, alighted from his Mule, and faſtning a Stick in the Ground, tied his Mule to it, whilſt he laid himſelf down to ſleep in a Corner of the Wood not far from the Church; the Mule getting looſe, ran ſtrait to the Church, and ſetting his Feet in the Choir, ſunk in an Inſtant into the Pavement, where he died. They ſhew you the Print of his Feet, over which they have laid an Iron Grate. However, as they ſearch'd after the Maſter, to chaſtiſe him for his Negligence, they met with St. *Thomas*, who was ſo afflicted at the Loſs of his Mule, that he died within a few Days after in this Convent, where his Body was entomb'd in the Church, and was from thence afterwards removed to *Fondi*, and from *Fondi* to *Tholouſe*.

About ten Miles thence we began to diſcover certain Remnants of the ancient high Road call'd *Via Appia*, made by *Appius Claudius* when he was Cenſor: You ſee it come out of a deep Marſh, which is at preſent inacceſſible, whereas formerly it was the direct and common Road from *Capua* to *Rome*; a convincing Inſtance of the perpetual Viciſſitude of worldly Things. The ſame Thing we obſerved in our Way betwixt *Citta Caſtellana* and *Rome*, of the *Via Flaminia*, of which we ſaw now and then conſiderable Tracts preſerved entire, as on this Side *Regnano*, and towards *Caſtle Nuova*, fifteen Miles from *Rome*; whereas in other Places it mounts up to inacceſſible Mountains, and in other Places it is ſwallowed up in deep Marſhes and Valleys, occaſioned queſtionleſs by Winds, Rains, great Floods, Earthquakes, and other ſuch-like Accidents, which produce ſuch ſtupendeous Changes upon the Surface of the Earth.

In my Opinion theſe famous Roads are more ſurprizing than moſt other Pieces of Antiquity, conſidering that an infinite Number of Paſſengers, Horſes and Chariots ſhould inceſſantly, for ſo many Ages, tread on this Pavement, and yet ſo many conſiderable Fragments of it remain entire. The Stones which compoſe this Pavement are not all of the ſame Bigneſs, (*Procopius* ſays they were all ſquare, but he is in an Error) of a grey and reddiſh Colour, not unlike ruſty Iron, very hard, and ten or twelve Inches thick; generally ſpeaking, thoſe of the largeſt Size are above two Feet, and the leaſt not leſs than one. Notwithſtanding the great Difference in their Shape and Figure, they have been join'd ſo nicely, that in thoſe Places, where the Pavement is quite entire, you cannot thruſt the Point of a Sword betwixt them. Theſe Ways, which they call *Viæ Conſulares*, had on each Side Borders of the ſame Stone raiſed about two Feet above the reſt: I have obſerved them very entire in ſome Places: They called them *Cippo* or *Margines*, or *Marginationes Viarum*; and it is betwixt theſe Borders the true Breadth of theſe Highways ought to be taken, according to which I found the two Ways, *Via Appia* and *Via Flaminia*, twenty Palms broad, with very little Difference, which makes fourteen Feet, bating four Inches, *Engliſh* Meaſure. In ſome Places you ſee Ruts made by the Chariot-wheels three or four Inches deep, the Tract whereof, from one Pavement to another, is the ſureſt Mark of its ancient Situation; for the reſt, the Pavement is whole and even, without any viſible Impreſſions made by the Horſeſhoes. They told us, that the Foundation of this Pavement was another very thick Lay of Stone, fix'd on a Bed of Sand, which keeps it from ſinking. All along the Road to *Terracina* are to be ſeen the Ruins of many ancient Monuments, erected formerly for Ornament Sake, as on other great Roads.

Trachina (ſo call'd from its Situation upon a Rock of difficult Acceſs) or *Terracina*, is the *Anxur* of the Ancients, now a poor and ill-peopled Place, ſeated in a deſolate Country. A little beyond *Terracina* one may plainly

lainly diſcover divers Parts of the Pavement of the *Via Appia* to have been cut through the Rock called *Piſca Marina*, which being near a hundred twenty-ſix Feet high, the ancient Cyphers are marked from ten to ten in a capital *Roman* Character, on the Inſide of the Rock, which is cut perpendicular; ſo that the Cypher on the Top is CXX. A certain Antiquary of *Rome* told me, that having meaſured theſe Diſtances, he found them almoſt all unequal; whence ſome conjecture, that theſe Marks were only made for the Direction of the Head Workman, without any farther Deſign. Others are of Opinion, that the Diſtance of each Cypher marks the Diviſion of the Work of every ten Days, and that the Inequality muſt ariſe from the greater or leſs Difficulty the Workmen met with in cutting the Stone. The Narrowneſs of the Rock towards the Top, and the greater Diſtance in Proportion to it, ſeem to confirm this Opinion, were it not that, according to this Suppoſition, the firſt Tenth muſt have been marked above, and the Cypher CXX at the Bottom, it being very probable that they begun at the Top of the Rock. We continued our Journey over the Hills covered with Cork-trees, the Marſhes and the Sea on our Right; and thus keeping near the old Pavement, we arrived at Night at *Fondi*. In our Way, about three Miles beyond *Terracina*, we ſaw an old Wall, which, they told us, was the Boundary between the Eccleſiaſtical State and the Kingdom of *Naples*.

Fondi is ſeated in a flat Country, not far from a Lake bearing the ſame Name, which extends itſelf into a large Compaſs among the Marſhes, betwixt the Hills and the Sea. The Eels of this Lake are highly celebrated for their extraordinary Bigneſs. This City was entirely ruined in 1534, by *Hariaden Barbaroſſa* Admiral of the *Turkiſh* Fleet, the Hiſtory of which is painted in the Church of the *Annunciata*. *Fondi* is paved with the Stones taken from the *Via Appia*, but are not near ſo exactly joined. Not far from the Caſtle they ſhew you a Garden, which (they ſay) belonged to *Cicero*. The *Dominicans* preſerve, with a great deal of Veneration, the Chamber and Auditory of *Thomas Aquinas*, as alſo an old Orange-tree which he planted; he died in 1273, ſo that certainly this is the oldeſt Orange-tree that ever was heard of. I remember they told us ſtrange Things of this Tree, and among the reſt, that its Leaves were of a quite different Shape from thoſe of other Orange-trees; but we could not find the leaſt Difference, and were convinced by our own Eyes, that the Winter had not ſpared the Oranges of this Tree, any more than the reſt in other Places. After we had left *Fondi*, we travelled for ten Miles upon the old Pavement to *Mola*, among the Mountains.

Near *Itru*, a ſmall City ſeated upon a Rock about ſix Miles from *Fondi*, I took Notice of certain large Trees, called thereabouts *Soucellè*; the Fruit is a Cod of half a Foot long, of the Thickneſs of a Bean-cod; they dry them, and then they taſte like Honey or Manna; their true Name is *Carobba*. About ten o'Clock in the Morning we came to *Mola*, a little City ſeated upon the Sea-ſhore: Here are to be ſeen vaſt Heaps of Marble Stones and other Ruins, of *Formiæ*, once a glorious Place, built by *Antiphates* King of the *Leſtrygons*. The Air is infinitely ſweet here, and the Hills on the Gulph between *Cajeta* and *Mola* produce moſt excellent Fruits and Wines, as the Sea affords them vaſt Quantities of Fiſh. They ſhewed us in particular the Ruins of a certain old Palace, which, they tell you, belonged to *Cicero*, and was for the moſt Part deſtroyed by the Sea. The various Pieces of *Moſaick*, which are plainly to be diſtinguiſhed yet in ſeveral Parts, ſufficiently teſtify it was no ordinary Structure; and they aſſure you, with a great deal of Confidence hereabouts, that certain Inſcriptions have been taken from thence, which made it plainly appear to have been *Cicero*'s.

It blowing then a very briſk Gale, we were at a Stand whether we ſhould venture over the little Gulph (which is four Miles broad) to *Gaïeta*, ſeated on the very Point of the Cape, directly oppoſite to *Mola*; but at laſt having reſolved on the Paſſage, we found *Gaïeta* of a pretty large Extent, ſtrong by Art and Nature, by its difficult Acceſs upon the high Rock. The Harbour is alſo very good. Here is to be ſeen the Tomb of *Charles* of *Bourbon*, Conſtable of *France*, who was ſlain in the ſacking of *Rome* by the Imperial Forces: And the ancient *Mauſoleum* of *Munatius Plancus*, commonly called the Tower of *Orlando*. The Epitaph of the firſt is as follows:

> *Aucto Imperio, ſuperatâ Italiâ, devicto Gallo, pontifice obſeſſo, Româ captâ, Bourbonii hoc marmor cineres continet.* i. e.

> *The Empire enlarged,* Italy *ſubdued, the* Gaul *beaten, the Pope beſieged,* Rome *taken, the Aſhes of* BOURBON, *(by whom all this was done) this Marble contains.*

From hence we were conducted to the Cleft Mountain called *La Spaccata*, juſt at the Edge of the Sea-ſhore: It is ſeparated from the Top quite to the Bottom, where it is about four or five Feet aſunder, but grows broader and broader towards the Height: The Concavities on one Side, and the Protuberances on the other, directly oppoſite to one another, ſeem to be evident Marks of its being really divided, which, they ſay, happened at the Time when our Saviour gave up the Ghoſt. Upon one of the Inſides of this Rock they ſhew you the Print of a Hand, which ſoftened under it on the Challenge of a certain incredulous Perſon: Beneath it you ſee this Diſtich:

Improba mens verum renuit, quod fama fatetur
Credere: at hoc digitis ſaxa liquata probant.

Th' unbelieving Mind the Truth denies;
Tradition proves: The Rock new Proof ſupplies.

This Rock being a famous Pilgrimage, there are ſmall Steps contrived, which lead down to a little Chapel dedicated to the Holy Trinity. The Curate would have given us ſome Pieces he cut off with a Hammer; but finding us not willing to overcharge ourſelves with ſuch Sort of Baggage, he ſeemed to be offended at our Refuſal, and at the loſing of his own Pains.

From thence taking our Way to the Cathedral, we were ſhewed, among other Antiquities, a pretended Pillar of the Temple of *Solomon*; four ſuch-like are to be ſeen at the high Altar of St. *Mark*'s Chapel at *Venice*. Here is alſo a very ancient Veſſel of white Marble, ſaid to have been found at *Mola*, which now ſerves inſtead of a Font in the Baptiſtery: It is a moſt curious Piece, and moſt admirably preſerved: Its Shape reſembles a Bell about four Feet high, ſupported by four Lions of the ſame Materials. The *Baſſo relievo* is eſteemed excellent Workmanſhip, eſpecially the little *Bacchus* riſing out of *Jupiter*'s Thigh, put by *Mercury* into the Hands of *Ino*. All round it you ſee *Satyrs* and *Bacchanals*, and among the reſt a *Faunus* playing on two Pipes at once, as I have ſeen the Shepherds do in *Tyrol*; the Workman's Name is engraven on the Veſſel, ΣΑΛΠΙΩΝ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ ΕΠΟΙΗΣΕ. Not far from the Garden of the *Franciſcans*, called *Zoccolanti*, is a Buſh of Thorns, which has ſcarce any Pricks, which they ſay has grown thus ever ſince St. *Francis* rolled himſelf there to extinguiſh his Luſt. Near the Place called *Della Foglia*, they ſhew you where he preached to the Fiſh.

As you go up by the little Door of the Epiſcopal Palace, over-againſt the Altar of the *Holy Sacrament*, there is a Marble Statue of about four Palms high, repreſenting an old Man ſetting his Feet upon a little Dog, underneath which is a Death's Head, and a Serpent, whoſe Tail is placed on the Dog, wraps itſelf about the old Man, and reſts on his Head, and has an Eagle on his. This is generally ſuppoſed to be the Statue of *Æſculapius*, with his Serpent, the Dog ſignifying Vigilance required in a Phyſician, and the Eagle the Empire of God; the Death's Head is an Emblem of human Nature, ſubject to that Deity, or the Object of the Art of Phyſick. After a ſhort Stay at *Gaïeta* we returned to *Mola*, and then coaſting the Sea upon the *Via Appia* for eight Miles, came to the Ruins of the ancient City of *Minturna*, in the Neighbourhood of which *Marius* ſheltered himſelf after his Army had been defeated by *Sylla*, as Hiſtory informs us.

We took Notice in our Paſſage of the Ruins of an old Amphitheatre, and the Remnants of an Aqueduct which came from the little City of *Tajetto*, two Miles further on the Left Hand. The River *Garigliano* (formerly called *Lyris*) runs juſt by *Minturna*; we paſſed it in a Ferry-boat, and quitting the old troubleſome and ſlippery Pavement, travelled through the Meadows to the Village of St. *Agatha*, where we lodged that Night. The Country between this Village and *Capua* (which is ſixteen Miles) is very level, and extremely fruitful near *Capua*. Not far from St. *Agatha* they ſhewed us, at ſome Miles Diſtance, the Hills which formerly produced the famous *Falernian* Wine, that inſpired the *Roman* Poets, but are at preſent barren.

Capua is ſeated upon the Bank of the *Volturno*, the chief River of the Kingdom of *Naples*, though of an indifferent Bigneſs; it has various Inſcriptions and Marble Stones, brought thither from the ancient *Capua*, the Ruins whereof we viſited, about two Miles from thence, near the Mountains to the Eaſtward, the Town called St. *Mary*'s being built out of the Ruins of this once ſo celebrated City: The many little Temples and old Caſtles, the Remnants of two Amphitheatres, one of the Gates, and a great Number of broken Pillars, and other magnificent Fragments of Architecture, are undeniable Proofs of its former Grandeur. The Country People brought us Variety of Medals to ſell, but as they are cunning enough to carry the beſt to the Antiquaries of the neighbouring Cities, who pay them a good Rate for them, ſo they ſeldom offer any Thing but their Refuſe to Travellers. The Campaign betwixt *Capua* and *Naples* (which is ſixteen Miles, and Part of the Province of *Terra di Lauro*) is perhaps the moſt fruitful Soil in the World, whence it is that they have given it the Name of *Campagna Stellata*, to ſignify the benign Influence of the Stars upon this Country, as if Fertility proceeded wholly from thence. Among other Places we paſſed through *Averſa*, built (as they tell you) out of the Ruins of *Atella* by the *Normans*, after they had driven the *Saracens* and *Greeks* out of *Naples*.

The City of *Naples* was rebuilt by the *Cumani*, who gave it the Name of Νεάπολις, to diſtinguiſh it from the Remnants of the high City, unto which they gave the Name of Παλαιόπολις, for both were before that Time called *Parthenope*, from the Mermaid *Parthenope*, who, after *Ulyſſes* and his Companions had eſcaped her Snare, threw herſelf, out of Deſpair, headlong from a Precipice, and was interred at *Palaiopolis*; though ſome others derive its Etymology from *Parthenope* the Daughter of *Eumelus* King of *Theſſaly*, who ſettled a Colony there, and changed its ancient Name into that of *Parthenope*. Theſe *Grecian* Names ſeem ſufficiently to evince, that the *Greeks* were the Founders of this City, which is very large and populous, though I am not able to give you an exact Account of the Number of its Inhabitants: Its Figure is very irregular, and its Circuit, according to the Computation of ſome who have walked round the Wall, is about nine Miles, not including the Suburbs, which, amounting to nine more, make the whole Circumference up eighteen: It is paved all over with ſquare Stones of the ſame Bigneſs, the Streets being generally ſtreight and broad, the Houſes lofty, flat-roofed and uniform, in which it exceeds the Buildings of *London*, *Paris*, *Venice*, and even *Rome* itſelf, all which have very fine Palaces, but theſe are mixed with a great Number of ordinary Houſes, whereas at *Naples* they are, generally ſpeaking, very handſome Fabricks. To the South it is encloſed by a little Bay, and to the North by very fertile Hills, which riſe, by an eaſy Aſcent, into *Campagna Felice*; to the Eaſt lies the Plain which leads to Mount *Veſuvius*, and on the Weſt Side the *high Town*, where are the *Chartreux*, and the Caſtle of St. *Eraſmus*, the Proſpect of which Aſcent is very charming to the Beholders.

Beſides theſe fine private Houſes, there are a great many may be ranked among the Number of the beſt Palaces; as for Inſtance, thoſe of the Dukes of *Matalone*, *Gravina*, *Airola*, and *de la Tour*; of the Princes of St. *Agatha*, *Montmilet*, *Botera*, and *Cellamare*; the Palace of the Viceroy ſtands in a *Great Place*, its Front is very regular, and adorned with three Orders of Architecture; its whole Length is near four hundred Feet, and was built by the famous *Montana*. The three Caſtles of *Naples*, the Academy called *Studii Nuovi*, the School for riding the great Horſe, the Convents in general, the Hoſpitals, the Arſenal, and the Magazines for their Galleys, are all very remarkable Structures. The whole City is adorned with a conſiderable Number of Fountains, among which three are of an incomparable Grandeur and Beauty: But the Churches here, both for their Number and Beauty, ſurpaſs all the reſt; their Frontiſpieces, Portals, Chapels, Altars and Tombs, being the moſt exquiſite Pieces of Architecture that Art ever produced; they are filled with Pictures, Sculptures, and Gold and Silver Veſſels, and their Arches, Wainſcots and Walls are covered with the moſt precious Marble curiouſly laid together, or with Compartments of *Baſſo relievo*, or of gilt Joiners Work, and beautified with the Performances of the greateſt Painters. To be ſhort, wherever you turn your Eye, you are dazzled with the curious Works of *Jaſper*, *Porphyry*, and *Moſaick* of all Sorts, and the moſt exquiſite Products of Art. The Church of the *Jeſuits* is an excellent Fabrick, embelliſhed with magnificent Ornaments from Top to Bottom. The Painting of the Dome is the Work of *Lanfranc*; that of St. *Mary* of the *Annunciata* is not inferior to it; and the famous Hoſpital (which has two hundred thouſand Ducats annual Revenue) is exceeding rich, as are thoſe of St *Philip* of *Neri*, St. *Maria la Nuova*, St. *Severin*, St. *Paul*, St. *Dominick*, the Church and Convent of Mount *Olivet*, the Church of the *Holy Apoſtles*, St. *John Carbonara*, of the *little Hoſpital*, and St. *Maria della ſanità*, not to mention many more, which are all very fair, and have their Veſtries and Treaſuries crowded with Riches. I remember that two *Theatines*, as they were conducting us into their Church of the *Holy Apoſtles*, made heavy Complaint of the Poverty of their Order, (they having no Poſſeſſions, and at the ſame Time not being permitted to beg like the *Mendicants)* but after they had ſhewed us the Magnificence of their Church, and fourteen large Cupboards in the Veſtry filled with Gold and Silver Veſſels, and other precious Things, we had ſufficient Reaſon to believe that they had no great Occaſion to go a Begging. In *Italy* all Monks are at once Miſers and Mendicants.

The ſpacious Convent of the *Chartreux* of St. *Martin*, is every where full of curious and magnificent Pieces; and the Church, though none of the largeſt, yet is a compleat Piece, both for the Materials and Exquiſiteneſs of the Art. The Monks that were our Conductors aſſured us, that under one Priorate there were beſtowed among them above five hundred thouſand Ducats in Silver Plate, Sculptures and Pictures: The Nativity of Chriſt is a moſt exquiſite Piece, done by *Guido*; the four Pictures of the Laſt Supper are of the Hands of *Eſpagnolet*, *Hannibal Carrache*, *Paul Veroneſe*, and Cavalier *Maſſimo*, the laſt of which has repreſented Chriſt ſtanding, giving his Sacrament to his Apoſtles, who are upon their Knees; beſides many other Pieces of high Value, and exquiſite in their Kind.

The Pavement of the Cloyſter (which is an hundred Paces ſquare) is of Marble inlaid in Boughs and ſuch-like Ornaments, the four Galleries being ſupported by ſixty Pillars, each of one entire Piece of the beſt white Marble of *Carrara*. Every Friar has his own Chamber, a Cloſet and Library, beſides a little Garden; and the Prior's Lodgings are fit for the Reception of a Prince: Here it is they ſhew the famous Crucifix of *Michael Angelo*, done, as they ſay, to the Life, after a Peaſant, who, to that End, was crucified by the Painter; it is of Wood, and not above half a Foot high: It is obſervable, that the Crucifix holds his Head ſtreight, which looks not very like the Poſture of an expiring

Perſon on the Croſs. They have alſo a St. *Lawrence*, by *Titian*; and ſome Deſigns of *Rubens* and *Albert Durer*, which are valued at a high a Rate, and are very fine.

From this Aſcent you have the moſt delightful Proſpect that can be well conceived; you have at one View the Sea and many Iſlands, and among theſe that of *Caprea*, the famous Seraglio of *Tiberius*, as likewiſe the whole City of *Naples*, with its three Caſtles, *viz.* of the Egg, the new Caſtle, and that of St. *Elmo*; the Harbour, Mole, and Lantern; and along the Sea-ſhore, the Creeks and Inlets mixed with little Capes, as alſo a great Number of Villages built along the Sea-ſide; towards the Land-ſide, the Gardens and fertile Hills leading into *Campania Felice* are the moſt agreeable Objects in the World; and at a greater Diſtance you may behold the horrible Smoke of Mount *Veſuvius*. To deſcribe all the Relicks, Statues, or miraculous Images, as they ſtile them, would be endleſs; I will only mention a few of them: At St. *Lewis* they keep ſome of the Virgin's Milk, which becomes liquid on all our Lady's Feſtivals; at St. *John Carbonara*, the Blood of St. *Januarius* is boiled up when any one approaches his Shrine, as the Blood of St. *John Baptiſt* (preſerved at St. *Maria Donna Romita*) does, whilſt they ſay Maſs for his Beheading. I paſs by the Pieces of the true Croſs, the Nails, the Branches of the Crown of Thorns, the Images ſaid to be made by St. *Luke*, and ſuch-like Rarities. At St. *Dominick the Greater*, they ſhew the Crucifix that ſpoke to St. *Thomas Aquinas*; and another in that of the *Benedictins*, which, if you will believe them, ſpoke more to Pope *Pius* V. At the Church of St. *Agnello*, in the Chapel of the *Monaci*, they ſhew you alſo a ſpeaking Crucifix, with a long Inſcription underneath relating to the Story; and another in the ſame Church, which, they tell you, uſed to hold Dialogues with *Jane* the Mother of St. *Agnello*, and with St. *Agnello* himſelf; this they ſtile the Image of St. *Mary of Interceſſion*. Among the miraculous Crucifixes here, that of St. *Mary* of the *Carmelites* muſt not be paſſed by in Silence; for when Don *Pedro d'Arragon* beſieged *Naples* in 1439, it bowed its Head at the Sight of a Cannon-ball, which only beat off the Crown of the Crucifix.

The Churches contain a vaſt Number of Tombs and Epitaphs: In that of St. *John the Evangeliſt*, are ſix or ſeven Epitaphs made by *Joh. Jovianus Pontanus*, among which one is for his Daughter *Lucia*, another for his Son, and two more for his Wife and himſelf. At St. *Clara*'s you ſee the Epitaph of King *Robert*, ſirnamed the *Good* and the *Wiſe*. At St. *Domin. maj.* one for a Lord of the noble Family of *Caraffa*, and another for the Cardinal *d'Ariano* of the ſame Houſe. In the Veſtry of this Church you ſee many of the Tombs of the Kings and Queens of *Naples*, among which, thoſe of *Iſabel* of *Arragon*, Daughter of *Alphonſus* I. and Wife of *John Galeazzo* Duke of *Milan*, and of *Joan* the firſt Queen of *Jeruſalem* and both the *Sicilies*, deſerve to be remembered: The firſt runs thus:

Hic Iſabella jacet, centum ſata ſanguine Regum,
Quâcum Majeſtas Itala priſca jacet;
Sol qui luſtrabat radiis fulgentibus orbem,
Occidit, inque alio nunc agit Orbe diem.
Obiit die 11 *Febr.* 1524.

The ſecond thus:

Inclyta Parthenopes jacet hic Regina Joanna
Prima; priùs fœlix, mox miſeranda nimis.
Quam Carolo genitam, mulctavit Carolus alter
Quâ morte illa virum ſuſtulit ante ſuum.

She was the Daughter of *Charles* of *Sicily*, Duke of *Calabria*, and was ſtrangled by *Charles Duras*, whom ſhe had adopted, and who rebelling againſt her, accuſed her of having ſtrangled *Andrew* of *Hungary*, her firſt Huſband, whoſe Tomb is to be ſeen in the Cathedral.

In the ſame Place is alſo to be ſeen the Tomb and Epitaph of the famous Marquiſs of *Piſcara*, by *Arioſto*; and in the Church of St. *Mary of Concord*, a long Inſcription upon the Tomb of a King of *Fez*, who having embraced the *Roman* Faith, and fought under the *Imperial* and *Spaniſh* Banners, died an hundred Years old in 1641. The Tomb of *Innocent* IV. who died at *Naples* in 1254, is to be ſeen in the Cathedral, with two long Epitaphs, one whereof is in *Leonine* Verſe. In the Church of St. *Agnello* is the following Epitaph for a Biſhop who refuſed the Cardinal's Cap.

Sigiſmundo Pappacudæ Franc. F. Tropeienſium Præſul; viro opt. & Juriſconſulto, qui cum in cœtum Cardinalium fuiſſet a Clemente VII. adſcitus, maluit in Patriæ Epiſcopus vivere. Vixit Ann. 80. *M.* 6. *D.* 10. *Obiit* 1536.

In the Church of St. *Severin* of the *Benedictines*, in the moſt beautiful Chapel belonging to the Family of St. *Severin*, are to be ſeen the Tombs and Inſcriptions of three young Lords, Brothers, poiſoned by their Uncle; as alſo that of their Mother, lamenting the untimely Death of her Sons. Directly oppoſite to the Church of the *Carmelites* you ſee a kind of Chapel, erected by Order of *Charles* I. King of *Naples*, in the ſame Place where he cauſed the Head of the unfortunate *Conradin* to be cut off, and at the ſame Time that of his Couſin *Frederick* Marquiſs of *Baden* and Duke of *Auſtria*, with five or ſix other Lords, the whole Hiſtory of which is painted in *Freſco* on the Inſide of the Walls of the Chapel, in the Middle of which ſtands a Pillar of *Porphyry*, and round about it this Diſtich:

Aſturis ungue Leo, pullum rapiens Aquilinum
Hic deplumavit, Acephalumque dedit.

The *Carmelites* ſhewed us in their Convent the Place where the famous Rebel *Thomas Aniello* (commonly called *Maſſaniello*) was ſlain, after he had been the Head of the Rebels eighteen Days: I have a Piece of Money that was coined whilſt this Rebellion laſted, with this Inſcription, *S. P. Q. N.* As we paſſed by the Church of St. *Mary major*, our Conductor told us, there was a brazen Hog to be ſeen there, made by *Pomponius* Biſhop of *Naples*; it ſeems the Place where this Church now ſtands was haunted by the Devil in the Shape of a Hog, which ſo terrified the Inhabitants, that they left their Houſes, till this holy Biſhop being bid by the Virgin to build a Church for her in the ſame Place, the infernal Hog diſappeared.

10. The City of *Naples* having been ſubject to ſo many Maſters and various Revolutions, has loſt the greateſt Part of its Antiquities; however, in the Front of St. *Paul major* you ſtill ſee the Frontiſpiece of the antient Temple of *Apollo*, afterwards dedicated to *Caſtor* and *Pollux* by one *Tiberius Julius Tarſus*, his Name being to this Day diſtinctly to be ſeen on one of the Frieſes of this Frontiſpiece.

ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΣ ΙΟΥΛΙΟΣ ΤΑΡΣΟΣ.

The Portico reſts upon eight twiſted Pillars of the *Corinthian* Order, and the Pediment is adorned with *Baſſo relievo*, repreſenting the Deities. The Columns of the *Riſtituta* are ſaid to have been taken from the ancient Temple of *Neptune*. Here are alſo to be ſeen ſome Ruins of an Amphitheatre, and an ancient Statue of the *Nile* upon a Crocodile. The Houſe of D. *Diomedes Caraffa* contains many Sculptures and ancient Inſcriptions; in the Court you ſee the Head and all the Creſt of a brazen Horſe, that had no Bridle, which being an Emblem of the Liberty of *Naples*, whilſt yet a Common wealth, ſtood in one of the greateſt Places, but King *Conrad* having ordered a Bit to be put on this Horſe, directed the following Diſtich to be ſet on the Pedeſtal:

Hactenus effrænis, Domini nunc paret habenis
Rendomat hunc æquus Parthenopenſis equum.

On the Hill, where it is ſuppoſed the ancient *Palæpolis* ſtood, are a great many old Ruins, and divers Collections

tions of Medals, which contribute not a little to the true Underſtanding of the Hiſtory of *Naples*, are to be found in the Cabinets of the Antiquaries of this City, and eſpecially in that of Mr. *Richetti*. Of the Catacombs I ſhall have Occaſion to ſpeak hereafter.

After Pope *Sixtus* V. had cleared the Eccleſiaſtical State of the *Banditti*, they became more numerous in the Kingdom of *Naples*; ſo that even within theſe few Years Travellers were forced to go in Caravans to ſecure themſelves againſt their Inſolencies; but the Honour of freeing this Country from theſe dangerous Vermin is due to the Marquiſs *del Carpio* late Viceroy of *Naples*, who put a great Number of them to Death; and I remember we ſaw lately above five hundred of them at Work in the Arſenal, who had ſurrendered under Condition that their Lives ſhould be ſaved, and not to be made Galley-ſlaves. But notwithſtanding all this, it muſt be owned, that the Generality of the *Neapolitans* are a very wicked Generation. We were credibly informed, that in two Priſons only there were no leſs than four thouſand Malefactors at that Time. This has queſtionleſs given Occaſion to the noted Proverb, *That* Naples *is a Paradiſe inhabited by Devils.*

Beſides this, notwithſtanding all the outward Grandeur of this City, it has ſeveral Things which not a little overcloud its Luſtre; for Women are as hard to be ſeen here, as in any Part of *Italy*. The Habits and Equipages of Perſons of Quality are all black, not being allowed the Wearing of Gold and Silver, and the greateſt Lord has no more than two Footmen; beſides, moſt of their Coaches are drawn by Mules; and they generally appear in the *Spaniſh* Dreſs. The Viceroy's Court is very ſilent and melancholy: Their Trade is alſo much decayed, their chiefeſt Commodities at this Time being Soap, Snuff, Stockings, Waiſtcoats, ſome Silk Manufactories, *&c.*

From *Naples* to the Top of Mount *Veſuvius* is eight Miles, of which I ſhall endeavour to give you a more exact Account than you have ſeen hitherto. The firſt four Miles, as you paſs along the Sea-coaſt, you go through many good Villages, and the Grounds are very well cultivated, yet from Place to Place you ſee great Stones, thrown thither by the Eruptions of that Mountain: The laſt of theſe Villages is called *Reſina*; when turning to the Left, we began to aſcend, but ſtill on Horſeback, for two good Miles further, among looſe Stones, and Heaps of burnt Earth; the nearer you come to the Top, the more you find the Ground cracked and covered with theſe burnt Stones; and in ſome Places you ſee the Tracts of the Channels of Sulphur, which have been forced down from the Top towards the Bottom. About the Middle, the Aſcent beginning to grow extream rough, you muſt alight to paſs on Foot, which is not done without a great deal of Difficulty, the Aſhes, or rather calcined Duſt, not affording any ſure Footing: But at laſt, after ſeveral ſmall Reſtings, we came up to the ancient Gulph or Hollowneſs, for of late conſiderable Alterations have happened in this Mountain. The Circumference of this firſt Gulph has about a Mile in Diameter, to the beſt of our Gueſs; the Edges being worn into ſeveral rugged Elevations, you may go down into it ſeveral Ways about a hundred Paces below the firſt Circle, being the whole Depth of this old Mouth; for this vaſt Abyſs was by an extraordinary Eruption, almoſt quite filled up with a Mixture of Sulphur, Alom, Bitumen, Saltpetre, and Nitre, which, after the Violence of the Eruption was paſt, turning into a hard Cruſt, produced a Level in this Gulph not above a hundred Paces below its exterior Brims; but ſome Time after, a furious Eruption having ſhaken and broken through this Cruſt, tumbled the hardened Pieces one upon another, as we ſee the broken Ice of a Pond congealed by a ſudden Froſt. This unequal Superficies is interſperſed with burning Funnels, which emit continual Exhalations; and in ſome Places we could feel the Heat through our Shoes. You muſt know, that in the Middle of this Superficies (which is almoſt of a circular Figure) another moſt violent Eruption has forced its Paſſage, and caſt up a new Mountain, which is likewiſe round and about a Quarter of a Mile high.

After we had traverſed that rough Space of about three hundred Paces broad, between the greater and leſſer Mountain, we aſcended this little Mountain with as much Pains as we had done the firſt, which we found full of ſmoaking Chinks, and in many Places lay a pure Sulphur mixed with a Kind of *Sal Armoniac*, of a Citron Colour. In ſome Places we ſaw a reddiſh porous Subſtance, like the Dregs or Scum of Iron as it comes from the Smiths Forge. The Top of this leſſer Mountain hath its Mouth as well as the great one, which is about one hundred Paces broad, and the Inlet to this vaſt ſubterraneous Abyſs, ſends forth a thick Flood of Smoak, which fills up the whole Concavity; the Winds forcing it ſometimes on one Side, and ſometimes on the other, we had an exact View of the Height of its Entrance or Brink, which is perpendicular within, except in one Place, where it is ſloping enough to deſcend into it, which we did after our Guide for ſixty or eighty Paces, when coming to the very Brink of this Precipice, we rolled down many Stones we broke off near it: We found them ſometimes to ſtop at the firſt or ſecond Falling, and ſometimes to take a long Courſe rebounding with a great Noiſe. We could not perceive any conſiderable Increaſe of the Smoak by the tumbling in of theſe Stones; and if they had been much bigger, they would perhaps have produced no other Effect, there being no great Reaſon to imagine that the ſulphureous Lake is perpendicularly under the Opening of this Mountain: I know ſome have had the Curioſity to blow up Part of theſe Rocks with Gunpowder; but this ſeems to me a dangerous Piece of Curioſity, where it is not ſafe to ſtay too long, by reaſon of the ſudden Eruptions that happen now and then; witneſs the famous *Pliny*, who was ſurprized with ſuch an one, though at a conſiderable Diſtance; and the furious Eruptions in 1682, 1685, and 1687, not to mention thoſe recorded by the more ancient Anthors.

The little Time we had to ſtay about *Pozzuolo* did not permit us to take ſo particular an Account of all the Curioſities there, as we might have done, had we been more at Leiſure; however, I do not queſtion relating ſomething that is new concerning this Journey. In our Way from the Suburbs of *Naples* to *Pozzuolo* we ſaw the Hill known by the Name of *Pauſilypus*: To confeſs the Truth, it is moſt delicious, of an infinitely charming Situation, extreamly well cultivated, full of Summer Seats, and planted with moſt excellent Vines. The Aſcent to this Hill was not ſo ſteep, but that it might have been made eaſy enough, but, moved by an extravagant Humour, they reſolved to pierce the Mountain, and by that Means made indeed a ſhorter Way, and of an extraordinary Contrivance, but much more troubleſome than the Aſcent would have been. This Cave is generally called the *Grott of Pozzuolo*, being in ſome Places cut through the Rock, in others through the Sand; its whole Length is near a Mile, the Height between thirty and forty Feet, and eighteen in Breadth, affording an eaſy Paſſage for two Coaches: It has no other Light than at the two Extremities, and a little Hole in the Middle over the Oratory, which is made in the Rock by enlarging that Part ſomewhat beyond the reſt. The Duſt which is raiſed by the Paſſengers is very troubleſome, to avoid which you cover your Face with a Handkerchief; and to avoid running againſt each other, you cry as you paſs along, *To the Right*, or *to the Left?* This is an ancient Work, *Seneca* in his Time complained of its Duſt and Darkneſs; it is attributed to one *Coccejus*, who (according to ſome ancient Annals) is ſaid to have employed a hundred thouſand Men in it, who finiſhed it in fifteen Days; but it is not known who this *Coccejus* was, ſome believe him to be a Prince or Governor of that Part of the Country, ſome only the Head Workman, or Undertaker of the Deſign.

A little beyond *Pauſilypus* lies the Lake of *Agnano*, between two Hills, almoſt round, and two Miles in Circumference: The Water is very clear, and without any ill Taſte, and though it ſeems continually boiling, produceth not the leaſt Heat, but abounds with great Plenty of Tench and Eels. Near the Banks of this Lake are the two celebrated Caves, known by the Names of the *Baths of St. German*, and the *Grotta di Cane*, or *Grott of the Dog*; the Etymology is ſo fabulous, that I will not pretend to enlarge upon it; thus much is certain, that after you have deſcended three or four Steps into theſe Baths, you on a ſudden feel Heat, and a ſulphureous Smell, which put you immediately into a Sweat, and is accounted very ſalubrious to gouty Perſons, and thoſe afflicted with ſome other Diſeaſes, who come hither in Crowds for that Purpoſe.

The *Grotto of the Dog* is no more than the Opening of a Cave, at the very Foot of a Hill, being no more than nine Feet long, four and an half broad, and five high, and not made by Art; the Bottom is pure Earth, and the Sides have nothing but what is natural: I obſerved ſome Drops falling from above, which, they told us, were produced by the Condenſation of the Exhalations or Vapours raiſed from below; though I am rather of Opinion, that they diſtil from the Mountain, and pierce the Top of the Cave, out of the Bottom of which ariſes a ſubtile penetrating Exhalation, without any viſible Smoak, being a ſulphureous Steam, which ſtops the Breath in a Minute. We ſaw him who keeps the Key of this Cave, as well of the aforeſaid Baths, make the Experiment with a Dog in the following Manner. He enters as upright as he can, proceeds to the Middle of the Cave, where bowing and kneeling by Degrees, holding his Head as upright as he can, he ſits down upon his Heels, ſo that with his Hands he can hold a Dog by all his four Feet down cloſe to the Ground: The poor Creature is ſeized in an Inſtant with violent Convulſions, ſtretches himſelf without crying, and becomes ſtiff, when he that holds him throws him out of the Cave, and being preſently caſt into the Lake, which is not above twenty Paces diſtant, he recovers his Breath in a Minute, and ſwims out of the Water. The ſame Experiment has been made upon Men and ſeveral Sorts of Animals with the ſame Effect; the Viceroy D. *Pedro de Toledo* made it with two of his Slaves, who died. Two Feet from the Ground, and even lower, there is nothing to be ſeen of this Nature. The Keeper ſhewed us another Experiment with two lighted Torches, one of which he put near the Ground, and it was extinguiſhed immediately without the leaſt Smoak; then lighting it by the other, he put that near the Ground as the former; which being likewiſe put out, he rekindled that by the firſt, and ſo by Turns.

The like ſulphureous Exhalations are ſaid to be in a Cave at *Zoli* in *Hungary*; and *Pliny* calls this we are ſpeaking of now, *Spiraculum Puteolanum.* All the adjacent Country ſeems to be filled underneath with Brimſtone, eſpecially about *Monte Secco* and *Solfatara*, where we ſaw ſubterraneous Holes filled with Sulphur and Allum, which ſend forth Flames and Smoak with the ſame Smell and Noiſe as we ſee in *Veſuvius.* They prepare Abundance of Roch-Allum on the *Solfatara*, which is a yellow and white Mountain, dried up and conſumed by its own Fire; they work in ſmall Huts, and the Cauldrons boil only by the Heat coming out of the Openings. The Top of this Hill has a Kind of oval Baſon about 1250 Feet long, and a Mile in Breadth, the Exhalations of which are often ſmelt at *Naples*, and blacken their Marble and other Ornaments, nay, even corrupt the neighbouring Waters; whence it is that the *Capuchins* of St. *Januarius*, who live near it, have been forced to raiſe their Ciſterns from the Ground upon Pillars. Moſt of the Inhabitants in the City, and about it, will tell you, that theſe ſmoaking Holes of *Solfatara* are actually the Chimnies of Hell itſelf: *Capaccio* is of the ſame Opinion, and aſſures us, that the *Capuchins* hear often moſt dreadful Howlings, and are frequently diſturbed with Hobgoblins.

From hence we deſcended towards *Puzzoli*, anciently a famous City, as a vaſt Number of ſtately Ruins ſufficiently teſtify, though at preſent it is but an inconſiderable Place. Near to St. *James*'s Church you ſee the Ruins of a magnificent Amphitheatre, the *Arena* whereof was an hundred ſeventy-two Feet long, and eighty-eight broad, built of hewn Stone: Here they tell you St. *Januarius*, with ſix other Chriſtians, being thrown before the Beaſts, they adored inſtead of devouring them; but not long after theſe ſeven had their Heads cut off near *Solfatara*, in the ſame Place where the Church dedicated to St. *Januarius* now ſtands. On the Altar you ſee theſe Words:

> *Locus decollationis S. Januarii & ſociorum ejus.* i. e.
>
> *The Place where St.* Januarius *and his Companions were beheaded.*

Cloſe to the Amphitheatre remain ſtill vaſt Ruins, but buried almoſt under Ground, looked upon by ſome as the Remainders of a Labyrinth, though I am rather inclined to believe it a Fiſhpond like the *Piſcina Mirabilis.* The Cathedral is built not only upon the Ruins of the Temple of *Jupiter*, but alſo of Part of its Materials. In the Frontiſpiece you ſee theſe Words, *Calſurnius Luc. Fil.* which ſhew evidently by whom it was built.

Between the City and the Amphitheatre are to be ſeen alſo the Ruins of the Temple of *Diana:* In tempeſtuous Weather the Sea throws aſhore, near the *Dominicans* of *Jeſus Maria*, many new Marks of the ancient Magnificence of *Puzzoli*, as Cornelians, Agates, Jaſpers, Amethyſts, as likewiſe divers other Sorts of Stones, upon which are found engraved all Sorts of Figures, as Cocks, Eagles, Swans, Hares, Serpents, Graſhoppers, Ants, Vine-branches, Grapes, Ears of Corn, Heads of Men, and Mottos in *Greek* and *Latin.* The Sand of *Puzzoli*, uſed in their Building, is much commended both by *Vitruvius* and *Pliny*; and, in effect, if mixed with a certain Sort of Mortar, becomes as hard as Marble, even in the Sea itſelf. As we paſſed along in our Boat to go to the Lake of *Lucrin*, two Miles diſtant from *Puzzoli*, we had the Opportunity of taking a full View of the famous Arches, generally ſuppoſed to be the Remnants of a Bridge built by *Caligula* from *Bajæ* to *Puzzoli*, whence to this Day they are known by the Name of *Caligula*'s *Bridge* among the Inhabitants; but if we will attend to the Words of *Suetonius*, nothing is more evident, than that this pretended Bridge of *Caligula* was not of Stones or Brick, but of Boats; theſe are his Words: *Bajaram medium intervallum Puteolanas ad Moles trium millium & ſexcentorum ferè paſſuum ponte conjunxit, contractis undique onerariis navibus, & ordine duplici ad anchoras collocatis, ſuperjectoque aggere terreno, ac directo in Viæ Appiæ formam*, &c. The Words *Puteolanas Moles* plainly diſcover what theſe Arches we now ſee were, *viz.* belonging to a Mole that defended the Harbour againſt the Violence of the tempeſtuous Waves: Neither is it a ſufficient Objection to ſay, that we do not build our modern Moles with Arches, ſince Things of the ſame Nature may be done variouſly at ſo great Diſtances of Time; beſides that, ſome will maintain, that a Mole with Arches might be more durable than one without, and be nevertheleſs ſufficient to break the Waves, and to defend the Harbour.

The Lake of *Lucrin*, ſo famous in ancient Times, is now no more than a little Pond of about one hundred Paces broad, and a Quarter of a Mile long, being for the moſt Part filled up with the *New Mountain.* It is now about ſixty or eighty Leagues from the Sea, whereas anciently it joined with it; for if we may credit *Pliny*, they were forced to make Uſe of many Engines to ſeparate them: The Water of this Lake is always ſalt; it was highly celebrated among the Ancients for its Oyſters: *Nuptiæ videbant Oſtreas Lucrinas*, ſaith *Varro*; and *Concha Lucrini dilicacior ſtagni*, Martial. I ſuppoſe you remember the Story related by *Pliny* and ſeveral other Authors concerning a Dolphin, frequently fed with Bread by a Boy that went every Day to School from *Bajæ* to *Puzzoli*, became at laſt ſo familiar with the Boy, that he uſed to carry him often on his Back over the little Bay; *Appian* tells us he was an Eye-witneſs of it, beſides many more that flocked from all Parts to *Puzzoli* to ſee it; and *Solinus* affirms, that at laſt it was ſo common, that it was ſcarce regarded as an extraordinary Thing. I remember, that in my Travels I ſaw a Sea-calf, ſo very tame, that it would do as many Tricks as a Spaniel.

In the Year 1538, in the Night between the 19th and 20th of *September*, the Earth produced on a ſudden a certain Mountain never ſeen before, which for that Reaſon has ſince retained the Name of *Monte Nuovo*, or the *New Mountain*. Thoſe who have meaſured it, make its Height perpendicularly four hundred Toiſes, and its Circumference three large Miles. The Gulph or Opening of fifty Paces diameter on the Top of this *New Mountain*, ſufficiently proves its Production to have been cauſed by an Eruption, though it never ſent forth either Fire or Smoke ſince its firſt Eruption, which was attended with a moſt dreadful Earthquake, that put all the neighbouting Country under great Conſternation, the Sea recoiling, many Churches and Houſes being burnt or ſwallowed up, a vaſt Number of Men and Beaſts periſhing by this prodigious Birth of the *New Mountain*. Your Mountain of *Markle-hill*, in the County of *Hereford*, was uſhered into the World after a much eaſier and more pleaſant Manner, becauſe it moved with a gentle Pace for three Days and Nights, with Houſes and Trees, for about four hundred Paces.

On the other Side of the *Lucrin* Lake, you ſee another famous Hill called *Monte di Chriſto*, the Story whereof runs thus: A moſt violent Earthquake having made an Opening in this Hill, which reached from the Superficies to the very *Limbus Patrum*, *Jeſus Chriſt* entered through this Cavern, where being joyfully received by the Souls that were deſtined to heavenly Felicity, he led them through this Paſſage up to the Top of the Mountain, from whence they were lifted up to Heaven. A fine *Italian* Fable!

The Lake of *Averno* is not above a Mile from the Lake of *Lucrin*, being much about the ſame Bulk as the Lake *Agnano*; it is beyond Queſtion, that what *Virgil*, *Lucretius*, *Pliny*, and others ſay of its deadly Vapours, is not ſo at preſent, the Birds flying over it without the leaſt Detriment, which is the Reaſon that *Pliny* is reckoned, by ſome modern Authors, to have advanced a maniſeſt Falſhood. But if the Matter be truly weighed, it will ſufficiently appear, that *Pliny* only quotes *Varro* in what he ſays of this Lake, but ſpeaks not as an Eye-witneſs; for, diſcourſing of the Lakes which have extraordinary Qualities, he cites *Cteſias*, a *Greek* Hiſtorian, who mentions a Lake in the *Indies* on which nothing ſwims, and afterward alledges the Teſtimony of *Varro* about the *Averno*. Add to this, that *Strabo* attributes the Cauſe of this Stench in the *Averno* to the Thickneſs and Number of the Trees that ſurrounded it on all Sides, which, he ſays, being removed by *Auguſtus*, the Air became pure and ſweet: And *Boccace*, who lived not above three hundred Years ſince, aſſures us, that ſome ſubterraneous Channel of Sulphur being mixed with the Waters of the *Averno*, they became ſtinking, and killed many of the Fiſh, which he ſaw with his own Eyes: Two maniſeſt Inſtances, that this Lake hath been at different Times in very different Conditions. *Virgil* derives the Word *Avernus* from *Aornus*, notwithſtanding which, this Name ſeems to have been the ancient Appellation of ſulphureous Gulphs in general, which makes *Lucretius* call theſe Kind of Pools *Averna Loca*.

The Ruins to be ſeen to this Day about the *Averno*, plainly demonſtrate, that the adjacent Hills were well peopled after the before-mentioned Trees were cut down. The Antiquaries do not agree, whether the Ruins next to the Lake belonged to a Temple of *Mercury*, or of *Neptune*; but certain it is, it could not be the Temple of *Apollo*. As we approached the *Averno*, I could plainly perceive ſomething of a nauſeous Smell, but whether it proceeded from the Lake, or not, I will not pretend to determine; for the Lake abounds with Fiſh, its Waters are freſh and pretty clear, only inclining ſomewhat to a Blue; I taſted them in divers Places, and found them to have a pretty ſharp Twang of ſome Mineral, but what I could not diſtinguiſh.

Not far from hence is the ſubterraneous Paſſage and Cave, commonly known by the Name of the *Sybil's Grott*, the chief Entrance whereof is ſaid to have been near *Cuma*, four Miles from *Averno*, but it is all filled up on that Side. We went into it through a narrow Paſſage, every one with a lighted Torch in his Hand, the Paſſage being on both Sides overgrown with Briars and Thiſtles. This ſubterraneous Paſſage is dug under Hillocks, without any Ornaments, except in the Place I am going to deſcribe to you: It is about ten Feet broad, and twelve high. After you have gone two hundred and fifty Paces in a ſtreight Line, you meet with a ſquare Grott on the right, and ſeventy or eighty Paces further a little Cell of fifteen Feet long, and eight or nine broad. You may perceive, by various Remains, that the Roof was formerly painted and the Walls adorned with *Moſaick* Work. After I had read the learned Treatiſe of Mr. *Blondel* concerning theſe pretended *Sybils*, and their Writings, I was ſufficient Proof againſt all the vulgar Opinions of this Grott; notwithſtanding what divers ancient Authors have told us concerning the *Sybilla Cumæa* and her Cave, which by the *Italians* has been applied to this ſubterraneous Paſſage, I am not ignorant of the Deſcription of *Virgil*,

Quo lati ducunt aditus centum, oſtia centum
Unde ruunt totidem voces ———

but at the ſame am convinced, that *Virgil* ſpoke of it only as a fabulous Tradition; for what elſe will you ſay to the *centum aditus*, and *centum oſtia*, which are not to be found here or any where elſe? In my Opinion, this might be ſuch another Paſſage as the Grott of *Pauſilypus*, and the painted Cell appropriated to ſome Deity. *Strabo* relates, upon the Credit of *Ephorus*, an ancient Hiſtorian of *Cumæ*, that the *Cimmerians* of *Italy*, (to diſtinguiſh them from thoſe inhabiting near the *Boſphorus*) did inhabit in ſubterraneous Caverns between *Bajæ* and the Lake *Averno*, from whence they ſallied out in the Night-time to perpetrate their Murders. The digging of this Cave ſeems more properly to belong to them, were it not that the *Moſaick* Work in the Cell hath as little Reſemblance to their Way of living, as to the Habitation of a pretended Mad-woman, ſuch as the *Sybil* is ſuppoſed to have been.

From this Cave we took a Turn to *Bajæ*, the moſt pleaſant and magnificent Place in the World in ancient Times; *Horace*, *Martial*, *Joſephus*, *Seneca*, *Albinus*, and others, have left us ſuch a Character of it, as might put this Aſſertion beyond all Queſtion, were not the Ruins of many Temples, Baths, and Palaces, which are to be ſeen round the Bay, and even in the Sea itſelf, undeniable Proofs of its former Grandeur. The Bay of *Bajæ* is infinitely pleaſant, the Air exceeding ſweet, and the adjoining Hills, with eaſy Aſcents, charming beyond what can be expreſſed or imagined; but alas! that vaſt Number of Summer-ſeats which adorned the Neighbourhood of this City, are now nothing but a vaſt Heap of Ruins, and a diſmal Solitude. Between *Bajæ* and *Miſeno* is the Precinct called *Bauli*, where you ſee the Tomb of *Agrippina*, and near it the Remnants of the Fiſhpond of *Q. Hortenſius*, Colleague of *Q. Cecil. Metellus*.

Not far from this are very great Ruins, commonly called *Mercato di Sabbato*, which ſome pretend to be the Remainders of a *Circus*. At the very Sea-ſide are to be ſeen conſiderable Ruins of the Country-houſe of *Hortenſius*; and near his Fiſhpond, the Remainders of a Temple ſaid to have been dedicated to *Diana*. Not many Years ſince, a moſt noble Statue of *Venus*, twice as big as the Life, was dug up in this Neighbourhood, holding a Globe in her Right-hand, and three Oranges in the left. *Capaccio*, who has given an exact Deſcription of it, ſays, that this Statue was found in the ſame Place where anciently ſtood the Temple of *Venus Genitrix*. From *Bajæ* it is not above a large Mile to that delightful Plain called the *Elyſian Fields*, ſituate between the Sea and that ſtinking Marſh *Acheron*, called by *Virgil*, *Tenebroſa Palus*, now *Lago della Coluccia*. I might farther ſpeak of the Academy of *Cicero*, now turned into an Ox-ſtall, of the Baths of *Tritoli*, the Tomb of *Agrippina* Mother of *Nero*, of the *Piſcina mirabilis*, or Fiſhpond of *Agrippa*, and the other Fiſhpond called *Cento*

Cento Camerelle, beſides a great many other remarkable Remnants of Antiquity, but that I had not ſufficient Leiſure to make ſo exact an Obſervation of them as was ſufficient to give you a full Deſcription of them.

From *Bajæ* we took Boat to *Puzzoli* again, and thence went on Horſeback to *Naples*. But before we depart, I muſt ſay a Word or two of the Tomb of *Virgil*. At the Entrance of the Grott of *Pauſilypus*, which leads to *Puzzoli*, ſtands an ancient Monument ſhaped like a Pyramid, but above half deſtroyed. Some modern Hiſtorians aſſure us, that in their Time there were nine ſmall Columns of Marble in the little Chamber of this *Mauſoleum*, which ſupported an Urn of the ſame Subſtance, with this Diſtich upon it:

> *Mantua me genuit, Calabri rapuere, tenet nunc*
> *Parthenope*; *cecini, paſcua, rura, Duces.*

But now there are neither Columns nor Urn to be ſeen here. The *Mauſoleum* is built of very large ſquare Stone, notwithſtanding which, it is almoſt covered with Buſhes and Shrubs, that have taken Root between the Stones; among the reſt there grows a Laurel on the Top of it, which, if you will believe the Inhabitants, has been often cropped and plucked up, but always grows again.

Virgil is looked upon by many of the Inhabitants of this Country as a great Sorcerer; whence it is that they have attributed to him the making of the Grott of *Pauſilypus*, as alſo of the brazen Horſe, the Head whereof, as I told you before, is ſtill preſerved at the Palace of D. *Diomedes Caraffa*. Unto this Horſe they attributed, for the ſame Reaſon, a ſecret Virtue of curing all Sorts of Diſeaſes in Horſes, and of preſerving them from ſiniſter Accidents, and for a conſiderable Time uſed to bring their Horſes from the remoteſt Parts of the Kingdom of *Naples*, to lead them in Proceſſion round this pretended Horſe of *Virgil*; till at laſt the Horſe was, by the Order of a certain Archbiſhop of that Kingdom, removed from thence, and a great Bell caſt of its Body, which remains in the Cathedral, and is of ſomewhat more Uſe than the Horſe. The Houſe of *Sannazarius*, which ſtood on the Seaſide, at the Foot of the Hill of *Pauſilypus*, being deſtroyed by the War, a Church was built in the ſame Place, dedicated to the moſt *holy Birth of the Mother of God*, where his Tomb is now to be ſeen in one of the Chapels. The Tomb is of white Marble, done by the excellent Hand of St. *Croce*: Upon it you ſee the Buſt of *Sannazarius* crowned with Laurel, and on each Side the Statues of *Apollo* and *Minerva*, which they commonly call *David* and *Judith*. I ſuppoſe you are informed, that *James Sannazarius* changed his Name into that of *Actius Sincerus*, according to the Cuſtom or rather Affectation of thoſe Times.

11. Your Letter I received with a great Pleaſure, in Return whereof I will endeavour to ſatisfy your Curioſity, in reſolving your Queſtions concerning *Venice*, in the ſame Order you have propoſed them; after which I will proceed to give you an Account of *Rome*.

I. Whatever your Friend may ſay on Pretence of his being a Citizen of *Venice*, of the Number of Inhabitants in that City, which he makes amount to 250,000, I cannot allow him a competent Judge; though on the other Hand I muſt tell you, that you carry the Matter too far, when you declare, that it is impoſſible to know the exact Number of Inhabitants in great Cities, Sir *William Petty* having propoſed to us a rational Method of making ſuch a Computation, without any remarkable Error. I ought however not to paſs by in Silence, that in my Computation I included the Inhabitants of the Iſle of *La Giudeca*, but not the Iſle of *Murano*.

II. The two Columns of *Granite* in the Place of the *Broglio*, ſome ſay, were brought from *Egypt*, others from *Conſtantinople*, (perhaps they were brought from *Egypt* to *Conſtantinople*.) Upon one of theſe Columns ſtands the Arms of *Venice*, *viz.* the *winged Lion* of St. *Mark* holding an open Book, with the Inſcription of *Pax tibi Marce*. On the other you ſee the Statue of St. *Theodore*. The like Columns the *Venetians* erect in all the great Cities under their Juriſdiction, as Trophies of the Republick. The ſame *Venetian* alſo miſinformed you about the three great Banners ſet on Feſtival Days upon the brazen Pedeſtals oppoſite to St. *Mark*'s Church, *viz.* That they repreſent the *Venetian* State, and the two Kingdoms of *Cyprus* and *Candia*, the Republick's Arms being to be ſeen without the leaſt Alteration in all the three Banners. Another vulgar Error is, That the *Venetian Signiory* has no Coat of Arms, though the *Lion* is to be ſeen in all thoſe Places where the Arms of a State are generally to be ſeen. The Lion of St. *Mark* takes its Origin from the Viſion of *Ezekiel*, and not from the imaginary Transformation of St. *Mark* into a Lion, to check the inceſtuous Love of his Siſter. Hence it is, that the *Venetian* Ambaſſador being aſked, what Country it was that produced thoſe *winged Lions?* replied, The ſame that brought forth the double-headed Eagles; alluding to the Arms of the Empire, *Ruſſia*, and other Sovereignties.

III. What I told you concerning the Air of *Venice* muſt be taken with ſome Grains of Allowance, though the Air of *Venice* is none of the worſt. In the *Lagunes* it is ſo bad, that the Inhabitants of the leſſer Iſles commonly leave their Habitations in the hot Seaſon, and retire elſewhere. But this is not peculiar to *Venice*, but is alſo common in ſeveral other Parts of *Italy*, eſpecially in the Country about *Rome*.

IV. That the Doge of *Venice* continues for Life, whereas the Doge of *Genoa* reigns only for two Years, is ſufficiently known. The Revenues of the Doge of *Venice*, ſo far as I was able to learn, do not amount to quite 3000 *l.* Sterling *per Annum*; but the Frugality wherewith the *Venetians* manage their Government, has taught them not to allow their Spouſes any Share in thoſe uſeleſs Honours they pay to their Huſbands.

V. Concerning the Libertiniſm in the Monaſteries of *Venice*, as I will not profeſs myſelf to be acquainted with it in particular, ſo I can only tell you, that it is generally acknowledged here, that the Nuns are often viſited by Perſons in Maſquerade at the Grates; that they go to *Plays* and other Places in Diſguiſe; that they have made Tables on Purpoſe for Entertainments, one half within, and the other half without the Grates; nay, that they are often engaged in Intrigues; and that the Friers are guilty of ſuch Debaucheries as can ſcarce be imagined. Theſe, I ſay, are common Reports, but I do not affirm them.

VI. What your Friend has been pleaſed to alledge againſt the Sovereignty of the Doge, is not worth taking Notice of, the ſame being ſufficiently known to all that have had any Inſight into the *Venetian* State, or enquired into the Principles of their political Conſtitution.

VII. The whole Revenue of this Commonwealth, according to the beſt Computation, amounts annually to ſix Millions of Crowns, including the Sale of Offices and Nobility, Confiſcations, *&c.*

VIII. They permit ſome *Jews* to live at *Venice*, who are rich, eſpecially the *Portugueſe*: Their Quarter is called *Il Ghetto*, or the *Jewry*; their Hats are covered with Scarlet, lined and edged with Black. The poorer Sort are contented with waxed Linen. By the Help of Money this Badge may be diſpenſed with.

IX. The whole Number of their Nobility, arrived to a proper Age of ſitting in the *Great Council*, amounts to about thirteen hundred; but one half of them being generally Abroad in Civil or Military Employments, this Aſſembly ſcarce ever exceeds ſix or ſeven hundred; yet theſe ſeem too many for the Management of thoſe Matters of Conſequence that come before them, which hath given Birth to this Proverb, *Troppo Teſte, troppo Feſte, troppo Tempeſte*; *Too many Heads, too many Feſtivals, and too many Tempeſts.* And as the firſt is meant of the Great Council of *Venice*, ſo their Feſtivals are ſo frequent, that they exceed thoſe obſerved in *France* by one third Part, and they are commonly peſtered with *Storms* in the Summer.

X. The *Golden Book* I have mentioned, contains a Catalogue of all the Noblemen in their State; and as all the Brothers of every Family have an equal Share in the Nobility, ſo their Names are regiſtered in this Book as ſoon as they are born. Upon this Occaſion I cannot forbear to add ſomething in Reference of what has been told you againſt the Account I gave you of the Haughtineſs of the *Venetian* Nobles: There is ſcarce any body that is acquainted at *Venice*, but will eaſily agree with me, that the *Venetian* Nobles are not only extreamly conceited of their Nobility, but alſo very difficult of Acceſs to Strangers of great Note; though the laſt may be attributed either to Cuſtom, or rather to the Politicks of their Government: And though they are not very ſparing of Salutations when they are walking at the *Broglio*, yet they always appear very reſerved and proud in the Company of the Citizens; nay, they give and receive but few Viſits among themſelves. It muſt however be confeſſed, that in private Converſation, eſpecially if their Intereſt be concerned, they will be as obliging as moſt Men, and will ſometimes enter into a familiar Acquaintance with Strangers, provided both Sides be not of more than ordinary Quality, for this would have ill Conſequences.

What I told you concerning the great Sleeves of the Noblemen, that they ſerve inſtead of a Baſket at certain Times, was not a bare Jeſt; for I remember I ſaw once a good Sallad, and at another Time an excellent Cod'stail, thus carried out of the Market. There are beſides this, about two or three hundred *Barnabotes*, ſo called from a cheap Place in the City, where they live, (a Sort of poor Gentlemen, that ſerve for a Foil to the richer) who both beg about the Streets, and would be glad to earn a Penny in carrying Home Proviſions for other People. In the Summer theſe Noblemen have their Veſts without Furs, but the turning up on the Edges remains always furred.

XI. It was not from my Ignorance of your Inclination, or rather Love to Painting, that made me guilty of that Negligence with which you upbraid me, in giving you ſo imperfect an Account of thoſe curious Pieces that are to be ſeen at *Venice*. However, in Obedience to your Deſire, I ſhall endeavour in ſome Meaſure to ſupply that Defect, by adding ſome new Obſervations, though I am afraid my Memory will not furniſh me with many.

There were formerly, in the Hall of the great Council, ſome Pictures done by *Gentil Bellini*, and *John* his Brother, which excelled the beſt Pieces of that Age, but they were conſumed, with almoſt the whole Palace, in 1577. The ſame Hiſtories were copied five Years after by *Frederick Zucchero*, and ſet up again in the ſame Order in which they ſtill remain. *Pordenone*'s Pictures in *Freſco*, in the Cloyſter of St. *Stephen*, are very much eſteemed, as are likewiſe his St. *Sebaſtian* and St. *Roch*, at St. *John de Rialto*. *Pordenone* was an excellent Painter; his Deſigns are eſteemed very judicious, and his Colours admirably well managed. He emulated *Titian*, and with ſome Degree of Succeſs.

The St. *Peter Martyr* of *Titian*, is reputed to be one of the fineſt Pictures that ever was made, but it begins to be much defaced. The beſt Judges are charmed with this Piece, though it has loſt all that Luſtre which raviſhes an unſkilful Eye. They think they can never enough admire the Beauty and Richneſs of its colouring, and judicious Diſpoſition of the Lights, the Roundneſs of the Figures, the Paſſion and Life that is obſerved in the Face, and Strength of Expreſſion which reigns through the whole Piece. There are ſeveral other Pictures by the ſame Hand in the Churches, St. *Mark*'s Palace, the Library, Convents and Fraternities. There are alſo ſome Pieces by *Schiavoni* in the Library, which have been frequently taken for *Titian*'s. *Horace Vecelli* his Son has almoſt equalled him in ſome Works, and the Picture in the Hall of the Great Council, which repreſents the Battle fought by the *Romans* againſt the Troops of *Frederick*, is the Work of *Horace*, though it is commonly aſcribed to his Father.

The Wedding Dinner at *Cana* by *Paul Veroneſe*, in the Refectory of the *Benedictine* Monks in the Iſle of St. *George*, is eſteemed to be the Maſter-piece of that Painter, who, you know, is famous for the ſame Excellencies that we admire in *Titian*. His Works are particularly remarkable for the beautiful Diſpoſition of the Figures, judicious Choice of Colours, a ſublime Genius, vaſt Ideas, the greateſt Eaſineſs imaginable, and the moſt charming Variety. This Piece takes up all the Bottom Wall of the Refectory, it is two and thirty Feet broad, and contains one hundred and twenty-five Figures.

In the Church of St. *Sebaſtian*, the Feaſt of *Simon* the *Leper* is one of the moſt celebrated Pieces of the ſame Artiſt. There are alſo three other Pictures by the ſame Hand in the Arch of St. *Mark*'s Library, which, if my Memory do not deceive me, repreſent Geometry, Arithmetick, and the Glory which is acquired by Learning.

The *Paradiſe*, by *Tintoret*, in the Hall of the Great Council, is a famous Piece. It was ſaid of *Tintoret*, that he united the Deſigns of *Michael Angelo* with the colouring of *Titian*, which certainly was a very noble Character. Beſides, he had the moſt fruitful Invention, and at the ſame Time the quickeſt Hand of the Age. A Painter who was with me in the Fraternity, or, as they call it at *Venice*, the School of St. *Roch*, made me obſerve with Admiration that rare Picture which *Tintoret* finiſhed almoſt in a Moment, while *Paul Veroneſe*, *Salviati*, and *Frederick Zucchero*, his Competitors in the ſame Work, were ſtill buſy upon the rough Draught which was to be preſented to thoſe who deſigned to employ them. I have ſeen ſeveral Pieces by the ſame Hand in the above-mentioned School, at St. *Maria dell' Oro*, at St. *Mark*'s School, and other Places. There are ſome of *Baſſani*'s Works at St. *Mary major*. *Schiavoni*'s Pictures in the Library are, I think, Emblems of *Valour*, *Sovereignty*, and *Sanctity*.

XII. I told you, if I remember right, that their Gondola's or Boats have black Tilts; I will add, that no body (except the Doge) can be attended by Servants in Liveries; though the Ladies of Noblemen, during the firſt and ſecond Years of their Marriage, are allowed to give what Colours they like beſt to their Gondoliers or Boatmen, and to uſe Jewels; but that Time being once expired, this Courteſy ceaſes, and they are not permitted to appear in Jewels unleſs on ſome high Feſtivals, and during the Carnival; whence it is that the rich Courtezans rather pay the Fine than debar themſelves of theſe Ornaments. What you heard affirmed by ſome, that the *Venetian* Ladies enjoy a greater Share of Liberty than thoſe of *England* or *France*, ſeems to me to be the Effect of a fond Spirit of Contradiction; for, ſuppoſing the Ladies of *Venice* have the Liberty in Carnival-time to go to Plays, Operas, Fairs, or Gaming-houſes, in Diſguiſe, what Advantages can they reap from the Diverſion of ſo ſhort a Time, eſpecially conſidering that all this while they are conſtantly attended by their Huſband's *Spies*, who cannot but put them in Mind of the Slavery they are to undergo for ten or eleven Months in the Year? What Compariſon is there between this Confinement and the entire Liberty the *Engliſh* and *French* Ladies enjoy in their Walks, Viſits, Meetings, and Divertiſements, without the leaſt Reſtraint?

XIII. The young Noblemen are permitted to be as ſplendid in their Gold and Silver Laces, Stuffs, Plumes, and Embroideries, as they think fit: They put on the Gown at fifteen Years of Age, tho' they have no Vote in the Great Council till they are five and twenty. They have alſo the Liberty of wearing what Habits they like beſt on the Continent, the Juriſdiction of the Tribunal that regulates Habits, not extending beyond the *Lagunas*.

XIV. When we were viewing the Treaſury, no Mention was made by our Guides of St. *Mark*'s Thumb, and that he was diſmembred to prevent his being a Prieſt; but they were not ſo forgetful as not to tell us the Tradition of the Loſs of his Ring, and how it was recovered, and the Story runs thus: In the Year 1339, three Men came to a Gondolier in very tempeſtuous Weather, and having conſtrained him to carry them two Miles to the *Lido*, they found there a whole Shipful of Devils, that were buſied in raiſing a Tempeſt by their Enchantments; but theſe three Men had no ſooner given them a ſevere Reprimand, but the Tempeſt ceaſed. The firſt of theſe three Perſons made the Boatman carry him back to the Church of St. *Nicholas*, the ſecond to that of St. *George*, and the third to that of St. *Mark*; but the laſt, inſtead of paying the Boatman, gave him a Ring, ordering him to carry it to the Senate, and told him at the ſame Time, that he who went on ſhore firſt was St. *Nicholas* himſelf, the ſecond St. *George*, and that he was St. *Mark*. The Boatman, aſtoniſh'd at his Words, related the whole Matter to all the Senate, who, receiving the Ring, beſtowed a conſiderable Reward upon him.

XV. They ſuffer *Proteſtants* to be buried in their Churches; the Reaſon is, becauſe they take no Notice of them here as *Proteſtants*, all ſuch as are neither *Jews*, *Greeks*, nor *Armenians*, being reputed *Roman Catholicks*.

XVI. Your Admirer of the Palaces of *Venice* hath miſtaken my Aim, becauſe I did not deny that there were ſome ſtately Palaces there, and made particular Mention of ſeveral of them; but notwithſtanding all this, what I ſaid of the *Italian* Palaces in general, is true beyond Contradiction: And becauſe you own that he hath no Skill in Architecture, you will do very well not to rely too far upon his Judgment in this Point, any more than in what you have been informed concerning the Machines in the *Venetian Opera's*, and that *Venice* is, for Neatneſs, to be compared to *Holland*.

XVII. I told you, that there is a Paſſage by Water to all the Houſes in *Venice*; I am well ſatisfied you did not take this Part abſolutely according to the literal Senſe, becauſe there may be perhaps about five or ſix in a thouſand that can't be approach'd but by Land, and in this I ſpeak the outſide; for what your young Traveller has aſſur'd you, that there was no Canal within five hundred Paces of the Houſe where he lodg'd, and that there are twenty ſuch Places in the City, is a Contradiction in itſelf, for at this Rate, how many Spaces of a Mile in Diameter muſt there be in *Venice*? And whether this is poſſible, I leave to your own Determination, if you will carefully examine the Platform of this City, which I ſend you, and is founded upon unqueſtionable Evidence.

SECTION III.

The TRAVELS *of Mr.* MAXIMILIAN MISSON *continued, from his Arrival at* Rome, *to his Departure out of* Italy; *with Obſervations and Remarks.*

1. *A ſuccinct Deſcription of* Rome; *a more particular Account of the famous Church of St.* Peter; *a View of the Palace and Library of the* Vatican; *with various Remarks and Obſervations.* 2. *The Author's Viſit to Queen* Chriſtina *of* Sweden; *the Deſcription of* Rome *reſum'd, with a Multitude of curious Particulars reſulting from the Author's Obſervations while reſident in that City and in its Neighbourhood.* 3. *The Solution of various Queries relating to the Antiquities of* Rome; *the Story of Pope* Joan; *an Account of* Albano, *and other Places in the Vicinity of that great City.* 4. *Some farther Remarks on the Hiſtory of the* Female Pope; *the State of the* Greeks, Armenians, *and* Jews, *at* Rome; *together with additional Remarks on the Antiquities and Curioſities there and thereabouts.* 5. *The Author's Travels reſum'd; an Account of* Viterbo, Siena, Piſa, Leghorn, Lucca, *and ſeveral other Places.* 6. *The noble City of* Florence *deſcrib'd, the Great Duke's Palace there, the moſt remarkable Churches, and Monuments in them; with other curious and entertaining Particulars.* 7. *A View of the Country between* Florence *and* Bologna, *the laſt mentioned City deſcribed, and the moſt remarkable Places therein; and the Author's Journey from thence to* Modena. 8. *An Account of* Reggio, Parma, Placentia, Cremona, Mantua, Breſcia, Bergamo, *and ſeveral other Places.* 9. *The large and famous City of* Milan *deſcribed, with a diſtinct View of its principal Edifices; an Account of* Pavia, *and other Places.* 10. *The Author's Journey from* Pavia *to* Genoa; *Hiſtorical Obſervations on that City and Republick.* 11. *A Deſcription of* Alexandria, Caſal, Turin, *and of the Country of* Piedmont. 12. *Some Obſervations of the Author in relation to* Italy *in general.* 13. *Remarks upon the two foregoing Sections; with an Account of ſome of the principal Miſtakes, charged upon our Author by later Writers, and thoſe Charges impartially diſcuſs'd.*

1. WE will now come to *Rome*, which being thoroughly deſcrib'd by ſeveral Perſons of Note, who had all poſſible Opportunities of giving the beſt Account of it, I will pretend to no more, than to give you a general Idea of this great and famous City, together with what Obſervations I was able to make upon ſuch Matters as were then altogether new, or but little known, and have Relation to your Queſtions. I need not tell you, that before the Reign of *Servius Tullius* it comprehended no more than ſeven Hills, whence it got the Name of *Septicollis*, or *Seven Hills*; but being much enlarg'd ſince, contains no leſs than twelve; *viz. Monte Capitolino*, *Palatino*, *Aventino*, *Celio*, *Eſquilino*, *Viminato*, *Quirinale* or *Monte Cavallo*, *Janiculo*, *Pincio*, *Vaticano*, *Citorio*, and *Giordano*; however, you muſt not imagine them to be huge Mountains, but only little Hills, the Aſcent whereof is ſcarce diſcernible.

Vopiſcus (who flouriſh'd under *Diocleſian*) would make us believe, that the Walls of *Rome*, built by *Aurelian*, were no leſs than fifty Miles in Compaſs; but there muſt be an enormous Error in this, ſeeing that the preſent Walls of *Rome* are very near the ſame with thoſe *Aurelian* erected, and yet are not above thirteen Miles in Circumference, this being the largeſt Compaſs *Rome* ever had, though its Suburbs perhaps extended far beyond them on all Sides. But of what is encloſ'd within the Walls, there is not above one third Part inhabited at preſent, the reſt, (*viz.* to the South and Eaſt) being either *Gardens* or *Ruins*. Moſt of the Houſes are of Brick, and plaiſter'd over on the Outſide; the Roofs are ridg'd, but the Angle on the Top is very obtuſe; and ſome are built, as we call it in *France*, *à la Manſarde*. Neither the Houſes nor Streets are very beautiful, and the Pavements narrow and not very neat.

Which Way ſoever you approach *Rome*, you may diſcover St. *Peter*'s Cathedral above all the other Spires and the Tops of the higheſt Edifices. The Courſe of the *Tyber* (which makes a little Iſland here) is from North to South: That Part on the right Side, called *Traſtavera*, is not above the ſixth Part of the other. The firſt Proſpect of this great City does not ſurprize the Traveller, but the longer he ſtays in it, the more frequent Opportunities he will meet with of obſerving ſomething worth his Attention, in ruminating upon the Remnants of the Spoils of the Univerſe, which made once the *Porphyries*, *Granites*, and the pureſt *Oriental Marble*, to be more common at *Rome*, than the Bricks or Stones out of the neighbouring Quarries; the *Coloſſes*, *Temples*, *Palaces*, *Amphitheatres*, *Arches*, *Baths*, *Cirques*, *Columns*, *Fountains*, *Aqueducts*, *Obeliſks*, *Mauſoleums*, and other magnificent Structures, being for the moſt Part of theſe precious Materials, which tho' buried now in Ruins, yet ſtill retain ſome Remains of their ancient Splendor.

The Country about *Rome*, for ten or twelve Miles, is flat, but uneven, ill peopled, unhealthy, and barren in many Places. As to the Number of the Inhabitants, they are generally computed to be two hundred thouſand; but I will not be anſwerable for this Computation, theſe Things being founded upon uncertain Conjectures, ſo that even the Paſſages in the ancient *Roman* Authors are very hard to be reconcil'd in this Point, ſome telling us of three Millions one thouſand and thirty-ſeven, under the Reign of *Auguſtus*, others of four or five Millions, whereas *Suetonius* computes no more than one Million and ſix hundred thouſand under *Tiberius*, the immediate Succeſſor of *Auguſtus*; and I remember that *Werner Rookwink*, in his *Faſciculus Temporum*, does not heſitate at making them amount to twenty-ſeven Millions and eighty thouſand. I ſuppoſe he included all ſuch as had the Privilege of *Roman Citizens* in his Account.

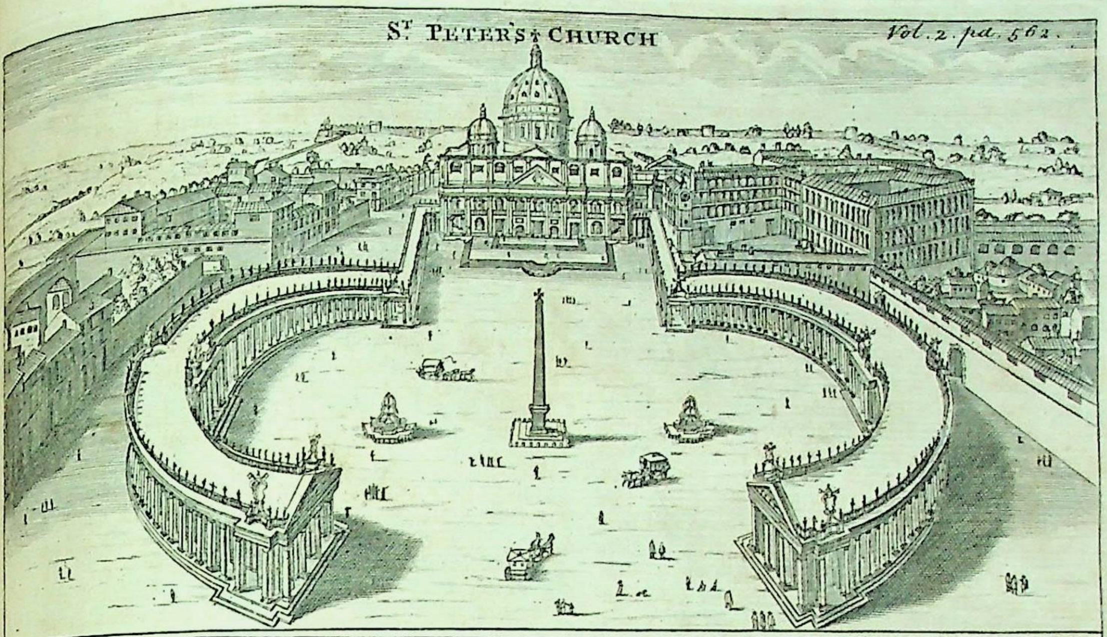
Two Days after our Return from *Naples*, we happen'd to ſee the Ceremony of making either Wives or Nuns, of three hundred and fifty Maidens, the Fund for which was raiſed by a Club of ſixty charitable Gentlemen. This Ceremony is perform'd every Year on the Feſtival of the *Annunciation*, when the Pope and the ſacred College meeting at the *Minerva*, the Pope, (or in his Abſence ſome Cardinal) ſays High Maſs, and all the Girls confeſs, and receive the Sacrament, being cloath'd in white Serge, with Veils over their Heads, having only one Opening for their Sight; they enter thus two and two into the Choir, where proſtrating themſelves at the Pope's or Cardinal's Feet who officiates, near whom ſtands an Officer with a Baſon full of little white Bags, each of which contains either a Bill of fifty Crowns for ſuch Maidens as chuſe Marriage, or a Bill of an hundred Crowns for thoſe that are willing to embrace a religious Life. Each Maiden having declared her Choice, receives her Bag hanging on a little String, with a Kiſs, and ſo goes off to make Room for another. Thoſe that have choſen a religious Life are crown'd with Garlands of Flowers, and have the firſt Place aſſign'd them in the Proceſſion. At that Time there were no more than thirty-two of theſe among the three hundred and fifty.

Having taking a full View of the *Minerva*, (where we ſaw the famous Statue of Chriſt embracing the Croſs, the Work of *Michael Angelo*) we went to the beautiful *Borgheſe* Palace, the Portico of which is ſupported by ninety-ſix antique Pillars of *Egyptian Granite*. In the lower Rooms alone are no leſs than ſeventeen hundred original Pictures, by the beſt Maſters of *Europe*, among which, that of *Venus* blindfolding *Cupid*, done by *Titian*, far excels the reſt. The Picture of *Paul* V. (who was of this Family) in moſt exquiſite *Moſaick* Work, is reputed to contain above a Million of Pieces, which however I cannot find by my Calculation. We alſo ſaw here a Crucifix of the ſame Bigneſs with that ſhewn us by the *Carthuſians* at *Naples*, and they aſſured us that this is that celebrated Original of *Michael Angelo*. The Name of *Rotundo* was given to the *Pantheon* by common People, by reaſon of its circular Figure. *Boniface* IV. dedicated it to the *Virgin* and all the *Martyrs*, whence he call'd it St. *Maria ad Martyres*: And another Pope would needs comprize all the *Saints* with the *Martyrs*. The Origin of its ancient Name is likewiſe ſomewhat doubtful, ſome deriving the Etymology of the *Pantheon*, and aſcribing its Convexity to the Reſemblance of the Heavens; others alledging, that it was dedicated to *Jupiter*, and *Cybele* the Mother of the Gods, others, to *Jupiter*, and *all the Gods*. This laſt Opinion ſeems to be founded upon the many Niches which are ſeen in the Inſide, and were (queſtionleſs) full of Idols: But if we may believe *Varro*, who tells us of no leſs than thirty thouſand Gods worſhipped at *Rome*; and the Philoſopher *Bruxillus*, who, in his Speech to the Senate, makes them amount to no leſs than two hundred and eighty thouſand; there are not near Niches enough to accommodate all theſe Deities.

This Temple, though deſpoiled of its beſt Ornaments, yet is one of the faireſt and moſt entire Pieces of Antiquity in *Italy*. The Columns of the Portico of this Church are all of one Piece of *Granite*, of the *Corinthian* Order, not equally big, but, according to the moſt exact Meaſure I could take, they were fifteen Inches in Compaſs, ſome few Inches leſs or more: That Piece of *Granite*, in which the Opening of the great Gate is cut, is forty Feet high, and near twenty broad. The two Lions under the Portico of the *Pantheon* ſtood formerly on the Front of the Temple of *Iſis*. *La Guillitiere* (who is follow'd by *Meurſius*) would needs perſuade us, that the *Pantheon* of *Athens* ſurpaſſes that of *Rome* in Magnificence, having miſtaken the Temple of *Minerva* for the *Pantheon*, into which Error they have ben miſled by the erroneous Account of *Theodoſius Zygomala*, in his Letter to *Martin Cruſius*; or perhaps by the miſtaken Name of *Parthenion*, which *Pauſanias* gives it.

It being not my preſent Purpoſe to give you a particular Deſcription of Churches, I will only communicate to you my Obſervations upon them. That of St. *Peter* has the Reputation of the moſt magnificent and largeſt Church in the Univerſe: He that is willing to give a true Judgment of it, muſt not be ſparing of his Pains in viewing it frequently, as well on the Top into the very Ball, as the Church under Ground. You no ſooner enter this great Structure, but your Eyes are ſurprized with the incomparable Proportions of the niceſt Pieces of Architecture, and a moſt exact and unparallel'd Order, rather to be admired than deſcribed: And ſince you are pleaſed to rely upon my Fidelity and Judgment, I will ſend you the principal Dimenſions of this Structure, as I have taken them with the Aſſiſtance of very ſkilful Perſons, more than once. 1. The Length of the Church, taken on the Outſide, including the whole Portico and the Thickneſs of the Walls, 722 *Engl.* Feet. 2. The Length of the Church within, not reckoning either the Portico or the Thickneſs of the Walls, 594 Feet. 3. The Length of the Croſs of the Church on the Outſide, 490 Feet. 4. The Length of the ſaid Croſs within, 438 Feet. 5. The Breadth of the Body of the Church, 86 Feet, 8 Inches. 6. The perpendicular Height of the Body of the Church, 144 Feet. 7. The Bigneſs or outward Circumference of the Dome, 620 Feet. 8. The Diameter of the Dome within, 143 Feet. 9. The Breadth of the Front of the Church, 400 Feet. 10. The compleat Height of the Church, from the Floor to the Top of the Croſs, which is over the Ball, 432 Feet. 11. The Diameter of the Ball, 8 Feet, 4 Inches. 12. The Height of the Statues on the Cornice of the ſecond Order of the Front, 18 Feet. *Michael Angelo* and *Bramante* were the two chief Architects of this noble and majeſtical Structure, the firſt under Pope *Paul* III. the ſecond under *Julius* II. The Chair of St. *Peter* is ſupported by the four Doctors of the Church: The Statues of Braſs gilt, and the Tombs of *Urban* VIII. *Paul* III. *Alexander* VII. and the Counteſs *Maud*, are moſt magnificent and curious Pieces of Workmanſhip, worthy of the Edifice in which they are placed.

In ſhort, wherever you turn your Eyes, you meet with nothing but gilt Work, excellent Pictures, and Statues of Braſs and Marble, and theſe diſpoſed in ſo excellent an Order, that their Multitude does not cauſe the leaſt Confuſion. The Inſide of the Cupola is of *Moſaick* Work, and the Arch of the Nave of a certain fine Clay, with Compartments of raiſed Work gilt; all the Pilaſters are deſigned to be over-caſt with the ſame Matter, as well as the remaining Part of the Inſide of the Church. The High Altar ſtands in the Midſt of the Croſs, directly under the Dome, the Pavilion being ſupported by four wreath'd Pillars of Braſs,


St. Peter's Church

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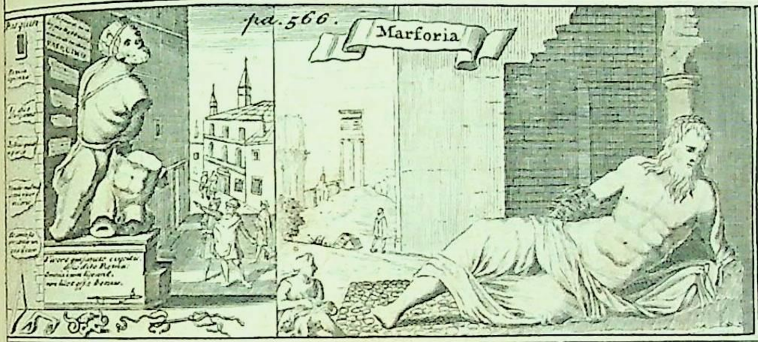
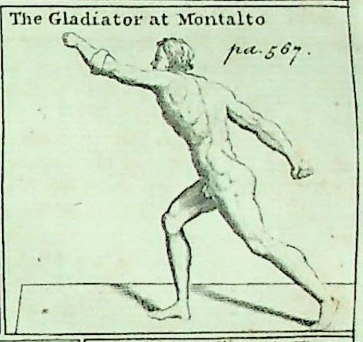
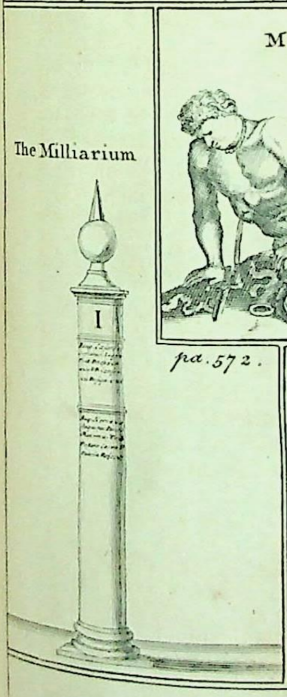

Pasquin

pa. 566.

Marforia


The Gladiator at Montalto

pa. 567.


The Milliarium

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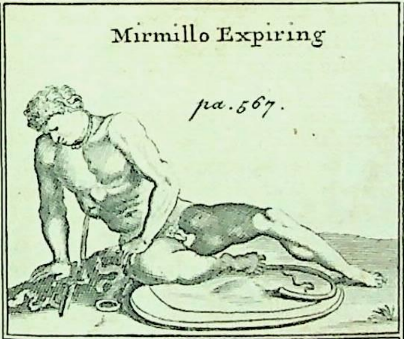
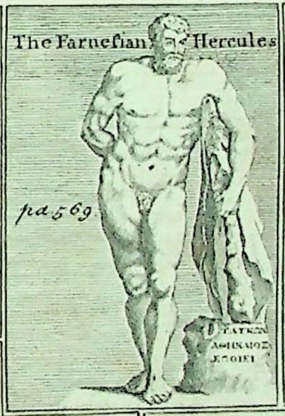
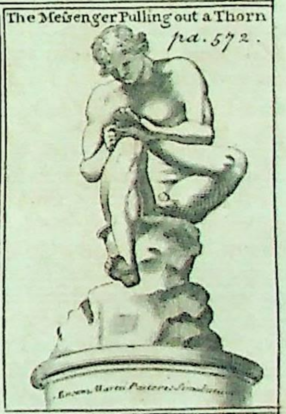

Mirmillo Expiring

pa. 567.

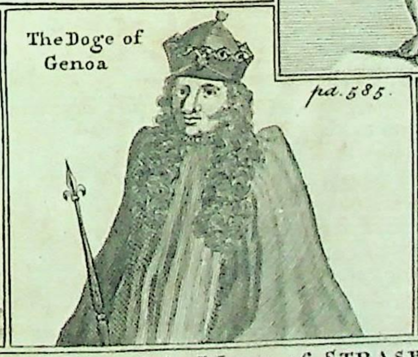

The Farnesian Hercules

pa. 569

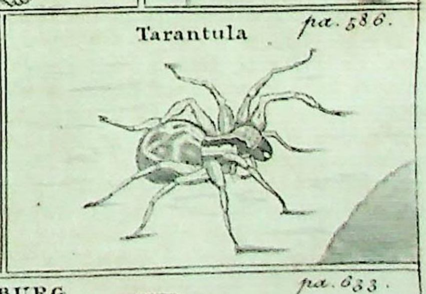
ΓΛΥΚΩΝ
ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ
ΕΠΟΙΕΙ


The Meſsenger Pulling out a Thorn

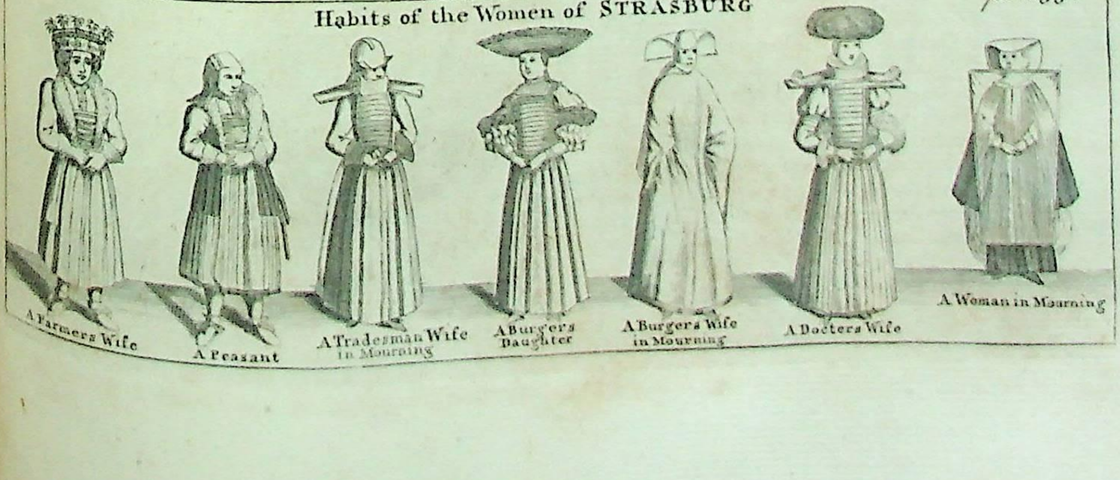
pa. 572.


The Doge of Genoa

pa. 585.


Tarantula

pa. 586.


Habits of the Women of STRASBURG

pa. 633.

A Farmers Wife
A Peasant
A Tradesman Wife in Mourning
A Burgers Daughter
A Burgers Wife in Mourning
A Docters Wife
A Woman in Mourning

Braſs, beautified with Foliages and Bees, the Arms of Pope *Urban* VIII. On each of theſe Columns ſtands a Braſs Angel ſeventeen Feet high, and on the Cornice you ſee Children playing and walking up and down: The whole Height amounts to ninety Feet. Under this Altar is a Pair of Stairs leading to the Chapel under Ground, where St. *Peter*'s Body is kept, and to ſome other ſacred ſubterraneous Places belonging to this Church. At the Entrance down theſe Stairs I ſaw a Bull engraven in Marble, forbidding any Woman to enter there, except on *Whitſun-Monday*, when Men are prohibited to enter, under Pain of being anathematized: The Place being very dark, we were told by the Sexton, that this Prohibition was occaſioned by an amorous Intrigue. An Indulgence of ſeven Years is granted for every Step of the Stairs leading to St. *Peter*'s Chapel, to all ſuch as deſcend them with Devotion.

The double Row of Pillars (286 in Number) which ſurround the Great Place before the Church, and lead to the ſame by a double Portico on each Side, is a ſurpriſing Piece to behold. The two magnificent Fountains in this Place are highly worth a curious Traveller's Obſervation, as well as the Obeliſk that ſtands in the Middle, of one entire Piece of *Granite* ſeventy-eight Feet high, with either the Pedeſtal or Croſs placed on the Top of it by *Sixtus* V. when he ſet up this ancient Monument here, which in 1586, weighed 956,148 Pounds without the Baſe. It is a general (but erroneous) Opinion, That the Globe of Braſs, which was there formerly, contained the Aſhes of *Auguſtus*; but *Dominicus Fontana*, the famous Architect, upon Examination, found it not fit for that Uſe, but to be only an Ornament to this Obeliſk, which was conſecrated to *Auguſtus* and *Tiberius*; as is apparent from the Inſcription, which remains ſtill undefaced:

Divo Cæſari, divi Julii F. Auguſto
Tiberio Cæſari D. Aug. *F. Auguſto ſacrum.*

The Palace of the *Vatican*, ſo called from the God *Vaticanus*, who gave his *Vaticinia* or Oracles here, is conveniently ſeated for the Pope near St. *Peter*'s Church, but by its too near Neighbourhood takes off Abundance of the Proſpect, as well as ſome other Edifices near it. This Palace is not one entire regular Structure, but a Compoſition of many beautiful Pieces, ſaid to contain 12,500 Chambers, Halls, and Cloſets, which may in ſome Meaſure be diſcovered in the Model which is ſhewed of it in Wood.

The *Belvedere*, belonging to the *Vatican*, received its Name from its delightful Proſpect: We were ſo ſurprized with the moſt excellent Pieces of *Raphael*, *Michael Angelo*, *Julius Romanus*, *Pinturiccio*, *Rolidorus*, *John d'Udina*, *Daniel Volterra*, and other great Maſters, and they found us ſo much Diverſion, that we neglected to take Notice of all the other Perfections of this beautiful Edifice. I have often, with a great deal of Delight, ſeen the moſt curious Perſons in *Rome* gaze with great Amazement upon the Hiſtory of *Attila*, (the Work of the incomparable *Raphael*, who was born 1483, and died when he was thirty-ſeven Years old) and admire its Beauty and Perfections, nay, even put their Wits on the Rack to find out Expreſſions ſuitable to the ſeveral Excellencies of this marvellous Piece; when after all, ſome nice Judges have, and not without very good Reaſon, found Fault with the Dreſs in which *Raphael* has thought fit to repreſent *Leo* I. and two Cardinals, being after the ſame Manner as they are worn by them now-a-days; whereas it is evident, from the Hiſtory of thoſe Times, that Pope *Conſtantine*, and the other Popes, (two hundred and fifty Years after *Leo* I.) wore plain Camblet Garments. Thus *Titian* hath painted *Roſaries* at the Girdles of the two Diſciples that met Chriſt in his Way to *Emmaus*; and another celebrated Painter, *Roſſo*, has repreſented Monks in their Habits as Gueſts at the *Virgins Weddings*. I remember that at *Soeſt*, a Town of *Weſtphalia*, there is a Picture of our Saviour's Laſt Supper painted in a Glaſs Window of a Church, wherein that Painter has put a *Gammon of Bacon* inſtead of the *Paſchal Lamb*. Nay, even *Michael Angelo*, in his moſt celebrated Piece of the Laſt Judgment, has introduced many indecent Poſtures, Angels without Wings, nay, even the Ferryman *Charon* with his Boat full of Souls.

In the Hall where the Pope gives Audience to Ambaſſadors, are three large Pictures repreſenting the Hiſtory of the Admiral *Coligni*; the firſt ſhews you the Admiral as he was caried to his Houſe, after his being wounded by the Ruffian *Morevel* (fifty thouſand Crowns were ſet upon his Head) at the Bottom whereof you read this Inſcription:

Gaſper Colignius Ammiralius, accepto vulnere domum
refertur. Greg. XIII. Pontif. Max. 1572. i. e.
The Admiral Gaſper Coligni *carried home wounded.*

The ſecond repreſents him murdered in his own Houſe, with his Son-in-law *Teligny* and others, with this Motto underneath.

Cædes Coligni & Sociorum ejus.
i. e. *The Slaughter of* Coligni *and his Adherents.*

In the third the News of this Murder is brought to the King, who ſhews a Satisfaction in his Countenance, with this Inſcription:

Rex Coligni necem probat:
i. e. *The King approves of the Slaughter of* Coligni.

Beſides theſe Trophies of ſo barbarous an Action, the ſame Pope cauſed Medals to be coined with this Inſcription, *Gregorius XIII. Pont. Max. an.* 1. and on the Reverſe an Angel with a Croſs in one Hand, and a Sword (with which he ſeems to thruſt) in the other, with this Inſcription, *Ugonottorum Strages* 1572, i. e. *The Slaughter of the Hugonots* 1572. I obtained one of theſe Medals, though they are become very rare of late Years.

Of the Gardens of *Belvedere*, and the Statues there, I will put you in Mind only of the invaluable Marble Statue (of one entire Stone) of *Laocoon*, the Work of *Ageſander*, *Polydorus*, and *Athenadorus*, three *Grecian* Sculptors; of the Trunk without Head, Arms, or Legs, with the Sculptor's Name engraven on the Pedeſtal,

ΑΠΟΛΛΟΝΙΟΣ ΝΗΣΤΟΡΟΣ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ· i. e.
Apollonius, *the Son of* Neſtor, *an* Athenian.

The *Vatican* Library owes much of its Contents to that of *Heidelbergh*, and of the Duke of *Urbino*; the Number of Books it contains is ſo variouſly reported, that I thought it beſt to determine nothing upon that Head. The Pictures repreſent for the moſt Part the *Sciences*, *Councils*, noted *Libraries*, *Inventors of Letters*, and ſome Pieces relating to the Life of *Sixtus* V. The old MS. of *Virgil* is in Quarto, but of greater Breadth than Length, in capital Letters, without Points, or any other Diſtinction of Words. The *Gothick Letters*, as well as the Miniature, ſhew it not to be written in the firſt Ages of Antiquity, as ſome would have it. Among the Manuſcripts of the latter Ages, I took Notice of ſome Letters written to and by Cardinals, wherein they give one another no other Title than Mr. *Peter* and Mr. *Julius*. They alſo ſhewed us a Volume in Quarto, of the Thickneſs of a Finger, containing Letters from King *Henry* VIII. to *Anne Bullen*. I alſo took particular Notice of the *German Bible* which you mentioned, and, as they ſay, tranſlated by *Luther*, and written with his own Hand; which might have ſome Probability of Truth, were it not that a certain extravagant Prayer, written apparently with the ſame Hand, at the End of it, did deſtroy it; the Words are thus in the Original:

O God, durch deine Gute
Beſchere uns Kleider and Hute,
Auch Mäntel and Röcke
Fette Kälber and Böcke,

Oxen, Schaſa and Binder,
Viele Weiber, wenig Kinder;
Slechte, Spaiſe and Trank
Machet cikem das Yahr lang.

i. e. *O God, thro' thy Mercy, grant us Clothes and Hats, Cloaks and Gowns, fat Calves and Goats, Oxen, Sheep and Bulls, many Wives, and few Children: Indifferent Meat and Drink makes the Year paſs away very ſlowly.*

In the Arſenal, they tell you, the Pope preſerves conſtantly Arms for forty thouſand Foot and twenty thouſand Horſe; but I am ſure there were not half enough for that Number, and thoſe very indifferent. I told you that the Pope may, with great Conveniency, deſcend from the *Vatican* to St. *Peter*'s Church; and on the other Side he may, with the ſame Eaſe, make a ſecret Retreat from thence into the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, through a Gallery built by *Alexander* VI. It was *Urban* VIII. fortified it with four Baſtions, unto which he gave the Names of the four Evangeliſts. In the Chapel you ſee a Picture repreſenting Pope *Gregory* I. proſtrated at the Feet of an Angel that appeared to him on the Top of the *Moles Adriani*, or *Adrian*'s *Mauſolæum*, and ſheathing his Sword, foretold the Pope the Deliverance of the City of *Rome* from a moſt violent Peſtilence; whence this Place received the Name of St. *Angelo*.

In the little Arſenal belonging to this Caſtle, we ſaw, beſides the Papal Triple Crown, an Armoury full of prohibited Arms, taken, for the moſt Part, from ſuch unfortunate Perſons as were executed on that Account. Among the reſt, they ſhewed us the Piſtols of *Ranuccio Farneſe*, Son and Heir of *Alexander Farneſe*, Duke of *Parma* and Governor of the *Netherlands*, who uſually carrying Piſtols about him, contrary to the expreſs Prohibition of *Sixtus* V. who being a rigorous Perſon, and of a Diſpoſition very forward to maintain his Authority, ordered *Ranuccio* to be ſeized in one of the Chambers of the Palace, as he was going to deſire Audience of his Holineſs, and to be carried Priſoner to the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*. Cardinal *Farneſe*, *Ranuccio*'s Uncle, left no Stone unturned to procure his Liberty, but in vain; for one Evening, about ten o'Clock, whilſt the Cardinal was ſoliciting his Releaſement with the Pope, he ſent his Orders to the Governor of the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, to have the Prince *Ranuccio* beheaded: This done, the Pope not queſtioning but that his Orders had been executed immediately, and willing to make a Shew of obliging the Cardinal, gave him a new Order about eleven o'Clock, enjoining the Governor of the Caſtle to ſet *Ranuccio* at Liberty. The Cardinal, who knew nothing of the firſt Order, made all the Haſte he could thither, but was highly ſurpriſed when he found his Nephew preparing himſelf for preſent Death in the Arms of a Confeſſor, the only Reaſon that had delayed his Execution; but the Cardinal, overjoyed to have nicked the Time ſo exactly, and producing his new Order to the Governor, had his Nephew put into his Hands, who, by his Uncle's Procurement, took Poſt immediately, and ſo eſcaped the Hands of his Executioners.

During our Stay here, there was a certain Priſoner of Note kept in the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, named *Borri*, a Gentleman of *Milan*, and a good Phyſician and Chymiſt, accuſed of Hereſy in receiving the Errors of the *Collyridians* in the fourth Age, who paid a Kind of Adoration to the *Virgin*, nay, ſome ſay that he made her a fourth Perſon in the Godhead: However, he has the Liberty of viſiting ſome of his Patients of the beſt Quality in the City, being ſuppoſed not to be in his right Wits at certain Times.

I am not well able to reſolve your Queſtion concerning Dr. *Molinos*, for though I have ſeen thoſe Propoſitions that are ſaid to be his, yet will I not preſume to give my Judgment of them, unleſs I could hear *Molinos* himſelf; however, as they are publiſhed, ſome of them are dangerous, others ambiguous, ſeveral of them indifferent, and many very reaſonable and orthodox. As to his Perſon he has a very bad Character, being reputed a Villain and lewd Fellow, who, by his pretended *Inſenſibility* and *Extaſy*, has deluded a great Number of Nuns, of which they tell you a thouſand Stories, which have procured him his ignominious Confinement to a Cell for his Life. I have however obſerved, that his moſt inveterate Enemies have a much better Opinion of his Followers, who have embraced *Quietiſm*, and other Opinions you have heard ſo often attributed to *Molinos*.

2. The Queen of *Sweden*, *Chriſtina Vaſa*, is a Princeſs about ſixty Years of Age, of a low Stature, and very fat; her Complexion, Voice, and Countenance are maſculine, with a great Noſe, large and blue Eyes, and yellow Eyebrows; her double Chin is ſtrewed with ſome few long Hairs, and her under Lip ſticks out a little; her Hair is of a light Cheſnut Colour, of a Hand-breadth long, powdered and curled up in Puffs, without any other Headdreſs; her Air is very pleaſing, and ſeldom without a Smile. As for her Habit, imagine a Man's *Juſtaucor* of black Sattin reaching to the Knees, and buttoned quite down; a very ſhort black Petticoat, which plainly diſcovers a Man's Shoe; a Knot of black Ribbon inſtead of a Neckcloth, and a Girdle above the *Juſtaucor*, which ſupports the Belly. The Queen having left us, we took a View of the Palace *Riari* her Reſidence, where we met with many ancient Pieces; the moſt exquiſite of them are, the *Auguſtus*, of the rareſt tranſparent oriental Alabaſter, but the Head and Feet are modern, and of Braſs gilt, ſixteen ancient Columns of *Giallo*, with two Pillars of tranſparent oriental Alabaſter ſeven Feet high; the *Venus*, whoſe mangled Legs are ſo admirably ſupplied by new Pieces, that the Joining is not to be perceived; the *Caſtor* and *Pollux* on each Side of their Mother *Leda*, all of one Piece of Marble; the Sons are bigger than the Mother: The Altar of *Bacchus*, of beautiful white Marble, is adorned with moſt exquiſite Sculptures in *Baſſo relievo*. Old *Silenus* going home drunk from the Feaſt of his Foſter-child, ſupported by two Men; the *Bacchantes* appearing in the Poſture of Mad-women. In another Place we ſaw a Goat flea'd alive, for cropping the Vines; and a Boar, which is waſhed, in order to be ſacrificed.

Among the Pictures, the Piece of *Correggio*, repreſenting the Intrigue of *Jupiter* with *Leda* in the Shape of a Swan, is exceeding fine; as are the *Virgin* with the Infant *Jeſus*; the little St. *John*, by *Raphael*; the *Danae*, by *Carrachio*; beſides ſeveral other rare Pieces of *Titian*, *Paul Veroneſe*, *Guido*, and other great Maſters. It would be much beyond the Compaſs of a moderate Treatiſe to enter upon a Deſcription of all the rare Medals to be ſeen in this Palace, I will therefore content myſelf with mentioning only the beſt: The *Otho*, of Braſs, an *Egyptian* Piece, with *Serapis* on the Reverſe of it; the *Pertinax*, a ſmall *Latin* Medal, on the Reverſe whereof you ſee that Emperor offering a Sacrifice; the *Antouinus Pius*, another *Latin* Medal, having on the Reverſe *Victory* and *Plenty* offering him Fruit; another little Medal of the ſame *Antonin*, called by Mr. *Bellori*, *l'Anno Nuovo*, or, *the New Year*, from the four Letters *A. N. F. F.* which he interprets *Annum Novum*, *Fauſtum*, *Felicem*; and a Medal of *Nero*, with *Hercules* on the Reverſe; the *Cicero*, of Onyx, the Head white on a brown Ground, a moſt curious Piece. But we will paſs from hence to ſome other Curioſities: In St. *Sabina*'s Church, on Mount *Aventine*, we ſaw a great Stone, which, they tell you, the *Devil* of *Colen* hurled down from the Top of an high arched Roof, to knock out St. *Dominick*'s Brains, after he had been diſappointed in his Deſign of beating down the Chapel of the Three Kings.

The Crucifix in St. *Paul*'s Church, which ſpoke to St. *Bridget*, was the Work of *P. Cavallini*; it was made in the Year 1360; beſides which, they have ſeveral other talking Images at *Rome*, as, the Crucifix of St. *Mary Tranſportin*'s, which ſpoke ſeveral Times to St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*; our Lady of St. *Coſmo* and *Damian*, (formerly the Temple of *Remus* and *Romulus*) which chid St. *Gregory* for paſſing by without ſaluting her: They ſhew you certain *Latin* Verſes (attributed by ſome to the Abbot *Joachim*, by others to *Beda*) containing the whole Dialogue betwixt the Image and the Saint: Another at St. *Mary's the Empreſs*, and one more in St. *Gregory's* on Mount *Cælio*, have now and then given ſome Proofs of their Faculty of ſpeaking, as divers others (if you will believe them) have not been ſparing with their Tears; as at St. *Mary's of Peace*, St. *Mary's in Valicella*, and another St. *Mary'i* call'd *del Pianto*, and that in the Church of the *Holy Ghoſt*, has ſhed whole Floods of Tears, as theſe credulous People believe. The Image of Chriſt at St. *Sylveſter's* in the *Campo Martio*, done by himſelf, as they ſay, and ſent by him to King *Abagarus*, is the rareſt Picture in *Rome*. *Euſebius* mentions the Letter paſs'd between Chriſt and *Abagarus*, but ſays nothing of the Image, the Story being of much later Date.

This City abounds alſo in Variety of Relicks; as, the Ark of the Covenant, *Moſes* and *Aaron's* Rods, and the Fountain of Chriſt preſerved at St. *John Lateran*; a Piece of the ſame Money *Judas* received, his Lanthorn is alſo ſhewn at St *Denis* in *France*, and the Croſs of the *Good Thief*, are ſhewn at the Church of the *Holy Croſs of Jeruſalem*, with the Tail of *Balaam's* Aſs and St. *Paul's* Thorn; St. *Roch's* Bowels are kept at St. *Marcell's*. The Beams of the Star that conducted the Wiſemen have been evaporated of late Years, as well as the Sound of the *Jeruſalem* Bells; but *Moſes's* Horns, it ſeems, are ſtill preſerved at *Genoa*. The Navel of Chriſt is preſerved at St. *Maria del Popolo*, concerning the Foundation of which they tell you the following Story: In the very ſame Place ſtood a large Walnut-tree, on the Branches of which uſed to perch a certain Troop of Devils, who guarded the Aſhes of *Nero* in an Urn near it: This being very injurious to the Neighbourhood, they prevailed with Pope *Paſchal* II. to rid them of this helliſh Company: After ſome Time ſpent in Faſting and Prayer, it was revealed to him, that he ſhould pull up the Tree by the Root, and build a Church; and this being done accordingly, he gave in the Name of St. *Mary of the People*.

In the Church of St. *Giacomo Scoſſa Cavalli*, or St. *James Shake-horſes*, they ſhew the Stone on the Altar of the Preſentation, on which Chriſt was circumciſed, with the Impreſſion made by one of his Heels upon the Marble; as alſo another Marble Table on St. *Anne's* Altar, on which *Abraham* intended to ſacrifice his Son: Theſe Relicks, they ſay, were ſent by the Empreſs *Helena*, to be kept in St. *Peter's* Church; but the Waggon was no ſooner come near St. *James's* Church, but the Horſes ſtopp'd; ſo that the Drivers not being able to make them go one Step farther, ſome Myſtery was ſuppoſed to be hidden in this unaccountable Accident; and it being conſider'd at laſt, that St. *Paul* call'd St. *James*, as well as St. *Peter*, the *Pillar of the Church*, they reſolved to leave them at St. *James's*, and to preſerve the Memory of the Miracle, gave that Saint the Name of *Scoſſa-Cavalli*, or *Shake-horſes*.

You may eaſily imagine, that my Curioſity might lead me to hear ſome of their Preachers, who, generally ſpeaking, expreſs themſelves more in fantaſtical Geſtures, wry Mouths, and odd-compoſed Faces, than in their Arguments, or a fine Diſpoſition of Words, ſerving more for Diverſion than Inſtruction. I muſt farther tell you, that each Order has its peculiar Way of preaching; the *Jeſuits* declaim very well, without thoſe Geſtures and Motions the reſt are guilty of, but their Stile is extravagant. The *Capuchins* thunder out nothing but Hell and Deſtruction, and make a hideous Noiſe; whence it is that a certain *Italian* Author ſays pleaſantly, That when a *Capuchin* preaches, the Dogs run out of the Church. In ſhort, their Diſcourſe has neither Strength nor Gravity, a confuſed Noiſe and Heat, without Senſe or Reaſon. I remember I heard once a *Carmelite* preaching before the *Penitent Whores of the Holy Croſs*, concerning *Mary Magdalen*, who ſpent at leaſt a Quarter of an Hour in repreſenting all her Features to the greateſt Nicety, not like a Preacher, but like a Painter.

The Queſtion you put to me, Whether there are more Courteſans at *Rome* or *Venice*, I am not able to anſwer; for though I ſee not ſo many here as at *Venice*, I have it from credible Perſons, that their Number is almoſt infinite. *Sixtus* V. endeavour'd to root out this Evil; but after he had done all he could with Baniſhments and otherwiſe, was forced to recal them again, as *Sixtus* IV. did before, to prevent, as they ſay, greater Diſorders. Upon this Occaſion I cannot but remember an ancient Picture of a Wedding at the *Aldobrandin* Palace. This is a Piece of Frize, brought hither with the ſame Part of the Wall on which it is painted, being highly valuable both for its Antiquity and Workmanſhip. I need not tell you, that the Marriage Ceremonies were very different among the *Romans*, the Bride being ſeated ſometimes upon a Sheep's Fleece, ſometimes on a Figure of the God *Priapus*, ſometimes in another Poſture. In this Picture ſhe is ſeated on the Bed-ſide, her Head hanging down with an Air of Coyneſs, whilſt a Matron ſitting by her puts her in Mind, with a ſmiling Countenance, of her Duty. The Bridegroom, in an odd Dreſs, with an Ivy Garland on his Head, is ſeated near the Bed, waiting, with an eager Impatience expreſs'd in his Looks, for the Compliance of his whining Spouſe, whilſt divers Maids are buſy in preparing Baths and ſweet-ſcented Ointments, and a ſhe-Muſician plays upon the Harp, whilſt another ſeems to ſing ſome *Hymenia! O Hymenæe*, ſome *Epithalamium*, or laſcivious Song, to diſpel the Charms. This Picture on the *Frize*, and another on the *Pyramid* of *Ceſtius*, are the only Remnants of the true ancient Painting in *Rome*. This Pyramid is ſquare, ending in a ſharp Point; it is of Brick, but cover'd with white Marble; it was repair'd 1673, and reſtored to its former Beauty by *Alexander* VII. and, as appears by the Inſcription, was erected to the Memory of *C. Ceſtius*, one of the Seven Magiſtrates appointed to take Care of Religious Feaſts.

You enter the *Mauſoleum* through a narrow Opening in the Middle of the thick Wall, and thence into a vaulted Room nineteen Feet long, thirteen broad, and fourteen Feet high, plaiſter'd over with a certain white poliſh'd Mortar, on which are ſeen ſeveral Pictures of Women, Veſſels, and other Ornaments.

To enter into a particular Deſcription of ſo difficult a Subject being beyond my Scope, I will content myſelf to tell you, that I found the Antiquaries here of different Opinions in reference to theſe Figures, ſome pretending that they repreſent the Preparatives for a Funeral Show, others a Banquet, as a Memorial of the Office of the Deceaſed. One of the Figures holds a Veſſel, into which ſome others pour luſtral Water, and others Wine. Another Figure you ſee with large Pipes, deſigned, as ſome ſay, for Mirth, and according to ſome, for Mourning, both Parties pretending to back their Opinions by this Diſtich in *Ovid's Faſti*.

Cantabat Fanis, cantabat Tibia Ludis
Cantabat mæſtis, Tibia funeribus.

There is one Thing, *viz.* the different Colours of the Figures, which ſeem to intimate, that theſe Habits were not intended for Funeral Ceremonies; and as, according to the Inſcription of a Pedeſtal dug up near this Pyramid, this *Ceſtius* died in the Beginning of *Auguſtus's* Reign, ſo it is beyond Diſpute, that the Women were cloath'd in White at the Funerals in his Reign, the Faſhion of Mourning in Black being aboliſh'd in the Beginning of *Cæſar's* Dictatorſhip. Perhaps theſe Pictures were deſigned only for an Ornament to the Tomb, without the leaſt Reſpect either to Feaſts or Funerals, as the Sepulchre of the *Naſo's* has many ſuch hiſtorical Ornaments, the bare Product of the Painter's Fancy. The like is to be ſeen in ſeveral other Tombs, and eſpecially Urns. The greateſt Curioſity in theſe Pictures is the Durableneſs, eſpecially of their Colours, which were only mix'd with Water, and do not even penetrate the Plaiſter; beſides that, Painting in Oil is an Invention of the latter Ages, by *John de Bruge*, about 1450.

This Pyramid is about two hundred Paces diſtant from the Hill call'd *Diliolo* or *Monte Teſtacco*, i. e. *the Hill of Potſheards*, which ſome would have derive its Name from the broken Pieces thrown there by the Potters,

ters, that were obliged to live near the *Tyber*, to prevent its Inundation on that Side, by caſting together the Pieces of the broken *Idols*, *Bathing-tubs*, *Statues*, *Tiles*, and other Sorts of earthen *Veſſels*, which amounting to a vaſt Quantity in ſo great a City, produced this Hillock.

But as probable as this Opinion appears at firſt View, I have upon ſtrict Examination of the Matter, obſerv'd Things which induce me to believe otherwiſe; for having ſeen, at ſeveral Times and at ſeveral Places, the People dig Caves under this Hill to keep their Wine in, I could never obſerve them bring out any Fragments of *Images*, *Tiles*, &c. but only the Remnants of *Urns*; whence I conjecture, that whilſt the Cuſtom of burning the Dead continued, a prodigious Quantity of earthen *Urns* were made for the common People, and as of Neceſſity many of them muſt be broken, the Reverence they had to thoſe *Veſſels*, that had contain'd the Aſhes of the dead Bodies, had induced them to aſſign a certain Place for theſe Fragments to be laid up in a Heap, juſt as we, out of Reſpect to the Dead, preſerve their Bones.

Your Curioſity concerning the famous *Paſquin* and his Antagoniſt *Marforio*, I will ſatisfy as well as I can: This *Paſquin* was a Taylor, a jovial ſmart Fellow, at whoſe Houſe the Newſmongers uſed to meet; his *Lampoons* were called *Paſquinades*, and theſe, as well as all the other *Libels* of the Town, were affix'd to a Statue which ſtood near his Gate: It is a mangled Statue, thought by ſome to be a *Roman* Soldier; it ſtands leaning againſt a Houſe at the Corner of a Place where ſeveral Streets meet. Pope *Alexander* VI. being adviſed to throw this *Paſquin* into the *Tyber*, he anſwer'd, *I ſhould be afraid it would turn into a Frog, and trouble me Day and Night with its Croaking.* *Marforio* is likewiſe a maim'd Statue, ſaid by ſome to be made for *Jupiter*, others for the *Rhine*, or for *Nera*, which runs by *Terni*: It ſtands in one of the Courts of the Capitol; and *Marforio* commonly aſks the Queſtions which are reſolved by *Paſquin*.

You will perhaps expect me to relate Wonders of *Tivoli* and *Freſcati*, and it is not to be denied but that they are *pleaſant*, or (if you will have it ſo) *fine Places*; but if Things are beſt diſtinguiſhed by Way of Compariſon, (as for Inſtance, betwixt *Freſcati* and *Verſailles*, or even ſome other that are not Royal Seats) I dare boldly affirm, that both *Tivoli* and *Freſcati*, and all the other celebrated Places about *Rome*, in reſpect to their *Gardens* and *Water-works*, are only *Toys*. *Freſcati* is a ſmall Town ſeated on the Brow of a Hill, twelve Miles from *Rome*; it has ſeveral beautiful Country Seats, the three principal of which are, *Monte Dracone*, belonging to Prince *Borgheſe*; *Belvedere*, to the Prince *Pamphilio*; and the *Villa Ludoviſia*, to the Dutcheſs of *Guadagnola*, the Conſtable *Colonna*'s Siſter; all which are in Compariſon to *Verſailles* the ſame as *Freſcati* is to *Rome*. *Monte Dracone* is a very large Structure, ſeated on an Aſcent, from which you may ſee *Rome* and the interjacent Plain; but as the City lies at too great a Diſtance, and the Plain is not embelliſh'd with that Variety of Things which render a Landſkip agreeable, ſo the Proſpect of *Paris* from St. *Clou* is infinitely more delightful: On the Side of *Monte Porcio* there is much greater Variety in the Proſpect, but more ſtraitned. The Avenues to the Houſe are but indifferent, and very difficult, and the Gardens and Fountains much out of Order. The Situation of *Belvedere* is near the ſame with *Monte Dracone*; it has a pretty Caſcade and a Grotto, where you ſee *Apollo* with the *Nine Muſes* on *Parnaſſus*. The chief Ornament of the *Villa Ludoviſia* is the *Caſcade*; but the Furniture of all theſe Houſes were but very indifferent.

Tivoli is ſuch another ſmall Town, about eighteen Miles from *Rome*: Here is a Country Seat belonging to the Duke of *Modena*, commonly in the Poſſeſſion of the Cardinals of that Family; it is very ſpacious, but wants both convenient Apartments and good Furniture; the beſt Thing belonging to it are three Rooms painted in *Freſco* by *Raphael*, and ſome ancient Statues: The Gardens, though but ſmall, yet are adorn'd with moſt delightful Terraſs Walks and curious Water-works, far beyond thoſe of *Freſcati*, and perhaps all other Works of this Nature in *Italy*; but at preſent, what with the Stoppage of the Canals, and the Defect of the Pipes, every Thing is ſo much out of Order in this Houſe, that you ſee only the Remains of its Beauty. This Sight, as well as of moſt other celebrated Country Seats, puts me in Mind, after the ſurprizing Things I had heard concerning the *Italian* Water-works, that if formerly they did ſurpaſs thoſe of *France*, the Face of Affairs is much altered now; and allowing even what they ſay of the Palace *d'Eſte*, that the Water-works coſt no leſs than three Millions, it is nevertheleſs beyond all Diſpute, that the Water-works and other Beauties of *Verſailles* abundantly exceed all thoſe at *Tivoli*. The Caſcade or Cataract of the River *Treverona* (which produces white ſmooth Flints call'd the *Hailſhot of Tivoli*) in this ſmall Town is very pleaſant, being not very high. Near it you ſee the Ruins of an ancient Structure, reputed by ſome to have been the *Sybils Houſe*, by others a Temple of *Hercules*: In the Court ſtand two ancient Statues of a reddiſh Granite ſpeckled with Black, repreſenting (according to Mr. *Spon*'s Opinion) the Goddeſs *Iſis*, which he ſuppoſes to have been brought by *Adrian* out of *Ægypt*, to adorn his Country Seat.

The Hill near this Place has many Ages ago, and ſtill affords moſt of the Stones uſed in *Rome*, called commonly *Travertin* by Corruption, inſtead of *Tiburtin*: The Front of St. *Peter*'s Church is built of the ſame, as well as the *Colliſſeum*, which is quite cover'd with it: The Stone is very excellent, but yellowiſh and porous, and not ſo ſerviceable as your *Portland* Quarry, and thoſe of *Paris* and *Caen*. *Alexander Taſſoni*, in his *Various Thoughts*, ſays, That ſome Workmen having cleft a great Piece of one of the Stones of *Tivoli*, found in the Middle of it, in an empty Space, a *Crayfiſh* weighing four Pounds, which they boil'd and eat. *Alexander ab Alexandro* aſſures us, that he found a wrought Diamond in the Heart of a great Piece of Marble, and at another Time a conſiderable Quantity of ſweet-ſcented Oil in another Piece of Marble. *Baptiſta Fulgoſus* ſpeaks of a Worm found in the Middle of a Flint. The before-mentioned *Taſſoni* relates, (to ſhew the Spirit of the Man) that a Cat ſuckled a Rat at *Tivoli*.

About three Miles from *Tivoli* we ſaw a ſmall Lake called *Lago de Bagni*, or *Solſatara*, called by the Vulgar the *Sixteen Barges*, from the ſame Number of ſmall floating Iſles that are upon it: It is no more than a large round Pond, of about two hundred Paces Diameter, the Water whereof is very tranſparent, and of a blueiſh Colour; it gives Riſe to a ſmall Rivulet which, after a ſhort but rapid Courſe, joins its Waters with the *Anieno*; they ſay the Waters of the *Anieno* whiten the Teeth. The Lake as well as the Brook emit a very ſtrong ſulphureous Scent. The late Cardinal *d'Eſte* in vain attempted to ſound the Depth of this Lake, though two *Divers* were prevailed upon to enter into it, one of whom never return'd, and the other related, that coming at a certain Depth, he found the Water ſo hot, that he was not able to endure it, though on the Surface it is very cold: The Sound cauſed by the treading of the Horſes thereabouts, makes it apparent, that there is a Hollowneſs underneath the Ground near the Banks of this Lake. It is not unlikely that the Circumference of this Lake is only the Mouth of a much larger Abyſs extending a great Way under-ground on all Sides, and that the Diver, who was never ſeen again, happened to be carried into the ſubterraneous Gulph, and could not find out again the Entrance of the Lake, for he never appeared afterwards upon the Surface of the Water. Near the Bank of this Lake are ſeen ſome Ruins, ſuppoſed by many to be the *Baths* of *Agrippa*: The largeſt of the floating Iſlands is of an oval Figure, not above fifteen Feet long: As the leaſt Touch puts them in Motion, ſo they are eaſily carried by the Wind which Way ſoever it blows. Two of our Company got upon the leaſt of theſe Iſlands, and puſh'd it from the Bank only with the Points of their Swords.

The *Villa Borgheſe* is in my Opinion one of the moſt pleaſant and the beſt kept of any about *Rome*; it is all cover'd covered on one Side with moſt curious ancient Pillars of *Baſſo relievo*, ſo naturally diſpoſed, as if they had been made for thoſe Places where you ſee them. All the Apartments are filled with admirable Statues and Pictures, among the firſt, the *Gladiator* made by *Agaſias* Son of *Doſitheus* the *Epheſian*, as the *Greek* Inſcription on the Baſe expreſſes it, a Copy whereof in Braſs ſtood at the End of the Canal in St. *James*'s Park in *London*, (ſince removed to *Hampton Court*) is an excellent Piece, as well as the *Juno* of *Porphyry*; *Romulus*'s Wolf of the fineſt *Egyptian* Marble; the Buſts of *Hannibal*, *Seneca*, and *Pertinax*; the *Hermaphrodite*; the old *Silenus*, with *Bacchus* in his Arms; the *David* throwing a Stone out of his Sling at *Goliah*, *Æneas* carrying his Father, and the Transfiguration of *Daphne*, three modern Pieces of *Bernini*, yet deſerve to be ranked among the beſt of the former Ages. Among the Pictures, which are numberleſs here, the St. *Anthony* by *Caracchio*, and the *dead Chriſt* by *Raphael*, are preferred before all the reſt. In ſhort, the *Villa Borgheſe* is a moſt delicious Seat, and if it wants ſomething of that Royal Magnificence which gives a Luſtre to ſome Palaces, its ſweet and natural Beauties ſeem to make an ample Amends for it: Beſides that, for Statues and Sculptures the Seat of a *Roman* Gentleman may challenge the Precedency before all the other Palaces in the World. In the Garden, the Gardener ſhewed us a double white *Hyacinth*, the Root of which, he told us, coſt five hundred Crowns the Year before; a Thing not much ſurpriſing to me, when I had known the Fondneſs (to ſpeak no worſe) of ſome People to proceed to that Extravagancy in Flowers, as to give four or five hundred Piſtoles for a Tulip-root in *Flanders*.

The *Villa Ludoviſa*, though much out of Order otherwiſe from the Poverty of the Prince of *Piombino* its Maſter, yet is very remarkable for a vaſt Number of Statues, and thoſe for the moſt Part very ancient and valuable. The *Fauſtina* embracing a Gladiator, her Lover; the two Gladiators, one a dying *Mirmillo*, and the other repoſing himſelf after the Engagement. The Statues of *Bacchus*, *Mercury*, and *Concord*, are all moſt curious Pieces: The choiceſt Pictures and richeſt Furniture are removed from hence to other Places, the only Thing of Value remaining there, being the Bedſtead, which, they ſay, coſt twenty thouſand Piſtoles, but was much out of Order. In the ſame Chamber they ſhewed us ſome Bones, which, they would make us believe, were the Skeleton of a petrified Man; but, upon a ſtrict Search, I found theſe Bones not petrified, but covered only with a ſtony Cruſt; not that I believe it impoſſible for Bones to be liable to Petrifaction as well as other Things, having in my Travels had the Opportunity of ſeeing great Variety of petrified Fruits, Flowers, Trees, Woods, Plants, Fiſhes, broad Pieces of Fleſh, and Animals of all Sorts: *Paræus* ſpeaks of a whole Child petrified in the Mother's Womb; and *Kircher* relates the ſame of the Town of *Biedoblo* in *Afric*, that it was petrified in one Night, with Men, Beaſts, Trees, and every Thing that was in it.

The *Villa Chigi* is famous for its curious little Waterſpouts, and the Cabinet of Curioſities, in which the *Adrian* of oriental Jaſper excels the reſt, and is really invaluable. The curious Walks of the *Villa Montalto* or *Savelli*, are not inferior to any of *Rome* for valuable Statues and Pictures; among the firſt, the *Germanicus*, the *Peſcennius Niger*, the *Scipio*, the Goddeſs *Nænia*, the *Adonis*, and the *Gladiator*, are moſt excellent Pieces of Antiquity; and among the Pictures, the *dead Chriſt* by *Raphael*, the St. *Francis* by *Caracchio*, the *Virgin* and the *Bacchus* by *Guido*, and the St. *John* by *Pomarancio*. I obſerved here an unuſual Figure of *Abraham*'s Sacrifice, by *l'Eſpagnolet*, who, inſtead of a Cymetar, or ſhort two-handed Sword, as *Abraham* is commonly painted with, has, more agreeable to Truth, given him him a plain ſacrificing Knife, to cut his Son's Throat.

The Gardens of the *Villa Pamphilia* would, for their Exactneſs and orderly Diſpoſition, challenge the Preference before many others, were they kept in better Repair, the Houſe being adorned on the Outſide with excellent *Baſſo relievo*, like that of the *Villa Borgheſe*, and is as well furniſhed within, but that the beſt Statues are much diſordered by an odd Accident; for the Prince *Pamphilio* being very young, and much bigotted to the Jeſuits, theſe holy Fathers, under a Pretext of Devotion, prevailed upon him ſo far, as to have all his Marble Statues, Men, Women, and Children, quite laid over with Plaiſter-work in divers Parts of their Bodies, except a little *Bacchus*, who had the good Fortune to eſcape their ill-placed Zeal; and a poor *Venus*, the Maſterpiece of *Caracchio*, her Beauties hid by Smutt from Head to Foot. After ſome Time, however, the Prince being got out of the Hands of theſe pretended Zealots, ordered the naſty Clay or Plaiſter to be taken off again, which was done accordingly; but he found, to his no ſmall Regret, that the clumſy Plaiſterers had mangled ſeveral Parts of the Statues to make their Clay ſtick the better.

The *Vigne Madame*, a Country-ſeat belonging to the Duke of *Parma*, is neither ſpacious nor magnificent, but very regular and pleaſantly ſeated, being the Deſign of *Julius Romanus*: On one Side it has a moſt delightful Proſpect of *Rome*, with many Gardens and adjacent Seats; and on the other, a moſt beautiful Landſkip of little well-cultivated Hills. Over againſt it you ſee the *Tyber* flow through the pleaſant Meadows and Fields, and at a Diſtance the ſnowy Tops of the *Apennines* riſing up among the Clouds; behind it is a Wood of tall Trees, divided into cool and ſhady Walks; the Gardens riſe by Degrees into Terraſs Walks, and are well adorned with Statues and Fountains. Having ſufficiently tired your Patience with the Deſcription of Statues and Pictures, I will ſay nothing of the Houſes of *Medicis*, *Matthæi*, *Lanti*, *Cæſarini*, *Juſtiniani*, and many others.

3. I will at preſent begin with anſwering your Queſtions concerning the *Tyber*. As on one Hand it owes its chief Reputation to that famous City that was built upon its Banks, ſo on the other Hand, it has been repreſented by ſome with too much Contempt, its Breadth being by a general Computation at *Rome* about three hundred Feet, as may be ſeen by the Bridges of St. *Angelo* and of *Sixtus*; the firſt is three hundred and thirty, and the laſt three hundred Feet long; beſides that, it has a rapid Current, and a conſiderable Depth. What ſome Antiquaries would maintain, that it was unlawful to erect Houſes upon the Banks of the *Tyber*, may be ſufficiently refuted out of *Claudian* and other Authors. *Suetonius* ſays, that *Auguſtus* ordered it to be cleaned, and enlarged its Channel, to render the Paſſage eaſier to the Current; whoſe Example has been followed by ſeveral other Princes, to prevent its Inundations, but without any remarkable Succeſs; for the South-Eaſt Wind off the *Mediterranean* (here called the *Sea Wind*) ſometimes blows with ſuch Violence, that it ſtops the Waters of the *Tyber* at its Outlet, which if it happens at a Time when (either by continual Rains, or the Melting of the Snow in the *Apennines*) the Torrents of the leſſer Rivers that join with the *Tyber* are ſwoln, this Concatenation of Accidents produces thoſe Inundations, which are looked upon as the Scourge of *Rome*, as the ſulphureous Eruptions of Mount *Veſuvius* are the Scourge of *Naples*; and of theſe, one of the moſt fatal happened under *Clement* VIII. in *December* 1698.

The Waters of the *Tyber* appear always muddy and yellowiſh, but if they are ſet by for a Night to ſettle, they will become clear and limpid, and are then accounted very good; notwithſtanding which, the *Romans* have been anciently, and ſtill are, at a vaſt Charge to convey other Waters to *Rome*, through the Mountains, by the Means of coſtly Aqueducts. The *Aqua Felice* coſt Pope *Sixtus* V. near four hundred thouſand Crowns to bring them twenty Miles to *Rome*; and as the Waters of the Fountain of *Monterio* were carried at a greater Diſtance by Pope *Paul* the Fifth, 1612; ſo it is probable they coſt a great deal more Money in the Materials neceſſary for their Carriage.

On the High Altar of the Church of the *Franciſcans* at *Monterio*, is to be ſeen that moſt excellent Piece of the *Transfiguration*, which is the laſt Work and Maſterpiece of *Raphael Urbin* the greateſt Painter of his Time.

Not far from thence ſtands the Chapel, built in the ſame Place, as they believe, where St. *Peter* was crucified; for which Reaſon they ſhew a deep Hole in the Chapel, where they affirm the Croſs was fixed. The Picture of this Crucifixion, with the Head downwards, is to be ſeen at St. *Paul's at the three Fountains*, by the Hand of *Guido*; where they alſo ſhew you the Pillar, on which, they ſay, St. *Paul* was beheaded. In the Cloyſter of St. *John de Lateran* they ſhew the Column on which St. *Peter*'s Cock crew; and another, which, they tell you, was cleft aſunder from the Top to the Bottom, on the Day of Chriſt's Paſſion: Here you ſee alſo the Meaſure of Chriſt's Height, and the Stone on which *Pilate*'s Soldiers caſt Lots for Chriſt's Garments; it is of Porphyry, four Feet long, and three broad; the Dice they pretend to be kept at *Umbriatico* in *Calabria*. I will not trouble you with many other Curioſities pretended to be preſerved here, but cannot forbear to mention the Chair I ſaw there, being a kind of armed Chair of one ſingle Piece of Porphyry, about which you deſire to be informed, as being that which was formerly made uſe of in the Ceremony inſtituted to prevent all Doubts concerning the Pope's Sex.

I will not be too curious to enquire into the Reaſon and End of that Search, but ſince you have given me ſufficient Occaſion to make the beſt Reflections I can upon the Subject of the *She-Pope*, I muſt frankly confeſs, that I have not hitherto met with the leaſt Solidity, either in your Objections, or any made by others, againſt the Truth of this Hiſtory; though I am not ignorant that ſome Proteſtant as well as Roman Catholick Doctors of the laſt Ages, have rejected the ſame as a Fable. For, what Reaſon can be given to rank this among many other extraordinary Events recorded in Hiſtory, when ſeventy or eighty Authors (*Blondel* ſays ſeventy-one *Greek* and *Latin*, ſome too canonized Writers) all Men of Senſe, not prompted either by Intereſt or Honour, have related the ſame at divers Times; nay, when the Intereſt of Religion, and Fear of Puniſhment, might, in all Likelihood, rather have deterred them from publiſhing the ſame? It is a very ſlender Objection to alledge the Difficulty of the Thing, the ſame not being ſufficient to diſprove a Matter founded upon ſo unqueſtionable Authority, eſpecially if we give ſome Allowance for the Diverſity of Times, it being certain that People living then in an Age of Ignorance and Stupidity, they might be ſooner impoſed upon than in this crafty Age; beſides, that Things which ſeemed to be involved in inſurmountable Difficulties, have nevertheleſs been brought about by Time and Chance; witneſs *Joan* of *Arc*, known by the Name of the *Maid of Orleans*, born in the Village of *Damremy*, in the Year 1429, who at the Age of eighteen or twenty, from a poor Shepherdeſs, became at once a great General: Beſides, the Difficulties objected by our Adverſaries are of ſuch a Nature, as cannot render this Hiſtory fabulous, all the Circumſtances attending the ſame, being, if not altogether probable, are at leaſt within the Compaſs of Poſſibility.

The beardleſs Chin objected to *her Holineſs* is of little Validity, when we conſider that the Papal Chair has at other Times been filled with beardleſs Youths, witneſs *Benedict* IX. and *John* XII the firſt of whom was choſe at ten or eleven, and the laſt at eighteen Years of Age. Perhaps this *She-Pope* might be of the Number of thoſe *Viragoes*, who have not only a maſculine Mien and Beard, but alſo the Courage and other Qualifications of great Men; and why might not ſuch a one, in Diſguiſe, have as fair a Pretenſion to the Papal Chair as a begging Vagabond, ſuch as *Adrian* IV. or a Swineherd, like *Sixtus* V. and others who might be mentioned? But, ſay they, how could a Woman hide her great Belly ſo long, and at laſt expoſe herſelf to the Danger of being delivered in a ſolemn Proceſſion? As to the firſt Part of your Objection, What Difficulty is there for a Woman that is taken for a Man to hide her great Belly, any more than for a Man that has a ſwelled Belly to be imagined to be with Child? And to as the pretended Imprudence of our *She-Pope*, it is to be conſidered, that certain Things in this World are involved in ſuch Difficulties as muſt be overcome at any Rate, maugre all the Danger that attends them; beſides that, it is no hard Matter to ſuppoſe that ſhe might be delivered before her Time.

You alledge the different Calculations of the Time, but the Reaſon is obvious, thoſe who have expunged the *Popeſs*'s Name out of the Catalogue of Popes, being forced to extend the Reigns of the preceding Popes, to fill up the Breach they made themſelves. The next Objection concerning her Voyage to *Athens*, when ſhe was but a young Scholar, is founded upon a frivolous Suppoſition, which I may ſoon anſwer, by telling you, that perhaps ſhe was old enough to be admitted among the Auditors of the *Athenian* Philoſophers; beſides that, it is not all the Authors who mention her, ſpeak of her going to *Athens*: And though from theſe various Relations of my Authors you may ſeem to hope for an Advantage on your Side, I muſt tell you, that even in *ſacred Hiſtory* there are not wanting Inſtances of Variations in Circumſtances of this Nature, and that theſe Variations, provided they do not amount to Contradictions, do not in the leaſt weaken, but rather ſtrengthen the Credit of ſuch a Relation; for had there been a Combination ſet on Foot on Purpoſe to uſher a fabulous Story, as that of Pope *Joan* is pretended to be, they would have certainly agreed in all the Circumſtances relating to the Story.

The ſtrongeſt Argument (in your Opinion) againſt us, is the Silence of thoſe Authors who were Contemporaries of Pope *Joan*; but you will find this as weak as the reſt, if you conſider that *Marianaus Scotus*, who died at *Fulda* in *Germany*, 1086; *Sigebert* a learned Monk, who died in the Beginning of the twelfth Century, and divers other more ancient Authors, did in all Probability take it from thoſe Authors that had mentioned the ſame before them, there being not the leaſt Likelihood that they invented it, for the Reaſons before-mentioned: Beſides, let me tell you, your Argument is built upon a wrong Bottom; for the Editions of *Anaſtaſius* (ſurnamed the *Bibliothecary*, who was a *Roman* Abbot, a Perſon of Learning, and Contemporary of Pope *Joan*) which have eſcaped Caſtration, give a very circumſtantial Account of the whole Matter. But ſuppoſe they did not, what Wonder is it, if Fear and Shame did impoſe Silence to the Writers of that Age, when the Invention of Printing was unknown as yet in the World, which could not be kept ſecret afterwards? As we ſee that the worſt of Princes have been flattered during the Age they lived in, whom afterwards Poſterity, not cowed by Fear, hath painted in their true Colours. I cannot ſee why the Church of *Rome* ſhould make ſuch a Stir to hide this Diſgrace, when *Baronius* beſtows the Title of *Monſters* upon ſeveral other Popes, and not without Reaſon, conſidering the Enormities the Popes have been guilty of, in diſtributing Scepters, and treading crowned Heads under their Feet, notwithſtanding they retained the Quality of Prieſts; and what is worſe than all the reſt, to ſet a certain Rate of Abſolution upon the moſt abominable Crimes that can be committed, as appears from the Book entituled, *The Rates of the Apoſtolical Chamber*, which I bought ſome Days ago. It is true, they have ſince endeavoured to ſuppreſs the Book, by inſerting it in the *Index Expurgatorius* of the Council of *Trent*, but continue nevertheleſs in ſelling their Diſpenſations.

—— *Venalia nobis,*
Templa, Sacerdotes, Altaria, Sacra, Coronæ
Ignis, Thura, Præces, Cœlum eſt venale, Deuſque.
B. Mant.
i. e.
Prieſts, Temples, Altars, all with us are ſold,
Fire, Inceuſe, Pray'rs, Heaven, God *himſelf for Gold.*

I will appeal to all unbiaſſed Perſons, when once Poſterity ſhall read the Hiſtory of the Perſecution of *France*, as repreſented by *Maimbourg*, *Varillas*, the Biſhop of *Meaux*, and others of the ſame Stamp, I ſay, when they ſhall read the ſame in theſe Authors, whether they would not be apt to imagine that theſe poor Wretches were uſed with all imaginable Moderation, if it were not manifeſt from irrefragable Authority, that theſe unfortunate Creatures ſuffer'd all the Cruelties that could be invented by their implacable Enemies. Before I take my Leave of Pope *Joan*, I cannot forbear mentioning what *Mezeray* ſays (in the Life of *Charles the Bald)* upon this Subject, *viz.* That *this Opinion was generally received as an undoubted Truth for five hundred Years together.* If you are curious to know the Reaſon why the Uſe of this Chair is laid aſide now-a-days, the following Epigram of *Pannonius* will ſatisfy your Curioſity.

Non poterat quiſquam reſerantes Æthera Claves
Non exploratis, ſumere Teſticulis:
Cur igitur noſtro mos hic nunc tempore ceſſat?
Ante probat quod ſe quilibet eſſe marem.
The Senſe is this:
The ſacred Keys none could of old obtain
Unleſs by Search *his Manhood was made plain*;
Why does not to our Days this Rule extend?
More certain Signs *they give ere they pretend.*

Paſquin, in his Verſes on *Paul* II. and *Innocent* VIII. gives you the ſame Reaſon;

Pontificis Pauli *Teſtes ne* Roma *requiras,*
Filia quam genuit, ſat docet eſſe marem.
In *Engliſh*:
That PAUL'*s a Man* Rome *need no Proof require',*
Except the Maid *that calls the Pontiff* Sire.

Octo Nocens *pueros genuit, totidemque puellas,*
Hunc merito poteris dicere Romæ *patrem.*
That is,
Eight Boys, eight Girls, begot; *He well may claim,*
Tho' not a holy, *yet a* Father's *Name.*

The Church of St. *John Lateran* is celebrated for its ſpacious Magnificence, and the Title ſhe bears of *The Head and Mother of all Churches*, according to the Inſcription engraven on the Portico:

Dogmate Papali, datur ſimul Imperiali
Ut ſim cunctarum mater Eccleſiarum.

Sixtus V. built a large Palace near this Church, but it was never inhabited. Next adjoining to this Structure is the *Sancta Scala*, ſo called from the twenty-eight Steps of white Marble, pretended to be the ſame by which Chriſt aſcended into *Pilate*'s Houſe, which no body is permitted to aſcend but kneeling, though there are two little Stairs, on each Side one, by which every one is permitted to walk up into the Chapel called *Sancta Sanctorum*, or the *Holy of Holies*, except Women, who are forbid to enter there. It has this Name from an Image of Chriſt, which, they ſay, was made by Angels: I ſaw it, and can aſſure you it is very ill-ſhapen, and very unworthy of the pretended Workmen.

From hence we paſſed by St. *Mary major*, a ſumptuous Fabrick. A certain devout *Roman* Lord being warn'd in a Dream to go to Mount *Eſquilin*, and there to build a Church to the Honour of the *Mother of God*, in the Place where he ſhould find Snow; and Pope *Liberius* having at the ſame Time ſuch another Viſion, they walk'd thither the next Morning; and notwithſtanding it was then in *Auguſt*, *Anno* 355, they found Snow, which they removed with their own Hands, and laid the Foundation of a Church in that Place. The Chapel of *Sixtus* V. the Work of *Dominick Fontana*, which coſt ſeven hundred thouſand *Roman* Crowns, and of *Paul* V. are very magnificent Structures; in the laſt of which they ſhew you the Manger of *Bethlehem*, and the Picture of the Virgin done by St. *Luke*. Near it ſtands the little Church of St. *Anthony*, where all the Horſes of the City receive Benediction every Year on that Saint's Feſtival. Soon after we took a Turn to *Caſtel Gondolfo*, ſixteen Miles from *Rome*, a Palace belonging to the Pope, but has little remarkable in it. About a Mile from this Caſtle we ſaw the little Town of *Albano*, where in former Ages ſtood the famous City of *Alba*, which, they ſay, extended from the Lake of *Caſtel Gondolfo* to this Town of *Albano*; but this is a Matter of Fact, queſtion'd by ſome.

We were ſhewn at *Albano* the Ruins of a *Mauſoleum* not unlike an old Tower, called commonly the Tomb of *Aſcanius*, but with the ſame Uncertainty. There is another very ancient Tomb near *Albano*, ſuppoſed to be the Sepulchre of the two *Horatii*, and the three *Curiatii*, occaſion'd, queſtionleſs, by the five Pyramids ſtanding on this Tomb; but *Livy* expreſly contradicts this Opinion, *viz.* that their Sepulchres were erected in the ſame Places where each of them expired, *viz.* thoſe of the *Horatii* near *Alba*, and thoſe of the *Curiatii* not far from *Rome*. They told us that the Lake of *Caſtel Gondolfo* was ſix or ſeven Miles in Circumference, encloſed on all Sides with riſing Grounds in the Form of an Amphitheatre. In two Places the Depth of this Lake cannot be ſounded, and ſometimes the Waters of this Lake ſwell on a ſudden to the very Brink of theſe high Banks, occaſion'd, without doubt, by ſome ſubterraneous watery Receptacles which diſcharge themſelves into it. Near *Genſana*, about half a Mile from this Lake, is another little one, called by the Moderns the *Lake of Nemi*, but by the Ancients *Speculum Dianæ*, from a Grove and Temple conſecrated to that Goddeſs, which formerly were very near the Banks of this Lake.

Between *Albano* and *Caſtel Gondolfo* are to be ſeen the Ruins of an ancient Amphitheatre; and we were not a little ſurpriz'd to ſee ſeveral large Trees, that had taken Root without, to have forc'd their Paſſage thro', and cleft aſunder the beſt cemented Stone and Brick. The Country about *Albano* and *Genſana* is very fertile, affording the beſt Wines and Fruits, and the Inhabitants ſtill hold their moſt ancient Cuſtom of cultivating *Leeks* and *Onions*;

Mittit præcipuos nemoralis Aricia porros. Mart.

Before I leave the *Roman* Palaces, I muſt tellyou alſo ſomething of thoſe within the City, which I will do with all the Brevity that is poſſible.

At the Palace *Juſtiniani* there is a Catalogue of Antiquities of 1867 Pieces, and of 638 curious Pictures, the moſt excellent of which are, the *Nero*'s Head, the *Minerva*, *Venus* coming out of a Bath, and the three little *Cupids* ſleeping and leaning one upon another. Cardinal *Chigi*'s Palace is ſcarce inferior to any in *Rome*, the Gates are over-cruſted with an old green Marble: The Statues of the two *Venus*'s, of *Marſias* flea'd, and of the dying Gladiator, are admirable Pieces. The *Farneſian* Palace was begun by *Antonio de S. Gallo*, but brought to Perfection by the famous *Michael Angelo*; the Front being in Breadth one hundred and eighty Feet, and ninety Feet high. The Gates, Corner-pieces, Croſs-bars of the Windows, Cornice, and in ſhort, all the principal Stones of this beautiful Structure, were the Spoils taken from the great *Colliſeum*, which admirable Monument of Antiquity has furniſh'd Materials alſo not only to the Palace of the *Chancery* and St. *Lawrence*'s Church, but alſo to ſome Part of the City Walls. Thus *Innocent* VIII. deſtroyed the *Gordian* Arch to build a Church; and *Alexander* VI. that moſt beautiful Pyramid of *Scipio*, to pave the Streets with the Stones.

The Marble Steps to the Church of *Ara Cœli* belong'd formerly to the Temple of *Romulus*: St. *Blaiſe*'s Church owes its Ornaments to the Spoils of the Temple of *Neptune*, as St. *Nicholas of the Souls* was built out of the Ruins of the *Circus Agonalis*; and had it not been for *Sixtus* V. we might now look in vain for any of the precious Remnants of Antiquityin *Rome*.

The *Hercules* and *Bull* in the *Farneſian* Palace are celebrated throughout the World; and the Gallery by *Caracchio*, the Hall by *Salviati*, and the *Venus* and *Adonis* by *Titian*, are alſo excellent Pieces. The Library in the Palace of *Altieri* contains a good Number of the beſt Books. The whole Stair-caſe, and eſpecially the Statue of a Captive King at the Foot of it, (found five hundred Years ago in the Place called

Navona) is very fine. It has very ſpacious Apartments well filled with curious Pictures and rich Furniture. I ſaw here a *Looking-Glaſs* of *Rock-Cryſtal*, ten Inches long and ſix broad, in a Frame of Gold ſet with precious Stones of a conſiderable Value. They alſo ſhew'd us a little Earthen Diſh carefully kept in a rich Frame, as being ſuppoſed to be the Work of *Raphael*, and is of the ſame Kind with the Veſſels of *Loretto*; but diſcourſing upon this Subject with the noted *Carlo Moratti*, he aſſured me, that *Raphael* never drew a Stroke on any of theſe Diſhes, but that, by the Reſemblance of the Way of working, ſome of his Scholars painted the ſame, in Imitation of his Deſigns.

The Palace *Barberini*, called the *Paleſtrina*, containing four thouſand Chambers, is the largeſt in *Rome* next to the *Vatican*, and has abundance of Antiquities; the little *Diana* of Oriental Alabaſter, is of great Repute; the *Tullia*, Daughter of *Servius Tullius*, and Wife to *Tarquin the Proud*, is very rare, and ſaid to be the only one of that Kind in *Rome*: Here I alſo ſaw the God *Oſiris*, with his Hawk's Head on a human Body, which was found with the Obeliſk of *Minerva*, under the Ruins of the Temple of *Iſis*; and a Marble Buſt of Pope *Urban* VIII. made by a blind Man, and yet the beſt that is extant of that Pope. The other Palace of *Barberini*, towards the four Fountains, is fill'd up with Rarities, Antiquities, and Curioſities of all Sorts: They told us, that the Library contains four thouſand Volumes. In the Halls of the Palace *Colonna* you ſee the Pictures of two Popes, *Adrian* I. and *Martin* V. two of the beſt that ever ſate in the Chair, nineteen Cardinals, and fifty-four Generals, all deſcended from the Houſe of *Colonna*. In this Palace are nine very ſpacious Apartments, eight thouſand original Pictures, a little Arſenal, Buſts, antique *Baſſo relievo*, Statues, and rich Furniture, in conſiderable Quantities.

As for their Way of Building in general, I told you before, that they cover their Houſes with ridged Roofs, found out by our famous *Manſard*, and much preferable to flat Roofs; and upon this Occaſion I muſt intreat you to lay aſide that partial Opinion you ſeem to have conceiv'd of the entire Perfection of the *Roman Architecture*, which, as well as in other Places, varies according to the Difference of the Age and peculiar Mode of the Country, and is not always ſuited to the Regularity and Magnificence of juſt Architecture. The *Obeliſks* in *Rome* are quadrangular, ending in a ſharp Point, their Angles reſpecting the four Corners of the World, and denoting the four Elements, as the whole reſembled the Rays of the Sun, the chief Divinity adored by the *Egyptians* under the Name of *Oſiris*. The *Hieroglyphick Characters* on theſe *Obeliſks*, ſuppoſed by ſome to have been the Elogies or Hiſtories of great Actions, erected by the *Egyptians* in Honour of the Heroes of their Nation, have ſince been clearly demonſtrated to contain the Secrets of their *Divinity*, *Aſtrology*, *Metaphyſicks*, *Magick*, and ſuch other Sciences as were in Vogue among the *Egyptians*: All theſe *Obeliſks*, (not one of them being made at *Rome*) are of *Granite*, a Kind of very hard Marble, which, they ſay, will reſiſt the Fire for a conſiderable Time, and without Queſtion induced the ancient *Egyptians* to make Choice of it for ſuch laſting Monuments. The *Obeliſk* of St. *John Lateran* has ſtood three thouſand Years, and that of St. *Peter* nine hundred Years longer: The firſt, which is the biggeſt of the two, is an hundred and eight Feet high, without including the Pedeſtal or the Croſs. There are alſo ſome *Granites* of *Corſica* in this Place, but their Grain is much coarſer than thoſe of *Egypt*.

4. Since you deſired me to give you my Obſervations upon what Mr. *Chevreau* hath alledged, in his Hiſtory of the World, concerning Pope *Joan*, I will write you my Sentiments upon this Head. That Gentleman acknowledges, That *a conſiderable Number of famous Authors have mentioned that Story, and poſitively aſſerted the Truth thereof*: And what Reaſon, I pray, can he alledge, why ſo many unbiaſs'd Witneſſes of unqueſtionable Credit, who unanimouſly atteſt that Matter, ſhould not be credited? He ſays, *The more judicious and cautious Part of Mankind, relying on the Silence of ſeveral other Authors, have examined and rejected the ſame.* It is certainly a very weak Way of arguing, to ſay, That a Thing atteſted by the unanimous Voice of ſeventy or eighty Men, all of the *Roman Catholick* Religion, moſt of them Clergymen, and ſome canoniz'd Saints, all which is confeſs'd by the *Romaniſts*, ſhould be invalidated by the Silence of ſome other Authors. But, ſays Mr. *Chevreau*, Anaſtaſius *the Bibliothecary makes no Mention of the She-Pope* Joan: But this Author, as well as *Onuphrius*, who alledges the ſame Argument, is miſtaken. If you will be pleaſed to conſult Mr. *le Sueur*'s *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*, and *Colomeſius*'s *Hiſtorical Miſcellanies*, you will hear there of an *Anaſtaſius* in the *French* King's Library, containing a circumſtantial Account of this female Pope; beſides two other Copies of the ſame Author, ſeen by the great *Salmaſius* at *Augsbourg*, and another at *Milan*, which give an Account of the ſame Pope *Joan*. Theſe before-mentioned Books tell you further, that the Jeſuits of *Mentz* having only ſuffer'd two Copies to be wrought off conformable to the Original, (which they do not deny themſelves to be true) ſuppreſs'd what diſpleaſed them in the reſt of the Edition. Upon this Occaſion, I cannot but put you in Mind to weigh ſtrictly the Authority of the Teſtimony of *Anaſtaſius*, (he wrote the Lives of the Popes to *Nicholas* I. the Succeſſor of *Benedict* III.) who being a Man of ſingular Learning, lived at *Rome*, and was Contemporary with this female Pope.

I cannot forbear, in the next Place, to give you my Thoughts upon the Reflections made by Mr. *Chevreau* on *Martinus Polonus*, or the *Pole*, Archbiſhop of *Cozenza*, and Penitentiary to *Innocent* IV. and (according to the Opinion of ſome) to *Nicholas* III. whom he calls a ſilly Monk; and, I pray, for what Reaſon? *Since*, ſays he, *in his Treatiſe of the Wonders of* Rome, *he miſtakes the Gate of* Oſtia *or of St.* Paul, *and of* Capenna *and St.* Sebaſtian, *for another which he calls* Collina, *inſtead* (*as we may probably ſuppoſe*) *of* Collatina *or* Pinciana, *the* Pantheon *for a Temple of* Cybele, *and the* Amphitheatre *for a Temple of the* Sun, *we may the eaſier forgive his Blunder in Hiſtory when he miſtakes a* Pope *for a* Popeſs. If this Argument holds, *That ſuppoſing* M. Polonus *had miſtaken one Gate for another, therefore he muſt take a* Pope *for a* Popeſs, I might with the ſame Reaſon retort it upon *Chevreau* himſelf, that *ſince his Reflections on* M. Polonus *are groundleſs, therefore he miſtakes a* Popeſs *for a* Pope. That his Reflections are groundleſs, appears, (1.) That Mr. *Chevreau* himſelf knew not that there was ſuch a Gate at *Rome* as the *Collina*, when he ſays, *that* Polonus *took the Gate of* Oſtia, *and the Gate* Capena, *for another which he call'd* Collina, *inſtead of* Collatina, *or* Pinciana; it being certain that *Collina* was the Name of a Gate as well as *Collatina*, and had its Name *à Colle Quirinali*, mention'd by *Ovid*:

> *Templa frequentari Collinæ proxima portæ*
> *Nunc decet*, ——————— Faſt. 4.

being now call'd *Solacro*. (2.) The Gate *Collatina*, ſo called from the Town of *Collatium*, is different from the *Pinciana*, as *F. Nardin* hath ſufficiently demonſtrated. (3.) Mr. *Chevreau* has as little Reaſon to find Fault with *Polonus* for calling the *Pantheon* the Temple of *Cybele*, the ſame being founded upon the Opinion of ſeveral learned Antiquaries, who believe it to have been conſecrated by *Agrippa* to *Jupiter* the *Avenger*, and to *Cybele* the Mother of all the Gods, who was ſometimes worſhipped under the Names of *Ops*, *Rhea*, *Veſta*, *Berecynthia*, *Dindymene*; ſometimes under the Names of *Tellus*, *Magna Pale*, *Magna Mater*, and frequently ſtiled *Natura Rerum Parens*. (4.) Mr. *Chevreau* ſpeaks ſo ambiguouſly concerning the *Roman Amphitheatre*, that his Meaning is not eaſily to be underſtood; for ſince there were ſeveral *Amphitheatres*, the Ruins of ſome of which are ſtill remaining, I ſuppoſe he means the great *Amphitheatre* called *Colliſeum*, built by *Veſpaſian*, and dedicated by *Titus*. (5.) It is certainly too great an Abſurdity to believe, that *Polonus* could miſtake this *Colliſeum* for the Temple of the *Sun*; which makes me imagine,

imagine that ſome of his Expreſſions muſt not be well underſtood, and that inſtead of ſaying the *Colliſeum* as a Temple of the *Sun*, he might ſpeak of the Temple near the *Amphitheatre*.

You tell me you have ſeen a Manuſcript of *Polonus*, where this Story is written in the Margin by another Hand; and what can be inferred from thence, except, that the Author having been mutilated by ſome body or other, a more equitable Perſon ſupplied the Defect, *Bellarmine* himſelf making not the leaſt Scruple to confeſs, that *M. Polonus* wrote the Hiſtory of the *Popeſs?* For the reſt Mr. *Chevreau* being not a little puzzled to give the World a probable Account of the firſt Riſe of this Story, is forced to have Recourſe to *Onuphrius*, (though he conceals his Name) who pretends, that Pope *John* was nick-nam'd *Joan*, from a favourite Concubine he had of that Name; though neither of them can produce any other Authority for this Aſſertion than their own, or make it appear that Pope *John* had ſuch a Concubine: It is true, they cite *Luitprand* in their Behalf, but erroneouſly, the Widow's Name he ſpeaks of being *Anne*, and not *Joan*. And Mr. *Chevreau*, it ſeems, was ignorant that Mr. *du Pleſſis Mornay* had already made a Diſcovery of this Forgery of *Onuphrius*, and that this Pope *John* filled the Chair a hundred Years after Pope *Joan*.

What he affirms of the *Chair not being bored*, I can contradict as an ocular Witneſs, having ſeen it more than once; and it is bored after the Manner of Cloſe-ſtools. There are two of them, (both of Porphyry) one broken and the other entire, both made after the ſame Manner. *Platina* affirms poſitively, after *Chalcondylas* an *Athenian*, who flouriſhed about the Middle of the fifteenth Century, and other approved Authors, that the new elected Pope was placed in the bored Chair, and that the youngeſt Deacon uſed to thruſt his Hand through the Hole to feel whether he had the true Marks of Virility. This was, queſtionleſs, the primitive Uſe of this Chair; and though this Cuſtom was laid aſide by Degrees, they continued however for ſome Time to ſet the Popes on the ſame Chair, to put them in Mind, as Mr. *Chevreau* affirms after *Fauchet*, that they were ſtill ſubject to the common Infirmities of human Nature.

What Mr. *Chevreau* tells us concerning the Deputies of the Council of *Soiſſons*, ſent to Pope *Leo* IV. who was deceaſed before their Arrival, is of little Conſequence, ſince he mentions a Council of *Soiſſons* without any peculiar Diſtinction, and without the leaſt Proof, which ought to have been founded upon Manuſcripts of *uncontroverted Antiquity* and *Credit*, to extricate himſelf and his Adherents out of the Labyrinth in which they have entangled themſelves, by confounding the Succeſſion of the Popes that preceded and followed the Popeſs *Joan*; whence it is, that whereas *Platina*, *Garenza*, and other unbiaſſed Hiſtorians, compute twenty-four Popes that bore the Name of *John*, (the reſt count but twenty-three) and thus introduce an irreparable Confuſion in Hiſtory. But it is Time to have done with Mr. *Chevreau*; I will only add, that it ought not to ſeem ſtrange to you, that our Popeſs is ſometimes called *Anglicus*, ſometimes *Moguntinus*; the Author of the *Faſciculus Temporum* (*Werner Wolninck* a *Weſtphalian*) has unfolded the Riddle in theſe Words, *Joannes Anglicus cognomine, ſed natione Moguntinus*: Her Name was *Joan Engliſh*, but was born at *Mayence*. Neither muſt the Variations obſerved in Manuſcripts diſturb you, who are not ignorant of a thouſand Inſtances of what Forgeries have been introduced by Tranſcribers, any more than the doubtful Expreſſions you meet with in ſome Authors that relate this Hiſtory, it being to be conſidered, that as the Force of Truth prompted them to ſpeak, ſo Fear, on the other Hand, was a ſufficient Bridle to reſtrain them from ſpeaking too freely of the Matter: But as, notwithſtanding all this, ſome Authors have broken through all theſe Obſtacles, and given us a poſitive and circumſtantial Account of the whole Matter, all the *negative Authorities* in the World cannot be ſufficient to counterbalance the *Credit of ſo many authentick Witneſſes*, and of a Relation ſo generally and ſolidly atteſted. To bring up the Rear of your Arguments, you have called to your Aid ſome of the *Proteſtant Doctors*, who deny the Story of Pope *Joan*, and among the reſt the famous *David Blondel*, a Man of Learning and Wit: But, to deal frankly with you, as the Author's Name is the ſtrongeſt Argument in his Book; ſo it is an unaccountable Piece of Prejudice to build blindly upon the Opinion of any Man not divinely inſpired, let his Name be ever ſo great in the World for Learning and Knowledge.

For my Part, I cannot reconcile his Argument when he confeſſes that *the Hiſtory of the Female Pope is contained in the* Augſburgh *Copies of* Anaſtaſius, but in Oppoſition to theſe pretends to cite (and that without quoting any entire Paſſage) a certain private Copy of *Anaſtaſius*, to be met with (which we muſt take upon his Credit) at *Paris*, the Certainty whereof he ſeems to queſtion himſelf, when he tells us, that *it has often been miſtaken for* Platina; ſo that in the main this Book may, without much Difficulty, be refuted by itſelf, the reſt being a confuſed Medley of Chronological Cavils, and an Heap of needleſs Quotations, ſerving more for Oſtentation and to confound than demonſtrate the Matter he has taken in Hand, to ſtand either one Way or other. To conclude the whole, and to tell you my Thoughts with all imaginable Freedom, I have a great deal of Reaſon to believe, that it was rather Intereſt and Oſtentation than the Love of Truth that engaged our Author in this Deſign; for I was aſſured by a Perſon of Honour at *Paris*, who knew the Author very well, that he had it from the firſt Hand, that he was hired to write a Treatiſe againſt the *Hiſtory* of Pope *Joan*. And as my Author is a Perſon of unqueſtionable Reputation, ſo the only Thing that can be ſaid upon this Head is, that Mr. *Blondel* is not the firſt Man that has been overcome by the Force of Gold.

All that I am able to anſwer to your Queſtions concerning the *Armenians* and *Greeks* is, That as they have each their peculiar Ceremonies, ſo they officiate according to their own Rites; but before they can ſettle at *Rome*, are obliged to acknowledge the Pope's Supremacy. Some Antiquaries ſay, the little *Armenian* Church was formerly one of the Temples of the *Sun* and *Jupiter*. Before the Pontificate of *Paul* IV. the *Jews* lived pretty eaſy in any Part of *Rome*, but this Pope confined them to a certain Quarter of the City, whither they were to retire at Sun-ſet, forced them to ſell their Poſſeſſions, and allowed them to deal only in old Cloaths, and for Diſtinction Sake to wear yellow Hats. *Gregory* XIII. obliged a certain Number of them to hear a *Chriſtian* Sermon every *Saturday* in the Afternoon; but I had no Opportunity to ſee this Aſſembly. The *Italian Jews*, and eſpecially thoſe of *Rome*, religiouſly obſerve that Cuſtom of marrying before the twentieth Year of Age: Their Number may amount in *Rome* to about ſix or ſeven thouſand; but they are generally poor and deſpiſed.

If any *Jew* or other *Infidel* has a Mind to be baptized, the Ceremony is generally put off to *Saturday* in the *Holy Week*, and is then performed in the Church of St *John Lateran*, becauſe they believe *Conſtantine the Great* was baptized here. We ſaw ſix *Turks* baptized; they wore white Damaſk Cloaks, and a large Band, with a Silver Croſs hanging at their Necks; the Cardinal that was to officiate, attended by the Canons of the Church, began the Ceremony with bleſſing the Water; then the new Converts being preſented by their reſpective God-fathers, advanced one after another, and having declared their Willingneſs to receive Baptiſm, they leaned over the Font, and the Cardinal baptized them by pouring Water upon their Heads with a large Silver Spoon; and having given each his Name, they were, with Wax Tapers in their Hands, conducted to the Chapel of the Baptiſtery, to be confirmed, and from thence went to hear Maſs in the ſame Church.

The *Thurſday* before we were preſent at the Ceremony of waſhing the Feet of thirteen Pilgrims, in one of the Chapels of the *Vatican*: They appeared all in white, with a Kind of Hood and ſquare Cap, ſeated in a Row upon a Bench. After they had pulled off their

Shoes and Stockings, a great Baſon was brought, and Ewers of Vermilion, one for each Pilgrim; then the Cardinal that officiated inſtead of the Pope, putting their Feet in the Baſon, waſhed and rubbed them with his own Hands, and at laſt wiped and kiſſed them: Soon after, each of them being regaled with two golden Medals, they went all together to an Apartment of the Palace, to partake of a magnificent Entertainment prepared for them; they were placed in one Row at a Table, the Cardinal dining at the ſame Time at another in the ſame Room.

The Pope [*Innocent* XI.] though really old and infirm, yet often makes the Want of Health ſerve for a Pretence to excuſe his Abſence at thoſe numerous Ceremonies uſed at *Rome.* I had it from very credible Perſons, that he did not approve of the *French* Way of converting People by *Dragooning*, and ſhewed a great deal of Averſion to thoſe who pretended to propoſe certain Methods of Accommodation to him with the Crown of *France.* His Retirement is the Occaſion he is ſeldom ſeen by Strangers; nay, it is a Rarity to meet any of his Coaches, Footmen, or others belonging to his Retinue. If he happens to ſtir Abroad, it is in a large Litter lined with Crimſon Velvet, without and within adorned with Gold Galoons and Fringes, the Harneſſes of the Mules covered with the ſame Stuff. He ſits always alone in his Litter, with a little Table before him. All the Popes have the ſame Livery, *viz.* Scarlet, with a double Velvet Galoon of the ſame Colour; even the Apartments of the *Vatican* and *Monte Cavallo* are hung with Red Damaſk intermixed with Edges of Gold Galoons, and adorned above with Gold Fringes.

The Situation of the Gardens of *Monte Cavallo* is very delightful, but their Contrivance is not very regular, nor are they well kept. The two Marble Horſes before this Palace are generally reputed to be made by *Phidias* and *Praxiteles*, whoſe Names are engraven upon them.

Opus Phidias, Opus Praxiteles.

Some will have them to be the Statues of *Bucephalus*, the Horſe of *Alexander*, which theſe Artiſts made in Emulation of each other; but there is a Miſtake in this Tradition, conſidering that *Phidias* flouriſhed a whole Age before *Prexiteles*, and *Alexander the Great* reigned fifty Years after *Praxiteles.* The two Marble Horſes in the Court of the Capitol, were brought thither from the Theatre of *Pompey*, and the *Equeſtris Statua* of Braſs, placed here by *Paul* III. is ſuppoſed to be the Statue of *Marcus Aurelius.* The Capitol is a modern Structure, built not only upon the Ruins, but even upon Part of the Foundations of the ancient Fabrick, the old Foundations ſtill appearing.

The Antiquities here being ſo many, that a Deſcription of them would require an entire Volume, I will only mention ſome of the principal: The *She-Wolf* giving Suck to the two Brothers, on which is to be ſeen the Mark of the Thunderbolt mentioned by *Cicero*, (*Orat.* 3. *contr. Cat.*) four great *Baſſo relievos* repreſenting divers Paſſages of the Hiſtory of *M. Aurelius*; the *Columna roſtrata* of *Duilius*, the firſt that was honoured with a naval Triumph at *Rome*; the Meſſenger pulling out a Thorn in the Senate-houſe; the Buſt of *Cicero* with his Vetches; the four ancient Meaſures, one for Oil, two for Wine, and the fourth for Grain; the Buſt of *Virgil*; *Nero*'s Nurſe holding him by the Hand; the Goddeſs of *Silence*; the God *Pan*; the three Furies; a Statue of *Cæſar* in Armour; another of *Auguſtus*; thoſe of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*; the Fragments of the *Coloſſes* of *Apollo*, *Domitian*, and *Commodus*; the Lion devouring a Horſe; and the Trophies of *Trajan*, but believed by others to have belonged to *Marius.* The Pictures in *Freſco* in the great Hall are of Cavalier *Joſeph*'s Hand; in my Opinion they repreſent the Battle of the *Romans* with the *Sabines.*

I am ſomewhat doubtful what Account to give you of the Pillar called the *Milliarium*; it is of white Marble eight Feet and a half high, with a Cypher [I] marked on the Top, and on the Chapiter a Braſs Globe of two Feet Diameter: It is the general Opinion, that this Pillar ſtands in the Center of *Rome*, from whence they uſed to compute the Diſtances from that City, divided into Miles by other Pillars erected on all the great Roads of *Italy*; but there are ſeveral Arguments which contradict this Opinion, for the Column in the *Forum Romanum* was, according to *Suetonius*, *Tacitus*, and other ancient *Roman* Authors, either of Braſs or Braſs gilt, with the Names of the great Roads and Diſtances of the chief Cities engraven upon it, nothing like which appears on the *Milliarium* in the Capitol. If you object, that perhaps the brazen *Milliarium* being loſt, this was ſet up inſtead of it; the Inſcription engraven on one of the Faces of the Pedeſtal will tell you, that it was found near the *Appian* Highway.

S. P. Q. R. *Columnam Milliariam primi ab Urbe lapidis indicem ab Imperatore Veſpaſiano & Nerva reſtitutam de ruinis Suburbanis Viæ Appiæ in Capitolium tranſtulit.*

And it ſeems not likely that this Column was from the Center of the City tranſpoſed to a Mile's Diſtance from the Walls; then which Way can you give a true Explication of theſe Expreſſions, *primus*, or *ſecundus*, *ab Urbe lapidis*, if theſe Stones or Pillars were not without the City, the Words *ab Urbe* ſhewing plainly that they were not within? And ſince this *Milliarium* was found in one of the Suburbs near the Highway, I cannot but perſuade myſelf that it then ſtood in its proper Place, and that the Number of thoſe firſt Columns was equal to that of the great Roads. Whether we ſuppoſe the gilt *Milliarium* to be the only firſt Pillar, and the ſecond Columns to have been placed at the Diſtance of one Mile from it; or that the gilt Column in the Center of the City was the Head-mark from whence all the Diſtances were computed, and that the next Columns were called the firſt *Milliariums*, and marked with an Inſcription like that you ſee in the Capitol; it is evident from either of theſe Suppoſitions, that conſidering the Extent of *Rome*, none of theſe firſt or ſecond Columns but muſt be within the City; and that conſequently this Expreſſion, *primo ab Urbe lapide*, could not take Place, but inſtead thereof, the *primus lapis* muſt have been *in Urbe*, and not *ab Urbe.*

There is a very ancient Inſcription in the Palace called *Palæſtrinum*, which contains the Statues of a College of *Æſculapius* and of *Health*, unto which *Salvia Marcellina* bequeathed a Temple, a Place or Court, and a Walk, the whole ſituate on the *Appian Way*, near the Temple of *Mars*, *Intra milliarium primum & ſecundum ab Urbe euntibus*, i. e. *Between the firſt and ſecond Mile as you go from the City*; which Words, joined to the Opinion of the beſt Antiquaries, that there was a Temple of *Mars* without the City, and on the *Via Appia*, are a ſufficient Inducement to convince me, that the gilt *Milliarium* was erected as a publick Mark to know where all the great Roads begun, and to compute the Diſtance of great Cities; but that all the firſt Columns were each one Mile diſtant from the Walls of *Rome.* The two following Inſcriptions are engraven on the Body of the *Milliarium* in the Capitol:

IMP. CÆSAR VESPASIANUS PONTIF. MAXIM.
TRIB. POTESTAT. XVII. IMP. XVII. P. P.
CENSOR. COS. VII. DESIGN. VIII.

IMP. NERVA CÆSAR AUGUSTUS PONTIFEX MAXIMUS TRIBUNITIA POTESTATE
COS. III. PATER PATRIÆ REFECIT.

Adjoining to the right Wing of the Capitol is the Church known by the Name of *Ara Cœli*: They tell you, that *Auguſtus* having for a conſiderable Time, but in vain, ſolicited the Oracle of *Delphos* to know his Succeſſor in the Empire, the Oracle at laſt declared, that his Mouth was ſtopt by the *Hebrew* Child, who was the Son of God, and God himſelf; and that *Auguſtus* finding this to agree with the *Sibyllin* Prophecies, ordered an Altar to be built in the Capitol to the Honour of the *Hebrew* Child, unto which he gave the Name of the *Ara primogeniti Dei*, *The Altar of the Firſt-born of God.* The before-mentioned Church being built in the ſame Place where *Auguſtus*'s Altar ſtill remains near the Choir, had thence the Name of *Ara Cœli.*

Near unto this Place is a Chapel called St. *Pietro in Carcere*, built in the ſame Place where St. *Peter* and St. *Paul* were kept in Priſon, after their Condemnation, and, according to the Opinion of the beſt Antiquaries, is the *Tullianum* finiſh'd by *Servius Tullius*, or *Tullius Hoſtilius*, and uſed as a Priſon for condemned Malefactors only. Here they ſhew you a Spring (they tell you that the Water has a milky Taſte) which, they ſay, guſhed out of the Rock at the Prayer of St. *Peter*, in order to baptize certain Proſelytes; as alſo an Impreſſion in the Wall, made (as they ſay) by that Apoſtle's Face, the Stone yielding as he was thruſt with his Head againſt it by a Soldier.

Among the Multitude of ancient Ruins behind the Capitol, is the famous *Tarpeia*, (ſo called from one *Tarpeia* a *Roman* Lady) that once ſo dreadful Precipice, which is now not above twenty Feet high. The Triumphal Arch erected to *Titus* after his Conqueſt of *Jeruſalem*, the *Baſſo relievo* repreſenting the Candleſtick, Table, Trumpets of the Jubilee, and ſome Veſſels taken out of the Temple, is highly worth a Traveller's Obſervation. The Arch of *Conſtantine* is very near entire, except that you ſee ſome Statues thereon without Heads, ſuppoſed to be carried privately by *Lawrence de Medicis* to *Florence*; and as the niceſt Judges have obſerved a conſiderable Difference in the Beauty of the *Baſſo relievo*, it is ſuſpected that ſome of the beſt Pieces were taken off when it was erected. The Lake of *Curtius* was in the Middle of the *Forum Romanum*, but was already loſt in *Ovid*'s Time:

> *Curtius ille Lacus, ſiccas qui ſuſtinet aras*
> *Nunc ſolida eſt tellus: ſed fuit antè Lacus.*

The vaſt *Amphitheatre* call'd *Colliſeum*, from a *Coloſſus* that was near it, is of a circular Figure on the Outſide, though the *Arena* is oval; it was capable of containing eighty-five thouſand Spectators, not including the twenty thouſand *Excuneati* who ſtood in the Paſſages, and conſequently four Times as many as the Amphitheatre of *Verona*. The Pillars of the third Order, and the Pilaſters of the fourth, had *Corinthian* Chapiters. Though I cannot engage to anſwer your Queſtions concerning the Senate of Women inſtituted by *Heliogabalus*, yet I can thus far ſatisfy your Curioſity, that the little Edifice at *Monte Cavallo*, by ſome ſuppoſed to have been the Temple of the *Sun*, by others the Temple of *Health*, is ſuſpected to have been the Meeting place of that ſage Aſſembly.

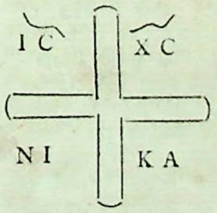
The Columns of *Trajan* and *Antoninus* are truly magnificent Monuments of Antiquity, adorn'd with moſt excellent *Baſſo relievo*, aſcending in a ſpiral Line from the Baſe to the Chapiter, and repreſenting the great Actions of thoſe great Princes. The firſt is compoſed of twenty-four Stones, each containing eight Steps, erected by the Senate to the Honour of *Trajan*, and ſerved afterwards for his *Mauſoleum*, his Aſhes being placed in an Urn of Gold, on the very Top of it; in lieu of this Urn was afterwards placed the Statue of St. *Peter*, of Braſs gilt, by *Sixtus* V. The whole Height of the Body of this Column is 128 *Roman*, or 124 *Engliſh* Feet; and you aſcend to the Top by 123 Steps. The ſecond, compoſed of twenty-eight Stones, was likewiſe built by the Senate, to the Honour of *Antoninus Pius*, with the Statue of that Emperor on the Top of it, but has ſince been forced to make Way for St. *Paul*, whoſe Statue of Braſs is now placed there, and gilt like that of St. *Peter* on *Trajan*'s Pillar. The Body of this Column is 160 *Roman*, or 155 *Engliſh* Feet high; and the Stairs leading to the Top conſiſt of 206 Steps.

One Day as we were viſiting the Caves, known generally by the Name of *Catacombs*, we entered into the *Mauſoleum* of *Cecilia*, the Daughter of *Metellus*, ſurnamed *Creticus*, where, at the very Entrance of it, we were ſhewn a Hole, into which, but a few Weeks before, a certain Gentleman (D. *Malateſta Strinati* of *Ceſena*) happened to tumble deep under Ground, unperceived by his Company; his Friends being amazed and not knowing what was become of him, after they miſs'd him, went in Search of him; but whether it was the Depth of the Pit, or that he was ſtunn'd by the Fall, he was not able to cry, or at leaſt not loud enough to be heard by them, ſo that they were forc'd to return without him: The poor Gentleman having continued in this deplorable Condition for ſixty Hours, at laſt found Means to open a Paſſage, and ſo clambering out of the Pit with a great deal of Difficulty, got to an adjacent Houſe, where being comforted with ſome good Broths, he ſoon after recover'd his Strength. I am apt to believe there is no Place in the World that can compare with *Rome* for ſubterraneous Paſſages; and though the Earth has ſtopt up the Entrances of ſome, yet there are ſtill left a prodigious Number of Caves, generally known by the Name of *Catacombs* among the modern Authors, though they cannot well ſupport the Etymologies they produce.

Theſe Catacombs are not ſingle Vaults, but rather whole ſubterraneous Cities, with Turnings and Windings like Streets; as for Inſtance, thoſe of St. *Agnes*, St. *Sebaſtian*, &c. There are ſome Caverns; as, thoſe of the Gate *Pinciana*, and thoſe near St. *John* and St. *Paul*, which ſeem never to have been made Uſe of as Burial-places, and are known by the Name of *Grotto*'s.

The Catacombs of *Rome* extend under all its Suburbs, but thoſe of *Naples* only under one Part of that City; theſe are dug out from among the Rocks, each Paſſage being commonly betwixt fifteen and eighteen Feet wide, and twelve or fifteen Feet high: The hollow Niches in both Sides of the Walls are ſhaped like Cheſts, of divers Sizes, placed in Rows above one another without the leaſt Order, in which were laid the Bodies without any Coffins, cover'd only with flat Stones like Tiles, cemented with a Kind of Mortar or Mixture of Chalk and Sand. Beſides theſe, the Catacombs of *Naples* have divers Tombs of an indifferent Bigneſs, with ſeveral Figures of Heads, Half Lengths, *&c.* with the Names of the Perſons entombed, as *Paulus*, *Nicolaus*, *Proculus*, *&c.* and ſometimes *hic jacet*, or *quieſcit* underneath it.

On one of theſe Tombs I ſaw a blue and yellow Croſs with the following Characters.



Ἰησῦς Χριστὸς νικᾷ.

Jeſus Chriſtus vincit.

Jeſus Chriſt overcame.

Where it is to be obſerved, that the *Greeks* wrote their Σ almoſt like our *Latin* C, during the three firſt Ages. Among all the Catacombs of *Rome*, thoſe of St. *Sebaſtian* are the greateſt; their Height is the ſame as thoſe of *Naples*, but the Paſſages are not above two Feet and a half broad, by reaſon the ſandy Ground could not be eaſily underprop'd, of which thoſe at *Naples*, hewn out of the Rock, do not ſtand in Need. We ſaw one of theſe Niches opened, where we found a Skeleton moulder'd away into whitiſh Aſhes, yet we could perceive that the Corps had been laid on its Back.

The *Roman Catholicks* have taken a great deal of Pains to perſuade the World, that *theſe ſubterraneous Vaults were dug by the Chriſtians in primitive Times, to bury their Dead in, with the Excluſion of all Pagans*; *that they uſed to perform their Religious Worſhip in them during the Times of Perſecution*; *and that conſequently they contain an inexhauſtible Store of Relicks of Saints and Martyrs interr'd in them.*

Though the Proof of this Aſſertion lies at the Door of the *Romaniſts*, and hitherto they have ſcarce attempted any Thing on that Head, yet will I ſubjoin ſome few

Obſervations which ſeem to contradict this Opinion. The firſt Thing I have to offer upon this Subject is, a Deſcription of *Horace* of the *Puteculi*, or *publick Burying-places* of the poorer Sort, which is exactly applicable to the Catacombs;

Huc prius anguſtis ejecta Cadavera Cellis
Conſervus vili portanda locabat in arcâ:
Hoc miſeræ plebi, ſtabat commune ſepulchrum.

The ſecond Obſervation are the Words *Fata*, *Diis manibus*, *Domus æterna*, and ſuch like, found in the Epitaphs of ſome Tombs in the Catacombs, which I cannot conceive to have been in the leaſt ſuitable to the Simplicity and Piety of the Inſcriptions of Chriſtian Tombs in primitive Times. I remember Mr. *Spon*, that moſt celebrated Antiquary, is of the ſame Opinion, in his Voyage to *Greece*, where he looks upon the Words *Æthera* and *Superis* as ſufficient Proofs to ſhew, that the Tomb, which contain'd them, belonged to a Heathen.

The Glaſs Phials and little metallick Veſſels frequently found in the Catacombs, ſeem to be additional Marks of *Paganiſm*; and though the *Romaniſts* pretend thoſe Veſſels formerly contain'd the Blood of the Martyrs, (this is rather a Conjecture than a Proof) whereas it is certain, that the *Roman* Pagans uſed to put *Lachrymatories* (in which they gather'd the Tears of certain Women hired for that Purpoſe) into their Urns and Tombs. I remember a certain Paſſage in *Tertullian*'s *Apologetick*, which does not at all agree with the Pretenſions of the *Roman* Church; he ſays, The *Pagans* uſed to take the dead Bodies of the *Chriſtians* out of their Tombs, and drag them about the Streets; whence it ſeems very probable, that they would have deprived them of their Caves, had they diſcover'd them. Beſides, how can it be conceived that the *Chriſtians* ſhould be able to dig thoſe vaſt ſubterraneous Paſſages without being perceived? And, how could they diſpoſe of the Rubbiſh? They will tell us perhaps that they did not do it in ſecret, and that the Sand of the Catacombs was ſold by the poor *Chriſtians*, who, for this Reaſon were nicknam'd *Arenarii*; but this is not applicable to the Catacombs of *Naples*: Beſides that, it does not appear that the poor *Chriſtians* were the only People that employed themſelves in the Selling of Sand about the City.

The Cyphers of the *Name of Chriſt*, *Palm-branches*, *Doves of Peace*, *Croſſes*, *Crowns* and other Marks of Chriſtianity, to be ſeen upon the Stones of theſe Sepulchres, are ſo far from proving, that theſe Burial-places were peculiar to the *Chriſtians*, that they rather appear to be intended as Marks to diſtinguiſh them from the *Infidels*. The ſame may be ſaid of the *Chriſtian* Epitaphs, the Queſtion being, not whether the Bodies of ſome *Chriſtians* were buried here, (which is beyond all Diſpute) but whether all others were excluded from being interr'd in the ſame Vaults, ſet apart for the Dregs of the People. The Pictures and Altars of different Sorts and Ages, found in the Catacombs of *Naples* and *Rome*, have been the Product either of the zealous Covetouſneſs of the Popes, who, looking upon the Catacombs as a profitable Source of Relicks, have repair'd and made ſuch Alterations in them, as they found moſt agreeable to encourage the Concourſe of the Pilgrims. *Pancirollus* gives us a large Account of theſe Reparations. Moſt of the Bodies now to be ſeen in the Catacombs of *Naples*, were buried there forty Years ago, during the great Plague that raged in that City.

About a hundred and ſixty Paces diſtant from the Catacombs of St *Agnes*, ſtands an ancient Temple of a circular Figure, reputed by ſome to have been the Temple of *Bacchus*, on account of the Repreſentations of certain Vines on the Roof, and ſome Vine-branches, Grapes, Veſſels, and ſuch like Inſtruments on a Tomb of *Porphyry* in the ſame Temple; but it being certain that *Bacchus* did not die at *Rome*, it Nearneſs, to the Church of St. *Agnes* (built by *Conſtantine*) ſeems to be a ſufficient Proof, that it was built by the ſame Emperor, to ſerve for a Baptiſtery to the ſaid Church. The Tabernacle of St. *Agnes*'s Church is ſupported by four Pillars of the beſt poliſh'd Porphyry: The Statue of *Agnes* you ſee there, is ſuppoſed to have been anciently the Statue of ſome *Pagan Deity*, the Mantle whereof is chiefly remarkable.

As it is beyond the Compaſs of a moderate *Treatiſe* to comprehend an exact Deſcription of all the Antiquities and other Curioſities I obſerved in the Cabinets here, ſo I will content myſelf with mentioning only the moſt remarkable of thoſe in the Cabinet of Mr. *Bellori*, which, for their Number, exceed all that ever I ſaw of this Kind. His *Fortuna Panthea* of Braſs is not above half a Foot high, this little Goddeſs being a Compoſition of all the Characters of Divinity appropriated to other Gods, for ſhe appears with the Beauty of *Venus*, *Juno*'s Crown, *Diana*'s Creſcent, the Mitre of *Iſis*, the Horn of Plenty of *Ceres*, *Minerva*'s Robe, the Wings of *Fame*, *Cupid*'s Quiver, the Goat-ſkin of *Bacchus*, the Serpent of *Eſculapius*, *Fortune*'s Rudder, and ſeveral other characteriſtical Marks of different Deities; the *Fauſtina* defied with her Veil ſtrew'd with Stars; the *Magna Mater*, or *Natura rerum parens*, ſuckling Animals of different Kinds at all her Breaſts; the Goddeſs *Fortune* with the Horn of Plenty in one, and the Nail of Neceſſity in the other Hand; the Buſt of a young *Roman*, with his Golden Bull hanging at his Neck; the *Ciſtrum*, or an Inſtrument uſed by the *Egyptians* to call the People together to the Sacrifice, and afterwards introduced among the *Romans* for the ſame Purpoſe: It is a moſt curious Piece of Antiquity, reſembling a ſmall Racket, the Wood pierced with four Pieces of Braſs like Cords or Rods, which play and make a Noiſe; an ancient brown earthen Veſſel extremely fine, and of the ſame Sound as the true Porcelain, with Pictures upon it repreſenting the ancient Cuſtoms of Bathing: Among others, you ſee a Woman holding in one Hand a *Strigil* or Inſtrument for rubbing off Sweat, and in the other, a *Guttum* or Veſſel with ſweet-ſcented Liquors, not to mention the *Urns*, *Sepulchral Lamps*, *Lachrymatories*, *Pictures*, &c.

Father *Kircher*'s Cabinet was once one of the moſt celebrated in *Europe*, and notwithſtanding its being garbled of late Years, retains ſtill a good Collection of natural Curioſities and mechanical Engines. The *Roman College*, or chief Houſe of the *Jeſuits*, (where it is to be ſeen) is perhaps one of the fineſt Palaces in *Rome*: The Library is numerous, but without any ancient Manuſcripts, or other Rarities. In the Great Hall of this Society you ſee the Picture of the famous Jeſuit *Garnet*, who was executed in *England* on Account of the Gunpowder Plot, with an Angel at his Side ſhewing him the Way to Heaven, open'd to receive him. This Hall is adorn'd with the Pictures of many other Jeſuits that ſuffer'd Martyrdom.

During the laſt three Days in the *Holy Week*, we ſaw the Streets of *Rome* crowded with Proceſſions and Penitents with Hoods over their Heads, ſome in white, others in violet Colour, blue, yellow, and other Colours; ſome laſhing their naked Bodies with Whips of ſmall twiſted Cords, which made more Noiſe than they did Execution: It is ſufficiently known that ſome of them are hired for this Purpoſe. However, the Concourſe of Pilgrims was not ſo great this Year as it had been at ſome other Times. I remember I read, in an Account of *Trinity Hoſpital*, that in 1600, (being the laſt Jubilee Year) that Houſe entertained or provided for (according to Cuſtom) 440, 500 Men, and 2500 Women. The *Italian* Pilgrims are entertain'd here three Days, but Foreigners four Days, and are ſerved at Table by Princes, Princeſſes, Cardinals, and the Pope himſelf. One Thing I muſt not paſs in Silence, *viz.* that we never met the Sacrament in *Rome*, or any other Town of *Italy*, except at *Venice*, where we ſaw it twice carried in great State under a magnificent Canopy, attended by a great Number of Torches

I muſt do this Juſtice to the *Italians*, that they are not poſſeſs'd with the Spirit of Perſecution, at leaſt againſt Strangers; and I don't remember that in all our Travels through *Italy*, not excepting even *Rome* and *Loretto*,

Loretto, we were in the leaſt affronted on the Account of not worſhipping Relicks or Images, the worſt we ever heard upon that Score being ſtiled now and then, *Non ſano Chriſtiani, no ſound Chriſtians.*

5. The Way between *Rome* and *Viterbo* has little remarkable, except ſome Remnants of the *Via Emilia*, which we found of the ſame Breadth with the other Conſular High-roads. The ancient *Lacus Cyminus* (now Lake *de Vico*) is at the Foot of a very high Hill, but of an eaſy Aſcent, bearing the ſame Name with the Lake. It is almoſt covered with Sycamores and Cheſnut-trees, and produces vaſt Quantities of Primroſes, Narciſſus's, Hyacinths, and many other Flowers. The City of *Viterbo* is built of Stone, and ſurrounded with a Wall: Beſides its Steeples, it has eight or ten ſquare Towers, built by the Inhabitants for Retreats during the inteſtine Commotions of the *Guelph* and *Gibellin* Factions. The following Inſcription on the Town-houſe, gives you an Account of the Reſtoration of the ancient *Tuſcan* Name *Viterbo.*

> *Deſiderius ultimus Inſubrium Rex* Longulam, Vetuloniam *atque* Volturniam *mœnibus cingit: &* Etruriæ *priore Nomine inducto,* Viterbium, *mulcta capitis indicte, appellari jubet.* Sal. An. DCC.LXXIII.

Schroder ſays he ſaw another ancient Inſcription.

> *M. T. Ciceronem ob egregias ejus virtutes ſingulareſque animi dotes: per totum Orbem noſtris armis virtuteque perdomitum; ſalvum & incolumen eſſe jubemus.*

In the before-mentioned Place is to be ſeen another authentick Inſcription, confirming the Donation made by the Counteſs *Maud* to the See of *Rome:*

> *Æternæ memoriæ inclytæ Mathildis, quæ ob præſtabile Religionis ſtudium, ac pietatem, ſedi Pontificiæ ſuum hoc patrimonium, Divi Petri in Thuſcia dein nuncupatum elargitur. Et in veterem Urbis ejus ſplendorem intuens, Paſchalis* II. *Bleden Pontif. Max. ejus Metropolim, ut ante Viterbium conſtituit.* An. S. 1113.

It would be a fine Thing for the *Romaniſts*, if they had ſo good a Plea for the Donation of *Conſtantine*; the *Latin* Verſion of it is to be ſeen in *Barth. Picerna* and *Aug. Steuchus*, pretended to be done after the *Greek* Original in the *Vatican*; it is alſo inſerted in *Gratian*'s *Decretals*, but St. *Antonin* of *Florence* aſſures us it is not in the old Decretals; and divers noted Authors have refuted this Fable.

This puts me in Mind of a witty Repartee of *Hieronymo Donato*, *Venetian* Ambaſſador to *Alexander* VI. who being aſked by the Pope where their Title of Sovereignty to the *Adriatick Gulph* was recorded? replied, That *his Holineſs might find their Title written on the Back of the Donation of* Conſtantine. Notwithſtanding the Inſcription of *Deſiderius* mentions only three Cities united under the Name of *Viterbo*, yet I remember that this City is ſometimes ſtiled *Tetrapolis*, and its Inhabitants *Quaterni Populi*; the Names of the four Cities are expreſſed in a Diſtich written on the Top of the Stair-caſe in the Town-houſe:

> *Hanc* Fanum, Arbanum, Vetulonia, Longula *quondam*
> *Oppida, dant Urbem: prima Elementa.* F. A. V. L.

Some deduce the Origin of the ancient *Viterbium* from *Iſis* and *Oſiris*, for which they produce ſome *Greek* and *Latin* Inſcriptions; but being informed by credible Perſons that they were ſuppoſititious, and ſuppoſed to have been contrived by *John Annius* the *Dominican*, known commonly by the Name of *Annius Viterbienſis*, an Author of no Reputation, I will not inſert them here.

In one of the Halls of the Town-houſe you ſee a Picture repreſenting an innumerable Swarm of Locuſts, which darkened the Sun and covered the Earth, devouring every thing they met with upon the Ground about *Viterbo*. This happened in 1526. *Mezeray* relates ſuch another Story, which happened in *France* in 873, and was followed by a great Plague; and *Oſorius* another Inſtance of the ſame Nature, which, he ſays, happened in *Afric* in the Year of the World 3825.

We were no ſooner come within Sight of *Montefiaſcone*, a little Town ſeated on a little Hill within eight Miles of *Viterbo*, but the Children came out and aſked us, whether we would not take a View of the *Eſt, eſt, eſt?* The Story, I know, has been mentioned by others, but perhaps not with all its Circumſtances: A certain Abbot or Biſhop travelling from *Germany* to *Italy*, uſed to ſend a Servant before, to know in which Inn he could meet with the beſt Wine, and to mark it with the Word *Eſt* over the Door. Coming to *Montefiaſcone*, the Servant was ſo highly pleaſed with the *Muſcatello*, that he writ three *Eſts* over the Door, which inviting his Maſter to drink more plentifully than he uſed to do, he fell ſick, and died on the Spot; his Monument ſtands in St. *Flavian*'s Church, about two hundred Paces from the Town; he is repreſented with a Mitre on his Head, with two Eſcutcheons (*quarterly in the firſt a Lion, in the ſecond two Feſſes, the Shield not blazoned*) and as many Drinking-glaſſes on each Side of him; at his Feet you ſee the following Inſcription in *Gothick* Characters, by Way of Epitaph, made in all Probability by his Servant:

> *Eſt, Eſt, Eſt, propter nimium Eſt,* Joh. de Fuc. *D. meus mortuus eſt.*
>
> That is,
>
> *Eſt, Eſt, Eſt, by taking too much of Eſt,*
> John de Fuc, *my Lord, died like a Beaſt.*

His true Name was *John de Fucris*, and he was of a great Family in *Augſburgh.*

All the Way between *Montefiaſcone* and *Bolſena*, we paſſed near the Banks of the Lake of that Name; it is of an oval Figure, and forty Miles in Compaſs; it contains two Iſlands, called *Martana* and *Paſſentina*; the firſt is celebrated for the Baniſhment of *Amaleſuntha*, the Daughter of *Theodoric* King of the *Goths*, who was afterwards murdered there by the Command of her Couſin *Theodat*, whom ſhe had made her Aſſociate in the Government. *Bolſena* is a very indifferent Town, formerly an Epiſcopal See, till it was tranſlated to *Orvieto*. Behind it you ſee the Ruins of the ancient *Volſinium*, which, as *Pliny* relates, was burnt by Lightning. The Country between *Bolſena* and *Aquapendente*, is the worſt in the whole World; the laſt of theſe two is poor and almoſt deſolate, yet retains the Title of an Archbiſhoprick ever ſince the Deſtruction of *Caſtro*. *Centino*, a little Village at the Foot of the Hill *Radicofani*, is the utmoſt Boundary of the Pope's Dominions on that Side; the Town and Citadel, built by *Deſiderius* the laſt King of the *Lombards*, bearing the Name of the ſaid Hill upon which they ſtand, are for half the Year concealed in the Clouds. In our Way hence towards *Siena*, we ſaw for eight or ten Miles nothing but barren Mountains; but as we came towards St. *Quirico*, the Country began to grow better and better, though this laſted not long, for near *Torrinieri* the Land grew worſe than before, and continued thus, with ſome ſmall Alteration, till we came to *Siena.*

Siena, the third City, and perhaps the moſt pleaſantly ſituated in all *Tuſcany*; its Air is excellent, the Streets though not level, yet very neat, being paved with Bricks laid ſideways; the Houſes are handſomely built, and the Water very good; beſides that, the *Tuſcan* Language is ſpoken here in its utmoſt Purity, without the Roughneſs of the *Florentine* Dialect.

The Cathedral of *Siena* is a *Gothick* Structure, but very beautiful, and one of the moſt perfect among all the great Churches of *Europe*, being covered within and without with Marble; the Pavement is of black and white Marble *a la Moſaique* in the Choir. On the Corridor running round the Body of the Inſide of the Church, are to be ſeen the Statues of the Popes, and among the reſt there is one ſmooth chin'd Creature, which, as is ſaid, was placed there in the Room of the Popeſs *Joan*: *Baronius* ſays, it was taken away and broken to Pieces; *Launoy* ſays it was to be ſeen in 1634, and *Blondel* acknowledges the ſame, as alſo the Statue erected in the Place where Pope *Joan* was delivered; Father *Mabillon* confeſſes the ſame Statue, and ſays, that the Name *Johannes* VIII. *Fœmina Angliæ* was added to it. All the Authors that ever I ſaw, who inveigh againſt the Story of this female Pope, and mention this Statue, acknowledge that it is ſtill remaining, or at leaſt, that it really ſubſiſted heretofore. This Structure was begun by *Duccio*, and finiſhed by *Dominic Beccafumi.* That Part next the Choir is beautified with the Pictures of *Abraham*'s Sacrifice, and the Paſſage of the *Iſraelites* through the Red-Sea; the arch'd Roof is azur'd, intermix'd with Stars of Gold. From the Church you paſs into the Place where the Library was kept formerly; here we ſaw thoſe glorious Pieces in *Freſco* repreſenting the Life of *Pius* II. deſigned by *Raphael*, but painted by *Peter Perugin* his Maſter, with *Bernardin* and *Pinturicchio*; moſt of the Faces repreſent Perſons then alive; among others, the Pope's Soul ſoaring upwards in the Shape of a *Paradiſe* Bird, and the *Hermit* gazing on it, is an exquiſite Piece.

I will not detain you with the Story of St. *Katherine* of *Siena*, but I cannot paſs by in Silence the old Citadel with fifteen or twenty ſquare Towers; among theſe the Tower of *Mangiana* is mightily extolled for its Height, but it is by thoſe who have ſeen but few others. The Arms of *Siena* are, the famous *She-wolf* that gave Suck to *Romulus* and *Remus*, founded upon a Fable, that *Siena* was built by the Children of *Remus.* Travelling between the City of *Siena* and the River *Arno*, we found the Ground grow better and better the nearer we came to the River, eſpecially about *Camiano*, *Granayola*, *Ponte d'Era*, and between *Pontgibon* and *Piſa*. Near *Pontgibon* or *Poggi-bonzi* (famous for its Tobacco) we met whole Troops of Girls going from Houſe to Houſe ſinging and wiſhing a merry *May*; their Songs are compoſed of a Number of pleaſant Wiſhes, every Stanza concluding with *a merry*, *merry*, May.

On ſeveral ſandy Hills near *Certaldo*, we ſaw great Quantities of ſeveral Sorts of Shells, as we had before at *Monte-Mario*, a Mile from *Rome*, in the *Alps* in *France*, and other Places; the ſame have been obſerved by *Olearius*, *Steno*, *Cambden*, *Speed*, and others. I received your Obſervations with a great deal of Satisfaction, but, to deal frankly with you, I muſt tell you, that I differ with you in Opinion; for if theſe Shells were the Remainders of the Deluge, I ſee no Reaſon why the ſame ſhould not rather have been left in the Valleys, and more univerſally ſpread upon the Surface of the Earth; whereas now they are only gathered into Heaps in certain Places. Nor ſee I any ſufficient Cauſe to have Recourſe to ſuppoſed Inundations, Tempeſts, and Eruptions; for though ſome ſuch Thing might rationally be concluded in reference to certain Places ſubject to Earthquakes, (as for Inſtance, the *New Veſuvius*, or *Monte Nuovo*) yet as the ſame Reaſon does not hold in all other Places where theſe Shells are found, ſo the Solution of this *Phænomenon* may with much more Eaſe be looked for in the ſame Property upon the Land which produces theſe Shells at Sea. You will perhaps tell me that Shells are inſeparable from Fiſhes, Snails, &c. but you may eaſily anſwer yourſelf, if you will but conſider, that Shells have been found in the Stomachs, Kidneys, and other Parts of human Bodies. But we will proceed on our Journey.

Piſa is the ſecond City of *Tuſcany*, formerly a conſiderable Republick, ſeated in a level Plain on the River *Arno*, dignified with the Title of an Archbiſhoprick and an Univerſity; its Streets are ſpacious, ſtreight, and well paved with broad Stones, and generally well built. The *Arno*, which is navigable here, and twice as broad as the *Tyber* at *Rome*, divides the City into two Parts; it is at preſent very poor and ill-peopled, its deſolate Condition muſt be attributed to their Wars with the *Florentines*, who, after the Conqueſt of this Place, founded the great Mart of *Legborn* upon the Ruin of *Piſa*. The Cathedral here is very like that of *Siena*, but not quite ſo large; it is a regular Structure, and over-cruſted with curious Marble. The Baptiſtery is of a circular Figure an hundred and eighty Feet in Circumference, and arched, ſurmounted by a *Cupola*: By an Inſcription on a Pillar of this Baptiſtery it appears, that the Church was finiſhed 1153. Here is an Echo, which magnifies a Noiſe to ſuch a Degree, that the Sound thereof laſts as long as the Tinkling of a great Bell. Travellers make a great Wonder of the Leaning Tower, which ſome pretend to appear leaning on all Sides, by a peculiar Art of the Architect, when, in Effect, its Inclination is only on one Side, occaſioned by the Sinking of the Foundation: Its whole Height is a hundred and eighty-eight Feet, and is of the Figure of an exact Cylinder. I let down a Plummet from the Balcony on the Top, on that Side where it inclines moſt, and after ſeveral Trials both to the Right and Left, found that the Lead touched fifteen Feet diſtant from the Foundation.

The famous Burying place of *Siena*, called *Campo Santo*, (becauſe the Earth was brought from the *Holy Land* 1228) is a Kind of Cloyſter, one hundred and ninety Paces long, and ſixty-ſix broad. On a Wall under one of the Portico's I ſaw an Inſcription, being a Decree of the Senate of *Piſa* upon the Death of *Cæſar*, ordering their Subjects to appear in Mourning for a whole Year, and to abſtain from all publick Divertiſements. I will not trouble you with their Phyſick-garden, as having nothing memorable in it; but I muſt not quite forget the Knights of St. *Stephen*, who have their Reſidence here: They muſt be of noble Blood, and born in Wedlock: They vow Conjugal Chaſtity, and ſay a hundred *Pater Noſters* and *Ave Maria*'s every Day. This Order was founded by the Great Duke *Coſmo* I. 1561, the ſixth of *Auguſt*, after he had gained the Battle of *Marciano*; his Statue ſtands directly oppoſite (in the Place) to the Church.

Legborn is about fourteen Miles diſtant from *Piſa*, the Country between them being very level, but woody, filled with Oaks, Cork-trees, and wild Myrtles: They tell you, that theſe Woods were formerly all covered by the Sea, which reached within three Miles of *Piſa*, where you ſee a large Church at the Entrance of theſe Woods, which, they tell you, was built in the ſame Place where St. *Peter* was ſhipwrecked one Day when he was fiſhing. I need not tell you, that *Legborn* is a modern City, built on a level Ground, and ſtrengthened with good Fortifications faced with Brick-work; its Streets are large, ſtreight, and uniform, the Houſes generally of the ſame Height, and painted on the Outſide. In our Journey from *Legborn* to *Lucca*, paſſing a ſecond Time through *Piſa*, we ſaw, three Miles on this Side of it, the craggy Mount of St. *Julian*, the Boundary betwixt *Tuſcany* and the Republick of *Lucca*.

The City is moſt pleaſantly ſeated in a fruitful Plain of fifteen or twenty Miles in Extent, encloſed by very rich and well-cultivated Hills; its Fortifications are regular, and faced with Bricks: We walked round the Ramparts in an Hour's Time: But though it is not ſo big as *Piſa*, it contains many ſtately Houſes, and is very well peopled. They ſhewed us the Palace of the Republick, where the *Gonfalonier*, or Standard-bearer, with the ſeven *Anziani*, or Counſellors, lodge and eat together. The State of *Lucca* is a Fief of the Empire; its Government is Ariſtocratical, managed by the Council of two hundred and forty Nobles, divided into two Bodies, who rule alternately every ſix Months, with the *Gonfalonier* at their Head. This chief Magiſtrate bears ſome Reſemblance to the Doges of *Venice* or *Genoa*, but continues no longer than two Months in this Dignity; from whence he reaps no other Profit but maintaining of his Table at the publick Charge: His Dreſs is a Robe of Crimſon Velvet, with a Bonnet and Stole, and his Title, *His Excellency*; his Guard conſiſts of ſixty *Switzers*, and he may not be choſen to the ſame Dignity till after ſix Years. Their Arſenal is abundantly provided with Arms, and thoſe very well kept.

In the Cathedral we ſaw the Chapel of the *Volto Santo*. They tell you, that *Nicodemus* having ſeveral Times attempted in vain to paint the Crucifix, was at laſt aſſiſted by the Angels, who guided his Pencil to finiſh it: They are not able to tell you how this Picture came to St. *Fredian*'s Church, but are poſitive that it removed from thence to the Cathedral, where it hung in the Air, in the Place where we ſaw it, till they built an Altar under it, on which it reſted, and about which they afterwards built a magnificent Chapel. This Crucifix is in ſuch high Eſteem with them, that they ſtamp it on their Coin, with the Arms of the Signiory. In St. *Fredian*'s Church is a Marble Table, ſeventeen Feet long, ſix and a half broad, and fourteen Inches thick; the whole Story whereof is expreſſed in the following Inſcription:

> *O quiſquis legis, lapis es, ni lapis hic moveat in admirationem & cultum D.* Frediani, *qui templo huic conſtruendo, molem hanc in montibus ad quartum lapidem nactus, viribus impar, ſed ſpiritu fervens; mirâ facilitate manibus humeriſque ſuis, & Canonicorum in plauſtrum binis indomitis vacculis trahendum impoſitum, ſexto ſalutis ſæculo, hâc in æde ſtatuit ſacrum monumentum.*

In the Midſt of the ſame Church is to be ſeen a Tomb ſtone with this Inſcription:

> *Hic jacet Corpus Sancti Riccardi Regis Angliæ.*
> *Here lies the Body of St.* Richard *King of* England.

Who this Royal Saint was I am not able to imagine; for *Richard* I. (ſurnamed *Lyonheart)* died in *France*, and was interred in the Abbey of *Fontevraut*; *Richard* II. was, after his dethroning, ſtabbed at *Pomfret*, and buried firſt in St. *Paul*'s, from whence he was carried to *Langley*, and afterwards to *Weſtminſter*; and *Richard* III. being ſlain in the Battle of *Boſworth* in *Leiceſterſhire*, his Body was interred in the City of *Leiceſter*. I do not remember ever to have heard any thing of a King *Richard* before the *Heptarchy*.

In the Church of St. *Auſtin* you ſee an Image of *our Lady*, with the little Jeſus in her left Arm, concerning which they tell you the following Story: A certain Soldier having loſt all his Money at Dice, fell into ſuch a Rage, that after having given a great many ill Words to the Image of our Lady, placed then againſt the Wall of the Guard-houſe, he threw a Stone levelled directly at the Head of the little Jeſus; but our Lady perceiving the Danger, toſſed the Child in an Inſtant from her right Arm into the left, where it remains ever ſince; the inſolent Soldier was ſwallowed by the Earth, the Hole being ſhewn to this Day. About the Time of the Reformation divers noble Families retired from *Lucca* to *Geneva*, where ſome ſtill flouriſh.

Half Way betwixt *Lucca* and *Florence* ſtands *Piſtoya*, *viz.* twenty Miles from each; the Country thereabouts is extremely fertile, and well cultivated, but the City is almoſt deſolate, having loſt all its Trade with its Liberty: It is much bigger than *Lucca*; and its large and regular Streets and beautiful Buildings are ſufficient Teſtimonies of its former Grandeur.

The Inhabitants of *Piſtoya* have a moſt profound Veneration for St. *James* and his Relicks; the Altar of his Chapel in the Cathedral is covered with Plates of Silver, and adorned with very rich Lamps. Here I obſerved, in a peculiar Prayer directed to him, theſe Words, *Tu qui primatum tenes inter Apoſtolos, imo qui eorum primus*, i. e. *Thou that waſt the firſt, nay, the chief among the Apoſtles*, &c. There are not a few who pretend to look for the Original of the *Guelph* and *Gibellin* Factions among the *Piſtoyans*, where, they ſay, lived two Brothers called *Guelph* and *Gibel*, the elder of which ſided with Pope *Gregory* IX. whilſt the younger embraced the Intereſt of the Emperor *Barbaroſſa*; but, in my Opinion, thoſe come much nearer the Mark, who derive the Names of thoſe two famous Factions from the illuſtrious and potent Families of the *Guelphs* and *Gibellines*, (upon the Borders of *Germany* and *Italy)* who were at open Enmity a conſiderable Time with each other, before one declared for the Emperor and the other for the Pope.

6. My laſt being written the next Day after our Arrival at *Florence*, I will in this give you a brief Deſcription of this City, and afterwards communicate ſuch Obſervations as I have had Occaſion to make during our Stay. *Florence*, the Capital of *Tuſcany*, dignified with the Title of an Archbiſhoprick, and the ordinary Reſidence of the Great Dukes, is ſeated upon the River *Arno*, as it were within the *Arena* of an Amphitheatre, being encloſed at four or five Miles Diſtance, (except on that Side towards *Piſtoya)* with very fruitful Hills, riſing by an eaſy Aſcent till they unite with the high Mountains: If you take a full View from one of the Towers of *Florence*, of the Villages and Houſes of Pleaſure in the Plain and Hills, it ſeems to be only the Continuation of Suburbs, this Valley being perhaps the beſt peopled Place of that Kind in the Univerſe.

I was credibly informed, that the Circumference of the Walls of *Florence* is 15,240 Fathoms, and that the River *Arno*, which runs through it, is 500 Fathoms broad; ſo that adding the double Breadth of the River to the Compaſs of the Walls, the whole Circuit of *Florence* amounts to 16,240 Fathoms, three of which are equivalent to five Feet eight Inches *Engliſh* Meaſure, according to which Computation it amounts to 36,675 Feet: It is almoſt of a circular Figure. The ſame Perſon told me, that there are in *Florence* about eight thouſand eight hundred Houſes, ſixty thouſand Souls, twenty-two Hoſpitals, eighty-nine Convents, eighty-four Fraternities, one hundred and fifty-two Churches, eighteen Halls belonging to Merchants, ſeventy-two Courts of Juſtice, ſix Columns, two Pyramids, four Bridges, ſeven Fountains, ſeventeen Places or Squares, and one hundred and ſixty publick Statues. The Streets are paved with broad Pieces of a grey Stone called *Pietra forte*, and moſt of the Houſes are built of the ſame; theſe are brought from the neighbouring Quarries.

The Great Duke's Palace (called *Pitti)* is a moſt noble Structure, but has this Defect, that the Court is not ſpacious enough in Proportion to the Edifice, which being one hundred and twenty Feet high to the Cornice of the third Order, cannot be ſeen without Trouble in any Part of the Court, which is only one hundred and ſixty Feet long, and one hundred and forty broad. As we were entering the old Ducal Palace, (the Receptacle of the ſo much celebrated Curioſities) we took a full View of the four Statues of white Marble on the Bridge of the Trinity, repreſenting the four Seaſons of the Year, made by *Michael Angelo*. The chief Curioſities we obſerved here were, the *David*, the Work of *Michael Angelo*; the *Judith*, by *Donatello*; the *Sabin* Women carried off by Violence, by *John* of *Bologna*; the *Perſeus* of Braſs, by *Coligni*; the *Hercules* and *Cacus*, by *Bandinelli*; and the Braſs Statue on Horſeback of *Coſmo* I. by *John* of *Bologna*; all theſe are moſt exquiſite Pieces. The three *Baſſo relievo's* on the Pedeſtal of that Statue repreſent *Coſmo* I. kneeling before the Pope as he was giving him the Title of *Great Duke*; the ſame Prince entering *Florence* in a triumphant Chariot; and the Reſignation of the Sovereignty to him by the Senate of *Florence*. The great Gallery of the Palace is four hundred Feet long, where we paſſed between two Rows of ancient Statues and Buſts. Above them, againſt the Wall, we ſaw the Pictures of the ancient Philoſophers on one Side, and thoſe of great Generals on the other.

Among theſe Statues, that ſuppoſed to be *Scipio*'s, in a Robe of Braſs, excels all the reſt, the Characters on the Hem of his Garment are of the old *Hetruſcan*; the *Leda* embracing *Jupiter* with a Pleaſure mixed with Shame; the *Bacchus*, with a Copy of the ſame by *Michael Angelo*, not inferior to the Original; *Julia* the Daughter of *Auguſtus*, the *Pomona*, the *Venus*, the *Diana*, the *Apollo*, another *Bacchus*, the Peaſant ſtriking a Boar, the Buſts of all the Emperors to *Galienus*, and eſpecially thoſe of *Adrian*, *Pertinax*, and *Severus*, are excellent Pieces.

In the Chambers behind this Gallery, we obſerved in the firſt a great branched Candleſtick of Amber, an admirable Column of *Oriental* Alabaſter, a *Rhinoceros*'s Horn of an extraordinary Bigneſs, Abundance of *Baſſo* *relievo's*, and a great Number of ancient Sculptures, Medals, Idols, ſepulchral Lamps, Stones, Minerals, and other natural Curioſities: The ſecond is filled with Pictures; the third, called the *Mathematical Chamber*, (here uſed to be kept the Iron Nail, one half of which was pretended to be tranſmuted to Gold, but is not ſhewn now, it having been found to be no more than a Soldering) has, among other Things, Globes and Spheres of ſeven Feet Diameter: The fourth has likewiſe nothing but Pictures, which excel thoſe of the ſecond, except the Ornaments of Ivory, Amber, and precious Stones in a peculiar Cabinet, and among the reſt, a large rough Emerald rooted in its Rock, and the Platform of *Leghorn* on a Table of *Lapis Lazuli:* In the fifth Chamber you ſee the Pictures of moſt of the illuſtrious Perſons of the preſent Age; among the Generals are *Cromwell*, *Monk*, and the late Earl of *Oſſory:* The ſixth contains a hundred and thirty-ſeven Pictures of the moſt famous Painters, done by themſelves: The ſeventh is filled with Porcelain Veſſels, and the five following with all Manner of ſurpriſing Curioſities, and great Quantities of Arms of all Countries; the Horſe-tail of twenty Feet long, preſented to the Great Duke by the late *Charles* Duke of *Lorrain*, is none of the leaſt among theſe Rarities; but the moſt precious Things are preſerved in an octagonal Apartment called the *Tribune*, built by *Buontalenti*, being twenty Feet in Diameter; the Floor is paved with Marble of divers Colours, artificially joined like inlaid Work; the Hangings are of Crimſon Velvet, the Windows of Cryſtal, and the Inſide of the Lanthorn covered with Mother of Pearl. You have queſtionleſs, heard of that moſt celebrated Diamond, which weighs 139½ Carats; *Tavernier* ſays, it is Pity that the Water is yellowiſh. Among the other Rarities the following are the choiceſt; an antique Head of *Julius Cæſar*, of one entire *Turquoiſe* of the Bigneſs of an Egg; a Cupboard filled with Veſſels of Agate, *Lapis Lazuli*, Cornelian, and Rock-cryſtal ſet with Gold and precious Stones; a large Table and Cabinet of inlaid Work of Oriental Jaſper, Calcedony, Rubies, Topazes, and other precious Stones, excellently well contrived; a Collection of the beſt Medals; a vaſt Number of carved and engraved Pieces nicely kept; ſome Maſter-pieces of the moſt excellent Painters; ſix very beautiful *Grecian Statues*; two Wreſtlers; the Peaſant whetting his Bill, and at the ſame Time liſtening to the Conſpirators, *Cataline*'s Aſſociates; a *Tauro*, a *Cupid* ſleeping, a *Venus* ſix Feet high, and another five Feet, both of white Marble, the fineſt Piece of Workmanſhip in the World; the Head turns a little towards her left Shoulder, with her right Hand before her Boſom, yet at ſome little Diſtance, and covering her Nudity with the other, but without touching; ſhe ſtands bowing gently with her right Knee forward, the better to hide herſelf. This baſhful Poſture is accompanied with all the Marks of Modeſty and Chaſtity in her Face, and with an incomparable Beauty, Sweetneſs, and youthful Air; her Neck is exceeding beautiful; and, in ſhort, this Maſter-piece is the moſt exquiſite Imitation of the Perfection of Nature. On the Marble Baſe are theſe Words:

ΚΛΕΟΜΕΝΗΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΡΟΣ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ ΕΠΩΕΣΕΝ.
Cleomenes, *Son of* Apollodorus *the* Athenian, *made it.*

From this Palace paſſing through a ſmall Gallery, we came into the ancient Palace of the Republick, where the Great Duke's Wardrobe is kept; and among other Things we ſaw there the rich Coach made for the Solemnity of the Great Duke's Marriage. The Hall of this Palace is a hundred and ſeventy-two Feet long, and ſeventy-four broad. The Cathedral is a large and ſtately Building, though for the moſt Part of a *Gothick* Architecture, being over-cruſted within and without with the fineſt poliſhed Marble of ſeveral Colours: Its whole Length is four hundred and ninety Feet, and its Height, to the Top of the Croſs on the Globe, three hundred and eighty Feet; the worſt is, that it has no Frontiſpiece. The rareſt Statues in this Church are, St. *James*, by *Sanſovin*; the *Adam* and *Eve*, by *Bandinello*; the Statue of *God the Father*; the *dead Chriſt*, and an Angel ſupporting him by the ſame Hand, on the high Altar: The *Eve* was ſomething larger than *Adam*. The *Reſurrection* painted in the Dome is a moſt excellent Piece, though the Criticks find Fault with *Fred. Zucchero*, who made it, becauſe he has repreſented the riſing Bodies with Clothes on: Beſides this, we took Notice of a greater Blunder in the ſame Church, committed by no leſs famous a Painter than *Paul Urcello*, who has painted Sir *John Hawkwood*, whom the *Italians* call *Acutus*, an *Engliſhman*, General of the *Piſans*, on Horſeback, and his Horſe reſting on two Legs on the ſame Side, while the other two are in Motion.

The Pieces of the Rods of *Aaron* and *Moſes*, ſhewn in the Cathedral, are queſtioned by ſome, becauſe theſe Rods are ſaid to be entire at the Church of St *John de Lateran*. The Steeple (near the Church) is a Tower of one hundred and eighty Feet high, over-cruſted with ſquare Pieces of red, black, and white Marble, and beautified with ſeveral excellent Statues: The old bald Man, by *Donatelli*, is highly eſteemed.

The Baptiſtery is not unlike that of *Piſa*, and covered like the Church; ſome ſay it was anciently the Temple of *Mars*, and that after its being converted into a Baptiſtery, it was dedicated to St. *John Baptiſt*. The *Moſaick* Work on the arch'd Roof is eſteemed excellent, and among the Statues here, the *Magdalen* of Wood, by *Donatelli*, excels all the reſt: But the moſt ſurpriſing Pieces are, the three Gates of Braſs, whereon are repreſented ſome ſacred Hiſtories in *Baſſo relievo*. The Back-Gate, with this Inſcription, *Andreas Ugolini de Piſis me fecit* 1330, is not altogether ſo beautiful as the other two, which put *Michael Angelo* into ſuch a Rapture, that he ſaid, they deſerved to be placed at the Entrance of Heaven:

Dum cernit valvas aurato ex ære nitentes
  In templo Michael Angelus, *obſtupuit*;
Attonituſque diu, ſic alta ſilentia rupit;
  O Divinum Opus! O Janua digna Polo!

The Senſe of which is,
Theſe Gates of burniſh'd Braſs when he beheld,
Great ANGELO, *beſt Judge of what excell'd*;
Amaz'd he ſtood, long ſilent, and then ſigh'd!
O Work Divine! O worthy Heaven! he cry'd.

The Statue of Juſtice near the Church of the *Trinity* is ſupported by a Column of Porphyry, ſaid to have ſtood formerly in the *Pantheon*. In the Court before the middle Gate of the Baptiſtery, you ſee two Columns of Porphyry at ſome Diſtance from each other, and yet chain'd together, which, they ſay, were brought from *Majorca*, and beſtowed upon the *Florentines* by the *Piſans*, for the Aſſiſtance they gave them in the Conqueſt of Part of that Iſle. Near them ſtands another Column, erected in Memory of a pretended Miracle wrought by the Body of St. *Zenobius*, when it was removed from St. *Lawrence* to the Cathedral Church, for his Shrine touching by Chance the Trunk of a dry Tree that lay upon the Ground, it bloſſom'd immediately, and produced Fruit.

The Church of St. *Lawrence* is both ſpacious and rich, and the Chapel, I muſt confeſs, when finiſhed, will be the moſt exquiſite Structure that ever was ſeen of this Kind; it is both very large and magnificent: In the Middle of each Face of the Hexagon ſtands a double Pilaſter of Jaſper, with a double Chapiter of Braſs gilt, the Baſe being the ſame. The Emblematical Figures on the Pedeſtals of theſe Pilaſters are very artificially made of precious Stones: In the ſix Angles are placed as many rich Tombs of Porphyry, Oriental Granite, and ſome other of the moſt precious Kinds of Marble; on each Tomb lies a great Pillow of Jaſper, valued each at ſixty thouſand Crowns, enrich'd with precious Stones, and upon each Pillow ſtands a Crown, exceeding in Richneſs the Pillow itſelf: The Baſe ſupporting the Tombs is over-cruſted with Porphyry and Calcedony, on which will be engraven the Epitaphs of the Princes for whom theſe Tombs are deſigned, and their Statues of Braſs gilt, twice as big as the Life, are to be placed in the Niches of black Marble that are over the

Tombs. The inner Roof of the Dome is intended to be covered with *Lapis Lazuli*, intermixed with Roſes and other Carvings gilt; and the reſt of the Walls are over-cruſted in Compartments with the fineſt Agate, Granite, Onyx, and other precious Stones, each Pannel being divided into Squares, embelliſhed with various Sorts of Ornaments of Copper gilt; and the high Altar is likely to ſurpaſs all the reſt.

The Library of St. *Lawrence*, which is eighty Fathom long, and twenty broad, is celebrated for its Manuſcripts; as for Inſtance, that of *Virgil* of the Age of *Theodoſius*, and a very ancient *Greek* MS. of the Chirurgery of the Ancients, of *Hippocrates*, *Galen*, *Aſclepiades*, *Bithynus*, *Apollonius*, *Archigenes*, *Nymphodorus*, *Heliodorus*, *Diocles*, *Rufus Epheſius*, and *Apollodorus Citienſis*, with the Manner of curing Diſlocations, and Figures painted on Vellum, the only ancient Work of this Nature now extant. Mr. *Magliabecchi*, the Bibliothecary, was very ſorry he could not communicate to me St. *Chryſoſtom*'s Letter to *Cæſarius*, having received expreſs Orders to the contrary from the Great Duke; but he poſitively aſſured me, that the Paſſage cited by *Martyr*, is contained *verbatim* in that Manuſcript.

In the Church of the *Holy Croſs* we ſaw the Tomb of *Michael Angelo*, which, in my Opinion, bears no Proportion to the Merit of ſo famous a Perſon. In this Church is a Chapel belonging to the Family of the *Zanchini*, on the Altar of which is a Picture of Chriſt delivering the Souls of the Fathers, and among them many female Spirits, the Work of *Angelo Bronzini*: Some are of Opinion, that ſhe who repreſents *Eve* is the true Reſemblance of *Bronzini*'s Miſtreſs, and that the Man in the right Corner of this Piece, gazing upon this pretended *Eve*, is the Painter himſelf; juſt as *Pinturicchio* painted in the *Vatican*, Pope *Alexander* VI. proſtrate at the Feet of *Julia Farneſe*, under Pretence of adoring the holy Virgin.

In the *Annunciata* are kept two of the thirty Pieces *Judas* received to betray his Maſter; and in the Church of the *Carmelites*, the Crucifix that ſpoke to St. *Andrew d'Urſini*. Among the ſeveral fine Seats belonging to the Great Duke, we had only the Opportunity to ſee *Poggio Imperiale* and *Pratinola*; it muſt be confeſſed they are very delightful Places, and have even a ſufficient Share of Beauty; but ſince our Gardens and Water-works are advanced to that Height in *France*, the only Way to maintain the ancient Reputation of the *Italian* Seats, is to paſs by in Silence their pretended miraculous Ornaments.

The Arſenal and Citadel of St. *John Baptiſt* are kept in very good Order, but the Forts of *Belvedere* and St. *Miniato* are much out of Repair. The Great Duke alſo maintains various Kinds of wild Creatures, and Nurſeries for them. In the Hoſpital *ad Scalas* is the Tomb and Epitaph of a human Monſter, with two Heads and four Hands on one Body, named *Peter* and *Paul*; one of theſe Heads would often weep, whilſt the other laugh'd, and this ſlept often whilſt the former was awake. The Mountains near *Florence* produce certain Stones, which being ſawed in the Middle and poliſhed, repreſent ſometimes Trees of divers Sorts, ſometimes whole Towns, and the Ruins of old Caſtles; the firſt are called *Dendrites* by *Kircher*.

To conclude, I muſt tell you, that though *Florence*, for its Situation, and other Advantages, may be reckoned among the fineſt Cities in the whole World, yet to thoſe who know the Pleaſures of Society, and eſpecially of Converſation with the fair Sex, the inſupportable Conſtraint, and unavoidable Ceremonies uſed at *Florence*, appear an intolerable Burthen, except to thoſe that are inured to this Kind of Slavery from their Infancy.

7. The Road between *Florence* and *Bologna* being one continued Ridge of the *Apennine* Mountains, and conſequently not very fit for Calaſhes, we were forced to hire Horſes, all the Littermen being taken up in carrying Monks (by what Accident I know not) over the Mountains. For two Days together we paſſed through a barren and mountainous Country; the higheſt Mountain we met with in our Paſſage, was that called *Monte Juovo*; however, the Valleys of *Sarperia* and *Fiorenzola* (which ſome think to be the *Fidentia* of the Ancients) are not quite ſo deſolate as the reſt; the firſt is famous for Knives and other Cutlers Work made there; it was deſtroyed by an Earthquake in 1642. We took Notice, that near the Village of *Pietra Mala* the Air ſparkled in the Night. At the Village of *Scarica l'Aſſino*, between the laſt named Place and *Loyano*, we ſaw a Poſt the Boundary of the Pope's and Great Duke's Territories, the Arms of the firſt being affixed on one, and the *Florentine* Arms on the other Side. From the Top of the laſt Hills of the *Apennine*, as we approached *Bologna*, and arrived by an eaſy Deſcent near that City, we had the moſt glorious Proſpect in the World, of the extenſive and delightful Plain of *Lombardy*, extending along the *Po*, from the *Apennines* to the *Alps*.

Bologna, the Seat of an Archbiſhop, who has the Title of a Prince of the Empire, and the ſecond City in the Eccleſiaſtical State, is ſeated at the Foot of the *Apennine* Hills, at their opening into the Plain, upon the *Via Emilia*. The faireſt Proſpect of *Bologna* and the adjacent Country is from the Convent of St. *Michael in Boſco*, where at the ſame Time you may have the Pleaſure of ſeeing one of the moſt magnificent Monaſteries in *Italy*, comparable for its Beauty to moſt of the Royal Palaces of *Europe*; and to ſpeak the Truth, as *Bologna* is larger and more populous, nay, even richer than *Florence*, ſo its Convents are generally very ſpacious and exceeding magnificent. The City is ſurrounded only with a ſingle Wall without a Citadel; for when they ſurrendered to Pope *Nicholas* in 1278, it was under Condition, that they ſhould not be bridled by a Citadel, their Eſtates not be liable to any Confiſcations, and ſhould be allowed an Auditor of the *Rota*, and an Ambaſſador of their own at *Rome*; which Privileges have not been hitherto infringed. The Univerſity acknowledges for its Founder *Theodoſius* the younger, in 425, but owes its chief Splendour to *Charles the Great*; hence it is that the Motto *Bononia docet*, is ſeen on the Coin of this City, as the Word *Libertas* is in their Arms.

In one of the Halls of the Univerſity College is a Monument erected to the Memory of a certain noted Chirurgeon named *Gabriel Taglicozzo*, who made artificial Noſes, Lips, *&c.* of Fleſh, mentioned by *Butler* in his *Hudibras*. The Canal which joins the *Arno* with the *Po*, is a great Conveniency for the Commerce of this City, the Inhabitants of which trade in Wax, Hemp, Flax, Hams, Sauſages, Soap, Tobacco, and Perfumes, beſides that they have near four hundred Silk-mills; formerly they uſed to ſell their little Dogs at a high Rate. The Houſes of this City are generally of Stone, or Brick plaiſtered over; the Streets have Portico's on both Sides, like thoſe of *Padua*, but are higher and larger, and are for the moſt Part very ſtreight; the Women are handſome, and not kept under ſo much Reſtraint as at *Florence*; the better Sort are inclined to follow the *French* Mode. In General *Caprara*'s Palace, one of the beſt in the whole City, we ſaw many rich Spoils taken from the *Turks*.

The publick Palace of this City is appointed for the Lodging of the Cardinal Legate, and the *Gonfalonier* and his Counſellors. Over the Portal ſtands a Braſs Statue of *Gregory* XIII. and on one Side of it that of *Boniface* VIII. with this Inſcription;

Bonifacio VIII. *P. M. ob eximia erga ſe merita*, S. P. Q. B.
Ann. MCCC.

Here you are alſo ſhewn the Cabinet of Curioſities of *Ulyſſes Aldrovandus*, joined with that of the Marquis of *Coſpi*, both belonging to the Publick. Among the reſt we took Notice of the Picture of a certain Woman, who (as *Aldrovandus* ſays of his own Knowledge) had a long and thick Beard like a *Capuchin*. M. *Lotier*, a Banker of this City, has alſo an excellent Collection of Medals, in which are to be ſeen two *Otho*'s in Braſs of unqueſtionable Antiquity. In a Chamber near it they ſhewed us one hundred and eighty-ſeven Volumes in *Folio*, all of *Aldrovandus*'s own Hand-writing, and about two hundred Bags full of looſe Papers; the Margins were pretty large, and the Lines not very cloſe.

On the Front of this Palace, between the Statues of the Popes, is a *Latin* Inſcription, intimating, that the Emperor *Charles* V. and Pope *Clement* VIII. meeting at *Bologna* in *November* 1529, reſtored the Peace of *Italy*, and that afterwards the ſaid Emperor was crowned King of *Lombardy* in the Church of St. *Petronius*; the Emperor had been crowned before, *Oct.* 22, 1520, at *Aix la Chapelle.* In another Place of this Palace, you ſee the Picture of one named *Ugolino* on the Wall, hanging by one Foot, with this Subſcription, *Ugolino traditore, ſtatugliero alla Patria*; perhaps this might be Count *Ugolin* of *Piſa*, one of the Heads of the *Guelphs.* In another Place you ſee an Inſcription beginning thus: *Adeſte O Sol & Lunæ Teſtes*, &c. relating to a Miracle wrought by an Image of our Lady, who delivered *Bologna* from the Peſtilence. That great and ſtately Fountain which faces this Palace, is the Work of the famous Architect and Sculptor *John* of *Bologna*, ſaid by ſome to have coſt ſeventy thouſand Crowns.

In the Church of St. *Petronius* (the biggeſt in the whole City) is to be ſeen the ſo much celebrated *Meridian* Line of *Caſſini*, engraven on a Copper Plate of 222 Feet long, and fixed in the Pavement. It begins at the Entrance of the great Body on the left Hand, and paſſes between the Pillars, without the leaſt Obſtacle, to the End of the little Nave of the Church, the Situation of which is almoſt *Eaſt* and *Weſt.* In the arched Roof of the laſt Nave is a Hole, directly over the Noon-point of this Line, through which a Ray of the Sun entering, marks the Solſtices and Equinoxes upon the Line. The ſame Operation may, without much Difficulty, be performed in any other convenient Place, the whole Myſtery conſiſting only in meaſuring the Degrees on the Line, proportionably to the Height of the Hole through which the Ray enters.

In the Church of *Corpus Domini* they ſhew an embalmed Body of St. *Catherine Vigni*, which has wrought many Miracles: But the Image of our Lady, ſaid to be made by St. *Luke*, is in much greater Veneration with them; her Reſidence is at the Mount *la Guardia*, eight Miles from the City (they were then making a covered Way to that Mountain) from whence they bring her at certain Times in Proceſſion into *Bologna* with more than ordinary Magnificence, attended by the ſeveral Companies of the Artiſans, the Fraternities, Convents, Heads of the Pariſhes, Magiſtrates, the *Gonfalonier*, and the *Legate* himſelf: The Image is always carried under a rich Canopy, the People upon their Knees ſaluting it as it paſſes by, with the moſt zealous Ejaculations that can be conceived.

In the Church of the *Dominicans* you ſee the moſt magnificent Chapel and Tomb of St. *Dominick*; the inlaid Work of different Colours on the Benches of the Choir, done by *Damian* of *Bergamo*, a Monk, are highly eſteemed to this Day, though it is beyond all Diſpute, that ſince the finding out of the Art of imprinting natural Colours on Wood, this Kind of Work has been brought to much greater Perfection. In the ſame Church is to be ſeen the Tomb of *Hentius* or *Enzelin* King of *Sardinia* and *Corſica*, natural Son to the Emperor *Frederick* II. The Epitaph gives you an Account of his being taken Priſoner by the *Bononians*, who detained him twenty-two Years, nine Months, and ſixteen Days in Captivity, till his Death, which happened in *March* 1272. The Tower called *Gariſenda* is about 130 Feet high, and leans like that of *Piſa*; it is a ſquare Tower built of Brick, and its Inclination to one Side proceeds, queſtionleſs, from the ſame Reaſon (*viz.* from the Sinking of the Foundation) as does that of *Piſa.* The bright Stones, known by the Name of *Bononian* Stones, are the Product of the Hill of *Paderna*, about three Miles diſtant from the City.

The Heats being almoſt as troubleſome here as in the *Apennines*, the Men uſe Fans as well as the Women, ſome of which are of Paper, and ſold for a Penny a-piece. In our Inn they had a Way of driving away the Flies by a Machine; they often treated us with *Lake Tortoiſes* of the Bigneſs of a good Trencher; their Fleſh is pretty firm, and not ill taſted.

Leaving *Bologna* about Sun-ſet, we travelled ten Miles to *Samogia*, a ſmall Village about half Way between this City and *Modena.* They told us, that from this Place to the *Alps*, the Country is as level as a Bowling-green, and that the Roads are lined on both Sides, either with Cornfields or Vineyards; the Vines are ſupported by Fruit-trees planted Chequer-wiſe, as we had ſeen them already in ſeveral Parts of *Lombardy*, and afforded a very delightful Proſpect at firſt, but at Length grew offenſive to the Eyes of us Travellers, for Want of that Variety which is diverting to the Sight, and without which nothing is diverting. The ſame Night, as we came near to the Village, we were ſurprized with the Sight of a prodigious Quantity of *ſhining Flies*, called *Lucciole*, with which the Hedges were covered to ſuch a Degree, that they ſeemed to be on Fire; they are not unlike the Locuſts in Shape, but not ſo large; the ſhining Part is a certain yellow hairy Down under the Belly, which being ſtretched at every Motion of their Wings, ſends forth a bright Glance like Fire.

Early in the Morning we purſued our Journey to *Modena*, where we arrived in two Hours. In our Way we paſſed by the Fort of *Urban* VIII. defended by four Baſtions bearing the Names of St. *Mary*, St. *Peter*, St. *Paul*, and St. *Petronius*; and a little on this Side of it we croſſed the River *Panaro*, the Boundary between the *Bolonian* and *Modeneſe* Territories. The City of *Modena* itſelf is ſeated in a fertile Country, but for Want of Trade makes but an indifferent Appearance; for its Fortifications are much decayed, the Streets are narrow and dirty, the Portico's on both Sides of them low and narrow, and even the Churches contain nothing worth taking Notice of; ſo that were it not for its ancient Reputation, and the Reſidence of the Dukes of that Name, it would ſcarce deſerve a Place among the Cities of *Italy.* The old Palace is an inconſiderable Edifice, but the new one promiſes much better.

8. We travelled in Calaſhes in four Hours from *Modena* to *Reggio*, a City as barren in Curioſities as *Modena*, but better built, and its Situation very pleaſant. The Inhabitants tell you Wonders of their Churches, but theſe Things they muſt tell to thoſe that have not ſeen *Rome* or *Naples*; their chief Pretenſions lie in the Workmanſhip of Bones, of which they make ſeveral Sorts of Toys not worth the mentioning, and ſold miſerably cheap. They told us of certain ancient Inſcriptions found at *Reggio*, in which this City was called *Regium Lepidi*, the other *Reggio* in *Calabria ulterior*, being known by the Name of *Regium Julium*, and its Inhabitants *Regienſes*, whereas thoſe of the firſt were called *Rhegini.* They ſtile their Prince Duke of *Reggio* and *Modena*, juſt as in *Scotland* (before the Union) they put the Name of their Country before *England* in the Title of the King. About eight Miles from *Reggio* we paſſed the Bridge over the River *Lenſa*, on the other Side of which begins the Dutchy of *Parma*, being a plain Country, moſtly Paſture, whereas about *Bologna* and *Modena* the Grounds are generally tilled.

The City of *Parma* is ſeventeen Miles from this Bridge, very pleaſantly ſeated, and ſeen at a conſiderable Diſtance, by reaſon of the Streightneſs of the Road leading to it, and the Height of its Spires. Over the Gate, through which we entered, we ſaw the Arms of Pope *Paul* III. the ſame who beſtowed the Dukedoms of *Parma* and *Placentia* upon his natural Son *Lewis.* The River of *Parma* divides it into two Parts, but is not navigable; its Fortifications are very good, and the Citadel deſigned after the Model of that of *Antwerp*, formerly eſteemed a Maſter-piece.

The Ducal Palace is a very indifferent Building, but the new one is likely to be much larger and handſomer. The Wardrobe is well furniſhed, and ſo are the Stables, and the Coaches very rich. The great Theatre is beyond any of that Kind I ever ſaw, either at *Paris* or *Venice*; the ſofteſt Whiſper may be heard through any Part of it, though it is of a very large Extent; there are no Boxes, but only Benches raiſed one above the other,

other as in an Amphitheatre. The Pit is alſo very ſpacious, and may be filled with Water to the Height of three Feet, in which they repreſent Naval Combats with whole Squadrons of little gilt Boats.

Beſides the Schools of the Univerſity, they have here a College, wherein they receive young Gentlemen of all Nations, but none except ſuch as are capable of being admitted Knights of *Malta.* They eat together according to the different Sciences they learn; their Number at this Time amounted to two hundred and thirty. The Dome of the Cathedral is painted by the Hand of *Correggio*, and in the Churches of St *John* and St. *Anthony* are various excellent Pieces. At the Race we ſaw Abundance of very good Company taking the *Tour à la Mode* in their Coaches; but they obſerve here the ſame Cuſtom that is practiſed upon this Account at *Rome*, *viz.* that the Women never go with the Men in the ſame Coach, but always appear in Coaches by themſelves. In our Journey from hence to *Placentia*, we ſaw not any Village or River worth mentioning, except the little diſmantled Town of St. *Domino*, tho' they are thirty-five Miles diſtant one from another.

The City of *Placentia* is ſeated in a pleaſant Plain about ſix hundred Paces from the *Po*; its Circumference is larger than that of *Parma*; the Houſes are of Brick, neatly built, but very low, and on each Side of the Houſes Foot-ways fenced with Poſts, as in *London*, eſpecially in the *Race-ſtreet*, which is as ſtreight as a Line, of an equal Breadth from one End to the other, and three thouſand Feet long. The Statues of the famous *Alexander Farneſe*, Governor of the *Netherlands*, and of his Son *Ranuccio* I. adorn the *Great Place*, or, in plain *Engliſh*, the *great Square.* From the Top of one of the higheſt Steeples we had a full a View of the Country round about, embelliſh'd with the various Windings of the *Po*, and could plainly diſcern *Cremona*, though at twenty Miles Diſtance. The Cathedral has ſome Pictures, done by the Hand of *Carache*; and that of St. *Sixtus*, an Image of our Lady, by *Raphael.* To conclude, *Placentia* is ill-peopled, and the Fortifications are but indifferent, though much extolled by the *Italians*; and their Weights, Meaſures, and Coins, are different from thoſe of *Parma.* We coaſted the Banks of the *Po*, but at ſome Diſtance from the River, following the Current till we came over-againſt *Cremona*, where we paſſed in a Ferry-boat, for there are no Bridges upon the *Po* below *Turin.*

The City of *Cremona* is ſeated on the *Milaneſe* Side of that River; it is very large, but poorer and leſs populous than *Placentia.* The Caſtle, though much extoll'd by the romantick *Italians*, is an antick ſhapeleſs Heap of Ruins; the Inhabitants of this City boaſt exceedingly of its Antiquity, but can produce no authentick Proofs for it. This City is forty Miles from *Mantua*, and in the Way between both you meet with no conſiderable Town except *Buzzolo*, a ſmall City ſurrounded with ſome inconſiderable Works, which among ſome People paſs for Fortifications; however, it bears the Title of a Dukedom, and its Prince is at the ſame Time Sovereign of the adjacent Country for four or five Miles about it. We paſſed the River *Oglio*, which riſes with a large and rapid Current out of the Lake of *Iſco*, and falls into the *Po.*

Almoſt all Deſcriptions I ever ſaw of *Mantua*, have given a very imperfect Account of the true Situation of this City, which is generally repreſented to be in the Midſt of a Lake; but to ſpeak the Truth, this pretended Lake is no more than the Waters of the River *Mincio*, ariſing from the Lake of *Guarda*, which overflowing the flat Country, makes a kind of Marſh fourteen or fifteen Times longer than it is broad, in which, but toward one Side of it, the City of *Mantua* is built on a firm Tract of Ground. The Cauſey over which we paſſed, was between two and three hundred Paces long, but on the Side towards *Verona* it is of a larger Extent. In ſome Places of theſe Marſhes, the Water is always in Motion, but as it ſtagnates in moſt Places, the beſt Part of the rich Inhabitants leave the City during the Summer Seaſon. *Mantua* has only a Wall for its Defence, but the Citadel is very ſtrong: For the reſt, it is about the ſame Bigneſs as *Cremona*, but much better peopled; the Streets are broad and ſtreight, but the Houſes indifferently built.

The *Italians* will tell you ſtrange Things of the Magnificence of the Palace, though, in Effect, it has neither Beauty nor Regularity, and the beſt Idea I can give you of it, is to compare it to *Whitehall*, *viz.* that it is large and commodious, without the other Qualifications belonging to a Royal Palace. We were aſſur'd, that this Palace was moſt magnificently furniſh'd before it was pillaged by the *Imperaliſts*, *July* 18, 1639, but even as you ſee it now, the Duke's Lodgings want nothing of what is requiſite to render them both convenient and ſplendid: The Hall is filled with rare and ancient Pictures, and the Cabinet of Curioſities wants not Materials to entertain the induſtrious Traveller. The Duke of *Mantua* has ſeven or eight Country Seats, among theſe we only ſaw *la Favorite* and *Marmirol*, the laſt of which is very pleaſantly ſeated near a delightful Brook and Wood, and well furniſh'd with Pictures and Antiquities, with Gardens, Orange-walks, Aviaries, and moſt curious Fountains belonging to it. In the Church of St. *Andrew* they ſhew the St. *Longin*, with ſome Drops of that miraculous Blood found in this City in the Time of *Leo* III. which afterwards gave the Occaſion (*viz.* in 1608) to the Inſtitution of the Order of *Mantua* by *Vincent Gonzaga*, who ſelected twenty Knights to be Companions of this Order. The other remarkable Things in *Mantua* are, the Churches of the Jeſuits, of St. *Barnabas*, St. *Maurice*, St. *Sebaſtian*, St. *Urſula*, and St. *Barbara*, the Town houſe, Theatre, Manufactory Halls, the Mill of the twelve Apoſtles, the Synagogue and Shambles. But before we part with *Mantua*, we muſt remember the Village of *Andes* near this City, which gave Birth to *Virgil*;

Mantua Muſarum Domus, atque ad ſidera cantu
Evecta Andino. Sil. Ital. l. 8.

Leaving *Mantua*, we travell'd for twenty two Miles, till we came to the River which is the common Boundary between that Dukedom and the *Venetian State*, and eighteen Miles further came and lodg'd the ſame Night at *Breſcia.* We were not a little ſurpriz'd at the Sight of the Women in the Streets and Shops, a Thing we had not ſeen ſince our Arrival at *Verona.* *Breſcia* is pretty well peopled, and indifferently large; its Citadel, which is very ſtrong, ſtands on an adjacent Hill near the Foot of the *Alps*; the other Fortifications are of no great Moment. The Palace of *Juſtice* is a noble Structure, of a certain Stone not unlike Marble; on the Pediment of the Front you ſee theſe Words;

Fidelis Brixia Fidei & Juſtitiæ conſecravit.

The Armourers Shops are directly oppoſite to this Palace, under a Portico of five hundred Paces long, the Fire-arms of *Breſcia* being accounted the beſt in *Italy.* This City is watered with many fine Springs, and a commodious Rivulet, which have their Riſe among the *Alps.*

In the Cathedral they ſhew you what they call *Conſtantine's Oriſlame*, which they told us was the ſame blue Croſs that appear'd to *Conſtantine*, with this Motto, *In hoc Signo vinces.* But how is it poſſible that an Apparition in the Air could be preſerv'd? And how could it be called an *Oriſlame*, which ſignifies a Kind of gilt *Standard* or Banner? Some deriving its Etymology from *Flammula*, a Banner, and *aurea*, golden, becauſe it was affix'd to a gilt Lance; others from a Sort of gold and flame-colour'd Stuff; it was adorn'd with green Taſſels. I remember *Mezeray* tells us, that the ſecond Race of the *French* Kings uſed to have St. *Martin*'s Cope borne before their Armies, but that the *Capets* made Uſe of the Banner of St. *Dennis*, called *Oriſlame*, kept in that Saint's Church. Perhaps this *Oriſlame* of *Breſcia* is the *Labarum* in which *Conſtantine*, after his Victory over *Maccatius*, order'd a Cypher, which conſiſts of the initial Letters of the Name of Chriſt, to be inſerted.

As we travelled from *Breſcia* to *Bergamo*, we paſſed conſtantly along the Ridge of the *Alps* on our right Hand, at the Diſtance of two or three Miles.

At *Palazzuolo*, a Place ſeated half Way between both theſe Cities (*viz.* fifteen Miles diſtant from each) we paſſed the *Oglio* a ſecond Time. Coming to *Bergamo*, we found it both a trading and a ſtrong Town, its Situation being at the Foot of the *Alps*. The Fortifications are well faced and kept, and the Citadel, with ſome Outworks, defend the riſing Grounds about the City, which has no leſs than five good Suburbs. In the Cathedral you ſee the Tomb of the great *Barth. Cogliano*, General of the *Venetian* Forces againſt the *Milaneſe*; and in that of the *Auſtin* Friars, the Tomb of the famous *Ambroſe Calepin*, a Native of *Calepio*, a Village not far from *Bergamo*. In the Choir of the Cathedral you ſee ſome inlaid Work on the Benches, done after the ſame Manner, and by the ſame Hand, as that we ſaw in the Church of the *Dominicians* at *Bologna*. The *Bergameſe* Jargon is very groſs, beſides which, the Inhabitants have, for the moſt Part, ſcrophulous Tumours on their Throats, which appear very nauſeous to Strangers, though to them it appears ſo natural, that they queſtion whether it be a greater Perfection to have or be without theſe Tumours, and are inclined to hold the former.

The Grounds about *Bergamo*, and generally all over the *Milaneſe*, being watered with many Rivulets ariſing from the *Alps*, the Country People have from thence derived an infinite Number of Channels, whereby they prevent the Inconveniency of Drought, and render their Grounds fertile. The River *Adda* (ariſing out of the Lake of *Como*) having at this Time overflown its Banks, we were obliged to quit our Calaſh at *Canonica*, a Village about twelve Miles from *Bergamo*, and to paſs the River in a Boat, not without ſome Danger, by reaſon of the Violence of the Current. Two Miles above *Canonica*, on the oppoſite Side of the River, lies *Trezzo*, where we embark'd on the Canal called *Navilio della Marreſana*, which reaches in a ſtreight Line within half a Mile of *Milan*, its Length being about twenty Miles. It is ſupplied with Water by the *Adda*, which River having in many Places very ſteep Cataracts or Waterfalls before it comes into the flat Country, is near *Canonica* twenty-five or thirty Feet lower than the Canal; which is the Reaſon that ſo many Attempts were made in vain to bring the Waters of the *Adda* to *Milan*, till at laſt that moſt celebrated Architect and Engineer *Leonardo da Vinci* undertook this Work, and brought it to Perfection. Mr. *Felibien* gives this great *Florentine* the following Character; That he was of a very large Stature, and of ſuch Strength, as to be able to twiſt the Clapper of a Bell with one Hand; he was an excellent Horſeman, a fine Dancer, and very dextrous in the Management of Arms, and all other Gentleman-like Exerciſes; he was one of the beſt Painters of his Age; he and *Michael Angelo* having engaged *Raphael* to leave his firſt Way of Drawing; beſides which, he was a ſkilful Architect, a good Sculptor, and great Engineer; a learned Mathematician, Muſician, Anatomiſt, Philoſopher, Poet, and Hiſtorian; all which, join'd with his courteous and generous Behaviour, certainly render'd him one of the moſt accompliſh'd Perſons the World ever ſaw. He died in the 75th Year of his Age, in the Arms of *Francis* I. King of *France*, who giving him a Viſit, and our illuſtrious *Leonardo* endeavouring to ſhew his Acknowledgment by raiſing his Body in the Bed, the King advanc'd with his Arms to hinder him, and ſo he expir'd. From this Canal we had a moſt delightful Proſpect of the adjacent Country, border'd in many Places with Summer-houſes, Gardens, and Orchards, like ſome of the Canals in *Holland*.

9. Scarce any City in *Europe* hath been ſo entirely deſtroyed by the two terrible Scourges of Mankind, *War* and *Peſtilence*, as *Milan*; notwithſtanding which, it may at this Day be rank'd among the fineſt Cities in the World: It was quite deſtroy'd by *Frederic Barbaroſſa* in 1162. It is almoſt of a circular Figure, about ten Miles in Compaſs, and is ſaid to contain no leſs than thirty thouſand Inhabitants. There are but few Inſtances of ſuch great Cities built in the Middle of the Land without the Conveniency of either the Sea or a River, the Defect of which is ſupplied by many Springs and Rivulets that water the Country adjoining, and the Canal deriv'd from the River *Adda* fills the Ditch of the inward Encloſure of the City with running Water. The Fortificatians, or outward Encloſure, were made ſince the Deſtruction of this City by *Barbaroſſa*. Near the Gate of *Pavia* is to be ſeen the Beginning of a Canal, intended to be drawn from thence to the City of *Pavia*, by *Galeazzo Viſconti*, but the Execution thereof was ſtopt by his Death. A certain *Latin* Author (*Werner Roolwink*) derives the Etymology of *Mediolalum*, *à Sue dimidia lanata*, i. e. from a Sow half cover'd with Wool, found in the ſame Place where this City was founded.

The firſt Thing we thought worthy our Attention, was the famous Cabinet of the late Canon *Manfredi Settala*, a Man equally learned and judicious, not only in his Choice, but alſo in working many curious Things with his own Hands. We ſaw here various Machines, invented for the Diſcovery of the *Perpetual Motion*; Looking-glaſſes of ſeveral Sorts, Dials, Muſical Inſtruments ancient and modern, and ſome of his own inventing; Books, Medals, curious Locks and Keys, Seals, Rings, Pictures, *Indian* Works, Mummies, Arms, ſtrange Habits, Lamps, Urns, Idols, and a great Number of all Sorts of Antiquities; Fruits, Stones, Minerals, Animals, Variety of Shells, Curioſities in Steel, Wood, Amber, and Ivory; a Piece of Cloth made of the Stone *Amianthos*, Monſters, *&c.* But the Diſh of yellow Amber, two Feet in Diameter, is a moſt exquiſite Rarity: There are divers other Pieces of rough Amber with Ants, Flies, Spiders, and other Inſects, encloſed in the Subſtance of them, a convincing Proof, in my Opinion, that Amber is a Kind of Gum or Bituminous Matter harden'd by the Air, the Sea, or ſome other Cauſe, ſo that when (for Inſtance) an Ant happens to light upon a raw and clammy Piece of this Bituminous Matter, ſhe is entangled in this unctuous Subſtance, and it growing harder and bigger by Degrees, the Inſect is encloſed in it. This Opinion is exactly the ſame *Martial* had of it;

Dum Phaëtonteâ formica vagatur in umbrâ
Implicuit tenuem ſuccina Gutta feram:
Sic modò quæ fuerat vitâ contempta manente
Funeribus facta eſt nunc pretioſa ſuis.

There are three or four pretended *Unicorns Horns* in this Cabinet; for though, beyond all Diſpute, they are properly no more than the Teeth of a certain Fiſh found in the *Northern Seas*, yet here, as well as in the *Venetian Treaſury*, and other Places where they are preſerv'd, they retain ſtill the Opinion, that they grow on the Head of that imaginary Creature. There are alſo ſome *Foſſil Horns* exactly like thoſe that grow on Fiſhes, though of a very different Matter. The *Remora*, a Fiſh about the Bigneſs of a Herring, ſhewn in many Cabinets, is of the ſame fabulous Kind; I am ſure I have ſeen no leſs than twelve of them in ſeveral Places, but never two of the ſame Kind.

The Cathedral, founded by *John Galeas Viſconti*, firſt Duke of *Milan*, 13 *June* 1386, and which ſtands in the Center of the City, is a Structure of a prodigious Bulk, though (according to my Computation) a ſixth Part leſs than St. *Peter*'s at *Rome*, but is infinitely beyond it in the Curioſity of the Ornaments and Sculptures, wherewith it is cover'd both within and without, there being not the Breadth of a Hand to be ſeen in the whole that is unwrought. It is built after the *Gothick* Manner, and to form a true Idea of this Edifice, you muſt repreſent to yourſelf a vaſt Collection of *Roſes*, *Trees*, *Animals*, *Groteſques*, *Pyramids*, *Niches*, *Statues*, and a thouſand other Varieties, affording an agreeable Confuſion to the Eye: However, there are only ſome Parts of this Church compleatly finiſh'd, the Canons of the Chapter thinking it their Intereſt not to proceed with too much Vigour in a Thing of this Nature, which brings vaſt Sums of Money by *Donations*, *Legacies*, &c. into their Coffers, Part of which they know how to employ to other Uſes. According to an Inſcription in Gold Letters, engraved on a Piece of Marble in the ſame Church, one *John Peter Carcannis*, a Native of *Milan*, left by his Will the Sum of 230,000 Crowns of Gold, toward the Building and Adorning the Front of this Church, which, nevertheleſs, remains to this Day almoſt naked. There may, perhaps, alſo be another Reaſon why the ſame is not finiſhed; for conſidering that there are two Sorts of Architecture in that Part of it which is already begun, it ſeems as if the Undertakers were not a little puzzled how to reconcile the Uniformity of the Architecture to the *Gothick* Structure of the whole Body of the Church.

Martin the Fifth's Statue ſtands in the Choir of this Church, without a Beard, and a very young Face, though he was near fifty Years old when he was choſen Pope; the Inſcription ſays, it exceeds *Praxiteles*:

> *Præſtantis Imaginis author,*
> *De Tradate fuit Jacobinus in arte profundus,*
> *Non* Praxitele *minor, ſed major, ſarier auſim.*

Near it is the Statue of *Pius* IV. Behind the Choir are two Marble Tables, containing a Catalogue of all the Relicks preſerved in this Church, among which is a Piece of *Moſes*'s Rod, though at the ſame Time they pretend to have it entire at St. *John de Lateran*'s. Beſides this Piece, there is another preſerved at *Florence*, and *Baronius* ſays another was found at *Sens* 1008. On the great Altar you ſee the Nail of the Crucifixion, of which it is ſaid *Conſtantine* made a Bit for a Bridle; five Lights burn conſtantly round it Day and Night.

The Pavement of this Cathedral is more curious and more ſolid than that of St. *Peter*'s at *Rome*, the Marble whereof being very thin, is almoſt worn out. The whole Charge of this Pavement (when finiſhed) is computed at 66,290 Crowns, not including the Choir. We had from the Steeple of this Church a full View of *Milan*, beſides other Cities in the Plain of *Lombardy*, and the Conjunction of the *Alps* and *Apennines* near *Genoa*. The great Bell, called St. *Ambroſe*, is ſeven Feet in Diameter, and weighs thirty thouſand Pounds. In the great Square before the Church we obſerved generally about thirty Coaches; but their ordinary *Tour à la Mode* is a ſpacious unpaved Street, (called *Strada Marina*) ſprinkled every Day with Water.

The *Ambroſian* Library obtained its Name from being dedicated to St. *Ambroſe*, by *Frederick Borromeo* Archbiſhop of *Milan*. A certain Author, in his Deſcription of this Library, printed at *Tortona*, makes the Number of its MSS. amount to 12,000, and the printed Volumes 72,000; but the Library-keeper told us, there were not above 40,000 in all. Among the firſt, *Ruffinus*'s Verſion of *Joſephus* challenges the Precedency for its Antiquity. The great Hall is ſeventy-five Feet long, and thirty broad; it is kept open two Hours in the Forenoon, and as many in the Afternoon. Among other Rarities, we were ſhewn a large Volume of mechanical Draughts, done, as they ſaid, by *Leonardo da Vinci*'s own Hand; the Writing is ſo bad, that it is not to be read without a Perſpective-glaſs. An Inſcription on the Wall near it tells you, that a King of *England* offered three thouſand Piſtoles for it, but mentions not his Name. In the Academy for Painting, adjoining to this Library, we ſaw a Picture of *Clement* X. reſembling a Print ſo exactly, that we were all deceived in it. The Citadel is a regular Hexagon Fortification, well faced, and ſtrengthened with a good Ditch and Counterſcarps. The principal Structures, beſides the Churches and Convents are, the two Palaces of the Governor and Archbiſhop, the Houſes of Marquis *Homodeo*, Count *Barth*, *Areſe*, and Signior *Martini*.

The Seminary (founded by *Charles Borromeo*) has a double Portico, 176 Feet three Inches long, and 16 Feet 10 Inches and a half broad, extending round the Inſide of the great ſquare Court; the firſt Order is *Doric*, the ſecond is *Ionic*. Over the high Portal you ſee the Statue of Piety. The Town-houſe and the Great Hoſpital, the great Court of which is 120 Paces ſquare, about the Inſide whereof are two Rows of Portico's, ſupported on each Side by forty-two Pillars of a certain Kind of Marble found in the *Alps*, each Pillar conſiſting of one ſingle Piece of Stone. The Body of the Structure is of Brick; the old Hoſpital is united with it, but the *Lazaret* or Hoſpital for infected Perſons lies about three hundred Paces without the City; *Bramante* was the Architect. This large Structure is compoſed of four Galleries joined in a Square, each of which contains ninety-two Chambers, about twenty-four Feet broad; ſo that the whole Length of each Gallery (including the Walls) amounts to eighteen hundred Feet. The Inſide is ſurrounded with a Portico ſuſtained by Marble Pillars, and the Square within is a Meadow, watered by ſeveral Springs and Brooks, in the Middle of which ſtands an Altar under a Dome, ſupported by Pillars, by which Means the Sick may hear Maſs ſaid from their Chambers.

The Church of St. *Ambroſe* hath many Statues and Pictures, which were the Production of the ignorant Ages: Among the reſt, you ſee here a Dragon of Braſs, reſting upon a Column of Marble; ſome think it to be the Serpent of *Æſculapius*, others an Emblem of the Serpent in the Deſart; but the common Opinion is, that this Dragon was caſt out of the Fragments of that Serpent; which makes many Pilgrims flock thither to worſhip it, as *Boſſi* and *Charles Torre* aſſure us by their own Experience. In the Church of St. *Euſtorgia* they ſhew ſtill the Tomb that contained the Bodies of the three Kings that were afterwards removed to *Cologne*; they pretend, that it retains to this Day a certain Virtue of curing Diſtempers; for it is to be obſerved, that the Inhabitants of the *Milaneſe* are not behind-hand with the reſt in magnifying their Relicks, of which they have Abundance, for at St. *Alexander*'s there are no leſs than 144,000 Martyrs of the Catacombs of St. *Sebaſtian*.

The chief Curioſities made in *Milan* are Works of ſeveral Sorts in Steel and Rock-Cryſtal, with which they are furniſhed by the neighbouring *Alps*; of the largeſt Pieces they make Looking-glaſſes, but they are ſeldom above a Foot ſquare. It is to the Curioſity of their Workmanſhip that ſome attribute the Original of the old Proverb, *viz. He that wiſhes well to* Italy, *muſt deſtroy* Milan: Meaning, that thereby its Riches would be diſperſed through the whole Country; though ſome explain the ſame Proverb of the fatal Wars that have afflicted *Italy* on the Account of this City, it having been forty Times beſieged, and two and twenty Times taken. The Houſe of the Marquis of *Simonetta*, two Miles without the City, hath an Echo which repeats the laſt Syllable about forty Times: We heard it in a covered Gallery in one of the Wings of the Buildings, where the Echo anſwering from the other Wing, we found the Sound to decreaſe like the Reboundings of an Ivory Ball.

In our Way from *Milan* to *Pavia* (which is only fifteen Miles) we went to take a View of the famous Convent in the Plain of *Barco*, founded by *John Galeazzo Viſconti* firſt Duke of *Milan*. The Church is of a *Gothick* Architecture, but the Chapels and Altars not inferior to any in *Italy*; the Cloyſters are wonderfully handſome, and the Gardens, Parks, Brooks, and Avenues exceeding delightful; it contained then about fifty-eight Friers, who lived there very deliciouſly. The once famous, but now inconſiderable, City of *Pavia*, is ſo much fallen from its ancient Luſtre, that its poor Remains bear ſcarce any Reſemblance to what in ancient Times its Buildings were, when the Metropolis of a Kingdom, and the Reſidence of no leſs than twenty Monarchs, the Caſtle being now no more than an old Heap of Stones, and the Fortifications quite neglected. The Univerſity (founded by *Charlemain*, and re-eſtabliſhed by *Charles* IV.) is not much better than the Town; it hath, however, five Colleges, among which that of *Borromeo* is worth taking Notice of, for the Beauty of its Structure; the Scholars of every College wear different Gowns; which Diſtinction is of great Service.

The Cathedral is a low, dark, and very old Edifice;

over againſt it is an *Equeſtrian* Statue of Braſs, called the *Regiſol*, which ſome think to be the Statue of *Antoninus Pius*; *Platina* gives it the ſame Name, and ſays it was brought from *Ravenna* after that City had been ſacked by King *Luitprand*, the ſame who (as they ſay) brought St. *Auſtin*'s Body from *Sardinia* to *Pavia*, where it was buried in St. *Peter*'s Church, now in the Poſſeſſion of the *Auſtin Friers*, though it is certain that they cannot ſhew the Place where the Body lies, the Marble Tomb in the Chapel on one Side of the Church being erected only in Honour of that Saint. *Bernard Saccus*, (l. 10. c. 3.) a Native of *Pavia*, in his Hiſtory of that City, gives us the following Account of the Tranſlation of St. *Auſtin*'s Body: *In templo D. Petri à Luitpranda ædificato conditum Auguſtini corpus fuit; & ne facile reſciri poſſet, ferunt Luitprandum tribus locis effoſſis, ſtructiſque, ſepulchris, alibi deinde nocte, paucis operi adhibitis, juſſiſſe corpus condi, omnibus ſepulchris eadem nocte, occluſis, ut certa corporis ſede ignorata, difficilior in ævum fieret occaſio, ejus perquirendi rapiendique. Conſtructum deinde alio ſeculo ſacellum D. Auguſtino fuit, juxta Templum D. Petri, in quo ſacello Arca marmorea & celebris, compoſita eſt, Auguſtina ſepulchrum repreſentans.* The ſame Author makes the following Obſervations concerning *Pavia*, That the Grounds thereabouts produce naturally Aſparagus twice every Year, which are eaten raw by the Country People; and that the *Po*, which now is five or ſix Miles from that City, reached formerly within five hundred Paces of it; which explains ſeveral Paſſages in the ancient Geographers, who place *Pavia* near that River: *Padus*, adds *Saccus*, *ſæpe totus ab alveo proſiliens alium ſibi extemplo alveum ſine foſſoribus eruit. Si ab Apennino aquarum copia irruat, fluctus in adverſam ripam torquet, contra vero ſi ab Alpium latere aquarum impetus fiat: ſi ex utraque parte, effertur ſupramodum.*

Coming out of *Pavia*, we paſſed the River *Teſin* (*Ticinum*) over a covered Bridge, being the moſt rapid and largeſt River of all that fall into the *Po*. It is ſubject to great Inundations, which ſometimes prove fatal to the adjacent Fields; they ſay, that if theſe Inundations continue for eight Days, (which, however, happens rarely) the Coldneſs of the Waters deſtroys the Herbs to that Degree, that they ſcarce recover in ſeveral Years after.

The River *Ticinum* had formerly communicated its Name to the City of *Pavia*, built upon its Bank; *Saccus* ſays, in the Year 472, its Name was changed in the Time of *Odoacer*, who, after he had deſtroyed it, granted Immunity for five Years to the Inhabitants, in order to rebuild the City; whence the City was called *Papia quaſi piorum patria*, from the Piety of its Citizens, who went to *Ravenna* to implore the King's Pardon, not for their embracing the Chriſtian Religion, which they had done long before. *Me ſi audieritis*, ſaid one of their Envoys after their Return, *nomen inveniemus, quod noſtræ pietatis officia in patriam reſtituendam, paucis ſyllabis poſteritati atteſtabitur, & Ticini nomen aquis reſtituetur. Papia piorum Patria*, &c. I ſhall add only, that *Pavia* is famous for the Misfortune of two Kings taken Priſoners there, *viz.* *Deſiderius* by *Charlemain*, and *Francis* I. by *Charles* V.

10. We dined at *Voghera*, a Town about fifteen Miles from *Pavia*, and lodged the ſame Night at *Novi*, a City ſeated at the Foot of the *Apennines*, thirty Miles from *Genoa*, under whoſe Juriſdiction it is; the Road betwixt both is very mountainous. The Situation of *Genoa* is at the End of a Gulph, partly on the Brow of a Hill, which forms a Creſcent round the Gulph, and partly on a little Plain betwixt the Foot of the Hills and the Seaſhore; the Streets are narrow, and the Houſes in the lower Part of the City ſix or ſeven Stories high, but are lower by Degrees as the Aſcent riſes; this affords a pleaſant Proſpect at a Diſtance, but carries with it divers Inconveniencies, eſpecially for Coaches, which for that Reaſon are not much in Faſhion here, the Ladies being generally carried in Litters, and Gentlemen uſing Calaſhes they drive themſelves. It is ſtrengthened by a double Fortification, reaching on both Sides to the Shore, the innermoſt incloſes the Body of the City, and the ſecond the riſing Grounds about it. When I had taken a View of the City of *Genoa*, I could not but be ſurprized at what is commonly reported of it, *viz.* that it is built all of Marble, whereas it is beyond all Contradiction, that (except ſome Houſes in the *Strada Nuovo*, that are either adorned with, or have whole Fronts of Marble) their ordinary Materials for Building are Brick and Stone, or both together, and their Houſes are generally plaiſtered over on the Outſide. Notwithſtanding this, *Genoa* is not deſtitute of beautiful Structures, eſpecially in five or ſix of the beſt Streets, and in the Suburbs of St. *Pietro d' Arena*; beſides that, *Genoa* has this Advantage in Building, that Slates and Glaſs are as plentiful here as they are rare in other Parts of *Italy*.

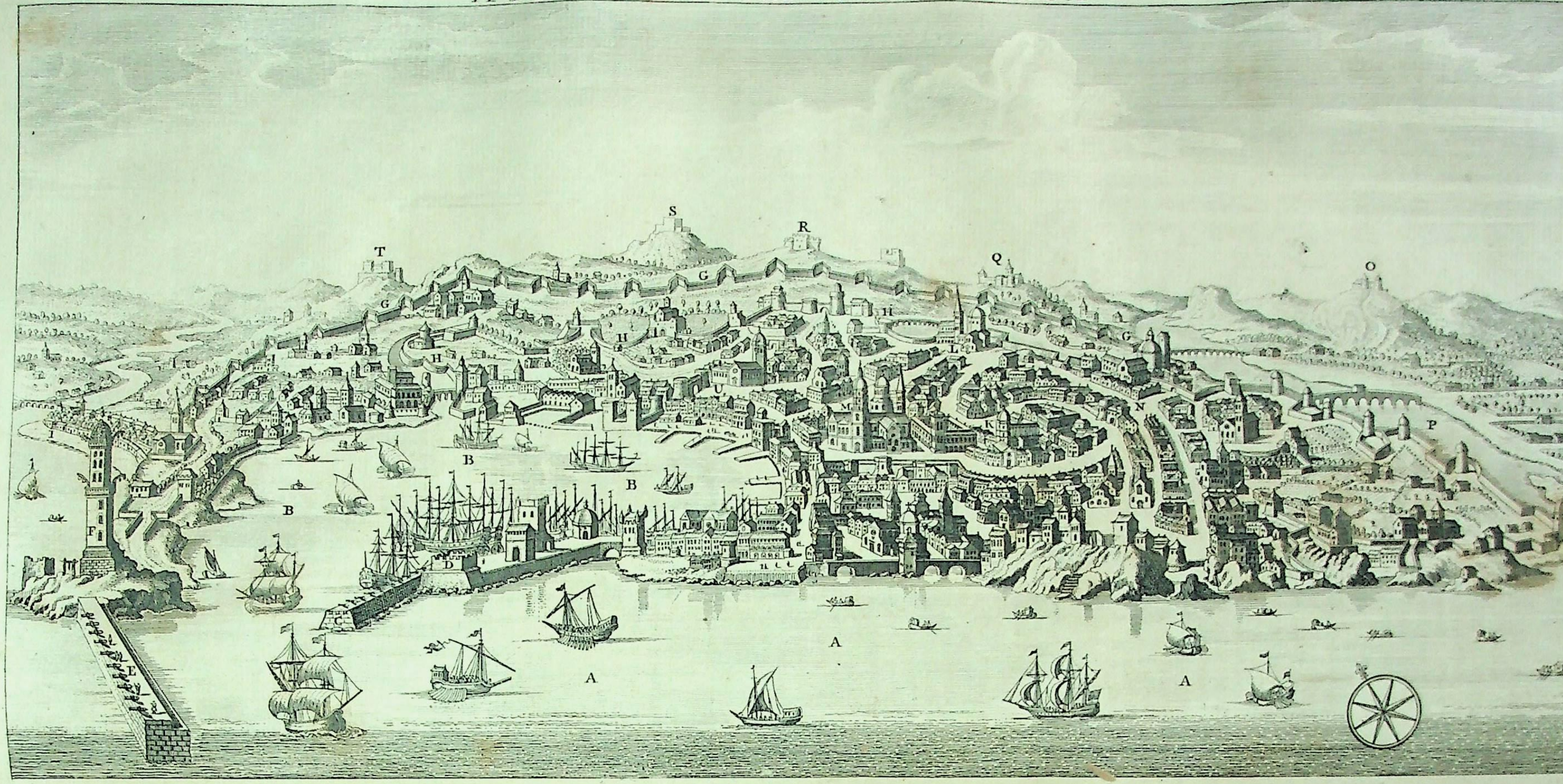
The pretended *Gardens in the Air* in *Genoa*, compared by ſome to the penſile Gardens of *Semiramis*, owe their Original to nothing elſe but the Scarcity of Ground, which obliges the Inhabitants to put their Flower-pots in their Balconies, and ſometimes to cover them with Earth. The beſt Edifices of *Genoa* eſcaped the Fury of the *French* Bombs, which being levelled againſt the middle Part of the City, did moſt dreadful Execution, there being to this Day (1688) above five hundred ruined Houſes in that Part of the City. In the Church of *our Lady of the Vineyards* they ſhewed us a Bomb which fell there without the leaſt Detriment; had not the *French* Bombs thrown down four or five Churches and as many Convents at the ſame Time, they would certainly make the World believe that the Bombs had a Reſpect for ſo ſacred a Place. During this Conflagration, the Doge, with thirty Perſons more, ſheltered themſelves in the great Hoſpital called the *Albergo*, whither many of the Inhabitants alſo carried their beſt Effects. To prevent the like for the future, they are at preſent buſied in making a third Mole, which is to ſtretch further into the Sea than the two former. The Harbour of *Genoa* is capacious enough, and of a good Depth, but is expoſed to the *Lubeccio* or the *African* South-Weſt Wind, the moſt dangerous that reigns in this Part of the *Mediterranean*. This obliged them to make another leſſer Port within the great one, for the Security of their Galleys, which are now reduced to ſo ſmall a Number as ſix, an inſignificant Squadron in Compariſon of what the *Genoeſe* Navies were in former Times.

Thoſe that intend to have a compleat Idea of *Genoa*, muſt view it diſtinctly from three ſeveral Places, from the Top of the *Pharos* or Water-Tower; from the Sea at a Mile's Diſtance; and from the Top of the Hill. The publick Palace, or *Palazzo Reale*, where the Doge, and ſome of the Senators lodge with their Families, is a very large Structure. In the little Arſenal of this Palace we were ſhewn a Roſtrum of an ancient *Roman* Ship; it was of Iron, with a Boar's Head at the End of it: The Inſcription tells you, that it was found in the Harbour of *Genoa*, as they were cleanſing it. Here are alſo ſome Cuiraſſes, ſaid to have belonged to certain Ladies of this City who fought againſt the *Turks*.

The Ladies generally dreſs themſelves after the *French* Mode, but the ordinary Sort make Uſe of a Kind of little Fardingals. The Noblemen, though not obliged to any particular Habit, yet wear, for the moſt Part, Black and Cloaks; they aſſume the Titles of Dukes, Marquiſſes, Counts, *&c.* which the *Venetian* Nobility do not, but they wear no Swords.

The Doge (who muſt be fifty Years old at leaſt) is ſtiled *His Serenity*, the Senators *Their Excellencies*, and the Noblemen *Moſt Illuſtrious*, a Title of no great Moment in *Italy*. The Doge is crowned with a Crown of Gold, and holds a Sceptre in his Hand, by Reaſon of the Kingdom of *Corſica* under the Juriſdiction of this Republick, but his Power is as much limited as that of the Doge of *Venice*; beſides that, at the End of every two Years, Deputies are always ſent to his Serenity, to give him to underſtand, that his Time being expired, he muſt leave the Palace. We ſaw once the whole Senate in their Formalities at the Proceſſion on the Feaſt of *Corpus Chriſti*, where the Doge appeared

A PROSPECT OF THE CITY OF GENOA



AAA	*The Bay*	E	*The Battery*	I	*S.t Peter de Arena*	N	*The Hospital*	R	*The Old Castle.*
BBB	*The Harbour*	F	*The Pharos or Watch Tower*	K	*The Doges Palace*	O	*Lady of y.e Vineyards Church*	S	*Bastia.*
C	*The Mole*	GGG	*The Fortification round y.e Town*	L	*The Arsenal*	P	*The Bisagno*	T	*Bastia di Permonto.*
D	*The Fort*	HHH	*The Old Wall*	M	*The Cathedral*	Q	*S.t Bartlomew*	U	*Church of y.e Annunciata*

peared in a crimſon Robe, with a kind of ſquare Bonnet on his Head; before him were carried two Battle Axes and a Sword in the Scabbard, a Senator marching on each Side of him in a black Gown, but of the ſame Make with that of the Doge; the Streets were ſtrew'd with green Herbs, and lined on both Sides with Tapeſtry; in the Windows we ſaw the Ladies dreſs'd in their beſt Attire, with Baſkets full of Flowers, which they threw among thoſe that follow'd the Proceſſion, according to their ſeveral Inclinations, the Gentlemen receiving theſe Favours with low Reverences from the Hands of the fair Diſtributors.

The Church of the *Annunciata*, though the faireſt in *Genoa*, yet in Beauty and Magnificence is much inferior to many we have had Occaſion to deſcribe before. The moſt remarkable Thing that belongs to it is, that it owns for its Founder a Citizen of *Genoa* of the Family of *Lomellino*, who built it at his own Expence.

I will not detain you with the Dialogue between the Crucifix at St. *Jerom* and St. *Bridget*, any more than with an ample Deſcription of the great Diſh made of one ſingle Emerald, in which, they ſay, Chriſt eat the *Paſchal Lamb*, (*Beda* ſays it was a Silver Diſh) *Du Val* would have this Emerald Diſh to be one of the Preſents made by the Queen of *Sheba* to *Solomon*.

At St. *Mary of the Caſtle* there is another *ſpeaking Crucifix*; for a certain Gentleman, it ſeems, having made a Promiſe of Marriage to his Miſtreſs in a Place of the City where a Crucifix ſtood, which he afterwards refuſed to fulfil; the Lady accuſed him before the Judges, where, being upon the Point of loſing the Cauſe for Want of ſufficient Witneſs, ſhe appeal'd to the ſaid Crucifix; and ſome Perſons being ſent thither, and the Queſtion propoſed to the Crucifix, it anſwer'd with a Nod, which made the Judges determine in Favour of the injured Lady; which is the Reaſon that this Crucifix is particularly reverenc'd by Maids. But I cannot ſay how far it is truſted. The Aſhes of St. *John Baptiſt* are preſerved in the Cathedral, in a Shrine ſupported by four beautiful Columns of Porphyry, brought from *Smyrna* in 1098. This Saint and the Emperor are the two Protectors of *Genoa*, and the Image of the firſt is ſtamp'd on its Coin, which is the faireſt and beſt in *Italy*, commonly called *Genouines*.

The *Traffick* of *Genoa* conſiſts chiefly in *Velvets*, *Points*, *Gloves*, *Anchovies*, dry *Confections*, and various Sorts of *Fruits*, but is much decay'd; for though ſome private Perſons are ſtill exceeding rich, yet the Generality grow poor; the Government monopolizes the Trade of Wine and Corn, ſo that the *Tavern* and *Innkeepers* muſt buy their Wines out of the Cellar of the State, and the Bakers fetch their Corn from the publick Granaries.

11. Taking our Way from *Genoa* towards *Caſal*, we came back the ſame Way we went as far as *Novi*, where, hiring a Coach to *Turin*, we dined the next Day at *Alexandria*, a little City, provided with ſlender Fortifications; notwithſtanding which, it maintain'd a Siege of ſix Months againſt *Frederick Barbaroſſa*, who gave it the Name of *Cæſarea*, which *Alexander* III. changed into *Alexandria*. What ſome affirm, *viz.* that the Emperors uſed to be crown'd here with a Crown of Straw, is a mere Fable, whence (they ſay) it got the Name of *Alexandria di Paglia*, or *of Straw*, which, indeed, it retains to this Day, though the Reaſon of it is not known. *Caſal* is a ſtrong City, ſeated on the right Bank of the *Po*; beſides the old Caſtle, it has a new Citadel, fortified with ſix Royal Baſtions, Halfmoons before the Curtains, and a large and deep Ditch full of Water, and an Arſenal ſtored with Arms for ten thouſand Men. Since the *French* have been in Poſſeſſion of this Citadel, they have made conſiderable Alterations in the Fortifications, eſpecially in the Baſtions, which being very large, they made a ſecond Rampart, and new Baſtions within the other.

From *Caſal* we paſs'd the *Po* a fourth Time, the Banks of which our Coach follow'd for a conſiderable Time; we paſs'd in Sight of *Terni*, a ſmall fortified Place in that Part of *Monſerrat* under the Juriſdiction of the Duke of *Savoy*. *Verrue* lies on the right Side of the *Po*, and is much ſtronger than the other. After we had travell'd eight Miles from *Caſal*, we entred *Piedmont*, the Ground being ſtill level, but not long after found ourſelves among the Mountains, in a large and flat Valley, almoſt ſurrounded with the *Alps*: The Grounds in ſome Parts of this Plain are exceeding rich, but in ſome others very indifferent. In our Paſſage we ſaw two or three large Spots of Ground, where two Days before had ſtood the fineſt Corn in the World, now laid quite Waſte by the Hailſtones, the very Straw being beaten into the Ground, and the Vines, Walnut and other Trees broke all to Pieces. It is generally reckon'd but forty-five Miles from *Caſal* to *Turin*, but the *Montferrat* Miles, as well as thoſe in *Piedmont*, are much longer than thoſe in *Lombardy*.

The City of *Turin* is ſeated in a Plain upon the River *Doire*, three hundred Paces from the *Po*; not only the Town, but alſo the Avenues leading to it, are very pleaſant; but what moſt pleaſes Strangers is, that here they are rejoic'd with the frank Converſation of the Inhabitants, after they have been almoſt tired out with the ſtarched and jealous Reſervedneſs of the *Italians*, it being certain, that their Manner of living at *Turin*, may be compar'd to the moſt polite City of *France*, and that Language is as commonly ſpoken here as the *Italian*, the People generally following the ſame Steps in their Converſation, and it may be ſaid without the leaſt Exaggeration, that the Court of *Savoy* is as ſprightly and gay as any in *Europe*. The old Part of *Turin* is ſomewhat indifferently built, but to make Amends for this, the new Part has broad ſtreight Streets, and the Houſes are large, high, and pretty uniform. The Street that paſſes through the two Squares, and reaches from the Caſtle to the new Gate, is one of the faireſt in *Europe*. The Houſes in the new Square are adorn'd with large Portico's that encloſe them on all Sides. The Duke's Palace has very good Apartments, though it appears with no great Luſtre on the Outſide. The Palace of the *Jeſuits*, and of the Prince of *Carignan*, (but lately finiſh'd) are both magnificent Structures. *Turin* is but of an indifferent Bigneſs, encloſ'd with a regular Fortification by the preſent Duke; but the Citadel exceeds the reſt both in Strength and Beauty, but was not quite finiſh'd. The Walks of Oaks on the Ramparts are very delightful to behold at a Diſtance, and afford an agreeable Shade to thoſe that divert themſelves here, with the moſt delicious Proſpect towards the Rivers; but the general Meeting-place of the Gentry is near *Valentia*, a Country Seat of the Duke upon the Banks of the *Po*, about a Mile from *Turin*, beſides which the Duke has ſeven or eight more, all well furniſh'd. Before we leave *Turin*, we muſt not forget to ſay ſomething of the new Chapel dedicated to the *holy Handkerchief*, in the Cathedral; it is, beyond all Queſtion, a very glorious Piece of Workmanſhip, but what ſome have pretended, *viz.* that it excels the Chapel of St. *Lawrence* at *Florence*, is ſo far from being true, that it is not comparable to it; they are indeed both of the ſame Figure, but that of *Turin* is much leſs, and will be embelliſh'd only with black Marble. I muſt upon this Occaſion put you in Mind, that inſtead of one, there are at leaſt five or ſix of theſe pretended *holy Handkerchiefs*, *viz.* two at *Rome*, in St. *Peter*'s and St. *John de Lateran*; one at *Cadoin* in *Perigort*; one at *Beſançon*, one at *Compeigne*, one at *Milan*, and another at *Aix la Chapelle*; they all produce papal Bulls to maintain their Titles, in which Point the Handkerchief of *Cadoin* has the Preference, being authorized by no leſs than fourteen Bulls, whereas that of *Turin* has only four.

12. Since we are going to leave *Italy*, I have a Mind to entertain you with ſome Obſervations, which I had not the Opportunity to inſert in any of my former Letters. Our ſhort Stay in the Places through which we paſſed, would not ſuffer us to ſpend much Time in making Acquaintance with the People of the Country; and conſequently, we could not be ſo particularly informed of their Cuſtoms; neither do I intend to enter on that Subject, but only to communicate ſome Remarks to you, without any other Order than as they ſhall

offer themſelves to my Memory. I could not give you an Account of thoſe Academies of the *Virtuoſi*, that are eſtabliſhed in almoſt all the Towns in *Italy*, becauſe I had not Time to enquire particularly about them; but if I may give Credit to the Information I received from ſeveral Perſons, they are certainly, notwithſtanding the Noiſe they make about them, but very inconſiderable Societies, as I have intimated before. The affected Oddneſs of their Titles are very whimſical, they are not much unlike the Names which the Grooms in *France* and *England* give to their Horſes. I ſhall only mention a Dozen of them. Thus the *Academiſts* of *Genoa* call themſelves *Addormentati*, i. e. *Drowſy*; thoſe of *Naples*, *Ardenti*, i. e. *Burning*; thoſe of *Alexandria*, *Immobili*, i. e. *Immovable*; thoſe of *Rome*, *Fantaſtic* and *Humoriſti*, i. e. *Fantaſtical* or *Humourous*; thoſe of *Viterbo*, *Oſtinati*, i. e. *Obſtinate*; thoſe of *Siena*, *Intronati*, i. e. *Giddy-headed*, or *Block-heads*; at *Peruſa* they ſtile themſelves *Inſenſati*, i. e. *Mad*; at *Parma*, *Innominati*, i. e. *Harmleſs*; at *Bologna*, *Otioſi*, i. e. *Idle*; at *Milan*, *Naſcoſti*, i. e. *Concealed*; at *Ancona*, *Caliginati*, i. e. *Obſcure* and *confuſed*; at *Mantua*, *Invaghiti*, i. e. *Eaſy* or *Pliable*; and at *Macerata*, *Catenati*, i. e. *Chained*. I perceive I have ſkipped from Place to Place without any Order, but that is not material in a Thing of this Nature.

We were treated with a great deal of Civility and Kindneſs by the *Italians*, as far as we could judge by outward Appearances; but to deal plainly, their Complaiſance is a Mixture of Flattery and Deſign. We found alſo by Experience, that the People of this Nation are very ſober. The Inns in the little Towns, eſpecially on certain Roads, are very ill furniſhed with Proviſions. The firſt Courſe they call the *Antipaſto*, is a Diſh of Giblets boiled with Salt and Pepper, and mixed with Whites of Eggs; after which Courſe, comes two or three ſmall Diſhes, one after another, of different *Ragous*. Between *Rome* and *Naples* the Traveller is ſometimes regal'd with *Buffaloes* and *Crows*. Some Hiſtorians relate, that the firſt *Buffaloes* that were ſeen in *Italy*, were brought thither *Anno Dom.* 595; the *Buffaloe*'s Fleſh is black, ſtinking, and hard; there are none but the moſt beggarly *Jews* at *Rome* who eat it, and the Beaſt muſt be hunted, otherwiſe it is impoſſible to chew its Fleſh. They have all the various Kinds of Wine in *Italy*, but the beſt Sorts are ſcarce. About *Rome* there is the Wine of *Genſano*, *Albano*, and *Caſtle Gandolfo*, in which Places the Soil is the ſame; the *Greco* of *Naples* and the *Lacryma Chriſti* are ſtrong, but the ſmall *Aſprino bianco*, and the *Chiarello piccante*, ſeemed more agreeable to our Taſte, though they are much leſs eſteemed. At *Florence* and *Monteſiaſcone* the richeſt Wines are pleaſant, and have no more Fire than what is convenient for ordinary Drink; but there is no great Quantity of them. The Great Duke's delicate *Moſcadello* grows in a little Vineyard, and is conſecrated to his own Uſe, or to be ſent as Preſents, but never diſperſed through the Country. There are alſo ſome good Sorts of Wine near *Verona*, and in the State of *Genoa*. About *Loretto* the Caſks are made ſhort and broad, like a *Dutch* Cheeſe, but towards *Pavia* their Length is about ſeven Times their Diameter. Towards *Parma* and *Placentia*, where there are excellent Paſtures, they make Cheeſe of all their Milk. Butter is ſcarce in *Italy*, inſtead of which they uſe Oil in all their *Ragous* and Fricaſies; but though they draw it from their own Olive-trees, it is oftentimes worſe than in thoſe Countries where none of theſe Trees grow; for what will yield the Price and keep longeſt is always tranſported for the ſake of Gain. We have not ſeen the chief Seaſon for Fruit in this Country. At *Venice*, where we ſtaid two Months in Winter, we had white Grapes of *Bologna*, very firm, and of a moſt delicious Taſte. At *Naples* we eat Winter Melons, and at *Genoa* we were entertained with all Sorts of ſmall Fruits, and I never ſaw ſo good and large Cherries as there. The *Riviera di Genoa* is peculiarly famous for excellent Fruit; it may be truly ſaid of *Genoa, that its Hills are without Wood*, but all the reſt of the Proverb is falſe, *Men without Faith, Ladies without Shame, and Sea without Fiſhes*. There are both Rogues and honeſt Men every where, and we found by Experience, that there are very good Fiſh in the Sea of *Genoa*. I took Pleaſure two or three Times to go in the Morning to ſee the Fiſh-market at *Naples*, *Venice*, *Ancona*, and *Leghorn*, and other Places, where I obſerved ſeveral Sorts that I had never ſeen in other Places. The Gulph of *Cajeta* abounds with Sturgeon, ſome of which are alſo found in the *Tyber*; it is excellent when roaſted freſh.

In all our Travels through *Italy*, we never ſaw either a Hare or Partridge in the Fields; and I might alſo add, we ſaw as few in the Inns. It is very ſtrange, in my Opinion, that theſe Animals are not more plentiful, ſince the Country is not wholly deſtitute of them. There are large Extents of Ground in *Italy*, which are almoſt uninhabited, and conſequently ought to abound with Game, proportionable to the like Places in the reſt of the World. And again it might be reaſonably ſuppoſed, that the Game ſhould be more here than in other Places, becauſe the Lords of theſe Grounds are never wont to reſide on them, and yet are no leſs jealous of their Rights than the Gentlemen of other Countries. In *England* and *France*, there are many Perſons of Quality who paſs their Time in the Country, but that is not the Cuſtom in *Italy*, where all Perſons of Note live in the Cities, out of which there are no Caſtles or great Houſes to be ſeen, which belong to private Perſons, or at leaſt they are very rare, eſpecially if we compare this Country with *France* and with *England*. To return to our Game; it muſt be acknowledged, that Quails are not ſo great Rarities here as Partridges, for on the Approach of Spring they come in Bevy's from *Africa* and cover the whole Country. Theſe poor little Creatures are ſo tired with their long Paſſage, that they throw themſelves into Ships, and wherever they can find a Place to repoſe themſelves. They may be caught in Heaps without the leaſt Trouble; but ſince they are extremely lean, they who take them uſually feed them, for ſome Time, before they eat them. I believe it is a Queſtion not yet reſolved, whether theſe Birds fly over the Sea at one Flight, or whether they do not ſometimes ſwim to take Breath? It is indeed hard to conceive that the Quail, which has not a ſtrong Wing, and flies heavily, ſhould be able to continue its Flight ſo long. But on the other Side, I am inclined to believe, that the Water would ſo moiſten and drench the Feathers, that it could never ſpread its Wings again; and beſides, its Leanneſs and Wearineſs, the Dangers to which it expoſes itſelf, and its Eagerneſs to find a Reſting-place, are, in my Opinion, convincing Arguments, that it flies all the Way without Intermiſſion, though, it muſt be confeſſed, this Notion is ſubject to Difficulties.

I ſaw but one *Scorpion* in *Italy*, and I could not learn that theſe Animals are very miſchievous in this Country: There are ſeveral Ways to guard againſt them; but I never ſaw any of thoſe hanging Beds that are uſually talked of as common there. The People about *Verona* make Uſe of Iron Bedſteads, which they place at ſome Diſtance from the Walls, that thoſe Inſects may neither breed in them, nor be able to come upon the Beds, and the Feet of the Bedſteads are filed and poliſhed for the ſame Reaſon. If the Animal itſelf can be caught and bruiſed, on the Part which it ſtung, it is a certain Remedy; and there are alſo Salts and Oils extracted out of it, which produce the ſame Effect: But after all, the Stinging of Scorpions is not mortal in *Italy*; and beſides, ſuch Inſtances happen ſo very rarely, that they who are deſirous to travel into that Country, ought not to be diſcouraged by them. There are two Sorts of Animals to which the *Italians* give the Name *Tarantula*; one is a Sort of *Lizard*, whoſe Biting is reputed mortal; it is found eſpecially about *Fondi*, *Cajeta*, and *Capua*: But this is not that, which other Nations call *Tarantula*. The true *Tarantula* is a Spider, and lives in the Fields; there are many of them in *Abruzzio*, *Calabria*, and they are alſo found in ſome Parts of *Tuſcany*. Such as are ſtung by this Creature, make a thouſand different Geſtures in a Moment; for they weep, dance, tremble, laugh, grow pale, cry, ſwoon away, and, after a few Days of Torment, expire, if they be not aſſiſted in Time. They find ſome Relief by Sweating and Antidotes, but *Muſick* is the great and ſpecifick Remedy. A learned Gentlemen of unqueſtionable Credit told me at *Rome*, that he had been twice a Witneſs both of the Diſeaſe and of the Cure. They are both attended with Circumſtances that ſeem very ſtrange; but the Matter of Fact is well atteſted, and undeniable. I think I could produce natural and eaſy Reaſons to explain this Effect of Muſick; but without engaging myſelf in a Diſſertation that would carry me too far, I ſhall content myſelf with relating ſome other Inſtances of the ſame Kind: Every one knows the Efficacy of *David*'s Harp to reſtore *Saul* to the Uſe of his Reaſon. I remember *Lewis Guyon*, in his Leſſons, has a Story of a Lady of his Acquaintance, who lived one hundred and ſix Years without ever uſing any other Remedy than Muſick; for which Purpoſe ſhe allowed a Salary to a certain Muſician, whom ſhe called her Phyſician; and I might add, that I was particularly acquainted with a Gentleman, very much ſubject to the Gout, who infallibly received Eaſe, and ſometimes was wholly freed from his Pains by a loud Noiſe. He uſed to make all his Servants come into his Chamber, and beat with all their Force upon the Table and Floor; and the Noiſe they made, in Conjunction with the Sound of a Violin, was his Sovereign Remedy. Highway Robbers (about which Reports prevail ſo ſtrongly) are not more frequent or dangerous in this Country, than Scorpions or Tarantulas, for there have not been any Banditti at *Rome* ſince the Pontificate of *Sixtus* V. And I think I told you, that the Marquis *del Carpio* hath extirpated them out of *Naples*. I do not remember that ever any Perſon was put to Death in all the Places through which we travelled, during the Time we ſtaid in them. There is not a City, perhaps, in the whole World, where Executions are ſo rare as at *Venice*. They who are under the Patronage of a Nobleman, which is a Thing very eaſily obtained, may do what they pleaſe; only they muſt take Care never to commit a Villainy in a publick Place, or that may make too great a Noiſe. At our Entry into moſt Cities our Piſtols were taken from us; but we always found them at the other Gate at our Departure. This is a troubleſome Thing, for at the End of the Voyage the Charge amounts to as much the Piſtols are worth. It is not lawful to wear Swords either at *Genoa* or *Lucca*, but that Privilege is readily granted to Strangers, when they deſire it; and both this and the former Cuſtom are daily declining, ſo that, in all Probability, they will be very ſoon out of Date.

The Bayonet is prohibited in Cities, but in the Country every one may wear what Arms he pleaſes; and even thoſe who travel on Horſeback, oftentimes carry Fuſees. The *Stiletto*'s of *Milan* are famous, for they do their Work effectually. Love and Jealouſy are the two Furies that ſhed moſt Blood in *Italy*. The *Italians* are ſaid to be jealous without Reaſon, and the leaſt Suſpicion puts them into a Fit of implacable Rage. Not only at *Venice*, but every where elſe, the Girls are ſent to Nunneries in their Infancy, and they are uſually married, or at leaſt contracted, without ſeeing their future Huſbands; the Girls of the loweſt Rank are ſuffered to remain with their Parents, and for that Reaſon it is not without much Difficulty that they are able to find Huſbands. I am not ſo well acquainted with the Cuſtoms of other Places, but at *Rome* there are ſeveral Funds eſtabliſhed, either to marry poor Maids, or to confine them for ever to a Convent. Theſe Charities are diſtributed with almoſt the ſame Ceremonies that are obſerved at the *Minerva*, which I deſcribed. I obſerved in the Churches at *Rome*, that in Lent the Women hearing Sermons, are ſhut up in a Place under the Pulpit, with an Incloſure of well-joined Boards ſix Feet high. There are ſeveral Trees and Plants in *Italy*, which grow neither in *England*, nor, for the moſt Part, in *France*, unleſs perhaps in the Southern Parts of it. The Palm-tree is a Stranger in *Italy*, and rarely bears Fruit there. In the Garden of Simples at *Piſa*, there is a Male and Female Palm-tree planted together, agreeable to the ancient Error of thoſe who thought ſuch a Marriage was neceſſary to make thoſe Trees fruitful. But this is a mere Fable, for I obſerved a Palm-tree alone full of Dates at the *Villa Madome* on *Mount Mario* at *Rome*. We went to the Pope's Chapel on *Palm Sunday*, where all the Cardinals were aſſembled, and he who officiated for the Pope, preſented a Palm Branch to every one of the reſt. Theſe Branches were almoſt five Feet long, and the Leaves were woven together into Knots of ſeveral Figures with great Art. We ſaw that which was ſent to the Pope. All the Prelates and other Eccleſiaſticks had alſo Branches, which were either greater or ſmaller, according to the Dignity of thoſe who bore them; the Laicks uſe only Olive Branches. In M. *Badouer*'s Garden at *Verona*, there are Cypreſs-trees an hundred Feet high, and two hundred Years old; the Citrons of *Florence*, called *Cedratti*, are the moſt excellent of all this Kind of Fruit. Silk-worms were brought into *Italy* from *Japan* and *China*. I have already told you, that we obſerved ſeveral Sorts of Trees commonly planted in the Ground in *Italy*, which they are forced to put into Pots or Boxes in the colder Countries, that they may carry them in Winter into Green-houſes, to preſerve them from the Rigour of the Seaſon. Such are the Orange-trees and Lemon-trees, the Pomgranate-trees, the Olive-trees, the Myrtles, the *Ficus Indica*, the Caper-trees, and many others. They have commonly alſo the Plane-tree, the Cork-tree, the Scarlat Oak, the Jujub-tree, the Carob-tree, Cypreſs, Sena, Lentiſk, *&c.* The Roads are lined, in ſeveral Countries in *Italy*, with white Mulberry-trees, for the Nouriſhment of Silk-worms. Thoſe who love Simples, will find enough to gratify their Curioſity on the *Apennine* Mountains between *Loretto* and *Rome*, and every where in the *Alps*, but they muſt have more Time than we had.

I gathered certain Sorts of Sponges on the Sea-ſide towards *Terracina*, of which, two were in a Manner rooted on very hard Flints, the reſt lay looſe on the Shore. Theſe Sponges put me in Mind of Pumice-ſtones; and I muſt not forget to tell you, that I ſpent ſome Time to no Purpoſe, in ſearching for thoſe Stones on Mount *Veſuvius*, though it is generally ſaid, and even by very learned Men, to be full of them. This is a very great Miſtake, there are indeed many porous and calcined Stones, which have ſome Reſemblance to Pumice-ſtones, but the Difference is ſoon perceived, tho' Pumice-ſtone is a Production of Nature, and it is ſo far from being true that they are made ſo by the Fire of *Veſuvius*, or any other, that ſuch a Fire would certainly deſtroy them, as it deſtroys all other Subſtances that are within its Reach. Over-againſt the Cape of *Mycæne* there is a little Iſland where thoſe Stones grow. When the Sea is agitated by a Storm, it looſens and carries away ſome of them that are ſwimming, and the Wind drives aſhore a great many ſmall Pieces between *Puzzola* and *Cumæ*, eſpecially towards *Bajæ*, where I have gathered ſome that were very fine. You may then be aſſured, that there are no Pumice-ſtones to be found about *Veſuvius*, and that all that you have read about it in the Books of Travellers and Naturaliſts, ought to be reckoned among the groſſeſt popular Errors. The Mountains of *Italy*, and particularly the *Apennine* Hills, abound with Metals, Mineral Waters, Cryſtal, Alabaſter, a Kind of Agate, and ſeveral Sorts of Marble, but the Marble of the *Archipelago* has brighter Colours. The white Marble of *Cararo* is one of the fineſt Sorts in *Italy*, and a great deal of it is tranſported to *France*. The Winter had been very long and ſharp, almoſt all the Oranges and Citrons were frozen, and the Ground under the Trees was covered with them in the above-mentioned Places, where theſe Fruits are moſt common.

I obſerved that they take a great deal of Care at *Rome*, to preſerve themſelves from the Inconveniencies occaſioned by the Heats which are uſually very troubleſome in that Place. The People of Quality have low Apartments, where the Sun never appears, which are paved with Marble, and furniſhed with Fountains and Water-Spouts; and beſides, the Doors and Windows are ſo contrived, that they are never without a kind of cool Breeze. The Beds are encompaſſed at ſome Diſtance with a Curtain of Gauſe or Tiffany, which is joined cloſe to the Boards of the Floor and Ceiling above and below, and hinders them from being tormented with Gnats. It is alſo the Cuſtom to ſleep two Hours immediately after Dinner, but they never lie down, for they have a Sort of folding Chairs which have Backs that riſe and fall with a Spring. The Uſe of Umbrello's is common every where. The *Serain*, or Evening Dew, in the *Campagna di Roma*, is eſteemed mortal during three or four Months in the Summer, and great Care is taken to avoid it. Travellers double their Pace to arrive at *Rome* in Time, or ſtay at the Diſtance of eighteen or twenty Miles from it. I found the following Verſes over the Gate of a Houſe at *Rome*; they contain the Rules that ought to be obſerved for the Preſervation of Health in that City, according to the Opinion of the Author.

Enecat inſolitos reſidentis Peſſimus Aer
Romanus; *ſolitos non bene gratus habet.*
Soſpes ut hic vivas, lux ſeptima det medicinam
Abſit odor fœdus; *ſit medicuſque labor.*
Pelle Famam & Frigus, Fructus, Femurque relinque,
Nec placeat gelido fonte levare ſitim.

That is,

The pois'nous Air of ROME, *all Strangers fear,*
Nor wholly ſafe e'en thoſe eſtabliſhed here.
Would'ſt thou eſcape? Take Phyſick once a Week,
Ill Smells avoid, nor too much Labour ſeek.
Fly Hunger, Cold; *from Fruit, from Females, fly,*
Nor taſte Spring Water,—if you do—you die.

You may obſerve by the Way, that the Author choſe rather to run the Hazard of a falſe Quantity, than to loſe the Jingle of his four *F*'s; he might have ſaid *Venerem* inſtead of *Femur*, the firſt Syllable of which is ſhort. I have not given you an Account of the Antiquity of ſeveral Cities, though Enquires of that Nature are ſometimes curious; but beſides, that they require a great deal of Time and Labour, and have been proſecuted already by very able Pens. I find that theſe Controverſies are very often Queſtions only about the Places where thoſe Cities ſtood, for in many of them there is not the leaſt Remains, or any Proof of their firſt Foundations. They have been ſubject to the ſame Alterations which the Veſſel of the *Argonauts* underwent of old; beſides, the Sight of the Places might perhaps raiſe a Traveller's Curioſity, but wears off by Degrees when they are only the Objects of his Imagination. I muſt tell you now I think on it, that in all *Italy* we obſerved but one Windmill, or rather the Ruins of one, at *Leghorn*. They uſe no Tin Veſſels in this Country, becauſe of the Scarcity of that Metal; all their Veſſels are made of Earth leaded, or of Earthen Ware; we have ſeen it made in ſeveral Places, but they have none that reſembles *China* ſo exactly as that of *Delft*. Whereas we place the Beginning of the natural Day immediately after Midnight, the *Italians* make it begin after Sun-ſetting, and their Clocks ſtrike always four and twenty Hours, from one Sun-ſetting to another. You may eaſily perceive, that according to this Computation, the Hour of Noon varies daily, for when the Sun ſets at Four o'Clock according to our Calculation, they reckon One when we count Five, and conſequently it is Noon at twenty Hours; and in like Manner when the Sun ſets at Eight on our Dials, it is One o'Clock with them when we reckon Nine, and it is juſt Noon at Sixteen Hours. Nevertheleſs, with reſpect to the artificial Day between Sun-riſing and Sun ſetting, they uſe the Words Yeſterday and To morrow as we do. The *Babylonians* began their natural Day at Sun-riſing, and the *Jews* at Sun-ſetting, as the *Italians* do at preſent. The Inhabitants of the Province of *Umbria*, with *Ptolemy*, and ſome others, in former Times, reckoned the Beginning of the Day at Noon, and the *Egyptians* at Midnight, as we do. The ancient *Romans* alſo began the Day at Midnight,, but their Hours are unequal. I cannot forbear acquainting you, that we left *Rome* without ſeeing the Pope; there were, doubtleſs, ſome Reaſons, that would not permit him to appear in Publick; and there were others that hindred us from paying him a Viſit. I ſhall conclude this Account with telling you, that we bought ſome modern Medals at *Rome* from the famous *Hameranus*, who is reputed to excel in that Sort of Workmanſhip. Of all the Medals we ſaw of Queen *Chriſtina*, this, in my Opinion. is the moſt heroical, and moſt worthy of that great Princeſs. Her Dominions are on the Reverſe, with the whole Hemiſphere, and this Motto, *Ne mi beſogna ne mi baſta*, I don't want them, and they are not ſufficient to me. *Alexander the Great* could uſe the laſt Part of this Motto, but inſtead of reigning over himſelf, his Ambition made him deſire more Worlds.

15. The Account we have of our Author's Voyages, contains alſo the Hiſtory of his Return through *Swiſſerland*, Part of *Germany*, and the Low Countries; but as we have a much better Deſcription of thoſe Countries by Biſhop *Burnet*, who, without Queſtion, had his Head better turned for writing upon ſuch Subjects, and for giving his Readers uſeful and important Relations, rather than a bare Detail of Roads, Churches, Inns, Tombs, and Inſcriptions, we have choſen rather to omit the Remainder of his Travels in Haſte through theſe Places, and to give thoſe of that learned Prelate, who though he was the Author of many Books, upon a great Variety of Subjects, all of which have been received with Applauſe, at leaſt by a great Part of the World, yet perhaps there are none of them that will do him greater Honour with Poſterity than the Letters he publiſhed containing the Account of his Travels.

But before we part entirely with *Miſſon*, it may not be amiſs to make ſome few Obſervations upon his Writings, for the Sake of doing Juſtice to Truth, to our Readers, and to his Reputation. It muſt be confeſſed, that there are a great Variety of curious, uſeful, and entertaining Remarks to be met with in his Travels, and that as his Deſign was to render them as uſeful as poſſible to the World, ſo the Pains he took for that Purpoſe were very great and very laudable; but on the other Hand it muſt be alſo allowed, that his Method is very far from being ſo juſt or ſo judicions as might be wiſhed.

The Reader will eaſily obſerve, and, indeed, he confeſſes it himſelf, that he made but a very ſhort Stay in many Places; but then he viſited many of thoſe Places afterwards, which gave him an Opportunity of enlarging, altering, and correcting thoſe Obſervations; but then the Method in which he has done this is alſo none of the beſt, for inſtead of reviewing and reforming his firſt Book, he has inſerted new Letters, Supplements, Diſſertations, critical Diſcourſes, and perpetual marginal Notes; which ſo diſtract and diſturb the Narration, that one is frequently obliged to run over his whole four Volumes, in order to draw together his diſperſed Accounts of the ſame Thing.

We have removed, as far as it were in our Power, this Difficulty in the Abridgement we have given of his Travels; but without Doubt it would give a great Satiſfaction to the Publick, and add very much to the Value of this Work, if, in the next *Engliſh* Edition of it, Care was taken to digeſt the whole into Chapters rather than Letters, to bring the ſeveral Notes, Diſſertations, and Supplements into their proper Places, and to throw out all the unneceſſary Repetitions, which would at once reduce the Size, augment the Credit, and add to the Utility of the Book, which would be then much ſuperior to any Thing of its Kind.

We have already obſerved, that in the Author's Life-time his Book had been attacked by ſeveral Writers, againſt whom, however, he defended himſelf with equal Spirit and Succeſs; and wherever he found himſelf in the wrong, he took Care immediately to correct it. There were, however, ſome Things in his Diſpoſition, which led him to write upon ſome very tender Subjects, not to be touched even by the niceſt Hand, without giving Offence to great Bodies of People: As for Inſtance, his laying open the ſuperſtitious

Follies of the Papiſts, the Artifices of their Prieſts, the Credulity of the common People, and the Injuries done to the Chriſtian Religion by ſuch Practices on the one Hand, and Bigottry on the other.

He has been condemned for this as a very partial Writer by the *Romaniſts*, which is natural enough, but he has not been refuted. It is no Wonder at all, that in the Reign of King *James* II. when the Papiſts thought themſelves ſecure of reviving their Religion in *England*, Men firmly attached to the Proteſtant Cauſe ſhould likewiſe ſhew their Zeal; and it was ſtill the more excuſable in Mr. *Miſſon*, as he had been very lately baniſhed out of his native Country on the Score of Religion. The learned Father *Labat* cannot forgive him the Pains he has taken to reſtore the Credit of the Pope or Popeſs *Joan*. He ſays very truly upon that Subject, that ſeveral learned Proteſtants have given it up beſides *David Blondel*, ſuch as *Chamier*, *Du Moulin* and *Bochart*: But what then? Can there be a clearer Anſwer given to this than that which Mr. *Miſſon* has given, *viz.* That this Story was written and believed for many Ages by the Papiſts themſelves? We may add to this, that it would be no difficult Taſk to ſhew, that ſome very learned Papiſts ſtill believe it.

Miſſon has very honeſtly and very ingeniouſly confeſſed, that the Fact is of no great Importance with reſpect to any religious Diſpute; and ſurely this was as much as could be expected from him, and is a very great Mark of his Impartiality. With regard to his Arguments, there has been little or nothing ſaid againſt them; and I am perſuaded that it would be a very difficult Matter to overturn them. The ſame Writer, I mean Father *Labat*, is very angry with him about the *Sella ſtercoraria*, or Cloſe ſtool Chair, but he does not contradict him with reſpect to the Fact, he only ſays it is a Kind of Cloſe-ſtool, and that the Uſe of it was to put the Pope in Mind that his Exaltation to that Dignity did not releaſe him from the Infirmities incident to human Nature. This he gives us as his Opinion, and a very probable Opinion it is; but I do not ſee why *Miſſon* was not as much at Liberty to give us his Sentiment upon the ſame Subject, more eſpecially as he gives his Authorities, which very plainly prove, that what he thought upon this Point was once the common Opinion of the *Romaniſts* themſelves, and therefore it is hard to aſſign a Cauſe for blaming him upon this Head.

It muſt however be obſerved, that *Labat*, in many other Places, commends the Travels of *Miſſon*, and is only in Pain, that an Author who wrote ſo well, ſhould treat various Subjects in ſuch a Manner, as to expoſe the Cauſe which he found himſelf bound to eſpouſe, and at the ſame Time he has himſelf taken the Liberty to treat very freely the ridiculous Superſtitions of the *Italians*; and if with all his Reſpect for their Faith he has uſed this Freedom, one cannot help being ſurprized that he ſhould take it ill, that a Proteſtant Writer carried his Remarks a little farther, and much more that he ſhould charge him with Impiety, ſince throughout his whole Book there is nothing that has the leaſt Tendency that Way; and upon many Occaſions he ſhews himſelf very ready to refute vulgar Prejudices, and to do Juſtice to the Papiſts. As for Inſtance, he allows that they are very far from having a Spirit of Perſecution in *Italy*, and that he never knew them carry their Reſentment farther againſt Proteſtants, than ſaying they were not *ſound Chriſtians*.

The Hiſtorical Remarks he has given us are, generally ſpeaking, very correct as well as curious, though now and then he falls into Miſtakes; as for Example, when he ſays that *Francfort* has an Univerſity erected by the Houſe of *Brandenburgh*, he is ſpeaking there of *Francfort* upon the *Maine*; but the Univerſity he means, is at *Francfort* upon the *Oder*. It is no Wonder at all that in ſuch a Multitude of critical Remarks, he ſhould now and then be guilty of an Overſight. He retained all his Life a ſincere Love for his Country, which diſcovers itſelf frequently in his Writings, more eſpecially in preferring the Palaces and Gardens of *France* to thoſe of *Italy*. There might, perhaps, in this, be a little Partiality, and yet, generally ſpeaking, he is in the right, and the Noiſe which the *Italians* have made about the Wonders that are to be found in their Country, might well enough deſerve the critical Remarks he has made upon them.

As for his Digreſſions with Reſpect to Natural Hiſtory, they may very well be regarded as the moſt curious Pieces in his Work, are ſo allowed to be by the beſt Judges. His Conjectures in relation to the Formation of Shells in Mountains and other Places at a Diſtance from the Sea, are very judicious as well as highly probable. We may ſay the ſame Thing with regard to the Curioſities of this Country, and particularly what he has inſerted in Relation to the *Tarantula*, about which however there have been very warm Diſputes; but he lays down nothing but from Authority, and therefore is not at all intereſted in the Event of thoſe Diſputes, ſo that his Character cannot ſuffer in the Judgment of the Learned, however they may be at laſt determined.

As he mentions only ſuch Curioſities as came in his Way, and he had an Opportunity of viſiting, examining and enquiring, we need not wonder at his Silence as to many curious Particulars. As for Example, that we may conclude this Section with ſomething more entertaining than dry Remarks, let us mention one, *Grotta dei Serpi* is a ſubterraneous Cavern, near the Village of *Saſſa*, eight Miles from the City of *Braccano* in *Italy*, deſcribed by *Kircher* thus:

The *Grotta dei Serpi* is big enough to hold two Perſons; it is perforated with ſeveral fiſtular Apertures, ſomewhat in the Manner of a Sieve, out of which, at the Beginning of the Spring Seaſon iſſue a numerous Brood of young Snakes of divers Colours, but all free from any particular poiſonous Quality. In this Cave they expoſe their Lepers, Paralyticks, and elephantiack Patients, quite naked, where the Warmth of the ſubterraneous Steams reſolving them into Sweat, and the Serpents clinging variouſly all around, licking and ſucking them, they become ſo thoroughly freed of all their vicious Humours, that upon repeating the Operation for ſome Time, they become perfectly reſtored.

This Cave *Kircher* viſited himſelf, and found it warm, and every Way agreeable to the Deſcription given of it: He ſaw the Holes, and heard a clamorous hiſſing Noiſe in them, though he miſſed ſeeing the Serpents, it not being the Seaſon of their creeping out; yet he ſaw a great Number of their *Exuviæ* or Sloughs, and an Elm growing hard by laden with them. The Diſcovery of this Cave was by the Cure of a Leper going from *Rome* to ſome Baths near this Place, who loſing his Way, and being benighted, happened upon this Cave, and finding it very warm, pulled off his Cloaths, and being weary and ſleepy, had the good Fortune not to feel the Serpents about him, till they had wrought his Cure.

One might ſuſpect, that our curious Traveller had not heard of this Curioſity, which, by the Way, is now totally loſt, and loſt by the ſtrangeſt Means in the World, otherwiſe one could hardly think he would have omitted it. But we will repair that Miſtake from the Works of his Antagoniſt Father *Labat*, who travelled through *Italy* twelve or fourteen Years later than *Miſſon*, and viſited this Cave in Perſon; but it had then loſt its Virtue and its Serpents, as he aſſures us in the following Manner.

It was found neceſſary, in order to diſpoſe the Patients quietly to endure the Operation neceſſary to their Cure, to compoſe them by a Doſe of *Opium*, and for this, Recourſe was had to the Phyſicians, who perceiving that their Buſineſs was much leſſened by this new Method, ſo that *Æſculapius* was in Danger of being devoured by his own Serpent, they reſolved to out-do the Cave, and to prevent ſuch Patients from having any Diſeaſes for the future. In ſhort, they gave ſo much *Opium* to their Patients that were ſent to the Grotto, that they not only lay ſtill for a Night, but for ever.

This Scheme, though well laid, did not take, the People continued obſtinate, and were reſolved rather to truſt the Serpents than the Doctors. They took therefore their Opium at Home, and the Cures were as frequent and as effectual as ever. The Phyſicians had then

Recourſe to a new and more ſucceſsful Contrivance than the former; they had in vain tried to keep the People from the Serpents, they reſolved to try next, whether it might not be poſſible to keep the Serpents from the People: And with this View, in the Midſt of a dry Summer, they cauſed the Buſhes to be ſet on Fire that grew upon the Mountain, by which that Generation of Serpents was totally deſtroyed; and the Grotto has remained uſeleſs ever ſince.

Let us now take Leave of this Subject, and of the Travels of *Miſſon*, obſerving only, that in a ſubſequent Voyage of his, he had the Misfortune to be taken by a *French* Privateer, and carried to *Dünkirk*, where he ſuffered a ſevere Impriſonment, chiefly on the Score of his being a Proteſtant, and having on that Account, as we obſerved before, been baniſhed *France*. But his Friends having applied themſelves to the King on his Behalf, he was immediately ſet at Liberty, which contributed not a little to confirm that high Spirit of Loyalty with which he had been poſſeſſed, and of which he has left abundant Teſtimonies in his Works, by defending, as much as in his Power lay, the Character of *Lewis* XIV. for though he could not prevail upon himſelf to be a good Catholick, yet a better *Frenchman* or a better Subject that great Monarch had not in all his Dominions; which is a plain Proof that *Lewis* XIV. with all his Policy, ſerved the Prieſts much more than himſelf or his Family, in driving ſo many Thouſands of Proteſtants out of his Territories.

SECTION IV.

TRAVELS through *Switzerland*, Part of *Italy*, ſome Provinces of *Germany*, and the *Low Countries*, in which are contained many curious Hiſtorical and Political Remarks on the Manners of the People, the Forms of Government, and the State of the Countries before mentioned.

Extracted from the Letters of Doctor GILBERT BURNET, *(afterwards Biſhop of* Saliſbury) *to the Honourable* Robert Boyle, *Eſq; written in the Years* 1685, *and* 1686.

1. *The wretched Condition of the Country between* Paris *and* Lyons; *Antiquities obſervable in thoſe Parts, with ſome literary and critical Remarks.* 2. *A large Deſcription of the City of* Geneva, *of the Manners and Cuſtoms of the Inhabitants, of the Form and Maxims of Government in that little Republick.* 3. *A Deſcription of the City and Canton of* Bern, *the Manners of its Inhabitants, their Riches and Induſtry, the Modeſty of their Women, and the martial Virtues of their Men.* 4. *The Reaſons which induced the* Swiſs *to overlook the Conqueſt of the County of* Burgundy *by the* French, *which has proved ſo much to their Detriment.* 5. *The Hiſtory of the War between the* Proteſtant *and* Popiſh *Cantons in the Year* 1656, *and the Means by which thoſe Diſputes were compromiſed.* 6. *A moſt curious and entertaining Account of the ſcandalous Cheat and Impoſture of the* Dominicans *at* Bern *in* 1509. 7. *A Compariſon between the Country of* France *and that of* Switzerland, *with ſome Remarks upon the Government in both Countries, ſhewing that Tyranny will turn a Paradiſe into a Deſert, and Liberty convert a Wilderneſs into a Land of Plenty.* 8. *Of the miſerable Bigottry of the People in the Popiſh Cantons, from the Number of the Jeſuits and Monks, and of their immenſe Wealth in thoſe Countries.* 9. *Of the Canton of* Zurich, *its Wealth, Forces, Manufactures, Trade, Frugality in the Adminiſtration of Publick Affairs, and other Particulars.* 10. *Some general, uſeful, and entertaining Remarks on the State of the* Swiſs Cantons, *and a full Diſplay of the pernicious Spirit of Popery.* 11. *A Deſcription of the Country of the* Griſons, *with an Account of the City of* Coire, *and of the Character of the Biſhop at that Time.* 12. *A diſtinct View of the Government of the* Griſons, *the Manner of their obtaining their Liberty, the Diviſion of their Country, and of their Diets.* 13. *Of the* Valteline, Chavannes, *and* Bormio *Territories which they poſſeſs in* Italy, *and how they obtained them; with an Account of the Fertility of the Soil in the* Valteline, *and of the Liberty that thoſe Diſtricts enjoy under the Leagues.* 14. *Of the Maſſacre in the* Valteline, *of the War that followed it, and of the State of that Country.* 15. *Of the Remains of the ancient* Waldenſes, *the true Character and religious Sentiments of the People ſo called.* 16. *Of* Chavannes, *with an Account of the moſt obſervable Villages upon the Road, of its Situation, the Fertility of the Soil, Eaſineſs of the Government, Plentifulneſs of Proviſions, with an Account of the Nature of their Wine, and the Manner how they make and preſerve it, with other Particulars.* 17. *Some other Curioſities in this Part of the Country, together with an Account of a Town and all its Inhabitants overwhelmed by the Fall of a Mountain.* 18. *A Deſcription of the* Borromean *Iſlands, eſteemed beyond Compariſon the moſt beautiful Part of* Europe. 19. *A large Account of* Lombardy, *and the City of* Milan, *with many curious Obſervations made by the Author during his Stay in thoſe Parts.* 20. *A Collection of uſeful, judicious, and entertaining Remarks on ſeveral Parts of* Italy, *in which Care is taken to avoid repeating any thing contained in the former Section.* 21. *The ſame Subject continued in relation to other Parts of* Italy *not hitherto mentioned.* 22. *Concluſion of thoſe Obſervations and Remarks, comprehending the Characters and Hiſtories of ſeveral remarkable Perſons, written with great Impartiality and Freedom.* 23. *A Deſcription of* Marſeilles, *and ſome Reaſons given for the extenſive Commerce and great Wealth of that Port, in Compariſon of any other in* France. 24. *Some other Obſervations on the Country thereabouts.* 25. *Deſcription of the Town of* Baſil, *the Places moſt worthy of Notice there, together with the*

the Manners, Cuſtoms, and Government of the Inhabitants. 26. *An Account of* Huningen, Briſac, *and* Straſbourg, *with a particular Account of the Manner in which the* French *made themſelves Maſters of this laſt mentioned City.* 27. *An Account of the Fortreſs of* Phillipſbourg, *and its great Importance to the Empire.* 28. *A Deſcription of the City and Biſhoprick of* Spire, *and of the Country thereabouts.* 29. *A large, diſtinct, and entertaining View of the* Lower Palatinate, *of the famous City of* Heidelberg, *and the Hiſtory of ſome of the Electors Palatine.* 30 *The pleaſant and delightful Country between the laſt mentioned City and* Francfort; *with other Remarks and Obſervations.* 31. *The like Deſcription of the City and Electorate of* Mentz, *with a clear Account of the Revenues, Strength, and Trade of that Country.* 32. *A large and curious Account of the City and Electorate of* Cologne, *of the Cities of* Duſſeldorp, Keyſerwart, *and* Weſel. 33. *Obſervations made by the Author in his Journey through the Dutchy of* Cleves, *the Town of* Nimeguen, *and other Places in the Low Countries.*

1. IT is ſo common to write TRAVELS, that for one who has ſeen ſo little, and as it were in Haſte, it may look like a preſumptuous Affectation to be reckon'd among VOYAGERS, if he attempts to ſay any Thing upon ſo ſhort an Excurſion, and concerning Places ſo much viſited, and which are conſequently ſo well known: Yet having had Opportunities that do not offer themſelves to all that travel, and having join'd to thoſe a Curioſity almoſt equal to the Advantages I enjoy'd, I fancy it will not be an ungrateful Entertainment, if I give you ſome Account of thoſe Things that pleaſed me moſt, in the Places through which I have paſs'd. But I will avoid ſaying ſuch Things as occur in ordinary Books, for which I refer you to them. For as you know that I have no great Inclination to copy what others have ſaid, ſo a Traveller has not Leiſure, or a Diſpoſition ſuited for ſo dull an Employment.

As I came all the Way from *Paris* to *Lyons*, I was amaz'd to ſee ſo much Miſery as appear'd, not only in Villages, but even in big Towns, where all the Marks of an extreme Poverty ſhew'd themſelves both in the Buildings, the Cloaths, and almoſt in the Looks of the Inhabitants; and a general diſpeopling, in all the Towns, was a very viſible Effect of the Hardſhips under which they lay.

I need tell you nothing of the irregular, and yet magnificent Situation of *Lyons*, of the noble Rivers that meet there, of the Rock cut from ſo vaſt a Height for a Priſon, of the *Carthuſians* Gardens, of the Town-houſe, of the *Jeſuits* College and Library, of the famous Nunnery of St. *Peter*, of the Churches, particularly St. *Irenée's*, of the Remnants of the Aqueducts, of the Columns, and the old *Moſaick* in the Abbey *Dene*.

The Speech of *Claudius*, engraven on a Plate of Braſs, and ſet at the End of the low Walk in the Town-houſe, is one of the nobleſt Antiquities in the World, by which we ſee the Way of Writing and Pointing in that Age very copiouſly. The Shield of Silver of twenty-two Pounds Weight, in which ſome Remains of Gilding do yet appear, and that ſeems to repreſent the generous Action of *Scipio*, in reſtoring a fair Captive to a *Celtiberian* Prince, is certainly the nobleſt Piece of Plate that is now extant; the emboſſing of it is ſo fine and ſo entire, that it is indeed invaluable; and if there were an Inſcription upon it, to put us beyond Conjecture, it were yet much more eſtimable.

A great many Inſcriptions are to be ſeen of the late and barbarous Ages, as *Bonum Memorium*, and *Epitaphium hunc*. There are twenty-three Inſcriptions in the Garden of the *Fathers of Mercy*, but ſo placed, as ſhew how little thoſe who poſſeſs them either underſtand or value them. I ſhall only give you one, becauſe I made a little Reflection on it; though perhaps not too well grounded, becauſe none of the Criticks have conſider'd it. The Inſcription is this:

D. M.
Et Memoriæ Eternæ
SUTIÆ ANTHIDIS,
Quæ vixit annis xxv. M.XI.D.V.
Quæ dum Nimia Pia fuit, facta eſt Impia:
Et ATTIO PROBATIOLO, CECALIUS CALISTIO
Conjux & Pater,
Et ſibi vivo ponendum curavit,
Et ſub aſcia dedicavit.

This muſt be towards the barbarous Age, as appears by the falſe *Latin* in *Nimia*. But the Inſcription ſeems ſo extravagant, that a Man dedicating a Burial ſtone for his Wife and Son, and under which himſelf was to be laid with Ceremonies of Religion, ſhould tax his Wife of Impiety, and give ſo extraordinary an Account of her becoming ſo through an Exceſs of Piety, that it deſerves ſome Conſideration.

It ſeems the Impiety was publick, otherwiſe a Huſband would not have recorded it in ſuch a Manner; and it is plain, that he thought it aroſe from an Exceſs of Piety. I need not examine the Conjectures of others; but will chuſe rather to give you my own, and ſubmit it to your Cenſure.

It ſeems to me, that this *Sutia Anthis* was a Chriſtian; for the Chriſtians, becauſe they would not worſhip the Gods of the Heathens, nor participate with them in their ſacred Rites, were accuſed both of Atheiſm and Impiety. This is ſo often objected, and the Fathers in their Apologies have anſwered it ſo often, that it were loſt Labour to prove it. So this Wife of *Cecalius Caliſtio* having turn'd Chriſtian, it ſeems he thought he was bound to take ſome Notice of it in the Inſcription: But by it he gives an honourable Character of the Chriſtian Doctrine, at the ſame Time that he ſeems to accuſe it, *viz.* that through an Exceſs of Piety his Wife was carried to it; ſince a Mind, ſeriouſly poſſeſs'd with a true Senſe of Piety, could not avoid falling under a Diſtaſte of Paganiſm, and becoming Chriſtian.

At *Grenoble* there is not much to be ſeen. The learned Mr. *Chorier* has ſome Manuſcripts of conſiderable Antiquity. In one of *Vegetius de Re Militari*, there is a clear Correction of a Paſſage, that in all the printed Editions is not Senſe. In the Chapter of the Size of the Soldiers, he begins, *Scio ſemper menſurum a Mario Conſule exactam. A* is in no Manuſcript, and *Mario Conſule* is a Miſtake for *trium Cubitorum*; for III. which are for *trium*, have been read for *M*; and *C*, which ſtands for *Cubitorum*, as appears by all that follows, was by a Miſtake read *Conſule*. So the true Reading of that Paſſage is, *Scio menſuram trium cubitoram fuiſſe ſemper exactam.* He ſhew'd me another Manuſcript of about five or ſix hundred Years old, in which St. *John*'s Revelation is contain'd, all exemplified in Figures; and after that comes *Æſop*'s Fables likewiſe, all deſigned in Figures; from which he inferr'd, that thoſe, who deſigned thoſe two Books, valued both equally, and ſo put them together.

I will not deſcribe the Valley of *Dauphine*, or entertain you with a Landſkip of the Country, which deſerves a better Pencil than mine, and in which the Height and Rudeneſs of the Mountains, that almoſt ſhut it up, together with the Beauty, the Evenneſs and Fruitfulneſs of the Valley, that is all well water'd with the River *Liſerre*, make ſuch an agreeable Mixture, that this vaſt Diverſity of Objects at once fill the Eye, and give it a very entertaining Proſpect.

Chambery has nothing in that deſerves a long Deſcription; and *Geneva* is too well known to be much inſiſted on. It is a little State; but it has ſo many good Conſtitutions in it, that the greateſt may juſtly learn of it. The Chamber of Corn there has always two Years Proviſion for the City in Store, and forces none but the Bakers to buy at a fixed Price; and ſo it is both neceſſary againſt any Extremities under which the State may fall, and is likewiſe of great Advantage; for it produces a good yearly Income, that has helped the State to pay a Debt of near a Million, contracted during the Wars; and the Citizens are not oppreſs'd by it, for every Inhabitant may buy his own Corn as he pleaſes, only publick Houſes muſt buy from the Chamber.

At *Rome* the Pope buys in all the Corn of the Patrimony; for none of the Landlords can ſell it either to Merchants or Bakers. He buys it at five Crowns their Meaſure, and even that is ſlowly and ill paid; ſo that there was eight hundred thouſand Crowns owing upon that Score when I was at *Rome*. In ſelling this out, the Meaſure is leſſened a fifth Part, and the Price of the whole is doubled; ſo that what was bought at five Crowns, is ſold out at twelve; and if the Bakers, who are obliged to take a ſettled Quantity of Corn from the Chamber, cannot retail all that is impoſed upon them, but are forced to return ſome Part of it back, the Chamber diſcounts to them only the firſt Price of five Crowns: Whereas in *Geneva*, the Meaſure by which they buy and ſell is the ſame; and the Gain is ſo inconſiderable, that it is very little beyond the common Market-price: So that upon the whole Matter, the Chamber of Corn is but the Merchant to the State. But if the Publick makes a moderate Gain by the Corn, that and all the other Revenues of this ſmall Commonwealth are ſo well employ'd, that there is no Cauſe of Complaint given in the Adminiſtration of the publick Purſe, which, with the Advantages that ariſe out of this Chamber of Corn, is about an hundred thouſand Crowns Revenue. But there is much to go out of this: Three hundred Soldiers are paid, an Arſenal is maintain'd, that, in Proportion to the State, is the greateſt in the World, for it contains Arms for more Men than are in the State There are a great Number of Miniſters and Profeſſors, in all twenty-four, beſides all the publick Charges and Offices of the Government. Every one of the leſſer Council of twenty-five having an hundred Crowns, and every Syndick having two hundred Crowns Penſion; and, after all this, come the accidental Charges of the Deputies, that they are obliged to ſend often to *Paris*, to *Savoy*, and to *Switzerland*; ſo that it is very apparent no Man can enrich himſelf at the Coſt of the Publick. And the Appointments of the little Council are a very ſmall Recompence for the great Attendance that they are obliged to give the Publick, which is commonly four or five Hours a Day. The Salary for the Profeſſors and Miniſters is indeed ſmall, not above two hundred Crowns; but to balance this, thoſe Employments are here held in their due Reputation; and the richeſt Citizens in the Town breed up their Children ſo as to qualify them for thoſe Places. And a Miniſter, that is ſuitable to his Character, is thought ſo good a Match, that generally they have ſuch Eſtates either by Succeſſion or Marriage, as ſupport them agreeable to the Rank they hold. And in *Geneva* there is ſo great a Regulation of Expences of all Sorts, that a ſmall Sum goes a great Way. It is a ſurprizing Thing to ſee ſo much Learning as one finds in *Geneva*, not only among thoſe whoſe Profeſſion obliges them to ſtudy, but among the Magiſtrates and Citizens; and if there are not many Men of the firſt Form of Learning among them, yet almoſt every body here has a Tincture of a learned Education, inſomuch that they are Maſters of the *Latin*, they know Hiſtory and the Controverſies of Religion, and are generally Men of good Senſe.

There is an univerſal Civility, not only towards Strangers, but one another, that reigns all the Town over, and leans to an Exceſs: So that in them one ſees a Mixture of a *French* Openneſs, and an *Italian* Exactneſs; but there is, indeed, a little too much of the laſt.

The publick Juſtice of the City is quick, and is more commended than the private Juſtice of thoſe that deal in Trade; a Want of Sincerity is much lamented by thoſe that know the Town well. There is no publick Lewdneſs tolerated, and the Diſorders of that Sort are managed with great Addreſs. Notwithſtanding their Neighbourhood to the *Switzers*, drinking is very little known among them. One of the beſt Parts of their Law is the Way of ſelling Eſtates, which is likewiſe practiſed in *Switzerland*, and is called Subhaſtation, from the *Roman* Cuſtom of ſelling *ſub haſtâ*. A Man that is to buy an Eſtate, agrees with the Owner, and then intimates it to the Government, who order three ſeveral Proclamations to be made ſix Weeks after one another, of the intended Sale, that is to be on ſuch a Day; when the Day comes, the Creditors of the Seller, if they apprehend that the Eſtate is ſold at an Under-value, may out-bid the Buyer; but if they do not interpoſe, the Buyer delivers the Money to the State, who upon that grant him his Title to the Eſtate, which can never be ſo much as brought under a Debate in Law; and the Price is paid to the State, and is by them given either to the Creditors of the Seller, if he owes Money, or to the Seller himſelf.

This Cuſtom prevails likewiſe in *Switzerland*, where twelve Years Poſſeſſion gives a Preſcription; ſo that in no Place in the World are Titles to Eſtates ſo ſecure as here. The Conſtitution of the Government is the ſame in *Geneva* and in moſt of the Cantons. The Sovereignity lies in the Council of *Two Hundred*; and this Council chooſes out of its Number *Twenty-five*, who are the leſſer Council; and the Cenſure of the *Twenty-five* belongs to the Great Council. They are choſen by a Sort of Ballot, ſo that it is not known for whom they give their Votes; which is an effectual Method to ſuppreſs Factions and Reſentments, ſince no Man can know who voted for him or againſt him; yet the Election is not ſo carried, but that the whole Town is in an Intrigue concerning it; for ſince the being of the little Council leads one to the Sindicate, which is the chief Honour of the State, this Dignity is ſought for here with as active and ſolicitous Ambition, as appears elſewhere for greater Matters. The Two Hundred are choſen and cenſured by the Twenty-five; ſo that theſe two Councils, which are both for Life, are Checks upon each other: The Magiſtracy is in the former, and the Sovereignty in the latter. The Number of Twenty-five is never exceeded in the leſſer Council; but for the great, though it paſſes by the Name of the Council of Two Hundred, yet there are commonly eight or ten more; ſo that notwithſtanding the Abſence or Sickneſs of ſome of the Members, they may ſtill be able to call together near the full Number. There is another Council beſides theſe two, compoſed of Sixty, conſiſting of thoſe of the two hundred that have borne Offices, ſuch as Auditors, Attorney-generals; or thoſe that have been in other Employments, which are given for a certain Number of Years. This Court has no Authority, but is called together by the Twenty-five when any extraordinary Occaſion makes it adviſable for them to call for a more general Concurrence in the Reſolutions they are about to take. And this Council is of the Nature of a Council of State, that only gives Advice, but has no Power in itſelf. The whole Body of the Burgeſſes chooſe the Syndics the firſt *Sunday* of the Year; and there are ſome other Elections that likewiſe belong to them. The Difference between the Burgeſſes and Citizens is, that the former Degree may be bought, or given to Strangers, and they may be of the two hundred; but none is a Citizen, but he that is the Son of a Burgeſs, and that is born within the Town.

This little Republick's chief Support is in the firm Alliance that has ſubſiſted ſo long between it and the Cantons of *Bern* and *Zurich*; and it is ſo viſibly the Intereſt of all *Switzerland* to preſerve it, that if the Cantons had not forgot their Intereſt ſo palpably, in ſuffering the *French* to become Maſters of the *Franche Comté*, one would think that they would not be capable of ſuffering *Geneva* to be touch'd: For all that can be done in fortifying the Town, can ſignify no more, than to put it in a State to reſiſt a Surprize or Scalade; ſince if an Army comes to beſiege it in Form, it is certain, that unleſs the *Switzers* come with a Force able to raiſe the Siege, thoſe within will be able to make but a very ſhort Reſiſtance.

2. From *Geneva* I went through the Country of *Vaud*, or the *Valley*, and *Lauſanne* its chief Town, in my Way

to *Bern.* The Town of *Lauſanne* is ſituated on three Hills, ſo that the whole is Aſcent and Deſcent, and that very ſteep, chiefly on the Side on which the Church ſtands, which is a very noble Fabrick. The South Wall of the Croſs was ſo ſplit by an Earthquake about thirty Years ago, that there was a Rent made from Top to Bottom above a Foot wide; which was again ſo cloſed up ten Years after by another Earthquake, that now one only ſees a Crack where the Breach was. This extravagant Situation of the Town was occaſioned by a Legend of ſome Miracles wrought near the Church; which prevail'd ſo much on the Credulity of that Age, that by it the Church, and ſo in conſequence the Buildings near it, were added to the old Town, which ſtood on the other Hill, where there was a Town made on the Highway from the Lake into *Switzerland*, to which the chief Privileges, particularly the Judicature of Life and Death, ſtill belong. Between *Geneva* and this lies the Lake, which at one End is called the Lake of *Geneva*, at the other the Lake of *Lauſanne*. I need not mention the Dimenſions, which are ſo well known, only in ſome Places the Depth has never been found. The Banks of the Lake are the moſt beautiful Plots of Ground that can be imagined, for they look as if they had been laid out by Art; the Sloping is ſo eaſy and ſo equal, and the Grounds are ſo well cultivated and peopled, that a more delightful Proſpect cannot be ſeen. The Lake is well ſtock'd with excellent Fiſh, but their Numbers ſenſibly decreaſe, and one Sort is quite loſt. It is to be aſcribed not only to the Ravenouſneſs of the Pikes that abound in it, but to another Sort of Fiſh that they call Moutails, which were never taken in the Lake till within theſe ſix Years laſt paſt. They are in the Lake of *Neufchatel*, and ſome of the other Lakes of *Switzerland*; and it is likely, that by ſome Conveyance under Ground, they have come into Channels that fall into this Lake. The Water of the Lake is all clear and freſh. It is not only a great Pond made by the *Rhone*, that runs into it, but does not paſs through it unmix'd, as ſome Travellers have fondly imagin'd; becauſe ſometimes a ſoft Gale makes a Curling of the Water in ſome Places, which runs ſmooth in the Places over which that ſoft Breath of Wind does not paſs, the Gale ſhifting its Place often; but it is believed, that there are alſo many great Fountains all over the Lake. Theſe Springs may very probably flow from ſome vaſt Cavities that are in the neighbouring Mountains, which are as great Ciſterns, that diſcharge themſelves in the Vallies which are covered over with Lakes. And on the two Sides of the *Alps*, both North and South, there are ſo great a Number of thoſe little Seas, that it may be eaſily gueſſed they muſt have vaſt Sources, that feed ſo conſtantly theſe huge Ponds.

One Hill not far from *Geneva*, call'd *Maudit*, or *Curſed*, of which one Third is always cover'd with Snow, is two Miles perpendicular in Height, according to the Obſervation of that incomparible Mathematician and Philoſopher, *Nicolas Fatio Duilier*, who, at twenty-two Years of Age, is one of the greateſt Men of his Age, and ſeems born to carry Learning beyond what it has yet attained.

But I will now entertain you a little with the State of *Bern*; for that Canton alone is above a third Part of *Switzerland*. I will ſay nothing of its Beginning or Hiſtory; nor will I enlarge upon the Conſtitution, which are all well known. It has a Council of *two hundred*, that goes by that Name, though it conſiſts almoſt of three hundred; and another of *twenty-five*, as at *Geneva*. The chief Magiſtrates are two *Advoyers* who are not annual, as the *Syndics* of *Geneva*, but for Life, and have an Authority not unlike that of the *Roman* Conſuls, each being his Year by Turns the *Advoyers* in Office. After them there are the *four Bannerets*, who anſwer to the Tribunes of the People in *Rome*; then come the *two Burſars* or Treaſurers, one for the ancient *German* Territory, the other for the *French* Territory, or the Country of *Vaud*; and the two laſt, choſen of the twenty-five, are called the *Secrets*; for to them all Secrets relating to the State are diſcovered; and they have an Authority of calling the *two hundred* together when they think fit, and of accuſing thoſe of the Magiſtracy, the *Advoyers* themſelves not excepted, as they ſee Cauſe; though this falls out ſeldom.

3. The whole Canton of *Bern* is divided into ſeventy-two Bailiages, and in every one of thoſe there is a Bailiff named by the Council of *two hundred*, who muſt be a Citizen of *Bern*, and one of the *two hundred*, into which Council no Man can be choſen till he is married: Theſe Bailiages are Employments both of Honour and Profit, for the Bailiff is the Governor and Judge in that Juriſdiction; ſince though he has ſome Aſſeſſors, who are choſen out of the Bailiage, yet he may by his Authority carry Matters which Way he will againſt all their Opinions, and the Bailiffs have to their own Uſe all the Confiſcations and Fines; ſo that drinking being ſo common in this Country, and that producing many Quarrels, the Bailiff makes his Advantage of all thoſe Diſorders; and in the ſix Years of his Government, according to the Quality of his Bailiage, he not only lives by it, but will carry perhaps twenty thouſand Crowns with him back to *Bern*, on which he lives till he can carry another Bailiage: For one is capable of being twice Bailiff; and though ſome have been thrice Bailiffs, this is very extraordinary. The Exactions of the Bailiff are the only Impoſitions or Charges to which the Inhabitants are ſubjected; and theſe, falling only on the Irregularities and Diſorders of the debauch'd, makes this Grievance, though in ſome particular Caſes it preſſes hard, yet not ſo univerſally felt; for a ſober and regular Man is in no Danger. Many in this Canton are Lords of Caſtles or Manors, and have a Juriſdiction annex'd to their Eſtates, and have their Magiſtrate, who is called the *Caſtellan*. In Matters of ſmall Conſequence there lies no Appeal from him to the Bailiff; but beyond the Value of two Piſtoles an Appeal lies; and no Sentence of Death is executed, till it is confirmed at *Bern*. There lies alſo an Appeal from the Bailiff to the Council at *Bern* There are many Complaints of the Injuſtice of the Bailiffs; but their Law is ſhort and clear, ſo that a Suit is ſoon ended; two or three Hearings are the moſt that even an intricate Suit amounts to, either in the firſt Inſtance, or in the ſecond Judgment at *Bern*. The Citizens of *Bern* conſider theſe Bailiages as their Inheritance; and they are courted in this State perhaps with as much Intrigue, as was uſed among the *Romans* in the Diſtribution of their Provinces: And ſo little ſignify the beſt Regulations, when there are radicated Diſeaſes in the State, that though there is all poſſible Precaution uſed in the Nomination of theſe Bailiffs, yet that has not preſerved this State from falling under ſo great a Miſchief by thoſe little Provinces; that as it has already in a great Meaſure corrupted their Morals, ſo it may turn in Concluſion to the Ruin of this Republick. All the Electors give their Voices by Ballot, by which they are free from all Aftergame in the Nomination of the Perſon. All the Kindred of the Pretenders, even to the remoteſt Degree, are excluded from Voting, as are alſo all their Creditors; ſo that none can vote but thoſe who ſeem to have no Intereſt in the Iſſue of the Competition: And yet there is ſo much Intrigue, and ſo great a Corruption in the Diſtribution of theſe Employments, that the whole Buſineſs, in which all *Bern* is continually in Motion, is, the Catching of the beſt Bailiages, on which a powerful Family will have its Eye for many Years before they fall. For the Counſellors of *Bern* give but a very ſmall Share of their Eſtates to their Children when they marry them; all that they propoſe is to make a Bailiage ſure to them; for this they feaſt and drink, and ſpare nothing by which they may make a ſufficient Number of Votes; but it is the Chamber of the *Bannerets* that admits the Pretenders to the Competition. When the Bailiff is choſen, he takes all poſſible Methods to make the beſt of it he can, and lets few Crimes paſs with Impunity, that produce either Confiſcations or Fines: His Juſtice alſo is generally ſuſpected. It is true, thoſe of the Bailiage may complain to the Council at *Bern*, as the oppreſſed Provinces did anciently to the Senate of *Rome*; and there have been ſevere Judgments againſt ſome Bailiffs; yet as Complaints are

not made, except upon great Occaſions, which are not often given, ſo it being the general Intereſt of the Citizens of *Bern* to make all poſſible Advantages of thoſe Employments, the Cenſure will be but gentle, except the Complaint is very crying.

In *Bern* there is very little Trade, only what is neceſſary for the Support of the Town. They maintain Profeſſors in the Univerſities of *Bern* and *Lauſanne*; the one for the *German* Territory, which is the ancient Canton, and the other for the new Conqueſt, which is the *French*: In the former there are about three hundred Pariſhes; in the latter there are about one hundred and fifty: But in the Benefices of the *German* Side, the ancient Rights of the Incumbents are generally preſerved ſo, that ſome Benefices are worth a thouſand Crowns; whereas in the *Païs de Vaud* the Proviſions are ſet off as Salaries, and are generally from one hundred to two hundred Crowns. It is viſible that thoſe of *Bern* truſt more to the Affections and Fidelity of their Subjects, than to the Strength of their Walls; for as they have never finiſh'd them, ſo what is built cannot be eſteem'd a regular Fortification; and is not preſerv'd with any Care, nor furniſh'd with Cannon; but if they have none on their Ramparts, they have Abundance in their Arſenal, in which, they ſay, there are Arms for forty thouſand Men.

The Peaſants are generally rich, chiefly on the *German* Side, and are all well armed. They pay no Duties to the Publick, and the Soil is capable of great Improvements; in which they ſucceed ſo well, that I was ſhewed ſome that were by Accident at *Bern*, who, as I was told, had Eſtates to the Value of an hundred thouſand Crowns, but that is not ordinary; yet ten thouſand Crowns for a Peaſant is no extraordinary Matter. They live much on their Milk and Corn, which in ſome Places, as about *Payern*, yields an Increaſe of fifteen for one. They breed many Horſes, which bring them in a great deal of Money. The worſt Thing in the Country is the Moiſture of the Air, which is occaſioned by the many Lakes that are in it, and by the neighbouring Mountains that are cover'd with Snow, ſome all the Summer long, and the reſt till *Midſummer*, alſo by the vaſt Quantity of Fir-trees, which ſeem to fill very near the Half of their Soil: And if theſe were for the moſt Part rooted out, as they would have much more Soil, ſo their Air would be purer; yet, till they find either Coal or Turf for their Fuel, this cannot be done. I was told that they had found Coal in ſome Places; if this Coal is conveniently ſituated, ſo that by their Lakes and Rivers it may be eaſily carried over the Country, it may ſave them a great Extent of Ground, now cover'd with Wood, and their Air become thereby the more clear and the more wholeſome.

They have ſome Fountains of Salt Water, but the making Salt conſumes ſo much Wood, that hitherto it has not turn'd to Account.

The Men are generally ſincere, but heavy: They think it neceſſary to correct the Moiſture of the Air with liberal Entertainments; and they are well furniſh'd with all neceſſary Ingredients; for as their Soil produces good Cattle, ſo their Lakes abound in excellent Fiſh, and their Woods in Fowl; the Wine is alſo light and good. The Women are generally employ'd in their domeſtick Affairs; and the Wives, even of the chief Magiſtrates of *Bern*, look into all the Concerns of the Houſe and Kitchen, as much as thoſe of the meaneſt Peaſants. Men and Women do not generally converſe together; and the Women are ſo much amuſed with the Management at home, and enter ſo little into Affairs, that among them, as an eminent Phyſician told me, they know not what Vapours are, which he imputed to the Idleneſs and the Intrigues that abound elſewhere; whereas, he ſaid, with them the Blood was cleanſed by their Labour; and as that made them ſleep well, ſo they did not amuſe themſelves with much Thinking, nor did they know what Amours were. The third Adultery is puniſh'd with Death; which is alſo the Puniſhment of the fifth Act of Fornication, of which I ſaw an Inſtance while I was in *Bern*: For a Woman, who confeſs'd herſelf guilty of many Whoredoms, and deſign'd to be revenged on ſome Men that did not furniſh her with Money as ſhe expected, was upon that condemned and executed. The Manner was ſolemn; for the Advoyer comes into a Place prepared in the Middle of the Street, and for the Satisfaction of the People, the whole Proceſs is read, and Sentence pronounced in the Hearing of all; the Counſellors, both of the great and leſſer Council, ſtanding about the Advoyer, who, after Sentence, took the Criminal very gently by the Hand, and pray'd for her Soul; and after Execution there was a Sermon for the Inſtruction of the People.

4. The whole State is diſciplined for War; for every Man that can bear Arms is liſted, and knows his Poſt and Arms; and there are Beacons ſo laid over the Country, that the Signal can run through the whole Canton in a Night; and their military Liſts are ſo laid, that every Man knows whether he is to come out upon the firſt or ſecond, or not till the general Summons. They aſſured me at *Bern*, that, upon a general Summons, they could bring above eighty thouſand Men together. Theſe Men are robuſt and ſtrong, and capable of great Hardſhip, and of good Diſcipline, and have generally an eager and quick Senſe of Liberty, and a great Love to their Country; but they labour under a Want of Officers. And though the Subjects of the State are rich, yet the Publick is poor; they can well reſiſt a ſudden Invaſion of their Country, but they would ſoon grow weary of a long War; and the Soil requires ſo much Cultivation, that they could not ſpare from their Labour the Men neceſſary to preſerve their Country. They were, indeed, as happy as a People could be, when the Emperor had *Alſace* on the one Hand, and the *Spaniards* had the *Franche Comté* on the other: They had then no Reaſon to fear their Neighbours; but now that both thoſe Provinces are in the Hands of the *French*, the Caſe is quite alter'd; for as *Baſil* is every Moment in Danger from the Garriſon of *Hunningen*, that is but a Cannon-ſhot diſtant from it; ſo all the *Païs de Vaud* lies open to the *Franche Comté*, and has neither fortified Places nor good Paſſes to ſecure it. Their Error therefore in ſuffering this to fall into the Hands of the *French* was ſo groſs, that I took ſome Pains to be informed concerning it, and will give you this Account that I had from one who was then in a very eminent Poſt; ſo that as he certainly knew the Secret, he ſeemed to ſpeak ſincerely to me. He told me, that the Duke of *Lorrain* had often moved in the Councils of War, that the Invaſion of *France* ought to be made on that Side in which *France* lay open, and was very ill fortified. This he repeated often, and it was known in *France*; ſo that the King reſolved to poſſeſs himſelf of the *Comté*, but uſed that Precaution, that fearing to provoke the *Switzers*, he offered a Neutrality on that Side: But the *Spaniards* who judged right, that it was as much the Intereſt of the Cantons, as it was theirs, to preſerve the *Comté* in their Hands, refuſed to conſent to it; but they took no Care to defend it, and ſeem'd, for that Reaſon, to leave that to the *Switzers*.

In the mean while, the *French* Money went about very liberally at *Bern*; and after thoſe that were moſt likely to make Oppoſition were gain'd, the *French* Miniſter laid before them the Neceſſity in which his Maſter found himſelf to ſecure that Side; but that ſtill he would grant a Neutrality on their Account, if the *Spaniards* would agree to it; and with this, all the Aſſurances that could be given in Words were offered to them, that they ſhould never find the leaſt Prejudice from the Neighbourhood of the *French*, but, on the contrary, all poſſible Protection. There was juſt Cauſe given by the *Spaniards* to conſider them very little in their Deliberation; for they would neither accept of the Neutrality, nor ſend a conſiderable Force to preſerve the Country, ſo that it ſeemed almoſt inevitable to give Way to the *French* Propoſition. But one propoſed that which an unbiaſs'd Aſſembly would certainly have accepted, that they ſhould themſelves ſeize the Country, and by ſo doing ſecure the Neutrality, which was all that the *French* pretended to deſire; and they might eaſily ſatisfy the *Spaniards*, and reimburſe themſelves the Expence of the Invaſion, by reſtoring the Country to them, when a general Peace ſhould be made. He laid out the Miſery to which their Country muſt be reduced by ſo powerful a Neighbour, but all was loſt Labour; ſo he went out in a Rage, and publiſhed through the Town that the State was ſold, and all was loſt. They now ſee their Error too late, and would repair it if it were poſſible; but the Truth is, many of the particular Members of this State do prey ſo much upon the Publick, that unleſs they, with one Conſent, reſolve to reform thoſe Abuſes, they will never be in a Condition to do much; for in many of their Bailiages, of which ſome are Abbies, the Bailiffs not only feed on the Subjects, but likewiſe on the State, and pretend they are ſo far ſuper-expended, that they diſcount a great deal of the publick Revenue (of which they are the Receivers) for their Reimburſement. Which made Mr. *D'Erlack* once ſay, when one of thoſe Accounts was preſented, that it was very ſtrange, if the Abbey could not feed the Monks. It is true, the Power of their Bannerets is ſo great, that one would think they might Redreſs many Abuſes. The City of *Bern* is divided into four Bodies, not unlike our Companies of *London*, which are the Bakers, the Butchers, the Tanners, and the Blackſmiths; and every Citizen of *Bern* muſt incorporate himſelf into one of theſe Societies, which they call Abbies; for it is likely they were anciently a Sort of religious Fraternity. Every one of theſe chooſes two Bannerets, who bear Office by Turns, from four Years to four Years; and every one of them has a Bailiage annexed to his Office, which he holds for Life. They carry their Name from the Banners of the ſeveral Abbies, as the Gonfaloniers of *Italy*; and the Advoyers carry ſtill their Name from the ancient Title *Ecdicus*, or Advocate, that was the Title of the chief Magiſtrates of the Towns in the Times of the *Roman* Emperors. The Chamber of the four Bannerets that bear Office, hath a vaſt Power; they examine and paſs all Accompts, and they admit all the Competitors to any Offices; ſo that no Man can be propoſed to the Council of *two hundred* without their Approbation; and this being now the chief Intrigue of their State, they have ſo abſolute an Authority in ſhutting Men out from Employments, that their Office, which is for Life, is no leſs indeed, but rather more conſiderable than that of the Advoyer, though they are inferior to him in Rank.

They manage Matters with great Addreſs, of which this Inſtance was given me in a Competition for the Advoyerſhip not long ago. There was one whoſe Temper was violent, that had made it ſo ſure among thoſe that were qualified to vote in it, as being neither of his Kindred nor Alliance, that they believed he would carry it from the other Competitor whom they favoured; ſo they ſet up a third Competitor, whoſe Kindred were the Perſons that were beſt affected to him whoſe Advancement they oppoſed, and by this Means they were all ſhut out from voting, ſo that the Election went according to the Deſign of the Bannerets. The chief Man now in *Bern*, who was the reigning Advoyer when I was there, is Mr. *D'Erlack*, Nephew to that Mr. *D'Erlack*, who was Governor of *Briſack*, and had a Brevet to be a Marſhal of *France*. This is one of the nobleſt Families in *Bern*, that acted a great Part in ſhaking off the *Auſtrian* Tyranny; and they have been ever ſince very much diſtinguiſhed there from all the reſt of their Nobility. The preſent Head of it is a very extraordinary Man; he has a great Authority in his Canton, not only as Advoyer, but by the particular Eſteem which is paid him. For he is thought the wiſeſt and worthieſt Man of the State; though it is ſomewhat ſtrange, how he ſhould bear ſo great a Sway in ſuch a Government; for he neither feaſts nor drinks with the reſt. He is a Man of great Sobriety and Gravity, very reſerved, and behaves himſelf more like a Miniſter of State in a Monarchy, than a Magiſtrate in a popular Government; for one ſees in him none of thoſe Arts that ſeem neceſſary in ſuch a Government. He has a great Eſtate and no Children, ſo he has no Projects for his Family; and does what he can to correct the Abuſes of the State, though the Diſeaſe is inveterate and ſeems paſt Cure.

5. He had a Misfortune in a War that was thirty Years ago (in the Year 1656) between the Popiſh and Proteſtant Cantons; the Occaſion of which will engage me in a ſhort Digreſſion. The Peace of *Switzerland* is chiefly preſerved by a Law agreed on among all the Cantons, that every Canton may make what Regulations concerning Religion they think fit, without Prejudice to the general League. Now the Popiſh Cantons have made Laws, that it ſhall be capital for any to change their Religion; and on a ſet Day every Year they go all to Maſs, and the Maſters of Families ſwear to continue true to the State, and firm in their Religion to their Lives End; and ſo they pretend they puniſh their falling into Hereſy, with Death and Confiſcation of Goods, becauſe it is a Violation of the Faith which is ſo ſolemnly ſworn. But on the other Hand, in the Proteſtant Cantons, ſuch as turn are only obliged to go and live out of the Canton; but for their Eſtates they ſtill preſerve them, and are permitted to ſell them. One cannot but obſerve more of the merciful Spirit of the Goſpel in the one than in the other. In two Cantons, *Appenzel* and *Glaris*, both Religions are tolerated, and are capable of equal Privileges; and in ſome Bailiages that were conquered in common by the Cantons of *Bern* and *Friberg*, in the Wars with *Savoy*, the two Cantons name the Bailiffs by Turns; and both Religions are ſo equally tolerated, that in the ſame Church they have both Maſs and Sermon ſo peaceably, that on one *Sunday* the Maſs begins, and the Sermon follows, and the next *Sunday* the Sermon begins, and the Maſs comes after, without the leaſt Diſorder, Murmuring, or other Inconvenience.

But in the Year 1656, ſome of the Cantons of *Schwitz* changing their Religion, and retiring to *Zurich*, their Eſtates were confiſcated; and ſome others that had alſo changed, but had not left the Canton, were taken and beheaded. *Zurich* demanded the Eſtates of the Refugees, but inſtead of granting this, the Canton of *Schwitz* demanded their Subjects, that they might proceed againſt them as Delinquents; and they founded this on a Law by which any of the Cantons are obliged to deliver up the Criminals of another Canton, if they are demanded by the Canton to which they belong. But thoſe of *Zurich* and *Bern* thought this was both inhuman and unchriſtian; though the Deputy of *Baſil* was of another Mind, and thought that they ought to be delivered up, which extremely diſguſted thoſe of *Zurich*. Thoſe of *Schwitz* committed ſome Inſolencies upon the Subjects of *Zurich*, and refuſed to give Satiſfaction; upon which a War followed between the Proteſtant and Popiſh Cantons. The Cantons of *Bern* and *Zurich* raiſed an Army of twenty-five thouſand Men, which was commanded by Mr. *D'Erlack*, but was diſperſed in ſeveral Bodies; and the Papiſts, who had not above ſix thouſand, ſurprized Mr. *D'Erlack* with a Body much ſuperior to theirs. Both Sides, after a ſhort Engagement, ran; the Cannon of the Canton of *Bern* was left in the Field a whole Day; at laſt thoſe of *Lucern*, ſeeing that none ſtaid to defend the Cannon, carried them off. This Loſs raiſed ſuch a Tumult in *Bern*, that they ſeemed reſolved to ſacrifice Mr. *D'Erlack*; but he came with ſuch a Preſence of Mind, and gave ſo ſatisfactory an Account of the Misfortune, that the Tumult ceaſed, and ſoon after the War ended. Upon this many thought, that though the Papiſts acted cruelly, yet it was according to their Laws, and that no other Canton could pretend to interpoſe or quarrel with thoſe of *Schwitz* for what they did upon that Occaſion. Within theſe few Years there were ſome Quarrels like to ariſe in the Canton of *Glaris*, where it was ſaid, that the equal Privileges agreed on to both Religions were not preſerved; but on this Occaſion the Pope's Nuncio acted a very different Part from that which might have been expected. For whereas the Miniſters of that Court have been commonly the Incendiaries in all Diſputes that concern Religion, he acted rather the Part of a Mediator. And whereas it was viſible, that the Injuſtice lay on the Side of the Papiſts, he interpoſed ſo effectually with thoſe of *Lucern*, which is the Chief of the Popiſh Cantons, that the Difference was compoſed.

But to return to *Bern*. The Buildings have neither great Magnificence, nor many Apartments; but they are convenient, and ſuited to the Way of living in that Country. The Streets not only of *Bern* and the bigger Towns, but even of the ſmalleſt Villages, are furniſhed with Fountains that run continually, which as they are of great Uſe, ſo they want not their Beauty. The great Church of *Bern* is a very noble Fabrick; but being built on the Top of the Hill on which the Town ſtands, it ſeems the Ground began to fail, ſo to ſupport it they have raiſed a vaſt Fabrick, which has coſt more than the Church itſelf; for there is a Platform made which is a Square, to which the Church is one Side, and the farther Side is a vaſt Wall fortified with Buttreſſes about an hundred and fifty Feet high. They told me, that all the Ground down to the Bottom of the Hill was dug into Vaults. This Platform is the principal Walk of the Town chiefly about Sun ſet; and the River underneath affords a very beautiful Proſpect. For there is a Cut taken off from it for the Mills; but all along as this Cut goes, the Water of the *Aar* runs over a ſloping Bank of Stone, which they ſay was made at a vaſt Charge, and makes a noble Caſcade.

The ſecond Church is the *Dominican* Chapel, where I ſaw the famous Hole that went to an Image in the Church from one of the Cells of the *Dominicans*, which leads me to ſet down that Story at Length: For as it was one of the moſt ſignal Cheats that the World has known, ſo it falling out about twenty Years before the Reformation was received in *Bern*, it is very probable that it contributed not a little to the preparing of the Spirits of the People for that Change. I am the more able to give a particular Account of it, becauſe I read the original Proceſs in the *Latin* Records, ſigned by the Notaries of the Court of Delegates that the Pope ſent to examine the Matter. The Record is above one hundred and thirty Sheets, writ cloſe on both Sides, being indeed a large Volume. And I found the printed Accounts ſo defective, that I was at the Pains of reading the whole Proceſs, of which I will give here an authentick though conciſe Abſtract.

6. The two famous Orders, that had poſſeſſed themſelves of the Eſteem of thoſe dark Ages, were engaged in a mighty Conteſt. The *Dominicans* were the more learned; they were the moſt eminent Preachers of thoſe Times, and had the Conduct of the Courts of Inquiſition, and the other chief Offices in the Church in their Hands. But on the other Hand, the *Franciſcans* had an outward Appearance of more Severity, a ruder Habit, ſtricter Rules, and greater Poverty, which gave them ſuch Advantages in the Eyes of the ſimple Multitude, as were able to balance the other Honours of the *Dominican* Order. In ſhort, the two Orders were engaged in a high Diſpute; but the Devotion towards the Virgin being the prevailing Faſhion of thoſe Times, the *Franciſcans* had great Advantages. The *Dominicans* being all engaged in the Defence of *Thomas Aquinas*'s Opinions, were thereby obliged to aſſert, that ſhe was born in original Sin. This was propoſed to the People by the *Franciſcans* as no leſs than Blaſphemy; and by this the *Dominicans* began to loſe Ground extremely in the Minds of the People, who were ſtrongly prepoſſeſſed in Favour of the immaculate Conception.

About the Beginning of the fifteenth Century, a *Franciſcan* happened to preach in *Frankfort*; and one *Wigand*, a *Dominican*, coming into the Church, the Cordelier ſeeing him, broke out into Exclamations, praiſing God that he was not of an Order that profaned the Virgin, or that poiſoned Princes in the Sacrament (for a *Dominican* had ſo poiſoned the Emperor *Henry* VII.) *Wigand* being extremely provoked with this bloody Reproach, gave him the Lie, upon which a Diſpute aroſe, which ended in a Tumult that had almoſt coſt the *Dominican* his Life; yet he got away. The whole Order reſolved to take their Revenge, and in a Chapter held at *Vimpfen* in the Year 1504, they contrived a Method for ſupporting the Credit of their Order, which was much ſunk in the Opinion of the People, and for bearing down the Reputation of the *Franciſcans*: Four of the Junto undertook to manage the Deſign; for they ſaid, ſince the People were ſo much diſpoſed to believe Dreams and Fables, they muſt dream on their Side, and endeavour to cheat the People as well others had done. They reſolved to make *Bern* the Scene in which the Project ſhould be put in Execution; for they found the People of *Bern* at that Time apt to ſwallow any Thing, and not diſpoſed to make ſevere Enquiries into extraordinary Matters. When they had formed their Deſign, a fit Tool preſented itſelf; for one *Jetzer* came to take their Habit as a Lay-Brother, who had all the Diſpoſitions that were neceſſary for the Execution of their Project; he was extremly ſimple, and much inclined to Auſterities; ſo having obſerved his Temper well, they began to execute their Project the very Night after he took the Habit, which was on *Lady-day*, 1507. One of the Friers conveyed himſelf ſecretly into his Cell, and appeared to him as if he had been in Purgatory, in a ſtrange Figure; he had a Box near his Mouth, upon which, as he blew, Fire ſeemed to come out of his Mouth. He had alſo ſome Dogs about him, that appeared as his Tormentors. In this Poſture he came near the Frier while he was in Bed, and took up a celebrated Story that they uſed to tell all their Friers, to beget in them a great Dread of ever laying aſide their Habit, which was, that one of the Order, who was Superior of their Houſe at *Solothurn*, had gone to *Paris*, but laying aſide his Habit, was killed in his Lay Cloaths. The Frier in the Vizard ſaid he was that Perſon, and was condemned to Purgatory for that Crime; but he added, that he might be reſcued by his Means; and he ſeconded this with moſt horrible Cries, expreſſing the Miſeries which he ſuffered. The poor Frier *Jetzer* was exceſſively frighted; but the other advanced, and required a Promiſe of him to do that which he ſhould deſire, in order to the delivering him out of his Torment. The Frier promiſed all that he aſked of him. Then the other ſaid, he knew he was a great Saint, and that his Prayers and Mortifications would prevail; but they muſt be very extraordinary: The whole Monaſtery muſt, for a Week together, diſcipline themſelves with a Whip, and he muſt lie proſtrate in the Form of one on a Croſs, in one of their Chapels, while Maſs was ſaid in the Sight of all that ſhould come to it; and he added that if he did this, he ſhould find the Effects of the Love that the Bleſſed Virgin bear him, together with many other extraordinary Things; and ſaid he would appear again, accompanied with two other Spirits; and aſſured him, that all he ſuffered for his Deliverance ſhould be moſt glorioufly rewarded. Morning was no ſooner come, than the Frier gave an Account of this Apparition to the reſt of the Convent, who ſeemed extremely ſurprized: They all preſſed him to undergo the Diſcipline that was enjoined him, and every one undertook to bear his Share; ſo the deluded Frier performed it exactly in one of the Chapels of their Church. This drew a vaſt Number of Spectators together, who conſidered the poor Frier as a Saint; and in the mean while the four Friers that managed the Impoſture, magnified the Miracle of the Apparition to the Skies in their Sermons. The Frier's Confeſſor was in the Secret; and by this Means they knew all the little Paſſages of the poor Frier's Life, even to his Thoughts, which helped them not a little in the Conduct of the Matter. The Confeſſor gave him an Hoſtie, with a Piece of Wood, that was, as he pretended, a Piece of the true Croſs; and by theſe he was to fortify himſelf, if any other Apparitions ſhould come to him; ſince evil Spirits would be certainly chained up thereby. The Night after that, the former Apparition was renewed, and the maſqued Frier brought two others with him in ſuch Vizards, that the Frier thought they were Devils indeed. The Frier preſented the Hoſtie to them, which gave them ſuch a Check, that he was fully ſatisfied of the Virtue of this Preſervative.

The Frier, that pretended he was ſuffering in Purgatory, ſaid ſo many Things relating to the Secrets of his Life and Thoughts, which he had from the Confeſſor, that the poor Frier was fully poſſeſſed of the Reality of the Apparition. In two of theſe Repreſentations, that were both managed in the ſame Manner, the Frier in the Maſque talked much of the *Dominican* Order, which he ſaid was exceſſively dear to the bleſſed Virgin, who knew herſelf to be conceived in original Sin, and that the Doctors who taught the contrary, were in Purgatory: That the Story of St. *Bernard*'s appearing with a Spot on him, for having oppoſed himſelf to the Feaſt of the Conception, was a Forgery; but that it was true, that ſome hideous Flies appear'd on St. *Bonaventure*'s Tomb, who had taught the contrary: That the Bleſſed Virgin abhorr'd the *Cordeliers* for making her equal to her Son: That *Scotus* was damned,' whoſe Canonization the *Cordeliers* were then ſoliciting at *Rome*; and that the Town of *Bern* would be deſtroy'd for harbouring ſuch Plagues within their Walls. When the injoined Diſcipline was fully performed, the Spirit appeared again, and ſaid, he was delivered out of Purgatory; but before he could be admitted to Heaven, he muſt receive the Sacrament, having died without it; and after that he would ſay Maſs for thoſe, who had by their Charities reſcued him out of his Pains. The Frier fancied the Voice reſembled the Prior's a little; but he was then ſo far from ſuſpecting any Thing, that he gave no great Heed to this Suſpicion. Some Days after this, the ſame Frier appeared as a Nun all in Glory, and told the poor Frier that ſhe was Saint *Barbara*, for whom he had a particular Devotion; and added, that the Bleſſed Virgin was ſo much pleaſed with his Charity, that ſhe intended to come and viſit him. He immediately call'd the Convent together, and gave the reſt of the Friers an Account of this Apparition, which was entertained by them with great Joy; and the Frier languiſh'd for the Accompliſhment of the Promiſe that St. *Barbara* had made him. After ſome Days the long'd for Deluſion appear'd to him, cloathed as the Virgin uſed to be on the great Feaſts, and indeed in the ſame Habits. There were about her ſome Angels, which he afterwards found were the little Statues of Angels, which they ſet on the Altars on the great Holidays. There was alſo a Pulley faſtened in the Room over his Head, and a Cord tied to the Angels, that made them riſe up in the Air, and float about the Virgin, which increaſed the Deluſion. The Virgin, after ſome Endearments, extolling the Merit of his Charity and Diſcipline, told him that ſhe was conceived in original Sin, and that Pope *Julius* II. that then reign'd, was to put an End to the Diſpute, and was to aboliſh the Feaſt of her Conception, which *Sixtus* IV. had inſtituted; and that he was to be the Inſtrument of perſuading the Pope of the Truth in that Matter. She gave him three Drops of her Son's Blood, which were three Tears of Blood that he had ſhed over *Jeruſalem*; and this ſignified, that ſhe was three Hours in original Sin, after which ſhe was by his Mercy delivered out of that State. For it ſeems the *Dominicans* were reſolved ſo to compound the Matter, that though they ſhould gain the main Point, of her Conception in Sin, yet they would comply ſo far with the Reverence for the Virgin with which the World was then poſſeſſed, that ſhe ſhould be believed to have remained a very ſhort while in that State. She gave him alſo five Drops of Blood in the Form of a Croſs, which were Tears of Blood that ſhe had ſhed while her Son was on the Croſs. And to convince him more fully, ſhe preſented an Hoſtie to him, that appeared as an ordinary Hoſtie, and of a ſudden it appeared to be of a deep red Colour. The Cheat of thoſe ſuppoſed Viſits was often repeated; at laſt the Virgin told him, that ſhe was to give him ſuch Marks of her Son's Love to him, that the Matter ſhould be paſt all Doubt. She ſaid, that the five Wounds of St. *Lucia* and St. *Catherine* were real Wounds, and that ſhe would alſo imprint them on him; ſo ſhe bid him reach his Hand. He had no great Mind to receive a Favour in which he was to ſuffer ſo much; but ſhe forced his Hand, and ſtruck a Nail through it. This Hole was as big as a Grain of Peaſe, and he ſaw the Candle clearly through it. This threw him out of a ſuppoſed Tranſport into a real Agony: But ſhe ſeem'd to touch his Hand, and he thought he ſmelt an Ointment with which ſhe anointed it; though his Confeſſor perſuaded him that that was only an Imagination; ſo the ſuppoſed Virgin left him for that Time.

The next Night the Apparition return'd, and brought ſome Linnen Clothes, which had ſome real or imaginary Virtue to allay his Torment; and the pretended Virgin ſaid, they were ſome of the Linnen in which Chriſt was wrapped; and with that ſhe gave him a ſoporiferous Draught, and while he was faſt aſleep, the other four Wounds were imprinted on his Body in ſuch a Manner, that he felt no Pain.

But in order to this, the Friers betook themſelves to Charms; and the Sub-prior ſhewed the reſt a Book full of them; but he ſaid, that before they could be effectual, they muſt renounce God; and he not only did this himſelf, but by a formal Act of Writing, ſigned with his Blood, he dedicated himſelf to the Devil: It is true, he did not oblige the reſt to do this, but only to renounce God. The Compoſition of the Draught was a Mixture of ſome Fountain Water and Chriſm, the Hairs of the Eyebrows of a Child, ſome Quickſilver, ſome Grains of Incenſe, ſomewhat of an *Eaſter* Wax-candle, ſome conſecrated Salt, and the Blood of an unbaptized Child. This Compoſition was a Secret, which the Sub prior did not communicate to the reſt. By this the poor Frier *Jetzer* was made almoſt inſenſible. When he was awake, and came out of this deep Sleep, he felt this wonderful Impreſſion on his Body; and now he was raviſh'd out of Meaſure, and came to fancy himſelf to be acting all the Parts of our Saviour's Paſſion: He was expoſed to the People on the great Altar, to the Amazement of the whole Town, and to the Mortification of the *Franciſcans*. The *Dominicans* gave him ſome other Draughts, that threw him into Convulſions; and when he came out of thoſe, a Voice was heard, which came through that Hole, which yet remains, and runs from one of the Cells, along a great Part of the Wall of the Church: For a Frier ſpoke through a Pipe, and at the End of the Hole there was an Image of the Virgin's, with a little *Jeſus* in her Arms, between whom and his Mother the Voice ſeemed to come. The Image alſo ſeem'd to ſhed Tears; and a Painter had drawn thoſe on her Face ſo lively, that the People were deceived by it. The little *Jeſus* aſked why ſhe wept? And ſhe ſaid, it was becauſe his Honour was given to her, ſince it was ſaid that ſhe was born without Sin. In Concluſion, the Friers ſo overacted this Matter, that at laſt even the poor deluded Frier himſelf came to diſcover it, and reſolved to quit the Order.

It was in vain to delude him with more Apparitions, for he well-nigh kill'd a Frier that came to him perſonating the Virgin in another Shape with a Crown on her Head. He alſo over-heard the Friers once talking among themſelves, of the Contrivance and Succeſs of the Impoſture, ſo plainly, that he diſcover'd the whole Matter; and upon that, as may be eaſily imagined, he was filled with all the Horror with which ſuch a Diſcovery could inſpire him.

The Friers fearing that an Impoſture, which was carried on hitherto with ſo much Succeſs, ſhould be quite ſpoil'd, and turn'd againſt them, thought the ſureſt Way was to own the whole Matter to him, and to engage him to carry on the Cheat. They told him in what Eſteem he would be, if he continued to ſupport the Reputation that he had acquired; that he would become the Chief of the Order; and in the End they perſuaded him to go on with the Impoſture. But at laſt, fearing leſt he ſhould diſcover all, they reſolved to poiſon him; of which he was ſo apprehenſive, that once a Loaf being brought him, that was prepared with Spices, he kept it for ſome Time, and it growing green, he threw it to ſome young Wolf's Whelps that were in the Monaſtery, which died immediately. His Conſtitution was ſo vigorous, that though they gave him Poiſon five ſeveral Times, he was not deſtroyed by it. They alſo preſs'd him earneſtly to renounce God, which they judged neceſſary, that their Charms might have their Effect on him; but he would never conſent to that. At laſt they forced him to take a poiſoned

Hoſtie, which yet he vomited up ſoon after he had ſwallowed it. That failing, they uſed him ſo cruelly, whipping him with an Iron Chain, and girding him about ſo ſtrait with it, that to avoid further Torment, he ſwore to them in a moſt imprecating Stile, that he would never diſcover the Secret, but would ſtill carry it on; and ſo he deluded them, till he found an Opportunity of getting out of the Convent, and of throwing himſelf into the Hands of the Magiſtrates, to whom he diſcovered all.

The four Friers were ſeized and put in Priſon, and an Account of the Matter was ſent firſt to the Biſhop of *Lauſanne*, and then to *Rome*; and it may be eaſily imagin'd, that the *Franciſcans* took all poſſible Care to have it thoroughly examined. The Biſhops of *Lauſanne* and *Zyon*, with the Provincial of the *Dominicans*, were appointed to form the Proceſs. The four Friers firſt excepted to *Jetzer*'s Credit; but that was rejected: Then being threaten'd with the Queſtion, they put in a long Plea againſt that; but though the Provincial would not conſent to that, yet they were put to the Queſtion: Some endured it long, but at laſt they all confeſſed the whole of the Impoſture. The Provincial appeared concerned; for though *Jetzer* had opened the whole Matter to him, yet he would give no Credit to him; on the contrary, he charged him to be obedient to them; and one of the Friers ſaid plainly, that he was in the whole Secret; and ſo he withdrew, but he died ſome Days after at *Conſtance*, having poiſoned himſelf, as was generally believed. The Matter lay aſleep ſome Time, but a Year after that, a *Spaniſh* Biſhop came, authorized with full Power from *Rome*, and the whole Cheat being fully proved, the four Friers were ſolemnly degraded from their Prieſthoods, and eight Days after, it being the laſt of *May*, 1509, they were burnt in a Meadow on the other Side of the River, over-againſt the great Church. The Place of their Execution was ſhewed me, as well as the Hole in the Wall through which the Voice was conveyed to the Image. It was certainly one of the blackeſt, and yet the beſt carried-on Cheat that has been known; and, no Doubt, had the poor Frier died before the Diſcovery, it had paſſed to Poſterity as one of the greateſt Miracles that ever was; and it gives a ſhrewd Suſpicion, that many of the other Miracles of that Church are of the ſame Nature, but more ſucceſsfully finiſh'd.

7. *Switzerland* lies between *France* and *Italy*, both Countries incomparably more rich, and better furniſhed with the Conveniencies of Life than it; and yet *Italy* is almoſt diſpeopled, and the People in it are reduced to Miſery that can ſcarce be imagined but by thoſe who have ſeen it: And *France* is in a great Meaſure diſpeopled, and the Inhabitants reduced to ſuch Poverty as appears in all the Marks in which it can ſhew itſelf, in their Houſes, Furniture, Cloaths, and Looks.

On the contrary, *Switzerland* is full of People, and in ſeveral Places, in Villages as well as in Towns, one ſees all the Marks of Plenty and Wealth. Their Houſes and Windows are in good Order, the Highways are well maintained, People are well cloathed, and every one at his Eaſe. This Obſervation ſurpriſed me ſtill more in the Country of the *Griſons*, where there is hardly any Soil at all, the Vallies being almoſt waſhed away with the Torrents that fall down from the Hills, and ſwell their Brooks ſometimes ſo ſuddenly, that in many Places the whole Soil is carried away; and yet thoſe Vallies are well peopled, and every one lives happy under a gentle Government: Whilſt rich and plentiful Countries are reduced to ſuch Miſery, that as many Inhabitants are forced to change their Seats, ſo thoſe who ſtay behind can ſcarce live, and pay thoſe Impoſitions that are laid upon them. The common People generally reaſon very ſimply of Government; but they feel truly though they argue falſe. So an eaſy Government, though in a Country with an ill Soil, and accompanied with great Inconveniencies, draws, or at leaſt keeps People in it; whereas a ſevere Government, though it may in Speculation appear reaſonable, drives its Subjects even out of the beſt and moſt deſirable Seats.

8. In my Way from *Bern*, I paſſed by *Solothurn*, and I came through *Fribourg* in my Way to *Bern*. Theſe are two of the chief Popiſh Cantons after *Lucern*; and one ſees in them a Heat and Bigottry beyond what appears in *France* or *Italy*. Long before they come within the Church, they kneel down in the Streets, when Maſs is ſaying. The Images are extreme groſs. In the chief Church of *Solothurn*, there is an Image of God the Father, as an old Man with a black Beard, having our Saviour on his Knees, and a Dove over his Head. Here alſo begins Devotion at the *Ave-Mary* Bell, which is ſcarce known in *France*, but is practiſed all over *Italy*: At Noon, and at Sun-ſet, the Bell rings, and all ſay the *Ave-Mary*. But whereas in *Italy* they content themſelves with putting off their Hats, in *Switzerland* they kneel down in the Streets, which I ſaw no where practiſed except at *Venice*, and there it is not commonly done. But notwithſtanding this, all the *Switzers* ſee their common Intereſt ſo well, that they live in a very good Underſtanding one with another. This is chiefly owing to the Canton of *Lucern*, where there is a Spirit in the Government very different from what is in the other Popiſh Cantons. The Jeſuits begin to grow as powerful in *Switzerland*, as they are elſewhere; they have a noble College and Chapel in the beſt Place of *Fribourg*. It is not long ſince they were at *Solothurn*, where there was a Revenue of a thouſand Livres a Year ſettled for the Maintenance of ten of them, with this Proviſion, that they ſhould never exceed that Number. But where once ſettled, they find Means to break through all Limitations; and are now become ſo rich there, that they are raiſing a Church and College, which will coſt, before finiſhed, above four hundred thouſand Livres, to which the *French* King gives ten thouſand Livres for the Frontiſpiece; for as this is the Canton in which his Ambaſſador reſides, he thought it for his Glory, to have a Monument raiſed by an Order, that will never be wanting to flatter their Benefactors, as long as they can find their Account in it.

In the ſame Canton there is an Abbey, that has one hundred thouſand Livres of Revenue; there is alſo a very rich Houſe of Nuns that wear the Capuchins Habit, that had ſixty thouſand Livres of Revenue, and but ſixty Nuns in it, who, having a thouſand Livres a-piece, may live in all poſſible Plenty, in a Country where a little Money goes a great Way. But that which ſurpriſes one moſt at *Solothurn* is, the great Fortification they are building about the Town, the nobleſt and ſolideſt that is any were to be ſeen. The Stone with which it is faced, is a Sort of coarſe Marble, but many Stones are ten Feet long, and two Feet thick: But though this will be a Work of Expence and Beauty, yet it would ſignify little againſt a great Army that attack'd it vigorouſly. The Wall is finiſhed on the Side of the River, the Ditch is very broad, and the Counterſcarp and Glacis are alſo finiſhed, and they are working at a Fort on the other Side of the River, which they intend to fortify in the ſame Manner. This has coſt them near two Millions of Livres, and this Expence has made them often repent the Undertaking; and it is certain, that a Fortification able to reſiſt their Peaſants in caſe of a Rebellion, is all that is needful. This Canton has two Advoyers, as *Bern*; the little Council conſiſts of thirty-ſix: They have twelve Bailiages, which are very profitable to thoſe that can carry them; one Burſar, and but one Banneret. All the Cantons have Bailiages; but if there are Diſorders at *Bern* in the Choice of Bailiffs, there are far greater among the Popiſh Cantons, where all Things are ſold, as a foreign Miniſter told me; who, tho' he knew my Religion, did not ſtick to own frankly, that the Catholic were not near ſo well governed as the Proteſtant Cantons. Juſtice is generally ſold among them; and in Treaties with foreign Princes, they have ſometimes taken Money both from *French* and *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadors, and have ſigned contradictory Articles at the ſame Time.

9. *Baden* has nothing in it remarkable, except its convenient Situation, which makes it the Seat of the General Diet of the Cantons, tho' not one of them, but a Bailiage that belongs in common to eight of the an-

cient Cantons. At laſt I came to *Zurich*, which as it is the firſt and moſt honourable of all the Cantons, ſo with relation to us, it has a Precedence of a higher Nature, it being the firſt that received the Reformation.

This Canton is leſs than *Bern*, yet the Publick is much richer; they reckon that they can bring fifty thouſand Men together on twenty-four Hours Warning; their Subjects live happy, for the Bailiffs here have Appointments, and have only the Hundred Penny of the Fines; ſo that they are not tempted as thoſe of *Bern*, to whom the Fine belongs entirely. And whereas at *Bern*, the conſtant Intrigue of the whole Town is concerning their Bailiages; here it is a Service to which the Citizens are bound to ſubmit, according to their Conſtitution, but to which they do not aſpire. The Government is almoſt the ſame as at *Bern*, and the Magiſtrate called the Advoyer at *Bern*, is here called the Burgomaſter. The Revenue of the State is juſtly accounted for, ſo that the Publick is much richer than at *Bern*; the Arſenal is much better furniſhed, and the Fortifications more regular. There is a great Trade ſtirring; and as their Lake, that is twenty-four Miles long, and two or three broad, ſupplies them with Proviſions, ſo their River carries their Manufacture to the *Rhine*, from whence it is conveyed as they pleaſe. One of their chief Manufactures is Crape, in all Reſpects the beſt I ever ſaw. I will not deſcribe the Situation of the Town, but content myſelf with telling you, that it is very pleaſant, the Country about it mountainous, and the Winters hard; for the Lake freezes quite over, only in ſome Places Ice never lies, which is eſteemed a Mark that Springs riſe there and cauſe that Heat. So alſo in the Lake of *Geneva*, tho' never quite frozen, yet Flakes of Ice lie in ſeveral Parts, but are never ſeen in ſome Parts of the Lake; which is ſuppoſed to flow from the ſame Cauſe.

But to return to *Zurich*: One ſees here the ancient Simplicity of the *Switzers*, not corrupted with Luxury or Vanity. Their Women not only do not converſe with Men, except thoſe of their near Kindred, but even in the Streets make no Returns to the Civility of Strangers; for it is only Strangers put off their Hats to Women, but they make no Courteſies; and here, as through all *Switzerland*, Women are not *ſaluted*, but the Civility is expreſſed by taking them by the Hand. There is one Thing ſingular in the Conſtitution of *Zurich*, that is, their *Little Council* conſiſts of *Fifty* Perſons, but there ſit in it only *Twenty-five* at a Time; and ſo the Halves of this Council, as each of them has his proper Burgomaſter, have alſo the Government in their Hands by Turns, and they ſhift every ſix Months, at *Midſummer*, and at *Chriſtmas*. The whole Canton is divided into nine great Bailiages, and twenty-one Caſtellaneries; in the former the Bailiff reſides conſtantly; but the Caſtellan, who is alſo one of the *Great Council*, has ſo little to do, that he lives at *Zurich*, and goes only at ſet Times of the Year to do Juſtice.

The Virtue of this Canton has appear'd in their adhering to the ancient Capitulations with the *French*, and not ſlackening in any Article, which has been done by all the other Cantons, where Money has a ſovereign Influence; but here it never prevailed. They have converted the ancient Revenues of the Church more to pious Uſes, than any where elſe. They have many Hoſpitals well endowed; in one, as I was told, there was ſix hundred and fifty Poor kept: But as they ſupport the real Charities which belong to ſuch Endowments, ſo they deſpiſe that vain Magnificence of Buildings, which is generally affected elſewhere; for theirs are plain; and one of the Government ſaid to me very ſenſibly, that they thought it enough to maintain their Poor as Poor, and not lodge them as Princes.

The Dean and Chapter are ſtill continued as a Corporation, and enjoy the Revenues which they had before the Reformation; but if they ſubſiſt plentifully, they labour hard; for they have two or three Sermons a Day, and at leaſt one; the firſt begins at Five o'Clock in the Morning. At *Geneva*, and all *Switzerland* over, there are daily Sermons, which were ſubſtituted upon the Reformation. But the Sermons are generally too long, and the Preachers have departed from the firſt Deſign of theſe Sermons, which were intended to be an Explication of a whole Chapter, and an Exhortation upon it; and if this were ſo contrived, that it were in all not above a Quarter of an Hour long, as it would be heard by the People with leſs Wearineſs, and more Profit, ſo it would be a vaſt Advantage to the Preachers; for as it would oblige them to ſtudy the Scriptures much; ſo having once made themſelves Maſters of the practical Parts, ſuch ſhort Diſcourſes would coſt them leſs Pains than thoſe laboured Sermons do, which conſume the greateſt Part of their Time, and often to little Purpoſe.

I told you, in *Bern* the Bailiages are given by a Sort of Ballot, which is ſo managed, that no Man's Vote is known: But I muſt add, that ſince I was firſt there, they have made a conſiderable Alteration in the Way of Voting, when Offices are to be given; which approaches much nearer the *Venetian* Method, and which expoſes the Competitors more to Chance, and may put an End to the Intrigues that are ſo much in Uſe for obtaining thoſe Employments. There are Balls put into a Box, equal to the Number of thoſe that have a Right to vote, and are preſent; of theſe one Third are gilt, and two Parts are only ſilver'd; ſo every one takes out a Ball, but none can vote, except thoſe who have the gilt Balls; ſo that a Man may have more than two Thirds on his Side, and yet be diſappointed in a Competition.

10. There is one Thing, for which the *Switzers*, in particular thoſe of *Bern*, cannot be too much commended: They have, ever ſince the Perſecution began in *France*, open'd a Sanctuary to ſuch as retired thither in ſo Chriſtian a Manner, that it deſerves all honourable Remembrances that can be made of it. Such Miniſters and others, as were at firſt condemned in *France* for the Affair of the *Cevennes*, have not only found Reception here, but all the Support that could be expected, and indeed much more. For they have aſſign'd the *French* Miniſter's a Penſion of five Crowns a Month if unmarried, and have increaſed it to every one who had a Wife and Children, ſo that ſome had above ten Crowns a Month Penſion. They diſperſed them all over the *Pais de Vaud*, but the greateſt Number ſtaid at *Lauſanne* and *Vevay*. In order to the ſupporting of this Charge, the Charities of *Zurich* and other Proteſtant States were brought hither. Not only the Proteſtant Cantons, but the *Griſons*, and ſome ſmall States that are under the Protection of the Cantons, ſuch as *Neufchâtel*, St. *Gall*, and ſome others, have ſent their Charities to *Bern*, who diſpenſe of them with great Diſcretion, and bear what farther Charge this brings upon them. And in this laſt total Diſperſion of thoſe Churches, the Country has been animated with ſuch a Spirit of Compaſſion, that every Man's Houſe and Purſe has been opened to the Refugees, who have paſſed in ſuch Numbers, that ſometimes there have been above two thouſand in *Lauſanne* alone, and of theſe at one Time near two hundred Miniſters; and they all met with a Kindneſs that look'd more like the primitive Age, than the Degeneracy of that in which we live.

The only conſiderable Tax under which the *Switzers* lie, is, when Eſtates are ſold, the fifth Part of the Price belongs to the Publick, and all the Abatement that the Bailiff can make, is to bring it to a ſixth. This they call the *Lod*, which is drived from *Alodium*; only there are ſome Lands that are *frank-alod*, which lie not under this Tax. But this falling only on the Sellers, it was thought a juſt Puniſhment and a wiſe Reſtraint on ill Huſbands of their Eſtates.

I was the more confirm'd in the Account I have given you of the Derivation of *Advoyer*, when I found that in ſome ſmall Towns in the Canton of *Bern*, the chief Magiſtrate is ſtill ſo called, as in *Payerne*: So that I make no Doubt, but as the ancient Magiſtrates in the Time of the *Romans*, that were to give an Account of the Town, were called *Advocates*; and afterwards the Judge in Civil Matters, that was named by the Biſhops, was called at firſt *Advocate*, and afterwards

Vidam or *Vicedominus*; ſo that this was the Title that was ſtill continued in *Bern*, while they were under the *Auſtrian* and *German* Yoke, and was preſerved by them when they threw it off.

I have touch'd too ſlightly on the laſt Difference in *Switzerland*, which related to the Canton of *Glaris*. In the Canton of *Apenzel*, as the two Religions are tolerated, ſo they are ſeparated in different Quarters; thoſe of one have the one Half of the Canton, and thoſe of the other Religion have the other Half; ſo they live apart, but in *Glaris* they are mix'd; and now the Number of the Papiſts is very low; one aſſured me, there were not above two hundred Families of that Religion; and thoſe ſo poor, that their Neceſſities diſpoſe ſome every Day to change their Religion. The other Popiſh Cantons ſeeing the Danger of loſing their Intereſt entirely in that Canton, and being ſet on by the Intrigues of a Court that underſtood the Policy of embroiling all other States, made great Uſe of ſome Complaints of the Papiſts of *Glaris*, as if the prevailing of the other Religion expoſed them to much Injuſtice and Oppreſſion; and upon that they propoſed that the Canton ſhould be equally divided as *Apenzel* was. This was extremely unjuſt, ſince the Papiſts were not the tenth, perhaps not the twentieth Part of the Canton. It is true, it was ſo ſituated, that the Proteſtant Cantons could not eaſily come to their Aſſiſtance; but thoſe of *Glaris* reſolved to die rather than ſuffer this Injuſtice; and the Proteſtant Cantons reſolved to engage in a War with the Popiſh Cantons, if they impoſed on their Brethren of *Glaris*. At laſt this Expedient was found, that in all Suits between thoſe of different Religions, two Thirds of the Judges ſhould be of the Religion of the Defendant. But while this Conteſt was on Foot, thoſe who fomented, if they did not ſet it on, knew how to make their Advantage of the Conjuncture; for then was the Fortification of *Hunningen* at the Ports of *Baſil* much advanced, of which they are now very apprehenſive when too late. There are ſix noble Families in *Bern* that have this Privilege, that when any of them are choſen of the Council, they take Place before the ancient Counſellors; whereas the reſt take Place according to the Order in which they were choſen.

11. After a ſhort Stay at *Zurich*, we went down the Lake, where we paſſed under the Bridge at *Ripperſwood*, which is a noble Work for ſuch a Country. The Lake is there about half a Mile broad, the Bridge about twelve Feet broad, but hath no Rails on either Side; ſo that if the Wind is high, which is no extraordinary Thing, a Man is in great Danger of being blown into the Lake. This Defect I found in almoſt all the Bridges of *Lombardy*, which ſeemed very ſtrange; for ſince that Defence is made at ſo ſmall an Expence, it was amazing to ſee Bridges ſo naked, and more ſurpriſing in ſome Places, where the Bridges are both high and long: Yet I never heard of any Miſchief that followed; but thoſe are ſober Countries, where Drinking is not much in Uſe. After two Days Journey we came to *Coire*, the chief Town of the *Griſons*, and where we found a General Diet of the three Leagues ſitting; ſo that having ſtaid ten Days there, I came to be informed of a great many Particulars which are not commonly known. The Town may contain between four and five thouſand Souls. It lies in a Bottom upon a ſmall Brook, that a little below the Town falls into the *Rhine*. It is environed with Mountains, ſo that they have a very ſhort Summer; for the Snow is not melted till *May* or *June*, and it began to Snow in *September* when I was there. On a riſing Ground at the Eaſt End of the Town is the Cathedral, the Biſhop's Palace, and the Cloſe where the Dean and ſix Prebendaries live: All within the Cloſe are Papiſts, but the Town are Proteſtants, and they live pretty well together. Above a Quarter of a Mile up the Hill, one goes by a ſteep Aſcent to St. *Lucius*'s Chapel: My Curioſity carried me thither, though I gave no Faith to the Legend of King *Lucius*, and his coming ſo far from Home to be the Apoſtle of the *Griſons*. His Chapel is a little Vault about ten Feet ſquare, where there is an Altar, and Maſs is ſaid upon ſome great Feſtivals. It is ſituated under a natural Arch in the Rock, which is given out to have been the Cell of a Hermit. From it ſome Drops of a Fountain fall down near the Chapel. The Biſhop aſſured me it had a miraculous Virtue for weak Eyes, and that it was oily; but neither Taſte nor Feeling diſcovered to me any Oilineſs. I believe it may be very good for the Eyes, as all Rock Water is. But when I offered to ſhew the good old Biſhop that the Legend of *Lucius* was a Fable, and moſt remarkably ſo in that which related to the *Griſons*, that we had no Kings in *Britain* at that Time, but were a Province to the *Romans*; that no ancient Authors ſpeak of it, *Bede* being the firſt; and that the pretended Letter to Pope *Eleutherius*, with his Anſwer, bear evident Characters of Forgery; it ſignified nothing to the Biſhop, who aſſured me, that they had a Tradition in their Church, and it was inſerted in their Breviary, which he firmly believed. He alſo told me the other Legend of King *Lucius*'s Siſter, St. *Emerita*, who was burnt there, and of whoſe Viel there was yet a conſiderable Remnant among their Reliques. I confeſs I never ſaw a Relique ſo ill diſguiſed, for it is a Piece of worn Linnen Cloth lately waſhed, and the Burning did not ſeem to be a Month old; and yet when they took it out of the Caſe, there were ſome there that with great Devotion rubbed their Beads upon it. The Biſhop had ſome Conteſts with his Dean, and being a Prince of the Empire, he had proſcribed him. The Dean alſo behaved himſelf ſo inſolently, that by an Order of the Diet he was put in Priſon as he came out of the Cathedral. By the Conſent both of the Popiſh and Proteſtant Communities, a Law was long ago made againſt Eccleſiaſtical Immunities; this Attempt on the Dean was made four Years ago. As ſoon as he was let out, he went to *Rome*, and made great Complaints of the Biſhop, and it was thought the Popiſh Party intended to move in the Diet while we were there, for the repealing that Law, but they did it not. The Foundation of the Quarrel between the Biſhop and Dean was, the Exemptions to which the Dean and Chapter pretend, and upon which the Biſhop made ſome Invaſion. I took Occaſion to ſhew him the Novelty of thoſe Exemptions, and that in the Primitive Church it was believed, that the Biſhop had the Authority over his Preſbyters by a divine Right; and if it was by a divine Right, then the Pope could not exempt them from his Obedience. But the Biſhop would not carry the Matter ſo high, but contented himſelf with two Maxims; one was, that the Biſhop was Chriſt's Vicar in his Dioceſe; and the other, that what the Pope was in the Catholick Church, the Biſhop was in his Dioceſe.

He was a good-natur'd Man, and did not make uſe of the Authority that he had over the Papiſts, to ſet them to live uneaſily with their Neighbours of another Religion. That Biſhop was anciently a great Prince, and the beſt Part of the League, that carries ſtill the Name of *the Houſe of God*, belonged to him; though I was aſſur'd that *Pregallia*, one of thoſe Communities, was a free State above ſix hundred Years ago; and that they have Records extant that prove this: The other Communities bought their Liberties from ſeveral Biſhops ſome Time before the Reformation, of which the Deeds are yet extant; ſo that it is an impudent Thing to ſay, that they ſhook off his Yoke at that Time.

The Biſhop hath yet a Revenue of about a thouſand Pounds a Year, and every one of the Prebendaries hath near two hundred Pounds a Year. It is not eaſy to imagine how the Riches of this Country are raiſed; for one ſees nothing but vaſt Mountains, that ſeem barren Rocks, and ſome little Vallies among them not a Mile broad, and the beſt Part of theſe waſh'd away by the *Rhine*, and ſome Brooks that fall into it. But their Wealth conſiſts chiefly in their Hills, which afford much Paſture; and in the hot Months, in which all the Paſture of *Italy* is parched, the Cattle are driven into theſe Hills, which brings them a clear Revenue of above two hundred thouſand Crowns a Year. The Publick is indeed poor, but particular Perſons are ſo rich, that I knew a great many there, who were look'd on to have Eſtates to the Value of one hundred thouſand Crowns. Mr. *Schoveſtein*, accounted the richeſt Man in the Country, is believed to be worth a Million of Livres. The Government here is a pure Commonwealth; for in the Choice of their Magiſtrates, every Man above ſixteen Years old hath his Voice, which is alſo the Conſtitution of ſome of the ſmall Cantons. The three Leagues are, the League of the *Griſons*, that of the *Houſe* of *God*, and that of the *Ten Juriſdictions*.

12. They believe, that upon the Incurſions of the *Goths* and *Vandals*, as ſome fled to the *Venetian* Iſlands, out of which roſe that famous Commonwealth, ſo others came and ſhelter'd themſelves in theſe Vallies. They told me of an ancient Inſcription lately found on a Stone, where on the one Side is graven, *Omitto Rhetos indomitos*, and *Ne plus ultrà* is on the other; which they pretend was placed by *Julius Cæſar*. This Stone is upon one of their Mountains; but as I did not paſs that Way, ſo I can make no Judgment concerning it. After the firſt forming of this People, they were caſt into little States, according to the different Vallies which they inhabited, and in which Juſtice was adminiſtred; and ſo they fell under the Power of ſome little Princes, that became ſevere Maſters. But when they ſaw the Example that the *Switzers* had ſet them, in ſhaking off the *Auſtrian* Yoke, above two hundred Years ago, they combined to ſhake off theirs; only ſome few of thoſe ſmall Princes uſed their Authority better; and concurred with the People, and ſo they are ſtill Parts of the Body; only *Haldenſtein* is an abſolute Sovereignty. It is about two Miles from *Coire* to the Weſt, on the other Side of the *Rhine*. The whole Territory is about half a Mile long, at the Foot of the *Alps*, where there is ſcarce any Breadth. The Authority of theſe *Barons* was formerly more abſolute than now, for the Subjects were their Slaves: But to keep together the little Village, they have granted them a Power of naming a Liſt for their Magiſtrates, the Perſon being to be named by the Baron, who hath alſo the Right of Pardoning, of Coining, and every Thing elſe that belongs to a Sovereign. I ſaw this little Prince in *Coire*, in an Equipage not ſuitable to his Quality; for he was in all Points like an ordinary Gentleman. There are three other Baronies that are Members of the Diet, and ſubject to it; the chief belonged to the Archdukes of *Inſpruck*; the others to Mr. *Schovenſtein*, and Mr. *de Mont*; they are the Heads of thoſe Communities of which their Baronies are compoſed; they name the Magiſtrates out of the Liſts that are preſented to them by their Subjects, and have the Right of Pardoning, and to Confiſcations. That belonging to the Houſe of *Auſtria* is the biggeſt: It hath five Voices in the Diet, and can raiſe twelve hundred Men. One *Travers* bought it of the Emperor in the Year 1679; he entered upon the Rights of the ancient Barons, which were ſpecified in an Agreement that paſſed between him and his Peaſants, and was confirmed by the Emperor. *Travers* made many Encroachments upon the Privileges of his Subjects, who made their Complaints to the League; but *Travers* would have the Matter judg'd at *Inſpruck*, and the Emperor ſupported him in this Pretenſion, and ſent an Agent to the Diet. I was preſent when he had his Audience, in which there was nothing but general Compliments. The Diet ſtood firm to their Conſtitution, and aſſerted, that the Emperor had no Authority to judge that Matter, which belong'd only to them: So *Travers* was forced to let his Pretenſions fall.

All the other Parts of this State are purely *Democratical*: There are three different Bodies or Leagues, and each of theſe an entire Government; and the Aſſembly or Diet of the three Leagues is only a Confederacy, like the United Provinces, or the Cantons. There are *ſixty-ſeven Voices* in the Diet, which are thus divided: The League of the *Griſons* hath *twenty-eight* Voices, that of the *Houſe* of *God twenty-four*, and that of the *Juriſdiction fifteen*. The *Juriſdictions* belonged anciently to the Houſe of *Auſtria*; but having ſhaken off that Authority, were incorporated into the Diet: But in the laſt Wars of *Germany*, the *Auſtrians* thought to have brought them again under their Yoke; yet they defended their Liberty with ſo much Vigour, that the *Auſtrians* thought the Conqueſt would not quit the Coſt. They were affrighted by two extraordinary Actions; in one Village, which was quite abandoned by all the Men, who left the Women in it, ſome Hundreds, as I was told, being there quartered, were apprehenſive of no Danger from their Hoſteſſes: But the Women intended to let their Huſbands ſee, that they were capable of contriving and executing a bold Action, though it muſt be confeſs'd it was a little too barbarous for the Sex. They enter'd into a Combination to cut the Throats of all the Soldiers at one Time. The Woman that propoſed this, had four lodged with her, and ſhe, with her own Hands, diſpatched them all; and ſo did the reſt, not one Soldier eſcaping to carry away the News. In another Place, a Body of the *Auſtrians* came into a Valley that was quite abandoned; for the Men having no Arms but their Clubs and Staves, had got up to the Mountains: But they took their Meaſures ſo well, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the Paſſes in ſuch a Manner, that they came down upon the Soldiers with ſo much Fury, that they defeated them, ſo that very few eſcaped; and it is certain, that the ſubduing them would have proved a very hard Work. It is true, they are not in a Condition to hold out long, the Publick is ſo poor; ſo that though particular Perſons are rich, yet they have no publick Revenue, but every Man is concerned to preſerve his Liberty, which is more entire here than even in *Switzerland*; but often ſwells too high, and throws them into Convulſions. The League of the *Griſons* is the firſt and moſt ancient, and is compoſed of *eight* and *twenty* Communities, of which there are *eighteen* Papiſts, and the reſt are Proteſtants. The Communities of the two Religions live neighbourly together, yet do not ſuffer thoſe of another Religion to live among them; ſo that every Community is entirely of the ſame Religion; and if any changes, he muſt go into another Community. Each Community is an entire State within itſelf, and all Perſons meet once a Year to chuſe the Judge and his Aſſiſtants, whom they change or continue from Year to Year, as they ſee Cauſe. There is no Difference between a Gentleman and Peaſant, and the Tenant hath a Vote as well as his Landlord; nor dare his Landlord uſe them ill when he votes contrary to his Intentions, for the Peaſants would conſider this as a common Quarrel. An Appeal lies from the Judge of the Community to the Aſſembly of the League, where all Matters end; for their lies no Appeal to the General Diet of the three Leagues, except in Matters that concern the conquer'd Countries, which belong in common to the three. There is one choſen by the Deputies for the Aſſembly of the League, who is called the Head of the League, that calls them together as he thinks proper, and can bring a Cauſe that hath been once judged to a ſecond Hearing. *Ilants* is the chief Town of this League, where their Diet meets. The ſecond League is that of the *Houſe* of *God*, in which there are *four* and *twenty* Communities. The Burgomaſter of *Coire* is always the Head of this League, which at this Time is almoſt wholly Proteſtant; and the two Vallies of the Upper and Lower *Engedin*, are pointed out by the Papiſts as Canibals towards ſuch Catholicks as come among them. But Frier *Sfondrato*, Nephew to Pope *Gregory* XIV. whoſe Mother the Marquiſs of *Bergominiero*, that was in *England*, married, found the contrary of all this to be true, to his great Regret. About eighteen Years ago he was believed to have wrought Miracles; and he became ſo much in Lovewith the Crown of Martyrdom, that he went through the *Engedin*, not doubting but he would find there what he deſired. His Brother had come ſometime before into the Country to drink the Mineral Waters, and was well known to the Gentry; ſo ſome of theſe hearing of the Frier's coming, went and waited on him, and he was entertained in their Houſes, and conveyed through the Country, though he took all impoſſible Methods to provoke them; for he was often railing at their Religion, but to all that they made no Anſwer, only they continued their Civilities; which ſo enraged the warm Frier, that he went to *Bormio*, and there died of Grief. An Accident fell out five Years ago, that the People of the Country eſteemed a Miracle. The Papiſts, in their Proceſſions, go out of one Community into another; and when they paſs through Proteſtant Communities, they lower the Croſs, and give over ſinging till they come again upon Popiſh Ground; but then they went on bearing up the Croſs, and ſinging; upon which the Proteſtants ſtopp'd them. They, finding that they were not equal in Number to the Proteſtants, ſent to a Catholick Community, and deſired their Aſſiſtance. Two thouſand came, and in all Appearance the Diſpute would have had a bloody Iſſue; for the Proteſtants were reſolved to maintain the Rights of their Community, and the others no leſs reſolved to force their Way. But an extraordinary thick Miſt roſe, and through it the Papiſts fancied they ſaw a vaſt Body of Men, which was no other than a Wood; but terrified with the Appearance, they retired, and this ſaved a Battle that probably would not only have ended in the Shedding much Blood, but might have diſorder'd the whole Conſtitution of their Leagues. The Papiſts of Quality endeavour to keep their People in Order; but they acknowledge, that the Proteſtants are much more peaceable than the Catholicks. The *Juriſdictions* have fifteen Votes in the General Diet; yet they are generally called the Ten Juriſdictions, and the greater Part of them are likewiſe of the Proteſtant Religion: For upon the general Computation of the *three* Leagues, the Proteſtants are about *two* Thirds. In their Diets there are three Tables, one in the Middle, and two on either Side. At every Table ſits the Head of the League, and a Secretary near him; and from the Table there go down Benches on both Hands for the Deputies from the Communities of that League. They hold their Diets by Turns, in the chief Towns of the ſeveral Leagues, and it happened to be the Turn of the *Houſe* of *God*, when I was there; ſo they met at *Coire*.

13. The three Leagues, or *Griſons* in general, have a conquered Country in *Italy*, divided into three Diſtricts; the *Valteline*, *Chavennes*, and *Bormio*. When *John Galeaſſe* poſſeſſed himſelf of the Dutchy of *Milan*, and drove out *Barnabas*; *Maſtinus*, one of *Barnabas*'s Sons, to whom his Father had given thoſe three Branches of the Dutchy of *Milan*, retired to *Coire*, and being hoſpitably received and entertained by the Biſhop, when he died, he gave his Right to thoſe Territories to the Cathedral of *Coire*; ſo the Prelate had a Title, without a Force able to make it good. But when the Wars of *Italy* were on Foot, the three Leagues being much courted by both the Crowns, ſince they were Maſters of all the Paſſes, through which either the *Switzers* or *Germans* could come into *Italy*, they reſolved to lay hold on that Opportunity: Yet they had not Zeal enough for their Biſhop, to engage upon his Account; but agreed to pay him ſuch a Revenue, and he transferred his Title to them, and they were ſo conſiderable to the *Spaniards*, that they yielded thoſe Parcels of the Dutchy of *Milan* to them, and by this Ceſſion they are poſſeſſed of them. Thoſe Acceſſions to this State are much better than the Principal; for as the *Valteline*, which is above forty Miles long, and two broad, is one of the richeſt Vallies in the World, in which there are three Harveſts ſome Years; ſo the *Chavennes* and *Bormio*, though not ſo good as that, are much preferable to the beſt Vallies of the *Griſons*. Yet the Engagement that People have to their Homes appears ſignally here, ſince the *Griſons* have not forſaken their Country, that they might plant themſelves ſo advantageouſly: But they love their rugged Vallies, and think the Safety they enjoy in them, beyond the Pleaſures of their acquired Dominions; which they govern by Bailiffs and Podeſtas, and other Officers whom they ſend among them; and all the Advantage that they draw from them is, that the Magiſtrates they ſend enrich themſelves in the ſame Manner as the Bailiffs in *Switzerland*. All thoſe Offices go round the ſeveral Communities, which have the Right of Nomination in their Turn: But if there is none of the Community proper, any one of another Community may buy of them the Nomination for that Turn, and the Community diſtribute among them the Money that he gives them. The Publick draws nothing out of thoſe Parts, except the Fines, which in ſome Years amount to no conſiderable Sum; and ten or twelve thouſand Crowns is thought a great deal to be raiſed in a Year: So that their Subjects live happy, and free of all Taxes, which made their laſt Revolt appear the more extraordinary. It was, indeed, the Effect of a very ſurpriſing Bigottry, when a People, who had no other Grievance, but that now and then their Magiſtrates were of another Religion, and that Proteſtants were tolerated amongſt them, would therefore throw off their Rulers, cut the Throats of their Neighbours, and caſt themſelves into the Hands of the *Spaniards*, who are the worſt Maſters in the World.

14. To give a more particular Relation of that Matter, and tell the Circumſtances which ſeem a little to leſſen that Rebellion and Maſſacre, I muſt give an Account of a Part of this Conſtitution that is very terrible, and which makes the greateſt Men tremble. The Peaſants come ſometimes in great Bodies, and demand a Chamber of Juſtice from the Diet, and they are bound to grant it when thus demanded, which happens generally once in twenty Years. This Tumult of the Peaſants is ſet on by ſome of the Malecontent Gentry, and generally there are a great many Sacrifices made. This Court is compoſed of Ten Judges out of every League, and twenty Advocates, who manage ſuch Accuſations as are preſented. It is ſuperior to all Law, and acts like a Court of Inquiſition: They give the Queſtion, that is, put to the Torture, and do every Thing that they think neceſſary to diſcover the Truth of ſuch Accuſations as are preſented to them; and the Deciſions of this Court can never be brought under a Review, though there is one Exception to this; for about a hundred Years ago, one Court of Juſtice reverſed all that another had done. The Peaſants are in as great Jealouſy of the *Spaniards*, as the *Switzers* are of the *French*; and the good Men among them are ſenſible of a great Corruption of Morals, that the *Spaniſh* Service brings among them. For there is a *Griſon* Regiment kept in Pay by the *Spaniards*; there are in it twelve Companies of fifty a-piece, and the Captains have a thouſand Crowns Pay, though they are not obliged to attend the Service. This is a Penſion paid under a more decent Name to the moſt conſiderable Men of the Country; and is ſhared among them without any Diſtinction of Proteſtant and Papiſt, and is believed to ſway their Councils too much. The Peaſants are apt to take Fire, and to believe they are betray'd by theſe Penſioners of *Spain*; and when Rumours are blown about among them, they come in great Numbers to demand a Chamber of Juſtice. The common Queſtion that they give, which is alſo uſed through all *Switzerland*, and in *Geneva*, is, they tie the Hands of the ſuſpected Perſon behind his Back, and pull them up to his Head, and ſo draw them about; by which the Arms, and chiefly the Shoulder-blades, are disjointed. And when a Perſon put to the Queſtion confeſſes his Crime, and is upon that condemned to die, he is obliged to renew his Confeſſion, upon Oath, at the Place of Execution; and if he goes off from it then, and ſaith, That his Confeſſion was extorted by the Violence of the Torture, he is put again to the Queſtion; for this paſſes for a Maxim, That no Man muſt die, unleſs he confeſſeth himſelf guilty. Generally when the Fury of demanding this Chamber ſpreads among the People, the Gentry run away, and leave the whole Matter in the Power of the Peaſants; for they know not where it will end: And ſo the Peaſants being named Judges, the Juſtice goes quick, till ſome Sacrifices appeaſe the Rage. Two Years ago, upon the Sale of a Common to the Biſhop of *Como*, to which he had ancient Pretenſions, the Peaſants having no more the Liberty of the Common, were enraged at their Magiſtrates, and a Report was ſpread abroad, of which the Author could never be diſcovered, that the *Spaniards* had ſent a hundred thouſand Crowns among

them to corrupt all their Magiſtrates. Upon this they were ſo on Fire, that it was generally thought there would have been many Sacrifices made: But the Gentry happened to be then ſo much united, that there was none of them engaged among the Peaſants, or that directed their Rage. A Chamber of Juſtice was granted, but the Matter was ſo ordered, that it did not appear that any was guilty: Yet ſome that had dealt in that Tranſaction were fined, not ſo much for any Fault, as to raiſe a Fund to pay the Expences of the Chamber. And becauſe they could not find Colour to raiſe ſo much out of the Fines, there was a Fine of five hundred Livres laid on every one of the *Spaniſh* Companies.

In the Year 1618, there was a Report that the *Spaniards* had a Treaty on Foot to take away the *Valteline* from the Leagues. This was ſupported in Credit by the Fort *Fuentes*, that the Governor of *Milan* was building upon the Lake of *Como*. Near the *Valteline* there was one *Ganatz* a Miniſter, but a bloody and perfidious Man, that managed the Rage of the Peaſants; and there was great Reaſon to ſuſpect ſome under-hand Dealing, though he threw it which Way he pleaſed. A Chamber of Juſtice was appointed to ſit at *Toſſano*, which is a conſiderable Town, twelve Miles from *Coire*, on the Road to *Italy*, near *Alta Rhetia*, which is an high but ſmall Hill, to which there is no Acceſs but on one Side, where there are the Ruins of a Caſtle and a Church, and which they believe was the Palace of *Rhetus*, the firſt Prince of the Country. There was ſevere Juſtice done in this Chamber; a Prieſt was put to the Queſtion, and ſo ill uſed, that he died in it, which is a crying Thing among them. The chief Suſpicion lay upon one *Pianta*, who being of one of the beſt Families of the *Griſons*, was then one of the Captains in the *Spaniſh* Regiment: He withdrew himſelf from the Storm; but the Peaſants led on by *Ganatz*, purſued him ſo cloſe, that at laſt they found him, and hewed him in Pieces, *Ganatz* himſelf ſtriking the firſt Stroke with an Ax, which was taken up, and preſerved by his Friends; and four and twenty Years after, fifty or ſixty of this Gentleman's Friends fell upon *Ganatz* in *Coire*, and killed him with the ſame Ax. *Ganatz* had, during the Wars, abandon'd both his Religion and his Profeſſion, being a Diſgrace to both, and had ſerved firſt in the *Venetian*, and then in the *Spaniſh* Troops. After the Peace was made, he became ſo conſiderable, being ſupported by the *Spaniſh* Faction, that he was choſen Governor of *Chavennes*, and was come over to *Coire* to a Diet, being then in ſo important a Charge. Yet he was ſo much hated, that though the Murthering of a Magiſtrate in Office, and at a publick Aſſembly, in ſo terrible a Manner, ought to have been ſeverely puniſh'd; yet no Enquiry was made into the Crime, nor was any Man ſo much as queſtioned for it. In that Chamber many that were put to the Queſtion confeſſed enough to hang them; ſome endured the Queſtion, and eſcaped with the Loſs of the Uſe of their Arms. Thoſe of the *Valteline* have pretended this Severity was that which gave the Riſe to the Maſſacre; and it is very probable this might have drawn in ſome that would have been otherwiſe more moderate, and that it did likewiſe precipitate that barbarous Action. But it was afterwards diſcovered, that the Plot had been formed long before; ſo that the Induſtry and Rage of the Prieſts, managed by *Spaniſh* Emiſſaries, working upon the Bigottry of the People, was the real Cauſe; and this only made Uſe of as a Pretext to give ſome Colour to the Maſſacre, which was executed ſome Months after this Chamber was diſſolved. It began while the Proteſtants were at Church: There were ſome Hundreds deſtroyed, the reſt got all up into the Mountains, and ſo eſcaped into the Country of the *Griſons*; and thoſe of *Chavennes* got likewiſe up to the Hills, for they are ſituated juſt at the Bottom of them.

I ſhall not proſecute the reſt of that War; the *French* ſaw of what Advantage it was to them, not to let this Paſs from *Italy* into *Germany* fall into the Hands of the *Spaniards*; ſo *Baſſompiere* was ſent to *Madrid*, and obtained a Promiſe, that Things ſhould be put into the ſame State in which they were before the Year 1618. But when that Order was ſent to the Governor of *Milan*, it was plain he had ſecret Inſtructions to the contrary, for he refuſed to execute it. So a War followed, in which the *Griſons* found it was not eaſy for them to ſupport the Charge of it, without having Recourſe to the Aſſiſtance of the *French*. But the *Spaniards* pretended to have no other Intereſt in the Affairs of the *Valteline*, than the Preſervation of the Catholick Religion; and to ſhew their Sincerity, they put the Country into the Pope's Hands, knowing that he could not preſerve it but by their Aſſiſtance, or reſtore it without ſecuring it from all Change of Religion. The *French* willingly undertook the Cauſe of the *Griſons*, and becauſe the Duke of *Rohan* was like to be the moſt favoured General, as being of their Religion, he was ſent to command ſome Forces that march'd thither. But he ſaw that if the *French* once made themſelves Maſters of the Paſſes of the Country, it would turn to their Ruin; and finding the *Griſons* repoſed an entire Confidence in him, he thought it unbecoming him to be an Inſtrument in that he ſaw muſt be fatal to them. The *Spaniards* ſeeing the *French* engage in the Quarrel, and fearing they ſhould poſſeſs themſelves of the Paſſes, offered to reſtore all the Territory in *Italy*; for *Chavennes* and *Bermio* had likewiſe revolted, only the Proteſtants got away ſo quick upon the Diſorders in the *Valteline*, that they prevented the Rage of the Prieſts. The *Spaniards* ſtood upon theſe Conditions; That an Amneſty ſhould be granted for what was paſt: That there ſhould be no Exerciſe of the Proteſtant Religion tolerated in the Country: And that the Bailiffs and other Magiſtrates of that Religion, who were to be ſent into the *Valteline*, ſhould not openly practiſe their Religion: And as for other Perſons, that none of that Religion might ſtay above ſix Weeks at a Time in the Country. The Duke of *Rohan*, ſeeing that Conditions of ſo much Advantage to the Leagues were offered to them, did under-hand adviſe thoſe of that Religion to accept of them, at the ſame Time that he ſeem'd openly to oppoſe the Treaty ſet on Foot on thoſe Terms; and that he might get out of this Employment with the leſs Diſhonour, he adviſed their clapping him up in Priſon, till they had finiſh'd their Treaty with the *Spaniards*. So that they very gratefully to this Day own, that they owe the Preſervation of their Country to the Advices of that great Man. Many that were of that Religion returned to their Houſes and Eſtates; but the greateſt Part have ſince changed their Religion, others ſold their Eſtates, and left the Country; ſome ſtay ſtill, and go two or three Hours Journey to ſome of the Proteſtant Communities, where they have the Exerciſe of their Religion; and though they may not ſtay in the *Valteline* above ſix Weeks at a Time, yet they avoid that by going for a Day or two out of the Country once within that Time; nor is that Matter at preſent ſo ſeverely examined, becauſe there is a Calm among them as to thoſe Matters. But when it comes to the Turn of the Proteſtant Communities to ſend one of their Religion to thoſe Employments, he is often much embarraſſed by the Biſhop of *Como*, to whoſe Dioceſe thoſe Territories belong: For if the Biſhop fancies that they do any Thing contrary to the Eccleſiaſtical Immunities, he excommunicates them. And tho' this may appear a ridiculous Thing, ſince they are in a worſe State by being Hereticks, yet it produces a very ſenſible Effect; for the People, who are extremely ſuperſtitious, will not come near ſuch Magiſtrates: So that about three Years ago, a Bailiff found himſelf obliged to deſire to be recalled, though his Time was not out, ſince being excommunicated, he could no longer maintain the Government.

Among the *Griſons* the *Roman* Law prevails, modified a little by their Cuſtoms: One a little particular was executed when I was there. A Man, that hath an Eſtate by his Wife, enjoys it after her Death as long as he continues a Widower; but when he marries again, he is bound to divide it among the Children he had by her. The Juſtice is ſhort, but it is thought that Bribes go here, though but mean in Proportion to their Poverty,

verty, as well as in other Places. The married Women ſcarce appear abroad, except at Church; but the young Women have more Liberty before they are married. There is ſuch a Plenty of all Things, by Reaſon of the Gentleneſs of the Government, and the Induſtry of the People, that in the ten Days I ſtaid at *Coire*, I was but once aſk'd an Alms in the Streets. There are two Churches; in the one there is an Organ, that joins with their Voices in the Singing of the Pſalms; and there was for the Honour of the Diet, while we were there, an Anthem ſung very regularly. In all the Churches both of *Switzerland* and the *Griſons*, except in this, the Miniſter preaches covered, but here he is bare-headed. And I obſerved a particular Devotion uſed here in ſaying of the Lord's Prayer, that the Miniſters, who wear Caps, put them off. The Women, as in *Bern*, turn all to the Eaſt in Time of Prayer, and in their private Devotions before and after the publick Prayers: Many alſo bow at the Name of Jeſus. They chriſten diſcovering the whole Head, and pouring the Water on the Hind-head, uſing a trine Aſperſion; which is alſo the Practice of the *Switz*. It was Matter of much Edification, to ſee the great Numbers, both here and all *Switzerland* over, that come every Day to Prayers Morning and Evening. They give here, in the Middle of the Prayer, a good Interval of Silence for the private Devotions of the Aſſembly. The Schools here go not above *Latin*, *Greek*, and *Logick*, and for the reſt they ſend their Children to *Zurich* or *Baſil*. The Clergy are very meanly provided; for the moſt Part they have nothing but the Benevolence of their People. They complained much to me of a Coldneſs in their People in the Matters of Religion, and of a great Corruption in the Morals. The Commons are extreme inſolent, and many Crimes go unpuniſhed, if the Perſons that commit them have either great Credit or much Money. The poor Miniſters here are under a terrible Slavery; for the *Griſons* pretend a Preſcription not only for the Patronage of their Churches, but a Power to diſmiſs their Churchmen as they ſee Cauſe. How it is among the Papiſts I cannot tell; but the Dean of the Synod of the *Houſe* of *God* told me, they had an ill Cuſtom of ordaining their Miniſters without a Title, upon Examination of their Abilities, which took them up generally ſix or ſeven Hours; and when this Trial was diſpatched, if the Perſon was qualified they ordained him; and it was too ordinary for thoſe to endeavour to undermine the Miniſters already in Employment, if their People grew diſguſted at them, or they became diſabled by Age; and often the Intereſt and Kindred of the Intruder carried the Matter againſt the Incumbent without any Pretence; and in that Caſe the Synod was bound to receive the Intruder. In one Half of the Country they preach in *High Dutch*, and in the other Half in a corrupt *Italian*, which they call *Romaniſh*, that is, a Mixture of *French* and *Italian*. In every League they have a Synod; and as the People chooſe their Miniſters, ſo, in Imitation of the *Switz*, every Synod chooſes their *Antiſtes*, or Superintendent. He is call'd the Dean among the *Griſons*, and hath a Sort of Epiſcopal Power; but he is accountable to the Synod: The Office is for Life; but the Synod, upon great Cauſe, may make a Change. The People are much more lively than the *Switzers*, and they begin to have a Tincture of the *Italian* Temper. They are extreme civil to Strangers; but it ſeems, in all Commonwealths Innkeepers think they have a Right to exact upon Strangers; which one finds here, as well as in *Holland*, or in *Switzerland*.

15. I ſhall conclude what I have to ſay of the *Griſons* with an extraordinary Story, which I had from the Miniſters of *Coire*, and ſeveral other Gentlemen, that ſaw in *April* 1685, about five hundred Perſons of different Sexes and Ages, that paſſed through the Town, who gave this Account of themſelves. They were the Inhabitants of a Valley in *Tyrol*, belonging to the Archbiſhoprick of *Saltzburg*, but ſome of them were in the Dioceſes of *Trent* and *Breſſe*. They ſeemed to be a Remnant of the old *Waldenſes*, they worſhipped neither Images nor Saints, and they believed the Sacrament was only a Commemoration of the Death of Chriſt; in many other Points they had their peculiar Opinions, different from thoſe of the Church of *Rome*: They knew nothing either of *Lutherans* or *Calviniſts*; and the *Griſons*, though their Neighbours, had never heard of this Nearneſs to the Proteſtant Religion. They had Maſs ſaid among them; but ſome Years ſince ſome of the Valley going over *Germany* to earn ſomewhat by their Labour, happened into the *Palatinate*, where they were better inſtructed in Matters of Religion; and theſe brought back with them into the Valley the *Heidelburg* Catechiſm, with ſome other *German* Books, which ran over the Valley; and they being in a good Diſpoſition, thoſe Books had ſuch an Effect upon them, that they gave over going to Maſs, and began to worſhip God in a Way more ſuitable to the Rules ſet down in Scripture. Some of their Prieſts concurred in this Change; but others who adhered ſtill to the Maſs, went and gave the Archbiſhop of *Saltzburg* an Account of it; upon which he ſent ſome to examine the Matter, to exhort them to return to Maſs, and to threaten them with Severity, if they continued obſtinate: So they ſeeing a terrible Storm ready to break on them, reſolved to abandon their Houſes, and all they had, rather than ſin againſt their Conſciences; and the whole Inhabitants, old and young, Men and Women, to the Number of two thouſand, divided themſelves into ſeveral Bodies; ſome to go to *Brandenburg*, others to the *Palatinate*, and about five hundred took the Way of *Coire*, intending to diſperſe themſelves in *Switzerland*. The Miniſters told me, they were much edified with their Simplicity; for a Collection being made for them, they deſired only a little Bread to carry them on their Way. From *Coire* we went to *Toſſano*, and from thence through the Way that is juſtly called *Via Mala*. It lies through a Bottom between two Rocks, through which the *Rhine* runs, but under Ground, for a great Part of the Way: The Way is cut out in the Middle of the Rock in ſome Places; and in ſeveral, the Steepneſs of the Rock being ſuch, that a Way could not be cut, there are Beams driven into it, over which Boards and Earth are laid. This Way holds an Hour; after that, there is for two Hours a good Road, and we paſs'd through two conſiderable Villages, finding good Lodging in both: From thence there is, for two Hours Journey, terrible Way, almoſt as bad as the *Via Mala*; then an Hour's Journey good Way to *Splugen*, which is a large Village of two hundred Houſes that are well built, and the Inhabitants ſeem to live at their Eaſe, though they have no Soil but a little Meadow Ground about them. This is the laſt Proteſtant Church that was in our Rout: It was well endow'd; for the Miniſter had near two hundred Crowns. Thoſe of this Village are the Carriers between *Italy* and *Germany*, and drive a great Trade; for there is here a perpetual Carriage going and coming; and we were told, that there paſs generally a hundred Horſes through this Town, one Day with another; and there are above five hundred Carriage-horſes, that belong to it. From this Place we went mounting for three Hours, till we got to the Top of the Hills, where there is only one great Inn. After that, the Way was tolerably good for two Hours; and for two Hours there is a conſtant Deſcent, which, for the moſt Part, is as ſteep as if we were going down Stairs. At the Foot of this is a little Village, called *Campodolin*; and here we found we were in *Italy*, both by the vaſt Difference of the Climate, (for whereas we were freezing on the other Side, the Heat of the Sun was uneaſy here) and by the Number of the Beggars; though it may ſeem the Reverſe of what one ought to expect, ſince the richeſt Country of *Europe* is full of Beggars; and the *Griſons*, one of the pooreſt States, have no Beggars at all. One Thing is alſo ſtrange, that among the *Griſons*, the rich Wine of the *Valteline*, after carried three Days Journey, is ſold cheaper than the Wine of other Countries at the Door; but there are no Taxes nor Impoſitions here. From *Campodolin* there are three Hours Journey to *Chavennes*, all in a ſlow Deſcent, and in ſome Places the Way is extreme rugged and ſtony.

16. *Chavennes* is very pleaſantly ſituated at the very Foot of the Mountains; there runs through the Town a charming little River. It is nobly built, and hath many rich Vineyards about it; and the Reverberation of the Sun-beams from the Mountains ſo increaſes the Heats, that the Soil is as rich here, as in any Part of *Italy*. Here one begins to ſee a noble Architecture in many Houſes: In ſhort, all the Marks of a rich Soil and a free Government appear here. The Town ſtood a little more to the North about five hundred Years ago, but a Piece of the *Alps* came down upon it, and buried it quite; and at the upper End of the Town there are ſome Rocks that look like Ruins, about which there hath been a very extraordinary Expence, to divide them one from another, and to make them fit for Forts and Caſtles: The Marks of the Tools appeared all over the Rock in one Place. I meaſured the Breadth of the one from the other, which is twenty Feet, the Length is four hundred and fifty Feet; and, as we could gueſs, the Rock was two hundred Feet high, cut down on both Sides in a Line, as even as a Wall; towards the Top of one, the Name *Salvius* is cut in large Letters a little *Gothick*. On the Tops of thoſe Rocks, which are inacceſſible, except on the one Side, and to that the Aſcent is uneaſy, they had Garriſons during the Wars of the *Valteline:* There were fifteen hundred in Garriſon in that which is in the Middle. There fall down frequently Pieces from the Hills, that extremely fatten the Ground which they cover, ſo that it becomes fruitful beyond Expreſſion: And I ſaw a Lime-tree that was planted eight and thirty Years before in a Piece of Ground which has been ſo covered, two Fathom and an half in Compaſs. On both Sides of the River, the Town and the Gardens belonging to it, cover the whole Bottom between the Hills; and at the Roots of the Mountains they dig great Cellars and Grottos, and ſtrike a Hole about a Foot ſquare, ten or twelve Feet into the Hill, which all the Summer draws a ſreſh Air into the Cellar, ſo that the Wine of thoſe Cellars drinks as cold as if it were in Ice; but this Wind-pipe did not blow when I was there, which was towards the End of *September:* For the Sun opening the Pores of the Earth, and rarifying the exterior Air, that, which is compreſſed within the Cavities that are in the Mountains, ruſhes out with a conſtant Wind; but when the Operation of the Sun is weakened, this Courſe of the Air is leſs ſenſible. Before, or over thoſe Vaults, they build little pleaſant Rooms like Summer-houſes, and in them they go to Collations generally at Night in Summer. I never ſaw bigger Grapes than here; there is one Sort larger than the biggeſt Damaſcene Plumbs that we have in *England*.

There is a Kind of Wine here and in the *Valteline*, which I never heard named any where elſe, that is called Aromatick Wine; and as the Taſte makes one think it muſt be a Compoſition, (for it taſtes like a ſtrong Water drawn off Spices) ſo its Strength, being equal to a weak Brandy, diſpoſes one to believe that it cannot be a natural Wine: Yet it is the pure Juice of the Grape without any Mixture. The Liquor being ſingular, I informed myſelf particularly of the Way of preparing it. The Grapes are red, though it appears white. They let the Grapes hang on the Vines till *November*, when they are extreme ripe; then they carry them to their Garrets, and ſet them all upright on their Ends by one another for two or three Months; then they pick all the Grapes, and throw away thoſe in which there is the leaſt Appearance of Rottenneſs, ſo that they preſs none but ſound Grapes: After they are preſſed, they put the Liquor in an open Veſſel, in which it throws up a Scum, which they take off twice a Day; and when no more comes up, which, according to the Difference of the Seaſon, is ſooner or later, (for ſometimes the Scum comes no more after eight Days, and at other Times it continues a Fortnight) then they put it in a cloſe Veſſel. For the firſt Year it is extreme ſweet and luſcious, but at the End of the Year, they pierce it a little higher than the Middle of the Veſſel, almoſt two Thirds from the Bottom, and drink it off till it cometh ſo low, and then every Year they fill it up a-new: Once a Year (in the Month of *March*) it ferments, and cannot be drank till that is over, which continues a Month; but their other Wine ferments not at that Time. Madam *de Salis*, a Lady of that Country, who entertained us three Days with a Magnificence like *London* or *Paris*, had Wine of this Compoſition that was forty Years old, and was ſo very ſtrong, that one could hardly drink above a Spoonful; and it taſted high of Spicery, though ſhe aſſured me there was not one Grain of Spice in it, nor of any other Mixture. Thus, as I conceive, the Heat that is in this Wine becomes a Fire, and diſtils itſelf, throwing up the more ſpirituous Parts of it to the Top of the Hogſhead.

Both here and in the Country of the *Griſons*, the Meat is very juicy; the Fowl are excellent, their Roots and Herbs very well reliſhed; but the Fiſh of their Lakes are beyond any Thing I ever ſaw. They live in great Simplicity as to their Habit and Furniture; but they have Plenty of all Things, and are very rich. The Family where we were ſo nobly entertained, is believed to be worth about two hundred thouſand Crowns. Here the *Italian* Cuſtom, of one only of a Family that marries, begins to take Place. There is a Sort of Pots of Stone that is uſed not only in all the Kitchens here, but almoſt all over *Lombardy*, called *Lavege*; the Stone feels oily and ſcaly, ſo that a Scale ſticks to one's Finger that touches it, and is ſomewhat of the Nature of a Slate: There are but three Mines of it known, one near *Chavennes*, another in the *Valteline*, and the third in the *Griſons*; but the firſt is much the beſt. They generally cut it in the Mine round, about a Foot and an half Diameter, and a Foot and a Quarter thick; and they work it in a Mill, where the Chiſſels that cut the Stone are driven about by a Wheel that is ſet a going by Water, and which is ſo ordered, that he, who manages the Chiſſel, very eaſily draws forward the Wheel out of the Courſe of the Water. They turn off firſt the outward Coat of this Stone, till it is exactly ſmooth, and then they ſeparate one Pot after another by thoſe ſmall and hooked Chiſſels, by which they make a Neſt of Pots, all one within another, the biggeſt being of the Size of an ordinary Beef-pot, and the inward Pot being no larger than a ſmall Pipkin: Theſe they arm with Hooks and Circles of Braſs, and ſo they uſe them in their Kitchens. One of theſe Stone-pots takes Heat, and boils ſooner than any Pot of Metal; and whereas the Bottoms of Metal-pots tranſmit the Heat ſo entirely to the Liquor within, that they are not inſufferably hot, the Bottom of this Stone-pot, which is about twice ſo thick as a Pot of Metal, burns extremely. It never cracks, or gives any Sort of Taſte to the Liquor that is boiled in it; but if it falls to the Ground, it is very brittle; yet this is repaired by patching it up; for they piece their broken Pots ſo cloſe, though without any Cement, by ſewing with Iron-wire the broken Parcels together, that in the Holes which they pierce with the Wire, there is not the leaſt Breach, except that which the Wire both makes and fills. The Paſſage to this Mine is very inconvenient; for they muſt creep into it for near half a Mile through a Rock, that is ſo hard, that the Paſſage is not above three Feet high; and thoſe, that draw out the Stones, creep along upon their Belly, having a Candle faſtened in their Forehead, and the Stone laid on a Sort of Cuſhion made for it upon their Hips: The Stones are commonly two hundred Weight.

17. But having mentioned ſome Falls or Breaches of Mountains in thoſe Parts, I cannot paſs by the extraordinary Fate of the Town of *Pleurs*, that was about a League from *Chavennes* to the North in the ſame Bottom, but on a Situation that is a little more raiſed. The Town was half the Bigneſs of *Chavennes*; the Number of the Inhabitants about two and twenty hundred Perſons, but it was much better built; for beſides the great Palace of the *Francken*, that coſt ſome Millions, there were many other Palaces erected by ſeveral rich Factors of *Milan*, and the other Parts of *Italy*, who liked the Situation and Air, as well as the Freedom of the Government; ſo they uſed to come hither

during the Heats, and gave themſelves all the Indulgencies that a vaſt Wealth could furniſh. By one of the Palaces that was a little diſtant from the Town, which was not overwhelmed with it, one may judge of the reſt. It was an Out-houſe of the Family of the *Francken*, and yet it may compare with many Palaces in *Italy*; and certainly Houſe and Gardens could not coſt ſo little as one hundred thouſand Crowns. The Voluptuouſneſs of this Place became very crying, and Madam *de Salis* told me, that ſhe had heard her Mother often relate ſome Paſſages of a Proteſtant Miniſter's Sermons, preached in a little Church which thoſe of that Religion had there, which warned them often of the terrible Judgments of God which were hanging over their Heads, and that he believed would ſuddenly break out upon them. On the twenty-fifth of *Auguſt*, 1618, a Perſon came and told them to be gone, for he ſaw the Mountains cleaving; but he was laughed at for his Pains. He had a Daughter, whom he perſuaded to leave all and go with him; but when ſhe was gone out of Town with him, ſhe called to Mind that ſhe had not locked the Door of a Room, in which ſhe had ſome Things of Value, and ſo ſhe went back to do that, and was buried with the reſt; for at the Hour of Supper the Hill fell, and buried the Town and all the Inhabitants, ſo that not one Perſon eſcaped. The Fall of the Mountains ſo filled the Channel of the River, that the firſt News thoſe of *Chavennes* had of it, was by the failing of their River; for three or four Hours there came not a Drop of Water, but the River wrought for itſelf a new Courſe, and returned to them. I could hear no particular Character of the Man who eſcaped, ſo I muſt leave the ſecret Reaſon of ſo ſingular a Preſervation to the great Diſcovery of the laſt Day. Some of the Family of the *Francken* got ſome Miners to work under Ground, to find out the Wealth that was buried in their Palace; for beſides their Plate and Furniture, there was a great Quantity of Caſh and many Jewels in the Houſe. The Miners pretended they could find nothing; but they went to their own Country of *Tirol*, and built fine Houſes, and a great Wealth appeared, of which no other viſible Account could be given but this, that they had found ſome of that Treaſure. The chief Factors of *Italy* have been *Griſons*; and they told me, that as the Trade of Banking began in *Lombardy*, ſo that all *Europe* over a *Lombard* and a *Banker* ſignified the ſame Thing; ſo the great Bankers of *Lombardy* were *Griſons*, and to this Day the *Griſons* drive a vaſt Trade in Money; for a Man there of a hundred thouſand Crowns Eſtate, hath not perhaps a third Part of this within the Country, but puts it out in the neighbouring States: And the Liberty of the Country is ſuch, that the Natives, when they have made Eſtates elſewhere, are glad to leave even *Italy*, and the beſt Parts of *Germany*, and come and live among thoſe Mountains, of which the very Sight is enough to fill a Man with Horror.

From *Chavennes* we went for two Hours through a Plain to the Lake of *Chavennes*, which is almoſt round, and is about two Miles Diameter. This Lake falls into the Lake of *Como*, over-againſt Fort *Fuentes*; when we paſſed, the Water was ſo low, that the Boat could not eaſily get over a Bank between the two Lakes. The Lake of *Como* is about eight and forty Miles long, and four broad, and runs between two Ranges of Hills. I did not ſtay long enough in *Como* to give any Deſcription of it. The beſt Thing in it is a fine Chapel, which the preſent Pope *Innocent* XI. who is a Native of *Como*, is building. From *Como* we went eight Miles to *Codelaggo*, belonging to the *Switzers*, and from thence to *Lugane* we had eight Miles on the Lake. This Lake doth not run in an even Current, as other Lakes that riſe under the *Alps*, but the Situation of the Hills about it throws it into ſeveral Courſes.

The *Switzers* have here ſeveral little Provinces, of which, during the Wars of *Italy* between the two Crowns, in *Francis* I. and *Charles* V's Time, they poſſeſſed themſelves as a Pledge for Payment of their Arrears; and they were then ſuch conſiderable Allies, that they made both the Competitors for the Dutchy of *Milan* court them by Turns, and became the peaceable Poſſeſſors of almoſt all that Tract that lies between the Lake of *Como* to the Country of the *Valeſſii*, or the *Vallies*. The Inhabitants here are ſo well uſed, live ſo free of all Impoſitions, and the Government is ſo gentle, that I muſt tell you another Paradox; this is the worſt Country, the leaſt productive, the moſt expoſed to Cold, and the leaſt capable of Trade of all *Italy*; and yet it is by far the beſt peopled of any that I ſaw in all *Italy*. There belongs to the Bailiage of *Lugane* alone ninety-nine Villages, of which a great many are very large, and all full of People. The twelve ancient Cantons have their Turns of all the Bailiages and other Offices here; but when it comes to the Turn of thoſe of the Religion, their Bailiffs muſt be content with private Devotions in their own Houſe, but can have no publick Exerciſes, nor ſo much as a Miniſter in their Houſes. For here, as in the *Valteline*, when the *Spaniards* confirmed the Right of the Cantons, they made an expreſs Proviſion, that no Religion, except the Popiſh, ſhould be tolerated here; ſo that the Bailiff, who is the Prince, often hath not the free Liberty of his Religion in theſe Parts. The Bailiffs make their Advantages, as well as in the other Parts of *Switzerland*, yet with more Caution; for they take great Care not to give the Natives any Diſtaſte, though the Miſeries to which they ſee all their Neighbours expoſed, and the Abundance and Liberty in which they live, might, in all Appearance, deliver their Maſters from any great Apprehenſions of a Revolt. A great many Mechanicks of all Sorts live in theſe Parts, who go all Summer long over *Italy*, and come back hither with what they have gained, and live free from all Taxes. I was told, that ſome Nephews of Popes, in particular the *Barberini*, had treated with the *Switzers* to buy this Country from them, and ſo to erect it into a Principality; and that they had reſolved to offer twelve thouſand Crowns to each of the twelve Cantons; but they found it would certainly be rejected, ſo they made no Propoſition to the Diet of the Cantons, as they once intended. And it is certain, whenever this Country is brought under a Yoke, like that which the reſt of *Italy* bears, it will be ſoon abandoned; for there is nothing that draws ſo many People to live in ſo bad a Soil, when they are in Sight of the beſt in *Europe*, but the Eaſineſs of the Government.

18. From *Lugane* I went to the *Lago Maggiore*, which is a noble Lake, ſix and fifty Miles long, and in moſt Places ſix Miles broad, and a hundred Fathom deep about the Middle of it; it makes a great Bay to the Weſtward, and there lie two Iſlands called the *Borromean* Iſlands, which are certainly the lovlieſt Spots of Ground in the World. There is nothing in all *Italy* that can be compared to them; they have the full View of the Lake, and the Ground riſes ſo ſweetly in them, that nothing can be imagined equal to the Terraſſes here. They belong to two Counts of the *Bomorrean* Family. I was only in one of them, which belongs to the Head of the Family, Nephew to the famous Cardinal, known by the Name of St. *Carlo*. On the Weſt End lies the Palace, which is one of the beſt in *Italy* for the Lodgings within, tho' the Architecture is but ordinary. There is one noble Apartment above four and twenty Feet high, and there is a vaſt Addition making to it; and here is a great Collection of noble Pictures, beyond any Thing I ſaw out of *Rome*. The whole Iſland is a Garden, except a little Corner to the South, ſet off for a Village of about forty little Houſes. And becauſe the Figure of the Iſland was not very regular by Nature, they have built great Vaults and Portico's along the Rock, which are all made groteſque; and ſo they have brought it to a regular Form, by laying Earth over thoſe Vaults. There is firſt a Garden to the Eaſt, that riſes up from the Lake by five Rows of Terraſſes, on the three Sides of the Garden, that are watered by the Lake; the Stairs are noble, the Walls are all covered with Oranges and Citrons; and a more beautiful Spot of a Garden cannot be ſeen. There are two Buildings in the two Corners of this Garden; the one is a Mill for fetching up the Water, and the other is a noble Summer-houſe all wainſcotted

with Alabaſter and Marble, of a fine Colour inclining to red. From this Garden one goes on a Level to all the reſt of the Allies and Parterres, Herb and Flower-gardens, in all which there are Variety of Fountains and Arbours; but the great Parterre is a ſurprizing Thing: For as it is well furniſhed with Statues and Fountains, and is of a vaſt Extent, and juſtly ſituated to the Palace, at the further End of it there is a great Mount; the Face of it, that looks to the Parterre, is made like a Theatre, all full of Fountains and Statues, the Height riſing up in five ſeveral Rows, about fifty Feet high, and about fourſcore Feet in Front; and round this Mount, anſwering to the five Rows into which the Theatre is divided, there run as many Terraſſes of noble Walks. The Walls are all as cloſe covered with Oranges and Citrons, as any of our Walls in *England* are with Laurel. The Top of the Mount is ſeventy Feet long, and forty broad; and here is a vaſt Ciſtern, into which the Mill plays up the Water that furniſhes all the Fountains. The Fountains were not quite finiſhed when I was there; but when all is complete, this Place will look like an inchanted Iſland. The Freſhneſs of the Air, it being both in a Lake, and near the Mountains, the fragrant Smell, the beautiful Proſpect, and delightful Variety that is here, makes it ſuch a Habitation for Summer, that perhaps the World hath nothing like it.

19. From hence I went to *Seſtio*, a miſerable Village at the End of the Lake; and here I began to feel a mighty Change, being now in *Lombardy*, which is certainly the beautifulleſt Country that can be imagined, the Ground lies ſo even, is ſo well watered, ſo ſweetly divided by Rows of Trees, incloſing every Piece of Ground of an Acre or two in Compaſs, that it cannot be denied that here is a vaſt Extent of Soil, above two hundred Miles long, and in many Places an hundred broad; where the whole Country is equal to the lovelieſt Spots in *England* and *France*; it hath all the Sweetneſs that *Holland* or *Flanders* have, but with a warmer Sun, and a better Air. The Neighbourhood of the Mountains cauſes a Freſhneſs here, that makes the Soil the moſt deſirable Place to live in that can be ſeen, if the Government were not ſo ſevere, that there is nothing but Poverty all over this rich Country. A Traveller in many Places finds almoſt nothing, and is ſo ill-furniſhed, that if he does not buy Proviſions in the great Towns, he will be driven to a very poor Diet, in a Country that ſeems to flow with Milk and Honey: But of this I ſhall ſay more hereafter. The *Lago Maggiore* diſcharges itſelf in the River *Teſino*, which runs with ſuch a Force, that we went thirty Miles in three Hours with a ſingle Skuller, and the Water was no Way ſwelled. From hence we went into the Canal which *Francis* I. cut from this River to the Town of *Milan*, which is about thirty Feet broad, and on both its Banks there are ſuch Contrivances to diſcharge the Water when it riſes to ſuch a Height, that it can never be fuller of Water than it is intended it ſhould be: It lies alſo ſo even, that ſometimes for ſix Miles together one ſees the Line exactly before one. It is thirty Miles long, and is the beſt Advantage that the Town of *Milan* hath for Water-carriage.

I will not entertain you with a long Deſcription of this City, which is one of the nobleſt in the World for an inland Town, that hath no Court, no Commerce either by Sea, or any navigable River, and that is now the Metropolis of a very ſmall Country; for that, which is not mountainous in this State, is not above ſixty Miles ſquare, and yet it produces a Wealth that is ſurprizing. It pays for an Eſtabliſhment of ſeven and forty thouſand Men, and yet there are not ſixteen thouſand Soldiers effectively in it; ſo many are eat up by thoſe in whoſe Hands the Government is lodg'd. But the Extent of the Town, the Nobleneſs of the Buildings, and above all, the ſurprizing Riches of the Churches and Convents, are Signs of great Wealth: The Dome hath nothing to recommend it of Architecture, it being built in the rude *Gothick* Manner; but for the Vaſtneſs and Riches of the Building, it is equal to any in *Italy*, St. *Peter's* itſelf not excepted. It is all Marble, both Pavement and Walls, both Outſide and In, and on the Top it is all flagged with Marble; and there is the vaſteſt Number of Niches for Statues of Marble, both within and without, that are any where to be ſeen. Juſt under the *Cupola* lies St. *Carlo's* Body, in a great Caſe of Cryſtal, of vaſt Value, but I could not come near it; for we were there on two Holidays, and there was a perpetual Crowd; and the Superſtition of the People for his Body is ſuch, that on a Holiday he runs a Hazard that comes near it without doing ſome Reverence. His Canonization coſt the Town an hundred thouſand Crowns. They pretend they have Miracles too from Cardinal *Frederigo Borromeo*; but they will not ſet about his Canonization, the Price is ſo high. The Plate and other Preſents made to St. *Carlo*, are Things of a prodigious Value; ſome Services for the Altar are all of Gold; ſome ſet with Jewels, others ſo finely wrought, that the Faſhion is thought equal to the Value of the Metal. The Habits, and all the other Ornaments for the Function of his Canonization, are all of an incredible Wealth. He was indeed a Prelate of great Merit; and according to the Anſwer that a Frier made to *Philip de Comines*, when he aſked him, how they came to qualify one of the worſt of their Princes with the Title of Saint, in an Inſcription which he read, which was, that they gave that Title to all their Benefactors; never Man deſerved of a City this Title ſo juſtly as Cardinal *Borromeo* did; for he laid out a prodigious Wealth in *Milan*, leaving nothing to his Family, but the Honour of having produced ſo great a Man, which is a real temporal Inheritance to it. For as there have been ſince that Time two Cardinals of that Family, ſo it is eſteemed a *Caſa Santa*, and whenever it produces an Eccleſiaſtick of any conſiderable Merit, he is ſure, if he lives, to be raiſed to this Archbiſhoprick: For if there was one of the Family capable of it, and that did not carry it, that alone might diſpoſe the State to a Rebellion; and he were a bold Man that would venture on a Competition with one of this Family. He laid out a great deal on the Dome, and conſecrated it, though the Work will not be quite finiſhed for ſome Ages; that being one of the Crafts of the *Italian* Prieſts, never to finiſh a great Deſign, that, by keeping it in an unfiniſh'd State, they may be always drawing vaſt Sums from the Superſtition of the People. He built the Archbiſhop's Palace, which is very noble, and a Seminary, a College for the *Switzers*, ſeveral Pariſh Churches, and many Convents. In ſhort, the whole Town is full of the Marks of his Wealth. The Riches of the Churches of *Milan* ſtrike one with Amazement, the Building, the Painting, the Altars, and the Plate, and every Thing in the Convents, except their Libraries, are Signs both of great Wealth and Superſtition; but their Libraries not only here, but all *Italy* over, are ſcandalous Things. The Room is often fine, and richly adorn'd, but the Books are few, ill bound, and worſe choſen; and the Ignorance of the Prieſts, both ſecular and regular, ſuch, that no Man, that hath not had Occaſion to diſcover it, can eaſily believe it. The Convent of St. *Victor* that is without the Town, is by much the richeſt; it is compoſed of Canons regular, called in *Italy*, *The Order of Mount Olive*, or *Olivetan*. That of the *Barnabites* is extreme rich; there is a Pulpit and a Confeſſional, all inlaid with Agates of different Colours, finely ſpotted Marbles, and *Lapis Lazuli*, that are thought almoſt ineſtimable. St. *Lawrence* has a noble Cupola, and a Pulpit of the ſame Form with that of the *Barnabites*. The *Jeſuits*, the *Theatines*, the *Dominicans*, and St. *Sebaſtians*, are very rich. The Citadel is too well known to need a Deſcription; it is very regularly built, and is moſt effectual to keep the Town in Order. The Hoſpital is indeed a Royal Building; I was told it had ninety thouſand Crowns Revenue. The old Court is large, and would look noble, if it were not for the new Court that is near it, which is two hundred and fifty Feet ſquare, and there are three Rows of Corridors, or Galleries, all round the Court, one in every Stage, according to the *Italian* Manner, which makes the Lodgings very convenient, and leaves a Gallery before every Door. It is true, theſe take up a great deal of the Building, being eight or ten Feet broad; but then here is an open Space, that is extreme cool on that Side where the Sun doth not lie; for it is all open to the Air, the Wall being only ſupported by Pillars, at the Diſtance of fifteen or twenty Feet one from another. In this Hoſpital there are not only Galleries full of Beds on both Sides, as is common in all Hoſpitals; but there are alſo a great many Chambers, in which Perſons, who were formerly of a diſtinguiſhed Condition, are treated with a particular Care. There is an Out-houſe, which is called the *Lazaretto*, which belongs to this Hoſpital; it is an exact Quarter of a Mile ſquare, and there are three hundred and ſixty Rooms in it, and a Gallery runs all along before the Chambers; ſo that as the Service is convenient, the Sick have a cover'd Walk before their Doors. In the Middle of this vaſt Square there is an octangular Chapel, ſo contrived, that the Sick, from all their Beds, may ſee the Elevation of the Hoſtie, and adore it. This Houſe is for the Plague, or for infectious Fevers; and the Sick, that want a freer Air, are alſo removed hither.

I need not ſay any Thing of the curious Works in Cryſtal that are ſeen in *Milan*; the greateſt Quantities that are in *Europe*, are found in the *Alps*, and wrought here. It is certain, the *Alps* have much Wealth ſhut up in their Rocks, if the Inhabitants knew how to ſearch for it: But I heard of no Mines that were wrought, except Iron Mines; yet, by the Colourings that in many Places the Fountains make as they run along the Rocks, one ſees Cauſe to believe that there are Minerals ſhut up in them. Gold hath been often found in the River *Arve* that runs by *Geneva*.

The laſt Curioſity that I ſhall mention of the Town of *Milan*, is the Cabinet of the *Chanoine Settala*, which is now in his Brother's Hands, where there are a great many very valuable Things both of Art and Nature. There is a Lump of Ore, in which there is both Gold and Silver, and Emeralds, and Diamonds which was brought from *Peru*. There are many curious Motions, where, by an unſeen Spring, a Ball, after it hath roll'd down through many winding Deſcents, is thrown up, and ſo it ſeems to be a perpetual Motion: This is done in ſeveral Forms, and it is well enough diſguiſed to deceive the Vulgar Many Motions of little Animals, that run about by Springs, are alſo very pretty. There is a Loadſtone of a vaſt Force, that carries a great Chain. There is alſo a monſtrous Child, that was lately born in the Hoſpital, which is preſerved in Spirit of Wine: It is double below, hath one Breaſt and Neck, two Pair of Ears, a vaſt Head, and but one Face. As for the Buildings in *Milan*, they are large and ſubſtantial, but they have not much regular or beautiful Architecture. The Governor's Palace hath ſome noble Apartments in it. The chief Palace was built by a Banker. There is one Inconvenience in *Milan*, which deſtroys all the Pleaſure that one can find in it: They have no Glaſs Windows, ſo that one is either expoſed to the Air, or ſhut up in a Dungeon; and this is ſo univerſal, that there is not one Houſe in ten that hath Glaſs in their Windows. The ſame Defect is in *Florence*, beſides all the ſmall Towns of *Italy*, which is an Effect of their Poverty; for what by the Oppreſſion of the Government, what by the ſqueezing Oppreſſion of their Prieſts, who drain all the reſt of their Wealth, that is not eat up by the Prince, to enrich their Churches and Convents, the People here are reduced to a Poverty that cannot be eaſily believed by one that ſees the Wealth that is in their Churches; and this is going on ſo conſtantly in *Milan*, that it is ſcarce accountable from whence ſo vaſt a Treaſure can be found; but Purgatory is a Fund not eaſily exhauſted. The Wealth of the *Milaneſe* conſiſts chiefly in their Silks; and that Trade falls ſo mightily by the vaſt Importations that the *Eaſt-India* Companies bring in to *Europe*, that all *Italy* feels this very ſenſibly, and languiſhes extremely, by the great Fall that is in the Silk Trade. There is a great Magnificence in *Milan*; the Nobility affect to make a noble Appearance in their Cloaths, their Coaches, and their Attendants; and the Women go Abroad with more Freedom here, than in any Town of *Italy*.

20. Twenty Miles from *Milan* we paſs'd through *Lodi*, a miſerable Garriſon; but indeed the Frontiers, both of the *Spaniards* and the *Venetians*, as well as thoſe of other Princes of *Italy*, ſhew, that they are not very apprehenſive one of another. And when one paſſes through thoſe Places, which are repreſented in Hiſtory as of great Strength, capable of reſiſting a long Siege, he muſt acknowledge, that the Sight of them brings the Idea that he had conceived a great many Degrees lower. For *Lombardy*, which was ſo long the Seat of War, could not reſiſt againſt a good Army now, ſo many Days as it did then Years. The Garriſon of *Crema*, which is the firſt of the *Venetian* Territory, is no better than *Lodi*, only the People in the *Venetian* Dominions live happier than under the *Spaniard*.

The Senate ſends *Podeſtas*, like the Bailiffs of the *Switzers*, who order the Juſtice and the Civil Government of the Juriſdiction aſſigned them. There is alſo a Captain-General, who hath the Military Authority in his Hands; and theſe are Checks upon each other, as the Baſhaws and the Cadis are among the *Turks*. But here in *Crema* the Town is ſo ſmall, that both theſe are in one Perſon. We were there in the Time of the Fair; Linnen Cloth and Cheeſe (which though it goes by the Name of the *Parmeſan*, is made chiefly in *Lodi*) are the main Commodities. The Magnificence of the *Podeſta* appeared very extraordinary; for he went through the Fair with a great Train of Coaches, all in his own Livery; and the two Coaches, in which himſelf and his Lady rode, were both extraordinary rich: His was a huge Bed-coach, all the Outſide black Velvet, and a mighty rich gold Fringe, lined with black Damaſk, flowered with Gold. From *Crema* it is thirty Miles to *Breſcia*, which is a great Town, and full of Trade and Wealth. Here they make the beſt Barrels for Piſtols and Muſkets in *Italy*. There are great Iron-works near it; but the War with the *Turk* had occaſioned an Order, that none might be ſold without a Permiſſion from *Venice*. They are building a noble Dome at *Breſcia*. I was ſhewed a Nunnery there, which is now under a great Diſgrace. Some Years ago a new Biſhop coming thither, began with the Viſitation of that Nunnery: He diſcovered two Vaults; by one Men came ordinarily into it, and by another the Nuns that were big went and lay-in. When he was examining the Nuns ſeverely concerning thoſe Vaults, ſome of them told him, that his own Prieſts did much worſe. He ſhut up the Nuns, ſo that thoſe who are profeſſed live ſtill there, but none come to take the Veil; and by this Means the Houſe will ſoon come to an End. The Citadel lies over the Town on a Rock, and commands it abſolutely. Both here and in *Crema* the Towns have begun a Compliment, within theſe laſt ten or twelve Years, to their *Podeſtas*, which is a Matter of great Ornament to their Palaces, but will grow to a vaſt Charge; for they erect Statues to their *Podeſtas*; and this being once begun, muſt be carried on, otherwiſe thoſe to whom the like Honour is not done, will reſent it as an high Affront; and the Revenges of the noble *Venetians* are dreadful Things, eſpecially to their Subjects. This Name of *Podeſta* is very ancient; for in the *Roman* Times, the chief Magiſtrates of the leſſer Towns were called the *Poteſtas*, as appears by that of *Juvenal*.

— Fidenarum Gabiorumve eſſe Poteſtas.

From *Breſcia*, the Beauty of *Lombardy* is a little interrupted; for as all the Way from *Milan* to *Breſcia* is a Garden, ſo here on the one Side we come under the Mountains, and we paſs by the Lake of *Guarda*, which is forty Miles long, and where broadeſt, twenty Miles over. The Miles indeed, all *Lombardy* over, are extreme ſhort; for I walked often four or five Miles by Way of Exerciſe, and I found a thouſand Paces made their common Mile; but in *Tuſcany*, and the Kingdom of *Naples*, the Mile is fifteen hundred Paces. We paſſed through a great Heath for ſeven or eight Miles on this Side *Verona*, which begins to be cultivated. *Verona* is a vaſt Town, and much of it well built. There are many rich Churches in it; but there is ſo little Trade ſtirring, and ſo little Money going, that it is not eaſy to change a Piſtole without taking their Coin of baſe Allay, which won't paſs out of the *Veroneſe*: For this ſeems a ſtrange Maxim of the *Venetians*, to ſuffer thoſe ſmall States to retain ſtill a Coin peculiar to them, which is highly inconvenient for Commerce. The known Antiquity of *Verona* is the Amphitheatre, one of the leaſt of all that the *Romans* built, but the beſt preſerved; for tho' moſt of the great Stones of the Outſide are picked out, yet the great ſloping Vault, on which the Rows of the Seats are laid, is entire: The Rows of the Seats are alſo entire; they are four and forty Rows; every Row is a Foot and a half high, and as much in Breadth, ſo that a Man ſits conveniently in them under the Feet of thoſe of the higher Row; and allowing every Man a Foot and a half, the whole Amphitheatre can hold twenty three thouſand Perſons. In the Vaults, under the Rows of Seats, were the Stalls of the Beaſts that were preſented to entertain the Company. The Thickneſs of the Building, from the outward Wall to the loweſt Row of Seats, is ninety Feet: But this noble Remnant of Antiquity has been ſo often and ſo copiouſly deſcribed, that I will ſay no more of it. The next Thing of Value is the famous *Muſæum Calceolarium*, now in the Hands of Count *Maſcardo*, where there is a whole Apartment of Rooms all furniſhed with Antiquities and Rarities. There are ſome old Inſcriptions made by two Towns in *Africk* to the Honour of M. *Craſſus*; there is a great Collection of Medals and Medallions, and of the *Roman* Weights, with their Inſtruments for their Sacrifices; there are many Curioſities of Nature, and a great Collection of Pictures, of which many are of *Paulo Veroneſe*'s Hand. There is a noble Garden in *Verona*, that riſes up in Terraſſes the whole Height of a Hill, in which there are many ancient Inſcriptions which belong to Count *Giuſto*. As we go from *Verona* to *Vincenza*, which is thirty Miles, we return to the Beauty of *Lombardy*; for there is all the Way a Succeſſion of Gardens: The Ground is better cultivated than I ſaw it in any other Part of *Italy*, but the Wine is not good; for at the Roots of all their Trees they plant a Vine, which grows up winding about the Tree to which it joins; but the Soil is too fat to produce a rich Wine, for that requires a dry Ground. There is near the Lake of *Guarda*, a very extraordinary Wine, which they call *Vino Santo*, which drinks like the beſt Sort of Canary; it is not made till *Chriſtmas*, and from thence it derives the Name of *Holy Wine*; and it is not to be drunk till *Midſummer*, for it is ſo long before it is quite wrought clear; but I have not marked how long it may be kept: We had it there for a Groat an *Engliſh* Quart; I wondered that they did not trade with it. All the Cattle of *Italy* are grey or white, and all their Hogs are black, except in the *Bologneſe*, and there they are red. I will not enquire into the Reaſons of theſe Things; it is certain Hog's Fleſh in *Italy* is much better than it is in *France* and *England*; whether the Truffles, on which they feed much in Winter, occaſion this or no, I know not; the Huſks of the preſſed Grapes are alſo a mighty Nouriſhment to them; but Cattle of that greyiſh Colour are certainly weaker: The Carriage of *Italy* is commonly performed by them, and this is very hard Work in *Lombardy*, when it hath rained ever ſo little; for the Ground being level, and there being no raiſed Highways, the Carts go deep, and are very hardly drawn.

Vincenza hath ſtill more of its ancient Liberty than any of theſe Towns, as *Padua* hath leſs; for it ſubmitted itſelf to the *Venetians*, whereas the other diſputed long, and brought it often very low. One ſees the Marks of Liberty in *Vincenza*, in the Riches of their Palaces and Churches, of which many are lately built: They have a modern Theatre made in Imitation of the ancient *Romans*. *Lombardy* differs in Climate from the Southern Part of *Italy*, for here they keep their Oranges and Citrons in great Boxes, as we do in *England*, that ſo they may be lodged in Winter, and defended from Breezes that blow ſo ſharp from the *Alps*, that they would kill thoſe delicate Plants; whereas in *Tuſcany* they grow as other Trees in their Gardens; and in the Kingdom of *Naples* they grow wild without any Care or Cultivation. We were at *Vincenza* upon a Holiday, and there I ſaw a Preparation for a Proceſſion that was to be in the Afternoon: I did not wonder at what a *French* Papiſt ſaid to me, that he could hardly bear the Religion of *Italy*, the Idolatry in it was ſo groſs. The Statue of the Virgin was of Wood, ſo finely painted, that I thought the Head was Wax; it was richly clad, and had a Crown on its Head, and was ſet full of Flowers. How they did when it was carried about, I do not know; but in the Morning all People ran to it, and ſaid their Prayers to it, and kiſſed the Ground before it, with all the Appearances of Devotion.

From *Vincenza* it is eighteen Miles to *Padua*, all a Garden: Here one ſees the Decays of a vaſt City, which was one of the biggeſt of all *Italy*: The Compaſs is the ſame that it was, but there is much uninhabited Ground in it, and Houſes there go almoſt for nothing. The Air is extreme good; and there is ſo great a Plenty of all Things, except Money, that a very little of that goes a great Way. The Univerſity here, though ſo much ſupported by the *Venetians*, that they pay fifty Profeſſors, yet ſinks extremely: There are no Men of great Fame in it, and the Quarrels among the Students have driven away moſt of the Strangers that uſed to come and ſtudy here; for it is not ſafe to ſtir abroad after Sun-ſet. The Number of the Palaces is incredible; and though the Nobility of *Padua* are almoſt quite ruined, yet the Beauty of their ancient Palaces ſhews what they once were. The *Venetians* have been willing to let the ancient Quarrels, that were in all thoſe conquered Cities, continue ſtill among them; for while one kills another, and the Children of the other take their Revenges, both come under the Bando by this Means, and the Confiſcation goes to the Senate. At ſome Times of Grace, when the Senate wants Money, and offers a Pardon to all that will compound for it, the Numbers of the guilty Perſons are incredible. In *Vincenza*, and the Country that belongs to it, I was aſſured by Monſieur *Patin*, that learned Antiquary, that hath been many Years a Profeſſor in *Padua*, that there were five and thirty thouſand pardoned at the laſt Grace; this I could hardly believe, but he bid me write it upon his Word. The Nobility of *Padua*, and of the other Towns, ſeem not to ſee what a Profit their Quarrels bring to the *Venetians*, and how they eat out their Families; for one Family in the ſame Man's Time, who was alive while I was there, was reduced, from fourteen thouſand Ducats Revenue, to leſs than three thouſand, by its falling at ſeveral Times under the Bando. But their Jealouſies and Revenges are purſued with ſo much Vigour, that, when theſe are in their Way, all other Things are forgot. There is here the Remnant of the Amphitheatre, though nothing but the outward Wall. There is here alſo, as well as in *Milan*, an inward Town, called the City, and an outward without that, called the Burgo; but though there is a Ditch about the City, the great Ditch and Wall goeth about all, and *Padua* is eight Miles in Compaſs; it lies almoſt round: The publick Hall is the nobleſt in *Italy*: The Dome is an ancient but mean Building: The Church of St. *Anthony*, but eſpecially the holy Chapel in it, where the Saint lies, is one of the beſt Pieces of modern Sculpture; for round the Chapel the chief Miracles of that Saint are repreſented in *mezzo relievo*, in a very ſurprizing Manner. The Devotion that is paid to this Saint all *Lombardy* over is amazing; he is called, by Way of Excellence, *Il Santo*, and the Beggars generally aſk Alms for his Sake. But among the little Vows that hang without the holy Chapel, there is one that is the higheſt Pitch of Blaſphemy that can be imagined, *Exaudit*, ſpeaking of the Saint, *quos non audit & ipſe Deus*: i. e. *He hears thoſe whom God himſelf doth not hear.* St. *Juſtina* is a Church ſo well ordered within, the Architecture is ſo beautiful, it is ſo well enlightened, and the Cupolas are ſo advantageouſly placed, that, if the Outſide anſwered the Inſide, it would be one of the beſt Churches of *Italy*; but the Building is of Brick, and it hath no Frontiſpiece: There are many new Altars, made as fine as they are idolatrous, all full of Statues of Marble. This Abbey hath an hundred thouſand Ducats Revenue; and ſo by its Wealth one may conclude that it belonged to the *Benedictine* Order. Cardinal *Barberigo* is Biſhop here; he ſeems to ſet St. *Carlo* before him as his Pattern; he hath founded a noble Seminary for ſecular Prieſts; he lives in a conſtant Diſcipline himſelf, and endeavours to reform his Clergy all he can; but he is now on ill Terms with his Canons, who are all noble *Venetians*, and ſo allow themſelves great Liberties, of which they will not willingly be abridged. He is charitable to a high Degree, and is, in all Reſpects, a very extraordinary Man.

In the *Venetian* Territory their Subjects live eaſy and happy, if they could be ſo wiſe as to give over their Quarrels; but though the Taxes are not high, they oppreſs their Tenants ſo ſeverely, that the Peaſants live miſerably. Yet on all Hands round about them, the Oppreſſions being more intolerable, they know not where to fly for Eaſe; whereas on the contrary, the Miſeries under which their Neighbours groan, chiefly thoſe of the Eccleſiaſtical State, ſend in Numbers among them, ſo that they are well ſtocked with People. But the *Venetians* are ſo jealous of their Subjects underſtanding military Matters, which may diſpoſe them to revolt, that they never make any Levies among them for their Wars. This Jealouſy is the true Ground of that Maxim, though another is pretended that is more plauſible, which is, their Care of their own People, whom they ſtudy to preſerve; and therefore they hire Strangers, rather than expoſe their Subjects. It is certain, a Revolt here were no hard Matter, for the Garriſons and Fortifications are ſo ſlight, that thoſe great Towns could eaſily ſhake off their Yoke, if it were not for the Factions that reign among them, by which one Party would chooſe rather to expoſe the other to the Rigour of the Inquiſitors, than concur with them in aſſerting their Liberty: And the Inquiſitors, in ſuch Caſes, proceed ſo ſecretly, and ſo effectually, that none dares truſt another with a Secret of ſuch Conſequence; and the oppreſſed Nobility of thoſe States retain ſtill ſo much of their old and unſubdued Inſolence, and treat ſuch as are under them ſo cruelly, that the *Venetians* are as ſecure, as if they had many ſtrong Citadels and numerous Garriſons among them. From *Padua* down to *Venice*, all along the River *Brent*, there are many Palaces of the noble *Venetians* on both Sides of the River, built with ſo great a Variety of Architecture, that there is not one like another. There is alſo the like Diverſity in the laying out of their Gardens; and here they retire during the hot Months, and ſome allow themſelves all the Exceſſes of diſſolute Liberty that can poſſibly be imagined. From *Lizza Fucina*, which is at the Mouth of the *Brent*, we paſs for five or ſix Miles on the *Lagunes*, or Shallows, to *Venice*. Theſe Shallows ſink of late ſo much, that the preſerving *Venice* ſtill an Iſland is like to become as great a Charge to the *Venetians*, as the keeping out the Sea is to the *Dutch*; for they uſe all poſſible Induſtry to cleanſe the Channels of the *Lagunes*, and to keep them full of Water: And yet many think, that the Water hath failed ſo much in this laſt Age, that if it continues to abate at the ſame Rate, within an Age or two more, *Venice* may become a Part of the *Terra Firma*. It is certainly the moſt ſurprizing Sight in the whole World to ſee ſo vaſt a City ſituated in the Sea, and ſuch a Number of Iſlands ſo united together by Bridges, brought to ſuch a regular Figure, the Pilotty ſupplying the Want of Earth to build on, and all ſo nobly built, which is, of all the Things that one can ſee, the moſt amazing. And though this Republick is much ſunk from what it was, both by the great Loſſes ſuffered in their Wars with the *Turks*, and by the great Decay of Trade, yet there is an incredible Wealth, and a vaſt Plenty of all Things in this Place. I will not offer to deſcribe either the Church or the Palace of St. *Mark*, which are too well known. The Painting of the Walls, and the Roofs of the Halls and publick Rooms in the Palace, are of vaſt Value. Here I ſaw that Story of Pope *Alexander* III. treading on the Neck of the Emperor *Frederick Barbaroſſa*. The Nobleneſs of the Stair-caſes, the Riches of the Halls, and the Beauty of the whole Building, are much prejudiced by the Beaſtlineſs of thoſe that walk there, and leave their Marks behind them, as if this were rather a common Houſe of Office, than ſo noble a Palace.

I went to the Convent of the *Servi*, but I found Father *Paul* was not in ſuch Conſideration there as he is elſewhere. I aſked for his Tomb, but they made no Account of him, and ſeemed not to know where it was. It is true, the Perſon to whom I was recommended was not in *Venice*, ſo perhaps they refined too much in this Matter. I had great Diſcourſe with ſome at *Venice* concerning the Memorials out of which Father *Paul* drew his Hiſtory, which are, no doubt, preſerved with great Care in their Archives; and ſince the Tranſactions of the Council of *Trent*, as they are of Importance, ſo they are become now much controverted, by the different Relations that Father *Paul* and Cardinal *Pallavicini* have given the World; the only Way to put an End to Diſputes in Matter of Fact, is to print the Originals themſelves. A Perſon of great Credit at *Venice* promiſed me to do his utmoſt to get that Propoſition ſet on Foot, though the Exactneſs that the Government hath always affected, as to the Matter of their Archives, is held ſo ſacred, that this made him apprehend they would not give Way to any ſuch Search. The Affinity of the Matter brings into my Mind a Converſation I had with a Perſon of great Eminence at *Venice*, that had been long at *Conſtantinople*, and was learned far beyond what is to be met with in *Italy*. He was at *Conſtantinople*, when the Enquiry into the Doctrine of the *Greek* Church was ſet on Foot, occaſioned by the famous Diſpute between Mr. *Arnaud* and Mr. *Claude*: And being a zealous *Roman* Catholick, was dealt with to aſſiſt in that Buſineſs; but as a Man of great Honour and Sincerity, he excuſed himſelf, and ſaid, he could not meddle in it. He hath a very bad Opinion of the *Greeks*, and told me, that none of their Prieſts were more inveterate to the Church of *Rome*, than thoſe that were bred up at *Rome*; for they, to free themſelves of the Prejudices that their Countrymen conceive againſt them, by reaſon of their Education, affect to ſhew an Oppoſition to the *Latin* Church beyond any other *Greeks*. He told me, that he knew the Ignorance of the *Greeks* was ſuch, that as they did not know the Doctrines of their own Church, ſo a very little Money, or Hope of Protection from any of the Ambaſſadors that came from the Weſt, would prevail with them to ſign any Thing deſired of them. He added one Thing, that though he firmly believed Tranſubſtantiation himſelf, he did not think they believed it, let them ſay what they pleaſed. He took his Notions of the Doctrine of their Church, rather from what they did, than from what they ſaid; for their Rites, not being changed for a great many Ages, were the true Indications of Doctrines received among them; whereas they were ignorant of Tradition, and apt to prevaricate when they ſaw Advantages or Protection ſet before them. Therefore he concluded, that ſince they did not adore after the Conſecration, that was an evident Sign they did not believe the corporal Preſence, and was well able to balance all their Subſcriptions. He added, he was often ſcandalized to ſee them open the Bag in which the Sacrament was, and ſhew it with no Sort of Reſpect, more than when they ſhewed any Manuſcript; and he looked on Adoration as ſuch a neceſſary Conſequent of Tranſubſtantiation, that he could not imagine that the latter was received in a Church that did not practiſe the former. To this I will add what an eminent Catholick at *Paris* told me, that the Originals of thoſe Atteſtations were in too exact and too correct a Style to have been formed in *Greece*. He aſſured me they were penned at *Paris*, by one that was a Maſter of the Purity of the *Greek* Tongue. I do not name theſe Perſons, becauſe they are alive, and this might be a Prejudice to them.

One of the Ornaments of *Venice*, was the young Woman that ſpake five Tongues well, of which the *Latin* and *Greek* were two. She paſſed Doctor of Phyſick at *Padua*, according to the Forms; but, which was beyond all, ſhe was a Perſon of ſuch extraordinary Virtue and Piety, that ſhe is ſpoke of as a Saint. She died ſome Months before I came; ſhe was of the noble Family of the *Cornaros*, though not of the three chief Branches, which are St. *Maurice*, St. *Paul*, and *Calle*, who are deſcended from the three Brothers of the renowned Queen of *Cyprus*, but the Diſtinction of her Family was *Piſcopia*. Her Merit made all People unwilling to remember the Blemiſh of her Deſcent on the one Side; for though the *Cornaros* reckon themſelves a Rank of Nobility beyond all the other Families of *Venice*, yet her Father having entertained a Gondalier's Daughter ſo long, that he had ſome Children by her, at laſt, for their Sakes, married the Mother, and paid a conſiderable Fine to ſave the Forfeiture of Nobility, which his Children muſt have undergone by the Meanneſs of the Mother's Birth. The *Cornaros* carry it ſo high, that many of that Family have made themſelves Nuns, becauſe they thought their own Name was ſo noble, that they could not induce themſelves to change it for another: And when lately one of that Family married the Heir of the *Sagredos*, which is alſo one of the ancienteſt Families, and extreme rich, and ſhe had ſcarce any Portion at all, (for the *Cornaros* are now very low) ſome of their Friends came to wiſh them Joy; but they rejected the Compliment, and bid them go and wiſh the *Sagredos* Joy, ſince they thought the Advantage was on their Side.

There are of the truly ancient noble Families of *Venice* four and twenty yet remaining; and among theſe, there are twelve that are thought ſuperior to the reſt in Rank. Since the firſt Formation of their Senate, they have created many Senators. In their Wars with *Genoa*, they conferred that Honour on thirty Families; ſeveral of their Generals have had it given them as a Reward of their Service: They have alſo offered it to ſome Royal Families; for both the Families of *Valois* and *Bourbon* were Nobles of *Venice*; and *Henry* III. when he came through *Venice* and *Poland*, to take Poſſeſſion of the Crown of *France*, went, ſat among them, and drew his Ballot as a noble *Venetian*: Several Popes have procured this Honour for their Nephews; only the *Barberini*'s would have the *Venetians* offer it to them without aſking it, and the *Venetians* would not give it without they aſked it, and ſo it ſtuck. But during the War of *Candia*, Cardinal *Francis Barberini* gave twelve thouſand Crowns a Year towards the War; and the Temper found for making them noble *Venetians* was, that the Queen-mother of *France* moved the Senate to grant it. In all the Creations of Senators, before the laſt War of *Candia*, they were free; and the Conſiderations were either great Services, or the Dignity of thoſe on whom they beſtowed this Honour: Thoſe new Families are divided into thoſe called *Ducal Families*, and *New Families*: The Reaſon of the former Deſignation is not rightly underſtood; all thoſe Families, ſay ſome, that are called *Ducal*, have had the Dukedom in their Houſe; but as all the old Families have had the ſame Honour, though they carry not that Title, ſo ſome of the new Families have alſo had it, yet are not called *Ducal*. Others ſay, that thoſe Families that have had Branches made Dukes without their being firſt Procurators of St. *Mark*, or that have been choſen to that Honour, without their pretending to it, are called *Ducal*. But the true Account of this is, that from the Year 1450, to the Year 1620, for an hundred and ſeventy Years, there was a Combination made among thoſe new Families to preſerve the Dukedom ſtill among them; for the old Families carrying it high, and excluding the new from the chief Honours, nineteen of the new Families entered into mutual Engagements to exclude the ancient Nobility. It is true, they made the Dukedom ſometimes fall on new Families that were not of this Aſſociation; but this was indifferent to them, as long as the ancient Families were ſhut out, and it appeared that they bore the chief Sway in the Election. This Combination was a Thing known to the very People, tho' the Inquiſitors did all they could to break it, or at leaſt to hide it; ſo that I never met with it in any Author. But this failed in 1620, when *Memmio* was choſen Duke, and was deſcended of the ancient Nobility; which was ſo great a Mortification to the *Caſe Ducale*, that one of them *(Veniero)* hang'd himſelf through the Rage to which that drove him; but his Man came in Time before he was dead, and cut him down, and he lived long after in a better Mind. Since that Time one of the *Bembos*, two of the *Cornaros*, one of the *Contarinis*, and the preſent Prince of the *Juſtiniani*, the firſt of that Family that hath had that Honour, have been Dukes, who are all of ancient Families; ſo that this Faction is ſo entirely buried, that it is not generally known (even in *Venice* itſelf) that it was ever amongſt them. And thus Time and Accidents bring about happy Events, which no Care nor Induſtry could produce; for that, which all the Endeavours of the Inquiſitors could not compaſs, came about of itſelf. It is true, the Factions in *Venice*, though violent enough in thoſe who manage them, are not derived by them as an Inheritance to their Poſterity, as formerly among the *Florentines*; who though they value themſelves as much above the *Venetians*, whom they deſpiſe as a dull Race of People, yet ſhewed how little they underſtood to conduct their State; ſince by domeſtick Heats they loſt their Liberty, which the *Venetians* have had the Wiſdom to preſerve. The Faction of the *Caſe Ducale* was perhaps willing to let the Matter fall, for they loſt more than they got by it; ſince the ancient Families in Revenge ſet themſelves againſt them, and excluded them from all the advantageous Employments of the State. For they being only united in that Point relating to the Dukedom, the ancient Families let them carry it; but in other Competitions they ſet up ſuch Candidates againſt the Pretenders of the Ducal Families, as were more eſteem'd than they, ſo that they ſhut them out of all the beſt Offices of the Republick. Such a Faction as this, if it had been ſtill kept up, might have proved fatal to their Liberty.

It is indeed a Wonder to ſee the Dignity of the Duke ſo much courted; for he is a Priſoner of State, tied to ſuch Rules, ſo ſeverely reſtrained and ſhut up as it were in an Apartment of the Palace of St. *Mark*, that it is not ſtrange to ſee the greateſt Families, in particular, the *Cornaros*, decline it. All the Family, how numerous ſoever, muſt retire out of the Senate, when a Duke is choſen out of it; only one, that is next a kin ſits ſtill, but without a Vote: And the only real Privilege that the Duke hath is, that he can, without communicating with the *Savi*, propoſe Matters either to the Council of Ten, to the Senate, or Great Council; whereas all other Propoſitions muſt be firſt offered to the *Savi*, and examined by them, who have a Sort of tribunitian Power, to reject what they diſlike; and though they cannot hinder the Duke's making a Propoſal, yet they can mortify him when he hath made it; they can hinder it from being voted; and, after voted, they can ſuſpend the Execution till it is examined over again: And a Duke that is of an active Spirit muſt reſolve to endure theſe Mortifications; for it is certain that the *Savi* do ſometimes affect to ſhew their Authority, and exerciſe a Sort of Tyranny in rejecting of Propoſitions, when they intend to humble thoſe who make them: Yet the greateſt Part of the beſt Families court the Dukedom extremely. When *Sagredo* was upon the Point of being choſen, there was ſo violent an Outcry againſt it, becauſe of the Diſgrace they thought would ariſe, if they had a Prince whoſe Noſe had miſcarried in ſome Diſorders, the Senate complied ſo far with the People, though the Inquiſitors took Care to hang or drown many of the Chief of the Mutineers, as to let the Deſign for *Sagredo* fall; upon which he retired to a Houſe he had in the *Terra Firma*, and never appeared more at *Venice*: During which Retirement he wrote two

Books; the one, *Memoire Ottomaniche*, which is printed, and he is accounted the beſt of all their modern Authors; the other was, *Memoirs of the Government and Hiſtory of* VENICE, which hath never been printed; and ſome ſay it is too ſincere and too particular, ſo that it is thought it will be reſerved among their Archives. It hath been a Sort of Maxim for ſome Time, not to chooſe a married Man to be Duke; for the Coronation of a Dutcheſs runs high, and hath coſt above one hundred thouſand Ducats.

Some ancient Families have affected the Title of Prince, and have called their Branches Princes of the Blood; and the *Cornaros* have done this more than others, yet ſome, on the Account of Principalities that their Anceſtors had in the Iſlands of the *Archipelago*, have alſo affected thoſe vain Titles: But the Inquiſitors have long ſince obliged them to lay aſide all thoſe high Stiles; and ſuch of them, as boaſt too much, find the Diſlike which that brings on them very ſenſibly; for when they pretend to any great Employments, they are always excluded. When an Election of Ambaſſadors was propoſed, or to any of the chief Offices, it was wont to be in Terms, that the Council might chooſe one of its *principal* Members for ſuch an Employment. But becauſe this look'd like a Diſtinction among the Nobility, they changed it five and twenty Years ago; and inſtead of Principal, they uſe now the Term Honourable, which comprehends the whole Body of their Nobility, without any Diſtinction. It is at *Venice*, in the Church, as well as in the State, that the Head of the Body hath a great Title and Honours; whereas this is a mere Pageantry, and under theſe big Words there is lodged only a Shadow of Authority; for their Biſhop has the ſounding Title of Patriarch, as well as the Duke is called Prince and His Serenity, and hath his Name ſtamped upon their Coin; ſo the Patriarch hath really no Authority, for not only St. *Mark*'s Church is entirely exempt from his Juriſdiction, and immediately ſubject to the Duke, but his Authority is in all Things ſo ſubject to the Senate, and ſo regulated, that he hath no more Power than they pleaſe to allow him: So that the Senate is as really the ſupreme Governor over all Perſons and in all Cauſes, as the Kings of *England* in their own Dominions ſince the Reformation. But beſides all this, the Clergy of *Venice* have a very extraordinary Sort of Exemption, and are a Body like a Preſbytery independent of the Biſhop. The Curates are choſen by the Inhabitants of every Pariſh; and no noble *Venetian* is ſuffer'd to pretend to any Curacy; for they think it below that Dignity, for one of their Body to engage in a Competition with one of a lower Order, and to run the Hazard of being rejected. I was told the Manner of thoſe Elections was the moſt ſcandalous Thing poſſible; for the ſeveral Candidates appear on the Day of Election, and ſet out their own Merits, and defame the other Pretenders in the moſt ſcurrilous Manner imaginable; the Secrets of all their Lives are publiſhed in moſt reproachful Terms; and nothing is ſo abject, that is not put in Practice on thoſe Occaſions. There is a Sort of an Aſſociation among the Curates for judging of their common Concerns; and ſome of the Laity of the ſeveral Pariſhes aſſiſt; ſo that here is a real Preſbytery. The great Libertinage that is practiſed by moſt Sorts of People at *Venice*, extends itſelf to the Clergy to ſuch a Degree, that though Ignorancee and Vice ſeem the only indelible Characters that they carry over all *Italy*, yet thoſe appear here in a more conſpicuous Manner than elſewhere, and upon theſe popular Elections all comes out.

The Nuns of *Venice* have been under Scandal for a great while; there are ſome Nunneries that are as famous for their Strictneſs, as others are for the Liberties they take; chiefly thoſe of St. *Zachary* and St. *Lawrence*, where none but noble *Venetians* are admitted, and where it is not ſo much as pretended they retired for Devotion, but merely that they might not be too great a Charge to their Family: They are not veiled; their Necks and Breaſts are bare, and they receive Company; but that which I ſaw was in a publick Room, in which there were Grills for ſeveral Parlours, ſo that the Converſation is very confuſed; for there being a different Company at every Grill, and the *Italians* ſpeaking generally loud, the Noiſe of ſo many Talkers is very diſgreeable. The Nuns talk very ungracefully, and allow themſelves a Liberty in rallying, that in other Places none could bear. About four Years ago the Patriarch intended to reform thoſe Houſes; but the Nuns of St. *Lawrence* told him plainly they were noble *Venetians*, who choſe that Way of Life as more convenient, but they would not ſubject themſelves to his Regulations; yet he came and would have ſhut up their Houſe, upon this they went to ſet Fire to it; upon which the Senate interpoſed, and ordered him to deſiſt. There is no Chriſtian State in the World that hath expreſſed ſuch a Jealouſy of Churchmen's getting into publick Councils as the *Venetians*; for as a noble *Venetian* that goes into Orders loſes his Right of going to vote in the Great Council, ſo when any of them are promoted to be Cardinals, the whole Family muſt, during their Lives, withdraw from the Council, and are alſo incapable of all Employments; and by a Clauſe which they added when they received the Inquiſition, which ſeemed of no great Conſequence, they have made it become a Court abſolutely ſubject to them; for it being provided, that the Inquiſitors ſhould do nothing but in the Preſence of ſuch as ſhould be deputed by the Senate to be the Witneſſes of their Proceedings, thoſe Deputies will not come but when they think fit, to ſtay longer then they are pleaſed with their Proceedings; ſo that either their Abſence, or their withdrawing, diſſolves the Court; for a Citation cannot be made, a Witneſs examined, or the leaſt Point of Form carried on, if theſe Deputies are not preſent. And thus, though there is a Court of Inquiſition at *Venice*, yet ſcarce any Perſon is brought into Trouble by it; and there are many Proteſtants that live there without any Diſturbance; and though there is a Congregation that have their Exerciſes of Religion very regularly, yet the Senate gives them no Trouble. It is true, the Hoſtie's not being carried about in Proceſſion, but privately by the Prieſt to the Sick, makes that uneaſy Diſcrimination of Proteſtant and Papiſt not offer itſelf here, as in other Places; for the Narrowneſs of the Streets, and the Channels through which one muſt go, makes this impracticable in *Venice*, as it is elſewhere; and from *Venice* this Rule is carried over their whole Territory, though the like Reaſon doth not hold in the *Terra Firma*.

The *Venetians* are generally ignorant of Matters of Religion to a Scandal; and they are as unconcerned in them, as they are Strangers to them: So all that vaſt Pomp in their Ceremonies, and Wealth in their Churches, is affected as a Point of Magnificence, or a Matter of Emulation among Families, rather than Superſtition; for the Atheiſm that is received by many here, is the dulleſt and coarſeſt Thing that can be imagined. The young Nobility are ſo generally corrupted, and ſo given up to ſupine Ignorance, that a Man cannot eaſily imagine to what a Height this is grown; and for Courage, there is ſcarce ſo much as the Ambition of being thought brave among the greater Part of them. It ſeem'd to me ſtrange to ſee the Broglio ſo full of graceful young Senators and Nobles, when there was a War on foot with the *Turks*; but inſtead of being heated in Point of Honour to hazard their Lives, they think it an extravagant Piece of Folly for them to go and expoſe them, when a little Money will hire Strangers that do it on ſuch eaſy Terms: And thus their Arms are in the Hands of Strangers, while they ſtay managing their Intrigues in the *Broglio*, and diſſolving their Spirits among their Courteſans: And their Service is of late Years ſo much ſunk, that is amazing to ſee ſo many come to a Service ſo decried, where there is little Care had of the Soldiers, and ſo little Regard paid the Officers: The Arrears are ſo ſlowly paid, and the Rewards are ſo ſcantily diſtributed, that, if they do not change their Maxims, they may come to feel this very ſenſibly: For their Subjects are not acquainted with War, their Nobility have no Ambition that Way, and Strangers are extremely diſguſted. It is chiefly to the

Conjuncture of Affairs that they owe their Safety; to the Feeblenefs of all their Neighbours, the *Turk*, the Emperor, the King of *Spain*, and the Pope preſerves them from the Apprehenſion of an Invaſion, and the Quarrels of their Subjects ſave them from the Fears of a Revolt; but a formidable Neighbour would put them hard to it. One great Occaſion of the Degeneracy of the *Italians*, and particularly of the *Venetian* Nobility, is a Maxim, that for the Preſervation of their Families it is fit that only one ſhould marry; to which I will not add, that it is generally believed, that the Wife is in common to the whole Family. By this Means the younger Brothers that have Appointments for Life, and no Families, are not ſtirred up by Ambition to ſignalize themſelves, and ſo give Way to all the Lazineſs of Luxury, and are quite enervated by it; whereas the beſt Services, done in other States, flow from the Neceſſities of younger Brothers, or their Families, whoſe Blood qualifies them to pretend, as their Pride and Neceſſities puſh them on, to acquire firſt a Repuation, and then a Fortune. But all this is a Myſtery to the *Venetians*, who apprehend ſo much from the active Spirits of a neceſſitous Nobility, that, to lay thoſe aſleep, they encourage them in all Things that may depreſs their Minds; and Youth naturally hates Letters as much as it loves Pleaſure, when ſo far from being reſtrained, that it is rather puſhed on to all the Licentiouſneſs of unlimited Diſorders.

Yet I muſt add one Thing, that though *Venice* is the Place in the whole World, where Pleaſure is moſt ſtudied, and where Youth have the greateſt Wealth, and moſt Leiſure to purſue it; yet it is the Place that I ever ſaw, where innocent Pleaſure is the leaſt underſtood. As for the Pleaſures of Friendſhip, or Marriage, they are Strangers to them; for the horrible Diſtruſt, in which they all live, makes it very rare to find a Friend in *Italy*, but moſt of all in *Venice*; and though we have been told of celebrated Friendſhips there, yet theſe are now no more. As for their Wives, they are bred in ſuch Ignorance, and converſe ſo little, that they know nothing but the Superſtition on Holidays, in which they ſtay in the Churches as long as they can, to prolong the little Liberty they have of going Abroad, as Children do their Hours of Play. They are not employed in domeſtick Affairs, and generally underſtand no Sort of Work; ſo that I was told, they were the inſipideſt Creatures imaginable. They are, perhaps, as vicious as in other Places, but it is among them downright Lewdneſs; for they are not drawn in by Amour; but in them the firſt Step, without any Preparative, is downright Beaſtlineſs. And an *Italian*, that knew the World well, ſaid a very lively Thing to me, that their Jealouſy made them reſtrain their Daughters and their Wives ſo much, that they could have none of thoſe domeſtick Entertainments of Converſation and Friendſhip, that the *French* or *Engliſh* have at Home. It is true, thoſe he ſaid hazard a little the Honour of their Families by that Liberty; but the *Italians*, by their exceſſive Caution, deprived themſelves of the true Delights of a married State; and notwithſtanding all their uneaſy Jealouſy, they were ſtill in Danger of a contraband Nobility. Therefore he thought they would do better to hazard a little, when it would produce a certain Satisfaction, than to watch ſo anxiouſly, and thereby have an inſipid Companion, inſtead of a lively Friend, though ſhe might perhaps have ſome ill Moments. As for their Houſes, they have nothing convenient at *Venice*; the Architecture is almoſt all the ſame, one Stair-caſe, a Hall that runs along the Body of the Houſe, and Chambers on both Hands; but no Apartments, no Cloſets, or Back ſtairs: So that in Houſes that are of an exceſſive Wealth, they have yet no Convenience. Their Bedſteads are of Iron, becauſe of the Vermin their Moiſture produces. The Bottoms are of Boards, upon which they lay ſo many Quilts, that it is a Step to get up to them. Their great Chairs are upright, without a Slope in the Back, hard in the Bottom, and the Wood of the Arms not covered. They mix Water with their Wine in their Hogſheads; ſo that for half the Year, it is either dead or ſour. They do not leaven their Bread, ſo that it is heavy; and the Oven is too much heated, ſo that the Crumb is Dough, when the Cruſt is as hard as a Stone. In all Inns they boil the Meat firſt before it is roaſted; and thus they make it tender, and quite taſteleſs and inſipid. And as for their Land carriage, all *Lombardy* over, it is extreme inconvenient; for their Coaches are faſtened to the Perch, which makes them as uneaſy as a Cart. It is true, they begin at *Rome* and *Naples* to have Coaches that are faſtened to a Sort of double Perch, that runs along the Bottom of the Coach on both Sides, which are ſo thin, that they ply to the Motion of the Coach, and are extreme eaſy; but thoſe are not known in *Lombardy*. And beſides this, their Calaſhes are open; ſo that one is expoſed to the Sun and Duſt in Summer, and to the Weather in Winter. But though they are covered as ours are, on the other Sides of the *Apennines*, yet I ſaw none that were covered in *Lombardy*. And thus, by an Enumeration of many of the innocent Pleaſures and Conveniencies of Life, it appears, that the *Venetians* purſue ſo violently forbidden Pleaſures, that they know not how to find what is allowable. Their conſtant Practices in the *Broglio* are their chief Buſineſs, where thoſe that are neceſſitous are ſuing for beneficial Employments, and thoſe full of Wealth take a Sort of Pleaſure in croſſing their Pretenſions. The Walk in which the Nobility tread, is left to them entirely; and they change the Side of the Square of St. *Mark*, as the Sun and Weather direct. Perhaps a Derivation that Mr. *Patin* gave me of *Broglio* from the *Greek Peribolaion*, a little corrupted, is not forced; and ſince they manage all their Intrigues in thoſe Walks, I am apt to think that *Broils*, *Brouillons*, and *Imbroilments*, are derived from the Agitations in thoſe Walks.

As for the late created Nobility of *Venice*, I came by ſome Particulars that are not yet ſeen in Books, which I ſuppoſe will not be unacceptable. It is certain, that if the *Venetians* could have foreſeen, at the Beginning of the War of *Candia*, the vaſt Expence in which it engaged them, they would have abandoned the Iſle, rather than waſted their Treaſure, and debaſed their Nobility. This laſt was highly ſenſible to them; for as the Dignity of the Rank they hold is the more eminent, as it is reſtrained to a ſmall Number; ſo all the beſt Employments and Honours of the State belonging to this Body, the admitting ſuch a Number into it, as muſt riſe out of ſeventy eight Families, was, in Effect, ſharing their Inheritance among ſo many adopted Brothers. This had been leſs diſagreeable, if they had communicated that Honour only to the ancient Citizens of *Venice*, or to the Nobility of thoſe States that they ſubdued in the *Terra Firma*: For as there are many Citizens, as ancient as the Nobility, only their Anceſtors not being of that Council that aſſumed the Government four hundred Years ago, they have not that Honour; ſo there had been no Infamy in promoting ſome of them to be of the Nobility. It had been alſo under Conſultation long ago, upon the Reduction of thoſe States in the *Terra Firma*, whether, according to the Maxims of the *Romans*, it was not fit to communicate that Dignity to ſome of their chief Families, as the ſureſt Way to give Contentment to thoſe States, it being a real, as well as a cheap Security, when the chief Families in thoſe Cities were admitted to ſhare the Honours of the Republick. It is true, ſome of thoſe Nobility thought they had Glory enough by their Birth, and *Zambara* of *Breſcia* refuſed this Honour from thoſe that had robbed his Country of its Liberty; but his Poſterity are of another Mind; for they came and bought in this laſt Sale of Honour that which was offered to their Anceſtor, and by him rejected.

When the Senate found itſelf preſſed for Money, it was at firſt propoſed, that ſome Families, to the Number of five, might be ennobled, they offering ſixty thouſand Ducats if *Venetians*, and ſeventy thouſand if Strangers. There was but one Perſon that oppoſed this in the Senate; ſo being paſſed there, it was preſented to the Great Council, and there it was like to have paſſed without Difficulty: But one Perſon oppoſed it with ſo much Vigour, that though the Duke deſired him to deſiſt, ſince the Neceſſities of the War required a great Supply, yet he perſiſted; and though one of the *Savi* ſet forth with Tears the Extremities to which the State was reduced, he fell upon a new Conceit that turned the whole Council. He ſaid, they were not ſure if five Perſons could be found, that would purchaſe at ſuch a Rate, and then it would be a vaſt Diſgrace to expoſe the Offer of Nobility firſt to Sale; and then to the Affront of finding no Buyers when it was offered: And by this Means he put by the Reſolution for that Time. But then another Method was taken, that was more honourable, and of a more extended Conſequence. *Labia* was the firſt that preſented a Petition to the Great Council, ſetting forth his Merits, and deſiring that he might be thought worthy to offer a hundred thouſand Ducats towards the Service of the State; that is, to be made noble at that Price. *Delfino* ſaid, he thought every Man might be well judged worthy to offer ſuch an Aſſiſtance to the Publick, and that ſuch as brought that Supply might expect a ſuitable Acknowledgment from the Senate, who might afterwards, of their own Accord, beſtow that Honour on thoſe that expreſſed ſo much Zeal for the Publick; and this would maintain that Degree, which would be debaſed, if it were bought and ſold. But it ſeems the Purchaſers had no Mind to part with their Money, and to leave the Reward to Gratitude; ſo the Petition was granted in plain Terms, and the Nobility ſo acquired was not only to deſcend to the Children of him that was ennobled, but to his Brothers, and the whole Family, to a certain Degree.

After *Labia*, a great many more came with the like Petitions, and it was not unpleaſant to ſee, in what Terms ſuch as came to buy this Honour, ſet forth their own Merits; which were, that they had furniſhed the Republick with Things neceſſary for its Preſervation. There was a Sort of a Triumvirate formed, of a *Jew*, a *Greek*, and an *Italian*, who were Brokers, and found out Cuſtomers, and at laſt brought down the Price from a hundred to ſixty thouſand Ducats; and no Qualifications were required, if they had Money enough. For when *Correge* ſaid to the Duke, that he was afraid to aſk that Honour for Want of Merit; the Duke aſked him, If he had a hundred thouſand Ducats? And when he anſwered, The Sum was ready, the Duke told him, That was a great Merit. At laſt ſeventy-eight purchaſed this Honour, to the great Regret of *Labia*, who ſaid, that if he had imagined ſo many would have followed him, he would have bid ſo high, that it ſhould have been out of their Power. It is true, many of the Purchaſers were ancient Families; but others were not only Merchants, but of the loweſt Sort of them; who as they had enriched themſelves by Trade, then impoveriſh'd themſelves by the Acquiſition of an Honour, that as it obliged them to give over, and put them in a higher Way of living, ſo it hath not brought them yet any Advantage to balance that Loſs; for they are ſo much deſpiſed, that they are generally excluded, when they contend with the ancient Nobility; tho' this is done with that Diſcretion, that the old Families do not declare always againſt the new: For that would throw the new into a Faction againſt them, which might be a Prejudice to them; for the new are much more numerous than the old. Another great Prejudice by this great Promotion is, that the chief Families of the Citizens of *Venice*, who had been long practiſed in the Affairs of State, and out of whom the Envoys, the Secretaries of State, and the Chancellor, that is the Head of the Citizens, as well as the Duke is the Head of the Nobility, are to be choſen, having purchaſed the chief Honour of the State, there is not now a ſufficient Number of capable Citizens left for ſerving in thoſe Employments; but this Defect will be redreſſed in Time.

But if this Increaſe of the Nobility hath leſſened the Dignity of the ancient Families, there is a Regulation made in this Age, that preſerves a conſiderable Diſtinction of Authority in their Hands. Crimes againſt the State, when committed by any of the Nobility, were always judged by the Inquiſitors, and the Council of Ten; all other Crimes were judged by the Council of Forty; but in the Year 1624, one of the Nobles was accuſed of Peculation committed in one of their Governments, and the *Avogadore*, in the Pleading, as he ſet forth his Crime, called him a *Rogue* and a *Robber*. Yet though his Crimes were manifeſt, there being but ſix and twenty Judges preſent, twelve only condemned him, and fourteen acquitted him. This gave great Offence; for though he was acquitted by his Judges, his Crimes were evident, ſo his Fame could not be reſtored: For the Depoſitions of the Witneſſes, and the *Avogadore*'s (or Attorney General's) Charge were heard by the People: It was propoſed to make a Difference between the Nobility and other Subjects; and ſince all Trials before the Forty were publick, and the Trials before the Ten ſecret, it ſeemed fit to remit the Nobility to be tried by the Ten. Some foreſaw that this would tend to a Tyranny, and raiſe the Dignity of the ancient Families (of whom the Council of Ten is compoſed) too high; therefore they oppoſed it upon this Ground, that ſince the Council of Forty ſent out many Orders to the Governors, it would leſſen their Authority, if they were not to be Judges of thoſe who were to receive their Orders. But, to qualify this, a Proviſo was made, that reſerved to the Council of Forty a Power to judge of the Obedience given to their Orders; but other Accuſations of the Nobility were remitted to the Council of Ten; and the Body of the Nobility were ſo pleaſed with this Diſtinction between them and other Subjects, that they did not ſee this really enſlaved them the more, and brought them under greater Danger; ſince thoſe who judge in Secret give freer Scope to their Paſſions, than thoſe in Publick; and who, in Effect, are to be judged by the Publick, which is a very effectual Reſtraint upon Judges themſelves. But the Council of Ten being in the Hands of the Great Families, whereas all Sorts are of the Council of Forty, formerly the chief Judicatory of the State, and much ancienter than that of Ten; it had been more wiſely done, to have been ſtill judged by the Forty: And if they thought it for their Honour to have a Difference made in judging the Nobility and other Subjects, it had been more for their Security to have brought the Trials of all other Offenders on with open Doors, and the Nobility, when they were judged, to have the Doors ſhut, which is what they very much deſire now, but without Hope of obtaining it: For this Power of judging the Nobility is conſidered as the Right of the Ten; and if any Man would go about to change it the Inquiſitors would be very quick with him, as a Mover of Sedition, and, in that Caſe, prove at once Judges and Parties. Yet the Inquiſitors, being apprehenſive of the Diſtaſte that this might breed in the Body of the Nobility, have made a Sort of Regulation, though it amounts not to much; which is, that the Nobility ſhall be judged before the Council of Ten for enormous Crimes; but that for other Matters, they are to be judged by the Forty; yet the Council of Ten draws all Caſes before them, and none dare diſpute with them.

This leads me to ſay a little to you of that Part of this Conſtitution ſo much cenſured by Strangers; but is really both the greateſt Glory, and chief Security of this Republick; which is, the unlimited Power of the Inquiſitors, that extends not only to the chief Nobility, but to the Duke himſelf, who is ſo ſubject to them, that they may not only give him Reprimands, but ſearch his Papers, make his Proceſs, and put him to Death, without being bound to give an Account of their Proceedings. This is the Dread not only of Subjects, but the whole Nobility, and makes the greateſt among them tremble, obliging them thereby to an exact Conduct. For though it cannot be denied, that, upon ſome Occaſions, they may have been a little too ſudden, as in the known Story of *Foſcarini*; yet ſuch Severities have occurred ſo ſeldom, that the Wiſdom of this Body, in making and preſerving ſuch an Inſtitution, cannot be enough admired. In ſhort, the Inſolence, the Neceſſities, and Ambition, that muſt needs poſſeſs many Members of ſo vaſt a Body, as the Nobility of *Venice*, muſt have thrown them often into many fatal

Convulſions, if it were not for the Dread in which they ſtand of this Court, which has ſo many Spies Abroad, among the Gondaliers, who cannot fail to diſcover all the ſecret Intrigues of *Venice:* Beſides the Advices that are thrown in at thoſe Lion's Mouths, that are in ſeveral Places of St. *Mark*'s Palace, within which there are Boxes under the Keys of the Inquiſitors; that it is ſcarce poſſible for a Man to be long in a Deſign againſt the State, and not to be diſcovered. And when they find any in Fault, they are ſo inexorable, quick, and ſevere in their Juſtice, that the very Fear of this is a Reſtraint, that perhaps the long Preſervation of *Venice*, and of its Liberty, is owing to.

The Inquiſitors are Perſons ſo diſtinguiſhed for their Merit, all of different Families, and their Authority laſts ſo ſhort a Time, that the Advantages of this vaſt Authority, lodged with them, are conſtant and viſible; whereas the unhappy Inſtances of their being impoſed on, and carrying Suſpicions too far, are ſo few, that whenever the Nobility grow weary of this Yoke, and throw it off, one may reckon the Glory and Proſperity of *Venice* at an End. It was terribly attacked not long ago by *Cornaro*, when *Jerom Cornaro* was put to Death for his Correſpondence with *Spain*. He was not a kin to the great Family of that Name; yet they thought their Honour was ſo much touched, when one of its remoteſt Branches was condemned of Treaſon, that they offered a hundred thouſand Crowns to have ſaved him, and preſerved the Family from that Infamy. But though this was not accepted (for he ſuffered, as he well deſerved) yet it was ſo viſible, that none of the Family were involved in his Crimes, that it did not at all turn to their Prejudice: But, upon the firſt Occaſion that offered after that, to quarrel with the Inquiſitors they laid hold on it, aggravated the Matter extremely, and moved for limiting their Authority: But the Great Council was wiſer than to touch ſo ſacred a Part of the Government; ſo they retain their Power, but manage it with all poſſible Caution. A Foreigner, many Years in their Service, told me, that the Stories with which Strangers were frighted at the arbitrary Power veſted in thoſe Inquiſitors, were ſlight Things in Compariſon of the Advantages they found from it; and after eleven Years ſpent in their Service, he ſaid, he never had ſo much as once received a Reprimand from them. And if the Nobility, that have any Commerce with Strangers, confeſs it, they are in no Danger; but if they conceal it, or any Circumſtances, their Proceſs will be ſoon diſpatched. I give no Credit to that which a Perſon of great Eminence aſſured me was true, that there was a Poiſoner-general in *Venice*, that had a Salary, and was employed by the Inquiſitors to diſpatch thoſe againſt whom a publick Proceeding would make too great a Noiſe. This I could not believe, though my Author proteſted, that the Brother of one that was ſolicited to accept of the Employment diſcovered it to him. There is no Place in the World where Strangers live with more Freedom, and I was amazed to ſee ſo little Exactneſs among the Searchers of the Cuſtom-houſe; for though we had a Mule's Load of Trunks and Portmanteaus, yet none offered to aſk us, either coming or going, what we were, or what we carried with us? But the beſt and nobleſt Entertainment that *Venice* afforded, while I was there, was the Company of M. *de la Haye*, the *French* Ambaſſador, who, as he hath ſpent his whole Life in publick Ambaſſies, ſo he has acquired ſo great a Knowledge of the World, with ſo true a Judgment, and ſo obliging a Civility, that he may well paſs for a Pattern; and it is no Wonder to ſee him engaged in a conſtant Succeſſion of publick Employments: And his Lady is ſo wonderful a Perſon, that I pay them but a very ſmall Part of what I owe them, in this Acknowledgment of their extraordinary Civilities: And indeed, without the Advantage of ſuch a Rendezvous, a Fortnight's Stay at *Venice* had been a very tedious Matter.

21. From *Venice* we went again to *Padua*, and thence to *Rovigo*, which is a ſmall Town, and ſo to the *Po*, which divides the Republick from the *Ferrareſe*, now the Pope's Territory; and here one ſees what Difference a good and bad Government makes in a Country; for though the Soil is the ſame on both Sides of the River, and the *Ferrareſe* was one of the beautifuleſt Spots of *Italy*, as *Ferrara* one of its beſt Towns, while they had Princes of their own, who for ſome Ages were Princes of ſuch Virtue, and of heroical Nobleneſs, that they were really the Fathers of their Country; nothing can be more changed than all this is now. The Soil is abandoned and uncultivated, nor were there Hands enough to mow their Graſs, which we ſaw withering in their Meadows, to our Wonder. We were amazed to ſee ſo rich a Soil thus forſaken of its Inhabitants; and more when we paſſed through that vaſt Town, which ſhews what it was about an Age ago, and now ſo much deſerted, that there are whole Streets without Inhabitants; and its Poverty appears ſignally in the Churches, which are mean and poor, for the Superſtition of *Italy* is ſo ravenous, and makes ſuch Progreſs, that one may juſtly take Meaſures of the Wealth of Places from the Churches. The Superſtition or Vanity of this Age is ſo much beyond that of the paſt, that all the vaſt Buildings of Churches, or rich Convents, and the ſurprizing Wealth that appears in them on Feſtival Days, are Donatives of the preſent Age. So that it is a vulgar Error ſome have taken up, who fancy that Superſtition is at a Stand, if not in Decay; unleſs it be acknowledged, that the Craft of Prieſts hath opened a new Method to ſupport their Riches, when the old ones of Purgatory and Indulgences were become leſs effectual; and that is, to engage Men in an Emulation in enriching their Churches, as much as other *Italians* have in enriching their Palaces; ſo that they have a Pleaſure as well as Vanity, in ſeeing ſo much dead Wealth in their Houſes and in their Churches. But to return to *Ferrara:* I could not but aſk, how it came, that ſo rich a Soil was ſo abandoned? Some ſaid, the Air was become unhealthy, that thoſe who ſtay were ſhort lived, but it is well known, that fourſcore Years ago it was well peopled, and thence it ſeems the ill Air is occaſioned by the Want of Inhabitants; for there not being People to drain, and to keep the Ditches clean, this makes a great deal of Water lie on the Ground and rot, which infects the Air, as is obſerved in that rich, but uninhabited Champaign of *Rome:* So that ill Air is the Effect, rather than the Cauſe, of the diſpeopling the Pope's Dominions. The true Cauſe is the Severity of the Government, the heavy Taxes, and frequent Confiſcations, by which the Nephews of Popes have devoured many Families of *Ferrara*, and have driven away many more. And this appears more viſibly, by the different State, as well as Conſtitution of *Bologna*, which is full of People that abound in Wealth; and the Soil, as it is extremely rich, ſo is it cultivated with all due Care; for *Bologna* ſubmitted itſelf upon a Capitulation, by which there are many Privileges reſerved to it. Crimes are only puniſhed in the Perſons of thoſe who commit them, but no Confiſcations of Eſtates; and though the Authority in criminal Matters belongs to the Pope, and is managed by a Legate and his Officers, yet the civil Government, the Magiſtracy, and the Power of Judicature in civil Matters, is entirely in the Hands of the State: And by this Regulation it is, that the Riches of *Bologna* amaze a Stranger, though it is neither on a navigable River, nor the Center of a Sovereignty, where a Court is kept; and the Taxes the Popes fetch from thence are ſo conſiderable, that he draws more from this Place of Liberty, than from thoſe where his Authority is unlimited and abſolute: For the Greatneſs of a Prince riſing from Numbers of Subjects, thoſe Maxims that retain the Subjects, and that draw Strangers, are certainly the trueſt for advancing the Greatneſs of the Maſter; and I could not but with Scorn obſerve the Folly of ſome *Frenchmen*, who made uſe of this Argument to ſhew the Greatneſs of their Nation, that one found many *Frenchmen* in all Places to which one came; whereas there were no *Engliſh*, *Dutch*, nor *Switzers*, and very few *Germans*; but this is juſt contrary to the Conſequence that ought to be drawn from this Obſer-

vation; for it is certain, that few leave their Country to ſettle elſewhere, if they are not preſſed at Home ſo, that they cannot well live among their Friends and Kindred.

But to return to the Wealth of *Bologna*, it appears in every Corner of the Town, and round it, though its Situation is not very favourable; for it lies at the Foot of the *Apennines*, on the North Side, and is very cold in Winter. The Houſes are built as at *Padua* and at *Bern*, ſo that one walks covered under Piazzas; but the Walks here are both higher and larger than elſewhere. There are many noble Palaces, and the Churches and Convents are incredibly rich: Within the Town the richeſt are the *Dominicans*, which is the chief Houſe of the Order, where their Founder's Body is laid in one of the beſt Chapels of *Italy*; and next to them are the *Franciſcans*, the *Servites*, the *Jeſuits*, and the Canons Regular of St *Salvator*. In this laſt there is a Scroll of the *Hebrew* Bible, which, though it is not the tenth Part of the Bible, they fancy to be the whole; and they were made to believe by ſome *Jew*, that hath no doubt ſold it at a high Rate, that it was written by *Ezra*'s own Hand, and this hath paſſed long for current; but the Manuſcript is only a fine Copy, like thoſe the *Jews* uſe in their Synagogues, that may be, perhaps, three or four hundred Years old: That Part on which I caſt my Eye, was the Book of *Eſther*; ſo by the Bulk of the Scroll, I judged it to be the Collection of thoſe ſmall Books of the *Old Teſtament*, that the *Jews* ſet after the Law. But thoſe of the Houſe fancy they have a great Treaſure in it; and perhaps ſuch *Jews* as have ſeen it, are willing to laugh at their Ignorance, and ſuffer them to go on in their Error. The chief Church of the Town is St. *Petrone*'s, and there one ſees the curious and exact Meridional Line, which that rare Aſtronomer *Caſſini* laid along a great Part of the Pavement in a Braſs Circle: It marks the true Point of Mid day from *June* to *January*, and is one of the beſt Performances that perhaps the World ever ſaw. In the great Square before the Church, on the one Side of which is the Legate's Palace; among other Statues, one ſurprized me; it was Pope *Joan*'s, or is ſo named by the People: It is true, the learned Men ſay it is the Statue of Pope *Nicholas* IV. who had a womaniſh Face; but as I looked at this Statue very attentively, through a little Perſpective that I carried with me, it appeared plainly to have the Face of a young Woman, and was unlike that of Pope *Nicholas* IV. which is in St. *Maria Maggiore* at *Rome*; for the Statue of that Pope, though it hath no Beard, yet hath an Age in it that is very different from the Statue at *Bologna*. I do not build any Thing on this Statue, for I do not believe that Story at all; and I myſelf ſaw in *England* a Manuſcript of *Martinus Polonus*, who is one of the ancient Authors of this Matter, which did not ſeem to be written long after the Author's Time; in it this Story is not in the Text, but is added on the Margin by another Hand.

On the Hill above *Bologna* ſtands the Monaſtery of St. *Michael in Boſco*, which hath a moſt charming Situation, and is one of the beſt Monaſteries in *Italy*; it has many Courts, and one that is octangular, which is ſo nobly painted in Freſco, that it is a great Pity to ſee ſuch Work expoſed to the Air; all was once retouched by the famous *Guido Reni*, but it is now much decayed: The Dormitory is very magnificent, the Chapel is little but very fine, and the Stalls are richly carved. On the other Side of *Bologna*, in the Bottom, the *Carthuſians* have alſo a very rich Monaſtery. Four Miles from *Bologna* there is a *Madona* of St. *Luke*'s; and becauſe many go in great Devotion there is a Portico building, which is carried on almoſt half Way; it is walled towards the North, but ſtands on Pillars to the South, and is about twelve Feet broad, and fifteen Feet high: It is carried on very vigorouſly, for in eight or ten Years half is built, and this may prove the Beginning of many ſuch Portico's in *Italy*; for Things of this Kind want only a Beginning, and when they are once ſet on Foot, they quickly ſpread in a Country that is ſo entirely ſubdued by Superſtition and the Artifices of Prieſts. In *Bologna* they reckon ſeventy thouſand Perſons; I ſaw not one of the chief Glories of this Place, for the famous *Malpighius* was out of Town. I ſaw a Play there, but the Poeſy was ſo bad, the Farces ſo rude, and all ſo ill acted, that I was not a little amazed to ſee the Company expreſs great Satisfaction in that which would have been hiſſed off the Stage either in *England* or *France*. From *Bologna* we go eight Miles in a Plain, and then advance into that Range of Hills that carry the Name of *Apennines*; though that is ſtrictly given only to one that is the higheſt. All the Way to *Florence* this Track of Hills continues, though there are ſeveral Bottoms, and ſome conſiderable Towns in them, but all is up-hill and down-hill, and *Florence* itſelf is juſt at the Bottom of the laſt Hill. The great Roads all along theſe Hills are kept in ſo good Order, that in few of the beſt inhabited Countries one finds the Highways ſo well maintained as in theſe forſaken Mountains; but this is ſo great a Paſſage, that all concerned in it find their Account in the Expence they lay out upon it. On the laſt, in a little Bottom in the Midſt of the Hill ſtands *Pratolino*, one of the Great Duke's Palaces, where the Retreat in Summer muſt be very agreeable, for the Air is extreme thin and pure. The Gardens in *Italy* are coſtly, the Statues and Fountains are very rich and noble, the Grounds well laid out, and the Walks long and even; but as they have no Gravel as we have in *England*, ſo the conſtant Greenneſs of the Box ſo much pleaſes them, that preferring the Sight to the Smell, their Gardens are ſo high ſcented by Box plots, that it is no Pleaſure to walk in them; they alſo lay their Walks ſo between Hedges, that one is confined in them.

I ſaw firſt, in a Garden at *Vincenza*, that which I found afterwards in many Gardens in *Italy*, which was very convenient; there went a Courſe of Water round the Walls, about a Foot from the Ground in a Channel of Stone, along the Side of the Wall; and in this there were Holes, ſo made, that a Pipe of white Iron or Wood put into them, conveyed the Water to ſuch Plants as in a dry Seaſon wanted watering; and a Cock ſet the Water a running in this Courſe, ſo that without the Trouble of drawing Water, a ſingle Perſon could eaſily manage a great Garden. *Florence* is a beautiful and noble Town, full of great Palaces, rich Churches, and ſtately Convents. The Streets are paved in Imitation of the old *Roman* Highways, with great Stones bigger than our Pavement Stone, but much thicker, which are ſo hollowed in their Joinings to one another, that Horſes find Faſtening enough for their Feet. There are many Statues and Fountains in the Streets, ſo that in every Corner one meets with many agreeable Objects. I will not entertain you with a Deſcription of the Great Duke's Palace and Gardens, of the old Palace, and the Gallery that joins it, and of the vaſt Collection of Pictures, Statues, Cabinets, and other Curioſities, that muſt needs amaze every one that ſees them; the Plate, and in particular the Gold Plate and great Coach, are ſuch extraordinary Things, that they would require a very copious Deſcription, if that had not been done ſo often. The great Dome is a magnificent Building, but the Frontiſpiece to the great Gate is not finiſhed: The Cupola is after St. *Peter*'s, the greateſt I ſaw in *Italy*; it is three hundred Feet high, and of a vaſt Compaſs; and the whole Architecture of this Fabrick is very ſingular, as well as regular; only that which was intended to add to its Beauty, leſſened it in my Thoughts; for the Walls, that are all of Marble, being white and black, laid in different Figures and Orders, looked too like a Livery and had not the Air of Nobleneſs, which in my Opinion becomes ſo glorious a Fabrick. The Baptiſtery, that ſtands before it, was a noble Heathen Temple; its Gates of Braſs are the beſt of that Sort that are in the World; there are ſo many Hiſtories ſo well repreſented in Bas relieves in them, with ſo much Exactneſs, the Work is ſo natural, and yet ſo fine, that a curious Man could find Entertainment for many Days, if he would examine the three Gates of this Temple with a critical Exactneſs. The *Annunciata*, St. *Mark*'s, St. *Croce*, and St. *Maria Novella*, are Churches of great Beauty and vaſt Riches; but the Church and Chapel of St. *Laurence* exceeds them all, as much in the Riches within, as it is inferior to them in the Outſide, which is quite flay'd. if I may ſo ſpeak, but on Deſign to give it a rich Outſide of Marble. In a Chapel within this Church, the Bodies of the Great Dukes lie depoſited, till the famous Chapel is finiſhed; but I was much ſcandalized to ſee Statues with Nudities here, which I do not remember to have ſeen any where elſe in Churches. I will not offer at a Deſcription of the glorious Chapel, which as it is, without Doubt, the richeſt Piece of Building that perhaps the World ever ſaw, ſo it goes on ſo ſlow, that tho' there are many always at Work, yet it doth not ſeem to advance proportionably to the Number of Hands that are employed in it.

Among the Statues that are to be in it, there is one of the Virgin, made by *Michael Angelo*, which repreſents her Grief at the Paſſion of her bleſſed Son, that hath the moſt Life in it of any Statue I ever ſaw. But the famous Library that belongs to this Convent, took up more of my Time than all the other Curioſities of *Florence*; for here is a Collection of many Manuſcripts, moſt of them *Greek*, that were gather'd together by Pope *Clement* VII. and given to his Country: There are very few printed Books mixed with them; and thoſe Books are ſo rare, that they are almoſt as curious as Manuſcripts. I ſaw ſome of *Virgil*'s Poems in old Capitals. There is a Manuſcript in which ſome Parts both of *Tacitus* and *Apuleius* are written; and in one Place, one in a different Hand had writ, that he had compared thoſe Manuſcripts; and he adds a Date to this in *Olibrius*'s Time, which is above twelve hundred Years ago: I found ſome Diphthongs in it caſt into one Letter, which ſurprized me; for I thought that Way of Writing had not been ſo ancient. But that which pleaſed me moſt was, that the Library-keeper aſſured me, that one had lately found the famous Epiſtle of St. *Chryſoſtom* to *Cæſarius*, in *Greek*, in the End of a Volume full of other Things, and not among the Manuſcripts of that Father's Books, of which they have a great many: He thought he remembered well the Place were the Book ſtood; ſo we turn'd over all the Books that ſtood near it, but I found it not; he promiſed to look it out for me, if I came back that Way; but I changing my Deſign, and going back another Way, could not ſee the Bottom of this. It is true, the famous *Magliabecchi*, who is the Great Duke's Library-keeper, and is a Perſon of wonderful Civility, and full of Candor, as well as learned beyond Imagination, aſſured me, that this could be no other than a Miſtake of the Library-keepers; he ſaid, ſuch a Diſcovery could not have been made without making ſo much Noiſe that he muſt have heard of it: He added, there was not one Man in *Florence* that either underſtood *Greek*, or that examin'd Manuſcripts; ſo that I could not build on what an ignorant Library-keeper had told me. *Florence* is much ſunk, for they do not reckon that there are above fifty thouſand Souls in it; and other States, that were once great Republicks, ſuch as *Sienna* and *Piſa*, while they retained their Liberty, are now ſhrunk into nothing; it is certain, that all three together are now not ſo numerous as any one of them was two hundred Years ago. *Legborn* is full of People, and all round *Florence* there are a great many Villages; but as one goes over *Tuſcany*, it appears ſo diſpeopled, that one cannot but wonder to find a Country, that hath been the Scene of ſo much Action, and ſo many Wars, now ſo poor, and in many Places the Soil is quite neglected, for Want of Hands to cultivate it; and in other Places where there are more People, they look ſo poor and their Houſes are ſuch Ruins, that it is ſcarce accountable how there ſhould be ſuch Poverty in ſo rich a Country, which is full of Beggars; and the Style a little altered from what I found it in *Lombardy*; for whereas they begged for the Sake of St. *Anthony*, here all begged for the Souls in Purgatory; and this was the Style in all other Parts of *Italy* through which I paſſed.

In ſhort, the diſpeopling of *Tuſcany*, and moſt of the Principalities of *Italy*, but chiefly the Pope's Dominions, which are more abandoned than any other, ſeemed to flow from the Severity of the Government, the Decay of Trade, and the Weight of the Taxes, which notwithſtanding that Decay of Trade, are ſtill kept up; beſides, the vaſt Wealth of the Convents, where the only People of *Italy* are to be found, that live at their Eaſe, and in great Plenty, and makes many forſake all Sort of Induſtry, and ſeek ſuch a Retreat; ſo that the People do not increaſe faſt enough to make a new Race, inſtead of thoſe whom a hard Government drives away. It muſt needs ſurprize an attentive Traveller, to ſee not only the *Venetian* Territory, which is indeed a rich Country, but the Bailiages of the *Switzers*, and the Coaſt of *Genoa*, ſo full of People, when *Tuſcany*, the Patrimony, and the Kingdom of *Naples* have ſo few Inhabitants. In the Coaſt of *Genoa* there is, for many Miles, as it were a conſtant Tract of Towns and Villages, and all well peopled, though they have ſcarce any Soil at all, lying under the Mountains, that are barren, and that expoſe them to a moſt uneaſy Sun, and lie upon a boiſterous Sea, that is almoſt always in a Storm; that affords very few Fiſh; yet the Gentleneſs of the Government draws ſuch Multitudes thither, and thoſe are ſo wealthy, that Money brings but two *per Cent.* But to balance this, ſo ſtrange and wild a Thing is the Nature of Man, at leaſt of *Italians*, that I was told, the worſt People of *Italy* are the *Genoeſe*, and the moſt corrupted in their Morals, as to all Sorts of Vice; ſo that though a ſevere Government and Slavery are contrary to the Nature of Man, and to human Society, to Juſtice and Equity, and to that eſſential Equality among Men; yet, on the other Hand, all Men cannot bear that Eaſe and Liberty that become the human Nature. The Superſtition of *Italy*, and the great Waſte of Wealth in their Churches, particularly thoſe prodigious Maſſes of Plate with which their Altars are covered on Holidays, ſink their Trade extremely; for Silver being in Commerce, what Blood is in the Body, when ſo much is dead, and cirlculates no more, it is no Wonder if ſuch an unnatural Extravaſation of Silver occaſions a great Deadneſs in Trade. I had a moſt forgot a Remark that I made on the laſt Hill of the *Apennines*, juſt above *Florence*, that I never ſaw ſuch tall and large Cypreſſes any where, as grew all over that Hill; which ſeemed a little ſtrange, that Tree being apt to be ſtarv'd by a cold Winter among us, and there the Winters are very ſevere. All the Roads in *Tuſcany* are very rugged, except on the Sides of the *Arno*; but the Uneaſineſs of the Road is much qualified by the great Care that is had of the Highways, which are all in very good Condition. The Inns are wretched, and ill furniſhed both for Lodging and Diet: This is the Plague of all *Italy*, for except in the great Towns, one really ſuffers ſo much, that the Pleaſure of Travelling is much abated by the Inconveniencies that one meets in every Stage through which he paſſes.

22. I am now in the laſt Stage of my Voyage; for ſince my laſt, I have not only got to *Rome*, but have been in *Naples*; and have now ſatisfied my Curioſity ſo fully, that I intend to leave this Place within a Day or two, and go to *Civita Vecchia*, and from thence by Sea to *Marſeilles*, and avoid an unpleaſant Winter's Journey over the *Alps*. It is true, I loſe the Sight of *Turin*, *Genoa*, and ſome other Courts; but though I am told theſe deſerve the Pains of the Journey, yet when one riſes from a great Meal, no Delicacies, how much ſoever they might tempt at another Time, can provoke his Appetite: So I confeſs freely, that the Sight of *Naples* and *Rome* have ſo filled my Stomach that Way, that the Curioſity of ſeeing new Places is now very low with me; and indeed thoſe I have of late ſeen are ſuch, that Places, which at another Time would pleaſe me, would now make but a ſlight and cold Impreſſion.

All the Way from *Florence*, through the Great Duke's Country, look'd ſo ſad, that I concluded it muſt be the moſt diſpeopled of all *Italy*; but I changed my Note when I came into the Pope's Territories at *Pont Centio*, where there was a rich Vale all uncultivated, and not ſo much as ſtocked with Cattle. But as I paſſed from *Mont Fiaſcone* to *Viterbo*, this appeared ſtill more amazing; for a vaſt champaign Country lay quite deſerted, and that wide Town, which is of ſo great a Compaſs, hath ſo few Inhabitants, and thoſe ſo poor and miſerable, that the People in the ordinary Towns of *Scotland* and worſt Places, make a much better Appearance. When I was within a Day's Journey of *Rome*, I fancied that the Neighbourhood of ſo great a City muſt mend the Matter, but was much diſappointed; for a Soil that was ſo rich, and lay ſo ſweetly, that it far exceeded any Thing I ever ſaw out of *Italy*, had neither Inhabitants nor Cattle to the tenth Part of what it could bear: The Suprize that this gave me, increaſed upon me as I went out of *Rome* on the other Side, chiefly all the Way to *Naples*, and on the Way to *Civita Vecchia*; that vaſt and rich champaign Country that runs along to *Terracina*, which from *Civita Vecchia* is above one hundred Miles long, and in many Places twelve or twenty Miles broad, is ſo abandonded, that as far as one's Eye can carry one, there is often not ſo much as a Houſe to be ſeen, but on the Hills that are on the North Side of this Valley: And by this diſpeopling of the Country, the Air is now become ſo unwholeſome, that it is not ſafe to be a Night in it all the Summer long; for the Water that lies upon many Places not being drained, it rots; and in the Summer this produces ſo many noiſome Steams, as are felt even in *Rome* itſelf; and if it were not for the Breezes that come from the Mountains, the Air would be intolerable: When one ſees all this large but waſte Country, from the Hill of *Marino*, twelve Miles beyond *Rome*, he cannot wonder enough at it. It is the Rigour of the Government that hath driven away the Inhabitants; and their being driven away, hath reduced it to ſuch a paſs, that it is hardly poſſible to repeople it; for ſuch as would come to drain and cultivate it muſt run a great Hazard; and few can reſolve on that, when they can hope for no Reward of their Induſtry.

It is the greateſt Solecism in Government, for the Prince to be elective, and yet abſolute; for an hereditary Prince is induced to conſider his Poſterity, and to maintain his People ſo, that thoſe that come after him may ſupport the Rank which they hold in the World: But an elective Prince hath nothing of that in his Eye, unleſs he hath a Generoſity which is not ordinary among Men, and leaſt of all among *Italians*, who have a Paſſion for their Families not known in other Places: And thus a Pope, who comes in late to his Dignity, which by Conſequence he cannot hope to hold long, very naturally turns to thoſe Councils, by which his Family may make all the Hay they can during this Sun-ſhine. And though anciently the Cardinals were a Check upon the Pope, and a Sort of a Council, without whom he could do nothing even in Temporals, yet now they have quite loſt that, and have no other Share in Affairs than that to which the Pope thinks fit to admit them; ſo that he is the moſt abſolute Prince in *Europe*. It is true, as to Spirituals, they retain ſtill a large Share; ſo that in Cenſures and Definitions the Pope can do nothing without their Concurrence, though it is certain, that they have not ſo good a Title to pretend to that, as to a Share in the temporal Principality. For if the Pope derives any Thing from St. *Peter*, all that is ſingly in himſelf, and it is free to him to proceed by what Method he thinks beſt, ſince the Infallibility, according to their Pretenſions, reſts in him alone; yet becauſe there was not ſo much to be got by acting arbitrarily in thoſe Matters, and a ſummary Way of exerciſing this Authority might have tempted the World to have enquired too much into the Grounds on which it is built; therefore the Popes have let the Cardinals retain ſtill a Share in this Supremacy over the Church, tho' they have no Claim to it, either by divine or eicleſiaſtical Warrants: But as for the Endowments of the See of *Rome*, to which they may juſtly lay Claim, as being in a Manner the Chapter of that See; there is ſo much to be got by this, that the Popes have engroſſed it to themſelves. And thus it is, that the Government of this Principality is very unſteady. Sometimes the papal Family are glorious and magnificent; at other Times they think of nothing but of eſtabliſhing their Houſe. Sometimes the Pope is a Man of Senſe himſelf; ſometimes he is quite ſunk, and, as the laſt Pope was, becomes a Child again thro' old Age: Sometimes he has a particular Stiffneſs of Temper, with great Slowneſs of Underſtanding, and an inſatiable Deſire of heaping up Wealth, which is the Character of him that now reigns. By this Diverſity, which appears eminently in every new Pontificate, that commonly avoids thoſe Exceſſes that made the former Reign odious, the Councils of the Popedom are weak and disjointed. But if this is ſenſible to all *Europe*, with Relation to the general Concerns of that Body, it is much more viſible in the Principality itſelf, that is ſubject to ſo variable a Head. There hath been in this Age a Succeſſion of four ravenous Reigns; and tho' there was a ſhort Interruption in the Reign of the *Roſpiglioſi*, that coming after the *Barbarini*, the *Pamphili*, and the *Ghigis*, did not enrich itſelf; and yet it diſorder'd the Revenue, by the vaſt Magnificence in which he reigned, more in twenty-nine Months Time, than any other had done in ſo many Years. The *Altieri* did in a moſt ſcandalous Manner raiſe themſelves, in a very ſhort and deſpiſed Reign, and built one of the nobleſt Palaces in *Rome*.

He that reigns now doth not raiſe his Family avowedly, but he eaſes not the People of their Taxes; and as there is no Magnificence in his Court, or any publick Buildings now carrying on at *Rome*, ſo the many vacant Caps occaſion many empty Palaces; and by this Means there is ſo little Expence, that it is not poſſible for the People to live and Pay the Taxes; which hath driven, as it is believ'd, almoſt a fourth Part of the Inhabitants out of *Rome* during this Pontificate. And as the Pre-emption of the Corn makes, that there is no Profit made by the Owners out of the Cultivation of the Soil, all that going wholly to the Pope; ſo there are no Ways left here of employing Money to any conſiderable Advantage; for the publick Banks, which are all in the Pope's Hand, do not pay in Effect three *per Cent.* tho' they pretend to give four *per Cent.* Intereſt: The Settlement is indeed four *per Cent.* and this was thought ſo great an Advantage, that Actions on the Pope's Bank were bought at an hundred and ſixteen *per Cent.* But this Pope broke through all, and declared he would give all Men their Money again, unleſs they would pay him thirty *per Cent.* for the continuing of this Intereſt: And thus for a hundred Crowns Principal, one not only paid ae firſt an hundred and ſixteen, but afterwards thirty, in all, an hundred forty-ſix for the hundred; which is almoſt the half loſt; for whenſoever the Pope will pay back their Money, all the reſt is loſt. And now, there is a Report, that the Pope is treating with the *Genoeſe* for Money at two *per Cent.* and if he gets it on thoſe Terms, he will then pay his Debts; and the Subjects, that have Money in this Bank, will by this Means loſe ſix and forty *per Cent.* which is almoſt half of their Stock. A Man of Quality at *Rome*, and an eminent Churchman, who took me for one of their Clergy, becauſe I wore the Habit of a Churchman, ſaid, it was a Scandal to the Chriſtian World, and made one doubt the Truth of the Chriſtian Religion, to ſee more Oppreſſion in their Territory, than was to be found in *Turkey*; tho' in the Hands of *Chriſt*'s Vicar. And I can never forget the Reflection a *Roman* Prince made upon the Folly of thoſe ſevere Oppreſſions, which as they drive away the Inhabitants, ſo they reduce thoſe that are left to ſuch Degeneracy of Spirit by their Neceſſities. The *Spaniards*, whoſe Dominions look ſo big in the Map, are brought ſo low, that if they had ſtill kept the Poſſeſſion they once had of the *United Netherlands*, they would ſignify no more towards their Preſervation, than their other Provinces did, which, by their unſkilful Conduct, they have diſpeopled and exhauſted: Whereas, by their loſing the Seven Provinces, thoſe States have fallen upon ſuch wiſe Notions of Government, and have drawn ſuch Wealth, and ſuch Numbers of People together, that *Spain* itſelf was preſerved by them, and was ſaved in this Age by the Loſs of thoſe Provinces in the laſt: And thoſe States, that, if they had remained ſubject to *Spain*, would have ſignified little to its Support, did now more conſiderably, by being Allies, than they could have done, if they had not ſhaken off their Yoke. Indeed, if *Spain* had been ſo happy as to have ſuch Viceroys and Governors, as at this Time in *Naples*, their Affairs could not have declined ſo faſt as they have done. The Marquis of *Carpy*, in his Youth, intended to have taken ſo ſevere a Revenge of an Injury that he thought the late King of *Spain* did him in an Amour, that he deſigned the blowing him up by Gunpowder, when he was in the Council-chamber. But that Crime was diſcovered in Time, and was not only forgiven him, in Conſideration of the Greatneſs of his Family, he being the Son of Don *Lewis de Haro*, but after that he was made for ſeveral Years Ambaſſador at *Rome*: He is now Viceroy of *Naples*, and is the only Governor of all the Places through which I paſſed, that is, without Exception, beloved and eſteemed by all Sorts of People; for during the few Years of his Miniſtry, he hath redreſſed ſuch Abuſes as ſeemed paſt Cure, or that required an Age to correct them. He hath repreſſed the Inſolence of the *Spaniards* ſo much at *Naples*, that the Natives have no Occaſion to complain of the Haughtineſs of their Maſters; for he proceeds againſt the *Spaniards* with no leſs Severity, when they give Cauſe for it, than againſt the *Neopolitans*. He hath taken the Pay of the Soldiers ſo immediately into his own Care, that they, who, before his coming, were half naked, and robbed ſuch as paſſed thro' the Streets of *Naples* in Day-light, are now exactly paid, well diſciplined, and ſo decently clothed, that it is a Pleaſure to ſee them. He examines their Muſters ſo exactly, that he is ſure not to be cheated by falſe Liſts. He hath brought the Markets and Weights of *Naples* to a true Exactneſs; and whereas the Bread was generally too light, he has ſent for Loaves out of ſeveral Places of the Markets, and weighed them himſelf; and by ſome ſevere Puniſhments on thoſe that ſold the Bread too light, he hath brought this Matter to a juſt Regulation. He hath alſo brought the Courts of Judicature, that were thought generally very corrupt, into Reputation again; and 'tis believed he hath Spies to watch in Caſe Bribes are ſtill going on. He hath fortified the Palace, which was before his Time ſo much expoſed, that it would have been no hard Thing to have made a Deſcent and ſeized it.

But the two Things that raiſed his Reputation moſt are, his extirpating the Banditti, and the Regulation of the Coin. It is well known, what a Plague the Banditti have been to the Kingdom; for they, in Troops, not only robbed the Country, but were able to reſiſt an ordinary Body of Soldiers. Theſe travelled about ſeeking for Spoil all the Summer long; but in Winter they were harboured by ſome of the *Neapolitan* Barons, who gave them Quarters, and did not only thereby protect their own Lands, but had them as ſo many Inſtruments ready to execute their Revenges on their Enemies. This was well known at *Naples*, and there was a Council that had the Care of the reducing the Banditti committed to them, who, as they catched ſome few, and hanged them, ſo they fined ſuch Barons as gave them Harbour; and it was believed, that thoſe Fines amounted to near a hundred and fifty thouſand Crowns a Year: And thus the Diſeaſe went on, only now and then there was a little Blood let, which never went to the Bottom of the Diſtemper. But when the preſent Viceroy entered upon the Government, he reſolved to extirpate all the Banditti; and he firſt let all the Barons underſtand, that, if they harboured them any more, a little Fine would not ſave them, but that he would proceed againſt them with the utmoſt Severity; and by this Means the Banditti could find no Winter Quarters, which drove them to ſome Faſtneſſes among the Hills, and they reſolved to make good the Paſſes, and to accommodate themſelves the beſt they could amidſt the Mountains. The Viceroy ſent a great Body againſt them, but they defended themſelves for ſome Time vigorouſly, and in one Sally killed five hundred Men: But at laſt, ſeeing that they were hard preſſed, and that the Viceroy intended to come againſt them in Perſon, they accepted of the Terms that he offered, which were a Pardon for what was paſt, both as to Life and Gallies, and Sixpence a Day for their Subſiſtence in Priſon during Life, or the Viceroy's Pleaſure; and ſo they ſurrendered themſelves. They are kept in a large Priſon, and now and then, as he ſees Cauſe for it, he ſends ſome few of them up and down to ſerve in Garriſons. And thus, beyond all Mens Expectations, he finiſhed this Matter in a very few Months; and the Kingdom of *Naples*, that had been ſo long a Scene of Pillage and Robbery, is now ſo much changed, that no Place in *Europe* enjoys a more entire Security. As for the Coin, it, as all the other *Spaniſh* Money, is ſo ſubject to Clipping, that the whole Money of *Naples* became light, and far below the true Value; ſo the Viceroy reſolved to redreſs this. He conſiders, that the crying-down of Money that paſſeth upon the publick Credit, is a robbing thoſe in whoſe Hands the Money happens to be, when ſuch Proclamations are iſſued; and therefore he takes a Method that is more general, in which every one bears his Share, ſo that none will be cruſhed by it. He laid Taxes on the whole Kingdom, and got a great many to bring in Plate to be coined; and when he hath thus obtained ſuch a Quantity, as may ſerve for the Circulation that is neceſſary, he intends to call in all the old Money, and to give new for it. Thus this Viceroy ſets ſuch a Pattern to the other Miniſters of the Crown of *Spain*, that, if many would follow, the State of their Affairs would be ſoon altered.

The Kingdom of *Naples* is the richeſt Part of *Italy*; for the very Mountains, that make near half the Soil, are fruitful, and produce either Wine or Oil in great Abundance. *Apulia* is a great Corn Country, but it is exceſſive hot, and in ſome Years is all burnt up. The Jeſuits are the Proprietors of near half *Apulia*, and they treat their Tenants with the ſame Rigour that the Barons of this Kingdom generally uſe towards their Farmers: For the Commons here are ſo miſerably oppreſſed, that in many Places they die of Hunger, even amidſt the great Plenty of their beſt Years: For the Corn is exported to *Spain*, but neither *Spaniards* nor *Neapolitans* underſtand Trade ſo well, as to be their own Merchants or Carriers; ſo that the *Engliſh* generally carry the Profit of this Trade. The Oil of this Kingdom is ſtill a vaſt Trade, and the Manufactures of Wool and Soap in *England* conſumes yearly ſome thouſands of Tuns. The Silk Trade is ſo low, that it only ſerves themſelves, but the Exportation is inconſiderable. The Sloth and Lazineſs of this Nation render them incapable of making thoſe Advantages of ſo rich a Soil, that more induſtrious People would find out. For it amazes a Stranger to ſee in their little Towns, the Men walking in the Market-places in their torn Cloaks, and doing nothing. And though in ſome large Towns, ſuch as *Capua*, there is but one Inn, yet even that is ſo miſerable, that the beſt Room and Bed is ſo bad, that our Footmen in *England* would make a grievous Outcry, if they were no better lodged. Nor is there any thing to be had in them; the Wine is intolerable, the Bread ill baked, no Victuals, except Pigeons, and the Oil ſtinking. In ſhort, except one carries his whole Proviſion from *Rome* or *Naples*, he muſt reſolve to endure a good deal of Miſery in the four Days Journey that is between thoſe two Places. And this is what a Traveller, that ſees the Soil, cannot comprehend. But as they have not Hands enough, ſo thoſe they have are generally ſo little employed, that it is no Wonder to ſee their Soil produce ſo little, that in the Midſt of all that Abundance Nature hath ſet before them, they are one of the pooreſt Nations in *Europe*. But beſide this which I have named, the vaſt dead Wealth that is in the Hands of the Churchmen, is another evident Cauſe of their Miſery. One that knew the State of this Kingdom well, aſſured me, that if it were divided into five Parts, upon a ſtrict Survey it would be found, that the Churchmen had four Parts of the five; which he made thus out. They have in Soil above the half of the whole; which is two and a half; and in Tithes, and Gifts, and Legacies, they have one and a half more: For no Man dieth without leaving a conſiderable Legacy to ſome Church or Convent. The Wealth that one ſees in the City of *Naples* alone, paſſeth Imagination. There are four and twenty Houſes of the Order of the *Dominicans*, of both Sexes, and two and twenty of the *Franciſcans*; ſeven of the Jeſuits, beſide the Convents of the *Olivitanes*, the *Theatines*, the *Carmelites*, the *Benedictines*; and above all, for Situation and Riches, the *Carthuſians*, on the Top of the Hill that lieth over the Town. The Riches of the *Annunciata* are prodigious; it is the greateſt Hoſpital in the World; the Revenue is ſaid to be four hundred thouſand Crowns a Year. The Number of the Sick is not ſo great as at *Milan*, yet one Convenience for their Sick I obſerved in their Galleries, which was conſiderable, that every Bed ſtood as in an Alcove, and had a Wall on both Sides, ſeparating it from the Beds on both Hands, and ſo much void Space on both Sides of the Bed, that the Bed itſelf took up but half the Room. The young Children that they maintain are ſo many, that one can hardly believe the Number they boaſt of; for they talk of thouſands that are not ſeen, but are at Nurſe. A great Part of the Wealth of this Houſe goes to the enriching their Church, which will be all over within cruſted with lovely Marble, in a great Variety and Beauty of Colours. The Plate that is in the Treaſury here, and in the Dome (which hath a noble Chapel, and a vaſt Treaſure) and in a great many other Churches, is ſo prodigious, that upon the modeſteſt Eſtimate, the Plate of the Churches of *Naples* amounts to eight Millions of Crowns. The new Church of the Jeſuits, that of St. *John* the Apoſtle, and that of St. *Paul*, are ſurprizingly rich. The Gilding and Painting that is on the Roofs of thoſe Churches have coſt Millions; and as there are about an hundred Convents in *Naples*, ſo every one of theſe, if it were in another Place, would be thought well worth ſeeing.

A new Governor of the *Annunciata* is annually choſen, who perhaps puts into his own Pocket twenty thouſand Crowns; and to make ſome Compenſation, when he goes out he gives a vaſt Piece of Plate to the Houſe, a Statue for a Saint in Silver, or ſome Coloſs of a Candleſtick; for ſeveral of thoſe Pieces of Plate are ſaid to be worth ten thouſand Crowns. And thus all the Silver of *Naples* becomes dead and uſeleſs. The Jeſuits are great Merchants here; their Wine-cellar is a vaſt Vault, and holds above a thouſand Hogſheads, and the beſt Wine in *Naples* is ſold by them; yet they do not retail it ſo ſcandalouſly as the *Minims* do, who live on the great Square before the Viceroy's Palace, and ſell out their Wine by Retail. They pay no Duty, have extraordinary Wine, and are in the beſt Place of the Town for this Retail. It is true, the *Neapolitans* are no great Drinkers, ſo the Profits of this Tavern are not ſo great as they would be in colder Countries; for here Men go for a Draught in the Mornings, or when they are dry; yet the Houſe grows rich, and has one of the fineſt Chapels in all *Naples*; but the Trade ſeems very unbecoming Men of that Profeſſion, and of ſo ſtrict an Order. The Convents have a very particular Privilege, for they may buy all the Houſes that lie on either Side, till the firſt Street diſcontinueth the Houſes; and there being ſcarce a Street in *Naples* in which there is not a Convent, by this Means they may come to buy the whole Town: And the Progreſs that the Wealth of the Clergy makes is ſo viſible, that if there is not ſome Stop put to it, within an Age they will make themſelves Maſters of the whole. It is amazing to ſee ſo profound an Ignorance reign among the Clergy; for though all the ſecular Perſons here ſpeak of them with all poſſible Scorn, yet they are the Maſters of the People. The Women are infinitely ſuperſtitious, and give their Huſbands no Reſt, but as they draw from them great Preſents to the Church.

It is true, there are Societies of Men at *Naples*, of freer Thoughts than can be found in any other Place of *Italy*. The *Greek* Learning begins to flouriſh there, the new Philoſophy is much ſtudied, and there is an Aſſembly that is held in D. *Joſeph Valeta*'s Library, (where there is a vaſt Collection of well-choſen Books) compoſed of Men that have a right Taſte of true Learning and good Senſe. They are ill-looked on by the Clergy, and repreſented as a Set of Atheiſts, and as the Spawn of *Pomponatius*. But I found no ſuch Thing; for I had the Honour to meet twice or thrice with a conſiderable Number of them during the ſhort Stay that I made. There is a learned Lawyer, *Franciſco Andria*, that is conſidered as one of the moſt inquiſitive Men of the Aſſembly. There is alſo a Grandchild of the great *Alciat*, who is very curious as well as learned. Few Churchmen come into this; on the contrary, it is plain, that they dread it above all Things. Only one eminent Preacher, *Rinaldi*, Archdeacon of *Capua*, aſſociates himſelf with them. He was once of the Jeſuits Order, but left it; and as that ſerved to give a good Character of him to me, ſo upon a long Converſation, I found a great many other Things that poſſeſſed me with a high Value for him. Some Phyſicians in *Naples* are brought under the Scandal of Atheiſm; and it is certain, that in *Italy*, Men of ſearching Underſtandings, who have no Idea of the Chriſtian Religion, but that which they ſee received, are very naturally tempted to diſbelieve it; for finding ſuch notorious Cheats as appear in many Parts of their Religion, they are, upon that, induced to diſbelieve the whole. The Preachings of the Monks in *Naples* are terrible Things. I ſaw a Jeſuit go in a Sort of Proceſſion, with a great Company about him, and calling all that he ſaw to follow him to a Place where a Mountebank was ſelling his Medicines, near whom he took his Stand, and entertained the People with a Sort of a Farce, till the Mountebank got him to give over, fearing his Action ſhould grow tedious, and diſperſe the Company that was brought together. There are no Preachers or Men of Learning among the Jeſuits. I was told they had not Men capable to teach their Schools, and were forced to hire Strangers. The Order of the Oratory hath not that Reputation in *Italy* as in *France*; and the little Learning that is among the Clergy in *Naples*, is among ſome few ſecular Prieſts.

The new Method of *Molinos* ſo much prevails in *Naples*, that it is believed he hath above twenty thouſand Followers in this City. And ſince this hath made ſome Noiſe in the World, and yet is generally but little underſtood, I will give you ſome Account of him. He is a *Spaniſh* Prieſt, that ſeems to be but an ordinary Divine, and is certainly an ill Reaſoner, when he undertakes to prove his Opinions. He hath wrote a Book, which is entitled, *Il Guida Spirituale*, which is an Abſtract of myſtical Divinity; the Subſtance of the whole is reduced to this, That in our Prayers, and other Devotions, the beſt Methods are to retire the Mind from all groſs Images, and ſo to form an Act of Faith, and thereby to preſent ourſelves before God; and then to ſink into a Silence and Ceſſation of new Acts, and to let God act upon us, and ſo to follow his Conduct. This Way he prefers to the Multiplication of many Acts, and different Forms of Devotion; and he makes ſmall Account of corporal Auſterities, and reduces all the Exerciſes of Religion to this Simplicity of Mind. He thinks this not only fit to be propoſed to ſuch as live in religious Houſes, but to ſecular Perſons, and by this he hath propoſed a great Reformation of Minds and Manners. He hath many Prieſts in *Italy*, but chiefly in *Naples*, that diſpoſe thoſe who confeſs to them to follow his Method. The Jeſuits have ſet themſelves much againſt this Conduct, as foreſeeing that it will much weaken the Empire Superſtition hath over the People, make Religion become a more plain Thing, and open a Door to Enthuſiaſm. They alſo pretend that his Conduct is factious and ſeditious, which may breed a Schiſm in the Church. And becauſe he ſaith in ſome Places, that the Mind may attain ſuch a Simplicity in its Acts, as that it may riſe in ſome Devotions to God immediately, without contemplating the Humanity of Chriſt, they have accuſed him of laying aſide the Doctrine of Chriſt's Humanity; though it is plain, that he ſpeaks only of the Purity of ſingle Acts: Upon theſe Motives they have ſet themſelves much againſt *Molinos*; and alſo pretend, that ſome of his Diſciples have infuſed into their Penitents, that they may communicate as they find themſelves diſpoſed, without going firſt to Confeſſion; which they thought weakened the Yoke whereby the Prieſts ſubdue the Conſciences of the People to their Conduct; yet he was much ſupported both in *Naples* and in *Sicily*, and had many Friends and Followers at *Rome*. So the Jeſuits, as a Provincial of the Order aſſured me, finding they could not ruin him, got a great King, that is now extremely in the Intereſts of their Order, to repreſent to the Pope the Danger of ſuch Innovations.

It is certain, the Pope underſtands the Matter very little, and that he is poſſeſſed with a great Opinion of *Molinos*'s Sanctity; yet upon the Complaints of ſome Cardinals, that ſeconded the Zeal of that King, he and ſome of his Followers were clapp'd into the Inquiſition, where they have been now for ſome Months; but they are well uſed, which is believ'd to flow from the good Opinion the Pope hath of him, who ſaith ſtill, that though he may have erred, yet he is certainly a good Man. Upon this Impriſonment, *Paſquin* ſaid a pleaſant Thing. In one Week, one Man had been condemned to the Gallies for ſomewhat he had ſaid; another had been hanged for ſomewhat he had writ; and *Molinos* was clapp'd in Priſon, whoſe Doctrine conſiſted chiefly in this, That Men ought to bring their Minds to a State of inward Quietneſs, from which the Name of *Quietiſts* was given to all his Followers. The Paſquinade upon all this was, *Si parliamo, in galere; ſi ſcrivemmo, impiccati; ſi ſtiamo in quiete, all' ſant' officio: e che beſogna fare?* "If we ſpeak, we are ſent to the Gallies; if we write, we are hanged; if we ſtand quiet, we are clapp'd up in the Inquiſition; what muſt we do then?" Yet his Followers at *Naples* believe he will come out of this Trial victorious.

The City of *Naples* is the beſt ſituated, lies in the beſt Climate, and is one of the nobleſt Cities of *Europe*; and if it is not above half as big as *Paris* or *London*, it hath much more Beauty than either of them. The Streets are large and broad, the Pavement is great and noble, the Stones being generally above a Foot ſquare; and it is full of Palaces and great Buildings: The Town is well ſupplied by Markets, ſo that Proviſions are freſh, and in great Plenty. The Wine is the beſt in *Europe*, and both the Fiſh and Fleſh are extreme good. It is ſcarce ever cold in Winter, and there is a freſh Air comes both from the Sea and the Mountains in Summer. The Viceroy's Palace is no extraordinary Building, only the Stair caſe is grand, but it is now very richly furniſhed with Pictures and Statues. There are in it ſome Statues of the *Egyptian* Deities, of Touchſtone, that are of great Value. There are no great Antiquities here, only there is an ancient *Roman* Portico, that is very noble, before St. *Paul*'s Church; but without the City, near the Church and Hoſpital of St. *Gennaro*, are the noble Catacombs; which becauſe they were beyond any Thing I ſaw in *Italy*, and to which the Catacombs of *Rome* are not to be compared, I ſhall deſcribe them more particularly.

They are vaſt long Galleries cut out of the Rock, three Stories one above another: I was in two of them, but the Rock is fallen in the loweſt, ſo that one cannot go into it, but I ſaw the Paſſage. Theſe Galleries are generally about twenty Feet broad, and fifteen Feet high; ſo that they are noble ſpacious Places, not little and narrow, as the Catacombs at *Rome*, which are only three or four Feet broad, and five or ſix high. I was made to believe, that theſe Catacombs of *Naples* went into the Rock nine Miles, but for that I have it only by Report; yet if true, they may run towards *Puzzuolo*, and ſo may have been the Burial-places of the Towns on that Bay; but of this I have no Certainty. I walked indeed a great Way, and found Galleries going off on all Hands without End: And whereas in the *Roman* Catacombs three are not above three or four Rows of Niches, that are cut out in the Rock one over another, into which the dead Bodies were laid; here there are generally ſix or ſeven Rows of Niches, and they are both larger and higher: Some Niches are for Children, and in many Places there are in the Floors, as it were, great Cheſts hewn out of the Rock, to lay the Bones of the dead, as they are dried, in them; but I could ſee no Marks either of a Cover for theſe Holes, which look'd like the Bellies of Cheſts, or of a Facing to ſhut up the Niches when a dead Body was laid in them; ſo that it ſeems they were monſtrous, unwholſome, ſtinking Places, where ſome thouſands of Bodies lay rotting, without any Thing to ſhut in ſo loathſome a Sight, and ſo odious a Smell; for the Niches ſhew plainly, that the Bodies were laid in them wrapped in the dead Cloaths, being too low for Coffins. In ſome Places of the Rock, there is as it were a little Chapel hewn out in the Rock, going off from the common Gallery, and there are Niches all round about, but I ſaw no Marks of any Wall that ſhut in thoſe Places; though I am apt to think theſe might be Burying places for particular Families.

There is in ſome Places on the Walls and Arch old *Moſaick* Work, and ſome Painting; the Colours are freſh, and the Manner *Gothick*; which made me conclude, that this might have been done by the *Normans* about 600 Years ago, after they drove out the *Saracens*. In ſome Places there are Palm-trees painted, and Vines in other Places: The Freſhneſs of the Colours ſhew thoſe could not have been done while this Place was employed for Burying; for the Steams and Rottenneſs of the Air, occaſioned by ſo much Corruption, muſt have diſſolved both Plaiſter and Colours. In one Place there is a Man painted with a little Beard, and *Paulus* is written by his Head; there is another reaching him a Garland, and by his Head *Laud* is written; and this is repeated in another Place right againſt it. In another I found a Croſs painted, and about the upper Part of it theſe Letters, J.C.X.O. and on the lower Part N I K A. are painted. A learned Antiquary agreed with me, that the Manner of the Painting and Characters did not ſeem to be above ſix hundred Years old; but neither of us knew what to make of theſe Letters: The lower ſeemed to relate to the laſt Word of the Viſion, which it is ſaid that *Conſtantine* ſaw with the Croſs that appeared to him: But tho' the firſt two Letters might be for *Jeſus*, it being ordinary in old Coins and Inſcriptions to put a C for an S, and X ſtands for *Chriſt*, yet we knew not what to make of the O, unleſs it were for the *Greek* Θ, and that the little Line in the Boſom of the *Theta* was worn out, and then it ſtands for *Theos*; and thus the whole Inſcription is, *Jeſus Chriſt God overcometh.*

Another Picture in the Wall had written over it S^{ta} *Johannes*, a clear Sign of a barbarous Age. In another Place there is a Picture high in the Wall, and three Pictures under it; that at Top had no Inſcription; thoſe below it had theſe Inſcriptions, *S. Katharina*, *S. Agape*, and *S. Margarita*: Theſe Letters are clearly modern; beſides that, *Margaret* and *Katharine* are modern Names; and the Addition of *ta* a little above the *S*, were manifeſt Evidences that the higheſt Antiquity that can be aſcribed to this Painting is ſix hundred Years. I ſaw no more Painting, and I began to grow weary of the Darkneſs and the thick Air of the Place; ſo that I ſtaid not above an Hour. This made me reflect more particularly on the Catacombs of *Rome* than I had done; I could imagine no Reaſon why ſo little mention is made of thoſe of *Naples*, when there is ſo much ſaid concerning thoſe of *Rome*; or give myſelf other Account of the Matter, than that it being a Maxim to keep up the Reputation of the *Roman* Catacombs, as Repoſitories of Reliques of primitive Chriſtians, it would much leſſen their Credit, if it were thought that there were Catacombs far beyond them in all Reſpects, that yet cannot be ſuppoſed to have been the Work of the primitive Chriſtians; and indeed, nothing ſeems more evident, than that theſe were common Burying-places of the ancient Heathens; one enters into them without the Walls of the Towns, according to the Laws of the Twelve Tables; and ſuch are the Catacombs of *Rome* that I ſaw, which were thoſe of St. *Agnes*, and St. *Sebaſtian*, the Entry into them being without the Town: This anſwers the Law, though in Effect they run under it; for in thoſe Days, when they had not the Uſe of the Needle, they could not know which Way they carried on thoſe Works, when they were once ſo far engaged under Ground as to loſe themſelves. It is a vain Imagination, to dream the Chriſtians in the primitive Times were able to carry on ſuch a Work; for as this prodigious Digging into ſuch Rocks muſt have been a very viſible Thing, by the Mountains of Rubbiſh that muſt have been brought out, and by the vaſt Number of Hands employed in it; ſo it is abſurd to think, that they could hold their Aſſemblies in the Midſt of ſo much Corruption. I found the Steams ſo ſtrong, that though I am as little ſubject to Vapours as moſt Men, yet I had all Day long, after I was in them, which was not an Hour, a Confuſion, and as it were a Boiling in my Head, that diſordered me extremely; and if there is now ſo much ſtagnating Air there, this muſt have been ſenſible in a more inſufferabe Manner, while there were vaſt Numbers of Bodies rotting in thoſe Niches. But beſides this Improbability from the Nature of the Thing, I called to mind a Paſſage of a Letter of *Cornelius*, that was Biſhop of *Rome* after the Middle of the third Century, which is preſerved by *Euſebius* in his ſixth Book, in which we have the State of the Church of *Rome* at that Time. There were forty ſix Preſbyters, ſeven Deacons, as many Subdeacons, and ninety-four of the inferior Orders of the Clergy among them: There were alſo fifteen hundred Widows, and other Poor maintained out of the publick Charities. It may be reaſonably ſuppoſed, that the Numbers of the Chriſtians were as great when this Epiſtle was writ, as at any Time before *Conſtantine*: For as this was writ at the End of that long Peace, which both *St. Cyprian* and *Lactantius* mention, of above an hundred Years; ſo after there were ſuch a Succeſſion of Perſecutions, and theſe came ſo thick, that we cannot think the Numbers of the Chriſtians increaſed much beyond what they were at this Time.

There are two Particulars in this State of the Clergy, upon which one may make a probable Eſtimate of the Chriſtians; one is, their Poor, which were but fifteen hundred; now upon an exact Survey it will be found, that where the Poor are well look'd to, they are generally the thirtieth or fortieth Part of Mankind; and this may be believed to be the Proportion of the Poor among the Chriſtians of that Age; for as their Charity was vigorous and tender, ſo we find *Celſus*, *Julian*, *Lucian*, *Porphyry*, and others, object this to the Chriſtians of that Time, that their Charities to the Poor drew vaſt Numbers of the lower Sort among them, that they might be ſupplied by their Brethren. So that this being the State of the Chriſtians, we may reckon the Poor the thirtieth Part; and the whole five and forty thouſand: And I am the more inclined to think that this riſes near the full Sum of their Numbers, by the other Character of the Amount of the Clergy; for as there were forty-ſix Preſbyters, ſo there were ninety four of the inferior Orders, who were two more than double the Number of the Prieſts; and this was in a Time when the Care of Souls was more exactly looked after, than it has been in the more corrupted Ages, the Clergy having then really more Work on their Hands, the inſtructing their Catechumens, the viſiting their Sick, and the comforting the Weak, Taſks that required ſo much Application, that in ſo vaſt a City as *Rome* in thoſe Days, in which the Chriſtians were ſcatter'd over the City, we make a Conjecture, that every Preſbyter had perhaps about a thouſand Souls committed to his Care; this riſes to ſix and forty thouſand, which comes very near the Sum gathered from the other Hint taken from their Poor: So that about fifty thouſand is the higheſt to which we can reaſonably raiſe the Number of the Chriſtians of *Rome* in that Time; and of ſo many Perſons, the old, the young, and the Women, make more than three fourth Parts; the Men therefore in Condition to work were not above twelve thouſand, and by Conſequence were in no Condition to undertake and carry on ſo vaſt a Work. If *Cornelius* in that Letter ſpeaks of the Numbers of the Chriſtians in exceſſive Terms, and if *Tertullian* in his Apology hath alſo ſet out the Numbers of the Chriſtians of his Time in a very high Strain, that is to be aſcribed to a pompous Eloquence, which diſpoſeth People to magnify their own Party; and we muſt allow a good deal to an Hyperbole. It is true, it is not ſo clear when thoſe vaſt Cavities were dug out of the Rocks: We know that when the Laws of the *Twelve Tables* were made, Sepulture was then in Uſe; and *Rome* being grown to a vaſt Bigneſs, no Doubt they had Repoſitories for their Dead; ſo that ſince none of the *Roman* Authors mention any ſuch Work, it may not be unreaſonable to ſuppoſe theſe Vaults had been wrought and cut out from the firſt Beginnings of the City, and ſo later Authors had no Occaſion to take Notice of it. It is alſo certain, that though Burning came to be in Uſe among the *Romans*, yet they returned back to their firſt Cuſtom of burying Bodies long before *Conſtantine*'s Time; ſo it was not the Chriſtian Religion that produced this Change. All our modern Writers take it for granted, that it happen'd in the Times of the *Antonines*; yet there being no Law made concerning it, and no Mention in an Age full of Writers, of any Orders that were given for Burying-places, *Velſerus*'s Opinion ſeems more probable, that the Cuſtom of Burning wore out by Degrees; and ſince we are ſure that they once buried, it is more natural to think, that the Slaves and the meaner Sort of People were ſtill buried, that being a leſs expenſive and more ſimple Way than burning, which was both pompous and chargeable; and if there were already Burying places prepared, it is much eaſier to imagine how the Cuſtom of Burying grew univerſal without any Law made to inforce it. I could not for ſome Time find out upon what Grounds the modern Criticks take it for granted, that Burying began in the Times of the *Antonines*, till I had the Happineſs to talk with the learned *Gronovius*, who ſeems to be ſuch a Maſter of all ancient Learning, as if he had the Authors lying always open before him: He told me that it was certain the Change from Burning to Burying was not made by the Chriſtian Emperors: For *Macrobius* ſays, in plain Terms, that the Cuſtom of burning Bodies was quite worn out in that Age; which is a clear Intimation, that it was not laid aſide ſo late as by *Conſtantine*; and as there was no Law made on that Head, ſo he and the ſucceeding Emperors gave ſuch Toleration to Paganiſm, that it is not to be imagined, there was any Order given againſt Burning; ſo that it is clear, the Heathens changed it of their own Accord; otherways we ſhould have found that among the Complaints made of the Grievances under which they lay from the Chriſtians. But it is more difficult to fix the Time when this Change was made. *Gronovius* ſhewed me a Paſſage of *Phlegon*'s, that mentions Bodies that were laid in the Ground; yet he did not build on that, for it may have Relation to the Cuſtoms of Burying that might be elſewhere; and ſo *Petronius* gives the Account of the Burial of the *Epheſian* Matron's Huſband: But he made it apparent to me, that Burying was commonly practiſed under *Commodus*; for *Xiphilinus* tells us, that in *Pertinax*'s Time, the Friends of thoſe whom *Commodus* had ordered to be put to Death, dug up their Bodies, ſome bringing out only ſome Parts of them, and others raiſing their entire Bodies. The ſame Author ſays, that *Pertinax* buried *Commodus*'s Body, and ſo ſaved it from the Rage of the People; and here is a poſitive Evidence that Burying was the common Practice of that Time.

The ſame learned Perſon has ſince ſuggeſted to me two Paſſages of *Feſtus Pompeius*, that ſeem to determine this whole Matter; and tell us by what Names thoſe Catacombs were known in the *Roman* time, whereabouts they were, and what Sort of Perſons were laid in them: We have alſo the Deſignation by which the Bearers were known, and the Time when they carried out the dead Bodies: And it appears particularly by them, that in the Repoſitories of which that Author makes Mention, there were no Care taken to preſerve the Bodies that were laid in them from Rotting. His Words are: *Puticulos antiquiſſimum genus ſepulture appellatos, quod ibi in puteis ſepelirentur homines; qualis fuerit locus, quo nunc cadavera projici ſolent extra portam Eſquilinam: quæ, quod ibi puteſcerent, inde prius appellatos exiſtimat Puticulos Ælius*

Ælius Gallus, qui ait antiqui moris fuiſſe, ut patres-familias in locum publicum extra oppidum mancipia vilia projicerent, atque ita projecta, quod ibi ea puteſcerent, nomen eſſe factum Puticuli. The other Paſſage runs thus: *Veſpe & veſpilliones dicuntur, qui funerandis corporibus officium gerunt, non à minutis illis volucribus, ſed quia veſpertino tempore eos efferunt, qui funebri pompâ duci propter inopiam nequeunt.* All this agrees ſo exactly, that it will not be hard to perſuade one, that thoſe Burying-places, now graced with the pompous Title of Catacombs, are no other than the *Puticuli* of *Feſtus Pompeius*, where the meaneſt Sort of the *Roman* Slaves were laid, and without any farther Care about them, were left to rot.

It is very probable, that as we ſee ſome of the *Roman* Families continued to bury their Dead, even when Burning was the more common Cuſtom; ſo perhaps others continued after this to burn their Dead, this Thing being indifferent, and no Law made about it; and therefore it was objected to the Chriſtians after that Time, that they abhorred the Cuſtom of burning the Bodies of the Dead, which is mentioned by *Minutius Fælix*; but this, or any other Evidences that may be brought from Medals after this Time, will only prove that ſome were burnt, and that the Chriſtians practiſed burying univerſally, as expreſſing their Belief of the Reſurrection; whereas the Heathens held the Thing indifferent. It is alſo clear, from many genuine Inſcriptions that have been found in the Catacombs, bearing the Dates of the Conſuls, that theſe were the common Burial-places of all the Chriſtians of the fourth and fifth Century; for I do not remember that there is any Date ancienter; and yet not one of the Writers of thoſe Ages ſpeak of them as the Work of the Primitive Chriſtians: They ſpeak indeed of the Burial places of the Martyrs; but that will prove no more, but that the Chriſtians might have their Quarters and their Walks in thoſe common Burial-places, where they laid their Dead, and which might have been known among them, though it is not likely that they would, in Times of Perſecution, make ſuch Inſcriptions as might expoſe the Bodies of their dead Friends to the Rage of their Enemies: And the ſpurious Acts of ſome Saints and Martyrs are of too little Credit to give any Support to the common Opinion. *Damaſus*'s Poetry is of no better Authority; and though thoſe Ages were inclined enough to give Credit to Fables, yet it ſeems this of the Catacombs, having been the Work of the Primitive Chriſtians, was too groſs a Thing to be ſo early impoſed on the World: And this Silence, in a ſuperſtitious Age, has much Force in it, for ſo vaſt a Work muſt have been well known to all the *Romans*. It were eaſy to carry this much farther, and to ſhew that the *Baſs Relieves* that have been found in ſome of thoſe Catacombs, have nothing of the Beauty of the ancient *Roman* Time.

This is alſo diſcernible in many Inſcriptions that are rather *Gothick* than *Roman*; and there are ſo many Inſcriptions relating to Fables, that it is plain theſe were of later Times; and we ſee by St. *Jerome*, that the Monks began even in his Time to drive a Trade of Reliques; no Wonder then, that to raiſe the Credit of ſuch a Heap as was never to be exhauſted, they made ſome miſerable Sculptures and Inſcriptions, and perhaps ſhut up the Entries with Care and Secrecy, intending to open them upon ſome Dream, or other Artifice, to give them the more Reputation; which was often practiſed, to the drawing much Wealth and Devotion even to ſome ſingle Relique; and a few being in this Secret, either thoſe died, or by the Revolutions that happen'd in *Rome*, might have been diſperſed before they made the Diſcovery: And thus the Knowledge of theſe Places was loſt, and came to be diſcover'd by Accident in the laſt Age, and ever ſince ſupplied with an inexhauſtible Magazine of Bones, which are no other than the Bones of the Pagan *Romans*, though they are now ſent over the World to feed a Superſtition that is as blind as it proves expenſive. And thus the Bones of the *Roman* Slaves, or at leaſt thoſe of the meaner Sort, are ſet in Silver and Gold, and entertain the Superſtition of thoſe who are willing to be deceived, as well as thoſe who ſeek to deceive the World. But becauſe it cannot be pretended there was ſuch a Number of Chriſtians at *Naples*, as could have wrought the Catacombs; and if it had been thought that thoſe were the common Burial-places of the Heathens, that might have induced the World to think that the *Roman* Catacombs were ſo too; therefore no Care was taken to examine theſe.

I will not enter upon a Deſcription of that which is ſo well known, as *Mont Veſuvio*: It had roared ſo loud about a Month before I came to *Naples*, that the Inhabitants could hardly ſleep in the Nights, and ſome old Houſes were ſo ſhaken by the Convulſion of the Hill, that they fell to the Ground; and the great Convulſion above fifty Years ago was ſo terrible, that there was no ſmall Fear in *Naples*, for though it lies at the Diſtance of ſeven Miles, they are very timorous, but now the Storm was choaked under Ground; for tho' it ſmoak'd much more than ordinary, yet there was no Eruption. It was indeed ſmoaking, not only in the Mouth of the little Mount, formed within the great Waſte that the Fire hath made, but along all the Bottom that is between the outward Mouth of this Mountain (which is four Miles in Compaſs) and that inward Hill. When one ſees the Mouth of this Fire, and ſo great a Part of the Hill, covered ſome Feet deep with Aſhes and Stones of metallick Compoſition, that the Fire throws out, he cannot but ſtand amazed, and wonder what can be the Fewel of ſo laſting a Burning, that hath calcined ſo much Matter, and ſpued out ſuch prodigious Quantities. It is plain, there are vaſt Veins of Sulphur all along in this Soil, and it ſeems in this Mountain they run thro' ſome Mines and Rocks; and as their ſlow Conſumption raiſes a perpetual Smoke, ſo when the Air within is ſo much rarified that it muſt open itſelf, it throws up thoſe Maſſes of Metal and Rock that are ſhut in it. But how this Fire draws Air to nouriſh its Flame, is not ſo eaſily apprehended, unleſs there is either a Conveyance of Air under Ground, by ſome undiſcover'd Vacuity, or a more inſenſible Tranſmiſſion of Air through the Pores of the Earth. The Heat of this Hill operates ſo much upon the Soil that lies towards the Foot of it, that it produces the richeſt Wine about *Naples*, and it alſo purifieth the Air ſo much, that the Village at the Bottom is thought the beſt thereabouts; ſo that many come thither from *Naples* for their Health. There is a Hill in *Iſchia*, an Iſland not far from *Naples*, which ſometimes ſpues out Fire. On the other Side of *Naples*, to the Weſt, one paſſeth through the Cave that pierceth the *Pauſalippe*, and is four hundred and forty Paces long; for I walked it on Foot. It is twenty Feet broad, and at firſt forty, afterwards but twenty Feet high. The Stone cut here is good for Building; ſo that as this opened the Way from *Puzzuolo* to *Naples*, it was alſo a Quarry for the Building of the Town. All the Way one diſcovers a ſtrange Boiling within the Ground; for a little beyond this Grott of *Pauſalippe*, as we come near the Lake of *Aniano*, there is on the one Hand a Bath, occaſioned by a Stream that riſes ſo hot out of the Ground, that as ſoon as one goes a little into it, he finds himſelf in a Sweat, which is very proper for ſome Diſeaſes, eſpecially that which derives its Name from *Naples*. And about twenty Paces from thence, there is another little Grott, that ſends out ſo poiſonous a Steam, that it puts out a Candle as ſoon as it comes near it, and infalliby killeth any living Creature within a Minute; for in half that Time a Dog, upon which the Experiment is commonly tried, (the Grott from thence called *Grotto di Cane*) fell into a Convulſion. From that one goes to ſee the poor Remains of *Puzzuolo*, and of that Bay, once a continued Tract of Towns, being the Retreat of the *Romans* during the Heats of the Summer. All the Rarities here have been ſo often and ſo copiouſly deſcribed, that I am ſenſible I can add nothing to what is ſo well known. I will ſay nothing of the Amphitheatre, or of *Cicero* and *Virgil*'s Houſes, for which there is nothing but dubious Tradition. They are ancient Brick Buildings in *Roman* Taſte, and the Vaults of *Virgil*'s Houſe are ſtill entire. The *Sulfatara* is a ſurprizing Thing; here is a Bottom, out of which the Force of the Fire, that breaks forth ſtill in many Places in a thick Smoke full of Brimſtone, threw up about an hundred and fifty Years ago a vaſt Quantity of Earth, which was carried about three Miles thence, and formed the Hill called *Monte Novo*, upon the Ruins of a Town overwhelmed by this Eruption, which is of a very conſiderable Height. They told me, that there was before that Time a Channel that went from the Bay into the Lake of *Averno*, of which one ſees the Beginnings in the Bay, at ſome Diſtance from the Shore; it carrieth ſtill the Name of *Julio*'s Mole, and is believed to have been made by *Julius Cæſar*: But by the Swelling of the Ground, upon the Eruption of the *Sulfatara*, this Paſſage is ſtopp'd, and the *Averno* is become now freſh Water. It is eighteen Fathom deep. On the Side of it is that amazing Cave, where the *Sybil* is ſaid to have given out her Inſpirations: The hewing it out of the Rock appears to have been a prodigious Work; for the Rock is one of the hardeſt Stones in the World, and the Cave goeth in ſeven hundred Feet long, and twenty Feet broad, and, as I gueſs, eighteen Feet high; and from the End of this great Gallery, there is a narrow Paſſage of three Feet broad, two hundred feet long, and ſeven high, to a little Apartment, in a conſtant ſloping Deſcent from the great Cave. Here are three little Rooms; in one of them there are ſome Remains of an old *Moſaick*, with which the Walls and Roof were laid over: There is alſo a Spring of Water, and a Bath, in which it is ſuppoſed the *Sybil* bathed herſelf; and from this it is ſaid, there runs a Cave all along to *Cuma*, which is three long Miles, but the Paſſage is now choak'd by the falling in of the Rock in ſeveral Places. This Piece of Work amazed me. I did not much mind the popular Opinion that is received here, that all this was done by the Devil. The Marks of the Chiſſel in all Parts of the Rock ſhew, that it is not a Work of Nature. Certainly they had many Hands at their Command, who ſet about it; and it ſeems to have been wrought with no other Deſign, but to ſubdue the People more entirely to the Conduct of the Prieſts who managed this Impoſture; ſo buſy hath the Ambition and Fraud of Prieſts been in all Ages, and in all corrupt Religions. But of all the Scenes of noble Objects in the Bay of *Puzzuolo*, the Remains of *Caligula*'s Bridge are moſt amazing; for there are yet ſtanding eight or ten of the Pillars, and of ſome of the Arches the half is yet entire. I had not a Line with me to examine the Depth of the Water, where the furtheſt Pillar is built; but my Waterman aſſured me, it was fifty Cubits. I have ſince inſtructed one going thither in this Particular, and have received this Account from him: That he had taken care to plum the Water at the furtheſt Pillar on the *Puzzuolo* Side, and found it ſeven Fathom and a half deep; but he adds, that the Watermen aſſured him, that on the other Side before *Baia*, the Water was twenty ſix Fathom deep: But as he had not a Plummet long enough to try that, ſo he believed a good deal ought to be abated: for the Watermen had alſo aſſured him, that the Water was ten Fathom deep on the *Puzzuolo* Side; and by this Meaſure one may ſuppoſe that the Water is twenty Fathom deep on the other Side: So that it is one of the moſt aſtoniſhing Things one can think of, that Pillars of Brick could have been built in ſuch a Depth of Water. It is a noble Monument of that profuſe and extravagant Expence of a brutal Tyrant, who made one of the vaſteſt Bridges that ever was attempted, over three or four Miles of Sea, merely to ſacrifice ſo great a Treaſure to his Vanity. As for *Agrippina*'s Tomb, it is no great Matter, only the Baſs Relieves are yet entire. The marvellous Fiſh-pond is a great Baſon of Water, wrought like a huge Temple, ſtanding upon eight and forty great Pillars, all hew'd out of the Rock, and laid over with four Cruſts of the old Plaiſter, which is now as hard as Stone. This is believ'd to be a Work of *Nero*'s. And about a Quarter of a Mile from thence, there is another vaſt Work, which leads into a Rock, but at the Entrance there is a noble Portico built of Pillars of Brick; and as one enters he finds a great many regular Rooms hewed out of the Rock, and covered over with Plaiſter, which is ſtill entire, and ſo white, that one can hardly think that it hath not been waſhed over ſince firſt made. There are a vaſt Number of thoſe Rooms; there are ſaid to be a hundred, from whence this Cave derives the Name of *Centum Cameræ*, i. e. *Hundred Chambers*. This hath been as expenſive a Work as it is uſeleſs. It is aſcribed to *Nero*, and they ſay here he kept his Priſoners. But there is nothing in all this Bay that is both ſo curious and ſo uſeful as the Baths, which ſeem to flow from the ſame Cauſe with theſe Eruptions in the *Veſuvio* and *Sulfatara*, and the Grottos formerly mentioned, that as this Heat makes ſome Fountains boiling hot, ſo it ſends up a Steam through the Rock, that doth not break through the Pores of the Stone where it is hard; but where the Rock is ſoft and ſpungy, the Steams come through with ſo melting a Heat, that a Man is very ſoon diſſolved, as it were in a Sweat: But if he ſtoops low in the Paſſages that are cut in the Rock, he finds no Heat, becauſe there the Rock is hard. Thoſe Steams, as they art hot, ſo they are alſo impregnated with ſuch Minerals as they find in their Way through the Rock; and near this Bath there are Galleries hewed out, and faced with a Building, in which there are, as it were, Bedſteads made in the Walls, upon which thoſe, that come to ſweat for their Health, lay their Quilts and Bed-clothes, and ſo come regularly out of their Sweats.

It is certain, that a Man can no where paſs a Day, both with ſo much Pleaſure, and with ſuch Advantage, as he finds in his Journey to *Puzzuolo*, and the Bay. But tho' anciently this was all ſo well built, ſo throughly peopled, and ſo beautifully laid out; yet one ſees no where more viſibly what a Change Time brings upon all Places; for *Naples* hath ſo entirely eat out this Place, and drawn off its Inhabitants, that as *Puzzuolo* itſelf is but a ſmall Village, ſo there is now no other in this Bay, which was anciently built almoſt all round; for there are ſeven big Towns upon it. I cannot paſs by that noble Remnant of the *Via Appia*, that runs along thirty Miles of the Road between *Naples* and *Rome*, without making ſome Mention of it. This Highway is twelve Feet broad, all made of huge Stones, moſt of them blue, and they generally a Foot and half large on all Sides. The Strength of this Cauſeway appears from its long Duration; for it hath laſted above eighteen hundred Years, and is in moſt Places, for ſeveral Miles together, as entire as when firſt made; and the Mending ſuch Places as have been worn out by Time, ſhews a viſible Difference between the ancient and the modern Way of Paving. One Thing ſeems ſtrange, that the Road is level with the Earth on both Sides; whereas ſo much Weight as thoſe Stones carry, ſhould have ſunk the Ground under them by its Preſſure. Beſides, that the Earth, eſpecially in low Grounds, receives a conſtant Increaſe by the Duſt which the Winds or Brooks carry down from the Hills; both which Reaſons ſhould make a more ſenſible Difference between thoſe Roads and the Soil on both Sides; and this makes me apt to believe, that anciently they were a little raiſed above the Level of the Ground, and that a Courſe of ſo many Ages hath now brought them to an Equality. Thoſe Roads were chiefly made for Foot Paſſengers; for as nothing is more pleaſant than to walk along them, ſo nothing is more inconvenient for Horſes and all Sorts of Carriage; and indeed Mules are the only Beaſts of Burthen that can hold out long in this Road, which beats all Horſes after they have gone it a little while. There are ſeveral Remains of *Roman* Antiquities at the Mole of *Cajeta*; but the Iſle of *Caprea*, now called *Crapa*, which is a little Way to Sea from *Naples*, gave me a ſtrange Idea of *Tiberius*'s Reign; ſince it is hard to tell, whether it was more extraordinary, to ſee a Prince abandon the beſt Seats and Palaces of *Italy*, and ſhut himſelf up in a little Iſland, in which I was told there was a Tradition of ſeven ſmall Palaces that he built in it; or to ſee ſo vaſt a Body as the *Roman* Empire, governed by ſuch a tyrannical Prince, at ſuch a Diſtance from the chief Seat, ſo that all might have been reverſed long before the News of it could have reached him. And as there is nothing more wonderful in Story, than to ſee ſo vaſt a State, that had ſo great a Senſe of Liberty, ſubdued by ſo brutal, and ſo voluptuous a Man as *Anthony*, and ſo raw a Youth as *Auguſtus*; ſo the Wonder is much improved, when we ſee a Prince, at an hundred and fifty Miles Diſtance, ſhut up in an Iſland, carry the Reins of ſo great a Body in his Hand, and turn it which Way he pleaſed.

But I come now to *Rome*, which as it was once the Empreſs of the World in a Succeſſion of many Ages, ſo in it there are at preſent more curious Things to entertain the Attention of a Traveller, than in any other Place in *Europe*. On the Side of *Tuſcany* the Entry into *Rome* is very ſurprizing to Strangers; coming along for a great many Miles upon the Remains of the *Via Flaminia*, which is not indeed ſo entire as the *Via Appia*; yet there is enough left to raiſe a juſt Idea of the *Roman* Greatneſs, which laid ſuch Cauſeways all over *Italy*. And within the Gate of the *Porta di Populo* there is a noble Obeliſk, a vaſt Fountain, two fine little Churches, like two Twins, reſembling each other, as well as placed one near another, and on ſeveral Hands one ſees a long Viſto of Streets. There is no City in our Part of the World, where the Churches, Convents, and Palaces, are ſo noble, and where the other Buildings are ſo mean; which, indeed, diſcover very viſibly the Miſery under which the *Romans* groan. The Churches of *Rome* are ſo well known, that I will not venture on any Deſcription of them; and indeed I had too tranſient a View, to make it with that Degree of Exactneſs which the Subject requires. St. *Peter*'s alone would make a long Letter, not to ſay a Book: Its Length, Height, and Breadth, are all ſo exactly proportioned, and the Eye is ſo equally poſſeſſed with theſe, that the whole, upon the firſt View, appears not ſo vaſt as it is found to be upon a more particular Attention; and as the four Pillars, on which the Cupola riſes, are of ſuch a prodigious Bigneſs, that one would think they were ſtrong enough to bear any Superſtructure; yet when one climbs to the Top of that vaſt Height, one cannot help wondering what Foundation can bear ſo vaſt a Weight; for as the Church is of a great Height, ſo the Cupola riſes four hundred and fifteen large Steps above the Roof of the Church. In the Height of the Concave of this Cupola there is a Repreſentation, that though it can hardly be ſeen from the Floor below, and ſo it doth not perhaps give much Scandal, yet it is a groſs Indication of the Idolatry of that Church; for the Divinity is there pictured as an ancient Man compaſſed about with Angels. I will ſay nothing of the great Altar, of the Chair of St. *Peter*, of the great Tombs of *Paul* III. *Urban* VIII. and *Alexander* VII. nor of the vaſt Vaults under this Church, and the Remains of Antiquity that are reſerved in them; or undertake a Deſcription of the adjoining Palace, where the Painting of the *Corridori*, and of many of the Rooms by *Raphael* and *Michael Angelo* are ſo rich, that one is ſorry to ſee a Work of that Value laid on *Freſco*, and which muſt by Conſequence wear too ſoon, as in ſeveral Places it is almoſt quite loſt already. I could not but obſerve in the *Sala Reggia*, that is before the famous Chapel of *Siſto* V. and that is all painted in *Freſco*, one Corner that repreſents the Murder of the renowned Admiral *Coligni*, and that hath under it theſe Words, *Rex Colinii necem probat*. The vaſt Length of the Gallery on one Side, and of the Library on another, ſurprize one. The Gardens have many Statues of exceſſive Value, and ſome good Fountains; but are ill maintained both here and in the Palace of the *Quirinal*. And, indeed, in moſt of the Palaces of *Rome*, if there were but a ſmall Sum laid out to keep all in good Condition, that is brought together at ſo vaſt a Charge, they would make another Sort of Show, and be looked at with much more Pleaſure. In the Apartments of *Rome*, there are a great many Things that offend the Sight; the Doors are generally mean, and the Locks meaner, except in the Palace of Prince *Borgheſe*; where, as there is the vaſteſt Collection of the beſt Pieces, and of the greateſt Maſters that are in all *Europe*; ſo the the Doors and Locks give not that Diſtaſte to the Eye that one finds elſewhere. The Flooring of the Palace is all of Brick, which is ſo very mean, that one ſees the Diſproportion between the Floors and the reſt of the Room, not without a ſenſible Diſlike. It is true, they ſay their Air is ſo cold and moiſt in Winter, that they cannot pave with Marble; and the Heat is ſometimes ſo great in Summer, that a Flooring of Wood would crack with Heat, as well as be eat up by Vermin that would neſt in it: But if they kept in their great Palaces Servants to waſh their Floors, with that Care that is uſed in *Holland*, where the Air is moiſter, and the Climate more productive of Vermin, they would not find ſuch Effects from wooden Floors as they pretend to fear. In a Word, there are none that lay out ſo much Wealth all at once as the *Italians* upon Building and Finiſhing of their Palaces and Gardens, and afterwards beſtow ſo little on the preſerving of them. Another Thing I obſerved in their Palaces; there is indeed a great Series of noble Rooms one within another, of which their Apartments are compoſed; but I did not find, at the End of the Apartments, where the Bedchamber is, ſuch a Diſpoſition of Rooms for Back-ſtairs, Dreſſing-rooms, Cloſets, Servants-rooms, and other Conveniencies as are neceſſary for accommodating the Apartment. It is true, this is not ſo neceſſary for an Apartment of State, in which Magnificence is more conſidered than Convenience; but I found the ſame Want in thoſe in which they lodged; ſo that, notwithſtanding all the Riches of their Palaces, it cannot be ſaid that they are well lodged in them; and their Gardens are leſs underſtood, and worſe kept than their Palaces. It is true, the *Villa Borgheſe* ought to be excepted, where, as there is a prodigious Collection of Baſs Relieves, with which the Walls are covered over, that are of a vaſt Value; ſo the Statues within, of which ſome are of Porphyry, and others of Touchſtone, are amazing Things. The whole Ground of this Park, which is three Miles in Compaſs, and in which there are ſix or ſeven Lodges, are laid out ſo ſweetly, that I thought I was in an *Engliſh* Park when I walked over it. The *Villa Pamphilia* is better ſituated, upon a higher Ground, hath more Water-works, and twice the Extent of the other in Soil; but neither the Houſe nor Statues approach to the Riches of the other, nor are the Grounds ſo well laid out, or kept: But for the Furniture of the Palaces of *Rome*, the publick Apartments are all covered over with Pictures; and as for thoſe Apartments in which they lodge, they are generally furniſhed with red Velvet or Damaſk, with a broad Golden Galloon at every Breadth of the Stuff, and a Gold Fringe at Top and Bottom; but there is very little Tapeſtry in Italy.

I have been carried into this Digreſſion, from the general View that I was giving you of the Pope's Palace. I named one Part of it, which will engage me in a new Digreſſion, as it well deſerves, that is, the Library of the *Vatican*. The Caſe is great, but what is lodged in it much greater; for here is a Collection of Books that fill a Man's Eye: There is firſt a great Hall, and at the End there runs out on both Sides two Galleries of ſo vaſt a Length, that though the half of them is already furniſhed with Books, yet one would hope, that there is Room left for more new Books than the World will ever produce. The *Heidelberg* Library ſtands by itſelf, and fills one Side of the Gallery, as the Duke of *Urbin*'s Library of Manuſcripts fills the other. But though theſe laſt are very fair and beautiful, yet they are not of ſuch Antiquity as thoſe of *Heidelberg*. When it appeared that I came from *England*, King *Henry* VIIIth's Book of the Seven Sacraments, with an Inſcription upon it with his own Hand to Pope *Leo* X. was ſhewed me, together with a Collection of ſome Letters that he writ to *Anna Bullen*, of which ſome are in *Engliſh* and ſome in *French*. I that knew his Hand well, ſaw clearly that they were no Forgeries. There are not many *Latin* Manuſcripts of great Antiquity in this Library; ſome few of *Virgil*'s I ſaw writ in Capitals.

But that which took up half of one Day that I ſpent at once in this Place, related to the Diſpute on Foot between Mr. *Schelſtrat* the Library-keeper and Mr. *Maimbourg*, concerning the Council of *Conſtance*. The two Points in Debate, are the Words of the Decree made in the fourth Seſſion, and the Pope's Confirmation. In the fourth Seſſion, according to the *French* Manuſcripts, a Decree was made, ſubjecting the Pope, and all other Perſons whatſoever, to the Authority of the Council, and to the Decrees it was to make, and to the Reformation it intended to eſtabliſh both in the Head and the Members; which, as it implies that the Head was corrupted, and needed to be reformed, ſo it ſets the Council ſo directly above the Pope, that this Seſſion, being confirmed by the Pope, puts thoſe who aſſert the Pope's Infallibility to no ſmall Straits: For if Pope *Martin*, that approved this Decree, was infallible, then this Decree is good ſtill; and if he was not infallible, no other Pope was infallible. To all this *Schelſtrat* anſwers from his Manuſcripts, that the Words of a Reformation in Head and Members are not in the Decree of that Seſſion; and he did ſhew me ſeveral Manuſcripts, of which two were evidently writ during the Sitting of the Council, and were not at all daſhed, in which theſe Words were not. I know the Hand and Way of Writing of that Age too well to be eaſily miſtaken in my Judgment concerning thoſe Manuſcripts: But if thoſe Words are wanting, there are other Words in them that ſeem to be much ſtronger for the Superiority of the Council above that of the Pope; for it is decreed, that Popes and all other Perſons were bound to ſubmit to the Deciſions of the Council, as to Faith; which Words are not in the *French* Manuſcripts; upon this I told Mr. *Schelſtrat*, that I thought the Words in theſe Manuſcripts were ſtronger than the other, ſince the Word Reformation, as it was uſed in the Time of that Council, belonged chiefly to the correcting of Abuſes, it being often applied to the Regulations that were made in the monaſtick Orders, when they were brought to a more exact Obſervation of the Rules of their Order: So though the Council had decreed a Reformation both of Head and Members, I do not ſee that this would import more, than that the Papacy had fallen into ſome Diſorders that needed Reformation; and this is not denied even by thoſe who aſſert the Pope's Infallibility. But a Submiſſion to Points of Faith, that is expreſsly aſſerted in the *Roman* Manuſcripts, is a much more poſitive Evidence againſt the Pope's Infallibility; and the Word Faith is not capable of ſo large a Senſe, as may be aſcribed to Reformation. But this Difference in ſo great a Point, between Manuſcripts concerning ſo late a Tranſaction, gave me Occaſion to reflect on the vaſt Uncertainty of Tradition, eſpecially in Matters that are at a great Diſtance from us; when thoſe that were ſo lately tranſacted, are ſo differently repreſented in Manuſcripts, and in which both thoſe of *Paris* and *Rome* ſeem to carry all poſſible Evidences of Sincerity. As for the Pope's Confirmation of that Decree, it is true, by a general Bull Pope *Martin* confirmed the Council of *Conſtance* to ſuch a Period; but beſides that, he made a particular Bull, as *Schelſtrat* aſſured me, in which he enumerated all the Decrees that he confirmed, and among thoſe, this Decree concerning the Superiority of the Council is not named. This ſeemed to be of more Importance, and therefore I deſired to ſee the Original of the Bull, for there ſeem to be juſt Reaſons to apprehend a Forgery here: He promiſed to do his Endeavour, though he told me that would not be eaſy, for the Bulls were ſtrictly kept; and the next Day when I came hoping to ſee it, I could not be admitted; but he aſſured me, that, if that had not been the laſt Day of my Stay at *Rome*, he would have procured a Warrant for my ſeeing the Original: So this is all I can ſay as to the Authenticity of that Bull. But ſuppoſing it to be genuine, I could not agree with Mr. *Schelſtrat*, that the general Bull of Confirmation ought to be limited to the other that enumerates the particular Decrees: For ſince that particular Bull was never diſcovered till he found it out, it ſeems it was ſecretly made, and did not paſs according to the Forms of the Conſiſtory, and was a fraudulent Thing, of which no Noiſe was to be made in that Age; and therefore in all the Diſpute that followed in the Council of *Baſil*, between the Pope and the Council upon this Point, no Mention was ever made of it by either Side; and thus it can have no Force, unleſs it be to diſcover the Artifices and Fraud of that Court: That at the ſame Time in which the Neceſſity of their Affairs obliged the Pope to confirm the Decrees of the Council, he contrived a ſecret Bull, which in another Age might be made uſe of to weaken the Authority of the general Confirmation that he gave; and therefore a Bull that doth not paſs in due Form, and is not promulgated, is of no Authority, and ſo this pretended Bull cannot limit the other Bull. I will not give you here a large Account of the learned Men at *Rome*; *Bellori* is deſervedly famous for his Knowledge of the *Greek* and *Egyptian* Antiquities, and for all that belongs to the Mythologies and Superſtitions of the Heathens, and hath a Cloſet richly furniſhed with ſuch Things. *Fabretti* is juſtly celebrated for his underſtanding the old *Roman* Architecture and Fabricks. *Padre Fabri* is the chief Honour of the *Jeſuits College*, and is much above the common Rate both for Philoſophy, Mathematicks, and Church Hiſtory. And he to whom I was the moſt obliged, Abbot *Nazari*, hath ſo general a View of the ſeveral Parts of Learning, though he has chiefly applied himſelf to Philoſophy and Mathematicks, and is a Man of ſo engaging a Civility, and uſed me in ſo particular a Manner, that I owe him, as well as thoſe others, whom I have mentioned, and whom I had the Honour to ſee, all the Acknowledgments of Eſteem and Gratitude that I can poſſibly make them.

One ſees in Cardinal *Eſtrée* all the Advantages of a high Birth, great Parts, and a generous Civility, and a Meaſure of Knowledge far above what can be expected from a Perſon of his Rank: But as he gave a noble Protection to one of the moſt learned Men that this Age hath produced, Mr. *Launoy*, who lived many Years with him, ſo it is viſible, that he made a great Progreſs by the Converſation of ſo extraordinary a Perſon; and as for theological Learning, there is now none of the College equal to him. Cardinal *Howard* is too well known in *England* to need a Character from me: The Elevation of his Condition hath not in the leaſt changed him; he hath all the Sweetneſs of Temper that we ſaw in him in *England*, and he retains the unaffected Humility of a Frier, amidſt all the Dignity of the Purple. And as he ſhews all the generous Concern for his Countrymen that they can expect from him, I met with ſo much of it, in ſo many obliging Marks of his Goodneſs, that went far beyond a common Civility, that I cannot enough acknowledge it. I was told, the Pope's Confeſſor was a very extraordinary Man for oriental Learning, which is but little known in *Rome*. He is a Maſter of the *Arabick* Tongue, and hath writ, as Abbot *Nazari* told me, the moſt learned Book againſt the *Mahometan* Religion, that the World hath yet ſeen, but is not yet printed: His Learning is not in Vogue; and School Divinity, and caſuiſtical Learning, being that for which Divines are moſt eſteemed, he whoſe Studies lead him another Way is not ſo much valued as he ought: and perhaps the ſmall Account that the Pope makes of learned Men turns on him; for it is certain, that this is a Reign in which true Knowledge is very little encouraged. Upon the general Contempt that all the *Romans* have for the preſent Pontificate, one made a pleaſant Reflection to me. He ſaid, thoſe Popes that intended to raiſe their Families, as they ſaw the Cenſure this brought upon them, ſtudied to leſſen it by other Things that might ſoften the Spirits of the People. No Man did more for finiſhing St. *Peter's* and the Library, and for furniſhing *Rome* with Water, than Pope *Paul* V. though at the ſame time he did not forget his Family. And though other Popes, that have raiſed great Families, have not done this to ſo eminent a Degree, yet there are many Remains of their Magnificence; whereas thoſe Popes that have not raiſed Families, have thought that alone was enough to maintain their Reputation, and ſo have not done much either to recommend their Government to their Subjects,

jects, or their Reign to Poſterity: And it is plain, that the preſent Pope takes no great Care of this. His Life hath been certainly very innocent, and free from all publick Scandal; and there is at preſent; a Regularity in *Rome* that deſerves great Commendation; for publick Vices are not to be ſeen there. His perſonal Sobriety is alſo ſingular. One aſſured me, that the Expence of his Table did not amount to a Crown a Day; though this is ſhort of *Siſto* V. who gave Order to his Steward, never to exceed five and twenty Bajokes, that is, Eighteen pence a Day for his Diet. The Pope is very careful of his Health, and never expoſes it; for, upon the leaſt Diſorder, he ſhuts himſelf up in his Chamber, and often keeps his Bed, for the leaſt Indiſpoſition, many Days: But his Government is ſevere, and his Subjects are ruined.

And here one Thing comes into my Mind, which perhaps is not ill grounded, that the Poverty of a Nation not only diſpeoples it, by driving the People out of it, but by weakening the natural Fertility of the Subjects; for Men and Women well cloathed and well fed, that are not exhauſted with perpetual Labour, and with the Anxieties that Want brings with it, muſt be much more lively than thoſe that are diſtreſs'd; ſo it is very likely, that they muſt be much more diſpoſed to propagate than the other. And this appeared evident to me, when I compared the Fruitfulneſs of *Geneva* and *Switzerland*, with the Barrenneſs over all *Italy*. I ſaw two extraordinary Inſtances of the copious Productions of *Geneva*. Mr. *Tronchin*, Profeſſor of Divinity, and Father to the judicious and worthy Profeſſor of the ſame Name that is now there, died at the Age of ſeventy-ſix Years, and had an hundred and fifteen Perſons all alive, that either deſcended from him, or by Marriage with thoſe that deſcended from him, called him Father. And Mr. *Calendrin*, a pious and laborious Preacher of that Town, that is deſcended from the Family of the *Calendrini*, who, receiving the Reformation about an hundred and fifty Years ago, left *Lucca*, their native City, with the *Turretini*, the *Diodati*, and the *Bourtamachi*, and ſome others, came and ſettled at *Geneva*: He is now but ſeven and forty Years old, and yet he hath an hundred and five Perſons that are deſcended of his Brothers and Siſters, or married to them; ſo that if he liveth but to eighty, and the Family muliplieth as it hath done, he may ſee ſome hundreds that will be in the ſame Relation to him; but ſuch Things as theſe are not found in *Italy*.

There is nothing that delights a Stranger more in *Rome*, that to ſee the fine Fountains of Water, that are almoſt in all the Corners of it. That old Aqueduct, which *Paul* V. reſtored, comes from a Collection of Sources five and thirty Miles diſtant, that runs all the Way upon an Aqueduct in a Canal that is vaulted. It breaketh out in five ſeveral Fountains, of which ſome yield a Diſcharge of Water about a Foot ſquare. That of *Sixtus* V. the great Fountain of *Aqua Travi*, that hath yet no Decoration, but diſchargeth a prodigious Quantity of Water. The glorious Fountain in the *Piazza Navona*, that hath an Air of Greatneſs in it that ſurprizeth: The Fountain in the *Piazzo de Spagna*, thoſe before St. *Peter*'s, and the *Palazza Farneſe*, with many others, furniſh *Rome* ſo plentifully, that almoſt every private Houſe hath a Fountain. All theſe, I ſay, are noble Decorations, that carry Uſefulneſs with them that cannot be enough commended, and give a much greater Idea of thoſe who have taken ſuch Care to ſupply this City with one of the chief Pleaſures and Conveniencies of Life, than of others, who have laid out Millions merely to bring Quantities of Water to give the Eye a little Diverſion.

There is an univerſal Civility reigns among all Sorts of People at *Rome*, which, in a great Meaſure, flows from their Government; for every Man being capable of all the Advancements of that State, ſince a ſimple Eccleſiaſtick may become one of the *Monſignori*, may thence come to be a Cardinal, and ſo be choſen Pope; this makes every Man behave himſelf towards all other Perſons with Exactneſs of Reſpect; for no Man knows what any other may grow to. But this makes Profeſſions of Eſteem and Kindneſs go ſo promiſcuouſly to all Sorts of Perſons, that one ought not to build much on them. The Converſation of *Rome* is generally upon News; for though there is no News printed, yet in the ſeveral Anti-chambers of the Cardinals, one is ſure to hear all the News of *Europe*, together with many Speculations upon what paſſes. At the Queen of *Sweden*'s, all that relates to *Germany*, or the *North*, is ever to be found; and that Princeſs, that muſt ever reign among all that have a true Taſte either of Wit or Learning, hath in her Drawing-Rooms the beſt Court of the Strangers; and her Civility, together with the vaſt Variety with which ſhe furniſhed her Converſation, makes her the Chief of all the living Rarities that one ſees in *Rome*. I will not uſe her own Words to myſelf, which were, *That ſhe now grew to be one of the Antiquities of* Rome. The Ambaſſadors of Crowns, who live here in another Form than in any other Court, and the Cardinals and Prelates of the ſeveral Nations, that all meet and center here, make more News in *Rome* than any where; for Prieſts, and the Men of religious Orders, write larger and more particular Letters than any other Sort of Men. But ſuch as apply themſelves to make their Court here, are condemned to a Loſs of Time that had need be well recompenſed. As for one that ſtudies Antiquities, Pictures, Statues, or Muſick, there is more Entertainment for him at *Rome*, than in all the reſt of *Europe*; but if he hath not a Taſte of theſe Things, he will ſoon be weary of a Place where the Converſation is always general, and where there is little Openneſs practiſed; and, by Conſequence, where Friendſhip is little underſtood. The Women here begin to be more converſable, though a Nation naturally jealous will hardly allow a great Liberty in a great City that is compoſed of Eccleſiaſticks, who being denied the Priviledge of Wives of their own, are ſuſpected of being ſometimes too bold with the Wives of others. The Liberties that were taken in the Conſtable of *Naples*'s Palace, has diſguſted the *Romans* much at that Freedom, which had no Bounds. But the Dutcheſs of *Bracciano*, a *Frenchwoman*, hath, by the Exactneſs of her Deportment, amidſt all the innocent Freedoms of a noble Converſation, recovered, in a great Meaſure, the Credit of thoſe Liberties that Ladies beyond the Mountains practiſe with all the Strictneſs of Virtue; for ſhe receives Viſits at publick Hours, and in publick Rooms; and by the Livelineſs of her Converſation, makes her Court the pleaſanteſt Aſſembly of Strangers that is to be found in any of the Palaces of the *Italians*.

I will not engage in a Deſcription of *Rome*, either anceint or modern; this hath been done with ſuch Exactneſs, that nothing can be added to what has been already publiſhed. It is certain, that when one is in the Capitol, and ſees thoſe poor Remains of what once it was, he is ſurprized to ſee a Building of ſo great Fame ſunk ſo low, that one can ſcarce imagine that it was once a Caſtle upon a Hill, able to hold out againſt a Siege of the *Gauls*. The *Tarpeian* Rock is now ſo ſmall, that a Man would think it no great Matter, for his Diverſion, to leap over it; and the Shape of the Ground hath not been ſo much altered on one Side, as to make us think it very much changed on the other: For *Severus*'s Triumphial Arch, which is at the Foot of the Hill on the other Side, is not now buried above two Feet within the Ground, as the vaſt Amphitheatre of *Titus* is not above three Feet ſunk under the Level of the Ground. Within the Capitol one ſees many noble Remnants of Antiquity; but none is more glorious, as well as more uſeful, than the Tables of their Conſuls, which are upon the Walls; and the Inſcription on the *Columna Roſtrata*, in the Time of the firſt *Punick* War, is, without Doubt, the moſt valuable Antiquity in *Rome*.

From this all along the *Sacred Way*, one finds ſuch Remnants of old *Rome* in the Ruins of the Temples, in the Triumphal Arches, in Portico's and other Remains of that glorious Body; that as one cannot ſee theſe too often, ſo every Time one ſees them, they kindle in them vaſt Ideas of that Republick, and make him reflect on what he learn'd in his Youth with great Pleaſure. From the Height of the Convent of *Araceli*, a Man hath a full View of all the Extent of *Rome*, but literally it is now *Seges ubi Roma fuit*; for the Parts of the City that were moſt inhabited anciently are thoſe that are now laid out in great Gardens, or, as they call them, Vineyards, of which ſome are half a Mile in Compaſs. The Vaſtneſs of the *Roman* Magnificence and Luxury is that which paſſeth Imagination: The prodigious Amphitheatre of *Titus*, that could conveniently receive eighty-five thouſand Spectators: The great Extent of the *Circus Maximus*; the Vaults where the Waters were reſerved that furniſhed *Titus*'s Baths; and above all, *Diocleſian*'s Baths, though built when the Empire was in its Decay, are ſo far beyond all modern Buildings, that there is not ſo much as Room for a Compariſon. The Extent of thoſe Baths is above half a Mile in Compaſs; the Vaſtneſs of the Rooms in which the Bathers might ſwim, of which the *Carthuſians* Church, that yet remains entire, is one, and the many great Pillars, all of one Stone of Marble, beautifully ſpotted, are Things of which theſe latter Ages are not capable. The Beauty of their Temples, and of the Portico's before them, is amazing, chiefly that of the *Rotunda*, where the Fabrick without looks as mean, being only Brick, as the Architecture is bold; for it riſeth up in a Vault, and yet at the Top there is an Open left of thirty Feet in Diameter; which, as it is the only Window of the Church, ſo it fills it with Light, and is the hardieſt Piece of Architecture that ever was made. The Pillars of the Portico are alſo the nobleſt in *Rome*; they are the higheſt and biggeſt that one can ſee any where, all of one Stone: And the Numbers of thoſe ancient Pillars, with which not only many of the Churches are beautified, chiefly St. *Mary Maggoire*, and St. *John* in the *Lateran*, but with which even private Houſes are adorned, and of the Fragments of which there are ſuch Multitudes in all the Streets of *Rome*, gives a great Idea of the Profuſeneſs of the old *Romans* in their Buildings; for the hewing and fetching a few of thoſe Pillars muſt have coſt more than whole Palaces do now, ſince moſt of them were brought from *Greece*. Many of theſe Pillars are of Prophyry, others of Jaſper, others of granated Marble, but the greateſt Number are of white Marble.

The two Columns, *Trajan*'s and *Antonine*'s; the two Horſes that are in the Mount *Cavallo*, and the other two Horſes in the Capitol, which have not indeed the Poſtures and the Motion of the other; the Braſs Horſe that, as is believed, carrieth *Marcus Aurelius*; the Remains of *Nero*'s *Coloſſus*; the Temple of *Bacchus* near the Catacomb of St. *Agnes*, which is the moſt entire and the leaſt altered of all the ancient Temples. The great Temple of Peace, thoſe of the Sun and Moon, that of *Romulus* and *Rhemus* (which I conſidered as the ancienteſt Fabrick that is now left; for it is little and ſimple, and ſtandeth in ſuch a Place, that, when *Rome* grew ſo coſtly, it could not have been left alone unchanged, if it had not been that it was reverenced for its Antiquity) the many other Portico's, the Arches of *Severus*, of *Titus* and *Conſtantine*, in the laſt of which one ſees, that the Sculpture of his Age was much ſunk from what it had been, only in the Top there are ſome Baſs-relieves, that are clearly of much ancienter Time, and of a better Manner: And that which exceedeth all the reſt, the many great Aqueducts that come from all Hands and run over a vaſt Diſtance, are Things which a Man cannot ſee too often, if he would form in himſelf a juſt Idea of the Vaſtneſs of that Republick, or rather Empire.

There are many Statues and Pillars, and other Antiquities of great Value, dug up in all the Quarters of *Rome*, theſe laſt hundred and fourſcore Years, ſince Pope *Leo* X's Time; who, as he was the greateſt Patron of Learning and Arts, that perhaps ever was, ſo he was the moſt generous Prince that ever reign'd: And it was he that firſt ſet on Foot the enquiring into the Riches of old *Rome*, that lay, till his Time, for the moſt Part hid under Ground. And indeed, if he had been leſs ſcandalous in his Impiety and Atheiſm, of which neither he, nor his Court, were ſo much as aſhamed, he had been one of the moſt celebrated Perſons of any Age. Soon after him Pope *Paul* III. gave the Ground of the *Monte Palatino* to his Family: But I was told, that this large Piece of Ground, in which one ſhould look for the greateſt Collection of Antiquities of the higheſt Value, ſince this is the Ruin of the Palace of the *Roman* Emperors, hath never yet been ſearched into with any Exactneſs. So that when a curious Prince comes, that is willing to employ many Hands in digging up and down this Hill, we may expect new Scenes of *Roman* Antiquities. But all this Matter would require Volumes, and therefore I have only mentioned theſe Things, becauſe I can add nothing to thoſe copious Deſcriptions that have been ſo oft made of them. Nor will I ſay any Thing of modern Palaces, or the Ornaments of them, either in Pictures or Statues, which are Things that carry one ſo far, that it is not eaſy to ſet Bounds to the Deſcriptions into which one finds himſelf carried, when he once enters upon ſo fruitful a Subject. The Number of the Palaces is great, and every one of them hath enough to fix the Attention of a Traveller, till a new one drives the former out of his Thoughts. It is true, the *Paleſtrina*, the *Borgheſe*, and the *Farneſe*, have ſomewhat in them that leaves an Impreſſion, which no new Objects can wear out; and as the laſt hath a noble Square before it, with two great Fountains in it, ſo the Statue of *Hercules* and the *Bull*, that are below, and the Gallery above Stairs, are invaluable. The Roof of the Gallery is one of the beſt Pieces of Painting that is extant, being all of *Carracchio*'s Hand; and there are in that Gallery the greateſt Number of Heads of the *Greek* Philoſophers and Poets that I ever ſaw together. That of *Homer*, and that of *Socrates*, were two that ſtruck me moſt; chiefly the latter: Which, as it is, without Diſpute, a true Antique, ſo it carries in it all the Characters that *Plato* and *Xenophon* give us of *Socrates*: The flat Noſe, the broad Face, the Simplicity of Look, and the mean Appearance which that great Philoſoper made, ſo that I could not return oft enough to look upon it, and was delighted with this more than with all the Wonders of the Bull, which is indeed a Rock of Marble cut out into a whole Scene of Statues; but as the Hiſtory of it is not well known, ſo there are ſuch Faults in the Sculpture, that though it is all extream fine, yet one ſees it hath not the Exactneſs of the beſt Times.

As for the Churches and Convents of *Rome*, as the Number, the Vaſtneſs, the Riches of Fabrick, Furniture, Painting, and other Ornaments, amaze one; ſo here again a Stranger is loſt, and the Convent that is laſt ſeen is always the moſt admired. I confeſs the *Minerva*, which is the *Dominicans*, where the Inquiſition ſits, is that which makes the moſt ſenſible Impreſſion upon one that paſſeth at *Rome* for an Heretick; though except one commits great Follies, he is in no Danger there; and the Poverty that reigns in that City, makes them find their Intereſts ſo much in uſing Strangers well, whatever their Religion may be, that no Man needs be afraid there: And I have more than ordinary Reaſon to acknowledge this, who having ventured to go thither, after all the Liberty that I had taken in Writing my Thoughts freely of the Church and See of *Rome*, and was known by all with whom I converſed there; yet met with the higheſt Civilities poſſible among all Sorts of People, and in particular among the *Engliſh* and *Scottiſh* Jeſuits, though they knew well enough that I was no Friend to their Order.

In the Gallery of the *Engliſh* Jeſuits, among the Pictures of their Martyrs, I did not meet with *Garnet*; for perhaps that Name is ſo well known, that they would not expoſe a Picture with ſuch a Name to all Strangers; yet *Oldcorn*, being a Name leſs known, is hung there among their Martyrs, though he was as clearly convicted of the Gunpowder Treaſon as the other: And it ſeemed a little ſtrange to me, that a Time, in which, for other Reaſons, the Writers of that Communion have not thought fit to deny the Truth of that Conſpiracy, a Jeſuit, convicted of the blackeſt Crime that ever was projected, ſhould be reckoned among their Martyrs. I ſaw likewiſe there the Original of thoſe emblematical Prophecies relating to *England*, that the Jeſuits had at *Rome* near ſixty Years, and of which I had ſometime ago procured a Copy, which I found was true. I happened to be at *Rome* during St. *Gregory*'s Fair and Feaſt, which laſted ſeveral Days. In his Church the Hoſtie was expoſed; and from that, all that came thither, went to the Chapel, that was once his Houſe, in which his Statue, and the Table where he ſerved the Poor, are preſerved. I ſaw ſuch vaſt Numbers of People there, that one would have thought all *Rome* was got together: They kneeled down to his Statue, and, after a Prayer ſaid to it, they kiſſed his Foot, and every one touched the Table with his Beads, as hoping to draw ſome Virtue from it. I will add nothing of the ſeveral Obeliſks and Pillars that are in *Rome*, of the celebrated Chapels that are in ſome of the great Churches, in particular thoſe of *Sixtus* V. and *Paul* V. in *Santa Maria Maggiore*; of the Water-works in the *Quirinal*, the *Vatican*, and in many of the Vineyards: Nor will I go out of *Rome* to deſcribe *Freſcati* (for *Tivoli* I did not ſee.) The young Prince *Borgheſe*, who is indeed one of the Glories of *Rome*, as well for his Learning, as for his Virtue, did me the Honour to carry me thither, with thoſe two learned Abbots, *Fabretti* and *Nazari*, and entertained me with a Magnificence that became him better to give, than me to receive. The Water-works in the *Aldobrandin* Palace have a Magnificence in them beyond all that I ever ſaw in *France*; the Mixture of Wind with the Water, and the Thunder and Storms that this maketh is noble. The Water-works of the *Ludoviſio* and the *Monte Dragone*, have likewiſe a Grandeur in them that is natural. And indeed, the Riches that one meets with in all Places within-doors in *Italy*, and the Poverty that one ſees every where Abroad, are the moſt unſuitable Things imaginable: But it is very likely, that a great Part of their moveable Wealth will be ere long carried into *France*; for as ſoon as any Picture or Statue of great Value is offered to be ſold, thoſe that are employed by the King of *France* preſently buy it; ſo that as that King hath already the greateſt Collection of Pictures that is in *Europe*, he will very probably in a few Years more carry off the chief Treaſures of *Italy*.

I have now given an Account of all that appeared remarkable to me in *Rome*. I ſhall add a very extraordinary Piece of natural Hiſtory, that fell out two Years before, which I had firſt from two learned Abbots *Fabretti* and *Nazari*, and afterwards more authentically confirmed to me by Cardinal *Howard*, who was of the Congregation of Cardinals that examined the Matter. There were two Nuns, one in the City, and the other not far from it, who, after they had been for ſome Years in a Nunnery, perceived a ſtrange Change in Nature, and that their Sex was altered, which grew by Degrees to a total Alteration in one; and though the other was not ſo entire a Change, yet it was viſible ſhe was more Man than Woman: Upon this the Matter was looked into: That which naturally offereth itſelf here is, that theſe two had been always what they then appeared to be, but that they had gone into a Nunnery in a Diſguiſe, to gratify their Appetites. But to this, when I propoſed it, Anſwer was made, that as the Breaſts of a Woman, that remained ſtill, did in a great Meaſure take off that Objection, ſo the Proofs were given ſo fully of their having been real Females, that there was no Doubt left of that, nor had they given any Sort of Scandal on the Change of their Sex: And if there had been any Room left to ſuſpect a Cheat or Diſguiſe, the Proceedings would have been more ſevere and more ſecret; and theſe Perſons would have been burnt, or at leaſt put to Death in ſome terrible Manner. Some Phyſicians were appointed to examine the Matter, and at laſt, after an exact Enquiry, they were judged to be abſolved from their Vows, and were diſmiſſed from the Obligations of a religious Life, and directed to go in Men's Habits. One of them was a *Valet de Chambre* to a *Roman* Marquis when I was there. I heard of this Matter only two Days before I left *Rome*, ſo that I had not Time to enquire after it more particularly; but I judg'd it ſo extraordinary, that I thought it was worth communicating to ſo curious an Enquirer into Nature.

And ſince I am upon the Subject of the Changes that have been made in Nature, I ſhall add one of another Sort, that I examined while I was at *Geneva*. There is a Miniſter of St. *Gervais*, Mr. *Gody*, who hath a Daughter ſixteen Years old; her Nurſe had an extraordinary Thickneſs of hearing; at a Year old the Child ſpoke all thoſe little Words that Children begin uſually to learn at that Age, but ſhe made no Progreſs; yet this was not obſerved till too late; and as ſhe grew to be two Years old, they perceived that ſhe had loſt her Hearing, and was ſo deaf, that though ſhe hears great Noiſes, yet ſhe hears nothing that one can ſpeak to her. It ſeems, while the Milk of her Nurſe was more abundant, and the Child ſuck'd more moderately the firſt Year, thoſe Humours in the Blood and Milk had not that Effect on her that appeared after ſhe came to ſuck more violently; and that her Nurſe's Milk, being in leſs Quantity, was thicker, and more charged with that Vapour that occaſioned the Deafneſs: But theis Child hath, by obſerving the Motions of the Mouths and Lips of others, acquired ſo many Words, that out of theſe ſhe hath formed a Sort of Jargon, in which ſhe holds Converſation whole Days with thoſe that can ſpeak her own Language. I could underſtand ſome of her Words, but could not comprehend a Period, for it ſeemed to be a confuſed Noiſe. She knows nothing that is ſaid to her, unleſs ſhe ſees the Motion of their Mouths that ſpeak to her; ſo that in the Night, when it is neceſſary to ſpeak to her, they muſt light a Candle: Only one Thing appears the ſtrangeſt; ſhe has a Siſter, with whom ſhe has practiſed her Language more than any other; and in the Night, by laying her Hand on her Siſter's Mouth, ſhe can perceive what ſhe ſays, and can diſcourſe with her in the Night. It's true, her Mother told me that this did not go far, and that ſhe found out only ſhort Periods in this Manner. Thus this young Woman, without any Pains taken, has, merely by a natural Sagacity, found a Method of holding Diſcourſe, that doth in a great Meaſure leſſen the Miſery of her Deafneſs. I examined this Matter critically, only the Siſter was not preſent, ſo that I could not ſee how the Converſation paſs'd between them in the Dark.

23. From *Civita Vecchia* I came to *Marſeilles*, where if there were a Road as ſafe as the Harbour; and if the Harbour were as large as it is convenient, it were certainly one of the moſt important Places in the World. All is ſo well defended, that it is, with reſpect to Storms or Enemies, the ſecureſt Port that can be ſeen any where. The Freedoms of this Place, though now at the Mercy of the Citadel, are ſuch, and its Situation draws ſo much Trade to it, that there one ſees an Appearance of Wealth greater than I found in any Town of *France*; and there is a new Street lately built there, that for Beauty and Largeneſs, is the nobleſt I ever ſaw. There is in that Port a perpetual Heat, and the Sun was ſo ſtrong in the *Chriſtmas* Week, that I was often obliged to quit the Key. I made a Tour from thence through *Provence*, *Languedoc*, and *Dauphine*. I will offer you no Account of *Niſmes*, nor of the Amphitheatre in it, or the *Pont du Garde* near it; which as they are ſtupendous Things, ſo they are copiouſly deſcribed by many, and are generally known to the *Engliſh* Nation, that if you never went that Way yourſelf, yet you muſt needs have received ſo particular a Relation of them from thoſe that have ſeen them, that I judge it needleſs to enlarge upon them; nor will I ſay any Thing of the Soil, the Towns, or other remarkable Things that I found there.

I have a much ſtronger Inclination to ſay ſomewhat concerning the Perſecution, which I ſaw in its utmoſt Rage and Fury; and of which I could give Inſtances, that are ſo much beyond all the common Meaſures of Barbarity and Cruelty, that I confeſs they ought not to be believed, unleſs I could give more poſitive Proofs of them, than are now fitting; and the Particulars that I could tell you are ſuch, that if I ſhould relate them with the neceſſary Circumſtances of Time, Place, and Perſons, might be fatal to many that are yet in the Power of their Enemies, that reſtrains me. In ſhort, I do not think there ever was ſuch a Violation of all that is ſacred, with Relation to God or Man; and what I ſaw and knew there, from the firſt Hand, hath ſo confirmed all the Ideas that I had from Books, of the Cruelty of that Religion, that I hope the Impreſſion this hath made upon me, ſhall never end but with my Life. The Applauſes that the whole Clergy give this Way of Proceeding, the many Panegyricks that are already written upon it, and the flattering Sermons that are preached upon this Subject, are ſuch evident Demonſtrations of their Senſe of this Matter, that what is now on Foot may be well termed, the Act of the Clergy of *France*, which yet have been hitherto eſteemed the moſt moderate Part of the *Roman* Communion. If any are more moderate than others, and have not ſo far laid aſide human Nature, as to go entirely into thoſe bloody Practices, yet they dare not own it, but whiſper it in Secret, as if it were half Treaſon; but for the greater Part, they do not only magnify all that is done, but they animate the Dragoons to higher Degrees of Rage: And there was ſuch a Heat ſpread over the Country on this Occaſion, that one could not mix in any promiſcuous Converſation, without finding ſuch Effects of it, that it was not very ſafe for ſuch, as were touch'd with Compaſſion for the Miſeries that the poor Proteſtants ſuffered. Some perhaps imagine, that this hath not been approved in *Italy*; and it is true, there were not any Rejoicings upon it at *Rome*, no Indulgences, nor *Te Deum*'s were heard of: And the *Spaniſh* Faction being ſo prevalent, it is not ſtrange if a Courſe of Proceedings, without Example, was ſet forth by all that were of that Intereſt in its proper Colours; of which I met with ſome Inſtances myſelf, and could not but ſmile, to ſee the *Spaniſh* Faction ſo far forget their Courts of Inquiſition, as to argue againſt Converſions by Dragoons as a Reproach to the Catholick Religion: Yet the Pope was of another Mind; for the Duke *d'Eſtrée* gave him an Account of the King's Proceedings in this Matter very copiouſly, as he himſelf related it, upon which the Pope approved, and expreſſed a great Satisfaction in every Thing that the King had done in that Matter; and the Pope added, that he found ſome Cardinals (as I remember, the Duke *d'Eſtrée* ſaid two) were not pleaſed with it, and had taken the Liberty to cenſure it; but the Pope ſaid they were to blame: The Duke *d'Eſtrée* did not name them, though he ſaid, he believed he knew who they were, and it is very likely that Cardinal *Pio* was one; for I was told that he ſpoke freely of this Matter. I muſt add one Thing, that I do not ſee the *French* King is to be ſo much blamed in this Matter, as his Religion, which, without Queſtion, obliges him to extirpate Hereticks, and not keep Faith with them; ſo that, inſtead of cenſuring him, I only lament his being bred up in a Religion that obliges him to diveſt himſelf of Humanity, and to violate his Faith, whenever the Cauſe of his Church and Religion require it; or if there is any Thing in this Conduct, that cannot be entirely juſtified from Principles of Religion, it is this, that he doth not put the Hereticks to Death out of Hand, but forces them to ſign an Abjuration, that all the World muſt ſee is done againſt their Conſciences; and being the only End of their Miſeries, thoſe that would think any Sort of Death a happy Concluſion of their Sufferings, ſeeing no Proſpect of ſuch a glorious Iſſue out of their Trouble, are prevailed on by the many lingering Deaths, of which they ſee no End, to make Shipwreck of the Faith: This Appearance of Mercy, in not putting Men to Death, doth truly verify the Character that *Solomon* giveth of the tender Mercies of the Wicked, *that they are cruel*.

I paſs'd the Winter at *Geneva* with more Satisfaction than I thought poſſible any where out of *England*; tho' that received great Allays from the lamentable Stories every Day from *France*; but there is a Sorrow by which the Heart is made better. I ought to make the moſt publick Acknowledgments poſſible for the extraordinary Civilities that I met with in my own Particular; but that which pleaſed me moſt was of a publick Nature; before I left *Geneva*, the Number of the *Engliſh* there were ſuch, that I found we could make a ſmall Congregation, for we were twelve or fourteen; ſo I addreſſed myſelf to the Council of Twenty five, for Liberty to have our own Worſhip in our own Language, according to the *Engliſh* Liturgy. This was immediately granted in ſo obliging a Manner, that as there was not one Perſon that made Exception to it, ſo they ſent one of their Body to me, to let me know, that in caſe our Number ſhould grow to be ſo great that it were fit for us to aſſemble in a Church, they would grant us one which had been done in Queen *Mary*'s Reign; but till then, we might hold our Aſſemblies as we thought fit: So after that Time, during the reſt of my Stay we had every *Sunday* our Devotions according to the Common-prayer, Morning and Evening; and at the Evening-prayer I preach'd in a Room that was too large for our ſmall Company: But there being a conſiderable Number in *Geneva* that underſtand *Engliſh*, and in particular ſome of the Profeſſors and Miniſters, we had a great many Strangers; and the laſt *Sunday* I gave the Sacrament according to the Way of the Church of *England*; and upon this Occaſion I found a general Joy in the Town for this, that I had given them an Opportunity of expreſſing the reſpect they had for our Church: And as in their publick Prayers they always prayed for the Churches of *Great Britain*, as well as for the King, ſo in private Diſcourſe they ſhewed all poſſible Eſteem for our Conſtitution; and they ſpoke of the unhappy Diviſions among us, and of the Separation that was made from us upon the Account of our Government and Ceremonies, with great Regret and Diſlike. I ſhall name only two of their Profeſſors, that, as they are Men of great Diſtinction, ſo they were the Perſons with whom I converſed the moſt; one, Mr. *Turretin*, a Man of great Learning, that by his indefatigable Study and Labour has much worn out and waſted his Strength, amidſt all the Affluence of a great Fortune to which he was born: One diſcerns in him all the Modeſty of an humble and mortified Temper, and of an active and fervent Charity proportioned to his Abundance, or rather beyond it; and there is in him ſuch a Zeal for Religion, as the preſent Conjuncture calls for, with all the Seriouſneſs of Piety and Devotion, which ſhews itſelf in private Converſation, and in his moſt edifying Sermons, by which he enters deep into the Conſciences of his Hearers. The other is Mr. *Tronchin*, a Man of a ſtrong Head, and of a clear and correct Judgment, who has all his Thoughts well digeſted; his Converſation has a Charm in it, that cannot be reſiſted; he is a Man of extraordinary Virtue, and of a Readineſs to oblige and ſerve all Perſons, that has ſcarce any Meaſure: His Sermons have a Sublimity in them that ſtrike the Hearer, as well as edify him; his Thoughts are noble, and Eloquence maſculine and exact, and has all the Majeſty of the Chair in it, tempered with all the Softneſs of Perſuaſion; ſo that he not only convinces his Hearers, but ſubdues and triumphs over them. In ſuch Company it was no Wonder if Time ſeemed to go off too faſt, ſo that I left *Geneva* with a Concern that I could not have felt in leaving any Place out of *Britain*.

From *Geneva* I went a ſecond Time through *Switzerland* to *Baſil*. At *Avanche* I ſaw the noble Fragments of a great *Roman* Work, which ſeems to have been the Portico to a Temple. The Heads of the Pillars are about four Feet ſquare, of the *Ionick* Order: The Temple hath been dedicated to *Neptune*, or ſome Sea-God; for on the Fragments of the Architrave, which are very beautiful, there are *Dolphins* and *Sea-Horſes* in Baſs-Relieves; and the Neighbourhood of the Place to the Lakes of *Iverdun* and *Morat* make this more evident. There is alſo a Pillar ſtanding up in its full Height, or rather the Corner of a Building, in which one ſees the Remains of a regular Architecture in two Ranks of Pillars. If the Ground near this were carefully ſearch'd, no doubt it would diſcover Remains of that Fabrick. Not far from this is *Morat*; and a little on this Side of it is a Chapel full of the Bones of the *Burgundians*, that were killed by the *Switzers*, when this Place was beſieged by the famous *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy*, who loſt a great Army before it, entirely cut off by the Beſieged. The Inſcription is very extraordinary, eſpecially for that Age: For the Bones being ſo piled up, that the Chapel is quite filled with them, the Inſcription bears, that *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy*'s Army having beſieged *Morat*, *Hoc ſui Monumentum reliquit*, left that Monument behind it. It cannot but ſeem ſtrange to one that views *Morat*, to imagine how it was poſſible for a Town ſo ſituated, and ſo ſlightly fortified, to hold out againſt ſo powerful a Prince, and ſo great an Army, that brought Cannon before it. I met with nothing remarkable between this and *Baſil*, except that I ſtaid ſome Time at *Bern*, and knew it better; and at this ſecond Time it was, that my Lord Advoyer *D'Erlach* gave Order to ſhew me the original Records of the famous Proceſs of the four *Dominicans*: Upon which I have retouched the Letter I wrote to you laſt Year.

25. *Baſil* is the Town of the greateſt Extent of all *Switzerland*, but it is not inhabited in Proportion to its Extent. The *Rhine* maketh a Crook before it, and the Town is ſituated on a riſing Ground, which hath a noble Effect on the Eye, when one is on the Bridge, for it looks like a Theatre. *Little Baſil*, on the other Side of the *Rhine*, is almoſt a fourth Part of the whole. The Town is ſurrounded with a Wall and Ditch, but it is expoſed on many Sides, and hath now ſo dreadful a Neighbour within a Quarter of a League of it, the Fort of *Hunningen*, that it hath nothing to truſt to, humanly ſpeaking, but its Union with the other Cantons. The Maxims of this Canton have hindered its being better peopled than it is: The Advantages of the Burgherſhip are ſuch, that the Citizens will not ſhare them with Strangers, and by this Means they do not admit them. For I was told, that during the laſt War, that *Alſatia* was ſo often the Seat of both Armies, *Baſil* having then a Neutrality, it might have been very well filled, if it had not been for this Maxim. And it were a great Happineſs to all the Cantons, if they could have different Degrees of Burgherſhip, ſo that the lower Degrees might be given to Strangers for their Encouragement to come and live among them; and the higher Degrees, which qualify Men for the advantageous Employments of the State, might be reſerved for the ancient Families of the Natives. *Baſil* is divided into ſixteen Companies, and every one of theſe hath four Members in the Little Council, ſo that it conſiſteth of Sixty-four: But of thoſe four, two are choſen by the Company itſelf who are called the Maſters, and the other two are choſen by the Council out of the Company; and thus, as there are two Sorts of Counſellors choſen in thoſe different Manners, there are alſo two chief Magiſtrates.

There are two Burgo-maſtors, that reign by Turns, and two Zunft-maſters, that have alſo their Turns, and all is for Life; and the laſt are the Heads of the Companies, like the *Roman* Tribunes of the People. The Fabrick of the Stadt-houſe is ancient. There is a very good Painting in Freſco upon the Walls. One Piece hath given much Offence to the Papiſts, though they have no Reaſon to blame the Reformation for it, ſince it was done ſeveral Years before it, *viz.* in the Year 1510. It is a Repreſentation of the Day of Judgment, and after Sentence given, the Devil is repreſented driving many before him to Hell, and among theſe there is a Pope and ſeveral Eccleſiaſticks. But it is believed, that the Council, which ſat ſo long in this Place, acting ſo vigorouſly againſt the Pope, engaged the Town into ſuch a Hatred of the Papacy, that this might give the Riſe to this Repreſentation. The more learned in the Town aſcribe the Beginning of the Cuſtom in *Baſil*, of the Clocks anticipating the Time a full Hour, to the ſitting of the Council: And they ſay, that in order to the advancing of Buſineſs, and the ſhortening their Seſſions, they ordered their Clocks to be ſet forward an Hour, which continueth to this Day. The Cathedral is a great old *Gothick* Building; the Chamber, where the Council ſat, is of no great Reception, and is a very ordinary Room.

Eraſmus's Tomb is only a plain Inſcription upon a great Braſs Plate. There are a great many of *Holbein*'s Pictures here, who was a Native of *Baſil*, and was recommended by *Eraſmus* to King *Henry* VIII. The two beſt are a *Corpo*, or *Chriſt* dead, which is certainly one of the beſt Pictures in the World. There is another Piece of his in the Stadt-houſe (for this is in the publick Library) of about three or four Feet ſquare, in which, in ſix ſeveral Cantons, the ſeveral Parts of our Saviour's Paſſion are repreſented with a Life and Beauty that cannot be enough admired. It is valued at ten thouſand Crowns. It is on Wood, but hath that Freſhneſs of Colour ſtill on it, that ſeems peculiar to *Holbein*'s Pencil. There is alſo a Dance that he painted on the Walls of an Houſe where he uſed to drink, that is ſo worn out, that very little is now to be ſeen, except Shapes and Poſtures; but theſe ſhew the Exquiſiteneſs of the Hand. There is another longer Dance, that running all along the Side of the Convent of the *Auguſtinians*, which is now the *French* Church, and that is Death's-dance. There are above threeſcore Figures in it at full Length, of Perſons of all Ranks, from Popes, Emperors, and Kings, down to the meaneſt Sorts of People, and of all Ages and Profeſſions, to whom Death appeareth in an inſolent and ſurpriſing Poſture: And the ſeveral Paſſions that they expreſs are ſo well ſet out, that this was certainly a great Deſign. But the Freſco being expoſed to the Air, this was ſo worn out ſome Time ago, that they ordered the beſt Painter they had, to lay new Colours on it; but this is ſo ill done, that one had rather ſee the dead Shadows of *Holbein*'s Pencil, than this coarſe Work.

There is in *Baſil* a Gunſmith that makes Wind-guns, and he ſhewed me one, that as it received at once Air for ten Shot, ſo it had this peculiar to it, which he pretends is his own Invention, that he can diſcharge all the Air that can be parcelled out in ten Shot, at once, to give a home Blow. I confeſs thoſe are terrible Inſtruments, and it ſeems the Intereſt of Mankind to forbid them quite, ſince they can be employed to aſſaſſinate Perſons ſo dextrouſly, that neither Noiſe nor Fire will diſcover from what Hand the Shot cometh. The Library of *Baſil* is by much the beſt in all *Switzerland*. There is a fine Collection of Medals in it, and a very handſome Library of Manuſcripts. The Room is noble, and diſpoſed in a very good Method. Their Manuſcripts are chiefly the *Latin* Fathers, or *Latin* Tranſlations of the *Greek* Fathers; ſome good Bibles. They have the Goſpel in *Greek* Capitals, but they are viciouſly writ in many Places. There is an infinite Number of the Writers of the darker Ages, and there are Legends and Sermons without Number. All the Books that were in the ſeveral Monaſteries, at the Time of the Reformation, were carefully preſerved; and they believe, that the Biſhops, who ſat here in the Council, brought with them a great many Manuſcripts which they never carried away.

Among their Manuſcripts, I ſaw four of *Huſs*'s Letters, that he writ to the *Bohemians* the Day before his Death, which are very devout, but exceſſively ſimple. The Manuſcripts of this Library are far more numerous than thoſe of *Bern*, which are gathered by *Bongarſius*, and left by him to the publick Library there. They are indeed very little conſidered there, and are the worſt kept that I ever ſaw. But it is a noble Collection of all the ancient *Latin* Authors. They have ſome few of the beſt of the *Roman* Times, writ in great Characters, and there are many that are ſeven or eight hundred Years old. There is in *Baſil* one of the beſt Collections of Medals that ever I ſaw in private Hands, together with a noble Library, in which there are Manuſcripts of good Antiquity, that belong to the Family of *Feſch*, and that go from one learned Man of the Family to another: For this Inheritance can only paſs to a Man of Learning; and when the Family produceth none, then it is to go the Publick. In *Baſil*, as the ſeveral Companies have been more or leſs ſtrict, in admitting ſome to a Freedom in the Company, that have not been of the Trade, ſo they retain their Privileges to this Day. For, in ſuch Companies, that have once received ſuch a Number that have not been of the Trade, as grew to be the Majority, the Trade hath never been able to recover their Intereſt. But ſome Companies have been more cautious, and have never admitted any but thoſe that were of the Trade; ſo that they retain their Intereſt ſtill in the Government. Of theſe the Butchers were named for one; ſo that there are always four Butchers in the Council. The Great Council conſiſteth of two hundred and forty, but they have no Power left them, and they are only aſſembled upon ſome extraordinary Occaſions, when the Little Council thinks fit to communicate any important Matter to them. There are but ſix Bailiages that belong to *Baſil*, which are not Employments of great Advantage; for the beſt of them affords to the Bailiff only a thouſand Livres a Year. They reckon that there are in *Baſil* three thouſand Men that can bear Arms, and that they could raiſe four thouſand more out of the Canton; ſo that the Town is almoſt the half of this State, but the whole making thirty Pariſhes. There are eighteen Profeſſors in this Univerſity; and there is a Spirit of more free and generous Learning ſtirring there, than I ſaw in all thoſe Parts. There is a great Decency of Habit in *Baſil*; and the Garb of the Counſellors, Miniſters, and Profeſſors, their ſtiff Ruffs, and their long Beards, have an Air that is venerable and auguſt. The Appointments are but ſmall, for Counſellors, Miniſters, and Profeſſors, have but one hundred Crowns a-piece: It is true, many Miniſters are Profeſſors, ſo this mends the Matter a little; but perhaps it would go better with the State of Learning there, if they had but half the Number of Profeſſors, and if thoſe were a little better encouraged. No where is the Rule of St. *Paul* better obſerved than at *Baſil*; for all the married Women go to Church with a Coif on their Heads, that is ſo folded, that it comes down ſo far as to cover their Eyes, and another Folding covers alſo their Mouth and Chin, ſo that nothing but their Noſe appears; and then all turns backward in a Folding that hangs down to their Mid-leg: This is always white; ſo that there is ſuch a Sight of white Heads in their Churches, as cannot be found any where elſe. The unmarried Women wear Hats turned up in the Brims, before and behind; and the Brims of the Sides being about a Foot broad, ſtand out far on both Sides: This Faſhion is alſo at *Straſburg*, and is worn there alſo by the married Women.

26. I mentioned formerly the conſtant Danger to which this Place is expoſed, from the Neighbourhood of *Hunningen*: I was told, that at firſt it was pretended that the *French* King intended to build only a ſmall Fort there; and it was believed, that one of the Burgomaſters of *Baſil*, who was thought not only the wiſeſt Man of that Canton, but of all *Switzerland*, was gained to lay all Men aſleep, and to aſſure them, that the ſuffering this Fort to be built ſo near them, was of no Importance; but now they ſee too late their fatal Error; for the Place is great, and will hold a Garriſon of three or four thouſand Men. It is a Pentagon, only the Side towards the *Rhine* is ſo large, that if it went round on that Side, I believe it muſt have been an Hexagon. The Baſtions have all Orillons, and in the Middle of them there is a void Space not filled up with Earth, where there is a Magazine built ſo thick in the Vault, that it is Proof againſt Bombs. The Ramparts are ſtrongly faced; there is a large Ditch, and before the Curtain, in the Middle of the Ditch, there runs a Horn-work, which is but ten or twelve Feet high; and from the Bottom of the Rampart, there goes a Vault to this Horn-work, for conveying Men for its Defence. Before this Horn-work there is a Half-moon, with this that is peculiar to thoſe new Fortifications, that there is a Ditch that cuts the Half-moon in an Angle, and maketh one Half-moon within another: Beyond that there is a Counterſcarp about twelve Feet high above the Water, with a covered Way, and a Glacis deſigned, though not yet executed. There is alſo a great Horn-work beſides all this, which runs out a huge Way with its Outworks towards *Baſil*. There is likewiſe a Bridge laid over the *Rhine*, and there being an Iſland in the River where the Bridge is laid, there is a Horn-work that fills and ſtrengthens it. The Buildings in this Fort are beautiful, and the Square can hold above four thouſand Men: The Works are not yet quite finiſhed, but when all is complete, this will be one of the ſtrongeſt Places in *Europe*. There is a Cavalier on one or two of the Baſtions, and there are Half-moons before the Baſtions; ſo that the *Switzers* ſee their Danger now, when it is not eaſy to redreſs it. This Place is ſituated in a great Plain, ſo that it is commanded by no riſing Ground on any Side of it. I made a little Tour into *Alſace*, as far as *Mountbelliard*; the Soil is extreme rich, but it hath been ſo long a Frontier Country, and is by Conſequence ſo ill peopled, that it is in many Places overgrown with Woods. In one Reſpect it is fit to be the Seat of War, for it is full of Iron-works, which bring a great deal of Money into the Country. I ſaw nothing peculiar in the Iron-works there, except that the Sides of the great Bellows were not of Leather, but of Wood, which ſaves much Money; ſo I will not ſtand to deſcribe them.

The River *Rhine*, all from *Baſil* to *Spire*, is ſo low, and is on both Sides ſo covered with Woods, that one, that comes down in a Boat, hath no Sight of the Country. The River runs ſometimes with ſuch a Force, that nothing but ſuch Woods could preſerve its Banks, and even theſe are not able to ſave them quite; for the Trees are often waſhed away by the very Roots, ſo that in many Places thoſe Trees lie along the Channel of the River. It hath been alſo thought a Sort of a Fortification to both Sides of the River, to have it thus faced with Woods, which makes the paſſing of Men dangerous, when they muſt march for ſome Time after their Paſſage through a Defile. The firſt Night, from *Baſil*, we came to *Briſac*, which is a poor and miſerable Town; but it is a noble Fortification, and hath on the Weſt Side of the River, over which a Bridge is laid, a regular Fort of four or five Baſtions. The Town of *Briſac* riſeth on a Hill, which is a conſiderable Height. There were near it two Hills, the one is taken within the Fortification, and the other is ſo well levelled with the Ground, that one cannot ſo much as find out where it was. All the Ground about, for many Miles, is plain; ſo that from the Hill, as from a Cavalier, one can ſee exactly well, eſpecially with the Help of a Perſpective, all the Motions of an Enemy in Caſe of a Siege. The Fortification is of a huge Compaſs, above a *French* League, indeed almoſt a *German* League. The Baſtions are quite filled with Earth; they are faced with Brick, and a huge broad Ditch full of Water round them: The Counterſcarp, the covered Way, which hath a Palliſade within a Parapet, and the Glacis, are all well executed: There is a Half-moon before every Curtain; the Baſtions have no Orillons, except one or two, and the Curtains are ſo diſpoſed, that a good Part of them defend the Baſtion. The Garriſon of this Place, in Time of War, muſt needs be eight or ten thouſand Men. There hath not been much done of late to this Place, only the Ditch is ſo adjuſted, that it is all defended by the Flanks of the Baſtions.

But the nobleſt Place on the *Rhine* is *Straſburg*; it is a Town of a huge Extent, and hath a double Wall and Ditch all round it; the inner Wall is old, and of no Strength, nor is the outward Wall very good; it hath a *Fauſſebraye*, and is faced with Brick twelve or fifteen Feet above the Ditch: The Counterſcarp is in an ill Condition, ſo that the Town was not in Caſe to make any long Reſiſtance; but it is now ſtrongly fortified. There is a Citadel built on that Side that goeth towards the *Rhine*, and is much ſuch a Fort as that of *Hunningen*; and on the Side of the Citadel towards the Bridge, there is a great Horn-work that runs out a great Way with Out-works belonging to it. There are alſo ſmall Forts at the two chief Gates that lead to *Alſace*, by which the City is ſo bridled, that theſe can cut off all its Communication with the Country about, in caſe of a Revolt. The Bridge is well fortified; there are alſo Forts in ſome Iſlands in the *Rhine*, and ſome Redoubts; ſo that all round this Place there is one of the greateſt Fortifications in *Europe*.

Hitherto the Capitulation, with relation to Religion, hath been well kept; and there is ſo ſmall a Number of new Converts, and theſe are for the greateſt Part ſo inconſiderable, not being in all above two hundred, as I was told, that if they do not employ the new-faſhion'd Miſſionaries *à la Dragonne*, the old ones are not like to have ſo great a Harveſt there as they promiſed themſelves, though they are Jeſuits. The *Lutherans*, for the greateſt Part, retain their Animoſities almoſt to an equal Degree both againſt *Papiſts* and *Calviniſts*. I was in their Church, where, if the Muſick of their Pſalms pleaſed me much, the Irreverence in Singing (it being free to keep on or put off the Hat) did appear very ſtrange to me. The Churches are full of Pictures, in which the chief Paſſages of our Saviour's Life are repreſented, but there is no Sort of religious Reſpect paid them: They bow when they name the Holy Ghoſt, as well as at the Name of Jeſus; but they have not the Ceremonies that the *Lutherans* of *Saxony* uſe, which Mr. *Bebel*, their Profeſſor of Divinity, ſaid was a great Happineſs; for a Similitude in outward Rites might diſpoſe the ignorant People to change too eaſily. I found ſeveral good People, both of the *Lutheran* Miniſters, and others, acknowledge that there was was ſuch a Corruption of Morals ſpread over the whole City, that as they had juſtly drawn down on their Heads the Plague of the Loſs of their Liberty, ſo this having touch'd them ſo little, they had Reaſon to look for ſeverer Strokes.

One ſees, in the Ruin of this City, what a miſchievous Thing the popular Pride of a free City is: They fancied they were able to defend themſelves, and ſo they refuſed to let an Imperial Garriſon come within their Town; for if they had received only five hundred Men, as that ſmall Number would not have been able to have oppreſs'd their Liberties, ſo it would have ſo ſecured the Town, that the *French* could not have beſieg'd it without making War on the Empire: But the Town thought this was a Diminution of their Freedom, and ſo choſe rather to pay a Garriſon of three thouſand Soldiers, which as it exhauſted their Revenue, and brought them under great Taxes, ſo it proved too weak for their Defence when the *French* Army came before them. The Town begins to ſink in its Trade, notwithſtanding the great Circulation of Money that the Expence of the Forifications hath brought to it; but when that is at an End, it will ſink more ſenſibly; for it is impoſſible for a Place of Trade, that is to have always eight or ten thouſand Soldiers in it, to continue long in a flouriſhing State. There was a great Animoſity between two of the chief Families of the Town, *Dietrick* and *Obrecht*; the former was the Burgo-maſter, and was once almoſt run down by a Faction that the other had raiſed againſt him; but he turned the Tide, and got ſuch an Advantage againſt *Obrecht*, who had writ ſomewhat againſt the Conduct of their Affairs, that he was condemned and beheaded for writing Libels againſt the Government. His Son is a learned Man, and was Profeſſor of the Civil Law; and he, to have his Turn of Revenge againſt *Dietrick*, went to *Paris*, and that he might make his Court the better, changed his Religion. *Dietrick* had been always look'd on as one of the chief of the *French* Faction, though he had been at firſt an *Imperialiſt*, ſo it was thought that he ſhould have been well rewarded; yet it was expected, that to make himſelf capable of that, he ſhould have changed his Religion; but he was an ancient Man, and would not pay his Court at that Rate; ſo without any Reaſon given, and againſt the expreſs Words of the Capitulation, he was confined to one of the midland Provinces of *France* (as I remember, it was *Limoſin*:) And thus he that had been thought the chief Cauſe of this Town's falling under the Power of the *French*, is the firſt Man that hath felt the Effects of it.

The Library here is conſiderable, the Caſe is a great Room very well contrived; for it is divided into Cloſets all over the Body of the Room, which runs about theſe as a Gallery, and in theſe Cloſets all round, there are the Books of the ſeveral Profeſſions lodged apart: There is one for Manuſcripts, in which there are ſome of conſiderable Antiquity. I need ſay nothing to you of the vaſt Height and *Gothick* Architecture of the Steeple, and of the great Church, nor of the curious Clock, where there is ſo vaſt a Variety of Motions; for theſe are well known. The Baſs-relieves upon the Tops of the great Pillars of the Church are not ſo viſible, but they are ſurprizing; for this being a Fabrick of three or four hundred Years old, it is very ſtrange to ſee ſuch Repreſentations as are there. There is a Proceſſion repreſented, in which a Hog carrieth the Pot with the holy Water, and Aſſes and Hogs in prieſtly Veſtments follow to make up the Proceſſion: There is alſo an Aſs ſtanding before an Altar, as if he were going to conſecrate; and one carrieth a Caſe with Reliques, within which one ſeeth a Fox; and the Trains of all that go in this Proceſſion are ſupported by Monkies. This ſeems to have been made in Hatred of the Monks, whom the ſecular Clergy abhorred at that Time, becauſe they had drawn the Wealth and the following of the World after them; and they had expoſed the ſecular Clergy ſo much for their Ignorance, that it is probable, after ſome Ages the Monks falling under the ſame Contempt, the ſecular Clergy took their Turn in expoſing them in ſo laſting a Repreſentation to the Scorn of the World. There is alſo in the Pulpit a Nun cut in Wood lying along, and a Frier lying near her with his Breviary open before him, and his Hand under the Nun's Habit, and the Nun's Feet are ſhod with Iron Shoes. I confeſs I did not look for theſe Things, for I had not heard of them; but my noble Friend Mr. *Ablancourt* view'd them with great Exactneſs while he was the *French* King's Reſident at *Straſburg*, in the Company of one of the Magiſtrates that waited on him; and it is upon his Credit, to which all that know his eminent Sincerity, know how much is due, that I give you this Particular.

The Habits of the People here, but more eſpecially of the Women, are very ſingular, and ſurprize Strangers greatly; they are without Doubt very antique, and there is good Reaſon to believe that the Tyranny of Faſhion has never borne hard upon theſe honeſt People. They are ſtrongly of Opinion, that as Cloaths are intended to hide Nakedneſs, ſo the Manner of Cloathing ought to be ſuitable to the Condition; and upon this Principle it is, that you ſee every body regulate their Dreſs here; ſo that when you are once acquainted with their Cuſtom, you may diſtinguiſh by the Garb of every Woman you meet what Condition of Life ſhe is in. As for Inſtance, a Country Farmer's Wife wears ſhort Petticoats, a Kind of Boddice, and over theſe a Sort of long Jacket, which in the Winter Time is lined with Lambs-ſkin for Want of better Furs. Her Hair is curled with her beſt Skill, and upon her Head ſhe wears a Hat deck'd with Flowers. The lower Sort of Country People wear a Kind of Coif, under which their Hair is gathered up tight. A Tradeſman's Wife in Mourning makes a very ſolemn Figure; her Petticoats are long, ſhe has a ſtiff-bodied Gown, cloſe Sleeves, with Cuffs that turn up almoſt to the Elbows, and a Piece of fine Cloth turns up under the Chin over their Mouths, ſo that between that and a very cloſe round Cap, you ſee nothing but their Noſe and their Eyes. A Burgher's Wife is ſtill a more extraordinary Spectacle, for ſhe has a white Robe that covers all her Cloaths, a Hood and Fore-head Cloth upon her Head, the Corners of which are ſtiffned and ſtick out on both Sides, ſo that a ſtranger Figure can hardly be ſeen. Ordinary Women mourn in Black, but with a white Veil before them, which reaches to up their Mouths, and below their Knees. A Doctor's Wife has a Garb not eaſily expreſſed, her Petticoats are very long, her Sleeves flounc'd upon her Shoulders, cloſe on her Arms, and

Elbows, ſtraiter at the Wriſts with Cuffs of white Linnen, and Rings and Bracelets in Abundance. The Body of the Gown is very ſtiff with Wings that reſt upon their Shoulders, a round Ruff about their Necks, and a monſtrous large Head-dreſs, beyond the Size of a Turbant. Their young Women, however, have a more agreeable Habit, their Sleeves are open, they wear very fine Linnen, ſtiff-bodied Gowns, their Necks cloſe covered, Petticoats ſo long that nothing appears under them but the very Points of their Shoes, and on their Heads they wear very large Hats, like thoſe before deſcribed in ſpeaking of the Women of *Baſil*. Theſe Dreſſes will be better comprehended by ſeeing them in a Print, than by any Deſcription that can be given, and this is the more reaſonable, becauſe now there is nothing of this Kind to be ſeen, the *French* Cuſtoms generally prevail, and Strangers can diſcover no Difference between the Habits of the Women at *Straſburg*, and thoſe of other Frontier Towns in the *French* Dominions.

27. From *Straſburg* we went down the *Rhine* to *Philipſburg*, which lies at a quarter of a Mile's Diſtance from the River; it is but a ſmall Place, and the Baſtions are but little; there is a Ravelin before almoſt all the Curtains; and there lie ſuch Marſhes round it, that in theſe conſiſt the chief Strength of the Place. The *French* had begun a great Crown work on that Side that lies to the *Rhine*, and had caſt out a Horn work beyond that; but by all that appears, it ſeems they intended to continue their Works quite round the Town, and to make a ſecond Wall and Ditch all round it, which would have enlarged the Place vaſtly, and made a Compaſs capable to lodge ten thouſand Men; and this would have been ſo terrible a Neighbour to the *Palatinate*, and all *Franconia*, that it was a Maſter-piece in *Charles Lewis*, the late Elector *Palatine*, to engage the Empire in this Siege: He ſaw well, how much it concerned him to have it out of the Hands of the *French*; ſo that he took great Care to have the Duke of *Lorrain*'s Camp ſo well ſupplied with all Things neceſſary during the Siege, that the Army lay not under the leaſt Uneaſineſs. From thence, in three Hours, we came to *Spire*, which is ſo naked a Town, that if it were attacked, it could not make the leaſt Reſiſtance. The Town is neither great nor rich, and is ſubſiſted chiefly by the Imperial Chamber that ſitteth here, though there is a conſtant Diſpute between the Town and the Chamber concerning Privileges; for the Government of the Town pretends, that the Judges of the Chamber, as they are private Men, and out of the Court of Judicature, are ſubject to them; and ſo about a Year ago they put one of the Judges in Priſon: On the other Hand, the Judges pretend, that their Perſons are ſacred. It was the Conſideration of the Chamber, that procured to the Town the Neutrality that they enjoyed all the laſt War. I thought to have ſeen the Forms of this Court, and the Way of laying up and preſerving their Records, but it was not then ſitting. The Building, the Halls, and Chambers of this famous Court are mean beyond Imagination, and look more like the Halls of ſome ſmall Company, than of ſo great a Body; and I could not ſee the Places where they lay up their Archives. The Government of the City is *Lutheran*; but not only the Cathedral is in the Hands of the Biſhop and Chapter, but there are likewiſe ſeveral Convents of both Sexes, and the Jeſuits have a College there. There is little remarkable in the Cathedral, which is a huge Building in the *Gothick* Manner, of the worſt Sort. The Tombs of many Emperors that lie buried there are ſingular only for their Meanneſs, they being barely great Flag-ſtones laid on ſome ſmall Stone Balluſters of a Foot and an half high: There are alſo the Marks of a ridiculous Fable concerning St. *Bernard*, which is too fooliſh to be related; yet ſince they have taken ſuch Pains to preſerve the Remembrance of it, I ſhall venture to write it. There are from the Gate, all along the Nave of the Church up to the Steps that go up to the Choir, four round Plates of Braſs, above a Foot Diameter, and at the Diſtance of thirty Feet one from another, laid in the Pavement; on the firſt of theſe is engraven *O Clemens*, on the ſecond *O Pia*, on the third *O Felix*, and on the fourth *Maria!* The laſt is about thirty Feet diſtant from a Statue of the Virgin; ſo they ſay that St. *Bernard* came up the whole Length of the Church at four Steps, and that thoſe four Plates were laid where he ſtepp'd; and that at every Step he pronounced the Word that is engraven on the Plate; and when he came to the laſt, the Image of the Virgin anſwered him, *Salve Bernarde*; upon which he anſwered, let a Woman keep Silence in the Church; and that the Virgin's Statue has kept Silence ever ſince. This laſt Part of the Story is certainly very credible: He was a Man of Learning that ſhewed me this; and he repeated it ſo gravely to me, that I ſaw he either believed it, or at leaſt that he had a Mind to make me believe it; and I aſked him as gravely, if that was as firmly believed there? He told me, that one had lately writ a Book to prove the Truth of it, as I remember, it was a Jeſuit: He acknowledged it was not an Article of Faith, ſo I was ſatisfied.

28. There is in the Cloiſter an old *Gothick* Repreſentation of our *Saviour*'s Agony in Stone, with a great many Figures of his Apoſtles and the Company that came to ſeize him, that is not ill for the Time in which it was made, it being ſome Ages old. The *Calviniſts* have a Church in this Town, but their Numbers are not conſiderable. I was told there were ſome ancient Manuſcripts in the Library that belongeth to the Cathedral; but one of the Prebendaries, to whom I addreſſed myſelf, being, according to the *German* Cuſtom, a Man of greater Quality than Learning, told me, he heard they had ſome ancient Manuſcripts, but he knew nothing of them; and the Dean was abſent, ſo I could not ſee them, for he kept one of the Keys. The lower *Palatinate* is certainly one of the ſweeteſt Countries in all *Germany*; it is a great Plain till one comes to the Hills of *Heidelberg*; the Town is ill ſituated, juſt in a Bottom, between two Ranges of Hills, yet the Air is much commended. I need ſay nothing of the Caſtle, nor of the prodigious Wine-cellar, in which, though there is but one celebrated Tun, that is ſeventeen Feet high, and twenty-ſix Feet long, and is built with a Strength more like that of the Ribs of a Ship, than the Staves of a Tun; yet there are many other Tuns of ſuch a prodigious Bigneſs, that they would ſeem very extraordinary, if this vaſt one did not eclifpſe them. The late Prince *Charles Lewis* ſhewed his Capacity in the Peopling and Settling this State, that had been ſo entirely ruined, being for many Years the Seat of War; for in four Years time he brought it to a flouriſhing Condition: He raiſed the Taxes as high as was poſſible without diſpeopling his Country; all Men's Eſtates were valued, and they were taxed at five *per Cent.* of the Value of their Eſtates; but their Eſtates were not valued to the Rigour, but with ſuch Abatements as have been ordinary in *England* in the Times of Subſidies; ſo that when his Son offered to bring the Taxes down to two *per Cent.* of the real Value, the Subjects all deſired him rather to continue them as they were. There is no Prince in *Germany*, that is more abſolute than the Elector *Palatine*; for he layeth on his Subjects what Taxes he pleaſeth, without being limited to any Forms of Government. And here I ſaw that which I had always believed to be true, that the Subjects of *Germany* are only bound to their particular Prince; for they ſwear Allegiance ſingly to the Elector, without any Reſerve for the Emperor; and in their Prayers for him, they name him their Sovereign. It is true, the Prince is under ſome Ties to the Emperor, but the Subjects are under none. And by this *D. Fabritius*, a learned and judicious Profeſſor there, explained thoſe Words of *Pareus*'s Commentary on the *Romans*, which had reſpect only to the Princes of the Empire, and were quite miſunderſtood by thoſe who fancied that they favoured Rebellion; for there is no Place in *Europe* where all rebellious Doctrine is more borne down than here.

29. I found a great Spirit of Moderation, with Relation to thoſe warm Controverſies that have occaſioned ſuch Heat in the Proteſtant Churches reigning in the Univerſity there, which is in a great Meaſure owing to the Prudence, the Learning, and the happy

Temper of Mind of *D. Fabritius*, and *D. Miek*, who, as they were long in *England*, ſo they have that generous Largeneſs of Soul, which is the noble Ornament of many of the *Engliſh* Divines. Prince *Charles Lewis* ſaw that *Manheim* was marked out by Nature to be the moſt important Place of all his Territory, it being ſituated in the Point where the *Neckar* falls into the *Rhine*; ſo that thoſe two Rivers defending it on two Sides, it was capable of a good Fortification. It is true, the Air is not thought wholeſome, and the Water is not very good, yet he made a fine Town there, and a noble Citadel, with a regular Fortification about it; and he deſigned a great Palace there, but did not live to build it. He ſaw of what Advantage Liberty of Conſcience was to the peopling of his Country; ſo as he ſuffered the *Jews* to come and ſettle there, he reſolved alſo not only to ſuffer the three Religions tolerated by the Laws of the Empire to be profeſſed there, but he built a Church for them all three, which he called the *Church of the Concord*, in which the *Calviniſts*, *Lutherans*, and *Papiſts* had, in the Order of which I have ſet them down, the Exerciſe of their Religion; and he maintained the Peace of his Principality ſo entirely, that there was not the leaſt Diſorder occaſioned by this Toleration: This indeed made him to be looked on as a Prince that did not much conſider Religion himſelf. He had a wonderful Application to all Affairs, and was not only his own chief Miniſter, but he alone did the Work of many.

But I were unjuſt, if I ſhould not ſay ſomewhat to you of the princely Virtues, and the celebrated Probity of the preſent Prince Elector, upon whom that Dignity is devolved by the Extinction of ſo many Princes, that in this Age compoſed the moſt numerous Family of any of that Rank in *Europe*. This Prince, as he is in many Reſpects an Honour to the Religion that he profeſſes, ſo he is in nothing more to be commended by thoſe who differ from him, than for his exact adhering to the Promiſes he made his Subjects, with relation to their Religion; in which he has not (even in the ſmalleſt Matters) broke in upon their eſtabliſhed Laws; and though an Order of Men that have turned the World upſide down, have great Credit with him, yet it is hitherto viſible, that they cannot carry it ſo far, as to make him do any thing contrary to the eſtabliſhed Religion, and to thoſe ſacred Promiſes that he made his Subjects. For he makes it appear to all the World, that he does not conſider thoſe, as ſo many Words ſpoken at firſt to lay his People aſleep, which he may now explain and obſerve as he thinks fit, but as ſo many Ties upon his Conſcience and Honour, which he will religiouſly obſerve. And as in the other Parts of his Life he hath ſet a noble Pattern to all the Princes of *Europe*, ſo his Exactneſs to his Promiſes is that which cannot be too much commended; of which this extraordinary Inſtance has been communicated to me ſince I came into this Country. The Elector had a Proceſſion in his Court laſt *Corpus Chriſti* Day; upon which one of the Miniſters of *Heidelberg* preached a very ſevere Sermon againſt Popery, and in particular taxed that Proceſſion, perhaps with greater Plainneſs than Diſcretion. This being brought to the Elector's Ears, he ſent preſently an Order to the Eccleſiaſtical Synod to ſuſpend him: That Court is compoſed of ſome ſecular Men and ſome Churchmen; and as the Prince's Authority is delegated to them, ſo they have a Sort of an Epiſcopal Juriſdiction over all the Clergy. This Order was a Surprize to them, as being a direct Breach upon their Laws, and the Liberty of their Religion; ſo they ſent a Deputation to Court, to let the Elector know the Reaſons that hindered them from obeying his Orders; which were heard with ſo much Juſtice and Gentleneſs, that the Prince, inſtead of expreſſing any Diſpleaſure againſt them, recalled the Order that he had ſent them.

30. The Way from *Heidelberg* to *Francfort* is, for the firſt twelve or fifteen Miles, the beautifulleſt Piece of Ground that can be imagined; for we went under a Ridge of little Hills that are all covered with Vines; and from them, as far as the Eye can go, there is a beautiful Plain of Corn-fields and Meadows, all ſweetly divided and encloſed with Rows of Trees, ſo that I fancied I was in *Lombardy* again, but with this Advantage, that here all was not of a Piece, as it is in *Lombardy*; but the Hills, as they made a pleaſant Inequality in the Proſpect, ſo they made the Air purer, and produced a pleaſant Wine. The Way near *Darmſtadt*, and all forwards to *Francfort*, becometh more wild and more ſandy. There is a good Suburb on the South Side of the *Maine* over-againſt *Francfort*, which hath a very conſiderable Fortification. There is a double Wall and a double Ditch that goes round it; and the outward Wall, as it is regularly fortified, ſo it is faced with Brick to a conſiderable Height. The Town of *Francfort* is of a great Extent, and ſeemed to be but about a third Part leſs than *Straſburg*. The three Religions are alſo tolerated there, and though the Number of the Papiſts is very inconſiderable, yet they have the great Church, which is a huge rude Building; they have alſo ſeveral other Churches, and ſome Convents there. There are ſeveral open Squares for Market-places, and the Houſes about them look very well on the Outſide. Among their Archives they preſerve the Original of the *Bulla Aurea*, which is only a great Parchment writ in *High Dutch*, without any Beauty anſwering to its Title; and ſince I could not have underſtood it, I was not at the Pains of deſiring to ſee it; for that is not obtained without Difficulty. The *Lutherans* have here built a new Church, called St. *Katharine*'s, in which there is as much Painting as ever I ſaw in any Popiſh Church; and over the high Altar there is an huge carved Crucifix, as there are painted ones in other Places of the Church; the Pulpit is extreme fine, of Marble of different Colours, very well poliſhed and joined. I was here at Sermon, where I underſtood nothing; but I like one thing that I ſaw both at *Straſburg* and here, that at the End of Prayers there was a conſiderable Interval Silence left, before the Concluſion, for all People's private Devotions. In the Houſe of their publick Diſcipline they retain ſtill the old *Roman Piſtrina*, or Hand-mill, at which lewd Women are condemned to grind, that is, to drive about the Wheel that maketh the Mill-ſtones go. There is a great Number of *Jews* there, tho' their two Synagogues are very little, and by Conſequence, the Numbers being great, they are very naſty. I was told, they were in all above twelve hundred. The Women had the moſt tawdry Embroidery of Gold and Silver about them that ever I ſaw, for they had all Mantles of Crape, and both about the Top and the Bottom there was a Border above a Hand's Breadth of Embroidery. The Fortification of *Francfort* is conſiderable; their Ditch is very broad, and very full of Water; all the Baſtions have a Countermine that runneth along by the Brim of the Ditch, but the Counterſcarp is not faced with Brick as the Walls are, and ſo in many Places it is in an ill Condition: The Covered Way and Glacis are alſo in an ill Caſe. The Town is rich, and driveth a great Trade, and is very pleaſantly ſituated. Not far from thence is *Hockam*, that yieldeth the beſt Wine of thoſe Parts. Since I took *Francfort* in my Way from *Heidelberg* to *Mentz*, I could not paſs by *Worms*, for which I was ſorry.

I had a great Mind to ſee that Place where *Luther* made his firſt Appearance before the Emperor and the Diet; and in that ſolemn Audience expreſſed an undaunted Zeal for that glorious Cauſe, in which God made him ſuch a bleſſed Inſtrument. I had another Piece of Curioſity on me, which will perhaps appear to you ſomewhat ridiculous. I had a Mind to ſee a Picture, that, as I was told, is over one of the Popiſh Altars, which one would think was invented by the Enemies of Tranſubſtantiation, to make it appear ridiculous. There is a Windmill, and the Virgin throws Chriſt into the Hopper, and he comes out at the Eye of the Mill all in Wafers, which ſome Prieſts take up to give to the People. This is ſo coarſe an Emblem, that one would think it too groſs even for *Laplanders*; but a Man that can ſwallow Tranſubſtantiation itſelf, will digeſt this likewiſe.

31. *Mentz* is very nobly ſituated, on a riſing Ground, a little below the Conjunction of the two Rivers, the *Rhine* and the *Maine*; it is of too great Compaſs, and

too ill peopled, to be capable of a great Defence. There is a Citadel on the higheſt Part of the Hill that commands the Town; it is encompaſſed with a dry Ditch that is conſiderably deep. The Walls of the Town are faced with Brick, and regularly fortified; but the Counterſcarp is not faced, ſo all is in a ſad Condition, and the Fortification is the weakeſt on the Side of the Elector's Palace. There is one Side of a new Palace very nobly built in a regular Architecture, only the *Germans* ſtill retain ſomewhat of the *Gothick* Manner. It is of a great Length, and the Deſign is to build quite round the Court, and then it will be a very magnificent Palace, only the Stone is red; for all the Quarries that are upon the *Rhine*, from *Baſil* down to *Coblentz*, are of red Stone, which does not look beautiful. The Elector of *Mentz* is an abſolute Prince; his Subjects preſent Liſts of their Magiſtrates to him, but he is not tied to them, and may name whom he will. The ancient Demeſn of the Electorate is about forty thouſand Crowns, but the Taxes riſe to about three hundred thouſand Crowns; ſo that the Subjects here are as heavily taxed as in the *Palatinate*. There are twelve thouſand Crowns a Year given the Elector for his Privy-purſe, and the State bears the reſt of his Expence. He can arm ten thouſand Men, and there is a Garriſon of two thouſand in *Mentz*. This Elector has three Councils; one as he is Chancellor of the Empire, conſiſting of three; the other two are for the Government and Adminiſtration of Juſtice in his Principality: He and his Chapter have Months by Turns for the Nomination of the Prebends. In the Month of *January* he names, if any die; and they, ſuch as die in *February*, and ſo all the Year round. The Prebendaries, or *Dome-heers*, have about three thouſand Crowns a Year a piece. When the Elector dies, the Emperor ſends one to ſee the Election made, and he recommends one, but the Canons may chuſe whom they pleaſe; and the preſent Elector was not of the Emperor's Recommendation. Beſides the Palace at *Mentz*, the Elector hath another near *Francfort*, which is thought the beſt that is in thoſe Parts of *Germany*.

The Cathedral is a huge *Gothick* Building; there is a Cupola in the Weſt End, and there the Choir ſingeth Maſs. I could not learn whether this was done only becauſe the Place here was of greater Reception than at the Eaſt End, or if any Burying-place and Endowment obliged them to the Weſt End. Near the Cathedral there is a huge Chapel of great Antiquity, and on the North Door there are two great Braſs Gates with a long Inſcription, which I had not Time to write out, but I found it was in the Emperor *Lotharius*'s Time. There are a vaſt Number of Churches in this Town, but it is poor and thinly inhabited. The *Rhine* here is almoſt half an *Engliſh* Mile broad, and there is a Bridge of Boats laid over it. From *Mentz* all along to *Baccharach*, there are a great Number of very conſiderable Villages on both Sides of the River. Here the Rats-tower is ſhewed, and the People of the Country all firmly believe the Story of the Rats eating up an Elector; and that though he fled to this Iſland, where he built a ſmall high Tower, they purſued, ſwimming after him, and eat him up: And they told us, that there were ſome of his Bones to be ſeen ſtill in the Tower. This extraordinary Death makes me call to Mind a very particular and unlooked for ſort of Death, that carried a poor Labourer off the Ground a few Days before I let *Geneva*. The Foot of one of his Cattle, as he was Ploughing, ſtruck into a Neſt of Waſps, upon which the whole Swarm came out, and ſet upon him that held the Plough, and killed him in a very little Time; and his Body was prodigiouſly ſwelled with the Poiſon of ſo many Stings.

But to return to the *Rhine*: All the Way from *Baccharach* down to *Coblentz*, there is on both Sides of the River, hanging Grounds, or little Hills, ſo placed, as if many of them had been laid by Art, which produce the rich *Rheniſh* Wine. They are indeed as well expoſed to the Sun, and covered from Storms, as can be imagined; and the Ground in thoſe Hills, which are in ſome Places of a conſiderable Height, is ſo cultivated, that there is not an Inch loſt that is capable of Improvement; and this brings ſo much Wealth into the Country, that all along there is a great Number of conſiderable Villages. *Coblentz* is the ſtrongeſt Place that I ſaw of all that belong to the Empire; the Situation is noble, the *Rhine* running before it, and the *Moſelle* paſſing along the Side of the Town. It is well fortified, the Ditch is large, the Counterſcarp high, and the Covered Way is in a good Condition: Both Walls and Counterſcarp are faced with Brick, and there are Ravelins before the Curtains: But on the Side of the *Moſelle* it is very ſlightly fortified, and there is no Fort at the End of the Stone-bridge that is laid over the *Moſelle*, ſo that it lies quite open on that Side, which ſeems a ſtrange Defect in a Place of that Conſequence: But though the Fortifications of this Place are very conſiderable, yet its chief Defence lieth in the Fort of *Hermanſtan*, which is built on the Top of a very high Hill, that lieth on the other Side of the *Rhine*, and which commands this Place ſo abſolutely, that he who is Maſter of *Hermanſtan*, is always Maſter of *Coblentz*. This belongs to the Elector of *Triers*, whoſe Palace lies on the Eaſt Side of the *Rhine*, juſt at the Foot of the Hill of *Hermanſtan*, and over-againſt the Point where the *Moſelle* falls into the *Rhine*; ſo that nothing can be more pleaſantly ſituated; only the Ground begins to riſe juſt at the Back of the Houſe with ſo much Steepneſs, that there is not Room for Gardens or Walks. The Houſe makes a great Show upon the River, but we are told, that the Apartments within are not anſwerable to the Outſide. I ſay, we were told; for the *German* Princes keep ſuch Forms, that, without a great deal ado, one cannot come within their Courts, unleſs when they are abroad themſelves: So that we neither ſaw the Inſide of the Palace at *Mentz*, nor this of *Hermanſtan*.

32. It is but a few Hours from this to *Bonne*, where the Elector of *Cologne* keeps his Court. The Place hath a regular Fortification, the Walls are faced with Brick; but though the Ditch, which is dry, is pretty broad, the Counterſcarp is in ſo bad a Condition, that it is not able to make a great Defence. This Elector is the nobleſt born, and the beſt provided of all the *German* Clergy; for he is Brother to the great *Maximilian* Duke of *Bavaria*, and beſides *Cologne*, he hath *Liege*, *Munſter*, and *Hildeſheim*, which are all great Biſhopricks. He hath been alſo ſix and thirty Years in the Electorate. His Palace is mean, conſiſting but of one Court, the half of which is caſt into a little Garden, and the Wood-yard is in the very Court. The lower Part of the Court was a Stable; but he hath made an Apartment here, that is well furniſhed with Pictures; where, as there are ſome of the Hands of the greateſt Maſters, ſo there are a great many Foils to ſet theſe off, that are ſcarce good enough for Sign Poſts.

The Elector has a great many Gold Medals, which will give me Occaſion to tell you one of the moſt extravagant Pieces of Forgery that perhaps ever was, which happened to be found out at the laſt Siege of *Bonne*; for while they were clearing the Ground for a Battery, they diſcovered a Vault, in which there was an Iron Cheſt, that was full of Medals of Gold, to the Value of one hundred thouſand Crowns, and of which I was told, the Elector bought to the Value of thirty thouſand Crowns. They are monſtrouſly large, one weighed eight hundred Ducats, and the Gold was of the Fineneſs of Ducat Gold: But though they bore the Impreſſions of *Roman* Medals, or rather Medallions, they were all Counterfeit; and the Imitation was ſo coarſely done, that one muſt be extreme ignorant to be deceived by them. Some few that ſeem true, were of the late *Greek* Emperors. Now it is very unaccountable, what could induce a Man to make a Forgery upon ſuch Metal, and in ſo vaſt a Quantity, and then bury all this under Ground, eſpecially in an Age in which ſo much Gold was ten Times the Value of that it is at preſent; for it is judged to have been done about four or five hundred Years ago.

The Prince went out a Hunting while we were there, with a very handſome Guard of about fourſcore Horſe well mounted; ſo we ſaw the Palace, but were not ſuffered to ſee the Apartment where he lodged. There is a great Silver Caſſolette gilt, ſet with Emeralds and Rubies, that though they made a fine Appearance, yet were a Compoſition of the Prince's own making. His Officers alſo ſhewed us a Baſon and Ewer, which they ſaid were of Mercury, fixed by the Prince himſelf; but they added, that for many Years he has not wrought in his Elaboratory. I did not eaſily believe this; and as the Weight of the Plate did not approach to that of Quickſilver, ſo the medicinal Virtues of fixed Mercury (if there is any ſuch Thing) are held to be ſo extraordinary, that it ſeemed very ſtrange to ſee twenty or thirty Pound of it made up in two Pieces of Plate. A Quarter of a Mile without the Town, lies the beſt Garden of thoſe Parts of *Germany*, in which there is a great Variety of Water-works, and very many noble Alleys in the *French* Manner, and the whole is of a very conſiderable Extent. But as it hath no Statues of any Value to adorn it, ſo the Houſe about which it lies, is in Ruins: And it is ſtrange to ſee, ſo rich and ſo great a Prince, during ſo long a Regency, hath done ſo little to enlarge, or beautify his Buildings. *Bonne* and *Coblentz* are both poor and ſmall Towns. *Cologne* is three Hours diſtant from *Bonne*: It is of a prodigious Extent, but ill built, and worſe peopled in the Skirts of it; and as the Walls are all in an ill Caſe, ſo it is not poſſible to fortify ſo vaſt a Compaſs, as this Town makes, as it ought to be, without a Charge that would eat out the whole Wealth of this little State.

The *Jews* live in a little Suburb on the other Side of the River, and muſt not come over, without Leave obtained, for which they pay conſiderably. There is no Exerciſe of the Proteſtant Religion ſuffered within the Town, but thoſe of that Communion are ſuffered to live there, and they have a Church at two Miles Diſtance. The Arſenal here is ſuitable to the Fortifications, that is, very mean and ill furniſhed. The Choir of the great Church is as high in the Roof as any Church I ever ſaw; but it ſeems the Wealth of this Place could not finiſh the whole Fabrick, ſo as to anſwer the Height of the Choir, for the Body of the Church is very low. Thoſe that are diſpoſed to believe Legends, have enough here to overſet even a good Degree of Credulity, both in the Story of the three Kings, whoſe Chapel is viſited with great Devotion, and ſtands at the Eaſt End of the great Choir; and in that more copious Fable of the eleven thouſand *Urſulins*, whoſe Church is all over full of rough Tombs, and of a vaſt Number of Bones, that are piled up in Rows about the Walls of the Church. Theſe Fables are ſo firmly believed by the Papiſts there, that the leaſt Sign of Doubting of their Truth, paſſeth for an infallible Mark of an Heretick. The Jeſuits have a great and noble College and Church here. And for *Thauler*'s Sake, I went to the *Dominicians* Houſe and Church, which is alſo very great. One grows extreme weary of walking over this great Town, and doth not find enough of Entertainment in it. The preſent Subject of their Diſcourſe is alſo very melancholy. The late Rebellion that was there is ſo generally known, that I need not ſay much concerning it. A Report was ſet about the Town by ſome Incendiaries, that the Magiſtrates eat up the publick Revenue, and were like to ruin the City. I could not learn what Ground there was for theſe Reports; for it is not ordinary to ſee Reports of that Kind fly through a Body of Men, without ſome Foundation. It is certain, this came to be ſo generally believed, that there was a horrible Diſorder occaſioned by it. The Magiſtrates were glad to ſave themſelves from the Storm, and abandoned the Town to the popular Fury, ſome of them having been made Sacrifices to it; and this Rage held long. But within this laſt Year, after near two Years Diſorder, thoſe that were ſent by the Emperor and Diet to judge the Matter, having threatned to put the Town under the Imperial Bann, if it had ſtood longer out, were received, and have put the Magiſtrates again in the Poſſeſſion of their Authority, and all the chief Incendiaries were clapp'd in Priſon. Many have already ſuffered, and a great many more are in Priſon. They told us, that ſome Executions were to be made within a Week, when we were there.

Duſſeldorp is the firſt conſiderable Town below *Cologne*: It is the Seat of the Duke of *Juliers*, who is Duke of *Newburgh*, eldeſt Son to the preſent Elector *Palatine*. The Palace is old, and *Gothick* enough; but the Jeſuits have there a fine College, and a noble Chapel, though there are manifeſt Faults in the Architecture. The Proteſtant Religion is tolerated, and they have a Church built here within theſe few Years, that was procured by the Interceſſion of the Elector of *Brandenburg*, who obſerving exactly the Liberty of Religion that was agreed to in *Cleve*, had Reaſon to ſee the ſame as duly obſerved in his Neighbourhood, in Favour of his own Religion. The Fortifications here are very ordinary, the Ramparts being faced but a few Feet high with Brick. But *Keiſerſwart*, ſome Hours lower on the ſame Side, which belongs to the Elector of *Cologne*, though it is a much worſe Town than *Duſſeldorp*, yet is much better fortified. It hath a very broad Ditch, and a very regular Fortification: The Walls are conſiderably high, faced with Brick, and ſo is the Counterſcarp, which is alſo in a very good Condition. The Fortification of *Orſoy* is quite demoliſhed. *Rhineberg* continues as it was, but the Fortification is very mean, only of Earth, ſo that it is not capable of making a great Reſiſtance. And *Weſel*, though it is a very fine Town, yet it is a very poor Fortification; nor can it ever be made good, except at a vaſt Expence; for the Ground all about it being ſandy, nothing can be made there that will be durable, unleſs the Foundation go very deep, or that it be laid upon Pilotry. In all theſe Towns one ſees another Air of Wealth and Abundance, than in much richer Countries that are exhauſted with Taxes. *Rees* and *Emmerick* are good Towns, but the Fortifications are quite ruined, ſo that here is a rich and a populous Country, that hath at preſent very little Defence, except what it hath from its Situation. *Cleve* is a delicious Place, the Situation and Proſpect are charming, and the Air is very pure; and from thence we came to *Nimeguen* in three Hours.

I will not ſay one Word of the Country into which I am now come; for as I know that is needleſs to you on many Accounts, ſo a Picture that I ſee here in the Stadt-houſe puts me in Mind of the moſt perfect Book of its Kind that is perhaps in Being; for Sir *William Temple*, whoſe Picture hangs here at the upper End of the Plenipotentiaries that negotiated the famous Treaty of *Nimeguen*, hath indeed ſet a Pattern to the World, which is done with ſuch Life, that it may juſtly make others bluſh to copy after it; ſince it muſt be acknowledged, that if we had as perfect an Account of other Places, as he hath given us of one of the leaſt, but yet one of the nobleſt Parcels of the Univerſe, Travelling would become a needleſs Thing, unleſs it were for Diverſion; ſince one finds no farther Occaſion for his Curioſity in this Country, than what is fully ſatisfied by his rare Performance: Yet I cannot give over Writing without reflecting on the Reſiſtance that this Place made, when ſo many other Places were ſo baſely delivered up; though one does not ſee in the Ruins of the Fortification here, how it could make ſo long a Reſiſtance; yet it was this Town ſtemm'd the Tide of a Progreſs that made all the World ſtand amazed; and it gave a little Time to the *Dutch* to recover themſelves out of the Conſternation, into which ſo many Blows, that came ſo thick one after another, had ſtruck them.

But then the World ſaw a Change, that though it hath not had ſo much Incenſe given to it, as the happy Conjuncture of another Prince hath drawn after it with ſo much Exceſs, that all the Topicks of Flattery ſeem exhauſted by it, yet will appear to Poſterity one of the moſt ſurprizing Scenes in Hiſtory, and that which may be well matched with the Recovery of the

Roman State after the Battle of *Cannæ*. When a young Prince, that had never before borne Arms, or ſo much as ſeen a Campaign, who had little or no Counſel about him, but what was ſuggeſted from his own Thoughts, and that had no extraordinary Advantage by his Education, either for Literature or publick Affairs, was of a ſudden ſet at the Head of a State and Army, that was ſunk with ſo many Loſſes, and that ſaw the beſt half of its Soil torn from it, and the moſt powerful Enemy in the World, ſurrounded with a victorious Army that was commanded by the beſt Generals that the Age hath produced, come within Sight, and ſettle his Court in one of its beſt Towns, and had at the ſame Time the greateſt Force, both by Sea and Land, that hath been known, united together for its Deſtruction: When the Inhabitants were forced, that they might ſave themſelves from ſo formidable an Enemy, to let looſe that which on all other Occaſions is the moſt dreadful to them, and to drown ſo great a Part of their Soil for the Preſervation of the reſt; and to complicate together all the Miſeries that a Nation can dread; when to the general Conſternation with which ſo diſmal a Scene poſſeſſed them, a Diſtraction within Doors ſeemed to threaten them with the laſt Strokes; and while their Army was ſo ill diſciplined, that they durſt ſcarce promiſe themſelves any Thing from ſuch feeble Troops, after a Peace at Land of almoſt thirty Years Continuance; and while their chief Ally, that was the moſt concerned in their Preſervation, was, like a great Paralytick Body, more like to fall on thoſe that it pretended to ſupport, and to cruſh them, than to give them any conſiderable Aſſiſtance: When, I ſay, a young Prince came at the Head of all this, the very Proſpect of which would have quite damp'd an ordinary Courage, he very quickly changed the Scene; he animated the publick Councils with a generous Vigour; he found them ſinking into a Feebleneſs of hearkening to Propoſitions for a Peace that were as little ſafe as honourable; but he diſpoſed them to reſolve on hazarding all, rather than to ſubmit to ſuch infamous Terms.

His Credit alſo among the Populace ſeemed to inſpire them with a new Life: They eaſily perſuaded themſelves, that as one WILLIAM, Prince of ORANGE, had formed their State, ſo here another of the ſame Name ſeemed marked out to recover and preſerve it: It was this Spirit of Courage, which he derived from his own Breaſt, and infuſed into the whole People, as well as into the Magiſtracy, that preſerved this Country. Something there was in all this that was Divine. The publick Councils were again ſettled, and the People were at quiet, when they ſaw him veſted with a full Authority for that Time with relation to Peace and War, and concluded they were ſafe, becauſe they were in his Hands. It ſoon appeared how faithfully he purſued the Intereſt of his Country, and how little he regarded his own. He rejected all Propoſitions of Peace that were hurtful to his Country, without ſo much as conſidering the Advantages that were offered to himſelf (in which you know that I write upon ſure Grounds) he refuſed the Offer of the Sovereignty of its chief City, that was made to him by a ſolemn Deputation, being ſatisfied with that Authority which had been ſo long maintained by his Anceſtors, with ſo much Glory, and being juſtly ſenſible how much the breaking in upon eſtabliſhed Laws and Liberties is fatal even to thoſe that ſeem to get by it: He thus began his publick Appearance on the Stage with all the Diſadvantages that a Spirit aſpiring to true Glory could wiſh for; ſince it was viſible he had nothing to truſt to but a good Cauſe, a favourable Providence, and his own Intregity and Courage: Nor was Succeſs wanting to ſuch noble Beginnings; for he in a ſhort Time, with a Conduct and Spirit beyond any Thing that the World hath yet ſeen, recover'd this State out of ſo deſperate a Diſtemper, took ſome Places by main Force, and obliged the Enemy to abandon all that they had acquired in ſo feeble a Manner. And if a raw Army had not always Succeſs againſt more numerous and better-trained Troops; and if the Want of Magazines and Stores in their Allies Country, which was the chief Scene of the War, made that he could not poſt his Army and wait for favourable Circumſtances, ſo that he was ſometimes forced to run to Action with a Haſte that his Neceſſities impoſed upon him; yet the forcing of the Beginnings of a Victory out of the Hands of the greateſt General of the Age, the facing a great Monarch with an Army much inferior to his, when the other was too cautious to hazard an Engagement; and, in ſhort, the forming the *Dutch* Army to ſuch a Pitch that it became viſibly ſuperior to the *French*, that ſeemed to have been fed with Conqueſts; and the continuing the War till the Prince, that had ſacrificed the Quiet of *Europe* to his Glory, was glad to come and treat for a Peace in the Enemy's Country, and in this very Place, and to ſet all Engines on work to obtain that, by the Mediation of ſome, and the Jealouſies of other Princes: All theſe are ſuch Performances, that Poſterity will be diſpoſed to rank them rather among the Ideas of what an imaginary Hero could do, than with what could be really tranſacted in ſo ſhort a Time, and in ſuch a Manner. And in Concluſion, every Place that belonged to theſe States, and to their Neighbours along the *Rhine*, together with a great many in *Flanders*, being reſtored, theſe Provinces now ſee themſelves, under his happy Conduct, re-eſtabliſhed in their former Peace and Security. And though ſome Scars of ſuch deep Wounds may ſtill remain, yet they find themſelves conſidered on all Hands as the Bulwark of Chriſtendom againſt the Fears of a new Monarchy, and as the Preſervers of the Peace and Liberty of *Europe*.

Here is a Harveſt, not for forced Rhetorick or falſe Eloquence, but for a ſevere and ſincere Hiſtorian, capable of affording a Work that will far exceed all thoſe luſcious Panegyricks of mercenary Pens: But a ſmall or a counterfeit Jewel muſt be ſet with all poſſible Advantages, when a true one of a great Value needs only to be ſhewed, in order to have that Value known.

If one was to offer a proper Manner of writing Voyages to the Conſideration and Example of thoſe that travel, I do not conceive, that a better Model could well be found, than theſe Letters of Biſhop *Burnet*'s. The great End of Travelling is to form right Notions of the Countries one ſees, and of the People who inhabit them, and this End our Prelate plainly propoſed to himſelf, and to the honourable Perſon to whom he wrote, who was likewiſe a great Judge of the Truth and Fidelity with which he wrote, ſince he had himſelf travelled through theſe Countries, and reſided a conſiderable Time at *Geneva*. But at this Diſtance of Time we are better Judges of his Penetration and Sagacity; for as he repreſents the Conſtitution and political Affairs of the *Switzers* impartially, ſo he very truly foreſaw the Diſorders that have ſince happened in that Country as well as at *Geneva*. As thoſe Diſorders juſtify his Political Capacity, ſo they fully convince us of the Truth of the Maxim by him laid down, That Ambition will produce the ſame Effects, let the Object of it be great or ſmall; and the Deſire of Governing a Bailiage will have juſt the ſame miſchievous Conſequences in a ſmall Republick, that the Thirſt of preſiding over a great Province has in a larger State. So that in all Governments thus conſtituted, the very Principles of their Grandeur are alſo the Seeds of their Deſtruction, if theſe Governments are not yet diſſolved; this is owing to the Care of their Neighbours, and to ſome other Accidents; but that they ſhould be torn by Diviſions, and once in a Century brought to the Brink of Diſſolution, is very natural, and what has really happened within the Compaſs of our own Memory, when the State of *Geneva* was ſaved by the Interpoſition of *France* and the *Switzers*, the Government brought back to its firſt Principles; and the Government ſet right another Age at leaſt.

His Prediction with Reſpect to *Lombardy*, and the other *Spaniſh* Provinces in *Italy*, have been alſo fulfilled. The late King *Philip* V. entered into the quiet Poſſeſſion of them as Succeſſor in the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, and was ſupported in the Poſſeſſion of them, not only by the Forces of that Crown, but alſo by thoſe of *France*;

and yet in a very few Campaigns he was deprived of them by the *Germans*, under the Command of Prince *Eugene*, and himſelf and his Grandfather were glad to enter into a Treaty for the total Evacuation of *Italy*. It is indeed true, that this very Meaſure contributed not a little to the Preſervation of *Spain*, of which he had been likewiſe deprived, if, by ending the *Italian* War in this Manner, he had not ſecured a new Body of Auxiliaries for its Defence. The Entrance which the *Spaniards* ſince have gained into that Country, in Virtue of the Succeſſion of the Queen Dowager as Heireſs of the Houſe of *Parma*, afforded a new Proof of the Solidity of his Conjecture; for we have ſeen *Milan*, *Parma*, *Placentia*, and all the ſtrong Places in *Italy*, which made ſuch a Figure in former Ages, taken and retaken in ſucceſſive Campaigns; ſo that as he rightly judged, the modern Art of War has made a great Alteration in Things, and we have no Reaſon to expect that any Sieges for the future will reſemble thoſe of former Times, any more than that of *Troy*. A regular Method of attacking, and a large Train of Artillery, ſoon does the Buſineſs, in Spite of numerous Garriſons and the ſtrongeſt Fortifications.

His Obſervations in reſpect to the Territories of the *Venetians*, and other States of *Italy*, have been alſo verified. That they ſtill continue declining, all modern Travellers agree: That the great Cities which were rich and populous while free, are now falling to Decay, and in a Manner become Deſerts, as well as the Diſtricts about them, is not to be diſputed; and that it cannot be long before they are either ſwallowed up by powerful Neighbours, or change their Maſters by ſome ſudden Revolution, is a Thing morally certain; an Event which it is highly probable the preſent Generation will ſee. For though political Bodies reſemble natural ones in many Circumſtances, yet in ſome they differ; for the latter are often worn out and periſh by Conſumptions; yet this happens very rarely to the former, where the Diſſolution of one Government, generally ſpeaking, makes Way for another; ſo that it may be truly ſaid, a State has many Lives, or which is the ſame Thing, though it periſhes in one Form, it is again revived in another, becauſe the Country, and ſome Inhabitants at leaſt, remain in Spite of all Revolutions; and as in one Age we ſee ſmall States deſtroyed and conquered by great Monarchies; ſo in ſucceeding Ages alſo thoſe great Monarchies ſink under their own Weight, and their Dominions crumble again into ſeparate States. Thus the true Politician ſees through all theſe Changes, penetrates their Cauſes, ſees the greateſt Events at a conſiderable Diſtance, and is never ſubject to Admiration or Surprize, which are Weakneſſes incident only to limited Underſtandings and narrow Minds.

The Account he has given us of the deplorable State of the People who dwell at preſent in the fineſt Countries in *Europe*, ſerves to give Credit to the Accounts we daily received of their Poverty and Diſtreſs, which would otherwiſe ſurpaſs all Belief. It is however worthy of Notice, that within theſe few Years, the Popes themſelves, as well as other Princes of *Italy*, begin to be ſenſible of the Evils reſulting to their Subjects, from their Bigottry to their Religion, which they have endeavoured to remove, or at leaſt to ſoften in many Reſpects. The late King of *Sardinia*, one of the wiſeſt, and greateſt Princes of his Time, began this, and thereupon ſome Differences aroſe between his Majeſty and the Court of *Rome*. The Memorials he ſent thither on that Occaſion opened the Eyes of the late Pope, and ſome of the moſt intelligent Cardinals, who thenceforward became willing to make uſe of the ſame Methods that Monarch had practiſed for the Eaſe and Emolument of the Inhabitants of the Eccleſiaſtical State; but the natural Slowneſs of that Court in all its Motions, and the Fear of the Conſequences that might attend any Relaxation of religious Diſcipline among a People, naturally ſo corrupt as the *Italians* generally are, has hitherto retarded ſo good a Work, though the Thoughts of it are not quite given up, the Pope having lately attempted to ſuppreſs not only many but almoſt all the Holidays peculiar to his Church, which however has not been found eaſy to carry into Execution. The very Attempt however ſufficiently ſhews, that in the Opinion of the Papiſts themſelves, their Faith becomes a political Grievance, againſt which they are obliged to uſe ſuch Precautions as are ſuggeſted by Reaſon, which ſufficiently diſtinguiſhes between that Part of their Religion which is grounded on Revelation, and what is no better founded than on the Authority of the Church, or in plain *Engliſh*, the Invention of Prieſts. For evident it is, that God will command nothing that is not for the Good of his Creatures; and as Reaſon teaches, ſo Experience juſtifies this Truth; for the Chriſtian Religion, in its moſt eſſential Points, flouriſhes no where better than in thoſe rough and barren Countries, where our Prelate obſerves, that the People are both happy and rich in Spite, as it were, both of the Soil and Climate; but in the Countries where Popery is predominant, neither Soil nor Climate can contribute to render them populous, or the People that are left in them happy. The Inference I would draw from this is, that by Degrees it is more than probable, this great Evil will cure itſelf. For as the Papal Dominions feel it moſt, and as it is well known, that the beſt Politicians in *Europe* are generally found at *Rome*, for Reaſons which our Prelate has very judiciouſly aſſigned, it ſeems highly likely from thence, that the Reformation of theſe Abuſes, when they come to be intolerable, will be begun here; and when once this is brought about, there is no Room to queſtion, that Precautions of the like Nature will be freely taken by all the Princes of the ſame Communion, who as they have ſuffered themſelves to be led wrong, will be, no doubt, as ready to be ſet right by the Example of this Court. Thus the temporal Intereſt of the Pope may prove the Means of redreſſing the Diſorders occaſioned by his ſpiritual Authority.

There has been an Obſervation made by Travellers of all Nations, who have paſſed through all *Italy*, that the People grow worſe and worſe, as you advance, and better and better as you come back, which is another Proof of the Principles before advanced; ſince in thoſe diſtant Parts of the Country, but more eſpecially in *Naples* and *Sicily*, the People are univerſally under the Dominion of their Prieſts, and indeed the Clergy are the Proprietors of the greater Part of the Lands of thoſe Countries, which is the principal Reaſon that there is no Trade in Places that ſeem the fitteſt for it; and that thoſe Countries are left uncultivated, which are naturally the moſt rich, and the moſt fruitful. But whenever it ſhall happen, as happen it certainly will, that *Naples* and *Sicily* ſhall fall under the Dominion of an independent Prince, who will ſtudy only the Benefit of his Subjects, and the Advantage of his Family, theſe Grievances will be taken away, and the People put in Poſſeſſion of thoſe mighty Privileges, which ſeem to have been intended them by Nature. For it is impoſſible to conſider the convenient Situation, the rich Commodities, and the ſeveral Ports that are in theſe two Kingdoms, I mean of *Naples* and *Sicily*, without ſtanding amazed that they are no better peopled; that they have ſo few Ships belonging to them, and that all the valuable Commodities they produce, are carried away by Foreigners at an under Rate, and manufactured and exported afterwards to enrich the Inhabitants of other Countries.

The great Dutchy of *Tuſcany* is ſince fallen into a worſe Condition than when it was viſited by our Author. The Princes of the Houſe of *Medicis*, always retain ſomething of the Merchant; and though they wanted not Ambition, and were ſtudious enough for the Advancement of their own Intereſt, yet they kept always in View the Good of their Subjects, as being truly ſenſible, that a Prince could never be great or rich if his Dominions were thinly inhabited, or his People poor. It was with this View, that by the Aſſiſtance of Sir *Robert Dudley*, an *Engliſhmen*, Son to the great Earl of *Leiceſter*, that took ſo much Pains to build the Town, and open the Harbour of *Liverno*, which we taking our Pronunciation from our Sailors, call *Legborn*, and which they afterwards declared a free Port. In this, and in other Meaſures of the ſame Nature,

ture, they purſued the Maxims that had been laid down while *Florence* remained a free State; but there was this Miſchief attended the Change of the Government from a Republick, that its Fate depended no longer upon itſelf, but upon that of the reigning Family, which has brought it into the Circumſtances we ſee it at preſent, which are very extraordinary, ſince it no longer is the Inheritance of that Family, or of the Heirs of that Family, but by Way of Exchange has been given to the Duke of *Lorrain*, who is at preſent Emperor, and thus labours under two additional Miſfortunes; for as it had loſt its Liberty before, ſo now it has not only loſt its Native Princes, who were always the Parents of their People, and fallen under a foreign Yoke, but has actually no Prince at all, and is become a Province lying at a great Diſtance from the Reſidence of its Sovereign. Theſe are, without Doubt, very grievous Misfortunes, the Conſequences of which will be ſeen daily more and more.

The other States of *Italy* have alſo ſuffered much ſince they were viſited by our Author; the Duchies of *Milan*, *Mantua*, and *Guaſtalla*, are no more; and it is doubtful whether the ſame Thing may not be ſaid of *Modena* and *Mirandola*. The Republick of *Genoa* is certainly undone, if not ſubverted; and the two laſt general Wars have gone farther in depopulating, diſtreſſing, and impoveriſhing *Italy*, than all ſhe ſuffered in the two Centuries before, and yet in that Time her Sufferings were not ſmall. But notwithſtanding all this, and though it is ſcarce poſſible for a Country to be more wretched than this really is at the Time we are writing. there is no Doubt that a few Years of Peace, and the riſing up of good Princes, might ſtill recover it to as good a State as ever it was in for theſe five hundred Years. The Reader will from hence diſcern the true Reaſon, why the maintaining a Balance of Power in this Country is ſo much the Intereſt of all the Princes and States that are its preſent Poſſeſſors, and why the reſt of the Crowns of *Europe*, and the maritime Powers more eſpecially, have alſo an Intereſt in maintaining that Balance, which is of ſo great Conſequence to the Commerce of *Europe*, which can never be well regulated if that Balance ſhould be overturned, and, by Addition of Conqueſts, the greateſt Part of this Country fall under the Dominion of any Prince much more powerful than the reſt. We may alſo ſee how wiſe and how right an Expedient it would be, if all the *Italian* Powers would unite in a Confederacy for preſerving the Peace of that Country, by eſtabliſhing a perpetual Neutrality, which, as it would prejudice no one Power in *Europe*, ſo if thoſe concerned would go about it heartily, there could be no Doubt of their ſucceeding; and this might not only lay a Foundation for their particular Happineſs, but prove a very good Precedent for eſtabliſhing the univerſal Tranquillity of Chriſtendom; which if it be a Bleſſing that we have ſmall Hopes to ſee, we may however have Leave to wiſh, and pleaſe ourſelves with the Proſpect of what would certainly prove the greateſt and the moſt univerſal Good.

Thus we have taken Pains to accommodate the Accounts, Obſervations, and Remarks of Biſhop *Burnet*, made threeſcore Years ago, to the preſent Times, at leaſt with reſpect to *Italy*. It is very much to be regretted, that he did not give us a larger Account of his Journey through *France*, notwithſtanding the Reaſons aſſigned by him for omitting it. He ſhews himſelf very impartial in attributing the Perſecution of the Proteſtants to the Religion of the *French* King, rather than to the Haughtineſs and Cruelty of his Temper, and perhaps there was ſomething of Juſtice in this, becauſe it is certain, that in other Reſpects, this Prince was very far from ſhewing himſelf of a Blood-thirſty Temper, for there was but one Man of Quality put to Death, during his whole Reign, the Chevalier *de Rohan*; and the King baniſhed his Mother for not demanding his Pardon, which at the ſame Time he declared he would have granted. It is very remarkable that our Queen *Mary*, who was a moſt violent Perſecutrix, was alſo a Woman of a mild and gentle Temper; which ſhews, that the beſt Princes are capable of doing as bad Things as the worſt, when under the Influence of bad Counſels. But perhaps it may not be amiſs to inform the *Engliſh* Reader, that the *French* Memoirs of this Reign, ſuggeſt a very different Reaſon for this Perſecution, and though they do not lay it upon the King, they lay it as little upon the Prieſts; for the Account they give of it is this: *Lewis* XIV. was very deſirous to ſee the Proteſtants converted, as he called it, and for that Reaſon gave great Encouragement to ſuch of the Clergy as applied themſelves to this Work. This gave Oocaſion to the Archbiſhop of *Paris*, and the King's Confeſſor, Father *le Chaiſe*, to have frequent private Audiences of his Majeſty, which laſted an Hour or two at a Time. This gave ſuch Umbrage to one of his Miniſters, Mr. *Louvois*, that he determined to put an End to it at any Rate, which induced him to propoſe the new Method of converting by Dragoons, as the ſhorteſt and the moſt effectual. If there be any Truth in this, as indeed there is too great Reaſon to believe that this was the real Secret of that bloody Buſineſs, then it plainly ſhews, that both Princes and Prieſts are liable to be impoſed upon, and made the Tools of wicked and ambitious Stateſmen, who conſider nothing but their own Intereſt, and ſtick at nothing that may promote it. It was the ſame Perſon that filled the Head of that Prince with thoſe dangerous and deſtructive Views, that were ſo fatal to the Peace of *Europe*; the Pretence was his Maſter's Glory, and the Intereſt of the Crown of *France*, but the true Cauſe was the Senſe he had, that it was impoſſible for him to preſerve his Power, or make himſelf neceſſary to his Maſter, but in Times of War and Confuſion, which therefore he made it his conſtant Study to promote. The ſurprizing of *Straſburgh*, and the erecting of *Hunningen*, were both his Schemes, and in ſhort, ſo were all the bad Schemes in his Time. Beſides, he firſt taught the *French* Miniſters how to practiſe upon the *German* Princes, which they have continued to do ever ſince; and he made it his Boaſt, that in a Time of full Peace he had added more to the Dominions of *France*, than the greateſt of her Generals in Time of War by their Conqueſts: And indeed this was ſo true, that he brought four of the Electors to become in a Manner dependent upon that Crown, equally to the Diſgrace and to the Danger of the Empire. But Reflections of this Kind may lead us too far, and therefore we will put an End to them here, and with them to this Section, that in the next we may carry the Reader into *France*, and give him a ſhort View of a Country, which in Point of Situation, Climate, and Produce, ſcarce yields to any in *Europe*; the Monarchs of which are the leſs excuſable for aiming at univerſal Dominion, ſince the Poſſeſſion of it would hardly put more into their Power, than by quietly enjoying their own Territories, and attending only to the Welfare of their Subjects, they might, without Envy, Trouble, or Danger, find within their Reach. But Ambition is a Perſpective that diminiſhes Objects that are near, as much as it magnifies thoſe at a Diſtance, and conſequently ſhews both in falſe Lights.

SECTION V.

TRAVELS through the *Low-Countries*, and *Germany*, towards *Italy*, interſperſed with curious Obſervations, Natural, Topographical, Moral, Phyſilogical, Philological, *&c.*

By the late Reverend and Learned Mr. JOHN RAY, *F. R. S.*

1. *An Introductory Account of the Author and of his Performance, in order to ſhew the Difference between it and other Books of* Travels. 2. *A Deſcription of* Calais, Dunkirk, Gravelin, Newport, *and other Places in the* Spaniſh Flanders. 3. *An Account of* Bruges, Ghent, Bruſſels, Louvain, *and* Antwerp, *with occaſional Remarks on whatever is ſingular or worthy Notice in any of thoſe Cities.* 4. *The ſame Obſervations continued, with a copious Deſcription of the Nature of Foreign Univerſities.* 5. *A Deſcription of Fort* Lillo, *the City of* Middleburgh, Fluſhing, Ter-Veer, Bergen-op-Zoom, Breda, Dort *and* Rotterdam. 6. *The Deſcription of* Delft, *with the Monumental Eulogies of* William I. *Prince of* Orange, *and Admiral* Van Tromp. 7. *A Deſcription of* Leyden, *with an Account of the Univerſity, and of the Grove of* Sevenhuys, *and the Method of making Turfs.* 8. *The great City of* Amſterdam *deſcribed, with a very exact Account of its Government.* 9. *The Author's Journey from thence to* Utrecht, *with an Account of the remarkable Places in its Neighbourhood.* 10. Bois-le-Duc, Haumont, Maeſtricht, *and other Places, deſcribed.* 11. *The Manners, Cuſtoms, and peculiar Diſpoſition of the* Dutch *Nation, together with the curious Obſervations made upon that Subject by Mr.* Barnham, *Secretary to the Lord* Hollis. 12. *A large Deſcription of* Liege, *with the Monumental Inſcription of Sir* John Mandeville. 13. *An Account of* Spa, Limbourg, *and* Aix la Chapelle, *including the Antiquities and Form of Government of the laſt mentioned City.* 14. *An Extract from Dr.* Francis Blondel's *Obſervations upon thoſe Baths, eſteemed the beſt Account ever publiſhed of them.* 15. *A Deſcription of* Juliers, *and of the City of* Cologne, *and an Account of the Government of that Place.* 16. Andernach, Coblentz, *and many other Places deſcribed, with a particular Account of the Country.* 17. *A Deſcription of* Mentz, Francfort, Worms, *and* Frankendahl. 18. *An Account of* Spire, Manheim, *and* Heidelberg, *including the Deſcription of the* Palatinate. 19. Philipſbourg, Straſbourg, Briſac, *and the Country adjacent, deſcribed.* 20. *The City and Univerſity of* Bazil *deſcribed, with various Critical and Hiſtorical Obſervations thereon, and on the Places adjacent.* 21. Zurich, Schaffhauſſen, Conſtance, *and the Country about them, deſcribed very exactly.* 22. *An Account of* Lindaw, *and other Towns in* Bavaria. 23. *A Deſcription of* Munich, Augſbourg, *and* Donawert. 24. *The Country of* Anſpach, *and the City of* Nuremberg, *deſcribed.* 25. *A Deſcription of* Regenſberg, *or* Ratiſbon, Straubingen, *and* Paſſau. 26. *A large Account of the Country of* Auſtria, *with a particular Deſcription of the Capital City of* Vienna. 27. *An Account of the Author's Journey from thence to the Frontiers of* Italy.

1. IT is impoſſible to have a juſt Notion of the Nature and Value of the following Travels, without having ſome Account of the learned Perſon who wrote them, whoſe Name will always do Honour to this Nation. His Father was a *Blackſmith*, at *Black Notley* in *Eſſex*, where Mr. *Ray* was born and died. The firſt of theſe Events happened the 29th of *November*, 1628. He received his firſt Education at the Grammar-School at *Braintree*, and from thence was removed to *Cambridge*, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his indefatigable Diligence in his Studies, and his particular Turn to *Botany*, which was the principal Cauſe of all his Travels. In 1658, he made the Tour of *Wales* and the Weſt of *England*; in 1661, he viſited the North, and examined the beſt Part of *Scotland*; in 1662, he made another Journey to *Cheſter*, and from thence through *Wales*, into *Cornwall*, *Devonſhire*, *Dorſetſhire*, *Hampſhire*, *Wiltſhire*, and returned to *London* through *Berkſhire*. In 1663, he travelled with Mr. *Willoughby*, Mr. *Skipton*, and Mr. *Bacon*, through the Countries which will be mentioned in the following Pages; and after his Return to *England*, he made many other Journies into different Parts for the Sake of Botanical Obſervations, of which he left behind him very large Accounts, that hitherto remain unpubliſhed. In 1677, he returned into his native Country, and built a Houſe in the Pariſh of *Black Notley*, where he paſſed the Remainder of his Days. He wrote and publiſhed a great Number of very learned and valuable Pieces, which are too well known for us to give any Account of them. He was juſtly eſteemed one of the honeſteſt and moſt conſcientious Men of the Age in which he lived; he ſuffered in his Youth for not taking the *Solemn League* and *Covenant*, and loſt his Living after the Reſtoration, becauſe he would not take the *Abjuration Oath* then impoſed in relation to that *Solemn League* and *Covenant*, which declared it not binding on thoſe who did take it; and thus he was generally eſteemed a *Nonconformiſt*, though always not only a Member, but a Deacon and Prieſt of the Church of *England*, in which Communion he died, *January* 17, 1705. His Travels are written in a very peculiar Style, and in a very ſingular Manner; he is generally copious, and always exact, but at the ſame Time there is hardly any Thing to be met with in his Accounts that hath been recorded by others; ſo that though he deſcribes the ſame Places with many other Writers, yet the Reader will meet with very few or no Repetitions, which was the principal Reaſon of our inſerting his Travels in this Collection, which have been always, and ſtill are very juſtly admired, and generally eſteemed. One Thing more it is neceſſary to obſerve, which is this, that we have omitted his Catalogues of Profeſſors, the Times and Subjects of their Lectures in the ſeveral Univerſities through which he paſſed, as being long ago out of Date, and ſo tending neither to the Entertainment, nor Inſtruction of the Reader; and we have likewiſe left out his Catalogues of Plants, becauſe foreign to our Purpoſe, though they will always add conſiderably to the Value of the larger Collection publiſhed under his Name, which being grown ſcarce, has been reprinted within theſe few Years.

2. We went in the Packet-Boat *April* 18th, 1663, from *Dover* to *Calais*, formerly belonging to the *Engliſh*, ſince to the *Spaniards*, and ſoon after ſurrendered to the *French*, in 1598. Its Situation is very advantageous, and the Fortifications of Earth, with a deep Ditch and Citadel to the Land ſide. It exceeds *Dover* in Bigneſs, and the Market-place is a very ſpacious Square; the Government of the Place being adminiſtred by a Mayor and four Aldermen.

April 21. We continued our Journey, by Way of *Gravelin* to *Dunkirk*; the firſt is a Place but indifferently built and peopled, ſeated in a watery Country, and encloſed with a good Number of Out-works and broad Ditches: The ſecond may be compared for Extent to *Cambridge*, being very populous and well fortified. It is one of the four Port-Towns of *Flanders*.

We travelled along the Sea-ſhore from thence to *Oſtend*, taking our Way by *Newport*: This laſt is another of the *Flemiſh* Ports, having a capacious and ſecure Harbour, but will admit of no Ships of any great Burthen; the Streets are broad and uniform, but the Houſes are low, and built of Timber. *Oſtend* is another of the Harbours of *Flanders*, conſiderable both for Strength and Conveniency; being capacious and ſecure againſt the Violence of the Winds, and capable of receiving Ships of conſiderable Burthen; the Buildings are likewiſe but low here, yet pretty uniform, and the Streets regular and ſtreight, being built all at once, after the famous Siege of three Years, before it could be taken by the *Spaniards*. *Sluys* is another Seaport Town of this Country, but under the Juriſdiction of the United Provinces; its Harbour exceeds all the before-mentioned for its Capacity, but is growing daily ſhallower, and will in Time be choaked up.

3. *April* 24. Having taken us Places in the Track-boat, bound for *Bruges*, and drawn by Horſes, we came about a League and an half from *Oſtend*, to one of thoſe Locks (called *Soſtegni* by the *Italians*) which are generally made at a great Declivity of a Fall of Water, to keep up the Water, and thereby render a River navigable, which either wants Water, or has too ſteep a Deſcent. Such there are in *Guildford* River in *Surry* in *England*. The City of *Bruges* is about four Leagues diſtant from *Oſtend*, well built, and of a great Circumference, having been formerly a very conſiderable City for Trade. Here, when we ſaw Pieces of Linnen faſtened to the Ring of the Doors, where Women were lying in, it put us in Mind of what *Eraſmus* had taken Notice of upon this Head in his *Colloquies*. But what delighted us much, was a certain Engine made uſe of here, for the drawing up of Water in great Quantities for the Uſe of the City. This is perform'd by Means of a Chain, unto which are faſtened Cylindrical Buckets of Iron; the Chain being round in Form of a Wheel-band, and put over a large *Axis*, deeply furrowed, from whence hanging down into the Well below it, and being turn'd about by the *Axis*, the deſcending Buckets have their Mouths downward, take up the Water as they paſs through the Well, which afterwards aſcending with their Mouths upwards (yet a little inclining from the Chain outward) they carry up to the *Axis*, to which as ſoon as they are come, they muſt, by Reaſon of their Poſition, turn it out into a Trough placed lower than the *Axis*, by which it is conveyed into a Ciſtern, and thence by Pipes through the City. The deep Furrows in the *Axis* are made to hold up the Buckets, without which, the Chain would be apt to ſlip back, by Reaſon of the Weight of the aſcending Buckets. I have ſeen many of this kind in *France*, *Spain* and *Italy*. This City has but Seven Pariſh Churches, but Convents in a great Number: In the Church dedicated to *Our Lady*, you ſee the Monument of *Charles*, ſirnamed the *Hardy*, Duke of *Burgundy*, who (as the *French* Inſcription tells you) was ſlain in the Battle of *Nancy*, 1476, and his Body tranſlated thence by the Emperor *Charles* V. We ſaw here a very tall Fellow, and well-ſhap'd; from his middle Finger to his Elbow 25 Inches, the Length of his Hand to the Wriſt 11 Inches, his middle Finger 7 Inches, and the reſt of his Limbs proportionable: He was afterwards ſhown in *England*.

According to *Boetius*, a Native of this Place, certain ſubterraneous Woods are digg'd up ten or twelve Ells deep in the Earth, with the Trunks, Boughs, and Leaves ſo apparent, that the ſeveral kinds of them may be eaſily diſtinguiſhed. The like I have been inform'd, are found in *Frieſland* and about *Groningen*, eſpecially in the fenny Ground, where they dig for Turfs. In *England* they are called *Moſs-wood*, and are likewiſe found in mooriſh and boggy Grounds: It is very probable, that in moſt ancient Times, before all Records, theſe Places were Woods on the Continent, and being overwhelm'd by the Sea, continued under Water, till the Rivers and Floods brought thither ſo much Earth and Mud, as by Degrees cover'd theſe Trees, and rejoined them to the Continent. As for the Seas often encroaching upon the Continent, it is manifeſt on our Coaſt of *Suffolk* about *Dunwich*, there being very ancient and authentick Records, which mention a certain Wood a Mile and a half to the Eaſt of *Dunwich*, which is now a great Way in the Sea. And, as to what concerns the filling up of ſuch Places, I have ſome Reaſons to believe, that if not all, at leaſt a great Part of the *Low Countries* have been thus gained from the Sea. I remember that *Varenius* mentions, that at the ſinking of a Well in *Amſterdam*, of 100 Feet deep, they met with a Floor of Sand and Cockle-ſhells, a convincing Argument that the Bottom of the Sea lay there in former Ages, and that in Proceſs of Time, theſe hundred Feet of Earth were accumulated and brought thither by ſome conſiderable Rivers which depoſited the Sands its Stream had waſhed from the high Grounds hereabouts. Of this we have divers other Inſtances in the Flats about *Venice*, and in the *Camarg*, or the Iſle of the River *Rhoſne*, near *Aix* in *Provence*, where (as we were credibly informed) the Watch-Tower had been three Times removed nearer to the Sea, within the Memory of ſome People, by Reaſon of the Acceſſion of Land on that Side. Some object concerning the Trees digg'd up in *England*, that, as they are generaly taken foe Firs (a Tree that never grows well in *England)* this Argument will not hold in reſpect of our Country; but till we are better convinced that the Trees they ſpeak of are really Fir-Trees, the Solution of this Objection meets with no great Difficulty.

We travelled *April* the 27th, by Water, from *Bruges* to *Ghent*, a City which ſtands on a great Track of Ground, but ſcarce half built. It has only Seven Pariſh Churches, but Fifty-five religious Houſes.

From hence we continued our Journey, *April* the 30th, to *Bruſſels*, by the Way of *Aloſt* (a fortified Town) the firſt being the Capital City of *Brabant*, and the Reſidence of the Governors of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*. The Inhabitants here, as well as in divers other Cities of the *Low Countries*, have Dogs to draw their little Wheel-barrows or Carts, in which they ſell Fruits and other ſmall Commodities.

May 2. We came to *Louvain*, a City which for its Circuit exceeds that of *Ghent* by three Rods, but contains, like that, abundance of void Ground, and is but indifferently built; the Town-houſe, which is very ſtately, being the only Structure worth mentioning. It has 43 Colleges, but does not now make the Figure it did.

The Students are diſtinguiſh'd by their Habits, according to their Profeſſions, the Divines wearing conſtantly Gowns and ſquare Caps, which the reſt are not obliged to, except at publick Exerciſes; yet none are allowed to wear Swords in the City. In the four *Pædagogies*, Philoſophy only is taught by two Profeſſors; the firſt is ſtiled *Primarius*, the other *Secundarius*. The *Primarius* reads in the Morning, from half an-Hour after ſix till half an Hour after ſeven, and from ten to eleven o'Clock. The other in the Afternoon, from half an Hour after one, till half an Hour after two; and from half an Hour after four, till half an Hour after five. They take the Profeſſors Lectures; (which are divided into *Dictata* or *Theſes*, and Propoſitions, and *Annotata*, or Objections and Solutions) in certain Note-Books. The Gentlemen Students are placed in a peculiar Form, called *Scamnum Nobilium.* As ſoon as the Students come to the Univerſity, they muſt enter their Names, with the Preſident of their College; every Time they are abſent from a Lecture, they pay a Penny, for each Time of Abſence from a publick Exerciſe, Three-pence, and if they miſs when they are to perform a publick Exerciſe themſelves, Twenty-pence. The Profeſſors of each *Pædagogy* chuſe every Year twelve of their beſt Scholars, and after they have been publickly examined, out of their Number twelve are ſelected to be *Burſers*, and to have their Lodgings, Diet, and a good Stipend in what College each of them pleaſes, and to chooſe what Profeſſion they like beſt, and it is out of theſe commonly the Profeſſors are choſen. Their Degrees here are *Batchelor*, *Licentiate*, and *Doctor*. After two Years ſtanding in Divinity, they may be created Batchelors, or *Baccalaurei currentes*, and at one more *Baccalaurei formati*, but can't be *Licentiates* till ſeven Years after; theſe immediately after their Creation, are reputed Gentlemen, and have Liberty to chooſe a Coat of Arms. Doctors are ſeldom created till they are 50 Years of Age, unleſs they have given more than ordinary Proof of their Abilities.

May 4. We took a Walk for half a Mile from *Louvain*, to take a View of the Duke of *Areſchot*'s Palace, and the Convent of the *Celeſtines* adjoining to it. At *Louvain*, we ſaw three Things we had not met with before, *viz.* Storks, Women Porters, and Troopers begging on Horſeback.

May 5. Leaving *Louvain*, we travell'd to *Mechlin (Malines)* a very neat Place, being the Seat of an Archbiſhop, and Capital of one of the Seventeen Provinces under the Name of the *Lordſhip of Mechlin*, tho' it has not above nine Villages under its Juriſdiction. The Inhabitants are very induſtrious in their Manufactories; and among the reſt, there are three whole Streets full of Tanners. We continued the ſame Day our Journey to *Antwerp*, by Boat, which ſome compare to *Florence*, but exceeds it in my Opinion for Beauty. It is encompaſs'd with Fortifications of Earth, faced with Free-Stone, of a conſiderable Thickneſs, and a broad and deep Ditch, which, together with its Situation in a level Ground, makes it very ſtrong. The Citadel, built by the Duke of *Alva*, is a Pentagon. The Houſes are generally lofty, and of Brick; the Chapel of the Jeſuits very rich and ſtately; and the Steeple of St *Mary*'s Church a curious Piece of Architecture, as is alſo the Town-houſe. Our *Royal Exchange* of *London*, was built after that of *Antwerp*, but the Copy much exceeds the Original; this City being much fallen from its Traffick, ſince the vaſt Increaſe of Wealth in the United Provinces. *Plantin*'s Printing-Houſe is the beſt of that Kind I ever met with.

4. *May* 15. We embark'd on board a ſmall Veſſel at *Lillo* Fort, upon the *Schelde*, three Leagues below *Antwerp*, belonging to the United Provinces: Having a favourable Wind and Tide, we made 54 *Engliſh* Miles, and arrived before Sun-ſet at *Middleburgh*, the Capital City of the Province of *Zealand:* In our Paſſage we ſaw ſeveral Sea Calves upon the Sands. This City is ſeated in the very Center of the Iſle of *Walcheren* (whence it derives its Name) being of a large Compaſs, well fortified, populous and wealthy. It has a Channel reaching from the Town through that Part of the Iſle which looks towards *Antwerp*, capable of receiving Ships of great Burthen, which are brought into the very Streets of the City. It has about 20 Churches, the *Lutherans*, *French*, *Proteſtants*, *Anabaptiſts*, and *Jews*, having alſo the publick Exerciſe of their religious Worſhip allowed them here. This is one principal Cauſe of their Wealth and Trade. We took a Walk thence to *Fluſhing*, about three *Engliſh* Miles: It is neither ſo large nor ſo handſomely built as *Middleburgh*, the Streets being much narrower; but the Convenience and Goodneſs of its Harbour, together with its Strength and Riches, make it very conſiderable.

May 19. We took a Walk to the *Ter-Veer*, about the ſame Diſtance from *Middleburgh*, to the North; it doth not come near to *Fluſhing* in Bigneſs, yet has two very good Harbours, and ſeveral Wharfs and Keys: As we paſs'd along, we found the Banks of the Sea-ſhore covered with a Kind of Matting of Ruſhes or Flags, ſtaked down as high as the Tide commonly riſes, to prevent their being waſhed away by the Strength of the Current.

May 20. We paſs'd in a Boat from *Middleburgh* to *Bergen-op Zoom*; and in our Way went by the ſtrong Fort call'd *Rammekens*, ſituate at the Entrance of the Channel leading to *Middleburgh*, a Place remarkable for its Fortifications, which are ſtrengthened by many Half-Moons, Horn works, &c. and is look'd on as one of the beſt Fortreſſes in this Country.

May 21. We travelled to *Breda*, eight Hours from *Bergen*, which makes about 24 *Engliſh* Miles; it being the Cuſtom of the *Dutch* to meaſure their Miles by Hours. This Place may ſtand in Competition with moſt in thoſe Parts for its Strength, Bigneſs, and Number of Inhabitants, being encloſed by very good Fortifications, and two broad Ditches, one of which is always fill'd with Water. It belongs to the Prince of *Orange*, whoſe Palace is ſeen here, and there is a good Garriſon in the Town.

May 22. We continued our Journey by the Way of *Gertrudenberg* (a ſmall but well fortified Place belonging to the *Dutch)* to *Dort* or *Dodrecht*, a City rich, populous, large, and for its Buildings, to be compared with *Antwerp* itſelf; the Streets being very neatly pav'd (as in all other Cities of *Holland*) with Stone in the Middle, and on each Side with a peculiar Kind of yellow Brick, ſet Edgeways. The *Engliſh* enjoy great Privileges here, and have two Churches, whereas the *French* have but one. We ſaw the Room in the *Gunners-Hall*, in which the Synod, held in this City 1611, was aſſembled, the Seats thereof being ſtill preſerved.

6. *May* 23. We paſs'd in one of their *Trackſchoots* or Boats drawn by Horſes, to *Rotterdam* in five Hours. This City is of a triangular Figure, and next to *Amſterdam*, vies with all the other Cities of the United Provinces, not excepting *Leyden* itſelf, having been conſiderably augmented of late, by the Addition of many new Streets. Not far from St. *Lawrence*'s Church, you ſee a ſmall Houſe, which having given Birth to the learned *Eraſmus*, his Picture is ſet over the Door, with this Diſtich on one Side of it; much inferior in Merit to its Subject.

Ædibus his ortus mundum decoravit Eraſmus
Artibus ingenuis, relligione, fide.

And another thus:

Fatalis ſeries nobis invidit Eraſmum,
At Deſiderium *tollere non potuit.*

His Statue in Braſs ſtands in the great Market-place, with a Book of the ſame Metal in his Hand. As the Inhabitants of *Rotterdam* enjoy the Conveniency of a very good Harbour, ſo Ships of great Burthen are carried into the very Streets, and they addict themſelves chiefly to Naval Commerce. Their Civil Government is adminiſtred by a Preſident, four Burgomaſters, and twenty-four *Aldermen* or *Senators*, which they call the *Vroteſchap:* Theſe continue in their Stations during Life, chooſe all the publick Officers out of their own Number, and if any one dies, have the Privilege of chooſing another in his Room; ſo that the Government here, as well as in other Cities of the United Provinces, is a Kind of *Ariſtocracy*, with this Difference only, that in ſome, the Number of thoſe who compoſe this *Vroteſchap* is more, in others leſs.

5. *May* 25. We went into one of their *Trackſchoots*, which go every Hour in the Day from hence to *Delft*, where we arrived in two Hours. This City is alſo very large, with fair Streets and Water-Channels in them

as in moſt other Places in *Holland.* The *Stadt houſe* is a ſtately Structure, and the old and new Churches are very large. In the Middle of the Choir of the laſt of theſe, you ſee the ſumptuous Tomb of *William* Earl of *Naſſau*, Prince of *Orange*, who was aſſaſſinated by the *Spaniards*, as this following Inſcription tells you:

D. O. M.
Et
Æternæ memoriæ
Gulielmi Naſſovii,
Supremi Arauſionenſium Principis,
Patr. Patr.
Qui Belgii fortunis ſuas poſthabuit,
Et ſuorum.
Validiſſimos exercitus ære plurimum privato
Bis conſcripſit, bis induxit;
Ordinum auſpiciis Hiſpaniæ tyrannidem propulit:
Veræ religionis cultum, avitas patriæ leges
Revocavit, reſtituit:
Ipſam deniq; libertatem tantùm non aſſertam
Mauritio Principi,
Paternæ virtutis hæredi filio,
Stabiliendam reliquit;
Herois vere filii, prudentis, invicti;
Quem Philip. II. Hiſp. R. ille Europæ timor, timuit,
Non domuit, non terruit;
Sed empto percuſſore fraude, neſanda
Suſtulit.
Fæderat. Belg. Provinc.
Perenne memor. monum.
Fec.

In the Quire of the old Church is the Tomb of the famous *Van Tromp* with this Inſcription:

Æternæ Memoriæ,
Qui Batavos, qui virtutem ac verum laborem amas, lege ac luge.
Batavæ gentis decus, virtutis bellicæ fulmen hic jacet, qui vivus nunquam jacuit, & imperatorem ſtantem debere mori ſuo exemplo docuit; Amor civium, hoſtium terror, Oceani ſtupor, Martinus Harperti Trompius: *Quo nomine plures continentur laudes, quam hic lapis capit ſanè anguſtior; Et cui Schola Oriens & Occidens, mare materia triumphorum, Univerſus Orbis theatrum gloriæ fuit: Prædonum certa pernicies, commercii fælix aſſertor, familiaritate utilis non vilis, poſtquam nautus ac milites, durum genus, paterno & cum efficacia benigno rexit imperio, poſt L. prælia, quorum Dux fuit aut pars magna, poſt inſignes, ſupra fidem, victorias, poſt ſummos, infra meritum, honores, tandem bello Anglico, tantum non victor, certe invictus,* X. Aug. *Anno* Æræ Chriſtianæ M.D.C.L III. Ætat. LVI. *vivere ac vincere deſiit. Fæderati Belgii Patres Heroi optime merito* M. P.

Over his Arms was written the following Diſtich.

Urbs * *Phœbi cineres jactat, ſed currus* || *honores*
Ingreditur quoties egrediturque mari.

* i. e. *Delphi.* || *Phœbi nimirum ſeu ſolis.*

One Mr. *Mere* an Apothecary of that City had a fine *Muſæum* of natural and artificial Rarities, and among the reſt, the *Dens Hippopotami* (though I queſtion whether there be ſuch an Animal) the Horns of the *Hircus Bezoardicus*, and the *Cornua & Pedes Alcis*, call'd the *Elk* in *Engliſh*; the ſame I ſuppoſe, which in *New England* and *Virginia*, is call'd *Mooſe*; a *Species* of Deer of a tall and large Size, the Horns being without Brow-Antlers, but only a broad Palm of ſeveral Shags upon it. I ſaw one of thoſe Horns at *Lewes*, at Mr. *Holney*'s an Apothecary, that weighed twenty-five Pounds, and the Skin of an *Elk* ſtuft, in the *Great Duke* of *Florence*'s Gallery. In the Anatomical Theatre we alſo ſaw many Rarities, too many to be inſerted here. *Delft* is famous for its Earthen Ware, which is made in great Plenty there, in Imitation of *China.* The Government is adminiſter'd by a *Prætor* or *Schout*, two *Burgomaſters*, ſeven *Eſchevins*, and forty *Senators*, which they alſo call the *Vroetſchap.*

May 28. We paſs'd by Water, in leſs than an Hour's Time, to the *Hague*, being rather a Village than a City, and not encloſed with Walls or any Thing elſe; but for the Fairneſs of its Streets and beautiful Houſes, and Number of People, may challenge the Preference before many Cities. The Grove which is near it, is exceeding pleaſant, and here I firſt ſaw the *Monophyllum* grow wild, as I found at *Scheveling*, a Village on the Sea ſide, near the *Hague*, a *Species* of *Spartum maritimum*, much larger than our *Engliſh* kind. Whilſt we were at the *Hague*, we took the Opportunity of viewing the Burial-place of a certain Lady of *Zealand*, in the Church of *Lauſdun*, a Village about five or ſix *Engliſh* Miles from the *Hague*, who, as the Inſcription tells you, was *Margaret* the Wife of *Herman*, Earl of *Hennenbergh*, and Daughter of *Florentius*, Earl of *Holland* and *Zealand*, and Siſter to *William* King of the *Romans*, &c. This Lady being about 40 Years of Age, and meeting with a poor Woman that had Twins in her Arms, told her that ſhe muſt have been diſhoneſt to her Huſband, as not believing that two Children could be begot at once; at which the poor Woman being highly concerned, wiſh'd that ſhe might bring forth as many Children at a Birth, as there were Days in the Year; which was fulfilled in 1276, when at one Birth ſhe was brought to Bed of 365 Children of both Sexes, who were baptiz'd by *Guido*, Suffragan of *Utrecht*, in two Braſs Baſons, the Sons having the Name of *John*, and the Daughters that of *Elizabeth* given them; and ſoon after died all in one Day, as did alſo the Mother, and were buried in this Church of the Village of *Lanſdun.* This Inſcription is to be ſeen in *Latin*, over the two Baſons, in which they ſay, theſe Children were baptiz'd, and beneath it this Diſtich:

En tibi monſtroſum nimis & memorabile factum,
Quale nec à mundi conditione datum.

7. *May* 31. We went in one of their Paſſage-boats in three Hours from hence to *Leyden*, being next to *Amſterdam*, the largeſt City in *Holland.* The great Church of St. *Peter* contains many Monuments of learned Men, and in the *French* Church is among others, that of *Joſeph Scaliger.* The Schools for publick Lectures is a Structure of three Stories high, of Brick, having two Rooms on a Floor; the two lower being aſſign'd for Divinity and Phyſic; middlemoſt for Law and Philoſophy; and the uppermoſt contains the Printing-Houſe, ſo well known by the Name of *Officina Elzeviriana.* Every Year a Catalogue is printed in *Latin*, and affixed to the School Gates, containing the Names of the Profeſſors, and what publick Lecture each of them is to keep the Year following. Behind the School-Yard is the Phyſick-Garden, which encloſes about an Acre of Ground in the Square, and has a conſiderable Number of exotick Plants; the Catalogues of which are alſo frequently publiſhed here. They have no more than two Colleges here, in the Nature of Hoſpitals, for the Suſtenance of poor Scholars, the reſt of the Students living upon their own Purſe, without any Gowns or Caps, but walk the Streets with their Swords, and appear in the Schools, and perform their Exerciſes in them, with their Heads uncover'd. Thoſe that have a Mind to be Members of the Univerſity, apply themſelves to the *Rector Magnificus* (reſembling the Vice-Chancellor of our Univerſity) who enters them into the Book, and gives them a Seal, by which they are freed from paying of Exciſe, yet under a certain Limitation. Beſides the publick Lectures, each of the Profeſſors allot certain Hours for reading in private (which they call *Collegia*) for which the Auditors pay a Gratuity. Degrees (of which they have only thoſe of *Maſter of Arts* and *Doctors*) are conferr'd here, without the leaſt reſpect to the ſtanding of the Candidates. He that is to commence in any Faculty, propoſes only certain Theſes upon a ſelected Subject in Print, which he is obliged to maintain againſt all Opponents, every one

having the Liberty (after Leave aſked from the Profeſſor that preſides) to oppoſe the Candidate. Each of theſe Profeſſors have a Salary of 200 and 300*l. per Annum* allowed them. Beſides the Univerſity, there is a great Manufacture of Woollen Cloth ſettled in this City. For the reſt, the Houſes are very well built, with very ſteep Roofs on Purpoſe to caſt the Rain Water into Ciſterns, wherein it is preſerved for Uſe. Its Streets are for the moſt Part very broad, large, and ſtreight, furniſhed with Water Channels. In the Night-time certain Watchmen go about the Streets, and making a Noiſe with a Rapper, tell every Hour what Time of Night it is. In the anatomical Theatre, we ſaw many Skeleton's of Men and Beaſts, and among other Rarities, a Box, containing the Skeleton of the Head of an *Indian* Creature, half a Stag's, half a Hog's Head; many Leaves of the *Bethle*, not unlike the great *Satyrion* Leaf; an *Ant-Bear*; and in the Library, the Manuſcripts of *Joſeph Scaliger*. *Leyden* is encloſed with a good Earth Wall, and a Ditch, which being ſurrounded by Rows of Lime-Trees, make very pleaſant Walks.

Before we parted from *Leyden*, we took a Turn to a Village called *Sevenbuys*, about four Leagues thence, to view a very pleaſant Grove near it, excellently well ſtored with wild Fowl, ſuch as *Scholſers*, called *Shags* in *England*, being not unlike *Cormorants*, but ſomewhat leſs; we were much ſurprized to ſee them build upon Trees. *Lepelaers*, called *Plateæ* and *Pellicani* by *Geſner*, ſome call them *Spoonbills* in *England*. *Quacks*, called *Night-Ravens* by the *Germans*, becauſe they always make a Noiſe in the Night-time, and *Reyers* or *Herons*. Beſides which this Wood affords vaſt Numbers of *Ravens*, *Wood-Pigeons*, and *Turtle Doves*. By the Way, we took Notice of *Lyſimachia lutea flore globoſo*, and the *Arum ſive Dracunculus* growing in the Ditches. All the Grounds between this Village and *Leyden* are low, fenny, and full of Pools. We ſaw the Country People hereabouts buſied in making of Turf: They rake with a Kind of Hoop-net, faſtened to a Pole, the Mud up from the Bottom of a ſtanding Pool, wherewith having laden a Boat, they throw this Mud with long Shovels on an even Piece of Ground, making of it a Bed of an equal Bigneſs as near as they can gueſs; this, after it has lain long enough to dry, they tread with Pieces of Boards faſtened to their Feet, to make it cloſe and ſmooth; then they cut the whole Bed with a Spade into Pieces of the Bigneſs of a Brick, and pile them up in Stacks or Ranks, ſo that one may ſee through them, to give a free Paſſage to the Air and Wind, to dry them further, and afterwards are laid up in Barns, the Sides of which are made up with wooden Bars at ſome Diſtance from one another, to make them fit for Firing.

June 6. We continued our Journey in one of the Boats that go from this Place to *Haerlem*, where we arrived in four Hours; being a populous, ſtrong, and pleaſant City; provided with very fair Channels in ſeveral of its Streets: It has moſt delightful natural Groves on that Side where it looks towards *Leyden*. In the Garden of the Prince's Houſe is a Summer-houſe, where you ſee the Picture of *Lawrence Coſter*, in a furr'd Gown, holding the Letter A in his Hand, with this Inſcription over it:

> M. S. *Viro Conſulari*, Laurentio Coſtero *Haerlemenſi alteri Cadmo*, & *Artis Typographicæ circa Annum Domini* MCCCCXXXX, *Inventori primo.*

The Statue and Inſcription which was on his Houſe in the Market-place, are no more to be ſeen, the Houſe being ſold. The chief Trade in this City is in weaving of Silks, Damaſks, Velvets, Sattins, Linen Cloths, &c. The Sea Coaſt near *Haerlem*, and all *North Holland*, are covered againſt the Sea with green Downs.

8. *June* 8. We went hence in two Hours by Boat to *Amſterdam*, where we met at the Gate no more than two Soldiers, one without, the other within: This City, as it is the biggeſt of all the Low Countries, ſo for Riches and Traffick may compare with any in *Europe*. At that Time I looked upon the Extent of it to be the ſame with *Venice*, and conſequently leſs by one half than *London*, but as they were then buſied in encloſing a very large Track of Ground with a ſtrong Wall and deep Ditch (which I hear is ſince filled up with ſtately Houſes) it will bid fair for being numbered among thoſe of the firſt Rank for Bigneſs. The chief publick Buildings here are, the *Stadthouſe*, a moſt magnificent ſquare Pile of Buildings, faced without with Free-ſtone; the Foundation of which, as they told us, coſt 100000*l.* Sterling, the Structure being built upon 13659 great Piles or Trees driven into the Ground. The Exchange, a large oblong Square, frequented by vaſt Numbers of all Nations. The *Admiralty Houſe*, a noble Structure, with fair Rooms. The *Magazine*, and various *Hoſpitals* and *Houſes of Correction*. In this City is alſo a publick School, in which are kept Lectures in ſeveral Faculties, by ſix Profeſſors, eſpecially in the Summer Time. The *Jews*, who are richer here than in any other Place, amount to twenty thouſand: In this City are alſo tolerated moſt other Religions (not excepting the *Roman Catholick*) but none, except thoſe of the eſtabliſh'd Religion, are permitted to erect any Steeples, or to make Uſe of Bells for the aſſembling of the Congregation. In that ſtately Structure, called the *New Church*, you ſee a very fair Monument, erected to the Memory of *John van Galen*, with this Inſcription:

Generoſiſſimo Heroi
Johanni à Galen
Eſſenſi
Qui ob res fortiter & *feliciter geſtas, ſexies uno anno Dunkirkanorum prædatorum navem captam,* & *à Barbaris opima ſpolia reportata, Ordinum Claſſi in Mari Mediterraneo Præfectus, memorabili prælio ad Livornam, Deo auxiliante, Anglorum navibus captis, fugatis, incendio* & *ſubmerſione deletis, commercium cum dicti maris accolis reſtituit, idibus Martii Anno* M.DC.LIII. *Et uno pede truncatus, nono poſt victoriam die, annos natus* XLVIII. *obiit, ut in ſecula per gloriam viveret.*
Illuſtriſſ. & *Præpotent. Fœderati Belgii*
Ordinum decreto,
Nob. & *Pot. Senatus Archithalaſſ.*
Qui eſt Amſtelodami
M. H. P.

The Pulpit of this Church is valued at ten thouſand Pounds Sterling, and there are twenty-four eſtabliſhed Miniſters belonging to this City.

The Government is adminiſtered here by the *Prætor* or *Schout*, four *Burgomaſters*, nine *Eſchevins*, and thirty-ſix Counſellors or Senators, which they call the *Vroetſchap*. The *Prætor* has the firſt Place upon the Bench of the *Eſchevins*: He is elected by the *Burgomaſters* (with the Approbation of the *Vroetſchap*) for three Years, but may be continued in his Office from Time to Time: He is not eligible to this Dignity unleſs he has been a Freeman ſeven Years. His Buſineſs is to make Laws in Conjunction with the *Burgomaſters* and *Eſchevins*, to apprehend and impriſon Criminals, and he preſides as Chief Juſtice in civil as well as criminal Cauſes; and with the Approbation of the *Burgomaſters* and *Eſchevins*, determines all Matters before them, and pronounces Sentence againſt Criminals, and ſees it put in Execution. In other Cities, the *Prætor*'s Concern reaches no farther than to apprehend and proſecute Malefactors. The whole Number of *Burgomaſters* conſiſts of twelve, but four only are regent at a Time, which is a Year: They muſt at the Time of their Election be forty Years of Age at leaſt. For every Year, the *Burgomaſters* that have been *Eſchevins*, chuſe by the Majority of Votes, three out of the twelve to be Regents, which three ſelect one out of the four that reigned the Year before, a fourth, who tenders them the Oath, and officiates as Preſident the firſt three Months. The remaining eight *Burgomaſters* are employed in other great Offices, ſuch as Treaſurers, Maſters of Hoſpitals, and one is ſent in Quality of Deputy to the Aſſembly of the

States at the *Hague*, one for a Member of the Council of the Admiralty of *Amſterdam*, &c. The Office of the *Burgomaſters Regent* is, to take Care of the Government and Peace of the whole City, to determine Differences between private Perſons, to be Surveyors of the Fortifications, Streets, and publick Buildings. If one of the twelve *Burgomaſters* happen to die, it belongs to the *Vroetſchap* to chuſe another. When the *Eſchevins* are to be elected, the *Vroetſchap* propoſes fourteen Perſons, out of which the *Burgomaſters* ſelect ſeven; but one Condition is, that they muſt not be near of Kin either to the *Schout*, or any of the *Burgomaſters Regent*. Unto thoſe ſeven the new and old *Burgomaſters*, together with the new elected *Eſchevins*, by the Majority of Voices, add two out of the Number of the *Eſchevins* choſen the laſt Year, which two for that Year have the firſt and ſecond Rank among the *Eſchevins*, who are Judges both in civil and criminal Cauſes. The Council of thirty-ſix, or *Vroetſchap*, continue in their Places for Life, and as often as one of that College dies, the reſt chuſe another in his Place' but no Body under twenty-five Years of Age is admitted. They not only have the Power of preſenting the fourteen Perſons out of whom the *Eſchevins* are choſen, but are alſo called together by the *Burgomaſters*, when any Thing of great Moment is to be debated or reſolved upon; ſo that the ſupreme Power ſeems to be lodged in them. Not many Years ago, according to the Conſtitution of this City, no Body could be *Burgomaſter*, unleſs his Father had been a Freeman a Year and ſix Weeks before he was born; but now any who will pay five hundred Gilders, may be made a Freeman, and after ſeven Years is qualified to be a *Burgomaſter*; but ſuch as do not aſpire to this Dignity, may be made Free for fifty Gilders. The City Trained Bands conſiſt of fifty-four Companies, divided into four Regiments, of eleven Companies each, one hundred and fifty Men in a Company, which amounted to 8250. Two Companies are drawn out every Night to guard the City, which makes them fit for Service.

9. *June* the 16th we proſecuted our Journey to *Utrecht* by the ordinary Paſſage-boat, where we arrived in ſix Hours. This is the capital City of the Province of the ſame Name; a large Place, ſurrounded with a good Earthen Wall and deep Ditch; but its Streets are not comparable for Neatneſs or Cleanneſs to thoſe of the Province of *Holland*, though the Water-channels are alſo conveyed through ſeveral Streets. The Univerſity here was eſtabliſhed by the States General in 1636; the Profeſſors of which, as well as thoſe of *Leyden*, publiſh a yearly printed Catalogue of their Names and intended Lectures. For the Adminiſtration of the Government, they have an Upper and Lower *Schout* and four *Burgomaſters*, two of whom are new choſen every Year.

Hence we paſſed by Boat to *Vianen*, reſembling the *Mint*, a Place for Refuge belonging to the Lord of *Brederode*. We ſaw here a certain Engine for the Weaving of Tape by the Motion of many Shuttles at a Time, at once curious, expeditious and profitable.

We continued our Journey the ſame Day through *Leerdam*, (about three Hours diſtant from *Vianen*) and the 19th of *June*, through *Aſperen*, below which we croſſed the River *Wale* or *Vahalis* in a Ferry-boat, and came to a very pleaſant walled Town called *Bommel*, ſeated in an Iſland; a ſmall Diſtance thence we ferried over the *Maeſe*, and paſſing in Sight of two ſtrong Forts near the River ſide, one called *Crevecœur*, and the other *Engelen*, came in four Hours to *Hertogenboſc*, *Sylva Ducis*, or *Bois-le-duc*, as the *French* call it, and by which Name it is generally known. As this City is ſeated upon a Kind of a Hill, ſurrounded with Fens of a large Extent, the greateſt Part of which was then (and is generally) covered with Water, we paſſed upon Cauſeways through a Moat, and over two Draw-bridges, before we entered the Town. Beſides which, being ſtrengthened by a good Wall and deep Ditch, and defended by a regular Citadel, this, with its Situation, ſeems to render it impregnable, and yet it has been taken in the late Wars. In the Choir of the Church of St. *John* are to be ſeen the Arms of many of the Knights of the *Golden Fleece*, and over the upper Stalls an Inſcription in *French*, importing, That *Philip*, ſurnamed the *Good*, Duke of *Burgundy*, *Lorrain*, and *Brabant*, had, in 1429, inſtituted in the City of *Bruges*, an Order of Honourable Knights, unto whom he had given the Name of *Knights of the Golden Fleece*, limiting their Number to twenty four, their Chief to be the Duke of *Burgundy*, or Supreme Lord of the *Low Countries* for the Time being. The Houſes here are for the moſt Part covered with Boards on the Outſide; the Marſhes about it produce great Abundance of Wild-fowl, and the ſandy gravelly Banks the *Herniaria hirſuta*.

10. *June* the 20th, we travelled in a Kind of Waggon in ſix Hours to *Eindhoven*, and thence in four Hours more to *Haumont*, both ſmall but walled Towns, the laſt of which belongs to the Biſhop of *Liege*.

June the 21ſt, we travelled for three Hours through Heaths to *Bry*, a ſmall walled Town, and afterwards aſcending the Hills, had a full View of *Maeſtricht*, and the River *Maeſe*, where we arrived that Evening, after ſeven Hours riding. It is a ſtrong well fortified City, ſtrengthened with very good Out-works. The Magiſtracy here are half *Proteſtants* and half *Romaniſts*, and of the laſt are the greateſt Part of the Inhabitants; though the *Dutch Proteſtants* have alſo three Churches, and the *Engliſh* and *French* one, which they uſe by Turns. The *Catholicks* have twenty Convents here, and are allowed the publick Exerciſe of their Religion. Moſt of the old Houſes are of the ſame Fabrick with thoſe of *Hertogenboſch*, but many new Brick Houſes have been built of late Years. They were then alſo building a very ſtately ſquare Structure, intended for their Town-houſe. The River *Maeſe*, which divides the City into two Parts, is joined to both by a large Stone Bridge, ſuſtained by nine Arches, and the leſſer Part on the other Side is called the *Wick*, being not inferior in Strength to the other Part.

As to what relates to the common People of *Holland*, it muſt be confeſſed they are ſurly and ill bred, which is the Reaſon that no Strangers that know the Country will deal with Inn-keepers, Waggoners, Boatmen, Porters, and ſuch like, without bargaining before-hand. The Men are generally very large boned and bulky, and theſe, as well as the Women, are conſtantly eating as they travel. At their common Entertainments, a Sallad leads the Van, a Kind of ſtew'd Meat is the main Part of the Dinner, and it concludes with ſome boiled and buttered Herbs. The chief Food of the ordinary People is Cod-fiſh and pickled Herring, which they cure better than the *Engliſh*. In the publick Houſes you commonly meet with ſmoaked Beef, cut in thin Slices, good Bread and Butter, and four or five Sorts of Cheeſes. Their ſtrong Drink (they call it *Dick* Beer, and very properly, for it is ſeldom clear) is ſold for three Pence a Quart; the Dearneſs of which ariſes partly from the heavy Exciſe laid upon this, as well as all other Proviſions; partly from the Plenty of Money in thoſe Provinces, which makes Land ſold here at between thirty and forty Years Purchaſe. Moſt of their Beds are made cloſe like Cabins, narrow and ſhort, and yet you pay an exceſſive Rate for them in the Inns. Their Houſes are kept exceeding neat, even to the Outſide of Pots and Pot-hooks, nay, the very Tiles of the Pent-houſes; yet has it been obſervable, that in dreſſing their Meats, they are not ſo clean and curious as the *Engliſh*. They uſe Organs in moſt of their Churches, collect Money for the Poor in Sermon-time, with a Purſe faſtened to a Stick, and a Bell hanging to it. The Pſalms to be ſung are ſet down upon Slates, hung upon the Walls of the Church for that Purpoſe. They ſeldom travel on Horſeback, but generally in Waggons, ſome covered, others not, but moſt by Water; and this on *Sundays* as well as other Days. Beggars are very ſeldom ſeen in *Holland*, notwithſtanding the vaſt Multitude of People, this Province containing no leſs than twenty-four walled Towns and Cities, ſix of which (beſides *Amſterdam*) are bigger than any in *England*, except *London*. And upon this Occaſion, I cannot but give you the Heads of ſome Obſervations made by *Francis Barnham*, Eſq; who was in *Holland* with my

Lord Ambaſſador *Hollis*, which have been eſteemed ſenſible and curious.

11. “ There is, ſays he, a continual Watch kept on the Steeples in all the Cities of the United Provinces: The Differences ariſing among Boatſmen and Waggoners, who ſhall go firſt, are decided by caſting a Die. They gather the Rain Water by Pipes from the Houſes, and preſerve it in Ciſterns, as they do in *Venice.* The *Dutch* ſtand much in Awe of their Superiors, becauſe Juſtice is done there without Delay. They are ſtrangely addicted to Novelties, and mightily taken with any Thing that is gay. They are extremely greedy of Profit, yet very juſt in their Bargains. The Knowledge how to get Money, is what they eſteem above all other Things, and ſcarce ever apply themſelves to any Thing beſides that and Politicks, in which they are generally well verſed; the meaneſt of them being qualified by his Birthright to become a Burgomaſter. They fight bravely at Sea, though naturally they are of a phlegmatick Temper, and conſequently not fit for brave Exploits by Land. They allow of Liberty of Religion, but keep a watchful Eye over them to ſecure the publick Peace; which is the Reaſon that it is more difficult to hatch a Plot here, than in other Parts; though at the ſame Time, the People ſay and print almoſt what they pleaſe, the ſame being included within the general Notion of Liberty. Moſt of them have little Senſe of Honour or Generoſity, being guided merely by the Proſpect of Advantage or Intereſt. They don't proſecute Murder with ſo much Violence as Theft. The *Dutch* are always careful to ſolemnize any great Action done by them, with all the publick Marks of Honour and Rejoicings, to imprint into the common People an Idea of the Ability and Wiſdom of their Governors; which is the Reaſon they frequently erect Monuments to thoſe who have deſerved well of the Commonwealth. The ordinary Sort of Women (if not all) ſeem to be more pleaſed with obſcene Diſcourſes than the *Engliſh* or *French*; they have alſo the Reputation of making not ſo ſevere an Account of Chaſtity before Marriage, but of being very faithful to their Huſbands. Even the better Sort of Women are not backward of admitting Men, though of very little Acquaintance, to a Salute; and kiſſing paſſes current here, not only at Parting and Returns, but alſo in Frolicks and familiar Converſation. Moſt Women are let into all the Actions of their Huſbands, who ſeldom undertake any thing without their Knowledge and Approbation. They have abundance of Chiming in their Cities, and vaſt Multitudes of Storks building their Neſts upon the Tops of the Chimnies. This however is not only obſervable in *Holland*, but alſo at *Louvain*, and in other Towns of the King of *Spain*'s Dominions, as well as in ſeveral Places belonging to Sovereign Princes in *Germany*, which contradicts that commonly received Opinion, that thoſe Birds never build their Neſts but in Commonwealths.

June the 22d. We went from *Maeſtricht* to *Liege*, four Leagues diſtant. As we paſſed up the Hills, we obſerved at ſome Diſtance from *Maeſtricht* an arched Paſſage into a Vault, but being by the wet Seaſon prevented from taking a View of it ourſelves, I will here give you the Senſe of our Royal Society concerning it. This Quarry, ſay they, lies within a Cannon-ſhot of *Maeſtricht*, being covered with twenty-five Fathoms of Rock or Earth; its Length along the River towards *Liege* being of ſome Miles, and having one Entry near the River Side, Carts can, with a great deal of Eaſe, unload the Stones upon the Banks of the River, the Quarry within lying parallel to the Horizon or Level, and very little elevated above the River. After you have entred the Vault with Torches, it affords a moſt ſurprizing Proſpect to the Beholders, who ſee ſome thouſands of ſquare Pillars in ſpacious level Walks, generally twenty Feet (and ſome more) high, ſo regularly wrought, that one would imagine that the whole was deſigned for one of the ſubterraneous Palaces of the ancient *Roman* Emperors; whereas the whole is no more than the Effect of the Miners Labours, who come here to get Stone. This noble Quarry has another remarkable Uſe, ſerving People for a retreating Place when Armies are marching that Way, being able to hold forty thouſand Men, who by the many Pillars and Labyrinths, are able to defend themſelves with their Fire-arms, againſt any Power that may attack them.

Further upon the Downs, we obſerved three or four more of thoſe Paſſages, and came before Night to *Liege*, a City though very large, yet for Beauty and Riches not comparable to any of thoſe of *Holland*; the Houſes being covered on the Sides either with Boards or Clay, and the Streets narrow and very ill kept. The River *Maeſe* divides itſelf, and runs through the Town in two or three Branches, which are joined by ſeveral Bridges. It is however very pleaſantly ſituated, but ſurrounded with Hills, on one of which ſtands the Citadel, the Sides of thoſe Hills covered with Orchards and Vineyards. Proviſions are very cheap here, and the People very courteous: The Women are not ſo fair as in *Holland*, and do a great deal of Drudgery. They have Coal-pits near the Town, ſome of which are an hundred and fifty Yards deep. The Cathedral Church dedicated to St. *Lambert* has ſixty Canons or Prebendaries, who muſt be all of noble Extraction, except that they admit a few Men of Learning among them. Theſe elect the Biſhop of *Liege.* Beſides theſe, there belongs to it twelve *Canonici mediocres*, and twelve more ſtiled *minores ſive parvæ Menſæ.* The three States of this Dioceſe, compoſed of the Clergy, Gentry, and Commons, have a conſiderable Share in the Government, no Tax being to be impoſed, or other Matters of great Weight tranſacted without their Concurrence and Approbation.

This City is in a Manner filled up with religious Houſes: In the *Engliſh* Jeſuits College Garden we ſaw ſeveral Dials, the Invention of the ingenious *Franciſcus Linus*; and in the Cloiſter of the *Williamites*, without the Walls, the Tomb-ſtone of our Countryman Sir *John Mandeville*, with this Inſcription:

HIC JACIT VIR NOBILIS D̄N̄S JŌĒS̄ DE MANDEVILLE AL' DICTUS AD BARBAM MILES D̄N̄S DE CĀPDI NATUS DE ANGLIA, MEDICINÆ PROFESSOR, DEVOTISSIMUS ORATOR, ET BONORUM LARGISSIMUS PAUPERIBUS EROGATOR, QUI TOTO QUASI ORBE LUSTRATO, LEODII DIEM VITE SUE CLAUIST EXTREMUM ANNO D̄N̄Ī M°. CCC°. LXXI°. MENSIS NOVEMBRIS DIE XVII.

On the ſame Tomb-ſtone was alſo to be ſeen the Figure of an armed Man treading on a Lion, with a forked Beard, and his Hand lifted upwards in a Bleſſing Poſture, with theſe Words going out of his Mouth, *Vos ki paſſeis ſor mi, pour l'amour Deiu preyes por mi*; which being old *French*, ſignifies, *You that paſs over me, for the Love of God pray for me.*

13. We left *Liege* the 26th of *June*, and travelling for ſeven Hours over hilly and rocky Places, arrived at the *Spàa*, a pleaſant little walled Place, ſituate in a deep Valley. It is very well built, by reaſon of the Concourſe of many Strangers here, for the drinking of Mineral Waters, of which there are four ſeveral Springs.

We purſued our Journey *June* the 28th, to *Aken*, through *Limbourgh*, three Hours from the *Spàa*, a Place of great Strength for its Situation, being ſituate on the Side of a very difficult Acceſs, but it has but one Street, and the Houſes only of Wood. *Aken*, or *Aix la Chapelle*, as the *French* call it, to diſtinguiſh it from *Aix* in *Provence*, is a large and ſtrong Place, and a free Imperial City, being ſtrengthened by a double Wall, and adorned with no leſs than thirty Churches. The Chair wherein the Emperor ſits when he is crowned here, has its Sides of Ivory, and they ſay, that the Bottom is made of a Piece of Wood belonging to *Noah*'s Ark. The Government of this City is adminiſtred by a Major, two Burgomaſters, fourteen Eſchevins, and one hundred and twenty Counſellors. The Major has the Preſidence among the Eſchevins, is put in by the Duke of *Juliers*, and continues in his Place *quam diu ſe bene geſſerit*. The Burgomaſters are elected by the Majority of the Companies of the City, and adminiſter this Office two Years, a new one being choſen every Year. The Eſchevins officiate in Quality of Judges, during Life, another being choſen in the Place of him who dies. The Counſellors are alſo choſen by the ſeveral Companies (of which there are fourteen or fifteen). The Territories belonging to this City are very large, comprehending near two hundred Villages, encloſed on all Sides with Mountains; which producing abundance of *Lapis Calaminaris*, this is employed here in great Quantity to turn Copper into Braſs. But what renders this Town moſt famous, are the *Mineral hot Baths*, ſome of which are within, the reſt without the Town, at a Village called *Borcet*; theſe latter, both in Heat, and in Abundance of Water, much exceed ours in *England*, being ſo hot, that one may boil an Egg in them. Their Taſte was ſaltiſh; and they were uſed both inwardly and outwardly. One Day as we were walking to *Borcet*, we ſaw a certain Pool whoſe Waters were lukewarm, by reaſon of a ſmall Stream of one of the Springs of the hot Baths paſſing through it; they told us that it bred very good Fiſh, but that they were obliged to put them into cold Water for two Months before they eat them. Of the Nature, different Kinds, Ingredients, and Uſes of thoſe Baths, both within and without the City, *Francis Blondel*, M. D. has treated admirably, as well as at large, in his Epiſtolary Diſcourſe, publiſhed in *French*, of which the Subſtance follows:

14. *An Extract from Dr.* Francis Blondel's *Diſcourſe concerning the Baths of* Aix la Chapelle.

Not to trouble the Reader with the various Opinions of ancient and modern Philoſophers concerning the Cauſe of the actual Heat of natural Baths, our Author's Account thereof in Reference to theſe of *Aken* is in Brief as follows.

Theſe Waters (ſaith he) paſſing through a certain argillaceous Earth, pregnant with a kind of nitrous Salt, almoſt of the ſame Taſte with the Waters of the Baths (which is to be found in good Quantity in the Lands about this City) charge themſelves therewith, and ſo become a *Menſtruum* capable of diſſolving ſuch mineral Metals as are contained in the Veins of the Earth thro' which they run. This Solution he conceives is made by piercing and corroding the Minerals after the ſame Manner as Spirit of Nitre and other *Aquæ Stygiæ* are wont to do, which uſually cauſes a great Ebullition and Heat. So then the actual Heat of theſe Springs proceeds from the Mixture and Encounter of their Waters (impregnated as is before intimated) with the mineral and metallic Subſtances, Juices, and Spirits contained in the Veins of the Earth through which they have their Courſe. The nitrous Salt beforementioned may perhaps be the *Hermetic* Salt of Monſieur *Rochas*, or the *Eſurine* Salt of *Helmont*. Now the Water once heated, being contained in the Vaults of the Mountains as in a Stove, continues hot a long Time, the Eruption thereof being, it is likely, at a good Diſtance from the Place where it did at firſt conceive its Heat.

At the long Continuance and Duration of the Heat of theſe Waters, for ſo many Ages paſt, no Man need Wonder: For *Firſt*, It is generally taken for granted, that all Sorts of Mines grow and increaſe purely by Addition, converting the more refined, ſubtile Part of the Earth, and which hath a ſeminal Diſpoſition to ſuch a Change, into their own Nature. *Secondly*, The nitrous Salts, the firſt Ingredients of theſe Waters, are alſo reſtored in their *Matrices*, after the ſame Manner as we ſee it happens in the *Caput mortuum* of Vitriol, which though the Vitriol hath been once or twice extracted from it, will, by being expoſed to the Air, again recover more and more; whether it be by Converſion of its *Matrix* into its own Nature, by a kind of Aggeneration and Tranſmutation, or by imbibing and retaining thoſe ſubtile and volatile ſaline Exhalations, which continually aſcend out of the Earth, or wander up and down in the Air.

As for the Ingredients of theſe hot Waters in general, he ſaith, that beſides a threefold Salt-nitre *fixed*, *volatile*, and *mingled*, or *Armoniack*, they partake of a fixed and volatile *Sulphur*, a *Manna* of Allum, ſome Vitriol, divers Metals, as Copper and Iron, a very little volatile Earth, a certain *Argilla*, Sand and Calaminary Flowers. That they participate of Copper he proves, in that, the Territory of *Aken* abounds in divers Places with *Lapis Calaminaris*, which is, as it were, the Aliment of Copper: For being mingled in the Furnaces with red Copper, it augments it by the Addition of thirty Pound Weight *per Cent.* and gives it a yellow or golden Tincture. As for Iron, the many ferrugineous Springs, that are found within and without the City, are an evident Teſtimony that there are Plenty of Iron Mines hereabout; and therefore moſt likely it is, if not certain, that theſe hot Waters charge themſelves with that Metal. That they contain a threefold nitrous Salt, he proves from their natural Evaporations. *Firſt*, the fixed is found in the Wells of *Borcet*, and the *Emperor*, chryſtallized into ſmall ſhining Square Grains, mingled with a little Flour of Sulphur, ſticking to the Covers of thoſe Wells, which have not been of a long Time opened. It may be alſo found in the chemical Examination of the Waters by Evaporation or Diſtillation. *Secondly*, The *volatile* is carried up by the volatile Sulphur, as it is hereafter ſhewed in the Deſcription of the firſt Sort of theſe Baths. *Thirdly*, The *Mingled* or *Armoniack*, is daily ſeen in all the Waters of the City, and of *Borcet*, ſwimming in little Cylinders on the Surface of the Waters, and this is that Cream, or Scum, which is ordinarily found upon the Waters in the Baſons. That they contain the reſt of the beforementioned Ingredients, ſhall be ſhewn in the Deſcription of the particular Baths: The Waters whereof our Author reduces to four Sorts.

Firſt, *Nitro-ſulphureous*, ſuch are thoſe of the *Emperor*'s Bath, the *little* Bath, and St. *Quirin*'s Bath. Secondly, *Sulphureo-nitrous*, ſuch are thoſe of *Compus*, or the *Poor-men*'s Bath, the *Roſe*, and St. *Cornelius*'s Bath. Thirdly, *Sulphureo-nitro-vitriolick*, ſuch is another Bath of the ſame St. *Cornelius*. Fourthly, *Salſo-alumino-nitrous*, *viz.* thoſe of *Borcet*, a Village adjoining to *Aken*.

Firſt, As for the *Nitro ſulphureous* kind, thoſe of the *Emperor's* Bath, and the *little* Bath, are but one Water, coming from the ſame Source, and collected in one and the ſame Well. That Part reſerved in the *Emperor*'s Bath is divided into five great Baſons, or Receptacles: That in the *little* Bath into three. All which might be renewed daily, if Time would permit, the Spring is ſo copious. But by reaſon of the exceſſive Heat of the Waters, it is neceſſary oftentimes that they ſtand in the Baſon ſixteen or eighteen Hours to cool, before they be fit for the Patient's Uſe. Notwithſtanding, when they are come to a juſt Temper, one may bathe in them, and endure them a long Time, as thoſe of *Borcet*, without any Inconvenience. This Source hath this Quality peculiar to itſelf, that in its Well one may find diſtinctly a Quantity of *Nitre* coagulated, and good Plenty of Flowers of *Sulphur* very light, purely fine, and well ſcented. The *Nitre* ſticks to the Sides of the Well, and ſo do the Flowers of *Sulphur* above that: The which ſometimes, whether by the extraordinary boiling up of the Fountain, or by the Impetuoſity of the aſcending Vapours, or by their own Weight are broken off, and fall back into the Source; from whence being no more diſſolved by the Water, they come forth intire into the Baſons. If you take of this Water, and let it ſtand in a Veſſel certain Days, it will precipitate of theſe yellow Flowers of *Sulphur*, to the Bottom of the Veſſel. Beſides theſe *volatile* Flowers, theſe Waters contain alſo fixed Flowers of *Sulphur*, a competent Quantity of *Nitre*, both *volatile*, *fixed*, and *mixed*, or *Armoniack*, a little *Allum*, leſs *Vitriol*, the Spirits and Principles of *Copper* and *Iron*, a very little *volatile* Earth, *Argilla* and Sand: No *Bitumen*, for let them ſtand as long as you pleaſe, you ſhall find no fatty Subſtance ſwimming upon them, as upon the *Spàa* Waters. The volatile *Sulphur* evaporates ſo ſtrongly, that it carries up with it a Quantity of *Nitre*, as one may ſee after the Solution of the Vapours, congealed and frozen in Winter Time, when it remains incorporated upon the Walls, in the Places where the Icicles were. Theſe Waters are in Weight equal to thoſe of the *Spàa*; coming freſh out of the Source, they appear whitiſh, or bluiſh, but having ſtood a-while and grown cold, greeniſh. They are vey pure, and leave no Kind of Mud, or *Lutum thermale*, behind them; in cooling they yield a ſmall Scum or Cream of *Nitre*. Far from their Source, being wrought upon by the Air, they let fall a little whitiſh Sediment as thoſe of *Borcet* do a blackiſh one. They preſerve the Colour of Roſes put into them, and cauſe them not to wither, as doth common Water. The Vapours aſcending from them make Silver Plate black, as thoſe of *Borcet* make it white. The other Source of St. *Quirin*'s Bath differs from theſe in no other Reſpect, ſave that the Water thereof is cooler. It is reſerved in three Baſons. In this Well you find neither *Sulphur* nor *Salt petre* ſticking to the Sides, probably becauſe it is open or uncovered.

II. The ſecond, or *ſulphureo-nitrous* Sort of *Compus*, &c. though they ſpring up in ſeveral Places, and have different Wells, yet is the Nature of them all, their Compoſition, and mineral Ingredients the ſame. The *Poor Men*'s Bath hath one great Baſon or Receptacle, the *Roſe* Bath four, whereof two only are uſed, and St. *Cornelius*'s Bath of this Mine two. Theſe Waters are fit for uſe at all Seaſons, being of a temperate Heat, more efficacious, and of greater Force in their Operations, than the firſt Sort; they weigh two *per Cent.* more than they, and are of a ſtronger Scent. In theſe is never found any *Sulphur* condenſed, no not in their Wells, though they be covered: But when they are emptied, and new Water let in (as in the *Roſe* Bath) the Water running down along the Walls and Seats, into the Bottoms of the Baſons or Conſervatories, the external Air prevailing upon it, ſo ſpread, and in ſuch little Quantity arreſts, fixes and condenſes its *Sulphur* all along the ſaid Walls and Seats, refreſhing the Eyes of the Spectators with its Beauty and Luſtre. But the Water riſing in the beforementioned Baſons, and covering the Seats and Walls, the Sulphur again unites and incorporates with its Diſſolvent, and diſappears and hides itſelf therein. The Water of theſe Sources contains great Quantity of Sulphur, very fine and ſweet, leſs nitrous Salt, a little Vitriol, and leſs Allum, more of the other Minerals and Metals, than of the firſt Sort, or thoſe of *Borcet*. So that they are more compounded, oleous and bituminous, than any of the other Sources; and though they come out of the Earth very temperate, as to actual Heat, yet can ſick Perſons hardly endure them for any long Time, for the moſt Part ſcarce half an Hour.

III. The third Sort, which I call *Sulphureo-nitro vitriolic*, and is alſo of St. *Cornelius*, differs from the Precedent, in that the Taſte is a little more acid, the Smell ſweeter, and liker that of Spirit of Vitriol, and the Touch leſs oily. It is of leſs Efficacy in Uſe than the ſecond Sort, and of more than the firſt. Of this Source there are three Baſons, which, with the two others of St. *Cornelius* beforementioned, make five in this Houſe. Theſe Waters agree much in their Compoſition with the Precedent. They are very pure and clear, eſpecially in their Wells; and though they ſeem troubled in their Baſons, yet taken in a Glaſs, they appear clear.

IV. The *fourth*, or *Salſo-alumino-nitrous* Kind, are thoſe of the Neighbourhood, or *Borcet*. Theſe come out of the Earth extreme hot, and in great Abundance, are all of the ſame medicinal Quality, have ſeveral Wells, and are reſerved in ten or twelve Houſes, each whereof hath two Baſons, or Receptacles; beſides which, there is a common Bath expoſed to the Air, for the Uſe of poor People. Theſe Waters caſt off a copious Excrement or Tartar, which yet is not Stone, but only a Sand mingled with, and united to the nitrous and aluminous Salt of the Water, coagulated by the Beating of the cold Air on its Superficies, to which alſo concurs the Cold of the Walls expoſed to the ſame Air. Theſe Excreſcences are found in the ſubterranean Conduits, not only of theſe, but the other Baths in the City; being held to the Fire, they ſoon become friable, and are nothing but a pure round Sand like the common. The higher Houſes and Baſons have the more of this Tartar, yet is it ſo little, that it is not to be ſeen or perceived in the Water. Theſe Waters are of a different *Species*, Virtue, and Operation, from thoſe of the City, are very eaſy to ſuffer, and ſerve often for Divertiſement and Recreation to Perſons that are in Health. The Contents of them are a great Quantity of Sea-Salt and Allum, leſs nitrous Salt, very little Sulphur, and not much of metallick Subſtances.

Concerning the Virtues and Effects of theſe Waters inwardly taken, he diſcourſes to this Purpoſe:

Theſe Waters taken inwardly are very available in the Phthiſick, *Aſthma*, or Difficulty of Breathing, occaſion'd by tough Phlegm lodging in the Branches of the Wind pipe; againſt the Weakneſs of the Stomach, Indigeſtion, Crudities, Flatulencies, Vomitings, Hiccoughs, and inveterate Cholicks. They diſſipate and dry up all Manner of Catarrhs and ſerous Defluxions; and are very proper to be drank by thoſe that are troubled with the Palſy, before the Uſe of the Baths. They quicken the Appetite, cleanſe the Blood, and open the Obſtructions of the Meſentery. They are of excellent Uſe againſt hypochondriacal Maladies, eſpecially in ſuch as have weak and cold Stomachs. They mollify the Hardneſs of the Liver, Spleen and Meſentery. They diſſolve and bring away the Gravel of the Reins, and leſſer Stones: And here he produces many Examples of ſuch as voided Stones upon the Drinking theſe Waters, and among the reſt, of ſome that had drank the *Spàa* Waters, and came from thence without receiving any Benefit. They cleanſe the Ulcers of the Bladder, diſſolving not only the groſs, phlegmatick and viſcous Humours which coagulate the Stone, but even the Stone itſelf, whilſt it is yet tender. They have ſometimes cured intermittent Fevers of long Continuance, and ſcrophulous Tumours. They dry up and heal the Itch, Leproſy, and other Affections of the Skin. They ſtop the immoderate Flowing of the *Menſes* in Women, and cure the Jaundice, the Paleneſs and Diſcolouring of the Skin in Virgins: And finally, they give Eaſe and Relief in the Gout. Of all theſe Faculties, he brings Inſtances and Examples of Perſons that have been cured. Particularly, that theſe Waters drank may have a Power of diſſolving the Stone, he proves by this Experiment: Taking a Stone voided by a Man about two Years before, and infuſing it in Water hot from the Fountain, for the Space of three Days, we found it (ſaith he) mollified and reduced into a ſoft Phlegm. Which Virtue of the Waters was further confirmed to us by a late Accident: For opening the Vault of a Well, there was found a certain Glue or Mucilage, which, it is to me probable, came from the Solution of the Mortar of Lime and Sand in long Time, by the volatile and diſſolvent Spirits of the Waters; eſpecially there being found no other Cement between the Stones, and in that this ſame Glue or Mucilage mingled itſelf intirely with the Waters of the Fountains, without any Appearance of Scum or Fat ſwimming on the Top, as Gum of Cherry, or the like is wont to do in Water, and being caſt into the Fire burnt not, but dried up. Theſe Experiments and Obſervations were made upon Occaſion of a Burgomaſter of *Riga* (who being afflicted with the Stone, drank theſe Waters) his paſſing his Urine through a Linen Cloth, and finding therein a certain thick Phlegm left behind, which being kept a while upon Paper, harden'd into a ſtony Subſtance.

15. From *Aken* we continued our Journey to *Juliers*, five Hours thence, a ſmall but neat City, the Houſes low, but of Brick, the Streets are ſomewhat narrow, yet it has a fair Market place. Its Fortifications are conſiderable, but the Citadel, in which is the Ducal Palace, may compare for Beauty, Bigneſs and Strength,

with any of *Europe*. The chief Employment of the Inhabitants here is the making of Malt. *June* the 30th, we went hence towards *Cologne*, and paſſing thro' *Berchem*, a little walled Town, met by the Highways, among the Woods and Hedges, with *Mezereon Germanicum*, *Mollugo montana latifolia ramoſa*, *Pulmonorio maculoſa*, *Galeopſis ſive Urtica iners flore purpuraſcente majore, folio non maculato*, and among the Corn, with *Vaccaria Germ.*

Cologne, dignified with the Title of an Archbiſhoprick, is a free Imperial City, and perhaps the biggeſt in all *Germany*, in which however are included three hundred Acres, planted with Vines, beſides many other empty Spaces. The middle Part of the City is very well built, having two handſome Market-places: The Walls are lofty and of Stone, with two deep Trenches and ſeveral Out-works. In the Cathedral of St. *Peter* are preſerved the Bodies of the three Wiſe Men, that came to bring their Offerings to our Saviour, encloſed in a Cheſt of Gold. The Number of the Noble Canons belonging to this Church, conſiſts of fifty-four, beſides eight Canons Preſbyters; theſe ſixty-two, in Conjunction with the Dean (who has two Voices) and two Burgomaſters Regent (who have four Voices) of this City, chuſe the Archbiſhop. The Government of the City is in the Hands of ſix Burgomaſters, ſeven Eſchevins, and one hundred and fifty Counſellors; they all continue during Life; but of the firſt two are only Regents at a Time for a Year: The Eſchevins are choſen by the Archbiſhop, as the Counſellors are by the Companies of the City, and fifty only are in Power yearly, ſo that it returns to the ſame Perſons every third Year. If a Burgomaſter dies, the Counſellors have Power to chuſe another in his Room. The Inhabitants are generally *Roman Catholicks*, yet have the *Lutherans* a Church within the Walls, but the *Calviniſts* are obliged to go to Church on the other Side of the *Rhine*. At *Cologne* we took a Boat, drawn by Men, which carried us up the *Rhine* to *Vidich*, an inconſiderable Village; hereabouts we found among the Corn, *Delphinium flore purpuro-cæruleo vulgare*, and *Nigella arvenſis*; and in the barren Grounds adjoining to the River, *Stœchas citrina Germanica latiore folio*.

16. Next Morning we paſs'd by *Bonn* upon the ſame River, the ordinary Reſidence of the Electors of *Cologne*, and lodged at Night at a poor Town called *Briſaca*. *July* the 6th, we paſſed by *Rhineck* to our Right, and came to *Andernach*, over-againſt which is the Caſtle of *Hammerſtein*, belonging to the Elector of *Treves*. Further we paſs'd betwixt two Caſtles belonging to the Count *de Weets*, that on the right Hand being ſeated upon a high Rock, with a Cloiſter adjoining to it. Two Leagues from *Andernach* we paſſed by *Engers*, and the ſame Night came to *Coblentz*.

This City, which is the moſt conſiderable belonging to the Archbiſhop of *Treves*, is called in *Latin*, *Confluentes*, from its Situation at the Conflux of the Rivers the *Moſelle* and the *Rhine*; over the firſt of which there is a Bridge here of thirteen Arches, as there is over the *Rhine* a Bridge of Boats to the ſtrong Caſtle of *Hermanſtein*, ſituate upon a Rock, with a very ſumptuous Palace below it, belonging to the ſame Archbiſhop. Not far from *Coblentz* are the mineral Springs, near *Helſenſtein* Caſtle, of which Kind there are ſeveral in thoſe Parts; as for Inſtance, one at *Anthony*'s *Stone*, four Hours from *Andernach*, and another at *Zwolbach*, four Miles from *Francfort*; they are generally drank mix'd with Wine, unto which they give a pleaſant Taſte and purging Quality, but I did not obſerve in them what Dr. *Blondel* affirms, that they ſmoak, or are hot when they are mixed with Wine.

July the 7th, we paſſed by ſeveral Caſtles and ſmall Places upon the *Rhine*, as the Town and Caſtle of *Rodeſheim* on the Left, and *Capelle* on the right Hand; next the ſmall Town of *Rens* and *Browbach*, *Boppart* on the ſame Side, and the Caſtle of *Bornholm* on the Left. Taking up our Quarters in the Village of *Hertſnatch*, we came, *July* the 8th, in the Morning, to St. *Goer*, a pretty ſmall Town, under the Juriſdiction of the Landgrave of *Heſſe*, who has a very handſome Caſtle here, built upon a Rock. The Magiſtrates and moſt of the Inhabitants are *Calviniſts*, yet the *Lutherans*, as well as the *Catholicks*, have each their Church. Juſt oppoſite to St. *Goer* you ſee the Town and Caſtle of *Wellnich*, and further to the Right, the Town and Caſtle of *Weſel*, under the Juriſdiction of the Elector of *Treves*; and higher up on the left Hand, the Town and Caſtle of *Cub*, the latter upon a Rock belonging to the Elector *Palatine*. The next Place of any Note we came to was *Bacharach*, a walled Town, adorned with many Towers, famous for the Excellence of its Wine, as is likewiſe a certain Track of Ground about *Rhingaw*, a Town near *Mayence*. Our Boatmen paid Toll in this, as well as ſeveral other Places on the *Rhine*. We paſs'd the ſame Day in Sight of ſome mean Towns and Villages, and *July* the 9th, by *Aſpithouſe* Caſtle, and immediately after by the *Mouſe-Tower*, built in a little Iſland of the *Rhine*. Further up the River on the right Hand we left *Bing*, a tolerable good Town, and paſſing by *Rhodes*, *Giſon*, *Elveldt*, and *Wallop*, to the Left Hand, arrived the ſame Night at *Mayence* or *Mentz*.

From *Cologne*, as far as to the Village *Vidich*, the River is very broad, but thence up to the *Mouſe-Tower* much narrower, from the many Hills and Rocks on both Sides, ſome of which are cover'd with Woods, others with Vines and Orchards. The Vines are ty'd to Poles much lower than thoſe we uſe in our Hop-gardens. The City of *Mayence* (or as we now call it *Mentz*) is very large and well fortified; but the Houſes are very old, the Streets narrow and ill paved: The Cathedral of St. *Martin*'s has twenty-four Canons, all Noble, who chuſe the Archbiſhop. The Arms of this Archbiſhoprick is a Wheel, which they derive from *Willigeſus*, a *Saxon*, their firſt Archbiſhop, who being a *Wheelwright*'s Son, gave this Wheel for his Arms. Near this Place, the River *Maine* joining its Current with the *Rhine*, we went up the firſt of theſe two Rivers in a Boat, and paſſing by *Rudſheim*, a well built Fort on the right Hand, belonging to the Landgrave of *Heſſe Darmſtadt*, and another walled Town called *Hoeſt*, to the Left, arrived the 13th of *July* at *Francfort*, five Leagues diſtant from *Mayence* or *Mentz*.

This City is very rich and populous, and not ill-built, though moſt of the Houſes are of Timber: Its Fortifications, which conſiſt in divers ſtrong Baſtions and a deep Ditch, are very conſiderable and well kept: The River *Maine* dividing the City into two Parts, that which lies oppoſite to *Francfort* is called *Saxonhauſen*, which are joined by a very noble Stone Bridge, ſuſtain'd by fourteen Arches. In the great Market-place are three noble Fountains. The Emperors are in our Days choſen here in the Senate houſe, and crown'd in the Church of St. *Bartholomew*.

I had the good Fortune to get Sight of the *Aurea Bulla*, or *Golden Bull* of the Emperor *Charles* IV. which inſtead of a Seal had a large golden Medal hanging on it, with the Effigies of *Charles* IV. on one Side, with this Inſcription, *Carolus quartus, divinâ favente clementiâ, Romanorum Imperator ſemp. Aug.* on the Reverſe the City of *Rome*, and underneath, *Aurea Roma*, and round it this Verſe, *Roma caput mundi regit orbis fræna rotundi.* The Government of this City is in the Hands of a *Prætor*, twelve *Burgomaſters*, fourteen *Eſchevins*, and forty-two Counſellors. The whole Senate is divided into three *Scamna* or Benches, Firſt, *Sabinorum*, Secondly, *Literatorum*, and Thirdly, *Opificum*: When a Place happens to be vacant in the Bench of the *Eſchevins*, it is ſupplied out of the ſecond Bench of the *Literatorum*; but the *Scamnum Opificum* riſes no higher. The Senate has the Power of chooſing yearly two *Burgomaſters* out of their own Number. The *Jews*, of whom there are great Numbers here, have their peculiar Quarters aſſigned them, from whence they dare not ſtir in the Night-time; they wear a Piece of yellow Cloth to diſtinguiſh them from other People. The Magiſtracy and moſt of the Inhabitants are *Lutherans*, unto whom belong five Churches. Yet have the *Romans* the free Exerciſe of their Religion here, and are poſſeſs'd of two Convents for Men and one for Women;

men; but the *Calviniſts* have their Church a good Way from the Town; the *Engliſh* Church, firſt eſtabliſh'd here under the Reign of Queen *Mary*, is fallen much to Decay, as well as the *Engliſh* Houſe, which is turned into a Store-houſe. In the Country hereabouts, which is exceeding pleaſant, we found growing wild, *Gramen amoris dictum, & Iſchemon vulgare, Portulaca ſylveſtris,* and in the Hedges, *Alcine baccifera,* which I met with no where elſe in all my Travels.

July 17. We took the Poſt-Coach going to *Frankendhal*; we had ſcarce left *Francfort* half an Hour, when we travelled all that Day, for three *German* Leagues, through Pine-Woods, and lodged that Night at the Village of *Geirſheim*.

July 18. We ferried over the *Rhine* at *Kernſheim*, and at ſix Leagues End came to *Worms*, a large and ancient City, but much decayed. The Canons of the Cathedral (who are twenty in Number) chooſe the Biſhop. The Government of the City is in the Hands of the *Lutherans*. From hence we came, after an Hour's travelling, to *Frankendhal*, a Place chiefly conſiderable for its Strength, being ſituate in a Plain near the *Rhine*, and provided with good Walls and Out-works. It is under the Juriſdiction of the Elector *Palatine*; and has three Churches; one *High Dutch*, another *Low-Dutch*, and the third *French*.

July 20. We travelled along the Banks of the *Rhine*, by the Way of *Oberſheim* to *Spire*, two Leagues and a half diſtant from *Frankendhal*. *Spire*, though dignified with the Title of a Biſhoprick, yet is an imperial City, under the Government of its own Magiſtrates. The Houſes here are generally large, but not very convenient, and of Wood: The chief, if not the only Thing that makes this Place conſiderable, is the *Imperial Chamber*, which is kept here, conſiſting of an Imperial Preſident and thirty-ſix Aſſeſſors, beſides three other Preſidents, choſen by the Emperor out of the Delegates; each of the Electors, as well as the ten Circles, ſending two Delegates or Aſſeſſors. There is ſuch another Chamber belonging to the Imperial Court at *Vienna*, either of which (without any Appeal from one to the other) determines Controverſies ariſing betwixt the Princes and States of the Empire, and betwixt them and their Subjects in ſome Caſes: But the Elector *Palatine* enjoys the Prerogative, *Jus non appellandi*, of not being cognizable by theſe Tribunals.

July 21. We paſs'd the *Rhine* to *Manheim*, ſeated upon the very Conflux of the *Rhine* and *Neckar*; it belongs to the Elector *Palatine*, ſtrongly fortified, and now ſtrengthening by a new Citadel, almoſt finiſhed. Who was the Founder of this City, you will ſee out of the Inſcription over the *Neckar Gate*:

Quod felix faxit Jehova,
Fredericus IIII. *Elector*
Palatinus Rheni, Dux Bavariæ,
E veteri Pago Manhemio
Ad Rheni Necrique confluvium
Juſta ſpatiorum dimenſione
Nobilem Urbem molitus,
Vallo, foſſa, muro clauſit,
Portam bonis civibus aperuit,
Anno Domini M. DC. X.

From hence we continued our Journey to *Heidelberg*, where we paſs'd over the *Neckar* into the City by a wooden Bridge, covered over with a *Tectum* to preſerve the Timber. *Heidelberg* is not a very large, but a neat and populous City, the Capital of the whole *Palatinate* and Reſidence of its Princes; the Houſes are of Wood, but handſomely built; it is ſeated at the Foot of a Hill, on the right Side of the River *Neckar*, and is divided into five different Juriſdictions, independent of one another. *Firſt*, *Aulica*, under which are all the Princes and Noblemen; the Marſhal of the Court ſits here as Preſident. *Secondly*, *Cancellaria*, under which belong all Counſellors, and other Officers of the Courts, Advocates, Doctors, &c. *Thirdly*, *Bellica*, for the Soldiers where the General preſides. *Fourthly*, *Academica*, for the Students, the *Rector Magnificus*, or Vice-Chancellor for the Time being, is their Preſident; and *Fifthly*, *Civica*, for the Citizens. The Members of each of theſe Juriſdictions are not obliged to appear before any other Court but their own. The City is alſo divided into four Wards, under the Government of a *Prætor* and *Burgomaſter*.

About the Middle of the Aſcent of the Hill call'd *Koningſthal*, ſtands the Royal Palace, a large and ſtately Structure, encloſed with a Wall and deep Ditch, hewn out of the Rock, which they may fill with Water when they pleaſe; here the Prince keeps his Court. According to the Inſcription in *High Dutch* upon the Gate, it was begun to be built by *Lewis* V. in 1519, but ſeveral Pieces have been added ſince, one of which is called the *Engliſh Building*. In a Cellar under one of the Towers belonging to this Caſtle ſtood the famous great *Tun of Heidelberg*, containing 132 Fudders, one of which is equal to four of our Hogſheads; but this Tun is taken to Pieces of late and a new one Building, which is to contain 150 Fudders, or 600 Hogſheads. We were invited to dine in the Palace, where we obſerved every Thing to be done with great Regularity, and after Dinner the Elector was pleaſed to ſhew us the Curioſities of his Cloſet, and among the reſt, a Purſe made of *Alumen plumoſum*, which being made red hot, received not the leaſt Harm, but appeared the ſame it was before, after it was cool'd: Two Unicorn's Horns of eight or ten Feet long, wreathed, and hollow to the Top, being the Horns of a Fiſh, and not a Quadruped, as the Ancients vainly imagin'd. An Imperial Crown and Globe, belonging to the Emperor *Rupert* (who was of this Family) richly ſet with precious Stones: A choice Collection of ancient and modern Coins and Medals; and among the reſt a Copper *Swediſh Dollar*, of the Bigneſs of a ſquare Trencher, with the King's Arms and Effigies ſtampt at the four Corners. The great Church (which formerly contained the famous Library of this Place) as alſo that of the *Franciſcans*, have ſeveral very noble Monuments of the Princes of this Family, as that of St. *Peter* ſhews many of learned Perſons.

The Univerſity of *Heidelberg*, was founded, *A. D.* 1346, and has three or four Colleges for the Subſiſtence of poor Scholars. The whole Management of it is committed to the *Academical Senate*, compoſed of Sixteen Profeſſors, *viz.* three for Divinity, four for the Law, three for Phyſick, and ſix for Philoſophy, but no more than four of them ſit in the Senate, for Fear they ſhould make too ſtrong a Party. If a Profeſſor dies, the Senate preſents two Perſons to the Prince, out of whom he chooſes one. The Senate alſo chooſes every Year a *Rector magnificentiſſimus*, a Honorary Title, not unlike that of Chancellor of our Univerſity, as the *Rector Magnificus*, the chief of the Senate is equivalent to Vice-Chancellor; beſides which, they elect two or four more Officers out of their own Number, to manage the Concerns of the Univerſity. The Senate hath its own Juriſdiction, and unlimited Power in criminal Caſes, extending to Life and Death, the Prince reſerving to himſelf only the Prerogative of Pardoning after Sentence paſt. In Philoſophy they have no other Degeees but Maſters, and thoſe but few of late Years: In *Law* and *Medicine* they create both *Licentiates* and *Doctors*; and in Divinity, *Batchelors*, *Licentiates* and *Doctors*. They have not the leaſt Regard to the ſtanding of the Candidates, all they have to do being to undergo two Examinations, one of which is called the *Examen tentatorium*, before the Faculty, in which he is to commence, and in the Preſence of the *Rector Magnificus*; the ſecond the *Examen rigoroſum*, before the whole Body of the Profeſſors and the *Rector Magnificus*. After all this, he is to hold a publick Diſputation *ſub Præſide*, to make a Lecture in his own Faculty, and a Speech. The Ceremony is performed with a great deal of Pomp, and concludes with a ſumptuous Feaſt, at which are preſent all the Profeſſors, and ſometimes the Prince in Perſon, or elſe he ſends the Marſhal of his Court to repreſent his Perſon, which is the Reaſon that oftentimes, when the Candidates have not very ſtrong Purſes, two or three join to ſave

Charges. Here alſo the Profeſſors publiſh an annual Catalogue of their Names and intended publick Lectures.

The Elector *Palatine* is abſolute in his Dominions, having alſo the Supremacy in Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, which formerly belonged to the Biſhop of *Spiers*, but ſince the Reformation the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction has been annexed to the Sovereignty: He is the univerſal Patron of all vacant Benefices, tho' he permits the Eccleſiaſtical Council, (compoſed of two Clergymen and two Laymen) to preſent unto him two, out of whom he chooſes one. The Generality of the Palatinate are of the Reformed Religion, and divided into three *Præfectures* (the biggeſt of which is ſubdivided into leſs) each of which has an Inſpector, who is one of the Paſtors of that *Præfecture*, and differs not from the other in Rank or Power, but hath only a larger Salary. Each conſiderable Town has alſo a peculiar *Præfecture*, or Preſbytery: Thus that of *Heidelberg* is compoſed of five Miniſters of that City, two Deputies from each of the before-mentioned Juiſdictions, except the *Aulica*, and two from each of the four Wards of the City, making in all twenty-one, in which the Laymen have equal Voices with the Miniſters, theſe enjoying no other Prerogative in this Point, than that one of them preſides always in his Turn. They can't inflict any Church Cenſure, unleſs it be making the Tranſgreſſor ſubmit to a publick Confeſſion at the Church Door, and to promiſe Amendment, the reſt is left to the Determination of the Civil Magiſtrate. As the Elector is univerſal Patron, ſo he is Maſter of all the Tithes, which for Conveniency ſake, he allows to ſome Miniſters in certain Places, but provides ſettled Salaries for the reſt out of the Church Revenues.

19. *July* 25. We hired a Coach, which was to carry us in three Days to *Straſbourg:* We had ſcarce travelled three Leagues, but we paſs'd in Sight of the celebrated Fortreſs of *Philipſbourg*, ſeated in a Plain near the *Rhine*; a League further we paſs'd through *Graffe*, and lodged that Night at the Village of *Linknom.*

July 26. After a Journey of four Leagues, we baited at *Raſpach*, two Leagues further paſſed through *Stolhoven*, and a League more through *Lichtenaw*, all inconſiderable Places; we lodged that Night at the Village called *Sertz.*

July 27. We croſs'd the *Rhine* over a Bridge laid over the two Channels, made of Fir-trees laid cloſe together, inſtead of Boats, and ſoon after came to *Straſbourg*. In our Journey thither we ſaw Abundance of *Indian* Wheat planted, as alſo ſome *Lathyrus ſativus*, and *Carthamus*, or Baſtard Saffron. The *Blatteria, Solidago Saracenica*, are wild hereabouts, and in the adjacent Meadows of *Straſbourg*, *Carduus Pratenſis Tragi.*

Straſbourg is a free Imperial City, rich and populous, of a great Circumference, and well fortified with regular Out works. It is govern'd by two Councils, one conſiſting of ſeventy-one, in which are ſix *Burgomaſters*, as many *Stadtmaſters*, fifteen *Patres Patriæ*, and thirteen ſelected out of the Militia. The greater Council is compoſed of three hundred Citizens, choſen by the ſeveral Companies of the City. The Women are generally handſome, and the Inhabitants *Lutherans*, though the *Roman Catholicks* have alſo a Church and four Convents, two for Men, and two for Women. The Reformed have their Church at ſome Diſtance out of the Town. It is an Epiſcopal See; the Biſhop has a Palace in the City, but is not allowed to ſtay there above three Days at a Time, but may continue in an Inn for eight Days together. The Armory or Arſenal here, may compare with any in *Germany*, and is not much inferior to any I ſaw elſewhere. The publick Granaries, Store-houſes and Wine cellars, are worth ſeeing. The *Domo*, or Cathedral Church, is a noble Structure, with a Pair of folding Doors of Braſs at the Weſt End. Here is the famous Clock deſcribed by ſeveral Authors, which is a Piece of moſt excellent Workmanſhip, made by a Citizen of this Place, whoſe Name was *Iſaac Harbrecht*. But what is moſt remarkable, is the Steeple, the higheſt that ever I met with, and curiouſly built of carved Stone, having ſix hundred and ſixty-two Steps from the Bottom to the Top; we went up ſix hundred and forty Steps to a Place they call the *Crown*, from whence we took a View of the adjacent Country at a great Diſtance.

About ten Hours diſtant from *Straſbourg*, towards the Side of *Stutgard*, are very good acid mineral Springs, the Waters of which they drink here and in other Cities with Wine. In this, as well as other Imperial Cities in thoſe Parts, the Inhabitants, but eſpecially the Women, adhere ſtill to an odd Way of Dreſſing, which yet is very different one from another, each having their peculiar Habits; ſo that their Condition may be diſtinguiſhed at Sight. *July* 31. We continued our Journey towards *Baſil*, paſſing the ſame Day through the Village of *Tivelſheim*, and *Auguſt* 1, through *Markelſheim*, and two Leagues thence in Sight of the ſtrong Town and Fortreſs of *Briſac*, ſeated upon a Rock, and lodged that Night at *Ladeſheim.*

20. *Aug.* 2. After a League and a half riding, we arrived at *Baſil*, a large and noble City, well built of Stone, the Houſes very high, and painted for the moſt Part on the Outſide. It is divided by the River *Rhine* into two Parts (that on the North-ſide being called *Little Baſil*) join'd together by a Bridge ſuſtained by fourteen Arches. The chief Ornaments of this populous and rich City are its Fountains, of which it has above three hundred. It is one of the XIII. *Swiſs Cantons*, its Territories comprehending above one hundred Villages. The Biſhop of *Baden* has not the leaſt Juriſdiction in the Town, being not ſuffered to lodge here one Night, but keeps his Reſidence at *Broudint*. The Government is adminiſtred by a greater and leſſer Council; the laſt conſiſts of ſixty-four Perſons, choſen by the fifteen Companies, and the greater, of all the Magiſtrates and the leſſer Council. The Univerſity of this Place was founded by Pope *Pius* II. in which are ſeventeen Profeſſors, three of Divinity, three of Law, three of Phyſick, and eight in Philoſophy and polite Literature. They keep Lectures every Day in the Week in Term-time, except *Thurſdays* and *Saturdays*, but have very ſmall Salaries. The Eccleſiaſtical Government is in the Hands of three Profeſſors of Divinity, four *Scholarchæ*, and the Miniſters. The Senate have the Power of nominating three Perſons to any vacant Benefice, out of whom the Miniſters chooſe one. In theſe Cities the Miniſters live upon their yearly Salaries, but in the Country they have half in Tythes and the other half in Money. The Miniſters here are at Liberty to change their Profeſſion and become Laymen whenever they pleaſe. They are of the Reformed Religion, as are all the other Proteſtant Cantons.

Eraſmus lived Part of his latter Days, and ended his Life in this City; his Monument, which is of Marble, on the North Side of the Communion Table in the great Church, being to be ſeen to this Day. He was the Founder of a College in *Baſil* for twenty Students of Divinity (in which Number are however comprehended the Beadle and a School-maſter) ten of whom are to be Natives of *Baſil*; they may ſtay there as long as they continue unmarried, though the Magiſtrates have a Power to command any of them thence, if they think it convenient. They are under the Inſpection of a Regent, without whoſe Leave none of them dare ſtay out of the College one Night. In the ſame Church where *Eraſmus* lies interr'd is alſo his Library, commonly called *Bibliotheca Amberbachiana*, becauſe *Eraſmus* gave it by his laſt Will to one Mr. *Amberbach*. I ſaw the ſaid Teſtament written with his own Hand in half a Sheet of Paper, bearing Date 12 *Feb.* 1536. In his Library are alſo ſeveral very curious Pieces of Painting, done by that famous Maſter *Johannes Holbenius*, a Native of this City; ſome Diplomata of the Pope to *Eraſmus*, his Seal and Ring, a fine Gold Medal ſent to him by the Kind of *Poland*, beſides other good Coins and Medals, both ancient and modern; three Rappers of Copper (worth about a Farthing a-piece) turned into Gold, as they ſay, by that famous Alchymiſt *Leonard Turnitius*, who tranſmuted the famous Nail of *Florence*; ſeveral ancient *Intaglio*; ſome Manuſcripts of *Amberbach*, containing the Antiquities of *Auguſta Rauracorum*, anciently a great City, but now turned into a Village called *Augſt*, near *Baſil*. The Profeſſors and Miniſters wear Ruffs, and a Kind of Caps painted like Sugar-loaves (in which they are imitated by the graver ſort of the Inhabitants) and Gowns which reach juſt below their Knees. The Women wear their Petticoats very ſhort, and Caps not unlike the young Scholars at *Cambridge*, with a Tin Girdle. We took alſo a View of the Muſæum of Dr. *Platerus*, where we met with many both natural and artificial Curioſities of Minerals, Stones, Metals, Animals preſerved, *&c.* The famous Fanatick *David George* ended his Days in this City. We found divers Plants growing wild about *Baſil*, the chief of which were, *Scrophularia*, *Ruta canina dicta*, and *Paſſerina Tragi*, among the Corn; *Phalangium parvo flore ramoſius*, *Blitum minus album*, among the Hedges; *Cymbularia Italica hederacea*, on the Town Walls near the *Straſbourg* Gate; *Stæbe major calyculis non ſplendentibus*, in the Grounds betwixt *Frankendhal* and *Baſil*, *Polium montanum Lavendulæ folio Conſolida media Genevenſis & Cneorum Matthioli ſeu Thymelæa minor Cordi.* But of theſe and other Plants growing about *Baſil*, ſee *C. Bauhini Catalogus Plantarum.*

We went hence, *Auguſt* the 10th, towards *Zurich*, and in our Way, about a *German* League from *Baſil*, paſſed through *Augſt*, ſuppoſed by *Ambachius*, to be the ancient *Auguſta Rauracorum* of the *Romans*, where we ſaw the Ruins of an Amphitheatre. We travelled afterwards in Sight of a walled Town upon the *Rhine*, and many Hills covered with wild Fir-trees, and paſſing through *Bruck*, a pretty handſome well built, but ſmall Town, lodged the ſame Night at the Baths of *Baden*, about ſix *German* Leagues from *Baſil*; here we firſt got Sight of ſmall green *Tree Frogs*. Theſe hot Baths, about ſixty in Number, are not above half an *Engliſh* Mile from *Baden*, a City ſeated upon the River *Limagus*, on the Side of a Hill, famous for the general Meetings of the *Swiſs Cantons* here.

21. From hence we continued our Journey, *Auguſt* the 11th, along the *Limagus* on one, and very fair Vineyards on the other Side, to *Zurich*, another City belonging to the *Swiſs Cantons*, ſcarce ſo big, but much more populous than *Baden*. Its Fortification is extraordinary pleaſant, near the *Zurich-Sea* or Lake, being divided by the River *Limagus* (which owes its Riſe to this Lake) into two Parts, which are joined together by two Bridges, one for Foot Paſſengers, the other for Carriages, and very broad. The Houſes here, though of Timber and Clay, yet are well built, handſomely painted, and lofty; the Streets indeed are none of the broadeſt, but very well paved, and the whole Body of the City encloſed with a ſtrong Wall and many Outworks of Earth, after the modern Way; the River *Sele* (which below this City falls into the *Limagus*) ſerving for a Ditch on the Southſide. The Inhabitants are Proteſtants, much addicted to Commerce, and generally rich. What is worth a Traveller's Curioſity here is, the Colour of the *Zurich-Sea*, which is green approaching near that of Sea-Water, though it has not the leaſt brackiſh Taſte, to which in Sea-Water this Colour is commonly aſcribed. Finding afterwards the Water of the Rivers and Lakes near the *Alps* of the ſame Colour, we could not attribute it to any other Cauſe but the melted Snow of thoſe Mountains, with which they are (at leaſt the higher Parts of them) covered for ſix Months in the Year, which containing a nitrous Salt, may be ſufficient to give the Water this Colour, though not to affect our Taſte.

The Government of this City is adminiſtered by two Councils, *viz. The greater* and *the leſſer.* The laſt is compoſed of fifty Members, *viz.* twenty-four Tribunes, choſen by the twelve Tribes or Companies of the City, two out of each: Theſe they call the *Twelvers*, becauſe twelve of them have only their Share in the Government at a Time; twelve Senators, *viz.* one out of each Company, choſen by the *leſſer Council*, as *Simler* tells us, but according to our Information, by the *great Council*, ſix Members more taken indifferently out of the Commonalty, and thoſe likewiſe choſen by the *great Council*, as we were credibly told; but according to *Simler*, by the *leſſer*; four Tribunes and two Senators choſen from among the Gentlemen, and two *Burgomaſters* elected by the *great Council* of 200. Half this Council governs by Turns, and that Part which rule, is ſtiled *Concilium novum*, or the *new Council*, as that which goes out is called *Concilium vetus*, or the *old Council*: Yet if any Decree be to be made, the ſame is dated in the Preſence of both, for which Reaſon the whole Fifty meet once a Week: For the reſt, one half of this Council is choſen every half Year, *viz.* at *Midſummer* and *Chriſtmas*, and as the *Concilium vetus* goes out, it chooſes the *Concilium novum*, compoſed for the moſt Part of the ſame Perſons that were choſen before.

The whole Council of Fifty determines civil Actions (though *Simler* ſays, no more than eight ſelected out of their Number) as the new Council judges in criminal Caſes alone. The *greater Council* is compoſed of 200 Perſons, *viz.* Twelve out of each Tribe, making in all forty four, eighteen choſen by the Gentlemen, from among themſelves, twenty-four Twelvers, four *Tribuni nobilium*, two *Senatores nobilium*, the ſix before mentioned choſen by the great Council out of the People. Theſe chooſe Governors (called by them *Landvoghts*) and are always conſulted upon any Emergency, which relates to the whole Commonwealth. They alſo chooſe four *Proconſuls* out of the twenty-four Maſters of the Companies; and two Treaſurers, either out of the Number of the twelve Senators, or of the twelve *Tribunes* of the *new Council.*

Auguſt 12. In our Way from *Zurich* to *Schaffhauſen* we paſſed by a Cataract or Water-fall of the *Rhine*, which is ſo dangerous for the many Rocks that lie under Water, that the Veſſels muſt unload here, and by the Way found the *Orobus ſylvaticus purpureus vernus*, the *Hepatica nobilis*, and *Ulmaria major ſive Barba capri*, growing wild. The City of *Schaffhauſen* is ſituate upon the River *Rhine*, over which is a Bridge, half of Wood, half of Stone, and ſo are moſt of the Houſes, very well built; eſpecially in the two great Streets, which are handſomely paved. The Citizens of this Place, as well as of *Zurich*, wear Swords conſtantly: Thoſe of the firſt being divided into twelve Companies, each of theſe elect two *Tribuni Plebis*, and theſe twenty-four make up the *leſſer Council*, having each a yearly Allowance of fifty-two *Florins*, and nine Meaſures of Corn.

The *great Council* is compoſed out of thoſe twenty-four, and ſixty more, (*viz.*) five choſen out of each of the *Tribes*. Theſe elect every Year two *Burgomaſters*, two Treaſurers, one Proconſul, and one *Ædilis*, but for the moſt Part the ſame Perſons: A Father and Son, or two Brothers, cannot be choſen at the ſame time into this Council.

From hence we travelled to *Conſtance*, *Auguſt* the 13th, a free Imperial City, in a ſmall Plain near the *Rhine*, at the End of the *Boden* Sea, or Lake of *Conſtance*, known anciently under the Names of *Lacus Brigantinus*, and *Lacus Acronius*, over which is laid a very long Bridge, Part of Wood, and Part of Stone: The Streets here are very regular and handſome, and the Buildings of Stone. But what makes this Place moſt famous is the Council that was held here, 1417, in which the Doctrine of *John Huſs* was rejected, and he condemned to the Fire. It is very ſtrong by Situation, having the Lake on one, and the Fens on the other Side, but its Fortifications are very old and inconſiderable.

22. *Auguſt* 15. We paſſed over the Lake in a Boat, to the City of *Lindaw* (in Sight of the ſtrong Town of *Oberlingen*) ſituated in the Middle of the Lake, and ſurrounded by its Waters on all Sides, being joined to the Continent by a Bridge of two hundred and ninety Paces long, one half of which is of Stone, the other, *viz.* that to the Town-ſide, of Wood, ſo that it may be taken down in caſe of Neceſſity. This Place, beſides its natural Strength of Situation, is fortified with ſtrong Bulwarks, and Stakes driven into the Ground to prevent the Approach of any Boats. It is for the moſt Part handſomely built, and the Streets are adorned with Fountains, yet theſe laſt are not ſo ſpacious, or their Buildings ſo lofty as at *Conſtance*: It has on one Side a double Wall, between which is encloſed a large Space of Ground planted with Vines, which produce commonly, as we are told, about three hundred *Engliſh* Hogſheads *per Annum*. They have eight Villages belonging to their Juriſdiction.

Auguſt 17. Taking Poſt-horſes at *Conſtance*, in order to our Journey to *Munich*; we changed our Horſes at *Lindaw*, an Imperial City, two *German* Leagues thence; at *Laykirk*, another Imperial City, two Leagues further; at *Memmingen*, both for Strength and Bigneſs, one of the chief of the Circle of *Suabia*, and dignified with the Title of a free Imperial City, and at *Mindleſheim*, where we lodged that Night. From hence we travelled to *Landſberg*, four Leagues further, a very fair Town, with a handſome Fountain in the Market-place; after which, without meeting with any conſiderable Town, we paſſed by the Lake of *Ammerſee*, in Sight of the *Alps*, to *Munchen* or *Munich*.

23. This being a ſtrong and well fortified City, and the ordinary Reſidence of the Electors of *Bavaria*, no Strangers are permitted to enter the Gates without the Conſent of the Governor: *Cluverius* is not in the wrong, when he calls this City the faireſt of all *Germany*, the Splendor and Beauty of its Buildings, both publick and private, eſpecially of the Electoral Palace (which may compare with any in *Europe*) and of ſeveral magnificent Churches and Convents, being ſuch as ſurpaſſes any Thing in *Germany* for its Bigneſs, its Streets being the broadeſt and moſt regular I have met with. Among other Varieties, you ſee in the Electoral Gardens a vaſt Number of *Aloe-trees* (for ſuch they may be called by reaſon of the Bigneſs of their Stalks, which ſhoot up in one Year) the like perhaps all *Europe* cannot produce in Number both for their Stalks and Flower. Here alſo we met with a Convent of *Engliſh* Nuns, and found in their Churches Pews and Seats, as is cuſtomary in *England*, whereas otherwiſe, the *Romaniſts* make uſe only in their Sermons of moveable Chairs and Benches, and clear the Churches ſo ſoon as Sermon is over.

We took a Turn from hence to *Augſbourg*, and paſſing by the Abbey of *Bernardines* called *Pruck*, and the little Town of *Fridbergh*, arrived there the 21ſt of *Auguſt*.

This is a ſtately and ſtrong City, ſeated upon the River *Lech*, being about eight *Engliſh* Miles in Compaſs: Its Houſes are well built, its Streets fair, and beautified with many Fountains. Its Arſenal conſiſts of twelve Rooms, not inferior to that of *Straſbourg*, as its Townhouſe may challenge the ſecond Rank next to that of *Amſterdam*; the upper Room eſpecially being very remarkable for its Loftineſs, Gilding, and Paintings, in which it exceeds any I have yet ſeen. The Inhabitants are partly *Romaniſts*, partly *Lutherans*, but the laſt are double the Number of the firſt, though theſe are in Poſſeſſion of ſeven Convents here, among which there is one *Engliſh*: Some *Calviniſts* there are here, but few. It is a free Imperial City, under the Juriſdiction of its own Magiſtrates; yet ſeems ſomewhat decayed of late Years, the Number of its Inhabitants being ſcarce proportionable to its Bigneſs; in the Plains near *Augſbourg*, leading to *Munchen*, we ſaw many rare Plants.

Auguſt 28. We left *Augſbourg*, and travelling three Days out of our Way, in order to take a View of the famous City of *Nurenbergh*, we croſſed the *Danube* the firſt Day, about ſix Leagues from *Augſbourg*, at a Place called *Donawert*, belonging to the Elector of *Bavaria*, where there is a wooden Bridge over that River. The 29th, we paſſed through *Manheim* and *Papenheim*, two pretty walled Towns, and having made five *German* Leagues that Day, lodged at *Weiſſenbergh*, an Imperial City, inhabited by *Lutherans*; near which is alſo a ſtrong Fort upon a Hill, belonging to the Marquiſs of *Anſpach*, a *Lutheran* Prince.

24. The 30th, We paſſed through a ſmall Town called *Pleinfeldt*, and after a Journey of three Leagues further, cloſe by another little walled Town called *Rotte*, and ſo, after two Hours riding more, arrived at *Nurenbergh*, which we were no ſooner in Sight of, but we highly applauded the Epithet *Cluverius* beſtowed upon it, when he ſtiles it *Germanicarum ſuperbiſſimam*, it being beyond Queſtion, that for its Buildings, which are very ſtately, it exceeds all, and for its Bigneſs may compare with any in *Germany*; and were its Houſes, which are of Free-ſtone, as uniform as the Buildings in the Low Countries, would even out vie them for Beauty; beſides, that under its Dominion, are at leaſt an hundred Towns and Villages. It is true, the Ground where it is ſituated is very barren, and the River upon which it ſtands but very ſmall, and not navigable; notwithſtanding which, by the Induſtry of the Inhabitants, who are generally very excellent in all Sorts of Handicraft Works, this City is very rich and populous. They are generally *Lutherans*, and their Churches more adorned and beautified after the Faſhion of the *Romaniſts*, than ever we ſaw in any other Place where this Religion is profeſſed. The *Roman Catholicks* have one Church allowed them, but the *Reformed* none. Their great Market place, and the Town houſe, are worth a Traveller's Obſervation; it is fortified with a good Wall and Ditches: Their Senate and their whole Government is ſaid to approach very near that of the *Venetians*, being for the reſt a free Imperial City.

September 3. We ſet out from *Nurenbergh* towards *Ratiſbon*, and came to *Altorff*, a Town and Univerſity under the Juriſdiction of *Nurenbergh*. It has a very good Phyſic Garden, the Catalogue of the Plants therein, as well as another of what Plants grow wild hereabouts, the World ſtands indebted for to Dr. *Maurice Hoffman*. Over the Cloiſter of the College, in which are maintained thirty-ſix Students, at the Charge of the City of *Nurenbergh*, you ſee an Inſcription in *Latin*, giving a ſhort Account of the Foundation of this Univerſity and College, *viz.* That the ſaid College was founded by the Senate of *Nurenbergh* in 1575, under the Reign of the Emperor *Maximilian* II. that in 1578, under the Reign of *Rodolph* II. a *Gymnaſium* was eſtabliſhed here, which in 1633, under the Reign of the Emperor *Ferdinand* II. was dignified with the Title and Privileges of an Univerſity.

Dr. *Hoffman* ſhewed us ſeveral *Cornua Ammonis*, or Serpent-ſtones, beſides many Cockle and Muſcle-ſhells found near *Altorff*, of which we alſo ſaw ſome the next Day in our Way to *Nieu-markt*; upon which Occaſion I cannot forbear to give, by way of Digreſſion, a brief Account, (1.) In what Places they are found. (2.) The different Opinions concerning them. In *England*, thoſe petrified Shells are found at *Whitby* or *Whitebay*, in the North-riding of *Yorkſhire*; at *Huntley-Nab*, more Northward on the ſame Coaſt; at *Alderley* in *Glouceſterſhire*; at *Cainſham* in *Somerſetſhire*, not far from *Alderley*; at *Farnham* in *Surry*; at *Richmond* in *Yorkſhire*; and in ſeveral other Places; as for Inſtance, at *Lyme* in *Dorſetſhire, Adderbury* in *Oxfordſhire*, at *Brickworth* in *Northamptonſhire*, about *Daventry*, *Verulam* in *Hertfordſhire*, *Shuckborough* in *Warwickſhire*, nay, even the *Peak* of *Derbyſhire*. Beſides theſe petrified Shells, other congenerous Bodies are found in ſeveral Parts of *England*, *viz.* 1. The *Star-Stones*, called by ſome *Aſtroites*, *Lapis Stellaris*, and *Stella judaica*. 2. St. *Cuthbert*'s Beads, or *Trochites*, and, 3. The *Capſtone*, or *Echinites*, called *Lapides Brontiæ* by ſome, and conſidering that Sharks are often taken upon our Coaſt, it is a Wonder that no *Gloſſopetræ* ſhould be found in *England*. As for the *Star-ſtones* (ſo called from their five Angles reſembling ſo many Rays) they are found at *Shuckborough* in *Warwickſhire*, at *Caſſington* near *Glouceſter*, and *Belvoir* Caſtle in *Lincolnſhire*. The *Trochites* are to be met with on the Weſtern Shore of the *Holy Iſland*, and in the Chinks of ſome Stones found in the Bottom of the Channel of the River *Tees*, the common Boundary between *Yorkſhire* and the Biſhoprick of *Durham*; theſe are of a round Figure, and not angular like the former. The *Echinites* or *Brontiæ*, are found in divers Places of *England*, of ſeveral Magnitudes and Shape; and beyond Sea, at *Breſcia* in *Lombardy*, upon the Banks of the River *Tanaro* in *Piedmont*, four Miles below *Aſte*, but eſpecially in the Iſle of *Maltha*, where are alſo many *Gloſſopetræ*, reſembling Sharks-teeth, petrified.

As for theſe laſt, *Boetius* ſays, they are found near *Deventer*, in the Province of *Overyſſel*; and in *Germany*, in the *Alum-mines* near *Lunenburgh*. *Gropius Becanus* tells us, that they were digged up in the Ditches of *Antwerp*, and are found in great Numbers on a Hill near *Aix-la-Chapelle* in *Germany*, which he uſes as an Argument, that they cannot be real Shark's Teeth petrified.

fied. *Georgius Agricola* affirms, that the petrified Cockles, and other Sea-Shells, are found in the Stone Quarries of *Galgenbergh*, and in thoſe beyond Mount *Maurice*, in the Biſhoprick of *Hildeſheim* in *Germany*. (2.) At *Alfeld*, a Town of *Saxony*. (3.) At *Hanover*, in the Lime-Pits, and near the Village of *Lindaw*. (4.) In a Village called *Rabſchyts*, near the Rivulet of *Trebitia* in *Miſnia*. (5.) At a Place called the *Roſe-Garden* in *Pruſſia*. (6.) Near the Caſtle of *Spangenbergh* in *Heſſia*. (7.) In a Mountain of *Italy* near *Verona*. (8.) On the Banks of the River *Elſa*; and (according to *Pauſanias*) in the Quarries near *Megara*, and they are alſo found in *Theſſaly*, *Macedonia*, and the Mountains of *Calabria*. *Bernardus Paliſſius* ſays, that thoſe petrified Shells are found in *France*, near the Suburb of St. *Martial* near *Paris*; in the Mountains of the Foreſt of *Arden*, but eſpecially about *Sedan*, in the Provinces of *Valois*, *Xantcigne* and *Champaign*, and in the Mountains near *Soiſſons*.

Joannes de Laet tells us alſo of a Rock near *Dijon* in *Burgundy*, and ſpeaks much of the Fields about *Sauvignac*, upon this Account. Beſides the beforementioned Places of *Italy*, they are found in the Mountain of *Nicani*, in the *Modeneſe*, and in the Channel of a Rivulet near *Udine* in *Friuli*; *Gerepius Becanus* names *Limburgh*, *Liege*, *Namur*, *Tournay*, and divers other Places in the *Low Countries*: Beſides all which Places, there is not the leaſt Queſtion, but that, if ſtrict Obſervations were made in the other Parts of the World, the ſame might be diſcovered there as well as in *Europe*.

We will now proceed to give you a ſhort Hint of the Opinions maintained concerning them. The firſt, and which was generally received among the Ancients, was, That they were originally the natural Bones or Shells of living Creatures, bred in the Sea, which by Deluges, Inundations, Earthquakes, or other ſuch like Means, being caſt up into thoſe Places, being filled with Clay, and ſome petrifying Water or Subſtance, were in Length of Time, hardened into the ſame Shape and Figures they bore before; this Opinion they ſupport by divers Experiments, as the finding of a petrified Pearl-bearing Shell, in *Tuſcany*, with the Pearl yet ſticking to the Shell: Of a Piece of the greater Seanacre (*Pinna marina*) in which the Silk like Subſtance within the Shell being conſumed, the Colour of that Subſtance remained in the Clay that had filled the Shell. Another Experiment is, that about the City of *Volterra*, there are many Beds of Earth not ſtony, but full of true Cockle ſhells, which have not undergone the leaſt Alteration, though they have lain there at leaſt three thouſand Years, from whence they would evince, that *Tuſcany* was in former Ages cover'd by the Sea, and conſequently ſo might thoſe other Countries in which thoſe petrified Shells are found. Againſt his Opinion are two conſiderable Objections, not eaſily to be reſolved.

The firſt is, that at this Rate the whole Body of the Earth muſt once have been covered with Water, ſince theſe petrified Shells are found at a vaſt Diſtance from the Sea, nay, even upon the very Tops of the *Alps*. Some pretend to anſwer this by the general Deluge; but as that proceeded from the Rains, theſe were more likely to carry off into the Seas thoſe Shells, than to bring them in. What ſome argue from the Words of the Scripture, (*The Fountains of the Deep were broken up*) will not anſwer the Point neither; for ſuppoſing that by the breaking in of the Rivers and Seas, thoſe Shells were brought, the ſame muſt of Neceſſity have been ſcattered indifferently over the whole Surface of the Earth. Others are for ſolving this Difficulty, by referring the ſame to ſome particular Inundations, alledging, That thoſe Places, where they are found now, might, in moſt ancient Times, have been low Places, which, by Earthquakes, have been raiſed up to Mountains; but tho' this, perhaps, may take Place in reſpect of ſome inconſiderable Eminencies or Hills, it is not applicable to thoſe mountainous Bulks, ſuch as the *Alps*, *Pyrenees*, *Apennines*, it being evident from the moſt ancient Records, that though the Face of the Earth may have undergone ſome Change; yet the ſame Mountains, Iſlands, Promontories, Rivers and Lakes of any Note, are ſtill remaining, without any Removal in their ancient Stations.

The ſecond Objection againſt this Opinion is, That among all theſe petrified Cockles or Shells, there are many Sorts not to be found any where now; nay, ſome go farther, that among all our Shell-Fiſhes, there are none found like thoſe petrified Shells; unto which, if it be anſwered, that thoſe Species are loſt, it is a Thing which will ſcarce be admitted by many; for though it may be granted, that ſome few Species were loſt, yet it ſeems next to an Impoſſibility, that a whole Genus, of which there were ſo many Species ſcattered in ſo many far diſtant Places from one another, ſhould be utterly extinct. As for Inſtance, of the *Serpentine* Stones, or *Cornua Ammonis*, I have myſelf ſeen at leaſt ſix ſeveral Species, and ſome of them of a Foot Diameter, being much beyond the Bigneſs of any Shell-Fiſh now living in our Seas. Hence it is, that many of our modern Naturaliſts have attributed theſe Bodies to the Effects of a plaſtic Power in the Earth, and that they are produced and framed after the ſame Manner as precious Stones, Cryſtals, and coagulated Salts, by ſhooting up into divers Figures. What makes for their Opinion is, that in the Earth are found many figured Stones, ſuch as the *Lapides Lyncurii*, *Belemnites*, *Lapides Judaici*, *Trochites*, and others, which have not the leaſt Reſemblance to any Shells, Bones, Roots, or Fruits; to ſalve up which, no other Recourſe is to be had, than to the before-mentioned Loſs of thoſe Species out of the World.

I cannot but mention, upon this Occaſion, what I was told by a very credible Perſon, *viz.* That he had ſeen a Stone reſembling a Cockle-ſhell, found in the Stomach of an Ox, which, if it be admitted, there is not the leaſt Doubt, but that the like may be ſo generated in Quarries and other Places. Theſe two different Opinions have given Occaſion to a third, *viz.* That ſome of thoſe Shells have been truly petrified, and that others are really Stones formed by ſome Plaſtic Power in the Earth, imitating the others in their Shapes and Figures. But as this ſeems to be rather a Shift than a Diſſolution of the Objections to be made againſt either of the two former Opinions, I am inclinable to adhere to the firſt, as ſeeming to me more conſonant to the Nature of the Thing, though at the ſame Time I ſhould be very glad to hear the Objections made againſt it, more ſolidly anſwered than they have been hitherto. The Academical Senate of *Altorff* was compoſed at that Time of thirteen Profeſſors, three in Divinity, as many in Law, two in Phyſick, and five in Philoſophy, who publiſh every Year a printed Catalogue of the Lectures they intend to keep the next enſuing Year.

25. *September* 4. We ſet out from *Altorff* for *Regenſpurgh*, or *Ratiſbon*, and paſſing through *Nieu-markt* and *Heinmaw*, two little walled Towns, came to *Ratiſbon* the 5th at Night, by a fair Bridge built here over the *Danube*. This City, which receives its Name from the River *Regen*, which here joins its Current with the *Danube*, is very large and well built with Stone-houſes, the Roofs of which are flat, after the *Italian* Manner. It is well fortified, but the Streets ſomewhat narrow. As it is an Imperial City, it is under the Government of its own Magiſtrates; who, as well as the greateſt Part of the Inhabitants, are *Lutherans*, though their Biſhop is of the *Romiſh* Religion, the Members of which have ſome Convents here, and a College of Jeſuits. It is chiefly famous for the Imperial Diet, which is uſually held here.

September 11. We took Boat for *Vienna*, and paſſed on the left Hand of the River, by a Village and ſtony Caſtle on the Hill called *Thonaſtein*, and three Leagues and a half below *Ratiſbon*, in Sight of the Caſtle of *Wert*, ſeated at the Conflux of the River *Wiſent*, and the *Danube*, belonging to the Biſhop of *Ratiſbon*; we took up our Quarters one *German* League and a half thence, at *Straubingen*, a handſome wall'd Town, belonging to the Elector of *Bavaria*.

September 12. In the Morning we paſſed by *Pogen*, and four Leagues below *Straubingen*, under a wooden Bridge laid over the *Danube*, ſomewhat lower we ſaw the ſmall City of *Dreckendorf*, belonging to the Elector of *Bavaria*, and having paſs'd by the Mouth of the River *Iſer*, and in Sight of *Oſterhoven* on our left Hand, and the Caſtle of *Hilkerſberg* on the ſame Side, we lodg'd that Night at a little wall'd *Bavarian* Town called *Vilſhoven*.

September 13. We came to *Paſſau* or *Paſſovia*, four Leagues diſtant from *Vilſhoven*, a City conſiderable for its Strength, Bigneſs, and noble Buildings, the laſt of which were very near all conſumed by Fire, about nine Months before our Arrival. It is under the Juriſdiction of the Archduke of *Inſpruck*, ſituate at the Confluence of the Rivers *In* and the *Danube*, over the firſt of which is a Bridge to the Town of *Inſtadt*. Below *Paſſau*, the *Danube* being ſtreightned by Hills and Rocks on both Sides, begins to run with a much ſwifter Stream than before; ſeven Leagues below *Paſſau*, paſſing by the Caſtle of *Newhouſe*, we took up our Lodgings at the Village of *Aſh*, on the right Side of the River.

26. *September* 14. Paſſing through an open Country on both Sides, for four Leagues together, we came to *Lintz*, a City neatly built after the *Italian* Manner, with a ſquare ſpacious *Piazza*, adorned with two noble Fountains, the Imperial Palace ſtanding upon a riſing Ground, from whence you have a fair Proſpect of the *Danube* and adjacent Country. Three Leagues below it we paſſed by a very fine Village called *Mathauſen*, and in Sight of the City of *Intz*, ſeated on our right Hand upon the River *Ens*, ſeven Leagues below *Lintz*, the Country begins to be hilly again on both Sides of the *Danube*, near the Caſtle of the Prince of *Lichtenſtein*, by a Village called *Greine*; a little below which Place we paſſed a Kind of Cataract, the Current being nearly encloſed between the Rocks on both Sides, and render'd boiſterous by thoſe under Water; and ſomething lower a Whirlpool is made there by the jetting out of Rocks into the River. Afterwards, paſſing by a ſmall Town called *Ips*, we lodged that Night at the Village of *Morpatch*, about eleven *German* Leagues from *Lintz*.

September 15. Early in the Morning we paſſed in Sight of the rich Convent called *Melk*, on our right Hand, and about ſix Leagues further the Seat of Count *Dietrichſtein* on our left, within Sight of the rich Abbey of *Ketwein*, famous for its ſtony Situation, and the brave Reſiſtance it made againſt the *Swedes*. Nine Leagues from our laſt Night's Lodging, we paſſed under a wooden Bridge, near the City of *Stein*, not far from whence we came to *Krembs*, a very handſome, ſtrong, well built City, ſeated at the Foot of a Hill. From hence, being an open Country, the Channel of the River began to be much broader. Six Leagues below *Krembs*, we paſſed by a ſmall City called *Deuln*, and in Sight of the Caſtle of *Greitenſtein*, ſituate upon a Hill, at ſome Diſtance from the River, on the left Hand, and we ſaw alſo the City of *Cornburgh*. Here, and afterwards in other Places, we ſaw Abundance of Mills in Boats, the Wheels lying betwixt two Boats, placed at a convenient Diſtance one from another; ſo that the Stream being by Degrees ſtreightned between the Boats, forces the Wheel to turn. One of the Boats is with Chains, or ſtrong Cables, faſtened to the Bank. Within a League and a half of *Vienna*, we paſſed by the noble and rich Abbey called *Cloyſter Newburg*, with a little wall'd Town of the ſame Name belonging to it; and having by the Swiftneſs of the Current made nineteen *German* Leagues that Day, arrived at *Vienna*, the Capital of *Auſtria*, and now the Capital of the Empire.

This City, which, in Proportion to its Bigneſs, is the moſt populous we had ſeen yet in our Travels, is the ordinary Reſidence of the Emperor, ſeated upon the *Danube*, though it receives its Name from the River *Wien*, which below it, *viz.* on the Eaſt ſide, falls into the former. The Body of the City is not above four or five *Engliſh* Miles in Compaſs, but the Suburbs are very ſpacious, ſome of the Houſes of which were lately pulled down, upon the Approach of the *Turks* towards *Preſburgh* (not above forty *Engliſh* Miles from thence) after the taking of *Newheuſel*. *Vienna* has a moſt regular Fortification, the Wall of Earth, but very high and thick, faced with Bricks, ſtrengthened by a broad and deep Ditch, and defended by many Half-moons and Horn-works. The Houſes are lofty and well built, with flat Roofs, after the *Italian* Way: The Markets very well furniſhed with Proviſions, but the Streets none of the broadeſt. The Emperor's Palace, the Cathedral, and other publick Buildings, are very magnificent. The Emperor himſelf (*Leopold*) is low of Stature, of a very dark Complexion, black Hair, and thin viſaged, with a thick hanging Under-lip, not unlike his Effigies on his Coin. In the Market we firſt met here with the Fruit of *Sorbus legitima*, with Tortoiſes, for Six-pence a-piece, found here in muddly Places; and here we alſo ſaw the *Silurus*, or *Sheat-fiſh*, the biggeſt of all freſh Water Fiſh I ever ſaw, ſome of them weighing near an hundred Pounds.

27. *September* 24. We took Coach for *Venice*, and lodged that Night at a great Village called *Trayſkerk*, four Leagues thence; by the Way we ſaw great Store of *Abſinthium Auſtriacum tenuifolium*, Clauſ.

The 24th, after we had travell'd four Leagues, we came to *Newſtadt*, (*Neapolis Auſtriaca*) a pretty ſtrong ſquare Town, well built, but of no great Extent; having a fair Market-place, and very regular Streets. At three of the Corners it is defended by ſo many Baſtions, but on the fourth it has a Caſtle or Citadel. Near this Place I met with the *Aſperula cœrulea*. After we had travell'd two Leagues beyond *Newſtadt*, we began to enter among the Hills, and lodged that Night at *Glucknitz*, four Leagues from *Newſtadt*.

The 26th, We had ſcarce made two Leagues, when coming to the Village of *Shadwin*, our Coachman hired ten Oxen (which were ready at hand for that Purpoſe) to draw the Coach up the ſteep Hills, which are the common Boundaries betwixt *Auſtria* and *Stiria*. After we had travell'd for ſome Time among the Hills, we paſs'd through *Mertzſuchlag*, a ſmall City ſeated upon the River *Muercz* (where we ſaw many Mills) and afterwards through *Langenwang* and *Kriegla*, each of which have a Caſtle built on Hills. We croſs'd the River near the laſt, and paſſing through a pleaſant Valley ſurrounded with woody Mountains, lodged that Night at the Village of *Kimberg*, ſix long *German* Leagues from *Glocknitz*.

The 27th, We continued our Journey through the ſame Valley, through the Valley of *Kapſuberg*, in Sight of ſeveral Villages, Caſtles, and Country-Seats upon the Sides of the Hills, and at three Leagues End came to the City call'd *Pruck en der Mure*, i. e. *Pons Muræ*, a neat Place, defended by a Wall, having a ſpacious Market-place: The Inhabitants are moſtly concerned in Iron-work Here we paſs'd the River *Mure* twice, and after we had left *Lewben*, paſs'd over a Hill, and ſo following the Courſe of the River among the Mountains, lodged that Night at the Village called St. *Michael*. Here it was we ſaw many Men and Women with large Tumours hanging down under their Chins and Throats, ſome of which were ſingle, ſome double, call'd in *Latin*, *Bronchocele*, and by ſome *Engliſh* the *Bavarian Pokes*. This, it ſeems, is a Diſeaſe natural, and of old belonging to the *Alpine* Inhabitants: *Quis tumidum guttur miretur in Alpibus?* Though the *Griſons* inhabiting the higheſt Parts of theſe Mountains, are either not at all, or at leaſt not near ſo much ſubject to this Evil Diſtemper. Some attribute the Source of this Evil to the Snow-water which comes from the *Alps*; others to the virulent mercurial Particles which are mix'd with theſe Waters; but as this Diſtemper is not frequent among other Nations inhabiting mountainous Countries, where the Snow lies as long as here, nay, where their Waters are nothing but melted Snow, neither among the *Hungarians* and *Tranſylvanians*, (where they abound in Minerals, and eſpecially in Mercury) we had better ſuſpend our Judgment, till ſome ingenious Phyſician, reſiding in thoſe Countries, ſhall aſſign us the true Cauſe and Cure of this Diſtemper. We alſo ſaw more Idiots and delirious Perſons here than any where elſe, which

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I attributed chiefly to the venomous and malignant mercurial Vapours, which will, beyond all Queſtion, affect the Brains and Nerves, as is obvious in Goldſmiths, Gilders, Miners and Painters; though they generally attribute this to the Uſe of Snow-water, and of the vaſt Quantity of Cabbage, which is their daily Food here.

The 28th, We continued our Journey for three Leagues along the River *Mure* to *Knittlefield*, a ſmall City, and then paſſing through a Valley in Sight of many Noblemens Seats and Caſtles, lodged that Night at the Village of St. *Georgio*, upon the *Mure*, four Leagues from *Knittlefield*. The 29th, We continued our Journey along the River *Mure*, through the ſame Valley, as far as *Newmarket*, four Leagues from St. *Georgio*, and following the Track of another River, which near *Volcmarck* falls into the River *Drave*, we paſſed through *Freiſach*, a conſiderable City in thoſe Parts, ſeated in a little Valley betwixt high Hills, and after a League's travelling further, lodged at *Heirt* in *Carinthia*.

The 30th, For three *German* Leagues after, we travell'd ſtill through rockey Valleys as far as St. *Veit*, where the Emperor has a Mint: Three Leagues further we came to *Vilkirchen*, a Town of Note, but quite ruined by an accidental Fire three Years before. *October* the 1ſt, We paſſed over rugged Rocks, and Mountains all along the Lake *Oſtſukerſea*, at the further End of which Count *Dietrickſtein* has a ſtrong Caſtle built upon a Hill. After that, paſſing through a pleaſant Valley, we croſs'd the River *Drave*, which begins to be navigable here, and waſhes the Walls of *Villach*, a Town of Note in this Country, three Leagues from *Vilkirck*. At ſome Diſtance from *Villach*, we paſs'd the River *Guile*, which joins its Current with the *Drave*. Hence we travelled again over very rocky Mountains to *Orleſteiana*, where we lodged that Night.

October the 2d, We travell'd on for two Leagues through the Mountains to *Klein Tarvis*, and thence to the River *Timent*, which exonerates itſelf into the *Adriatick Sea*, and took up our Quarters that Night at *Pontieba*, the laſt Place in the Emperor's Territories, Part of it being ſubject to the Emperor, from whence it is called *Pontieba Imperiale*, as that Part which belongs to the *Venetians* is thence called *Pontieba Veneta*; here we were obliged to take a Bill of Health. Between this Place and *Klein Tarvis* obſerving ſeveral Herds of Goats following the Goat-herds like Dogs, it put us in Mind of what our Saviour ſays, *And he goeth before his Sheep, and they follow him, for they know his Voice*; which proves that the ſame was uſual in thoſe Days in *Judea*. *October* the 3d, we paſſed the River *Timent* by a Bridge, which here parts *Carinthia* from *Friuli*. About a *German* League thence, we came to a ſmall Fort, called *Clauſen*, where they ſtopped us till we delivered our Bill of Health. As we travell'd on along the River, we ſaw many Timber Trees floating down the Stream, which being fell'd in the *Alps*, are brought to the next Rivulet or Brook, and when the next ſtrong Rain Shower falls, forced down into the greater Rivers. We paſſed the ſame Day through *Venſonga*, a pretty little City, and lodged that Night at the Village of *Hoſpitaletto*, and ſo entred *Italy*.

The Circumſtances of this worthy Gentleman, at the Time of his going Abroad, were of a Nature that qualified him to enter into ſuch Inquiries, and to make ſuch Sort of Obſervations as are moſt worthy of a Reader's Attention, as being moſt likely to convey to him the Advantages of Travelling, without the Fatigue of it. Mr. *Ray* was in the Flower of his Age; he had reaped all the Advantages of a learned and general Education. He had ſeen the greateſt Part of his own Country before he went into foreign Parts, and the ſole Reaſon of his going thither, was, for his own Improvement. It is very natural, therefore, to expect from ſuch a Man, Remarks and Reflections, very different from thoſe of other Travellers; and the Reader will find, that his Expectations in this Reſpect are fully anſwered. All his Remarks are curious and important, moſt of his Reflections are very ſenſible and judicious; he did not dwell on the Superficies of Things, but went to the Bottom. He knew before he went Abroad, all that was worth knowing of the Countries he viſited from Books, and he made it his Buſineſs to prepare the Materials for his Inquires, before he came to the Places where they were to be made; ſo that we find him ſometimes commending and ſometimes correcting the Authors that he had read; which enable us to judge of other Books as well as his own, as it alſo enabled him to bring together, in a very narrow Compaſs, an infinite Number of curious and learned Obſervations. It is indeed true, that this gives an Air of Singularity to his Writings, which differences them extremely from moſt other Books of like Titles; but this is ſo far from being any Way prejudicial to, that in the Opinion of the beſt Judges, it adds greatly to the Merit of his Performance.

Another Advantage Mr. *Ray* had beyond moſt Travellers, which was derived from the Company in which he travelled; and in Order to place this in a proper Light, it becomes neceſſary for us to ſay ſomewhat of his Fellow-Travellers. *Francis Willoughby*, Eſq; Anceſtor to the preſent Lord *Middleton*, was a Gentleman no leſs diſtinguiſhed by his eminent Virtues and Knowledge, in all Degrees of Learning, than by his Deſcent from an ancient and honourable Family, and his Poſſeſſion of a large hereditary Eſtate. He was from his Childhood addicted to Study, and when he came to the Uſe of Reaſon was ſo great a Huſband of his Time, that he ſuffered no Opportunities of improving himſelf, to ſlip unemployed; and though he had a Tincture of moſt other Sciences, yet thoſe that were the chief Objects of his Affections were the Mathematicks and natural Philoſophy. In order to cultivate theſe, he undertook this Journey with Mr. *Ray*, in which he kept his Pencil continually in his Hand, and drew with great Exactneſs whatever offered itſelf to his View, worthy of Obſervation. His accurate Hiſtory of Birds, his noble Specimen of the Hiſtory of Fiſhes, both of which were publiſhed after his Deceaſe, by the Care of his learned Friend, are the laſting Monuments of his Fame and Learning, together with Abundance of curious and learned Eſſays, that are to be met with in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions*; and theſe will appear to us the more extraordinary, when we reflect that he died but a young Man, on the 3d of *July*, 1672, at the Age of Thirty-ſeven. As to Mr. *Skippon*, afterwards Sir *Philip Skippon*, who was alſo a Companion with Mr. *Ray* in theſe Travels, we ſhall have Occaſion to mention him more particularly, when we come to ſpeak of his Journey through *Spain*, and therefore it is only requiſite to obſerve here, that his Talents, his Induſtry, and his Accuracy, were not inferior to thoſe of his Companions; from whence we may ſafely collect, that though theſe Gentlemen had each of them his particular View, to which he chiefly attended, yet their Converſation contributed not a little to help each of their Inquiries, and enabled them to puſh their Diſcoveries much farther than they could have done, if they had travelled alone, or if they had travelled in Company, where, while ſome were engag'd in ſerious and ſolid Studies, others had purſued only ſenſual Pleaſures, or trivial Amuſements.

It muſt be acknowledged, that many Paſſages in this Section, and many more in the ſucceeding Sections, relate to Places already mentioned and deſcribed, and therefore it may ſeem ſomewhat unneceſſary, more eſpecially conſidering how much we are ſtraitned for Room, to ſuffer theſe Repetitions. But to this, ſeveral Anſwers may be made, as for Inſtance: There is ſuch a Connection runs through the whole of Mr. *Ray*'s Travels, that the Reader will very eaſily diſcern there was no Choice left for us to make, but whether we would receive or reject all; and he will certainly ſee good Reaſon to think that he had been very ill treated, if the latter had been our Reſolution. It muſt be alſo obſerved, that his Obſervations are of a very different Nature from thoſe of *Miſſon* or *Burnet*, more eſpecially as we have taken Care to leave out a few Paſſages, which it was impoſſible ſhould not be the ſame in Relations reſpecting the ſame Places; ſo that by this Means, Repetitions are for the moſt Part avoided, at the ſame Time that the Connection, neceſſary for underſtanding Mr. *Ray*'s Narrative of his Travels, is maintained throughout. *Laſtly*, it contributes not a little to the Variety and Entertainment, as well as the Utility and Inſtruction of a Work like this, to bring together as great a Diverſity of Travels as is poſſible, becauſe as the old *Proverb* ſays, *Many Men, many Minds.* One Traveller makes his Remarks in one Manner, another in another; one ſhews himſelf an Antiquary, another is an Hiſtorian, a third a Critic, a fourth a Politician, a fifth a Philoſopher; and in reading their ſeveral Remarks, we profit by them all. Beſides, it ought to be remembred, that as Travellers differ in their Notions, ſo Readers vary alſo in their Sentiments of Things. Such as have a View to traverſe theſe Countries themſelves, cannot avoid ſetting a high Value upon *Miſſon*'s Manner of Writing; ſuch as have a Taſte for Hiſtory and Politicks, muſt be charmed with *Burnet*'s Method; and thoſe again, who are in Love with philoſophick Inquiries, moral Reflections, and Diſcoveries that are uſeful to Society, will very probably prefer the Accounts given by Mr. *Ray*, to *Miſſon* and *Burnet* both. General Readers who graſp at all, will receive Satisfaction from comparing theſe different Methods, and find in Variety, what they would have miſſed, if we had given them the very beſt Relation that could have been ſelected, and that in its utmoſt Extent. It was our Buſineſs to gratify the Deſires of every Reader, and this alone is a ſufficient Apology for the Method that is here taken. A Library of Voyages and Travels implies that ſuch Method ſhould be taken, and it always has been, and ſhall be our Study to fulfil the Title of this Work, to make it as far as we can all that we have promiſed, ſo as to leave no Room for objecting, that we have been ſparing in our Pains to accompliſh what we propoſed, and to comply with the Expectations of the Publick, which in all Caſes is unjuſt, and in ours would be highly ungrateful, conſidering the kind Reception we have hitherto met with, and which as it encourages, ſo it lays us under an Obligation to uſe our Endeavours at leaſt, to deſerve it.

SECTION VI.

The TRAVELS of the Reverend Mr. JOHN RAY, through the Dominions of the State of *Venice*, *Lombardy*, *Tuſcany*, the Kingdom of *Naples*, the Iſlands of *Sicily* and *Malta*, the Eccleſiaſtical State, the Biſhoprick of *Trent*, the Country of the *Griſons*, *Switzerland*, &c.

Interſperſed throughout with Hiſtorical, Political, Philoſophical, Phyſical, and Moral Reflections, together with an Account of Abundance of Curioſities ſeen and examined in the Courſe of the Author's Voyages and Travels, and many other entertaining and inſtructive Particulars.

1. *An Introductory Account of what is to be expected from the following Section.* 2. *Obſervations on the Situation, Extent, Number of People, Revenues, &c. of* Venice. 3. *Some curious Remarks on the Government of that Republick.* 4. *Curioſities of different Kinds ſeen by the Author there, with a very diſtinct and particular Account of the Art of making* Venice *Soap.* 5. *A ſuccinct Deſcription of* Padua, *and of the Hot Baths at* Abona. 6. *An Account of* Vicenza, *and of the chief Commodities in the Country round it.* 7. *The Cave of* Cuſtoza *deſcribed, together with the Manner of making Ventiducts.* 8. *The City of* Verona, *and the Country about it deſcribed.* 9. *Some very curious Remarks on the State of* Mantua. 10. Ferrara *and* Bologna *deſcribed, with an Account of the Country and Trade.* 11. *Some Remarks on the Dutchy of* Modena, *and of the reigning Family.* 12. *The Cities of* Reggio, Parma, *and* Placentia, *deſcribed, with many uſeful Remarks.* 13. *An Account of* Breſcia, Bergamo, *and of the Country about thoſe Cities.* 14. *Remarks upon* Milan, *and the Curioſities the Author ſaw there.* 15. *A Deſcription of* Turin, *and of the Country of* Piedmont. 16. *A very large and accurate Deſcription of the City and Republick of* Genoa. 17. *The Author's Journey from thence to* Leghorn, *including a Deſcription of the principal Places in the Grand Dutchy of* Tuſcany. 18. *The Author's Voyage to* Naples, *giving an Account of that City and Kingdom.* 19. *A Deſcription of the principal Places in the Iſland of* Sicily. 20. *The Author's Voyage from thence to the Iſland of* Malta, *and a Deſcription of that Place, its principal Commodities and Manufactures.* 21. *An Account of the City of* Valetta, *of the Knights of* Malta, *together with various Remarks on the Country and Inhabitants.* 22. *The Author's Return to, and farther Obſervations in, the Iſland of* Sicily. 23. *His Voyage from thence to* Naples, *with ſome curious Remarks on the different Provinces of that Kingdom through which he paſſed.* 24. *A Deſcription of* Florence, *with ſome hiſtorical Notes as to the Family, Power, and Revenues of the Grand Dukes of* Tuſcany. 25. *The Author's Journey from* Florence *to* Rome. 26. *His Obſervations on the principal Edifices in that famous Capital.* 27. *A ſuccinct Deſcription of the Place, and of the Country adjacent.* 28. *The Author's Journey from thence to* Ancona, *with Remarks upon ſuch Places as he paſſed through in his Way.* 29. *An Account of his Journey continued from* Ancona *to* Trent. 30. *A Deſcription of that City, with the Copy of a remarkable Inſcription relating to the laſt General Council held there.* 31. *Several Remarks of our Author on the Country, Produce, and Manufactures of* Italy, *and on the Diſpoſition, Manners and Cuſtoms of its Inhabitants.* 32. *Obſervation on the* Swiſs-Cantons, *and on the City of* Geneva. 33. *Concluſion of this Section, and Remarks.*

1. THE Deſign of this Section is to extract ſo much of Mr. *Ray's* Travels through *Italy*, as may inform the Reader, in many Particulars, that were either omitted by, or did not occur to the Authors whoſe Works have been already inſerted, as alſo to enlarge the Accounts already given, with the Deſcriptions of the Kingdoms of *Naples*, the Iſlands of *Sicily* and *Malta*, and many other Places thro' which he paſſed, and which were not mentioned by the former Writers. The Reader will alſo obſerve, that in regard to the Curioſities of Art and Nature which are mentioned in theſe Travels, they are more cloſely and thoroughly examined than in thoſe of *Miſſon*, *Burnet*, or indeed any other; becauſe they were what theſe Gentlemen particularly ſought after, and perfectly underſtood; neither may it be improper to take Notice, that in Conſequence of many uſeful Diſcoveries made by them in their Travels, and communicated to their Countrymen after their Return, ſeveral uſeful Trades were ſet up, and new Manufactures introduced in this Kingdom. It were to be wiſhed, that the ſame beneficent and publick Spirit was more common among modern Travellers, and that they would accuſtom themſelves to think of bringing Home ſome valuable Invention, in Return for great Sums of Money ſpent in their Travels, and which muſt be conſidered as intirely thrown away, by ſuch as carry their Views no higher than bare Amuſement. But let us now return to our Author, and continue the Story of his Travels as near as may be in his own Words.

October 4. Quitting the Mountains, we entered the Plains of *Friuli*, paſſing by *Limonia*, ſituated at the Foot of the Mountains, and ſome Leagues further through St. *Daniele*; after which we forded the River *Timent* in ſeveral Places, though in Time of Rain, or when the melted Snow comes down from the Mountains, it is of a conſiderable Breadth. The firſt Time we paſſed the River we came to *Spilemberg*, ſeated upon a Cliff, where we ſaw Cloiſters under the Houſes on both Sides of the Streets (a Thing common in *Lombardy*) and after ten *Italian* Miles travelling, took up our Lodgings in the Village of St. *Avogio*.

October 5. We travelled for ten Miles to a walled Town called *Saribe*, encompaſſed by the River *Livenza*, which divides itſelf into two Branches. We travelled for two *German* Leagues, and lodged at *Conegliano*, a ſmall City, ſeated on a Ridge of a Hill. Whilſt we travelled in *Italy*, we met rarely with any wheaten Bread, that which we uſed being made of *Sorghum*, a certain Grain, the Blade of which grows ſeven or eight Feet high, of the Thickneſs of a Finger, bearing a large Panicle on the Top, the Seed being bigger than Wheat, of a duſky Colour.

October 6. A *German* League from hence we ferried over the River *Anaxus* (*Piave*) and ten *Italian* Miles further came to the large and famous City of *Treviſo*, the Capital of the Province called *Marca Treviſana*. Hence we continued our Journey through a fertile Country to *Meſtre*, a ſmall Place ſeated near the *Lagunes*, or Flats about *Venice*, which are dry at low, but covered with Water at high Tide. From whence we paſſed in a Boat to *Venice*. Throughout the greateſt Part of *Friuli*, the *Marca Treviſana*, and *Lombardy*, we ſaw the Corn-fields planted with Trees as thick as our Orchards, againſt each Tree a Vine, the Branches of which draw from Tree to Tree in Rows, and make a Kind of a Hedge; their Soil being ſo rich, that it ſuffices for the Production of Corn and Grapes, the Trees not giving the leaſt Hindrance to the Corn, either by their Droppings or Shadow, becauſe little Rain falls here in the Summer, and the Leaves keep off the ſcorching Heat of the Sun, which notwithſtanding this ſuffices to bring it to Maturity. This Part of *Italy* has for its Beauty and amazing Fertility, juſtly deſerved the Name of the *Garden* of *Europe*.

2. The famous City of *Venice* is built upon ſeveral little Iſlands in the Middle of Shallows, ſurrounded by the Sea, called by them *Lagunes*. Theſe *Lagunes* are ſeparated from the Gulph of *Venice* by a certain Landbank (which they call the *Lido*) about thirty eight or forty Miles in Extent, and reſembling the Space contained in a bent Bow, ſuppoſing the firſt to be the Continent, and the String the *Lido*. *Venice* itſelf is at an equal Diſtance of five Miles from each: The *Lido* ſerves as a Fence againſt the Violence of the Sea, and has ſeven Inlets or ſmall Harbours, two only being capable of receiving Veſſels of any great Burthen, *viz.* Thoſe of *Malamocco* and *Lio*. Not far from the *Lagunes* moſt of the conſiderable Rivers of *Italy* diſcharge themſelves into the Gulph, viz. *Padus* the *Po*, *Atheſis* or *Adige*, *Meduacus major* or *Brenta*, *Meduacus minor* or *Bacchilione*, *Tiliaventum* or *Tajamento*, *Liquentia* or *Livenza*, *Silis* or *Sile*, *Anaſſus* or *Piave*; and theſe carrying along with them a vaſt Quantity of Earth, may in Time fill up the *Lagune*; for *Gianotti* tells us, that in ancient Times the City of *Venice* was ten Miles from the Continent *Oriago* (*Ora lacus*) then lying upon the Shoar of the *Lagune*, which is now five Miles from *Fuſina*, where they take Boat for *Venice*. The firſt Origin of *Venice* may be traced as far as the Irruption of the *Huns* into *Italy*, under *Attila*, when many of the beſt Families fled for Shelter into theſe Iſlands, and at laſt erected here a noble City. Certain it is, that this City has maintained its Sovereignty theſe 1200 Years, though it be not ſtrengthened by any Fortification, but what the Sea affords it, no great Ships being able to approach nearer than the Harbour of *Malamocco*; thoſe Inlets where ſmall Veſſels may paſs, being defended by ſtrong Forts; beſides, the Channels are ſo difficult to paſs, that none but their own Pilots dare venture to navigate through them. The Circumference of *Venice* (taking in the *Giudecha*) is of about eight *Italian* Miles, being divided into two Parts by the *grand Canal*, which paſſes through the Middle of it in the Form of the Letter S. Each Side is ſubdivided into three Wards, called by them *Seſtieri*, viz. *Caſtello*, St. *Marco*, and *Canarejo*, on one Side, and *San Paolo*, *Santa Croce* and *Dorſo duro* on the other Side. In the whole it contains 70 or 72 Pariſhes, and 67 Convents, according to a Survey taken in the Year 1581, according to which there were then in the City, of Noblemen 1843, Women 1659, Boys 1420, Girls 1230: Of common Citizens, Men 2117, Women 1936, Boys 1708, Girls, 1418: Servants, 3732, Maids 5753: Of Artiſans, Men 32887, Women 31617, Boys 22765, Girls 18227: Of Beggars, Men 75, Women 112, Monks 945, Nuns 2508, Prieſts 516, Poor of the Hoſpital 1290, *Jews* 1043. The Sum total of which amounts to 134,871. *Sanſovino* makes the Number of Souls in his Time to have been 180,000, in which I ſuppoſe he comprehends the Suburb of *Murano* and ſome other ſmall Iſlands. Some of our modern Writers have increaſed this Number to 300,000, but without much Probability, nothing being more common than to magnify the Number of Inhabitants of great Cities; thus I have heard ſay frequently, that in *Paris* there is a Million and a half of People, whereas there is ſcarce half a Million. The whole City is divided into many Iſlands, by ſmall Channels, thro' which you convey yourſelf and Goods by Boats from one Place to another, there being no Uſe of Carts, Horſes, Coaches, Litters, or Aſſes, except that they employ now and then Porters in the Alleys, which run acroſs the City for the Paſſage on Foot, for Conveniency of which 450 Bridges are built croſs the Channels of one Arch each, and moſt of Stone. The Bridge called *Ponte di Rialto*, built over the *grand Canal*, excels all the reſt. The Number of Boats for the Convenience of Carriage in the Canal, ſome make amount to 10,000, ſome ſwell them to 12,000, ſome to 15,000. The Buildings here are generally lofty and beautiful, eſpecially thoſe along the *grand Canal*, and the Noblemen's Palaces, which though not very ſpacious, yet are very handſomely contrived; they all ſtand upon Piles of Wood, like the Houſes of *Amſterdam*. The Arſenal of *Venice* has above two Miles in Circumference, containing a great Store of all Manner of warlike Proviſions, 20000 Pieces of great and ſmall Cannon, and Arms for 250,000 Men. Here they build and lay up their Galleys (of which, as they ſay, they have 200)

and among the reſt the *Bucentaure*, in which the Duke of *Venice* every Year eſpouſes the Sea at three Mile Diſtance from the City, by caſting into it a Ring, with theſe Words, *I eſpouſe thee in Token of perpetual Dominion.* In this Arſenal are maintained at the Charge of the Publick, 1550 Workmen of all Sorts, ſuch as Shipwrights, Carpenters, Smiths, *&c.*

This City, according to its Epithet, *Venice the Rich*, once ſurpaſſed in Wealth all the Cities of *Europe*, till the Paſſage to the *Eaſt Indies* by the Cape of *Good Hope* was diſcovered, at which Time they were not the ſole Maſters of the *Eaſt India* Trade only, but were alſo in Poſſeſſion of all *Lombardy* and *Friuli*, of *Iſtria* and *Dalmatia*, on the Continent, beſides the Iſles of *Cyprus* and *Candia, Zant, Cephalonia, Corfu*, and ſeveral other Iſles in the *Archipelago:* But ſince the Loſs of that Trade, and their heavy Wars with the *Turks*, (in which they loſt *Cyprus* and *Candia*) their publick Treaſure has been much exhauſted, yet the Inhabitants, who have never been ſubject to any Ravages or Change of Government, are very rich, and the Government remains ſtill in Poſſeſſion of the following Dominions, *viz.* 1. The *Dogado*, in which is the City of *Venice.* 2. The City and Territories of *Padua.* 3. Of *Vicenza.* 4. Of *Verona.* 5. Of *Breſcia.* 6. Of *Bergamo.* 7. Of *Crema.* 8. *Marca Trevisana*, under which are comprehended the Territories and Cities of *Feltre* and *Belluno.* 9. *Friuli.* 10. *Iſtria.* 11. The Territory of *Rovigo*, formerly belonging to the Duke of *Ferrara*; the whole extending 250 Miles in Length, and 125 in Breadth. Out of *Italy* they are poſſeſſed of Part of *Dalmatia*, the Iſlands of *Zant, Cephalonia*, and *Corfu*, beſides others of leſs Note. We were credibly informed that the ordinary annual Revenue of the whole Republick amounted to 5,320,000 *Venetian* Ducats, one of their Ducats being ſomewhat leſs than a *French* Crown: Of which *Venice* produces 1,400,000 yearly, *Breſcia* 1,000,000, *Bergamo* 140,000, *Padua* 140,000, *Vicenza* 200,000, *Verona* 230,000, *Bergamo* 140,000, *Crema* 100,000, *Rovigo* 70,000, *Iſtria* 150,000, *Il Friuli* 100,000, *La Marca Trevisana*, 190,000, *Gli ſtati di Mare* 450,000, *La Zecca* 150,000.

Venice abounds in Proviſions of all Sorts, eſpecially Fiſh and Water fowl, and excepting freſh Water, which muſt be brought from the Land, and their Rain Water they preſerve in Ciſterns. The Air of *Venice* is very ſharp in Winter by its Vicinity to the *Alps*. This City is famous for the beſt Treacle, for Paper, Turpentine, Needle-work Laces, Soap, and above all, for the beſt Drinking and Looking-glaſſes; theſe are made at *Murano*, a Town of three Miles in Circuit, in an Iſle about a Mile diſtant from *Venice*.

Women of any Faſhion are kept in great Reſtraint here, ſeldom appearing Abroad, except it be at Church, when they are ſure to have an old Woman for their Guardian. Their Daughters are put at ſeven or eight Years of Age into ſome Nunnery, where they are educated, and ſeldom ſtir from thence till they are married.

3. The Government is *Ariſtocratical* in reſpect to the whole, the common People have not the leaſt Share in the Government, but in Reference to the Nobility may be called *Democratical*, every one pretending to his Share in it, the *Doge* or *Duke* being no more than an empty Title, without any princely Authority. The whole Adminiſtration of the Government is in the Great Council, the Senate, or Council of *Pregadi*, the College, the Council of Ten, and the *Signioria*; beſides ſeveral other Magiſtrates for the Adminiſtration of Juſtice; all which, together with their Method of chuſing by Lot, and other Ways of tranſacting publick Affairs, are particularly deſcribed by *Contarini*, *Giarotti*, and *Sanſovinus*. The Procurators of St. *Mark*, though not to be numbered among thoſe who have the Adminiſtration of the Republick, yet are in great Reputation in this City, this Dignity continuing for Life, and ſince its firſt Eſtabliſhment, there having been but few Dukes who were not firſt Procurators of St. *Mark*. In ancient Times there was but one Procurator of St. *Mark*, whoſe Buſineſs was to provide for the Church of St. *Mark*, and the Treaſure belonging to it, which increaſing by Degrees, one more was added, and *A. D.* 1270, a third, and not long after a fourth, till their Number was increaſed to ſix, and afterwards in 1423 to nine, and in 1509 to fifteen.

4. Here we ſaw, firſt, the little *Diabolus in Carcere*, as ſome call it, being no more than an *Icuncula*, or Glaſs Bubble, put into a Cylindrical Glaſs Tube full of Water, the Bubble having, in the heavier End of it, a little Hole of ſuch a Poiſe, as juſt to keep it ſwimming upon the Water; the Glaſs Tube being ſtopt at one End, they clap their Hand to the Mouth of the Tube, and ſo preſſing down the Air upon the Superficies of the Water, the ſame preſſes upon the Air in the Bubble, which giving Way, makes Room for the Water to enter through the Hole in the Bubble, which becoming heavier, ſinks to the Bottom, but upon the Removal of the Hand, the Air in the Bubble, by its elaſtick Power expanding itſelf, forces out the Water, and aſcends again; ſo, that in proportioning the Force, they can make it deſcend or aſcend, as much or as little as they pleaſe. For the further Elucidation of which, I refer to Dr. *Cornelius* of *Naples Progymnaſmata Phyſica*, in his Epiſtle *de Circumpulſione Platonica*. Among other Curioſities, we ſaw here a Boy, who by bending his Head betwixt his Legs to the Ground, charged his Belly with Wind, and afterwards diſcharged it at Pleaſure. A certain noble *Venetian* alſo ſhewed us a fulminating Powder, not much inferior to the *Aurum fulminans*, of which he gave us the following Receipt. ℞. *Salt of Tartar* one *Part*, *of common Brimſtone* two *Parts*, and *Saltpetre* three *Parts*, *beat them fine and mix them well:* This Powder put into an Iron Veſſel or Pan, and held over the Fire, as ſoon as it melts, will explode with almoſt as much Noiſe as the fulminating Powder of Gold.

The ſame Gentleman introduced us to a Place where we ſaw the whole Proceſs of making *Venice* Soap, which is accounted as good as *Caſtile* Soap. The whole Compoſition is made of Oil of Olives, and a certain Lye; the laſt they make thus: Take of the Aſhes of the Herb *Kali*, known in *England* by the Name of *Beriglia*, two thirds; of *Kelp*, i. e. the Aſhes of the ordinary Sea-wrack, one third; theſe beaten with a Mallet into ſmall Pieces, and well mingled, are ground to a Powder in a Mill, not unlike our Cyder Mills, and being ſifted afterwards, they mix ſome ſlacked Lime with the Powder, and make it up into Pellets, which they put into Troughs, and pouring Sea-water upon it, (freſh Water would do as well) makes the *Lixivium* or Lye. The Cauldrons wherein they boil their Soap are very large, the Bottoms of Copper, but the Side made of Stone, bound about with Iron Hoops, and encloſed in a wooden Caſe. One third Part of thoſe Cauldrons they fill with Oil, and the remaining Part with the Lye, then putting Fire under it, let it boil continually till the Oil be all boiled away, ſtill filling up the Defect of the Lye as it boils away; by which Means Part of the Oil, uniting itſelf with the Salt of the Lye, riſes up to the Top in Form of a Scum, which condenſing by the Coolneſs of the Air, produces that which we call Soap. The Trial they make of the Strength of the *Lixivium* is, when an Egg will ſwim in it. The Cruſt or Soap they take from the Surface of the Liquor, they ſpread upon a Floor, whereon Lime Duſt is ſtrewed (to hinder the Soap from ſticking to it) then ſmooth it, and let it dry in a Bed of about the Thickneſs of a good Brick. This, when dried, they cut in leſſer Pieces, and having cleanſed them by paring the adhering Impurities, ſeal them with a Seal.

N. B. That *Beriglia* alone would make the Soap too ſoft, as the *Kelp* alone would render it too brittle. The green Colour (of which the *Germans* are very fond) is given by putting a certain Quantity of Juice of Beet into the Cauldron, with the Oil and Lye.

5. *Padua*, watered by the two Rivers *Brenta* and *Bacchilio*, is of great Antiquity, and if we credit *Livy*, who was born here, owes its Foundation to *Antenor*, after the Deſtruction of *Troy*, which is alſo confirmed, not only by *Virgil*, but alſo by *Martial*, when he addreſſes himſelf to *Valerius Flaccus*, a Poet, and Native of *Padua*, in theſe Words, *Antenorei ſpes & alumne laris.* Notwithſtanding which, ſome will have the City of *Altinum*

Altinum to be founded by *Antenor*, and *Padua* by *Patavius*, a King of *Veneti*. This City, after having borne its Share in the Devaſtations made by the *Huns* and *Lombards*, and having obtained its Liberty under the Emperor *Otho* I. was governed by its own Magiſtrates, till *Ezzellinus* the Tyrant, and not many Years after the *Carrareſi* lorded it over them, and at laſt, in 1405, fell under the *Venetian* Juriſdiction. It is ſurrounded by two Walls, the firſt is called to this Day *Antenor*'s Wall, though of a far later Structure, being about three Miles in Circumference, the outward comprehending, with all its Fortifications and Ditches, a Compaſs of ſix Miles, built by the *Venetians*, at the Time of the League of *Cambray*, as may be ſeen by the *Latin* Inſcription over the Gate of *All-Saints*. *Hanc antiquiſſimam Urbem literarum omnium Aſylum cujus agrum fertilitatis ſemen natura eſſe voluit*, Antenor *condidit: Senatus autem* Venetus *his belli propugnaculis ornavit*, Leonardo Lauredano *Duce* Venetorum *invictiſſimo, cujus Principatus varias Fortunæ vices excipiens quam glorioſe ſuperavit.*

However, this City is neither rich nor populous, in any Proportion to its Bigneſs, containing, according to my Opinion, not above thirty thouſand Souls, though ſome ſay, thirty eight thouſand. There is a large and fertile Plain belonging to this City, ſo that their Bread is both very cheap and good, according to the *Italian* Proverb, that *Bread of* Padua, *Wine of* Vicenza, *Tripe of* Treviſo, and *Courtezans of* Venice, *are the beſt in their Kind*. No Trees are allowed to be planted within a Mile of its Fortifications, the Ground which they call the *Waſte*, being preſerved for Corn; for as there is little Ground near this Place for Paſturage, Milk is exceſſive dear here. For the Uſe of the Poor, they make Bread of *Indian* Wheat, and of *Sorgum*.

It has ſeveral goodly publick Structures, as, 1. The *Palazzo della Raggeohe*, or Town-hall, where the Courts of Juſtice are kept, being two hundred and fifty-ſix Feet long, and eighty-ſix broad, unto which you aſcend by many Steps, having Shops underneath it; ſome will have this to be the largeſt Room in *Europe*, though, according to our Eye-ſight, we thought it not quite ſo big as *Weſtminſter-Hall*. 2. The publick Schools. 3. The Church of St. *Anthony*. 4 The Church of St. *Juſtina*, with the Convent of *Benedictines*. 5. The Palace of the *Arena* or Amphitheatre. 6. The Magazine of Corn and Ammunition. 7. The *Ponte Molino*, where there are about thirty Mills together upon the River *Brenta*. 8. The Palace of the *Capitaneo*. 9. *Antenor*'s Tomb, as they would make us believe, for the particular Deſcription of which, I refer to *Schottus* and others. There is one remarkable Building here near the *Domo*, called *Mons Pietatis*, where they tell you a Stock of Money of forty thouſand Crowns is kept for the Uſe of ſuch poor People as have Occaſion to borrow upon Pawns, for which, if the Sum be ſmall, they pay no Intereſt, if it be conſiderable, they allow only five *per Cent.* which defrays the Charges of the Clerks, and other Attendance, the Overplus, if any, being diſtributed among the Poor, the Bank always remaining entire. The like Foundations are in many other Cities of *Italy*.

But what renders this City moſt famous is its Univerſity, which acknowledges the Emperor *Frederick* II. for its Founder, *Anno* 1220, for a compleat Account of which, I will recommend the *Gymnaſium Patavinum* of *Thomaſinus*. Such is the outrageous Temper of the Students here, that no Inhabitant or Stranger dare appear in the Streets in the Night-time, which if they happen to do, and meet with a Troop of thoſe Nocturnal Vagabonds, they cry to them, Who goes there? and if they anſwer, they bid them turn back, which if they do not inſtantly, they muſt expect to be ſaluted with their Piſtols they carry with them; nay, nothing is more common, than if two Parties of thoſe Students happen to meet, they retire behind the Poſts of the Portico's or Cloiſters, which are on both Sides, and ſo let fly one at another.

The Phyſick Garden is well ſtored with Simples, but its Fame is chiefly owing to thoſe excellent Men which have had the Management of it, as *Aloyſius Mundella*, *Aloyſius Anguillara*, *Melchior Guilandinus*, *Jacobus Antonius Cortuſus*, *Proſper Alpinus*, and *Joannes Veſlingius*.

The Government of *Padua* is adminiſtered by a *Podeſta* or Major, and a *Capitanno*, the firſt for Civil, the ſecond for Military Affairs. They are both ſent by the *Venetians*.

6. From *Padua* we took a Turn to *Albano*, anciently *Apona*, five Miles hence, to view the hot Springs there, which ariſing in a rocky Hillock, conſiſting of a porous Stone, furniſh ſuch Plenty of Water, that one of them drives an overſhot Mill; and by the Poroſity of the Rock and the Salt it contains, waſhes off certain ſmall Particles of the Stone, which by Degrees it lets fall again, and precipitates to the Bottom of the Channels through which it runs, ſo that they pick Abundance of Stone of a dark grey Colour off the Mill wheel every Month. The Water is ſo hot, that in one of thoſe Springs the Inhabitants ſcald their Hogs to get off the Hair, being full of white Salt, which coagulates upon the Surface of the Water. The Waters of *Albano* are uſed only for Bathing.

February 3. We continued our Journey to *Vicenza*, a City not quite ſo big, but more populous than *Padua*, its Compaſs being no more than four Miles, but containing between thirty and forty thouſand Souls. It is ſeated upon the River *Bacchilio*, and watered by the *Rero* or *Eretenus*, as alſo by two Rivulets called *Aſtichello* and *Seriola*, but is of no great Strength, being ſurrounded only by a Brick Wall. It is inhabited by Nobility and Gentry, of which there are ſaid to be above two hundred Families here. I will not pretend to give an exact Account of the ſeveral Changes of their Government, referring myſelf as to this Point to *Schottus* and *Leander Albertus*. I will only add, that after they had recovered their Liberty, they ſubmitted voluntarily to the Protection of the *Venetians*, which is the Reaſon they enjoy greater Privileges than any of the neighbouring Cities. The Theatre of the Academy, called the *Olympic*, is a very neat Structure, the Inhabitants live chiefly by Silk-worms, and winding, twiſting, and dying of Silks. Their Wines hereabouts are both rich and agreeable, eſpecially what they call *Dolce & Piccante*.

7. Hence we travelled ſix Miles to the famous Cave of *Cuſtoza*, being ſix hundred and fifty Perches, or four thouſand Feet long, and four hundred and ninety Perches, or three thouſand Feet broad, and about three Miles in Circumference. The whole ſeems to be nothing elſe but a Cave left from the digging of Stones, as *Triſſinus* has very well obſerved, it being certain, that the ancient Buildings of *Padua* and *Vicenza* are of the ſame Stone, and the Roof of this Cave is at Diſtances, ſometimes greater, and ſometimes leſſer, ſupported by above one thouſand huge Pillars of the Quarry, of three Perches ſquare; beſides, that to this Day, you ſee great ſquare Pieces of Stone cut round about, and the Tracks of Cart-wheels, whereas there has been no Cart there in the Memory of Man. We ſaw great Numbers of Bats clinging to the Roof and Sides of the Cave, and ſome ſtanding Waters, with a Kind of Fiſh, or rather Inſect, in them, called by them *Squillæ Venetianæ*, though they properly were the ſame called by the Naturaliſts *Pulices marini*, or *aquatici*, i. e. *Sea-flees*, or *Water-flees*.

In the ſame Village we had alſo a Sight of the famous Ventiduct belonging to a Nobleman of *Vicenza*, contrived for the Coolneſs of his Palace during the Heat of the Summer: To effect which, Channels are cut thro' the Rocks, from a ſpacious high-roofed Grotto to the Palace, ſo that when they intend to let in the cool Air, they ſhut up the Gate at the Cave, and by opening a Door at the End of the Channel, convey the *Freſco* into the Rooms of the Palace, each of which has a Conduit or Hole to receive it.

8. From *Vicenza* we went to *Verona*, ſeated upon the River *Atheſis* or *Adige*, which being very broad here, has a Stone Bridge built over it, reckoned among the faireſt of *Europe*, beſides three leſſer ones. Its Circumference (without the Suburbs) is ſeven Miles, and is very populous and ſtrong both by Nature and Art, being defended by good Baſtions, Towers, and deep Ditches water'd by the *Adige*, beſides which, it is ſtrength-

ned by three Forts. We ſaw here, among other Things, the Collection of Rarities of an Apothecary, one *Mepheus Cuſanus*, conſiſting of many *Egyptian* Idols, petrified Shells, Coins and Medals, and among the laſt, a *Maximilian* and *Diocleſian*, with this Inſcription on the Reverſe, *Veronæ Amphitheatrum.*

Another we ſaw of *Muſcardo*, a Gentleman of *Verona*, who had Abundance of Lachrymal Urns and Lamps, Shells and Fruits petrified, Ores and Gems, but eſpecially of *Roman* Medals, among which he ſhewed us an *Otho* of Gold, telling us at the ſame Time, that thoſe of Braſs were all ſpurious. But a Deſcription of this Collection being already publiſhed in *Italian*, I will not inſiſt upon the further Particulars thereof, or of the *Muſæum* of *Mario Sala*, an Apothecary here, which contains only certain Remnants of the Collection of *Calceolarius*, publiſhed long ago.

The Amphitheatre of *Verona* is a Structure worth a curious Traveller's Obſervation, being both ſtately and ſpacious, and in outward Appearance, not inferior for Beauty or Capaciouſneſs to that of *Titus* at *Rome*. Of the outward Wall is left only a ſmall Piece, from whence you may make an Eſtimate of the whole. But the Remainder of the other Buildings is kept in very good Repair; the *Arena* being thirty-four Perches (each of which is ſomething more than ſix Feet) long, and twenty-two and an half broad, ſurrounded by forty-two Rows of Stone Benches, raiſed above one another in the Nature of Steps, capable of containing twenty-three thouſand Perſons. For the more ample Deſcription of which, I will refer myſelf to *Schottus*, *Torellus Sariana*, and *Lipſius*. This City, as well as *Padua* and *Vicenza*, after many Changes of Government, was at laſt forced to ſubmit to the *Venetians*. Here are excellent White-wines, eſpecially that they call *Garganico*. The Air is very ſerene and healthy, but ſharp in the Winter, from the Vicinity of the Mountains, among which *Baldus* has got the greateſt Reputation, not ſo much for the Variety of the Simples that grow there (for the *Alps* are not inferior in that Point) but chiefly by the Induſtry of the *Paduan* Herbaliſts, who, but eſpecially *John Pona*, an Apothecary here, have, in Reſpect to them, obliged the World with a perfect Catalogue. Near *Verona* is the Lake *Lago di Garda*, (*Bacus Lenacus*) which affords great Quantities of Fiſh, but eſpecially Trouts, ſome of which were a Foot long.

9. We travelled from *Verona* to *Mantua*, *February* the 9th, being twenty-four Miles, through ſeveral good Villages, but not any Towns of Note. Six Miles on this Side of *Mantua*, we ſaw the Duke's Palace at *Marmirola*, a neat Structure, and well furniſhed with Pictures, and adorned with Statues: This City itſelf is very ancient, and ſtrong by Situation, being ſeated in the Middle of a Lake, and well fortified. It is about four Miles in Extent, but not populous in Proportion, containing ſcarce fifty thouſand Souls; it has no leſs than eight Gates. A little Way from this City is a Country Seat belonging to the Duke called *Pelazzo del Te*, wherein you ſee a ſquare Room, the Roof arched in the Nature of a Cupola, called the *Giants-hall*, in which, if two Perſons ſtand in the oppoſite Corners, one having his Ear to the Wall, may hear what the other whiſpers, with his Face to the Corner; which he that ſtands in the Middle, or in the Corner of the ſame Side of the Room, ſhall not. They told us the Duke of *Parma* had ſuch another Contrivance in his Palace of *Caprarola*, but our Whiſpering-place in the Cathedral of *Glouceſter*, is of a different Nature. *Virgil*, the great *Latin* Poet, was born at *Andes* (now *Petula*) a Village near *Mantua*. Here are two Academies of *Virtuoſi*, called the *Acceſi* and *Timidi*. This City, after many Changes of Government, was at laſt brought under Subjection in 1328, by *Lewis Gonzaga*, by the Favour of the common People, from whom the preſent Dukes deſcended, this Title being conferred upon *Frederick Gonzaga* in 1530, by the Emperor *Sigiſmund* IV. The Revenue of the Duke is about 400,000 Crowns a Year; but as the Expences of the Dukes have exceeded their Incomes, they are much indebted to the *Venetians*. The common People have this peculiar Cuſtom, that their Children have an equal Share in their Parents Eſtates, eſpecially ſuch as are perſonal: A Widow, after the Death of her Huſband, takes her Dowry back; but if ſhe dies firſt, the ſame is divided Share and Share alike among her Children: If ſhe dies without Iſſue, one half of her Dowry falls to her Huſband, the other to her next Kin. If a Woman has Children by a former Huſband, and marries another, and has likewiſe Children by him, one half of her Dowry goes to the Children of the firſt Marriage, the other to thoſe of the ſecond.

Taking Boat here for *Ferrara*, we paſſed by the Way of the Lake into the Channel of the River *Mincio*, which coming out of the *Lago di Garda*, near a ſtrong Fort of the *Venetians* called *Peſchiera*, and coming to *Mantua*, ſpreads itſelf into a Lake of five Miles in Length, and at ſixteen Miles End, coming to a Bridge and Sluice at a Place called *Governo*, entered the River *Po*, and paſſing down the Stream, came by *Oſtia*, ten Miles from *Governo*, and ten Miles farther by *Maſſa*, both on the Left-hand, and ſeven Miles lower to *Stellata*, a large Village belonging to the Pope: Eight Miles lower we came to *Il Ponte*, where leaving the *Po*, we paſſed through an artificial Channel of four Miles long to the very Gates of *Ferrara*, a City conſiderable both for its Bigneſs and Strength, it being reputed, for its Bigneſs, the ſtrongeſt in all *Italy*, being not only defended by ſtrong Fortifications, and a deep Ditch, but ſeated alſo in a fenny Plain. It was formerly under the Dominion of its own Dukes, but now under the papal Juriſdiction. From hence we went by Boats towards *Bologna*, and having ſhifted our Boat ſeventeen Miles from *Ferrara*, at a Place called *Mal Albergo*, reached another Channel, *viz. Rhenus Bononienſis*, and paſſing through nine Locks, arrived at *Bologna*, diſtant by Water from *Ferrara* forty-five Miles, the greateſt Part of the Country between thoſe two Places being fenny, not unlike the Iſle of *Ely* in *England*.

The City of *Bologna* itſelf is ſeven or eight Miles in Circumference, of a rotund Figure, the Houſes not very lofty, but adorned with fair Portico's, on each Side of them, to the Streets. Many of their Houſes, though not promiſing much on the Out-ſide, yet being very neat and convenient within: Its Inhabitants are computed to be eighty thouſand Souls. The Sauſages, Waſhballs, and little Dogs of *Bologna*, are famous all over *Italy* and other Parts. Their chief Trade is in Silk, and they have the moſt convenient Engines for winding and twiſting of it, that I ever ſaw. The Univerſity of *Bologna*, for its Antiquity, may compare with any in *Europe*, being chiefly famous for the Study of the Law, though it has a great Number of Profeſſors alſo in other Faculties, as may be ſeen by their annual printed Catalogue of ſuch Lectures, as each of them is to keep the following Year. Here we had the Opportunity of ſeeing the ancient Exerciſe of Tilting, ſtill practiſed here in the Carnaval Time: Thoſe who enter the Liſts are mounted on Horſe back, and armed Cap-a-pee, adorned with Plumes and Scarfs, with Lances in their Hands, with which they run at one another a full Gallop, aiming at a particular Part of the Body; he that hits neareſt to it carrying the Prize. We ſaw ſeveral Lances broken, but no body was either hurt or diſmounted.

Dr. *Ovidio Montalbano*, one of the Profeſſors here, ſhewed us the *Muſæum* of *Aldrovandus*, left as a Legacy to this City, and kept in the Cardinal Legate's Palace. What delighted us moſt, were ten Volumes of the Pictures of Plants, and ſix more of Birds, Fiſhes, and other Beaſts, drawn in Water Colours. The ſame Perſon alſo introduced us to *Jacobus Zenoni*, an Apothecary, and very curious Herbaliſt, who, among other Rarities, ſhewed us three Pieces of Rock Cryſtal, with ſome Drops of Water, encloſed in the Middle of them, as might plainly be diſcovered by the Motion of the Cryſtals.

The ſame Day we viſited the famous Chymiſt *Gioſeppi Bucemi*, who ſhewed us the Effects of the *Phoſphorus*, a Compoſition, which if expoſed for ſome time to the Air, and afterwards put in a dark Place, will appear like a burning Coal for ſome time, till by Degrees its Light ſlackens and quite vaniſhes at laſt, till expoſed again to the Air. The crude Stone which he ſhewed us was like a kind of Sparre, which, as he told us, acquired this Quality by being calcined in a ſmall Furnace, the Pieces of Stone being laid upon an Iron Grate over a Wood Fire; but whatever he told us, we could not make ſome of thoſe Stones, which he ſold us, ſhine, though we calcined them exactly according to his Directions. The *Phoſphorus* does by Degrees entirely loſe its ſhining Quality, as we found by Experience, in thoſe we brought along with us.

11. *February* 22. We continued our Journey towards *Modena*, by the Way of *Caſtel Franco*, a ſtrong Caſtle belonging to the Pope, upon the Frontiers of *Modena*, about twenty Miles diſtant from *Bologna*, a Place of no great Extent, but very populous, being the Duke's uſual Reſidence, and tolerably well fortified with a thick Wall, a broad Ditch, and ſome Outworks. In this Place, as well as *Padua*, *Bologna*, and other Places of *Lombardy*, we obſerved the Houſes well built of Brick, but not high, and the Streets cloiſtered on both Sides, which ſeems to intimate, that this was the Manner of Building of the *Goths* or *Lombards*, who ſettled in thoſe Parts. The Duke's Palace is no large Structure, but very neat within, the Rooms being richly gilt, and adorned with Hangings, and Pictures of the beſt Maſters. What moſt delighted us was the Chamber of Rarities, Jewels, ancient and modern Coins and Medals, ancient and modern Intaglia's, curious Pieces of turned Works, dried Plants paſted upon Boards whitened with Cerus; and a very fine Collection of Deſigns of the beſt Painters. We ſaw alſo a human Head petrified; a Hen's Egg, having the Figure of the Sun on one Side; Moſs included in a Piece of Cryſtal; Silver in another; and a Fly in a Piece of Amber, *&c.* The ordinary Revenues of the Duke of *Modena*, are computed at 350,000 Crowns *per Annum*, his Expences not amounting to above half the Sum. About twenty-eight Miles from *Modena*, near *Paiuli* Caſtle, iſſues out of a Mountain, a Spring of *Petroleum*; and in another Mountain called *Monte Nicani*, are found Abundance of petrified Cockles and other Shells.

12. *February* 24. We ſet out from *Modena* for *Parma*, and at ſeven Miles, having forded the River *Serchio*, and paſſed by a ſmall, but ſtrong Town called *Rubiera*, on the Left-hand, after a Journey of eight Miles further, came to the City of *Reggio*, of equal Bigneſs and Strength with *Modena*, and belonging to the ſame Duke, whoſe Title is Duke of *Modena* and *Reggio*. This laſt being built more at Length than the former, makes a fairer Shew at a Diſtance, having one long and one broad Street. Here are very good Sculptors and Artizans in carving of Ivory and Wood, for which this Town is celebrated throughout *Italy*. Ten Miles further, paſſing through a long Bridge over the River *Lenza*, we entered the Territories of *Parma*, and five Miles more, brought us to the Gates of the City of *Parma*, which exceeds *Modena* in Bigneſs, having broad Streets, but no Portico's.

February 26. In our Way to *Placenza*, we ferried at ſix Miles Diſtance from *Parma*, over the River *Taro*, and nine Miles farther, came to a Town called St. *Donin*, and eight Miles farther, came to a little Town called *Fiorenzuola*, near which, paſſing the River *Arta*, we came after twelve Miles travelling, to *Placenza*. This City is well fortified, and defended by a ſtrong Caſtle; in Bigneſs it is equal to *Parma*, but its Buildings not ſo fair. The Duke's Revenues are computed to be 400,000 Crowns *per Annum*, though ſome ſay 500,000; he being, beſides *Parma* and *Placenza*, Maſter of the Dukedom of *Caſtro*, and the Country of *Ronciglione*. The 27th, we took Horſe for *Crema*, and paſſing through *Caſtigno* in the *Milaneſe*, and two Miles further ferrying over the River *Adda*, and two Miles thence the River *Serio* (which falls into the *Adda*) we came to *Crema*, a Frontier City, belonging to the *Venetians*, about thirteen Miles from *Placenza*, of no large Extent, but well fortified; its Situation being in a Plain near the River *Serio*.

The 29th, We continued our Journey, and paſſing through *Oſanengo*, three Miles from *Crema*, and by the Caſtle of *Romanengo*, belonging to the *Spaniards*, came to *Sincin*, a conſiderable Place in the *Milaneſe*: Not far hence we ferried over the River *Oy* (*Ollius*) and two Miles further, rode cloſe by a ſmall Town called *L'orzi nuovi*, but well fortified, under the *Venetian* Juriſdiction. Two Miles further we paſſed a great Village called *L'orzi Vechii*, and ſeveral others of Note, and ſo came to *Breſcia*, which is thirty Miles from *Crema*. The Country hereabouts was well planted with Flax, very populous, and the Fields fenced with Hedges like our *Engliſh* Encloſures.

13. The City of *Breſcia* is not altogether ſo big as *Verona*, but better inhabited, its Streets being regular and ſpacious, with Bricks ſet Edgeways on both Sides (as the Cities in *Holland* are) as are alſo the Streets of *Parma*, *Placenza*, and *Crema*. It has a double Wall, the exterior of which is very ſtrong, and encompaſſed with a good Ditch, beſides a Caſtle ſtanding on a rocky Hill, which both defends and commands the Town. The Mountains hereabouts afford very good Iron and Copper Ore, and the Inhabitants are great Maſters in Iron Works, but eſpecially in making of Guns, which are in high Eſteem all over *Italy*; as is alſo the Cheeſe of *Breſcia*. As they abound in fruitful Valleys, ſo their Markets are well ſtored with Proviſions. The Territories of this City extend in Length, from *Moſo* near *Mantua* to *Dialengo*, in the upper End of *Val Canonica*, one hundred Miles, and in Breadth, from *Lago di Garda* to *L'orzi nuovi* fifty Miles, being full of Towns and large Villages. This City, like many others of *Italy*, has undergone many Changes of Government during the inteſtine Broils of the two famous Factions of the *Guelphs* and *Gibellines*; after which, it fell to the Dukes of *Milan*, till in 1426, they ſubmitted to the Protection of the *Venetians*. 'On the Sides of the Hill where the Caſtle ſtands, we found Serpent Stones, or *Cornua Ammonis*, and other petrified Shells. *March* the 2d, we continued our Journey through the Villages of *Hoſpitaletta*, *Cokai* and *Palazzuolo*, the laſt of which is ſeated upon the Banks on both Sides of the River *Ollio*.

As we were travelling on to *Bergamo*, we had a full View of the *Alps*. This City is conſiderable both for its Size and Strength, being ſituated on the Side of a Hill, encompaſſed by ſtrong Walls and a broad Ditch, but without Water: The Caſtle, though none of the biggeſt, yet is very ſtrong by Situation. Without the Walls are five large Suburbs, called St. *Leonardo*, at the Bottom of the Hill, inhabited chiefly by Merchants, the Suburbs of St. *Anthony*, St. *Catherine*, St. *Thomas*. and that of St. *Godard*. In the Church of the *Auſtin* Friers, we ſaw the Monument of *Ambroſe Calepine*, the Author of the famous Dictionary. Over his Cell in the Cloiſter was a *Latin* Inſcription, intimating, That he was a Native of *Bergamo*, and a Monk of this Convent, and that he died here, in 1511, in the 71ſt Year of his Age. This City has alſo been ſubject to Changes: They firſt ſubmitted to the *Venetians*, in 1428; but were in 1509, forced to acknowledge the Sovereignty of the *French*, after they had made themſelves Maſters of *Milan*, but theſe being expelled three Years after, it remained under the Juriſdiction of the then Duke of *Milan*, *Maximilian Sforza*, from whom it revolted ſoon after to the *Venetians*, but was forced to return to its former Obedience, till at laſt the *Venetians* got once more in Poſſeſſion of it, in 1516, and have remained Maſters of it ever ſince. They are governed by a Major, a military Commander, Chamberlain, and Governor of the Caſtle ſent hither from *Venice*. *Bergamo* is of ſo great a Reputation among the *Italians*, that by Way of Proverb they ſay, *If* Bergamo *ſtood in a Plain, it would be a fairer City than* Milan. From hence we went on Horſeback to *Canonica*, a Village ſeated upon the River *Adda*, in the *Milaneſe*, whence we went by Water to *Milan*.

14. This City, which is one of the four Cities of the firſt Rank in *Italy*, (*Rome*, *Venice*, and *Naples*, being the other three) is alſo ſirnamed *la Grande*, from its

Bigneſs, having ten Miles in Circumference, and of a circular Figure. It contains eleven Collegiate Churches, ſeventy-one Pariſhes, thirty Monaſteries for Monks, thirty-ſix for Nuns, eight of regular Canons, the Number of Inhabitants are ſaid to be 300,000, but this laſt is ſomewhat too large. Proviſions are here ſo cheap and plentiful, that the *Italians* have made it a Proverb, *That they eat well only at* Milan. The Cathedral here challenges the ſecond Place after that of St. *Peter*'s at *Rome*, both for Bigneſs and Beauty; being 250 Cubits long, and 130 broad, and of a proportionable Height; but the *Grand Hoſpital* juſtly claims the Preference before all others in *Europe*, for its magnificent Structure and Bigneſs. Among other Courts, it has a Square ſurrounded with a double Portico, one below, the other above Stairs. Its Revenues are yearly 50,000 Crowns, out of which are maintained 4000 poor and infirm Perſons. The Monaſteries and Churches here are beautified with many Pictures and Statues of the beſt Maſters, and adorned with exceſſive rich Church Ornaments, for which I will refer myſelf to *Schottus*, and others. The *Bibliotheca Ambroſiana*, founded by Cardinal *Borromeo*, is a noble Edifice, filled with excellent Books, unto which Strangers as well as the Inhabitants, have a free Acceſs. But the College called *Hermathenæum*, is a truly noble Building, the Court being adorned with a double Row of Cloiſters, one above the other, with double Pillars each; the lower of the *Ionic*, the upper of the *Tuſcan* Order.

The Citadel of *Milan*, either for its Bigneſs or Strength, may alſo compare with any in *Europe*. The ancient Caſtle has been twice enlarged, firſt by the *French*, who taking in a conſiderable Piece of Ground, encompaſſed it with a very thick and high Wall, and a deep Ditch; from hence you have a fair Proſpect of the whole City and adjacent Country, as well as thoſe Fortifications added by the *Spaniards*, being of a Pentagonal Figure, with a Baſtion at each Angle, and a Half-moon between every two Baſtions. *Schottus* ſays, that the Compaſs of the whole Fortifications (not including the Trenches) is ſixteen hundred Paces. We were told, that within the Caſtle, they have a Water-mill driven by a Spring, which ariſes within the Circumference of the Caſtle.

March 6. We ſaw the Collection of Rarities of *Manfredas Septalius*, Son to *Ludovicus Septalius*, the famous Phyſician, and among other Things, divers Looking-glaſſes, which by natural Reflection multiplied the Object almoſt infinitely. A plain Glaſs, with ſpherical Protuberances, which repreſented the Objects as often multiplied as there were Protuberances, and another Looking-glaſs of the ſame Kind; ſeveral concave Burning-glaſſes of Metal; ſeveral *Automata* and Clocks, among which, two of a cylindrical Figure, moved without Weight or Spring, only by being placed upon an inclining Plane; ſo that their Motion proceeded from their own Weight; beſides many other Curioſities both natural and artificial; for the Deſcription of which, I will refer my Reader to the Catalogue thereof, publiſhed by the Owner himſelf. There are great Artiſts in this City in working and engraving Cryſtals, and other Glaſſes and Stones. Their Way of Poliſhing is performed by a Braſs Wheel, upon which the Powder *Smiris*, mixed with Water, is put; and to ſmooth it, they uſe the Powder of *Saſſe-mort*, or Rotten-ſtone, as they call it, which is a heavy Pebble Stone, which by lying in the Water, dies by Degrees, firſt degenerating into a light Pumice, and at laſt crumbling to Duſt. They told us for a Truth, that moſt Stones, by lying long in the Water, will die in this Manner, except the clear pellucid Pebbles.

March 10. We began our Journey towards *Turin*, along the Bank of the River *Navilio*, and leaving *Biagraſſa*, a ſmall Town, to our Left, we lodged at *Buſalora*, twenty-two Miles from *Milan*. The 11th, we continued our Journey over *Novara*, a ſtrong Place belonging to the *Spaniards*, to *Vercelli*, under the Duke of *Savoy*'s Juriſdiction; a large Place, but neither ſtrong nor populous. The 12th, we travelled eighteen Miles, as far as *Sian*; and the 13th, being ſtopt by the Floods, were conſtrained to ſtay at eight Miles Length, at *Chivas*; and the 14th paſſing by many Waters, and after we had ferried over at *Orco* and *Stura*, arrived at *Turin*.

15. This City, known to the Ancients by the Name of *Auguſta Taurinorum*, and ſeated upon the River *Po*, is of no great Extent, but very populous, and the ordinary Reſidence of the Dukes of *Savoy*. The old Buildings are but very indifferent, but one new Street, and ſeveral other Houſes of late Date, are very handſome and uniform. The Piazza is in the Midſt of the Street, being a large Square, with a lofty Cloiſter on each Side: And at one End of it another Piazza, fronting the Duke's Palace, which is not yet finiſhed. The Citadel has five Baſtions. Here we met with ſome of the Proteſtants of the Valleys of *Lucern* and *Angrona*, who had lately obtained Liberty of Conſcience from the Duke. They told us, that being about fifteen thouſand Souls, they inhabited fourteen or fifteen Villages only, their fighting Men (who amounted not to above two thouſand, being divided into fourteen Companies) under as many Captains, and that they had killed above five hundred of the Duke's People in the laſt War, with the Loſs only of forty or fifty of their own. They are the only Proteſtants in *Italy*, having maintained the Purity of their Religion for above theſe twelve hundred Years. Here is alſo an Univerſity, which challenges the firſt Introduction of Printing into *Italy*. As the plain Country about *Turin* is very fruitful, ſo all Proviſions are very plentiful and cheap here; it being certain, that *Piedmont*, for Plenty of Corn, Cattle, Wine, Fruit, Hemp, and Flax, may compare with the beſt in *Italy*; and the Inhabitants apply themſelves more to Huſbandry than Traffick; which according to *Leti*'s Obſervations, makes them live generally well, though none are exceſſive rich. The Duke's Revenue, if we may believe the ſame Author, amounts to one Million eight hundred thouſand Crowns; of which *Piedmont* alone produces one Million four hundred thouſand. His Poſſeſſions in *Italy* are, beſides the Principality of *Piedmont*, the two Marquiſates of *Saluzzes* and *Aſti*, the Dukedom of *Aoſta*, and the Countries of *Nizza* and *Vercelli*. There are three very handſome Palaces belonging to the Duke near the City, called the *Venere*, *Milleſiore*, and *Valentine*. The firſt Invention of oiled Cloth is attributed to *Giaocomo Marigi*, a Citizen of *Turin*. *March* 17, having provided ourſelves with a good Guide, we ſet out from *Turin* for *Genoa*, where we arrived in three Days after. Not above a Mile below *Turin* we croſſed the *Po* (which begins to be navigable here) by a Bridge; and after a Mile's travelling along the River, we aſcended the Hills, under which the River runs, and theſe are of a very difficult Aſcent.

16. *March* 18. We proceeded on our Journey as far as *Novi*, a pretty large Town under the *Genoeſe*, twenty-ſeven *Piedmont* Miles from *Aſti*; I think they may well paſs for thirty-five *Engliſh*. About four Miles from *Aſti*, upon the Bank of the River *Tanar*, (which is there very high) and on the Sands, under the Bank, we found great Variety of petrified Shells, as Oyſters, Scallops, Cockles, *&c.* as alſo thoſe *Tubili ſtriati*, called by ſome *Antales*, which Seignior *Roſacco*, a Mountebank in *Venice*, firſt ſhewed us; *Belemnites*, and other rare Sorts of Stones. In the Corn Fields, we paſſed through, we obſerved *Ornithogalum lutem*, *C. B.* in great Plenty, now in Flower. This Day we paſſed by a large Village called *Non*, and another, which had formerly been walled, called *Felizan*, then *Alexandria*, a large Town upon the River *Tanar*, of more Strength than Beauty, the Buildings both publick and private being generally but mean. It was ſo called in Honour of Pope *Alexander* III. becauſe in his Time it was peopled by the *Milaneſe*, whoſe City was then almoſt quite deſtroyed and made deſolate by the Emperor *Frederick Barbaroſſa*, for ſiding with the Pope againſt him. The River (which ſeemed to me as large as the *Po*, at *Turin*) divides the City into two Parts, which are joined by a fair Brick Bridge. In our Paſſage through the Town, we took Notice of a triumphal Arch, erected to *Philip* IV. King of *Spain*, upon his Marriage.

19. We rode from *Novi* to *Genoa*, thirty Miles all over Mountains. About ſix Miles from *Novi*, we paſſed through a handſome little walled Town called *Gavi*, where there is a ſtrong Caſtle on a Hill over the Town; and about ſix Miles further onward, another elegant and well built Town called *Voltagio*. From hence we aſcended continually for about ſeven or eight Miles, till we came to the Top of a very high Hill, from whence we had a Proſpect of *Genoa* and the Sea. Then we deſcended conſtantly till we came to the City. In all this Way, we met with and overtook Mules and Aſſes going to and returning from *Genoa*, to the Number of five or ſix hundred or more.

March 20, We viewed *Genoa*, which for the Building of it, is certainly the moſt ſtately, and according to its Epithet, *ſuperb*, City in all *Italy*. The Houſes are generally ſtately, ſcarce a mean Houſe to be ſeen in the Town. The new Street anſwers the Fame that goeth of it. It is but ſhort, conſiſting of eight or ten Palaces built of Marble, very ſumptuous and magnificent, the meaneſt of them (as *Cluverius* ſaith) being able to receive and lodge the greateſt Prince and his Retinue. The only Deformity of this City, is the Narrowneſs of the Streets unanſwerable to the Tallneſs of the Houſes; and yet they are made ſo on Purpoſe, partly to ſave Ground, which here is precious, and partly to keep off the ſcorching Beams of the Sun in Summer-time, for the Coveniency of walking cool, for which Reaſon I have obſerved many of the ancient Towns of *Italy* and *Gallia Narbonenſis*, to have their Streets made very narrow. This City lies under the Mountains, expoſed to the South, ſo that it needs muſt be very hot in Summer, as witneſs the Orange and Olive-Trees, which grow ſo plentifully here, that they can afford thoſe Fruits at eaſy Rates, and drive therewith a great Trade; furniſhing with Oranges, *Florence* and a good Part of *Tuſcany*, and ſometimes ſending them into *England*. It is built in Form of a Theatre or Creſcent, encompaſſed with a double Wall toward the Land. The exterior or new Wall of a great Height and Thickneſs, paſſes over the Tops of Mountains, and takes in a great deal of void Ground. The famous new *Mole*, which now makes this a ſecure Harbour, is ſaid to have coſt as much as the new Wall. For a Work of that Nature, I believe it is not to be parallelled in the whole World. The Manners of the Inhabitants are not anſwerable to the Beauty of their Houſes, they being noted among their own Countrymen the *Italians*, for proud, unfaithful, revengeful, uncivil to Strangers, and horribly exacting. There goeth a Proverbial Saying of *Genoa*, that it hath *Montagne ſenza Alberi, Mare ſenza Piſce, Huomini ſenza Fede, & Donne ſenza Vergogna*; that is, *Mountains without Trees, a Sea without Fiſh, Men without Faith, and Women without Shame*. The Number of the Inhabitants muſt needs be great, they having loſt in the laſt great Plague, as we we were credibly informed, to the Number of 80,000 Souls. The chief Trade of the Town is Silks and Velvets; they make alſo pretty turned Works of Coral.

The Government of it, according to the new Laws made by the Pope's Legate, and the Emperors, and King of *Spain*'s Ambaſſadors, not long after the Time of *Andreas Doria*, is thus ſettled. There is, 1. A *Duke*, who continues in Office two Years. 2. Two *Collegia*, one of *Governatori*, as they term them, the other of *Procuratori*. The *Governatori* twelve, the *Procuratori* eight, all elected, beſides thoſe that of Courſe come in for their Lives. 3. A greater Council of 400. 4. A leſſer Council of 100. 5. A Seminary for the two *Collegia* of 120. The two *Collegia* of *Governatori* and *Procuratori* are, as it were, the chief Senate or Privy-Council, or Houſe of Lords, and are choſen twice a Year, *viz.* about the Middle of *June*, and about the Middle of *December*, after this Manner. All the *Seminarium* of 120, have their Names, together with their Surnames, and Fathers Names, written in little Scrolls of Parchment, and put into an Iron Box, which is kept very ſecurely under many Locks. When the Time of Election comes, this Box is brought forth before the Duke, the two *Collegia*, and the leſſer Council. Then a Boy, who muſt be under ten Years of Age, puts his Hand into the Box, and draws out five Scrolls, which are read, and the three firſt, if they be capable, are *Governatori*, the two laſt *Procuratori*. If a Man be an hundred Miles off the City, he is incapable of being elected for that Time. Likewiſe two of the ſame Family cannot be *Procuratori* or *Governatori* together. Therefore, if the two firſt that are drawn out, or the two ſecond be of the ſame Family, the firſt is *Governator*, and the ſecond *Procurator*; if the two laſt be of the ſame Family, the firſt drawn out is a *Procurator*, and the ſecond is returned into the Box again, and the Boy draws out another. So that every ſix Months, five are choſen into the *Collegia*, and five go out, and every one ſtays in Office two Years. In the *Collegium Procuratorum*, beſides the eight, are all thoſe who have been Dukes, and are gone out of Office, who (*modo bene ſe geſſerint*) continue *Procuratori* during their Lives. To ſupply or make up the *Seminarium* 120 every Year, in the Stead of thoſe who are dead, made incapable, or choſen into the two *Collegia*, the leſſer Council chuſes a double Number, all which muſt have three Suffrages of five; and out of theſe, the greater Council chuſe half by the major Vote. For chuſing the Councils both greater and leſſer, the leſſer Council in Preſence of the Duke, and two *Collegia*, chuſe thirty Electors, (all which muſt be of the Nobility) by three Suffrages of five. Theſe thirty chuſe both the greater and leſſer Council, but the *leſſer* out of the Number of the *greater*, by a like Proportion of Suffrages. The greater Council is aſſembled upon important Occaſions, and with the Duke and two *Collegia* make the ſupreme Power. The leſſer Council takes Care of the leſſer and ordinary Concerns of the City and Commonwealth. Thoſe who are capable of being choſen into the greater Council, muſt be twenty-five Years of Age, only the thirty Electors may, if the pleaſe, or ſee it expedient, chuſe to the Number of Sixty, who are but twenty-two Years old. Of the *leſſer Council*, the one half muſt be thirty Years of Age, the others at leaſt twenty-ſeven, excepting Doctors of Law and Phyſick, who, if they be well qualified, may be choſen two Years younger. Thoſe who are capable of being choſen into the *Seminarium* muſt be forty Years of Age.

The Choice of the Duke is in this Manner: The Great Council being aſſembled, there are put into an Urn ten Golden Balls, marked with ten ſeveral Letters; one of theſe being drawn out, is ſhewn to the Conſervators of the Laws, who thereupon put into another Urn ſtanding by the Duke's Throne, fifty Golden Balls marked with the ſame Letter, and fifty Silver Balls; theſe being ſhaken together, the leſſer Council of One hundred, excluding the two *Collegia*, draw out each Man a Ball. He that draws out a golden Ball, ſhews it to the *Cenſors* who ſit by, and preſently writes in a Scroll of Paper the Name of him whom he thinks fit to nominate for Duke, and goes out of the Council. When all the Golden Balls are drawn out, the two *Collegia* bring them into Order, and count them over, and if the Number of the Nominated amount to twenty, then they are propounded to the greater Council, who out of them, by major Vote, chuſe fifteen. Out of theſe fifteen the leſſer Council chuſe ſix by three Suffrages of five. Out of theſe ſix again, by major Vote, the greater Council chuſe the Duke. Theſe Suffrages are all occult, that is, given by putting of Balls into Ballotting Boxes. If in the greater Council for any Perſon the negative and affirmative Suffrages are equal, then five by Lot are to be put out of the Council, and the reſt to ballot again. Many other Proviſions there are in Caſe of Equality or Diſagreement, *&c.* Nothing can be propounded in *Council* but by the Duke, who, during the Time of his Regency, lives in the Palace, and hath, according to *Sanſovinus*, a Guard of five hundred *Switzers*. The Office of St. *George* is, as far as I underſtand it, nothing but a Company of Bankers, who lend Money to the Commonwealth, for which they are allowed ſo much *per Cent.* and have aſſigned to them the publick Gabels and other Revenues; and for further Security have *Corſica* engaged to them. This Company chuſe yearly out of their own Number eight Protectors, who are to take Care of, and manage the Affairs of all the Creditors. Into this Bank Strangers uſually put in Money, and ſo become of the Company, for which they receive yearly Intereſt proportionable to the Improvement made of the whole Stock of Monies then in Bank. The publick Revenue of this State is ſaid by ſome to be 1,200,000 Crowns *per Annum*, and yet ſcarce ſufficient to defray the publick Expences. There are many private Perſons here very rich. The Republick is thought to be able to raiſe an Army of 30,000 Men, and to ſet out to Sea twelve Gallies and twenty Ships of War. They hold good Correſpondence with all Chriſtian Princes and States, excepting the Duke of *Savoy*, by reaſon of his Pretence to the City of *Savona*.

17. *April* 2, We paſſed in a Boat from *Genoa* to *Porto Venere*, and thence croſſed the Bay of *Spezzia* to *Lerici*, where taking Poſt-horſes, we rode to *Sarzana*, a ſtrong Frontier Town belonging to the *Genoeſe*, and lodged that Night at *Maſſa*, a ſmall City, but dignified with the Title of a Principality, the Duke being likewiſe Lord of *Carrara*. His chief Revenues come from the Marble Quarries: He is of the *Genoeſe* Family of the *Cybo*'s.

April 3, We travelled through a boggy Valley near the Foot of the Mountains, a kind of a deſolate Country, as far as *Lucca*.

Lucca contains not above three Miles in Circuit, but very populous for its Bigneſs, the Eaſe of the Government drawing thither Abundance of People. Its Situation is very pleaſant, in a delightful Valley; and its Fortifications and Out-works ſtrong, and kept in good Repair. The Buildings are fair, and their Churches, though nor very large, yet neat and well kept. The Inhabitants, both of the City and Country, very courteous, and ſo careful to preſerve their Liberty, that they omit nothing which they think may contribute to maintain it. Their Women here are not kept ſo ſtrict as in other Parts of *Italy*, being allowed to walk Abroad with a reaſonable Share of Freedom: They are generally handſome enough, and in their Dreſs affect to follow the *French*. The Adminiſtration of the Government is by the Great Council of one hundred and ſixty, choſen every Year from among the Nobility, (the reſt having no Share therein) theſe muſt be twenty-five Years old at leaſt; nine *Antiani*, and a *Gonfaloniere*; theſe laſt are choſen a-new every two Months, and are ſtiled the *Signioria*, the *Gonfaloniere* being their Head, but no more than by his Title. The City is divided into three Wards, called *Terzieri*, each of which has its Arms or Banner, called *Gonfalone*, whence the Name *Gonfaloniere*: On the Corners of each Street theſe Arms are painted, with the Name of the Ward it belongs to, and what Bulwark they are to defend, in caſe of a ſudden Attack. The Council chuſes three *Antiani* out of each of thoſe Wards. Their Revenue is computed at 100,000 Crowns yearly. The beſt Olives in *Italy* grow hereabouts.

The City of *Piſa*, formerly a rich and populous Commonwealth, is, ſince its coming under the *Florentine* Yoke, become poor and almoſt deſolate, notwithſtanding all the Endeavours of the Great Dukes of *Florence*, who have erected an Univerſity, founded an Order of Knighthood, and built an Exchange there, for the Encouragement of the Inhabitants. Its Situation, which is in a fenny Ground, upon the River *Arno*, renders its Air very unwholſome and obnoxious to Strangers. What we thought worth our peculiar Obſervation here, were, 1. St. *Stephen*'s Church, dedicated to the Order of that Name, founded here by *Coſmo*, the firſt Great Duke of *Tuſcany*. 2. The College for Students in Law and Philoſophy (formerly the Houſe of *Bartolus*) founded by the Great Duke *Ferdinand* in 1596. 3. The Cathedral, being a moſt magnificent Structure of Marble, the Doors of Braſs, curiouſly engraven, a double Iſle on each Side of the Nave, and two Rows of Marble Pillars, beautified with ſtately Altars, and ſelect Pieces of Painting, the Sides hung with red Velvet, and the Roof richly gilded.

On each Side of the high Altar you ſee a Picture, and under each of them an Inſcription, giving a ſhort Account of two notable Adventures of this City, which are expreſſed there.

I. *Templum hoc, ut auctæ potentiæ ac religionis inſigne monumentum poſteris extaret, Piſanis ex Saracenorum ſpoliis captâ Panormo ædificatum, ac Sanctorum reliquiis è Palæſtina uſque advectis auctum*, Gelaſius II. P. M. *ſolennè pompa conſecravit*, An. Dom. M.C.XIX.

II. Paſcale II. P. M. *autore, Piſani claſſe* 300 *triremium Petro Arch. Piſ. Duce Baleares Inſulas, profligatis Saracenis in ditionem redigunt, Chriſtianòque nomini adjungunt captaque regia Conjuge ac filio præclaram victoriam illuſtri pioque triumpho exornarunt* A. D. 1115.

4. The *Baptiſterium*, in the Center of which you ſee a very noble Font of Marble, into which, like a Ciſtern, the Water runs continually; the Pulpit is alſo of Marble, with moſt curious carved Work. 5. The *Campo Santo*, or Burying-place, being an oblong Square encloſed with a broad Portico, well painted, and paved with Grave-ſtones: The Earth which makes up this Church-yard, is ſaid to be brought from the Holy Land, and to conſume Bodies in forty-eight Hours. 6. The Steeple, a round Tower, of a great Height, ſeeming to incline ſo much to one Side, as if it were ready to fall, which ſome attribute to the Contrivance of the Builder, others to a Defect in the Building. 7. The *Aquæduct*, which conveys the Water from the Mountains for five Miles into the City, by 5000 Arches, being begun by *Coſmo* and finiſhed by *Ferdinand* I. great Dukes of *Florence*: This Water for its Goodneſs, is carried in Flaſks to *Leghorn*. 8. The Phyſick-Garden, then but ſlenderly provided with Plants.

We took Boat here for *Leghorn* (the *Portus Liburnus* of the Ancients) about twelve Miles hence. This Town is not very ſtately nor large, the Houſes being but low, yet uniform, and the Streets regular, with a large Piazza in the Middle: It is ſtrongly fortified on the Land Side, and ſince the Great Duke has made it a free Port, much increaſed in Traffick and Riches: Its convenient Situation for the *Levant* Trade having drawn thither great Numbers of Strangers, and eſpecially *Jews*, of the laſt of which there are computed to be above 5000. Before it was ſo well inhabited, it was reputed a very unhealthy Place, by Reaſon of its Situation in a fenny Level, without Mountain, or as much as a Hillock within five Miles of it, but ſince that Time, the Multitude of Fires, and the Induſtry of the Inhabitants, have, by draining thoſe marſhy Grounds, rendered the Air as agreeable here, as in moſt Parts of *Italy*.

The Harbour within the Mole is but ſmall, but this Defect is compenſated by the Goodneſs of the Road, where there is ſafe Anchorage for Ships. Near the Harbour ſtands the magnificent Statue of the Great Duke *Ferdinand* I. the Pedeſtal of which is ſuſtained by four Braſs Statues of chained Slaves, of a gigantick Stature. The Great Dukes often reſide here in Lent, for the great Plenty and Cheapneſs of Fiſh, though all other Proviſions are here at a dear Rate. We ſaw many Workmen employed in filling of *Marking ſtones*, called in *Latin*, *Lapis galactites & morochthus*, by the *Italians*, *Pietra Lattaria*; they are found at *Monte negro*, five Miles from *Leghorn*; of the Duſt and Filings of which Stone they make Powder for Hair.

We embarked at *Leghorn*, aboard a *Dutch* Veſſel, bound for *Naples*, but the Wind being very variable, we ſpent five Days in this Voyage. Our Maſter told us, that it was a general Obſervation here, for the Wind to blow Eaſt in the Forenoon from the Land, and in the Afternoon Weſt from the Sea. We alſo made this Obſervation, that the Wind generally was quite laid with Sun-ſet, and we had but little about Sun-riſing. In our Return from *Meſſina* to *Naples*, and thence to *Leghorn*, we found the Wind contrary, for the moſt Part, which, according to the Seamens Saying, is commonly ſo here in the Summer. We further obſerved, that the Wind followed the Courſe of the Sun, it proving generally pretty well for us in the Morning, but in the Afternoon againſt us, the Land being to the Eaſt of us, which confirmed what our Captain had told us. He alſo alſo aſſured us, that when they are to make a Voyage from *Holland* to the *Weſt-Indies*, they ſail up as high on the South of *Afric*, as the Place whither they are bound in the *Weſt-Indies* lies; and then ſteer their Courſe Weſtward, the Wind blowing conſtantly from the Eaſt, and the Sea running the ſame Way; whereas, when they return, they go round the Bay of *Mexico*, far to the North, and ſo paſs over to *Europe*; which if true, much ſtrengthens the Opinion of the Diurnal Motion of the Earth.

18. The lovely City of *Naples*, extends in Form of a Creſcent along the Sea-ſide, under the Hills, reſembling in Form, that of *Genoa*, except that it is much larger, and more populous; for, though the Circumference of its Walls exceeds not above ſeven *Italian* Miles, yet it has very ſpacious Suburbs. The Houſes here are generally lofty Structures, of Stone, flat roofed, and covered with a certain Plaiſter, which keeps out the Rain to Admiration. Its Situation is ſo far to the South, and that under Hills, would make the Heat exceſſive here, were it not for the conſtant Breezes of Wind about Noon, which ſo cool the Air, that, except two or three Days, we found the Weather temperate enough, even at our Return, which was in *June*, when it rain'd very hard three ſeveral times, though they look'd upon it as extraordinary: For want of Rain, they have a Way of cooling the Streets every Day, by drawing through them a Tun with Water, in a Cart, which has many Holes in it. The Dialect of the common People here, is far different from the *Tuſcan*, and not very intelligible. Proviſions, but eſpecially Fruit, is very cheap here, and among the reſt, we ſaw the *Cucurbita anguina*, *Cucumis anguinus*, *Mala inſana*, and *Limoncelle*, ſold in the Market. All the *Neapolitans*, and generally the *Italians*, drink their Wine and Water ſnowed, by putting the Veſſels in which the Wine is, into another full of Snow or Ice, which is the Reaſon, that it is not only ſold in Stalls all over the Town, but they carry alſo ſmall Barrels, with Snow Water on their Backs, crying, *Snowed or Iced Water to be ſold.*

Beltranus tell us, there are 160 Religious Houſes of all Sorts in *Naples*, *viz.* 121 for Monks, and 39 for Women, which maintain 12421 Perſons. This City is defended, or rather bridled, by four Caſtles, *viz* by the *Caſtle d' Ovo*, built on a Rock in the Sea, with an artificial Cauſeway leading to it; the *Caſtle St. Elmo*, ſeated on a Hill above the City; *Caſtle Novo*, for the Security of the Harbour and Galleys, which lie near it; and the *Torrione di Carmine*, being only a Tower belonging to a Convent of the *Carmelites*, but famous for its having ſerved as a Retreat to the Rebels, under *Maſſaniello*.

Naples is famous for the Beauty of its Churches, which are generally ſumptuous, ſome of them not only paved with Marble, but alſo the Walls covered with it. Of all Things that ever I ſaw of this Nature, I never met with any that exceeds the Convent of the *Carthuſians*, adjoining to the Caſtle of St. *Elmo*, having a ſpacious ſquare Court, with the fineſt Cloiſter round it that ever was ſeen. The Pillars, as well as the Pavement of the *Portico's*, are of Marble of ſeveral Colours, ſo curiouſly wrought and poliſhed, and ſo neatly kept, that it cannot but ſurprize thoſe that behold it. The Granary of *Naples* is alſo worth the Obſervation of a curious Traveller, both for its Extent and Conveniencies: They told us that there was generally laid up as much Corn, as would ſuffice the whole City for ſeveral Years, in Caſe of Neceſſity; and that the Bakers of *Naples* are obliged to buy 25000 *Tomoli* (Buſhels) of Corn out of it every Month, at a certain Rate, which indeed enhances the Price of Bread, but makes Room for the laying up of new Corn, which is every Day turned in the Store-houſe, by a great Number of Men kept for that Purpoſe.

The whole Kingdom of *Naples* is divided into twelve Provinces; the Nobility are diſtinguiſhed into five *Seggi* or Societies, *viz.* of *Capua*, *Nido*, *Montagna*, *Porta*, and *Porta nova*; compoſed of 87 Princes, 122 Dukes, 159 Marquiſſes, and ſeven Earls. It has in all 20 Archbiſhopricks, and 122 Biſhopricks (to 30 of which the King of *Spain* only nominates; and 148 Cities. (1) The Province of *Terra di lavoro*, (the ancient *Campania felix*) has fourteen Cities, among which *Capua*, *Gaeta*, *Pozzuoli*, *Aquino* and *Averſa*, are the Chief. (2) *Principato Citra*, containing eighteen Cities, among them, *Campagna*, *Capri*, in the Iſle *Capreæ*, famous for the Retirement of *Tiberius Cæſar*, *Cappaccia*, *Laurino*, &c. (3) *Principato ultra*, which has fourteen Cities, as, *Benevento*, *Avellino*, St. *Angelo de Lombardi*, *Monte marino*, &c. (4) *Baſilicata*, containing eleven Cities, as, *Lavello*, *Polycaſtro*, *Venoſa*, *Monte peloſo*, &c. (5) *Calabria*, *Citra*, which has 12, as, *Mantea*, *Paola*, *Montalto*, St. *Marco*, &c. (6) *Calabria Ultra*, ſixteen, as, *Reggio* (the Ancients *Rhegium*) *Belicaſtro*, *Montilene*, *Melito*, *Nicoterra*, &c. (7) *Terra d' Otranto*, fourteen, as, *Gallipoli*, *Brindiſi*, *Otranto* (the Ancient *Hydruntum*) *Caſtro*, &c. (8) *Terra di Bari*, ſixteen, as, *Andria*, *Barletta*, a very ſtrong Place, *Biſeglia*, *Polignano* or *Putignano*. (9) *Abruzzo Citra*, has five only, *viz.* *Chieti*, *Sulmona*, *Benevento*, *Borrelle*, and *Ortona*. (10) *Abruzzo Ultra*, has alſo no more than five, *viz.* *Aquila*, *Atri*, *Campli*, *Civita di Peuna*, and *Teramo*. (11) *Cantado di Moliſi*, has four, *Bojano Guardin*, *Alferes*, *Iſernia*, and *Trivento*. (12) *Capitanata* contains thirteen, as *Monte St. Angelo*, *Aſcoli*, *Lucera*, *Sancto Severo*, *Manfredonia*, &c. Among this great Number of Cities, are many which can't compare with the beſt Sort of our Villages in *England*.

Hearth-Money is a cuſtomary Tax in the Kingdom of *Naples*, each Hearth paying fifteen Carolines (about ſeven Shillings *Engliſh*) to the King, except the *Sclavonians*, who pay but eleven Carolines a Year, the whole Tax, deducting what is to be abated for privileged Places, amounts to 6,554,873 Ducats and ſix Carolines *per Annum.* The Tax, which the Feudatories pay yearly, inſtead of perſonal Services, amounts to 120568 Ducats, beſides ſeveral other Exciſes and Taxes, the whole Revenue then amounting yearly to 2,996,937 Ducats, three Carolines, and fourteen Grains.

We had the Curioſity to viſit the Philoſophic Academy of *Virtuoſi* at one of their Meetings, which was then every *Wedneſday*; in the Palace of the noble Marquis *Arena*, a truly courteous and obliging Perſon; there were not above fifteen or ſixteen of the Members preſent, but triple the Number of other Perſons. They ſhewed an Experiment of the Waters aſcending above its Level, in ſlender Tubes, upon which, after they had diſcourſed a-while, three of the Society made an Harangue each had ſtudied on Purpoſe, upon a certain Subject; upon which ſome Arguments having been raiſed *pro* and *con*, they concluded the Meeting. I muſt confeſs that I was not a little ſurpriſed to ſee ſuch a Company of learned Men, in a Place, where I was of Opinion, they would ſcarce allow a reaſonable Latitude of Judgment; and I muſt give them their Due, that they were not only well acquainted with the beſt and moſt refined Authors of the immediately preceding Age, ſuch as *Galilei Galileo*, *Des Cartes*, *Gaſſendus*, *Harvey*, *Verulam*, &c. but alſo with thoſe ſurviving in the preſent Age, as Mr. *Boyle*, Sir *George Ent*, Dr. *Gliſſon*, Dr. *Willis*, Dr. *Wharton*, Mr. *Hobbs*, Mr. *Hook*, Monſieur *Pecquet*, &c.

April 24, We went by Water to *Pozzuolo* called by (the Ancients *Puteoli*) where the Country People brought us Abundance of Shells, dry'd *Hippocampi*, ancient Medals and *Intaglia*, nay, painted Glaſs to ſell, which they ſaid, they had raked out of the Sea. Near this Place you ſee many Arches of Stone reaching a good Way into the Sea, which has given Birth to that Opinion, that theſe are the Remnants of the Beginning of *Caligula*'s Bridge over the Bay, and that from the Extremity of this Pile to *Bajæ*, the reſt of the Bridge was made up of Veſſels faſtened together, and kept by Anchors on both Sides. But to me this ſeems to be the Ruins of a Mole or Pier, intended for the Security of the Harbour, becauſe upon every Pier is to be ſeen a great Stone perforated, and jetting out to tie Veſſels to. Certain it is, as well from the Manner of its Arches, as from the Bricks, that it was an ancient *Roman* Work. From hence we paſs'd croſs the Gulph to *Bajæ*, to deſcribe the Antiquities of which Place, would require a Volume alone, for which Reaſon we will refer the Reader to ſuch, both *Latin* and *Engliſh* Authors, as have given us a full Deſcription of them. I will content myſelf with giving you ſome Account of the Grots or ſweating Places, call'd by them *Bagne* (Baths) *de Tritoli*.

This is a ſtrait and long Paſſage, like a long Entry, the upper Part whereof is ſo hot, that ſhould a Man walk long upright, he muſt be ſtifled by the hot Vapours which fill up the upper Part of this Vault, whereas the lower Part is paſſable enough, ſo that every one is obliged to ſtoop. What I obſerved chiefly was, that the lower Part of the Vault, as far as it is tolerably cool, was covered on the Sides with a very ſolid Stone, whereas the upper Part was an unctuous friable Kind of Clay or Plaiſter; and what is more obſervable is, that at the very Partition of the Stones and the Clay on the Sides of the Bath, the Difference of the Degrees of Heat is very perceiveable; ſo that where you find the Clay reach lower, you muſt rule the Inclination of your Body accordingly. We found a watry Vapour contained in theſe ſulphureous Steams, as was ſufficiently manifeſt from the Drops, which notwithſtanding the great Heat, were condenſed on the Sides of the Vault.

In our Return from thence, we took a View of the *New Mountain*, called by ſome *Monte di Cenere*, (Cinder Mountain) raiſed by an Earthquake in 1538, *September* the 29th, its whole Altitude being now about an hundred Feet perpendicular. We were told that it produced nothing, yet we found *Myrtle*, *Maſtick* Trees, and ſome other Shrubs there. It is compoſed of a ſpongy Earth, which makes a great Sound if you ſtamp hard. By the ſame Earthquake the *Lacus Cucrinus* was fill'd up with Stones and Earth, and turned into a fenny Meadow. As we were coming back from *Pozzuolo*, we viewed alſo the Mountain called *Solfatara* (anciently *Campi Philegræi*) which burns continually. On the very Top of it is a very large excavated Hole, of an oval Figure, 1500 Feet long, and 1000 broad, where is the Burning; beſides which, there are divers other Holes, which convey the Smoke as out of a Furnace. Out of thoſe Vent's I gathered a kind of *Flores Sulphuris*, and *Sal Armoniac*, which ſtuck to the Mouths of thoſe Holes, and thruſting a Sword into them, or any other Iron, you will find it all bedewed with Drops of Water, an evident Sign that there is a conſiderable Share of Water mixed with thoſe fiery Exhalations; and what confirmed me the more in this Opinion, was, that thoſe *Flores* would not burn or melt, by reaſon of the heterogenous Particles mixed with them. The Inhabitants have a Way of ſeparating them from the Brimſtone, which lies as thick as a Cruſt all over the Mountain. As you walk, you hear the Earth ſound every Step you make, as if it were hollow underneath; and what is more, if every Thing be quiet, you may hear the very boiling and bubbling of the Minerals or other Liquors.

About five Miles diſtant from *Naples*, is the famed Mount *Veſuvius*, where we found the Ground all about the Sides of it covered with Cinders and porous Stones, which had been caſt thus far during the Conflagration: We alſo perceived great Channels, ſuch as are commonly left after ſtrong and ſudden Floods, which they told us were the Effects of the Waters, which at the Time of Burning are thrown out of the Mountain. We found ſome *Acetoſa ovilla* near the Top, and a little lower *Collutea ſcorpioides*, and ſome Shrubs of *Poplar*. It was very ſteep getting up to the Top, where is a vaſt hollow Pit of a Mile in Compaſs, occaſioned by the breaking out of the fiery Subſtance, at ſeveral Times with great Violence. We obſerved alſo ſome ſmall Vents or Paſſages for the Smoak, but were ſcarce conſiderable enough to threaten an Irruption.

We alſo took a View of the *Grotto di Cane*, or Dog's Cave, near the Lake of *Agnano*: It is both narrow and ſhort, and (whatever ſome may have pleaſed to tell the World) you may go into it, and continue there for a long Time without Prejudice, ſome of us ſtaying at the further End of it above an Hour; becauſe the Vapour, whether ſulphureous or arſenical, aſcending not above a Foot from the Ground, which you may perceive plainly by the Heat in your Feet and Legs, is that if you bend your Head towards the Ground, you will be immediately ſenſible of a Smell like burning Brimſtone, which ſeizing your Head, makes you ſtagger, and may ſtifle one. We took a Dog, and holding his Noſe down near the Ground, almoſt killed him; then throwing him into the Lake to recover him, we found him too weak to ſwim, and ſo was drowned. We try'd the ſame Experiment with a Pullet, which was killed immediately; and afterwards with a Frog, which likewiſe did not live long; and laſt of all, with a Serpent, which did not hold out above half an Hour. If you hold the Candle below the Part where the Vapours are, it is extinguiſhed immediately. I am of Opinion, that many more ſuch Grots might be digged hereabouts.

As we were going to this Grot, we paſſed through the artificial Paſſage or Vault, through Mount *Pauſilipus* performed by one *Cocceius* in fifteen Days. We judged it about half an *Engliſh* Mile long, though ſome will have it as long again. Where it is loweſt, which is in the Middle, it is twelve Feet high, and broad enough for two Carts to paſs conveniently by one another. As it is ſo dark in the Middle (no Light coming in but at the two Ends) that no body can ſee one another, ſo thoſe that paſs through it, cry always *Alla Marina* if they go to the Sea-ſide, and *Alla montagna* if they go towards the Country; ſo that each taking the Left-Hand, they prevent the running upon one another.

We obſerved the Fiſh-boats out at Sea with Lights at one End, to draw the Fiſh after it, and ſo they ſtrike them with a Mole-ſpear.

19. *April* 29, We continued our Voyage in the ſame Veſſel that had brought us hither, to *Sicily*, and arrived, *May* the 2d, at *Meſſina*: We ſailed by the *Æolides* or *Vulcaniæ inſulæ*, two of which, viz. *Stromboli* and *Vulcano* ſtill burn; we ſaw the firſt all in Flames as we paſs'd by in the Night time. It being no eaſy Matter to make the Mouth of the Streight, by the *Faro* of *Meſſino*, by Reaſon of the Current, which is very violent here, ſometimes running towards *Calabria*, ſometimes towards *Sicily*; our Maſter was forced to hire a Pilot for ten Pieces of Eight, who conducted us ſafely through it.

The Harbour of *Meſſina* itſelf is very good, being encloſed by the City on one Side, and on the other by a Neck of Land. As the Houſes along the Sea-ſide are loftily built of Stone, they make a noble Show at a Diſtance, but are but indifferent within, and the Streets narrow and ill paved, which verifies the *Italian* Proverb, *At* Meſſina *you have Duſt*, *Fleas*, *and Whores in Plenty.* This City ſtands in Competition with *Palermo*, both pretending to the Title of being the *Metropolis* of *Sicily*, which is the Reaſon that the Viceroy reſides eighteen Months in each, during his Government. The *Meſſineſe* boaſt of great Privileges granted by *Charles* V. the Emperor, and pretend to the Monopoly of Silk, which was indeed formerly vended at *Meſſina*, but the *Palermitans* having got a conſiderable Share of that Trade into their own Hands ſince, this cauſed great Jealouſies between thoſe two Places, which affects the whole Kingdom, ſome taking Part with one, and ſome with the other of thoſe Cities. The Inhabitants of *Meſſina* are none of the moſt poliſh'd, haughty in their Converſation, and very prone to Rebellion. The *Spaniards* are in Poſſeſſion of four Caſtles in and about the City, and the *Meſſineſe* of as many; for the reſt, the City Gates are open at all Times. The Government of this City is adminiſtred by ſix Perſons whom they call *Jurats*, four of which are choſen out of the Gentry, and two out of the common Citizens. Their Government is annual, and though the firſt have the Majority of Votes, yet can they tranſact nothing of Moment without

out the Conſent of the others; though the *Spaniards* have taken Care to reduce their Authority into ſuch narrow Bounds, that there is no great Occaſion of Conteſt among them upon that Score.

May 5, We hired a Felucca to carry us to, and bring us back from *Malta*. *May* 6, We ſailed with a briſk Gale as far as *Catanea*, ſixty Miles beyond *Meſſina*, a little Town, having nothing conſiderable in it, but two or three good Convents. *May* 7, We made forty Miles to *Syracuſa*, and ſailed in Sight of *Auguſta*, famous for the Goodneſs of its Wines. The ſmall City of *Syracuſa*, in its preſent State, is only that part of the ancient *Syracuſa*, called Νῆσος, being but indifferently built, and ſlenderly inhabited, but very well fortified to the Land-ſide by the Knights Hoſpitallers, after they had been expelled *Rhodes* by the *Turks*; but *Charles* V. thought it more expedient to beſtow a Settlement upon them in the Iſle of *Malta*. About two Miles from the preſent City, you ſee the Ruins of the ancient *Syracuſa*, and among the reſt, the Remnants of an admirable and extenſive Amphitheatre.

We were alſo ſhown the Grot, commonly called *Dionyſius's Ear*, being cut out of the Side of a high Clift; it is high roof'd, but not long, and goes a little Winding. In our Return from *Malta*, we took a View of one of the Burying-places, or Catacombs of the Ancients, of which there are ſeveral here and in *Malta*. This belonged to St. *Anthony's* Church, and conſiſted of many vaulted Walks cut out of the Rock, having on each Hand other Vaults at Right-angles with them, the Floors of which were about two Foot higher than the Floor of the main Walk, hewn into Troughs or *Loculi*, wherein they uſed to depoſit their dead Bodies: In ſome of thoſe were twenty *Loculi*, more or leſs. At certain Intervals, you come to round Rooms or Halls in the main Walks, where ſeveral of them meet together, ſo that the whole being of a great Extent, might contain many Thouſands of dead Bodies.

20. *May* 8. The Wind being contrary, we were forced to make uſe of our Oars, and rowed as far as *Capo Paſſaro*, anciently called *Promontorium Pachynum*, forty Miles diſtant from *Syracuſa*. Upon the utmoſt Point of Land ſtands a little Caſtle, held by a Garriſon of about twenty Men: This Caſtle ſtands now in a little Iſland made ſo by the Force of the Sea, which not long ſince brake it off from the Land. The Wind being contrary, and blowing a ſtiff Gale, made the Sea ſo rough, that we dared not venture out, but were forced to reſt here two Nights. *May* 10, we put to Sea again, but the Wind ſtill continuing contrary, and the Sea very rough, when we were gotten about half way over the Channel, we were forced to return back again to the *primo terreno* of *Sicily*, viz. the Caſtle of *Puzallu*. The Greatneſs of the Waves not permitting us to come aſhore there, we rowed ſix Miles further South, and put in at a little Cove called the Harbour of *Punto Cericolo*. The Weather continuing foul, we were detained here three Days, having no other Shelter but a ſmall Hut or two, which the two Centinels (who ſtand conſtantly at this Point, to watch and give Notice to the Country of the coming of *Corſairs*) had ſet up for themſelves to creep into in ſtormy Weather. We ſhould have been glad of freſh Straw to lie on, having Nothing in our Kennel but old ſhort Straw, ſo full of Fleas, that we were not able to ſleep in it. Our Diet was the Blood and Fleſh of Sea Tortoiſes, that our Seamen took by the Way, and Bread we brought along with us: Wine we got at a Houſe about half a Mile off our Lodging, but when our Bread failed, we were forced to ſend eight Miles for it and more Fiſh, for Fleſh we could get none.

May 13, The Wind ceaſing, we put to Sea again, and had a very good Paſſage over to *Malta*. By the Way we ſaw our Seamen take ſeveral Tortoiſes in this Manner: When they eſpy a Tortoiſe floating on the Top of the Water, as they can eaſily do at a good Diſtance, with as little Noiſe as they can poſſibly they bring their Boat up cloſe to him, then they either catch him with their Hands and draw him up into the Boat, or if they cannot get near enough to do ſo, one leaps out of the Boat into the Sea, and turns the Tortoiſe on his Back, and then with Eaſe drives him before him up to the Boat, the Tortoiſe being not able to turn or ſwim away on his Back. They ſay, (and it is not unlikely) that the Tortoiſe, while he floats thus upon the Water, ſleeps; which is the Reaſon why they are ſo ſtill, and make ſo little Noiſe in bringing their Boat up to him. One of theſe Tortoiſes which they caught, had two great Bunches of thoſe they call *Bernacle-ſhells* ſticking or growing to his Back, and ſome of them the largeſt and faireſt of that Kind which we have ever ſeen.

As for that Opinion of a Bird breeding in them, (which ſome have affirmed with much Confidence, and of which *Michael Meyerus* hath written a whole Book) it is without doubt falſe and frivolous. The *Bernacles* which are ſaid to be bred in them, being hatch'd of Eggs of their own laying, like other Birds; the *Hollanders*, in their third Voyage to diſcover the North-eaſt Paſſage to *Cathaia* and *China*, in 80 Degrees 11 Minutes of Northern Latitude, having found two Iſlands, in one of which they obſerved a great Number of theſe Geeſe ſitting on their Eggs, *&c.* as Dr *Johnſon* relates out of *Pontanus*. As for theſe Shells, they are a Kind of *Balanus marinus*, as *Fabius Columna* proves, never coming to be other than what they are, but only growing in Bigneſs as other Shells do. All the Ground of this Fancy, as I conceive, is becauſe this Fiſh hath a Bunch of *Cirri* ſomewhat reſembling a Tuft of Feathers, or the Tail of a Bird, which it ſometimes puts out into the Water, and draws back again. We were much ſurprized to find of this Shell-fiſh in theſe Seas, ſo Southerly, and far from the uſual Scene of the *Bernacle* Fable.

The Iſland of *Malta* is twenty Miles long, twelve broad, and ſixty Miles in Circuit, diſtant from the *primo terreno*, or neareſt Part of *Sicily*, ſixty Miles; from the Cape of *Calipia*, anciently called *Promontorium Mercurii*, the neareſt Point to the Continent of *Africa*, two hundred Miles, (as divers of the moſt ſkilful and experienced Pilots did affirm to *Abela* for an undoubted Truth); from the Cape of *Spartivento* in *Italy*, but one hundred and ninety; ſo that upon Account of Vicinity, it is rather to be attributed to *Europe* than *Africa*, eſpecially if we allow *Sicily* to have been of old Time united to, and ſo Part of the Continent. The Reaſon why others make it a Member of *Africa*, is becauſe the preſent Inhabitants of the Country ſpeak a kind of *Moreſko* or *Arabick*.

The old City, called *Citta Notabile*, ſituate about the Middle of the Iſland, hath 35 Degrees 15 Minutes of Northern Latitude, and the longeſt Day there is of fourteen Hours fifty two Minutes. I am not ignorant that *Heylin* and others, who reckon this among the Iſles of *Africa*, place it nearer the Coaſt of *Barbary*, aſſign it leſs Latitude, and allow the longeſt Day no more than fourteen Hours; but I do in theſe and other Particulars, follow the more accurate Obſervations of *Johannes Franciſcus Abela*, a learned Man, and Native of this Iſland, in his *Malta Illuſtrata*, written in *Italian*, and publiſhed in *Malta*, *Anno* 1646, in *Folio*. The whole Iſland, from the Shallowneſs of its Soil there, being in few Places above two Foot Depth of Earth before you come to firm Stone; and from the Lowneſs of its Situation, not much elevated above the Level of the Water, and having no conſiderable Hill in it, ſeems to have been in the moſt ancient Times, nothing elſe but a great Rock wholly overwhelmed and covered with the Sea; eſpecially if we conſider the Multitude of Sea-ſhells of all Sorts, Sharks-teeth, Vertebres of Thornbacks, and other Fiſh bones petrified found all over the Iſland, even in the higheſt Parts of it, and moſt remote from the Shore. For that theſe were formed by ſome plaſtick Power in the Stone Quarries, being nothing elſe but the Effects and Productions of Nature ſporting herſelf in Imitation of the Parts and Shells of theſe Animals, I can hardly be induced to believe.

Nature (which indeed is nothing elſe but the ordinary Power of God) not being ſo wanton and toyiſh as to form ſuch elegant Figures without further End and Deſign than her own Paſtime and Diverſion. But a very likely Thing it is, that the Sea being ſhallow above this Rock for ſome Ages before it came to be uncovered, there ſhould great Beds of Shell-fiſh, harbour and breed in ſo convenient a Place, and the Water leaving them, their Shells remain and petrify. I confeſs it is hard to imagine, how the Carcaſſes of ſo many Sharks ſhould come to be lodged here, as by the Multitude of Teeth, that have been for ſo many Years paſt, and are ſtill daily digged up, we muſt needs grant, unleſs by Chance they remain, of the Heads of ſuch Sharks as were caught and eaten by the Fiſhermen, who it is likely, after the Diſcovery of this Rock, frequented here, and made it a Station for Fiſhing before it came to be thoroughly and fully inhabited.

To this Difficulty, Mr. *Steno* returns anſwer in theſe Particulars, 1. That ſuch Sharks or Sea-Dogs, have each of them ſixty Teeth and more, and that all the Time they live they breed new Teeth. 2. That the Sea agitated by the Winds, is wont to protrude thoſe Bodies it meets with towards ſome one Place, and there heap them together. 3. That Sharks ſwim in great Troops or Shoals, and conſequently that the Teeth of many of them, may have been left in one Place. 4. That in the *Malta* Earth, beſides theſe Sharks Teeth, are found alſo ſundry Cockle-ſhells, ſo that if the Number of Teeth ſhould incline a Man to aſcribe their Production to the Earth, on the other Hand, the Make of the ſame Teeth, and the Abundance of them in every Animal, and the Earth, like the Bottom of the Sea, and other marine Bodies found in the ſame Place, do favour the contrary Opinion. The Soil, notwithſtanding the Rockineſs and Shallowneſs of it, hath been by the Ancients celebrated for Fertility.

Fertilis eſt Melite ſterili vicina Coſyræ
Inſula. Ovid. *Faſt.*

But undeſervedly, if we underſtand it of Corn, for there is not much Wheat ſown here, and that we ſaw upon the Grounds was but thin and ſlight. And though Barley be their chief Crop, and of which the Country People make their Bread, yet have they not near enough of that to ſerve the ordinary Uſes of the Inhabitants, ſo that they are forced to fetch moſt of their Bread Corn out of *Sicily*. The main Commodities which the Iſland yields, wherewith the Inhabitants drive a good Trade, and enrich themſelves, are, 1. *Cumin-Seed*, which they call *Cumino agro*, or ſharp *Cumin*, of which are gather'd about three thouſand *Cantares* yearly, one *Cantare* being equal to 116 Pound Weight, *Engliſh*. 2. *Aniſe-Seed*, which they call *ſweet Cumin*, of which are gathered and tranſmitted into foreign Parts, 1000 *Cantares* yearly. Theſe Seeds are ſold at ſeven, eight, or nine Crowns the *Cantare*, and we were told that the Year before our being there, [*Anno* 1663.] were vended 7000 *Cantares* of both Sorts. 3. *Cotton-Wool*, called in *Latin*, *Xylone* or *Goſſipium*, of which they ſend Abroad yearly, 14000 *Cantares* in the Huſk. They have of late begun to plant *Indigo*, which my Author ſaith agrees with the Soil, and thrives there very well. He alſo mentions a ſort of Excreſcence, or Moſs, or Scurf, which the Rocks about St. *Maria el Aalia*, and other Places on the North-ſide of the Iſland, naturally put forth, called by the Country People *Vercella*, which they ſcrape off with an Iron Inſtrument, and having waſhed it with a certain Liquor, and mingled it with other Ingredients, (he tells us not what that Liquor or thoſe Ingredients are) they expoſe it to the Sun, and uſe it to die Wool of a Carnation Colour. This kind of Moſs, called in *Wales*, *Kenkerig*, and in *England*, *Cork*, or *Arcel*, is gathered and uſed for the ſame Purpoſe in *Wales*, and the North of *England*. *Malta* hath been famous of old, for a Breed of little Dogs, called *Catuli Melitei*, the Race whereof is quite extinct, and now their Cats are as much eſteemed. The Roſes of *Malta* contend for Sweetneſs with theſe of *Peſtum*, and the Honey with that of *Hybla* or *Hymettus*: ſo that ſome ſuppoſe this Iſland had its Name *Melita* from Μέλι, ſignifying Honey. The Air is clear and healthful, and the People long lived. Not much Rain falls here, yet ſufficient to ſupply Water to feed their Springs, of which there are ſeveral in the high Grounds, or ſmall Hills, about the Middle of the Iſland. That theſe Springs proceed from Rain Water only, my Author doth very well prove, becauſe they are found only at the Foot of little Hills, conſiſting of a certain porous Stone, which the *Malteſe* call *Giorgiolena*, or a chalky Earth, which eaſily imbibes the Rain: And to ſpeak in general, that all Springs and running Waters owe their Riſe and Continuance to Rain, ſeems to me more than probable.

1. Becauſe I never yet ſaw any Springing of running Waters breaking out, either on the Top of a Hill, or ſo near the Top, but that there was Earth enough above them to feed ſuch Springs, conſidering the Condition of high Mountains, which are almoſt conſtantly moiſtened with Clouds, and on which the Sunbeams have but little Force: And yet I have made it part of my Buſineſs, in viewing the higheſt Hills in *England* and *Wales*, to examine this particular. Nor have I yet ever obſerved ſuch ſpringing and running Waters in any Plain, unleſs there were Hills ſo near, that one might reaſonably conclude they were fed by them. 2. Many Springs quite fail in dry Summers, and generally all abate conſiderably of their Waters. I am not ignorant that ſome make a Diſtinction between failing Springs, and enduring Springs, and would have the former to proceed from Rain, and the latter from the Sea; but I ſee no ſufficient Foundation for ſuch a Diſtinction, and do think that both the one and the other are to be attributed to Rain, the failing and enduring being to be referred either to the different Quantity and Thickneſs of Earth, that feeds them, or to the different Quality, the one more quickly, the other more ſlowly, tranſmitting the Water, or ſome ſuch like Accident. 3. In Clay Grounds into which the Water ſinks with Difficulty, one ſhall ſeldom find any Springs, but in ſandy, gravelly, rocky, ſtony, or other Grounds, into which the Rain can eaſily make its Way, one ſeldom fails of them. 4. They who would have Fountains to ariſe from, and be fed by the Sea, have not as yet given a ſatisfactory Account of the Aſcent of Water to the Tops of Mountains, and its Efflux there.

For though Water will creep up a Filtre above its Level, yet I queſtion, whether to ſo great an Exceſs above its *Equilibrium* with the Air, whereas in Pumps, we ſee it will not riſe above two or three and thirty Foot, or if it ſhould, whether it would there run out at the Top of the Filtre, we not having as yet heard of any Experiment that will Countenance ſuch a Thing. For the Aſcent and Efflux of Sap in Trees, I ſuſpect may be owing to a higher Principle, than purely Mechanical. As for the *Sabulum Quellem*, or *Arena bulliens* of *Helmont*, I look upon it as an extravagant Conceit of his, and yet ſome Ground there is to believe, that there is a kind of Earth lying up and down in Veins, which doth like a Filtre, retain the Water, and carry or derive it along, as it lies from Place to Place, till it brings it to the *Superficies* of the Earth, where it runs out. In other Places there are ſubterraneous Channels, like the Veins in Animals, whereinto the Water ſoaking into the Earth is gathered, and wherein it runs as above Ground, out of ſmaller Rivulets into greater Streams, and where one of theſe Veins open in the *Superficies* of the Earth, there is a Spring greater or leſſer, according to the Magnitude of the Vein. Nor need we wonder that Springs ſhould endure the Length of a dry Summer, for in many Sorts of Earth the Water makes its Way but ſlowly, ſince we ſee that in thoſe Troughs or Leches, wherein our Laundreſſes uſually put Aſhes, and thereupon Water to make a *Lixivium*, the Water will be often many Hours before it gets all thro' the Aſh, and the Lech ceaſes to drop, and in many Chymical Preparations which are filtered, it is long before the Liquor can free itſelf, and wholly drain away from the earthy and feculent Part. Some attribute the Original of Fountains, to watry Vapours, elevated by ſubterraneous Fires, or at leaſt by that generally diffuſed Heat, which Miners find in the Earth, when they come to fifty or ſixty Fathoms under Ground, and condenſed by the

Tops and Sides of the Mountains, as by an Alembick-Head, and ſo diſtilling down and breaking out where they find Iſſue. And in Reaſon one would think, that generally the deeper one digs in the Earth, the colder one ſhould find it, ſince the Urinators affirm, that the deeper they dive in the Sea, the colder ſtill they find the Water, and yet were there ſuch ſubterraneous Heats, they are not ſo great, as that it is likely they ſhould elevate Vapours ſo high, through ſo thick a Coat of Earth, which it muſt be an intenſe Heat indeed will carry them through, which Heat none ſay is found near the Superficies of the Earth.

Mr. *Hook*'s Account, *viz.* that Salt-Water being heavier than freſh, by Reaſon of its Preponderancy, it may drive up the freſh as high above the Surface of the Sea, as are the Tops of Mountains, before it comes to an *Equilibrium* with it, it is very ingenious, and would be moſt likely, where theſe continued cloſe Channels from the Bottom of the Sea, to the Tops of Mountains not admitting the Air, which I believe will not be found in many Places. What is ſaid about ebbing and flowing Wells, in Confirmation of it adds no Strength, for none of thoſe ebbing and flowing Wells, that I have yet ſeen, do at all obſerve the Motion of the Sea, but reciprocate two or three Times, or oftner, every Hour, excepting one on the Coaſt of South *Wales*, in a ſandy Ground, by the Sea-ſide, not a Quarter of a Mile from the Water which obſerves the Tides; but it is no running Water, nor doth it, I believe, ariſe above the Level of the Sea. I do therefore ſhrewdly ſuſpect for fabulous, whatever has been written of Wells remote from the Sea, which in their ebbing and flowing obſerve its Motion. But for a Reaſon of the ebbing and flowing of theſe Wells, I muſt confeſs I am hitherto at a great Loſs. Whereas ſome ſay, that Rain ſinks not above a Foot or two deep into the Earth; if they underſtand it of all Earths, it is manifeſtly falſe, for that we ſee in Coal Delphs, and other Mines, in wet Weather the Miners are many Times drowned out, (as they phraſe it) though no Water run down into the Mouths of their Pits or Shafts; and in ſandy and heathy Grounds in the greateſt Rains, little Water runs off the Land, as on *Newmarket heath*, *Gogmagog Hills*, *Saliſbury Plain*, &c. and therefore it muſt needs ſink in: And out of the Mouth of *Pole-Hole*, near *Buxton*, in the *Peak* of *Derby*, and other Caves in the Sides of Mountains, in rainy Seaſons, Streams of Water many Times run out, where in dry Weather and Summer-time there are none.

Neither is this Opinion we defend, any more repugnant to the Scripture than the other. For whereas it is ſaid, *Eccleſ.* i. 7. *All the Rivers run into the Sea, yet the Sea is not full; unto the Place from whence the Rivers come, thither they return again*; we grant it to be moſt true, nay we think ſuch a Circulation abſolutely neceſſary to the Being of Springs, only we aſſert it to be performed not under Ground, but above, that is, the Clouds take up Water out of the Sea, and pour it down again upon the Earth, and from Part thereof falling upon, and ſoaking into the higher Grounds, ariſe the Springs.

But to return to *Malta*, the Haven is very commodious and ſecure, divided into two by a little Promotory or Neck of Land, ſome 1500 Canes long, and 380 broad, upon which the new City is built. Of theſe two, that on the Weſt ſide the City, is called ſimply, and *per Automaſiam*, *Marſa*, that is, the Haven, and is in Length 180 Canes or Poles, often Palms, the Cane *Roman* Meaſure, and is ſubdivided into other Creeks or *Sinus*'s. That on the Eaſt-ſide, called *Marſa Moſcetto*, is as large as the other, in a little Iſland, within which is the *Lazaretto*; near it Ships that come from infected Places, keep their Quarantine. The new City called *Valetta* is divided into twenty Streets, eight in Length, and twelve in Breadth, all ſtrait, though they be not paved, yet they need it not, the Town being built upon a ſolid Rock. They want no Uniformity but being level, which the Place being uneven, up Hill and down Hill, will not admit. The Houſes are all Stone, flat-roof'd, and covered with Plaiſter, which is ſufficient here, there falling but little Rain; though they be not high, yet are they neat and pleaſant. Upon the Roofs of their Houſes in Summer time, the People ſet their Beds as at *Aleppo*, and ſleep in the open Air. The Number of the Inhabitants of all Ages, according to a Survey taken in the Year, 1632. was 10744, the Number of Houſes, 1891, which Sum is I believe ſince that time much increaſed. Over the Gate of this City, leading to the Land, called *Porta Reale*, you have an Inſcription giving an Account of the firſt founding and building of it. It is fortified with impregnable Walls and Bulwarks, eſpecially towards the Land, where one would think there are too many, and yet they are ſtill adding more; within the outmoſt Wall, or between the two Walls and Outworks, they have encloſed a great Space of void Ground, whether with Deſign to enlarge the City, filling that Space with new built Houſes, or to receive the Country People, in Caſe the Enemy ſhould land upon the Iſland, I know not. All the Walls and Bulwarks are mined or vaulted underneath, that ſo, in Caſe the Beſiegers ſhould get upon them, they might be blown up, and rendered uſeleſs. The Charge of all theſe Walls, Caſtles and Fortifications would be intolerable, had they not Stone at Hand, and Slaves to work.

This City is well ſerved with all Proviſions, there being every Morning, a Market plentifully furniſhed with Bread, Fleſh, Fiſh, Poultry, Fruits, Herbs, *&c.* of the beſt in their ſeveral Kinds, and to be bought at eaſy Rates. The moſt conſiderable Buildings in this City, are, 1. The Church of St. *John the Baptiſt*, Patron of the Order, wherein are many Chapels and Altar-Pieces, richly gilt and adorned. Here lie buried the Grand Maſters that have been, ſince the Order was tranſlated hither, in a Vault under Ground, ſeveral of them having in the Church, Monuments with Inſcriptions. This Church is not yet quite finiſhed. 2. The Caſtle of St. *Elmo*, which ſtood here before this City was built, on the utmoſt Point of the Promontory, a ſtrong Place, but of no great Capacity. Here we obſerv'd the like winding Aſcent to the Top, without any Steps or Stairs, as in the Tower of St. *Mark*, at *Venice*.

Upon the Top of this Caſtle is conſtant Watch and Ward kept. When they deſcry any Veſſel coming toward the Iſland, be it great or ſmall, they ſet up a Flag ſuitable to the Bigneſs of the Veſſel; if two Veſſels, two; if three, three; and ſo on according to their Number; ſignifying alſo by the Place, where they ſet theſe Flags, from what Quarter, Eaſt, Weſt, North or South, ſuch Veſſel or Veſſels come, ſo that the City is preſently adviſed what Veſſels, and how many are near the Port. In this Caſtle are impriſoned ſuch Knights as have committed any Miſdemeanour, and held in Reſtraint, longer or leſſer Time, or further proceeded againſt, according to the Degree of their Fault. 3. Before this Caſtle are the *Granaries*, where the Proviſions of Corn for the City are kept. Theſe are nothing but Caves hewn out of the Rock, in the Form of a *Cupola*, or ordinary Bee-hive, having each a narrow Mouth above. They are conſtantly provided with Corn enough beforehand, to ſerve the whole City for a Year. They have alſo Magazines or Stores of Wine, Oil, and all other Neceſſaries. 4. The *Albergbs* or Halls of the eight ſeveral Nations (*Lingue* they call them) of the Order. The Nations are *French*, *Italian*, *German*, *Engliſh*, *Provençal*, *Auvergnois*, *Caſtilian*, *and Arragonian*.

Theſe *Albergbs* are moſt of them fair Buildings like Colleges, and in each of them, is a publick Hall, wherein the Knights of each Nation dine and ſup as many as they pleaſe, the others have their Parts or Demenſum, ſent to their Lodgings, or diſpoſe otherwiſe of it, as they ſee good. The Seignior of each Nation is Superior of the *Albergb*, *Grand* Prior of his Nation, of the great Croſs, *gran Croce* they term it, and one of the Privy Council to the Great Maſter. Theſe are diſtinguiſhed from the reſt, by a great white Croſs upon their Breaſts made of Silk, ſewn into their Garments. Here is an *Albergb* for the *Engliſh* Nation, or rather a Piece of Ground, incloſed with the Foundation of an *Albergb*, *Albergh*, the Walls being ſcarcely reared up. This Ground, we are told, ſome of the Citizens would have bought and built upon, but the *Grand Maſter* and Council refuſed to ſell it, not deſpairing, it ſeems, that one Day our Nation may be reduced again to the Obedience of the *Romiſh* Church.

5. The *Armory* [*Sala di Arma*] within the Palace of the *Great Maſter*, conſiſting of two Rooms; the one (which they call the Hall) the faireſt and largeſt Room employed for ſuch an Uſe that we have any where ſeen; the other much leſſer. In both together are kept Arms for 30,000 Men, ſo intire, clean, bright, and fit for Uſe, that we were very much taken with the Sight of them. Here are ſome of thoſe little Drakes, that may be charged behind a Leather Gun, and other Curioſities, the like whereto we have ſeen in ſeveral Armories.

6. The *Hoſpital* [*Infirmaria*] a fair Building, which they are now enlarging. The Sick Perſons are ſerved by the Knights, *viz.* Such a Number of Knights are appointed to carry them their Meat daily with Cap in Hand, which Thing we ſaw them do in this Manner. The Meat was all brought into the middle of a great Room, where many of the Sick lay. Then one of the Knights (the Steward I ſuppoſe he was) read the Names of the Sick, one by one, out of the Phyſician's Bill, wherein was preſcribed each Sick Perſon's Diet. As he read a Name, the Cook took his Part whoſe Name was read, and Diſhing it up, delivered it to one of the Knights, who carried it to his Bedſide, where ſtood a Stool covered with a Napkin, having Bread and Salt upon it. This Duty their very Name intimates to belong to them, *viz.* Knights, *i. e.* Servants of the Hoſpital, and therefore we may be excuſed, if we have been more particular and circumſtantial in deſcribing the Manner of it. If any of the Order falls Sick, he is not to ſtay in a private Houſe, but preſently repair hither, where he is moſt carefully tended, one or two Knights being appointed to be always by him.

The *Palace* of the *Great Maſter*, where he hath ſeveral Apartments for Winter and Summer. There is alſo a Stable of good Horſes, in which beſides Coach-horſes and ordinary Saddle-horſes, are kept forty or fifty great Horſes. A Thing worth the Noting in this Iſland, where there is a great Scarcity of Horſes, that Knights and Perſons of Quality, ride upon no better than Aſſes. The *Slaves-Priſon*, a fair ſquare Building, where all the Slaves in the City lodge every Night, ſo long as the Gallies are abroad in *Corſo*. At the ringing of the *Ave-Mary Bell*, which is juſt at Sun-ſet, they are to repair thither; when the Gallies are at Home, thoſe that belong to private Perſons are permitted to lodge in their Maſters Houſes. The Number of Slaves now in Town, was about 2000 belonging to the Order, and 300 to private Perſons, beſides thoſe that were Abroad in the Gallies.

Beſides this new City, there are three conſiderable Towns diſtant from it, only by the Breadth of the Haven. 1. The *Iſola* (as they commonly call it) or Town of *Senglea*, with the Fort of St. *Michael*, ſeated in a *Peninſula*, made by two Creeks, running out of the principal Haven. It contains 994 Houſes, and 4050 Souls. For the ſtout Reſiſtance it made to the *Turks*, in 1565, it obtained the Name of *Citta invitta*. 2. The *Borgo* (as they call it) *i. e. Burgo del Caſtello á Mare*, built likewiſe on a little *Lingua* or Neck of Land, between two Creeks of the ſame Haven, on the utmoſt Cape whereof ſtands the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, divided, for greater Strength, from the Town by a Ditch of Water cut croſs the *Lingua*. This Burgh contains 782 Houſes, and 3065 Souls. For its Valour and Fidelity in holding out ſo reſolutely againſt the *Ottoman* Army beſieging it, *Anno* 1565, it is deſervedly honoured with the Title of *Citta vittorioſa*. Between theſe two Burghs is a ſecure Harbour, where the Gallies and moſt of the other Veſſels of the City lie, which in Time of Danger is ſhut up with a great Iron Chain. 3. *Birmula*, rather a Suburb of *Senglea* then a diſtinct Town; it contains 642 Fires, and 2778 Souls.

May 25. We rode out to ſee ſome Part of the Country, paſſing two great Villages (*Caſales* they name them) we came to the *old City*, called anciently *Melita*, after the Name of the Iſland now *Citta notabile*, a ſmall Place at preſent, but well fortified, containing no more than 565 Houſes, 2620 Souls. It hath been formerly much greater, and incomparably more populous. The new City, as being more conveniently ſituate, daily drawing away, and withdrawing its Inhabitants. Here they ſhewed us the Pillar of St. *Paul* (as they call it) where when he ſtood Preaching (as they fondly believe, or at leaſt would perſuade us) his Voice was heard diſtinctly all over the Iſland. 2. The *Grot of St. Paul*. Here out of a ſmall Cave is taken that white Earth, called, *Terra di S. Paolo*, and by ſome *Terra Sigillata Melitenſis*, which they ſeal, and ſell to Strangers, attributing thereto, great Virtues againſt all Poiſon and Infections. This Cavern, though there be continually great Quantities of Earth taken out of it, according to their conceited Tradition, retains ſtill the ſame Dimenſions, becoming no greater than it was at firſt. That St. *Paul* ſuffered Shipwreck on the Coaſt of this Iſland, and wintered here, and not on that other *Melita*, in the *Adriatick Sea*, on the Coaſt of *Dalmatia*, now called *Meleda*, I think is ſufficiently proved and made clear by *Cluverius*, *Abela*, and others; but that upon Occaſion of a Viper faſtened on his Arm, he changed all the Serpents of the Iſland into Stones, and endued the Earth with an a exipharmical Quality, to reſiſt and expel Poiſon, is a ſuperſtitious and ungrounded Fancy.

From the old City we rode to the *Great Maſter*'s *Boſchetto*, where he hath a pretty Palace in Form of a Caſtle, from the Top whereof we had a good Proſpect of the Iſland. Here are a great Number of Gardens and Orchards, well furniſhed with all Sorts of Fruits and Flowers, good Water-Works, and a Grove of Trees; indeed this Palace wants nothing for Conveniency or Delight. The Palace is ſituated upon a little Hill, and the Gardens lie under it in a hollow or Bottom almoſt compaſſed about with Rocks. But to ſpeak of the Iſland: *Malta* hath been inhabited by ſeveral Nations, and often changed Maſters.

The moſt ancient Inhabitants are by *Cluverius* taken to have been the *Phœaces* mentioned by *Homer*, who were expelled by the *Phœnicians*. The *Phœnicians* were moſt of them driven out by the *Græcians*. After this it changed Maſters rather than Inhabitants, being firſt ſubdued and held by the *Carthaginians*, then for a long Time by the *Romans*: After that the *Goths* came hither, who were driven out by the *Eaſtern Emperors*: Next the *Saracens* poſſeſſed themſelves of it. The *Normans* expelled them, and got the Dominion. Then the *Germans* or *Suevi* became Lords of it; then the *French*, then the *Arragonians* and *Spaniards*; and now laſt of all, the Order of the Knights Hoſpitallers. The Hiſtory of all which Changes, if any Man deſire to be fully and particularly acquainted with, let him conſult *Abela*. In all theſe Changes, it followed for the moſt part the Fortune of *Sicily*, as having little Strength to reſiſt any foreign Power invading. It is now ſo well fortified and manned, that it would prove a very difficult Matter for the greateſt Prince or Potentate in the World to take it by Force, having, when it was in far worſe Condition than now it is, reſiſted and baffled the Arms of one of the greateſt Emperors the *Turks* ever had: It is very populous, containing between thirty and forty great Caſſales or Villages, ſome of them above 500 Houſes, more like to great Towns than Villages, and twenty-ſix Pariſh Churches, beſide thoſe of *Gozo*.

The Number of Fighting Men was ſaid to be about 25,000, but I believe there are ſcarce ſo many; for according to a Survey taken in the Year 1632, the whole Number of Souls upon the Iſland, beſides the Knights, was about 50,112, of which we cannot reckon much above one fifth Part to be fighting Men. And though ſince that Time the Number of Inhabitants be much increaſed, yet I think ſcarce doubled.

The Language of the Natives is a corrupt *Arabick* or *Moreſco*, introduced by the *Saracens*, the ancient Language before their coming in, probably having been *Greek*, with a Mixture of *Punick*; whence I think one may reaſonably conjecture, that the *Saracens* did either deſtroy or drive out the former Inhabitants. Howbeit, the People can generally ſpeak *Italian*, there being no other Language but that and *Latin* uſed in any of the Courts of *Malta*. The *Great Maſter* of the Order is now Prince and ſupreme Governor of the whole Iſland, which with *Goza* and the adjacent Iſles, after the Loſs of *Rhodes*, was granted to this Order by the Emperor *Charles* V. in the Year 1530. The Government is managed with that Prudence and Juſtice, that the Iſland is now in a very flouriſhing Condition, the Inhabitants enjoying a great Deal of Freedom and Security, being alſo in their Carriage and Converſation among themſelves, and to Strangers, ſince the Coming in of the Order, very civil and courteous, however formerly they have been branded for the contrary; ſo that few Subjects live more happy than they do. The *Great Maſter*, when he goeth Abroad, is attended by many of the Knights, and two or three Pages, of which he keeps (as we were told) about twenty four. The Knights of the Order are always uncovered in the Preſence of the Great Maſter, excepting thoſe ſixteen which are of the *Gran Croce*: They take Place, of what Birth or Quality ſoever they are, according to their Seniority, from the Time of their Admiſſion, ſo that there is never any Difficulty or Queſtion about Precedency.

All the Knights are of noble or genteel Extraction, none being capable of Admiſſion, but ſuch as can prove their Nobility for three or four Deſcents. The *Great Maſter* wears a black ſhort Gown, with hanging Sleeves, the reſt of the Knights are habited as they pleaſe at Home, but when they go *in Curſo* (as they call it) upon the Gallies, they wear the proper Habit belonging to their Order. The Number of Knights was ſaid to be between 2000 and 3000, of which, for the moſt Part, the Majority reſide in the City, except when the Gallies are Abroad. The Name of the Great Maſter, at our being there, was *Nicholaus Cottoner*, of *Majorca*, and I ſuppoſe he is ſtill living, not having ſince heard of his Death.

About five Miles diſtant from *Malta*, Weſtward, lies the Iſland *Gozo*, called by the Ancients *Gaulos*, twelve Miles long, ſix and a half broad, and about thirty in Circuit. The Soil, like that of *Sicily*, is very deep and fruitful of Wheat and other Grain. This Iſland is mountainous, yet all cultivated, furniſhed with Store of freſh Springs. It maintains upon it 3000 Perſons, the Number of Houſes being about 500. It was much more populous before the *Turkiſh Armada* moſt inhumanly waſted it in the Year 1565, carrying away Priſoners 6000 Perſons. In the Streight betwixt *Malta* and *Gozo* lies a little Iſland called *Comino*, anciently, according to *Cluverius*, *Hephaſtia*, about five Miles in Compaſs, and well cultivated, for the Defence whereof the Great Maſter *Wignacourt* cauſed a Fort to be built, oppoſite to that on the other Side the Streight in *Gozo*, to ſecure the Streight, and hinder any Veſſels paſſing between the Iſlands without Leave.

That there is great Plenty of Shells and Fiſh-Bones petrified found in *Malta*, I have already intimated. I ſhall now therefore only name thoſe which are not at all, or but rarely found with us in *England*. 1. *Gloſſopetræ*, which are nothing but Sharks Teeth of ſeveral Shapes and Sizes. Theſe the *Malteſe* call *Serpents Tongues*. 2. The Vertebres of Thornbacks, and other cartilaginous Fiſhes. 3. *Cats-Heads* (as they call them from their Likeneſs to a little Skull.) 4. *Serpents-Eyes* of ſeveral Figures and Colours, the moſt of them red and like to thoſe they call *Toad-ſtones*, the exterior Superficies being a Segment of a Sphere and ſhining, as if it were poliſhed, ſo that they are commonly ſet in Rings. I have ſeen great Lumps or Maſſes of theſe cemented together. That the *Toad-ſtone* is nothing elſe but the Jaw-Tooth of a Fiſh called *Lupus marinus*, by *Schonfeldius*, Dr. *Merrit* in his *Pinax* hath firſt publiſhed to the World, and I doubt not but theſe have the ſame or the like Original. 5. *Serpents Teeth* which are ſmall, oblong, ſtriate Stones, of a polite Superficies, but no certain Figure; whither to refer theſe as yet, I know not, as neither 6. thoſe they call *Serpents Eggs*, which are ſomewhat like the former, but not ſtriate with Lines. 7. *Baſtons of St.* Paul, [*Baculi Sti.* Pauli,] having their Reſemblance of ſmall ſnagged Sticks. 8. *Petrified Lentils*, becauſe for Colour, Figure and Magnitude, ſomewhat like to that Pulſe. Beſides I find among the Stones I bought there, ſome exactly figured like the Fore-Teeth of a Man, and doubtleſs many other Sorts by diligent Search might be found, which have not as yet been named or taken Notice of. There are but few Trees growing upon the Iſland, the greateſt Want they have being of Fewel; to ſupply which Defect, they have of late begun to make Uſe of Seawreck, to burn in their Ovens, prepared after a certain Manner, invented by a Peaſant of *Malta*, for which he is highly commended by *Abela*, as a great Benefactor to his Country.

Here I firſt noted the Cuſtom of ſlitting up the Noſtrils of Aſſes, becauſe they being naturally ſtrait or ſmall, ſuffice not to admit Air enough to ſerve them when they travel or labour hard in theſe hot Countries. For the hotter the Country is, the more Air is neceſſary for Reſpiration and Refreſhment of the Body, there being leſs of that *Menſtruum* which ſerves to nouriſh or continue Fire, and conſequently the vital Heat of Animals (which hath great Likeneſs thereto) in hot Air than in cold; whence we ſee that Fire burns furiouſly in cold Weather, and but faintly in hot. Whether it be becauſe the Air is thinner in hot Weather and hot Countries, or becauſe the reflected Sun-beams ſpend and conſume a good Part of the forementioned *Menſtruum*, or from both theſe Cauſes: That the Air is thinner, and conſequently the *Menſtruum* alſo more diffuſed in hot Weather, is clear in Experience. I need mention no other Experiment to demonſtrate it than the Air incloſed in the Shank of an ordinary Weather-Glaſs, which in hot Weather dilates itſelf, and in Cold contracts very conſiderably. So then to give an Account of the Raging of Fire in the coldeſt Weather, we need not have Recourſe to the inſignificant Term of *Antiperiſtacis*, the true Reaſon thereof being the Denſity of the ambient and contiguous Air, containing Plenty of that *Menſtruum* which nouriſhes the Fire.

I omitted to mention the ancient *Cœmetria*, or ſubterraneous Burying-places, called *Catacombs*, of which there be many in *Malta*, becauſe of theſe we have already had occaſion to diſcourſe in our Deſcription of *Syracuſa* in *Sicily*. That this Iſland produces or nouriſhes no Serpent or other venomous Creature the common People affirm; but becauſe I find no Mention hereof in *Abela*, I give little Credit to their Report; ſhould it be true, it would be to me a great Argument that this was not the Iſland upon which St. *Paul* was caſt, when he ſuffered Shipwreck, but rather that *Melita* beforementioned, upon the Coaſt of *Dalmatia*, for which there is alſo ſome Ground in the Scripture; for that St. *Paul*, upon the Viper faſtening on his Hand, did by his Prayers obtain of God, that all the Serpents in *Malta* ſhould be turned into Stones, and the Iſland for the future wholly free from all venomous Beaſts, is a Monkiſh Fancy grounded upon the forementioned petrified Fiſh Bones, which they fondly imagined were ſome time Parts of Serpents; whereas in other Places where Plenty of ſuch Stones are found, there is no Lack of Serpents. I confeſs it is difficult to imagine how Serpents ſhould come at firſt to breed here, if the whole Iſland were once (as we conceive) a ſubmarine Rock covered with the Sea; and as there is no ſpontaneous Generation of Animals, as we alſo believe, becauſe it can be ſcarce imagined, that any Man ſhould on Purpoſe bring over Serpents hither, unleſs perchance to ſhew them for a Curioſity.

Whether there be venomous Beaſts or no, I am ſure there are venomous Inſects here, the very Biting or Stinging of the Gnats (with which the City is much infeſted) being more virulent than in other Places. For my Part, I do not remember that in *England* the Biting of a Gnat did ever cauſe a Swelling, or leave a Mark behind it in the Skin of my Face, (though I know in ſome it doth) but there it both raiſed a Swelling, and left a Mark behind it, that was not out for a Month after. The *Malteſe* eaſily defend themſelves from the Annoyance of this Inſect, keeping them out of their Beds by large Linen Curtains, lapping over one another. At firſt we were not aware of the Trouble theſe Animals were like to give us, and left our Curtains open; but Experience ſoon taught us to correct this Fault.

22. In our Return from *Malta* to *Meſſina*, we ſtaid a Day at *Catanea*, and there took Horſes and a Guide to bring us up Mount *Ætna* (now call'd *Monte Ghibello*) the Top of which is reckoned thirty Miles from *Catanea*, and is one continued Aſcent; the Grounds through which we paſſed being very fertile, well cultivated and inhabited, the Cinders which are caſt out by the Mountain, being inſtead of Dung, (after it is diſſolv'd by the Weather) which fattens and enriches the Soil. We advanced as far as where the Snow lies, which reached all up to the Top; we could go no farther, however we were near enough to obſerve, that the very Top or Pinnacle of the Mountain, was ſurrounded with a Ring of Snow, but had no Snow itſelf.

As to the *Sicilians*, they have not undeſervedly the Reputation of being uncivil and rude to Strangers; and the *Banditti* or Highway-men, are ſo frequent, that there is very unſafe Travelling here; the worſt is, that they are not contented with Robbing you of all you have about you, but carry you away into the Mountains, nor ſet you at Liberty, till you have paid what Ranſome they think fit to impoſe upon you. They have ſome peculiar Laws and Cuſtoms not eaſily met with in other Places. If you carry above the Value of ten Crowns in Money out of the Country, it is forfeited if found; the beſt is, that a little Money makes the Cuſtom-houſe Officer let Strangers paſs unſearch'd. No Calves are permitted to be kill'd in this Iſland, ſo that you ſee no Veal at the Tables of the *Sicilians*, tho' at *Malta* (whither they carry it by Stealth) is enough of it. No body ought to take above the Weight of an Ounce of Silver, without weighing of it. No young Perſon under Age, muſt enter or travel in *Sicily*, without peculiar Licence. To carry Pocket-Piſtols about one is a capital Crime, though long Guns are not only allowed, but alſo carried almoſt by every Body: The Reaſon of which is, that by the firſt a Perſon may be aſſaſſinated before he can be upon his Guard.

After our Return to *Meſſina*, we took Boat, *May* 27, over the *Fretum*, to take a View of the ancient *Regium*, (*Rhegio*) which now makes but a very mean Appearance, having ſcarce any Thing to boaſt of, except ſome Gardens, which indeed afford them great Plenty of the beſt Sort of Fruits: Here is alſo Abundance of Bricks made, being reckoned the beſt in *Italy* and *Sicily*. They ſhewed us a ſmall Fragment of St. *Paul*'s Pillar that burned, and told us ſo many Stories of it, that we were ſooner weary of hearing than they of telling.

May 29. We went in a Boat as far as *Scylla*, to ſee the Fiſhing of the Sword-fiſh: They place certain Fellows on the Cliffs near the Sea-ſide, (*Huers* our *Engliſh* Fiſhermen call them) theſe either by a Signal, if they are out of hearing, or elſe by their Voice, give Notice to the Fiſhing-boats, whereabout they ſpy the Fiſh: Theſe make what Haſte they can towards the Place, whither they were directed, and placing one of the Boats Crew on the Top of the Maſt (which have little Steps made for that Purpoſe) he gives, from Time to Time, Direction to thoſe at the Oars, whither to take their Courſe, according to the different Motions of the Fiſh. Being come near enough, they ſtrike him with a Harpoon, and the Fiſh being wounded, ſwims up and down till being ſpent with the Loſs of Blood, they draw him into the Boat. The Harpoon Iron is faſtened to a Pole, the Point being ſharp with Beards on each Side, like a barbed Arrow, ſo jointed, that they go eaſily in, but reſiſt the drawing of them out. The *Meſſineſe* looking upon this Fiſh as a ſingular Dainty, buy it at the Rate of Sixpence *per* Pound at firſt coming in. In *May* and the Beginning of *June*, they are catch'd on the Coaſt of *Calabria*, and towards the latter End of *June*, come over to the *Sicilian* Coaſt, and are taken near *Meſſina* till *Auguſt*. As there are no Rocks near the *Faro*, they are obliged to place their *Huers* on the Top of a very high Maſt, ſet up in a large Boat or *Brigantine*.

They have in the Beginning of *June*, a yearly Feſtival, call'd the *Feaſt of our Lady of the Letter*, which is celebrated with more than ordinary Solemnity; for a whole Week together, all the Houſes being illuminated with Candles, Wax Tapers, Lanthorns, *&c.* all the Night long. They call it the *Feſtival of our Lady of the Letter*, becauſe it is celebrated in Memory of a Letter, pretended to be written to them, by the *Virgin Mary* in *Greek*, of which they ſhow you the *Latin* Copy (the Original being loſt) which runs thus.

Maria virgo Joachim filia Dei humillima, Chriſti Jeſu crucifixi mater, ex tribu Juda, ſtirpe David Meſſanenſibus omnibus ſalutem & Dei patris omnipotentis benedictionem.

Vos omnes fide magna legatos ac nuncios per publicum documentum ad nos miſiſſe conſtat: Filium noſtrum Dei genitum Deum & hominem eſſe fatemini; & in cœlum poſt ſuam reſurrectionem aſcendiſſe, Pauli Apoſtoli electi prædicatione mediante viam veritatis agnoſcentes. Ob quod vos & ipſam civitatem benedicimus, cujus perpetuam protectricem nos eſſe volumus. Anno Filii noſtri XII. Indict. I. III Nonas Junii, Luna XXVII, Feria V. Ex Hieroſolymis Maria virgo quæ ſupra hoc chirographum approbavit.

23. *June* 6. We took a *Felucca* at *Meſſina* for *Naples*, and lodged the firſt Night at a ſmall Town called *Tropia*, in *Calabria*, ſixty Miles diſtant from *Meſſina*. The 7th, Lodging at St. *Lucido*, we met there alſo with the wild *Jejube*. The 8th, We took up our Quarters at *Porto Nicolo*, a ſmall Creek near *Scalea*, which is ſtrengthened by a Caſtle. The 9th, We lodged at *Chiupo*, and the 10th came to *Salerno*, where having quitted our Boat, we ſtayed the 11th. This City, which is dignified with the Title of an Epiſcopal See, is at preſent very inconſiderable, having neither Univerſity, nor *Schola illuſtris*, as far as we could learn. The only Thing worth our Obſervation here, was the Monument of *Hildebrand* (Pope *Gregory* VII.) who rendered himſelf famous by introducing Celibacy among the Prieſts, and his Oppoſition to the Emperor. This is to be ſeen in the Cathedral of St. *Matthew*, in the Porch of which you ſee many *Roman* Grave-ſtones, with ancient Inſcriptions.

The 12th, We travelled from *Salerno* by Land to *Naples*, and paſſed that Day through *La Cava* and *Nocera*, both Epiſcopal Sees, and *Scafata*, *Torre d' Annunciata*, *Torre di Greco*. The 30th, We embarked at *Naples* for *Leghorn*, and the firſt Day advanced no farther than five Miles, to *Niſita*, a ſmall Iſle in the Mouth of the Bay of *Pozzuolo*; but the ſecond Day reach'd *Sperlonga*, a little ſhort of *Terracina* (anciently *Anxur*) ſixty Miles.

The 3d Day, we paſs'd in Sight of the *Monte Circello*, (or *Promontorium Circeum*) deriving its Name from the noted Enchantreſs *Circe*, who, as it is ſaid, dwelt here: The Cape extends a great Way into the Sea. About two Leagues from the Point of this Cape, directly againſt it, we obſerved a great Number of certain Inſects, very like the *Cicadæ*, ſuch as we never met with before; our Ship's Crew called them *Gronge*. The *Cicada* is commonly in our *Engliſh* Schools, rendred by the Word *Graſhopper*, whereas the ſame is a quite different Inſect, of a rounder and ſhorter Body, ſitting upon Trees, and making a much greater Noiſe than the *Graſhopper*, which ought properly be call'd in *Latin*, *Locuſta*. The *Cicadæ* are frequent in the hot Countries, but ſeldom to be ſeen on this Side of the *Alps*. We lodged this Night at *Aſtura*, where we ſaw the Ruins of an ancient Town, and of the Foundations of certain Buildings in the Water. Not far thence, we paſs'd the fourth Day, the new Town of *Antio*, and a Mile diſtant thence, we ſaw vaſt Ruins of the old Town, and of a great Mole belonging to the Harbour. We ſtaid this Night at St. *Michael*, a ſmall Town not far from *Oſtia*, near the Mouth of the River *Tiber*.

The 5th Day, we ſail'd with a fair Gale to St. *Stephano*, not far from *Orbitello*, paſſing in Sight of *Civita Vecchia*, and *Porto Hercole*, compaſſing *Monte Argentorato*.

The 6th Day, Being overtaken by a *Boraſco*, or Storm of Thunder and Lightning, we rowed 18 or 20 Miles to a little Creek, under the Tower of *Calo di Furno*. On the Sea-ſhore we ſaw thoſe *Opercula concharum*, which by ſome Naturaliſts, are taken for Stones, and called *Umbilici marini*; by the *Italians*, *S. Lucies Eyes*. The 7th Day, We reached the Iſle of *Troia*, and the Wind turning againſt us, we took Shelter in a ſmall Creek near the Tower of *Lo Molino*.

The 8th Day, paſſing in Sight of *Piombino*, (a City ſubject to a Prince of the ſame Name) *Populonia P. Barreto*, *S. Vincentio*, *Caſtagneto*, and *Vara*, lodged at the Tower of *Caſtiglione*. The 9th Day, the Sea was very rough, it having blown hard all the Night before, yet we got ſafely into *Leghorn* by Noon.

24. *Florence*, ſirnamed *the Fair*, anſwers its Character by the Beauty of its Buildings, tho', in my Opinion, were it not for the great Number of Stone Palaces (ſuch as the Great Duke's, the *Palazzo de Pitti*, of the *Strozzi*, *Salviati*, and others) *Antwerp*, and divers other Cities in the Low-Countries, might challenge the Precedency in this Point: For though its Streets are well paved with broad Stones, like thoſe of *Luca* and *Cologne* in *Germany*, yet are they very narrow (to keep off the ſcorching Heat of the Sun) and the Paper Windows much ſhatter'd in many Places, are no ſmall Diſgrace to the Beauty of this City. The River *Arno* runs through the Middle of it, over which are built four Stone Bridges, among which, the *Ponte Vecchio*, or *Old Bridge*, has Goldſmiths Shops on both Sides. Its whole Circumference is ſaid to be ſix *Italian* Miles; but of this, the Duke's Palace and Gardens take up at leaſt one Sixth, beſides ſome Hundreds of Acres made into Vineyards. It has forty-four Pariſhes, including the twelve Priorates. The Number of Inhabitants is computed by ſome at Eighty-five thouſand Souls, by others Ninety thouſand, nay, an Hundred thouſand; but in my Opinion they ſpeak too large. We were told, that it had fifty-ſix Nunneries, and twenty-four Convents of Monks, and 37 Hoſpitals, one of which, *viz.* the *Orphanotrophium*, has 70,000 Crowns yearly Revenue, and maintains 900 Perſons. The chief Strength of this City conſiſts in its three Caſtles, among which, that on the South-ſide has a good Garriſon, and an Armory furniſhed with Arms for 30,000 Men. Another is a Fort in the Great Duke's Gardens. The third we viewed not.

The Churches of *Florence*, if not in all other Reſpects, at leaſt in Point of Architecture, are moſt excellent; the Cathedral of St. *Maria Florida* being accounted the moſt exquiſite Piece that ever was made, eſpecially for the Pillars which ſupport the Nave or Body of the Church, which ſtand at ſuch a Diſtance one from another, and are ſo ſlender, that they do not obſcure the Iſles, and afford a fair Proſpect at once of the whole Church. The Cupola, (the firſt and the Pattern of all the reſt) both for its Compaſs and Height, exceeds all in *Italy*, except that of St. *Peter*'s at *Rome*. The Choir, which is of an octagonal Figure, is under this Cupola. The Walls of the Church are covered on the Outſide with Marble, cut into ſmall Pieces, and chequer'd, of divers Colours. Within the Church beyond the Choir, you ſee four Inſcriptions, 1. Concerning the Building of the Church, the Foundation of which was laid in 1280. The 2d, Concerning its Conſecration by Pope *Eugene* IV. *March* 25, 1436. The 3d, Concerning the Union of the *Greek* and *Roman* Churches, under the ſaid Pope *Eugene* IV. in 1438. The 4th, Intimates the Removal of the Body of St. *Zenobius* from St. *Lawrence*'s Church hither, by Archbiſhop *Andreas* his Succeſſor. In the ſame Church I alſo ſaw the Monuments of *Marſilius Ficinus*, and of *Giotto*, a famous Architect, who firſt revived Painting in *Italy*, as alſo of *Philip Brunelleſhi*, another noted Architect, who deſigned the Cupola of this Church and that of St. *Lawrence*'s. On the North Wall of this Church is to be ſeen the Picture of an *Engliſh* Knight on Horſeback, named *John Acutus*, which makes ſome think his Name to have been Sir *John Sharpe*, though others would have his Name to be Sir *John Hawkwood*, becauſe *Guicciardin* calls him *Aucutus*, and deſcribes him as a great and valiant Captain. Here alſo you ſee on a Table, the Picture of the famous *Italian* Poet *Dante*, a Native of *Florence*, but living in Exile, was buried at *Ravenna*.

In the Church of St. *Croce* is to be ſeen the Monument of that great Man *Michael Angelo Buonarota*, the famous Architect, Sculptor, and Painter; under his Effigies is a Coffin, and under that three Statues ſitting, repreſenting Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture.

In the Church of the *Annunciata*, you ſee the Monument of another great Artiſt, *John Bologna*, in a Chapel behind the Choir, built by himſelf.

In the Church of St. *Mark* is the following ſmall Inſcription on the Tomb of the famous *Johannes Picus Mirandulanus*;

Johannes jacet hic Mirandula, cætera norunt
Et Tagus et Ganges, forſan & Antipodes.
Ob. An. Sal. MCCCCLXXXXIV. vixit An. XXXII.

The Church of St. *Lawrence* contains the Tombs of ſeveral of the Great Duke's Family, and to this Church belongs the famous Chapel of St. *Lawrence*, which, when finiſhed, will prove the moſt magnificent in the World, the Inſides of the Walls being laid over with Jaſper of ſeveral Kinds and Colours, Agate, *Lapis Lazuli*, Touch ſtone, &c. all neatly poliſhed and inlaid, and wrought into various Figures. This Chapel is an Octagon, the Roof of which is a ſpacious Cupola: One Side of this Octagon is left void hitherto, being reſerved for a moſt magnificent Altar oppoſite to the Door, the reſt of the Sides being for the Statues and Monuments of ſuch as have been Grand Dukes; the firſt, beginning on the Left Hand of the Door, being intended for *Alexander*, who was only Duke of *Florence*, was not yet made up; the reſt have their reſpective Names ſet over the Effigies, each of which ſtands in a Nich, ſome of Stone, ſome of Braſs, and underneath a Coffin or Cuſhion, with a Ducal Crown lying upon it, with the following Inſcriptions in this Order:

Franciſcus Mag. Dux Etruriæ II. *vixit ann.* XLVI.
ob. XIX. *Octob.* M. D. LXXXVII.
Coſmus Mag. Dux Etruriæ II. *vixit ann.* LV.
ob. XI. *Kal. Maii*, MDLXXXXIV.
Ferdinandus Mag. Dux Etrur. III. *vixit ann.* LX.
ob. VII. *Id. Feb.* CIↃ IↃ CIX.
Coſmus Mag. Dux Etrur. IV. *vixit ann.* XXX.
ob. XXVIII. *Feb.* CIↃ IↃ CXX.

There is one Side remaining for *Ferdinand* II. the fifth Great Duke, who died ſince our Departure; the preſent Great Duke's Name being *Coſmus* III.

Betwixt the Tombs are the Arms of two of the chief Cities under their Juriſdiction. There are ſo great a Number of Towers, Pillars, Fountains, and Statues of Braſs and Stone, and moſt excellent Pictures, at *Florence*, that I will not pretend to enter upon a particular Deſcription of them here, contenting myſelf with mentioning only the two *Statuæ Equeſtres* in Braſs, much greater than the Life; one of *Coſmus* I. upon the great Piazza; the other of *Ferdinand* I. in the Piazza of the *Annunciata*; and ſo proceed to give you a ſhort Account of the Great Duke's Gallery in the Palace, a very handſome Structure, having the Stables under Ground, and above them fair Portico's to walk in; over theſe, the Shops of all the Artificers that are employed by the Great Duke; above them is that they properly call the Gallery, where in a Walk free for any to come into, you ſee many ancient and ſome modern Statues; and on each Side of the Walk, the Pictures of Princes and other great Perſons. Here we ſaw among the reſt, the Pictures of Queen *Elizabeth*, King *James*, *Oliver Cromwell*, and of the before-mentioned *Johannes Acutus*.

The Rarities which we ſaw were preſerved in four Cloſets, the chief of which were, a very large terreſtrial Globe, and a *Sphæra Armillaris* bigger than that; ſeveral Stone Tables curiouſly inlaid with Fragments of precious Stones of various Colours, repreſenting Flowers, Fruits, Birds, Beaſts, and Inſects, ſo naturally, that the beſt Maſters of *Europe* could ſcarce have drawn them more exactly. One of thoſe Tables (the richeſt I ever ſaw) was ſet with many Rubies and Pearls, and valued at 100,000 *Florence Scudi*, (a *Scudi* being ſomewhat more than an *Engliſh* Crown;) ſeveral very excellent Cabinets, the beſt of which being valued at 500,000 *Scudi*, was ſet with Gems of the firſt Magnitude; a Pearl of an enormous Size, but not perfectly round; with ſeveral Topazes about the Bigneſs of Walnuts, large Rubies and Emeralds, beſides other Stones of leſs Value, *&c.* Here alſo they ſhewed us the Nail, half of Gold, half Iron, Part of which they pretend was tranſmuted by *Thurnhauſſerus*, an Alchymiſt of *Baſil*, into Gold, but the Iron and Gold was ſo coarſely join'd, that it eaſily diſcovered the Impoſture. Beſides many ancient *Roman* Idols and Lamps of various Shapes, and Pictures and Statues made by the beſt Maſters.

In the Great Duke's Armory we took Notice of the Armours of many great Perſons, and, among the reſt, of a Headpiece pretended to have belonged to *Hannibal*, having many *Moreſco* Characters on it; *Scanderbeg*'s Sword; the Hair of a Horſe's Mane ſeven Yards long, and the Skin of the Horſe ſtuffed up; a long Gun and a Piſtol, the Barrels of beaten Gold; ſeveral round Bucklers, on one of which was painted a *Meduſa*'s Head, by *Michael Angelo*, valued at a high Rate; *Italian* Locks for Women; a Thong cut out of the Hide of a Buffle, 250 Yards long; a great many *Turkiſh* Arms, *&c.* The *Argenteria* or Wardrobe contains twelve Cupboards, full of rich Plate; one is fill'd with all Sorts of Veſſels of beaten Gold; another has an Altar of Gold, ſet with Diamonds and other precious Stones, with this Inſcription in Capital Letters made up of Rubies, *Coſmus* II. *Dei gratia magnus Dux Etruriæ ex voto.*

If I ſhould enter upon a Deſcription of the *Great Duke*'s Palace, with its Gardens, Variety of Trees, Fruits, Shrubs, Walks, Fountains, Waterworks, *&c.* it would require a Treatiſe by itſelf; The Choice Plants we took Notice of *in tranſitu* were, *Dictamnus Creticus*, *Quamoclit Indorum*; *Tragoriganum*; *Stramonium peregrinum* Ger. i. e. *pomo ſpinoſo rotundo*; *Piſum cordatum*, *Balſamina cucumerina*, *Chamærrhiphes*, &c.

In the Duke's *Theriotrophium* we ſaw a *Lion*, *Tyger*, *Leopard*, *Bear*, *Wolf*, *Porcupine*, *Wild Boar*; the Snout of the laſt being longer than thoſe of tame Hogs, the Ears not quite ſo long, of a black Colour, as were the Feet and Tail, the reſt of the Body being of a griſly or Iron-grey Colour, which is conſtantly the ſame; it being obſerved, that moſt of the wild Animals, whether Birds or Beaſts, keep the ſame Colour.

Moſt of the Palaces of *Florence* are built *à la maniera ruſtica*, as the *Italians* call it, that is to ſay, of rough hewn Stones, even protuberating above the Superficies of the Wall: For the reſt, this City is in a decaying Condition, in reſpect, I mean, of what it has been formerly, proceeding partly from the great Declenſion of their Silk Trade with *France*, as alſo from the heavy Impoſitions laid upon them by the *Great Duke*, who being abſolute, receives the Tenth of its yearly Value of every Houſe, as well as the tenth of what Lands or Houſes are ſold; eight *per Cent.* of the Portion of all Women that are married; two *per Cent.* out of every Law-ſuit, according to the Sum ſued for; for every young Heifer that is ſold, a Crown; and on all other Proviſions, even to the very Eggs, an Exciſe in Proportion: Nay, he farms the Monopoly of fine Bread (call'd *Pane di Bocca*) to the Baker, who furniſhes his Table, and pays 1000 *Scudi* yearly: Beſides theſe Impoſitions, as they render the Generality of the Inhabitants poor, (there having not been a new Houſe built in forty Years) ſo it makes the Prince very powerful, whoſe ordinary Revenue is computed at one Million and a half, and by ſome two Millions of Crowns *per Annum*; whereas his annual Expences do not amount to above half the Money, being very thrifty in his Court, keeping his Servants at Board-Wages, and being at a ſet Rate with his Cook, Baker, *&c.* one of the chief Maxims of State being to amaſs great Treaſures; for which Reaſon the late Great Duke would often ſay of our King *Charles* the Firſt, *That Want of Money ruined him!*

Very few Gentlemen here, but what ſell their own Wines by Retail; not within Doors, but by a Hole made in the Cellar-Wall, where they take in and return the Flaſks or other Veſſels: Inſtead of a Signpoſt, they hang out Pieces of broken Flaſks at their Palace Gates. Notwithſtanding this, they look upon it as a great Diſparagement to breed up their Children to the Profeſſion of Phyſick; but as for Commerce, it is ſo well look'd upon here, that from the Great Duke himſelf to thoſe of the loweſt Rank, they all apply themſelves to it vigorouſly. Beſides that they call the *old State*, comprehending the Territories of *Florence* and *Piſa*, and the *new State*, comprehending the Territory of *Sienna*, the Great Duke is Maſter of part of the Iſle of *Elba* (likewiſe a Fief of *Spain*) part of *Graffignana*, purchas'd from the Marqueſſes of *Malaſpina*; the Earldom of St. *Fiora*, bought of the *Strozzi*; the Marquiſate of *Scanzano*, and the Earldom of *Pitigliano* and *Sorano*, once belonging to the *Urſini*; and ſome other ſmall Places which he holds from the Emperor, as he is Feudatory to the Pope; for *Radicofani* in *Tuſcany*, and *Borgo ſan Sepulchro* in *Umbria*. He has generally the Reputation of maintaining his Fortreſſes in a better Condition than any other Prince in *Europe*, for the Defence of which he maintains, in Time of Peace, Five thouſand Men in conſtant Pay. The Guard of his Body are *Germans*. They have an odd kind of Race at *Florence*, eſpecially in the Summer time, when a certain Number of the ſwifteſt Horſes are let looſe, and ſo run full Speed through one of the Streets, (which thence is call'd *Curſo*) without Riders. To make them run, they faſten ſmall Pieces of Leather ſtuck with Pricks upon their Backs.

The Eccleſiaſtical Revenue in all the Duke's Territories did, according to a Survey taken thereof 1645, amount to 765000 Crowns *per Annum*.

It is a conſtant Practice, among the Gentlemen as well as Citizens, of any Note here, to put their Daughters to board in the Nunneries as ſoon as they come to the eighth or tenth Year of their Age, looking upon this as the cheapeſt and ſecureſt Way to educate them till they are married.

The red *Florence* Wine (deeper than ordinary Claret) is a Wine much eſteem'd both in *Italy* and elſewhere; it acquires this deep-red Tincture by the letting it ſtand longer than ordinary upon the Huſks or *Vinacea*, the interior Pulp of the Grape being white.

Sept. 1, We ſet out again from *Florence* towards *Rome*, and paſſing through *Caſtiano*, eight Miles from thence, after we had travelled four Miles further, left the ordinary Road leading to *Siena*, rode through St. *Buco*, to a poor wall'd Town call'd St. *Donato*, ſixteen Miles from *Florence*, and fourteen from *Siena*, whither we continued our Journey by the Way of *Caſtellina di Campi*, and had a Proſpect of *Siena* ten Miles before we came at it, the Country hereabouts, as well as all over *Tuſcany*, being mountainous and barren. *Siena* (being about four Miles in Compaſs) is a very fair City, the Piazza of which reſembling the Figure of a Cockle-ſhell, is adorned with ſtately Buildings: The Cathedral is a moſt magnificent Structure of Marble, with a moſt noble Front, and adorned with the Heads of all the Popes, placed in the Wall, round about the Church; ſome part (*viz.* about the Front part) of this Church is pav'd with Marble inlaid, or rather a moſt curious Piece of *Moſaick* Work, containing part of the Hiſtory of the Bible, done by *Micherino Saneſe*: If it had been finiſhed according to the firſt Project, it would have exceeded any Thing of that kind in the World; as, the Painting of the Library Walls in this Church, containing the Hiſtory of *Æneas Sylvius*, afterwards Pope *Pius* II. half by the Hand of *Peruginus*, and half by *Raphael Urbin*, is one of the beſt that ever I ſaw, being as lively now, as if it had been done but a few Days. From the Tower called *Torre di mangio*, we took a full Proſpect of the whole City, which is of a triangular Figure, and encloſes a great many Gardens and Vineyards within its Walls: It is ſituate upon a Hill, which, together with the Pavement of the Streets, (which is of Brick ſet Edgeways, as they do in *Holland*) keeps them very clean, and affords them this further Conveniency, that having good Cellars, they make little Uſe of Snow or Ice to cool their Drink. There is a Room in the Palace of the *Podeſta*, the Roof and Walls whereof are ſo excellently painted by *Micherino Saneſe*, that it is juſtly valued more than the whole Palace beſides. This Place is pretty much frequented by Strangers, for its temperate Situation in the Summer time; and as the Inhabitants ſpeak the *Italian* in its Purity, ſo they are very obliging to Travellers, and all Manner of Proviſions are at a reaſonable Rate here.

25. *Sept.* 3. We left *Siena*, and paſſing through *Lucignano*, *Buon Convento*, and *Tornieri*, came to St. *Quiricho*, (St. *Cyriaci Opidum*) where I met with abundance of Lavendar Cotton. Hence we rode unto *Radicofani*, thirty four Miles from *Siena* ſituate upon a high Hill, and provided with a Garriſon of three hundred Men, being a well fortified Frontier Town of the Great Duke. In this Day's Journey we ſaw great Plenty of *Abſinthium Romanum*, Cæſ. between St. *Quiricho* and *Radicofani*, *Cynara ſilv.* and two other Species of Thiſtle, one I gueſs'd to be *Carduus tormentoſus* Lob. the other I knew not; *Acarna flore purpuro rubente patulo*; *Veronica ſpicata cærulea*; *Winter Savory*; *Aſter luteus Linariæ folio*; *Colchicum* all over the Paſtures.

Sept. 4. We continued our Journey from hence to *Viterbo*, being thirty eight Miles; and we had ſcarce travelled ten Miles, when we paſſed over a ſmall River near a Place called *Ponte Argentino*, which on this Side is the common Border of the Pope's and Grand Duke's Territories; and travelling on four Miles further, came to *Aquapendente*, a large old Town, ſo called from its Situation upon the Top of an Hill, from whence the Water falls down perpendicularly. We obſerv'd all the Villages and Towns of this Country to be built on Hills, for Coolneſs Sake: And no ſooner were we entred the Eccleſiaſtical Territories, but we found the Fields full of Trees, intermix'd with pleaſant and fruitful Valleys, whereas all that Part of the Great Duke's Country through which we paſs'd was very craggy, without Trees, and appear'd to us very barren. From *Aquapendente* we went on to *Lorenzo*, a ſmall Place at the Edge of the Lake of *Bolſena*, (anciently of *Volſinii*) and travelling for five Miles along the Lake, came to *Bolſena*, and thence mounted up to *Monte Fiaſcone*, where having refreſh'd ourſelves with that moſt excellent Wine that grows here, we travell'd for eight Miles, through a fertile Plain to *Viterbo*, a Town very ſpacious, and well ſituated, but indifferently built; we obſerv'd only two or three handſome Fountains, and one Tomb of Pope *John* XXI. in the Dome or Cathedral. The hot Springs hereabouts we had not time to take a View of or enquire about.

From *Viterbo* we travell'd, *September* 5, through *Ronciglione*, (a pretty place belonging to the State of *Caſtro*) to *Baccano*, being twenty two Miles. *September* the 6th, We went forward, travelling that Day ſixteen Miles, to *Rome*: We aſcended a Mountain not far from *Baccano*, from whence having a large Proſpect of the *Campania* of *Rome*, being covered all over with a thick Miſt, appeared to us at a Diſtance like a huge Lake. About three Miles on this Side of *Rome* we ſaw an ancient Monument they call'd the Sepulchre of *Nero*, the like we had met with before at *Modena*. About a Mile ſhort of *Rome*, paſſing over the *Tiber* by the *Ponte Molle*, (the ancient *Pons Milvius*) came upon the *Via Flaminia*, a well-pav'd ſtraight Way, having on both Sides many Country Houſes and Gardens, which brought us to the *Porta del Popolo*, one of the Gates of *Rome*.

26. So many Authors have employed their learned Pains in the Deſcription of *Rome*, both ancient and modern, I ſhall be very brief in the following Account of it. The Antiquities worth the Obſervation of the Curious, are chiefly the Ruins and Remainders of *Pagan Temples*, *Theatres* and *Amphitheatres*, *Circi*, *Baths*, *Aqueducts*, *Obeliſks*, *Triumphal Arches*, *Pillars*, *Fora*, *Mauſolæa*, *Statues*, *Altar* and *Grave-ſtones*, and other Stones, with their Inſcriptions; *Medals*, *Entaglia*, or *Gems* engraven with Figures, *Sacrificing Veſſels* and *Inſtruments*. *Sepulchral Urns*, *Lachrymal Urns*, *Ancient Lamps*, *Weights*, *Rings*, &c. Among the ancient Temples, which are ſtill entire, we have remaining ſome Part of them: 1. The *Pantheon*, commonly call'd *Rotunda*, from its circular Figure, now dedicated to the Virgin *Mary* and *All-Saints*, is 144 Foot high and as many broad, the Roof being vaulted in Form of a *Cupola*, having no other Light, but that it receives through a round Hole on the Top, of nine Foot Diameter. Its Porch conſiſted of ſixteen tall and maſſive Pillars of ſpeckled Marble, call'd Oriental Granite, each Pillar having but one Stone, of which there are only thirteen remaining now. Upon the Architrave of this Portico you ſee theſe Words inſerted in very large Letters:

M. AGRIPPA L. F. COS. TERTIUM FECIT.

This Temple was covered with Copper, till Pope *Urban* the VIIIth removed it thence, and to appeaſe the Grumbling of the People, order'd the four famous wreath'd Pillars and Canopy of the high Altar in St. *Peter*'s Church to be made of it; the *Clavi trabales*, or Nails which faſtned the Tiles of the *Portico*, weighing no leſs than 2800 Pounds, out of which was caſt a great Cannon, which is ſtill to be ſeen in the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, with this Inſcription, *Ex clavis trabalibus Porticus Agrippæ*, and the Figure of one of thoſe Nails engraven upon it. The whole Body of this Temple remains entire, being deſpoiled only of its Ornaments and Statues, among which was the famous *Minerva* of *Phidias*. After its firſt Building, it had ſeven Steps upwards, which ſurrounded the whole Structure, whereas now you muſt deſcend eleven Steps to go into it; a convincing Proof that a great Part of the ancient *Rome* is involved in Rubbiſh under Ground. Thoſe that ſhewed us the Church were very careful to tell us, That the Lintel and Side-poſts of the great Door of this Church (which indeed is exceeding large in all its Dimenſions) were all of one entire Stone; which we thought fit rather to believe than to give ourſelves the Trouble of examining it. In this Church is to be ſeen the Tomb of that great Architect and Painter *Raphael Urbin* with an elegant Inſcription.

2. *Templum Fortunæ virilis*, or the Temple of the *Moon*, as ſome will have it, but rather of the *Sun* and *Jupiter*, now call'd S. *Maria Ægyptiaca*, where the *Armenians* have their Service. 3. The Temple of the *Sun*, or of *Veſta*, as ſome affirm, or as others, *Templum Herculis Victoris*, ſtanding not far from the precedent, *viz.* by the *Tiber* Side, near the broken Bridge, and is now call'd *La Madonna del Sole*, or St. *Stefano alle carozze*; a ſmall round Structure, with a Gallery of ſtriate Pillars round about it: It receives its Light like the *Pantheon*, through a Hole on the Top. Theſe two laſt remain entire. 4. *Templum Dianæ Aventinæ*, now call'd St. *Sabino*, is very large, twelve ſtriate Pillars on each Side, dividing the Nave from the Iſles. 5. *Templum Herculis Aventini*, now the Church of St. *Alexius* and *Bonifacius*, near the former, on the Top of Mount *Aventine*. 6. *Templum Jani quadrifrontis*, in the Cow-market. 7. The *Temple of Concord*, or rather its Remains, being only a *Portico* ſuſtained by eight great Marble Pillars of one Stone each, at the Foot of the *Mons Capitolinus*. 8. The Temple of *Saturn*, now St. *Adrian*'s Church, the Frontiſpiece of which is only the Remainder of the ancient Temple; it ſtands near *Severus*'s Arch, at the Foot of

of the Capitol. 9. The Temple of *Antonine* and *Fauſtina*, now St. *Lorenzo in Miranda*; of this remains entire the Portico, with its Inſcription, and ſome of the Walls built of maſſy Stones, the Marble Pillars which ſupport the Portico having a Grain lying one Way, all cleave like Wood. 10. The Temple of *Romulus* and *Remus*, ſince dedicated to St. *Coſmo* and *Damiano*, has ſcarce any thing remaining of its ancient Structure. 11. *Templum Iſidis & Serapidis ſive Solis & Lunæ*, now St. *Maria nuova*; the few Ruins remaining of the old Church are behind the Cloyſter, the preſent Church being no Part of it, neither ſtanding in the ſame Place. 12. *The Temple of Peace*, the Founder of which was *Veſpaſian*, exceeded all the other ancient Temples of *Rome* in Bigneſs, as may be ſeen by the Foundation, the Ruins of which may be eaſily diſtinguiſh'd; for the reſt, there are no more than Part of three Arches left ſtanding: The ſtriate Pillar, ſet up before the Church of St. *Maria maggiore*, the greateſt of one entire Stone now in *Rome*, was taken hence, being one of the eight which ſupported the Nave or Body of this Temple. 13. *Templum Jovis Statoris*, three Pillars now to be ſeen in the *Campo Vaccino*, were part of this Temple. 14. *Templum Jovis tonantis*; of this three Pillars, for the moſt Part under Ground, are ſuppoſed to be Part; on the Architrave whereof are to be ſeen theſe Letters, ESTITUER, on the Left Hand of the *Clivus*, as you go from *Severus*'s Arch to the Capitol. 15. The Temple of *Faunus*, now called St. *Stefano rotundo*, from its circular Figure: This large Structure is ſuſtained by two concentrical Circles of Pillars, the outermoſt Pillars being leſs than the innermoſt, the firſt containing forty four Pillars, and the other exactly half the Number; beſides that, the Pillars of the inner Circle ſtand at the ſame Diſtance from one another as thoſe in the outer. 16. *Templum Herculis Callaici*, now *Galuzo*, of a diagonal Figure, its Roof being a Cupola not much leſs than that of the *Pantheon*; it has two Doors directly oppoſite one to another, and on both Sides betwixt them, eight Niches for Statues. 17. *Templum Bacchi extra portum Piam*, now the Church of St. *Coſtanza*, without the Walls: This is alſo a round Structure, having a concentrical Circle of twelve Pillars of a leſs Circumference within. Here you ſee an ancient Monument of Porphry reſembling a large Cheſt, having a Stone to cover it; it is curiouſly engraven with Branches of Trees, Boys treading of Grapes, of Birds, *&c.* In ſeveral Places of the Roof are Pictures of Bunches of Grapes, and other Things belonging to Vintage, but the Freſhneſs of the Colours, and Rudeneſs of the Figures, makes me ſuſpect them to be no *Roman* Workmanſhip. They call this the Monument of *Bacchus*. 18. The Temple of the *Sun*; of this there remains only ſome great Marble Stones in the Garden of the *Columna*'s, ſome of them curiouſly engraven. 19. The Temple of *Romulus* and *Remus*, now dedicated to St. *Theodore*; it is of a circular Figure, into which you deſcend by Steps, like as into the *Pantheon*.

Of the ancient *Roman* Theatres and Amphitheatres, there are remaining only ſome ſmall Footſteps of the Amphitheatre of *Statilius Taurus*, near the Church of St. *Croce* in *Gieruſalemme*, and ſome Part of the Walls of the Theatre of *Marcellus*, upon which the Palace of the *Savelli* is built: But of the Amphitheatre of *Titus*, now called the *Coliſeo*, great Ruins are to be ſeen to this Day, being round without, and of an oval Figure within: It is capable of containing conveniently 85,000 Perſons. Of *Circi*, there are only ſome ſlender Remnants of that of *Antoninus Caracalla*, without the City, and of the *Circus maximus*, of which you may juſt diſcern the Figure. Of the *Circus Agonalis*, (now the *Piazza Navona*) and of the *Circus* of *Nero* in *Campo Vaticano*; as likewiſe of the *Circus Flaminius*, nothing is left but their Names. Of *Roman* Baths very conſiderable Ruins are to be ſeen, *viz.* thoſe of *Diocleſian*, which had Seats for three thouſand two hundred Perſons to bathe, without ſeeing one another; of *Antoninus Caracalla*, which hath ſixteen hundred Seats all of poliſh'd Marble; the *Thermæ* of *Titus*, of *Agrippa* near the *Pantheon*, of *Conſtantine* near St. *Sylveſter*'s, of *Nero* near St. *Euſtachius*'s Church, of *Paulus Æmilius* at the Foot of *Monte Cavallo*, called, *Magnanapoli*; beſides many others, of which ſcarce any Footſteps are to be ſeen now.

Among the ancient Aquæducts of *Rome*, there are only four that have ſomething remaining now, *viz.* the *Aqua Martia*, conducted thirty ſeven Miles; the *Aqua Claudia*, brought thirty five; and the *Aqua Appia* and *Aqua Virginis*, both brought eight Miles; the laſt of which being repaired by Pope *Nicholas* V. is us'd now-a-days, and known by the Name of *Fonte di Trivio*. Beſides thoſe, there are two new Aquæducts built by late Popes, of which the following Inſcriptions will give you a ſatisfactory Account.

I.

Sixtus V. *Pont. max. Picenus*
Aquam ex Agro Columnæ
Viâ præneſt. ſiniſtrorſum
Multarum collectione venarum
Ductu ſinuoſo à receptaculo
Mill. XX. *à Capite* XXII.
Adduxit:
Fælicemque de nomine
Ant. Pont. dixit.
Cœpit anno I. *abſolvit* III.
MDLXXXVII.

II.

Paulus V. *Pontifex maximus aquam in agro Braccianenſi ſaluberrimis è fontibus collectam, veteribus aquæ Alſeatinæ ductibus reſtitutis noviſque additis* XXXV. *ab Urbe milliario duxit, Anno Domini* MDCXII. *Pontificatus ſui ſeptimo.*

There are eleven Obeliſks remaining, but we took Notice only of nine: 1. That which antiently ſtood in the *Circus maximus*, but being broken, was by *Sixtus* V. ſet handſomely together, and placed upon a fine Pedeſtal in the Piazza within the Gate called *Porta del Popolo*, having on each Side an Inſcription, and two ancient ones on the oppoſite Sides in the ſame Words.

Imp. Cæſar Divi F.
Auguſtus
Pontifex maximus
Imp. $\overline{\text{XII}}$. *Coſ.* $\overline{\text{XI}}$. *Trib. Pot.* $\overline{\text{XIV}}$.
Ægypto in poteſtatem
Populi Romani redact.
Soli donum dedit.

On the other two Sides are modern Inſcriptions. It is engraved on each Side with three Rows of Hieroglyphicks. 2. The Obeliſk which now ſtands in the Piazza before St. *Peter*'s Church, was taken out of the *Circus* of *Caligula* and *Nero*, and at the Charge of Pope *Sixtus* V. placed here, as were alſo thoſe of St. *Maria maggiore* and St *John Lateran*. This Obeliſk is ſeventy two Foot high, beſides the Pedeſtal, in all one hundred and eight. It has no Hieroglyphicks upon it. Of the Manner of its Removal, a peculiar Treatiſe is written; as the four modern Inſcriptions on the Pedeſtal, and the ancient one on the Obeliſk itſelf, may be ſeen in *Roma antica & moderna*. 3. That of St. *John Lateran*, having three Rows or Files of Hieroglyphicks on each Side of it; this is one hundred and twelve Foot high, beſides the Baſe, where it is nine Foot and an half thick one Way, and eight Foot the other. It is the greateſt Obeliſk in *Rome*: From the following Inſcription it appears by whom it was brought to *Rome*, and ſet up.

Fl. Conſtantius Aug. Conſtantini Aug. F. Obeliſcum à patre loco ſuo motum, diuque Alexandriæ jacentem trecentorum remigum impoſitum navi mirandæ vaſtitatis per mare, Tiberimque magnis molibus Romam convectum in circo maximo ponendum curavit S. P. Q. R. D. D.

4. That of St. *Maria maggiore*, without Hieroglyphicks, and much leſs than any of the former, was removed hither out of the *Mauſolæum* of *Auguſtus*. 5. That of the *Piazza Navona*, taken out of the *Circus* of *Caracalla*, by Pope *Innocent* X. It has but one Row of Hieroglyphicks, and much leſs than the laſt mentioned; of this

Athanaſ. Kircher has written a whole Treatiſe. 6. That of St. *Mahuto*, near the Jeſuits Church, is only a Piece of the Top of an Obeliſk, placed upon four rude Stones; it has ſome Hieroglyphicks. 7. That in the Garden of *Medicis*, is alſo no more than a Piece of the Top of an Obeliſk, full of Hieroglyphicks, placed upon a Baſe, without an Inſcription. 8. That in the Garden of the *Mattei* is but very ſmall, and broken in two Pieces; the uppermoſt has to the Top Hieroglyphicks, but the lower Piece none. 9. In the Court of the Palace of the Prince of *Paleſtrina*, you ſee an Obeliſk lying upon the Ground, broken in three Pieces, with Hieroglyphicks; it ſeems to have been much longer. 10. *Roma antica* makes mention of an Obeliſk ſtanding at the Foot of the Stairs in the Palace of the *Urſini*, in the *Campo di flore*, but we did not ſee it. 11. We were alſo credibly informed, that an Obeliſk, bigger than any of thoſe erected already at *Rome*, and ſuppoſed to be entire, was lying under a Row of Houſes in the *Campus martius*.

Among all theſe Obeliſks, thoſe that are engraven with Hieroglyphicks are of the ſame Kind of Stone, *viz.* of a hard Marble of a mingled Colour, red and white, which in ſo many Ages has not undergone the leaſt Alteration by the Weather: Their Figure is taperwiſe, leſſening by Degrees from the Baſis to the Center, yet ſo as that they don't terminate in a Point; but when they are come to that Degree, as to be too ſmall to have any Hieroglyphicks engraven upon them, the Tops are made in the Form of an obtuſe Pyramid. It is the general Opinion, and not without a great deal of Probability, that the Hieroglyphicks upon theſe Obeliſks, from the Bottom to the Top, are by Degrees greater and greater, which makes the uppermoſt appear of the ſame Bigneſs with the lowermoſt.

Of Triumphal Arches are yet remaining that of *Septimius Severus*, that of *Titus Veſpaſian*, that of *Conſtantine* the Great, that erected in Honour of *Antoninus*, *Septimius*'s Son, and that of *Gallienus* and *Salonica*, called the Arch of St. *Vito*. We could not find out the Arch in the *Via Flaminia*, called *Arco di Portugallo*, in *Roma antica*, where you may ſee the Inſcriptions and Places of thoſe Arches.

There are four Pillars yet remaining *viz.* the *Columna milliaria*, which anciently ſtood in the *Forum Romanum* in the Center of the City, this being the Mark from whence they uſed to count their Miles by a certain Stone ſet up at every Mile's End, this Statue being, toward the Top, marked with the Letter I, of a conſiderable Bigneſs, as the ſecond Stone at the firſt Mile's End was marked with II, and ſo further; ſo that *ad ſecundem lapidem* ſignified at one Mile's Diſtance from this Pillar, *ad tertium* two, and ſo on. It is of no conſiderable Bigneſs, and now placed on one Side of the Area of the Capitol. The *Columna roſtrata* in the *Forum Romanum*, erected to *C. Duilius*, in Memory of the Victory obtained over the *Carthaginians* at Sea; the old and long Inſcription, which was much defaced, is ſupplied in many Places.

The Column of *Trajan*, of white Marble, which remains ſtanding ever ſince its firſt Eſtabliſhment, being one hundred and twenty eight Foot high, and the Baſe twelve; within it you aſcend to the Top by a Pair of winding Stairs of one hundred and ninety two Steps, having forty four ſmall Windows to give Light; the whole Fabrick is compoſed of no more than twenty four entire Stones, each Stone having eight Steps. An *Helical* Area compaſſes the Pillar from Top to Bottom, in Manner of a Screw, on which are carv'd the Actions of *Trajan* in his Expedition againſt the *Dacians*. The Pedeſtal, which was buried under Ground, was laid open again by Pope *Paul* III. and has the following Inſcription:

S. P. Q. R.

Imp. Cæſari Divi Nervæ F. Nervæ Trajano Aug. Germ.
Dacico, Pont. maximo, Trib. Poteſt XVI. *Imp* VI.
Coſ. VI. *PP. ad declarandum quantæ altitudinis mons*
& locus tantis operibus ſit egeſtus.

The Column of *Antoninus*, much like the former, is one hundred and ſeventy five Foot high, has two hundred and ſix Steps within, and fifty ſix ſmall Windows: Being miſerably broken and defaced, Pope *Sixtus* V. mended and reſtored it.

There are but two *Mauſolæa* remaining, *viz.* that of *Auguſtus*, and the Moles of *Adrian*, now called the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*. Of Altar-ſtones, Grave-ſtones, and other Stones with Inſcriptions, there is vaſt Variety all over the City: And of ancient Medals and *Entaglie*, there are dug up daily, which are ſold in the Shops and Stalls in the Market-places, and great Numbers of them are preſerv'd in the Collections of the *Virtuoſi*; where, as well as in the Gardens and Palaces of Perſons of Quality, you may ſee great Quantities of ſepulchral Urns of different Shapes and Bigneſs, ſome of Stone, others of Earth.

Among the Antiquaries of *Rome*, who have conſiderable Collections of theſe before-mentioned Things, as well as of ſacrificing Veſſels and Inſtruments, Lachrymal Urns, ancient Lamps, Rings, *Fibulæ*, *Teſſeræ hoſpitalitatis*, Weights, *&c.* *Leonardus Auguſtinus*, the Pope's Antiquary, and *John Petro Bellori*, deſerve to be prefer'd before the reſt; that worthy and ingenious Gentleman Cavalier *Carlo Antonio del Pozzo*, ſhewed us twenty Volumes in Folio, containing the Figures of moſt of the Antiquities in and about *Rome*, drawn by the Hand with great Exactneſs; and among the reſt, we took Notice of the *Crepundia Veterum*, being Nothing elſe but little Images of Earth reſembling Children, Apes, Hares, *&c.* found in Urns. Of Weights, we ſaw ſome in the Collection of *Leonardus Auguſtinus*, made of a dark-red Stone well poliſhed, of the Shape of a *Holland* Cheeſe, of divers Magnitudes, marked on one Side with the Number of Ounces or Pounds it contained. Of theſe Weights, I ſaw two as big as a large *Holland* Cheeſe, in the Church of St. *Maria in Coſmedin*, called *Schola Græca*, and two more in the Church of St. *Maria in Traſtevere*, of which they have a Tradition, that they uſed to tie them to the Martyrs Feet, to ſtretch and torment them. In the laſt-mentioned Collection, we ſaw alſo a Medal, with the Figure of a *Talus* on one Side, and this Inſcription on the other, *Qui ludit arrham det quod ſatis ſit*: The *Fritillus*, or Dice-box of the Ancients, like ours; the *Strigiles*, a Medal that uſed to be hung about the Slaves Necks, having on one Side the Figure of a She-Wolf giving Suck to *Romulus* and *Remus*, and on the other, in three concentrical Circles, theſe Words, *Tene me ne fugiam, & revoca me in foro Trajani purpuretica ad Paſcaſium Dominum meum.* A Drinking-glaſs like a *Priapus*, of which the Poet, *Vitreo bibit ille Priapo.* The ancient *Roman* Timbrel, not unlike our modern ones.

27. *Rome* is near thirteen Miles in Circumference, but did to us appear not to be ſo populous as *Venice*, *Milan*, or *Naples*, as comprehending a great deal of waſte Ground: The Number of its Inhabitants is generally believed to be 120,000 Souls, without Strangers, of which there are great Numbers here; it extends nowadays below the Hills into the Valley by the River-ſide, being generally well-built, the Streets ſtreight, and beautified with many Palaces, Monaſteries and Churches, of which, they ſay, there are above three hundred. Proviſions are not ſo cheap here as at *Florence* or *Naples*, yet have they great Plenty of them, and exceeding good, their Beef being not inferior to ours in *England*. Before they kill their Beaſts, they hunt them as we do our Bulls. Their ſucking Veal they prefer before all of that Kind in *Europe*; and their Kid or *Caprette*, and Pork, is alſo excellent good Meat; but their Mutton is tough and dry. For tame Fowl they may compare with any Part of *Europe* both in Quantity and Goodneſs, *viz.* Hens, Capons, Turkies, tame Pigeons, *&c.* Geeſe they have in no great Plenty, but wild Fowl is very cheap, and that of the beſt Sort, ſuch as Partridges, of two kinds, the common and red-legged ones, Woodcocks, Snipes, Duck and Mallard, Wigeon, Teal, Quails, Plover, *&c.* beſides what is ſold in the Small bird Market, of Thruſhes, Blackbirds, Larks, *&c.* nay, even Robin-red-breaſts, Finches,

Wagtails, Grays, &c. Beſides theſe before-mention'd, you may ſee ſometimes in the Poulterers Shops, Cranes, Wild geeſe, Shelldrakes, *Avoſettæ*, Water-hens, Berganders, and even ſuch Birds as are not eaten in *England*, as Kites, Buzzards, Spar-hawks, Keſtrels, Jays-Magpies and Wood-peckers. Neither are they in any Want of Sea, or River Fiſh, though ſold at a dearer Rate than Fleſh: Of Freſh-water Fiſh, Pike, Carp, Tench, Trout, Eels, Barble, Chevin, and Dace, are the moſt frequent; I don't remember I ever ſaw a Perch at *Rome*. Of Sea-fiſh, they have the *Mullus antiquorum*, now *Triglia*, called *Rouge* by the *French*, from its Colour; in *Cornwall* we call them *Surmullet*: *Spigole*, or the *Lupus marinus*, a Fiſh not known in *England*, *Orate*, Giltheads; *Cephali*, the *Mugil* of the Ancients, we call it a *Mullet* in *Engliſh*; *Sarde*, or the Sprat; Conger or Lamprey; Sole, Plaiſe, and others of the flat Kind; *Merluzzo*, we call them Hakes; ſometimes ſmall Sturgeons, Dog-fiſh, as alſo Tuny and Sword-fiſh.

Wild Boar and other Veniſon you ſcarce ever miſs in the Market, but their wild Deer (or *Capreole)* is generally very lean: Sometimes you meet alſo with Porcupine to be ſold. Oranges and Lemons are very cheap here, but large Pears and Apples dear, being ſold by Weight all over *Italy*. Their Bread is very cheap, good, and light, though they uſe no Yeaſt to raiſe it. Of Wines they have greater Variety than in any other Place of *Italy*; as *Greco*, *Lacrime* of *Naples*, *Languedoc*; Wine of *Syracuſa* and *Auguſta* in *Sicily*, *Orvietano*, *Jenſana*, *Monte Pulciano*, *Monte fiaſcone*, *Caſtelli*, *Romano* and *Albane*, more frequently uſed than all the reſt. Moſt of their Wines are ſweet (which they call *Abboccati)* and ſo ſtrong bodied, that they will bear half Water. Rough Wines they call *Aſciuti*, though none of theirs are ſo harſh as our Clarets, *Florence*, or red Wines, which are alſo to be had here. Their Olives, though ſmall, are exceedingly good and ſweet; of Walnuts, Hazlenuts, and ſuch other Fruits as are frequent among us, great Plenty; but our Apples and Pears excell all the reſt for Goodneſs.

Rome is alſo noted for various Commodities and Manufactures; as, the beſt Viol and Lute-ſtrings in *Europe*, perfum'd Gloves, Combs made of Bufflers Horn, Womens Fans, Vitriol, Eſſences; and as for Muſick and Pictures of the beſt Maſters, this City may deſervedly challenge the Preference before all other Places in *Europe*. At this Time Cavalier *Barberini* was the moſt noted and the only excellent Sculptor here, and *Pietro de Cortona* the moſt eminent Painter.

The *Villa*'s or Country Seats of the Princes and other Perſons of Quality of *Rome*, for Flower Gardens, Groves, cut Hedges of Cypreſs, *Alaternus*, Laurel, Bay, *Phillerea*, *Laurus tinus*, and other *ſemper-virent* Plants, cloſe and open Walks, moſt excellent Orchards of Fruit trees, Labyrinths, Fountains, Waterworks, Statues, Bird-cages, and other Ornaments, but eſpecially in their Bigneſs, (ſome being three or four Miles in Compaſs) exceed moſt of the Gardens in *Chriſtendom*; the chief of thoſe, (1.) The *Villa Borgheſe*, eſteem'd the beſt of all about *Rome*, though inferior in Bigneſs to the (2.) *Villa Pamphylia*, which lies on the *Janiculum*, without St. *Pancras*'s Gate, being four Miles in Compaſs. (3.) The *Villa Ludoviſia*, belonging to Prince *Ludoviſio*. (4.) The Pope's Garden, called *Belvedere*, at the Vatician. (5.) The Pope's Garden at *Monte Cavallo*. (6.) The *Villa de Medici*, or the Great Duke's Garden. (7.) The Garden of *Montalto*. (8.) The Garden of the *Mattei*. Each of theſe have their little Pillars, beautified with moſt excellent Statues, *baſſi relievi*, Pictures and other Curioſities, for the Deſcription of which I refer myſelf to others; neither will I pretend to enlarge upon their publick Structures, but can't altogether paſs by in Silence the Church of St. *Peter*, being in my Opinion, the moſt ſumptuous and magnificent Structure that ever was placed upon the Face of the Earth, exceeding in all its Dimenſions the moſt famous Temples of the Ancients, being 520 Foot long, and 385 broad, which though it be not ſo long as St. *Paul*'s at *London*, yet as it is much broader, ſo this renders it more regular and proportionable to its Length. The *Cupola* is of that ſtupenduous Height and Compaſs (having the ſame Diameter as that of the *Rotunda*) which ſuſtaining on the Top a very large Lanthorn, encompaſs'd with great Stone Pillars, this renders it the boldeſt and moſt ſtupenduous Piece of Architecture the World ever beheld. The Roof is arch'd and divided into ſpacious Squares or Panes like Wainſcot, the Ribs and tranſverſe Borders terminating thoſe Pannels, being richly gilt, and the *Area* of each Square fill'd up with a large gilt Roſe. The oval Portico encompaſſes a large *Area* before the Church, conſiſting of four Rows of great Stone Pillars, ſo cloſe together, that at a Diſtance they reſemble a Grove of large Trees. To be ſhort, the lofty Porch to which you aſcend out of this *Area* by twenty four Steps, the covering of ſome part of the Walls with Marble, finely poliſh'd, the excellent Statues, magnificent Altars, moſt curious Pictures, and other Ornaments, render this Church the moſt majeſtick and moſt admirable Pile of Buildings in the Univerſe.

Whilſt we ſtaid at *Rome*, we took a *Tour* to *Freſcati*, twelve *Italian* Miles thence, anciently call'd *Tuſculum*, where *Cicero* had a Country-houſe, of which they ſhew as yet ſome Remnants: At preſent it is famous for three *Villa*'s, *viz.* that of *Borgheſe*, with its Palace call'd *Mondragone*; the *Villa Aldobrandina* or *Belvedere*, belonging to Prince *Pamphilio*, and the *Villa Ludoviſia*; all which for Walks, Groves, Labyrinths, and other Ornaments, may compare with the beſt near *Rome*; and for Waterfalls and other Waterworks, exceed them. That which pleas'd us moſt, (having never ſeen the like before) was the Imitation of a Tempeſt, with a Storm of Thunder and Rain, which artificial Thunder they call *Girandola*. We alſo took a View of *Tivoli*, the Ancients *Tibur*, eighteen Miles from *Rome*; how much *Horace* delighted in this Place, is evident out of his Verſes. Its Situation is, as well as *Freſcati*, on the Brow of a Hill overlooking the *Campania* of *Rome*. Here are to be ſeen the Ruins of ancient Temples and other Structures, and a remarkable Waterfall of the River *Aniene* or *Teverone*. And the *Villa* of *Eſte*, for its Gardens, Orchards, Walks, Groves, the *Girandola* and other Waterworks, may compare with thoſe of *Freſcati*. Not above five Miles from *Tivoli*, we paſs'd over the Sulphur River, the Water whereof we found of a bluiſh Colour, and nauſeous Smell, not unlike to that of our Sulphur Well at *Knaresburgh* in *Yorkſhire*; the Channel in which it runs is encruſted with a whitiſh kind of friable ſtony Matter, which being congeal'd in many Places in the Shape of Sugar-plumbs, they call *Confetti de Tivoli*, and ſell them in whole Boxes full at *Rome*. About *Freſcati* we ſaw growing wild Abundance of *Styrax arbor*, which we found no where elſe beyond the Seas.

The *Campania* of *Rome* is generally very fertile, but being marſhy, and full of ſtanding Pools, the Unwholſomneſs of the Air makes that Country but thinly inhabited. One thing more we obſerv'd very well worth mentioning during our Stay at *Rome*, *viz.* that the Water the Servants brought us in froſty Weather to waſh our Hands, was ſo hot, that we thought it had been warm'd on Purpoſe by the Fire; which Phænomenon having been denied by many of our modern Philoſophers, who were not ſatisfied with the *Antiperiſtaſis* of the Ancients, and yet could not give ſufficient Reaſon for it, we thought fit to be ſatisfied of the Truth, by making an ocular Inſpection into the Fountain itſelf, the Water whereof we found of an equal Heat with what was brought us. For the reſt, the frequent Rains that fall hereabouts make in ſome Meaſure Amends for the exceſſive Drought and Heat of the Summer: and as *Rome* has ſufficient to entertain People of all Tempers, ſo it is a Place well fitted for the Reception of Strangers. As for the Inhabitants, they approach now-a-days, in their Furnitures and ſome of their Manners and Cuſtoms, more to the *Engliſh* than any of the *Italians* beſides. To enlarge here upon the Court of *Rome*, the Eccleſiaſtical State and Government, with that of their Churches and Ceremonies, &c. as it would require an entire Volume, ſo without inſiſting any further upon thoſe Particulars, we will proceed in the Account of our Journey.

January 24, 1664. We left *Rome*, and taking our Way towards *Venice* along the *Via Flaminia*, paſs'd the *Tiber* again by the *Ponte Molle (Pons Milvius)* and at ſeven Miles Diſtance from *Rome*, through a ſmall Village called *Prima porta*, which ſome ſuppoſe to have been the ancient Boundary of the City on that Side. From thence we travelled eight Miles further, to *Caſtelnovo*, where we took up our Lodgings. All this Afternoon we kept along the *Tiber*, upon the *Via Flaminia*, which reaches as far as *Rimini*, and is all along pav'd with broad Flints and Pebbles, having on each Side a Border of Stone, and in that Border, at every ſecond or third Pace, a Stone ſtanding above the Level of the Border. In the Fields, as we paſs'd along, we found abundance of vernal Crocuſes in Flower.

Jan. 25. We continued our Journey to *Ariano*, eight Miles, where leaving the *Via Flaminia*, we rode round a high Hill, for nine Miles, to a little Town call'd *Civita Caſtellana*, now ſtanding on a Hill, not far from whence we had a Proſpect of the Duke of *Parma*'s Palace of *Caprarola*, which ſeem'd to be no more than two or three Miles off, but was, as they told us, at leaſt ten or twelve. After we had travell'd four Miles further, we paſs'd the *Tiber* a little below *Borgetto*, over a Bridge called *Ponte Felice*, begun by Pope *Sixtus* V. and finiſhed by *Urban* VIII. At a ſmall Diſtance from the River Side we paſſed under the little Town of *Magliano*, built on the Top of a Hill, and travelling for four Miles along the Bank of the River, came to *Utricoli*, now ſtanding upon a Hill, though the Ruins which remain ſhew the ancient *Ocricoli* to have extended, at leaſt for ſome Part, to the River. From hence we rode, for five Miles, over mountainous and rocky Ways, and a Mile before we reach'd *Narni*, upon the Brink of a moſt dreadful Precipice, extending along the River *Nera*'s ſide. *Narni* (the *Nequinum* of the Ancients) has borrowed its Name from the River *Nar*, which paſſes below that ſteep Rock, upon the Ridge whereof this City is built: It was formerly a *Roman* Colony, and none of the leaſt conſiderable ones, but is now very poor and mean. Here you ſee the Braſs Statue erected in Memory of *Gattamelata*, the famous *Venetian* General, on Horſeback, who was a Native of this Place. Near it you ſee the Ruins of vaſt Stone Arches, which ſome would have to be the Remnants of a Bridge, others of an Aquæduct over the River from one Mountain to another.

Jan. 26. We travell'd thence through a very delightful and fertile Valley, environ'd with Mountains, and well cultivated, to *Terni*, anciently *Interamna*, from its Situation, a neat little City, in the Piazza of which ſtands a Church which ſeems to have been an ancient Temple. About four Miles further is the famous Waterfall from the Lake *di Pie di Luco*. Beyond *Terni*, at the further End of this Valley, and on all the adjacent Hills, we ſaw whole Foreſts of Olive-trees, and the Country People buſy in gathering them. From *Terni* we paſſed over the Mountains to *Tritura*, and thence deſcended to *Spoleto*, the Capital of *Umbria*, thence call'd *Ducato Spoletano*: The Walls of this City are of conſiderable Extent, and the Houſes well built: Here are to be ſeen the Ruins of many ancient Buildings. From hence we paſſed through a moſt ſpacious and pleaſant Valley, encloſ'd with Mountains in the Form of an Amphitheatre, the Valley being planted with Trees and Vines after the Manner of *Lombardy*, and the neighbouring Hills full of little Towns and Houſes. About four Miles ſhort of *Foligno*, we paſſed under *Trevi*, a little Town ſeated on a round Hill. *Foligno (Fulginium)* is a very pleaſant and handſome Town, famous chiefly for Confectioners and good Sweetmeats. Beyond it, at the Extremity of the Valley of *Spoleto*, we ſaw ſuch another Plantation of Olive-trees as before.

Jan. 27. We aſcended from *Foligno* to a Mountain, by a Way cut out of the Rock, having a terrible Precipice on our left, and below a Valley ſurrounded with high and ſteep Hills, into which falls a ſmall River called *Dale*, which drives ſome Paper-Mills. After we had thus travell'd four or five Miles, we reach'd the Top of the *Appennine*, the Mountains round about us being covered with Snow: On the Top we came into a ſmall Plain, having a little Lake or Pool near a Village call'd *Col fiorito*, a very delightful Place in Summer. No ſooner had we paſs'd this Plain, but we began to deſcend, and paſſing through the Village of *Serravalle*, ſituated at the Entrance of a narrow Valley, fourteen Miles from *Foligno*, we continued our Journey through the Mountains, and lodg'd at *Valcimarra*. *Jan.* 28, We travelled thro' *Tolentino*, nine Miles from *Valcimarra*, a pretty little Town, famous for the Birth-place of that great Critick, *Franciſcus Philelphus*, who was the firſt Inventor of the Word *Stapes*, for Stirrops, which had before no Word in *Latin*. From hence we rode on ten Miles to *Macerata*, a large and populous City, the Capital of the *Marca Anconitana*, and Reſidence of the Cardinal Legate. From hence we travel'd thro' *Recanati* to *Loretto*. At *Recanati* we ſaw a Statue in Braſs of the Virgin *Mary* in *Baſſo relievo*, with a Table having an Inſcription upon it giving Thanks to her, that ſhe was pleaſed to ſettle her Houſe in the Territory of this City.

Loretto itſelf is no more than a ſmall City, ſeated upon a Hill, conſiſting only of one Street within the Walls, and ſuch another without, which makes the Suburb: The Church and College of the Canons ſtand at one End of the Street; and before the Church is a ſmall Piazza, having a Cloyſter on one Side, where the Canons have their Lodgings. In the Midſt of the Piazza you ſee a very fair Fountain, and juſt before the Church Door a Braſs Statue of *Sixtus* V. in a ſitting Poſture, with an Inſcription, intimating, that it was he who gave a Biſhop and the Title of a City to *Loretto*. All the Doors of this Church are of Braſs caſt, with ſeveral Hiſtories upon them. The Church is built in Form of a Croſs, with a *Cupola* in the Middle, directly under which you ſee ſtanding, the *Santa Caſa* or *holy Houſe*, encloſ'd in a Caſe of white *Parian* Marble, curiouſly engraven with Figures in *Baſſo relievo*, repreſenting ſeveral Hiſtories, done by the beſt Sculptors of that Age, the full Deſcription of which may be ſeen in *Turſelinus*'s Hiſtory. The Walls of the Houſe itſelf are made of a peculiar kind of Stone (as they would perſuade the World) reſembling Bricks both in their Colour and Figure, but to be found only about *Nazareth*; which, if they could prove to be true, would be the beſt Argument to verify their Aſſertion concerning the Tranſportation of this Houſe from thence; but, in my Opinion, they are real Bricks. But to let the Reader know what Arguments they make uſe of to perſuade the World of the Verity of it, I will here inſert the whole Relation as given by themſelves, which being tranſlated into thirteen Languages, and hung up in the Church, written on as many Tables, runs thus in *Engliſh*.

Ave Domina Angelorum.

The miraculous Origin and Tranſlation of the Church of our Lady of Loretto.

“ The Church of *Loretto* was a Chamber of the bleſſed Virgin nigh *Jeruſalem*, in which ſhe was born and bred, and ſaluted by the Angel, and therein conceiv'd and brought up her Son *Jeſus* to the Age of twelve Years. This Chamber, after the Aſcenſion of our Saviour, was by the Apoſtles conſecrated into a Church in Honour of the bleſſed Lady: And St. *Luke* made a Picture to her, likewiſe extant therein to be ſeen at this very Day. It was frequented with great Devotion by the People of the Country where it ſtood, whilſt they were Catholicks; but when, leaving the Faith of Chriſt, they follow'd the Sect of *Mahomet*, the Angels took it and carried it into *Sclavonia*, and placed it by a Town call'd *Flumen*, where not being had in due Reverence, they again tranſported it over the Sea, to a Wood in the Territory of *Recanati*, belonging to a Noblewoman called *Loretta*, from whence it took the Name of our Lady of *Lo-*

“ *retto*; and thence again they carried it, by Reaſon of the many Robberies committed, to a Mountain of two Brothers in the ſaid Territory: And from thence finally, in Reſpect of their Diſagreement about the Gifts and Offerings, to the common Highway not far diſtant, where it now remains without Foundations, famous for many Signs, Graces, and Miracles; whereat the Inhabitants of *Recanati*, who often came to ſee it, much wondering, environ'd it with a ſtrong and thick Wall; yet could no Man tell whence it came originally, till in the Year 1296, the bleſſed Virgin appear'd in his Sleep to a holy devout Man, to whom ſhe reveal'd it, and he divulg'd it to others of Authority in this Province, who determining forthwith to try the Truth of the Viſion, reſolv'd to chuſe ſixteen Men of Credit, who to that Effect ſhould go all together to the City of *Nazareth*, as they did, carrying with them the Meaſures of this Church, and comparing therewith the Foundation's Remnant, they found them wholly agreeable; and in a Wall thereby engraven, that it ſtood there, and had left the Place. Which done, they preſently returning back, publiſhed the Premiſes to be true; and from that Time forward it hath been certainly known, that this Church was the Chamber of the Virgin *Mary:* To which Chriſtians began then, and have ever ſince had a great Devotion, for that in it daily ſhe hath done and doth many and many Miracles. One *Frere Paul de Sylva*, an Eremite of great Sanctity, who liv'd in a Cottage nigh unto this Church, whither daily he went to Mattins, ſaid, That for ten Years Space, on the eighth of *September*, two Hours before Day, he ſaw a Light deſcend from Heaven upon it, which he ſaid was the bleſſed Virgin, who there ſhew'd herſelf on the Feaſt of her Nativity. In Confirmation of all which, two virtuous Men of the City of *Recanati* divers times declar'd unto the Prefect of *Terreman*, and Governor of the aforemention'd Church, as followeth: The one, called *Paul Renaiduci*, avouch'd, That his Grandfather ſaw when the Angels brought it over the Sea, placed it in the aforementioned Wood, and had often viſited it there: The other, call'd *Francis Prior*, in like Sort affirm'd, that his Grandfather's Grandfather being 120 Years old, had alſo much frequented it in the ſame Place; and for further Proof that it had been there, he reported, that his Grandfather's Grandfather had a Houſe nigh unto it, wherein he dwelt; and that in his Time it was carried by the Angels from thence to the Mountain of the two Brothers, where they placed it as aboveſaid.”

By order of the Right Reverend Monſigor *Vincent Caſſal* of *Bolognia*, Governor of this Holy Place, under Protection of the moſt Reverend Cardinal *Moroni.*

I *Robert Codrington*, Prieſt of the Society of *Jeſus* in the Year 1634. have faithfully tranſlated the Premiſes out of the *Latin* Original hanging in the ſaid Church.

To the Honour of the ever-glorious Virgin.

29. From *Loretto* we travel'd, *Jan.* the 30th, to *Ancona*, a populous City much frequented by Merchants, by Reaſon of the Conveniency of its Harbour, which formerly was the beſt in all the Gulph, but is much decayed of late. Here we took particular Notice of the Ruins of the Stones which ſecur'd the ancient Port, where you ſee that renown'd triumphal Arch of white *Parian* Marble, erected to *Trajan* by order of the Senate: The Stones are of a vaſt Bigneſs.

The *Statua equeſtris* of *Trajan*, which formerly ſtood on the Top of this Arch, is remov'd thence, and ſet up over the Gate of the Exchange. Here we were alſo entertain'd with a Diſh of Shelfiſh, of a very pleaſant Taſte, call'd *Pholades* in *Latin*, becauſe they live in Holes within a ſoft kind of Stone, or rather Clay, which being found in great Plenty at Sea, if expos'd to the Air becomes in Time a perfect Stone: The *Italians* call theſe Stones *Balle di Saſſo*, and the Fiſh *Ballare* or *Dattyli de mare.*

Jan. 31. We continued our Journey along the Sea-coaſt for twenty Miles, to *Sinigaglia*, (anciently *Sena Gallica)* a ſmall Harbour for Barges, but well fortified.

From hence we ſtill paſs'd along the Sea-ſhore for fifteen Miles further to *Fano*, (anciently *Fanum Fortunæ*) a large and well fortified City: Here is a triumphal Arch erected in Honour of *Auguſtus*, which being ſomewhat broken and defaced, they have in the Wall by ſet a Model of it, as it was entire.

Here was the ancient Temple of *Fortune*, now the Church of the *Auguſtine* Friars, the Braſs Statue of *Fortune*, which was there ador'd, ſtanding yet in the Palace. The City is govern'd by a Senate, conſiſting of ſeventy Gentlemen, chang'd every third or fourth Year, but the Governor of the Pope directs all Matters of Moment. This City is by ſome accounted the beſt ſituated of any in *Italy*.

Feb. 1. We continued our Journey ſeven Miles along the Shore to *Peſaro*, a very fine City, with a ſtately Piazza ſurrounded with fair Buildings, and many Stones with ancient Inſcriptions. The Harbour is almoſt choak'd up, but the Caſtle and Fortifications in tolerable Repair. From hence croſſing the Country, we paſs'd through the Village of *Catolica*, ten Miles from *Peſaro*, and from thence along the Sea-ſhore for the moſt Part, till within two or three Miles of *Rimini*, when leaving the Shore, we took the *Via Flaminia*. The Buildings of the City of *Rimini* are low, but neat, with regular ſtrait Streets. Within the Walls of it, we paſs'd under a high Stone Arch erected to *Tiberius*, or according to *Schottus* to *Auguſtus Cæſar*; the Inſcription was much defac'd. In the Piazza they ſhew'd us the Stone on which *Cæſar* ſtood when he made his Speech to the Soldiers, when he was preparing to march to *Rome:* Theſe modern Inſcriptions are engraven upon it:

> *C. Cæſar Dict. Rubicone ſuperato civili bell. commilit. ſuos hic in foro Ar. adlocut.*
>
> *Suggeſtum hunc vetuſtate collapſum Coſſ. Ariminenſium Novembris & Decembr.* MDV. *Reſtit.*

In another Piazza ſtands a Braſs Statue of Pope *Paul* V. It being Carnival Time, we ſaw the Gentlemen here diverting themſelves with Tilting, but they did not run at one another, but at a Puppet of Straw, which they call *Bamboccio.*

Feb. 2. We made a ſmall Excurſion to St. *Marino*, a ſmall City and Commonwealth ſeated on the Top of a very high Hill, about ten Miles from *Rimini*, the Inhabitants boaſting, That they have maintain'd their Liberty uncorrupted for above a 1000 Years. All its Territories are included in one Mountain about three Miles in Length, and nine or ten in Circumference, containing four Villages, viz. *Serravalle*, *Fietano*, *Monte Giardino*, and *Fiorentino*; about eight Corn-mills upon the little River *Canova*, and two Powder-mills. The Arms of this petty Commonwealth are, three Towers upon a Mountain, with this Motto underneath, *Libertas perpetua.* The Suburb of St. *Marin* is at the Foot of the ſame Hill, whereupon the City is built; here they keep a weekly Market every *Wedneſday*, eſpecially for Swine, of which ſometimes 5000 are ſold in a Day, paying no more than Sixpence Toll for every Drove, whether large or ſmall. Beſides theſe weekly Markets, they have four great Fairs every Year, the chief of which is on St. *Bartholomew*'s Day, where prodigious Quantities of Cattle are ſold, to the no ſmall Diſguſt of ſome of the neighbouring Princes, whoſe Cuſtoms are conſiderably impair'd thereby. At this Fair they keep a general Muſter of all their Forces. From this Suburb up to the City are two Aſcents, the one pretty eaſy, and winding about to the furthermoſt Gate, by which Coaches may upon an Occaſion get up; the other leading to the nearer Gate being very ſteep. The City is wall'd on one Side, the other lying at the Brow of a Precipice, being defended by three Towers in a

Row; and the Hill, even on that Side where the Walls ſtands, is ſo ſteep, that it is inacceſſible, except by the Aſcents; neither are there any Hills near it, except what are much lower than that whereon the City ſtands. The Streets of the City are narrow, and their Houſes but meanly built; they have two Cloyſters within the Walls, one belonging to the Diſcalcate *Franciſcans*, the other to the Nuns of the Order of St. *Clara*, and in the Suburb a Convent of the *Capuchins*; beſides that, the *Servitæ* have a very fair Monaſtery not above a Mile from the City, which has its own Biſhop, and has always a Protector at *Rome*, who at preſent is Cardinal *Berberini*, whom they ſometimes preſent with ſome Cheeſes and *Muſcatella* Wine, which grows very well hereabouts, and is in great Eſteem with the *Italian* Nobility. They have no Cows, but Goats and Sheep in Abundance. Their Government is adminiſtred by a Council of forty five, which they call *Corpo di Prencipe*; of theſe fifteen are Gentlemen, (of which they have about twenty Families) fifteen Artiſans and fifteen Countrymen, who continue for their Lives, and when one dies, another is choſen in his Stead, by two thirds of the Votes; in the Place of a Gentleman, a Gentleman, and ſo with the reſt.

Feb. 3. We left *Rimini*, and taking our Way to *Ravenna*, paſſed that renown'd Bridge over the River *Rimino*, begun by *Auguſtus*, but brought to Perfection by *Tiberius*, the Stones of which, they ſay, are join'd together without any Cement: Certain it is, that the Sides of it are of vaſt Stones as high as the Borders, and of a proportionable Breadth, without any Mortar or Cement betwixt them that I could ſee: It has a large Inſcription, intimating when and by whom it was built. About fifteen Miles from *Rimini* we paſs'd through *Seſenatico*, and fifteen Miles further thro' *Cervia*, a poor City, having nothing to boaſt on but the Title of an Archbiſhop's See. All the Way from *Cervia*, till within two or three Miles of *Ravenna*, we travel'd near a vaſt Pinewood on the right Hand of us, call'd *Pigneda*, and, if we may credit *Schottus*, bears Fruit enough to ſerve all *Italy*. The City of *Ravenna* lies encloſ'd betwixt two Rivers, *viz.* the *Bedeſis* and *Montone*, one running on one, and the ſecond on the other Side. It is of a great Circumference, but meanly built: It has five Gates, and an old Caſtle of Brick, and three fair Convents, *viz.* the *Claſſe*, belonging to the *Monachi Claſſenſes*; the ſecond call'd the *Porto*, from its being dedicated to St. *Maria Portuenſis*, belonging to the *Canonici regulares Lateranenſes*; and the third to the *Benedictine* Monks, dedicated to St. *Vitale*, the Church of the laſt being a double Octagon, the one concentrical to and encloſ'd within the other; they ſay it was built by *Juſtinian*. Theſe Monks ſhewed us alſo two Marble Pillars, adding that the *Venetians* had offer'd their Weight in Silver for them: They were produced at firſt by an Heap of ſmall Flints or Pebbles united into one Body by a Cement petrified as hard as the Flints themſelves, and capable of Politure, which Cement, it is probable, might be the Sediment of the ſame Stones mixt with a Fluid, and ſeparated from thence. I have ſeen the like in the Library at *Zurick*, and at *Verona*, in our Ladies Chapel, in the Garden of Signior *Horatio Giuſti*. To the ſame Convent alſo belongs the little round Church (call'd the *Rotunda*) of the Virgin *Mary*, a Quarter of a Mile without the City, the Roof whereof being fourteen ordinary Paces in Diameter, yet is made of one Stone, having in the midſt a round Hole to let in the Light: Upon the Top of this Church ſtood in former Ages the Monument of *Theodoricus* a *Gothick* King, of Porphyry, who is ſuppoſ'd to have built it; this Monument is as yet to be ſeen in the Wall of the Monaſtery of the *Succolanti* or barefooted *Franciſcans*, with this Inſcription:

> *Vos hoc Porphyriacum ol. Theodorici Gottor. imp. cineres in Rotundæ apice recondens, huc Petro Donato Cæſio Narnien. præſule favente tranſlatum ad perennem memoriam Sapientes Reip. Rav. PP. C. MDLXIII.*

This Convent is one of the faireſt I met with belonging to this Order; and their Church dedicated to St. *Apollinaris* is remarkable, both for the double Row of Marble Pillars brought from *Conſtantinople* by *Theodoricus*, and the ancient *Moſaick* Work in the Walls: Of the ſame *Moſaick* Work we ſaw the Figures of the Archbiſhops of *Ravenna* in the Cathedral, eleven of them having a Dove ſtanding upon their Heads, being choſen by a Dove alighting upon their Heads, if we will credit *Schottus*. Not far from the Convent of the *Franciſcans* you ſee the Arch erected in Memory of the famous Poet *Dante*, with his Effigies under it, and two Inſcriptions in *Latin* Verſe underneath, ſaid to have been made by himſelf, but ſo ſlenderly done, that had he not compos'd better in *Italian*, he could ſcarce have challeng'd a Place among the famous Poets. This City has ſcarce any Thing to boaſt of now but its Antiquity, being very ill peopled, ill ſerv'd with Fiſh, notwithſtanding its Vicinity to the Sea, ill provided with Inns, and worſe with Water, which verifies the old Saying of the Poet, *Sit ciſterna mihi quam vinea malo Ravennæ*, the Water being all brackiſh. In this Journey from *Rome* to *Venice* we were very ſenſible of the Difference in the Air on both Sides of the *Appennine* Mountains, being very warm on the other, whereas on this Side we found it as cold as it is in Winter with us, which that it proceeded not from any Change of Weather, we were ſufficiently aſſur'd of; not only by Enquiry, but alſo becauſe we found Snow lying in many Places in the low Grounds, which was melted even on the Hills of the other Side: The true Reaſon of it, I think is the Heighth of this Ridge of Mountains; which reaching above the lower Region of the Air where the Sun-beams are reflected, hinders the Mixture of the warm Southerly and Weſtern, with the cold Northerly and Eaſterly Air; and ſtops the free Paſſage of the South and Weſt Winds on one Hand, which would carry the warm Vapours into the other Part, as they prevent the cold North and Eaſt Winds from tempering the Heat beyond theſe Mountains; in the ſame Manner as ſome Travellers relate of a certain mountainous Ridge in the *Eaſt-Indies*, on one Side whereof it is Summer when it is Winter on the other.

Feb. 5. We travelled from *Ravenna* along the Bank of the River *Montone*, till within four or five Miles of *Faenza*, which is twenty long Miles from *Ravenna*. *Faenza* is a little neat City, ſurrounded with a ſtrong brick Wall, but ſomewhat out of Repair; it is famous for the beſt Earthen Ware in *Italy*. On St. *Thomas*'s Day yearly all the Gentlemen meet to chuſe Magiſtrates, *viz.* nine Senators and a Preſident whom they ſtile Prior for every Month, ſo that they have twelve different Senates throughout the Year. From hence we travell'd ten Miles to *Imola*, half a Mile ſhort of which we ferried over the River *Senio*. *Imola (Forum Cornelii)* is not ſo big as *Faenza*, yet has a fair Piazza with a Cloyſter on one Side. From hence we continued our Journey upon the *Via Æmilia* to *Bologna*, *Feb.* 6. Here they have a Way of boiling their Wines, to keep them better than if left cold. The firſt, which they call *Vino Cotto*, appear'd to us much ſtronger than the other which they call *Vino Crudo*.

Feb. 7. Taking the *Florentine* Procaccio's Boat to *Venice*, we paſſed through nine *Soſtegni* or Locks to *Mal Albergo*, where we ſhifted our Boat, going down from a higher to a lower Channel, which brought us to *Ferrara*, forty five Miles diſtant from *Bologna*. From *Ferrara* we were tow'd by a Horſe through an artificial Channel as far as *Ponte*, where entring the River *Po*, we chang'd our Boat again, and were row'd down the Stream twenty ſeven Miles to *Corbola*, where entring the *Venetian* Territories, we were obliged once more to change in Order to take a *Venetian* Boat. We had ſcarce gone two or three Miles further down the *Po*, when ſtriking into a Channel to the Left, we paſſed a Sluice near *Loreo*, and proceeding fifteen Miles further, paſs'd near to *Chioza*, and *Paleſtrina*, a large Place built among the *Lagune*, ſtanding upon the *Lido*, entring into the *Laguns* at the Haven of *Malamocco*, and arrived at *Venice*, *Feb.* 9. of which we have given an Account already.

March 13. We ſet out from *Venice*, on our Journey to *Geneva*, taking our Way through *Rhætia* and *Switzerland*. To *Meſtre* we went ſeven Miles by Boat, from thence twelve Miles further by Coach to *Treviſo*, where taking Horſe, we ſpent two Days and a half in travelling to *Trent*, being eighty Miles. The firſt Day, after twelve Miles riding, we paſſed through *C. Franco*, and thence through a fair champaign Country to *Baſſano*, a handſome City upon the River *Brenta*, where there are Abundance of Silk-weavers. No ſooner were we paſs'd *Baſſano*, but we came among the Mountains, extending for fourteen Miles along the River-ſide: We lodg'd that Night at *Pont Sigiſmund.* The ſecond Day we ſtill kept along the Bank of the River, and about two Miles from *Pont Sigiſmund*, paſſed thro' a Gate, where we paid the firſt Duty to the Duke of *Inſpruck.* At this Paſs we ſaw, hewn out of the Rock, a ſmall Caſtle called *Cauolo*, unto which there is no Avenues, both the Soldiers that keep Garriſon there, and their Proviſions, being drawn up by Ropes and Pullies. It has a Fountain of Freſh Water in it, and belongs to the Archduke of *Inſpruck*, though the *Venetian* Territories extend four or five Miles beyond it. After having travelled ſixteen Miles further, we came to a ſmall Town called *Borgo*; and thirteen Miles more, to a rich and populous Borough called *Berzine*, not above five Miles on this Side *Trent.* Upon the River *Brenta* we ſaw divers Saw-mills, and Abundance of Timber floating down the Streams; and as ſoon as we enter'd the Mountains, we found Stoves inſtead of Chimneys.

30. *March* 16. We got to *Trent* in very good Time, a little but handſome City, ſeated upon the River *Atheſis* or *Adda*, at the Foot of the Mountains which almoſt ſurround it, were it not for the Valley where the River runs. It belongs to the Archduke of *Inſpruck*, but the Inhabitants ſpeak *Italian.* On the Front of the Choir is to be ſeen the following Inſcription, giving a ſhort Account of the Council held in this City.

Sacroſanctum poſtremum Oecumenicum generale Concilium fuit in hæc celeberrima civitate celebratum; & quidem ſub Papa *Paulo* III. Anno MDXLV, 13 Decembris pro felice Inchoatione fuit facta Proceſſio generalis per totam Urbem, ab Eccleſia Sanctiſſimæ Trinitatis ad hanc Eccleſiam Cathedralem, quâ finitâ primus Cardinalis Præſidens, qui poſtea fuit Papa *Julius* III. [prout etiam alter Card. Præſidens fuit Papa *Marcellus* II. nominatus] in hoc loco eminentiore, tunc magis amplo, ad celebrandum Concilium & Seſſiones faciendas deputato, ad altare S. & glorioſiſſimi Martyris *Vigilii* hujus Eccleſiæ patroni celebravit miſſam de Spiritu S. Ac reliquis ceremonis peractis fuerunt ſub *D. Paulo* III. celebratæ octo publicæ Seſſiones cum decretis, & aliæ tres ob vaſtam peſtem in hac Urbe graſſantam *Bononiæ*, ubi nihil fuit decretum, Anno MDXLVII. Poſtea ceſſante peſte & Bellis fuit reductum hoc Concilium, & in hoc eodem loco fuerunt ſub Papa *Julio* III. celebratæ aliæ publicæ ſex Seſſiones cum Decretis Annis 1551, 1552, quibus interfuerunt tres Sereniſſimi Principes Eccleſiaſtici, S. R. I. Electores Archiepiſcopi, *Moguntinus*, *Treverenſis*, *Colonienſis*, 1 Die Septemb. 1551. hanc urbem ingreſſi; prout etiam Sereniſſimus Elector Brandenburgenſis duos oratores huc ablegavit. Demum ſub Papa *Pio* IV. Anno 1561. & 1563. fuerunt celebratæ ultimæ novem publicæ Seſſiones cum Decretis in Eccleſia S. *Mariæ* majoris hujus Urbis, iſtius Eccleſiæ Reverendiſſimo Capitulo incorporata, ſicuti etiam Eccleſia S. Petri. Et nihilominus ad pedes Sanctiſſimi Crucifixi tum in hoc loco exiſtentis & nunc alio tranſlati pro Decretorum corroboratione ſemper fuerunt publicati omnia dicti Concilii Decreta. Interfuerant ſub dictis ſummis Pontificibus celebrationi Cardinales Legati 13, inter quos *Chriſtophorus Madrucius*; Non Legati 4. inter quos *Ludovicus Madrucius*: Oratores Principum totius Europæ 29: Patriarchæ 3: Archiepiſcopi 33: Inter quos Archiepiſcopus Roſſanienſis, qui poſtea fuit *Urbanus* VII. nominatus: Epiſcopi 233: Abbates 18: Generales Ordinum 12: Theologiæ Doctores 148: Procuratores 18: Officiales Concilii 3: Cantores 9: Notarii 4: Curſores Papæ 2.

Sacroſancto Spiritu S. omnium Conciliorum directori ſacratiſſima Die Penticoſtes, Anno 1639. dicatum.

The Inclinations, Manners, and Cuſtoms of the Italians.

31. The *Italians* are, by the general Confeſſion of all that write of them, ingenious, apprehenſive of any thing, and quick-witted. *Barclay*, who is not too favourable to them in the Character he gives them, ſaith, they have *animum rerum omnium capacem*; and again, that there is Nothing ſo difficult *ad quod Italici acuminis præſtantia non tollatur.* They are patient and aſſiduous in any thing they ſet about or deſire to learn, never giving over till they maſter it, and attain the Perfection of it. They are a ſtill, quiet People, as being naturally melancholy, of a middle Temper, between the faſtuous Gravity of the *Spaniard*, and unquiet Levity of the *French*, agreeing very well with the *Engliſh*, as the *Scots* are obſerved to do with the *French*, and *Spaniards* with the *Iriſh.* They are very faithful and loving to their Friends, mindful of a Courteſy received, and if it lies in their Way or Power, for one good Turn will do you two. This I had from a very intelligent Perſon, who hath lived and converſed long enough among them to know them thoroughly. *Barclay* himſelf confeſſeth, that where they do truly love, *omnia Diſcrimina habent infra tam humani fœderis Sanctitatem*; underſtand it of the better Sort; for Shop-keepers and Tradeſmen are falſe and fraudulent enough, and Inn-keepers, Carriers, Watermen and Porters, as in other Places, horribly exacting, if you make not an explicit Bargain with them before-hand, in ſo much that in many Places the State hath thought it neceſſary, by publick *Bando* and Decree, to determine how much Inn-keepers ſhall receive of Travellers for their Dinner, and for their Supper and Lodging. They are not eaſily provoked, but will bear long with one another, and more with Strangers than their own Countrymen. They are alſo very careful to avoid all Occaſions of Quarrel, not to ſay or do any thing that may offend any Perſon, eſpecially not to abuſe any one by Jeſting or Drollery, which they do not like, nor can eaſily bear. No People in *Europe* are more ſcrupulous and exact in obſerving all the *Punctilio*'s of Civility and good Breeding, (*bella Creanza* they call it) only methinks the Epithets they beſtow upon mean Perſons are ſomewhat extravagant, not to ſay ridiculous, as when they ſtile a Mechanick or common Tradeſman, *Signor molto magnifico*, and the like; when they are in Company together, they do not only give every Man his Turn of Speaking, but alſo attend till he hath done, accounting it a Piece of very ill Breeding to interrupt any Man in his Diſcourſe, as hating to be interrupted themſelves; contrary to the Manner of the *French* and *Dutch*, who make no Scruple of interrupting one another, and ſometimes talk all together. As careful are they not to whiſper privately one to another, when in Company, or to talk in an unknown Language which all the Company underſtands not. They do alſo ſhew their Civility to Strangers in not ſo much as aſking them what Religion they are of, avoiding all unneceſſary Diſputes about that Subject, which are apt to engender Quarrels; which Thing we could not but take Notice of, becauſe in *France* you ſhall ſcarce exchange three Words with any Man before he aſks you that Queſtion.

It is not eaſy for a Stranger to get Acquaintance and Familiarity with the *Italians*, they not much delighting to converſe with Strangers as not knowing their Humours and Cuſtoms; yet is their Converſation, when gotten, pleaſant and agreeable, their Diſcourſe profitable, and Carriage obliging. Moſt of them, even of the ordinary Sort of People, will diſcourſe intelligently about politick Affairs, and the Government and Intereſt of their own Country, being much addicted to and delighted in politick Studies and Diſcourſes. Moſt of them are very covetous of Liberty, eſpecially ſuch Cities as have been formerly Common-wealths, Diſcourſes or Treatiſes of that Subject making deep Impreſſions on their Minds; ſo that in ſome Places, not only Books, but alſo Diſcourſes about former Revolutions, are prohibited. *Barclay* alſo ſaith, that they are *glorioſæ Libertatis cupidi, cujus adhuc imaginem vident.* Hence the Princes of *Italy* build ſo many Caſtles and Citadels in their Territories, not ſo much to defend themſelves againſt their Enemies, as to bridle their Subjects, and ſecure themſelves againſt Tumults and Inſurrections. A ſtrange thing it is, that of all the People of *Italy*, the *Neapolitans*, who never taſted the Sweetneſs of Liberty, nor mended their Condition by their Commotions, but always (as we ſay) *leap'd out of the Frying-pan into the Fire*, ſhould be the moſt tumultuous, and given to rebel againſt their Princes.

Leti tells us of one of thoſe petty ſubordinate Princes of *Naples*, called *Thomaſo Ferrari*, who governed his Subjects, not like Vaſſals, but with that Sweetneſs and Gentleneſs, as if they had been his own Children; yet ſome of theſe Fellows taking Arms, came into his Preſence, and ſaid to him, *Sir Prince, We are come to drive you out of your Palace, and burn all your Moveables.* Why, (anſwers the Prince) *Can you find Fault with my Government? Are you aggrieved in any Thing, and it ſhall be redreſſed?* No, (replied they) *But becauſe we underſtand that many of our Countrymen have revolted from their Lords, we alſo, to ſhew that we love Revolutions, are reſolved to rebel againſt you.* The *Italians* are greatly delighted in Pictures, Statues, and Muſick, from the higheſt to the loweſt of them, and ſo intemperately fond of theſe Things, that they will give any Price for a choice Picture or Statue.

Tho' all of them cannot paint or play on Inſtruments of Muſick, yet do they all affect Skill and Judgment in both; and this Knowledge is enough to denominate a Man a *Virtuoſo*. Many of them are alſo curious in collecting ancient Coins and Medals. They are great Admirers of their own Language, and ſo wholly given to cultivate, poliſh, and enrich; that, they do in a great Meaſure neglect the *Latin*, few of them now a Days ſpeaking or writing well therein, but mingling ſo many *Italian* Idiotiſms with it, that you have much ado to underſtand what they ſpeak or write. As for the *Greek* few or none have any tolerable Skill in it, the Study thereof being generally neglected and laid aſide. They are very temperate in their Diet, eating a great deal of Sallet, and but little Fleſh. Their Wine they drink well diluted with Water, and ſeldom to any Exceſs. We ſaw only one *Italian* drunk for the Space of a Year and half, that we ſojourned in *Italy*.

Whether it be, that in hot Countries Men have not ſo good Stomachs as in Cold, or whether Meat, as being better concocted, nouriſhes more, or that the *Italians* are out of Principle, Temper or Cuſtom more ſober and temperate than other Nations. Their Herbs ſeemed to me more ſavoury and better concocted than ours. Their Water alſo was not ſo crude. But for Fleſh, ours in my Judgment, much excels theirs, being much more ſucculent and ſapid; yet in *Rome* have I eaten Beef not inferior to ours. But I ſuppoſe it might be of *German* Oxen; of which (as we were informed) there are many driven thither, and for ſucking Veal, the *Romans* (as we have already noted) think theirs preferable to any in the World. The *Italians*, eſpecially thoſe of inferior Quality, are in all things very ſparing and frugal, whether it be becauſe they are ſo educated and accuſtomed, or becauſe the Gabels and Taxes, which they pay to their Governors are ſo great, that they cannot afford to ſpend much on themſelves, or becauſe, naturally loving their Eaſe, they had rather live nearly than take much Pains.

The Nobility and great Perſons chooſe rather to ſpend their Revenues in building fair Palaces, and adorning them with Pictures and Statues; in making ſtately and ſpacious Orchards, Gardens and Walks, in keeping Coaches and Horſes, and a great Retinue of Servants and Staffieir, than in keeping great Houſes and plentiful Tables, giving board-Wages to their Servants and Attendants, which, in my Opinion, is the better Way of ſpending Eſtates, theſe Things finding poor People Employment, ſo that the Money comes to be diſtributed among them according to their Induſtry; whereas the other Way maintain'd in Idleneſs ſuch Perſons for the moſt part as leaſt deſerve Relief, thoſe that are modeſt and deſerving chooſing rather (if poſſible they can) to maintain themſelves and their Families by the Labour of their Hands, than hang about great Houſes for a Meal's Meat. Beſides that, great Houſekeeping is very often, not to ſay always, the Occaſion of great Diſorder and Intemperance. Were I therefore God's Steward for a great Eſtate, (for ſuch all rich Men are or ought to be) I ſhould think it more Charity to employ poor People, and give them Money for their Work, than to diſtribute my Eſtate among them freely, and ſuffer them to live in Idleneſs: I mean ſuch as are able to labour.

The inferior Gentry affect to appear in Publick with as much Splendor as they can, and will deny themſelves many Satisfactions at Home, that they may be able to keep a Coach, and therein make the *Tour à la mode* about the Streets of their City every Evening. The *Italians* when they call, ſpeak to, or of one another, uſe only the Chriſtian Name, as, *Signor Giacomo, Signor Giovanni, &c.* unleſs it be for Diſtinction's Sake; ſo that you may converſe among them perchance ſome Months, before you hear any Man's Sirname mentioned. The *Italian* Gentry live for the moſt part in the Cities, whence it is that the Cities are ſo ſplendid and well built, ſo populous and rich, and the Country ſo poor and thinly inhabited; yet are the Noblemen's Palaces rather great and ſtately than commodious for Habitation.

In many Cities the Paper Windows (which are for the moſt Part tattered and broken) diſgrace the Buildings, being unſuitable to their Magnificence. The Houſes are generally built of Stone, thick wall'd and high roof'd, which makes them warm in Winter, and cool in Summer, but they contrive them rather for Coolneſs than Warmth, and therefore they make the Windows large to give them Air enough. Of the Gentry in *Italy*, eſpecially in *Venice*, if there be many Brothers of one Houſe, only one uſually marries, and that the eldeſt if he pleaſes; if he be not diſpoſed, then any other, as they can agree among themſelves, the reſt do what they can to greaten him that is married to uphold the Family. The Brothers that marry not keep Concubines or Whores, which, tho' it be a Sin, yet their Confeſſors can eaſily abſolve them of it.

In moſt of the Cities and Towns of *Italy* there are *Academies* or Societies of *Virtuoſi*, who have at ſet Times their Meetings and Exerciſes, which are for the moſt Part Proluſions of Wit and Rhetoric, or Diſcourſes about moral Subjects, curious Queſtions, and Problems or Paradoxes, ſometimes extemporary, ſometimes premeditated. Theſe have their Head, whom they call Prince, and a certain Number of Academiſts who are choſen by Ballotting, but they ſeldom refuſe any that offer themſelves to Election. Many of theſe Academies aſſume to themſelves conceited or fanciful Names, and take a ſuitable *Impreſs* or Coat of Arms; as for Example, the *Academiſts* of *Bergamo* call themſelves *Excitati*, and their Impreſs is the Picture of the Morning. In *Mantua*, the Academiſts called *Acceſi*, have taken for their Emblem, a Looking Glaſs, reflecting the Sunbeams; thoſe called *Timidi*, a Hare. As for the other Cities of *Italy*; in *Rome* there are three *Academies*, the *Humouriſti*, the *Lyncei* and the *Fantaſtici*: In *Padua*, three; the *Ricovartia Infiammati* and *Incogniti*: In *Bologna*, three; *Ardenti*, *Indomiti* and one *Innominate*: In *Venice*, two; *Diſcordanti* and *Guſſoni*: In *Naples*, two; *Ardenti* and *Intronati*: In *Luca*, two; *Oſcuri* and *Freddi*: In *Florence*, *la Cruſca*: In *Sienna*, *Intronati*: In *Genoa*, *Addormentati*: In *Vicenza*, *Olympici*: In *Parma*, *Innominati*: In *Pavia*, *Affidati*: In *Milan*, *Naſcoſti*: In *Ferrara*, *Elevati*: In *Rimini*, *Adagiata*: In *Cecena*, *Offuſcati*: In *Ancona*, *Caliginoſi*: In *Fabriano*, *Diſunito*: In *Perugia*, *Inſenſati*: In *Viterbo*, *Oſtinati*: In *Breſcia*, *Occulti*: In *Faenza*, *Philoponni*: In *Treviſo*, *Perſeveranti*: In *Fermo*, *Raffrontati*: In *Verona*, *Philarmonici*: In *Macerata*, *Catenati*: In *Aleſſandria*, *Immobili*: In *Urbino*, *Aſſorditi*.

Moſt of the *Italians* of any Faſhion wear black or dark colour'd Cloaths, and for the Faſhion of them follow the *French*, but not too haſtily, excepting thoſe Countries which are ſubject to the King of *Spain*, which uſe the *Spaniſh* Habit. As for their Vices, they are chiefly taxed for three. 1. *Revenge*, they thinking it an ignoble and unmannerly Thing to put up or paſs by any Injury or Affront. Many Times alſo they diſſemble or conceal their Diſpleaſure and Hatred under Pretence of Friendſhip, that they may more eaſily revenge themſelves of whom they hate, by poiſoning, aſſaſſinating, or any other Way; for nothing will ſatisfy them, but the Death of thoſe who have injured them; and there are Bravo's and Cut-throats ready to murther any Man for a ſmall Piece of Money. Beſides, which is worſt of all, they are implacable, and by no Means to be truſted, when they ſay, they pardon. Hence they have a Proverb among them, *Amicitie reconciliate & meneſtre riſcaldate non furono mai grate.* The Women alſo provoke their Children to revenge the Death of their Fathers, by ſhewing them the Weapon wherewith they were murthered, or Cloaths dip'd in their Blood, or the like; by which Means Feuds between Families are maintained and entailed from Generation to Generation. Theſe are the Qualities for which we uſually ſay an *Engliſhman Italianate* is a Devil incarnate. 2. *Luſt*, to which the Inhabitants of hot Countries are, by the Temper of their Bodies, inclined. Hence it is that all Cities and great Towns do ſo ſwarm with Courtezans and Harlots; and, to avoid worſe Evils, the State is neceſſitated to give them publick Toleration and Protection. As for maſculine Venery and other Works of Darkneſs, I ſhall not charge the *Italians* with them, as not having ſufficient Ground ſo to do, and becauſe, (as *Barclay* ſaith) *Hæc ſcelera tenebris damnata & negari facilius à conſciis poſſunt, & ab æmulis fingi.* 3. *Jealouſy*, which ſtrangely poſſeſſes this People; ſo that for every little Suſpicion they will ſhut up their Wives in a Chamber, and carry the Key with them, not ſuffering them to ſtir Abroad, unleſs themſelves accompany them. To ſalute an *Italian*'s Wife with a Kiſs is a ſtabbing Matter; and to call a Man *Cornuto*, or Cuckold in good Earneſt, is the greateſt Affront or Diſgrace you can put upon him. The married Women in *Italy*, by this Means, have but bad Lives, being for the moſt Part confined to their Houſes, except when they go to Church, and then they have an old Woman attending them; the Doors of their Houſes ſhut up at Dinner and Supper; all Viſits and familiar Diſcourſes with Men denied them; neither can they ſpeak or ſmile without Suſpicion. One Reaſon of this, among others, may be, becauſe the Huſbands knowing themſelves to be ſo diſhoneſt, and falſe to their Wives, they preſume, that had they Opportunity, they would not be more true to them. And yet for all this Guarding and Circumſpection, are not the *Italian* Dames more uncorrupt than the Matrons of other Nations, but find Means to deceive their Huſbands, and be diſhoneſt in Spight of Jealouſy.

To theſe I might add *Swearing*, which is ſo ordinary among all Sorts, the Prieſts and Monks themſelves ſcarce abſtaining from Oaths, that I believe they account it no Sin. It is a general Cuſtom all over *Italy* to ſleep an Hour or two after Dinner, in Summertime; ſo that from Two of the Clock till Four in the Afternoon, you ſhall ſcarce ſee any body ſtirring about the Streets of the Cities. Indeed if one ſits ſtill it is very hard to keep his Eyes open at that Time. Either this Cuſtom did not prevail when the School of *Salerno* wrote their Phyſick Precepts, or that Direction *Sit breves aut nullus tibi Somnus meridianus*, was calculated for *England*, to whoſe King that Book was dedicated. And yet ſtill the *Italian* Phyſicians adviſe People, either not to ſleep at all after Dinner, or, if they muſt ſleep, to ſtrip off their Cloaths and go to Bed, but only to take a Nod in their Chair ſitting.

In many Cities of *Italy* are Hoſpitals where Pilgrims and poor Travellers are entertained, and have their Diet and Lodging for three Days, if they have Reaſon to ſtay ſo long, *gratis*, beſides a Piece of Money when they go away. There are Hoſpitals alſo to receive expoſed Children, if I may ſo term them, that is, without any Exception, that ſhall be brought and put in at a Grate on purpoſe, where, upon ringing a Bell, an Officer comes preſently and receives the Child, and aſking the Party that brought it, Whether it hath been baptized? carries it to a Nurſe to give it Suck, and there it is maintained till it be grown up. The Place where it is put in is ſo ſtrait, as to admit only Children new born, or very young. This I look upon as a good Inſtitution in great Cities, taking away from Women the Temptation of Murthering their new-born Children, or deſtroying their Conception in the Womb to hide their Shame. I know what may be objected againſt it, *viz.* That it emboldens them to play the wanton, having ſo fair a Way of concealing it, *ſed ex malis minimum.* In *Rome*, *Venice*, and ſome other Cities of *Italy*, they have a Way of exerciſing Charity, little uſed among us; ſeveral Confraternities of well-diſpoſed Perſons raiſe Sums of Money by a free Contribution among themſelves, which they beſtow yearly in Portions for the marrying of poor Maids, which elſe might want Huſbands, and be tempted to diſhoneſt Practices to maintain themſelves.

This I look upon as a well-plac'd Alms, and worthy of Imitation, it being very convenient, and in a Manner neceſſary, that new-married People ſhould have ſomewhat to furniſh their Houſes and begin the World with, and no leſs fitting that young Perſons ſhould be encouraged to marry, as well for multiplying of People, wherein the Strength of the Common-wealth chiefly conſiſts, as for the preventing thoſe Evils to which young and ſingle Perſons are ſtrongly tempted and inclined. It is a troubleſome Thing to travel with Fire-arms in *Italy*, you being forced in moſt Cities to leave them at the Gate with the Guard, who give you a Tally or Token; and when you leave the City, you bring your Tally, and receive your Arms. This is done to prevent Aſſaults and Murders, which are ſo frequent in many Cities of *Italy*. For this the Great Duke of *Tuſcany* is much to be commended, there being no ſuch Murthers and Outrages committed in any of the Cities under his Dominion, as in other Places; ſo diligent is he in ſearching out, and ſevere in puniſhing Bravoes, Cut-throats, Aſſaſſins, and ſuch Kind of Malefactors. As much might be ſaid for the Pope in the City of *Rome*, but in other Cities in his Territories there is killing enough.

When you depart from any City, you muſt be ſure to take a *Bill* of *Health* out of the Office that is kept every where for that Purpoſe, without which you can hardly get to be admitted into another City, eſpecially if it be in the Territory of another Prince or State. If any one comes from an infected or ſuſpected Place, he is forced to keep his *Quarantain* (as they call it) that is, be ſhut up in the *Lazaretto* or Peſt-houſe forty Days, before he be permitted to come into the City, ſo ſcrupulouſly careful are they to prevent Contagion.

In *Rome*, and other Cities of *Italy*, we have often obſerved many Labourers that wanted Work ſtanding in the Market-places to be hired, whither People that want Help uſually go and bargain with them; which Cuſtom illuſtrates that Parable of our Saviour, recorded in the Beginning of the Twentieth Chapter of St. *Matthew*'s Goſpel, wherein the Houſholder is ſaid *to go out about the third Hour, and ſee others ſtanding in the Market-place.* Verſe 8; and in Verſe 6, he is ſaid *to find others about the eleventh Hour*, and to ſay to them, *Why ſtand ye here all the Day idle?* and Verſe 7. they anſwer, *Becauſe no Man hath hired us.* In *Italy*, and other hot Countries, ſo ſoon as they have cut down their Corn, they threſh and winnow it uſually, or at leaſt a great Part of it, on a Floor made in the open Air, before they bring it into the Houſe. Hence in the Scripture we read of threſhing Floors as open Places without Roof or Cover. Such, I ſuppoſe, was that where *Boaz* winnowed Barley, *Ruth* iii. 3. Neither is it any Wonder

der that he ſhould lie there all Night, for at *Aleppo*, and even in *Malta*, in Summer-time, they ſet their Beds upon the Roof of their Houſes, and ſleep *ſub Dio*, in the open Air. One Cuſtom we have in *England*, which (as far as I could obſerve) is no where uſed beyond the Seas, and that is, for Children to beg their Parents and Godfathers Bleſſing upon the Knee. One Cuſtom which prevails generally in foreign Countries, that is but little uſed in *England*, that is, to ſalute thoſe that ſneeze, by vailing the Bonnet, and praying God to bleſs, aſſiſt, or defend them, *&c.* There is a Kind of Sport or Game much uſed to this Day by the *Italians*, called, *Gioco di mora*, which ſeems to have been uſed by the Ancients, and called *micare Digitis*. It is for the moſt part between two, who put out juſt at the ſame Time each of them, as many Fingers as they pleaſe, and alſo name each of them what Number he thinks fit, and if either of them happens to be the Number of the Fingers, which both of them together threw out, then he that names that Number wins one.

An Account of the Curioſities and Obſervations in the ſeveral Parts of Italy.

In *Lombardy* and other Parts of *Italy*, *Tartufale*, (as they call them) *i. e. Tubera Terræ*, a Kind of ſubterraneous Muſhroom, which our Herbaliſts call in *Engliſh Trubs*, or after the *French* Name *Truffles*, are accounted a choice Diſh, held by Naturaliſts to be incentive of Luſt. The beſt of all are gotten in *Sicily* and thence ſent over into *Malta* where they are ſold dear. The Way to get them is to turn Swine into a Field where they grow, who find them by the Smell, and root them up out of the Ground; and ſet one to follow the Swine, and gather them up. *Snails* boiled and ſerved up with Oil and Pepper, put into their Shells are alſo accounted a good Diſh: I am ſure they are ſold dear at *Venice*, and elſewhere, eſpecially the great whitiſh or aſh-coloured Shell-Snails, which we had not then ſeen in *England*, but have ſince found plentifully upon the Downs near *Darking* in *Surry*; whither, as we were informed by the Honourable *Charles Howard*, Eſquire, they were brought from beyond Seas by a Gentleman, whoſe Name has ſlip'd my Memory, and is worn out in my Papers. But Mr. *Martin Liſter* hath found them on the Banks of that hollow Lane, leading from *Puckeridge* to *Ware*. Theſe Snails before Winter, ſtop up the Mouth or Aperture of their Shells, with a thick hard, white Paſte, like a good Lute or Plaiſter, and are kept all Winter in Barrels or other Veſſels, and ſold by the Poulterers. The firſt Place where we met them to be ſold in the Market, was *Vienna* in *Auſtria*, where they imitate the *Italians*, as well in their Diet, as in the Manner of their Buildings.

Frogs are another *Italian* Viand, which we in *England* eat not. Theſe they uſually fry, and ſerve up with Oil. At *Venice* they eat only the Loins and hind Legs, as alſo at *Florence*, and that upon Fiſh Days. In ſome Places of *Lombardy* they eat their whole Bodies, and beſides their Frogs are of a larger Size than ordinary. Their Fleſh ſhews white and lovely as they lie in the Markets, ſkin'd and ready prepared to fry. Howbeit, even there in *Italy*, *Kircher* in his Book *de Peſte*, condemns them as an ambiguous and dangerous Meat, and I think deſervedly; wherefore we do well, having Plenty of better Foods wholly to abſtain from them. *Land Tortoiſes* are accounted with them a better Meat than *Sea Tortoiſes*, and are commonly to be ſold in the Markets; they are eaten by thoſe Orders of *Friers*, whoſe Rule obliges them to abſtain from Fleſh, as, *Carthuſians*, *Carmelites*, *&c.* They eat alſo many Sorts of *Shell-fiſh*, which we either have not, or meddle not with, as, *Purples*, *Periwinkles* of ſeveral Sorts, *Patellæ* or Limpets, Sea Urchins, which laſt are to be found every Day in the Markets at *Naples*. They eat alſo the Sea Tortoiſes, of which the Blood put into the Stomachs, and boiled is the beſt Part.

Paſte made into Strings like Packthreads or Thongs of white Leather, (which if greater they call *Macaroni*, if leſſer *Vermicelli*) they cut in Pieces, and put in their Pots, as we do Oatmeal, to make their *Meneſtra* or *Broth*, of much Eſteem by the Country People. Theſe boiled and oiled, with a little Cheeſe ſcraped upon them, they eat as we do buttered Wheat or Rice. The Making theſe is a Trade and Myſtery, and in every great Town you ſhall ſee ſeveral Shops of them. They ſcrape or grate *Cheeſe* upon all their Diſhes, even Fleſh, accounting that it gives the Meat a good Reliſh which to thoſe that are unaccuſtomed, makes it rather nauſeous or loathſome. *Cheſnuts* roaſted and the Kernels ſerved up with Juice of Lemon and Sugar, are much eſteemed, and by ſome called the *Piſtachio's* of *Italy*. At *Bononia* they grind them and make little Cakes of the Flower of them, which, though eaten by the Poor, are no deſirable Dainty to a delicate Palate. Roaſted Cheſnuts are a great Part of the Diet of the poor Peaſants in *Italy*; as we have elſewhere noted. They eat all Manner of *Small Birds* as well as the *Germans*, viz. *Wrens*, *Stares*, *Titmice*, *Butcher-birds*, and ſeveral great ones, which we touch not in *England*, as, *Magpies*, *Jays*, *Woodpeckers*, *Jackdaws*, &c. Nay we have frequently ſeen *Kites* and *Hawks* lying on the Poulterers Stalls, as we have already noted in our Deſcription of *Rome*.

They uſe ſeveral Herbs for *Sallets*, which are not yet or have been but lately uſed in *England*, viz. *Selleri*, which is nothing elſe but ſweet Smallage, the young Shoots whereof, with a little of the Head of the Root cut off, they eat raw with Oil and Pepper; in like Manner they eat Fennel, Artichoak alſo they eat raw with the ſame Sauce (the ſame Part of it that is eaten boiled.) In *Sicily*, at the higheſt Village upon that Side Mount *Ætna* that we aſcended, they gave us to eat for a Sallet, the Stalks of a tall prickly Thiſtle, bearing a yellow Flower, I ſuppoſe it was the *Carduus Chryſanthemus*, Dod. which the Rankneſs of the Soil had cauſed to amount up to that Stature; beſides, in moſt of their Sallets they mingle Rockett, *Rachetta* they call it, which to me gives them an odious Taſte. *Curl'd Endive* blanch'd is much uſed beyond Sea, and for a raw Sallet ſeemed to excel Lettice itſelf; beſides, it hath this Advantage, that it may be kept all Winter. Many *Fruits* they eat, which we either have not, or eat not in *England*, viz. *Jejubes* ſold by the Huckſters while they are yet Green: *Lazarole*, the Fruit of the *Meſpilus Aronia*, of a pleaſant acid Taſte, both Fruit and Tree, and exactly like the common Hawthorn, but bigger. *Services* or *Sorbes* the true, as big as little Pears; thoſe that grow with us are the Fruit of the *Sorbus torminalis*. Green Figs, both white and blue in great Plenty, a moſt delicate Fruit when fully ripe, comparable for the Taſte to the beſt Marmalade, and which may be eaten freely without Danger of ſurfeiting. The Huſks or Cods of *Carobs*, called in Latin, *Siliqua dulcis*, in *Greek*, κερατία, the Word uſed *Luke* xv. 16. and therefore by ſome ſuppoſed to be the Huſks the Prodigal is ſaid to have deſired to fill his Belly with. Indeed we thought them fitter Meat for Swine than Men, for though they had a ſweet Taſte, yet afterwards they troubled our Stomachs, and purged us, but they have not upon all Men the like Effect, for the *Italians* and *Spaniards* eat them ordinarily without any ſuch Trouble. *Love Apples*, *Mad Apples* both raw and pickled: *Water-melons* which they uſe to eat, to cool and refreſh them, and ſome Phyſicians allow ſick Perſons to eat them in Fevers. They are almoſt as big as Pompions, have a green Rhind, and a reddiſh Pulp, with blackiſh Seed when ripe; the *Italians* call theſe *Cucumeri*, whereas Cucumbers they call *Citrulli*. Several Sorts of Gourds, as, *Cucurbita lagenaria*, and *Cucurbita Flexuoſa ſive Anguina*, which eats very well boil'd in Pottage, *Cucumis anguinis*, which is more eſteem'd, and indeed better taſted than the Cucumber.

The common People both in *Italy* and *Sicily*, eat green chich Peaſe raw, as our common People do common Peaſe. In their Deſerts and ſecond Courſes, they commonly ſerve up Pine-kernels, and in Time of Year green Almonds, alſo a Kind of Sweet-meat or Confection, made up of Muſtard and Sugar, which they call *Italian* Muſtard. To cool and refreſh their Wines they uſe generally Snow, where it may eaſily be had, elſe Ice, which they keep in Conſervatories all Summer. Without Snow they that are commonly uſed to it, do not willingly drink, no not in Winter. In the Kingdom of *Naples* and *Sicily*, they make a Sort of Cheeſe which they call *Caſeo di Cavallo*, i. e. *Horſe Cheeſe*, for what Reaſon I could not learn. Theſe Cheeſes they make up in ſeveral Forms, ſome in the Faſhion of a blown Bladder, ſome in the Faſhion of a Cylinder, and ſome in other Figures. They are neither fat nor ſtrong, yet well taſted, and acceptable to ſuch, as have eaten them a-while. The Pulp or Body of them lies in Flakes, and hath as it were a Grain one Way like Wood. They told us that they were made of Buffalo's Milk, but we believed them not; becauſe we obſerved not many Buffalo's in thoſe Countries, where there is more of this Cheeſe made, than of other Sorts.

In *Italy* and other hot Countries their Meat is not only naturally more lean and dry than ours, but they roaſt it alſo till it be ready to fall from the Bones, and there be little Juice left in it. Beſides, when they roaſt their Meat, they draw Coals, under the Spit, and let the Fat drop on them, the *Nidor* whereof perfumes the Meat, but not to our Guſt, who are not uſed to it, and what they loſe in Dripping they ſave in Fewel. Their Roaſting differs not much from our Broiling or Carbonading. I ſpeak this of ordinary Inns, and mean People's Houſes; in great Houſes and Inns it is otherwiſe.

The *Italians* count not their Hours as we do, from twelve to twelve, beginning at Mid-day and Midnight; but from one to twenty-four, beginning their Count at Sun-ſet, which is a much more troubleſome Way; the ſetting of the Sun being a moveable Point or Term, and they being therefore neceſſitated to alter and new ſet their Clocks every Day; whereas, Mid-day and Midnight being fix'd Points, the Clocks need no ſetting a-new. As for *Italy* in general, though the *Italians* imagine it to be the beſt Country in the World, and have a Proverb among them, that *Italy is the Garden of the World*; yet ſetting aſide *Lombardy*, *Compania felix*, and ſome few other Places, the reſt is mountainous and barren enough: The Earth ſo parched up by the Sunbeams, that it bears no Graſs, and (as *Barclay* ſaith) ſeldom yieldeth Grain enough for three Years ſucceſſively, to ſupply the Neceſſities and Uſes of its Inhabitants, whatever they may boaſt of the *Itala gleba*. The Reaſon why the *Italians* are ſo conceited of their own Country is becauſe they ſeldom travel Abroad, and ſo ſee not the Beauty and Fertility of others.

I might have taken Notice of the vaſt and incredible Number of religious Houſes there are in *Italy*. I have ſometimes thought they might in all of both Sexes, amount to eight or ten thouſand. Of theſe the Gentlemen make Advantage; for ſuch of their Daughters as either they cannot get Huſbands for, or are not able to give Portions to, ſuitable to their Birth and Quality, they can in one of theſe Houſes for a ſmall Matter, honourably diſpoſe of, and ſettle for their Lives. The Inſtitution of ſuch Houſes as theſe, whither young Women of Quality, who, for Want of ſufficient Fortunes or perſonal Endowments, cannot eaſily provide themſelves ſuitable Matches, might retire and find honourable Proviſion; would perchance be tolerable, yea commendable, were they purged from all Superſtition; the Women not admitted too young, and under no Vow of perpetual Chaſtity, only to leave the Houſe in caſe they married. But becauſe of the Danger of introducing Monkery; I think it more ſafe for a Chriſtian State, not to permit any ſuch Foundations. Buffles are a common Beaſt in *Italy*, and they make uſe of them to draw their Teams, as we do of Oxen; only becauſe they are ſomewhat fierce and unruly, they are forced to lead them by an Iron Ring, put into their Noſes, as our Bear Wards do their Bears. The *Cicadæ* beforementioned. The *Flying Glow-worms*, which are there every where to be ſeen in Summer-time. Theſe flying or winged Glow-worms, are nothing elſe but the Males of the common creeping or unmingled Glow-worm. *Tabuis Calumna* relates, that *Carolus Ventimiglia*, of *Palermo* in *Sicily*, having out of Curioſity, kept many unwinged Glow-worms in a Glaſs, did put in among them a flying one, which preſently in his Sight did couple with them one by one, after the Manner of Silk-worms, and that the next Day, the unwinged ones or Females began to lay their Eggs. That the Males are alſo flying Inſects in *England*, though they do but rarely, or not at all ſhine with us, we are aſſured by an Eye-witneſs, who ſaw them in Conjunction with the common ſhining unwinged Glow-worm. Here by the Way, it may not be amiſs to impart to the Reader, a Diſcovery made by a certain Gentleman, and communicated to me by *Francis Jeſſop*, Eſq; which is, that thoſe reputed Meteors called in Latin *Ignes fatui*, and known in *England* by the conceited Names of *Jack with a Lanthorn*, and *Will with a Wiſp*, are nothing elſe but Swarms of theſe flying Glow-worms. Which if true, we may give an eaſy Account of thoſe *Phænomena* of theſe ſuppoſed Fires, *viz.* their ſudden Motion from Place to Place, and leading Travellers that follow them, into Bogs and Precipices. *Scorpions*, which in *Italy* ſting not, or at leaſt their Stings are not venemous, as the learned *Franciſcus Redi* affirms, though by Experience he found the Stinging of the *African* Scorpion to be mortal, or at leaſt very noxious.

Tarantula's ſo call'd, becauſe found about *Tarentum*, (though we have ſeen of them at *Rome*) which are nothing elſe but a large Sort of Spider, the Biting whereof is eſteemed venomous, and thought to put People into phrenetick Fits, enforcing them to dance to certain Tunes of the Muſick, by which Means they are cured, long and violent Exerciſe cauſing a great Evacuation by Sweat. Theſe Fits they ſay do alſo yearly Return, at the ſame Seaſon the Patient was bitten. But Dr. *Thomas Cornelius* of *Cozenza*, beforemention'd, a learned Phyſician and Virtuoſo in *Naples*, diligently enquiring into this generally receiv'd, and heretofore unqueſtion'd Story, that he might ſatisfy himſelf and others, whether it were really true in Experience, rejects it. *Cimici*, as the *Italians* call them, as the *French*, *Punaiſe*; We *Engliſh* call them Chinches, or Wall-Lice, which are very noiſome and troubleſome by their Bitings in the Night Time, raiſing a great Heat and Redneſs in the Skin. They harbour in the Straw of the Bolſters and Matraſſes, and in the Wood of the Bedſteads, and therefore in ſome *Noſocomia* or Hoſpitals for ſick Perſons, as for Example, at *Genoa*, the Bedſteads are all of Iron. This Inſect, if it be cruſh'd or bruis'd, emits a moſt horrid and loathſome Scent, ſo that thoſe that are bitten by them, are often in a Doubt, whether it be better to endure the Trouble of their Bitings, or kill them, and ſuffer their moſt odious and abominable Stink. We have of theſe Inſects, in ſome Places of *England*, but not many, neither are they exceſſively troubleſome to us.

32. We departed from *Trent*, intending for *Coira* or *Chur*, in the *Griſons* Country, called in *Latin*, *Curia Rhetorum*. We rode up the Valley where the River *Atheſis* runs, called *Val venoſta*, every five Miles paſſing through a large Village, and one handſome little Town called *Burgo*, and lodged at a ſmall Town called *Brunſole*. We rode through *Bolzan*, a conſiderable Town, and for Bigneſs comparable to *Trent*, and ten Miles further *Maran*, a large Town, and lodged at a Village called *Raveland*. We paſſed through *Latourn*, *Slech*, *Schlanders*, *Maltz*, all Villages and Towns of Note, and laſt of all *Cleurn*, a pretty great wall'd Town, and then ſtruck up on the left Hand among the Mountains, to a Village called *Tavers*, where we lodg'd. We rode on through the Snow to *Monaſtere*, where the *Griſons* Country begins, and St. *Maria*, a ſmall Terra, and ſtopp'd at *Gherf*, a Village at the Foot of the high Mountains. In this Country the People uſe a peculiar Language of their own, which they call *Romanſch*, that is, *Lingua Romana*. It ſeems to be nearer *Spaniſh* than *Italian*, though diſtinct from both: Beſides their own Language, they generally ſpeak both *Italian* and *Dutch*, ſo that after we had loſt *Italian* in the Vallies, we wondered to find it here among the Hills. Their Wines they bring all out of the *Valtelline* from *Tirano*, about two Days Journey diſtant. The Country at this

Time was all covered over with Snow, ſo that they are forced to keep their Cattle within Doors for ſix Months; yet the People ſaid, that thereabouts the Snow did not lie all Summer, no not on the Tops of the higheſt Mountains. Here we obſerved, that to draw their Sleds over the Snow, inſtead of Oxen they made uſe of Bulls, one Bull drawing a little Sled. About *Tavers* we obſerved them ſowing of Duſt upon the Snow, which they told us was to make the Snow melt the ſooner: I ſuppoſe it was rather for Manure. They uſe Stoves in all Places, and good Reaſon they have, the Country being very cold. A great Number of *Chamois* or *Gemps* [*Rupi Capræ*] are taken all over theſe Countries upon the high Hills, as, though the People had not told us, we muſt needs have gathered, from the Multitude of Horns we ſaw ſtuck up in the Houſes where we lodged. Bears there are, and Wolves enough, among the high Mountains, but not very many. The Men generally wear Ruffs, and long buſhy Beards. All the People (as far as we had Experience, or could judge of them, in that ſhort Stay we made among them) we found to be honeſt, hearty and civil, and the common Sort very mannerly. Their Houſes are built of Stone, and covered with Shingles of Wood, the Walls thick, and the Windows very ſmall, to Fence againſt the Cold. They have no ſtrong Holds or fortified Places among them, nor will they permit any to be erected, having ſo much Confidence in their own Valour, that they think they need no other Defence: Indeed their Country is ſuch, as one would think, none of the neighbouring Princes ſhould covet, unleſs for the Security of his own Territories. We paſſed the Mountain of *Buſalara* in ſeven or eight Hours. In the Top of the Mountain, in the Midway between *Cherf* and *Zernetz*, is an Inn called *Furno*. From *Zernetz* we rode in the Valley of the higher *Engadine*, through *Zuotz*, a great *Terra*, and two other Villages, and lodged at a little Place called *Ponte*.

32. The *Griſons* are divided into three Leagues, each of theſe ſubdivided into *Communities*, which have each ſeveral Villages, ſome more, ſome leſs: The *Lega Griſa* has nineteen *Communities*; the *Lega della caſa Dio*, twenty-one; the *Lega Dieci Ditture*, ten. Each *Community* has its chief annual Magiſtrate, (whom in ſome Places they call *Maeſtrale*, in ſome Places *Landman*) and a certain Number of Aſſeſſors or Judges, call'd *Truæder*, by them. Each Village chuſes its Judges by Majority of Votes, every Inhabitant, above the Age of ſixteen, having his Suffrage. Theſe Magiſtrates are chang'd every two Years, but confirmed every Year, and may be depoſed by the People. The executive Power and Management of publick Affairs is lodged in the *Maeſtrale* or *Landman*, who aſſembles the *Truæder*. Every two Years they have two general Diets, one at *Michaelmas* Day, when they chuſe Governors of Places; the ſecond at St. *John Baptiſt*'s Day, when they take an Account of all their Officers. To theſe Diets each *Community* ſends its Commiſſioners, ſome one, ſome two, who are to act according to the Inſtructions given them. Each League has its Head or Chief; as for Inſtance, the Burgomaſter of *Coira* is always Head of the League *della caſa di Dio*. From the Diet lies an Appeal to the Communities. The *Griſons* pay no Manner of Taxes; the County of *Chiavenna* and the *Valtoline* in *Italy* are ſubject to them, whither they ſent two Bailiffs before *Plurs* was deſtroyed by the falling in of an adjacent Mountain; now they ſend but one to *Chiavenna*; theſe are called *Commiſſario's*. The *Valtoline* is divided into ſix Diſtricts or *Præfecturæ*, each of which has its peculiar Governor ſent thither by the *Griſons*; their Names are, *Bormio*, *Tirano*, *Tellio*, *Sondrio*, *Morbegno* and *Travona*. The People of the *Valtoline*, and of the Country of *Chiavenna*, pay no other Taxes but only for the Maintenance of their Governors.

March 24. We left *Ponte*, and travelled over very high Mountains, in very bad Weather, it ſnowing ſo exceedingly, that we were ſcarce able to open our Eyes; yet by the Way we took Notice, that the People living among thoſe cold Mountains were of a more ſwarthy Complexion than thoſe below. *March* 25, We came to *Coira*, the capital City of the *Griſons*, ſtanding upon a River which falls into the *Rhine* about half a Mile below it. It is encompaſs'd with Mountains, except on that Side where the *Rhine* paſſes through a pleaſant Valley of very fine Meadows and Paſture-grounds. The Inhabitants of *Coire* are Proteſtants, except the Biſhop and twenty-four Canons, who have no Share in the Government of the Town, the Form of which is much like to that of *Zurich* and *Baſil*; the Citizens being divided into five Companies, each of which chuſes fourteen Senators, who compoſe the Great Council of Seventy: The ſame are choſen commonly again every Year on St. *Martin*'s Day. The Leſſer Council conſiſts of certain Members of the *Great Council*, *viz.* five out of each Company choſen every Year, and five Maſters of the Companies for the laſt Year, making up the Number of thirty. This Council, with the Burgomaſter Regent, (whom they call *Stattvought*) judge in criminal Cauſes, as Actions of Debt are determined by the five Maſters of the Companies, and ten Members of the Council of thirty. But from them an Appeal lies to the leſſer Council. The *Griſons* have beſides *Coire* two Towns more, *viz. Mayfield* and *Eylandts*: Some of their Communities are *Romaniſts*, ſome *Proteſtants*, but moſt of the laſt, the Number of which is computed at 17000 Fighting Men.

March 29. We went from *Coire* to *Walenſtadt*, ſeated upon a ſmall Lake called the *Wallenſtatter-Sea*: This, as well as *Sargans*, through which we paſſed, are *Voghtia's* of the ſeven Cantons. The 30th, we ferried over the Lake to *Weſen*, and from thence travelled to *Glaris*, one of the thirteen *Swiſs Cantons*: Here they ſhewed us the Horns of the *Ibex*, (which they call *Steinbuck*) not unlike, but ſomewhat longer than Goats-Horns; they told us, that they were found in *Walliſland*, and the Archbiſhoprick of *Saltzburg* in *Germany*; but of the beforementioned *Rupicapræ* or *Gymſes* and *Mures Alpini majores*, called *Marmottoes*, they have great Plenty, as well as of the *Merulæ torquatæ* and *Merulæ aquaticæ*; of the *Urogallus*, or *Cocks of the Wood*, and the *Lagopus*, a white Bird like a Partridge, feathered down to the very Claws; but of theſe they have greater Plenty among the *Griſons*. The Inhabitants of the two Cantons of *Glaris* and *Appenzel* are mixt, two thirds *Proteſtants* and one third *Romaniſts*; for the reſt, the Difference of the Government of the ſeveral *Swiſs Cantons* may be reduced under three Heads; the firſt of thoſe who have no Cities, where the ſupreme Power is lodged in the People, *viz. Uri*, *Swits*, *Underwalden*, *Zug*, *Glaris* and *Appenzel*; the ſecond of thoſe which have Cities, that were ſubject formerly to Princes, where the Form is Ariſtocratical, as *Bern*, *Lucern*, *Friburg* and *Solothurn*; the third of thoſe, which have Cities which were always free, where there is a Mixture of both, being divided into certain Companies, by whom the Magiſtrates are choſen yearly; of this Order are *Zurich*, *Baſil* and *Schaffhauſſen*.

The Canton of *Glaris* is divided into fifteen *Diſtricts*, ſome of which elect five, others ſix Counſellors, ſome more, others leſs, which make up the Senate or Council of ſixty, two Parts whereof are *Proteſtants*, and the reſt *Romaniſts*. The Sovereignty is lodged in the People, who meet every Year on the laſt *Sunday* in *April*, all above ſixteen Years of Age having their Votes, to chuſe by the Majority of Suffrages, 1. The *Landman*. 2. The *Stadhalter*, or his Lieutenant. 3. A Treaſurer. 4. A Standard-Bearer. 5. The Head Captain, and in Time of War a Lieutenant. 6. The Head Enſign. 7. Three Secretaries. 8. The Apparitor. Each of which has his particular Station and Share allotted in the Government, with ſuch Perſons as are joined with them in Commiſſion; for the further Elucidation of which, I will refer myſelf to Mr. *Simler* in his *Swiſs* Republick.

The Territory of *Glaris* is about twenty-four *Engliſh* Miles long, the Number of Freemen, of both Religions, about 2500. In the Cantons of *Baſil*, *Zurich*, *Bern*, *Lucern*, *Schaffhauſſen*, *Friburg* and *Solothurn*, the Citizens are only Freemen, the Inhabitants of the open Country being Subjects under the Government of Bailiffs, who in ſome Places govern two, in others three, in others ſix Years. But in thoſe Cantons which have no Cities, each Countryman is a Freeman, as far as they belong to their reſpective Cantons, for they have alſo their Subjects governed by Bailiffs.

April 1. We travelled from *Glaris* through *Nafels*, and other Villages near the *Lake of Zurich*, and after an Hour's riding aſcended an high Mountain, where we found the Ground covered with Snow, and the famous Monaſtery of the *Benedictine* Fryars, call'd *Eynſidle*, where is the Image of our Lady, who has a peculiar Chapel conſecrated to her, viſited by many Pilgrims. This Abby is under the Juriſdiction of thoſe of *Switz*, unto which Place we came *April* the 2d, being no more than a Village, but comparable to a large Town; its Government is the ſame with *Glaris*, being divided into ſix Quarters, each chuſes ten Senators, which compoſes the Senate, conſiſting of Sixty Perſons. Their Officers are alſo the ſame as at *Glaris*. This Canton, as every one of the reſt, ſends two *Meſſi* or Deputies to the general Diet at *Baden*, of which the *Landman* is generally one.

April 3. After we had travelled three Miles along the Lake to *Brunen*, we embark'd for *Altorf*, and having ſpent three Hours more in our Paſſage, had a Mile further to *Altorf*, there being no travelling from *Switz* to *Altorf*, unleſs you will take a Compaſs of about ſixty Miles. It is larger than *Switz*, and has a pretty Church and a Monaſtery belonging to the *Capuchins*. Here they told us the Story of *William Tell* and the *Lantvogt*; the Statue of the firſt we ſaw on the Top of a Pillar, over one of their Fountains, with his Croſbow on his Shoulder, leading his Son by the Hand, and at ſome Diſtance a Tower, on which were painted the ſeveral Paſſages of this Story. The Government is the ſame with *Switz*, the Number of Senators and Manner of Election the ſame, except that they have a Maſter of the Artillery, and ſix Proctors or Councellors beſides.

April 4. We return'd to the Lake of *Lucern*, and went by Water within an Hour's travelling of *Stantz*, the chief Village of *Underwalden*, where we lodg'd. Here is a very fair Church, and two Convents, one for the *Capuchins*, and one of Nuns. In this Place, and at *Altorf*, *Switz*, *Lucern*, &c. we ſaw in the Church-yards, Croſſes of Wood and Iron upon the Graves, on ſome of which hung a little Copper Kettle with holy Water, and many Women coming, with Bunches of Herbs in their Hands, which they dipt in the Kettle, and ſprinkled the Water upon the Graves. Such is their Ignorance and Superſtition!

This Canton is divided into *Oberwald* and *Underwald*; the capital Village of the firſt being *Stanner*, as *Stantz* is of the latter. The lower is governed by ſixty Senators, choſen by eleven Communities, ſome more, ſome leſs. Their Officers and Elections the ſame as in *Switz* and *Uri*, except that here they change their *Landman* every Year. *Oberwald* has its own *Landman*, Officers, *&c.* ſo that they would ſeem to be two diſtinct Cantons, were it not that they ſend but two Deputies to the general Diet at *Baden*.

Theſe three Cantons of *Uri*, *Switz* and *Underwalden*, have no Corn Fields or Vineyards, but only Paſture-Grounds, being ſupplied with Wine from *Italy*, which is very dear here; and therefore but little drank. The People are generally very honeſt and good-natur'd, and keep their Houſes very clean, but are much given to eating and drinking, having Plenty of plain Things at ſmall Coſt.

April 5. We travelled to *Lucern*, croſſing Part of the Lake. It is a very handſome City, pleaſantly ſituate upon the Lake of the ſame Name, and divided in two Parts by a River, which ariſing from the Lake, is cover'd here with three Bridges, one for Carts and Horſes, the other two for Foot-Paſſengers, covered with a Roof, one being near a Quarter of a Mile long; beſides which, it has a fourth Bridge covered like the other, but longer, leading to the Church. The great Church, which ſtands without the Wall, is a very lofty Structure, over the Weſtern Door of which is the biggeſt Organ that ever I ſaw, the Hollow of the greater Pipes being capacious enough for a Man to creep into. They told us, that their Great Council conſiſted of an hundred and thirty ſix, who continue in Office during Life, and when one dies, the reſt chuſe another in his Place. It has two Preſidents, whom they call *Sculteti*, who alſo continue for Life, but preſide in their Turns every other Year. For their Manner of chuſing theſe Senators and other Officers, I will refer myſelf to *Simler*. All the Inhabitants of the Territories belonging to this City are Subjects, and divided into nineteen or twenty *Prefecturæ*, but they pay no more than five *Batz*, or a Hen a Man *per Annum* to the Governor. From *Lucern* we travell'd, *April* the 6th, fifteen Miles to *Zugh*, (*Tugium* in *Latin*) ſeated at the Side of a ſmall Lake, but it is leſs by one half than *Lucern*. The Government here is popular, like thoſe of *Uri*, *Switz*, and *Underwalden*; but beſides the City, the three *Communities* of *Eyry*, *Menſinguen* and *Baar* have a Share in the Government. Their Magiſtrates, Officers and Elections the ſame as in *Uri* and *Switz*. To the General Diet the City ſends one, and the three *Communities* the other Deputy. The Nomination of the *Landvogts* or Governors in the Country belongs once to the City and twice to the Communities.

The Lake of *Zugh* (if you believe the Inhabitants) has greater Variety of Fiſh than any other of *Switzerland*; thoſe they named to us were, *Eels*, *Carp*, *Perch*, *Trouts*, *Salmons*; which is very ſtrange, by Reaſon of its great Diſtance from the Sea; *Eſch*, called *Grayling* in *Engliſh*, *Triſea*, or the *Eel-pout*, *Pikes*, (of which we ſaw one weighing thirty Pounds) *White-fiſh* or *Alberlin*, which is taken alſo in the Lake of *Bala* in *Merionethſhire* in *Wales*, and is call'd there *Guiniad*; and in *Huls-water* near *Perith* in *Cumberland*, and there call'd *Schelly*; *Haſsler*, a Fiſh I take to be the ſame with our *Charre* in *Winandemmere* in *Weſtmorland*, and the *Torgoch* of *North-Wales*; *Balla*, *Naſe*, (called *Naſus* by Naturaliſts) *Breams*, *Creviſes*, &c. and many more. In the ſhadowy Lakes about *Sant* and *Zug*, we found *Anblatum Cordi*, or *Dentaria aphyllos*. From *Zug* we rode *April* 7. in five Hours to *Zurich*, of which we have given an Account before.

April 13. We travelled thence four good Leagues to *Mellingen*, a free Town, not far from *Baden*, and paſſing through *Lenſburg*, lodged at *Arauw*, a conſiderable Town upon the *Aar*, four ſhort Leagues from *Mellingen*. The 14th we paſs'd thro' no conſiderable Place till we came to *Solothurn*, nine Leagues from *Arauw*, which, though the Head of a Canton, is not conſiderable either for its Strength or Bigneſs. *April* 15, taking a round-about Way out of the ordinary Road to *Geneva*, we took a View of *Bern*, ſix Hours riding from *Solothurn*, that we might not leave *Swiſſerland*, without ſeeing it.

Bern is a very handſome City, for though the Houſes be not very high, yet they are well built of Stone. The chief Street, which is very long, has Cloyſters on both Sides; it lies ſtretched out in Length upon a Hill, reſembling a Peninſula, being almoſt encompaſſed by the River, that Side where it is not being ſtrongly fortified with Baſtions and Outworks. The Founder of this City, as alſo of *Friburg* in *Switzerland*, and of *Friburg* in *Briſgow*, was *Berchtoldus* Duke of *Zerin*, unto whom they have erected a Monument in the great Church, one of the neateſt Stone Fabricks in all *Switzerland*. The Territories of this City are of ſuch an Extent, as to comprehend one third Part of all the Country of the *Swiſs*, being divided into ſixty Bailyages, beſides four others they have in common with *Friburg*. The *Landvoghts* or Bailiffs continue in their Stations for ſix Years, which makes them very rich without exacting upon the People. They keep here five or ſix Bears in a Pit, which are often climbing up and down the Fir-Trees that grow in the Pit. The Arms of *Bern* is a Bear, alluding perhaps to their Name, this City being the firſt that coin'd the Money called *Batze*, (ſignifying a Bear's Paw) from the Figure of a Bear ſtampt upon it, which was afterwards imitated by all the reſt of the Cantons.

April 17. We travelled from *Bern* to *Friburg*, a very handſome City and likewiſe the Head of a Canton; its

Situation is much the ſame as *Bern*, upon a Hill, almoſt ſurrounded with a River, and encompaſs'd with Hills, except on that Side where it is joined to the Land.

April 18. We travel'd from *Fribourg* through *Maulton* to *Lauſanna*, a great Town and Univerſity; and *April* the 19th continued our Journey by the Way of *Morges*, *Rolle* and *Nion*, conſiderable Towns upon the Lake of *Geneva* and *Verſoy*, a ſmall Place on the Lake near *Geneva*, belonging to the *French*, and came the ſame Day to *Geneva*, where we ſtaid for three Months.

The Governments of *Solothurn*, *Bern* and *Friburg*, are much the ſame as that of *Lucern*. In *Solothurn* the Great Council conſiſts of One Hundred and Fifteen, the Leſſer of Thirty-five; if one happens to die, the Thirty-four remaining chuſe another out of the One Hundred and Fifteen, and his Place is ſupplied out of the Citizens. In *Bern*, the greater Council is compoſed of Two Hundred, and the leſſer of Forty-two. In *Fribourg* the greater Council is of Two Hundred likewiſe, and the Leſſer of Twenty-four. All theſe Cities have two *Scouts* or Conſuls, who rule every other Year each in his Turn. He that deſires a more ample Account of the Government of theſe and all other *Helvetick* Cities, may conſult *Simler de Rep. Helvet.* Each of the Proteſtant Cantons acknowledge a certain Saint for their Patron, whoſe Image they ſtamp upon the Reverſe of their Money. The Proteſtant Cantons are, *Zurich*, *Bern*, *Baſil*, *Schaffhauſen*, and Part of *Glaris* and *Appenzel*. That which breeds frequent inteſtine Differences among the *Swiſs*, is the Buſineſs of the common Bailiwicks; for the Popiſh Cantons, being more in Number than the Proteſtants, they ſend Bailiffs to thoſe Places twice to the Proteſtants once, who are often oppreſſed and injured by the Popiſh Bailiffs, and the *Switzers* being very jealous on both Sides in their Religion, *hinc illæ lachrymæ*. On the other Hand, the Proteſtant Cantons, though fewer in Number, yet are the more powerful: Beſides that, their Land is better, very like ours in *England*. The *Romaniſts* are accounted the better Soldiers, and good Reaſon they have, being more exerciſed in War, ſerving the *Spaniſh* and *French* Kings, as being of the ſame Religion. Beſides, the *Zurichers*, who anciently had the Reputation for Valour, are now much given to Merchandize, and to accumulate Riches, and ſo taken off from martial Studies and Exerciſes. The *Berneſe*, though they have far the greateſt and beſt Territory of all; (ſo that it is ſaid they can arm as many Men as the Dutchy of *Milan*, ſend into the Field 100,000 Soldiers, and leave enough at Home to till the Land) yet have they no Reputation for Soldiers: They loſt their Credit quite in the late Skirmiſh with the *Lucerneſe*, who account them rather *Savoyards* than *Switzers*. All the Cantons of *Switzerland* coin Money, except *Appenzel*, *Underwald* and *Glaris*, of which *Glaris* formerly hath coined, though now it doth not. All the *Switzers* in general are very honeſt People, kind and civil to Strangers: One may travel their Country ſecurely with a Bag of Gold in his Hand. When we came to our Inns, they would be troubled if we diſtruſted them ſo far as to take our Portmanteaus into our Lodging Chambers, and not leave them in the common Dining-Rooms. They keep their Houſes very clean and polite, like our Houſewives in *England*. For Plants, going from *Zurich* to *Mellingen*, we obſerved common Gooſberry in the Hedges and by the Way-ſides very plentifully, and in ſome Places Barberries. *Sigillum Solomonis* and *Herba Paris* are the moſt common Plants that grow in this Country in the Woods and Hedges every where; *Annonymus flore Coluteæ* on the Mountains near *Zurich*; from *Arauw* to *Solothurn*, *Helleboraſter Maximus* on the Hills Sides, as alſo *Chriſtophoriana*, not to mention *Fumarica Bulboſa* every where growing in the ſhady Lanes.

Geneva is pleaſantly ſeated at the lower End of the *Lacus Lemanus*, now called *Geaffer-zee* or the Lake of *Geneva*, upon a Hill-ſide reſpecting the Lake; ſo that from the Lake you have a fair Proſpect of the whole Town. It is divided by the River *Rhodanus* or *Rhoſne* into two Parts, which are joined together by two wooden Bridges, one of which hath on each Side a Row of Houſes, after the Manner of *London* Bridge, only they are low. The two principal and indeed only conſiderable Streets in the Town are, the Low Street, *i. e. Rue bas*, which runs along by the River and Lake-ſide, and the High or Great Street, *i. e. Rue Grand*, which runs up the Hill. The City is indifferently ſtrong, and they have lately been at great Expences to fortify it, *à la moderna*, with Ramparts and Baſtions of Earth. Though it be ſmall, yet it is very populous, being ſuppoſed to contain 30,000 Souls. St. *Peter's* Church, formerly the Cathedral, is handſome and well-built; and in it is a ſtately Monument for the Duke of *Rohan*.

The Citizens are very buſy and induſtrious, ſubſiſting chiefly by Trading, the whole Territory of this Republick being not ſo great as ſome one Nobleman's Eſtate in *England* for Extent of Land. All Proviſions or Victuals are very plentiful and cheap at *Geneva*, eſpecially Milk, Meats, the neighbouring Mountains feeding Abundance of Cattle. The Tops of *Jura Saleve*, and other high Mountains of *Savoy*, *Dauphine*, and the *Alps*, where they are bare of Wood, put forth very good Graſs ſo ſoon as the Snow is melted off them, which is uſually about or before the Middle of *May*: And then the Country People drive up their Cattle to Paſture, and feed them there for three Months Time. Upon theſe Hill-tops they have here and there low Sheds or Dairy-houſes, which ſerve the Men to live in, and to make their Butter and Cheeſe in ſo long as they keep their Beaſts above. The Men, I ſay, for they only aſcend up thither, and do all the Dairy Work, leaving their Women to keep Houſe below it, as being too toilſome for them to clamber up ſuch ſteep Hills. By Reaſon of theſe Cotts, it is very convenient Simpling upon the Mountains; for if a Man be hungry or thirſty, he may ſoon find Relief at one of them. We always found the People very kind and willing to give us ſuch as they had, *viz.* Brown Bread, Milk, Whey, Butter, Curds, *&c.* for which we could ſcarce faſten any Money upon them. For the Temper of the Air, in reſpect of Heat and Cold, *Geneva*, I think, is very like *England*, there being no great Exceſs of either Extreme. The City is well governed, Vice diſcountenanced, and the People either really better, or at leaſt more reſtrained than in other Places, though they do take a Liberty to ſhoot, and uſe other Sports and Exerciſes upon the Lord's Day; yet moſt of their Miniſters diſallow it, and preach againſt it.

33. We ſhall now take our Leave of theſe Parts of *Europe*, with the Satisfaction of having given the Reader ſuch Accounts of them as cannot fail, with any reaſonable Degree of Attention, to furniſh him with juſt Ideas both of Places and Perſons; of the Country of *Italy*, of the principal Cities and remarkable Places therein, and of their Inhabitants. We might, indeed, have given him later Travels, but againſt theſe we had ſeveral Objections, ſome of which it may be proper to mention. Modern Travellers commonly viſit *Italy* for ſome particular Purpoſe; one is an Antiquary, and his Buſineſs is to conſider Monuments, tranſcribe Inſcriptions, collect Medals, and write tedious Accounts of them. Another has a Taſte for Painting, and every City that he paſſes through, furniſhes him with a fine Catalogue of Pictures, and which is no leſs valuable, an Opportunity of diſcovering to how great a Degree he is a *Connoiſſeur* by his Remarks upon it. A third, perhaps, is furiouſly addicted to the Claſſicks, and his great Point is to ſhred out by *Virgil*, *Horace*, *Ovid*, &c. and wherever he comes, gives you their Deſcription inſtead of his own. A fourth, may be, is a Politician, and he entertains you with a Recital of the ſeveral Families through which every little Principality has paſſed, before it fell under the Power of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, the Kings of *Spain*, the Pope, the *Swiſs* Cantons, or the State of *Venice*. A Fifth, poſſibly, may be a *Virtuoſo*, and inſiſts entirely upon Curioſities,

ſo as to render his Book a Collection of Diſcourſes or Diſſertations upon a vaſt Variety of Subjects extremely agreeable to a few, and abſolutely uſeleſs to all the reſt of the World.

I would not be underſtood to cenſure theſe Writers in a dictatorial Manner, or to prejudice my Readers againſt them; each and all of theſe Books may be uſeful, inſtructive and entertaining; but they are not fit for a Collection, becauſe, if we take one we muſt take all, in order to render the View complete; and this would ſwell our Work not only beyond its due, but beyond all Limits; and, after all, anſwer the Purpoſe but indifferently: Beſides, in moſt of theſe modern Books of Travels, you will find continual References to the Authors that we have uſed, becauſe ſuch Writers are themſelves ſatiſfied, that they cannot give better or more exact Deſcriptions; and this being the Caſe with reſpect to thoſe Things that the Generality of Readers deſire moſt to be acquainted with, it follows for this very Reaſon, ſuch Travels ought to be preferred in a Deſign of this Nature, and the Treatiſes of modern Travellers left to the Peruſal of ſuch as, from their having a like Taſte to this or that Writer, incline not only to read but to ſtudy his Performance.

In regard to the principal and general Ends of viſiting Foreign Countries, in order to take a View of the moſt remarkable Places in them, to examine their Situation, Excellencies and Defects, the Nature of the adjacent Territories, and their Produce; to obſerve the Governments, Number of People, Revenues, the Condition, Inclinations and Manners of the Inhabitants, and to take Notice of the Particulars for which they chiefly diſtinguiſh themſelves from other Nations; theſe, as they are the profeſs'd Intentions of the Authors we have inſerted; ſo it muſt be allowed, that they have executed them with great Diligence, Fidelity and Spirit. Wherever their different Circumſtances, different Qualities and different Manner of Travelling, may be ſuppoſed to have given them an Opportunity of making different Obſervations or Remarks upon different Places, we have been careful to ſupply the Reader with their ſeveral Works; ſo that all their Diſcoveries are united in this Body of Travels, with as little Repetition as it is poſſible.

As for Inſtance, *Miſſon*, *Burnet*, and *Ray*, all travelled through *Switzerland*; and yet their Accounts are very different from each other: The firſt confined himſelf chiefly to the Road, and deſcribes only the Places through which, in their ordinary Rout to *Italy*, moſt Travellers muſt viſit. The Second having greater Leiſure, and a Mind of another Turn, is leſs ſolicitous about Places, and more concerned about Perſons; ſo that from him we receive as clear and diſtinct Informations, as to the Tempers and Manners, their Notions in Religion and Politicks, as if we had paſſed as much Time as he did among the *Swiſs*. The Third differs from them both, ſpeaks of Places and Perſons too, and takes in beſides Abundance of Points, that from their Attention to their particular Views had eſcaped the other two; ſo that this may be juſtly reckoned a Kind of Supplement to the other Travels; and, by comparing all three, the Deſcription may be render'd compleat.

Again, as to *Loretto*, and the holy Houſe there, it is mentioned by each of our Travellers, and yet there is little or nothing of Repetition in their Accounts; but there is one Thing very ſingular in Mr. *Ray*'s, that inſtead of entering into a long Detail of all that he ſaw and heard there, and from thence remarking upon and pointing out all the Abſurdities and Inconſiſtencies of that extravagant Fable, he contents himſelf with tranſcribing, which neither of the other two had done, the authentick Account of honeſt Father *Codrington* in plain *Engliſh*; which furniſhes us with ſuch a Hiſtory of Things, as renders Reflections and Remarks entirely needleſs. His Travels through *Naples*, *Sicily* and *Malta*, are in reſpect to thoſe who have gone before, abſolutely new, and carry us to the very Frontiers of *Europe* on that Side; and with reſpect to the laſt mentioned Iſland, I very much doubt, whether there is a better Deſcription extant in any Language. It muſt be, indeed, acknowledged, that he runs ſometimes into very long Digreſſions upon Points of Natural Hiſtory; and the Reaſon that I did not lopp off theſe Digreſſions was, their being of general Uſe, and ſerving to illuſtrate the ſame Points, wherever they occur; ſo that conſidered in this Light, they are very uſeful as well as very entertaining.

It was the Deſign of Mr. *Ray* and his Company to have taken a View of all the Provinces of *France* that lay in their Way to return Home, and to have examined them with the ſame Diligence and Accuracy as they had already practiſed in their Travels through *Italy*: But this Scheme of theirs was defeated by the Difference that happen'd between the two Crowns, the *French* having thought fit, in the firſt *Dutch* War in King *Charles* the Second's Reign, to declare for that Republick againſt *Great Britain*; and, in Conſequence of that Declaration, order'd all the Subjects of the *Britiſh* Crown to quit the Territories of *France* within a certain Time. This obliged Mr. *Ray* and his Company to alter their Intention and Manner of Travelling; ſo that inſtead of looking into and enquiring after every Thing, they were conſtrained to make their Journey in the common Way, and to confine their Acquaintance entirely to the publick Houſes where they lodged, and the People to whom they applied for Bills of Exchange, and other neceſſary Purpoſes, excepting ſome few Places, of which Mr. *Ray* has left us ſome Account, and Mr. *Skippon* a larger, which ſhall follow in the next Chapter.

It may not be amiſs to take Notice here, that Mr. *Skippon* kept alſo a diſtinct Journal of his Travels thro' the *Low Countries*, *Germany* and *Italy*; but as moſt of the Particulars in them, different from what we meet with in Mr. *Ray*, are either honorary or monumental Inſcriptions, or Accounts of Engines and Machines, we were unwilling to interſperſe them with Mr. *Ray*'s Obſervations, becauſe they would not only have lengthen'd this Section beyond due Bounds, but alſo have afforded the Reader very little that is new, ſince they are already included in another Collection. But it is now Time to finiſh theſe Remarks in order to open the next Chapter, which relates to the two great Kingdoms of *France* and *Spain*.

But before we come to this, we ſhall take the Liberty of ſuggeſting, that if modern Travellers through the *Low Countries* would examine the new Manufactures that ſince theſe Gentlemen viſited them are introduced there, and are exported from thence not only into *Germany* and the North, but alſo into the ſeveral Kingdoms of *Europe*, and the Plantations in *America*, dependant upon them, it would be a prodigious Service to this Country. In *Germany* alſo there are many Enquiries to be made, that would be highly uſeful and in their Conſequences very beneficial, in reſpect to Mines more eſpecially, ſince we are well aſſured, that as moſt of the Diſcoveries, in relation to the Working them to Advantage, have hitherto been brought from thence, by the Care of the *Crawley* Family, and others intereſted in Iron Works here; ſo there are ſtill ſeveral Methods practiſed there, which are not yet known, or at leaſt not generally known to our People.

In *Italy* alſo there are many Things relating to the Silk Manufacture that deſerve to be enquired into; and we may very well gueſs at the Importance of ſuch Enquiries, by the Reward given to Sir *Thomas Lombe* for bringing over that celebrated Invention, which has been ſo ſucceſsfully executed in the Machine erected at *Derby*. But excluſive of the Manufactures, it would be of great Conſequence to the Publick, if any Method could be found to open new Markets for Raw Silk; the obtaining which, in the Channel whereby it now comes, ſtands the Nation in vaſt Sums; of which, whatever could be ſaved, would be ſo much clear Gains, and conſequently the general Balance of our Trade would be much more in our Favour.

The Trade of *Naples* and *Sicily* alſo is very capable of being extended and improved, ſince it is certain, that the *French* draw very conſiderable Sums from thoſe

Kingdoms for Commodities and Manufactures which they might receive from us, and though ſome People entertain a Notion, that ſince thoſe Countries fell under the Dominion of the Houſe of *Bourbon*, we are put under greater Difficulties in dealing with their Inhabitants; yet it is very certain we have ſtill a great Advantage over the *French*, which might be rendered of higher Conſequence than hitherto it has been; I mean, the trading with theſe People for their own Goods and Manufactures, which, as on the one Hand it would give us the Preference with reſpect to them, ſo on the other Hand it would increaſe the Shipping employed by us in this Part of the World, and likewiſe enable us to export their Commodities into ſeveral Parts of *Europe*, as well as to our Colonies in *America*.

To ſpeak the Truth, travelling with a Commercial View, though ſo viſibly advantageous to us, has hitherto been very little practiſed, more eſpecially of late Years; and yet one would think Enquiries of this Nature may prove very ſatisfactory, and even as entertaining as the looking after fine Statues, the Pictures of great Maſters, Medals, Bronzes and other Curioſities; ſearching after which take up ſo much of the Time of moſt of our Travellers. Not that I am by any Means an Enemy to Taſte, but that I think in our preſent Condition, ſome Reſpect ſhould alſo be had to our Intereſt, and that in Proportion, as our Expences are increaſed by the Share we take, and are long like to take, in the Affairs of the Continent, ſo we ſhould contrive, if poſſible, to make ourſelves ſome Amends, by enlarging and promoting our Commerce, which, whatever Way thoſe Affairs turn, is the only Means by which we can ever be made the better for them.

CHAPTER IV.

Containing TRAVELS through *Spain*, *France*, and *Navarre*, with Deſcriptions of the ſeveral Provinces and leſſer Diſtricts of thoſe great Countries; of the chief Cities and Ports in them, and of the Commodities and Manufactures, for which they are principally famous.

SECTION I.

The Travels of Francis Willoughby, *Eſq; through the Kingdom of* Spain; *with Obſervations on the Climate and Soil, as well as Produce of the Country; Accounts of natural Curioſities, remarkable Inſcriptions, principal Commodities and Manufactures, and of the Temper, Genius and Cuſtoms of the* Spaniſh *Nation. Interſperſed with ſome Remarks by another Hand.*

1. *An introductory Account of what is to be expected in the following Section.* 2. *The Author begins his Journey from the County of* Rouſillon, *and enters the Kingdom of* Spain *through a very barren and deſart Country. A large Deſcription of the Manner of Gathering, as alſo an Account of the Uſes and Value of Coral.* 3. *The Country of* Catalonia *deſcribed, as alſo the remarkable Mine of* Amethyſts, *at the Hill of St.* Sigminont. 4. *Of the Salt Mines both white and red in this Province; and of the famous Dutchy of* Cardona. 5. *An Account of the Lead-Mines in* Catalonia, *and of the poor living and wretched Condition of the Inhabitants. The City of* Tortoſa, *the* Jaſper *Mines, and other Things remarkable in the Author's Journey to the Banks of the River* Ebro. 6. *A curious and copious Account of the City and Kingdom of* Valentia; *the Univerſity there, and of the very low State of Learning therein.* 7. *An Account of the Sugar Works at* Olives *and at* Gandia, *and of the great Fertility of the adjacent Country.* 8. *Obſervations made by our Author in his Travels through the Kingdom of* Murcia, *the Poverty of the Country, and groſs Ignorance and Superſtition of the People.* 9. *A Deſcription of the Kingdom and City of* Granada, *and of the moſt remarkable Places in its Neighbourhood.* 10. *The Author proceeds to the famous City of* Sevil, *an Account of the moſt remarkable Things there, with two famous Inſcriptions to the Honour of* Ferdinand the Wiſe, *and the Family of the great* Columbus. 11. *Of the Country from* Sevil *to* Madrid, *including a Deſcription of the City of* Cordova, *and ſeveral other Places.* 12. *The Author's Arrival at, and Deſcription of* Toledo, *his Journey from thence to the capital City of* Madrid, *with an Account of what he ſaw moſt remarkable there.* 13. *His Journey from thence to* Burgos, *and from that City to the Province of* Guipuſcoa. 14. *An Account of the Principality of* Biſcay, *and a particular Deſcription of the ſtrong Town and Port of St.* Sebaſtian. 15. *A very large and entertaining Account of the Diſpoſition, Manners, Cuſtoms, Peculiarities, good and bad Qualities, &c. of the* Spaniards. 16. *Some additional Remarks by another Hand.* 17. *Concluſion of the Section, and ſome Obſervations on the moſt remarkable Paſſages therein.*

THE great Deſire Mr. *Willoughby* had to travel through and examine ſuch Countries as were leaſt like his own, that his Obſervations and Remarks might furniſh him with a greater Variety, was the Occaſion of this Journey into *Spain*, in which he parted from Mr *Ray*, and the reſt of his Company, and joined with ſome other *Engliſh* Gentlemen who were reſolved to make the Tour of that Country. It may not be amiſs to inform the Reader, that, from the Time of King *Charles*'s Voyage to that Country, while Prince of *Wales*, in Hopes of Marrying the *Infanta*, the *Engliſh* Nation had acquired ſo ſtrong, and ſo univerſal a Diſlike both to the Country, and to the People, that very few of our Gentlemen that went Abroad, inclined to viſit it; ſo that we had but very indifferent Accounts of what was remarkable there, as may be ſeen, by conſulting the Books of Geography, printed here of an elder Date. After the Reſtoration a very different Spirit prevailed. King *Charles* the ſecond, during his Exile, had travelled much, and among other Countries viſited this, and frequently diſcourſed of the Singularities he had ſeen there, and of the odd Humour and uncouth Diſpoſition of the People. Theſe Diſcourſes of the King's, raiſed the Curioſity of many, and excited in them a Deſire of viewing Places they had otherwiſe never wiſhed to ſee, and converſing with People for whom they had long had both an Averſion and Contempt. But beſides there were other Reaſons that induced Perſons of very different Tempers to think at this Time, a Journey through *Spain* might afford Matter of Inſtruction, as well as Amuſement, which was the Caſe of Mr. *Willoughby*, who had heard that there were various Mines and Manufactures, as well as a Multitude of natural Curioſities in that Country, which might very well juſtify the ſpending a few Months in ſurveying and committing to Paper, an Account of them, for the Improvement of others as well as his own Satiſfaction. If the ſhort Time that he ſpent in his Paſſage through this Kingdom, did not allow him to ſearch into and after every Thing, in as diligent a Manner and with as much Exactneſs as he deſired; yet it muſt be allowed, that he has given us a very judicious and accurate Account of all that he ſaw, ſo as to afford a true, if not a pleaſing Picture of *Spain* and its Inhabitants, at the Time he viſited them; the Reading of which will enable us to form a very juſt Notion of the Places and the People, which is the great End of Travelling, and the higheſt Advantage that can reſult from the Peruſal of Books of this Kind. I have met with a Copy of theſe Travels, which formerly belonged to Sir *Philip Skippon*; and in which there are contained ſome Explanations and Additions, which are here taken in, and conſequently render theſe Travels more curious and valuable. The Neceſſity of keeping within Bounds, renders it improper to extend this Introduction farther, and therefore we will now proceed without Ceremony to the Travels themſelves.

2. *Auguſt* 31, 1664. We left *Bagnols* in the County of *Rouſillon*, being the laſt Town belonging to the *French*, and at about three Fourths of a League's Diſtance came to a great Stone erected here for a Boundary between *France* and *Spain*, and paſſing very bad Way among deſolate Mountains, after many Hours riding, we came to *Lanſa*, the firſt Town of the King of *Spain*'s Country. All along theſe Mountains grow Roſemary, common Furze or Gorſe, and *Agnus caſtus* of two Sorts, the one with a carneous, the other with a blue Flower. From *Lanſa* we went on the ſame Day as far as *Cande Creux*, five Leagues or twenty *Engliſh* Miles from *Bagnols*. Among theſe Mountains we met with no Brooks, and ſcarce any Water. *Sept.* 1. We intended to have ſeen the Coral Fiſhing here; but the windy Weather hinder'd us. The Sea muſt be very calm and ſmooth, elſe it is impoſſible for them to fiſh for it. It grows downwards (as the Urinators told us) under the hollow Rocks, and not upwards as Trees. I believe rather, that it grows indifferently, either upwards or downwards, according to the Situation of the Rocks. The Engine they make Uſe of for getting Coral is, a great Croſs of Wood with a conſiderable Weight of Lead faſten'd at the Center, to which alſo a ſtrong Rope is fixed, and at each Corner there are ſtout Nets made of ſmall Cord: They go out in little Boats, and let down this Croſs; and when they have found a Rock at the Bottom of the Sea, he that manages the Rope, thruſts it into the Hollows, getting in one or two of the Corners; and if there be any Coral, it entangles in the Nets at the End of the Croſs, by which it is torn off and brought up. The natural Colour of the Coral, while it is alive and growing to the Rocks, is a pale carneous; but when the Scurf (which anſwers to the Bark on Trees) is rubbed off, it is red. The Coral, that dies or is broken off from the Rocks, loſes that carneous Scurf or Bark in the Sea, and becomes red, though ſometimes it gets a greeniſh white Ruſt. They ſay it is fifty Years before it comes to its full Growth; but that, I conceive, is an ungrounded Conjecture; they ſometimes, but very rarely, find Branches of three or four Pounds Weight. It rots, dies, grows light, Worm-eaten, and full of Holes like Wood. They all affirmed it to be hard and not ſoft, as it grows under Water, contrary to the current Tradition of the Ancients, *Mollis fuit herba ſub undis.* I believe the outward Scurf or Bark may be ſoft, it eaſily crumbling off afterwards, which might give Occaſion to the Fable. They told us, that a Piece of Coral having the carneous Scurf upon it (wetted) is juſt the ſame as when it is firſt taken out of the Sea. The beſt Coral, rude as it is found, is worth a Piſtole the Pound, or two or three Pieces of Eight: Poliſhed and wrought into Beads, Bracelets, &c. at *Marſeilles* it is ſold for thirty, forty, and ſometimes ſixty Sols, (*i. e.* ſo many Pence) the Ounce. They find here white Coral alſo, but very rarely.

To this Account of our Author, the following Particulars may be added.

The Opinion of the Ancients was clearly that it was a Plant, but this Notion was afterwards queſtioned by ſeveral very learned and great Men; but at this Time of Day, when Opinions in Matters of this Kind are not ſo much regarded, we are ſatisfied from Variety of Experiments, that the old Notion is a Matter of Fact, that it is really a Plant which is petrified, or render'd hard by the Sea-water, that it produces Flowers which are actually viſible; that in the Flowers there are Seed, though entangled in ſuch a Manner in a thick clammy white Juice as not to be diſcerned. It does not grow either at the Bottom of the Sea, as *Kircher* thought, or on the Sides of Rocks, as our Author and moſt learned Men have believed, but at the Top of Rocky Caverns, ſhooting directly towards the Center of the Earth. It is not true that it has any Root, for it is fixed to the Rock by a thin ſmall Plate, and never ſpreads itſelf by darting Fibres upwards, but grows by attracting its proper Nouriſhment from the Sea-water, through its Pores, which are viſible enough: Its Seed are carried by the Waves, and the thick glutinous Liquor in which it is contained, ſticking to the Rock, affords it thereby the Means of growing; but the Structure of it is ſuch, that it cannot grow but vertically in the Manner before-mentioned.

The principal Coral Fiſheries are thoſe in the *Perſian* Gulph, in the *Red-Sea*, in the *Sicilian* and *Neapolitan* Seas, upon the Coaſt of *Africa*, upon the Coaſts of *Minorca*, *Corſica*, and *Provence*; but it is agreed that no Place yields either better, brighter, or greater Plenty of Coral, than at Cape *Quiers* in *Catalonia*, which is the very Place our Author ſpeaks of: The Time in which they fiſh for it, is from the Beginning of *April* to the End of *July*. The beſt Account we have of any Coral Fiſhery, is that managed by a *French* Company, at a Place called the *Baſtion of France*, on the Coaſt of *Africa*; and as Experience has taught all that are concerned in this Trade, to purſue it in the ſame Manner, or at leaſt very nearly in the ſame Manner, one Deſcription will ſerve as well as many. When we ſay that theſe are the principal Coral Fiſheries, we do not mean that there may not be others; for we know there are both in the *Eaſt Indies* and the *Weſt*, but they are ſmall and inconſiderable in Compariſon of thoſe that we have mentioned, in Reſpect as well to the Coral which is gathered, as to the Quantities that are gathered; and perhaps it might be worth while to conſider, why Coral grows plentifully in ſome Seas, rarely in others, and in many not at all. But at preſent let us ſpeak of the Manner in which this Commerce is carried on.

The Coral Fiſhers, or as our Author calls them *Urinators*, come a little before the Seaſon begins, to the *Baſtion of France*, without either Tackle or Tools, without Veſſels, and without Money. The firſt Thing they do is to ſeparate into Crews. The Crew of a Coral Fiſhing-boat may conſiſt of ſeven, but it is generally compoſed of eight; the Patron, or Maſter of the Boat, the Man that throws the Croſs, and ſix Seamen that manage the Boat and aſſiſt in dragging the Machine aboard. Upon applying to the Company, they are furniſhed with a proper Veſſel, which the *French* ſtile *Satteau*, that is a long ſharp Boat with very large Sails, ſo that they go at a great Rate, and are not eaſily taken. They are likewiſe furniſhed with all Kind of Tackle and Proviſions upon Credit. Then they enter into Articles for the Price of the Coral, which is generally fixed at a *French* Crown a Pound, or thereabouts. They likewiſe engage to ſell all that they take at that Rate, upon Pain of corporal Puniſhment if they are detected in a clandeſtine Commerce. Thus equipp'd, they proceed to Sea, but they are not obliged to deliver their Coral till the Seaſon is over. Then each Boat's Crew brings their Stock on Shore, where it is divided into thirteen equal Parts, of which the Maſter of the Veſſel has four, he that manages the Machine two, and each of the Crew one; the thirteenth Part belongs to the Company, and goes in Diſcharge of the Equipment. In a good Seaſon, a Boat will bring twenty five hundred Weight of Coral, from whence the Reader may judge of the Profit which attends this Fiſhery; and if he deſires to be informed of the total Value, it is enough to ſay, that it is thought a very flouriſhing Seaſon, when two hundred of theſe Veſſels are employed. The Buſineſs of Coral fiſhing is both laborious and dangerous; it requires great Skill and Dexterity to heave the Croſs, and no ſmall Labour and Diligence to get it on board again, beſides the great Riſk they run from Storms, Accidents in their Fiſhing, and Pyrates, all which taken together, keep the Coral Fiſhers ſo poor, that the Company never wants Servants.

As for the Uſes of Coral, one may ſafely reckon three. Firſt, thoſe for which it ſerves in Phyſick, and there want not many Writers who have raiſed theſe very high, and ſuggeſted, that Wonders might be done by Tinctures, Elixirs, Magiſteries, and other Preparations of Coral, which in Proceſs of Time, however, have been exploded, and are grown altogether out of Uſe. But from the Powder and Salt, and ſome other Medicines more eaſily made, and of as great Efficacy as the former, ſince Coral can only operate as a Sweetner, and as an Abſorbent, it is ſtill a good Thing in this Reſpect, and great Quantities of it are continually vended. The ſecond Uſe it is put to, is for Toys, ſuch as Necklaces, Bracelets, adorning Rock and Shell-Work, and other Purpoſes of the like Nature. Laſtly, it is exported into the moſt diſtant Parts of the World, where it is in very high Eſteem, particularly in *Perſia*, and among the *Tartars*. But the beſt Market in the World (if it could be got thither) is *Japan*; where it is eſteemed beyond all precious Stones whatever, Emeralds, Rubies and Diamonds themſelves not excepted; and this for the beſt Reaſon in the World, becauſe all theſe Jewels they have, but Coral they have not. The Coral that is commonly brought to Market is either red or white, the former is employed in Toys, and the latter ſold to the Apothecaries; but beſides theſe, there are ſome Pieces of a fleſh Colour, and ſome Green, but this comes from *America*. When it is wrought into Beads and Necklaces, it ſells in the *Levant* for about five Shillings an Ounce, ſometimes for more. It has been already obſerv'd, that large Pieces of Coral are a very great Rarity, and this the famous Mr. *Lemery*, and ſome other learned Perſons aſcribe to the Nature of the Plant, but without any kind of Reaſon, except this may paſs for one, that Coral is of a very ſlow Growth, and that muſt be allowed to be the true Reaſon. For Coral requiring many Years to reach a large Size, and the Coral Fiſhers purſuing their Trade conſtantly every Seaſon, it muſt neceſſarily follow, that ſcarce any large Coral can be obtained, becauſe they never ſuffer it to grow. Beſides this, as the Coral Fiſhers are paid by Weight, without any Diſtinction between great and ſmall Coral, they are not at all ſolicitous as to the Size, Colour or Quality, but are barely taken up about the Quantity of Coral, that they can take and bring to Market. Theſe ſeem to be the principal and moſt material Points that relate to the Hiſtory of this ſubmarine Plant. It would be equally uſeful and curious, if we could enter into, and furniſh the Reader with as copious, and as diſtinct Accounts of the other Curioſities that occur in our Author's Travels. Where this is in our Power we ſhall not fail to do it, but in the mean Time, let us return to his Narration, which we ſhall again purſue in his own Words.

Near *C. de Creux* upon the Mountains, they find a kind of *Selenitis*, which may be cut or ſlit into very thin Plates like the common *Muſcovy* Glaſs. Upon the Shore are thrown up *Conchæ venereæ* of ſeveral Sorts and Magnitudes, and other ſmall Shells of Affinity to them, which they call *Porcellane*. Theſe they put in the Juice of Lemons or Citrons, and ſet them out in an open Bottle all Night. The Dew mingling with the acid Juice, diſſolves the Porcellane: This Liquor they uſe for a Coſmetic. They catch Fiſh about *C. de Creux* as at *Naples*, by hanging a Firebrand or other Light at the End of the Boat, which intices the Fiſh into the Boats. This Day we paſſed by *Roſes*, a ſtrong Garriſon, *Villa ſacra*, and lay at *Figera*.

3. *September* 2. We paſſed *Criſpia*, *Baſalon*, *Argelagues*, and lay at *Caſtel Foulet*, five Leagues. All the Way we obſerved Abundance of Pomegranate Trees. *Caſtel Foulet* is a ſmall Garriſon. On the 3d we paſſed by *Aulot*, where we ſaw a *Buſalore*, of which there are divers in that Town. It is a Hole or Cave, out of which continually iſſues a cool Air. They keep Bottles of Wine, Fruit, *&c.* in a little Houſe built over the Cave. The Wine here kept drinks as cool as if it were kept in Ice or Snow. They ſay that it is the Water running and falling down under the Ground that makes theſe *Spiracula*, which is not unlikely. They are all on the Left-ſide of the River, as you go to *Vict* on the Right. This Day alſo we paſſed *Rhoda*, and lay at *Vict*, ſeven Leagues. On the 4th we went to the Hill where the Amethyſts, or Violet Stones, are found, diſtant two Leagues from *Vict*, called *Sigminont*. On the Top of the Hill is an Hermitage and Place of Devotion, where *Sigminont*, a *Burgundian* King, did Penance. The Amethyſts are found lower in the Side of the Hills. Viſcount *Jacque* is Lord of the Soil, and whoever opens a Mine, pays him a Piſtole and a half *per Menſem*. They find the Stones by following a Vein of reddiſh or black Earth, or a Vein in the Rock ſo colour'd. They are all hexangular, and pointed like Cryſtal. There are of three Sorts; the beſt are the blackeſt or deepeſt Violet; others are alſo quite white; ſome, but very rarely, are found tinctured with yellow. They ſometimes ſtick a great many together to the Rock, like *Briſtol* Diamonds, but thoſe are never good; the beſt are found looſe in the Chinks of the Rock, in a fat, yellowiſh, or reddiſh Earth. They ſcrape out this Earth with long narrow Knives that enter into the Chinks, and then crumble it in Pieces with their Fingers to feel for the Stones. They are afterwards ground and poliſhed upon Leaden Moulds, after the ſame Manner as Cryſtal is. Firſt they uſe the Duſt of *Smiril* or Emery, and at laſt of *Tripoli*. All along the Way to this Hill we ſaw Abundance of *Arbutus*, and *Rhus Coriariorum*, called *Rhondo*. In this Country they uſe not Bark of Oak to tan their Leather, as we do, but the Leaves and Branches of this Shrub, which they firſt bruiſe with a perpendicular Stone, and then mingle with Water, and heating the Water lukewarm, ſteep the Skins in it three or four Days. In theſe Mountains are alſo found Emeralds, Gold, and other Sorts of Minerals and Stones, but it doth not turn to Account to ſearch for them. Topazes are found in a Lake called the Lake of *Silees*, not far from St. *Colonna*, near *Girona*. They find them upon the Shore of the Lakes. At *Vict* there is a great Market-place, and a Church at a Convent ſaid to have been built by *Charlemagne*, when he had diſcomfited the *Saracens*, and driven them out of *Catalonia*. This Night we lodged at *Moia*, having travelled only three Leagues. On the 6th we rode within Sight of *Montſerret*, broken at the Top into Rocks, ſtanding like the Teeth of a Saw, from whence it took its Name. There is a Chapel of our Lady, a Place of great Devotion. This Night we lodged at *Caſa della Pobla*, a ſingle Inn, five Leagues.

We came to *Cardona*, two Leagues. All the Way as we rode, the Rocks and Stones were full of round Holes, juſt like thoſe in the Stones at *Ancona*, in which the *Pholades* harbour, and there is no Queſtion but theſe Holes have been made by ſome Animal before the Stones were hardened.

4. On the 8th, we viewed the Mountain of *Salt*, where were three Officers, one to weigh the Salt, another to receive Money, and the third to keep Accounts. The Revenue of this Salt amounts yearly to about 30,000 Pieces of Eight. For every Quintal, that is 104 Pounds, they pay ten Reals. The Salt is hard and tranſparent, like Cryſtal, and when powdered white as Snow. They hew it out with Axes and Mattocks, and make Chaplets, Boxes, *&c.* of it. They ſay there is no End of it, but that it reaches to the Center of the Earth. Near the Place where they work, there are two Caves within the Rock of Salt, to the End of one of which they durſt never venture. Not far from this there is another Mountain of Salt, where the Salt ſticks to the Rocks, and is moſt of it tinctured with red. Of this red Salt they make broad Plates like Tiles, which they call *Ruggiolas*; theſe they heat before the Fire,

but never put them into it, and uſe them to take away Aches, ſtrengthen the Stomach, keep the Feet warm, *&c.* Well heated on both Sides, they will keep warm for twenty four Hours. Amongſt this red Salt there is a kind of *Selenitis* (which ſome call *Iſing-glaſs*, and the *Italians*, *Geſſo*, from the *Latin* Word *Gypſum*, ſignifying Chalk, becauſe when burnt, it is turned into a white *Calx*) which naturally roches into *parallelipipeda*, of the Figure of a Lozenge. Of which Sort of Stones are found in ſeveral Places of our Nation. About theſe Mountains of Salt grows great Plenty of *Halimus* and *Limonium*.

Cardona is a Dukedom, containing three or four Villages beſides the Town. The Duke thereof is one of the richeſt Grandees of *Spain*, having three Dukedoms, four Marquiſates, two Earldoms, *&c.* The Name of his Family is *Folke*. He lives, for the moſt Part, at *Madrid*, but ſends every three Years a Governor. The King of *Spain* hath nothing at all to do with this City, and the Duke never impoſes any Taxes, but enjoys only all the Tithes of the Corn, Wine, *&c.* There is a Council of Thirty-ſix, changed every Year, and he that has been of the Council, muſt wait three Years before he can be choſen again. The laſt Thing the Council does is, to chuſe a new Council for the Year following. This new Council is divided into four Ranks, not equally, but as the old Council ſhall think fit, and their Names are put into four Boxes; out of every Box a Child takes out one to be Conſul. He that is drawn out of the firſt Box is the firſt Conſul, and ſo in Order. Near the Town is a Caſtle, and in the Caſtle a Tower, ſaid to be built by *Charlemagne*. Every Duke hath an Oath given him by the Conſuls, wherein is an Article, that he muſt reſide in the Caſtle, which is never kept.

5. *September* 9. We paſſed through *Kalab*, and lay at a lone Inn a League and a half further, four Leagues and a half diſtant from *Cardona*. On the 10th we paſſed through St. *Columba*, *Rocoafort*, and lay at *Sirreal*, five Leagues and a half. *Sept.* 11. We paſſed by *Pobla*, a famous ancient Monaſtery, about two Leagues diſtant from *Sirreal*. In the Church, there are a great many Monuments. They told us thirteen Queens and eleven Kings lay interred there. Then we paſſed *Praves*, and lay that Night at *Coulnouvil*, five Leagues. All over *Catalonia* they reckon a League two Hours, and make Account that four *Catalonian* Leagues are equal to ſix *French*. We heard that there were Amethyſts alſo found about *Praves*.

On the 12th, we paſſed by *Falſot*, two Leagues from *Coulnouvil*, where are a great many Lead Mines. The Ore is very rich, and they melt it juſt as it is taken out of the Mine, without beating it to Powder. They ſell the Ore for forty Reals of *Ardiſ* the Quintal, a Quintal being 122 Pounds. Five Quintals of Ore uſually yield four Quintals of Lead. This Town, and the Mines about it, belong to the Duke of *Cardona*. They told us, that the Vein of Metal lay always *Eaſt* and *Weſt*. The beſt and fineſt of this Ore they grind to Powder, and thereof make Varniſh to lead earthen Pots and Veſſels with, ſprinkling the Powder upon the Pots. This Night we lay at *Tiviſa*, four Leagues. On the 13th we paſſed *Venu-ſalet*, *Tivians*, and lodged at *Tortoſa*, ſix Leagues. All along the Way we ſaw a great deal of *Palma humilis Hiſpanica non ſpinoſa*. The Fruit grew up in Bunches out of the Ground, like the Berries of *Arum*, and was not much bigger. Thoſe that were ripe were of a reddiſh Colour, of an oblong Figure, and divided into four Quarters; thoſe that were leſs ripe were yellowiſh; the Skin and Pulp very thin, and did but juſt ſerve to cover the Stone. It hath the Smell and Taſte of Dates. The Stones being broken, are not at all hollow, but have a hard white Kernel or Pearl within them. We obſerved alſo Abundance of *Garoffus* (as they call it) *i. e. Caroba ſive Siliqua dulcis*, the Cods, whereof they give their Mules inſtead of Provender. The *Spaniſh* Soldiers, at the Siege of *Barcelona*, had nothing but theſe *Siliquæ* and Water to live upon. All over *Catalonia* the People are generally poor. They uſe neither Glaſs nor Paper in their Windows, but only Shutters of Wood.

Tortoſa is a very poor and deſolate Town: There is a Bridge of Boats over the River *Iberus*, now called *Ebro*, in Sight of which we rode all along from *Tiviſa* hither. At *Tortoſa* they were wont to make Saltſellers, Mortars, Bowls, Beads, *&c.* of a Kind of Marble of a mingled Colour, red and yellow, found near the Town, which they call *Jaſper*, and of another greeniſh Marble ſpotted with black, brought from *Genoa*.

We went to the Jaſper Mine, about two Miles from the Town, with one of the chief Workmen. We ſaw there vaſt Pillars hewn out and wrought for a Church in *Palermo*. He told us, that all the Veins of Marble, Jaſper, *&c.* went from Eaſt to Weſt; that they ſawed thoſe Stones to make Tables, *&c.* with only Water and Sand; that when there was not enough red in the Stone, they made little Holes, and ſet in red Stones; that the Cement they uſed for all Stones in *Moſaic* Work, was made of one half Maſtich and one half *Greek* Pitch; that in building, they joined the Stones together with ordinary Lime, but on the Outſide they filled up the Chinks with a Cement made of the Powder of the Jaſpar mingled with Sulphur and *Mangra*; to make it more white they put in more Sulphur; to make it more red, they put in more *Mangra*. The Jaſper was hewed out with Chizzles and Hammers, juſt as Stone in our Stone Pits: It is afterwards poliſhed with Armoril, *i. e.* the Powder they uſe to poliſh Armour with, and to give it a Luſtre, ſo that one may ſee his Face in it with the Powder of the Cinders of the beſt Tin. This Day we ſet out towards *Valence*, paſſing *Ebro* by the Bridge of Boats, and lodged at *Galera*, a ſmall Village two Leagues diſtant from *Tortoſa*.

6. *Sept.* 16. We paſſed by *Tregera*, whereabouts ſeemed to be the Ruins of an old *Roman* Way. *Mattheau*, *Salſandail*, and lay at *Leſcouvas*, ſeven Leagues. Near *Leſcouvas* we found Store of *Oleander* with a red Flower. On the 17th we paſſed *Cabanes*, *Pobletta*, *Buriol*, *Villareale*, *Annules*, ſeven Leagues. This Journey we ſaw a great many Rivers quite dried up, and for above a Month together had ſcarce any Rain, that little that was always came juſt from the Sea. On the 18th, we paſſed *Chinces*, *Almenara*, *Moulvedere*, *Maſſa*, *Magril*, *Abalade*, and arrived at *Valence*, ſeven Leagues. Near *Valence* the Country is very populous, and well cultivated; Abundance of Mulberry-trees are planted in Rows all the Fields over. As we paſſed through the Market-place at *Valence*, all the People houted at us, and threw Parings of Melons, *&c.* on our Cloaks. It ſeems they are not uſed to ſee Strangers and Travellers there. This was the firſt Place in *Spain* where we were ſearched. In this City is an Univerſity. I heard a Profeſſor read Logic. The Scholars are ſufficiently inſolent and very diſputacious. One of them aſked me, *Quid eſt Ens univerſale?* and whether I was of *Thomas Aquinas*'s Opinion? Another, *Quid eſt Genus?* None of them underſtood any Thing of the new Philoſophy, or had ſo much as heard of it: None of the new Books are to be found in any of their Bookſellers Shops: In a Word, the Univerſity of *Valence* is juſt where our Univerſities were an hundred Years ago.

In the Kingdom of *Valence* the King of *Spain* is not abſolute; but to impoſe Taxes, raiſe Soldiers, *&c.* he muſt have the Conſent of the three Eſtates, *i. e.* 1. the Clergy, 2. the Nobility, 3. the Cities and Villages; and if one of theſe refuſe to conſent, nothing can be done. Theſe three Eſtates have ſix Deputies, two for each, who are changed every third Year. Of the two for the Cities, one is for the City of *Valentia*, and the other for all the reſt. Each City chuſing a Syndic, one is taken by Lot to be a Deputy. The ſix Deputies have the Care and Government of the Militia. Upon any urgent Occaſion, the Deputies muſt aſſemble the three Eſtates, *i. e.* the chief of the Clergy, the Nobility, and the Syndics of the Cities. The City of *Valence* is governed by Six Jurats or Conſuls. They are taken by Lot out of ſix Urns or Burſes, two out of each: In the firſt Urn are the Names of all the better Sort of Nobility that have the Title of *Dons*; in the

Second Urn, the Names of all the lower Rank of Nobility that have not the Title of *Dons*; in the Third, the Names of all rich Citizens that are not Gentlemen: They muſt have at leaſt four hundred Crowns yearly Rent, beſides what their Wives bring. Beſides theſe, there is a Rationel and two Syndics changed every third Year, ſix Advocates for their Lives, and forty Plebeians changed yearly. The City being divided into fifteen Trades or Companies, each Company chuſes two, which make thirty; the other ten are choſen, two by the Rationel, and eight by the ſix Jurats, and two Syndics, each chuſing one. Of all theſe Officers and the Forty Plebeians conſiſt the Senate. But nothing can be done, unleſs there be Twenty-nine of the Plebeians preſent at leaſt. There is alſo, 1. a Judge for criminal Cauſes, taken by Turns out of the three Urns, and changed yearly. He hath an Advocate to aſſiſt him, who is changed yearly, but ſo that all the Advocates in the City have the Place by Turns: And a *Lieutenant Criminal* taken by Lot out of the Forty Plebeians. 2. A *Muſtafa*, who has the Care of all Kind of Victuals, Corn, Weights, Meaſures, *&c.* He is taken by Lot out of the three Burſes, as the Criminal Judge is, and hath alſo a Lieutenant out of the Forty. There is beſides, a Judge for Civil Cauſes, taken out of the three Burſes, who has an Advocate like the Criminal Judge: But he cannot decide Cauſes of above fifteen Crowns.

The Univerſity is govern'd by the Town, who every third Year chuſe a *Rector* that muſt be a Canon. The other Officers are, a Beadle, a Serjeant, and a Puntadore, who is to take Notice when any Profeſſor fails to read. There are eight *Præpoſiti* in this Univerſity, four for Divinity, two for the Canon Law, and two for the Civil Law, who have each 500 Crowns yearly. There are alſo four Readers for Philoſophy, ſeven for Phyſick, one for the *Greek* Tongue, one for the *Hebrew*, and two for the Mathematicks. Theſe have but ſmall Stipends; but all their Scholars, who come to hear their Lectures, pay ſomewhat yearly. If a Profeſſor promote three rich Scholars, that are able to pay the Fees to any Degree, he may promote a Fourth that is poor for nothing. The Degrees are the ſame with thoſe in our Univerſities, *viz.* 1. Batchelor after they have finiſhed a Courſe in Philoſophy; which Degree coſts about twelve Crowns. 2. Maſter of Arts, which coſts eighty. 3. Batchelor in Divinity, Law or Phyſick, which coſts ſixteen. 4. Doctor, which coſts one hundred and fifty. They may be Maſters of Arts preſently after they are Batchelors, if they will; and in like Manner Doctors. In the Market at *Valence*, and all *Spain* over, they divide Hens and Chickens into Pieces, and ſell them by Quarters; they make great Veſſels of Goat Skins to put Wine and Oil in; and leſſer Bottles, which they call Boto's. The Women paint, laying it on ſo thick, as if one daubed *Minium* upon a Wall. No Garriſon nor Soldier here.

7. *Sept.* 24. We ſet out from *Valence*, and paſſing by *Maſaneſſe*, *Catarezi* and *Seille*, and lodged at *Muſſafes*, three Leagues. Coming out of *Valence*, we were forced to give Money at three Places to avoid Searching. We paſſed *Cullera*, where we ferried over a great River, called *Xucar*, and lay at *Gandia*. There is a College and an Univerſity, as appears by this Inſcription upon the Wall of the College. *Sanctus Franciſcus à Borgia Dux Gandiæ*, 4, *Præpoſitus generalis Societatis Jeſu* 3, *hoc Collegium & hanc Univerſitatem a fundamentis erexit.* A. D. 1546. At *Cullera* the Wine firſt began to be ſweet, and three Leagues off at *Gandia* the Plantations of Sugar Canes began. Q. Whether the Nature of the Soil that was fit to nouriſh the Sugar Canes did not alſo contribute to the Sweetneſs of the Grapes? At *Gandia* we firſt found Raiſins of the Sun (as they are called in *England*;) in *Spain* they call this kind *Panſas*, and they ſeem to be the *Duracinæ* of the Ancients. They are all white, round, and have a tougher Skin than other Grapes. They gather them when fully ripe, and dip them in a boiling *Lixivium* of Water and Aſhes, juſt dipping them in, and taking them out again, and then dry them upon Boards in the Sun, taking them in by Night, or in foul Weather. The Name Raiſin comes from *Racemus*. Figs are dried juſt as they are gathered, not being dipp'd in any *Lixivium*.

On the 26th, I went to *Olives*, where and at *Gandia*, are the Engines for Sugar Works; the beſt are at *Olives*. By the Way we ſaw the Sugar Canes growing in ſeveral Places. They are planted in low wet Grounds well mucked and dreſſed, divided into the Beds or Hillocks and Furrows. They cut the Canes cloſe to the Roots in *November* and *December*, and cutting off the ſlender Tops, which afford no good Juice, keep them under Ground till *March*, and then prick them into theſe Hillocks or Beds. Out of every Talea or Cut, ſhoot four, five or ſix Canes, which will be ripe the next *December*. The Knots or Joints of the Cane at the Bottom are very cloſe together, ſcarce an Inch aſunder; but upwards the Diſtance is more, as the Cane grows ſlenderer. Within is a white Pulp or Pith, full of Sap ſweet as Honey. They ſell them at *Gandia* to eat, and cutting them into Pieces juſt in the Middle, between two Knots, ſuck the Pieces at both Ends: To make Sugar, after Canes are cleanſed from the Tops and Leaves, and cut into Pieces, they are firſt bruiſed, either with a perpendicular Stone, running round as Apples to make Cyder, or Olives to make Oil, or between two Axes ſtrongly capp'd with Iron, horizontally placed, and turned contrary Ways, and then preſſed, as Grapes or Olives are. The Juice thus preſſed out is boiled in three ſeveral Cauldrons one after another. In the third Cauldron it becomes thick and black, and is then put into conical Pots, which at the Bottom have a little Hole ſtopped only with coarſe and foul Sugar; Mr. *Ligon* ſaith, with Plantain Leaves. Theſe Pots are covered, when full, with a Cake of Paſte made of a kind of Earth call'd in *Spaniſh*, *Gritty*, and found near *Olives*, which is good to take Spots out of Clothes; which Cap or Cover ſinks as the Sugar ſinks. Mr. *Swift* told me, that the Clay they uſe with us is Tobacco-Pipe Clay, or very like it, and that the Water in the Clay ſerved to waſh down and carry away the *Moloſſes*, at leaſt the Clay helps the Separation and Precipitation of it. Theſe conical Pots are put into other Pots, into which, by the Hole at the *Vertex*, the Juice drains down through the coarſe Sugar at the Bottom. It drains ſo for five or ſix Months, in which Time the Sugar in the conical Pots grows hard and white, all the Juice being either drunk up by the Lute or run out by the Hole at the *Vertex*. The Juice is boiled again ſo long as it is good for any thing, but at laſt it makes only a foul red Sugar, that will never be better. The conical Loaves of Sugar, after they are taken out, are ſet to drain over the ſame Pots for fourteen or fifteen Days. To make the Sugar more white they muſt boil it again, but about one Sixth is loſt every Time. A Pound of Sugar of twelve Ounces is ſold at *Olives* for three *Sous* and a half, refined for five or ſix *Sous*. The Sugar Juice is ſtrained through Strainers of Linnen, as it is put out of one Cauldron into another. They take it out of the firſt and ſecond Cauldrons ſo ſoon as it begins to boil, but in the third Cauldron they let it boil till the Scum riſes, and then take off only the Scum with a Scummer, and put it into a long Trough to cool, and when it is cool, put it into the conical Pots. One Scum riſes after another in the third Cauldron. The Scum when it is taken off is white, but turns to a black Liquor in the Trough. They never refine the Sugar more than three or four Times. They uſe for the refining of it, Whites of Eggs, putting in two or three Dozen into a Cauldron. They uſe but one Cauldron for refining. When it is refined it grows white and hard in nine or ten Days. The Juice boiled up is eaten with Bread toaſted, as Honey; the Juice of the refined Sugar is much better than the firſt Juice. The Duke of *Gandia* ſends Preſents of this refined Juice to the Queen of *Spain*. When they refine it, they put a little Water into the Cauldrons, to diſſolve it the better. But for a more exact Deſcription of the whole Proceſs of the Sugar Works, I refer to *Piſo*, in his Natural Hiſtory of *Braſil*; and *Ligon*, in his Deſcription of *Barbadoes*. The Sugar of *Olives* is better than the

Sugar of *Gandia*. At *Mentria* in *Granada* they alſo make a great deal of Sugar. About *Valence*, *Gandia*, *&c.* the Earth is always wrought, and never lies fallow or idle. They reckon five *Raccolta*'s or Crops in one Year. 1. Of Mulbery-Leaves for Silk. 2. Wheat and other *European* Grain. 3. *Darſi*, i. e. *Maiz* or *Indian* Wheat. 4. Grapes. 5. Olives; and 6. At *Gandia*, Sugar Canes. After the Wheat is cut, they preſently ſow the *Indian* Wheat. They complained that lately for a great many Years together, they had very bad *Raccolta*'s, for Want of Rain, which had almoſt ruined *Spain*.

8. On the 27th, We paſſed *Benegana*, and lay at *Chativer*, ſix Leagues and a half. *Chativer* is an ancient Town of the *Moors*, and was once Head of one of their little Kingdoms. About a League from the Town began a very remarkable Aqueduct made by them. It was juſt over a River along the Side of a Hill in moſt Places, not above a Yard or two under Ground, and had a great many Funnels like the Tops of Chimnies, to give Vent, and let out the Water when there ſhould be too much. The Tops of theſe Funnels were made of a red Clay and pebble Stones. The Water came almoſt to the Top in all of them, but run over in one. On the 28th, we paſſed in Sight of *Monteſa*, a Caſtle belonging to the Knight of *Monteſa*, that wear a red Croſs, *Orlemente*, and lodged at *Bechert*, ſix Leagues. On the 29th, near *Alicant* among the Mountains, there is a very good Breed of Falcons. In the Plains near *Alicant* grows Abundance of *Gramen ſpartum Plinii ſive Sportularum Officinarum. J. B. i. e.* Mat-weed, of which the Frails, wherein they put Raiſins and other Fruits, are made. This in *Spain* they call *Spar*, at *Marſeilles*, *Auffe*. The Women hereabout gather Abundance of this, and ſteep it in Sea-water till it be well ſoftened. Then they dry it, and carry it by Sea to *Marſeilles*, where they ſell it at eight Crowns the Milliere: Every Milliere conſiſts of ten Pachieres; every Pachiere of one hundred *Manado*'s or Handfuls. Of this they make Cables for Ships, Baſkets, *&c.* In this Day's Journey we ſaw a great many Fountains covered with long Arches to hinder them from being dried up. We paſſed *Elda*, *Novelda*, *Aſpe*, *Clavillente*, *Albitella*, and lay at *Orivola*, eleven Leagues.

On the 30th, We came to *Murcia*, four Leagues. Near *Orivola* (which City is an epiſcopal See) we obſerved many Turpentine-trees, ſome with Flower, and ſome with ripe Berries. Near *Elda* they dig up a Sort of *Selenite*, which they put into Wine to clarify it. About a League from *Orivola* began the Kingdom of *Murcia*; two Leagues from *Orivola*, we were forced to give Money to avoid Searching. *Murcia*, which gives Denomination to this Kingdom, is a pitiful and deſolate Town. The Fiſh-Market here is ſhut up in a Cage or Grate, as at *Genoa*, the People crowding about it, and thruſting in their Baſkets as there. *October* 1. we travelled through a miſerable deſolate Country to *Mula*, ſeven Leagues. On the 2d, we paſſed through *Caravacca*, where they drive a great Trade of making little Croſſes of Silver, Braſs, Wood, *&c.* After that Pilgrims, *&c.* have bought them, they carry them to the Caſtle to touch them by a famous Croſs, which, according to their fabulous Legend, deſcended miraculouſly from Heaven, which forſooth infuſes a wonderful Virtue into them. We lay this Night at a lone Houſe, four Leagues off *Caravacca*, having travelled in all ten Leagues.

On the 3d, We paſs'd by *Venta nova*, and came to *Hueſca*, eight Leagues. At *Hueſca*, we firſt ſaw a yellowiſh White-wine like Sack. The Kingdom of *Granada* began about four Leagues before we came to *Hueſca*. The Town of *Hueſca* belongs to the Duke of *Alva*. On the 4th, we paſſed by *Baſa*, and reſted at *Venta*, eight Leagues. We travelled to *Guadix*, an epiſcopal See, and ancient *Roman* Colony. Upon the Gates we took Notice of this Inſcription. *Recepit Colonia Accitana Gemelenſis Provinciæ caput prima omnium Hiſpanicarum fidem, Chriſti Jeſu, rejectis idolis evangelizantibus ſanctis Torcato & ſociis, Anno Salutis 70. Pontificatus S. Petri, 37. imperii Neronis 13. Urbs Accis patrono ſuo ſanctiſſimo. D. D. 1593.*

Honorati ſunt Amici tui Deus.

9. On the 6th, We travelled to *Granada*, ſix Leagues diſtant from *Deſinos*, where we lodged the Night before. Here we ſaw the Caſtle called *La Lambra*, the Seat of the Kings of *Granada*. Within the Walls of the Caſtle live Abundance of People, which dare not live in the City, for Debt, or other Cauſes. There is a fair Palace begun by *Charles* V. and yet unfiniſhed; the Outſide of it is ſquare, but it is round within, having two Rows of Cloiſters, one above another, round about the Court. Adjoining to this is the ancient Palace of the Kings of *Granada*; within there is all the ſame kind of Moreſco Work, wrought in Mortar and Stone, with Gold and Painting. The Cloiſters are ſupported by long ſlender Pillars. In this Palace is an octagonal Chamber, vaulted at the Top with eight Doors, one in every Side. If one ſtand in one Angle, and whiſper to another who ſtands in the Angle diametrically oppoſite, the Voice is conveyed, as in the Whiſpering Place at *Glouceſter*: But if you ſtand in an Angle that is not diametrically oppoſite, you hear nothing. The Reaſon of conveying the Voice, is the Vault above, and the Corners being ſtreightned into a very ſharp Angle or Channel. In *Granada* are two great Market-Places, one called *Plaſſa nova*, the other *de villa Rambla*. In the great Church are two Monuments, one for *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella*, with this Inſcription, *Mahometicæ ſectæ proſtratores Hereticæ prævicaciæ extinctores Fernandus Aragonum & Heliſabetha Caſtillæ, vir & uxor unanimes, Catholici appellati marmoreo clauduntur hoc Tumulo.* The other is of *Philippus* I. and of *Joanna*, Daughter and Heir of *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella*, without an Inſcription. In the River *Daro*, that runs by *Granada*, they find Gold among the Sand. In the Mountains of *Sierra niveda*, near *Granada*, are ſaid to be divers Sorts of Minerals, which are not at all looked after. Near *Motril*, at the *Capo di Gatto*, there is a Mine of Granates covered with the Sea. They are pointed as Amethyſts and Chryſtal, but the beſt come from *Africa*. We ſaw that Day *Monte ſacro*, a Place within half a League of the Town, of great Devotion. In *Caſtile*, *Granada*, *&c.* the greater Cities have a *Corregidore*, and the leſſer an *Alcayde*, who adminiſters Juſtice, and are appointed and ſent by the King to govern the Towns. All over the Kingdom of *Caſtile* they eat Fleſh upon *Saturdays*, and obſerve only *Fridays*. On the 12th, we left *Granada*, and paſſing by *Santa Feda*, travelled to *Lotta*, eight Leagues. 13. At *Lotta* we were troubled with Soldiers, that came from the Frontiers of *Portugal*, to take up their Winter Quarters. There had been of this Party 2600, but this Summer at *Alcantara* they were reduced to 900, the reſt being ſlain, or dead of Diſeaſes. We paſſed this Day by *Archidona*, *Lalameda*, *Laronda*, and lay at *Pedrera*, ten Leagues.

10. On the 14th, We paſſed by *Oſſuna*, *la Pobla*, and lay at *Elazabel*, ten Leagues. This Country was the beſt we ſaw ſince we came into *Spain*, the Land being for the moſt Part well planted and cultivated. On the 15th, We paſſed by *Gandula*, and arrived at *Sevil*, ſeven Leagues. Between *Gandula* and *Sevil* there are Abundance of Olive-trees. Here we firſt ſaw the greater Sort of Olives, which are uſually eaten in *England* for a Sallet, called the great *Spaniſh* Olive; all that we had ſeen in *Italy* or in *Spain* before, being of the leſſer Sort. Here is a brave Aqueduct of Brick, which conveys Water from *Carmona*, ſix Leagues diſtant: Under the Arches there are *Stalactites*, as at the Aqueduct of *Piſa*. The Galleons bring nothing Home from the *Weſt-Indies*, but Plate; the Merchant Ships are loaden with Leather, *Cocoa*, Sugar, *Lana di Vigonna*, &c. Of the *Cocoa* Nut, they make *Chocolate*, thus; firſt they toaſt the Berries to get off the Huſk, then pound the Kernels to Powder, and to every Milao, *i. e.* three Pound and a half of Powder, they add and mingle, two Pound of Sugar, twelve *Vanilla*'s, a little *Pimentone* or *Guiny* Pepper, (which is uſed by the *Spaniards* only) and a little *Achiote* to give a Colour; but theſe two laſt may be omitted. They melt the Sugar, and then mingle all well together, and work it up either in Rolls or Leaves. *Sevil* hath of late decayed very much, and doth continually Decay more and more, the Trading Part being moſt removed to *Cales*; the

Reaſon whereof is, becauſe they pay about twenty-ſeven *per Cent.* for all Merchandizes at *Sevil*, and but four or five *per Cent.* at *Cales*. The chief Places to be ſeen in *Sevil* are, 1. The great Church. 2. The King's or Vice roy's Palace. 3. The Archbiſhop's Palace. 4. The Steeple of the great Church like St. *Mark*'s Tower at *Venice*, which you aſcend almoſt to the Top without Stairs, by gently inclining Plains. 5. The *Franciſcan Convent.* 6. The *Longha*, where the Merchants meet about the Affairs of the Flote. 7. The Convent of *Notre Dame del Peuple.* 8. The Bridge of Boats over the *Guadalquivir*, *i. e.* the River *Bætis*. The Town on the other Side this River is called *Triana*. 9. The Inquiſition or Caſtle of *Triana*, juſt over the Bridge. 10. An old Tower called *Torre d'Oro*, where St. *Ferdinand*, that recover'd *Sevil*, kept Money made with Leather. 11. The Aqueduct. 12. The old Palace and Garden of the *Moors*. Near the Bridge, along the River Side, they come every Night with their Coaches, to take the *Freſco.* In the great Church, between two Altars, are three Monuments for St. *Ferdinand* the Wiſe, his Wife *Beatrice*, and his Son *Alphonſus.* The ſame Epitaph in *Hebrew*, *Arabick*, *Greek* and *Latin.*

Hic jacet illuſtriſſimus Rex Fernandus Caſtelli & Toleti Legionis, Gallicæ, Sibillæ, Cordubæ, Murciæ, & Jaheni, qui totam Hiſpaniam conquiſivit fideliſſimus, veraciſſimus, conſtantiſſimus, juſtiſſimus, ſtrenuiſſimus, devotiſſimus, liberaliſſimus, patientiſſimus, piiſſimus, humillimus, in timore & ſervitio Dei efficaciſſimus; qui contrivit & exterminavit penitus hoſtium ſuorum proterviam; qui ſublimavit & exaltavit omnes amicos ſuos, qui civitatem Hiſpalem, quæ caput eſt & metropolis totius Hiſpaniæ de manibus eripuit Paganorum & cultui reſtituit Chriſtiano, ubi ſolvens naturæ debitum, ad Dominum tranſmigravit ultima die Maii, Anno ab incarnatione Domini 1252.

In the ſame Church is *Ferdinandus Columbus*, the Son of *Chriſtopher Columbus*, buried, with this Epitaph.

A qui jace el mucho magnifico Signor Don Hernando Colon. el quel expleo y gaſto toda ſu vida y facenda en aumento di los Lettras y en juntar y perpetuar en eſta cividad todos los libros di todas las ſciencias, qui in ſu tempo hallo y en ridurlos à quatro libros ſegun eſtan à qui ſenelados. Falleſcio en eſta cividad à 12 *di Julio* 1532. *An de ſu edad* 50 *an* 10 *meſes &* 14 *dies. Fue Hyo del valoroſo & memorabile Signor Don Chriſtophoro Colon. primiero Admirante, qui deſcubio las Indias y nuevo mondo en vida di los Catholicos Reys Don Fernando y Donna Iſabella di glorioſa memoria à onze de Ottobre dy mill quatrocentos y noventa y doſannos y partio del puerto de Palos a deſcubrir las contres Carabelas y noventa Perſonas à tres de Agoſto—iuntes—bolbio à Caſtilla con la vittoria à quattro di Marzo del anno ſiguente, y torno deſpues otras dos vezes a poblar lequale ſcubrio, y al fin falleſcio à Valladolid vente de Maio de mill y quincentos y ſeys annos, Rogad al Sennor por ellos.*

Chocolate is ſold at *Sevil* for ſomething more than a Piece of Eight the Pound. *Vanillas*, which they mingle with *Cocoa* to make *Chocolate*, for a *Real di Plato*. *Acchiote*, which they mingle with the other Ingredients, to give a Colour, is made of a kind of red Earth brought from *New Spain*, wrought up into Cakes: It is ſold for a *Real di Plato* the Ounce. All the Oil and Wine they have in the *Weſt-Indies* goes from *Spain*, they not being permitted to plant Vines or Olive-trees, that they may always have a Dependance upon *Spain*. At and near *Sevil* we paid two *Reals de Quarto* for a Bed; Bread, Wine, Fleſh, and all other Commodities exceſſive dear, excepting only Olives and Pomegranates, which were better here than in any other Part of *Spain*. There had lately been a great Plague in *Sevil*, which had very much depopulated and impoveriſhed, indeed almoſt ruined the City.

11. I ſet out from *Sevil* towards *Madrid:* The firſt Day we travelled to *Carmona*, where the Aqueduct before-mentioned begins, ſix Leagues in all; which Way we ſaw no Houſes, but a great many Aloe-trees. We paſſed *les Fontes*, and lay at *Euia*, a great Town of above 20,000 Inhabitants. Between *Carmona* and *Euia* is a very good Country, with Abundance of Corn and Olive-trees. *Oſſuna* is within four Leagues of *Euia*, where the Duke of *Oſſuna* hath a Palace. We travelled this Day nine Leagues. We paſſed over the River *Xenil*, that runs into *Guadalquivir*, baited at *Arofith*, and lodged at *Cordova*, eight Leagues. About a League from *Cordova* we paſſed another little River that runs into *Guadalquivir*. Before we entered *Cordova*, we rode over a great Stone Bridge that here croſſes the *Guadalquivir*. In the middle of the Bridge ſtands a Statue erected to the Angel *Raphael*, with this Inſcription.

Beatiſſimo Raphaeli Angelorum proceri, cuſtodi ſuo vigilantiſſimo, qui ante annos 300 *ſub Paſchale antiſtite populum peſte depopulante ſe medicum tantæ cladis futurum prædixit, quì ſubinde anno* 1578 *venerabili Preſbytero Andreæ de las Roelas S. S. M. M. exuvias evulgavit, & tandem pateſecit Corduvenſium tutelam ſibi a Deo aemum datam. Quare ut juſta gratitudo diu ſtaret S. P. Q. Cordubenſis hanc lapideam ſtatuam cautus & pius erexit, multa procuratione Domini Joſephi de Valdacanas & Herera & Domini Gundeſalvi de Cea & Rios ſenatorum pontifice Innocente X. Hiſpan. rege Philippo IV. epiſcopo domino fratre Petro de Tapia, prætere domino Alphonſo de flores & monte Negro, Anno* 1651.

The moſt conſiderable Places in *Cordova* are, 1. The Biſhop's Palace. 2. The *Cavalleriſca*, where the King keeps a great many Horſes. 3. The Ruins of *Almanſor*'s Palace, the laſt King of the *Moors*. 4. *Plaſſa di Corridera.* 5. The Church of the *Auguſtine* Fryers. 6. The great Church, which was anciently a Moſque. It is large, but very low, ſupported by a great many Rows of Pillars, in a quadrate Order, ſixteen Rows one Way, and thirty another. Upon many of the Pillars are *Moors* Heads carved in the Stone, and one or two with Turbants on. In the Middle of this Church is the great Chapel, where are ſeveral Biſhops interred. In one of the Chapels, that is now dedicated to St. *Peter*, in the *Moors* Time was kept a Thigh of *Mohammed*; round about the Corniſh of this Chapel, and that Part of the Church next it, is an *Arabick* Inſcription. The People complain grievouſly, that *Cordova* is quite ruined and undone by Gabels and Taxes. On the 27th we left *Cordova*, and, after a League or two riding, entred the *Sierra Morena*, a miſerable deſolate mountainous Country, and lodg'd at a little Village called *Adamus*, ſix Leagues. On the 28th, we travelled all Day through the *Sierra Morena*, and lay at a Village called *La Conquiſta*, nine Leagues. 29th; In this Day's Journey we ſaw Abundance of Galls upon the *Ilices*, which were of like Bigneſs, Figure, Colour, Conſiſtency, and other Accidents with thoſe that grow upon Oaks. This Day we firſt met with red Wine again, which they call *Vino tinto.* We got ſafe out of *Sierra Morena*, and came to *Almedovar del Campo*, a tolerable Borough, nine Leagues. About the Middle of *Sierra Morena* are the Bounds of the *Caſtilia nova* and *Andaluzia*. On the 30th, we paſſed by *Caraquol*, *Cividadreal*, and lay at *Malagon*, ten Leagues. Between *Malagon* and *Cividadreal*, we paſſed over the River *Anas*, now called *Guadiana*, which was there but a little Brook. In this Day's Journey we met with a great many great Flocks of Sheep and Goats, going towards the *Sierra Morena* out of *Caſtile*; it being the Cuſtom all Summer to feed their Sheep upon the Mountains of *Caſtile*, and in Winter in the *Sierra Morena*. On the 31ſt, we paſſed by the Ruins of an Aqueduct, about four Leagues from *Malagon*, then *Yvenas*, a good ſizeable Village, and lay at *Orgas*, ten Leagues.

12. *November* 1. We paſſed through *Toledo*, and lay at *Eſquinas*, eleven Leagues. As ſoon as ever we paſſed the *Sierra Morena*, we felt a great Change of Weather, the warm Air that comes from *Afric* and the *Mediterranean* Sea being ſtopped by the Interpoſition of the Mountains. This Day there was here a hard Froſt, and pretty thick Ice. The moſt conſiderable Things in *Toledo* are, 1. The Bridge over the *Tagus*, conſiſting of but two Arches, one great one, and one little one. 2. The Shambles, where, notwithſtanding the Coldneſs of the Day, I ſaw Abundance of Flies; which confutes the Story, that there is but one great Fly there all the Year. 3. The great Church, where there are many Monuments of Biſhops, but without Inſcriptions: In

the *Capella Maggior* lie interred two Kings, and in the *Capella de los Res*, four Kings. 4. The King's Palace. 5. The Ruins of a famous Engine to raiſe up Water to the King's Palace. There is ſo little of it remaining, that it is impoſſible thence to find out all the Contrivance and Intrigue of it. Between *Toledo* and *Madrid* the Country is very populous, and the Soil very good. All along the Road, from *Sevil* to *Madrid*, the common Fare is Rabbets, red legg'd Partridges, and Eggs, which are ſufficiently dear. We arrived at *Madrid*, ſix Leagues; near the Town we paſſed over the River *Xarante*. *Madrid* is very populous, well built, with good Brick Houſes, many have Glaſs Windows, which is worth the noting, becauſe you ſhall ſcarce ſee any in all *Spain* beſides. The Streets are very foul and naſty. There is one very fair Piazza or Market-place, encompaſſed round with high and uniform Houſes, having five Rows of Balconies one above another, and underneath Portico's or Cloiſters quite round. The chief Things to be ſeen in *Madrid* are, 1. The Priſon. 2. The Piazza juſt now mentioned. 3. The King's Chapel. 4. The Palaces of ſeveral Noblemen, as that of the Duke of *Alva*, that of the Duke of *Medina de los Torres*, &c. 5. The King's Palace, where there is the King's *Cavalleriſca* and the Queen's *Cavalleriſca*. 6. A great Piazza before the Palace, where are Abundance of Coaches always attending. 7. The *Engliſh* College of *Theatines*. 8. *Il Retiro*, out of the Town, the *Eſcurial* and *El Pardo*.

13. On the 5th, I ſet out from *Madrid* for *Port St. Sebaſtian*. We paſſed within Sight of the *Eſcurial* and *El Pardo*, and lay that Night at *St. Auguſtin*, ſix Leagues. On the 6th we paſſed *Butrago*, and lay at *Somoſerra*; all the Way a barren, miſerable, mountainous Country, eleven Leagues. On the 7th we paſſed *Frecedille*, and lay at *Aranda*, having croſſed the River *Durius* or *Duero*, eleven Leagues. On the 8th we paſſed *Babalon* and *Lerma*, where is a Convent of *Dominican* Friers, and a Palace of the Duke of *Lerma*'s, and came that Night to *Burgos*, twelve Leagues. The moſt conſiderable Things in *Burgos* are 1. The Bridge over the River *Relarzon*. 2. The Gate at the End of the Bridge, where are the Statues of *Charles* V. of *Janus Calvus*, of *Diego Porcellero*, of *Fernandez Gonſales*, of Nuncio *Paſures*, of Don *Carlotte*, all famous Men of *Burgos*. 3. The Market-place. 4. The great Church, in which are a great many Monuments of Biſhops and Canons, two great Monuments of *Pedro Fernando di Velaſco*, Conſtable of *Caſtile*, and his Wife, *Mercia di Mendoza* Counteſs of *Haro*. This Night we lodged at *Quintora Villes*, five Leagues. On the 10th we paſſed by *Pancorva*, a Place very famous for good Water; *Miranda*, a great Town, where there is a good Bridge over the River *Iberus*; and after that we paſſed two other Rivers, *Baiis* and *Sadurra*, and lay at *Erminian*, eleven Leagues. At *Miranda* there is a great Market for Wheat.

On the 11th, We travelled to *Vittoria*. Over one of the Gates is the Statue of King *Bamba*, and inſcribed in Gold Letters, *Hæc eſt Victoria quæ vincit*, four Leagues. *Vittoria* is the chief City of all the Country called *Alaba*. We paſſed this Day by *Salines*, the firſt Town of *Guipuſcoa*, and lay at *Æſcarias*, nine Leagues. In *Guipuſcoa* they pay no Taxes or other Duties to the King, without the Conſent of the whole Country. The whole Diſtrict is more commonly called *Provincia* than *Guipuſcoa*; it is canton'd out into a great many Coporations and Villages, every one of which ſends one, two, or three Repreſentatives to the general Meeting, when there is any publick Buſineſs. All Offices are annual, and choſen diverſly, according to the differing Cuſtoms of the Town. The chief Officer in each Town to determine all civil and criminal Cauſes is the *Alcalda*, but from him they may appeal to the Governor of the Province, ſent by the King every third Year, and from the Governor to the King's Council at *Valladolid*. Next to the *Alcalda* are two *Regidores*, to look after the Prices of all Commodities, a *Bolſer* for the Treaſury, a *Medino* for the Priſon, *Argozils* or Serjeants, &c. They boaſt that they are the Walls of *Spain*, and therefore have many Privileges. *Guipuſcoa* is under the Biſhop of *Pampelona*. In *Guipuſcoa* and *Biſcay* they have a peculiar Language of their own, and therefore ſend their Children to School to learn *Spaniſh* (which they call *Romance*) as we do ours to learn *Latin*. The Searchers having hindered us, we were forced to travel a great Way in the Night; we were lighted by *Tiaſor Teas*, which burnt as well, and gave as good a Light as Torches. When they went out, they toſſed them up and down in their Hands, which kindled them again. Theſe *Teas* (ſo called, doubtleſs, from the *Latin* Word *Tæda*) are very commonly uſed in this Country, and are nothing elſe but Baſtons of Wood hacked and cleft, (but ſo as the Pieces hang together) and afterwards ſoundly dried in an Oven or Chimney. Along the Middle they uſe to cleave them almoſt quite aſunder. They are made of ſeveral Sorts of Wood, of *Robla*, i. e. Oak; *Haia*, i. e. *Beach-Tree*, but the beſt of *Avellana*, i. e. *Hazel*. *I wonder much at this, unleſs they have ſome Way of preparing the Wood by ſteeping it in Oil or inflammable Matter. The* Tædæ *of the Ancients were made only of the Trunks of old and ſappy Pines.*

14. On the 12th, We paſſed by *Mondragone*, where there is a *Fabrica* of Arms for the King, *Oniate*, *Legaſpa*, *Villa real*, and lay at *Villa Franca*, ſeven Leagues. We left St. *Adrian*, which is the ordinary Road, a little on our Left-hand. This Country is very populous and wooded, all the Hills being covered with Oaks. They uſe no Ploughs, but turn over the Ground with Tridents of Iron; four or five of them working together, and thruſting in their Tridents all together, turn up a Yard or two of Earth at a Time, which they afterwards dreſs and level, like Beds in a Garden. The People are ſomething better conditioned than the *Spaniards*, richer and far more populous; 1. Becauſe there is a better Government, and greater Liberty. 2. There is Abundance of Wood and Iron. 3. More Rain than in the other Parts of *Spain*. On the 13th, We paſſed *Toloſa*, and arrived this Night at St. *Sebaſtian*, having travelled eight Leagues. The moſt obſervable Things in St. *Sebaſtian* are, 1. The Walls and Guns. 2. A great Convent of *Dominican* Friars, in which there is a famous Pair of Stone Stairs, each Step being of one intire Stone, and ſupported only on one Side. 3. The Haven. The Government of St. *Sebaſtian* conſiſts of a great Council of all that have one or more Houſes, and are married, but none can bear Office unleſs he have two Houſes; of theſe there are not above 150 or 200, though the Town be very populous, containing about 24,000 Souls. Once in a Year all the Names of this 150 or 200 are put into an Urn, and a Child takes out eight to be Electors. Every one of theſe eight chuſes his Man. The old Magiſtrates that are juſt then going out, divide theſe eight, that the Electors have choſen, into four Pairs, fitting them as well as they can, *v. g.* an old Man and a young together, &c. Theſe four Pairs are put into an Urn. The firſt Pair that are drawn out, are the two *Alcaldas* for that Year, the ſecond Pair the Deputy *Alcaldas*, the third Pair the two *Regidores*, the fourth Pair the two Deputy *Regidores*. In much the ſame Manner they chuſe two Jurats, one Syndick or Attorney-General, one Treaſurer, &c. All theſe Officers make a leſſer Senate, but in Buſineſſes of Importance the whole Number meets. There is no Diſtinction of *Nobiles* and *Plebeii*, but all that are deſcended from *Guipuſcoans* that are married, and have one Houſe, are in a Capacity to be Electors; all that have two Houſes to be Magiſtrates; the Jurats Places are moſt deſired, there being a great many eccleſiaſtical Preferments belonging to the Town, the Diſpoſition whereof, when they come to be vacant, is in them, who uſually beſtow them upon their Relations and Friends. Every Winter there are ſeveral Whales caught upon this Coaſt, they coming hither in Winter, and frequenting here, as they do upon the Coaſt of *Greenland* in Summer. They catch them by ſtriking them with a Harping Iron, after the ſame Manner as they do Sword-fiſh upon the Coaſt of *Calabria* and *Sicily*. Abundance of Cyder made about St. *Sebaſtian* and *Bayonne*. On the 14th, from St. *Sebaſtian* I travelled through *Orogna*, *Irim*, on the Left

Hand of which is *Fontarabia*, a ſtrong Fort juſt on the Frontiers of *Spain*. About half a League from *Irim* is the River that parts *France* and *Spain*. In the middle of this River is an Iſland where the Kings of *France* and *Spain* met, when *Lewis* XIV. the preſent King, married *Philip* the IV's Daughter. The Iſland was divided juſt in the middle, and a Houſe built, ſo that at the Table where they ſat to eat, the King of *France* ſat in *France*, and the King of *Spain* in *Spain*.

15. *Spain* is, in many Places, not to ſay moſt, very thin of People, and almoſt deſolate. The Cauſes are, 1. A bad Religion. 2. The tyrannical Inquiſition. 3. The Multitude of Whores. 4. The Barrenneſs of the Soil. 5. The wretched Lazineſs of the People, very like the *Iriſh*, walking ſlowly, and always cumber'd with a great Cloak and long Sword. 6. The Expulſion of the *Jews* and *Moors*, the firſt of which were planted there by the Emperor *Adrian*, and the latter by the Caliphs, after the Conqueſt of *Spain*. 7. Wars and Plantations. In all the Towns, eſpecially in the *South* and *Weſt* Parts of *Spain*, a great many Ruins of Houſes are to be ſeen. Within a Quarter of a League of a Town you begin to ſee Ground ploughed, otherwiſe all a wild Country, and Nothing but Roſemary, *Ciſtus*, Juniper, Lavender, Broom, *Lentiſcus*, &c. growing in the Fields and on the Hills. Little or no Hay any where in *Spain*, they feeding their Mules and Horſes with Straw: At leaſt one half of *Spain* is mountainous. The *Spaniards* are not ſo abſtinent as ſome People take them to be, eating the beſt they can get, and freely enough, if it be at another Man's Coſt, and in Inns never refuſing Partridges, Quails, &c. for the Dearneſs. Lazineſs and Sloth makes them poor, and Poverty makes them pinch their Bellies and fare hardly.

They ſeldom mingle Water with their Wine, it being a common Saying among them, *Vino poco & puro*, though all over *Spain* the Wine is very hot and ſtrong. They delight much in *Pimentone*, i. e. *Guiny* Pepper, and mingle it with their Sauces. In roaſting of Meat they never uſe a Dripping-pan, but draw the Coals juſt under the Meat, which though it be not ſo cleanly, yet is the quicker and more thrifty Way for ſaving of Fuel. They tear Rabbits in ſunder with their Hands, when they are almoſt roaſted, and ſtew them in a Pot with Water and *Pimentone*. To toaſt Bread they throw it upon the Coals. They long and aſk for every Thing they ſee, to avoid which, a Merchant that travelled with me was wont to put ſomething into his Victuals which they did not love. They take Tobacco much in Snuff, and if one take out a Box of Snuff, he muſt give ſome to all the Company. The beſt Perſon in the Company, at Table, cuts and tears the Meat in Pieces, and gives to every Man his Share. They are moſt impertinently inquiſitive whence you come, whither you go, what Buſineſs you have; moſt horribly rude, inſolent, and imperious; uncivil to Strangers, aſking them, What do you come into our Country for? We do not go into yours; *i. e.* this is to be underſtood of the middle and inferior Sort of People, many of the Gentry being very civil and well bred.

Their Children are the moſt unmannerly and ill-bred of any in the World. The Sons of *French* Fathers and *Spaniſh* Women, when they are grown up, often turn their Fathers out of Doors, having many Privileges above them for being born in *Spain*. They are extremely given to Lying; *Almuzzos*, and ſuch Kind of Fellows not to be believed or truſted in any Thing they promiſe. They ride altogether upon Mules, and carry their Portmanteaus before them, for fear they ſhould be loſt or ſtolen from behind them; they lie between a high Pummel of the Saddle and an Iron Hook. Inſtead of Stirrops, Perſons of Quality uſe great Clogs of Wood, of the Shape of Shoes without Heels. They cut away the Mules Hair cloſe to the Skin under the Saddles and Portmanteaus, to avoid Galling. Of this Baſtard Breed of Animals, the Males are uſually bigger than the Females. *Q.* Whether the Reaſon be that they are always bred of a Mare and an He-Aſs? They piſs very often. *Q.* Whether the Reaſon be the Sharpneſs of their Urine, or the Smallneſs of their Bladder? They piſs almoſt always when they go through Water. They ſhoe them with Shoes a deal broader than their Feet, to prevent, I ſuppoſe, the breaking of their Hoofs. Under the Mouths of their Mules of Burthen, they uſually hang a Net with Provender in it. Theſe Beaſts are better at climbing of Mountains than Horſes, have a greater Courage to endure long and hard Travel, and, beſides, are maintained at leſs Charge.

The *Spaniards* ſeldom ride alone, but ſtay for a *Troppas*, as they do for a Caravan in *Arabia*. The common Phraſes or Forms of Salutation, when they meet or paſs by one another, are, *Guarda Dios voſtes*, i. e. *vous autres*, i. e. God defend you. *Adios*, i. e. Adieu. *Vaga con Dios*, i. e. God go along with you: When they are angry, *Cornuto*, i. e. Cuckold, is the firſt Word, and ſometimes *Cornutiſſimo*. When they ſpeak to their Mules, or Boys they ſend of Errands, they ſay *Anda Cornuto*, i. e. Go, Cuckold. When they refuſe a Courteſy or Compliment to drink firſt, go firſt, or the like, they ſay, *Nanper Vita mea*, i. e. No, by my Life. At any Thing ſtrange or ridiculous, they cry out, *Cuerpo di Dios*, or *di Chriſto*, *i. e.* Body of God, or Body of Chriſt. When they call to one to make him hear, inſtead of *Eſcoutes* in *French*, or *Senti* in *Italian*, they cry, *O yes*, juſt as Criers do in *England*. When they put off a Beggar, not giving him an Alms, they ſay, *Voſtes perdonné*, i. e. Good Friend, pardon or excuſe me. As for their Religion, the *Spaniards* are the moſt orthodox and rigid *Romaniſts* in the World, it being a Saying among them, *Faltando in uño punto à Dios*, i. e. If you leave the Church in one Punctilio, God be with you; you muſt needs be damned. All over *Spain* there are Abundance of pitiful wooden Croſſes ſet up in the Middle of Heaps of Stone. Under all the Pictures of the Virgin *Mary* is written, *Concebida ſin peccado originale*, i. e. conceived without original Sin. At the *Ave Mary* Bell, they all fall down upon their Knees; whereas in other Countries they are contented only to pluck off their Hats. When they have done their Devotions, as alſo after their Meals, when they take away, and when they go to Bed, they ſay, *Sia lodato il ſantiſſimo Sacramento*, i. e. Praiſed be the moſt holy Sacrament.

For Fornication and Impurity, they are the worſt of all Nations, at leaſt in *Europe*; almoſt all the Inns in *Andaluſia*, *Caſtile*, *Granada*, *Murcia*, &c. having Whores who dreſs the Meat, and do all the Buſineſs. They are to be hired at a very cheap Rate. It were a Shame to mention their Impudence, Lewdneſs and immodeſt Behaviour and Practices. In *Catalonia*, *Guipuſcoa*, and ſome other Places, they are not ſo bad. They are ſo lazy, that in their Shops they will ſay they have not a Commodity, rather than take Pains to look for it; not to be hired to carry a Portmanteau, go of an Errand, &c. but at an exceſſive Rate. Mercers never tie up any Thing they ſell, and if they allow Paper, they only rudely mumble up the Commodities in it. Of their fantaſtical and ridiculous Pride, and that too in the extremeſt Poverty, all the World rings. If there be any Employment that you would ſet them about, which they think themſelves too good for, they preſently ſay, Send for a *Frenchman*. Indeed the *French* do almoſt all the Work in *Spain*. All the beſt Shops are kept by *Frenchmen*, the beſt Workmen in every Kind are *French*, and, I believe, near one Fourth or one Fifth Part of the People in *Spain* are of that Nation. I have heard ſome Travellers ſay, that ſhould the King of *France* recall his Subjects out of *Spain*, the *Spaniards* would hazard being all ſtarved to Death.

Bread is very ſcarce and very dear in many Places of *Spain*, becauſe of the Barrenneſs of the Soil, and Want of Rain, but chiefly becauſe of the Sloth of the People in letting a great Deal of Ground lie untilled, and in not taking the Pains to fetch Corn and Bread from thoſe Places where there is Plenty. So that in a Day's Journey the Price of Bread will be trebled, and in another Day's Journey fall as much again. This Summer there was a Tumult at *Madrid*, the poor People gathering about the King's Palace, cried out, Let the King live, but let the ill Government die; let Exactors die, &c. juſt as they did at *Naples* under the Rebellion of *Maſaniello*. Upon which the King ſent to all the Towns about for Bread Corn, and in two or three Days Bread was very plentiful and cheap. All over *Catalonia* Bread is very cheap. The *Spaniſh* Bread is commended for the beſt in the World; and well it may be, if, as we have heard, they pick their Wheat Grain by Grain. At my being at *Madrid*, there was an Engineer there, ſent by the Emperor, that had invented a Plow, called by the *Spaniards* a *Sembrador*, to ſow Corn at equal Diſtances, and one Grain in a Hole; the Deſcription whereof hath been ſince publiſhed in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions*.

In all Kind of good Learning the *Spaniards* are behind the reſt of *Europe*, underſtanding nothing at all but a little of the old wrangling Philoſophy and School Divinity. The People are much diſcontented all over *Spain*, complaining of Taxes, evil Counſellors, &c. but they have a good Opinion of, and are generally well affected to their King, whoſe Intentions they ſay are very good. As for their Habit and Dreſs, in that they are to be commended that they are conſtant to the ſame Faſhions, though they be not the moſt convenient that might be deviſed. To change for the better, I think it rather commendable than blame-worthy; but to change out of mere Levity, or an apiſh Imitation of others, is fooliſh and unreaſonable.

They wear great Hats with broad Crowns, and the Top broader than the Bottom. Their Hair moſt commonly, and eſpecially when they travel, they tie up in a Knot behind, and ſometimes braid like Women's. Their Bands lie upon black Collars juſt of the ſame Bigneſs, or a little bigger. They are joined to the Collar, and put on Band and Collar together. They wear very much Cambrick half Shirts, and have their Sleeves open before and behind, both Winter and Summer: They have great Skirts upon their Doublets; their Breeches are very ſtrait and cloſe to their Thighs, and button'd down on each Side, and reach a little lower than the Knee. They wear very ſlight wrought black Silk Stockings, that the white Linen Stockings which they wear underneath may be ſeen through them. Their Shoes juſt fit their Feet, very light and thin, with low Heels. Over their Doublets they wear a cloſe Coat or Jerkin, with open Sleeves like the Doublet, and for the moſt Part with hanging Sleeves, like Childrens, yet never reaching lower than their Skirts, a very long Sword and a ſhort Dagger hanging juſt behind them; and at laſt, over all, a Cloak with a great Cape. The Women wear great Fardingales, ſtanding ſo far out on each Side, that to enter in at an ordinary Door, they are forced to go Sideways; when they go Abroad are covered with a Veil of black, having only a Hole left for one Eye.

The poor People wear Shoes made of Packthread. The moſt noble Sport in *Spain* is the *Jeu de Tarreau*, or Bull-Fighting, practiſed at *Valentia*, *Madrid*, &c. At *Madrid*, three times in the Year, where in the Market-Place, a brave Don on Horſeback, and a great many Pages on Foot, fight with a wild Bull; when one Bull is killed or much wounded, they turn in another. Seldom but ſome of the Pages are killed; and with theſe cruel and bloody Spectacles the People are much delighted, as were the *Romans* of old in the Time of Heatheniſm.

16. We ſee very plainly from Mr. *Willoughby*'s Account, that *Spain* is not naturally ſo poor a Country as is commonly imagined. The Climate is excellent, the Soil very far from being bad, and what Corn is produced in *Spain* may be truly call'd the beſt of its Kind in *Europe*. The only thing that is wanting is, a right Government, for this would encourage Induſtry, render the Country more populous, and make the People willing to work hard, in order to fare well. It is highly probable, that the Reader will incline to know what are the principal Faults of this Government, whence it comes to paſs that they have ſubſiſted ſo long, and are like ſo much longer to ſubſiſt, and what might be reaſonably expected in Favour of the *Spaniſh* Nation, if proper Remedies were applied to theſe Evils.

In the firſt Place then, with Regard to the Government, the King, tho' he ſeems abſolute enough, wants Power to take thoſe Steps that may appear neceſſary for the Good of his Subjects. In *Spain* Forms are not only regarded, but reverenced as ſacred. There is not a ſingle Nobleman in *Spain* but has very great Rights and Privileges in his own Lands; on the other Hand, there are very few of the great Nobility that have not conſiderable Towns upon their Eſtates, to which they have granted Immunities; and in Reſpect to either of theſe, there can be no Innovation made, though ever ſo much, or ever ſo apparently, for the Advantage of the Subjects in general. Thus it appears that there is a great deal of Liberty in *Spain*, and the People are very tenacious of it. The King alſo has great Power, more eſpecially in the Countries that hold immediately of the Crown; he therefore favours them in Point of Trade, and in other Reſpects; but the Crown of *Spain* has been ſo long at an exorbitant Expence, both of Treaſure and of Men, that it wants Force to rid itſelf of old Inconveniencies, at the ſame time that, from its preſent Weakneſs, new ones are continually growing. It muſt indeed be owned, that the Cortes, or Aſſembly of the States, might remove many of theſe Evils; but Princes, if they can avoid it, are unwilling to borrow Powers from their People and Miniſters, much more unwilling to have their Management of Power looked into and examined. To ſecure the Peace of the Kingdom, the Deſcendants of the *Moors* were baniſhed; this depopulated the Kingdom of *Granada*, then the richeſt and moſt fertile Part of *Spain*; and now, for want of thoſe induſtrious People, the moſt barren. Upon a Mixture of religious and political Principles, the Jews were alſo driven out, and with them went all Induſtry in the low Arts of Retailing and Pedlary, as well as in the ſuperior Branches of the mercantile Buſineſs. In a Word, to expreſs the Thing as clearly as poſſible to an *Engliſh* Reader, the firſt Meaſure was calculated to deſtroy the Landed, and the latter effectually ruined the Money'd Intereſt.

The plain Remedies for theſe Miſchiefs muſt be the bringing all the Kingdoms in *Spain* under one Conſtitution and Form of Laws, as they are ſubject only to one Prince. The raiſing Men and Money ought to be reſtrained to Caſes of Neceſſity, and then it ſhould be done as equally as poſſible; for when every Body ſuffers alike, it very ſeldom happens that any Body complains. Titles of Honour, and the Privileges annexed to them, ſhould be connected with Property, as well as with Deſcent, which amongſt the People, naturally proud, would prove the greater Spur to Induſtry. The Trade of the new World ought to be laid open to all the Subjects of *Spain*, under Reſtrictions that may be complied with, and thoſe Reſtrictions ought not to be relaxed. As it ſtands at preſent, this Commerce is ſo far in the Hands of the Crown, as to hinder it from being beneficial to the People; and yet there is ſuch a univerſal Corruption reigns amongſt the Officers employed by the Crown, that greatly abridges the King's Profits. If Strangers ſettled in *Spain* had the Means of acquiring Property, and the Privileges that ought to be annexed to Property, Manufactures would riſe of themſelves, and the Produce of *Spaniſh* Commodities would remain in *Spain*; whereas now all the Advantages ariſing from Trade are collected as it were in a Sieve, ſo that as they come in they appear to be very great, but they ſpeedily leak through, and that to ſuch a Degree that little or nothing is left behind.

The Want of Attention to theſe plain Maxims has rendered the Government weak and infirm; the purſuing Schemes directly oppoſite to theſe Maxims, has increaſed this Weakneſs into a kind of galloping Conſumption, and this has enervated the Monarchy to ſuch a Degree, that without a ſpeedy Reformation, it muſt crumble to Pieces by its own Weight; and that this is not a Conjecture but a Fact, appears plainly from the miſerable State of St. *Domingo*, *Porto Rico*, and other *Spaniſh* Settlements; but if ſuch a Reformation were to take Place, the Kingdom of *Spain* has in itſelf vaſt Reſources. There are in it many fine Ports, which would enable its Inhabitants to carry on an extenſive Commerce, and the Means of carrying them on are alſo in the Hands of the Inhabitants. We will give a few Inſtances, which at the ſame Time that they inform, cannot fail of pleaſing and entertaining an intelligent Reader.

To begin then with the Wool. All the World knows that *Spain* produces as good, ſome, who are well verſed in that Commodity, ſay better, than any in *Europe*; of this the *Engliſh* uſe a vaſt Quantity, and of late the *French* and *Dutch* a much greater. Their Wine is alſo a very conſiderable Article; ſo long ago as the Year 1690, it appeared by their Cuſtom-houſe Books, that they exported ſixteen thouſand Pipes annually from *Malaga*, *Alicant*, Port St. *Mary's*, *Porto Real*, St. *Lucar*, and *Rota*. They make vaſt Quantities of Oil in the Iſland of *Majorca*, and in the Country about *Sevil* and *Malaga*. *Caſtile* Soap is another great Article, and beſides this, Pot-Aſhes for the Uſe of Glaſs-works, and the Whitening of Linen, a Commodity that deſerves Notice.

They have great Quantities of the very beſt Sort of Salt, of which they ſell a great deal at preſent, but nothing in Compariſon of what they might ſell. In the Principality of *Biſcay*, and in the Upper *Navarre*, they have large Quantities of Iron, and that Iron is juſtly eſteemed excellent. From *Bilboa* and St. *Sebaſtians* they carry on two or three Kinds of Fiſheries, and theſe might be extended vaſtly. We will add to theſe Articles, that of Fruits, which is very conſiderable, ſuch as Oranges ſour and ſweet, Raiſins of the Sun, and many others; beſides all the Drugs that they derive from the *Weſt-Indies*, which are at once the richeſt and moſt ſaleable, ſuch as, Cochineal, Indigo, Vanella's, Jalap, Sarſa Parilla, Jeſuits Bark, *&c.* The Tobacco Trade, Skins and Hides, and a Multitude of other Things might be added.

All this plainly ſhows, that if *Spain* is very thin of People, it is entirely owing to Errors in Government, ſince the Country would have wherewithal to maintain its Inhabitants, if it was ever ſo populous, and it might be filled with Inhabitants from other Countries, if ſome idle fooliſh Cuſtoms were taken away; for theſe Cuſtoms make Strangers leave *Spain*, as ſoon as they have acquired Fortunes in it, which is doubly diſadvantageous to the State; firſt by the Loſs of ſo many Subjects, and next by the great Sums they carry off. We may judge of this from the Balance that is ſaid to ariſe to *France*, from what is acquired by itinerant Labourers, that go to *Spain* in the Spring, and return before Winter, which has been computed, and not extravagantly neither, at half a Million Sterling; yet ſuch is the Folly of the *Spaniards*, that inſtead of regretting this Loſs, they value themſelves upon it, and believe, that in Compariſon of the *French*, they are a rich and great People, to whom others willingly ſubmit themſelves, for the Sake of getting Bread by them, without conſidering that theſe Strangers whom they deſpiſe, eat that Bread which they want, and go Home rich into their own Country, while thoſe who call themſelves their Maſters are left to ſtarve. If this Fact was not evident and undeniable, it would certainly be incredible.

Give me Leave alſo to obſerve, that as *Spain* is a very large Country, and compoſed of Provinces that differ very much from each other in Soil and Climate; ſo thoſe, who ſeem to be leſs happy in theſe Particulars, are by much the beſt cultivated, and fulleſt of Inhabitants: As, for Inſtance, the *Upper Navarre*, for the Lower belongs to *France*, is very cold and mountainous; yet *Pampeluna*, which is the Capital, is a fair well-built City, and has a good Trade: The People there, and throughout the whole Country, are active, frugal, and induſtrious, civil to Strangers, and generally ſpeaking, free from moſt of thoſe Vices that are commonly imputed to the *Spaniards*. It is the ſame Thing in *Biſcay*, where, though the Land is alſo far from being fertile; yet the People are never in Want; their Farms require Labour and Manure; the Owners beſtow it chearfully; and there is more Trade carried on, in Proportion to the Extent of this Diſtrict, than in all the Kingdom beſides. The People alſo of *Biſcay* and *Navarre* are the beſt Soldiers, not only as they are robuſt in their Conſtitutions, and very hardy, but as they are active, diligent, and very capable of bearing Fatigue. The *Biſcaneers* alſo are excellent Seamen; their Barks are well built; they are well victualled, and well manned; they fiſh for Cods on the *Newfoundland Banks*; they have a Share in the *Greenland* Fiſhery; and whereas the *Spaniſh* Seamen in general are ſlow and aukward, theſe are as briſk and as capable in every Reſpect as ours. But in *Valentia*, *Murcia* and *Granada*, Countries that were formerly very rich, and produced vaſt Quantities of Grain, the Land lies untilled, and the People are poor and ſtarving, merely becauſe they are idle and will not work. In *Andaluſia*, indeed, which may be ſtiled the Paradiſe of *Spain*, there is great Plenty, and the Country has a fine Appearance; but even here vaſt Improvements might be made, if the Inhabitants were more induſtrious, and did not think four Hours Labour in twenty-four an intolerable Fatigue.

That the *Spaniards* have Genius and Parts is certain, and yet both are commonly miſapplied; for as our Author obſerves, they are a Hundred Years behind the reſt of *Europe*, in almoſt all Branches of Literature; not becauſe they want Abilities, but becauſe they are attach'd to their old Notions, and had rather go on in the Paths of their Forefathers, tho' ever ſo rugged and uncouth, than diſhonour them ſo far, as to ſtrike out into better Roads that are new. In Poetry, Romances, Novels, and ſuch Kind of Writings, they ſhow a Spirit and an Invention, that is a clear Evidence of their falling ſhort in other Things, merely from Want of Attention and Application: Yet with all this their Reverence and Regard for Authority, they want not a ſtrong Propenſity to Liberty; and though no People in the Univerſe are more loyal to their Princes, yet they are far from being blind to the Errors in their Adminiſtration; which, however, they aſcribe conſtantly to their Miniſters, never to themſelves. When they meet in the Evenings, as they commonly do in the great Squares of *Madrid*, and other Cities, they diſcourſe very frankly upon all Sorts of Subjects, and ſpare their Superiors as little as in the freeſt Countries in *Europe*.

In theſe little Cabals, the ſecret Hiſtory and Policy of *Spain* may be very truly learned, at the ſame Time that it gives you a very natural Picture of the real Genius and genuine Diſpoſition of the People. The Birth, the Riſe, Progreſs and Summit of every Miniſter's Fortune, are here fairly diſcuſſed; his private Life, as well as his public Adminiſtration, canvaſſed, and the Conſequences of his Miſtakes either predicted before they happen, or traced to their true Sources afterwards. It muſt be owned, that theſe Politicians are but very low People; a Taylor, perhaps, or a Shoemaker, is one of the moſt enlightened Members of this Society; but they are ſtrangely miſtaken, who ſhall perſuade themſelves from thence, that nothing great or ſenſible paſſes in theſe Converſations. The very contrary is ſtrictly true: This Cuſtom has reigned ſo long in *Spain*, that the whole Nation are become Stateſmen, at leaſt, to ſuch a Degree, as to form a right enough Judgment of a Miniſter's Behaviour in Domeſtick Concerns; and therefore the famous Conde-Duke *de Olivarez*, had always his Spies amongſt them, whoſe Reports he committed to Writing; and it was againſt the Charge drawn from them, that he wrote his famous Juſtification, which is beyond Controverſy the beſt Apology that ever fell from a Miniſter's Pen. The King, at the Time he wrote it, was ſtrongly inclined to reſtore him to his Favour, but the Mob Politicians of *Madrid* pronounced him undone; as ſoon as this excellent Piece appeared, *A Favourite*, ſaid they, *can never riſe again, after ſhowing that his Maſter was in the Wrong to let him fall.*

Now we are upon this Chapter of Politicks, I cannot help adding a Thought of my own, which is this, that the indulging the People of *Spain* in theſe extraordinary Liberties has been the great Secret by which they have been kept conſtantly loyal, without an armed Force; for the Kings of *Spain* are neither crowned, as other Monarchs are, nor do they keep any Guards: The firſt they think unneceſſary in an hereditary Kingdom; and as for the latter, *Philip* the Third ſaid truly, *that Guards might protect Tyrants, but a juſt Prince needed no other Guards than his own Subjects.* The People being thus indulged in Freedom of Speech, and making Uſe of this Freedom openly, never enter into ſecret Cabals; ſometimes, indeed, they aſſembled in Crowds before the Palace, and repreſented their Grievances in very round Terms; but they began and ended with this Exclamation, *Let our good King live for ever, but let the wicked Adminiſtration go to the Devil.* A little Condeſcenſion, and the Redreſſing a few of the moſt notorious Grievances, always quieted them ſo, that their Monarchs have never thought themſelves in Danger; and their Miniſters know, upon ſuch Occaſions, how to purchaſe Peace upon reaſonable Terms. [The Reader is to obſerve, that all that is here advanced relates to the Old *Spaniſh* Monarchy under the Kings of the Houſe of *Auſtria*; for ſince the Acceſſion of the *Bourbon* Family, the King of *Spain* has not only had Guards, but a very formidable Body of Houſehold Troops. The long War, occaſioned by the Acceſſion of the late King *Philip*, gave him an Opportunity of eſtabliſhing theſe; and it is not probable that he or his Succeſſors will ever part with them.]

17. We cannot have, for the Time in which they were written, better Accounts than thoſe given us by Mr. *Willoughby*; nor are the Additions leſs curious, more eſpecially with reſpect to the Coral Fiſhery, our former Relations being very little to be depended upon. There was likewiſe, in the ſame Book, as large and particular a Detail as to Lead Mines; but the Writing being defaced, it was impoſſible to pick it out. But there is one Objection to which this Collection would be liable, if we inſerted no other Travels but theſe, *viz.* that they are many Years old; that Things are much changed ſince, and that People would be glad to know how they look nearer their own Times. In order to guard againſt this, and at the ſame Time to ſupply another Deficiency, which is the Leaving ſeveral Provinces untouch'd, we ſhall, in the next Section, preſent the Reader with the Travels of an *Engliſh* Gentleman, not only through *Spain*, but *Portugal* alſo; later in Point of Time by about thirty Years, than thoſe which have been already given, and which are written with great Plainneſs and Perſpicuity. It is, indeed, to be wiſhed, that we had a better Acquaintance with their Author, ſince this would very probably give us a better Opinion of the Work itſelf; but as we have not, we muſt be content to take it the other Way, and eſteem the Author for the Sake of his Work, which will appear more pleaſant to a modern Reader, as it is written in the Language of theſe Times. We might, indeed, have ſmoothed thoſe of Mr. *Willoughby*, and render'd them more graceful in the Eyes of many People, by taking them out of their ancient Garb; but againſt this we had many Reaſons.

It ſeems but juſt that a Man, and eſpecially a Man of his Quality, ſhould tell his Tale in his own Language, and after his own Manner, eſpecially if there be nothing in it barbarous or uncouth. It is very far from being an eaſy Matter to give preciſely the Senſe of an Author, who writes in our own Tongue, in any other Words than his own; for either we fall ſhort of, or exceed his Ideas; and to be convinced of this, we need only make a Tryal. There is a great Beauty in ſeeing theſe Variety of Stiles, which is alſo heighten'd by its Propriety. In a Treatiſe of Geography, or even in a Hiſtory of Voyages, Uniformity is requiſite; but it is otherwiſe in a Collection, and thoſe have been always eſteemed moſt, that have been the exacteſt in this Reſpect, ſuch as *Ramuſio*'s in *Italian*, *Thevenot*'s in *French*, and *Hackluyt*'s in our own. This laſt is a very proper Inſtance, for by comparing him with his Succeſſor *Purchas*, we may eaſily diſcern the Inconveniences that attend a finical Nicety, in an Editor who prefers his own Manner of Writing to that of all other Men. The Reverend Author we have laſt mentioned, conſider'd himſelf, and was conſider'd in his own Times as a Wit; that is to ſay, he had a Humour of playing upon Words, and introducing Burleſque Remarks upon very ſerious Subjects; which has brought him into Diſcredit with the preſent Age, when a chaſter and more correct Stile is grown into Faſhion.

But though I do not think it expedient, that an Editor ſhould always new cloath his Author; yet I muſt admit, that there are Caſes where this is not only allowable, but neceſſary; and in thoſe Caſes, according to the beſt of my Judgment, I have never failed uſing this Freedom. But if there be a Beauty in ſuch Variety of Stiles, there is likewiſe a very great Utility; for by ſeeing the different Methods which Travellers make uſe of, we learn the Excellencies of ſome, and the Deficiencies of others, and know from thence how to copy the one, or to avoid the other, when it becomes our own Turn to write. But theſe Reflexions have, perhaps, carried me a little out of my Way, and made the Concluſion of this Section a few Lines longer than it ought to be. The Reader will conſider, that all People are fond of talking of their own Trades, and that perhaps Authors are more liable to fall into this Error than others. The beſt Amends I can make, after confeſſing my Foible, is to atone for it; and as I have already ſaid all that is neceſſary to be ſaid of the Perſon to whom we are indebted for the following Section, we will proceed to it without any Introduction.

SECTION II.

Travels through *Portugal* and *Spain*, with a diſtinct Deſcription of the principal Cities in both Kingdoms; particularly, *Liſbon*, *Coimbra*, *Porto*, and *Braga*, in the former; *Madrid*, *Valentia*, *Alicant*, &c. in the latter: With a curious and correct Detail of the Curioſities in the *Eſcurial*, and a ſuccinct Deſcription of the other Royal Palaces of their Catholick Majeſties.

By an English *Gentleman.*

1. *The Author's Voyage to* Liſbon, *and Thoughts of the* Portugueſe *upon his firſt Arrival there, with ſome other Particulars.* 2. *A diſtinct Account of the City of* Liſbon, *and the Country adjacent.* 3. *The City and Univerſity of* Coimbra *particularly deſcribed, and more eſpecially the famous Convent of*

St. Auſtin. 4. *A Deſcription of the Town of* Aveyro, *and the Country about it.* 5. *An Account of the famous City of* Porto, *and of the noble River upon which it is ſeated.* 6. *The Author's Journey from thence to* Braga, *with a View of that City, and of the Towns of* Viana *and* Camena. 7. *A Deſcription of* Valentia *(in* Portugal) *and of the Frontier Country towards* Spain. 8. *An Account of the* Spaniſh *Province of* Galicia, *and of the Towns of* Radontelia *and* Ponte Vedra. 9. *His Return into* Portugal, *and by another Route back to* Liſbon. 10. *His ſecond Journey into* Spain, *with a Deſcription of* Eſtremoze *and* Elvas. 11. *His Journey through* Badajos, Merida, Trukillo or Truxillo, *to* Toledo. 12. *The Author's Deſcription of* Madrid, *and of the Palace of the* Buen Retiro. 13. *An Account of the City and Univerſity of* Compoſtella, *one of the moſt famous in* Spain. 14. *The celebrated Palace and Convent of the* Eſcurial *deſcribed, the Reliques, Riches, and Ornaments enumerated.* 15. *An Account of the* Pantheon, *or Place of the Royal Sepulchres.* 16. *A View of the old Chapel and Royal Palace of their Catholick Majeſties, and a Recapitulation of the remarkable Things in this celebrated Place.* 17. *An Account of* Aranjuez, *and other Places on the Road.* 18. *A Deſcription of the Town and Caſtle of* Alicant. 19. *The Manners, Cuſtoms, and Behaviour of the Inhabitants of* Valentia. 20. *Some very ſingular Inſtances of the Ignorance and Superſtition of the* Spaniards *in general.* 21. *Obſervations and Remarks upon the foregoing Section.*

1. IN the Year 1693, I embarked on board a Merchant-ſhip for *Portugal*, where we arrived without any Accident but ſuch as are ordinary at Sea, in the River of *Liſbon*, in which City ſtaying ſeveral Months, I will give you the beſt Account I am able of what I obſerv'd during my Stay.

It is ſeated on divers Hills, which make the Streets very uneaſy and unpleaſant; beſides, the Dirt and noiſome Smells ariſing from the Filth that runs from their Kitchens (which are all above Stairs) into them, and by Reaſon of their Narrowneſs can't be dried by the Sun, makes them ſo offenſive, that no body cares much to paſs through them.

Arriving there in *Lent*, I was entertained with the Sight of their monſtrous Proceſſions, wherein I obſerved ſome of the true Penitents laſh themſelves with that Severity that they frequently die of it; for which Reaſon it is that the Prieſts are obliged to declare to them, That *ſuch as procure their Death by this Exceſs of Folly, are the Occaſion of their own Damnation.* But among theſe true Devotees are to be ſeen many others, hired on Purpoſe by the Religious Societies, to increaſe the Number of the Penitents; a Thing ſo ſcandalous, that even the foreign Catholicks reſiding here bluſh at it, there being ſcarce any but the moſt profligate and debauch'd Wretches that will expoſe themſelves to ſuch dangerous Mortifications for Lucre-ſake: Among the reſt, they had at that Time employed a certain lewd Fellow, who us'd to ſerve as a Porter to the *Engliſh* reſiding there.

They have a vaſt Number of Churches and Convents, but few that are magnificent, the *Domo*, or Cathedral itſelf, being neither large nor handſomely built: Their chief publick Structures are, the Royal Palace, ſeated upon the River *Tagus*, the Model whereof was deſigned much larger than it is. It has a Cloyſter behind adjoining to it. The Palace of the Archbiſhop of *Liſbon* is a ſpacious Structure, with ſome good Statues upon the Stairs, the only Kind of Furniture the *Portugueſe* delight in, there being even in the King's Apartments nothing to be ſeen but white Walls. Their Houſes are generally very high and pretty cool, but the Streets ſo narrow, that inſtead of Coaches they are forced to make uſe of Litters, carried by Mules, which are very ſtrong and large in this Country.

It is an odd Sight to ſee the *Portugueſe*, both young and old, appear with large Spectacles faſtened to their Ears in the Streets. Their Diet is generally very moderate, and they ſeldom or never commit any Exceſs in Wine: The predominant Vice is the Converſation of lewd Women, unto which the Heat of the Climate ſeems to incline them more than Extravagance. The Women paint here very young, and are conſequently obliged to follow it as they grow more in Years. The Men are exceeding jealous, and a Suſpicion of Incontinency in a Woman puts her in Danger of her Life; hence they are ſeldom allowed to ſtir abroad, except when they go to Church on Sundays, Holidays, or their Eves.

The Women of Quality wear their Fardingals here larger than thoſe of *Italy* or *Spain*; they wear Veils to cover their Faces; they look upon it as the greateſt Piece of Immodeſty to ſhew their Feet; for which Reaſon they wear very long Petticoats, and their Pages or Footmen hold a Piece of Cloth either before or behind them, as they get in or out of their Coaches or Litters, though at the ſame Time they go both with their Boſom and Shoulders bare. The Men's Habit is a black Coat and a Band of our *Colcheſter* Bays, which they turn the wrong Side outward in Mourning; this is the general Wear, without any Diſtinction of Perſons or Quality, unto which they are all ſubject without any Difference, Silver and Gold Laces being expreſly forbid among them. The *Inquiſition* makes them all appear good Chriſtians, though it is generally believed there are many conceal'd *Jews*, as their ſwarthy Complexion and fiery revengeful Temper are the Remnants of their *Moriſh* Anceſtors.

2. The Situation of *Liſbon* upon the River *Tajo* or *Tagus*, makes it a Place of conſiderable Traffick; for, not to mention their Commerce in the *Eaſt Indies* and *Braſil*, they trade with moſt Nations of *Europe*, but eſpecially with the *Engliſh*, who take in Salt there for *Newfoundland*, and bring back to them dry'd Cod; beſides that, they exchange many of their Woollen Manufactures for the Wine and Fruits of *Portugal*.

The Extent of the *Tagus* into a great Part of the Country, affords them likewiſe a moſt commodious Carriage of their Wines, Oils, Fruits, and other Products of the Country: Their Salt, eſpecially that of St. *Ubes*, is tranſported into moſt Parts of *Europe*, and uſed in vaſt Quantity in *Sweden*.

They abound in Fiſh at *Liſbon*, but have ſome Scarcity of Fleſh, eſpecially of Beef and Mutton, the adjacent rocky Mountains affording Food only for Goats; however, their tame Fowl, when well fatted, are very good, and their Pigeons both very large and well taſted.

About *Liſbon* are many Summer-houſes, and Gardens well planted with Orange-trees, the agreeable Scent whereof perfumes the Air at a conſiderable Diſtance: A Friend of mine had one of theſe Summer-ſeats at *Luz*, about four Miles from *Liſbon*, with a well planted, pleaſant, walled Garden, of three Acres of Land belonging to it, which, among other Advantages, had this Conveniency belonging to it, that we could go thither in a Coach, a Rarity among thoſe craggy Mountains. I ſpent a great Part of the Summer there.

During my Stay here, I took particular Notice, that even in the hotteſt Seaſon, we were conſtantly, toward Evening, refreſh'd with a cool Sea-breeze, a Thing I afterwards obſerv'd in moſt Places about *Liſbon*.

From this Country-ſeat I uſed frequently to take a Walk to the once ſo much celebrated Nunnery of *Odevalla*, but much reſtrained of late Years both in its Revenues, and the free Converſation allowed to that Order in ſome of their Convents.

3. Leaving *Liſbon*, May 6, 1694, I travell'd towards *Porto*, to take a View of the Country on that Side. I paſs'd the firſt Day through a rocky Country to *Sacca Veina*, and thence two Leagues further to *Alcrea*, and in the Afternoon through *Aliandra*, *Villa Franca*, *Povia* and *Caſtinora*, where I lodg'd that Night,

but badly enough; the next Morning early I purſued my Journey through the Villages of *Villa Nova de Remo*, *Amboſia*, and *Caſteſia*; after Dinner I travell'd on near *Sancta Terrena*, through a plain and moſt delightful Country, abounding in Wine, Oil and Corn, and ſo came to *Pauſinio*, where I took up my Lodging for that Night; the next Day I continued my Journey in a no leſs pleaſant and delightful Country, over *Campo di Galligong*, (a delicious Plain, abounding in Corn and Olive-trees) through *Alla neroſa*, *Pialva*, and *Jandemaſans*, to *Peruchio*, where I lay that Night, and the next Morning over *Arujon*, *Pulga*, *Toboſal*, &c. getting to *Coimbra* that Night, after four Days Journey in a Horſe-litter, being none of the quickeſt in theſe Countries.

Before I entered the Gates of *Coimbra*, I croſs'd the River over a Bridge very remarkable for its Length, as having no leſs than twenty-nine Arches, and its being built upon another Bridge, which is ſwallowed up in the Sand, the River being ſo ſhallow now, that 'tis fear'd it will in Time be quite choak'd up. On this Side of the Bridge ſtands a Convent and a Nunnery, both belonging to the *Franciſcan* Order, the firſt dedicated to St. *Bartholomew*, the other to St. *Clara*. The City itſelf is computed to contain about 30,000 Souls, and its Situation is like moſt of the great Towns of this Country, upon Hills; it has ſixteen Colleges and Convents.

The *Univerſity* has but two Colleges, *viz.* thoſe call'd St. *Peter*'s and St. *Paul*'s, adjoining to each other like one Building. Their Schools make no great Show, though they keep publick Lectures in them in all Sciences; and I was told they had a good Library. I ſaw a *Fidalgo* (or Gentleman's Son) perform his Exerciſe for his Degree of *Doctor in Law* in the Hall, which is a handſome large Room, common to both the Colleges, hung about the Walls with the Pictures of the Kings of *Portugal*. As the Number of Students here is computed at no leſs than five thouſand, (becauſe they are admitted as ſoon as they can well read, and are diſtributed accordingly in different Claſſes) ſo none but the Children of Perſons of the beſt Rank can have their Chambers in the Colleges, the reſt being diſpos'd in the Town as they beſt can.

The chief of their Convents is that of St. *Cruz*, being all Noblemen, and of the Order of St. *Auſtin*. The Church belonging to this Convent is a large Structure, with Altars richly gilt, and adorn'd with Silver Candleſticks of great Value: They preſerve here many Relicks, but as they are very ſhy of ſhewing them to Strangers, I obtain'd this Favour by the Aſſiſtance of an *Iriſh* Father; they ſhew'd me the Sword of King *Alphonſo*, wherewith he kill'd five *Mooriſh* Kings; they tell you that King *Sebaſtian*, when he was juſt upon going to the Wars in *Barbary*, borrow'd this Sword of the Convent, and that the Sword being loſt there, together with the King, they inſtituted publick Supplications for the Recovery of this Sword, which was one Day found by a Friar upon the high Altar, as he was going to officiate there. But the chief Repoſitory of their Relicks is in a Chapel at the End of the *Dormitory*; here they ſhew'd a golden Croſs ſet with precious Stones, which (they ſay) contains a Piece of the true Croſs, and uſed always to be fix'd on the royal Standard in their Wars againſt the *Moors*; half of one of the Thorns wherewith our Saviour's Head was crown'd; a Bone of St. *Stephen*, another of St. *Auſtin*, a Finger of one of the Innocents ſlain by *Herod*, St. *Peter*'s Chains with large thick Iron Links, a Bone of St. *Paul*, a Leg-Bone of one of the eleven thouſand Virgins ſent out of *England* to the *Indies*, to marry and encreaſe the *Chriſtians* there; an Arm-Bone of St. *Blazius*, a Bone of St. *Sebaſtian*, the Bones of *Theotonius* in a Silver Cheſt, the Bones of five Martyrs put to Death by the *Moors* in *Barbary*, whither they were ſent to convert them to the *Chriſtian Faith*, likewiſe in a Silver Cheſt; a Bone of St. *Lawrence*: Moſt of theſe, beſides many others, were brought out of *England* immediately after the Diſſolution of the Monaſteries by King *Henry* VIII. They were ſo cautious in ſhewing them, and that at ſuch a Diſtance, that I cou'd ſcarce diſtinguiſh what they were, which made me never enquire any farther about any ſuch Things as *Relicks* in this Country.

4. After a Stay of three Days I left *Coimbra*, taking my Way towards *Aveyro* through a pleaſant Country, though ſomewhat mountainous and rocky: I found my travelling upon a Mule as tedious as in a Litter, for you go no faſter than your Guide, who is on Foot. *Aveyro* is a very handſome Town, with clean and pleaſant Streets, govern'd by a Juſtice, as are moſt Country Towns here; it has three Convents of *Dominicans*, *Carmelites*, and the Order of St. *Anthony*; and four Nunneries, of St. *Anthony*, *Franciſcans*, *Dominicans*, and *Carmelites*; and four Pariſh-Churches: Each of the Nunneries contains above a hundred Perſons, including Servants; and the whole City, about fifteen or ſixteen thouſand Souls. The Duke of *Aveyro* lives in *Spain*, under Pretence that the Family of *Braganza* has uſurp'd the Crown of *Portugal*, ſo that his Eſtate being ſeiz'd upon for the King's Uſe, his Palace is beſtow'd upon the *Carmelite* Nuns. The Town is fenc'd about with a Wall after the *Mooriſh* Faſhion, and has great Plenty of good Fiſh and Fowl: The River is of ſuch a Depth that Veſſels of ſeventy or eighty Tun may ride ſafe at Anchor under the Town, to which belong above four thouſand Boats, employed for the moſt Part in carrying Dung from thence into the Country, where the Ground is barren, and wants much more manuring than the Soil about *Liſbon*. Much Salt is alſo made hereabouts, which is carried into the Country, and into *Galicia*.

From *Aveyro* to *Porto* is ten Leagues; the firſt five I went by Water, for taking Boat at twelve at Night, I came the next Morning to a little Village called *Varr*, whence I travelled the other five on Horſe, through a barren Country, to *Porto*, the River of which affords a ſafe Harbour, being ſo environ'd with Hills, as to protect Ships againſt the Violence of any Winds; the Ships may ride under the very Walls of it, which are very high, but at that Time the City was without a Garriſon.

5. The City of *Porto* itſelf is very handſomely built, and the Streets neatly pav'd, though ſeated upon Hills. On the other Side of the River called *Sarra*, ſtands a Convent of *Auſtin Friars*, a ſpacious Structure, containing about forty-five Brothers, who call themſelves *Dons*: Their *Dormitory* I found to be two hundred and fifteen Paces long, and five broad. Near it is a Nunnery of St. *Dominick*. Somewhat lower, on this Side of the River, at a Place called *Gaia*, (famous in ancient Times, for the Palace of the *Mooriſh* Kings) is another Convent of twenty-eight Friers, of the Order of St. *Antonio*. In the Convent of the *Serra* they ſhew'd me a Pair of Crutches of a lame Child, which was cured by a certain little Image of our Lady in *Baſſo relievo* in the ſame Church: The like you ſee in ſeveral other Churches, as alſo wooden Legs and Arms, nay, ſometimes the Pictures of the Perſons pretended to be cured near the Saint's Image that is ſaid to have wrought it.

This City has four Pariſh-Churches, the Cathedral, which is but ſmall in Compariſon of others of that Rank, the Church of St. *Nicholas*, of St. *Victoria*, and St. *Peter*; they appeared to me richer and better gilt than thoſe of *Liſbon*: Seven Convents of Friars; *viz.* the *Franciſcans*, St. *John Novo*, St. *Eli*, (dreſs'd in Purple) the *Dominicans*, *Carmelites*, *Benedictins*, and the *Tanograpes*, an Order following the Diſcipline of the *Jeſuits*, and upon that Score in much Repute here. They have alſo a College of *Jeſuits* and four Nunneries, *viz.* of St. *Munchecba*, St. *Bento*, St. *Clara*, and the *Recolletes*, an Order peculiar to this Country, and ſeldom to be met with but in Seaport Towns, being intended for Seamen to beſtow their Wives in till their Return; Orphans are likewiſe educated here till they come to Years of Maturity to chuſe either Marriage or a religious Life; Widows are alſo permitted to enter into this Order after the Deceaſe of their Huſbands, provided they vow Chaſtity for the future. The whole City is reckon'd to contain fifty thouſand Souls, including the Suburbs, in one of which is another Pariſh-Church dedicated to St. *Alphonſo*. It is a Place of vaſt

Trade, the River (which ſupplies them with great Quantities of Proviſions, Wines, Oil, Corn, Fruits, *&c.* out of the Country for Tranſportation) having from its Conveniency got the Name of *the Golden River.* The Bar, through which the Ships come in, is a very narrow Paſſage, with Rocks on both Sides. Over againſt it, near the Village of St. *John*, is a Fort kept by a ſmall Garriſon.

The Epiſcopal Palace near the Cathedral ſeem'd to be a magnificent Building, but was not inhabited then, becauſe the Biſhop, being at Variance with the Clergy of his Dioceſe, was at *Liſbon.*

6. From *Porto* I travell'd to *Gamarains*, over ſteep and rough Hills; it is a pretty neat Town, well built upon a Level of a conſiderable Compaſs; it has five Convents of Monks, *viz.* the *Dominicans*, *Carmelites*, *Capuchins*, *Franciſcans*, and *Auſtin* Fryars; and three Nunneries, *Franciſcans*, *Carmelites*, and *Dominicans*, but no more than two Pariſh-Churches. The whole Place is encloſed by a ſtrong and high Wall, and there are to be ſeen here the Ruins of a Caſtle, ſaid to be built for one of the Kings of *Portugal*'s Brothers.

From hence I continued my Journey the next Day to *Braga*, the moſt ancient Archbiſhoprick of *Portugal*, and which to this Day diſputes the Precedency and Primacy with the Archbiſhop of *Toledo* in *Spain.*

Braga is a ſpacious City, well wall'd according to the Faſhion of this Country. The Cathedral is ſomething bigger than in moſt other Places in *Portugal*, and ſtrongly built, as are moſt of their Structures; for they have hereabouts a Kind of very durable tho' coarſe Marble, and their Loam very white and fine, and conſequently exceeding binding, as may be ſeen by their old Buildings. In this Church is a Monument of the Duke of *Bayonne*, (a Thing the *Portugueſe* do not much regard) who being met upon the Road to this City by a great Number of People to honour his Entry, and dying there ſoon after, order'd by his Will a conſiderable Revenue to be employ'd for diſtributing a certain Allowance to the *Poor* every Morning in the Cloyſters of the Church; adding, That *ſince he was not able to feaſt them, he would take care they ſhould not go without a Breakfaſt.* The Tomb, which is about a Yard and a half high, ſtands in the Iſle of the Church, being all of Braſs, with his Effigies at full Length, which appear'd to have been gilt formerly; the Grates about it hinder'd my reading the Inſcription. Not far from the Dome ſtands the Archiepiſcopal Palace, an old Pile of Building, which made but an indifferent Shew on the Outſide, being not then inhabited by reaſon of the Death of the Archbiſhop.

The next Place I came to in this Journey was *Viana*, one of the pleaſanteſt Towns in *Portugal*, ſeated on the Sea ſide, ſo that from the Key you may ſee any Ships that ſail along the Coaſt: It is well pav'd, the Streets upon a Level, with very good Buildings. Its Strength conſiſts only in a ſmall Caſtle on the Sea-ſide, which commands the Harbour, but they had at that Time a Garriſon of a thouſand Foot and two Troops of Horſe, and in the Caſtle about thirty-ſeven Great Guns mounted: There was lately built a Magazine for the King, containing Arms for about twenty thouſand Men, and ſome Accoutrements for Horſe. They ſhew'd us a ſmall low Building within the Precinct of the Caſtle, ſaid to be built for the Impriſonment of King *Alphonſo.* For the reſt, this is a Place of pretty good Trade, tho' the River is not navigable far, by reaſon of the Sands which choak up the Channel.

From this Place I travell'd for three Leagues very pleaſantly along the Sea ſide to *Camena*, ſeated in a Plain; and, though the Frontier Town on the Borders of *Galicia*, it is of no great Strength, but commonly provided with a good Garriſon; there ſtands, however, upon a Rock near the Entrance of the River, a little Fort, commanding the Paſſage toward the Harbour, but it was guarded only by ſix or eight Country-Fellows at that Time, and had not above three or four Guns mounted; within it is the Convent of St. *Anthony.* This Place has ſome little Trade, two Pariſh-Churches, two Convents of *Dominicans* and *Franciſcans*, and one Nunnery of *Dominicans.*

7. If you intend to go from hence into *Galicia*, you muſt croſs the River, which is the common Boundary between *Spain* and *Portugal* on this Side.

I went from *Camena* to *Villa nova de Silvero*, an ancient Town in the Road betwixt *Camena* and *Valentia*; as it is a Frontier Town, ſo it hath a Wall after the Manner of this Country, with a Garriſon.

Valentia, likewiſe a Frontier Town, upon the Borders of *Galicia*, advantageouſly ſituated for being made a ſtrong Place, but almoſt without Defence, though ſo near to *Spain*; it is true, ſome Works it had, but without Men or Arms to defend them, all the Defence they have being the Fort *Lovelio*, about a Mile from the City, in Oppoſition to which the *Spaniards* have one or two on their Side of the River. At this Place the King's Officers make ſtrict Search, whether you carry more Money with you than is allow'd; the ſame is done on the Borders of *Galicia* by the *Spaniards*, in your Return hither, which they do with Severity enough, unleſs you make them civil by a little Money. Here you muſt alſo give Security for the Return of your Mule.

8. The firſt *Spaniſh* Town you come to after you have croſſed the *River*, is *Tine*, an Epiſcopal Seat, but meanly built, which made me without any Stay continue my Journey to *Vigo*, a Sea-port Town in *Galicia*, ſeated upon a River, and accounted one of the beſt Harbours of *Spain*, formerly the Rendezvous of the *Spaniſh Armada* or Fleet, when they made a much better Figure at Sea than they do now. Here their Galeons, and the *French* Squadron commanded by M. *Chateaurenand*, were deſtroyed by the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* in the Year 1702. For the reſt, the Town is of no conſiderable Traffick, few inhabiting here but Fiſhermen, which makes their Houſes appear very mean. It is reckon'd among the garriſon'd Towns of *Spain*; but this Garriſon conſiſts only of ſixty Country Fellows, who are ſummon'd out of the adjacent Country, for the Defence of ſome ſlight Works, provided with a few Guns, and are changed every Day. It has one large Pariſh Church, but meanly built, and two Convents, one of Friars, the other of Nuns, both *Franciſcans.* About three Leagues down the River you ſee the Iſles of *Bayonne.*

From hence I paſſed for three Leagues down a noble River towards *Ponte Vedra*, lined on both Sides with Hills and pleaſant Valleys, and ſome little Redoubts oppoſite to one another, for the Defence of the River. As you paſs along this River, you ſee *Raduntella*, a ſtately Town, built upon the Bank of the River, in the Middle of which is an Iſland, with a Convent of *Franciſcans* upon it, the Gardens of which being planted with Fruit-Trees, made a pretty Show at a Diſtance. At the End of this River you muſt travel a League and a half by Land before you come to *Ponte Vedra*, thro' very rough and uneven Ways. *Ponte Vedra* is a large but meanly built Town, though the River (which diſcharges itſelf into the Sea) affords them ſome conveniency for Traffick. The chief Thing worth taking Notice of, is the Church of our Lady, a large Fabrick, and adorn'd on the Inſide with ſome curious Wrought Work on the Ceiling, and the Pillars, which are Marble, a Thing ſeldom obſerved in the Churches of *Galicia.* The Front of this Church hath alſo ſome very fine *Relievo-work*; among the reſt, our bleſſed Lady on her Death-bed, with the Apoſtles and ſome of the ancient Fathers about her.

The Archbiſhop of St. *Jago*'s Palace here is a large Structure, but appear'd much decay'd: It has two Pariſh Churches and three Convents, two of *Franciſcans*, and the third of *Dominican* Friars, one of Nuns, and a Jeſuits College. The Magazine here had alſo ſome good Braſs Guns, and ſome ſmall Arms.

9. *Galicia* appear'd to me a Country very like *Portugal*, as well in reſpect of the Soil, as of the Manners and Cuſtoms of its Inhabitants, who alſo differ but very little from the *Portugueſe*, even in their Habit and Language; and as there is ſcarce any Footſteps of Induſtry or Huſbandry among them, ſo you ſee nothing but Poverty where-ever you turn yourſelf.

The indifferent Uſage I met with in all thoſe Places thro' which I paſſed, made me ſoon alter my Reſolution of going further that Way; ſo I return'd to *Porto* the ſame Road I came, but took another Way from *Porto* to *Liſbon*; for, after having paſs'd *Aveyro*, inſtead of going to *Coimbria*, I took the Road of *Fygera*, a ſmall Maritime Town, yet not without ſome Trade in Salt and Oyl, Ships of about a hundred Tons being able to come up the River hither: They have a Caſtle with ſome Guns for their Defence. The Salt is made near this River, and the adjacent Country affords great Abundance of Olives.

Betwixt *Aveyro* and *Fygera* is the Town of *Mira*, much celebrated for vaſt Store of wild Ducks thereabouts, which they take in a peculiar Manner, without either Nets or Guns, by throwing Sticks at them as they riſe and take Wing, which they do with ſuch Dexterity, that they knock down ſeveral at a Time.

I paſs'd the River near *Fygera* the 25th of *July*, which being on a *Sunday*, and St. *James*'s Day, I had ſcarce travel'd two Miles to *Lavos*, where meeting with an *Iriſh* Prieſt, he would fain have engaged me to go about four Leagues with him, to a Chapel dedicated to St. *James*, where (he told me) was a Family which had this Peculiar to itſelf, that on this Day, when the People of the adjacent Country came to pay their Devotions to the ſaid Saint, and are regaled with a large hot Cake by the Town; any of them can go to the Oven, though never ſo hot, and turn the Cake without the leaſt Danger; but I thank'd him for his Care, and told him, that having no great Faith in ſuch Matters, he muſt excuſe me, if I did not go ſo far out of my Way. I came the ſame Day to *Lazia*, the Seat of a Biſhop, whoſe Palace is a noble Structure: For the reſt, the Town is but indifferently built; it hath three Pariſh-Churches, the Cathedral, St. *Diago*, and St. *Peter*'s; the firſt appear'd to be a large handſome Fabrick, but I did not view the Inſide of it: They have four Convents of *Auſtin* Friars, *Dominicans*, *Franciſcans*, and *Capuchins*, and a Nunnery of *Dominicans*. Near it, upon a very high Hill, you ſee a Caſtle belonging to the King, which at a Diſtance appear'd to be a noble Building.

In my Way from *Lazia* to *Terena* I paſs'd by *Batalia*, where is ſaid to be the beſt-built Church in all *Spain*, perfected by ſome *Engliſh* Workmen; it contains the Sepulchres and Tombs of the *Portugueſe* Kings. The Steepneſs of the Rocks, over which I was forced to paſs, together with the Length of the Way, made this the worſt Day's Journey I ever had, which made me not get to *Terena* till late at Night; and having fourteen Leagues to *Liſbon*, I ſet out early in the Morning, and after I had rode two Leagues, embark'd on the River, (ſending my Mule by Land) which brought me the ſame Day to *Liſbon*. I obſerved a great deal of Poverty in the Country through which I paſs'd, the poorer Sort living for the moſt part upon *Brow* and Water. This *Brow* is a Kind of courſe yellowiſh Bread, made of a certain *Indian* Corn called *Millio*; certain it is, that many hundred Families live upon this, without ever taſting Meat in all their Life-time. The Country, through which I paſs'd, affords ſcarce any Wood for Timber, the Oaks, which are but few, appearing no bigger than Shrubs here; Olive and Cork-trees they have in Abundance, and I ſaw ſome pretty large Groves of Pines.

The Authors Journey from Liſbon *to* Madrid.

10. I ſet out, *Sept.* 1, 1694, from *Liſbon* for *Madrid*; I went three Leagues by Water on the other Side of the River to *Allegalego*, whence, continuing my Journey the next Day, I travel'd for eight Leagues through a barren Country to *Vento Novo*, and the next Day by the Way of *Monte Major* (a very good Village) to *Ryolio*, a ſmall ruined Town with an old *Mooriſh* Caſtle, which affords a fine Proſpect into the adjacent Country. The next Day I travel'd on to *Eſtremoze*, a Place noted for Earthen Ware, then garriſon'd with eight Companies of Foot, and three Troops of Horſe. Thence I went to *Elvas*, the laſt Frontier Town of the *Portugueſe*, bordering upon *Spain* on that Side, a Place of good Strength, and famous for the ſix Months Siege it ſuſtained againſt the *Spaniards*, in their laſt Wars. Near it is a moſt noble Aquaduct, three Leagues and a half in Length, and of a vaſt Height in ſome Places where the Ground is low; where, for a conſiderable Way together, there were no leſs than four Arches built upon one another with vaſt Expence. Not above two *Engliſh* Miles beyond *Elvas* you come to a ſmall River, which being the common Bounds betwixt *Spain* and *Portugal* on that Side, you are no ſooner paſs'd it, but you come to the *Campo* or *Plain*, where was fought that memorable Battle betwixt the *Spaniards* and *Portugueſe* in their laſt War, with the loſs of ſeven thouſand *Spaniards*; in which Action the *Engliſh* had a conſiderable Share, acting as Auxiliaries on the *Portugueſe* Side.

The firſt Town belonging to the *Spaniards* on this Side, is *Badajos*, a ſtrong Place, into which you enter over a Bridge of twenty ſix Arches. The next Day I travel'd to *Merida*, into which you muſt paſs over a Bridge of above ſixty Arches: This Place affords ſome Entertainment for curious Travellers, as the Ruins of ſome ancient *Roman* Buildings, a ſpacious Caſtle, now turn'd into a Priſon, a noble Arch of vaſt Stones joined without Mortar, the Work of *Julius Cæſar*, a curious Pyramid by *Auguſtus Cæſar*, the Remnants of ſome ancient *Roman Aquaducts*, and another modern one by which the Water is convey'd into the Town a great Way. From hence I travel'd to *Trukillo*, through a woody and mountainous Country: The Town itſelf is very well built, with ſeveral goodly Structures belonging to Perſons of Quality; it has five Pariſh-Churches, as many Convents of Friars, and four Nunneries: The Villages upon the Road were moſt of them very large, but the Dwellings only of Mud; however, I took Notice by the Way of one ſpacious and noble Palace belonging to the *Conde de Lopeſo*: I lodg'd at *Telaveyra de Royna*, a very handſome Country Town, having eight or nine Pariſh-Churches, thirteen Convents of Monks, and five Nunneries.

From hence I travel'd five good Leagues out of my Way to take a View of the City of *Toledo*, a magnificent Place, nobly built, and adorn'd with ſtately Churches, very rich in Plate and Jewels. The Image of our Lady in the Cathedral has a Garment cover'd all over with Pearl and precious Stones of an ineſtimable Value: The Paintings are anſwerable to the reſt. It is the Metropolis of all *Spain*, and the Archbiſhoprick is accounted the moſt conſiderable for its Revenues in *Chriſtendom*, though that of *Braga* diſputes the Priority with it. The *Caſtilian* Language is ſpoken here in its Purity, and ſeveral great Councils have been held there. The preſent Archbiſhop is a Cardinal. The King's Palace or *Caſtle* is a ſpacious Pile of Building, and the Stables belonging to it are capable of containing at leaſt five hundred Horſe.

12. *Madrid* is only a Village, but may deſervedly be called the largeſt of that Kind in *Europe*; the Soil round about it is not ſo mountainous as in *Portugal*, but very fruitful, which agrees beſt with the ſlothful Temper of the *Spaniards*. This Place, though the ordinary Reſidence of the Kings of *Spain*, is not ſeated in a very wholſome Air, occaſioned, queſtionleſs, by the adjacent River, which is often dry: This River is a Branch of the *Tagus*, riſing near *Toledo*, whence it continues its Courſe as far as S. *Terence*, fourteen Leagues beyond *Liſbon* in *Portugal*. The Buildings here are generally very good, of Brick, and ſome of the Streets regular, ſpacious and noble, but very dirty, nauſeous, and full of Filth. Their Churches are for the moſt Part very fine. The Palace of the *Almirante* of *Caſtile* is highly remarkable for its excellent Pictures, in the Collection whereof the *Spaniſh* Lords ſpare no Coſt; among the reſt I took Notice of one done by *Titian*, repreſenting *Ixion* embracing the Cloud; it was pawn'd to this Lord for five hundred Dubloons, much leſs than it was worth.

In the King's Summer-houſe, a little Way out of the Town, called *Buen Retiro*, I took Notice of many curious Pieces of Painting by *Titian*, *Raphael Urbin*, *Bordonna*, *Annibal*, and *Vandyke*, but has nothing elſe remarkable either within or without, being built only of Brick, except that in the Garden you ſee the Statue of

King *Philip* IV. on Horſeback, finely done in Braſs, placed on a Marble Pedeſtal. On the Canals are Pleaſure-Boats, and ſome Summer-houſes for the Muſicians to divert the King, whilſt he takes his Pleaſure in theſe Boats upon the Canals. At the Entrance of the outer Court are the King's Stables; that for the Saddle-horſes had at that Time about ſixty, choſen out of all Nations; in thoſe for the Coach-horſes were three Setts of Black, as many of light Grey, all of *Flanders* Breed, one of dark Grey, and two Setts of very fine Duns, beſides ſix Setts of Mules. Adjoining to theſe is the Armoury, a ſpacious handſome Room, fill'd with many curious Suits of Armour, belonging formerly to their Kings. Here they ſhew you divers Suits, once uſed by the great *Charles* V. with a Sword preſented him by the Pope; his Armour is eaſily diſtinguiſhed from others by our Lady's Image he always wore engraved on his Breaſt-piece; a large poliſh'd Steel Plate the ſaid Emperor uſed inſtead of a Looking-glaſs when he put on his Armour, and an eaſy Chair, in which he ſlept, eat, drank, and diſpatch'd Buſineſs when in the Camp; ſeveral other Suits of *Philip* II. *Philip* III. *Philip* IV. and among the reſt, one for the late King *Charles* II. though it is certain he never wore any; it is double gilt, and ſet with precious Stones: Here you ſee alſo the Armour of that warlike Cardinal *Ildefonſo*, and ſeveral Trophies and Colours taken from the *Turks*.

The outward Court of the Palace is a large Square, with Cloyſters on both Sides, the Stables and Armory fronting the Palace itſelf; it conſiſts of two Quadrangles, with Cloyſters both above and below; one of theſe Quadrangles is allotted for the King, the other for the Queen's Lodgings, but are not to be ſeen unleſs when the Court happens not to be there.

I paſſed through three or four indifferent Rooms (as far as they would let me go) to ſee the King at Dinner; the Dining Room was large, but indifferently furniſh'd, the Room before it was leſs, but cruſted over on the Walls with fine Jaſper and Marble. The King has always twelve Diſhes at Dinner, and eight at Supper, ſerv'd up in as many Silver Plates, and attended by as many Halberdiers, who make every one uncover as the Meat paſſes by. There is a glorious Appearance at Court every Day, as well of Coaches as a great Number of People; the Reaſon is, becauſe all the chief Courts of Juſtice, belonging to the ſeveral Provinces under the *Spaniſh* Dominion are kept in the Palace.

Many of the Streets of *Madrid* have Fountains, but ſuch as have nothing extraordinary in them. The *Placa Major*, where they keep their *Bull-feaſts*, is a noble Square. The *Prado* of S. *Hieronomo* is ſprinkled every Evening with Water out of the many Fountains placed there for the Conveniency of the Coaches that take the *Tour-a-la-mode* there. Croſs the Water the King has another Houſe, call'd *Caſa del Campo*, where he refreſhes himſelf ſometimes in the Heat of the Summer under the cool ſhady Walks, the chief Conveniency of this Seat.

13. From *Madrid* I took a Turn to *Alcola de Henares*, or *Compoſtella*, in Latin *Complutum*, the greateſt Univerſity (next to *Salamanca*) in *Spain*, founded by Cardinal *Ximenes*. The Buildings of the City itſelf are none of the beſt: The *Univerſity-College*, where all publick Exerciſes are kept, acknowledges the great Cardinal *Ildefonſo* for its Founder the other Colleges are, that of *Madre di Dios*, of *Malca*, the *Trilingue*, the King's College, that of *Mena*, of *Manrique*, of S. *Clement*, of *Lugo*, that of *Arragon*, of *Verdes*, of S. *Ambroſe*, of S. *Catharine*, of S. *Dennis*, that of the *Ruſſians*, and S. *George's* College, built and well endow'd by a *Portugueſe* Count for the Uſe of thirty *Iriſh* Students; but the Count dying before it was quite brought to Perfection, the King ſeiz'd on the greateſt part of the Revenues, leaving only a ſlender Allowance for the Maintenance of eight Students, who are obliged by Oath, after ſeven Years Stay in the College, to preach the Goſpel in ſome of the Northern Parts. There are beſides theſe the Colleges of S. *Peter* and S. *Paul*, and that of the Grammarians.

Their Convents of Monks are, thoſe of the Order of S. *Auſtin*, of S. *Thomas*, S. *Baſil*, S. *Bernard*, and that for the *Complutenſes*, the *Carmelites*, the *Oratory*, the *Jeſuites*, two of the *Trinitarians*, the *Diſcalceats*, two of the *Mercenaries*, the *Minims*, the *Agoniſants*, the *Auſtin Friars Diſcalceats*; the Convent of the Angels of S. *Diago*, S. *John de Dios*, and that of *Leon*, beſides ten Nunneries. I heard one of their Diſputations, and it ſeem'd very odd to me, that the Reſpondent, after having repeated the Opponent's Syllogiſm, did not anſwer in *Latin*, but in his native Tongue. Juſt before the high Altar in the Chapel of the *Univerſity College* ſtands a white Marble Tomb, containing the Body of the beforementioned Cardinal *Ildefonſo*, his Effigies in a cumbent Poſture, all excellently done, and encompaſſed with Braſs Grates; *Mahomet's* Lamp, and ſome *Turkiſh* Colours taken by him from the *Turks*, are hung up in the ſame Chapel.

The Cathedral here is a ſpacious and noble Fabrick, in which (among others) I took Notice of a white Marble Tomb with a *Latin* Inſcription, erected to the Memory of Dr. *J. Gonzales*.

This City ſtood formerly on the other Bank of the River, at the Foot of an high Hill, but being laid deſolate by the *Moors*, it was afterwards rebuilt in the Place where it now ſtands.

Over the Water, on an high Hill, in a little Chapel, they preſerve a red Croſs, which (they ſay) was ſent down from Heaven and put into the Hand of one of their Kings, as he lay encamped againſt the *Moors*, who were entirely routed. In the Cathedral they ſhew you a miraculous Stone, which formerly afforded ſuch Abundance of Oil, that they ſupplied all the Lamps of the Church with it; but thoſe who look'd after it making a Gain of it, by ſelling it for other Uſes, the Miracle ceaſed.

14. During my Stay at *Madrid*, I made another Excurſion to take a View of the *Eſcurial*, that Wonder of the World, built by King *Philip* II. purſuant to a Vow he made before the battle at St. *Quintin* againſt the *French*, and having obtain'd the Victory, he dedicated the *Convent* adjoining to the Palace to S. *Lawrence*, (it being his Day when the Battle was fought) and placed in it two hundred Friars of the Order of S. *Jerome*, under a Prior nominated by the King, and a College or Nurſery for young Students. It is ſeated about ſeven Leagues from *Madrid*, among the Mountains in the Kingdom of *Toledo*, having to the Eaſt and Weſt very delightful Plains watered with many Rivulets and Springs. Its Form is a large Square, each Side whereof is 2630 Foot long, with a fine Tower on each Corner; the Materials are a Sort of very hard Stone, ſpotted with grey; the greateſt Part of the Architecture is of the *Dorick* Order, with ſome of the *Ionick*, *Corinthian*, *Compoſite* and *Tuſcan*: The whole Fabrick is ſubdivided into four leſſer Squares, which have ſixteen Gates; the chief Entrance is on the Weſt Side, through three Gates, over which ſtand the Statues of S. *Lawrence*, the Patron of this Fabrick, and in the Middle the Arms of *Spain*.

The firſt Quadrangle is two hundred and thirty foot long, and a hundred and twenty ſix broad: The Front of this inner Court is adorn'd with ſix Pillars of the *Dorick* Order ſixty eight foot high, upon which are placed ſix Pedeſtals, and upon them as many Statues of the Kings of the old Teſtament, *viz. David*, *Solomon*, *Joſias*, *Ezekias*, *Jehoſhaphat* and *Manaſſes*, with Crowns of Braſs on their Heads, weighing a hundred Pound each, and the Scepters (of the ſame Metal) fifty Pound each; *David's* Harp, likewiſe of Braſs, weighs no leſs than three hundred ſeventy five Pounds. Under each of theſe Kings are the following Inſcriptions:

David	Solomon	Ezechias
Operis	*Templum*	*Mandata*
Exemplar	*Domino*	*Domo*
A Domino	*Ædificatum*	*Phaſe.*
Recepit.	*Dedicavit*	*Celebravit.*

Joſias	Jehoſaphat	Manaſſes
Volumen	*Lucis*	*Contri*
Legis	*Ablatis*	*tus*
Domini	*Legem*	*Altare*
Invenit.	*Propagavit.*	*D. Inſtau ravit.*

You enter into the *Church* by five Arches twenty eight Foot high and fourteen broad; the Length of the *Church* is three hundred ſixty four foot, and its Breadth two hundred and thirty; its whole Height, from the Floor to the Croſs on the Top of the *Cupola*, is three hundred and thirty foot; the Architecture is of the *Dorick* Order; it has ſix Iſles, two of which make a Croſs, the other four meeting into a Square; it has beſides this twenty four noble Arches, fifty large Windows, and thirty nine Galleries with Silk Curtains: There are here alſo no leſs than twelve noble Croſſes of Jaſper-ſtone, ſet over ſo many Chapels, and forty Altars, in their peculiar Chapels, beautified with excellent Pictures of the Saints.

The Floor of the Church is pav'd with grey and black Marble, and the Iſles are illuminated with a vaſt Number of large Silver Lamps; the Middle Iſle alone has fourteen Balconies of two Yards three Quarters in Length. The grand Chapel is magnificent beyond what can be imagined, its Length is twenty Foot, the Breadth fifty, and the Height an hundred; you aſcend into it by the middle Iſle, by twelve Steps of the fineſt Jaſper of Fifty three Foot long; the Chapel is parted from the Body of the Church by curiouſly wrought Rails of Braſs gilt; the Paintings are very excellent here, ſuitable to the reſt: It contains four Sorts of Architecture, which are ninety three Foot high, and forty nine broad, the firſt of the *Dorick* Order with ſix Pillars, the ſecond of the *Ionick* with as many, the third is *Corinthian*, and the fourth the *Compoſite*, with two Pillars ſuſtaining the Roof and Arches; they are all of the beſt Jaſper, curiouſly poliſh'd, the *Baſes* and *Capitols* of Braſs gilt: In one of the Pillars of the *Dorick* Order is the *Cuſtodia* or Place where the Sacrament is kept; on each Side is an Original of *Perugrino* an *Italian*, one repreſenting our Saviour's Birth, the other the Adoration of the three *Eaſtern* Kings; the four *Evangeliſts*, in Braſs gilt, ſtand on the Sides of the Pillars: In the *Ionick* Order is painted S. *Lawrence*'s Martyrdom, by the ſame *Perugrino:* On the Sides are two Originals, one of Chriſt tied to a Pillar to be ſcourg'd, the other repreſenting Chriſt bearing the Croſs, by *Frederico Zucchero*, and four Statues of Braſs of as many ancient Fathers of the Church: In the *Corinthian* Order you ſee the Aſſumption of our Lady, and on the Sides the Reſurrection, and the Deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt, all Originals, painted by the ſame Hand: Between two Pyramids are two brazen Statues of S. *Andrew*, and S. *James* the Patron of *Spain*; the *Compoſite* Order has but two Pillars, and in the Middle of them our Saviour on the Croſs, S. *Peter* and S. *Paul* on the Inſide, and the Virgin *Mary* and S. *John* on the Outſides: they are all four of Braſs, gilt, and thirteen Foot high each.

The *Cuſtodia* or Box wherein the Sacrament is kept, is of a round Figure, made of various Stones; its Height is ſixteen Foot, and its Diameter ſeven and a half, ſupported by eight Columns of *Diaſpare*, imitating the Rainbow in their various Colours; they ſay, that this Stone is not to be wrought but by Diamonds, and that the Workmanſhip of this coſt eighty thouſand Ducats. Over the *Cuſtodia* you ſee the Statues of the twelve Apoſtles, and at the Top the Reſurrection of our Saviour. You enter into this Chapel (called the *Segrario)* by two Doors of Jaſper, one on each Side, and aſcend to the Altar by ten Steps of the ſame Stone, which alſo furniſhes the Materials for the Floor; it has its Light through a curious Cryſtal Window on the Eaſt Side with Iron Bars gilt; it is beautified with Pictures repreſenting the Myſtery of the Euchariſt, with a Rainbow and many Angels over it. On the right Side of the Altar you ſee five Statues in Braſs upon their Knees, of the Emperor *Charles* V, his Daughter, and two of his Siſters; on the other Side are placed the Arms of *Spain*, with five Statues underneath correſponding to the others, *viz.* one of King *Philip* II. of his Queen *Anne*, of two of his former Wives, and of his Son *Charles*. Under this Altar is the *Pantheon* or Burial-place of the Kings of *Spain* of the *Auſtrian* Family, of which more hereafter. This Church has receiv'd much additional Beauty by the excellent Paintings of the ſacred Hiſtory by the rare Hand of *Luqueſto* an *Italian*.

15. Among their Relicks (of which, they ſay, they have ſomething of every Saint) they ſhew ſome of the Hair of our Saviour and the bleſſed Virgin, as alſo ſome of their wearing Apparel, ſome Thorns of his Crown, and one of the Nails wherewith he was nail'd to the Croſs, ſome Remnants of his purple Habit, divers Relicks of St. *John* the *Baptiſt*, of the Apoſtles, Martyrs, and the entire Body of S. *Lawrence*, the Head of S. *Jerome*, and the Heads of ſeveral other Saints. They tell you, that they have no leſs than five hundred and fifty *Pixes* and *Chalices* of Gold, Silver and Chryſtal, among which they ſhew one ſaid to have been offered to our Saviour by one of the three Eaſtern Kings. In the Middle of the Iſle is the *Choir*, fronting the Chapel, its Length is ninety ſix Feet, its Breadth fifty ſix, its Height forty eight, the Floor cover'd with the ſame Marble as the Church, and the Walls painted with the Martyrdom of S. *Laurence* and S. *Jerome*, the firſt by *Romulo*, the laſt by the juſt mention'd *Luqueſto*, who has alſo painted the Glories of Heaven on the Top: It is illuminated by a Chryſtal Branch of twenty eight Lights, the Preſent of the late King *Charles* II. and has two Orders of Seats curiouſly wrought with precious Wood: On each Side is an Organ, with croſs Galleries gilt, and in the Church are ſix more, one of Silver, the Gift of *Charles* the Fifth.

The Sacriſty is a hundred and eight Foot long, and thirty broad, the Pavement of Marble of divers Colours, and the Cieling and Walls painted with the beſt Originals (thirty four in Number) of ſacred Hiſtory, the Gift of *Philip* IV. by the greateſt Maſters in that Art, *viz. Titian*, *Raphael Urbin*, *Paulo Veroneſe*, *Tintoret*, *Andrea del Sarto*, *de Bordonon*, *Guido Bologneſe*, *Annibal*, *Caracche*, *Van Dike*, and others. Near the Sacriſty you deſcend by Steps of the beſt Marble into the *Pantheon*, containing the Sepulchres of the Kings of *Spain* of the *Auſtrian* Family, being eſteem'd the fineſt Piece of this kind in *Europe*. Over one of the Gates, (which are of Braſs gilt) underneath the Arms of *Spain*, you ſee upon a black Marble this Inſcription in golden Letters:

D. O. M.
Locus Sacer mortalitatis exuviis
Catholicorum Regum
A Reſtauratore Vitæ, cujus Aræ Max.
Auſtriaca adhuc pietate ſubjacent.
Optatam Diem expectantium.
Quam poſt ſuam ſedem ſibi & ſuis
Carolus Cæſarum Max. in votis habuit,
Philippus IIdus Regum Prudentiſſimus elegit,
Philippus IIItius verè pius inchoavit,
Philippus IVtus
Clementia, Conſtantia, Religione Magn. Auxit,
Ornavit, abſolvit; M. D. C. LIV.

The Arms of *Spain*, cut in precious Stone and richly gilt, are placed here between two Statues of Braſs gilt, one repreſenting the Fall of Man, the other the Hope of a Reſurrection. This Door brings you by the beforemention'd Steps of the fineſt Jaſper and Marble into the *Pantheon*, which is overcruſted with the ſame, and moſt artificially poliſhed; its Form is round without, and octagonal within, in each of the Squares being repoſited the Urns for the Royal Bodies, four in each Square; there were then in all twenty ſix of theſe Urns, of grey Marble, ſupported by four Lion's Paws of Braſs gilt; of the ſame Metal there is an oval Figure in the middle of each of theſe Urns, containing the Names of ſuch royal Perſons as are interr'd there, in black Letters. In the Square fronting the Door ſtands the Altar, and upon it a large Croſs of Braſs gilt, fixed within another of black Marble, of which alſo the whole Altar is compos'd, except that it has ſome curious Ornaments of the choiceſt *Perphyry:* On each Side of the ſaid Croſs ſtands a Pillar of green *Genoa* Marble, with braſs Baſes and Capitols gilt. On the Goſpel-ſide of the Altar lie inter'd the Bodies of *Charles* V. *Philip* II. *Philip* III. and *Philip* IV. and on the other Side ſuch of their Queens as brought them forth Iſſue, ſuch as die without being not admitted to be buried here, but in another Sepulchre allotted for the Branches of the Royal Family. The *Pantheon* is enlightened by a curious Branch of Braſs gilt, with twenty four Lights; the Floor is cover'd with the ſame Stone as the Walls, and wrought into the Figure of Stars.

The Convent has no fewer than five Cloyſters, the biggeſt being no leſs than eight hundred Foot ſquare, painted all about with the Life, Death, Reſurrection and Aſcenſion of our Saviour. The old Chapel affords three excellent Pieces, that of St. *Lawrence* on the Gridiron in the Middle, and on both Sides the Offering of the three Eaſtern Kings, and Chriſt's Sepulchre, both by *Titian*, beſides divers other Originals of ſacred Hiſtory of the beſt Maſters: They boaſt here of one of the Innocents Bodies entire, of one of the Waterpots in which Chriſt turn'd Water into Wine at the Wedding of *Canaan*, and of one of the Bars of the Gridiron on which St. *Lawrence* was broil'd, but theſe are not to be ſeen by Hereticks. In the Refectory you ſee a celebrated Piece, by *Titian*, of the Lord's Supper, brought hither from *England* during the Exile of King *Charles* II. and pawn'd for 15,000*l.* Sterling.

I had no Opportunity of ſeeing the Royal Palace, which is not very large, and was told it contain'd little of Moment except the Paintings; but the Library muſt be own'd a noble lofty Structure, two hundred Foot long and thirty ſix high, the Stalls of the Books (which are all letter'd on the Back) being of Cedar and other precious foreign Woods: It has ſeven Pillars of the *Dorick* Order, the Floor is cover'd with white and grey Marble, and the Ceiling with curious Paintings repreſenting the Arts and Sciences, and the moſt celebrated Authors, by *Perugrino*; but thoſe Hiſtories of Arts and Sciences you ſee under the Corniſhes, are of the excellent Hand of *Bartholomew Carducho.* In the Middle of the ſame Room ſtand ſeven Tables of Jaſper and Marble, and two of *Porphyry*, with Globes and Spheres placed upon them. They preſerve alſo ſome ancient Medals and Writings on the Bark of Trees; their moſt valuable Manuſcripts are, *De Baptiſmo Puerorum* of St. *Auſtin*'s own Writing, a Piece of St. *Chryſoſtom*, *Apocalypſis de Sancto Amadeo*, four Books writ by St. *Thereſa*, a Letter of St. *Vincent*, the Original of St. *Lewis Beltram* of the Conception of the Virgin *Mary*, with divers other Pieces of St. *Gregory*, St. *Anaſtaſe*, and St. *Chryſoſtom*.

The moſt excellent Paintings on the Ceiling of the Church, and over the great Stairs, by that great modern Artiſt *Luca Giordano* a *Neapolitan*, and but lately finiſh'd at the late King's Expence, are no ſmall Addition to the Beauty and Glory of this ſtupenduous Fabrick, which I was told contain'd, with every Thing belonging to it, above thirty-ſix Leagues in Circuit; certain it is that there belong to this Structure fifteen Cloyſters, eleven Courts, twenty-five Fountains, thirteen Statues of Stone, and thirty eight of Braſs gilt; the Number of original and other choice Pictures is computed at 1602, beſides 540 more on the Walls; the Copies of Landſkips, Fruits, &c. are not to be number'd: It has beſides this nine *Refectories*, five *Infirmaries*, two fine *Apartments* for the Reception of Strangers, and nine *Kitchens*; it was twenty-four Years before it was finiſhed, and coſt King *Philip* II. ſix Millions wanting only two thouſand Ducats, unto which adding the Charge of the *Pantheon* and other additional Buildings, and the Reparations made after the Fire happen'd in 1671, the whole Charge has been computed at no leſs than eight Millions of Ducats. I have nothing to add to the Deſcription of this wonderful Piece, except the curious Walk of double Rows of Elm-trees, leading from the little Town below to this Royal Foundation.

17. I left *Madrid*, *Dec.* 3, 1694, and lodg'd the firſt Night at *Valdemore*, whence I turn'd ſomewhat out of the Road the next Day to go to *Aranjeuez*, moved with a Curioſity to view the King's Palace there, the Situation of which among Woodlands (a Rarity ſcarce ever to be met with in this Country) put me in mind of my native Country *England*. For the reſt, the Houſe is but ordinary for a Royal Palace, the Gardens and Walks not very large, yet better contriv'd than any I ever ſaw either in *Spain* or *Portugal*; here are many excellent *Statues* and *Fountains*, brought hither from all Parts by the Emperor *Charles* V. and thoſe that are more modern are very good ones; the great Number of theſe *Statues*, of Braſs and Marble, together with the pleaſant *Fountains* all along the ſhady Walks and Arbours of large Elms, and ſome Oak and Aſh, (great Rarities here as well as in *Portugal)* render this Place very delightful, its Situation being between two Hills, upon the very Banks of the River *Tagus*, from whence ſome Walks run up the Hills for a League together, yet the Air is eſteemed not extraordinary healthful. Here the King keeps his beſt Male Aſſes for Breeding.

I lodged the next Night at *Ocanno*, a Place noted for the beſt *Caſtile-Soap*, and the following Night at *Corral de Almagner*. As the Road betwixt *Madrid* and *Alicant* is paſſably good for a Coach, ſo the Country is generally fertile in Corn, Oil and Wines, and the rocky Parts produce Abundance of Roſemary, Thyme, and ſuch-like Sweet herbs, wherewith they feed their Sheep and Goats. The next Place I came to was *Albarzete*, noted for good Knives, Daggers, and Sciſſars; notwithſtanding this the extream Poverty of the Country-People, and conſequently the ill Accommodation one meets with upon the Road, (where you are oftentimes deſtitute of Provender for your Horſes, a Bed, nay, Bread and Wine) renders Travelling very difficult and tedious in *Spain*; however, I got at laſt ſafe to *Alicant*, the 13th of *December*, after a Journey of ten Days in a Calaſh.

18. The Town of *Alicant* is pleaſantly ſeated betwixt Hills along the Sea ſide, where there is a continual Paſſage of Ships bound to or from the *Mediterranean*; it ſuffered much in the late War with the *French*, who with three Bomb-Veſſels threw in about 4700 Bombs, and deſtroy'd ſix hundred Houſes; they told it as a great Miracle that above three hundred of the *French* Bombs fell upon the Cathedral dedicated to St. *Nicholas*, of which one only pierced through the Roof, whereas the whole Miracle was only to be attributed to the ſtrong *Cupola*'s and *Arches* which cover it. The *French* bombarded the Town with incredible Dexterity, throwing their Bombs even over the Caſtle, that ſtands a good Way above the Town, upon ſo high an Hill, that I had enough to do to get up to it, though when I came there I found nothing worth the Trouble I had taken, except a fine Proſpect, the whole *Spaniſh* Garriſon conſiſting of only five or ſix Guards, and perhaps as many Guns. *Alicant* is of no Strength, and the People ſo unfit to defend it, that at the Time of the *French* Bombardment they all retir'd into the Mountains, not excepting the Officers themſelves, and had certainly deſerted the Place, had not one Mr. *Newland*, an *Engliſh* Merchant, ply'd the *French* with two Guns from the Mole, and by his Example encourag'd ſome of them not to leave the Place to the *French*.

19. The Gentlemen here of *Valentia*, both in their Dreſs and Actions, much more imitate the *French* than the *Caſtilians*; they are of a haſty, vain and baſe Temper, and ſo bigotted to their fooliſh Niceties, or *Spaniſh Punctilio*'s, that upon a very ſlender Occaſion they will either murther one another themſelves, or hire others to do it, there being many of that Sort of Mercenaries in this Country, who will ſacrifice any man for a few *Pieces of Eight*, which they commonly perform by Shooting. Theſe Murthers produce ſometimes no ſmall Diſorders, the Friends of the murder'd Party thinking themſelves oblig'd to revenge his Death, go in ſtrong Parties, ſome a hundred in a Body, arm'd each with five Guns, (one Fuſee, and four leſſer ones in the Girdle) and ſo going into the Field, ſurprize one another wherever they can, it being their Principle not to attack their Enemy but upon a manifeſt Advantage; I was told there were

at that Time two ſuch Parties in the Mountains of forty on a Side each, and I was credibly informed, that not long ago two ſuch like Fellows were executed at *Valentia*, who confeſs'd that one of them had murthered thirty-three Perſons, and the other no leſs than ſeventy-ſeven. The Government of the Kingdom of *Valentia* is adminiſtred by a *Viceroy*, but the Town of *Alicant* has its peculiar *Governor*, who commands alſo the Garriſon when they have any, all their ſtanding Forces thereabouts conſiſting in a few Troops of Horſe, and ſome Foot Militia, for the Defence of the Coaſt.

The City contains betwixt thirty and forty thouſand Communicants; their Civil Adminiſtration is by a Juſtice, like our Mayors, and ſome Aldermen; it has ſix Convents of religious Men, *viz.* the *Jeſuites*, *Dominicans*, *Auſtin Friers*, *Carmelites*, *Franciſcans*, and *Capuchins*; two Nunneries, the *Monges de la Sangue* and *Capuchins*; and as many Pariſh Churches, S. *Nicholas* and S. *Mary*'s. For the reſt, *Spain* is at preſent in a very low Condition, through the weak adminiſtration of the Queen-Mother, the King's Want of Education, and the Feuds among the *Grandees*, which has depriv'd them of all their former Strength both by Sea and Land, for Want of Money, Proviſions, and all other Things requiſite for the Maintenance of a Fleet and Army; and what is worſe, without any future Proſpect of having theſe Thing redreſs'd. It is true, the King's Revenues are very great, but being anticipated, little of them comes into the King's Coffers; for the *Spaniſh Indies* are computed to amount to ten Millions a Year in their Revenues to the Crown, and their Seaport Towns muſt needs bring in conſiderable Cuſtoms, were it not that the Officers are both remiſs and corrupted in their Places.

20. About half a League from *Alicant* is a famous Convent of Nuns, whither there is a great Reſort of Pilgrims, to pay their Devotions to the *Sancta Faz* or *Holy Face* kept in this Nunnery; among theſe are eſpecially many Seamen, who when they leave *Alicant*, frequently make a Vow of performing their Devotions here after their ſafe Return, which they perform barefooted after a proſperous Voyage. The Story of this *Holy Face* runs thus:

Our Saviour going to his Crucifixion, a certain Woman call'd *Veronica*, who was juſt then moulding Dough, and had a Napkin girt about her, coming out of her Houſe at the Noiſe of the People, and ſeeing our Saviour's Face all dropping with Blood and Sweat, took the folded Napkin and ſo wiped his Face, the Impreſſion whereof remained upon the three Folds; theſe the *Church* has preſerv'd as holy Relicks, one whereof (they ſay) is at St. *Peter*'s at *Rome*, the other in a Convent near *Malaga*, and the third here, which (they ſay) came hither over Sea, and landing in *Valentia*, upon the Confines of two Pariſhes, a great Conteſt aroſe which of them it belong'd to; to decide this Difference it was agreed to blind a certain Perſon, who ſhould walk for ſome time with the *Sancta Faz* thereabouts, and that thoſe ſhould be Maſters of it in whoſe Precinct he happened to drop it; which was done accordingly, and it happening to fall in this Place, a *Convent* and *Church* was founded for its Preſervation. Its Virtue was the firſt Time experienced in a great Drought, when being carried in Proceſſion, it rain'd immediately, and that in great Abundance. By Permiſſion of one of the Fathers I had liberty given me to look upon it a ſecond time, as near as the Glaſs in which it is encloſ'd would allow of, and found it rather to reſemble the Face of a Child, than a Man of that Age as our bleſſed Saviour, at the Time of his Suffering, which made me look upon the whole as fabulous; and I remember, a certain *Italian* Painter ſeeing it, did not ſtick to ſay, *It was the worſt Daubing he ever ſaw.* Once a Year, *viz.* the 17th of *March*, there is a great Feaſt celebrated at *Alicant* in Memory of this *Holy Face*, when 'tis brought into the City, upon which Occaſion great Rejoicings are to be ſeen every where, and the Night generally concludes with Bonefires and a fine Firework. During my Stay at *Alicant*, I had the Opportunity of ſeeing divers of their Proceſſions, and among the reſt, that on *Corpus Chriſti Day*, one of the moſt celebrated in thoſe Parts: The firſt Pageant repreſented the Hiſtory of *Adam* and *Eve*, how the Serpent entic'd her, how they eat the forbidden Fruit, and were threatned by the Angel with a naked Sword: The next, *Abraham*'s Sacrifice of his Son *Iſaac*, acted by living Perſons, who (as we were told) were Fiſhermens Children, and had their Leſſons taught by the Prieſts, and their Pay from the Town for their acting. Theſe Pageants are made upon Wagons, with Boards laid upon them, both the Stages and Actors being thus drawn by Men along the Streets; theſe were followed by certain Giants, to perſonate the *Gentiles*, after whom came a Serpent repreſenting Temptation, and after this a Dragon with his Mouth wide open, to repreſent Hunger: Next to theſe came the ſeveral Companies of Tradeſmen with their Banners; then the *Capuchins*, *Carmelites*, *Auſtin Friars*, and *Franciſcans*, each carrying the Image of the Founder of their Order, and that of the Virgin *Mary*, ſplendidly attir'd; then followed ſome Morris-dancers, and after them ſome Churchmen of Note, and a few little Children dreſs'd up like Angels, ſtrewing Flowers before the Biſhop, who walk'd under a Canopy, carrying the Hoſt.

21. We have in this Section a very good Supplement to the laſt; for the Author, who travelled only for his Pleaſure, and by Way of Diverſion from the Fatigues of Buſineſs, enters into no deep political Speculations, but keeps pretty much to the Surface of Things, and tells us in what Light they appeared to him, at the Time of his Paſſage. What he ſays of *Portugal* is certainly very juſt, and we have good Reaſon to believe that Things are not much mended there at this Day. Yet this Country is juſtly eſteemed the fineſt Part of *Spain*, if it be conſidered as having belonged to it, both in earlier Times, and little more than one hundred Years ago. It lies very conveniently for Health, for Pleaſure and Commerce, along the Sea-ſide, ſeveral large navigable Rivers running through, and emptying themſelves into the Ocean in its ſeveral Provinces, and thereby making many and ſome of them excellent Ports, at the ſame Time that the Trade through the Country is by the ſame Means much facilitated.

The Kingdom of *Portugal* may boaſt of as fine a Climate, as almoſt any Country in *Europe*; for though from its Southern Situation it is very hot, yet this is ſo tempered by Breezes from the Sea, as not only to become very tolerable, but alſo very pleaſant. It may alſo boaſt of as much Variety as almoſt any Country; for the Northern Provinces are mountainous, and this renders them cool and wholeſome, though leſs fruitful than the plain and flat Country about *Liſbon*; and here, as well as in *Spain*, it has been remarked that theſe Provinces are more populous and better cultivated than where the Soil is more indulgent, which renders the People vicious and lazy, conſequently indigent, and in a wretched Condition. In the former Part of this Volume we have treated ſo largely of *Brazil*, and in our firſt Volume ſaid ſo much of the Riſe and Progreſs of the Naval Power of *Portugal*, the Empire ſhe once had in the *Eaſt-Indies*, the Manner in which it declined, and the very low State to which it is at preſent reduced, that there is no Neceſſity of adding any Thing on thoſe Subjects here. But it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that, how paradoxical ſoever it may ſeem, yet there is good Reaſon to doubt, whether the Diamond and Gold Mines that have been diſcovered of late Years in *Brazil*, have been ſo very advantageous to this Country as is generally ſuppoſed.

To explain this Notion it will be ſufficient to hint to the Reader, that, independant of its Plantations, *Portugal* is very far from being a poor Country, or deſtitute of the Means of carrying on a very extenſive Commerce. The Proportion in Extent between the Kingdoms of *Spain* and *Portugal* is, upon a fair Computation, thought to be as ſix to one, and yet it is believed that the Commodities and Manufactures are very nearly equal, that is to ſay, though *Portugal* is but a ſixth Part as big as *Spain*, yet the Produce of the former is equal to that of the latter. This conſiſts chiefly in Wool, Wine, Oil, Oranges, Lemons, Raiſins, Figs, and other kinds of Fruit, with various other Commodities of leſs Value. There is likewiſe in *Portugal* a very rich Silver Mine, by good Judges eſteemed the beſt in *Europe*, from whence there has been ſometimes drawn three hundred thouſand Pounds Sterling a Year. Yet with all theſe Advantages, and though there appears to be a vaſt Trade at *Liſbon*, *Porto*, and other Places, the Advantages which the Inhabitants derive therefrom, are very far from being ſo conſiderable as might be expected. The great, indeed almoſt the ſole Cauſe of this is, their having little or no Turn to Trade themſelves; ſo that, as in *Spain*, the whole is in a good Manner managed by Foreigners.

Immediately after the Acceſſion of the Houſe of *Braganca* to the Throne, it fell almoſt intirely into the Hands of the *French*, and what little eſcaped them, was managed by the *Italians*. But the Crown of *France* affecting to treat the late King of *Portugal* with great Haughtineſs, that Prince, who was a Man of Spirit and of Parts, took ſuch Meaſures as threw the Commerce of his Kingdom into other Hands, and upon the *French* King's prohibiting *Brazil* Tobacco and Sugar, he prohibited, in his Turn, moſt of the *French* Commodities and Manufactures. About the ſame Time he ſet up Silk Looms in *Liſbon*, and other Places, which deſtroyed the Trade of the *Genoeſe*, *Venetians* and *Florentines*. The *Dutch* became then Maſters of this Trade, in which alſo we had ſome ſmall Share; which increaſing by Degrees, and the late War about the *Spaniſh* Succeſſion giving fair Occaſion to a cloſer Correſpondence between the two Nations, we ſoon rivall'd, and at laſt ſurpaſſed the *Dutch*.

But how this Trade ſtands at preſent, is a Queſtion I am not well able to determine: Certain it is, that we ſeem to have ſtill a Superiority over all other Nations, and employ in it a great Number of Ships that export vaſt Quantities of our own Manufactures. On the other Hand, we import alſo prodigious Quantities of theirs; and though from Time to Time conſiderable Sums in Gold come over from thence, which looks as if the Balance was ſtill greatly in our Favour; yet there want not ſome Suſpicions, that a conſiderable Part of this Treaſure ariſes not from the *Portugueſe* Trade, but from the Balance of our Trade with *Holland*, which is paid us in *Portugueſe* Gold by the *Dutch*; and, if there be any Truth in this, it alters the Caſe greatly. But however, let that Matter be as it will, two very important Deductions may be made from thence; the firſt is, that from their not carrying on Trade in their own Bottoms, the *Portugueſe* are immenſe Loſers notwithſtanding the vaſt Cargoes they bring Home annually from *Brazil*; the other is, that the *Britiſh* Nation are great Gainers by the Balance of their Trade, whether that Balance ariſes from the *Dutch* or the *Portugueſe*; ſo that on the Whole we ſee, that the ſureſt Mark of a flouriſhing Trade is the Number of Ships employed; for while Navigation increaſes, Trade increaſes; and, whenever it declines, Commerce muſt decline with it.

Our Author's Reflections upon what he ſaw in his Travels through *Spain*, are very pertinent and natural; and he appears to have repreſented the Country, the Towns and the Inhabitants, with the utmoſt Candour and Veracity. It is certain, that he ſaw *Spain* in the very worſt State ſhe ever was, or indeed any Country could be in, which was towards the Cloſe of the Reign of *Charles* II. when her Councils were weak and diſtracted, her Treaſures exhauſted, her People impoveriſhed and diſtreſſed, her Armies conſumed, and her Armada's, from being the Terror, become the Contempt of all *Europe*. It will appear very ſtrange for a Man to advance it ſeriouſly; yet I muſt confeſs it is my own Opinion, that the War, occaſioned by the *Spaniſh* Succeſſion, notwithſtanding all the Inconveniencies that attended it, rather helped than hurt the *Spaniſh* Affairs. The Nation, at the Time of the Death of *Charles* II. was in a Kind of Lethargy; and though this Accident threw her into violent Convulſions; yet even theſe were Signs of Life, and in that Light favourable Symptoms. Had there been a Reign or two more of thoſe ſleepy Monarchs, their vaſt Dominions in *Europe*, *Aſia* and *America* muſt have been broke to Pieces; whereas, notwithſtanding the War, they remain tolerably whole.

It is indeed true, that their Country became the Scene of Action, which it could not be without ſuffering from it; but, on the other Hand, this very Circumſtance brought great Sums of Money into it, and kept a great Part of their *American* Treaſure at Home, Things unknown in *Spain* for two Ages before. It may, indeed, be ſaid, and ſaid with Truth, that a very large Part of the Treaſure that arrived from *New Spain*, came into the *French* King's Coffers: But even this was no Detriment to the *Spaniards*, if the Thing be conſider'd in its true Light; for, in the firſt Place, none of theſe Treaſures could have been received, if they had not been eſcorted by *French* Ships of War; and, in the next, *France* employ'd thoſe Sums, and more, in Supporting the Intereſt of *Spain*; ſo that the Nation loſt nothing thereby, but was rather helped.

What proves to a Demonſtration, that this is not merely a Conjecture, or a political Notion plauſibly defended is this, that after the War was entirely over, and the late King *Philip* fixed upon the Throne, both his Armies and his Fleets were in a much better Condition than *Spain* had ſeen any for a whole Age before; which enabled him to attempt, and would have enabled him to have reunited *Sicily* and *Sardinia* to his Crown, if the *Britiſh* Fleet had not interpoſed and cruſhed his new-raiſed Naval Force in the *Streights of Meſſina*. A very great Stroke this was eſteemed, by thoſe who conſider'd it barely as a Victory at Sea; but to Men of another Caſt of Mind, who meditate the Revolutions of Power, and the Mutations of Empire, it appeared in a much ſtronger Light, as it fruſtrated the Schemes of Cardinal *Alberoni*, and compelled his Maſter to part with a Miniſter, whoſe Genius was capable of reſtoring the Forces of that Monarchy, and rendering *Spain* almoſt as terrible under the Government of the peaceable and pious *Philip* V. as it had been under the ambitious and politick *Phillip* II.

Since that Time *Spain* has been govern'd by a Kind of a ſecond Rate *Genii*, under the Influence of a female Spirit, reſtleſs, ambitious, and at the ſame Time avaritious and intriguing; ſo that the People are almoſt in their old Condition; and while they are flatter'd with the Hopes of conquering Principalities Abroad, and giving Laws to *Europe*, they are ſinking under the Weight of a weak and arbitrary Government, into Slavery, Poverty, and Diſtreſs at Home. If any Thing can ſave them, it muſt be a Peace, when King *Ferdinand* the Sixth will find himſelf in a Condition to act according to his own Inclinations, which are ſaid to be entirely *Spaniſh*; and that his Deſire of ſettling the Infant Don *Philip* in *Italy*, ariſes chiefly from their being a Sea between that Country and *Spain*.

SECTION III.

The TRAVELS of *Philip Skippon*, Eſq; afterwards Sir *Philip Skippon*, and the Reverend Mr. *John Ray*, through the beſt Part of the Kingdom of *France*; interſperſed with a great Variety of hiſtorical, political, philoſophical and mechanical Remarks and Obſervations.

Collected from the JOURNALS *of thoſe ingenious Perſons.*

1. *An Introductory Account of Sir* Philip Skippon, *and of the Subject of this Section. Their Departure from the Territories of* Geneva, *and their Arrival in thoſe of* France. 2. *An elegant and exact Deſcription of the City of* Lyons, *particularly of the Cathedral Church of St.* John, *the famous Clock there, and the Cabinet of Curioſities belonging to Mr.* Servier. 3. *Their Journey to and Deſcription of the ancient City of* Grenoble, *and of the moſt remarkable Things therein.* 4. *A very curious and circumſtantial Relation of the* Grand Chartreuſe, *and of the Manner in which the Monks live there.* 5. *Their Journey from* Grenoble *to* Orange, *with an Account of the principal Places they met with, and of the Face of the Country between thoſe two Cities.* 6. *The City of* Orange *particularly deſcribed, in the State it was then in under the Minority of the late King* William *the Third.* 7. *Their Journey from* Orange *to* Avignon: *A Deſcription of this laſt-mentioned City, and of the moſt remarkable Edifices therein.* 8. *The Country between* Avignon *and* Niſmes *deſcribed. A full Account of this City, and of the Antiquities there.* 9. *An Account of the City of* Montpelier, *and the Obſervations of our Travellers there. The Hiſtory of the Manufacture of Verdigreaſe. The Art of Bleeching Wax.* 10. *A particular Deſcription of the* Confectio Alkermes. *The Method of making Oil from Olives. The Burning Fountain at* Peroul. 11. *Their Excurſion from* Montpelier *to* Frontignan. *The Method of making Raiſins of the Sun, and other Raiſins.* 12. *Their* Travels *along the Sea Coaſt, with an Account of what they obſerved moſt remarkable in their Journey.* 13. *Another Journey of theirs, with ſome Account of the great Cities of* Marſeilles *and* Toulon. *The Method of Planting and Curing Capers.* 14. *Their Journey from* Lyons *to* Paris, *and a ſhort Account of the principal Places they paſſed through upon the Road.* 15. *A Deſcription of* Paris *by Mr.* Skippon, *interſperſed with many curious Particulars.* 16. *Remarks upon the* French *Nation, and a particular Account of a very ſingular Tranſaction during the Protectorate of* Oliver Cromwell. 17. *The State and Revenue of the Clergy of* France. 18. *Mr.* Skippon's *Return to* England. 19. *Obſervations upon the foregoing Section.*

1. WE are now, according to our Promiſe, to reſume the Thread of Mr. *Ray*'s Travels, who, in his Return from *Italy*, paſſed through the Kingdom of *France*; but for the Reaſons which have been already aſſigned, his Accounts of that Country are far leſs copious and diſtinct than thoſe he has left us of *Italy:* Yet this is in ſome Meaſure ſupplied by the Journal of *Philip Skippon*, Eſq; afterwards Sir *Philip Skippon*, whom we have mentioned before, and who was the Companion of Mr. *Ray*, from the Time they left *England* till this Gentleman left him, for the Sake of returning more ſpeedily to *England*, at *Paris*. Sir *Philip Skippon* was a Gentleman of great Parts and Learning, as appears from the excellent Journal of his Travels, which being drawn up with regard to his private Uſe only, and not for the publick View, is an unexceptionable Teſtimony of his Candour, good Senſe, and Impartiality. He was a Man of an ample Fortune, and travelled purely for the Sake of Improvement and Amuſement. He was therefore extremely inquiſitive, where-ever he came, into all that might furniſh him with Knowledge or Pleaſure; and he kept ſo exact an Account of every Thing he ſaw, and deſigned with his own Hand, ſo accurately, every Engine or Machine, that he thought worthy taking Notice of, that one cannot help wondering, conſidering the Pains he took in viewing Things, how he found Time to deſcribe them ſo carefully, and to accompany them with his Reflections.

At his Return Home, he led a retired, or at leaſt a ſtudious Life, as appears from the Books which compoſed his Library, and are now diſperſed. In the Title Page of each of them is his Name, and the Year when they were bought or given to him, written in a very fair *Italian* Hand; and many of them have very learned Notes, judicious Corrections, or pertinent and pleaſing Remarks upon their Margins. Thus much I thought due to the Memory of this Gentleman, as having ſeen many of thoſe Books, and poſſeſs'd ſome. We will now come to the proper Buſineſs of the Section, and open it from his Journal, which is much more exact and full than what Mr. *Ray* thought fit to publiſh; though nothing can be better than the Accounts of the latter, which he thought proper for publick View; and therefore we have brought both into this Section for the Reader's Conveniency, in their Order of Time; ſo that they are intermixed but not blended, that it may be ſeen to which of theſe Authors the Accounts, Remarks and Obſervations belong.

Wedneſday, July 19, (ſays Mr. *Skippon*) we hired Horſes of the *Chaſſe Marin*, for four Crowns apiece, (our Diet included) and allowed for the Carriage of our Portmanteau's two Sols for every four Pounds Weight, above what was allow'd, and left *Geneva* about Eleven of the Clock, then paſſed over *Pont d' Arve*, where there is a *Geneva* Guard, and over the Bridge is the Duke of *Savoy*'s Guard, that ſearches for Salt, *&c.* We went through two or three Villages belonging to *Geneva*, and, after two or three Leagues riding, ferried over the *Roſne*, paying five Sols a Man. Half a League further we came through *Coulonge*, a Village where the *French* King's Officers ſearch Paſſengers, Portmanteaus, *&c.* Half a League from thence we rode in a narrow Paſſage between the Mountains, divided by the *Roſne* on the left Hand of us, and paſſing through a ſmall Port called *Cluſa*, (where ſix or ſeven *French* Soldiers keep Guard) were examined whence we came, *&c.* About two Leagues thence we obſerved the Place where the River *Rhoſne*, in the Winter-time, runs under great Stones for about half a Stone's Caſt, after it paſſed through a Channel three or four Yards broad. Half a League farther brought us to our Lodging at *Chaſtillon*.

The 20th, We ſet forward about Four in the Morning, and rode thro' mountainous Ways, paſſing by a Fall of Water called *Piſſe Vache*, which *Golnitz*, in his Itinerary, ſays, runs under Ground into a Lake called *la Bougie*, that was on our left Hand. *La Bougie* is divided into two Parts by a Wall; one Part is marſhy, belonging to St. *Germain*, the other belongs to *Nantua*, filled with Water and ſtor'd with Fiſh. We travelled through *Nantua*, a long Town with *Portici* like thoſe of the *Rue-bas* at *Geneva*; it is ſeated at the End of the Lake we had on our Left Hand. This Place is noted for good Needles. It is three Leagues from *Chaſtillon*. Three Leagues farther we baited at *Cerdon*, having rode between Box-hedges and a hilly Way, making a ſteep Deſcent juſt before we arrived at *Cerdon*, where our *Chaſſe Marin* changed his Horſes. After Dinner, we aſcended a rocky Hill, and then enter'd a Plain which continues to *Lyons*. Two Leagues from *Cerdon* we ferried over the River *D'Aine*, and three Leagues thence lodged at *Verbonne*. This Day we took Notice of the Shepherds Huts made of Straw, and placed on little Carts.

2. On the 21ſt, at Break of Day, we mounted, and, after two Leagues riding, came through a walled Place, and three Leagues thence rode through hilly Ways till we came to *Lyons*, where we firſt went through a Suburb full of Victualling-houſes. At the Gate we received a Billet to lodge in the Town, then made a ſteep Deſcent in a well paved Way, and after weighing of our Portmanteau's, we took up our Lodging at the *Eſcu d'Or*, or Crown of *France*. This is a very fair City, Part ſituated at the Meeting of the *Soane* and *Rhoſne*, and Part on the other Side of the *Soane*; the Houſes are high and well built, only defaced by the Raggedneſs of their Paper Windows. There is a great Commerce carried on here, and large Shops full of all Sorts of Wares.

We ſtaid at *Lyons* till the 25th of *July*, and remarked theſe Particulars: The *Maiſon de la Ville* is a very handſome Fabrick, having a fair ſquare Piazza before it with a large Fountain. On one Side of the Piazza is a ſtately Front erecting. The Rooms we ſaw here have theſe Names; *la Chambre Conſulaire*, where the Provoſt and four Eſchevins ſit; *la Chambre de la Converſation*, where the Merchants ſit. In the Great Hall are the Pictures of the fourteen *Lewis's*, Kings of *France*; the Roof painted. Another Hall with the Pictures of the Eſchevins; a little Chamber for Banquets, *&c.* S. *Nicy* is a pretty Church. *La Charitie* is the Hoſpital, a great Building. *N. Dame de Foutrier* is on the other Side the *Soane*, built on the higheſt Ground, where there is a ſmall Pyramid erected to the Virgin *Mary*. Here we had a full Proſpect of the City. Before another is a ſmall Pyramid, and thereon is inſcribed the Name of God, and Unity, and Trinity, in ſeveral Languages.

Without St. *Juſt*'s Gate is a large Suburb; the *Carmelites*, that go barefooted, have a pleaſant Convent with large Gardens, whence a pleaſant View of the Town. The Friars in this City are very importunate Beggars, coming into Strangers Chambers. The Feaſt of St. *James* was kept while we were here, and we ſaw this Proceſſion. Firſt went a great Banner, then a great Cake or Loaf, (called *Pain Benedit*) upon a Fellow's Head; after that two Pipes and a little Drum, which made ſome Muſick in the Interval between the Friars Singing. *Belle Cour*, is a ſpacious wide Space, where there is a Mall and a pleaſant Walk of Trees by it. Mr. *Palmer*, Brother to the Earl of *Caſtlemain*, was at this Time in *Lyons*, at the Academy Royal, and who lately turned Papiſt. The Proteſtants are about 2000 Families in this City, and have a Temple at St. *Romain*, two Leagues up the *Soane*. Monſieur *Moze*, an Apothecary and a Proteſtant, was very civil to us.

The Monument of the two Lovers is on the other Side the *Soane*; it ſeems to have been ſome *Roman* Building, and is built of great Stones. Two Forts, *la Pierre Seize* on the *Soane* Side; for St. *Jean* is on the ſame Side with the Body of the City. The *Soane* is a very ſlow River, and there are croſs it one Stone and two wooden Bridges. On one of them a Cuſtomer demands a Liard of every one that paſſes over. St. *Jean* is the Cathedral, which is large, and remarkable for a Clock with Motions like that at *Straſburgh*; every Hour a Cock on the Top claps his Wings twice, and crows twice; after that an Angel comes out of a Door and ſalutes the Virgin *Mary*, and at the ſame Time the Holy Ghoſt deſcends, and God the Father gives the Benediction. The Minute Motion hath an oval Circle, and yet the Handle or Index always touches the Circumference. Invented by M. *Servier*.

We had good Luck in ſeeing this M. *Servier*'s Cabinet, his Humour being very difficult. He was a Soldier in his younger Days; but about twenty-two Years ago he retired hither, and invented many ingenious Pieces of Clock-work, Machines of Water, *&c.* which he hath deſcribed with his Pen, and bound them up together in a thick Folio, and made the Models of them in Wood with his own Hand. Theſe Things we took Notice of, which we had not before ſeen in *Italy* and *Germany*. The Hand of a Minute Watch moved every Time the Ball ſprings up; in a certain Engine a Lizard creeping up a perpendicular Rule, ſhews the Hour of the Day. A Mouſe creeping upon a Rule, placed horizontally, doth the like. Theſe are done by Magnets: An Hour Glaſs that turns of itſelf, when the Sand is run out, and at the ſame Time the Hour Figure placed over the Glaſs, is changed. Several hydraulick Machines. An Atlas bearing a Globe, and upon its Equator was ſhewn the Hour of the Day. The Clock upon a declining Plane does not go when placed upon an horizontal Plane. A Ball put in at the Mouth of a winding Serpent runs through it, and afterwards paſſes up the Tail of another placed on a moveable Axis, and comes out of his Mouth. A Tortoiſe put into a Baſon of Water, will never ſtand ſtill till he points to the Time of the Day. A *Balaſtra* to ſhoot Granada's at a certain Diſtance. A Circle, with the ſeveral Humours of Perſons written on it, and if you touch the Gnomon or Index, it will point to the Humour (as is pretended) of him that touches it. A Door that opens both Ways. Two Gates, when one ſhuts, the other opens. Two Dials, a pretty Diſtance from one another, moving the Index of the one, turns the Index of the other; but when M. *Servier* took a little Piece of Iron or Load-ſtone (colour'd white) out of the Point or End of the Index that was moved, the other would not ſtir. A Cannon to ſhoot downwards; it is placed on a declining Carriage, an Axis with Cords winds it backwards and forwards, and when the Cannon comes to the further End, a Circle of Lead is round the Mouth. We were told, that the *Germans* living in *Lyons* have great Privileges; that they have diſtinct Courts to judge Civil and Criminal Matters, and when they make Harangues to the King they ſpeak ſtanding.

3. The 25th, Hiring a Poſtillion for a *Louis d'Or* a Man, we left *Lyons*, and rode over a long Stone Bridge, croſs the *Rhoſne*, and then paſſed through a large Suburb, and entered on a large Plain, where we travelled four Leagues, and after that rode thro' a pleaſant Country, caſt up into Hillocks, and ſix Leagues from *Lyons*, dined at *Artas*, having paſſed through but one Village before. After Noon we came through *Maria*, *la Baſtier*, *Champier*, and at Night lodged in *la Frett*, three Leagues from *Artas*. 26th, We rode a good Way in a level Valley, and at two Leagues from *la Frett*, went through *Moyran*; a little from thence we entered between the Mountains, and travelled through a fruitful Valley, planted like *Lombardy*, with Rows of Trees and Vines climbing about them; ſometimes we mounted ſtony Hills, among them paſſed through *Rives*, a Village noted for its Iron Works; four Leagues from *Moyran*, we arrived at *Grenoble*, riding by a double Pall Mall, juſt before we entered the City. This Night it ſnowed on the Mountains near *Grenoble*.

Grenoble is a large City ſituated in a fruitful and pleaſant Valley near the Meeting of the River *Drac* with the *Yſere*. The Houſes are generally meanly built, and the Streets are not handſome. A long Street (on the other Side of the *Yſere)* joined to the City by a wooden and a Stone Bridge. On the ſame Side, upon the Top of a high Hill, is a Fort called *la Baſtile*; a Wall runs up that Hill. The Arſenal is another Fort guarded now by about 150 Soldiers. The Cathedral is a mean Church. The Jeſuits are building a neat Chapel. The Proteſtants are here about 5000, their Temple is within the Walls, and is of an octagonal Figure, with a tall Roof; within are Seats for Counſellors of Parliament and Perſons of Condition, a little Gallery with wicker Windows, where many Times Popiſh Gentry, *&c.* ſit *incognito*, three Miniſters. The Duke of *Leſdiguieres*'s Palace has fine ſhady Walks, and a fair Garden.

The Biſhop of this City is a Prince. Within the Palace is a Room where the Parliament ſits; the Lacqueys will ſuffer no Swords to be worn here, except you give them a ſmall Piece of Money. Ancient Inſcriptions on ſome of the Gates which are printed in *Golnitz*'s Itinerary. Three Liards paid for every Horſe that paſſes the Bridge with Stone Arches. We viſited a Garden of Simples belonging to a Counſellor of Parliament, (who was civil to us) and Monſieur *Bernard*, an Apothecary.

4. On the 27th, paying four Crowns for two Horſes and a Guide, we immediately rode out of the City, aſcended the Mountains, and at a League's Diſtance came thro' a Village call'd *Sapene*, and a League and a half further paſs'd through the Valley of *Chartreuſe* Village. Theſe Valleys, among the high Mountains or Alps, are well cultivated, having great Store of Oats, and other Corn and Meadow Ground. At a narrow Paſſage between two high precipitous Rocks, we paſſed over a Bridge, croſs a Torrent, and knocking at a Gate, were let in by a Servant belonging to the Monaſtery of the *Chartreuſe*; then we aſcended a mountainous Way above a Quarter of a League, till we paſſed by a large Building, where Perſons of all Trades live, and who are habited like the Fathers of the *Carthuſian* Orders, and work for the Convent. A good Diſtance farther up we arrived at the *Grande Chartreuſe*, where the Porter aſk'd us whence we came, and called a Lay-Brother, who introduced us into one of the Halls appointed to receive Strangers in. At the Gate we left our Swords and Piſtols. Seven Hours riding from *Grenoble* hither.

This Convent is ſeated under one of the higheſt Mountains in theſe Parts, and diſcovers far and near into the adjacent Countries. As ſoon as we came into the Hall, Wine, Bread and Cheeſe were ſet before us, and one of the Fathers, a very intelligent Man, viſited and diſcourſed ſometime with us about the News of *Europe*, which he was no Stranger to. A Boy guided us up into the Mountains, and ſhewed us a neat Chapel, dedicated to S. *Maria de Caſalibus*, which is prettily adorned with the Letters of her Name in Gold, and with Scripture Epithets: Beyond this we ſaw S. *Bruno*'s Chapel, built on a Rock. At Night we had our Supper and Beds prepared for us. We obſerved the Friars, at Even Song, bowing their Heads as they ſat, at the Saying the *Gloria Patri, &c.* Sixty Fathers, and as many Lay-Brothers here. No Women but thoſe of the royal Blood can enter this Cloiſter. There are two Ways more to come to this Convent, beſides that from *Grenoble*, *viz.* one from *Lyons*, and the other from *Chamberry*. In their Stable they keep about ſixty Horſes, beſides Mules and Aſſes.

28th. We ſaw their Church, a dark and narrow Building; before the Altar ſtand four tall Braſs Candleſticks, within the Choir the Fathers ſit, and without ſit the Lay-Brothers. The Fathers riſe to their Devotions at Midnight, and are in the Choir three Hours, but then they ſleep till Seven or Eight in the Morning, when the Maſſes begin. The Cloiſter is a very long and narrow Square; we went into one of their Cells, which are not kept ſo neat as thoſe we ſaw at *Venice*. At Meal Time ſeveral Servants bring Bread, Wine, *&c.* and open a little Window by the Side of the Cell-Door, and there put in the Proviſion. On *Fridays* they faſt ſtrictly, and this Day we ſaw what they eat, *viz.* two or three Spoonfuls of cold Peaſe boil'd, four or five Pears, and a few ſtew'd Prunes and raw Plumbs, beſides a ſmall Pittance of Bread and Wine, and at Night they had no Supper. In the *Refectorium* are two Tables, beſides the Prior's at the upper End; they dine here together only on *Sundays* and great Feſtivals.

In the General of the Order's Lodging we obſerved the Pictures of St. *Martin* at *Naples*, the Chertruſe of *Pavia*, and the Convent nigh *Avignon*, *&c.* Places belonging to this Order. In the Chapel is an Altar Piece of great Value. In the Chapter Room is a large Picture, how ſeven of this Order were executed for Treaſon (they ſay for Religion) in *Henry* the VIIIth's Days in *England*. Cardinal *Richlieu* profeſſed himſelf firſt of this Order. The Lodgings to entertain Princes in are very neat; the Chapel there is within cruſted over with Marble; we gave the Cook a *Quart d'Eſcue*, and having eaten our Breakfaſt, and written our Names in a Book kept by a Porter, we mounted and rode back to *Grenoble* the ſame Way we came.

5. We ſtayed in *Grenoble* till *Auguſt* the firſt, and one Day rode out, and after twice fording the River *Drac* (which makes a great Waſh) at a League's Diſtance, went over *Pont de Clef*, a large Arch croſs that River, where we paid one *Sol* a Man; a League further we paſſed through a large Village called *Vif*, and about a League thence by S. *Bartholomew*, another Village, and *Chaſteau Bernard*, where we ſaw Flame breaking out of the Side of a Bank, which is vulgarly call'd *la Fountaine qui Brule*; it is by a ſmall Rivulet, and ſometimes breaks out in other Places; juſt before our Coming, ſome other Strangers had fried Eggs here. The Soil hereabouts is full of a black Stone like our Coal, which perhaps is the continual Fuel of this Fire.

Auguſt the firſt, We took Boat for *Orange*, and went down the Rivers *Yſere* and the *Rhoſne*; twenty Crowns was given for a Boat, and the Paſſengers paid proportionably to the Length of their Journey, ſome more, ſome leſs. After we had left *Grenoble* three or four Leagues, we durſt not ſtir from the Bank ſide, a furious Wind ariſing and ſtopping us for the Space of an Hour. Then nine Leagues from *Grenoble*, we arrived at our Lodgings in *la Faurie*, a Village on the right Side of the *Yſere*.

2*d*. At Break of Day, we entered our Boat, and at two Leagues Diſtance paſſed under a Bridge with Stone Arches, and a wooden Penthouſe over it; *Romans*, a great walled Place, lay on the right Hand thence. We went three Leagues to the Meeting of the *Yſere* and the *Rhoſne*, where we obſerved for a good Space the *Yſere* kept itſelf unmingled with the *Rhoſne*, which was of a whitiſh Colour and much troubled, the *Yſere* being much clearer and greeniſh. A League down the *Rhoſne* we landed at *Valence*, a poor City and Univerſity, ſituated on the left Side of the River: Afterwards we went by the *Vivaretz* and *Sevennes*, and paſſed by *Montlimer* on the left Hand, and *Viviers* on the right, both walled, though mean Places, and at fourteen Leagues from *la Faurie* lodged at *Bourga*, a walled Town on the right Side of the River. Many Peages and Tolls paid by the Boatmen as we came along.

3*d*, After two Leagues we came to *Pont* S. *Eſprit*, a ſtately Stone Bridge, with eighteen great Arches, and four little ones; between every Arch is a Window. It is curiouſly paved with ſquare Stones, a Hand broad, two Coaches can go abreaſt on it, it is not made ſtrait, but bending out againſt the Stream. The Town of S. *Eſprit* on the right Hand is walled; a League further we landed at a Peage or Toll-place belonging to *Orange*, (we might have landed a League nearer to *Orange)* where we gave thirty-five Sols apiece for a Horſe to carry our Things thither. We walked about two Leagues in a level and fruitful Country to *Orange*.

In *Valence*, *Bourg* and other Places, we obſerved Meaſures of Corn cut in Stone, and little Portals to let the Corn out of them.

6. *Orange* is but a ſmall and meanly built City, and the Walls are not conſiderable, but there are Outworks which if well looked after, would render it very ſtrong, by Reaſon of its Situation in a Plain. The Caſtle is built on the higheſt End of a long Ridge of a Hill; it was formerly of greater Strength, when it had walled Bulwarks round about, which the *French* King, in this Prince of *Orange*'s Minority, cauſed to be blown up with Gunpowder, when at the ſame Inſtant, thirty (all *Roman Catholicks)* were overwhelm'd in the Ruins. The Governor is Count *de Dohna*, but his Deputy or Lieutenant is a *Frenchman* and a *Papiſt*. Within the Caſtle were now about a hundred Soldiers, who civilly admitted us into the Caſtle, and ſhewed us many great Pieces of Cannon, and their Armory ſtored with Arms enough for 5000 Men. In the Middle of the Caſtle is a very deep Well of good Water, cut out of the Rock. *C. Marius*'s Arch, and *la Torre ronde* are Antiquities without the Walls; on ſome of the Engravings of the Arch was written, *BODUIACUS*. The *Circus* is a ſtately Ruin within the Wall.

The People here are very civil, and of a much better Humour than the *French*. When the *French* King had the City in his Poſſeſſion, many of the Gentry turn'd Papiſts. The Univerſity is not conſiderable, having about four Profeſſors, and one of them is one *Guy*, I think a *Scotchman*. The *Roman Catholicks* have now the Uſe of the Cathedral: The Inhabitants of this Principality are at leaſt half Proteſtants, and who were ſenſible of the Change of Governors. On the Tower of the *Maiſon de la Ville*, we ſaw many falſe Weights nailed to the Wall. The Prince hath a Parliament here of both Religions, and hath paſſed a public Amneſtia of all Offences, wherein he calls the King of *England*, and the Marquis of *Brandenberg*, his Uncles and Tutors. In a poor Woman's Houſe, we ſaw an old *Roman* Pavement of *Moſaick* Work, very curious, repreſenting a Cat with a Rat in its Mouth; round about were Squares.

7. 4*th*, Giving four *Livres* and fifteen *Sols* for three Horſes and a Guide, we travelled a ſtony Way two Leagues, in a Country where Thyme, Lavender, Box, *&c.* grew plentifully, many Mulberry and Olive-Trees planted in the Fields; we paſſed by *Chaſteau neuf*, on the right Hand of us, and a League further ferried the River *la Naſque*, paying for each Horſe one *Sol* a League, thence riding nigh the *Rhoſne*, we entered *Avignon* at Port St. *Lazare*, upon which Gate was written, *Clave Petri tuta*. Having ſhewed our Bolletins of Health, which we took at *Grenoble*, leaving our Fire Arms with the Guard, and taking a Note to lodge in the City, we came to a Sign of a Town called St. *Flour*, where we lay till *Monday* the ſeventh of *Auguſt*.

In the Cathedral, a ſmall Church ſituated on the Rocks nigh the Windmills, we ſaw an ancient Monument of *Benedictus* XII. Pope, a Miller's Son. The Palace is adjoining, guarded by Soldiers, *Chigi* Cardinal *Padrone* is Legat and Governor, M. *Columnia* Vice-Legat, who (they ſaid) was ſuddenly to be removed, becauſe he had given ſome Suſpicion to the *French* King, by making a Kind of Fort before the Palace Gate, and laying up a large Quantity of Corn. On the Outſide of the Palace where the Priſon is, are pictured, hanging by the Heels, the chief of the late Rebellion againſt the Pope; and in the *Bando*, 200 Piſtols are promiſed to any Perſon that can bring the Head of any one of them; theſe Rebels live in Safety at *Villeneuf*, a Place t'other Side of the Bridge, juſt croſs the *Rhoſne*, which belongs to the *French* King, who hath threatened to burn alive any that ſhall offer to lay Hands on them. Monſignor *Lomellino* is the new Vice-Legat.

The *Dominicans* Church is a large Building of one Arch. The *Cordeliers* Church is larger; in the *Sacriſta*, they ſhewed us a round leaden Box with a leaden Medal, plain on one Side, and on the other the Figure of *Laura*, and theſe Letters, M. L. M. J. which is interpreted by ſome, *Madonna laura morta jace*. This Medal with *Italian* Verſes on her, written by *Petrarch*, in a neat Character, was found in that Box, lying at her Breaſt, when *Francis* I. took up her Body, who alſo made Verſes on her in *French*, which are kept with the others. In an obſcure Chapel we ſaw her Tomb-Stone.

In St. *Martial*'s Church we ſearched for *Caſimir* King of *Poland*'s Monument, but could not be informed where it was; nigh the Altar is a very ſtately Tomb that reaches almoſt to the Top of the Church, and below lies the Figure of a Biſhop, and over him our Saviour and the Apoſtles Effigies, and ſo upwards are many Marble Figures. The *Celeſtins* Church hath a Marble *relievo* Altar, which they ſay is but of one Piece, having many Figures in it: The Picture of a Skeleton drawn by King *Renatus*, who gave the Altar. In the Middle of the Choir is a handſome Monument of *Clement* VII. Pope. In a long Chapel adjoining is the Legend pictured of S. *Peter* of *Luxenbourg*.

The Coining-houſe is oppoſite to the Palace, and has a new fair Front. The Jeſuits have a pretty Chapel, and an indifferent *Studium*; in the *Area* of it are Dials, with Directions to know what it is o'Clock in ſuch Cities as are under Kings, and in ſuch as are under Commonwealths; the one is called *Horologium Regium*, the other *Ariſtocraticum*, in which they have placed *Geneva*. The Gate on the *Rhoſne* Side is open every Day, but beſides that, there is but one more open at a Time, and that they change every Week. About 700 *Italian* Soldiers in the City. Here are ſome Palaces and good Houſes, but the Generality of the Buildings are mean, and the Streets narrow; the Inhabitants are in Fear every Night that the Rogues ſhould creep in at their Windows.

8. The 7*th*, Giving fifteen *Livres* of *France*, we hired three Horſes and a Poſtillion, who guided us firſt over the long Bridge at *Avignon* croſs the *Rhoſne*, which Bridge is entire on the City Side, but broken on the Side of *France*, and repaired with Wood. It ſeems to have been a *Roman* Work, is built of Stone, and paved (though now much defaced) like that at St. *Eſprit*, and it is more bending againſt the Stream. Some Way on the Bridge ſtands a Centinel, and the *Avignon* Searchers lodge there, to ſtop and enquire into Merchants Goods. When we were almoſt over the Bridge, our Poſtillion paid about one *Sol* a Horſe. At the End of the Bridge is *Villeneuf*, a Village, and a little Way thence on the River Side, S. *Andre*, a ſtrong Place of the *French* King's. Leaving theſe Places behind us, (without entering them) we rode among ſome Vineyards, and then travelled a ſtony Way over little Hills, till we came by *Remoulin*, a ſmall walled Place; about a ſhort *Engliſh* Mile thence, we arrived at *Pont du Gard*, a ſtately Antiquity, well deſigned by Dr. *Bargrave*, and deſcribed in *Golnitz* and *Deyron*'s Antiquities of *Niſmes*. A League from hence we dined at *Seſignan*, a ſmall Village; and in the Afternoon rode a direct and level Way between Olive Fields, (the Olive-Trees were much mortified by the Extremity of the laſt Winter) and after three Leagues riding, arrived at *Lutzenbourg*, a good Inn without the City of *Niſmes*.

We ſaw the Amphitheatre, the Outſide whereof is very entire, and is two Stories high, the Steps or Seats are ruined, and the *Arena* filled with Houſes. Over the great Entrance are two half Bulls in Stone, and on the Outſide is a Wolf ſuckling *Romulus* and *Remus*; alſo a *Triple* and *Priapus*, or *Penis* winged, and the Figure of a Woman holding by a Bridle. In a private Houſe we ſaw Eagles excellently well made in Stone; a double Statue of a Woman having two Bodies and four Legs, it was made without a Head, but now they have fixed on it the Head of an old Man; ſome will have this to be the Statue of *Geryon*, but *Deyron* contradicts it. A ſmall Piazza call'd *Place de Salamandre*, from a Pillar with a Salamander upon it. *La Maiſon Quarre* is a fair Antiquity within the City, being one Pile of Building adorned with Statues, Pillars, *&c.* Within the Port *de la Couronne* are many old Inſcriptions, and an ancient Statue with his Hands upon his Head.

After

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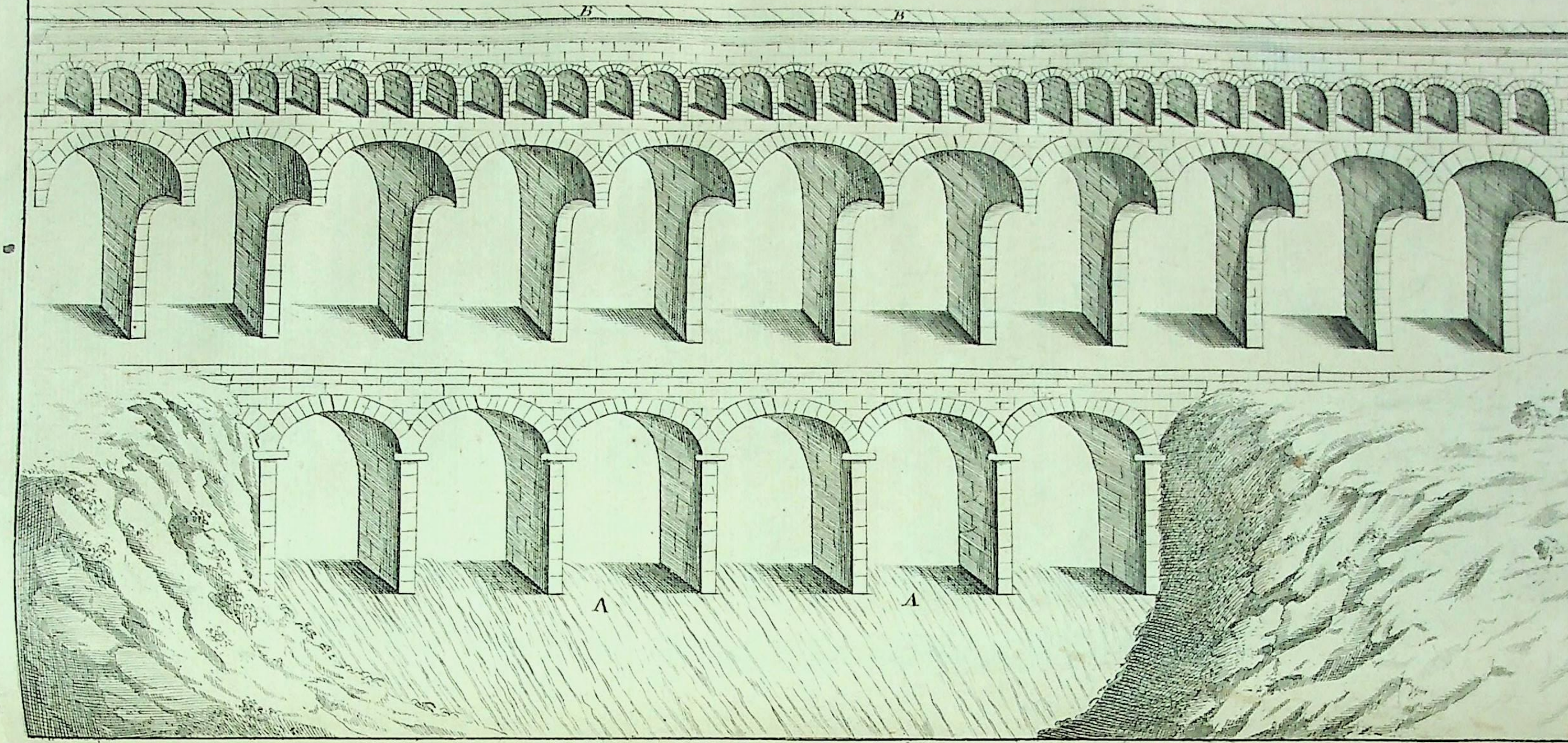
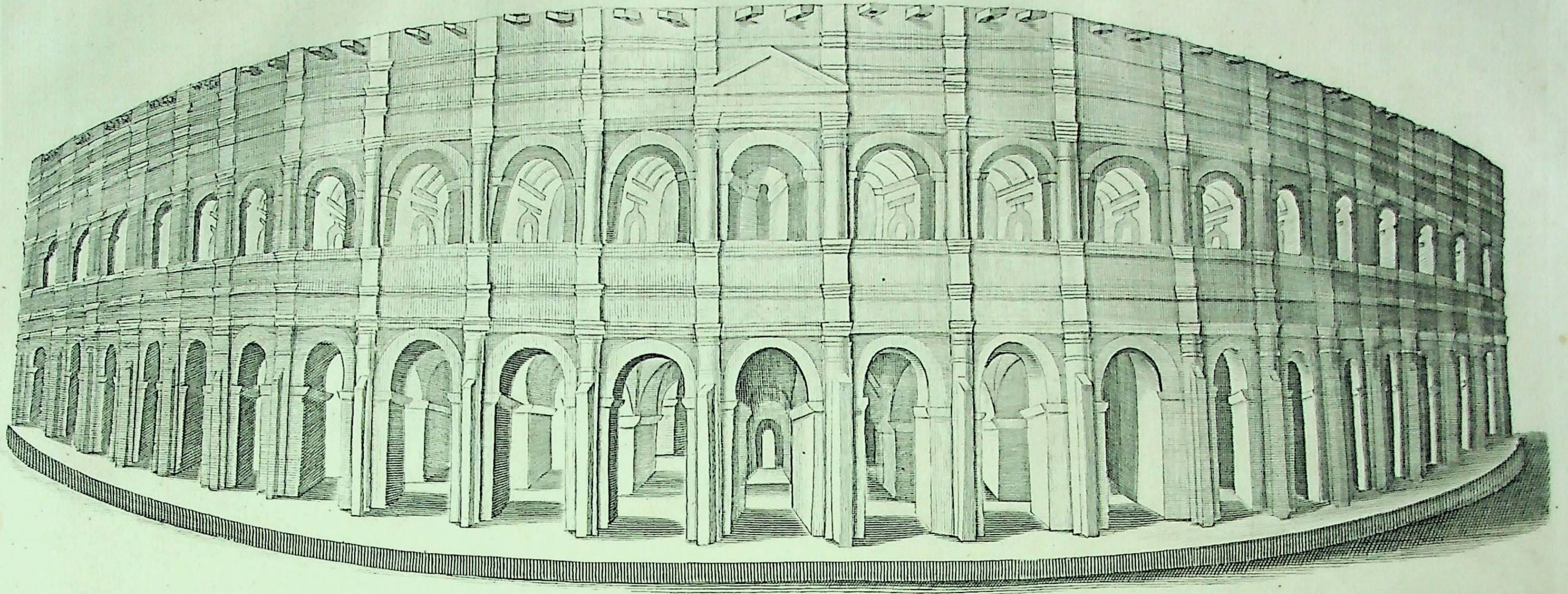
PONT-DU-GARD about Four Leagues from Nismes a Stately Antiquity
One Hundred and Eighty Six Feet high from the River A A to the Top of the Aquæduct B B.



An outside View of the Amphitheatre at Nismes in LANGUEDOE
of Sixty Arches and Pillars in each Story.



After a little Walk without the Town, we ſaw the Ruins of the Temple of *Diana*, which is under the Side of a Rock, and cloſe by is *Fons Dianæ*, which firſt makes a deep Pond, and ſends Water enough to furniſh all the Gardens of the City; in Winter or any rainy Seaſon it overflows very much. *La Torre Grande*, on the Top of a Hill, is a ruin'd Tower of the old *Roman* Wall; in other Places are ſeen the Ruins of the old Wall. The Circuit of this City was but 2000 Paces leſs than *Rome*, and was built formerly upon ſeven Hills. The Front of the Cathedral is adorned with ancient Carving. A large Plain or Level round the Town, except on one Side, where ſeveral Hills run along in a Hill. The *Splanade* is an open Walk without Port *de la Couronne*, ſometimes frequented by a great deal of Company. In the *Maiſon de la Ville* are kept two or three Crocodiles, (dead) which are the Arms of *Niſmes*, and ſignify their Founders came out of *Egypt*.

In a Court of this *Maiſon de la Ville*, is erected on two Pillars againſt the Wall the Monument of *Dandalo* the General of the Proteſtants. The Proteſtants of this City are three Parts out of four, and they had two Temples, but one is lately pulled down: Every Morning they have a Sermon, and in the Afternoon Prayers: On *Sunday* they have four Sermons; they have three Burying-places without the Walls, and they had a College and Profeſſors, but now the Jeſuits are Maſters: The Proteſtants have a Bell to ring them to Church.

Thus far we have followed Mr. *Skippon*'s Journey, who, as we obſerved in the Introduction, ſuffered nothing to eſcape him. Whatever he ſaw remarkable, he committed to Writing immediately, and the Deſcription of it to his Journal; whatever was particularly curious, he examined more cloſely, and the Reſult of his Examination was alſo committed to Writing. In like Manner he recorded whatever was communicated to him that deſerved Notice. All this however was done in a haſty and unpoliſhed Manner, for the Aſſiſtance of his own Memory, and not at all with a View, or even with a Suſpicion that it ſhould one Day appear in Print.

It was otherwiſe with Mr. *Ray*, who, though he kept ſuch a Journal as Mr. *Skippon*, yet reviſ'd and improv'd what he ſet down in it, and where he had an Opportunity, compared it with the Notes of his Friend Mr. *Willoughby*. He begins his Deſcription of *France*, with an Account of the City of *Montpelier*, to which this Introduction was requiſite; but now we are arrived at a more copious and poliſhed Account of Things, we ſhall make Uſe of Mr. *Ray*'s Travels ſo far as they go, and ſhall then take up with Mr. *Skippon*'s Journal again, in Order to ſupply the Deficiencies that would otherwiſe appear in the Courſe of theſe Travels, and which has hitherto rendred Mr. *Ray*'s liable to the Cenſure of being ſomewhat abrupt and unconnected. Thus he writes:

9. *Montpelier* is a round Town ſtanding upon a Hill, in the Midſt of a ſtony Country, ſomewhat bigger than *Geneva*, but not ſo populous, the Number of Inhabitants at preſent being about 25000, of which two thirds are Papiſts, and one Proteſtants. The Proteſtants have two Churches (Temples they call them) in Town. The Streets of this City are very narrow, ſhort and crooked, without any Uniformity or Beauty at all, ſo intricate, that its half a Year's Work to underſtand them all, and learn the Way from Place to Place. The Houſes are many of them well built of free Stone, which were they ſet well together in order, would make three or four handſome Streets. No large Piazza or Market-place in Town. The Number of *Apothecaries* in this little City is ſcarce credible, there being thirty Shops, and yet all find ſomething to do; their *Cypreſs* Powder, ſweet Bags, Caſſolets, Treacle, Confection al Kermes, and Hyacintha, having a Name all *France* over. The Queen of *Hungary*'s Water (as they call it) made here, is likewiſe much bought up. It is nothing but common Spirit of Wine, in which Roſemary Flowers have been macerated and diſtilled from the ſaid Flowers. The Wines hereabouts are very ſtrong, and bear Water well.

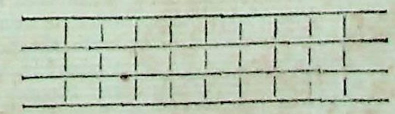
Their Vineyards are of dwarf Vines, without any Support, the Standards, when the Branches are pruned off, being like the Standards of our Oſier Gardens. At *Montpelier*, the beſt Verdet or Verdegreaſe, *Viridi æris*, is made. They told us that ſo good could not be made elſewhere, though they uſed the ſame Method and the ſame Materials; whether it be to be attributed to the juſt Temper of Heat, or the Nature of the Wine they uſe, or ſome other unknown Quality. The Manner thus; Firſt, they take Grape Stalks well cleanſed from the Raiſins, and from all Filth, and putting in the Bottom of a Pot, a Quantity of the beſt red Wine, they ſet Sticks croſs, a little above the Wine, and upon them lay a Quantity of Grape Stalks, firſt alſo drenched in Wine, and let them alone about fifteen Days, more or leſs, according to the Seaſon, till they come to make (as they call it) a Roſe, that is, the Outſides become to Appearance dry, and the Middle only wet.

Theſe Grape Stalks being thus prepared, they put in the Bottom of a large earthen Pot of the beſt red Wine, that begins to be ſour, but is not yet come to be Vinegar, to the Quantity of about two or three Inches Depth; ſomewhat above the Wine they ſet Sticks croſs the Pot, and having ready many little Plates of Copper, they lay upon the Croſs-ſticks, firſt a Layer of the prepared Grape-ſtalks, then a Layer of Copper Plates, and ſo alternately, S. S. S. *i. e. Stratum ſuper ſtratum*, till the Pot be full. In the Middle of the Pot they uſually leave a Hole all along, for the Vapour of the Wine to aſcend, neither are the Copper Plates laid near together for the ſame Reaſon; when they have filled up the Pot, they cover it, and ſet it in a Cellar, and after ſome five or ſix Days turn the Copper-plates, letting the Pot remain in the Cellar three or four Days more. In eight or ten Days, according to the Seaſon, the Verdet will be come.

Then they take out the Plates, and laying them ſix or ſeven on a Heap, put them in a Trough, and ſprinkle the Edges of them with the ſame Wine, for three or four Days; next they preſs them with heavy Weights for four or five Days, and laſt of all, ſcrape off the Verdet with Knives, and moulding it with a little Wine, dry it and ſell it. The ſame Plates are again put into Pots, and uſed as before. So then the Verdet is nothing but the Ruſt or Scurf of the Copper, calcin'd by the Vapour of the Wine.

Here alſo we ſaw the Manner and Proceſs of Blanching of Bees-Wax. Firſt, they melt the Wax in a great Copper Cauldron, then they have ready a Mould or Form of Wood, of the Figure of a Sugar-Loaf, or the Block of a Steeple crown'd Hat, which having beſmeared over with Slime of Snails, they dip into the Wax thus melted. This takes up a Skin or Film of Wax, as Candles upon Dipping do.

This they ſmooth with their Hands, and dip in Water, and when it is cold take it off the Form, from which, by Reaſon of the anointing the Form with the forementioned Mucilage, it will readily ſlip in the Form of a Cone or long Crucible. Theſe Cones (ſo let me call them) are ſet in a Garden in Ranks, ſingly one by one, ſupported with Canes or Reeds, croſſing one another on this Faſhion.



Round about they ſet Pots with Water, wherewith they ſprinkle the Wax often to keep it from melting. In Summer Time, when the Sun lies hot upon it, ſome ſix or ſeven Times a Day, otherwiſe but three or four Times. In fourteen or fifteen Days, the upper End of theſe Cones will grow white, and then they turn them to whiten the other End. In a Month's Time, more or leſs, according to the Weather, they will become White all over.

Then they melt the Wax again in earthen Pans like *Metæ* or Scuttles, and run it ſo melted, through the Neb of a Tin Pot, into Water, and as it runs down into the Water, a Man either breaks it with his Hand into Grains, or works it into round Figures like ſpiral Wreaths, or *Corellæ*, and theſe they expoſe again to the Weather, in the Garden and Order as before, 'till they become purely white, and then melt into great Pieces to ſell. The Mucilage wherewith they beſmear the Forms, is made of Snails taken alive, Shells and all, and pounded in a Mortar, till they become a perfect Pap or Viſcus. The Form once beſmeared well over with this Pap, will laſt dipping many Times. Wax whitened is almoſt twice as dear as yellow Wax. Yellow Wax is ſolutive, and uſed where there is an Inflammation, and the Sore not ripe; white Wax on the contrary very aſtringent. They ſay *Montpelier* is a Place proper for the Whitening of Wax; and that the ſame Workmen coming over into *England*, found the Air of a different Temper, and not convenient for this Trade. At *Montpelier* is made the beſt *Confectio Alkermes*, as Reaſon there is it ſhould, the Grain which gives it its Denomination, being in no Country of *Europe* found ſo plentifully as here.

The Manner of the Preparation of this Grain, for the making the Confection, you may find ſet down in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions*, N°. XX. *p.* 362, and I ſhall therefore here omit it. Theſe Grains have formerly been thought to have been proper to the Dwarf or Shrub *Ilex*, called therefore *Ilex Coccifera*, and a by Fruit or Excreſcency of the Twigs of that Plant. But my learned and ingenious Friend Mr. *Martin Liſter*, who hath been very happy in making Diſcoveries in natural Hiſtory, hath found the like Grains here in *England*, upon the Twigs of Cherry and other Trees, and judged them to be the Work of an Inſect, and by her affixed to the Twigs for Neſts to breed and harbour her young; and indeed to me they appeared to be ſo, eaſily receding and falling off from the Wood, when the Young are hatch'd and gone. As for the Grains themſelves, they are ſo like the *Kermes* Grains, that they are ſcarce to be diſtinguiſhed, and grow to the Twigs juſt in the ſame Places and Manner. But for a more full and compleat Hiſtory of them, I refer the Reader to Mr. *Liſter*'s Letters publiſhed in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions*.

10. At *Montpelier* I obſerved the Manner of making Oil Olive: Firſt, they take Olives, whether freſh gathered or laid a while on a Heap, it matters not (as they told me) and bruiſe or grind them to a Paſte, as we do Apples to make Cyder, with a perpendicular Mill-ſtone running round in a Trough. This Paſte, or the Olives thus bruiſed, they put in round thin Baſkets, made of *Spartum*, like Frails, having a round Hole in the Top: But both Top and Bottom clapping together, ſo that when preſſed they look like a thin round Cake. Half a Score or more of theſe Baſkets, filled with Olive Pouce, they lay on a Heap in the Preſs, and letting down the Preſs Beam, ſqueeze them at firſt without any Mixture. Then winding up the Beam they take out the Baſkets, and into each one put a good Quantity of ſcalding Water (which they have always ready) and ſhaking the Baſket mingle it with the Pouce, and then piling them upon one another, as before, preſs them down a ſecond Time.

This ſecond Operation they repeat again, and then taking out the Pouce, put in new, and proceed as before. The Oil, together with the Water, runs out into Veſſels ſet to receive it. The Water with the *Annurca* ſinks to the Bottom, and the Oil ſwims above it, which they take off with a Copper Diſh, like a Fleeting-diſh, as good Houſewives ſkim the Cream from their Milk. The Water mixed with the red Juice of the Olive becomes red and thick, not at all mingling with the Oil; ſo that it cannot eaſily the leaſt Drop of it, be taken up without perceiving it. It is ſaid, that in *Provence*, they ſpread their Olives on a Floor, after they are gathered, and there let them reſt thirty Days to dry, and for that Reaſon their Oil is better than that of *Languedoc*. Others lay them on a Heap a-while, to let them ſweat, as they call it.

It is worth the noting, that, though the Olives be very bitter, and of a very fiery ungrateful Taſte, yet the Oil which is drawn from them is ſweet; the like is obſerved in bitter Almonds, and it is very likely might be in all other bitter Fruits, which is a ſufficient Proof that the Taſte of ſuch Fruits doth not inhere in the Oil, at leaſt which is made by Expreſſion; and it deſerves Examination, whether the chymical Oil may not alſo be diveſted of the Taſte of the vegetable, from which it is extracted. Olives when they come to Maturity, change Colour, and become black as ſome other Plumbs do, but it is very late in the Year firſt. They are then notwithſtanding of an horrid and ungrateful Taſte, firing the Throat and Palate of one that eats them. They afford moſt Oil when full ripe, but beſt as they told us when gathered and preſſed green. Sometimes they pickle ripe Olives, but they will not laſt; therefore, thoſe which they pickle to ſend Abroad, are gathered green. The Pickle they uſe is nothing elſe but a Brine of Salt and Water.

Near *Peroul*, about a League from *Montpelier*, we ſaw a boiling Fountain (as they call it) that is, the Water did heave up and bubble as if it boiled. This Phænomenon in the Water was cauſed by a Vapour aſcending out of the Earth, through the Water, as was manifeſt, for if that one did but dig any where near the Place, and pour Water upon the Place new digged, one ſhould obſerve in it the like bubbling, the Vapour ariſing not only in that Place where the Fountain was, but all thereabout; the like Vapour aſcending out of the Earth, and cauſing ſuch Ebullition in Water it paſſes through, hath been obſerved in Mr. *Hawkley*'s Ground about a Mile from the Town of *Wigan*, in *Lancaſhire*, which Vapour by the Application of a lighted Candle, Paper or the like, catches Fire and flames vigorouſly. Whether or no this Vapour at *Peroul* would in like Manner catch Fire and burn, I cannot ſay, it coming not in our Minds to make the Experiment.

11. From *Montpelier* we took a Journey of Pleaſure to ſee the adjacent Country, and firſt we rode to *Frontignan*, a little walled Town by the *Eſtang* Side, three Miles diſtant, which gives Name to the ſo famous Muſcate Wine. The Country about this Town, toward the Sea Southward, lies open to the Sun, but toward the Land Northward, it is encompaſſed with a Ridge of Hills in Form of a Bow, touching the Sea at each End; ſo that the whole is like a Theatre: In the *Arena*, and on the Sides of the Hills, grows the Muſcate Grape, of which this Wine is made.

In this Space are contained two other little Towns, the one called *Miraval*, the other *Vich*; this laſt gives Name to a mineral Water ſpringing near it, much uſed hereabout. It hath an acid vitriolic Taſte, but nothing ſo ſtrong as our *Spaw* Waters, and therefore I gueſs the Operation of it is much weaker. At *Frontignan* and other Places, we ſaw the Manner of making Raiſins [*Uvæ paſſæ*;] they take the faireſt Bunches, and with a Pair of Sciſſars ſnip off the faulty Grapes, and tie two Bunches together with a String, then they dip them in a boiling Ley [*Lixivium*] into which they put a little Oil, till they are very plump and ready to crack.

Jo. Baubinus ſaith that they let them continue ſo long in the boiling *Lixivium, quo ad flacceſcant tantum & corrugentur*; but we obſerved no ſuch Thing, for they did not continue the Bunches half a Minute, but preſently took them out again, and waſhed them in a Veſſel of fair cold Water; then they put them upon wooden Poles for two or three Days in the Shade to dry, and after that expoſed them to the Sun, taking them in the Night Time, or rainy Weather. *Cyprianus Richovius* deſcribes the Manner of making Raiſins in *Spain* thus: There are (ſaith he) two Sorts of *Uvæ paſſæ*, or Raiſins, the one of thoſe called Raiſins of the Sun, of a blue Colour, the other of the *Uvæ paſſæ Lixæ*, which they call Frail or Baſket Raiſins.

In preparing the firſt Sort they thus proceed; when the Bunch they deſign for that Purpoſe begins to grow ripe, they cut the Footſtalk of it half aſunder, that ſo the radical Juice or Moiſture may be at leaſt in a great Meaſure detained, and not paſs to the Grapes, and ſo they leave it hanging on the Vine. Then by the Heat of the Sun, the Grapes are by Degrees dried. When they are ſufficiently dry, they gather them and put them up in Veſſels. The ſecond Sort they make on this Faſhion; when they prune their Vines, they bind up the Cuttings in Faggots, and reſerve them till the Vintage time. Then they burn them, and of their Aſhes make a Ley or Lixivium, which they boil in great Veſſels, and therein immerſe the Bunches of Grapes one by one. Afterwards, to dry them, they ſpread them upon a paved Floor clean ſwept, made for that Purpoſe in the Vineyard, that ſo they may be more ſpeedily dried by the Sunbeams.

When they are ſufficiently concocted and dried, they put them up in Frails or Baſkets. After the ſame Manner they prepare their dried Figs, by dipping them in a Lixivium made of the Aſhes of the dried Branches of the Fig-tree, cut off in pruning. But however they ſuperſtitiouſly obſerve to make their Lixivium for Raiſins, of the Aſhes of the Branches pruned off the Vine, *&c.* I doubt not but the Aſhes of any Wood indifferently taken would ſerve as well for that Purpoſe.

12. From *Frontignan* we rode to *Balleruch*, to ſee the hot Waters, which are uſed as well inwardly as outwardly. At our being there, which was in the Beginning of *September*, the Water was ſcarce lukewarm; they told us that in the Winter it was very hot. The Bath is not above two ſlight Shots diſtant from the *Eſtang*, and the Water thereof taſtes very ſalt and brackiſh, whether by Reaſon of the Seas being ſo near it, or becauſe the Water comes from ſome Salt Mine, I know not; yet the latter ſeems the more probable, becauſe, ſhou'd it come from the Sea, the Water ſtraining thro' ſo much Sand, would probably loſe its Salt by the Way, as we have found by Experiment in *England*. At *Gobian*, about a Day's Journey from *Montpellier* in the Way to *Beziers*, is a Fountain of *Petroleum:* It burns like Oil, is of a ſtrong pungent Scent, and a blackiſh Colour. It diſtills out of ſeveral Places of the Rock all the Year long, but moſt in Summer-time. They gather it up with Ladles, and put it in a Barrel ſet on one End, which hath a Spiggot juſt at the Bottom; when they have put in a good Quantity, they open the Spiggot to let out the Water, and when the Oil begins to come, preſently ſtop it. They pay for the Farm of this Fountain about Fifty Crowns *per Annum*. We were told by one Monſieur *Beauſhoſte*, a Chymiſt in *Montpellier*, that *Petroleum* was the very ſame with the Oil of Jet, and not to be diſtinguiſhed from it, by Colour, Taſte, Smell, Conſiſtency, Virtues, or any other Accident, as he had by Experience found upon the Coaſt of the *Mediteranean Sea* in ſeveral Places, as at *Berre* near *Martegue* in *Provence*; at *Meſſina* in *Sicily*, &c.

They make Salt of the Sea Water drawn into ſhallow Pools, and evaporated by the Sunbeams, in Summer time. Firſt, they let the Water into a large ſhallow Plain, like the Cooler in a Brewhouſe, and there being well heated they run it into ſeveral ſhallow Beds, like the Beds of a Garden; when the Sun hath dried up all the Water, they let in more, and ſo again three or four Times, till the Salt, remaining at the Bottom of theſe Receptacles, come to be three Fingers thick, and then they take it up with Shovels, and heap it on little Hills; but the whole Proceſs of this Operation being exactly deſcribed in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions*, Numb. 51. *p.* 1025. I ſhall forbear to enlarge any further concerning it.

Now that I have mentioned *Martegue*, I ſhall add the Manner of making *Botargo* out of Mr. *F. Willoughby*'s Notes. At *Martegue* they take Abundance of Mullets [*Mugiles* not *Mullt*, as one would be apt to think by the *Engliſh* Name] in their *Burdigos*, which are Places in the Shallows incloſed with Hedges of Reeds. The Male Mullets are called *Alletants*, becauſe they ſhed the Milt, [*Lac piſcium.*] The Females *Botar*, of the Rows or Spawn of which *Botargo* is made. They firſt take out the Spawn intire, and cover it round with Salt for four or five Hours, then they preſs it a little between two Boards or Stones, then they waſh it, and at laſt dry it in the Sun for thirteen or fourteen Days, taking it in at Nights.

13. *December* 7th, 1665. From *Montpellier* we made an excurſive Voyage into *Provence*. The principal Cities and Towns that we ſaw were, 1. *Lunel*, four Leagues diſtant from *Montpellier*. 2. *Arles*, a conſiderable City, once the Head of a Kingdom, called anciently *Arelate*, ſtanding upon the River *Rhoſne*, which, a good Way above this City, divides itſelf into two Branches, and makes an Iſland called the *Camarg*. All this Iſland is full of *Vermicularis frutex* growing by the Ditch Sides all along. Beyond this City, in the Way to *Marſeilles*, we paſſed over a large Plain or Level, all over covered with Stones, called now the *Craux* or *les Champs pierreux*, anciently *Campi Lapideito*. 3. St. *Chamas*, a large *Burgh*, ſtanding upon the Ridge, and on each Side a narrow Hill, which is perforated like *Pauſilypus*. 4. *Marſeilles*, an ancient City, not great but well built, with tall Stone Houſes for the moſt part, and very populous.

We were told that the Number of Souls was about 120,000. The Streets are narrow as in moſt of the ancient Towns in this Country, to keep off the ſcorching Beams of the Sun in Summer time. The Haven is the moſt ſecure and commodious that I have ſeen; the Entrance into it is ſo ſtrait and narrow, that a Man may eaſily caſt a Stone croſs it, but the Haven within large enough to contain 500 Veſſels or more; of an oval Figure. On one Side of this Haven the Town is built, which compaſſes it more than half round, having before it a handſome Kay well paved, which ſerves the Citizens for a Walk or Promenade. This Haven is not capable of Ships of above 600 Ton.

On the Rocks near this Town, I found growing plentifully, the ſame *Colutea* I obſerved at St. *Chamas: Valeriana rubra Dod. Carduus galactites, I. B.* By the Sea-ſide, *Tragacantha*, *Maſſilienſium* plentifully: *Aſter luteus ſupinus*, I. B. *Tithymalus myrſinites anguſtifolius*; *Coronopus Maſſilienſis, Lob.* 5. *Bauſſet*, 6. *Oliolæ*, two little Towns. 7. *Toulon*, no great Town, but well fortified, and the beſt Haven the King of *France* hath on the *Mediteranean Sea*, having a large Bay capable of the greateſt Veſſels where there is good Riding for Ships. At *Toulon* they make Holes in their Stone Walls at three or four Foot Diſtance near the Ground, and there plant Capers, the Fruit whereof they prepare and pickle after this Faſhion. They gather the Buds or Bloſſoms of the Flowers before they be explicated, and ſpreading them thin, lay them in the Shade to wither for three or four Hours, to prevent the Opening of the Flower. Then they put them in a Veſſel, and pour Vinegar upon them, covering the Veſſel with a Board, and ſo let them ſtand for nine Days, at the End whereof they take them out and preſs them gently, and put them in freſh Vinegar, letting them ſtand as long as before: This done the third time, they put them up in Barrels with Vinegar. Some mingle Salt with their Vinegar, which is the beſt Way, and preſerves the Capers for three Years both for Colour and Taſte, as good as at the Firſt.

I obſerved near *Bauſſet* great Plenty of Myrtle in the Hedges; near *Olliole*, *Acanthus Sativus*; *Althea fruteſceus folio rotundiore in cano C. B. Fumaria minor ſive tenui folia ſurrecta I. B. Acacia trifolia*; *Teucrium vulgare*; *Ariſarum latifolium Chryſocome Ger.* 8. *St. Maximine*; near which is the famous Grot of *Mary Magdalen*, called St. *Baulme*. 9. *Aix*, anciently *Aquæ Sextiæ*, from the hot Baths that are there. This is a very elegant and pleaſant City, well built with fair Stone Houſes, having broad Streets and handſome Piazza's. 10. *Selogne, Selonia.*

In the *Cordeliers* Church lies buried *Noſtradamus* the famous *French* Prophet, whoſe Verſes the *Frenchmen* eſteemed as Oracles. In the Church Wall is placed a Stone with this Inſcription to his Memory.

> *D. M. Cariſſ. oſſa M. Noſtradami unius omnium mortalium judicio digni, cujus penè divino calamo totius orbis ex aſtrorum influxu futuri eventus conſcriberentur. Vixit an.* 62. *m.* 6. *d.* 10. *Obiit Salo* MDLXVI. *Quietem poſteri ne invidete. Anna Pontia Gemella Solonia conjugi optimo. V. F.*

11. *Aiguemortes*, a ſmall Town, but of great Strength, near the Sea, in a fenny Place, ſix Leagues diſtant from *Montpellier*. From *Montpellier* we returned to *Lyons*,

from *Lyons* we travel'd with a Meſſenger to *Paris*, from *Paris* again to *Calais*, and ſo croſs the Strait to *Dover*; whence we at firſt ſet out, and began our Journey.

14. Thus we have run through all that Mr. *Ray* has left us concerning *France*; but for the Sake of obtaining more Particulars of that Journey in which Mr. *Ray* ſeems to have been leſs circumſtantial than uſual, we ſhall have Recourſe to Mr. *Skippon*'s Journal of their Travels from *Lyons* to *Paris*, in which the Reader will find very few Repetitions, and many ſingular and curious Remarks that for any Thing I can diſcern, had eſcaped the Obſervation of former Travellers, and are not taken Notice of by any that came after them, more eſpecially the Story which he tells us of the Son of Count St. *Geran*; which he has related very ſuccinctly, and that has ſince been made the Subject of a conſiderable Treatiſe. It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that the young Gentleman who thus recovered his Title and Fortune, married, and had only a Daughter, who, by the Intereſt of the Family, was put into a Convent; by which Means the Eſtate deſcended very nearly in the ſame Way that it would have done, if the Fraud had never been diſcovered.

March 6, We gave forty five *Livres* a Man, for Horſes to a Meſſenger, who for that Money maintained us from *Lyons* to *Paris*, and allowed him five *Sols* a Pound, for every Pound our Portmanteaus weighed above ſix Pound, which he carried on a Sumpter-horſe. By the *Coche d'eau*, a Conveyance by the River *Soane*, we ſent ſome of our Things, and paid but three *Sols per* Pound. Dr. *Moulins*, Mr. *Liſter*, Mr. *Ray* and myſelf, were in Company this Journey with ſome *Frenchmen*. We went through a very ſtony Way, and paſſed over Hills, and three Leagues from *Lyons* paſſed through *la Brelle*, and three Leagues further brought us to our Lodgings in *Tarrara*. This Day we obſerved Oxen ſhod with Iron. *7th*, We mounted before Day, and rode over the Mountain of *Tarrara*, where we found Snow. After three Leagues riding we came through St. *Savorin*, and thereabouts obſerved a perpendicular Stone moved by Water, to bruiſe Hemp, held underneath by two Boys. Three Leagues further we dined at St. *Nicholas* in *Roanne*, and there ferried over the *Louvre*, each giving two *Sols Marque*. We paſſed a pleaſant Valley, and four Leagues from our Baiting-place, lodged in *Pas de Quand'ere* a ſmall Village.

The 8*th*, We rode, for the moſt Part of four Leagues, thro' hilly Way, and dined at *l'Eſcu de France* in *Paliſſe*, where the Count *de S. Geran* hath a Houſe. The preſent Count came thus to his Eſtate; his Uncle being next preſumptive Heir, made a Compact with a Midwife, who delivered the preſent Count's Mother, but by caſting her into a Sleep, the Midwife perſuaded her into a Belief ſhe was delivered of a dead Child; when the Midwife conveyed away the little Infant, who was bred up by a Country Woman, and being grown to ſome Years, the Counteſs deſired, and took him for her Page, on whom ſhe beſtowed very good Breeding; and in the mean Time the Midwife, on her Death-bed, confeſſed the Cheat, and declared the Page to be the Counteſs's true Son. This Diſcovery occaſioned a great Suit between the Uncle and the young Heir; but at laſt it was determined by the Parliament of *Paris*, in Favour of the Heir the Counteſs's Son, who is now Count *de St. Geran*. Four Leagues from *Paliſſe*, having traveled good Way in a pleaſant Country, we lodged at the St. *George*, without the Walls of *Warene* a ſmall Town.

On the 9th, we traveled ſeven Leagues, and dined at the *Three Moors* in *Moulins*, where many Women came to ſell their Sciſſars, Knives, &c. *Moulins* is an indifferent City, which afforded little of Remark, beſides the ſtately Monument of *Montmorency*, who was beheaded in the *Maiſon de Ville* at *Toulouſe*. The white Marble Statues of the Duke and his Lady lay on a Tomb of black Marble; a fair Marble Statue is on each Side, and over them a Marble Urn, and other Ornaments. We rode ſeven Leagues from *Moulins* in very good Way, (as we did in the Morning) and lodged this Night without the Walls of St. *Pierre de Moutier*. Hereabouts began ſtony Cauſeways. On the 10th, we rode five Leagues, paſſed a Stone Bridge over the River *Loire*, and dined at the *Flower-de-lys* in *Nevers*, where the poor People deſired us to buy their *Bagatells* of Glaſs. This City is meanly built nigh the *Loire* on a riſing Ground, and hath an indifferent fair Cathedral, where are ſeveral marble Monuments: The Steeple of this Cathedral is handſomely adorned with Statues. After Dinner we continued our Journey about two Leagues and an half, and taſted of an acid Water ſpringing up plentifully in the Middle of a Court, walled about. This Water is much drank in *Auguſt*, and is reputed very good for curing the Stone, &c. It is near *Pogue* a Village. This medicinal Well riſes in the Level of a Valley. Two Leagues and a half farther we reached *la Charité* a walled Place, ſituated upon the *Loire*. Over the Gate we entred at is written,

In Varietate Securitas ſub Lilio.

Our Inn was handſome, the Sign of the *Croix d'Or*.

On the 11th, we took Horſe about Four in the Morning, and rode three Leagues to *Pouilly*, where we drank very good Wine, which that Place is noted for. Four Leagues thence we dined at *Coſne*, a walled Place, noted for Dogſkin Gloves. In the Afternoon we travel'd five Leagues to *Bony*, and one League and an half farther lodged in *Briare*, a ſmall walled Town. At this Place begins a Channel cut from the *Loire* to the *Seine*, the Water being kept up by Locks or Sluices. On the other Side of the *Loire*, in *Berry*, and about two Leagues from *Coſne* is *Sancerre*, a Town ſituated upon a Hill; formerly a ſtrong Place and well defended by the Proteſtants about ninety Years ago; they held out ſo long, that they underwent the greateſt Miſeries of Famine, ſome Women digging up their Children they had buried three or four Days before. We met on the Road many *Savoyards*, who were Chimney-ſweepers at *Paris*, &c. They come off the Mountains of *Savoy* in the Beginning of Winter, and return thither in the Spring.

The 12th, we rode four Leagues, and dined at the *Eſcu de France* in *la Buſiere*, a ſmall Village. Seven Leagues further we lodged in *Montargis*, a City where we ſaw nothing worth our Obſervation. An indifferent Caſtle ſtands here on a Hill: There is an Archbiſhop of this City, and the King ſends a Governor. In the Road we took Notice of many thatch'd Houſes, and many Country-houſes with high and ſteep Roofs covered with Slate. The 13th, we travel'd about five Leagues, and had on our Right Hand *Pont a Gaſſon*, a walled Town, and a League thence dined at the *Angel* or *Maiſon rogue*, a Houſe that ſtands in the open Fields. In the Afternoon we went over a Plain ſowed with Corn, and five Leagues from our Bait paſſed by *Milly*, a large walled Place on our Left Hand, and one ſhort League thence arrived at *Corrance*, where we lodged. This Afternoon we ſaw on our Right the Wood of *Fontainbleau*. The 14th, we rode about a League, and paſſed among Rocks where Travellers are often robbed. About two or three Leagues farther, we ſaw on our Right Hand, *Corbilly*, a City in a Valley, with many Villages round it. Seven Leagues from *Corrance* we dined at *Juviſii*, at the Sign of the Golden Lion. Three Leagues thence we paſſed through *Ville Juiſue*, and there, on the Top of a Hill, had a Proſpect of *Paris*, where we ſafely arrived after we had traveled two Leagues.

15. On our Left Hand we had a fair Hoſpital; from *Corbilly* to *Paris* is a Cauſeway in a ſtrait Line, and well paved with ſquare Pebbles. Nigh *Paris* we obſerved ſeveral Stone Quarries. This Stone is of very great Advantage to the City of *Paris*; for were it not thus plentiful, the Buildings would be but indifferent. We ſtaid in this City till *April* 1, 1666, too ſhort a Time for ſo great and remarkable a Place; but the *French* King's Declaration of War againſt *England* commanded us out of *France*, within three Months after the Proclamation thereof, which was on the 1*ſt* of *February*, N. S.

What I could obſerve during my Stay here, I haſtily put in Writing, *viz.* Every *Wedneſday* there is a Horſe-market in *Fauxbourg S. Victor*, and every *Saturday* at *Port Richlieu.* At *Mount Martre* is made the Plaiſter called Plaiſter of *Paris*, and they have this Saying about it, *Il y a plus de M.* Martre *à* Paris *que de* Paris *à M.* Martre. Cardinal *Mazarine* left a great Legacy to build the College of four Nations, *Italian*, *French*, *Spaniſh*, and *German*; a good Part of it was now finiſhed; the Front is ſtately made, like a Theatre, and it looks upon the *Louvre*, being placed on the oppoſite Side of the River *Seine.* The *Sarbonne* College is a magnificent Structure. The Doctors wear black Gowns; and when Exerciſes are perform'd, they wear a white Furr, which hangs athwart the Breaſt. *L'Hôtel de Ville en la Place de Grave* is an old and fair Building. *Pont Neuf* in the Middle is joined to the Iſland *Notre Dame* Church ſtands in. The Braſs Statue of *Henry* IV. on Horſeback, made by *Bologna* (who is buried at the *Annunciata* in *Florence*) ſtands in the Middle of the Bridge, having Inſcriptions and *Baſſi relievi*, deſcribing his Victories, *&c.* *Place Dauphine* is a triangular Piazza built very uniform, and juſt in Sight of *Henry* IVth's Statue. *Rue de Harlay* is behind that Piazza, where all the Houſes are of the ſame Building. *Place Royale* is an uniform Square, very neat, having a green Court railed about, and a ſmall Portico under all the Houſes. *Notre Dame* is a fair Church with a handſome Front, adorned with Statues, and two flat Steeples, from which is a good Proſpect of the City. Several Colours hang up in this Church, two of them were taken by the *Engliſh.* The *Baſtile* is like the Tower of *London*, for Priſoners of State, where the King gives them Allowance. It is near Port St. *Antoine.* The Arſenal conſiſts of many Courts, and has fair Walks in a Garden near the City Wall. St. *Germain Auxerrois* is a pretty Church nigh the *Louvre*, and is called the King's Pariſh Church. The *Thuilleries* is the Garden belonging to the *Louvre*, which they would not permit Strangers to ſee at this Time. The *Louvre* Gallery is 900 Feet long; under half the Length of it are Stables.

Before the *Louvre* Gallery, not far from *Pond des Thuilleries*, ſtood an old Tower called *la Tour des Anglois*, which was thrown down the laſt Year. Some ſay, the preceding Kings durſt not throw it down, becauſe of a Prophecy that *France* ſhould be then conquered. The *Louvre* will be a vaſt Place when it is finiſhed; that Side towards the River, and the End towards the *Thuilleries* is already built. *Donec totum impleat orbem*, and *Virtuti Regis invictiſſimi*, inſcribed on ſeveral Parts of the *Cheſtau de Louvre.* In the Jeſuits Church *Rue St. Antoine*, is *Lewis* the Thirteenth's Heart kept in a Golden Caſe, held up by two Silver Angels. In the ſame Church is a fair Altar, with about four Braſs Figures or Statues, being the Monuments of this Prince of *Conde*'s Father. I rode out of the City two League to St. *Clou*, where *Madame Henrietta*, Dutcheſs of *Orlean's* our King *Charles* the Second's Siſter, hath a Palace and Gardens. In the Pariſh Church of St. *Clou* is a ſpiral Marble Pillar, and Inſcriptions to *Henry* III. whoſe Heart is kept here. In a Chapel under the Choir is the old Monument of St. *Clou*; two Leagues thence we came to *Verſailles*, a pretty Pleaſure-houſe built by M. *Foucquet.* Here rare Birds and other Animals are kept, but the *Conceirge* would not let us ſee them, or the Rooms of the Houſe, becauſe we had no Ticket from M.——. In the Room, they ſay, are Cabinets, Looking-Glaſſes, *&c.* curiouſly adorned with Silver Fillegree-work. Here I ſaw *Lewis* XIV. and his Queen, attended by a Foot Company of *Swiſs*, armed with Back, Breaſt, and Head-pieces, a Company of *Swiſs* with Halberds, and a Company of *French* Foot, beſides his Guard in Livery on Horſeback, armed with Carbines. The King has alſo a Guard of Younger Brothers, who ſerve him voluntarily, and wear whitiſh Coats with Silver Lace; they carry Muſkets. Out of theſe the King oftentimes chooſes his Officers. The Lord *Douglas* was formerly the *French* King's Page, who at this Time commanded a Regiment of *Scots*, which the King of *England* ſent for over upon the Declaration of War between *France* and *England.*

Every *Monday* comes out the *Journal des Sçavans*, a Pamphlet written by one Mr. *Galloyer* a *Pariſian*, and but a young Man. M. *Joncquet* is Profeſſor in the King's Garden, which is a handſome large Place; but that at *Montpellier* is bigger and more pleaſant. M. *Marchand*, formerly an Apothecary, hath travelled ſome Parts of the *Levant*, and is very ſkilful in Herbs; he hath the beſt *Hortus Siccus* that we ever ſaw, the Plants being neatly faſtened on with a Glew, which he freely told us was made thus: Take of *Icthyocolla* and ξυλοχολλα, *ana*; cut theſe ſmall, and then boil them with *Colocynth*, and afterwards diſſolve all in Vinegar. Among the dried Plants, *Medica Ciliaris* and *Ferrum equinum*, *Siliqua multiplici*, are moſt remarkable. We met accidentally with one *M. Crock*, a Phyſician in *Amiens*, who ſeemed to be a very ingenious Perſon. In a dirty narrow Street, called *Rue de la Ferranerie*, we ſaw the Well, which *Ravillac* ſtood againſt when he ſtabbed *Henry* IV. the King's Footmen going through St. *Innocent*'s Church-yard, which is juſt by. St. *Innocent*'s Church-yard hath many Charnal Houſes round about, and it is obſervable, that none of the Graves there are digged much above one Foot and an half deep, and yet the Fleſh of the dead Bodies is ſuddenly conſumed by the Earth, which is of a chalky Nature. When they make new Graves, they ſometimes met with whole Coffins, but the Fleſh quite conſumed within them. In *Lent*-time no Butchers can ſell Fleſh, the Hoſpital having the Gain of all the Fleſh that is eaten at *Paris* in this Seaſon; which muſt be a conſiderable Profit, if they always, as they did this *Lent*, ſell Beef at eight Sols *per* Pound.

St. *Euſtace* is a fair and large Church. *Valdegrace* is a new Church, building at the Expence of the late Queen-Mother of *France*; it hath a handſome Aſcent up to it, by ſeveral Stone Steps, which lead into a Portico in the Front of the Church: It is made after the *Italian* Faſhion, and hath a Cupola between the Choir and the Nave. The Queen's Heart is buried here. The *Carthuſians* have a great Cloiſter in the *Fauxbourgh* St. *Germains*, and have large Walks. *Luxembourg* is a ſtately Palace, and very uniformly built; it hath fair and large Walks, like thoſe of the *Roman Villæ*, where all Perſons may walk with Freedom. *Madamoiſelle* the Prince of *Conde*'s Siſter lives here. Every Hour of the Day there paſſes a Hackney-coach from the *Place Royal* to *Luxembourg-houſe*; and another Coach goes from *Rue St. Honore* to *Rue St. Jaques*, where the Bookſellers live. Every one pays five Sols for his Place, but goes with other Company, and for that Reaſon it is not uſual for Perſons of any Quality to go in them. *Palais Cardinal* is a fair Palace with handſome Walks. Here *Madame Henrietta*, Dutcheſs of *Orleans*, lives. At one Side of this Houſe is a publick Stage, where the *Italian* and *French* Comedians act by Turns. I ſaw here *Il Maritaggio d'una Statua*; a merry Play, where the famous Buffoon *Scaramuccio* acted; three antick Dances pleaſed the Spectators. The *Quattre Scaramuccie* was another pleaſant *Italian* Comedy. We ſtood in the *Parterre* or Pit, and paid thirty Sols for ſeeing the firſt, and but fifteen Sols for ſeeing the laſt. We ſaw a *French* Comedy, entitled, *L'Eſtourdie*; which was better acted than we expected. We paid for ſeeing this, and ſtanding in the Pit, fifteen Sols a Man. In the *Marais du Temple* are another Company of *French* Actors, who have Machines to move their Scenes. M. *le Dauphin* hath his Company of Boys, who, they ſay, act very well. The *Sale des Machines*, in the *Louvre*, is made like that at *Modena*, and by the ſame Workman *Gaſpar Vigarini*; this is larger, and the Roof of the Theatre richer gilt; they ſay it will hold 5000 People, and that at *Modena* but 3000; one of the Machines moves a Hall with the King and Courtiers. The Sea is well repreſented in one Machine. Noblemen's Houſes are called *Hoſtels*, and over their Gates are always written the Names of them; as, *Hoſtel des Ambaſſadeurs* near the *Luxembourg.* *Hoſtel de Sully* is in *Rue St. Antoine*; *Hoſtel de Vendoſme* in *Rue St. Honore.* The *Mathurins* are the *Padri di Riſcbatto*, and are thus called in *Paris*, becauſe St. *Mathurin*'s Body was formerly kept here; which is ſince carried to the Place where he was born, called *Archant*, a Village in *Gaſtinois*. In the Cloyſter here is a Tomb-ſtone with a Sphere on it, and round about it this Inſcription.

> *De Sacroboſco qui compuſtita Joannes*
> *Tempora diſcrevit jacet hic a tempore raptus*
> *Tempore qui ſequeris, memor eſto quod morieris,*
> *Si miſer es plora, miſerans pro me precor ora.*

Clermont College is a ſquare and high Building, that belongs to the Jeſuits who teach here, in ſeveral Schools, about two thouſand Boys, many of whom are Gentlemen's Sons boarded here, having ſeveral Halls to dine in, and long Chambers to lodge in. They ſay about 400 Boys live here in this Manner, and are not ſuffered to go out of the Gate without Leave. Many of the Scholars wear colour'd Gowns, faſhion'd like the Sophiſters in *Cambridge*, and have large Velvet round Caps when they learn Logick, and ſquare Caps when they read Philoſophy. At a Diſpute, we ſaw the Duke of *Guiſe*, a young Lad. *Le Palais* is in the ſame Iſle with *Notre Dame*, where the Courts of Judicature ſit; the Lawyers wear black Gowns and ſquare Caps. In the Hall are many Shops and Galleries. One *Varennes* is the only Proteſtant Bookſeller here, who, to ſignify whether Maſs is ſaid or not, hangs out a Paſteboard, having on one Side the Letter *N.* and on the other the Letter *O.* for *Non* and *Ouy*. This is taken Notice of by the Proteſtants that come to the Hall, that they may avoid the Elevation of the Hoſt. *Eſchelle du Temple* is a great Ladder that ſtands in the Corner of a Street not far from the Place where the *Templars* formerly lived. The chief Streets are, 1. *Rue St. Jaques.* 2. *Rue St. Martin.* 3. *Rue Montmartye.* 4. *Rue St. Denis.* 5. *Rue St. Honore.* There are ten *Fauxbourgs* or Suburbs, twenty Gates, eleven Bridges, ſix hundred Streets in the City and Suburbs, more than thirty-two thouſand Houſes, and above one hundred Religious Houſes or Convents. At the *Gobelins* is a Houſe where Tapeſtry is made. Nigh Port St. *Honore*, the Lord *Hollis*, the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, dwelt.

The Fair of St. *Germain* begins the 3d of *February*, and holds all the Lent; the Place the Fair is kept in, is a large ſquare Houſe with ſix or ſeven Rows of Shops, where Cuſtomers play at Dice, when they come to buy Things; the Commodity is firſt bought, and then they play who ſhall pay for it. After Candle-lighting is the greateſt Gaming; ſometimes the King comes and plays. Here we ſaw the Picture of our Saviour's Aſcenſion, St. *Peter*, St. *Paul* and two Angels; it was made by *Antonio Moro*, who lived in *Charles* the Vth Time; it is valued at 200 Piſtoles. The Frame is curiouſly carved, and very richly gilt. The *Theatins* have a fair Church and Cloiſter, a Building by the River Side, ſome Diſtance below the College of Four Nations. Cardinal *Mazarin* gave a Legacy for the Erecting this Convent. 1. *Pont St. Michel*, 2. *Pont aux Change*, 3. *Pont Notre Dame*, and 4. *Petit Pont*, have Shops on each Side. The *Pont Notre Dame* is a very uniform Street. 5. *Pont Marie*, ſome Years ago had many of its Houſes, at one End, tumbled down in the Night, by a violent Stream of the River. Every one without a Sword pays two Livres that paſſes over. 6. *Pont de Bois*, which joins the Iſle *Notre Dame* Church ſtands in, to Iſle *Notre Dame*, where are new and handſome Streets. An *Engliſh* Boat rowed by twelve Men, two of them *Engliſh*, in this River, and belongs to the Dutcheſs of *Orleans*. The King hath one or two Pleaſure-boats. Croſs ſeveral Streets of *Paris* hang little Bells and Chains, which are rung when Thieves break into Houſes in the Night-time. The *Chaſtelet* is a Priſon not far from *Pont aux Change*, where Men are clapt up for Debt, and ſometimes criminal Matters. Such as are found murdered in the Streets are brought hither and expoſed to View, that they may be known. *Vade in Pace* is a cloſe Priſon in Convents, where they keep ſuch as have been profeſſed of their Order, and are turned Proteſtants. They feed them with Bread and Water, and there let them lie ſometimes all their Days. It is like a Dungeon, having only ſome light from the Top, whence their Meat is let down.

16. A *Frenchman*, at the firſt Sight, is very civil and familiar, and will as ſuddenly forget his Acquaintance with you; they will aſk you, whether you are of the Religion, *i. e.* Proteſtant, or of the *Egliſe*, *i. e. Roman* Catholick Religion, the firſt Time you fall into their Company, and enquire who made your Cloaths, what they coſt, and twenty ſuch Queſtions. If you employ a Porter, *&c.* and not agree with him before Hand what he ſhall have, he will go away grumbling, though you give him more than he could have expected if a Bargain had been firſt made. None but Gentlemen, or ſuch as have been Officers in the Army, can wear Swords, *&c.* when they travel. The *French* Women are generally bad Houſewives, minding their Cloaths, and dreſſing moſt, which they will have in the Faſhion; and the Humour of obſerving Modes muſt be ſatisfied in both Sexes, though their Bellies pinch for it; for in moſt Families their Diet is both coarſe and ſlender. The Women drink uſually Water, and ſometimes a little Wine; they have a Breeding ſo free, that in *England* we ſhould eſteem it immodeſt, the *Hugonot* as well as popiſh Ladies, ſpot and paint their Faces, which, however, ſome of their Miniſters do not approve; and, in a Word, Women of both Religions, agree but too much in their Morals.

Swearing and Curſing, with the Addition of obſcene Words, are cuſtomary in both Sexes. Yet there are ſome Men and Women among the Hugonots that are truly religious. Look on a *French* Woman, and you ſhall ſee her ſtare you in the Face, which is a Confidence that better becomes the Men, who ſeldom or never are put out of Countenance. The *French* are ſtrangely impatient at all Games, eſpecially at Cards, which tranſport ſome that loſe into a Rage, and they make a dreadful Noiſe, with Blaſphemies, Curſing and Swearing in a horrid Manner. At this Time moſt People complained of their King's impoſing Taxes, *&c.* yet they ſeemed to boaſt of him, and were proud to think themſelves Subjects to an abſolute Monarchy. Shirking or Sharping is as natural to a *Frenchman* as his Oaths; and tho' his Carriage be free, yet he is ſtingy enough of his Purſe, and will ſooner loſe a Friend than a Penny, and ſmall Intereſts will govern his Affections; *Exceptis Excipiendis.*

Malefactors receive their Sentences on their Knees, which pronounced, the Hangman preſently ties a Rope about their Necks, and conveys them to the Priſon; whence after Confeſſion, they are immediately hauled to the Gallows, ſo that ſometimes they are condemned in the Morning, and hanged before Night. If one hath endeavoured to kill another, and the aſſaulted Perſon lives, yet the Juſtice of *France* will condemn the other to die, taking the Will for the Deed. The Marquis *de l'Ange*, a Proteſtant, and reputed a ſtout Man, was divorc'd not long ſince from his Wife, a very handſome and virtuous Woman. She after ſome Years complained to her Friends, that the Marquis was not able to get her with Child: This made ſome Diſturbance among the Relations, but at laſt, when Phyſicians, *&c.* had given in their Teſtimonies, they could perceive no external Fault in either; it was agreed by both Parties they ſhould prepare themſelves, and a Day was appointed by the Phyſicians to be not far off; but notwithſtanding all the Endeavours of the Marquis, it was concluded by a Decree of Parliament, that they might be divorced. The Lady is ſince married to another, and hath Children by him, and the Marquis hath another Wife, and hath got her often with Child.

April 7. After Dinner, and juſt as Mr. *Howlett*, Dr. *Ward*, Mr. *Ray*, Dr. *Moulins*, Mr. *Liſter* and myſelf, were going out of our Lodging towards the *Chaſſe Maree*, a kind of a Cart, that fetches Fiſh from *Calais*, one of the *French* King's Officers, a Captain *de Guet*, aſked for Monſieur *Moulins*; and while he exchanged two or three Words with him, he let his Batton, which he had under his Cloak in two or three Pieces, together, and preſently came in eight or ten Muſqueteers, who ſeized on Dr. *Moulins*, and hurried him away in a Sedan to the Baſtile; the Captain firſt read the Order or Warrant commanding him to apprehend one *Moulins* wherever he could find him. Mr. *Howlett*, Dr. *Ward*, and Mr. *Ray* went away this Day for *England*, but Mr. *Liſter* and myſelf not liking that Way of travelling by the *Coaſſe Maree*, ſtaid a little longer in *Paris*; in which Time we could not learn any Thing concerning the Impriſonment of Dr. *Moulins*, only Gueſſes were made that his chief Crime was, he had lived too long among the *French* Proteſtants in *Languedoc*; and that the *French* King ſuſpected he might diſcover the preſent Inclinations of that Party after his Arrival in *England*, he being very intimate with ſome of good Quality, that were diſcontented with the preſent Management of Affairs in *France*.

When *Oliver Cromwell* was Protector, there happened this Accident at *Niſmes*; the Proteſtants having a Right to chuſe Magiſtrates, the popiſh Party were reſolved to hinder them by Force on the Day of Election, and had ſome of the King's Guards, and all the Papiſts in Arms ſtanding ready about the Town-Houſe; the Proteſtants alſo armed in great Numbers, and one Proteſtant Gentleman being nigh the Door that led into the *Maiſon de Ville*, had a Piſtol in his Hand, and being demanded why he ſtood in that Poſture, anſwered, to defend their Privileges; then they commanded him to deliver up his Arms, which he refuſing, the Guard ſhot him dead; which gave ſuch an Alarm to the Proteſtants, that they immediately fired at the Guards and others, and killed the Biſhop of *Niſmes*'s Nephew, and then turned the Guards, and the reſt of the Papiſts out of the City. After that they began to fortify, and had many of their Friends come in daily to their Aſſiſtance, from the *Sevennes*, &c. But ſome more conſiderate Perſons conſulting what was to be done, at laſt reſolved to ſend Dr. *Moulins*, then in *Niſmes*, into *England*, and acquaint the Protector with it, and to deſire his Interceſſion with the Court of *France*; ſo Dr. *Moulins* immediately and privately rode away for *Lyons*, in bitter ſnowy Weather, and in eight Days arrived in *England*, having firſt waited upon Lord *Lockhart*, the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador at *Paris*. In this Journey, Dr. *Moulins* rode Poſt with a *Frenchman*, that ſeeing the Poſtboy fall down dead with the Extremity of Cold, opened his Codpiece, and rubbed his *Membrum virile*, with Snow, till he recovered him, which he did in a little Time, and the Boy was able again to ride Poſt. Dr. *Moulins* ſtaid but a very ſhort Time at *London*, and then returned with Secretary *Thurloe*'s Letters to the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador and Cardinal *Mazarine*; the Poſtſcript of the Letter to Cardinal *Mazarine* was written with the Protector's own Hand; the Words were to this Effect: *As you ſhew Kindneſs to the Proteſtants, ſo you have me your Friend or your Foe.* Dr. *Moulins*, upon his Arrival at *Paris*, delivered the Letters to the Ambaſſador; within a ſhort Time he attended on the Ambaſſador to the Cardinal's, who read the Letter, and then had ſome private Conference with *Lockhart*; after which *Moulins* was called in, who heard the Cardinal promiſe to the Ambaſſador, the Proteſtants at *Niſmes* ſhould not be meddled with; and added, Mr. Ambaſſador, *You know* France *is not in a Condition to deny* England *any Thing*. Accordingly, Orders were ſent expreſs to ſtop the Troops which were marching againſt *Niſmes*, and within a Day's March of the Place when they received the Orders.

Dr. *Moulins* ſent a Note for ſome Linnen to our Lodging, and Mr *Liſter* returned by the Meſſenger a little Billet, which only condoled his Misfortune, but the Captain of the Guard at the Baſtile tore it in Pieces. All this while we heard of no Crime laid to his Charge. He was kept a Priſoner at the King's Charge, and well dieted and uſed. After the City of *London* was burnt, the *French* King ſent a Courtier, I think *Rouvingny*, to *Moulins*, to acquaint him he ſhould make any Province in *France* his Priſon, if he would give Security in a great Sum of Money not to go out of it; which he ſaid he was not able to give. Some Time after the King offered him all *France* for his Priſon, upon the ſaid Security; to which he anſwered as before. At laſt the King ſent for him and told him, he had done him no Wrong, and then bid him begone out of *France* within a Fornight. This Relation I had from Dr. *Moulins* after his Coming into *England*.

17. The Romiſh *Gallican* Church conſiſts at preſent of fourteen Archbiſhopricks, which are, 1. *Lyons*. 2. *Ambrune*. 3. *Auchs*. 4. *Arles*. 5. *Tours*. 6. *Rheims*. 7. *Bourdeaux*. 8. *Thoulouſe*. 9. *Bourges*. 10. *Narbonne*. 11. *Aix*. 12. *Vienne*. 13. *Rouen*. 14. *Paris*. Under theſe Archbiſhopricks are Eighty five Suffragan Biſhopricks, which contain 7000 Parſonages, Priories, and Pariſhes, above 1140 Commanderies of *Malta*, 157000 Chapels, beſides 557 Abbeys of Friers, and above 700 Convents of *Cordeliers*, excluſive of the *Carmelites*, *Jacobins*, *Auguſtins*, *Carthuſians*, *Cæleſtines*, *Jeſuits*, *Minims*, and other religious Orders, who poſſeſs 14077 Convents. To theſe Clergy belong 259000 Farms, and 17000 Acres of Vineyards, which are by them leaſed out in *France*, not reckoning 3000 Acres from which they take the Third and the Fourth. The Revenue of the ſaid Church is eſtimated at 920,000 Crowns *per Annum*, excluſive of the Reſervations in their Leaſes, which amount to 120,000 Crowns, conſiſting of three *Livres* each. The ſaid Calculation was made by order of the Aſſembly of the Clergy of *France*, held in the *Auguſtine*'s Convent, at the End of *Pont Neuf*, in *Paris*, the 16th of *November*, 1635.

18. *April* the 1ſt, Mr. *Poly*, Mr. *Liſter* and myſelf gave eighteen *Livres* a Man for our Places in a Coach-Waggon that holds eight Perſons; we had in the Coach with us, one of *Geneva*, (a *Genevrite* as they vulgarly call them) who had lived many Years, and married a Wife in *Venice*; but the laſt Year the Inquiſition took Notice of ſome that were privately Proteſtants, and clapped two into Priſon. This Man had Intelligence of their Deſign, and therefore preſently retired out of *Venice*, and undertook a Journey for *London*, where he reſolved to end his Days. We had alſo in the Coach, a ſtout young *Swediſh* Soldier, who had ſtolen away a young Woman; and that Morning we ſet forward, three *Frenchmen* pretending themſelves the King's Officers, attempted to get her away, and carry him to Priſon, becauſe he had dreſſed the Wench he ſometimes call'd his Wife, in Mens Cloaths; but the *Swede* outvapour'd them, and turned them down Stairs, and went after them, hectoring them all the Way to the Inn-Gate. When I came to *London*, I met with this *Swede*, and aſked him in *Italian*, where was his *Bella Donna*; he replied, he had diſmiſſed her; and ſaid, *Jo Tenge una piu bella*, i. e. I have got a handſomer. This Day we rode through St. *Dennis*, four Leagues from *Paris*, and four Leagues further lodged in *Beaumont*, a little Town ſituated by the River *Loazzo*. We obſerved ſome few Vineyards this Day. 2d. We travelled four Leagues, and dined at the White Croſs in *Tilliar*, and three Leagues further lodged in *Beauvais*, a large Town, but the Houſes low, and built of Wood.

The Royal Manufacture here employs four or five hundred Men in weaving Tapeſtry, having ſeveral Looms in long Chambers; and Painters are invited thither to draw the Pictures that are to be woven. We obſerved thoſe that weave have the Picture they work juſt underneath the Tapeſtry they are weaving. The Cathedral in this City was not finiſhed. The Choir is built like thoſe in *England*, very high and handſome within and without: There is a large Piazza in this Town. On the 3d, after ſix Leagues riding, we dined at St. *Puy*; then three Leagues brought us to *Pais*, a Village where the Duke of *Crecqui* hath a Caſtle. On the 4th, we went five Leagues, and dined in *Airaines*, a great Village, and after Dinner rode four Leagues more to *Abbeville*, a large Town with wooden Houſes. Good Guns and Piſtols made in this City. There are likewiſe three or four large Piazza's here. St. *Ulfrane* is the chief Church, a lofty ſtone Building, not finiſhed: The River *Seanne* croſſes the City in three Places; little Veſſels of 80 Tons come up hither, the Sea being but three Leagues off. Between *Airanies* and *Abbeville* we paſſed by a Fort. On the 5th, we rode five Leagues, and dined in *Berneil*, a Village five Leagues thence, and lodged in *Montrevil*, a Garriſon Town indifferently built, but well paved and fortified; where we entred, there was a treble Wall, and good Ditches, and where we went out, was a ſteep Deſcent into a marſhy Ground. On the 6th, we travel'd two Leagues, very bad Way, to *Fran*, a ſmall Village; and after Dinner rode hilly Way five Leagues to *Boulogne*, a City built on a Hill. The Suburbs called the *Baſſe Ville*, where we lodged; a little Sea-port here. All the Way, in this Journey from *Paris*, we bargained for our Meat before Meals, and at Night did the like, or elſe bought it out of the Cook's Shops, paying only for our Lodging, Uſe of Table-linnen, *&c.* in the Inn. *Piccardy* is a great Corn Country.

On the 7th, we rode bad hilly Way, three Leagues to *Marquiſe*, a Village, and four Leagues further to *Calais*: Half a League before we came into the Town, we deſcended into the Fenny Country about it. We paſſed alſo by a ſtrong Citadel, and among many little Cottages, which are uſed, as ſome told us, for Peſt-houſes in Time of Infection. Entring *Calais*, the Guards only examined how many *Engliſh* and *French* we were in the Coach. On the 8th, after taking a Paſſport from the Judge-Major, and our Things ſearched, we delivered our Paſſport without the Gate, and entring the *Engliſh* Packet-boat, ſailed two Hours S. W. to gain the Wind; and in three Hours, without once changing Board, we ſafely arrived at *Dover*, a Boat fetching us aſhore. The Author concludes his Journal with this Inſcription:

Deo
Omnipotenti
Maximas reddit
Gratias
P. S.

19. Theſe Travels of Mr. *Ray* and Mr. *Skippon* may prove both uſeful and entertaining to the Reader in many Reſpects, not only though they were written ſo long ago, but even from that very Circumſtance. They ſhow the Condition that *France* was in at that Time of Day, the Size and the Number of the Inhabitants in ſeveral of the principal Cities, and above all, the Situation of Things before the Edict of *Nants* was recalled, and the Proteſtants were obliged to quit that Kingdom: This will afford the Means of making many uſeful Compariſons to Perſons who have their Heads turned for rational Politicks, and ground their Opinions of Kingdoms and States, not upon the looſe and general Repreſentations of the ordinary Rank of Writers, but upon Obſervations of their own, founded in Facts that may with Reaſon be concluded certain. As for Inſtance, our Author laſt-mentioned gives us the State of the Clergy in *France* at the Time he was there: I will alſo give another ſhort State of it as it now ſtands, from a Book publiſhed with Royal Authority: There are at preſent, in the Dominions of the *French* King, 18 Archbiſhopricks, 113 Biſhopricks, 770 Abbeys of Men, and 317 of Women, to which the King names: There are beſides 250 Commanderies of the Order of *Malta*; which ſhows not only the Power of the Clergy in that Kingdom, but alſo the Power and Influence of the Crown over the Clergy.

We may learn likewiſe, from theſe Travels, ſome very curious Circumſtances with reſpect to Manufactures and Commerce. Thoſe Things that appeared ſo new and ſingular even to theſe great Men, are now very common in this Kingdom. We are no Strangers to the Art of making Verdigreaſe; and, as for the Art of Blanching or rather Bleaching of Wax, it is not only known, but practiſed here with as great Succeſs as Abroad; ſo that the Notions of peculiar Excellencies of the Climate or Water of *France* appear to have had no Foundation in Nature, but were the mere Chimera's of *French* Vanity; and there is no Doubt that, upon proper Experiments, the ſame Thing will be found true in other Caſes. It is, indeed, highly likely that theſe Travels occaſioned our looking into and transferring ſeveral *French* Manufactures hither; and therefore this Kind of Writing ought, of all others, to be encouraged.

There was an Attempt made in King *James* the Firſt's Time, to introduce the Silk Trade into this Kingdow, and a Plantation of Mulberry-trees was raiſed for that Purpoſe at *Chelſea*; but it failed, not becauſe the Thing was found impracticable from any Faults in the Soil or Climate, but becauſe thoſe concerned in the Project, wanted Steddineſs, and thoſe employed under them, Care and Induſtry; without which, nothing of this Kind can be ever brought to bear. I have been informed, that in *Hampſhire* ſome Trials of the like Nature have been made with great Appearance of Succeſs; but thoſe that were concerned made ſuch a Secret of their Proceedings while living, that the Thing could not be conveniently carried on after their Deceaſe. It has been likewiſe aſſerted, that Olive-trees might be cultivated in at leaſt five of our Southern Counties; but we delight, it ſeems, rather in having Rarities in our Gardens, than Riches in our Fields.

The *French* had that Notion too, as well as we, but *Henry* IV. the very beſt King they ever had, beat them out of it, and compelled the Inhabitants of the pooreſt Provinces of *France*, to become wiſer and richer in Spite of their Teeth. He made Uſe of his Power to make his Subjects happy; and deſired it, for no other Purpoſe, as appears from an Anſwer he made, when it was ſlily inſinuated to him in Prejudice to the Proteſtants, that he could do nothing in *Rochelle*, which was then in their Hands. *It is a Miſtake*, ſaid the King, *I am abſolute in* Rochelle, *for I can do there juſt as much* Good *as I pleaſe.* His Succeſſor dragooned the Proteſtants out of *France*, though the moſt induſtrious People in it, becauſe they were not of his Religion; but *Henry* IV. dragooned his Subjects of all Religions into planting Mulberry-trees, and making Silk. One, from a Principle of publick Spirit, obliged People to do what they ought againſt their Inclinations, becauſe he knew it was for their Good; the other, from a narrow and bigotted Spirit, drove People out of his Dominions, who were doing all the Good they could.

But there is no Need of making Uſe of Force here; another Method would do the Buſineſs much better. A Reward of Ten Thouſand Pounds for the firſt Hundred Weight of Silk, or the firſt Hogſhead of Oyl, upon Security given to make the like Quantity annually for twenty Years after, might beſtow upon us both Commodities, if it be poſſible for us to enjoy them; if not, the Reward would never be obtained, and therefore no Hurt would be done.

We find, in theſe Travels, a remarkable Point of ſecret Hiſtory; I mean the Protector's ſaving the City of *Niſmes*, and that from the moſt authentick Authority, with many other Things which we might look for in vain any where elſe. But with regard to Matters of a later Date, which come nearer our own Times, and that may better enable us to judge of the preſent State of *France*, it is neceſſary that we ſhould have in this Collection, Travels of another Nature, and in another Seaſon, which the Reader will find in the next Section; and, from the Peruſal of both, will be more inſtructed and better entertained than they could have been with either, if it had ſtood ſingle.

SECTION

SECTION. IV.

TRAVELS through *France,* interſperſed with hiſtorical, political and medical Obſervations, made with great Care and Circumſpection, in two different Journies through that Kingdom, the laſt of which was completed in the Year 1702, and the Whole reviſed by the Author a little before his Death.

By Doctor JOHN NORTHLEIGH, *of the Royal College of Phyſicians.*

1. *A ſhort Introduction. The Author's Entrance into the Kingdom of* France. *The Places he paſſed through in his Journey to* Paris. 2. *A large and curious Deſcription of that City, with an Account of the principal Edifices and other Things remarkable, obſerved therein by the Author.* 3. *A very copious and circumſtantial Deſcription of the Univerſity of* Paris, *and of the ſeveral Colleges of which it is compoſed.* 4. *A Deſcription of ſome of the principal Churches in this City; alſo of the Houſes belonging to the* Jeſuits. 5. *The Abbey of St.* Germains *deſcribed, with ſome Account of the Curioſities there.* 6. *The* Palais, *the Chappel of St.* Louis, *the Palace of* Luxemburg *and the Obſervatory deſcribed.* 7. *An Account of the Bridges in* Paris, *with ſome hiſtorical Remarks.* 8. *The* Place de St. Victoire, *and the Triumphal Arch erected to the Honour of* Lewis XIV. 9. *An Account of the principal Gates of this City.* 10. A *Deſcription of the* French *King's Country Palaces, particularly* Fountainbleau, St. Germains, *and* Marli. 11. *A more particular Deſcription of* Verſailles, *and ſome other Palaces not far from it.* 12. *A Deſcription of the Monaſtery of* St. Dennis, *where the* French *Kings are interred.* 13. *The Author's Journey to the Sea-Coaſt through* Pontoiſe, Roan, Dieppe, Abbeville, *and* Calais. 14. *The Author's Journey from* Paris *by* Charrienton *to the Banks of the* Loire, *with his Obſervations in his Paſſage.* 15. Nevers, Moulins, *and other Places deſcribed, with ſome Account of the Waters of* Bourbon. 16. *A Deſcription of the City of* Lyons, *of the moſt remarkable Buildings and other Curioſities there.* 17. *This Subject continued, with an Account of the adjacent Country.* 18. *The Author's Remarks on the* French *Government and Nation.* 19. *Some Obſervations upon the foregoing Section.*

1. WE are acquainted with very few Circumſtances relating to the ingenious Gentleman, who was the Author of theſe Travels. He was bred at the Univerſity of *Oxford*, as Mr. *Wood* informs us, and travelled through the greateſt Part of *Europe*, purely for the Sake of Improvement and Information. He entered *France* from that Part of the *Low Countries* now under the Dominion of the *French* Monarchs, having before paſſed through the Territories of the Republick of the *United Provinces*, which he has alſo deſcribed; but conſidering we have inſerted Travels through that Country already, we ſhall not fatigue the Reader with Repetitions, but give him at once our Author's own Account of the Places he paſſed through in his Way to *Paris*.

The firſt Place we came to in *France*, properly ſo call'd, (without its Conqueſts) was *Peronne*, formerly a Frontier Town towards *Cambray*, and well fortified after the old Way, being the firſt on that Side in *Picardy*. Here the Cuſtom-houſe Officers ſearched us as ſtrictly as if we had firſt ſet Foot into the *French* Territories, though we came out of the *French* Conqueſts, and had paid Duties there to the ſame King. It is ſeated upon a Level on the River *Somme*, not unlike our *Saliſbury*, but in Bigneſs approaching near to *Exeter*, in that Part of *Picardy* called the *Vermandois* or *Sans terre*; the firſt being the Situation of the ancient *Veromandue*; St. *Quintins*, which is not far off, being ſuppoſed to have been the *Auguſta Veromanduorum* of *Cæſar*.

From *Peronne*, paſſing through the little Village of *Marſlipo*, we came to *Roy*, formerly a Town of Note, (as its Ruins ſufficiently teſtify) ſeated on the River *Moreul* in the *Sans terre*; then taking our Way through the Village of *Gourney*, ſurnamed *Sur le Aronceburg*, in the Iſle of *France*, we came to *Pont*, ſurnam'd St *Maixence*, upon the River *Oyſe*, having an old ſtrong Wall, and a good Bridge that brings you to it croſs the River. From hence travelling three Leagues further, we came to *Senlis*, a Biſhop's See, [illegible]ffragan to that of *Reims*; ſome would have it the *Auguſtomagus* of *Ptolomy*. The Great Church, dedicated to the Holy Virgin, is ſuppoſed to have been built by the *Engliſh*. The next Town between this and *Paris* is the *Louvre*, ſeated in the Dukedom of *Valois*, once the Sirname of the Royal Family, before it was ſwallow'd up in the Houſe of *Bourbon*. *Picardy* has generally a pleaſant and fertile Soil.

2. Thence we came to *Paris*, the Metropolis of *France*, which ſome have compared with *London* for its Extent, Buildings, and Number of Inhabitants. As for its Circumference, the ſame is eaſily diſcover'd from off the Towers of their *Notre Dame*, or *Our Lady*'s Church, to be much leſs than ours, tho' it lies in a more circular Figure. The Houſes, it muſt be confeſs'd, look very handſome on the Outſide, being built with a fair white free Stone (found thereabouts) with handſome Saſh-windows.

The Number of its Inhabitants is, in my Opinion, beſt gueſs'd at, without any further Scrutiny, by the People you meet with in the Streets, eſpecially on the *Pontneuf*, the greateſt Paſſage in *Paris*, and that a very ſhort one, notwithſtanding which, you ſhall very rarely ſee near ſo many People there, as you meet every where walking all along from *Tower hill* to *Weſtminſter-Abbey*: Add to this, that their By-Streets and Alleys are not near ſo throng'd with People as ours in *London*; and if Trade is the main Thing that renders Cities populous, (as we ſee in thoſe of *Holland*) it is evident that our Metropolis challenges the Preference upon that Account. What ſome would alledge in Reference to the Number of Coaches in *Paris* is of no great Conſequence, though I am apt to believe we may carry it even upon that Account.

This ſo much celebrated City is ſeated in a moſt delightful Plain; their Houſes are generally ſix or ſeven Stories high: By common Computation *Paris* has betwixt thirty and forty thouſand Houſes, and about ſeven hundred thouſand Souls.

The Streets are much handſomer and leſs dirty than they were formerly, (which gave it the Name of *Lutetia)* and their Squares are exceeding noble; they are enlightened in the Night-time by Lanthorns hung on Lines. The whole Bulk of this ſpacious City is divided into three Parts; the firſt is called *la Ville*, containing the four Suburbs of St. *Antoine*, *Du Temple*, St. *Martin* and St. *Denis*, being encompaſs'd with the *Sein* on one Side, and Walls on the other; the ſecond is called *la Cite*, ſeated betwixt the firſt and the third, upon what is properly call'd the *Iſle*, ſurrounded by the Branches of the before-mentioned River, and joined to the reſt by Bridges, being the moſt ancient Part of the Town; the third Part is called the *Univerſity*, ſeated on a riſing Ground, containing the Colleges erected for the Promoting of Learning, and the *Fauxbourgs* or Suburbs of St. *Germain*, St. *Michael*, St. *Jaques*, St. *Marcell*, and St. *Victoire*.

The Suburb of St. *Germain* has the beſt Palaces and Colleges. For the reſt; in all the three Quarters are reckoned forty Pariſh Churches, forty-two Abbeys and Convents, forty Nunneries, twenty-four Hoſpitals, forty-eight Colleges, beſides ſeventeen Chapels; ſo that Charity and Religion ſeems to take up a conſiderable Part of this great City. The *Sein* paſſes through the Middle of it, and the Water is very ſweet and freſh here, but has no Tide, like our *Thames* about *London*. So much of it in general. We will now proceed to give you the Particulars. The *Louvre*, were it finiſh'd according to the firſt Deſign, would queſtionleſs exceed all Structures in the World, whereas now only two Sides are compleated, *viz.* that towards the *Sein* and *Thuilleries*, the Hotels of *Crequi*, *Longueville* and *Montauſier* being ſince built within the Compaſs of this Structure, which for this and ſome other Reaſons (amongſt which the Siding of this City with the Malecontents in this King's Minority is none of the leaſt) is ſuppos'd will never be finiſh'd, it being certain that the third Part of the Charges employ'd in Building of *Verſailles*, would have made this as compleat and magnificent a Structure as ever the World beheld. Some ſay *Philip* the *Auguſt* was the firſt Founder of it, above 500 Years ago, but the Fabrick, as it now ſtands, oweth its Riſe to *Francis* I. The Hall call'd *le Salle de Cent Swiſs*, formerly the Hall of Audience for Ambaſſadors, was by *Mary de Medicis* turn'd into a Playhouſe. On the Porches you ſee ſeveral Inſcriptions, ſufficiently demonſtrating that the *French* were always good at flattering their Monarchs, though they then did not come up to that Height as they have ſince, in beſtowing the Epithet of *Viro Immortali*, and other ſuch-like blaſphemous Expreſſions upon them. Upon this Occaſion I cannot forbear inſerting three Diſtichs made by the *French* Poets, exceeding for their Loftineſs the Structure itſelf.

Rex, Regnum, atque Domus, tria ſunt Miracula Mundi!
Rex animo, Regnum viribus, arte Domus.

Non orbis gentem, non urbem gens habet ullam,
Urbſve Domum, Dominum nec Domus ulla parem.

Louvre Domus, Dominus Ludovicus, Regia Rege
Digna ſuo, Cælo eſt hæc minor, ille Deo.

All the Antiquities and *Roman* Statues, with a moſt curious Cabinet of Paintings formerly preſerved here, are tranſported to *Verſailles*; there are however ſome Pieces left of *le Brun*'s, and that celebrated Piece of *Paul Veroneſe*'s Wedding of *Cana*, preſented to the King by the Senate of *Venice*; for the *Servi*, in whoſe Church it ſtood on the Altar, having ſold the ſame to the *French* King, the Senate hearing of it, to check theſe mercenary Monks, preſented it to the King. Their Academy for the cultivating and improving the *French* Tongue, inſtituted by the preſent King's Father, conſiſting of forty or fifty of the moſt ingenious Perſons of the City, is kept here ever ſince. Many of the chief Artiſts belonging to the King have their Apartments in this Palace; their chief Painter then was M. *le Brun*, ſince dead; their head Graver was *Girardon*; and for Sculptures, Medals and Coin, M. *Rotier*, whoſe two Brothers have the Honour to ſerve in the ſame Employment to the Kings of *England* and *Spain*. And not far from theſe they ſhew you another ſpacious Place call'd the *Guard meuble*, ſtor'd with all Sorts of Paintings, Tapeſtries, and curious Cabinets.

The *Thuillery* is alſo a Part of the *Louvre*, where it faces the fine Garden of the *Thuilleries*; it was formerly furniſh'd with Abundance of the beſt Painting, and other Moveables of the beſt Workmanſhip, which have been carried to *Verſailles*: That Part which fronts the Garden is a long beautiful Piece of a Fabrick begun by *Henry* IV. and compleated by *Lewis* XIV. The Theatre in it is exceeding noble, and the Gardens before it not inferior to any in *Europe*, not excepting even *Verſailles*; the Walks and Plantations whereof are indeed more coſtly, but not more delightful and regular. At the lower End of it, ſtands a noble Statue of *Verity* carried off in the Arms of *Time*, with this Inſcription;

Opus Petri à Frankavilla Comeracenſis, Ann. 1609.

There are divers excellent Pieces extant of this great Maſter.

The Royal Palace, call'd *Palais Royale*, does alſo belong to the King, being the ordinary Reſidence of the Duke of *Orleans*, the King's only Brother, when in Town; it is compoſed of two fair Courts, with a delicious Garden behind it; Cardinal *Richlieu* was the Founder of it, who alſo built here a Theatre on Purpoſe for Tragedies, of which he was a great Admirer; but ſince *Moliere* had Liberty to act his Comedies there, and after his Death the Operas were acted in the ſame Theatre. The *Place-Royal* is a vaſt Square, open towards the Street of St. *Honore*, intended chiefly for the King's Statue, which is to be put in the Middle, for which Reaſon they have demoliſhed the *Hotel de Vendoſme*, and ruin'd the Convent of the *Capuchins*.

Near this is another Structure call'd *le Palais Brion*, deſign'd for a Library, but ſince turn'd into two Academies, *viz.* for Architecture and Painting; the firſt erected by M *Colbert*; *Manſard*, *Perault*, *Blondel* and *Felibien* were Members of it; they meet two or three Times a Week, to conſult about the moſt curious Models in Architecture that can be contriv'd. That of the Painters acknowledges M. *Noyers*, Secretary of State, for its Founder, but M. *Colbert* for its Reſtorer; of this M. *le Brun*, their great Painter, was Preſident. They keep here a good Collection of original Paintings of ſome of the beſt Maſters, Statues, Cuſtoms of ancient *Roman* Sculpture to deſign by; beſides which, they hire every Day ſome clean limb'd Man or Woman, who expoſe themſelves naked to their View. The Houſe, known by the Name of the *Cabinet du Roy*, contain'd formerly great Store of curious Pictures, Medals, Agates, and ſuch like Rarities, as alſo the *Anticalia* found in *Childeric* the Firſt's Tomb at *Tournay*, with his Library, and a conſiderable Collection of Manuſcripts, among which was St. *Cyprian*'s Work, brought thither from St *Lawrence*'s Library at *Florence*; but theſe are for the moſt Part now at *Verſailles*.

The Academy of Sciences was likewiſe founded by M. *Colbert*; they are employed in promoting Mathematicks, Phyſick, and Natural Philoſophy, like our *Royal Society*, which exceeds theirs both in the Number of its Members and Advancement of Learning. They have many Noblemen's Houſes of Note, call'd by them *Hotels*; that of the great M. *Colbert*, now in the Poſſeſſion of the Marquis of *Seignelay*, is a very noble Fabrick, and his Library is moſt exquiſite, both for its Number of good Books and curious Manuſcripts; they ſhew you a Manuſcript Bible as old as the Reign of *Charles le Chauve*; the famous Hiſtorian M. *de Thou* has alſo left the Publick an excellent Library. Moſt of their Noblemen's Palaces of Note are furniſh'd with very good Collections of Original Pictures by the moſt excellent Hands, which they have purchas'd for the moſt Part from the covetous *Italians*; among theſe the *Palais Mazarin*, and the Hotel *de Seiguier*, deſerve to be particularly remembered;

membered; the firſt is noble without, and curiouſly furniſhed within, with Statues and Paintings both ancient and modern, of the Hands of *Grimaldi* and *Romanelli*, two famous *Italian* Painters, ſent for hither upon that Account; the King has taken the beſt of them, yet there are many Cabinets, Tapeſtries, and other rich Veſſels of Stone and Silver, left. The ſecond was alſo excellently well-furniſh'd with all Sorts of Curioſities, and particularly with precious *China*-works of all Sorts, but ſince ſold or diſtributed.

The *Recolets* have a very good Library, and ſome excellent Paintings: Hard by is the Hoſpital of St. *Lewis*, founded for thoſe that are infected with the Plague, by King *Henry* IV. but at preſent is made uſe of for the Sick of the *Hotel de Dieu*. In the Street of St. *Avoye* is an old large Palace belonging to the *Grand Prior* of *France*, but formerly appertaining to the *Knights Templars*; it has a conſiderable Revenue annex'd to it. In the Street of St. *Lewis* is a noble Fountain, adorn'd with *Tritons* and other ſuch-like Ornaments.

Their *Maiſon de Ville* or *Townhouſe* ſtands in the Place called the *Greve*, built by King *Francis* I. Neither the Place nor Structure are anſwerable to the Greatneſs of ſuch a City as *Paris*; however, there is a noble Way leading to it, enlarged in 1675, with Cauſeway-banks on both Sides.

The *Place Royal* is a magnificent Square, near as ſpacious as our *Great Lincoln's-Inn-Field*, encloſ'd with *Piazza-walks*, and the Platform with Iron Rails; the Statue of King *Lewis* XIII. ſet up by Cardinal *Richlieu*, ſtands in the Middle of it, with ſeveral Inſcriptions on it in *French* and *Latin*; the Horſe is ſaid to be the Work of *Volterre* a famous *Italian*, who made it for King *Henry* II. The ſaid Cardinal's Houſe ſtands in the ſame Place, having among other Curioſities an excellent Collection of Paintings.

The *Baſtile* is a Place not unlike our *Tower*, ſurrounded with a plain Wall and eight antique Turrets, and ſerves for the ſame Uſe, *viz.* for a Magazine and a Priſon for Priſoners of Quality. There is another very good Arſenal not far from this, a ſpacious Pile of Building, three great Courts and a Garden; the Portal is ſupported by Cannons inſtead of Pillars, with this Inſcription in Capitals:

> *Ætna hæc Henrico Vulcania tela miniſtrat,*
> *Tela Giganteos debellatura furores.*

Here many Workmen are employed by the King, to caſt Statues and other Works in Metal.

The Abbey of St. *Victoire*, in the Poſſeſſion of the *Canons Regular* of St. *Auſtin*, is one of the moſt ancient Foundations in *Paris*; it has a good Library, and ſome Manuſcripts; and Students are permitted to make uſe of them three times every Week. The noted Mr. *Santeuil* belong'd both to this Houſe and Order. The *Jardin Royal* or *Phyſick Garden* (of which Mr. *du Verney*, an excellent Anatomiſt, was Surveyor) is maintain'd at the King's Charge, and Botanick Lectures are kept there during the beſt Seaſon for Plants; it is ſomething longer, but not broader, than that of *Oxford*. There alſo belongs to it a very good Anatomy-School, ſtored with Skeletons of Animals, and among the reſt with one of a very large Elephant. In the King's Laboratory every Body is admitted to ſee the Operations, and the Medicines made here are beſtowed upon the Poor.

Near it is the *Hoſpital General*, as they call it, a vaſt Pile of Buildings, finiſh'd in 1657, by Cardinal *Mazarin*, and containing near ſix thouſand poor People, who are employ'd here in different Sorts of Work, and when ſick well looked after. Another of their Hoſpitals is that call'd *Hotel Dieu*, a very large Building, but neither handſome nor extraordinary convenient, being ſometimes overcrowded with Sick, and too cloſely built up round about it. As it is the chief Hoſpital in *Paris* for the Sick, the Nuns of St. *Auſtin* are oblig'd to tend and look after them, which they do with ſo much Tenderneſs ſometimes, that they don't care much to return to the Nunneries; for, not long before, a certain *Iriſhman* being recovered by the Care of his pretty Nurſe, made ſhift to carry her away without being ever heard of ſince. The Danger and Trouble that muſt needs be the Attendants of this Employment, making the ſame very meritorious among the *Romaniſts*, the Ladies of the firſt Quality ſometimes employ themſelves in theſe Acts of Piety; and it was in this Place that (not long before) the Dutcheſs of *Nemours*, Mother to the Dutcheſs of *Orleans*, got the Small-pox, and her Death into the Bargain. Not far thence is the Hoſpital *de la Charite*, where the Friars of St. *John* perform the ſame Office as the Nuns do in the former: Each Room has three Rows of Beds.

There is another Hoſpital in *Paris* they ſtile *The Incurable*, becauſe only ſuch as are paſt Cure are admitted into it.

But what exceeds all the reſt is, the *Hotel Royal des Invalides*, or the *Royal Hoſpital* for maimed Soldiers, or thoſe render'd unſerviceable by Age, founded upon the ſame Deſign as our *Chelſea Hoſpital*, built at the preſent King's Charge, from 1670 to 1678. The whole Structure is compoſed of five Quadrangles one large one in the Middle, flank'd with two other ſquare ones on each Side, with Piazza's and Corridors or Galleries round them all; the whole Fabrick being of fine hewn Stone, makes a very noble Appearance. The Kitchen is very large and handſome, and in their Refectories (where the Soldiers eat) you ſee moſt of the Sieges undertaken in the late Wars by the *French*, painted on the Walls. The Apothecary's Shop belonging to this Place is the beſt contriv'd, and as well furniſh'd as any I ever met with in all my Travels. The Soldiers are attended here by the Siſters of St. *Lazarus*. Conſidering the Freedom allow'd to Strangers, to be preſent at their Operations perform'd in all their Hoſpitals, the Advantage of their Chymical Lectures, Phyſick-Garden, and frequent Practice in Anatomy, *Paris* ſeems the moſt accompliſh'd School for young Phyſicians, and to be preferred in this Reſpect to *Leyden*, *Padua*, *Montpellier*, *Cambridge*, and *Oxford* itſelf. The Houſe known by the Name of the *Gobelins*, in the Suburbs of St. *Marcell*, was formerly famous for the making and dying of the beſt Scarlet Cloths, but now divers Sorts of the beſt Workmen are employ'd here at the King's Coſt and Profit, in making the fineſt Tapeſtry, Plate, Moſaic, Iron, Copper and Braſs Works, Statuary, Sculpture, Embroideries, *&c.* Theſe Suburbs have a Church dedicated to St. *Marcell*, where you ſee the Tomb of the celebrated *Peter Lombard*.

3. The Univerſity of *Paris*, which makes up one third Part of the whole, is worth the Curioſity of a Traveller; they make it as ancient as *Charles the Great*, and ſay it was he encompaſs'd it with a Wall; hence it is that they celebrate a certain Day to his Memory, when all the Heads of the Univerſity meet at the College of *Navarre*. Formerly the Univerſity of *Paris* had more Colleges and Students; the Number of the firſt (where publick Exerciſes are perform'd) is at preſent reduc'd to eight or nine, among which the *Sorbonne*, the College *du Pleſſis*, that of *Navarre* and of *Harcourt*, are the chiefeſt: They had alſo formerly the Privilege of being exempted both from the civil and criminal Juriſdiction of *Paris*, which is now little regarded.

The chief Things profeſs'd here are Divinity, Phyſick, Law, and Arts, or Philoſophy; for each of theſe they chuſe four Times a Year, a *Rector* or *Profeſſor*: The *Sorbonne* and the College of *Navarre* are the moſt conſiderable for Divinity. The Schools for the Civil Law are in the *Rue de Bauvais*, lately new modell'd by the King's Orders. The Phyſicians have a fair Anatomical Theatre in the *Rue de Bouchiere*; and their College call'd *de quatre Nations*, (i. e. of four Nations) *viz.* thoſe of *France*, *Picardy*, *Normandy*, and *Germany*, is dedicated to their Faculty of Arts.

The *Sorbonne* has got its Name from *Robert de Sorbonne* its Founder, formerly a plain and ordinary Fabrick, but now turn'd into a magnificent Structure, chiefly by the Care of Cardinal *Richlieu*; it has always been famous for its learned Profeſſors, ever ſince its firſt Foundation, which was under the Reign of St. *Lewis*, as the Inſcription on a Braſs Plate in the Church teſtifies;

> *Ludovicus Rex Francorum, ſub quo fundata fuit Domus Sorbonæ, circa An. Domini* MCCLII.

The Profeſſors and Students are lodged in the Apartments about the great Quadrangle.

The Library is kept in a handſome and lofty Room, much increaſed by the Liberality of the ſaid Cardinal, eſpecially with ſome Manuſcripts, diſtinguiſhed with his Arms upon them. Among other curious Pieces, they ſhew you two large Volumes of *Livy*, an old Tranſlation of antiquated *French*, written in the Reign of *Charles* V. embelliſh'd with Paintings in Miniature on Vellum; which Art has been loſt above two hundred Years ago. They have good Store of Divinity Works, and all Tranſlations of the Bible. The Picture of the Cardinal their Benefactor hangs at one End of the Room, at Length, in his Habit; and, at the other End, ſtands his Buſt in Braſs, done by the excellent Hand of *Varini*. The Fathers and School-Divines are regularly placed one after another, with their reſpective *Annotators* in the Rows underneath. After they have frequented the publick Lectures for three Years, they are qualified for the Degree of Batchelors, who wear Lambſkins and Tippets like our Batchelors of Arts at *Oxford*; after two Years more, they may be promoted to the Degree of Licentiats, who generally are the Opponents to ſuch as take the Degrees of Doctors. I was preſent at ſome of their publick Exerciſes and Diſputations, which were managed with a great deal of Decency and Order. The Subjects on which moſt generally they exerciſe themſelves are, the Sacrament, the Tranſubſtantiation, Trinity and Incarnation, which in the *Roman* Church being look'd upon as the ſole Object of Faith, even in Contradiction to Senſe and Reaſon, I could not but admire to hear the Opponents urge oftentimes ſuch Things as are accounted and declared heretical among them.

The College of *Navarre*, the next in Rank, acknowledges King *Philip the Fair* and his Queen for its Founders, as the Inſcription under the Statues teſtifies. Formerly none but Noblemen's Children were admitted here, but now all Sorts, without Diſtinction. They have four Profeſſors in Divinity, and the Archbiſhop of *Paris* is Preſident of it. In 1684, the Magiſtrates of *Paris* founded an annual Panegyrick for this preſent King, on St. *Lewis*'s Day.

The College *de Harcourt* is a large Structure near the *Sorbonne*, where continual Exerciſes are held for inferior Forms of Students in Logick and Philoſophy; they print their *Theſes*, and diſpute categorically, without confining themſelves ſtrictly to Syllogiſtical Rules. The College *du Pleſſis* was reſtored by Cardinal *Richlieu*, being as it were the Nurſery of the *Sorbonne*, who always place a Governor of their own College over it. The Faculty of Arts for the four Nations is a different Foundation from the College of the *Quatre Nations*, theſe Artiſts having peculiar Houſes allotted to them, and chuſe each, every Year, a Preſident of their own Nation.

The College of the *Quatre Nations* acknowledges the Cardinal *Mazarin* for its Founder; the Portal hath this Inſcription:

> *Jul. Mazarin: S. R. E. Card.*
> *Baſilicam, & Gymnaſ.*
> *F. C. A.* MDC.LXI.

It has a double Court, and a good Library of the Cardinal's own Collection, which is open to every Body at certain Hours in the Day. The Number intended by the ſaid Cardinal's Will were ſixty, *viz.* fifteen from about *Pignerol* and the adjacent Parts of *Italy*, fifteen for the *Alſatian* Youth of *Germany*, twenty for thoſe of the *New Conqueſts* in the *Netherlands*, and ten for *Rouſſilion* and *Catalonia*; but neither the *Structure* nor *Inſtitution* is compleated yet. As the *Doctors* of the *Sorbonne* are Governors of this College, ſo their Books in the Library treat of the Canon and Civil Law, mixed with Abundance of School-Divinity.

The *College Royal*, founded by *Francis* I. for Law, Phyſick, Mathematicks, and the Oriental Languages, was carried on farther by King *Henry* IV. *Mary de Medicis*, and *Lewis* XIII. though not brought to Perfection; the Profeſſors receive their Salaries from the King, without any Dependance on the Univerſity. It is ſeated near St. *James*'s-ſtreet and the College of *Cambray*.

4. The *Engliſh Roman-Catholicks* have a good Nunnery and Convent of the *Benedictines* in *Paris*, founded in 1657. In the Nunnery many young Ladies of Popiſh Families are educated. Among their Churches, the Cathedral called *Noſtre Dame* challenges the firſt Rank, an antique *Gothick Structure*, compleated at ſeveral Times, more ſtrong than noble, a very ancient Biſhoprick, founded (as they ſay) by St. *Dennis*, not long after the Apoſtles Time, but made an Archbiſhoprick ſo late as 1622, by Pope *Urban* VIII. In the Choir you ſee divers good Pieces of Painting and rich Tapeſtry, and Abundance of Gold and Silver Plate for their Altars: It has about fifty Canons belonging to it, among which was once the famous Hiſtorian *Paulus Emilius Veronenſis*, whoſe Tomb is to be ſeen in one of the little Chapels.

The next is the *Jeſuits* Church; on the Front of their College you ſee theſe Words in Capitals, *Collegium Ludovici Magni*. This Society was firſt introduced into *Paris* by *du Pratt*, who preſided at the Council of *Trent* for *France*, and afterwards proved a great Benefactor to them, as well as that famous and unfortunate Miniſter of State M. *Fouquet*. The Library, which was his Gift, is a very good one, both for Number of Books and Manuſcripts, among which are many *Proteſtant* and *Socinian* Authors. Theſe Fathers have another College in the Street of St. *Anthony*, the Church whereof is a magnificent modern Structure, carried on in Part by Cardinal *Richlieu*, under the Reign of King *Lewis* XIII. whoſe Heart is entomb'd here, as well as that of *Henry de Bourbon* Prince of *Condé*.

They have lately built another in the Suburbs of St. *Germain*, called the *Novitiates*, the Church whereof is but ſmall, but the Architecture moſt excellent; it was built at the Charge of M. *Noyer*, Secretary of State. The Church of St. *Genevieve*, with its regular Canons, is ſaid to have been founded by King *Clovis*, who has an old Tomb here, which has been embelliſhed of late Years, for they have put on his Head a Crown with a *Flower de Luce*, whereas thoſe Arms were not till long after uſed by the Crown of *France*; juſt as in ſome other Popiſh Countries I have obſerved our Saviour painted with Beads and a Roſary in his Hands. They have alſo put a modern Inſcription upon the old King's Tomb. But the chief Ornament of this Church is the Tomb of that great *French* Philoſopher *Des Cartes*; it has two Inſcriptions, one in *French* Verſe, the other in *Latin*.

The Apothecary's Shop belonging to the Convent, and the Library, are neatly diſpoſed, where they have ancient Buſts, Coins, Medals, and other Antiquities: Father *Molinet* has a curious Collection of Rarities of his own; and the famous Architect Father *Creil* was a Member of this Convent. In the Monaſtery of the *Jacobins* is to be ſeen the Monument of *Humbertus*, the laſt Prince of *Dauphine*, who having no Iſſue, ſold this Principality to *Phil. de Valois*, and, embracing a monaſtical Life at *Lyons*, became firſt Prior of this Convent, and afterwards Patriarch of *Alexandria*, as the Inſcription tells you.

5. The Church of the *Carmelites* is, for its Antiquity, not inferior to any in *Paris*, being ſuppoſed to have been founded by St. *Dennis*; it now contains the Heart of the *Great Turenne*, and has divers excellent modern Paintings and other Ornaments within. That called *Val de Grace* is both a modern Inſtitution and Structure, after the *Italian*, founded by Queen *Anne* of *Auſtria*, upon the miraculous Birth (as they ſtile it) of the preſent King, after ſhe had been married twenty-two Years: Her Heart, as alſo that of our *Henrietta Maria*

Dutcheſs of *Orleans*, lies entomb'd here. The *Altar* and *Cupola* are exceeding fine, and upon the *Portal* you ſee theſe Words:

Jeſu naſcenti Virginique Matri.

All the Nuns are of noble Extraction, and chuſe a Lady Abbeſs every three Years: Madam *la Valliere*, once the King's Miſtreſs, retreated to this Nunnery, to do Pennance for her paſt Miſcarriages.

In the ancient Abbey of St. *Germain* are the Tombs of many of their ancient Kings, who us'd to be buried here, before the Time of the Inroads made by the *Northern* Nations, as of late at St. *Dennis*. That of *Chilperio* has only theſe few Words, in a very old Character, on a plain Stone:

Rex Chilpericus hoc tegitur Lapide.

But that this was but Part of his Tomb, is evident from the Inſcription on a broken Tombſtone dug up ſince in another Place; which ſhew how much in thoſe Days, they were afraid of being diſturb'd in their Graves.

Hic jacet Chilpericus Francorum Rex.
Ego Chilpericus Francorum Rex precor ut inde in Æternum non aufferentur oſſa mea.

Queen *Fredigonde*, who died in 601, is alſo entomb'd here; and *Clotharius*, and the ſecond Son to *Chilperic*, of the ſame Name with his Father, with their Wives. Among the modern Monuments chiefly remarkable are that of the Duke of *Verneuil*, Prince of *Bourbon*, natural Son of King *Henry* IV. who was Biſhop and Abbot of St. *Germain*, but afterwards relinquiſhing the monaſtical State, married the Dutcheſs of *Sully*. Here is alſo interred the young Duke of *Bourbon*, ſon of the preſent King of *France*, and *Caſimir* King of *Poland*, who after having reſign'd his Crown, died Abbot of this Place; their Epitaphs and Inſcriptions are too long to be inſerted. Here are buried alſo ſome of the Family of *Douglas* of *Scotland*. They have a very good Library here, formerly accounted one of the beſt in *Paris*, and which ſtill has the Reputation of excelling all the reſt in Manuſcripts, except the King's. They pretend to have the *Pſalter* of St. *Germain*, which he generally uſed at divine Service, and a Miſſal of nine hundred Years old, written with a Stile on little Tables of Cedar. They ſhew you a great Volume brought by a *French* Ambaſſador from *Conſtantinople*, with Atteſtations of moſt of the Biſhops of the *Greek* Church, concerning their Belief of Tranſubſtantiation, which they produce as an undeniable Proof againſt the Opinion of the *Proteſtants*; though to ſpeak the Truth, it is very probable that theſe good Fathers might do much out of Complaiſance both to the King and the Ambaſſador, nothing being more obſervable among the *Greeks* than to accommodate themſelves, both in Diſcipline and Doctrine, to thoſe among whom they live; as is particularly remarkable at *Rome* and *Venice*.

The Fathers of this Abbey formerly publiſh'd a very good Edition of St. *Auſtin*'s Works, from the beſt Manuſcripts in *Europe*; and Father *Dachiere*, of this Houſe, has ſent abroad divers Volumes of his *Specilegium*, containing many Curioſities and Antiquities taken out of their Manuſcripts. They tell you, that the Church being built in the ſame Place where ſtood anciently the Temple of *Iſis*, a Statue of which Goddeſs remains on Part of the Walls, a ſimple old Woman was ſeen to worſhip it for a Saint, which the Fathers having had Notice of, they broke it to Pieces.

6. Another of their publick Structures is what they call *le Palais*, becauſe in old Times it was the Reſidence of their Kings, but by King *Philip the Fair* appropriated for the Aſſembly of their Parliament. The Hall in which anciently their Kings uſed to perform their greateſt Solemnities is very ſpacious, and arch'd, with the ſeveral Courts of Juſtice in particular Chambers about it; the ancient Chamber of private Audience is now the Room where the Remainders of their ancient Parliaments aſſemble when the King has any Thing of Moment to propoſe to them; it opens always on St. *Martin*'s Day, when the Members attend in the Great-Hall in their Scarlet Robes. Here is alſo kept the Court of Aids, which has a ſeparate Juriſdiction from the Parliament; their *Court of Chancery*, and the *Chamber of Accounts* are the ſame as our *Exchequer Court*; they plead by Way of Bill and Anſwer, Plaintiff and Defendant, but in a more ſummary Way than in our *Court of Chancery*, much like our Civil Law *Courts of Judicature*; though at the ſame Time there are not wanting Inſtances, that their Suits have been protracted for a great many Years. Here all the *Patents* of the Peers are regiſtred, as well as their *Charters* and other *Records*.

In the Chapel of St. *Lewis*, belonging to the Lawyers, they ſhew you Abundance of Relicks, which they vouch for authentick; as the Sponge dipt in Vinegar and Gall; the Head of the Spear wherewith they pierc'd our Saviour's Side, and the Purple Robe entire, though at *Rome* they ſhew with the ſame Aſſurance a Piece of it. Near this Palace is the Square call'd *la Place Dauphin*, of a triangular Form, built immediately after the Birth of *Lewis* the XIIIth, which gave it the Name *Dauphin*.

The *Palais de Luxembourgh*, or *Palais d'Orleans*, built by *Mary de Medicis*, is one of the moſt regular and magnificent Structures in *Paris*; Madamoiſelle *d'Orleans* has her Lodgings on one Side, and the Dutcheſs of *Guiſe* on the other, in whoſe is that famous Gallery of Paintings of *Mary de Medicis*, repreſenting her whole Life, from her Nativity to the End of her Government, the Work of the excellent *Paul Reuben*, who, they ſay, beſtow'd two whole Years upon it; her Meeting with *Henry* IV. juſt before Marriage, he all in Armour, and ſhe dreſſed with all imaginable Advantage, and the moſt beautiful and amorous Looks in the World, is a moſt exquiſite Piece: The ſame Dutcheſs has moſt of her other Apartments curiouſly furniſh'd with the choiceſt *Italian* Pictures; among theſe the wandring *David*, by the Hand of *Guido Reni*, is moſt excellent. The Gardens are ſuitable to the Magnificence of the Palace, and open for publick Walks.

The *Obſervatory*, built by the preſent King for Aſtronomical Obſervations, is a vaulted Fabrick, without either Wood or Iron-Work, three Stories high; beſides which, you deſcend by two hundred Steps into a Cave with little Alleys, from whence there is a Proſpect thro' the very Top of the Houſe to the Sky, in Order to obſerve the Motions of the Stars by Day; but this Contrivance has not anſwer'd Expectation, no Stars being to be ſeen there, but the Light only, which they impute to the not paſſing of any Stars through the *Zenith* of *Paris*; but it is ſomething ſtrange that this Defect ſhould not have been foreſeen by their Artiſts; though otherwiſe the Building is better contriv'd than ours at *Greenwich*.

Near it is the *Tour de Charpente* or the *Timber Tower*, all of *Carpenters-work*, for the fixing of their Tubes and Teleſcopes; M. *Caſſini* is the chief *Superviſor* of all this Buſineſs, the ſame who was *Profeſſor* of *Bolognia*, and made that famous *Meridian Line* in one of the Churches of that City; he has a very good Salary allow'd him by the King, and deſerves that Reputation he is in with the Publick, and if poſſible a greater.

7. Among the Bridges of *Paris* there are only three worth taking Notice of; the firſt is, the *Pont-Royal*, or *Royal Bridge*, a ſtrong plain Piece of Stone-work, but lately built croſs the *Sein* to the *Thuilleries*; in 1685, a Silk Bag of Medals was lodg'd in ſome of the Maſonry of it, to perpetuate the Memory of their *Lewis le Grand*; it was included in a Cedar-Box, with a blue Sattin, and the Arms of *France* upon it: One of theſe Medals was very large, of Copper gilt, beſides twelve others of Gold and Silver; one among them had for its Motto, *Germania ſervata*; another, *Juſſit Quieſcere*; another *Rheno Bataviſque unâ ſuperatis*; and on another is repreſented *Jupiter*, with this Motto, *Vibrata in ſuperbos Fulmina*, and underneath, *Genua emendata*. What Vanity!

The ſecond is the *Pont Noſtredame*, charg'd with Houſes ſomething like our *London Bridge*, but not near ſo big. The next to this is the *Pont Neuf* or *New-Bridge*, a curious Fabrick, (though not near ſo large as that of *London*) firſt begun by King *Henry* III. but finiſh'd by his Succeſſor *Henry* IV. whoſe Statue on Horſeback ſtands upon it much beyond the natural Size; it is a moſt excellent Piece of Workmanſhip of *John* of *Bologn*, an *Italian* Artiſt, but deſcended from *French* Parentage; it has ſeveral Inſcriptions about it, relating to ſome memorable Actions, and the Battles of *Yvry* and *Arque* are repreſented in *Baſſo relievo* upon the Pedeſtal, on each Angle of which lie four Slaves of maſſy Braſs.

8. That noble Monument, erected in the Place of St. *Victoire*, to the Memory of their preſent King, by the Care (if not at the Coſt) of the Duke *de la Feuillade*, is certainly the moſt excellent Piece of Statuary that can be beheld either in *Italy* or any where elſe; and the *French* boaſt, that it exceeds all that ever were made of this Kind, not excepting even thoſe erected to the *Greek* and *Roman Emperors*. The King's Statue is of maſſy Braſs, thirteen Foot high, in his Robes, with a *Victory* ſtanding behind him, of the ſame Bulk and Metal, crowning him, poiſed with his Foot on a Globe; under his Feet is a three-headed *Cerberus*, to denote the Triple Alliance over which he triumphed, at the Foot whereof you ſee theſe Words, *Viro Immortali*, the laſt of which they explain of the *Immortality of his Fame*. The whole was caſt all at once, and weighs above thirty thouſand Pound. The Pedeſtal is twenty-two Foot high, which, with that Part of the maſſy Mould the Statue ſtands on, being three Foot, and the Statue itſelf thirteen, makes this ſuperb Piece about thirty-eight or near forty Foot high. Upon the Pedeſtal reſt four Slaves of Braſs, much beyond the natural Largeneſs, with *Baſſo relievo*'s of his Battles and Conqueſts. It ſtands in a very ſpacious Square; and to render it the more uniform, they demoliſhed many Houſes, and the Duke pull'd down Part of his Palace. The Statue itſelf is encloſed by ſtately Iron Grates that environ a Floor of Marble; and a Centinel is always placed near it. The grand Inſcription upon it runs thus:

Ludovico Magno
Patri Exercituum
& Ductori
ſemper felici,
Domitis hoſtibus, protectis ſociis,
Adjectis Imperio fortiſſimis populis,
Extructis ad Tutelam Finium firmiſſimis Arcibus.
Oceano & Mediterraneo inter ſe junctis, prædari vetitis toto mari Piratis: Emendatis Legibus. Deletâ Calvinianâ impietate;
Compulſis ad Reverentiam Nominis
Gentibus remotiſſimis, cunctiſq; ſummâ providentiâ, & virtute domi foriſq;
compoſitis.
Franciſcus Vicecomes d'Aubuſſon, Dux de la Fueillade
ex Franciæ Paribus, & Tribunis Equitum unus in
Allobrogibus Prorex & prætorianorum peditum
Præfectus.
Ad memoriam poſteritatis ſempiternam.
P. D. C.

Beſides this, there are ſeveral Verſes, ſome for the Statue, ſome relating to the hiſtorical Part repreſented in the *Baſſo relievo's*; as for Inſtance, that relating to the Statue.

Tali de ore ferens, orbi & ſibi, jura modumq;
Dat Lodoix, famamq; affectat vincere factis.

There are divers others upon his Paſſage of the *Rhine*, the Peace of *Nimeghen*, the *Dutch* and the *Germans*; but that on the *Genoeſe* for Haughtineſs exceeds all the reſt.

Vane Ligur, fruſtraq; animis elate ſuperbis;
Juſtitiam monitus diſce, & non temnere Divos.

The *Triumphal Arch* was, at the Time of my being there, not brought quite to Perfection; but if you will believe the *French*, it is to exceed all of that Nature in *Europe*, whether ancient or modern: It is true, the Deſign promiſes ſomething very noble; the Models conſiſt of two Faces of an extraordinary Height, with three Portals, after the Manner both of the ancient and modern *Romans*; the Orders of the Columns are finely deſigned, and the Captives and Trophies moſt exquiſitely done, by the famous *Perault*, who tranſlated *Vitruvius*. The King's Statue on Horſeback is deſigned to be placed on this Arch.

9. The other Gates of the Town (as many *Triumphal Arches*) are all proud Pieces of Architecture; that of St. *Dennis* (which leads to the Place of the ſame Name) is above ſeventy Foot high, and as many over, adorn'd with Columns, *Baſſo relievo's*. and Trophies, with ſome Inſcriptions relating to the Paſſing of the *French* over the *Rhine*, and their taking of *Maeſtricht*. The Gate of St. *Martin* is fifty Foot high, and as many wide, having on each Side an Inſcription relating to this King's Actions. The third Gate is that of St. *Anthony*, erected in King *Henry* the Second's Time, but new embelliſhed by the City, with ſome Inſcriptions likewiſe relating to the preſent King. The *French* boaſt that *Cæſar* makes Mention of this City, and that he laid Siege to it, being then encloſed betwixt the two Branches of the *Sein*, the ſame that is now called the *Iſle*. Some of their Hiſtorians add, that *Cæſar*, after the Conqueſt of *Gaul*, had his Head Quarters here, and built ſeveral Caſtles on the *Sein*. They all agree in that Point, that the Name of *Lutetia* was given it by the *Romans*, from its Situation in a moiſt dirty Soil, betwixt the two Branches of the River; the modern Name of *Paris*, being deduced from *Paris*, one of the Kings of the *Gauls*.

This City is much more gay and ſplendid in outward Appearance than wealthy within, nothing being more frequent than to meet with Beggars that appear in Habit like Gentlemen. It has few or no Pumps, moſt of their Waters being preſerved in Ciſterns. I took particular Notice here of two Medals that went about at that Time, made in Spleen to Pope *Innocent* XI; one repreſented our Sir *Edmund-bury Godfrey* ſtrangling, with this Motto, *Juſſu Pontificis*; the other had his Holineſs's Head or Buſt on one Side, and an Altar, Pix and Chalice turn'd topſy-turvy on the other, with this Inſcription, *Pontificis quis credat opus?* Another I met with at the ſame Time no leſs odd than the two former, having the King's Buſt on one Side, and a broken Column on the Reverſe, on the upper Part whereof hung a Scroll of Parchment with theſe Words written upon it, *Edictum Nancii reverſum*.

10. *Mezeray* ſays, that *Paris* was firſt paved and walled under the Reign of King *Philip* II. ſirnamed *the Auguſt*; and near it the *French* King has many Palaces, where he reſides at Pleaſure: That called *Fountainbleau*, ſeated in the Iſle of *France*, among Woods, is of an irregular Structure; but its convenient Situation for Hunting makes the Court frequently retire thither in the Summer-time. Its Fountains and Canals are very good, and it has one noble ſpacious Hall, the reſt of the Apartments being neither large nor magnificent enough for a royal Palace, though ſome very good Paintings are to be ſeen in them; in the Queen's Gallery the Conqueſts of *Henry* IV. are excellently well done in *Freſco*; and in the Gallery *de Cerfs* underneath this, you ſee all the royal Palaces of *France*, with Landſkips of the Country round them curiouſly painted; not to mention the Paintings in the King's and Queen's Cabinets. The Chapel Royal is alſo a very good Fabrick, and well adorn'd.

In their Play-houſe is to be ſeen a curious Marble Chimney-piece, repreſenting the Battle of *Ivry*, fought by King *Henry* IV. The Gardens are beautified alſo with Statues; and formerly a good Library belonged to it, ſince removed to *Paris*. The moſt noted Apartment in this Palace, is what they call the *Salle de Conſeil*, famous for the Conference occaſioned by M. *du Pleſſis*'s Book againſt the Maſs, in which the celebrated M. *Perron*

M. *Perron* (afterwards Cardinal) pretending to ſhew at leaſt five hundred falſe Quotations, a Conference was appointed to be held in this Room on *May* 14, 1600, in the Preſence of King *Henry* IV. the Preſident *de Thou*, and the famous *Iſaac Caſaubon*; the firſt for the *Romaniſts*, and the laſt for the *Proteſtants*: The firſt Day was ſpent in examining only nine, and each Party challenging the Victory, the Conferences were diſcontinued; *Du Pleſſis* afterwards publiſhing a Treatiſe upon theſe Debates, the ſame was anſwered by *Perron*.

The Palace of St. *Germain*, ſeated on a riſing Ground near the River *Sein*, about four or five Hours from *Paris*, and one from *Verſailles*, is built in the Nature of a Caſtle, ſurrounded with a dry Ditch; a noble Stone Gallery runs round the Middle of the whole Structure, which is of an oval Figure: The Covering of this Pile is of flat Free-ſtone, each Stone being three Foot long, two broad, and three Inches thick: On one Side of the Garden is a moſt delicious Terras-walk, with the River running under it, 3350 Paces long; and on the other Side it is flanked by a moſt delightful Wood. I found hereabouts the wild *Geniſta Hiſpanica*, or *Spartum Hiſp. Cluſ. Chab.* or the *Spaniſh Broom*, and the *Onobrychis Spicata*, commonly called by us *Saintfoin*, brought from *France* firſt, where it grows wild. In the Garden I obſerved, among other curious Plants, the *Agrifol. Oderatum*, a ſmooth Holly with ſweet-ſcented Flowers.

The *Chateau Neuf* was built by *Henry* IV. upon the Brow of the Hill near the other, its Gardens aſcending by Degrees down to the River; here are to be ſeen the noble Ruins of *Grottos*, *Caſcades*, and *Waterworks*. About an Hour from hence is *Marli*, a moſt delightful Summer-ſeat, built by the preſent King (rather gay than magnificent) at the Head of a Canal, with ſeveral Houſes along the Side of the Water for the *Courtiers*; they were then buſy in cutting a Way to it through an adjacent Wood. Near this Palace, on the *Sein*, is that ſo much celebrated *Waterwork* of *Marli*, by which the Current of the River is, by the Help of an Engine-mill built upon it, forced over two or three vaſt Hills, by Iron Pipes of half a Foot Diameter, jointed into one another, and ſeveral laid by the Side of one another, every Stroke of the Mill throwing a vaſt Quantity of Water into the Baſons on the Hill, which from theſe Baſons is conveyed by ſuch another Mill higher, over all the Eminencies, when gathering into a ſmall Lake, the ſame by Aqueducts furniſhes with ſufficient Quantity of Water both *Marli* and *Verſailles*.

11. *Verſailles*, the moſt beautiful Palace in *Europe*, is ſeated in a dirty deſart Ground; that Side which faces the Stables is not ſuitable in Magnificence to the reſt, as that which fronts the Garden ſurpaſſes all that can be imagined ſumptuous; its Roof glittering with Gold, affords a glorious Proſpect at a Diſtance; and the Garden for *Statues*, *Canals*, *Groves*, *Grottos*, *Fountains*, *Waterworks*, or what elſe may be thought delightful, far ſurpaſſes any Thing to be ſeen of this Kind in *Italy*; and its Riches and Beauty within are altogether anſwerable to its Outſide. The Royal Cabinet for Medals, Coins, Painting, and ſuchlike Curioſities, has the Choice of all *Italy* could afford. The King's Lodgings are enriched with Utenſils of maſſy Plate, even to the Bedſteds, Baluſters and Rails: The Gallery towards the Side of the Garden is the nobleſt that ever I beheld in my Life, for its moſt delicious proſpect, Statues and Looking-glaſſes placed between the Pannels. The modern Paintings in this Palace are for the moſt part of *Mignard*, *Pouſſin* and *le Brun*, among which the Battles of *Alexander* are highly eſteemed. At one End of the Garden is the Place where they breed all the foreign Beaſts and Birds the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-Indies* afford: And what they call the *Trianon* is a cool Retreating-Place for the King after his Walks, ſuitable in all Reſpects to the reſt.

About two Leagues thence M. *Louvois*, the late prime Miniſter, had erected a noble Palace with vaſt Coſt, the Ground riſing into a pleaſant *Terras*, with fine Gardens behind it. Near *Paris* there is another of the King's Houſes, called *Madrid*, both unfurniſhed and unfiniſhed; they tell you that it was built by King *Francis* I. who having promiſed to pay his Ranſom at *Madrid*, gave it this Name, and carrying the whole Sum thither, paid the *Spaniards* with this Equivocation inſtead of Money.

Hard by it, *viz.* at *Ruel*, a ſmall Town, ſtands a pretty little Palace built by Cardinal *Richlieu*; it is neither ſtately nor magnificent, but has very neat Gardens and curious Waterworks.

About two Leagues from *Paris* on the Aſcent of the Hill of St. *Cloud*, is another of the King's Houſes, where the Duke of *Orleans* ſometimes reſides for his Diverſion; the Gardens are very pleaſant, the Galleries very beautiful, and ſome of the Paintings very good: It was here that King *Henry* III. was ſtabb'd, by one *Clement* a Monk.

12. In our Tour to *Roan*, *Diep*, and the Sea-coaſt, we paſſed through St. *Dennis*, about a League from *Paris*, famous for the Sepulchres of the *French* Royal Race, and the Abbey built by King *Dagobert*, formerly called *Catullia*, but ſince dedicated to St. *Dennis*, the *Areopagite*, whoſe Body lies interr'd here; though the Monks of the Convent of St *Emeran*, near *Ratiſbon* in *Germany*, diſpute that Point with them, and poſitively affirm. that they have the whole Body, and thoſe of St. *Dennis* only a Finger. They boaſt here of the Sepulchres of ſeveral other Saints, as of their King St. *Lewis*, St. *Hilary* Biſhop of *Poictiers*, St. *Hypolito* one of the ſanctified Martyrs of the *Thebæan* Legion, and one of the Innocents murthered by *Herod*'s Command. The moſt remarkable among the Tombs of the Royal Family are thoſe of *Francis* I. and *Lewis* XI. Here you ſee alſo the Tomb of the Great Marſhal *de Turenne*, placed by the King's Order (but at the Charge of his Nephew) in a Marble Chapel built for that Purpoſe; he lies at full Length, ſurrounded with Laurels and Trophies in *Relievo*, with a *Roman* Eagle at his Feet retreating as it were backwards, with diſplayed Wings at the Sight of his formidable Enemy: For though this *Abbey* is chiefly deſigned for the Sepulchres of the Royal Family, yet by the King's Favour, ſuch of his Subjects as have ſignaliz'd themſelves in his Service, are alſo ſometimes interred here. There is a Croſs of maſſy Gold on the Altar ſeven Foot high, ſet with Diamonds and the beſt Pearls, and a Table of Gold, the Altar itſelf being alſo plated over with Silver.

13. From hence we paſſed on to St. *Pontoyſe*, an inconſiderable Place, ſeated upon the River *Oyſe*, which riſing in *Picardy*, runs a little below it into the *Sein*. The Country of *Normandy* betwixt this Place and *Roan* is champaign and extremely fertile, eſpecially in Apples, of which they make excellent Cyder.

Roan is the Metropolis of *Normandy*, and one of the Cities of the ſecond Rank in *France*; its Situation is upon the Banks of the River *Sein*, at the Foot of a Hill, and to the oppoſite Bank you paſs by a handſome Bridge of Boats, two hundred and ſeventy Paces long, which being pav'd, riſes and falls with the Tide; below it you ſee the Pillars of an ancient Stone Bridge, beaten down ſome Years ago by the Violence of the Current; ſomething lower Ships of about two hundred Tun can ride with Safety: Near the River-ſide ſtands a very ancient Caſtle with Turrets, now the Reſidence of the Governor. Two other Rivers (*viz.* the *Robbee* and *Reinelle*) run alſo through this City, which has two Churches remarkable; the Cathedral dedicated to our Lady, exceeds in Beauty and Regularity that of *Paris*; here you ſee the Tomb of *John* Duke of *Bedford*, Regent of *France* in King *Henry* the VIth's Time, but the Monument is not anſwerable to the Grandeur of ſo high a Perſon. The Church of St. *Toin*, is alſo a lofty Structure, but chiefly famous for its great Bell. The Streets of *Roan* are narrow, and their Houſes for the moſt part of Wood and Plaiſter work; here it was the *Engliſh* burnt the Maid of *Orleans*; this Place was the *Rotomagus* of the *Romans*, and the Reſidence of the Dukes of *Normandy*; it is at preſent a Biſhop's See, and was lately a Place of very good Traffick.

From hence we travel'd through a very good Country and bad Road to *Diep*, a pretty little Sea-port Town, the Streets whereof are more ſpacious and regular than thoſe of *Roan*; they are very ingenious here at working in Ivory. The little Harbour lies betwixt two Cliffs, and the River *Arquo* runs into it; anciently it was known by the Names of *Julia bona* and *Deppa*, and then ſtrongly fortified; it has ſtill a good Caſtle and Wall. From *Diep* we continued our Journey through a little Place call'd *Eu*, ſeated upon the River *Breſſe*, which being the common Boundary on that Side betwixt *Normandy* and *Picardy*, diſcharges itſelf into the Sea about a League below it.

Near the River's Mouth we ſaw on the Cliffs another ſmall Town call'd *Criel-port*, and ſo paſſing through *Francheville*, came ſafely to *Abbeville*, a poor old Town, meanly built and extremely dirty, in that Part of *Picardy* they call *Ponthieu*. They are noted here for making Guns and Piſtols, but they are rather fine than ſerviceable. It is ſeated upon the River *Somme*, which falls into the Sea near St. *Valery*, from whence Barks can come up to this City. Before the *French* had made themſelves Maſters of the Province of *Artois*, this was a Frontier Town of a conſiderable Strength, and inacceſſible in ſome Parts, being almoſt ſurrounded by the Fenns. It is alſo a Biſhop's See.

From hence we travel'd by the Way of *Heſdin* to *Calais*, from whence we could diſcover the chalky Cliffs of *Dover*; it is of no great Compaſs, but regularly fortified, and ſtrengthened with a good Cittadel; the Town-houſe is but ſmall, but the Market-place ſpacious. Some Antiquaries would have it to be the ſame mentioned by *Cæſar* in his *Commentaries*, under the Name of *Portus Iccius*, which ſome again explain of *Boulogn*, others of *Doway*. The Loſs of it by the *Engliſh* is alledged to have been the chief Cauſe of our Queen *Mary*'s Death.

The Doctor's Second Journey.

14. As you travel from *Paris*, in a Kind of *Dutch Treck-ſchuyt* along the River *Sein*, you paſs by *Charenton*, a curious little Place, ſeated on the Banks of the *Marn* and *Sein*, and once famous for the Privileges the *Proteſtants* enjoyed there. Above it is a neat Houſe belonging to *Madamoiſelle*. In the next Place is *Corbeil*, of no great Conſequence, the *Caſtrum Corbolium* of the *Latins*, called by *Cæſar Joſedum* or *Metroſedum* on the *Sein*, where its Waters are mixed with thoſe of the *Juin* or the *Eſtampes*.

Higher up, on the River, you ſee another little Place, about four or five Leagues from *Corbeil*, call'd *Melun*, (the *Melodunum* of the ancient *Romans*) which gives Title to the Viſcounts of a very ancient Family. Here the River *Sein* dividing into two Branches, makes a little Iſland, which you paſs by two good Bridges. The Barge, which carries you from *Fountainbleau* down the River to *Paris*, being drawn by three or four Horſes, runs in ten or twelve Hours, ſixteen of their Leagues, or about forty-eight *Engliſh* Miles. In the Woods thereabouts I took Notice of the *Milyſſophillum*, *Orobanchæ*, *Rapum Geniſtæ*, Ger. Park. *Cariophillum olens*, C. B. our *Broom-rape*, *Polygonatum*, *Latifol. vulg.* C. B. the *Solomon's Seal*, beſides all Sorts of Spurges of the *Eſſula* and *Tythimalus* Kind.

The next Place we came to from *Fountainbleau* was *Nemours*, having nothing remarkable, except that it gave Title to the ancient Dukes of that Name. Near it is the Abbey of *Surcaſſon*, of the Order of St. *Bernard*. Here we obſerved the Women of the Town (even ſuch as were in very good Habit) to come to the Inns to collect Alms from Travellers for the Poor.

From hence we travelled on to *Montargis*, an old walled Town, but of no great Note, except that being Part of the *Demeſnes* belonging to the Crown, it gives Title to the King's Brother, who is Duke of *Orleans* and *Montargis*; it has, however, a very ancient Church, with curious Pillars, and an antique Caſtle built in the Midſt of Ruins: The preſent King's only Brother has laid the Foundation of a Church here; but it remains unfiniſhed, there being nothing compleated but a ſmall Portico, in which, on a black Tablet of Marble, is a *French* Inſcription with Golden Letters, intimating, that he laid the firſt Stone of this Church in 1677, in Memory of his Victories obtained in the Battles of *Mont-caſſel*, St. *Omer*, and *Buchar*.

From *Montargis* we continued our Journey to *Briare*, whither Cardinal *Richlieu* cauſed a Canal to be brought from *Bleſneau*, a Tract of twenty Miles, and thereby made a Communication betwixt the *Loing* (which falls into the *Sein*) and the River *Loir*, ſo that by the Help of Sluices, Boats can paſs through all three; the Banks of the *Loir* lying all along on the Flats, as you ſee near the Sea-ſhore, make it a very pleaſant River. Near it we found the *Cariophillus marinus*, Ger. Hob. *Juncus* C. B. or the *Sea-Gilliflower*, which is rarely found in Inland Countries, but commonly in Salt Marſhes near the Sea-ſide.

15. From hence we paſſed through *Coſne*, a little Place noted for the making of Knives, and ſome Mills for poliſhing Iron and Steel, and ſo in Sight of *la Charite*, an inconſiderable Place, to *Nevers*, ſeated near the Conflux of the *Loir* and the *Nibatre*, the Capital of the Territory of *Nivernois*, though the Houſes are but meanly built, repreſenting more of Antiquity than Beauty. It is a Biſhop's See, Suffragan to that of *Sens*, and gives Title to the *Dukes* of *Nevers*, (now in the Family of Cardinal *Mazarine*.) *Cæſar* mentions it under the Name of *Nipernum* or *Noviodunum*.

The next Place we came to was *Moulins*, near which are the ſo much celebrated Waters of *Bourbon*, even in the Time of the *Romans*; they are of the Nature of our *Baths* and thoſe of *Aix la Chapelle*, compoſed of a bitumenous Subſtance, impregnated with an Alcaliſate Salt; which being mixed with an Acid, cauſes a Fermentation and produces the ſame Effect on Syrup of Violets as the Salt of Tartar, turning it green. Of late they have been much uſed inwardly againſt the *Gout* and other nervous Diſtempers. The above-mentioned Town of *Moulins* is of no great Extent, though once the Reſidence of the Family of *Bourbon*, who built a handſome Caſtle here; the Inhabitants are reputed excellent Workmen in Steel and Iron, Knives and Sciſſars, &c.

Among their Churches and Convents (of which they have ſeveral) thoſe of the *Carthuſians* and of the *Viſitation* are moſt remarkable, the laſt containing the Monument of the Great Duke of *Montmorency*, who was ſacrificed to the Power of the Cardinal *Richlieu*. The whole Chapel conſiſts only of a ſmall Cupola to cover him; his Canopy and Armour is ſupported by Angels, with his own Effigies and that of his diſconſolate Lady lying by him in an elevated Tomb, with the Statues of *Pallas*, *Hercules*, *Charity* and *Religion*, all of the choiceſt Marble, much beyond their natural Grandeur, with this Inſcription to his Memory.

> *Henrico II. Montmorenciaei Ducum ultimo, optimo & maximo, Franciæ Pari, Thalaſſiarcho, Polemarco, Terrori hoſtium, Amori ſuorum.*
>
> *Maria felix Urſina, ex Romana Stirpe Conjux unica, cui ex immenſis viri Divitiis, una amor viventis, & defuncti Cineres, fæliciſſimo poſt exactos Conjugis annos* XVIII. *Marito incomparabili, de quo dolere nihil unquam poterat, niſi mortem bene merenti poſuit. Ann. Sal.* MIↃLII. *Sui luctus* XX.

It is remarkable, that they were forced to behead him in the Town-houſe for Fear of the Populace, whoſe Darling he was; his Dutcheſs was ſo highly afflicted at his Death, that ſhe forſook the World and retired into this Monaſtery, where ſhe ended her Days in Tears for the Loſs of a Huſband ſhe loved more than her own Life. I was credibly informed, by a Perſon who was well acquainted in that Family, that her Fondneſs to the Duke was ſuch, that ſhe would not ſtick to aſſiſt him in his Amours.

We had hitherto travelled for the moſt part through fertile Plains; but coming near to St. *Sapherin* and *Breſle*, two ſmall Places, we paſſed through Mountains covered with Pines and Firs, which afforded great Variety of Plants: Thoſe I took Notice of *en paſſant* were, the *Polygala Lutea*, called by *Chabre*, *Polygala vulg. maj. fol.*

fol. anguſtiſſimus, a Kind of *Milk-wort*; the *Meliſophillum* or *wild Baum*; the *Bellis Cærulca Monſpel*, though growing alſo in other Parts of *France*; *blue Daiſies*. In the Woods we obſerved the ſeveral Species of *Orchis*, *Spurges* of all Kinds, but eſpecially the *Tithymalus Cupriſſicus*.

16. From *Breſle* we ſoon came to *Lyons*, the largeſt City of *France* next to *Paris*, ſeated at the Confluence of the *Soan* and the *Rhoſne*; the laſt runs here with a ſwift Current, and over the firſt they keep a Chain of Boats link'd together, to prevent Barks from paſſing by without paying Cuſtom. Its Situation was anciently, as well as now, at the Conflux of theſe two Rivers, as appears from a Paſſage in *Seneca*; and that its Name was *Lugdunum* among the *Romans*, is evident from the following Inſcription found at *Gaeta* in *Italy*.

> *L. Minutius* 2 *L. Fil. L. N. L. pro N. Plancus*
> *Caſſ. Cenſ. Imper. iter VII. Vir Epulon:*
> *Triumph. ex Rhetis ædem Saturni fecit de manubiis*
> *agros diviſit in* Italia *Beneveriti*, *in* Gallia *colonias*
> *deduxit.* LUGDUNUM & *Rauracum.*

Part of the City is built on the Hills of *Tornir* and St. *Sebaſtian*, the reſt along the Banks of the Rivers; the Market-place is handſome, and the Town-houſe (lately built) a fine Structure. In the *Carmelites* Church is an Altar of *Agate* and *Lapis Lazuli*; the *Capuchins* have all the pretended Miracles of their Saint painted on the Walls of the Cloyſter; among which you ſee one where he pays his Apothecary with Prayers inſtead of Money.

The Church of St. *John* is their Cathedral, the Chapter compoſed of Gentlemen of the beſt Families, and formerly boaſted of having had therein ſeveral Kings and Princes: They compute, that in the thirteenth Century they had, at the ſame Time, one Son of an Emperor, nine Sons of Kings, fourteen Dukes Sons, thirty of Counts, and twenty of Barons; there belong no leſs than three Churches to this Chapter, *viz.* that of St. *John* before-mentioned, of St. *Stephen*, and of the *Holy Croſs*; in the firſt is to be ſeen the Clock ſo much celebrated for the Variety of its Motions and Mechaniſm. The *Huguenots*, during the Civil Wars, knock'd down many of the Heads of the Saints that were placed to adorn the Front of this Church. Their *Theatres* and *Operas* are not inferior here to thoſe of *Paris*; and the *Jeſuits* College upon the *Rhoſne* is the fineſt Structure in the whole City, being a regular Quadrangle curiouſly painted in *Freſco*, which is ſomewhat defaced on the Eaſt Side, where the Weſt Winds from the Mountains bear upon it: I found them to perform their publick Exerciſes much after the ſame Manner as they do at *Paris*. Their Chapel has a fine Altar-piece of *Lapis Lazuli*, and an excellent Piece of Painting by *Blanchard*, who died while we were there. The Apartment for their Library is ſpacious and handſome, but the Books not extraordinary, and at that Time were all diſordered, by reaſon of a late Fire that broke out in the College; they have, however, ſome Manuſcripts of the Bible, but not very old; and *Pliny*'s *Natural Hiſtory* and *Decades* finely printed on Vellum about two hundred Years ago, all the capital Letters in Miniature, gilt and embelliſhed as we ſee the old Maſs-books. The moſt valuable Piece of the whole Library is a Manuſcript of the ſame Author's *Natural Hiſtory*, four or five hundred Years old; many obſolete Words, ſuch as *illod*, *jocondiſſimo*, &c. demonſtrate it to be a Piece of a conſiderable Antiquity.

The Abbey of *Daiſne*, juſt without the Town, is an ancient Piece of Architecture, which very good *Moſaick* Work, the Picture of God the Father (excellently done) being almoſt defaced by Age. This Abbey is the ſame Place where *Caligula* had erected his *Athenæum* for the Improvement of the *Greek* and *Latin* Tongues, (mentioned by *Suetonius*) Rewards and Puniſhments being propoſed to ſuch as did either well or ill; to this *Juvenal* alludes,

> *Palleat ut nudis preſſit qui calcibus anguem,*
> *Aut Lugdunenſem Rhetor dicturus ad aram.*

Here they ſhew you the ſo much celebrated Buckler of *Scipio*, which, upon due Enquiry, is ſo far from being his Buckler, that it is rather a Baſin or Diſh well gilt and emboſs'd; for, according to the ancient Form of Armoury, it is too unwieldy, and its Concavity within no Way adapted to the Bending of the Arm and covering the Body. Add to this, that all Bucklers both ancient and modern, have their Ornaments of Painting or Gilding on the Outſide, and not within the Concavity; and I remember, that talking with M. *Patin*, a great Antiquary of *Padua*, upon this Subject, he was of the ſame Opinion; it being crack'd, it was cramp'd on the Back with ſmall Irons Bars. They have here a more authentick Piece of Antiquity, I mean the Speech of *Claudius*, who was born here; it is to be ſeen in the Front walk of the Town houſe, and the Word *illod* for *illud*, and the old *Roman* Punctuation, betwixt every Word, ſufficiently ſhews its Antiquity. They have alſo ſome Obeliſks, but not ſo ancient as thoſe at *Rome*; that near the *Jacobins* Church is inſcribed ↄ W ↄ. τῷ Θεῷ παντοσοτηρίαν παρακλητῷ ἱερὸν.

Their St. *Peter*'s Nunnery is a fine Foundation, and the parochial Church of St. *Niege*, adorned with ſeveral fine Pieces of Painting by *le Brun*.

17. The Priſon of the City is built upon a Rock, unto which they have cut out a Way with vaſt Charge and Difficulty; but it was probable that this was rather done to make a Way into the Town by the Water-ſide, it extending, perhaps, before out into the River, which now runs juſt by the Street that lies under the Rocks. This Place being ſeated on the Confines of *Italy*, was one of the beſt Magazines of the *Romans* in *Gaul*; ſome of the greateſt Men of *Rome* have honoured it either by their Birth or Abode, beſides the Emperors *Claudius*, *Germanicus*, *Geta*, *Caracalla*; and here are ſtill to be ſeen ſome Remnants of the *Roman* Antiquities, of their Baths, Aqueducts, and Part of an Amphitheatre. At preſent the King's Treaſury for that Part of *France* is kept here, and another called the *Court of Commerce*. Two General Councils have been held at *Lyons*, in 1245, under *Innocent* IV. and in 1274, by *Gregory* XI; beſides which, they had ſeveral Synods here long before, as that aſſembled by St. *Irenæus* in 197, and another in the Time of St. *Cyprian*, under *Fauſtinus* Biſhop of *Lyons*; it was upon this Occaſion St. *Cyprian* writ that Letter to the Pope, which begins thus, *Fauſtinus Collega noſter Lugduni conſiſtens*, &c. In my Walks about the *Carmelites* Church-walls I obſerved the *Fumaria major ſcandens*, the *large Fumitory*; the *Muſcatellina fol. fumariæ bulboſæ* J. B. or the *Radix cava minima*, Ger. the *Muſkwood Crowfoot*; *Bellis major*, the *Enneaphyllon* of *Pliny*, or the *great baſtard Hellebore*; the *Hypericum vulg.* C. B. St. *John*'s *Wort*. About the City grows alſo the *Anchuſa Lutea*, a Kind of *baſtard Gromel* with a yellow Flower.

I was not a little ſurprized to ſee ſo fruitful a Soil as all the Country betwixt *Lyons* and *Savoy* (called *Dauphiny*) almoſt deſtitute of Inhabitants, though well enough cultivated in many Places; but upon Enquiry found, that this Part of the Country being allotted for Winter-quarters to the *French* Horſe, the Peaſants uſed to come thither only in the Spring, to ſow the Seed, and in the Summer to reap the Product thereof, and ſo retire into other Parts. This fertile Tract of *Dauphiny* brought us to the utmoſt Borders of *France* on that Side, *viz. Pontebeauvoſin*, an obſcure Place ſeated upon an inconſiderable River called *Gyer*, which, however, is the common Boundary here betwixt *France* and *Savoy*. The chiefeſt Plants of Note I obſerved in *Dauphiny* were, the *Valeriana rubr. anguiſol.* C. B. the narrow-leafed red *Valerian*; the *Radix Rodia* or *Roſewort*, in great Plenty; *Linaria fol. Bellidis* J. B. a Kind of *Toad-flax* with a Daiſy Flower; *Imperatoria vulg.* or the common *Maſterwort*; *Parietaria cerulea quædam*, a Sort of blue *Pellitory*; the *Catanance fol. Cyani Dalech. fl. Coronop.* J. B. which *Chabreus* would have the *Siſameidis minus Matth.* a certain Graſs with the Leaves of the *Bluebottles* and Flowers of the *Buckthorn Plantain*.

We were no ſooner paſſed the Bridge of *Pontbeavoiſin*, but we were ſenſible of the Difference of the Country; for whereas we had left behind us the fertile Plains of *Dauphiny*, the other Side of the Banks of the ſame River repreſented to our View the frightful *Alps*, the Precipices whereof would have been more dreadful to us, had not the many Vineyards we found on the firſt Aſcent taken off a great Part of the Horror we had conceived at the firſt Sight of them.

As you aſcend the firſt Rocks, you ſee and hear the Cataracts of the River *Guyre* among the Precipices, over which you ride by a Way cut out and ſupported by Art: Along this terrible Road I found among the wild Hedges the *Oxyacantha*, the *Privet*, *Liguſtrum & Vaccinia nigra*. From this narrow Paſſage you proceed further into the *Alps*, where the Duke of *Savoy* has made a Road thro' the Middle of the Rock, near which is erected a Stone with this Latin Inſcription:

> *Carolus Emanuel II.*
>
> *Subaudiæ Dux. Pedem. Princeps. Cypri Rex. Publicâ fœlicitate partâ ſingulorum commodis attentus, breviorem ſecurioremque viam Regiam, à natura occluſam, Romanis intentatam, cæteris deſperatam, dejectis ſcopulorum Repagulis, æquatâ montium iniquitate, quæ Cervicibus imminebant, præcipitia pedibus ſubſternens, æternis populorum Commerciis patefecit. Anno Domini*, 1670.

About half-way betwixt this noted Paſſage and *Chambery* you ſee a delightful Fall of Water, from one of the higheſt Rocks, which being continued afterwards by three or four more gradual Falls joining into a Current, and from a vaſt Height ſpreading itſelf among the craggy Precipices, produces here a natural, but more pleaſant Caſcade than all the Art and Expences of *Verſailles* are able to afford.

From hence we proceeded to *Chambery* through a Sort of a Valley, (in reſpect of the other Mountains) a Town not ſo conſiderable at preſent as in former Ages, when it could boaſt the Reſidence of the Dukes of *Savoy*, but now has nothing to ſhew but old Houſes and Walls, and a ruined Ditch about them; it is the *Cameriacum* of the *Latins*, and ſtill the Capital of the Dutchy of *Savoy*, where their Parliament is conveen'd, and the Chamber of Accounts kept: Its Situation is on the little River *Orban*, in a Sort of a Valley ſurrounded with Mountains; the Churches and Convent, the Town-houſe, Market-place, and a great Number of Fountains, make ſome tolerable Show. Here we firſt obſerved what we afterwards found common over all *Italy*, the Houſes built ſo as to jet out into the Streets, and ſupported by Pillars, which form a Sort of Alley or Cloyſter, under which you may paſs ſecure from Rain and the Heat of the Sun. The Mall without the Town is handſome. Another ſuch Plain brought us to *Montmelian*, a Place of great Strength both by Nature and Art, in *Savoy*, ſeated on a high Rock at ſuch a convenient Diſtance from the adjacent Mountains, that though they overlook it, they don't command it; the River *Hero* runs by the Town that bears the ſame Name with the Caſtle, with an impetuous Current, and joining with the *Arche*, another rapid River made by the melted Snow, falls into the *Rhoſne* at *Arbigny*, a little Place above *Montmelian*, as the *Iſere* does at *Grenoble*, the Acceſſion of theſe rapid Rivers being the true Occaſion of the impetuous Courſe of that River. This Fortreſs is the Key of the Mountains on this Side, as *Suſa* is on the other; but notwithſtanding its Strength, it was taken by the *French* in 1691, and is now demoliſhed.

The Country hereabouts being all mountainous, hath a very indifferent Proſpect, except ſome few Valleys, which ſeem to promiſe ſomething of Fertility; and the People looking as meagre and dejected as the Soil is barren, they ſeem to be made for one another, and adapted to that Slavery they are forced to ſuffer from their Prince, who has modelled his Government after that of *France*.

We had ſcarce paſſed the River *Iſere* at *Montmelian*, but we came into a Valley much more pleaſant than any we had yet met with in *Savoy*, and continuing our Way toward *Argentier*, we met the roaring River *Arche*, which at that Time (it being Midſummer) was ſo ſwelled by the melted Snow from the Mountains, that we were forced to leave the ordinary Road near the Waterſide, and, inſtead thereof, climb up a dreadful Precipice, called by them Mount *Greny* or *Grezy*, as high if not higher than Mount *Cenis* itſelf. On the middle Region of this Mountain you ſee a few ſmall Farm-houſes, there being thereabouts ſome cultivated Ground, which you can perceive below, but when you come to it, you find another Mountain riſing upon the former, like *Pelion* upon *Oſſa*: The Froth and Sediments which are by the Impetuoſity of the River *Arche* forced down from the Mountains, make its Waters appear in the Valley as black as Pitch, almoſt like the Waſhes of Dye-houſes.

We kept however along the Current of this River for ſome time through *Argentier*, *Eſperies*, and *la Chambrey*, inconſiderable Places, and we no ſooner left the laſt, but we were forced to climb up the Mount, by Reaſon of the Inundation of the River *Arche*, the Deſcent whereof brought us to St. *John Morienne*, once the chief City of the *Madulli*, and an Archbiſhop's See, which gave the Title of Earls of *Morienne* to the Dukes of *Savoy*. From hence we went on to St. *Michael*, a low watery Place: On the Top of the Mountain I obſerved as well as I could, the *Mentha Cattaria montana*, *Valeriana Alpin. Latifol. Valerian. Alpina Anguſtifol.* the *Caryophill. Alpin. minimus*; the ſmall *Mountain Pink* of the *Alps*; afterwards I found it in great Plenty on another Hill. St. *Michael* was formerly a Convent, but now only a Village, near the Banks of the River *Arche*, which they paſs over hereabouts by Bridges of Timber made of the Trunks of young Fir and Pines, laid athwart, which being round and ill joined, tremble under your Feet as you paſs them.

The next Place we came to was St. *Andre*, an inconſiderable Town ſeated among the Mountains; juſt over againſt it is ſuch another Caſcade or high Waterfall, but not altogether ſo diverting as that near *Chambery*. The Current of this River, rendered impetuous by various Waterfalls, is almoſt like the Torrents of our Mill-pools, but more foul and furious. I took Notice hereabouts of the *Abſinth. Latifol. Ponticum* or *Rom.* and the *Abſinth. tenuifol. minus*, which ſome would have to be *Abſinth. Commune minus* of *Geſner* and *Gerard*. Above St. *Andre* the River *Arche* is, at a Place called *Termignon*, augmented by a Channel of Water coming from another Part of the Mountains, which brought us to *Laſnebourgh* or *Lanſebourgh*, a Place that has nothing remarkable, except its Situation at the Foot of Mount *Cenis*: Here croſſing the River *Arche*, we took our Leave of it, which riſes about two Leagues above this Place with a pure but ſmall Source, and affords in the Neighbourhood as well taſted *Trouts* as our beſt Rivers. We were now come to the Paſſage of Mount *Cenis*, (the *Ciniſcum* of the Ancients) which we performed by the Help of Mules we were furniſhed with at *Laſnebourg*. This Mount exceeds in Height thoſe of St. *Goddard* and *Sampion*, by which you enter *Italy* from *Switzerland*: Mount *Cenis* being in ſome Places covered with Pine and Fir-trees from the Top to the Bottom, aſcending regularly one above another with the gradual Riſing of the Mountain, affords the moſt natural Grove that can either be deviſed by Art or expreſſed by the Pencil. About *May* theſe Mountains open the vaſt Storehouſes of Snow, which melting by Degrees till *October*, (when they begin to harden again) make the Rivers ſwell hereabouts in the Heat of the Summer, when the Sources of moſt other Rivers are very near exhauſted.

The Paſſage of Mount *Cenis*, notwithſtanding its Height, is not very unpleaſant; the Precipices being not perpendicular, gave our Eyes Liberty to look about with leſs Trouble, and the Slowneſs of our Cattle (which made me walk on Foot) allowed me ſufficient Opportunity to expatiate a little Way out of the Road, and to take Notice of a great many Plants; but having loſt the Collection at Sea, I can only give ſuch as I accidentally remembered and ſince ſet down, *viz.* the *Caryoph. Alpin. minor* in prodigious Quantities; the *German. Columbinum*, and what is more remarkable, the *Geran. Argent. Alpinum*; the Cranes-bill; the *Hyacinth. Cæruleus Ger.* or *Racemoſus cærul. minor*, C. B. *Juncifol.* toward the Bottom out of Flower; *Calceolus Mariæ, ad Ger. Elleborine major.* Park. *Stell. flor. rotund.* C. B. About the Bottom, *Helleborine flor. alb.* C. B. or *Damaſonium Alpinum* J. B. the little, wild, white *Hellebore*; *Iris fl. albo*; the great white-flower'd *Iris*, or *Flower de Luce* wild; the *Herba Paralyſis* or *Paralytica Alpina*, out of Flower; the *Caryophillat. Montan.* or *Caryophillat. Alpin. Lutea*; Caſp. B. *yellow Mountain*; *Avens, flos Carophill. Alpinus pumilio dictus*; the little Dwarf-mountain Pink, or rather a *Lychnis*, agreeing with the Deſcription of *Ger.* who from its *Calix* calls it of the *Lychnis* Kind; *Sedum Alpinum, Exigui fol.* C. B. *Sedum Alpin. minim. flor. carneo, Schol. Botan. Helleborus niger*, Lob; *verus* Park. Ger. *fl. Albo & Atro rubente*; the *black Hellebore, Gentian. maj. fl. lut.* &c.

I took this Opportunity to make a ſtrict Examination of the Snow, as it lay incruſtated in hard Cakes on the very Top of the Mountains; ſome of theſe are ſuch as have lain there for ſeveral Years, the Sunbeams not being able to diſſolve them quite, by reaſon of their vaſt Thickneſs.

In the Midſt of the Top of Mount *Cenis*, near the Road, (which is flank'd by other higher Rocks) you ſee a pretty large Lake gather'd, queſtionleſs, by the melted Snows, as the Coldneſs of the Water ſeems to teſtify; in the Midſt of it the Duke has a handſome Houſe, and another juſt by the Road; one for Devotion (of which the Prieſts take Care) and the other for his Diverſion, which lies almoſt in Ruins by Neglect. Here it is you take Carriages to deſcend the Mountain, being only wooden Chairs carried by two Poles: By this Carriage you are convey'd down the rocky Precipices, which are however not ſo dangerous or dreadful as ſome have repreſented them; for though your Horſes are led about a further Way, you may deſcend, for the moſt part, without much Difficulty on Foot, which I choſe rather to do, than be jolted in theſe uneaſy Chairs. Here is alſo a little Hoſpital for ſuch as fall ſick by the Way, and a ſmall Chapel to bury ſuch as periſh in the Snow, from thence called the *Tranſit*. The Plain on the Top of this Mountain (which is about four Miles long) has alſo an Inn for the accommodating Paſſengers, ſuitable to the Circumſtances of the Place: The Aſcent is accounted four Miles, but the Deſcent no more than two. *Novaleſe* has not any Thing remarkable, except its being the utmoſt Frontier of *Savoy* near the River *Semar*, which joins its Waters with the *Doria* at *Suſa*, where begins the Principality of *Piedmont*.

18. Though the *French* live under the moſt deſpotick Government in *Europe*, yet they are ſo fond of it, that they laugh at other Governments, which do not come up to that abſolute Power, of which they frame themſelves ſuch pleaſant Imaginations, that in the Midſt of their Slavery they find out an *Oligarchy* in their Council of State, an *Ariſtocracy* in their Parliaments, and a *Democracy* in their City Governments, adminiſtred by Provoſts, Mayors, and Merchants, and thereby would introduce into the World the moſt perfect Mixture of a Commonwealth; when, to ſpeak truly, all theſe different Qualifications make up but one entire Chain of Slavery. They boaſt of the Policy of *France* as loudly as of their Conqueſts; and it muſt be confeſs'd, that in their Military Affairs they follow, in many Things, the Footſteps of the ancient *Romans*, but want their Honeſty and true Generoſity. The Body of the People is compoſed of the Nobility, Huſbandmen, Artificers and Traders; the Peaſants, being condemned to perpetual Drudgery, furniſh the Field with Labourers and Soldiers, for when they are ſuck'd to the very Marrow by the Gentry and Tax-gatherers, they muſt either chuſe to ſtarve at Home, or ſeek for a Livelihood (ſuch an one as it is) in the King's Armies. Artificers and Traders are much encouraged in *France*, being the Court-Sponges, from whence they ſqueeze out what Juice they have gather'd before by one Means or other. The King commonly picks out the moſt ingenious among them for his own Service, and the reſt are employ'd in converting the Products of *France* into Manufactures exported into Foreign Parts.

The Clergy of *France* has of late been look'd upon with ſomewhat of a jealous Eye by the Laity, both by Reaſon of the Encreaſe of their Number, and ſeveral Eccleſiaſtical Uſurpations; theſe Encroachments of the Clergy at Home, and the pretended Power from the Popes Abroad, has made them revive our Lord *Digby*'s Diſtinction betwixt the Church of *Rome* and the Court of *Rome*, and not to be ſo fond of the *Jure Divino* Doctrine of the Prieſthood, but that the Privileges of the *Gallican* Church, and the *Regale*, have been made to give Laws to both; witneſs the Synod and the Decrees made there in 1682, againſt Pope *Innocent* XI; the Profeſſion of the *Proteſtant* Religion being to be rooted out, ſome were for attempting it by mild Ways, which were follow'd at firſt, but ſoon changed for Fire and Sword, as the moſt effectual Means, either to make them fly the Kingdom, or to comply with the King's expreſs Commands. This is differently taken among the *French*, according as they are more or leſs devoted to that unchriſtian Doctrine of the Extirpation of Hereſy.

19. The Remarks of this Gentleman are ſuch as might be expected from one of his Education and Profeſſion; and as he doth not ſeem to be prepoſſeſſed in Favour of the *French*, ſo there appear on the other Hand no Signs of Prejudice againſt them. This may be juſtly eſteemed a peculiar and a conſiderable Advantage to his Writings, for, generally ſpeaking, moſt of our Travellers take one or other of theſe Turns. If they are Men of Vivacity, they grow fond of *French* Cuſtoms, and of *French* Notions, receive for Goſpel every Thing that they are told, magnifying in their Relations both the Country and its Inhabitants, and labour to perſuade ſuch as read their Writings, that *France* is the fineſt Part of *Europe*; and the *French* Nation out of all Compariſon the moſt powerful People in it. Such again as embrace oppoſite Sentiments, run with equal Violence into the other Extream; they find nothing lovely in the Place, and exclaim perpetually at the Slavery, the Poverty, and the Vanity of the People. Whoever takes his Notions of *France*, and the *French*, as a Nation, from either of theſe Sort of Writers, will be infallibly miſled; and as in the preſent Situation of Things eſpecially, Miſtakes of this kind may be extremely fatal, by tending to inſpire an Apprehenſion, that the Power of the moſt Chriſtian King is irreſiſtable, and therefore it is to no Purpoſe to oppoſe; or to create an Opinion that the Power of *France* is a mere Bugbear; and that at the Bottom, notwithſtanding the Noiſe that is made about it, we have little or nothing to fear. To overturn both theſe Errors, and to give the Reader as near as may be a true Picture of the preſent State of that Kingdom, we will enter into a ſhort political Anatomy of it, which, as it could not be expected from Travellers, ſo it may ſerve as a Supplement at leaſt for ſome Time, to whatever has been publiſhed of that kind. We have taken a great deal of Pains to become, in ſome Meaſure, Maſters of this Point, and we ſhall report what has been the Reſult of our Inquiries as conciſely, as correctly, and with as much Candour as is poſſible.

It is very certain that in Point of Situation and Extent, the Dominions of the Crown of *France* are very conſiderable; they lie between the forty ſecond and the fifty ſecond Degrees of North Latitude, in the ſixth, ſeventh and eighth Northern Climates; ſo that they enjoy a very pleaſant and wholeſome Air, and generally ſpeaking a rich and fruitful Soil, which by the Way however is far enough from being improved to the utmoſt Advantage. From Weſt to Eaſt, that is, from Point *Conqueſt* in *Britany*, to the City of *Straſburgh* in *Alſace*, they reach pretty near ſix hundred Miles; and from South to North, that is, from the Frontiers of *Rouſillon* to *Dunkirk*, they extend upwards of five hundred Miles.

But there is another Method of computing, which will prove more ſatiſfactory than this to the intelligent Reader. *France*, according to the exacteſt Computation, contains about a twentieth Part of *Europe*, and is certainly much better peopled than *Spain*, *Italy*, *Ruſſia*, *Sweden* or *Denmark*, but is not near ſo populous as *Holland*, *England*, or ſome Parts of *Germany*. If we could depend upon the *French* Accounts, we ſhould reckon there are in it twenty Millions of People, but it is very certain that they are apt to ſtretch in their Computations, and that according to the eſtabliſhed Rules of political Arithmetick, we cannot affirm the Number of its Inhabitants to be above fourteen Millions, and, in my own Opinion, even this Calculation is rather too high, conſidering that, according to their own Reckoning, the Number of Perſons in Religious Houſes, that is to ſay, both Men and Women, amount to four hundred Thouſand. As to their Secular Clergy, I never ſaw any juſt Computation, but I think there cannot be much fewer, and if we take in thoſe, who from other Conſiderations lay themſelves under Obligations of leading ſingle Lives, the Number will not fall much ſhort of a Million, which muſt be a prodigious Drawback on their Increaſe as a People.

This great Country is divided into thirty ſix Governments, of which that of *Paris* is eſteemed the firſt, that is to ſay, diſtinguiſhing it, and the Diſtrict dependant upon it, from the Iſle of *France*. It is ſaid to contain fifty one Pariſhes, fifty two Monaſteries for Men, ſeventy eight Convents for Women, ſixteen Hoſpitals, fifty Hotels, five Royal Palaces, fifty Colleges, twelve Suburbs, and ſix hundred and fifty ſix Streets. 2. The Iſle of *France*, which is generally ſpeaking a good Country and well inhabited. 3. *Picardy*, a very fine Province, yielding plenty of Corn and Fruits; the Capital of which is *Amiens*. 4. *Champagne*, famous for Corn, Cattle and Wine; its Capital is *Troie*. 5. *Burgundy*, a very large, and very fertile Country; its Capital *Dijon*. 6. *Dauphine*, ſomewhat mountainous, but generally ſpeaking well cultivated, and the Valleys very fruitful; the Capital *Grenoble*. 7. *Provence*, which though it cannot boaſt of producing much Corn or Graſs, it is remarkable for its Wines, Oils, Saffron, and a great Variety of Fruits; the Capital is *Aix*. 8. *Languedoc*, is the largeſt and by many accounted the beſt Province in the Kingdom, producing great Quantities of Corn, Fruit, and Wine; the Capital is *Toulouze*. 9. *La Foix*, ſo called from its Capital, is neither large nor fruitful. 10. *Bern* and the lower *Navarre* are accounted but one Province; the Capitol of the former is *Pau*, and of the latter St. *John Pie de Port*. 11. *Guiene*, is a very fine, and a very rich Province; the Capital of which is *Bourdeaux*. 12. *Saintonge* and *l'Angoumois* make but one Government, tho' it has two Capitals, *viz. Saintes* and *Angouleſeme*. 13. The Country of *Aunis* is very ſmall, but very fertile and well peopled; the Capital is *Rochelle*. 14. *Poitou* is a very large Province, about 180 Miles from Weſt to Eaſt, but not the fineſt Country; the Capital is *Poictiers*. 15. *Brittany* is very fertile in Corn and Paſtures, has in it many rich Mines, and is well ſeated for Trade; the Capital is *Rennes*. 16. *Normandy*, which once belong'd to us, is one of the faireſt and fineſt of the *French* Provinces, though it produces no Wines; the Capital is *Rouen*. 17. *Havre de Grace*, a very ſmall Government, taken out of *Normandy* purely on the Score of the important Port which gives a Name to it, and is its Capital. 18. *Maine* and *Perche*; the Capital of the former is *Nantz*, of the latter *Mortagne*, paſſable Countries both, but nothing extraordinary. 19. *Orleanois*, famous for its Wines; the Capital is *Orleans*, which gives the Title of Duke to the ſecond Son of *France*. 20. *Nivernois*, a very ſmall Country ſeated on the *Loire*, and conſequently both fruitful and pleaſant: There are alſo ſome Iron Mines in it; the Capital is *Nevers*. 21. *Bourbonnois*, a good Country, which is alſo full of Wines, and famous alſo for its Baths near the Caſtle of *Bourbon*; the Capital is *Moulins*. 22. *Lionnois*, a rich and noble Country; its Capital is the famous City of *Lyons*, remarkable on many Accounts, but chiefly for its being the Seat of the Silk Manufacture. 23. *Auvergne*, a large Province, in which are found all the Neceſſaries of Life; and the Inhabitants of which are conſidered as the beſt Farmers in *France*; the Capital is *Clermont*. 24. The *Limouſin*, a barren mountainous Country, the Inhabitants of which however are very induſtrious; the Capital is *Limoge*. 25. *Marche*, a ſmall, well watered Country; the Capital of which is *Gueret*. 26. *Berry*; it is ſaid to have the fineſt Meadows and Paſtures in *France*; it produces a great deal of Wool, and therefore moſt of the Cloth Manufactures are in this Country. 27. *Touraine*, commonly called the Garden of *France*: Few Provinces boaſt of better, and none has ſo little bad Land; the Capital of it is *Tours*. 28. *Anjou*, a very fine well watered Country; the Capital of which is *Angiers*. 29. The *Saumurois*, taken out of *Anjou*, a ſmall Country, the Capital of which is *Saumur*. 30. *French Flanders*, the richeſt and fineſt Province belonging to the *French* Crown; the Capital is *Liſle*. 31. *Dunkirk*; this Town and Diſtrict makes a Government, ever ſince it was ſold by us in 1662. 32. *Metz* and *Verdun*; the former is ſituated at the Conflux of the *Seille* and the *Moſelle*, and is now one of the ſtrongeſt Fortreſſes in *Europe*. *Verdun* upon the *Meuſe* is large, populous, and well fortified. 33. *Toul* upon the *Moſelle*; this, with the other two Cities before mentioned, are commonly ſtiled the three Biſhopricks, and were taken out of *Lorrain* before the whole of that Country became a Sacrifice to the *French* Ambition. 34. *Alſace*, a large, fruitful and rich Country, torn from the Empire with little or no Pretence, and kept, as it was got, by Force; its Capital *Strasbourg*. 35. *Franche Comte*, or, as it is commonly called, the County of *Burgundy*, fruitful in Wine, Corn and Wood; another Conqueſt without Right; the Capital of which is *Biſancon*. 36. *Rouſillon*, a mountainous and barren Country, the Capital of which is *Perpignan*.

Theſe Governments were thus eſtabliſhed in 1698. by *Louis* XIV. They have ſuffered ſome Alteration ſince, and are liable to the like Changes from the Will and Pleaſure of the King, who may if he pleaſes join two of them together, or ſeparate them if he thinks fit. The Reaſon we have mentioned them ſo particularly is, that we may ſhow how they are governed; and by that Means how much *France* is changed from what it was, and how effectually the Power of the Crown is eſtabliſhed. In every Province there is a Governor, who is a Perſon of the firſt Rank, and his Poſt is generally for Life; but as it is ſuppoſed that he cannot always attend the Functions of his Office, the King appoints a Lieutenant General if it be a ſmall Province, if a large one, two or three, each of which has his particular Diſtrict, in which his Power is independant. Beſides theſe Lieutenant Generals, there are alſo the King's Lieutenants, who have ſmaller Diſtricts; and the Governors of Towns are likewiſe appointed by the Crown, and are independant of the other Officers. In Places that have Citadels, thoſe have likewiſe their Governors independant of the Governor of the Town, and by the Help of theſe Checks it is impoſſible for thoſe Diſturbances to happen, which were ſo frequent in every Reign before the laſt. Heretofore it was common for the King to grant the Survivorſhip of the Government to the Son or next Relation of the Governor; but now another Method is taken, for the Father actually reſigns to the Son, who has the Title, but the Exerciſe of the Office is reſerved to the Father by a Brevet, which gives him likewiſe the Power of reſuming the Title, if his Son dies before him. The Adminiſtration of Juſtice in the Province is veſted in the Parliament to which it belongs, in which the Governor has a Seat, which however is a mere Point of Honour, and gives him little or no Power. As this creates a new Diſtribution of the Kingdom, with reſpect to Parliaments, ſo there is alſo a Third in reference to Taxes, by which it is diſtinguiſhed into Generalities and Elections; and at the Head of theſe are the Intendants. By this Kind of Policy, which was invented by *Richlieu*, and perfected by his Succeſſors, every Part of the Kingdom is immediately under the

Power and Inſpection of the Miniſters; and the Princes of the Blood and great Lords, notwithſtanding they have ſtill the Title, Authorities and Revenues of Governors, have nothing of that Kind of Power that was ſo dangerous in paſt Times. But with reſpect to their Lordſhips, they have ſtill very great Prerogatives; which though they do not render them formidable to the Crown, give them ſuch Power over the common People, that without doubt the Peaſants in *France* are as miſerable as any in *Europe*; and this is the true Secret why their Infantry, notwithſtanding all their Diſcipline, is not near ſo good as the *Engliſh*, the *Swiſs*, or thoſe of ſome of the *German* Princes; for Men born and bred under Oppreſſion, have never that true Spirit and Courage that is ſo remarkable in Freemen. The Artizans and Manufacturers are ſomewhat better treated, and in the Cities of *France* they have Immunities and Privileges which at firſt Sight bear a near Reſemblance to Liberty; yet even theſe give Way upon any Exigence; ſo that after all, the King is abſolute Maſter of every Rank of his Subjects, and diſpoſes, in a great Meaſure, both of their Perſons and Properties at his Pleaſure, which is the true Reaſon why ſo many leave their Country, and ſettle elſewhere.

We have hitherto in this Account repreſented Things in general; and indeed it would require much more Room than we have to ſpare, to enter into Particulars. It may very well ſuffice to ſay, that the ruling Maxim of the *French* Government is to ſuſtain and to extend the Power of the Crown, to which every Thing muſt give Way. The Church, as a State Machine, is managed with greater Addreſs in *France*, than in any Country in the World. *Louis* XIV. was a Bigot in his Practice, but not in his Church Politicks; for while he dragoon'd his *Hugonot* Subjects, out of pious Regard to the Principle of Unity, he countenanced and approved the nice Diſtinction between the *Roman* and the *Gallican* Church. For by this Contrivance he procured for himſelf, and has left to his Succeſſors, two Reins, by which the Eccleſiaſtical Machine is governed with Eaſe. If the Pope is to be managed and the Influence of the See of *Rome* becomes neceſſary to the *Eldeſt Son of the Church*, then one Rein is pulled, and the Royal Power is exerted in Support of the papal Authority: But if ſome ſtubborn, long-headed or well-meaning Cardinal is advanced to the ſupreme Dignity in the popiſh Hierarchy, who has a greater Regard to the Whole than to any Part, and will not employ either his Credit or his Power to ſerve the Purpoſe of the *Gallic* Monarch, then he plucks the other Rein, and makes his Holineſs fully ſenſible, that without his Aſſuming the Title, he is truly and effectually Head of the *Gallican* Church. It muſt be confeſſed that this Sort of Policy is not without its Inconveniencies, and thoſe too that are very evident, and ſometimes very troubleſome, ſuch as continual Heart-burnings and Struggles, vexatious Diſturbances, and a kind of perpetual Perſecution, under all which Miſchiefs the *Gallican* Church has now laboured near thirty Years: But this gives no Pain to the Miniſtry; they look upon it as a neceſſary Evil, and raiſe and fall the Tide of Perſecution as Intereſt directs. Thus the greateſt Part of the *French* Clergy are obliged to conform to the Court Creed, as well as to the Catholick Faith; and that Part of his Subjects are now moſt in the King's Power, which were leaſt ſo in his Predeceſſors; and thoſe Men receive their Inſtructions from the Cabinet, who from the Nature of their Office, have the ſtrongeſt Sort of Influence over the Common People. By this Management alſo the Government draws a large Revenue from the Church, which in former Times was reckoned impracticable. The Tenths, which are annually paid to the King, amount to about Sixty thouſand Pounds; the Free Gifts, which are now become a ſtated and regular Revenue, amount to above two hundred thouſand Pounds a Year, that is, in Time of Peace; for in War the extraordinary Free Gifts bear ſome Proportion to the Exigency of the publick Affairs.

The Eccleſiaſtical and Civil Government in *France* was reduced by Degrees pretty near the ſame it ſtands at preſent under the Reign of *Lewis* XIII. and the Improvements only are to be attributed to his Son and Succeſſor; but with reſpect to the Military Eſtabliſhment, *Lewis* XIV. was its original Founder. Before his Time a few Companies of Guards, and the four old Corps, as they are ſtill called, were all the ſtanding Troops of *France*; neither were they exactly of the ſame Nature with the Regiments that are now kept up, though this is not a Place to diſcuſs the Difference. It is ſufficient for us to obſerve, that the Prince laſt mentioned, finding every Thing at home diſpoſed according to his good Pleaſure, when he took the Adminiſtration into his own Hands, reſolved to lay hold of that Opportunity to ſecure the boundleſs Authority of which he was poſſeſſed in his own Dominions; and at the ſame Time to make himſelf terrible to his Neighbours. It was to this End that he eſtabliſhed firſt, under the Notion of Guards, a very conſiderable Force, which is now ſtiled the Troops of the Houſehold, and afterwards, as Occaſion offered, raiſed Regiment after Regiment, both of Horſe and Foot, and kept them in conſtant Service. It was by the Help of this Standing Army, that he gained ſo many and ſo great Advantages over *Spain*, and the reſt of his Neighbours, and annexed ſeveral conquered Provinces to his Dominions, which at the ſame Time afforded him an Opportunity of increaſing the Number of theſe regular Troops, and of covering his Frontiers on every Side with Abundance of ſtrong Fortreſſes. By Degrees other States in *Europe* found themſelves obliged, for their own Defence, to raiſe and maintain regular Troops likewiſe, which afforded that ambitious Prince a Pretence for augmenting his to as great a Number as was poſſible for him to maintain; and his Example in this, as well as in moſt other Points, has been exactly followed by his Succeſſor. So that immediately before the Breaking out of the preſent War, the Standing Troops of *France* conſiſted of one hundred and twenty thouſand Foot, twenty thouſand Horſe and Dragoons, and between eight and ten thouſand Invalids; that is, in the whole, to about One hundred and fifty thouſand Men. The keeping up ſo large an Army, and the maintaining ſo many Garriſons, is as ſerviceable to the King, as it is burthenſome and ruinous to the Kingdom; inaſmuch as it keeps ſo great a Proportion of able and active Perſons in a State of abſolute Idleneſs with Regard to the Publick, at the ſame Time that heavy Taxes are raiſed upon the induſtrious Part of the People for their Subſiſtence. But it muſt be allowed, that it finds Employment for the Nobility and Gentry of *France*; more eſpecially, as it is become almoſt an indiſpenſible Cuſtom for them to ſpend their Youth, at leaſt the firſt Part of it, in the Service; by which they are brought inſenſibly into a Dependance upon the Court, and have their Minds filled with falſe and ſlaviſh Notions of the Glory of their Grand Monarch, which entirely gets the better of the natural Paſſions that all Men of Birth and Breeding in other Nations, have for the Service of their Country. Thus the Reader ſees, that the Church, the Law, the Civil Employments, and the Military, being wholly at the Pleaſure of the Court, the far greater Part of the active People in this great Country have their Lives and Fortunes at the Diſpoſal of the Crown, and ſpend the beſt Part of their Days in the Maintenance of a Syſtem calculated to hold them in irrecoverable and perpetual Servitude.

As for the political Government, it is managed by ſeveral great Councils, or rather Committees of Council, of which there are at preſent four, which are ſtiled the Council of State, the Council of Diſpatches, the Royal Council of Finances, and the Royal Council of Commerce. The firſt Civil Officer in *France* is the Chancellor, the only Officer that is not removable at the King's Pleaſure; that is to ſay, he cannot be turned out without being brought to a Tryal; but the King may and frequently does take the Seals from him, and put them into the Hands of another Perſon, who has the Title of Keeper, and the Power of Chancellor, who is removeable at the King's Pleaſure. There is generally a Perſon at the Head of the Miniſtry, either with or without the Title of prime Miniſter, and with more or leſs Authority as the King pleaſes: At preſent this is the Cardinal *de Tencin*. For the Management of publick Affairs there are four principal Secretaries of State, who have each their ſeparate Departments. Theſe are at preſent the Count *de Maurepas*, who has the Marine; the Count *de Puiſieux*, who is Secretary for Foreign Affairs; the Count *de Saint Florentin*, who has the Care of Domeſtic Concerns; and the Count *d'Argenſon*, who is Secretary at War. The principal Officers of the Revenue is the Comptroller General of the Finances, at preſent M. *de Machault*, who has under him a Multitude of Intendants and other Officers, ſubject to the Direction of the Council of Finances, of which the Duke *de Bethune* is Preſident. As to the ordinary and ſettled Revenue of the Crown of *France*, if we may believe their own Writers upon that Subject, it is not at all increaſed in its real, though it is conſiderably augmented in its nominal Value. In 1683, it was computed at 116,873,476 Livres, and in 1730, it amounted to no more than 140,278,473 Livres, which make 5,844,973 Pounds of our Money, which ſhews that neither the general Wealth of *France*, nor the Income of the King, are near ſo great as is commonly imagined. It is, indeed, very true, that in Time of War the King levies much larger Sums; but it is very plain, that even theſe muſt fall ſhort of what ſome People would perſuade us they amount to, ſince there muſt be always a Proportion between the ordinary and extraordinary Revenue; and conſequently, if we know the one, we may very eaſily compute how far the other can be carried, becauſe even under arbitrary Governments, ſome Meaſures muſt be preſerved, and ſome Regard had to the general Income of the People, which is leſs in Time of War, at the ſame Time that the publick Expence is greater.

With regard to the Commerce of *France*, there remains no Sort of Doubt, that it has grown more extenſive and more profitable than formerly, when Trade was very little known in this Country. It may ſeem a little ſtrange, but the Fact is certainly very true, that the Commercial State of this Country is entirely under the Direction of the Crown; and in this there ſeems to be the leſs Hardſhip, becauſe it may be very truly affirmed, that the Commerce of *France* is as much or rather more the Work of their Miniſters, than of their Merchants. When *Colbert* was at the Head of Affairs, he made the Increaſe of Manufactures, the Facilitating Domeſtick, and the Improving Foreign Trade, one of the principal Objects of his Miniſtry. In this he was very ſucceſsful; he underſtood Commerce as a great Man ſhould underſtand it, ſo as to render it beneficial to a Nation, without conſulting too minutely the Profit of private Perſons. Upon this Occaſion I will venture to relate, after an eminent *French* Author, a very ſingular Story: He invited ſeveral eminent Merchants to meet in his Cabinet, in order to diſcourſe on the Principles of Commerce, and promiſed them the utmoſt Liberty in Converſation. At their firſt Meeting, a certain Merchant, who was conſider'd as the beſt Head amongſt them, made a ſett Harangue againſt the Management of the Duties, and ſpoke ſo bluntly, that the Miniſter roſe in great Heat, and bid him hold his Tongue, for that was no Part of his Buſineſs. If no Freedom, no Speech, anſwered the Merchant; we will be going; if you cannot hear, it is impoſſible you ſhould learn, and if you will not correct what is immediately in your own Power, what are we to expect? *Colbert* bid him ſit down, and go on, and from that Time forward never checked any of them, let them ſay what they would. By this Means, in a few Years, he knew more than them all. *Madam de Maintenon* was likewiſe a great Politician in Commerce; and it fell out, when the Affairs of *Louis* XIV. were in the utmoſt Diſtreſs, that ſome of his Miniſters propoſed poſtponing the Payment of the Sums due to his Bankers for a Year: To which the King ſeemed inclined. The Lady, who was ſpinning at the other End of the Room, without quitting her Work, addreſs'd herſelf to the King in theſe Words: *Sir, if you ſtop Payment to your Bankers, they will loſe their Credit with their Foreign Correſpondents, which while they maintain, you are never at a Loſs for Money in any Part of* Europe. *While Things continue in this State, your Diſtreſſes are known only to a few; but if you take this Reſolution, you will become a Bankrupt in the Eyes of the whole World: Stop therefore your Penſions, the Money deſtined for Buildings, and other Pleaſures, and pay the Bankers punctually, for Credit is the true Baſis of Power.* The King took her Advice, which was certainly better than that of his Miniſters; and it anſwered the End that was propoſed.

By this it appears, as well as by what was ſaid in the former Volume, of the *French Eaſt-India* Company, that the Commerce of *France* is the Creature of the State; and from thence it follows, that though in particular Branches it may flouriſh wonderfully, yet, taking in the Whole, it is nothing near ſo conſiderable as it might be, nor can it ever be made ſo under a Government conſtituted like that which ſubſiſts in this Country at preſent; which is one of the beſt Reaſons that can be aſſigned, why the ordinary Revenue of *France* is not higher now than it was many Years ago, and why even very ſmall Sums of Money, in Compariſon of what are raiſed elſewhere, are raiſed here with ſo much Difficulty. The Shipping of *France* is certainly increaſed, but not in that Proportion that is commonly imagined, much leſs in the Degree ſome of our political Writers have aſſerted; for I have actually ſeen Computations of the Shipping employed in only one Branch of Trade very confidently laid down, which I could demonſtrate to be very near, if not beyond the whole Shipping of this Country; a very clear and inconteſtable Proof of this, is the preſent State of their Navy. I have before me a Liſt of it in the Year 1693. when it conſiſted of One hundred and fourteen Ships of the Line, but at the Beginning of the preſent War, they had not forty Sail of Men of War and Frigates of all Sizes: I have likewiſe before me a Memorial preſented by the Merchants of *France*, to the Count *de Maurepas*, at the Cloſe of laſt Year, in which the Loſſes ſuſtain'd thereby, are computed at Two hundred Millions, which makes Nine Millions three hundred thouſand Pounds of our Money. In this Memorial it is ſaid, that if the King could maintain Sixty Men of War and Frigates, including the *Breſt* Squadron, which is reckoned at twenty Sail, the whole Trade of *France* might be well protected, which is an Evidence, that it is very far from being protected at preſent, and that the King has not any ſuch Force as the Merchants think is requiſite for that Purpoſe. While the War continues it is impoſſible he ſhould; foreign Subſidies, and the Expences of his Land-Forces run away with all, and more than all; ſo that if our Naval Force was employed in Diſtreſſing the *French* Trade, in any Part of the World, but more eſpecially in the *Weſt-Indies*, there is no Doubt that we might put them back for half a Century, at leaſt; and if at the End of this War, there ſhould remain ſuch a Part of the Sinking Fund, as would enable us to take off the Duties upon Sugar entirely, I believe their *Weſt-India* Trade could never revive. But I ought to aſk my Reader's Pardon for this Digreſſion, and for extending my Remarks to ſuch a Length; but the Deſire of ſhewing, that if *France* be a *Hydra*, it is not impoſſible ſhe may meet with a *Hercules*, was what led me thus far, and I hope will ſerve for a tolerable Excuſe.

CHAPTER V.

Comprehending Travels through the remoteſt Parts of *Germany*, *Bohemia*, *Moravia*, *Hungary*, &c. to the very Frontiers of *Europe* upon that Side; interſperſed with the Hiſtory of Mines, Salt-works, Fiſheries, and other curious Particulars.

SECTION I.

A Voyage from England *to* Holland, *with a Journey from thence, by Land, through the Electorates of* Cologne, Treves *and* Mentz, *the* Lower *and* Upper Palatinate, Bavaria *and* Auſtria, *to* Vienna; *from thence through* Moravia, Bohemia *and* Saxony, *to* Hamburgh; *with many judicious and uſeful Obſervations.*

By the very learned Dr. Edward Browne of the Royal College of Phyſicians.

1. *Introductory Account of the Author. He embarks at* Yarmouth, *and proceeds by Sea to* Rotterdam. *Deſcription of that City.* 2. *A very curious Account of the* Hague, Leyden *and* Harlem. 3. *A copious and circumſtantial Deſcription of what is moſt remarkable in* Amſterdam. 4. *The like Account of the City of* Utrecht, *and of the Country about it.* 5. *A Deſcription of* Boiſleduc, Breda *and* Dort. 6. *The Author's Paſſage into the Iſland of* Walcheren, *with a Deſcription of* Middleburgh *and* Fluſhing. 7. *The Courſe of the River* Schelde, *and the City of* Antwerp *deſcribed.* 8. *The Author's Journey continued through* Bruſſels *and* Maeſtricht *to* Cologn. 9. *His Journey from thence to* Bonn, *with ſome very curious Obſervations.* 10. *An Account of the Author's Journey from* Bonn *to* Franckfort, *and of the Places he paſſed through upon the Road.* 11. *A ſuccinct Account of* Franckfort. 12. *A Deſcription of the City of* Heidelburgh, *and of the* Palatinate. 13. *His Journey from* Heidelburgh *to* Nurembergh, *with a Deſcription of the laſt-mentioned City.* 14. *The Country of* Bavaria *and* Auſtria *deſcribed, with the principal Towns in them.* 15. *A large and particular Account of the City of* Vienna. 16. *A View of the Emperor's Court, and of that Prince's Manner of living.* 17. *Of the celebrated Library at* Vienna, *and the Emperor's Collections of Curioſities.* 18. *The moſt remarkable Things in the Neighbourhood of this City deſcribed.* 19. *The Author's Remarks upon the Cuſtoms and Manners of the Inhabitants in that great City.* 20. *A Deſcription of the remaining Part of* Auſtria *and* Moravia. 21. *His Journey through the Kingdom of* Bohemia, *with an Account of the Silver Mine at* Guttenberg. 22. *The famous City of* Prague *deſcribed, together with an Account of ſome other remarkable Places in* Bohemia. 23. *A Deſcription of the City of* Dreſden, *and of the Country of* Saxony. 24. *The Author's Journey through* Freiberg, Leipſick *and* Magdeberg; *with an Account of thoſe great Cities.* 25. *A Deſcription of the noble City of* Hamburg, *with the Author's Remarks upon the* German *Nation.*

1. IT is now Time that we ſhould lead the Reader out of *Europe*; of which, however, many Countries remain yet undeſcribed; for the making known of which, we could think of no better Method than digeſting, into the cloſeſt Order poſſible, the Travels of the ingenious Dr. *Browne* through moſt of thoſe Countries, Accounts of which are ſtill wanting. He was the Son of the famous Sir *Thomas Browne* of *Norwich*, ſo well known to the learned World by the many curious and valuable Works he publiſhed. As for this Gentleman, he received the firſt Part of his Education under the Care of his worthy Father; and having paſſed through the Circle of School Learning, was removed to the Univerſity of *Oxford*, where, after having taken his Degrees regularly, and with much Reputation, he reſolved to travel, as he did, through the greateſt Part of *Europe*; and having Recommendations where-ever he came, to Perſons the moſt diſtinguiſhed for Rank and Learning, acquired thereby various Opportunities of making deeper and better Obſervations than is common with Travellers in ſuch haſty Tours. He publiſhed two Volumes of his Voyages and Travels, which were extremely well received; and in the Account given of them by the Secretary of the Royal Society in the Tranſactions, they are very highly and juſtly commended. He afterwards took his Degree of Doctor of Phyſick, and became a Member of the College, Fellow of the Royal Society; and, in regard to his great Knowledge and Experience, was promoted to the Rank of being the King's Phyſician. He enjoy'd theſe Honours, together with an univerſal and unblemiſh'd Reputation, for many Years, and was very juſtly conſider'd as an Honour to his Family and Profeſſion. We have taken the Liberty to range his Travels in the Manner moſt ſuitable to the Nature of this Collection; and becauſe it was impoſſible to preſerve a proper Connection, without taking in his Account of the *United Provinces*, the *Low Countries*, and ſome Part

of *Germany*; we choſe rather to retain them, though many of the Places had been before ſpoken of in former Chapters of this Book, than to begin abruptly with his Accounts of *Auſtria*, *Bohemia*, *Hungary*, &c. for the Sake of which they were chiefly inſerted; but as all he ſays is equally entertaining and inſtructive, we apprehend that this cannot be conſidered as any Inconvenience.

I went in the Year 1668, from *Norwich* to *Yarmouth*, a Sea-Port in the County of *Norfolk*, at the Entrance of the River *Yare*: Where being furniſhed with Letters of Recommendation by Sir *James Johnſon* to *Amſterdam*, *Francfort*, *Venice*, and *Vienna*, I embark'd the 14th of *Auguſt* in *Yarmouth* Road, aboard the *Angel Ketch*, Burthen Fifty five Tuns; and ſet ſail for *Rotterdam*. It was not long before we diſcovered *Goree* Steeple, and immediately after the *Briel*, ſituate at the Entrance of the River *Moſa*, or the *Maeſe*; which having its Riſe in the Mountains of *Vauge*, or *Vaugeſus*, paſſes by *Verdun*, *Dinant*, *Namur*, *Liege*, *Maeſtricht*, *Ruremond*, *Venlo*, and ſeveral other Places, and here diſcharges itſelf into the Ocean. In our Paſſage up the River we ſaw many ſtately Villages, the moſt noted of which were *Maeſeland-Sluice*, *Schiedam*, and *Delfts-Haven*; and came aſhore about Six in the Evening at *Rotterdam*.

Here I had Sight of two of the largeſt Men of War belonging to *Holland*, *viz.* the *Crane*, and the *Waſſenaer*; the laſt of which was built in Lieu of that in which Admiral *Opdam* was blown up, as he was engaged againſt his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *York*. The Points of the Keys of this City are very fair, and the Channels, which extend into the very Centre of it, ſo large and deep, as to be capable of receiving Ships of great Burthen. It is very populous, the Houſes well built, and the Streets very clean. The Organs of the great Church, the Tower, and the Monument of M. *De Wit*, the Statue of *Eraſmus* upon the Bridge, and ſome other Curioſities, are worth the Obſervation of a Traveller. It being then Fair-time, we ſaw ſome Drolls acted, and ſome Rarities, *viz.* Lions, Leopards, and among the reſt a Woman of ſeven Foot high.

From *Rotterdam* we paſſed forward to *Delft*, paſſing by the Powder-Houſe (a beautiful Structure at ſome Diſtance from the City.) The Piazza of *Delft* is very large, the Town-houſe fronting it at one, and the new Church with its high Steeple at the other End. This Church is famous for the Tomb of *William* of *Naſſaw*, Prince of *Orange*, together with his Wife and Son, Prince *Maurice*, whoſe Statue is in Armour, with his Dog lying at his Feet, with four Obeliſks ſupported by ten Marble Pillars: It ſtands in the Middle of the Iſle. The old Church contains the Tomb of the famous *Van Trump*, carved on the Walls, his Effigies lying upon a Cannon, ſurrounded with Arms and Trophies. In another Church we were ſhewn the Monument of Admiral *Hein*, who took the *Spaniſh* Plate Fleet: And in a large Houſe, in a Wall, the Marks of ſome of the Bullets, by which Prince *William* was murthered, in 1584.

2. The *Hague* is celebrated for being the ancient Reſidence of the Counts of *Holland*, and now of the States-General; it is about three *Engliſh* Miles from *Delft*. It has a very fair Piazza, many well built Houſes, and the Pall-mall, the Wood, and the Park, are very beautiful Places; but what ſurpaſſes all, is the Way from hence to *Scheveling*, which is paved with Brick for three Miles, with ſeveral Rows of Trees on both Sides, as far as to the Steeple of *Scheveling*. The City of *Leyden* (nine Miles diſtant from the *Hague*,) may for its Neatneſs compare with any in *Europe*, its Streets being beautified with noble Houſes, and large Channels on both Sides: Its Fortifications are after the modern Way. One of the chief Antiquities of *Leyden*, is what they call the *Hengiſt Caſtle*, (or the *Berg*,) from its Founder *Hengiſt* the *Saxon*. On the Top, into which we went by very handſome Stairs, we ſaw a very fair Arbour, a Labyrinth and Well, and at the Bottom is a very good Houſe of Entertainment. But what ſurpaſſes this, are the Ruins of an ancient Fortreſs not far from this City, at the Village call'd *Catwick*, upon the Sea, known by the Name of *Arx Britannica*; which being built by *Caligula*, and afterwards ruin'd by the *Normans*, was overwhelm'd by the Sea at laſt; yet not ſo, but that at certain Times, when the Tide is very low, its Ruins have been plainly diſcovered, and ſome Antiquities have been found with this Inſcription: *Ex. Ger. Inf.* that is, *ex Germania Inferiori*. The Stadt-houſe has a very fair Front towards the Street. In the Anatomy Hall you ſee many Skeletons, of a Whale, a Horſe, Deer, Cow, Cat, and Fox, and two Legs of an Elephant, beſides thoſe of Men and Women, ſome Muſcles preſerv'd, and one entire Body with the Skin and Fleſh.

The Phyſick-Garden is none of the largeſt, but abundantly ſtock'd with Plants of all Sorts. Near it ſtands the College where the Publick Lectures are kept every Day, and under it is the Printing-Houſe of the Univerſity. In the Stadt-houſe, in the Apartment of the Burgermaſters, I ſaw a moſt curious Piece done by *Lucas van Leyden*, repreſenting the Day of Judgment. Near the ſame Place is alſo ſhewn the Table of that famous Taylor, *John* of *Leyden*, upon which he uſed to work, before he took upon him the Trade of a Reformer, and came to be King of the *Anabaptiſts* in *Germany*. From *Leyden* I travell'd to *Harlem*, ſeven *Dutch* Leagues (or twenty one *Engliſh* Miles) thence. Its Situation is very pleaſant, among Groves of Trees. The great Church ſurpaſſes for its Bigneſs all others in *Holland*, and is full of remarkable Inſcriptions. The Pictures of all the Earls of *Holland*, in the Prince's Houſe, are very good Pieces; and in the Summer-Houſe of the Garden is that of *Laurence Coſter*, a Citizen of this Place, whom they ſtile the firſt Inventor of Printing; whereas others aſcribe the ſame to a certain *German*, named *John Gottenberg*. In the other Rooms you ſee ſeveral excellent Pieces of Paintings of *Hemſkerk* and *Goltzius*; but thoſe of *Cornelius* of *Harlem* exceed the reſt, eſpecially his Hiſtory of *Herod*'s killing the Children; his Feaſt of the Gods, in which *Vulcan*'s Foot is eſteemed moſt; and his Collation of a Nun and a Monk.

On the other Side you ſee a Picture of a Ship with Saws, in Memory of the glorious Action done by thoſe of this Town, who under the Reign of *Frederick Barbaroſſa*, fighting againſt the *Saracens*, took *Damiata*, entering the Port by Means of Saws faſtned to the Keels of their Ships, which cut the Chains of the Harbour. Here is alſo an Hoſpital for Sixty aged Perſons, and another for the Sick, both very handſome and neatly kept. Here I obſerved the firſt Time their Way of Whipping Malefactors with Rods: They tie their Hands ſtretch'd upward as high as they can, to a Poſt erected upon a Scaffold, with an Iron round their Waſte, and ſo give them as many Stripes as are allotted them by their Judges. The Lake near *Harlem*, call'd the *Harlem Meere*, is above twenty Miles long.

3. The next Place to *Harlem* is the City of *Amſterdam*, famous throughout the World for its Riches, Trade, Shipping, fair Streets, and magnificent Buildings. Its Situation is upon the River *Ye*, being formerly the Seat only of a few Fiſhermen; but being favour'd in Time with the Title of a City, by the Earls of *Holland*, was ſtrengthened with a Wall 1470, againſt thoſe of *Utrecht*; and many Years after, by the Emperor *Maximilian*, honour'd with the Imperial Crown over their Arms, which are three Croſſes on a Pale. It is almoſt incredible how this City is increaſed of late Years, being now encompaſs'd with a new Wall, and large Ditch, after the Modern Way of Fortifications. The new Streets eſpecially are very ſpacious, with large Channels. The River *Amſtel* (from whence it has borrow'd its Name) alſo paſſes through it, being let in under a very handſome Bridge of eleven Arches, and twenty ſix Paces broad, which makes part of the Wall. This whole vaſt Body is built upon Piles of Timber driven into the Earth cloſe to one another, the Foundation of the Tower over-againſt St. *Catharine*'s Church, being ſaid to conſiſt of 6334 great Trees; and I myſelf was an Eye-witneſs of the vaſt Number of Trees I ſaw

I ſaw them drive into the Foundations, where the *Eaſt-India* Houſe was to be enlarged; and at another Place, where they were laying the Foundation of a *Lutheran* Church.

The nobleſt Structure of all this Country, and one of the fineſt in *Europe*, is their Stadt-houſe, built of Free-ſtone, 110 Paces in Front (in which it exceeds St. *Peter*'s Church at *Rome)* and Eighty one Paces deep. At its very Entrance, on the Right-Hand, you ſee the Hall where Malefactors receive their Sentence; the Marble Statues here hanging down their Heads, as if grieved at what was pronounced. All the Floors are covered with Marble, and the Roofs finely carved, painted, and gilt; *Atlas*, bearing a Globe upon his Shoulders, ſtands on the Top of it. The Globe is of Copper of ten Foot Diameter, and exceeds, as far as I ever heard or ſaw, any Ball or Globe of this Nature. That of St. *Peter*'s Church at *Rome*, and that of *Florence*, being leſs; and ſuch as I have ſeen upon any of the *Turkiſh* Moſques, don't come near this in Bigneſs; nay, the largeſt of thoſe three famous Balls at *Morocco*, are, according to the Report of thoſe that have ſeen it, inferior to this. The Exchange of *Amſterdam* is very fair, exceeding large, and frequented by an incredible Number of People. Moſt of their Churches are ſtately Edifices. The Partition with Balliſters of Braſs in the new Church are truly noble; and the Carvings of the Pulpit exceed the reſt.

The Tombs of *Van Hulſe* and *Hemſkerk*, in the old Church, are very well worth a curious Traveller's Obſervation: The laſt of theſe two has rendered himſelf famous by his ſucceſsful Expeditions in the *Eaſt-Indies*, after their firſt Settlement there, by the Way of the Cape of *Good Hope*, when they had found the *North Paſſage* by *Nova Zembla* impracticable. Their Houſe of Correction is alſo worth Obſervation; having at its Entrance two Lions bridled with this Inſcription:

Virtutis eſt domare quæ cuncti pavent.

A proper Emblem for the Purpoſe it was intended, *viz.* to bridle the Inſolencies of ſuch as are riotous in the Streets, or commit Diſorders, and the Extravagancies of the Sons of Citizens, who are paſt the Government of their Maſters and Parents. They are employed in Gaining their Bread by raſping *Brazil* Wood; and if they refuſe to perform their Taſk, and become incorrigible by Blows, they (as we were told) put them in a large Ciſtern, with a Pump by them, and ſo letting in the Water upon them, force them to work for their Life.

Their *Spin-huis* is intended for the Correction of young Women, ſuch as live looſely, or are taken in the Streets, and other ſuſpicious Places: Sometimes the Citizens ſend their Daughters hither for Chaſtiſement, and theſe have Chambers allotted them; I ſaw above an hundred Women in one large Room, ſome of which were very well dreſs'd. In the Hoſpital for Children are 600 Orphans, well educated and look'd after. The *Dol-huis* is like our *Bedlam*, intended for delirious Perſons. The *Gaſt-huis*, an Hoſpital for the Sick; as the *Mannen-houſe* is an Hoſpital for old Men. They have beſides this, a laudable Cuſtom throughout all *Holland*; which is, that upon the Appointment of any Metting at a Tavern, or any other Occaſion, certain Forfeitures are put into a Box kept in all Publick-Houſes, for the Uſe of the Poor, which is the Reaſon that ſcarce every any Beggars are ſeen in the Streets.

Their *Eaſt-India*-Houſe contains an incredible Store of Spices, and other *Indian* Commodities. Their Admiralty Houſe, where they keep their Stores for Shipping, is ſurrounded with Water for its greater Security, and near it lie Seventy two Men of War. On the Top of this Houſe (as moſt of Note of this City) is a Ciſtern for the Reception of Rain-Water, to ſupply the Defect of Spring-Water, which is very ſcarce. At the Entrance of the Gate, we ſaw the entire Body of a Man preſerved from Corruption, encloſed to the Waſte in a Canoe, made of Fiſh ſkin, ſo cloſely ſewed together, that no Water could get in. The handſomeſt Streets of *Amſterdam* are, the *Harlem-Street*, the *Cingel*, *Princes Graft*, *Kaiſers Graft*, and *Heeren Graft*, as alſo the *New Iſland*. Among other Rarities I ſaw here a Globe, the Workmanſhip of *Vingbomes*, betwixt ſix and ſeven Foot Diameter; it was all of Copper, and very well painted, with all the new Diſcoveries made in 1641, at 42 Deg. S. Lat. and 170 Longit. thoſe towards the N. W. of *Japan*, about *Nova Zembla*, the *Tartarian* Sea, beyond the Streights of *Voygats*, viz. *New Holland*, *Weſt-Frieſeland*, &c. Though moſt of thoſe Diſcoveries are contradicted by *Martiniere*, who made a Voyage into thoſe Parts in 1653, from *Copenhagen*, eſpecially as to the true Poſition of *Zembla*, its Coherency to the Continent, the Length of the Streights of *Voygats* (which they make ten, but he thirty five *Dutch* Leagues) and a Paſſage through it into the *Tartarian* Ocean.

I had the Curioſity to take a Proſpect of the City from the Steeple of the Church, which by Reaſon of the Unevenneſs of the Houſes, did not appear altogether ſo beautiful as thoſe of *Italy*, which are flat on the Top. Every Day, at Eleven a Clock in the Forenoon, there is very good Muſick at the Stadt-houſe, being the Gift of the Earl of *Leiceſter*. The Chimes, of which there is a Sett in moſt Steeples here, make alſo a very agreeable Harmony.

Among other Perſons of Note, I got into the Acquaintance of Dr. *Ruiſh*, who ſhew'd me many Curioſities in *Anatomy*; ſuch as the Skeletons of Children, and Fœtus's of all Ages, very neatly done; the Lymphatick Veſſels preſerved, with all the Valves; all the Veſſels of the Liver ſeparated from the fleſhy Part; many Muſcles diſſected, and whole Bodies kept entire, without the leaſt Signs of Corruption. Dr. *Swammerdam* ſhew'd me ſeveral of his Experiments, according to his Treatiſe *De Reſpiratione*, with a Collection of many Inſects. *Glauber*, the noted Chymiſt, gave me a Sight of his Laboratory. And *Blaſius*, famous for his Obſervations upon *Veſlingius*, gave me many Marks of his Civility.

It is to be obſerved, that the Jews live at *Amſterdam* in more Splendor than in any other Part of the World, being provided with magnificent Houſes, and a very fair Synagogue, and have among them Perſons of Learning, and endow'd with other good Qualifications; ſome of them having lived under the Notion of Chriſtians in other Places. There was one *Juda Leo*, who had a Model of the Temple of *Solomon*, the Fort of the Temple, the Tabernacle, and many other Curioſities of that Nature. I alſo ſaw the Ceremony of the Circumciſion of a *Jewiſh* Child; they thruſt a Probe betwixt the *Glans* and *Præputium*, and dilating it ſo, that both the inward and outward Skin be drawn forward, by a certain Inſtrument they hold the Skin cloſe to the Inſtrument; the remaining Skin being put back immediately, the Blood ſtopp'd, and the Plaiſter applied: All there preſent ſinging all the while, that the Cries of the Infant may be the leſs heard.

I paſs'd from *Amſterdam* to *Utrecht* in ſeven Hours, in one of their *Track Schuyts*, or large Boats, drawn by Horſes, through the artificial Channels which are made for this Purpoſe in moſt of the Provinces, as well of *Holland*, as of the *Low-Countries*.

4. *Utrecht*, (anciently *Antonina*, and afterwards *Ultrajectum)* the Capital City of the Province of the ſame Name, is very large, and handſomely built. It has been an Epiſcopal See for near theſe thouſand Years: Its firſt Biſhop was *Willebald*, an *Engliſhman*. It was made an Univerſity in 1636. The great Church has three Steeples one above the other, from whence I took a full View of the adjacent Country, which is very plain, and ſo populous, that there are no leſs than fifty one walled Towns, to any of which you may go in a Day's Journey thence. Here is alſo an *Engliſh* Church, in the Middle of which is a Pillar, the Foundation of which was laid upon Bulls Hides, in 1099, with the Picture of a Bull with this Inſcription:

Accipe Poſteritas quod per tua ſæcula narres,
Taurinis cutibus fundo ſolidata columna eſt.

The Library belonging to this Church has ſeveral old Manuſcripts, and among the reſt a Bible in ſix Volumes, painted and gilded after a very ancient Way. The two *German* Idols, beſtowed upon this Place by the Emperor *Henry* IV. are worth taking Notice of for their Antiquity's Sake: As alſo a Horn ſaid to be made of Ivory. I ſaw alſo three Sea-Unicorns Horns, (being an Animal in the Northern Sea) one of which being tipp'd with Silver, ſerved for a Drinking-Cup. They were about five Foot long; though the King of *Denmark* has two that were taken near *Nova Zembla*, that have ten Foot in Length: This King's Father had ſo many of them, that he beſtowed above one hundred of them for the making of a magnificent Throne. I myſelf have ſeen ſome fifteen Foot long, and a Walking Staff, a Sceptre, Scabbard for a Sword, and other Curioſities made of the Teeth of this Animal, but could never be convinced of its Effects againſt Poiſon, or any contagious Diſtemper, though I have given it frequently, and in very great Quantities.

Here I had alſo the Honour to ſee Dr. *Cyprianus ab Oeſterga*, Dr. *Regius Voetius*, the only Member left alive of the Synod of *Dort*; but unfortunately miſs'd the Sight of the famous *Anna Maria Skurman*, ſhe being gone into the Country, yet had the good Fortune to ſee her Picture, drawn by her own Hand, with this Inſcription:

> *Cernitis hic pictâ noſtros in Imagine vultus,*
> *Si negat ars formam gratia veſtra dabit.*

I travel'd from *Utrecht*, in two Hours, to *Friſwick*, and croſſing the River *Leck* to *Vianen*, where there is nothing remarkable beſides the Houſe and Gardens of Count *Brederode*, accounted the nobleſt Family in *Holland*, as that of *Waſſenger* is the moſt ancient, and that of *Egmont* the richeſt. A Mount belonging to this Garden, makes Part of the Rampart of the Place. The Statues of the Twelve *Cæſars*, of *Ariſtotle*, with ſome Pyramids, Partitions, and Paintings, are Ornaments ſuitable to a Traveller's Curioſity.

Hence I paſs'd by Boat through the Country of *Arkel*, and came the ſame Night to *Gorcum*, a City ſituate near the three Rivers, the *Ling*, the *Waal*, and the *Maeſe*: It has a pretty handſome Market-place, and a Church with a very high Steeple. The Fortifications are of Earth; and over the Water-Gate you ſee this Inſcription:

> *Civitas in quâ maximè Cives legibus parent, & in pace beata, & bello invicta.* 1642.

Which Inſcription ſeemed to have been fulfil'd in 1672, when the powerful Army of *Lewis* XIV. King of *France*, who conquered thirty Cities in one Campaign, did not extend their Conqueſts beyond this Place. From *Gorcum* I went to *Worcum*, on the other Side of the River, and ſo by the Caſtle of *Loveſtein*, famous for the Impriſonment of *Barnevelt*; which, ſince that Time, has given that Name to the whole Party, which is generally called in *Holland* the *Loveſtein* Faction.

5. Paſſing farther up the *Maeſe*, we came the next Day to *Hertogen Boſche*, having left *Preye* on the Left, and *Heuſden* on the Right Hand. This City, called by ſome *Sylva Ducis*, *Boiſleduc*, and *Bolduc*, is a well fortified City, ſituate upon the River *Diſa*, or *Deeſe*, which joins its Waters, two Leagues below this Place, with the *Maeſe*, being one of the chief Frontiers belonging to the United Provinces on that Side, and ſtrong both by Art and Nature. Its Avenues are only Cauſeways made through the Marſhes, with various Turnings, commanded by ſix ſmall Forts; beſides which, the Town is both commanded and defended by a Citadel, conſiſting of five regular Baſtions. The Market-place here is triangular. In the Cathedral (which is dedicated to St. *John*) are many of the Arms of the Knights of the Golden Fleece, and on the upper Stalls an Inſcription containing a ſhort Account of the firſt Inſtitution of this Order, by *Philip* ſirnamed the *Good*, Duke of *Burgundy*, *Lorrain*, and *Brabant*. It was made an Epiſcopal See in 1559, and taken by the *Dutch* from the *Spaniards* in 1628.

From hence we purſued our Journey through a plain and ſandy Country to *Breda*, a City ſituated upon the River *Merk*. It is very well fortified, with a large Ditch round the Counterſcarp, and a Ravelin betwixt each Baſtion, joined to the Rampart withinſide of the Ditch; beſides a good Number of Half-moons and Horn-works, and a Parapet ſtrengthened with a double Row of Elms. This Place belongs to the Prince of *Orange*. The *Spaniards* took it in the Beginning of the *Low Country* Wars; but the *Dutch* not long after ſurprized it, by putting eighty armed Men in a Boat covered with Turf, who thus entred the Caſtle.

It was taken by the *Spaniards* in 1625, and afterwards regained again by *Frederick Henry* Prince of *Orange*. It has a very fair Church, in which are many good Tombs; and among the reſt thoſe of *Englebert* Count of *Naſſaw*, with his Family; of the Heer *Van Horn*, and his three Wives; and of *Henry* Earl of *Naſſaw*, who being the Founder of the Caſtle of *Breda*, his Armour is ſupported by four Warriours upon their Knees: The Gardens, Gallery, Walks, and Dials belonging to this Caſtle, are worth a Traveller's Obſervation. From *Breda* we travel'd by Land to St. *Gertruydenberg*, the utmoſt Frontier Place of the *Dutch* on the North Side of *Brabant*. It is of no great Extent, but abounds in Fiſh, which are catch'd in a Kind of a Lake called the *Waart*, made ſo by the Falling into it of the *Maeſe*, and divers other Rivers. You ſee here a very fair Church, and the Ruins of a large Steeple. We paſs'd hence over a large Water, which had overflow'd the Country, and drown'd twenty-two Pariſhes, and, paſſing by the ancient Tower called *Murvey* Houſe, came to *Dort*, or *Dordracum*. This City, which is ſeated in the Waves of thoſe great Lakes made by the *Maeſe* and the *Wael*, is reckoned the chief Town of *South Holland*, as having the Privilege of the Mint, and the Staple for *Rheniſh* Wine and *Engliſh* Cloth; we have two Churches here, as the *French* have one. The great Church has a Steeple of 312 Steps high. I took a view of the Apartment where the Synod of *Dort* had been held in 1611; which was a very fair one, and had an extraordinary agreeable Proſpect into the Country. The large round bellied Veſſels, which ſtand betwixt this City and *Cologn*, intermixed with long *Liege* Boats, afford an odd Spectacle to Strangers.

6. I embarked in a Veſſel bound for the Iſle of *Walcheren*, and ſailing by moſt of the Iſlands of *Zealand*, and in Sight of the Towns of *Williamſtadt*, *Zirickzee*, *Tergoes*, &c. we came aſhore at *Ter-Vere*, where there is a convenient Harbour. It has a fair long Market-place. The *Scotch* have had a Factory here for above 200 Years; over-againſt it you ſee a Steeple, the poor Remainder of a noble Town, which has been ſwallow'd up by the Sea.

From hence to *Middleburg* the Way is paved with a Kind of ſmall hard Brick; the ſame being to be obſerved in many Places alſo in *Holland*. The City of *Middleburgh* is ſeated in the very Centre of the Iſle of *Walcheren*, being very well built, ſpacious and populous, the fourth Chamber or Port of the *Eaſt-India* Company; *Amſterdam* being in the firſt Rank, *Rotterdam* the ſecond, and *Fluſhing* the third. There is a broad Water within the Compaſs of the Town, from whence is cut a Channel which carries Veſſels to the Sea. It is very well fortified, and beautified with many fair Churches, and other publick and private Structures. The new Church is of an octagonal Figure, with a Cupolo; the Steeple of the old Church is famous for its Height, the Town-houſe conſiderable for its old Statues, and the Piazza of a circular Figure. The Country round it is cover'd with fruitful Gardens. The *Zealanders* are generally great Lovers of the Family of *Orange*. Hence I went to *Fluſhing*, a ſtrong Sea-port Town, ſtrengthen'd with Stone-Walls towards the Sea, and Mud-works to the Land-ſide. This being one of the firſt Places the *Dutch* took from the *Spaniards* in 1572, was, together with *Rammaken* and the *Bril*, made a Cautionary to Queen *Elizabeth*, 1585, and reſtored again to the United Provinces in 1616, by King *James* I. The Mouth of the Harbour is ſurrounded with Piles driven into the Ground, and theſe again are ſecured by Ruſhes, Flags and Reeds, ſtaked down, intermixed with Oſiers and Hurdles, to break the Force of the Water. The Stadt-Houſe is a noble Structure, ſtanding in the Market-place, and affords a fair Proſpect in Front, which is adorned with three Rows of Pillars, the one above the other; the lower Row being of the *Dorick*, the ſecond of the *Ionick*, and the Uppermoſt of the *Corinthian* Order, on the Top of which is a Gallery, from thence you may diſcover Ships at a great Diſtance at Sea. We ſaw here many Ships, and among them ſome Men of War of conſiderable Bigneſs. The Women in the Iſle of *Walcheren* are clad for the moſt Part in red Cloth, and wear Straw Hats. If a Man happen to die here, a great Bundle is laid at the Door, if a Child a little one, if a Male it is put on the right Side, if a Female on the left. When a Woman is delivered, they give Notice of what Sex the Child is of to all the Neighbourhood, by tying a Piece of Lawn to the Rapper of the Door, made up into the Shape of a Puppet, and repreſenting the Sex of the new born Child. I returned to *Middleburgh* by Land, where I embarked again, and paſſing down the River by the Fort *Rammaken*, entered the River *Schelde*, and ſailing up, paſſed the Fort *Frederick Henry*, and ſo to the Fort *Lillo*, where we were forced to ſtay till our Ship was ſearched. Juſt oppoſite to the laſt of theſe two Forts, on the other Side of the River, is the Fort called *Lifgens hoek*, and on the other Side another called *de la Croix*, the laſt belonging to the *Hollanders*; the *Spaniſh* Forts to defend this Frontier are, the *Philip*, the *Pearl*, and the *Mary*.

7. The River *Schelde*, mentioned by *Cæſar*, has its Riſe in the Country of *Vermandois*, and paſſing by *Cambray*, *Valenciennes*, *Tournay*, *Dornick*, *Oudenard*, *Ghent*, *Rupelmond* and *Antwerp*, divides itſelf afterwards into two Channels, whereof the Southern is call'd the *Hont (Dog)* the other taking its Courſe from *Bergen-op-Zoom*, falls into the Sea between the Iſles of *Zealand*. The next Day we continued our Voyage upon the *Schelde*, and arrived ſafely at *Antwerp*. This City is of a large Extent; its Walls very broad, with Rows of Trees upon them, faced with Brick and Free-Stones, after the modern Way, though the Baſtions are none of the largeſt, but the Ditch is very broad and deep. The Citadel is accounted one of the beſt Fortifications of five Baſtions, in thoſe Parts, very well lined with Brick and Stone, and commanding the City, the River and the adjacent Country. There is alſo another Fort near the *Schelde*. The Exchange of *Antwerp* is ſupported by thirty-ſix Pillars, each carved a different Way. It ſtands in the Middle of four Streets, which lead unto it. The *Meer*, the moſt remarkable Street of the City, has the Water running under it, and here the Coaches meet to take the *Tour-a-la-mode*; at one End of it you ſee a large Braſs Crucifix, placed upon a Pedeſtal of Marble. The *Jeſuits* Church exceeds for Magnificence any that ever I met with out of *Italy*. The Front is a noble Piece of Architecture, having the Statue of *Ignatius Loyola* on the Top. The Roof is for the moſt part painted by *Rubens* and *Van Dyke*; the Carving is moſt excellent, and the Flower Work done by *Segers* a *Jeſuit*. It has a very handſome Library, kept in four Chambers, the Founder of which was *Godfrid Houtappel*, whoſe Tomb is to be ſeen in a Chapel on the South-ſide of the Church. The *Carmelite* Church is famous for the large Statue of Silver of the Virgin *Mary*. The Church *of our bleſſed Lady* is the biggeſt, and the Steeple the nobleſt and one of the beſt built in the World, being 459 Feet high. This Church abounds alſo in many curious Pieces of Paintings, and among the reſt, there is one highly eſteemed, done by *Quintin*, who being at firſt a Smith, made that curious Iron Work of the Wall before the Weſt Door; but afterwards, to gain his Miſtreſs, turned Painter, and became famous in this Art. His Head, cut in Stone, is placed near the Church Door, with this Inſcription:

Connubialis amor de Mulcibre fecit Apellem.

I took alſo a View of the Abbey of St. *Michael*, ſeated upon the River *Schelde*; among other Rarities I ſaw here a Glaſs which repreſented the Pictures of our Saviour and the Virgin *Mary*, collected from the putting together of divers other Heads: One being repreſented from a certain Picture, which contained no leſs than thirteen Faces, and the other from one of twelve. That of the Virgin *Mary* had this Inſcription:

Diva nitet variis expreſſa Maria Figuris.

In this Abbey, which contains ſixty-three Monks, I ſaw alſo the Tomb of a Counteſs of *Brabant*, who was drowned, and her Statue. Near the Wharf-gate, you ſee the Church of St. *Walburgis*, an *Engliſh* Saint. The Town-houſe of *Antwerp* is a fine Structure, that belonged formerly to the Eaſtern Merchants, very magnificent and large, but run to Ruin; here were preſerved, ſeveral Sorts of Muſical-Inſtruments, not known now-a-days. The *Heſſen* Houſe has been none of the worſt in former Time. The Water which they make uſe of in Brewing, is conveyed hither from *Herental*, at leaſt thirty Miles, by Means of a Canal. This City produces alſo many great Collections of Pictures, and ſome of the beſt Miniature, done by *Gonſol*; of that Kind I ſaw one curious Piece, done by thirty-five ſeveral Maſters.

8. I went from *Antwerp* to *Bruſſels* by Water, changing Boat five Times, by Reaſon of the many Locks and Sluices, the Country about *Bruſſels* being 200 Foot higher than *Antwerp*. There is a Place called *Fontaine*, about five Miles from *Bruſſels*, where three Rivers croſs one another, and one of them is carried over a Bridge. The Market-place of *Bruſſels* is a long Square, having the Town-houſe at one End, and oppoſite to it the Royal Palace, near which the Counts of *Egmont* and *Horne* were beheaded. On the Top of the Town-houſe you ſee the Statue of St. *Michael*, the Patron of this City, in Braſs. In the Church of the *Carmelites*, the Altar is a very noble Piece, and near the Church ſtands a Statue of a Boy piſſing, which ſerves inſtead of a continual Conduit. We alſo took a View of the Armory, which was well furniſhed formerly, but has now only ſome few Remains, ſuch as the Armour of *Charles* V. of the Duke *d'Alva*, of the Cardinal *Infanta*, and ſome few others, and divers Bucklers curiouſly wrought; the Sword of *Charles* V. wherewith he uſed to make the Knights of the *Golden Fleece*; and ſome Banners taken at the Battle of *Pavia* from *Francis* I. Before the Court of the Palace ſtand five Braſs Statues, and on one of the Towers a Bird pierced with an Arrow, in Memory of the Shot which the *Infanta Iſabella* made. The Park has very pleaſant Walks, ſet with Trees, and intermingled with Grotto's, Fountains, and Water-works; one Piece comes near to *Fraſcati*, imitating the Sound of all muſical Inſtruments, by a Kind of perpetual Motion. But what is moſt ſurpriſing in this Park is, the Echo, which makes ten or twelve diſtinct Replies. The Church of St. *Gudula* claims the Preference for Bigneſs; and two Chapels here are worth the Travellers Obſervation; in one of which is preſented the Hoſt, which bled when ſtabbed by the *Jews*. The *Dominican* Church is famous for the Monuments of the Duke and Dutcheſs of *Cleve*, in *Corinthian* Braſs. The *Beguines*, or pious Maids, (a Kind of Nuns) of which there are near 800 at *Bruſſels*, have alſo a very fair Church, which is milk-white, and lately built. The *Engliſh* have alſo a Nunnery here. There were at that Time above 300 Houſes ſhut up, infected with the Plague, and marked with this Token,

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Which made me haſten away; ſo that after I had dined at the Fiſh-Tavern, (noted for its Pictures) I returned to *Antwerp*, and travelling the 4th of *October*, through an open Country, I took up my Quarters at *Molin bruſle*, and entring the Country of *Liege* the 5th, arrived the 6th at *Maeſtricht*, a ſtrong City, ſituated upon the *Maes*, four Leagues below *Liege*. It is chiefly conſiderable for its Out-works, the Wall itſelf being old. To remedy the Inconveniency ariſing to the Town from an adjacent Hill on the S. E. Side, they have made an Horn-work within a Muſket-ſhot of it, and a high Baſtion anſwering to it, covers the Town. Under this Hill is one of the beſt Quarries of Stone in the World. On the other Side of the *Maes* is a Suburb called the *Wicke*, rather ſtronger then *Maeſtricht*, unto which it is joined by a Bridge of nine Arches. The Country on that Side is flat: The Houſes of *Maeſtricht* are none of the handſomeſt; yet the Town-houſe is a ſtately Structure, ſtanding in one of the Piazzas; in another Piazza ſtands the Great Church. This Town was taken by the *Spaniards* in 1632. *October* the 7th, I paſſed through *Gal'op*, and came the ſame Night to *Aken*, *Aix la Chapelle*, or *Aquiſgranum*, famous for its hot Baths. From hence I purſued my Journey to *Juliers*, but being late, we paſſed by it, leaving it to the Right. Not far from this City runs a ſhallow but ſwift River, called the *Roer*, at the Confluence of which with the *Maes* is *Roermonde*, the capital City of the *Spaniſh Gelderland*, ſeated upon a riſing Ground.

9. *Cologne*, *Collen*, or *Colonia Agrippina*, anciently the chief Seat of the *Ubii*, who firſt inhabited the Country of *Bergues*, were infeſted by the *Germans*, and, imploring the Protection of the *Romans*, were by them placed on the other Side of the *Rhine*, and ſettled in this Place by *Agrippa* Lord Lieutenant of *Gallia*, and was afterwards named *Colonia Agrippina*, in Honour of *Agrippina* Daughter of *Germanicus*, and Wife of *Claudius*, whoſe Birth-place it was. It may for Extent vie with any City of *Germany*, and is fortified to the Land-ſide with two high Walls and two deep Trenches, and beautified with ſeveral Rows of pleaſant Trees, and ſecured on the Side of the *Rhine* by a Wall of Stone; but its greateſt Strength conſiſts in ſome Outworks, Half-moons and Ravelins. The chief Streets are broad, and paved with broad Stones. *Maternus*, who was preſent at the Council of *Arles*, was their Biſhop at leaſt 1350 Years ſince. Great Part of the Town is taken up with Churches and Monaſteries, many of them very well endowed, there being to moſt of the Houſes of the Canons and Prebends, large Gardens and Vineyards. The Church of St. *Kunibald* lies on the North Side of the Town; but the Convent of the *Dominicans* is a very fair modern Structure. The *Jeſuits* Church is full of rich Ornaments; and that dedicated to St. *Gereon* (who was martyred thereabouts in the Time of *Maximianus*) contains above 1000 Saints Heads. In the Church of St. *Urſula* you ſee her Tomb, and thoſe of 11,000 Virgins ſlain by the *Huns*. The Tomb of *Urſula* has this Inſcription:

Sepulchrum Sanctæ Urſulæ indicio Columbæ detectum.

Upon many of thoſe Tombs were old Croſſes and Lamps. The Church is alſo full of the Bones and Heads of Martyrs. The Cathedral of St. *Peter* is a large Structure, but remains unfiniſhed. Within the Body of the Church are four Rows of Pillars, and the Choir is very handſomely built; behind it are ſuppoſed to be the Tombs of the three Wiſe Men of the Eaſt, or the Kings of *Arabia*, commonly called the three Kings of *Cologn*; *Milchior*, who, as they ſay, offered Gold, *Gaſpar* Frankincenſe, and *Balthaſar* Myrrhe. They relate, that their Bodies were firſt tranſlated to *Conſtantinople* by *Helena*, the Mother of *Conſtantine* the *Great*; from thence to *Milan* by *Eaſtorſius* their Biſhop, whence they were removed above 500 Years ago, *viz.* 1164. to *Cologn*, by *Rainold* Biſhop of this Dioceſe. All the Canons of this Church muſt be Noblemen. Upon one of the Ruins in the Street, you ſee a Tomb made of one Stone, of which Kind many more are to be met with in other Places of this City. Of theſe I ſaw a great Number at *Arles* in *Provence*. The Town-houſe is an elegant Structure; on the Front of which is a Man in *Baſſo relievo*, engaged with a Lion, who, as they relate, was a Burger-maſter of that City, that having exaſperated the Clergy againſt him, upon ſome Difference, they ſent in a Lion upon him, whom he ſlew upon the Spot. The Elector of *Cologn*, who is alſo their Archbiſhop, has two Palaces here; but by Agreement is not to ſtay above three Days at a Time. It is a free Imperial City, notwithſtanding which it does Homage to the Elector.

The Inhabitants are generally *Roman Catholicks*, and the City, by Reaſon of the vaſt Number of Convents, Churches, and Reliques, is ſtiled the *Rome* of *Germany*. However, the *Lutherans* have a Church within the Precinct of the Walls, and the *Calviniſts* another at *Mulheim*, about two Miles below it, on the other Side of the *Rhine*. Juſt oppoſite to *Cologn* is the Village of the *Dutz*, inhabited chiefly by *Jews*. They ſpeak but a Kind of odd *High-Dutch*; but to recompence this, the *Latin* and *French* are much in Uſe here. It was made an Univerſity in 1388, and has four very good Hoſpitals, two for young and old Perſons that are infirm, and two for the Sick. After we left *Cologne*, we were drawn up the *Rhine* by Horſes, and lodged the ſame Night at a ſmall Village, near which *Julius Cæſar* made his Bridge over the *Rhine*.

10. We came the next Day to *Bonne*, the ordinary Reſidence of the Elector of *Cologne*. It was formerly called *Caſtra Bonnenſia*, as being the Station of the ſixth Legion in Winter, in the Time of *Tacitus*. The Archbiſhop's Palace is a noble Edifice, ſtretching a good Way into the *Rhine*. We took our Quarters this Night at the Foot of one of the ſeven Hills near the *Rhine*, moſt of which have old ruined Caſtles upon them. On the 15th we paſſed by a very pleaſant Iſland, with a Convent in it; we ſaw alſo the Convent at *Remagen*, built upon a Rock, and fortified with round Towers, and came the 16th in the Morning to *Andernach* or *Antenacum*, one of the *Roman* Fortreſſes upon the *Rhine*. Some affirm, that this was the Birth place of *Caligula*, and that *Valentinian* was buried near it. There are divers Mineral Springs hereabouts. The City is only fortified with an old Wall. The Water-paſſage being grown tedious, we hired a Coach to *Coblentz*, and paſſing through a very agreeable Country, planted with Walnut Trees, and in Sight of two of the Elector of *Treves*'s Country Houſes, we croſſed the River *Moſelle*, over a very fine Bridge ſuſtained by thirteen Arches, built in 1344, by Archbiſhop *Baldwin*. We went immediately to the Convent of the *Dominicans*, very agreeably ſeated on the Banks of the *Rhine*; the Prior of which being in our Company, he would needs keep us with him all Night, and entertained us with an handſome Supper, and excellent *Moſelle* Wine. *Coblentz* or *Confluentia*, is ſo called, from its Situation at the Confluence of the *Rhine* and *Moſelle*, which make two Sides of it, the Third being a noble Fortification, after the modern Way, from one River to the other, which makes it of a triangular Figure. It has an old Wall within the Works, and is under the Juriſdiction of the Elector and Archbiſhop of *Treves*, as is likewiſe the Caſtle of *Hermanſtein*, (*Hermans ſterna*) by ſome called *Ehrenbreitſtein*, built juſt over againſt it on the other Side of the *Rhine*, being joined to *Coblentz* by a long Bridge. At the Foot of a Rock juſt underneath this Caſtle, you ſee a very noble Palace belonging to the Elector, having two very large Wings, and a Fort with five Pavilions, facing the *Rhine*. Not far from *Coblentz*, the *Carthuſians* have a Convent pleaſantly ſeated upon a Hill.

October the 17th, we continued our Voyage upon the *Rhine* to *Boppart*, a walled Town upon the Weſtern Bank, an ancient Fortreſs of the *Romans*, known by the Name of *Bodobriga*.

The 18th, we dined at St. *Goar*, a Place upon the River, under the Juriſdiction of the *Lantgrave* of *Heſſe*, who has a Caſtle here. On the Outſide of the Wall of the Town is faſtned a Collar of Braſs, given, as they ſay, by *Charles* V. It is the Cuſtom, that ſuch Strangers as come aſhore here, muſt put their Knees into this Collar, when they are aſked, *Whether they will be ſprinkled*

ſprinkled with Water, or Beer, or Wine? If they are for the Wine, they muſt give an Entertainment of Wine to the Company. The Queen of *Sweden* paſſing by that Way not many Years before, had preſented them with a great Silver Cup, which they commonly drink out of. The 19th, We purſued our Voyage to *Baccharach*, famous for its excellent Wines; under the Elector *Palatine*. Hence we paſs'd by a very old Caſtle, ſituate upon a Rock in the Middle of the *Rhine*, called *Pfalts*, becauſe hither formerly the Princeſſes *Palatines* were ſent to be brought to Bed. The next Day we paſſed along with a rapid Stream, which is very dangerous by Reaſon of the many Rocks that lie under Water; and a little above it we had a full Sight of a round Tower, on a Rock in the *Rhine*, commonly call'd *Mouſe-Tower*, built by *Hatto*, Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, who having at a Time of general Scarcity, invited a great Number of Poor to preſent them with Corn, inſtead of relieving, ſet Fire to the Barn in which they were encloſed, and whilſt they made lamentable Cries, he ſaid, *Hear how the Mice ſcream.* Soon after, being perſecuted with Rats and Mice to that Degree, that he was not able to abide in his Palace, he built this round Tower in the *Rhine*, but being alſo proſecuted thither by the Mice, he miſerably ended his Days. Not far above it, upon the Weſtern Bank, you ſee the Town of *Bing* or *Bingium*, an ancient *Roman* Fortreſs upon the *Rhine*, at the Conflux of that River and the *Navus* or *Naw*, over the laſt of which is a very fine Stone Bridge. It belongs to the Elector of *Mayence.* From *Bing* we ſet forward for *Mayence*, and in our Way at *Rudeſheim* in the *Rhine* (ſo famous for the Excellency of the Wine) we were ſhew'd a Boy, whoſe Hair was as woolly as any of the *African* Moors, but of a whitiſh Colour; I took ſome of the Hair along with me.

Mentz, or *Mayence*; *Moguntia*, by the *Latins*, is ſituated juſt below the Confluence of the two Rivers, the *Main* and *Rhine*, over againſt it; extending in Length towards the River, abounding with Monaſteries, Churches, and publick Buildings; but the Streets are narrow, and the private Houſes built after an antick Faſhion; the Country round it is extremely fertile. *Mayence* claims the Invention of Printing, but may rather be ſaid to have brought it to Perfection. It is famous for the Defeat of the *Roman* Legions, under *Varus*, by the *Germans*, which happened near it; and *Guſtavus Adolphus*, the victorious King of *Sweden*, made his publick Entry here, 1631. in great Magnificence, and laid two Bridges, one over the *Main*, the other over the *Rhine*, the firſt of which is taken away ſince, but the other remains in the ſame Station. The Elector of *Mayence* is the firſt in Rank of the *Electoral College*, and has his Place at the Emperor's right Hand in all publick Aſſemblies. But his Territories are not ſuitable to his Dignity, being far leſs than thoſe of *Cologne* and *Treves*; beſides that, they lie ſcattering in the *Palatinate* and *Franconia.* However his ſeizing the City of *Erfurdt* has been no ſmall Addition to his Power; where he has built a Citadel on St. *Peter's-Hill*, which ſerves for an Inlet into *Thuringia.*

11. From *Mayence* we continued our Voyage up the *Maine* to *Franckfort*, an Imperial City, call'd *Trajectum ad Mœnum*, becauſe the *Franks* uſed to paſs and repaſs here, whilſt they made War upon the *Gauls*, and to diſtinguiſh it from *Franckfort* upon the *Oder*, an Univerſity belonging to the Elector of *Brandenburgh*. The City is very large, divided in two by the River, the leſſer of which is called *Saxon-Houſe*, joined to the other by a fair Stone-Bridge, ſupported by twelve or thirteen Arches. The Advantage of the River *Main*, which paſſes by *Bamberg*, *Schweinfurt*, *Wurtzburg*, and other Places, and is join'd by the River *Tauber*, and others of leſs Note, together with its running into the *Rhine*, renders this City very commodious for Trade, as may be ſeen at the Time of the two great Marts kept there every Year, in *March* and *September*, when there is an incredible Concourſe of People of all Nations, who buy and ſell their Commodities, but eſpecially Horſes and Books, though at other Times the Bookſellers have little Buſineſs here.

In *Saxon-houſe* is a Palace belonging to the Knights of the *Teutonick Order*, which is a Sanctuary for Debtors and Criminals, for fourteen Days. Abundance of *Jews* live in, and frequent this Place; they are diſtinguiſh'd from the Chriſtians by their Habits, which is a Ruff for the old Ones, a Bonnet for the younger Sort, and a peculiar Head-dreſs for their Women. We continued our Journey from *Franckfort* through the *Bergſtraet*, and paſſing by *Darmſtadt*, travelled through a very fruitful Country, full of Wall-nut Trees, Vines, Corn, and Tobacco in ſome Places. Coming to *Heidelberg*, we paſs'd the River *Neccar* or *Necarus*, riſing in the *Sylva Martiana* or *Black Foreſt*, and continuing its Current through the Duke of *Wittenberg*'s Dominions, joins its Waters with the *Rhine* at *Manheim.* It paſſes by *Sultz*, *Tubingen*, *Stutgard*, *Hailbrun*, *Heidelberg*, and divers other noble and famous Cities.

12. As for the City of *Heidelberg*, its Situation is betwixt a River and a Ridge of Hills, extending from Eaſt to Weſt, which makes it unfit for a regular Fortification. It was made an Univerſity, in 1346: It was taken by the *Spaniards* in 1620. when the famous Library that was preſerved there in the Great Church, was carried to *Rome*, and added to the *Vatican* Library, where I ſaw it in 1664 on one Side of the Gallery, oppoſite to that of the Duke of *Urbin*'s. This Church, as well as that of St. *Peter*, contains many beautiful Monuments of the *Palatine* Family and other Perſons of Note. The *French* have a Church here as well as the *Lutherans*, the laſt of which is call'd the *Church of Providence*, and the Elector, though a *Calviniſt*, laid the firſt Stone of it: The Electoral Family are now Papiſts.

The Town-houſe is remarkable for its Clock, which has ſeveral Motions, and repreſents ſeveral Figures of Men, fighting of a Cock, &c. when it ſtrikes. The Elector's Stables are near the River-ſide, but one half of them has been ruined in the laſt *German* Wars, as well as the Statues that were on the Outſide of the Caſtle, which being upon an Eminency has among other Things a very large Tower, formerly call'd *Trutzkayſar* or *Defiance to the Emperor*, the Name of which is ſince changed into that of the *Star-fort.* Near it is a beautiful Garden, adorn'd with Grotto's, Caves and Water-works. But the moſt remarkable of all are the Cellars, repleniſhed with Veſſels of Wine, of a more than ordinary Size, among which, that commonly call'd the *Tun of Heidelberg* ſurpaſſes the reſt, built in 1664, containing near 200 Tuns; inſtead of Hoops it is made with large Knee Timber, like the Ribs of a Ship, well carved and painted, and ſupported by Pedeſtals likewiſe carved. On one Side is a Stair-caſe, forty three Steps high, leading up into the Gallery, which is on the Top of this great Veſſel.

There is a ſolitary Place not above a Mile from *Heidelberg*, where you ſee three very fine Springs come forth out of the Mountain, and after they have fill'd five Ponds, and paſſed through three Caſcades or Falls, carry ſo ſtrong a Stream through the adjacent Plains, that they turn four Mills within a ſmall Diſtance one of another. It is call'd the *Wolfs Fountain*, from a certain Princeſs, who, as they ſay, was torn to Pieces near this Place by a Wolf. At *Heidelberg* I was viſited by two *Engliſhmen*, Mr. *Villers* and *Timothy Middleton.* Theſe belong'd to a certain Monaſtery called *Lebenſfeldt*, poſſeſſed formerly by the *Jeſuits*, but beſtow'd ſince upon the *Engliſh*, who, to the Number of about an hundred, leaving their Native Country, in 1661, ſettled themſelves with their Families in this Convent, a few Miles from *Heidelberg*. They call'd themſelves *Chriſtian Jews*, maintain'd a Community of many Things, did not cut nor ſhave their Beards, and obſerved many other Ceremonies enjoin'd in the Old Teſtament. Their Head was then one Mr. *Poole* of *Norwich.*

Whilſt I was at *Heidelberg*, I took a Turn to *Spires*, and afterwards to *Manheim.* The firſt (ſuppoſed to be *Urbs Nemetum* of the Ancients) is ſituate in a Plain near the Weſtern Banks of the *Rhine*. The *Swedes*, in the laſt *German* Wars, demoliſh'd it. The Epiſcopal See is under the Juriſdiction of the Archbiſhop of *Mayence*; it is well built, and has ſeveral good Churches. In the Cathedral, which is beautified with four large Towers, the *Roman Catholicks*, *Lutherans* and *Calviniſts* preach in their Turns at different Hours. It is very populous from the vaſt Concourſe of People which attend their Law-Suits here. The Imperial Chamber, which was by *Maximilian* eſtabliſh'd at *Worms*, has been ſince remov'd to *Spires*, in which not only private Cauſes, but alſo the Differences betwixt the Princes of the Empire, are determined without Appeal. *Manheim* lies at the Conflux of the *Rhine* and *Neccar*, which, from a Village, is in a few Years encreaſed to a Town, with large fair Streets, walled about and defended by a very ſtrong Caſtle or Fortreſs. I ſaw the Model of a Palace the Elector is building, and in that Part which is already built, are many good Pictures, and among the reſt, a Landſkip, with the Hiſtory of the *Swiſs* Confederacy.

13. In our Way from *Heidelberg* towards *Nurenberg*, we travel'd along the *Neccar* in rocky Ways to *Moſpach*; the ſecond to *Poxberg*, where we ſaw nothing but an old Caſtle; and the ſame Day came to *Merkenthal*, or *Mergentheim*, the Reſidence of the Grand Maſters of the *Teutonick* Order. It is a very well built Town, with a handſome Piazza, which has a Fountain in the Centre, and a Statue of one of the Grand Maſters of this Order, with a long *Corridore* from the Palace. This Order took its Riſe under the Emperor *Frederick* I. who, in his Expedition againſt the Holy Land, being accompanied by many Gentlemen of *Germany*, in Emulation of the Knights Templars, entred into an Order, which being approved by Pope *Celeſtine* III. they waged afterwards War againſt the Pagans inhabiting *Pruſſia* and *Livonia*, and ſubdued them; of which they remain'd Maſters, till they were at firſt diſpoſſeſs'd of theſe Countries by the *Poles*, and afterwards by the *Swedes*; ſo that there is nothing remaining now of this Order, but a few Commanderies in *Germany*. They wear a plain black Croſs on a white Mantle; and the Dignity of Grand Maſter (who takes Place of all the Biſhops) is generally beſtow'd upon one of the firſt Rank among the Princes of *Germany*.

As we paſs'd by *Lauterbach*, we ſaw a Church, a very noble Structure, on the Top of a high Hill, where the Pilgrims perform their Devotions in great Numbers. The next Place we came to was *Rotenberg*, an Imperial City, ſituate near the Head Spring of the River *Tauber*; which, after it has paſs'd by *Rotiengen* and *Landen*, falls into the *Main* near *Wertheim*. We lodg'd that Night at *Burgperner*, paſſing the next Day by *Schantzbach*, came before Night to *Nurenberg*. This City may very well claim the Prerogative of being the faireſt in *Germany*; moſt of the Houſes being built of Free-ſtone, very high, and many of them painted on the Outſide, and adorned with gilded Balls on the Top; they are generally ſix or ſeven Stories; and though the City is at a good Diſtance from any navigable River, and ſituated in a barren Country; yet is it very populous, the Induſtry of the Inhabitants being ſuch, as to be accounted the beſt Artificers in *Germany*, in Steel, Braſs, Ivory, and Wood, which creates a vaſt Trade here, and retains it.

The three chief Churches are, the *Hoſpital Church* lately built; that of St. *Lawrence*, which is famous for its Bigneſs, with two Steeples in the Front; and that of St. *Sebald*, which excels the reſt. Here you ſee a wooden Crucifix ſo carved, as to be valued at an exceſſive Rate: Without the Church is another of black Wood. In ſhort, as the *Lutheran* Religion is exerciſed here in its full Pomp, ſo this ſtately Church, and eſpecially the Pulpit, which is excellently carved and gilt, may challenge one of the firſt Places among thoſe of that Religion. Every Morning Half an Hour is ſpent in this Church in reading certain Paſſages out of the Scripture by the Prieſt, before he preaches to the People. The Senate Houſe is worth the Notice of any Traveller; the Hall is very ſpacious, and the Chambers lofty, and adorn'd with many good Pictures, the Floor being pav'd with Stones gilt, and intermix'd with ſeveral Colours. In one of theſe Chambers you ſee the Picture of moſt of the Great Perſons of *Germany*, that were entertained in the Halls; another of the Three Brothers of *Saxony*; an Elephant painted to the Life; a Piece of St. *John*, another of St. *Mark*, and two more of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, both done by *Albert Durer*; but that of *Adam* and *Eve*, by the ſame Hand, exceeds all the reſt, with this Inſcription:

Albertus Durer Alman faciebat poſt Virginis partum, 1507.

There is alſo another very rare Piece, of St. *Luke* drawing the Picture of our Saviour, and the Virgin *Mary*. As you enter the Shambles, you ſee a large Ox carved in Wood, and painted over, with this Inſcription:

Omnia habent ortus ſuaque incrementa, ſed ecce
Quem cernis, nunquam Bos fuit hic, Vitulus.

The Caſtle of *Nurenberg* is ſeated upon a Hill. The Emperor's Picture, his Chapel, a very fine Well, and other Pictures of the Electors, are very remarkable. They ſhew'd us alſo the Armour of *Hebbele van Gailleingen*, a famous Sorcerer in thoſe Parts, and the Print of his Horſe's Feet in the Wall of the Caſtle; from whence, as they tell you, he leaped with his Horſe over the Town Ditch. They were then buſy in making a new Fountain; I muſt confeſs, that the Braſs Statues intended for it, were excellent Pieces: The Sea Horſes were of a very large Size, and the Sea-Nymphs exceeded the ordinary Stature of Women: The Statue of *Neptune*, deſign'd to be ſet on the Top, was above ten Foot high.

The ſmall River *Pegnitz* paſſes through the City, near which are ſeveral Stone Bridges; below it joins with the River *Rednitz*, that unites its Waters with the *Maine* at *Bamberg*, which laſt falls afterwards into the *Rhine*. The River *Rednitz* has its Riſe at *Weiſſenburg*, at no great Diſtance from the River *Altmul*, which falls into the *Danube* not far from *Ratiſbon*. This Conveniency induced *Charles the Great* to endeavour a Communication between the *Rhine* and the *Danube*; but after he had advanced about two *German* Leagues in this Work, his warlike Employments, and ſome other Difficulties, made him give over his Deſign.

14. Not above four Leagues from *Nurenberg* is *Altorff*, a Town under their Juriſdiction, with an Univerſity erected in 1623. They have here a very handſome Phyſick Garden, containing above 2000 Plants. The Anatomy School is not very large, yet has ſeveral Skeletons, of a Hart, of a Horſe, of a Man, and of a Bear, bigger than a Horſe; beſides ſome very ancient Pictures, as that of *Moſes*, and of a *Ninevite*. Dr. *Wagenſeyl* (whoſe Brother travell'd with me from *Heidelberg*) Profeſſor of the Civil Law and Hiſtory, ſhew'd me alſo a good Collection of his own, of Rarities and Coins, which he had gather'd in his Travels through *Europe*. In the Univerſity Library I ſaw a fair *Hortus Eyſtetenſis*, and *Youngerman*'s Collection of Plants, by his own Hands.

Leaving *Nurenberg*, we paſſed through *Newmark* in the *Upper Palatinate*, belonging to the Elector of *Bavaria*; and the next Day by the Way of *Heinaw*, ſubject to the Duke of *Newburg*, to *Ratiſbon*, anciently called *Auguſta Tiberii*, and *Colonia Quartanorum*, from the Fourth *Italick* Legion, which had their Quarters aſſigned them here, as being the chief Place belonging to the *Romans* on thoſe Frontiers. Some are of Opinion, that *Tiberius* ſettled a Colony here in the Year of our Saviour's Paſſion; but it owes its chief Increaſe to the Emperor *Arnulphus*. Near it the River *Regen* falls into the *Danube*, whence the *Germans* give it the name of *Regenſburg*. It has a Bridge of Wood below the Town, and another of Stone, the faireſt that is to be ſeen upon the *Danube*, being ſupported by fifteen Arches. It is an Imperial City, and tolerably well fortified, and has many ſtately Buildings, both private and publick. The Cathedral of St. *Peter* is a very fair Edifice, on the

South-ſide of which you ſee the Picture of St. *Peter* in a Boat, and on the oppoſite Side the Apoſtle's firſt Miſſion. In the Piazza ſtands a ſmall but very neat Church; the Convent of St. *Paul*, another of St. *Emerammus*, Biſhop of *Ratiſbon*, and a celebrated Saint in thoſe Parts: *Albertus Magnus*, who was alſo Biſhop of *Ratiſbon*, has made no ſmall Addition to its Fame. But the chief Glory of this Place is the Diet, or General Aſſembly of the States of the Empire, which is call'd together here. Upon this Occaſion the Vice Marſhal is obliged to take Care that Lodgings are provided for the Perſons that are to appear there; that Proviſions may be brought thither in Plenty, and ſold at a ſet Rate; that the Place of the Aſſembly be adorned ſuitable to ſo great an Occaſion, and the publick Safety be not violated.

In this Place I entred that famous River the *Danube*, which beginning to be navigable in *Suabia*, paſſes by *Donawert*, *Newburg*, and *Ingolſtadt*; it is increaſed by the River *Licus*, or *Leck*; by which the Commodities of the famous City of *Augſburg* are tranſported into it, From *Regenſburg* we paſs'd the firſt Day to *Thonawſtein*, *(Danube-ſtone)* where is a Caſtle ſeated upon a high Rock, and thence to *Pfeter*, famous among the Ancients, by the Name of *Vetera Caſtra*, now an inconſiderable Place. The Boats made Uſe of upon the *Danube* are generally flat bottom'd, and broad at the Head and Stern; there is an Apartment for Paſſengers in the Middle, and they have very large Rudders, the better to command the Boats where the Current is ſwift. The next Day we paſſed by *Straubingen*, a wall'd Town belonging to the Elector of *Bavaria*; and the ſame Afternoon by *Swartz*, where we ſaw a Church upon a Hill, much frequented by Pilgrims; we lodg'd that Night at *Deckendorff*, near which the River *Iſer*, or *Iſara*, after having paſſed by *Landſhut*, *Friſing*, and *Munchen*, (the ordinary Reſidence of the Elector of *Bavaria)* falls into the *Danube*.

Thurſday, being *November* the 15th, we paſs'd by *Wilſhoven* to *Paſſaw*, *Paſſovio*, or *Boiodurum*, a handſome City in the lower *Bavaria*, formerly known by the Name of *Caſtra Batava* among the *Romans*, who had ſettled a Colony there. It is compoſed of three Towns, *viz.* *Illſtadt*, *Paſſaw*, and *Inſtadt*, and ſeated at the Meeting of the three Rivers, the *Inne*, the *Danube*, and the *Iltz*. It has ſeveral very fair Churches, amongſt which that of St. *Stephen* exceeds the reſt. The Biſhop's Reſidence is a Caſtle built upon a Hill; his Revenues are very conſiderable, Part of which ariſe from the great Lead-Mine at *Bleyberg* in *Carinthia*. It was, not many Years ago, almoſt laid in Aſhes, by an accidental Fire, and as moſt of the Streets have been rebuilt ſince after the *Italian* Manner, ſo this City may now juſtly claim to be inſerted in the Number of the ten conſiderable Cities upon the *Danube*, viz. *Ulm*, *Engolſtadt*, *Ratiſbon*, *Paſſaw*, *Lintz*, *Vienna*, *Preſburg*, *Strigonium*, *Buda*, and *Belgrade*; the eight laſt of which I had the Opportunity to ſee, before the End of my Journey.

Juſt by a Wall, oppoſite to the Great Church at *Paſſaw*, ſtands a very large Head cut in Stone, the Mouth being two Spans wide, and the reſt proportionable. In the River *Iltz*, which comes from the North, they find Abundance of Pearls: And the noble River *Inne* coming from the South, and paſſing by *Inſprung*, is augmented by the River *Saltz*, (upon which ſtands the City of *Saltzburg)* diſcharges itſelf with great Force into the *Danube*, being the largeſt Stream that hitherto had joined that River. The River *Inne* riſes among the *Alps* in *Tyrol*. The 16th we arrived at *Lintz*, the Capital of the *Lower Auſtria*, not ſo conſiderable for its Bigneſs as Neatneſs, the whole Town being built of a white Free-ſtone, and the Market-place very ſpacious and handſome. The Caſtle lies upon a Hill, and is fortified after the modern Way. It has a Bridge alſo over the *Danube*. When *Solyman the Magnificent* beſieged *Vienna*, this was the Rendezvous of the Imperial Army. It was beſieged by 40,000 Peaſants in *Ferdinand* II's Time; but relieved by *Pappenheim*. Somewhat below *Lintz*, the River *Draun*, which riſes out of the *Gemunder Sea* (or *Lacus Felicis)* joins its Current with the *Danube*.

The 17th, we paſs'd by *Embs*, or *Aniſia*, ſituated upon the River *Aniſius* or *Onaſus*, which riſing near the Frontiers of *Saltzburg*, and being augmented by the River *Saltza*, upon which ſtands *Maria Cell*, noted for Pilgrimages, divides the *Higher* and *Lower Auſtria*, and then falls into the *Danube*. Hereabouts ſtood the ancient *Lauriacum*, a *Roman* Garriſon, where a great many *Roman* Coins and Antiquities are found. On the North Side of the *Danube* we ſaw a Seat of the Earl of *Leichtenſteyn*, near the Village of *Greim*. Not far below this Village are two dangerous Paſſages in the *Danube*, called the *Strudel* and the *Wurbel*; the firſt is a Place where the River being forced among the Rocks, ſome under, ſome above Water, the Waves are broken, and render the Current rapid and troubleſome, requiring a great deal of Skill to paſs through the Ledges of the Rocks, eſpecially when it is low Water; the ſecond is a Kind of Whirlpoole, where the Current being forcibly repelled by a great Rock, turns round with much Violence. Hard by, on the Top of a craggy Rock, you ſee a large Croſs, and at the Foot a Chapel dedicated to St. *Nicholas*, who being look'd upon as Patron and Protector of ſuch as have paſs'd ſafely this Way, a Boat comes thence to receive ſuch Preſents as the Paſſengers are willing to give. We took up our Lodgings this Night at *Ips*, on the South-ſide of the *Danube*; oppoſite to which is *Beſenbeug* or *Uſtium Ptolomæi*. Two *German* Leagues below *Ips* lies *Pechlarn*, believed by ſome to be the old *Arlape*, where the River *Erlaph* falls into the *Danube*. A Mile and a half lower you ſee *Melcke*, formerly the Reſidence of the Marqueſſes of *Auſtria*, which was thence removed, firſt to *Leopold*, and afterwards to *Vienna*. The City is built along the South-ſide of the River; the Monaſtery of the *Benedictines* is ſeated upon a high Hill; has very great Endowments, and many Monuments of great Perſonages, and among the reſt the Tomb of St. *Colman*. We dined at *Steyn*, where is a ſtately Bridge over the *Danube*. Near to this lies *Crembs*, a walled Town, and on the oppoſite Side *Mautern*; not far from whence is the rich Monaſtery called *Ketwein*. A little beyond it the River *Traiſn*, or *Tragiſama*, comes from the South. Afterward we paſs'd by the famous Town of St. *Poll*; and taking up our Quarters that Night at St. *Eldorff*, went the next Day by *Thul*, *Stockerau*, and *Cloiſter Neuburg*, ſafely to *Vienna*.

15. *Vienna*, called *Wien* by the *Germans*, and *Beach* by the *Turks*, is the capital City of all *Auſtria*, ſituate in 43° 20′, differing not much from the Latitude of *Paris*, the Seat of the Archdukes of *Auſtria* and the *German* Emperors. According to ancient Geographers this City belonged to the *Upper Pannonia*; the Limits of *Pannonia* extending as far as *Kalemberg*, or *Mons Cetius*, about ſix Miles to the Weſtward of *Vienna*; beyond which all that lies more Weſtward, betwixt that Mountain and the River *Inne* or *Oenus*, which falls into the *Danube* at *Paſſaw*, was anciently called *Noricum*

Several of the *Roman* Emperors, and eſpecially *Marcus Antoninus Philoſophus*, have made themſelves famous by their great Actions againſt the *Marcomanni* and *Quadi*; the laſt of which, after he had routed theſe Nations, fell ſick at *Carnuntum* or *Petronel*, and died at *Vindobona* now *Vienna*, ſituate upon the South Shore of the *Danube*; which is the Reaſon, that at ſeveral Times, but eſpecially in 1662, many *Roman* Antiquities have been found hereabouts; the laſt was a Kind of Coffin containing hard Earth and Bones, with a ſmall Gold Coin, a Glaſs Urn in a Braſs Caſe, an Iron Knife like thoſe uſed anciently in Sacrifices; a little Roll of pure Gold, cloſed with a Golden Cover at both Ends, with an Inſcription, which, according to *Lambecius*'s Opinion, was in old *Pannonian Characters*. Not far from the Monument itſelf, which was under the Foundation of a Wall near the old Palace, they found a Head in Braſs, a *Patera*, Lamps, Lachrymatories, and other Veſſels of the ſame Metal, and a Copper Coin of *Antoninus Caracalla*.

This City is not ſeated upon the Channel of the *Danube*, but only upon a Branch thereof, of which there are ſeveral that make divers ſmall Iſlands. The River *Wien* (which has imparted its Name to the Place) paſſes by the Eaſt-part of the City, and below it falls into the

Danube: Its Floods often do conſiderable Miſchief to the City, though at other Times it is ſo ſhallow and narrow, that one may ſtep over it: It divides Part of the Suburbs from the Body of the City, the former are very ſpacious and full of fine Houſes, Gardens, Walks, and other Conveniencies. The Body of the City is well fortified, being ſeparated from the Suburbs by a fair *Eſplanade*, deſcending in an open Ground for 300 Paces. Its Fortifications are after the modern Way, compos'd of ten Baſtions to the Land-ſide, and a very deep Ditch, which though it be kept continually dry, for Fear the Water ſhould ſpoil the Cellars, which are very deep here, yet they can let the *Danube* into it at Pleaſure. It has two Baſtions toward the Water, on the North-ſide of the Town. The Baſtions are very large, the whole Fortification of a great Breadth, well faced with Brick, and edged with Free Stone. Beſides which, it has an old inward Wall, built with the Ranſom of our King *Richard* I. who was detain'd Priſoner there, in his Return from the *Holy War*.

The whole Circumference, Suburbs and all, takes up a great Tract of Ground; but the Fortifications of the City don't exceed three *Engliſh* Miles, but is exceeding populous, nothing being more delightful than to ſee *Turks*, *Tartars*, *Greeks*, *Tranſilvanians*, *Sclavonians*, *Hungarians*, *Croatians*, *Spaniards*, *Italians*, *French*, *Germans*, *Polanders*, all in their own Country Habits. It has ſix Gates, *viz.* 1. The *Stuben* Gate to the Eaſt. 2. The *Carinthian* Gate to the South. 3. The *Caſtle* Gate. 4. The *Scotch* Gate. 5. The *New Gate.* And, 6. The *Red Tower* Gate, to the Northward, leading to the Bridge over the *Danube*; beſides which there is a Port by the Emperor's Palace, towards the Water-ſide: There is a certain Nunnery in the Town, call'd *Himmel Port*, or the *Gate of Heaven.* The five firſt of theſe Gates are vaulted through the Town-Wall, with convenient Draw-Bridges to paſs the Ditch. The ſixth is a Paſſage under a Tower, towards the Bridge of the *Danube*: For as that River runs through a low Country, it divides itſelf into ſeven ſmall Channels, which are join'd by as many Bridges made of many thouſand Trees laid cloſe one to another. There is a very remarkable Bridge at *Vienna* call'd the *High-Bridge*, made by the croſſing of two Streets by equal Angles; but the Ground in one Street being equal in Height to the Tops of the Houſes of the other, they have been forced to build a Bridge or Arch in the lowermoſt Street, to let the upper paſs over it. For the reſt, the Houſes here are of Stone, for the moſt Part Six Stories high, and flat-roof'd after the *Italian* Manner; the Streets are of a middle Size, neither broad nor narrow: Their Cellars are worth a curious Traveller's Obſervation: in ſome of them I found four Cellars one under another, well arched, with two Pair of Stairs to go into them. In ſome I obſerved an open Space in the Middle of each Roof, for the Reception of the Air, and from the loweſt a *Tube*, to convey the Air into it out of the Street, much after the ſame Manner as they do in the Mines.

I can't here paſs by the Encomium *Æneas Sylvius* gives of *Vienna*; viz. *That it has Palaces fit for Kings, and Churches which* Italy *may admire*: Which is much better verified now. For the Imperial Palace is a truly noble Structure, and excellently well furniſh'd; it has two Courts, one very large, the other leſs, where the Emperor's Lodgings are. Over the Gate you ſee no other Inſcription but the five Vowels in Capital Letters, *viz.* *A*, *E*, *I*, *O*, *U*; which ſome have interpreted thus: *Auſtriæ Eſt Imperare Orbi Univerſo*; though I am apt to imagine, that this is not the true Senſe of theſe Letters. There is beſides the two before-mentioned Courts, another ſmall one, where are the Lodgings of the Pages; where I took Notice of a large rough *Jaſpis* Stone, of about nine Foot Diameter, which lay unregarded upon the Ground, though a little Piece that was poliſhed, ſhewed that it was full of beautiful yellow, red, black, and white Veins: It was a Preſent of the Archbiſhop of *Saltzburgh*, in whoſe Territories are noble Quarries, and Stones of ſeveral Sorts. Next to this the Palace of the Count *de Draun*, and that of Count *Rothal*, lately built; with ſeveral others, are very conſiderable. This City has alſo noble Churches, and rich Convents; as for Inſtance: Thoſe of the *Carmelites*, of the *Franciſcans*, of the *Benedictines*, and of St. *Nicholas*: In the Church of the laſt I ſaw the Tombs of Count *Strozzi* and Cardinal *Harrach*. The Convent of the *Dominicans* is a very fair Structure: The Church of the *Auſtin* Friars is very large, and has in the Middle a Chapel, the Model of which was taken from the *Holy Houſe of Loretto*, the Top being adorn'd with many Colours taken from the *Turks* and *Tartars*; various of which were not ſquare, but Eſcutcheon-wiſe, ſome full of Circles, with Half-moons within them.

The *Jeſuits Colleges* are all very fair and ſpacious here; the Front of their *College*, which faces the Piazza, has a Statue, or *Column of Copper*, belonging to it, which ſtands in the Centre of the Market-place, reſting upon a Pedeſtal of white Stone, with four Angels, Eſcutcheons, and the bleſſed Virgin on the Top: It has alſo divers Inſcriptions, by which the Emperor dedicates *Auſtria* to her Patronage and Protection.

When I came into the *Scotch Convent*, it raiſed no ſmall Curioſity in me to know how the *Scotch* became ſo conſiderable here, till I was inform'd, that *Vienna* had been many Ages ago a Receptacle of the *Scots*, in their Pilgrimages to *Jeruſalem*; and that *Colman*, a Saint in high Veneration in thoſe Parts, was not only a *Scotchman*, but alſo deſcended of the Blood Royal of *Scotland*, and barbarouſly murthered by the Peaſants at *Stockerau*, four *German* Miles from *Vienna*; who hung his Body on a Tree, where it remained uncorrupted a Year and a half; and after many Miracles was buried at *Stockerau*, and from thence removed firſt to *Melk*, and afterwards into *Hungary*; where it was preſerved for a long Time after at *Alba Regalis*, or *Stulweiſſenburgh*. The Church of St. *Peter* is highly eſteem'd for its Antiquity, being the oldeſt in the City, and built in the ſame Place where ſtood before the Altar dedicated to *Domitian*, called *Ara Flaviana*.

In the Cathedral of St. *Stephen* are many ſumptuous Monuments of Princes and other great Perſons: It is a very noble Fabrick, but none of the higheſt, by Reaſon of the Paintings of the Glaſs Windows; it is covered only with Tiles of Wood, yet makes no ill Shew. But what is moſt worth Obſervation, is the Steeple and Spire, high, large, ſtrong, and nobly built: It has on the Top, inſtead of a Weather-cock, a Croſs under a Star and Half-moon, well gilded: This Star and Half-moon was, as they relate, put upon this Spire by Order of *Solyman the Magnificent*, who when he had beſieged the City, offered to ſpare the Cathedral, provided they would ſet upon the Top the *Turkiſh* Arms, *viz.* the Half-moon and Star; which the Citizens comply'd with. This Spire has the largeſt Crockets I ever ſaw, being above a Yard long, and adorned with Foliage Work. The Steeple is accounted 465 Foot high: I went up half Way by 338 Steps; whence I could ſee the *Hamburger* Hill, near *Preſburg*, and the Courſe of the *Danube* through a great Part of *Auſtria*.

In the Room where I was, they had wooden Hammers, which they make Uſe of from *Good-Friday* till *Eaſter-Sunday*, the Uſe of Bells being forbidden during the Time our Saviour was in the Grave. In the laſt Siege the Creſcent on the Top of the Steeple was ſhot down, and has not been put up again there. Near one of the Doors of the Church is a Stone fix'd into the Wall, which they believe to be one of thoſe wherewith St. *Stephen* was ſtoned to Death: It looks like a Pebble, and is very ſmooth, by the frequent Rubbing of the People, who touch it with their Fingers when they go to Church.

I was ſhewn another Stone, which they ſaid, was one of thoſe that kill'd St. *Stephen* in St. *Saturnine's* Church, at *Thoulouſe* in *France*. Beſides many Monuments of great Perſons, which are in the Church of St. *Stephen*, there are alſo ſeveral Tombs of Men famous for their Learning, as of *Joh. Faber*, Biſhop of *Vienna*; *Jo. Cuſpinianus*, and *Sebaſtianus Tengnagelius*, the laſt of which, according to the Inſcription, was verſed in fifteen Languages.

The Univerſity of *Vienna* may alſo challenge the Preference before moſt others, in Reſpect of its Antiquity, and the Number of Students, their Accommodations and Privileges. *Albertus* the Third is reputed the Founder, above 300 Years ago; who diſtinguiſh'd the Students into four ſeveral Diviſions or Nations, each of which, beſides the General Conſtitutions, had their peculiar Rules and Privileges; they were *Auſtrians*, Nations of the *Rhine*, *Hungarians*, and *Saxons*.

To the *Auſtrian* Diviſion belonged thoſe of *Friuli* and *Trent*, all *Italy*, and other Provinces beyond the Mountains. Under the Nations of the *Rhine* were comprehended the *Suevians*, *Alſatians*, *Franconians*, *Heſſians*, and the other Provinces, *France*, *Spain*, *Navarre*, *Holland*, and *Brabant*. To the third Claſs of the *Hungarians*, are joined the *Bohemians*, *Moravians*, *Sclavonians*, and all that uſe the *Sclavonian* Tongue, as alſo the *Germans*. To the Claſs of the *Saxon* Nation, belong the *Saxons*, *Weſtphalians*, *Thuringians*, *Miſnians*, *Brandenburgers*, *Pruſſians*, *Livonians*, *Luſatians*, *Pomeranians*, with the *Ultramarine* Kingdoms of *England*, *Scotland*, *Ireland*, *Sweden*, *Norway* and *Denmark*.

As in theſe ſeveral Diviſions all *Europe* is comprehended; ſo it muſt be confeſs'd, that there are in this Univerſity Students of many Nations, who ſometimes when any Differences ariſe among themſelves, ſtand up each for their reſpective Diviſions; but are ſure to unite together, if any Contentions happen betwixt the Students and the Citizens, or Jews. As for their natural Philoſophy, they have not yet attain'd to our new Way of explaining Things, by Corpuſcular Motions, and Experimental Philoſophy; though ſome of them were very inquiſitive after our Royal Society, as well here as at *Altorff*; and I have been ſolicited even from *Caſſovia* in *Upper Hungary*, to ſend the Tranſactions of our Society thither: A manifeſt Sign, that if they were once led into the Path of our modern Philoſophy, they would without all Queſtion follow our Footſteps. For the reſt, they are well verſed here in Languages, Hiſtory, and Antiquity.

I remember I was preſent here at a publick Anatomy-Lecture of a Woman, which laſted nineteen Days; perform'd by Dr. *Wolfſtregel*, a learned Phyſician. I obſerved the *Pyramidal* Muſcles to be very plain and large, and the *Uterus* of a Size larger than ordinary; the *Cartilago Enſiformis* was double, and the Lungs very black. The Motions of the Eye were very nicely ſhewn by an artificial one of Ivory, and another of Paſteboard, contrived and made by himſelf; and after the Diſſection of the Muſcles of the *Pharynx*, *Larynx*, *Os Hyoides*, and the Tongue, he reduced them with an admirable Dexterity into their proper Places, to diſcover their natural Poſition. The Anatomy-Theatre was capable of holding a hundred Perſons.

16. This Univerſity has, among other Privileges, the Power of Life and Death, in reſpect of their own Members. But what gives the greateſt Luſtre to this famous City is the Reſidence of the Emperor *Leopold*, born in 1638. His eldeſt Brother *Ferdinand*, King of the *Romans*, dying before his Father *Ferdinand* III. *Leopold* ſucceeded in the Empire, and married *Margareta* Infanta of *Spain*, the Daughter of *Philip* IV. He is the Darling of his People, and equally beloved both by the Soldiery and Clergy. He is of a grave, but graceful Aſpect, and has the long Chin, and remarkable Lip of the Family of *Auſtria*. He is well verſed in the *German*, *Italian*, *Spaniſh*, and *Latin* Languages; and as he takes Delight in Reading, ſometimes for ſeveral Hours together, ſo he is always forward in countenancing learned Men. He alſo delights in Muſick, and frequently compoſes himſelf; which makes all the Church-men, and others, encourage Muſick and Muſicians. The Emperor himſelf has excellent Muſick, both Vocal and Inſtrumental, in his Palace, and ſome of his own Compoſitions are play'd in his private Chapel, where eight or ten Pages of the Emperor, Earls Sons, ſerve at the Altar, with white Torches in their Hands, whilſt the Eunuchs are ſinging.

His Recreations abroad conſiſt chiefly in Hunting, eſpecially the wild Boar. The young Nobility formerly uſed to encounter a wild Boar, ſometimes a ſingle Perſon alone; but ſince the unfortunate Accident that happened to Count *Nicholas Serini*, who was kill'd by one of thoſe Creatures, the Huntſmen are always at Hand, when the Boar is at a Bay, that the Emperor, or others there preſent, may the more ſafely kill it. There are great Numbers of theſe Creatures hereabouts, their Fleſh being a common Diſh at *Vienna*, and of a delicious Taſte; for they feed upon Acorns, Beach-maſt, and Cheſnuts, and upon the Sprouts of Broom, Juniper, and other Shrubs, as alſo upon the Roots of Fern; they will ſometimes leave the Foreſts, and range in the Corn-fields and Vineyards. It is the Huntſman's Buſineſs to keep a watchful Eye over them; and they are ſo ſkilful in that Game, that by the Tread of their Feet, and caſting their hind Feet out of the Track of their Forefeet, they will tell you, whether it be a wild Swine or tame Hog; nay, whether it be Male or Female, Young or Old, Lean or Fat, *&c.*

The Emperor, as he is a good Huntſman, ſo he takes a great Delight in Horſes: He has a very fine Stable filled with manag'd Horſes, brought from *Turkey*, *Tartary*, *Poland*, *Tranſylvania*, *Germany*, *Bohemia*, *Hungary*, and *Naples*. It was ſomething ſurprizing to me, to find in an inland City ſuch conſiderable Magazines of Naval Stores, as I found at *Vienna*: Theſe are employ'd in the Fleet upon the *Danube* againſt the *Turks*; being a kind of Gallies, carrying great Guns, and a conſiderable Number of Soldiers, beſides Seamen. They are laid up behind one of the Baſtions of the City, and ſome of them are kept at *Raab* and *Comorra*.

The Imperial Court was at this Time compoſed of many wiſe Counſellors, great Generals, and refined Courtiers; ſuch as, *Euſebius Wenceſlaus*, Duke of *Sagan*. Prince *Lobkowitz*, Lord High Steward, chief Miniſter and Favourite of the Emperor, being the Perſon who diſcovered the late *Hungarian* Revolt, for which Count *Peter Serini*, and *Nadaſti*, paid with their Heads. *Henry William* Count *Stahrenberg*, Marſhal of the Court. *John Maximilian*, Count *Lamberg*, Lord Chamberlain, who has near a hundred Gentlemen of the Bed-Chamber under him, all Barons and Counts: They wear a Golden Key upon the Breaſt, as the Grooms of the Bed-Chamber wear one of Steel: Two of each attend every Night. *Gundaker*, Count *Dietrichſtein*, Maſter of the Horſe. Count *Zinzendorff*, chief Hunts-Maſter. The Count of *Averſberg*, chief Faulconer, who has twelve others under him. The Count *de Paar*, Poſt-maſter-General. *Leopold Wilhelm*, Marquis of *Baden*, Captain of a hundred *Hartſhires*, who are kind of a Horſe-Guard of the Emperor's Body, arm'd with Piſtols and Carabines, without the City; but within, the Foot carry Launces and Javelins with broad Points. *Francis Auſtin*, Count *Walleſtein*, Captain of a hundred of the Emperor's Foot-Guard of his Body. Sixty Pages, moſt of them Counts and Barons. *Raymund* Count *de Montecuculi*, who has ſignaliz'd himſelf in *Poland*, *Hungary*, and *Germany*; the Emperor's General, Preſident of the Council of War. Next to him was Count *Souches*, a Native of *Rochel*; and his Son Governor of *Leopolſtadt*. Count *Leſley*, Nephew to Count *Leſly*, who was ſent in the Quality of Ambaſſador to the Port from the Emperor, is alſo look'd upon as one of the beſt Commanders the Emperor has: Beſides a great many other brave Officers, who have ſhewn their Valour upon a thouſand Occaſions; ſo that though the Emperor never takes the Field in Perſon, yet has he been very ſucceſsful in his Wars, eſpecially againſt the *Turks*. The Courts of both the Empreſſes are filled with Perſons of great Worth. Among the Clergy, and Men of Learning (of which the Emperor is a great Lover,) the *Jeſuits*, *Moelner*, and *Boccabella*, are the chiefeſt. And to ſum up all, it is certain, that *Vienna* is the moſt likely Place for any Foreigner, whether Soldier or Scholar, to make his Fortune, provided he be of the *Roman Catholick* Religion.

17. It will perhaps be ſurpriſing to ſome, that upon the utmoſt Limits of the learned Part of *Europe*, the Emperor is Maſter of a Library, which both for the Number and Value of Books, gives Way to no other Library in *Europe*. The worſt is, that the Receptacle is not ſuitable to ſo vaſt a Treaſure; for though it is divided into eight ſpacious Rooms, in which the Shelves ſtand ſo cloſe, that there is ſcarce an eaſy Paſſage left

betwixt them, yet many Books lie upon the Ground. The Manuſcripts have their peculiar places, diſtinct from the printed Books, and are divided into ſix different Claſſes, *viz.* *Theological*, *Juridical*, *Medicinal*, *Philoſophical*, *Hiſtorical* and *Philological*. The Manuſcripts of *Hebrew*, *Syriack*, *Arabick*, *Turkiſh*, *Armenian*, *Æthiopick*, and *Chineſe* Books, are without Compariſon the beſt Collection that is to be found.

The choiceſt Books of which this Library is compoſed, (which has been collecting ever ſince the Time of *Maximilian* I.) are: The famous Library of *Buda*, of *Matthias Corvinus*, Son of *Hunniades*. The Choice Library of *Wolfgangus Lazius*; as alſo 3000 Books of *Johannes Sambucus*. *Augerius Buſbequius* made a conſiderable Addition to the reſt; and in his two *Turkey* Embaſſies, bought a great many choice *Greek* Manuſcripts at *Conſtantinople*, which are mark'd thus with his own Hand, *Aug. de Buſbeck. emit. Conſtantinopoli.* There was alſo a conſiderable Number added out of the Library of the learned *Johannes Cuſpinianus*, the Emperor's Library-keeper: And the noted Libraries and Mathematical Inſtruments of *Tycho Brahe*, *Kepler*, and *Gaſſendus*, were purchaſed for it.

But the greateſt Addition of all was made by that noble Library of Count *Fugger*, which conſiſting of 16,000 Volumes, was purchaſed by *Ferdinand* the Third. Beſides which, the learned *Peter Lambecius*, the preſent Library-keeper, Hiſtoriographer, and Counſellor of the Emperor, has brought hither the choiceſt Books out of the Library of *Inſpruck*; and himſelf is Maſter of a moſt excellent one of his own, which will in Time be added to the Imperial Library. I had it from his own Mouth, that there were at leaſt 80,000 Volumes in this Library, which are encreaſed by the Acceſſion of other Books, which are purchaſed, eſpecially in the *Turkiſh* Dominions, where the Emperor keeping a conſtant Reſident, no Opportunity is let ſlip to buy up any good *Greek* Manuſcripts in their Convents. I remember myſelf, that when I was at *Lariſſa* in *Theſſaly*, the Reſident, Seignior *de Caſa Novo*, was continually enquiring after *Greek* Books in their Monaſteries, the preſent Emperor ſpairing no Coſt to purchaſe them; and were it only for the Number of Books, it is certain, that by the Right the Emperor has of having two Books of whatever is printed in *Germany*, this Library might ſoon increaſe to a vaſt Number.

As *Lambecius* conferred on me a thouſand Obligations, ſo he was ſo kind as to give me a Sight of all the rare Copies in this Library, among a vaſt Number of which, I took an Account of the following: A Letter in the *Chineſe* and *Tartarian* Language, from the Emperor of *China*, to the preſent Emperor *Leopold*, weaved in a very fine Roll. Another Roll written in an unknown Character, but moſt reſembling *Greek*. A Book in the *Runick* Language. A very fair Manuſcript of *Ptolomy*, the Maps colour'd. A Copy of *Livy*, the moſt ancient Manuſcript extant. a thouſand Years old, in large Letters, without Diſtinction of Words or Sentences, brought hither from the *Inſpruck* Library. A very fair Manuſcript in *Greek* of *Dioſcorides*, 1100 Years old, in large Characters, without Diſtinctions of Words or Accents; the Plants finely painted; with the Pictures of *Dioſcorides*, *Galen*, and ſome other noted Phyſicians. Two Books of Geometrical Propoſitions demonſtrated in the *Chineſe* Language; whereof one with Pictures. An old *Greek* Manuſcript in great Letters, without Diſtinction of Words or Accents. A *Greek* Manuſcript 1300 Years old, of the Book of *Geneſis*, without Stops or Accents. It contains forty-eight Draughts in Miniature, or Water-colours, relating to the Habits of the Ancients, to the Manner of their Feaſting, their Poſtures at Meal, Attendance of Servants, and Muſick. Among other Things, the Execution of *Pharaoh*'s Baker is worth Obſervation, his Head being thruſt through a forked Piece of Wood, and his Hands tied behind him. A Book of Painting in Miniature, by *Albert Durer*; and a Sphere with a Globe within it, carved and painted by the ſame Hand. A Book of *Michael Angelo*; wherein beſides many Rarities in Architecture, all the Paintings and Deſigns of the *Belvedere* are ſeen in Miniature. A very fair Alchoran in *Arabick*; with the *Turkiſh* Explication interlined betwixt it. A Bible in the *Coptick* and *Perſian* Languages. *Luther*'s Bible; with many Notes, written by his own Hand. A fair *Greek* Manuſcript of the *New Teſtament*, written with Golden Letters upon Purple 1500 Years ago. A Magical Glaſs of the Emperor *Rudolphus*, Sixteen thouſand Pieces of ancient *Greek*, *Roman*, and *Gothick* Medals and Coins, in Gold, Silver, and Copper. They pretend to have two Copper Coins of the Emperor *Marcus Otho*. Being willing to add a few Drops to this Ocean, I preſented ſome Coins, Intaglia's, and Inſcriptions, not to be found in *Gruterus*'s Great Work; which I met with in the remoteſt Part of the Emperor's Dominions; which being ſhew'd to his Imperial Majeſty by Mr. *Lambecius*, he was ſo well pleaſed with them, that he not only permitted me the Uſe of what Books I deſired, but alſo granted me a free Paſs, in *Latin*, through the Empire, exempting my Goods from being ſearched; which is no ſmall Conveniency, in a Country where a Traveller is to paſs thro' ſo many different Juriſdictions.

After I had taken a full View of this Library, I thought I cou'd not beſtow my Time better than in viſiting alſo the Repoſitory or Collection of Rarities made by the Care of many ſucceeding Emperors; in viewing of which, I ſpent ſeveral Hours; but fully to ſet down all the rich and magnificent Curioſities I ſaw here, is much beyond the Compaſs of this Treatiſe, (the Catalogue which is kept of them taking up a large Volume in Folio) ſo I will content myſelf with mentioning only a few of the beſt out of a great many, from whence the Reader may be able to give a Judgment of the reſt. The Whole is divided into fourteen Caſes or Cupboards.

1. Contains many curious Veſſels turn'd out of Ivory, Cups of Amber, Spoons, and other Veſſels, of Mother of Pearl, fine Works of Coral, a Gallery of Ivory, and two Cups, one turn'd by the preſent Emperor's own Hand, the other by *Ferdinand* III. Several Cups of the Rhinoceros's Horn. In the 2d, An Elephant with a Caſtle, and many other Rarities of Workmanſhip on his Back. Two fine Pillars all of Ivory, with *Baſſo relievo*, and other Varieties in Ivory. A Picture in Oil of *Ganymede*, by *Corregio*. In the 3d, An old Man's Head in Oil, by *Albert Durer*; vaſt Variety of Watches and Clockwork; a fine Centaur in Silver. The 4th, Alſo contains Watches and Clocks; a triumphant Chariot; a *Turk* of Quality with his Attendance; a Landſkip and a Cupid, by *Corregio*. In the 5th, Are Variety of curious Works in Filegree, brought from *Spain* and the *Indies*; and a Baſon of Agate finely wrought. The 6th, contains an excellent Collection of *Intaglia*, and old *Roman Stones*, of ineſtimable Value for their Workmanſhip and Bigneſs. A large Agate, on which is wrought the Victory of *Auguſtus Cæſar* over the *Dalmatians* and *Pannonians*; it is five Inches long, and four broad, of a very high Value; beſides ſeveral Heads and Figures cut in Onyx's, Shells, and Sardonyx's; and a Chain with the Heads of the whole *Auſtrian* Family. In the 7th, Divers Pieces of Mother of Pearl, curiouſly wrought. The Head of *Maximilian* I. in Plaiſter-work, with a Lock of his own Hair, and the Twelve *Cæſars* Heads. Another Head, excellently well done in Oil, by *Hans van Ach*. In the 8th, A Veſſel made of one Piece of Chryſtal, of a Yard and a half high; an Urn; ſeveral Hands, with other Chryſtal Works. The 9th, Has a very noble Ewer of Chryſtal, and another noble Veſſel; many curious Croſſes, and other Varieties. The 10th Containing five rich *Crowns*; the Imperial *Crown* adorned with precious Jewels, and a large blue Sapphire on the Top. A Model of the *Crown* wherewith the Emperors are crown'd, much exceeding in Value the Original. A *Paragon Diamond*, weighing 17½ *Carats*. Several very large Rubies. A Sceptre made of Unicorn's Horn, ſet with precious Stone. A Locket made of very large Diamonds. A moſt magnificent Scepter, Globe, Croſs, and Crown, valued at 200,000 Crowns. An Opal as big as one's Fiſt, as it came out of the Mine, with many other very fine Opals, and a very large Emerald. In

the 11th, A Golden Baſon, uſed at the Baptiſm of the *Auſtrian* Family. Divers Golden Sceptres, Scimeters, Knives, and other Preſents from the *Ottoman* Court. Three rich Dog-collars, ſent from *England*, with this Mark ƆCƆC. A great Piece of pure Gold, of the Bigneſs of one's Fiſt, as it came out of the Mine. Another Piece of Gold Ore, where you ſee the pure Gold ſhooting forth upon a white Stone; beſides divers other Baſons of Gold, and Veſſels of Coral. In the 12th, Great Store of Veſſels of *Jaſpis*, *Agate*, *Lapis Lazuli*, *Oriental Granates*, *Cups* of *Onyx* and *Sardonyx*, one very great one of an *Amethyſt*, and divers very large ones of *Lapis Nephriticus*. In the 13th, Are divers Flowers made out of precious Stones. A large high Veſſel of *Bohemian Topaz*. A *Cup* made of an *Hungarian* Diamond. A Piece of Ambergreaſe of the Bigneſs of a Man's Fiſt. A very fine *Jaſpis* Stone. A large *Agate* Stone on the Outſide, and a Bed of large *Amethyſts* naturally in it in the Middle, which is look'd upon as a great Rarity. In the 14th, Are many noble Chryſolytes, Jacinths, Oriental Granates, Beryls, and Aquamarines. A very rich Emerald, or a Cup of that Stone; three great ones having been already taken out, valued at 300000 Crowns. Great Numbers of Gold Veſſels, and rare Figures in Coral; *Turkiſh* Knives, Gauntlets, *&c.* fine Wax-works, large Bezoar-ſtones; a Golden Medal of the Emperor's Arms, worth 1000*l.* Sterling; a Cup ſaid to be taken out of *Solomon*'s Temple; a moſt curious Baſon and Ewer of carved Ivory; King *Philip* II. of *Spain* in Diamond Armour, ſet in Gold; a curious Picture of an old Man courting a young Woman, with this Motto:

Arctum Annulum nè geſtato.

A very fine Crucifix of Pearl; the Buff-coat of *Guſtavus Adolphus* King of *Sweden*, in which he was killed near *Lutzen*; all the Goſpel written and painted; the Head of King *Charles* I. King of *England*, in Marble; Prieſts Garments ſet all over with Pearls; an ineſtimable Agate Diſh, betwixt three and four Spans Diameter, in which you ſee in natural Characters *XRISOS*. Unto which may be ſubjoin'd that moſt magnificent Chain of Pearl taken from Count *Teckley* in the late *Hungarian* War, as I have been informed ſince.

One Day I had the Curioſity to walk up the Hill which lies two *Engliſh* Miles from *Vienna*, from whence I had a full Proſpect of the City and Country, as far as to the Mountains of *Styria*, covered with Snow; and in my Return took a View of the Empreſs Dowager's Houſe without the Town, call'd *la Favorita*.

18. Two *Engliſh* Miles to the Eaſt of *Vienna* are the Gardens of *Rodolphus* II. which are ſomewhat ruinous now. They conſiſt of an inward and outward Garden, the inward being about 200 Paces ſquare, much of the ſame Bigneſs as the *Place Royal* at *Paris*. It has a Cloiſter ſupported by forty Pillars of white Stone on each Side; and is covered with Copper, as are alſo the Pavilions. In certain other Buildings they keep Lions, Tygers, and other wild Beaſts, which breed here. Some ſay that *Solyman* the Magnificent pitch'd his own Tent in this Place, when he beſieged *Vienna*.

At two or three Miles Diſtance from thence, is a Place called *Arnols*, whither many *Devotees* go on Pilgrimage, eſpecially in Lent, with heavy Croſſes on their Shoulders. Here you ſee a Houſe, the Model of which is taken after the Holy Sepulchre of *Jeruſalem*, with a very curious Copy of the Picture of our Saviour and the Virgin *Mary*, at full Length; the firſt is exactly ſix Foot high, the laſt two or three Fingers Breadth lower. They are done after the original in St. *John de Lateran* at *Rome*. I ſaw one Day the Emperor and Empreſs go thither on Foot, the Road being very duſty, and were followed by the greateſt Part of the Court. Somewhat nearer to the City, is another Place call'd *Itzing*, likewiſe much celebrated for Devotion. In the Road from *Vienna* to it, the twelve Stations of the Croſs are marked out in the ſame Manner, as is obſerved in the *Via Doloroſa*, near *Jeruſalem*, in Memory of our Saviour's going to the Mount *Calvary*. The Emperor has a very fine Park juſt by *Vienna*, with a Houſe of Pleaſure in it: I alſo took a View of *Luxenburg*, a Houſe of Retreat alſo belonging to the Emperor; it is an old Structure, not very large; there is alſo a Summer-Houſe, built in the Middle of a Pond, and an Octagon in the Marſh, from whence they let frequently fly at the wild Beaſts. Over the Emperor's Palace Gate you ſee a Rib and Jaw-bone of an extraordinary Size, which they told me were human Bones, but appear'd to me more like the Bones of an Elephant.

From this Place I took a Progreſs to *Mannerſdorff*, ſituated near the River *Leyta*; famous for the *Bath*, call'd the *wild Bath*, over the Spring of which is built a Church: The Water being only Luke-warm, they boil it, and ſo bath in Tubs: That being judg'd beſt, from what ſticks to the Sides of the Copper when it is a Boiling; it ſeems to be impregnated with *Sulphur*, *Saltpetre* and *Chalk*: The Water leaves a *Turquois* Colour upon the Stones, and the Vapours, which condenſe and adhere to the Roof and Sides, give it a Tincture of Gold. The Phyſicians of *Vienna* have publiſh'd a Treatiſe in *High-Dutch* of this Bath.

From hence I went to the *Newſidler-See*, or *Lake*, which is three *German* Leagues broad, and ſeven long, abounding in Fiſh, and is encompaſs'd with a great Number of ſmall Towns and Villages. It has got its Name from *Newſiedle*, a Town ſituated on the North-ſide of it, with a Caſtle upon a Hill. Near this Place is a black Earth, of which they make *Salt-petre*. Afterwards I proceeded four *Engliſh* Miles up the *Danube*, to the famous Quarry of *Altenburg*. The Beds or Rows of the Stones don't lie horizontally, but elevated to the North, yet follow the Shape of the Hill in their Situation. I found here a Subſtance between a Clay and a Stone, call'd by them *Liverſtone*, upon many of which you ſee the Figures of Trees and Leaves, but not ſo plain as in thoſe of *Florence*.

I paſs'd by *Cloiſter Newburg*, a Town belonging to a rich Monaſtery of the ſame Name. Upon one of the Peaks of *Calenbergh*, before-mentioned, live certain *Hermites*, call'd *Camaldulenſes*, a very ſevere Order, living upon nothing but Herbs and Roots. Near their Cells they had paved the Ground with thoſe figured Stones. It being now near *December*, the Branches of the *Danube* were frozen over, and the Ground being covered with Snow, afforded good Paſtime for the Ladies, who at this Seaſon take their Recreations in handſome Sledges in ſeveral Shapes, *viz.* *Griffins*, *Tygers*, *Swans*, *Dolphins*, *Scallop Shells*, &c. In one of thoſe Machines the Lady is ſeated richly attired in Velvet, lined with rich Furs, adorned with Laces and Jewels, and Velvet Caps lined with Sables. The Sledge is drawn by one Horſe, adorned with Plumes, Ribbonds, and Bells; and as this Paſtime is commonly performed in the Night Time, the Footmen ride on Horſeback with Torches, the Gentlemen ſitting on the Sledge, behind the Lady, to guide the Horſe.

Chriſtmas they celebrate here much after the ſame Manner as in *Italy*. On *Chriſtmas-Day* the Emperor dines in publick. Upon St. *Stephen*'s Day he went to the Cathedral, where he kneeled upon the Altar, and kiſs'd the Plate whereon the *Hoſtia* had lain. On Twelfth-day they celebrated at Court the old Cuſtom of chooſing King and Queen, and the Lot falling upon Count *Leſlie* to be King, the Emperor laid the Cloth, and the Empreſs fill'd out the Wine. Not long before *Chriſtmas*, I ſaw the Solemnity of the Marriage of Count *Serau*, with a natural Daughter of *Philip* IV. King of *Spain*, where I could not but be ſurprized at the Splendour in which the Ladies appear'd upon this Occaſion. Not long after I ſaw alſo a very pompous Funeral, the Corps of Count *Draun*, which was brought from *Italy*, being interr'd in the *Dominican* Church, and a very ſumptuous *Caſtrum Doloris* was raiſed, ſet round with a vaſt Number of Wax Torches and Candles.

During my Stay at *Vienna*, the Election for a King of *Poland* being at Hand, after the voluntary Abdication of King *Caſimir*, there paſſed Meſſengers daily through *Vienna*. The *Czar* of *Moſcovy*'s Son, the

Duke of *Newburg* and the Prince of *Lorrain* were Competitors for the Crown; but the *Poles* thought fit to pitch upon *Michael Wiſnowitſki*, a native of *Poland*, for their King. I ſaw alſo at the ſame Time at *Vienna*, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador *Don Balthaſar de la Cueva*; the Pope's Nuncio was *Carlo Caraffa*. Beſides which, the *Venetians* had their Ambaſſador at *Vienna*, who ſolicited Succours for *Candia*, which the *Turkiſh* Envoy oppoſed with all his Might. Much about the ſame Time came an Ambaſſador from the *Cham* of the *Crim Tartars*, named *Cha Gagi Aga*, who preſented the Emperor with ſeveral very fine *Tartarian* Horſes, in Return of which he was regaled by the Emperor with ſome Plate, a Silver Baſon and Ewer, and a very fine Watch for the *Cham*. They were luſty, ſtrong limb'd Fellows, but very coarſe, their Habit long fur'd Veſts and Caps. They took a vaſt Quantity of Tobacco in very long Pipes.

19. Among the *Greeks*, who live and trade at *Vienna*, I was chiefly acquainted with three conſiderable Perſons; one was an Abbot, who had been forced to quit his Convent for Fear of the *Turks*; another, who called himſelf *Conſtantine Cantacuzenus*, being deſcended of the Royal Blood of the *Cantacuzeni*; the third was a *Greek* Prieſt, named *Jeremiah*, who having travelled in Queſt of a young Man, taken by an *Algerine*, and retaken by an *Engliſh* Ship, through *Italy*, *France*, *Germany*, the *Low Countries*, and *England*, had retained a moſt peculiar Kindneſs for the *Engliſh*, who, he ſaid, had treated him more courteouſly than any other Nation.

The Country about *Vienna* is ſo fertile in all Things, that People live here in great Plenty; and if any Scarcity ſhould happen, the *Danube* ſupplies them from remoter Parts. *Hungary*, *Italy*, and *Germany*, furniſh them with ſuch Varieties of Wine, that you may drink thirty ſeveral Sorts at any good Table in *Vienna*; neither are they deſtitute of good Beer. *Halſtadt* in *Auſtria* affords them Salt, from whence the Emperor draws a vaſt Revenue. Sheep and Oxen they have in great Plenty of their own, yet are they ſupplied with the laſt out of *Hungary* and the *Grand Seignior*'s Dominions. Wild Boar is a great Diſh with them, their Fat being as delicious here, as that of our Veniſon. Neither do they want Hares, Rabbets, Partridges, Pheaſants, a Fowl called in *Latin*, *Gallina Corylorum*, &c. The *Danube* furniſhes them with vaſt Plenty of Fiſh, ſuch as Carps, Trouts, Tenches, Pikes, Eels, Lampreys of all Sorts, white Fiſh, and large Creviſſes, beſides Fiſh not known to us. Here you meet with the *Scheiden*, the *Silurus Geſneri*, which exceeds the Pike, Salmon, nay, any of our River Fiſh in Bigneſs; but the biggeſt of all are the *Hauſons*, called *Huſones*, by *Johnſton*, being ſometimes twenty Foot long. Some will have this to be the Fiſh named *Anacetus* by *Ælian*, which he ſays is catch'd in the *Iſter*. I ſaw them buſy in fiſhing for them in the Iſle of *Schutz*, between *Preſburgh* and *Comorea*, for they ſeldom come up hither, it being ſuppoſed that they come out of the *Euxine-ſea*. They are not unlike the Sturgeon in Taſte, and they eat them both freſh and pickled. It is full of Griſtles, having a hollow nervous Chord down the Back, which, when dried, they uſe inſtead of a Whip. When they fiſh for them, they blow a Horn or Trumpet. *Venice* furniſhes *Vienna* with Oyſters, Sturgeon, and other pickled Fiſh, with Red-Herrings, Oranges, Lemons, and other Fruits. They are much diſpoſed to Jollity in this City; nothing more common than to ſee them dancing and fencing for Prizes on Holy-Days, and ſpending their Time in Merry-making, which made me wonder that they have not a Company of Players belonging to them.

Their Way of executing Criminals is commonly done by cutting off their Heads; though in Caſes of High Treaſon, they firſt cut off the Right Hand, and next the Executioner ſtrikes off the Head with one Fore-blow. I remember I ſaw one executed in this Manner; and no ſooner was the Head ſeparated from the Body, but a Man ran ſpeedily to catch the Blood, which guſhed out of the Neck, which he drank, and then ran as faſt as he could: They look upon this as a Remedy againſt the *Falling Sickneſs*. I had heard of ſomething like this in *Germany* before; and I well remember, that *Celſus* tells us, that in his Time, ſome epileptical Perſons uſed to drink the Blood of the Gladiators; yet moſt Phyſicians exclaimed againſt this Remedy, and I did not ſtay long enough here to learn the Effects of it.

At *Preſburgh* they have an odd Way of Execution, (which is alſo in Uſe at *Metz*.) They have an Engine framed in the Shape of a Maid, which the criminal Perſon is obliged to ſalute; but at the ſecond Salute, ſhe embraces him, and cuts him through the Middle.

It muſt be confeſs'd, that the Winters are very ſharp here, but their Rigour is much mitigated by their ſleeping betwixt two Feather-beds, and the Stoves they make Uſe of to warm their Rooms, as well here as in moſt other Parts of *Germany* and the Northern Countries. The Citizens of *Vienna* are generally well clad, and wear Furs very much, and the Womens Bonnets, which they wear upon their Heads, are both lined and faced with ſome Fur or other. The Climate is very healthful, yet have they an epidemical Diſeaſe, called *Colica Auſtriaca*, among them, which is very difficult to be cured. In the Court and City they ſpeak very good *German*, but the Country People ſpeak ſomewhat thick, and have a different Tone, and divers odd Words. I ſaw a certain Trick performed at *Vienna*, which at firſt Sight ſomewhat ſurpriſed me, *viz.* a middle ſiz'd Man laid upon his Back, had a heavy Anvil fix'd upon his Breaſt; upon which two luſty Fellows, with great Hammers, gave at leaſt a hundred Blows, till they had cut an Iron Horſeſhoe, about half an Inch thick, aſunder.

No other Religion but the *Roman Catholick* is permitted the publick Exerciſe of Worſhip here, the Proteſtants being obliged to go to Church as far as *Preſburgh*, forty Miles from hence; for which Reaſon a Coach goes thither every Day, beſides the Convenience of the Paſſage by the *Danube*; the Exerciſe of the Proteſtant Worſhip being ſtrictly forbid here ever ſince the Battle of *Prague*, the ſame being allowed before in the Church of the *Holy Ghoſt* at firſt, and afterwards at *Arnolds*, not above an *Engliſh* Mile from *Vienna*. In this City are Abundance of *Jews*, but theſe have their diſtinct Habitations on the other Side of the Water. They are, indeed, permitted to traffick in a certain Street in the Day-time, but muſt leave the City before Night. They have frequent Broils with the other Inhabitants, and more eſpecially with the Students. Whilſt I was there, theſe laſt aſſaulted the *Jews* Town, where divers were killed on both Sides; the Conſequence of which was, that many of the *Jews* were to be baniſh'd againſt a certain Day. The Empreſs being then with Child, they preſented her with a Silver Cradle; but as ſhe was their declared Enemy, ſhe would not accept of it, and it was chiefly by her Means that afterwards they were baniſh'd, not only out of *Vienna*, but alſo out of all *Auſtria*; for as they were uſeful on one Side, for the Sale or Exchange of many Things, and uſed to furniſh the Officers with Accoutrements and other Neceſſaries; ſo on the other Hand, they ſpoiled the Trade of the Citizens, and were accuſed of holding a ſecret Correſpondence with the *Turks*. The *Jewiſh* Phyſicians pretend to more than ordinary Skill in Urines, which makes the common People reſort to them, and to look upon their Predictions as Oracles.

20. Being now reſolved to take my Leave of *Vienna*, in order to my Journey for *Prague*, I took a Place in the Coach, which goes thither in ſix Days in the Summer, and eight in the Winter. We paſs'd over the great Bridge upon the *Danube* near the Chapel of St. *Bridget*. After we had paſs'd the River, we enter'd that Part of *Auſtria* which lies betwixt the *Danube* and the River *Thea*, and travel'd in Sight of *Cornenbergh*, ſeated near the Hill *Biſnebergh*, which lies oppoſite to *Calenbergh*. Hence we came to *Stockerau*, famous for the Death of St. *Colman*: It is ſeated at the Conflux of the River *Mial* and the *Danube*. From thence, by the Way of *Gunterſdorf* to *Koldorff*, which (though on the other Side of the River *Theya*) is reckoned the firſt Village of *Moravia*, and ſo farther to *Znaim*. It is obſervable,

ſervable, that in this Part of *Auſtria*, which extends along the North-ſide of the *Danube*, believed to be inhabited in former Ages by the *Marcomanni* and *Quadi*, there are not any Towns of Note; the *Romans* having had their Stations and Colonies on the South-ſide of that River. Yet is the Country well inhabited and full of Villages. I came in Sight of one of the chiefeſt Places call'd *Crembs* or *Cremona Auſtria*. *Znaim* is a good Place upon the River *Theya*; the common Boundary betwixt *Moravia* and *Auſtria*, which, joining its Waters at laſt with the River *Mark*, thereby opens itſelf a Paſſage into the *Danube*. This Town is the Fourth in Rank among thoſe of *Moravia*; *Olmutz*, *Brun* and *Iglaw*, being the other three.

We continued our Journey from hence over *Ulverſkirken*, *Paulitz*, and *Moravian Budweiſſe* to *Zimmaw*, and taking our Way through *Byrnitz*, came to *Iglaw*, upon the River *Iglaw*, a Place pleaſantly ſituate upon a Hill, on the Frontiers of *Bohemia*. Its Fortifications are very ſtrong, after the modern Way, eſpecially on one Side, and the Market place is one of the largeſt I ever met with. *Moravia* is a very plentiful and pleaſant Country, being irrigated by divers Rivers, among which the *Mora* or *Marck* is the chief; it riſes on the North ſide, and paſſing through the whole Extent of the Country, falls into the *Danube* near *Presburgh*. The other Rivers of Note are, the *Theya*, or *Theyſa*, the *Swarta*, the *Schwitta*, which run into the River *Marck*.

21. After we left *Iglaw*, we enter'd *Bohemia*, the firſt Place we came to being called *Stecken*; thence to *Teutchin Broda*, near the River *Saczua*, and ſo further through *Haberne* to *Janikaw*, famous for the Battle which was fought there, the 24th of *February*, 1643. betwixt the *Imperialiſts* and *Swedes*; the firſt had the better of it at the Beginning, but falling to plundering, were defeated by the *Swedes*. In this Town I happened to meet with a Gentleman, who lived at *Schacklitz*, not far from the *Riſgeberg*, or *Mountains of Giants*, ſituate near the Head Spring of the River *Albes* or *Elbe*; I was curious to enquire of him, what he knew concerning the pretended Spirit of *Ribenzhal*, which they ſay infects that Country, but I could get nothing from him that was ſatisfactory; all what he told me amounting to no more than that he verily believed there was ſuch a Spirit, but that he had not done any Harm theſe twelve Years laſt paſt. I have heard divers ſuch Reports among the Mountains and Mines of *Germany*. Thus they talk of Spirits in the Silver Mines of *Brunſwick*, and in the Tin-Mines of the *Slackenwalde* in *Bohemia*, but they talk of them only.

From *Janikaw* we continued our Journey to *Czaſlaw*, the chief City in the Circle of that Name. This is reputed the Burying place of *Ziſca*, the famous *Bohemian*, General who forced the Emperor *Sigiſmund* to quit that Kingdom. From *Czaſlaw*, we came to *Guttenberg*, about twelve *Engliſh* Miles from *Prague*, a very conſiderable Town, near the River *Elbe*, and famous for the Silver Mines about it. There are in all about thirty of them, but as the Hills hereabouts are not very high, ſo the Mines are not ſo deep as thoſe in *Hungary*, and in ſome other Places of *Germany*; however ſome are almoſt ſeventy or eighty Fathoms, and have been wrought at theſe 700 Years. I went into one of them which was firſt digged, called the *Cutten-Hill*, (*Cutten* ſignifying a Man's Garment) which has got its Name as they ſay from a Monk, who found a Silver Tree there, which gave Occaſion for the Digging of this Mine, which is no more than nineteen Fathom deep: The chief Vein of the Ore, which is about a Foot broad, runneth South. It contains both Silver and Copper; of the firſt, a hundred Weight yields about an Ounce; of the laſt, eight, nine, ten or more Ounces; though ſome Ore contains eight or nine Ounces of Silver in the hundred Weight. When they meet with a blue Earth in Digging, they are in Hopes of good Ore.

From hence we paſs'd through *Colline*, and ſo by the Way of *Bohemian Broda* (to diſtinguiſh it from the *Teutonick Broda*) came to *Prague*, the capital City, and formerly the Reſidence of the Kings of *Bohemia*. I ſoon perceived, even at a Diſtance, that the Walls of this Town encloſed a larger Tract of Ground, than any in *Germany*, but conſiderable Abatements are to be made for the wide Spaces and Hills encompaſſed within them. It is ſituate upon the *Moldau*, a large rapid River, having its Source in the South Part of *Bohemia*, and, before it comes to *Prague*, being augmented by the Rivers *Sarſna* and *Watta*, and to the North of *Prague* by the River *Egra*, at laſt empties itſelf into the *Elbe*. This great Body is divided into three Cities, *viz.* the *Old*, the *New*, and the *Leſſer City*.

22. The *Old Town* is ſeated on the Eaſt-ſide of the *Moldau*, being the moſt populous Place of the three; and conſiderable for the Univerſity, frequented by a vaſt Number of Students, this being the only one of the whole Kingdom, though it is not comparable now to what it has been. If we may believe *Lewis du May*, there were, in 1409, when *John Huſs* was Rector, above 40,000 Students; and it is credibly reported among them, that when the Emperor *Charles* the IVth, would have retrenched ſome of their Privileges, 24,000 Students left the Town in one Week, and not long after 16,000 more. This Part of the Town has alſo ſeveral Colleges and Monaſteries, and among the reſt the *Jeſuits*, which is a very handſome one.

The *New Town* is of a very large Extent, encompaſſing the *Old Town*, together with the River, being divided from it by a Ditch, into which they can let the River. The *Iriſh* have a Convent of *Franciſcans* here, and the Jeſuits have likewiſe a noble College. They were then buſy in making ſome Baſtions, and a Citadel for the Defence of the Town, but they were not finiſh'd.

The *Leſſer Prague*, is ſeated on the Weſt Side of the *Moldau*. It is far beyond the *Old Town* in Pleaſantneſs and handſome Structures, being join'd to it by a very ſtrong Stone Bridge, of ſixteen great Arches, the whole Fabrick 1700 Foot long, and 35 broad, with two high Gates, under two large Towers at each End. Part of this Town is built upon a riſing Ground, on the Top of which ſtands *Hartſchin*, or *Upper Prague*, where the Emperor has a Summer-houſe, and a moſt magnificent Palace. In this Part of the City is alſo the Cathedral Church of St. *Veit*, containing many ancient Monuments. Moſt of the Houſes of the Nobility are alſo in this Part; among which the Garden and Palace of *Coloredo* excel for Neatneſs, but it is not very large. The Palace of Count *Wallenſtein*, afterwards Duke of *Friedland*, General of the Emperor *Ferdinand* II. his Armies, is a very ſtately Structure, built upon the Ruins of at leaſt 100 Houſes, which were pull'd down for that Purpoſe: The Hall is a very lofty and ſpacious Room, and the Garden exceeding beautiful, on one Side of which you ſee the Place where they uſed to manage his Horſes, with a noble Fiſh Pond near it: On the other Side you ſee the *Aviary*, beautified with Trees and a Garden; the Model being taken from the *Aviary* of Prince *Doria* at *Genoa*. But what is moſt ſurpriſing are the large Stables, where you ſee a Marble Pillar betwixt each Horſe; every Horſe having a Rack of Steel, and a Manger of Marble, fix'd in a Nich of the Wall: Over the Head of each Horſe you behold his Picture, as big as the Life, with his Name under it. Thus a Bay-Horſe was named *Monte d'Ore*, a Mare *Bella Donna*, but his beloved Horſe's Name was *Mas Querido*. The current Language of *Bohemia* is a Dialect of *Sclavonian*, though all the Perſons of Quality here, and not a few of the Inhabitants both in the City and Country, ſpeak very good *High Dutch*. The *Leſſer Prague* was ſurpriz'd by the *Swediſh* General *Koningſmark*, in the long *German* War, who carried off an incredible Booty.

A Part of *Prague* being inhabited by *Jews*, is thence call'd the *Jews-Town*. They are here in great Numbers, and deal chiefly in Jewels, and eſpecially in thoſe Stones that are found in the Mines of *Bohemia*. I bought ſome *Bohemian Topazes*, very well cut, of them, at the Rate of ſeven or eight Crowns a Stone.

John Huſs, and *Jerome* of *Prague*, who endeavour'd to bring about a Reformation in thoſe Parts 800 Years before *Luther*, are not as yet forgotten among the *Bohemians*, who keep Silver Medals to the Memory of theſe two great Men; upon which Account I cannot help mentioning, what *Æneas Sylvius*, afterwards Pope *Pius* II. ſays of them two, *viz. That* John *was more in Years and of greater Authority, but* Jerome *excell'd in Eloquence and Learning; That they faced Death with unparallel'd Conſtancy, ſinging Hymns in the Midſt of the Flames.* He adds, *None of the old Philoſophers ſuffer'd any Kind of Death with ſo courageous a Temper, as theſe the Flames.*

As the ſame Author has made a Compariſon betwixt the City of *Florence* and *Prague*, I cannot forbear to give you my Obſervations upon this Head, which I made myſelf, both from the Top of the *Domo* at *Florence*, and from the Cathedral of St. *Veit*, on the Hill of the *Leſſer Town*. I found *Prague* to comprehend a much larger Compaſs, and to be more populous than *Florence*. The Streets of the firſt are much longer; and the Windows of the Palace being of very fine Glaſs, made a much better Show than the ragged Paper Windows of *Florence*. The River *Arno*, which paſſes through this laſt, bears not the leaſt Compariſon with the *Moldau* at *Prague*; and the great Stone Bridge over this River, bears a full Proportion to, if not exceeds, not only any one, but all the four Bridges of *Florence*. The Emperor's Palace alſo upon the Hill is a very noble Structure. On the other hand, it muſt be confeſs'd, that the Cathedral of *Florence*, built of black and white Marble; the Chapel of St. *Lawrence*, and the Great Duke's Gallery and Rarities, exceed any Thing I ſaw at *Prague*. Upon the *White Hill* near *Prague* was, 1620 *November* the 8th, fought the famous Battle betwixt the Armies of the Emperor *Ferdinand* II. and *Frederick* Elector *Palatine*, in which the latter was routed.

23. The Winter coming on, I would not go by Water to *Hamburgh* by the *Moldau*, which near *Melnick* falls into the *Elbe*; ſo that being obliged to travel by Land, I left *Prague* and the *Moldau* to the Right, and paſs'd through *Zagethal*, *Welverne*, and *Budin*, to *Labaſitz* upon the *Elbe*. After having croſs'd the River *Egra*, (which ariſing near the City of the ſame Name, falls afterwards into the *Elbe*) I came by the Caſtle of *Kriegſtein*, ſeated upon a high Rock, thence to *Auſig*, a ſmall City, and ſo by the Way of *Nolndorff*, and over the Mount *Kninſberg* to the Frontiers of *Miſnia*; taking our Way through *Peterſwald*, *Hellendorff* and *Kiſibel*, near the laſt of which are Iron Mines and Works. Having ſpent nine Days by Coach, from *Inglaw*, on the Confines of *Moravia*, to this Place, not reckoning my Stay at *Prague*, which is computed to be 200 *Engliſh* Miles, the Ways being very bad in ſome Places, eſpecially in the Winter Seaſon.

As we were going toward *Dreſden*, I took a View of the *Bohemian* Rocks behind us, which reſembled, at a Diſtance, the Ruins of an old Wall; but could not be convinced of what moſt Geographers have told us of *Bohemia*, That it is encloſed in a great Foreſt, though it is not to be diſowned, but that both within the Country, and in ſome Parts near the Borders, there are conſiderable Woods, believed to be Part of the old *Sylvia Hercinia*, or *Hercinian Foreſt*. The *Bohemians* have been at all Times a ſtout and warlike Nation; and though the common People are ſomewhat rough, the Gentry are very obliging and polite. They abound in luſty and ſtrong Horſes, but ſince their unfortunate Revolt, they have loſt moſt of their Privileges, and many thouſand Families have quitted the Kingdom.

We continued our Journey through *Miſnia* to *Dreſden*, one of the moſt remarkable Places in all *Germany*, being the Reſidence of the Electors of *Saxony* upon the *Elbe*, over which is a ſtately Bridge, ſupported by ſeventeen Arches. The Fortifications of the City are very ſtrong, after the modern Way; the Baſtions faced with Stone, ſurrounded in ſome Places with a double Ditch. It has three Gates. The Things moſt worth Obſervation are, The *Italian* Garden in the Suburbs, the *Hunting-houſe* in the *Old Town* beyond the River, and the Electoral Palace, with the Houſe for Wild Beaſts, Stables, and *Arſenal*. The Hall in the Elector's Palace is very ſpacious, and chiefly remarkable for the many Draughts of Cities, Pictures of Giants, and the Habits of ſeveral Nations, very well done.

But what is moſt ſurpriſing is, the Collection of Rarities, divided into ſeveral Chambers. The firſt contains all Manner of Mechanical Inſtruments, made very artificially. In the other Chambers, theſe following are moſt worth Notice: A Tube-Glaſs four Ells long; divers artificial Works of Coral; Bowls and Cups made out of Mother of Pearl; Caſtles of Gold and Mother of Pearl; a Cup made of a Stone taken out of an Ox's Stomach, of a Foot long; a Stone as big as one's Fiſt, taken out of a Horſe, reſembling a *Bezoar ſtone*; ſome very pure Ore out of the Mines of *Freiberg*; a natural Croſs of the ſame Ore; one hundred twenty one Heads carved on a Cherry-ſtone; a Chryſtal Cabinet, ſold by *Oliver Cromwell*; *Charles* II. of *England*, on Horſe-back, carved out of Iron; King *Charles* I. his Head; an Organ of Glaſs; ſeveral unpoliſh'd *Topazes*, ten Inches diameter; a Cup made of a *Topaz*; ſeveral Emeralds, an Inch in diameter, as they grow in the Rock.

Figures of Fiſh in Stones, the Stones dark colour'd, the Fiſh of a Gold Colour; two large fine Pieces of pure Gold Ore; a White Hart as big as a natural one, made of the Filings and Shavings of Harts-horn. Another Chamber contains all Manner of Mathematical Inſtruments, and a Library of Mathematical Books and Maps; an Unicorn's Horn, which they affirm to be of a Land Unicorn, becauſe it is neither wreathed nor hollow. The moſt remarkable Pictures, among a great Number, are, the Siege of *Jeruſalem*, by *Colter*, valued at a high Rate; two Nuns, by *Lucas van Leyden*; a Picture of Dr. *Luther*. Here is alſo a rowling Bullet, to demonſtrate a perpetual Motion.

Of Clock-works you ſee a vaſt Variety: A Cuckow ſinging, a Horſeman riding, a Ship under Sail, an old Woman walking, a *Centaur* running and ſhooting, and a Crab crawling or creeping upon a Table; all done by Clock-work, to the Amazement of ordinary Spectators. In the Stables, and Chambers thereunto belonging, you ſee a noble Stable full of Horſes, each Horſe eating out of a Rack of Iron, and Manger of Copper. Near them is a curious Fountain and Pond, ſurrounded with Balliſters, where the Horſes are watered; a long Walk arched, and painted with very fine Horſes; over which is a Gallery, with the Pictures of all the Dukes and Electors of *Saxony*, in their Electoral Robes and Military Habits; two Beds of Marble; a Horſeman of Silver, bringing a Cup of Wine in his Hand, moved by a Spring; a Pair of very fine Piſtols, with Stories of the *Old* and *New Teſtament* upon them; a Glaſs Gun; a Gun, which diſcharges forty Times without being charged again; a Lock without a Cock. Another Chamber has many rich Sleds and Accoutrements, made Uſe of in the Winter time upon the Snow. A White Bear's Skin ſtuff'd; Tygers and Lions Skins; a *Caſſowares* Skin; very fine Armour for Men and Horſes; a Picture of a *Laplander*; a *Lapland Magick Drum*; a Chamber full of all Sorts of curious Hunting Tackle and Arms.

The *Arſenal* is a long Square, a Building containing near 400 Braſs Pieces of Ordnance, of Muſquets and other Arms a great Quantity; divers Silver Coats of Mail, &c. In the Hunting-houſe in the *Old Town* are maintained fifteen Bears; Fountains and Ponds are made here for the Conveniency of waſhing themſelves, in which the Bears much delight. Round the Pond you ſee high ragged Trees or Poſts ſet up, where the Bears climb up and down, and Scaffolds on the Top, where they ſun and dry themſelves after they have been ſporting in the Water. The Horn Gallery here is alſo worth taking notice of; out of which you paſs through three Chambers, one painted with all the different Sorts of Hunting, the ſecond with Fowl, and the third with all Kinds of Wild Beaſts. In the Houſe where the Wild Beaſts are kept, was a *Marian*, a four legg'd Beaſt, which hangs on the Bows of Trees by the Tail.

A wild Mountain Cat of an extraordinary Size; five young Bears, five old black Bears; the Feet, Head and Neck, longer than thoſe of the black, but not ſo thick; two Lions and ten Lioneſſes.

The *Italian Garden* and *Summer-houſe* in the Suburbs, contained two noble Obeliſks, two beautiful Fountains, a Theatre and good Landſkips. They were built by two of the Elector's *Eunuchs*. It is not many Years ago ſince *Dreſden* has been made a City. The Revenues of the Elector of *Saxony* are very conſiderable, ariſing chiefly from his Impoſitions upon Commodities, Exciſes upon Beer, and Silver Mines. The chief Church of *Dreſden* is very fair. They are reputed to ſpeak the beſt *High Dutch* here, and throughout all *Miſnia*, which is a pleaſant, fruitful and populous Country.

After I left *Dreſden*, my Curioſity led me to *Frieberg*, noted for many conſiderable Mines, which are within two *Engliſh* Miles of the Place. Among thoſe I took particular Notice of three; one call'd *the High Hill*, the deepeſt in thoſe Parts, being Seventy-ſeven of theirs, or Two hundred and eight of our Fathoms deep, which Depth exceeded any of the Mines I ſaw in *Hungary*. The ſecond Mine I ſaw was called the *Prince of Heaven*, which not many Years ago, produced an Ore ſo rich, that an Hundred Pounds Weight afforded an Hundred and thirty Marks of Silver, or Sixty-five Pounds in the Hundred; but it is a conſtant Obſervation among the Miners, that where the Veins are richeſt and pureſt, they are thinneſt, and generally not above the Breadth of two Inches. The Ore, as it generally runs, affords not one Ounce and a half of Silver in the Pound; and they work it, if it holds above half an Ounce, which may ſeem ſomewhat ſtrange to thoſe who know not, that even in the Silver Mines of *Peru* and *Chili*, they will work the Silver Ore, which affords not above four or five Ounces; and the rich Ore in the Mines of *Potoſi* does not commonly produce above ten or twelve Ounces of Silver; though this Hill alone, if we may credit *Alberto Alonſo*, has produced in Silver ſince it has been dug, betwixt four and five hundred Millions of Pieces of Eight. They have here ſeveral Ways of opening the Ore to prepare it for Melting; as, by Lead, and a Kind of Silver Ore which holds Lead.

The Sulphur Ore alſo which is found here, after its Calcination, proves no ſmall Addition towards the melting of Metals, as likewiſe the *Schlich*, or pounded and waſhed Ore, and the *Schlaken*, being the Droſs, Sediment or Scum, taken out of the *Vortiegel* (Pan) which received the melted Minerals, let out into it at the Bottom of the melting Furnace. Their *Treibſhearth*, or *Furnace of Separating*, where the *Litharge* is driven, which I ſaw here, is more like that deſcribed in *Agricola*, than thoſe I ſaw in *Hungary*. Some of the Litharge is Green: They waſh the pureſt Ore, and ſuch as is mix'd with Stones or Spars; and they have this Peculiar, that before they melt the Ore in the Melting Furnace, they burn the pounded and waſhed Ore on the *Roaſting Hearth*, as they term it. They make much uſe of the *Virgula divina* or *Forked Hazel*, to find out the Silver Ore, or any other Treaſure. I never ſaw them uſe it in the Mines of *Hungary*, where I was, but I took particular Notice of the Manner how they uſe it here; yet as it is amply deſcribed in ſome Books, and is better ſeen than repreſented at a Diſtance, I will not enlarge further upon that Subject.

The third Mine I viſited was call'd the *Neckbreaker*, about eighty of our Fathoms deep: The Ore it produces is either Copper and Silver, or Silver and Lead, and ſometimes all three; but they work only for Silver. I found the Mines cold as far as the Air could penetrate, but otherwiſe warm enough. Where they are at the deepeſt, they are full of Damps; but that which troubles them moſt, is the Duſt, which ſettles upon the Lungs and Stomachs of the Miners. They have excellent Engines here to prevent the Inconveniencies ariſing from the Water. But I muſt not omit a rich Sulphur Ore, hard and ſtony, that with red Spots being deemed the beſt. This is melted in a peculiar Furnace, to ſeparate it from the Ore; ſome of which yields three Pound of Sulphur out of 100 Weight of Ore, which as it melts runs out of the Furnace into Water, or the Exhalations of the Ore are condenſed into Brimſtone, by the Coldneſs of the Surface of the Water placed to receive it. It is purified again, by melting it a ſecond Time. Some of this Brimſtone Ore holds Silver, ſome Copper, but in very ſmall Quantities. The Remnants, after Sulphur is ſeparated from the Ore, is reſerved for a double Uſe; either for the Melting of Silver, or the making of *Vitriol*. In the firſt Caſe, a certain Proportion of it is caſt into the Melting Furnace of the Silver, which, as the Miners term it, helps to make it Flux. In the making of *Vitriol* or *Copperas*, they take the Ore from which the Brimſtone has been ſeparated, and burn it over again, or let it continue to burn in the open Air, then putting it into a large Veſſel, pour as much Water upon it as is requiſite to imbibe the *Vitriol*; which Water being afterwards boiled to a certain Conſiſtency, is let out into Coolers, where the pureſt Part of the Vitriol adheres to Sticks ſet for that Purpoſe, the reſt ſettling on the Sides and at the Bottom. It is obſervable, that the Ore, after it is deprived of its Vitriol, has not the leaſt Virtue left in opening Metals, or rendring of them fluid.

24. The City of *Frieberg* itſelf is of a circular Figure, ſurrounded with ſtrong Walls: Its Streets are handſome, and ſo is the Market-place. The Elector's Palace is a very beautiful Structure; it has five Gates. But what exceeds all the reſt, is the Church of St. *Peter*, famous for the Monuments of many of the Ducal Family, among which, that of *Maurice*, Duke and Elector of *Saxony*, excels, being accounted the nobleſt in *Germany*, raiſed three Piles high of black Marble, with many fair Statues about it in Alabaſter, and white Marble; which is the Reaſon, that when this Town was ſurrender'd, *October* the 5th, 1632, to the Imperialiſts, the Elector of *Saxony* paid 80000 Crowns to ſave the Tombs of his Predeceſſors, and the Robes, Jewels, Rings and other Enſigns of Honour, that were buried with them.

There were certain Vaults and ſubterraneous Paſſages from the Mines into the City, which are ſaid to have been diſcovered firſt 1189, ſince which Time the Silver Mines at *Schneeberg*, *Annebergh* and *Joachim's Dale*, have been found, *viz.* in 1526. After having taken a View of what I thought moſt curious in and about *Frieberg*, I travell'd by *Waltheim* and *Coldick* to *Leipſick*, ſeated upon the River *Elſter*, which having its Source in *Vogtland*, paſſes by this City, and afterwards falls into the River *Sala*.

It is a very rich Place, celebrated for its three Marts or Fairs every Year, when there is a great Reſort of Merchants from all Parts. The Houſes are generally ſtately Buildings, being for the moſt Part ſix or ſeven Stories high. It has a Caſtle, but neither this nor the Town are well fortified. The Church of St. *Nicholas* has the Reputation of being within one of the fineſt *Lutheran* Churches in *Germany*.

This City is famous for three Battles fought near it in our Age; the 1*ſt*, Between *Guſtavus Adolphus*, King of *Sweden*, and Count *Tilly*, the Imperial General, 1631, in which the laſt was totally routed. The 2*d*, Some Years after, betwixt *Torſtenſon* the *Swediſh*, and Archduke *Leopold William*, the Imperial General. The 3*d*, about a League and a half from hence, near *Lutzen*, fought between the ſame King of *Sweden*, and *Wallenſtein* Duke of *Friedland*, the Imperial General, in which the *Swedes* were again victorious, notwithſtanding their King was ſlain before the Beginning of the Battle, as he was going to take a View of the Poſture of the Enemy. There is alſo a good Univerſity at *Leipſick*, erected there whilſt the Troubles continued in *Bohemia*, with the *Huſſites*, when 2000 *German* Scholars came hither at once from *Prague*.

From *Leipſick* I proſecuted my Journey to *Magdeburgh*, through a plain Country, betwixt the Rivers *Sala* and *Elbe*, through *Lanſberg*, and near *Peterſdorff*, and ſo by the the Way of *Kochten* (the Reſidence of the Prince of *Anhalt*) to *Caln*, ſituate upon the River *Sala*, not far before it falls into the *Elbe*. In this Neighbourhood is the famous Mountains, ſtiled the *Fichtelberg*, much celebrated for the Mines, Baths, and mineral Waters near it, and for four Rivers running to the four different Quarters of the World, *viz.* the *Main* to the Weſt, the *Nab* or *Nabus* to the South, the *Eger* to the Eaſt, and the *Sala* to the North; which four Rivers afterwards join the three capital Rivers of *Germany*, the *Danube*, the *Rhine* and the *Elbe*.

Hence we paſs'd through *Saltz*, (noted for its Salt-ſprings) to *Magdeburgh*, ſeated upon the River *Elbe*. This, which in former Ages was the Metropolitan City of *Germany*, but now under the Juriſdiction of the Elector of *Brandenburg*, is of a very large Circumference, but ſcarce half built, ſince it was deſtroyed by *Tilly* the Imperial General, who put 56000 Perſons there to the Sword. The Cathedral Church is a very fair Structure, built after the Model of our *Engliſh* Churches; by the Emperor *Otho* I. and his Empreſs *Editha*, the Daughter of our *Engliſh* King *Edmund*. Her Effigies in Stone ſtands ſtill in the Church, with the Repreſentation of eighteen Caſks of Gold by her, which ſhe gave thereto. The *Lutheran* Churches are very handſome here, and the Jeſuits very fine, as indeed they are in all other Places. In the Cathedral Church of St. *Maurice*, I ſaw the Statue of the five wiſe Virgins ſmiling, and the five fooliſh Virgins lamenting, which were not ill done. Among the reſt they ſhew'd ſeveral odd Relicks, *viz.* the Baſon in which *Pilate* waſh'd his Hands; and the Ladder whereon the Cock crow'd, after St. *Peter*'s Denial of our Saviour. Among the Ruins of the Cloiſter of the *Auſtin Friars*, are ſtill remaining *Luther*'s Chamber, his Bedſtead, and his Table. Upon the Door are certain *German* Verſes, which tranſlated into *Engliſh* are to this Purpoſe:

> *Great* Luther *lodg'd within this little Room,*
> *While as a* Monk *this* Cloiſter *was his* Home;
> *And we in Rev'rence of his Mem'ry keep*
> *The Bedſtead upon which he us'd to ſleep.*

At *Magdeburgh* I began to be ſenſible that I had left behind the true Purity of the *German* Language, for here you begin to hear another Dialect, generally called the *Lower Saxon*, ſpoken in all the *North* of *Germany*, at *Hamburgh*, *Lubeck*, and other Cities in thoſe Parts. However People of Faſhion converſe in *High Dutch*, and their Sermons are generally held, and Books written in the ſame Language. The City of *Magdeburgh* is highly celebrated in *Germany* as having been the firſt where the moſt famous Turnaments were inſtituted in the Year 638, by the Emperor *Henry*, ſirnamed the *Fowler*. The Condition of theſe Turnaments or Exerciſes of *Chivalry* were, That none but of the ancient Nobility, no Baſtard, no Uſurper, no Perſon attainted of High-Treaſon, no Oppreſſor of Widows and Orphans, none born of Parents, whereof one was of ignoble Extraction, no Heretick or Murderer, Coward, or who had given Offence to Ladies in Word or Deed, ſhould be admitted into the Liſt, and not above one in a Family at a Time. Princes were to come attended with four Squires, Counts and Barons with three, a Knight with two, and a Gentleman with one. He that was deſirous to enter the Liſts, appear'd at the Preſident's Lodgings, where his Name and Quality being regiſtred in the Preſence of three *Heralds*, the Champion deliver'd unto them his Helmet and Sword, and after Confeſſion enter'd the Liſt, attended according to his Quality. Their Horſes were to be without Defect, their Furniture according to the Rules preſcribed, and the Saddles without any riſing behind or before. Having performed all Manner of Exerciſes, they expected the Sentence from the Judges, and he who obtained the Prize, received it from the Hand of ſome Lady, or from the Prince who gave it.

But after theſe Paſtimes had continued for ſome Ages, they were aboliſhed upon very weighty Conſiderations, theſe Exerciſes having cauſed no ſmall Emulation among the Nobility, ſo that at the twenty-third Turnament, held at *Darmſtadt*, 1473, this Animoſity roſe to ſuch a Height between the Gentlemen of *Franconia* and thoſe of *Heſſe*, that ſeventeen of the former, and nine of the latter remained dead upon the Spot. The Winter now coming on apace, I haſtened my Journey to *Hamburgh*, which I performed in the Stage-Coach in four Days, taking our Way through the Elector of *Brandenburgh* and the Duke of *Lunenburgh*'s Territories. In this Road I took Notice of many ſmall Mounts of Earth, the ancient Funeral Monuments of Great Commanders; (which are alſo found in *England*) and ſometimes Rows of great Stones; and in one Place I ſaw three great maſſy Stones in the Middle, in a large Square, encloſed by other large Stones, ſet up on End.

25. The City of *Hamburgh*, one of the greateſt, richeſt, and perhaps the moſt populous Cities of *Germany*, is ſeated in a Plain, being well fortified after the modern Way, yet are their Works not faced with Stone. But the Territories belonging to it are of no great Extent. It is divided into the *Old* and *New Town*; it has five Gates; the *Stone-Gate*, which leads to *Lubeck*; the *Dyke-Gate*; the *Graſs-Brook Gate*; the *Dome Gate*; and the *Ellern* or *Altena*, a Town belonging to the King of *Denmark*. Their Buildings are very handſome, with very grand Entrances, and ſpacious Halls. The Senate Houſe is a noble Structure, beautified with the Statues of the nine Worthies. The Exchange was then enlarging: It is celebrated for its fair Churches, and noble Steeples cover'd with Copper. The Church of St. *Catharine* has a noble Front, and round the Steeple you ſee a Crown well-gilt. The Steeple of St. *Nicholas* is ſupported by great Globes. The other great Churches are, the *Dome*, or *Cathedral* Church, St. *Peter*'s, St. *James*'s the Great and Leſs, St. *Michael*'s Church in the *New Town*, beſides ſeveral leſſer ones, as of St. *Gertrude*, St. *John*'s, St. *Mary Magdalen*, the *Holy Ghoſt*, the *Blue Coat Hoſpital Church*, and St. *George*'s in the Suburbs. The River or rather Lake call'd *Alſter*, paſſes through it into the *Elbe*, which is juſt beyond the Town, join'd by another ſmall River call'd the *Bilde*. The Tide paſſes daily twice through moſt of the great Streets, through Channels, though the City lies eighteen Leagues diſtant from the Mouth of the *Elbe*.

As it is excellently well ſituated for Commerce, ſo it abounds in Shipping; for beſides its Paſſage into the Ocean, it is but an eaſy Days Journey from *Lubeck* on the *Baltick-Sea*, beſides, that by the River *Elbe*, they carry on their Commerce by Water with a great Part of *Germany*, even as far as *Bohemia*. The Conveniency of Trade drives many foreign Merchants thither, among which the *Engliſh Company* enjoys great Privileges; it being computed that they vend there about 100,000 Pounds worth of our Woollen Manufactory annually. I left *Hamburgh* the 10th of *December*, when embarking in an *Engliſh* Veſſel, we got that Day to *Stade*, upon the *Zwingh*, which near it falls into the *Elbe*. It belongs now to the King of *Sweden*; and here it was the *Engliſh* Merchants reſided for ſome Time, upon ſome Diſcontent with the *Hamburghers*.

11th, We paſs'd *Gluckſtadt*, ſeated upon the *Holſatian* Shore, and belonging to the King of *Denmark*: We anchor'd that Night at the Mouth of the River *Oaſt*, which riſing in the Dutchy of *Bremen*, falls into the *Elbe*, a Mile from *Brunſbuttel*, on the oppoſite ſide of the *Holſatian* Shore. 12th, We paſs'd *Cook's Haven*, in Hopes to reach the Sea that Night, but being becalm'd at Three in the Afternoon, were forced to Anchor again, between *Thickſand* to the North, and *Newark* to the South, near a Light-Houſe. 13th, The ſtrong Wind forcing us back to *Cook's Haven*, I embrac'd the Opportunity to go a-ſhore, and took a View of the Caſtle, which belongs to the City of *Hamburgh*. It is a ſquare Fort with a double Ditch, and at high Tide, ſome Veſſels come up to the Channel, which reaches up to the Fort, but at low Water it is dry. Both the Town and Caſtle are call'd *Reutzbuttel*, being not far from the *Lands End*, and the Governor thereof is always one of the Senate. Within three Days after, we ſet ſail again with a briſk N. E. Wind for *England*, and ſcarce were we out of the Mouth of the *Elbe*, but we got Sight of a certain ſmall Iſle, belonging to the Duke of *Holſtein Gottorp*, called the *Holy Land*, which as it is very high, ſo it is a ſafe Direction for Ships, eſpecially thoſe that come from Sea, without which they would be often at a Loſs from the Loweneſs of the Shore near that River's Mouth. This Iſland, which is very ſmall, is reputed to have about 2000 Inhabitants, who live for the moſt Part upon Fiſhing, and by carrying Lobſters and other Sea-fiſh to *Hamburgh*, *London*, and *Queenborough*. We choſe the main Sea that Night, but the next Day made nearer to the Shore, and ſail'd in Sight of *Amelandt* and *Schelling*; and in the Evening diſcover'd the Lights at the *Vly* and *Texel*. The next Day, having a fair Wind, we took down our Sails in the Evening, for Fear of coming too near the *Engliſh* Shore in the Night-time, and next Morning diſcovered the *North-foreland*, came the ſame Day to an Anchor in *Margaret* Road, and came as ſafely aſhore on *Chriſtmas* Day.

Now I muſt confeſs, that after I had taken ſo full a View of *Germany*, I found it quite different from the Conceptions I had formed of it myſelf. For to ſpeak firſt of its Rivers, they are ſo noble and great, that they excel thoſe of *Italy* and *France*, it being certain that the *Po*, the *Arno*, *Garigliano*, and other Rivers of *Italy*, bear not the leaſt Proportion to them; and though *France* has four great Rivers, *viz.* The *Loire*, the *Seine*, the *Rhoſne*, *Garonne*, as well as *Germany* has the *Danube*, the *Rhine*, the *Elbe*, and the *Weſer*, yet has *France* none that can come in Compariſon with the *Danube* and *Rhine*. 'Tis true, *France* has many fine Cities and Sea-ports, yet they do not come up in Number to thoſe in *Germany*, and I much queſtion, whether it has any Places that exceed *Hamburgh*, *Lubeck*, *Dantzick*, *Bremen*, &c. Beſides which, the whole Country is full of populous Towns, great Villages, ſtrong Caſtles, Seats of Perſons of Quality, delicious Plants, Foreſts, and pleaſant Woods. Nay, *Germany* affords even under Ground, Mines of Gold, Silver, Copper, Iron, Tin, Lead, Quick-Silver, Antimony, Coal, Salt, Sulphur, Cadmia, *&c.* and is full of the beſt Artificers to work in them. Add to this the eaſy Converſation of the People, who are great Lovers of Strangers, and honeſt in their Dealings: The Women are generally well complexioned, of a ſober Behaviour, faithful to their Huſbands, and good Houſe Wives.

Beſides that, *Germany* affords an inexhauſtible Stock of Men, the People being naturally fruitful, not exhauſted by long Sea Voyages and Engagements; and by Colonies ſent into far diſtant Countries; the only Conſumption of Men being in the Wars; and if they have none at Home, they will ſeek for them Abroad, being generally inclined to martial Exploits; and their Perſons of Quality are always averſe to Trade. To conclude, when I conſider the preſent Condition of *Germany*, their great and populous Cities, with the Strength of their Fortifications, the vaſt Number of their magnificent Structures, publick and private, and their civilized Manner of living in them, and compare all this with the Character *Tacitus* gives of the ancient *Germans*, that they lived poorly, ſcattered, without Towns or Villages, ignorant of Arts, and ſuch like, I cannot but be pleaſed with the Expreſſion of a certain learned Perſon, though long ago, upon this Subject, That if *Arioviſtus* and the other great Men of *Germany* of thoſe Times, ſhould riſe out of their Graves, and take a full View of their Native Soil, they would fancy themſelves to be in another World, and never acknowledge this for their own Country.

SECTION II.

A Deſcription of the noble Kingdom of *Hungary*, in which its various Prerogatives and many Excellencies are pointed out; the Nature of the Country, its various and admirable Productions, the Diſpoſition of the People, their Language, Manners and Cuſtoms are, from the Knowledge of the Writer, clearly and copiouſly ſet forth; interſperſed with a Variety of Geographical, Hiſtorical, Phyſical, Political and Literary Remarks, upon various Subjects.

By the learned Dr. EDWARD BROWNE, Preſident of the Royal College of Phyſicians.

1. *An Introduction, with ſome Account of the Author's Deſign in this Treatiſe. The Climate and Soil of* Hungary *deſcribed. The famous Rivers by which this Kingdom is watered.* 2. *Of the ſeveral Bridges that render this Country famous particularly the admirable Bridge of* Eſſeck, *the intended Bridge of King* Sigiſmond, *and the Ruins of that built by the Emperor* Adrian. 3. *Of the Iſlands in, and Fleets upon the* Danube; *as alſo of the famous Lakes in* Hungary. 4. *Of the large Plains in this Country, and how they facilitate Travelling.* 5. *Of the vaſt Quantities of all Sorts of Fiſh, and of ſome Species peculiar to the* Danube. 6. *The prodigious Fertility of the Country deſcribed, and of the Excellency of its Wines, Bread, Beef,* &c. 7. *Of the Language of* Hungary, *and of the adjacent Provinces. The general Knowledge the People have of* Latin. *The State of Learning there.* 8. *An Account of the old* Hungarian *Crown, the vaſt Veneration the People have for it. The Martial Diſpoſition even of their Eccleſiaſticks. The Tomb and Epitaph of the* Roman *Poet* Ovid. 9. *The* Pyrrhic *Dance ſtill underſtood and practiſed by the* Heydukes. *The State of* Hungary *at the Time of the Author's being there. Account of the Frontier towards the* Turks, *as it then ſtood.* 10. *Of the* Roman *Stations, Garriſons and Antiquities of this Country.* 11. *A curious Account of a prodigious Treaſure of ancient* Greek *Medals found at* Deva, *with Remarks upon ſome* Roman *Medals that have been alſo found in this Country.* 12. *Of the Habits and Arms of the* Hungarians, *and the Reaſons why they have been imitated by the neighbouring Nations.* 13. *A ſuccinct Account of* Tranſilvania *by another Hand.*

1. AS we have already given an Account of the Author, we ſhall only obſerve, that having ſpent a great Deal of Time in viſiting the different Parts of the Kingdom of *Hungary*, and in the Examination of the Curioſities it contains, Dr. *Browne* thought he could not do a more acceptable Service to his Countrymen, than by giving them a ſuccinct View of the Reſult of theſe Examinations and Inquiries. It is a received Opinion, that the Air in this Country is very unwholſome, which is attributed to many Cauſes; firſt, the Flatneſs of the Country, for where there are no Mountains, there are ſeldom any Winds ſufficient to cleanſe and purify the Air. Secondly, the Soil being marſhy and full of Minerals, the Vapours riſing from thence are ſuppoſed to be tinged with Particles far from being ſalutary to the Human Body. Thirdly, the extreme Heat in Summer, and the thick Miſts and Fogs in Winter and in Autumn, contribute not a little to draw this evil Report upon the Climate. But after all, it is very certain, that the Natives of *Hungary* live many of them to a vaſt Age; and though it be true, that it was formerly ſtiled at *Vienna*, *Cœmeterium Germanorum*, that is, the Churchyard of the *Germans*; yet perhaps a candid Judge upon a fair Hearing, would be inclined to acquit the Air of *Hungary* of the Murder of the *Germans*, and adviſe a freſh Indictment againſt the Wines. The Truth of the Matter ſeems to be, that in this rich and plentiful Country, Strangers are apt to indulge themſelves too much, and in that Caſe it muſt be owned, that the Climate is not very favourable; for without vigorous and conſtant Exerciſe, the Natives themſelves would not be able to maintain ſuch robuſt Conſtitutions as they are famed for, conſidering the Liberties they take in Eating and Drinking.

But except this Charge in Relation to the Air, there ſeems to be no Impeachment againſt the Excellency of this Country, which in Time paſt, and while under the Government of its Native Princes, made as great a Figure as any in *Europe*; and its Inhabitants had the Honour to give the firſt Check to the Arms of the *Mahometans* on this Side, as the *French* did on the other, and prevented them thereby from over-running all *Europe*. Since it fell under the Dominion of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, it has indeed made a leſs Figure, and grown more out of Knowledge as all Kingdoms do when they become Provinces; and to the ſame Cauſe it has been owing that the *Turks* have made themſelves Maſters of ſo great a Part of it, and that it has been ſo ruined and diſtracted by inteſtine Diviſions and civil Wars, that for their Severity and Length, there are ſcarce the like to be met with in Hiſtory. But theſe are caſual Events common to other Countries as well as *Hungary*, and which cannot be reaſonably urged as derogatory from or deſtructive of thoſe high Perfections, which it enjoys from Nature, and which ought to render it as much the Object of Attention to Strangers, as any other Country upon the Globe. For if we were to enumerate the ſeveral Advantages that diſtinguiſh thoſe Countries of the World that are moſt deſervedly famous, we might venture to affirm that almoſt all of them may be found here. Since if *Germany* boaſts her fine Rivers, *Italy* her golden Fruits, *Sicily* her copious Harveſts, *France* her generous Wines; in ſhort, if the numerous Commodities of *Europe*, if the luxurious Plenty of *Aſia*, if the various Curioſities of *Africa*, if the Silver of *Mexico*, and the Gold of *Peru*, are fit Objects of our Admiration, *Hungary* muſt claim it too; no Country is better watered, none more fertile, none more pleaſant, none yields better Fruits, none produces richer Wines, none abounds more with Cattle; none, notwithſtanding all theſe Riches above Ground, can boaſt a greater Wealth below. But to clear up all this, let us now enter a little into Particulars.

On the Eaſt-Side it has that noble River *Tibiſcus*, or the *Tibiſſe*, riſing at the Foot of the *Carpathian* Mountain, in the Country of *Maromorus*, and being increaſed by the Waters of the River *Mariſcus*, or *Mariſa*, and of ſeveral others, joins its Current with the *Danube* between *Waradin* St. *Peter*, and *Belgrade*. This River carries vaſt Quantities of Stone Salt from the Salt Mines of *Hungary* and *Tranſilvania*, and ſo by the *Danube* to all Places as far as *Preſburgh*, (it being not permitted to be carried higher, that it may not obſtruct the Sale of the *Auſtrian* Salt) a conſiderable Quantity of the ſame Salt being carried down the *Danube*, and ſo by the River *Moravia* into *Servia*, and other Countries adjacent. On the Weſt-ſide is the River *Rab*, (*Arabo*) which has its Riſe in *Styria*, and being in its Paſſage augmented by the Waters of the *Lauſſniz*, *Pinca*, *Guncz*, and other Rivers, falls into the *Danube* near *Raab* or *Javrinum*. The late Defeat of the *Turks* at St. *Gothard* near this River, has rendered its Name famous to Poſterity. Upon the South-ſide are two very conſiderable Rivers, the *Dravus* or *Drave*, and the *Savus* or *Save*. The firſt has its Source in the Country of *Saltſburgh*, (Part of the ancient *Noricum*) and after a Courſe of three hundred Miles through *Carinthia* and *Hungary*, diſcharges itſelf into the *Danube* near *Erdoed* or *Teutoburgum*. At its Entrance into *Hungary*, it is joined by the long River *Mur*; but a great Way before that, even near its Source, it is a conſiderable River. The *Save*, the ſecond noble River on that Side, has its Spring in *Carinthia*, and being augmented by the Acceſſion of many other Rivers, after a Courſe of three hundred Miles, joins with the *Danube* near *Belgrade*. It is a very beautiful Stream even at *Crainburgh* (*Carnodunum*) an handſome Town not far diſtant from the Head-ſpring; which is ſo conſiderably enlarged afterwards, that it contains ſeveral remarkable Iſlands, as that of *Metubaris*, on the Weſt-ſide of *Sirmium*, and that of *Seſſeck* (*Segeſtica*) near *Zagabia*, whereupon was anciently built a ſtrong Fortreſs, unto which the *Romans* uſed to carry their Proviſions, and other Neceſſaries from *Aquileia*, and ſo by Land to *Nauportus*, for the Uſe of their Forces in theſe Provinces. Into the fertile Plains between theſe two Rivers, *viz.* the *Drave* and the *Save*, *Solyman the Magnificent* retired from before *Vienna*, and ſo farther to *Belgrade*. On the North-ſide of *Hungary* are the Rivers riſing from the *Carpathian* Hills, which are the Boundaries betwixt that Kingdom and *Poland*, *viz.* the River *Gran*, which falls into the *Danube* over-againſt *Gran* or *Strigonium*; the River *Vagus* or *Waag*, which joins with the *Danube* near *Commorrah*: It is generally conceived to equal the *Po*, in *Italy*: This I am ſure of, that at *Frieſtadt* (above fifty Miles before it runs into the *Danube*) it is already a conſiderable Stream, and has a long Bridge over it; and another very near to its Source at *Trenſchin*, a handſome Town, famous for thirty-two Springs of hot and Mineral Waters. Beſides theſe, that great and famous River the *Danube* paſſes through *Hungary*, not any one Province having ſo large a Share of this River, as this Kingdom: For taking this River from the City of *Ulm* in *Suabia*, (where it begins to be navigable) it paſſes by *Ingolſtadt*, *Ratiſbon*, *Straubing*, *Paſſau*, *Lintz*, and *Vienna*, unto *Preſburgh*; from whence it continues its Courſe for at leaſt three hundred Miles through *Hungary*, before it comes to *Belgrade*. Not to mention here its ſmoother Paſſage along the Shores of *Servia*, *Bulgaria*, *Wallachia*, and *Moldavia*, and its Diviſion into many Mouths, by which, after it has received into its Channel above ſixty great Rivers, and, by a modeſt Computation, kept its Courſe for fifteen hundred Miles, it diſcharges into the *Euxine* or *Black Sea*; thence it is viſible, that in reſpect of its different Parts, it might well be mentioned by a double Name by the Geographers, *viz.* by that of *Danubius*, and *Iſter*. *Strabo* aſcribes that Name unto it below its Cataract, or Water-fall, near *Axiopolis*, in the inferior *Mæſia*, or *Bulgaria*; whereas *Appian*, and moſt modern Authors, begin it, at its Confluence with the *Save*, near *Belgrade*.

Beſides theſe large Rivers, it has divers others, *Fluvii non ignobiles*, as *Pliny* very juſtly ſtiles them, *viz.* The *Sarvizza*, or *Orpanus*, riſing near *Eſperies*, (*Veſprinium*) and paſſing by *Stulweiſſenburgh* (*Alba Regalis*) falls into the *Danube*. The River *Walpo*, or *Vulpanus*, which has its Riſe near a Town of the ſame Name; we paſs'd over it by *Walcovar*, and the River *Boſneth*, or *Bacunthus*, which empties itſelf into the *Save* not far from old *Sirmium*.

2. Moſt of theſe great Rivers are covered with long

Bridges. The Bridge of Boats over the *Danube*, betwixt *Strigonium* and *Barchan*, is the firſt upon this River after you come from *Vienna*. I ſaw alſo the Ruins of a Stone-bridge, upon the Shore of St. *Andrew*'s Iſland, by *Virovicbitz*; but the *Turks* now-a-days neglect thoſe Bridges, inſtead of which they make Uſe of Bridges of Boats, which they find more uſeful, and contrive ſo conveniently, that they may with Eaſe open a Paſſage for Veſſels that come that Way. Such a Bridge of Boats is betwixt *Buda* and *Peſt*, over the *Danube*, being above half a Mile long; and if *Sigiſmund* had lived to effect his Deſign of building a Stone Bridge in that Place, no Bridge in *Europe* could, in all Probability, have compared with it.

Colocza, formerly an Archbiſhop's See, has alſo a Bridge; and near *Walcovar* is another over the River *Walpo*. But the Bridge of *Eſſeck* (anciently *Murſa*) built partly over the *Drave*, and partly over the low marſhy Grounds and Fens, juſtly challenges the Precedency before the reſt: It is five Miles long, with Towers upon it at each Quarter of a Mile, being handſomely railed on both Sides, and ſuſtained by large Piles of Wood, nine or ten in a Rank for each Arch. Count *Nicholas Serini* burnt that Part of it which was built over the *Drave* in the laſt *Turkiſh* War, inſtead of which, the *Turks* have laid a Bridge of Boats a little below the other, which I paſs'd in 1669. Here it was the unfortunate King *Lewis* of *Hungary* engaged with the *Turks* under *Solyman*, which coſt him his Life. In ancient Times there were likewiſe many Bridges over that Part of the *Danube*, known generally by the Name of *Iſter*. *Darius* King of *Perſia* made a Bridge of Boats over that Mouth of the *Iſter*, called *Oſtium Sacrum*: And, according to *Nicephorus*, *Conſtantine* built a Stone-bridge over it; but that admirable Bridge built by the Emperor *Adrian*, (if we may give Credit to *Dion* the Hiſtorian) ſurpaſs'd all the reſt. Some of its Ruins are to this Day to be ſeen near *Severin*, about twenty *Hungarian* Leagues from *Belgrade*. It conſiſted of twenty Piles of ſquare Stone of one hundred Foot high, beſides the Foundation of ſixty Foot broad, the Diſtance betwixt each of them being one hundred and ſeventy Foot, and joined by Arches; with this Inſcription:

PROVIDENTIA AUG.
VERE PONTIFICIS VIRTUS ROMANA
QUID NON DOMAT? SUB JUGUM ECCE?
RAPITUR ET DANUBIUS.

And for an everlaſting Memorial, many Coins were ſtamp'd in Silver with this Inſcription, *DANUVIUS*.

3. Not any River, that I know of, has ſuch large and well-peopled Iſlands as the *Danube*; as the Iſle of St. *Andrew*'s, betwixt *Vicegrad* and *Vacia*: Another lies a little below *Buda*, againſt the Weſt-ſide of which ſtands *Adom*, forty Miles long, and containing many Villages; another oppoſite to *Mohatz*, and another at the Confluence of the *Drave* and the *Danube*, and another new one near *Belgrade*, where forty Years ago there was not the leaſt Footſteps of an Iſland to be ſeen: And if the River *Leyta* be the Boundary of *Auſtria*, the Iſle of *Schutz* (*Inſula Cituorum*,) excells all the others, being well peopled, and full of good Villages, beſides divers conſiderable Towns, ſuch as *Commorrah*, *Samarien*, &c. Another Thing is obſervable in the *Danube*, that no River whatever, at ſuch a Diſtance from its Mouth, can boaſt of ſuch conſiderable Naval Engagements as this; the Emperor keeping his Gallies at *Vienna*, *Preſburg*, and *Commorrah*; as the *Turks* do theirs at *Strigonium*, *Buda*, *Belgrade*, &c. It ſeems not a little ſurpriſing, when we read, that *Mahomet*, at the Siege of *Belgrade*, appear'd upon the *Danube* with 200 Gallies, and other arm'd Veſſels, which were ſo ſmartly engag'd by the Chriſtian Fleet, that beſides what were taken, the *Turks* were forc'd to ſet their own Veſſels on Fire, to prevent their falling into the Hands of the Enemy. The Chriſtians had a Fleet of twenty-four Gallies, and eighty other arm'd Veſſels, beſides Tenders and Ships of Burthen, at the Siege of *Buda*: And when *Solyman the Magnificent* lay before *Vienna*, the Imperial Admiral, *Wolfgang Hodder*, did a ſignal Piece of Service with his Veſſels; for coming out of *Preſburg*, he ſunk the *Turkiſh* Veſſels, which carried the heavy Cannon, intended for the battering the Walls. *Hungary* is alſo furniſh'd with ſeveral conſiderable Lakes, as the Lake *Balaton*, or *Platſee*, as they call it, (the *Volcæa* of the Ancients) extending a great Length between *Eſperies* and the River *Drave*, being guarded with ſeveral Forts, which have proved of great Uſe againſt the Incurſions of the *Turks*. The *Newſidler*-Sea, being ſeven *German* Leagues long, and three broad, having borrow'd its Name from the adjacent Town of *Newſidel*, a handſome Place, ſituate upon a Hill, with a ſmall ſquare Caſtle. This is the ſame mentioned by *Pliny*, under the Name of *Peiſo*; and the modern *Hungarians* call it *Terteu*, lying juſt half Way betwixt *Vienna* and *Sabaria*.

4. The vaſt Plain of *Pampus*, in *Paraguay*, in *America*, is famous for its Extent, being 2000 Miles long; I remember that famous Sea-Captain Mr. afterwards Sir *John Narborough*, told me, that there is all low Land from the *Plate* River, to the Middle of the Streights of *Magellan*. The great Plains of *Muſcovy* and *Poland*, are alſo famous throughout *Europe*; however, theſe are intermix'd with Trees, and ſometimes whole Woods, whereas the Plains of *Hungary* are clear and open; and, if compared with our *Engliſh* Plains, as of *Saliſbury*, *Lincoln*, and *Newmarket*, exceed them as far as a full-grown Man does a Child; ſuch are the Plains of *Auſtria* from *Vienna* to Mount *Simmaren*, upon the Frontiers of *Styria*. I myſelf travelled from *Vienna* to *Belgrade*, through one continued Plain, for 400 Miles, without any Eminencies, except one inconſiderable Wood near *Bacna* and *Shilberg*, beyond *Dotis*: And this Plain, taken from its firſt Beginning, *viz.* at Mount *Kalenburgh*, (*Cetius*,) two *German* Leagues Eaſtward from *Vienna*, and ſo beyond *Belgrade*, along the North-ſide of the *Danube*, to the very Frontiers of *Wallachia*, exceeds by much that renowned Paſſage from *Labor* to *Agra* in the *Indies*. It is true, *Upper Hungary* has Abundance of Woods and Hills, yet are theſe intermingled with large Plains. The Levelneſs of *Hungary* proves a conſiderable Conveniency for Travellers, who are carried in open Chariots, carrying two Men beſides the Driver, drawn by two or three, and ſometimes four Horſes a-breaſt. *Hungary* has more large Cities upon the *Danube* than any other Province; for among the ten conſiderable Cities which are ſeated from *Ulm* unto *Belgrade*, four, and thoſe very large ones, belong to *Hungary*, *viz. Preſburg*, *Strigonium* or *Gran*, *Buda*, and *Belgrade*; unto which if you add *Peſt*, it makes up the Fifth.

5. All the Rivers and Lakes of this Country furniſh them with vaſt Quantities of Fiſh: The River *Theſſe* is ſo famous for its Plenty of Fiſh, that they have a common ſaying, *That one Part in three conſiſts of Fiſh.* And the *Budziack*, which falls into the *Theyſſe* near *Tockay*, is ſo full of Fiſh, that the Country People ſay, *It ſmells of Fiſh*; being to be underſtood of the dry Summer Seaſon, when its Waters are very low; though (as I was credibly inform'd by a certain Officer) it is thirty Fathoms broad, and $8\frac{1}{5}$ deep; but being of this Figure V, he told me, it could not be well fiſh'd with Nets. The *Danube* alſo affords a plentiful Share of Fiſhes, as *Trouts*, *Perches*, *Carps*, the largeſt and fineſt I ever met with; and beſides many others, a certain Fiſh called *Coppen*, or *Capito*; a *Biſcurne*, a Kind of *Lamprey*, a *Grundel*, or ſpotted Kind of *Cobites*, with ſix Beards, two ſhort, and four longer; another Fiſh, exceeding in Bigneſs a Pike, call'd *Scheyden*, the *Silurus* of *Geſner*, and at certain Seaſons great Numbers of *Huſones*, call'd by them *Hauſons*, which are ſometimes twenty Foot long, a delicious Fiſh, not unlike a *Sturgeon*. There are ſet Fiſhing-places, and peculiar Store-Houſes for that Uſe upon this River, the higheſt thereof is above *Commorah*, in the Iſle of *Schutz*; but the greateſt Plenty of Fiſh is near *Kilia* in *Wallachia*, where they take and ſalt many Sorts of Fiſh coming out of the *Euxine* Sea, and ſend them into the adjacent Countries. Theſe Rivers afford alſo great

Plenty of Water-Fowl in the Winter, and among the reſt *Pelicans*, but I never ſaw any Swans upon the *Danube*.

6. The Land here affords the like Plenty of Proviſions of all Sorts, but eſpecially of Bread and Wine, their Bread being as good as any in *Europe*, made light by kneading for a conſiderable Time; and that ſo cheap, that you may buy as much here for Two-pence, as we generally do for Twelve-pence in *England*; the ſame being to be met with in the *Turkiſh* Dominions in theſe Parts. Their Grapes are both large, and of a luſcious Flavour, among which thoſe of *Virovichitz*, near *Vacia* excel the reſt; their Vines are very noble, witneſs thoſe of *Tockay*, which are in great Requeſt; and the pleaſant and rich Wines of *Sirmia*, in the Southern Parts of *Hungary*; the Vines of this Province having been planted firſt by the Emperor *Probus*, near Mount *Almus*, or *Arpataro*. At *Vienna* are no leſs than thirty Sorts of Wine to be ſold. Neither are the *Hungarians* at all negligent in improving their Grounds by Huſbandry. I remember that in *February* I ſaw every Night great Fires in the Country, occaſioned by the Burning of the Stubble and old Graſs, which rendered the Ground more fertile againſt the next Seaſon. Inſtead of our Barns, or Hay, and Cornſtacks, they uſe deep and ſpacious Caves under Ground, whither they retire alſo with their Families, in Caſe of a ſudden Inroad from the *Turks* or *Tartars*. They have vaſt Plenty of Hares and Deer, as alſo of all Sorts of Poultry, Partridges, Pheaſants, *&c.* vaſt Store of Sheep, having in ſome Places long ſpiral Horns, and long curl'd Wool; of Oxen ſuch prodigious Numbers, that, according to a well-grounded Computation, they ſend to *Germany*, *Italy*, and other Parts, above 100,000 yearly. They have alſo good Store of Bouffles, which are very uſeful to them, eſpecially in ploughing ſome ſtiff Grounds. Neither do they want Horſes, ſome of which are pretty large, but generally ſmall, though exceeding ſwift; I ſaw above 1000 of them belonging to the Village of *Lower Sene*, or *Senia*, near *Commorrah*.

7. Their Language is peculiar to themſelves; I heard a Miniſter praying and preaching in a Church at *Bitchka*, and tho' he that was with me was very well verſ'd in the *Sclavonian*, *German*, *Turkiſh*, Vulgar *Greek* and *Italian*, yet could he not find the leaſt Affinity in it, with any of thoſe beforemention'd Languages. The ſame we obſerv'd in the *Albanian* Language, in the Northern Part of *Epirus*, and Weſt of *Macedonia*, where indeed the *Sclavonian* is uſed by ſome, but their own Language in common Converſation among themſelves, could not be underſtood by the beſt Linguiſts, both *Chriſtians* and *Turks*, that travell'd along with us. Thus, in ſome Parts of *Hungary*, the *Sclavonian* is much in Uſe; I remember that at *Frieſtadt* (call'd *Colgotz* by the *Hungarians*) I heard them preach in *Sclavonian* in the Church of the Town, but the *Franciſcans* preach'd in *Hungarian*. This Remoteneſs of their Language from others, makes them much addicted to foreign Languages, eſpecially the *Latin*, which moſt of the Gentry and Soldiery ſpeak fluently enough, and there is ſcarce a Coachman, or Footman, but what underſtands as much of it as will ſerve to make him underſtood; this makes the *Latin* Tongue very uſeful through all *Hungary* and *Tranſilvania*; but beyond *Belgrade*, the *Sclavonian* is the univerſal Language; it being certain that you may travel with the *German* and *Sclavonian* from *Hamburgh* to the frontiers of *Tartary* and *Conſtantinople* itſelf; the *Sclavonian* being generally ſpoken in *Servia*, *Bulgaria*, *Romania*, and Part of *Macedonia*, beſides in many other Parts; ſo that a Man may make Shift to paſs with this Language from the *Adriatick* Shore in *Dalmatia*, unto the *Tartarian Ocean*. It is ſcarce to be ſuppos'd, that in a Country ſo near unto, and ſo much expoſed to the Violences of a barbarous Neighbour, I mean the *Turks*, there ſhould be any Seminaries of Learning, there being no Univerſity in thoſe Parts beyond *Vienna*; and though of old they have had many learned Men, yet theſe had their Education in foreign Parts, as had of old St. *Jerom*, and St. *Martin*; and thoſe Perſons of Quality in *Hungary*, who intend to breed up their Children to Learning, ſend them now-a-days to *Vienna*, *Breſlau*, *Prague*, and ſome other Univerſities in *Germany*. At preſent there is a *Gymnaſium*, or ſmall Univerſity at *Schemnitz*. The *Hungarians* boaſt however of their once ſo famous Library of *Buda* founded by their King *Matthias Corvinus*, the Son of *Hunniades*, about 200 Years ago, conſiſting of ſeveral Thouſands of Books, and among them many *Greek* and *Latin* MSS. not to be purchaſed; Part of it was carried off into *Turkey*, after *Solyman* had ſurprized that City, and the choiceſt thereof procured afterwards for the Imperial Library at *Vienna*, when *Cuſpinianus* was Keeper thereof; many of theſe Books being mark'd with the Arms of *Corvinus*, viz. *a Crow bearing a golden Ring in his Beak*; theſe, with the ſucceeding Additions of *Buſbequius*, *Wolfgangus*, *Lazius*, *Fugger*, &c. together with the choiceſt Manuſcripts brought thither by *Petrus Lambecius*, the preſent Library-Keeper, from the *Ambroſian Library* near *Inſpruck*, are Part of the 80,000 Volumes mentioned in the Imperial Library; of which I had the favour not only to ſee the rareſt Manuſcripts, and other Rarities, but alſo to have ſeveral of the beſt Books to my Lodgings; and at my coming away, the ſame learned Perſon preſented me with a Catalogue of ſome hundreds of *Alchemical* Manuſcripts, with an Offer to have any of them brought to *England*, or to be tranſcribed at *Vienna*. There were lately about 400 Books (the Remnants of the *Corvinian* Library) left at *Buda*, but careleſsly kept by the *Turks*, and were conſumed in the great Fire that happen'd there, in 1669.

8. The *Hungarians* have a moſt profound Veneration for their Crown, which, they tell you, was ſent to their King *Stephen* by *Pope Benedict* VIII. being admoniſh'd by an *Angelical Apparition* to ſend it to *Stephen*, and not to *Miſca* the then King of *Poland*, his Competitor: Hence it is, that they have always been ſo careful to preſerve it, as thinking the Fate of the Kingdom to depend on the Poſſeſſion or Loſs of it. Formerly it was kept in the Caſtle of *Vicegrad*, but at preſent in that of *Preſburg*. This Crown has alſo a moſt peculiar Figure, being a very low Crown, with a Croſs upon it, encloſed with four Turnings up like Leaves, one whereof is as large as two of the others. As it is a hard Matter to get Sight of the Original, ſo I was forced to be contented with the Sight of the Model thereof, in the Treaſury of the *German* Emperor *Leopold*, exactly made after the Faſhion of the *Hungarian* Crown of Gold, and beſet richly with precious Stones, perhaps richer than the Original. Tho' the *Hungarians* want neither Inclination to or Abilities for Learning, yet have they generally been moſt addicted to Martial Exploits, even to the Clergy, witneſs that unfortunate Battle of their King *Lewis*, near *Mohatz*, in which ſix Biſhops were ſlain with that Monarch. Some are of Opinion, that the famous Poet *Ovid* being recall'd from his Baniſhment at *Tomos*, near the *Euxine* Sea, died at *Sabaria* in *Hungary*, in his Return Home; where they ſay, his Tomb was found, with this Epitaph made by himſelf:

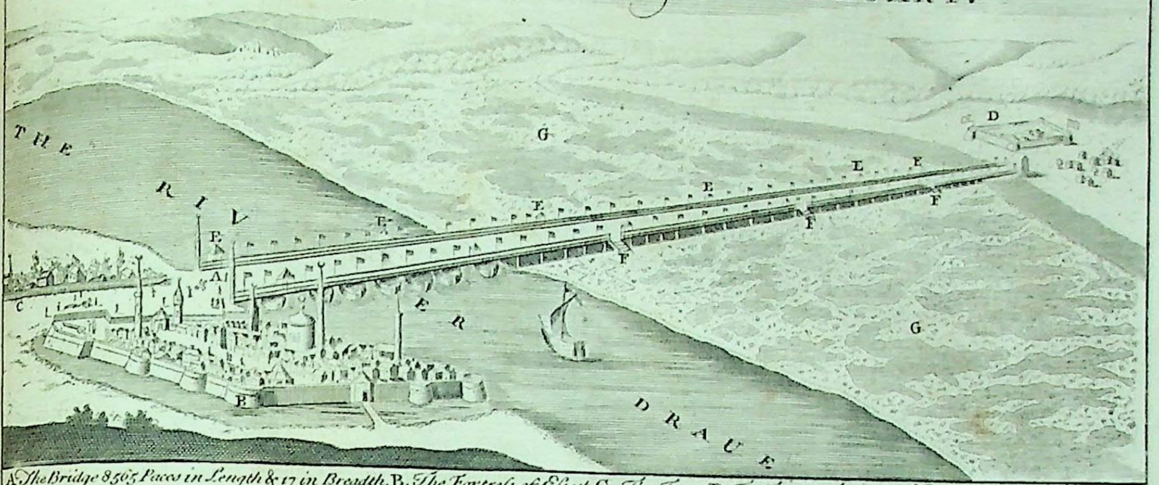
Hic ſitus eſt vates quem Divi Cæſaris ira,
Auguſti *Patria* cedere juſſit humo.
Sæpe miſer voluit patriis ſuccumbere terris,
Sed fruſtra, hunc illi fata dedere locum.

9. In *Hungary* I alſo firſt obſerved the *Pyrrhical Saltation*, or warlike Way of Dancing, which the *Heydukes* perform by dancing with naked Swords in their Hands, advancing, brandiſhing, and claſhing the ſame, turning, winding, elevating, and depreſſing their Bodies with ſingular Activity, ſinging at the ſame time to their Meaſures, after the Manner of the *Greeks*.

The great Deeds of *Attila*, King of this Country, and his numerous Armies, together with that memorable Battle fought againſt the *Roman* General *Ætius* (who was a *Myſian* or *Servian*, by Birth) in which 200,000 were ſlain, is ſufficiently famous in ancient Hiſtories; and how far they extended afterwards their Conqueſts over their Neighbours, is teſtified by the Banners carried at the Coronation of their Kings, *viz.* that of *Hungary*, *Dalmatia*, *Croatia*, *Sclavonia*, *Galliſia*, *Ruſſia*, *Servia*, *Bulgaria*, *Boſnia*, and *Ludomiria*; and it muſt be confeſs'd, to the everlaſting Honour of the *Hungarians*, that

The Famous BRIDGE & FORTRESS of Eſseck over yͤ Drave on yͤ Borders of SCLAVONIA & lower HUNGARY.

Vol. 2. p. 761.


THE RIVER DRAUE
A
B
C
D
E
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F
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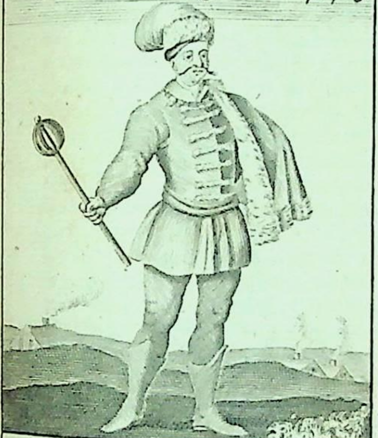
G

A. The Bridge 8565 Paces in Length & 17 in Breadth. B. The Fortreſs of Eſseck. C. The Town. D The Fort of Tarda for yͤ Defence of the Bridge EEEEEE. Centinels for Guarding yͤ Bridge FFF Stairs to go on yͤ Moraſs. G G. The Moraſs.

An Hungarian. p. 763.



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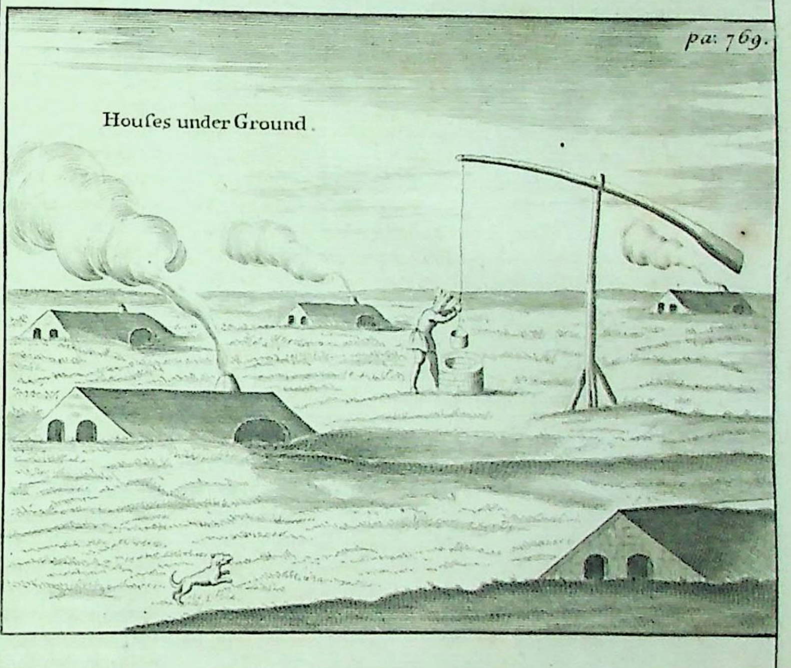
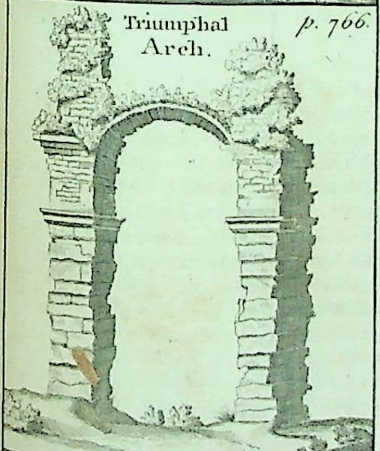
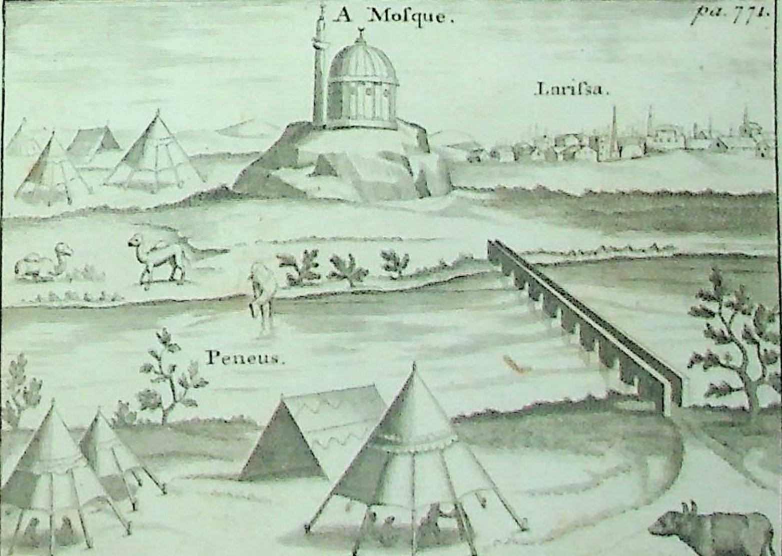
Houses under Ground



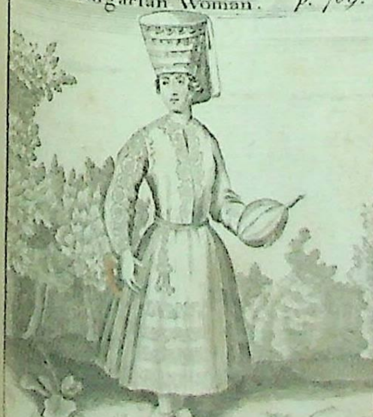
Triumphal Arch. p. 766.



A Moſque. pa. 771.


Lariſsa.
Peneus.

A Bulgarian Woman. p. 769.



that of all other Nations they have put the longeſt Stop to the victorious Arms of the *Turks*; and had it not been for their inteſtine Diviſions, which the *Turks* have known very well how to improve to their Advantage, it is more than probable the *Ottomans* would never have been able to penetrate ſo deep into this Country as they have done; notwithſtanding which, a very conſiderable Part thereof remains to this Day under the Emperor's Juriſdiction as King of *Hungary*, *viz.* almoſt all *Upper Hungary*, from *Preſburgh* unto *Tockay* and *Zathmar*; and in the *Lower Hungary* there are ſtill in the Poſſeſſion of the Chriſtians, (beſides divers other Places of Note) the three ſtrong Bulwarks of Chriſtendom, *viz. Raab*, *Commorrah*, and *Leopoldſtadt*, of which I took a full View, the laſt being erected ſince the Loſs of *Newhauſel*, and fortified after the ſame Manner. It is ſeated on the Weſt-ſide of the River *Waag*, oppoſite to *Frieſtadt*; its Fortifications, which were begun in 1665, conſiſt of ſix regular Baſtions and Ravelins, and were not quite finiſhed in 1669, when I was there.

10. Theſe Quarters are famous in ancient Hiſtories for the Preſence, Birth, Death, and great Actions of many *Roman* Emperors; not to ſpeak here of *Trajan*, *Caracalla*, *Galienus*, *Conſtantius*, and others; the Emperors *Aurelianus*, *Probus*, *Gratianus*, and *Maximianus*, had *Sirmium* for their Birth-places; and *Claudius Gothicus* died in or near it. *Jovianus* and *Valentinianus* were *Pannonians* by Birth, and *Ingenuus*, Governor of *Pannonia*, was ſaluted Emperor by the *Mæſian* Legions, as was *Vetranio* in the ſame Country. When *Photinus* was Biſhop of *Sirmium*, a General Council was held in that Place. The *Roman* Armies being ſo frequent in this Country, no doubt but they brought Abundance of their Copper, Silver and Gold Coin hither, of which I obtain'd a good Number at *Petronel*, of old *Carnuntum* in *Pannonia*, and with many more at *Sene*, or *Senia*, near the *Danube*. An *Armenian* Merchant, with whom I lodged at *Belgrade*, furniſhed me with a good Quantity of *Roman* Coins at my Return, which he had got at *Old Buda* or *Sicambria*, at *Old Sirmium*, in the Country now called *Schremnia*, and at *Murſa* or *Eſſeck*.

11. Near *Deva*, *Lyſimachus* King of *Macedon* and *Thrace*, is ſuppoſed to have kept his Court, in the Neighbourhood of which that unparallel'd Maſs of ancient Golden Coins was found, under the Ruins of an ancient Caſtle: For a ſtrong Current of Water having been forced that Way by long continued Rains, which waſhed away the Rubbiſh that had covered thoſe Golden Medals, and the Glance of this coſtly Metal having drawn thither many of the neighbouring Peaſants, they diſcovered theſe Medals, weighing two and three Crowns a-piece, having on one Side the Image of *Lyſimachus*, and on the other Side a *Victory*; under theſe Medals they alſo found a Golden Serpent, which General *Caſtalde* ſent unto *Ferdinand*, who had alſo 1000 of theſe Medals, beſides 300 *Caſtalde* had for his Share; of which there were collected, (after the Peaſants had taken up a vaſt Quantity) to the Value of 10,000 *l.* So that there was ſcarce a Man found hereabouts, but what had ſome of them, ſo infinite was the Sum. This Caſtle was ſuppoſed to have been ſome Time the Reſidence of King *Lyſimachus*, and this Coin remained here from that Time; it being a received Cuſtom among the Ancients, for ſuch as buried their Treaſure, to place Serpents there, as the Symbol of a faithful Keeper. Among other Medals, there were alſo found two Medals of Gold, one of *Ninus*, the other of *Semiramis*, which were preſented to the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth. As I paſs'd through the old *Roman* Towns, the Inhabitants brought me ſeveral Sorts of old Coins, which they term *Heathen-Money*; and in *Boſnia* and *Servia* the *Armenians* drive a great Trade with them, and ſend them by the Way of *Raguſa* into *Italy*. Among other Coins I found one of Copper pretty frequent here, but not eaſily found in other Parts. It was a Coin of the Emperor *Julius Philippus*, having on one Side the Head of *Philippus*, with this Inſcription, IMP. C. M. JUL. PHILIPPUS. AUG. and on the Reverſe a Woman between a Lion and a Bull, with this Inſcription, P. M. S. COL. VIM. AN. VII. which may be; *Provinciæ Mæſiæ Superioris Colonia Viminacium Annona Septimo data*; *Viminacium* being a *Roman* Colony in *Mæſia Superior*, (now *Servia*) ſuppoſed to be *Singidunum* or *Senderin* upon the *Danube*, at the Mouth of the River *Morava* or *Maroſh*. The Lion and Bull ſeem to declare the Fitneſs of the Soil for Agriculture, and the Warlike Temper of the People, and by theſe two Animals ſitting peaceably together, the Prudence of *Philippus*. *Annona Septima*, queſtionleſs, intimated the ſeventh Diſtribution of Corn by *Philippus* the conducting of which was committed to the *Legio* XVI. *Frumentaria*.

12. The Habit of an *Hungarian*, for its Conveniency, eſpecially in Warlike Exerciſes on Horſeback, is made Uſe of by all the neighbouring Nations, as the *Croatians*, *Sclavonians*, and the *Turks* themſelves, living near the Frontiers, though otherwiſe very nice in this Point. The *Hungarians* delight generally in Blue, Yellow, Green, and Purple Cloth, Black being a Colour rarely to be met with here, the Prieſts themſelves being clad in long purple Garments. Two Sorts of Weapons are moſt common among the *Hungarians*, viz. a Kind of Iron Mace, called *Catſhan* by them, with a round Iron Head, with Furrows in it, and Spaces cut away to render it the more light; the other they call *Balta*, being a Kind of Hatchet, with a Head ſomewhat like a Hammer, but broader, and at the End makes the Shape of the Letter *Delta*.

13. The Country of *Tranſilvania* was formerly a Part of the Kingdom of *Hungary*; but as I propoſe to give only a ſummary Account of the Place and its Inhabitants, I ſhall not meddle with its ancient Hiſtory. It is bounded on the North by the *Carpathian* Mountains, on the South by the Principality of *Walachia*, on the Eaſt by *Walachia* and *Moldavia*, and on the Weſt by the Kingdom of *Hungary*. I believe there is no Country in the World ſo nearly equal in Length and Breadth, each being about one hundred and forty *Engliſh* Miles, it may be very truly ſtiled a Country of Wonders; for to Travellers, who have ſeen the reſt of *Europe*, it appears altogether aſtoniſhing. The Air is temperate, and, generally ſpeaking, wholſome, the Soil wonderfully fruitful, the Water commonly but indifferent, as being frequently tinctured with Minerals, or, which is worſe, with Allom or Arſnic. There run through it four great Rivers, *viz.* the *Mariſcus* and the *Samos*, both which fall into the great River *Theyſſe*, the *Aluta*, which diſcharges itſelf into the *Danube*, and the *Chryſa*, which the *Germans* call the *Kruſch* from its Windings, in which, I verily believe, it exceeds the *Meander* itſelf, for one is obliged to paſs it thirty Times in half the Number of Miles.

The Country is finely chequered with Woods and Plains, Mountains and Vallies: There are many ſtrong Paſſes in it, and ſome of its Cities are naturally ſo well ſeated, that with the Help of very ſmall Improvements from Art, they might be rendered impregnable. To ſpeak of its Plenty is a Theme that might exerciſe the ableſt Pen; for it is extremely difficult to know where to begin, or when to leave off. The Wheat that grows here is the faireſt and fineſt in *Europe*, and ſo cheap, that, with Reſpect to the Subſiſtance of an Individual, it has hardly any Value: The Oxen in this Country are large, fat and fine, and their Fleſh wonderfully juicy and pleaſant; yet I queſtion whether one of them was ever ſold for an *Engliſh* Guinea, but from twelve to fifteen Shillings is the common Price; and yet, if I may be allowed the Expreſſion, they are the Staple Commodity of the Country, and are bought up for the *Auſtrian* and other Markets. They want not any other Kind of Cattle; and as for Hogs, they go in Droves like Sheep, are prodigiouſly fat, firm and well taſted; ſo that the Bacon of this Country is truly excellent. All Kind of tame Fowl are here both cheap and good; as for wild, they are ſo common and in ſuch Plenty, that they ſcarce bear any Price at all. Fiſh are not ſold in *Tranſilvania*, nor are you much troubled with the Sight of them, every Man, poor or rich, fiſhes where he pleaſes; and with what Inſtrument he pleaſes; if he takes more than will ſerve for a Meal, he throws them in again after chuſing the largeſt and the beſt, for nobody will touch a Fiſh that has been dead an Hour before it is dreſſed.

They have a very ſtrong ſerviceable Breed of Horſes, and beſides theſe, they have a wild Sort with Manes that reach almoſt to the Ground. As for their Wines, they are rich, ſtrong, and full-bodied, much ſuperior to thoſe of *Auſtria*, *Moravia* and *Walachia*, but inferior in Flavour to ſome of the Wines in *Hungary*. Honey and Wax they have in Abundance, and of the former they make a Mead, which, when it is long kept, is richer and ſtronger than moſt White Wines. In their Mountains are Mines of Gold, Silver, Steel, Iron, Lead, Copper, Quickſilver, Salt and Brimſtone.

As for the Inhabitants of this Country, to ſpeak of them diſtinctly would take up a Volume, and that Volume might be filled with Matter very inſtructive and entertaining. What I have to ſay however ſhall be contained in a few Words; there are four Nations that are look'd upon as Inhabitants of *Tranſylvania*. The firſt of theſe are the *Saxons*, who are ſuppoſed to be the Remains of the ancient *Dacians*; they have a Language peculiar to themſelves, and are governed according to their own Laws and Cuſtoms; the Capital of their Country is *Hermanſtadt*, which is a conſiderable Place; and beſides this, they have ſix other Cities, and amongſt them *Cronſtadt* and *Clauſenberg* are conſiderable Places. The Inhabitants of Towns are a civilized and good Sort of People, but the Plains are occupied by the *Heydukes*, who, in the Days of the Princes of *Tranſylvania*, were a Sort of Militia, and indeed for Strength, Activity and Valour, there are very few Nations that can compare with them. In Time of Peace they are Graziers, and live by Breeding, Feeding, and Selling of Cattle.

The *Siculi* inhabit the Northern Part of the Country towards the *Carpathian* Mountains; they are ſuppoſed to be Deſcendants from the *Huns*, and are as rugged and barbarous as the Country they dwell in; they reſemble the Highlanders of *Scotland*, or rather the old *Iriſh*, for they value themſelves upon their Nobility, and the meaneſt Creature in the Country inſiſts upon it, that he is a Gentleman of Birth. They too have ſeven Towns, ſuch as they are, are brave to a Degree of Madneſs, and contend for what they call Liberty, with a Fierceneſs that no Authority or Force has hitherto been able to tame.

The *Hungarians* have five Counties, and their Metropolis is *Alba Julia*, which is very far from being either a large or beautiful Place. Theſe People were much favoured by the *Ragotſki*'s, and other Princes of *Tranſylvania*, which encouraged them to make various Attempts upon the Privileges of the *Saxons*; nor were their Differences leſs frequent with the *Siculi*, ſo that no Country was ever more torn or diſtracted with civil Diſſentions than this. Each Nation had its Diet apart, and, which is ſtill worſe, the ſeven Cantons of the *Saxons* were independent of each other, and their Diets at *Clauſenburg* were in the Nature of States-General.

There is a fourth Nation in *Tranſylvania*, which live all over it, but without having Land, Property or Government; theſe are the *Cingars*, in plain *Engliſh*, Gipſies; they had great Privileges from the Princes of *Tranſylvania*, pitched their Tents where they pleaſed, removed when they pleaſed, and did almoſt what they pleaſed; but the Race of theſe Vagabonds is almoſt extinguiſhed, I mean in *Tranſylvania*, for there are enough of them yet in the *Turkiſh* Dominions. They are without Controverſy the moſt arrant Scoundrels in the Univerſe, Atheiſts by Profeſſion, Thieves by Trade, and have only this ſingle Virtue, that they pretend to none. With all this, they are a lively, active and ingenious People, and, which is ſtill more extraordinary, when there is nothing they can ſteal within their Reach, they will be very induſtrious. Like our Gipſies they are very expert Fortune-tellers; and have ſuch Knowledge in Phyſiognomy, that they never fail to promiſe every Man or Woman that applies to them, what he or ſhe likes beſt, and pick their Pockets for their Pains; they are very ſucceſsful as *Quacks*, very ſkilful as Farriers, are good Blackſmiths, and the moſt able Tinkers in the World.

We have now ſhown the faireſt Side of the Picture, let us turn the Reverſe. As rich and as fine as this Country is, as healthy, brave and vigorous its Inhabitants, yet, whether they are the happieſt or the wretchedeſt People upon Earth, is a Queſtion one cannot eaſily reſolve. As for Want, that is a Thing unknown, but with Regard to fix'd Property, Lands, Farms, and what we call Eſtates, they are far from being common. As for the *Saxons*, their ſupreme Delight is Drunkenneſs; As fat Bacon is the only Diſh they deſire, upon which they pour as much Wine and Mead as their Stomachs will hold, and then ſleep ſixteen or twenty Hours till they are ſober. The *Heydukes* are the merrieſt Mortals in the World; they dance with their Swords drawn, and their Targets upon their left Arm, with inconceivable Agility; and the Strokes of their Bucklers, and the Claſhing of their Swords, correſpond with the Tune that is played; to which the Gracefulneſs of their Motion, and the Sweetneſs and Serenity of their Countenances, add ſuch a ſurpriſing Beauty to the Sight, as renders it extremely delightful. They have Muſick always at their Feaſts, drink in Tune, and keep Time by claſhing their Mugs. An Excurſion is their ſole Pleaſure, and Induſtry would certainly be very dreadful to them, if they had any Conceptions of it. But as they neither ſee it or hear of it, they fight, feaſt, and ſleep all their Lives long; in ſhort, they live without Care, and die without Thought.

But if a good Government could be eſtabliſhed in this Country, and the People brought under due Regulations, they might certainly become both rich and powerful, as it is not a fifth Part of their Land that is cultivated, nor one Tenth of their Mines wrought. Some Cloth they make, but it is coarſe, and only fit for their own Uſe; but one may gueſs what Induſtry would do in this Part of the World, by what one Baron *Leſley* in the Emperor's Service actually did; he employed twenty of his Soldiers as Drovers, and they at proper Seaſons of the Year carried Cattle to *Vienna*, by which, in five Summers, he acquired One hundred thouſand *Florins*; and having veſted his Stock in proper Commodities, ſent it to *Venice*, whither he repaired at the next Carnival, where he found his Capital doubled, with which he bought a noble Lordſhip in *Bohemia*, and being naturally a Man of Œconomy, and a good Maſter, made his Vaſſals happy, and lived himſelf with all the Magnificence of a Prince.

But notwithſtanding all this, the Towns in *Tranſylvania* are, generally ſpeaking, mean; the common People live in Huts; their Roads are bad at all Times, in wet Weather impaſſable; the People ſave nothing, and will rather abandon their Homes than pay Taxes; in ſhort, they are proud of a Plenty which they abuſe, and of a Kind of Liberty, which is worſe than any Sort of Subjection. They have all Sorts of Religions amongſt them without Morality, and, in the Midſt of the moſt valuable and ſaleable Commodities in the World, have few Manufactures, and little or no Trade. In ſhort, they are Barbarians that think themſelves the happieſt People in the World, and might be really ſo, if they would become civilized.

SECTION III.

Travels through *Hungary* into *Theſſaly*; a Deſcription of the City of *Lariſſa*, and of the *Grand Seignior's* Court there, with other curious Particulars; together with a Deſcription of other Parts of *Hungary*, more eſpecially of the Golden Mines, and ſome Remarks upon the adjacent Countries, then and now making Part of the Hereditary Dominions of the Houſe of *Auſtria*.

By the Learned Dr. EDWARD BROWNE.

1. *Introduction to this Section, including the Motives and Deſign of our Author's Journey.* 2. *He ſets out from* Vienna, *and arrives at* Petronal *the* Carnuntum *of the* Romans, *with an Account of the Coins, and other Remnants of Antiquity found there.* 3. *A Deſcription of the City of* Preſburgh, *the preſent Capital of the Kingdom of* Hungary. 4. *An Account of the City of* Raab, *and the Manner in which it was betray'd into the Hands of the* Turks. 5. *The City of* Comorrah *deſcribed, with an Account of ſome Antiquities found there.* 6. *A Deſcription of* Newhawſel *and* Senir, *with various remarkable Paſſages.* 7. *An Account of* Strigonium *or* Gran, *and of the Caſtle of* Vicegrade, *with ſome other Places in that Neighbourhood.* 8. *A copious Relation of the Baths, and whatever elſe is worthy of Notice in the Royal City of* Buda. 9. *A Deſcription of* Tolnor, Mohatz, *and* Zygetch, *and ſeveral curious Particulars.* 10. *An Account of the Town of* Eſſeck, *and of the famous Bridge near it, ſuppoſed to be one of the longeſt in the World.* 11. *Obſervations upon the Country and its Inhabitants from thence to* Belgrade. 12. *A Deſcription of that important City and Fortreſs.* 13. *The moſt remarkable Paſſages in the Author's Journey from thence to* Leſcovia. 14. *A Deſcription of that Place, and of the famous Mountain* Hœmus. 15. *The Author's Account of* Macedonia, *with ſeveral curious hiſtorical Remarks and Obſervations.* 16. *A Deſcription of the City of* Lariſſa, *and the Country about it.* 17. *The ſame Subject continued, more eſpecially with regard to Mount* Olympus. 18. *A Deſcription of the Grand Seignior's Perſon and Court.* 19. *Miſcellaneous Remarks, and, amongſt other Things, of the different Modes of Shaving.* 20. *The Manners of the People, and the Reaſon of their being handſomer than the* Macedonians. 21. *Of the Produce and Commodities of* Theſſaly, *and of the great Plenty of Proviſions.* 22. *Some Remarks on the vaſt Extent of the* Greek *Church.* 23. *A Continuation of the Author's perſonal Remarks in this Country.* 24. *The Manner of Travelling through the Grand Seignior's Dominions.* 25. *Of the great Miſeries indured by ſuch as are Slaves among the* Turks. 26. *Of their Manner of Burying, and of the many Tombs that are to be met with on the Roads.* 27. *A very copious Detail of the Cuſtoms and Manners of the* Turks, *with Remarks upon their good and bad Properties.* 28. *The Author's Journey from* Comorrah *to viſit the Mines.* 29. *A large Deſcription of the Mines at* Schemnitz, *and the Manner of working them.* 30. *Of their Produce, and of the Manner of purifying the Metal, when extracted from the Ore.* 31. *An Account of a Gold Mine loſt, and ſome other curious Particulars.* 32. *The Author's Journey to* Eiſenbach, *with an Account of the Baths there.* 33. *A large and curious Account of the Gold Mines at* Kremnitz, *their Produce, and Manner of working them.* 34. *The ſeveral Methods made Uſe of for ſeparating and cleanſing the Gold.* 35. *An Account of the Quickſilver and Copper Mines.* 36. *The Author's Journey to that of* Herrn-graundt, *and his Obſervations there.* 37. *An Account of a Vitriolate Water that turns Iron into Copper.* 38. *A very ſingular Account of the hot Baths at* Stubn. 39. *A Deſcription of the Salt Mines at* Eperies; *with ſome other remarkable Particulars.*

1. THE ingenious Author, in the Collection of his Travels which he publiſhed, has regarded rather the Relation between Places, and the natural Connection of Things, than the Order of Time, for with reſpect to this, his Journey to the Mines was prior to that which he made to *Lariſſa*. In following this Method, he ſought the Reader's Conveniency and Information, to whom it was of little Conſequence when he travel'd, provided he was well inform'd of what he ſaw. While the Doctor lived, his Rank in his Profeſſion, his high Reputation, univerſal Acquaintance and agreeable Converſation, gave his Travels the Vogue, and every body read them with Applauſe; but now they begin to grow a little out of Date, merely on the Score of their being made ſo long ago; and yet we have nothing better, or, to ſpeak the Truth honeſtly, nothing near ſo good.

Indeed, it is not at all probable that we ſhall ever meet with any Thing of the like Kind of equal Value; for in the firſt Place, Dr. *Browne* travel'd at a proper Age, not after paſſing a Year at the Univerſity, but after having paſſed with Applauſe through both Univerſities, and was in his twenty-ſeventh Year. In the next Place, he was a Man of great Learning, very well ſkilled in ancient Hiſtory, and a perfect Maſter of the *Greek* Language. We may add to this, that he was alſo acquainted with Phyſick, Botany, Anatomy, natural Hiſtory and Chymiſtry; which laſt ſeems to me to have been his favourite Study. But the main Recommendation of all remains yet behind; he did not travel for the Sake of Amuſement, and to kill Time, or as a Trader in Expectation of Gain, or in pure Obedience to a Father, who deſired, that Traveling ſhould ſet a Poliſh upon his Education; but he travel'd for the Sake of Knowledge, that he might employ his junior Years in procuring Materials fit for the Meditations of old Age; that he might viſit thoſe Countries with his Eyes, of which modern Books gave him ſo bad an Account; and that he might gratify his peculiar Inclination to the Study of Minerals, by inſpecting himſelf the moſt famous Mines of *Europe*. When he had executed his Deſign, and found his Head fraught with Knowledge ſuperior to that of other Men, and very conducive to the publick Good, he reſolved not to conceal it; and thus the Writing and the Publication of his

Book were both the Effects of that great and generous Turn of Mind, which firſt put him upon Traveling, not any mercenary Deſign of Advantage, or a Scheme of making his Court to any great Man by a flattering Dedication.

We cannot help, therefore, reading his Book with Satisfaction, becauſe, on the one Hand, we are certain that his Labours had no other Object than the Diſcovery of the Truth, and that he was a Man of too much Parts and too much Learning to be impoſed upon himſelf; beſides, in the Courſe of his Narration it appears, that he ſpared no Pains, and grudged no Expence in order to obtain an exact Acquaintance with whatever he thought it worth his While to enquire about; and as he took Time ſufficient to examine all Things carefully, and to ſet them down circumſtantially while he was abroad, ſo he did not haſten the Publication of his Book at home, till he had thoroughly digeſted as well as reviewed his large Collection of Materials. In a Word, he had all the Diligence of Sir *Philip Skippon*, all the Accuracy of Mr. *Ray*, and ſeems to have had a more extenſive and penetrating Genius than either of them, of which we ſhall receive indubitable Proofs in the Courſe of this Section. Thus much I thought due to the Author's Character, as well as requiſite to excite the Readers Attention, which having awaken'd by this ſhort and I hope not improper Introduction, we will now proceed to the Doctor's Narrative, as near as may be in his own Words.

2. After having paſs'd the Winter at *Vienna*, I met with a fair Opportunity to ſee the Grand Seignior's Court, which then, and a conſiderable Time before, reſided at the ancient and famous City of *Lariſſa* in *Theſſaly*. As I do not pretend to give you the Names of all Places through which I paſs'd, ſo on the other Hand you will find mentioned ſome which are not to be found in Maps, at leaſt not in any that ever I met with. Between *Vienna* and *Preſburgh*, the firſt Place worth my peculiar Obſervation, was the Town of *Petronel*, and *Haymburgh* Hill and Caſtle: The firſt is ſuppoſed to be the old *Carnuntum*, one of the ſtrong Holds of the ancient *Pannonians*, who, one hundred and ſeventy Years before our Saviour's Birth, bravely repulſed the *Romans* here, but were forced to ſubmit to the Power of *Auguſtus*, who made it a *Roman* Colony, and the Station of the *Legio* XIV. *Gemina*, and of the *Claſſis Iſtrica*; and by Degrees arrived to that Pitch of Greatneſs, that it became the capital City of all *Pannonia Superior*, comprehending all that Tract on the South Bank of the River *Danube*, wherein now are *Haymburgh*, *Dutch Altenburgh*, and *Petronelli*. Here I met with Variety of Medals, Inſcriptions, and the Ruins of a moſt noble Aqueduct, and the Remnants of a ſtately Fabrick, which I thought might have belonged to a Temple of *Janus*, but is generally ſuppoſed to have been a triumphal Arch, erected in Memory of a Victory obtained by *Tiberius*, in the ninth Year of our Saviour, over the *Pannonians* and *Dalmatians*. *Petrus Lambecius* has, beſides other Antiquities of this Place, given a Draught of the one Side thereof, and of the back Part I took a Draught myſelf. In this Place it was that the Emperor *Antoninus Philoſophus*, when engaged in a War with the *Marcomanni* or *Moravians*, reſided for three Years, and died at *Vienna* (or *Vindobona*.) And here *Severus* was elected Emperor by the *German* Legions. But this great City was laid deſolate by *Attila* the *Hunn*, there being nothing remaining now, where the old *Carnutum* ſtood, but ſome ruinous Foundations of the Houſes and Streets, ſcarce diſcoverable by the Eye.

Of *Roman* Coins there have been, and ſtill are, found ſuch Quantities, that even the Peaſants bring them to Sale, of whom I bought a good Number; and I remember, that Mr. *Donallan* an *Iriſh* Gentleman, my Fellow-Traveller, as we were viewing the Ruins of the ancient Foundations, ſtruck by chance a Silver Coin with his Foot out of the Earth.

3. *Preſburgh*, *Poſonium* and *Piſonium*, is pleaſantly ſeated on the North-ſide of the *Danube*, ten *German* Leagues to the Eaſt of *Vienna*, now the capital City of *Hungary*, under the Emperor's Juriſdiction, and, ſince the Surpriſing of *Buda* by the *Turks*, the Place of Convention of the Eſtates of that Kingdom, and ſince the Loſs of *Gran* (*Strigonium*) the Metropolitan City. Its Caſtle is very noble and ſtately, built of white Stone, on the Top of a Hill, where is now kept the ſo much eſteem'd *Hungarian* Crown. The Garden of the Archbiſhop is exceeding fair, the Walks, Grotto's, Labyrinths, and Fiſhponds, very noble, and the Figure of *Jeronymo*, well worth the Obſervation of a Traveller. In the Cathedral Church is interr'd the Body of St. *Johannes Eleemoſynarius*, Biſhop of *Alexandria*. Part of this Church is in the Poſſeſſion of the *Jeſuits*; the *Lutherans* have likewiſe a handſome Church here.

4. *Raab* or *Javrinum*, a ſtrong Frontier City, is ſeated at the Confluence of the Rivers *Raab*, the *Rabnits*, and the *Danube*. It has two Bridges, one laid over a double Ditch, leading towards *Auſtria*, and the other towards *Stulweiſſenburg*, or *Alba Regalis*. Its Fortification conſiſts of ſeven Baſtions and four Cavaliers or Mounts. 1. The Caſtle *Baſtion*, upon which ſtands the Governor's Palace. 2. The *Water Baſtion*, on the Side of the *Danube*. 3. The *Baſtion* of *the Holy Hill*. 4. The *Middle Baſtion*, to the Eaſt on the Land-ſide. 5. The *New Baſtion*. 6. The *Imperial Baſtion*; and, 7. The *Hungarian Baſtion*, facing the River *Raab*. Here the *Turkiſh* Governor was kill'd; when the Chriſtians ſurprized this City. It lies in an open and plain Country, there being no Eminency near it, except a ſmall Hill, which is undermined, ready to be blown up in Caſe of the Approach of an Army, for which Reaſon alſo a Spy Tower is built at ſome Diſtance, to give timely Notice in Caſe of Need of an approaching Enemy. *Sinan Baſſa* the *Turkiſh* General, under the Reign of *Achmet* III, after having loſt a vaſt Number of Men before this Place, and 12,000 in one Aſſault, took it by Compoſition, by the Treachery of Count *Hardeck* the Governor, who paid for it with his Head. But in a few Years after, it was recover'd by the Chriſtians, who ſurprized it in the Night-time, under the Conduct of Count *Swartzenburgh* and Count *Palfi*, who put all the *Turks* to the Sword. At *Raab* and *Comorrah* we were ſhown ſeveral Sorts of Warlike Inſtruments, *viz.* a *Morning-Star*, as they call it, being a Club ſet round with Spikes; uſed in the Defence of Breaches, and in aſſaulting of Towns; *Earthen-pots*, fill'd with ſtinking and combuſtible Materials, to throw in among the Enemy; a *Lehn Brader*, or Plank, ſet with Hooks, to be fix'd to the Out-ſide of the Works, cover'd ſlightly with Earth; a *Werf Kugel*, or Kind of Hand-Granadoe; a *Spaniſh Ritter*, or *Cheval de Friſe*, to be faſtened in the Earth, to keep off the Horſe, provided with long Iron Spikes on all Sides. At this Place the *Turkiſh Chiauſes* or Meſſengers are obliged to ſtay to receive their Diſpatches, the Court of *Vienna* being much peſter'd with them before that Order, as they were ſent continually with ſome inſignificant Meſſage or other from the Governors of the *Turkiſh* Frontier Places, for the Preſents Sake, which they expect at their Departure.

5. *Comorrah*, *Crumenum* or *Comaronium*, is a large and ſtrongly fortified Place, ſeated at the Eaſt End of the Iſle of *Schutz*, looking over the *Danube* and *Waag*. The ſtrongeſt fort is called the *Tortoiſe* from its Figure. After *Sinan Baſſa* had made himſelf Maſter of *Raab*, he was alſo for trying his Fortune againſt this Town; but being repulſed with great Slaughter in all his Attacks, he was for tempting the Fidelity of the Governor *Baron Brown*, under a Pretence of a Parly, unto whom he ſent five *Turks*, with very advantageous Offers; but this brave Man, though dangerouſly wounded, having firſt given them the Hearing, cauſed four to have their Heads cut off, which he put upon long Pikes upon the Bulwarks, and ſent back the fifth with this Meſſage; That he was miſtaken in his Perſon, if he judged of him by the Treachery of Count *Hardeek*; and that he might reſt aſſured, he would live and die in the Defence of the Place committed to his Charge by the Emperor. In the innermoſt Caſtle of *Comorrah*, I ſaw three very ancient Tombs, brought thither formerly from *Senia*, a Place of Antiquity not far off, two of which having Inſcriptions not to be met with in *Gruter*, I thought fit to inſert here.

On one of them:

MEMORIAE JULIAE EMERITAE QUAE
VIXIT AN ccc VALERIA MASCLENIA
FILIAE PIISSIMAE.

And on the Cover
D. M.

The Inſcription of another was this:

MUAL VALERIANI LEG IIII F L VIXIT AN
XLII ET MUALUL PIOE Q PUBL' FIL VIXIT
AN VIII SIM CONDITIS ULPIA PARATIANE
MARITO ET ULPIA VALERIA FILIA ꟻL
REDESTS.

D. M.

And on the Cover this following:

ITAΛMΥPIЄΥΨΥXЄIMЄTATIATROC

The third Tomb was of the ſame Figure, but without any Inſcription. Of ſome other Places, through which I paſs'd alſo the Year before, I ſhall ſpeak only *en paſſant.*

6. *Newhawſel,* call'd *Vywar* by the *Hungarians,* is ſituate by the River *Nitra,* not far from *Nitria,* a ſtrong Place, taken by Count *Zouches,* in the late Wars. *Newhawſel* is a regular Fortification of ſix Baſtions, in the Form of a Star. After Count *Forchatz,* the Governor thereof, had raſhly engaged with the *Turks* at *Barchan,* they laid Siege to this Place, and after a ſtout Defence made themſelves Maſters of it by Capitulation; though it is generally believed, that if the Viſier had not ſpent his Time and Men in this Siege, he might have put moſt of the Emperor's hereditary Countries into a great Conſternation, whereas the Emperor's Auxiliaries being join'd by that Time, the *Turks* receiv'd a ſignal Diſgrace near St. *Goddard,* the Loſs of which Battle procur'd a ſpeedy Peace. The *Turkiſh Baſſa* lives now in the Palace, formerly belonging to the Archbiſhops of *Preſburgh. Sene* or *Senia,* a Place of Note for many Remains of Antiquity found there now and then. Here, by the Favour of the *Byra* or Judge of the Place, I got a *Roman* or *Heathen* Key, as they call it, and ſeveral Sorts of Coins, ſome of Gold, and ſome *Intaglia*'s, ſome of which I preſented to *Petrus Lambecius.* The Inhabitants will have its Name to have been anciently *Apollonium,* but without any good Ground. In our Way betwixt *Raab* and *Datis,* we paſs'd in Sight of *Martinberg,* a ſtrong and handſome Town, ſeated upon a Hill. *Datis, Tata* or *Theodota,* twelve *Engliſh* Miles from *Comorrah,* has ſcarce any Thing remarkable, except its Caſtle, and ſome natural Baths near it. But to return into the Road; we were row'd from *Comorrah* in a Saick of twenty four Oars, the *Hungarians* rowing on one, and the *Germans* on the other Side; thus paſſing by *Sene, Neſmil,* and *Rodwan,* we came to *Motch,* the Frontier Place, where we were to ſtay for the *Turkiſh* Convoy, which being ready in the Morning, their Officers went aſhore firſt, and next our *Veyda,* or *Veyvod,* with the Interpreter, and Chief of the Company, with a ſlow Pace, and at Meeting ſaluted one another by ſhaking of Hands together; then delivering our Boat to the *Turks,* they faſtned it to their Saick, and ſent one into ours to ſteer it. At parting they ſaluted the Chriſtians with one Gun, and ſo with eighteen Oars row'd down the *Danube,* we carrying the *Eagle* in our *Flag,* and they the *Double Sword, Star* and *Half-moon.* The *Turkiſh Saick* having brought us to *Gran,* ſet our Boat aſhore, and ſo left us; the Governor took no Notice of us, but being reprimanded upon that Account by an *Aga,* who came from *Newhawſel* with four Troops of Horſe, we were ſoon diſpatch'd.

7. The City of *Gran, Strigonium,* or *Oſtrogon,* is ſituate on the South Side of the *Danube,* near its Confluence with the River *Gran*; it is divided into the upper and lower Town, each of which has its peculiar Walls, that of the lower Town commanding the *Danube.* The Hill of St. *Thomas,* which overlooks the Place, is alſo fortified with a Wall. Here are natural Baths of a moderate Heat. This was the Metropolitan City of *Hungary,* which gave Birth to St. *Stephen,* their firſt Chriſtian King, and King *Stephen* III. lies entomb'd here. This Place has endur'd many remarkable Sieges, having been often taken and retaken: It yielded in 1683, to the Duke of *Lorrain.* Oppoſite to it is *Barchan,* being join'd to it by a Bridge of Boats. From hence we paſſed to *Vicegrade* or *Vizzegrade,* having two Caſtles, the Upper Caſtle being ſeated upon a high Rock, where formerly the Crown of *Hungary* was kept. The lower Caſtle has been formerly a fair Structure. Here are alſo to be ſeen the Ruins of an ancient Fabrick of Arches of ſquare Stone. This Place, after it had been a conſiderable Time in the Hands of the *Turks,* was ſurrendered to the Duke of *Lorrain* in 1684. Oppoſite to *Vicegrade* lies *Maroz,* where there is a handſome Church, the Chriſtians living pretty well at Eaſe here, under the *Turks,* becauſe of its voluntary Surrender to them. Below this Place, we ſaw the large Iſland of St. *Andrew* in the *Danube,* and ſome Ruins of Stone upon the Shore of the Iſle, which the *Turks* told us were the Remnants of a Stone-Bridge. Below this, paſſing by *Virochivitz,* famous for its large and noble Grapes, we came to *Vacia,* formerly an Epiſcopal See, which has now two *Moſques* and one Chriſtian Church. It was taken by the *Turks* in 1541. and regain'd by the Duke of *Lorrain* in 1684, after a ſignal Defeat given the *Turks* near that Place, but being not tenable by Reaſon of ſome adjacent Hills, was quitted the ſame Year in Autumn.

8. We changed again our Convoy here, and we came to *Buda,* formerly the Capital City and ordinary Reſidence of the *Hungarian* Kings, and at preſent of a *Turkiſh Vizier,* who has ſeveral *Baſhas* under his Juriſdiction. This City is of a large Circumference, pleaſantly ſeated upon the *Danube,* divided into the *Upper* and *Lower-Town*; wherein are to be ſeen the Remnants of many magnificent Structures, built by the ancient *Hungarian* Kings, and eſpecially *Matthias Corvinus,* in whoſe Palace the *Vizier* now reſides. This had anciently three moſt admirable Statues of Braſs, of *Hercules, Apolio* and *Diana,* at its Entrance, which were by *Solyman* caſt into great Guns; the whole Palace, in all other Reſpects, not approaching to its ancient Glory; however, here are ſeveral handſome *Moſques* and *Caravanſera's.* On the Top of St. *Gerard*'s Hill is a Fort, which overlooks the Town and Country. But what *Buda* has moſt to boaſt of now-a-days, are its natural Baths, eſteemed the nobleſt in all *Europe,* both for the Largeneſs of their Springs, and the Magnificence of the Buildings; for negligent as the *Turks* are in their private Houſes, yet we found them moſt ſumptuous in their publick Structures, as their *Caravanſera's, Moſques, Bridges,* but eſpecially their *Baths,* bathing being in great Requeſt among them and all other *Mohammedans.*

There are here in all eight Baths, of which I took a View, during my Stay in this City, *viz.* Three towards the Eaſt and South-Eaſt Part of the City, in the Way to *Conſtantinople,* and five towards the Weſt End of the Town, in the Way to *Old Offen* and *Gran.* The firſt is a large open Bath, at the Foot of a rocky Hill, call'd *Purgatory.* The ſecond has a *Cupulo* on the Top, ſtands near the ſame Hill, but more into the Town. The third they call the *Bath of the Green Pillars* (tho' now they are red) over againſt a *Caravanſera*: The Spring is very hot, yet uſeful without the Addition of cold Water; it contains a petrefying Juice, which is to be diſcover'd on the Sides of the Bath and its Spouts, where it leaves a Gummy Stone behind it; and the Vapours of the Bath coagulated on the *Cupola,* the Irons reaching from one Column to another, and on the Capitals of the Pillars, form long Stones like Icicles, which you ſee hanging to all theſe Places. The Bath is of a circular Figure, ſet about with large Pillars ſupporting the *Cupulo,* which has divers Openings, for the free Paſſage of the Exhalations, notwithſtanding which, the Bath continues always as hot as a Stove. The Water is let out every Night after the Women have done Bathing.

The Baths on the Weſt End are, firſt, *Tactelli,* i. e. the *Table Bath,* being but ſmall, the Water whitiſh, and of a ſulphurous Smell; they both drink of, and bathe in it; what is drunk, is receiv'd from a Spout conveyed into the Bath; I gave a Piece of five *Sols* to a *Turk*, who holding it under the Spout, to let the Water fall upon it, and rubbing it in the mean Time with his Fingers, gilded it for me in half a Minute. The ſecond is *Barat Degrimene* or the *Bath of the Powder Mill*, ariſing in an open Pond near the High-way, and its Waters being mix'd with thoſe of the Pond, makes one Part of it of a whitiſh Colour, and clear in another, as likewiſe cold and hot in ſeveral Parts; being conveyed croſs the Highway, into a Powder-Mill, it becomes uſeful in making of Gunpowder, whence it got its Name. The third is *Cuzzoculege*, the *Little Bath*, or the *Bath of the Saint*, being kept by *Turkiſh* Monks. The Water near the Spring-head is ſo hot, as not to be fit for Uſe, but being conveyed through one Bath into another, becomes tolerable. The Water differs neither in Smell, Taſte, or Colour, from common Water, being without the leaſt Sediment, except that the Sides of the Bathing-Room are cover'd with a green ſpongy Subſtance. The fourth is called *Caplia*, a noble Structure, of an octogonal Figure, with a very handſome Bath in the Middle, ſurrounded with a Trench of Water to bathe the Feet in: On each Side it has a Niche, wherein is a Fountain. In the Anti-chamber, where the Cloaths are left, is alſo a beautiful Fountain, with a Stone Baſon; the Water of this Bath is alſo very hot, and not without a petrefying Juice. The fifth is the Bath of *Velibey*, the nobleſt of all the reſt, having a ſpacious Anti-chamber; the Bathing-room is alſo very capacious, high arch'd, and advanced with one great Cupolo in the Middle, juſt over the great round Bath, beſides four leſſer ones at the four Corners, over as many private Bathing Rooms, where the *Turks* take off all the Hair of their Bodies with *Pſilothrum*, mix'd with Soap, except their Beards. The middle Cupolo is ſupported by twelve Pillars, betwixt eight whereof are Fountains of hot Water, and between the reſt, Places to ſit down, where the Barbers and Bath-men attend. In each of theſe Places are two Stone Ciſterns, one for cold and the other for hot Water, to be mixed as every one thinks fit, the Water being not fit to be uſed without the Addition of cold Water: For the reſt, it has a ſtrong ſulphurous Smell, and contains a petrefying Juice. The Mornings are appointed for the Men to bathe in, and the Afternoons for the Women. If you have a Mind to bathe, you are brought into the Anti-chamber of the Bath, where being furniſhed with a Cloth and Apron by thoſe that attend, you lay by your Cloaths, and ſo enter the *Great Bath*, where ſitting down on the Side, or between the Pillars near a Fountain, you are well rubb'd, with your Hands and Arms ſtretch'd out, by the Barber, after which you bathe. If you pleaſe, or the Cuſtom of your Country requires it, you may have your Head ſhaved, and your Beard alſo, except the upper Lip; next, the Barber rubs your Breaſt, Back, Arms and Legs with a Hair Cloth, either ſitting or lying upon your Belly; then having waſhed your Head with Soap, and thrown cold Water upon you all over, you walk in the Steam of the Bath for ſome Time. This City is generally called *Offen* by the *Germans*; ſome trace the Original as far as to a Brother of the famous *Attila*, called *Buda*. And to confeſs the Truth, the Situation of this Place upon the Banks of the *Danube*, where it gathers its Water in one entire Channel, and that upon an eaſy Aſcent of riſing Hills, from whence there is a Proſpect out of many of the Creeks croſs the *Danube*, into a beautiful Country, and of the City of *Peſt*; ſo excellent a Situation, I ſay, added to the Advantage of its hot Springs, might well invite the Conquering *Huns* to prefer this Place for the Building of a City, before all their other conquered Countries. The City of *Buda* was the ordinary Reſidence of the *Hungarian* Kings, till it was conquer'd by *Solyman the Magnificent*, the 13th of *Auguſt* 1541. There is another Place called *Old Offen*, ſuppoſed to be that ancient *Sicambria*, where the *Sicambrian* Soldiers had their Quarters in the Time of the *Romans*. Here ſome Antiquities and Inſcriptions have been diſcover'd formerly.

Upon the Eaſt-ſide of the *Danube*, directly oppoſite to *Buda* ſtands *Peſt*, in a Plain, of a Quadrangular Figure. This City imparts its Name to the whole Country, or *Comitatus Peſthienſis*, (*Hungary* being divided into Counties like *England*) as is joined to *Buda* by a Bridge of Boats above half a Mile in Length.

I was ſomething ſurprized at firſt, when I ſaw the *Turkiſh* Women wear long Breeches, reaching almoſt down to their Feet. Over theſe they wear their Shifts, and over theſe, a Kind of a long Garment; their Head-dreſs covers their Faces, except the Eyes, almoſt like our Penitents. Whilſt we ſtaid at *Buda*, we took a View of one of the *Turkiſh* Convents, where we were entertained in a large Room, not unlike a Chapel, with Melons, and ſome other Fruit, by the Monks. The Superior, called *Julpapa*, *i. e.* Father *of the Roſe*, having a Girdle about his Middle, emboſſed before with a white Stone called *Galactites* or *Milk-ſtone*, bigger than the Palm of a Hand. They have a ſuperſtitious Opinion, that *Mahomet* turned a whole River of *Arabia* into a Kind of Stone. From the Houſe where we lodged, we had a fair Proſpect of the *Danube*, and were often viſited by divers *Chiauſes* (*Turkiſh* Meſſengers.) The Maſter of the Houſe being a *Raſcian*, was thought to hold a ſecret Correſpondence with a *Franciſcan* Frier of *Peſt*, and with ſome other Perſons of Note at *Comorrah*, *Raab*, and *Vienna*: We were alſo very civilly entertain'd by *Mortizan Ephendi*, who had been in Quality of Envoy-Extraordinary at the Court of *Vienna*, and would needs have me ſit upon a Stool, brought in for that Purpoſe, being ſenſible that their Way of ſitting croſs-legg'd would not be very agreeable to me. Among many other Queſtions, he aſk'd me, What was the King of *Poland*'s Name; and when I told him it was *Michael Wiſnowitſki*, he replied, *Michael* is a good Name, it is the Name of the greateſt Saint in Heaven, except *Mary*.

9. From *Buda* we travel'd by Land to the Eaſt, and paſſing by *Ham Zabbi Palanka* and by *Erzin*, came to *Adom*, call'd *Tzan Kurteren*, i. e. *Anima liberata*, by the *Turks*; which Name was given it by *Solyman the Magnificent*, becauſe here he made the firſt Halt with his Army, after his Retreat from *Vienna*. Hence we came to *Pentole* or *Pentolen Palanka*, which ſome are of Opinion was the old *Potentiana*, where the *Huns* were overthrown by *Macrinus* and *Tetricus*, the two *Roman* Generals. Some will have this to have happened near *Adom*. From hence we went on to *Fodwar* in Sight of *Colocza*, ſeated on the other Side of the *Danube* in the Road to *Temeſwar*, and ſo further by *Pax*, or *Paxi*, to *Tolna*, the old *Altinum* or *Altinium*, near which the *Huns* fought a ſecond Battle, and routed the *Romans* with the Loſs of 40,000 Men on their Side. It is inhabited by *Hungarians* and *Raſcians*, who are often at Variance. Thence we came to *Jeni Palanka*, where we paſs'd the River *Sarvizza* (or the *Urpanus*) which riſes near *Eſperies*, and paſſing by *Stulweiſſenburgh* (*Alba Regalis*) joins its Current below it with the *Danube*.

From thence, by *Setzar* to *Botoſeck*, and ſo to *Setz*, a large Town, near which we ſaw the Ruins of an old Caſtle upon a Hill, encloſed with Palliſadoes. Here is a new *Caravanſera*. Hence we went on to *Mohatz*, but before we came to this Place, paſſing by a ſmall Bridge over the Brook *Curaſſe*, we took a View of the Place where the unfortunate *Hungarian*, King *Lewis*, after the Loſs of the Battle near *Mohatz*, fought *October* 29, 1526, was plunged in the Flight with his Horſe in the Mud, and miſerably periſhed. His Body being diſcover'd by *Cotriſcus*, who was near him when he was drowned, to the *Hungarians*, it was taken up and buried at *Alba Regalis*, the Place of Sepulture of the *Hungarian* Kings. Near this Place we met with a *Caravan* of two hundred Perſons, under a Guard of *Janizaries*, and frequently upon the Road we ſaw numerous Droves of Oxen driving towards *Vienna*, belonging to the Eaſtern Company there, who, as they have the Monopoly of Oxen in that City, ſo they have Liberty to buy them in the Grand Seignior's Dominions. The ſame Day we ſaw the City of *Five Churches* (*Quinque Eccleſiæ*) and *Zigeth* to the Right of us. This laſt is a ſtrong Place, ſituate on the Side of a Fen, in which there is an Iſle, and beyond it a Caſtle. This Place is famous for the unparallel'd Reſiſtance made here by Count *Serini* againſt the *Turks*; for, after having been forced out of the Town, he retired into the Iſle, and from thence to the Caſtle, where, after having repulſed the *Turks* in ſeveral Aſſaults, he ſallied out with twenty four Men, (all that were left) who were all ſlain by the Infidels, in endeavouring to break through their Lines.

10. From hence we paſs'd on by *Barinowar Darda*, or *Draza*, to *Eſſeck* or *Oſſeck*, ſuppoſed to be the old *Murſa*, or at leaſt very near it. Its Situation is very low, the Streets being paved with Timber Trees laid croſs-wiſe; upon one Side of the Gate you ſee ſome Remnants of an old *Roman* Inſcription, *M. ÆLIAN*, *&c.* and on the other Side a Maid's Head cut in Stone. Here you ſee alſo an uncommon Dial, brought hither from *Serinwar*; and the largeſt Piece of Ordnance that ever I ſaw in thoſe Parts, not lying upon Carriages, but upon Bodies of Trees. But what ſurpaſſes all the reſt is, the famous Bridge of *Eſſeck*, built of Wood, partly over the River *Drave*, partly over the adjacent Marſhes, being five Miles long, railed in on both Sides, and defended by certain Towers at every Quarter of a Mile's Diſtance. But of this elſewhere. It being the greateſt Paſſage from *Servia*, and other of the Grand Seignior's Dominions, into *Hungary*, Count *Nicholas Serini*, to hinder Supplies from coming to the Grand Vizier's Army, burnt that Part of the Bridge which was laid over the River *Drave*, (rebuilt ſince) and in his Return alſo ſet Fire to *Five Churches*, which lies to the Weſt of *Eſſeck*.

From hence we travel'd to *Valcowar*, where there is a ſtately Bridge of Wood over the *Walpo*, (*Valpanus*) a River affording great Plenty of Fiſh, upon which, to the Weſt, ſtands alſo the Town of *Walpo*; then by *Sotzin Palanko*, and *Towarnick*, or *Tabornick*, to *Netrovitza*, a large Town near a Lake, and ſo to *Simonovitz*, leaving to the Right of us (at a great Diſtance) the ſo famous ancient *Sirmium*, a Place ſcarce worth taking Notice of now, except for its Antiquity. The Country hereabouts is called *Schremnia*; but that Part extending nearer to the *Drave*, *Boſſoga*.

11. In this Country many Families, nay the Inhabitants of whole Villages, have their Habitations under Ground, like the *Troglodytes*, and the ſubterraneous Nations bordering on *Ægypt*. We ſaw ſome Wells near them, where they draw their Water like our Brewers; they no ſooner got Sight of us, but they retired to their Caves, their Dogs by their Barking having given them timely Notice of our Approach. We alighted to take a View of the Houſes of theſe poor Chriſtians, which we found tolerably well contrived within, divided by Partitions with wooden Chimnies, and a Window at one End a little above Ground: All Things were neatly kept, though but poorly, after the Faſhion of thoſe Parts. Their Speech we found to be a Dialect of the *Sclavonian*.

We continued our Journey between the *Danube* and the *Save*; we came to *Zemlin* upon the *Danube*, and from its Caſtle had a fair Proſpect of *Belgrade*; whither we paſs'd from hence by Water.

Belgrade, *Taurunum*, *Alba Græca*, or *Greek-Weiſſenburgh*, or *Nandor Alba*, as it is called by the *Hungarians*, is a large, ſtrong, populous, and trading City in *Servia* or *Mæſia Superior*, ſeated at the very Confluence of the River *Save* and the *Danube*, the firſt being to the Weſt, and the other to the North. The *Danube* is very broad here, and its Current ſo rapid, that it ſeems to cut off that of the *Save*, as the *Rhoſne* doth the *Sein* near *Lyons* in *France*. The Water of the *Danube* ſeems more yellow and troubled, and that of the *Save* greeniſh and clear. At the very Mouth of the *Save* is an Iſle, made there of the Settling of the Sands of both Streams, about thirty-five Years ago, which is now full of Wood.

12. As we entred *Belgrade*, I paſs'd by the Water-Caſtle, and afterwards by the Upper Caſtle, both large, and ſtrengthened with ſeveral Towers. The chiefeſt Trading-ſtreets are covered over Head, to keep off the Sun and Rain. The Shops are no bigger than Taylors Shopboards, and very low, the Shop-people ſetting upon them as our Taylors do, and ſelling their Wares to the Chapmen, who remain without, and ſeldom enter the Shop. There are beſides theſe at *Belgrade*, two large *Bezaſtans*, or Places where the beſt Commodities are ſold; they are built croſs-wiſe like the old Cathedrals, with Walks within, like to thoſe of our Old Exchange above Stairs. They have alſo two Exchanges built of Stone, with two Rows of Pillars over one another, but were almoſt filled up with Merchandizes. The Grand Vizier had lately built a ſtately *Caravanſera*, at his own Coſt, with a Fountain in the Court, and juſt by a Moſque with a Fountain before it; this being the firſt I ever ſaw within-ſide. He had alſo built a College for young Students, one of which I ſaw in a green Garment, with a four corner'd Turbant on his Head. I obſerved alſo great Numbers of Sepulchres near *Belgrade*. We lodged at an *Armenian* Merchant's Houſe, where we were well accommodated, and our Landlord conducted us to ſeveral other *Armenians*, who had very fair Houſes, and entertain'd us with Coffee, Sherbet, and very good Wines of the neighbouring Country. There are very few Trading People in thoſe Places where the *Armenians* do not live; they have a Church at *Belgrade*, and ſeem to be more open, candid, and fair-dealing than the *Greeks* and *Jews*.

Belgrade is a Place of great Trade; its Situation at the Conflux of the *Danube* and *Save*, and the River *Theyſſe* falling into the *Danube* near it, as the River *Drave* does not far from it, and the *Morava*, or *Maroſh*, not much below it: All this, I ſay, together with the Advantage of a very fruitful adjacent Country, through which the *Danube* paſſes towards the *Euxine* Sea, is ſufficient to make *Belgrade* one of the moſt flouriſhing Cities in *Europe*, were it in the Hands of a People that knew how to improve all theſe Advantages. This City was formerly the main Bulwark of *Hungary*, which has ſeveral Times ſtemm'd the Current of the *Turkiſh* Victories, witneſs the Diſgrace received here by *Mahomet the Great*; but was at laſt taken by *Solyman the Magnificent* in 1521.

13. After we had left *Belgrade*, we continued our Journey through *Servia*, and paſſing by a very high Hill called *Havilleck*, to the Weſt of us, (where we ſaw the Ruins of an old Monaſtery) we came to *Hiſſargick* near the *Danube*, though our Maps place it at a good Diſtance from it. Here we bid adieu to the *Danube*, at a Place where it had run already from *Ulm* in *Suabia*, where it begins to be navigable, about 900 Miles, beſides what is to be accounted for from its firſt Source thither, and has ſeveral Hundreds of Miles to run before it diſcharges itſelf into the *Euxine* Sea. The next Place we came to was *Collar*, not far from *Samandria*, an old *Roman* Colony, but now an inconſiderable Place. From hence to *Haſſan Baſſa Palanka*, about forty *Engliſh* Miles from *Belgrade*, where we found a Lion worrying a Wolf, in Stone, a very ancient Piece.

Coming afterwards to *Baditzna*, we ſaw ſeveral *Bulgarian* Women, whoſe Dreſs ſeemed to us very odd: For they wear a Kind of Canopy upon their Heads, ſet about, as well as their Foreheads, with all Sorts of Foreign Money; we alſo beſtow'd ſome Pieces upon them, as an Addition to their Ornaments, which they thankfully received. Much in the ſame Manner have I ſeen ſome *Græcian* Women attired, their Foreheads being cover'd richly with Ducats of Gold, and Pearl; but their Head-dreſs was not raiſed ſo high.

We paſs'd forward for *Jagodna*, pleaſantly ſeated in a moſt delightful Country; and in few Hours after we had left it, turning off to the South, we ſaw to the Right of us, on the Side of a Hill, the Tomb of a *Turkiſh* Saint, about four Yards long, and a ſquare cover'd Place near it: Our *Chiaus* having performed his Devotion here, we went forward through great Woods by *Chiſſlick*, where there is a *Caravanſera*; but we thought it more ſafe for us to refreſh ourſelves, and our Horſes, at an adjacent Farm-houſe, belonging to a Merchant of *Belgrade*. Hence we travell'd all Night to the *Morava*, or *Moſchius* (the *Maroſh*) the chief River of this Country, ariſing in the Mountains in two Streams, the one call'd *Morava di Bulgaria*; the other *Morava di Servia*; and uniting afterwards in one Channel, falls into the *Danube* at *Zendecir*, or *Singidunum*, oppoſite to the *Raſcian* Shore. We happening to paſs this River in a Place where it was very broad, deep and rapid, the *Chiaus* betook himſelf to his Prayers; and after the Danger was over, it put me in Mind of the rapid River *Varus* or *Var*, on the Confines of *Provence* and *Italy*, which, when I paſs'd on Horſeback, two Men were forced to go on the lower Side of me, to keep my Horſe from being carried downwards by the Violence of the Current. By this River the Commodities of *Servia* and *Bulgaria*, are carried into the *Danube*, and from thence to other Places; as on the other Hand, Salt, and various other Commodities of the Product of *Auſtria* and *Hungary*, are brought up againſt the Current of the ſame River. Near this River, *Hunniades* ſurprized the *Turkiſh* Camp by Moonlight, with 10,000 Horſe, with the Slaughter of 30,000 Men, and 4000 taken Priſoners.

At laſt we came to *Halli Jabiſar*, or *Cruſhovatz*, a Place of Note in *Bulgaria*, having a handſome Church, with two fair Towers. From hence we continued our Journey for a whole Day through Hills and Foreſts, and came at Night to *Procupie*, ſuppoſed by ſome to be the old *Villa Procopiana*; the *Turks* call it *Urckup*. We lodged here this Night at a Merchant's Houſe of *Raguſa*, where we met with very good Accommodation. Here we met with a *Roman Catholick* Monk, who ſpoke *Latin* (a Rarity in thoſe Parts) and one of their Phyſicians, whoſe Knowledge went no further than the Compoſition of ſome ordinary Simples; his Way was to offer his Service to the People every Morning in the Market-place.

14. From hence we travel'd to *Leſcoa*, or *Leſcovia*, a Town ſeated upon the River *Lyperitza*, which may well be call'd the *Mæander of Mæſia*, having ſo many various Windings betwixt the Hills, that in leſs than twelve Hours time we paſs'd it ninety Times. This put me in Mind of the *Italian* River *Taro*, which I paſs'd forty times betwixt *Parma* and *Fornovo*. I found nothing worth taking Notice of here, except an ancient large Tower, but without any Inſcription. We were alſo much diverted with the great Concourſe of People met together on Account of a great Fair, which is annually kept in an Encloſure near the Place. We continued our Journey the next Day over the Mountain *Cliſſura* (one of the Branches of Mount *Hæmus*) where our Eyes were ſurprized with the Brightneſs of the Rocks, which conſiſting of *Muſcovia* Glaſs, made a pleaſing glittering Show; like that mentioned by *Olearius*, of *Lapis Specularis*, betwixt *Permeras* and *Schamachia*, which ſhined like Diamonds. We deſcended through a narrow rocky Way, by the ſtrong Caſtle of *Kolombotz*, or *Golobotz*, which brought us to *Urania*, a ſtrong Paſs with a Caſtle at the Foot of Mount *Cliſſura*, and commanding that Paſſage.

The whole Ridge of Hills, which extends betwixt *Servia* and *Macedonia*, is a Part of Mount *Hæmus*, which under divers Names reach from the *Adriatick* to the *Euxine* Sea; viſiting by the Way ſeveral Paſſages which *Philip* King of *Macedon* took care to ſhut up, to ſecure himſelf againſt the neighbouring Nations; ſome affirm, That from the middle Peaks of Mount *Hæmus*, there is a Proſpect both to the *Adriatick* and *Euxine* Seas. But King *Philip*, who made Trial of it, found himſelf diſappointed in his Expectations, and ſo was I; for being upon one of thoſe high Mountains, but ſomewhat nearer to the *Adriatick* Sea, I found that the Mountains of *Albania* cut off the Proſpect on that Side. From hence he went forward to *Comonava*, where there is ſtill a *Greek* Monaſtery on the Side of the Hills, and ſo to *Kaplanlib* or *Tygres* Town; then to *Kuprulib*, or *Bridge Town*, having a good Bridge over a conſiderable River call'd *Pſinia*. It was caſually ſet on Fire before we left it, and a great Part of it burn'd.

From hence we travel'd by the Way of *Iſbar* to *Pyrlipe*, firſt paſſing the high and craggy Mountains of *Pyrlipe* in *Macedonia*, which gliſter like the *Cliſſura*, and probably contains, beſides the *Muſcovia* Glaſs, ſome Minerals. There we ſaw maſſy Stones lie upon maſſy Stones, without the leaſt Earth about them; and upon a high Ridge or Rock, many Steeples high, a very ſtrong Caſtle, belonging formerly to *Marco Crollowitz*, a famous Man in thoſe Parts.

15. After this, paſſing through a plain Country, we came to a large pleaſant and well-peopled Town of *Macedonia*, call'd *Monaſter*, or *Toki*, where great Preparations were making for the Reception of the *Sultana*, who was to lie in here; where I afterwards heard ſhe was delivered of a Daughter, who lived not long. From hence we went on to *Filurina* and *Ecciſſo Verbeni*, where are plentiful Springs of Mineral Waters: But as we were deſcending the Hill which leads to the Town, we had Sight of that noted Mount, *Olympus*, though Seventy Miles off; and to the Left of us, of the two Lakes of *Petriſki* and *Uſtrova*, one whereof, as they ſay, was made by the removing of great Stones out of the Side of the Hills, whereby Vent being given to the Subterraneous Waters, they broke out into the adjacent Plains. Coming to *Egribugia*, we quitted again the Plains, and paſſed over high Rocks to *Sarrigiole*, built partly upon a Hill, partly in the Plain; the firſt being inhabited by Chriſtians, and this lower Part by *Turks*: Upon one of the adjacent Rocks ſtands a Caſtle. Not far from this Place we went through a Paſſage cut through the Rocks, like a Gate, through which alſo paſſes a Rivulet; this Paſs commanding the Acceſs of this Country, which put me in Mind of the Paſſage of *La Chiuſa*, in the *Julian Alps*, betwixt *Venſone* and *Ponteva*, which is ſhut up by the *Venetians* every Night. We paſſed alſo by a Hill of a fine red Earth, whereof they make Veſſels, much eſteem'd in thoſe Parts; we proceeded over very dangerous Rocks, in narrow hanging Ways, with dreadful Precipices on one Side, where the Carcaſſes of Horſes, which were tumbled down, gave us ſufficient Warning to be upon our Guard. Afterwards we ſaw Mount *Olympus* upon our Left, till we come to *Aleſſone*, or *Aleſſæn*, a Place of Note, where the *Greeks* have a Monaſtery, belonging to thoſe of the Order of St. *Baſil*; the Building whereof was a quite different kind from that we had ſeen before.

From hence paſſing a River, we entred a pleaſant Place of five Miles long, with divers Towns in it; and afterwards over a Hill, a Branch of the Mount *Olympus*, on the Top whereof we ſaw an Old Man beating the Drum to give Notice, that the Paſſages on both Sides were free from Robbers. We deſcried from thence into the Plains of *Theſſaly*; and turning to the Left, paſſed over the River *Pharibus*, which comes from under a Rocky Mountain, not in ſmall Springs, but in one continued Channel, and taking its Courſe through the Vineyards and Corn-fields to *Tornovo*, runs into *Lariſſa*, of which we ſhall hereafter ſay more.

In our Return we left the Road about *Kaplanlib*, taking that of *Skopia* (the *Scupi* of *Ptolemy*) call'd *Uſcopia* by the *Turks*, being a large and trading City. It is ſeated on the Frontiers of *Mæſia* and *Macedonia*, at the Foot of Mount *Orbelus*, upon the River *Vardar* or *Axius*; in a pleaſant fertile Country intermix'd with Hills and Plains. It was formerly an Archbiſhop's See: Above 700 Tanners live here, who make moſt excellent Leather. There are ſeveral handſome Sepulchral Monuments, and fair Houſes here, as that of the *Cadib*, and of the *Emir*, or one of *Mahomet*'s Kindred, whoſe Father was in great Veneration in theſe Parts. In the Court-Yard of the Houſe of *Emir* you ſee a Fountain built like an old Caſtle with Towers, out of the Tops whereof ſpring the Water. The Floors in their beſt Houſes are generally covered with Carpets, and the Roofs divided into Triangles, and many other Figures well painted, and richly gilt, but without any Figures of Animals or Vegetables. The *Bezaſtan*, or chief Market-place here, is covered with Lead, and the trading Streets with Wood; it contains alſo a conſiderable Number of *Turkiſh* Moſques. The moſt ſplendid of all ſtands upon a Hill, having a ſpacious Portico, ſuſtain'd by four Marble Pillars; near it is an Arch, with a Brook running under it, which ſeems to be an ancient Piece;

as alſo a large Stone (being Part of a Pillar) with this Inſcription, *SHANC*. Not far without the City you ſee a moſt noble Aqueduct of Stone, from one Hill to another, over the interjacent Valley: It has about 200 Arches, and is a noble Piece of Antiquity. The Country hereabouts has been the Field of Great Actions in the *Roman* Times; here *Regillianus* did ſuch mighty Feats, that he deſerved a Triumph. Hereabouts ſtood alſo *Paræcopolis*, and *Ulpianum*. This City drives a conſiderable Trade with *Belgrade* and *Salonichi*, which is the old *Theſſalonica*.

The *Sanziack* of *Servia* is under the Juriſdiction of the *Beglerbeg* of *Rumelia*, or *Greece*; as our Geographers generally mention this Place as a very conſiderable one, ſo I thought fit to give a more particular Account of it. From hence we went on to *Catſhanich*, a Fortreſs commanding the Paſſage of the Hills, and travelling on reached the Plains of *Coſſova* in *Bulgaria*, known for the great Actions performed here, though not much exceeding *Lincoln Heath*. Some take it to be the *Campus Merulæ*. Here it was that *Lazarus*, Deſpot of *Servia*, at the Head of 500000 Men (the greateſt Chriſtian Army that ever was brought into the Field) was worſted by *Amurath*, and he ſlain in the Field; nor was he ſurvived long by *Amurath*, who viewing the dead Bodies, was ſtabbed by *Michael Cobilovitz*, a Chriſtian Soldier, left for dead in the Field; whence this Part, to this Day, is called, *The Field of the Sepulchre*, where a Monument is erected to the Memory of *Amurath*.

In theſe Plains alſo *Hunniades* engaged three Days ſucceſſively againſt *Mahomet*, but being very unequal in Forces, was put to the Rout at laſt.

We travell'd on to *Preſtina*, a moſt beautiful Town; but the Plague being there, we took a Gypſy for our Guide, who conducted us through a fruitful Country, but very ill peopled, and were much refreſhed with the fair Carnations that grew by the Way. On the right Hand we ſaw a Bath, which we found arched within; the Water had a red Sediment, and a petrefying Juice, as might be ſeen by the grey Stone it had produced. It is not above two Leagues from *Bellachorque*, or *Curſumde*, which has a Convent with an old Church near it, with two handſome Towers. From hence paſſing over the Hill *Jaſnebatz*, we came to *Eſhelleck*, betwixt the two Channels of the River *Maroſh*, and thence by a Caſtle upon a Hill, near which is a Convent famous in thoſe Parts for the Sepulchres of *Kenez Lazarus*, and of St. *Romanus*, whoſe Bodies were interred here. But it is Time to return to *Lariſſa*.

16. *Lariſſa*, the Capital City of *Theſſaly*, ſeated by the River *Peneus* (the moſt conſiderable of this Country) hath to the North the famous Mount *Olympus*, and to the South Part of the Plains of *Theſſaly*, being inhabited by *Chriſtians*, *Turks*, and *Jews*, the firſt of which have ſeveral Churches here; it has alſo many fair *Bezantens* or *Turkiſh Moſques*. Its Situation is very pleaſant, on a riſing Ground, on the upper Part whereof ſtands the Grand Seignior's Palace, having large jetting Windows, on all the four Sides, to give the freer Paſſage to the Air; here the Grand Seignior had kept his Court for ſeveral Years, to be nearer to *Candia*, and for the Convenience of Hunting and Hawking; he ſtaid there for ſome Months after we came away, and then removed to *Salonichi*, and afterwards to *Belgrade*. It is now an Archbiſhop's See, having divers Suffragan Biſhops under it. We went into the Cathedral of St. *Achilleus*, where we ſaw the reverend Father *Dionyſius* (who was then Archbiſhop) ſtanding in his Throne in his Epiſcopal Habit, and his Croſier in his Hand. The Summer being very hot, 1669, the Grand Seignior retreated for two Months to Mount *Olympus*, to enjoy the freſh Air, whence he had a Proſpect of part of the *Ægæan* Sea: This Removal proved deſtructive to a great many People, who being obliged to attend the Court, and being overheated by the aſcending of ſo high a Mountain, were ſo ſtruck by the ſudden Alteration of the cold Air, that they died ſoon after, eſpecially ſuch as had, in their Heat and Thirſt, drunk of a certain Spring of a whitiſh Colour, who were immediately ſeized with a Coldneſs at their Stomachs, and died in three or four Days after. Of Horſes and Camels there alſo died a great Number, and the Sultan himſelf was ill for ſeveral Days; he kill'd one of his beſt Horſes there, by forcing him up a cragged Peak called *Pythagon*, or *Kiſſagon*, where ſcarce any Body durſt follow him; and had he not been with-held by the Prayers of his beſt Friends, he would have leaped over a Fiſſure or Cleft in the Rocks.

17. The ancient *Greeks* (the beſt Romancers in the World, eſpecially when they ſpeak of their own Country) will have *Olympus* to reach beyond the Clouds, and therefore have aſſign'd *Jupiter*, and the Gods, their Reſidence thereabout: I am ſure I ſaw Clouds above it; and to me ſome Parts of the *Alps* appeared much higher; and in *September* there was no Sign of Snow upon *Olympus*, whereas the higheſt Peaks of the *Alps*, *Pyrenæan* and *Carpathian* Mountains, beſides ſeveral others in *Europe*, are never without it; of which *Olympus* alſo had a conſiderable Share upon the firſt Rain that fell hereabouts; it being well known, that when it Rains in the Valleys, it ſnows upon thoſe and all other high Mountains.

I ſaw, as I told you, the *Olympus* at ſeventy Miles Diſtance, and it conſiſts not of one high riſing Peak, as ſome deſcribe it, but is a long Ridge of Mountains, ſtretching out a great Way in Length: Its Extent from Eaſt to Weſt makes the Inhabitants at the Foot of the North and South Sides, as ſenſible of the Difference of the Air, as if they lived in very different Climates; which makes good the Words of *Lucan:*

Nec metuens imi Borean *habitator* Olympi,
Lucentem totis ignorat noctibus Arcton.

Paulus Emylius, the *Roman* Conſul, ſurprized King *Perſeus*, by marching about this Hill along the Seaſide. At the Siege of *Lariſſa* by *Antiochus*, *Appius Claudius*, by making Fires on many different Places of *Olympus*, ſo terrified the King, that he left the Place, and the Conſul *Martius* found Means to bring his whole Army over this great Mountain.

Lariſſa has been frequently viſited by ſeveral famous Princes; King *Philip* of *Macedon*, the laſt of that Name, kept his Reſidence here for a conſiderable Time. Whether *Xerxes* honour'd this Place with his Preſence, when his Army marched through *Theſſaly* towards *Thermopilæ*, the Hiſtories of thoſe Times do not expreſly mention; but certain it is, that *Philip*, the Father of *Alexander* the Great, having formed his Deſign againſt *Greece*, took the City of *Lariſſa* upon the River *Peneus*, and afterwards made good Uſe of the *Theſſalian* Horſe againſt the *Greeks*. Before the Battle of *Pharſalia*, *Scipio* was quartered here with a Legion; and this was the firſt Place of the Retreat of *Pompey*, after his Overthrow; according to *Lucan:*

Vidit prima tuæ teſtis Lariſſa *ruinæ*
Nobile, nec victum fatis caput.

And going down the River, went out to Sea in a Boat, and was taken in by a great Ship which was ready to ſail.

The River *Peneus* riſes from Mount *Pindus*, which running by *Lariſſa*, and being augmented in her Paſſage by ſeveral other Rivers of *Theſſaly*, exonerates itſelf into the *Sinus Thermaicus* or Gulf of *Salonichi*, paſſing by the famous Valley of *Tempe*, and running between Mount *Olympus* and *Oſſa*, into the Sea. Over this River, which (according to the Deſcription of *Homer*) has a very clear Stream and Bottom, is a handſome Stone Bridge, ſupported by nine Arches, with Holes or Paſſages in the ſolid Parts betwixt the Arches, to afford a Paſſage to the Water, when the Water riſes high by the Floods. The City being then crowded with People, by reaſon of the Grand Seignior's Reſidence here, many of the *Turks* had ſet up their Tents in the lower Grounds near the River; and theſe not coming within a Yard of the Ground, afford a free Paſſage to the Air. The neareſt Port of Note unto *Lariſſa* is that of *Vello* (the old *Pagaſæ*) in the *Sinus Pagaſicus*, or Gulf of *Armiro*; not far from whence ſtood the ancient *Argos Palaſgicum*, from whence the *Argonauts* ſail'd for *Colchos*; by this Way the Grand Seignior receives his Intelligence from *Candia*, and his *Aſiatick* and *African* Dominions. Near the Promontory *Sepias* (not far from hence) *Xerxes* loſt 500 Ships, by a Tempeſt from the Eaſt.

18. As the Grand Seignior *Mohammed* IV. went often abroad a Shooting and Hawking, attended by a great Number of his Huntſmen, Falconers, and others, and alſo went often to the great Moſque, I had many Opportunities of ſeeing him; among the reſt, I took once a full View of him, as he was coming out of the Palace to go to the Moſque. Before the Palace I ſaw ſeveral very fine Horſes richly accoutred, which were rode by ſome of his Attendants in the Court-Yard, till he looking out of the Window, made a Sign to let them know which he would make uſe of; he no ſooner appeared without, but he was received with great Acclamations, and very low Reverences, both near and at a Diſtance; the Streets were made clean, and a Janizary placed at every Corner, to remove any Thing which might be in the Way. The Chiauſes lead the Van on Horſeback, theſe were followed by twenty four Perſons of Quality on Foot; on each Side of his Horſe walked two Janizaries, with large ſpreading white Feathers of a Fathom high, faſtened to their Caps; and theſe ſhaking as they walked along, were high enough both to ſhade and fan his Face. After him followed many very fine lead Horſes, and ſeveral Perſons carrying Cuſhions and Pillows to the Moſque.

The Grand Seignior was then ſcarce thirty Years of Age, well proportioned, but ſomewhat ſhort necked, inclining to Fatneſs, of a ſallow complexion. For the reſt, he was of a ſtrong Conſtitution, delighted in hard Riding; his Countenance ſomewhat ſtern, yet he would invite with a kind Look, People to approach him. I heard of no Phyſician of Note he had about him; but the Grand Vizier had taken ſeveral Chriſtian Surgeons along with him to *Candia*. The *Caimachan*, or Deputy to the Vizier, had the chief Management of Affairs of State, in the Abſence of *Achmet* the Prime Vizier. I went with *Oſman Chiaus*, to ſee his Palace, which was a fine Structure; where I heard ten Men playing all at once in a high Room, upon large Wind Inſtruments, which they do at certain Hours every Day, making a very loud, yet not unpleaſant Noiſe, even to ſuch as do not underſtand their Muſick.

The Sultana was at the ſame Time at *Lariſſa*, by Birth a *Candiot*, and much beloved by the Grand Seignior; ſhe was but low of Stature, and ſomewhat mark'd with the Small-Pox; being then big with Child, great Preparations were made for her Delivery at *Monaſter*, a pleaſant Town in *Macedonia*, the Roads were then a Plaining, and the Hills laying level, with broad Bridges over the Rivers, for her more convenient Paſſage thither. The Grand Seignior's Son, who was with her there, was then ſix Years of Age.

I heard, at ſeveral different Times, the *Turks* ſing their uſual Songs, and, among the reſt, one concerning that famous *Jewiſh* Impoſtor *Sabata Sevi*, whom *Cuſſum Baſſa* forced to turn *Turk*. This *Cuſſum Baſſa* is a Man of great Reputation at the *Ottoman* Court, and much valued for his Skill in Phyſick, (a Thing not much known in *Turkey*.) He was formerly Vizier of *Buda*, and is now Vizier of *Erzrum*, upon the Frontiers of *Georgia* and *Perſia*, and married to one of the Grand Seignior's Siſters. Of *Padre Ottamanno*, a *Dominican* Friar, whom I had ſeen at *Turin*, and who was thought to be the Grand Seignior's Brother, I could learn nothing here.

19. The Wintering of that vaſt Army of *Xerxes* under *Mardonius*, is an undeniable Teſtimony of the ancient Fertility of *Theſſaly*, which continues to this Day; for notwithſtanding the vaſt Concourſe of People, occaſioned by the Sultan's Reſidence here, every Thing was ſo cheap, that one might dine at a common Victualling-houſe, upon roaſted and boiled, and have good Sherbet to drink, for Six-pence a Head; and an Officer arm'd with a Club, with twenty four Followers, kept the Streets ſo quiet, that not the leaſt Diſturbance was to be heard of there in the Night-time. The hot Weather which happened in *September*, 1669, occaſioned frequent Fevers and Agues in thoſe Parts, as about the ſame time other Parts of *Europe* were much infected with Quartan Agues. It being then their Vintage, I taſted of their Muſt, or new Wine; and I obſerved that ſome of the zealous *Turks*, who would not drink Wine, yet would take a plentiful Draught of this with a great Deal of Eagerneſs.

During the hot Seaſon, we uſed frequently to viſit the Barber, who performed his Buſineſs very well, and would trim every Man according to his Country Faſhion. The *Greeks* always leave a bare Place of the Bigneſs of a Crown-piece, on the Top of their Heads, round which they let the Hair grow to the Breadth of two Inches, and ſhave all the reſt of their Head. The *Croatian* ſhaves his Head on one Side, and on the other lets his Hair grow as long as it will. The *Hungarian* keeps only a Fore-top, the reſt being ſhaved all over the Head. The *Polanders* don't ſhave their Heads, but keep their Hair cut ſo as it comes down to the Middle of the Forehead, and the Middle of the Ears. The *Turks* ſhaves his whole Head, leaving only a Lock upon his Crown. The *Franks* wear their Hair long, without ſhaving their Heads, but to give no Offence to the *Turks*, generally turn up their Hair under their Caps; but the *Greek* Prieſts keep and wear their Hair long.

The Party to be ſhaved ſits low, ſo that the Barber, who lays on much Soap, takes off a great deal of Hair at once, and finiſhes the whole Buſineſs in a few Strokes. A Veſſel of Water, with a Cock, hangs commonly over the Head of thoſe that are to be ſhaved, ſo that the Barber lets out the Water upon them as he pleaſes. I ſaw accidentally in one of the Barbers Shop of *Lariſſa*, an ancient or very noble Monument, or Tomb-ſtone, of a Jaſper-green Colour, through the Top-ſtone of which the Barber had cauſed a Hole to be made to ſerve him for a Ciſtern.

In the Market-place ſit certain Money-changers, who exchanged our Duckats, and Rix-Dollars, into Medicines, Aſpers, and five Sols Pieces, of which great Plenty is to be found in thoſe Parts. All the Trading Streets were covered with Wood; their Shops were generally ſmall, but well enough provided, the Shopkeeper ſitting like a Taylor, and ſelling his Wares to the Buyers, who commonly remain ſtanding in the Street: Such Commodities as are not to be had in the Shops, are cried about the Streets by a Man on Horſeback, who at the ſame Time tells the People what Price they are to be ſold at.

20. I had been much pleaſed with the Sight of the ſeveral Stables of Chriſtian Princes, as that of the *French* King's, the Vice-Roys of *Naples*, the Elector of *Saxony's* at *Dreſden*, and that of Count *Walleſtein's* at *Prague*; but for Horſes, I muſt confeſs none of theſe could compare to thoſe I ſaw at *Lariſſa*, being choſen from among the beſt of the *Turkiſh* Empire, ſo richly equipped with moſt ſtately Saddles and Bridles ſet with precious Stones, and ſo tractable, that I could not but be ſurprized thereat. I ſaw among the reſt ſome *Italian* Horſes, valued chiefly for their Hardineſs and Swiftneſs, being for the reſt rather unſightly than beautiful. Some of the richeſt *Greek* Merchants are well verſed in the *Italian* Tongue, which is preferred here before either *Latin* or *French*. The *Jews* of *Macedonia*, *Servia*, and *Bulgaria*, commonly ſpeak *Spaniſh*; and thoſe of *Hungaria*, *High-Dutch*, for Conveniency in Diſcourſing with Strangers.

At our being there the Seaſon was ſo parching, that even the greateſt Rivers were very low, and the ſmall ones quite dry, except one, I took Notice of about ſeven Miles on this Side of *Tornovo*, which continued to flow plentifully in one copious Channel from under the Rocks. This general Drought however of the Country, put me in Mind of the Deluge which happened in the Time of *Deucalion* King of *Theſſaly* (as ſometimes we are apt to remember Things by Contraries,) when by the Stopping of the Current of the River *Peneus* (into which moſt of the other run) the whole Country of *Theſſaly*, which is plain, and encloſed on all Sides by Hills, was laid under Water for a whole Winter: I know ſome who are of Opinion, that all *Theſſaly* was, in the moſt ancient Times, under Water, till the Mountains *Oſſa* and *Olympus* being torn aſunder by a violent Earthquake, the River *Peneus* forced its Paſſage that Way by *Tempe*, into the Sea.

I remember, that as we were travelling in *Macedonia*, our Chiaus told me, that within a few Days I ſhould ſee *Frenchmen* in thoſe Parts; meaning the *Theſſalians*, the Country People wearing narrow brim'd Hats like the *French* Hats, then lately in Faſhion. The *Theſſalians* had always the Reputation of being Warlike, and are accounted ſo to this Day among the *Turks*, this Country having been very famous in ancient Times, not only for the Battles fought in the Plains of *Theſſaly*, but alſo for its having produced many great and worthy Perſons; and *Hippocrates*, the Father of Phyſicians, lived and practiſed here, and died about *Lariſſa*, being buried betwixt that Place and *Gyrton*. The *Theſſalians* are generally well made, have very black Hair and Eyes, with a freſh Sanguine Complexion; and their Women are much celebrated, among Strangers, for their Beauty; the *Macedonians*, who inhabit a Hilly Country, being of a much rougher Complexion; and the *Moreans*, or ancient *Peloponneſians*, who live more to the South, inclining to Swarthineſs.

21. The Country abounds in Horſes, and they have the largeſt Buffloes in all *Greece*, except thoſe of *Santa Maura* in *Epirus*. They have alſo Plenty of fine yellow and black Tortoiſes, which are good Meat; but the *Turks* uſe to laugh at the Chriſtians, for eating them, when they had ſuch Plenty of Mutton, and all Sorts of Fowl. This Country alſo produces very large and moſt delicious Figs, and the beſt taſted Water-melons that I ever met with; likewiſe Pomegranates, Oranges, Lemons, Citrons, and Vines, which grow low here like thoſe of *Montpellier*, and though not ſupported, bear large Branches, and Grapes as big as our Damaſcens, and of a moſt luſcious Taſte. The Wine of the Country is rich, but has a reſinous Twang.

The Tobacco they plant, they eſteem beyond what is brought from other Parts, being ſtronger and more pungent. Their Fields are cover'd with *Seſamum*, and Cotton-Trees, which though but low, make a glorious Show; as alſo with Almond and Olive-Trees; the *Greeks* pickle their Olives ripe, whereas ours are all green. The Gourds in the Hedges, with their large yellow Flowers, and the different Sorts of green Thorns, and *Sempervirent* Oaks, make the Ways exceeding pleaſant. The *Ilex Coccifera*, and *Chermes Berry*, or the Excretion ſerving for dying and making the Confection of *Alchermes*, are very plentiful in this Country. The high Hills produce *Aſclepias*, and *Helleborus*; and the ſtony Plains *Carduus Globoſus*, *Cyſtus*, Lavender, Sweet Marjoram, Roſemary, and other ſweet-ſcented Plants. The *Platanus*, or Plain-Tree, grows very fair and loſty in *Macedonia*.

They uſe a great deal of Garlick in their Diſhes, and their Onions exceed ours, not only in Bigneſs, but alſo in Taſte; being ſharp, and pleaſantly pungent upon the Tongue, without any offenſive Smell; they agreed very well with my Stomach, though I never uſed to eat Onions before. They are uſed here at moſt Collations; the *Turkiſh Chiaus*, who had travel'd almoſt through all the *Turkiſh* Dominions, told me, that the Onions of *Egypt* only, exceeded thoſe of *Theſſaly* in Goodneſs; which was the firſt Time I really underſtood that Paſſage in the Scripture, of the *Iſraelites* longing after the Onions of *Egypt*. They have alſo a Fruit call'd *Patlejan* or *Melanzan (mala inſana)* between a Melon and a Cucumber, out of which they take the Seed, and after having fill'd the Concavities with the Meat of Sauſages, they pare and boil them, which makes a very good Diſh.

The Foreign Miniſters who attended the Grand Seignor's Court at *Lariſſa*, were the Imperial Reſident, and the Ambaſſadors of *Raguſa* and *Wallachia*; thoſe Ambaſſadors that reſide at *Conſtantinople* chiefly on Account of Trade, being not obliged to follow the Court. The Imperial Reſident having got Leave of the Sultan (by Reaſon of the great Concourſe of People at *Lariſſa*) to chuſe which of the neighbouring Towns he pleaſed for his Reſidence, he pitch'd upon *Tornovo*, a large and pleaſant City of *Theſſaly*, twenty Miles to the Weſtward of *Lariſſa* near the Hills, where moſt of the Inhabitants are Chriſtians, having eighteen *Greek* Churches there, whereas the *Turks* had no more than three Moſques. The Chief Churches I took Notice of were, the Cathedral of St. *Stephen*, the Church of St. *Demetrius*, of *Coſmus*, and *Damianus*, of the Nativity of the Bleſſed Virgin, of St *Elias* (with a Monaſtery adjoining to it, of St. *Anaſtaſius*, of the Twelve Apoſtles, of St. *Nicholas*, (with a Convent alſo) and of St. *Anthony* the Hermite. The Biſhop of this City is a Suffragan to the Archbiſhop of *Lariſſa*.

22. Before I travell'd into theſe Parts, I could never conceive that the *Eaſtern Countries* contained ſuch vaſt Numbers of *Greek* Chriſtians as are to be found in *Grecia* and the *Greek* Iſlands; in the *Turkiſh* Parts of *Dalmatia* and *Croatia*, in *Raſcia*, *Boſnia*, *Servia*, *Thrace*, *Sagora*, *Bulgaria*, *Perſia*, *Beſſarabia*, *Coſſakia*, *Podolia*, *Moldavia*, and *Wallachia*; beſides the vaſt Dominions under the Juriſdiction of the Czar of *Muſcovy*: Which put me in Mind of what a certain learned Author ſays upon that Head, *viz. That if a true Computation were made of the* Greek *Chriſtians in* Europe, *they would far exceed thoſe of the* Roman *Religion*.

The Font or Baſon in the *Greek* Churches is generally made of plain Stone, and plac'd immediately upon the Floor of the Church, which ſeems to be done for Conveniency's Sake; for being not contented with ſprinkling of Water upon the Child's Head, the Prieſt, having firſt bleſs'd the Water, and dipp'd the Crucifix into it three Times, takes the naked Child by one Arm, and putting it into the Font up to the Waiſt, with the other Hand laves the Water thrice over his Head; which that it has been the ancient Cuſtom among them, may eaſily be gathered from what is related of the Emperor *Conſtantine* VI. *Conſtantinus ſextus, dictus Copronymus, quod Infans dum baptizaretur aquam ſacram ventrus ſolutione maculaſſet*; the Dipping of the naked Body in Water being apt to move it. Some of their Children I ſaw baptiz'd before the Navel ſtring was fallen off.

23. The Fields round this Place were full of Vines, Seſamum and Cotton-Trees. The Emperor's Reſident, named *Signore di Caſa nova*, lived here in great Splendor, with a Retinue of about thirty Perſons, ſome Chriſtians and ſome *Turks*, and has two *Janizaries* attending at his Gate. He was a *Milaneſe* by Birth, much addicted to Study, civil and courteous in his Behaviour, but reſerv'd. The Ambaſſador of *Raguſa* had made Choice of the ſame Town for his Reſidence; but they never viſited one another, by Reaſon that the *Raguſan* being here in the Quality of an Ambaſſador, would not give the Precedency to the other, who had only the Character of a Reſident; which ſometimes gave great Occaſion of Laughter to the *Germans*, who look upon the *Raguſans* no otherwiſe than as Vaſſals.

Here I muſt not paſs by in Silence the many Civilities I receiv'd from a certain *Greek* Merchant of *Tornovo*, whoſe Name was *Demetrius*, who entertained us with a great deal of Freedom at his Houſe, at ſeveral Times, and brought his two Daughters to bid us welcome, whom we ſaluted after the Cuſtom of our own Country. They were very well dreſs'd after the *Greek* Faſhion, with their Hair braided and hanging down their Back; their Shoes and Slippers painted, and (which ſomething ſurprized us) their Nails coloured with red, by a certain Tincture drawn with Water and Wine out of the Leaves of a certain Plant call'd *Cnà* or *Alcanna*, brought out of *Arabia* and *Ægypt*, and much uſed in *Turkey*, where ſome colour the Mains and Tails of Horſes with it. The *Græcians* of *Scio*, who wear Gloves, uſe alſo this Tincture to colour them upon thoſe Parts that touch their Nails. It muſt be confeſs'd, that the *Græcian* Countries bear now a days a quite different

Face from what they have done in ancient Times; the many Incurſions of barbarous Nations, and the late Conqueſt by the *Turks*, having laid deſolate many great and once famous Cities, and exchanged the Names of the reſt, not leaving even the ancient Names of the Rivers, which generally are beyond the Fate of Towns. Thus the Rivers of *Macedonia*, the *Axius*, *Erigonus* and *Aliaomon*, which I paſs'd, have now Names which have not the leaſt Affinity to thoſe of former Ages. The famous River *Peneus* has undergone the ſame Fate, as well as *Apidanos*, *Enipeus*, and others that join their Waters with it. *Lariſſa* is call'd *Jeni-Sabar* by the *Turks*; and *Theſſaly*, *Comenolitari*.

24. It ſeems to be one of the greateſt Delights that attends Travelling, to behold, as one moves along, a different Face of Things in Habits, Diet, Manners, Cuſtoms and Language: Of this we had our full Share after we had travelled a Day's Journey beyond *Raab* and *Comorrah*; for before we reach'd *Buda*, we enter'd upon ſo different a Courſe of Life, eſpecially as to Habit and Manners, (which, with ſome ſmall Alteration, continues to the utmoſt Part of *Aſia*, viz. *China*) that we thought ourſelves in a Manner in a new World. Though we were provided with good Paſſes, and had taken all other imaginable Care for our Security, yet we were not without Fear from the *Huſſars*, who knowing all the By-ways, commonly rob all they meet with as far as the Bridge of *Eſſeck*; neither were we in leſs Fear of the *Cingars* or *Gypſies*, who are noted here for their Robberies; though they live in the Towns of *Hungaria*, *Servia*, *Bulgaria*, *Macedonia* (and ſome alſo in *Theſſaly*) by Labour and handy-craft Trades. They are generally ſuppoſed to have their Original from the Frontiers of *Wallachia*. They have a Way of Colouring their Hands and Feet of a reddiſh Colour with *Cna*, and ſome of the Women colour the Extremities of their Hair alſo.

We were in no ſmall Danger of being robb'd as we travel'd from *Belgrade* into *Servia*, by three Horſemen, who coming up with us diſcharged their Piſtols; had it not been for our *Chiaus*, who knowing them to be *Spahies*, ſhew'd them his Feather, bidding me to diſcharge at the ſame Time my Piſtol, to let them know that we were not unprovided; whereupon they left us. *Caravanſera's*, or publick Inns, built by charitable Benefactors to the Publick, for the Lodging of Travellers upon the Road, we ſeldom made Uſe of, the Rooms being very ſpacious: We were but a few in Company, and not fitted for Places where we muſt provide every Thing one's ſelf; and therefore private Houſes were much more convenient for us: Beſides, that the Situation of thoſe *Caravanſera's* is often-time ſuch, as not to be ſecure againſt the Inſults of Robbers, which are too frequent in thoſe Parts, though puniſhed with the greateſt Severity; for which Reaſon, in moſt dangerous Paſſages, Drummers are appointed, who by Beat of Drum give Notice to Travellers, that the Roads are ſafe.

However, in the main, we had ſufficient Accommodation; for from *Comorrah* our Boat was towed by a Saick of twenty four Oars, till we came to the *Turkiſh* Frontier Town, where meeting with the *Turkiſh* Convoy, our Boat was faſten'd to their Saick with eighteen Oars, till we came to *Buda*, from whence we were carried in open Chariots, with two, three or four Horſes a-breaſt, and that very ſwiftly, through a very pleaſant Country, to *Belgrade*. Here we were mounted on good ſure footed Horſes, which would carry one ſafely twenty Miles in a Stage: They are very free, tender mouth'd, and tractable; which made the Owners not well pleaſed with our Spurs, which are ſeldom uſed by the *Turks*. They have generally a lighter and leſſer Shoe than our Horſes. Moſt of theſe Countries abound in good Horſes, which are very fleet; but they never dock them, looking upon a long Tail as a great Ornament to a Horſe, which they will handſomely make up, and adorn to render it more ſo.

The *Baſſa* of *Temeſwar* preſented *Ragotzi* with a Horſe, which he ſlighting, cut off the Horſe's Ears, Main and Tail, and ſo ſent him back again; which the *Baſſa* took for ſuch an Affront, that he did not deſiſt till he brought about the Ruin of *Ragotzi*, as he might have expected. They do not feed them out of high Mangers or Racks, but lay their Hay before them almoſt even with the Ground.

In the *Caravanſera's* they tie their Horſes to Rings, faſten'd to the Side of a long Place a little elevated, upon which the Travellers ſleep as they can, their Hay being laid ſomewhat lower at the Feet, whereon their Horſes feed. They plough generally with Oxen and Buffelo's, and have great Variety of Ploughs and Carts, ſome whereof I ſaw in *Macedonia* with Wheels of ſolid Wood, in the whole Piece, perhaps the better to reſiſt the rough and ragged Ways of a rocky Country. We obſerved among the People in general, that they will be much obliged with a ſmall Preſent, ſuch as Knives, Sciſſers, and other Toys; nay, we gave ſometimes a Glove to one, and the Fellow to another, which they took very kindly. Thus the *Bulgarian* Women would be well pleaſed with a ſmall Piece of Silver Foreign Coin, and put it as an Ornament to their Head-dreſs, though they had others of much more value there before.

25. In our Journey about the Mountains of *Servia*, we were in great Danger from Wolves, eſpecially in the Woods, where they would come very near us in the Night-time; ſo that we were forced to remain cloſe together, and keep our Fire-Arms in readineſs: Neither were the Dogs leſs troubleſome; for no ſooner came we near a Town, or left it, but they would either meet or follow us at a conſiderable Diſtance, and with Barking and Biting our Horſes Legs, be very offenſive. I remember, that at my coming to *Comorrah*, which happened to be about Midnight, we were ſo cloſely purſued by the Dogs, which were ſhut out of Doors on Purpoſe, that we were forced to ſeek for Shelter in the Guard-houſe.

The Fear, in which the poor Chriſtians live in theſe Parts, could not but move us greatly to Compaſſion, where we ſaw them retreat to the Woods, at the firſt Sight, to avoid us; which made us many Times ride after them to undeceive them. But the miſerable Condition of the Slaves and Captives is almoſt beyond Expreſſing, eſpecially if you conſider the Variety of their hard Fate, and the odd Chances that reduce them into this miſerable State; ſome by Treachery, ſome by Chance of War, others being ſtole by the *Tartars*; among all which, thoſe who belong to the Grand Signior ſeem to be in the worſt Condition, as being paſt all Hopes of being redeemed or exchanged. Of theſe I met with one at *Egribugia* in *Macedonia*, who, though he had a Tole-Table Place at the Poſt-houſe, yet was quite dejected upon that Account. In *Theſſaly* I met with an *Hungarian*, who being taken at the Battle of *Barchan*, firſt ſerved a *Turk*, and afterwards was ſold to a *Jew*, with whom he endured great Hardſhip; but being at laſt ſold to an *Armenian*, he behaved himſelf ſo well, that his Maſter gave him his Freedom, and coming to *Lariſſa*, he was entertain'd in the Imperial Reſident's Service. He was a very worthy Perſon, who had retain'd his Chriſtianity among all theſe Changes of Fortune. He ſpoke *Hungarian*, *Sclavonian*, *Turkiſh*, *Armenian*, and *Latin*, and notwithſtanding his ſlaviſh Condition, had been ſo curious as to take Draughts of many Monaſteries, Abbeys, Moſques, and other conſiderable Buildings in *Armenia*, *Perſia* and *Turkey*, which he ſhew'd me. The *Turks* make peculiar Obſervations upon the Captives of ſeveral Nations: Thus they ſay, a *Ruſſian* makes the beſt Galley-Slave, a *Georgian* a good Courtier, and an *Albanian* a good Counſellor, *&c.* I remember that the firſt Time I went to have a Sight of the Grand Seignior, *Oſman Chiaus* kept backwards; having aſk'd him the Reaſon, he anſwer'd, *I take no great Pleaſure in coming too near him.*

26. As the *Turks* are commonly buried near the Highways, Tombs and Sepulchres are met with every where hereabouts, but are not very ſplendid, conſiſting only of a Stone at the Head, and another at the Foot, ſome

of which are two, three or four Yards high; ſome have a Turbant cut upon the Stone at the Head; ſome alſo ſet up two Pillars of Stone, and ſometimes raiſe the Sepulchres after the *European* Faſhion, placing two Pillars upon them, one at the Head, and the other at the Feet. Of theſe I ſaw ſeveral at *Scopia*; but their neateſt Way is to erect a Pavillion, ſupported by four Pillars.

As we travel'd through *Servia*, I ſaw to the South of *Jagodna*, on the Side of a Hill, a *Turkiſh* Tomb of four Yards long, which, the *Chiaus* told me, was the Tomb of one of their Saints. As I could ſcarce conceive that the Length of a Man ſhould extend to that Height, ſo it put me in Mind of what I once heard Mr. *Wood* ſay upon this Account, *viz.* That he had ſeen ſeveral Graves in the Southern Parts of *America*, of four Yards in Length; and having never met with an *American* that came near that Height, he had the Curioſity to have one of the Sepulchres opened from one End to the other, wherein he found a Man and a Woman ſo placed, that the Woman's Head lay at the Man's Feet, and conſequently required a Grave of four Yards long. I thought I might, without the leaſt Hazard, relate this upon the Credit of a Perſon, who has given ſufficient Proofs of his Ingenuity to the World, by his accurate Maps of the Streights of *Magellan*, its Iſlands, and the Coaſt from the *Plate River* to *Baldivia* in the South Sea.

In our Travels in theſe Parts, we met often with *Turkiſh* Fairs, which are kept in ſome large Ground, encloſed and divided into Streets, where you may furniſh yourſelf with all Manner of Things not to be ſeen in theſe Weſtern Parts, and have Muſick at a cheap Rate; which, though none of the beſt, yet ſerves to paſs away the Time pleaſantly enough. We had the good Fortune, in all this Journey, to light upon no more than one Place infected with the Plague, *viz.* at *Preſtina*, in the Plains of *Coſſova*, which made us make what Haſte we could thence to a *Gypſie*'s Houſe among the Hills, where we met with a good Accommodation. The *Turks* were very well pleaſed to ſee me take out my Pocket-Book, to write down ſuch Obſervations as I had Opportunity to make, and were much taken with my Writing ſo quick with a Pen made of a Gooſe Quill; whereas theirs are made of Reed, wherewith they will write very well upon ſmooth Paper.

27. I would often, as Occaſion ſerved, look into ſuch Maps as I had brought along with me; whereat the *Chiaus* ſmiling, ſaid, There is but little Dependance to be had on Maps, for they do not mention many great Towns, and thoſe they do are often not rightly placed. We *Chiauſſes*, added he, who ſpend our Days in Travelling, take Notice of all Places, and know their *Turkiſh* Names, are the beſt Map-makers; and I muſt confeſs, that in ſeveral Particulars I was convinc'd he ſpoke nothing but the Truth; for I found the Maps of *Hungary* not exact, and thoſe of *Servia*, *Bulgaria*, *Macedonia*, and *Theſſaly*, very imperfect. In *Upper Hungaria* many Towns are omitted, and as many ill placed; in the *Lower* alſo not a few. The *Danube* ſeems to take too great a Circumference to the S. W. before the *Theyſſe* falls into it. In *Servia* I found *Hiſſargick* placed a good Way from the *Danube*, which runs juſt by it. *Procupia* or *Urchoop*, and *Leſcoe* or *Leſcovia*, conſiderable Towns (the laſt upon the River *Liperizza*) I found quite left out, as likewiſe *Kaplanly* or *Tygreſs Town*; in *Macedonia*, *Kupruly* or *Bridge* Town, *Urania*, *Pyrlipe*, *Comonava*, *Ecciſſo Verbeni*, as alſo the Lake of *Petriſki*; and the Towns of *Oſtrovo*, *Egribugia*, *Sariggiole*, and *Sarvizza*, and the River *Injecora* near it; thus I found neither *Aleſſon* nor *Tornova*, though one of the moſt conſiderable Cities in *Theſſaly*; and to confeſs the Truth, he that travels into *Macedonia*, will never be able to ſquare the true Situations of Towns and Rivers to their Poſitions and Deſcriptions in Maps, not excepting thoſe that have been very lately publiſhed of *Greece*.

It was one of my chiefeſt Pleaſures in this Journey to converſe with *Chiauſes*, who have (if they are come to any Age) ſeen much of the World in their Travels, and conſequently are good Company, and can give a good Account of Things. *Oſman Chiaus*, who was our Conductor, and then of about fifty Years of Age, ſpoke three Languages, *viz.* The *Turkiſh*, *Sclavonian*, and *Italian*, was a brave honeſt Fellow, who had travelled thro' the greateſt Part of the Grand Seignior's Dominions, and proving old, had ſeated himſelf at *Buda* as a *Chiaus* to the Vizier: He took a very obliging Farewell of me at *Buda*, conducting me without the Gates, with many *a Dios* and hearty Wiſhes of a happy Return into my own native Country; and I muſt ſpeak well in Honour of the *Turks*, that in all my Journey I met with very civil Uſage from them: I never came into a Room where the *Turks* were ſitting, but they would give the firſt Salute; and deſiring me to ſit down, offer ſome Coffee or Tobacco, except that now and then the Boys, and ſome few of the Scum of the People, would call us long hair'd Infidels: The worſt Language I ever received was from a *Jew* at *Lariſſa*, whom I had employed to buy ſome Things; but had it not been for the Grand Seignior's Reſidence in that City, ſome of the *Turks* that were preſent would have taught him better Manners.

I found the *Turks* much addicted to taking of *Tobacco* in thoſe Parts; they carried it in little Bags by their Sides, and uſed to take it in Pipes of an Ell long, made of Reed, with an earthen Bowl at the End, laying one End on the Ground, and holding the other in their Mouths. I was not much uſed to Tobacco, yet out of Complaiſance, I would now and then take a Pipe with them after their Manner, which by reaſon of the Length of the Pipe, I found cool, and leſs diſtaſteful than any other. I was alſo much taken with the Neatneſs and Cleanlineſs of the *Turks*, and with their waſhing of their Feet, Hands, and Faces; I uſed to be mightily pleaſed to ſee our *Chiaus*, at the Sight of a Spring, or any clear Water, alight and waſh himſelf. He was very curious in winding up his Turbant every Morning, and combing of his Beard; nay, they are ſo nice, that they carry a Pitcher with Water with them to the Houſe of Office; when they make Water, they reſt upon one Knee, ſtretching out the other Leg.

Juſtice is a Virtue much encouraged, as well as reverenced, in *Turkey*; of this we had an Inſtance in our Return to *Egribugia* in *Macedonia*; for coming to *Sariggiole*, we met by the Way with a *Turkiſh Aga*, who having a numerous Attendance, had taken up all the Horſes at *Egribugia*, ſo that not being likely to be ſupplied, we reſolved to continue our Journey upon the ſame Horſes to another Stage, finding our Horſes ſtrong and able enough to travel thro' the Plains we were to paſs; but we were ſcarce got without *Egribugia*, when we were ſtopt and carried by the Poſt-maſter of the Place before the Cadi or Judge. He alledged againſt us, that he being the Grand Seignior's Servant, who had given him a certain Allowance for every Horſe he provided, we were injurious to him in paſſing through the Town without taking Horſes from him; for which he deſired Reparation. We found the Cadi ſitting upon a Carpet in a contemplative Poſture, leaning his Elbow upon four or five Folio Books; he commanded his Servants to give us each a Diſh of Coffee, and aſking what we had to ſay in our Defence, the *Chiaus* urged, that we were going upon very urgent Buſineſs, had the *Chaimacham*'s Letters, and were employed by the Grand Seignior to the Emperor of *Germany*; and that he was the *Chiaus* to the Vizier of *Buda*, whither he was to conduct us. Upon mature Deliberation, the Cadi ſaid, *The Chiaus muſt not be ſtopped in his Journey, nor the Poſt-maſter unconſidered*; and ſo calling for the Poſt-maſter's Book, took his Pen, and ſet down a *Sultanine* to be allowed him in his Accounts to the *Teſtarder* or Treaſurer, and ſo wiſhed us a good Journey.

The *Turks*, it ſeems, make uſe of a Maxim contrary to that of *Auguſtus*, who thought fit to put ſome Limit to the *Roman* Empire; whereas their chief Aim is to enlarge their Dominions by new Conqueſts; unto which their hardy Education, ſober Courſe of Life, and unlimited Obedience to their Prince, ſeems to encourage them: Certain it is that their Aim is beyond *Hungary*;

and I have heard ſome *Turks* of Note often ſay, we muſt try our Fortunes again before *Vienna*; where the Star and Half-moon then remained upon the Steeple of the Cathedral Church of St. *Stephen*, above the Croſs; and I could not, without a great deal of Grief, take Notice of a particular Croſs (not known to our Heralds) lunated, to be ſeen in many Frontier Places, whereby the Inhabitants, as they teſtify their Chriſtianity by the Croſs, ſo they acknowledge the *Turkiſh* Sovereignty by the Half-moons.

A Journey from Comorrah *or* Gomorrah, *to the* Mine-Towns *in* Hungary, *and from thence to* Vienna.

28. Having ſatisfied my Curioſity at and about *Comorrah*, I purſued my former Reſolution of taking a Journey to the Copper, Silver, and Gold Mines of *Hungary*; and being unwilling to take ſo long a Journey as to *Preſburg* again, to bring me into the ordinary Road, towards them, I pitched upon a nearer, though not much frequented Paſſage; taking therefore my Way along the North Shore of the Iſle of *Scutz*, till I came to the Confluence of the Rivers *Waag* and *Danube*, I paſſed over to *Gutta*, a Fortification raiſed ſince the late War, in a marſhy Ground, between a Branch of the *Danube*, the *Waag*, and the *Swartz*, within a Mile of *Newhauſel*, which we plainly ſaw from the Steeple of the Church of *Gutta*. It had then a Fort of 130 Men, commanded by an experienced and brave Officer, whoſe Name was Mr. *Matthias Fruwurdt*. Their Boats in which they will paſs the greateſt Rivers, are only one Piece of Wood hollowed out.

From hence we went on by Way of *Forchatz* to *Schella*, where is another Fort to hinder the Incurſions of the *Turks* and *Tartars*, and about half a Mile from this Place is a certain Concavity in the Earth, which burns like the *Solfaterra* near *Naples*; and ſo forwards to *Schinta*, a large Fort which commands the River and the adjacent Country. It conſiſts of four Baſtions, and has a Tower in the Middle. At the Gate hangs a great Rib, a Thigh-bone, and a Tooth, which, they ſay, belonged to a Giant; but I judge them to be of an Elephant. We came afterwards to *Leopolſtadt*, a regular Fortification of ſix Baſtions, where the young Count *de Zouches* then commanded. Not far from hence, paſſing the Rivers, we came to *Frieſtadt*, a handſome large Town, but lately ruined by the *Turks*. I took a Draught here of the Caſtle and Palaces belonging to Count *Forchatz*, which was a Structure that would have been thought elegant in *Italy*.

The *Lutheran* School had been lately ruined by the *Turks*. They pay a yearly Tribute of four Pence a Head, whether of Men, Women, Children, Sheep, Oxen, or Horſes: They are much inured to Hardſhip, and their Women rarely marry above once. Bathing and Sweating naked in Stoves, with their Feet in warm Water, is much uſed here, as alſo Cupping and Scarrifications. There were only twelve Friars left in the Convent of the *Franciſcans*, the *Roman* Chriſtians having ſcarce any other Prieſts than Monks hereabouts. About fourteen *Engliſh* Miles from hence is *Banca*, which has fifteen Baths in a low Ground near the River, three of which are ſpoiled by the *Waag*, which has there tranſgreſſed its ordinary Bounds. About twenty Years ago there were alſo hot Baths on the other Side of the River, but theſe are likewiſe ſwallowed up by the overflowing of the River. The Water of theſe Baths caſts out a white Sediment, and tinges Copper and Silver in an Inſtant as black as Ink. Not far off is a Quarry of Stone, and ſeveral Chalk Veins, which being of all Sorts of Colours except Green, and curiouſly mixed or marbled, was very pleaſing to the Eye. It being the 18th of *March*, the cold Weather hinder'd us from bathing in ſo open a Place, though we ſaw ſeveral Women and Children in them, and our Charioteer bathed himſelf in one of them at Midnight.

March 21. Some Muſqueteers having been ſent us by Count *Zouches* for our Guard, we continued our Journey, and paſſing by *Ripnich*, a Caſtle at *Docatzi*, belonging to Baron *Barrini*, came the ſame Night to *Topolchan*, a Town upon the River *Nitra*, great Part whereof had been conſumed by Fire in the laſt Wars. At *Bellitz*, a Mile from hence, are likewiſe hot Baths. We paſſed the next Day by *Cleſcb*, and through a great Wood by *Hochwiſe*, inhabited by *Germans*, and came to *Sernewitz*, ſituate upon the River *Gran*, having a Caſtle built upon a Rock. It is tributary to the *Turks*. *March* 28. We paſſed the River *Gran* in the Morning, and travelling among the Hills, came to *Hodrytz*, by which runs a rapid Stream, of great Uſe to move the Engines employed in the pounding, waſhing, and melting of Silver Ore.

29. Hence we travelled over a Mountain called *Hell*, and ſo to *Schemnitz*, which claims the Precedency for Bigneſs before all the other Mine-Towns in *Hungary*, and where a great Quantity of Silver Ore is digged every Day. It is a well built Town, moſt of the Inhabitants being *Lutherans*, who have three very handſome Churches here. It has alſo three Caſtles; 1. The *Old Caſtle* in the Town, where there is all Sorts of Wind-Muſick at Six in the Morning, at Twelve at Noon, and at Six at Night. 2. The *New Caſtle*, built by a Lady in a Place where formerly the Gibbet ſtood. 3. On a high Peak, where a continual Guard is kept to diſcover the Approach of an Enemy, in which Caſe the Signal is given by the Diſcharge of a Culverin. The Country being very hilly, the Streets conſequently very uneven. There are hereabouts very good Mines, among which theſe are the moſt remarkable: The *Windſchacht*-Mine, the *Trinity*, that of St. *Benedict*, St. *John*, St. *Matthias*, and another called the *Three Kings*; but the *Windſchacht* and the *Trinity* are the beſt and moſt wrought. The *Trinity Mine* is at leaſt ſeventy Fathoms deep, built and kept open with Under-works, at a vaſt Expence, the greateſt Part of it being in an earthy Soil. The Ore is very rich, and generally blue, covered with a white Clay, which gives the Streams where they work it a milky Tincture, and is that Subſtance, as I ſuppoſe, commonly known by the Name of *Lac Lunæ*, or the Milk of the Silver.

Some of theſe Veins run to the North, and other rich Veins to the N. E. If two Veins happen to croſs one another, they count it lucky; ſo that the Veins of Ore keep not the ſame Point even in the ſame Mine; but as they have no certain Way to know where they are, or which Way they run, ſo they muſt proceed by Gueſs, and perſevere in their Labour till they light upon the Veins. They don't make uſe of the *Virgula divina*, or forked Hazel-ſtick to direct them (as they do in the Silver Mine at *Friburgh* in *Miſnia*) but dig on, according as they judge it moſt likely to ſucceed. They ſhew'd me one Place, where they had digged ſix Years together, when afterwards they found the Vein of Ore but two Fathom diſtant from the Place where they firſt began; and they ſhewed me another Place, where they digged twelve Years before they found the Vein, which proved ſo rich, that in a ſhort Time they were very well paid over and above their Charges. I went ſo far into this Mine, that I paſs'd quite under a Hill, and came out on the other Side.

I deſcended alſo into the *Windſchacht-Mine* as far as the Water would permit me, by 300 large Steps or Stairs of a Ladder; deep in the Earth I ſaw a large Wheel of thirty ſix Foot Diameter, turned by the Fall of ſubterraneous Waters; by the Help of this Wheel ſeveral Engines are moved, which pump out the Water from the Bottom of the Mine up to the Concavity, where this Wheel is fixed. The Water which turns the Wheel, does not fall lower into the Mine, but is convey'd thro' a *Cuniculus*, or a ſubterraneous Paſſage made for that Purpoſe, together with the Water pumped from the deepeſt Part of the Mine, to the Foot of a Hill, where it diſcharges itſelf into the Valley. Beſides this Wheel, there is another above Ground, which lies Horizontally, turned by twelve Horſes, which alſo ſerves to pump Part of the Water out of this Mine. I was told, that no leſs than 200 Men were employed in all the Works belonging to this Mine. I found ſome Places very cold; and others ſo hot, that I was forced to open my Cloaths, which were only Linen before: It being always hot where they work, they work eight Hours naked, if they can hold it ſo long, and then reſt eight Hours. They ſhewed me a Place, where ſix or ſeven Perſons were ſtifled by a Damp; to prevent which for the Future, they have placed a Tube there; the like they have over all Doors and Paſſages where they intend to dig for a great Space, and have no Paſſage through, whereby they let in, or let out the Air, or carried about according as the Miners under Ground ought to be ventilated. The blackeſt Ore is generally the richeſt, much of it is mix'd with a ſhining yellow Marchaſite, which if not in too great a Quantity, is very welcome, becauſe it renders the Ore fluid, and eaſy to be melted; but if this is found in too great a Proportion, they are of Opinion that it preys upon the Silver in the Mine, and in the Furnace over-volatilizing it, and whilſt it is a melting, carries it upwards with the Smoak; for which Reaſon they call it a Robber. There is alſo frequently found a red Subſtance growing to the Ore, call'd Cinnabar of Silver, which being ground with Oil, makes a Vermilion equal to, if not ſurpaſſing the common Cinnabar made by Sublimation.

30. Theſe Mines alſo produce *Chryſtals*, *Amethyſts*, and *Amethiſtine* Mixtures, ſometimes in the Clefts of the Rocks, ſometimes near or join'd to the Ore; as alſo a natural chryſtalliz'd Vitriol, particularly in a Mine in *Paradiſe Hill.* There is alſo great Variety in the Silver Ore, in reſpect of its Richneſs, or Proportion of Silver: A hundred Weight of ſome Ore yields not above half an Ounce of Silver, ſometimes two Ounces, three, four, five, even unto twenty Ounces; what is richer is very rare, though ſome have been found to hold half Silver, and I myſelf have ſeen ſome ſo rich as to be cut with a Knife.

To diſcover the Richneſs of the Ore, a certain Officer is appointed, whom they call the *Probieter*, (Eſſay-Maſter) which he does in this Manner. They bring him a Specimen of each Sort of Ore digg'd out of the Mine, of all which Sorts he takes an equal Quantity, and (the Ore being firſt dry'd, burn'd and pounded) adds to all an equal Proportion of Lead, melts and purifies them, and then by exact Scales, takes the Proportion between the Ore contained in it, of which he gives an exact Account to the Work-men employed in the great Melting Furnaces; who, according to his Report, add or diminiſh the Quantities of thoſe Subſtances, which are to be mixed with the Ores, to melt them in the melting Furnaces; as for Inſtance, to a 100 *Centen*, or 10,000 Pound Weight of Silver Ore, a hundred Pounds Weight, or a *Centen* of which contains two Ounces and a half of Silver, they add forty *Centen* of *Leich* (which is Ore pounded and waſhed) 200 *Centens* of Iron-Stone, which is not Iron Ore, but a Stone found in thoſe Hills of a Liver Colour (perhaps the *Lapis Hæmatites)* a certain Quantity of *Kis* (a Sort of *Pyrites)* in Proportion as there is a greater or leſs Quantity of Marchaſite mix'd with the Ore, and of the *Slacken* as much as they think fit. This laſt is nothing elſe but the Scum, taken off from the Top of the Pan, into which the Metals run, and is a Subſtance made out of the former mentioned, by Fuſion.

Whatſoever is melted in the melting Furnace, is let out through a Hole at the Bottom into the Pan, faſtned in the Earth before it; and thus expos'd, it acquires, as it cools, a hard Scum, Droſs or Cake, which being continually taken away, the remaining Metal becomes purer; unto this they add Lead, which carries all the Silver down to the Bottom, and after ſome Time the melted Metal is taken out, and afterwards melted again in the driving Furnace, where the Lead, or what elſe remain'd mix'd with the Silver, is driven off by the blowing of two great Pair of Bellows; and runs over from the melted Silver in Form of *Litharge of Silver*; but that which comes laſt, being longeſt in the Fire, turns red, and is call'd *Litharge of Gold*, though both be driven from the ſame Metal. Moſt of the *Schemnitz* Silver Ore contains ſome Gold: This they ſeparate after the Silver is melted, by granulating it, and afterwards diſſolving it in *Aqua fortis* made out of a peculiar Vitriol, prepared at *Chremnitz*, whereby the Gold is left at the Bottom, and is melted afterwards, and the *Aqua fortis* being ſeparated from the Silver by Diſtillation, ſerves again for the ſame Uſe.

But it is Time to quit the Subject for Fear of entangling myſelf too far in a Buſineſs, the accurate Deſcription of which would require entire large Volumes, as well as thoſe of *Miſnia*, ſo exactly deſcribed by *Agricola. Lenys*, in his Works concerning Minerals, is alſo worth Reading, and *Lazarus Erker* has given a very nice Account of the principal Ores, and other Mineral Bodies. But after all, it muſt be confeſſed, that there are few Places in the World to be compared with this, where Art and Nature ſtrive to ſhew their utmoſt Force, to procure Riches. The Emperor *Rodolphus* being a great Encourager of Mines, they work to this Day much after the ſame Manner eſtabliſhed in his Time, except that many of their Engines and Inſtruments are much improved ſince. It ſeems to be ſomewhat odd, yet is nevertheleſs very true, that in a Place where every Week a vaſt Quantity of Silver is digg'd up, and carried away by Cart Loads, I could not meet with one pure Silver Piece. This happened to me at *Schemnitz*; for being deſirous to ſee what Alteration ſeveral of thoſe Mineral Waters in that Country would make upon Metals, I would fain have had a Piece of pure Silver, which however the whole Town was not able to furniſh me withal, the current Money of the Country being all mix'd with Copper; ſo that I was forced to borrow ſome Silver Croſſes and Medals, to try the intended Experiment.

31. Near to *Schemnitz* (where old *Schemnitz* ſtood) I ſaw a high perpendicular Rock, Part of which from the Top to the Bottom is of a ſhining blue Colour, with ſome green and yellow Spots, which appear'd as beautiful to the Eye, as if it had been one entire Maſs of *Lapis Lazuli*, finely poliſhed: I was not a little ſurprized at the Sight thereof, and ſhould have been more ſo, had I not heard before from a certain *Spaniard*, who had lived a conſiderable Time in the *Weſt-Indies*, That there is a Rock like this, near the Silver Mines of *Peru*.

At *Glaſs-Hitten* (about ſeven *Engliſh* Miles from *Schemnitz)* there was formerly a rich Gold-Mine, but is loſt ever ſince the Inroad made by the *Tranſilvanian* Prince *Bethlem Gabor* into thoſe Parts, when the Inhabitants flying, the Entrance was ſtopp'd up, and has not been known ſince. The Owner thereof has however thought fit to leave ſome Directions and certain Marks behind him, whereby in Time, the ſame might be diſcovered again; with the Figures of his Inſtruments upon the Bark of the Trees; which Inſtruments having already been found by Digging, thus much is intimated, That where they find a Stone on which a Face is carved, They are near the Entrance of this rich Gold-Mine; and to open the Paſſage into it, they are only to remove a certain Part of the Rock thereabouts, which was made uſe of by the Owner, to ſtop up the Entrance into the Mine.

Glaſs-Hitten is alſo a Place very well known, and much frequented, by Reaſon of its natural Hot-Baths, of which five are conveniently built with handſome Steps into them, and cover'd with fair and lofty Roofs. The Springs are very tranſparent, having a red and green Sediment; the Wood and Seats under Water, being cover'd with a ſtony Subſtance, and Silver is gilt by being left in them. But that call'd the *Sweating-Bath* excels the reſt, its Spring being drain'd through a Hill before they iſſue forth into the Bath; at one End of which, is a Cave, into which you aſcend by ſeveral Steps, which being heated by the *Thermæ*, like a Stove, by chuſing your Seat either higher or lower, you may enjoy either a more remiſs or more intenſe Degree of Sweating at Pleaſure. The Sides of this Stove, as well as thoſe of the Bath, by the continual Exhalations of the hot Springs, are cover'd with a red, white and green Subſtance.

Whilſt I was bathing myſelf in the largeſt of theſe Baths, a certain Fellow who was ſhewing Tricks of Activity to the Men and Women that were then in the Bath, gave me a ſatisfactory Account concerning ſeveral Queſtions I aſk'd him about the natural Vitriol, which he told me was to be found in ſeveral Mines hereabouts, cryſtallized in Lumps, and fit for Uſe; but eſpecially in a certain Mine near *Schemnitz*, now given over by Reaſon of the Earth's falling in, in ſeveral Places. About two or three Days after he came to me at *Schemnitz*, and having brought along with him, Lamps, and Minemens Habits for me and two more, we went together into the Mine, where he ſhew'd me the Vitriol ſhooting upon the Stones and Earth, nay, upon the Floor and Sides of the Paſſages, in the ſame Manner as it does in the Pans, and about the Sticks, not hanging from the Top like to Icicles, as I have ſeen in ſeveral Places before. *Glaſs-Hitten* belongs to the Earl of *Lippey*, of whoſe Family was the famous *Polycarpus Procopius Bocanus*, who being ſent by the Archbiſhop of *Preſburgh*, to inveſtigate the Curioſities of theſe Countries, died before his Obſervations came to Light.

32. *Eiſenbach*, not above four *Engliſh* Miles from hence, and about ſix from *Schemnitz*, has alſo hot Baths, with a red Sediment, and containing a conſiderable Quantity of petrifying Juice, as may be ſeen by the Timber on the Sides of the Bath, ſome of the lowermoſt of which, near the Water, were quite turn'd into Stone; it bears the Spout through which the Spring was convey'd into the Bath, being under Water, though of Wood, yet not in the leaſt changed, the Reaſon of which muſt be aſcrib'd to the volatile Particles of theſe Waters, which are carried immediately upwards with their Exhalations. I remember, that in the Bath of the *Green Pillars* at *Buda*, theſe Vapours condenſed by the high *Cupola* built over it, and on the Irons extended from one Column to another, and on the Capitals of the Pillars were formed into long Stones like Icicles, hanging to all thoſe Places, ſuch as I have obſerved in many ſubterraneous Grotto's, and eſpecially in *England*, in *Okeyhole* in *Somerſetſhire*, and *Pooles-hole* in *Derbyſhire*.

This is evident from the ſulphureous Parts contained in theſe Waters, which however are not diſcoverable, if you either boil or evaporate the Bath-water, as being carried away with the Steam; and nothing is more common than to ſee the Sulphur of the hot Water ſtick on many Places over the Bath. I perfectly remember, that leaning one Day over the Baliſters of the Lower Bath at *Baden*, I found my Buttons, which were of Plate, tinged by the ſulphureous Particles, of a fair Gold-colour, though at a good Diſtance from the Water. This Accident tempted me to the Trial of another Experiment, *viz.* I took Care to hang ſome Money at one or two Foot Diſtance, which was colour'd likewiſe in leſs than a Minute; which made me conclude, that its petrifying Quality conſiſted chiefly in its volatile Particles. I brought away with me ſeveral Pieces of this petrified Water, of five or ſix Inches Diameter. But to return to *Eiſenbach*. It has in all three Baths; two of which are conveniently built; the third made by the Water let out of the former, is called the *Snakebath*, from the Number of Snakes coming into it immediately after it is fill'd with theſe Waters.

33. *March* 30. I ſet out from *Schemnitz*, and taking my Way from *Glaſs-Hitten* and *Apfelsdorff* (where the Archbiſhop of *Preſburgh* has a Palace) I afterwards paſſed the River *Gran*, and travelling among the Mountains, I ſaw certain Entrenchments caſt up from one Ridge of the Mountains to the other, to defend themſelves againſt any ſudden Incurſions; then following the Traces of the ſame yellow Silver, which owes its Colour to the Ore which it waſhes above, we came to *Chremnitz*, ſtanding very high, eſpecially the Church of St. *John*, at ſome Diſtance from it, which is ſuppoſed to ſtand upon the higheſt Ground in *Hungary*. The Town is but ſmall, but the Suburbs are of a pretty large Compaſs. As the Mine here is the oldeſt, ſo it is the richeſt in Gold of all the ſeven in theſe Parts, which are, *Schemnitz*, *Chremnitz*, *Newſol*, *Koningſbergh*, *Bochantz*, *Libeten* and *Tiln*.

The Gold Mine of *Chremnitz* has been work'd, for very near a thouſand Years, being nine or ten *Engliſh* Miles in Length. It has one *Cuniculus* or Horizontal Paſſage, call'd the *Erbſtall*, of 800 Fathoms in Length, its Depth being at leaſt 170 Fathoms; into which they do not deſcend by Ladders, but are let down in certain Seats of Leather, broad and conveniently contriv'd, faſtned to the End of a Cable, by the gentle Turning of a Wheel, to which the other End of the Cable is faſtned. This Mine has ſix perpendicular Schachts, Shafts or Pits, (1) That of *Rudolphus*, (2) of Queen *Anne*, (3) *Ferdinand*, (4) *Matthias*, (5) the *Windſhacht*, and (6) *Leopold*. I went into the Mine by the firſt, 108 Fathom deep, and after many Hours Stay there, was drawn out again by *Leopold*'s Schacht or Pit, in a ſtrait Line above 150 Fathoms, a Height ſurpaſſing that of the Pyramids by a third Part. It was kept up on all Sides with fair Trees, laid upon one another from the Bottom to the Top, in the ſame Manner as all the other Mines are here, that have not Rock on all Sides. Moſt of the Veins run to the North and Eaſt, and they work towards one, two or three, as they call it in the Miners Language, who direct themſelves Under-ground by a kind of Compaſs, not of thirty two Points (as is uſed at Sea) but by one diſtinguiſh'd into twenty four, which they divide into twice twelve, as we do our Days, and ſo compute by Hours.

The Gold Ore is ſome white, ſome black, ſome red and ſome yellow; but the white with black Spots is accounted the beſt, as alſo the Ore next to the black Veins. As this Ore is not rich enough to be made Trial of in ſmall Parcels, to inveſtigate the Proportion of the Gold it contains, ſo they take another Way for the Proof thereof; by pounding a conſiderable Quantity, and waſhing it in a ſmall River running by the Town; which being branch'd out into ſeveral artificial Channels, runs over the Ore continually, and thus waſhing away the earthy Part from the Metalline, becomes thereby tinged below the Town (after its Paſſage over ſo much Ore) with a dark yellow Colour, the ſame with the Earth over which it runs. This is manifeſt at *Chriſtmas*, *Eaſter* and *Whitſuntide*, on each of which Feaſts, the Miners ceaſing from their ordinary Works in the Mines for two Days together, the River flows as clear below, as it does above the Town.

There have been Pieces of pure Gold found in this Mine, of which I have ſeen ſome in the Emperor's and Elector of *Saxony*'s Repoſitories, one of the Breadth of the Palm of my Hand, others ſomewhat leſs; but theſe are eſteemed great Rarities. The yellow Earth of the Grounds about *Chremnitz*, but eſpecially of the Hills to the Town are not without Gold, which is the Reaſon that a great Part of one of thoſe Hills is quite digg'd away, the Earth having been waſh'd and managed in the ſame Manner as the pounded Ore, not without good Profit. *Matthias Dollinger*, the Surveyor of the Mine at *Chremnitz* (who entertain'd me very obligingly) has of late found out a certain Engine to pound the Ore much finer than it was before; by which Means they now obtain a conſiderable Quantity of Gold out of that Ore, which otherwiſe would have yielded none.

There are certain Paſſages in this Mine, cut through the Rock, which being long diſuſed, the Sides which were formerly ſpacious enough to carry the Ore through, were grown now ſo near one another, that we were ſcarce able to paſs. Their Way of conveying the Ore from Place to Place, or to the Bottom of the Pit (from whence it is drawn up) is performed by a certain Cheſt they call the Dog: It is higher behind than before, and runs upon four Wheels, having a Tongue of Iron at the Bottom, which being fitted into a Channel of Wood, cut in the Middle of the Bottom of each Paſſage, cannot deviate thence, ſo that a little Boy runs with 300 or 400 Pounds Weight of Ore in the Chariot before him, without any Light, through thoſe dark Paſſages, with great Swiftneſs, and coming out, turns out the Ore upon the Ground, and ſo back again thro' the ſame Way he came. They make uſe of another Engine or Cheſt, altogether like this, except that inſtead of an Iron Tongue, it has four Rowlers, beſides the four Wheels; with this they carry the Ore from the Mouth of the Mine, or down the Hills to the *Buchwerk*, (as they call it) where it is pounded and waſhed, the

Way being laid all along with Fir-trees, and ſo contrived, that the Rowlers muſt needs rowl upon the Fir-trees, without being able to overturn or run out of the Way, ſo as to be managed by a Child, and ſometimes a Dog, there paſſing ſcarce a Week but that betwixt 300 and 400 of theſe Chariots, containing each 400 Weight of Ore, are carried down thus to every *Buchworke.* There were then in this Mine, two very pernicious Damps, beſides others that were leſs dangerous; one was in a *Schacht*, *Shaft*, Pit or *Puteus*, the other in a *Stall*, as they call it, or Paſſage, or *Cuniculus*; no Lamp would burn in them for any Time, and ſo long as they did, the Miners would venture to ſtay there; but as ſoon as they went out, they were drawn up again: They find theſe Vapours more peſtiferous, where the Water is very high; but that in the *Cuniculus* they were in good Hopes to correct by Perflation, and digging another Paſſage into it.

They told me, that at one Time they loſt twenty-eight Men in four ſeveral Paſſages, *viz.* ſeven in each *Cuniculus.* At the firſt ſinking of *Leopold*'s *Schacht* or Pit, they were extremely troubled with pernicious Damps, which they qualified in this Manner: They fix'd a Tube reaching from the Top to the Bottom of the Pit, but this not anſwering altogether their Expectations, they were obliged to have Recourſe to another Invention, *viz.* by ſtopping the Pit, by Means of a broad flat Board, which covered all the Sides of it, except where the Tube was, and ſo forced out all the Air in the Pit, through the Tube, which they were forc'd often to repeat, till they made ſeveral other Paſſages into it, whereby the Air is render'd wholſome enough; for as I was drawn up through it, I found not the leaſt Difficulty in Breathing. *Altermans* Fore-ſtall or *Cuniculus*, 500 Fathom long, was, by the Careleſsneſs of a Boy, wiping the Snuff of his Lamp upon the Wood, burn'd in 1642, and fifty Men ſmothered in it; they were all afterwards taken up, except one, whoſe whole Body ſeem'd to have been conſum'd by the Corroſiveneſs of the Waters of the Mine; there remaining nothing but his Cloaths.

34. This Mine alſo contains red, white, blue and green Vitriol and vitriolate Waters. There is alſo in this Mine, a certain Subſtance, adhering to the Gold Ore, and conſiſting of ſmall pointed Parts like Needles of a purple Colour, and ſhining; the Colour of it being yellow like Brimſtone, they give it the Name of *Antimony* of Gold. Various Sorts of Chryſtals are alſo found here, and among them ſome yellow ones.

Near the Gold Mine in the ſame Hills, is a Vitriol Mine, at leaſt eighty Fathom deep; containing a red, and ſomewhat greeniſh Ore or Earth. This they infuſe in Water for three Days, and then pouring it off, boil it for ſeven Days ſucceſſively in Leaden Cauldrons, till it is coagulated to a white thick Subſtance, which being reduced to a Calx in a Furnace, they keep for the making of *Aqua Fortis*, or the *ſeparating Water* uſed at *Schemnitz.* Where they pound the Gold Ore, a Foundation of Wood is laid, at leaſt three Yards deep, upon which they ſpread the Ore. Over this are twenty four Beams, covered at the Bottom with Iron, for the better grinding of the Ore, which is always covered with Water, and the Work continued Day and Night without Intermiſſion, making Uſe of Fir, or ſome other reſinous Wood, inſtead of Candles.

This Grinding, as I told you, is performed by the twenty-four Beams, moved by four Wheels, *viz.* ſix Beams by each Wheel; the latter, which runs from the pounded one, being let into little Pots or Ciſterns, perhaps ſeven or eight one after another, and at laſt into a very large one, of perhaps half an Acre of Ground; which, after it is well ſettled, is let out.

The pounded Gold Ore they call *Slich*, among which they account that the richeſt, which is neareſt to the Beams, where it is firſt pounded: Then they take the *Slich* waſhed ſo long, as, perhaps, in a hundred Pounds Weight there may be half an Ounce, or perhaps an Ounce of Gold and Silver, two Thirds whereof are generally Gold, (the *Chremnitz* Ore being rarely without ſome Mixture of Silver, as the beſt of the *Schemnitz* Silver Ore contains, for the moſt part, an eighth Part of Gold, in Proportion of the Silver:) To this *Slich*, they add Lime-ſtone, and *ſlaken* and melt them together in the Melting-Furnace. This Melting produces that they call *Lech*, which *Lech* being burn'd with Charcoal to render it more porous, is then call'd *Roſt.* This *Roſt* they mix with Sand, and melt it again in the Melting-Furnace, then let it out into the Pan, and proceed as in the Melting of Silver.

Among ſeveral other Ways they have to ſeparate the Gold from the pounded Ore, they have one perform'd without the Uſe of Lead, *viz.* The pounded Ore being well waſh'd, they lay it in Powder upon Cloths, ſo that by the eaſy deſcending of the Water over it, and their continual ſtirring it, the earthy Parts are waſh'd away, and the heavier and metalline remaining on the Cloth. In the ſame Manner they proceed with Sheep-ſkins and Wool, being placed where the Rivulets come either from the Works, or the Hills. The Cloths in which the Ore is thus ſettled, they waſh in ſeveral Tubs, and the Water, after ſettling, is poured off from its Sediment: This Sediment being again waſhed ſeveral Times, and ſtirr'd up in ſeveral Veſſels, they at laſt ſprinkle Quickſilver upon it, and knead it well together for two Hours; then waſhing it again in a wooden Veſſel, (after they have firſt ſeparated good Part of it, which the Quickſilver touches not, by ſtriking the Veſſel againſt their Legs) they reduce the Mixture of Gold and Quickſilver into an *Amalgama.*

After this, having ſeparated again the Quickſilver, by ſtraining it through a coarſe Cloth firſt, and afterwards through a fine, they put the remaining Maſs upon a perforated Plate, which they ſet over a deep Pan placed in the Earth, in the Bottom of which is a good Quantity of Quickſilver: Over this Pan and Plate they lute a Cover, and making a Charcoal Fire upon it, force the Quickſilver, as yet remaining with the Gold, downwards to the reſt in the Bottom of the Pan, and afterwards taking out the Gold, purify it once more in the Fire.

35. Having paſſed ſeveral Days at *Chremnitz*, I travelled forward to *Newſol*; and as I paſſed over the Hills on the Eaſt-ſide of *Chremnitz*, upon the Top of one of them, I ſaw a vaſt Stone or Rock alone, near the high Road; theſe Hills being for the moſt Part covered with Wood, which are of great Service to the Gold Mine. Paſſing on further, we came in Sight of the Village of *Lila*, near which are the Quickſilver Hills. From hence we came to the River *Gran*, upon which *Newſol* ſtands, which has a handſome wooden Bridge over the River, and a handſome Row of Piles croſs the River to ſtop the Wood, which about ten Miles higher is thrown into the River, and without any further Labour, by Force of the Current, carried down to *Newſol*, for the burning, melting, caſting, and hammering the Copper in that Copper-Mine.

Newſol is a very handſome Town, having a ſpacious Piazza, at the upper End of which, ſtands a fair Tower. The Church, which ſtands within the Caſtle, is covered with Copper, and within it are many carved Figures of Wood and Stone Relicks, which, though not much reverenced, yet are preſerved by the *Lutherans*, who are in Poſſeſſion of this Church; the ſame being obſerved in moſt other ancient *Lutheran* Churches.

All about this Town, are the greateſt Copper Mines in all *Hungary*; but the Copper itſelf being ſo ſtrongly united to the Stone, or Ore, the Copper Ore of this Mine is burnt and melted fourteen Times before it produces Copper fit for Uſe. The firſt Melting is perform'd with a certain Stone they call *Fluſt-ſtein*, and its own Droſs, and with *Kis*, or a Sort of *Pyrites.* Then it is carried to the *Roſt-hearth*, as they term it, being great Stacks, or Heaps of Billets, upon which it is laid, and theſe being ſet a-fire underneath, the Ore is burned into a Subſtance called *Roſt*; which being repeated thus ſeven or eight Times, it is then melted again in the Melting-Furnace, and at two Furnaces more at *Miſmills*, and twice more at the Hammer. This *Kis* is brought hither from *Joſina*, which melted is uſed in the Melting of Silver.

At *Miſmills*, not far from hence, they have a Way of getting a certain Quantity of Silver out of the Copper, by adding Lead to it whilſt it is a melting, after which they take out the melted Metals, mixed together in Spoons or Iron Diſhes. After it is cold, they give it a quick Fire again as it lies upon croſs Bars, until the Silver and Lead melts and falls through. The Copper, after by many reiterated Meltings it is made fit for Uſe, is cut in Pieces by very large pointed Hammers, moved by Mills, and afterwards formed into Plates, with other flat and round Hammers.

36. The Surveyor of the Works of *Newſol*, did not only entertain me with a Preſent of Wine and Fowls, but alſo gave me a Letter to the Governor of the Copper-Mine of *Herrn-grundt*, to procure for me the ſame Treatment there. This is a ſmall Town ſeated very high between two Hills, about an *Hungarian* Mile from *Newſol*: He found the high Lands thereabouts, all cover'd with Snow, whereas in the Valleys, between this Place and *Newſol*, we met with none. We felt the Air very piercing at the Entrance of this Mine, being only in our Miner's Habits, which conſiſt only of a Linnen Coat and Drawers, a ſtiff round Cap, like the Crown of a Hat, a Leather Apron turn'd behind, and two Pieces of Leather faſtened to the Knees, to defend them againſt ſtriking upon the Rocks, or the Fall of any Earth upon them. But within the Mine it was warm enough.

I paſſed into this Mine through a *Cuniculus* called *Tachſtoln*, and viſited moſt of the remarkable Places in it; you deſcend into it by certain Trees ſet upright, with deep Notches cut into them to reſt the Foot upon. As this Mine lies very high in the Hill, ſo they are not troub'ed with Water, but often with Duſt, and ſometimes with very pernicious Damps. In one Place they ſhewed me how they had remedied a very peſtiferous Damp, by blowing a vaſt Pair of Bellows for ſeveral Days together. But what is moſt obſervable is, that thoſe Damps are not only to be found in thoſe Parts of the Mine where it is full of Earth and Clay, but alſo where it is rocky. I ſaw one Place where there had been a very bad Damp, ſurrounded on all Sides with ſo hard a rock, that they had been forced to open their Way with Gunpowder ram'd into long Holes, and ſo blown up; for it is to be conſider'd, that a great Part of this Mine is within the Rock, where conſequently they need no Timber to keep it up, as they are forced to do in thoſe Paſſages, that have either Earth on both Sides, or Rock on one, and Earth on the other Side. The Paſſages of this Mine are neither horizontal, nor near to a perpendicular, but moderately inclining up and down, having many large Cavities within.

In one Place where we deſcended, we found the Paſſage ſtop'd by ſome Earth lately fallen in; but one of our Guides finding the Earth yet looſe, without more Ado, digged his Way through, and, notwithſtanding the Earth fell continually upon him, got through, though a great Heap of Earth tumbled after him, which they ſoon carried off with their Engines call'd *Doggs*, and ſo clear'd the Paſſage. This Mine has very large Veins, ſuch as they call *Cumulatæ*, and the Ore is very rich, a hundred Pound Weight of Ore yielding commonly twenty Pounds of Copper, ſometimes thirty, forty, fifty, and even to ſixty in the Hundred; but a great Part of it is firmly united to the Rock, nay, in many Places, the Rock and Ore are one continued Stone, with this Difference only, that one Part of it will yield Copper, the other none; which is diſtinguiſh'd only by the Colour, and that at firſt Sight; the Copper Ore being for the moſt Part either yellow or black, the yellow being pure Copper Ore; whereas the black contains alſo a Proportion of Silver.

This Mineral produces white, green, and blue Vitriol, and a red clear tranſparent; as alſo a green Sediment of a green Water, call'd *Berg-Green*, uſed by Painters. Here are alſo found Stones of beautiful green and blue Colour, and one Sort upon which *Turcoiſes* have been found, and therefore call'd the *Mother of Turcois*.

37. But above all the reſt, there are two Springs of *Vitriolate Water* here (call'd the New and the Old *Ziment*) which turn Iron into Copper, and conſequently deſerve our peculiar Obſervation. Theſe Springs lie very deep in the Mine, and commonly the Iron laid in it, is turn'd into good Copper in about fourteen Days Time, with this further Advantage, that the worſt and moſt uſeleſs Iron is turn'd into the pureſt Copper, much exceeding in Goodneſs that of the Ore, which muſt run through many Fires before it is rendered uſeful, whereas this made by the Vitriolate Springs is very malleable, and eaſily melted; for I myſelf have melted it, without the Addition of any other Subſtance. I took a good Quantity of this Copper out of the Old *Ziment*, and among the reſt a Piece of Copper of the Figure of a Heart, which had been laid in it eleven or twelve Days before, having the ſame Figure, but was as perfectly Iron then, as it is Copper at this Day. Some will not allow this to be a Tranſmutation of one Metal into another, but that this Water being ſaturated with the *Vitriolum Veneris*, and meeting with a Body ſo apt to receive it, as the *Mars*, or Iron, it depoſes *Venus*, who immediately inſinuating herſelf into *Mars*, precipitates his Subſtance, and in Lieu thereof, ſubſtitutes her own Body. But this Opinion is ſufficiently contradicted by Experience; for though, in the Changing of Iron into Copper, many Parts are ſeparated, and lie at the Bottom of the *Ziment*, yet the ſame melted, produces no Iron, but an excellent Copper, as I found it by my own Experience. I have ſince ſeen ſuch a Kind of Tranſmutation attempted by Art, and not without Succeſs, which deſerves Conſideration. After having taken a full View of the Mine, I was reconducted to the Surveyor's Houſe, who entertain'd me very handſomely, preſented me with a Chain of Copper tranſmuted in thoſe Springs; and among other Curioſities, ſhew'd me an exact Map of this Mine, with moſt curious Delineations of all its Paſſages, with a Scale to meaſure the Diſtances of the Places in the Mine; which, for its Extent, Number of People, and admirable Order, might well be compared to a very conſiderable ſubterraneous City. I ſaw him take ſome Copper Ore, which being well heated, and caſt into common Water, made it like the natural Baths which ariſe near theſe Hills. At parting, we drank out of a Cup made of this tranſmuted Iron, gilt over, having a rich Piece of Silver Ore faſtened in the Middle of it, with this Inſcription engraven on the Outſide:

Eiſen ware ich, Kupſer bin ich
Silberg trag ich, Goldt bedeckt mich. i. e.

Copper I am, but Iron I was of old;
Silver I carry, cover'd I am with Gold.

The yearly Profit ariſing to the Emperor from his Mines, is computed at 120,000*l.* Sterling. But if more of thoſe Vitriol Springs ſhould be diſcovered (as ſome have already been at *Zolnock*, and other Places near the *Carpathian* Hills) the ſame would be conſiderably increaſed. But if like Springs ſaturated with the Vitriol of Silver, ſhould be diſcovered near the Silver Mines, and the ſame by a ſkilful Artiſt, improved to the beſt Advantage, the Profit likely to ariſe from ſuch a Tranſmutation, would amount to an immenſe Sum.

38. From *Herrn-grundt*, we travel'd to *Stubn*, about twenty *Engliſh* Miles from *Newſol*, and fourteen from *Chremnitz*. Here we ſaw, near a Brook, ſeveral hot Baths, highly eſteem'd, and much frequented; the Water is very tranſparent, of a ſulphureous Smell, with a green Sediment; it colours the Wood over it green and black, but does not change the Colour of Metals ſo ſoon as moſt others: I left Money in it a whole Night, which I found but faintly colour'd.

There are ſeven Baths here: 1. The Nobleman's Bath. 2. The Gentleman's. 3. The Country-man's. 4. The Country-woman's. 5. The Beggar's Bath. 6. For ſuch as are infected with the *French* Diſeaſe. 7. The Gypſies Bath. They are much of the ſame Degree of Heat as the King's Bath in *England*, in a fine Plain, ſurrounded with Mountains, thoſe to the Eaſt being the ſame, which on the other Side are ſo rich in Metals. From *Stuba* we went on to *Boinitz*, croſſing the River *Nitras*, and leaving *Privitz*, a large Town, to the Left of us. At *Boinitz* are alſo five natural Baths, of a very gentle Heat, covered all of them under one large Roof. Into the Nobleman's Bath you deſcend on all Sides by ſtrong Stairs, the other four being of Wood, but handſomely built.

From hence we continued our Journey to *Weſtonitz*, fourteen *Engliſh* Miles, and the next Day to *Trenſchin*, which they count four *Hungarian*, or twenty eight *Engliſh* Miles, which took us up a whole long Day's Journey. *Trenſchin* is a very handſome City upon the River *Waag*, having a very handſome wooden Bridge over that River, and a fair Piazza. The Jeſuits Church is a noble Structure, and the Caſtle (belonging to Count *Jellbaſey*,) ſeated very high; about a Mile from the City are two choice Baths, and the country hereabouts affords ſeveral good Springs of Mineral Waters. Here it was that we met with Count *Rothal*, who being then on his Way to *Eperies* in Upper *Hungary*, to treat in the Quality of the Emperor's Commiſſioner, with thoſe of *Abaffi* Prince of *Tranſylvania*; I engaged ſome of his Attendants to make an Enquiry into the Salt Mines there, of which they afterwards gave me the following Account.

39. About two *Engliſh* Miles from the ſaid City of *Eperies*, is a famous Salt Mine 180 Fathoms deep; for the moſt Part in an earthy, and not a rocky Ground.

The Miners deſcend it firſt by Ropes, and afterwards by Ladders. The Salt Veins are ſo large, that entire Pieces have been found of 10000 Pound Weight, which they commonly cut into long ſquare Pieces of two Foot in Length, and one in Thickneſs; which is afterwards ground betwixt two Stones. Tho' the Mine be cold and moiſt, yet is the Salt not eaſily diſſolved: Notwithſtanding which, great Part of the Water of the Mines is ſo much impregnated with Salt, that when boil'd, it affords a bluiſh Salt, which the Country People give their Cattle. The Colour of the Stone Salt of this Mine is ſomewhat inclining to a grey; but when ground to Powder is very white, and conſiſts of pointed Parts, or Foſſets. Another Sort of Salt there is alſo, which conſiſts of Squares and Tables; and they have a third Sort with long Shoots. There is alſo ſome Difference in the Colour of the Salt of this Mine, ſome of which is groſsly mix'd with the Earth participating much of its Colour; and even that which is as pure as Cryſtal, often receives divers Tinctures: I ſaw once in the Middle of a Cryſtal Salt, with long Shoots, a delicate blue; and at the Count of *Rothal*'s a large Piece of a tranſparent yellow; ſome Pieces are ſo clear and ſo hard, that they carve them into different Shapes and Figures like Cryſtal. Of all theſe Sorts I brought ſome Pieces with me to *England*. But it is Time to take our Farewell of the Mines, and to return to our Journey; which we continued near to the River *Waag*, to *Novo Mneſto*; and the next Day to *Tirnaw*, ſeated in a Plain. The following Day we reach'd the *Danube*, and took up our Quarters that Night at *Preſburgh*, (of which we have ſpoken before.) Here paſſing the *Danube* in two Ferry-boats, we travelled by *Homburg* Tower, by *Haimberg* Hill, by the Town of *Haimberg*, by *Rogelſbrun*, *Viſchet*, and *Swechet* to *Vienna*. We obſerved in thoſe Countries in Upper *Hungary*, through which we paſſed, Things wore a quite different Face from that of *Auſtria*, and from what in all Likelihood they have been formerly; moſt of them having been ſubject to the Ravages of the *Turks* and *Tartars* in the laſt War, and ſome of them being forced even now to pay a yearly Tribute to the *Turks*. The Inhabitants live ſo meanly, that they ſcarce afford themſelves neceſſary Furniture for their Houſes. Even in thoſe Countries under the Emperor's Juriſdiction, many of the Inhabitants being either *Lutherans* or *Calviniſts*, and in conſtant Fear from the *Roman* Clergy, are but little ſatisfied in their Condition.

Formerly almoſt all the Mine Towns were inhabited by *Lutherans*, but now the Officers are all *Roman Catholicks*. And at *Schemnitz*, one of the *Lutheran* Churches was taken from them. And we were informed, that Count *Palfi* had enjoin'd all his *Lutheran* Tenants, at and about *Boinitz*, either to change their Religion, or to quit their Houſes and Lands. You meet alſo in Places of *Hungary* with *Anabaptiſts*; and near the Frontiers of *Tranſylvania*, with *Unitarians*. Even the *Roman Catholick Hungarians* are not a little jealous of the *Germans*, and the Court of *Vienna*; becauſe they think them preferr'd before them, and that their Privileges are not well maintained, which is the true Source of almoſt univerſal Diſaffection.

APPENDIX to the former SECTION.

A Journey from *Vienna* to *Venice* by Land, with a diſtinct Account of the Quickſilver-Mines in *Friuli*, including the Author's Obſervations in his Paſſage through *Styria*, *Carinthia*, and *Carniola*.

By Dr. EDWARD BROWNE.

1. *The Deſign of the Author's Journey. A Deſcription of the Baths at* Baden, *four* German *Miles from* Vienna. *Remarks upon the Nature and Uſe of thoſe Baths.* 2. *A Deſcription of the City of* Neuſtadt, *and ſome other Places in* Auſtria. 3. *An Account of the Town of* St. Veit, *or* St. Faith, *the Antiquities in its Neighbourhood, and the ſingular Method of inſtalling a Duke of* Carinthia. 4. *A Deſcription of various Antiquities in this Neighbourhood, and of the Civilities paid to the Author, by ſeveral* Scotch *Officers in the* Imperial *Service.* 5. *The wonderful Paſſage into* Carniola *through Mount* Luibel, *reſembling that of* Pauſilipo *in the Kingdom of* Naples. 6. *An Account of the ancient* Nauportus, *famous for the Landing there of the* Argonauts. 7. *A curious and copious Deſcription of the* Zirchnitzer-See, *eſteemed the greateſt natural Curioſity of its Kind in the World.* 8. *The Author's Journey to, and Deſcription of the Quick-ſilver-Mines at* Idria *in* Friuli. 9. *The Author's Remarks upon the Country and Inhabitants.* 10. *An Account of* Palmanova, *a Fortreſs of the* Venetians, *held at this Time to be the beſt in* Europe, *and conſidered as the great Bulwark of that State againſt the* Turks. 11. *The Author continues his Journey to* Venice, *and after a ſhort Stay there, reſolves to return by Land to* Vienna. 12. *A curious Deſcription of the* Venetian *Dominions on that Side, and of the different Manners of the People on the oppoſite Sides of the Bridge over the* Fella. 13. *Some further Remarks upon the Country of* Carinthia, *and on the Lead and Quickſilver-Mines therein.* 14. *The Author's Remarks on the moſt conſiderable Paſſages in his Journey.* 15. *Some additional Obſervations upon the foregoing Sections.*

1. AFTER having taken a View of ſeveral Places about the City of *Vienna*, I made a Journey to *Venice* on Horſeback, for the Conveniency of ſtaying at a Place, or going out of the Road at Pleaſure. The firſt Place of Note we ſaw was *Baden*, four *German* Leagues from *Vienna*, a walled Town, ſeated near a Branch of Mount *Cetius*, the common Boundary of *Noricum* and *Pannonia*. Near the City paſſes a River call'd *Swecht*, which about a *German* League from *Vienna* falls into the *Danube*. It has three Churches, that of the *Auſtin* Friars, of *our Lady*, and St. *Stephen*. But what makes this Place moſt remarkable, are its nine Baths, two whereof are within the Town, five without the Wall, and two beyond the before-mentioned Rivulet.

The *Duke's-Bath*, being the chief and by much the largeſt, is twenty Foot ſquare, in the Middle of a Houſe of the ſame Figure built over it: The Vapours paſs through a wooden Tunnel at the Top, but the Water is carried in at one Corner of the Bath, near the Bottom, by wooden Pipes, under the Town-Wall from the Spring-head, which riſes not far thence to the Weſtward.

The Springs of all the other Baths are conveyed into them through Holes of the Plancher, they being on all Sides cover'd with Wainſcot. The Water is generally tranſparent, inclining ſomething to a Blue, and makes the Skin appear pale, like the Smoak of Brimſtone: It turns Metals black in a few Minutes, except Gold (the Colour of which it heightens,) but the Coin of the Country (which is a Mixture of Copper and Silver,) it turns in an Inſtant from a White, into a dark Yellow, which however ſoon after turns black.

The Water gives a delicious green Colour to the Plants it waſhes, and ſometimes leaves a Scum upon them, of a Purple mix'd with white. Near the Spring-head it has a great Reſemblance to the Sulphur River between *Tivoli* and *Rome*, but its Scent is not ſo nauſeous, nor does it incruſtate its Banks as that does.

This Spring-head is worth the Obſervation of a curious Traveller, in Regard it riſes under a rocky Hill, into which is cut an arched Paſſage of forty Yards Length, through which I paſſed, and found it as hot as a Stove, occaſioned by the hot Spring-Water running under it, (like that of *Tritola* and *Bajæ*) the greateſt Part of this Cave being incruſtated on the Tops with a white Subſtance, which towards the Entrance becomes harder and ſtronger. I had ſome of the Pipes which conveys the Bath-Water opened; and from the Upper Part of theſe Pipes took off a good Quantity of Powder like Flower of Brimſtone ſublimated; whereas nothing like it was found in the lowermoſt Parts of the ſame Pipes. I dropp'd *Oleum Sulphuris per Campanam* into this Water, which it received without the leaſt Agitation: But the *Oleum Tartari per deliquium* dropp'd into it, cauſed an Ebullition, as in the making of *Tartar Vitrolate*.

The (2d) Bath within the Wall is call'd, *Our Lady's Bath*, being about twelve Foot broad, and twenty four in Length, and one End of it under a Church of the ſame Name. This ſeems to be more impregnated with Sulphur than the reſt, and is bluer, leaving a yellow Flower upon the Boards, as the reſt do a white. The (3d) is the *New Bath* without the Gate. The (4th) the *Jews Bath*, having a Partition in the Middle to ſeparate the Men from the Women. The (5th) St. *John*'s *Bath*, of a triangular Figure. The (6th) the *Beggars Bath*; ſo ſhallow, that they are forced to be drawn in it. The (7th) is the *Bath of the Holy Croſs*, about two Fathoms ſquare, intended for the Clergy. The (8th) St. *Peter*'s *Bath*, the Waters of which are greener than the reſt. The (9th) is the *Sour Bath*, ſet about with Stone Balaſters, with a fair *Cupolo* and Lanthorn on the Top. The Water of it is very tranſparent, and will colour Money black without touching it; but if once cold, will not change the Colour of Metals although they be boil'd in it. The hotteſt of theſe Baths reach not the Heat of the Queen's Bath in *England*. They uſe no Guides here, but direct themſelves with a ſhort turn'd Staff.

2. A Captain in the Emperor's Service preſented me with a *Gempſkugel*, which is ſaid to be an Excreſcence upon the Liver of a *Rupicapra*, or wild Goat, in the Mountains of *Tyrol*, to which they attribute a ſignal Virtue in the Diſeaſes of the Liver, malignant Fevers, and the Plague itſelf. The Soldiers of theſe Parts make great Account of it, being poſſeſs'd with an Opinion, that it renders them invulnerable for two Hours after they have taken it. From hence I travelled on to *Newſtadt*, one of the moſt conſiderable Cities of *Auſtria*: It is of a ſquare Figure, having a Piazza in the middle; it has four Gates, three whereof are to be ſeen from the Piazza. St. *James*'s Church has two Steeples in the Front. The Emperor has a large ſquare Caſtle here, having a Tower on each Corner, which, as well as the greateſt Part of the Town, is to be ſeen at a great Diſtance, its Situation being in a low marſhy Ground encompaſs'd with a Ditch and a double Wall. Here Count *Peter Serini*, and *Frangipani*, the Heads of the late intended Rebellion in *Hungary*, were beheaded.

From hence we went on through the Plains towards Mount *Simeron* (Part of Mount *Cetius*,) upon the Top whereof you ſee a great Heap of Stones, which make the Boundary betwixt *Auſtria* and *Styria*; the Aſcent of it is very rocky, and ſo ſteep, that twenty four Horſes, or Oxen, are ſcarce able to draw up a Coach with Safety. In our Way we paſſed by *Newkirckel*, where is a Chapel with a little red Pinnacle, built, as they ſay, by an *Engliſh* King, and lodged that Night at *Schotwein*, or *Schadtwein*, a ſtrong Town, ſituate on the Paſſage leading up to the Rocks betwixt the Hills; the Houſes on the Sides of the Rocks being inacceſſible but from the Top. This Town having the Mountain on both Sides, and being ſhut up with a Gate at each End, is therefore by ſome ſtiled *Clauſtra Auſtriæ*; and a ſmall Brook coming down from the Hills, paſſes under the Wall of it. From hence we travelled to *Mehrzuſchlag*, where they beat out Iron into Bars: From thence paſſing by a ſwift Rivulet call'd *Murtz*, to *Keimburg*, and by a Caſtle belonging to the Family of *Stubnberg*, one of the moſt ancient in *Germany*, came to *Prug*,. or *Muripons*, a well built Town, with a fair Piazza, ſeated upon the River *Mur*, or *Muer*, a ſwift large River, but not navigable. There is another Town of the ſame Name upon the River *Leyta*, call'd *Prug* upon the *Leyta* for Diſtinction Sake.

3. We went on from hence to *Lubeim*, where the Staple of Iron is; and thence to *Knitelfeldt* and *Judenburg*, along the River *Mur*. The next Day to *Hundsmark* and *Newmark*, and ſo to *Freiſach*, ſuppoſed by ſome to have been *Virunum*, and by others *Vacorium*, in Sight of *Altenhofn*, the Caſtle of *Itrowitz*, and the Caſtle of *Tottenbrun*, which belongs to the Archbiſhop of *Saltzburg*. From hence we travell'd to St. *Veit*, or St. *Faiths*, (*Vitapolis*) formerly the Capital of *Carinthia*, ſeated at the Confluence of the two Rivers *Glan* and *Wanich*, encompaſſed with a Wall; it has ſix Churches, and a handſome Piazza, in which ſtands a noble Fountain, the Baſon being of white Marble cut out of one Stone, five Fathom in Circumference, which was brought hither from *Saal*, or *Zolfeldt*, a Place near it, abounding with *Roman* Antiquities, of which this is one.

In Sight of this City are four conſiderable Hills, *viz.* that of St. *Veit*, St. *Ulrick*, St. *Laurence*, and St. *Helena*, with a Chapel upon each of them; to all which, upon a certain Day in the Year, the Inhabitants, for thirty *Engliſh* Miles round, come in Pilgrimage on Foot. We had here the Diverſion of a *Latin* Comedy at the *Franciſcans* Convent; it being then in *May*, we found the higher Hills covered with Snow, whereas the lower were very green, and full of Fir and Larch-Trees. Many of the Inhabitants here are troubled with hard Tumours in their Throats, ſome as big as their Heads (*Strumatici*,) which they are obliged to cover in cold Weather, when they are much diſcolour'd. There is an Hoſpital without the City for thoſe, as well as ſome others that are Blind, Dumb, and Changelings. We obſerved however, that the better Sort of People, who uſe a good Diet, were ſeldom troubled with this Diſtemper, though their Throats much exceeded in Bigneſs thoſe I ſaw before in the *Alpine* Parts of *Savoy*.

From hence we continued our Journey to *Saal*, or *Solua*, an ancient *Roman* Colony, mentioned in the Map of *Wolfgangus Lazius*, by the Name of *Colonia Soluenſis*, with a Field near it call'd *Ager Soluenſis*, or *Zolfeldt*; a Place noted for *Roman* Antiquities, many of which have been carried away into other Parts. Here I ſaw that ſo much celebrated Piece of Antiquity of the King's Chairs; being of Stone, ſet together in the Form of two Elbow-Chairs, turn'd back to back. Upon three of the Stones are Inſcriptions, which appear to be much more ancient than the Fabrick of the Chair. At the inſtalling of the Duke of *Carinthia* (whether a King or Emperor) either he or his Repreſentative ſits in that Part of the Chair which faces the Eaſt, a Peaſant ſitting at the ſame Time in the other Part to the Weſt. Among other Ceremonies, the Peaſant riſing up, preſents the Duke with a fat and lean Ox; the Duke being obliged to return the fat one, and keep the lean one, receives afterwards a gentle Box on the Ear, from the ſame Peaſant; and the Inſtalment is thus concluded.

The Church of *Saal* having had the good Fortune to eſcape the Fury of the barbarous Nations, is very ancient; and on the Walls has many old *Roman* Antiquities of *Baſſo relievo*, taken firſt out of *Zolfeldt*. Among many others, I took particular Notice of theſe: *A Chariot drawn by two Horſes. A Chariot with a Man in it. A Wolf licking of Fruit fallen from a Tree.* Hector *drawn behind* Achilles *his Chariot about* Troy. *Four very fair Heads unto the Middle. Two Wolves, each holding a Horn and a Cup between them, out of which ſhoots a Vine with Leaves and Grapes*; this is over the Porch. Within the Porch is a *Cupid holding of a Bunch of Grapes*; Romulus *and* Remus *ſucking of a Wolf*. Two Figures over the Crucifix by St. *Chriſtopher*, with ſome others; all which, as I told you, were brought hither from *Zolfeldt*, where I alſo ſaw many Inſcriptions; one upon a Stone on the South-ſide of the Church was this;

HERCVLI. *E*
EPONAE. AVG.
PROSALUTE. IMP.
CAES. M. AVR.
ANTONINI. PII. FE.
LICIS. INVICTI.

As alſo ſeveral *Roman* Coins of Copper and Silver found in thoſe Parts. I brought away a Golden Medal of *Trajan*.

We went from thence to *Clagenfurt*, (the ancient *Claudia*) now the capital City of *Carinthia*, being a handſome four-ſquare Town, well fortified with a ſtrong Wall, and a broad Rampart. Its Streets are very regular; and the Piazza in the Middle, being adorned with a Marble Column hath a Statue of the Virgin *Mary* upon it, as alſo a Statue of the Emperor, and, what exceeds all the reſt, hath a moſt noble Fountain in the Center, over which is a Dragon of a prodigious Size, made out of one Stone, *Hercules* with his Club ſtanding before it. This was likewiſe brought from *Zolfeldt*. Theſe mountainous Parts afford three noble maſſy Fountains, *viz.* thoſe two of St. *Veit* and *Clagenfurt*, and that of *Saltzburg* of white Marble. *Clagenfurt* being at that Time full of Soldiers, we were very civilly entertained by ſeveral of the Officers, but more eſpecially by Count *Leſley* their Commander in Chief, Baron *Hay*, and Lord *Paiſley*, who carried me in the Count's Barge through an artificial ſtreight Channel into the *Werd Sea*, or Lake of *Clagenfurt*, to a Country Seat call'd *Loretto*, moſt pleaſantly ſeated; having a Chapel belonging to it, built in Imitation of that of *Loretto* in *Italy*, which I found exactly conformable to the Original.

5. From *Clagenfurt*, we turned to the South, and after ſix or ſeven *Engliſh* Miles, paſs'd the River *Drave* over two wooden Bridges with an Iſland in the Middle; and within two Hours after entring among the Hills at a Place call'd *Hammer*, (where the Iron is beat out) continued my Journey towards the high and great Mountain of *Luibel*. Soon after we ſaw ourſelves arrived by the oddeſt Deſert of Rocks that can well be imagined, at a great *Caſcata* or Water fall, which having worn out the Rocks underneath, appears at firſt Sight to be artificial. The Aſcent is very ſurpriſing, being encloſed with Walls, turning backwards and forwards, to the very Pinnacle of this great Mountain *Luibel*, Part of the *Carnick Alpes*, dividing *Carinthia* and *Carniola*. Coming up as high as the ſteep Rocks and Peaks would let us, we were amazed to ſee our Guide lead us Sideways through an artificial Road into a Paſſage cut quite through the Mountain, like the famous Grotto of *Pauſilipo* by *Naples*. It has a Roof of Wood-work in the Middle, which is continued unto the *Carniolian* Side. The Roof of this Paſſage is very high, its Length 156 Yards, and four Yards in Breadth, affording daily Paſſages for Country Carriages and Carts.

Having never heard or read of this ſurpriſing Paſſage, I at firſt imagined it to be ſome old *Roman* Work, till I was credibly informed, that it was much later, there being formerly no Paſſage into *Carniola* this Way; but People entred it by going about a great Way by *Villach*. In aſcending this high Mountain, being infeſted with much Rain, and a fierce Storm, till we came to the higheſt Part of it, I had the Opportunity to ſee the Clouds deſcend, and after it was paſs'd to aſcend again ſo high, as to get over Part of the Mountain, and a Stream of them paſs'd through the rocky Paſſage out of *Carniola* to the *Carinthian* Side, directly contrary to our Way, who came out of *Carinthia* into *Carinola*. As we reached this Grotto by a continual Aſcent, ſo no ſooner were we got through it, but we deſcended by Degrees, firſt to St. *Anna*, two *Engliſh* Miles downward, next to *Newſtattle*, ſix or ſeven Miles lower, and ſo deſcending ſtill till we came to *Crainburg*, (the old *Carnodunum*) a handſome Town, ſeated upon the River *Save*, from whence, through a very pleaſant Plain four *German* Leagues long, we came to *Labach (Lubiana)* the capital City of *Carniola*, through which runs the River of the ſame Name, which afterwards diſcharges itſelf into the *Save*. This is a very handſome City, its Caſtle, which is ſituate upon a Hill, overlooking two large Valleys to the N. and S. but being commanded by another Hill that lies near it, its Fortifications are neglected of late Years. Mr. *Toſh*, a *Scotch* Apothecary in this City, ſhew'd me various curious Minerals of thoſe Parts.

6. *Labach* is ſuppoſed to be the ancient *Nauportus*, ſo famous for the Landing of the *Argonauts*, who ſetting out from *Argos Pelaſgicum* in *Theſſaly*, ſail'd to *Colchos*, on the Eaſt ſide of the *Euxine Sea*; but being purſued by the Veſſels of the King of *Colchos*, ſteer'd their Courſe Northward to the Mouth of the *Danube*, and paſſing up that River, till they came to the Confluence thereof with the *Save*, they next went up the *Save*, and ſo the River *Labach*, till they landed at this Place call'd anciently *Naupertus*, from whence they return'd by the Way of the *Adriatick Sea* into *Greece*. So that in my Travels I had been near the Place of their ſetting out in *Theſſaly*, and at their Landing-place in *Carniola*.

From *Labach* we travel'd towards the *Zirchnitzer See*, or that famous and moſt ſurpriſing Lake of *Zirchnitz*, having the Marſhes on our Right, and the Hills on our left Hand, till we came to *Breunitza*; and then paſſing over them, we reach'd *Zirchnitz*, a Town ſcarce containing three hundred Houſes, but which has given its Name to that ſtupendous adjacent Lake. Here, having received the neceſſary Directions and Accommodations from the Hands of the Judge of the Place, for viewing of the Lakes, we went to *Seedorff*, a Village about half a Mile nearer the Lake, and thence to *Niderdorff*, where we took Boat, and ſpent ſome Time in taking an exact View of the Lake.

7. This Lake is about nine or ten *Engliſh* Miles long, and half as broad, encloſed with Hills at ſome Diſtance, and to the South-ſide with the *Birnbaumir* Foreſt, of a great Extent, and ſaid to abound with Deers, Wild Boars, Foxes, Wolves, and Bears.

What makes this Lake moſt remarkable, or rather ſurpriſing, is, that every Year, in ſome Part of the Month of *June*, the Water thereof deſcends through certain Holes at the Bottom, under Ground; and in the Month of *September* returns by the ſame Ways, with a very ſpeedy Aſcent, riſing up to the Height of a Pike, and ſo covering the Ground again. Whilſt the Water remains under Ground, the Earth produces very ſpeedily great Plenty of Graſs, yielding Food for Cattle in the Winter; and during that Time, you may ſee the Hares, Deer, and other Wild Beaſts, reſort thither from the adjacent Foreſts, of which great Numbers are then taken by the Country People.

The Lake affords vaſt Plenty of Fiſh, though that as well as Part of the adjacent Country being a Lordſhip belonging to the Prince of *Eckenberg*, the Country are not allow'd the Liberty of Fiſhing, except upon the retiring of the Water, when they take vaſt Numbers of them, by intercepting their Paſſages as they are going under Ground. As far as I was able to learn, this Lake brings not up any unknown Fiſh at the Return of the Waters, but only ſuch as went down, and are found in moſt other Lakes, ſuch as Carp, Tench, Eels, the which having ſpawn'd before they go down, the Fry has about three Months Growth, when they are brought up again through the ſame ſubterraneous Paſſages.

The Water in this Lake is of a very different Depth, in ſome Places not above four Foot, and not far thence perhaps twenty Yards; ſo that the Ground being as it were divided into ſmall Hills and Valleys, the Fiſhermen have given peculiar Names to ſeven of them, which in the *Sclavonian* (this Country Language) are, *Vodanas, Reſhetu, Sitarza, Ribiſhkiama, Nakniſhu, Leviſhe, Kottel.* I myſelf paſs'd over five of the aforementioned Valleys, and ſaw a remarkable Stone call'd the *Fiſhers Stone*, becauſe, by its Appearance, they gueſs when the Water will begin to retreat under Ground; as alſo by a peculiar Hill, which being higher than the reſt, becomes a pleaſant Iſland at the Return of the Water.

Upon the moſt exact Enquiry I could make, I could not find that this Lake had fail'd one Year to deſcend and aſcend again; or how long it was ſince this Property had firſt been obſerved; ſo that it ſeems more than probable, that this Lake does not owe its Riſe to any Earthquake, but has been the ſame from all Antiquity, and, if my Conjecture fails me not, is the *Lugea Palus* of *Strabo*, who, notwithſtanding this, as well as all the other ancient Geographers, make not the leaſt Mention of this ſurpriſing Quality.

The neareſt Part of the Sea unto this Lake is the *Sinus Tergeſtinus*, and *Sinus Flanaticus*, or the Gulph of *Trieſte*, and the Gulph of *Quevero*. At within a few Miles Diſtance, divers conſiderable Rivers have their Sources, as the *Labach*, the *Corkoras* or *Gurk*, the *Colapis* or *Culp*, which falls into *Save*, and the *Vipao* or *Amnis Frigidus*, which runs into *Lyſonſo* by *Goritia*, beſides divers others. I obſerved the Ground about this Lake very hollow, and full of Caverns: The like I took Notice of in ſeveral other Parts of *Carniola*, not unlike unto *Elden* Hole in *Derbyſhire*; and, if we may give Credit to what ſeveral of the beſt Perſons at *Zirchnitz* aſſured us, the Prince of *Eckenberg* had the Curioſity to go into one of thoſe Caverns, and came out again upon the Side of a Hill.

8. Being upon my Departure, I was in ſome Doubt, whether I ſhould go to *Threſte*, (*Tergeſtum*) a Sea-port in the *Adriatick Sea*, belonging to the Emperor, and thence by Ship to *Venice*; but having a great Curioſity to ſee the famous Quickſilver Mine at *Idria* in the Country of *Goritia*, I went from *Zirchnitz* to *Lovec*, and paſſing through the mountainous Parts of that Country, came to *Idria*, encloſed with Hills on all Sides, a River of the ſome Name running juſt by it; which is ſtiled by *Leandrio Alberti*, *ſuperbiſſimo fiume d' Idria*, though it was very ſmall and ſhallow then, and after great Rains ſcarce has Water enough to carry down the Fir-trees, and other Wood made uſe of in the Mines, for Building and Fuel, which being caſt into the Water above this Place, are ſtop'd by ſome Piles ſet croſs the River, as we obſerved in the River *Gran* near *Newſol*.

The only Thing that makes this Town worth taking Notice of, are the adjacent Quickſilver Mines; the Entrance into which being ſomewhat lower than the Town itſelf, this makes them ſomewhat ſubject to Water-floods, to empty which, they are provided with excellent Engines, and other Devices: The deepeſt Part of the Mine, from its Entrance, is betwixt 120 and 130 Fathoms. This Mine affords two Sorts of Quickſilver; one call'd the Virgin Quickſilver, the other plain Quickſilver. They call Virgin Quickſilver that which diſcovers itſelf without the Aſſiſtance of Fire, and is either found in the Earth or Ore naturally as it is, or falls in ſmall Drops, or ſometimes ſtreams out in a conſiderable Quantity down into the Mine. Thus ſeven Years before I ſaw it, they had ſuch a Stream coming from the Earth, which at firſt was as ſmall as a common Thread, and afterwards as big as a good Pack-thread, but did not continue for above two or three Days. They alſo reckon that Sort of Quickſilver, Virgin Mercury, which is ſeparated by Water in a Sieve firſt, and afterwards in a long Trough with ſmall Holes at one End, without the Help of any Fire.

Plain Quickſilver, or Mercury ſimply ſo called, is that, which being not at firſt perceivable to the Eye, is forced by Fire either out of the Ore or native Cinnabar of Mercury, which they dig out of this Mine. The Ore is of a dark brown Colour, mix'd with red, but the beſt is a hard Stone, which before they put into the Fire, is firſt groſly powder'd and work'd by the Sieve, to ſeparate the Virgin Quickſilver, if any be found in it. The Quickſilver Ore of this Mine is the richeſt of all that ever I ſaw, for it generally contains half Quickſilver, or in two Parts of Ore one Part of Quickſilver; and ſometimes, in three Parts of Ore, two Parts of Quickſilver. I deſcended this Mine by the Pit of St. *Agatha*, by Ladders, and came up again by that of St. *Barbara*; an Aſcent of 639 Staves or 89 Fathoms. I ſaw in the Laboratory, where the Quickſilver is ſeparated by the Force of Fire, 16,000 Retorts of Iron, each of which coſts a Crown at the Iron Furnaces in *Carinthia*. They employ at once 8000 Retorts, with as many Recipients, for the drawing over the Quickſilver in ſixteen Furnaces, fifty Retorts in each, *viz.* twenty-five on a Side, twelve above and thirteen below of each Side.

June the 12th, 1669, When I was there I ſaw them carry away into Foreign Parts forty Saumes of Quickſilver, each Saume containing 315 Pounds Weight, to the Value of 4000 Ducats: It is carried upon Horſes Backs, two ſmall Barrels upon each Horſe. In the Caſtle I ſaw 3000 Saumes of Quickſilver at once, all made up in double Leather, and in another Houſe as much of the beſt Ore as could be ſeparated in two Years Time, unleſs they ſhould have more than ordinary Plenty of Wood coming down by the Rains; though, by reaſon of the high Hills about them, it ſnows oftner here than it rains.

It is a Cuſtom for all the Strangers who come into the Caſtle of *Idria*, to have their Names ſet down in a Regiſter-Book kept for that Purpoſe, with the Names of their Native Country. In the large Catalogue thereof, we met with but few *Engliſh* Mens Names, and of late Years only with Mr. *Evelyn* and Mr. *Pope*'s Names, with their Companies, who after their Return, had their Obſervations inſerted in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions*. As the better Sort of the Inhabitants of this Town generally ſpeak five Languages, *viz.* the *Friulian*, *Sclavonian*, *German*, *Latin* and *Italian*, (beſides that ſome alſo ſpeak *French*) ſo it is very fit for the Reception of Strangers.

9. From *Idria* we paſſed the *Swartzenb.rg* or Black-Mountain, and deſcending ten Miles through a ſtony Country, came to *Adeſhini*, and ſo to *Goritia* (the old *Norja*) the chief City of the Country of *Goritia*, pleaſantly ſeated, over-looking a fair Plain to the South. The Imperial Governor reſides in the Caſtle, having a Guard to attend his Perſon. As we were travelling in the Night-time, we had ſometimes about us a great Number of large Glow-worms, which put in Papers, gave a dim Light, and in ſome Places in the Plains the Air was full of flaming Flies. There is Abundance of that neat kind of Acer, whereof Violins and other Mu-

ſical Inſtruments are made, as well in thoſe Parts as in *Carinthia*, and the Archbiſhoprick of *Saltzburg*, where they make Trenchers and Tables of it, and ſell them at a cheap Rate; I brought ſome of the fair broad Leaves from thence.

Leaving *Goritia*, I paſs'd the River *Soncius* or *Lizonſo*, which riſing near the Hills, empties itſelf into the *Adriatick* Sea, famous for the Death of *Odoacer*, who was ſlain near it in a Battle by *Theodorick* King of the *Goths*, and the Inroad of the *Turks* made hereabouts, in 1477, under the Reign of *Mahomet* the *Great*; after which, travelling through the Meadows, we came unto the ſtrong City of *Palma Nova*, built ſince by the *Venetians* to prevent the like Incurſions. All this long Circuit, till within a Mile of *Palma Nova*, we travelled through the Emperor's Dominions, which are much larger than generally apprehended; and as I have ſooner or later ſeen the greateſt Part of them, I can't but think him a great and powerful Prince, he being in Poſſeſſion of all *Auſtria*, *Styria*, *Carinthia*, *Carniola*, Part of *Croatia*; *Iſtria* and *Friuli*, Part of *Alſatia*; *Tyrol*, *Bohemia*, *Moravia*, *Sileſia*, Part of *Luſatia*; and a conſiderable Part of *Hungary*.

10. *Palma Nova* in *Friuli*, is the largeſt regular Fortification I ever met with in my Travels, having nine Baſtions, bearing the Names of as many noble *Venetians*; on each Courtain there are two Cavaliers, the Rampart is much higher than the Wall, and the Ditch thirty Paces broad, and twelve deep; being kept dry to render the Town more healthful, but may be fill'd in Caſe of Neceſſity. It has three Gates; viz. *Porta Maritima*, *Porta di Cividal*, and *Porta di Udine*. The three Baſtions *Foſcarini*, *Savorgnan*, and *Grimani*, lie betwixt the *Porta Maritima* and the *Porta di Udine*; thoſe three called *Barbara*, *Dona* and *Monte*, betwixt the *Porta di Udine* and *Porta di Cividal*; as thoſe of *Garzoni*, *Contarini* and *Villa Chiara* are betwixt the *Porta di Cividal* and the *Porta Maritima*. Each of theſe Gates were then covering with a very far Half-Moon. In the Middle of the City is a Sexangular *Piazza*, from whence there is a fair Proſpect to the three Gates, and ſix Streets quite through the Town. In the Centre of it is fix'd a Standard over a triple Well; the Front of the Cathedral facing the *Piazza*, which is alſo beautified with divers Statues; and a finely gilt Obeliſk. There is in the Middle of the Bridge an artificial Drawbridge, ſo contriv'd, that upon the Approach of any Force, the Centinel, by touching only an Iron Spring, can draw it up.

I have in my Travels made Obſervation of ſeveral Kinds of well-contriv'd Drawbridges, amongſt all which none pleaſed me better than thoſe of *Amſterdam*, which part in the Middle, ſo that the Maſt-head or Break-water of the Ship bearing againſt it, opens it, and affords a free Paſſage to the Veſſel without any other Help. The *Venetians* have made a Channel from *Palma Nova* to the Sea, capable of Veſſels of good Burthen. This Fortification, which was begun by the *Venetians* in 1594, is eſteem'd here one of the ſtrongeſt in *Europe*, having been contriv'd by the Advice of the beſt Engineers.

11. From *Palma Nova* I went to *Maran St. Vito*, a Port Town of the *Venetians* in *Friula*, ſo named from St. *Vito*, who is ſaid to have been buried in this Place. At this Town we took a *Felucca*, and ſailing by the Shore of *Friulia* or *Patria*, we paſſed by *Porto di Taiamento*, and came to *Caborle*. In this Iſland there is a Church dedicated to the bleſſed Virgin, ſeated upon the Sea-ſhore nigh the Waves, yet ſaid never to be overflowed by the Sea, being, as it were, the *Halcyon* Neſt of its Patroneſs, and a Place of remarkable Devotion. On this Shore we refreſhed ourſelves, and were diverted while at Sea, in ſeeing them take Shell-fiſh; and then paſſing by *Livenza*, where the Sea came formerly up as high as *Opitergium*, and afterwards by *Porto di Piave*, I arrived at *Venice*, entering by the *Porto de Caſtelli*, paſſing by the *Carthuſians* Convent, and landed at the Piazza of St. *Mark*. Here I found the whole City highly concerned for the hazardous State of *Candia*, which was loſt ſoon after; *Dominico Contarini*, the preſent Duke, was ſedulous in that Affair. The Voyage of *Ghiron Franciſco Marcheſe Villa*, General of the Infantry of *Candia*, with a Journal of a Siege, had been lately publiſhed, and was in many Hands. There was a Supply of Auxiliaries in good Readineſs. It was at that Time a more than ordinary hot Seaſon, and ſome of our *Engliſh* Sea-Captains and Maſters told me, that they had ſeldom met with ſuch hot Weather even between the Tropicks. Having formerly had a View of *Rome*, *Naples*, *Florence*, and the great Cities of *Italy*, and paſſed ſome Time at *Padoa* a few Years before, I made but a ſhort Stay about *Venice*; and having reviewed what was moſt conſiderable, and renewed my Acquaintance with ſome worthy courteous Friends at *Venice* and *Padoa*, Mr. *Hales* the Conſul, Mr. *Hobſon*, Dr. *Cadined*, and others, I diſpoſed my Affairs for my Return to *Vienna* the ordinary Way.

12. In order thereto, I took Boat at *Venice*, and landed at *Meſtre*, a pretty Town, and the beſt Place for Accommodation for ſuch as travel into *Germany* by *Tyrol*, or into *Auſtria* by *Friuli*; from hence I travelled ten Miles through a pleaſant plain Country, till I came to *Treviſo*, which gives its Name unto the Country about *La Marca Travigiana*, a handſome City adorned with good Houſes, Churches, Towers and Fountains. The clear River *Sile* or *Silo* runs through it, and afterwards into the Sea between *Meſtre* and *Murano*; it abounds in good Wines and Fruits, and was a chief Seat of the *Lombards* in theſe Parts. This old City, after having run various Fortunes, and being under the Subjection of the *Huns*, and other conquering Nations, and ſometimes obeyed the *Signiora della Scala*, and the *Carrareſi*, was united to the State of *Venice* in the Year 1388. It was converted to the Chriſtian Faith, by *Proſdochimus*, a Follower of St. *Peter*. Eight Miles from hence ſtood the ancient City *Altinum*, founded by *Antenor*, and deſtroyed by *Attila*. From thence I came to *Lovadina*, and croſſed the great River *Piave*, *Plavis*, or *Anaſſus*, which ariſing in the Mountains, paſſes by the Cities of *Belluna* and *Feltre*, then to *Concian* or *Coniglian*, and next to *Sacille* or *Sacillum*, formerly a Biſhop's See, under the Patriarch of *Aquileia*, a pleaſant and well built Place, eſteemed the Garden of the Republick, and ſeated by the River *Livenza*, or *Liquentia*, which paſſing by *Motta*, runs into the Gulf of *Venice*. Here I took a Guide to conduct me through the Plains and Meadows, and came to *Spilimbergo*, where I again took a Guide to croſs the ſwift River *Taiamento*, or *Tiliaventum*; this is eſteemed the greateſt River in *Friuli*, ariſing above in the *Julian Alpes*, and running down into the *Adriatick Sea*, and often overflowing a great Part of the plain Country. This ſwift River put a Stop to the Incurſion of the *Turks*, when *Scander*, Baſſa of *Illyria*, broke into *Friuli* with twelve thouſand Horſe, and deſtroyed all before him, in the Reign of Sultan *Bajazet* the IId. Not far from *Spilimbergo*, I paſſed a neat River or notable Cut, call'd, *La Brentella*, ſixteen Miles long, made by the *Venetians*, for the better bringing down of Wood from the Mountains, to be uſed in the making of Glaſſes at *Murano*: It is all paved with a good Stone Bottom and Sides; the Bottom is round, ſo that it is ſomewhat like a Tube opened or ſplit in two. Then I paſſed by St. *Daniel*, ſeated upon a Hill by *Hoſpitaletto*, and came to *Venſone*, a Town ſeated at the Beginning of the Hills, and formerly the Limit of the *Venetian* Dominions; thence by *Reſiuta* to *la Chiuſa*, a Place remarkable for the ſtraight Paſſage of the *Alps*, where the *Venetians* keep a Guard, and ſhut up the Paſſage every Night. From thence I came to *Ponteba* or *Ponte Fella*, upon the River *Fella*, the exact Confines between the *Venetian* and Imperial Dominions; and ſurely a Man can ſeldom paſs more clearly and diſtinctly, from one Country into another, than in this Town. On one Side of the Bridge live *Italians*, Subjects unto the State of *Venice*; on the other Side, *Germans*, Subjects unto the Emperor. Upon the one Side, their Buildings, their Manner of living, their empty Rooms, large Windows, Iron Bedſteads, ſhew them to be *Italians*: On the other Side immediately, their Stoves, higher Bedſteads, Feather Beds one over another, ſquare

Tables, and their Baſon and Cloth by the Wall, declare them to be *Germans*. The Bridge itſelf is alſo half *Italian*, half *Dutch*, one Part being built of Stone, and the other of great Trees laid over, after the *German* Faſhion of making Bridges. Between *Venſone* and *Ponteba* there are many great *Caſcata*'s, or Falls of Waters; but of ſeveral Paſſages of the *Alps*, this ſeemed unto me the beſt and moſt eaſy. In theſe mountainous Places I was entertain'd with ſtrange Stories of the Snow, which cover theſe Hills in the Winter; as how many Pikes Length the Snow was deep in ſome Places; how round the Country would look when all the craggy Rocks were cover'd; how a Snowball, thrown down from a Mountain, would ſo gather and augment in the Fall, as to do great Miſchief in the Valley; and that if the ſmalleſt Bird ſhould but ſcrape with her Foot at the Edge of an high Hill, that little Beginning might ſo increaſe in the Deſcent, upon a Thaw, as to overwhelm an Houſe at the Bottom.

13. From hence, by *Tervis* and *Tirl*, unto *Villach* or *Villack*, an handſome Town, and one of the chiefeſt in *Carinthia*; but before I came to *Villach*, I went to ſee the natural Baths, which were not much out of the Way, at the Foot of an Hill, about an *Engliſh* Mile from the Town, and in good Eſteem. There are two clear ſulphureous Baths, but very gently warm, and have an Acid, and no unpleaſant Taſte. The Bottom is not planchered nor paved, but hath its own natural Spring and Settlement with it; yet into one there is a hot Spring let in, which ariſes by it. They are large, and have Stairs to deſcend into them, with little Rooms of Wood about them for Accommodation: They are cover'd over, and they bathe in them cloathed with Shirt and Drawers, as in *Auſtria*. Not far fom hence is a Lake called the *Oſſiacker-See*, from *Oſſiack*, a Town upon the Side thereof, and is one of the moſt conſiderable Lakes in *Carinthia*, there being beſides it, theſe which are remarkable, the *White Lake*, the *Millſtatter*, the *Werd*, and the *Forchten*. This Lake doth not only abound in Fiſh, but affords great Plenty of *Oſſiacker* Nuts, which the People eat, and ſome make Bread of, which notwithſtanding, upon Examination, I found to be no other than very large Seeds of *Tribulus Aquaticus* or Water Gallthorps. From *Villach* I ſoon came to the *Werd-See*, and keeping it continually on my Right Hand, I travelled by the Side of it till I came to *Clagenfurte*, and then paſſed again to St. *Veits*, where I met Mr. *Donellan*, from whom, upon my former Deſires to him, I received an Account of the great Lead Mines in *Upper Carinthia*, at *Bleyberg*, where they have worked eleven hundred Years, and the Pits are deep. *Federnus Stollen* or *Cuniculus* is an hundred and ten Fathoms deep in the Earth, and the Hills ſo high about it, that upon the Melting of the Snow in the Spring, there is often much Hurt done, the Snow rolling and falling in ſuch vaſt Heaps, that nothing is able to reſiſt it; ſo that in the Year 1654, it fell ſo vehemently, that it deſtroyed and carried away ſixteen Houſes. He preſented me alſo with many handſome natural Curioſities, collected by him in thoſe Parts; one of which, among the reſt, I cannot but mention, which was a rich, large, fair Piece of natural Cinnabar, found in *Crewaltar*, in the Foreſt of *Cre*, two *German* Miles from St. *Veits*, in the Lordſhip of *Oſterwitz*, where there hath been great Quantities found out; for the *Herr von Standach* about thirty Years ago, as he was hunting in this Foreſt, being thirſty, and laying down to drink out of a Stream, which runs from the Top of the Hill, he perceived the Stream to be full of Cinnabar; but ſince it hath been ſo diligently ſearched after, that without working and digging for it there is none to be found. From St. *Viets* I continued my Journey by *Frieſach*, where formerly there was a Gold Mine, and then by *Newmark*, *Hundſmark*, *Peltſolz*, *Knitelfeldt*, *Luibm*, *Prug*, *Kemberg*, *Mehrz u Schlag*, *Schadtwien*, *Newkirckel*, *Newſtadt*, *Solnaw*, *Traſkirchell*, *Newdorff*, to *Vienna*.

14. This my Return from *Venice* to *Vienna*, about three hundred and fifty *Italian* Miles, was the moſt quiet Journey I ever made; for not meeting with good Company, I perform'd it alone, and upon one Horſe; and although there are ſeveral Nations, and no leſs than four Languages ſpoken upon this Road, yet I met with no Diſturbance from any, nor did any one aſk from whence I came, or whither I would go; no Trouble as to Bills of Health, and good Accommodations in the Inn at an eaſy Rate. They are, for the moſt part, a plain People, make good Soldiers, little mutinous, but obedient to Commands, and hardy, and are of good Uſe and Service unto the Emperor. In my Travels in *Germany*, I ſeldom failed to meet with *Jews*; but in this Journey I met with none, or ſuch as I could not well diſtinguiſh; for though there were then whole Villages of *Jews* in *Auſtria*, yet they were prohibited in *Styria*, and ſeverely baniſhed out of *Carinthia*; ſo that for thoſe *Jews*, who travelled between *Venice* and *Vienna*, the Emperor diſpenſes with them as to their Ruff, and the *Venetians* as to their Red Hat. I went this Journey when the Sun was in Cancer, in the hotteſt Time of the Year, and Heat was very offenſive to me in the great Plains of *Friuli* and *Auſtria*, but in the *Alps* it was much more moderate, and the Country was all green and pleaſant; when, on the contrary, all the Graſs in *Auſtria* was burnt up by the Sun; and if there were not a continual Breeze about the Middle of the Day, upon all great Plains, eſpecially in Southern Countries, the Heat would be intolerable; and I could not but take Notice, how pleaſantly the poor Peaſants in the *Alpine* Countries diverted themſelves in the Fields, and after their Labour would be lively and briſk, ſometimes play at Cards with Cards of a Span long, ſuch as they have in thoſe Countries; while the rich Countrymen in *Auſtria* were faint, and gaſping for Breath; nor did it any Thing avail them, that *Auſtria* was more Northern than *Styria* or *Carinthia*, for there may be as much Difference as to the Temperature of the Air, as to Heat and Cold in one Mile, as in ten Degrees of Latitude; and he that would cool and refreſh himſelf in the Summer, had better go up to the Top of the next Hill, than remove into a far more Northern Country. I have been ready to freeze on the Top of a Hill, and in an Hour's Time after have ſuffered as great Inconvenience from the Heat of the Valley at the Riſing of the Sun; I have been upon a Hill with a clear Sky and good Weather, and have ſeen a Valley encompaſſed with Mountains, and covered over with Clouds much below us; the Sun ſhining upon the upper Part of the Clouds made them appear like fine Down or Wool, and made the ſofteſt, ſweeteſt Lights and Shadows imaginable; afterwards, when we deſcended into this Valley under the Clouds, we had no ſuch pleaſant Proſpect, but were rained upon the moſt Part of the Day. In that hot Country of *Arabia*, Travellers complain moſt of the Cold they ſuffer in paſſing the Hills. The Mountains in *Italy* and *Spain* are, ſome of them, covered with Snow and Ice all the Summer long. I have heard that Mount *Atlas* is ſo alſo, from Dr. *Butler*, who lately travelled in thoſe Parts, and from others, when in *Great-Britain* there is no ſuch Thing. At *London* we have Winters for the moſt Part favourable; when Captain *James*, who went to diſcover the North-weſt Paſſage, and to ſearch if there were any Communication between the *Atlantick Ocean* and the *South-Sea*, in the Northern Part of *America*, as there is in the Southern, ſuffered more Hardſhip in the ſame Degree of Latitude, than the nine *Engliſhmen*, who were left all the Winter in *Greenland*; and *Baffin*, on the contrary, upon the ſame Deſign, had a pleaſant Voyage in an open Sea, and met with Inhabitants upon the Shore, till he came within nine Degrees of the Pole. But I ſhall wander too far out of the Way, and therefore will put an End to this Diſcourſe.

15. In the laſt Folio Edition of Dr *Browne*'s Travels, there are added, his Journey to *Cologne* in 1673, on Purpoſe to view the Baths of *Aix la Chapelle*, and to examine the mineral Waters of the *Spa*; as alſo his Travels through *Italy*, which were firſt made, and which had coſt him twelve or fourteen Years to digeſt and put in Order. It may not be amiſs however to inform the Reader, that in theſe he ſhewed himſelf a very

learned and curious Antiquary, of which, we have a clear and pregnant Inſtance in what he ſays of the City of *Padoa*, which, for that Reaſon, we ſhall tranſcribe for the Reader's Satisfaction and Entertainment, though otherwiſe much ſtraitned for Room, and very impatient to take our Leave of *Europe.* " The Landing place of *Padoa* is handſomely ſet off, with Stone Steps continued for a long Space along the Side of the River, after the Manner of the Landing-place at *Ghent*, and ſome other elegant Cities of the *Low Countries.* The outward Wall is ſtrong, being well-fortified according to the modern Rules of Fortification, in the Time of *Leonardo de Loredaro*, Duke of *Venice*; and to render it more ſtrong, the Rivers of *Brenta* and *Bacchiglione* are let into the Town-Ditch. The inward Wall is now moſt conſiderable for its Antiquity, and for retaining the Name of its Founder, it being ſtill call'd *Antenor*'s Wall: It contains a far leſs Space of Ground than the former *Padoa*, being built in this Reſpect like to the City of *Aix la Chapelle*, or *Aken*, having one Town within another. That *Patavium* or *Padoa* is one of the oldeſt Cities of *Europe*, built preſently after the *Trojan* War, is confeſſed by ancient Writers, and ſo generally believed of old, that *Livy* lays it down for the Ground-work of his Hiſtory, beginning in this Manner, *Tam primum omnium ſatis conſtat Troja capta*, &c. In the firſt Place it is ſufficiently manifeſt, that *Troy* being taken, the *Grecians* executed the utmoſt of their Rage upon the *Trojans*, *Æneas*, and *Antenor* only excepted, by reaſon of their ancient Friendſhip with the *Greeks*, and in Reſpect that they had always endeavoured to make Peace and reſtore *Helena*. After various Fortunes, *Antenor* brought a great Number of the *Heneti*, who having loſt their King *Pylemon* at the Wars of *Troy*, and being driven out of *Paphlagonia* by a Faction, were now ſeeking new Seats, and a Captain to lead them, and came along with them to the Bottom of the *Adriatick Gulf*, drove out the *Eugenians*, who inhabited between the Sea and *Alpes*, and eſtabliſhed the *Trojans* and *Heneti* in thoſe Countries.

" *Martial* alſo ſaluting *Flaccus*, a *Padoan* Poet, calls him

" *Flacce* Antenorei *ſpes & Alumine Laris.*

" And that you may more firmly give Credit to it, you may further alſo have the Authority of a Goddeſs for it, for *Venus* is introduced expoſtulating in theſe Terms with *Jupiter* in the Behalf of *Æneas.*

" *Quem das finem, Rex magne, laborum?*
" Antenor *potuit, mediis elapſus Achivis,*
" *Illyricos penetrare ſinus, atque intima tutus*
" *Regna Liburnorum et fontem ſuperare Timavi*
" *Unde per Ora novem vaſto cum murmure montis*
" *It mare proruptum et Pelago premit arva ſonanti.*
" *Hic tamen ille Urbem Patavi ſedeſque locavit*
" *Teucrorum et genti nomen dedit Armaque fixit.*

" What Time, great King, ſhall terminate our Woes?
" Safe could *Antenor* break through all his Foes;
" Pierce to the Bottom of the *Illyrian* Bay,
" View Kingdoms where *Lyburnian* Princes ſway;
" Paſs the nine Mouths of fierce *Timavus* Waves,
" Which roars upon the Hills, and o'er the Vallies
" raves,
" And there could fix, and on that foreign Ground
" Great *Padoa*'s Tow'rs for After-Ages found.
" New name the Race, and free from all Alarms,
" Hang up in Peace his conſecrated Arms.

" In thoſe Days, when the Art of Navigation was but in its Infancy, and the Mariners very unwillingly parted with the Sight of Land, *Antenor* was forced to keep cloſe, and creep along the Coaſt of *Peleponneſus* and *Epirus*, and then ſail by the *Illyrian* and *Liburnian* Shores, which are very uneven and troubleſome to deal with, being full of Creeks, unſafe Bays and Rocks, beſides very many Iſlands of various Shapes; whereas if he had croſſed over to the *Italian* Coaſt, he had had a nearer Voyage, and ſail'd with Pleaſure all along an even, bold, brave Shore. The People of *Padoa* are well pleaſed with the Thoughts of their ancient Founders and Progenitors; and they ſtill preſerve the Tomb of *Antenor*, near to which at preſent ſtands the Church of St. *Lawrence*, and in their publick Shows they will be ſtill repreſenting ſomething of *Troy* and the old *Trojans*; and in one Place I ſaw a Horſe of Wood, about twenty Foot high, in Imitation of the old *Trojan* Horſe, but I ſuppoſe nothing near ſo big as the firſt Original: Yet, when I conſider, that above eleven hundred Years after the Deſtruction of *Troy*, when Towns and Buildings were very much amplified and improved, *Pompey* coming in Triumph could not enter even the great Triumphal Gates of *Rome* itſelf in a Chariot drawn by Elephants, an Animal that ſeldom or never comes to be ſo high as this Horſe, it may well be ſuppoſed that they could not have received even this poor Model of the firſt great one into the old Town of *Troy*, without pulling down their Walls.

" The City of *Padoa* was always a Friend to the *Romans*, and did them great Service in their Wars againſt the *Galli Senones*, the *Umbrians*, *Boians*, *Inſubres*, *Cimbrians* and *Carthaginians*, and ſtuck cloſe to their Intereſt till the Time of the Declination of the *Roman* Empire; when *Attila*, the powerful King of the *Huns*, with Fire and Sword deſtroy'd it. After divers Years it was rebuilt by the Favour of *Narſes* the Eunuch, General to the Emperor *Juſtinian*, and was again lamentably ruined by the *Longobardian* Princes, who, by ſhooting Arrows with Firebrands fixed to them, ſet the City on Fire, and took it. But under the Empire of *Charles* the Great and his Succeſſors, it aroſe out of its Aſhes again, and flouriſhed for a long Time, being governed firſt by Conſuls, and then by a Podeſta, until the Time of their dreadful Tyrant *Ezzelin*, who harraſſed, baniſhed, tormented and maſſacred the Inhabitants, cramming their own Wells within the City full with mangled Bodies, and, amongſt other Severities, upon an angry Diſtaſte againſt them, ſlew ten thouſand of them in one Day at *Verona*. But notwithſtanding theſe Cruelties, they recover'd their Liberty again after the Death of *Ezzelin*, and by Degrees became very powerful, having under their Juriſdiction *Vicenza*, *Verona*, *Trent*, *Treviſo*, *Feltre*, *Belluno*, *Ceneda*, *Seravalla*, *Choſa*, *Baſſano*, with its Territories; all the *Poleſine* or *Peninſula*, and the greateſt Part of *Friuli*, with other important Places, when in the End *Marſilio de Carrara* made himſelf Captain or Governor of the City.

" This noble Family of the *Carrareſi*, very powerful in theſe Parts, came from their Caſtle of *Baſſano*, and lived in *Padoa*, where they became very conſiderable, and ſiding with the Pope againſt the Emperor *Frederick* the Second, they were driven out by *Ezzelin*; but when, upon the ſucceſsful Attempts of the *Roman* Legate, *Angedin*, a Commander under *Ezzelin*, was overthrown, they were again reſtored, dignified, and eſtabliſhed in the Government of *Padoa*, which they poſſeſſed with ſome Variety of Fortune from one to another, in their own Family, for about an hundred Years, in the Concluſion of which they were ſeized on by the *Venetians*, who thought fit to put *Franciſco Novello* and his Sons to Death in the Year 1405. And after this Manner, by having totally extinguiſhed the noble Family of the *Carrareſi*, without Fear of any farther Claim or Diſpute, they poſſeſſed themſelves of the City of *Padoa*, and hold it in their Hands to this Day.

" The Buildings of *Padoa*, both publick and private, are very conſiderable; for moſt of the City is built upon Arches, making handſome Portico's or Cloiſters on each Side of the Street, after the Manner of the Houſes in the Piazza of *Covent-Garden*, which at all Times afford a good Defence againſt the Sun and Rain, and many of the Houſes are painted on the Outſide with very good Hiſtory Painting in *Freſco*;

“ their Churches are fair, and divers well adorned. The Domo or Cathedral Church is large, ſeated near the Middle of the City, endowed and mightily enriched by the Emperor *Henry* the Fourth, whoſe Empreſs *Berta* lies buried here. The Revenues of this Church, at preſent, are reckoned to amount to a hundred thouſand Crowns a Year; and beſides the Monuments of many eminent Perſons, they preſerve here the Body of St. *Daniel*, of Cardinal *Pileo de Pratto*, and of Cardinal *Franceſco Zabarella*.

“ The Church of St. *Antonio* is viſited by Perſons far and near, and the exquiſite Deſign, artificial Carving in Marble, the handſome Choir and rich Ornaments make it worth the ſeeing. The Top of the Church is made up of ſix Cupola's cover'd with Lead. The Chapel of St. *Antonio* is nobly is ſet out with twelve Marble Pillars, and a rich Roof. Between the Pillars are carved the Miracles of this Saint, who lies interred under the Altar, upon which ſtand ſeven Figures made by *Titian Aſpetti*, a good Statuary of *Padoa*; and behind the Altar there is a moſt excellent *Baſſo relievo* done by *Sanſovinus*, *Tullius*, *Lomburdus*, and *Campagna Veronenſis*: Over againſt the Chapel of St. *Antonio* ſtands the Chapel of St. *Felix*, and his Tomb, nobly wrought with colour'd Marble, and the whole ſplendidly adorn'd with the Paintings of the highly celebrated *Gioto*. The chief Relicks in this Church are the Tongue and Chin of St. *Antonio*, a Cloth dipped in the Blood of our Saviour, three Thorns of his Crown, and a Piece of the Wood of his Croſs, ſome of the Hair and Milk of the bleſſed Virgin, and ſome of the Blood of the Marks of St. *Francis*. Before the Front of the Church there is a handſome Braſs Statue on Horſeback, repreſenting the great *Venetian* General *Gattamela*. St. *Antonio* lived ſix and thirty Years, died upon the thirteenth of *June*, 1231, and was canonized by Pope *Gregory* the IXth, in the City of *Spoleta*, 1237.

“ The Convent of the black Monks of St. *Benedict* may compare with moſt in *Italy*, and their Church dedicated to *Santa Giuſtina*, built by *Palladio*, is one of the faireſt in *Europe*. St. *Giuſtina* was a Virgin and Martyr, Daughter to *Vitaliano* of this City; ſhe ſuffered Martyrdom in the Time of *Maximianus* the Emperor. In this Church there are ſtill preſerved, as they ſay, the Body of St. *Luke the Evangeliſt*, of St. *Matthias* the Apoſtle, of two of the innocent Children, of *Prædochimus*, of the Converter of theſe Countries to the Chriſtian Faith, and firſt Biſhop of *Padoa*; of *Maximus* their ſecond Biſhop, and of *Santa Giuſtina*. The Front of this Church looks into a ſpacious Place, called *Prata della Valee*, where the Gentlemen meet in their Coaches in the Evening for their Pleaſure. In a handſome Room or Burying-place on the South-ſide of this Church, is a round old red Marble Stone, upon which the Heads of many Martyrs were cut off; and near to it, a fine white Marble Well, call'd, *Pozzo di Martiro*, or the Martyr's Well, a Place of great Devotion.

“ Where the Temple of *Juno* ſtood in old Time, there is now built a handſome Church dedicated to St. *Auguſtin*, wherein are divers Monuments of the Family of *Carrara*, the Tomb of *Charlotta*, Daughter to *James* King of *Cyprus*, and of *Petrus Aponenſis*, a great Philoſopher. *Il Ponte Melino*, where there are thirty Water Mills together, and the *Caſtello della Munitioni*, both built by *Ezzelin*, are worth the ſeeing. *La Corte del Capitanio* is ſplendid, and was the Palace of the *Carrareſi*. The *Palazzo della Ragione*, where the Courts of Juſtice are held, is very large, beautiful, and highly conſiderable, both without and within, being built of Marble, with Rows of Pillars without and within; there are Heads and Inſcriptions for divers eminent Perſons of this City; the Length thereof is two hundred fifty-ſix Foot, and the Breadth eighty-ſix, without any Pillar or Support in the Middle.

“ The Univerſity of *Padoa* was founded in the Year 1220, by the Emperor *Frederick* the IId, and the Schools are fair and large, containing one Quadrangle, with Rows of Pillars above and below, and beſides handſome Schools, on every Side, there is a very convenient anatomical Theatre. The Phyſick-Garden is large, of a round Figure, wall'd about, and well ſtored with Plants. The Prefects hereof have been men of Note, as, *Aloyſius Mundella*, *Aloyſius*, *Anguillard*, *Melchior Guilandinus*, *Jacobus Antonius Cortuſius*, *Proſper Alpinus*, and *Joannes Veſlingius*.

“ The Arena, or old Amphitheatre at *Padoa*, is an Antiquity very remarkable, and the Remains of ſome of the Arches are to be ſeen ſtill in the Gardens backwards, but the Arena itſelf, and the whole Podium, are preſerved intire and free and empty. And at one End thereof is built a handſome Palace, the Front of which looks directly into the open Amphitheatre, and is a Portion of an oval Figure, and the whole Area or Arena of the Amphitheatre ſerves for the Court to it, in ſuch Manner, that the Entrance being now at the End, directly oppoſite to the Houſe, the handſome Proſpect of it, and the clear Avenue to it, is extraordinarily ſurpriſing, and extremely noble; and I could not imagine that any Gentleman would ever deſire to have a fairer Court-yard to his Houſe, than the ſpacious Plain Arena of an old *Roman* Amphitheatre, nor a better Wall than a high, entire handſome Podium, the like to which perhaps is not at this Day any where elſe to be ſeen. And I muſt freely confeſs, that of the Remains and Ruins of twelve old Amphitheatres which I have ſeen myſelf, I have not met with any one that comes near it; for in the Amphitheatre at *Doué* in *Poictou*, which is cut out of a Rock, and being of a ſmaller Dimenſion, and Part of the Bottom being fill'd up, there is no viſible Beauty of the Podium; the like may be ſaid alſo of that at *Nizza*, near the River *Varus*, and that at *Pozzuolo*.

“ That at *Niſmes* is filled up with Dwelling-houſes in ſuch Manner, that the upper Seats only are diſtinctly viſible. The Amphitheatres of *Bourdeaux*. *Xainctes*, *Arles*, *Garigliano*, that at *Rome*, near the Church of *Santa Croce* in *Gieruſalemme*, and others are at preſent ſo much ruined, that nothing of this Nature diſtinguiſhable is to be expected, nay even about the Arena at *Verona*, and the great *Colliſeo* or *Domitianus*'s Amphitheatre at *Rome*, the Ground is now-riſen ſo high, that the Podium is at preſent either buried or disfigured. But as the Arena at *Padoa*, is clear and evident in this Part, ſo it is wanting in all the reſt, and he that deſires at this Day to view all the Parts of an Amphitheatre, muſt not ſee one but many; and by joining them together in his Thoughts, he may collect the Figure, Proportion and Dimenſions of this ſumptuous Sort of Buildings of the old *Romans*.

“ From the Walls of *Padoa* there is a pleaſant Proſpect of a plain Country to North-Eaſt and South, and of the *Euganean* Hills to the Weſt, which ſupply the Town with Variety of Plants, and great Numbers of Vipers. At a few Miles Diſtance are the hot Baths of *Abano*, and the Mineral drinking Waters of *Monte Ortone*, as alſo *Marcheſe Obizzi's* Country-Houſe, which we ſaw with great Delight, it being well deſign'd and accommodated with a good Armoury, a Theatre for Comedies, handſome Stables, and a Tennis-Court, and nobly painted both within and without by that Maſter *Paulo Veroneſe*.”

This large Extract ſhows his Manner of treating Antiquities, and may ſerve as a uſeful Memorial to young Travellers who are deſirous of knowing how to digeſt their Thoughts, and to unite the Knowledge they have brought from the Univerſities, with what they collect from viſiting the World. It is really a very difficult Thing to give our Author his due Praiſes; for the more we conſider what is written, the more Reaſon we ſhall ſee for commending him; and which is not a little extraordinary, the more we conſider what he has omitted, the greater Reaſon we ſhall have to admire his Prudence. There are however ſome Paſſages in his Writings, which perhaps may be a little obſcure, not from any Want of Knowledge in the Author, but rather from his Superabundance, which hinder'd him from diſcerning that what was extremely clear to him, might be very dark notwithſtanding to Perſons of leſs general Knowledge, and to ſuch as had not found an Opportunity of conſidering particular Subjects in ſuch a Light, as to be able to underſtand the Hints he gives about them.

As for Inſtance, what he ſays of the Miners Compaſs, ſeems to ſtand in Need of Explanation. They work, ſays he, towards One, Two, or Three of the Clock; for the Miners differs from the Mariners Compaſs, being not divided into thirty-two, but into twenty-four Points. This is very true, not only in regard to the *Hungarian* and *German* Mines, but with reſpect to our own Coal Mines, where, if you aſk any of the Workmen about the Courſe of the Veins, they anſwer you, that it dips towards Six o'Clock; which is utterly unintelligible to common People. The Truth of the Matter is, that the Miners and Mariners Compaſs is founded upon different Principles, though I very much doubt, whether a Method might not be found of uſing the Mariners Compaſs to very great Advantage in Mines; but at preſent we have not Room to inſiſt upon this, and ſhall therefore content ourſelves with obſerving, that in the Miners Compaſs the upper Twelve o'Clock anſwers to the Meridian of the Place where the Mine is, and from thence the Hours are mark'd on each of the Semicircles; ſo that Six o'Clock makes a Quadrant on each Side, and each of the Hour Lines is diſtant from the other fifteen Degrees; ſo that in Fact, the Miners Compaſs is a Kind of Dial, and when they ſay they have worked to ſuch an Hour, they mean that they work to ſuch a Point as the Sun bears from them at the Time of the Day which they mention.

There is another Paſſage in theſe Travels, which deſerves alſo to be inſiſted upon, and that is, the Hint given by the Author about the vaſt Advantages that might ariſe to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, from the Practice of a philoſophical Secret; in ſhort, his own Experience had convinced him, that the Vitriolate Springs really and effectually changed Iron into Copper; from whence he inferr'd, that Springs might be found in the Silver Mines, which might have the like Effect with reſpect to Copper, or rather with regard to Copper Ore, which might poſſibly be managed in ſuch a Manner, as to diſpoſe it to ſuch a noble Change; for the Doctor obſerves, that not the beſt, but the worſt Iron anſwered the former Experiment moſt effectually; for which many Reaſons might be given; but as what we have already ſaid will fully anſwer the End we propoſed, and let the Reader fully into the Senſe of what the Author delivers in the following remarkable Words, we ſhall dwell upon it no longer.

“The Profit which the Emperor makes by his Mines, ſays he, is reckoned to amount to an hundred and twenty thouſand Pounds Sterling, yearly. But when they come to deal with deeper and richer Veins of Ore, and that there ſhall be by Degrees more of theſe Vitriolate Copper Springs diſcover'd, this Revenue will be then increaſed. And it is more than probable, that Time will bring more of them to Light; for at *Zolnock*, and other Places near the *Carpathian* Hills, there are divers of the ſame Springs already made Uſe of. But if, furthermore, conſidering the Nobleneſs of theſe Springs, containing in them the true mature Salt of *Venus*, ſome Perſons hereafter ſhall be ſo fortunate, as moreover to diſcover and experimentally improve the Uſe of Springs and Fountains ſaturated with a *Vitriolum Lunæ*, and learn perfectly how to adapt metalline Bodies to the adequate Energy and Activity of ſuch Waters; the Improvement by Tranſmutation, as it is at preſent more than ten to one, ſo it will in thoſe Days amount to above a hundred to one; and the Uſe of theſe Mines and metalline Labours may hereby effectually prove, in Times to come, one of the richeſt Jewels in the Imperial Crown.”

We are now to take our Leave of Dr. *Edward Browne* and his Travels, with which we ſhall cloſe this Section, this Chapter, and this Book. We ſhall, indeed, in the firſt Chapters of the next, be obliged to enter into the Deſcription of ſeveral Parts of *Europe*; but as the Travels included in thoſe Chapters relate chiefly to *Aſia*; and as it would have been very difficult to divide them, without breaking the Thread of the Diſcourſe, and thereby deſtroying the Connection between its Parts, we judged it better to involve all ſuch Travels in the Third Book. The Reader will obſerve, the Uſes which may be made of this Collection are not only much more numerous, but more excellent alſo in their Nature, than thoſe which reſult from any Kind of Geographical Performance, how accurately ſoever performed, becauſe we do not dwell upon the Superficies, but go to the very Bottom of Things; and in the Accounts that we have given of the ſeveral Parts of *Europe*, we have taken all imaginable Care to treat ſuccinctly of what appeared trivial, and to be more copious upon Points of real Uſe, and which contribute to the Improvement of ſolid Knowledge. If we had been allowed more Room, we ſhould doubtleſs have anſwered all Purpoſes better; but we have made the beſt Uſe of what we had, and we may ſafely affirm, that no Collection of this Kind has, ſo far as we have already gone, treated every Country we have mentioned more fully, or given the judicious Peruſer an Opportunity of underſtanding its paſt and preſent State more clearly.

It ſhall be our Study to execute what is to come in the ſame Manner, ſo that every Part of this Performance may, as near as it is poſſible, correſpond with the Whole of it. Some ſmall Differences there may be, which lie out of our Power to hinder, becauſe of the Inequality in the Capacities of thoſe Authors we tranſcribe; but if we make the beſt Choice we can of theſe, and give their Accounts in the beſt Manner that we are able, it is all that can be expected, indeed all that can be performed by us; which every candid Critick will allow. In ſucceeding Times, there will no Doubt be Variety of Voyages and Travels ſent into the World, and amongſt them probably there will be ſeveral ſuperior in Value to thoſe that have gone before them; but with reſpect even to theſe we have provided, as far as it lay in our Power, for the Reader's Service, becauſe they may be eaſily digeſted according to our Method, and be ranged upon new Shelves in the ſame Library. We ſay this, that the Publick may be apprized of the true Value of what we have given them, and be ſatisfied, that this Collection can never be out of Date, the Authors which it contains, and thoſe which it will contain, not only have at preſent, but will always have their Value; and how neceſſary or how pleaſing ſoever it may be to peruſe new Voyages or Travels, or new Collections of them, yet it is impoſſible they ſhould ever ſuperſede the Neceſſity of reading theſe, becauſe the Peruſal of them will be always requiſite to the perfect Underſtanding of ſuch as are later in Point of Time.

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Or, A Complete COLLECTION of

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

BOOK III.

Voyages to and Travels through the Dominions of the Grand Signior, and through the other Empires, Kingdoms and States in *Aſia*; with curious and copious Accounts of ſuch Parts of that great Continent as are leaſt known.

CHAP. I.

Voyages through the Iſlands of the *Archipelago*: Travels through moſt of the Provinces under the Dominion of the Grand Signior; with a full Account of the preſent State, Forces, Revenue, Commerce, *&c.* of the *Turks*.

SECTION I.

The Voyages and Travels of the Celebrated Mr. JOHN THEVENOT; from *Italy* to *Conſtantinople*, including a very curious and exact Deſcription of the ſeveral Places he touched at in his Paſſage; of the ſeveral Cities he viſited upon the Coaſts; and a moſt exact View of *Conſtantinople* at the Time he viſited it. Interſperſed with a great Variety of Hiſtorical and Political Remarks, equally inſtructive and entertaining.

Extracted from the laſt Edition of the Author's Travels printed at Amſterdam *in* 1727.

1 *An Account of the Author and of his Family; the Occaſion of his Voyages, and the Manner in which they were undertaken.* 2. *His Arrival in* Sicily, *and his Deſcription of that Iſland and its Coaſts, with ſome Account of* Scylla *and* Charybdis. 3. *An Account of the Iſland of* Malta, *and the Obſervations made therein by our Author during his Stay there.* 4. *He proſecutes his Voyage from thence towards* Conſtantinople, *and deſcribes the Iſlands touched at by the Way.* 5. *A curious Account of the celebrated Streights now called the* Dardanelles. 6. *Several Cities on the* Aſian *Coaſt between the* Streights *and* Conſtantinople, *deſcribed by the Author.* 7. *The ſeveral Cities on the* Thracian *Side of the* Streights *deſcribed in the like Manner.* 8. *An Account of the ſeveral Iſlands in the* Propontis. 9. *A Deſcription of the City of* Conſtantinople, *its Ports, Walls, Gates, Towers,* &c. 10. *Continuation of this Deſcription, with a large Account of the noble Cathedral called* Santa Sophia, *now turned into a* Turkiſh Moſque; *with an Account of ſeveral other* Moſques *and magnificent publick Buildings.* 11. *A very copious Deſcription of the* Seraglio, *taken not only from Mr.* Thevenot, *but from* Tavernier *and* Wiſher's *Accounts.* 12. *Of the* Divan, *or Grand Signior's Council of State, and the Manner in which Cauſes are heard there, and the Method in which Ambaſſadors are received in public Audiences.* 13. *The Secrets of the* Seraglio, *with the Manner of the Grand Signior's living with his Wives and Concubines.* 14. *The Policy of the* Seraglio, *comprehending the entire Detail of the Education of the Sultan's Servants there, by which they are qualified for the chief Places in the Empire.*

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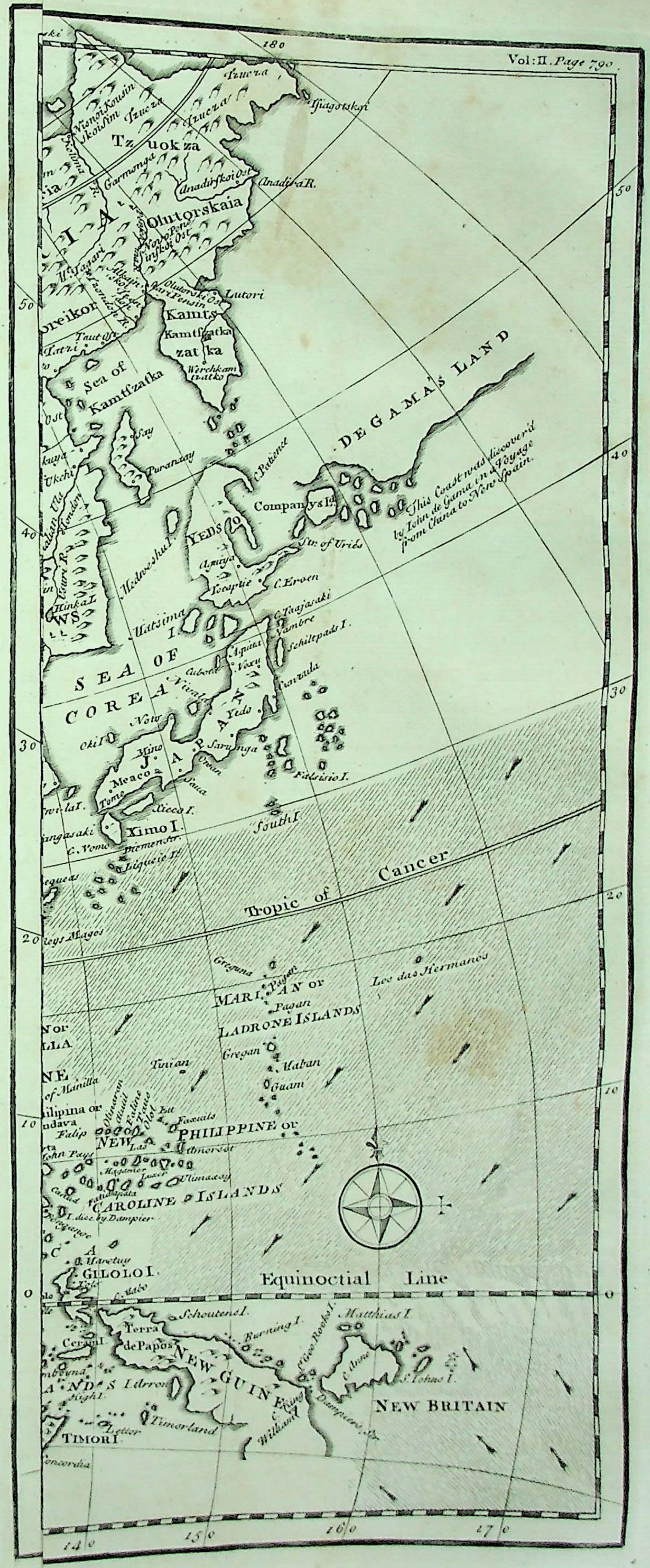
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Tzucza
Iſiagotskoi
Nisnoi Kousin skoiſim
Tzucza
Tzucza
Kolima
Tz uok za
Garmonga
Anadirſkoi Oſt
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Sea of Kamtſzatka
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DE GAMA'S LAND
C. Patienti
Company's Id.
This Coast was discover'd by John de Gama in a Voyage from China to New Spain.
YEDSO
Str. of Uriés
Medweshu I.
Aguiya
Tocaptie
C. Eroen
Usuri R.
Hinka L.
WS
Matsima I.
C. Taajasaki
Yambre
Schiltpads I.
SEA OF COREA
Aquita
Voxu
Cubota
Nivata
Canzula
JAPAN
Yedo
Noto
Oki I.
Mino
Surunga
Owari
Falsisio I.
Meaco
Tomo
Saua
Xicco I.
Wi-la I.
angasaki
Ximo I.
South I.
C. Nomo
Diemens Str.
Liquejo Is.
equeas
Tropic of Cancer
Reys Magos
Gregunna
Pagan
Leo das Hermanos
MARIAN or
Pagan
LADRONE ISLANDS
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Aluail
Faline
Zaus
Olol
Eil
Faxuils
PHILIPPINE or
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John Pays
Maganier
Luxer
Ulimaxay
Carlas
Fatiilapata
CAROLINE ISLANDS
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GILOLO I.
Tolo
C. Mabo
Equinoctial Line
lo
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Matthias I.
Terra de Papos
Burning I.
Gees Rocks I.
Ceram I.
NEW GUINEA
C. Anne
S. Johns I.
mboyna
ANDS
S. Idrron
High I.
C. King William
Dampiers Str.
NEW BRITAIN
Timorland
Letter
TIMOR I.
Concordia
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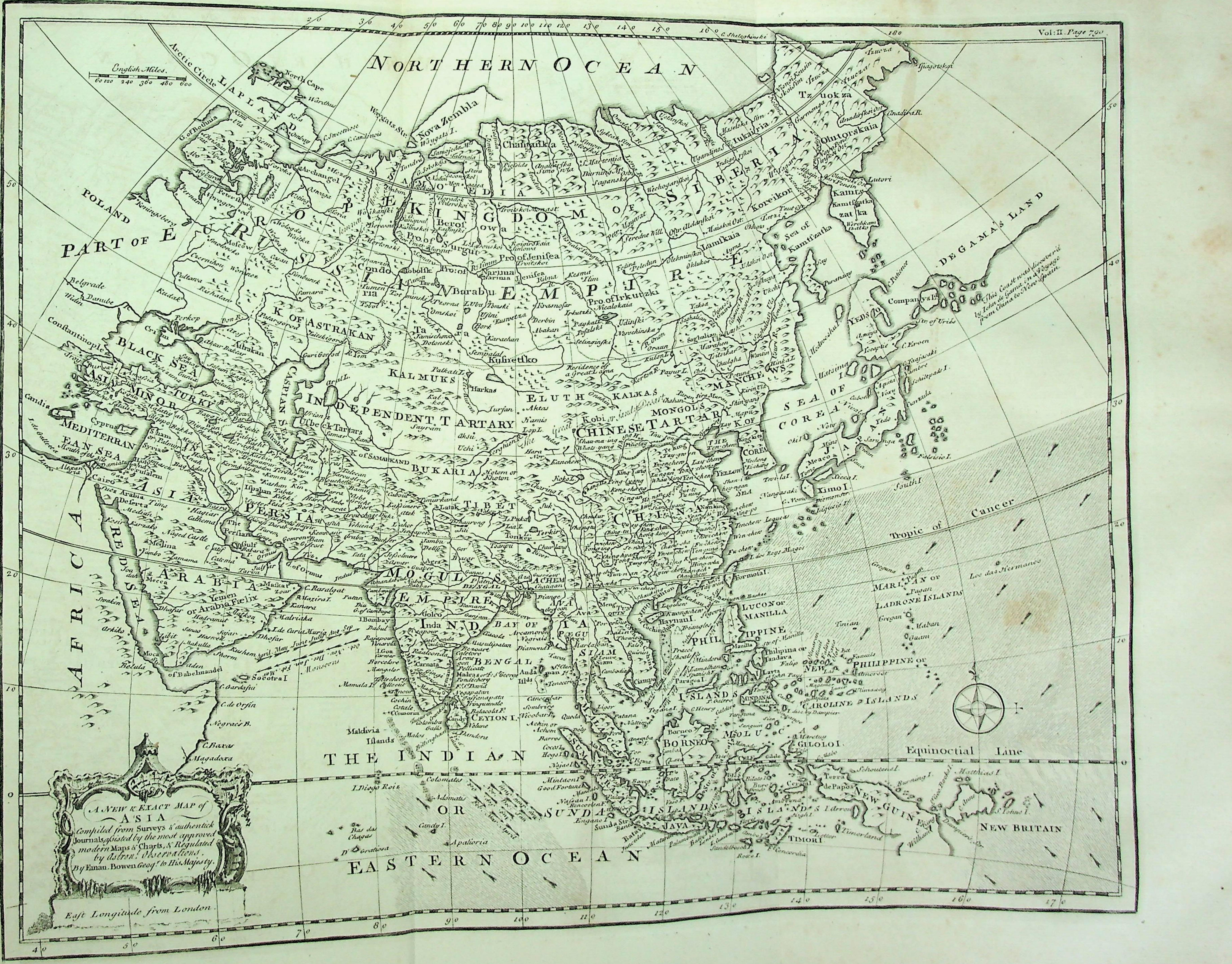
160
170



A NEW & EXACT MAP of
ASIA
Compiled from Surveys & authentick Journals assisted by the most approved modern Maps & Charts, & Regulated by Astron. Observations.
By Eman. Bowen Geog. to His Majesty.

East Longitude from London.

NORTHERN OCEAN
English Miles
60 120 240 360 480 600
Arctic Circle
LAPLAND
North Cape
Nova Zeimbla
POLAND
PART OF EUROPE
RUSSIAN EMPIRE
KINGDOM OF SIBERIA
SAMOIEDIA
Archangel
Moscow
Belgrade
Danube
Constantinople
BLACK SEA
ASIA MINOR
TURKY
Candia
Cyprus
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Alexandria
Cairo
Jerusalem
K. OF ASTRAKAN
CASPIAN SEA
KALMUKS
INDEPENDENT TARTARY
K. OF SAMARKAND
BUKARIA
PERSIA
Gulf of Persia
G. of Ormus
ARABIA
Mecca
Medina
Yemen or Arabia Fœlix
RED SEA
Aden
Babelmandel
Socotra I.
C. Gardafui
C. de Orfin
Negraes B.
C. Baxas
Magadoxa
AFRICA
TIBET
ELUTH
KALKAS
MONGOLS
CHINESE TARTARY
Kobi or Sandy Desart
Residence of a Great Lama
MANCHEWS
K. OF COREA
SEA OF COREA
JAPAN
Yeds
Company's Ld.
DE GAMA'S LAND
This Coast was discovered by John de Gama in a Voyage from China to New Spain
Kamtschatka
Sea of Kamtschatka
Tzukoza
CHINA
Peking
Nanking
Canton
Formosa I.
Yellow Sea
Tropic of Cancer
MOGULS EMPIRE
INDIA
Bombay
Goa
Delli
Agra
BENGAL
BAY OF BENGAL
Madras or Ft. St. George
Pondichery
CEYLON I.
Maldivia Islands
Andaman Is.
Nicobar Is.
PEGU
SIAM
ACHEM
Malacca
LUCON or MANILLA
PHILIPPINE ISLANDS
MARIANE or LADRONE ISLANDS
Guam
NEW PHILIPPINE or CAROLINE ISLANDS
MOLUCCA
GILOLO I.
BORNEO
SUNDA ISLANDS
SUMATRA
JAVA
TIMOR I.
NEW GUINEA
NEW BRITAIN
Equinoctial Line
THE INDIAN OR EASTERN OCEAN
Leo das Hermanos
Monsoons
10 20 30 40 50
40 50 60 70 80 90 100 110 120 130 140 150 160 170 180

pire. 15. *The Government of the* Seraglio, *containing a curious Account of the Grand Seignior's Houſhold.* 16. *An Account of his Manner of Living, together with a Detail of the Expences and Proviſions of his Court.* 17. *The Cuſtoms and Rules of the* Seraglio, *and the Manner of the Grand Seignior's going abroad in State.* 18. *The Manner in which their* Bayram *or Carnival is kept.* 19. *A Deſcription of the* Old Seraglio, *and of ſeveral other Places.* 20. Galata *and* Pera *deſcribed, with ſeveral Places adjoining.* 21. *The reſt of the Country of the* Aſiatick *Side of the* Boſphorus *deſcribed.* 22. *An* Appendix, *conſiſting in a great Variety of entertaining and inſtructive Paſſages, extracted from other Authors.* 23. *Hiſtorical, Political, and Miſcellaneous Remarks on the foregoing Section.*

1. IT is impoſſible to read with any Satisfaction, the Travels and Adventures of an Author, without having ſome Knowledge of who or what he was, and of his general Character in the World. Mr. *John Thevenot* was of the ſame Family with the famous *Melchezidec Thevenot*, who publiſhed a large and curious Collection of Voyages, Part originally written, and the reſt very accurately tranſlated from *Spaniſh*, *Italian*, *Engliſh*, and other Languages, into *French*; which is the Reaſon they are very often confounded together, by ſuch as are not well acquainted with Literary Hiſtory, but borrow what little Knowledge they have, from Title Pages, Indexes, and Journals. The elder *Thevenot* travell'd, indeed, for ſome Time, but never without the Limits of *Europe*; nor did he think any Accounts of his Voyages worthy the Notice of the Publick. He was appointed Library-Keeper to *Lewis* XIV. and not only diſcharged the Duties of his Office with great Diligence and Fidelity, but likewiſe enriched that noble Storehouſe of Learning, with upwards of two thouſand Volumes from his own Study. He was particularly careful in collecting Manuſcripts in all Languages, and more eſpecially in the *Engliſh*, *Spaniſh*, *Italian*, *Latin*, *Greek*, *Hebrew*, *Syriack*, *Arabick*, *Turkiſh* and *Perſian* Tongues; all of which he underſtood perfectly. He died by too great Abſtinence, which he flatter'd himſelf would have cur'd an Ague, on the 29th of *October* in 1692, in the ſeventy-firſt Year of his Age.

Our Author had, from his very Youth, a ſtrong Inclination to travel, in Hopes of gratifying that Curioſity which excited him to enquire into, and examine after whatever appear'd new or curious, uſeful or entertaining. It was to gratify this inclination of his, that he went to *Rome*, where meeting accidentally with the celebrated Mr. *Herbelot*, the moſt learned man of his own, or perhaps of any Age, in every Branch of Oriental Literature, he caught from him ſo violent a Paſſion for penetrating into whatever was curious or extraordinary in the Eaſt, that he reſolved to continue his Travels to the moſt diſtant Part thereof; in which he flatter'd himſelf with the Hopes of having the Company of the very judicious Perſon before-mentioned; but ſome Family-Affairs, which required the Preſence of that learned Gentleman, obliged him at that Time to return into *France*; but Mr. *Thevenot* having made all the neceſſary Preparations for this long Expedition, and being encouraged to undertake it by his Friend, who promiſed to join him in the Iſland of *Malta*, reſolved to proceed in the Execution of the Deſign he had undertaken.

Accordingly, on *Monday*, *May* 1, 1655, he left *Rome*, in order to go and embark at *Civita Vecchia* on board the Galley commanded by Count *Gaddi*, in which he began that Voyage of which we intend to give the Reader an Account in this Section. He appears by his Writings, to have been a Man of great Accuracy and Diligence, as well as of wonderful Curioſity and Vivacity, of a bold and enterpriſing Spirit, merely for the Sake of Knowledge; for he does not appear to have had any Turn towards Profit or Glory. His ſole Aim was to know; and as to Wealth and Power, he left them to the Covetous and Ambitious. He was very careful in his Enquiries, took very little upon Truſt, examined all Things with his own Eyes, committed his Obſervations to Writing immediately, and, after his Return to *France*, reviſed and publiſhed them at ſeveral Times, at the Requeſt, and to ſatisfy the Importunity of his Friends. He appears to have had a large Share of uſeful Learning, which enabled him to make juſt and proper Enquiries, as well as very judicious, and at the ſame Time very entertaining Remarks. He was very inquiſitive, but very far from being credulous; he had a ſtrong Diſpoſition to learn, and was ready to ſubmit himſelf to be taught by any whom he found more knowing than himſelf. He was free from Prejudices or Prepoſſeſſions, was very deſirous of knowing the true State of Things, and very willing to communicate his Knowledge. In a Word, his Candour and Integrity procured him the general Eſteem of all who knew him, and have had the ſame favourable Effect with reſpect to his Writings, to which we ſhall now proceed.

2. He continued his Journey from *Rome*, and upon *June* the 2d, he embark'd at *Civita-Vecchia*, and came to an Anchor before the Port of *Meſſina* in *Sicily* in Seven Days. This Town lies oppoſite to *Rhegio* in *Italy*, from which it is diſtant about ſixty Miles. It was built by the *Meſſinians* of *Peloponneſus*, and from them took its Name, being anciently call'd *Zande*. It is a ſafe Harbour by Nature, and round it are ſeveral fair Palaces built very uniform, which form a pleaſant Proſpect. The Mole, which ſhuts in the Port has a Tower by it to ſecure the Entry, and another in the Midſt of it. This Town is but a melancholy Place, though the Streets are fair and large. Over the Door of the Cathedral Church is written, *Gran-Mercy a Meſſine*, in Memory of the Surrender of that City to the *French*, when they took *Sicily*. Before it is a great Piazza, with a Theatre in the Middle of it, where the Victory of *Lepanto* is repreſented in Braſs, and a Brazen Statue of *Don John* of *Auſtria* ſtands by it. The Noviciate of the Jeſuits ſtands upon an Hill that over-looks the Town.

There are eighteen ſtrong Caſtles in it, but four of them only are in the Hands of the *Spaniards*: The *Meſſineſe* have the reſt. The Town is very rich, by Reaſon of the great Trade in Silk driven there. There are no Inns for Strangers, ſo that they are obliged to lodge in a wretched Tavern by the Harbour. All Things are cheap, the Wines ſtrong, but bad. It is an Archiepiſcopal See. The *Streights* are made dangerous by *Scilla* and *Charybdis*, though anciently they were much more ſo than now, becauſe Navigation is improved. *Scilla* is a Rock near the Caſtle *Scyllio*, on the *Italian* Shore. *Charybdis* is the Meeting of two contrary Eddies, which by beating and claſhing one againſt another, make a Noiſe like the Barking of Dogs, and by cauſing Veſſels to turn round about, ſuck them down to the Bottom; nor is the Harbour itſelf ſafe from it, for the Currents will ſometimes carry the Ships out into it, and therefore the *Meſſineſe* have always a great many Pilots in Readineſs to aſſiſt Veſſels in Danger.

Sicily is of a triangular Form, each Angle making a Cape, which are now called *Diſaro*, anciently *Pelorus*, *Paſſaro*, anciently *Pachinis*, and *Bocho*, heretofore *Lilibæum*. It is but three Miles diſtant from *Italy*, being ſeparated from it by a dangerous Streight, call'd, *The Pharo of* Meſſina. It is the moſt conſiderable Iſland of the *Mediterranean* Sea, both for Bigneſs (being 700 Miles in Compaſs) and Fruitfulneſs, produces Plenty of Corn, excellent Wines, Olives, and other Neceſſaries of Life, inſomuch as that it was call'd one of the Granaries of *Rome*. It contains a great many fair rich Towns, but it is much annoy'd by Mount *Gibello*, or, as it is ſtiled by the Ancients, *Ætna*, which continually caſts forth Abundance of Flames, and covers the Land about it with Aſhes for a great Way; this Iſland is alſo much infeſted with Earthquakes. It has been under the Dominion of many Nations, *viz. Greeks*, *Carthaginians* and *French*; at this Time ſubject to the King of *Spain*, who has always a Vice-Roy there, that has his Reſidence half a Year at *Palermo*, and the reſt at *Meſſina*. From all theſe Nations the *Sicilians* have derived ſome Vices which makes them revengeful, haughty and jealous, eſpecially of the *French*, whom judging by their vindictive Temper, they ſuſpect not to have forgotten the *Sicilian Veſpers*, and for that Reaſon always wear their Daggers by their Side, even in their Shops and Work-Houſes. They are of a ſubtle and malicious Wit, ready to contrive or execute any Miſchief.

From *Meſſina* he ſailed to *Agouſta*, which is but an ordinary Town with one Street, but the Country about it produces excellent Wine, which has a ſtrong Flavour of Violets: Then coaſting along by *Syracuſe*, now corruptly called *Saragouſia*, formerly the Metropolis of *Sicily*, and Birth-place of *Archimedes*, the Country about which produces excellent Muſcadine, he made the Iſle of *Malta*, anciently call'd *Melita*, from the Plenty of Honey it yielded.

3. This Iſle is low, and the Soil a ſoft Chalky Rock, yet it produces very good Fruits, as Figs, Melons, which grow ſo eaſily, that they require no Care but to preſerve them; Grapes very good to eat, but not for Wine; Cotton, but little or no Corn, for that is brought from *Sicily* thither. The Air is ſo hot, that there is no Walking in the Sun; and the Nights are as intollerable, if not through the Heats, yet through the Stinging of Muſketoes; yet is ſo wholeſome for old Men, that they can hardly die. They drink their Wine with Ice. Head-aches and ſore Eyes, cauſed by the Whiteneſs of the Earth, are there common and dangerous. There are no venomous Beaſts in the Iſle, nor can any live in it, which the People attribute to St. *Paul*'s Benediction, and they give the Earth of the *Grott*, where he lived, for an Antidote againſt Poiſon, with greater Succeſs than *Terra Sigillata*. The Iſland is populous: The People are of a brown complexion and are very revengeful. The Women are beautiful, and familiar, for though they hide their own Faces with their Mantle, they ſee every Body's elſe.

They ſpeak *Arabick*, but *Italian* is alſo common. Here are ſeveral Ports and Creeks, but the chief Havens are the Great Port, and that called *Marſamouchet*. In the great Port are all the Gallies of the Order laid up, and all the Veſſels that are to make any Stay at *Malta*, either to load, careen or refit, put in there, ſhut with an Iron Chain: The Port of *Marſamouchet* is for Ships to perform their Quarantine in, before they have Acceſs to the Town, and for ſuch as by Reaſon of foul Weather can't get into the great Port, as alſo for the *Corſairs*, who come only for a little Time, and ſo will not go into the great Port, becauſe it is hard to get out again. As ſoon as the King of *Spain* had given the Iſland of *Malta* to the Knights of St. *John*, Sultan *Solyman* reſolving to extirpate them, who had given him ſo much Trouble, ſent a powerful Army to take it. The *Turks* landing near the Mount *Pelegrino*, attack'd the Caſtle of St. *Erme*, kill'd all that defended it, and took it. Then they turned againſt the Iſle *de Sangle*, but were aſſaulted ſo furiouſly by the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, who firing their Cannon, level with the Water, upon them, ſunk their Boats and drown'd their Men, which being repeated ſeveral Times, the *Turks* deſpairing of Succeſs, and finding Recruits come to them out of *Europe*, drew off, and left the Iſle in the End of *September*, 1565.

After the *Turks* were gone, the Knights reſolv'd to build a new Town, where the Great Maſter with all the Order might conveniently dwell. They pitched upon the Tongue of Land where the Caſtle of St. *Erme* ſtands, from whence the *Turks* had ſo furiouſly driven them. The Great Maſter *John la Valetta* laid the firſt Stone of it, *March* 28, 1566, and from himſelf called it *Valetta*; it has been ſo fortified ſince, that none exceed, and few Places can equal it. The Entry into the Port is defended by the Caſtle of St. *Erme*, the *Baraque*, which has nine Pieces of Cannon, and the Baſtion of *Italy*, and on the other Side by the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, and a Tower, which has two or three Pieces of Cannon. The Town is no leſs ſtrong by Land than towards the Sea, being begirt with good Walls, built upon very high Rocks, with ſeveral Baſtions and other Pieces of Fortification, which are equally fair and ſtrong. The *Baraque* is very delightful, being covered with lovely Orange and Lemon-Trees planted in Rows, and having a great many Fountains, where the Water-works playing very high, give mighty Diverſion.

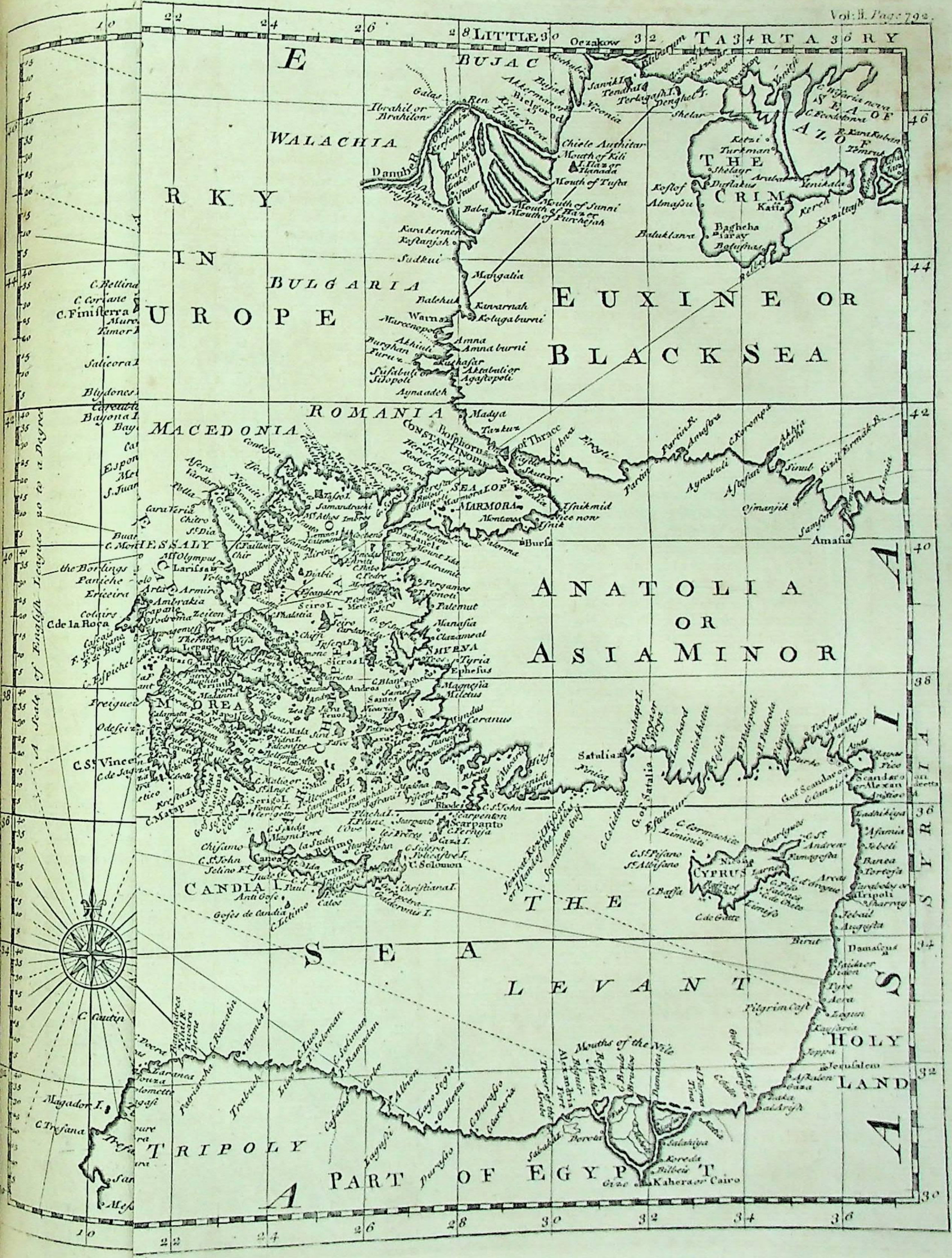
From the Port you go up an Hill to the Town, which is ſmall, but very pretty. It hath but two Gates, one leading to the Port, the other into the Country. There are ſeveral Churches in it, but that of St. *John* is the Chief. On one Side of it is a lovely Piazza, and at each Angle a Fountain. It is a large Building, and pretty high, paved with beautiful Marble, and adorned above with many Colours taken from Infidels. In this Church they pretend to have many fine Reliques, *viz.* St. *John Baptiſt*'s Right-Hand, and many others.

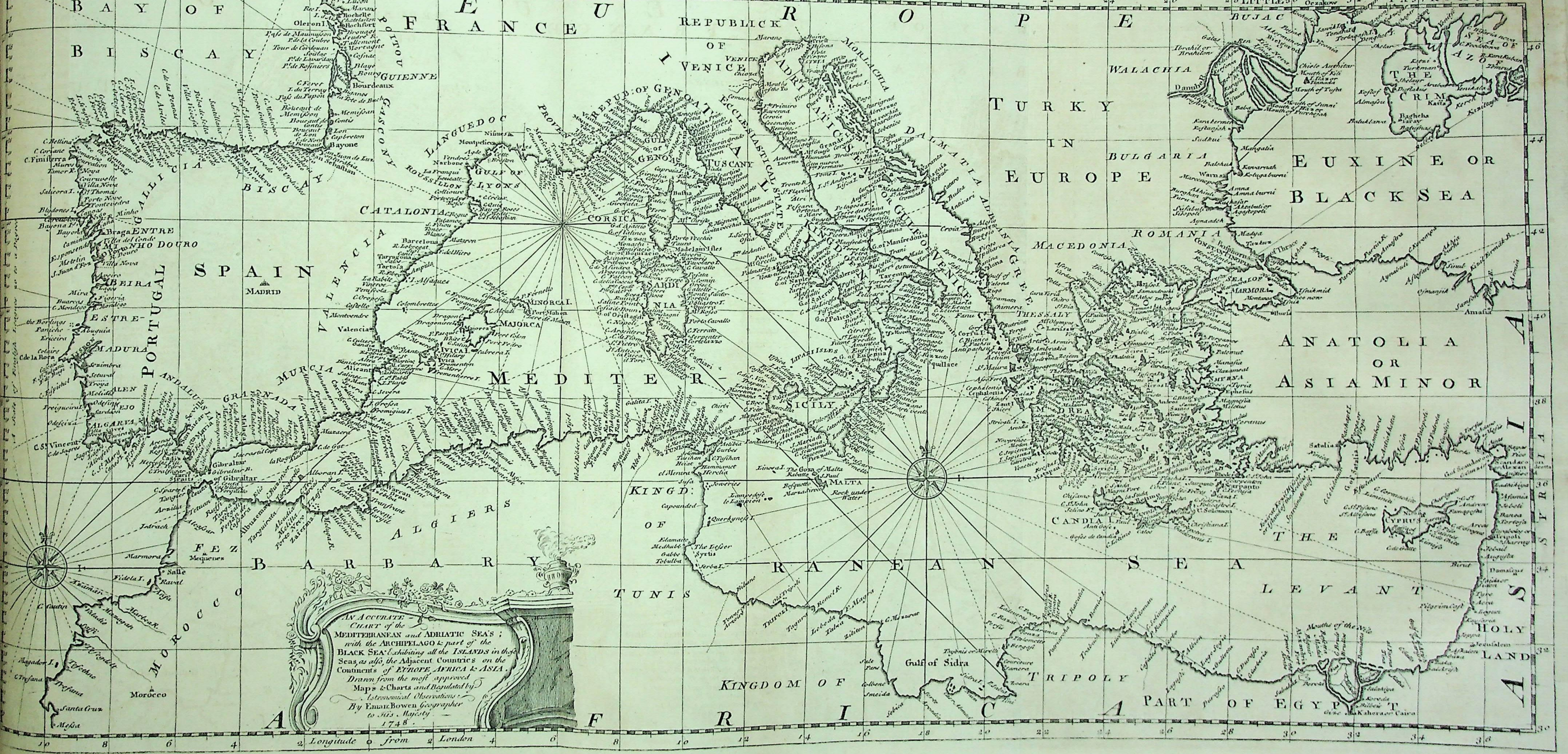
There are ſeveral admirable Buildings in the Town, among others the ſtately Palace of the Great Maſter, in which is a Magazine of Arms for 35 or 40,000 Men, kept very clean and in great Order, and among them the Arms of ſuch great Maſters as have been wounded in any Action, are to be ſeen with the Marks upon them. This Palace looks into a large Square, in the Middle of which is a charming Fountain, which throws up Water in great Quantities, and very high, and ſupplies the whole Town. The Palaces of the Conſervatory and Treaſury are fair Buildings, and ſo are the Inns.

The Hoſpital is very well built, and the Hall for the ſick Knights is hung with Tapeſtry, where they are attended by Knights, and ſerv'd in Plate. Poor Travellers find Entertainment here, till they can get Paſſage to the Place they are bound to, and then they are furniſhed with Proviſion, and their Charges are borne through their Voyage. The Jeſuits have a very well built Houſe, and a College there, and even the meaneſt Houſes make a good Show, being built of a large ſquare white Stone, which retains its Colour long, and ſeems always new: They are all flat Roofed. The Streets of the Town are incommodious, becauſe one goes always up Hill and down, but they are wide and ſtrait. The faireſt reacheth from the Caſtle of St. *Erme* to the *Royal Gate*, which is almoſt a Mile long, and in it they make the Horſes and Aſſes run the *Pallio* upon their Days of Rejoicing. The Country about it is full of Gardens, and very agreeable Places of Pleaſure. About twelve Miles from the City the Grand Maſter hath a Palace, built in Form of a Caſtle, and very uniform, the Halls of which are adorn'd with excellent Paintings, and it has very neat Gardens full of Orange, Citron, and Olive-Trees, with ſeveral lovely Fountains. At a little Diſtance from the Houſe is a Grove ſtocked with Game for his Diverſion.

Five Miles from *Malta* is the Iſle of *Gozo*, which is thirty Miles in Circuit, twelve in Length, and ſix in Breadth. It is a very wholſome Air, and though mountainous, is almoſt all cultivated, for the Inhabitants delight more in tilling the Land for Corn, than any other Sort of Huſbandry, though it has many Places well watered, and fit for Gardening and Paſture. On our *Lady-Day*, *September* the 8th, the Knights keep a Rejoicing yearly for the *Turks* raiſing the Siege of *Bourg*, with Maſs, Shooting, Feaſting, Races of the *Pallio*, and many other Diverſions.

4. Leaving *Malta*, *Thurſday Nov.* 1655, he ſailed by the Iſle of *Sapienza*, and having weathered Cape *Matapan*, came to an Anchor in the Bay of St. *Nicholas*, in the Iſle of *Cerigo*. Cape *Matapan* is a Promontory of the *Morea*, formerly called *Tenarus*, where *Arion*, carried by a Dolphin, was put on ſhore. This Country is inhabited by the *Meinots*, a People who live in the Mountains without Law or Government, and are ſubject


LITTLE TARTARY
Oczakow
BUJAC
Akkerman or Bielgorod
Ibrahil or Brahilow
Galas
WALACHIA
Danube R.
TURKY IN EUROPE
BULGARIA
Mouth of Kili
Mouth of Tusla
Mouth of Sunni
Baba
Kara kerman
Kostanjah
Mangalia
Kavarnah
Kolugaburni
Warna
Amna
Amna burni
Sisabuli or Sisopoli
Aktabulior Agatopoli
Madya
Tazkuz
THE CRIM
Kaffa
Bagheha Saray
Kerch
SEA OF AZOF
EUXINE OR BLACK SEA
ROMANIA
CONSTANTINOPLE
Bosphorus of Thrace
Scutari
Sinub
Kizil Ermak R.
Samson
Amasia
SEA OF MARMORA
Bursa
MACEDONIA
THESSALY
M. Olympus
Larissa
M. Athos
Lemnos
Smyrna
Ephesus
Scio I.
Samos I.
Rhodes
MOREA
C. Matapan
Cerigo I.
CANDIA I.
Canea
ANATOLIA OR ASIA MINOR
Satalia
CYPRUS
C. de Gatte
SYRIA
Tripoli
Damascus
Sidon
Tyre
Acra
HOLY LAND
Joppa
Jerusalem
THE LEVANT SEA
Mouths of the Nile
Alexandria
A PART OF EGYPT
Kahera or Cairo
Giza
TRIPOLY
AFRICA
ASIA
C. Finisterra
C. de la Roca
C. St. Vincent
Mogador I.
A Scale of English Leagues 20 to a Degree
10
22
24
26
28
30
32
34
36
46
44
42
40
38
36
34
32
30


An Accurate Chart of the Mediterranean and Adriatic Sea's; with the Archipelago & part of the Black Sea: Exhibiting all the Islands in those Seas, as also, the Adjacent Countries on the Continents of Europe, Africa & Asia. Drawn from the most approved Maps & Charts and Regulated by Astronomical Observations. By Eman. Bowen Geographer to His Majesty. 1748.

E U R O P E
A F R I C A
A S I A
Bay of Biscay
France
Poitou
Guienne
Gascony
Languedoc
Provence
Rossillon
Gulf of Lyons
Catalonia
Spain
Madrid
Portugal
Gallicia
Biscay
Entre Minho Douro
Beira
Estremadura
Alentejo
Algarva
Andalusia
Granada
Murcia
Valencia
Majorca
Minorca I.
Yvica
Corsica
Sardinia
Republick of Venice
Repub. of Genoa
Gulf of Genoa
Tuscany
Ecclesiastical State
Kingd. of Naples
Sicily
Malta
Lipari Isles
Moriacha
Dalmatia
Albania
Turky in Europe
Walachia
Bulgaria
Romania
Macedonia
Thessaly
Morea
Constantinople
Sea of Marmora
Little Tartary
Bujac
Sea of Azof
The Crim
Euxine or Black Sea
Anatolia or Asia Minor
Smyrna
Candia
Cyprus
Syria
Holy Land
Jerusalem
The Levant
Part of Egypt
Kahera or Cairo
Tripoly
Gulf of Sidra
Kingdom of Tripoly
Tunis
Kingd. of Tunis
Algiers
Barbary
Fez
Mequenes
Morocco
Gibraltar
Straits of Gibraltar
Mediterranean Sea
Longitude from London

ject to thoſe who have moſt Power in the Country, ſometimes the *Venetians*, and ſometimes the *Turks*. All their Buſineſs is to rob Travellers.

Cerigo was anciently called *Porphyris*, becauſe of the great Quantity of *Porphyrian* Marble found there, and *Cythera*. *Venus*, who is fabled to have been born of the Froth of the Sea, firſt dwelt here, and had a Temple near the Sea-ſide, the Ruins of which are ſtill ſhewn. It is the firſt Iſland in the *Archipelago*, or *Ægean* Sea, ſixty Miles in Compaſs, and five from the main Land. The *Venetians* are Maſters of it, and keep a good Garriſon there, becauſe it is a Paſs of very great Importance.

From *Cerigo*, where the Ship paid the Conſul a Piaſtre for Anchorage, he ſailed to *Zia*, leaving many inconſiderable Iſlands on the Right-hand, as *Melo*, *Antimelo*, &c. This Iſle was anciently called *Ceos*, or *Cea*, it is ſhaped like an Horſe-ſhoe, and fifty Miles in Circumference. The Soil is pretty good, producing Corn, Wine, Graſs, and a great many other Things, and the Harbour is full of Fiſh. The Inhabitants pay a Tribute to the *Turks* of 3400 Piaſtres, and to the *Venetians* 2600, beſides the Extortions and Robberies they meet with, which ſo impoveriſh them, that they are often forced to leave their Habitations. They are good People, and deſerve to be pitied, becauſe of the Miſeries they ſuffer both from Chriſtians and *Turks*. The chief Town of the ſame Name is five Miles from the Port; it is a large Place, containing ſeven hundred Houſes, but there is not above four hundred of them inhabited, the reſt being forſaken ſince the War of *Candia*. The Houſes are built of Stone and Earth, rank'd on the Side of an Hill like the Benches of an Amphitheatre. The Caſtle is ruinous, but ſtrong, ſo that ſixty *Turks*, with two Muſquets only, held out againſt the whole *Venetian* Army, under General *Moroſini*, till Want of Water forced them to yield.

From *Zia* he ſailed to *Andra*, anciently called *Andros*, ſixty Miles from it, and eighty in Circuit. It is reckoned the moſt fertile Iſland of the *Archipelago*. It produces almoſt all Things neceſſary, and Silk more eſpecially, for which they have a great Trade. The Port is pretty good, and the Town adjoining to it hath about two hundred Houſes. In the whole Iſland are about ſixty Villages, of which the moſt conſiderable are *Arni* and *Arnolacos*, inhabited by the *Arnauts* or *Albanians*, who are about twelve hundred Souls, and all of the *Greek* Church, differing in Language and Cuſtoms, yet all without any Diſcipline. Near theſe Villages is a large Monaſtery of an hundred ignorant Monks, called *Tagia*, who have a neat ſmall Church, which they ſupply, and ſix leſſer ones. There is a great Number of *Greek* Churches in the Iſle, which are under the Government and Diſcipline of a *Greek* Biſhop. The *Latins* alſo have a Biſhop there, and ſix Churches, of which the Cathedral is dedicated to St. *Andrew*. The Capuchins preach in them, and teach a School, to which the *Greeks* ſend their Children from as far as *Athens*.

The *Turks* diſpoſe of the temporal Affairs of this Iſle, and are but uneaſy Neighbours to the Chriſtians. The Jeſuits have a Church dedicated to St. *Veneranda*, and an Houſe near the Valley *Monites*, with a Garden full of Fruit-trees of all Sorts, which yield them conſiderable Profit. The Houſes in this Iſle are ill-built, and both the Air and Water bad. The Inhabitants are civil; their Women are chaſte, and ſpeak well, but their Apparel is unbecoming. The Inhabitants of the Towns love good Cheer and Diverſions, and care not much to labour, but the Peaſants are very induſtrious. Their Food is Goat's Fleſh, for though in their Woods there is good Veniſon and Wild-fowl, yet they have neither Huntſmen nor Fowling-pieces to catch them. The Sea affords them no Fiſh. They have neither Phyſician nor Chirurgeon, but when they are ſick, betake themſelves to the Mercy of God as their only Remedy.

5. From *Andra* he ſailed by the *Negropont*, *Sciro*, *Ipſicera*, *Chio* and *Tenedo*, to *Troy*, where there are ſtill conſiderable Ruins of that ancient and famous City, and thoſe of great Extent, *viz.* An Harbour, Pieces of large Pillars, and the Remains of a great Temple; but the Learned ſay, that they are only the Ruins of ſome Buildings erected there by the *Romans* long after the Deſtruction of *Troy*. From hence he paſſed the Mouths and entred the Channel of *Helleſpont*, where the *Turks* firſt paſſed over into *Europe*, and ſailing betwixt the Caſtles of the *Dardanels*, came to an Anchor. The *Dardanels* are two Caſtles, built on each Side the Channel of the *Helleſpont* by *Mahomet* II. Son of *Amurath* II. The one ſtands in *Europe*, in *Romania*, in the very Place where *Seſtos* formerly ſtood. This Caſtle is triangular, and beſides two Baſtions, hath three Towers covered with Lead, and twenty large Guns, which carry Stone Bullets of ſixty Pound Weight. The other is in *Aſia*, in a Plain where anciently *Abidos* ſtood. Theſe two Forts are the Keys of *Conſtantinople*, though at two hundred Miles Diſtance, for they can hinder any Ship, Friend or Foe, to paſs them without Leave, unleſs they will run the Hazard of being ſunk. All Ships that come from *Conſtantinople*, are ſearched here for contraband Goods and fugitive Slaves. Theſe Places are famous for the Loves of *Hero* and *Leander*, and *Xerxes*'s Bridge into *Europe*, which was made hereabouts. From *Andra* to this Caſtle is 280 Miles.

From thence he ſail'd to *Galliopoli*, which is reckoned thirty-five Miles. This Town was built by *Callias*, Prince of the *Athenians*, from whom it was called *Calliopolis*, which now is corrupted into *Gallipolis*. This Place is but thin peopled: The *Greeks* that dwell in it ſell *Raki*, or Brandy, for the moſt Part, and their Houſes have Doors not above two Yards high, to keep out the *Turks*, who will ride in elſe when they are drunk and turn all Things upſide down. It has a Tower and Arſenal, where are commonly laid up ſeveral Gallies.

6. Departing thence he paſſed the Iſle of *Marmora*, which gives Name to the Sea, that was formerly called the *Propontis*, and ſailing along by the *Seraglio* and *Conſtantinople*, came to an anchor at *Galata*, where is the Harbour of that City. The Sea of *Marmora*, or the *Propontis*, which is about 120 German Leagues in Compaſs, lies between the 38° and 41° of Northern Latitude, which makes the Clime ſo temperate, that is has neither the Inconveniencies of ſharp Cold, or burning Heats, which is the Reaſon that both Sides of it has been ſo well adorn'd with famous Cities: For on the *Aſian* Side ſtood *Ghizico*, a Town formerly famous not only for being built by the *Argonauts* 500 Years before *Rome*, but for its lofty Towers, magnificent Buildings, large Arſenals and Magazines, fine Amphitheatre and convenient Port, though Nothing now remains of all theſe Things but frightful Ruins, which are the Habitations of Owls.

Nice, called by the *Turks Iſnich*, famous for the firſt General Council. It is almoſt ſquare, and ſtands at the Extremity of a Bay in a fine Plain. On the N. E. is a Ridge of Hills, which abound with Wood, Vines, Fruits and Fountains. It is encompaſſed with Walls full of round Turrets, and had a Covert-Way that ran by them, but it is now ruined. The City is pretty large, the Streets neat, and has at leaſt 10,000 Inhabitants, as well *Greeks* as *Jews* and *Turks*, who trade in Corn, Fruit, Cotton, fine Cloth, *&c.* to *Conſtantinople*. There are here many Remains of Pagan and Chriſtian Antiquities, but theſe are ſo defaced by the *Turks*, that nothing admirable is to be diſcerned.

Montagma, or *Nicopolis*. It ſtands on a Bay anciently called *Cianus Sinus*, from the City of *Cium*, which once ſtood there. This Town is ſmall, but by Means of the Bay drives a great Trade to *Conſtantinople*, for its Nearneſs to *Burſa* brings all the Traffick of *Bithynia* to it. The Inhabitants are about five or ſix thouſand *Greeks*, *Turks*, and *Jews* and are all Merchants, and live by their Trade in Fruits, which they ſend to *Conſtantinople*.

Nicomedia, which, next to *Conſtantinople*, has the pleaſanteſt Situation of any City in the World. It ſtands at the Bottom of a Bay, and runs up the Side of an Hill, adorn'd with many Fountains, and is cover'd with Fruit-trees, Vineyards, and Corn. Their Garden-Fruits are extraordinary, and their Melons are thought by ſome to equal thoſe of *Cachan* in *Perſia* for Goodneſs, which are reckoned the beſt in the World. Here are Abundance of Remains of Antiquity, enough to ſatisfy the Curioſity of Travellers. It was built by the Nymph *Olbia*, but has its Name from *Nicomedes*, King of *Bithynia*, who enlarged it. It is famous for the Death of *Hannibal* and *Conſtantine* the Great, for the early Converſion of its Inhabitants to Chriſtianity, and the many Martyrs who ſealed the Faith with their Death.

It is called *Iſmit* by the *Turks*, and is a large and populous City, having about 30,000 Inhabitants, *Greeks*, *Armenians*, *Jews* and *Turks*, who moſt of them live by trading in Silks, Cotton-Wool, Linen-Cloths, Fruits, Earthen and Glaſs-Wares, and ſeveral other Commodities, which make it a City of great Traffick. There are a great many *Greek* Churches and fair Moſques, with ſeveral Inns and neat *Bazaars*, or Market-Places, in this Town. Moſt of the Ships and Veſſels which belong to *Conſtantinople* are built here, but they are ſorry Artiſts at it. On the right ſide of the Bay of *Nicomedia* is a Fountain of Mineral Water, which the *Turks* and *Greeks* ſay, cures all Diſtempers, and therefore flock to it mightily.

Chalcedon. This Town was once famous for the Temples of *Venus* and *Apollo*. Many Chriſtian Churches, and among them one dedicated to St. *Euphemia*, where the Fourth General Council ſate, and in Part of which, as it ſtill remains, the *Greeks* have yet their Religious Worſhip, and ſtrong Fortifications, and other fine Buildings it had; but is now reduced to a Village of 1000 or 1200 Houſes, and thoſe very ruinous. The City gives Name to the Streights adjoining, which are called *Fretum Chalcedonicum*, *Boſphorus Chalcedonius*, as well as *Boſphorus Thracius*, and near it is a Light-houſe and a Pleaſure-houſe belonging to the Grand Signior, called *Finari Kioſke*, which Sultan *Soliman* II. built for his Retirement with the Ladies of the *Seraglio*.

7. On the *Thracian* Side ſtands *Rodoſto*, or *Radiſto*, a Town well ſituated at the Extremity of a Bay, which affording it a very good Haven, fills it with Inhabitants, who drive a Trade all over *Thrace*, the *Propontis* and *Black Sea*. In it are three or four large Moſques, and ſome ſmall ones, ſome Chriſtian Churches belonging to the *Greeks*, and two *Jewiſh* Synagogues. The Town lies along the Sea-ſhore, where the Trade is, and toward the Land are many Gardens; but the Fruit is not very good, becauſe the Gardiners of *Turkey* are but unſkilful in their Art.

Perinthus, or *Heraclea*, which once gave Law to *Byzantium*, but now is ſubject to it. This Town hath two good Havens belonging to it, but one of them is ſo choaked up with the Rubbiſh and Filth of the City, that it ſerves only for Barks and Saicks. The Amphitheatre of *Heraclea* was one of the ſeven Wonders of the World; but now there are only ſome ſhatter'd Ruins of it. There are alſo ſeen many Pedeſtals with *Greek* Inſcriptions to *Severus*, *Trajan*, and other Emperors, who had conferred any ſignal Benefit upon the City; but the Statutes which once ſtood upon them are thrown down and demoliſhed. The Town at preſent is but thinly inhabited, and drives but a ſmall Trade, though they have many Commodities, ſuch as great Quantities of Cotton, Olives, Fruits, both green and dry, Skins and Wool. The Cathedral is one of the fineſt in all *Greece*, having a handſome Roof, and being very neat in the Inſide, and better contrived than the Patriarchal Church of *Conſtantinople*. There are five or ſix Churches beſides, but none of them in ſo good a Condition as the former, and two of them are wholly diſuſed. But though the Buildings and Trade of this City daily decay, and Time may blot it out of the World, yet the Sufferings of many Chriſtian Martyrs in it will keep up its Memory as long as the World endures.

8. In the *Propontis* are ſeveral Iſlands, *viz. Marmora*, which gives Name to the whole Sea, and is about ten Leagues in Compaſs. The chief Towns in it are *Gallioni* and *Craſtio*. The *Caloyers*, or *Greek* Monks, have ſeveral Convents or *Hermitages* in it. They are very auſtere in their Way of Living. 2. *Aveſia*, whoſe chief Town is of the ſame Name. It hath two other Villages called *Aloni* and *Arabi Kieny*, becauſe it is inhabited by *Arabians* only. 3. *Contalli*, which has a Town of the ſame Name: And, 4. *Gadoro*, which has only ſome Houſes and Cloyſters for Monks. Theſe four Iſlands go all by the Name of the firſt, and lie in a Cluſter, abounding with Cattle, Corn, Wine, Fruits, Cotton, &c. Their Fiſhery is alſo good, but they regard it only for their own Uſe, becauſe *Conſtantinople* is ſupplied from Places in its Neighbourhood. Nearer to *Conſtantinople* lies another Knot of Iſlands, called by the *Turks Papas Adaſſi*, by the *Greeks Papa Deniſſa*, or the Iſlands of the Monks; and by the *Europeans*, *The Pope's Iſles*. If *Conſtantinople* were in the Hands of the Chriſtians, they would be a perfect Paradiſe, and every one would have his Houſe of Pleaſure there; but being ſubject to the Ravages of the *Turks*, who often go thither to be drunk, and in their Heat rifle their Gardens and Vineyards, they lie in a Manner uncultivated, and only a few *Calayers* manure a little Bit of Land by the Monaſteries for Herbs and Roots for their own Uſe. Theſe *Caloyers* are Monks of St. *Baſil*, who retain the ancient Way of Living and Habit, without any Alteration. They lead a very retired and auſtere Life, and never eat any Fleſh. They obſerve four *Lents* in the Year, beſides ſeveral other Faſts; and ſome among them are ſo abſtinent, as to be ſatisfied with eating a little Bread and Pulſe, dreſſed with Salt and Water, once a Day; and others by Cuſtom have brought themſelves to eat once in two or three Days, during their *Lents*; and it is ſaid, ſome will eat but ſeven Times in the ſeven Weeks of their longeſt *Lent*, though this ſeems improbable; but theſe are only the moſt devout, which are but few. The reſt order Matters ſo cunningly, that they obſerve nothing leſs than Faſting; for though indeed they eat no Butter, Fiſh, Eggs, or Oil, and drink no Wine, yet they uſe other Things luxuriouſly, as Oiſters, Cavear, and Shell-fiſh, for Fiſh; Almonds, Piſtacho's, and Nuts, for Butter; *Aqua Vitæ*, Coffee, and Sherbet, for Wine, &c.

9. *Conſtantinople* has the happieſt Situation of any City in the World. It lies in *Europe* upon a Point of the main Land, jetting out towards the *Boſphorus* of *Thrace*, from whence it is but half an Hour's Paſſage into *Aſia*. On the Right-hand is the *White Sea*, or *Propontis*, by which there is an eaſy Paſſage into *Aſia*, *Ægypt*, and *Africa*, whereby it is ſupplied with all the Commodities of thoſe Places. On the Left-hand it hath the *Black* or *Euxine* Sea, and *Palus Mæotis*, by which it is furniſhed with all the Commodities of the North; inſomuch that there is nothing that can be neceſſary, uſeful, or pleaſant, which is not brought plentifully to *Conſtantinople*, the Winds always ſerving to bring in Commodities from one of thoſe Parts. The Port is by Nature the lovelieſt in the World, being ſix Miles in Compaſs, and a Mile over, and ſo deep in all Places, that a Ship may lay her Head a-ſhore without Danger.

It was anciently called *Byzantium*, and was built by *Pauſanias*, King of *Sparta*. The Emperor *Severus* demoliſhed it, to puniſh the Rebellion of the Inhabitants, and *Conſtantine* the Great rebuilt it, calling it *New Rome* firſt, and then *Conſtantinople*; being afterwards dedicated to the Virgin, it ſometimes bears the Name of *Parthenopolis*; the *Turks* call it *Iſtambol*, or *Stambol*.

After the Diviſion of the *Roman* Empire; it was the Seat of the Eaſtern Emperors, from whom, in 1209, it was taken by the *Venetians* and *French*, but recovered by the *Palæologi* fifty Years after, and fell into the Hands of the *Turks* on *Whitſunday*, 1453, who have kept it ever ſince. The Air in Summer would be very hot and incommodious, were it not cool'd by a Breeze which comes every Afternoon from the Mouth of the Port, by which it is render'd very healthful, ſo that no Diſeaſes are known here but the Plague, which makes a great Havock every Year. It is very ſubject to Earthquakes, ſo that ſometimes two happen in a Day. The Figure of it is triangular, one Side lying toward the *Propontis*, the other on the Port, and the third toward the Land. It is all encompaſſed with good Walls, and to the Land-ſide they are double, being built in ſome Places of Free-ſtone, and in others of Free-ſtone and Brick. It hath twenty-two Gates, ſix toward the Land, as many along the Port, and ten on the Streight of the *Propontis*, which have all Landing-places and Stairs, and the whole City is about twelve Miles in Compaſs.

The Caſtle of the Seven Towers joins the double Walls on the Continent Side to thoſe that lie upon the *Propontis*. It was anciently one of the City Gates, called *The Gilded Gate*, from the gilt Ornaments of it, and had four Turrets; but *Mahomet* II. becoming Maſter of *Conſtantinople*, added three new ones, and made it a Caſtle, ſtrong enough to keep the Treaſures of the Empire, and for that Purpoſe it ſerved a long Time; but at preſent it is only uſed as an honourable Priſon, where the Grand Signior ſhuts up ſuch Perſons of Quality and Slaves of Note as have incurred his Diſpleaſure. If any Chriſtians are confined in it, their Prieſts are allowed to come and ſay Maſs to them in a little Chappel; and if they are Knights of *Malta*, or other Perſons of Quality, they are allowed to go out, if an Ambaſſador, or other Perſon of Note, will be engaged for their Return. Sultan *Oſman* and *Heuſſein Baſha* were ſtrangled in this Caſtle.

Without the Walls, hard-by one of theſe Caſtles, are two large Statues of white Marble in Baſſe Relief, the one ſeems to be *Endimion*, and *Diana* coming down to ſee him, and the other the Nine Muſes, with the Horſe *Pegaſus*. They are done by a good Hand, but inferior to ſome Pieces in *Europe*. In going by Sea from this Caſtle to the *Seraglio*, there is a ſquare Tower ſtanding in the Sea, at about two Paces from the City-Walls, where, they ſay, *Juſtinian* impriſoned *Belizarius*, his famous General, out of meer Jealouſy, and having ſtript him of all, forced him to beg his Subſiſtence of charitable Paſſengers. Not far from this Tower is a Fountain, to which the *Greeks* always pay a great Veneration, and, upon the Day of Chriſt's Transfiguration, carry their Sick to it, to whom they give ſome of the Waters, and cover their Bodies a While with the Sand, and they ſay, wonderful Cures have been thus done by it. The *Greeks* have Abundance of theſe miraculous Fountains, which they ſuperſtitiouſly honour, and the Prieſts encourage them in it for their own Gain. Near this Fountain ſtands the *Kioſke*, or Pleaſure-houſe of the *Boſtangi Baſha*, or Overſeer of the Gardens. It is a Pavilion cover'd over juſt without the Walls of the Seraglio, and overlooks the *Propontis* and *Boſphorus Thracius*; but he, being in the fourth Poſt of the Empire, has no Time almoſt to take the Air. Beyond this *Kioſke* are a great many Cannon planted, ſo as to ſtrike any Ships that paſs between Wind and Water, to hinder the Entrance into the *Seraglio* or Port, if any ſhould attempt it by Force. Theſe Pieces are always charged, but never diſcharged, unleſs it be upon the firſt or ſecond Day of the Month *Bairam*, to give the *Muſſelmen* Notice of that ſolemn Feaſt, or upon the Account of publick Rejoicings, as the Taking of a City, or conquering ſome Province.

In the Middle of theſe Pieces of Cannon is one of the four Poſterns of the *Seraglio*, called *Boſtan Capi*, or the Gate of the Gardens. It is fortified with two large Turrets, and guarded by two Companies of *Boſtangi*'s, or Gardiners, who keep all from entring at this Gate, but the Sultanas and Officers of the *Seraglio*. After you have paſſed the Cannon, and doubled the Cape, where you paſs a Fountain, from which moſt of the Ships take in their freſh Water you come to two *Kioſkes*, built by Sultan *Soliman* to view the going out and coming in of the Men of War, and divert himſelf with his Women, of which he had Plenty. Both of them are well adorn'd and furniſhed with gilded Cupola's, Alcoves, Sopha's, Quilts, Cuſhions, Carpets, and all other Things fit for ſo great a Prince, but nothing can be imagined more noble than one of them. At theſe Pleaſure-houſes always attend ſome ſmall Galleys and Saick, ready to receive the Grand Signior and his Train whenever he pleaſes to divert himſelf. Theſe Galleys and Barks are very neatly gilded and painted all over, the Oars and Grappling Irons not excepted. Theſe are all the remarkable Things without the Walls, both of the City and *Seraglio*. We muſt now go into the City.

10. It ſtands upon ſeven little Hills, as old *Rome* did, and the Houſes are ſo diſpoſed, that one takes not away the Sight from the other. The Streets are narrow for the moſt part, but there are ſeveral ſtately Buildings in them. There are many magnificent Moſques in it, of which the moſt magnificent is that of *Santa Sophia*, which was anciently a Chriſtian Church, built by the Emperor *Juſtin*, enlarged, enriched, and adorned by *Juſtinian*, and dedicated to the Wiſdom of God, *Hagia Sophia*. The *Turks* have changed it into a Moſque, but retain the Name. This Fabrick is 114 Paces in Length, 80 in Breadth, and as many in Height, ſquare without, but round within. The Moſque is very ſpacious, hath a Dome in the Middle, in the Form of a flatted Globe, which is a ſingular Kind of Architecture. It is paved with fine Marble, and matted, that the Cold may not hurt ſuch as come to worſhip without Slippers, and ſquat down in their Service. There is a Tomb, which, the *Turks* ſay, is *Conſtantine*'s, and a Stone on which, they believe, the Virgin waſhed our Lord's Linen, and they bear a great Reverence to it.

The Church was painted in *Moſaic* with Croſſes and Images of Chriſt, the Holy Ghoſt, the Virgin, and other Saints, which yet appear, though the *Turks* have endeavour'd to deface them, for they ſuffer no Images. Within are two Galleries one over another, that go round the Church, and are ſupported by ſixty-two Pillars, which 'tis ſuppoſed, were for the Women when it was a Church. On the Out-ſide of the Church are four Steeples, very high and ſlender, on which are ſeveral Balconies, from whence the *Maezims* call to Prayers. It is big enough to hold 40,000 People, which Number uſually meet in it at their *Bairam* or Paſſover. In a little Street on the Back of this Church are two large thick Pillars, where, they ſay, Juſtice was wont to be adminiſtred, and by them an old Tower, where the Grand Signior's Beaſts are kept, *viz.* Lions, Wolves, Foxes, Leopards, a ſpotted Lynx, the Skin of a Giraff, and other rare Creatures.

Beſides this Moſque, there are ſeven others, call'd Royal or Imperial, of which the Chief is called *Solimania*, becauſe it was built by Sultan *Soliman*, whoſe Coffin remains in it, adorned with Carpets, a Turban ſet with Heron-Feathers and precious Stones, and Lamps burning. Several *Alcorans* are chain'd to it, that the People may read them, and pray for the Defunct's Soul, and ſome are hired to do it, for the Grand Signiors take care to leave a Fund for continual Prayers to be ſaid for them after their Death. Near this there is another, where lies the Body of a Sultana whom *Soliman* loved extreamly, as alſo of Sultan *Selim*, his ſecond Son. This Moſque hath a moſt lovely Cloiſter with Bagnio's and Fountains. The New Moſque, built by Sultan *Achmet*, is one of the faireſt and moſt magnificent in *Conſtantinople*. The Entry into it is through a large Court. It is a great Moſque, hath a ſtately Dome, and is full of Lamps, and many Curioſities in Glaſs-Balls.

The faireſt of all, are the Moſques of Sultan *Mehemmet*, Sultan *Selim*, and that which is call'd *Chahzadeh Meſdgidi*, i. e. The King's Son's Moſque, being built by one of *Soliman*'s Sons, and *Bajazet*'s. All theſe Moſques have Hoſpitals and Schools, where a great many poor Scholars are maintained, and educated. Moſt of the ancient Statues, Obeliſks and Pillars, ſet up by *Conſtantine* and his Succeſſors, are entirely ruined, yet the large *Hippodrome*, called by the *Turks*, *Atmeidan*, where they exerciſed their Horſes in Racing, is ſtill to be ſeen. It is a large Square, 550 Paces long, and 150 broad. In the Midſt of it is an Obeliſk pretty entire, mark'd with Hierogliphick Letters, and at a little Diſtance from it a pretty high Pillar, made of large Stones, laid one upon another without Cement, and towards the End of it is a Pillar made of three brazen Serpents twiſted together, and the Heads make the Capital. It was ſaid to be the *Taliſman* or Spell, raiſed by *Leo Iſauricus* the Emperor againſt Serpents, ſo that none would come near, till *Mahomet* II. when he took *Conſtantinople*, beat off the under Jaw of one of them with his *Zagaye*, and now they are ſaid to do no Hurt, becauſe it is ſtanding. The Occaſion of erecting it is as fabulous as the Virtue, and ſo the Relation may be ſpared.

The *Grand Beziſtan*, or *Exchange*, is a noble Building and a glorious Sight. It is a great round Hall, built all of Free-Stone, and ſurrounded with a thick Wall, by which are Shops full of the richeſt Commodities. It hath ſeveral Gates, which are ſhut faſt a Nights, and becauſe no Body lies in it, it is guarded by ſeveral Watchmen, till it is opened again. Each Body of Merchants or Tradeſmen have an Apartment by themſelves, and no Man may ſell the ſame Commodities in another Place. All Manner of Goods are here ſold, during the Time it is open.

There is alſo another *Beziſtan*, but neither ſo large nor ſo well ſtocked with Goods. There are alſo ſeveral *Bazaars*, or publick Markets, in one of which, called the *Auret Bazaar*, or Womens Market, is a Pillar of an extraordinary Height, called, the *Hiſtorical Column*, becauſe from the Top to the Bottom, which is 147 Foot, are repreſented in *Baſſa Relievo*, ſeveral Expeditions, Battles, and other remarkable Events, during the Empire of *Arcadius*. 'Tis all of Marble, but much defaced, and the Houſes ſtand ſo near to it, that one can't have room to examine or find out the Figures of it. There are Stairs in it to aſcend up to the Top, but the *Turks* will ſuffer no Man to go up them. In the Quarter of the *Janizaries*, near the Baths of *Ibrahim Baſha*, in the Court of a private Man's Houſe, ſtands the Column of the Emperor *Marcian*. It is all of ſpotted Marble, about fifteen Foot high, and its Capital of the *Corinthian* Order. On the Top is a ſquare hollow Stone, adorned with four Eagles at each Corner. It is reaſonable to think his Heart was put in this Stone, and his Body buried under the Column. The other is call'd, *The Burnt Pillar*, becauſe it has been lately burnt by a Fire that happen'd near it, which has ſo ſhatter'd it, that they have been forc'd to keep it tight with Iron-Bars. It is compoſed of eight Pieces of *Porphyrian* Marble, ſo neatly join'd, that they ſeemed but one Stone, till the Fire damag'd it, but now they are all ſeen.

11. The Grand Signior's *Seraglio*'s are alſo remarkable Buildings. They are the Palaces where the *Ottoman* Princes ordinarily keep their Courts. The Word is taken from *Serrai*, which ſignifies a noble Houſe. There are two *Seraglio*'s belonging to the Grand Signior, *viz.* The *Old*, and the *New*, which being much the more noble Building, though nothing ſo magnificent as the Palace of ſo great a Prince ought to be, is called the *Grand Seraglio*. It is of a triangular Form, two Sides whereof are encompaſſed by the *Thracian Boſphorus*, and the other divides it from the Town. It ſtands in the Place of the ancient *Byzantium*. It is three Miles in Compaſs, and is encloſed within a very ſtrong Wall, upon which are divers Watch-Towers, on which the *Agliam-Oglams* watch Night and Day. It hath many Gates both to the Sea and Land-ſide, but the chiefeſt is towards the City, and that is uſed daily, but the reſt are never opened but upon ſome ſpecial Occaſion; thoſe to the Sea-ward, when the Sultan or ſome chief Officer of the *Seraglio* open them for Pleaſure; and thoſe to the Land-ward, when the Grand Signior orders ſome Great Man to be put to Death, or upon ſome other great Deſign.

The chief Gate above-mention'd is guarded Day and Night by the Companies of *Capoochees*, or Porters, under the Command of the *Capoochee-Baſha*'s, or Captains of the Porters. A Company of *Janizaries* watch without the Palace, who are to give Notice of any Accident. And by the Sea-ſide, the *Agliam-Oglams* watch in Towers upon the Wall, and if any Shipping attempt any Miſchief they have Ordnance ready charged, and the Gunners lying cloſe by them. In this *Seraglio* are many ſtately Rooms, ſuiting the Seaſons of the Year, the greateſt Part whereof are built upon plain Ground, and ſome upon the Hills and Sea-ſide, which are called *Kioſks*, or Banquetting-Houſes. Among theſe is the Chamber where the Grand Signior gives Audience to Ambaſſadors, Baſha's, *&c.* This Room ſtands in a Court adorn'd with many delicate Fountains, and is furniſhed with rich Carpets and Crimſon Velvet embroidered with Pearls, and the Walls covered with fine white Stones, and by it is a ſmall Room covered with ſilver Plate hatch'd with Gold.

To theſe Lodgings of the Sultan belong fair Gardens, with all Sorts of Flowers and Fruits, pleaſant Walks and Marble Fountains. There are alſo Lodgings for the Women like a Nunnery, wherein the Sultana Queen, the other *Sultana*'s, and all the Grand Seignior's Women Slaves dwell, in which are Bed-chambers, Dining-Rooms, Bagnio's, and all other Buildings neceſſary for the Service of the Women. There are alſo convenient Rooms for the principal and inferior Officers, all well furniſhed, among which are the *Hazineh*, or King's private Treaſury and Wardrobe, both ſtrong Buildings with Iron Doors, which are kept continually ſhut, and the former is ſealed with the King's Seal. In the *Seraglio* are alſo Rooms for Prayer, Baths, Schools, Butteries, Kitchins, Diſtilling-rooms, Places to ſwim in, to run Horſes, and for Wreſtling and Shooting at Buts, and, in a Word, all other Conveniencies for a Prince's Palace.

At the Entrance into the *Seraglio* is a very large and ſtately Gate, where there is a Guard always ſtanding of fifty *Capigies*. This leads into a very ſpacious Court of near a Quarter of a Mile ſquare, but it is not paved. The *Baſha*'s, and other great Men may ride into it, and near the Gate is a Piazza for the Shelter of Men and Horſes. On the Right-ſide of it is an Hoſpital for all that fall ſick in the *Seraglio*, and an Eunuch called *Haſteler Agaſi*, looks after them. On the Left Side is a Place where they keep their Timber and Carts, to be ready for the Service of the Palace, and over it an Hall, where are hang'd up Weapons of Antiquity, as Cimitars, Javelins, Bows, Head-pieces, Gantlets, *&c.* which are lent to the Soldiers when the Grand Signior, or chief Vizier makes any ſolemn Entry into *Conſtantinople*.

After having paſſed through this great Court, you come to another Gate, leſs than the former, but neater and more coſtly, in which there is alſo a ſtately Porch, and a Guard of *Capoochees*. This leads into another Court leſs than the former, but far more beautiful and pleaſant, adorned with Fountains and Walks, Rows of Cypreſſes and Graſs-Plats rail'd in, where the Gazels, feed. It is near 300 Paces ſquare, and the Walks are paved. In this Court all muſt walk on Foot, except the Grand Signior. On both Sides of this Gate is an open Gallery, where the *Chiauſſes*, or Purſuivants, the *Janizaries* or Foot Guards, and *Spahi*'s, or Horſe-Guards, ſtand in their Ranks, very well apparell'd, when any Ambaſſadors enter, or on other ſolemn Occaſions. In this Court are ſeveral Kitchins, with their Offices and Larders, for the *Sultana*'s, and other Officers of the Court. On the Left Side is the Sultan's little Stable for about thirty five Horſes for his Highneſſes Uſe, and over it Rooms for their Furnitures, which are very rich, ſet with Jewels, to the Admiration of all Beholders. Next the Stable are Rooms for the Officers of the *Divan*, or Court of Juſtice, and by them the Chamber, where the *Divan* ſits, and a little behind that is the Gate that leads to the Womens Lodgings.

At the End of this Court is the Royal Gate, which leads to the Sultan's Lodgings, and may not be entred by any, but ſuch Gentlemen as attend him, and others that ſerve him, without Leave from the Sultan himſelf. This Gate is kept by the *Capee-Aga*, or chief Chamberlain, and a Company of white Eunuchs. The Court is paved with fine Marble, wrought with *Moſaic* Work, and adorn'd with curious Fountains, and a Lake where the Grand Signior has a fine gilt Boat for his Recreation. In the Buildings, which are ſumptuous, are a Chamber of Audience, a Row of Summer-Rooms ſtanding on a little Hill, and looking toward the Sea, a large Hall ſtanding on Pillars, and opening towards the Eaſt, and by it the Grand Signior's Bed-Chamber, the Walls of which are covered with the fineſt *China* Metal, and the Floors with very coſtly *Perſian* Carpets of Silk and Gold. The Poſts of the Bedſted are Silver, the Canopy, Bolſters, Mattreſſes, and Pallets, are all of Cloth of Gold. Behind the Hall is a Place to ſhoot in, where for that Purpoſe are laid up many Bows and Arrows.

12. The *Divan* ſits four Days in a Week, *viz. Saturday*, *Sunday*, *Monday* and *Tueſday*, upon which Days the *Vizier-Azem*, or chief Viſier, who is the ſupream Judge, and repreſents the Grand Signior; with all the reſt of the Viſiers, the two *Cadileſckers*, or Judges of the Armies in *Greece* and *Natolia*; the three *Teſterdars*, or Treaſurers; the *Reiskitaub*, or Chancellor; the *Neſhaunge*, or Keeper of the Mark, with their Secretaries and Clerks; the *Chiauſh-Baſha* and his Officers, are to be at the *Divan* by Break of Day. All Cauſes are determined by the *Vizier-Azem*, if he pleaſes, for the *Baſha's* do not ſpeak, but only hearken and attend till he refers any Thing to their Judgment, as he often does for Expedition, reſerving the Cauſes of the greateſt Conſequence and Importance to himſelf, as the *Caimekam* or his Deputy does alſo in his Abſence.

The Petitioners ſpeak for themſelves, or deſire the Help of a *Chiauſh*, for they have no Pleaders, or Attorneys. When the chief Viſier hath heard their Suits, he conſults with the *Baſhas*, and then reſolves and determines them as he will himſelf. This he doth uſually after Dinner, and then he repairs on *Sundays* and *Tueſdays* to the Chamber of Audience, to give an Account to his Sublime Highneſs of what Buſineſs he has diſpatched. Sometimes the Grand Signior will come privately to a little Window, which is cover'd with a Lattice, and looks into the *Divan*, to hear the Cauſes; and this forces the chief Viſier to act circumſpectly and juſtly in managing Affairs, while he ſits in the *Divan*, tho' at other Times his Hands are open to Bribery, and he will carry Buſineſs as he pleaſes; but all Things are diſpatched without Delay.

When an Ambaſſador from any great Prince is to kiſs the Grand Signior's Hand, the Grand Viſier calls a great *Divan* of all the Grandees of the Port, and all the *Chiauſhes*, *Mutafurrake's*, *Spahi's*, and *Janizaries* are order'd by the Captains to dreſs themſelves in the beſt Manner they are able, and ſtand in their Places in the ſecond Court. When the *Divan* is ſet in their Order, the chief Viſier ſends a *Chiauſh-Baſha* with many of his *Chiauſhes* on Horſeback, to conduct the Ambaſſador to the *Divan*, where he is placed cloſe to the Viſier, who having compli'mented him a while, entertains him at Dinner, and then conveys him to a Room by the Imperial Gate with his Attendants, till the Sultan is ready to receive him. In the mean Time the Ambaſſador's Preſent is carried about the ſecond Court, in the Sight of all People, and then is brought to the Sultan, and the Grand Viſier ſends the Ambaſſador ſeveral Veſts, appointed by the ancient Rule, for himſelf and Gentlemen, to put on for that Ceremony.

The Veſts for the Ambaſſador are of Cloth of Gold of *Burſa*, but for the reſt, they are of little or no Value; yet the Ambaſſador muſt make a Preſent to the Grand Signior of more than the Worth of them. Then the Ambaſſador is conducted by the Maſter of the Ceremonies to kiſs the Sultan's Hand, (which is, indeed, but his Hanging-ſleeve;) which done, the *Druggoman*, or Interpreter, declares the Ambaſſador's Commiſſion; to which the Grand Signior makes no Anſwer, (for he diſdains to ſpeak to a Chriſtian) but ſpeaking to the chief Viſier, refers all Proceedings to his Diſcretion, and ſo the Ambaſſador departs, bowing his Head to the Sultan, but pulls not off his Hat at all. Other Ambaſſadors of Petty Princes, or State, though they have Veſts given them alſo by the Grand Signior, yet come not to the *Divan*, but go privately with their Preſents. All Ambaſſadors are maintain'd by the Grand Signior, except thoſe from the States of *Venice*, during their Abode at the Port, but it is hard to get his Allowance through the Baſeneſs of the Officers.

13. All Perſons, that live in the Seraglio, are the Grand Signior's Slaves, as are alſo all that are ſubject to his Empire; for they all acknowledge, that whatever they enjoy proceeds from his Good-will, and that their Eſtates and Lives are abſolutely at his Diſpoſal.

There are in the Sultan's Court about twelve hundred Women old and young. The Sultan's Concubines, who are kept for their Beauties, are all young Virgins, ſtollen from foreign Nations, inſtructed in good Behaviour, Dancing, Muſick, Singing, and curious Sewing, and are given to the Grand Signior as Preſents by the *Tartars*, Baſhaws, and other great Men, and ſo their Number is uncertain. Theſe Virgins, immediately upon their coming into the *Seraglio*, are made *Turks* by uſing this Ceremony: They are to hold up their Finger and ſay theſe Words, *There is no God but God alone, and* Mahomet *is the Meſſenger of God*; and then being examined by an old Woman, called *Kabiyah Cadun*, i. e. the Mother of the Maids, they are placed in a Room with their Equals in Age and Diſpoſition. All the Women live like Nuns, but have large Apartments to dwell in. Their Beds are coarſe and hard, made of Flocks; and by every tenth Virgin lies an old Woman, and there are Lamps always burning by them. Near their Apartments they have Baths and Fountains for their Uſe, and, above their Bed-chambers, Places to ſit and ſew in. They dine in Companies, and are waited upon by other Women, wanting Nothing that is neceſſary for them. There are alſo Schools for ſuch as will learn to read or ſpeak the *Turkiſh* Tongue, work or play, and ſome Hours are allowed them for Walking and Recreations.

The Sultan never ſees theſe Virgins, unleſs when they are firſt preſented to him, or when he deſires to have one of them for his Bedfellow, and divert himſelf with Muſick, or ſome other Paſtime. When the Grand Signior deſires a freſh Mate, he gives Notice to the *Kabiyah Cadun*, who picks out the faireſt and moſt pleaſing, and having placed them in two Rows in a Room, brings in the Sultan, who walking four or five Times in the Midſt of them, views them, and as he goes out, throws his Handkerchief into the Virgin's Hand which he chuſes to lie with. This Choice is accounted a great Favour, and the *Cadun* uſes all the Art ſhe can to prepare her for it, by attiring, painting and perfuming her, and at Night ſhe is brought to ſleep with the Grand Signior in certain Chambers ſet apart for that Buſineſs in the Womens Lodgings. By the Bed they have great wax Tapers burning all Night, and *Mooriſh* Women ſitting by them. In the Morning when the Sultan riſes, he changes all his Apparel, and leaves them to her he lay with, and the Money in the Pockets, and then departs to his own Lodgings, from whence he ſends her immediately a Preſent of Jewels, Money and Veſts of greater or leſs Value, according to the Satisfaction he received from her.

If any conceive by him, and bring him forth his firſt begotten Child, ſhe is called *Sultana Queen*, and if it be a Son, ſhe is confirmed and eſtabliſhed by great Feaſts and Solemnities, and thenceforward has an Apartment, Servants, and a large Revenue appointed her, and all Perſons in the *Seraglio* muſt pay her the Reſpect of a Queen. The other Women that bear him Children are called *Sultana's*, but not Queens, yet live in ſeparate Apartments, are well ſerved and attended, and have no Want either of Money or Apparel, according to their Degree. But if it happens that the firſt-begotten Son of the Queen, Heir to the Empire, dies, and another of the Sultana's have a Son to ſucceed the deceaſed Heir, the former is deprived of her Revenue and Royalty, but remains a Sultana, and the latter becomes Queen, and ſo the Title runs from one Sultana to another by Virtue of the Son's Right to the Succeſſion.

In Times paſt the Grand Signior was married to the Queen, but now ſhe paſſes without celebrating any Nuptial Rites; yet the Mother of the Heir enjoys all the Prerogatives of a Queen, and has a Guard of thirty or forty black Eunuchs, under the Command of the Kizlar-Aga, their Maſter, to be employed on her Occaſions. Theſe Sultana's never go out of the *Seraglio* but in the Sultan's Company, and are never ſeen by any but ſuch as attend them, who are thoſe black Eunuchs, and have all cut off clear to the Belly, that there may be no Danger from them.

The Grand Signior's Daughters, Siſters and Aunts, have their Lodgings alſo in the ſame *Seraglio*, and being royally ſerv'd, and ſumptuouſly apparell'd, live by themſelves in continual Pleaſures, until ſuch Time as, at their Requeſt, the Sultan ſhall be pleaſed to give them in Marriage, and then they come forth, and carry each of them a Cheſt along with them, which the Grand Signior gives them full of rich Apparel, Jewels, and Money, to the Value of about thirty thouſand Pounds *Sterling*, beſides what they hoarded for themſelves before, which amounts ſometimes to a great deal; and if the Grand Signior be diſpoſed to deal generouſly with them, they are ſuffered to carry with them twenty Women Slaves, and as many Eunuchs, and he continues their Allowance of a thouſand or fifteen hundred Aſpers a Day, which they had in the *Seraglio*, and furniſhes their Houſes; and if the Huſband of ſuch a Lady has not an Houſe fit for her, the Sultan gives her one of his own.

As for the Huſband, he is to make her a Bill of Dowry of at leaſt 100,000 Checquins in Money, beſides Veſts, Jewels, and other Ornaments, which amount to a great Sum. Being married, they converſe with Men no more than they did before, except their Huſbands, but only with Women, viſiting their old Acquaintance in the *Seraglio*, but not without the Grand Signior's Leave. The *Sultana's* thus married, are for the moſt part their Huſbands Miſtreſſes, inſulting over them, and commanding them as they pleaſe, wearing an *Hanjar*, or Dagger, in Token of their Power over them, and ſometime they will put them away and take others, and ſuch a Divorce commonly proves the Death of the Huſband, whom the Grand Signior leaves to their Will.

The other Women either grow old in the *Seraglio*, and ſo are made Miſtreſſes of the young ones, or are ſent into the old *Seraglio*, which they account their beſt Fortune, becauſe from thence they may be married, with the Conſent of the Miſtreſs, and carry away the Riches they have got, which is very conſiderable, partly by ſaving out of the Sultan's Allowance, and by the Preſents made them upon their *Bairam*, and by the *Baſha*'s Wives. Hither alſo, after the Sultan's Death, are all the Sultanas ſent, except the Sultana Queen, and if they are wealthy, they marry to Men of reaſonable Quality, yet with the good Will of the Miſtreſs, and Conſent of the Grand Signior. The Women of the *Seraglio* are puniſhed for their Faults very ſeverely, and are ſoundly beat by their Overſeers, and if they prove diſobedient and incorrigible, they are by the Sultan's Order ſent into the old *Seraglio*, and the beſt Part of what they have, taken from them; but if they are found guilty of Witchcraft, Whoredom, or any ſuch notorious Crime, they are bound Hand and Foot, and being put into a Sack, are in the Night caſt into the Sea.

14. The *Seraglio* may be properly termed the Seminary or Nurſery of the beſt Subjects, for in it all have their Education, who afterwards become the principal Officers or ſubordinate Rulers of the State and Affairs of the Empire, and theſe are they which are called the *Agliam-Oglans, i. e.* unexpert and untutor'd Youths. There are ordinarily about 6 or 700 of them, from twelve to twenty five or thirty Years of Age at moſt, being all Chriſtian Children, gather'd up every three Years in the *Morea* and throughout all the Parts of *Albania*. They are taken from ſuch Families as are ſuppoſed to be of the beſt Spirit and moſt warlike Diſpoſition, and as ſoon as they are brought into the *Seraglio*, they are circumciſed and made *Turks*. They are at firſt put to very baſe and ſlaviſh Employments, ſuch as to ſerve in the Stables, Kitchens and Gardens, Digging and Cleaving Wood, and are made to row in *Saicks* or Barges, and to lead the Greyhounds to Courſing, or whatever elſe they are commanded to do by the *Oda-Baſhas*, or Captains. They are allow'd from two to five Aſpers a Day, but afterwards ſuch as have a Deſire to learn, are taught to read and write, and generally all of them are taught to wreſtle, leap, run, throw the Iron-Bar, ſhoot the Bow, diſcharge a Piece, and all other Exerciſes becoming a *Turkiſh* Soldier.

The Grand Signior makes uſe of them, when he intends a Journey to any Place for pitching his Tents, removing or carrying his Cheſts, and ſuch like Services, for which Employment he never takes with him leſs than three or four hundred of them. The *Boſtangee-Baſha* always takes with him a good Number of them, when by the Sultan's Order he puts ſome great Man to Death, which is commonly done by the Hands of theſe *Agliam Oglans*. They are capable of being made Stewards to the *Boſtangee-Baſha*, and may riſe to that great Office, which is an eminent Place, for he hath the Keeping of all the Grand Signior's Gardens, and Houſes, ſteers the Sultan's *Saick*, and wears a Turbant in the *Seraglio*, and if he be in Favour, he is preferred to higher Dignities, *viz.* to be *Captain-Baſha*, *Baſha* of *Cairo*, *Damaſcus*, *Aleppo*, &c. and ſometimes he comes to be *Vizier-Azem*, or Prime-Miniſter.

There are other Youths educated in the *Seraglio*, called *Itchoglans*, but in a far better Manner than the former. They are brought up in Learning, in the Knowledge of the Law and Military Exerciſes for the Sultan's and their Country's Service, and to underſtand thoſe Things which belong to the Government of the whole Empire. By the ancient Inſtitution they ſhould be always made of Chriſtian Renegado's and Captives of the nobleſt that can be found; but the *Capee Aga*, or chief Chamberlain, brings in ſome natural-born *Turks* of the beſt Aſpects, and who promiſe well, but with the Sultan's Conſent. The Number of them is uncertain, but it is ſaid, they are commonly about one hundred. As ſoon as they come into the *Seraglio*, they are exceedingly well inſtructed, and daily taught, as well polite Behaviour, as the Rites and Ceremonies of the *Mahometan* Law, and whatſoever may tend to the Improvement of their Minds, and for this Purpoſe there are four *Oda*'s, or Schools, being ſo many Degrees, every one higher than the other.

In the firſt, called the *Choukou-Oda*, they all come when they are but Children, and there learn Silence, the Poſtures of holding down their Heads and looking downwards, with their Hands before them join'd acroſs, which are expreſſive of ſingular Reverence, and are uſed by ſuch as are before the Sultan. Then they learn to write and read the *Turkiſh* Tongue, and are taught their Prayers by Heart in the *Arabian* Tongue, and that they may learn theſe Things well, are encouraged to Admiration. In this School they ſtay about five or ſix Years, and ſuch as are dull ſtay much longer.

In the ſecond School, called *Quilar Oda*, they are taught by more learned and ſufficient Tutors the *Perſian*, *Arabian* and *Tartarian* Tongues, and to that End the Profeſſors take great Pains in reading divers Authors in thoſe Languages. Here they begin to wreſtle, ſhoot the Bow, throw the Iron Mace, toſs the Pike, run and handle their Weapons, &c. and in theſe Exerciſes in ſeveral Orders and Places they ſpend certain Hours daily, and are ſeverely puniſhed if they are found negligent in the leaſt.

In this *Oda* they alſo ſpend four or five Years, and being become ſtrong Men fit for any Thing, they are removed to the third, where forgetting Nothing they have already learn'd, they are taught further to ride, and how to behave themſelves in the Wars. Beſides all this, every one of them learns a Trade neceſſary for the Service of the Sultan's Perſon, as to ſhave, make a Turbant, fold up Apparel handſomely, pare Nails, attend at the Bath, keep Hawks, to be Sewers, Querries of the Stables, Target-Bearers, wait at Table, &c. While they are in theſe three Schools they are but meanly apparell'd, having yearly only two Cloth-Veſts, ſomewhat fine, but their Linen is coarſe. In this *Oda* their Puniſhments are ſevere, for their Maſters will give them an hundred Blows for great Faults upon the Soles of their Feet or Buttocks, inſomuch that they are oftentimes left for dead. In this School none is ſuffered to be familiar with any but their Companions, ſo that none may ſpeak with them, but by Leave from the *Capee-Aga*, and that in the Preſence of an Eunuch. When they go alſo to the Bath, or about any other Buſineſs, they have Eunuchs attending them, to keep them from any Lewdneſs, and for the ſame Reaſon they have Eunuchs lying by them always in their Bed-Chambers.

Here alſo, before they are raiſed to the 4th *Oda*, the Eunuchs uſe all Arts to try whether they are firm to *Turciſm*, and have no Inclination to Chriſtianity, and being thus proved, they are preferr'd to what is call'd *Haz-Oda*, or, *The Prince's Chamber*. Here it is that all Puniſhments ceaſe, and they may freely converſe with all the Great Men of the *Seraglio*, and being cleanly and neat in their Apparel, the Grand Signior takes them along with him when he goes abroad upon Pleaſure, if none of his Women be with him. Out of the young Men thus perfected and compleated in their Education, the King chuſeth his *Aga's* and *Baſha's*, viz. the *Seliƈtar Aga*, the Sultan's Sword-Bearer; the *Chioadar-Aga*, he that carries his Yagmoorlick; *Rachi Aga*, Yeoman of the Stirrup; *Mataragee-Aga*, who brings him Water to waſh his Hands and Face; *Talbenter-Aga*, he that brings his Turbant; *Kembaſir-Aga*, he that looks to his Apparel and the waſhing of his Linen; the *Cheſhnegir-Baſha*, the chief Sewer; the *Dogangca-Baſha*, the chief Falconer; the *Zagargee-Baſha*, the chief Huntſman; the *Turnackgee Baſha*, he that pares the Sultan's Nails; the *Hamaumgee Baſha*, the chief Accomptant; and the *Teſkeregee-Baſha*, his Highneſs's Secretary.

All theſe are created out of the eldeſt of the *Itchoglans* of the fourth *Oda*. They are always in the Sultan's Preſence, holding their Heads down, and Hands a-croſs, never ſpeaking; but whatever the Sultan commands, they are wonderful ready to obey. They wait at the Sultan's Table, and he is pleaſed with their Service and Company. He will ride with them, and play at the *Jeerit* and other Sports, when he is ſo diſpoſed. He often gives them Preſents of Veſts, Swords, and Bows, and ſometimes ready Money. He entruſts them with the Diſpatch of Embaſſies, and though they muſt not go themſelves, yet finding out what Preſents the Prince, to whom the Embaſſy is to be ſent, uſes to give to Ambaſſadors, they ſell it to a *Chiauſh*; and this is done to enrich them againſt the Time he ſhall ſend them out of the *Seraglio*, to be Generals at Sea, or Baſha's of ſome great City, as *Babylon*, *Aleppo*, &c. or makes them Beglerbergs of *Græcia*, *Natolia*, &c. When any is thus ſent out, the next in ſtanding ſucceeds, unleſs his ill Behaviour has made him incapable; and ſo all live in Hopes of Greatneſs and Riches. Before their Departure, they ſtay a while till their Beards are grown (for they are always ſhaved in the *Seraglio*) and then they receive handſome Preſents of the Sultana's and Baſha's, and when their Beards are grown, they pay their Viſits to all the great Men of the Court.

15. In the *Seraglio* there are likewiſe other Miniſters for neceſſary Services, as alſo Buffoons, Tumblers, Muſicians, Wreſtlers, and Mutes. Theſe laſt are in great Requeſt, becauſe the Grand Signior thinks it below his Dignity to ſpeak to any about him familiarly, and therefore he makes himſelf merry with theſe Mutes, who though deaf and dumb, will reaſon and diſcourſe of any Thing by Nods and Signs, as other People do by Words; nay, many of them can write very ſenſibly and well, which is admirable.

There are alſo White Eunuchs, who attend the Grand Signior at his Gate. The chief of them is, 1. the *Capee Aga*, or Chamberlain, who is in greateſt Authority with the Grand Signior; for he alone is allowed to ſpeak to him, and preſent all Petitions, Meſſages, and Writings, and accompanies the Sultan where-ever he goes. His Salary is eight Sultana's a Day, *i. e.* about three Pounds *Sterling*, beſides Preſents from all that have any Buſineſs with the Sultan.

2. The *Hazinehdar-Baſha*, or the Treaſurer of the Houſehold, who keeps an Account of all the Treaſure brought into this inward Treaſury, which is only the Wealth of ancient Sultans, and the Revenue of *Egypt*, and the adjacent Provinces, and takes it out upon Occaſion. He hath the Cuſtody of all the Sultan's Jewels, which he either wears, or are preſented him, and keeps a Regiſtry of them, when received and when given away. He ſucceeds the *Capee-Aga*, when he dies.

3. The *Keelergee-Baſha*, i. e. Maſter of the Wardrobe, into which are brought all the Preſents of Cloth of Gold, Plate, Silk, Woollen Cloths, Furs of all Sorts, Swords, Raw Silks, Carpets, and whatever elſe ſerves for his Majeſty's Uſe, of which he keeps particular Inventories, as well as Servants under him, and his Salary is one thouſand Aſpers a Day, *viz.* 50 *s.* Sterling. He is commonly in Favour with the Sultan, and uſually ſucceeds to *Hazinehdar-Baſha*.

4. The *Sarai Agaſee*, i. e. the Keeper of the Seraglio. He ſees that all Things be prepared for the Service of the Palace, and that the Rooms be kept as they ought to be, and that all the Officers do their Duty. He is allowed to ride up and down the Seraglio, in the Courts, Gardens, and by the Sea-ſide, as the three former are: His Penſion is eight hundred Aſpres, or 40 *s.* a Day, beſides Veſts and Furs; he ſucceeds the *Keelergee-Baſha*. The three laſt may not ſpeak to the Emperor, unleſs in Anſwer to any Thing he aſks them.

The Number of theſe Eunuchs is about two hundred, and they are all not only gelt, but cut ſmooth when they are very young, and that with their own Conſent, which is obtain'd by aſſuring them what Great Men they will be, for otherwiſe they would be in Danger of Death, as the Workmen in that Buſineſs affirm. They are brought up with the *Ichoglans*, and are taken from the fourth *Oda* to ſerve the Grand Signior, who employs them in the Government of his other Seraglios, and his Seminaries of Youth at *Conſtantinople*, *Adrianople*, and other Places, makes them *Baſhas* of *Cairo*, *Aleppo*, and other Cities, and ſometimes Viſiers of the Bench. They are alſo truſted by the *Capee-Aga* to keep the King's Curioſities and valuable Rarities, as great Pieces of Ambergreeſe, Muſk, Balſam, Cups of Agat, *&c.* for though they are, generally ſpeaking, not of much Courage, yet they are accounted of great Judgment and Fidelity.

The Black Eunuchs and Black *Moor* Wenches ſerve the Sultana's and the reſt of the Queen's Women. Theſe Eunuchs, while they are Boys, are brought up as the White ones are, and after are ſet to ſerve and wait at the Sultana's Gate, under the Command of the Kiſlar-Aga. They are allowed a Penſion of fifty or ſixty Aſpers a Day, and two Veſts, with Linen and other Neceſſaries, yearly, beſides Preſents given them by ſuch Women as come to viſit the Grand Signior's Women. They are never ſent abroad in any Employment, but ſerve for ever in the *Seraglio*. They are called by the Names of Flowers, as *Roſe*, *Narciſſus*, &c. Their Buſineſs is to carry Meſſages and Notes from the Sultana's to the *Capee-Aga*, to be delivered to the Sultan, and attend upon the Ladies in Sickneſs and Health.

16. The Grand Signior's Sons by the Queen, are brought up by themſelves, by choice Nurſes, which are found out of the *Seraglio*, and if he has Sons by other Sultana's, they are brought up alſo by themſelves, but may play with them till they are ſix or ſeven Years old. They live with the Women nine or ten Years, and about fourteen are circumciſed with great Pomp, as Weddings are kept among Chriſtians. The Sons, from five to ten Years of Age, are taught to write and read by an *Hojah*, or School-maſter, who for that End is admitted into the Womens Apartment for certain Hours, but ſees them not, unleſs two or three old ugly black *Moriſh* Women; but Daughters are little regarded. When the *Shawhzawdeh*, or Sultan's Son, who is Heir to the Crown, is circumciſed, he is ſometimes ſent abroad with a ſuitable Equipage, and under the Care of his principal and truſty Eunuchs, to be Governor of *Magneſia*, and the Provinces about it, but as Deputy to his Father. The Eunuch is bound to give continual Advice to the Grand Signior of his Son's Deportment; ſo that if he tranſgreſs the Limits of his Commiſſion in the leaſt, he quickly falls into Diſgrace, and into a Suſpicion of Rebellion.

The Victuals in the *Seraglio* is dreſs'd by ſuch of the *Agliam-*

Agliam-Oglans as are brought up to this Service, called *Aſk es* or Cooks. They wear white Caps for Diſtinction, and are about two hundred from the higheſt to the meaneſt Officers of the Kitchen. They begin their Buſineſs early in the Morning, for the Grand Signior riſing betimes, they muſt have always ſomething ready for his Breakfaſt. He dines at Ten o'Clock in the Forenoon, and ſups at Six in the Evening, both in Summer and Winter. He ſits down with his Legs acroſs, according to the *Turkiſh* Faſhion, and has a rich Napkin laid before him. He carves for himſelf, but uſes neither Knife nor Fork, for his Meat is ſo tender and delicately dreſſed, that he eaſily pulls it in Pieces with his Fingers. He hath two wooden Spoons, the one to eat his Pottage, and the other to ſup the Syrups with, which he uſes to quench his Thirſt. He uſes no Salt nor Antipaſt. He taſteth of all the Diſhes one by one, and cloſes his Meal commonly with a *Boclava*, or Tart; and when he has dined or ſupped, waſheth his Hands in a golden Baſon, ſet with precious Stones.

His uſual Diet is wild Pigeons, Geeſe, Lamb, Hens, Chickens, Mutton, and ſometimes wild Fowl, and uſually as much boiled as roaſted of all of them, with Broths, Preſerves, and Syrups in Porcelaine Diſhes, and ſome Tarts and Pies. When he has done eating, he concludes with a Draught of Sherbet, and ſeldom drinks more than once at a Meal. He ſeldom or never ſpeaks at Table, but to favour ſome Aga, to whom he ſpeaks a Word or two, and throws him a Loaf. The Grand Signior's Diſhes are all Gold or yellow Porcelaine, ſcarce to be had for Money, in which he eats chiefly in their *Ramazan* or *Lent*, which laſts a whole Moon, and only by Night, as all the *Turks* do; but they make no Difference of Meats, excepting Swines Fleſh, and Things ſtrangled, which are forbidden by their Law at all Times. The Sultan ſeldom eats Fiſh, unleſs when he is by the Sea ſide with his Women, where he ſees it taken. The Meat which is left at the Grand Signior's Table is carried to the Aga's that wait; and after Dinner the Sultan diverts himſelf with the Mutes and Buffoons. The *Capee*-Aga hath a Table by himſelf, dreſſed in his own Kitchen, and with him the *Haſnehdar-Baſha*, *Sarai Agaſee*, the Sultan's Phyſicians, eat, and what he leaves, ſerves all the White Eunuchs. The Youths in the *Oda*'s have two Loaves a-piece, and boil'd Mutton, with Pottage made of Rice, Butter and Honey, allowed them daily.

The Queen and Sultana's are at the ſame Time ſerved by the Black Eunuchs, but in Copper Diſhes, unleſs the Sultan be with them. They drink their Sherbet with Snow, which coſts dear to bring it from the Hills, and keep it under Ground. They eat no Cheeſe but *Parmeſan*, ſent by the *Bailo*, or Reſidentiary of *Venice*. All theſe Things are done in ſuch Order, that all is finiſhed in leſs than two Hours Time. The Grand Signior's, Sultana's, and Baſha's Bread is made of Wheat, brought from *Burſa*, and ground there, and is very white and ſavoury; the reſt of the Bread for the Seraglio is made of Corn brought out of *Velo* in *Greece*. There are vaſt Quantities of Bread ſpent in the Seraglio, becauſe every one has a large Allowance made by the chief Viſier. The Rice, Lentils, and other Pulſe, is brought twice a Year out of *Egypt*, in Galleons. There is a vaſt Quantity of Sugar ſpent in Sherbets and Boclava's, but they eat little Spice, except Pepper. This is brought out of *Egypt*, with a great Quantity of Conſerves, Dates, Prunes, pickled Meats, and dried Plumbs, though four hundred *Halvagi's* are continually at Work to preſerve others.

The Honey uſed at the Sultan's Table comes from *Cio*, but the reſt comes from *Walachia*, *Tranſilvania*, and *Moldavia*, in great Earthen Jars. The Oil is brought from *Modon* and *Coron*, in *Greece*, and is much uſed in Meats and Lamps; but the Sultan eats only what comes from *Candia* and *Zant*, which is the deareſt and beſt. Their Butter comes by Shipping out of the *Black Sea*, from *Bog ano* and *Caffa*, in Ox and Buffalo's Hides. They eat very little or no freſh Butter, nor eat much Milk, unleſs it be *Yoghurd*, i. e. ſower or clotted Cream. In the Seraglio are ſpent in dried Beef of Cows of *Boſturnia*, killed when they are great with Calf, becauſe they ſay their Fleſh is then more tender and ſavoury, four hundred yearly; and the daily Proviſion is two hundred Sheep, one hundred Lambs and Kids in their Seaſon, ten Calves, fifty Geeſe, one hundred Hens, one hundred Chickens, and two hundred Pigeons. In the Seraglio there is little Fiſh eaten, though the Sea yields Plenty, and therefore the Chriſtians buy it cheap. The Seraglio is plentifully ſerved with Fruit from the Sultan's Gardens, and Preſents ſent to the Grand Signior from all Parts; ſo that they ſell a great deal, and the Money is given to the Sultan for his Privy Purſe.

The Furniture of the Sultan's Kitchens are of Braſs, but ſo well kept, and ſo large, that they are as fine a Sight as can be ſeen. The Grand Signior's Cloaths differ little in Faſhion from other Mens, only in Length and Richneſs. His Turbant is like the *Baſha's*, only he wears Plumes and Gold Claſps, which they do not. He ſleeps upon Matraſſes of Velvet and Cloth of Gold, cover'd in Summer with Sheets, embroider'd with Silk, and in Winter with Luſerns, or Sables. When he lies alone in his own Lodgings, he is watch'd by the Pages of his Chamber, two at a Time; and two old Women wait on him with burning Torches to light him, if he pleaſes to ſay over his Beads, which they pray by at the Hours of Prayer in the Night, *viz.* at Midnight, and two Hours before Day. The Women's Habit is much like the Men's, for they wear *Chachſhirs*, or Breeches, and Buſkins, and ſleep in them; but they have thin ones for the Summer, and thick for the Winter.

17. The ſeveral Stipends of the Officers of the Seraglio are paid by the *Teſterdar*, out of the outward Treaſury, who ſends them their Veſts againſt the Carnival; and if he fails at the Times appointed, upon any Complaint he will be utterly ruined, or at leaſt diſplaced. If any of the *Itchoglans* or *Agliam-Oglans* die, his Chamber-fellows are his Heirs; and ſo it is with the young Women that never lay with the Sultan: But if any of the Eunuchs, who are generally very rich, dies, all comes to the Grand Signior himſelf, except he be out of the Seraglio, for then the Sultan has only two Thirds, and the reſt he may diſpoſe of by Will, if the Sultan will conſent to it; but to ſecure his Parts, there is an Officer, called the *Beytel Mawlgee*, who, as ſoon as any one dies, enquires after their Eſtates, and certifies the *Teſterdar* of it, that he may ſeize it for the Grand Signior; yet the *Beytel Mawlgee*, for his own private Gain, will very often conceal a great Part of the Eſtate of the Deceaſed, to divide it privately between the Kindred and himſelf. If any falls ſick in the Seraglio, they are immediately carried, in a Cart cover'd with Cloth, and drawn with Hands, from their Chamber to the *Lazaretto* or Hoſpital belonging to the Palace, where they are kept ſo cloſe, that none can ſpeak with them without great Difficulty, but the Phyſician and Apothecary; and, when recover'd, they are carried back in the ſame Manner to their Chambers. The Grand Signior is at vaſt Expences in Gifts to the Sultana Queen, chief Viſiers, *Serdars* or Generals, and Captains of his Forces by Sea and Land, *Teſterdars* and others, in Veſts, Bows, Swords, Plumes, *&c.* and he allows the Sultana Queen and *Viſier-Azam* in the Wars, to be very generous, according to their Stations. He may go out of the Seraglio when he pleaſes, either by Water or Land. When he goes abroad by Water, he is carried in his Saick or Barge cover'd with Crimſon-Velvet, richly embroider'd, under which he ſits, his *Aga's* ſtanding all about him, and is row'd by the *Agliam-Oglans*, the *Boſtangee-Baſha* ſteering. When he goes by Land, he always rides on Horſeback, and commonly goes out of the great Gate of the Palace. When he goes to the Moſque on *Fridays*, he is accompanied through the City by all the *Baſha's*, and Grandees of the Port, beſides a large Retinue of Servants, who march at his Stirrup.

The People in his Way follow him with repeated Acclamations of Happineſs, which he returns by a Nod, and ſuch as are, or believe themſelves wronged, preſent to him their *Arzes*, or Petitions, which his

Highneſs orders to be received, and being read at his Return, he gives Command for Redreſs, to make good the Title he gives himſelf, that he is *Awlem Penawh*, i. e. *The Refuge of the World*. The Grand Signior at *Conſtantinople*, by the Sea-ſide, has a large Stable of a thouſand Horſes, for the Uſe of his Houſhold, of which the *Imrohor-Baſha*, or Maſter of the Horſe, has Charge, and leſſer Stables at his Houſes of Pleaſure in the Country, of ten Horſes each. He has alſo Studds in *Burſa*, *Adrianople*, and many other Places for Stallions, which furniſh him with very ſtately Colts, beſides ſuch as are daily ſent him from *Cairo*, *Damaſcus*, *Bagdat*, and other Places, by the Baſha's. For his meaner Servants, he has Horſes from *Walachia*, and for his Baggage five thouſand Mules to carry Pavilions, Cheſts, Water, and other Neceſſaries for Travelling; of which alſo the *Viſier-Azem* makes uſe when he goes in Quality of General in any Expedition.

18. Upon the firſt Day of their *Bairam*, or Carnival, the Sultan ſhews himſelf publickly, and lets all the great Men and better Sort of his Servants kiſs his Veſt, and then he is richly dreſs'd with all his beſt Jewels, and ſits down on a *Perſian* Carpet, where his *Tabt* or Throne is ſet, the Chief Vizier telling him the Names of the Perſons, that he may take Notice of them, and chiefly he reſpects the *Mufti*, *Cadeleſchers*, and other Doctors of the Law of the higheſt D gree. The Ceremony being ended, he goes to the Moſque of *Santa Sophia*, the Company attending him, and hears the *Mamaz*, or Divine Service, and a Sermon; which being concluded, tho' he retires to his own Lodgings, and dines alone, as upon other Days, yet he orders a ſumptuous Banquet in the *Divan* for the Baſha's and Grandees, and a great Dinner in the Court-yard for the reſt of the Company, and after Dinner ſends them a *Bairam-Lick*, i. e. a New-year's Gift, to all according to their Qualities. During the three Days of the *Bairam*, he cauſes Shews of Fire-works to be made all Night, and a Drum to be beaten all the while, the Sultan with his Sultana's, as well out as in the *Seraglio*, diverting themſelves with them, as well as with other Sports and Tricks, which the Sultan tolerates all that Time.

But as the Grand Signior gives, ſo alſo he receives Preſents at this Time from the Baſha's and great Perſons, who ſtrive to exceed one another in the Value of their Gifts, that they may gain Favour. The *Bairam* is celebrated alſo in all the Grand Seignior's Dominions at the ſame Time as well as at *Conſtantinople*, the Streets being ſet out with pretty Devices and *Salunjacks*, or Swings very artificially made to ſolace both Old and Young: But in this Fit of *Turkiſh* Mirth, it is dangerous for *Jews* or *Chriſtians* to ſtir out, for the *Turks*, putting off their wonted Sobriety, are very inſolent, and will do them a Miſchief, if they do not give them what Money they demand.

19. Beſides the *Seraglio* we have been deſcribing, there is another in *Conſtantinople*, as has been obſerved, ſtiled the *Old Seraglio*, ſo called, becauſe it was the firſt built by *Mahomet* the Second, when he took *Conſtantinople* to be his own Palace. It is a large Place, about three Quarters of a Mile in Compaſs, and ſeated in the nobleſt Part of the City. It is environ'd with an high Wall, and the Buildings are very fair. It hath but one Gate belonging to it, and that is of Iron, which is kept by a Guard of White Eunuchs. The Inhabitants of it are all Women and Eunuchs. The Women are only ſuch as have been put out of the Sultan's *Seraglio*, *viz.* the Sultana's of the deceaſed Grand Signiors, ſuch as are fallen into Diſgrace with the Sultan for their ill Conditions or rude Behaviour, or ſuch as are infirm or defective in ſomething that ſhould fit them for the Sultan's Bed. They are governed by an old Woman, called *Kabiya-Cadum*, i. e. the *Woman-Overſeer*, who is to take Care that they have all Things neceſſary for them according to the Cuſtom of the Houſe. The Sultana's have Lodgings apart, and are reaſonably well ſerved, though far ſhort of what they had in the Sultan's *Seraglio*. If they are rich when ſent thither, they take Care to make it known, and that procures them a good Huſband and Jointure. The Sultan will ſometimes go thither to viſit his Grandmother, Siſter, or other Relations, or when he is melancholy.

There are other *Seraglio's* in *Conſtantinople*, which belong to private Perſons, but built with an ugly Appearance for Fear of giving Jealouſy to the Grand Signior, though within the Walls, which are high, there are very beautiful Apartments, adorned with Gold and Azure, and the Floors cover'd with fine Carpets, the Walls faced with fine Tiles like *China*. In the Halls and Chambers they have a riſing about a Foot higher than the Floor, which they call a *Divan*, covered with richer Carpets than the reſt of the Room, and embroidered Cuſhions ſet againſt the Wall. Here they reſt, receive Viſits, and ſpend moſt of the Day. There are alſo many great Buildings in the City like Monaſteries, which they call *Hans*, with Galleries and Chambers, where Merchants have Lodgings and Warehouſes at eaſy Rates, *viz.* one or two Aſpers a Day. They bring in a great Revenue to the Owners. They are built of Free-Stone round a Court, which has generally a Fountain in it. The Walls are ſtrong and well barr'd to ſecure the Goods. The faireſt of them in *Conſtantinople* is the *Valida*, built by the Grand Signior's Mother. The Houſes of *Conſtantinople* are all of Wood, very indifferently built, and very ſubject to Fires from their taking much Tobacco. The Streets are crooked and narrow, ſtanding alſo up and down Hill. The *Caravanſera*'s are built as the *Hans*, but are uſed only to lodge poor Travellers and the Servants of the Caravan, who have Rooms there for little or nothing.

20. *Galata* is the Suburb of *Conſtantinople*, ſeparated by the Port only, in which there are *Saiks*, or ſmall Boats, and Wherries, to carry you at all times for a ſmall Matter. You may go by Land, but it is a little about, and you paſs by the *Atmeidan*, or Field where the *Turks* exerciſe their Archery, and go in Proceſſion to make Prayers to God for the Succeſs of their Arms, and whatever elſe they want. Then you go to *Caſſumpaſha*, a great Village, where is the Arſenal for building Galleys, Maones and Ships: It has 120 Docks, and a Magazine of Arms for 60,000 Men, but it is inacceſſible to Chriſtians. In it are, beſides the *Capoudan-Baſha*'s, or Admiral's Lodging, a ſpacious *Bagnio* for the Grand Signior's Slaves, of whom there are many Thouſands, and live very miſerably. This Town is divided from *Galata* only by the Burying-Places.

Galata is a pretty large Place; the Houſes are good and well built. Many *Greeks* live there, and the *Franks*, who cohabit with them, have five Monaſteries and as many Churches. It has a large Tower in it, and by the Sea-ſide the fineſt Fiſh-Market in the World, where there is great Plenty of all Sorts of Fiſh to be had cheap. The *Greeks* keep here a great many Taverns, which draw the *Turks* from *Conſtantinople* thither, who are very inſolent in their Drink, and dangerous then to be met with, ſo that this is one of the greateſt Inconveniencies in *Conſtantinople*.

Beyond *Gálata* lies *Pera*, a large Borough, which is ſeparated only by Burying-Places. In this Town reſide the Ambaſſadors from Chriſtian Princes, for the Emperor's, King of *Poland*'s, and the Republick of *Ragouſa*'s only may reſide at *Conſtantinople*. The Houſes are high and handſome, being inhabited only by *Greeks* of Quality. Over againſt the *Seraglio*, on the Right-Side, ſtands the *Tophana*, i. e. the Place where all the Guns and Artillery are caſt, and it gives the Name to all the Quarter. The Houſes of theſe three Places ſtand ſome higher and ſome lower, like an Amphitheatre, and form a pleaſant Proſpect from the Port or Sea.

21. In *Aſia*, if you croſs the Sea, which is about a Mile over, you come to *Scutari*, paſſing by *Leander*'s Tower. It is a large Town, and there the Grand Signior has a ſtately *Seraglio* and lovely Gardens. A little lower lies *Chalcedon*, once a City famous for the fourth General Council, but now a pitiful Village. *The Prince's Iſle*, which is four Hours Sail from *Conſtantinople*, and contains two little Towns of *Greeks*, has excellent Air, and the Channel of the *Black Sea*, call'd the *Thracian Boſphorus*, is very convenient to take the Air upon, being twelve Miles long, affording a delightful Proſpect

of ſtately Houſes and lovely Gardens. This Channel affords Plenty of Fiſh, eſpecially Sword-Fiſh and Dolphins. Six Miles from *Conſtantinople* are two Forts, built to hinder the Inroads of the *Coſſacks*, who would otherwiſe ſeek their Booty in that City. At the Mouth of the *Boſphorus* is a Rock, about fifty Paces from the Land, where ſtands a Pillar of white Marble, called *Pompey*'s Pillar, becauſe raiſed by him (as it is ſaid) in Memory of his Victory over *Mithridates*. Over againſt this Rock in *Europe* is a Village by the Sea-ſide, call'd *Fanare*, where is a Tower, with a Light on it always for the Convenience of Veſſels to keep them from the Rocks, on which they are in Danger from frequent Tempeſts and Currents, cauſed by the *Danube*, *Boriſthenes*, *Tanais*, and other Rivers falling into this Sea, to ſuffer Shipwrecks, and from thence it is called *Mauro-Thalaſſa*, i. e. *The Black-Sea*; and by the *Greeks*, the *Euxine*, or *Axene* Sea, *i. e. Inhoſpitable*. Near the Channel of the *Black-Sea* there are a great many *Siacalles*, or wild Dogs, ſomething like Foxes, but ſuppoſed to be engendered between Wolves and Dogs. They howl dreadfully in the Evenings and Nights, eſpecially in cold and bad Weather. They are very miſchievous, and as fierce as Wolves. The Land on the *Europe* Side is a fine Country, full of Gardens and good Paſture, and Villages inhabited by *Greeks*. A little further are the fine Aquæducts that ſupply *Conſtantinople* with Water in great Abundance.

22. As we are now conſtrained to think of every Method of ſaving Room, inſtead of giving ſeveral Travels thro' the ſame Country, we muſt be obliged to ſupply the Defects of ſuch as we inſert, by Additions from other Authors, at the Cloſe of every Section, and this plain Account of the Matter may very well ſerve for an Introduction. Our Author has given a very good Deſcription of the *Dardanelles*, which the *Turks* call *Bogar Heſſarleri*, that is, the Streights of the *Helleſpont*. It is certain, that they ſpeak in very high Terms of theſe new Caſtles, which they would have the World believe are the ſtrongeſt Fortreſſes in the World, as well as the great Security of *Conſtantinople*; but though they are right as to the Importance of theſe Caſtles, yet they are much out of the Way as to the Caſtles themſelves, which undoubtedly are very pitiful Fortifications.

There is Reaſon to believe, notwithſtanding this ſwelling Language in which they ſpeak of them, that the *Turks* are not in Reality perſuaded of the Truth of what they ſay, with Reſpect to theſe Caſtles, for they are ſo jealous of a Chriſtian's making any Draught of them, that if a Man looks at them more ſteadily than uſual, they preſently confine him; and if he ſhould be caught with a Pencil in his Hand, he would certainly be put to Death. The Batteries level with the Water, are terrible only to Sight, from the large Size of the Cannon, and the prodigious Stone Bullets which they diſcharge. It is indeed true, that after the great Victory gained near theſe Streights by the *Venetians*, in 1657, their Admiral *Mocenigo* was deſtroy'd in attempting to paſs, which hindered their victorious Fleet from going up to *Conſtantinople*; and this has raiſed their Credit with the Chriſtians, yet without any great Reaſon. There is a wide Difference between the Paſſage of a Galley, and that of a Man of War with a briſk Gale; for as theſe Cannon are fixed, and not upon Carriages, they can make only one Diſcharge, for to load them again takes a great Deal of Time, and the People employed in that Service muſt be expoſed all the while they are performing it.

In order to force this Paſſage, two different Methods may be made Uſe of, neither of which can be ſaid to be expoſed to inſurmountable Difficulties. In the firſt Place, the Caſtles may be attacked by Land, and that without any formal Siege, as they are no otherways fortified than by a ſimple Rampart and a Parapet, ſo that a Battery or two of large Cannon would quickly make a Breach; nor is at all impoſſible, that theſe Caſtles might be carried by a Scalade, and then the Paſſage would be free from all Interruption. The ſame Thing might perhaps be effected by a Bombardment, or rather there is no Doubt of it, and therefore there is no Neceſſity to run the Riſk of thoſe formidable Batteries. But, Secondly, even this might be very practicable, ſuppoſſing it neceſſary; for with a briſk Gale, a whole Fleet might paſs, and if two or three of the firſt Veſſels were old Ships laden with Wool, it is highly probable the Stone Bullets would not do them much Harm; ſo that after all, the impregnable Fortreſſes of the *Dardanelles*, as the *Turks* call them, are in Reality little better than Bugbears, and ſo it will certainly appear whenever an Attempt of this kind ſhall be made.

The Account our Author gives of the *Turkiſh* Name of the Capital of their Empire, is not very ſatisfactory, and indeed it is very hard to meet with any that is ſo, and therefore we will endeavour to clear up that Matter effectually. All the *Turkiſh* Authors of any Note, but eſpecially their Hiſtorians, call it, *Conſthanthinah* or *Conſtantiniah*, which is the City of *Conſtantine*, and is the Tranſlation of *Conſtantinople* into their Tongue. As to the Vulgar Name of *Stamboul*, it aroſe thus; The *Turks* hearing the *Greeks* often ſpeak in their Language of going to the City, for ſo emphatically they call *Conſtantinople*, miſtook the *Greek* Words, ἐις τὴν πόλιν, which they pronounced, *Is Stinpolen*, for the Name of the Place, and ſo called it corruptly, *Stanpoli* and *Stamboul*; but their learned Writers being aſham'd of ſo groſs a Corruption, and yet finding it impoſſible to rid themſelves of a Word ſo long in Uſe, have brought in a new Orthography, and write it *Iſlambol*, which ſignifies in their Language, the Aſſembly of the true Belief, or the Capital of Believers; and to the beſt of our Knowledge, this is the cleareſt and moſt correct Account that can be given of the Matter.

Our Author has barely touched as became a Traveller, on the ſeveral Changes that has happened to this famous City; but perhaps the Reader will be pleaſed to ſee theſe Matters placed in a clearer Light, the rather too, becauſe very few of our Books of Geography, or of general Hiſtory, are tolerably correct or exact in this Point. The City of *Conſtantinople* received that Name, according to *Euſebius*, *Anno Domini*, 328, from *Conſtantine* its Founder, who removed hither the Seat of his Empire from *Rome*. It was firſt beſieged under the Reign of the Emperor, or rather Tyrant *Phocas*, by *Chozroes*, King of *Perſia*, or rather it was blocked up by him for eight Years together, that is, from *An. Dom.* 603. to 611, when it was delivered by *Heraclius*, who thereby merited and obtained the Empire.

In the Year of the *Hegira* 52. *A. D.* 672. it was beſieged by *Yeſid* the Son of *Moavia*, the firſt Caliph of the Family of the *Ommiades*. This happened under the Reign of the Emperor *Conſtantine*, ſurnamed *Pogonates*, and it was at this Siege that *Abu Aiub*, the laſt of the Companions of the Prophet *Mahomet*, ended his Days. The *Greek* Emperor found himſelf ſo preſſed by this Siege, that he was almoſt in Deſpair; for at the ſame Time that the *Saracens* Army lay before it on the Land Side, it was blocked up by a prodigious Fleet of theirs at Sea. But the famous Engineer *Callinicus* invented a Sort of Wild-Fire, called from thence the *Greek* Fire, which would burn under Water, and therewith deſtroyed the whole Fleet.

A. H. 99. *A. D.* 717. It was again beſieged by *Moſlemah* the Brother of *Solyman*, the ſeventh Caliph of the Family of the *Ommiades*, *Theodoſius* the IIId. being then Emperor of the *Greeks*. It was relieved by *Leo*, the *Iſaurian*, who cauſed the Emperor to be ſhaved and ſhut up in a Cloiſter, ſeating himſelf upon his Throne. *A. H.* 164. *A. D.* 780. *Haroun Raſchid*, Son of the Caliph *Mahadi*, came before it with a vaſt Army of *Saracens*, the *Greek* Empire being at that Time governed by *Irene*, as Regent to her Son *Conſtantine* the VIth, ſurnamed *Porphyrogenetes*, who found herſelf ſo hard preſſed that ſhe was glad to deliver herſelf by a ſcandalous Treaty, in which ſhe promiſed to pay an annual Tribute to the Caliph, of Seventy thouſand Pieces of Gold.

The *Greek* Empire declining from this Time, and the Power of the *Mahometans* increaſing to ſuch a Degree as threatned all *Chriſtendom* with Slavery, produced thoſe famous Expeditions, that make ſuch a Figure in Hiſtory, under the Title of the *Croiſades.* And the People of *Conſtantinople* having firſt put out the Eyes of their Emperor *Alexis,* and then throwing him from a high Place, beat him to Pieces, when he had reigned only ten Weeks; *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders* ſurpriſed the City, *A. D.* 1204. and was proclaimed Emperor of the Eaſt.

He did not reign quite a Year, and was ſucceeded by his Brother *Henry* Earl of *Flanders,* who held the Government ten Years. *Peter Courteney* (of that noble Family which ſtill ſubſiſts in *England)* having married his Daughter, ſucceeded him, and was killed in the ſixth Year of his Reign. His Son *Philip* yielded the Empire to his Brother *Robert,* who was murdered after a Reign of ſeven Years. His Son *Baldwin* II. ſucceeded, though a Child, under the Tutelage of *John de Brenne,* who ſtiled himſelf King of *Jeruſalem.*

A. H. 630. *A. D.* 1232. *Batu,* Grandſon to *Gengiſhkan,* the Founder of the *Tartar* Empire, after overrunning *Muſcovy, Poland, Sileſia, Bohemia,* and *Hungary,* advanced through *Bulgaria* to beſiege *Conſtantinople.* Upon this Occaſion, the *Eaſtern* and *Weſtern* Chriſtians joined, gave him Battle, routed him, and forced him to abandon his Deſign. In 1259, or, as ſome ſay, in 1262, *Michael Paleologus* recovered *Conſtantinople* from *Baldwin Courtenay,* and the *Greek* Emperors held it from that Time, though their Power was very weak.

A. H. 857. *A. D.* 1453. *Mahomet,* Emperor of the *Turks,* laid Siege to this City on the 9th of *April,* and took it by Storm on *Tueſday, May* the 29th, in *Whitſun-Week.* The *Turks* maſſacred forty thouſand Men in cold Blood, pillaged the Churches, Monaſteries, and Palaces, the *Greek* Emperor *Conſtantine Paleologus* being killed, as ſome ſay, in the Breach; or, as others report, trampled to Death by his own Soldiers in their Flight.

It is a Point out of all Doubt, that the *Chriſtians* in general are ſtiled FRANKS at *Conſtantinople,* and throughout all the *Eaſt,* but it is not quite ſo clear why they are called ſo; moſt People imagine it is a Corruption of *French,* and that the *Turks* do not diſtinguiſh between *Frenchmen,* and other Nations, who, like them, wear Hats, and not Turbants; but others who have lived long in *Turkey,* affirm, that it is from the *Italian* Word *Franco,* which ſignifies *Free.* In order to apprehend this clearly, we are to conſider, that once a Year the *Turks* collect a Tribute from all their Subjects that are not *Mahometans;* and this Capitation they hold to be very reaſonable, becauſe they enjoy the Protection of their Government without fighting for it in War, or undergoing any troubleſome Offices in Time of Peace; ſo that if it were not for this Tax, they would be in a better Condition than their Maſters, which in the *Turkiſh* Logic would be very unreaſonable.

Another Maxim of theirs is, that the Grand Signior is the great Judge of the whole World, the Redreſſer of all Wrongs, and hence his *Seraglio* or Court is ſtiled the *Port,* and upon this Principle they conſider his Dominions as the Refuge of Mankind in general; ſo that they admit all Stangers to come to them who will, and to ſettle amongſt them if they pleaſe, granting them immediately the ſame Privileges with their native Subjects. But then again it muſt be alſo underſtood, that all Subjects in *Turkey* are held to be Slaves, and therefore not at Liberty to quit the Dominions of the Grand Signior without his Leave; which if they do their Eſtates are forfeited. But the Subjects of Foreign Princes that come to reſide in the Grand Seignior's Country for the Sake of Trade, live there by Virtue of Capitulations granted by the *Turkiſh* Monarch to them at the Requeſt of their Sovereigns; and being by this Means free from the Capitation Tax, and all the Conſequences of being reputed *Turkiſh* Subjects, are from thence ſtiled *Franks.*

The Reader will pleaſe to obſerve, that though it be very true, that long before any ſuch Capitulations were made, *Chriſtians* might be called *Franks* in the *Eaſt,* upon the fore mentioned Suppoſition, yet this will by no Means prove that the latter Etymology is falſe, becauſe nothing is more common than this Kind of double Senſe of the ſame Word. As for Inſtance, amongſt us, a *Turk* ſignifies the ſame Thing with *Mahometan'* and what they call *Iſlaiſm,* many of our Writers tranſlate *Turciſm,* or the Religion of the *Turks;* and yet we make uſe of the ſame Word in a more reſtrained, and indeed in a more proper Senſe, for the Nation governed by the Grand Signior, who by our old Writers is commonly called from thence the *Great Turk.*

Theſe are Things that may appear to be but of ſmall Moment, but every Thing is of Moment that contributes to render what we read in Books of *Hiſtory* and *Voyages* perfectly clear and diſtinct; and I dare aſſure the Reader, that if he is very converſant in Books of this Kind, he will find theſe Remarks to be very uſeful: As to the *French* Writers they adhere unanimouſly to the firſt Senſe of the Word, and would perſuade us, that the *French* King is regarded at *Conſtantinople* as the firſt Prince in *Chriſtendom;* and for a clear Proof of this, they tell you, that he is ſtiled *Padiſha,* or Emperor, which is very true, but at the ſame Time proves nothing. For when the Lord *Chandois,* Anceſtor to the preſent Duke, was our Ambaſſador at *Conſtantinople* from King *Charles* II. he might have procured him the Title of *Padiſha* alſo for a Preſent, but he thought that the *Turks* aſked rather too much; and as he knew they ſet no great Value upon Titles, he thought it for the Honour of the *Engliſh* Nation to ſet leſs, or his *Britannick* Majeſty had been at this Day ſtiled *Padiſha* as well as he is King of *France,* and would have been alike the better for both. But it muſt be allowed, that the *French* have a much cloſer Correſpondence with the *Turkiſh* Court than any other of the *Chriſtian* Powers; the Reaſon of which is, that other Powers have nothing to do with them but in a Commercial Way; whereas the *French* treat with them alſo on a political Conſideration, and are in that Reſpect as good, perhaps I ſhould not much err if I had ſaid better Friends and Allies to thoſe Infidels than to any of their Chriſtian Neighbours; and if this has procured them greater Marks of Honour and Reſpect from the *Turks,* than are paid to other Nations, however it may flatter their Vanity, it adds but little to their Reputation.

23. The Account given by our Author of the Manner in which Perſons are educated in the Seraglio, plainly proves, that it is a mere vulgar Miſtake, which prevails as to the Ignorance of ſuch as are advanced to Employments in that Empire. It appears, that far from wanting Education, they are regularly bred up in all that Sort of Knowledge which is requiſite for the ſufficient Diſcharge of thoſe Offices to which there is a Probability of their riſing; and, perhaps, there is hardly a Nation in the World, where ſo much Care is taken. It is true, that theſe young People are brought up in a Manner very different from ours; but then their Government is alſo very different; and provided they are ſo educated, as to ſerve effectually that Government to the Service of which they are bound; this, with reſpect to them, is certainly a right Kind of Education. But I doubt whether our Author's Account of the *Turkiſh* Miniſtry is quite ſo exact, becauſe it is not eaſy for a Traveller (let his *Genius* be what it will) to gain in a few Weeks, or even Months, an exact Knowledge of ſuch Matters. Sir *Dudley North,* who reſided many Years in *Turkey,* and had many Opportunities of enquiring into and obtaining a perfect Acquaintance with the Manner in which Things are there adminiſtred, has given us, in very few Words, a clear and more diſtinct Account of this Matter, than is to be met with almoſt in any other Writer: Which runs thus.

" For the better Underſtanding of theſe Affairs, it
" is abſolutely neceſſary, Firſt, to ſay ſomething con-
" cerning the Nature of the Government, of the Office
" of *Vizier-Azem* or Chief Viſier, and of the ſeveral
" *Kaimachams,* which are his Subſtitutes, and act only
" in his Abſence. The *Turkiſh* Government is directly
" that of an Army, being under the ſame Methods in
" the City in Time of Peace, as in the Field during
" War. The Grand Signior is the General; he hath
" indeed a double Capacity, the one as Head of the
" Empire, the other as a private Perſon. As Head of
" the Empire, he hath a daily Pay out of the publick

Treaſury; and his common and ordinary Charges, both at home and abroad, are born by the *Teſterdar* or Treaſurer for the Empire. As he is a private Perſon, he receives Preſents, Fines, and Confiſcations, and defrays many extraordinary Expences, as Buildings for charitable Uſes, Jewels for himſelf and his Women, *&c.* Which Treaſury is under the Care of the *Haſna Kiiaſi* or Treaſurer of the Grand Signior. Here is to be noted, that in his private Capacity he is always vaſtly rich, and heaps up very great Treaſures, when many Times the Publick Treaſury is exhauſted; ſo that in Wars he is often forced to lend great Sums of Money to the Publick, which they are ſure punctually to pay back again.

“ The next in Office under the Grand Signior, in the Government, in the *Vizier-Azem*, or Chief Miniſter, who is of that Credit in the Empire, that the Grand Signior calls him Tutor; and, indeed, he acts all both in Peace and War. The Grand Signior minding his Pleaſures, leaves all to him: And this happens not more out of Luxury, than from the Maxims of their Policy: But when the Grand Signior is an active Prince, and will look into Buſineſs himſelf; or when he is jealous, and his Nature fickle, apt to hear and believe Complaints againſt his Great Miniſter, the Vizier ſignifies much leſs. When the Grand Signior goes to the War, he carries with him all the Officers of the Court, even the *Mufti*, Judges, and all. The like doth the Grand Vizier when the Grand Signior ſtays behind: But then he leaves a Subſtitute, which they call *Kaimacham*, to act like him in his Abſence; and all the other great Officers of State make their Subſtitutes in the like Manner; ſo that the Grand Signior hath as formal a Court as he had before. So alſo in caſe he doth not ſtay in the Imperial City of *Conſtantinople*, but removes to any other Part of the Empire, where-ever he goes, he carries with him his whole Court; but then, not to leave the great City deſtitute, a new *Kaimacham* and other Subſtitutes are appointed, whereby, notwithſtanding the Abſence both of the Grand Signior and Vizier, the City hath the ſame formal Government as if they were all there, with this Difference, that theſe are Underlings, and dare not meddle in great Matters.

“ But in all Buſineſs of Concern, they receive Orders from their Principals abroad, and act accordingly. The Government being thus ſupplied, there is no Need (unleſs upon extraordinary Occaſions) for the Ambaſſador of any Nation to attend the Perſon of the Vizier; but they may diſpatch their Buſineſs in *Conſtantinople*, the Reſident of *Germany* only excepted, who continually attends the Vizier's Camp at ſome reaſonable Diſtance.”

This gives us a clear Idea of the great Office of *Vizier-Azem*, and the Manner in which he executes in Perſon, and by his Subſtitutes. We are generally perſuaded, that as the Grand Signior is an abſolute Monarch, and accountable to none, ſo he governs entirely according to his Will and Pleaſure, which appears to us to be the ſole Cauſe of the frequent Changes that are made in the Adminiſtration; but in this we are certainly much miſtaken. I muſt confeſs, it is a little beſide the immediate Purpoſe of theſe Remarks, to inſiſt upon this Point; but as I have ſome Reaſon to be acquainted with the *Turkiſh* Polity, and the Diſcuſſing of it cannot fail of pleaſing the Reader, I cannot help indulging myſelf in ſetting this important Point in a true Light. A very wiſe and great Prince would be abſolute in any Country, let its Conſtitution be what it will; and in Deſpotick Governments, a Prince of no great Parts, that will ſuffer himſelf to be governed by an able Miniſter, may ſtretch its Authority to its utmoſt Bounds. But let the Government be ever ſo abſolute, an unſteady Prince would be ever a Slave; and in *Turkey* this is always the Caſe.

The Grand Signiors coming to their Power without any Acquaintance with the World, and under the Influence of an ambitious Mother or an intriguing Wife, ſeldom follow their own Choice in appointing a Vizier; and it is a Maxim in the Eaſt as well as the Weſt, that the Miniſter, who is raiſed by a Faction, is ruined by a Faction. Beſides, in all Deſpotick Governments the Populace or Mob is the *dernier Reſort*; and it muſt be ſo in the Nature of Things, for where all Men are Slaves, as they are by Law in the *Ottoman* Dominions, though the Grand Signior has the Name, yet the Commons, that is, the Soldiery and the loweſt of the People, have in Fact the Supreme Power. Thus then it appears, that a Grand Signior of limited Abilities has a very limited Power, being under the Influence of the Factions in the Seraglio on one Side, and under the Terror of the People on the other. The frequent Charges therefore in the Government are ſo far from being the Effects of Plenitude of Power, that in Reality they demonſtrate the Want of Power in the Sultan. But in Caſes of this Nature, it is beſt to recur to Facts.

In the Minority of the Emperor *Mahomet* IV. when the *Seraglio* was torn by Factions, Viziers were made and depoſed continually, and the greateſt Part of *Europe* looked upon this as the Effect of the Emperor's Will: At laſt a great Mutiny happened amongſt the *Spahis*, or *Turkiſh* Cavalry, who put the then *Vizier Azem* and all the Baſha's to Death, except one old Man, whoſe Poverty made him contemptible. This was the famous *Cuperli*, or, as the Name ought to be written, *Kioprili*. Yet in this Maſſacre the *Spahis* miſſed the chief Inſtruments of thoſe Miſchiefs which the Empire had ſuffered. Theſe were the *Kiſlar Aga* and the *Selicter*, who really governed the young Sultan, and made and depoſed Viziers at their Pleaſure. Theſe factious Men finding, as we ſay, that they had only *Hobſon's* Choice, declared *Kioprili, Vizier Azem*, upon a Promiſe that he would do nothing but by their Direction; to which he conſented, provided they gave their Directions in Writing. The Change of Men producing no Change of Meaſures, the *Spahis* mutinied again, and *Kioprili*, inſtead of ſheltering himſelf behind the Sultan's Throne, went directly to the Mutineers, and told them, that if they were diſpleaſed with the Government, it was fit they ſhould know who were the Governors, producing at the ſame Time the Directions he had received. This had its Effect; the *Spahis* went directly to the *Seraglio*, and demanded the Heads of the *Kiſler Aga* and the *Selictar*, which the Sultan was not in a Condition to refuſe. *Kioprili* had then a private Audience of that Monarch, who was exceſſively alarmed, and doubted even of his own Safety; but the old Man ſoon ſet his Heart at reſt; he told him he was now a Monarch, and himſelf a Miniſter; that the *Spahis* had done his Buſineſs, and he would do theirs; and he was as good as his Word, for in two Years Time there was not a Soul of them left alive.

He governed the Empire with great Dignity for ſeven Years; and as he lived, ſo he died, Prime Miniſter. His Maſter made him a Viſit when he was near his End, and deploring the Loſs of ſo good a Servant, he deſired he would recommend his Succeſſor; upon which he told the Grand Signior frankly, that his Son *Achmet Kioprili*, who had been hitherto employed wholly in Civil Affairs, was the fitteſt Man to ſucceed him. He was accordingly declared *Vizier Azem*, held that Employment ſeventeen Years, and was the greateſt and beſt Miniſter the *Turks* ever had. Under their Adminiſtration, which laſted near twenty-five Years, and ended with the Death of *Achmet*, the Emperor maintained his Power, and the Empire recovered its Credit. After his Deceaſe Factions revived, new Fluctuations in Government enſued, and at the laſt the unhappy Sultan was depoſed, and five years afterwards died in Obſcurity.

In all Governments, Court-Factions are dangerous, and the true Sources of popular Diſcontent and general Inſurrections. Great Princes and wiſe Miniſters know how to prevent, or to quell Factions if they cannot be prevented; and the Felicity of a People does not depend ſo much upon the Conſtitution under which they live, as the *Genius* and Capacity of thoſe who adminiſter Affairs under that Conſtitution, be it what it will. It is not therefore the Deſpotick Power of the Grand

Signiors that is the Source of their Subjects Miſeries and their own Misfortunes, but the Want of that Power in proper Hands, the ſhifting Miniſters continually, running from one Syſtem of Affairs to another, not as the Situation of Things directs, but as the Intrigues and Factions in the Seraglio compel; and though the Miniſters, and ſometimes their Maſters ſuffer, the Eunuchs and the Women are generally in Fault.

Timid Princes are commonly governed by theſe Sort of People; they liſten to Whiſpers in their Cloſets, and hold their Councils in their Bed-Chambers. Their *Divans*, where the Affairs of the Empire ought to be tranſacted, into which only Men of Buſineſs are admitted, become Things of Courſe, and the Grand Signior gives his Orders where he ought to conſult what Orders ſhould be given. It is departing from the *Genius* of the *Ottoman* Empire that has ſunk it into that low Condition that we ſee it at preſent, and what has happened in *Turkey*, will happen every where; for in all Climates, and in all Ages, the ſame Cauſes will produce the ſame Effects. A Government founded, as that of the *Turks* is, in Military Virtues and the Adminiſtration of the Government by a ſingle Perſon, muſt crumble by its own Weight, where thoſe Virtues and that Capacity, which are eſſentially neceſſary to direct it, are wanting.

Governments founded upon better and more rational Principles, ſuch as Juſtice, Liberty, and perpetual Regard to the publick Good, will decay more ſlowly; but will infallibly decay, when thoſe Virtues are loſt in factious Contentions for Power, Contempt of the Sovereign Authority, and Diſregard of publick Happineſs, from the mean and pitiful Ambition of raiſing private Fortunes. But we have wander'd too far from the Buſineſs of this Section, and into Reflections that cannot perhaps be purſued to the general Satisfaction of our Readers. Therefore we will here put an End to our Remarks, and return to the Obſervations of Mr. *Thevenot*, which will make the Reader Amends for this ſhort political Digreſſion, by leading him again into the flowery Paths of Amuſement. Yet why do we travel through every Part of the World but to know it? Or, what have we to do with the Cuſtoms, Manners and Policy of the *Turks*, if not to improve ourſelves, by conſidering the Miſtakes, and the Conſequences of thoſe Miſtakes in other Nations? This is, or at leaſt this ought to be, the End of Reading and of Writing.

SECTION II.

Containing an Account of the Cuſtoms and Manners of the *Turks*, their Learning and Religion, the Form of their Government, their Forces by Sea and Land; as alſo an Account of the *Chriſtians* and *Jews*, inhabiting Countries, that are ſubject to the Grand Signior.

Taken chiefly from the Travels of Mr. JOHN THEVENOT; interſperſed with many curious, uſeful and entertaining Particulars, extracted from the Works of other eminent Authors.

1. *Of the Perſons of the* Turks, *the Manner of their Dreſſing amongſt various Ranks of People, eſpecially amongſt the* Janizaries. 2. *The Manner of their eating and drinking, preparing their Victuals, and by what Explications they ſo far ſatisfy themſelves, as to drink Wine upon Occaſion.* 3. *Of the Language and Learning of the* Turks, *and of their Fondneſs for Aſtrology.* 4. *The Religion of this Nation, the Author's Account of* Mohammed *from the* Greek *Writers, and other Particulars.* 5. *Their Praying for the Dead, and the Reaſon of it; their Notions of a future State, and of the Happineſs of the Bleſſed, and Miſery of damned Spirits, with their Doctrine of univerſal Redemption.* 6. *Of the Ceremony of Circumciſion, the time when, and Manner in which it is perform'd.* 7. *Of the Manner of keeping their* Ramadan *or* Lent, *and of their Feaſt of* Bairam *or* Eaſter; *their Extravagance and Folly at that Seaſon, and the great Riſque* Chriſtians *run by appearing in publick at that Time.* 8. *Their Ablutions or ceremonious Waſhings, and publick and private Prayers, and the Manner of Preaching in their* Moſques. 9. *Of the charitable Diſpoſition of the* Turks, *and of their Readineſs to forgive each other, and to avoid long Enmity and haſty Quarrels.* 10. *Their Pilgrimages to* Mecca, *and other Precepts of their Religion.* 11. *Of the* Turkiſh *Clergy; their Offices, Credit, and Power, and of their* Derviſes *or* Monks. 12. *Of the ſeveral Kinds of Marriages practiſed amongſt them, and of their Divorces.* 13. *Slavery amongſt the* Turks *not near ſo grievous as it is generally repreſented, ſo that ſome Slaves have refuſed Freedom.* 14. *The Manner in which the* Turkiſh *Women paſs their Time, and the Caſes in which they are entitled to be divorced from their Huſbands.* 15. *Their Cuſtoms in burying the Dead, their Mourning and Praying for them.* 16. *The Virtues and Vices of the* Turks, *their good and bad Qualities very impartially ſtated.* 17. *The unlimited Power of the Grand Signior, upon what Principle founded, and how exerted.* 18. *Of the Office of* Vizier Azem, *the Viziers of the Bench, and other Officers and Governors.* 19. *The Manner in which Juſtice is adminiſter'd in the* Divan, *and within the Provinces.* 20. *The great Care taken to preſerve Peace and Plenty in the Capital, and other great Cities of the Empire.* 21. *Of the Money current in* Turkey, *and of the Weights uſed in Trade there.* 22. *Of the Puniſhments in Uſe in* Turkey, *both for Men and Women.* 23. *Of the Military Eſtabliſhment and different Sorts of Troops employ'd in the Grand Signior's Army.* 24. *Of the Manner in which his Forces are raiſed, and the Funds appointed for their Maintenance.* 25. *Of their Naval Affairs, and the Reaſon of their being in ſo indifferent a Condition.* 26. *Of the* Greek Chriſtians *that live in the Dominions, and are the Subjects of the Grand Signior.* 27. *Of the* Armenians, *and the Difference of their Faith from that of the* Greek *Church.* 28. *Of the ſeveral Orders of* Greek *Monks, and their Manner of living.* 29. *Of the reſt of the* Greek *Clergy, and their Influence over the People of their Communion.* 30. *Of the Virtues, Vices, Cuſtoms, Manners, and general Diſpoſition of the* Greek Chriſtians.

ſtians. 31. *Of the* Jews *that live in the Grand Signior's Dominions, their Manner of living, and the Cauſe of their being generally hated and deſpiſed.* 32. *Miſcellaneous Obſervations collected from various Authors, ſerving to explain the foregoing Articles.* 33. *Remarks hiſtorical, political and critical upon this Section.*

1. THE *Turks* are commonly well ſhap'd, and have none crooked or cripple among them, but are of robuſt and ſtrong Conſtitutions for the moſt Part. Their Habit is very fit to make them ſeem graceful, and to cover all Defects; for next their Skin they wear a Pair of Drawers, and over them a Shirt and Doliman, reaching down to their Heels, like a cloſe bodied Caſſock, made of Sattin, Taffata, or other neat Stuff, which is quilted in Winter, and this they gird about with a Saſh, or Leathern-Belt, adorned with Gold or Silver-Buckles. At their Girdles they commonly wear two Daggers, or *Cangiars*, their Handles and Sheaths being garniſhed with Gold and Silver, and ſometimes precious Stones, and their Pouch for Tobacco. Over the Doliman they wear a *Feredg* or Night-Gown, which in Winter-time they line with rich Furs, if they are able. Their Stockings are of Cloth, and the Feet are Socks of red and yellow Leather ſew'd to them. Their Shoes, which they call *Padouches*, are of the ſame Colour, like our Slippers. Their Heads are covered with a Crimſon Velvet Cap, without Brims, about which they wreath a white or red Turbant, which is a Scarf of Linen or Silk Stuff, many Ells long, and by the Faſhion of it the Quality of the Man is known.

The Attire of the Ladies of *Conſtantinople* hath a particular Air of Grandeur and Magnificence in it, and far ſurpaſſes the Dreſs of the other Women of that Country. Their *Tarpous*, or Head-Dreſs, is made up of many Handkerchiefs of various Colours, all wrought with Gold and Silver, beſet with all Manner of precious Stones, and adorn'd with ſeveral Sorts of Flowers. They can put it on or off without undoing it, and uſually wear it ſeveral Days, and then put it into another Faſhion, but it is often ſo heavy, that it is a Burthen to them. They wear outward a white Gown, edged at the Bottom with Gold-Laces and Fringes, and lined with Furs in Winter, as the Mens. The Ladies of the *Seraglio* wear ſometimes on their Heads a *Calpak*, or Fur-Cap, others a round *Platine*, as the *Jewiſh* Women, with a Feather on each Side, and Plumes at their Ears. The *Janizaries* wear upon ſome ſpecial Occaſions a *Sercola*, or Cap of Ceremony, which hangs down behind, and has a Pipe of gilt Leather before, half a Foot long, and reaches to the Middle of their Foreheads, otherwiſe they wear a Turbant of white, red, or other Silk, as the common Sort of *Turks* do.

They ſhave their Heads, and ſay the Devil neſtles in long Hair, but they ſuffer their Beards and Muſtacho's to grow, and have a great Eſteem for a Man with a lovely Beard, and account it a great Affront to take a Man by the Beard. They ſwear by the Beard or Head of their Father, Grand Signior, or the like. They ſalute one another by laying their Hands upon their Breaſts, and bowing a little, ſay, *Sela meon Aleicom*, i. e. *Peace be with you*, and the Perſon ſaluted returns the like Anſwer, which was the ancient Way of Salutation, as appears from Scripture, and is very grave. The Left Hand is the moſt honourable with the *Turks*, becauſe it is the Sword-ſide, ſo that the *Chriſtians* and *Turks*, though neither will give the upper Hand one to another, agree well in Walking together, through Difference of Opinion.

The *Turks* make great Uſe of Bathing, both for keeping their Bodies neat and clean, and for their Health's Sake; and in every Town they have many fair Bagnio's, the ſmalleſt Village being ſeldom without one. They are all made of the ſame Faſhion, differing only in Bigneſs and Ornaments. All that go into them ſhave off all the Hair of their Body, and go in naked, all but their Privities, which are cover'd with a Napkin. A Servant alſo rubs them well behind and before, to ſupple their Bones before they go in. Such as cannot ſhave themſelves, fetch off the Hair with the Powder of a certain Mineral called *Rusma*, which being mingled with Lime and hot Water, and laid upon any Place, will fetch off the Hair in half a Quarter of an Hour's Time. In *Malta* they uſe Orpiment for the ſame End. Having bathed, a Servant with Soap and Cloths cleanſes the Body from all Filth, and then they are dried with warm Cloths, and ſo dreſs. The Price of the Bagnio is two Aſpers for the Maſter, and as many to the Man, if he will be well ſerved. The pooreſt Perſon that is, Man or Woman, goes to the Bath at leaſt once a Week. The Women go in by themſelves, and are ſerved by Women only. It is a capital Crime for a Man to go into the Bath where the Women are. Great Perſons have them in their Houſes for themſelves and Wives.

2. The *Turks* have no ſumptuous Feaſts, but are contented with a ſmall Matter. They cook their Meat themſelves, for they have no Sauces but what are made at firſt Sight, as Oil, Pepper, *&c.* Their uſual Food is Pilau, which is Rice boil'd with a Pullet, a Piece of Mutton, Beef, or the like, and for want of Meat, with Butter. Their Bread is light, but coarſe, like our Biſcuit, and flat. They ſpread a Carpet of *Turkey* Leather on the Ground, called a *Sofra*, and ſquatting down upon the Ground like Taylors, eat it with Wooden Spoons, and inſtead of Napkins they uſe a long blue Cloth caſt round about the Table. They ſay, *Biſmillah*, i. e. *In the Name of God*, before they eat, as we do *Benedicite*. They pull their Meat in Pieces, (for they uſe no Knives) and then every one takes his Share. They ſeldom drink at their Meals, but, having eaten, riſe and fill their Bellies with Water, and then ſay, *Hamdillah*, i. e. *God be praiſed*. Having finiſh'd their Meal, they waſh their Hands.

They drink Water uſually, becauſe Wine ſeems to be forbidden by the *Alcoran*; but the Goodfellows ſay, it is a Council, not a Precept, and ſo drink it plentifully; but few do it in publick, except the *Janizaries* or ſome Deſperadoes. They never mingle Water with their Wine, and laugh at the Chriſtians for ſo doing. It is plentiful at *Conſtantinople*, and all over the *Archipelago*. The poorer Sort for Cheapneſs drink a Liquor made of Barley and Millet, ſomewhat like our Beer, but not ſo pleaſant. This Drink will make them drunk. They alſo drink Coffee all Hours of the Day. They make it of the Berry parch'd and peel'd. This Liquor they hold to be good to cure the Head-ach, and keep down Vapours from the Head; it comforts the Stomach, and helps Digeſtion; nay, they ſay it is good againſt all Maladies. To mix any Thing with it makes it leſs wholſome and uſeful. All Sexes and Ranks, Rich and Poor, drink at leaſt two or three Diſhes a Day in *Turkey*. At the Coffee-houſes the Maſter hath Muſick to divert his Cuſtomers, and draw others in. They have alſo Sherbet, which is a very good Drink, made in *Egypt*, of Sugar, Lemon-Juice, Muſk, Ambergreaſe and Roſe-water. At their great Treats they give Coffee, Sherbet, and Perfume for their Beards. They ſpread Quilts on the Ground for their Bedding, and every one lies on his own, and the Maſters lay them on their *Divans*.

Their Recreations are either to ſleep, ſmoak a Pipe of Tobacco, or play on the Tambour, which is a Kind of Lute; and though it be no pleaſant Muſick, they will play all Day on it; but Scholars read or write. They laugh at the *Franks* for walking backward and forward. They entertain their Company with Diſcourſe, or a Game at Cheſs, Draughts, Tables, or ſuch-like Plays; but they never play for Money, or any Thing of Value, becauſe they account it ſinful, and yet will ſpend whole Afternoons at their Games; but their moſt uſual Game is *Mancala*, at which they play with Shells in Boxes like our Tables. The Recreations of Soldiers are their Military Exerciſes, *viz.* ſhooting at Marks or Butts with Bows and Arrows, darting the *Zagaye*;

Zagaye, ſhooting with an Harquebuſe running. The other *Turks* make a great Diverſion of Puppet-Shews, which, though performed a different Way from ours, yet are more pleaſing; their Songs are pretty, but very obſcene; and ſo are many of their Poſtures.

3. The *Turkiſh* Language is a Primitive and Oriental Tongue, and though not very copious, yet is grave and pleaſant, and with a little Supply from the *Arabian* and *Perſian*, is rich and elegant enough. The *Turks* are not much addicted to Sciences, yet have Doctors of their Law, who explain it in all the Senſes that can be given it. Some affect Aſtrology and Poetry, in which they have pretty Conceits, but they generally uſe the *Perſian* Language, and the Tone they ſing in is agreeable enough through Cuſtom. Their Muſick is a little Lute with three Strings, and the Flute. Many among them pretend to Fortune-telling, and have good Luck at it. They divine by the *Alcoran*, and four Arrows, which they call conſulting the Book, and naming two of the Arrows *Chriſtians*, and the other two *Turks*, make them fight by reading the *Alcoran*; if the *Chriſtians* overcome, they look upon the Action, whether in War or Peace, which they are to undertake, to be unlucky, and ſo will not enterprize any thing. They never go out to War, but they make this Experiment. They alſo divine with Beans, by taking out an uncertain Number, and then counting them, conſult the Book to ſee what the Number ſignifies; and by a Piece of Timber almoſt ſquare, which they call *Eliph*, which having Letters written on each Side, he that ſeeks his Fortune, takes it, and rolling it three Times, puts the Letters together, and then conſults the *Fal*, or Fortune-book, what the three Letters ſignify.

They have few or no Phyſicians, being very healthy, becauſe of their frequent Bathings and Temperance. When they are ſick, they make Uſe of their common Receipts, and, if they fail, conſult the *Jews*, or ſome Renegado Chriſtians, who learn their Skill at the Coſt of many. When they have the Head-ach, they ſcarify, lance, or ſear the Place, and that cures them. In other Diſtempers they alſo uſe Burning, and endure a live Match applied to the Place with Patience. Doubtleſs, Phyſicians might do them more Service, and help them at an eaſier Rate; but they are ſuch bad Paymaſters of Men for their Skill, and beſides, if a Phyſician ſhould be unſucceſsful, and a Patient die under his Hands, they will accuſe him of killing him, which is a Diſcouragement to the Art among them.

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This Book contains all their Laws, both Canon and Civil, but is full of *Rabbinical* Fables. According to this Book the *Turks* believe in and worſhip God, the Eternal and Almighty Creator of Heaven and Earth, but they will not acknowledge a Trinity, nor allow any Images in his Worſhip, either painted or graved. They have a peculiar Fondneſs for Predeſtination, which, they extend even to the moſt indifferent Actions. They are firmly perſuaded, that under the Reign of every Emperor the State will infallibly and perpetually have either a diſaſtrous or happy Fate. That Death is fatal both in War and Peace, and therefore as they willingly take up Arms, believing that if they are killed by their Enemies, they ſhould ſome Way or other have died at Home, ſo they take no Care to keep themſelves from the Plagues, or other infectious Diſeaſes, and are offended at Chriſtians for it.

They believe, that Jeſus Chriſt was conceived by the *Rauah*, i. e. The Breath or Spirit of God, in the Womb of the Virgin; but they deny him to be the Son of God, who is one, and hath no Companion; That he was a great Prophet, and wrought many Miracles among the *Jews*, and foretold the Coming of *Mahomet*, under the Name of the Comforter, but they deny that he was crucified; That Jeſus Chriſt ſhall come to judge the World, and ſhall reign forty Years in *Damaſcus*, marry and have Children, at which Time *Antichriſt* ſhall ariſe, and deceive many, ſetting a Mark on their Foreheads; but Chriſt ſhall deſtroy him, and ſhall next aſcend up into Heaven, and then the Day of Judgment ſhall come. In ſhort, they give great Honour to Jeſus Chriſt and the Virgin *Mary*, and if they hear any Man ſpeak ill of them, they will chaſtiſe him as ſeverely as if he ſpake againſt *Mahomet*; for they believe that the Goſpel was ſent to Jeſus, as the Law was to *Moſes*, and the Pſalms to *David*.

They believe all the Prophets, and that Paradiſe ſhall be filled with the Juſt, and Hell by the Wicked. They ſay moreover, That the Power of God is ſuch, that at the Creation of the World he prefix'd and appointed a ſet Time for every Man's End, that the Wit or Device of Mortals cannot divert nor prevent, which makes them not only very reſolute and courageous in their Wars, and upon all other Occaſions, but they laugh at and ſcorn all Means to drive away Diſeaſes and prevent Death, as if they oppoſed God's Will in ſo doing. They deny a Purgatory, but hold that there is a Place called *Araf*, between Paradiſe and Hell, where they ſhall be that have done neither Good nor Evil. In Paradiſe *Mahomet* promiſes the Bleſſed, delicious Gardens, full of pleaſant Fruits and Fountains, Rivers of Waters, Milk, Wine and Honey, Scarlet and Green Cloathing, and lovely Virgins, with Skins as white as a new-laid Egg, and black Eyes, always young and Virgins; That God ſhall appear to them every Week on *Friday*; That thoſe that are in Hell ſhall drink ſcalding hot Water, and eat of the Fruit of the Tree *Zacon*; That if they have Faith, after all their Sins ſhall be conſumed and waſhed in the Water *Selzaboul*, they ſhall be admitted into Paradiſe, where they ſhall receive and enjoy as much Happineſs as thoſe that entred at firſt; but ſuch as have no Faith, and are meer Atheiſts, ſhall burn everlaſtingly in Hell Fire.

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They believe, that not only the good *Muſſulmen*, but ſome Beaſts and Fowls ſhall enter into Paradiſe, *viz.* The Prophet *Saleb*'s Camel, which he raiſed to Life in *Perſia*, *Abraham*'s Ram; *Moſes*'s Cow, whoſe Aſhes are mingled with the Water of Purification; *Salomon*'s Ant; the Queen of *Sheba*'s Parrot, which brought her the firſt News of *Salomon*; *Ezra*'s Aſs, which, they ſay, was raiſed to Life many Years after it had been dead, to prove a Reſurrection; *Jonah*'s Whale; the little

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ſtians. 31. *Of the* Jews *that live in the Grand Signior's Dominions, their Manner of living, and the Cauſe of their being generally hated and deſpiſed.* 32. *Miſcellaneous Obſervations collected from various Authors, ſerving to explain the foregoing Articles.* 33. *Remarks hiſtorical, political and critical upon this Section.*

1. THE *Turks* are commonly well ſhap'd, and have none crooked or cripple among them, but are of robuſt and ſtrong Conſtitutions for the moſt Part. Their Habit it very fit to make them ſeem graceful, and to cover all Defects; for next their Skin they wear a Pair of Drawers, and over them a Shirt and Doliman, reaching down to their Heels, like a cloſe bodied Caſſock, made of Sattin, Taffata, or other neat Stuff, which is quilted in Winter, and this they gird about with a Saſh, or Leathern-Belt, adorned with Gold or Silver-Buckles. At their Girdles they commonly wear two Daggers, or *Cangiars*, their Handles and Sheaths being garniſhed with Gold and Silver, and ſometimes precious Stones, and their Pouch for Tobacco. Over the Doliman they wear a *Feredg* or Night-Gown, which in Winter-time they line with rich Furs, if they are able. Their Stockings are of Cloth, and the Feet are Socks of red and yellow Leather ſew'd to them. Their Shoes, which they call *Padouches*, are of the ſame Colour, like our Slippers. Their Heads are covered with a Crimſon Velvet Cap without Brims, about which they wreath a white or red Turbant, which is a Scarf of Linen or Silk Stuff, many Ells long, and by the Faſhion of it the Quality of the Man is known.

The Attire of the Ladies of *Conſtantinople* hath a particular Air of Grandeur and Magnificence in it, and far ſurpaſſes the Dreſs of the other Women of that Country. Their *Tarpous*, or Head-Dreſs, is made up of many Handkerchiefs of various Colours, all wrought with Gold and Silver, beſet with all Manner of precious Stones, and adorn'd with ſeveral Sorts of Flowers. They can put it on or off without undoing it, and uſually wear it ſeveral Days, and then put it into another Faſhion, but it is often ſo heavy, that it is a Burthen to them. They wear outward a white Gown, edged at the Bottom with Gold-Laces and Fringes, and lined with Furs in Winter, as the Mens. The Ladies of the *Seraglio* wear ſometimes on their Heads a *Calpak*, or Fur-Cap, others a round *Platine*, as the *Jewiſh* Women, with a Feather on each Side, and Plumes at their Ears. The *Janizaries* wear upon ſome ſpecial Occaſions a *Sercola*, or Cap of Ceremony, which hangs down behind, and has a Pipe of gilt Leather before, half a Foot long, and reaches to the Middle of their Foreheads, otherwiſe they wear a Turbant of white, red, or other Silk, as the common Sort of *Turks* do.

They ſhave their Heads, and ſay the Devil neſtles in long Hair, but they ſuffer their Beards and Muſtacho's to grow, and have a great Eſteem for a Man with a lovely Beard, and account it a great Affront to take a Man by the Beard. They ſwear by the Beard or Head of their Father, Grand Signior, or the like. They ſalute one another by laying their Hands upon their Breaſts, and bowing a little, ſay, *Sela meon Aleicom*, i. e. *Peace be with you*, and the Perſon ſaluted returns the like Anſwer, which was the ancient Way of Salutation, as appears from Scripture, and is very grave. The Left Hand is the moſt honourable with the *Turks*, becauſe it is the Sword-ſide, ſo that the *Chriſtians* and *Turks*, though neither will give the upper Hand one to another, agree well in Walking together, through Difference of Opinion.

The *Turks* make great Uſe of Bathing, both for keeping their Bodies neat and clean, and for their Health's Sake; and in every Town they have many fair Bagnio's, the ſmalleſt Village being ſeldom without one. They are all made of the ſame Faſhion, differing only in Bigneſs and Ornaments. All that go into them ſhave off all the Hair of their Body, and go in naked, all but their Privities, which are cover'd with a Napkin. A Servant alſo rubs them well behind and before, to ſupple their Bones before they go in. Such as cannot ſhave themſelves, fetch off the Hair with the Powder of a certain Mineral called *Ruſma*, which being mingled with Lime and hot Water, and laid upon any Place, will fetch off the Hair in half a Quarter of an Hour's Time. In *Malta* they uſe Orpiment for the ſame End. Having bathed, a Servant with Soap and Cloths cleanſes the Body from all Filth, and then they are dried with warm Cloths, and ſo dreſs. The Price of the Bagnio is two Aſpers for the Maſter, and as many to the Man, if he will be well ſerved. The pooreſt Perſon that is, Man or Woman, goes to the Bath at leaſt once a Week. The Women go in by themſelves, and are ſerved by Women only. It is a capital Crime for a Man to go into the Bath where the Women are. Great Perſons have them in their Houſes for themſelves and Wives.

2. The *Turks* have no ſumptuous Feaſts, but are contented with a ſmall Matter. They cook their Meat themſelves, for they have no Sauces but what are made at firſt Sight, as Oil, Pepper, *&c.* Their uſual Food is Pilau, which is Rice boil'd with a Pullet, a Piece of Mutton, Beef, or the like, and for want of Meat, with Butter. Their Bread is light, but coarſe, like our Biſcuit, and flat. They ſpread a Carpet of *Turkey* Leather on the Ground, called a *Sofra*, and ſquatting down upon the Ground like Taylors, eat it with Wooden Spoons, and inſtead of Napkins they uſe a long blue Cloth caſt round about the Table. They ſay, *Biſmillah*, i. e. *In the Name of God*, before they eat, as we do *Benedicite*. They pull their Meat in Pieces, (for they uſe no Knives) and then every one takes his Share. They ſeldom drink at their Meals, but, having eaten, riſe and fill their Bellies with Water, and then ſay, *Hamdillah*, i. e. *God be praiſed*. Having finiſh'd their Meals, they waſh their Hands.

They drink Water uſually, becauſe Wine ſeems to be forbidden by the *Alcoran*; but the Goodfellows ſay, it is a Council, not a Precept, and ſo drink it plentifully; but few do it in publick, except the *Janizaries* or ſome Deſperadoes. They never mingle Water with their Wine, and laugh at the Chriſtians for ſo doing. It is plentiful at *Conſtantinople*, and all over the *Archipelago*. The poorer Sort for Cheapneſs drink a Liquor made of Barley and Millet, ſomewhat like our Beer, but not ſo pleaſant. This Drink will make them drunk. They alſo drink Coffee all Hours of the Day. They make it of the Berry parch'd and peel'd. This Liquor they hold to be good to cure the Head-ach, and keep down Vapours from the Head; it comforts the Stomach, and helps Digeſtion; nay, they ſay it is good againſt all Maladies. To mix any Thing with it makes it leſs wholſome and uſeful. All Sexes and Ranks, Rich and Poor, drink at leaſt two or three Diſhes a Day in *Turkey*. At the Coffee-houſes the Maſter hath Muſick to divert his Cuſtomers, and draw others in. They have alſo Sherbet, which is a very good Drink, made in *Egypt*, of Sugar, Lemon-Juice, Muſk, Ambergreaſe and Roſe-water. At their great Treats they give Coffee, Sherbet, and Perfume for their Beards. They ſpread Quilts on the Ground for their Bedding, and every one lies on his own, and the Maſters lay them on their *Divans*.

Their Recreations are either to ſleep, ſmoak a Pipe of Tobacco, or play on the Tambour, which is a Kind of Lute; and though it be no pleaſant Muſick, they will play all Day on it; but Scholars read or write. They laugh at the *Franks* for walking backward and forward. They entertain their Company with Diſcourſe, or a Game at Cheſs, Draughts, Tables, or ſuch like Plays; but they never play for Money, or any Thing of Value, becauſe they account it ſinful, and yet will ſpend whole Afternoons at their Games; but their moſt uſual Game is *Mancala*, at which they play with Shells in Boxes like our Tables. The Recreations of Soldiers are their Military Exerciſes, *viz.* ſhooting at Marks or Butts with Bows and Arrows, darting the *Zagay*;

Zagaye, ſhooting with an Harquebuſe running. The other *Turks* make a great Diverſion of Puppet-Shews, which, though performed a different Way from ours, yet are more pleaſing; their Songs are pretty, but very obſcene; and ſo are many of their Poſtures.

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Dog *Catmer*, that attended the four Sleepers, who ſlept 372 Years; and *Mahomet*'s Camel, that carried him from *Mecca* to *Medina* to his Friends Houſe by a certain Inſtinct.

6. They circumciſe their Children as the *Jews* do, not at eight Days, but at eleven or twelve Years old, that they may make a Profeſſion of their Faith in theſe Words, *There is no God but God, and* Mahomet *is his Prophet.* The *Turks*, as well as *Jews*, make great Rejoicings at the Circumciſion of their Children; for upon the Day fixed for the Ceremony, the Child is ſet on Horſeback, and carried about the Town with Timbrels and Muſick, and being circumciſed in his Father's Houſe, he makes a Feaſt for all his Relations and Friends, at which they are merry, dance and ſing, and the next Day the Gueſts make Preſents to the Child according to their Quality. When a *Chriſtian* turns *Turk*, he is circumciſed after the Manner aforeſaid; but if a *Jew* turns, his former Circumciſion is ſufficient, and he only is obliged to make the afore-mentioned Profeſſion; for which the *Turks* have ſuch a Reverence, that if any *Jews* or *Chriſtians* pronounce them inconſiderately, they muſt turn *Turk*, or be burnt.

This Circumciſion, called by the *Turks*, *Schounnet*, is only a Mark of their Obedience to *Mahomet*'s Example and unwritten Command, for there is no mention of it in the *Alcoran*; but they take it to be ſuch a Token of Diſobedience to their Law not to be circumciſed, that ſuch as are uncircumciſed, whether Children or Chriſtians, are not allowed to be preſent at their publick Prayers; and though there be no Perſons to keep ſuch out of their Moſques, yet if any are ſo bold (as ſome have been) and are taken, they are burnt alive, or impaled. Upon ſome ſpecial Occaſions ſome are admitted to circumciſe at ſeven or eight Years old; but in Caſe of Poverty, it is more uſual to ſtay till fourteen or fifteen, till either the Parents of the Perſon to be circumciſed, or the Perſon himſelf, is able to defray the Charges of it; or if neither are able, they wait till ſome rich Perſon is circumciſed, that they may ſhelter themſelves from the Charge by his Purſe.

Men of Eſtates, at the Circumciſion of their Children, make many Preſents to the Youths that are circumciſed with them, and gave liberal Alms to their poor Neighbours, that by their Prayers the Grace of God may deſcend upon the new *Muſſelman*, and their whole Family. When any poor Renagado Chriſtian is circumciſed, two Baſons are carried after him to gather the Alms, which the Spectators freely give them, though they have a common Proverb among them, *That he that has been a bad* Chriſtian, *will never make a good* Turk. The Time and Place for Circumciſion is not fixed, for it may be done by a Prieſt or Chirurgeon, either at the Bath or Parents Houſe. They name their Children as ſoon as they are born, and do not ſtay till they are circumciſed, by putting ſome Grains of Salt into their Mouths, and ſo lifting them on high, as dedicating them to God, ſay, *God grant* N. N. *that God's holy Name may be as ſavoury in this Mouth, as this Salt is, and that he may preſerve you from being too much in Love with the World.* As to thoſe that die young, before they are circumciſed, they believe that thoſe are ſaved by the Circumciſion of their Father.

7. The *Turks* receive the Ten Commandments of *Moſes*'s Law, and cauſe them punctually to be obſerved by all; and to them *Mahomet* has added five, *viz.* 1. To believe One Only God, and to worſhip him as ſuch. 2. To faſt during the *Ramadan*. 3. To pray at the Hours appointed. 4. To give the Poor yearly the Fortieth Part of their Subſtance. And, 5. To go in Pilgrimage to *Mecca* once in their Lives.

The firſt of theſe they obſerve very punctually, ſhewing great Reverence to God and his Name, which they never pronounce, nor hear pronounced, but with great Reverence, and will not ſet about any Action, but they firſt ſay, *In the Name of God*; yet they ſwear much by God, when they would be believed.

The ſecond Commandment is to keep *Lent*, or *Ramadan*, in Faſting, whereby the Fleſh is mortified, Concupiſcence ſubdued, and the Soul purified. This Faſt laſts a Month, and is kept in the Month called *Ramadan*; becauſe (as they ſay) the *Alcoran* came down from Heaven in that Month. This *Lent* begins as ſoon as ſuch People as are ſet on Hills and high Places on Purpoſe can diſcover the New Moon, and the firſt Meſſenger of it, if a credible Perſon, hath a Reward given him for publiſhing it, and then the *Ramadan* is appointed all over the Town by publick Proclamation.

The Manner of keeping it is thus: It is ſaid in the *Alcoran*, That they may eat and drink all Night long, till they can diſcern a white Thread from a black by the Morning-Light; but after that it is unlawful for them to eat, drink, or ſmoak Tobacco, yea, to touch their Wives; and thus their Nights are turned into Days, their Minerets being all hung with Candles, and their Coffee-houſes are full all Night. In Summer-time this Faſt is very troubleſome, for though they are burnt up with Heat, they may not drink. Every one is obliged to keep this *Lent*, and ſome are ſo ſtrict as to keep it in their Travels, and in the Army, though they may defer it to a more fit Opportunity. There are many that do not keep it, but they muſt eat and drink privately; for if it be known, they will be at leaſt Baſtinado'd. The Puniſhment of drinking Wine in *Lent*, is to have melted Lead poured down their Throats; and it hath been executed, though rarely. None may marry in *Lent*.

When the *Ramadan* is ended, the *Bairam*, or *Eaſter*, begins with the next New Moon, which is publiſhed by firing of Guns, and public Bonfires and Rejoicings. At this Feaſt the Houſes and Shops are adorned with fine Hangings, Tapeſtries, and Sophas; the Streets are full of Swings, adorned with Feſtoons, in which they ſit down, and are toſſed in the Air, while Muſick both of Inſtruments and Voices, hired by the Maſters of the Swings, pleaſes their Ears. They have many other Diverſions, as Mills, Fire-works, *&c.* which they get ready ſome Days before the *Bairam*. Many Women, who never ſtir abroad the reſt of the Year, have Liberty to walk about theſe three Days; but it is dangerous for the *Franks* to appear, becauſe the *Turks*, being got drunk, will ſtab them with their *Cangiars*, or to be ſure make them pay dear for their Paſſage, by exacting Money from them.

One Thing very commendable is done at this Time, which is, that they pardon all their Enemies, and are reconciled to them; for they have made a bad *Eaſter*, if they keep Malice in their Hearts againſt any body; and for this Reaſon, when they meet any of their Acquaintance in the Streets, they kiſs one another, wiſhing a good *Eaſter*, and mutual Happineſs one to another. This they call the Great *Bairam*, to diſtinguiſh it from the Little *Bairam*, which they keep ſeventy Days after. Their other Feſtivals are, the Night between the 11th and 12th of the Moon called *Rebiul Ewell*, wherein *Mahomet* was born; as alſo the Night between the 26th and 27th of the Moon *Rebiul Ahher*, when they believe that *Mahomet* aſcended up into Heaven upon the *Alboraoh*, as he tells them in his *Alcoran*; and on *Thurſday* the 4th of the Moon *Regule*, they have Prayers in their Moſques till Midnight, and then return home and feaſt. On all theſe Feſtivals the Steeples of the Moſques are decked with Lamps in ſeveral Figures, which make a very pretty Sight.

8. The third Command of the *Turks* is, To pray at the Hours appointed; but becauſe they always waſh before they go to Prayers, 'tis neceſſary to ſpeak of their Ablutions. They are of two Kinds, one is called *Gouſl*, which is a general Waſhing of the whole Body, and this they are obliged to uſe after they have lain with their Wives, or after Nocturnal Pollutions, or when any Urine, or any other unclean Thing, hath fallen upon them. The other is called *Abdeſt*, which is performed by turning their Face to *Mecca*, and waſhing the Hands, Noſe and Mouth three Times. This they uſe after their Needs, or when they have handled any Thing that is unclean, and for both theſe they have Baths and Fountains near all their Moſques. If any one happens to break Wind upwards or downwards, or any Blood or Filth iſſue from their Body,

they vomit, fall into a Paſſion, faint, are drunk, laugh at Prayers, embrace a Woman, or touch any naked Part of her, ſleep at Prayers, touch a Dog, or any unclean Beaſt, all theſe Accidents make void the *Abdeſt*, ſo that it muſt be renew'd before they can legally go to Prayers.

The Places of Prayer are their Moſques, which on the Outſides are like our Churches. They have by them Towers or Minerets, which have a Balcony round them, from whence the *Muezim* call them to Prayers. In the Inſide there is nothing written, but the Name of God. When they pray they turn toward the South, becauſe *Mecca* lies on that Side. They have a Pulpit, for the *Imans* to preach in, and the whole Moſque is cover'd with Matts for the Eaſe of the People's Kneeling, and Carpets for the better Sort. Their Prayers are in an unknown Tongue. They have them five Times a Day, *viz.* at Break of Day, at Noon, between three and four a Clock in the Afternoon, at Sun-ſetting, and about an Hour afterwards in the Evening. On *Fridays* they have Prayers at Nine o'Clock beſides, and in the *Ramadan*, or *Lent*, at Midnight, and all are preſent at them, and then they may go to work, or open Shops, but moſt of them reſt and make merry, or viſit their Friends. When the Hour of Prayer is come, the *Muezim*, going up to the Mineret, ſings and cries with all his Force, putting his Fingers in his Ears, *Allah Ekber*, &c. i. e. *God is great, God is great, God is great*; *bear witneſs there is but one God, and that* Mahomet *is his Prophet*; *Come and preſent yourſelves to the Mercy of God, and aſk Forgiveneſs of your Sins*; *God is great*, &c. and this he does towards the four Corners of the World, beginning at the South, and ending at the Weſt.

While he is crying, every one goes to the *Abdeſt*, and then to the Moſque, or if they cannot go, ſay their Prayers at Home. They leave their Shoes at the Door of the Moſque, or carry them in their Hands with them. When they are entred they bow to the *Keble*, i. e. a Nich in the Southern Wall, and then go to their Seats, and wait till the *Iman* or Prelate begin Prayers, and then join with him. In praying the Men lift up their Hands to their Shoulders, and then lay them upon their Navels, and the Women lift up their Hands but half-way, and clap them on their Breaſts. When Prayers are ended, they bow both to the right and left Side, as to the two Angels, *Kerim*, and *Ki-atib*. When they are at Prayers they are ſo attentive, that they will turn neither this Way nor that. They never talk in their Moſques, but carry themſelves always with great Reverence. They are but few who go not every Day to Prayers at Noon, Afternoon and Night, for if they obſerve not theſe three Hours they are puniſh'd ſeverely, and this they muſt do in Travelling. All their Prayers do not laſt above half an Hour at moſt, and ſeldom above a Quarter. They are commonly of a very ordinary Compoſure, eſpecially in the leſſer Moſques, and upon ordinary Days; but during the *Ramadan*, and upon high Days, they are ſomething better.

The *Mahometans*, during the Time of their Prayers, obſerve a grave Silence and a modeſt Deportment, kneeling till the Prayers begin, and then joining with the *Iman* in repeating the Prayers ſoftly after him, and imitating his Geſtures with Kneeling and Proſtrations, which are more or leſs, according to the Hours; for in the Morning and Afternoon they uſe but ſix, but at Noon, Night and Evening, eight. When theſe are finiſhed, ſome Choriſters get up into the Galleries, and ſing in Parts a Sort of an Anthem of an indifferent good Air. On *Mondays*, *Wedneſdays* and *Fridays*, a Preacher mounts the Pulpit, to explain ſome Point or other of the *Alcoran*, which he underſtands and expounds as he thinks fit. Any one may be preſent at theſe Sermons, as well as thoſe made in the Market-place. They conclude all with ſome Prayers for the Sultan and the Succeſs of his Armies; to which all the People ſay, *Amen*.

9. The 4th Command is Charity, to give the fortieth Part of their Goods to their Kindred, if they have any, and if not, to their poor Neighbours, and for want of them, to the firſt they meet. This Command is well obſerved by them, ſo that Beggars in *Turky* are very rare. And, indeed, they perform great Acts of Charity in founding Hoſpitals, building Bridges, and Inns for the Caravans, bringing Water into the Highways, ſetting Slaves at Liberty; and they that have not Ability to do theſe Things, mend the High-ways, fill the Ciſterns with Water, and ſhew Travellers the Fords; and if offered Money, they refuſe it, for they ſay, they do it for God's Sake, and not for Money. Their Charity alſo extends to Birds and Beaſts, for ſome will buy Birds in the Market to let them fly, and they believe, that the Souls of thoſe Birds will one Day teſtify their Kindneſs to God. Others will leave conſiderable Means to maintain ſo many Dogs and Cats.

To this Command of Charity may be reduced that of forgiving Enemies, not of their State and Religion (for thoſe their Law obliges them to hate) but their particular and private Enemies. And indeed they obſerve this Law ſo well, that there are few Enmities among the *Turks*; for if there happen any Quarrel, they are obliged to uſe their utmoſt Endeavour to pacify it, and commonly they do not deſiſt till it is adjuſted; and that the Reconciliation may be firm, the Perſons at Difference are obliged, before they pray to God on *Friday*, which is the Weekly Sabbath, to proteſt, as in the Preſence of God, that they freely pardon their Enemies, or elſe they are taught, that their Prayers will not be heard. If the Perſons at Variance will not be reconciled, they part them by Force, and carry them before the *Cadi*, or ſome other Judge, who will give them two or three hundred Drubs on the Bottom of their Feet, and make them pay two or three thouſand Aſpers. The Severity of theſe Puniſhments generally keep the *Turks* ſo much within the Bounds of their Duty, that they ſeldom quarrel, or injure one another; nay, they do not ſuffer themſelves to be tranſported with Paſſion, or to ſwear.

10. The fifth Commandment of the *Turks* is to go to *Mecca*, which is the worſt obey'd of any of them, becauſe ſeveral for Want of Money, and others by their Affairs, are hindered from going ſo tedious a Pilgrimage; yet many go yearly, and ſuch are reverenced ever after under the Name of *Hagies*, or Pilgrims, and others get ready to do it. Next to theſe Commandments they have ſeveral Prohibitions, which they cannot break without Sin, as, 1. To make, or have any Figures of Man, Woman or Beaſt; and this they obſerve ſo ſtrictly, that they are angry at the Sight of any, and though they are great Lovers of Watches and Clocks, yet if they have any Figure on them, they will not accept of them, though given. 2. To lend Money upon Uſury, and they are careful to abſtain from it, but they will make Bargains that differ little from it. 3. To forbear unclean Meats, as Hogs, and ſuch Creatures as the *Jews* account unclean; and this they ſtrictly keep, and ſome will rather ſtarve than eat of them. 4. Not to drink Wine; but this they ſay, was only a Council of *Mahomet*, and ſo they often drink it, and are drunk; yet if any Wine be ſpilt upon their Cloaths, the greateſt Drunkard will labour to get out the Stain, and the moſt ſcrupulous will wear them no more, leſt they be found guilty of Sin.

11. The *Turks* have their Clergy, as all other Religions have, to reſolve their Doubts, and celebrate divine Service. They continually ſtudy the *Alcoran*, and are moſt of them knowing Men. The chief Eccleſiaſtick is the *Mufti*, whom they reverence as much as the *Romaniſts* do the Pope. He is choſen by the Grand Signior, and is always a learned Man in their Way, *i. e.* much verſed in the *Alcoran*, for he reſolves all Matters of Conſcience, and gives his Deciſions in little Writs, called *Feſta*, to which even the Sultan himſelf muſt ſtand; but by adding theſe Words, *God is the beſt Judge*, he ſhews that he pretends not to Infallibility. He is married, and had in ſo great Veneration, that the Grand Signior riſes to meet him and ſalute him when he comes to Court. It is unlawful by their Law to put the *Mufti* to Death, yet ſome Emperors have done it. There is but one *Mufti*, and his Reſidence is ordinarily at *Conſtantinople*, where finding Buſineſs enough,

the *Cadiliſquers*, *Moullah's* or *Cadi's*, or Juſtices and Naibs, perform his Office in other Places. The Sultan conſults with the *Mufti* about State-Affairs, as when he deſigns to put any Prime Miniſter to Death, diſgrace the Prime *Vizier* or *Baſha*, or undertake any other Buſineſs of Importance, becauſe 'tis a Notion among the People, that there is more Equity in a wiſe and pious Perſon's Judgment, than in the abſolute Power of a Prince, though as it is now uſed, 'tis meer Formality, for the *Mufti* muſt comply with the Will of his Prince. Every *Mufti* muſt have been a *Cadileſquer* firſt, and have diſcharged that Office well before he is raiſed to that Dignity. He has no Power over the *Imans*, or Prieſts, becauſe the *Turks* have no Hierarchy.

Thoſe who officiate in their Moſques, and read Prayers there daily, are the *Daniſchmend*, or as the *Franks* call them, *Taliſmans*, and the *Iman* is the Chief of them. The *Muezims*, or Church-Clerks, call them to Prayers from the Minerets of the Moſques, and the *Hodgia's* are old Men of Integrity, very knowing in the *Alcoran* and Civil Affairs. Theſe are conſulted in Affairs of Importance, and ſometimes preach on certain Feſtivals. They have ſeveral Sorts of Monks, of which the *Derviſes* are the Chief. They live in common, and have their Superior, as Popiſh Monks have. They go very mean in their Apparel, and wear on their Heads a Cap of white Felt, like our Night Caps. Every *Tueſday* and *Friday* they make a Dance in the Middle of an Hall, rail'd in ſquare, where are two Pulpits, the one for the Superior, and the other for the Vicar. At the other End of the Hall is a Scaffold, where ſeveral *Derviſes* are placed to play on the Flutes or Drums. When they have ſung ſome Prayers, the Superior makes a Sermon upon ſome Words of the *Alcoran* in *Turkiſh*, which are read to him by the Vicar in *Arabick*. When the Sermon is ended, the Superior with the Vicar, come down from the Pulpit, and having, with the reſt of the *Derviſes*, taken two Turns about the Hall, all the Inſtruments play in Concert, and then begins the Dance. They paſs before the Superior, and ſalute him humbly, and then making a Leap, fall a-turning upon their left Foot as a Windmill driven by the ſtrongeſt Wind, and though they ſtretch out their Arms, and ſometimes ſhut their Eyes, they never touch one another, but keep Time to the Muſick, and never make the leaſt falſe Step. The Author of this Dance was one *Hazreti Meulana*, a *Derviſe*, who is reckoned a Saint among them, but all their *Derviſes* and *Santo's* are Hypocrites.

12. The Marriage of the *Turks* is of three Sorts, and ſo they have as many Sorts of Wives. 1. Lawful Wives, and theſe they take after this Manner: The Man that deſires to be married agrees with the Parents or neareſt Relations of the Maid about the Dowry they will give their Daughter or Kinſwoman before a *Cadi*, who writes it down. This done he gets an *Iman* to bleſs his Marriage, and then the Bridegroom on the Marriage-day leads the Bride to his Houſe, her Baggage being carried on Horſes or Camels before them, and there they feaſt and are merry, the Men and Women by themſelves, and commonly they have Muſick and Poppet Shows, as alſo the Women called *Tebingene*, to ſhew Tricks for the Diverſion of the Company. Theſe Wives the *Turks* may divorce when they pleaſe, by going before the *Cadi*, and ſaying, *Alei talac be talati*, i. e. *I part with her for three Times*: But if a Man put away his Wife wrongfully, he muſt give her her Dowry; but if he does it upon juſt Grounds, or ſhe forſakes him, he gives her nothing. When a Woman is thus divorced, ſhe may not marry another Man till four Months be paſt, that ſhe may know whether ſhe be with Child, for if ſhe be, the Huſband that divorced her muſt keep it, and if ſhe be not, ſometime ſuch Matches are made up in that Time. A Man that hath divorced his Wife cannot marry her again, till ſhe hath been firſt married to another Man, and then he may take her back. When they are thus married, if the Huſband happen to die, the Wife takes her Dowry, and no more; and if the Wife dies, and leaves Children, they may conſtrain their Father to give them their Mother's Dowry. Of theſe Wives the *Turks* can have but one, though ſome have ſaid four.

They may alſo have Wives of *Keben*, which they take with leſs Ceremony than the former; for they only go to the *Cadi*, and tell him, that they take ſuch an one to be their Wife, promiſing to give her ſo much if they divorce her. This the *Cadi* writes down, and gives the Man a Copy, and he may keep her or divorce her as he pleaſes, performing his Promiſe, and maintaining the Children he hath by her. The *Turks* may have ſeven of theſe Wives, nay, as many as they can keep; but to ſave Charges, few of them will have more than one or two.

Their other Wives are *Haylaykes*, i. e. Women-Slaves, and of theſe every Man may have as many as he pleaſes, and the Children begotten of them are held as legitimate as thoſe of the former Wives, and have as much Title to the Inheritance of what their Father leaves behind him, if by his Will he infranchizeth them, otherwiſe they remain Slaves to the eldeſt by the lawful Wife; but if a *Turk* takes a Slave for his Bed, he may not ſell her again if ſhe have Children, but ſhe becomes a Member of his Family; if ſhe proves barren, ſhe may be ſold as often as her Maſters will.

The *Turks* may buy all Sorts of Slaves of every Religion and Nation, but *Chriſtians* and *Jews* may not buy a *Turk*. At *Conſtantinople* is a Market for Slaves in a Place near the *Beziſtan* every *Wedneſday*, and every one may buy freely for their ſeveral Uſes, their Luſt not excepted. Theſe Slaves are bought and ſold like Horſes, view'd, review'd, and felt all over their Bodies, and their Mouths look'd into, being alſo examin'd of their Country and Age. A beautiful Virgin at theſe Markets is held at an high Rate, but the Seller is anſwerable for her Virginity, for if ſhe prove otherwiſe, he muſt reſtore the Money ſhe was ſold for, and bear a ſharp Fine for his Fraud.

13. The Slaves of the *Turks* are not ſo miſerable as they are commonly ſuppoſed. They are frequently the Under-Maſters of Families, for if they light on a good Maſter, or are endued with any Talent, their Maſters will love them, and will ſeldom hinder them from going to Church to pay their Devotion: They are very frequently alſo in Favour with their Miſtreſſes, who through a tender Compaſſion, natural to their Sex, give them Preſents. Their Maſters, indeed, are obliged by their Law to exhort them three Times a Day to embrace the *Alcoran*, but they ſeldom force them to renounce their Faith. Theſe Things have made ſome Slaves to refuſe their Liberty, and being made free to return again to their Servitude.

14. The *Turkiſh* Women are commonly beautiful, ſtreight and well-ſhaped, for they never go abroad without their Veil to cover their Faces. They paint their Eye-brows with *Sarmee*, which gives them a blackiſh Colour, and their Nails with *El-hanna*, which is a reddiſh brown. They are very cleanly and neat, for going to the Bath twice a Week they have neither Hair nor Dirt upon their Bodies. Their Cloathing and Shoes are much like the Mens, but their Head-Attire is different, for they make a very long Treſs of their Hair, which hangs down to the Small of their Back, and if they want Hair, they uſe an artificial Treſs, or a Caſe of Sattin.

In the Houſe they cover their Heads with a Cap of red Cloth, like our Night-Caps, but with four Horns or Points on the Tops, to the Middle of which they ſtitch a Round of Pearls, and tie it below with a Handkerchief of fine Stuff wrought with Flowers of Gold and Silk; but when they go abroad, they change it for one made of gilt Paſte-board, and muffle up their Head ſo in a Linen Cloth, that nothing but their Eyes is uncovered, nay their Shift Sleeves cover their Hands, becauſe it is a Thing of ill Repute ſo much as to ſhew any Part of their Bodies; yet in a Corner of the Streets, they will venture to uncover their Face to a Friend, or a young Man they like, though, if they be diſcovered, they are baſtinado'd.

The *Turkiſh* Women are very haughty, and extreamly lazy, and though they do nothing but ſit on their Di-

vans embroidering an Handkerchief, yet they muſt go fine and have their Slaves, though their Huſbands be ever ſo poor. This Idleneſs makes them vicious, and ſeek only Ways of having their Pleaſure, of which the Huſbands are ſo jealous, that they will not ſuffer them to ſhew themſelves to Men; and if they do, they are ſure to receive the Baſtinado on their Buttocks. Upon theſe Accounts, no Women are ſuffered to go to the Moſques, Markets, or appear in their Huſbands Shops.

The Wives have not the Privilege of Divorcing their Huſband, as their Huſbands have of Divorcing them, unleſs they deny their Wives the Things which they are obliged to furniſh them withal, as Bread, Pilou, Coffee, and the Uſe of the Bed once in eight Days, and Money to go to the Bagnio twice a Week; for, if they fail in theſe Things, they may go to the *Cadi* and demand a Divorce, which if the *Cadi*, upon going to the Houſe, finds true, he grants her Suit, as alſo if ſhe complains, that he hath offered to uſe her contrary to the Courſe of Nature, which ſhe expreſſes by Turning up the Sole of her Slipper, without Saying a Word.

15. When any one is ſick, the *Imans* go and pray with him, and if he dies, all the Neighbours know it by the Howling of the Women, who cry out as if they were in Deſpair. The Friends and Neighbours go immediately to condole with them, weeping and mourning in a doleful Tone; but yet, as if they were ſinging, they rehearſe the Praiſes of the Dead, *viz.* The Wife will ſay of her dead Huſband, *He loved me ſo well, he gave me Plenty of every Thing I ſtood in Need of*, &c. and all preſent join with her, repeating her Words, and imitating her Geſtures. This laſts ſeveral Days, as often as any new Viſits are made; nay, ſometimes theſe Cries are renewed at the Year's End. After theſe Lamentations comes the Burial, for which the Relations waſh the Body, and ſhave off all the Hair, and then they burn Incenſe about it to ſcare away evil Spirits and Devils; and then praying God to be merciful to him, they wrap him up in a Sheet, and put him into a Coffin and Bier, like ours, but with his Face downward, and covered with a Pall, which is red, if the Perſon dead, be a Soldier; green, if a *Scheriff*, i. e. one of *Mahomet*'s Relations; black, with a Turban, which is red, if he be a *Janizary*; red and white, if a *Spahi*; green, if a *Scheriff*; and white, if any other Man.

As he is carried to the Burying-place, which is with his Head foremoſt, the Prieſts go before, ſaying certain Prayers, and often calling upon the Name of God: After the Corps, which is carried by four Bearers on two Sticks, follow the Relations and Friends, the Women come laſt howling like mad Folks: Being come to the Burying-place, they take the Body out of the Coffin, and bury it in the Earth, and leaving the Women to mourn, depart. When the Grave is filled up, the poorer Sort erect a Stone over the Head of the Deceaſed, for the Angel that examines them, to ſit on; but the richer Sort have Tombs of Marble, and at both Ends, a Turbant of Stone like that of the Deceaſed. Their Burying-places are always without their Towns, that the Air may not be infected by the corrupt Vapours of the Graves, and this was the Cuſtom of the Ancients. The *Turks* Burying places are commonly by the Highway-ſides, that Travellers may pray for them, and always diſtinct from the Chriſtians. After the dead Body is interred, the Relations and Friends, for ſeveral Days, come and pray upon the Grave, that God would deliver the Soul of the Deceaſed from the Torture of the Black Angels, exhorting him not be afraid. The Women alſo do the ſame with ſo much Paſſion, that one would think them abſolutely diſtracted. Many on *Fridays* bring Victuals and Drink to the Graves, and leave it there for Travellers, that they may pray for the dead Perſon, for whoſe Sake it is given them.

16. In fine, though in Chriſtendom the *Turks* are accounted barbarous, yet, in Truth, they are good People, and love honeſt Men, whether *Turks*, *Jews*, or *Chriſtians*. They do not think it lawful to cheat or rob a *Chriſtian* more than a *Turk*, but carefully obſerve that excellent Command, *To do to others only what we are willing others ſhould do to us.* They are, indeed, guilty of great Extortion from the *Franks*, but it is through the Inſtigation of the *Jews* and *Chriſtians*, who envy one another, and ſeek each others Ruin. Uſury is eſteem'd a very great Sin by the *Turks*, and is very little practiſed. They are very devout and charitable, very zealous for their Religion, which they ſeek to propagate all over the World; and whenever they love a *Chriſtian*, they exhort him to turn *Turk*.

They are ever loyal to their Prince, whom they highly reverence, and blindly obey, and are never known to betray him, but willingly die for him, whenever he commands it: They never quarrel or fight among themſelves, and know not what Duels are, which may be ſaid to proceed from *Mahomet*'s wiſe Policy, who forbad them Wine, and Gaming for Money; and the good *Turks* ſo religiouſly obſerve theſe Laws, that they will not drink a Drop of Wine, and always play for Diverſion. They are very temperate, and never commit any Exceſs in Quantity or Quality of Victuals; ſo that it may be truly ſaid of them, *They eat to live, and do not live to eat.* Yet are they not without their Vices, for they are ſo proud, that they think themſelves above all other Nations, and that the World was made for them. They deſpiſe the *Jews* and *Chriſtians* ſo much, that they call them Dogs; and the Rabble think they do a good Act, ſome of them are ſo ſuperſtitious, that if at their firſt going out in a Morning, they meet a *Chriſtian* or *Jew*, they return home again, ſaying, *God preſerve us from the Devil.*

The *Turks* love not hard Study, and think it enough to learn to read and write. They often ſtudy the *Alcoran*, which comprehends all their Law, both Canon and Civil, and ſome apply themſelves to Aſtrology and other Sciences. They are very amorous, but their Love is brutiſh, for they are the greateſt Sodomites, and boaſt of this infamous Vice. They are very covetous, ſo that Money will do any Thing among them, both at Court and in the Country. They are very friendly and civil, if they can gain by it; but common People are purchaſed at a cheaper Rate, for let them have but Drink enough, and they will do any Thing for you.

17. The *Turks* are ſubject to one Prince, called by them, *The Sultan*, and by other Nations, The *Grand Signior*, or *Emperor of the Turks*. He comes to the Empire by Inheritance, and is always of the *Ottoman* Family, for which the *Turks* have ſo great a Veneration, that they will not ſubmit to any other. When the Grand Signior dies, his Son ſucceeds him, or, if he have none, his Brother, who fixes upon a Day when he will go by Water to the Moſque of *Eſoup*, where being ſeated upon a Tribunal of Marble, raiſed upon Marble Pillars, the *Mufti* ſays ſome Prayers, girds him with a Sword, and then he makes his Entry into *Conſtantinople* with a Cavalcade to the Seraglio, and this Ceremony ſerves inſtead of a Coronation. The Emperor is no ſooner ſettled on the Throne, but he takes care to ſecure to himſelf the Poſſeſſion of it, by firſt ſhutting up all his Brothers ſo cloſe, that none can tell where they are, and, if he has Children, putting them to Death by ſtrangling them, making a Scruple of Conſcience to ſhed the Royal Blood. The chief Reaſon of this Fratricide is to ſecure the Militia to himſelf; for ſo long as he has a Brother alive, they are ever threatening him with a Revolt, unleſs he will augment their Pay as they pleaſe. When the Grand Signior is ſettled on his Throne, he frequently minds nothing but his Pleaſures, being attended with a great many Buffoons, *viz.* Mutes and others, who ſtudy continually to invent ſome new Pranks to divert him, and his *Baſha*'s ſend him Multitudes of the fineſt Women to gratify his Luſt. His Power is abſolutely and entirely deſpotick, and his Will is the only Law by which he rules. He is not curb'd by any written Law or Cuſtom, ſo that the Oppreſſed have not ſo much as a Right to complain. He may take away any Man's Eſtate, prefer the meaneſt Perſon to the higheſt Dignities, and ſend for the Heads of whom he has a Mind, without Trial

or Juſtice, and none has any Right to enquire the Cauſe.

This unlimited Power of their Sultan is founded on the *Mahometan* Religion, which enjoins a blind Obedience to all his Commands under Pain of Damnation; but the *Turks* are freed in a great Meaſure from the Effects of it, by his retiring ſo much from Civil Concerns to his Pleaſures; for as to all publick Buſineſs, he refers that to his Miniſters, who have the whole Management of his Affairs, yet are obliged, on certain Days every Week, to give him a ſummary Account of them. When the Grand Signior is weary of ſtaying in the Seraglio, he goes abroad to take the Air, either by Water or Land.

When he goes by Water he has little Attendance. His Galliot comes to the *Kioſke* of the Seraglio, and from thence he goes to *Scudaret*, or the *Black Sea*, to take the Air, being row'd by two *Boſtangi-Baſha's*, and twenty-four others, being their Favourites, on each Side. When he goes by Land, it is either in Pomp, as he does through *Conſtantinople* to the Moſque; but then he has ſo many Petitions put up to him againſt the ill Management of his Miniſters, that they hinder it all they can; but he will often go abroad *incognito* in Diſguiſe, to ſee if his Orders be punctually obſerved, and the Chriſtians are glad of it, for by this Means they are free from Affronts. Sultan *Amurath* went often out thus, and one Day cauſed a Butcher's Head to be cut off, for ſelling Meat above the Price fix'd, and two Men more to be beheaded, at another Time, for ſmoaking Tobacco, which he had ſtrictly forbidden, becauſe by taking it in their Beds, ſeveral great Fires had been kindled in *Conſtantinople*, which had burnt down great Part of the City.

18. The chief Miniſter of State is the Grand *Vizier*, who is called *King* by the *Turks*. He it is that receives Ambaſſadors, hears their Propoſals, and gives them an Anſwer, the two Audiences which the Grand Signior allows them, being only for Ceremony at their coming and Departure. He takes Care to pay the Army, decides Law-Suits, condemns Criminals, and manages the Government, having in his Cuſtody the Imperial Seal, and diſcharges the Office of the Grand Signior. This is a very heavy Charge, and requires a great deal of Sagacity and Prudence; and yet for all that, few can hold it above ſix Months before they are ſtrangled, they create themſelves ſo many Enemies; and they that do eſcape, muſt by their Gifts make great Friends at Court, and have the Protection of the Mother of the Grand Signior, the moſt beloved Sultana's, and others.

Next to this great Officer are the ſix Viziers, called *Viziers of the Bench*, who are properly the chief Counſellors of State, but intermeddle not with the Government, being only conſulted upon Points of Law by the Grand Signior and the Vizier *Azem*. The other chief Charges are the *Cadileſquers*, or Judges of the Army, which are as it were Chief Juſtices, or Sovereign Judges, both of Civil and Military Affairs, They have under them *Cadies*, or *Inferior Judges*, being Bailiffs or Provoſts, before whom are tried ordinary Cauſes, Marriages made, Liberties given to Slaves, and the Writings called *Heudgets*, or Decrees ordered.

The *Caimacan* is the Captain and Governor of *Conſtantinople*, Lieutenant of the Grand Vizier, but has no Authority but in his Abſence, and then he performs all the Offices of that important Charge. The *Baſha* of the *Sea* is the Admiral of the Naval Forces of the Grand Signior; and the *Beys* are the Governors of the Maritime Provinces, and are obliged to keep the Grand Signior's Gallies in good Order.

The *Aga* of the *Janizaries*, who is the Colonel-General, or Commandant of that formidable Body of the Soldiers called *Janizaries*, is a conſiderable Station. He is allowed to come into the Grand Signior's Preſence, with his Arms in abſolute Liberty, and with a confident Deportment, whereas all the other Grandees of the Port, appear with their Arms croſs their Bodies, in Token of profound Submiſſion.

The *Baſha's* are a Kind of Viceroys in the Provinces; their Office is to adminiſter Juſtice exactly, and to keep the People in Subjection to their Government. They are obliged to pay a Tribute of Money and Slaves yearly to the Grand Signior, beſides the *Carache* and other Impoſts. But they generally abuſe their Authority, and are more arbitrary than the Grand Signior himſelf, their Aim being to raiſe a Fortune ſpeedily by their Spoils and Oppreſſions. The Sultan is forced to diſſemble his Knowledge of theſe Diſorders, for Want of Power to ſuppreſs them, becauſe they have the Soldiers ſometimes more at their Service than he.

The five chief Baſha's are thoſe of *Babylon*, *Cairo*, *Buda*, *Natolia*, and *Romania*, who have a Privilege of having Horſe-tails carried before them.

The *Beglerbeys* are next to theſe, and are, as it were, ſo many Sovereigns in the general Government of the Empire, which the Grand Signior gives them. Under the greateſt of theſe are ſeveral *Sangiac-Beys*, who govern ſmall Provinces.

The *Spahi's* are a Body of 15000 Men, maintained out of the Revenues of the Grand Signior's Manor's, or *Timars*. They paſs for the Nobility or Gentry of the Country, and ſtand much upon their Honour. The *Zaims* differ not much from them.

19. The *Chiaux-Baſha* is the Chief of the Purſuivants, or Meſſengers, who carry the Prince's Commands to all Places, are ſent of Ambaſſadors, and have the Cuſtody of all Priſoners of Quality. The Government of Cities is managed by five Kinds of Officers; the *Baſha*, who judges criminal Cauſes; the *Sub-Baſha*, who is his Deputy; the *Waiwod*, who regulates Affairs in the City, walks the Rounds twice a Week, examines Weights and Meaſures, ſuppreſſes Tipling-houſes, puniſhes Drunkards, and all ſuch as commit any Diſorders, ſeverely; the *Cadi*, who is the Judge of all Civil Suits, and the Receiver of the Cuſtoms, and not only receives the publick Duties, but takes Cognizance of all fraudulent Practices relating to pecuniary Duties, and judges as he ſees fit. Theſe Officers make it their Buſineſs to ruin and diſcredit one another.

They have no written Laws but what are contained in the *Alcoran*, which they hold to be the Rule of Faith, and Standard of Juſtice; and every Thing that it forbids is eſteemed unlawful and puniſhable. Nevertheleſs the Baſha's and Cadies judge as they pleaſe, for the Book is ſhort, has but few Laws and moral Precepts, and thoſe it has are ſo ambiguouſly expreſs'd, and deliver'd in ſo looſe a Manner, that thoſe greedy Officers, cannot deſire a more favourable Opportunity to ſatisfy their Avarice, for they judge without Appeal, and cauſe their Sentence to be executed upon the Spot. It is true, ſome injured Perſons have appealed to the *Divan*, but it is ſo hard, as well as chargeable to carry a Cauſe thither, that few will attempt it.

The ***Divan*** is the great Council and Aſſembly of the Nation, where all Affairs of State are debated, all Suits are finally decided, for any body may be heard there, of what Country, Quality, or Religion ſoever he be, and the pooreſt Man has Liberty to aſk Juſtice of the Grand Signior in Perſon, and deliver him his Petition, which as ſoon as he has read, he gives Sentence according to Equity. If it be for Debt, the Vizier, upon Supplication, ſends a *Chiaux* to fetch the Debtor into Court, and the Creditor bringing his Witneſſes, the Priſoner is condemned, and the Sentence is immediately put in Execution; for all Things are diſpatched with ſo much Expedition, that a Matter no ſooner comes to a Hearing, but it is preſently judged, and finally determined.

No Trial, unleſs in a difficult Caſe, will laſt above four or five Hours without Sentence given one Way or other, ſo that no Man is wearied and ruined by Lawyers and Delays, as in other Places: Nor is there any Fear that Juſtice will not be adminiſter'd, becauſe at the End of the Hall where they ſit, is a Window covered with black Crape, where the Grand Signior hears and ſees when he pleaſes, without being diſcerned, and the Judges, fearing he may be there, dare not adminiſter partial Juſtice, for if he finds it out, it would immediately coſt them their Lives.

The Treaſury is opened upon all *Divan* Days, but firſt the *Chiaux-Baſha* looks whether the Seal be whole, and then takes it off; and when they have taken out, or put in what they think fit, he ſeals it again with the Grand Vizier's Seal. While the *Divan* is ſitting, the *Aga* of the *Janizaries*, the *Spahilar-Agaſi*, the *Cadileſquers*, the Officers of the *Divan* and the *Viziers*, being introduced by the *Capidgi-Baſha* and *Chiaux-Baſha*, are brought before the Grand Signior, to give an Account of their ſeveral Charges, and what they have done, and none of them can promiſe themſelves to bring back his Head again, becauſe the Grand Signior, for a ſmall Offence, will cauſe them to be ſtrangled on the Spot.

20. In all Things the *Turks* are great Lovers and Obſervers of Order. They take ſpecial Care of Proviſions, that all Things be had in Plenty and at reaſonable Rates, and he that has taken Pains to bring Fruit to the Market firſt, has no Advantage but to take his Money firſt; for he muſt not exact a great Price, or ſell dearer, unleſs he has a Mind to be ſoundly drubb'd, baſtinadoed and fined. They have Officers to examine every Man's Weights and Meaſures, who daily go their Rounds; and if they find any Man's Weights too light, or that he ſells his Goods too dear, they fail not to order him ſo many Blows with a Cudgel on the Soles of his Feet, and make him pay a Fine; ſo that moſt Sellers are ſo much afraid of offending, that they will give you ſomething above Weight, and they dare not cheat the leaſt Child.

Every one is obliged to hinder any Quarrels or Diſorders that happen in the Streets; for there is a Law, that if a dead Man be found before any Man's Door, he muſt pay for his Blood 500 Piaſtres, or 45000 Aſpers; ſo that every Man is obliged to ſee, that no Noiſe be made before his Door, and hinder all ill Effects of it. If he who committed the Fact be taken, and convicted of it, he is diſcharged of the Sum, and the Murtherer is puniſhed, unleſs the Relations of the deceaſed will hearken to an Accommodation, for then the Murtherer is allowed to ranſome himſelf, which is uſually done by paying three or four hundred Crowns.

To prevent any Accidents in the Night Time, all Perſons whatever are prohibited to go Abroad after Evening is ſhut, except in the *Ramadan* or *Lent*; and if the Under-Baſha, who is Captain of the Watch, and walks his Rounds all Night, as our Conſtables do, meets any Man, he is carried before the *Cadi*, who examines him, and if he cannot give a good Reaſon for his being out late, he is fined and baſtinadoed; and if he be diſmiſſed without Fining, it is a laſting Diſgrace to him, and he lies under Suſpicions.

21. The Money Current at *Conſtantinople* is, the *Mangour*, which is half a Quadrin, Copper-Money, and Six of them make an Aſper, which is a little piece of Silver, ſtamp'd with the Grand Signior's Name, and worth eight Deniers, or three Farthings Sterling. The *Iſolette* is worth fifty five Aſpers. The *Aſlani* or *German* Rix-Dollar, ſo called becauſe it is ſtamp'd with a Lion, in *Turkiſh Aſlan*, is worth eighty Aſpers, and the Piaſtre, or *Picade*, 90. The *Turkiſh Chequin* is worth two Piaſtres, and the *Venetian* ten Aſpers more. The Aſpers are many of them counterfeit. Their Weights are the *Quirat*, which is four Grains, and ſixteen of them make a Drachm; the *Medical* is a Drachm and an half, twelve Drachms make an Ounce; the *Rotte* is twelve Ounces; the *Oque* is three *Rottes*, or four hundred Drachms; and the *Cantar* is an hundred and fifty *Rottes*.

22. The *Turks* uſe ſeveral Sorts of Puniſhments for Offenders; thoſe for ſmaller Faults are Blows upon the Soles of their Feet, or Buttocks, with a ſmall Stick. The Feet of the Sufferer are ſo held up by two Men in a *Talacca*, or Wooden Inſtrument, that they cannot ſtir them, and then two more with Switches lay on the Blows upon them, as upon a Smith's Anvil, till he that is to ſee to the Execution ſays there is enough. Such as have received many Blows (as ſometimes they inflict three or four hundred) are not able to go for three or four Months after, but they'll bear thirty without any great Inconvenience.

Maſters dare give no other Correction to their Servants and Slaves than this, and they are uſually ſo ſevere that for Fear of Puniſhment, they are wonderfully well ſerved. You may ſee their Servants ſtand before them a whole Day together like Statues, with their Hands upon their Bellies, expecting their Maſter's Command, which at the leaſt Wink of an Eye is obey'd. School-Maſters do not whip their Scholars as we do in Chriſtendom, but baſtinade them on the Soles of their Feet. When they chaſtiſe any Perſon on the Buttocks, the Party is laid on his Belly, and the Blows are laid on over his Drawers. Sometimes they give five or ſix hundred Blows, but that is the higheſt; and if any Man hath been thus handled, a great deal of mortified and ſwollen Fleſh muſt be cut off with a Razor from his Buttocks, to prevent a Gangrene, and he muſt keep his Bed five or ſix Months before he is able to go about his Buſineſs.

Women are alſo chaſtiſed this Way, when they deſerve it: Such as deſerve Death for their Crimes, are puniſhed with Strangling, Hanging, Drowning, Beheading, Burning, Empaling, or Throwing upon Spikes of Iron. When any Man is to be hang'd, which is done for Robbery or Murder, they will make a Chriſtian the Executioner, if they can light of any. In Beheading, which is done for Rebellion or Sedition, they are ſo dextrous, that they never miſs cutting them off at one Blow. The *Ganche*, or throwing upon Spikes or Hooks, which is performed by letting the Malefactor fall upon them, and hang there ſeveral Days, till he expire with Hunger, Thirſt and Pain, is accounted ſo cruel a Death, that the *Turks* very ſeldom practiſe it.

The *Turks* that turn *Chriſtians* are burnt alive with a Bag of Powder hang'd about their Necks, and a pitch'd Cap upon their Heads; but *Chriſtians* that do or ſay any Thing againſt the Law of *Mahomet*, or are taken with a *Turkiſh* Woman, or go into a Moſque, are empaled, unleſs they will turn *Turks*; for they are ſo zealous for their Religion, that a *Chriſtian* may redeem his Life by turning *Turk*, whatever Crime he has been guilty of; but in theſe, as well as many other Caſes, if he will not turn *Turk*, he is put to Death; but a *Turk* has no Way to ſave his Life, if he happens to commit the like or even a leſſer Offence.

23. The Grand Signior's Arms have acquired him that vaſt Power and large Dominions he holds by their Means, taken from his Neighbours, for he always maintains a ſtanding Army both in War and Peace, to defend himſelf and ſurprize others: His whole Army, which conſiſts of Horſe and Foot, are punctually paid once in two Months. The Infantry are of ſeveral Orders, as *Capigi*'s, or Porters, who keep the Gates of the *Seraglio*, and ſtand round the Grand Signior when he gives Audience to Ambaſſadors: They are in all three thouſand, and have a Captain, called the *Capigi-Baſha*: They execute Death upon ſuch as are fallen under the Sultan's Diſpleaſure: They wear a Cap with a Cone half a Foot long. *Solaques*, which are the Grand Signior's Life-guard, and attend him when he goes abroad in the City: They wear a Doliman with hanging Sleeves, and a Cap ſtuck with Feathers in Form of a Creſt, their Bow always hangs on their Arm, and their Quiver is always full of Arrows ready to draw, if Need requires; but the chief of their Infantry are the *Janizaries*, who are either Children taken for Tribute, and educated in the *Oda*'s of the *Seraglio*, or Renegado *Chriſtians*, and ſome few *Turks*. This Order was inſtituted by *Ottoman*, the firſt Emperor of the *Turks*.

They call one another Brothers, and will not endure the meaneſt of their Body to ſuffer the leaſt Injury, and none but their Officers dare lift up an Hand againſt them, upon Pain of Death: They can beat any Man, and no body dare touch them; for no Intereſt or Money can ſave the Life of him that has beaten a *Janizary*; and upon this Account Ambaſſadors take them into their Retinue, and Travellers hire them for their

Guides: They are diſtinguiſhed from other *Turks* by their Caps, called *Zarcola*'s, which being made like the Sleeves of a *Caſaque*, hang down behind and have a Cone on the Forehead half a Foot long, gilt with Silver and embroidered. Their Pay is from two to ſix Aſpers a Day, and a Piece of Cloth every Year.

The *Janizaries* of the *Port* are 12000 in Number, and live in two Inns or Colleges, containing one hundred and ſixty Chambers, in every one of which are thirty, forty, or fifty Soldiers. Every Chamber has three Officers, *viz.* The *Chobargi*, or Captain; *Oda-Baſha*, the Chief; and the *Vikil Hardge*, i. e. the Steward. Over theſe is the *Kiaya-Bey*, or Lieutenant General of the *Janizaries*; and over all, the *Aga*, or General, who is always a *Muteſaraca*, or Perſon of Quality. He has not Power to puniſh any Soldiers by himſelf, but upon Complaint he delivers him to the *Oda-Baſha* to be puniſhed, which can be done only in the Night, for Soldiers can neither be beaten nor put to Death in Publick. They are beaten on the Soles of the Feet for ordinary Crimes, and if they deſerve Death, they are ſtrangled, and thrown into the Sea in a Sack, a Cannon being diſcharged for every one that ſuffers. The other lower Orders of Infantry are *Azapes*, or Pioneers; *Dgebegi*'s, or Men at Arms; *Topidgi*'s, or Gunners; and others.

The Grand Signior's Cavalry are the *Chiaux*; their Employment is very honourable, for they execute moſt of the Commands of the Grand Signior and his *Baſha*'s, and are ſent on Embaſſies to Foreign Princes: Their Caps are a Foot in Diameter, and are long and flat above: The Grand Signior and his *Baſha*'s wear them. The *Muteſaraca's* are all Perſons of Quality, and their Captain is the Grand Signior himſelf, and therefore they never go out to War but when the Grand Signior goes in Perſon.

24. The *Spahi's* are the ordinary Troopers, or Light-Horſe, and are of two Sorts. Some receive their Pay every two Months, which is from fifteen to forty Aſpers. They are divided into ſix Regiments, and have each a ſeveral Commander, called *Buluk Agaſi*, and different Colours. The others have, inſtead of Pay, a *Timar*, or Penſion, from the conquer'd Territories, where they reſide uſually, and obey the *Sangiac-Bey*, or Lord of the Manor, that rules that Quarter. They are very numerous, being diſperſed all over the Empire, and, being required by the Grand Signior, bring him many Horſe to his Wars. The Grand Signior is Heir to all in his Pay, if they die without Children; but he takes but two Thirds, if any leave Daughters.

Things being thus ſettled, it is eaſy for the Grand Signior to raiſe an Army of two or three hundred thouſand Men in a very little Time, by ſending his Orders to the *Baſha's* and *Sangiacs* only, who come in with their Servants, Soldiers of their Governments, and *Timar-Spahi's* inſtantly. Nor is he at more Charge in War than Peace, for all maintain themſelves and Servants; and ſo good Order is kept in their Camps, that where-ever they are they draw a Market, becauſe they pay exactly for what they have; nay, Merchants travel ſecu rely by or through them, without Fear of being plundered. All their Soldiers are both ſtrong and couragious. They live on a ſmall Matter, and are ſo hardy as never to be wearied with Travel, or long Marches.

They fight like Lions, chuſing rather to be cut in Pieces than retreat, unleſs the Enemy exceed them much in Number. That which makes them ſo couragious, is the Confidence they have in Deſtiny, believing, that they can't die before their Time is come, though an hundred thouſand Men ſeek their Lives, and if they die in the Field, they ſhould alſo have died at Home, which makes them fearleſs of all Diſeaſes and Dangers. They are alſo ſo zealous for their Religion, that they will chearfully die in Fighting againſt the Enemies of their Law, believing that they die Martyrs, and ſhall, after Death, enjoy the Delights that *Mahomet* hath promiſed them.

They will blindly obey the Orders of their Commanders, running into the greateſt Dangers of War as chearfully as to a Feaſt; and beſides, they are well armed with a good Muſket, and a handſome Sword, with other ſuitable Habits and Accoutrements, inſomuch, that it is not to be thought ſtrange, if they are very ſtrong by Land, and bring almoſt every Thing to paſs that they undertake.

25. But though the *Turks* are ſo potent by Land, and ſucceed well in their Wars there, yet are they neither fortunate nor ſtout by Sea, and always worſted, unleſs they be ſix to one; and the Reaſon is, becauſe they have neither good Ships nor good Men. They are very unſkilful in Building their Ships, and when they have done, they not only want good Sea-Officers to manage them, but Soldiers to man them; for even thoſe *Janizaries*, who know not what it is to give Ground on Shore, always go to Sea againſt their Wills, and if they can get off for Money, never fail to do it; and no Wonder, if their Navy can never be victorious, when all Things are ſo unfit for Battle. And hence it is, that the *Venetians* gain great Advantages over them, and particularly in 1656. gave them ſuch a ſignal Defeat at the *Dardanelles*, where they loſt twenty ſeven Ships, thirty ſeven Galleys, and eight Maones, that all the *Turks* were put into Conſternation by ſo great an Overthrow, and imagined themſelves to be Slaves to the *Venetians*, who, had they purſued their Victory, would certainly have driven the *Turks* out of *Conſtantinople*, and, perhaps, out of *Europe*; for the Grand Signior was preparing to fly into *Aſia*; and the *Turks* believing that God had decreed that Time for their Expulſion out of *Europe*, as one of their *Imans* had foretold, would eaſily have departed; but the *Venetians* neglecting the Advantage, ſuffered the *Turks* to reſume their Courage, and thereupon they grew more terrible to the Chriſtians, whom they could not ſee without Regret, and threatened them with Deſtruction at their next *Bairam*, according to their natural Inſolence.

But as the *Janizaries*, when obedient to the Grand Signior, render him one of the moſt formidable Princes upon Earth, ſo they ſtrangely limit his Power when they loſe that Reſpect to him, and revolt, which they pretty often do; and then, ſlighting all Commands, they follow the Dictates of their own furious Paſſions, and run down all that comes in their Way, for they have ſtrangled ſeveral Grand Signiors, and among others Sultan *Oſman*, becauſe they ſmelt out his Reſolution of diſſolving their Body, as the only Curb to his unlimited Power, and ſet up his Uncle *Muſtapha* in his Place; and in the next Succeſſion Sultan *Ibrahim*, his Brother, and Father of *Mahomet*, who reign'd in the Year 1655. And this Prince they reduced to ſuch Straits, that he was forced to grant them all that they demanded, and put many of the chief Officers of the Court to Death to appeaſe them; but whoever they attempt againſt, yet they always ſo reſpect the Royal Blood, and have ſo great a Veneration for the Race of *Ottoman*, that they never ſo much as dream of altering the Succeſſion from that Family.

26. The Subjects of the Grand Signior who are not *Muſſulmen*, are either *Chriſtians* or *Jews*. The *Greeks* are the chief of the *Chriſtians*. They wear the ſame Habit with the *Turks*, except that they may not wear green on any Part of their Bodies, without Danger of being ſoundly baſtinado'd and fined, nor a Turbant all white, leſt they be forced to turn *Turks*, or die for it; but all other Colours they may wear, though it be better not to uſe all red or all yellow, for Fear of offending the Soldiery. The *Papas*, or *Greek* Prieſts, are always clad in Black, but their Cap has a Liſt of white. They wear long Hair, and ſo do their Monks.

As for their Religion, they differ from the Church of *Rome* in theſe Points: 1. They maintain that the Holy Ghoſt proceeds only from the Father, and not from the Son, but at moſt by the Son; yet they believe him to be God, and the Spirit of the Son. 2. They deny the Pope to be Head of the Church, and have four Patriarchs of equal Authority, to whom they ſubmit in their ſeveral Juriſdictions, *viz. Conſtantinople*, *Antioch*, *Alexandria* and *Jeruſalem*; but they are all raiſed by Bribery to their Dignities by the Grand Signior, and confirmed by the Grand Viziers and Baſha's of thoſe Countries, as the Grand Signior's Deputies, from whom they receive a *Caſtan*, or Veſt, at their Confirmation. They have ſeveral Archbiſhops and Biſhops under them; but they muſt firſt have been *Caloyers*, or Monks, and obſerve their Rule during their Lives. The Prieſts are regular, who are not married, and Seculars who marry. 3. They admit of no Purgatory, but hold a third Place, where the Bleſſed remain in Expectation of the Day of Judgment, before which Time, though they believe not the Saints to be admitted into Paradiſe, yet they pray to them to intercede for them. 4. They uſe leavened Bread in the Sacrament, ſuch as they commonly eat, and communicate in both Kinds, as well Laymen as Prieſts, and Women and Children as Men, and condemn the *Latins* for depriving the Laity of the Cup. 5. They have four *Lents*, but the firſt, which begins ſix Weeks before *Eaſter*, and laſts till that Feaſt, they keep moſt ſtrictly, calling it the great and holy Faſt; for they eat nothing then that hath Blood, nor Oil, but only Herbs and Shell-fiſh, as the Cuttle-Fiſh and Oiſters. In the other three *Lents*, one of which is kept in Honour of the bleſſed Virgin, and the other of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, they may eat Fiſh and Oil.

27. The *Armenians* keep their Lent ſtricter than the *Greeks*, for they eat no Kind of Fiſh nor Oil, nor drink any Wine, but live only on Bread, Water, Herbs and Roots. Their Churches are like ours, except that the high Altar is divided from the reſt of the Church by a wooden Partition with three Doors, which make a kind of *Sanctum Sanctorum*. They have no Images, but Pictures only. They never kneel in their Churches, not ſo much as at the *Elevation of the Hoſt*, but lean upon Crutches, of which they have Abundance for that Purpoſe. No Man can be admitted into Prieſts Orders till he is full thirty Years old. Prieſts are allow'd to marry but once in their Life-time, and that to a Virgin, who is alſo under an Obligation not to marry, if her Huſband dies.

Their Maſs is much the ſame in Subſtance with that of the *Latins*, ſave that is much longer, for it takes them five Hours in a Day to read it over only, which occaſions ſo many of the Clergy to omit it, that there is ſcarce any Place where it is regularly read, unleſs it be in Mount *Athos* and *Neomagni*, a City of the Iſland of *Scio*, and in ſome few well regulated Monaſteries. Their whole Liturgy is divided into ſeven Books. 1. *Triodion*, which contains the Office for Faſt-Days. 2. *Euchologion*, which is a General Office for all Days, and all Occaſions. 3. *Paraclitiſks*, which contains all the Hymns. 4. *Pentecaſterion*, which is the Service of the Church from *Eaſter* to *Whitſuntide*. 5. *Meneon*, an Office belonging to each Month. 6. *Horologion*, the Service for all the Canonical Hours for every Day. 7. *Antoloion*, which comprehends all that uſes to be read in the ordinary Service of every Month throughout the whole Year. This Part of their Liturgy, they ſay, every Prieſt ought to have, and it ought to lie in every Church; but as to the reſt the Length of them is ſo tedious, and the Price ſo great, that moſt of the Biſhops, Prieſts, yea, even their *Caloyers*, never trouble themſelves with them.

28. Their *Caloyers*, or Monks, lead a very auſtere and exemplary Life. They make three Vows: 1. Of renouncing the World. 2. Abſtaining from Fleſh: And, 3. From Marriage; which they very ſtrictly obſerve, eſpecially in the larger Monaſteries of Mount *Athos*, St. *Michael* of *Neomagni*, Mount *Sinai*, St. *Saba*, and *Jeruſalem*, which are thoſe that are beſt governed. Their Food is the Product of the Earth, and Fiſh, except on Faſt-Days, when they will not eat any Thing that hath Life. Some of them, who are called *Aſcetai*, live only on the Fruits of the Earth, and to that End leave their Cloiſter to live on the Mountains, and never return but on great Feſtivals, to aſſiſt at the publick Service. All their Monks are divided into three Orders, viz. St. *Baſil*, *Elias*, and St. *Marcellus*; and in all of them they have three Sorts of Monks, Superiors or Elders, call'd *Egoumenoi*, the profeſſed and other Fathers, and the Novices, with the Lay-Brethren; but the Superiors, though had in great Veneration, have little Authority, except in impoſing ſome trivial Penances; for they are afraid leſt by Severity the Monks ſhould turn *Turks*, as they have had many Inſtances, and therefore their monaſtick Diſcipline is almoſt loſt; yet they ſtill retain the Prerogative of ſtripping ſuch Monks of their Habit, who have been guilty of ſome notorious Crimes, and will not ſubmit to their Rules.

The Profeſſed alſo take the ſame Liberty to lay down their Habits when they pleaſe, yet not without ſome Scandal to the others, and rendering themſelves contemptible; however, upon their Repentance, and undergoing ſome ſlight Penance, they are re-admitted. Theſe profeſſed Monks, ſo long as they are in the Convent, take care of the Fruit, Corn, Sheep, and other Things that belong to the Cloiſter. The Novices and Lay-Brethren work in the Fields, and though they return ever ſo weary from their Labours in the Evening, yet they muſt attend at a long Prayer, and make many Genuflexions, which they call *Netaniai* before they eat their Supper, or go to their Reſt. Over all theſe Monks are placed Provincials, or *Viſitors*; but inſtead of reforming the Abuſes of the Monaſteries, which ſhould be their Buſineſs, they only gather up the Money which the Patriarch exacts of them. And, indeed, theſe *Viſitors* come ſo often, that they are miſerably poor, and are become thereby ignorant and illiterate, becauſe the Time they ought to ſpend in their Studies, they are forced to employ in labouring for a Suſtenance.

But, notwithſtanding this general Poverty of the Monks, ſome few Monaſteries are ſo well endow'd, and their Monks are ſo rich, as to be able to raiſe great Sums of fifty or ſixty thouſand Crowns to purchaſe the Patriarchate, nay, ſometimes before the Poſſeſſor is dead, for the Grand Signior never refuſes Money. Their ſecular Prieſts, called by them, *Coſmicoi Iereis*, are thus made: Firſt they take their Tonſure upon them, *i. e.* are ſhaven on their Crowns the Breadth of one's Hand, and are thus taken into the Service of the Church. Then after ſome Months they are created *Anagouſta's*, or Readers, becauſe it is their Buſineſs to read the Mattins, Pſalms, and ſome other Things, which the Clerks uſe to ſing. When they have ſerved the Church ſome Months in this Office, the Biſhop confers upon them Deacons Orders, and a Power of waiting at the Altar, and chanting the Epiſtle. When they are Deacons, if they have a Mind to marry, they are allowed to do it, provided they give Notice to the Biſhop of the Woman and her Abode, that he may enquire after her; for if ſhe be not chaſte, wiſe, and handſome, ſhe is not a fit Wife for a Prieſt, nor will the Biſhop ſuffer their Marriage. And, indeed, the *Greeks* are ſo ambitious to beſtow their Daughters on the Prieſts, that if it be known that a Prieſt deſires to marry, all are forward to ſeek out the greateſt Beauty for him, as if they were to conſecrate it to God, and to court ſuch Women they are diſpenſed with in their Service, and, upon their Return into it, are made Prieſts.

29. The Under Miniſters of the *Greek* Church are, 1. *Seruophylaces*, or Sextons, who look after the conſecrated Plate, and other Utenſils of the Church. 2. The *Colonarchai*, who informs the Singers what Tunes to ſing. 3. The *Tyrreroi*, or Porters, who open and ſhut the Church Doors. 4. The *Canillaptai*, who take Care of the Tapers, of which they conſume many. The Service of the *Greek* Church is ſaid ſeveral Times a Day. In the Monaſteries they riſe at Midnight to perform a particular Form of Devotion, called *Meſonuction*, and to prepare them for ſome great Feſtival, they turn it into an *Holonuction*, or an All-night Service. After this they celebrate a Service at Break of Day, called *Oertos*; another at the firſt Hour, called *Protiora*; and ſo again at the ſecond Hour, called *Tritiora*; and at Nine o'Clock in the Morning, called *Ektiora*: Then follows the *Ennati*, the Liturgy, and the Euchariſt at Three o'Clock in the Afternoon, and *Eſpirenes*, or Evening-Service; after which they uſe ſome ſlight Exerciſe till they go to Supper, and when that's done, they return again to Church, to perform the Service called

Apodipne,

Apodipho, or, the Service of the Night, which in the *Romiſh* Church is called the *Complines*.

The Miniſters of Churches follow the Example of the Monks as near as poſſible, ſo that in all Churches, be they rich or poor, there is every Day performed the *Hagai Koinoma*, or Celebration of the Euchariſt, and ſome Churches more than once, but at different Altars. None of theſe Ceremonies or Uſages are performed in Conformity to the Church of *Rome*, for they abominate both them and all their Cuſtoms, and if a *Latin* Prieſt ſhould ſay Maſs at any of their Altars, they would waſh them as polluted. At the Cloſe of every *Thurſday* they excommunicate the Pope and all the *Latin* Biſhops, and damn them as ſo many Hereticks and Schiſmaticks.

They have ſo great a Number of Holidays, that there is no Day in the Year but is conſecrated to ſome Saint; but thoſe they have in greateſt Veneration, are, beſides the Feaſts of Chriſt and his Apoſtles, the Invention and Exaltation of the Holy Croſs, in *September*; the Feaſt of St. *Demetrius* in *October*; St. *John Chryſoſtom*, and the Virgin's Entrance into the Temple in *November*; St. *Nicholas*, St. *Spiridion*, and St. *Ignatius* in *December*; the Feaſt of St. *Baſil*, St. *Anthony*, St. *Athanaſius*, St. *Cyril*, St. *Gregory Nazianzen*, and Chriſt's Baptiſm, in *January*; St. *Simeon*'s Meeting with Jeſus and St. *Blaſius* in *February*; the Forty Martyrs in *March*; St. *George* in *April*; St. *Athanaſius*, *Conſtantine* the Great and *Helena*, and the Invention of St. *John Baptiſt*'s Head in *May*; St. *Marinus*, *Elias* the Prophet, St. *Paraſaua* and St. *Pantaleon* in *July*; Chriſt's Transfiguration, the Death of the Virgin *Mary*, and the Beheading of St. *John Baptiſt* in *Auguſt*.

On theſe Days they read in the Church the Life and Actions of theſe Saints in the vulgar Tongue, out of their *Synaxarion*, or Martyrology, and conclude the Service with the Diſtribution of the *Euchariſt*; and generally the People, who come to hear, bring an Offering of Bread, Wine, Oil, Tapers, and the like, for the Uſe of the Prieſts, and give liberally to the Poor, even beyond their Abilities. They celebrate *Eaſter*, which they call, Παχα αναστασίμον, *i. e.* the Paſſover of the Reſurrection, with great Demonſtrations of Joy. By the Laws of their Church, they are obliged to confeſs themſelves four Times a Year, but not ſo particularly as the Church of *Rome* requires, and after they have done ſome Penance, or promiſed, they are abſolved in Form of a Prayer: *Let thy Sins be forgiven.*

They look upon Baptiſm as indiſpenſibly neceſſary for Salvation; and though they baptize not till eight Days are paſſed after the Birth, unleſs in Caſe of Neceſſity; yet, when a Child is in Danger, they allow Laicks of both Sexes to baptiſe, becauſe they dare not hope well for Children who die unbaptiſed. They rebaptiſe Hereticks and Apoſtates, when they repent and deſire to come into their Church. Among the former they reckon the Papiſts: They have a great Averſion to Images in *Baſſo-Relievo*, and ſay, the Papiſts imitate the Heathens in the Uſe of them, but the Pictures of Chriſt and the Saints they account holy, and pay a Reverence to them, and to that End ſet them up in their Churches on their Feſtivals.

30. They condemn all the Weſtern Chriſtians for eating Things ſtrangled, and account them Hereticks for ſo doing. They follow the Doctrines of the ancient Fathers, and the Canons even of the firſt General Councils, very exactly, and think all others of no Force. The *Turks* make them pay very ſevere Capitations for their Religion Sake, and which is worſe to them, take their Children from them often by Force, to educate them in the *Mahometan* Faith, and make them *Ichlogans*. Though they have many Churches, yet they are obliged to take great Care to keep them in Repair, for Fear they ſhould have no Churches at all, for the *Turks* very rarely will ſuffer them to rebuild them, if they fall; but they are allowed to repair them. In their Churches they have a Candleſtick which holds three Candles, by which, they ſay, is repreſented the Holy Trinity; and another two, which ſignify the two Natures in Chriſt. Their Sacerdotal Veſtments, have alſo the like Myſteries. In giving the Bleſſing, they make the Sign of the Croſs from the Right to the Left, contrary to the *Latins*.

Maids ſhew not themſelves before they are married, even to their Relations, and therefore go not to Church for Fear of being ſeen. They are married by a Prieſt, and give a Ring like the *Latins*, but take Godfathers and Godmothers, which they do not. The Bride and Bridegroom being come before the *Papa* or Prieſt, he ſays ſome Prayers over them, while the Godfathers and Godmothers hold a Garland of Flowers, mixed with *Orpine*, over their Heads, and a Pall over it. The Father and Mother of the Bride give her; and when Prayers are done, the Bride and Bridegroom drink to one another, and the Glaſs being given to the Prieſt, he merrily drinks it off, and then breaking the Glaſs, ſays, *So may this Bridegroom break the Virginity of the Bride.* Their other Rites are like thoſe of the *Latin* Church.

Their ordinary Way of Living is much like the *Turks*, only they are more wicked, for they are covetous, perfidious, treacherous, *Sodomites*, revengeful to the higheſt Degree, very ſuperſtitious, and great Hypocrites, for which Qualities they are ſo much deſpiſed by the *Turks*, that they do not Value them though they turn *Mahometans*. They are greater Enemies to the *Papiſts* than the *Turks* are, and none would hinder them from being Maſters of *Turkey* more than they, if Providence ſhould ſo favour them to recover what the *Turks* hold in *Europe*. Their Women are beautiful, but a little too fat, and moſt of them very proud.

31. The *Jews* in *Turkey* uſe the ſame Habits with the *Turks*, only may not wear green, or a white Turbant, or red Veſts, and ſo are obliged to wear their Meſtes, Pabouches and Caps, which are ſhaped like an Hat, of a Violet Colour only. Their Religion is contained in the *Old Teſtament* and *Talmud*. As to their Manners, they are great Cheats in all Places, and their only Contrivances are to vex both *Chriſtians* and *Turks* with their Taxes and Tricks, which is the Reaſon they are hated and deſpiſed in all Places. All the *Jews* and Male *Chriſtians*, which are ſubject to the Grand Signior, pay the *Karadge* yearly which is a Tribute of four Piaſtres and an half, beginning to pay it about nine Years old; but the *Chriſtian* Prieſts and Monks are exempted from it, and ſo are the *Jewiſh Rabbis*; the Women alſo paying nothing. This Tax brings in a great Revenue to the Grand Signior, and no body can avoid it by changing their Habitation, for at whatever Place they come in their Travels, their *Karadge* is demanded, and if they have paid it in any other Place, they muſt ſhew their Acquittance, and if they can't produce one, they muſt pay it, and take a Note or Acquittance to ſerve them in other Places; but ſuch as are not Subjects to the Grand Signior, do not pay this Tribute, and to ſhew that they wear an Hat, and have a Certificate of their Abode from a Conſul.

32. The Accounts already given from the Works of the moſt authentick Authors that have been publiſhed, cannot fail of entertaining as well as inſtructing the Reader; but, perhaps, it may not be amiſs to make ſome Additions to theſe, from Materials of another Nature; ſuch as the Informations of thoſe who have reſided long in the Dominions of the Grand Signior, and Books written in or tranſlated from the Oriental Languages. To render theſe Remarks of the more Uſe, by keeping them in a certain Method, we will, as near as may be, purſue that which in the Courſe of this Section has been already laid down. The Dreſs or Cloathing of the *Turks*, though it appears odd and uncooth to us, is nevertheleſs founded upon Reaſon, and for that very Cauſe is not much affected by Faſhion; ſo as they have Nothing of Levity in their Nature, ſo there is Nothing can give Men a graver Appearance than the *Eaſtern* Habit; and in reſpect to all the Uſes of Cloathing in a Climate like theirs, it will be found, that it anſwers them perfectly well. By changing the Stuff of which their Robes are made, from Silk to Cloth, and from plain Cloth to Cloth lined with Furrs, the Change of Seaſons is provided againſt. Their Habit agrees likewiſe with their Manner of Living, they

ride without any Inconveniency. The Manner in which their Houſes are furniſhed is ſuited to their Garb, and every Part of that is well contrived for the great Uſe they make of Bathing. The only Thing in the *Turkiſh* Dreſs, that ſeems to deſerve Reprehenſion, is their Turbants, and it is obſervable, that this is the only Part of it that is ſubject to Fancy or Change; for as to the reſt, there has been little or no Difference introduced in the Courſe of many Years.

The modeſt and temperate Way of Living, in Uſe amongſt the *Turks*, is very commendable, and the more ſo, becauſe it is not carried to any Degree of Severity or Extravagance. They abſtain from all Animals that die of Diſeaſes, that are choaked, ſtrangled, or knocked on the Head, or that break their Necks; but in Caſes of great Neceſſity, they allow that even theſe may be eat; but from Blood and Swines Fleſh they moſt religiouſly abſtain. They have not many Diſhes, nor any great Variety of Dreſſing, but thoſe they have are ſavoury, cheap, provided with little Trouble, and their Meals are ſoon over. All this is alſo very agreeable to their Climate and Way of Life, but at certain times, when they have a mind to indulge, they have their Niceties, eſpecially in Paſtry and excellent Liquors, which they ſtile Sherbets, compoſed of a Variety of Ingredients, and always cool and pleaſant. But after all, their great Dainty is Water, and ſome, from a Principle of Charity, carry it in Stone Veſſels through the Streets of *Conſtantinople*, and offer it with great Civility to ſuch as deſire to drink; whence we diſcern the Propriety of that *Eaſtern* Expreſſion, which occurs in our ſacred Writings, of giving a Cup of cold Water; which, from the Difference of our Manners, does not appear to be any great Matter here.

As for the Practice of Drinking, the common People in thoſe Countries have it not; ſo that if you offer Workmen any Thing for that Purpoſe, they anſwer very naturally, that they are not dry; but ſtill you may oblige them, if you are diſpoſed, by calling the Coffee-Man, who ſtands at the Corner of every Street with his Utenſils, and all working People will be very grateful for a Diſh of Coffee. But that we may not deal altogether in Generals, we will take this Opportunity of ſpeaking particularly to three Heads, with reſpect to which we find very little in our printed Books that is exact and worthy of Credit. Theſe three Heads ſhall be *Coffee*, *Opium* and *Wine*.

As to Coffee, which the *Turks* call *Caphuab*, it was firſt uſed in the Country where it grows, in the Kingdom of *Yemen* in *Arabia-Felix*, which from its producing Coffee, our famous Mr. *Ray* delivers it as his Opinion, that it may be ſtiled not only *Felix*, but *Feliciſſima*, that is not barely the happy, but the moſt happy. A Multitude of Writers have deſcribed Coffee, and ſome have pretended long ago to give us diſtinct Accounts of their own Knowledge and Experience, and yet it is but a very little while that we have known any Thing of it with Certainty, ſo as to be diſabuſed in Reference to thoſe Fables that have gone current for many Years, though without having Foundation or even Colour of Truth. The Tree then that produces Coffee is in Reality a kind of Jeſſamine, which bears firſt a very beautiful and odoriferous white Flower, inclining to yellow, which is compoſed of five Leaves reſembling the *Spaniſh* Jeſſamine. As theſe Flowers drop off, the Fruit begins to appear, which is at firſt green, then of a pale red, turns next to a bright Crimſon, by Degrees of a very deep red, and at laſt inclines to a duſky Brown. In Size and Shape it reſembles a honey Cherry, but inſtead of a Stone, there lies within the Pulp two of thoſe that we call very improperly Coffee-Beans, with their flat Sides joined to each other, and their Convex Sides outward; as there are Flowers, green Fruit, and ripe, all upon the ſame Tree at once, there are ſeveral Coffee Harveſts; but the moſt conſiderable is that in *May*, when by laying Cloths under the Trees, and ſhaking them, the ripe Fruit drops off in great Quantities, out of which the Beans are taken, and very carefully dried, firſt in the Sun, and then in the Shade; and upon their curing in this Reſpect, their Goodneſs chiefly depends.

It is ſaid, that the Virtues of Coffee were firſt diſcovered by the Friſking of Goats that fed upon it, and their living almoſt wholly without Sleep, which put a Prior of a Convent upon trying what Effect they would have upon a much groſſer Animal, a fat, ſleepy, lazy Monk, upon whom having wrought a wonderful Cure, Coffee came into general Uſe. I cannot vouch for the Truth of this Story ſo well as for what follows. It paſſed from *Arabia* into *Egypt*, where it began to be much taken Notice of, the *Turkiſh* Doctors doubting whether the Uſe of it was not forbid by their Law, becauſe they held its Properties to be the ſame with thoſe of Wine. This Point was cleared up by a *Mufti*, who was a great Friend to that Liquor, and wrote a Treatiſe in Defence of it, *A. H.* 875. *A. D.* 1470. The Name of this learned *Mufti* was *Abda leader Ben Mohammed*, and his Sirname *Al Anſari*, and the Title of his Work, *Omdat al Safu át fi hall al Cabuat*: We have been the more particular in mentioning this Book, becauſe there is a Copy of it in the *French* King's Library amongſt the *Arabick* Manuſcripts, N° 944, and there are in it ſome very curious Obſervations.

It is ſaid that there are in *Grand Cairo*, no leſs than two thouſand Coffee-houſes; there are a vaſt Number at *Conſtantinople*, and in all the Cities in the *Turkiſh* Dominions; but ſometimes on Account of the diſtracted State of their Affairs, theſe Coffee-houſes are ſhut up; but in Times of Peace they are much frequented, more eſpecially in the Mornings and Evenings, when ſuch as are moſt at Leiſure, and are in tolerable Circumſtances, paſs an Hour or two there in Converſation, in hearing the Muſick which the Maſters of ſuch Places provide, or Books of Tales read, for which they have People on Purpoſe, who from a kind of Pulpit divert the Audidience with Collections of Stories of all kinds, good, bad or indifferent. I will for the Reader's Amuſement quote one, which is not much amiſs.

“ When the *Tartar* Slaves are croſſing a River, and find themſelves in Danger of being drowned, they catch hold of the Horſe's Tail that paſſes before them, and by this Means frequently eſcape. From hence comes the Proverb. *Lay hold of the Tail if you can, and be ſure keep it faſt.* There was an honeſt *Muſſulman* once, that by applying it luckily eſcaped being empaled, and the Caſe was thus; he had ſpent many Years in Study, had moſt Part of the *Alcoran* by Heart, was acquainted with many Sciences, but by attending to them, had ſlipt a very material Science, that of knowing how to live; ſo that when he grew in Years, though his Mind was well fed, his Body was in Danger of Want. He addreſſed himſelf to the Sultan *Mahomet* the IVth. on whoſe Memory be Peace! beſeeching him to ſave a Son of Science from ſtarving. The Sultan having conſidered his Caſe, gave him no other Anſwer than this; Friend, *with all your* Learning *don't you know, that the* World *is a Tail, and happy is he that gets* hold on it. The *Muſſulman* went Home in Deſpair, where after paſſing three Days in deep Meditation, he thus addreſſed himſelf to his *Ruſſian* Slave, from whom he had learnt that Tongue; Infidel, ſays he, let us change Cloaths, carry me to the Market, and ſell me to ſuch a one. His Orders were obeyed; he worked for ſix or eight Months in the Fields with the other Slaves, and appeared ſo very ſtupid, that he was the Jeſt of all his Companions. At the End of that Time he began to preach, affirm'd that he had Viſions, and that the Prophet, whoſe Name he bleſſed, had taught him the *Alcoran*, of which he repeated many Chapters. This made a very great Noiſe, he was viſited by every Body, and Nobody went empty handed; at laſt, the Grand Signior heard of it, and ſent for him. As ſoon as he came into his Preſence, the Sultan recollected him, *Friend*, ſaid he, *have I not ſeen you before?* For God's Sake, *cry'd he*, do not betray me; you know the World is a Tail, and I have but juſt got hold of it. The Iſſue of the Matter was, that the Man got a living by his Wit, and the World has got a good Story. My Friends, you'll be never the worſe for hearing it, and

" believe me, you will be much the better for remem-
" bring it; for of all Kinds of Knowledge, there is none
" more important than this, that the *World* is a *Tail*,
" and *happy* is he that can lay *hold* of it." I have ſeen a Book that belonged once to Sir *Roger Manly*, the true Author of the *Turkiſh Spy*, which contained the Stories that were read in a Week at a Coffee-houſe at *Damaſcus*, and it was in *Italian*. I wonder it has not been publiſhed, for in my Judgment it was much ſuperior to any Thing of the Kind that I have ſeen in Print, and I do not doubt but there are many ſuch Collections in the Cabinets of the Curious in *Italy* and *France*.

Every body knows that the *Turks* are great Takers of *Opium*, and much has been written upon thoſe Subjects, about which, however, there are many Miſtakes; we will endeavour to rectify ſome of them. The *Turks* call it *Aſſioun*, and the beſt comes from *Aboutige* in *Egypt*. It is very true, that as much as we have heard of *Opium*, there never was any of it in *Europe*. That which is uſed by the *Turks* of Diſtinction, is drawn by Inciſion from the largeſt Sort of *Black Poppies*, by laying new Ropes under them in the hotteſt Seaſon of the Year; when they are ſlit with a Lance, the Liquor falls on and ſticks to the Ropes in Drops of an Amber Colour, which are carefully collected, and ſold at a conſiderable Price; and this is the true *Opium*. They afterwards mow and extract the Juice from the Poppies, which over a ſlow Fire they reduce to the Conſiſtency of Turpentine, and afterwards make it up in Lumps and cover it with the Leaves; this is properly *Meconium*, but is what we receive for and generally call *Opium*. The beſt is of a black Colour, tough rather than brittle, of a pungent ſtupifying Smell, and free from Droſs and Sand. The worſt Sort is of ſeveral Colours, clammy in ſome Places, hard in others, and full of Droſs and Impurities. What is extracted from *Garden Poppies* in *Europe*, is what we ſtile *Diacodium*; and this, if it be carefully made, of the largeſt and beſt Poppies, properly cultivated, and in a very dry hot Seaſon, comes nearer *Opium*, and may be uſed with better Effect than the *Meconium*.

When the latter is purified and diſſolved in ſome convenient Vehicle, it is ſtiled *Laudanum*, and when compounded with other Ingredients, theſe are marked by a Variety of Epithets added to the Word *Laudanum*. There is alſo a ſolid *Laudanum*, which is only the *Meconium* well purified, and reduced again into a ſolid Form. The very beſt Method of doing this is by mixing the pureſt *Meconium* with Rain-Water, and then evaporating it over a ſlow Fire, to the Conſiſtence of a Syrup; after which it will ſoon grow dry of itſelf.

The *Turks*, the *Perſians*, and, indeed, all the Eaſtern Nations, take *Opium* as we do Wine or Drams; and the *Chineſe* are ſaid to have the beſt Preparations of it in the World. It exhilerates the Spirits wonderfully, and the Uſe of it is ſo bewitching, that when People have once got a Habit of taking it, they cannot leave it off; and as they feel the Effects of it leſs by Uſe, they are obliged to increaſe their Doſe, till at laſt they come to take amazing Quantities. Mr. *Gracin*, an Author of good Credit, ſays, that he ſaw a Fellow at *Bengal*, who for a Roupy took four Ounces of it, which made him ſleep all that Day; but the next Morning he came to himſelf, and appear'd not much the worſe for it. This, however, is very unuſual, and it is very rarely that any Perſon in *Turkey* ventures upon half an Ounce, and this muſt be after many Years Practice. Thoſe who take it while they are young, ſeldom live to be above fifty; but thoſe, who begin to take it at that Age, are not ſo much affected with it.

As to Wine, there is nothing clearer than that the Uſe of it is forbidden to the *Turks* by the Interpreters of their Law, except in Caſes of Neceſſity, when it is preſcribed them as Phyſick. The Clergy make a great Point of carrying the Edicts againſt the Uſe of it into the ſtricteſt Execution, but to very little Purpoſe; and what they do of this Kind, produces as bad Conſequences as Drunkeneſs; for upon the coming out of any new Edict, or once or twice in a Year to keep up a Show of executing the old ones, the Sub-Baſhaw and his Officers go into ſome miſerable Tippling houſe, let all the Wine about, take every Penny of Money they can lay their Hands on, break and deſtroy whatever they meet with in the Cabin; and, to complete all, treat the Maſter of the Houſe, at his own Door, with a delicate Baſtinadoe; of which, if he complains, or inſinuates that he depended upon the Officer's Protection, in Conſideration of an annual Preſent, he is probably ſent to Gaol into the Bargain. But notwithſtanding all this, there are every-where Tippling houſes kept by the *Greeks*, for the Sake of getting a little Money, where yet they are expoſed to a great many Inconveniencies, and to the daily Inſults of the *Turks* when in their Cups.

Their Hovels are both within and without the moſt deſpicable Places that can be imagined. Four Mud Walls compoſe the Houſe, plaiſter'd on the Inſide, painted over with bawdy Figures, drawn in Charcoal by drunken *Turks*, three or four rotten Benches, and a few Earthen Pots in which the Wine is both drawn and drank. Wretched as theſe Places are, they want not Company or Noiſe from Morning till Night, the *Greeks* being exceſſively abuſive, and the *Turks* brutally quarrelſome in their Liquor; which ſhews, that, from a political Principle, the Prohibition of Wine in theſe Countries is a very right Thing.

Almoſt all our Travellers agree, that the *Turks* are extravagantly ignorant; but the Queſtion is, whether themſelves are good Judges of this, and whether it lies much in their Way to be acquainted with ſuch as apply themſelves to Letters. It is, indeed, very true that the *Turks* are prodigiouſly fond of Aſtronomy, Geomancy, and other Arts of Divination, which are very juſtly mentioned as Proofs of their Ignorance; but in Excuſe of this, we ſhould conſider, that mean People practiſe this with Belief, and that Perſons of higher Stations do it out of Cunning. We ought alſo to reflect, that it is not ſo long ſince we ourſelves were addicted to theſe Fooleries, in which, after all, the *Turks* excel us extremely, not that their Aſtrology or other Arts are a Grain more certain, but the Cheat is managed with infinitely greater Dexterity. The *Turks* have Grammars and Dictonaries of their own Language; Books of Divinity, Hiſtory, Poetry, Phyſick, Mathematicks and Morality; ſo that after all, perhaps, they are not quite ſo barbarous in this Reſpect, or at leaſt not ſo univerſally ignorant as they are repreſented; nor do we find, that in any Negociations with their Viziers, they are apt to be over-reached in their Politicks.

Their Religion, indeed, is abſurd enough; but this is common to them and no other *Mahometans*; and, perhaps, they appear more abſurd to us, than they really are, from our Want of being acquainted with many of their Doctrines. It is moſt certain, that they entertain very odd Notions of the State of the Dead, and are actually perſuaded, that they have ſome Kind of Senſation in their Graves. An *Engliſh* Merchant once walking by a *Turkiſh* Village, with a *Janizary* before him, came to the Burying-place of the *Jews*, where a miſerable, ſhabby-looking Fellow was ſitting before one of the Tombs; upon which the *Janizary* ſtept up to him, and accoſted him in theſe Words: *You old Raſcal, what do you do out of your Grave? get into it again this Minute, and don't ſtink the World a ſecond Time!* The poor *Jew* marched off as faſt as he was able, and the *Janizary* took it for granted that he was ſneaked into his Grave again.

But with all their Superſtition, there is no Want of Free-thinkers amongſt the *Turks*, who take great Liberties with their Religion, and perhaps believe very little more of it than the *Chriſtians* themſelves. But they are obliged to keep their Notions very ſecret, for the Civil Government ſtanding upon the ſame Baſis with their religious Belief, any open Declarations of Infidelity would not only render a Man highly infamous, but ſubject him alſo to grievous Puniſhments. The *Derviſes* or Monks are ſometimes Enthuſiaſts, but, generally ſpeaking, they are notorious Cheats and Hypocrites; they commonly affect a very warm Zeal for their Religion, which they expreſs by being very rude to *Chriſtians*, and taking uncommon Freedom with Perſons of all Ranks among their own People, who very unwillingly ſubmit to their Impertinences for Fear of opening the Eyes of the Vulgar, who cannot but bear a great Reverence to Religion, when they ſee that the more ſtrict Profeſſion of it, ſets the meaneſt Man on a Level with the greateſt. Some of the enthuſiaſtical *Derviſes* are ſincere in their Way, and do ſome Service to Society by reproving the great People for their Offences.

As to the Slaves in *Turkey*, they are the moſt ſubmiſſive, tractable and obedient Creatures in the World, and tho' there are Maſters, that from the natural Brutality of their Tempers, treat them harſhly enough, yet generally ſpeaking they are tolerably well uſed; nor are they totally precluded from the Benefit of the Laws, for a Slave may ſummon his Maſter before the *Cadi* for ill Uſage, and if he alledges that their Tempers are ſo oppoſite, that it is impoſſible for them to agree, the *Cadi* will oblige his Maſter to ſell him; but then it muſt be allowed, that this Way of coming to Market does not much recommend him to the next Maſter; what affords theſe poor People moſt Ground of Complaint, is, the little Care taken of them in the Time of the Plague; for the *Turks* upon a Principle of Fatality, and a Belief that every Man's Fortune, as they phraſe it, is written in his Forehead, when they loſe one Slave by the Diſeaſe, put the next not only into his Room, but into his Bed, without taking any Precautions, and ſo loſe perhaps half a Score, one after another.

An *Engliſh* Merchant who was very intimate with an honeſt and ſenſible *Turk*, that was half ruined by this wild Way of acting, convinced him of the Folly of it, by a very eaſy and natural Experiment. He bid him take three large fine Lemons, one of which had juſt begun to rot, and place them ſo as that this rotten Lemon touched one of the ſound ones, and not the other; the next Day the ſound Lemon corrupted; the *Turk* ſaw the Force of the Argument, cauſed his Slaves Chamber and Bed to be well waſhed with Vinegar, all the Utenſils changed, and every Thing to be thoroughly perfumed, and theſe Precautions had their Effect, for the next Slave he had did very well, and it is to be preſumed, the Maſter was cured of his Folly ever after. By the Way let us obſerve, that the Price of Lemons is a ſure Way of knowing whether the Plague increaſes or decreaſes, when *Conſtantinople* is infected, for almoſt the ſole Nouriſhment they give the Sick, is the Juice of that Fruit, which they ſuck continually, and as ſoon as one Lemon is exhauſted, a freſh one is put into the Hands of the Patient, Experience having taught them, that Acids contribute moſt of any Thing to the Cure of this Diſtemper.

That the *Turks* are exceſſively jealous, is a Fact as certain, as that their Women are exceſſively lewd; and therefore if a Woman ſpeaks to a Man, they take it for granted, that ſhe has lain with him, or would lie with him, if ſhe had an Opportunity; and when a *Frank* attempts to perſuade a *Turk* of the contrary, by inſinuating that they may like the Company of a Man, for the Sake of Converſation, their common Anſwer is, Friend, if you catch a Perſon's Hand in your Pocket, would you think it was ſufficient Excuſe if he ſhould tell you he did it only out of Curioſity, to ſee what was in it. The beſt Security they have againſt their Slaves, the only Males that have any Opportunity of coming near their Women, is the Severity of their Chaſtiſements, for an Offence of this Kind he is puniſhed with Death without Mercy; yet even this dreadful Remedy is not always effectual, for their Women having ſo much Leiſure on their Hands, have Intrigues always in their Heads, and it is allowed that none in the World exceed them in their Skill of managing them with Dexterity and Secrecy. We have already obſerved, that the deſpotic Power of the Grand Signior, and the Vizier *Azem* is neceſſary according to the Scheme of their Conſtitution; and though it is not limited by Law, yet it finds a natural Reſtraint from the Fear of popular Inſurrections, which are more terrible in this than almoſt any other Country. As to the *Turkiſh* Juſtice, it is a Point of all others, the leaſt underſtood by Strangers, at which we need wonder the leſs, when we conſider, that even in *Europe*, one Nation knows very little of the Laws and Cuſtoms practiſed in another. But however it is certain, that the *Turkiſh* Law very much reſembles what is ſtiled the common Law in this Kingdom; that is to ſay it depends upon Maxims and Rules that are founded chiefly in Uſage.

But there is one Thing that deſerves particular Notice, and that is, that in no Country in the World there are ſuch Numbers of falſe Witneſſes, nor are theſe leſs uſed by the Chriſtian Merchants eſtabliſhed amongſt them, than by the *Turks* themſelves; for as every Thing in their Courts of Juſtice muſt be proved by two legal Witneſſes, that is, by *Muſſelmen*, Merchants would find it impoſſible to recover their Right, if they were ſo ſcrupulous as not to make Uſe of this Practice. In ſuch a Caſe they call in a Couple of *Turks* of their Acquaintance to their Aſſiſtance, and theſe having firſt very ſeriouſly aſked the Merchant, if the Fact be as he ſtates it; upon his anſwering in the affirmative, immediately tell him, Well, upon thy Credit we will ſwear it, and are as good as their Words, for which they are gratified with a ſmall Preſent; nay, in publick Cauſes, ſuch as Petitions for repairing a Church, if the Cauſe ſticks for want of a Witneſs, a grave *Turk* that ſtands by will come in a Volunteer, and tell a formal Story how he came to know ſo much of the Matter as will ſet the Thing a-going; but he expects to have his Preſent next Day, and it would be a Thing of very bad Conſequence to neglect it; but the greateſt Objection to the *Turkiſh* Law ariſes from the Corruption of thoſe who diſpenſe it; for every Man is at Liberty to apply to the *Cadi* privately, and then without Doubt what he ſuggeſts is ſupported by more weighty Arguments than can be delivered in Words. Yet with all theſe Diſadvantages, and without Doubt they are not inconſiderable, an *Engliſh* Lawyer who had great Opportunities of examining this Point to the very Bottom has ſuggeſted, that the *Turkiſh* Manner of Proceeding is not without ſuch Conveniences as balance all theſe Defects. The Reader no doubt would be glad to hear him, as his Remarks upon this Head are more to the Purpoſe, than thoſe that could be made by any other Man, not of the Profeſſion.

" One ſovereign Virtue, ſays he, of the *Turkiſh* Law, " is this, that every Man is his own Bailiff and Summoner, without the Plague of Proceſs, Returns, " *Alias*, *Pluries*, and I know not what Hooks or " Crooks, that often beggar a Suitor, before he can " bring his Adverſary to anſwer him. But a Man, in " this Country, requiring the Adverſary to go before " the Judge, he muſt without Shift or Delay go; and " if he offers to eſcape, a Thing ſcarce known there, he " muſt run quite away, for the very People will almoſt " deſtroy him if they catch him. Here is no ſuing out " a Writ, going to the Sheriff, from him to the Bailiff, " with a farther Train of ill Conſequences I am aſhamed to remember.

" Another Virtue, and a ſingular one, is, that no Man " anſwers by Attorney, but in proper Perſon only. " The Courſe is, when the Parties come before the " Judge, the Plaintiff makes his Demand for Money " lent, the Price of Goods ſold, or the like. The Judge " ſits all the while with his Paper upon his Hand, and " writes his Minutes. *What ſay you to it?* ſays he to " the other, and then he makes his Defence; if there " be a Writing ſhewed, the Defendant fails not to " own it; there are no *Non eſt factums* for pure Delay, " to be tried. It is there infamous in the greateſt Degree for a Man to deny his Writing, when ſhewed " to him before a Judge, or indeed any Matter of Fact " that is true, after it appears to have been ſo to his " Knowledge. What a vaſt Retrenchment of Delay " and Charge is this? Men anſwering in Perſon can " ſcarce be brought to ſpeak falſe; they muſt be " ſtrangely abandon'd to all Shame, that in the Face " of a Court, without ſtammering or bluſhing, will do " ſo. Whereas when they ſit at Home, and leave " their Attorneys and Council to plead for them, " there ſhall be falſe Pleas for Delays profeſſedly, and " no Concern at all to their Countenances.

“ The *Turkiſh* Law ſeems to have another Virtue, which lies in the Method of Proof; after the Judge hath heard the Demand and the Anſwer, he conſiders on which Side the Proof lies: If the Dealing be denied, as by the Defendant's ſaying he bought no Goods of the Plaintiff, or the like, the Judge bids the Demander prove it; and if Witneſſes are not ready, he gives a few Days to bring them, becauſe he might expect the other Party would have owned the Dealings; but if he ſaid, *It is true, I bought the Goods, but I paid him for them*, then the Judge bids the Defendant prove; but he will never let Witneſs come to ſwear on both Sides to one and the ſame Fact, for that is to make ſure of a Perjury; ſo in a *Turkiſh* Court, Witneſſes never confront and upon Oath contradict one another; but being once taken as Witneſſes, the Cauſe is at an End, the Demand is made and proved, What would you have more? But yet, if the Witneſſes are not credible, that Exception is allowed, and Witneſſes heard to prove it, and the Judge determines thereupon, whether he ſhall believe the Witneſſes or not, and accordingly judges of the Main.

“ Another admirable Virtue of the *Turkiſh* Law is, that Decrees or Deciſions never fight one with another; and yet the Party hath the Benefit of an Appeal. They call their Decree an Odgett, which is a ſmall Scrip or Ticket, which the Judge writes upon his Hand, and gives out to the Party that hath obtained Sentence. After this Odgett made and ſigned, and given out, no Judicature or Authority in the Empire can queſtion or diſcharge the Matter, or the Effect of it, no not the Great *Divan*, although the Odgett were made by the meaneſt Judge in the Empire. This ſeems very much to reſemble the Laws of the *Medes* and *Perſians*, when a Decree might not be revoked. It is certain, that in *Turkey* there cannot be more than one Odgett or Decree in one and the ſame Cauſe.

“ A *Turkiſh* Judge would laugh, if he were told of our Judgments, Writs of Error, and Error upon Error, Appeals, Reviews, *&c.* with full and entire Sentence of the Cauſe pronounced in all, and the latter giving the former ill Language, and looking as if a Judgment in a Cauſe were but a Foundation whereupon to commence a new Suit, to the incomprehenſible Delay and Expence wherewith the Parties, their Heirs and Aſſigns are tormented. But it will be ſaid, How then can the Parties have an Appeal? As to that, if either Side thinks the Judge unſkilful or partial, at any Time before Odgett made, he may appeal to a Superior Judge, and then the Cauſe is as if it had not been heard; but the Parties go before the Judge by Appeal, as if the Cauſe originally came before him, and then he makes the Odgett; but whoever makes it, the Odgett is irreverſible.

“ A farther Virtue of the *Turkiſh* Law is this: All Equity is comprehended in it. Men there are bound by their Contracts as well as here; but if a Contract prove very unequal, the Judge takes Notice of the Unreaſonableneſs, and gives Relief. As if a Man takes an Houſe to build at half the true Value; when the Work is done, he may ſue in a *Quantum meruit* for the Whole; and it is enough to ſay, I thought I might have done it for the Price, but was miſtaken. This goes farther than our Courts of Equity, for they do not relieve againſt any hard Bargains, without Fraud or Circumvention proved. It hath been ſaid, they do not ſit there to relieve Fools; but if we conſider well, it will be found, that all Perſons circumvented by Fraud, are ſo far within that Denomination. But granting full Relief may be had, what doth it coſt to come at it? In this Reſpect the *Turkiſh* Law is ſimple, for it not only diſallows all over-reaching Bargains, but the Judgment of them falls proper in one and the ſame Suit, which Party ſoever promotes it. And even here very good Patriots have declared it fit, that the Court having Juriſdiction of the Cauſe in Point of Law, ſhould alſo judge of the Equity emergent thereupon: But the preſent Conſtitution doth not allow it.

“ The Civilians reproach the common Law, ſaying, it wants Equity, and needs a particular Judicature to ſupply it. But I think theirs worſe, for they have no Mitigations, and all is *ſummum jus*. And then they contradict themſelves, ſaying, *Apices juris non ſunt jura*; and more groſly leap over their Law, judging as they ſay, *ex authoritate*, againſt Law, which in their Language, is *nobile Officium Judicis*. But the *Turkiſh* Law ſeems, in theſe Reſpects, to be moſt conſiſtent and complete. One Thing more I will venture to alledge in Favour of the *Turkiſh* Law, which is of admirable Uſe, and that is, their Diſpatch. A Cauſe ſeldom laſts a Week, and very often is opened and determined in a Day; and there is ſcarce any Means to prolong it, but demanding Time to produce Teſtimony to Facts, about which the Parties happen to differ; their alledging and anſwering for themſelves orally before the Judge, keeps down Difference of Facts. For the Pride or Shame of the Parties as well as Integrity, will make them ſave proving, and, for the moſt part, own what they know to be true, and ſo bring the Matter in Judgment upon the right Point.”

It may be objected here, “ That this Proceeding is precipitous, and Corruption apart, for Want of Advice and Deliberation of the Parties, as well as on the Part of the Judge, Wrong may be done; and Juſtice is a ſacred Thing, and ought to have the greateſt Regard. It is granted that Juſtice is a rare Thing, if it may be had; but if it is to be gained by ſailing through a Sea of Delays, Repetitions, and Charges, really it may be as good a Bargain to ſtay at home a Loſer. A wrong Determination expedite, is better than a right one after ten Years Vexation, Charge, and Delay. A good Cauſe immediately loſt, is in ſome Reſpects gained; for the Party hath his Time and Tranquillity of Mind reſerved to himſelf to uſe as he pleaſeth, which is a rare Thing in the Opinion of thoſe who have felt the Want of both, and of their Money into the Bargain.

“ The Reaſon why Juſtice is ſo ſacred, is not becauſe the Cauſe of Suit, or Thing claimed in itſelf is of any Regard, for that Argument will bring all Things to a Levelling, as why ſhould one Man have too much, and another want? But becauſe it preſerves Peace and Quietneſs among Men, which is the greateſt of all temporal good Things; and conſequently, wrong Judgments, ſoon and final, have the Virtue of Juſtice, becauſe Peace and Quietneſs is thereby preſerved. But Delays have an Effect directly to the contrary, for thoſe maintain Feuds and Hatred, as well as Loſs of Time and Money; ſo that if it be ſaid that in the End Juſtice is ſecured thereby (which I do not grant) I anſwer it is done by unjuſt Means, and comes to the ſame. *But is it not a ſad Thing*, ſay ſome, *for a Man to be hurried out of his Right?* As *Is it not a ſad Thing a Man ſhould have a Fever?* As the Body, ſo the Eſtate muſt be obnoxious to Infirmities; there is no Perfection in either State, and that is always beſt which is ſhorteſt, and hath the leaſt Anguiſh or Pain.

“ I ſhall alledge but one Inſtance farther, where I think the *Turkiſh* Law is remarkably diſtinguiſhed, and it is on the criminal Side: If a Man comes to the Judge, and with Clamour, as the Way is, complains that he is robbed of his Goods, the *Cadi* will aſk him, *By whom*, and *where is the Thief?* And if he ſays he does not know, perhaps puniſh him as a Knave, that pretends to be robb'd to cheat his Creditors. What, ſays he, doth not the Grand Signior protect his Subjects? If you are robbed, find the Thief, and Right ſhall be done; if you want Help, take an Officer, but do not accuſe the Grand Signior's righteous Government. Now to add here a Word or two of their criminal Juſtice, I ſhall obſerve, that it is executed with ſuch Rigour, as keeps down Offences ſo effectually, that in that great City of *Conſtantinople*, there

“ are not ſo many Men executed for Thievery in ſome Years, as in one, I may ſay, in one Seſſion, in *London*.

“ If a Thief is caught, they make more Account of him by diſcovering others, than by the Example of his Puniſhment; and they handle him at ſuch a Rate, that he cannot but diſcover all he knows. He ſhall ſometimes be ſecretly chained to an Officer, and ſo go about the City, and whom he points to is taken up. The firſt Thing done, is to ſee that he makes full Amends to the Perſon robbed, and when that Perſon declares he is ſatisfied, he is ſent away with a Menace, that he concern not himſelf for Favour to that Man. And, after all, what hath this poor Thief to reward him for all his Ingenuity and Service to the Publick, by diſcovering? Nothing but to die without Torment, for if the Judge be diſſatiſfied with his Behaviour, he makes ſuch a publick Torture of him, as muſt terrify all Rogues from the like Practices; otherwiſe he is committed to an Officer to be ſimply hanged, and then that Officer takes him into the Street, and chuſes what Man's Sign or Poſt he pleaſes, and conſtrains whom he thinks fit to perform the Ceremony; and a *Frank*, if he comes by unluckily at that Time, is not ſafe from being preferred to the Employment.

We have dwelt ſo long upon this Subject, that it is neceſſary for us to be the ſhorter in regard to the reſt. The general Accounts we have of the *Turkiſh* Manners are, at one and the ſame Time, both true and falſe. True in regard to the Relaters Knowledge, who delivers what he ſaw and knew; but falſe, as it is applied, by aſcribing what he collected from the narrow Circle of his Aquaintance to a whole Nation. The *Turks* are like other People, ſome are Men of Senſe, others Blockheads; there are Men of Learning amongſt them, as well as Multitudes that are ignorant. Drunkenneſs is common among the meaner Sort, and much worſe Crimes amongſt thoſe in an exalted Station. Their Paſſion for Women, and the effeminate Life they lead in their Apartments, has a very bad Effect even amongſt Perſons of the greateſt Diſtinction; and, to ſay the Truth, there is ſo little Felicity to be enjoy'd under their Conſtitution, that we need not wonder at the Pictures modern Travellers draw of the preſent State of the *Ottoman* Empire, in which all that have Power are Oppreſſors, and all that have it not, are oppreſſed.

The *Greek* Chriſtians, that live under the Yoke of the Grand Signior, are the moſt miſerable People in the Univerſe; and though all of them do not appear ſo, yet in Fact they are moſt miſerable Slaves. If they can get nothing, they muſt of Courſe paſs their Days in Meanneſs and Poverty; and, if they come to have any Thing, they muſt ſtill wear the Appearance of Meanneſs and Poverty to keep it. It is, indeed, true, that ſome of them lift up their Heads a little, and live in a State much ſuperior to what we have deſcribed; but they muſt have powerful Protectors to do this, and they muſt be continually acknowledging the Favour of this Protection by Preſents equal to, if not above their Abilities; and, after all this, if any Change happens, and ſuch Changes are continually happening to their Protectors, they are torn to Pieces, and ruined in an Inſtant. But before this happens, they are equally deſpiſed and hated by the *Turks*, and the very meaneſt of them will inſult the *Greeks* with Impunity. But in the Midſt of ſo much Calamity, and under the heavy Load of ſuch barbarous Oppreſſion, theſe People keep up their Spirits, if to be eaſy and merry may be ſo called, and will be as frolick and gay over their Cups, as if they had milder Maſters, or lived in abſolute Freedom, according to the common Proverb amongſt us, ſo much uſed and ſo little underſtood, *viz. as merry as a* Greek. The *Turks* have ſo much Policy as to indulge them in the free Exerciſe of their Religion, and to keep up their Hierarchy, which, generally ſpeaking, keeps them in the Intereſts of their Maſters, ſo as to prefer the *Turkiſh* Government (bad it is) to that of any Chriſtian Power not of their own Religion. But if ever the *Ruſſian* Empire comes to be ſettled on a firm Foundation, and there ſhould happen a Succeſſion of two or three great Princes, the *Turks* would run a conſiderable Hazard of finding that Prophecy true, which they have amongſt them, that the *Muſcovites* will one Day ſubvert their Empire.

The *Jews* in the Grand Signior's Dominions are pretty much the ſame that they are every where elſe, that is, a Kind of neceſſary Evils. At *Conſtantinople*, *Smyrna*, *Aleppo*, and other Ports, every Chriſtian Houſe, and, indeed, every Merchant of any Rank, has his *Jew*, who, if he has Goods to ſell, finds him Cuſtomers; and, if he wants to buy, finds out the Commodity is wanted. By their Uſefulneſs in this Reſpect, they have a Share, and not a trifling Share, in all Sorts of Dealings; and ſome of them arrive at Wealth, but never at Reſpect; for as they hate *Turks* and *Chriſtians* equally, ſo both *Turks* and *Chriſtians* hate them in Return; and for the far greateſt Part of the Nation, they are in as low and deſpicable a Condition as it is poſſible to conceive a People, and which ſeems to be the very Extent of human Miſery: They are deſtitute even of Hope, for no Revolution that can poſſibly happen in a Country, the moſt ſubject of all others to Revolutions, can ever prove favourable to them; but they muſt be content to drudge on under the ſame heavy Yoke, let who will be their Maſters.

33. We will cloſe this Section with ſome Remarks upon the Decadence of the *Turkiſh* Empire, which tho' its Dominions are very near as extenſive as ever, yet is very far from having the ſame Force that it had heretofore. This proceeds from a Multitude of Cauſes, but the principal is the Extinction of their ancient Spirit. It is very truly obſerved by an Eminent Author that has been already quoted, that theirs is a Military Government, and that the Conſtitution is formed upon this Plan. It is for this Reaſon, that a State of War is natural to, as well as perfectly conſiſtent with the Welfare of their Empire, which can never enjoy interior Peace, if the Arms of the Grand Signior be not employed on one Side or other. Almoſt every State beſides is oppreſſed by War, and recovers its Strength in Time of Peace; but the Reverſe of this is the Caſe in *Turkey*, where War is almoſt always beneficial, and Peace brings along with it the greateſt Danger. But for many Years paſt the *Turkiſh* Diſcipline growing relax, their Troops are no longer ſo formidable, and their being continually beaten by the *Chriſtians* and the *Perſians*, has made Peace neceſſary at leaſt, if not agreeable.

This has been attended with an innumerable Train of Miſchiefs and Inconveniencies, for their Soldiery being never diſbanded, as making a Part of their Conſtitution, grow more and more formidable at Home, in the ſame Proportion that they became more and more deſpicable Abroad, which muſt be the Caſe of all Countries that put their Truſt in a Standing Army. Their Officers alſo being no longer preferred for their Military Virtues, but in Conſequence of Cabals and Intrigues, are Soldiers only in Shew; and the ſame Diſpoſition ſpreads itſelf downwards, ſo that a *Janizary* is at preſent terrible only from his Staff and his Cap, and to thoſe he ſhould protect, who ſee Nothing in him now that is military except his Inſolence. The Government alſo is fallen of late Years into the Hands of the Men of the Law, who for that Reaſon do all they can to maintain Peace, notwithſtanding that they cannot but be ſenſible how much the Empire ſuffers from the Extinction of that Spirit, by which it roſe and extended itſelf to that prodigious Dominion it ſtill preſerves.

But we may ſafely affirm, that how large ſoever it may be, it is now no more than an infirm gigantick Body, which reels and totters under its own Weight, and would be infallibly overthrown, if its Neighbours ſhould unite to bring about its Deſtruction. The *Ruſſians*, the *Poles* and the *Hungarians*, would at this Day be a great Overmatch for the *Ottomans*, and it would be no difficult Thing for each of thoſe Nations, to bring ſixty or ſeventy thouſand Men into the Field, beſides Irregulars. The *Venetians* are now no longer what they were, and their Maritime Power is ſunk to ſuch a Degree, as to make no Figure at all in *Europe*, but even weak as it is, in Conjunction with the Pope's Gallies, thoſe of other *Italian* Princes, and the Naval Power of the Knights of *Malta*, it would be very capable of giving Diſturbance to the *Turks*, and of making a formidable Diverſion in Favour of ſuch a Confederacy.

This is very far from being a mere empty Scheme or viſionary Project, for moſt certainly, if theſe Powers were to conſider their own Intereſts, they would find it much eaſier to gratify their Ambition in its full Extent by attacking the *Turks*, than by injuring each other, ſince the Provinces depending upon that Empire, which by ſuch a Confederacy might infallibly be torn away, are in every Reſpect more fruitful and more valuable, as well as out of Compariſon more extenſive than thoſe Countries about which they have been for many Centuries diſputing. Beſides, this would change the general Face of Affairs extremely, and open many new Branches of Commerce to all the trading Nations in *Europe*, which would make them ample Amends for the Loſs of that Profit they make by dealing with the *Turks*. The Paſſage to the Black Sea would be then ſet open, and that noble Country which is now ſtiled *Crim-Tartary*, from being in the Hands of thoſe Barbarians, would be inhabited by a civilized and ſocial People, inſtead of ſerving for a Den of Thieves and Murderers, who ſubſiſt by Rapine, and the Ruin of their Fellow-Creatures.

If once that Spirit of Intrigue could be conjured down, which, for two or three Centuries has diſtracted and diſturbed *Europe*, ſuch a Deſign as this might be eaſily brought to bear; and there is the more Reaſon to wiſh it, becauſe it would not only contribute to the Glory of the Chriſtian Name, but to the common Eaſe and Benefit of Mankind. It would afford to Sovereigns that Satisfaction which is truly royal, of relieving diſtreſſed and injured Nations, and reſtoring them to thoſe Rights of which they were at firſt diſpoſſeſſed, and from which they have been ſo long witheld by barbarous and brutal Force. It would recover incredible Numbers of People from an abject State of Slavery, to a rational and induſtrious Way of living, which would change the Face of the Countries they inhabit, and make them appear once more adorned with all the Advantages that Art can procure, from the bountiful Diſpoſitions of Nature, not more profuſe in any Part of the Globe, than in thoſe neglected Territories, that groan under the Iron Sceptre of the Grand Signior; nor is it to be feared, that the Changes which ſuch a Revolution would produce, ſhould be attended with any of thoſe fatal Conſequences that commonly follow ſuch Events; becauſe inſtead of depopulating theſe Countries, it would certainly prove the Means of drawing into them prodigious Acceſſions of People.

The Weakneſs and Nakedneſs of the *Turkiſh* Government would then ſufficiently appear, for they would be neither able to carry off any Number of their Subjects from the Countries they loſt, nor would they dare to treat with the ſame Uſage as they now do, the Chriſtians remaining under their Power, becauſe in Proportion as that declined, they would be compelled to abate of the Inſolence that is ſupported by it. Nor would the Advantages derived from ſuch Conqueſts belong only to the Powers that made them, for every Part of *Europe* would feel the Benefits of ſuch a Change, ſince it muſt be attended by a vaſt Alteration of Manners, and a free Communication with Countries, that are now as much hidden and unknown, as either the Northern or the Southern Extremities of the Univerſe. Add to all this, that the apparent and extenſive Profits, which muſt redound from ſuch Expeditions, would excite a new Spirit in the Chriſtian World, and very probably procure freſh Settlements and Plantations in more favourable Climates, and at Diſtances far leſs remote than we are now forced to ſeek them.

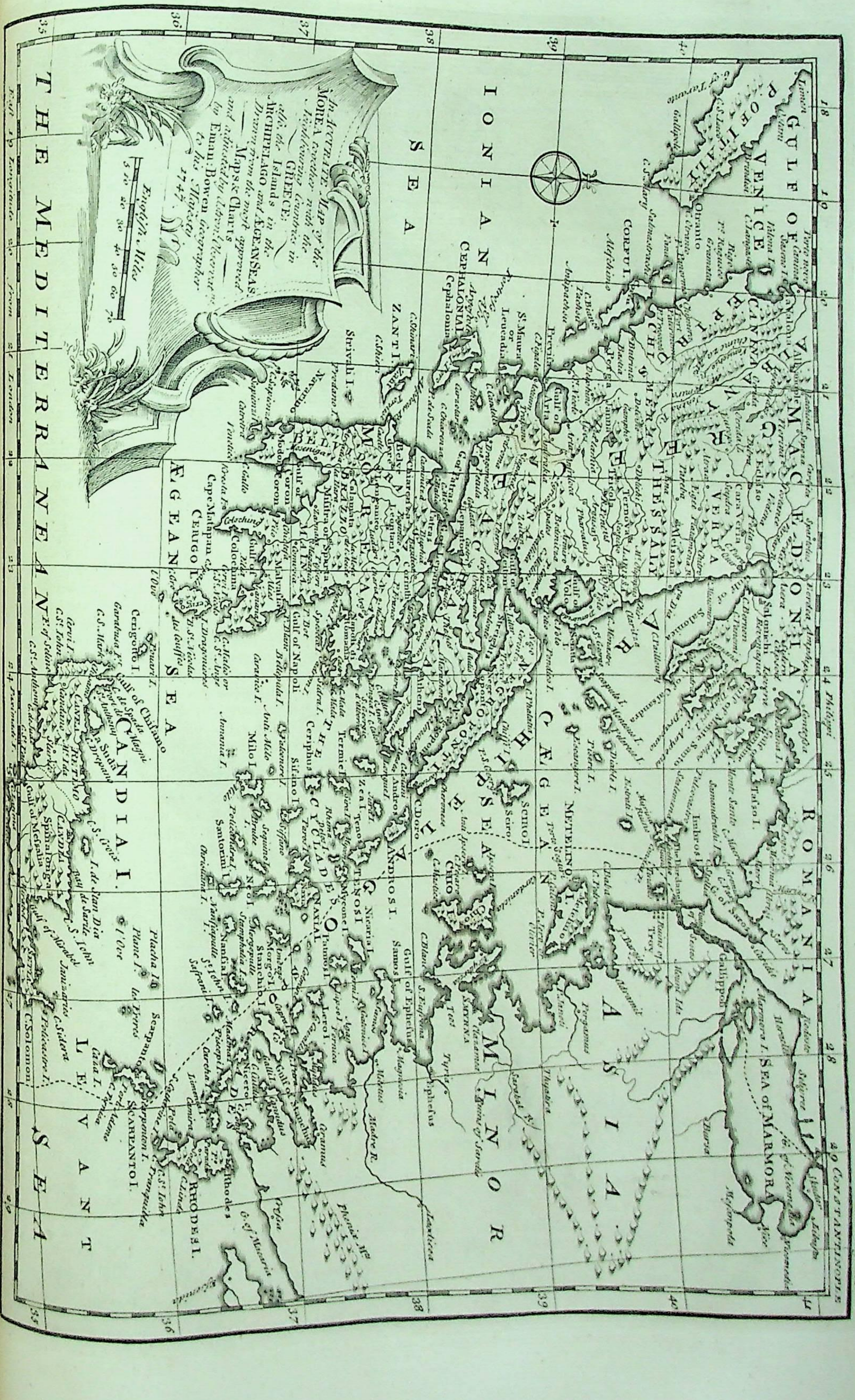
We ſhould then ſee the *Greek* Iſlands, that are now ſo many Deſarts, ſmile again in all their native Beauty; the venerable Remains of *Roman* and *Greek* Antiquities would be diſinterred, and new Structures riſe, however unequal to them, out of their Ruins. It would be eaſy to expatiate much further, on ſo agreeable and pleaſing a Theme; but what I have ſaid is ſufficient to awaken the Thoughts of the intelligent Reader, and therefore it is high Time that I ſhould call off my own, in order to reſume the Thread of our Narration, and return to the Travels from whence I have digreſſed. But before I do this, give me Leave to declare, that I am thoroughly perſuaded, that this Change is not at a very great Diſtance, but, that either the preſent or the next Generation, will infallibly ſee ſomething of this kind accompliſhed, which in all Probability had been attempted before this, if the Change in the *French* Conſtitution, which has brought them to act upon the *Turkiſh* Syſtem, had not called off the Attention of the Chriſtian Princes, to ſet Limits to that all graſping Power, which before it is long, will be alſo cruſhed by its own Weight; for Structures raiſed by Violence and Fraud, have ſuch Weakneſſes in their Foundations, that they cannot ſubſiſt for any Length of Time, but when at their greateſt Height ſink into Deſtruction, by the very Means whereby they were raiſed.

SECTION III.

An Account of ſeveral of the moſt remarkable Cities in *Aſia*, of various Iſlands in the *Archipelago*, and of Things moſt obſervable in them, both with Reſpect to their ancient and preſent Condition; with Remarks Hiſtorical, Phyſical and Geographical.

Extracted chiefly from the Writings of Mr. JOHN THEVENOT; but intermixed with Accounts from WHEELER and LE BRUN.

1. *A Deſcription of the City of* Burſa, *or as ſome call it,* Pruſia, *with an Account of the Seraglio's and Tombs of the* Turkiſh *Princes in its Neighbourhood.* 2. *The famous City and Port of* Smyrna *deſcribed.* 3. *A curious and copious Deſcription of the* Camelion, *from* Wheeler's *Travels.* 4. *A View of the noble City of* Epheſus, *from the Writings of* Le Brun. 5. *The adjacent Country deſcribed, with ſome Account of the famous River* Meander. 6. *A curious Deſcription of the Iſland of* Chio, *of the Maſtick Trees, and the Trade ariſing from the Sale of that Gum.* 7. *The famous Convent of* Niamoni, *one of the beſt belonging to the* Greeks, *deſcribed.* 8. *Of the chief City of the Iſland of* Chio, *which bears the ſame Name, from the Accounts given of it by ſeveral Authors.* 9. *A very particular and diſtinct View of the moſt remarkable Places in that Iſland.* 10. *Of the Inhabitants of* Chio, *their Manners, Cuſtoms, Trade,*


An Accurate Map of the MOREA together with the Neighbouring Countries in GREECE; also the Islands in the ARCHIPELAGO and ÆGEAN SEAS. Drawn from the most approved Maps & Charts and adjusted by latest Observations by Eman: Bowen Geographer to his Majesty 1747
English Miles
5 10 20 30 40 50 60 70
THE MEDITERRANEAN
LEVANT SEA
IONIAN SEA
ÆGEAN SEA
GULF OF VENICE
MACEDONIA
ROMANIA
THESSALY
EPIRUS
MOREA
ASIA MINOR
CANDIA I.
SEA OF MARMORA
CONSTANTINOPLE
East Longitude from London

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Trade, and dreadful Oppreſſions by the Turks. 11. *The Iſlands of* Patmos *and* Naxos *deſcribed, with an Account of the Inhabitants, and of the State of the* Greek *and* Latin *Churches.* 12. *Of the Iſlands of* Paros, Delos, Micone *and* Tina. 13. *The Iſlands of* Nio *and* Santorini *deſcribed with ſome very curious Particulars relating to the latter.* 14. *An Account of the Iſland of* Polecandro, *and its Inhabitants.* 15. *A Deſcription of the Iſland of* Milo *and* Chimolo, *with a very curious Account of the Hot-Baths in the former.* 16. Siſanto *and* Thermia *deſcribed, with an Account of their Produce, and of the Cuſtoms of their Inhabitants.* 17. *Of the Iſlands of* Ajora *and* Scyra, *with an Account of their Inhabitants.* 18. *Of the Iſlands of* Samos *and* Nicaria, *and of the peculiar Privileges which the Women enjoy in the latter.* 19. *A Deſcription of the Iſland of* Coos, *now called* Iſola Longa, *and of the famous Caſtle of* Bodrou, *which formerly belonged to the Knights of St.* John. 20. *Of the famous Iſland of* Rhodes, *the Manner in which it was taken by the* Turks, *and the Remains of the Caſtles, Palaces, and other Structures erected there by the Knights of St.* John, *while they were Maſters of it.* 21. *A large and curious Deſcription of the noble Iſland of* Cyprus, *with an Account of its ancient and preſent State.* 22. Mr. Randolph's *Account of the Iſland and Kingdom of* Candia, *and of the long War ſuſtained by the* Venetians *againſt the* Turks, *in Defence thereof.* 23. *Miſcellaneous Obſervations and Remarks from various Authors.*

1. MR. *Thevenot* left *Conſtantinople, Auguſt* 30. 1656. and ſail'd in a Saique to *Montagna* from whence he rode to *Burſa*, which was called by the Ancients *Pruſia*, the Metropolis of the ancient Kingdom of *Bythynia*, and was the Capital City of the *Turkiſh* Empire in the Reign of *Orcan*, the Son of *Oſman*, the firſt Sultan, who took it in the 726th Year of the *Hegyra*, and in the Year of our Lord, 1325; but it was taken from *Bajazet* by *Tamerlane*. It is about ten Miles diſtant from Mount *Olympus*. It is pleaſantly ſituated, and Water is ſo plentiful, that beſides what they have in all their Dwellings, they have Fountains in their Houſes of Office for their Ablutions. They have ſome Waters that run through the Town, ſo hot, as to boil an Egg, of which they have made ſeveral Bagnio's, which ſerve for the Cure of many Diſtempers, and People come above 100 Miles to waſh in them. There are many fair Houſes in the Town, and above 200 Moſques; many *Hans*, very magnificently built and conſtantly inhabited, becauſe the Caravans from ſeveral Places paſs through this Town; but the moſt remarkable Buildings of this City are the Sepulchres of the firſt *Turkiſh* Emperors and their Sultana's, in ſo many Chapels built Dome-wiſe.

Among them is ſaid to be one of a *French* Sultana, who being taken Captive, and preſented to the Grand Signior, ſo much raviſh'd his Affections, that he enjoy'd her, but permitted her to exerciſe her Religion to her Death. The *Chriſtians* after her Deceaſe deſired to have the Care of her Burial, but it was not granted them, and ſo ſhe lies in a little Chapel, arch'd and incloſed with Walls among the reſt. This Town is about half a *French* League in Length, not entirely wall'd, and has a Caſtle ſtanding in the Middle on a little Hill, which has Baſtions that in their Opinion render it impregnable; but the Water that ſupplies it runs through the Town, and ſo may be cut off. No *Chriſtian* is allowed to go into it, leſt they ſhould endeavour to regain it, becauſe it was taken from them by ſtopping the Water. Within this Caſtle was formerly the *Seraglio* of the firſt Sultans of the *Ottoman* Family, but it is now demoliſhed. It is ſaid to be built by an Emperor's Daughter, who was cured of a Leproſy by waſhing in the hot Waters of this Town, being taught the Experiment by a meaſly Hog, that by waſhing in it was cured. Cloſe by the Town is an Hill, where a *Turkiſh* Hermit lives in a Chapel, which is encloſed with good Walls and Iron Gates. In it are the Tombs of one *Roland*, or *Orland*, and his Son, with his Sword and Mace lying on a Table juſt by, who valiantly defended this Caſtle againſt the *Saracens* in the Life of the Foundreſs, and ſlew many of them.

2. From *Burſa* he went to *Smyrna* with the Caravan, and becauſe Nothing is to be met withal upon this Road but Water, Travellers muſt carry all their Proviſions and Houſhold-ſtuff along with them, or want both. The Way lies through *Tabbitalie, Loubat, Suſurluc, Degelembe, Palamout*, and *Manaſia*, to *Smyrna*. This Town is a noted Place in *Ionia*, built at firſt by *Tantalus*, named ſo from an *Amazon* who took it, and when it was demoliſhed by an Earthquake, rebuilt by *Mark Anthony* nearer the Sea, to make the Harbour more commodious. It boaſts of being the Birth-place of *Homer*.

The *Turks* call it *Iſmyr*. It is a large Town, and well inhabited both by *Turks* and *Chriſtians*, but is neither pleaſant nor ſtrong. It is commanded by a Caſtle, at the Bottom of which, in the Way to the *Greek* Church call'd *Santa Veneranda*, is a great Amphitheatre, where St. *Polycarp*, St. *John*'s Scholar and Biſhop of *Smyrna*, ſuffered Martyrdom. Near it are the Ruins of St. *John*'s Cathedral Church, which had ſeveral large Chapels, and in one is ſtill a Tomb, which the People ſay is St. *Polycarp*'s; but it ſeems rather to be that of ſome *Turk*. The Port is but ſmall, but the Road is ſpacious and ſafe, and has a Caſtle lately built, to hinder what Ships they pleaſe from coming in, or going out. By the Road ſtands the Cuſtom-Houſe, and the Houſes of the Conſuls and Merchants, *Franks*, who have, for the moſt Part, a Back-door towards the Sea. In it is a *Cadi* to adminiſter Juſtice.

Beſides *Turks*, there live in it *Chriſtians* of all Countries, *Greeks, Armenians*, and *Latins*. The *Greeks* have two Churches, *viz.* St. *Veneranda*, where their Archbiſhop officiates, and St. *George*, which belongs to their Monks. The *Armenians* have alſo two Churches, and the *Latins* as many, one of them belonging to the *Capuchins*, which is over-againſt the *French* Conſul's Houſe, and the other to the *Jeſuits*, which has a lovely Houſe adjoining to it. The Country about it is plain and fertile in Olive-trees, and full of Gardens. All Things there are in Abundance, and their Wine is moſt excellent. It is very ſubject to Earthquakes, which happen every Year, and often ruin the Town; but it is ſoon Rebuilt again, becauſe of the Convenience of its Situation. The Air in Summer-time would be very hot, if it were not for the low Wind, or North Breeze, as they call it, which blows regularly every Day, and much qualifies the Heat.

We have a larger and more correct Account of this City in Sir *George Wheeler*'s Travels, which we will add in his own Words. *Smyrna* hath ſo many Advantages from its natural Situation, that notwithſtanding the great Calamities which have befallen it by War, and moſt prodigious Earthquakes, that no leſs than ſix Times have over-thrown and almoſt utterly ruined it: Yet it hath ſtill been thought worth the Repairing and Reſtoring to all the Beauty the Art of its Inhabitants could contrive to adorn it with; notwithſtanding alſo, that from ſome old Tradition they expect the Seventh ſhall be its utter Ruin, never to be repair'd. It is ſituated at the Bottom of a Bay, eſteemed twenty Miles to its Mouth, ſecured with high Mountains on every Side from all Winds but the Weſt; whence from Sea they can receive no Damage: For the *Hermus* which emptieth itſelf into it, maketh a Bank of Sand that barreth the raging of the Sea out, yet leaves ſuch a Paſſage in it, although but narrow, that he muſt be a very Ideot of a Pilot that cannot bring a Ship in ſafe into the inmoſt Part of the Bay; where he may find Room and Depth enough, with very good Moorage.

This Bay hath Mount *Sypilus North*. Another Mountain, which I judged to be the *M ſegiſmonds*, mentioned by *Ptolomy* and *Strabo*, *North-Eaſt*. The Hills whereon the Town ſtands, from *Eaſt* to *South*. From thence to the Promontory *Argenum*, winding about to the *Weſtern* Point. *Mons Mimas*, now called the *Brothers*, from the two higheſt Points. Here is indeed a little Gap, being the Mouth of the Bay, but thence Hills begin to riſe again to join to Mount *Sipylus*. Of this Entrance I ſhall have Occaſion again to ſpeak when I part hence. But as to the reſt, theſe Mountains are not ſo near, but that they leave fruitful Fields round about between the Bay and them, well planted with Olive-yards, Vineyards, and Corn Fields among them; and from the Town to Mount *Sipylus* is a Valley of four or more Miles in Length, and near a Mile broad in ſome Places, which with the Gardens about the Towns, and the Town itſelf, drink up two pretty Streams of good Water, one riſing *Northward* from the Mountain *Sipylus*, and the other *Southward* from Mount *Mimas*, which join together *North-Eaſt* of the Town, and what it ſpareth, which is but little, the Sea receiveth at the *North-Weſt-End* of the Town. That which cometh *Northwards* from Mount *Sipylus*, is a conſiderable Stream, driveth ſeven Mills, and hath Abundance of Fiſh in it. The other, coming from Mount *Mimas*, is the greateſt Part brought to the Town in Aquæducts, two of which are well built, with Stone Arches croſſing the Valley or deep Foſs, which itſelf hath dug between two Hills, whereof the *Northernmoſt* is where *Old Smyrna* ſtood, now only a Caſtle. The reſt of the Water is divided amongſt the Gardens.

Smyrna is a Place of great Antiquity, and is reputed to have had the *Amazon Smyrna* for its Foundreſs. They therefore ſtamped their Money with the Figure of her Head. I got ſeveral Pieces of them, very rare, and ſaw many more in the Cabinet of an ingenious Merchant there, Mr. *Falkener*, who deſigns his Collection for the Univerſity of *Oxford*. One ſmall one hath her Head crowned with Towers, and her two edged Hatchet on her Shoulder, almoſt worn out with Age, and about it are theſe Letters, ΣΜΥΡΝΑ, on the other Side the Prow of a Ship, and theſe, ΣΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ. From another I ſaw of the Empreſs *Tranquillina*, is to be ſeen her whole Habit, which is thus: Her Head is crowned with a Tower, as before, her two-edged Axe upon her Shoulder, holding a Temple in her Right-hand, perhaps referring to ſome Temple *Tranquillina* had built, in a ſhort Veſt down to her Knees, and Buſkins half Way her Legs. There is ſomething alſo ſhe holds in her Left-hand, beſides her Axe, which perhaps is her Bow. In another ſhe is dreſſed in the Habit of *Hercules*.

Of the ancient Situation and Beauty of this Place, *Strabo* giveth the beſt and ſhorteſt Account. Thence, ſaith he, (deſcribing it *Northward* from *Epheſus*) is another Bay, in which is *Old Smyrna*, twenty *Stadia*, or two Miles and half from the *New*. When the *Lydians* had deſtroyed *Smyrna*, the Country thereabouts was only adorned with Villages for four hundred Years together; after which, *Antigonus* reſtored it, and after him, *Lyſimachus*. At this Day it is, of all the *Aſian* Cities, moſt beautiful. Part of it is built upon the Mountain, but the greater Part on the Plain to the Haven, unto the Temple of the *Mother of the Gods*, and to the *Gymnaſium*. The Streets are moſt excellently built, and as much as poſſible, reduced into Right Angles, all paved with Stone. It hath great and ſquare Portico's both in the higher and lower Parts of the City. There is a Library, and the *Homerion*, which is a ſquare Portico, with a Temple containing his Statue; for the *Smyrnoites* are very zealous for the Nativity of *Homer* amongſt them, and have a Braſs Piece of Money called by his Name, *Homerion*. The River *Meles* runneth by the Walls. There is a Haven on the other Side of the City, which may be ſhut up at Pleaſure. Thus far *Strabo*.

The *Old Smyrna* that was in his Time, in all Probability, was on a Hill *South* of this that is now, and *Weſt* of the Caſtle-hill; for there are ſome Steps of Heaps of Stones laid in ſome Order, as if a Wall had been there. This *New Smyrna*, but the *Old* one of our Times, without Doubt, took up all the Hill the old Caſtle ſtandeth on and then adjoining to it, down to a Point running into the Bay *Southwards*, and of the Plain much more *North-Eaſt* than the *New Smyrna* of our Times; but *North*, I believe, not much more, if ſo much; for turning into *Frank-ſtreet*, is a Wall which ſeemeth to be Part of the ancient Walls of the City, although the Mouth of the River *Meles* is juſt without the preſent Buildings; which is not far, and might eaſily be turned thither, if nearer to the Walls formerly. Along this Wall, from the Sea, you come to the Foundation of a great Building of hew'd Stone they were then demoliſhing, which might have been the *Sybils* Temple, the great Mother of the Gods.

After diſcourſing largely of the Antiquities that ſtill remain here, and of the State of the ancient Chriſtian Church of *Smyrna*, he proceeds thus. The *Greeks* that are here have but two Churches, yet they are numerous, this Place being the Seat of their Metropolitan. But beſides them, here is a great Number of Chriſtians of all Nations, Sects and Languages. The *Latin* Church hath a Monaſtery of *Franciſcans*; the *Armenians* have one Church; but the *Engliſh*, which are the moſt conſiderable Number next the *Greeks* and *Armenians*, have only a Chapel in the Conſul's Houſe, which is a Shame, conſidering the great Wealth they heap up here beyond all the reſt: Yet they commonly excel them in their Paſtor; for I eſteem a good *Engliſh* Prieſt an Evangeliſt, if compared with any of the reſt. The *Hollanders*, I believe next to the *Engliſh*, are more numerous than any Nation of the *Franks*, and take no more Care, as I could learn, of their Religious Worſhip. But as to Trade, none ſtrive to outvy each other ſo much as the *Engliſh* and *Hollanders*, whereof *Smyrna* and *Aleppo* are now the chief Places in the *Levant*. The Trade was formerly pretty well divided between them; but ſince their War with the *French*, the *Engliſh* have much the greater Part of it.

The chief Commerce conſiſts in raw and *Perſian* Silks, Grograms, both in Yarn and alſo woven, brought to this Scale by the *Perſians* and *Armenians*, and much Cotton, raw and made in Yarn, *&c.* which groweth all about theſe Countries, and the Iſlands of the *Archipelago*, being brought by the *Greeks* and *Turks* to be ſold here. The *Engliſh* Factory conſiſts of fourſcore or an hundred Perſons, moſt of them younger Sons to Gentlemen, who give three or four hundred Pounds to ſome great Merchant of the *Levant* Company, and bind their Sons Apprentices for ſeven Years, three whereof they ſerve at *London*, to underſtand their Maſters Concerns, and then their Maſters are obliged to ſend them to negotiate in theſe Parts, and to find them Buſineſs, out of which they are allowed a certain Sum *per Cent.* where by their Induſtry in Traffick for themſelves, alſo upon good Gains, but little Loſs, they live genteelly, become rich, and get great Eſtates in a ſhort Time, if they will be but indifferent good Huſbands, and careful of their own and their Owners Buſineſs.

The Officers allowed over them by the King and the *Levant* Company, are a Conſul, a Chancellor, a Treaſurer, a Divine, and a Phyſician. The Conſul is allowed by the *Levant* Company, three thouſand Dollars a Year Salary, and five hundred of Gratuity, beſides other Perquiſites and honeſt Ways, whereby he may get much more. His Office is to maintain the Privileges granted by the Grand Signior to the *Engliſh* Nation, againſt the Injuries and Inſolencies of the encroaching *Turks*, inſtead of an Ambaſſador to decide all Differences that happen between Factor and Factor, to ſee that no Injury be done by any of the Factory to the *Turks*, and to puniſh Delinquents: So that he doth, in Effect, govern the Buſineſs of the whole Factory there; but yet from his Sentence, there may be an Appeal made to the Ambaſſador. Mr. *Ricaut* was then Conſul, who writ the State and Policy of the *Ottoman* Empire, and a Treatiſe of the *Greek* Church, an *Appendix* to the *Turkiſh* Hiſtory down to his Time, and alſo an Account of the ſeven Churches of *Aſia*. He was very obliging to us, amongſt other Favours, in directing and informing us, concerning theſe Parts. Their Chaplain is allowed five hundred Dollars a Year Salary by the *Levant* Company. He hath beſides, a Warehouſe allowed him to trade with, beſides cuſtomary Gifts of all the Merchants yearly, which amount commonly to much more. And indeed the whole Factory live together in the greateſt Amity, Peace and Freedom, of any of them I have ſeen beyond Sea.

The *French* and the *Venetians* have alſo their Conſuls here, but they are in no great Credit amongſt the *Turks*. The *Engliſh* have the beſt Reputation for their honeſt Dealing, and therefore ordinarily their Word is taken inſtead of Searching. But the *Armenians* pay more Cuſtom than any. The *Turks* have thirteen Moſques, and the *Jews* ſeveral Synagogues, all which make the Town populous, though ill-built, and without either Strength or Beauty. All that defends it from the Incurſions of *Corſairs*, is a little Fort at the Strait coming in about five Miles from the Town, whoſe great Guns are its beſt Security: For it hath but a little Ditch about it, and the Walls ſuch as by two or three great Guns would be beat to the Ground. As to the Caſtle on the Hill above the Town it is ſlighted, and although it hath the old Wall about it, I believe built by the *Greek* Emperors, yet it is only a Heap of Ruins within, with here and there ſome arched Caves, uſed anciently for Ciſterns or Granaries, as ſome think, having only two or three little Guns mounted againſt the Haven, to ſalute the Captain of the Gallies, or as Mr. *Smith* ſaith, the new Moon of *Bairam*. About the Walls are ſet one or two of the *Roman* Eagles well cut, and another *Baſſo relievo* of Men on Horſeback. Over the Door is an Inſcription in Marble, in the latter *Greek* Characters, but too high and difficult to be read.

There is another little old faſhioned Caſtle at the Harbour, for the Gallies and Boats. On the other Side of which Harbour is the Scale or Cuſtom-houſe for the Grand Signior's own Subjects. Beyond which, Southwards under the Hill, where St. *Polycarp*'s Tomb is, are the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Burying-places, and North of the Caſtle along the Shore, is, Firſt, the new Bezeſtein, built out of the great Squared Stones of the Theatre. It is in Form like a Street, to ſhut up at each End; the Shops are little Rooms, with a Cupola over each of them covered with Lead, and little Holes on the Top, with Glaſs to let in the Light; oppoſite unto this is a very fine Kan now Building. After which is the Scale and Cuſtom-houſe of the *Franks*, and then follows *Frank-ſtreet* along by the Water-Side, with their Scales and Warehouſes, very convenient to lade and unlade their Goods, and is the pleaſanteſt and beſt built of any Part of this preſent *Smyrna*.

3. As it muſt be allow'd that no Author extant has given ſo clear, ſo curious, or ſo correct an Account of that wonderful Animal the *Camelion*, as Sir *George Wheeler* has done; and as he was led to this by his ſeeing ſo many of theſe Creatures at *Smyrna*, it cannot but be agreeable to the Reader, to peruſe his Remarks on ſo entertaining a Subject. About *Smyrna* ſays he, are Abundance of *Camelions*, which is an Animal ſomething reſembling a Lizard, but hath his Back gibbous like a Hog, and its Feet are divided like the Claws of a Woodpecker or Parrot, two Claws before, and three behind, which are not ſeparated from each other until near the Ends. A long Tail it hath like a Rat, and is ordinarily as big, but it hath very little or no Motion with its Head. They are in great Abundance about the old Walls of the Caſtle, where they breed, and lie in Holes and Heaps of Ruins. Several we ſaw, and two we kept twenty Days at leaſt, in which Time, we made theſe following Obſervations upon them.

Their Colour uſeth to be green, darker toward the Back, and lighter towards the Belly, inclining to a Yellow, with Spots, ſometimes of a reddiſh Colour, and ſometimes whitiſh. But the Green would often change into a dark Dirt Colour, without any Appearance of Green. The whitiſh Spots would ſometimes vaniſh, or turn into the ſame Dirt Colour, and ſometimes remain. Sometimes they would only change into a darker Colour, of a kind of Purple-like Tincture, which uſed often to happen when it was diſturbed. Sometimes from a green all over, they would be ſpotted with a pure black, which alſo happened ſometimes when it return'd from the black: ordinarily when it ſlept under a white Woollen Cap, it would, when uncovered, be of a white or Cream Colour. But this it would do alſo under a red Cap. I never ſaw any change red or blue, altho' they have been laid upon thoſe Colours often, and continued there a long Time. But upon green they would become green, and upon the dark Earth they would ſoon change to that Colour. One of the ſame Bigneſs, of which I made a Draught, I caught as I was walking on the Side of the Hill near the Old Caſtle, where I ſaw many which had changed themſelves from the Colour of the ſpeckled Stone Wall, to a grey, with Spots like Moſs. This I found on the Top of a green Buſh of *Prunella Spinoſa*, which, when I firſt caſt my Eye upon, it was of a bright green Colour; but as ſoon as it perceived that I ſaw it, immediately let itſelf drop to the Ground, and I as ſoon ſtopp'd to look for it, but could ſee nothing; yet continuing to look about earneſtly, at laſt I perceived it creeping away to a Hole in the Rock, being changed to a dark brown Colour, exactly like the Earth, which was then of that Colour after a Shower of Rain.

This changing of Colours is given to this Creature by Nature for its Preſervation. For it is very ſlow in its Pace, lifting up its Legs high and not quick, as if they ſaw not the Way before them, or rather, as if they ſearched for Hold to climb up by, which they can do very well on a Buſh, Tree, or Wall. When it ſaw itſelf in Danger to be caught, it opened its Mouth, and hiſſed like a Snake. In a ſmall Time after I put it into my Handkerchief, it turned of the ſame Colour, with ſome white Spots, and a little Tincture of red. This little one changed its Colour more nimbly than others that were greater. The Cauſe of which I attribute to the Wildneſs of it, the other having been kept a good while before it was given us, and conſequently tamer. The Eyes are as wonderful as the Colours, which are as my Lord *Bacon* hath remarked, large in Proportion to the Bigneſs of its Head, being commonly bigger and larger than a Pea. But that which ſeems moſt obſervable, his Lordſhip hath taken no Notice of. It is covered all over with a thick Skin, of the ſame Subſtance with the Body, the Grain being in Circles juſt to the Center or Middle, where there is a Hole no bigger than a ſmall Pin's Head, by which it receives Light, which muſt make the Angle of its Viſion very acute. The Head being immoveable, it cannot turn itſelf to the Objects as it liſteth. But to make Amends for all ſuch Inconveniencies, Nature hath given moſt wonderful Motions to its Eyes, beyond thoſe of any living Creature. It cannot only move them at the ſame Time, both forward and backward, upward and downward; but alſo one forward, the other backward, the one upward, the other downward, the one fixed on one Object, and the other moving according to the Motion of ſome other Object, and ſo is capable of all the Changes imaginable, which my Comrade Mr. *Spon* and I, often experimented with a great deal of Aſtoniſhment.

The Tongue is a kind of little Trunk, of a griſly Subſtance, above half an Inch long and hollow, join'd to his Throat by a ſtrong membranous and fleſhy Subſtance, in which it is ſheath'd when it is in the Mouth. It will dart this out of its Mouth above an Inch, being ſmeared with a glutinous Subſtance to catch Flies, which ſtick faſt to it as to Bird-lime, and ſo are brought into its Mouth. Theſe Flies are their ordinary known Food, although I never ſaw them catch any, but ſaw one that was almoſt dead, having a Fly in its Mouth. The reſt of its Suſtenance is Air, of which it will fill itſelf, being ſet out in the Sun, until it becometh much ſwollen. Of its Excrement I remarked Nothing. But my Comrade reported that a Perſon of Curioſity at *Lyons*, aſſured him from his own Obſervations, that although the *Camelion* did eat little or nothing, yet it nevertheleſs made much Excrement.

They will live without any Suſtenance beſides Air, a very great While, as will many other Animals of the like cold Nature, *viz.* Serpents and Lizards, &c. One that I open'd had Guts, but I perceived Nothing in them; but the Reaſon I believe was, becauſe it was even ſtarved, having been kept a great while, and then almoſt dead. Its Lungs reach near the Length of its Body, conſiſting of a thin ſkinny Subſtance, full of ſmall Veins, and divided into two Labels placed on each Side, and filled with Air, which being let out, thoſe Labels ſhrunk together. Its Tail is of very great Uſe to it in climbing. It will twine it about a Bone or a Stick ſo faſt, that if it lets go, or falls ſhort in reaching at any Thing elſe with its Claws, it will hang faſt by the Tail, and ſuſtain and recover its whole Body by it. The little one that I caught, I put into a Glaſs ſo deep, that it could not reach the Brim with its Fore-feet by much, nor could take any hold with its Claws; and yet it got itſelf out, and almoſt eſcaped from me, as I ſaw afterwards, by ſtanding upon its Fore-feet, and hoiſting itſelf up backwards, until it catched hold of the Brim of the Glaſs with its Tail; by the Help whereof it lifted all its whole Body out. And this is what I obſerved of this wonderful Animal, which thus challengeth Praiſe for its Creator the Lord of all Wonder.

4. *Epheſus* lies not above fourteen or fifteen Leagues from *Smyrna*. In the Way is a Village called *Sedequi*, about three Leagues from *Smyrna*, ſituated in a very pleaſant Country; for which Reaſon the *European* Conſuls of *Smyrna* have their Country-houſes there, and frequently retire thither to divert themſelves with Hunting. The reſt of the Way from *Sedequi* to *Epheſus* is over a very pleaſant and large Plain. *Epheſus*, once ſo noted a City, is now nothing but a confuſed Heap of Rubbiſh, Pieces of Marble, demoliſh'd Walls, broken Columns and Chapters. That Part, which is at preſent inhabited, is bounded on the Eaſt with a large Plain, which reaches as far as the *Archipelago*, and on the Sides with high Hills. The moſt remarkable Things in it are, the old Church of St. *John* the Evangeliſt. It had anciently four Gates, but two of them are wall'd up. You enter into the Church by a Deſcent of ſixteen Stairs, at the Bottom of which is a Fountain. Within it are four Pillars of Porphyry ſpotted with Black and Red, twelve Foot and a half in Circumference, and thirty-ſix Foot high, being one entire Piece of Stone, which bears up the Roof. There are alſo two other Pillars of *Samæan* Stone, and round about the Church, on the Outſide, is a Gallery having four Pillars a-breaſt, and ſix in Length, ſet off in the Middle with an *Octagon* Fountain, each of whoſe Sides are ten Foot long, and one Foot thick. The Church hath two Domes, and is cover'd with Lead. The *Turks* having converted it into a Moſque, have added a Mineret, and adorn'd it after their Faſhion; but the greateſt Rarities of it, when it was a Church, were carried to *Conſtantinople* to Sultan *Soliman*, to adorn the Moſque he had erected there.

The Caſtle ſtands on an Hill juſt by it, and has a very ancient Tower ſtill ſtanding, on the Top of which is a very curious Piece of Sculpture, or *Baſſo-relievo*, which, as ſome ſay, repreſents the Hiſtory of the famous *Roman*, *Marcus Curius*; but others ſay, the Deſtruction of *Troy*. The Truth is, none dare come near enough to take an exact View of it, and ſo they only gueſs at it. In paſſing it, you may diſcern three Pieces of Marble, one repreſents *Baubmal*, the ſecond a Man fallen dead from his Horſe, and a Perſon in a Senator's Habit ſtanding by, ſeems to lament the Accident, and the third is the Figure of a dead Body laid out ready for Interment.

A large Incloſure where anciently ſtood the Temple of *Diana*; but there is nothing remarkable of it, but one large Gate much ruined and defaced. Within it, on the North Side, is engraven on a Stone a Man on Horſeback, with a Dog by him, and a Serpent twiſted round a Tree. On the South-ſide are two Inſcriptions, the one within, in theſe Words, *ACCENSO. RENSI ET ASIÆ*; and the other, *M. P. VEDI NICERH. VEDIAE. PAVILLIMX. M. HIÆ VXORIS EI.* But the Learned cannot tell what they mean. On the Front of the Gate are theſe Words graven, *UNIOR CANTUSIUM*; but they are ſo mingled, that their Meaning is not to be gueſs'd at.

Two Amphitheatres, where Prizes uſed to be anciently fought; but nothing now remains of them, but Part of the Walls of one of them, built after the antique Manner of Large Free Stones. Hard by theſe Amphitheatres is a large Square, where are a great many Pieces of broken Columns, Chapters, Frizes and Pedeſtals, of a wonderful Bigneſs. Upon ſome of them are Arches of a prodigious Bigneſs, and in the Body of one of the Columns are a Pair of Stairs, which lead a great Way under Ground. Among the Ruins are ſome Remains of the ancient Baths.

The *Grotto*, called, *The Cave of the ſeven Sleepers*, who flying into that Place to avoid the Perſecution in the Reign of *Decius* the Emperor, two hundred and fifty Years after Chriſt, fell into ſo ſound a Sleep, that they did not awake again till the Reign of *Theodoſius* II. who was a zealous Protector of the Chriſtians, and ſuppoſed they had ſlept but one Night, though it was near two hundred Years.

A Tomb, or Monument, on which are ſeveral *Greek* Characters, and four little Children in *Baſſo-relievo*, with ſeveral Marble Statues buried under Ground, yet ſo careleſly, that the Feet of ſome of them appear'd above.

5. About a ſmall Hour's Journey from *Epheſus* are to be ſeen the Fonts, where, they ſay, St. *John* the Evangeliſt baptized the Chriſtians. It is a grey Jaſper-Stone, ſixteen Foot in Diameter, but a little mangled by Travellers, who uſually carry away a Piece of it. The *Greeks* have many like them. About half a League further, upon the Top of an Hill, is a Fabrick, ſaid to be the Place where St. *Paul* was impriſon'd. There are four Rooms curiouſly wrought in Marble, ſtill ſtanding. From this Caſtle is a pleaſant Proſpect over the Plains and Meadows, where the River *Meander* makes ſo many Windings and Turnings, as raviſhes the Spectator with Wonder and Delight at once. The Water of it is very pleaſant, and the Current of it ſo ſtill, that one can hardly diſcern which Way the Stream runs, unleſs it be at the Mouths where it empties itſelf into the Sea. Not far from *Epheſus* lies an Iſland called *Scala Nova*, but by the *Turks*, *Cous-Adaſi*, or the Iſland of Birds. Here are the richeſt *Muſcadine* Wines made, of all the Iſlands of *Archipelago*.

6. From *Smyrna* Mr. *Thevenot* went for a Diverſion to ſee the Wonders of *Chio*, ſo much talked of throughout all *Aſia*. This Iſland, which may be called the Paradiſe of *Greece*, is governed by *Chriſtians*, though under the Authority of the *Turks*, who command in ſmall Matters. They chuſe themſelves *COSS*, one half *Greeks*, and the other half *Latins*, who, during the Time of their Continuance, take Care of all Affairs. The People obtained theſe Privileges by ſubmitting voluntarily to *Mahomet* II. when he conquer'd *Greece*, and the *Turks* ſuffer them to enjoy them without Controul. Up and down the Country are ſeveral Churches, belonging either to the Popiſh Biſhops or Monks, but the *Greeks* have many more in ſeveral Places, the *Latin* Churches being reckon'd but three hundred and one, but the *Greeks* five hundred: They are all very well ſerved, and Divine Service is performed with as many Ceremonies, as if it were in the Heart of *Chriſtendom*, for the *Turks* moleſt them not, but they have a free Exerciſe of their Religion, inſomuch that on *Corpus Chriſti-Day* the Holy Sacrament is carried about the Streets under a Canopy, without any Fear of Indignity that may be offered by the *Turks*, though nothing is more odious to them than that Ceremony.

When any Man is found killed in this Iſland, whether *Chriſtian* or *Turk*, the Author of the Murther is diligently ſought for, but if he be not found, the Town muſt pay the Price of his Blood thus ſlain, at the Rate of 12,000 Aſpers which is aſſeſſed upon every Houſe by the *COSS*; but if the Murtherer be found, his Blood ſatisfies for all, and no Money is paid. The *Cadi* and *Turkiſh* Officers make Advantage of theſe Fines. In the Iſland are twenty two Villages that have Maſtick Trees, which are in all an hundred thouſand. They are Lentiſks, crooked like Vines, and creeping on the Ground.

They prick theſe Trees in the Months of *Auguſt* and *September*, and the Maſtick, which is their Gum, ſweating out by the Holes made in the Bark, runs down the Tree, and falls upon the Ground, where it congeals into flat Pieces, which they gather ſome Time after, and lay it in the Sun to dry, and then range and ſhake them in a Sieve to ſeparate the Duſt from them, which ſo ſticks to the Faces of thoſe that do it, that it cannot be got off but by rubbing their Faces with Oil. Theſe Villages produce above one thouſand Cheſts of Maſtick, of which they pay to the Grand Signior yearly three hundred Cheſts, or three hundred Weight, containing ninety Oques a-piece, every Village being aſſeſſed according to their Quantity of Trees, and the reſt they are obliged to ſell at a certain Rate, to the Farmer of the Cuſtoms. This Maſtick is by *Dioſcorides* allowed to be the beſt in the World, though it grows alſo in other Places. It is a white Gum which enters into the Compoſition of many Ointments, and the *Greeks* uſe to chew it much, becauſe it makes them ſpit, whitens their Teeth, and ſweetens their Breath; they put it alſo in their Bread to make it more delicate. The Chief of theſe Maſtick-Towns is *Callimacha*, which hath two Gates that ſtand always open, ſix *Greek* Churches, and a Nunnery. It is well peopled, and round it are ſaid to be thirty *Greek* Churches.

7. Some Miles from this Town lies *Niamoni*, i. e. the Old Virgin, where is a Convent of *Caloyers* or *Greek* Monks. It ſtands among Woods and Rocks, being built by *Conſtantine Monomancus*, Emperor of *Conſtantinople*, in 1050. The Church is adorned with a great many Pieces of Marble and Porphyry, and among others with thirty-two Marble Pillars. The Dome is full of Pictures of *Moſaick* Work, and the Church is kept in good Repair. The Convent is very ſpacious, and built in the Form of a Caſtle: No Woman may enter into it. There are commonly two hundred Monks in it, under the Government of an Abbot, and it muſt never exceed that Number.

When any Places are vacant, ſuch as will ſupply them, and become *Caloyers*, muſt pay one hundred Piaſtres, and carry what Eſtate they have into the Convent, which they enjoy for Life, and then leave it to the Convent, unleſs they have a Kinſman who will become a Monk, and then he may give one Third to him, on Condition, that at his Death it go to the Convent. The Convent gives to the Monks every Day black Bread, Wine, but not good, and rotten Cheeſe; and, if they will have any Thing elſe, they muſt provide it as well as they can; and ſome live well on their own Eſtates, and keep a Horſe to take their Pleaſure; the reſt muſt make a Shift with their Commons, yet on *Feſtivals* and *Sundays* they eat altogether in their Hall or Refectory. This Convent pays the Grand Signior five hundred Piaſtres a Year, for their yearly Revenue is above ſixty thouſand Piaſtres; and in their Treaſury they have above a Million of Gold, for two Thirds of the Iſland belongs to them. The Monks that die among them are laid in the Church of St. *Luke*, juſt without the Convent. They have two Bells, and there are little ones in every Village, but the *Turks* throughout their Dominions, allow them no where but here.

8. The chief Town of this Iſle is of the ſame Name. It hath good Houſes, and the Streets are wide enough for Coaches: It is not large, but well peopled, and moſt Part of the Inhabitants are Chriſtians, either *Greeks* or *Latins*, who have each of them a Biſhop, and ſeveral Churches; but the *Greeks* have moſt by far. They have alſo many Convents of Nuns, but not ſo ſtrictly ſhut up, but that Men may come at them, and they will be kind to them, ſometimes even beyond the Bounds of Chriſtian Charity. They may leave their Convent when they pleaſe; and their Buſineſs, while they are in it, is to embroider in Gold, Silver and Silk upon Handkerchiefs, Purſes, &c. and they are very ſkilful in it. The *Latins* have five Churches in the Town, the firſt is the Biſhop's, which is fair and large, but built ſince the *Turks* have been Maſters of *Chio*, according to an Agreement made between the *French* King and the Grand Signior.

To this Church belongs a Burying-place, where all the *French* that die in this City are interred; which was given to it by Mr. *John Dupuis*, of *Marſeilles*, the *French* Conſul there. The *Capuchins* alſo have a large and ſpacious Church, which ſtands over-againſt their Convent, which is neatly built, and has a large Garden, but wants Water. They are forced to keep their Gate continually ſhut, becauſe of the *Turks*, who, if they get in, ſpoil their Gardens, and commit many other Inſolencies. They teach the learned Languages and Chriſtianity to all Children that are ſent to them. The Jeſuits alſo have a Church and College, and are of three Congregations. The *Jacobins* and *Cordeliers* alſo have fair Churches. The *Turks* have their Moſques, and the *Jews* their Synagogues. The Town is but ſmall, and not ſtrong, but hath eight Gates, and a pretty good Caſtle to defend it. The *Turks* live in it, and are generally about eight hundred Men. No *Chriſtian* may lodge in it; but the *Jews*, for their Security, pay a certain Sum yearly to dwell in it, for they would find but bad Entertainment among the *Chriſtians*.

It was built by the *Genoeſe*, when they were Maſters of the Iſle, and commands the Port. Four Miles from the City, near to the Sea-ſide, is to be ſeen a vaſt Stone, which was cut out of ſome Rock; it is almoſt round, but the upper Part is flat, and ſomewhat hollow. On the upper Part are Places like Seats cut in the Stone, of which there is one higher than the reſt, like a School-maſter's Chair, where, as Tradition reports, was *Homer*'s School, where he taught his Scholars. M. *du Mont* ſays, he ſaw nothing but a ſquare Altar cut out of a Rock, with the Figures of an Ox, Wolf, Sheep, and Rabbit, in *Baſſo-relievo*, and thinks, that in all Probability there were no Schools there, but that it was a Place where Sacrifices were offered to the God *Pan*, or ſome other Rural Deity. The Iſle of *Chio* is eighty Miles in Circuit, and very populous, containing, beſides the chief Town *Chio*, already deſcribed, ſixty Towns and Villages, inhabited for the moſt Part by Chriſtians.

9. The chief Villages are *Cordomolo*, which contains about five hundred Inhabitants: The Country about it is very fertile and well watered, yielding annually one hundred and ſixty, or one hundred and ſeventy Tun of Wine. Some Years ago, ſeveral Pieces of Gold, Silver, and Copper Money, of the Emperor *Conſtantine*, were found there. Five Miles from it is a lovely Valley half a Mile long, where is a Spring of Water, to which there is a Deſcent by twenty-five beautiful Marble Steps. At the End of it was a Temple of fine Aſh-coloured Marble, but it is pulled down, and the Stones broken, and this only to get the Iron and Lead that joined them together.

Beyond it is *Vichi*, a Village inhabited by three hundred Souls, having a Church dedicated to the Virgin. Beyond it is *Cambia*, which has one hundred Inhabitants, and lies among Rocks, Hills, and Woods of wild Pine-trees, which they fell for Timber to build their Galleys. Among the Mountains are ſeveral Churches. Below this Village is a Valley, where ſtands a little Caſtle built upon a Rock, which is almoſt inacceſſible. Over-againſt this Caſtle is the Mount of St. *Elias*, which is the higheſt Place of all the Iſland, and is ſeen from *Tenedo*, which is above one hundred Miles diſtant. It has a Church dedicated to that Saint built on it, but is uſually covered with Miſts and Snow. In the Middle of this Mountain is a large Spring, which waters the Fields about it, and makes them very fertile and they are planted with all Sorts of Fruit.

In a Wood hard by lies *Spartonda*, a Village inhabited by about fifty Shepherds, but very pleaſant, affording Plenty of good Water and Fruits. Between *Calandre* and *Coronia* there is a Bath of Sulphur by the Sea-ſide, under extraordinary big Oaks. It is called *Hayaſma*, *i. e.* the Holy Water, becauſe the Water being drank, cures many Diſeaſes, but by the violent Operation it has killed many. Three Miles from the Sea, at the further End of the Iſland, is a Town called St. *Helena*, built on a Rock, containing two hundred Inhabitants, two Churches, and a Chapel. The Inhabitants of this Place firmly believe, that if a dead Body does not corrupt in forty Days, it turns *Zorzolacas*, or a *Nomolacas, i. e.* an *Hobgoblin.* The Chapel is highly eſteemed for its Sanctity by all the Villages round about.

From hence one goes to *Voliſſo*, which is a great Village, with about three hundred Houſes, and fifteen hundred Inhabitants. It is ſeated on an Hill, and has a Caſtle built by the famous *Beliſarius*, the Emperor *Juſtinian*'s General, who was forced aſhore there by a Storm. The Country about it is very pleaſant, open and fruitful, and the Inhabitants raiſe five thouſand Weight of Silk yearly, with which they pay their Tribute. They are vicious, and it is thought they lie under a Curſe of being always deſtitute of Bread.

Near this Place is *Varvariſo*, where there is a Church dedicated to St. *Marcella*, to whom they keep a ſolemn Feaſt, called *Panagirio*, and the Prieſts ſing Praiſes to her all Night long.

Three Miles from this Village is the Monaſtery dedicated to St. *John*, and by it a Village called *Fitta*, near which is a great Village, where there is a running Water that drives eight Mills, which ſerve all the Villages thereabout, for the Peaſants have Hand mills, and their Wives grind their Corn. From hence you go to *Sieronda*, which is an ancient ſpacious Tower, inhabited by fifty Shepherds, who have a Church in it. A little farther is *Lecimiliona*, a Village of one hundred and fifty Inhabitants, and a Church. There begin the Maſtick Trees. Two Miles from thence is *Elata*, the Inhabitants of which are famous for taming of Partridges.

10. At *Armolia*, which is a little farther, is made all the Earthen Ware uſed in the Iſle. It lies in a Plain full of Maſtick Trees, and contains five hundred Inhabitants and ſeveral Churches. Over againſt this Village ſtands a Caſtle, called *Apollieno*, very ſtrong to reſiſt the *Corſairs.* It was built in 1440 by *Nicholas Juſtiniani*, and has a Church in the Midſt of it. The Village *Meſta* exceeds all the reſt in Strength and good Building, and contains three hundred Inhabitants and ſeveral Churches. By it are two Harbours, *Aidinamy*, and *San Nichita*, but this laſt is neareſt *Pergi*, a great Village with a Tower, containing two thouſand Inhabitants and thirty Churches. The reſt of the Villages have the like Number of People and Churches, and in many of them are Caſtles and Towers, built to defend their Towns and Maſtick-Trees from the Ravages of the *Turks* of *Natolia*, who croſſing the Sea in Boats or Gallies, come and carry away both the People and their Goods; for which Reaſon they have built Towers all round the Iſland, at four Miles Diſtance one from another.

This whole Iſland is very ſubject to Earthquakes, yet would be very fertile were it not ſo ſtony, and had more Water, for it rains ſo little there, that every Spring the *Turks*, *Greeks*, *Latins*, and *Jews*, are forced to make Proceſſions to obtain Rain. But notwithſtanding the Hillineſs and Dryneſs of the Iſland, it has all Things neceſſary and good in ſufficient Quantities. It yields Corn and good Wine, but being thick, ſome do not like it, becauſe, they ſay, they muſt both eat and drink it. All Things are cheap there, and excellent Partridges may be had for little or nothing, for they keep them tame like Turtles, and have Keepers, who drive them out in the Morning, and whiſtle them in at Night, which Call they always obey. The Inhabitants of this Iſland are the only People who have preſerved their Liberty under the *Turks*, living as they think fit, and exerciſing their Religion with all imaginable Freedom, only paying them their ſettled Tribute.

They are generally *Chriſtians*, many of them are Papiſts, and the reſt of the *Greek* Church. They are apparell'd after the Faſhion of the *Genoeſe*, and have much of their Humour. They are in Countenance (that is, the Men) ſo ugly as would ſcare a Man, though their Perſons are proper and well ſhap'd. They are very proud, yet their Gentlewomen go to Market to buy Proviſions, and carry them openly in the Streets. They love the *Spaniards* better than the *French*, but had rather be under the Government of *Turks* than *Chriſtians.*

The *Chiots* make much Damaſk, Sattins, Taffata's, Fuſtians, and other Silk-Stuffs, and drive a Trade in many Places with their Saiques, *viz.* to *Grand Cairo*, and the Maritime Cities of *Barbary* and *Natolia.* Such as are not obliged to work or follow Buſineſs, ſit whole Days under the Trees talking together. Learning is out of Uſe in this Country, but profound Ignorance reigns among them, yet they have naturally a ſharp Wit, ſo that to avoid their Cheats in Dealing, a Man had need of all his Eyes about him. They are much given to Pleaſures, and love exceſſive Drinking.

The Women are very beautiful and well ſhaped, their Faces are as white as the Jaſmin they wear on their Head, and are very charming, but their Breaſts are ſcorch'd with the Sun, which is much to be wonder'd at, becauſe they take as little Care of their Faces as Breaſts. They are always very neat in their Dreſs, wearing on their Heads very white Linen. They have a very briſk and lively Wit, which renders them the moſt talkative Women in the World, but are extremely vain in their Apparel, wearing the fineſt Stuffs they can get; but whereas they uſed formerly to load themſelves with Rings and Jewels, eſpecially upon the Vigil of St. *John*'s Day, they are now forbidden it under the Pain of Excommunication by the Pope, becauſe the *Captain Baſha*, ſeeing this Finery, impoſed a Tax of 50,000 Piaſtres upon them, and made them pay it, ſo that they wear no Gold, Silver nor Jewels about them.

The *Chiots*, both Men and Women, are much given to Dancing, and on *Sundays*, and *Holidays* they dance all Night promiſcuouſly, both in the Cities and Villages, and a Stranger is freely allowed to put in with them. They are not at all jealous, but their Women and Maids are allowed to ſtand at their Doors to ſee and talk with ſuch Men as paſs by; and they will be as merry and familiar with Strangers, as if they had been acquainted with them all their Days.

11. Another Iſle of the *Archipelago*, bordering upon *Aſia*, is *Patino*, *Palmoſa*, or *Patmora*, anciently *Pathmos.* It is but eighteen Miles in Compaſs, and has but one well built Town in it, with a Caſtle in the Middle of it, called, *The Monaſtery of St.* John, where 200 *Greek* Monks live. St. *John the Evangeliſt* being baniſh'd into this Iſle, is ſaid to have wrote here his Revelations. They carefully keep in their Church a Body ſhut up in a Caſe, which they likewiſe ſay, is the Body of St. *John*, and ſhew a Grotto where they likewiſe ſay St. *John* wrote the *Apocalypſe.* There are about 3000 Souls in the Iſle, who have much ado to live, the Iſle being very dry and rocky. No *Turks* live in the Iſland, but they are all *Chriſtians* who pay Tribute to the Grand Signior. The *Corſairs* put into this Iſland to careen, and take freſh Water.

The Iſle of *Nixia*, anciently *Naxos*, is 120 Miles in Compaſs. It was ſubject to the *Sanudi* and *Somarigi*, *Venetian* Dukes, till the *Turks* took it under the Emperor *Solymus*, yet there are ſtill in it ſeveral noble Families deſcended of thoſe Dukes. The Land is fruitful in all Things, but eſpecially the Valley of *Darmilla*, which has eighteen Villages: They feed many Cows, Sheep and Goats, and their Country yields many Vines, of which they make great Quantities of Wine and Cheeſe, which they ſend to *Alexandria*, *Smyrna*, and *Chio.* Near the Town by the Sea, are Salt-pits and a Pond, which they farm out to Fiſhermen. In the Marſhes of the Valley of *Plietri*, they catch great Plenty of very fine Eels. Their Woods are full of Rocks and ſolitary Dens, where there lie large Stags. The Peaſants catch Partridges by ſtalking with an Aſs, trained up to it, and they have Plenty.

There are many Monaſteries in this Iſle, and one of them, which is built in Form of a Tower, is very ancient. There is alſo another called *Fanaromeni*, dedicated to the Virgin, which has ſeventy Rooms, and a ſmall Church, but the Monks are extremely ignorant, and by their Viciouſneſs one would judge they ſerved ſome *Unknown God.* By the Sea ſide, over-againſt the Iſland of *Nicaria*, is to be ſeen upon a very ſteep and ruggid Mountain, ſome Ruins of the Caſtle of *Apollo*; and it is a Wonder how Stones could be got up ſo high to build it. By it are four little Towns well inhabited.

On the Hills hereabout many Goats feed upon an Herb, called *Ledum*, which leaves a kind of viſcous Dew upon their Beards, that turns into a kind of Gum, of a very good Smell, called *Labdanum*, or *Laudanum*, and is gathered by cutting off their Beards.

As you go to the Town, there is a Caſtle upon a very high Hill, which commands the Villages of *Darmilla*. Near the Town, upon the Rock *Strongyle*, is the Palace or Temple of the God *Bacchus*, built of very white Marble, but the *Turks* and others carry it away daily for their private Uſes. *Bacchus* may well have a Palace at *Nexos*, where they are ſo great Drunkards. The Tower and Ducal Palace are ſtill in being in the Town. There are two Archbiſhops in it, a *Latin* and a *Greek*. The Cathedral Church of the *Latin* Archbiſhop, dedicated to the Aſſumption of our Lady, is very handſome, and very well ſerved by ſix Canons and ſeven Prieſts, but their Revenue is inconſiderable, for the Archbiſhop has no more than twenty Piaſtres of yearly Rent. He hath a Seat in the Country with a Church, at a Place called *San Mamma*; the Church is paved and lined with Marble, but not kept in very good Repair.

In the Caſtle the Jeſuits have a ſorry Houſe, and the *Greeks* a Chappel, that belonged formerly to the Dukes. Without the Town are *Recollets* and *Capuchines*, who make many Proſelites to the *Roman* Faith. The Inhabitants have ſuch violent Feuds among them, that ſometimes they will not ſpeak one to another as long as they live; but the Women are more obſtinate than the Men, and are great Medlers in other People's Buſineſs. The Women wear ſo many Coats one over another, that they are ſcarce able to go, and their Shoes are ſo ſtrait, that they can hardly get their Feet in, but they are ſaid to be pretty honeſt and chaſte. From the Sale of their Wine, Cheeſe and Silk, they raiſe their Tribute.

12. About ſix Miles from *Nixia* is the Iſle of *Paro*, anciently called *Paros*, which has three Caſtles, ſeveral Villages, and a good Harbour for all Sorts of Veſſels, fair Churches, and many *Greek* Prieſts and Monks. The Antiquities of this Iſle, conſiſting in Statues, Marble Cheſts, *&c.* were carried away by an *Engliſh* Gentleman, who took all he could find here, as well as at *Delos*, now called *Sedrille*, where was Plenty of them; but now there remains but one Image of a Woman ſo large that it cannot be ſtirr'd. This Iſle was famous for its noble Quarries of Marble, and for the Oracle of *Apollo* heretofore, but now it is the Reſort of the *Corſairs*. The Iſland of *Mycone*, anciently *Myconus*, was once a well peopled Iſle, but now is almoſt forſaken, becauſe of the rigorous Perſecution of the *Turks*. It is about three Miles round.

Over-againſt this Iſland is the Iſle of *Tine*, formerly *Tenes*. It belongs to the *Venetians*, is well peopled, and hath a very ſtrong Caſtle built upon a Rock, and the Houſes ſtand one above another. It is forty Miles in Circuit, and yields Plenty of Proviſions and Silk, but it is ſo overſtock'd with People, that many are oblig'd to go out of it, and dwell at *Smyrna* and *Chio*. There is a *Latin* Biſhop in it, and the Women are handſome and courteous enough.

13. *Nio*, called of old *Oliarus*, which was not long ſince inhabited by the *Albanians*, a barbarous and warlike People, who uſed to go all Night arm'd by the Sea-ſide, and is a fruitful Country in all Things, eſpecially Woods of Oaks, and other Trees, which they cut down and ſell to other Places. You ſail then to *Santorini*, formerly call'd *Theraſia*, which is thirty Miles about, and ſixty from *Candy*, from which it may be ſeen. There are ſeveral Caſtles in this Iſle, *viz.* That of St. *Nicholas*, the Houſes of which are built upon a black Rock, that is frightful. A *Greek* Biſhop has his Reſidence there, and about 500 Souls about him; but they live moſt of them in Caves made in Pumice-Stone, and it is pleaſant to ſee them come out of the Ground like Coneys, while others are plowing over their Heads.

Scaro, built on a frightful Mountain, ſo ſteep, that thoſe who go up to it muſt climb with their Hands and Feet. It contains 150 Houſes, and the *Greeks* have a Church there, in which are two Images of maſſy Silver, one of our Lady, and the other of St. *Michael*. It formerly belonged to the *Latins*, who have ſtill a Biſhop there.

Pirgo, near which is a Chapel of our Lady, with many large Caves, where about two hundred People live. Between theſe Caſtles lies an Hill, from whence one may ſee the whole Iſland, which is planted with Vines, but has no Trees, but Fig-trees and white Mulberries. They make more Wine than they ſpend, which their Neighbours fetch from them to carry to *Chio*, *Smyrna*, and other Places. They make all Sorts of Stuffs, and by the Sale of them they raiſe Money to pay their Tribute. In this Place are one thouſand Souls, almoſt all *Greeks*, and the *Cadi* reſides here. Their Houſes are well built, all white, and wall'd in, ſo that each looks like a Tower.

At *Scaro* there is an Houſe of the Nuns of St. *Dominick*, but their Lodgings are poor and Air bad: Their Church is kept in good Order, and ſerved by a Chaplain. On St. *Stephen*'s Hill, between *Pirgo* and *Nebria*, lived a Woman, that in ancient Times gave Victuals to all the People for a whole Year that a Plague and Famine laſted, and there are ſtill remaining ſeveral Statues of her.

Crotiri, inhabited by an hundred and fifty Souls, and about it there are ſeven Villages, but ill peopled. The Inhabitants of the Iſle live very meanly; their Bread, called *Schiſes*, which is made of Wheat and Barley, is as black as Pitch, and ſo harſh that one can hardly ſwallow it; for they bake it but twice a Year, becauſe they have no Wood but what they buy by the Pound from *Nio*. They have no Fiſh or Fleſh, but feed only on Beans, Peaſe, Eggs, and Biſcuit. They have little or no Friut but Grapes, which are plentiful. They know not what Phyſicians, Chirurgeons, and Apothecaries are; they are ſtout, and can defend themſelves from their Enemies with Stones. The People live a beaſtly Life, doing nothing but eat, drink, ſleep, and play at Cards.

The Iſle at a Diſtance looks like Hell, being on the Shores all black and ſcorched by an Eruption of Flames, which happened about an hundred and twenty Years ago. About the Year 1638, there was another Eruption of Fire in the Port, which, with an incredible Noiſe, was heard two hundred Miles from thence, caſt vaſt Numbers of Pumice-ſtones out of the Sea, like Bullets, and ſo infected the Air, that many on the Iſle died, and ſeveral loſt their Sight, but recover'd it ſome Days after; and all the Silver turned red, even in Mens Cheſts and Pockets, but in a few Days came to itſelf. *Seneca* ſays, this Iſland ſtands upon Mines of Sulphur, from whence theſe Fires proceeded. It is ſaid, that *Alexander* ſounded the Sea in this Place, but could find no Bottom; yet a Ship may come to an Anchor at *Tireſia*, a little Iſle by it.

14. The Iſle of *Policandro* is eight Miles in Compaſs, and a pleaſant Place: There is but one Village of one hundred Houſes, and three hundred Souls in it: It has three well built Churches, and two Monaſteries, one of Men and another of Women. The Convent of Monks is well ſituated, and dedicated to the bleſſed Virgin. It has a little Garden, and a Fountain of excellent Water in it. The Nuns obſerve no Rule, but live as Nature teaches them; their Church is dedicated to St. *John*, and a Monk ſays Maſs in it on all *Sundays* and Holydays. The Caſtle ſtands upon a very high Hill, but all the Houſes are ruinous, except a Chapel dedicated to St. *Michael* the Arch-angel. From it one may ſee all the Iſles of the *Archipelago*. The Inhabitants of this Iſle are honeſt, civil, and courteous People, eſpecially the Women, who are very handſome. They have good Bread, Fowl, Sheep, and other Things neceſſary, but no Wine; ſo that what they drink comes from *Santorini*, which is but thirty Miles diſtant. They have no

Trades among them, becauſe their Port, which is indifferent good, is infeſted by the *Mainots* and *Corſairs*, who lodge in a Church by the Sea-ſide.

15. The Iſland of *Milo*, which is ſo called from *Mylos*, a Mill, becauſe they have many Wind-mills in it, and it affords Abundance of Mill-ſtones, is thirty-ſix Miles about. It is fruitful in all Things, and exports yearly to *Candia*, *Venice*, and other Places, between three and four hundred Tun of Wine. They have a Mine of Brimſtone, and another of Pumice-ſtones, which they farm to one of the Inhabitants for one thouſand five hundred Piaſtres yearly. Three Miles from the Town are certain hot Baths of Sulphur, where diſeaſed People from ſeveral Places waſh and recover their Health. The Port is ſix Miles long, three over, and has a good Depth of Water, and two Miles from it, in a Grotto, is a Fountain of Luke-warm Water, which gives ſo much Heat, that an artificial Bath cannot make one ſweat more. In this Iſle is a Town were two thouſand five hundred Souls live, and an old Caſtle inhabited by five hundred more. They have a *Latin* and *Greek* Biſhop.

The *Latin* Cathedral is without the Town, dedicated to St. *Peter*, but without Ornaments; and the Biſhop celebrates in a Chapel that joins to a *Greek* Church. He has many Tithes, of which he gives to the *Greek* Biſhop, one third Part. He has alſo many well built Churches in good Repair under him, and many Prieſts to officiate in them. Moſt of the Inhabitants are *Greeks*, who live much at their Eaſe, and are civil, but, as uſual, wicked and perfidious. Their Women go in a very ugly Dreſs, ſpeak very ill, and cannot pronounce the Letter *L*. They are, however, very charitable and kind to Strangers. They have all Neceſſaries for Life, but no Phyſicians or Chirurgeons. There are no *Turks* in the Iſle, but it is govern'd by four Deputies of the Town.

Half a Mile from *Milo* is the Iſle called *Chimolo*, or *Argentara*, which hath a good Harbour, and a Village containing about two hundred Souls, which was burnt by the *Corſairs* in 1638. Theſe poor People live in great Miſery.

16. The Iſle of *Sifano*, or *Sifanto*, anciently *Sifanus*, is thirty-ſix Miles in Circuit, and has a Caſtle upon a Hill, with double Walls, inhabited by three thouſand Souls; and there are no other Houſes in all the Iſland, unleſs it be ſome Country-houſes of private Men. The Harbour is not good. There is upon it a *Latin* Biſhop, and a good *Greek* Vicar; but the Biſhop's Chapel is little and very poor. There is alſo a Monaſtery of *Greeks* built upon a Hill. The Iſle produces not Proviſions enough for above two Months in the Year, and for the reſt of the Year, the People fetch it in Barks from other Places. They are very great Rogues, but their Women are very honeſt, and go with their Faces cover'd. There are no Manufactories or Trades, but Weavers, Shoe-makes, Joiners, and ſuch-like.

The Iſle of *Thermia*, ſo called from the *Thermæ*, or hot Springs in it, which give a great Relief to ſick Perſons, is thirty-ſix Miles in Circuit. The Town contains about three hundred Houſes, inhabited by about two thouſand Souls. The *Greeks* have fifteen Churches in it, and a Biſhop, who reſides ſix Months here, and as many at *Zia*. There is alſo a Caſtle and a pretty Village, called *Meſi*. The Iſle is almoſt all plain, has few Trees, yet is fruitful, and abundant in all Things. The Inhabitants are reputed to be honeſt People, and trade in Stuffs, Threads, and other Commodities, raiſing thereby Money to pay their Tribute. The *Venetian* Corn only goes in this Iſle, as it doth in all the others, except *Naxia*, *Andro*, and *Scyra*, where *Turkiſh* Money goes. Their Women are virtuous, handſome, and wear a neat Dreſs. The People live pretty well there, and a *Cadi* commands, with four Procurators, choſen out of the Citizens of the Town.

17. *Ajora* is an Iſle eighteen Miles about, and depends on the Iſle of *Scyra*, who keep ſome Shepherds there to feed their Sheep. There are four Churches in it, but Divine Service is perform'd in them at *Eaſter* only, when the Shepherds communicate. The *Corſairs* hinder its being cultivated, becauſe they take away the Oxen, and ſometimes the Sheep.

The Iſle of *Scyra*, which in the vulgar *Greek* ſignifies *Signora*, or Miſtreſs, is ſo called, becauſe it ſtands in the Midſt of the other Iſles, and by its Height commands them all. It is thirty-ſix Miles in Compaſs, and, having a dry Soil, but few Trees, abounds with Plenty of Proviſions, as Fleſh, Fiſh, and Veniſon. The Water is good. They have no Villages of Note, but only ſome ſcattering Houſes up and down in the Country. The People are much addicted to Devotion, and eſpecially the Women, who are very ſilly. There is much Hatred and Envy always amongſt them, by reaſon of the Oppreſſion they ſuffer from the *Turks*, and Oppreſſion of the common Poverty. They are almoſt all *Latins*, and have ſeveral Churches. The Cathedral ſtands at the upper End of the Town, and is dedicated to St. *George*, and ſerved by ſeveral Prieſts, who have a Biſhop for their Superior, and he lives on his Revenue and Tithes. The *Capuchins* are diligent in Preaching, Catechizing, and hearing Confeſſions, by which they do much Good.

18. From *Chio* Mr. *Thevenot* failed into *Egypt*, and in his Paſſage, being left before the Iſle of *Samos*, he took a View of it. It is a very barren Country, though famous for having been the Birth-place of *Pythagoras*, *Polycrates*, and the *Sibyl*. It is eighty Miles in Circuit. Over-againſt *Samos*, and pretty near it, is the Iſle of *Nicaria*, anciently called *Icaria*, from *Icarus* the Son of *Dædalus*. It is of a long Figure, and the Land is very dry, and full of Rocks, in which are the Houſes of the Inhabitants, who are in all about three thouſand Souls, very poor and ill clad.

They are much addicted to Swimming and Fiſhing up Sponges and Wrecks, and the richeſt Men, or *Papa's* in the Iſle, give their Daughters to the beſt Swimmer, which is tried before the Damſel and her Father. He that can remain longeſt under Water wins the Maid. They pay the Grand Signior Tribute in Sponges. They have Vineyards among the Rocks here and there, and they make of the Grapes a Sort of white Wine, as clear as Water, which paſſes by Urine as ſoon as it is drunk. The Wine, as alſo Wax and Honey, they trade with to *Chio*. The Women are Miſtreſſes there, and as ſoon as the Huſband is arrived from any Place, the Wife goes to the Sea-ſide, and takes the Oars, and carries them Home, after which the Huſband can diſpoſe of Nothing without her Leave. The Inhabitants are well ſhaped and ſtrong. The old *Greek* Emperors of *Conſtantinople* baniſh'd Perſons of Quality that had offended them into this Iſle.

19. Leaving *Samos*, he came to the Iſle of *Stanchio*, otherwiſe call'd *Iſola Longa*, ninety Miles diſtant from it. It was anciently call'd *Coos*, is ſeventy Miles in Circuit, and very fruitful, eſpecially in good Wine. On the Port by the Sea-ſide is a pretty good Caſtle, where the *Turks* keep Garriſon. The Town lies behind it, where there is a prodigious Tree of that vaſt Extent, as to cover 2000 Men eaſily, for the Branches being ſupported with many Stones and wooden Pillars; there are ſeveral Barbers Shops, Coffee-houſes, and ſuch like Places, beſides Benches to ſit on under it. It was anciently famous for the Temple of *Æſculapius*, and the Births of *Hippocrates* the Prince of Phyſicians, and *Apelles* the Prince of Painters. The Knights of *Malta* held it, when they were Maſters of *Rhodes*, and there are ſtill many Monuments remaining in it. Strangers are here more regarded by the Women, than is grateful to their Huſbands.

From hence he ſailed to the Caſtle of *Bodrou*, which lies over-againſt *Stanchio* at twelve Miles diſtance. There is a good Port, but ſo ſhut up with Dirt, that great Ships can't get into it. You enter this Caſtle through ſeven Gates, over which are ſeveral Coats of Arms, which belonged to the Knights of *Rhodes*, that commanded there, for in ſome of them are Croſſes of *Malta*. There is above 300 of theſe Eſcutcheons. Beyond the ſixth Gate is a Platform, where there are ſix Cannon pointed toward the Sea. The laſt Gate is made of Iron, and there ſtands a Guard of fifteen or twenty Men continually. The Caſtle is ſtrong, and the Walls high, both built of a Sort of Stone, which great Guns cannot hurt. The Sea beats upon one Side of it, which has Port-holes, with great Guns mounted, which can eaſily hinder Ships from approaching it. It is alſo very ſtrong towards the Land, the Walls being as ſound as if they were lately built. No Horſe can approach it, and yet it may be eaſily taken, by cutting off the Water that is brought to it by an Aqueduct. The Houſes in it are ruinous, and there are many Pieces of Pillars found among them. The Country about it is fruitful in Grapes, Figs, and ſuch like Fruits.

20. From *Bodrou* he ſailed to *Rhodes*, which is 100 Miles from *Stanchio*. The Iſle of *Rhodes* has *Lycia* on the North, being parted from it by the Sea, which is twenty Miles broad, the Iſle of *Cyprus* on the Eaſt, *Candia* on the Weſt, and *Ægypt* on the South. It is 100 Miles in Circuit, lying in a temperate Climate. The Soil is fruitful, and hath ſeveral Villages in it well inhabited, beſides a ſmall City which is ſtrong. This Iſland has been under the *Greeks*, *Saracens*, who loſt it to the Knights Hoſpitallers of *Jeruſalem* in 1309, who held it 200 Years, and now is in the Hands of the *Turks*, who under *Solyman* II. took it in 1522, by Compoſition, and that more thro' the Treachery of *Andrea d' Amaral*, Chancellor of the Order (who being angry that he was not choſen great Maſter at the laſt Election, inform'd the *Turks* of their Weakneſs, by a Letter ſhot to them on an Arrow) than by Force, though his Army conſiſted of 200,000 Men.

The Town hath two Harbours, of which the Great Port, being ſquare and ſpacious enough, is not very ſafe, when the Wind blows from the E. N. E. or S. E. On the Right-Hand at the Entry of this Port is a new Tower, built by the *Turks*, in a Place where the old Tower of St. *Nicholas* ſtood. It is well furniſhed with Cannon, hath a Baſtion behind, and Curtine reaching to the Walls of the Town; over againſt this Tower ſtands the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, but ſomewhat ruinous.

This Caſtle and Tower were built in the Place where ſtood the Feet of the great *Coloſſus*, one of the ſeven Wonders of the World, between the Legs of which a Ship under Sail might paſs. It repreſented the Sun, and was caſt by *Chares* the *Lyndian.* It was ſeventy Cubits high, ſtrided fifty Fathoms, and carried a Lighthouſe in one Hand. It was overthrown by an Earthquake, and being broke to Pieces by the *Saracens*, was ſold to a *Jew*, who loaded 900 Camels with the Metal, and carried it to *Alexandria*, in the Year of our Lord 954, and 1461 Years after it was made. The Port of the Gallies, which is covered by the Caſtle of St. *Erme*, is a good Harbour, and able to contain many Gallies, but the Mouth of it is ſo narrow, that one Galley only can enter at a Time. It looks to the E. N. E. and is every Night ſhut with a Chain. A little up-land above the Port is a Burying-place, and in it fifteen or twenty Domes of Free Stone well-built, and ſupported moſt of them by four Arches. Theſe are the Sepulchres of the *Beys*, or other Perſons of Quality in *Rhodes*, who have been killed in the Wars. On the Side of this Port is a Piazza with ſome Trees and a Fountain in it, and at the Bottom of it the Arſenal, where the Gallies and Saiques are built. The Town is ſmall, but ſtrong, having high and well-built Walls, planted with Faulcons on the Top, and below there are Port-Holes for great Cannon.

It hath three Gates, one to the Sea, where Corn is ſold, and two to the Land-ſide. Over the Water-Gate is ſet up the Dragon's Head, which was thirty-three Feet long, waſted all the Country round, and was ſlain by *Deogate de Gozon*, one of the Knights of St. *John.* The Streets of the Town are pretty broad, all paved with little Stones, and for the moſt Part covered with Pent-houſes on each Side. There are ſeveral fair Buildings in it. St. *John*'s Church is ſtill ſtanding, but is turned into a Moſque. Over the Gate is a Nich, which hath a round Cover, are the Figures of our Saviour and the bleſſed Virgin, and St. *John* holding the Croſs, cut in *Baſſe Relieſe.* No Chriſtian is now ſuffered to go into it. The Street of the Knights lay juſt as you come out of the Church, as the Arms upon the Houſes ſhew; but now *Rhodes* is inhabited only by *Turks* and *Jews*, for though the *Chriſtians* are permitted to keep Shops in Town in the Day-time, yet in the Night they muſt retire to Villages in the Country about it. *Lindo*, the Country of *Chares*, who made the *Coloſſus* of *Rhodes*, is a little Rock at the Point of the Iſle of *Rhodes*, ſixty Miles from the Town. It has a ſmall Town on it, with a very good Fort.

21. At the Bottom of the *Mediterranean*, lies the noble Iſland of *Cyprus*, famous in all Ages for the Fertility of its Soil, the Excellence of its Climate, and the Advantage of its Situation. It has been known in different Ages of the World, by very different Names, and ſome of theſe are ſuch, that it would be a difficult Thing to point out clearly the Authorities upon which they are founded. In the Holy Scripture it is called *Kittim*, from *Kittim* the Son of *Javan*, the Son of *Japhet*, the Son of *Noah*, who firſt poſſeſſed it; in ſucceeding Times it was called *Ceraſtis*, becauſe of the many Promontories it thruſts into the Sea like Horns; *Macaria*, becauſe of the Fruitfulneſs of the Soil, and Happineſs of the Climate; *Aſperia* from the Roughneſs of the Soil; *Collinia* from its numerous Hills; *Æroſa*, becauſe of the Mines of Copper or Braſs, which were firſt ſaid to be found there; *Amathuſia*, *Paphia*, *Salaminia*, *Lapithia*, from the Towns of *Amathus*, *Papho*, *Salamine*, and *Lapithus.* At Length it was called *Cyprus*, but from whence it is not very clear; ſome ſay from its Copper Mines, others from *Cypreſs* Trees, which were in a Manner peculiar to it.

In ancient Times it was conſecrated to *Venus*, who is ſtiled by the Poets, the *Cyprian* Goddeſs, and the Reaſon of this ſeems to have been from the Wantonneſs of its Inhabitants, as this again may be derived from the Excellence of its Climate, and from the Fertility of the Country. The longeſt Day is about fourteen Hours and a half, their Weather in Summer is prodigiouſly hot, ſo that ſometimes their Brooks, and even their Rivers have been dried up; and in the Reign of *Conſtantine* the Great, when they had no Rain for thirty-ſix Years, it was in a great Meaſure deſerted, but ſuch Accidents, or rather ſuch Judgments happen ſeldom, and therefore ought not to be mentioned as Objections to the general Repute this Country has been in for its great Fruitfulneſs. It was anciently governed by Kings, of whom there were nine when *Cyrus* reduced it; but it ſeems they remained Tributaries, and were not ſtripped of their Dominions; for long after his, we find the *Greek* Orator *Iſocrates*, addreſſing two of his Orations to two of the *Cyprian* Monarchs; and in the Time of *Alexander* the Great, the King of *Citium* is recorded to have preſented him a moſt excellent Sword, which he uſed afterwards during his Life.

Upon the Diviſion of his Empire, *Cyprus* fell under the Dominion of *Ptolemy*, and was governed ſometimes as a Province, ſometimes as a ſeparate Principality, by that Family, till conquered by *Portius Cato* for the *Romans*, who carried from thence ſeven thouſand Talents, which was more than ever came into the *Roman* Treaſury by any former Conqueſt. After the Diviſion of the *Roman* Empire, it belonged to the *Greeks*, from whom it was taken by the *Saracens*, recovered from them, and governed by Dukes or Princes. In 1191, it was conquered by our King *Richard* I. who firſt mortgaged it to the Knights of *Rhodes*, and then gave it to *Guy* of *Luſignan*, whoſe Family held it for many Generations.

Under theſe Princes it was divided into twelve Counties, containing forty-eight great Cities, and upwards of eight hundred Villages. *Charlotta*, the laſt Heireſs of that Family, was driven out by *James* II. her Baſtard Brother, who married *Catharine Cornaro*, of a noble *Venetian* Family, adopted Daughter of the Republick, to whom ſhe bequeathed this Kingdom, to which, however, her Right was but indifferent. The *Venetians* came into Poſſeſſion in 1473, and held it almoſt an hundred Years; but at laſt it was taken from them by *Solyman* II. Emperor of the *Turks*, after a long and glorious Defence, and with Circumſtances of moſt infamous Cruelty and Treachery on the Part of the *Turks*, who have kept it ever ſince.

It abounds with Wine, Oil, Corn, Sugar, Cotton, Honey, Wool, Turpentine, Alom, Verdigreaſe, all Sorts of Metals, and moſt excellent Salt. This Iſland affords ſeveral good Ports, all the Materials requiſite for building of Ships, all the Commodities that can be deſired for carrying on a great Trade; and, if it were under a right Government for one Century, might be able to defend itſelf againſt all its Neighbours. At preſent it is thinly peopled, and not half cultivated. A *Turkiſh* Baſha deſtroyed all the Sugar Canes, to prevent the *Cypriots* from having too much Wealth; an Evil which there is now no Reaſon to fear.

In a Word, it is at this Day the cleareſt Proof that can be given, how much a bad Government can defeat all the Kind Intentions of Nature; for in Spite of all the Advantages that a Country can poſſibly have, there never was a more diſmal or deſolate Place than this Iſland is at this Day, from having Millions of People, there are now in it ſcarce thirty thouſand; from a Climate that produced a perpetual Spring, it is become both unwholſome and unpleaſant; from Cities and Towns that touched each other, there are now only Villages and Heaps of Ruins; from Abundance of all Things, the Inhabitants are reduced to Indigence and Starving; ſo that except to conſiderate and intelligent Perſons, the Face of the modern *Cyprus* refutes all that ancient Authors have ſaid in its favour. Such are the Effects of a falſe Religion and tyrannical Government.

22. It would be inexcuſable of ſpeaking of theſe Iſlands, to ſuffer that which makes the greateſt Figure in Hiſtory, to remain hidden, and out of the Reader's View; I mean the Iſland of *Candia*, ſo long the Theatre of War between the *Venetians* and the *Turks*. The Inhabitants of this Iſland are allowed to be ſenſible as well as brave and hardy; whereas the *Sciotes*, or Inhabitants of the Iſland of *Scio*, are commonly called *Praſſinos* by the *Turks*, which is as much as to ſay *Green*. The Reaſon of this is, that a *Turkiſh* Baſha, much eſteemed for his Wiſdom, obſerving the Manners of the Inhabitants of that Iſland, ſaid, that *a wiſe Sciot and a green Horſe were Rarities equally hard to be met with*. By this unlucky Sarcaſm he ſtamped the Name of *Praſſimos* upon this whole Nation. But for the *Candiots*, though the *Turks* hate them, yet they cannot help owning, that they have both Courage and Underſtanding, of both which they gave ample Teſtimony in the Courſe of the long War before-mentioned.

Among others who have recorded the Events of that famous Diſpute, our Countryman Mr. *Bernard Randolph*, is thought to have done it with as much Fidelity as any. He ſpent upwards of twenty Years not only in the *Levant*, but amongſt theſe Iſlands; and upon his Return Home, he compoſed a Deſcription of them, which was printed in a thin Volume in *Quarto* in 1687, at the Theatre in *Oxford*. It appears from thence, that he was a plain well-meaning Man, more concerned about Matter of Fact, than the Stile or Manner of telling his Story. What he related was chiefly from his own Knowledge, which gives great Credit to his Accounts, and in ſome Meaſure excuſes the Roughneſs of his Language, and his Writing without any Method. It appears from the Works of the judicious Sir *George Wheeler*, that Mr. *Randolph*'s Book was printing, when he was writing his Travels; and for this Reaſon that worthy Gentleman ſpeaks very reſpectfully of that Performance, and refers his Reader to it, as a Kind of Supplement to his own: Yet in moſt Parts of his Book Mr. *Randolph* is wonderfully conciſe, and tells us more or leſs of a Place, not in Proportion to its Size, Situation, or Importance, but as he was little or much acquainted with it himſelf. Of this Iſland, however, he ſpeaks copiouſly enough, and has thrown together, in his Deſcription, the principal Actions in that War, which coſt the Grand Signior *Mahomet* IV. ſo much Trouble, and which broke the Force, and exhauſted the Treaſure of the *Venetians* to ſuch a Degree, that they have never been able to recover. We will give the Reader, therefore, his Account in his own Words.

'The Iſland of *Candia*, (which in old Time was, and alſo now is by the *Turks* called *Crete*) hath followed, for the moſt Part, that of the Empire of *Greece*, and is now ſubjected to the Tyranny of the *Turks*, after a War for above twenty-ſeven Years; in which Time the *Venetians* did bravely, and with unparallel'd Courage, defend the City of *Candia* to the laſt Extremity. After a cloſe Siege for near two Years Continuance, the Vizier there in Perſon, and with him the beſt of all the *Ottoman* Forces, they were forced to ſurrender, yet upon the moſt honourable Terms that themſelves could propoſe, carrying away with them not only their Cannon and all other Ammunition, but alſo the Bells which were in the Steeples, and whatever elſe they thought worth their Labour. The Vizier was ſo much overjoyed that the City was ſurrendred to him, that he appointed ſeveral of the *Turkiſh* Boats to aſſiſt the *Venetians*, if they ſhould have Occaſion for their Help in carrying their Goods to the Ships. He was ſo obſerving of his Word on the Ceſſation, that he cauſed two *Janizaries* to be put to Death for attempting to force their Way into the City.'

All *Europe* has heard of this great Siege, how many thouſand Bombs were caſt into the City; how many Mines and Forenellos were blown up; and how many bold Aſſaults the *Turks* made. They had at laſt worked themſelves ſo near the Walls, that it was impoſſible for the Beſieged to make uſe of any of their great Guns; for no ſooner could a Man appear to level a Gun, but there was a Shower of Bullets and Arrows; ſo that the *Turks* would often attempt to undermine, and the *Venetians* did countermine them; and when they met under Ground, they fought moſt deſperately. The *Venetians* have an Engine which they call *Trombo di Fuoco*, it is as long as a half Pike, the Staff bigger; at the End are two Irons about two Foot long, in the Form of a Fork, in which is faſtened a Trunk made of Iron, and ſome are of Wood; in it are five Charges, each firing ſeverally and at a certain Time, and carry ſeveral Bullets to do Execution as far as a Piſtol; they ſet Fire to it at the Fore-part, and have a Touch to reach from one Chamber to the other.

Another Invention they had to fiſh up the *Turks* when they attempted to undermine their Walls; they had Hooks made in the Form of a Boat's Grapling, the Points ſharp, faſtened to a Rope, and four or five Foot of Chain at the End; theſe Hooks they often caſt over the Walls amongſt the *Turks*, and ſeldom fail'd to bring up a *Turk*, ſome faſtened by the Cloaths, others by the Body. I have heard ſome of the Officers ſay they have taken ſeveral in a Night; for when the Hook was faſtened, they gave them not Time to unhook themſelves, but had them ſoon over the Walls. At the *Greeks* leaving *Candia*, there happened a moſt ſad Accident, a new Ship, called *La Fregatta Galliera*, or the *Gally Frigat*, was pitch'd upon for tranſporting moſt of the Principal of the Gentry, and the greateſt Part of the Riches of the Citizens; there was alſo (beſides what were mounted) fifty great Braſs Guns; the Paſſengers were between two hundred and fifty and three hundred, beſides two hundred Mariners and upwards. Being between an Iſland called *Obo* and the Port of *Cerigo*, the Ship opened, and not a Man was ſaved. The reſt of the Fleet got well, ſome to *Zant*, others to *Ceſfalonia*, *Corfu*, and *Venice*, landing the *Greeks* as they had a Fancy to the Place which they came to, or as they found Friends. Thus they left their Eſtates to the Enemy, and not above five or ſix *Greeks* remained, who being in Years, and ſickly withal, deſired Leave of the General that they might end their Days there. In the Articles of Peace it was concluded, that the *Venetians* ſhould keep Poſſeſſion of three ſmall Iſlets which are cloſe to the Iſland of *Candia*, and have each a very ſtrong Caſtle. The *Turks* laughed at their Propoſals, ſaying, *We have the Hen, and the Chickens will follow of Courſe.*

This Iſland had twenty Cities, and above one thouſand Towns, Villages, and large Monaſteries; now there is not above four Cities and three hundred Towns and Villages. To give you an Account of them, I will begin with the Eaſtern Part. This was formerly a Province called *Sitia*; the head City had the ſame Name, ſtanding in a Bay at the North Eaſt Part of the Iſland on the Weſt Side, extending from the North to the Bottom of the Bay Southerly above a Mile in Length. The Caſtle ſtood on a riſing Ground to the North Weſt of the Town, built of a Coarſe Marble Stone. The *Venetians* finding the Place was not tenable, cauſed ſeveral Mines to be made, by which they deſtroy'd the Caſtle and Town, and ſo went to *Candia*. By the Ruins it may be ſeen, the Builders had no Thoughts ſo ſoon to have left them. Moſt of the Walls are entire, and ſome have lower Rooms with Beams, which are patch'd up, and ſerve for Store-houſes to put Corn in, when any Ship comes to lade. In the Year 1680, I was here, and loaded a Settee of *Provence*, Capt. *Steppe Bremon*, who belonged to *Caſſis*, about ten Miles from *Marſeilles*. The Wheat was the Baſha's own, which he ſold at three Timens a Killoe, (*i. e.* about 14 *d.* the Buſhel.) The *Turk*, who came with me from *Candia*, was an ordinary Servant; but as we travelled the Road, and when we came hither, he would domineer at a ſtrange Rate. Here are no Inhabitants nearer than twelve Miles, at a ſmall Village called *Alona*, ſaving at a ſmall Houſe and Chapel, which is a *Metoiki*, (or Chapel of Eaſe to a Monaſtery up in the Mountains) about a Quarter of a Mile from the Sea: Amongſt others, the *Greek* Prieſts brought their Tenths to the *Turks*: They all deſire to have a Seaman to meaſure their Corn, rather than the *Turks*; for they will ſtir the Corn about with their Hands, and preſs it down: But the Maſter was content to take it with a juſt Meaſure, and favour'd the poor *Greeks* what he could.

At *Alona* reſides the Baſha's Lieutenant, who has one hundred Spahi's to guard the Coaſt from Privateers, but more to gather in the Tenths. The *Greeks* maintain them at their own Charge. To the Eaſtward of *Sittia*, on a Point of Land, is a Monaſtery dedicated to St. *Iſidore*, to which belongs a great Revenue; it maintains about forty Calojeros. There are ſeveral rich Lamps, and other Ornaments of Silver and Gold. Here they ſhew you the Picture of the Bleſſed Virgin, which, they ſay, was brought by Angels from *Stancoi*, and was found in a Cave of that Mountain. They have Lands on the Iſland of *Rhodes*, where they have a Metoiki and ſeveral Calojeroes to gather in the Crops of Corn, Oil, and Wine; the *Turks* allowing them to enjoy it, calling it *Vacofa*, or Poſſeſſions for God's Uſe; yet they will receive their Tenths from it. The *Gomina* or Overſeer of this Monaſtery had made his Eſcape, taking with him above two thouſand Pieces of Eight in ready Money and Plate; but being purſued, he was taken at *Scarpante*, an Iſland lying in the mid Way between *Candia* and *Rhodes*, and by the Baſha's Order put to Death.

To the South of *Alona*, about ten Miles, is a very high Mountain, called by the *Turks*, *Baſha Dogg*; from it may be ſeen the Sea to Eaſt, Weſt, North and South. Here are the Ruins of a Caſtle, called formerly *Barozza*, becauſe it was built by a Gentleman of that Name: It is ſquare, about ſixty Foot high, with a *Tarazzo* and Battlements on the Top; each Square is about forty Foot. The Wall is very thick, the Door about ten Foot from the Ground, having a dry Ditch about it. Of theſe there are ſeveral about the Iſland, like the old built Caſtles that are ſtill in *Ireland*: for formerly the *Candiots* uſed to war amongſt themſelves; but now all ſuch Quarrels are ended by their Subjection to a common Maſter.

The City of *Girapetra* is in the South Part of the Iſland, having no ſecure Port, but an open Road, where Veſſels in the Summer Time may lie with Security from the Weather, but not from Privateers. For while I was there, they carried away a Saike which came from *Alexandria*. The Town is walled round, and hath a ſmall Caſtle, which lies higher than the Town. Here is conſtantly a Garriſon of two hundred *Janizaries*, beſides there are ſeveral *Turks* who are Merchants, ſo that in all they can raiſe five hundred fighting Men. There is about it a very fine Plain full of Olive-trees, and ſome very pleaſant Gardens. Their Houſes are well-built of good Stone, the Rooms very lofty, but few Houſes above two Stories high. In the Year 1675, one Monſieur *Crevellier*, a famous Privateer, landed five hundred Men in the Bay of *Spina Longa*; travelling in the Night, he came next Morning, juſt at the Dawning of the Day, and found the *Turks* at their *Sabbah Namas*, or Morning Prayer, ſo he made himſelf Maſter of the Town, carrying away two hundred Slaves, nailing up the Guns which were in the Caſtle. The *Turks* who were at the South Part of the Town, betook themſelves to ſome ſmall Veſſels, for they had not the Heart to return home to fetch their Arms. Monſieur *Crevellier*, to retreat with this great Prize, reſolved to kill what Horſes he found, ſecuring twenty for himſelf and Officers to ride on and form the Rear.

This Enterpriſe was effected in leſs than ſix Hours after they entered the Town, for they did not make any Stay to ranſack the Houſes. After they were departed, about three hundred Men, *Turks* and *Greeks*, were got together, and marched a Mile or two out of Town, and had not *Crevellier* killed the Horſes, he could never have got out of the Iſland. It is very ſtrange, that ſo many Men could come with that Secrecy as not to be diſcovered, and that the Hearts of thoſe *Turks* ſhould be ſo ſunk. Immediately they diſpatched Expreſſes to the City of *Candia*, writing to the Baſha, that about fifteen hundred *Chriſtians* had landed, and carried away two hundred Priſoners, moſt of them Men of the Garriſon. The Baſha aſked the Meſſenger, if the reſt of the Inhabitants were aſleep, or dead? No, ſays the Meſſenger, but their Hearts were, being all ſurprized, ſome in their Moſques, and ſome in the Coffee-houſes, and not a Man that had his Senſes; moſt of the Horſes alſo being killed. The Baſha aſked him, how he eſcaped? He anſwered him, that he had the Wit to hide himſelf, as a great many others did. There were three Gallies in the Mole of *Candia*, under the Command of one *Bobba Haſſan*, who were ſent to look after *Crevellier*, but to no Purpoſe, for they returned without ſeeing him.

Since this there is an Order, that the Gates ſhall be ſhut an Hour before Sun-ſet, and not opened till an Hour after Morning Prayers; and now there are ſeveral Guards on the Mountains; beſides, the Baſha of *Candia* has threatened the *Providitore* at *Spina Longa* to complain to *Venice*, if he ſuffer any Privateers to come into that Bay; ſo as for ſome Years they have attempted nothing. The Country towards the South is not ſo mountainous as in the North and North-Weſt Parts; having ſeveral large and pleaſant Plains, which have many Ruins of fine Towns. To the Eaſt of *Girapetra*, about ten Miles, I went to ſee a Cave under the Mountain of *Tro*, as they now call it, where, they ſay, St. *Paul* preached. It is a large Chapel, having twelve Pillars, all cut out of the Rock by the Chriſtians in the Night-time. Some ſay, but without Grounds, it was finiſhed in leſs than a Month. Cloſe by is a Fountain, where, they ſay, he uſed to baptize; and it is now called St. *Paul*'s Fountain; the Water thereof is very good to cure ſuch as have ſore Eyes. From *Girapetra* to *Bonifacia* is 14 Hours Riding, moſt in Plains, very delightſome, there being very high Mountains to the North, with moſt pleaſant Vallies between, and Abundance of *Cypreſs* Trees. *Bonifacia* ſtands on a riſing Ground, having only the Walls of a Caſtle.

The Inhabitants are moſt of them *Greeks*, very poor; here is a Metropolitan who pretends to be next to the Archbiſhop of *Candia*. There are two *Italian* Churches, the Doors of which are now made up with Walls to keep Cattle from going in. The *Greeks* have four ſmall Churches, but one would contain more than all the Inhabitants. They have now new-named the Place, calling it, *Malafacia*, inſtead of *Bonifacia* (good Face) it being ſo much alter'd from what it was in former Time. From *Bonifacia* to the *Labyrinth* is about ten Miles, or three Hours Riding, Weſt, moſt a Plain. Several Men have ſeveral Opinions about this Building (if I may call it ſo.) But one Signior *Venetando*, who was born in a neighbouring Village, gives this Account, that a certain King of this Iſland had ſo great a Hatred for all Women, that he order'd this Place for his Court, and at laſt lived ſo privately, that he would not ſuffer any to come to him, but ſuch as adminiſtred Affairs, and ruled in his Stead; he would ſeldom come out, but to worſhip at a Temple dedicated to *Jupiter*, which ſtood cloſe by it. In this *Labyrinth* he ended his Days, and had a famous Tomb built for him, the Ruins of which they ſhew you.

The *Labyrinth* is about two Miles about, being ſo covered on the Top with Earth, as it ſeems to be all firm Land; we entered it with two Torches and Candles in Lanthorns, having a Line to direct us out again. The Way is plain under Foot, and arch'd over Head, ſome Arches being about ten Foot high, ſome more, ſome leſs, with ſeveral Windings. I made it my Buſineſs to obſerve, if there was any Thing of a Building in the Pillars or Sides, but found it moſtly an entire Stone, which they told me ſo well cemented together, that indeed it appeared ſo. Here are a great many ſmall Vaults, about four Foot long, two broad, and two over, which were for Burying-places. There are Abundance of Batts which hang in Cluſters, ſome are larger than ordinary. We endeavoured to fright them, ſcorching their Wings, by which we found there was Life in them; their Sleep is obſerved to be much more ſound with a North-Wind, than with a South-Wind; as the Spring comes on, they leave this their Palace. We had almoſt ended our Line, being about 100 Pikes, which is about eighty Yards, and then returned out, being a good Hour in the *Labyrinth*. The Damps are very great, againſt Rain it is always dropping, but very dry with Northerly Winds. At the End is a Lake, and they tell you, that ſome who have attempted to go to, have been drawn into it. Our Curioſity did not invite us to ſee it, for though it were not true, as in Probability it is not, the noiſome Smells are enough to ſtifle one.

To the South, and cloſe by, is a ſmall Village with two Churches, which ſeem to have been anciently Temples. To the South-Weſt, about ten Miles diſtant, is that famous and great Mountain, call'd *Pſilla Vuona*, formerly Mount *Ida*; at Four of the Clock it caſts a Shadow on the *Labyrinth*. On it are many pleaſant Monaſteries, with Groves of Cypreſs-trees, and Abundance of Fountains. Some ſay the Coaſt of *Barbary* may be ſeen from the Top. From the *Labyrinth* to *Candia*, is about ten Hours Riding, moſt in a Plain, till within ten Miles of the City. On the right Hand, about a Mile from the Road, is a moſt ſtately Monaſtery, dedicated to our bleſſed Saviour, which was built by Order of the Emperor *Conſtantine* the Great. It hath always been continued to the *Greeks*, and kept its Splendor till the late War, when it was much defaced.

There are in this Iſland Abundance of Monaſteries, but very poor, and ſome are ſhut up for Want of Monks. *Candia Novo* is about ſix Miles from the City of *Candia*, Southward, being a ſtrong Caſtle, having Mount *Jove* to the Weſt. Here the *Turks* kept their Treaſure and Ammunition in the Siege of *Candia*. It is ſeated very pleaſantly on a riſing Ground, giving a Proſpect to the Sea. It is now chiefly inhabited by *Greeks*; the Caſtle has a Garriſon of *Turks*, which the Baſha intended to bring to *Candia*, and demoliſh the Caſtle, having writ to the Porte about it, but he had no Anſwer. *Candia*, ſo famous and generally known for the brave Defence it made againſt the *Turks*, appears, by the Ruins, to have been one of the beſt Cities in the Mid-land Seas. It is ſeated on the Northſide of the Iſland, almoſt Mid-way between *Canea* and *Sittia*, in a pleaſant Bay, having an artificial Port ſecured from the North-wind by a Mole about 200 Yards long, with a ſtrong and large Caſtle at the Head, called *Caſtel del Molo*, having twenty Great Guns. From the South is a low Point of Land, which runs into the Sea, North, that ſecures it from the Eaſterly Winds, and makes the Entrance not above thirty Yards wide; upon this Point of Land, the *Turks* have built a cover'd Way, with a very thick Wall, full of Holes for ſmall Shot, ſtrongly arch'd over, reaching from the Arſenal to the Entrance into the Port, where is a ſmall Fort, with four great Guns, alſo very ſtrongly arch'd over, ſo as no Bomb can deface it. At the Right-hand at coming out of the Gate to the Mole, is a new Fort, built with four very great Guns, which lie level with the Water; over them are eight ſmaller Guns. This Fort is oppoſite to the Mouth of the Port, and is arch'd over to prevent Danger from Bombs or Wild-fire.

On the Mole are ſeveral great Guns, planted with Arches over them. To the Eaſt of the Arſenal is the old Caſtle, call'd *La Battaria del Arſenal*, which is built with a Ditch round it to bring in the Sea, moſt cut out of a firm Rock. The Port is almoſt round, and ſecure againſt any Wind, or Gallies and ſmaller Veſſels, but there is not Water enough for Ships of any conſiderable Bigneſs. It is filled very much with the Rubbiſh that the Rains carried into it from the City, and would certainly have been choak'd up in a few Years, had it not been for a *French* Merchant, one Monſieur *Dodei*, who to ingratiate himſelf with the Baſha, cauſed an Engine to be brought from *Marſeilles* to cleanſe it. There are the Ruins of twelve Arches of the *Arſenal*, and about ſix Arches are yet entire, but they uſe them only to work in when the Gallies are there; no Gallies having been built here.

The City is not repaired towards the Land, where the Walls are ſo much ſhaken, that it will require a great deal of Time and Coſt to fortify them. From the Port, towards the Weſt upon the Wall, are fifty large Guns planted. The Fort of St. *Andrea*, at the Northweſt of the City, is well repaired, having a double Wall toward the Sea. In all there are about 400 Guns planted on the Walls and Outworks, which are ſix Miles in Circumference. The Gates of *Candia* are the beſt I ever ſaw, the Arch or Gatehouſe being about 100 Yards long, and the Gates ten broad; the Arch is all built of firm Stone. It will take up three Hours to walk round the Outworks; there are ſeveral Mines which were never blown up; every Mine had a diſtinct Name. I was in one Mine, which was above a Mile in Length, being above ſix Foot high, and three broad. All the Plain for above two Miles without the Walls, is like a new plow'd Field, where you cannot walk, but muſt ſee Pieces of dead Men's Bones. None are permitted to walk round the Works, but ſuch as have a Licenſe, and a *Janizary* with them.

The *Turks* take a Delight to give an Account of the Strength of the Place, and eſpecially will ſhew you a ſmall Cave or Arch, where the *Venetian* General uſed to ſleep, (as they tell you) to ſecure himſelf from the Bombs. Not above one eight Part of the Houſes that formerly were, are now inhabited, very few being left entire; nor do the *Turks* repair any but thoſe where they dwell; the chief Moſque is well repaired; it was formerly a Church dedicated to St. *Mark*, and ſtands to the Eaſt of the great Piazza, to the South of it are Part of the Walls of old *Candia*, cloſe to which are built up a Row of Houſes, two Stories high, for the *Janizaries*.

The Baſha's Palace is a little below the great Moſque, on the other Side of the Way; oppoſite to it is the great Hall, formerly called *La Sala di Conſiglio*, which is a very ſtately Building, of white Marble, with ſeveral Works in *Baſſo Relievo*; to the South Eaſt of it ſtands the Church of St. *Franciſco*, with an entire Cloiſter, which is now a Moſque. The Street from the Mole to the chief Piazza is in good Repair, being broad, and paved with large even Stones; the Houſes are alſo well inhabited, but that Part towards the Weſt, is a Heap of Ruins, among which live the *Jews*, who have very large Houſes; but ſome of their upper Rooms have no other Shelter from the Weather, but a few Matts made faſt upon Poles. The Beams of the old Houſes are bought up and carried to *Venice*, *Zant*, and other Places; and being made of *Cypreſs* Wood, they ſerve to make Cheſts and Cabinets, many of which have been brought to *England*. The Number of the Inhabitants of the City is not reckoned to be above 10,000, including *Greeks*. There is a continual Garriſon of 2000 *Janizaries*, beſides the Baſha's Guards. Since the taking the Place, they have granted Liberty to all that will come to inhabit there, but all their Encouragement cannot bring the *Candiotes* to dwell there. Formerly the Plain was full of Olive-trees, with moſt beautiful Pleaſure-

Houſes and Gardens. Now nothing but Ruins are to be ſeen.

The City ſtands on a riſing Ground from the Sea, and the Houſes were ſo built with Terraſſes, that moſt from their Tops could have Sight of the Sea. From *Candia* to *Rettimo* is about twelve Hours Riding. The City ſtands on a Point of Land very pleaſantly, having a Port to the Eaſt, which is almoſt choak'd up, ſo as no Galley can get over the Bar, being laden, but Brigantines and ſmaller Veſſels are very ſecure againſt all Winds. Towards the Sea are no Walls, the Rocks there fortifying the Place, ſo that no Enemy can come but by Land. This Place was the firſt the *Turks* made themſelves Maſters of, putting all to the Sword, to ſtrike the greater Terror into the reſt of the Iſland. Since they poſſeſſed it, they have built three new Forts towards the Sea, and a Wall, with a dry Ditch to Landward.

It is now chiefly inhabited by *Turks*, who trade to *Conſtantinople* conſiderably. The Houſes are here entire, according to the *Venetian* Manner of Building. There are ſome *Greeks* that dwell in the City, but they have a ſmall Town about a Quarter of a Mile off, in which are two Churches, where they have the free Exerciſe of their Religion. The Country hereabouts is very pleaſant, full of Olive-trees, and from the Sea-ſide the Land riſes eaſily to the Foot of the Mountains of *Sfacia*, about eight Miles from the City, which from the Sea ſeems to be all a Wood; from which Mountains run ſeveral pleaſant Streams, and one very large River, called *Platonica*, which is continually full, being ſupplied from above a thouſand Fountains, which the Mountains produce.

Theſe Mountains of *Sfacia* are abounding in all Things neceſſary for Life, and Nothing can be more delightſome in the Summer-time. They reach near thirty Miles towards the South-Weſt, and in ſome Places about ten in Breadth, coming down cloſe to the Bay of *Suda*. The Cheeſe which is made here is bought up by the *Venetians* and other Merchants, and tranſported to *France*, *Italy*, *Zant*, *&c.* It is the beſt Cheeſe that is made in any of the Southern Parts, and generally as good as our *Cheſhire* Cheeſes, being made as big; beſides which, they have great Plenty of Honey, Wax, Silk, Wooll, *Cordovan* Leather, and a Sort of Goats-hair little inferior to that of *Angura* in *Aſia*. No Olives, Oranges, or Lemons grow here. There are above an hundred Villages on theſe Mountains, beſides ſeveral Monaſteries. The Inhabitants are a warlike People, and withſtood the *Turks* above twenty Years after *Rettimo* was taken, living as the *Mainiotes* in the *Morea*. There are ſuch difficult Paſſes to them that an Army cannot march. Now at laſt they are brought into Obedience, and by humbling themſelves to the Vizier, he granted them great Privileges to encourage them, leſt they ſhould take Part with the *Venetians*, who have the Iſland of *Suda* ſo near them.

As the Vizier paſs'd by, in his Way from *Canea* to *Candia*, they brought him ſeveral Preſents the Mountains produced, which he was ſo well pleaſed with, that he exempted them from going with him and paying their Attendance on him, only he obliged them to furniſh the Camp with Mutton at a certain Rate. Moſt of his own Proviſion was carried from hence; Sheep at three *Timins* (about a Shilling) a-piece; Butter at a *Timin* the *Oke* (a Groat for two Pound eight Ounces); Cheeſe at the ſame Rate, and at this Price they were obliged to carry it as far as the Camp before *Candia*, where an Officer gave them an Acquittance, which was abated them out of their Tribute. They have a certain Drug, called by the *Venetians Oldain*, much of the Colour of Liquorice in Balls; it is a very great Comforter of the Head, having a pleaſant Smell, being burnt it gives a pleaſant Scent. Moſt of this is bought up by the *Venetians*, and ſent to *Venice*. Here is alſo a Sort of Wood which the *Greeks* call *Plaete Excillo*: it burns like a Torch, and gives a moſt fragrant Smell; much of it was uſed to burn at the Siege. Every Night, at the Vizier's and other great Men's Tents, they had Fires of this Wood, the Wood being cut ſmall, and put into an Iron Grate at the End of a Poll faſtened in the Ground. If a Man be hot in the Plain, in riding two or three Hours up the Hills, he ſhall find ſo great an Alteration in the Air as is incredible.

About fifteen Miles from *Retimo* is a lovely Fountain called *Bognare Baſhe*, ſtanding ſo between two Mountains, that at Two in the Afternoon it is ſhady, continuing ſo all the reſt of the Day. The Water is ſo cold as will cauſe a Dew upon any Fruit that is put into it; and tho' a Man ever ſo hot ſhould drink of this Water, it will do him no Harm. In the Summer-time here are always ſome Perſons of Quality, who bring their Beds, and continue for ſeveral Days together. The *Sfacioti* are a healthy, ſtrong and ſtout People; they pretend to be of a very ancient Stock: Some there are, who derive their Families from before the Coming of our Saviour. I ſaw a Callojero that was one hundred and ten Years of Age; he was very luſty, and could walk very well with a Staff. Part of theſe Hills are under the Juriſdiction of the Biſhop of *Retimo*, and Part under that of *Canea*. From *Retimo* to *Canea* the Road is moſt by the Sea-ſide, paſſing by the Bay of *Suda*, having the Mountains of *Sfacia* on the Left Hand.

Canea is ſeated in a fine Plain, about three Miles from the Bottom of the Bay of *Suda*, and upon the Sea to the North, having a very fair Harbour, which may be called a double Port, the one being round, the other ſtretching away to the Eaſtward, where are two Arſenals. It is ſecure againſt the worſt of Weathers. The Entrance is narrow, and not above eighteen Foot Water; to the Weſt of which the *Turks* lately have built a new Battery with twenty very large Guns; and above it, to the South, is a great Citadel, in which are forty good Guns. To the Eaſt of the Entrance is another great Caſtle, which commands the Port called the *Sabioniera*, with the Arſenal. Round about the Port is a broad Key, which is always crowded with Merchandize, and is little inferior to the Port at *Marſeilles*. The Houſes are all well built, and not much battered. The Walls are in very good Repair, having a dry Ditch about thirty Yards broad, and ſix deep from the Land. On the other Side, the Walls are about thirty Foot high; within them the Earth is raiſed about ten Foot higher than the Walls, there being a Walk between. There is a Mount, which they call the *Marteningo*, where formerly were ten Guns; but now it is of no Uſe. Toward the Land there are four Baſtions; to the South is the great Gate called *La Porta di Retimo*; to the Weſt is a Mace placed on the Wall, to ſhew where a Baſha, at the Taking of the Place, firſt entred the City: Before the Gate is a Half Moon built of Earth, about twenty Foot high; at each End is a ſmall Pyramid of Mortar and Sculls, which are the Sculls of Chriſtians who were ſlain before the Place in the Year 1666.

The *Venetians* then attempting to regain the Place under the Conduct of Marquis *Vila*, a *Savoyard*, 5000 Men were landed at *Culatte*, at the Bottom of the Bay of *Suda*, and were encamped before the City ſeveral Days. The *Turks* ſallied out of the City to the Weſt, ſurpriſing the Chriſtians, and had a very great Victory, purſuing them to the Fort, which was built at the Bottom of the Bay. In this Flight there were above 1500 killed, and ſeveral taken Priſoners; amongſt the latter was one Captain *Scot*, a *Scotſman*, who had his Hand upon the Drawbridge of the City: He was carried afterwards to *Smyrna* in the Gallies, and there redeemed by the *Engliſh* Merchants: But when he came to *Venice*, his Arrears were paid him, and he returned his Ranſom to *Smyrna*, which remains there in Bank till another like Occaſion ſhould preſent itſelf. The City is near three Miles in Circumference, and is much better inhabited than *Candia*, having a Baſha and other Officers, as in *Candia*, only in all Councils the other hath the Precedence.

The Country about is very pleaſant, being all a Plain for above ſix Miles to the South and Weſt, planted with young Olive-trees, ſo that it ſeems to be a Garden. It is well ſupplied both with Fleſh and Fiſh; of the latter there is great Abundance, for beſides the Sea, there is a Lake about ten Miles to the South, which furniſhes them with great Variety of all Sorts. The Trade is much greater here than at *Candia*, it lying ſo convenient for the *Morea*, *Italy*, and other Places. The *French* have a great Trade for Oil, Wool, Wax, Cheeſe, and ſeveral other Commodities, having a Conſul and two Merchants. The *Venetians* have alſo a Conſul, but moſt of their Oil is ſhipped off from *Suda*, to which Place it is brought from *Retimo* and other Places thereabout. All great Ships come to an Anchor at a Place called St. *Todoro*, being two ſmall Iſlets, about five Miles to the Weſt of the Port of *Canea*. There is very good Anchorage, and a ſmall Fort to defend them. On one Iſland, notwithſtanding it ſeems to be all Stone, and is very low, there are ſeveral Fountains of good freſh Water.

No *Greeks* live within the City. They have a new Town built to the South, about half a Mile off, where are two long Streets very commodious, and here they enjoy entire Liberty; their Churches are open, and the Biſhop hath a very pleaſant Houſe, living in good Eſteem. Cloſe to this Town runs a pleaſant River, which is ſeldom dry; there are likewiſe ſeveral pleaſant Gardens well ſtockt with all Sorts of delicious Fruits. The *Turks* have alſo ſome Gardens here, but they muſt retire into the City an Hour before Sun-ſet, Winter and Summer, or elſe muſt remain out all Night, the Gates being then ſhut, and a ſtrict Watch kept about the Walls. The *Turks* of this Place are generally very rich, and incline to Trade, giving all Encouragement to have Merchants come and reſide amongſt them. There was an *Engliſh* Merchant here, one Mr. *Trenchard*, who was recommended to the *French* Conſul to have his Aſſiſtance, but in a little Time he grew weary of the Place.

Here they keep their Oil in great Veſſels called *Tini*, which are ſquare and made of Wood, ſome will hold twenty Tuns. They have a ſpecial Regard to preſerve the Eſteem of their Oil, nor will they force a Merchant to take any longer than it comes clear, not mixing the Bottoms, as in ſome Parts they will, by taking a hollow Cane, and putting it to the Bottom, by blowing through which they raiſe the Foot of the Oil, ſo that thick and thin goes together. Here they ſell the Foot of the Oil at an under Price, and this ſerves to make Sope. Moſt Parts of *Turkey* have an Eſteem for *Canea* Oil above others. Some will have it to be the better for that the Trees are all ſo young; others impute it to their Care in the making, for here they gather all their Olives, whereas in the *Morea*, they thraſh them down with Poles. The Wines are generally eſteemed above all others. The red Muſcadine they call here *Leattico*, it is a richer Wine than Tent at *Cadiz*, and much more pleaſant; I have ſeen it ſold at fifteen Gallons for half a Dollar. White Muſcadine is not ſo good, as that of *Luxuria* in *Ceſſalonia*. Some are of Opinion, that in the War, the true Muſcadine Grape was loſt; on the Mountains, there are ſmaller Sorts of Wines, ſo as a Man may have what Sort he pleaſes.

All Sorts of Proviſions are very plentiful, but in the Summer time the Mutton hath generally a bad Taſte, which proceeds from their Feeding on ſome Herb on the Mountains. Here are Fowls of all Sorts in Abundance, but eſpecially a Bird called *Beccha figgo*, which is almoſt a Lump of Fat; they are valued about four for an Aſper, or eight for a Penny. Turtle-Doves and Quails are very plentiful. Their Beef is ſmall, but very ſweet. Of Fruits there is no Sort but what they have. I never ſaw larger Pears than are brought from the Mountains, being a Sort of Sugar Pear. The Muſk Melons are very good, but their Water Melons are ſingular. Salating there is all the Year of all Sorts; no Place is eſteemed to have larger and better *Endive* and *Carduus* than there are here. I have ſeen Sugar Canes of a great Height, full as good as what are brought from *Grand Cairo*. There are Abundance of Simples which are bought here for *France* and *Italy*.

Some ſay the Reaſon why no venemous Thing will live on this Iſland, is the Quantity of *Dittamo* that grows here. Others ſay it has only been ſince St. *Paul* ſet Foot upon the Iſland. Moſt of the *Candiotes* pretend to have great Knowledge in Simples. The Women are experienced Doctreſſes. One I have Reaſon to ſay was very ſkilful, ſhe having in a little Time wrought a great Cure upon me; for by Accident a Bullet having paſt through my Leg, I applied myſelf to her, and in fifteen Days ſhe cured it. She did not allow me to eat any Fleſh till it was perfectly well. They have ſeveral Antidotes againſt the Plague, but they had not the Effect they pretend to, for ſeveral of the Doctreſſes were ſwept away by that Diſeaſe; but moſt certain it is, that after St. *John* Baptiſt's Day it did here abate, as they always obſerve it to do in moſt of theſe Eaſtern Parts.

There are ſeveral other Places that have had the Names of Cities, which are now Heaps of Ruins; many hundred ſtately Palaces there were, that now have only ſome Walls, and thoſe moſtly fallen down. The *Candiots* keep their Habit, that is, the Women; but the Men are dreſſed *alla Turcheſſa*, eſpecially the better Sort. They are as ignorant of the Antiquity of their Country, as the *Mereotes*, that have been above 200 Years in Slavery. There is no *Latin* Church upon the whole Iſland, as I was inform'd, but what is ſhut up, or converted to the *Turks* Uſe. Before the *Turks* conquered this Iſland, there were above a Million of Souls, whereas now there are not 80,000, of which not above 30,000 *Turks*, on the whole Iſland.

The Iſlets, which the *Venetians* have about the Iſland of *Candia*, are *Carabuſa* to the Weſt End of the Iſland, about ſix Miles from the *Main*, having a very good Port between the Iſlet and the main Land: The Caſtle is very ſtrong, mounting about eighty Guns. In the late War it withſtood ſeveral Aſſaults, but lying ſo far from any conſiderable City, the *Turks* did not ſo much Mind it as they did *Suda*. Here is a Garriſon of *Venetian* Soldiers, and a Proveditore, who is under the Inquiſitore at *Suda*. In Time of Peace with the *Turks*, they have a continual Trade and very good Correſpondence with them, having all Sorts of Proviſions at very reaſonable Rates.

Spina Longa lies about forty Miles to the Eaſt of the City of *Candia*, at the Entrance of a great Bay. The Iſlet is not above a Mile and a half about; it has a very good Fortification round it, beſides it is ſteep all round, ſo as an Enemy cannot well Land. It is not above a Mile from a Point of Land, where the *Turks* raiſed a Battery, and continued for a Week to batter the Caſtle, but to little Purpoſe, for moſt of their Dwellings are in Caves under Ground. Here and at *Carabuſa* there is no Water but what is brought them by Shipping, or what they ſave in great Ciſterns and Jarrs. Here is alſo a Proveditore, and a Garriſon of *Venetian* Soldiers.

Suda lies in a great Bay, about thirty Miles from *Retimo* Weſt, twelve Miles from *Canea*, and nine from the Bottom of the Bay South-Eaſt, having the Land to the South about a Mile, on the North North-weſt not above half a Mile diſtant. This Iſland is about two Miles in Circumference, not above fifty Foot above Water at the higheſt Part, being all rocky and ſteep. To the South-weſt lies a long Rock about ten Foot above Water, and not above twenty from the Iſland; againſt it is the Entrance up to the Caſtle, very ſteep and winding, having two Gates and a ſtrong Counterſcarp, before you paſs into the main Caſtle. The Wall about the Iſland is low but very thick.

To the Weſt is a Mount, called *Il Marteningo*, about thirty Foot high, and three hundred in Circumference, very ſtrongly built with ſmall Stone and Mortar, which has above 1000 Shot in it. They are ſo faſt in, that it would endanger its falling, if they ſhould be pulled out. The Fortifications of the Caſtle are quite round the Iſlet, wherein, and upon the *Marteningo*, are about 120 Guns planted. The *Turks* have ſeveral Times attempted to take this Place, and to that Purpoſe, in the Year 1659, they built ſix Caſtles, three on each Side of the Bay, from whence they continued to batter it, and ſecured the Harbour ſo as no Ship or Gally could come to bring them Succour, but what in the Night ſmall Veſſels would adventure to get in.

In the Year 1665, the Captain Baſha attempted to reduce it; he came with forty five Gallies, but durſt not adventure to land any Men. He cauſed the Gallies to batter that Part of it which is towards the Sea, while on the other Side they continually fired from the ſix Forts. The *Venetian* Fleet was ſo diſperſed, that they could not come to relieve them. The Beſieged were much ſtraitned for Proviſions, but moſt for Want of Water; for above a Month they had but a Pint a Day, and were ſo diſheartned, that they were near inclining to ſurrender the Place. But it pleaſed God to ſhew them his Goodneſs in a ſignal Manner, by a Shot from the Enemy, which ſtruck a Piece of Rock aſunder at the Bottom, a little above the Sea, out of which ſprang a Water which ſufficed them to drink. I have ſeen the Fountain, and drank of the Water, though it is not very pleaſant. Several Officers that were in the Iſland avowed this for a Truth, it being noted in the *Venetian* Hiſtory of *Suda.* The Winds coming about Northerly, the *Venetian* Fleet came from *Zante*, forcing the *Turkiſh* Gallies to retreat. The Captain Baſha was killed with a great Shot, upon which the Army broke up and retired to *Canea.*

The Vizier, in his March from *Canea* to *Candia*, paſſed by here, and with Admiration beheld the Place, but would not attempt any Thing at that Time, ſaying, it was not worth the Men which had been already loſt againſt it. The Port is very commodious, being one of the largeſt in all theſe Seas, and there is very good Anchorhold all over the Bay, at the Bottom of which are Saltpans. The *Turks* have here a ſmall Tower, where are two or three Servants of the Cuſtomer of *Canea*, to ſee that no Goods are carried away which have not paid Cuſtom at the City. In Time of Peace they have all Proviſions from *Canea* at the Market Price, and there is a good Correſpondence betwixt the Inquiſitore of *Suda* and the Baſha, who often ſend Letters to one another. The Governor of *Suda* hath the Title of *Inquiſitore Generale delle Iſole di Levante*; *Cerigo* and *Tine* being alſo under his Government, although there be Proveditors to both. The *Venetians* have no Benefit from theſe Iſlands, but are at a continual Charge to maintain the Garriſons in each. The Bottom of the Bay they call *Cullatte.*

23. In collecting the Materials for this Section, we have met with ſome more diſtinct and connected Accounts of the Military and Naval Forces of the *Turks*; which, as they come in properly enough at the Cloſe of this Deſcription of their Dominions, ſhall be here inſerted; the rather, becauſe they will enable the Reader to diſcern what Probability there is of thoſe Events happening, which were mentioned in the laſt Section. It is with Bodies Politick, as with the natural Bodies; they get over even violent Diſeaſes when attacked in their Youth; but when Infirmities grow upon them in their old Age, they ſeldom, if ever, eſcape. The moſt that can be hoped for in ſuch a Caſe, is a gentle and gradual Decay; but even this can hardly be expected in ſome Conſtitutions. That of the *Turks* has neither Food nor Phyſick, but continual Wars. If theſe are ſucceſsful, they thrive; if not, their Diſtempers increaſe, and their political Diſeaſes grow more and more dangerous. It is not with them as with States of another Texture, where the Laws themſelves will, for a long Time, maintain the Form of the Government by the Reſpect the People have for them. In theſe Countries, the Laws are derived from the Will of the Grand Signior, and conſequently they are good or bad, wiſe or otherwiſe, according to the Temper of the Prince. Whenever, therefore, it happens, and in the Decline of every Government, it generally happens, that a Race of weak and degenerate Princes ſucceed to the Empire; this alone muſt bring on its final Ruin, which might, perhaps, have been diverted by the Intervention of a great Genius. It would be no difficult Thing to bring many Inſtances in Support of this Doctrine, both from ancient and modern Hiſtory; but that it is high Time to leave our Reflections, and come to Matters of Fact, which, we dare promiſe the Reader, are important enough to deſerve, and ſufficiently curious and entertaining to command his Attention.

Though the greater Part of the *Turkiſh* Infantry carries the Name of *Janizaries*; yet it is certain, in all this great Empire, there are not above twenty-five thouſand who are true *Janizaries* or *Ianizaries* of the Porte. This Soldiery was once compoſed only of Tributary Children, inſtructed in the *Turkiſh* Religion; but at preſent this is not obſerved, and People are not moleſted on this Account, ſince the Officers take Money of the *Turks* themſelves to be entered in this Body. Formerly the *Janizaries* were not permitted to marry, the *Turks* being perſuaded, that the Cares of a Family render Soldiers leſs fit for the Exerciſe of Arms. Yet now-a-days, they who will marry, with the Conſent of their Chiefs, who alſo at the ſame Time give them a Sum of Money. The principal Reaſon, which keeps the *Janizaries* from marrying, is, that Batchelors only arrive at Offices, the moſt deſirable of which are to be Chiefs in their Chambers; for this Soldiery are all lodged in a large Quarter, divided into one hundred and ſixty two Chambers. Every Chamber has a Chief, who commands in it; but out of it he only performs the Office of Lieutenant of the Company, and receives Orders from the Captain. Every Chamber has its own Enſign-bearer, its Expenditor, its Cook, and its Water-carrier. Above the Captains there is only the Lieutenant-General of the *Janizaries*, who is ſubject to the Aga.

Beſides the common Pay, the Emperor gives the *Janizaries* every Year a compleat Suit of Cloth of *Salonica*, and every Day allows them a Quantity of Rice, Meat, and Bread. The Chamber lodges them for One half *per Cent.* upon the Pay they receive in Time of Peace, and ſeven *per Cent.* in Time of War. This Pay is but from two to twelve Aſpers a Day, and is never raiſed but by little and little, in Proportion to their Service. When they are diſabled they have an Allowance for Life. The Cap peculiar to the *Janizaries* is made like the Sleeve of a Coat, one End is put upon their Head, and the other hangs down upon their Shoulders; to this Cap before is faſtened a Sort of Spike half a Foot long, of Silver, gilded and adorned with ſome falſe Stones. When the *Janizaries* march into the Field, the Sultan furniſhes them with Horſes to carry their Baggage, and Camels to carry their Tents, to wit, one Horſe for ten Soldiers, and one Camel for twelve. At the Acceſſion of every Sultan, their Pay is augmented at leaſt one Aſper a Day.

The Chambers inherit the Effects of thoſe Members who die without Children, and the reſt, though they have Children, always leave their Chamber a Legacy. The *Solaes* and *Peyes* alone among the *Janizaries* are the Emperor's Guard; the reſt of the Corps never go to the *Seraglio*, but to attend their Officers upon Divan Days, and to prevent Diſorders that might happen in the Court; they are generally placed Centinel at the Gates and the Croſs-ways of the Town, to keep Watch there. They are feared every where, and reſpected, tho' they carry only a Cane in their Hand, for Arms are not delivered to them but when they take the Field. The greater Part of the *Janizaries* do not want for Education, being taken from the Body of the *Azamoglans*, which either through Impatience, or in ſome other Account, they frequently forſake. Thoſe who are to be admitted among the *Janizaries*, paſs along in Review before the Officer, and every one takes hold on the Bottom of his Companion's Veſt. Their Names are entred in the Grand Signior's Regiſtry, after which they all run up to the Maſter of their Chamber, who, to make them know they are under his Juriſdiction, gives them every one a Box on the Ear as they paſs by. At their Inrollment they take two Oaths; the firſt is to ſerve the Grand Signior faithfully; the ſecond, that they will not ſubmit to the Will of their Comrades in Matters relating to the Body.

There is no Order of Men in *Turkey* ſo united as that of the *Janizaries*; it is this ſtrict Union which preſerves their Authority, and gives them the Courage ſometimes to depoſe the Sultan. Though there are but twelve or thirteen thouſand in *Conſtantinople*, they are aſſured that their Brethren, what Part ſoever of the Empire they are in, will not fail to approve their Conduct. If they think they have Occaſion to complain, their Diſcontent begins to ſhew itſelf in the Court of the Divan, at the Time of the diſtributing the Diſhes of Rice to them, prepared in the Grand Signior's Kitchen: For they eat it quietly, if they are contented, and on the contrary, they throw the Diſhes on the Ground, and turn them topſy turvy, if they are out of Humour at the Miniſtry. There is no Inſolence they ſcruple to utter at ſuch a Time againſt the principal Miniſters, being well perſuaded they ſhall obtain Satisfaction; for this Reaſon the moſt favourable Opportunity is taken early to prevent their Riſing, eſpecially at the Time when they give them ſeveral Days Pay together.

The Mutinies of the *Janizaries* are much to be dreaded: For how often have they in an Inſtant changed the Face of the Empire? The fierceſt Sultans, and the moſt ſkilful Miniſters, have often found how dangerous it was to keep on Foot, in Time of Peace, a Militia who ſo well underſtand their own Intereſts. They depoſed *Bajazet* II. in 1512; and promoted the Death of *Amurat* III. in 1595. They threatned *Mahomet* III. with Dethronement. *Oſman* II. who had ſworn to deſtroy them, having imprudently diſcloſed his Deſign, was diſgracefully treated by them, for they made him walk on Foot to the Caſtle of the ſeven Towers, where he was ſtrangled in 1622. *Muſtapha* I. whom this impudent Soldiery put in *Oſman*'s Room, was depoſed two Months after, by the ſame Hands that advanced him. They alſo put to Death Sultan *Ibrahim* in 1649, after they had dragged him ignominiouſly to the ſeven Towers. His Son *Mahomet* IV. was not ſo unhappy indeed, but they depos'd him after the laſt Siege of *Vienna*, which miſcarried, yet only by the Fault of *Cara Muſtapha* the prime Vizier. In this Sultan's Stead was preferred his Brother *Solyman* III. a Prince of no Merit, who was alſo depoſed in his Turn ſometime afterwards, as others have alſo been.

With Reſpect to the Sultaneſs Mother, the *Viziers*, the *Caimacan*, the firſt Eunuchs of the *Seraglio*, the Grand Treaſurer, and their *Aga* himſelf, the *Janizaries* value them not, and demand their Heads upon the leaſt Uneaſineſs. All the World knows how they uſed, at the Beginning of this Century, the *Mufti Feſullah Effendi*, who had been Preceptor of Sultan *Muſtapha*. This Prince who loved his Tutor blindly, was not able to prevent his being drawn upon a Hurdle to *Adrianople*, and thrown into the River. The only Expedient which could ever be deviſed to repreſs the Inſolence of theſe Soldiers, was to encourage the *Spahi*'s againſt them, and thereby make them jealous one of another, but they agree together too well upon certain Occaſions. It ſignifies nothing to change their Quarters, for as the Abſent always ſtand to what their Fellows have done, it is impoſſible to avoid their Fury, when they have once taken it into their Head that they have ſuffered ſome great Injuſtice. The Hiſtory of the *Turks* can furniſh few Examples of their having been appeaſed, without conſiderable Largeſſes, or without its coſting the firſt Officers of the Empire their Lives.

They have never dar'd to confiſcate the Treaſure of the *Janizaries*, nor to ſhare the Goods their Officers poſſeſs in Property, in ſeveral Parts of *Aſia*, as at *Cataya*, at *Angora*, at *Caraiſſar*, and in other Places. When the General dies, the Treaſurer inherits his Goods; he is the only Officer whoſe Effects are not ſeiz'd to the Emperor's Profit. This General has the Privilege of preſenting himſelf before the Sultan with his Arms at Liberty, whereas the Prime *Vizier*, and the other great Men of the Port, never appear in his Preſence, but with their Arms acroſs their Breaſt, which is rather a ſervile than a reſpectful Poſture.

After the *Aga*, the Principal Officers of the *Janizaries* are the *Aga*'s Lieutenant, the Grand Provoſt, the Captain of the Serjeants, who march by the Emperor's Side upon Days of Ceremony, the Captain of his Foot Archers, and the Commander of his Pages, on Foot; theſe laſt, as well as the Archers, march by the Grand Signior's Perſon, when he walks through the City. They are but threeſcore, and wear Caps of beaten Gold, embelliſh'd before with Milk-white Feathers. As for the Foot Archers, or Archers of the Guard, they are in Number three or four hundred, and in a Day of Battle, they are about the Sultan, arm'd only with Bows and Arrows, that they may not frighten the Grand Signior's Horſe. Their Habit is a Coat of Cloth, tucked up at the Corners as high as their Waiſt, ſo as to ſhew their Skirts; their Cap is Cloth, and ends in a Point, and is adorn'd with Feathers, in Faſhion of a Plume. Theſe Archers ſhoot with their left Hand, as well as with the right, which they are taught, that ſo they may never turn their Back upon the Sultan: When he paſſes over Rivers, they ſwim by his Horſe, and ſound the Fordings with all the Diligence imaginable: As a Reward, the firſt Time the Sultan paſſes the River, he cauſes a Crown Piece to be given to every one who was up to the Knee in Water, and if they were up to the Middle, they have two Crowns, and three if they were above the Waiſt. Out of the Body of the *Janizaries* are taken the Gunners, and thoſe who take Care of the Arms.

The Gunners are about twelve hundred, and receive their Orders from the Grand Maſter of the Artillery; they live at *Topana*, in Apartments divided into fifty two Chambers; but it is very happy that they are not as dextrous as the Chriſtians in the caſting and managing Artillery. They who look to the Arms are ſix hundred in Number, divided into ſixty Chambers; they lodge in Apartments near *Sancta Sophia*. They not only take Care of the ancient Arms which are in the Arſenal, but of thoſe of the *Janizaries* and *Spahi's*, which they deliver out to them in good Order, when they are going into the Field.

Beſides the *Janizaries* now mentioned, all the Provinces of this vaſt Empire are fill'd at preſent with Foot Soldiers, who bear the Name of *Janizaries*; but theſe *Janizaries* of the ſecond Order, are not inrolled in the Body of *Janizaries* of the Port; and have nothing of the ancient Diſcipline of the *Turks*. All ill Perſons who would ſkreen themſelves from the ordinary Courts of Juſtice, and honeſt Perſons alſo who are willing to cover themſelves from the Inſults of others; they who would eſcape the Taxes, and be excuſed from publick Offices, purchaſe of the Colonels of the *Janizaries* who are in the Towns of the Province, the Title of *Janizaries*. They are ſo far from receiving Pay, that they give ſeveral Aſpers a Day to theſe Officers to enjoy thoſe Privileges; ſometimes they paſs for Invalids, or Penſioners for Life, and live quietly at Home, without being obliged to go into the Army. Is it ſurpriſing after this, that the *Turkiſh* Forces are ſo much diminiſhed? They never have had ſo many Soldiers, nor ſuch ſmall Armies. The Officers who are obliged to take the Field, paſs their own Domeſticks for Soldiers, and put the Pay of thoſe who ought to bear Arms in the Prince's Service into their own Pockets. The Corruption which is introduced into this great Empire, ſeems to threaten it with ſome ſtrange Revolution.

Neither muſt we confound with the *Janizaries*, another Sort of Infantry, call'd *Azapes* and *Arcangi's*. The *Azapes* are the old *Muſſulman*-Bands, more ancient than the *Janizaries* themſelves, but very much deſpiſed. They ſerve for Pioneers, and ſometimes are meerly a Bridge to the Horſe in marſhy Grounds, and ſo many Faſcines to fill up the Ditches of a Place beſieged. The *Arcangi*'s have no more Pay than the *Azapes*, but are appointed only to ravage the Frontiers of the Enemy. Yet in full Peace, (for the War is not eſteemed to be declared, unleſs the Artillery be drawn into the Field) they are perpetually making Incurſions and pillaging their Neighbours. If any one among theſe Troops happens to become a good Soldier, after ſome vigorous Action, he is entered in the Body of *Janizaries*. This is the State of the *Turkiſh* Infantry, nor is that of their Cavalry at preſent one Tittle better; it is compoſed of two Sorts, known by the Name of *Spahi's*, but they muſt be carefully diſtinguiſhed.

The one are upon the Emperor's Pay, and the other not. The *Spahi's* in Pay are divided into ſeveral Standards, the principal of which are the Yellow and the Red: Thoſe who have no Pay are of two Sorts, the *Zaims* and the *Timariots*. The Spahi's in Pay are taken from among the *Ichoglans* and the *Azamoglans*, who have been bred up in the Grand Signior's Seraglio's. Their loweſt Pay is twelve Aſpers a Day, and the higheſt a hundred. Thoſe who come from *Ichoglans* generally begin with twenty or thirty, which are increaſed according to their Merit or the Intereſt of their Friends. In Time of War all the Spahi's in Pay, who bring in Heads of the Enemy, are advanced two Aſpers a Day; and they who firſt acquaint the Sultan with the Death of any of their Comrades, are raiſed as much. The Spahi's are paid in the Hall, and in the Preſence of the Grand Vizier or his Chiaia, in order to avoid all Occaſion of Complaint.

Though the Spahi's are born of unknown Parentage, they may yet be looked on as the Nobility of the Country; their Education makes them more accompliſhed than the other *Turks*, and in every Place good Manners ought to conſtitute a real and true Nobility. Thoſe of the Red Standard were heretofore only Servitors to the Yellow; but now they are all equal, and the Red have even overtopt under *Mahomet* III. who in a Battle in which the Spahi's of the Yellow gave Ground and fled, reſtored the Fight by the Valour of the Red. The Arms of both are a Lance and a Scymiter, and they make Uſe of a Dart, which they manage with wonderful Dexterity, and the Dart has a Steel Point at one End, and is about two Foot and a half long. They alſo carry a Sword, but it is faſten'd to the Saddle, and hangs down upon the Horſes Thigh, ſo as not to hinder them in diſcharging their Piſtol and Carbine. Some likewiſe uſe Bows and Arrows, eſpecially the Spahi's of *Anatolia*; for thoſe of *Europe* or *Romelia* rather chuſe the Arms in Uſe with us. Theſe Troops, however, fight without Order and in a Crowd, inſtead of throwing themſelves into Squadrons, and rallying regularly.

Mahomet Kuperli the Grand Vizier, who was a great General, was ſo far from bringing them to Diſcipline, that he affected to humble them and keep them ignorant, for Fear of increaſing their Inſolence, ſince which Time they have extremely loſt their ancient Reputation. They baſtinade them now on the Soles of the Feet, leſt, if they ſcourged them, they ſhould be diſabled from mounting their Horſe; and for a contrary Reaſon the *Janizaries* are ſcourged, becauſe they are obliged to uſe their Feet in marching. When the Grand Signior goes to command his Army in Perſon, he cauſes large Sums to be divided among the Spahi's. One Spahi and a Janizary are placed Centries at each Cord of his Tent, and the ſame at the chief Vizier's. The other Standards of the Spahi's are the White, the White and Red, the White and Yellow, and the Green. The moſt famous Spahi's are thoſe called *Mutafaraca*, who receive forty Aſpers a Day. The Emperor is their Colonel; their Duty is to attend upon him: They are about five hundred.

As to the other Cavalry, called *Zaims* and *Tamariots*, they are Perſons to whom the Grand Signior gives certain Commands, term'd *Timar*, for Life, on Condition they maintain ſuch a Number of Horſe for his Service. The firſt Sultans, being Maſters of the Fiefs of the Empire, erected Baronies or Commands out of them, to reward any extraordinary Services, and principally for raiſing and ſubſiſting a Body of Troops without iſſuing Money. But it was *Solyman* II. who eſtabliſhed the Order and Diſcipline of theſe Baronies, and ſettled by his Decrees the Number of Men each one ſhould be obliged to find. This Body has been not only very powerful, but very celebrated alſo through the whole Empire. But Avarice, the common Vice of the Eaſt, has made them decline ſeveral Years ago. The Viceroys and Governors of Provinces prevail ſo far by their Intrigues at Court, that even the Commands which lie out of their Government are given to their Domeſticks, or to them who offer the moſt Money. The *Zaims* and the *Timariots* differ little more than in their Income. The *Zaims* have the moſt conſiderable Commands, and their Revenues make from 20,000 to 818,819 Aſpers. If they produce even an Aſper above this, it becomes the Property of ſome Baſha. Alſo when a Commander dies, his Command is divided, ſuppoſing the Income of it has been augmented under the Deceaſed, as it commonly happens to be, for they are generally improved rather than leſſened.

The *Zaims* are obliged to maintain at leaſt four Horſe; which is after the Rate of one Man for 5000 Aſpers of Rent. There are two Sorts of *Tamariots*, the one receive their Proviſions from the Port, the other from the Viceroy of the Place; but their Equipages are leſs than thoſe of the *Zaims*, and their Tents are ſmaller and proportioned to their Revenue. They who receive their Patents from the Court, have from 5 or 6000 to 19,999 Aſpers; if they ſhould receive one Aſper more, they would paſs into the Rank of *Zaims*. They who have their Patents from the Viceroys, have an Income from 3000 Aſpers to ſix thouſand. Every *Timariot* is bound to provide one Horſeman for every 3000 Aſpers his Income produces. The *Zaims* and *Timariots* are obliged to march in Perſon to the Army on the firſt Orders, and nothing can excuſe them. The Indiſpoſed are carried in Litters, and their Children in Baſkets and Cradles. The *Timariots* muſt furniſh Baſkets to their Troopers, to carry Earth for filling up Ditches and Trenches. Theſe are better diſciplined than thoſe who are properly called the *Spahi's*, though the *Spahi's* are more perſonable and luſty; and whereas the laſt never engage but in a Crowd at the Head of the ancient Cavalry, the *Zaims* and *Timariots* are divided into Regiments, commanded by Colonels under the Baſha's. The Baſha of *Alleppo* is Colonel General of this Body of Horſe when he is in the Army, becauſe being Seraſkier of the Army by his Place, it belongs to him to command in Chief during the Abſence of the Grand Vizier.

It is not ſtrange that the *Turks* are ſo weak at Sea, becauſe they want good Mariners, ſkilful Pilots, and experienced Officers. The Pilots of the Grand Signior ſcarcely know how to uſe the Compaſs, and thoſe of the Saicks, which are their Merchant-ſhips, certainly underſtand Nothing of it. They ſteer by their Knowledge of the Coaſts, which is very erroneous, and they generally truſt themſelves in long Voyages, as to *Syria* and *Egypt*, to *Greeks* who have run the Courſe with *Chriſtian* Privateers, and have got the Track of the Countries of *Aſia* and *Africa* by Rote. However, if the *Turks* would apply themſelves to Navigation, they would eaſily become Maſters of the *Mediterranean*, and chaſe away the *Corſairs* who do ſo much Miſchief to their Traffick. Without reckoning the Supplies they might draw from *Greece*, or the Iſles of the *Archipelago*, *Egypt*, and the Coaſt of *Africa*, the *Black Sea* alone would furniſh them with more Wood and Rigging than are needful for even a very formidable Navy. At preſent the Maritime Forces of this great Empire are reduced to twenty eight or thirty Men of War, and they arm not above fifty Gallies.

The *Turks* had much more powerful Fleets in the Time of *Mahomet* II. of *Selimus* and *Solyman* II. but they never made any great Expeditions. Since the War of *Candia*, they have mightily neglected the Sea, and perhaps would have done ſo much more, if *Mizomorto* the Captain-Baſha had not in our Days reſtored and improved their Navy. The Advantage which aroſe by the Sea to the Iſlands of *Spalmadori*, under the *Venetians*, made him ſet a wonderful Value upon the Iſland of *Scio*, and gave the *Mahometans* freſh Spirits. He was a Man of extraordinary Capacity for the Sea, and tried all Methods to engage Chriſtian Officers in the Grand Signior's Service. The Sultan may now have ſix or ſeven Renegado Captains, who are well experienced; but the Seamen know nothing of the Tackle, and the Gunners are miſerable to the laſt Degree.

The Succeſſor of *Mizomorto* was but little eſteemed. *Adram* a Baſha, who was named the Admiral upon the Death of the other, was able to have brought the Condition of the *Turkiſh* Navy to Perfection, if ſome, who envied him, had not got him ſtrangled a little after his Promotion. He was known among the *Turks* by the Name of the Baſha of *Rhodes*, and among the Chriſtians by that of the Butcher's Son of *Marſeilles*. He was taken very young in a Ship belonging to that City, and was ſo unhappy as to turn *Mahometan*. He had the Character among the *Turks* of a very upright Man, and very diſintereſted. It is ſaid, that as he was going the Round one Day to execute Juſtice at *Scio*, he aſked to whom three or four She-Aſhes belonged, which were loaded with weighty Stones, and were tied to the Door of a certain Houſe; and underſtanding their Maſters were hard-by at Breakfaſt, he paſſed on; but at his Return, being diſturbed to find the poor Creatures were ſtill in the ſame Condition, and that no Care had been taken to feed them, he ſent for their Owners, and told them, it was but juſt that the Aſſes ſhould eat in their Turn. The Peaſants readily aſſented; but were ſurprized, when he order'd each to bear one of the Stones upon his Back all the Time the Aſſes were eating. The ſame Story is alſo told concerning Sultan *Morat*.

The Poſt of Captain-Baſha is one of the nobleſt in the Empire. He is great Admiral and General of the Gallies; his Power is abſolute when he is out of the *Dardanelles*, ſo that he can ſtrangle the Viceroys and Governors who are on board, without waiting for the Sultan's Order. The Grand Vizier is the only Miniſter who is above him: It is the ſecond Poſt in the Empire, and he is accountable to the Grand Signior alone. Not only the Sea-Officers, but all the Governors of the Maritime Provinces likewiſe receive Orders from him. At *Conſtantinople* there are not above twenty eight or thirty Men of War. The Gallies are diſtinguiſhed into two Claſſes, namely, thoſe of *Conſtantinople* and thoſe of the *Archipelago*; thoſe of *Conſtantinople* are at Sea only in the Summer. At the Cloſe of the Campaign they are diſarmed, to be laid up in the Arſenal of *Caſſum Baſſa*; the greater Part of the Beys or Captains are Renegades. Beſides the Body of the Galley, Artillery, and Biſket, the Emperor alſo allows them Pay, and the reſt of their Equipage, which conſiſts of two hundred Oars, and a Boat to go on Shore.

If the Captains are rich enough to ſubſiſt their Slaves who row, they make a conſiderable Profit, for they are allowed twelve thouſand Livres for Rowers, and make an Advantage alſo of the Journeys in which they employ their Slaves by Land during the other Part of the Year. When there are not Rowers enough, they preſs the Slaves of private Men at *Conſtantinople*; but very little Service is done by theſe poor Wretches, who have no Experience, and periſh moſt of them at Sea, as the Service of the Sea requires much more Practice than that of the Land. To reinforce the Soldiers of the Gallies, the *Turks* add ſome of the Janizaries. The Gallies of the *Archipelago* are obliged to be in a Readineſs to put to Sea at all Times. The Captains are paid by Aſſignments upon the Iſlands, and are bound to find their own Slaves, and pay them, for the Grand Signior allows them only the Veſſel, Artillery, and Rigging.

They avoid an Engagement all they can, in order to preſerve their Slaves; and moſt of them have neither the Number of Gallies they ought to maintain, nor their Equipage compleat, becauſe the Captain-Baſha for a Sum of Money (which the others know proper Ways enough to hand to him) often winks at it, conſequently the Military Diſcipline is very indifferently obſerved. The Beys of *Rhodes* and *Scio* ought to provide ſeven Gallies for each Iſland; he of *Cyprus* ſix; thoſe of *Mytelene*, *Negropont*, *Salonica*, and *Caval* one a-piece. *Andros* and *Syra* only one, and *Naxos* and *Paros* the like. The Captain-Baſha ſails round the *Archipelago* in the Summer, to raiſe the Capitation Tax, and learn the State of Affairs which have happened. He commonly holds his Days of Audit in a Port of *Paros*, called *Drio*, which is the Center, as it were, of the *Archipelago*. The Officers of the Iſlands repair thither to make their Preſents to him, and pay in the Sums at which each Iſland is taxed. Here alſo the Captain-Baſha finally judges all Matters, as well Civil as Criminal.

The only Danger that can now be apprehended from the *Turks*, muſt ariſe from the Wickedneſs of *Chriſtian* Renegadoes, more eſpecially Men of deſperate Fortunes, who have had long Experience, and arrived at conſiderable Dignities either in Military or Naval Service; for theſe Men may, by repeated Memorials, awaken the *Turkiſh* Miniſters to a true Senſe of their Condition, and may alſo propoſe amending their Diſcipline, by introducing that of the *Germans*, and ſo the laſt Evil would be worſe than the firſt, ſince *Turkiſh* Infantry, thus diſciplined, would be infinitely more terrible than the *Janizaries* have ever been. That this is not altogether a groundleſs or idle Suſpicion, appears from two Inſtances in our own Time, *viz.* the Port's ſending an Aga into *Holland* to treat with Mr. *Langallerie*, a *Frenchman*, who quitting the Service of his own Prince, was raiſed in that of the Allies to that of a Lieutenant General; but growing diſcontented, as theſe Sort of People generally do, after the Peace was concluded, propoſed tranſporting a Colony into the *Morea*, and reviving the *Ottoman* Naval Power in the *Archipelago*. His Schemes were received, a Perſon ſent to treat with him in *Holland*, and conſiderable Sums of Money paid him; but ſome of his Practices requiring his Preſence in *Germany*, he went thither, was ſeized and impriſoned, and continued in that Situation, till in a deſperate Fit of Madneſs he put an End to his own Life.

The recent Example of Count *Bonneval* is another of the ſame Kind; he was a Man of one of the beſt Families in *France*, but profligate in his Morals, and without any Principles whatever. He too quitted the Service of *France* to enter into the Troops of the Allies, where he obtained very great Preferment, and if any Thing could have ſatisfied his Ambition, might have had it; but having conceived ſome Prejudice againſt his Patron Prince *Eugene*, he behaved in ſuch a Manner as forced the Imperial Court to proceed againſt him with Severity, which ſo exaſperated his haughty Spirit, that he retired to *Turkey*, where having ſome Differences with the *French* Ambaſſador, who refuſed to take him under his Protection, and being claimed as a Subject of his Imperial Majeſty, which by the Treaty of Peace then ſubſiſting would have obliged the *Turks* to have given him up, he found himſelf under the dreadful Neceſſity of abandoning the Chriſtian Faith to ſave himſelf from being thus delivered.

Theſe Circumſtances are not taken from the fabulous Hiſtory of his Adventures, but from his own Letters, and therefore the Reader may depend upon them. This Man might have proved as uſeful to the *Turks* as dangerous to the *Chriſtians*. He had ſerved againſt them in the laſt War in *Hungary*, was perfectly acquainted with the Errors in their Diſcipline, and without Doubt would have ſet them right, as appears from the Memorials that he preſented from Time to Time, and which muſt be allowed to be very judicious in their Kind; but he was never much eſteemed or greatly truſted by the Infidels; and to ſay the Truth, as Things ſtand at preſent in that Empire, it is very improbable that ſuch a Man ſhould ſucceed, for many Reaſons, out of which I will mention a few.

The Nation in general are ſtrongly wedded to their own Cuſtoms, and have an inſuperable Contempt for thoſe of other Nations. The Diſcipline of the *Janizaries* is now corrupted to ſuch a Degree, that there is nothing they dread ſo much as a Reformation; they no longer conſider their Kind of Life as a Military Profeſſion, in which Preferment is to be derived from Merit, but as a Trade of which they are inclined to make the moſt they can, and therefore deteſt all Thoughts of being put out of the Way in which they now are, and would certainly mutiny, if a new and ſtrict Diſcipline was inſiſted upon. The *Turkiſh* Miniſters are naturally ſuſpicious of Renegadoes, foreſeeing that if they ſhould riſe to conſiderable Employments, it muſt be at their Expence, the Thoughts of which they cannot bear; and therefore though they cannot refuſe ſuch People Protection and Countenance, yet they always ſtudy to depreſs and keep them under; but we know not what Time, and the Light of Experience may produce, and therefore we ought to be upon our Guard againſt all Accidents.

Beſides in a Country ſo ſubject to Revolutions, Nobody can pretend to decide about what may happen. A new Emperor may ariſe of a martial and enterpriſing Genius, and may take the Reins of Government into his own Hands, and pay very little Deference to his Miniſters. Such a Prince, from the Genius of the *Turkiſh* Conſtitution, would very ſoon become the Darling of his People, more eſpecially if Succeſs ſhould attend any of his Undertakings; and in that Caſe he might very poſſibly have Recourſe to Renegades, as Perſons the moſt capable of ſerving him, which if they were able to do, he would not fail to raiſe them in Spite of all Oppoſition; and this once accompliſhed, the Effects that muſt attend it would become terrible to *Chriſtendom*; for conſidering that general Depravity of Manners, and that dangerous Spirit of Irreligion, which prevails over all *Europe*, there is nothing more likely than that ſuch a Turn as this would draw all the turbulent and reſtleſs Spirits in this Part of the World to ſeek their Fortunes under the *Turks*, and then perhaps it would be too late to think of any Remedy for ſuch an Evil.

But if an oppoſite Spirit could be raiſed in Time, if Chriſtian Princes could be prevailed on to lay aſide their inteſtine Jealouſies and Diſputes, and think of augmenting their Subjects, and increaſing their Dominions, at the Expence of their common Enemy; we have already ſhewn, that this might be very practicable. We will conclude this Section with obſerving, that how little ſoever we hear of it, Things on this Side are really at a Criſis, and in the Space of a very few Years we ſhall ſee them take either one Turn or the other; that is to ſay, either the Chriſtian Princes, more eſpecially the two *Imperial* Powers of *Germany* and *Ruſſia*, the King of *Poland*, and the State of *Venice*, will think of recovering what has been torn from them by the *Ottomans*; or after ſome ſudden and great Revolution among the *Turks*, the Face of Affairs will change, and they will reſume their Deſigns againſt the *Chriſtians* too, which they are always encouraged by that Power, which, as it ſeems to have adapted the Maxims of their Policy, has for many Years acted as if it was the natural and unalterable Ally of the Infidels, and in that Light as well as others the common Enemy of *Chriſtendom*.

SECTION IV.

A Journey from *Aleppo* to *Jeruſalem*, containing a curious and accurate Deſcription of the *Holy Land* and *City*, interſperſed throughout with great Variety as well of Philological, Phyſical, and Philoſophical; as Hiſtorical and Critical Remarks.

By HENRY MAUNDRELL, M. A. late Fellow of *Exeter College*, and Chaplain to the Factory at *Aleppo*.

1. *An Introductory Account of the Author and his Performance, in which is ſhewn the Nature, Deſign,*
and Uſes of this Section. 2. *The Author ſets out in Company with fourteen* Engliſh *Gentlemen from*
Aleppo; *the Manner of their Travelling, and the Nature of their Accommodations.* 3. *They are ſur-*
prized in their Journey by a Storm, and obliged to take Shelter among the Tombs of Turkiſh *Saints.*
4. *An Account of the City of* Latichea, *and of a Nation called* Neceres, *who are of all Religions, and*
of no Religion. 5. *They continue their Journey to* Tripoly, *and meet with ſeveral Antiquities in their*
Paſſage. 6. *A Deſcription of that City, with an Account of the Entertainment they met with there.*
7. *Their Viſit to* Oſtan *Baſha of* Tripoly, *the Ceremonies of their Reception, and what paſſed at their*
Audience. 8. *A Deſcription of* Gibyle, *the* Byblus *of the Ancients, famous for being the Birth-place*
of Adonis. 9. *A very curious and learned Account of various Antiquities in this Neighbourhood.* 10.
A ſuccinct but curious Relation of the Emir Faccardine, *his Subjects and Succeſſors.* 11. *The Author's*
Account of Tyre *and* Sidon, *with ſome Remarks upon the Prophecies relating to thoſe Cities.* 12. *A*
Deſcription of Solomon's *Ciſtern, the City of* Acra *or* Ptolemais, *and other Places in that Neigh-*
bourhood. 13. *They paſs the River* Kiſhon, *and travel through the Country of* Samaria. 14. *Some*
very curious and ſatisfactory Remarks on the ancient Fertility and preſent Barrenneſs of the Land of
Judea. 15. *A very copious and circumſtantial Account of the Ceremonies annually uſed at the Church*
of the Holy Sepulchre *on* Good-Friday. 16. *The Celebration of* Eaſter, *and the Author's Viſit to the*
Sepulchres of the Kings. 17. *The Author's Journey to the River* Jordan *and the* Dead Sea, *with a*
Deſcription of both. 18. *A Journey to and Deſcription of* Bethlehem, *with Variety of critical Ob-*
ſervations and Remarks. 19. *His Journey to the Convent of St.* John *in the Wilderneſs, with a De-*
tail of the remarkable Places he ſaw therein. 20. *A very particular Account of the* Holy Fire *at*
Jeruſalem, *and of ſome very extraordinary Practices of the Monks and Prieſts.* 21. *A circumſtantial*
Account of the moſt remarkable Places in the Neighbourhood of Jeruſalem. 22. *The Author's Viſit to*
Mount Olivet, *and the Palace of* Pilate, *the Pool of* Bethſaida, *and other Places.* 23. *Their Depar-*
ture from Jeruſalem, *and Journey from thence to* Nazareth. 24. *A Deſcription of that Village, and*
of Mount Tabor. 25. *An Account of what happened in their Journey till their Arrival at* Damaſcus,
26. *A very large and accurate Deſcription of that City and the Country about it.* 27. *An Account of*
the great Turkiſh *Caravan of Pilgrims that go annually to viſit* Mecca. 28. *A very curious and co-*
pious Deſcription of the City of Balbeck, *the* Palmyra *of the Ancients.* 29. *An Account of the* Turk-
iſh *Puniſhment called* Empaling; *a Deſcription of Mount* Libanus, *and the Author's Return to* Aleppo,
30. *Another Journey of his from* Aleppo *to viſit the River* Euphrates, *the City of* Beer, *and the fruit-*
ful Country of Meſopotamia. 31. *Remarks and Obſervations upon the foregoing Section.*

1. THE Author of theſe Travels was a Gentleman who, during the Time he reſided in the Univerſity of *Oxford*, laid a Foundation of an extraordinary Character, in Point both of Learning and Manners. He applied himſelf with great Diligence to the Reading of *Greek* Authors, and a ſtrong Turn towards Antiquities and Church-Hiſtory; and though his Conſtitution was far from being ſtrong, and his great Patron Dr. *Spratt*, Biſhop of *Rochester*, had it in his Power to provide for him at home; yet, upon the very firſt Propoſal of his going Chaplain to the Factory at *Aleppo*, he very chearfully and gladly embraced it; and, during his Reſidence there, was equally happy himſelf, and agreeable to the Gentlemen who then reſided there, as I have been informed by ſeveral who were there at that Time, and by ſome that accompanied him in his Journey. It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that the worthy Biſhop *Frampton* was his Predeceſſor in this Employment; and as he was a Man of great Piety and Purity of Manners, ſo, on the other hand, his Converſation was ſo chearful and entertaining, and he had the Art of introducing learned Subjects with ſuch Eaſe, and of enlivening them in ſuch a Manner, that he diffuſed a Spirit of Literature through the whole Factory; ſo that when Mr. *Maundrell* came firſt amongſt them, he profeſſed himſelf aſtoniſhed at the ſtrict Order and perfect Regularity in which they lived; exhibiting, as himſelf ſays, in all their Actions the beſt and trueſt Signs of a Chriſtian Spirit, ſincere and chearful Friendſhip amongſt themſelves, a generous Charity towards others, a Converſation innocently chearful, addicted to no Pleaſures but ſuch as were honeſt and manly; and, in ſhort, in all Points ſo well diſpoſed, that it ſeemed rather a College, and a well-governed College too, in ſome famous Univerſity, than a Factory of Young Merchants, ſent there to make their Fortunes. We need not at all wonder, that in Company like this Mr. *Maundrell* rejoiced in his Situation, or that amongſt other Advantages he there enjoyed, he ſhould lay hold of viſiting the Land of *Judea*, and the Places conſecrated to the Reverence of all Chriſtians, by their having been the Scenes of the principal Acts of our Saviour and his Apoſtles in the firſt Ages of the Church. What he ſaw with Pleaſure, he has related with great Accuracy and Judgment; and the Learned, both of our own and of Foreign Countries, are agreed, that amongſt the numerous Relations of Journeys to the holy City, there are none that, in Point of Candour, Fidelity, and Exactneſs, ſurpaſſes this; which is the Reaſon that we have given it a Place in this Collection, and dare recommend it to the Reader as an excellent Performance of its Kind, filled not only with all that can be reaſonably expected from it; but alſo with a great Variety of curious and uſeful Learning, which can hardly fail to inſtruct and pleaſe.

2. On *February* 26, 1696, I ſet out with fourteen *Engliſh* Gentlemen from *Aleppo*, deſigning to viſit the *Holy Land* at the next *Eaſter*, and the firſt Night we took up our Quarters at the *Honey Kane*, about an Hour and a half Weſt of *Aleppo*. A very indifferent Lodging we had; for here it is to be noted, that in travelling this Country, a Man does not meet every Night with Inns as in *England*; but you muſt either lodge under your own Tent, or elſe in Publick-houſes, founded for the Uſe of Travellers, called by the *Turks*, *Kanes*; to which all Comers are welcome, paying a ſmall Fee to the *Kane*-Keeper, if they be able. And here you muſt expect nothing but bare Walls, for all other Neceſſaries muſt be carried by every one that travels.

On the 27th, we parted from the *Honey-Kane*, and paſſing by *Oorem* and *Keffre*, we entred into the Plains of *Keſteen*, of a vaſt Compaſs, and in moſt Places very fruitful. At our firſt Deſcent into them at *Effoyn*, we counted no fewer than twenty four Villages; and *Keſteen* itſelf is a large Village on the Weſt-ſide of the Plain, encompaſs'd with ſo many Fields of Corn, that the Inhabitants breed many Pigeons. At this Place we ſaw, over the Door of a Bagnio, a Marble-ſtone carved with the Sign of the Croſs, and the *Gloria Patri*, &c. which was probably the Portal of ſome Church formerly. On the 28th, we left *Keſteen*, and continuing in the ſame Plain, abounding with Corn, Olives and Vines, we came to *Harbonooſe*, and from thence to a very rich Valley called *Rooge*, which is wall'd on both Sides with high Mountains; and having travel'd in this Valley four Hours, we paſs'd through the Skirt of the Lake or Sea of *Rooge*, and from thence we came to *Te-ne-ree*, where we paid our firſt Caphar. Theſe Caphars are certain Duties paid by Travellers to Officers that attend in their Stations to receive them. They were at firſt levied by Chriſtians, for repairing the Ways, and ſcouring them from Robbers; but under that Pretence the *Turks* now exact unreaſonable Sums, though themſelves are often the greateſt Robbers.

After this Caphar, we croſs'd over the Mountains on the Weſt-ſide of the Valley of *Rooge*, and deſcending into a Valley, we paſs'd *Bell-maer*, and came to *Shoggle*, which is a large but filthy Town, ſituate on the River *Orontes*, over which you paſs to it by a Bridge of thirteen ſmall Arches. The River hereabouts is pretty deep, and yet ſo rapid, that it turns great Wheels, made for lifting up the Water by its natural Swiftneſs, without any Force added to it, merely by confining its Stream. We lodg'd here in a large and handſome *Kane*, founded by the ſecond Grand Vizier *Cuperli*, and ſo well endow'd, that it ſupplies every Traveller with a competent Portion of Bread, Broth and Fleſh. It was crouded with *Turkiſh Hodgees* or Pilgrims, bound for *Mecca*; but we found a peaceable Reception among them.

3. *March* 1. We parted from *Shoggle*, and croſs'd a Mountain on the Weſt-ſide of the Valley, from which we deſcended into a third Valley like the two former; and having paſs'd the Village *Bedame*, we entred into a woody Country, where our Road was very rocky and uneven, but yet pleaſant, becauſe it preſented us with the Proſpect of Plants and Flowers of divers Kinds, as Myrtles, Oleanders, Tulips, and other aromatick Herbs. After this we deſcended into a low Valley, at the Bottom of which there is a Fiſſure ſo narrow, that you cannot diſcern it till you come upon it, though you may hear the Noiſe of the Stream running into it at a great Diſtance. They call it the *Shecks Wiſe*, from a Woman of that Quality that fell into it. From hence we came in one Hour to a Place called the *Sultan's Stone*, where we pitch'd our Tents, and lodg'd for that Night.

On the 2d, we left our *Champagnia* Lodging very early, the Weather being yet moiſt and cold, and came in an Hour to the Caphar of *Cruſia*, and from thence in another to the Foot of a Mountain called *Occaly*, which we aſcended with great Difficulty, and then we found a fine Country planted with Silk-Gardens, through which we came to *Belulca*, and there repair'd to a Place which is both the *Kane* of the Village and the *Aga's* Houſe; but though we gave him a ſmall Preſent, we could hardly obtain a dry Part of the Houſe to lodge in. In the mean Time, being informed that there were ſeveral Chriſtians Inhabitants in this Place, we went to viſit their Church, which was only a Room about four or five Yards ſquare, wall'd with Dirt, and cover'd with Buſhes, in which was an Altar of the ſame Materials with the Walls, paved at Top with Potſherds and Slates; and in the Middle of the Altar ſtood a Croſs made of two laths nail'd together, on each Side of which there are two or three old Pictures of our bleſſed Lord and the Virgin, &c. a very mean Habitation for the God of Heaven, but yet held in great Eſteem by the poor People, who come hither with great Devotion, and hang the Room with Bags of Silk-worms Eggs, that by the Holineſs of the Place they may bring a Bleſſing upon them, and increaſe their Virtue.

On the 3d, we left *Belulca*, and arrived at *Sholfatia*, a poor Village, ſituate upon a ſmall River, now ſwollen ſo high with the late Rains, that it was not fordable; which put us to a Nonplus, not knowing what to do till the Rain abated; and then we pitched in the open Field, though thoroughly ſoak'd with Wet. But after the Rain had ceaſed a little While, it began to pour down a-freſh with Lightning and Thunder, and then we we ſent a *Turk* to a *Sheck*'s Houſe hard by, to try if by any Means we could get Admittance there; and at laſt, with good Words, having declared, that we had no Intention to defile their Faith, we were permitted to ſecure our Baggage in the Houſe, whilſt we ſhelter'd ourſelves among the Tombs from the Rain, which poured down all Night long. A *Sheck*'s Houſe is a Stone Fabrick, of ſix or eight Yards ſquare, roofed with a Cupola, erected over the Grave of ſome eminent *Sheck*, *i. e.* one who by his long Beard, whining Prayers, and *Pharaſaical* Pride, (the great Virtues of the *Mahometan* Religion) has purchaſed the Reputation of a Saint; of which Sort there are many in this Country, to which the People repair with their Vows and Prayers, which they offer in theſe Shrines, not to the Saints, as the Papiſts do, but to God only, whom alone they adore.

4. On the 4th: This Morning we found the River fordable, and got to the other Side of it with our Baggage, from whence aſcending a very ſteep Hill, at the Top of it we were preſented with the firſt Proſpect of the Ocean; and to the Weſtward, we had a View of the City *La ichea*, built by *Seleucus Nicanor*, and by him call'd *Laodicea*, which Name it ſtill retains with a little Corruption. After it was reduced to a low Condition, it now begins to flouriſh again, being put in a Way of Trade by *Coſlan* Aga, a Man of great Wealth and Authority in theſe Parts. From the Hill laſt mention'd, we deſcended into a ſpacious Plain, having the Sea on the Right-hand, and Mountains on the Left. In which Plain we diſcerned two ancient Tombs, which were Cheſts of Stone, two Yards and a half long each, cover'd over with large Tables of Stone, carv'd on the Out-ſide with Ox-heads, and Wreaths hanging between them, after the Manner of adorning Heathen Altars.

Above an Hour from theſe Tombs we were ſtopt by another Stream, but here we found a ſafe Paſſage to the other Side, and then we were forced by the Rain to make the beſt of our Way to *Jebilee*. After this Manner our Road continued for ſeveral Days, between the Sea on the Right, and the Mountains on the Left; but the Mountains go under different Names, and are inhabited by ſeveral rude People. In that Part of them above *Jebilee*, there dwell a People called by the *Turks Neceres*, of a very ſingular Character; for it is their Principle to adhere to no certain Religion, but to put on the Colour of that Religion which is profeſſed by thoſe with whom they converſe: And ſo with *Chriſtians* they profeſs themſelves *Chriſtians*, with *Mahometans* they are good *Muſſulmans*, and with *Jews* they paſs for *Jews*. All that is certain concerning them is, that they make very much and very good Wine, and are great Drinkers, but in Religion they are very *Proteus*'s.

On the 5th: This whole Day we ſpent in *Jebilee*, having a convenient new Kane to lodge in, built by *Oſtan* their Baſhaw of *Tripoly*. *Jebilee* is ſeated cloſe by the Sea, having a vaſt and fruitful Plain on the other Sides of it; its ancient Name was *Gabala*, and ſo it is call'd by *Strabo*. In the Time of the *Greek* Emperors it was a Biſhop's See, and is ſtill accounted a City, though it makes a very mean Figure at preſent. The moſt remarkable Things in it are a Moſque and an Almshouſe, built by Sultan *Ibrahim*; in the former is his Tomb, which we found to be a great wooden Cheſt erected over his Grave, and covered with a Carpet of painted Callico, trick'd up with a great many Ropes of wooden Beads, which is the *Turks* uſual Way of adorning the Tombs of their holy Men. In this Moſque we ſaw ſeveral Incenſe-Pots, Candleſticks, and other Furniture, being the Spoils of Chriſtian Churches.

The *Turks* reported, that he diveſted himſelf of his Royalty, and liv'd twenty Years in a Grotto by the Sea-ſide; and to confirm the Truth of their Relation, they ſhow the Cell where he abode, and another Grot twice as large, which had three Niches or Praying-places hewn in its South-ſide, as they always are, for that Way the *Muſſulmen* are obliged to ſet their Faces, in Reverence to the Tomb of their Prophet. From this Moſque our Guide carried us to a Chriſtian Church, which we found to be nothing but a ſmall Grotto in a Rock open towards the Sea, having a rude Pile of Stones for an Altar; which poor Chappel is the only Place, as the Curate told us, allowed to the *Greek* Chriſtians for Divine Service. But the moſt conſiderable Antiquity in *Jebilee*, is the Remains of a noble Theatre, of which the Semi-circle is all that's now ſtanding, being an hundred Yards in Compaſs, having in it ſeventeen Windows, between which are large maſſy Pillars ſtanding againſt the Wall, that is three Yards three Quarters thick of firm Stone, by which Means it has been preſerv'd thus long from the Jaws of Time, and the Ruin which the *Turks* bring upon moſt Places.

On the 6th, having done with *Jebilee*, our Road continued by the Sea-ſide, and baniſhed us in two Hours to a fair deep River, call'd the *King's River*; on both Sides of which we ſaw the Footſteps of ſome conſiderable Buildings. About half an Hour further we paſſed the River *Jobar*, and on the other Side ſtood a great Square Tower, and round about it there was the Rubbiſh of a great many other Buildings. And all along this Day's Journey we obſerv'd the Ruins of Caſtles and Houſes, which teſtify that this has been formerly a Place of great Strength and Beauty. *Strabo* calls that whole Region, from *Jebilee* as far as *Aradus*, the Country of the *Aradii*, and gives the Names of ſeveral Places ſituate along the Coaſt, which cannot be now diſtinctly known. Only the *Balanea* of *Strabo* ſeems to be that Place which the *Turks* now call *Beneas*, which ſtands about a Furlong from the Sea, and has ſuch a pleaſant Situation, ſuch Ruins, and ſuch a Bay, as ſhews it to have been a commodious Habitation. Leaving *Baneas*, we went by the Sea-ſide, and in one Quarter of an Hour we paſſed by an old Caſtle, on the Top of a high Mountain, built in the Figure of an equilateral Triangle, which the *Turks* call *Merchab*, which probably is the ſame Caſtle mention'd by *Aurichemius* under the Name of *Margath*, to which the Biſhops of *Balanea* were forced to tranſlate the See, by Reaſon of the Inſults of the *Saracens*. About an Hour and half from *Baneas*, we met with a ſmall clear Stream, which induced us to take up our Lodgings near it, about two or three Furlongs from the Sea, having in Sight on the Mountains above us a Village call'd *Sophia*, inhabited only by *Maronites*, and a little further, *Reſeck*, poſſeſs'd by the *Turks*; and a little further *Merakiah*, poſſeſs'd by *Chriſtians* and *Turks* together.

5. On the 7th: Next Morning we came in three Hours to a deep River call'd *Naher Huſſine*, having one Arch large and well wrought; and in an Hour and half more we reach'd *Tortoſa*, anciently call'd *Orthoſia*, being a Biſhop's See in the Province of *Tyre*, frequently mentioned by the Writers of the Holy Wars as a ſtrong Place, as it appears to have been. What remains of it is the Caſtle, waſh'd on one Side by the Sea, on the others fortified by a double Wall, between which there is one Ditch, and another compaſſing the outermoſt Wall. You enter this Fort over an old Draw-Bridge which lands you in a ſpacious Room, which on one Side reſembles a Church, having at this Day ſeveral holy Emblems, as that of a Dove deſcending, and that of the holy Lamb; but on the other Side it has the Face of a Caſtle, being built with Port-holes inſtead of Windows. On the South and Eaſt-ſide of it ſtood anciently the City, encompaſſed with a good Wall and a Ditch, of which there are ſome Remains; but of other Buildings there is nothing left, except a Church which is an hundred and thirty Foot long, ninety three broad, and ſixty one high, ſo entire, that it might eaſily be repaired; but it is now made a Stall for Cattle, in which we waded up to the Knees in Dirt when we went to ſee it.

From *Tortoſa* we ſent our Baggage before towards *Tripoly*, which we follow'd not long after, and within one Quarter of an Hour we came to a large Channel of a River, now almoſt dry; and in half an Hour more we came to a ſmall Iſland about a League from the Shore, call'd by the *Turks*, *Ruad*, which is ſuppoſed to be the ancient *Arphan* or *Arpad* (mention'd, 2 *Kings* xix. 13. *Gen.*

13. *Gen.* x. 18. *Ezek.* xxvii. 11.) and the *Aradus* of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, which ſeem'd to be fill'd with Buildings like Caſtles, and to have been anciently famous for Navigation. About a Quarter of an Hour further we came up with our *Muliteers*, who had pitch'd our Tents at a Place where we found ſeveral notable Antiquities, having in it a Fountain call'd the *Serpent Fountain.* The firſt Antiquity that we obſerv'd was a large Dike thirty Yards over at Top, cut into the firm Rock, whoſe Sides went ſloping down with Stairs form'd out of the Rock; and this was on the North-ſide of the Fountain; but on the other Side we found a Court of fifty-five Yards ſquare, cut in the natural Rock, and compaſs'd about with Walls of the ſame Rock on three Sides, but to the North it lay open. In the Center of this *Area* was a ſquare Part of the Rock left ſtanding, being three Yards high, and five Yards and half ſquare, which ſerv'd for a Pedeſtal to a Throne made of four large Stones, two at the Sides, one at the Back, and another hanging over the Top like a Canopy, which was five Yards and three Quarters ſquare, carv'd round with a handſome Corniſh. The Court we imagin'd to be an Idol-Temple, and the Pile in the Middle to be the Throne of the Idol, which ſeem'd the more probable, becauſe *Hercules*, i. e. *the Sun*, the great Abomination of the *Phœnicians*, was wont to be adored in an open Temple.

6. On the 8th, we got up early to take a nearer View of the two Towers, we ſaw the Night before, whereof one was thirty-three Foot high, on a Pedeſtal ten Foot high, and fifteen ſquare; the other was thirty Foot high, on a Pedeſtal ſix Foot high, and ſixteen Foot ſix Inches ſquare, ſupported by four Lyons, the upper Part rear'd upon the Pedeſtal, being all one ſingle Stone. Under theſe Monuments were ſeveral Sepulchres, to which we deſcended by Steps, having ſeveral Cells for Corps hewn out of the Rock, ſome of which we found to be eight Foot and half long. Having parted from theſe Antiquities, we entered into a ſpacious Plain between the Sea and the Mountains, reaching almoſt as far as *Tripoly*, which the Natives call *Junia*. We were ſeven Hours in paſſing it, and found it all along very fruitful, by Reaſon of the many Rivers that are in it; of which the firſt being about ſix Hours from *Tripoly*, has a Stone-bridge of three Arches, and is called the *Great River*.

About half an Hour further we came to another, called the *Leper*'s River: in three Quarters of an Hour more we came to a third, called *Nabor Acchar*; and two Hours more brings you to a fourth called the *Cold Waters*. Which Rivers I do particularly mention, becauſe it is probable, according to the Deſcription of the Ancients, that one of them is the River *Eleutherus*, though the Moderns do all agree, that it is the ſame with the River between *Tyre* and *Sidon*, called by the *Turks Caſimeer*, contrary to the Account of *Strabo* and *Pliny*, who place it near *Orthoſia*, or between that and *Tripoly*; and of *Ptolomy*, who places it yet more Northerly between *Orthoſia* and *Balanea*.

On the 9th, our *Muliteers* were afraid leſt their Beaſts ſhould be preſs'd for publick Service, as indeed they were, in Spight of all their Caution; and ſo we left them in the Plain of *Junia*, and arrived at *Tripoly* about Sun-ſet. It is ſeated about half an Hour from the Sea, and the major Part of the City lies between two Hills, one on the Eaſt, on which ſtands a Caſtle that commands the Place, and the other on the Weſt, between the City and the Sea, which is ſaid to be firſt rais'd, and ſtill increas'd by Sand blown to it from the Shore; whence ariſes a Prophecy, that the whole City ſhall in Time be buried with this ſandy Hill.

On the 10th, we were treated by Mr. *Fiſher* in a narrow pleaſant Valley by a River-ſide, about a Mile from the City: Acroſs the Valley there runs, from Hill to Hill, a lofty Aquæduct, carrying upon it ſo great a Body of Water as ſuffices the whole City. It was called the *Prince*'s Bridge, and is ſuppoſed to be built by *Godfrey* of *Buloign*.

7. On the 11th, we all dined at Conſul *Haſting*'s Houſe, and after Dinner we went to wait upon *Oſtan*, the Baſha of *Tripoly* having firſt ſent our Preſent, after the Manner of the *Turks*, to procure us a favourable Reception; for it is accounted uncivil in this Country, to viſit without an Offering in Hand, which all great Men expect as a Tribute due to their Character. And even the inferior People ſeldom viſit without bringing a Flower or an Orange, or ſome ſuch Token of Reſpect, according to the ancient Oriental Cuſtom; hinted in 1 *Sam.* ix. 7. *If we go*, ſays *Saul*, *what ſhall we bring the Man of God? there is not a Preſent*, &c.

On the 12th we went to viſit *Bell mount*, a Convent of *Greeks*; about two Hours to the South of *Tripoly*, and we came there juſt as they were going to Evening Service. The Church is large but obſcure, and the Altar is encloſed within Chancels, which none but the Prieſt muſt approach, after the Manner of the *Greek* Churches. They call the Congregation together by beating a Tune with two Mallets on a long Piece of Plank hanging at the Church Doors, Bells being an Abomination to the *Turks*. Their Service conſiſted in a haſty Chattering of certain Prayers and Hymns to our Bleſſed Saviour and the Virgin, and in ſome dark Ceremonies, for the Prieſt that officiated ſpent at leaſt a third Part of his Time in compaſſing the Altar, and perfuming it with a Pot of Incenſe, and then going round the Congregation, tendring its Smoke with three Vibrations to every one preſent. Towards the End of the Service, there was brought into the Body of the Church a ſmall Table, covered with a Linen Cloth, on which were placed five ſmall Cakes of Bread croſswiſe; and in a Hole made in each Cake was fixed a ſmall lighted Wax Taper. And then the Prieſt read the Goſpel concerning our Lord's feeding the Multitude with five Loaves; after which, the Bread was carried within the *Cancelli*, and being there broke in Bits, was again brought out in a Baſket, and preſented to every one in the Aſſembly, that he might take a little.

After this Collation, the Prieſt pronounc'd the Bleſſing, and ſo the Service ended. On both Sides of the Church there were Seats for the Monks, being about forty in all, and in each Seat there were Crutches (as there are in moſt Churches of this Country) which are uſed by the Prieſt to eaſe him, by leaning on them, in Caſe the Service be long, becauſe by the Rubrick he is forbidden to ſit down. We found the Monks good-natured, but very ignorant, for the Chief of them told the Conſul, that he was as glad to ſee him, as if he had beheld the Meſſiah in Perſon come to viſit him. Nor is this Ignorance much to be wondred at, ſince they are forced to ſpend all the Time, between their Hours of Devotion, in managing their Flocks, cultivating the Lands, and pruning their Vineyards, which they do with their own Hands; and this they are obliged to do, not only for their own Suſtenance, but to ſatisfy the unreaſonable Exactions of the *Turks*. And to ſhew what Kind of Men they are, I took particular Notice, that the ſame Perſon whom we ſaw officiating at the Altar in his embroider'd Prieſtly Robe, brought us the next Day on his own Back, a Kid, and a Goat's Skin of Wine, as a Preſent from the Convent.

On the 13th: This Morning we went again to wait upon *Oſtan* Baſha, by his own Appointment, and were receiv'd with great Civility after their Manner, which is this: When you would make a Viſit to a Perſon of Quality, you muſt ſend a Preſent by a Servant, who is to learn what Time may be moſt ſeaſonable to wait upon him: When you come to the Houſe, ſome Servants receive you at the outermoſt Gate, and conduct you towards their Maſter's Apartment, and others in their ſeveral Stations meet you as you draw nearer to him. Coming into the Room, you find him prepared to receive you, either ſtanding at the Edge of the *Duan*, or lying down at one Corner of it, as he thinks proper. Theſe *Duans* are low Stages rais'd about ſixteen or eighteen Inches above the Floor, ſpread with Carpets, and furniſh'd with Bolſters to lean upon; on which the *Turks* eat, ſleep, ſmoke, ſay their Prayers, receive Viſits, &c. Their whole Delight is in lolling on them, and their Luxury conſiſts in furniſhing them richly.

Being come to the Side of the *Duan*, you ſlip off your Shoes, and take your Place firſt at ſome Diſtance, and upon your Knees, laying your Hands formally before you; and there you muſt remain till the Man of Quality invites you to draw nearer, and to lean upon a Bolſter. When you are thus fix'd, he diſcourſes with you as Occaſion offers, the Servants ſtanding round with profound Reſpect and Silence. When you have talk'd over your Buſineſs or made your Compliments, he makes a Sign to have the Entertainment brought in, which is generally a little ſweet Meat, a Diſh of Sherbet, and another of Coffee, which is preſently brought in by the Servants, and tender'd to all the Gueſts in Order with great Care; for if any of them ſhould make the leaſt Slip in giving or receiving his Diſh, it might coſt him 100 Drubs on his bare Feet to attone for the Crime. At laſt comes the finiſhing Part of the Entertainment, which is perfuming the Beards of the Company; and for this Purpoſe, they have a ſmall Silver Chafing-diſh, with a Lid full of Holes, fix'd on a Plate, in which they put ſome freſh Coals, and upon them a Piece of *Lignum-Aloes*, and then the Smoke aſcends with a grateful Odour through the Holes of the Cover. This Smoke is held under every ones Chin, and offer'd as a Sacrifice to his Beard, which greedily drinks in the gummy Steam, and retains the Savour of it a good while after. This ceremony is intended to give a civil Diſmiſſion to the Viſitants, intimating that they may go away as ſoon as they pleaſe, and the ſooner after this the better.

Having ended our Viſit to *Oſtan* Baſſa, we rid out after Dinner to view the Marine, which is about half an Hour diſtant from the City. The Port is an open Sea, rather than an encloſ'd Harbour, but is partly defended by two ſmall Iſles, about two Leagues out from the Shore, one of which is called the *Bird*, and the other the *Coney-Iſland*, from the Creatures they ſeverally produce. And for its Security from Pirates, it has ſix ſeveral Caſtles on the Shore at convenient Diſtances. In the Fields, near the Shore, there are many Heaps of Ruins and Pillars of Granite, which are Indications of ſome great Buildings this Way; which agrees with what *Cauſabon* ſays upon *Strabo*, that *Tripoli* was anciently a Cluſter of three Cities, of which the firſt was the Seat of the *Aradii*, the ſecond of the *Sidonians*, and the third of the *Tyrians*, which may more probably be the Occaſion of the Name, than the Joint Intereſt of three Cities in Building it, as is commonly ſaid.

8. On the 14th, we reſted at *Tripoly*, and on the 15th our *Muliteers* having run away for Fear of the Baſſa of *Sidon*'s Servants, who preſs'd Mules every where for their Maſter's Service, we put ourſelves in a new Poſture of Travelling. We parted from *Tripoly*, and going cloſe by the Sea-ſide, we came in an Hour and half to *Callemone*, a Village juſt under *Bell-mount*, and from hence putting forward, we met with a high Promontory that lay in our Way, and forc'd us to turn off to the Left-Hand into a narrow Valley, where we took up our Quarters under ſome Olive-trees; which Promontory ſeems to be that which is call'd by *Strabo* the *Face of God*, and which he aſſigns for the End of Mount *Libanus*.

On the 16th, this Morning we croſs'd over the foremention'd Cape, which we did in an Hour, though it was very ſteep and rugged, and we came into a narrow Valley, which laid the Sea open again; and near the Entrance is a ſmall Fort that commands it, call'd *Temſeida*. And in half an Hour we came up with *Patrone*, which is thought to be *Botrus*, ſituate cloſe by the Sea, in which we found ſome Remains of a Church and Monaſtery. In three Hours more we came to *Gybile*, called by the *Greeks Byblus*, a Place once famous for the Birth and Temple of *Adonis*. It is compaſs'd with a dry Ditch and a Wall, with ſquare Towers at forty Yards Diſtance, and on its South-ſide it has an old Caſtle.

There is nothing elſe remarkable in it but many Heaps of Ruins, and the fine Pillars in the Gardens near the Town. It is probably the Country of the *Giblites*, mention'd *Joſh.* xiii. 5. whom King *Hiram* made uſe of in preparing Materials for *Solomon*'s Temple, as may be collected from 1 *Kings* v. 18. where the Word rendred *Stone-ſquarers* in the *Hebrew* is *Gib'im*, and in the Verſion of the Seventy *Byblii*, *i. e.* the Men of *Byblus*, the former uſing the *Hebrew*, the latter the *Greek* Name of the Place; which Difference may be obſerv'd likewiſe in *Ezek.* xxvii. 4. where our Tranſlation has the *Ancients of Gebel*, and the Seventy *the Elders of Byblus*. Leaving *Gybile*, we came to a River call'd by the *Turks Ibrahim Baſſa*, which is doubtleſs that ancient River ſo famous for the Idolatrous Rites perform'd here in Lamentation of *Adonis*, and we lodg'd on the Banks of it that Night.

9. The 17th, having had a very tempeſtuous Night of Wind and Rain, we had an Opportunity of diſcovering the Occaſion of that Opinion which *Lucian* relates, that this River, at certain Seaſons of the Year, eſpecially about the Feaſts of *Adonis*, is of a bloody Colour, as he ſays, from a Sympathy for the Death of *Adonis*, who was kill'd by a wild Boar in the Mountains out of which this Stream riſes; for we found the Water of a very red Colour, which doubtleſs was occaſion'd by a Sort of *Minium*, or red Earth, waſh'd into the River by the Violence of the Rain. In an Hour and a Quarter we paſſed over the Foot of Mount *Climar*, and entered into a large Bay call'd *Innia*, where we found an old Stone-Bridge, and at the Bottom the high Mountains of *Caſtravan*, chiefly inhabited by *Maronites*, and famous for producing an excellent Sort of Wine.

The *Maronite* Biſhop of *Aleppo* dwells here in a Convent, and there are many other ſmall Convents on the Top of theſe Mountains. Towards the further Side of the Bay we came to a ſquare Tower or Caſtle, at which we paid a fourth Caphar, which is receiv'd by the *Maronites*, who are more exacting Rogues than the *Turks* themſelves. In an Hour more we came to the River *Lycus*, call'd alſo ſometimes *Canis*, whoſe Name is deriv'd from an Idol in the Form of a Dog or Wolf, which was worſhip'd and gave Oracles. The Body of it is ſhewn to Strangers lying in the Sea, but the Head they ſay is to be ſeen at *Venice*. This River, which is certainly different from *Adonis*, (though ſome Moderns confound them) falls into the Sea from between two Mountains very high and rocky, where we found a good Bridge of four Arches, and near the Foot of it, a Piece of white Marble inlaid in the Side of a Rock, with an *Arab* Inſcription, that the Emir *Faccardine* was the Founder of it.

Having paſs'd the River we preſently aſcend the Rock hanging over it on that Side, where we met with a Path above two Yards broad, cut along its Side at a great Height above the Water, being the Work of the Emperor *Antoninus*, as appears by an Inſcription engraven on a Table, plain'd in the Side of the natural Rock. In paſſing this Way we ſaw ſtrange antick Figures of Men carved in the Rock, in *Mezzo relievo*, and in Bigneſs equal to the Life; and cloſe by each Figure there was a Table plain'd in the Side of the Rock, on which ſomething had been inſcrib'd, though the Characters are generally now defac'd, which may deſerve the further Scrutiny of ſome Traveller. The *Antonine* Way extends about a Quarter of an Hour's Travel; after which you come upon a ſmooth ſandy Shore, which brings you in an Hour and half to the River *Beroot*, which has over it a Stone-Bridge of ſix Arches; and on the other Side is a Plain near the Sea, which is ſaid to be the Stage on which St. *George* duell'd and kill'd the Dragon. In Memory of which, there is a ſmall Chapel built upon the Place, dedicated at firſt to that Chriſtian Hero, but now perverted to a Moſque. From hence in an Hour we arrived at *Beroot*, and quarter'd at a good Kane by the Sea-ſide.

10. On the 18th: This Day we ſpent at *Beroot*, anciently called *Berytus*, (from which the Idol *Baal-Berith* is ſuppos'd to have had its Name) which was honour'd with many Privileges, and the new Name of *Julia Felix* by *Auguſtus*. Its greateſt Happineſs at preſent conſiſts in its

Situation, being ſeated by the Sea-ſide in a fertile Soil, which abounds with freſh Springs flowing down from the Hills. The Emir *Faccardine* had his chief Reſidence here, in the Reign of Sultan *Morat*, the fourth Emir or Prince of the *Druſes*; who not contented to be penn'd up in the Mountains, enlarged his Dominions into the Plain, all along the Sea-Coaſt, as far as from this Place to *Acra*, but was driven back again to the Mountains by the Grand Signior. We went to his Palace, and found at the Entrance a Marble Fountain of greater Beauty than is uſually ſeen in *Turkey*.

The beſt Sight that the Palace affords, which is much runn'd, is the Orange-Garden, which contains a large quadrangular Plat of Ground, divided into ſixteen leſſer Squares, four in a Row, with Walks between them, which are ſhaded with Orange-trees of a fine Growth, on which the Fruit hung thicker than ever I ſaw Apples in *England*. Every one of theſe ſixteen Squares was bordered with Stone, and in the Stone-work were Troughs artificially contrived for conveying the Water all over the Garden, there being little Outlets cut at every Tree for the Stream, as it paſs'd by, to flow out and Water it. But the *Turks* have ſo little Senſe of ſuch refin'd Delights, that they uſe it now as a Fold for Sheep and Goats. In another Garden we ſaw ſeveral Pedeſtals for Statues, and at one Corner of it, a Tower about ſixty Foot high, whoſe Walls were twelve Foot thick, from whence we had a View of the whole City, and ſaw a large Chriſtian Church, which was ſaid to have been conſecrated to St. *John* the Evangeliſt, but is now the chief Moſque of the *Turks*.

There is another Church that, being a very mean Fabrick, remains in the Hands of the *Greeks*, which is adorn'd with many old Pictures; and among the reſt, I ſaw one with this Inſcription in *Greek*, *Coartus the firſt*, *Archbiſhop of* Berytus, and juſt by it the Figure of *Neſtorius*, who commonly makes one in the *Greek* Church of his Sect, though they do not now profeſs, nor, I believe, know, his Hereſy. But there was one very odd Figure of a Saint, at full Length, with a large Beard reaching down to his Feet, and the Curate told us, that this was St. *Nicephorus*, who wanting the Ornament of a Beard to ſet off his other Endowments, fell into a deep Melancholy; whereupon the Devil tempted him to comply with his Suggeſtions, by promiſing to give him a Beard; but this beardleſs Saint rejected the Temptation, and at the ſame Time taking the downy Tuft upon his Chin in his Hand, he found the Hair immediately ſtretch with the Pluck he gave it, and he never left pulling his Beard till he had drawn it down to his Feet. At the Eaſt-end of *Beroot* are to be ſeen ſeven or eight Pillars of Granite, and ſeveral Pieces of Marble, having *Greek* and *Latin* Inſcriptions, Fragments of Statues, and other poor Relicks of its ancient Grandeur. On the Sea-ſide is an old Caſtle, and ſome Remains of a Mole.

19th. Leaving *Beroot*, we came into a large Plain, and at the Entrance of it there is a Grove of Pine-trees of *Faccardine*'s Plantation, and at a Diſtance we ſaw a ſmall Village called *Suckfoat*, which belongs to the *Druſes*, who poſſeſs at this Day a long Tract of Mountains as far as from *Caſtravan* to *Carmel*. Their preſent Prince is *Achmet*, Grandſon to *Faccardine*, an old Man, and one who keeps up the Cuſtom of his Anceſtors, of turning Day into Night, from a traditional Perſuaſion among them, that Princes can never ſleep ſecurely but by Day, when Mens Actions and Deſigns are beſt obſerv'd by their Guards, and, if Need be, moſt eaſily prevented: but in the Night it concerns them to be always vigilant, leſt the Darkneſs ſhould give Traytors an Opportunity to aſſault them with Dagger or Piſtol.

Two Hours from *Faccardine*'s Grove brought us to the fifth Caphar, and another Hour to the River *Damer*, anciently called *Tanoras*. Here were Country Fellows who had ſtript themſelves naked to aſſiſt us in paſſing over; and to make their Help more neceſſary, they brought us to a Place where the Water was deepeſt, which Cheat we ſaw them impoſe upon other Travellers; but we found a Place of the Stream which was broader and ſhallower, where we paſſed without their Aſſiſtance, and juſt by we ſaw the Ruins of a Stone Bridge, which might have been ſtill entire, had not theſe Villains broke it down to make their Advantage of Paſſengers, either in conducting them over for good Pay, or elſe, if they have Opportunity, drowning them for their Spoils. On the other Side of the River the Mountains came cloſer to the Sea, leaving only a narrow rocky Way between.

From *Damer*, in two Hours Time, we came to another conſiderable River, not mentioned by any Geographer; but the *Maronite* Patriarch at *Canobine* told me it was called *Awle*, and had its Fountain near *Bareck* in Mount *Libanus*. At this River we were met by ſeveral *French* Merchants from *Sidon*, who have there the moſt conſiderable Factory they have in the *Levant*; and being arrived at *Sidon*, they conducted us to a large Kane cloſe by the Sea, where the Conſul and all the Nation are quartered together. Before this Kane is an old Mole running into the Sea, which was filled up with Rubbiſh by *Faccardine*, to prevent the *Turkiſh* Gallies from coming hither; ſo that all Ships that take in their Burthen here, are forc'd to ride at Anchor under a ſmall Ridge of Rocks about a Mile from the Shore.

Sidon is well enough ſtock'd with Inhabitants, but is very much ſhrunk from its ancient Extent, and more from its Splendor, as appears from many beautiful Pillars that lie in the Gardens without the Walls. On the South-ſide ſtands an old Caſtle, ſaid to be built by St. *Lewis* IX. of *France*; and not far from the Caſtle is an old Palace of *Faccardine*'s, which ſerves the Baſha for his Seraglio. Near to *Sidon* begin the Precincts of the *Holy Land*, particularly of that Part which was alloted to *Aſher*, the Borders of which Tribe extended from *Carmel* as far as *Great Zidon*, as appears from *Joſhua* xix. 26, 28. But the People on the Sea-coaſts were never actually maſter'd by the *Iſraelites*, being left to be Thorns in their Sides for a Reaſon given, *Judges* ii. 1, 2, 3, *&c.* He who is the *French* Conſul at *Sidon*, has alſo the Title of Conſul of *Jeruſalem*, and is obliged to viſit the holy City every *Eaſter*; with whom we deſired to join in this Year's Pilgrimage, but he ſet out from *Sidon* the Day before our Arrival there.

11. The 20th. We ſet out next Morning from *Sidon*, hoping to overtake the Conſul, and travelling in a fruitful Plain, in half an Hour we met with a large Pillar of Granite lying croſs the Highway, on which was a Fragment of an Inſcription; and ſome *Engliſh* Gentlemen, in 1699, found another Pillar with the like Inſcription, about Midway between *Jeruſalem* and *Sidon*, by which we may obſerve the Exactneſs of the *Romans* in meaſuring out their Roads, and marking down on every Pillar the Number of Miles, as 1, 2, 3, *&c.*

A little beyond this Pillar we paſs'd in Sight of *Korie*, a large Village on the Side of the Mountains, and in twelve Hours and half more came to *Sarphan*, ſuppoſed to be the ancient *Sarephath* or *Sarepta*, ſo famous for the Reſidence and Miracles of *Elijah*. From hence, in ſeven Hours, we arrived at *Caſimeer*, a large River running down to the Sea, which had once a good Stone Bridge, of which there remains Nothing now but the Supporters, between which are laid Beams and Boards to ſupply the Room of Arches. This River, by modern Geographers, is falſly thought to be the old *Eleutherus*, as has been ſhewn before; but it ſeems to be that River mentioned by *Strabo*, *p.* 521. falling into the Sea near *Tyre*, for within a Bow-ſhot of this River *Caſimeer*, is a Kane of the ſame Name, from which, keeping near the Sea-ſide, you arrive in an Hour at *Tyre*.

This City ſtanding in the Sea upon a Peninſula, promiſes ſomething magnificent at a Diſtance, but when you come to it, you find Nothing like the Glory for which of old it was ſo renown'd, as it is deſcribed, *Ezek.* 26, 27, 28. On the North-ſide it has an old *Turkiſh* Caſtle, beſides which there is Nothing here but a mere *Babel* of broken Walls, Pillars, Vaults, *&c.* there being not ſo much as one entire Houſe left. Its preſent Inhabitants are only a few poor Wretches that harbour in Vaults, and ſubſiſt upon Fiſhing, whereby God appears to have fulfilled his Word concerning *Tyre*, viz. *That it ſhould be as the Top of a Rock, a Place for Fiſhers to dry their Nets on*, Ezek. xxvi. 14.

In the Midſt of the Ruins there ſtands up one Pile higher than the reſt, which is the Eaſt-end of a great Church, probably of the Cathedral of *Tyre*, and may very well be the ſame that was erected by its Biſhop *Paulinus*, and honour'd with that famous Conſecration Sermon of *Euſebius*, recorded by himſelf in *Eccl. Hiſt. l.* 10. *c.* 4. And 'tis very obſervable that in all the ruin'd Churches which we ſaw, being perhaps no fewer than 100, though their other Parts were totally demoliſh'd, yet the Eaſt-end we always found ſtanding, and tolerably entire. How this came to paſs I cannot determine, but certainly a Thing ſo univerſally obſerv'd by us in our Journey, could not proceed from blind Chance.

But to return; there being an old Stair-caſe in the Ruin above-mention'd, I got to the Top of it, from whence I had a Proſpect of the Iſland-part of *Tyre*, the Iſthmus, and the adjacent Shore; and from that Height I could diſcern the Iſthmus to be a Soil of a different Nature from the other, it lying lower than either, and being cover'd all over with Sand, which the Sea caſts upon it. The Iſland of *Tyre*, in its natural State, ſeems to have been of a circular Figure, about Forty Acres in Compaſs, and the Foundations of the Wall that encompaſs'd it are ſtill to be ſeen. It makes with the Iſthmus two large Bays, one on its North-ſide, and the other on its South, which are in Part defended from the Ocean by a long Ridge, either of Walls or Rocks, reſembling a Mole, ſtretching out directly on both Sides from the Head of the Iſland. Coming out of theſe Ruins, we ſaw the Foundation of a very ſtrong Wall, running croſs the Neck of Land which ſerved as a Barrier to ſecure the City on this Side. And hence we paſt the ſandy Iſthmus, and came to the Place we thought the natural Shore, where we met with a fertile Plain, which extends to a vaſt Compaſs before *Tyre*, whence we arrived in three Quarters of an Hour at *Roſelayn*.

12. *March* 21ſt: *Roſelayn* is the Place where are the Ciſterns called *Solomon*'s, which according to the common Tradition are ſaid to have been made by that King, as part of his Recompence to King *Hiram*, for the Materials he ſent toward building the Temple: But though they are very ancient, yet they are of a later Date than this Tradition makes them, becauſe the Aquæduct which conveys the Water, is carried over that Neck of Land by which *Alexander* join'd the City to the Continent at his Siege of this Place, and ſo cannot be older than his Time. Of theſe Ciſterns there are three entire at this Day, one about a Furlong and half diſtant from the Sea, the other two, a little further up. The former is of an Octagonal Figure, being twenty two Yards in Diameter, and contains a vaſt Body of excellent Water, which is ſo well ſupplied from its Fountain, that though there iſſues from it a Stream like a Brook, driving four Mills between this Place and the Sea, yet it is always Brim-full. On the Eaſt-ſide was the ancient Outlet of Water by an Aquæduct, having a Channel one Yard wide, which is now ſtopt up by the *Turks*, who have broke an Outlet on the other Side, which makes a Stream for grinding Corn.

The Aquæduct, now dry, is carried Eaſtward 120 Paces, and then approaches the two other Ciſterns, of which one is twelve, the other twenty Yards ſquare, and they had each a Channel, by which they rendred their Waters into the Aquæduct, and ſo the united Streams of all the three Ciſterns were carried together to *Tyre*. There ſtill remains ſome Fragments of the Aquæduct, and in its Sides, and under its Arches, we obſerv'd ſome Heaps of Matter, produced by the Leakage of the Water which petrified as it diſtill'd from above, and by continual Acceſſion of new Matter were grown to a great Bulk. They were compos'd of innumerable Tubes of Stone, of different Sizes, cleaving to one another like Iſicles, each Tube having a Cavity in its Center, from which its Parts were projected in the Form of Rays to the Circumference, like the Stones call'd Thunder ſtones. The Fountain of theſe Waters is as unknown as the Contriver of them, though 'tis certain, from their Riſing ſo high, they come from ſome Part of the Mountains which are about a League diſtant.

From this pleaſant Place we came in an Hour and half to the white Promontory, over which you paſs by a Way about two Yards broad cut along its Side, from which the Proſpect is dreadful, by Reaſon of the Steepneſs of the Mountains, and the Raging of the Sea at bottom. This Way, and the Caſtle *Scandalium*, which is not far off, are ſaid to be built by *Alexander*; from whence we came firſt to *Nachera*, and then to the Plain of *Acra*, over a deep Mountain, ſuppos'd to be part of Mount *Sharon*. This Plain extends from Mount *Sharon* as far as *Carmel*, and is ſix Hours long, and two Hours broad, between the Sea and the Mountains, and was a delicious Plain, but is now, for Want of Culture, over-run with rank Weeds, which were, when we paſs'd it, as high as our Horſes Backs.

Having travell'd about an Hour in the Plain of *Acra*, we paſs'd by an old Town call'd *Zib*, which probably is the Old *Achzib*, mention'd *Joſ.* xix. 29. and *Jud.* i. 31. and ſeems to be one of the Places out of which the *Aſherites* could not expel the *Canaanites*. Two Hours further we came to the Fountain of the bleſſed Virgin, as it is call'd by the *French* Merchants at *Acra*, at which Place we arriv'd in an Hour more.

Acra, anciently call'd *Accho*, is another of the Places from whence the *Iſraelites* could not drive the Natives; but being in After-times enlarg'd by *Ptolemy* I. It was by him called *Ptolemais*. And ſince it was poſſeſſed by the *Turks*, like other Cities, having loſt its *Greek* Name, it is call'd by them *Acca*, or *Acra*. This City has often chang'd Maſters, and at laſt, by a long Siege, was taken and ruin'd by the *Turks*, in ſuch a Manner as if they had taken Revenge upon it for the Blood it coſt them. On the North and Eaſt it is compaſs'd with a ſpacious and fertile Plain, on the Weſt it is waſh'd by the *Mediterranean* Sea, and on the South by a large Bay, extending from the City as far as Mount *Carmel*.

But notwithſtanding theſe Advantages, beſides a large Kane in which are the *French* Factors, a Moſque, and a few poor Cottages, there is nothing now to be ſeen but vaſt Ruins, which ſhow its former Strength, for it appears to have been compaſs'd about with a double Wall defended with Towers, and without the Walls are Ditches, Ramparts, and a kind of Baſtions. In the Fields we find ſeveral large Balls of Stone, thirteen or fourteen Inches in Diameter, which were part of the Ammunition uſed in battering the City, Guns being then unknown. Within the Walls are the Ruins of the Cathedral dedicated to St. *Andrew*, of the Church of St. *John*, the titular Saint of this City, and of the Convent of the Knights-Hoſpitallers, and near to it the Palace of the Grand Maſter of that Order; and laſtly, ſome Remains of a large Church, formerly belonging to a Nunnery of which they tell this Story.

The *Turks* having preſs'd this City with a long Siege, at laſt entred it by Storm, *May* 19, 1291. In which Extremity, the Abbeſs fearing that herſelf and her Nuns ſhould be ſubjected to ſuch Beſtialities as is uſual in ſuch Caſes, exhorted them all to cut and mangle their Faces, as the only Way to preſerve their Virgin Purity; and to encourage them, ſhe made herſelf the firſt Example of her own Counſel, which the Nuns inſtantly follow'd, cutting off their Noſes, and disfiguring their Faces with ſuch terrible Gaſhes, as might excite Horror rather than luſtful Deſires. The Conſequence of this was, that the Soldiers breaking into the Nunnery, and ſeeing inſtead of beautiful Ladies ſuch ſad Spectacles, put them all to the Sword in Revenge for diſappointing their Luſts.

There are many other Ruins here of Churches, Palaces, Monaſteries, Forts, *&c.* for more than half a Mile in Length. But that which pleaſed us moſt was, to find the *French* Conſul *l'Empereur* here, who having ſtaid for us two Days, reſolved to ſet forward next Morning. But we were doubtful which Way to take, becauſe of the Factions of the *Arabs*, which are kept up by the *Turks*, to prevent their uniting under one

Prince, whereby they might be ſtrong enough to ſhake off the *Turkiſh* Yoke; for in theſe Diſcords Strangers are ſure to ſuffer, being a Prey to each Party.

13. The 22d, we ſet out early from *Acra*, having ſome *Turkiſh* Soldiers for our Convoy: And firſt we paſs'd by a ſmall River, which we took to be *Belus*, famous for its Sand, of which Glaſs is made. Here we declin'd from the Sea-coaſt to the Eaſt, and croſſing over the Plain, we arrived at its further Side, where it is bounded by Mount *Carmel*; and here we found a narrow Valley which led us out of the Plain of *Acra* into that of *Eſdraelon*. About this Place is the End of the Tribe of *Aſher*, and the Beginning of that of *Zebulon*, as their Borders are deſcribed, *Joſh*. xix. 26.

Paſſing through the ſaid narrow Valley, we arrived in two Hours at the River *Kiſhon*, which cuts its Way down the Middle of the Plain of *Eſdraelon*, and then continuing his Courſe by the Side of Mount *Carmel*, falls into the Sea at a Place called *Caypha*. We ſaw it when it was low, but we diſcern'd many Torrents falling into it from the Mountains, which muſt make it ſwell, as it did at the Deſtruction of *Siſera*'s Hoſt, *Judg*. v. 21. In three Hours and half from *Kiſhon*, we came to an old Village and good Kane called *Legune*, near to which we lodged that Night.

From this Place we viewed the Plain of *Eſdraelon*, which is very large and fertile, and about ſix Hours Diſtance ſtood within View *Nazareth*, and the two Mounts *Tabor* and *Hermon*; and here we felt the Dew of *Hermon*, as the *Pſalmiſt* calls it, our Tents being as wet with it as if it had rained all Night. About a Mile's Diſtance from us was encamped *Chibly*, Emir of the *Arabs*, with his People and Cattle; and below, upon the Brook *Kiſhon*, lay another Clan of the *Arabs*, being the adverſe Party to *Chibly*; and it was little to our Satisfaction, that we were ſeated in the Midſt between two ſuch bad Neighbours.

The 23d. Leaving this Lodging, we went to the Emir's Tents, to whom we paid two Caphars, one of *Lagune*, and the other of *Jeneen*, and whatever elſe he was pleaſed to demand. He very civilly eas'd us of ſome of our Coats, which begun now, by reaſon of the Heat, to be troubleſome. Getting quit of *Chibly*, we return'd out of the Plain of *Eſdraelon*, and entred into the Precincts of the half Tribe of *Manaſſes*. From hence our Road lay, for four Hours, through narrow Valleys, pleaſantly wooded on both Sides, and we lodg'd at *Caphar Arab*.

On the 24th, having paid our Caphar, we ſet out very early the next Morning; and leaving firſt *Arab*, and then *Rama*, on the Right-hand, we came to *Selee* and *Sebaſta*, where we leave the Borders of the Half Tribe of *Manaſſes*, and enter into thoſe of the Tribe of *Ephraim*. *Sebaſta* is the ancient *Samaria*, the Imperial City of the ten Tribes after their Revolt from the Houſe of *David*, and being raiſed by *Herod the Great* to a magnificent State, was by him, in Honour of *Auguſtus*, call'd *Sebaſta*.

It is ſituate on a long Mount of an oval Figure, and is now wholly converted into Gardens, having no other Remains of ſuch a Place but on the North-ſide a large ſquare Piazza, encompaſs'd with Pillars, and on the Eaſt ſome Ruins of a great Church, ſaid to be built by *Helena*, over the Place where *John the Baptiſt* was impriſon'd and beheaded. In the Body of the Church you go down a Stair-caſe into the Dungeon where that Blood was ſhed. The *Turks* hold that Priſon in great Veneration, and over it have erected a ſmall Moſque; but for a little Piece of Money they ſuffer any one to go into it.

Leaving *Sebaſta* we paſs'd by *Sherack* and *Barſeba*, and then entring into a Valley, we arrived in an Hour at *Naploſa*, which is the ancient *Sychem* or *Sychar*, as it is call'd in the *New Teſtament*. It ſtands in a narrow Valley between Mount *Gerizim* on the South, and *Ebal* on the North. From Mount *Gerizim* God commanded the Bleſſings to be pronounced upon the Children of *Iſrael*, and from Mount *Ebal* the Curſes, *Deut*. xi. 29. Upon the former the *Samaritans*, whoſe chief Reſidence is at *Sychem*, have a ſmall Temple, to which they are ſtill wont to repair for Religious Worſhip: But that their Religion conſiſts in worſhipping a Calf, as the *Jews* ſay, ſeems to have more of Spight than Truth in it.

Upon one of theſe Mountains alſo it was, that God commanded the Children of *Iſrael* to ſet up great Stones, plaiſter'd over and inſcribed with the Body of the Law, and to erect an Altar, and offer Sacrifices, Feaſting and Rejoicing before the Lord, *Deut*. xxvii. 4. But whether *Gerizim*, or *Ebal*, was the Place appointed for this Solemnity, there is ſome Cauſe to doubt; for the *Hebrew Pentateuch*, and ours from it, aſſign Mount *Ebal* for this Uſe; but the *Samaritan* aſſerts it was *Gerizim*. Our Company halting a little at *Naploſa*, I had an Opportunity to viſit the Chief Prieſt of the *Samaritans*, and to diſcourſe with him about this and other Difficulties.

And firſt, as to the Difference between the *Hebrew* and *Samarian* Copy, *Deut*. xxvii. 4. the Prieſt pretended, that the *Jews* had maliciouſly alter'd their Text out of Odium to the *Samaritans*, putting for *Gerizim*, *Ebal*, becauſe the *Samaritans* worſhipped in the former, which, for that Reaſon, they would not have to be the true Place appointed by God for his Worſhip. To confirm this, he alledged, that *Ebal* was the Mountain of Curſing, *Deut*. xi. 29. and an unpleaſant Place; whereas *Gerizim* was fertile and pleaſant, and the Mountain of Bleſſing; and therefore it was more probable, that this was the Mountain appointed for Religious Worſhip, and not *Ebal*. But he could not ſay that any of thoſe great Stones, which God directed *Joſhua* to ſet up, were now to be ſeen in *Gerizim*, which would have determin'd the Queſtion clearly on this Side.

I enquired alſo, what thoſe *Selavæ* were wherewith the Children of *Iſrael* were ſo long fed in the Wilderneſs, *Numb*. xi. He anſwer'd, They were a Sort of Fowls, which by his Deſcription appear'd to be Quails. Then I aſk'd him, what Sort of Plant or Fruit the *Dudaim* or Mandrakes were, which *Leah* gave to *Rachael* for the Purchaſe of her Huſband's Embraces? He anſwer'd, They were Plants of a large Leaf, bearing a Fruit like an Apple, ripe in Harveſt, but of an ill Savour and unwholſome, and that the Virtue of them was to help Conception, being laid under the genial Bed; to which Purpoſe they are often made Uſe of by Women at this Day.

Of theſe Plants I ſaw ſeveral in the Way to *Jeruſalem*; and if they were as common in *Meſopotamia* as here, we muſt conclude, that either theſe were not the true Mandrakes, or elſe it is hard to give a Reaſon why *Rachael* ſhould purchaſe ſuch common Things at ſo beloved a Price. *Naploſa* is at preſent in a very mean Condition to what it has been anciently; it conſiſts of two Streets lying parallel under Mount *Gerizim*, but is full of People. Having paid our Caphar here, we proceeded in the ſame narrow Valley between *Gerizim* and *Ebal*; and juſt without the City we ſaw a ſmall Moſque, ſaid to be built over the Sepulchre purchaſed by *Jacob* of *Emmor*, Father of *Shechem*, *Gen*. xxxiii. 19. It goes by the Name of *Joſeph*'s Sepulchre, his Bones being inter'd here, *Joſh*. xxiv. 32. About a Quarter of an Hour from *Naploſa* we came to *Jacob's Well*, famous not only for its Author, but for the Conſcience it had there with the Woman of *Samaria*, *Joh*. iv. Over the Well there ſtood formerly a large Church erected by *Helena*, of which remains nothing now but ſome Foundations. The Well is cover'd at preſent with a Stone Vault, into which you are let down through a very ſtraight Hole; and then removing a broad Stone, you diſcover the Mouth of the Well. It is dug in a firm Rock, and is about three Yards in Diameter, and thirty-five deep, five of which we found full of Water.

At this Well the narrow Valley of *Sychem* ends, opening into a wide Field, which is probably Part of that Parcel of Ground given by *Jacob* to his Son *Joſeph*, *Joh*. iv. 5. From *Jacob*'s Well we went through a large Valley, and having paſs'd by two Villages on the Right-hand, called *Howar* and *Sawee*, we came in four Hours to *Kane Leban*, near a Village of the ſame Name, one of which is ſuppoſed to have been the *Lebonah*, mentioned *Jud.* xi. 19. and here we lodg'd that Night.

14. On the 25th, from *Kane Leban*, our Road lay through a rocky Country; but having paſs'd by *Cinga*, we entred into a narrow Valley between two rocky Hills, at the further End of which we found the Ruins of a Village and a Monaſtery. In this Place *Jacob's Bethel* is ſuppoſed to have been, where he had his ſtrong Couch made eaſy by the Viſion of God, and of the Angels aſcending and deſcending on a Ladder between Earth and Heaven, *Gen.* xxviii. near which Place are the Limits that part between *Ephraim* and *Benjamin*, *Joſh.* xviii. 13. From hence we paſs'd through large Olive yards, and having left *Geeb* and *Selwid* on the Right-hand, we arrived at *Beer*; which is the Place to which *Jotham* fled from the Revenge of *Abimelech*, *Jud.* ix. 21. and is ſuppoſed to be the ſame with *Michmas*, 1 *Sam.* xiv.

Beer is ſeated on the Side of a Hill, which at the Bottom has a Fountain of the ſame Name, and at its upper Side, are the Remains of an old Church built by *Helena*, in Memory of the bleſſed Virgin, who being in Queſt of the Child *Jeſus*, *Luke* ii. 24. is ſaid to have ſate down here penſive and weary, becauſe ſhe could not find him; but after her Return to *Jeruſalem*, ſhe found him ſitting in the Temple with the Doctors, both hearing them, and aſking them Queſtions. Thro' the whole of this Day's Journey we had nothing in View in moſt Places but Rocks, Mountains, and Precipices, which aſtoniſhes Pilgrims, as being contrary to thoſe high Ideas they had form'd of the Pleaſantneſs and Plenty of this Country, and almoſt ſtartles their Faith, as thinking it hardly poſſible for a Land like this to feed ſo prodigious a Number as are ſaid to have been poll'd at one Time, being no leſs than 1,300,000 fighting Men, beſides Women and Children.

But to remove theſe Scruples, any one may obſerve that theſe Rocks and Hills muſt have been anciently covered with Earth and cultivated, and ſo they afforded a larger Space of Ground than if the Country were level, which they huſbanded by gathering up the Stones, and placing them along the Sides of the Hill in Form of a Wall, which kept in the Mould, and form'd many Beds of excellent Soil, from the Bottom to the Top of the Mountains; of which Form of Culture we ſee plain Footſteps in all the Mountains of *Paleſtine*. And there is Nothing upon Earth more fruitful, even at this Day, than the plain Country and Valleys, either for the Production of Corn or of Paſturage for Cattle.

The Hills, tho' improper for any Cattle but Goats, yet being diſpoſed into the Beds before-mention'd, ſerv'd very well to bear Corn, Melons, Gourds, Cucumbers, and ſuch-like Garden-ſtuff, which are the chief Food of theſe Countries for ſeveral Months of the Year. The moſt rocky Parts might ſerve for Vines and Olive-trees, which delight in ſuch dry and flinty Places; and the great Plain joining to the Dead Sea, which by reaſon of its Saltneſs could not ſerve for Corn, Vines, or Olives, was yet very uſeful for the Nouriſhment of Bees, and making of Honey, as *Joſephus* teſtifies, *Bell. Jud. l.* 5. *c.* 4. and I found by Experience, when I was there, finding in many Places a ſtrong Smell of Honey and Wax. Thus the Country might very well maintain the vaſt Numbers of its Inhabitants, being every where productive of Milk, Corn, Wine, Oil, or Honey, which are the principal Food of theſe Eaſtern Nations.

Leaving *Beer*, in two Hours and a Quarter we came to the Top of a Hill, from whence we had the firſt Proſpect of *Jeruſalem*; *Rama*, anciently called *Gibeah* of *Saul*, being within View on the Right-hand, and the Plain of *Jericho*, and the Mountains of *Gilead* on the Left. In an Hour more we came to the Walls of *Jeruſalem*, but durſt not enter without Leave of the Governor; which being obtain'd, we entred at the *Bethlehem* Gate, mounted and arm'd, becauſe we were in Company with the *French* Conſul, for otherwiſe all *Franks* that come not in with ſome publick Miniſter, are to diſmount at the Gate, deliver their Arms, and enter on Foot. We took our Lodgings at the *French* Conſul's, and our Board at the *Latin* Convent, while we ſtay'd at *Jeruſalem*.

15. The 26th, being *Good-Friday* in the *Latin* Stile, we were obliged to go with the Conſul into the Church of the Sepulchre, to keep the Feaſt with him, though it was a Week before our own *Eaſter*. We found the Church Doors guarded by *Janizaries*, who ſuffer none to go in until they have paid their Caphar, which for *Franks* is commonly fourteen Dollars *per* Head, unleſs they be Eccleſiaſticks, and then it is but half ſo much. This being once paid, you may go in and out *gratis* as oft as you pleaſe during the whole Feaſt at the ordinary Times when the Door is open. All the Pilgrims being admitted, the Church Doors were lock'd, and opened no more till *Eaſter-day*; and being confined for three Days, we viſited all the holy Places at Leiſure; therefore I ſhall relate what paſs'd during the Feſtival, and ſay of the Church, what is neceſſary to make my Account intelligible.

The Church of the Holy Sepulchre is founded on Mount *Calvary*, a ſmall Hill upon the greater Mount of *Moriah*; it was anciently appropriated to the Execution of Malefactors, and therefore ſhut out of the City as a polluted Place; but ſince it was made the Altar, on which the precious Sacrifice for the Sins of the World was offer'd, it ſtands in the Midſt of *Jeruſalem*, a great Part of the Hill of *Sion* being ſhut out of the Walls to make Room for it.

Though a great Part of this Hill was cut away to make it a fit Foundation for a Church, yet Care was taken that none of thoſe Parts concern'd in our Lord's Paſſion, ſhould be alter'd or diminiſh'd; and ſo that very Part of *Calvary* where Chriſt was faſtened to the Croſs, remains entire, being about ten or twelve Yards ſquare, and ſtanding ſo high above the Floor of the Church, that you have twenty one Steps to go up to its Top; and the holy Sepulchre, which at firſt was hewn into a Rock under Ground, is now a Grotto above Ground, the Rock being cut away from it all round. The Church is leſs than an hundred Paces long, and not more than ſixty wide, yet it contains twelve or thirteen Sanctuaries, conſecrated by ſome particular Actions relating to the Death or Reſurrection of Chriſt.

As, 1. The Place where he was derided by the Soldiers. 2. Where the Soldiers divided his Garments. 3. Where he was ſhut up, while all was made ready for his Crucifixion. 4. Where he was nail'd to the Croſs. 5. Where the Croſs was erected. 6. Where the Soldiers ſtood that pierced his Side. 7. Where his Body was anointed in order to his Burial. 8. Where his Body was laid in the Sepulchre. 9. Where the Angels appeared to the Women after his Reſurrection. 10. Where Chriſt himſelf appeared to *Mary Magdalene*, &c. All which Places, and many others of the ſame Nature, are contain'd within this Church, and adorn'd with ſo many ſeveral Altars.

In Galleries about the Church, and little Buildings annex'd to it, every Chriſtian Nation had anciently proper Quarters for a Society of Monks, but now, all except four, have forſaken theſe Quarters, becauſe of the ſevere Rents impoſed upon them by their *Turkiſh* Landlords; and of theſe four, the *Cophties* have only one to repreſent their Nation; and the *Armenians* are ſo much in Debt, that they are likely to deſert the Place quickly, and then the *Greeks* and *Latins* will only remain.

Beſides their ſeveral Apartments, each Fraternity have their peculiar Altars and Sanctuary for their own Uſe. But the great Prize now diſputed between the *Greeks* and *Latins*, is the Command of the Holy Sepulchre, in which Contention they have proceeded to Blows and Wounds, even at the Door of the Sepulchre; and as an Evidence of this Fury, the Father Guardian ſhew'd me a great Scar in his Arm, being the Mark of a Wound given by a *Greek* Prieſt; but at the Requeſt of the *French* King, this holy Sepulchre was appropriated to the *Latins* in 1690, they alone having the Privilege to ſay Maſs in it, though all other Chriſtians may go into it for the Celebration of their private Devotions.

The *Latins*, of whom there are always ten or twelve at Church, with a Preſident over them, make every Day a ſolemn Proceſſion, with Tapers and Crucifixes, to the ſeveral Sanctuaries, and ſing at every one a Hymn, relating to the Subject of the Place. Their Ceremony begins on *Good-Friday* Night, which is called by them the *Nox Tenebroſa*; and as ſoon as it grew duſk, all the Friars and Pilgrims met in the Chapel of the Apparition, (which is on the North-ſide of the Holy Grave) to go in Proceſſion round the Church.

After a Sermon, at which all the Candles were put out to make a lively Image of the dark Night, every one had a lighted Taper put into his Hand; and amongſt the other Crucifixes, there was one very large, which bore an Image of our Lord, as big as the Life, faſtned to it with great Nails, crown'd with Thorns, beſmear'd with Blood, and lively repreſented our Lord's Body as it hung upon the Croſs. The Figure was carried in the Head of the Proceſſion, after which all the Company followed to all the ſeveral Sanctuaries of the Church, ſinging at every one a Hymn.

The firſt Place was that of the Pillar of Flagellation, kept in a little Cell juſt by the Chapel of Apparition; there they ſung their Hymn, and a Friar preach'd in *Spaniſh* about the ſcourging of our Lord. From hence they proceeded to the Priſon of Chriſt, where they had alſo a Hymn and a Sermon. From the Priſon they went to the Altar of the Diviſion of Chriſt's Garments, where they only ſung a Hymn; and from thence to the Chapel of Deriſion, where they had a Hymn and a fourth Sermon. From this Place they went up to *Cavalry*, leaving their Shoes at the Foot of the Stairs. Here are two Altars, one where he was nail'd to the Croſs, at which they laid down the great Crucifix, and acted the Nailing of Chriſt to the Croſs. The other where his Croſs was erected, bearing the Image of our Lord's Body. At this Altar there is a Hole in the natural Rock, in which the Foot of our Lord's Croſs ſtood; and here they ſet up their Croſs, with the bloody crucified Image upon it, and then ſung a Hymn, and preach'd a very affecting Paſſion Sermon.

About a Yard and half from the Hole where the Foot of the Croſs was fix'd, is ſeen that Cleft in the Rock which was made by the Earthquake at Chriſt's Death, when *the Rocks were rent*, *Mat.* xxvii. 51. It appears to be a natural Breach, for the Sides of it anſwer each other like two Tallies, and it runs in ſuch intricate Windings as could not be counterfeited by Art. After the Ceremony of the Paſſion is over, two Friars perſonating *Joſeph* of *Arimathea* and *Nicodemus*, come with a grave and ſolemn Air, and take down the feigned Body from the Croſs. The Limbs of the Image were ſoft and flexible, and it was ſurpriſing to ſee the two Mourners bend down the Arms which were before extended, and lay them upon the Trunk, as is uſually done in Corpſes. The Body being taken down was receiv'd in a large Winding-ſheet, and carried from *Mount Calvary* to the Stone of Unction, *i. e.* the Place where our Lord's Body was anointed, *John* xix. 39. And here while they caſt over it ſweet Powders and Spices, they ſung a proper Hymn, and a Friar preach'd a Funeral Sermon in *Arabick*. After this they carried the feigned Corpſe and laid it in the Sepulchre, ſhutting up the Door till *Eaſter* Morning.

On the 27th: This Morning the Pilgrims had Leiſure to mark their Arms with the uſual Enſigns of *Jeruſalem*; and in the Afternoon, the Congregation was aſſembled in the *Area* before the Holy Grave, where the Friars ſung over the Lamentation of *Jeremy*, which with the uſual Proceſſion to the holy Places was all the Buſineſs of this Day.

16. On the 28th, being *Eaſter* Morning, the Sepulchre was again ſet open very early, and Maſs was celebrated juſt before it, being the higheſt Place in this Church, where the Father Guardian in his Robes gave the Hoſt to all that were diſpos'd to receive it, not refuſing Children of ſeven or eight Years old: Which Office being ended, we went out of the Sepulchre, return'd to the Convent, and din'd with the Friars. After Dinner we went to viſit ſome of the remarkable Places without the Walls; we began with thoſe on the North-ſide. And firſt, we were conducted to a large Grot, a little without *Damaſcus*-gate, which is ſaid to have been the Reſidence of *Jeremiah*: And here they ſhew'd us the Prophet's Bed, being a Shelve on the Rock about eight Foot from the Ground, and near it is the Place where they ſay he wrote his Lamentations. This Place is now a College of *Derviſes*, and is much honour'd by *Turks* and *Jews*.

The next Place we came to, was thoſe famous Grots called the *Sepulchres of Kings*, for what Reaſon I know not, unleſs they were the Sepulchres of the Sons of *David*, mentioned *Chron.* xxxii. 33. but it appears by the Labour and Expence to have been the Work of Kings. At the Eaſt-end you enter through a Rock into an open Court, about forty Paces ſquare, cut down into the Rock. On the South-ſide is a Portico nine Paces long, and four broad, cut out of the natural Rock, and at the End of it you deſcend into the Sepulchres, within which is a fair Room about ſeven or eight Yards ſquare, cut out of the natural Rock ſo exactly ſquare, that Nothing could be built more regular; and ſo firm, that it may be called a Chamber hewn out of one Piece of Marble.

From this Room you paſs into ſix more, one within another, all of the ſame Fabrick with the firſt. In every one of theſe Rooms, beſides the firſt, were Coffins of Stone placed in Niches on the Sides of the Chamber, and in each Room there was a ſmall Channel cut in the Floor, to drain the Drops that conſtantly fall into it. But the moſt ſurprizing Thing that belongs to theſe Rooms was their Doors, of which there is only one remains hanging to puzzle the Beholders. It conſiſted of a Plank of Stone about ſix Inches thick, of the Size of an ordinary Door; it was carved ſo as to reſemble a Piece of Wainſcot, but the Stone was viſibly of the ſame Kind with the whole Rock, and turned upon two Hinges like Axels, which were of the ſame Stone with the Door, and contained in two Holes of the Rock, one at the Top, the other at the Bottom.

It ſeem'd to be a Riddle to Pilgrims, whether theſe Doors were here cut out of the Rock, or brought hither; for reſolving of which, I obſerved that the Door left hanging, did not touch its Lintel by at leaſt two Inches, and ſo might eaſily be lifted up and unhinged, which intimates how this Work was done. From theſe Sepulchres we return'd towards the City, and juſt by *Herod*'s Gate were ſhown a Grotto full of Mire, which paſſes for *Jeremiah*'s Dungeon, out of which he was diſmiſſed by *Ebed Melech*, Jer. xxxviii.

17. The 29th. This Day, being *Eaſter Monday*, the Moſolem, or Governor of the City, ſet out with ſome Bands of Soldiers to convey the Pilgrims to *Jordan*, and to ſecure them from the Inſolence of the *Arabs* in thoſe Parts. The Fee to the Moſolem, upon this Occaſion, is twelve Dollars for each *Frank* Pilgrim, and ſix for Eccleſiaſticks, which every one muſt pay, whether they go the Journey or ſtay in the City. We went out at St. *Stephen*'s Gate, being in all, of every Nation and Sex, about 2000 Pilgrims; and having croſs'd the Valley of *Jehoſaphat*, and Part of Mount *Olivet*, we came in half an Hour to *Bethany*. At the Entrance into it there is an old Ruin called *Lazarus*'s *Caſtle*, ſuppoſed to be his Manſion-houſe, and not far from it is the Sepulchre out of which he was raiſed by Chriſt, which is held in great Veneration by the *Turks*, who uſe it for an Oratory, and demand of all Chriſtians a Caphar for their Admiſſion into it.

A little further you paſs by what they call *Mary Magdalen*'s Habitation, and then deſcending a Hill, you come to the Fountain of the Apoſtles, where they were wont to refreſh themſelves in their Travels between *Jeruſalem* and *Jericho*. After ſome Hours Travel in a barren Country, you come to the mountainous Deſart into which our Saviour was led by the Spirit to be tempted of the Devil; and from the Top of theſe Hills we had a Proſpect of the Mountains of *Arabia*, the *Dead Sea*, and the Plain of *Jericho*, into which we deſcended, and turning up on the Left-hand, we came to the Foot of the *Quarantania*, which they ſay is the Mountain into which the Devil took our Saviour, when he tempted him with that viſionary Scene of all the Kingdoms in the World, and the Glories of them.

Turning down hence into the Plain, we came to the Fountain of *Eliſha*, ſo called, becauſe by him it was miraculouſly purg'd of its Brackiſhneſs, at the Requeſt of the Men of *Jericho*, 2 *Kings* ii. 19. Its Waters now being receiv'd in a Baſon, divide themſelves into ſeveral ſmall Streams, which refreſh the whole Field that lies between this and *Jericho*. A little from hence is *Jericho*, at preſent only a poor naſty Village of the *Arabs*; and here we ſaw the Place where *Zaccheus*'s Houſe is ſaid to have ſtood, which is an old ſquare Stone Building on the South ſide of *Jericho*.

30th. We ſet out early for *Jordan*, and arrived there in two Hours. We found the Plain very barren, producing Nothing but Marine Plants; and in many Places of the Road, where Puddles of Water had ſtood, we obſerved a Whiteneſs on the Surface of the Ground, which we found to be a Cruſt of Salt raiſed by the Water out of the Earth. About a Furlong from the River *Jordan*, was an old Church and Convent dedicated to St. *John*, in Memory of his baptizing our Saviour. We were there in *March*, but could diſcern no Sign of its overflowing, though it was the proper Time for theſe Inundations.

One Bank of the River is ſo beſet with Buſhes and Trees, that ſeveral Sorts of Wild Beaſts are ſaid to harbour in them; whoſe being waſh'd out of their Covert by the Overflowings of the River, gave Occaſion to that Alluſion, *Jer.* xlix. 19. *He ſhall come up like a Lion, from the ſwelling of* Jordan. When we came to the River, ſome ſtript and bath'd themſelves in it, others cut down Boughs from the Trees, and every one was ſome Way employ'd to take a Memorial of this famous Stream. Its Breadth was about twenty Yards over, and in Depth it far exceeded my Height. By the Moſolem's Leave we went towards the Dead Sea with a Guard to attend us. The Dead Sea is encloſed on the Eaſt and Weſt with very high Mountains; on the North it is bounded with the Plain of *Jericho*, on which Side alſo it receives the Waters of *Jordan*. On the South it is open, and extends beyond the Reach of the Eye. It is ſaid to be twenty four Leagues long, and ſix or ſeven broad. On the Shore of the Lake we found a black Sort of Pebbles, which being held in the Flame of a Candle, ſoon burns, and yields a Smoke of an intolerable Stench; but by burning it loſes only of its Weight, and not of its Bulk. It is a common Tradition, that Birds attempting to fly over this Sea, drop down dead into it; and that no Fiſh, nor other Sort of Animal, can live in theſe Waters. The former Report I ſaw actually confuted, by ſeveral Birds flying over this Sea without any viſible Harm. The latter I have ſome Reaſon to ſuſpect as falſe, having obſerved on the Shore two or three Shells of Fiſh like Oyſter-ſhells. As for the Bitumen, for which the Sea is famous, there was none at the Place where we were, but it is gathered near the Mountains on both Sides in great Plenty. It is ſo like Pitch, that it cannot be eaſily diſtinguiſhed from it, but by its ſulphureous Smell and Taſte.

The Water of the Lake was clear, and not only ſalt to the higheſt Degree, but extreme bitter. To try its Strength I went into it, and found it bore up my Body Swimming with an uncommon Force. Though I diligently ſearched, I could not find any Remains of thoſe Cities here ſituated, which were made ſo dreadful an Example of Divine Vengeance; neither could I diſcern any Smoke aſcending above the Water, nor any Ruins. But the Father-guardian, and Procurator of *Jeruſalem*, both aſſured me, that they had ſeen one of theſe Ruins, and the Water being very ſhallow, they went to it, and found there ſeveral Pillars, and other Fragments of Buildings. On the Weſt-ſide of this Sea is a ſmall Promontory, near which, as our Guides told us, is the Monument of *Lot*'s Wife metamorphos'd.

As to the Apples of *Sodom*, I never ſaw nor heard of any ſuch hereabouts, nor is there any Tree near the Lake from which one might expect ſuch Fruit. In our Return, about an Hour's Diſtance from the Sea, we ſaw a ruin'd *Greek* Convent, and found a good Part of the Church remaining, with the Figures of ſeveral Saints, and a *Greek* Inſcription over the Altar. Hereabouts, and in many other Places of the Plain, I perceived a ſtrong Scent of Honey and Wax, the Sun being hot, and the Bees very induſtrious about the Bloſſoms of that Salt Weed the Plain produces. Among the Products of this Place, I ſaw a notable Fruit, called by the *Arabs*, *Zaccbone*; it grows on a thorney Buſh with ſmall Leaves, and both in Shape and Colour reſembles an unripe Wall-nut. The Kernels of this Fruit the *Arabs* bray in a Mortar, and then putting the Pulp into ſcalding Water, they ſkim off the Oil which riſes to the Top; which Oil they uſe inwardly for Bruiſes, and outwardly for green Wounds; and I have found it, upon ſome Trials, a very healing Medicine.

18. On the 31ſt: This Morning we went in Six Hours near the Walls of *Jeruſalem*, and thence to *Bethlehem* in two Hours, through the Valley of *Bephaim*, famous for being the Theatre of *David*'s Victories, 2 *Sam.* v. 23. In this Road we met, 1. With the Houſe of *Simeon*, who having our Saviour in his Arms ſung his *Nunc dimittis*. 2. The Turpentine-tree under which the Virgin is ſaid to have reſted, when ſhe carried Chriſt in her Arms to preſent him to the Lord at *Jeruſalem*. 3. A Convent dedicated to *Elias*, where the *Greek* Monks pretend to ſhew the Impreſſion of his Body in a Stone that ſerv'd for his Bed; near to which is the Well of the Star, that appear'd to the wiſe Men, which there re-appear'd to them. 4. *Rachel*'s Tomb, mention'd *Gen.* xxxv. 19. which is a modern Structure, but probably the true Place of her Interment.

Being arriv'd at *Bethlehem*, we went to all the Holy Places belonging to it, *viz.* the Place where our Lord is ſaid to be born, the Manger wherein he is ſaid to be laid, the Chapel of *Joſeph* his ſuppoſed Father, that of the Innocents, thoſe of St. *Jerom*, of St. *Paula* and *Euſtochium*, and of *Euſebius* of *Cremona*, and the School of St. *Jerom*; all which Places I only name, being afore deſcrib'd by Mr. *Sandys*.

From the Top of the Church we had a View of *Tekoah*, about nine Miles diſtant Southward, of *Engedi* about three Miles Eaſtward, and of a high Hill called the *Franks* Hill, being defended by the *Cruſaders* forty Years after the Loſs of *Jeruſalem*.

April 1. We went to ſee the remarkable Places near *Bethlehem*, and firſt to the famous Fountains, Pools and Gardens, which are ſaid to be King *Solomon*'s, to which he ſeems to allude, *Eccl.* ii. 5, 6. The Pools are three in Number, ſo diſpos'd, that the Waters of the uppermoſt deſcend into the ſecond, and the ſecond into the third. The Breadth in all is the ſame, being about ninety Paces, but the Length is different, that of the firſt being about an hundred and ſixty Paces, that of the ſecond two hundred, and the third two hundred and twenty.

About an hundred and forty Paces from them, is the Fountain from which they chiefly derive their Waters, which the Friars will have to be that ſeal'd Fountain to which the Spouſe is compar'd, *Cant.* iv. 12. Here you find four Places where the Water riſes, from which it is convey'd into a Baſon, and from thence is carried by a ſubterraneous Paſſage into the Pools; and by the Way there is an Aquæduct of brick Pipes, which receives Part of the Stream, and carries it by many Turnings about the Mountains to *Jeruſalem*. Theſe Pools may probably be the ſame with *Soloman*'s, becauſe there is not the like Store of good Spring-water to be met with any where elſe in *Paleſtine*. From theſe Memorials of *Solomon* we return'd to viſit ſome Places nearer *Bethlehem*, where we ſaw the Field in which they ſay the Shepherds were watching their Flocks, when they receiv'd the glad Tidings of Chriſt's Birth, and hard by the Village where they dwelt, and an old Nunnery built by St. *Paula*, in which ſhe died; all which Places lie Eaſtward about half a Mile from the Convent.

But to the Weſtward we ſaw *David*'s Well, which he ſo much thirſted after, 2 *Sam.* xxiii. 15. and a little beyond it ſome Remains of an old Aquæduct, which convey'd the Waters from *Solomon*'s Pools to *Jeruſalem*;

which is ſaid to have been the genuine Work of *Solomon*, but is now deſtroy'd by the *Turks*. Returning from this Place, we went to ſee the *Greek* and *Armenian* Convents, contiguous to that of the *Latins*, each of which has a ſeveral Door opening into the Chapel of the holy Manger; and then we went to the Grot of the bleſſed Virgin, within forty Yards of the Convent, where ſhe is ſaid to have hid herſelf, and her divine Babe, from the Fury of *Herod*, ſometime before their Departure into *Egypt*. This Grot is hollow'd into a chalky Rock, whoſe Whiteneſs they ſay proceeds from ſome Drops of the Virgin's Milk, that fell from her Breaſt while ſhe was ſuckling the holy Infant; upon which Account, they believe that this Chalk has a miraculous Virtue of encreaſing Women's Milk, and for that End it is often taken by Women, *Turks*, *Arabs* and *Chriſtians*, and they ſay with very good Effect.

19. On the 2d, having preſented the Guardian with two *Chequeens* for his Civilities to us, we went from *Bethlehem* to go viſit the Wilderneſs, and Convent of St. *John Baptiſt*, and in this Stage we firſt croſs'd that famous Valley in which the Angel is ſaid in one Night to have deſtroy'd many thouſands in the Army of *Senacherib*; and then we came to *Boatſh Ullah*, in which they ſay no *Turk* can live above two Years, by which Report the *Chriſtians* have it to themſelves. A little further we came to a Fountain, where they told us, but falſly, that *Philip* baptiz'd the *Ethiopian* Eunuch; and then to the Village of St. *Philip*, at which aſcending a ſteep Hill, we came to the Wilderneſs of St. *John*, which is very rocky, but is well cultivated, and produces great Plenty of Corn, Vines and Olive-trees. And here we ſaw the Cave and Fountain where the *Baptiſt* is ſaid to have led an auſtere Life, *Mat*. iii. 4. Near this Cell are ſome Locuſt-trees, which the Friars ſay yielded him Suſtenance, though they appear to be planted much later than his Time. After this, as we went to the Convent of St. *John*, we paſs'd along one Side of the Valley of *Elah*, where *David* ſlew the Giant, 1 *Sam*. xvii. and had a View of *Modon*, on the Top of a Hill, the Burying-place of the *Maccabees*.

When we came near the Convent, we viſited a Place which they call the Houſe of *Elizabeth*, Mother of the *Baptiſt*; and in the Ruins of the Convent that was formerly here, is a Grotto in which they ſay the bleſſed Virgin ſaluted *Elizabeth*, and pronounced her divine *Magnificat*, *Luke* i. 46. The Convent of St. *John* has been rebuilt from the Ground within theſe four Years, and is now a large ſquare Building, and neat all over; and has in it a very beautiful Church, at the North-end of which you go down ſeven Marble Steps to a ſtately Altar, erected over the Place where they ſay the *Baptiſt* was born. As we return'd from St. *John*'s to *Jeruſalem*, we ſaw a Convent of the *Greeks*, taking its Name from the Holy Croſs, becauſe they ſay here is the Earth that nouriſh'd the Root that bore the Tree that yielded the Timber that made the Croſs; and under the high Altar you are ſhown the Hole in the Ground where the Stump of the Tree ſtood. After this we return'd to *Jeruſalem*, and had our Feet waſhed by the Guardian, and kiſs'd by every Friar, who did all ſing *Latin* Hymns at the Time.

20. On the 3d, we went to ſee the Office of the Holy Fire, a Ceremony kept up by the *Greeks* and *Armenians*, who believe that every *Eaſter-Eve* a miraculous Flame deſcends from Heaven into the Holy Sepulchre, and kindles all the Lamps and Candles there. When we came to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, we found it crouded with a numerous Mob, who began their Diſorders by running round the Holy Sepulchre with all their Might, crying out *Huia*, i. e. *This is he*, or *this is it*; by which they expreſs the Truth of the Chriſtian Religion. After this they began to act many antick Tricks, like Mad-men; ſometimes they dragg'd one another round the Sepulchre, ſometimes they ſet one Man upon another's Shoulders, and ſo march'd round; and ſometimes they tumbled round the Sepulchre like Tumblers on a Stage, and acting the rudeſt Things on this Occaſion.

This frantick Humour continued from twelve to four; and then the *Greeks* firſt ſet out in a Proceſſion round the Sepulchre, who were immediately follow'd by the *Armenians*, in which Order they thrice compaſs'd the Sepulchre, producing their Standards, Crucifixes, and embroider'd Habits, upon this Occaſion. Towards the End of this Proceſſion, a Pigeon came fluttering into the Cupola over the Sepulchre, at which there was a great Shout; and the *Latins* told us, this was let fly by the *Greeks*, to deceive the People into an Opinion that it was a viſible Deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt. The Proceſſion being over, the Suffragan of the *Greek* Patriarch, and the principal *Armenian* Biſhop, approach'd the Door of the Sepulchre, and cutting the String with which it was faſten'd and ſeal'd, entred in, ſhutting the Door after him, all the Candles and Lamps within having been before extinguiſh'd in the Preſence of the *Turks*. And then the Exclamations were double as the Miracle drew nearer, and the People preſs'd with ſuch Vehemence to the Door, that the *Turks* could not keep them off with the ſevereſt Drubs, which they did out of a great Deſire to light their Candles at the holy Flame, as ſoon as it is brought out of the Sepulchre, for that is counted moſt ſacred and pure, as coming immediately from Heaven.

The two Miracle-mongers had not been above a Minute in the Sepulchre, when the Glimmering of the holy Fire was ſeen through ſome Chinks of the Door, which made the Mob as mad as any in *Bedlam*. Then preſently came out the two Prieſts with blazing Torches in their Hands, which they held up at the Door of the Sepulchre, while the People thronged with mighty Zeal to obtain a Part of the firſt and pureſt Flame, and could not be kept off by the hard Blows of the *Turks* Clubs, who laid on without Mercy. Thoſe who got the Fire applied it to their Beards and Faces, pretending it would not burn like an earthly Flame; but I ſaw none that endured the Trial long enough to make good the Pretenſion. However, ſo many Tapers were preſently lighted, that the whole Church ſeem'd to be in a Flame; and with this Illumination the Ceremony ended. Thoſe within the Church acted their Part with great Quickneſs and Dexterity, but the Behaviour of the Rabble without, which would better become a *Bacchanale* than a *Chriſtian* Feſtival, very much diſcredited the Miracle.

The *Latins* take a great deal of Pains to expoſe this Ceremony as a ſhameful Impoſture, and a Scandal to the Chriſtian Religion; but the *Greeks* and *Armenians* pin their Faith upon it, and make their Pilgrimages chiefly upon this Motive; and it is the Unhappineſs of their Prieſts, that having acted the Cheat ſo long, they are forced now to ſtand to it for Fear of endangering the Apoſtacy of their People. After the Rout was over, when we went out of *Church*, we ſaw ſeveral People about the Stone of Unction, who, having Store of Candles lighted with the holy Fire, were daubing Pieces of Linen with the Weiks of them, and the melting Wax, which were deſigned for Winding-ſheets; for they believe, that if they are buried in a Shroud ſmutted with this Fire, it will ſecure them from Hell-fire.

The 4th being our *Eaſter*, we did not go abroad, the Time requiring Employment of another Nature.

21. On the 5th we went to ſee ſome new Curioſities; and firſt we came to that which is called St. *Peter*'s Priſon, from which he was deliver'd by an Angel, *Acts* xii. Next we came to an old Church, in the Place where the Houſe of *Zebedee* ſtood; then to the Place where ſtood the Iron Gate which open'd to St. *Peter* of its own Accord; and a little farther is a ſmall Church built over the Houſe of St. *Mark*, whither *Peter* went after his miraculous Gaol-delivery. The *Syrians*, who keep it, pretend to ſhow you the Window at which *Rhoda* look'd out when *Peter* knock'd at the Door. In the Church they ſhew a *Syriack* MS. of the *New-Teſtament*, pretended to be eight hundred and fifty-two Years old, and a little Stone-Font uſed by the Apoſtles in baptizing. Beyond this, in the ſame Street, is that which is call'd the Houſe of St. *Thomas*, formerly a Church now a Moſque.

A little further, in another Street, is the Place where they ſay our Lord appear'd after his Reſurrection to the *Maries*, *Matt.* xxviii. 9. And here the *Armenians* have their Convent and Gardens, which take up all that Part of Mount *Sion* that is within the Walls of the City. Their Church is built over the Place where they ſay St. *James*, the Brother of *John*, was beheaded, *Acts* xii. 2. and on the North-ſide of it is ſhown the Place of his Decollation. In this Church are two Altars ſet out with extraordinary Splendor, deck'd with rich Mitres, Copes, Croſſes of Silver and Gold, *&c.* and in the Middle a Pulpit made of Tortoiſe-ſhell, and Mother of Pearl, curiouſly mingled and inlaid in one another.

In the Anti-chapel are three large rough Stones, eſteem'd very precious, one of them being the Stone upon which *Moſes* caſt the two Tables when he broke them, the other two being brought, one from the Place of our Lord's Baptiſm, and the other from that of his Transfiguration. After this we went to another Chapel of the *Armenians*, which is ſaid to be founded in the Place where *Annas*'s Houſe ſtood; and in it is ſhown a Hole, denoting the Place where one of the Officers of the High-Prieſt ſmote our Saviour, *John* xviii. 22. whom the Friars will have to be the ſame *Malchus*, whoſe Ear our Lord heal'd. In the Court before this Chapel is an Olive-tree, to which they ſay Chriſt was chain'd for ſome Time by Order of *Annas* to ſecure him from eſcaping.

From the Houſe of *Annas* we went out of *Sion gate*, which is near to that they call the Houſe of *Caiaphas*, where is another ſmall Chapel of the *Armenians*. Here, under the Altar, they ſay is the Stone which was laid to the Door of our Saviour's Sepulchre, *Matt.* xxvii. 60. which the *Armenians* ſtole from the Church of the Sepulchre and brought hither; it is two Yards and a half long, one Yard high, and as much broad. Here is likewiſe ſhown a Cell, ſaid to have been our Lord's Priſon till the Morning, when he was carried hence before *Pilate*; and alſo the Place where *Peter* was frighted into a Denial of his Maſter. A little further without the Gate, was the Church of the *Cœnaculum*, where they ſay Chriſt inſtituted his laſt Supper, which is now a Moſque. Near this is a Well, which is ſaid to be the Place where the Apoſtles divided to go every one to his ſeveral Charge; and cloſe by it, is the Ruin of a Houſe, in which the Virgin is ſaid to have breathed her laſt. And a little lower is the Grot in which St. *Peter* wept ſo bitterly for denying his Maſter. After this, we return'd to the Convent, and by the Way, had a View of the beautiful Gate of the Temple.

On the 6th, we took another Progreſs about the City; and going out of *Bethlehem-Gate*, and turning on the Left-hand, we came to *Bethſheba*'s Pool, where ſhe is ſaid to be waſhing herſelf when *David* ſpied her from his Palace. A little below this Pool begins the Valley of *Hinnom*, on the Weſt-ſide of which is the Place call'd the *Field of Blood*, now called *Campo Sancto*, which is about thirty Yards long, and half as broad. The Corpſes are let down into it through five Holes left open for that Purpoſe, through which we could ſee the Bodies under ſeveral Degrees of Decay. A little below the *Campo Sancto* is an intricate Cave, in which the Apoſtles are ſaid to have hid themſelves when they forſook their Maſter and fled. The Valley of *Jehoſaphat* croſſes the End of that of *Hinnom*, in which is the Brook *Cedron*, which is always dry, except in the Winter.

In this Valley of *Jehoſaphat*, we firſt went to the Well of *Nehemiah*, ſo called, becauſe it is reputed the Place where he recovered the Fire of the Altar after the *Babyloniſh* Captivity, 2 *Mac.* i. 19. A little higher is the Place where *Iſaiah* is ſaid to be ſawn aſunder; and above that is the Pool of *Siloam*. A little farther is the Fountain of the Bleſſed Virgin, and over-againſt it the Village call'd *Siloe*, in which *Solomon* is ſaid to have kept his ſtrange Wives; and above it is a Hill call'd the *Mountain of Offence*, where *Solomon* built the high Places, 1 *Kings* xi. 7. Not far from it they ſhow another Field of Blood, where *Judas* met with his compounded Death, *Matt.* xxvii. 5. Here alſo they ſhow'd us two noble Antiquities, the Sepulchre of *Zachariah*, and the Pillar of *Abſalom*; and cloſe by is the Sepulchre of *Jehoſaphat*. From hence keeping in the Valley, we ſaw the Sepulchres of the Bleſſed Virgin, St. *Anna*, and *Joſeph*. After this, going up the Hill, we ſaw a broad Stone, on which they ſay St. *Stephen* was martyr'd, and not far from it a Grot into which the *Jews* caſt his Body; from whence we went to St. *Stephen*'s Gate of the City.

22. On the 7th, we ſet out again to ſee the holy Places upon Mount *Olivet*, and as we aſcended the Mount we ſaw certain Grotto's, call'd the Sepulchres of the Prophets. A little higher you come to the Place where they ſay Chriſt utter'd his Prophecy concerning the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, *Matt.* xxiv. and on the Right-hand is the Place where they ſay he dictated a ſecond Time, the *Pater-noſter* to his Diſciples, *Luke* xi. 1, 2. At the Top of the Hill you come to the Place of our Lord's Aſcenſion. Here was anciently a large Church built in Honour of that Triumph, in which they ſhew the Print of our Saviour's Foot; but it is now uſed for a Moſque, as many other holy Places about *Jeruſalem* are, whether out of Devotion or Lucre I do not determine. Two Furlongs Northward is the higheſt Place of Mount *Olivet*, on which ſtood a high Tower, call'd *Viri Gallilæi!* in Memory of the Apparition of the two Angels to the Apoſtles, after Chriſt's Aſcenſion, which about two Years ſince was demoliſhed by a *Turk*, who bought the Field in which it ſtood. From this Place we deſcended the Mount by another Way, and about Midway they ſhow the Place where Chriſt beheld the City, and wept over it, *Luke* xix. 41.

A little lower they ſhow *Gethſemane*, about fifty ſeven Yards ſquare, lying between the Foot of Mount *Olivet* and the Brook *Cedron*. It is well planted with Olive-trees, which are believed to be the ſame that ſtood here in our Saviour's Time; which Opinion made theſe Olives and Oil an excellent Commodity in *Spain*. At the upper Part of the Garden is a flat Ledge of Rocks, which is ſaid to be the Place on which *Peter*, *James*, and *John*, fell aſleep during our Saviour's Agony; and juſt by is a Grotto, which is ſaid to be the Place in which our Saviour underwent that bitter Part of his Paſſion. Not far off is a ſmall Shred of Ground twelve Yards long and one broad, which is ſaid to be the Path on which *Judas* walk'd up to Chriſt, and ſaid, *Hail, Maſter!* and kiſs'd him: Which narrow Path is ſeparated by a Wall out of the Midſt of the Garden, as a *Terra damnata*; which is the more remarkable, becauſe it is done by the *Turks*, who, as well as *Chriſtians*, deteſt the Ground on which that infamous Treachery was acted.

On the 8th, we went to ſee the Palace of *Pilate*, which is not far from St. *Stephen*'s Gate, from whence we had a Proſpect of the Place where the Temple ſtood, which is all that is allow'd us, for we cannot go within the Borders of it, without forfeiting Life or Religion. It lies upon the Top of Mount *Moriah*, over-againſt Mount *Olivet*, the Valley of *Jehoſaphat* lying between. It was about five hundred and ninety of my Paces long, and three hundred and ſeventy broad; in the Middle of the Area ſtands now a Moſque which is ſaid to be built on the Ground where formerly ſtood the *Sanctum Sanctorum*.

In this pretended Houſe of *Pilate* is ſhown the Room where Chriſt was mock'd with the Enſigns of Royalty, and buffetted by the Soldiers. As you come out is a Deſcent, where was formerly the *Scala Sancta*. On the other Side of the Street is the Room where, they ſay, our Saviour was ſcourged, which is now a Weaver's Shop. Returning from *Pilate*'s Palace, we paſs'd along the dolorous Way, in which we ſaw, 1. The Place where *Pilate* brought our Lord forth to the People, and ſaid, *Behold the Man!* 2. Where Chriſt fainted thrice under the Weight of the Croſs. 3. Where the Bleſſed Virgin ſwoon'd at ſo tragical a Spectacle. 4. Where *Veronica* preſented him the Handkerchief to wipe his Bleeding Brows: And, 5. Where the Soldiers compel'd *Simon* to bear his Croſs. All which Places I need only to name, being deſcribed by others.

On the 9th, we ſaw the Pool of *Betheſda*, which is one hundred and twenty Paces long, forty broad, and eight deep, but no Water in it; and there we ſaw ſome Arches, which are ſaid to be the Porches in which the Lame, Halt, and Blind ſate, *John* v. From hence we went to the Convent of St. *Anne*, where there is a large Church, and under it a Grotto, where, they ſay, the Bleſſed Virgin was born. Near this Church they ſhew the *Phariſees* Houſe, where *Mary Magdalen* waſh'd Chriſt's Feet with her Tears, and wiped them with her Hair, *Luke* vii. 38. In the Afternoon we ſaw the ſtately Pool of Mount *Gihon*, which is one hundred and ſix Paces long, and ſixty-ſeven broad, lined with a Wall, and well ſtored with Water.

On the 10th, we went to take our Leave of the holy Sepulchre, which being the laſt Time, the *Turks* allow free Admittance to all People without any Fee, not only to the Poor, but to the Lewd, who prophaned it as much as when the Heathen celebrated here their *Aphrodiſia*. On the 11th, began the *Turks* Byram, and we kept at home to avoid the Affronts uſual at ſuch Feſtivals. On the 12th and 13th, we prepared for our Departure, and how to avoid the *Arabs*, by going along with the *Moſolem*.

23. On the 14th, we went with a ſmall Preſent to wait on the *Moſolem*, who ſet out the next Morning; and before our Departure I took the Meaſure of the City, going out at *Bethlehem-Gate*, and walking round about to the ſame Gate again, and found it in Circumference to be four thouſand ſix hundred and thirty Paces; and ten of my Paces, amounting to nine Yards, this Number makes four thouſand one hundred and ſixty-ſeven Yards, which is juſt two Miles and an half.

On the 15th in the Morning, having received our *Diplomata*, to certify that we had viſited the holy Places, and preſented the Convent with fifty Dollars a Man for their Trouble, we ſet out with the Moſolem, and lodg'd at Kane *Leban*. The Country People being at Plough, in order to ſow Cotton, us'd Goads of an extraordinary Size, being eight Foot long, having at one End a ſharp Prickle to drive the Oxen, and at the other a Paddle to cleanſe the Plough, which is held by the ſame Perſon that drives; and with ſuch a Goad it ſeems to be, that *Shamgar* made the great Slaughter, *Judg*. iii. 31.

The 16th. Leaving Kane *Leban*, we paſſed by *Naploſa* and *Samaria*, and came to the Fountain *Selee*, where we lodg'd. The 17th, we travelled in the ſame Road, we came to *Caphar-Arab*, and then we left that Road, reſolving to croſs the Plain of *Eſdraelon*, and viſit *Nazareth*, which we did, after paying our Caphar to Emir *Chiby*.

24. *April* 18. *Nazareth* is now a ſmall Village, on a high Hill, where we were treated at a Convent of ſome *Latin* Fathers, who live in perpetual Fear of the *Arabs*. The Church of *Nazareth* ſtands in a Cave, ſaid to be the Place where the bleſſed Virgin received the Meſſage from the Angel, *Hail thou that art highly favoured*, &c. *Luke* i. 28. It reſembles the Figure of a Croſs, whereof the Tree is fourteen Paces long, and ſix over, and the Traverſe is nine Paces long, and four broad; juſt at the Section are two Granite Pillars, whereof one ſtands at the Place where the Angel, the other where the bleſſed Virgin ſtood at the Time of the Annunciation.

After this we went to ſee the Houſe of *Joſeph*, where they ſay the Son of God liv'd for near thirty Years in Subjection to Man, *Luke* ii. 51; and near this they ſhew the Synagogue, where our Lord preached that Sermon which ſo much exaſperated his Country-men, *Luke* iv. Here are the Ruins of two Churches built by *Helena*.

On the 19th, about two Hours diſtant from *Nazareth* Eaſtward, is Mount *Tabor*, a high Mountain, round and beautiful, ſtanding in the Plain of *Eſdraelon*, about three Furlongs within the Plain. This is thought to be the Mountain on which our Lord was transfigur'd, *Mat*. xvii. which has a plain Area at Top very fertile, on which in ſeveral Places are Ciſterns of good Water, and three Grotto's repreſenting three Tabernacles, which St. *Peter* propos'd to erect, when he ſaid, *Let us make three Tabernacles*, &c.

And here I cannot but obſerve, that almoſt all Paſſages and Hiſtories of the Goſpel, are ſaid by them who ſhew the Places, to have been done in Grotto's. Thus the Places of the bleſſed Virgin's Birth, of the Annunciation, of the Virgin's Salutation of *Elizabeth*, of the *Baptiſt*'s and *Chriſt*'s Nativity, of St. *Peter*'s Repentance, and the Transfiguration; all theſe Places are ſaid to be Grotto's, though it is no Ways probable that ſo many various Actions, with ſuch Circumſtances as ſeem ſometimes to require Places of another Nature, ſhould be done in Grotto's.

From the Top of *Tabor* you have a moſt delightful Proſpect: On the North-weſt you diſcern the *Mediterranean*, and all round you have the beautiful Plains of *Eſdraelon* and *Galilee*, where you have a View of many Places memorable for the Reſort and Miracles of Chriſt; at the Bottom ſtands *Daberah*, which is ſaid to take its Name from *Deborah*, and near it is the Fountain of *Kiſhon*. Eaſtward you ſee Mount *Hermon*, and at the Foot of it *Nani*, famous for our Lord's raiſing the Widow's Son there, *Luke* vii. 14. and *Endor*, where *Saul* conſulted the Witch. Southward you ſee the Mountains of *Gilboa*, fatal to *Saul* and his Sons.

Due Eaſt you diſcover the Sea of *Tiberias*, and cloſe by it a ſteep Hill, down which the Herd of Swine ran and periſhed in the Waters, *Matt*. viii. 32. Towards the North appears that which they call the Mountain of *Beatitudes*, where our Saviour delivered his Sermon, *Mat*. v. 6, 7. And not far from this little Hill is the City *Saphet*, that ſtands upon a high Mountain, to which being then in View, our Saviour may be ſuppoſed to allude, when he ſays, *Mat*. v. 4. *A City ſet on a Hill, cannot be hid*. From Mount *Tabor*, we had alſo a Sight of the Place call'd *Dothaim*, where they ſay *Joſeph* was ſold by his Brethren, and of the Field where our Saviour fed the Multitude with a few Loaves, and a few Fiſhes. After Dinner we went to ſee the Mountain of the *Precipitation*, *i. e*. the Brow of the Hill where they ſay the *Nazarites* would have thrown down our Saviour, *Luke* 4. had he not made a miraculous Eſcape: And here the Friars ſhow ſome Holes, which they call the Prints of Chriſt's Fingers, made in the hard Stone, when he reſiſted the Violence offer'd him.

20. On the 20th, we directed our Courſe to *Acra*, paſs'd in View of *Cana* of *Galilee*, and came to *Sephoria*, the reputed Habitation of *Joachim* and *Anna*, Parents of the bleſſed Virgin; over which ſtands a good Part of a large Church. Here begins the Plain of *Zabulon*, from whence we came to *Acra*.

On the 21ſt: At *Acra* we were treated by the *French* Conſul, and came the firſt Night to our old Lodging at *Solomon*'s Ciſterns.

On the 22d: About three Hours from *Sidon*, we were carried to ſee a Place we had not obſerv'd before, which was a high rocky Mountain; on the Side of which were hewn a Multitude of Grots, to the Number of 200, as they were counted, which have an Entrance two Foot ſquare, and a Room within for the moſt part four Yards ſquare, which ſeem'd to be deſign'd for the Uſe of the Living, and not of the Dead, becauſe ſome of the Cells are no more than one Yard ſquare, and in the Rock are Ciſterns for ſtoring up Water. On the 23d, we continued at *Sidon*, being generouſly treated by the *French*.

26. On the 24th, having gone through the Olive-Yards of *Sidon*, we aſcended *Libanus*, till we came to a Fountain call'd *Ambus-lee*. On the 25th, we arrived at the higheſt Ridge of the Mountain, where the Snow lay cloſe by the Road; and then we begun to deſcend on the other Side, and came to a Village call'd *Meſgarab*, where a Caphar was demanded by the *Druſes*, who poſſeſs theſe Mountains. From hence, in one Hour, we entred into a Valley call'd *Bocat*: This ſeems to be the ſame with *Bicath-Aven*, mentioned *Amos* i. 5. together with *Eden* and *Damaſcus*, for there is very near it a Place call'd *Eden* to this Day; in this Valley there runs a large River call'd *Setane*, which falls at laſt

into the River *Caſimir*, falſly call'd *Eleutherus.* We croſs'd a Bridge, and pitch'd our Tents on its Bank.

On the 26th, we paſſed through the Valley *Bocat*, and came to the Foot of *Antilibanus*; and having paſs'd by ſeveral Villages, we went through a narrow Clift between two rocky Mountains to *Demus*, a ſmall Caphar. On the 27th in the Morning, we came to the River *Barrady*, which ſupplies all the Gardens and the City of *Damaſcus* with Water, we croſs'd over it at a Bridge, and our Road aſcending brought us to the Brink of a high Precipice, from whence the *Turks* ſay their Prophet took a View of the City *Damaſcus*, which he found ſo pleaſant and beautiful that he would not enter into it, becauſe he ſaid there is but one Paradiſe deſigned for Man, and he would not take his in this World.

It is, as near as I could gueſs, about two Miles long, but compaſs'd with Gardens, extending to thirty Miles round; in which are Fruit-trees of all kinds, and many Turrets, Steeples and Summer-houſes, peeping out from green Boughs. The River *Barrady*, near its Spring-head, is divided into three Streams, whereof the Middle-moſt runs directly to *Damaſcus*, and is diſtributed in the City; the other two are drawn round to the Borders of the Gardens, ſo that there is not a Garden but has a fine quick Stream, which ſerves not only for watering the Place, but for Fountains and other Water-works.

This River was call'd by the *Greeks* and *Romans* *Chryſorrhoas*; but as for *Arbana* and *Pharpar*, Rivers of *Damaſcus*, mention'd 2 *Kings* v. 12. I could find no Memorial of them, but doubtleſs they were Branches of the River *Barrady*. We continued a good While upon the Precipice, as being loth to leave ſuch a charming Proſpect, though it allur'd us down to the City. Coming down the Hill into the Plains, we were conducted by a *Janizary* into the City, where we obſerv'd the Garden-walls to be made of great Pieces of Earth, faſhion'd like Bricks, and hardned in the Sun, being two Yards long and one Broad, and half of one thick. We alſo obſerv'd their Method of ſcouring the Channels: They put a great Bough of a Tree in the Water, and faſten it to a Yoke of Oxen, upon the Bough there ſits a good heavy Fellow to preſs it down and drive the Oxen; and thus the Bough is dragg'd all along the Channel, and ſerves at once both to cleanſe the Bottom and alſo to fatten the Water, for the greater Benefit of the Gardens.

On the 28th, we walk'd out to take a View of the City: And here we found all the Houſes on the Outſide built either with Sun burnt Brick or *Flemiſh* Wall, very coarſely daub'd over; and ſo by the Waſhing of the Houſes upon a violent Rain, the whole City becomes as it were a Quagmire. But the Gates in theſe Mud-walls are adorn'd with Marble Portals, carv'd and inlaid with great Beauty; and on the Inſide you find generally a ſquare Court, beautified with Variety of fragrant Trees and Marble Fountains, and Duans floor'd with Marble, richly gilded, and furniſh'd with Carpets and Cuſhions.

In the next Place we went to ſee the Church of St. *John Baptiſt*, now converted into a Moſque, which no Chriſtian may enter into. Its Gates are vaſtly large, cover'd with Braſs, ſtampt over with *Arab* Characters; and within it is ſpacious and lofty, built with three Iſles, between which are Rows of poliſh'd Marble of great Beauty. In this Church is kept the Head of St. *John*, with other Reliques ſo holy, that it is Death for a *Turk* to go into the Room where they are. From the Church we went to the Caſtle, and being admitted within the Gate we ſaw Store of ancient Arms and Armour, and among the reſt a *Roman* Baliſta, and a Chain cut in Stone.

27. On the 29th, we went to ſee the Cavalcade of the *Hadgees* ſetting out for *Mecca*, which has been deſcrib'd before. After this we went to ſee the *Ager Damaſcenus*, a beautiful Meadow juſt without the City, divided in the Middle by a Branch of the River *Barrady*; and it is a current Tradition here, that *Adam* was made of the Earth of this Field. Adjoining to this is a large Hoſpital, encloſed on the South-ſide by a ſtately Moſque, and on the other Sides with Cloyſters and Lodgings. Returning hence Homeward we ſaw a beautiful Bagnio, and not far from it a Coffee-houſe capable of entertaining four or five hundred People.

It had two Quarters for Gueſts, one for Summer, and the other for Winter. That for Summer was a ſmall Iſland, waſh'd round with a large ſwift Stream, ſhaded over Head with Trees, and with Mats when the Boughs fail. And here we found a Multitude of *Turks* in the Duans, regaling themſelves with Greens and Water, which two, with a beautiful Face, according to their Proverb, are a perfect Antidote againſt Melancholy. In the Afternoon we went to viſit what they call the Houſe of *Ananias*, who reſtor'd Sight to St. *Paul*, *Acts* ix. 17. And the Place ſhown for it is a ſmall Grotto, containing a *Chriſtian* Altar and a *Turkiſh* Praying-place, ſeated too near one another.

Our next Walk was out of the Eaſt-gate, to ſee the Place of St. *Paul*'s Viſion, which is about half a Mile from the City, cloſe by the Way-ſide. A little nearer the City is a ſmall Timber-Structure with an Altar in it, where you are told St. *Paul* reſted ſome time in his Way to the City after the Viſion, *Acts* ix. 8. Being return'd to the City we were ſhown the Gate at which St. *Paul* was ſet down in a Baſket, *Acts* ix. 25. This Gate is at preſent wall'd up, by Reaſon of its Vicinity to the Eaſt-Gate, which renders it of little Uſe. In the City we ſaw the Patriarch of it, who told me there were more than twelve Hundred of the *Greek* Communion in that City.

On the 30th, we went to viſit the Gardens, and ſpent a Day in one of them, where we found a pleaſant Summer-houſe, with a plentiful Stream of Water running through it, and the Garden thick ſet with Fruit-trees. In viſiting theſe Gardens, the *Franks* are oblig'd either to walk on Foot, or ride on Aſſes, which ſtand there ready to be hir'd, for the *Turks* will not allow them to ride a Horſe. *May* 1. we ſpent in another Garden, whoſe Summer-houſe was more ſplendid, and had greater Variety of Fountains.

On the 2d, Some of us went to *Sidonaia*, a *Greek* Convent, about four Hours from *Damaſcus* to the Northward, and by the Way we ſaw on the Right-hand a very high Hill, reputed the ſame on which *Cain* and *Abel* offer'd Sacrifices, and where the latter was ſlain by the former. *Sidonaia* is ſituated at the further Side of a large Vale, on the Top of a Rock, which would be inacceſſible but for the Steps that are cut in it all the Way up. It is fenc'd at Top with a Wall (which encloſes the Convent, which was at firſt founded by *Juſtinian*, and is at preſent poſſeſs'd by twenty *Greek* Monks, and forty Nuns, who live promiſcuouſly together.

Upon this Rock, and in a little Compaſs round about it, are no leſs than ſixteen Churches or Oratories, dedicated to ſeveral Names, 1. To St. *John*. 2. To St. *Paul*. 3. To St. *Thomas*. 4. To St. *Babylas*. 5. To St. *Barbara*. 6. To St. *Chriſtopher*. 7. To St. *Joſeph*. 8. To St. *Lazarus*. 9. To the bleſſed Virgin. 10. To St. *Demetrius*. 11. To St. *Saba*. 12. To St. *Peter*. 13. To St. *George*. 14. To *All-Saints*. 15. To the *Aſcenſion*. 16. To the Transfiguration of our Lord; from all which we may conclude, that this Place was highly eſteem'd for Holineſs.

In the Chapel here made Uſe of by the Convent for their daily Service, they pretend to a great Miracle, of which they give this Account. In this Church they had once a little Picture of the bleſſed Virgin, very famous for the many Cures and Bleſſings granted to Supplicants. This Picture was ſtole away by a ſacrilegious Rogue, who had not kept it long but it turned into a Body of Fleſh; which wonderful Event ſtruck him with ſuch Remorſe, that he carried back the Prize, and begg'd Pardon for his Crime. The Monks having recover'd ſo great a Jewel, to ſecure it for the future, laid it in a Cheſt of Stone, and placing it in a little Cavity behind the high Altar, fix'd an Iron Grate before it.

Upon the Grates hang Abundance of Toys, being the Offerings of many Votaries for the Succeſs of their Prayers made at this Shrine. Under the ſame Cheſt, in which the Incarnate Picture was depoſited, they always place a ſmall Silver Baſon, to receive the holy Oil, which they pretend diſtils from the encloſed Image, and does wonderful Cures in many Diſtempers, eſpecially thoſe affecting the Eyes. On the Eaſt-ſide of the Rock is an ancient Sepulchre hollow'd in the firm Stone, which is about eight Yards ſquare, and contains twelve Cheſts for Corpſes. At the Entrance are ſix Statues in three Niches, two in each; at the Pedeſtals are ſome *Greek* Words very dark.

On the 3d, we went to ſee the Street call'd *Straight*, *Acts* ix. 11. in which is ſhown the Houſe of *Judas*, with whom St. *Paul* lodg'd; and in the ſame Houſe is an old Tomb ſaid to be *Ananias*'s, much reverenc'd by the *Turks*, who keep a Lamp always burning over it. On the 4th: In an Hour and half we came to a ſmall Village call'd *Sinie*, juſt by which, on the Top of a Hill, is an old Structure, ſuppoſ'd to be the Tomb of *Abel*, which is thirty Yards long, and thought to be but juſt proportion'd to his Stature; from whence the adjacent Country, in old Times, was call'd *Abylene*.

28. On the 5th we paſs'd by the Fountain of *Barrady*, and came to a Village called *Surgawch*, from whence we arrived a ſecond Time in the Valley of *Bocat*; and hence, going Northerly, we came in three Hours to *Balbeck*, which is ſuppoſed to be the ancient *Heliopolis*, or City of the Sun, and ſo the Word imports; for *Baal*, though it comprehends all Idols of whatever Sex, is very often appropriated to the Sun, which is the Sovereign Idol of this Country. The City has a pleaſant Situation on the Eaſt-ſide of the Valley of *Bocats*, of a ſquare Figure, compaſs'd with a good Wall, though its Houſes are mean, as they are uſually in *Turkiſh* Villages.

There is in it a noble Ruin, which was anciently a Heathen Temple, in which we obſerved, firſt, a round Pile of Building, all of Marble, encircled with Columns of the *Corinthian* Order, very beautiful, which ſupport a Corniſh that runs all round the Structure, of no ordinary State and Beauty; and what remains of it at preſent is in a very tottering Condition, but yet the *Greeks* uſe it for a Church, which ſhould excite them to a little more Fervour in their Prayers that they generally uſe, for they are ſeemingly the moſt indevout at their Divine Service, of any People in the Chriſtian World.

But beſides this Temple, here is another Curioſity, which is ſo ſtrange, that a Man may be thought to ſtrain the Privilege of Travellers in relating it, and that is a large Piece of the old Wall, which encompaſs'd all the Structures in the City; a Wall made of ſuch prodigious great Stones, that the Natives here aſcribe the Building of it to the Devil. Three of the Stones we meaſured, and found them to extend to ſixty one Yards in Length, whereof one was twenty one, and the other two twenty Yards long; theſe three Stones lay in one Row, End to End. Here was alſo a ſingle Column of the *Tuſcan* Order about fourteen Yards high, and one Yard and half diameter, having a Channel cut from the Bottom to the Top.

On the 6th we left *Balbeck*, and went a croſs the Valley; and as we paſs'd by the Walls of the City, we ſaw many Stones inſcribed with *Roman* Letters, which ſhow that the Walls are made of the Ruins of the old City. In two Hours we ſaw, near the Road, an old Pillar nineteen Yards high, and five Foot in Diameter. In an Hour more we came to the other Side of the Valley, at the Foot of *Anti-libanus*; and, aſcending the Mountain, we ſaw an old Lake called *Limone*, and thence in an Hour more we arrived at the Snow. Here we lodged all Night on the Top of *Libanus*, which is free from Rocks, but very barren, and cover'd with a Sort of white Slates.

It is ſo high, that it proves a Conſervatory of Abundance of Snow; which thawing in the Summer, ſupplies with Water the Rivers and the Fountains in the Valleys below; and in the Snow we ſaw the Print of the Fee of Wild Beaſts, the ſole Proprietors of theſe upper Parts of the Mountain.

On the 7th we went almoſt four Hours upon Snow, which being frozen, bore us and our Horſes, and then deſcending about an Hour, we came to a Fountain and a milder Region. From hence we deſign'd for *Canobine*, but our Guide being at a Loſs, we ſteer'd to *Tripoly*, where we were nobly treated.

29. On the 8th, Mr. Conſul *Haſtings* carried us to ſee the Caſtle of *Tripoly*, which is ſituate on a Hill that commands the City; but being now unprovided with Arms, it ſerves rather for a Priſon than a Garriſon. There was in it a poor Chriſtian called *Sbeck Eunice*, a *Maronite*, one that had formerly renounced his Faith, and turn'd *Mahometan*; but in his declining Age retracted his Apoſtacy, and died to attone it; for he was impaled by Order of the Baſha two Days after we had left *Tripoly*; which Kind of Puniſhment is certainly one of the greateſt Barbarities that can be offer'd to human Nature.

The Execution is done after this Manner: They take a Poſt about the Bigneſs of a Man's Leg, eight or nine Foot long, which they make ſharp at one End, and force the Criminal to carry to the Place of Execution; and there they thruſt in the Stake at his Fundament, and then taking him by the Legs, draw on his Body upon it till the Point of the Stake appears at his Shoulders; and then they erect the Stake, and faſten it in a Hole dug in the Ground. The Criminal ſitting in this Poſture, does ſometimes drink, ſmoke, and talk, for twenty-four Hours; but generally, after he has remain'd an Hour in this Poſture, one of the By-ſtanders is permitted to give him a gracious Stab to the Heart, which puts an End to his inexpreſſible Miſery.

On the 9th, having croſs'd the Plain of *Tripoly*, we came to the Foot of *Libanus*; and thence aſcending, in four Hours we paſs'd by a Village call'd *Eden*, and in two Hours and a Half more we came to the Cedars which grow amongſt the Snow, near the higheſt Part of *Libanon*, where we found ſome very old, and of a prodigious Bulk, of which Sort I counted ſixteen, and others younger, of a ſmaller Size. I meaſured one of the largeſt, and found it twelve Yards ſix Inches in Girt, and thirty-ſeven Yards in the Spread of its Boughs. It was ſtill ſound, and about five Yards from the Ground, was divided into five Limbs, and each of which was equal to a great Tree.

After we had ſtaid about half an Hour in this Place, the Clouds began to thicken and fly upon the Ground, which ſo obſcured the Road, that with much ado we found the Way that goes down to *Canobine*; which is a Convent of the *Maronites*, and the Seat of a Patriarch, and is pleaſantly ſituated near a Rupture in *Libanus*, cloath'd with Greens, and refreſh'd with Fountains. It is ſeated on the North-ſide of this Chaſm, about the Midway in the Mountain, and was founded by *Theodoſius the Great*, at the Mouth of a great Cave, having a few Rooms fronting outward that have the Light of the Sun, the reſt being all under Ground. The Valley of *Canobine* was anciently much reſorted to for Religious Retirement, as appears from the many Hermitages, Cells, and Monaſteries here to be ſeen.

On the 10th, I took my Leave of the Patriarch, and return'd to *Tripoly*, through a Path cut in the Side of the aforeſaid Rupture. On the 11th, we took our Leaves of our worthy Friends at *Tripoly*, and travelling the ſame Way we came, we arrived in eight Days at the *Honey-Kane*, and found many of our *Aleppine* Friends there. All that occurr'd to us new in theſe Days Travel, was a particular Way uſed by the Country-people in gathering Corn, which they pluck up by Handfuls from the Roots, that they may loſe none of their Straw, which is generally very ſhort, and neceſſary for the Suſtenance of their Cattle, no Hay being made here. This is their Practice in all Places of the Eaſt I have ſeen, and ſeems to give Light to that Expreſſion of the *Pſalmiſt*, *Pſal.* cxxix. 6. *which withereth afore it be plucked up*; and though there is Mention in the next Verſe of a Mower; yet being ſuch as fills not his Hand, this rather confirms the former Senſe.

30. We are next to take Notice of an Excurſion our Author made ſome Years after this, in order to take a View of the famous River *Euphrates*, and the Country near it on both Sides; which being ſo famous both in ancient and modern Hiſtory, might well excite his Curioſity, as the Plainneſs and Perſpicuity of his Account cannot but ſatisfy ours. We ſet out, ſays he, from *Aleppo*, *April* 17, 1699, and ſteering Eaſt North Eaſt ſomewhat leſs, we came in three Hours and a half to *Surbaſs*.

The 18th, we came in three Hours and a half to *Bezay*, paſſing by *Bab*, where is a good Aquæduct, *Dyn il Daab*, to which you deſcend by about thirty Steps, and *Lediſſ*, a pleaſant Village. Our Courſe was thus far Eaſt and by North. In the Afternoon we advanced three Hours farther, Courſe North Eaſt, to an old ruined Place, formerly of ſome Conſideration, called *Acamy*: It is ſituated in the Wilderneſs on a Hill encompaſſed by a Valley: It was large, and had the Footſteps of good Walls and Buildings.

The 19th we went Eaſt and by North, and in four Hours arrived at *Bambych*. This Place has no Remnants of its ancient Greatneſs but its Walls, which may be traced all round, and cannot be leſs than three Miles in Compaſs. Several Fragments of them remain on the Eaſt-ſide, eſpecially at the Eaſt Gate, and another Piece of eighty Yards long, with Towers of large ſquare Stone, extremely well built. On the North-ſide I found a Stone with the Buſts of a Man and Woman large as the Life, and under two Eagles carved on it. Not far from it, on the Side of a large Well, was fixed a Stone with three Figures carved on it in *Baſſo Relievo*. They were two *Syrens*, which twining their fiſhy Tails together, made a Seat on which was placed ſitting a naked Woman, her Arms and the *Syrens* on each Side mutually entwined.

On the Weſt-ſide is a deep Pit of about an hundred Yards Diameter: It was low and had now Water in it, and ſeemed to have had great Buildings all round it, with the Pillars and Ruins of which it is now in Part filled up, but not ſo much but that there was ſtill Water in it. Here are a Multitude of ſubterraneous Aquæducts brought to this City, the People atteſted no fewer than fifty. You can ride no where about the City without ſeeing them. We pitched by one about a Quarter of a Mile Eaſt of the City, which yields a fine Stream, and emptying itſelf into a Valley, waters it, and makes it extremely fruitful. Here perhaps were the Paſtures of the Beaſts deſigned for Sacrifice. Here are now only a few poor Inhabitants, though anciently all the North-ſide was well inhabited by *Saracens*, as may be ſeen by the Remains of a noble Moſque and Bagnio a little without the Walls. We were here viſited by a Company of *Begdelies*, who were incamped ſome Hours further towards *Euphrates*, having about a thouſand Horſe there.

20. For avoiding the *Begdelies*, we hired a Guide, who conducted us a By-way. We travelled North North Eaſt over a Deſert Ground, and came in three Hours to a ſmall Rivulet called *Sejour*, which falls into the *Euphrates* about three Hours below *Jerabolus*. In about two Hours more we came to a fine fruitful Plain, covered with extraordinary good Corn, lying between the Hills and the River *Euphrates*. In about an Hour and half's Travelling through this Plain on the Banks of the River, we came to *Jerabolus*. This Place is of a ſemicircular Figure, its flat Side lying on the Banks of *Euphrates*; on that Side it has a high long Mount cloſe by the Water, very ſteep. It was anciently built upon (and at one End of it I ſaw Fragments of) very large Pillars, a Yard and half Diameter, and Capitals and Corniſhes well carved. At the Foot of the Mount was carved on a large Stone, a Beaſt reſembling a Lion, with a Bridle in his Mouth, and I believe anciently a Perſon ſitting on it; but the Stone is in that Part now broke away; the Tail of the Beaſt was couped.

Round about this Place are high Banks caſt up, and there is the Footſteps of Wall on them. The Gates ſeem to have been well-built; the Whole was 2250 Paces, that is Yards, in Circumference. The River is here as large as the *Thames* at *London*; a long Bullet-gun could not ſhoot a Ball over it, but it dropt into the Water. Here is found a large Serpent, which has Legs and Claws, called *Woralla*. I was told by a *Turk*, that a little below this Place, when the River is low, may be ſeen the Ruins of a Stone-bridge over the River; for my own Part, I ſaw it not, nor do I much rely on the *Turk*'s Veracity. The River ſeem'd to be lately fallen very ſuddenly, for the Banks were freſh wet two Yards and more above the Water. It was here North and South.

On the 21ſt we kept cloſe on the Banks of *Euphrates*, and in two Hours and a half croſſed a fine Rivulet called *Towzad*, and in two Hours more arrived over-againſt *Beer*, and pitched on a Flat, cloſe by the River-ſide. Obſerving the Latitude of the Place by my Quadrant, I found the Angle between the Sun and the Zenith, to be twenty-two Degrees, and the Declination this Day being fifteen Degrees ten Minutes, the Whole is thirty-ſeven Degrees, and ten Minutes.

On the 22d, we continued at our Station, not daring to croſs the River for fear of falling into the Hands of the *Chiah* of the Baſhá of *Urfa*, who was then at *Beer*, ordering many Boats of Corn down to *Bagdal*. We were ſupplied at the ſame Time with Proviſions by *Sheck Aſſyne*, to whom we made Returns.

On the 23d, the *Chiah* being now departed, *Sheck Aſſyne* invited us over to *Beer*. We croſſed in a Boat of the Country, of which they have a great many, this being the great Paſs into *Meſopotamia*. The Boats are of a miſerable Fabrick, flat and open in the Fore-part for Horſes to enter: They are large enough to carry about four Horſes each: Their Way to croſs is, by drawing up the Boat as high as they know to be neceſſary, and then with wretched Oars ſtriking over, they fall a good Way down by the Force of the Stream before they arrive at the further Side.

Having ſaluted *Aſſyne*, we were conducted to ſee the Caſtle, which is a large old Building on the Top of a great long Rock, ſeparated by a great Gulph or natural Bottom, from the Land. At firſt coming within the Gates, which are of Iron, we ſaw ſeveral large Globes of Stone, about twenty Inches Diameter, and great Axles of Iron, with Wheels which were entire Blocks of Wood two Foot thick in the Nave, and cut ſomewhat to an Edge toward the Periphery and Screws, to bend Bows or Engines; as alſo ſeveral Braſs Field Pieces.

Aſcending up the Sides of the Rock by a Way cut obliquely, you come to the Caſtle. At firſt Entrance you find a Way cut under Ground down to the River. In the Caſtle the principal Things we ſaw were, firſt, a large Room full of old Arms. I ſaw here Glaſs Bottles to be ſhot at the End of Arrows; one of them was ſtuck at the End of an Arrow, with four Pieces of Tin by its Sides, to keep it firm: Vaſt large Croſs-bows and Beams, ſeemingly deſigned for Battering-Rams, and *Roman* Saddles, and Head-pieces of a large Size, ſome of which were painted, and ſome large Thongs for Bow-Strings, and Bags for ſlinging Stones. But the Jealouſy of the *Turks* would not permit us to ſtay ſo long as would have been requiſite for a perfect Examination of theſe Antiquities. From the Caſtle we returned to *Aſſyne*, and were civilly treated. In the Evening we went up into the Country of *Meſopotamia*. The Hills are chalky and ſteep, and come cloſe to the Water-ſide, without a Plain intervening, as it is upon the Side of *Syria*, ſo that *Beer* ſtands on the Side of a Hill. However, it has a Couple of fine Streams that run over the Top of the Hill; one of which drives two Mills, and ſo runs down to the City, which is well walled. In the Side of the Hill there is a Kane under Ground, cut into the Rock, with fifteen large Pillars left to ſupport its Roof.

24. We left *Beer*, and travelling Weſt, came in three Hours to *Nizib*, a Place well ſituated at the Head of the *Towzad*. Here is an old ſmall Church very ſtrong and entire, only the Cupola in the Middle of the Croſs is broke down, and its Space covered with Leaves to fit the Place for a Moſque. I believe the *Turks* made the Places to which they turn in Prayers, empty

Niches, to ſhew that they worſhipped one inviſible God, not to be repreſented by Images. In two Hours we came from *Nizib* to a good Chriſtian Village called *Uwur*, and in an Hour and half more to a Well in the Deſert.

25. We travelled Weſt near two Hours, and came through a fine Country diverſified into ſmall Hills and Valleys, to a Village called *Adjia*, having left *Silam* and two other Villages on the Right-hand. At *Adjia* riſes the River of *Aleppo* from a large Fountain at once, and juſt above it runs the *Sejour*, which might be let into it by a ſhort Cut of ten Yards. From *Adjia* our Courſe was Weſt North Weſt. The Banks of the *Sejour* are well planted with Trees and Villages. In two little Hours we came to *Antab*, having croſſed the *Sejour* at a Bridge, about three Quarters of an Hour before. Leaving the City on the Right-hand we paſſed under its Walls, and pitched about three Quarters of an Hour from it on a plain Field, on the Banks of the *Sejour*.

Antab ſtands moſtly on a Hill, having a Caſtle, on a round Mount at its North-ſide, and exactly reſembling that of *Aleppo*, though much leſs: It has a very deep Ditch round it, and at the Foot of the Mount within the Ditch, is a Gallery cut through the Rock all round the Caſtle with Portals for Shot, and it is faced with Stone Walls, where the Rock was not ſtrong enough. The Houſes have generally no upper Rooms, the *Bazars* are large. I ſaw here a fine Stone very much reſembling Porphyry, being of a red Ground with yellow Specks, and Veins very gloſſy. It is dug juſt by *Antab*.

Antab is doubtleſs *Antiochia penes Taurum*, in the Skirts of which it ſtands, and is not far diſtant from the higheſt Ridge: It is about two Thirds as big as *Aleppo*.

26. We paſſed through a fruitful mountainous Country, and came in ſeven Hours and a Quarter to *Rowant* Caſtle: It ſtands on the Top of a round ſteep Hill, and has been ſtrong for the Times it was built in. It is probably a *Saracen* Fabrick, and is now in Ruins. At the Foot of the Hill Weſtward runs the River *Ephreen*, its Courſe is South South Weſt; our Courſe from *Antab* to *Rowant* was North Weſt and by North.

27. We continued travelling through the Mountains, which were now ſomewhat more uneven and precipitous, but watered every where with fine Springs and Rivulets. In about ſix Hours we came to *Corus*; our Courſe was South-weſt, having croſſed the *Ephreen* about two thirds of an Hour before. Juſt by *Corus* is the River *Sabon*, that is, *Chor* or *Char*, which encompaſſes moſt part of the City.

Corus ſtands on a Hill, conſiſting of the City and Caſtle: The City ſtands Northerly, and from its North-end aſcending, you come at laſt to a higher Hill to the Southward, on which ſtands the Caſtle. The whole is now in Ruins, which ſeems to have been very large, wall'd very ſtrongly with huge ſquare Stones. Within are obſervable the Ruins, Pillars, *&c.* of many noble Buildings. On the Weſt-ſide there is a ſquare Encloſure of great Capacity, compaſſed with good Walls and five Gates, which admitted into it, as one may diſcern by the Ruins of them. I conjectured they might be the Cathedral.

Below the Caſtle-Hill to the Southward ſtands a noble old Monument. It is ſix ſquare and open at ſix Windows above, and is covered with a Pyramidal Cupola. In each Angle within is a Pillar of the *Corinthian* Order of one Stone, and there is a fine Architrave all round juſt under the Cupola, having had Heads of Oxen carved on it, and it ends a-top with a large Capital of the *Corinthian*; near this are ſeveral ſepulchral Altars.

28. We left *Corus*, and without the Town about half a Mile South Eaſt, we deſcended down through a Way cut obliquely on the Side of a Precipice, which leads to a Bridge of ſeven Arches, of a very old Structure, over the River *Sabon*. And about a Quarter of a Mile further we came to another Bridge of three very large Arches over the River *Ephreen*. Theſe Bridges are very ancient, and well built of ſquare Stone. Three Pillars have an acute Angle on the Side againſt the Stream, and a round Buttreſs on the other Side, and on both Sides are Niches for Statues. They were well paved a-top with large Stones, and are doubtleſs as well as that of the other Side of the Town, the Work of the excellent and magnificent *Theodorit*.

From this Bridge in about three Hours with a Courſe South-Eaſt, or South Eaſt and by South, we arrived at *Jan Bolads*. From *Jan Bolads* to *Chiblis* is one Hour and two Thirds, Courſe North, North-Eaſt. *Chiblis* is a large populous Town, and has fifteen Moſques that may be counted without the Town, and it has large Bazars. Many Medals are found here, which ſeem to argue it to be ancient; but under what Name I know not.

Aleppo bears from *Jan Bolads* South and by Eaſt, *Seck Berukel* South South Weſt. An Hour from *Jan Bolads* is *Azaſs*; and two Hours further we lodged in the Plain, which about *Chiblis* and *Azaſs* is very wide and no leſs fruitful. This Country is always given to the *Valide*, or Grand Signior's Mother. On *Saturday*, *April* 29, we arrived ſafe at *Aleppo*, having travelled about five Hours that Day.

There is at the Diſtance of about four Hour's Journey from this City, a very great natural Curioſity, much talked of in that Country, and which deſerves to be particularly deſcribed: It is called the *Valley of Salt*, and indeed is ſo ſtiled with great Propriety. This Valley is of two or three Hours Extent; we were three Quarters of an Hour in croſſing one Corner of it. It is of an exact Level, and appears at a Diſtance like a Lake of Water. There is a Kind of a dry Cruſt of Salt all over the Top of it, which ſounds when the Horſes go upon it like frozen Snow. There are three or four ſmall Rivulets empty themſelves into this Place, and waſh it all over about Autumn, or when the Rains fall. In the Heat of the Summer the Water is dried off, and when the Sun has ſcorched the Ground, there is found remaining the Cruſt of Salt aforeſaid, which they gather and ſeparate into ſeveral Heaps, according to the Degrees of Fineneſs, ſome being exquiſitely white, others alloy'd with Dirt. It being ſoft in ſome Places, our Horſes Hoofs ſtruck in deep; and there I found in one Part a ſoft brown Clay, in another a very black one, which to the Taſte was very ſalt, though deep in the Earth. Along on one Side of the Valley, *viz.* that towards *Gibul*, there is a ſmall Precipice, about two Men's Lengths, occaſioned by the continual taking away the Salt, and in this you may ſee how the Veins of it lie. I broke a Piece of it, of which, that Part that was expoſed to the Rain, Sun, and Air, though it had the Sparks and Particles of Salt, yet it had perfectly loſt its Savour, as in St. *Matth.* Chap. v. The inner Part, which was connected to the Rock, retained its Savour, as I found by Proof. In ſeveral Places of the Valley we found the thin Cruſt of Salt upon the Surface, bulged up as if ſome Inſect, working under it, had raiſed it; and taking off the Part, we found under it Effloreſcences of pure Salt, ſhot out according to its proper Figure. At the neighbouring Village *Gibul* are kept the Magazines of Salt, where you find great Mountains (as I may ſay) of that Mineral ready for Sale. The Valley is farmed of the Grand Signior at 1200 Dollars *per Annum*.

31. Our Author not only wrote this large and regular Account of his Travels, but was alſo ready on any Occaſion to explain whatever Difficulties aroſe in the Minds of his Friends, with reſpect to the Eaſtern Countries, in which he had lived ſo long, or the Manners of the People that inhabit them. Thus upon the Reverend Mr. *Oſborn*'s writing him a Letter, to deſire from him a general Character of the *Turks*, and a particular Account of the Manner in which the *Engliſh* Merchants lived amongſt them; he gave him the following clear and diſtinct Anſwer. " As to the former, it would fill
" a Volume to write my whole Thoughts about them, I
" ſhall only tell you at preſent, that I think they are very
" far from agreeing with that Character, which is given
" of them in *Chriſtendom*, eſpecially for their exact Juſ-
" tice,

“ tice, Veracity and other moral Virtues, upon Account of which, I have ſometimes heard them mentioned with very extravagant Commendations, as though they far exceeded Chriſtian Nations. But I muſt profeſs myſelf of another Opinion: For the Chriſtian Religion, how much ſoever we live below the true Spirit and Excellency of it, muſt ſtill be allowed to diſcover ſo much Power upon the Minds of its Profeſſors, as to raiſe them far above the Level of a *Turkiſh* Virtue! It is a Maxim that I have often heard from our Merchants, that a *Turk* will always cheat when he can find an Opportunity; Friendſhip, Generoſity, true Wit (in the *Engliſh* Notion) and delightful Converſe, and all the Qualities of a refined and ingenuous Spirit, are perfect Strangers to their Minds, though in Traffick and worldly Negociations they are acute enough, and are able to carry the Accounts of a large Commerce in their Heads, without the Help of Books, by natural Arithmetick, improved by Cuſtom and Neceſſity. Their Religion is framed to keep up great outward Gravity and Solemnity, without begetting the leaſt good Tincture of Wiſdom or Virtue in the Mind. You ſhall have them at their Hours of Prayer (which are four a Day always) addreſſing themſelves to their Devotions with the moſt ſolemn and critical Waſhings, always in the moſt publick Places, where People are paſſing, with moſt lowly and moſt regular Proſtrations, and a hollow Tone, which are, amongſt them, the great Excellencies of Prayer. I have ſeen them in affected Charity, give Money to Bird-catchers (who make a Trade of it, to reſtore the poor Captives to their natural Liberty, and at the ſame Time hold their own Slaves in the heavieſt Bondage. And at other Times they will buy Fleſh to relieve indigent Dogs and Cats, and yet curſe you with Famine and Peſtilence, and all the moſt hideous Execrations; in which Way theſe Eaſtern Nations have certainly the moſt exquiſite Rhetorick of any People upon Earth. They know hardly any Pleaſure but that of the ſixth Senſe. And yet with all this, they are incredibly conceited of their own Religion, and contemptuous of that of others, which I take to be the great Artifice of the Devil, in order to keep them his own. They are a perfect viſible Comment upon our Bleſſed Lord's Deſcription of the *Jewiſh Phariſees*. In a Word, Luſt, Arrogance, Covetouſneſs, and the moſt exquiſite Hypocriſy, compleat their Character. The only Thing that ever I could obſerve to commend in them is, the outward Decency of their Carriage, the profound Reſpect they pay to Religion, and to every Thing relating to it; and their great Temperance and Frugality. The Dearneſs of any Thing is no Motive in *Turkey*, though it be in *England*, to bring it into Faſhion. As for our living amongſt them, it is with all poſſible Quiet and Safety, and that is all we deſire, their Converſation being not in the leaſt entertaining. Our Delights are among ourſelves, and here being more than forty of us, we never want a moſt friendly and pleaſant Converſation. Our Way of Life reſembles in ſome Meaſure the Academical. We live in ſeparate Squares ſhut up every Night, after the Manner of Colleges. We begin the Day conſtantly as you do, with Prayers, and have our ſet Times for Buſineſs, Meals, and Recreations. In the Winter we hunt in the moſt delightful Campaign twice a Week; and in the Summer go as often to divert ourſelves under our Tents, with Bowling, and other Exerciſes; ſo that you ſee we want not Divertiſements, and theſe all innocent and manly. In ſhort, it is my real Opinion, that there is not a Society out of *England*, that, for all good and deſirable Qualities, may be compared to this.”

Thus we ſee, that very ſenſible Men differ very much in Reference to this Subject, and that as ſome entertain very high, ſo others again have very low and mean Opinions of *Turks*. This Diſparity muſt ariſe from that Inequality in Point of Underſtanding and Morals, which is natural to them and to all Nations; and therefore we are to make proper Allowances in reference to all ſuch general Characters. One Thing deſerves to be particularly remarked, which is this, that amongſt the *Turks* it is not uſual for the better Sort of People, by which I mean thoſe beſt bred and educated amongſt them, to betake themſelves to Trade; but, on the contrary, they commonly apply either to the Sword or to the Robe; that is to ſay, they endeavour to riſe in the Army, which is the ſpeedieſt Way; or in the Law, which is the ſafeſt; this may very well account for the Want of that Integrity and ſtrict Honour, complained of amongſt the *Turks*; and I apprehend, that it has appear'd amongſt the *Engliſh* in a very high Point of Light when our Author reſided at *Aleppo*, where he lived and converſed with Gentlemen, who, in Point of Birth and Fortune, were ſuperior to Temptations, and who were above leſſening their Characters to increaſe their Riches. I had the Honour to know more than one of theſe Gentlemen myſelf, and have ſpent ſome of the happieſt Moments of my Life in their Company: They were Perſons, who, from their long Experience, had juſt and excellent Notions of Trade; and never diſcourſed of it without obſerving, that the true Baſis of Credit was an irreproachable Behaviour: They thought, that in Foreign Countries, and more particularly in the *Levant*, Factors were not only truſted with the Effects of their Correſpondents, but alſo, in ſome Meaſure, with the Honour of their Nation, and that to injure the latter was as much a Crime, as to be falſe to the former. I hope and I believe, that the ſame Meaſures are ſtill purſued with the ſame Punctuality, and as much to the Profit and Honour as ever of the *Britiſh* Nation; but whoever reflects on the wide Difference between *Turkiſh* Traders and *Britiſh* Merchants, will not at all wonder that the former were ſo low in the Eſteem of the latter. But for all this, we may lay it down as a Thing certain enough, that amongſt the better Sort of *Turks* there are Men of great Probity and Honour, and who are very far from ſeeking to make an Advantage of the Ignorance or Credulity of Strangers. When I ſay this, I do not mean their great Miniſters and Baſhaws, who have roſe either by Accident, or by the Caprice of their Maſters; ſuch Men in *Turkey*, and in all other Nations, are frequently unworthy of the Poſts they hold, and exerciſe them with a Venality ſuitable to their vicious Diſpoſitions. Ambition, Pride, and a Spirit of Voluptuouſneſs, are Paſſions that inſpire Men with as mean Thoughts as Avarice can do, though certainly that is the meaneſt of all Vices, and moſt unworthy of the Mind of Man. We muſt likewiſe make ſome Allowances for the Nature of their Government, which has already been fully deſcribed; for in a Country where Money will do every Thing, it is natural for every Man to be deſirous of getting Money.

It may not be amiſs to conſider how great and dangerous an Evil this is, and how far it is capable of ſubverting the Conſtitution of every Country where it prevails. We know that in former Times this Humour did not prevail among the *Turks*; and that on the contrary, they were proud of their Poverty, or rather, being content with the Neceſſaries of Life, they deſpiſed thoſe who could not live without enjoying Superfluities; in thoſe Days the *Turks* were a great and a victorious People. The ſame Thing may be ſaid of other Nations with the ſame Truth, but we will confine ourſelves at preſent to the Eaſt. The *Saracens* or *Arabs*, in the Days of *Mahomet* and his immediate Succeſſors, were a Race of hardy People, and their Princes valued themſelves upon their Power, without dreaming of Magnificence. As that Spirit declined, and as their Caliphs began to affect ſtately Palaces, numerous Guards, and all the exterior Enſigns of unlimited Authority, they loſt thoſe Qualities which rendred them truly venerable. This created Diſſentions and civil Wars, frequent Inſurrections, and a Series of Revolutions, which by Degrees broke the Power of particular Princes, and in Proceſs of Time that of the whole Nation; ſo that now there is not the leaſt Footſteps of that Authority, which once appear'd ſo terrible to all its Neighbours. The *Mahometan* Empires of the preſent Age, ſuch as thoſe eſtabliſhed in *India*, *Perſia*, *Barbary* and *Turky*, have been raiſed on the Ruins of the *Saracen* Empire, and are all of them now grown old and infirm, ſo that they ſeem ready to crumble under their own Weight. No other Reaſon can be aſſigned for this, but the Prevalence of Corruption in them all, for wherever moral Virtues grow into Contempt, it is ſimply impoſſible that national Power ſhould long ſubſiſt; or that where Princes and great Men, inſtead of devoting their Cares to the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, become inſenſible of all Things, but what contribute to their Eaſe and Pleaſure, they ſhould for any Length of Time continue to enjoy even theſe. Innocent Divertiſements and manly Pleaſures are not at all inconſiſtent with good Government and publick Spirit; but ſenſual Delights, and a Propenſity to Indolence which always accompanies them, naturally begets Contempt in thoſe whoſe Reverence and Reſpect can only keep them in real and conſtant Subjection. Theſe Remarks may be confirm'd from what has happen'd within our View in all theſe Countries. The *Mogul* Empire has been over-run in leſs time than would have ſufficed in ancient Time for the Conqueſt of one of its Provinces; the *Perſian* Empire has been ſubverted over and over; nothing has been more unſteady of late Years than the Throne of the *Xeriffs* in *Africa*, and the depoſing of the Grand Signior is in ſome Meaſure become a Thing familiar. But let us now return to our Author for the laſt Time.

Mr. *Maundrell*, though he had lived long in a Country where Superſtition prevails to ſuch a Degree, that the ſeveral Nations who inhabit it ſeem to vie with each other in Credulity, yet he preſerved a juſt Regard for Evidence, and did not ſuffer his Judgment to be hurried away by Tradition, however ancient; or Aſſertions, however bold. He examined every Thing carefully, and then exerciſed his own Judgment freely, aſſiſted by all the Helps that could be derived from Converſation and Learning. Of this we have a remarkable Inſtance in an Anſwer he gave to a Gentleman who conſulted him upon theſe two Points, *viz.* Whether *Gehazi*'s Leproſy ſtill ſtuck to and diſtinguiſhed his Poſterity as ſome have reported; and what Ground there was to impute to the *Greek* Church, a Notion that Perſons who died excommunicated, did not conſume in their Graves. "When I was in the *Holy Land*, ſays he, I ſaw ſeveral that labour'd under *Gehazi*'s Diſtemper, but none that could pretend to derive his Pedigree from that Perſon. Some of them were poor enough to be his Relations, particularly at *Sichem* (now *Naploſa*) there were no leſs than ten (the ſame Number that were cleanſed by our Saviour not far from the ſame Place) that came a begging to us at one Time. Their Manner is to come with ſmall Buckets in their Hands, to receive the Alms of the Charitable, their Touch being ſtill held infectious, or at leaſt unclean. The Diſtemper as I ſaw in them, was very different from what I have ſeen it in *England*, for it not only defiles the whole Surface of the Body with a foul Scurf, but alſo deforms the Joints of the Body, particularly thoſe of the Wriſts and Ancles, making them ſwell with a gouty, ſcrophulous Subſtance, very loathſome to look upon. I thought their Legs reſembled thoſe of old battered Horſes, ſuch as are often ſeen in Drays in *England*. The whole Diſtemper indeed as it there appeared, was ſo noiſome, that it might well paſs for the utmoſt Corruption of the human Body on this Side the Grave. And certainly the inſpired Penmen could not have found out a fitter Emblem, whereby to expreſs the Uncleanneſs and Odiouſneſs of Vice. But to return to *Gehazi*. It is no Wonder if the Deſcent from him be by Time obſcured, ſeeing the beſt of the *Jews*, at this Time of Day, are at a Loſs to make out their Genealogies. But beſides, I ſee no Neceſſity in Scripture for his Line's being perpetuated. The Term *(for Ever)* is, you know, often taken in a limited Senſe in holy Writ, of which the Deſignation of *Phineas*'s Family to the Prieſthood, *Numb.* xxv. 15. may ſerve for an Inſtance. His Poſterity was, you know, cut entirely off from the Prieſthood, and that transferred to *Eli*, who was one of another Line, about three hundred Years after. I have enquired of a *Greek* Prieſt, a Man not deſtitute either of Senſe or Probity, about your other Queſtion. He poſitively affirmed it, and produced an Inſtance of his own Knowledge in Confirmation of it. He ſaid, that about fifteen Years ago, a certain *Greek* departed this Life without Abſolution, being under the Guilt of a Crime which involved him in the Sentence of Excommunication, but unknown to the Church. He had Chriſtian Burial given him, and about ten Years after a Son of his dying, they had Occaſion to open the Ground near where the Body was laid, in order to bury his Son by him; by which Means they diſcovered his Body as entire as when it was firſt laid in the Grave. The Shrowd was rotted away, and the Body naked and black, but perfectly ſound. Report of this being brought to the Biſhop, he immediately ſuſpected the Cauſe of it, and ſent ſeveral Prieſts, of whom the Relator was one, to pray for the Soul of the Departed, and to abſolve him at his Grave. Which they had no ſooner done, but (as the Relator goes on) the Body inſtantly diſſolved, and fell into Duſt like ſlack'd Lime. And ſo, well ſatisfied with the Effect of their Abſolution, they departed. This was deliver'd to me *Verbo Sacerdotis*. The Man had hard Fortune not to die in the *Roman* Communion; for then, his Body being found ſo entire, would have entitled him to Saintſhip: For the *Romaniſts*, as I have both heard and ſeen, are wont to find out and maintain the Relicks of Saints by this Token. And the ſame Sign, which proves an *Anathema Maranatha* amongſt the *Greeks*, demonſtrates a Saint amongſt the Papiſts; perhaps both equally in the Right." This ſufficiently proves what has been before advanced, that Superſtition prevails generally through the Eaſt, and that the *Chriſtians* are as far gone in it as the *Turks*; neither need it be at all wonder'd at among the *Greeks*, ſince it is natural for all Nations under Oppreſſion, to ſink into Superſtition; and there is certainly nothing that can be more evident, than that theſe unfortunate People are brought as low, and their Spirits as much broke, as it is poſſible to conceive in the Courſe of ſo many Ages as they have been under the Yoke: But however, it is certain, that even in *Ruſſia*, where their Religion is eſtabliſhed by Law, this Notion prevails, together with the Practice eſtabliſhed upon it, of abſolving the Dead, that their Bodies may rot in Peace, and not remain, as they apprehend they do, for a Covering or Receptacle to evil Spirits. Upon the ſame ſtrange Notion, collected from the ſame Nation, aroſe the wild and incredible Relations concerning *Vampyres*, or dead Bodies that ſuck the Blood of living ones, that appear'd in our News Papers ſome Years ago from *Hungary*. Yet I think it might be doubted, whether this ſtrange Opinion was not originally borrow'd from the *Mahometans*, who, as we have before obſerved, are ſtrongly perſuaded, that Men have a Kind of Senſation in their Graves, and that there is no ſuch Thing as abſolute Reſt even among the Dead.

We may learn from this Gentleman's Account of the *Holy Land*, the true State and Condition of it at this Day, independent of Fable and Prieſtcraft; and from thence it appears, that there could not be a more fruitful or pleaſant Region, better ſeated for all Purpoſes whatever, or more in the Heart or Center of the Univerſe, while that was a Thing of Conſequence to the Propagation of Religion, than this Land of *Iſrael*. It is no leſs evident from the Remains of a vaſt Variety of Antiquities, ſome of which extend to the very Country itſelf, where not only Buildings but Mountains are ſeen in Ruins; that this was truly what *Canaan* is repreſented to be in the holy Scriptures, a Land of Hills and of Valleys, abounding with Corn, productive of Wine, and flowing as it were with Milk and Honey. Yet now its State is ſo much alter'd, that if we were to meaſure the Wickedneſs of its Inhabitants by the Miſery of the Places that once furniſhed them with Habitations, we ſhould not in the leaſt doubt of the Repreſentations made by inſpired Writers of the Sinfulneſs and Obſtinacy of theſe People. There is another natural and plain Obſervation ariſes from contemplating the paſt and preſent State of this famous Country, and it is this; that the unanimous Inclination of *Jews*, *Chriſtians*, and *Mahometans*, upon very different Principles, to pay it an high Veneration, and to eſteem many Places therein as peculiarly ſacred, is a Kind of perpetual Teſtimony in Favour of Revealed Religion. It is impoſſible that Nations, differing ſo widely in their Manners and Cuſtoms, as well as in their Religious Notions, ſhould for ſo many Ages agree in obtruding Cheats upon each other. We may add to this, that the *Samaritan* Scripture is another ſtrong Proof of the Sincerity and Authenticity of the *Moſaick* Writings; for nothing but Truth could have united the *Samaritans* and *Jews*, whoſe Hatred to each other has now ſubſiſted for many Centuries, in concurring to vouch any Fact. To this, indeed, it may be objected, that they differ about the Mountains *Gerizim* and *Ebal*, in which they directly contradict each other: But when this Objection is maturely weigh'd, it will be found to fortify extremely the Credit of this Teſtimony, becauſe it is the cleareſt and moſt unexceptionable Proof, that there is no Kind of Colluſion between the two Nations, but that the reſpective Perſuaſions of each, with regard to the Copies of the Scriptures they have amongſt them, is founded upon Motives in which they cannot be deceived. It is very true, that there is a prodigious Mixture of fabulous Superſtition in the Traditions of all theſe Nations; but as this is natural, and indeed unavoidable in Things of this Kind, it is ſo far from derogating from the material and ſubſtantial Proofs, which are, if I may be allow'd the Expreſſion, over-grown and cover'd with this Bark of Folly, that it rather fortifies the Evidence in the Sentiments of a ſober and ingenuous Mind. For what Kind of Hiſtory is there, which has come down to us pure and unmixed with Fable? The Eaſtern Nations were always famous for it, the *Egyptians* had it in a high Degree, it paſſed from them to the *Greeks*; and as to the Hiſtory of the elder Ages of *Rome*, it was ſo intermixed therewith, that in the Times of *Cicero* they were ſcarce able to diſtinguiſh any beyond the capital Facts that were to be relied on. But does it follow that becauſe Men have always loved to amplify and extend the Truth, therefore there was no ſuch Thing? Shall we, becauſe it is very difficult to ſettle the preciſe Situation of ancient Cities that make ſo great a Figure in the beſt Authors, doubt whether thoſe Cities ever were in the World? Or, becauſe the Oriental Chronicles of all the ancient Empires differ widely from ours, ſhall we peremptorily decide, that there never were any ſuch, notwithſtanding that manifeſt Monuments of the flouriſhing State of thoſe ancient Empires remain even to our Times? Are the Antiquities at *Tchelminar* in *Perſia*, of *Tadmor* or *Palmira* in the Wilderneſs, of *Balbeck*, or *Heliopolis* ſeen by our Author, to be rejected as Fancies or Fables? And, if theſe are all Matters of Fact, do they not more clearly prove the Hiſtories of paſt Times, than all the Chronicles in the World? Men may write fabulous Hiſtories, or may forge Records, but ſuch Monuments of ancient Times are beyond the Reach of Fiction or Forgery; ſo that Incredulity, with reſpect to them, is not only irrational and abſurd, but downright Madneſs.

We may upon the whole reſt ſatisfied, that what our Author has delivered to us in his Travels, and in his Remarks, deſerve both Credit and Reſpect, and are capable of furniſhing us with Materials for very ſolid and uſeful Meditations. But it is now Time to proceed, and quitting the Limits of the *Turkiſh* Empire, to purſue our Journey with freſh Guides, and freſh Views, into other Regions, which will afford us new Pleaſures and additional Helps, to the Increaſe of our Knowlege, and the Improvement of our Underſtandings.

CHAPTER II.

Containing TRAVELS through the Empire of *Perſia*, and the Provinces depending thereon; with a large Account of their Climate, Soil, and Produce, the Conſtitution of the Empire, and Nature of the Shah's Government, the Laws, Manners, Religion, Commerce, Diverſions, &c. not only of the native *Perſians*, but of the ſeveral Nations living in their Country, and ſubject to the Shah, with a brief Account of the late Revolutions in that Empire.

SECTION I.

The Travels of Sir JOHN CHARDIN, by the Way of the *Black-Sea*, through the Countries of *Circaſſia*, *Mingrelia*, the Country of the *Abcas*; *Georgia*, *Armenia*, and *Media* into *Perſia Proper*; with a very curious and accurate Account not only of the Countries through which he travelled, but of the Manners and Cuſtoms, Religion and Government, Commerce and Inclinations of the ſeveral Nations that inhabit them; Relations ſo much the more curious, as theſe Countries, and the People dwelling in them, had not been tolerably deſcribed before by any Author.

1. *A ſuccinct Introductory Account of the worthy Perſon by whom theſe Travels were written, of the Value of them, and of the peculiar Excellencies by which they are diſtinguiſhed.* 2. *An Account of the* Thracian Boſphorus, *of the delightful Proſpects in ſailing through it, and the beautiful Countries upon the Coaſt.* 3. *The Author's Arrival at* Caffa, *a Deſcription of the Country of the* Crim Tartars, *and of the Condition, Cuſtoms, and Manners of that Nation.* 4. *The* Cherks, Abcas, *and other barbarous Nations that however ſtile themſelves* Chriſtians, *largely deſcribed, with ſome very curious Remarks on the State and Strength of thoſe Nations.* 5. *A more particular Relation of the* Mingrelians, Cara Cherks, *or* Black Carcaſſians, *and other Inhabitants of that Country, known to the Ancients by the Name of* Colchis. 6. *The large and fruitful Country of* Mingrelia *exactly deſcribed, with a View of the Government, Forces, Way of Living, and diſſolute Manners of all Ranks and Degrees of People who inhabit it.* 7. *Of the terrible Corruption in Point of Religion, which reigns amongſt them, and from whence it appears to be a wild and extravagant Mixture of Atheiſm and Superſtition, kept up by the Arts and Frauds of their Prieſts, who are little better than Cheats and Juglers.* 8. *The Principality of* Guriel, *and the Kingdom of* Imeretta, *anciently called* Iberia, *with the Countries adjacent, deſcribed, and the Manner in which they loſt their Independency, and became Tributaries to the* Turks. 9. *The Author continues his Journey through* Mingrelia, *is preſent at the Ceremony of Baptizing two Children, of which he gives a large and particular Account.* 10. *The famous Mountain* Caucaſus *deſcribed, and a View of the Condition of its preſent Inhabitants.* 11. *A large and circumſtantial Detail of the Country and Inhabitants of* Georgia, *with a Deſcription of the capital City of* Teflis, *and the State of the* Roman *Catholick Miſſionaries in that Country.* 12. *The Author's Travels through the Countries, at the Foot of Mount* Taurus, *forming a little Principality inhabited by the* Coſſacs. 13. *An Account of the famous City of* Erivan, *and of the Country of* Armenia, *of which it is the Capital, as well as of the People who inhabit it.* 14. *A Digreſſion concerning the Marriages of the* Perſians, *and the Reaſons why Divorces, though lawful amongſt them, are ſeldom practiſed.* 15. *The Author's ſubſequent Obſervations in his Travels through* Armenia, *and of the Fortreſſes erected to prevent the Incurſions of the* Turks. 16. *Of the noble Province of* Azerbeyan, *anciently called* Media, *with an Account of a ſpurious Kind of Cochineal prepared by the Inhabitants.* 17. *A Deſcription of the large, populous and magnificent City of* Tauris, *the prodigious Fertility of the Country round about it, and a Compariſon between the different Climates of* Media *and* Parthia, *with many other curious Particulars.* 18. *A Deſcription of the laſt-mentioned Province, and of the Cities of* Ebher *and* Caſbin, *in the Neighbourhood of which grow the fineſt Grapes in the World.* 19. *An Account of the famous City of* Rey, *formerly one of the largeſt in* Aſia, *of which there are now ſcarce any Ruins remaining.* 20. *The City of* Com *and the glorious*

glorious Tombs of the Perſian *Saints therein, fully deſcribed, with an Account of the adjacent Country.* 21. *A Deſcription of the City of* Caſhan, *with an Account of the ſeveral Manufactures carried on there, and of the fruitful Country about it.* 22. *The Author's Account of two other Roads leading from* Warſaw *to* Iſpahan, *and from* Iſpahan *to* Moſcow. 23. *Remarks and Obſervations upon the foregoing Section.*

1. WE have very large and conſiderable Collections of Travels through the Empire of *Perſia*, and the Provinces depending upon it; and indeed there are very few Countries that better deſerve to be viſited, or which afford either the Traveller himſelf, or whoever peruſes his Accounts, more Entertainment than *Perſia*. Notwithſtanding this, many Inconveniencies would ariſe from inſerting numerous Accounts of Travels through this Country, becauſe of Neceſſity it muſt produce many Repetitions, which would appear tedious and troubleſome, as well as perplexing to the Reader. The Method therefore that we ſhall take, is to give in this Section the Travels of Sir *John Chardin*, from *Conſtantinople* into the *Perſian* Dominions; and in the ſubſequent Sections, we ſhall give a Deſcription, in as regular a Method as is poſſible, of the whole Empire, diſtinguiſhed into its ſeveral Provinces, with whatever occurs remarkable or worthy of Notice in the Works of other celebrated Travellers, ſo as to preſerve the Marrow and Quinteſcence of their Relations, without embarraſſing ourſelves with Things of leſs Conſequence, and Particulars that without the leaſt Prejudice to the Deſign of this Work may be as well omitted. By this Means we ſhall bring into a reaſonable Compaſs all that is requiſite, and give a diſtinct and clear Notion of the paſt and preſent Condition of one of the moſt powerful and famous Empires of the Earth.

The Reaſon we made Choice of Sir *John Chardin*'s Travels, by way of Introduction, was his taking a different Route from moſt other Travellers, *viz.* by the *Black-Sea*, and the Countries that border upon it, which are ſcarce deſcribed by any other Traveller, or at leaſt are deſcribed by none with equal Plainneſs and Perſpicuity. It riſes from hence, that, generally ſpeaking, we have only confuſed and imperfect Conceptions concerning theſe Countries and their Inhabitants, which however it is of ſome Importance that we ſhould know more diſtinctly, becauſe as they made a great Figure in ancient Hiſtory, ſo it is not at all impoſſible, that as low and deſpicable as they now ſeem, they may hereafter come to change their Circumſtances, and appear with new Luſtre, if not in ours, yet in the Eyes of our Poſterity. It is very evident, that from their Situation they are very conſiderable, and if their Inhabitants were well governed, and lived in tolerable Correſpondence with each other, they might be now, as they were heretofore, equally formidable to the Grand Signior, Succeſſor to the *Greek* Monarchs of *Conſtantinople*, and to the *Perſian* Emperors. We have a late Inſtance of this in the Caſe of *Nadir Shah*, who received from theſe deſpiſed and barbarous People, that Check which proved firſt fatal to his Authority, and in the End to his Perſon. The Author of theſe Travels was a Gentleman of a good Family in *France*, and of a liberal Education; he applied himſelf to Commerce very early, and proſecuted with great Succeſs the moſt conſiderable Branch of Foreign Trade, that of dealing as a Merchant in Jewels, which he underſtood perfectly, and by which he acquired, with an unſpotted Character, a very large and affluent Fortune. He made ſeveral Excurſions into the Eaſt, by different Roads, and reſided ſeveral Years in *Perſia*, had very great and uncommon Opportunities of entring deeply into the Subjects of which he has treated, and digeſted his Accounts with great Accuracy and Perſpicuity, ſo that they have been eſteemed not only here, but in *France*, and throughout *Europe* in general, as the moſt perfect in their Kind that have hitherto appeared.

This Gentleman, when the Perſecution againſt the Proteſtants broke out in *France*, came over hither, and brought with him great Riches. He was received with much Reſpect at Court, and King *Charles* the IId, as a Mark of his Favour, beſtowed upon him in the Month of *March*, 1683, the Honour of Knighthood. He publiſhed the firſt Edition of his Travels in our Language, in a large Folio Volume, but they have been ſince ſeveral Times printed with many Corrections, great Improvements, and conſiderable Augmentations in *French*. He continued to reſide here, and purchaſed a conſiderable Eſtate, ſo that in the Reign of Queen *Anne*, we find him frequently mentioned by ſuch as took Occaſion to ſhow how much the Wealth of *England* was improved, and its Trade increaſed, by encouraging Foreigners of the Proteſtant Religion, to come and ſettle amongſt us. Sir *John* died at a good old Age, on *Chriſtmas* Day, 1712. He left behind two Sons, and ſeveral Daughters.

His eldeſt Son was created a Baronet of this Kingdom by his late Majeſty King *George* the Firſt, and having purchaſed from *Grantham Andrews*, Eſq; of *Sunbury*, the noble Seat of *Kempton-Park*, in the County of *Middleſex*, and not far from *Hampton-Court*, fixed there, and is ſtill living and unmarried. The old Gentleman employed a great Part of the latter Period of his Life, in compleating his Book of Travels, and intended, as himſelf informs us, to have written a diſtinct Treatiſe, explaining a great Variety of Paſſages in the Scripture, from the Cuſtoms and Manners of the *Eaſtern* Nations, with which no Man was better acquainted than he; but by many unlucky Accidents was hindered from fulfilling that Promiſe, to the no ſmall Concern of the learned World, who expected with great Impatience ſo uſeful and inſtructive a Book, of writing which he was extremely capable, and of ſeeing any Thing of the ſame Kind, the Public ſince his Deceaſe ſeem to deſpair.

2. Sir *John Chardin* left *Paris*, *Aug.* 17, 1671, with an Intention to go to the *Eaſt-Indies*, and travelling by way of *Milan*, *Venice*, and *Florence*, arrived at *Leghorn* in the End of *October*, and embarking in a Ship, under a *Dutch* Convoy, arrived at *Smyrna*, *March* 2, 1672, and twelve Days after at *Conſtantinople*. He remained in this City four Months, and in the mean Time there happening a Quarrel between the Grand Vizier and the *French* Ambaſſador, which cauſed a Report, that the Grand Vizier intended to arreſt the Ambaſſador, and all the *French* Nation, he was afraid that his Goods, which were very rich, and very conſiderable in Quantity, would be ſeized; and ſo ſought all Means to get out of *Conſtantinople*, and to proceed on his Journey to *Perſia*.

The Caravans in thoſe hot Months did not travel; but the Port being about to ſend a new Commander, with ſome Soldiers and Money, as they do yearly, to the Fort of *Azoph*, which ſtands upon the Lake *Mæotis*, he obtain'd a Paſſage in a *Turkiſh* Saick belonging to that Fleet, and embarked, *July* 27, at a Port in the *Thracian Boſphorus*. This Channel, which is about fifteen Miles in Length, and about two in Breadth, in moſt Parts, but in others leſs, ſo called, becauſe an Ox may ſwim over it, is certainly one of the lovelieſt Parts of the World; for the Shores are riſing, and covered over with Houſes of Pleaſure, Woods, Gardens, Parks, delightful Proſpects, and Wilderneſſes, watered with Thouſands of Springs and Fountains: The Paſſage through it, in fair Weather, is exceeding diverting, by reaſon of the great Number of Barks which are continually ſailing to and fro, and the Proſpect of *Conſtantinople* from the Top of it, which is about two Miles diſtant, is the moſt charming that ever Eyes beheld. There are four Caſtles ſtanding by it, all well fortified with great Guns, two of them eight Miles from the *Black-Sea*, and two at the Mouth of the Channel, which is the moſt dangerous Place for Shipwrecks in all the *Euxine-Sea*.

3. On the 3d of *Auguſt*, in the Morning, he arrived at *Caffa*, a Port in the *Tauric Cherſoneſe*, or *Peninſula*,

ſo called, becauſe it was firſt inhabited by the *Scythians* of Mount *Taurus*. It is thirty-five Leagues from North to South, and fifty-five from Eaſt to Weſt. The Iſthmus, that joins it to the Continent, is not above a League in Breadth. It is inhabited by the *Crim Tartars*, who dwell in Cities and Towns; whereas their Neighbours the *Nogays* and *Calmucs* dwell in Tents, as the reſt do on the Continent.

Caffa is a great Town built at the Bottom of a little Hill, upon the Sea-ſhore, and encompaſſed with ſtrong Walls, that advance a little into the Sea. It hath two Caſtles, the one, which ſtands on a riſing Ground on the South-ſide, is large, and commands all the Parts thereabouts, and is the Reſidence of a Baſha; the other is not ſo big, but is well furniſhed with Guns. They reckon about 4000 Houſes in it, of which about 3200 are *Mahometans*, *Turks*, and *Tartars*, and the reſt *Chriſtians*, *Greeks*, and *Armenians*. The Houſes are ſmall, and built of Earth; as are alſo their Bazars, Moſques, and Baths. The Soil about it is dry and ſandy, bearing little Fruit, and the Water is bad, but the Air is very pure and wholeſome. All Proviſions are very cheap and good, Mutton being not above a Farthing a Pound, and other Things proportionable. The Road of *Caffa* is ſheltered from the Winds, except on the North and South-Eaſt Sides, and the Ships lie cloſe to the Shore ſafely in ten or twelve Fathom Water. There is a great Trade driven here in Salt-fiſh and Caveare, which being taken out of the Lake *Mæotis*, that is twenty-ſix Miles diſtant from it, in great Quantities, are tranſported into *Europe*, and as far as the *Indies*. They alſo export Corn, Butter, and Salt, with which they furniſh *Conſtantinople*, and ſeveral other Places, for the *Caffa* Butter is the beſt in all *Turkey*.

From *Caffa* he went in a Ship bound for *Colchis*, *Aug.* 30. and the next Day arrived at *Donſlow*, or the Salt-pits, fifty Miles from *Caffa*, on the Shore. Here are great Marſhes of Salt, which is made by letting in the Sea-water, and ſuffering it to congeal by the Sun. The People ſay, that two hundred Veſſels are laden here with Salt yearly, paying only 3 *s.* a Day to thoſe that load it. About a Mile from the Shore is an Habitation of the *Tartars*, where there is not above ten or twelve Houſes with a little Moſque, and round about it a great Number of Tents, with ſeveral Waggons cloſe cover'd, which ſerve them inſtead of Houſes. The Tents for themſelves are very handſome, being made with Poles, and cover'd with large light Furs well-ſtretch'd upon them; their Inſide is commonly hung with Tapeſtry, and the Floor is laid with the ſame. Every Family hath two other Tents belonging to them, cover'd with a great Sarplar of Wool, one for their Servants, and Kitchen, in which is a Pit five Foot deep, to make a Fire in to dreſs their Meat, and the other for their Horſes and Cattle.

They ſtore up their Corn and Forage in Magazines under Ground, which they cover ſo exactly, that none can find them but themſelves. They can remove their Tents with a ſmall Trouble, and in a very little Time, and carry them away in Carts drawn by Oxen and Horſes, of which they breed a great Number. They profeſs the *Mahometan* Religion, but mix with it ſtrange ſuperſtitious and ridiculous Opinions of Fortune-telling and Divination. From *Donſlow* he ſailed all along in the Channel to *Cape Cuodos*, which *Ptolemy* calls *Cirocondoma*, where the Coaſts that bound the Lake *Mæotis*, which are very high Lands, are ſeen at about thirty Miles Diſtance.

4. From the Channel of the Lake *Mæotis*, to *Mingrelia*, is reckon'd 600 Miles along the Coaſts, which conſiſt of pleaſant Woods, inhabited by a Sort of *Tartars* called *Circaſſians*, and by the *Turks*, *Cherks*, but ſo thinly, that the Country looks like a Deſart. The Ancients called them *Zagæans*, or Mountaineers; and *Pomponius Mela*, *Sargacians*. They are neither Subjects nor Tributary to the Port, becauſe their Country producing nothing valuable, the *Turks* think it not worth the Toil of conquering it. The Veſſels that come from *Conſtantinople* to *Mingrelia* trade with this People, but with their Arms in their Hands, and by Hoſtages, for they are Infidelity and Perfidiouſneſs itſelf, and will never fail to ſteal where they find an Opportunity. The Trade with them is managed by Exchange, the *Cherks* bringing down Slaves of all Sexes and Ages, Honey, Wax, Leather, Jackals, Zandava, and other Beaſts Skins, for ſuch Commodities as they want.

Circaſſia is a pleaſant Country, and the Soil is very fruitful, bringing forth great Plenty of all Sorts of Fruit without Trouble, as Cherries, Apples, Pears, Walnuts; but their chief Wealth conſiſts in Cattle, as well-ſhaped Horſes, which are ſo ſwift and good, that they will tire the wild Beaſts, and catch them in plain Courſe; Goats, Deer and Sheep, the Wool of which is as fine as that of *Spain*, which the *Muſcovites* fetch to make Felts. They ſow no Grain but Millet for their own Bread, and Barley for their Horſes; and their Women till and manure their Ground: Their Drink is Water and Boza, which is a Liquor made of Millet, as intoxicating as Wine: They live in Wooden Huts, and go almoſt naked. Every one is a ſworn Enemy to thoſe that live in the Provinces round about him. Their Beds are made of Sheep-Skins ſowed together, and ſtuffed with Millet Leaves, beaten in the Threſhing as ſmall as Oat-chaff. They were formerly Chriſtians, but now have no Religion; no not ſo much as the Light of Nature among them, ſave what they place in the obſerving certain ſuperſtitious Ceremonies, borrow'd both from the *Chriſtians* and *Mahometans*.

The *Abca*'s Border upon the *Cherks*, poſſeſſing about an 100 Miles upon the Sea-Coaſts, between *Mingrelia* and *Circaſſia*. They are not ſo ſavage as the *Cherks*, but are as much inclined to Thieving and Robbery; ſo that the Merchants trade with them with the like Caution, and after the ſame Manner. *September* the 10th, he arrived at *Iſgaour*, a Port in *Mingrelia*, where all the Veſſels that trade thither lie. It is a Deſart Place, without any Habitations, only the Traders that come thither build themſelves Huts and Booths of Boughs for the Time of their Abode, which is uſually as long as they find themſelves ſafe from the *Abca*'s.

5. *Colchis* or *Mingrelia* is ſituated at the End of the Black-Sea: It is bounded on the Eaſt by the little Kingdom of *Imeretta*, on the South by the Black-Sea, on the Weſt by the *Abca*'s, and on the North by Mount *Caucaſus*. The *Corax* and *Phaſis*, two famous Rivers in the ancient Hiſtories, now called *Coddours* and *Rionne*, part it, the firſt from the *Abca*'s, and the other from *Imeretta*. The Length of it is about 110 Miles, and the Breadth ſixty. It was once fortified againſt the *Abca*'s, by a Wall of ſixty Miles in Length, which is long ſince demoliſhed, and become a thick Foreſt.

The Inhabitants of *Caucaſus*, that border upon *Colchis*, are the *Alanes*, *Suanes*, *Gigues*, *Caracioles*, or *Cara-Cherks*, i. e. Black *Circaſſians*, ſo called by the *Turks*, not from their Complection, for they are the faireſt People in the World, but from their Country, becauſe it is always darken'd with Fogs and Clouds. They were alſo anciently Chriſtians, but now profeſs no Religion, but live by Robbery and Rapine, having nothing that can entitle them to Humanity but Speech. They are very tall and portly, and their very Looks and Speech ſhew their Savage Diſpoſitions, being the moſt reſolute Aſſaſſins, and daring Robbers in the World.

The ancient Kingdom of *Colchis* was much larger than *Mingrelia* now is, extending itſelf to the Lake *Mæotis* on the one Side, and *Iberia* on the other. The Country itſelf is uneven, full of Hills and Mountains, Valleys and Plains. It is almoſt covered with Woods, except the manured Lands, which are but few, and thoſe preſerved by grubbing up the Roots, that are continually ſpreading into them. The Air is temperate, as to Heat and Cold, but very unwholſome by Reaſon of the continual Wet, which being heated by the Sun, breeds Peſtilences, and ſeveral other Diſtempers. It abounds with Waters, which deſcend from Mount *Caucaſus*, and fall into the Black-Sea. The principal Rivers are the *Coddours*, of old called *Corax*; the *Socom*, called by *Arrian*, *Terſſen*, and by *Ptolemy*, *Thaſſaris*; the *Langus*, of old *Aſtulphus*; the *Cobi*, called by *Arrian*, *Cianeus*; the *Cibo*; the *Cainiſcari*, called anciently, *Tacheur*,

Tacheur called by *Arrian*, *Sigemus*, and the *Scheniſcari*, i. e. River-horſe, called therefore by the *Greeks*, *Hippos: Caritus*; which two laſt mix with the *Phaſis* about twenty Miles from the Place where it falls into the Sea. And the *Abaſcia*, called by *Arrian*, *Caries*; and *Ptolemy*,

The Soil is very bad, and produceth little Corn, or Pulſe, and the Fruits are almoſt wild, without Taſte, and unwholſome, unleſs it be their Vines, which thrive well there, and produce moſt excellent Wine. The Earth is ſo moiſt in Seed-time, that when they ſow their Wheat and Barley, they never plough it at all, but ſprinkle it upon the Earth; for they ſay, that ſhould they plough it, the Land would be ſo ſoft, that all their Corn would fall. They plough their Lands for their other Corn with Plough-ſhares of Wood, which make as good Furrows as Iron, becauſe their Land is very moiſt and tender. Their common Grain is *Gomm*, which is as ſmall as Coriander Seed, and reſembles Millet. Of this they make a Paſte, which they uſe for Bread, and prefer it before Wheat; which is not to be wonder'd at, for it is very acceptable to the Palate, and conducive to Health, being cooling and laxative. They have alſo great Plenty of Millet, ſome Rice, with Wheat and Barley, but very ſcarce. The People of Quality eat wheaten Bread as a Rarity, but the meaner Sort very ſeldom or never taſte of it.

The ordinary Food of the Country is Beef and Pig, of which laſt they have great Plenty, and the beſt in the World. They have alſo Goats Fleſh, but it is lean, and not well taſted. Their Wild-fowl is very good, but ſcarce. Their Veniſon is the Wild Boar, Hart, Stag, Fallow Deer, and Hare, all which are excellent Food. They have Partridges, Pheaſants, and Quails in Abundance, with ſome River Fowl and wild Pigeons, which are good Meat, and as big as a cramm'd Chicken. Their Nobility ſpend their whole Time in the Field, uſing Lanner-hawks, Goſ-hawks, Hobbies, and others, for their Sports, to catch Water-fowl and Pheaſants; but their moſt delightful Paſtime is the Flight of the Falcon at the Heron, which they catch only for the Tuft upon his Crown, to put upon their Bonnets; for they let him go again when they have cut it off, that it may grow up a-new.

6. Mount *Caucaſus* produceth a great Number of wild Beaſts, as Tygers, Leopards, Lions, Wolves, and Jacals, which laſt make great Havock amongſt their Cattle and Horſes, and often diſturb their Houſes with their dreadful Howlings. They have large Numbers of Horſes, and thoſe very good ones, which every Man almoſt keeps in great Store, becauſe their Keeping ſtands them in little or Nothing, for they neither ſhoe them, nor feed them with Corn. They have no Cities nor Towns, except two by the Sea-ſide; but their Houſes are ſo thick up and down the Country, that you can hardly travel a Mile, but you meet with three or four. There are nine or ten Caſtles in the Country, of which the chiefeſt is called *Ruis*, and it is the Court of the Prince. Their Houſes are all built with Timber, which is plentiful, and the poorer Sort never raiſe above one Story, nor the Rich above two. The lower Rooms are always furniſhed with Beds and Couches to lie down on or to ſit upon, becauſe of the Moiſture of the Earth, but are inconvenient, becauſe they have no Windows nor Chimnies.

They have but one Room for their whole Family, and ſo lie all together. The Men are well ſhaped, and the Women ſo handſome, that they ſeem born for commanding Love. They all paint their Eye-brows, and their Faces abominably. They dreſs themſelves with all the Curioſity they can, their Habit being like the *Perſians*, and their Head Attire like the *European* Women, even to the Curling of their Hair. They are witty and civil, but to balance that, haughty, deceitful, cruel, and impudent. The Men have alſo as many miſchievous Qualities, and there is no Wickedneſs to which they are not addicted; but that which they moſt practiſe and delight in is Theft. This they make their Employment and Glory. They juſtify it as lawful to have many Wives, becauſe, they ſay, they bring us many Children, which we can ſell for ready Money, or exchange for neceſſary Conveniencies; yet when they have not wherewithal to maintain them, they hold it a Piece of Charity to murder Infants new born, as alſo they do ſuch as are ſick and paſt Recovery, becauſe, they ſay, they free them from a deal of Miſery.

The Gentlemen of this Country have full Power over the Lives and Eſtates of their Tenants, to ſell and diſpoſe of their Wives and Children as they think fit, and every Country-man is bound to furniſh his Lord with as much Corn, Wine, Cattle, and other Proviſions as he wants. The Lords decide the Quarrels of their Vaſſals; but if they themſelves are at Variance, they decide it by Arms, which makes them go all armed with a Lance, Bow and Sword. Their Habit is peculiar; they wear very little Beard, and cover their Heads with a thin Felt Cap in Summer, and a furr'd Bonnet in Winter: Over their Bodies they wear little Shirts, which fall to their Knees, and tuck into a ſtrait Pair of Breeches; but they never have above one Shirt, and one Pair of Breeches, which laſts them a Year, and in all that Time never waſh them above thrice, only once or twice a Week they ſhake it (for a certain Purpoſe) over the Fire.

The whole Family, without Diſtinction, eat all together, both Males and Females. The King with all his Train, to his very Grooms, and the Queen with her Maids and Servants. They dine in the open Courts in fair Weather, and if it be cold, they make a rouſing Fire, for Wood coſts them nothing. Upon Working-Days the Servants have nothing but Gomm, and the Maſters Pulſe, dried Fiſh, or Fleſh; but on Holy-days, or when they make Entertainments, they kill an Hog, Ox, or Cow, if they have no Veniſon. They are very great Drinkers, both Men and Women, and at their Feaſts provoke their Friends, as much as they can, to Drinking. They drink their Wine pure, and beginning with Pints, proceed to much greater Quantities. Their Diſcourſe at their Merry-Meetings is, with the Men, about their Wars and Robberies, and among their Women obſcene Tales of their Amours.

Mingrelia is but thinly peopled, by reaſon of their Wars, and the vaſt Numbers ſold to the *Perſians* and *Turks* by the Nobility. All Trade in it is driven by way of Barter, for they have no ſet Price of Money among them; the Species current are Piaſtres, *Dutch* Crowns, and Abaſſi's, which are made in *Georgia*, and ſtamp'd with the *Perſian* Stamp. The Revenues of the Prince of *Mingrelia* amount at moſt to 20,000 Crowns, which ariſes from the Cuſtoms of Goods exported and imported, the Slaves he ſells, Impoſitions and Fines; and this he lays up, for his Slaves ſerve him for nothing, and his Crown-Lands furniſh his Court with more Proviſion than he can ſpend. He is not able to raiſe above 4000 Men fit to bear Arms, and thoſe are all Cavalry for the moſt Part, for he has not above 300 Foot to join with them. His Court, upon ſolemn Feſtivals, conſiſts of 200 Gentlemen, but upon other Days of about 120.

7. The Religion of the *Colchians* was formerly the ſame with the *Greeks*, being converted, as the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorians ſay, in *Conſtantine*'s Time, by a Slave: But the *Mingrelians* ſay, St. *Andrew* preach'd among them in the Place call'd *Pigivitas*, where now ſtands a Church, whither the *Catholicos*, or chief Biſhop goes once in his Life-time to make the Oil call'd *Myrone* by the *Greeks*; but now the *Mingrelians* are fallen into a profound Abyſs of Ignorance and Darkneſs, and have not the leaſt Idea of Faith and Religion, but look upon Life Eternal, the Day of Judgment, and the Reſurrection, as meer Fables deviſed by Men. Nor do their Clergy perform any Eccleſiaſtical Duties, for there is hardly any one of them that can either write or read. They have utterly loſt the true Knowledge of the Service of God; but the Prieſts make a publick Profeſſion of foretelling Things to come, and make the People believe, that their Books ſhow them the Courſe of future Events.

The *Catholicos* of *Mingrelia* is Head of all the Clergy of that Country, as alſo of *Abca*, *Gureil*, Mount *Caucaſus*, and *Imeretta*; but the Prince appoints or depoſeth him as he pleaſeth. His Revenue is very great, for he has 400 Vaſſals under him, who furniſh his Houſe with all Things neceſſary for human Life, and many Superfluities. He ſells their Children to the *Turks*; and when he viſits the Dioceſes under his Juriſdiction, it is not to reform the Clergy, nor inſtruct the People, but to ſpoil them of their Goods, and rake together great Sums. He will not conſecrate a Biſhop for leſs than 600 Crowns, nor ſay a Maſs for the Dead under 800, nor any other Maſs under one hundred.

The Sanctity of this Prelate conſiſts in a continual Abſtinence from Fleſh and Wine in *Lent*, and in long Prayers Day and Night; but he is ſo ignorant, that he can hardly read his Breviary and Miſſal. He has ſix Biſhops under him, who take no Care of the Souls of their People, nor ever viſit their Churches and Dioceſes. They ſuffer the Prieſts to live in all Manner of Errors, and the People to contaminate with themſelves the groſſeſt Vices; they underſtand not the Form of Baptiſm, let Polygamy be practiſed, and permit the Mothers to bury their new-born Children alive. All their Buſineſs is in Feaſting and Banqueting, where they are drunk almoſt every Day. They are rich, and go very ſumptuouſly apparel'd, oppreſſing their Vaſſals, and ſelling their Wives and Children to maintain their Luxury. They abſtain from Fleſh, as the *Greek* Biſhops do, and place the whole Chriſtian Religion in the Practice of Faſting, and think not themſelves obliged to do any other Duty. Their Cathedral is pretty neatly kept, and well adorn'd with Images, which they deck with Gold and Jewels, believing, that in ſo doing they ſatisfy God's Juſtice, and atone for their Sins. They are cloathed in Scarlet and Velvet, as the Seculars are, and differ from them only in this, that they wear their Beards long, and their Bonnets black, round, and high.

There are alſo in *Mingrelia* certain Monks, of the Order of St. *Baſil*, who wear the ſame Habit, and live after the Manner of the *Greek* Monks, wearing black Bonnets, eating no Fleſh, and ſuffering their Hair to grow; but they mind nothing of Religion, but to obſerve their Faſts exactly. They have alſo Nuns of the ſame Order, who obſerve their Faſting Days, and wear a black Veil, but they have no Nunneries, nor are under any Vows or Subordination, but quit their Habit and Temperance when they pleaſe.

The Prieſts of *Mingrelia* are very numerous, but a Sort of miſerable Creatures. They till their own Ground, and the Lands of their Lords, being no leſs Slaves than the Seculars; nor have they any Reſpect ſhewn them, but when they bleſs their Food at Meals, or ſay Maſs. Their Pariſh-Churches have no Bells, but they call the People together by knocking with a great Stick upon a Board, and they are kept as naſty as Stables, the Images being foul and broken, and cover'd with Duſt. The Worſhip which they pay to their Images is idolatrous, for they adore them not with a relative Adoration, but pay their Devotion to the material Subſtance. They worſhip ſuch moſt, as are fineſt adorn'd, or fam'd for their Cruelty, and if they ſwear by any of theſe, they will never break the Oath. St. *Giobas* is one of their moſt formidable Images, and him they will not approach nearer than they can juſt ſee him, but pray to him, and leave their Preſent at that Diſtance; for they report, that he kills all that approach him very near.

The Chriſtian Saints they have no Value for, unleſs it be St. *George*, whom they account their chief Saint, as do alſo the *Georgians*, *Muſcovites*, and *Greeks*. Their Maſs is after the *Greek* Manner, and the Prieſts celebrate it without any other Sacerdotal Habit but their Surplices. Their Cup or Chalice is a Goblet of Wood, and the Cover is of the ſame Matter; and their Patten is a wooden Diſh. In *Lent* they never ſay Maſs, but on *Saturdays* and *Sundays*, for they hold, that the Communion ſpoils their Faſting. They conſecrate unleavened or leavened Bread, without any Difference, and never mix Water with Wine, unleſs it be very ſtrong.

They laugh at Tranſubſtantiation, and ſay, How can Chriſt get into a Loaf? For what Reaſon ſhould he leave Heaven to come down to the Earth? They anoint the Foreheads of their Children with the Oil called *Myrone*, as ſoon as they are born; but baptize them not till a long Time after, and then they waſh them all over with Water: but none will baptiſe their Children till he is able to make a Feaſt for the Prieſt, God fathers and Gueſts, and that is the Reaſon many of their Children die unbaptized. They do not believe that Ordination imprints a Character not to be defaced, and therefore they ordain a-new ſuch Prieſts as have been degraded. Their Marriages are a Contract by Way of Bargain and Sale, for the Parents of the Maid agree upon the Price with the Perſon that deſires her; the Price of a divorced Woman is the leaſt, of a Widow ſomething more, but of a Maid moſt. When the Bargain is made, the young Man may company with the Damſel till the Money is paid, and it is no Scandal if ſhe be with Child. If any one has married a barren Women, or of an ill Diſpoſition, they hold it not only lawful, but requiſite to divorce her, as a Match not made by God, who only does good. There is none that underſtands the Bible, or reads it, but the Women will repeat ſeveral Stories of the Goſpel, which they have by Tradition. They obſerve the ſame Faſts almoſt as the *Greeks*, for they keep the four great *Lents*, viz. the firſt before *Eaſter*, which is forty eight Days; that before *Chriſtmas*, which is forty Days; St. *Peter*'s Faſt, which is near a Month; and the laſt, which the Eaſtern Chriſtians obſerve in Honour of the Virgin *Mary*, which continues fifteen Days. They make the Sign of the Croſs when they drink Wine and eat Pork, but not as any Mark of Chriſtianity. Their Prayers are all addreſs'd to their Idols for their temporal Benefits, *viz.* their own Proſperity, or Ruin of their Enemies. They offer Sacrifices like the *Jews* and *Gentiles*. They never make Holiday upon *Sundays*, or abſtain from Works but at the Feſtivals of *Chriſtmas* and *Eaſter*, which they celebrate only in Eating and Drinking to Exceſs in their Houſes. Their greateſt Feſtivals are when an Idol is carried through their Country, when they put on their beſt Cloaths, make a great Feaſt, and get ready a Preſent for the Idol. Their Mourning for the Dead is altogether barbarous, and like that of People in Deſpair, the Women rend their Cloaths, tear their Hair and Fleſh, beat their Breaſts, cry, yell, and gnaſh with their Teeth, like People mad or poſſeſſed; the Men alſo tear their Cloaths, and thump their Breaſts.

8. Their Neighbour Nations live and act after the ſame Faſhion almoſt in all Reſpects, only they that live near *Perſia* and *Turkey* are more civil in their Manners, and more honeſt and juſt in their Inclinations, whereas thoſe that border upon the *Tartars* and *Scythians*, are more barbarous, having no Idea, or outward Form of Religion, and obſerving no Laws.

On the Confines of *Mingrelia* lie the Principality of *Guriel*, and Kingdom of *Imeretta*. The Country of *Guriel* is very ſmall, bordering upon *Imeretta* on the North, Mount *Caucaſus* on the Eaſt, *Mingrelia* on the Weſt, and the Black-Sea on the South. It lies all along by the Sea-ſhore from the River *Phaſis*, to the Caſtle *Gonie*, which is held by the *Turks*. The Inhabitants are of the ſame Nature and Manners as the *Mingrelians*, and have the ſame Inclinations to Lewdneſs, Robbery and Murther.

The Kingdom of *Imeretta* is ſomething bigger than the Country of *Guriel*, and is the *Iberia* of the Ancients. It is encompaſſed with Mount *Caucaſus*, *Colchis*, the Black-Sea, the Principality of *Guriel*, and Part of *Georgia*. It is twenty ſix Miles in Length, and ſixty Miles broad. The Country is full of Woods and Mountains, like *Mingrelia*, but the Valleys are more pleaſant, and Plains more delicious, producing Corn, Pulſe, Cattle, and Herbs of all Sorts. There are ſome Iron Mines. They have alſo ſome Money current among them, which is coined in their Kingdom, and ſeveral Towns; but their Manners and Cuſtoms differ little from the *Mingrelians*. The King has three good Caſtles, one called *Scander*, ſeated on the Side of a Valley, and two on Mount *Caucaſus*, call'd *Regia* and *Scorgia*, being both almoſt inacceſſible, as being built in Places that Nature itſelf has wonderfully fortified, the River *Phaſis* running between them. The Fortreſs of *Cotatis* was once in this Prince's Juriſdiction, but the *Turks* are now Maſters of it.

The King of *Imeretta* govern'd the *Abca*'s, *Mingrelians*, and People of *Guriel*, after they had all four freed themſelves from the Power of the Emperors, firſt of *Conſtantinople*, and then of *Trebiſond*: But in the laſt Age, ſetting up for themſelves, and revolting from one another, they were involved in continual Wars among themſelves, till calling in the Aſſiſtance of the *Turks*, they were all made tributary to them. The King of *Imeretta* pays eighty Boys and Girls, from ten to twenty Years of Age. The Prince of *Guriel* pays forty-ſix Children of both Sexes; and the Prince of *Mingrelia* ſixty thouſand Ells of Linen-Cloth made in that Country. The *Abca*'s ſeldom paid any Thing at firſt, and now pay Nothing. The King of *Imeretta*, and Prince of *Guriel*, ſend their Tribute to the Baſha of *Akalzike*, but a *Chiaux* gathers it at *Mingrelia*.

9. Leaving *Iſagour*, *October* 4, he paſſed by the Mouth of the River *Aſtolphus*, called *Langur* by the *Mingrelians*, one of the biggeſt Rivers in *Mingrelia*, and on the 5th came to *Anarghia*, a Village two Miles from the Sea, conſiſting of two hundred Houſes, but ſo far diſtant the one from the other that it is two Miles from the firſt to the laſt. Hither the *Turks* come to buy Slaves, and have Barks ready to carry them away. It is thought, that the fair and large City, called *Heraclea*, ſtood in the ſame Place. At this Town there is Plenty of Proviſions, and that very cheap, *viz.* Wild Pidgeons, Fowl, Porkers and Goats in Abundance, and Wine is plentiful. From *Anarghia* he ſail'd up the River *Aſtolphus*, and went to a Place called *Sapias*, which is the Name of two little Churches, of which the one is a Pariſh Church of *Mingrelia*, and the other belongs to the *Theatins*, a Sort of Friers, who firſt came into *Mingrelia* in 1627, and were admitted there as Phyſicians, and have built themſelves ſeveral Apartments about it, after the Manner of the Country. They have ſome Slaves, and two Families of Country People their Tenants. They have good Employment as Phyſicians, but none will embrace their Religion, their very Slaves refuſing to communicate in their Services; ſo that they would have long ſince left the Country, had it not been for the Honour of the *Roman* Church and their own Order.

After a Month's Stay with the Monks, it not being ſafe to travel, becauſe of the Troubles in the Country, he return'd again to *Anarghia*, and having hired a *Turkiſh* Feluke, for *Gonie*, November the 10th, ſtaid till th 27th to take in Loading and Paſſengers. While he ſtaid here he was invited to two Chriſtenings, and Curioſity engaged him to be preſent at them. The Manner was this: The Prieſt being ſent for about ten a Clock in the Morning, ſat himſelf down in the Buttery, and fell to reading a Book half torn, about the Bigneſs of a New Teſtament, in *Octavo*. He read very faſt, and with a low Voice, in ſuch a careleſs Manner, as if he regarded not what he did, any more than the reſt did what he ſaid, for the Father, Godfather and Child, who was about five Years old, went to and again all the Time.

When the Prieſt had read an Hour, there was a Bucket of warm Water got ready, into which when the Prieſt had poured about a Spoonful of Oil of Wallnuts, he bid the Godfather undreſs the Child; which done, he ſet him upon his Feet in the Water, and waſhed his Body all over well, and then the Prieſt gave him a ſmall Quantity of *Myrone*, or Oil of Unction, with which he anointed the Top of his Head, Ears, Forehead, Noſe, Cheeks, Chin, Shoulders, Elbows, Back, Belly, Knees and Feet, the Prieſt ſtill reading, till the Godfather dreſs'd the Child, and then the Father bringing in Wine, Bread and Pork, they all ſat down to eat and drink, and were all extremely drunk before they parted. Their Maſs they perform with the ſame Irreverence and Careleſsneſs.

Departing from *Anarghia* in fair and clear Weather, he diſcover'd the high Lands of *Trebiſond* on the one Side, and of the *Abca*'s on the other, and came to the River *Kelmbel*, which though not ſo broad nor rapid as *Langur*, yet is deeper.

10. On the 30th he came to the River *Phaſis*, which, taking its Riſe in Mount *Caucaſus*, runs at firſt in a narrow Channel, though ſwiftly, about *Cotatis*, and ſometimes ſo low, that it is eaſily fordable; but where it diſchargeth itſelf into the Sea, which is about ninety Miles from *Cotatis*, the Channel is a Mile and half broad, and ſixty Fathom deep, being augmented in that Courſe by divers Streams. The Water is muddy and thick, but very good to drink. There are ſeveral Iſlands at the Mouth of it, which being covered with thick Woods, make a delightful Proſpect. *Arrian* ſays, That upon one of theſe Iſlands ſtood the Temple of *Rhea*, but there are no Remains of it now, though there are ſome Hiſtorians who ſay, it was ſtanding in the time of the *Grecian* Empire, and was, in *Zeno*'s Reign, dedicated to the Worſhip of Chriſt. On this River, and the Black-Sea about it, are Plenty of Pheaſants, or *Phaſiani*, ſo called from the River *Phaſis*. All the Coaſts of this River are a low ſandy Soil, cover'd with Woods ſo thick, that one can hardly ſee ſix Paces up the Land.

On the 30th, he arrived at *Gonie*, which is about thirty Miles from *Phaſis*, the Sea-Coaſts being exceeding high Land and Rocks, ſome being woody, and others naked. *Gonie* is a large Caſtle, in the Territories of the Prince of *Guriel*, built four ſquare, of hard and rough Stones of a very large Size. It hath no Trenches, but Walls only, and two great Guns. In it are about thirty ſmall poor Houſes, made of Boards, and without is a ſmall Village of about as many more, all inhabited by Mariners, and other booriſh People. There is a Cuſtom-houſe here, the Officers whereof are extremely rude, and imperious, and ſevere to the People of the Country, but extravagant to the *Europeans*, not regarding any Man's Perſon, nor any Recommendations from the Port, but ſearching all Things ſtrictly, and exacting what they pleaſe.

From *Gonie* he went to the Caſtle of *Akalzike*. The Way lies over Mount *Caucaſus*, which is one of the higheſt Mountains, and one of the moſt difficult to paſs over in the World. The Top is always cover'd with Snow, over which the Natives paſs in a kind of Sandals, made flat like a Racket, to keep them from ſinking. It is uſual for the Guides here to make long Prayers to their Images to keep the Winds from riſing, for if the Wind be high, it buries all the Travellers in Snow.

This Mountain, though not inhabited for ſome Leagues together in many Places, yet is fruitful to the very Top, yielding Honey, Wheat, Gomm, Wine, and Fruits, and feeding Hogs, and large Cattle. The Vines are ſo luxuriant, that they run up to the very Tops of their higheſt Trees, ſo that the People cannot gather them. The Country People dwell in wooden Huts, of which every Family has four or five. The Women grind their Corn as they want it, and bake their Bread on Stones, or upon their Hearth, and yet the Cruſt is very white, and the Bread good. Theſe Inhabitants are for the moſt part Chriſtians, after the *Georgian* Ceremonies; they are freſh complection'd, and their Women are handſome. At the Bottom of the Hill is a very fair Valley, rich and fertile, being watered by the River *Kur*, which has many Villages, and in them the Ruins of ſeveral Caſtles and Churches, which, the People ſay, were deſtroy'd by the *Turks*.

Akalzike is a Fortreſs built upon Mount *Caucaſus*, fortified with double Walls, and flanked with Towers built with Battlements, after the ancient Manner, and defended with a few great Guns. Upon little Hillocks about it ſtands a large Town of 400 Houſes, which have nothing of Antiquity, but two *Armenian* Churches. It is inhabited by *Turks*, *Armenians*, *Georgians*, *Greeks* and *Jews*, who have their Churches and Synagogues. The River *Kur*, anciently called *Cyrus* and *Corus*, which riſes in the Mount *Caucaſus*, runs by it. A Baſha lodges in the Fortreſs, and his Soldiers are quarter'd in the adjacent Villages. It was built by the *Georgians*, from whom the *Turks* took it.

From *Akalzike* he went to *Gory*, and paſſed by *Uſker*, where the *Turks* have a Caſtle, built on a Rock, with a

Garriſon and Cuſtom-houſe, under the Command of a *Sanziac*, and two Leagues farther, you croſs over the Mountains which part *Perſia* and *Turky*, from whence you ſee ſeveral Villages, in which are the Ruins of many Caſtles, Fortreſſes and Churches, the miſerable Remains of the Grandeur of the *Georgians*, before the *Turkiſh* and *Perſian* Wars deſtroyed them.

At the Foot of the Mountain lies a Town and Fortreſs, both called *Surham*. It ſtands on a very lovely Plain, full of Cenſes, Villages, Hillocks, Houſes of Pleaſure and little Caſtles belonging to the *Georgian* Lords, and has a Fortreſs containing a Garriſon of 100 Men. All the Country is very well tilled, and mighty pleaſant and delightful, as far as *Gory*, except that on the Right-Hand lies a great City almoſt in Ruins, as not containing above 500 Houſes inhabited, whereas formerly, by Report, it had 12000.

Gory is a ſmall City, ſeated on a Plain, between two Mountains, upon the Bank of the River *Kur*, and by it is a Caſtle on an Hill, garriſon'd by native *Perſians*. The Houſes and Market-places are all built with Earth, but the People are all very rich and wealthy, and it is furniſhed with all Neceſſaries for human Life at a cheap Rate.

11. From *Gory* he departed *December* the 16th, and travelling upon the Banks of the River *Kur*, through pleaſant Plains, with great Numbers of Villages on all Hands, he paſſed through *Calicala*, a City almoſt totally ruined, and came on the 17th to *Teflis*, the Capital City of that Part of *Georgia*, lying in the Province of *Carthueli*. The Country of *Georgia*, which is under the Juriſdiction of the *Perſians*, borders at this Day to the Eaſt upon *Circaſſia* and *Muſcovy*, to the Weſt upon *Armenia* the Leſſer, and to the North upon the Black-Sea and the Kingdom of *Imeretta*. It is extended from *Tauris* and *Erzerom* to *Tanais*, and was anciently call'd *Albania*. It is a Country very Woody and Mountainous, unleſs in the Middle, where it is more even and level. The River *Kur* runs through the Midſt of it, and empties itſelf into the *Caſpian* Sea.

The *Grecians* are thought by ſome to have called it *Georgia*, from *Georgoi*, Huſbandmen; but others will have the Name deriv'd from St. *George* the Patron Saint of all the Chriſtians of the *Greek* Church. The Temper of the Air is very kindly in *Georgia*, being very dry, cold in the Winter, and hot in the Summer. The fair Weather does not begin till *May*, but then it laſts till the End of *November*. The Soil being well watered, produces all Sorts of Grain, Herbs and Fruits in Abundance, ſo that a Man may live there deliciouſly and cheap. Cattle are there very plentiful and good, as well the larger as leſſer Sort; their Fowl is incomparable, eſpecially their wild Fowl; their Boars Fleſh is as plentiful and good as any in *Colchis*; and, indeed, the common People live upon nothing elſe almoſt but young Pigs, which are excellent Meat, and never offend the Stomach. The *Caſpian* Sea, which is next to *Georgia*, and the *Kur*, that runs quite through it, ſupplies it with all Sorts of ſalt and freſh Fiſh. There is no Country that drinks more and better Wine, and they tranſport great Quantities of it into *Media*, *Armenia* and to *Iſpahan*, for the King's Table. They have great Quantities of Silk, but know not how to weave it, and therefore they carry it into *Turkey* to *Erzerom*, and the Parts adjoining, and drive a great Trade with it. The Complection of the *Georgians* is moſt beautiful, you can hardly ſee an ill-favour'd Perſon among them; and the Women are ſo exquiſitely handſome, that it is hardly poſſible to look upon them, and not be in Love with them. They are tall, clean limb'd, plump and full, but not over fat, and extreamly ſlender in the Waſte: But this Beauty they ſpoil with painting and dreſſing with ſumptuous Habits and Jewels. The *Georgians* are naturally very witty, and would be as learned Men and great Artiſts as any are in the World, if they had the Improvements of Arts and Sciences; but having a mean Education and bad Examples, they are drowned in Vice, are Cheats and Knaves, perfidious, treacherous, ungrateful and proud. They are irreconcileable in their Enmities, for though they are not eaſily provok'd, yet they preſerve their Hatred inviolable.

Drunkenneſs and Luxury are ſuch common Vices among them, that they are not ſcandalous in *Georgia*. The Church-men will be as drunk as others, and they keep male Slaves in their Houſes, which they uſe for their Concubines, at which No body is offended, becauſe it is ſo commonly practiſed, that Cuſtom makes it thought lawful; yea, and they ſay, he that is not drunk at their great Feſtivals of *Eaſter* and *Chriſtmas*, cannot be a good Chriſtian, and deſerves to be excommunicated. The *Georgians* are very great Uſurers, and will lend no Money without a Pawn. The loweſt Intereſt they take is two *per Cent.* for a Month. The Women are as vicious and wicked as the Men, and contribute more than they to that general Debauchery, which overflows the Country. In their common Converſation they are civil and courteous, grave and moderate. Their Habit is much like the *Polonian*, and their Bonnets like theirs, their Veſts are open before down the Breaſt, and faſtened with Buttons and Loops; their Hoſe and Shoes are like the *Perſians*, and their Womens Cloathing is wholly in the ſame Taſte.

The Houſes of their Grandees, and all their publick Edifices, are built according to the *Perſian* Model, and they imitate the *Perſians* in their Sitting at Table, in their Beds, and Manner of Diet. The Nobility exerciſe an abſolute Tyranny over the People, who are their Vaſſals, making them labour as long as they pleaſe for them, without Food or Wages, challenging a Right over their Eſtates, Liberty and Lives, and ſelling their Children, or making them their own Slaves. They were converted to Chriſtianity by an *Iberian* Woman, in the fourth Age, but have nothing left of Chriſtianity, but the Name; for they do not obſerve the leaſt Precept of *Jeſus Chriſt*; they place all their Religion in Faſting, and making long Prayers.

There are ſeveral Biſhops in *Georgia*, with a Patriarch, whom they call *Catholicos*, and an Archbiſhop, whoſe Sees, as often as they are vacant, are diſpoſed of by the Prince, though he be a *Mahometan*, and he generally gives them to his Relations, and the preſent Patriarch is his Brother. The Churches in *Georgia*, eſpecially in their Cities, are kept ſomething more cleanly than in *Mingrelia*, but in the Villages are full as naſty. The *Georgians* and their Neighbours build their Churches upon high Mountains, in remote and inacceſſible Places, and bow unto them at great Diſtances, but ſcarce go into them once in ten Years, leaving them to the Injuries of the Weather, and for the Birds to build their Neſts in. They can give no other Reaſon for all this, but that *it is a Cuſtom*; though we may ſuppoſe, it is rather to avoid repairing and adorning them. *Georgia* was made tributary to the *Perſians* by *Iſhmael* the Great, and though it has ſeveral Times revolted, yet ſtill continues in Subjection to them.

The City of *Teflis*, the Capital City of *Eaſt Georgia*, is one of the faireſt Cities in all the King of *Perſia's* Dominions, though not ſo big as ſome. It is ſeated at the Bottom of a Mountain, and on the Eaſtern-ſide of it runs the River *Kur*, which riſing in the Mountains of *Georgia*, joins itſelf to the *Araxes*. The moſt Part of the Houſes built by the River-ſide, ſtand upon a Rock, and the whole City is encompaſſed with ſtrong and beautiful Walls, except on the Side next the River, and is defended by a Fortreſs on the South-ſide, wherein are none but native *Perſians*. This Fortreſs is a Sanctuary for all Manner of Criminals.

Teflis has in it fourteen Churches, which is very much in a Country where there is ſo little Devotion. Six of them are appropriated to the *Georgian* Service, and maintained by them, and the other eight belong to the *Armenians*. The Cathedral called *Sion*, is built all of hewn Stone, and ſtands on the Bank of the River. It is an ancient Building, in good Repair, compoſed of four Bodies, and has a great *Duomo* in the Middle. The great Altar ſtands in the Middle of the Church, and the Inſide is full of Paintings, after the *Greek* Manner. The *Armenians* have alſo ſeveral Monaſteries here, in one of them, they ſay, they have St. *George*'s Skull.

There is not any Moſque in *Teflis*, though it be under a *Mahometan* Prince, and though the *Perſians* have attempted to build one ſeveral Times, they could never accompliſh their Deſign, for the People mutinied and beat down their Work; which Action, though very affronting to the *Perſian* Religion, yet the Emperor of *Perſia* is afraid to come to any Extremities with them, leſt they ſhould revolt to their Neighbours the *Turks*, and ſo *Teflis* and all *Georgia* enjoy their Liberty to retain almoſt all the exterior Marks of their Religion; for, on the Top of all the Steeples of their Churches ſtands a Croſs, and in them they have Bells, which they often ring. Every Day they ſell Pork openly, as well as other Victuals, and Wine, at the Corners of the Streets, which vexes the *Perſians* to ſee, but they cannot help it. Some few Years ſince they built a Moſque in the Fortreſs, and the *Georgians* could not prevent it: But when the Prieſt, after their Cuſtom, came up to the Top, to make Profeſſion of his Faith, and call the *Mahometans* to Prayers, the People ſo ply'd him with Vollies of Stones, that he was forced to fly down in Haſte, and never dared to appear there any more.

The publick Buildings, *viz.* their Market-Places, Inns and Magazines, are well-built of Stone, and kept in good Repair. The Prince's Palace is a noble and beautiful Building, being adorn'd with Halls and Rooms of State, Gardens, Aviaries, and ſpacious Courts, to which the Viceroy of *Caket*'s Palace is not much inferior.

The Out-parts of the City are adorned with ſeveral Houſes of Pleaſure, and many beautiful Gardens, of which the Prince's is the biggeſt; but the Trees are ſuch only as ſerve for Shade and Coolneſs.

The *Capuchins*, who were ſent into *Georgia* about the Year 1657, by the Pope, have an Habitation in this City, as alſo at *Gory*, where they are highly eſteemed as Phyſicians, which is the Title they give themſelves, but they make very little Progreſs in the Converſion of the *Georgians*; for beſides that theſe People are very ignorant, and take little Care to inſtruct themſelves, it is ſo rivetted into their Heads, that Faſting, as they obſerve it, is the eſſential Part of the Chriſtian Religion, that they do not believe the *Capuchins* to be Chriſtians, though they faſt as they do, becauſe they are informed, they do it not in *Europe*.

The City of *Teflis* is very well peopled, and there are as many Strangers reſort thither as to any Place in the World, for there is a great Trade driven there, and the Court is very numerous and magnificent, becoming the Capital City of a Province. The *Georgians* do not call it *Teflis*, but *Cala*, i. e. *The Fortreſs*, which is a Name they give to all Habitations encompaſſed with Walls, and ſome Geographers call it, *Tebele-Cala*, or *The hot City*, either by Reaſon of the hot Baths, or becauſe the Air there is not ſo cold and boiſterous as in other Parts of *Georgia*.

On the 28th he departed from *Teflis*, and paſſing thro' *Sogan-lou*, or the Place of Onions, ſtanding upon the River *Kur*, came to *Kupri-Kent*, or the Village of the Bridge, becauſe there is a very fair Bridge over the River *Tabadi*, in the Arches of which are made little Chambers and Portico's, and in every one of them a Chimney, on Purpoſe to lodge Strangers, and in the middle ones Balconies, to take the cool Air in the Summer; *Melick-Kent*, or, the Royal Village, and ſo to *Dely-Jan*, a Village of 300 Houſes, ſeated upon the River *Acalſtapha*, which runs at the Foot of an high and dreadful Mountain, Part of Mount *Taurus*. Here is Plenty of Water, and the Ground is very fertile, and a great many Villages to be ſeen on every Side, ſome of which ſtood ſo high upon the Points of the Rocks, that they were almoſt indiſcernable. They are inhabited by *Georgian* and *Armenian* Chriſtians, but not intermix'd becauſe they have ſuch an inveterate Enmity one againſt another, that they cannot live together in the ſame Villages. The moſt Part of the Houſes of theſe Villages are no better than Caverns or hollow Places made in the Earth; the reſt are built with Timber, and covered with Turf.

These Sort of Buildings are very convenient, being cool in Summer, and warm in Winter. The Borough of *Dely-Jan*, and all the Country round about for ſix Leagues, is govern'd by its own natural Princes, from Father to Son, and holds of *Perſia*, as *Georgia* does. It is called the Country of *Caſac*, the People being ſtout and fierce, deſcended from the *Coſaques*, who inhabit the Mountains on the North-Eaſt of the *Caſpian* Sea, and is at preſent under a Prince called *Kamſhi-Kan*. He lodg'd at *Kara-Phiſhiſh*, a large Borough, ſeated at the Bottom of the Mountains, which ſeparate *Georgia* from *Armenia*. It ſtands on the Banks of the River *Zengui*, and paſſing *Bickni*, where there is an *Armenian* Monaſtery, our Author arrived at *Erivan*, *Jan.* 7, 1673.

13. *Erivan*, is a great City, but dirty. The Vineyards and Gardens make the greateſt Part of it, there being no ornamental Buildings in it. It is ſituated in a Plain, encompaſſed with Mountains on every Side, between two Rivers, the *Zengui*, and *Queurk-boulack*. The Fortreſs itſelf may paſs for a ſmall City, containing 800 Houſes, inhabited by *Perſians* only; for though the *Armenians* have Shops there to work and trade in the Day-time, yet they return to their Houſes in the Evening. It is ſurrounded with three Walls of Earth, and Brick made of Clay, with Battlements, and flank'd with Towers, and ſtrengthen'd with Ramparts, according to the Cuſtom of the Ancients; and in it is conſtantly maintain'd a Garriſon of 2000 Men. The Governor of the Province's Palace is within this Caſtle, and is a very ſpacious and delightful Place in Summer.

The City ſtands about a Cannot ſhot from the Fortreſs, but the Space between is filled up with Houſes and Market-places, which are ſuch pitiful Structures, that they may be removed in one Day. There are ſeveral Churches in this City, of which the Epiſcopal See, called *Ircou-ye-rize*, and *Catovike* are the Chief; the reſt are ſmall, ſunk deep in the Earth. Near the Epiſcopal Church is an old Tower, built of Free-ſtone, of antique Work, with ſeveral Inſcriptions, but none can read them; nor is it known when, by whom, or for what Uſe it was built. At a little Diſtance from it is the *Grand Meydan*, or great-Market-place, 400 Paces ſquare, where they uſe all Exerciſes, both for Horſe and Foot, as Carouſels, Races, Wreſtling, and managing of Horſes for War. There are many Baths and fair Inns in it. The Air is good, but a little thick and cold, for their Winter laſts long, and they have Snow ſometimes in *April*. The Country is very delightful and fertile, and produces Fruits in great Plenty, eſpecially Wine, which is there good and cheap.

The *Armenians* have a Tradition, that *Noah* planted his Vineyard near *Erivan*, and ſome pretend to ſhew the Place, about a ſmall League from the City. The River and Lake, which is twenty-five Leagues in Compaſs, furniſh the City with excellent Fiſh of nine Sorts, of which the Trouts and Carps are famous all over the Eaſt. In the midſt of the Lake is a ſmall Iſland, where ſtands a Monaſtery, whoſe Prior is an Archbiſhop, and takes upon him the Title of Patriarch, refuſing to acknowledge the grand Patriarch. The *Armenians* hold this City to be the moſt anciently inhabited Place in the World; for they affirm, that *Noah* and all his Family dwelt there, both before the Deluge, and after he came out of the Ark, and that the earthly Paradiſe was there: But all this is a Story without Foundation, reported by Perſons equally ignorant and vain-glorious.

Two Leagues from *Erivan* ſtands the famous Monaſtery of the *Three Churches*, the Sanctuary of the *Armenian* Chriſtians. The *Armenians* call it *Ecs miazin*, which Name alſo the principal Church bears. It is a ſubſtantial, but dark Structure, all built of large Free-ſtone. The Monks ſhew ſeveral Reliques reſerved in it, as a Finger of St. *Peter*, and two of St. *John* the *Baptiſt*, a Rib of St. *James*, Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, and an Arm of St. *Gregory*, &c. but they muſt be very credulous and ſuperſtitious, that can believe them ſuch. The two other Churches that ſtood near this are, St. *Caiana* and St. *Repſima*, the Names of two *Roman* Virgins, who fled into *Armenia*, as they ſay, in the 9th Perſecution, and ſuffered Martyrdom in the ſame Places where thoſe Churches ſtand.

Within the Territory of *Erivan*, which reaches about twenty Leagues round it, there are twenty-three Convents for Men, and five for Women, which are ſo poor, that being continually employ'd in getting a Livelihood, they never perform holy Duties but upon Holidays. They hold the Opinions of the *Monophyſites*, but in other Points are very ignorant. Two Leagues from *Erivan* Eaſtward, is to be ſeen the famous Mountain where *Noah*'s Ark is ſaid to have reſted. The *Armenians* hold, that the Ark is ſtill upon the Top of the Mount called *Maus*, but that no Man can aſcend to it. The Governor of *Erivan* is a *Beglerbeg*, i. e. a Lord of Lords, and has alſo the Title of *Serdar*, or General of the Army. His Revenue is 32,000 Tomans, which is above 112,000 *l.* Sterling a Year, beſides Fines, Preſents, and indirect Ways of enriching himſelf, which amount to 50,000 Pounds more.

14. While he ſtaid at *Erivan*, he ſaw a Wedding of the Governor's Steward's Brother. Matrimony in *Perſia* is very expenſive, ſo that only Men of Eſtates will venture upon it, leſt it prove their Ruin. The meaner Sort content themſelves with a Concubine or Slave. The *Mahometans* that follow the Tenets of *Haly*, take their Wives after three Manners, *viz.* By Purchaſe, Hire, or Marriage. All theſe Ways their Religion allows, and their Civil Law acknowledges the Children born in any of them legitimate. The Wives, who are Slaves, are called *Canize.* Of theſe the Law allows a Man as many as he can maintain, and takes no Cognizance how they are uſed. He is Maſter of their Chaſtity, yea, of their Lives, and it is their Honour to ſerve their Maſter as his Wives. The hired Wives are called *Moutaa:* Of theſe alſo a Man may take as many as he pleaſeth, and as long as he pleaſeth for the Price agreed on, and at the End of the Term he may part with them, or renew the Bargain. A handſome young Maid at *Iſpahan* may be hired for 35 *l.* a Year, beſides Cloaths, Diet, and Lodging. If any break off before the End of the Term, he muſt pay the whole Sum contracted for, and the Woman, after Diſmiſſion, muſt tarry forty Days before ſhe lets herſelf to another. Theſe Days they call, *The Days of Purification.*

The eſpouſed Wives are called *Nekaa*, and of theſe the *Mahometan* Religion allows a Man to marry four; but they never marry above one, to avoid Expence and Diſorder, for every one will command, and their mutual Jealouſy cauſes a perpetual Confuſion; wherefore, if they cannot content themſelves with one Woman, they uſe their Slaves. In *Perſia* they uſually marry by Proxy, becauſe the Man never ſees his Wife till after he has conſummated the Marriage, which ſometimes he does not till ſeveral Days after his Wife has been at home. One would think, that this Way of marrying ſhould produce unfortunate Matches; but it doth not, for Marriages are not more happy in any Country than this. If either of the Parties diſlike one another, and reſolve to unmarry themſelves, the *Mahometan* Religion permits a Divorce, and they may ſeparate either before a Judge, or a Churchman, giving each other a *Talaak*, or *Bill of Divorce*, and then the Parties are at Liberty to marry again where they pleaſe themſelves.

Upon this Diſſolution of their Marriage, if the Man has ſued the Divorce, he is obliged to return the Woman her Dowry; yet if the Woman ſought it, ſhe loſeth her Portion; but if the Perſons repent the Act, they may renew the Marriage again three Times: Yet, the *Perſians* rarely make Uſe of this Licence to part with their Wives, only ſome Citizens and Tradeſmen make their Advantage of it. Perſons of Quality count it ſo diſhonourable, that they will rather die, than divorce their Wives, and the meaneſt Sort cannot part with the Portion, and ſo, if they deſire a Divorce, which is rare, they effect it by ill-uſing their Wives, to force them to ſue for a Divorce, and thereby ſacrifice all to their Liberty.

The *Armenian* Patriarch lives in this City, and has an Epiſcopal Palace. He, with all the reſt of his Clergy, is much addicted to *Simony*, as are alſo all the Eaſtern Sects. Their chief gain lies in ſelling the Oil called *Myrone*, at a dear Rate, which, they teach the People to believe is a Remedy that phyſically cures all the Diſtempers of the Soul, and confers the Grace of Regeneration and Remiſſion of Sins, ſaying, that in Baptiſm it is the Oil, not the Water, which is the Matter preſcribed. The Patriarch conſecrates this Oil, and ſells it to the Biſhops and Prieſts, who get great Sums by it.

15. *April* the 8th he parted from *Erivan*, and travelling through a Country ſomewhat hilly, but full of Villages, came firſt to *Daivin*, and then to *Kainer*, leaving the Mountain of *Noah* on the Right-hand. On the 10th he went on the ſame Road, which led him through a fertile and fair Country, and leaving *Sederec*, a great Town, and the Capital of the Province of *Armenia*, called *Charour*, where the Sultan reſides, came through *Nouratchin*, and over the River *Harpaſony* to *Nacchivan*, which is thought to be the ancient *Artaxate.* It is now little elſe but a Heap of Ruins, not containing above two thouſand Houſes which are inhabited, and thoſe in the Heart of the City, with Inns, Baths, and other publick Houſes, where they ſell Tobacco and Coffee, whereas formerly the *Perſian* Hiſtory aſſures us, that it contained forty thouſand.

Five leagues to the North lies a great City called *Abrener*, i. e. *the fertile Field*, and ſeven others near to it, all whoſe Inhabitants are Papiſts, and their Biſhops and Curates *Dominicans*, who perform their Church Service in the *Armenian* Language. Theſe Towns were brought into Subjection to the Pope by an *Italian Dominican* of *Bologna.* Twenty Villages more acknowledg'd the ſame Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, but are returned to their firſt Religion, and their Obedience to the *Armenian* Patriarch; and it is not likely that the reſt can hold out long, for the Governors of the Province uſe them violently, and lay heavy Impoſitions upon them, for withdrawing from their Juriſdiction.

From *Nacchivan* he paſſed to old *Julpha*, through a dry ſtony Country, where there is Nothing to be ſeen but Hills of Stones. It is a ruined City, and thought by ſome Authors to be the ancient *Ariammene.* It is ſaid to have contained four thouſand Houſes, though the Ruins do not ſhew above half ſo many. At preſent there is nothing but Holes and Caverns in the Mountains, fitter for Beaſts than Men to live in.

This City was ruined by *Abas* the Great, for the ſame Reaſon as *Nacchivan*, *viz.* to hinder the Invaſions of the *Turks* for Want of Proviſions. By *Julpha* runs the River *Araxes*, which ſeparates *Armenia* from *Media.* It riſes in the Mountain where *Noah*'s Ark is ſaid to have reſted, from which perhaps it takes its Name, and empties itſelf into the *Caſpian* Sea. It is very large, and of ſo rapid a Courſe, eſpecially when it is ſwelled by the Thaws of the Snows that come down from the Mountains, that no Bridges can ſtand upon it, nor Dams reſiſt its Force, and the Noiſe of the Waters aſtoniſhes the Ears of the Beholders.

16. *Media*, which formerly ruled all *Aſia* with an imperial Dominion, at preſent makes but one Part of a Province, though the largeſt in the *Perſian* Empire, called *Azerbeyan*, or *Aſapaican.* It borders on the Eaſt upon the *Caſpian* Sea and *Hyrcania*, on the South upon *Parthia*, on the Weſt upon *Araxes* and the Upper *Armenia*, of which *Aſſyria* is a Part, and on the North on *Dageſtan*, which is that Mountainous Country that borders upon the *Muſcovite Coſſacks*, and Part of Mount *Taurus.* The *Perſians* affirm, that the Name of *Azerbeyan* implies the *Country of Fire*, by reaſon of the famous Temple of Fire which was there erected, where was kept that Fire which the Fire-worſhippers hold to be a God. *Nimrod* is ſaid firſt to have brought in this Worſhip, and there is a certain Sect, called *Guebres*, which ſtill maintain it.

From *Julpha* he travelled through a Country full of little Hills, leaving a ſpacious Plain upon the Left-hand, where many bloody Battles between the *Turks* and *Perſians* were fought, and particularly that between *Selim* the Son of *Solyman* the Great, and *Iſmael* the Great, to *Alacou*, and from thence, through a more even Country, to *Marant*, a very fair Town, conſiſting

ing of about two thouſand five hundred Houſes, and which has ſo many Gardens as take up as much Ground as the Houſes. It is ſeated at the Bottom of a Mountain, at the End of a Plain, watered by the little River *Zelau-lou*, from which the People have drawn ſeveral Cuts into their Grounds and Gardens.

In the Places adjoining grow Plenty of Fruits, the beſt in all *Media*; but that which is moſt peculiar to theſe Parts, is this, that here they gather Cochineal, though in no great Quantities, nor for any longer Time than only eight Days in Summer, when the Sun is in *Leo*; for before that Time, the People ſay, it doth not come to Maturity; and after the Worm, from which they draw the Cochineal, makes an Hole in the Leaf in which it grows, it is loſt. The *Perſians* call Cochineal *Kermis*, from *Kerm*, which ſignifies a Worm, becauſe it is extracted out of Worms. The *Armenians* have a Tradition, that *Noah* lies buried here.

17. From thence he travelled among the Mountains to *Sophian*, a little Village full of Rivulets and Gardens, and fruitful to a Wonder, and ſo he went to *Tauris*, which is fifty three *Perſian* Leagues from *Erivan*. This City is very large and potent, being the ſecond in *Perſia* in Dignity, Grandeur, Riches, Trade, and Number of Inhabitants. It is neither walled nor fortified, and the little River *Spingtcha* runs a-croſs it, which ſometimes carries away the Houſes on the Side of it, and makes dreadful Havock. On the North-ſide runs the River *Agi*, or the Salt River, whoſe Water is made ſalt by the little Rivulets, which paſſing through the Salt Marſhes, fall into it, and ſo can nouriſh no Fiſh. It is divided into nine Wards, and has fifteen thouſand Houſes, and as many Shops in their Market-places, among which are three hundred Inns, and ſome ſo large, as to lodge three hundred People, and many Cabarets for Coffee, Tobacco, and ſtrong Liquors. There are three hundred and fifty Moſques, three Hoſpitals, which relieve the Poor with Victuals twice a Day; and a fair Hermi, called *Hali's Eye*.

The Inhabitants have been formerly computed to be five hundred and fifty thouſand. This City is full of Strangers, who come hither to trade from all Parts of *Aſia*, becauſe it is full of all Sorts of Merchandizes, and abounds with Artiſts in Cotton, Silk, and Gold. The faireſt Turbans in *Perſia* are made here; and it is ſaid, there are ſix thouſand Bales of Silk conſumed in this Manufacture. The Air of *Tauris* is good, healthy, and dry, but the Cold continues long, becauſe it is expoſed to the North, and the Snow lies nine Months in the Year upon the Mountains; the Winds blow every Day Morning and Evening, and Rains often fall.

It abounds with all Things neceſſary for human Support, as Corn, Fiſh from the *Caſpian* Sea, Veniſon, and other wild Beaſts. Bread may be bought there for three Pound a Penny, and Fleſh at three half Pence a Pound. There are ſaid to grow no leſs than 60 Sorts of Grapes in and about *Tauris*. Near it is a Quarry of white Marble, a Mine of Gold, and another of Salt. There are ſeveral Mineral Waters, all ſulphureous, of which ſome are cold, and others boiling hot. Moſt of our Geographers of beſt Note, as *Ortelius*, *Ananias*, *Molets*, &c. are of Opinion, that this City is the ancient and celebrated *Ecbatana*, ſo frequently mentioned in holy Writ, and in the ancient Hiſtory of *Aſia*, but there are no Remains of the magnificent Palace of *Ecbatan*, where the Monarchs of *Aſia* kept their Courts in Summer, nor of *Daniel*'s, to juſtify this Notion.

From *Tauris* he travelled firſt to *Vaſpinge*, a great Borough, ſurrounded with Gardens and Groves of Poplars and Tylets, and watered with ſeveral Brooks, which make it very pleaſant; then to *Agi-agach*, by which are the Plains which afford the beſt Paſture in all *Media*, and perhaps in the whole World, where the choiceſt Horſes in the whole Province are put to Graſs from *April* to *June*, to purge, refreſh, fatten and ſtrengthen them. Theſe Plains are the *Hippopothon* of the Ancients, of which they write, that the Kings of *Media* kept here a Breed of fifty thouſand Horſes.

The Road from hence leads by ſeveral Circles of large hewn Stones, which the *Perſians* affirm to be the Places where the *Caous* or Giants, when they made Wars in *Media*, held their Councils, it being a Cuſtom among theſe People, that every Officer that came to the Council brought with him a Stone, to ſerve him inſtead of a Chair, and ſo carries you over Hills and Dales, all fruitful and delightful, to Admiration, through *Turiman*, ſo called, becauſe that in the Fields about it there is a great Number of Shepherds with their Flocks, that are called by that Name, to *Purvare*, an handſome large Village at the Bottom of an Hill, and upon the Banks of a little River.

From thence he proceeded in his Journey, and croſſing the River *Miana* ſeveral Times, by Reaſon of its Windings, paſſed through the Town of the ſame Name adjoining, both ſo called becauſe they part *Media* from *Parthia*, and aſcended a Ridge of Mountains, which are a Branch of Mount *Taurus*, at the Top of which ſtands a Caſtle, call'd the *Virgin*'s *Caſtle*, becauſe *Artaxerxes* is ſaid to have built it on Purpoſe to impriſon a Princeſs of the Blood.

As ſoon as you have paſſed theſe Mountains, and the River *Keſil-bueſe*, which is at the Foot of them, you perceive a Change of the Air; for whereas *Media* is moiſt and cloudy, ſubject to high Winds and much Rain, the *Parthian* Air is dry to the higheſt Degree, without Clouds or Rain for ſix Months ſometimes, and the Soil ſandy, ſo that nothing will thrive without good Huſbandry and Pains.

18. *Parthia*, which was ſo long the Seat of the Empire of *Aſia*, is now a large Province of the *Perſian* Monarchy. It is the proper Demeans of the Shah, and therefore has no Governor, as the reſt of the Provinces. It is extended 200 Leagues in Length, and 150 in Breadth, being bounded by the Province of *Choraſſan* on the Eaſt; by *Fars*, which is properly *Perſia*, on the South, by *Azarbeyan* or *Media* on the Weſt, and *Guilan* or *Mezanderan*, which compoſe the Province of *Hyrcania*, on the North.

The Air is dry, and though the Mountains produce nothing but Thiſtles and Briers, yet the Plains are fruitful and pleaſant, where there is Water. This Province has above forty Cities, which is much in *Perſia*, becauſe it is not peopled according to its Extent. The *Parthians* took their Original from the *Scythians*, who were the *Tartars*, who now inhabit the North of *Perſia*, called *Uzbecs*, and formerly *Bactrians*. The firſt Village you come at is *Zerigan*, which is fam'd for its Antiquity, being founded, according to the *Perſian* Records, in the Reign of *Ardechir-babezan*, ſeveral Ages before *Chriſt*, and then paſſing over delightful Plains, you come to *Sultany*.

This City is ſeated at the Foot of a Mountain. It ſeems afar off a very neat well-built Place, but does not appear ſo when you are within it; yet ſome of the publick Buildings are very remarkable, both for the Materials and Architecture. It contains about three thouſand Houſes, and beſides, there are very vaſt Ruins, which makes it probable, that it was once the largeſt City of the Kingdom, as their Hiſtories relate. Proviſions are very plentiful and cheap there, and the Air wholſome, though very changeable, the Mornings, Evenings, and Nights being very cold, and Days hot. It is ſaid to be the moſt ancient City in *Parthia*. The Predeceſſors of *Iſhmael Sophi*, and the laſt *Armenian* Kings, reſided there, and then it is ſaid that it contained four hundred Chriſtian Churches; but being demoliſhed by *Tamerlane*, and ſeveral other *Turkiſh* and *Tartarian* Princes, the Chriſtians have deſerted it.

From hence he travelled through a lovely Country, and paſſing through ſeveral Villages, ſurrounded with Meadows, and Groves of Willow and Poplar, he came to *Ebher*, a ſmall City for the Buildings, as containing not above 2500 Houſes, but taking up a large Extent of Ground, becauſe they have ſo many large Gardens. A ſmall River runs through the Midſt of it. It is thought to be anciently called *Berontha*. The Situation is delightful, the Air wholſome, and Soil plentiful. It is govern'd by a *Darogue*, or Mayor; and the *Mirtſheki Baſhi* has his *Tahvil*, or Salary, charged upon the Revenue of this City. The *Perſian* Geographers aſſert, that this City was built by *Kei-Coſrou*, and that *Darab-Reheni*, or *Darius*, began to build the Caſtle; and that *Skender-Roumi*, i. e. *Alexander* the *Great*, finiſhed it. At *Ebber* they begin to ſpeak the *Perſian* Language, which is ſpoken all the Way to the *Indies*, more or leſs pure, as the People are more or leſs diſtant from *Schiras*, where it is ſpoken in the greateſt Perfection.

19. From *Ebber* he travelled to *Perſac*, leaving *Caſbin* five Leagues on the Left-hand. This great City ſtands in a delightful Plain, three Leagues from Mount *Alou-vent*, one of the higheſt and moſt famous Mountains in *Perſia*. It is ſix Miles in Circumference, containing 12,000 Houſes, and 100,000 Inhabitants, of which there are forty Families of Chriſtians, and one hundred *Jews*, but all very poor. It was formerly walled, but they are now all fallen down. The chiefeſt Ornament and Grace of *Caſbin* is the King's Palace, and the great Number of the Seats of the *Perſian* Grandees, who attend upon the Court, which has its continual Reſidence there. There are but few Moſques in *Caſbin*, but the Royal Moſque, called *Metſhid-ſha*, is one of the largeſt and faireſt in all *Perſia*. This City has no great Plenty of Water, but it is ſupplied, with all it has, by ſubterraneous Channels called *Keriſees*.

The Air is thick, and not very healthful, and the Soil dry and ſandy, yet it abounds with Meat, and all Manner of Proviſions, which are brought thither from the Countries adjoining, which having many well water'd Plains, feed a World of Cattle, and produce prodigious Quantities of Corn. The faireſt Grape in *Perſia*, called *Shahoni*, or the Royal Grape, being of a Gold Colour, and tranſparent, of which the ſtrongeſt and moſt luſcious Wine in the World is made, grows here. The Air is very hot in Summer all the Day long, but the Nights are ſo cold, that if a Man expoſe himſelf never ſo little to the Air, after he is undreſſed, he is ſure to fall ſick. Some of our *European* Geographers affirm it to have been the City, which the *Greeks* called *Ragea*, or *Rages*, afterwards *Europa* and *Arſacia*, and now *Caſbin*, from a King of that Name. It is govern'd by a *Darogue*, or Mayor, choſen every Year, whoſe Office is worth to him 600 Tomans, or 2000 Pounds.

Having paſſed *Caſbin*, he came to *Kaiare*, and having lodg'd there, travelled the next Night (for that's the general Way of travelling all over the Eaſt, to avoid the Heat of the Sun, which would hurt both Man and Beaſt in the Day-time) by *Segs-abad*, which ſignifies, *the Habitation of Dogs*, to *Sava*, a great City, ſeated in a ſandy and barren Plain. It is two Miles in Circuit, and walled round, but ſo miſerably built, that, unleſs it be in the Midſt, it runs to Ruin for want of Inhabitants. The Hiſtories of *Perſia* unanimouſly agree, that the whole Plain of *Sava* was formerly a Salt-Marſh, or Lake; but how it was dried is not certainly known: Some fabulouſly report, that *Haly*, *Mahomet*'s Son-in-Law, drain'd it by a Miracle; and to preſerve the Memory of it, the People built this City in the Midſt of it.

19. Juſt over-againſt *Sava*, Eaſtward, at four Leagues Diſtance, ſtands a Place of Pilgrimage, moſt famous for the Devotion of the *Perſians*. They call it *Echmeuil*, that is to ſay, *Samuel*; for they believe, that this Prophet was there interr'd, and over his Tomb is built a moſt ſumptuous *Mauſolæum*, in the midſt of a magnificent Moſque. Over-againſt it is ſtill to be ſeen ſome Remnants of the City of *Rey*, which is reported to have been once the biggeſt City of *Aſia*, next to *Babylon*. The *Perſian* Hiſtories relate, that it was divided into ninety-ſix Quarters, every one of which had forty-ſix Streets, and every Street 400 Houſes, and ten Moſques; that there were in it 6400 Colleges, 16600 Baths, 15000 Towers of Moſques, 12000 Mills, 1700 Channels, and 13000 Inns, and People almoſt numberleſs.

The Chronicles of the *Magi* make *Chus*, the Grandchild of *Noah*, to be Founder of it; and *Ptolemy* calls it *Raquaia*; but the vulgar Opinion is, that it was founded by *Houſheing Piſhdadi*, or the Chief Juſticiary, and enlarged by *Marroutſher*, his Succeſſor. It was deſtroy'd by the *Mahometans*, who being divided into two Sects, *viz.* Of *Shia* and *Sunnis*, made War one upon the other for ſixty Years together. The Sect of *Sunnis* called in the Aſſiſtance of the *Tartars*, and, by their Help, bore down the Sect of *Shia*. In theſe Wars the *Tartars*, by their frequent Incurſions, deſtroy'd the potent City of *Rey*, and reduced it to nothing before the 600th Year of their *Hegyra*. The Soil about it is fertile and pleaſant, and produces great Plenty of Fruits; but the Air is unhealthy, making the Skin ſwarthy, and breeding Agues.

Departing from hence, he paſſed by an Hill, called *Couk-Teliſm*, which has this remarkable and peculiar to it; that as you approach nearer and nearer to it, it ſhews a different Form, and varies both in its Bigneſs and Figure; that the Top or Point of it is always in Sight, and you would think, that it turned that Side, which Way ſoever you ſtood to look upon it. It conſiſts of a black Earth, that crumbles like that of the burning Mountains; but it is not known to have vomited Fire. The People of the Country ſay, that they that aſcend that Mountain never come back again.

20. Having paſſed it, he came to *Com*, a large City, ſeated in a Plain, by a River-ſide. It contains 15000 Houſes, as the People ſay, and is ſurrounded with a Moat and Wall, flank'd with Towers, but half ruined. On the River-ſide are two fair Keys, and at the Eaſt of the City a fine Bridge. It contains many large and beautiful Market-places, both for Wholeſale and Retale: Though it be a City of no great Trade, yet they export large Quantities of Fruit, dried and raw, and particularly Pomegranates; Soap, Sword-blades, and Earthen Ware, both white and varniſh'd, which hath this peculiar Property, that it cools the Water in Summer both wonderfully and ſuddenly, by Reaſon of its continual Tranſpiration. It contains a great Number of fair Inns, Mauſolæums and Moſques, wherein the Grand-Children and Deſcendants of *Ali*, which are the *Perſian* Saints, called *Yman-Zade*, Sons of the Apoſtles, lie interr'd. One of theſe Moſques is the moſt celebrated in the Eaſt: It has four Courts, of which the firſt is planted with Trees and Flowers, like a Garden, with Terraſſes on each Side; the ſecond is not ſo beautiful as this, but the third is nothing inferior to it, being ſurrounded with Apartments two Stories high, and having a Terraſs, Portico and Canal. In the fourth are the Chambers and Lodgings for the Prieſts, Governors and Students, that live upon the Revenues of the ſacred Place. Fronting theſe Courts ſtands the Body of the Structure, conſiſting of three great Chapels upon a Line. To the Middlemoſt belongs a Portal, eighteen Foot high, of white Marble. The Top is a large Half-Duomo, overlaid without with large ſquare *China* Tiles, painted with *Moreſco* Work, and embelliſh'd within with Gold and Azure. The Folding Doors are plated with Silver, gilt with Vermillion.

In it ſtands the Tomb of *Fatima* in the Midſt, which is overlaid alſo with *China* Tiles, painted *A-la-moreſco*, and overſpread with Cloth of Gold, which hangs down on both Sides. It is encloſed with a Grate of maſſy Silver, ten Foot high, diſtant half a Foot from the Tomb, and at each Corner are Apples of fine Gold. In the two Chapels on each Side ſtand the Tombs of the two laſt Kings of *Perſia*, viz. *Abas* and *Sophi*, both very magnificent; but on that of *Abas* are written in large Characters of Gold, ſeven Elegies upon *Mahomet* and *Haly*, made by the Learned *Haſan-Caza*.

Theſe are rare Pieces of Eloquence, and in them may be ſeen not only the Genius of *Perſian* Poetry, but the Tranſports of the *Mahometan* Devotion. This City contains ſeveral other beautiful and ſumptuous Edifices, and would be a very pleaſant Place, were it not for the Heat, which is exceſſive, there being no Place in all *Perſia* where the Sun ſcorches more violently, yet is the Air wholſome, and Soil fruitful, eſpecially in Piſtachio's. The People are very courteous and civil. The River that paſſeth by it is but a ſmall Current in Summer, but being ſwell'd with the Snow-waters that fall from the Mountains, it ſometimes overflows great Part of the City.

From *Com* he travelled four Leagues over very fertile Plains, abounding with fine Villages, to *Caſſem-abad*, a Town conſiſting of about 300 Houſes, belonging to the Queen-Mother, as her Dowry, from whence he paſſed over a dry ſandy Plain, without Villages or Water, to *Abiſhirin*, or Sweet Water, becauſe there is a Fountain of fair Water, and went from thence to *Caſhan*.

21. This City is ſeated in a large Plain, near an high Mountain, a League in Length, and a Quarter of a League in Breadth, running out from Eaſt to Weſt in Form of an Half-Moon. There is no River near the City, but it is ſupplied with Water by Canals, deep Wells, and Ciſterns. It is encompaſſed with a double Wall, flank'd with round Towers, after the old Faſhion, and hath five Gates. The City and Suburbs, which are the moſt beautiful, contain 6500 Houſes, as the People ſay, forty Moſques, three Colleges, and about 200 Sepulchres of the Deſcendants of *Ali*. The principal Moſque ſtands right againſt the Market-place, and has a Tower, like a Steeple, of Free Stone. The Houſes are built of Earth and Brick, but are none of them remarkable for their Beauty.

The Bazars and Baths are well-built and kept, and the Royal Inn is the faireſt in all *Perſia*. The Wealth and Trade of *Caſhan* conſiſts in the Manufactory of all Sorts of Stuffs, and Tiſſues of Gold and Silver, plain and flower'd, Sattin and Velvet; and there is no City in *Perſia* that makes more. *Caſhan* ſtands in a good Air, yet ſo violently hot, that it is ready to ſtifle you in Summer, which is occaſion'd by the Reflection of a Mountain, that ſtands on the South of it; but the greateſt Inconvenience that attends this City, is the great Number of Scorpions which infeſt it, and the Parts adjoining, when the Sun is in *Scorpio*, and therefore there is Nobody but has by him ſeveral experienced Remedies againſt the Sting of this Creature.

Cattle and wild Fowl are not plentiful, but the Country abounds in Corn and Fruits. They furniſh *Iſpahan* with Fruits, eſpecially Melons and Water-Melons, all the Seaſon. Several *European* Authors think this City to be *Ambrodux* or *Cteſiphon* of the Ancients. It is ſaid to be founded by a Virgin, who therefore laid the firſt Stone of it when the Sun enter'd *Virgo*, and nam'd it *Caſhan* from her Grandfather. It is govern'd by a *Darogue*, or Mayor, who holds his Place two Years.

From *Caſhan* he paſſed over a Mountain, and then deſcended into a deep Valley, very narrow, and about a League in Length, which is well fill'd with Houſes, Vineyards and Gardens, ſo cloſe one to another, that they all ſeem but one Village. Several delightful and clear Streams preſerve the Summer ſo wonderfully cool here, that the Roſes were not blown, nor Corn or Fruit ripe, when the Harveſt was quite got in at *Caſhan*. Several modern Authors aſſert, that *Darius* was murthered by *Beſſus* in this Valley, and that not improbably, becauſe Hiſtory ſays, *Beſſus* fled to *Bactriana*, and *Nabarzanes* to *Hyrcania*, and here the Road begins to theſe two Provinces, and ſo by *Moutſhacour*, a large Village of 500 Houſes, to *Iſpahan*, which is ſo thick encompaſſed with Villages, that you would think you are in the Suburbs two Hours before you come near them.

22. There are two other Roads, which it is neceſſary that Travellers ſhould be acquainted with, which I ſhall briefly deſcribe, *viz.* from *Warſaw* to *Iſpahan*, and from *Iſpahan* to *Moſcow*.

Warſaw, which is ſeated upon the Left-Hand of the *Viſtula*, is the ordinary Reſidence of the King of *Poland*. Beginning your Travels here to *Iſpahan*, you muſt go to *Lublin*, which is ſix Days Journey, and in five more you may get to *Iluove*, where the Cuſtomers open all the Bales of the Merchants Goods, and exact five in the Hundred. From *Iluove* you go to *Jaſlovicer* in twelve Days. This is the laſt City of *Poland* next *Moldavia*. Here, if you ſell any Goods, you muſt pay five *per Cent*.

From thence you go to *Yaſhe* in eight Days. This is the Capital City of *Moldavia*, and the Reſidence of the *Weywod*, which the Grand Signior ſends to govern that Country. Here all Bales of Merchandizes are opened, and there is a Roll of all that the Merchant is to pay, which amounts to five *per Cent*.

From *Yaſhe* the Way lies through *Ourſhaye*, to which you come in three Days. This is the laſt City in *Moldavia*. From hence to *Akerman* you go in four Days, and the Cuſtoms amount to four *per Cent.* but they take the Merchant's Account. From *Akerman* you go to *Ozou*, where they take two *per Cent.* and ſo to *Precop*, where they pay two and an half *per Cent.* but they truſt to the Merchant's Word at both Places.

From *Precop* the Road lies to *Kaffa*, where alſo the Cuſtom is three *per Cent.* And the Journey from *Warſaw* to *Kaffa* is fifty-one Days by the Waggon, which is the uſual Way of Carriage in that Country, and the Cuſtoms in all come to eighteen and an half *per Cent.* to which you muſt add the Carriage and Paſſage by Sea to *Trebiſond*, where you pay three Piaſters for every Mule's, and four for every Camel's Load. To avoid ſomething of this Charge, the *Armenians* ſhip their Goods uſually at another Port, called *Onnie*, which is a very good Port, and where they never pay above a Piaſter and a half for a Camel's Load.

There is another Road from *Warſaw* to *Trebiſond* ſhorter by three Days Journey, *viz.* From *Warſaw* to *Yaſhe*, in the former Road, and from thence by *Galas*, a City of *Moldavia*, *Megin* and *Mangalia*, the beſt Port in the Black-Sea to the Weſt, to *Trebiſond*, from whence to *Erzerom* five Days Journey, from which to *Iſpahan* you go the uſual Road.

The other Road from *Iſpahan* to *Moſcow* lies thus. You muſt travel the uſual Road before mention'd, to *Shamaki*, and from thence to *Derbent*, which the *Turks* call *Demir-Capi*. This is the laſt City in the *Perſian* Juriſdiction, by which the River *Shamourka* runs. From *Derbent* you may travel to *Tetark* in eight Days, where hiring Barks with twelve Oars, you may be at *Aſtracan*, by the Help of a little Sail, which they put up, if the Wind ſerves, in four or five Hours, but if you row only, it will take up nine. When you embark upon the *Caſpian* Sea, you muſt provide yourſelf Water for the firſt three Days, becauſe the Water on the Coaſt is bitter for that Time, but afterwards it is very good. At *Aſtracan* the Merchants are all ſearched by the Cuſtomers, and they take five *per Cent*.

From *Aſtracan* to *Moſcow* you take Shipping in great Barks, that make Uſe both of Oars and Sails, rowing againſt the Tide, and weigh all you carry aboard, for which you muſt pay fourteen Caya, and three Abaſſi's and an half for every Pound. From *Aſtracan* you ſail to *Corinya*, and ſo in Order by *Sariza*, *Sarataf*, *Samarat*, *Senur'ſkat*, *Coulombe*. *Caſan*, *Sabouk-ſha*, *Godamijan Triguna*, *Mouren* and *Caſin*, to *Moſcow*, which they count 2950 *Shagarons*, or 590 *Italian* Miles.

At *Sarataf* you may go a-ſhore, and ſo go by Land to *Moſcow* in Waggons when the Snow is gone, and on Sledges while it lies, and then the Way lies through *Inſerat*, *Tymnek*, *Canquerma* and *Valodimer*, a City bigger than *Conſtantinople*, to *Moſcow*, which Journey may be finiſh'd in thirty-five Days; but this Way is never uſed, but upon Neceſſity, when the River is frozen, becauſe in the Paſſage from *Sarataf* to *Inſerat*, which is ten Days Journey, there is nothing to be had for Man or Horſe. At *Moſcow* the Cuſtoms are the ſame as at *Aſtracan*, viz. five *per Cent.* and all the *Aſians*, viz. *Turks*, *Perſians*, *Armenians*, and others, lodge in a Sort of Inns; but the *Europeans* lie in a Place by themſelves all together.

23. There are few Countries in the World that are ſo little viſited by *European* Travellers as thoſe about the *Black Sea*, and indeed there are ſeveral Reaſons for it. In the firſt Place, the *Turks* will ſuffer no Trade to be carried on by Sea in any other than their own Veſſels, and ſo jealous they are on this Head, that when the *Ruſſians* were Maſters of *Aſoph*, and ſhared by that Means in the Navigation of the *Black Sea*, they were never eaſy. It is, in the next Place, a very rare Thing, even for ſuch as travel for Pleaſure through the Dominions of the Grand Signior, to ſtrike out of the com-

mon Road purely to gratify their Curioſity, nor indeed in ſuch a Country as this would that be always ſafe. And laſtly, The common Reports of moſt of theſe Countries, place both them and their Inhabitants in ſo bad a Light, that few have any Curioſity to be better acquainted with them. Our Author's Journey was by mere Accident; he took his Route to *Perſia* as the moſt convenient at that Time for his Purpoſe; and it was alſo by Accident *M. de la Motraye* took many Years after the ſame Route, and their Accounts agree, generally ſpeaking, very well; but ſome Points in both ſeem to ſtand in Need of Explanation.

Our Author has given but a very ſhort Account of the *Crim Tartars*, and therefore it is neceſſary to ſay ſomething more of them. Authors differ very much as to the Condition of this Nation, that is to ſay, whether they ought to be conſidered as free and independent, as Allies, or as ſubjects to the *Turks*. Inſtead of endeavouring to diſcuſs theſe Queſtions, we ſhall leave them to the Deciſion of the Reader, after reporting a few Matters of Fact. There are not many Towns in this *Tartary*, and in thoſe that have any Fortreſſes, the *Turks* have Garriſons. The *Tartar* Princes are rarely admitted into, and never allowed to lodge in them. *Caffa*, we have elſewhere ſhewn, was once a very fine City, and is ſtill a good Port, which is in the Power of the *Turks*; ſo is *Baluclawa*, which is ſtill a better Port, and, if we may depend upon the *Turkiſh* Writers, is not exceeded by any in the World, either for the Depth of Water, or Security from Winds. The Town of *Chirk*, upon the Streights of *Daman*, has alſo a very fine Port, but it is an open Place, and belongs to the *Tartars*. The Capital of this Country, properly ſpeaking, is *Baſcia Sarai*, which is the Reſidence of the Khan, was taken by the *Ruſſians* in the late War, and totally deſtroyed. The Khan of the *Tartars*, tho' a Sovereign Prince, is appointed and depoſed by the Grand Signior, but he is always ſucceeded by a Prince of his own Family, and this preſumptive Succeſſor, whether he be the Brother or Son of the reigning Prince, is ſtiled Sultan *Galga*. The ſecond Prince of the Family is ſtiled *Hor Bey*, the third *Noradin Bey*, and the reſt of the young Princes have particular Titles. It is to be obſerved of the *Tartars* in general, that even the meaneſt and moſt ſtupid of them is ſo much Maſter of his Genealogy, as to know exactly of what Family he is deſcended, and to what Tribe his Family belongs. The Truth of the Matter is, that they reſemble exactly *Highland* and *Iriſh* Clans, and, like them, are commanded by Chiefs.

Every diſtinct Family or Clan of the *Tartars* is by them ſtiled *Horda*, and the chief *Murſa*, or as others write it, *Mirza*. Amongſt the *Crim Tartars* there are four great Tribes, to which all their Hords belong, and the Chiefs of theſe four Tribes are the Councellors of the Khan, without whoſe Conſent he can undertake Nothing of Importance. Hereditary Right is the Fundamental Law of all the *Tartars*, and the Dignity of *Mirza*, or Chief, deſcends from Father to Son. The Khan of *Crim Tartary* can bring eighty thouſand Men into the Field, but his Contingent, when called to aſſiſt the Grand Signior, conſiſts of thirty thouſand Horſe. All the World knows, that theſe *Tartars* are very far from being handſome, but they are, generally ſpeaking, brave, hardy, active, and enterprizing, and their Horſes reſemble them, for worſe looking, or better Beaſts for Service, the World does not produce. As for Riches, they conſiſt in Horſes and in Slaves; and as for their Manner of Living, it is equally coarſe and barbarous in the Opinion of all other Nations, and honourable and happy in their own. They are very hoſpitable and kind to one another, ſo that every Man is at home in his Neighbour's Houſe. Neither are they leſs civil and reſpectful to ſuch Strangers as come among them, who are very welcome to what they have, and would be as welcome if they had more. One Thing is remarkable, when any Stranger comes to their Tents, he is ſerved by their Children, and not by their Slaves, let the Quality of the Maſter be what it will. A Gentleman who was in the Service of *Charles* XII. paſſing through this Country in his Way to *Bender*, where that Monarch then was, lodged in the Tent of a principal *Mirza*, and when it was Time to go to Reſt, his Son made up for the Stranger a Bed of Skins, by the Side of which he ſet a little Stool, with a Pipe, a Box of Tobacco, and a Bottle of excellent Sherbet. In the Morning he came and rolled up the Bed, preſented him Cakes, Butter, Coffee, and Milk, and brought him likewiſe his Boots. The Father, who was a Kind of Prince, when the Gentleman expreſſed ſome Aſtoniſhment at his putting his Son upon ſuch Offices, made him this Anſwer; "Friend, this World is a Lottery, in which there are many Blanks to a Prize; though I have many Slaves, yet by the Fortune of War my Son may become a Slave; it is fit therefore he ſhould learn to behave in all Conditions; the Khan does the ſame Thing; and beſides, let me tell thee, Stranger, that among the *Tartars*, we hold the meaneſt Office done to a Friend as the higheſt Honour, and therefore never Share it with our Slaves."

As the *Tartars* are chiefly known to the reſt of the World, by their Excurſions, we cannot deſcribe them better, than by ſhowing in what Manner they act on ſuch Occaſions, wherein, without doubt, they diſcover an extraordinary Genius for this Manner of making War, which, however barbarous it may ſeem to us, anſwers all the Ends of War to them, by furniſhing Slaves and Booty in Abundance, which ſupplies them with the Means of Happineſs in Time of Peace. It is very true that they run through great Hazards and Hardſhips in Time of War; but then theſe Hazards and Hardſhips are all that they ſuſtain, for when they return to their Tents, they are free and independent, have neither Care nor Solicitude, but are Princes in their own Family, and live in what Manner they like beſt, without any Apprehenſions or Conſtraint. To us, indeed, even their Repoſe and Luxury appears a moſt ſhocking and hideous Courſe of Life; but it appears otherwiſe to them; and, after all, if there be any Thing certain in this World, it is this, that the true Standard of Happineſs is Opinion. But to come to the Point; every *Tartar* that goes into the Field, carries with him two Horſes, which are taught to follow without being led, and are conſequently uſeful to, without embarraſſing their Maſter. On theſe Horſes they lay a Sack of Rye Meal, and another with Biſket and Salt, which is all the Baggage and Proviſions wherewith they are encumbred. It is only a few of the Commanders that are provided with Tents; the reſt paſs the Night in the following Manner. They carry with them four ſharp Stakes, which they drive into the Ground, and upon theſe they fix their Mantle, which ſerves for a Bed; their wooden Saddle ſupplies the Place of a Pillow, and a coarſe, thick Cloth, which is thrown croſs the Horſe's Back under the Saddle, becomes a Coverlid. The Horſes are tied to the Pickets with pretty long Cords; and while their Maſters ſleep, the Beaſts very handily remove the Snow with their Forefeet, and feed upon the Graſs that is under it, taking now and then a Mouthful of Snow to moiſten it. When a Horſe tires, his Maſter cuts his Throat upon the Spot, and diſtributes his Fleſh among his Friends, who make him the ſame Compliment when Occaſion offers. The beſt Part of the Fleſh they cut in Slices, of an Inch thick, and theſe they place very neatly under the Saddle of the Horſe they ride upon. When they have travelled three or four Leagues, they diſmount, turn all the Pieces of Fleſh, and mix them very carefully with the Sweat, which they turn up with their Fingers, then to Horſe again, and at Night they ſup upon this dainty Diſh, which they take ready dreſs'd from under their Saddles.

In this Manner they will traverſe two or three hundred Leagues of Ground, without ever lighting a Fire, which they carefully avoid, to prevent being diſcover'd; and they chuſe the Depth of Winter for their Expeditions, that the Bogs, Lakes, and Rivers being frozen, they may avoid all Interruptions, and proſecute their March with greater Expedition. Thus the *Tartars* march one hundred in Front, that is three hundred Horſes; every one of them has two, which ſerve for Relays,

lays, as has been ſaid before; their Front may extend eight hundred or one thouſand Paces, and they are eight hundred or one thouſand in File, which reaches four long Leagues, or three when they keep cloſe; for at other Times they extend above ten Leagues. This is wonderful to thoſe that have not ſeen it, for eighty Thouſand *Tartars* make up above two hundred thouſand Horſes. Trees are not thicker in the Woods than Horſes are at that Time in the Field; and to ſee them at a Diſtance, they look like a Cloud riſing in the Horizon, which increaſes as it riſes, and ſtrikes a Terror into the boldeſt; I mean thoſe who are not uſed to ſee ſuch Multitudes together. Thus theſe mighty Armies march, halting every Hour about half a Quarter of an Hour to give their Horſes Time to ſtale; and they are ſo well managed, that they do it as ſoon as they ſtop; then the *Tartars* alight and piſs too. They remount immediately, and go on, all which is done only by the Signal of a Whiſtle; and when they are come within three or four Leagues of the Borders, they lie ſtill two or three Days in ſome Place choſen for that Purpoſe, where they think they are concealed; there they give out Orders, and refreſh their Army, which they diſpoſe of in this Manner: They divide it into three Parts, two Thirds are to compoſe one Body, the other Third is ſubdivided into two Parts, each making a Wing, one on the Right, the other on the Left. In this Order they enter the Country.

The main Body moves ſlowly, which, in their Language, they call *Coche*, with the Wings, but continually without halting Day or Night, allowing but an Hour to refreſh till they are got ſixty or eighty Leagues into the Country, without doing any Harm. But as ſoon as they begin to march back, the Body holds the ſame Pace; then the General diſmiſſes the two Wings, which have Liberty, each on its own Side, to ſtray ten or twelve Leagues from the main Body; but that is to be underſtood Half of the Way forward, and the other Half Sideways. Each Wing, which may conſiſt of eight or ten thouſand Men, is again ſubdivided into ten or twelve Squadrons, of five or ſix hundred Men each, who run up and down to the Villages, encompaſs them, making four *Corps de Garde* about each Village, and great Fires all the Night for Fear any Peaſant ſhould eſcape them: Then they fall to Pillaging and Burning, kill all that make any Reſiſtance, and take and carry away all that ſubmit, not only Men, Women, and Sucking Babes, but the Cattle, Horſes, Cows, Oxen, Sheep, Goats, *&c.* As for the Swine, they drive and ſhut them up in a Barn, or ſuch like Place, and fire the four Corners; ſo great is the Loathing they have for thoſe Creatures. The Wings being allowed to ſtray but ten or twelve Leagues, (as has been ſaid) return with their Booty to their main Body, which is eaſily done; for they leave a great Track, marching above fifty in Front; ſo that they have nothing to do but to follow, and in four or five Hours they join their Body again, where, as ſoon as they are come, two other Wings, conſiſting of the like Number as the former, go out on the Right and Left, to make much the ſame Havock; then they come in, and two others go out, and ſo continue their Excurſions without ever diminiſhing their Body, which, as has been mentioned, makes two Thirds of the Army, and move gently, to be always in Breath and ready to fight their Enemy, if they ſhould meet them, tho' their Deſign is not to meet, but to avoid them as much as poſſible. They never return the ſame Way they broke in, but take a Compaſs, the better to eſcape; for they always fight in their own Defence, nay, and they muſt be forced to it, without they know themſelves to be ten to one; and yet would they conſider of it before they fell on; for theſe *Tartars* do not enter *Poland* to fight, but to pillage by way of Surprize. When the *Polanders* meet them, they make Work, forcing them to get home faſter than their uſual Pace. At other Times, after they have ſufficiently plundered and robbed, they enter upon the deſart Plains in the Frontiers, thirty or forty Leagues in Length, and being in that Place of Safety, make a great Halt, recovering Breath, and putting themſelves into Order, if they were in any Confuſion, on Account of meeting the *Polanders*.

At their Return from ſuch an Incurſion, the Khan receives his Tenth of the whole Booty, which is afterwards divided amongſt the ſeveral Hords, and every Mirza receives the Tenth of the Share that belongs to his Hord; after which, what remains is divided fairly and regularly amongſt all that ſerved in the Excurſion. It is, undoubtedly, one of the moſt ſhocking Spectacles that can be beheld, to ſee the unhappy People of all Ages, Ranks and Sexes, that have been thus carried away, ſeparated from each other, and torn away by their relentleſs Maſters, who either keep and employ them in ſervile Work, or ſell them, if they think proper, to the *Turks*, *Perſians*, *Circaſſians*, or any of the adjacent Nations, or to the Merchants who come up into their Countries on Purpoſe to buy Slaves. It is from their Fortune in theſe Kind of Excurſions, that the *Tartar* Princes become rich and potent; for what they receive from their Parents is very inconſiderable, and they make no Scruple of telling Strangers, when they admire the Number of their Tents, Horſes, Cattle and Slaves, that what they have, was acquired by their Sword and Bow; and that if they had been leſs lucky in their Expeditions, they had been as poor and as miſerable as any of their Subjects. By leading this Kind of Life they become very active and vigorous, capable of enduring prodigious Fatigue, ſo as to go without Sleep for many Nights together, and with little or no Food for many Days; but when they come to have more Leiſure, they will fetch this up by ſleeping forty eight Hours upon the Stretch, and will crowd three or four Meals into one. Their good and bad Qualities are peculiar to themſelves, and ſeem to be derived entirely from the Kind of Life they lead; for though they will fight very bravely, yet they muſt be forced to it, chuſing much rather to fly, if it be practicable. They will drink very freely upon certain Occaſions, but upon ſuch Occaſions only, for at other Times they are both abſtemious and ſober. The *Crim Tartars* are very far from being jealous, and are, generally ſpeaking, content with one Wife, ſeldom making uſe of their Slaves as Concubines; but then they are merciless Maſters, treat their Slaves in the ſame Manner as their Cattle, and ſell them with as little Ceremony. Under Misfortunes they are patient, or rather ſullen; but what little Education they have makes ſome Difference amongſt them, as appears by ſuch of their Khans as are baniſhed to *Rhodes*, which is the common Place of their Exile when depoſed, where they live very handſomely, and without any Dejection of Spirit. Indeed this Misfortune happens ſo frequently, that they cannot be much ſurprized at it. In the Court of the Khan's Palace at *Baſcia Saray*, there are two Tombs of Princes that died in Poſſeſſion of that Dignity, and, it is ſuppoſed, were erected there as Curioſities in that Reſpect. I have dwelt the longer upon this Subject, becauſe I take it to be both inſtructive and entertaining.

In order to apprehend clearly the Nature of our Author's Voyages and Travels, we muſt conſider the Countries that lie upon the *Black Sea*, which is every where ſhut in by the Land, except at the narrow Streights of *Conſtantinople*. On the Weſt-ſide lies the *European* Coaſt, *viz.* the maritime Parts of *Moldavia*, *Bulgaria*, and *Romania*, extending from South to North, that is, from *Conſtantinople* to *Oczakow*, in a ſtreight Line, about three hundred and twenty Miles. On the North-ſide lies the *Little Tartary*, the Peninſula of *Crim*, and the great Country of *Circaſſia*, that circumſcribe the *Palus Meotis*, which communicates with the *Black Sea* by the Streights of *Daman* or *Theman*, which have the Peninſula of *Crim* on one Side, and *Circaſſia* on the other. Thus it appears, that *Circaſſia* makes the North Eaſt Boundary of the *Black Sea*, and ſtretches itſelf quite to the *Caſpian*. The Countries lying on the Weſt-ſide of the *Black Sea*, and to the South of *Circaſſia*, are *Mingrelia*, *Immeretia*, and *Guriel*, of which our Author has given a large and very good Deſcription.

Theſe Countries are all mountainous and narrow, having behind them towards the *Caſpian*, the large Country of *Georgia*, which borders immediately on the *Perſian* Dominions, having *Circaſſia*, on the North, the Countries of *Mingrelia*, *Immoretta*, *Guriel* and *Armenia* on the Weſt, the *Caſpian Sea* on the Eaſt, and the Territories of *Perſia* to the South. The ſeveral Nations that inhabit theſe Countries are, properly ſpeaking, *Tartars*, or very little better; and though there are ſome Towns, and even Cities, yet moſt of the Inhabitants live in Tents. The Princes of the *Circaſſians*, are hereditary Chiefs of Clans, like other *Tartars*, and it is certainly a Degree of Complaiſance to eſteem them Chriſtians. It muſt be however allowed, that they are not quite ſo barbarous, or to ſpeak with greater Propriety, ſo far removed in their Manners from ours, as other *Tartars*, notwithſtanding their unnatural and deteſtable Cuſtom of ſelling their Children; for it is certain that they take a good deal of Pains in their Education, but with no other View than that of bringing them to a better Market. The Boys, beſides Riding, Hunting, Shooting and martial Exerciſes, are taught ſeveral Languages; and as they are very active in their Perſons, have quick Wits, and are of bold and enterprizing Natures, they riſe frequently to great Preferments, both in *Turkey* and in *Perſia*; as for the Girls, they are likewiſe taught the *Turkiſh* and *Perſian* Tongues, Muſic, Dancing, and to repeat amorous Novels and Romances. If it may be accounted wonderful to ſee Parents part with their Children with ſo much Eaſe as they do, it is certainly not at all leſs ſtrange, to ſee the Children quit their Fathers and Mothers not only without Pain, but with the utmoſt Alacrity, the Girls more eſpecially. This ariſes from the Stories they are told, of the vaſt Fortunes that their Countrywomen have made in different Parts of the World, which fills them with aſpiring Thoughts; and to ſay the Truth, their Slavery is none of the hardeſt, for the Merchants who buy them, take as much Care as is poſſible to improve their Education, and are ſo far from making any Attempts upon their Chaſtity, that they are the moſt jealous Guardians of it in the World, becauſe all the Hopes they have of ſelling them to Advantage, are founded in the extreme Fondneſs the *Mahometans* have for Virgins, and when they are ſold, it is at ſo high a Price, that thoſe who buy them, muſt be both able and diſpoſed to maintain them in Affluence.

There is no need to add any Remarks on the remaining Part of this Section, becauſe whatever requires farther Explanation, will be ſet in a clear Light in the ſubſequent Sections; only it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that ſince the Declenſion of the *Perſian* Empire, the *Ruſſians* have taken many of the *Circaſſian* and *Georgian* Princes under their Protection, and it is highly probable, that in Time the reſt will follow their Example, which perhaps may render the Country more acceſſible, and prove the Means of drawing the Inhabitants out of their preſent State of Barbariſm. If this could be done, and they once civilized, and brought under one Sovereign, or even two or three that lived in tolerable Harmony with each other, there is no doubt that they might be able to defend themſelves againſt any that ſhould attack them, and by the Happineſs of their Situation, between the *Euxine* and *Caſpian* Seas, and the many valuable Commodities their Country produces, they might very ſpeedily eſtabliſh a much more profitable, as well as reputable Commerce, than that which they have hitherto carried on. The late *Schah Nadir*, who had great Views with reſpect to Trade, was very deſirous of forcing a Paſſage to the Black-Sea, where he intended to have eſtabliſhed a Port from which he expected vaſt Things, but very probably theſe great Deſigns will fall with him; and as the preſent Generation is not like to ſee his Equal, we muſt leave to Poſterity the Hopes of beholding theſe Countries and their Inhabitants in a better Situation than they are at preſent, for which they ſeem to have been deſigned by Nature; in a worſe, however, they cannot well be.

SECTION II.

A copious and circumſtantial Deſcription of the great Empire of *Perſia*, its Situation, Extent, Diſtribution of its Provinces, Climate, Rivers, Seas, Soil, Produce, and the chief Cities throughout the Country, ſo as to afford a perfect Idea of its Condition, in paſt and preſent Times.

Collected from the Writings of the moſt famous Travellers, particularly from thoſe of HERBERT, CHARDIN, TAVERNIER, THEVENOT, LE BRUN, *and others, their ſeveral Remarks and Obſervations being all digeſted into a regular and eaſy Method.*

1. *The Situation and Extent of the* Perſian *Empire, with a ſuccinct Account of the Reaſons why a clear and perfect Notion of the Territories which compoſe this Empire, is of ſuch Importance towards a right Idea of general Hiſtory and Geography.* 2. *A diſtinct and accurate Deſcription of the ſeveral Provinces under the Dominion of the* Perſian *Emperor, their ancient and modern Names, Situation, Extent, chief Cities and Ports.* 3. *The Air and Climate of* Perſia *in its different Parts; with an Account of the hot and ſtifling Winds ſo dangerous to Travellers on the Sea-Coaſts.* 4. *The Rivers in this Country, and the various Methods made Uſe of to diffuſe the Water by Canals and Aqueducts; and an Account of the Seas upon which it borders.* 5. *Of the Appearance of the Country in general, and of the Diverſity of Soils in* Perſia. 6. *Of the particular Huſbandry uſed in this Country, the Produce of arable Lands and Gardens.* 7. *Of the Variety of Fruits, Trees, Flowers and Shrubs that grow therein.* 8. *Of medicinal Drugs that are brought from* Perſia, *particularly* Opium, Aſſa Fœtida *and* Bezoar. 9. *A large and curious Account of the Animals, tame and wild, in the ſeveral Provinces of* Perſia. 10. *Of the Fowls, Birds and Fiſh in this Country, and the Reaſon why the latter is ſo ſcarce at* Iſpahan. 11. *Of the Minerals in* Perſia, *and of precious Stones, particularly the* Turquois, *held to be peculiar to this Country.* 12. *Of the Manner of Building in* Perſia, *how well adapted to their Climate, and of the Methods*

Methods uſed to keep their Houſes cool and pleaſant, even in the hotteſt Seaſons. 13. *A particular De-*
ſcription of the Capital City of Iſpahan *or* Spahawn, *with its peculiar Beauties and Blemiſhes.* 14. *A*
diſtinct Deſcription of the Royal Palace and of the Imperial Moſque. 15. *Of the Bagnio's, Gardens and*
Bridges in the City of Iſpahan, *and in its Neighbourhood.* 16. *A large Deſcription of the Borough or*
Suburb of Julpha, *with an Account of the* Armenians *who inhabit it.* 17. *The noble City of* Schiraz
deſcribed, with an Account of the adjacent Country, and its Produce. 18. *An Account of the noble*
Antiquities at Tchelminar, *the Remains of the ancient* Perſepolis, *juſtly eſteemed the moſt glorious An-*
tiquity in the World. 19. *Of other Places of Note in* Perſia, *more eſpecially upon its Sea-Coaſt, and*
of the Deſign of Shach Nadir *to have removed the Capital of the* Perſian *Empire, with the Reaſons upon*
which that Project was founded. 20. *A Compariſon between the paſt and preſent State of* Perſia, *in Re-*
gard as well to the Fertility and Riches of the Country, as of the great Cities and Ports. 21. *Remarks*
hiſtorical, political and critical, upon the foregoing Section.

1. THERE is ſcarce any Country in the World, which makes a greater Figure in Hiſtories ſacred or prophane, ancient or modern, than this of which we are ſpeaking. In the Scriptures the Deliverance of the *Jews* by *Cyrus*, the Protection they received from his Succeſſors, the memorable Preſervation of the whole People from the dark and deep laid Plot of *Haman*, all refer to this potent Empire and its Monarchs. In Reference to the *Greek* Hiſtory, the earlier Parts of it turn entirely on the Diſputes between the free States of *Greece* and the great King, as the latter contain nothing more than the Hiſtory of the Subverſion of the *Perſian* Empire by *Alexander* the Great, and the Diviſion of its ſeveral Provinces after his Deceaſe, among his Captains. In Regard to the *Roman* Hiſtories again, we find the *Parthians* continually diſputing the Progreſs of their Arms in the *Eaſt*, and the moſt conſiderable Part of the *Conſtantinopolitan* Hiſtory before the Irruption of the *Saracens* proved fatal to both Empires, comprehends the Diſputes between the Succeſſors of *Conſtantine the Great*, and the Emperors of *Perſia*. From the Time the *Saracens* became Maſters of this Country, the Succeſſion of their Caliphs forms a principal Branch of the *Oriental* Hiſtory down to the Extinction of their Dominion. Since that Time the ſeveral Conquerors of this Empire have ſufficiently diſtinguiſhed themſelves to deſerve Notice, and even the Frequency of Revolutions in this Country, make the Hiſtory of it more curious and more entertaining. We know very little of the Etymology of the Word *Perſia*, ſome ſay it was ſo called from the Hero *Perſeus* Son of *Jupiter* and *Danae*, but that ſeems to be a very ridiculous Fable; others derive it from *Perſes*, a Nobleman of that Country, in Times of great Antiquity, but with Reſpect to this alſo, there wants both Probability and Proof; neither is the third Account of the Matter, which derives its Name from *Paras*, that ſignifies a Horſe, very ſatisfactory; and as for the modern *Perſian* Wood *Fars*, it is viſibly derived from *Perſia*, and therefore cannot help us to explain it. As to the *Oriental* Writers, they know it not at all by this Name, but ſtile it conſtantly *Iran*. In order to apprehend the Meaning of this Name, which is abſolutely neceſſary to the Underſtanding their Hiſtories, we are to know, that an ancient King of this Country, or rather of the Upper *Aſia*, whoſe Name was *Ferridoun*, had two Sons, *Tour* and *Irag*, who ſucceeded him in his Dominions, the former had all the Country on the other Side the River *Oxus*, which by the Way, the *Orientals* ſtile *Gihon*, and the other the Country on this Side. Hence ariſes the Diſtinction of all the Countries in the Upper *Aſia* (*China* and the *Indies* excepted) into *Touran* and *Iran*, the former comprehending great *Tartary*, and all the Countries bordering or depending upon it, and the latter *Perſia*, in like Manner, with all its Dependencies. As for the modern Writers in the *Perſian* Tongue, as they ſtile their Sovereign *Shah*, ſo they give his Dominions the Title of *Shahiſtan*, or the Territories of the *Shah*.

We will proceed next to the Situation of this Country, and this is beſt ſhewn, by marking the Dominions of theſe Princes that confine it; for as to the diſtinct and preciſe Limitations of this Empire, it is impoſſible to lay them down with Accuracy or Certainty, becauſe they depend upon the Power of its Monarchs, which fluctuates every Day. On the Eaſt it has the Dominions of the *Great Mogul*, the Ocean and the Gulph of *Perſia* towards the South, the Territories of the Grand Signior on the Weſt, and the Country of *Circaſſia*, the *Caſpian* Sea, and the River *Oxus*, which divides it from the *Uſbeck Tartary*, on the North. It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that the Northern and Southern Boundaries ſeldom or never vary, as being fixed by Nature, but on the Eaſt and Weſt the *Perſians* ſometimes encroach upon, but in later Times have been oftener encroached upon by their Neighbours, as will appear more clearly when we come to ſpeak particularly of its Provinces.

As to its Extent, it reaches from South to North about twenty Degrees, that is, from twenty-five to forty-five Degrees of North Latitude. It contains pretty near the ſame Number of Degrees of Longitude, the neareſt of its Provinces lying in the Longitude of forty-five, and the moſt diſtant about ſixty-ſix Degrees Eaſt from the Meridian of *London*. According to the ordinary Computation, allowing for the Diviſion made by the *Caſpian* Sea, it is a Square of between eleven and twelve hundred Miles, which ſhews plainly, that it is one of the moſt conſiderable Countries of *Aſia*; and if it was as thoroughly inhabited as the Excellency of its Situation, Climate, and Soil deſerve, its Monarchs would be, doubtleſs, as powerful as any ſovereign Princes in the World; though at preſent, from a Multitude of concurring Accidents, it ſeems to be thinner in People, and weaker in Point of Government, than any of the other four *Aſiatick* Empires. As *Perſia*, properly ſo called, is but a very ſmall Country in Compariſon of what now goes under that Name, ſo the different Times and Occaſions by which the other Diſtricts that now depend upon it were annexed thereto, render it extremely difficult to fix the Number, the Names, and the Situation of its Provinces, about which hardly any two Geographers or Travellers have been hitherto able to agree; therefore the Reader will not think it ſtrange, if the Account we give of them differs from thoſe he has met with before.

2. In order to deliver as plain an Account of this Matter as is poſſible, we ſhall obſerve, that the moſt accurate of the *Perſian* Writers themſelves divide their Country into thirteen Provinces, and therefore it appears moſt reaſonable to follow that Diviſion; and it may likewiſe be convenient to purſue their Method of deſcribing them, as this is a Thing altogether arbitrary, and there ſeems to be the ſame Cauſe to take it one Way as another, provided that when the Method is once choſen it is cloſely purſued, that the Reader may be able to trace it exactly, without Confuſion, and even to form in his Head, as it were, a Scheme of the whole Country that is laid before him. We ſhall begin then with the North Eaſt, and ſo paſſing along Southward, deſcribe all the Countries of *Perſia* that lie towards the Frontiers either of *Tartary* or *India*. We ſhall then deſcribe the Provinces on the Ocean and the *Perſian* Gulph, together with ſuch as lie within Land; thoſe on the Frontiers of the *Turkiſh* Empire will follow theſe, and we ſhall end with the Provinces that lie North Weſt and North on the Coaſt of the *Caſpian* Sea.

I. *Aſtarabat*, or *Eſtarabat*, is ſituated on the Coaſt of the *Caſpian* Sea, to the South of the Opening of the River *Amu* or *Oxus*; it hath *Choraſan* on the Eaſt, and on the South of the Province of *Maſanderan*, on the Weſt the *Caſpian* Sea, and Part of *Tartary* on the North. It is but ſmall, having thirty five Leagues in Length from Weſt to Eaſt, and fifteen in Breadth from North to South; for which Reaſon many of our Geographers include it within the great Province of *Chorasan*. In regard to Fertility, as well as to its Climate, there is not a finer Country in *Perſia*. A Ridge of Hills that run through it, furniſh Abundance of ſmall Rivulets, and ſome fine Rivers, that running through it into the *Caſpian* Sea, cloath the Country, for a great Part of the Year, with continual Verdure. The Capital of this Province has the ſame Name with the Province itſelf, and is one of the beſt built Cities in *Perſia*; and as it is a Frontier towards *Tartary*, it is tolerably fortified, and has commonly a good Garriſon. It ſtands upon a Gulph of the ſame Name, and has a very good Port for ſmall Veſſels that do not draw any great Depth of Water. There are in it both Silk and Woollen Manufactures, and the Inhabitants drive a great Trade in a Sort of Camblets, that are much eſteemed both for Beauty and Strength. The Country about is well cultivated, and as for the Weſtern Part of the Province, it is a perfect Orchard, abounding with Fruits of all Kinds, as well as with fine Trees for Shade and for Timber; but the ſame Thing cannot be ſaid of the Eaſtern Part of the Province, which being expoſed to the Inroads of the *Uſbeck Tartars*, is ſo depopulated, that in Spite of the Kindneſs of Nature, it looks like a perfect Deſart.

II. *Choraſan* is eſteemed the faireſt, richeſt, and moſt fertile Province of the whole Empire, and is the Country known to the Ancients by the Name of *Bactria*; it is divided by the Mountains of *Balck* from *Great Bucharia*, has the Principality of *Candahar* on the Eaſt, the Province of *Segiſtan* on the South, the Provinces of *Yerack* and *Maſanderan* to the Weſt, and the Province of *Eſterabat* and the River *Amu* on the North. It is thought to be about one hundred *German* Leagues in Compaſs. The Climate is very temperate, the Soil extremely fruitful, abounding with rich Fruits, fine Paſturages, producing excellent Corn, Wine, and Silk, and affording beſides rich Mines of Gold, Silver, and precious Stones. It was formerly the beſt peopled, the beſt planted, and the beſt built Province in *Perſia*, but of late the Incurſions of the *Uſbeck Tartars* have laid one half of it waſte; and though for a few Years they were kept in Awe by the Shah *Nadir*, who drove them out of this Country, for which he had a peculiar Affection, yet it is not to be ſuppoſed, while the Affairs of the *Perſian* Empire are in Confuſion, that they can be long reſtrained. The chief City of this Province is *Meſchid*, or *Thous*, of which we ſhall have Occaſion to ſpeak more hereafter; and beſides this, there are many other conſiderable Places, ſuch as *Nickabour*, *Herat*, *Tcharkez*, *Amonoye*, &c.

III. *Sabluſtan*, bounded on the North by the Provinces of *Choraſan* and *Candahar*, which latter is ſometimes reckoned a Part of this Province, on the Eaſt by the Dominions of the *Great Mogul*, and on the South and Weſt by the Province of *Segiſtan*. The Climate is tolerable, but the Soil is extremely mountainous and barren; the Inhabitants are, generally ſpeaking, booriſh and rude, at leaſt in Compariſon of the reſt of the *Perſians*, yet the Capital of the Province, which is the City of *Boſt*, is large, well built, well inhabited, and the Country about it is exceedingly well cultivated; all which ariſes from its lying in the direct Road to the *Indies*. It is a Place of great Trade, abounds with Manufactures and Strangers from all Countries, and with the Diſtrict about it, looks ſo very unlike all the reſt of the Province, that it ſeems to have dropt into it from the Clouds. Some other Towns there are, but of no great Importance, only it is fit to remark, that the People of this Country make the hardieſt Soldiers, and are the beſt Infantry in the *Perſian* Empire.

IV. *Segiſtan*, which ſeems to have been the *Drangiana* of the Ancients, is bounded by *Sabluſtan* on the North, the Territories of the *Great Mogul* on the Eaſt, by the Provinces of *Makeran* on the South, and by Part of the Province of *Kerman* on the Weſt. This Country is tolerably fruitful, and is particularly remarkable for its Palm-trees and its excellent Dates, but it is greatly expoſed to Winds, which ſometimes drive the Sands in ſuch a Manner, as to cover the Houſes, and even whole Villages. It was formerly famous for its Gold Mines, which, if we may truſt the *Perſian* Authors, were the richeſt in the World, the Veins ſometimes puſhing to the very Surface, in which they are countenanced by ſome very ancient *Greek* Authors. This Province has produced both Heroes and learned Men, who have from thence borrowed the Surname of *Segiſtani*, which by the Way is a Practice very common in *Perſia*. The Capital is the City of *Zereng*, more commonly ſtiled *Segiſtan*, but a Place of no great Note. There are beſides two other Places of ſome Figure in this Country, *Cabin* and *Maſtich*.

V. *Macran*, or *Macheran*, ſuppoſed to be the ancient *Gedroſia*, is bounded by *Segiſtan* on the North, by the Dominions of the *Great Mogul* on the Eaſt, by the Ocean on the South, and by the Province of *Kerman* towards the Weſt; it is looked upon as one of the worſt Provinces in *Perſia*, the Air being very indifferent, and the Soil barren; it is but indifferently peopled, and the Inhabitants are eſteemed barbarous and faithleſs. The chief Towns in it are *Makeran*, *Paſſir*, and *Geſt*; the North-part of it is entirely a Deſart of ten Days Journey; it has indeed a Port at *Guadel*, but of no great Conſequence, for it is capable of receiving only ſmall Veſſels, and is beſides not very ſecure.

VI. *Kerman*, which is without doubt the *Caramania* of the Ancients, a very large and noble Province, which may be well eſteemed one of the moſt beautiful in *Perſia*. It is bounded by *Segiſtan* and *Makeran* towards the Eaſt, the Ocean towards the South, the Province of *Fars* towards the Weſt, and by a Deſart which ſeparates it from the Province of *Yerac Agemi*, towards the North. Some Part of it is mountainous and barren enough, but the Valleys are wonderfully fertile, producing Fruits, Roots and Flowers in vaſt Abundance; it is in this Province that ſuch vaſt Quantities of Roſes grow, as enable the Inhabitants to carry on a conſiderable Trade in Roſe-water, which is highly eſteemed not only throughout all the Eaſt, but in *Europe*; they have alſo very rich Mines in this Country, particularly thoſe of *Turquoiſes*, of which we ſhall ſpeak hereafter; admirable Steel, out of which they fabricate all kind of Arms, and they have beſides great Manufactures of Tapeſtry. But after all, the principal Glory of this Country is its Sheep, the Wool of which is eſteemed the fineſt in the World, and they have a very ſingular Way of coming at it, for at a certain Seaſon of the Year they pull it from the Backs of the Animals with their Fingers, ſo that the Sheep are entirely naked; this Wool is all wrought in its natural Colours, and without Dye, it is of three Sorts, the firſt brown, the ſecond of a ſpeckled grey, and the third of a Milk-white; this laſt is the moſt eſteemed; but there is none of it that ever goes out of the Country, for it is intirely employed in making Garments for their *Moulhas*, or Men of the Law, and Prieſts, who wear nothing elſe. There are in this Province more of the *Gubers*, *Gaurs*, or Fire-Worſhippers, who are the Remains of the ancient *Perſians*, than in all the Empire beſide; and theſe frugal and induſtrious People manufacture from the other two Sorts of Wool, ſeveral Kinds of light Stuffs, which in Point of Beauty and Luſtre are not at all inferior to Silk. The City of *Kerman* is the Capital of the Province, it is large and well peopled, Proviſions are cheap there, and in the Neighbourhood they have a Manufacture of Earthen Ware, which comes very near *Porcelain*. The Fort of *Gambroon*, and the Iſland of *Ormus*, are by ſome Authors reckoned dependent upon this Province, which has produced ſeveral great Heroes, learned Phyſicians, excellent Poets, and in a Word, famous Men of every kind; amongſt the reſt, the celebrated *Achmet Kermani*, who was Poet Laureat to *Tamerlane*, and compoſed in *Perſian* Verſe the Acts of *Alexander* the Great, of *Gingiſchan*, and of his Patron.

VII. *Fars* or *Farſiſtan*, as the *Perſians* call it, is the ancient *Perſia Proper*, the *Orientals* ſay, that it derives its Name from *Fars*, the Son of *Azar*, that is, *Arphaxad*,

phaxad, the Son of *Shem*, the Son of *Noah*; but what Authority they have for this, is more than I can determine; it is bounded on the Eaſt by *Kerman*, by the Gulph of *Perſia* on the South, by the Province of *Chuſiſtan* towards the Weſt, and by a great Deſart called *Naubendighian* upon the North, which ſeparates it from *Yerac Agemi*. This ſandy Deſart is of a vaſt Extent, and reaches to the Frontiers of the Province of *Chorāſan*; it is the ſame we have mention'd before, in ſpeaking of the Province of *Kerman*. This is a rich and noble Country, abounding with all the Neceſſaries of Life, but more eſpecially famous for producing in the Neighbourhood of *Shiraz*, the richeſt and fineſt Wine in *Perſia*; but the Imperial Grape of *Tauris* is eſteemed moſt pleaſant and luſcious for Eating. They have alſo an admirable Glaſs Manufacture in this Province, where they blow Bottles of an enormous Size, ſome that are ſaid to hold three Gallons of our Meaſure; but they keep their Wine in earthen Veſſels, as we ſhall have Occaſion to ſhow hereafter. The chief Cities in this Country are *Shiraz*, which will be deſcribed elſewhere. *Lar*, formerly the Capital of a little independant Principality; *Bander Congo*, a Port upon the *Perſian* Gulph, to which we may add, though as I have ſaid ſome comprehend it under the Province of *Kerman*, the famous Port of *Gambroon*, or *Bander Abaſſi*. On the oppoſite Shore of *Arabia*, there is a ſmall Territory, called from the principal Place therein, *Elcatiff*, which formerly belong'd to the *Perſians*, and was ſometimes annexed to the Government of *Farſiſtan*, which is one Reaſon why I mention it here; another is, that in ſeveral Maps, and in many oriental Authors, the *Perſian* Gulph is from hence called the Sea of *Elcatiff*.

VIII. *Chuſiſtan*, the *Suſiana* of the Ancients is bounded on the Eaſt by the Provinces of *Farſiſtan* and *Yerac*, by the Gulph of *Perſia* on the South, by the Territory of *Baſſora* on the Weſt, and by the Province of *Curdeſtan* on the North; the Capital of this Country is *Schouſter*, believed with Reaſon to be the City of *Shuſhan*, mentioned in the Book of *Eſther*, famous for a noble Palace built here by the *Perſian* Monarch *Artaxerxes*, who is the *Ahaſuerus* of the Scripture, and for the Tomb of the Prophet *Daniel*, of neither of which, there are now any Remains, though a *Perſian* Author of great Credit aſſures us, that the latter was ſtanding in his Time, and that he had ſeen it.

IX. *Curdeſtan*, or *Curdiſtan*, Part of the ancient *Aſſyria*, bounded on the Weſt by the Dominions of the Grand Signior, by the Province of *Chuſiſtan* on the South, by *Erac Agemi* on the Eaſt, and by *Arderbeitzan* or *Media* on the North; it is with very little Reaſon that this Country finds a Place among the Provinces of *Perſia*, for the *Curds* are a Nation that ſometimes own the Protection of the *Porte*, and ſometimes profeſs a Dependance upon the Shah, but are in Reality Subjects to neither; they are, to ſay the Truth, a very extraordinary Race of *Highlanders*, governed by their own hereditary Chiefs; and the Reaſon that I ſtile them extraordinary is, becauſe their Force conſiſts in Horſe, of which ſome Chiefs can bring Hundreds, others Thouſands, and it has been known, that a Chief has brought twenty thouſand into the Field, where they behave as well as any Troops in the World. As to their Religion they call themſelves *Mahometans*, but except Circumciſion and Abſtinence from Wine, in both which they are very ſtrict, they obſerve no other Precepts of the *Alcoran*, and have neither *Moulahs* nor *Moſques*, except in two or three of their great Towns. The Mountains of which this Country is full, are rude and barren, but the Valleys are fertile and pleaſant, producing great Quantities of Tobacco and Vines; of the former they make a great Profit, but they make no Wine of the latter, which they convert into Raiſins. The chief City in this Country is *Betlis*, and beſides this, there are ſome other Places of Note, indifferently built, but well inhabited. *Thamas Kouli Kan* attacked theſe People often, but with very little Succeſs, and they have more than once defeated both the *Perſians* and the *Turks* in pitched Battles, yet they act generally on the Defenſive, and ſeldom fight out of their own Country.

X. *Erac Agemi*, or as ſome write, *Azemi*; the Reaſon of this Addition is to diſtinguiſh it from a Province of the *Turkiſh* Empire which is called *Erac Arabi*, and is preciſely the ancient Province of *Babylon*; whereas *Erac Agemi* is the ancient *Parthia*. This noble Province is bounded on the North by *Aderbeitzan* and *Ghilan*, by the Province of *Choraſan* on the Eaſt, by *Chuſiſtan* and *Farſiſtan* on the South, and by *Curdeſtan* on the Weſt. The chief City is the Capital of the *Perſian* Empire, *viz. Iſpahan*, or *Spahawn*, ſituate in the Latitude of 32 Degrees, 40 Minutes North, and in the 50th Degree of Longitude Eaſt from the Meridian of *London*; there are alſo in this Province ſeveral other conſiderable Places, ſuch as *Caſbin*, ſuppoſed to be the ancient *Arſaſia*, *Com*, deſcribed in the laſt Section; *Sava* mentioned there likewiſe; *Hamadan*, a very fine City on the Frontiers of *Curdeſtan*, the Country about it extremely fruitful in Rice, the Mountains in the Neighbourhood ſupplying ſeveral fine Rivulets, which render its Territory wonderfully fruitful. The *Turks* became Maſters of it by Storm in 1623, and almoſt totally deſtroyed both it and its Inhabitants. *Caſham*, which lies about ſeventy Miles North of *Iſpahan*; *Yezd*, which is ſituated one hundred and five Miles to the Eaſtward of that Capital.

XI. *Gilan*, under which the modern *Perſian* Geographers comprehend not only the Country properly ſo called, which comprehend preciſely the *Hyrcania* of the Ancients, but alſo the Provinces of *Mazenderan* and *Tabreſtan*; ſo that, conſidered in this Light, it is a very extenſive Country, bounded by the *Caſpian* Sea on the North, by the Province of *Choraſan* on the Eaſt, by that of *Erac Agemi* on the South, and by the great Country of *Aderbeitzan* on the Weſt. The whole of this Province is wonderfully fair and fruitful. It is diſtinguiſhed from almoſt all the Provinces of this great Empire by ſome very particular Advantages. In the firſt Place, its Situation is very peculiar, for on the one Side it is covered by the Sea, and towards the Land it is ſurrounded with Mountains and Rocks that riſe like ſo many natural Fortifications, with this ſingular Circumſtance, that while they are rude, inacceſſible, and terrible on that Side, which is turned towards the reſt of the Provinces of the Empire, they are on the Inſide reſpecting this Province, of gentle Aſcent, covered with perpetual Verdure and adorned with Groves of Citrons, Oranges, Olives, and Figs. The very Summits of the Mountains ſhaded by Cypreſs-trees and other excellent Timber, which may be eaſily tranſported to the Sea-ſide; for through this Rampart of Rocks, Nature has formed ſeveral Paſſages ſo wide, and with ſuch a Slope, as render them perfectly eaſy; and yet ſo well fenced on each Side, that a ſmall Barricade will render them impregnable. Another ſingular Benefit which this Country enjoys, is its unbounded and amazing Fruitfulneſs, which with very little Cultivation pours out ſuch prodigious Abundance of all Things neceſſary and deſirable, as is ſcarce to be believed; for it is equally famous for its Silk, its Oil, its Wines, its Rice, its Tobacco, and a vaſt Variety of Fruits. In other Parts of *Perſia* their Houſes are but mean, and the Moveables of the common People very coarſe; but here on the contrary, every Peaſant has a good Houſe, and moſt of his Furniture is made of Box, of which they have the largeſt and fineſt Trees in the World, and a large Garden full of Citrons, Oranges, Figs, and Vines, ſo large, that the Branches of them are frequently as big as a Man's Body. A third Commodity, in ſome Meaſure peculiar to this Province, is a vaſt Abundance of Fiſh in their Rivers, and in that Part of the *Caſpian* Sea which waſhes their Coaſts; from whence, as the People draw an immenſe Profit, ſo the Shah derives from thence a great Revenue. The Capital of this Province is *Reſcb*, which ſtands in the Latitude of 37 Degrees of North, a large and populous City; beſides which, there are *Keſker*, *Aſtara*, and other conſiderable Places within its Bounds. Two Things more deſerve our Notice; one is, that the People of this Province are of the *Turkiſh*, and not of the *Perſian* Religion, that is, they are Followers of *Omar*, and not of *Ali*: The other, That by the Treaty between the Emperor *Peter* the Great and the Shah in 1723, this Province was yielded to the *Ruſſians*. *Mazanderan* and *Tabreſtan* are alſo very conſiderable Countries, but ſo like to *Gilan* in their Produce, that it is not neceſſary to deſcribe them particularly.

XII. *Aderbeitzan*, which comprehends the greateſt and beſt Part of the ancient *Media*, is a very noble and beautiful Country, bounded by the Province of *Shirvan* on the North, by *Gilan* and the *Caſpian* Sea on the Eaſt, by *Erac Agemi* and *Curdeſtan* on the South, and by the River *Aras* or *Araxis* on the Weſt, which divides it from *Georgia*. The famous City of *Tauris* or *Tabris*, which is deſcribed in the foregoing Section, is the Capital of this Country, and was one of the fineſt Cities of *Perſia*, till deſtroyed by the *Turks* in their laſt War with the *Perſians*, when they are ſaid to have put one hundred thouſand Perſons of all Ranks, Ages and Sexes to the Sword. *Ardevil* is another great and fine City in this Country, ſtanding about thirty Miles from Mount *Tauris*; and *Sultania*, which was deſtroyed by *Tamerlane*, was ſcarce inferior to any City in *Perſia*, as the Ruins that ſtill remain ſufficiently teſtify at this Day. It is ſtill a good Town, containing about ſix thouſand Inhabitants, but is particularly remarkable for a moſt noble Moſque, in which is the Tomb of the Founder of this City, the famous Sultan *Mahomet Chodabende*. This Moſque has three great Gates, all of poliſhed Steel, and the Tomb is ſeen through a Grate of the ſame Metal, finely wrought in Foliages and Branches of Trees; and though ſome of theſe are of the Thickneſs of a Man's Arm, yet they are ſo exquiſitely finiſhed, that there is not ſo much as a Joint to be perceived in the whole; from whence the Inhabitants perſuade themſelves, and would willingly perſuade Strangers, that it is made of one entire Piece, and affirm that it was ſeven Years in making.

XIII. *Shirvan*, or according to the *Perſian* Orthography *Schirwan*, contains the Northern Part of *Media*, and is by many Authors made only a Part of the foregoing Province; but we comprehend within it, for the Sake of keeping within Bounds, the little Province of *Dageſtan*, and ſo much of *Georgia* and *Armenia* as belongs to the *Perſians*; and taking it in this Light, it is thus bounded; by *Circaſſia* and the *Ruſſian* Territories on the North, by the *Caſpian* Sea on the Eaſt, by *Aderbeitzan* on the South, and by the *Turkiſh Armenia* and *Georgia* on the Weſt. *Schamakie* is the Capital of this Province, and ſtands in the Latitude of 40 Degrees 50 Minutes North, between two Mountains well fortified, and is a Place of great Trade. *Derbent*, or *Debircan*, which ſignifies an Iron Gate, is a famous Paſs between the Mountains and the *Caſpian* Sea. *Baku* is the only tolerable Port on the Weſt-ſide of the *Caſpian*; it is large and ſafe, but not deep; the Town is ſmall, but well peopled, and commanded by a Citadel; it was given up to the *Ruſſians* by the Peace of 1723. The Province of *Dageſtan* is at preſent, for the moſt Part, in the Hands of the *Tartars*, and to curb this fierce Nation, who are able to bring twenty thouſand Men into the Field, the *Ruſſians* built the Fortreſs of St. *Andrew*, not far from *Tarku*, which is the Capital of this Country, as *Teflis* is of that Part of *Georgia* which belongs to *Perſia*. That Part of *Armenia* which belongs to this Country is ſtiled *Aran*, and the Capital of it is *Erivan*, which has been before deſcribed. Within the Bounds of this Province ſtands alſo the City of *Nackſivan*, which the Inhabitants are fully convinced is the oldeſt in the World, having been built by *Noah* and his Children upon their coming out of the Ark, of which, if you will credit them, there are ſtill ſome Remains on the Mountains that are not far from hence. Thus we have compleated a regular and Geographical Deſcription of all the Parts of this great Empire, which will enable the Reader to comprehend perfectly all that follows in the enſuing Section. And we dare alſo aſſure him, that he will find it of very great Uſe towards underſtanding all the Hiſtories of, and Travels through this Country, already publiſhed, as well as the Accounts we may hereafter receive from thence, which might otherwiſe appear very unintelligible.

3. *Perſia*, extending from the 25th Degree of Latitude to the 45th, the longeſt Day in the South is thirteen Hours and a Half, and in the North above fifteen Hours. In ſo great an Extent of Country it is natural to ſuppoſe that the Air and Seaſons are very different, as in Fact we find them to be. In the Middle of the Empire, their Winter begins in *November*, and continues till *March*, with ſevere Froſts and Snow, which falls in great Quantities on their Mountains, but not ſo much in the champain Country; for the Month of *March* till *May*, the Wind is uſually high, and from thence to *September* they have a calm ſerene Heaven, without ſo much as a Cloud; and though it be pretty hot in the Day-time, the refreſhing Breezes which blow conſtantly Morning and Evening, as well as in the Night, make the Summer very tolerable, eſpecially ſince the Nights are near ten Hours long. The Air is ſo pure, and the Stars ſhine with that Luſtre, that one Man may know another very well by their Light, and People travel much more in the Night, than the Day. In this Part of *Perſia*, there are very ſeldom any Hurricanes or Tempeſts, and very little Thunder and Lightning, nor is it ſubject to Earthquakes, and the Air is ſo extremely dry in the Summer Seaſon, that you will not find the leaſt Dew or Moiſture on any Thing that is laid abroad all Night, or even in the Graſs, and it very ſeldom Rains in the Winter. No Country is more healthful than the interior Part of *Perſia*, as appears by the hale Complexion of the Natives; they are ſtrong and robuſt, and, generally ſpeaking, enjoy conſtant Health. As for Foreigners, who come thither, it is a common Obſervation, that thoſe who are healthy at their Arrival continue ſo, and that thoſe who are ſick, ſeldom recover.

The Air in the Southern Part of *Perſia*, particularly about *Gombroon*, is very unhealthy in the Spring and Fall: Our *European* Factors never paſs a Year without a dangerous Fit of Illneſs, which frequently carries them off. It is an ordinary Thing for two of them to agree, that if one of them die, the Survivor ſhall poſſeſs the other's Fortune. Nor is this any great Prejudice to their Relations, for if a Man leaves private Truſtees, or makes the Company his Executors, the Heir of the deceaſed will meet with great Difficulties in Recovering the Teſtator's Effects. The Months of *June*, *July* and *Auguſt*, are healthy enough, but ſo very hot, that both Natives and Foreigners get up into the Mountains at that Time. The hot Winds which blow from the Eaſtward, over a long Tract of ſandy Deſerts, are ready to ſuffocate them, and ſometimes there happens a Peſtilential Blaſt, which ſtrikes the Traveller dead in an Inſtant. It rains but very ſeldom here, any Part of the Year, and the Water they ſave then is very unwholſome.

The Provinces of *Georgia*, *Shirvan* and *Adirbeitzan*, are very dry and warm in the Summer, but ſubject to Storms and Tempeſts in the Winter, and as ſevere Froſts for ſix Months as any Countries on the Continent, in the ſame Latitude; but as this Part of *Perſia*, is very mountainous, there is frequently a vaſt Difference between the Air on the North and the South-ſide of the Mountains, and in a few Miles travelling People think themſelves in a different Climate; but however cold the Mountains in the North may be, they are extremely healthful. On the contrary, the flat Country of *Gilan* and *Mezenderan*, which lies upon the *Caſpian* Sea, and was the ancient *Hyrcania*, is very damp, full of ſtinking Moraſſes, and unhealthful, inſomuch that the Inhabitants in the Summer retire into the Mountains, all the Water they have being foul and corrupted in the hot Seaſon; and here, and in *Chorasan*, it is ſaid Earthquakes are very common.

4. It is obſervable, that there is no Country in the World of ſo large an Extent as *Perſia*, where there are ſo few nagivable Rivers; there is not ſo much as one River in the Heart of the Country that will carry a Boat of any Burthen, and you may travel ſeveral Days Journey, without meeting with any Water whatever, in ſome Parts. The River *Oxus* indeed which divides *Perſia* from *Uſbeck Tartary*, is a large Stream, but as there are no Branches of it, that ariſe in the *Perſian* Dominions, it is of little Uſe to them. The Rivers *Kur* and *Aras*

Aras, anciently called *Cyrus* and *Araxes*, which riſe in the Mountains of *Ararat*, and run through *Georgia*, *Shirvan* and *Adirbeitzan*, and having joined their Streams, fall into the *Caſpian* Sea, are much the moſt conſiderable Rivers in the *Perſian* Dominions. However, there are ſeveral ſmall Rivulets which fall from the Mountains, and are conveyed by ſubterraneous Channels or otherwiſe to their principal Cities.

Water being ſo ſcarce in *Perſiá*, there is no Place, where they huſband it better, or have more ingenious Contrivances to convey it to their Cities, and into their Corn-fields and Gardens. This is the Care of the Government, and there is a great Officer in every Province, who has the Charge of the Conveyance and Diſtribution of the Waters. They turn all their little Rivulets and Springs to thoſe Parts of the Country, where they are moſt wanted; they dig Wells alſo of a prodigious Depth and Breadth, out of which they draw the Water with Oxen, in great leathern Buckets, which being emptied into Ciſterns, is let out as there is Occaſion for the Service of the Country. They have alſo vaſt ſubterraneous Aqueducts, through which they convey Water twenty or thirty Leagues to the Places aſſigned. Theſe are two Fathom high, and arched with Brick, and at every twenty Paces Diſtance, there are large Holes like Wells, which were made for the Conveniency of carrying on the Arch without Working under Ground too far, and the more eaſy repairing them. The Diſtribution of the River and Spring-water, is made one Day to one Quarter of the Town, and another Day to another, as Occaſion requires, when every one opens the Canal or Reſervatory in his Gardens to receive it, for which every Garden pays a certain Sum yearly to the Government, particularly about *Iſpahan*; and as it is very eaſy for one to divert his Neighbour's Water into his own Channel, this is a Fraud that is ſeverely puniſhed. They give a greater Rate for River Water, than they do for Spring-water, which is not found ſo proper for the Improvement of their Grounds.

Beſides the Ocean, there are two Seas belonging to *Perſia*, one on the North, and the other on the Southweſt, *viz.* The *Caſpian* Sea, and the Gulph of *Boſſora* or *Perſia*, which have been already mentioned. The *Caſpian* Sea is about a hundred Leagues in Length, from North to South, and ninety Leagues in Breadth, and has near a hundred Rivers running into it, of which the Chief is the *Wolga*, at the Mouth whereof ſtands *Aſtracan* but this Sea has no Communication with any other, and though ſo many Rivers fall into it, there is no viſible Way by which it diſcharges itſelf of its Waters, but they remain always of the ſame Height, and do not either ebb or flow. The *Ruſſians* have in a great Meaſure the ſole Navigation of this Sea, which is very profitable to them, and might be made much more ſo by the new Trade that has been ſet on Foot, from *Europe* to *Perſia*, through *Ruſſia*.

The *Shah Nadir* was very deſirous of becoming a maritime Power on this Side alſo, and employed a Gentleman of a certain Country, to build him Ships of Force for this Purpoſe, but conſidering the Revolutions that will probably attend his Death, theſe Deſigns are like to fall to the Ground. The *Perſians* were formerly entirely Maſters of the Gulph that ſeparates their Country from *Arabia*, for which they were in a great Meaſure indebted to us, who aſſiſted them in diſpoſſeſſing the *Portugueſe* of the Iſland of *Ormus*, upon which they had opened a very advantageous Port, allowing us half the Cuſtoms ariſing from the Goods imported and exported here. But *Shah Abbas* the Great, thought that Conſideration too large, and therefore when he tranferred the Commerce to his new Port of *Gambroon*, or *Bander Ambaſſi*, i. e. the Port of *Abbas*, he allowed the *Eaſt-India* Company no more than One thouſand *Tomans*, which makes three thouſand three hundred thirty three Pounds ſix Shillings and eight Pence of our Money. It was in this Gulph, on the Coaſt of the Iſland of *Baherem*, that they had the Fineſt Pearl Fiſhery in the World, which produced annually above fifty thouſand Pounds, but in the late unſettled State of their Empire, the *Arabians* have ſeiz'd or rather recovered this Fiſhery, and are in Poſſeſſion of it, at leaſt for the preſent.

5. As we have now given a clear Account of the Rivers and Seas of this Country, we will next ſpeak of the Soil and its Produce; and in the firſt Place we muſt obſerve, that there is not a Country in the World, which has more Mountains, and fewer Rivers than *Perſia*, and ſome of their Mountains are looked upon to be the higheſt on the Face of the Earth. Mount *Taurus*, which receives different Names as it branches itſelf out into different Provinces, runs quite through the Country, from Weſt to Eaſt. The loftieſt of theſe Mountains are thoſe called *Arrarat* in *Armenia*, the Mountains which ſeparate *Media* from *Hyrcania*, and thoſe between *Hyrcania* and *Parthia* or *Erak*. Thoſe alſo which divide *Fars* or *Perſis* from *Carmania* are exceedingly high, the moſt famous of which is called Mount *Jarron*, but they are generally dry barren Rocks, without Trees or Herbage upon them, except thoſe of *Gylan* or *Hyrcania*, and the Mountains of *Curdeſtan*, which are covered with Woods and very Fruitful, where they are manured. There are vaſt ſandy Deſarts, ſeveral Days Journey over in this Kingdom, where there is ſcarce a Drop of Water to be found, and the Land in general upon the Frontiers lies uncultivated to diſcourage their Enemies from invading them; and in Fact there is not the leaſt Subſiſtence to be met with for ſeveral Miles, whether you enter this Empire from *Turkey* or *India*. There are however ſome fruitful Plains and Vallies, in which their principal Cities ſtand, which yield Plenty of Grain and Herbage, and no Country is more fruitful than the Provinces which lie upon the *Caſpian* Sea, as has been already obſerved. But then *Hyrcania* is very unhealthful in Summer time, which ſome apprehend proceeds from the Multitude of Snakes and Inſects, which lie rotting upon the Ground, when the Waters are dried up, as well as from the Foulneſs of the Water itſelf, which is ſo thick and muddy, that there is no drinking it at that Seaſon of the Year.

As to *Perſia* in general, there is not a tenth Part of it cultivated, not but that there are many Valleys which bear neither Graſs nor Grain at preſent, which formerly when greater Care was taken to turn the Waters into them, were fruitful Countries. In ſome Provinces, there are hundreds of fine Aquaducts choaked up and buried in Ruins, ſo that it is not ſo much a Defect in the Soil, as the Want of People, or at leaſt of Huſbandmen, which renders *Perſia* barren. The Soil in ſome Parts is a hard Gravel, and in others a ſtiff whitiſh Clay, almoſt as hard as Stone, but either of them are fruitful enough, when well watered, and will bear often two Crops, and ſometimes three in the Compaſs of a Year; and if we give any Credit to ancient Authors, there was not a more plentiful Country in the World than *Perſia* was formerly; the Reaſon of this Alteration ſome aſcribe to the different Diſpoſitions of the People, who have inhabited it. The ancient *Perſians*, the Fire-worſhippers, it is ſaid, were obliged by the Precepts of their Religion, to cultivate the Soil, and it was by them accounted a meritorious Act, to plant a Tree, to bring the Water into a Field, and make a barren Spot of Earth produce Graſs or Grain, while the *Mahometans* ſeem to have no Genius for Improvements, or even to keep up what their Anceſtors have built or planted, but let every Thing run to Ruin; however, one Reaſon of this Neglect may be, that the Properties of the People are in no Security, and no Wonder they have but little Inclination to make Improvements, when they have no Certainty of reaping the Advantage of them.

6. Near great Towns they improve their Grounds with the Dirt and Dung of the Streets, but at a greater Diſtance they throw their Fields into little level Squares, which they bank about, and then turn the Water into them, letting it ſtand in the Field all Night, which having ſoaked it, the Water is let out next Morning, and the Sun ſhining with almoſt perpendicular Rays upon the moiſt Earth, renders it fit for the Production of any Sort of Grain or Plants. Where the Ground is Light

they plow with two or three Oxen or Buffalos; but in *Gilan* and other Countries, where they meet with a ſtiff Clay, it is as much as eight or ten Oxen can do to draw their Ploughs which are very large. Rice, Wheat and Barley, are almoſt the only Kinds of Grain growing in *Perſia*; Oats they have none, and little or no Rye. Their Seaſons are not the ſame in the North as in the South, but when they are Sowing in one Part of the Country, they are reaping in another, and in ſome Places, it is not more than three Months between Seed-time and Harveſt.

Their Land never lies fallow, but it is ſown once every Year, at leaſt, it is ſo meliorated and enriched by being flowed, and the Heat of the Sun afterwards working on the Mud, that it is never out of Heart. As to the Rice, it muſt be conſtantly ſupplied with Water till the Harveſt; but for other Grain, the Land is only flowed before the ſowing, to render it prolifick. Their Kitchen Gardens are well furniſhed with moſt of the Roots and Salads we have in *Europe*; they have no leſs than twenty ſeveral Sorts of Melons during the Seaſon they laſt, which is about four Months, the common People make them their conſtant Food, thoſe which come to Maturity firſt in the Spring are round and ſmall, thoſe that ripen in the latter Part of the Seaſon are the beſt and largeſt, ſome of them weigh eight or ten Pounds, and are as ſweet as Sugar itſelf. At the Tables of Perſons of Quality they have them all the Year round, there being a Way to preſerve them under Ground till the Seaſon returns again; and it is ſaid, ſome Perſons will eat eight or ten Pound of Melons at a Meal, without being ſick. The beſt Melons grow in *Choraſſan* near *Tartary*, and they are carried as far as *Iſpahan* for the Shah's Uſe, and as Preſents to their Friends. Cucumbers are another Fruit much eaten by the common People, one Sort of them has ſcarce any Seeds in it, and is eaten without paring or dreſſing, and is not reckoned unwholſome.

7. Of Grapes they have ſeveral Kinds, and ſome of them are ſo large, that a ſingle Grape is a Mouthful. They make their Wine at *Iſpahan* of the Kiſmiſh's, a little round Grape, and without any Stone that can be perceived, but much the beſt Wines are made at *Shiraz*. They keep their Grapes all Winter, and let them hang a conſiderable Time on the Vine, wrapped up in Linen Bags; the Air is ſo dry, that it preſerves all kinds of Fruit as long as they can deſire. Dates are reckon'd one of the moſt delicious Fruits in this Country, they are no where ſo good as in *Perſia*, the Pulp which encloſes the Stone, is a clammy Subſtance, as ſweet as Honey; they are laid on Heaps when they are ripe, and melting, candy or preſerve themſelves without Sugar. Foreigners are adviſed to eat moderately of them, becauſe they Heat the Blood, and occaſion Ulcers in thoſe who are not uſed to them, and ſometimes weaken the Sight, but have no ill Effects upon the Natives; the Tree which bears them is ſlender, but very tall, and like other Palms, has no Branches but on the Top, and the Fruit grows in Cluſters of thirty or forty Pounds Weight; the Tree does not bear till it is fifteen Years old, but continues bearing above a hundred Years. There are in *Perſia* moſt of the Fruits which are to be had in *Europe*, and they would be in much greater Perfection, if they knew any Thing of Gardening, but they underſtand neither grafting, inoculating, or the Art of managing Dwarf-trees; all their Trees run up very high, and are loaded with Wood. They have excellent Apricots of ſeveral Kinds, which are in Seaſon one after the other, and their Nectarines and Peaches weigh ſixteen or eighteen Ounces a-piece; there is an Apricot red within, which is call'd the Egg of the Sun; theſe are dried and exported in vaſt Quantities; they are boiled in Water, which is thickened by the Juice of the Fruit, and makes a perfect Syrup without Sugar.

Apples and Pears grow chiefly in the North Part of *Perſia*, they have alſo Pomegranates of ſeveral Kinds, with Oranges, Quinces, and Prunes, and ſuch Variety of Fruits, that Sir *John Chardin* ſays, he has ſeen above fifty Sorts at an Entertainment, ſome of which grew three hundred Leagues from the Place. The Piſtachio Nuts are almoſt peculiar to *Perſia*, and are tranſported all the World over; here are alſo ſmall-nuts Filberds and Almonds. Olives grow in *Hyrcania*, near the *Caſpian* Sea, but they neither know how to preſerve them, nor draw Oil in the beſt Manner from them. They have alſo Plantations of Sugar and Tobacco.

8. Among other Trees in their Gardens, they have the Cypreſs, the Palm, and the Mulberry, of the laſt there are large Plantations for their Silk Worms, which they dont ſuffer to grow up to be great Trees, becauſe the Leaves are beſt, when the Shoots are young. They root up the Trees therefore, when they grow old, and plant their Grounds afreſh. But the Tree which is in as great Eſteem as any in *Perſia*, is the *Senna*; the Body of this Tree is very large, and frequently forty or fifty Foot high, and ſtrait as the Maſt of a Ship, having no Branches but upon the Head of it; the Bark is of a bright Grey, and the Wood ſerves them to make Doors, Raft, and for other Uſes in Building. The Trees that are moſt common in *Perſia* are the Plane-tree, the Willow, the Fir, and the Cornell-tree; the Plane-tree the *Perſians* imagine is a Preſervative againſt the Plague, and other contagious Diſtempers, and obſerve, that the Plague has never raged in *Iſpahan* ſince this Tree was planted in their Streets and Gardens. The Trees alſo which bear the Gall Nut is very common in many Parts of *Perſia*, and there are Trees which yield Gum Maſtich, and Frankincenſe; that which produces Frankincenſe very much reſembles a Pear-tree, and abounds chiefly in *Carmania*.

There are likewiſe Trees which produce Manna of ſeveral Sorts: The beſt Manna has a yellowiſh Caſt, a large coarſe Grain, and comes from *Choraſſan* or *Bactria*; there is another Sort called *Tameriſk*, becauſe the Tree it drops from is ſo named, and is found in large Quantities in the Province of *Suſiana*; and there is a third Sort gathered about *Iſpahan*, which falls from a Tree much like the *Tameriſk*, but larger; the Leaves of this Tree drop liquid Manna in Summer-time, which the Natives take to be the Sweat of the Tree congealed upon the Leaf in the Morning; the Ground under it is perfectly fat and greaſy with it, and this has as ſweet a Taſte as other Manna.

The Cotton-Tree is common all over *Perſia*, and they have another little Tree, which yields a kind of ſilken Down, uſed for Quilting and Stuffing of Pillows; there is alſo a Plant called *Hainab*, that bears a Seed which they beat to Powder, and colour their Hands and Feet, and ſometimes rub over their Faces with it, apprehending it keeps their Skin ſmooth, and preſerves their Complexion; they ſometimes bruiſe the Leaves of it, which ſerves them for the ſame Purpoſe.

There are found in the Deſarts of *Carmania*, two little Shrubs of a poiſonous Quality, the firſt is called *Galbad Samour*, or the Flower that poiſons the Wind; ſome People imagining that it is this occaſions thoſe killing Winds which blow in this Province in the hot Seaſon; the other Shrub is called *Herz-bre*, the Trunk whereof is about as big as a Man's Leg, and grows about ſix Foot high; its Leaves are almoſt round, and it bears a Flower like the Sweet-Briar. There are ſcarce any Trees to be found on the Mountains, or wild Fields in *Perſia*; theſe are for the moſt Part deſtitute of all Manner of Verdure, while in their Cities, and the Villages for three or four Leagues round them, the Streets as well as Gardens are ſo well planted, that the Houſes are hardly to be diſcerned at a Diſtance; indeed when you have travelled ſome few Leagues, you meet not either with Houſe, Tree, or Shrub, for many Miles, but all looks like a barren Deſart, notwithſtanding which, great Part of this Soil, were it watered, would be as fruitful as the other, and actually was ſo ſome Ages ſince, when a more induſtrious Generation, than the preſent, poſſeſſed the Country.

From their Trees, I paſs on to their Flowers, and of theſe there is a great Variety to be found in ſome Provinces. The South Part of *Perſia* has much the feweſt; exceſſive Heat being as deſtructive to them, as extreme Cold; but nothing can be more beautiful than the Fields of *Hyrcania*, where are whole Groves of Orange-trees, Jeſſamins, and all the Flowers we have in *Europe.* The Eaſt Part of this Country, which is called *Mazenderan*, is one continued Parterre from *September* to *April*; the whole Country at that Time is covered with Flowers, and this, though it be their Winter Seaſon, is alſo the beſt Time for Fruits. In the other Months the Heat is ſo exceſſive, that the Natives find themſelves under a Neceſſity of retiring to the Mountains.

In *Media* the Fields produce Tulips, Anemonies, and Ranunculus's; about *Iſpahan*, and ſome other Towns, Jonquils grow wild. They have alſo Daffodils, Lillies, Violets, and Pinks in their Seaſon, and ſome Flowers which laſt all the Year round; but they have the greateſt Quantity of Lillies and Roſes; they export abundance of Roſe-water to other Countries; in the Spring, there is vaſt Plenty of yellow and red Gillyflowers, and another red Flower which reſembles a Clove of a beautiful Scarlet Colour, and every Sprig bears thirty of theſe Flowers, which form a fine Head as large as a Tennis Ball.

Their Roſes are white, yellow, and red, and others white on one Side and yellow on the other; but notwithſtanding all this great Variety of beautiful Flowers, their Gardens are not comparable to thoſe of *Europe.* As Flowers are ſo common they are very little regarded; you ſee them intermixed with Fruit-trees and Roſe-buſhes without any Order; but large Walks planted with Trees, Fountains, Canals, Caſcades, and Pleaſure Houſes at proper Diſtances, are all that muſt be expected in their fineſt Gardens; nor do the *Perſians* take any Manner of Pleaſure in walking in them, any more than in the Fields; but ſet themſelves down in ſome Alcove or Summer-houſe as ſoon as they come into them, totally negligent of that exquiſite Variety that every Foreigner is charmed with.

8. *Perſia* alſo affords great Plenty of phyſical Drugs, as *Caſſia*, *Senna*, *Antimony*, *Nux Vomica*, *Gum Armoniac*, *Galbanum*, *Sal Armoniac*, and a Kind of *Rhubarb*, with which they purge their Cattle; but the beſt *Rhubarb* comes from *China*, or rather from *Eaſtern Tartary*, which lies to the Northward of *China.* The *Perſian* Poppies are in great Eſteem from the Quantity of Juice they yield, and the Strength of it; they grow four Foot high in ſome Places, and have white Leaves. They extract the Juice from them in *June*, when they are ripe; by making little Inciſions in the Head of the Poppy, a thick Liquor diſtills from them, which is gathered very early in the Morning before Sun-riſe. It is ſaid to have ſuch an Effect on the People, who are employed in this Work, that they look as if they had been buried and taken up again, and their Limbs tremble as if they had the Palſy. The Liquor which is thus drawn from the Poppies, in a little Time grows thick, and is made up into Pills. The *Perſians* give it the Name of *Afioun*, and we, probably from thence, call it *Opium.* The *Perſian* Bakers ſtrew Poppy-ſeed on their Bread, which incline thoſe that eat it to Sleep, and the eating it is not reckoned unwholſome after their Meals; the common People eat the Seed at any Time almoſt for Pleaſure.

Saffron grows plentifully in *Perſia*, and *Aſſa Fœtida* is to be had every where almoſt, which is much admired by the Natives of *Perſia* as well as *India*, and frequently eaten with their Food; that which to us is moſt offenſive of all Scents, by them is eſteemed a Perfume. *Aſſa Fœtida* is a Liquor which diſtills from the Plant called *Hiltot*; it thickens after it is drawn, and grows as hard as Gum; there is the white and black Kinds of it, of which the white is reckoned the beſt to eat. The Smell of this Drug is ſo very ſtrong, that if any Goods be near it in a Ship, the Smell is communicated to them, let them be wrapped up ever ſo cloſe, and it is almoſt impoſſible to clear them of it; nay, it affects the Colour, and therefore Sir *John Chardin* tells us, the Veſſels uſed in tranſporting it are frequently broke up and burned, to prevent other Goods from being ſpoiled by being carried in them, from which no Package can ſave them.

The *Perſian* Bezoar is eſteemed preferable to that of *India*, which having already deſcribed, we ſhall not dwell upon it here. It is ſufficient to obſerve, that the Reaſons it is not ſo much eſteemed in *Europe* as it was formerly, are theſe; in the firſt Place, it is frequently ſophiſticated, notwithſtanding that ſeveral Methods are in Uſe for detecting theſe Frauds, of which I ſhall mention a few. The genuine Bezoar, at leaſt that which comes from *Perſia*, has a very fine Smell reſembling that of Ambergreaſe, but not near ſo ſtrong; if thrown into hot Water, and left there for three or four Hours, it loſes Nothing either of its Colour or Weight; if prickt with a hot Iron, no Smoke ariſes; if rubbed upon a Leaf of *Dutch* Vellum, it leaves a yellow Impreſſion; if broke or cut, it appears to be compoſed of ſeveral Coats unequally diſpoſed, in the ſame Manner as appears in cutting an Onion. Another Reaſon why it has loſt its Credit, is the Humour People have of embracing the contrary Extreme to that of their Anceſtors; heretofore Bezoar was ſold very dear, and was held to have many and great Virtues, and now it is faſhionable to affirm that it has little or no Virtue at all; which though it has driven it out of Uſe, has not much beat down its Price, becauſe in the Eaſt, and even in other Parts of *Europe*, it is ſtill in Eſteem.

A third Reaſon is, our giving it in too ſmall Doſes, ſo that its Virtues are not diſcernable. A famous *Perſian* Phyſician had a great Secret for curing Lunacy, which he ſold to a *French* Gentleman for a large Sum of Money, and this Secret conſiſted in giving equal Quantities of Bezoar, Muſk, and Camphire, as I found in a *French* Manuſcript of Receipts, in which it is ſaid, that very ſingular Cures were performed by it; but the Quantities of theſe Drugs in a Doſe were not mention'd.

In the Province of *Choraſan* they frequently find human Bodies preſerved in the Sand, the Fleſh of which they ſell under the Name of *Mummy*, for medicinal Uſes; and there are alſo ſuch Bodies found in a Cavern not far from the Borough of *Abin*, in the Province of *Farſiſtan.* It is however neceſſary to inform the Reader, that in the *Perſian* and *Turkiſh* Languages, the Word *Moum*, from whence we have formed *Mummy*, ſignifies literally a ſoft clammy Subſtance, of the Conſiſtency of Balſam, which explains ſufficiently what is meant by mineral Mummy, which is a kind of natural Balſam diſtilling thro' the Rock of a large Cavern in the Province of *Lar*, eſteemed ſo precious that the Shah keeps it entirely for his own Uſe, the Doors of this Cave being ſealed by the Governor of *Lar*, who opens it only once a Year, to take out the Balm, the Quantity of which ſeldom exceeds ten Ounces. A Multitude of Virtues are aſcribed to it, particularly in the Cure of Fractures, in which it is ſaid to perform Wonders; but it may very well be doubted, whether any of this was ever brought into *Europe.*

9. We will now proceed to ſpeak of the Animals that are found in *Perſia*, and in Reference to theſe, the Camel, for a Beaſt of Burthen, much excells all the reſt, whether we conſider the Weight he carries, the Diſpatch he makes, or the little Charge of keeping him. Of theſe Camels there are ſeveral Kinds; ſome have two Bunches upon their Backs, and others but one, and there is a third Sort, engender'd between a Dromedary or Camel, with two Bunches, and a Female with one, which are eſteemed much the beſt, and ſold for twenty or thirty Pounds a-piece, for they are ſeldom tired, and will carry nine hundred or a thouſand Weight. Thoſe which travel between the *Perſian* Gulph and *Iſpahan* are of a much leſs Size, and do not carry above five or ſix hundred Weight; but theſe, notwithſtanding, are almoſt as ſerviceable as the other, for they are much ſwifter, and will gallop like a Horſe, whereas the others ſeldom go faſter than a Foot Pace. Theſe ſwift Camels are kept by the Shah and great Men, and ſerve to tranſport their Women from Place to Place, and carry their Baggage; they are uſually adorned with embroidered Cloths, and ſilver Bells about their Necks; a String of ſix or ſeven of them are tied together when they travel, and governed by one Man; they uſe neither Bridles nor Halter to hold them, or Whips to drive them, but they are directed by the Driver's Voice, who ſings or plays to them as they travel; good

Uſage only moves them, for they are naturally ſo obſtinate, it is in vain to beat them if they tire.

When they are to take up their Burthen, the Driver touches their Knees, whereupon they lie down on their Bellies till they are loaded, groaning however, and giving Signs of Uneaſineſs, under a Senſe of the Fatigue they are about to undergo; they let them graze by the Road-ſide, with their Burdens on their Backs, on Weeds and Thiſtles, and ſometimes they feed them with Balls made up of Barley Meal and Chaff, into a Paſte, with which they often mix the Cotton-Seed; but the Camel is the leaſt Feeder of any Beaſt, conſidering his Bulk. It is very happy alſo that they can live without Water two or three Days together, there being ſcarce any to be met with in thoſe Deſarts the Caravans are forced to croſs. They ſhed all their Hair every Spring, and are perfectly naked. Of the Camels Hair, abundance of fine Stuffs are made, as we ſhall ſhew in ſpeaking of Manufactures; theſe Creatures are very tame and tractable, except when the luſtful Fit is upon them, which laſts thirty or forty Days, and then they are very unruly, which makes their Drivers increaſe their Burthens at that Time, to keep them under. When once the Male has cover'd the Female, he grows ſluggiſh, and does not care for ſtirring out of the Stable: They go with young eleven Months, and ſome ſay twelve.

Oxen, Buffaloes, Aſſes and Mules, are alſo uſed indifferently for carrying of Paſſengers, or Burthens, and their Land being plowed by Buffaloes and Oxen, theſe Beaſts are very ſeldom killed for Food, though ſome *Perſian* Governors, in the South of *Perſia*, have extorted conſiderable Sums out of the *Indian Banians*, who reſide thereabouts, under Pretence they would order them to be butchered, if the *Banians* did not redeem their Lives by a conſiderable Preſent. The Aſſes of *Perſia*, are much larger and ſwifter than ours, and will perform a Journey very well.

But the fineſt Beaſts are their Horſes, theſe are beautiful Creatures, and no where better manag'd than in *Perſia*. They have fine Foreheads, and are exactly well proportion'd, light and ſprightly, but only fit for the Saddle, or at leaſt, not uſed for any other Purpoſe; they are never gelt, and wear their Tails at their full Length; but though they are lovely Creatures to look on, they are neither ſo ſwift as the *Arabian*, nor ſo hardy as the *Tartar* Horſes, and the *Shah* therefore has always a Stable of the *Arabian* Breed. Horſes are very dear in *Perſia*, ſome of them being ſold for two or three hundred Pounds, and ſeldom any that are good for leſs than Fifty. It is not ſo much the Scarcity of them, as the ſelling ſuch Numbers to *India* and *Turkey*, which enhances the Price.

They have Mules alſo that carry very well, and are valued, ſome of them at thirty or forty Pounds a-piece, and ſome Aſſes at not much leſs, after they have been taught to pace. The ordinary Food for Horſes is Barley and chopt Straw: they have no Mangers in their Stables, but give their Horſes their Corn in Bags. In the Spring they cut green Graſs for their Horſes, but never make any into Hay to be eaten dry; ſometimes they feed their Horſes with Balls made of Barley-Meal, as in *India*; inſtead of Litter their own Dung is dried, and beaten to Powder, and laid a Foot deep for them to lie on; and if any of it be wetted, it is dried in the Sun the next Day. Their Horſes Hoofs are much ſounder and harder than ours, and they are ſhod with thin Plates as the Oxen are, on Account of their travelling over the ſtony Mountains. They daub their Horſes Legs in Winter, with a yellow Herb, called *Hannah*, and ſometimes anoint their Bodies with it as high as their Breaſt, to keep out the Cold as it is ſaid; but it ſeems to be rather by Way of Ornament, for in ſome Places it is done all the Year round.

The *Shah* has large Stables of Horſes, diſperſed throughout the Kingdom, almoſt in every City, for the Publick Service. A Horſe is ſeldom denied to any Man that demands one, if he will keep him, but then ſuch Perſons are accountable to the Government for them, when they ſhall be called out into the Field; but they have the Liberty of riding them in the mean Time. Theſe Troopers Horſes are ſometimes quartered upon People, who would gladly be excuſed from the Trouble and Charge of keeping them, and if any Horſe dies in their Hands, Oath muſt be made, that it did not die for Want of Corn, or looking after. Their Horſes are ſubject to many Diſtempers, ſometimes their Legs ſwell, and a Humour riſes on the Breaſt, which proceeds from eating too much Barley; and in this Caſe, they clap a hot Iron to the Swelling, or lance it, and keep the Sore open, by running a Willow Twig through it, but a hot Iron applied to the Part is the moſt general Remedy for lame and diſtemper'd Horſes.

Of Sheep and Goats there are great Plenty in *Perſia*; the Natives ſeldom eat any other Meat, their Sheep are large, and remarkable for their fat Tails, which weigh eight or ten Pound, and ſome it is ſaid are above twenty Pounds in Weight; they are remarkable alſo in ſome Parts of *Perſia* for having more Horns than ours. Some have ſix or ſeven Horns ſtanding ſtrait out of their Forehead, ſo that when the Rams engage, there is uſually a great Deal of Blood ſpilled in the Battle. The *Perſian* Goats are not only valuable for their Fleſh, but the fine Wool they yield, of which great Quantities are annually exported, more eſpecially from *Carmania.* Hogs there are ſcarce to be met with, for as the *Mahometans*, who are the governing Part of the Country, abhor this Animal, their Chriſtian Subjects do not endeavour to encreaſe the Breed, unleſs towards *Georgia* and *Armenia*, where the Chriſtians are numerous.

Wild Beaſts there are not many, either in the Middle or the Southern Part of *Perſia.* Deer they have ſome, and Antelopes, which are much of the ſame Nature, except that they are ſpotted, and have finer Limbs. In *Gilan* and *Curdiſtan*, the woody Parts of the Country, wild Beaſts abound, ſuch as Lions, Tygers, Leopards, wild Hogs, Jackalls, &c. And in *Media* and *Armenia*, there are Abundance of Deers, wild Goats, Hairs and Rabbits, and there are ſome found on the Mountains almoſt all over the Country, but not many.

Inſects they are not much troubled with in the Heart of *Perſia*, which is very dry, unleſs it be with Swarms of Locuſts, which viſit them ſometimes in ſuch Numbers, that they look like a Cloud, and perfectly obſcure the Sun, and wherever they light deſtroy the Fruits of the Earth; but there are certain Birds which generally viſit the Country about the ſame Time, and eat up the Locuſts, and ſo prevent the Ruin of the Huſbandmen. That Part of the Country which lies upon the *Caſpian* or *Hyrcanian* Sea, is full of Serpents, Toads, Scorpions, and other venomous Inſects, which in Summer-time die, many of them for want of Water, and infect the Air, rendring that Part of the Country very unhealthy at that Seaſon.

Scorpions particularly there are of an immoderate Size, and their Sting is mortal, if proper Remedies be not immediately applied, and at beſt a Perſon ſtung by one of them, is in ſuch Torture, that he becomes raving mad for ſome Time. Muſketoes or Gnats are very troubleſome in the flat Country, near the *Caſpian* Sea; and there is a white Fly no bigger than a Flea in *Perſia*, which makes no Noiſe, but its Sting is like the Prick of a Pin. Here is alſo the Millepedes, almoſt like a Caterpillar, and whoſe Bite is as pernicious as the Sting of a Scorpion, the *Perſians* call them *Hezar-pai*, or a thouſand Feet.

10. There are the ſame Sorts of tame and wild Fowl in *Perſia* as in *Europe*, as Geeſe, Hens, Ducks, Partridges, Snipes, &c.; but more of them in the North than in the South Part of the Country. Turkeys have been carried to *Iſpahan*, but they do not thrive. The Breed of Pidgeons they take all imaginable Care to increaſe and propagate, on Account of their Dung, with which they raiſe their Melons. Their Dove-houſes are five Times as large as ours, of a round Figure, and handſomely built of Brick; of theſe, it is ſaid, there are not leſs than three thouſand in the City of *Iſpahan* only. The Dung is always ſold for four Pence the Biſty, or twelve Pounds Weight, and the Government, it ſeems,

lay a ſmall Tax upon it. Their Partridges are reckoned the largeſt and beſt taſted that are to be met with.

The Pellican, which the *Perſians* call *Tacob*, or the Water-drawer, is as remarkable as any of their Fowls, for the Body of it is ſaid to be as large as a Sheep, its Head at the ſame Time wondrous ſmall, but a large Bill of ſixteen or eighteen Inches long, as big as a Man's Arm, and under the Bill there is a large Bag, Travellers tell us, which will hold a Pail of Water; they build their Neſts in the Deſarts, where there is no Water, and conſequently no Inhabitants, for their Security, and frequently go two Days Journey for Water for their young ones; but then they bring enough in their Receptacle above-mentioned to laſt for ſome Time, if we may give entire Credit to theſe Accounts.

There is another extraordinary Bird, mentioned by Travellers, in the Province of *Choraſſan*, which has ſuch an Appetite towards the Water of a certain Spring in that Country, and ſuch Sagacity in diſcovering it, that they will follow any Perſon that carries it in a Bottle, ſeveral Hundred of Miles. As to Eagles, Hawks, Falcons, and other Birds of Prey, there is no Country where they have more, or where they are better inſtructed than in *Perſia*. The Shah has eight hundred or a thouſand of them, and there is no Man of any Figure without his Hawks and his Falconers; and their Hawks are taught not only to fly at Birds, but at Hares, Deer, and all Manner of wild Beaſts, and by fixing themſelves on the Head of the Animal, and beating him with their Wings, he is ſo terrified and diſtracted, that the Dogs and Huntſmen which follow have very little Difficulty in taking him; and the *Perſians*, it is ſaid, breed up the very Crows to fly at Game.

There are the ſame Kinds of Singing-birds in *Perſia* as with us, ſuch as the Linnet, the Chaffinch, the Nightingale, the Lark, *&c.*; and ſome Birds there are which are taught to ſpeak, but no Parrots or Parrokeets on this Side *India*. However, there are ſeveral party-coloured Birds to be ſeen in *Perſia*, with a Plumage of blue, green, and yellow, beautifully mixed. Of Sparrows there are ſuch Numbers, that they are very troubleſome to the Huſbandmen, who are forced to place their Servants in the Fields all Day long when the Harveſt approaches, to keep them from their Corn.

In the Heart of *Perſia* there are ſcarce any Fiſh to be met with, the few Rivulets they have hardly ſupplying the Country with Water for neceſſary Uſes, and in the Summer time they are almoſt all dried up; even the River *Zenderhood*, to which the Government, at a prodigious Expence, have joined other Streams for the Supply of the City of *Iſpahan*, is perfectly loſt in the ſandy Deſarts about twenty Leagues from thence; and it may be doubted whether there be one Stream which riſes in the Middle of the Kingdom that ever reaches the Sea in the Summer; though in the Spring, when the Snow melts on the Mountains, they make a conſiderable Figure. In the *Caſpian* Sea and the *Perſian* Gulph, there are Great Plenty of Sea-fiſh of all Kinds almoſt, and the Rivers *Kur* and *Arras*, which fall into the *Caſpian*, have Plenty of River-fiſh, but they lie at too great a Diſtance from *Iſpahan* to ſupply that City; ſo that Fiſh is very rarely eaten there.

11. We are to ſpeak next of the Metals and Minerals in this Country; and to proceed methodically, we ought to begin with thoſe of Gold and Silver, if any were now wrought in *Perſia*, but there are not; for, notwithſtanding what old Writers relate of the rich Mines in *Bactriana*, and that almoſt all the *Perſian* Authors agree that there are Mines of this Metal in *Choraſan*, yet from the Neighbourhood of the *Tartars* they have been long neglected; and it is the ſame with reſpect to the Silver Mines in other Places, tho' from the Accounts lately given by *Tavernier*, one would ſuſpect that the *Perſians* are but indifferently ſkilled in the Art of Mining, and that of refining of Metals; they have, however, good Mines of Iron, Steel, Copper, and Lead. The Iron and Steel Mines are in *Hircania*, *Media*, and the Provinces of *Erak* and *Choraſan*; their Steel is ſo full of Sulphur, that if the Filings are thrown into the Fire, they will give a Report like Gunpowder; it has a fine Grain, but is as brittle as Glaſs, and the *Perſian* Artificers, who do not underſtand how to give it a due Temper, cannot for that Reaſon make Wheels or Springs, or any minute Pieces of Workmanſhip. Their Copper Mines are moſt of them near *Seris*, in the Mountains of *Mazenderan*; they mix it with *Swediſh* and *Japan* Copper, and the Proportion is one Part foreign to twenty of their own Metal.

The Lead Mines are, moſt of them, near the City of *Yeſd*, and in theſe are found the greateſt Quantity of Silver. Sulphur and Saltpetre are dug in the Mountain *Damaverd*, which divides *Hircania* from the Province of *Erak*. Antimony is found in *Carmania*, but it is a baſtard Sort. Emery is had near *Niris*; Vitriol and Mercury they have none, and their Tin is imported from abroad. There are two Kinds of Salt in *Perſia*, the one upon the Surface of the Ground, the other dug out of the Rock: There are Plains of ten or twelve Leagues over quite covered with Salt, as others are with Sulphur and Alom. The Salt is ſo hard in ſome Parts of *Carmania*, that the poor People make uſe of it inſtead of Stone to build their Cottages.

Their Marble is either white, black, or red, and ſome veined with white and red; it is dug near *Hamadan*, and in *Chuſiſtan* ſome of it will break into large Flakes or Tables like Slate, but the beſt comes from *Tauris*, which is almoſt as tranſparent as Cryſtal. This Kind is white mixed with green. In the Country about *Tauris* alſo is found the mineral Azure, but this is not ſo good as that which comes from *Tartary*, loſing its Colour by Degrees. In the Provinces of *Fars* and *Shirvan* there is found abundance of Bole Armoniack, and ſo rich and fat a Marl, that the Country People uſe it inſtead of Soap. There are ſome Mines of Iſinglas in the ſame Country. In ſeveral Parts of *Perſia* we meet with *Naptha*, both white and black; it is uſed in Painting and Varniſh, and ſometimes in Phyſick, and there is an Oil extracted from it which is applied to ſeveral Uſes. The moſt famous Springs of *Naptha* are in the Neighbourhood of the Town of *Baku*, which furniſh vaſt Quantities; and there are alſo upwards of 30 Springs about *Shamaschy*, both in the Province of *Schirwan*. The *Perſians* uſe it as Oil for their Lamps, and in making Fire-works, of which they are extremely fond, and in which they are great Proficients.

But the moſt valuable Product of the *Perſian* Mines is the *Turqueiſe*, concerning which there have been ſo many Miſtakes made, that notwithſtanding we find ourſelves preſſed for Room, we cannot avoid treating ſomewhat largely upon this Subject. In the firſt Place, it is aſſerted, that it derives its Name from *Turkey*, which is true enough when rightly underſtood, but abſolutely falſe according to the common Acceptation; for there neither is, nor ever was, any of theſe Stones found in the Dominions of the *Turks*, but in the Country of *Turcomania*, which was indeed the Seat of that Nation, tho' for any Thing I know, this has never been obſerved by the Writers upon this Subject. Theſe Stones are diſtinguiſhed into *Oriental* and *Occidental*. The *Oriental* Turquoiſes come from *Perſia*, and from *Perſia* only; and theſe are diſtinguiſhed into thoſe of the old, and thoſe of the new Rock; the former are taken out of the Mines of *Nichapour* and *Caraſſan*, and, as Sir *John Chardin* juſtly obſerves, differ greatly from other Stones that bear the ſame Name. They are hard, firm, of a beautiful Blue, inclining a little to a Green, take a fine Poliſh, and are never obſerved to loſe their Colour. The Shah endeavours to preſerve theſe entirely for himſelf; and though after chuſing the largeſt and the fineſt, he permits the ſmaller Turquoiſes to be ſold, yet foreign Merchants are not contented with that Manner of Dealing, but have ſtruck out a better. The Officers belonging to the Mines, and their Servants, frequently deceive the Shah, and, inſtead of ſending him the fineſt and largeſt, vend thoſe for their own Profit, but always to *Europeans*, that they may be leſs liable to Diſcovery; and by this Means very fine Turquoiſes find their Way into theſe Parts of the World. The new Rock is at five Miles diſtant from the old, and the Stones are ſofter, leſs firm, veiny, of a green, inclining to blue, and are apt, in Proceſs of Time, to loſe their Colour. The occidental Turquoiſes are found in *Bohemia*, *France*, and other Countries, but they are not valued, and have generally the ſame Faults with thoſe taken from the new Rock.

Dr. *Cromwell Mortimer*, in the laſt Tranſactions of the Royal Society, for the Months of *January* and *February*, 1747. has given us a much better Account of theſe Stones than I have ever met with before, and diſtinguiſhes them very juſtly into true and falſe Turquoiſes; the former, he ſays, is a true mineral Subſtance, impregnated with Copper Ore, which is highly probable, for there is no Country in the World that has more Copper Mines than *Perſia*; the latter is an Ivory or bony Subſtance, tinctured alſo with ſome metallick Juice, and probably that of Copper, which is a Diſcovery worthy of Notice, as it frees this Subject from Abundance of Difficulties, under which it has hitherto laboured.

12. After having taken a View of the Country, and of its Produce, we will ſpeak next of the Habitations erected upon it, and this will naturally lead us to the principal Cities that yet remain to be deſcribed; but without taking a previous View of what with them paſſes for magnificent Buildings, ſuch Deſcriptions would be in a Manner unintelligible. The Houſes of Perſons of Quality here, are generally built in the Middle of a fine Garden, and make little or no Appearance to the Street, for there you ſee nothing but a dead Wall, with a great Gate in the Middle of the Wall, and perhaps a Skreen or Wall within the Gate, to prevent People looking in; ſo fond are they of Privacy and Retirement. Another Thing that the *Perſians* differ from us in, is, that they ſeldom have more than one Floor, which is laid out in this Manner; in the Front of the Houſe ſtands a little Piazza or Cloiſter open before, where they ſit and tranſact their ordinary Affairs; beyond this is a large Hall, eighteen or twenty Feet high, which is uſed at great Entertainments, or on any ſolemn Occaſions: On the farther Side of the Houſe is another Piazza with a Baſon or Fountain of Water before it, beyond which runs a Walk of fine Trees, as there does alſo from the Street to the Houſe: At each Corner of the Hall, is a Parlour or Lodging-room (for it ſerves for both Purpoſes;) between thoſe Parlours on the Sides, there are Doors out of an Hall into an open ſquare Space, as large as the Rooms at the Corners; there are alſo ſeveral Doors out of the Hall into the Piazza, before and behind the Houſe; ſo that in the hot Seaſon they can ſet open nine or ten Doors at once in the great Hall, and if there be any Air ſtirring they will have the Benefit of it.

In ſome Palaces there is a handſome Baſon, and a Fountain playing in the Middle of the Hall, which contributes ſtill more to the Coolneſs of the Place. The Walls of their Houſes are built ſometimes of burnt Bricks, but more commonly of Bricks dried in the Sun. The Walls are of conſiderable Thickneſs, and the Roof of the great Hall is arched, and five or ſix Foot higher than the other Rooms about it. The Roofs of the Buildings on every Side of the Hall are flat, and there is a Pair of Stairs up to the Top, where the *Perſians* walk in the Cool of the Day, and ſometimes carry up a Mattreſs, and lie their all Night, there being Balliſters all round the Top of the Building. As for the Kitchens and other Offices, they are at a Diſtance on the right or left, and it is obſervable, that all their Rooms, except the Hall, ſtand ſeparate, and there is no Paſſage out of one into another, but only from the Hall; Chimnies there are ſome, but uſually, inſtead of a Chimney, there is a round Hole, about four or five Foot broad, and a Foot and a half deep, in the Middle of the Room, in which a Charcoal Fire is made, and the Place covered with a thick Board or Table, about a Foot high, ſo cloſe, that no Smoke can get out, and over that Table is thrown a large Carpet, under which they put their Legs in cold Weather, and ſit round, there being a Paſſage for the Smoke by Pipes laid under the Floor. The Doors of their Houſes are narrow, and ſeldom turn upon Hinges as ours do, but there is a round Piece left at the Top and Bottom of the Door, which are let into the Frame above and below, on which they turn, and the very Locks and Bolts are frequently made of Wood.

As to their Furniture, it conſiſts only in Carpets ſpread on the Floor, with Cuſhions and Pillows to lean on, and at Night, there is a Mattreſs brought to ſleep on, and a Quilt or two to cover them, but very ſeldom any Sheets are uſed. As to their Servants they lie about in any Paſſage upon Mats, and take up very little Room. The Floors of the Rooms are either paved or made of a hard Cement, on which they lay a coarſe Cloth, and over that a Carpet: The Sides of ſome of their Rooms are lined with fine Tiles about a Yard high, and the reſt of them well painted, or hung with Pictures.

13. *Iſpahan*, or as it is pronounced *Spahawn*, is ſituated in thirty-two Degrees, forty Minutes, North Latitude, and in the fiftieth Degree of Longitude, reckoning from the Meridian of *London*. It ſtands in a fine Plain almoſt ſurrounded with Mountains, which lie about two or three Leagues from it, and the Form is pretty near oval. The River *Zenderhood* runs by it at about a Mile Diſtance, but there are ſeveral Channels and Pipes above the Town, which convey the Water from it into Canals and Baſons, for the Service of the Court and City. The Town is without Walls, and about ten or twelve Miles in Circumference. Thoſe who extend it ten Leagues, take in the Town of *Julpha*, and ſeveral others. There were formerly twelve Gates to the Town, but four of them are now cloſed up, the others are always open; as for the Walls which ſome Travellers mention, it is probable there was a Mud-Wall formerly, but there is no Part of the Wall viſible at preſent. There is an old Caſtle, it is true, without Artillery, which runs to Ruin, but is no more tenable than the Town.

The Streets of *Iſpahan* are for the moſt Part narrow and crooked, and either exceeding Dirty or Duſty, for ſcarce any of them are paved, and though there are no Coaches or Carts, yet all People of Faſhion riding through them with great Trains of Servants, renders the Paſſage not very pleaſant. There are however ſome very fine Squares in the Town, particularly the royal Square or *Meydan*, into which there opens two of the Palace Gates. On the Sides of this Square, which is one third of a Mile in Length, and more than half as much in Breadth, are Buildings with Shops on both Sides, where every particular Trade has a Quarter aſſigned, and there is a ſecond Story where the Mechanicks have their Working-Shops. There ſeems to be little Difference between theſe Exchanges and ours, but that thoſe of *Iſpahan* have no Windows, but great Openings at proper Diſtances to let in the Light, and People ride through them as they do along the Streets.

In the Middle of the Square there is a Market for Horſes and Cattle, and all Manner of Goods and Proviſions are expoſed to Sale, though the great *Shab Abbas*, who built the Square, deſigned it for manly Exerciſes, and particularly thoſe of Horſemanſhip, and handling the Bow and Lance, at which no People are more dextrous than the *Perſians*. On that Side of the Square next the Palace, there is a fine Row of Trees planted, and a handſome Baſon of Water, and ſome great Braſs Guns, which were taken from the *Portugueſe* at *Ormus*, ſerve to make a Show.

There ſtands a great Moſque at the South End of the Square, and another Moſque on the Eaſt Side over againſt the great Gate of the Palace; ſeveral Streets in *Iſpahan* are covered and arched over, which makes them pretty dark, and this ſeems to be peculiar to the *Perſian* Towns. Another Thing they ſeem to be particular in is, that their Houſes and Shops are never in the ſame Places, and it is a common Thing for a Tradeſman to go have a Mile in a Morning to the *Bazar*, or Market-place, where his Shop is, and in the Night-time, they lock up their valuable Goods in Cheſts and Counters, and the reſt they leave packed up, ſometimes in the open Square, and it is very rare any Thing is loſt; ſo careful are the Watch appointed to guard their Market-places, or ſo very little given to Thieving are the People in this Part of the World, and no Doubt the ſpeedy and exemplary Puniſhments inflicted upon Pilferers, is one great Means to deter them from it.

As to Foreign Merchants they lodge their Goods in the publick *Caravanſera's* about the City, which ſerve them alſo inſtead of Inns for Lodging and Diet; but there is this Difference between an Inn and *Caravanſera*, that every Perſon finds his own Bedding and Cookery in the *Caravanſera*, whereas in our Inns we have not that Trouble. There are two Things, however, that render a *Caravanſera* preferable to an Inn; one is, that a Perſon is not ſubject to the Extortions of an Innkeeper, but buys his Proviſions at the beſt Hand; and the other, that let the Merchant take up ever ſo many Rooms, he ſhall not be diſturbed in them, and pays but a Trifle for his Warehouſe or Lodgings; and upon the Road he pays Nothing. There are not, it ſeems, leſs than fifteen hundred of theſe publick *Caravanſera's* in *Iſpahan*, which have been erected by charitable People for the Uſe of Strangers; moſt of them are built after one Model, and differ only in the Dimenſions. There is a handſome Portal at the Entrance, on each Side of which are Shops, from whence you enter into a Square, about which there is a Cloiſter or Piazza, and within are Lodging-Rooms and Warehouſes for Goods: There is alſo Stabling and Conveniencies for Horſes and other Beaſts on the outſide, or they may be brought into the Square and faſtened there, as is frequently done upon the Road, more eſpecially where there is Danger of Robbers.

As to Taverns, there are none at *Iſpahan*, their Religion prohibiting Wine. However, ſome of the *Perſians* will drink pretty plentifully in private. There are very handſome Coffee-houſes in the principal Parts of the Town, where People meet and talk Politicks, though they have no printed Papers in them, and there we meet with ſome Amuſements peculiar to the Country, as the Harangues of their Poets, Hiſtorians, and Prieſts, who hold forth and get a Crowd about them; and it ſeems they expect a ſmall Preſent from their Audience for their Amuſements and Inſtructions.

14. The Buildings of the Palace, with the Gardens belonging to it, take up above a League in Compaſs. The two Gates which come up to the Royal *Meydan*, or Square, are, one of them called *Alicapi*, and the other *Doulet Cuna*; over one of them is a Gallery, where the Shah uſed to ſit and ſee martial Exerciſes performed on Horſeback. No Part of the Palace where the Court reſides comes up to the Royal Square; but having entred the principal Gate, there is a Hall or Court on the Left-hand, where the Vizier and other Judges adminiſter Juſtice on certain Days; and on the Right are Rooms where Offenders are allowed to take Sanctuary. From hence to the Hall, where the Shah uſually gives Audience, is a handſome Walk: It is a long Room well painted and gilded, and ſupported by forty Pillars; it is divided into three Parts, one a Step higher than the other, on which the great Officers ſtand according to their Rank. As to hereditary Nobility, there is no ſuch Thing in *Perſia*. On the third Aſcent is the Royal Throne, raiſed about a Foot and a half above the Floor, and about eight Feet ſquare, on which is ſpread a rich Carpet; here the Shah ſits on it croſs-legged upon ſolemn Occaſions, having a Brocade Cuſhion under him, and another at his Back.

As to the reſt of the Apartments of the Palace, and particularly the *Haram*, or Womens Apartment, neither Foreigners or Natives can give an exact Deſcription of them, none being permitted to enter but the Eunuchs; but in general we are told, that they conſiſt in ſeparate Pleaſure-houſes diſpers'd about the Gardens, much of the ſame Form with the Houſes firſt deſcribed, and that their great Beauty conſiſts of the fine Walks, Fountains and Caſcades about them. Beyond the Gardens the Shah has a large Park walled in, where the Ladies hunt and take their Pleaſure with the Prince. In this City are above one hundred and fifty Moſques or Temples, covered with Domes or Cupola's, which appearing through the Trees that are planted almoſt all over the Town, in the Streets and Gardens, afford a noble Proſpect; but the common Buildings are ſo low, that they are hardly diſcerned by one who takes a View of the Town on the Outſide.

All Chriſtians being prohibited to enter their Moſques, or even to come within their Courts, under ſevere Penalties, it is not eaſy to meet with a particular Deſcription of them. There is a Gate which leads to the great Moſque covered with ſilver Plates. Through this Tower you proceed to a Court with a Piazza or Cloyſter on each Side, where the Prieſts lodge who belong to the Moſque. Oppoſite to the great Gate are three large Doors which open into it. The five Iſles the Moſque is compoſed of are beautified with Gold and Azure. In the Middle is the Cupola, ſupported by four great Square Pillars; the Iſles on the Sides are lower than that in the Middle, and born upon thick Columns of Free-ſtone; two great Windows towards the Top of the Middle Iſle give Light to the whole Moſque; on the Left-hand towards the Middle ſtands a kind of Pulpit, with ſtone Steps to go up to it; the Bricks and Tiles on the Outſide of the Building are painted with various Colours, after the Manner of *Perſia*, and the Floor of the Moſque is covered with Carpets, all People putting off their Shoes as they enter it; there are no Seats or Pews as in the Chriſtian Temples, or any kind of Imagery or Pictures. The Outſide is Stone, and the Walls lined fifteen Foot high with white poliſhed Marble; and in the Middle of the Square before the Moſque is a large Baſon, where they waſh themſelves before they enter the Temple. The Moſques have, moſt of them, Cupola's, with Steeples or Towers, whither the *Molla's* go up to ſummon the People to their Devotions, according to the *Mahometan* Mode, making no Uſe of Bells.

15. The numerous Hummums or Bagnio's in this City are another Subject of Travellers Admiration; ſome of theſe are ſquare Buildings, but moſt of them globular. The Stone of which they are built is uſually white and well poliſhed; the Tops are covered with Tiles painted blue; the Inſides are divided into many Cells or Chambers, ſome for Pleaſure, and others for Sweating, and the Floors are laid with black and white Marble. The *Perſians* bathe almoſt every Day, looking upon it to be extremely conducive to Health, an effectual Remedy for Cold or Aches, and many other Diſtempers. But what is admired as much by Foreigners as any Thing about *Iſpahan*, is the *Charbag*, being a Walk above an hundred Yards wide, and extending a Mile in Length, from the City to the River *Zenderhood*; on each Side are planted double Rows of Trees, and in the Middle runs a Canal, not continued upon a Level, but at every Furlong's Diſtance the Water falls into a large Baſon and forms a Caſcade, and the Sides both of the Canal and Baſons are lined with hewn Stone, broad enough for ſeveral Men to walk a-breaſt upon them. On each Side of this Walk are the Royal Gardens, and thoſe of the great Men, with Pleaſure Houſes at ſmall Diſtances, and altogether form as agreeable a Proſpect as can be imagined.

At the End of this Walk is a Bridge over the River *Zenderhood*, which leads to the Town of *Julpha*; there are alſo two other Bridges, one on the Right, and the other to the Left, by which the Neighbouring Villages have a Communication with the City, and which moſt of our Travellers are pleaſed to call its Suburbs, though they are diſtant a Mile from *Iſpahan*, and on the other Side the River. Theſe Bridges are taken Notice of for the Oddneſs of the Architecture, for it ſeems, on each Side, both above and below, are arched Paſſages, thro' which People ride and Walk from one End of the Bridge to the other, as in the covered Streets of the City; and at little Diſtances there are Openings to admit the Light. The Arches of theſe Bridges are not very high, there being no Veſſels to paſs under them, for this River is not navigable any more than the reſt of the *Perſian* Streams. It is true, in the Spring on the melting of the Snows in the Mountains, it makes a pretty good Appearance, but at the latter End of the Summer the Channel is exceeding narrow and ſhallow, inſomuch that there is not Water enough for the Gardens which belong to the City; to ſupply the Want whereof they have abundance of Wells about *Iſpahan*, of very good Water for all Domeſtick Uſes.

16. The Town, or rather the Borough of *Julpha*, ſtands on the South-ſide of the River *Zenderhood*; and though there are many who look upon it as a Suburb of *Iſpahan*, yet it certainly deſerves to be conſidered by itſelf, as being a very large and a very conſiderable Town, the Buildings of which are more regular, and to the full as magnificent as thoſe of *Iſpahan*. It is generally reckoned two Miles in Length, and about a Mile in Breadth, and is beyond Compariſon, taking all Circumſtances together, the fineſt Place in *Perſia*; for, with reſpect to Houſes, Trade, Manufactures, and Induſtry, there is nothing comes near it; and as to beautiful Walks of Trees, cooling Shades, delightful Fountains, pleaſant Gardens, and magnificent Summer-houſes, they are every where to be met with. The principal Inhabitants are the *Armenians*, and beſides theſe, there are *Georgians*, *Circaſſians*, *Mingrelians*, and other Chriſtians, but no *Mahometans*, who dwell in it. The Foundation of this Place, and the Riſe of the *Armenians*, who are now as conſiderable Merchants as any in the World, are Events that deſerve our Notice.

It was the famous Shah *Abbas* who firſt took Notice of the Candour, Affability, Diligence, Penetration, and Integrity of the *Armenians*, in the Management of their little Concerns in their native Country, where they were liable to the Incurſions of the *Perſians* and the *Turks*. He was not only an ambitious and powerful, but a very wiſe and prudent Prince; he was deſirous of introducing Trade into his Dominions, where, till his Reign, it was hardly known; and no leſs deſirous of inſpiring his Subjects with the ſame Views, who were little acquainted therewith. In order to accompliſh theſe great and laudable Deſigns, he thought it proper to eſtabliſh a Staple Commodity, by Way of Foundation, and for that Purpoſe, fixed upon Silk. He then tranſported twenty or thirty *Armenians* into the Province of *Gilan*, where they acquitted themſelves ſo well, that in a very ſhort Space of Time vaſt Quantities of Silk were made there. Encouraged by this happy Beginning, he demoliſhed the Town of *Old Julpha* in *Armenia*, as has been ſhewn in the former Section, and tranſported the Inhabitants into the Neighbourhood of *Iſpahan*, where, by his Royal Munificence, and under his powerful Protection, they built the Place of which we are now ſpeaking, and by his Direction undertook to diſtribute all the Silk that was not wrought up by *Perſian* Manufacturers, through *Aſia* and *Europe*, a reaſonable Price being firſt fixed, which at their Return they were obliged to pay, all the Profit being left to themſelves; when it was neceſſary, the Shah advanced them Money for carrying on their Commerce, but by Degrees, and as they grew wealthy, the Government no longer took any Share in their Trade.

In this Manner, from the right Notions of one Man, and from his juſt Views for the Benefit of his Subjects, aroſe all the Trade of the *Armenians*, who are now become a Nation of Merchants, and carry on the moſt extenſive Dealings of any People in the World; for beſides their Eſtabliſhments here, and in all the great Cities of *Perſia*, they ſpread over the whole Eaſt, carry on a prodigious Trade in *Ruſſia*, and have Factors of their own Nation in moſt of the great Trading Cities in *Europe*. In ſhort, they are become as noted in this reſpect as the *Jews*; but what redounds eternally to their Reputation, their Application to Trade, and their Dealings as Brokers, has not in the leaſt leſſened their Character for Candour or Probity; they are diligent, affable and diſcreet, but content with a moderate Profit, ſerve thoſe that employ them faithfully, are grateful to their Benefactors, love each other as Brethren, and are extreamly uſeful to all the Countries in which they are ſettled. This Digreſſion in Favour of ſuch a Sort of Men, and in order to explain the Prudence and publick Spirit of *Shah Abbas* their Patron, and ſuch of his Succeſſors as choſe to tread in his Steps, we thought might be agreeable to the Reader, though it carried us a little out of our Road, to which we ſhall now return, in order to continue the Deſcription, we have promiſed of the Principal Cities in *Perſia*, before thoſe Confuſions began that have produced ſuch fatal Alterations.

The City of *Schiras* or *Sheraz*, as we pronounce it, lies about two hundred Miles to the Southward of *Iſpahan*, in twenty nine Degrees, fifty Minutes of North Latitude, and is uſually reckoned the ſecond City of the Kingdom. It is the Capital of the Province of *Fars*, or the ancient *Perſia*; ſome will have the Name derived from *Cyrus* the Great, there being a Tradition that he was buried there; others ſay it is derived from *Sherab*, which in the *Perſian* Tongue ſignifies a Grape, becauſe that Fruit abounds in this Place; and others from the Word *Sheer*, which ſignifies Milk; but as it is not very material from whence the Name is derived, ſo I believe it is impoſſible to determine at this Day. The Town is ſeated in a pleaſant fertile Valley, about twenty Miles in Length, and ſix in Breadth, and has a Rivulet running through it, which in the Spring has the Appearance of a large River, and ſometimes encreaſes to ſuch a Torrent as to bear down the Houſes in its Way, but in the Summer is almoſt dry. There are no Walls about the Place, nor does it contain above four thouſand Houſes at preſent: The Compaſs of it is reckon'd to be about ſeven Miles, but then it is to be conſider'd that much the greateſt Part of this Space is Garden.

The publick Buildings taken Notice of, are the Viceroy's Palace, the Moſques, Bagnio's, the vaulted Streets and Caravanſera's, which being of the ſame Model as thoſe of *Iſpahan*, do not need a particular Deſcription here; only it is obſervable, that they let moſt of their Buildings run to Ruin, as in other Towns of *Perſia*; every Generation chuſing to build new Houſes, rather than uſe thoſe of their Anceſtors. It is remarked alſo, that there is no Place where the *Mahometan* Superſtition prevails more than here, there being a Moſque or Temple to every twenty Houſes almoſt; their Domes covered with blue varniſhed Tiles, make a pretty Appearance among the Trees; here is alſo a College where the liberal Arts are ſtudied, of which the Fame is great for breeding many Perſons of renown'd Learning.

The Streets of *Sheraz* are, for the moſt part, narrow and duſty, but there are ſome broad ones with Canals and Baſons, faced with Stone: But what *Sheraz* is moſt remarkable for, is, the fine Gardens and Vineyards about it. The Cypreſs-Trees, of which their Walks are chiefly compoſed, are the talleſt and largeſt that are any where to be found, and grow in a pyramidal Form; intermix'd with theſe are ſeveral broad ſpreading Trees, and all Manner of Fruits, as, Pomegranates, Oranges, Lemons, Cherries, Pears, Apricots, Dates, &c. None of theſe are planted againſt Walls, as with us, but ſtand in the Allies, and ſometimes irregularly, as in a Wilderneſs. They have alſo Abundance of ſweet Flowers of various Colours, but not planted in that regular Order as in the Gardens of *Europe*. Their Vineyards and Wines are preferable to any in *Perſia*, and the Canals, Caſcades, Fountains, and Pleaſure-Houſes in their Gardens, are not at all inferior to thoſe of *Iſpahan*. The Shah's Garden here is no leſs than two thouſand Paces ſquare, and ſurrounded with a Wall fourteen Foot high, but of late Years, the Gardens, as well as the Buildings of *Sheraz*, have been pretty much neglected.

18. Thirty Miles to the North-Eaſt of *Sheraz* are found the nobleſt Ruins of an ancient Palace or Temple, that are now to be ſeen on the Face of the Earth; even *Rome* itſelf, as it is ſaid, has nothing comparable to theſe venerable Remains of Antiquity; the Place at this Day is called *Chilmaner*, or forty Pillars. Mr. *Herbert* ſays, it was built upon a Mountain of dark colour'd Marble, and the Steps hew'd out of the ſolid Rock; but others who have viewed it more narrowly ſince, obſerve, that the Steps are compoſed of large Stones, fifteen or ſixteen Foot in Length, and of ſuch a Thickneſs, that ſix or ſeven Steps are cut out of one Stone, the whole being ſo artificially joined, that they appear to be but one Piece, which might eaſily occaſion Mr. *Herbert* to miſtake. It is ſeated at the North-Eaſt End of that ſpacious Plain where *Perſepolis* once ſtood, and generally held to be part of the Palace of *Darius*, who was conquered by *Alexander the Great*. The Front of this Palace ſtood towards the Weſt, and was about five hundred Paces in Length, the whole taking up near

threeſcore Acres of Ground. The Aſcent to it is by ninety-five Steps, thirty Feet in Length, and twenty Inches broad, but not more than three Inches deep, ſo that a Horſe may eaſily go up or down them. The Stair-Caſe divides as you aſcend, one Branch winding to the Right, and the other to the Left; each having a Wall on one Side, and a Marble Balluſtrade on the other; afterwards both Branches turn again, and end at a large ſquare Landing-place, from whence you go into a Portico of white Marble, twenty Foot wide. On it are carved in *Baſs relievo*, two Beaſts as big as Elephants, but their Bodies are like Horſes, and their Feet and Tails like Oxen.

Ten Feet farther ſtand two fluted Columns of whitiſh Stone, about ſixty Feet high, beſides their Capitals and Baſes, and as thick as three Men can fathom; a little farther ſtand two other Pilaſters, carved like the firſt, only that the Beaſts on the latter have Wings and Men's Heads. Beyond this Portal or Hall is ſuch another double Stair-Caſe, leading to the upper Rooms, twenty-five Feet broad, but incomparably more beautiful than the former, for on its Walls are carved in Baſs Relief, a Kind of Triumph, conſiſting of a great Train of People, in diſtinct Companies, carrying ſome Banners, and others Offerings, and after all comes a Chariot drawn by ſeveral Horſes, with a little Altar upon it, from whence the Flames of Fire ſeem to aſcend. On the other Side are carved wild Beaſts fighting; and among others a Lion and a Bull are cut with great Exactneſs, and ſo hard is the Stone, that to this Day the moſt curious Part of the Workmanſhip is preſerved. On the Top of the ſecond Stair-caſe is a ſquare Place, which has been ſurrounded with Columns, whereof ſeventeen only are now ſtanding, but there are a hundred Pedeſtals; thoſe that are left are of red and white Marble fluted, ſome of them ſixty, and others ſeventy Foot high, and twelve of them near three Fathom round. Theſe, ſome Antiquaries imagine, ſupported the Temple of the Sun.

On the ſame Floor near thoſe Columns is a Place fifty Foot ſquare, encloſed with Walls ſix or ſeven Foot thick, of a much finer Marble than any that hath been yet mentioned, and ſo wonderfully carved, that it would take up ſeveral Days to view all the Figures; which Way ſoever a Man turns himſelf in this ſecond Floor, there appear Figures cut in Braſs and half Relieve. Here you ſee Men fighting with Lions, and in another Place, a Man holding a Unicorn by the Horn; in a third you ſee the Figures of Giants, and in a fourth, a Prince giving Audience to his People or Ambaſſadors, and numberleſs other Scenes. Here are alſo Abundance of Inſcriptions, in laſting Characters, which have been tranſcribed, and brought into *Europe*, but none of them underſtood at this Day by the Learned, any more than they are by the People of the Country: This glorious Palace or Temple, with the whole City of *Perſepolis*, the nobleſt and wealthieſt then in the World, was burnt to the Ground by *Alexander the Great*, about the Year of the World 3724, at the Perſuaſion of *Lais*, the *Athenian* Harlot, as is ſaid, in Revenge for the Towns the *Perſian* Emperors had deſtroyed in *Greece*.

19. In the former Section, and in this, almoſt all the great Cities have been deſcribed, as they ſtood in Time paſt, and as they are repreſented to us by ſuch as had ſeen them; yet theſe Accounts bear but very little Relation to thoſe Places at this Day, for in the Courſe of the Civil Wars and Confuſions, with which this Empire has been overwhelmed, there is hardly any one of theſe Cities that has eſcaped. *Taurus* has been plundered over and over, *Schiras* burnt to the Ground, and even *Spahawn* has ſuffered not a little. The Port of *Gambron*, or *Bander Abaſſi*, had been always conſidered ſince the Time of *Shah Abbas*, as one of the richeſt Jewels of the *Perſian* Diadem; and notwithſtanding the Badneſs of the Air, and ſome Inconveniences that attended the Port, it was always a Place of great Trade, and might have been a Place of much greater Trade, if the ſucceeding Monarchs of *Perſia* had been Princes of the like Spirit, and had conceived as juſt Notions of Commerce as he did.

By their Fault it was, that the greateſt Part of the *Perſian* Trade came to be carried on by Land, through *Turkey*, which was neither agreeable to the Intereſts of the *Perſians*, nor requiſite for tranſporting their Commodities to *Europe*, for which other Means might have been employed. But when *Shah Nadir* had aſſumed the Empire, and by his amazing Succeſſes had acquired ſo great a Power, that he thought himſelf in no Kind of Danger from his Neighbours, he began to entertain Notions of Commerce, which, like all his other Notions, were of a Stamp peculiar to himſelf, and which do not ſeem, from any of the Accounts that we have met with, to have been at all underſtood in *Europe*. He ſaw plainly, that the *Turks* were prodigiouſly enriched by the carrying on of the *Perſian* Trade for Silk through their Country, and this he was reſolved to prevent at any Rate. It was with this View that he formed a Project, which we have more than once mentioned, of forcing a Paſſage to the *Black-Sea*, and thereby opening a direct Trade with *Europe*, which, with all his Power, he could never effect. He then turned his Thoughts towards the *Caſpian*, and having recovered the Province of *Gilan* from the *Ruſſians*, and provided effectually againſt any Impreſſions they could make upon his Territories by Land, he reſolved to carry on the Trade of *Perſia* that Way, by the Aſſiſtance of the *Armenians*, and to reſtore the Credit of that Nation, which had been very much ſunk in *Perſia*, by the vaſt Loſſes that had been ſuſtained by their Eſtabliſhment at *Julpha*, which, in the Courſe of the Civil Wars, has been almoſt totally ruined.

But beſides theſe Schemes, he had another, the Grounds of which it would take up too much Room to explain, and therefore I ſhall content myſelf with barely ſaying, that from certain Motives, that appeared to him reaſonable, he determin'd to remove the Capital of *Perſia*, and inſtead of fixing, as his Predeceſſors had done, the Imperial Reſidence at *Iſpahan*, he reſolved to transfer it Northward, and ſo place the Seat of his Empire in the Province of *Choraſſan*, to which perhaps he might in ſome Meaſure be determined by his Fondneſs for his native Country. He fixed there upon the Town of *Meſched*, which had been formerly the Capital of the Province. It is to be obſerved, that the Word *Metſchid*, ſignifies both in the *Perſian* and *Turkiſh* Languages, a Houſe or Temple conſecrated to the Service of God, and it is from thence that we have framed our Word *Moſque*. The Name of this City therefore implies a great Moſque, and it was ſo called from one of the fineſt in that Part of the World, erected over the Tomb of the Iman *Riza*, a great Saint, which rendred it a Place frequented by Pilgrims, who out of Charity erected there ſeveral publick Structures of great Magnificence. It was beſides famous for its Manufactures of all Sorts, ſuch as Gold and Silver Brocades, Tapeſtry, rich Silks, and woollen Stuff, as beautiful and as dear as Silks; there was beſides a Manufacture of earthen Ware, which was looked upon as the beſt in *Aſia*, on this Side *China*; ſo that an Age ago this City for Moſques, publick Baths, Caravanſera's, Bazars, and other publick Structures, was not in the leaſt inferior to any City in *Perſia*; but the *Uſbeck Tartars* had ſo totally deſtroyed it, that it made but a very indifferent Figure when the *Shah Nadir* made Choice of it for the Seat of his Empire.

The City of *Meſched* is ſituated in the Latitude of thirty-five Degrees twenty Minutes North, upon a ſmall Stream that falls into the River *Kurgan*, which ſeparates the Province of *Choraſan* from *Aſterabat*; and it may be very truly affirmed, that a happier Situation there is not in the World. The Air is extremely mild and temperate, the Soil about it wonderfully fruitful, and while it continues the Capital of the Empire, there is no doubt that the *Tartars* will be kept at a ſufficient Diſtance. While *Shah Nadir* was employed in his Expedition againſt the Mogul, his eldeſt Son *Riza Kuli Mirza* reſided there with the Title and Authority of *Shah* of *Perſia*; by his Care the City was rebuilt and reſtored to its ancient Luſtre, and ſuch Privileges granted to the Inhabitants, as not only came up to, but exceeded thoſe that former *Shah*'s had granted to the People of *Iſpahan.* This young Prince was not contented with barely attending to the Civil Government of the Empire, he was deſirous of diſplaying alſo his Military Capacity, which induced him to attack the Khan of *Balkh*, the Sovereign of the Southern Part of *Great Bucharia*; which Country, together with its Capital, he reduced, and thereby gained not only an Acceſſion of Territory, but one of the greateſt and beſt Cities in thoſe Parts. *Balkh* having been, for ſeveral Ages, the Center of the Commerce carried on by Land to and from the *Indies.*

By this Eſtabliſhment, and theſe Conqueſts, the Face of Affairs in *Perſia* is abſolutely changed, and this is a Thing that has not hitherto been ſufficiently conſidered. It is poſſible, and indeed it is probable, that the Southern Provinces of the *Perſian* Empire will ſuffer extremely by this Alteration; and it is not altogether unlikely, that if a civil War ariſes from the Death of the late Shah, a new Principality may be erected in the Southern Parts, of which *Spahawn*, or ſome other great City, may become the Capital; but ſtill *Meſched* will, in all Probability, remain the Seat of the *Perſian* Empire, and the Monarchs who govern there will extend their Conqueſts Northwards, through Countries formerly indeed dependent upon the *Perſians*, but which have been for many Ages in the Hands of the *Tartars*; and if this ſhould be the Caſe, we muſt conſider ourſelves extremely happy in having ſet on Foot a Trade through *Ruſſia* into *Perſia* by the *Caſpian* Sea, by which the moſt lucrative Part of the Commerce of that Empire will fall into our Hands, and may be juſtly eſteemed the Fruits of our great Naval Power, and the Effects of ſending our Squadrons into the *Baltick*, which gave the Court of *Peterſbourg* ſuch an Impreſſion of our Power to aſſiſt or diſtreſs them, as it is our Intereſt to take Care that Time ſhall never efface.

20. We promiſed to ſay ſomewhat of the ancient and preſent State of the Country and People of *Perſia*, conſidered in a comparative Light, and we will endeavour to execute this as ſuccinctly as poſſible. The learned Dr. *Hyde* wrote an admirable Treatiſe in *Latin*, of the Religion of the ancient *Perſians*, a Work equally curious and uſeful, and which, notwithſtanding, was ſo ill received by the Publick, that the Doctor boil'd his Tea-kettle with the greateſt Part of the Impreſſion, which has made it ſo ſcarce, that from its natural Price of Ten Shillings, or leſs, it is now ſold for Two Guineas, and even at that Price will not be eſteemed dear by ſuch as can judge of its real Value. It is from this learned Book that we are informed of what we ſhould otherwiſe never have known, that the ancient *Perſians*, on whom the *Greeks* beſtowed the Name of *Barbarians*, were in Reality the beſt governed, the politeſt, and the moſt civilized Nation upon the Face of the Earth. Their Religion was far more incorrupt than thoſe of *Egypt*, *Greece*, or *Rome*, for they worſhipped only one God; and though they were over-run with Superſtition, they never degenerated into Atheiſm or Idolatry. The common People were from Principle extremely induſtrious; they cultivated their Country with the utmoſt Care, inſomuch that thoſe Diſtricts that are now ſandy Deſerts, were then perfect Gardens; and many rich and populous Cities were ſeated in Places that at this Day are waſte and howling Wilderneſſes. Yet there even ſtill remain clear and indiſputable Proofs of the Truth of what this learned Gentleman has aſſerted, and theſe are of two Kinds; Firſt, The Ruins and Remains of this ancient Magnificence, which even the Iron Teeth of Time have not been able to deſtroy, as appears from what the Reader has been told of *Perſepolis*; and next from the Temper and Diſpoſition of that Remnant of the ancient *Perſees*, *Gubers*, *Gaurs*, or Fire-worſhippers, that are ſtill left in this Country and in *India*, and who are, beyond all Controverſy, the moſt quiet, induſtrious, and moſt inoffenſive Nation, if we may yet ſtile them ſo, on the Face of the Globe. The Seat of their preſent Habitations is the wildeſt and worſt Part of the Province of *Kerman*, and yet even there the ſmall Diſtricts they poſſeſs, appear a Kind of Paradiſe in Compariſon of the Country round about; and by them thoſe Woollen Stuffs are wrought, which the modern *Perſians*, from a true Principle of Luxury, think too good for any Bodies Wear but their own, and therefore never ſuffer them to be carried out of their Dominions.

As for theſe People, it is no Wonder that they have brought the ſame Diſcredit upon the large and fruitful Provinces they inhabit, that the *Turks* have done upon the Land of *Canaan*; and indeed it is the Genius of the *Mahometan* Religion to deface all Marks of former Improvements, as well as to receive no Benefit from ſuch Examples. The Wars, by which this Empire has been continually waſted ſince it fell into the Hands of its preſent Poſſeſſors, has contributed not a little to thin it of People; ſo that now there are not above a twentieth Part of the People in *Perſia* that there were at the Time that *Alexander* invaded it. Beſides this, there are ſeveral Nations ſcattered up and down it, that are rather Vaſſals than Subjects to the Shahs, and live after the Manner of the *Tartars* in their Tents. The Want of a ſettled Nobility, and the little Security that the People in general have for their Fortunes, is another great Obſtacle to the cultivating their Lands, and the Improvement of their Cities. We may add to this, the Revolutions and Civil Wars which have been ſo frequent in *Perſia*; as alſo the Incurſions of the *Tartars* and other barbarous Nations, from which they are hardly ever free. As to the Lazineſs and Luxury of the *Perſians*, though it is in one Senſe a Cauſe of the wide Difference between the paſt and preſent State of their Empire, yet conſidered in another Light, it is the Source of what little Commerce they have; for as they are not willing to work themſelves, they are very ready to let other Nations dwell amongſt them; and provided they reap the Fruits of their Induſtry, treat them fairly and civilly enough, without any Mixture of that haughty, inſolent, and unbridled Temper, which is ſo hateful and ſo intolerable amongſt the *Turks.* Beſides, as they ſpend without the leaſt Conſideration, all they get, this occaſions a quick Circulation of Money, ſo that the *Armenians*, *Indians*, and other Foreigners that live amongſt them, pick up a tolerable Livelihood, and are not impoſed upon and oppreſſed as in the Territories of the Grand Signior.

It is the Want of People that makes a great Part of *Perſia* lie waſte and barren; and the natural Fertility of the Country is another Cauſe of this, for even the few Parts that are now cultivated, produce much more than is neceſſary for the Subſiſtance of its Inhabitants; and it is from thence that their Trade and their Riches ariſe; for ſince there are no Mines now wrought in *Perſia*, what Gold and Silver they have comes into that Country by the Purchaſe of their Silks, and other rich Commodities; whence the Reader will eaſily diſcern, how powerful and how happy the People might be under a ſettled Government, that paid ſome tolerable Reſpect to the Welfare of its Subjects; but after all, this is hardly to be hoped for while in the Hands of the *Mahometans*, who, on the one Hand, are very little inclined to any Kind of Induſtry themſelves, and, on the other, are very apt to be jealous of their Chriſtian Subjects thriving, tho' they are the better for it. While the *Ruſſians* were Maſters of *Gilan*, which was but for a very ſhort Space, the Inhabitants were ſo ſenſible of the Change, that there was nothing they dreaded ſo much as returning again under the Dominion of their old Maſters; and when this actually happened, great Numbers of them quitted their Habitations, and retired into the neighbouring Parts of *Georgia*, *Dageſtan*, and *Armenia*, that they might avoid falling under the Yoke of *Thamas Kuli Kan*, notwithſtanding that was as light, at leaſt in Time of Peace, as any of the former Shahs.

21. It is to very little Purpoſe that we increaſe the Stock of our Knowledge by reading, unleſs we enable ourſelves to make ſome Uſe of it by Reflection; as a Trader does not thrive by having his Warehouſes ſtocked with Goods, but by his knowing where and how to carry them to Market. We ſee plainly from

the Deſcription of the *Perſian* Empire, at the Beginning of this Section, that in Point of Territory, the Shah's of *Perſia* are very little inferior to any of the great Monarchs in the Univerſe; but we know experimentally, that for all this, the Princes of this Country, from the Time of Shah *Abbas*, have made but a very indifferent Figure, and are not like to make a better in Time to come. This ſhews us the terrible Effects of arbitrary Power, a Thing altogether inſupportable; but from the Wiſdom of ſome great Princes, who by diſſembling and letting it down, preſerve it. Shah *Nadir* had this in his Will, but never in his Power; he had acquired his Authority by being at the Head of an Army, and he found it impoſſible to ſuſtain it any other Way than by remaining at the Head of it; for he neither durſt diſband his Troops, nor could he truſt them any longer than they were employed; this was the true Reaſon of his *Indian* Expedition, and this muſt be the Caſe, till ſuch Time as the Army, by which he attained his Sovereignty, is in ſome Meaſure worn out, and then perhaps, the Feebleneſs of the State may draw upon it foreign Invaſions.

If either the Extent, or the Quality of Countries, could make Princes eaſy or happy, the Sovereigns of *Perſia* might be ſo without making Slaves of their Subjects, or diſturbing their Neighbours. We may from hence alſo diſcover the Value of right Principles with Regard to Induſtry and Commerce, which always include due Reſpect to Liberty and Property, without which the former can never ſubſiſt, and the latter can never be attained. If we could, with any Probability, ſuppoſe that a well-conſtituted Government could take Place and be thoroughly eſtabliſhed in *Perſia*, it is very evident, that in the Space of a Century, not only the Affairs, but the very Face of the Country would be changed; their great Cities would be re-peopled, the Trade through *Perſia* to *India* and *Tartary* would be revived, their Silk-works and Manufactures would be reſtored, and Multitudes of People would flock into all their Provinces for the Sake of that Plenty, which, in ſuch a Situation of Things, they would be ſure to enjoy. But as this Suppoſition is, on the one Hand, improbable; ſo, on the other, it is very evident, that for this very Reaſon the *Perſian* Monarchy muſt, for a long Series of Years, continue broken and weak; for it is by Commerce only that the People of that Country can become formidable; for while, on the one Side, they want a Naval Power to maintain the Sovereignty of the *Caſpian* Sea, to which they pretend; and on the other Hand, to have no Fortreſſes of great Strength to ſecure their Frontiers againſt the *Uſbeck Tartars* on the North, and the *Turks* on the Weſt, they will always be in Danger from both thoſe Neighbours.

Theſe Things are ſo plain, that they cannot be denied or doubted. The ſingle Inference I would draw from this is, that ſo far as human Foreſight reaches, there ſeems to be a Diſpoſition in Providence to overturn the *Mahometan* Powers every where; for if we compare the preſent State of Things with the paſt, we cannot help ſeeing, that they are much in the ſame Situation that the *Greeks* were at the Time their Empire began to decline; and though it may be ſome Centuries before their total Deſtruction comes on, yet we muſt ſhut our Eyes againſt Evidence, if we are not convinced that it is coming. We muſt indeed allow, that there were ſome viſionary People here in *Europe*, who apprehended mighty Things from the Shah *Nadir*, and believed that he would overwhelm the *Turkiſh* Empire; but there was no Kind of Reaſon for this, except the known Weakneſs of that Empire; and if it were not for this, we might with more Reaſon expect, that the *Turks*, at this Juncture, ſhould make ſome Impreſſion upon *Perſia*, which however I am perſuaded will not happen. But if the Feuds of Chriſtian Princes were once laid aſleep, there is no Improbability in the Conjecture, that the *Ruſſians* might make themſelves Maſters, at leaſt, of ſome of the Provinces of this Empire, which lie neareſt to the *Caſpian* Sea; and whenever it ſhall happen, it may prove a Beginning to much greater Revolutions, ſince there are Multitudes of Chriſtians in the adjacent Countries, who are either of the *Greek* Religion, or very little removed from it; and if their Spirits ſhould once revive, the Weakneſs of the *Mahometans*, both here and elſewhere, would be quickly ſeen. I know very well how little Heed the preſent Generation will give to Remarks of this Nature; but I flatter myſelf, that how weak or how impertinent ſoever they may be now eſteemed, Experience will juſtify them to Poſterity.

SECTION III.

Of the Diſpoſition and Temper of the *Perſians*, their Perſons, Habits, Manner of Living, their Artificers, and Mechanicks, the Reſpect paid to Merchants, the Method in which their Inland Trade is carried on, the paſt and preſent State of the *Engliſh* Commerce, and other Particulars; together with ſome curious Obſervations on the Nature of the Silk Trade, and a Computation of the annual Balance in Favour of *Perſia*.

Collected as well from private Memoirs, as from Accounts that have been publiſhed.

1. *An Introductory Account of the Subject of this Section; the Difficulty of drawing National Characters, the likelieſt Way of coming at the Truth, the general Temper, Diſpoſition and Genius of the modern* Perſians. 2. *Of their Perſons, Dreſs, great Value of their Turbants, and of the Magnificence and Profuſion into which all Ranks of People are apt to run in that Country, in every Thing that regards Appearance and Equipage.* 3. *Of the Womens Habits, their Painting, their Head-dreſſes uſually adorned with Feathers, frequently ſet out with Jewels, and more eſpecially with Pearls, which were eſteemed the beſt in the World, ſo long as the* Perſians *were poſſeſſed of the Iſland of* Baharen. 4. *The Manner of Living in* Perſia, *the Method of eating and drinking, their Cuſtoms at their Meals, the Commonneſs of Cooks-Shops and Ordinaries amongſt them, and of the open and general Hoſpitality in* Perſia. 5. *A View of their Entertainments, the Ceremonies and Civilities that paſs upon ſuch Occaſions, their laudable*

Temperance and great Sobriety, and of the Manner in which, by the Uſe of Opium, *they ſupply their Want of ſtrong Liquors.* 6. *The Manner of travelling in* Perſia, *the Nature of Caravans, how they ſupply the Want of Wheel-Carriages, of their Foot-Poſts, and of the wonderful Swiftneſs of their Shatirs or Running-Footmen.* 7. *Of their Artificers and Mechanicks of all Sorts, the Neatneſs of ſome and the Inexpertneſs of other Workmen, and of the Nature of their Companies, and the Rules by which they are governed.* 8. *Of the Silken, Woollen, and Mohair Manufactures that are carried on in this Empire, the Management of their Domeſtick Traffick, the great Uſe of Brokers; the Manner in which their foreign Trade is carried on, and the Reaſons that hinder* Mahometans *from becoming Merchants; with ſome political Remarks upon that Subject.* 9. *The Nature of the* Engliſh *Trade in* Perſia, *the Meaſures, Weights, Money, generally uſed in that Country, and the Alterations that have happened by the Removal of the Capital from* Iſpahan *to* Meſched. 10. *A ſuccinct View of the ſeveral Routes by which foreign Commodities are introduced into* Perſia, *with a clear View of the Advantages ariſing from the new Trade to that Empire, through* Ruſſia. 11. *A ſhort Repreſentation of the Value of Silk, conſidered as the Staple Commodity of* Perſia, *and of the Advantages that would reſult to this Nation by the joint Endeavours of the* Ruſſian, Levant, *and* Eaſt-India *Companies, to import* Perſian *and* China *Silks on the cheapeſt Terms poſſible.*

1. AFTER taking a View of the Country of *Perſia*, and its Product of all Kinds, it is very natural for us to come next to the Inhabitants, for whoſe Sake the other Deſcription was held neceſſary, and made entirely with a View to render this more clear and intelligible. It muſt indeed be owned, that there is ſomething very difficult and hazardous in attempting to characterize a whole Nation, and nothing is more common than Inſtances even of great Authors falling into Miſtakes on this Head; yet as the Thing is neceſſary, ſo it is alſo very feaſible; Nations certainly have their Characters as well as private Men, and theſe are frequently hit, though to be ſure ſometimes they are miſtaken.

The Means of hitting them, is to obſerve carefully the Points in which all Travellers agree, for theſe, without Doubt, are founded in Truth and Nature; when a ſufficient Number of theſe are fixed, they will ſerve to guide you in the reſt, for the Humours of Men, though of ſeveral Sorts, and vaſtly different from each other, yet have a Connection among themſelves, that is to ſay, one Humour aſſorts with, and joins eaſily with another, while there are ſome Humours that never come together, or are found in the ſame Breaſts. That there really is ſuch a Thing as national Characters, appears from hence, that the Inhabitants of the ſame Country, through a great Diverſity of Ages, and deſcribed by Authors of various Diſpoſitions, keep pretty nearly the ſame Character; of this, the Deſcription of the People of *Paris*, by the Emperor *Julian*, is a remarkable Inſtance, and others might be mentioned, if that before us were not as good a one as any of the reſt; for whoever conſiders attentively what is ſaid of the Temper, Genius and Cuſtoms of the *Perſians*, independant of their Religion and Government, by the *Greek* and *Latin* Writers, and compares theſe with the Writings of modern Travellers, will be amazed to ſee what a Conformity there is between them, and be from thence convinced, that national Characters are nothing leſs than imaginary. But to come to the Point, and to that Deſcription which will juſtify this Obſervation, at the ſame Time that it carries on the Thread of our Diſcourſe, and performs the proper Buſineſs of this Section.

The *Perſians* are Men of bright Parts, and Abundance of Vivacity, fond of Glory, and known to excel their Neighbours of *India* in Point of Courage, inſomuch that the *Mogul* prefers them to the greateſt Poſts, both in his Court and Army; and as they were obſerved anciently to be of all Men the moſt civil and obliging, they retain the ſame Diſpoſition to this Day, eſpecially towards Foreigners, who admire their Hoſpitality and Benevolence; they are far from being guilty of that brutiſh Behaviour towards Chriſtians, as the *Turks* are; what they ſeem to be moſt juſtly and univerſally charged with, is Vanity and Profuſion in their Cloaths, their Equipages and Number of Servants; as to Voluptuouſneſs in Eating and Drinking, this does not appear to be their Vice, at leaſt we are much more guilty of it in *Europe*; for the greateſt Part of their Food is Rice, Fruits, and Garden Stuff; they have not any great Variety of Fleſh, neither have they many Ways of dreſſing it; *Pilo* ſeems to be the ſtanding Diſh, even among thoſe of the beſt Quality. And as for ſtrong Liquors, tho' they drink them now and then by Stealth, Drunkenneſs is very far from being common; Liquor is never forced, and every Man may retire from an Entertainment without Ceremony when he ſees fit, without a Breach of good Manners.

No People have a greater Genius for Poetry, inſomuch that there is not a Feſtival or Entertainment made, but a Poet is introduced and deſired to oblige the Company with his Compoſitions; and theſe Gentlemen are often found with a Crowd about them in Coffee-houſes, and other Places of publick Reſort. The *Perſians* are by ſome looked upon to be very covetous, but by this they muſt mean covetous in getting, for as to hoarding up Money they are generally abſolved. They only get that they may ſpend, and when they have furniſhed themſelves with an Equipage, Houſe and Gardens ſuitable to their Mind; they rather lay out their Money in building *Caravanſera*'s, Moſques, and on other publick Occaſions, than let it lie by them, inſomuch that ſome Travellers obſerve, that there are no People in the World that take leſs Thought for To-morrow. A Man who happens to have eight or ten thouſand Pounds fall to him, ſhall in a few Weeks lay it out in purchaſing Wives and Slaves, Cloathing, and Furniture, without conſidering where he ſhall meet a Supply, and in two or three Months after, you will ſee him diſpoſing of them again for Subſiſtance. Theſe People, it is obſerved, have a great Command of their Paſſions; they are not eaſily moved, and when they are, it proceeds very ſeldom to Blows. The Quarrel generally ends in ill Language, and perhaps ſome hearty Curſes; and to ſum up all, they call one another *Jews* or *Chriſtians*. They are of a very inſinuating Addreſs, and a moſt obliging Behaviour; few *European* Nations are more polite.

2. The *Perſians* are generally of a good Stature, well ſhaped, clean limb'd, and of agreeable Features, and in *Georgia* and the Northern Provinces, of an admirable Complexion; towards the South they are a little upon the Olive. However, the great Men having had their Wives and Concubines chiefly from *Georgia* and *Circaſſia*, for a hundred Years paſt, their Complexions are very much mended even in the Southern Provinces. Their Eyes and their Hair are generally black, and they wear only one Lock on the Crown of their Heads, like other *Mahometans*, by which they expect *Mahomet* will lift them up to Paradiſe.

As to their Beards, the Shah and the great Officers of State, and Soldiery, wear only long Whiſkers on the upper Lip, which joined to a Tuft of Hair on the upper Part of their Cheeks, grow to a very enormous Size, inſomuch that ſome of them, it is ſaid, are near half a Foot long. Their *Mollahs* and religious People wear their Beards long, only clipping them into Form, and the common People clip their Beards pretty ſhort, but none of the *Perſians* ſuffer any Hair to grow upon their Bodies. They wear large Turbants on their

Heads, ſome white, and others ſtriped with red or other Colours, and the Great Men have Flowers of Gold and Silver woven or marked on the Cloth. They have alſo a Scull-cap under their Turbant, and all together does not weigh leſs than ſeven or eight Pounds, ſometimes a great deal more. Next to their Skins they wear a Shirt of colour'd Silk or Calico, generally blue, which they ſeldom or never waſh; this Shirt has an open Boſom, but neither Neck nor Wriſtbands, and is made cloſe to the Arm; they have alſo a Pair of Breeches, or rather Drawers, cloſe before, they reach half down their Legs; their Stockings are made of woollen Cloth, but not at all ſhaped to the Leg; over the Shirt they wear a Waiſtcoat, and upon theſe a Coat with cloſe Sleeves, and Buttons and Loops before, tied with a Saſh; this is wide at Bottom, and hangs a little below their Knees; beſides this, they put on another Coat frequently, without Sleeves, the uppermoſt Coat being the ſhorteſt, and in the Winter Time over all they have another looſe Coat lined with Furrs: Inſtead of Shoes they have piqued Slippers, turned up at the Toes, and made of *Turkey* Leather, which are neither tied nor buckled, and when they ride, they have Boots of yellow Leather; their Bridles, Saddles and Houſing are immoderately fine, being almoſt covered with Gold; the Houſing is ſo large, that it almoſt hides the hinder Part of the Horſe, and whether on Foot or on Horſeback, they wear a broad Sword, and a Crice or Poniard. Their Ladies have alſo a Dagger at their Sides, eſpecially thoſe of high Rank.

3. The Garb of the Women is not very different from that of the Men, except it be, that the Women neither wear Turbants on their Heads, nor Saſhes about their Waiſts, and their Coats or Veſts reach almoſt down to their Heels. If ever they go into the Streets, which Women of Quality ſeldom do, they have a white Veil which covers them from Head to Foot. The Girls wear a ſtifned Cap upon their Heads, turned up like a Hunting-Cap, with a Heron's Feather in it, their Hair being made up in Treſſes, and falling down their Backs to a very great Length, and the Quality have Pearls and Jewels interwoven and mixed with their Hair. The married Women comb their Hair back, and having bound it about with a broad Ribbon, or rich *Tiara*, ſet with Jewels, which looks like a Coronet, let the reſt of their Hair fall gracefully down their Shoulders, than which there cannot be a more becoming Dreſs. As for Gloves, neither Men nor Women ever wear them, but their Arms and Fingers are uſually full of Rings and Bracelets enriched with Jewels.

As black Hair is the moſt common, ſo it is in moſt Eſteem, and the thickeſt and broadeſt Eye-brows are thought the fineſt; the Women, if their Eye-brows be not black, will colour them, and commonly paint their Faces; they rub their Hands and Feet with an Orange-coloured *Pomatum*. Some will have Feathers ſtand upright in their *Tiara*, and others have a String of Pearls or precious Stones faſtned to it, which hangs down between their Eye-brows; they wear alſo Jewels in their Ears, and Rows of Pearls fall down their Temples, as low as the Neck, and in ſome Provinces bordering on *India*, they have Jewels in their Noſtrils, which to the *Europeans* do not ſeem very becoming, for hanging down to the Mouth, it makes them look as if they had Hare-Lips, but the Ladies of *Iſpahan* never wear theſe Noſe-Jewels. Their Necklaces are either Gold or Pearl; they fall upon the Boſom, and there always hangs a little golden Box to them, filled with moſt reviving Perfumes.

As their Clothes are of the richeſt flower'd and brocaded Silks, it appears that their Dreſs is no inconſiderable Article in *Perſia*, where People of mean Fortunes endeavour to vie with the Quality, and will have fine Clothes, though they want Food. An ordinary Turbant cannot be purchaſed under Ten Pounds, and they frequently give twice as much, and they muſt have Variety of them, leſt they ſhould be known by their Clothes. Their Saſhes alſo are brocaded, and coſt from twenty to a hundred Crowns, and over this they have frequently another of Camel's Hair, of which the Workmanſhip is ſo curious, that it ſeldom coſts leſs. Thoſe who wear Sables, which they will not be without if they can purchaſe them, ſeldom pay leſs than a hundred Pounds for a cloſe bodied Coat; all this, with the rich Furniture and Equipage they have, when they ride out, amounts to a vaſt Sum; and this, as it well may, keeps them exceeding poor. The common Mode of living is thus:

4. Early in the Morning they uſually drink a Diſh of Coffee. About Eleven they go to Dinner, when they eat Melons, Sweetmeats, Fruit, Cheeſe, Curds, or Milk, but their principal Meal is in the Evening, when you may depend on a Diſh of *Pilo*, which is boiled Rice well buttered, and ſeaſon'd with a Fowl, a Piece of Mutton or Kid ſerved up with it; they have an excellent Way of boiling their Rice all over the Eaſt, the Water is perfectly dried away, by that Time the Rice is enough, after which they ſeaſon it with Spices, and mix Saffron or Turmeriſk with it, giving it a yellow, or what other Colour they think fit; but there is very little Variety ether in their Food, or Way of Dreſſing it; if they have a large Joint, it is baked, inſtead of being roaſted, but their uſual Way is to cut their Fleſh into little Slices, and Spitting or Skewering them together, roaſt them over a Charcoal Fire, and whether they boil or roaſt, it is always done to Rags, or it would be impoſſible to pull the Meat to Pieces with their Hands, as they do without Knives or Forks. Pork is never eaten here any more than Veal, nor do they eat Hares or other Animals prohibited to the *Jews*, Beef but ſeldom; they do not deal much in Veniſon, Fiſh or wild Fowl, they dreſs only plain Diſhes, being Strangers to Haſhes, Ragouts and other Compounds, and ſeldom have any other Sauce than a Slice of Lemon, or ſome Pickles. Bread they have baked in thin Cakes the Moment they uſe it, but eat much more Rice. They uſe no beaten Pepper, only whole, and not Abundance of Salt in their Seaſoning, nor is there any brought to Table: Meat is never ſalted before it is dreſſed. They uſually kill their Meat and Fowls the ſame Day they uſe them, and ſet by nothing to be eaten cold.

They ſit down croſs-legg'd at their Meals, and a Cloth is ſpread upon the Carpet. Then one of the Perſons who has the Proviſion before him, diſtributes Rice and Fleſh to the Company. They uſe no Spoons except for Soup and Liquids, but take up their Rice by Handfuls. They ſeldom ſit above half an Hour at Table. They waſh both before and after their Meals, making uſe of their Handkerchiefs inſtead of a Towel. The common People of *Iſpahan* ſeldom dreſs their Victuals at Home, but when they have ſhut up their Shops of an Evening, go ſtrait to the Cooks, of which there are great Numbers in that City, and buy Pilo for their Families. The Cooks have Kettles or Coppers fixed in Brick-work, in their Shops, and Stoves, over which they dreſs moſt of their Meat, making ſcarce any Uſe of Chimnies. It is remarkable of the *Perſians*, that they are ſo far from ſhutting their Doors at their Meals, that they invite every one to eat with them, who happens to come to their Houſes.

5. When a Perſon makes an Entertainment, it is uſually a Supper, notwithſtanding which the Gueſts generally come at nine or ten in the Morning, and ſpend the whole Time at the Place to which they are invited. They diſcourſe, they ſmoke, eat Sweetmeats, and paſs away the Time with a thouſand Amuſements; ſometimes they hear Poems repeated in Honour of their Prince, ſometimes the Singing Women are introduced, who ſing, and dance, and play, and ſhow antick Tricks, to divert the Company; and if any one of the Gueſts are diſpoſed to withdraw with any of theſe Dancing-Girls, they are ſhown into a private Room, and when they return Nobody takes any Notice of it. When Supper is ſerved up, the Son or ſome Relation of the Maſter of the Houſe, takes the Honours of the Feaſt upon him, and helps the Gueſts to their Meat.

They generally provide Variety of Sherbets on theſe Occaſions, their uſual Drink being nothing but fair Water, and even this, it ſeems, they drink with Ice;

it is the Employment therefore of Abundance of People about *Iſpahan*, in the Winter-Seaſon, to heap up vaſt Quantities of Ice together, and keep it in Repoſitaries under Ground all the Summer, when they ſell it to great Advantage. Wine is made in ſeveral Provinces of *Perſia*; but the *Armenians* and other Chriſtians drink the greateſt Share of it. The Officers will indeed ſometimes indulge themſelves in this Liquor, and other People drink it as they pretend for their Health, but that is not common; much the greateſt Part of it is either tranſported to the neighbouring Countries, or drank by the Chriſtians, who are diſperſed through the *Perſian* Dominions.

But thoſe who abſtain from Wine out of Conſcience, becauſe it is prohibited by Law, raiſe their Spirits with *Opium*, Bang, Poppy-ſeed, and other intoxicating Ingredients. The *Perſians*, like other Eaſtern Nations, take Pills of *Opium*, which ſome of them gradually increaſe to ſuch a Doſe, as would deſtroy half a Dozen *Europeans*. Within an Hour after they have taken the Pill, it begins to operate, and a thouſand pleaſant Scenes preſent themſelves to their Imagination; they laugh and ſing, and ſay Abundance of humorous Things like Men intoxicated with Wine, but after the Effect of it is gone off, they find their Spirits exhauſted and grow penſive and melancholy, till they repeat the Doſe again; and ſome make it ſo neceſſary to them that they cannot live without it. There is alſo a Decoction of the Seed of Poppies, ſold in moſt Cities of *Perſia*, and in theſe Houſes you will ſee People looking and talking as Men do when they are drunk: As long as they keep to the Letter of the Law, and abſtain from Wine, it is no Matter how much they diſorder themſelves, they think they ſhall never be accountable for that.

6. There are no Wheel-Carriages in this Country, but all People travel upon Camels, Horſes, Mules or Aſſes. The Women, who are to be concealed as much as poſſible, are put into a ſquare wooden Machine, of which they hang one on each Side of a Camel; they are about three Foot deep, and juſt large enough for one to ſit down in, and over-head are three or four Hoops like theſe which ſupport the Tilt of a Waggon, with a Cloth thrown over them. Their Aſſes are much larger and nimbler than ours, and will trot ten Miles at a pretty good Rate, but they are very obſtinate, and frequently throw their Riders. People uſually travel in this Country with the Caravan, conſiſting of four or five hundred Camels, beſides other Beaſts, and there is no Place where they travel with greater Security and leſs Expence, there being Caravanſera's at proper Diſtances, where they have their Lodging *Gratis*, and purchaſe Proviſion at the beſt Hand; and though the Roads are frequently ſteep and mountainous, yet ſuch Care is taken in laying Bridges and Cauſeways, and to level and enlarge the Ways, that a Traveller ſeldom meets with any Difficulties but what are eaſily ſurmounted.

Here are no General Poſts, but if any Perſon has Letters to ſend, he diſpatches a Shatir or Footman with them on Purpoſe, who will travel a thouſand Miles in eighteen or twenty Days, and not aſk more than twenty Pence or two Shillings a Day for his Trouble: They carry with them a Bottle of Water, and a little Bag of Proviſion, which ſerves them thirty or forty Hours: They generally leave the high Road, and croſs over the Country the neareſt Way. There are a great many Families which make this their only Employment, and breed their Children up to it, obliging them to run from their Infancy.

The Shah, and all the great Men, have ſeveral of theſe *Shatirs* or Footmen in their Retinue, but before a Man can be admitted one of the Imperial Footmen, he muſt give a very extraordinary Proof that he does not want Heels or Breath; for he muſt run from the great Gate of the Palace called *Aly Capi*, to a Place a League and half from the City, twelve Times in one Day, and every Time bring an Arrow along with him, which is delivered him by thoſe who ſtand at the End of the Race, to ſhew that he has run the whole Courſe; and this he performs between Sun-riſe and Sun-ſet, in thirteen or fourteen Hours at moſt, being no leſs than a hundred and eight Miles. It is always ſome Favourite Servant of the Shah's who is admitted to this Honour. On the Day of Trial the Elephants and Horſemen are drawn up in the Royal Square, with the Muſick, Drums and Trumpets ſounding, and as if it was a Feſtival. All the Great Men make Preſents to the *Shatir*, and ſeveral of them ride the Courſe with him to ingratiate themſelves with the Shah; and the Mob attend him every Time he returns with their Shouts and Acclamations. The Chams and Viceroys, who admit a *Shatir* into their Service, make him run the ſame Number of Miles, and they are careſſed and preſented by all their Dependents in the ſame Manner the Royal *Shatirs* are, though not ſo largely; for it is a very common Thing to ſee the Shah's *Shatir* preſented with above a thouſand Pounds on ſuch an Occaſion. This is a very ſtrong Mark of the Spirit of this Nation, and of that Diſpoſition they have to diſplay their Generoſity, ſometimes at the Expence of Juſtice, but without Regard to Prudence always.

7. With reſpect to their Artificers, Manufacturers, and common Tradeſmen, the Regulations that are made in this Country are extremely well contrived, for every Company has a Head or Maſter, who, with a ſmall Number of his Brethren, form a Kind of Council, and ſettle ſuch Rules and Orders for the general Benefit of ſuch as are engaged in the particular Branch of Trade he ſuperintends as to him and them ſeem requiſite. Whoever intends to ſet up a Trade, goes to the Maſter, and regiſters his Name and Abode, and no Enquiry is made who was his Maſter, or whether he underſtands the Buſineſs or not; nor is there any Reſtraint laid upon them that they ſhall not encroach upon any other Profeſſion; for Inſtance, the Braziers are at Liberty to make Silver Veſſels, as they frequently do, without being in Danger of any Diſturbance from the Silverſmiths Neither do they take Apprentices for a Number of Years, but hire their Servants, and allow them Wages from the firſt Day they entertain them. Every Trade almoſt is bound to work for the Shah whenever he requires it, and thoſe who are not, pay an annual Tax to the Government for an Exemption.

Their Armourers make very good Broad Sword Blades, and damaſk them as well as any *European*. The Barrels of their Fire-arms are not amiſs, they make them very ſtrong, and as thick at the Muzzle as at the Breech. Their Stocks are but ill contrived, being thin and light at the Butt, and not fit for a Man's Shoulder; and for Locks to their Guns, or any other Locks that have Springs, they do not pretend to make them any more than Watches or Clocks, which they either purchaſe abroad, or employ *European* Workmen to make for them. Knives, Razors, Sciſſars, and ſome other Cutlery Wares, they make very well, and little Steel Mirrors, which they uſe inſtead of Looking-glaſſes; they are almoſt all convex, and the Air is ſo perfectly dry, that they ſeldom ruſt or grow dull. The Art of making Looking-glaſſes they do not underſtand, but have them from *Europe*. However, they have a Manufacture of Glaſs, which ſerves for Windows and Bottles. The Glaſs of *Shiraz* is the beſt in the Country.

As the Uſe of the Bow is what the *Perſians* value themſelves much upon, there are no where better Bows made; the chief Materials are Wood and Horn with Sinews bound about them; they are painted and varniſhed, and made as fine as poſſible. The Bow-ſtring is of twiſted Silk, of the Bigneſs of a Gooſe-quill; their Quivers of Leather, embroidered or worked with Silk. This is a Trade they are as well verſed in as any thing, eſpecially the Gold or Silver Embroidery, either on Cloath, Silk, or Leather. They cover their Saddles and Houſings almoſt with Embroidery, and their ſtitching of the Leather is much beyond any Thing we do. Their Saddles are made after the *Morocco* Model, and the Stirrups mighty ſhort; they have a Kind of Breaſt-plate to them, and where we uſe Braſſes about our Furniture, their Men of Quality have Gold. The Leather which we call *Turkey* Leather, from its coming to us through that Country, is all made in *Perſia*. The Shagreen alſo comes from thence, which is made of the Skin of an Aſs's Rump. The Tanners dreſs their coarſe

Skins with Lime, and uſe no Bark, but Salt and Galls inſtead of it.

The making Earthen Ware is another Manufacture the *Perſians* excel in; it is much beyond the *Dutch*, and ſome ſay almoſt equal to *China* Ware. The Places where it is chiefly made, are, *Sheraz*, *Metſch*, *Yeſd*, and at *Kerman*: And mending of Glaſs and Earthen Ware, is a particular Trade in *Perſia*; they will drill Holes through them, and faſten the Pieces together, ſo that a broken Bowl or Plate will hold Liquids, as well as it did at firſt. Their Gold Wire-drawers and Thread-twiſters are Artiſts alſo in their Way; they will draw a Piece weighing a Drachm, to the Length of three hundred *Perſian* Ells. Their Lapidaries underſtand the Grinding of ſoft Stones, and cutting them pretty well. Their Dying is preferred to any Thing of that Kind in *Europe*, which is not aſcribed ſo much to the Artiſt, as to the Air, which being dry and clear, gives a Livelineſs to the Colours, and fixes them.

The *Perſian* Taylors work very neatly; and as the Men's Clothes are made of the richeſt flower'd and brocaded Silks, they are fitted exactly to their Bodies without the leaſt Wrinkle, and their Sewing is incomparably beyond that of our Workmen, as the fine Materials they work on require it ſhould. They work Flowers alſo upon their Carpets, Cuſhions and Window-Curtains, ſo very nicely, that they look as if they were painted.

With Taylors, we muſt not forget to mention their Barbers, who are no leſs excellent in their Way; for they will ſhave the Head almoſt at half a Dozen Strokes, and have ſo light a Hand, that you can ſcarce feel them; they uſe only cold Water, and hold no Baſon under your Chin as with us, but have their Water in a Cup, about the Bigneſs of a little China-Diſh: After they have ſhaved a Man, they cut the Nails of his Feet and Hands, with a little Iron Inſtrument like a Bodkin, ſharp at the End; then they ſtretch his Arms, and rub and chafe his Fleſh, which is an Amuſement, that the *Europeans* as well as the Natives are pleaſed with, in theſe hot Countries. But notwithſtanding this, theſe Artiſts are nothing comparable in their Way to thoſe of *India*, and theſe again fall as ſhort of the *Chineſe* Barbers.

8. We are now to proceed to the more material Parts of the *Perſian* Commerce, from whence their national Riches flow, and by which they draw to themſelves the Wealth of other Countries; for as we before obſerved, Gold and Silver are no longer the Produce of *Perſia*, but are brought thither in Payment for their Commodities. Silks are the principal Manufacture of the Country, ſuch as Taffaties, Tabbies, Sattins and Silk mixed with Cotton or Camel and Goats-hair, Brocades and Gold Tiſſue: of the ſingle Brocade there are a hundred Sorts, the double are called Duroy or Two-faces, becauſe both Sides are equally good; they are the richeſt that are to be met with any where; and the Gold Velvet which is wrought in *Perſia* is admirable; all their rich Stuffs are very durable; the Gold or Silver does not wear off or tarniſh while the Work laſts, but keeps its Colour and Brightneſs. The fineſt Looms for theſe Stuffs are at *Iſpahan*, *Caſhan* and *Yeſd*. Thoſe for Carpets are chiefly made in the Province of *Kirman*, what are commonly called *Turkey* Carpets are indeed *Perſian*, but obtained that Name from being brought to us by Way of *Turkey*.

The Camel Hair Stuffs are made in *Carmania*; it is mighty ſoft and ſmooth, and almoſt as fine as Beaver Wool, but the Stuffs they make with it are not very ſtrong. Camblets and Silk, and worſted Druggets are made in the ſame Province. Goats-hair Stuffs are made in *Hyrcania*, and near the Gulph of *Baſſora*. There is ſome Callico-Cloth made in *Perſia*, and they know how to paint and ſtain it, but it is not comparable to the *Indian* Callicoes. A Merchant is a very honourable Profeſſion in *Perſia*, and the more ſo, becauſe there is no ſuch Thing as hereditary Nobility, which deſcends from Father to Son; as to thoſe in great Poſts, their Honour and their Profits terminate with the Office; and their Lives and Fortunes are both in perpetual Hazards, eſpecially under a weak and cruel Prince. The Trader ſeems more independant than any other Subject, and notwithſtanding the Government be deſpotick, they are uſually encouraged, becauſe they bring in a conſiderable Revenue to the Crown; and another Thing is, the greateſt Miniſters do not think the Buſineſs of a Merchant beneath them; even the *Shah* himſelf, within our Remembrance, has had his Factors and Agents in the neighbouring Kingdoms, and exported Silks, Brocades, Carpets, and other rich Goods, and his Agents at the Mogul's Court, and elſewhere, have frequently had the Character of Ambaſſadors conferred upon them, when indeed their Buſineſs was chiefly Commerce.

All Buſineſs of Conſequence is carried on in *Perſia* by Brokers, who are very cunning; after they have agreed and talked over the Matter at the Sellers-houſe, they agree about the Price upon their Fingers, putting their Hands under a Cloth; the Finger's End it ſeems ſtands for one, the bent Finger for Five, and the ſtrait for ten, the Hand open for a hundred, and if ſhut a thouſand; and they keep ſo even a Countenance all the while they are tranſacting the Affair, that it is impoſſible for a Stander-By to gather any Thing from the Circumſtances. But notwithſtanding the *Mahometans* are the governing Part of the Country, they are not the greateſt foreign Traders. The *Armenian* Chriſtians and *Banians* of *India*, have much the largeſt Share.

The *Mahometan Perſians* trade from one Province of their own Country to another, and to *India* pretty much, but the *Armenians* manage the whole *European* Trade: One Reaſon whereof is, that the *Mahometans* do not care to go into Chriſtian Countries, becauſe they cannot there obſerve the Cuſtoms their Religion preſcribes; for their Law it ſeems forbids them to eat Fleſh killed or dreſſed by a Man of a different Religion, or drink out of the ſame Cup with him, and even prohibits the touching of Perſons in ſome Circumſtances, whom they look upon to be polluted. Another Thing, which is a Diſadvantage to their Trade is, that the taking up Money at Intereſt is unlawful, though they are at Liberty to make what Advantage they can in buying and ſelling. It appears from hence, that from the very Nature of their Religion, all *Mahometan* Powers ſtand excluded from Commerce, and this is the true Secret of the Declenſion of their Governments; for as Trade produces Shipping, as Shipping in Proceſs of Time begets Naval Power, and as it is a Maxim, juſtified by Experience, as well as founded in Reaſon, that naval Power will in the End get the better of all other Power; it follows that the *Mahometans* wanting this, can only prey upon each other by Land, from whence Revolutions in Power, but no Acceſſion of Power can ever ariſe. Whereas if Chriſtians ſhould turn their Arms upon the *Mahometans*, ſo as to make Conqueſts, and come into Poſſeſſion of their Countries, the Caſe would be altered, their Commerce would follow them, and the new erected Principalities would in a ſhort Space of Time acquire a Naval Power, and ſo be in a Condition to extend their Conqueſts at the Expence of their *Mahometan* Neighbours.

9. We are indebted to Mr. *Lockyer* for the beſt, indeed for the only tolerable Account we have of the Method Trade is carried on in *Perſia*, and therefore from him we muſt borrow what is neceſſary for the Reader's Information upon that Subject. Their great Weights are Maunds only, and theſe differ according to the Nature of the Commodities to be delivered by them. Sugar, Copper, Tutanague, all Sorts of Drugs, *&c.* are ſold by the Maund Fabrees; which in the Factory and the Cuſtom-houſe is near ſix Pounds and three Quarters, *Averdupois*; but in the *Bazar* it is not above ſix Pounds and a Quarter, which one ought to have Regard to in buying out of the Shops.

Eatables and all Sorts of Fruit, as Rice, Raiſins, Prunelles, Almonds, Onions, *&c.* are ſold by the Maund Copara of ſeven Pounds and three Quarters in the Factory, and from ſeven Pounds and a Quarter to ſeven Pounds and a half in the *Bazar*. Fine Goods, as, Gold, Silver, Muſk, Acheen, Camphir, Bezoar, Coral, Amber, Cloves and Cinnamon, Oils, dried China, Silk, *&c.* are ſold by the Miſcal, ſix of which are commonly counted an *Averdupois* Ounce; its juſt Weight is 2 dw. 23 gr. 24d. ps. *Troy.* The Maund Shaw is two Maund Tabrees, uſed at *Iſpahan.* All Bargains in *Gambron* are made for Shahees, and the Company keep their Accounts in them, reckoning them worth four Pence each, though that Coin is rarely met with, but in its Stead Coz and Mamooda's are current every where. Horſes, Camels, Houſes, *&c.* are generally ſold by the Toman, which is two hundred Shahees, or fifty Abaſſes, and they uſually reckon their Eſtates that Way; ſuch a one, they ſay, is worth ſo many Tomans, as we ſay, Pounds in *England.* The Laree is uſed about *Iſpahan,* nor are Abaſſes to be got without allowing ſeven or eight *per Cent.* for the Difference in Exchange, yet Returns to Fort St. *George,* and other Parts of *India,* are commonly made with them. Next to theſe, Chequeens are the moſt profitable; there are ſeveral Sorts of them, but the *Venetian* is better than the reſt by one and a half or two *per Cent.* at *Surat,* and ſeveral other Ports on the *Malabar* Coaſts whither vaſt Quantities are ſent every Year. When a Parcel of *Venetian* Ducats are mixed with others, the whole goes by the Name of Chequeens of *Surat*; but when they are ſeparated, one Sort is called *Venetians,* and all the others Gubbers indifferently.

The *Engliſh Eaſt-India* Company, as has been obſerved, do not only receive the Sum of three thouſand three hundred and thirty three Pounds ſix Shillings and eight Pence of the Government of *Perſia,* in Lieu of the Service the Company did them in taking the Iſland of *Ormus* from the *Portugueſe,* but they have an Exemption alſo from Cuſtoms, and whatever Ships trade under their Protection have the like Exemption, only paying the following Port Charges, *viz.* Two *per Cent.* on the Sale of Goods to the Company, one *per Cent.* Conſulage to the Agent, one *per Cent.* to the Broker. Boat or Franky Hire for landing Goods is thirty Mamooda's *per* 2000 Maund Tabrees. Hamalgae, or Cooly Hire at Weighing, one Coz of every twenty Maund Tabres. The Company do not meddle at all with the Trade between *Perſia* and *India*; this they leave altogether to their Factors and Servants, and to ſuch Country Ships and private Traders as put themſelves under their Protection, and are content to pay the Port Duties above-mentioned.

It is to be obſerved, that the *Turkey* Company having always had an Opportunity of ſending great Quantities in *Perſia* from *Aleppo,* abated much of the Commerce which the Agents of the *Eaſt-India* Company would otherwiſe have carried on in that Empire. Of late the *Ruſſia* Company have alſo interfered in this Trade, by tranſporting great Quantities of *Engliſh* Goods by the *Caſpian* Sea; and it is generally believed, that ſo long as we maintain an amicable Correſpondence with the Court of *Peterſbourg,* this Trade will not only go on, but increaſe, which muſt be attended with great Advantages to the Nation. As this appears to be a Matter of far greater Conſequence to us than any thing that has occurred in this Section, it is but reaſonable that the Point ſhould be fully explained, as well for the Advantage of the preſent Age, as for the Benefit of Poſterity.

10. In order to ſet this Affair in as clear a Light as it is poſſible, we ſhall obſerve, that all foreign Commodities are brought into *Perſia* by four great Routs; and that by each of theſe, more or leſs of *Britiſh* Commodities have been, or may be introduced into this Country, where there always has been, and, if we are true to our Intereſt, there always muſt be, a very high Demand for them. Of theſe Routs the firſt is that of *Balſora,* or *Baſſora,* a great City at the Bottom of the *Perſian* Gulph, ſubject to its own Prince, and a Kind of *Emporium* or Magazine of *Turkiſh, Perſian,* and *Indian* Commodities. The Goods that are brought hither for the *Perſian* Market, come by Land by the Caravan from *Aleppo,* in about thirty Days, and are tranſported from thence either to *Bandar Abaſſi,* or *Iſpahan.* It is by this Caravan that the *Turkey* Company tranſport *Engliſh* Cloths into *Perſia* in Exchange for Silk, which they purchaſe at *Aleppo,* and conſequently this Trade is either greater or leſs, according to the good Correſpondence between the two Empires of *Turkey* and *Perſia.* By this Means alſo we were led into Errors about Carpets, Leather, and other Commodities which paſs for *Turkiſh,* becauſe imported by the *Turkey* Company from *Turkey,* though really of *Perſian* Growth and Manufacture.

The next great Rout is that of *Gambron,* or *Bandar Abaſſi,* with reſpect to which we have already given a large Account from Mr. *Lockyer.* Goods are brought hither by Sea, but not directly, as many apprehend, from *England*; on the contrary, they come from ſome *Indian* Port, and conſequently are charged with a very high Freight, and with other incident Charges, which render them very dear; notwithſtanding which, in Times of Peace, and when Things were well ſettled in *Perſia,* the Shah keeping his Court at *Iſpahan,* there was large vent for them, and our Agent there lived with all the Pomp and Splendour of a Prince. The Reader will eaſily diſcern from hence, how great a Change muſt have been wrought in the Traffick carried on by this Canal, by the Diſturbances which laſted ſo many Years in *Perſia,* and by the Change of the Capital of that Empire, which is now removed to a prodigious Diſtance from *Bander Abaſſi*; and if he deſires any Proof of this Fact, the recalling the *Engliſh* Agents from *Iſpahan* and *Bandar Abaſſi,* may paſs for inconteſtable Evidence.

The third Rout is that through *India* to *Boſt,* which, as we have ſhewn in the Deſcription of the *Perſian* Empire, is the Eaſtern Magazine, as *Bandar Abaſſi* is the Southern, and *Baſſaro* is the Weſtern for all that enter into *Perſia.* By this Means it is very far from being impoſſible that the *Eaſt-India* Company ſhould introduce *Engliſh* Goods into this Empire; but whether they are actually carried thither by this Road, is more than I am able to ſay; and if they are, I preſume it is done by *Indian, Armenian* or *Jewiſh* Merchants.

The fourth or laſt Rout is by the *Caſpian* Sea, and the *Engliſh* Commodities that are ſent this Way, muſt of Neceſſity paſs through *Ruſſia.* For the carrying on this Trade Magazines muſt be erected at *Aſtracan,* and from thence the Goods are tranſported into the Provinces of *Gilan* or *Aſtarabat*; from which laſt Province the Caravans go in a Week to *Meſched,* which is the preſent Capital of *Perſia.*

It may be ſaid, that this is going a great Way about, and taking a vaſt Compaſs before our Goods arrive at Market. To this there are two Anſwers; the firſt is, that let the Inconveniencies that attend this Commerce be what they will, they muſt be born, for we have before ſhewn, that little or nothing can now be expected from tranſporting of Goods to *Bandar Abaſſi,* much leſs from *Aleppo,* which lies ſtill at a much greater Diſtance from *Meſched*; ſo that we are under a Neceſſity of taking this Compaſs, if we will not entirely loſe the *Perſian* Commerce, and therefore it is to no Purpoſe to complain, even ſuppoſing the Objection were well grounded. The ſecond is, that there is not either Truth or Force in the Objection, for Goods may be tranſported from *Peterſbourg,* from thence through *Ruſſia* to *Aſtracan,* croſs the *Caſpian* to *Gilan,* and ſo to *Meſched,* and the Returns made the ſame Way in half the Time that they could be made by the Way of *Gambron.*

We may add to this, that we now go to the Market and ſell our Goods, or rather barter them for *Perſian* Silk upon the Spot, whereas formerly we went a great Way about; and notwithſtanding this, the *Perſian* Factors went alſo a great Way to get at us, ſince before we could ſhip the *Perſian* Silk, it muſt either be carried by Land to *Aleppo,* which was three Months Journey, or to *Bandar Abaſſi,* which was above two. Beſides, it is highly probable, that when our Commerce at *Meſched* is as well fixed as it was at *Iſpahan,* we ſhall be able to tranſport *Engliſh* Cloths into the remoteſt Parts of *Tartary,* and thereby reap moſt of thoſe Advantages that were heretofore wiſhed for and expected from the Diſcovery of a North Weſt Paſſage. It was by this very Canal, and in ſpite of all the Inconveniencies with which it has been ſuppoſed to be attended, that the *Dutch* diſpoſed of prodigious Quantities of their Cloths in *Perſia,* which for that Purpoſe were bought up by the *Armenian* Merchants; and it was by this Way alſo, that the *French* were in Hopes of eſtabliſhing a Trade to *Perſia*, as appears by a very curious Memoir preſented to the *French* Miniſtry upon that Head, the Subject of which is inſerted in the Dictionary of Commerce, one of the beſt and moſt uſeful Works that was ever publiſhed. But there is ſtill ſomewhat behind with which the Reader ought to be acquainted, in order to frame a true Notion of the Value and Importance of this Trade, about which ſo many Diſputes have been of late Years raiſed in this Kingdom.

11. We have already enumerated the Commodities of *Perſia*, and ſhall not therefore pretend to meddle with them again; for in order to give the Reader a View of the Trade of this Empire, it will be ſufficient for our preſent Purpoſe, to inſiſt barely upon the Silk, of which there are four Sorts; the firſt is, that which in *Perſia* they call *Shirvan*, but which we in *Europe* call *Hardaſs*; the ſecond, is what they call *Karvary*, but we uſually ſtile it *Legee* or rather *Legy*, from the little Town of *Legiam* in *Gilan*, from whence the greateſt Part of it is brought; the third is in their Language called *Ked-Coda-penſend*, which is as much as to ſay, Tradeſmens Silk; the laſt is what they and we call *Sherbaſſe*, or, as the common People ſtile it, *Turkey* Silk, from the Miſtake which has been ſo often mentioned.

Of all theſe Kind of Silks, the Provinces of *Georgia*, *Gilan*, *Mezanderan*, *Shirwan*, *Choraſan* and *Kirman*, produce annually, about Twenty-two thouſand Bales, each of about two hundred and fourſcore Pounds Weight. Of theſe it is computed, that not above two thouſand Bales are wrought up in all the Manufactures of *Perſia*, from the coarſeſt Carpets, to the richeſt Brocades. At this Rate, there are between five and ſix Millions of Pounds of Silk yearly carried out of *Perſia*, and as it is worth about ten Shillings a Pound on the Spot, the Reader will eaſily apprehend, that raw Silk is a kind of Gold Mine to the *Perſians*, ſince it furniſhes them with between two and three Millions annually, above one half of which is receiv'd in ready Money.

In the next Place it is to be ſhewn, how the bringing in vaſt Quantities of Silk turns to the Advantage of this Nation. In reſpect to our Silk Manufactures, what we bring of this Sort ſerves only for the Shoote, for the Warp of all our raw Silks is, as we have elſewhere told the Reader, *Organzine* or *Italian* Silk, which is prodigiouſly dear. If therefore we can abate the Price of this, we may the better afford to pay for that; or if we can obtain the Quantities we want, in Exchange for our Manufactures, this will prove a very great Saving; and whatever can be ſaved in this Way, will enable us to work ſo much the cheaper.

It has been ſuggeſted, that it might be attended with Inconveniencies for our *Turkey* and *Ruſſia* Companies to interfere with each other in this Trade, which I confeſs, ſurpaſſes my Comprehenſion; and I am ſo far from believing that any bad Conſequences will reſult from thence, that I think it may be demonſtrated, this is the only, or at leaſt the moſt practicable and beſt Method of making Companies uſeful, by engaging them to vie with each other in exporting *Britiſh* Commodities and Manufactures, and provided this can be done, it is of no real Conſequence to the Nation who does it. But there is another Thing that, joined to this, would be of ſtill greater Conſequence, and that is, the *Eaſt-India* Companies, exerting themſelves in procuring of Silk from *China*, which would ſupply the Place of the *Piedmonteſe* or *Organzine* Silk; and thus by the united Efforts of theſe three Companies, it is very poſſible that twenty or thirty *per Cent.* might be ſaved in the prime Coſt of Silk to this Nation; and of what prodigious Benefit ſuch a Saving would prove in our Manufactures, and how much it would contribute to enable us to work cheaper than our Neighbours, I leave every ſenſible and ſtudious Reader to judge.

I know very well, that in order to bring ſuch a Project as this to bear, there muſt be ſome Application made to Parliament for an Alteration in the Duties; and I am perſuaded that no great Difficulty would be found in obtaining this, if the Reaſonableneſs of the Thing was fairly ſhewn, and, as it might be, fully made out. Our great Misfortune is, that Commerce is not ſufficiently explained or underſtood, the Reaſon of which I take to be, that none concern themſelves about the Theory, but thoſe who are engaged in the Practice; and as theſe muſt be always intereſted, it will very rarely happen that they can be impartial Judges. It is from this Motive that I have ſo often turned my Pen to this Subject, with a View, if poſſible, to excite a more general Attention to what is certainly in itſelf the moſt conſiderable and important Object of all political Conſiderations.

SECTION IV.

Containing an Account of the Government and Conſtitution of *Perſia*, the Nature of the *Shah*'s Power, the Diſtribution of Civil, Eccleſiaſtical and Military Offices, the interior Policy of the Empire, the regular Forces kept up there, both Horſe and Foot, and the Nature and Amount of the publick Revenues.

The whole digeſted into Order from the beſt Authorities.

1. *An Introductory Account of the Reaſon and Subject of this Section, in which the Conſtitution of arbitrary Monarchies is explained, and applied to the preſent Purpoſe.* 2. *Of the Power of the* Perſian *Monarch, how far abſolute and terrible; and how, notwithſtanding mild and equal enough, with Reſpect to the Bulk of the People.* 3. *Of the Conſtitution of the* Perſian *Court, the principal Officers therein, their Ranks and Subordination, and the Duties of their reſpective Offices.* 4. *Of the Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitution in* Perſia, *and the Difference between the Head of the* Mahometan *Church there, and in* Turkey. 5. *Of the Government of the Provinces, the ſeveral Checks contrived for the Safety of the Prince, and the Preſervation of his Subjects.* 6. *Of the regular Troops or old ſtanding Army of the* Perſian *Empire, how compoſed, under what Diſcipline, and the Methods by which it was ſubſiſted.* 7. *Of the new ſtanding Army introduced by the* Shah's, *intirely dependant upon them, how model'd and provided for, and how corrupted and rendered uſeleſs.* 8. *Of the Art Military among the* Perſians, *their Manner of making War, acting offenſively, defenſively, and particularly their Method for ſecuring themſelves againſt Invaſions.* 9. *Some further Obſervations on the military Affairs of this Empire, on the Advantages*

vantages enjoyed by, and the Diſadvantages under which the Perſians *labour, from the Regulations eſtabliſhed amongſt them in this Reſpect.* 10. *Of the State of Property in this Empire, whence the Imperial Revenues ariſe, how levied, and their Amount.* 11. *Obſervations and Remarks on ſeveral Particulars delivered in the Courſe of this Section.*

1. AS at this Juncture the *Perſian* Empire, by the Murder of the Shah *Nadir*, is in ſuch Confuſion, that it may be in ſome Meaſure conſidered as diſſolved and no longer a Government at all; ſo it might ſeem excuſeable, if we had paſſed by this Section altogether; yet conſidering that even in abſolute Monarchies, Revolutions are but convulſive Motions, and that as ſoon as they ceaſe the Body Politick recovers its natural Conſtitution, we could not but think it very requiſite, for the Reader's Information, that a View ſhould be given of the Form of the *Perſian* Government, and this for three Reaſons, Firſt, Becauſe we are very apt to confound all abſolute Monarchies one with another, and to ſuppoſe that there neither is, nor well can be, any Difference between them; whereas, in Truth, the Form of ſuch Governments may, and actually do vary, as much as any other of the milder Forms, as the Reader will ſee by this Inſtance. Secondly, Of all the abſolute Monarchies in the Eaſt, the Conſtitution of the *Perſians* was very juſtly held to be the beſt; and therefore it deſerves, of all others, to be repreſented to the View of the Reader, who from hence will learn by what Modification the arbitrary Power of a Sovereign may be rendred in ſome Meaſure beneficial to his Subjects. Thirdly, Becauſe, in all human Probability, the *Britiſh* Nation may hereafter have a cloſer Communication with, and enter into a more extended Trade amongſt the Inhabitants of *Perſia* than in Times paſt; ſo that it is highly requiſite we ſhould enter, at leaſt briefly, into a Subject that may, to us or our Poſterity, become of extraordinary Importance.

It is by no Means fit, that ſo large and ſo regular a Collection as this ſhould be governed by temporary Views, or that we ſhould take the Liberty, becauſe this Country is at preſent unſettled, to ſlip over its Government, which we have a moral Certainty will be re-eſtabliſhed, perhaps before this very Collection is compleated. Beſides all this, there are a great Variety of Articles which naturally fall within the Compaſs of this Section, that tend to give us a fuller and more perfect Notion of the State of this Empire and its Inhabitants, than can be obtained by the Peruſal of any ſingle Book of Travels, in which the State of the Country is repreſented, as it ſtood at the Time the Author viſited it. But notwithſtanding that, the Force of theſe Conſiderations have determined us to inſert this Section; we ſhall not forget the Obligation we are under to keep Things within their due Bounds, and ſhall therefore labour to deliver, as ſuccinctly as it is poſſible, without Prejudice to their Perſpicuity, the ſeveral Articles that we think ourſelves obliged to handle for the Reader's Inſtruction and Entertainment, and in order to render our Account of *Perſia* conſiſtent with the general Plan of this Work.

2. The Shah of *Perſia* is an abſolute Monarch, and has the Lives and Eſtates of his Subjects entirely a his Diſpoſal. There is no Prince in the World more implicitly obeyed; let his Orders be ever ſo unjuſt, or given at a Time when he is ſo little Maſter of his Reaſon that he knows not what he ſays, or does, nothing can ſave the greateſt Subject if he determines to deprive him of his Life or his Eſtate; neither Zeal for his Perſon, Merit, or paſt Services, will avail in the leaſt. If he be in a Humour to ruin them, it is done by a Word of his Mouth, or by a Sign, and executed in an Inſtant, without any Form of Law, or Evidence of Facts. The common People, who are at a Diſtance from the Court, have much the better of the Quality in this Reſpect; there are very ſeldom Inſtances of any Oppreſſion or ſevere Judgments executed upon theſe, but they ſeem to enjoy as much Security as in any Country in the World; and perhaps the Magiſtrates are the more inclined to govern equitably, in regard they know nothing can ſkreen them from the Reſentment of their Sovereign, if they are guilty of any ſiniſter Practices. The *Perſians*, out of Conſcience, it is ſaid, obey all the Commands of their Prince without Reſerve, and believe that his Orders ought to be obeyed againſt the very Laws of Nature, inſomuch that if the Son be commanded to be his Father's Executioner, or the Father the Son's, it muſt be complied with. But if he command any Thing in Prejudice of their Religion, they are not obliged to obey him, but ought to ſuffer any Thing rather than violate the Law of God.

Yet nothing makes the *Perſian* Government appear ſo tyrannical, as the Cuſtom of executing the Governors of Provinces, and great Officers of State, without giving them an Opportunity of making their Defence, or being informed of the Crime they are charged with; it is uſual for the *Shah* two or three Times in a Year to ſend every Governor the *Calaat* or Royal Veſt, and theſe are ſent by ſuch Perſons as the Court intends a Favour to, for the *Cham* or Governor, to whom they are ſent, always makes a conſiderable Preſent to the Meſſenger.

When he comes within two or three Miles of the Place where the Governor reſides, the Meſſenger ſends him Word to come and receive the *Calaat*, but inſtead of a fine Coat, the Governor is ſometimes preſented with a Halter, and is diſpatched without any farther Ceremony.

This makes the Governors very circumſpect in their Conduct, and they are always under diſmal Apprehenſions, when they hear the *Calaat* is arrived, knowing how common it is to have their beſt Actions miſrepreſented to their Prince. The *Perſians* ſay in Defence of this Practice, that the Court ſeldom proceeds with that Severity, but in extraordinary Caſes, where the Fact is notorious, and there is Danger of Rebellion, if they ſhould cite the Perſon accuſed to anſwer; that if it be otherwiſe, they always give him an Opportunity of anſwering his Charge.

As for thoſe about the Court, whom the *Shah* looks upon as Slaves he has purchaſed, he does not think himſelf obliged to obſerve theſe Formalities, but dooms them to be puniſhed, or put to Death, as he ſees fit. The *Shah* of *Perſia* has no Council of State, as in the *European* Governments, but he acts as he is adviſed by his Prime Miniſter and great Officers; that which moſt perplexes the Miniſtry, is the Cabals that are carried on by the Women in the *Haram*; the Reſolutions that are taken here, frequently thwart their beſt laid Schemes, and the Miniſters do not only run the Riſque of having their Counſels rejected, but they very often turn to their own Deſtruction, if they are not ſuitable to the Inclinations of the Ladies moſt in Favour. This is not an Evil peculiar to *Perſia*, but a kind of Curſe, throughout all Eaſtern Courts; and perhaps ſome in the Weſt are not altogether free from it.

3. The Royal Family of *Perſia* are, generally ſpeaking, more unhappy than the Princes of the *Ottoman* Blood, for though they are not put to Death ſo frequently as the former, yet they uſually have their Eyes put out, and live in that miſerable Condition many Years. They have the *Tartar* Title of *Mirza* added to their Names, which is equivalent to our Title of Highneſs, and is never given but to thoſe of the Imperial Line. The firſt Miniſter in the Empire is the *Atamadoulet*, a Word which ſignifies the Support of the Empire. In Petitions, or when they ſpeak to him, they ſtile him the Grand Vizir, or Vizir *Azem*. No Buſineſs of Conſequence is tranſacted in the State but by the Direction of this Miniſter, nor any Grant or Act of State of the *Shah*'s held to be valid, till counterſeal'd by him.

The Reaſon whereof is ſaid to be, that their *Shah*'s being bred up in the Women's Apartment, and perfectly ignorant in Affairs of State, it is neceſſary, for the Safety of the People, and the Preſervation of the Government, that their Orders ſhould be conſidered by ſome wiſe Miniſter, before they are put in Execution. The Grand Vizirs in *Turkey*, it is obſerved, ſeldom die a natural Death; on the other Hand, the Prime Miniſter of *Perſia*, if it be thought fit to diſcharge him, is uſually permitted to retire, and end his Days in Peace with his Family. The ſecond Poſt in the Government is, that of the *Divan Beghis* or *Bey*. This great Magiſtrate is the laſt Reſort in all Cauſes, Civil and Criminal, unleſs where the *Shah* in Perſon ſits in Judgment. The *Divan Bey* can command any Cauſe to be removed to his Tribunal, from any Court in the Kingdom; and during the late Reigns it has not been known that their *Shahs* have ever ſat in a Court of Juſtice, or concerned themſelves in examining the Decrees of the *Divan Beghi*.

In the third Rank come the Generals, and firſt the Generaliſſimo when there is one. The next Place is the General of the *Courtchis*, which are a Body of thirty thouſand Horſe, of *Turk* or *Tartar* Original. The third is the General of Muſqueteers, a Body which ſerve on Horſeback, but fight on Foot like our Dragoons. The fourth is the General of the *Coulars*, or Royal Slaves as they are called; and the laſt the Maſter of the Ordnance. After the Generals, the *Vacanaviſh* or Secretary of State, poſſeſſes the next Poſt. This Officer regiſters the publick Acts, and has the Care of the Records; he alſo appoints a Deputy in every Province of the Empire, who tranſmits all Affairs of Conſequence to him, to be laid before the Miniſtry. The laſt great Officer is the *Mirab*, or Lord of the Water. Every Province has its particular *Mirab*, who takes Care to diſtribute the Waters of the Rivers and Aqueducts in ſuch Proportion, that every Part of the Country may have an equal Share.

Theſe are all the principal Officers of State. Thoſe of the Houſhold are firſt the *Nazir*, who is both Lord Treaſurer and Steward, and it is with this Gentleman, that all Ambaſſadors and Foreigners tranſact their Affairs, but there is a Comptroller and ſeveral other Officers which are a Check upon him, as he is on the Prime Miniſter, and thoſe two have a very great Influence in the Court of *Perſia*. But to prevent the *Shah*'s Treaſury being miſapplied, no Sums are paid out of the Treaſury, but the Order paſſes under the Seals of the Prime Miniſter, the *Nazir*, the *Divan Bey*, and two other Officers of the Revenue. The next is the *Ichicagaſi Baſſa*, who commands all that attend in the outward Palace, and the Guards.

When the *Shah* goes out, this Lord marches before him with a great Staff, covered with Gold and precious Stones; he does not ſit, as ſeveral Officers do of inferior Quality, but ſtands always ready to obey his Imperial Majeſty's Orders, and ſee them executed. And after him is the great Huntſman, who has not leſs than a thouſand Huntſmen and Falconers under him. After this Officer, the principal Phyſician and principal Aſtrologer take Place, which are Poſts of great Honour and Profit.

4. As to Eccleſiaſtical Officers in this Empire, the Grand Pontiff is uſually ſtiled the *Sedre* in *Perſia*; they alſo give him the Titles of Prince, Head of the true Church, Subſtitute of *Mahomet*, and Lieutenant of the twelve *Imans*, or *Caliphs*, who ſucceeded their Patriarch *Haly*. The Churchmen and bigotted Part of the *Perſians* hold, that the Dominion of the Laity is an Uſurpation, and that the Government belongs of Right to the High-Prieſt; but that of the Majority is, that the Regal Power exerciſed by their Princes is derived from God, and that the High Prieſt and his Brethren ought not to meddle with Politicks, yet the *Sedre* and his Subſtitutes are the ordinary Judges in all civil as well as Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes; Lawyer and Divine are Terms of the ſame Signification in *Perſia*, their eccleſiaſtical and civil Laws being indeed the ſame. The temporal Judges have no written Laws to go by, but their Decrees are founded upon ancient Cuſtom, or the Equity of the Caſe, and the Judges in their temporal Courts are uſually Men of the Sword. The *Sedre* is the ſupreme Judge in the Eccleſiaſtical Courts, and takes Place in all publick Aſſemblies next to the *Atamadoulet* or Prime Miniſter.

The ſecond Eccleſiaſtical Judge, is the Ancient of the Law, whom the *Perſians* ſtyle *Cheik Iſlam*; his Juriſdiction is little inferior to the *Sedre*'s, and the People ſeldom appeal from one of theſe Courts to the other, but to the *Divan Beghi*, who is the ſupreme Judge in all Cauſes, eccleſiaſtical as well as temporal. The *Cadi* is the third Eccleſiaſtical Judge in *Perſia*, he takes Cognizance of the ſame Cauſes with the two former, but his Authority is confined to ſome particular Town or Diſtrict. The *Mufti* is the fourth, who has not that Authority here as in *Turkey*, for he cannot controul or reverſe the Proceedings of inferior Courts, but is reverenced however as a Perſon well ſkilled in the Eccleſiaſtical Laws, and his Opinion frequently demanded by the other Judicatures, who notwithſtanding act as they think fit. Theſe Judges do not ſit all in one Court, but have each their reſpective Tribunal, and the People apply indifferently to the one or other, as they are inclined.

5. There is in every Province of this Empire, a Chan and a Vizier; the Vizier has the Government of all thoſe Towns and Villages which are the King's Demeſne Lands, or which belong to the Crown in Propriety, and the Chan of the Province in general. This Word *Chan*, or *Caun*, as we pronounce it, and *Cham*, ſignify the ſame Thing, namely, *viz.* a puiſſant or mighty Prince; and this is the Title of all the *Tartar* Princes in *Aſia*; and the *Perſian* Provinces being of the Extent of Kingdoms, and formerly diſtinct Sovereignties, the *Perſian* Court have thought fit to give their Governors the Titles of ſovereign Princes; and the Shah of *Perſia* is frequently ſtiled now, as his Predeceſſors of old, *King of Kings*. Indeed the Chans in their reſpective Provinces, live almoſt in as much State as their Sovereigns, having exactly the ſame Kind of Officers as are in the Shah's Court with the ſame Titles, there being ſcarce any Difference but in Numbers and Penſions. The Chan commands the Militia of the Province, and aſſigns Lands for their Maintenance; he reviews them at certain Times, and ſees that they are fit for Service, their Arms and Horſes in good Order, and that they all perform their Exerciſes well; but every Soldier is permitted to live in his own Houſe in Time of Peace.

The Chans or Governors of Provinces have their Poſts for Life, and if they behave well, their Children after them. There are two Degrees of theſe Chans, the greateſt is called *Beglerbeg*, or Lord of Lords; the other is ſtiled *Coulembeg*, or Lord of Slaves. The Governors of the Frontier Provinces are for the moſt Part *Beglerbegs*, as the Chan of *Armenia*, from whom the Chans of *Churs*, *Marega*, and other Diſtricts, in Time of War, receive their Orders, and are obliged to march under his Standard. Sometimes theſe inferior Governments are made independent of the Chan of the Province. In every Province there are three Officers put in by the Government, who are independent of the Chan, namely, the *Janitchim* his Lieutenant, the Vizier or Receiver General of the Shah's Revenues, who hath alſo the Management of the Lands belonging to the Crown, and the Government of all Places where the Crown Lands lie; and the *Vacanaviſh*, or Secretary, whoſe Buſineſs it is to take an Account of all Tranſactions of Moment in the Province, and tranſmit them to Court.

One principal Deſign of placing theſe Officers about the Chan, is to obſerve his Conduct, and oppoſe him if he ſhould undertake any Thing againſt the State. Beſides theſe, the Governors of Cities and Caſtles, who are called *Daregas*, are put in directly by the Shah, and have their Lieutenants and *Vacanaviſh* alſo independent of them; and the ſame Perſon who is Governor of the City is never made Governor of the Fortreſs which belongs to it. The Miniſters of State, and Generals of Armies, have alſo their Lieutenants and Comptrollers, to ſuperintend their Conduct, with ſecret Orders how to act on certain Emergencies; but it is obſerved, that unleſs in Matters where the Safety of the State is concerned, thoſe Officers have a very good Underſtanding, and agree ſo well together, that the Shah is no leſs

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vantages enjoyed by, and the Diſadvantages under which the Perſians *labour, from the Regulations eſtabliſhed amongſt them in this Reſpect. 10. Of the State of Property in this Empire, whence the Imperial Revenues ariſe, how levied, and their Amount. 11. Obſervations and Remarks on ſeveral Particulars delivered in the Courſe of this Section.*

1. AS at this Juncture the *Perſian* Empire, by the Murder of the Shah *Nadir*, is in ſuch Confuſion, that it may be in ſome Meaſure conſidered as diſſolved and no longer a Government at all; ſo it might ſeem excuſeable, if we had paſſed by this Section altogether; yet conſidering that even in abſolute Monarchies, Revolutions are but convulſive Motions, and that as ſoon as they ceaſe the Body Politick recovers its natural Conſtitution, we could not but think it very requiſite, for the Reader's Information, that a View ſhould be given of the Form of the *Perſian* Government, and this for three Reaſons, Firſt, Becauſe we are very apt to confound all abſolute Monarchies one with another, and to ſuppoſe that there neither is, nor well can be, any Difference between them; whereas, in Truth, the Form of ſuch Governments may, and actually do vary, as much as any other of the milder Forms, as the Reader will ſee by this Inſtance. Secondly, Of all the abſolute Monarchies in the Eaſt, the Conſtitution of the *Perſians* was very juſtly held to be the beſt; and therefore it deſerves, of all others, to be repreſented to the View of the Reader, who from hence will learn by what Modification the arbitrary Power of a Sovereign may be rendred in ſome Meaſure beneficial to his Subjects. Thirdly, Becauſe, in all human Probability, the *Britiſh* Nation may hereafter have a cloſer Communication with, and enter into a more extended Trade amongſt the Inhabitants of *Perſia* than in Times paſt; ſo that it is highly requiſite we ſhould enter, at leaſt briefly, into a Subject that may, to us or our Poſterity, become of extraordinary Importance.

It is by no Means fit, that ſo large and ſo regular a Collection as this ſhould be governed by temporary Views, or that we ſhould take the Liberty, becauſe this Country is at preſent unſettled, to ſlip over its Government, which we have a moral Certainty will be re-eſtabliſhed, perhaps before this very Collection is compleated. Beſides all this, there are a great Variety of Articles which naturally fall within the Compaſs of this Section, that tend to give us a fuller and more perfect Notion of the State of this Empire and its Inhabitants, than can be obtained by the Peruſal of any ſingle Book of Travels, in which the State of the Country is repreſented, as it ſtood at the Time the Author viſited it. But notwithſtanding that, the Force of theſe Conſiderations have determined us to inſert this Section; we ſhall not forget the Obligation we are under to keep Things within their due Bounds, and ſhall therefore labour to deliver, as ſuccinctly as it is poſſible, without Prejudice to their Perſpicuity, the ſeveral Articles that we think ourſelves obliged to handle for the Reader's Inſtruction and Entertainment, and in order to render our Account of *Perſia* conſiſtent with the general Plan of this Work.

2. The Shah of *Perſia* is an abſolute Monarch, and has the Lives and Eſtates of his Subjects entirely a his Diſpoſal. There is no Prince in the World more implicitly obeyed; let his Orders be ever ſo unjuſt, or given at a Time when he is ſo little Maſter of his Reaſon that he knows not what he ſays, or does, nothing can ſave the greateſt Subject if he determines to deprive him of his Life or his Eſtate; neither Zeal for his Perſon, Merit, or paſt Services, will avail in the leaſt. If he be in a Humour to ruin them, it is done by a Word of his Mouth, or by a Sign, and executed in an Inſtant, without any Form of Law, or Evidence of Facts. The common People, who are at a Diſtance from the Court, have much the better of the Quality in this Reſpect; there are very ſeldom Inſtances of any Oppreſſion or ſevere Judgments executed upon theſe, but they ſeem to enjoy as much Security as in any Country in the World; and perhaps the Magiſtrates are the more inclined to govern equitably, in regard they know nothing can ſkreen them from the Reſentment of their Sovereign, if they are guilty of any ſiniſter Practices. The *Perſians*, out of Conſcience, it is ſaid, obey all the Commands of their Prince without Reſerve, and believe that his Orders ought to be obeyed againſt the very Laws of Nature, inſomuch that if the Son be commanded to be his Father's Executioner, or the Father the Son's, it muſt be complied with. But if he command any Thing in Prejudice of their Religion, they are not obliged to obey him, but ought to ſuffer any Thing rather than violate the Law of God.

Yet nothing makes the *Perſian* Government appear ſo tyrannical, as the Cuſtom of executing the Governors of Provinces, and great Officers of State, without giving them an Opportunity of making their Defence, or being informed of the Crime they are charged with; it is uſual for the *Shah* two or three Times in a Year to ſend every Governor the *Calaat* or Royal Veſt, and theſe are ſent by ſuch Perſons as the Court intends a Favour to, for the *Cham* or Governor, to whom they are ſent, always makes a conſiderable Preſent to the Meſſenger.

When he comes within two or three Miles of the Place where the Governor reſides, the Meſſenger ſends him Word to come and receive the *Calaat*, but inſtead of a fine Coat, the Governor is ſometimes preſented with a Halter, and is diſpatched without any farther Ceremony.

This makes the Governors very circumſpect in their Conduct, and they are always under diſmal Apprehenſions, when they hear the *Calaat* is arrived, knowing how common it is to have their beſt Actions miſrepreſented to their Prince. The *Perſians* ſay in Defence of this Practice, that the Court ſeldom proceeds with that Severity, but in extraordinary Caſes, where the Fact is notorious, and there is Danger of Rebellion, if they ſhould cite the Perſon accuſed to anſwer; that if it be otherwiſe, they always give him an Opportunity of anſwering his Charge.

As for thoſe about the Court, whom the *Shah* looks upon as Slaves he has purchaſed, he does not think himſelf obliged to obſerve theſe Formalities, but dooms them to be puniſhed, or put to Death, as he ſees fit. The *Shah* of *Perſia* has no Council of State, as in the *European* Governments, but he acts as he is adviſed by his Prime Miniſter and great Officers; that which moſt perplexes the Miniſtry, is the Cabals that are carried on by the Women in the *Haram*; the Reſolutions that are taken here, frequently thwart their beſt laid Schemes, and the Miniſters do not only run the Riſque of having their Counſels rejected, but they very often turn to their own Deſtruction, if they are not ſuitable to the Inclinations of the Ladies moſt in Favour. This is not an Evil peculiar to *Perſia*, but a kind of Curſe, throughout all Eaſtern Courts; and perhaps ſome in the Weſt are not altogether free from it.

3. The Royal Family of *Perſia* are, generally ſpeaking, more unhappy than the Princes of the *Ottoman* Blood, for though they are not put to Death ſo frequently as the former, yet they uſually have their Eyes put out, and live in that miſerable Condition many Years. They have the *Tartar* Title of *Mirza* added to their Names, which is equivalent to our Title of Highneſs, and is never given but to thoſe of the Imperial Line. The firſt Miniſter in the Empire is the *Atamadoulet*, a Word which ſignifies the Support of the Empire. In Petitions, or when they ſpeak to him, they ſtile him the Grand Vizir, or Vizir *Azem*. No Buſineſs of Conſequence is tranſacted in the State but by the Direction of this Miniſter, nor any Grant or Act of State of the *Shah*'s held to be valid, till counterſeal'd by him.

The Reaſon whereof is ſaid to be, that their *Shah*'s being bred up in the Women's Apartment, and perfectly ignorant in Affairs of State, it is neceſſary, for the Safety of the People, and the Preſervation of the Government, that their Orders ſhould be conſidered by ſome wiſe Miniſter, before they are put in Execution. The Grand Vizirs in *Turkey*, it is obſerved, ſeldom die a natural Death; on the other Hand, the Prime Miniſter of *Perſia*, if it be thought fit to diſcharge him, is uſually permitted to retire, and end his Days in Peace with his Family. The ſecond Poſt in the Government is, that of the *Divan Beghis* or *Bey*. This great Magiſtrate is the laſt Reſort in all Cauſes, Civil and Criminal, unleſs where the *Shah* in Perſon ſits in Judgment. The *Divan Bey* can command any Cauſe to be removed to his Tribunal, from any Court in the Kingdom; and during the late Reigns it has not been known that their *Shahs* have ever ſat in a Court of Juſtice, or concerned themſelves in examining the Decrees of the *Divan Beghi*.

In the third Rank come the Generals, and firſt the Generaliſſimo when there is one. The next Place is the General of the *Courtchis*, which are a Body of thirty thouſand Horſe, of *Turk* or *Tartar* Original. The third is the General of Muſqueteers, a Body which ſerve on Horſeback, but fight on Foot like our Dragoons. The fourth is the General of the *Coulars*, or Royal Slaves as they are called; and the laſt the Maſter of the Ordnance. After the Generals, the *Vacanaviſh* or Secretary of State, poſſeſſes the next Poſt. This Officer regiſters the publick Acts, and has the Care of the Records; he alſo appoints a Deputy in every Province of the Empire, who tranſmits all Affairs of Conſequence to him, to be laid before the Miniſtry. The laſt great Officer is the *Mirab*, or Lord of the Water. Every Province has its particular *Mirab*, who takes Care to diſtribute the Waters of the Rivers and Aqueducts in ſuch Proportion, that every Part of the Country may have an equal Share.

Theſe are all the principal Officers of State. Thoſe of the Houſhold are firſt the *Nazir*, who is both Lord Treaſurer and Steward, and it is with this Gentleman, that all Ambaſſadors and Foreigners tranſact their Affairs, but there is a Comptroller and ſeveral other Officers which are a Check upon him, as he is on the Prime Miniſter, and thoſe two have a very great Influence in the Court of *Perſia*. But to prevent the *Shah*'s Treaſury being miſapplied, no Sums are paid out of the Treaſury, but the Order paſſes under the Seals of the Prime Miniſter, the *Nazir*, the *Divan Bey*, and two other Officers of the Revenue. The next is the *Ichicagaſi Baſſa*, who commands all that attend in the outward Palace, and the Guards.

When the *Shah* goes out, this Lord marches before him with a great Staff, covered with Gold and precious Stones; he does not ſit, as ſeveral Officers do of inferior Quality, but ſtands always ready to obey his Imperial Majeſty's Orders, and ſee them executed. And after him is the great Huntſman, who has not leſs than a thouſand Huntſmen and Falconers under him. After this Officer, the principal Phyſician and principal Aſtrologer take Place, which are Poſts of great Honour and Profit.

4. As to Eccleſiaſtical Officers in this Empire, the Grand Pontiff is uſually ſtiled the *Sedre* in *Perſia*; they alſo give him the Titles of Prince, Head of the true Church, Subſtitute of *Mahomet*, and Lieutenant of the twelve *Imans*, or *Caliphs*, who ſucceeded their Patriarch *Haly*. The Churchmen and bigotted Part of the *Perſians* hold, that the Dominion of the Laity is an Uſurpation, and that the Government belongs of Right to the High-Prieſt; but that of the Majority is, that the Regal Power exerciſed by their Princes is derived from God, and that the High Prieſt and his Brethren ought not to meddle with Politicks, yet the *Sedre* and his Subſtitutes are the ordinary Judges in all civil as well as Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes; Lawyer and Divine are Terms of the ſame Signification in *Perſia*, their eccleſiaſtical and civil Laws being indeed the ſame. The temporal Judges have no written Laws to go by, but their Decrees are founded upon ancient Cuſtom, or the Equity of the Caſe, and the Judges in their temporal Courts are uſually Men of the Sword. The *Sedre* is the ſupreme Judge in the Eccleſiaſtical Courts, and takes Place in all publick Aſſemblies next to the *Atamadoulet* or Prime Miniſter.

The ſecond Eccleſiaſtical Judge, is the Ancient of the Law, whom the *Perſians* ſtyle *Cheik Iſlam*; his Juriſdiction is little inferior to the *Sedre*'s, and the People ſeldom appeal from one of theſe Courts to the other, but to the *Divan Beghi*, who is the ſupreme Judge in all Cauſes, eccleſiaſtical as well as temporal. The *Cadi* is the third Eccleſiaſtical Judge in *Perſia*, he takes Cognizance of the ſame Cauſes with the two former; but his Authority is confined to ſome particular Town or Diſtrict. The *Mufti* is the fourth, who has not that Authority here as in *Turkey*, for he cannot controul or reverſe the Proceedings of inferior Courts, but is reverenced however as a Perſon well ſkilled in the Eccleſiaſtical Laws, and his Opinion frequently demanded by the other Judicatures, who notwithſtanding act as they think fit. Theſe Judges do not ſit all in one Court, but have each their reſpective Tribunal, and the People apply indifferently to the one or other, as they are inclined.

5. There is in every Province of this Empire, a Chan and a Vizier; the Vizier has the Government of all thoſe Towns and Villages which are the King's Demeſne Lands, or which belong to the Crown in Propriety, and the Chan of the Province in general. This Word *Chan*, or *Caun*, as we pronounce it, and *Cham*, ſignify the ſame Thing, namely, *viz.* a puiſſant or mighty Prince; and this is the Title of all the *Tartar* Princes in *Aſia*; and the *Perſian* Provinces being of the Extent of Kingdoms, and formerly diſtinct Sovereignties, the *Perſian* Court have thought fit to give their Governors the Titles of ſovereign Princes; and the Shah of *Perſia* is frequently ſtiled now, as his Predeceſſors of old, *King of Kings*. Indeed the Chans in their reſpective Provinces, live almoſt in as much State as their Sovereigns, having exactly the ſame Kind of Officers as are in the Shah's Court with the ſame Titles, there being ſcarce any Difference but in Numbers and Penſions. The Chan commands the Militia of the Province, and aſſigns Lands for their Maintenance; he reviews them at certain Times, and ſees that they are fit for Service, their Arms and Horſes in good Order, and that they all perform their Exerciſes well; but every Soldier is permitted to live in his own Houſe in Time of Peace.

The Chans or Governors of Provinces have their Poſts for Life, and if they behave well, their Children after them. There are two Degrees of theſe Chans, the greateſt is called *Beglerbeg*, or Lord of Lords; the other is ſtiled *Coulembeg*, or Lord of Slaves. The Governors of the Frontier Provinces are for the moſt Part *Beglerbegs*, as the Chan of *Armenia*, from whom the Chans of *Churs*, *Marega*, and other Diſtricts, in Time of War, receive their Orders, and are obliged to march under his Standard. Sometimes theſe inferior Governments are made independent of the *Chan* of the Province. In every Province there are three Officers put in by the Government, who are independent of the Chan, namely, the *Janitelim* his Lieutenant, the Vizier or Receiver General of the Shah's Revenues, who hath alſo the Management of the Lands belonging to the Crown, and the Government of all Places where the Crown Lands lie; and the *Vacanaviſh*, or Secretary, whoſe Buſineſs it is to take an Account of all Tranſactions of Moment in the Province, and tranſmit them to Court.

One principal Deſign of placing theſe Officers about the Chan, is to obſerve his Conduct, and oppoſe him if he ſhould undertake any Thing againſt the State. Beſides theſe, the Governors of Cities and Caſtles, who are called *Daregas*, are put in directly by the Shah, and have their Lieutenants and *Vacanaviſh* alſo independent of them; and the ſame Perſon who is Governor of the City is never made Governor of the Fortreſs which belongs to it. The Miniſters of State, and Generals of Armies, have alſo their Lieutenants and Comptrollers, to ſuperintend their Conduct, with ſecret Orders how to act on certain Emergencies; but it is obſerved, that unleſs in Matters where the Safety of the State is concerned, thoſe Officers have a very good Underſtanding, and agree ſo well together, that the Shah is no leſs cheated and deceived than if the Management was in one Hand. Beſides, the *Daroga* or Governor, the Vizier and *Vacanaviſh*, there are alſo in every Town the *Cadi*, or Civil Judge, before whom all ordinary Cauſes are heard; the Head Officer among the Trading People, the Provoſt or Sheriff; and every particular Trade has a Warden or Maſter. There is an Officer alſo who has a Watch, and is principally concerned in keeping the Peace in every great Town in the Night-time.

The Governor of every Town is the Judge in the laſt Reſort in criminal and civil Caſes too, if he pleaſes to interpoſe, and may inflict any Pains on Offenders ſhort of Death. Capital Puniſhments are very rare in *Perſia*, and the Sentence is, in moſt Caſes, paſſed by the Shah himſelf. The uſual Puniſhment is a Fine, which always goes to the Shah, or rather to the Governor of the Province, who generally brings the Crown indebted to him in his Accounts. When a Governor or Vizier is ſent into any Province, he has his Inſtructions in Writing; wherein are contained the Extent of his Government, of the Revenues, and the Manner in which he is to treat the People; and Inſtructions, in like Manner, are given to every Officer of State when he enters on his Poſt. On the other Hand, when a Governor or other Officer returns from his Command, which he never does but by expreſs Order of the Court, he waits without at the Gate of the Palace, and gives Notice by ſome of his Friends of his Arrival, and that he begs to throw himſelf at his Imperial Majeſty's Feet; whereupon Orders are uſually given for his Admittance; but ſometimes, if the Perſon has miſbehaved in his Poſt, inſtead of an Anſwer in the ordinary Stile, Orders are iſſued to take off his Head.

6. The *Perſians* are naturally a brave People, but the Sloth and Inactivity of their Princes had of late render'd them not ſo formidable as they uſed to be. In the laſt Century, under *Abbas* the Great, they make conſiderable Conqueſts on the Side of *Turkey*, as well as *India*, though their Troops were always much inferior in Number to the Armies either of the Grand Signior or Great Mogul; but they ſunk in our Time ſo much below what they were in that Reign, that every little *Tartar* and *Arabian* Prince inſulted their Frontiers, and robbed them of ſome Part of their Territories, before the late Shah *Nadir* aſſumed the Government.

The Forces of *Perſia* are divided into the Troops of the State and the Shah's. The Troops of the State are entertained by the Governors of the reſpective Provinces, and paid out of certain Lands appropriated for that Purpoſe, and are divided into Militia and regular Troops. The regular Troops are called *Courtchis*; they were originally of *Tartary*, a ſtout hardy Race of People who lived in Tents. Theſe are the Soldiers which are properly called *Cooſelbaſhes*, or Red-heads, ſo ſtiled when they came to the Aſſiſtance of *Cheic Sefi*, the Founder of the late Imperial Family, for which Service he allowed them the Honour of wearing red Caps or Turbants, of a particular Form, like that he wore himſelf. Theſe *Cooſelbaſhes* remained in their Tents, as well in Time of Peace as War, and employed themſelves in feeding, buying and ſelling of Cattle, from whence they were called *Courtchis*, or Shepherds.

The Service they did to *Cheic Sefi*, and their Zeal for the Religion of the *Imans*, procured them great Reſpect, and they poſſeſſed the chief Poſts both in the Court and Army; and from theſe the *Perſian* Soldiery, and afterwards all the *Perſians* in general, obtained the Appellation of *Cooſelbaſhes*, a Name formidable to the *Indians*, *Turks* and *Tartars* in the laſt Age; and it was by this Generation that the *Turkiſh* Language was introduced into the Court of *Perſia*, and the Northern Parts of that Kingdom, where they ſpeak it much more than the *Perſian*. The *Cooſelbaſhes* held the firſt Rank in the Kingdom till the Reign of *Abbas* the Great, who endeavoured to ſuppreſs them upon account of the unreaſonable Influence he obſerved they had in all Affairs of State, depoſing and ſetting up what Princes they thought fit, like the *Turkiſh Janizaries*. He was ſo jealous of his own Son, on account of the Reſpect he had obſerved they paid him, that he cauſed him to be put to Death, and diſperſed the *Cooſelbaſhes* in ſmall Detachments through all the Provinces of the Empire. Theſe Troops ſerve on Horſeback, carrying a Bow and Arrows, a Sword, Poinard, and Lance, with a Hatchet at the Saddle-ſkirts; and for Defenſive Arms have a Shield and Helmet; they are commanded always by their own Officers, and their General is called *Courtchibathi*, or Commander of the *Courtchis*.

Both the *Courtchis* and *Militia* have their Pay out of the Lands of the State of the reſpective Provinces, and enjoy it as their Inheritance, from Father to Son, if they do not refuſe to bear Arms: They are obliged to march to the Place of Rendezvous on twelve Hours Notice, and every Year paſs in Review before a Commiſſary ſent from Court, or before the Governor of the Province.

7. The Troops of the *Shah* are two Bodies, which *Abbas* the Great inſtituted. One conſiſts of twelve thouſand Men, and are called the Muſketeers, becauſe inſtead of Bows and Arrows they carry Muſkets, and though they march on Horſeback, yet like our Dragoons they fight on Foot. *Shah Abbas* uſed to oppoſe them to the *Turkiſh Janizaries*, of whom he had obſerved the Enemy made great Advantage in their Engagements with him. Before this Time neither Foot-Soldier or Fire-Arms were ever heard of in *Perſia*, and their Neighbours the *Tartars* have no Foot among them to this Day. The other Body conſiſted of Ten thouſand Horſe; theſe were called *Coulars*, and carried Fire-Arms alſo inſtead of Bows. They were called *Coulars* or Slaves, to ſignify their Devotion to their Sovereign, or as ſome ſay, becauſe they come from thoſe Countries from whence the *Perſians* had their Slaves, as *Georgia*, *Circaſſia*, &c. Part of them are ſent as Preſents to the *Shah* when they are young; and the reſt are deſcended from the People of thoſe Countries, who are ſettled in *Perſia*. They almoſt all profeſs the *Mahometan* Religion, though deſcended from Chriſtian Parents. *Abbas* the Great had a particular Affection for this Body, and uſed to call them his Horſe *Janizaries*. They are tall well-made Fellows, in whoſe Courage and Fidelity the Shah has a particular Confidence; for as they ſcarce know the Country or Relations from whence they ſprang, and can have no other Views, than to recommend themſelves to their Maſter by their Services, they are entirely devoted to the Crown, and obey every Order without Heſitation; and from among theſe, the Court uſually prefers Men to the higheſt Poſts; ſo that conſidering the Number of *Georgian* Women which are married into *Perſia*, and the Poſts the Men who derive themſelves from thence poſſeſs, the *Perſian* Court may, one half of them, probably be of *Georgian* Extraction.

It is obſerved, that in *Perſia*, as well as *India*, the Word *Slave* is an honourable Title, and preferable to that of Subject; nay, a certain *French* Author tells us, that the Word *Koulam Shah*, or King's Slave, is equal to that of Marquis in *France*, becauſe all that have that Denomination are ſure to be preferred to ſome Poſt if they behave well. Beſides theſe, there are two other ſmall Bodies, the one called *Sophi*'s or *Sephi*'s, inſtituted for a Guard to the King's Perſon by *Cheik Sefi*; theſe are not above two hundred Men, and wear the Sophi's Cap on their Heads, and for their Arms have a Sabre, a Poinard, and an Ax, which they carry on their Shoulders. The ſecond, called the *Zirzari*, or the Six hundred, who are all of the Size of Grenadiers, ſtout young Fellows, inſtituted by *Abbas* the Second for a Guard to his Perſon, *Anno* 1654. The Monarchs of *Perſia*, before that Time, had no Guards in the Palace, or when they went abroad, for the *Sephies* only ſerved to make a Show at Feſtivals, and on publick Occaſions; they wear long red Caps of the Form of a Sugar-loaf, and their Arms are a Muſket, Sabre, and Poinard, which are adorned with Silver, and exceeding fine; they are under the Command of the General of the Muſqueteers, and a ſmall Party of them do Duty at the Palace Gates.

All the Troops of *Perſia* are comprehended under theſe two Names, of *Courtchis* and *Coulars*, that is, Shepherds or Slaves, by which they underſtand the Soldiers of the old or new Eſtabliſhment. The Shah finds all the Troops with Horſes, Arms, and Accoutrements, but every Man provides himſelf with Cloaths according to his Fancy, the Soldiers having no particular Livery, any more than the Servants of the King's Houſhold, or of any great Man. There was in the Reign of *Abbas* the Great, a Body of twelve thouſand Men, that belonged to the Artillery, but they were diſcharged in the Reign of *Abbas* the Second, and the *Perſians* had no Artillery, unleſs ſome uſeleſs Guns in the Front of the Palace at *Iſpahan*, and in ſome other great Towns, which are more for Show than Service, till they were new diſciplin'd of late Years by *Shah Nadir*.

8. Their Armies were never large, conſidering the Extent of the Empire: *Abbas* the Great, who made ſuch conſiderable Conqueſts, had never more than a hundred and twenty thouſand Men in his Service in all the Provinces; and the Soldiers have been ſo ill paid in the late Reigns, that they have deſerted, and gone into foreign Service, or applied themſelves to other Employments, which the Courtiers winked at, putting their Pay in their Pockets, and never filling up their Places. The *Perſian* Troops not being troubled with Artillery or Baggage, make prodigious ſwift Marches, and fall upon an Enemy frequently in his Camp or Quarters, with incredible Fury, when he leaſt ſuſpects ſuch a Viſit. At other Times they cut off his Proviſions, and turn the Waters from their uſual Courſe, and having ſufficiently harraſſed him in a long March through a deſert Country, when he is fatigued and diſpirited, fall upon him. When an Enemy makes Head againſt them, they will fly till they have drawn him into ſome diſadvantageous Ground, and then return to the Charge again.

In their Retreat, as has been obſerved, they ſhoot more Arrows than when they advance, as Hiſtory acquaints us was the Practice of the ancient *Parthians*. The *Perſians* never throw up any Intrenchments about their Camps, their Fortification is ſome Mountain or difficult Paſs; but in Sieges they intrench, and uſually take a Place by undermining it; and it is thought that no People underſtand Mining and ſubterraneous Works better than the *Perſians*. It was thus they took *Erivan*, the Capital of *Armenia*, from the *Turks* the laſt Time. This City, in a very ſhort Space, found almoſt every Part of it undermined. But as the *Perſians* do not trouble themſelves with Artillery, ſo neither have they any Bread-waggons or Sutlers amongſt them, and yet their Camp is generally as well ſupplied as a Camp need to be, the Country People continually following them with Proviſions. Indeed, as Rice and Fruit is almoſt all they want, it can be no difficult Matter to ſupply ſuch ſmall Bodies as take the Field in *Perſia*, eſpecially as they are perpetually in Motion, and ſeldom ſtay long in a Camp.

When they are apprehenſive of an Invaſion, their conſtant Method is to withdraw all the People on the Frontiers, and deſtroy the Country in ſuch a Manner as the Enemy may find Nothing to ſubſiſt on, not leaving ſo much as a Spire of Graſs, or a Tree upon the Ground; but they give the Huſbandmen Time to ſecure their Grain, Fruits, and Forage, by burying them, with moſt Part of their Utenſils, in deep Pits, which they will do in ſuch a Manner that it is almoſt impoſſible to diſcover them; and as the Earth is very dry, they receive no Manner of Damage. The Army having thus deſtroyed the Country for eight Days Journey together, they encamp near it in ſeparate Bodies, and as they ſee Occaſion, fall upon the Enemy and diſtreſs him in his March; ſometimes they fall upon one Quarter of his Camp, and ſometimes on another, in the Night-time; and if they cannot by this Means put a Stop to his March, they retire farther into the Country, driving the People ſtill before them, and deſtroying every Thing as before; and by theſe Means they have defeated the greateſt *Turkiſh* Armies.

When the Enemy are retired, every Man returns to his Lands again. As for the Houſes, thoſe of the common People are no great Loſs, they are ſoon run up with Clay or ſuch Materials as they find upon the Place. The *Perſians* are ſaid to found their Conduct upon this *Dilemma*, either the Enemy will invade us with great Numbers, or but few; if he brings great Numbers, conſidering the Extent of deſart Ground he muſt march over, it is impoſſible he ſhould ſubſiſt; if their Numbers are but ſmall, we ſhall harraſs them in their March till they come to Nothing, without running the Hazard of a Battle.

9. The *Perſians* are excellent Markſmen, as well with their Fire-Arms, as their Bows and Arrows. Their Colours are made of rich Silks, in much the ſame Manner as our Horſe Standards; for a Device, they write ſome Paſſage of the *Alcoran*, or part of their Confeſſion of Fath, and ſometimes have a Lion, with the Sun riſing over his Back, wrought in them. The great Standard-Bearer, whom they call *Alemdar Baſſa*, is one of their principal Military Officers. The Management of the Soldiers Pay is much commended, becauſe they do not ſuffer it to paſs through their Officers Hands, but every Man receives it of the Farmers of ſuch Lands as are appropriated for that Purpoſe; the Officers Pay is very good; the General of the Muſketeers, and the General of the *Coulars*, have each of them above three thouſand Pounds a Year; and as the Lands aſſigned for the Payment of it are valued mighty low, it is thought to amount to four Times as much.

In time of Peace, they uſually keep a Body of ſix or ſeven thouſand Men in *Chaldea* towards *Babylon*, to prevent the Incurſions of the roving *Arabs*. The Governor of *Armenia* has about five thouſand Men under his Command, and the Governor of *Georgia* a like Number. In *Choraſſan* they have uſually eight thouſand Men to bridle the *Uſbeck Tartars*, and ſuch another Body in the Province of *Candahar*, towards *India*, and theſe Troops being the Outguards of the Empire, and almoſt in conſtant Action, were eſteemed pretty good; but as for the reſt, who are cantoned in the Inland Country, they enjoyed ſo long a Peace, that even Travellers obſerve, they had not the Air of Soldiers.

In thoſe Parts of the Country, where they have Sea for a Boundary, they keep ſcarce any Troops, inſomuch, that in *Gilan*, and *Mazendran*, which lie on the *Caſpian* Sea, the *Coſſacks* have landed ſmall Parties, and plundered the Country for ſeveral Days together; and here the *Muſcovites* very lately fixed themſelves with very little Oppoſition, though it be one of the richeſt and moſt fertile Countries in the Empire. The *Perſian* Generals are perplex'd with nothing ſo much as the ſtupid Conduct of the Court, in attending to the Predictions of their Aſtrologers. Theſe Men are ever averſe to War, becauſe they are obliged to take the Field with the Prince, and therefore ſeldom fail to pronounce it unlucky to enter into one on any Conſideration whatever; and if ever they are brought to approve of a War, they muſt prognoſticate the lucky Minute, when to encamp, and when to march, *&c.* So that the Generals loſe the great Advantages which might be made ſometimes, by waiting till they conſult the Stars. The favourite Women and the Eunuchs are no leſs averſe to War than the Aſtrologers; for in loſing their Prince, they loſe their all, and therefore they conſtantly fall in with the Aſtrologers, to divert their Lord from every Enterpriſe which carries a Face of Danger.

All this muſt be underſtood of the old Line, of which *Thamas* the Son of *Huſſein*, depoſed by *Mer-Weys*, and afterwards reſtor'd, depos'd again, and at laſt put to Death, by *Thamas Kuli Kan*, or with his Privity, who thereupon aſſumed the Title of *Shah Nadir*, was the laſt. It is a Thing ſurprizing, that conſidering the great Extent of Coaſt which they have upon the *Perſian* Gulph, and the Ocean on the South, and the Number of their Provinces bordering upon the *Caſpian* Sea, they ſhould never think in earneſt, or to ſpeak with the greater Propriety, ſhould never think at all of raiſing a Naval Force, which if they had done, would have rendered them ſecure at Home and reſpected Abroad.

The only Reaſon that can be aſſigned for this is, their Neglect of Trade, which Defect in their Conſtitution, if the ingenious Reader will attentively conſider, he will without Difficulty diſcover, that it is the ſole

Source of the frequent Troubles, Rebellions, and Revolutions, which have ſo often brought the *Perſian* Government to the Brink of Ruin. This will be the more obvious to the Reader, when we come to ſtate the Nature of Property among the *Perſians*, from whence it will appear, that the landed Intereſt in that Country is tolerably ſecured; but as the like Proviſion is not made for the Money'd Intereſt, People do not turn themſelves ſufficiently to thoſe Methods of Subſiſtance that would make the Government eaſy, and themſelves happy.

10. The Lands of *Perſia* are either ſuch as are cultivated, or ſuch as are uncultivated, and uninhabited, of which the latter are ten to one more than the former. The Lands in Occupation are of four kinds; the Lands of the State, the *Shah*'s demeſne Lands, the Lands of the Church, and laſtly, thoſe belonging to private Men. The Lands of the State contain much the greater Part of what is cultivated, and are in the Poſſeſſion of the Governors of the reſpective Provinces, who out of them take their own Revenue, and aſſign the reſt for the Payment of their Officers, and the Troops they are obliged to maintain; for every Soldier has his Pay aſſigned him upon ſome Village or Farm, in the ſame Manner as in *Sweden*. The Demeſne Lands are the *Shah*'s particular Eſtate, out of which are paid the Officers of the Houſhold, and the Troops he maintains over and above thoſe which are maintained at the Charge of the reſpective Provinces, and the Reſidue are given among the Courtiers and Favourites; or managed by the Viziers and Intendants, who remit the Produce of them into the Treaſury.

The Lands which belong to the Church, are the Donation of Princes, or private Men, and are accounted ſacred, ſo that they are never taxed or confiſcated for any Crime whatever, and after one Year's Poſſeſſion, the Title of them cannot be called in Queſtion, on any Account whatever. The Lands of private Men are held of the Crown for the Term of ninety nine Years, paying an inconſiderable Quit-rent; and at the Expiration of the Term of ninety nine Years, they are allowed to renew their Leaſe for the ſame Number of Years on advancing one Year's Income. As to the uncultivated Lands, if any Perſon deſires to build upon them, or to convert any Part of them into plowed Fields or Gardens, the King's Officers procure him a Grant for ninety nine Years, under a ſmall Rent, which Terms are renewed as other private Eſtates; ſo that all Ranks of Men derive their Eſtates immediately from the Crown, and by this Method have a Perpetuity, on Payment of their Fines and accuſtomed Rents.

The Officers of the Shah, as well as private Owners, let out their Lands to Huſbandmen, upon Condition of receiving a third Part of the Produce uſually; but the Rent is more or leſs, according to the particular Agreements of the Parties; and the Grain in *Perſia* being ſubject to be deſtroyed by Hail, Drought, Locuſts, and other Inſects, the Tenants never fail to inſiſt on an Abatement in theſe Caſes. When the Deſtruction is very great, the Huſbandmen take the withered Branches of Trees, and the damaged Ears of Corn, and reſort to the Shah's Officers, complaining of the Seaſon, and their Inability to pay their uſual Rent; if they have received never ſo little Hurt, their Complaints are very loud, and they frequently make an Advantage of the Misfortune.

Private Landlords are leſs ſubject to be impoſed upon in theſe Caſes, having the Lands under their Inſpection, but then their Tenants are not ſo much oppreſſed, and ſubject to ſuch Hardſhips as the Tenants of the Crown. The Shah's Officers frequently pretend they have no Authority to make Abatements, and thereupon whole Villages go up to Court, and deliver their Petitions to the Shah in Perſon, inſomuch that there is ſeldom leſs than ſeven or eight thouſand People attending at *Iſpahan* on theſe Occaſions. The Court uſually ſends Orders hereupon to the Provinces to make ſuch Allowance as the Nature of the Caſe requires, or depute Commiſſaries to enquire into the Truth of the Complaint, but in either Caſe the Crown is uſually defrauded; for the Countrymen ſo well underſtand the Force of Bribes, that they commonly make a Purſe, and procure a favourable Repreſentation of the Caſe from the Officers ſent to check them.

The Shah and private Owners have the like Profits of the Huſbandmen's Cattle, as they have of their Corn, as the third Fleece, and the third Part of the Breed; and of Fruit, the Crown has ſtill a greater Share, there being not that Charge of manuring and cultivating Fruit-trees, as there is of the Grounds which produce Grain.

The Governors of Provinces receive the ſame Profits out of the Lands of the State, towards the Payment of the Officers, and Troops of the Province, as the *Shah* does out of his own Lands, and every Province beſides makes large Preſents, from Time to Time, to the Court, of the beſt the Country affords, whether Silk, Grain, Fruits, Cattle, or whatever is in Eſteem among them; and theſe are ſent up in ſuch Quantities, as are ſufficient to ſupply the *Shah*'s Houſhold, and therefore may be accounted a conſiderable Part of the Revenue. The *Shah* has alſo the ſeventh Fleece, and the ſeventh of the Breed of the Cattle, in thoſe Lands which are not appropriated to his Uſe, and this is a great Addition to his Revenue, for the Shepherds of *Perſia*, like the ancient Patriarchs, poſſeſs vaſt Flocks and Herds, on which they continually attend, living in Tents, and removing from one Place to another, as they can meet with Paſture for them; for thoſe Lands which are not the Property of particular Perſons, are at Liberty for all Men to graze upon, though the *Shah*'s; and this Payment of the ſeventh Beaſt ſeems to be an Acknowledgment of his Property in them. Theſe wealthy Shepherds the People of the Eaſt call, *Saranetchin*, from whence we have the Word, *Saracen*, that is to ſay, an Inhabitant of the Fields, for they live in Tents, far from Towns, two or three hundred together, and ſometimes you ſee a thouſand or two encamped in one Place; they perfectly cover the Plains with their Flocks and Herds, that ſometimes you may be two or three Hours in paſſing through them; and the *Shah* has an Officer called *Ichemban Baſhi*, or chief of the Shepherds, reſiding in every Province, who takes the ſeventh of the Cattle for the *Shah*'s Uſe, *viz.* of Sheep, Aſſes, Mules, Camels and Goats; as to Horſes, it ſeems the *Shah* is entitled to every third Colt; of Silk and Cotton alſo, it is ſaid the *Shah* has a third Part over the whole Kingdom.

Minerals and precious Stones belong to the Shah only, and he has Two *per Cent.* of all Money. The Money that is raiſed by the Waters is another conſiderable Part of the Revenue, for every Perſon pays for their being let into his Fields or Gardens; nothing will grow in that parched Country without it. A Tribute is alſo paid to the Crown by all People who are not of the Religion of the Country, whether Natives or Foreigners, and this amounts to a Ducat a Head; and there is a Tax of ten Pence on every Shop of the handycraft Trades, and twenty Pence on the reſt. The Cuſtoms and Port Duties are another Branch of the Revenue, but theſe do not amount to much here, for they have no conſiderable Port except *Gambron*. As for the Merchandize carried into *Perſia*, or out of it, by Land, they only pay a ſmall Sum for a Camel's Load, and proportionably for every Mule or Ox, without examining what the Packs contain. But that Part of the Revenue which is merely caſual, exceeds all the reſt, *viz.* what ariſes by the confiſcated Eſtates, and the Preſents which are made by the great Lords, Governors of Provinces, *&c.* and particularly thoſe which are made on New Year's Day. They preſent the Shah with wrought Silks, Horſes, Aſſes, beautiful Boys and Girls, Gold, Silver, precious Stones, Perfumes, and every thing which is rich and curious, and may ſerve for Uſe, Ornament, or the Pleaſures of Life; and as there are ſeveral handicraft Trades which pay no Duties to the Crown, as Carpenters, Maſons, and ſome others, theſe are obliged to work for the Shah when he requires it, without Pay; whatever Buildings or Palaces the Shah erects or repairs, he has only the Materials to find, the Warden or Chief of the Trade is obliged to ſend a certain

Number of Workmen, which ſaves the Treaſury a great deal of Money, and therefore the Labour of thoſe People may well be eſteemed Part of the Revenue. The Maintenance of Ambaſſadors, and the providing them with Carriages, is done alſo at the Charge of the Country, and coſts the Shah Nothing. When he has a Mind to reward any Perſon for any ſignal Piece of Service, this is done alſo at the Expence of another; he ſends him perhaps to one of the Chans or great Courtiers, with the *Calaat* or Royal Veſt, for which the Chan makes the Meſſenger a Preſent uſually of ten times the Value or more, according to the Poſt he is in. The Shah ſometimes expreſſes the very Sum he expects ſhould be paid, which is commonly exceeded out of Reſpect, and as a Proof the Perſon values the Prince's Favour. But notwithſtanding the Impoſitions above-mentioned, the People do not ſeem to be oppreſſed or impoveriſh'd; even the Tradeſmen and Huſbandmen appear to be in eaſy Circumſtances, and few of them but have Rings on their Fingers and Arms. One great Advantage to the Subject is, that ſcarce any of the Duties are farmed, and in Times of Scarcity the Court is very indulgent and ready to make Abatements of their Rents and Taxes in Proportion to the Occaſion. As to Poll or perſonal Taxes, there are none in *Perſia*, unleſs that which is levied upon thoſe of a different Religion; nor are neceſſary Proviſions of any Kind taxed.

What the Revenue of the Crown may amount to in the whole, is very uncertain, depending ſo much as it does upon Caſualties; thoſe who have attempted to compute it, ſay, that one Year with another the Revenue amounts to four Millions of our Money; which, conſidering their Troops are moſt of them paid out of the Lands of the State, that are not reckoned into this Account, is very conſiderable; but as the Splendor and Magnificence of the *Perſian* Court is much beyond any thing we have in *Europe*, poſſibly very little of it may remain in the Treaſury at the Year's End. The Court, whether it remains at *Iſpahan*, *Meſched*, or any other Capital, or removes from one Province to another, as it uſed to do during the Summer, if we conſider the Women, the Eunuchs, and other Officers and Servants, ſeldom conſiſts of leſs than ten thouſand Perſons which belong to the Houſhold, not including the Troops, or the great Men and their Dependants, which it muſt require an immenſe Sum to maintain. The Officers of the Revenue ſend every Year up to Court the State of their Province, and what every Town and Village produces, examined and atteſted by the principal Inhabitants of the reſpective Places, which are looked upon as ſo many Debentures; and theſe given in Payment to thoſe who are entitled to Penſions or Salaries from the Crown. In like Manner every Governor pays all the Officers and Soldiers of his Province, with Aſſignations on the Lands belonging to the Province; there is very little Money diſburſed on thoſe Occaſions, and where the Pay is ſmall, as that of the common Soldiers, and inferior Servants, one Man is deputed from the Troop or Company to receive the Wages of the reſt, and the Reſidue, after all Demands are ſatisfied, is remitted into the Imperial Treaſury.

It may not be amiſs to add a few Words concerning the Seals under which Acts of State are paſſed in *Perſia*; they have five Seals which are uſed in five ſeveral Branches of Buſineſs, one in all ſuch Affairs as concern the demeſne Lands. A ſecond for Commiſſions, Letters Patents, *&c.* The third only in Military Affairs. The fourth about the Revenue; and the fifth in Things relating to the Houſhold. There are no Arms engraven upon them, but on one there are the Names of the twelve *Imans* or Patriarchs, on the others, a Scrap of the *Alcoran*, or ſome pious Expreſſions, ſhewing their Dependance on God, and his Prophet *Mahomet*. The Form of one of the Seals is round, two others are ſquare, and the other two are of an irregular Form. The largeſt are about the Bigneſs of a Crown-piece, and the others about half that Bigneſs. They are made of Turquoiſes, Rubies, Emeralds, or ſome other precious Stones. The principal Seal the *Shah* always wears about his Neck, and on every *Friday* all Inſtruments which require theſe Seals, are carried to the Palace, and ſealed in the *Shah*'s Preſence. The Impreſſion is made on the Paper, with a kind of thick Ink, and not on Wax, as with us; the ſame Uſage prevails in moſt of the *Eaſtern* Courts.

11. The Generality of the World will agree from this View of the *Perſian* Policy, that there is no Reaſon, ſo long as their Government continues in a ſettled Condition, to look upon the whole Nation as Slaves and Beaſts of Burthen. It is very certain, that there are great Errors in this, as well as in all the Conſtitutions founded on the *Khoran*, and it muſt be ſo, for that Book itſelf is a mere Syſtem of Tyranny; and which is worſt of all, it is pretended that this Syſtem came from God. It is upon this Principle, that the abſolute Power of their Princes is built; for as to all the Qualifications beſides, they are brought in from the Remains of the old *Perſian* Government, which by their apparent Wiſdom, and natural Rectitude, have continued in Uſe through all Invaſions, and in Spite of all Changes of Government. Thus the Governors, Treaſurers, and Secretaries of Provinces, are preciſely mentioned, both by ſacred Writers, and by the *Greek* Hiſtorians, as well as modern Travellers. The profound Reſpect born to the *Shah*, is the Remains of that Reverence paid to their Emperors of old, of which the Heathen Writers are full, which *Alexander* would have transferred to himſelf, and for which chiefly the *Romans* looked upon the *Parthians* as a barbarous Nation.

But above all, the new-Years Gifts are the ſtrongeſt Teſtimonies of the Difficulty there is in extirpating ancient Cuſtoms amongſt any Set of People. This was the Practice in the moſt early Times, and the *Perſian* Emperors with all their Pride were then very humble to and familiar with their People. They eat and drank with them in Publick; they gave Audience to all who deſired it, and as they received Preſents even from the meaneſt, ſo they received every Man's Petition, and granted almoſt every Man his Requeſt.

There are many other Things, in which the modern *Perſians* reſemble very much their remoteſt Anceſtors, but in nothing more than in their natural Inclination to and wonderful Genius for Poetry. This is ſo univerſal, that every *Chan*, and indeed every rich and powerful Man, keeps a Poet in his Houſe, to whom occaſionally they give Themes, and it is wonderful how well and how ſuddenly they execute them. Theſe Sort of People alſo frequent Coffee-houſes, and other publick Places, where, for the Amuſement of idle People, they repeat their Performances with infinite Spirit, and with inimitable Grace. It is certain, that the *Perſians* are very nice in their Rhime, but ſomewhat looſe in their Numbers, that is to ſay, they regard Cadence more than Quantity. Yet no Nation in the World has more of that Enthuſiaſm, which is the Eſſence of Poetry; the very ſound of their Verſes ſufficiently diſtinguiſhes the Subject, even to the Ears of thoſe who are little acquainted with their Language; ſo that Foreigners are never at a Loſs to know, whether their Poems are merry or melancholy, humourous or grave, intended to inſtruct, or calculated only to divert.

In ſhort, almoſt all their Learning conſiſts in Poetry, for their *Proverbs* are in Rhime, ſo are their Fables, and they have Hiſtories in Verſe of a great Length, which, though ſufficiently crouded with Fable, are ſeldom or never without a Ground of Truth. It is true that their modern Writers, many of them, make Uſe of Proſe, but even this is intermixt with Verſe, and they are alſo very apt to quote Verſes in Converſation, which they are obſerved to do with great Propriety. But it is worth our Notice, that no kind of Writing is here ſo much in Faſhion, as Satyr, which is moſtly national, and falls, generally ſpeaking, upon their Neighbours. As for Example, they repreſent the *Turks* as Brutes and Barbarians; and whenever they have a Mind to repreſent a Blockhead, they are ſure to paint him in a *Turkiſh* Dreſs. The great Indolence, Effeminacy, and Luxury of the *Indians*, are likewiſe common Topicks of Raillery, and ſo are the Faults and Follies of the *Tartars*; the Pride and Self-ſufficiency of the *Georgians*; the Cunning

ning and Self-intereſtedneſs of the *Ruſſians*, and the Covetouſneſs of the *Europeans*, are frequently expoſed by their Wits.

They are far from being ignorant of Muſick as a Science; they learn by Rule, and they play by Note, though in a Manner ſo different from ours, that it is a long Time before it becomes pleaſant to a Stranger's Ear. There is no ſuch Thing as Singing in Parts, but they ſing one after another, and they generally ſing to ſome ſtringed Inſtruments, like the Lute or Viol: Their Men ſing better than the Women, but there are not many of them that practiſe it, Singing being look'd upon as a ſcandalous Employment in *Perſia*, as well as Dancing. People of Condition will not ſuffer Children to learn either the one or the other, but it is left almoſt entirely to the common Wenches and Proſtitutes, as it is indeed all over the Eaſt. It is reckoned an Indecency in People of any Reputation to ſing, and it would render a Man contemptible who ſhould attempt it in Company. The *Perſians* call their Singing-women *Caine*, intimating that they derive their Skill from the Daughters of *Cain*, who they pretend were the firſt Inventors of Singing and Muſick in the Eaſt.

They have a great Number of Inſtruments both of String and Wind Muſick, ſome in Shape like our Hautboys and Flutes, others like the Viol, Harp, Virginals, Kettle-drums, and Trumpets; but ſurely their Trumpet is the moſt monſtrous Inſtrument for Size and Sound that can be met with; it is commonly ſeven or eight Foot long, and proportionably wide at the great End, and as much as a Man can hold up; theſe and their Drums, in a Manner, drown all other Sounds, though the leſſer Inſtruments, as has been obſerved, have no great Harmony in them: And indeed their Muſick, as it is called, ſerve chiefly inſtead of Clocks, to let People know the Time of Day or Night, ſounding conſtantly at certain Hours, for Bells they have none; and when the Shah or any great Man goes out of his Palace, you have always Notice of it by theſe Drums and Trumpets, who ſtand over the Palace Gate, or in ſome Balcony or Gallery, and play upon ſuch Occaſions, being heard at a vaſt Diſtance. In ſome Places the Muſick and Dancing Girls make Part of a great Man's Equipage, and run before him when he goes abroad.

It is obſervable, that the Strings of their Inſtruments are never made of Gut, the touching of any thing belonging to a dead Animal, eſpecially the Entrails, being held a Pollution; they make them therefore of twiſted Silk, or Braſs Wire, and it is not only indecent, as has been obſerved, for People of Condition to play upon a muſical Inſtrument, but it ſeems alſo to be prohibited by their Religion, and therefore their Eccleſiaſticks and Devotees will not ſo much as be preſent at ſuch Entertainments.

Aſtronomy is ſtudied in *Perſia* purely for the Sake of Aſtrology, which laſt they term the Revelation of the Stars. The People of the Eaſt look upon Aſtrology as the Key to Futurity, and they have an inſatiable Curioſity for prying into Things to come. This ſeems to be the principal End of their Studies, and they look upon a Perſon to be ſtupid and ignorant to the laſt Degree, who ſpeaks ſlightly of this Science. The Aſtrologers of *Perſia*, at leaſt the moſt celebrated, are all Natives of the Province of *Charaſan* or *Bactria*, and the moſt noted among them of the Town of *Genabed*. The Shah never entertains an Aſtrologer who is not of that Town. The Reaſon that the Aſtronomers here have more Skill in their Art than elſewhere, it is ſaid, is becauſe the Air is drier and purer, by which Means they have a better Opportunity to obſerve the Motions of the Stars. If we conſider the Number of Aſtrologers that are found in *Perſia*, the Rank they hold, and the large Penſions they receive from the Crown, we may eaſily gueſs at the Confidence that People put in them; they are paid by the Government no leſs than four hundred thouſand Pounds *per Annum*.

To the Poſt of chief Aſtrologer to his Imperial Majeſty there is annexed a Penſion of ten thouſand Pounds *per Annum*, and to the ſecond Aſtrologer five thouſand Pounds *per Annum*, and to the reſt according to their Skill. They have alſo in Preſents annually two hundred thouſand Pounds, and yet they are ſometimes arbitrarily puniſhed, and put to Death for the moſt trivial Offences, and even for Actions the moſt innocent in themſelves, according to the Caprice of their Prince. Sir *John Chardin* relates, that in the Reign of *Sefi*, when the Shah and all the great Men were aſſembled to ſee ſome Criminals of State cut in Pieces, and the Chief of the Aſtrologers was there among the reſt; the Shah viewing attentively the Countenances of his Courtiers, obſerved that the principal Aſtrologer ſhut his Eyes at every Stroke of the Sabre, as not able to behold ſo horrid a Slaughter; he thereupon called to the Governor of a Province who ſat near him, and bid him put out the Eyes of that Dog who ſat at his Left Hand, ſince he did not uſe them; which was executed in an Inſtant on the unhappy Aſtrologer, which Part of his Deſtiny the Stars never revealed to him.

There are conſtantly a certain Number of Aſtrologers in Waiting at the Royal Palace, and always ſome of the chief of them about the Shah's Perſon, except when he is in the *Haram* with his Women, who advertiſe him of the lucky or unlucky Moments. Every one of them carries an Aſtrolabe hanging at his Girdle, in a neat little Caſe not bigger than the Hollow of one's Hand; they are conſulted not only in Affairs of Importance, but frequently upon the leaſt Trifles; for Inſtance, if his Imperial Majeſty ſhall go abroad; if it be an auſpicious Hour to enter the *Haram*; if it be a proper Time to eat, or to give Audience, *&c.* When theſe Queſtions are aſked, the Aſtrologer immediately takes out his Aſtrolabe, obſerves the Situation of the Stars, and by the Aſſiſtance of his Tables makes his Aſtrological Concluſions, to which they give entire Faith as to an Oracle, offending againſt which would be dangerous.

Their Aſtronomers obſerve pretty juſtly the Eclipſes of the Sun and Moon, and often foretel the very Moment wherein thoſe Luminaries will be obſcured; but there are Inſtances of their being miſtaken half an Hour, and eſpecially in Eclipſes of the Sun; but they differ from us in Nothing more than in the Calculation of the Vernal Equinox, there being ſometimes an Hour's Difference between them and the *Europeans*. Comets, they apprehend, always portend ſome great Calamity, but generally ſuppoſe their malign Influences are directed againſt ſome other Empire than their own. They had neither Celeſtial Globes, or Charts, or Teleſcopes, to obſerve the Conſtellations, till the *Europeans* imported them; they have ſince indeed endeavoured to imitate their celeſtial Globes, and had only ſome Repreſentations of the Conſtellations before in a Book called, *The Schemes of Abdal Rhamen*. It is obſervable however, that the Figures were much the ſame as on our Globes; the Longitudes and Latitudes of the Stars are alſo marked, but a little different from ours. The *Perſians* generally make forty eight Conſtellations, and the Names of them, for the moſt Part, are the ſame we give them; but ſome of them are different. The only Inſtruments they uſe in any of their Operations, are the Aſtrolabe and *Jacob*'s Staff; and as it is with theſe alone they take the Elevation of the Pole, it cannot be ſuppoſed that their Latitudes are very exact; their Aſtrolabes, it is true, are very curiouſly made, and commonly by thoſe who uſe them.

The *Perſian* Almanack is called *Takumi*; it is properly a Mixture of Aſtronomy and judicial Aſtrology, containing an Account of the Conjunctions, Oppoſitions, Aſpects, Longitudes, Latitudes, and, in ſhort, the whole Diſpoſition of the Heavens. It contains alſo Prognoſticks of the moſt notable Events, as War, Famine, Plenty, Diſeaſes, and other Accidents of human Life, with the lucky or unlucky Times for tranſacting all Manner of Affairs, directing the People to regulate their Conduct accordingly. The Feſtivals alſo are marked, as in our Almanacks, but whereas we divide the Year into four Parts, they make only two, Winter and Summer. What is moſt obſervable is, that though there are great Numbers of theſe Almanack-makers, and though they frequently diſagree even in their Aſtronomical Calculations, as well as their Predictions,

dictions they are nevertheleſs looked upon as infallible; a Thing ſcarce to be credited, if we had not ſome Examples of the ſame Kind nearer Home.

Their Prognoſtications are generally taken from the Moon, their Artiſts believing that this ſublunary World, as it is called, is much more influenced by this Planet, than by the Sun. And theſe Aſtrologers, like other Oracles, endeavour conſtantly to deliver themſelves in dubious and equivocal Expreſſions, which may bear various Meanings; ſo that if their Predictions prove true in any Senſe, or but in Part, they are ſure to meet with Applauſe, tho' they ſhould fail in ſome Circumſtances. They ſeem to regard the Earth more than the Heavens, and to be govern'd by the Conſideration of probable Circumſtances, rather than the Conſtellations, and their Predictions on that Account are frequently found true. For Inſtance, their Almanacks are always publiſhed in the Spring, when the Winter is paſſed, and according to the Weather they then had, it is no difficult Matter to foretel, whether they ſhall have good or bad Crops in the Summer, eſpecially in a Climate where it does not vary as in *Europe*; and from the ſame Premiſes they will be able to paſs a tolerable Judgment on the Health or Sickneſs of the enſuing Seaſons. But above all, as the Aſtrologers are always about the Court, and have ſo great a Share in the Adminiſtration of Affairs, and ſuch Credit with all the World, they may be ſuppoſed to make very ſhrewd Gueſſes in Relation to Politicks. They cannot but obſerve the Humours and Diſpoſitions of the Prince and his Favourites, the Likelihood there is that one will be reſtored, and another diſgraced. Nay they know very well what an Influence themſelves have in theſe Caſes, inſomuch that there very rarely happens a conſiderable Alteration in the State, but it is brought about, and is indeed the Effect of ſome of their own Predictions.

But Aſtrology is not the only Foible of this kind, for they have various other Sorts of Divination, which have grown into Uſe by Degrees, under the ſeveral Changes of their Government. It is true, that for the moſt Part their Aſtrologers practiſe theſe, but not excluſively, for there are others who practiſe them likewiſe, more eſpecially Geomancy, which is the favourite Method of Divining throughout all the Eaſt. Charms and Amulets againſt Diſeaſes and Enchantments, are another Part of their Superſtition; you will not find a *Perſian* without his Amulet, and ſome of them almoſt loaded with them; they put them alſo about the Necks of their domeſtick Animals; theſe Amulets have certain Inſcriptions on Paper, and ſometimes on precious Stones, and theſe Inſcriptions they wear in little Bags about them; they contain ſome Paſſages of the *Alcoran*, or Sentences of their Saints or Prophets, applicable to the Diſeaſe or Enchantment they would avert: The *Perſians* alſo are extravagantly ſuperſtitious in Relation to Days and Times. They depend in theſe Caſes, as much on the Diviners and Aſtrologers, as a Child upon its Nurſe; for Inſtance, when the *Shah* is upon a Journey, the Aſtrologers will make him riſe at Midnight, and begin his March in the worſt Weather that can happen, and perhaps out of the high Road, to avoid the unfortunate Hour, or his evil Stars, as from Ignorance or Knavery they moſt impudently call them.

We muſt not however imagine, notwithſtanding theſe Follies are very general, that there is not ſome kind of real and uſeful Learning amongſt this great Nation. Moral Philoſophy is in high Credit with them, and is not only taught but practiſed; they have many excellent and judicious Books upon this Subject, in which the Viciſſitudes of human Life, and the Folly of placing Happineſs in ſenſual Enjoyments, are very fully and very finely ſtated. As for the ordinary Parts of Education, and ſuch as may fit Youth for common Buſineſs, they have as many Conveniencies as other People. There are abundance of Schools in every Town, where, beſides the *Perſian*, is taught the *Arabick*, which is their learned Language; the Alcoran, and their other ſacred Writings, are all in this Language, and the Alcoran is looked upon as the Standard of good Language both for Grammar and Rhetorick. People of Condition chuſe to have private Tutors for their Children, rather than ſend them to theſe publick Schools; and no Nation, it is ſaid, is more intent on the Education of Children, and breeding them up to manly Exerciſes, than the *Perſians*. Their Schools are called *Mekteb*, which ſignifies an Entrance; this being, ſay they, the Gate by which Lads enter into the Sciences.

There are, as has been ſaid, many in every Town, and the Expence of Schooling is very ſmall. They learn the *Perſian* and *Arabian* Languages, with Writing and Accounts, which when they are arrived at ſome Perfection in, they are removed to ſome College, or *Medres*, as they call them, which ſignifies a Place where their Doctrine or Principles of their Religion are taught. Their Colleges are all endowed and ſome of them very richly; the largeſt have fifty or ſixty Apartments, and to each of them belong two Chambers. In thoſe Colleges that are beſt endowed, every Scholar has about two Shillings a Day allowed him, which he lays out as he thinks fit, for they do not common together.

There are ſome Colleges where the Students have no more than a Penny a Day, and yet Intereſt is made to get into one of theſe, on account of having a Lodging *gratis*, and ſome other caſual Advantages. Many here are, who get in without any Deſign to ſtudy, and live and grow old in thoſe Houſes, and are allowed to have their Wives and Children with them, whoſe principal Deſign ſeems to be in Eaſe and Idleneſs. There are abundance of Colleges in the great Towns of *Perſia*, and ſome in the Villages. The *Perſians* lay out the greateſt Part of their Charities in publick Foundations. In the firſt Place, they uſually build a Caravanſera for the lodging of Travellers *gratis*; afterwards a Bagnio, a Coffee-houſe, a Bazar or Market-place, and they purchaſe alſo a Garden, and theſe they let out, and apply the Revenues ariſing from them towards the building and endowing of a College. The Founder and his Heirs have the Appointment of the Head and Governors of the Society, and if the Founder's Eſtate happens to be forfeited to the Crown, the Shah has the Nomination. In *Iſpahan* there are fifty ſeven Colleges, moſt of them of Royal Foundation, or which have devolved to the Crown; there are Profeſſors who teach the Sciences in every College, to whom the Scholars make an annual Allowance for their Trouble; but as there are ſeveral who read Lectures *gratis*, the Scholars frequently reſort to theſe, and forſake their proper Tutors.

Thoſe Students who are Men of Parts and Learning, may have a handſome Salary in any great Man's Houſe for inſtructing his Children; for theſe never ſend their Children either to Schools or Colleges, but have them educated in their own Houſes. The Head of the Houſe admits or excludes whom he ſees fit, and pays the Students their Penſions monthly, ſo that they ſhew him abundance of Reſpect. Beſides their Colleges, there are in every Town thoſe who teach the Liberal Arts *gratis*, and theſe are frequently great Officers who have been diſcarded, or have voluntarily retired from Court. Theſe frequently allow their Diſciples Books and Paper, and entertain them at their own Expence certain Days in the Week, and ſometimes cloath their Pupils and give them Money, and by this Means they endeavour to recover their Reputation with the People, for nothing gives a Gentleman ſuch a Reputation in *Perſia*, as the inſtructing great Numbers of Scholars at their own Expence, and the being Patrons of Learning and Learned Men. Theſe are Circumſtances that muſt effectually prove, that the *Europeans* have no Right to treat the *Perſians* as a rude and barbarous People.

As the Cuſtoms and Manners, ſo the Reading and Learning of all Nations muſt differ, and the wider and more remote theſe Differences are, the readier the Vulgar on both Sides ſeem to be in deriding and contemning each other; but as this Humour proceeds from the ſame Principle in both Caſes, *viz.* that of preſuming themſelves to be the Standard by which the Wiſdom and Civility, the Learning and Politeneſs of all other Nations are to be determined; and as this is a Point not to be defended, it ought to be given up as no better than a popular Error in both. It has been already obſerv'd, that a great Part of the modern Conſtitution of *Perſia* is derived from the ancient Form of Government that prevailed under their old Emperors, that is, the Series of Princes, who governed that which is ſo well known to the learned World, by the Title of the ſecond general Empire, allowing the *Aſſyrian* to be the firſt. It is therefore well worthy our Notice, that Conſtitutions judiciouſly ſettled, are of ſo permanent a Nature, and have ſuch an interior Strength and Solidity, as not only to reſiſt the Power of Time, but even of repeated Invaſions, to which it is certain, that no Country in the World has been more ſubject than this of which we are ſpeaking. We may from hence diſcern, that though Nations waſte away, and are loſt, as well as all the Monuments of their Power and Greatneſs, yet the Effects of their Wiſdom remain, and the Conquerors themſelves are content to receive and ſubmit, for their own Sakes, and from a Conviction of their Excellence, to the Laws of the Conquer'd.

We know that this has been heretofore obſerved of the *Egyptians*, we know that in much later Times it has been confeſſed in Reference to the *Chineſe*, but I do not remember to have ſeen this Remark made before as to the *Perſians*. Yet I arrogate nothing to myſelf upon this Head, for whoever reads Dr. *Hyde*'s learned Book, and compares it with the modern Accounts of *Perſia*, muſt diſcover it at firſt Sight. At this Day the whole Plan of the *Perſian* Conſtitution, except the Eccleſiaſtical Part of it, which is changed by the Introduction of *Mahometaniſm*, is very near the ſame that it was three thouſand Years ago; and yet the *Perſees*, who are the Remains of the ancient People of *Perſia*, to whom that Conſtitution belonged, are now reduced to ſo inconſiderable a Remnant, that it is doubted whether there may be ten thouſand Souls left in *Perſia* of this Race. Thoſe that are left indeed preſerve their primitive Cuſtoms, and are authentick Witneſſes of the Truths reported of them by the moſt learned Writers. It is indeed true, that there is another ſmall Colony of theſe People in the *Indies*, and it may not be amiſs to put the Reader in Mind of a Conjecture, mentioned in Commodore *Roggewin*'s Voyage, that ſome Iſlands, diſcovered by him in the *South-Seas*, are actually peopled by the Relicts of theſe ancient *Perſians*.

I had myſelf an Opportunity of converſing for ſeveral Years with a very ſenſible Phyſician, who went that Voyage, to whom I was indebted for many of the Particulars publiſhed therein, and who is dead ſince they were publiſhed. Of this Gentleman I very carefully enquired what the Reaſons were which induced him and his Companions to advance that Notion, which at firſt Sight is none of the moſt probable. He told me the Cauſes were chiefly three, Firſt, that their Complexions, in the Sentiments of thoſe who had ſeen ſome of the *Gubers* in *Perſia*, very much reſembled them, and were very unlike either the Inhabitants of *Africk*, or of *India*; for whereas the former are of a black, and the latter of a reddiſh or Iron Colour; theſe were of a light Olive, and yet their Aſpects differed abſolutely from the *Chineſe* and *Tartars*. The ſecond Cauſe he aſſigned, was their worſhipping the Sun and Fire, turning towards the Eaſt when they prayed, and uſing a low or whiſpering Voice, all of which are ſuitable enough to the *Gubers*, or *Gaurs* as the *Turks* call them. The third was the Innocency of their Manners, the quiet and peaceable Life they lead, the Pains they took in cultivating their Lands, and their great Induſtry in ſeveral ingenious Manufactures. I ſhall not take upon me to determine what Credit is due to theſe Conjectures, but ſhall content myſelf with obſerving, that they are worth remembring; and conſidering perhaps, our Poſterity may have an Opportunity by converſing with theſe People, to enter into them more minutely.

One thing more I recollect that paſſed upon this Subject, and it was this, that ingenious Gentleman obſerved to me, that though we had various Travels through and Accounts of *Perſia*, yet we had no general or correct Hiſtory of it, by which a curious Perſon might ſee in a little Time, what changes had happened therein, from the earlieſt Ages down to the preſent, which he thought might be of very great Uſe, even though it were digeſted into a very narrow Compaſs. Upon mature Deliberation, I ſaw the Truth and Expediency of this in the ſtrongeſt Light, and that nothing diſabled us ſo much in this Part of the World, from forming a right Judgment of Affairs in thoſe Parts, as the not having diſtinct and correct Views of the Succeſſions of their Princes.

The famous Preſident *Briſſon*, ſo barbarouſly murdered by the Leaguers, in the Reign of *Henry* III. of *France*, was long ago ſatisfied of this; and to remedy an Evil, the Conſequences of which he judged of very truly, he compoſed a large Hiſtory of *Perſia*, which he publiſhed in *Latin*, and digeſted therein an Account of the Affairs of that Nation from the earlieſt Ages to his own. This without doubt was a very curious and a very uſeful Work, with reſpect to Men who occupy the higher Forms in Learning; but to the Bulk of the People, I mean of that Sort of People who believe themſelves to make a Part of that learned World, it was in Reality of no Service at all. In the firſt Place, the Book itſelf is very large, written in a learned Language, and in a harſh and perplexed Stile even in that Language; for it is obſervable of him and of *de Thou* his Contemporary and Countryman, that they brought the Stile of the Bar into the Narration of Hiſtory, and generally ſtated Caſes, or as the *French* Lawyers term it, wrote *Factums*, inſtead of giving us a natural and eaſy Detail of Facts. Beſides, Preſident *Briſſon*'s Book was chiefly grounded on the *Greek* and *Latin* Hiſtorians; what he derived from the *Perſian* Writers, he had thro' the Canal of ſome *German* Pedants, which inſtead of the beſt, rendred it the worſt Part of his Book, in which there are large Chaſms; ſo that, notwithſtanding what the Title promiſes, it is nothing leſs than a compleat Hiſtory; though I believe at the Time it was wrote, it would have been impoſſible for any to have given us a better; and it is plain, that before him, none had thought it worth his Time and Pains to give us one ſo good.

After making theſe Reflections, I became more ſenſible of the extreme Difficulty of repreſenting the Scheme of the *Perſian* Hiſtory within ſo narrow Bounds as I am tied to in this Work; and yet I was ſenſible, that without this, all I had done was imperfect, and that the Reader muſt neceſſarily have Recourſe to other Books in order to underſtood mine; which Inconveniency perhaps I had ſubmitted to, if I could have told him where to have ſought for better Information; but that being alſo out of my Power, I found myſelf under an abſolute Neceſſity of trying what might be done for his Relief; this produced what follows, ſo that all I have ſaid is not calculated to inhance the Value; but to excuſe the Imperfection of the enſuing Section, which being the firſt Attempt of its kind, may be allowed ſome Degree of Merit, though it falls, as I am very ſenſible, extremely ſhort of Perfection.

SECTION V.

A Succinct View of the *Perſian* Hiſtory, from the earlieſt Accounts down to the preſent Time; in which is contained a conciſe Repreſentation of the ſeveral remarkable Revolutions in that Empire, ancient and modern, the Conqueſts thereof by ſeveral Nations, and the Succeſſion of their reſpective Monarchs, ſo far as is neceſſary to illuſtrate what has been delivered in the foregoing Sections.

Collected as well from the Oriental Writers, as from the Greek *and* Latin *Hiſtorians.*

1. *An Introductory Account of the Nature and Deſign of the following View of the* Perſian *Hiſtory, and of the State of that Nation in the earlieſt Times, according to their own Hiſtorians.* 2. *Of the* Perſian *Empire, conſidered as the ſecond of the four great Monarchies, from the Origin thereof under* Cyrus, *to its Deſtruction by the* Greeks. 3. *Of the Invaſion and Conqueſt of* Perſia *by the* Macedonians, *and of the Situation of Affairs after the Death of* Alexander the Great. 4. *Of the Revival of the* Perſian *or* Parthian *Empire by* Schapour *or* Sapores, *to the intire Deſtruction of the ancient* Perſians, *under the Reign of* Jeſdegerde Shehriar, *the laſt of their Monarchs.* 5. *The Conqueſt of* Perſia *by the* Arabs *or* Saracens, *under their Caliph* Moavia; *and of the Time they poſſeſſed this great Country, down to the laſt Khalif of* Bagdad. 6. *The Conqueſt of* Perſia *by the* Mogul Tartars, *and the Succeſſion of their Princes, ſo long as they poſſeſſed or claimed this Country.* 7. *The great Irruption of that Tribe of* Turcomans, *diſtinguiſhed by the Title* Kara Kuyonlu, *i. e. of the* Black-Sheep, *and of the Time they remained in Poſſeſſion of* Perſia. 8. *Of another Tribe of* Turcomans, *ſtiled* Aku Kuyonlu, *i. e. of the* White-Sheep, *and of their Dominion in this Country.* 9. *Of Shah* Iſhmael Sefi, *the Founder of the late Imperial Family, and the Succeſſion of his Deſcendants down to Shah* Abbas III. *who was crowned in his Cradle by* Thamas Kuli Kan. 10. *A brief Account of the Hiſtory of Shah* Nadir, *from his firſt Appearance in the World to the Time of his being murdered.* 11. *An Account of* Ali Kuli Kan, *now ſtiled* Adl Shah, *the preſent Poſſeſſor of the* Perſian *Monarchy, with ſome Remarks on the principal Events that fall within the Compaſs of this Section.*

1. THE ancient Hiſtories of all Nations are, generally ſpeaking, intermix'd with Fables, notwithſtanding which the Knowledge of them is of great Uſe, becauſe the Antiquities of every Country are grounded upon theſe traditional Hiſtories, and without being competently verſed in them, even modern Relations are full of Doubts and Difficulties; and this we know experimentally, not only by the Peruſal of *Greek* and *Roman* Authors, but from our own Hiſtory, which, how obſcure ſoever in its Original, has notwithſtanding been eſteemed worth knowing, and even worth the Pains of being ſifted thoroughly by the moſt learned and intelligent Perſons. It is very true, that the modern *Perſian* Hiſtorians are of a very late Date, in Compariſon of thoſe Times to which their Hiſtories refer; but then it is to be conſidered, that they tranſcribe from their Neighbours the *Tartars*, who though it may ſound harſh in our Ears, have always had amongſt them very ancient and authentic Records, and from the Books of the *Perſees*, or primitive Inhabitants of *Perſia*, whoſe Writings deſerves as much Credit as thoſe of any *Eaſtern* Nation whatever. According to them the moſt ancient Monarchy of this Country began in the Province of *Aderbeijan* or *Media*, where the People, weary of enduring thoſe Evils that are inſeparable from *Anarchy*, made choice of *Kayomars* for their Sovereign. This *Kayomars*, if we may depend upon their Accounts, was the Son of *Aram*, the Son of *Shem*, the Son of *Noah*, and conſequently his Monarchy began at no great Diſtance of Time from the Flood. If there was nothing in their Hiſtory more extravagant than this, it might perhaps be well enough defended; but all that they relate afterwards of the Succeſſion of his Deſcendants, whom they reckon Eleven in Number, is ſo fictitious, that little or no Credit can be given to it; they ſtile this their firſt *Dynaſty*, the *Piſhdadians* from *Houſchenk*, the ſecond Monarch, Grandſon of *Kayomars*, who from his ſtrict Regard to Juſtice, had the Sirname of *Piſhdad*, which is to ſay, the Juſt, or rather the great Diſtributer of Juſtice. The laſt Monarch of this Line was *Guſtaſh*, which is the ſame Name that the *Greeks* call *Hyſtaſpes*; it is not eaſy to give any Account of theſe ancient Monarchs, ſo as to reconcile them with other Hiſtories, but in general it may be affirmed without Prejudice to the Truth, that under this firſt Race of their Monarchs, the ancient *Perſians* comprehended all the Princes that ruled in their Country before the Age in which *Cyrus* was born; ſo that this may be properly ſtiled, the fabulous or obſcure Age in the *Perſian* Hiſtory, taking in all the Time from the Flood to the Empire of the *Medes*, who, as other Hiſtories better known to us record, had once the Sovereignty over *Aſia*.

2. The ſecond Race of the *Perſian* Monarchs is, by their Hiſtorians, called the *Dynaſty* of the *Kanites*; and this is, ſtrictly ſpeaking, that Race of the *Perſian* Kings, recorded by the *Greek* Hiſtorians, who reckon up twelve, and allow them to have reigned all together two hundred and ſix Years, that is from *Cyrus*, who began his Reign five hundred thirty ſix Years before Chriſt, to *Darius Codomanus*, who ended his three hundred and thirty Years before Chriſt. It muſt be allowed, that there is a very wide and almoſt irreconcileable Difference between the *Greek* and *Perſian* Hiſtorians, with regard to this Period of Time, and the Actions of theſe Princes, as the inquiſitive Reader may diſcover, by peruſing their Accounts diſtinctly ſtated in the Univerſal Hiſtory, the nobleſt and moſt comprehenſive Work of its Kind, that has appeared in our own, or in any other Language.

The only Fact in which theſe two Hiſtories ſeem tolerably to accord, is in the Appearance of the great *Perſian* Legiſlator, whom in their Language, they call *Zerduſht*, and whom the *Greeks* ſtile *Zoroaſter*: He flouriſhed, according to both Hiſtories, under the Reign of *Guſtaſh* or *Darius Hyſtaſpes*, who began his Reign in the Year before Chriſt Five hundred and twenty two. It was this great Man *Zerduſht*, who modelled and reduced into Order the Religion of the *Magi*, the fundamental Maxim of which was the Worſhipping only one God under the Symbol of Light; and becauſe they in a particular Manner reverenced the Sun, and paid their Devotions before a Fire, which was kept continually burning upon an Altar, the *Greeks* meaſuring the Religion of others by their own, took it for granted that they worſhipped the Sun and the Fire; and according to that remarkable Facility they had of ſupplying by Fiction the Want of better Authority, they have given us very large Accounts of the *Perſian* Religion, which have only ſerved to miſlead and deceive ſuch as truſted to their Relations; for beyond all Queſtion, what they have ſet down of human and other Sacrifices offered by the *Perſians* to ſeveral of their Divinities, is one continued Chain of Fables, utterly repugnant to the fundamental Principles of their philoſophical and theological Syſtems.

The *Perſian* Hiſtories relate the laſt War between their Monarchs and the *Greeks*, in a Manner very differently from what is contained in the Writings of the laſt-mentioned Nation; the former ſtile the laſt Monarch of their Second Dynaſty *Darab al Aſgar*, which is as much as to ſay, *Darius the Leſſer*, or *Darius the Second*; whereas the *Greeks* reckon him the Third of that Name. The *Perſians* alſo ſay, that he was a cruel and tyrannical Prince, and that by his Male-Adminiſtration he ſo eſtranged the Hearts, and loſt the Affections of his Subjects, that ſome of the great Men about him privately called in *Alexander* of *Macedon*, with a Promiſe to betray their Maſter into his Hands. To us this appears wild and incredible, but that *Nadir* Shah was actually ſo called in by the Miniſters of the Mogul, paſſes for true Hiſtory; which very poſſibly may appear ſtrange in the next Age, and ridiculous to Poſterity. The *Perſian* Hiſtorians ſay, that *Alexander* found *Darius* yet alive, when he fell into his Hands; that he bequeathed to him his Daughter *Rouſchenk*, which Name the *Greeks* have changed into *Roxana*, for a Wife, and adviſed him to leave the Government of the Provinces of his new Empire to the *Perſian* Grandees, which *Alexander* promiſed and performed. They add farther, that repenting of this ſome Time after, he reſolved to remove them to make Way for *Greeks*; but that he was diſſuaded from this Meaſure by *Ariſtotle*, who ſuggeſted to him, that the latter would not be able to maintain themſelves againſt the general Confederacy of the *Perſian* Princes; and that the only Way to prevent ſuch a Confederacy was to allow ſeveral of thoſe Princes a greater Meaſure of Power under his Government, than they could hope for under a Monarch of their own Nation.

3. The *Perſians* ſtile *Alexander* the Great, *Eſkender al Roumi*, that is, *Alexander* the *Greek*; *Eſkender ben Philicous*, that is, *Alexander* the Son of *Philip*; and *Eſkender Dhulcarnein*, that is, *Alexander* with two Horns, and give a very different Account of his Expedition into and Conqueſt of *Perſia*, from what we meet with either in the *Greek* or the *Latin* Hiſtorians; wherein as in many Things they err, ſo in ſome perhaps they are in the right, and probably it might furniſh a learned Man, perfectly well acquainted with the *Greek* and Oriental Tongues, with an Opportunity of writing a very uſeful and entertaining Diſſertation, by way of Compariſon between theſe Hiſtories, as it would afford him an Opportunity of clearing up a Multitude of Paſſages in both, that ſeem at preſent either very dark or abſolutely unintelligible. Something of this Kind, with reſpect to the laſt mentioned of his oriental Titles, has been attempted with Succeſs by the very learned Dean *Prideaux*, out of whoſe excellent Performance Mr. *Rollin*, in his Ancient Hiſtory, has borrowed whole Sheets at a Time, and his Authorities from the Ancients into the Bargain, which is a new Way of writing Univerſal Hiſtory, in which I am afraid he will have but too many Followers.

The *Perſian* Writers tell us, and I believe very truly, that not long after the Death of this great Conqueror, many of their Princes ſet up for Petty Sovereigns in the Provinces which were committed to their Government, and that the *Perſian* Empire was ruled in this Manner for ſeventy two Years. Theſe Princes they ſtile in general *Moluk Thaovaif*, that is, the Princes of the Provinces, and make a diſtinct *Dynaſty* of them, which is their Manner of diſtributing their Hiſtories, and a very perſpicuous Method it is, as the learned Reader will eaſily diſcern, by conſulting *Abul Ferrajius*, who has digeſted his Work in this Manner, and from thence has given it the Title of the Hiſtory of *Dynaſties*; nor do I know any Univerſal Hiſtory extant, in any Language, that, conſidering its Conciſeneſs, ought to be compared to his. We need not wonder that there is a good deal of Confuſion in that Part of the *Perſian* Hiſtory which relates to the Time immediately after the Death of *Alexander the Great*, and we are the leſs able to rectify it, becauſe neither the *Greek* nor the *Latin* Hiſtorians treat of it clearly, but mention it only incidentally, contenting themſelves to mention it from Time to Time as it falls in their Way; and from Hiſtory thus wrote by Starts, it is a very difficult Thing to collect ſuch a Number of Facts, as may enable one to reduce it under any certain Method, and yet this is abſolutely neceſſary, in order to preſerve the Thread of our Diſcourſe.

4. The *Greeks* ſay, that under the Reign of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, an *Armenian* Prince revolted and formed a new Empire in the Eaſt. This *Armenian* Prince was *Arſaces*, the Founder of the *Parthian* Empire; the Oriental Writers call him *Aſcheck*, and make him the firſt Prince of their *Dynaſty* of *Aſkaniens*, and they likewiſe reckon him amongſt the *Moluk Thaovaif*, or the Princes that ruled after *Alexander*; ſo that he ſeems to have acquired a Dominion over ſeveral petty Princes, who were once his Equals, and his aſſuming this Dominion ſeems to be by the Concurrence both of the *Perſian* and *Greek* Writers, well enough fixed to the Year 250 before Chriſt. It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that *Mirkond* and ſome other *Perſian* Writers, appear to be very much at a Loſs in regulating the Succeſſion of theſe Princes, for which the true Reaſon ſeems to be this, that they found no regular Memoirs concerning them in the old *Perſian* Writers, who did not conſider them in the Light of their natural Princes. It was however under this Race, that the *Parthians* became known to, and capable of making Head againſt the *Romans*; and therefore in their Hiſtories we find the Names and principal Circumſtances of the Reigns of moſt of theſe Princes. The laſt of this Race was *Ardevan*, who was Cotemporary with the *Roman* Emperor *Commodus*, and with him the *Parthian* Empire fell, or rather the Sovereignty of the Eaſt was reſtored to the *Perſians* in the Perſon of *Artaxerxes*, after it had laſted upwards of four hundred and thirty Years.

This great Prince the *Perſian* Chronicles ſtile *Ardſchir Babegan*, and make him the Founder of their fourth *Dynaſty*, called the *Saſſanians*; he was not only the Revivor of the *Perſian* Empire, but the Legiſlator of it alſo, and left behind him a famous Book, intitled, *Adab alaiſcb*, i. e. *The Rule of Life*, which is ſtill preſerved, admired, and reverenced throughout the Eaſt, as the moſt complete Syſtem of Government and Morals that was ever publiſhed. It would not in all Probability be much eſteemed in this part of the World, even if we had it; being penned entirely in the *Eaſtern* Manner; as for Inſtance, one of the Capital Maxims, which he lays down for a Prince to follow, is this, *Never employ a Sword, where a Cane will do as well*; by which he meant, that a Monarch ſhould never reſort to Capital Puniſhments for light Offences.

I mention this particularly, to ſhow, that there was a great Difference between the Genius of the *Parthian* and *Perſian* Governments, and that the latter were naturally mild, even though their Monarchs carried their Claim to abſolute Power, as high as the former. The Laws of the *Medes* and *Perſians* were indeed no other than the Will of the Prince, but they were irrevocable and immutable even by their Princes; and therefore *Ardeſhir Babegan* having reſtored the Empire, thought himſelf at Liberty to lay down Rules for his Government, which were no leſs binding on his Succeſſors than his Subjects. He it was that fixed the Tenure of the Lands, the Modus betwixt the Farmer and Tenant, the Rights and Revenue of the Crown, and diſtinguiſhed all the Artificers and Tradeſmen in his Empire into different Companies, over whom he appointed Maſters and Wardens; with many other Regulations, moſt of which ſubſiſt to this Day.

The Deſcendants and Succeſſors of this Prince, were thoſe famous and powerful Emperors of *Perſia*, who conteſted the Dominion of the Eaſt with *Conſtantine* the Great, and the following *Greek* Emperors, till by Degrees, and chiefly by the long and bloody Wars they carried on againſt each other, both Empires were much weakened, and at laſt brought ſo low, as to be overrun and ruined by a Race of Barbarians, that had been taught the Art of War by ſerving as Mercenaries in both their Armies. The *Perſian* Writers reckon twenty three Monarchs of this Dynaſty down to *Jeſdegerde Shehriar*, who was the laſt, and in whom not only his Family, but his Nation ended. Long before his Time the Empire began to decline, Princes became Tyrants, their Subjects, and even their Sons, conſpired againſt them, their Religion grew corrupt, and the People diſſolute; this encouraged their Neighbours to invade them on all Sides, and a prodigious Multitude of *Turks* breaking in on the North Eaſt, *Jeſdegerde* marched againſt them into the Province of *Choraſan*, but before he came to a Battle, he had Intelligence that the *Arabs* had invaded *Perſia* on the other Side; upon which he determined to march againſt them; but whilſt Things were in this Situation, and before he could aſſemble Forces ſufficient to act againſt ſo formidable a Power, Grief and Diſtraction of Mind brought him to his End when he had reigned about nineteen Years. His Death is, by the beſt Authors, referred to the thirty firſt Year of the *Hegira*, and conſequently to *Anno Domini* 650. It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that the famous Æra, which is denominated from this Prince, does not commence, as one would imagine, with his Death, but from the Beginning of his Reign, and therefore anſwers to the eleventh Year of the *Hegira*, and to *Anno Domini* 632.

5. As we have already marked the preciſe Time when the *Arabs* became Maſters of this Country, we ſhall only obſerve, that the firſt of their Khaliffs was *Mowavia*, the Fourth lawful Succeſſor of *Mahomet*, who reigned twenty Years; it would lead us into a vaſt Field, if we ſhould pretend to give even a ſhort Account of the Succeſſion of theſe Prieſts and Princes; for under Pretence of being Succeſſors to the Prophet, or, as the Word *Khalif* literally ſignifies, *Lieutenant*, they aſſumed the Supreme Power in ſpiritual as well as temporal Affairs, and executed it for the moſt Part with great Severity. It was this that led them to treat with unrelenting Cruelty, the unhappy Race of the ancient *Perſian* Nation, whom they were bent upon extirpating, from a ridiculous Notion of their being Infidels and Idolaters; whereas it is very difficult to ſay, whether their Religion is not as near the Truth as that of *Mahomet*; but without entring into this Diſpute, it is ſufficient for our Purpoſe to ſay that they ſucceeded ſo far therein, as to reduce that numerous People to a very handful, and even theſe were forced to take Shelter in Woods, in Mountains, and in Deſarts, to ſecure themſelves from the Effects of their religious Fury.

At length, after a Succeſſion of fifty four Princes who bore this Title, though in that Space there happened many Revolutions, the Power of the *Arabs* or *Saracens* ſunk and grew weak, in the ſame Manner as all other Nations do; that is to ſay, their Monarchs grew drunk with Power, and the People were debauched by Luxury. In this melancholy Situation they were continually diſturbed either by Invaſions from Abroad, or by Conſpiracies at Home, till at laſt the Strength of the Empire, unable to ſupport ſuch continual Fatigues, ſunk under them. *Moſtadhem*, or *Moſtazem Billah Ben Moſtanſer Billah*, the thirty ſeventh Khalif of *Bagdat*, or *Babylon*, ſaw the End of that Empire; he ſucceeded to the Government in the Year of the *Hegira* 640, and from the very Beginning of his Adminiſtration was unfortunate in all his Undertakings. *Holokou* was at that Time Kan of the *Tartars*, a Prince ſo powerful, and whoſe Dominions were ſo extenſive, that he for ſome Time deliberated whether he ſhould puſh his Conqueſts through *Poland* into *Germany*, or turn them againſt this Khalif, and he was determined to the latter by the Advice of *Naſſireddin*, a famous Aſtrologer, who being diſobliged at the Khalif's Court, went to the *Tartar*, and adviſed him to fall upon his old Maſter. It fell out that this unfortunate Prince had ſtill a Traytor about him greater and more dangerous than this Aſtrologer. The Name of this perfidious Monſter was *Mowaddedin*, who was Vizier to the Khalif, but was of the oppoſite Sect in Point of Religion; he perceived the Deſign of the *Tartars*, and adviſed his Maſter to diſband his Forces, under Pretence that he was ſo much reverenced by his Neighbours, that there was no Fear of his being diſturbed, if he did not open a Pretence for it by appearing armed. The Khalif, who naturally loved Money and Pleaſure, ſwallowed the Bait, applied himſelf ſolely to the heaping up Wealth, and taking his Diverſion, till of a ſudden the News came that the *Tartars* had invaded a diſtant Part of his Dominions; upon which, by the Advice of this truſty Miniſter, he ordered all the Forces in his Service to march againſt them. By this Means his Capital, the glorious City of *Bagdat*, the faireſt and richeſt of the Eaſt, and perhaps of the whole World, was left in a Manner unguarded. The *Tartar* Khan, who foreſaw and expected this, marched immediately with a choice and powerful Army to inveſt it; and as ſoon as that was done, the Vizier, under Pretence of propoſing Terms of Peace, went to the Camp of the Enemy, from whence he never returned. The City was ſoon after taken by Storm; the Khalif, who was then forty ſix Years of Age, was made Priſoner, together with his Conſort and an only Son, his eldeſt being killed in the Attack. The *Tartar* Prince behaved towards him with great Inhumanity; he cauſed him to be dragged through the Streets till he died, and put his Son alſo to Death; this happened in the Year of the *Hegira* 656, *Anno Domini* 1258. At the ſame Time the City was deſtroyed, and almoſt all its Inhabitants, without reſpect to Sex, Age, or Rank, put to the Sword.

6. In this Manner the *Saracens* or *Arabs* loſt Poſſeſſion of *Perſia*, after they had kept it ſix hundred Years; and as for this *Tartar* Prince *Holokou* or *Olaku Khan*, he was the Grandſon of that mighty Conqueror *Jengiz Khan*, and raiſed in a very ſhort Space one of the moſt powerful and extenſive Empires the World ever had, though moſt of the *Tartar* Hiſtorians affirm, that when he conquered *Perſia*, he acted only as Lieutenant to his Brother *Manchu Khan*, whom he afterwards ſucceeded. He had the Reputation of being a juſt and good Prince, and though he returned into *Tartary* to quiet ſome Diſturbances that broke out there, yet he was ſo pleaſed with the Country of *Media*, that he quickly came back thither, and ſpent the Remainder of his Days. He left his Dominions to his Son *Abkay Khan*, who was ſucceeded by his Brother *Hamed Khan*, the firſt of this Race who became a *Mahometan*; after whom there followed a Succeſſion of ſix Princes of this Family, the laſt of whom was *Abu Said Bahudar Khan*, who deceaſed in the Year of *Hegira* 736, *Anno Domini* 1335, in whom this Race ending, the Government fell into great Confuſion, which continued till *Perſia* fell under the Power of the Succeſſors of the great *Timur*, whom we call *Tamerlane*. This celebrated Prince having, in the Courſe of his glorious Reign, added the greateſt Part of *Perſia* to his other Dominions, left them to his Family, among whom continual Wars and Diſſentions reigned; ſo that in the Space of about forty Years, there were no leſs than twelve of his Race who ſtiled themſelves Monarchs of *Perſia*, and actually poſſeſſed *Choraſan*, and ſome other Provinces of that Empire. In the mean Time, another Hord of *Turcomans* grew very powerful in *Diarbeck*, and made *Bagdat* the Capital of their Dominions, from whence they made Incurſions into *Perſia* for many Years with various Succeſs, till at laſt they defeated *Mirza Abukeker*, the

Grandſon of *Timur*, and the laſt of his Race that reigned in *Perſia*, whom they flew in the Year of the *Hegira* 811, *Anno Domini* 1408.

7. By this Victory *Kara Iſuph*, that is, *Joſeph the Black*, who was Chief of the Tribe of *Kora Koyunli*, or the *Black Sheep*, ſo called from their bearing this Figure in their Standards, became Sovereign of *Perſia*, which he governed fourteen Years, and died in the Year of the *Hegira* 823, *Anno Domini* 1421. He was ſucceeded by *Amir Scander*, who reigned in *Tauris*, and was all his Life long engaged in various Wars with great Diverſity of Fortune, till he was killed by his own Son in the ſixteenth Year of his Adminiſtration. He was ſucceeded by his Brother *Joon Shah*, who, though one of the lewdeſt and wickedeſt Princes that ever ſat upon a Throne, extended his Dominions by his Succeſs in War, and ruled *Perſia* thirty two Years, till ſurprized in a March againſt his Enemies, when drunk and aſleep, he was cut to Pieces. His Succeſſor was his Son *Haſſan Ali*, the laſt of his Family, who being defeated by *Ozun Acen Beck*, who had killed his Father, loſt his Dominions, which fell under the Power of the Conqueror in the Year of the *Hegira* 872, *Anno Domini* 1467.

8. This *Ozun Acenbek* is the ſame that in moſt of our Hiſtories is called *Uſun Chaſan*, and was the firſt of the Family of *Ak Kuyonli*, or the White Sheep, another Tribe of *Turcomans*, who reigned in *Perſia*; he engaged in a long War with Sultan *Mahomet*, the *Ottoman* Emperor, with very bad Succeſs; however, he held the Government for eleven Years, and then left it to his Son Sultan *Kalil*, who, after a ſhort Reign of ſix Months, was killed by one of his Brothers. He was ſucceeded by *Yacub Beg*, another Brother, who was a Prince of great Learning and Moderation, and governed his Dominions for twelve Years with much Lenity and Wiſdom, till at length he was taken off by Poiſon; and then followed a Scene of Blood-ſhed and Confuſion under a Succeſſion of five Princes, either Deſcendants of or allied to this Family, till Sultan *Morad*, whom ſome Eaſtern Authors make the Son of the laſt mentioned Prince, was entirely defeated, and driven out of *Perſia* by *Iſhmael Sefi* in the Year of the *Hegira* 914, *Anno Domini* 1508, and in him ended the Line of the *White Sheep*, which gave Place to that Imperial Family, which continued to govern *Perſia* to our Times.

9. It would take up too much Room for us to enter into the Hiſtory of this Prince's Family, which is beſides ſo well known, that it would be needleſs; we therefore think it ſufficient to obſerve, that he gave himſelf out to be a direct Deſcendant from *Mortis Ali* the Son-in-Law of the Prophet *Mahomet*, and made his Way from a private Station to the Empire of *Perſia*, by very high Pretences to Sanctity, and ſetting up for a Kind of Prophet himſelf. He it was that introduced the new Sect into *Perſia*, and changed that Sort of Men to whom his Father had given Red Caps, as a Mark of their being his Diſciples, into a regular Militia, from thence called *Kuzzlebaſhes*, that is, Red Heads, who under his Succeſſors became the Janizaries of *Perſia*. He was certainly a Man of great Parts and extenſive Genius, as appears plainly from the Manner in which he proſecuted his Wars, ſharing every Thing with his Soldiers till he had made himſelf Maſter of the whole Empire of *Perſia*, and then, under Pretence of Care for their Intereſt, introducing thoſe Sorts of Military Tenures, which have been before deſcribed. He preſerved, as long as he lived, the Confidence and Eſteem of his Subjects, who looked upon him as one ſuperior to the ordinary Race of Men, in Point both of Piety and of Wiſdom; to which his great Victories againſt the *Tartars* on one Side, and the *Turks* on the other, contributed not a little; ſo that the *Perſians* always conſidered him as one, through the Favour of God, invincible. He died at the Age of Forty-five, *Anno Domini* 1525, in full Poſſeſſion of one of the greateſt Empires, and of the Character of one of the ableſt Princes in the Eaſt.

He was ſucceeded by the eldeſt of his four Sons, Shah *Thamas*, who was then about eighteen Years of Age. We have very different Characters of this Prince from different Authors, and yet it is not at all impoſſible that they may be true. In Time of Peace he led a quiet, lazy, inactive Life, and left Things pretty much to his Miniſters, which gave an ill Impreſſion of his Capacity; but when he came to be engaged in a War againſt the *Turkiſh* Emperor *Solyman*, he convinced thoſe, who had taken up this Opinion, that they were abſolutely miſtaken, for he managed that War with great Addreſs, and forced the *Turk* to quit his Country, notwithſtanding that he attacked him with very unequal Forces, and haraſſed him ſo much in his Retreat, that of five hundred thouſand Men that *Solyman* brought into the Field, he ſcarce carried fourſcore Thouſand back to *Conſtantinople*. This War enabled Shah *Thamas* to rid himſelf of two of his Brothers; for one revolting to the *Turk*, he attacked, defeated, and cut him to Pieces; and, ſuſpecting the other had the like Deſign, he cauſed him to be taken off by Poiſon. As to the Third, he died a natural Death; ſo that all the Countries, which had been aſſigned them by their Father, were again united to the Empire. This Shah *Thamas* removed the Capital of his Dominions, and inſtead of the City of *Tauris*, reſided at *Caſbin*. The worſt Action of his Life was the putting to Death Sultan *Bajazet*, the Son of the *Ottoman* Emperor *Solyman*, who had fled to him for Protection; which, however, procured him an advantageous Peace with the *Turks*, that laſted all the reſt of his Reign. He died in 1556, in the Sixty-eighth Year of his Age, and the Fortieth of his Reign, and bequeathed the Empire to his third Son.

The great Officers of State having more Regard to their Conſtitution than to the Will of their deceaſed Monarch, ſent to his eldeſt Son *Mahomet Codabende*, who was Governor of *Khoraſan*, and deſired him to take the Title of Shah; but he ſignified to them, that the Empire was a Weight too great for his Shoulders to bear, and adviſed them to ſet his Brother *Iſhmael* upon the Throne. This Prince was about Forty-three Years of Age, twenty of which he had ſpent in Priſon, where his Father had confined him out of Jealouſy. *Iſhmael* II. was one of the braveſt Men, as well as one of the greateſt Captains of his Age, but ſuſpicious and cruel. His Father cauſed him to be treated very gently in his Confinement, and ſent him ſeveral fine Women; but he would never touch them, alledging, that it was enough to be miſerable himſelf, without begetting a Race of Wretches. His Severity was ſo great, and his Views to the Prejudice of his Family ſo apparent, that it is ſaid his Siſter, at the Requeſt of the Nobility, poiſoned him, when he had reigned only two Years.

His elder Brother *Mahomet Codabende* was forced to take the Title of *Shah*, upon his Deceaſe, againſt his Will. He loved Privacy and Retirement, from a particular Turn in his Temper, and not from any Want of Parts or of Vigour. He uſed his three Brothers very well upon his firſt coming to the Crown; but finding that they were inclined to revolt to the *Turks* who invaded his Dominions, he put them to Death without Mercy. In the firſt Year of his Reign, he gained a ſignal Victory over the *Turkiſh* Forces on the Frontiers of *Armenia*, and in 1578, he beat them again near *Babylon*, in which Battle they loſt fourſcore thouſand Men upon the Spot. The Year following he gave them another Blow, for having ſent twenty-five thouſand Horſe, and five thouſand Camels to forage in the Spring, under an Eſcort of thirty thouſand Foot, the *Perſian* Monarch by long Marches came upon them in the Night, and took his Meaſures ſo effectually, that neither Man nor Beaſt eſcaped. This *Perſian* Prince, who notwithſtanding all theſe Victories, is ſaid ſtill to have regretted his ever leaving his Station in *Khoraſan* for a Crown, and who treated all the Pomp and Grandeur of it with the utmoſt Contempt, died in 1585, leaving behind him three Sons, the eldeſt of which, *Emir Hemſe*, ſucceeded him; but was ſoon after killed by the Intrigues of his Brother *Iſhmael*, who had not been long ſeated upon the Throne, before he had his Throat cut by his Barber, which made Way for the third Brother.

This was the famous *Shah Abbas*, who, by the many glorious Actions of his Life, juſtly acquired the Title of *Great:* He was Governor of *Khoraſan* during the Life of his Father, and at the Time he was called to the Imperial Dignity, was about eighteen. He began his Reign with ſome Acts of Severity, which he thought neceſſary to fix his Government on a ſtable Foundation. When this was done, he took a Reſolution of recovering all that had formerly belonged to the *Perſian* Monarchs, and with this View marched into the Province of *Khoraſan*, the greateſt Part of which had been conquered by the *Uſbeck Tartars.* This War laſted three Years, and was terminated at laſt by the total Defeat of *Abdallah Khan*, the Sovereign of thoſe *Tartars*, who with his Brother, and three Sons, was taken Priſoner. *Shah Abbas* cauſed their Heads to be ſtruck off, that he might have the more Leiſure to turn his Arms againſt the *Turks.* They were much more powerful and troubleſome Enemies, for at that Time they were in Poſſeſſion of a Track of Country of 150 Leagues, from South to North, to which *Shah Abbas* had a juſt Claim from his Predeceſſors. All this he not only recovered, but puſhed his Conqueſts as far as the *Black Sea*, made himſelf Maſter of the City of *Balſora*, a great Part of *Arabia*, and, by the Help of the *Engliſh*, recovered *Ormus* from the *Portugueſe.* He was beyond all Queſtion one of the ableſt Princes that ever reigned in *Perſia*, but withal ambitious beyond Meaſure, and cruel to the laſt Degree. He found the Nobility very powerful, and the *Kuzzlebaſhes* not a little inſolent; he humbled the former, and weakened the latter, by introducing, as has been ſhown elſewhere, a new Militia of his own Forming, and entirely depending upon the Crown. He conceived an unreaſonable Jealouſy of his only Son *Sefi Mirza*, on Account of the great Qualities with which he was endowed, and the high Reſpects paid him by his Subjects in general, and the Soldiers in particular. To free himſelf from theſe groundleſs Apprehenſions, he cauſed his Son to be put to Death, and repenting the Crime, as ſoon as it was committed, paſſed the reſt of his Days in Sorrow and Regret. He built the City of *Ferabat*, on the Coaſt of the *Caſpian-Sea*, where he died in the Year 1629, at the Age of Sixty three, after he had governed the Empire forty five Years.

He was ſucceeded by his Grandſon *Sefi Mirza*, who was but a Child; as he grew up he diſcovered all the bad Qualities of his Grandfather, and none of the good ones, for which his Father had been ſo much beloved. He put out the Eyes of his only Brother, and murdered almoſt all the old Servants of his Grandfather. His Severities were ſo great, and the Murders he committed ſo frequent, that the Women in his *Haram* conſpired againſt his Life, and gave him a Doſe of Poiſon, under which he ſtruggled for two Months, and at laſt recovered. The Pains he took to reach the Bottom of this Conſpiracy were ſo great, that at Length he diſcovered all who had any Concern therein, and in one Night cauſed forty four Ladies to be buried alive in his Garden, amongſt whom, it was ſaid, were his Mother and his Aunt. He was brave in his Perſon to a Degree of Raſhneſs, but never fortunate in War, and the two ſtrongeſt Fortreſſes in the Empire were loſt in his Reign, *viz.* *Khandahar* and *Bagdat*, chiefly through his own Fault. Amongſt many Vices, he had hardly any Virtues to compenſate them; but in Excuſe of this, it is ſaid, that his Grandfather being afraid he might prove as great a Man as his Father, had cauſed ſo much *Opium* to be mingled with his Food, while a very Child, that it affected his Brain. To abate that Coldneſs which this occaſioned, he was adviſed by his Phyſicians to drink Wine, to which he took ſuch a Liking, that in the latter Part of his Life, he was almoſt always drunk, and in one of theſe Debauches he ended his Days, in 1642, after a Reign of twelve Years. His exceſſive Cruelty cauſed a Suſpicion that he was poiſoned.

He was ſucceeded by his Son *Abbas* II. who was his only Child, and yet it was by the Virtue of an Eunuch, that this young Prince was in a Condition to ſucceed him. In one of his drunken Fits, he ordered that Eunuch to paſs an Iron before his Son's Eyes, by which he meant a Plate of Iron red hot in order to blind him, but making Uſe only of the Word Iron, the Eunuch very charitably fulfilled his Maſter's Command literally, but at the ſame Time, directed the Child to counterfeit Blindneſs, which he did ſo effectually, that his Father had not the leaſt Suſpicion of his Seeing, even when he lay upon his Death-bed. It was then that he deplored the Cruelty that he had been guilty of in ſuch moving Terms, that the Eunuch, who was by his Bed-ſide, told him, he had a Secret for reſtoring the young Prince's Sight, which rejoiced him ſo much, that it kept him alive till the next Day. As *Shah Abbas* II. was barely thirteen when he ſucceeded his Father, and had been till then conſidered as blind, and conſequently incapable of the Imperial Dignity, we may eaſily conceive, that he could not take very early any Share in the Government, the Care of which devolved upon his Mother and the Prime Miniſter, who was a Creature of her's.

Things continued in this Situation during the three firſt Years of his Reign, when the Miniſter having unluckily, from the Peeviſhneſs incident to old Age, let fall an Expreſſion ſomewhat diſreſpectful towards his Maſter, *Jehean Khan*, one of the moſt powerful Lords of the Court, followed him to his Houſe, and put him to Death as if it had been by the Order of the Shah. This exceedingly alarmed the Princeſs his Protector, who demanded Juſtice of her Son with all the Impetuoſity natural to her Sex and to her Character; but *Abbas*, inſtead of diſavowing what had been really done without his Conſent, gave to *Jehean Khan* the Poſt of Prime Miniſter, the vaſt Eſtate of the Deceaſed, and ſoon after made him Generaliſſimo of all his Forces. The wiſeſt of Monarchs has ſaid, *That the Hearts of Kings are deep.* One would have imagined, that in ſo young a Prince, theſe high Favours had been either the Marks of Confidence, or the Effects of Timidity, but they were neither; Shah *Abbas* had a Mind to ſee whether this Lord had acted out of a true Zeal for his Service, or from other Motives; he had alſo a Mind to diſcover how far his Intereſt reached, and to what his Views tended. It was not long before he diſcovered all. *Jehean Khan*, knowing how much he was hated by the Shah's Mother, formed a Deſign of killing her in the *Haram*, which being made known to the Shah, he in a great Council gave him the firſt Stroke with his own Poinard, and with the Aſſiſtance of his Guards cut off him and all Friends at once. This neceſſary Severity diſcovered his true Character, and made him feared by his Miniſters, and reverenced by his Subjects.

He was very far from being free from Vices, being much given both to Wine and Women; but was, for all that, a very great Prince. He retook *Khandahar*, which had been loſt by his Father, and recovered ſeveral Places from the *Turks*, and was preparing to have attacked them with all the Forces of his Empire, when he was taken off by Death. There is one Point of his Conduct which ought not to be paſſed in Silence: He was a conſtant Protector of the Chriſtians, and when the *Sedre*, or Chief of the Eccleſiaſticks in *Perſia*, remonſtrated againſt it, he made him this remarkable Anſwer, *The Dominion of the* Mind *belongs to that* Supreme Being *who has given me Power over the Perſons of* my Subjects, *yet he allows them* Freedom *of* Sentiment, *and has thereby taught me, that it is* not *my* Duty *to force it. While they are good Subjects, whatever their Religion be, I ſhall conſider them as good Men.* I will not ſay, as others have done, that this Maxim ſhould be written in Letters of Gold, but I will ſay more, that it ought to be writ in nobler Characters, I mean, in the Hearts of Princes. Shah *Abbas* II. died in the thirty eighth Year of his Age, on the 25th of *September*, 1666, in the 23d Year of his Reign.

He left behind him two Sons, *Sefi Mirza*, and *Hamzeh Mirza*. In a great Council held by his chief Officers after his Deceaſe, it was reſolved to raiſe the youngeſt to the Throne, becauſe he was the moſt likely to be governed; but to give this a colourable Pretence, thoſe who gave into this Opinion, ſuggeſted that Shah *Abbas*, when he ſet out for *Tabreſtan*, had returned ſuddenly to *Iſpahan*, when he was a Day's Journey from it, and that he came back melancholy; from whence they preſumed he had put out his eldeſt Son's Eyes; the rather, becauſe he had brought the younger Prince along with him. The Governor of the young Prince, who was thus preferred from an unparallel'd Virtue and Integrity, was the only Man that oppoſed this Reſolution; he ſaid it was injurious to the Conſtitution, and to the Memory of the late Shah; he undertook, on the Peril of his Life, that the Fact was falſe, and as there is often an irreſiſtible Force in Truth, he brought over all the reſt to his Sentiments, and was deputed by them, who hitherto concealed the Death of Shah *Abbas*, to go to *Iſpahan* and preſent their Duty to his Succeſſor. The Mother of that young Prince was alarmed at his Arrival, and at his demanding to ſee her Son; it was an Hour before he could be torn from her Embraces; but her Sorrow was ſoon turned into Joy, when ſhe was informed, that by the Death of his Father he was become the Sovereign of *Perſia*.

He became ſo, as his Subjects believed, in an ill Hour, for after he had reigned two Years with little Capacity and leſs Succeſs, he was ſolemnly crowned a ſecond Time, in Hopes of removing the malignant Influence of the Stars at his firſt Coronation; and then it was that he changed his Name from *Seſi* to *Solyman*, as we are informed by Sir *John Chardin*, who was an Eye Witneſs of this ſecond Coronation. If it ſerved for any Thing, it was to ſhew the Folly and Abſurdity of theſe Aſtrological Precautions; for notwithſtanding all the Pains they took to fix upon a lucky Hour for this important Ceremony, his Adminiſtration was not a Grain more fortunate than before. In ſhort, under him the *Perſian* Empire began to decline, which ſunk and crumbled to Pieces under his Son. Shah *Solyman* had Vices, which, no doubt, were prejudicial to him, but his Follies were more ſo; he loved Wine and Women to Exceſs, Faults in themſelves very great; but another, which might ſeem more excuſable, was more fatal. He was indolent to the laſt Degree; he confided not only the Care of his Perſon, but of his State, to his Eunuchs, and out of theſe half Men formed a Council for governing a great Empire.

The Conſequences that attended this ſcandalous Management, were ſuch as might well be expected from it, that is to ſay, his Councils were ill taken and worſe executed, few able Men were raiſed either to Poſts in the Government or in the Army, and as ſoon as theſe few were diſcovered, they were conſtantly removed. When weak and bad Men are at the Helm, Calms are more dreadful than Storms, for theſe naturally fright them from their Poſts, and call thoſe to Power who know how to employ it. Shah *Solyman* reigned twenty eight Years, dying on the laſt of *July*, 1694, at the Age of forty eight Years, leaving behind him the Character of one of the weakeſt, meaneſt, and bloodieſt Princes that ever diſgraced the *Perſian* Diadem.

His converſing ſo much with Women and Eunuchs made him ſuſpicious; his being often drunk, and always half drunk, rendred him cruel, as the Want of Underſtanding cauſed him of Neceſſity to be capricious. His Character was admirably drawn by one of his Courtiers; *I never leave the* Shah's *Preſence*, ſays he, *without feeling my Neck, that I may be ſure my Head is ſtill upon my Shoulders.*

He left behind him two Sons, *Mirza Abbas* and *Mirza Huſſein*. The Council of Eunuchs were to be the Judges which was the fitteſt to wear the Crown; the late Shah made them ſo by his Management; but what is ſtill ſtranger, he made them ſo by his Will. The Approach of Death commonly gives unuſual Force of Mind; it did ſo to Shah *Solyman*; but it was a left-handed Senſe, for after reigning like a Fool he died a Knave. *You have it in your Power*, ſaid he to his Eunuchs, *to live under what Government you like beſt, when I am gone*; *your Choice, if you would have a martial Prince, muſt fall upon* Abbas; *if you would rather have a pacifick Reign, you muſt raiſe* Huſſein *to the Throne.* One need not, even at this Diſtance from *Perſia*, be at a Loſs about the Reſolution formed in this wiſe Council; weak Men know well enough that they can never hold their Places but under a weaker King; and therefore the ſagacious Diſpoſers of a Crown moſt unanimouſly fixed upon the Prince that was unworthy of it. The Character of *Mirza Abbas* was truly given by his Father; he had all the great Qualities, and wanted none of the good ones neceſſary to a Monarch; he was brave, but not fierce, and affable without Falſhood. As to the Character of *Huſſein*, it may be very truly deſcribed in a very few Words; there never lived a better Man, or a worſe Prince.

He had been bred in the ſevere Study of the Alcoran, and at the ſame Time that he was very knowing in the *Mahometan* Religion, he was very ſincere in the Belief of it.

He gave a ſtrong Teſtimony of the Uprightneſs of his Diſpoſition in refuſing to put out the Eyes of his Brother *Mirza Abbas*; he was content at firſt to ſay it was inhuman, but finding himſelf continually excited thereto, by ſuch as directed him in all other Things, he told them fairly, that when his Brother and he firſt read the Law together, they had ſworn upon that holy Book, never to put out the Eyes of each other, which ever came to the Throne; and he would not incur the Guilt of Perjury. Indeed his Nature was ſo tender, that firing a Piſtol among his Ducks, which by Accident had Shot in it, he cryed out when he ſaw them wounded, that he was defiled with Blood, and gave a large Sum, in Alms to the Poor, to wipe out the Stain. His Miniſters ſaw his Indolence with Pleaſure, and his Weakneſs with Delight; but his Integrity and Rectitude of Mind gave them infinite Concern. It was therefore for ſome Time their ſole Buſineſs to ſtudy how they might corrupt him; they thought at laſt of a proper Method, and they made Choice of his Mother to carry it into Execution. That Princeſs pretended to be at the Point of Death, and that the Phyſicians had declared nothing could ſave her Life but drinking Wine. The *Shah*, out of Piety, had forbid the making it in any Part of his Dominions, and out of Reſpect to the Law of *Mahomet*, had never taſted it himſelf. He cauſed it to be got however to ſave his Mother's Life, and becauſe ſhe would not drink unleſs he drank to her, he took off a large Glaſs, which left ſuch a Reliſh on his Palate, as gave him an Inclination to it ever after.

By Arts like theſe Shah *Huſſein* was drawn to become the great Inſtrument of his own Ruin, and that of his Subjects. The Eunuchs, firſt admitted into Council by his Father, contrived under him to ſhut out all others. The Prime Miniſter himſelf was excluded; and thus *Perſia*, for the firſt Time, was bleſs'd: But why ſhould I not ſpeak plain? was curſed then, let me ſay, with a Cabinet-Council. It is true, the ancient Form was kept up, the great Officers of State met, the Aſſembly was as regular as numerous, and to the Populace appeared for ſome Time as auguſt as ever: But it was a mere empty Show, for only the White and Black Eunuchs had the Power, and, which ſure never happened in any Country but this, dictated their Orders through the Mouth of their Sovereign. We cannot dwell upon this extraordinary Subject; we cannot enter into the Detail of the Steps by which this Monarchy fell to Ruin; we leave thoſe to the Imagination of the Reader, and eſteem ourſelves happy, that by ſo reaſonable an Excuſe, we can diſcharge ourſelves of ſo diſagreeable a Taſk.

Let it ſuffice then to ſay, once for all, that through this looſe and ſcandalous Adminiſtration the Conſtitution was diſſolved, and the whole Frame of Government fell to Pieces. The Eccleſiaſticks were noted for irreligious Notions and Depravity of Manners; the Governors of Provinces had as little Power as Will to protect, but were allowed to plunder, that others might ſqueeze them; the Viziers fleeced the People for ſome Years, and were then fleeced themſelves; the Soldiers were robbed of their Pay, which forced them to work for a Subſiſtence; and as this furniſhed them with Money, Part of it was given to their Officers to wink at their Neglect of Diſcipline; which was the more readily complied with by Men truſted with Commands, tho' they knew little or nothing of martial Diſcipline themſelves. In ſuch a State of Things one would think there muſt be Complaints, more eſpecially in a Country where the Law not only tolerates, but encourages ſuch Complaints. But what then? The Shah ſhut himſelf up in his Palace, and would not hear them. Memorials and Petitions might be drawn, and Means might be found to get them preſented. All this was done, but the Shah would never trouble any Body but his Eunuchs to read them; and when Felons are Judges, Virtue is the only Thing that is thought a Crime.

Affairs being thus in a State of Depravity, and the Empire, in a Manner, ripe for Deſtruction, we are next to ſee how this was brought on; and indeed it happened in a Manner, which, for any Thing that has occurred to me, there is nothing in Hiſtory can parallel. At the Time *Georgia* ſubmitted to Shah *Abbas*, it was agreed, that the Princes of that Country ſhould be dependant only upon the *Perſian* Emperors, in the ſame Manner that *Crim Tartary* does upon the *Turks*; and this Capitulation was ſtrictly obſerved till this wiſe Miniſtry thought fit to violate it more than once, which induced the reigning Prince to take ſuch Meaſures as he thought requiſite to ſet him beyond the Reach of their Power. The Council of Eunuchs were too cunning for him; they were informed, that his Army conſiſted of ſeveral ſmall Bodies of Troops commanded by their reſpective Chiefs; to theſe they offered large Sums of Money, and by Degrees drew the greateſt Part of them to quit the Service of the Prince; upon which he retired with his Family and his Riches into the Mountains. Upon a little Reflection, he conceived an Opinion, that thoſe who bribed with Money, might be bought with Money; and therefore ſending an Agent to *Iſpahan*, he cancelled his Crime with Gold, and got himſelf reſtored. Some Time after, the Mogul ſent an Embaſſy, in which he demanded the City and Principality of *Khandahar*, in Terms that aſtoniſhed the Cabinet-Council of Shah *Huſſein*. If they were attacked by the Mogul, it was requiſite to have a General and an Army; and therefore like great Politicians, becauſe they knew this Prince of *Georgia* would fight, they ſent him to command in *Khandahar*, and allowed him to name a Lieutenant to command in his own Principality. This reſtoring a Man after a Rebellion, and giving him a ſecond Principality for the Courage he had ſhown in his Rebellion, was a Policy ſo refined, that none but theſe great Men could ever have found it out.

The Prince of *Georgia* was ſent to *Khandahar*, in the Year 1704, and he had not been long there, before he diſcovered a Perſon as capable of making that Principality revolt, as he was of raiſing an Inſurrection in his own Country. The Name of this extraordinary Perſon, was *Mîr Vaez*, whom our Gazettes call *Miriweis*, and whom they repreſent as ſprung from the Dregs of the People; this however is an Untruth: He was a Man of great Quality in that Country, and a Kind of Receiver-General of the Shah's Revenue, in which Poſt he behaved with ſuch Honour towards the Court, and ſo much Tenderneſs towards the People, as gained him Credit with the one, and procured him the Affection of the other. The new Khan was by no Means pleaſed with him, and repreſented therefore to his Friends at *Iſpahan*, that this Man muſt be ſent for. If either he or they had ſtruck off his Head, for preſuming to be wiſe and honeſt under ſuch an Adminiſtration, there had been an End of the Matter, but they brought him to *Iſpahan*, and there he ſoon ſaw that his Wiſdom was much ſuperior to that of the Cabinet-Council; but that as for Honeſty, it was become a uſeleſs and dangerous Thing; ſo he parted with it immediately, and became as arrant a Courtier as the beſt of them.

In 1709, he made a Journey to *Mecca*, with much Show of Religion, one of the beſt Cloaks in the World for a bad Deſign. His Countrymen were not of the eſtabliſhed Church, but of the Sect of *Sunnis*, which is the ſame Religion with the *Turks* of *Mecca*; therefore he got a *Feſta* or ſolemn Deciſion of the Head of the Law, importing, that his Countrymen might very lawfully take up Arms againſt their Sovereign, as a Heretick, and break all their Oaths to him without Perjury. Upon his Return to *Iſpahan*, he contrived a Story of an Attack that was to be made upon the *Perſian* Empire by the *Muſcovites* and by the *Mogul*, ſuggeſting, that it was highly probable, that the Prince of *Georgia*'s Lieutenant would Revolt to the former, and himſelf go over to the latter. Upon this the Eunuchs ſent *Mîr Vaez* to watch over the Prince's Conduct, at *Khandahar*, and it is certain, that he took Care the Prince of *Georgia* ſhould do them no Hurt, for under Colour of a Reconciliation, he aſſaſſinated him in his own Palace, and by the Aſſiſtance of his Countrymen, maſſacred moſt of his Troops; ſending up a very formal Excuſe to *Iſpahan*, that the Prince was an Oppreſſor, and his Soldiers obſerved no Diſcipline, and therefore they had been tempted only to take the Liberty to knock their Brains out, but hoped they would believe that, notwithſtanding this, they were as good Subjects as ever.

At this very Moment *Mîr Vaez* had declared himſelf Prince of *Khandahar*, and upon producing the *Feſta* beforementioned, all his Countrymen adhered to him; it was however two Years before they were thoroughly perſuaded at *Iſpahan*, that the Thing was really ſo, and that they had no more to do with *Khandahar* as Sovereigns, than with any Province in *China*. This forced them to riſe an Army under the Command of the new Prince of *Georgia*, to which they added a Body of *Perſians*, and ſent them againſt *Mîr Vaez*; but partly through the Diſpute between the two Nations, and partly through the Treachery of ſome of the Council at *Iſpahan*, who held a Correſpondence with *Mîr Vaez*, this Army was routed, and their Commander killed. Some other Attempts were made, but made in a more feeble Manner, and at laſt the Thing was no more thought of, ſo that *Mîr Vaez* lived and died an independent Prince at his Capital of *Khandaſar*, in 1717, after a Reign of about ſeven Years.

His Countrymen made Choice of his Brother to ſucceed him, and that Brother was inclined to Peace, but *Mîr Mahmud*, the Son of *Mîr Vaez*, then about ſeventeen, conceiving that this would be prejudicial to his Intereſt, ſlipt into his Uncle's Room one Night when he was aſleep, and cut off his Head. He then ſummoned the People, charged his Uncle with being a Traitor to them, and produced Papers under his Hand, to prove his Deſign of ſubmitting to the *Perſians*. This had the deſired Effect, the People approved his Conduct, and declared him their Prince. But it is neceſſary to inform the Reader, who theſe People were, becauſe till about this Time their Names were never heard of in *Europe*. The *Afghans* are a Nation who inhabit *Khandahar*, and moſt of the mountainous Countries on the Frontier; we meet with large Deſcriptions of them in the *Perſian* Authors, but they may be all reduced to a ſingle Word, which will convey the Idea of them diſtinctly; they are Highlanders; their Dreſs, their Manners, their Clans, their Diſcipline, and their Hardineſs are preciſely the ſame; they only differ in Religion, for the *Afghans* are *Mahometans*, moſtly of the *Turkiſh* Sect, and zealous to the laſt Degree.

Mahmud was firſt for drawing in the reſt of the *Afghans* in the adjacent Countries to be his Confederates; but their Chiefs thought themſelves as good Men as he; upon which he reſolved to bring that to a Trial, and by beating them, made them ready to do what he would have them. When this was brought about, he reſolved to invade *Perſia*, though all the Men in his Country were not capable of furniſhing an Army any Way equal to ſuch an Undertaking. He executed it however with the Forces he could get together, advanced into the Province of *Kirman*, and ſurprized the Capital. Thus far Things went well, but the Shah having caſt his Eyes upon the Brother of his firſt Miniſter, *Luft Ali Kan*, and made him General of his Forces, he advanced with a numerous Army againſt the *Afghans*, defeated them totally, and drove them back to *Khandahar*. The Cabinet Council, apprehenſive that ſo great a Service might free the Prime Miniſter from his Dependance upon them, alarmed the *Shah* in the Night, pretended that Miniſter was coming to murder him, and obtained an Order to ſeize and put out his Eyes, and another Order for ſecuring his Brother. Both theſe were executed; and as ſoon as *Mir Mahmud* was informed of it, he reſumed his Deſign, and entered *Perſia* a ſecond Time with a much greater Army.

This ſecond Invaſion was in the Month of *January*, 1722, and was not at firſt attended with Succeſs. He was baffled in the Siege of *Kirman*, his Forces being no Way fit for Sieges; but borrowing Courage from Deſpair, though many of his People returned home, he marched on towards *Iſpahan*. In his Paſſage he met and fought the *Perſian* Army, and by the Diſagreement between the Generals, defeated them, and afterwards laid Siege to the Capital; which, however, he had never taken but for the Miſunderſtandings in the Place, and the Intrigues he entered into with ſome about the Shah, who at laſt betrayed him into his Hands, in Conſequence of a ſcandalous Treaty, by which he agreed to reſign the Empire to *Mahmud*, and to give him his Daughter, which he performed, and by this Means that Captain of *Banditti* came to have the Title of Sultan *Mahomet*, *Oct.* 22, 1722.

His Conduct, after this unaccountable Succeſs, appeared very unequal; ſometimes he behaved with ſuch Moderation and Prudence, that he ſeemed to deſerve all that he had acquired; at others, he acted with ſuch Fierceneſs and Barbarity, as diſgraced the very Nation from whence he came; but the Murders he committed, and more eſpecially his inviting three hundred of the *Perſian* Nobility and Gentry to a Feaſt, and then cutting their Throats, was ſuch an Act of Baſeneſs and Cruelty, as ought for ever to ſtigmatize his Character, as the Reflection of it afterwards turned his Head. The Eſcape of *Mirza Sefi*, the eldeſt Son of Shah *Huſſein*, increaſed his Fury; and on the 27th of *January* 1725, he cauſed moſt of the Princes of the Royal Blood to be maſſacred in his Preſence, except two Infants, the Sons of Shah *Huſſein*, whom that unfortunate Prince covered with his own Body, and had his Hand run through by parrying a thruſt made at them, before he could place them behind him; which ſo mollified the Heart of the Uſurper, that he ſuffered them to live. Not long after this he was ſeized with a Leproſy, and his lucid Intervals grew ſhorter and leſs perfect; upon which the *Afghans* ſent for his Couſin *Aſhruff*, whom he kept in Priſon at *Iſpahan* for Conſpiracy, and made him their Prince.

He was the Son of that Uncle by cutting off whoſe Head *Mir Mahmud* made himſelf Prince of *Khandahar*, and in Return he ordered his Couſins to be cut off in the ſame Manner, which put an end to a turbulent Reign of about two Years and a half. *Aſhruff*, who was now Maſter of *Iſpahan*, is ſaid to have put to Death a Son that *Mahmud* had by Shah *Huſſein*'s Daughter; but it is certain that he married another Daughter of his himſelf, and treated the old Shah with much Lenity for ſome Time, though afterwards he cauſed him to be put to Death; but when or where, the Accounts we have hitherto had from this Country does not enable us to mention with Certainty.

About the Time that the *Afghans* beſieged *Iſpahan*, it was reſolved to ſet up one of the young Princes as his Father's Lieutenant-General. *Mirza Sefi*, the eldeſt of them, had been tried before, and after having been at the Head of a ſmall Body of Troops for about a Month, he declared himſelf incapable of publick Affairs, and retired again, of his own Accord, into the *Haram*. The ſecond Prince had diſobliged the Eunuchs, and they perſuaded the old Shah to confine him; ſo that it was now reſolved, that his third Son *Mirza Thamas* ſhould be ſent out to make an Experiment of his Fortune. He marched accordingly at the Head of five hundred Men, and had the good Luck to make his Eſcape. He ſhowed ſome Bravery, but very little Judgment; for when he had got a few Troops about him, he differed with, and even attacked the Prince of *Georgia*, the only Perſon from whom he could have expected any Aſſiſtance.

We have no very diſtinct Account of his Actions while *Mir Mahmud* held the ſupreme Power; but it is certain that his Succeſſor Sultan *Aſhruff* drove him into *Mazenderan*, from whence, with ſome Difficulty, he got into *Khoraſan*, and there he took the Title of Shah, on Account of his Father's abdicating the Government. His Affairs wore a very indifferent Aſpect, till ſuch Time as he placed *Fatteh Allah Khan Kajar* at the Head of his Army, who brought his Concerns into ſome Order. In 1726, he took *Nadir Kuli*, afterwards known to the World by the Name of *Thamas Kouli Khan*, into his Service, who inſinuated himſelf ſo into his good Graces, that in the Spring of the Year 1728, he prevailed upon him to put his old General to Death, and to give him the ſole Command.

His Affairs were then in a very indifferent Situation, the *Turks* were Maſters of all the Weſtern Provinces, *Aſhruff* and his *Afghans* were in Poſſeſſion of the Middle of the Empire, and the *Abdolee Afghans* had actually invaded *Khoraſan*. His whole Army conſiſted only of twenty thouſand Men, with which *Nadir Kuli* engaged and defeated the *Abdollees* totally. This awakened the Attention of *Aſhruff*, who in *September* 1729, marched from *Iſpahan* in order to attack him. *Nadir Kuli* poſted himſelf with ſixteen thouſand Men in a very advantageous Camp, and there waited for the *Afghans*, who attacked him with great Fury; but, after an obſtinate Diſpute, were entirely routed. This raiſed his Reputation highly; and, as the greateſt Reward the Shah could then give him, he beſtowed his Name upon his General, who thence forward was ſtiled *Thamas Kouli Kan.*

The Fame of this Victory enabled him to increaſe his Army ſoon after to forty thouſand Men, with which he defeated *Aſhruff* a ſecond Time; and this ſo much diſpirited the *Afghans*, that they reſolved to plunder, burn and abandon *Iſpahan*; but the Shah did not give them Time to put this barbarous Deſign in Execution, but marched with ſuch Vivacity towards the Capital, that they were obliged to leave it with great Precipitation, in the Month of *November* 1730. This great Stroke, that in all outward Appearance ſeemed to ſet him above the Reach of Fortune, was very ſoon followed by a Step that made Way for his Ruin. He thought that his General was ſlow in purſuing the *Afghans*, he therefore preſſed him to uſe more Expedition. Upon this *Kouli Kan* told him roundly, that he was well informed of the Manner in which his Father's Generals had been treated; that when they were in the Field, they were ill ſupplied; and that he was reſolved to lay down his Command, unleſs he would give him the Power of raiſing Money in what Manner he thought fit: To this, though with much Reluctance, the Shah conſented; and, in Hopes of uniting his General more cloſely to him, gave him his Aunt in Marriage.

Kouli Kan then followed the *Afghans* to *Shiras*, tho' it was in the Depth of Winter, defeated them totally, took all their Baggage and Treaſure, and *Aſhruff* endeavouring to make his Retreat towards *Khandahar*, was ſurprized by a Body of the *Balluches*, who cut him and the few Troops he had about him to Pieces. *Shah Thamas* then turn'd his Arms againſt the *Turks*, but was unluckily defeated by *Achmet Baſhaw*, who, ſoon after his Victory, offering reaſonable Terms of Peace, the Shah accepted them. In the Month of *Auguſt*, 1732, *Thamas Kouli Kan*, having ſettled all the Eaſtern Provinces of the Empire, returned to *Iſpahan* with an Army of ſixty thouſand Men, and inſiſted upon breaking the Peace with the *Turks*; to which the Shah ſhowing ſome Unwillingneſs, *Kouli Kan* ſoon after ſeized his Perſon, and ſent him Priſoner to *Mazenderan*. He next took his Son, though a Child in his Cradle, and declared him Shah by the Title of *Abbas* the IIId.

By this Means having ſecured the Tranquillity of *Perſia* for the preſent, he turned his Arms againſt the *Turks*, whom, in the Space of two Years, he defeated in various Battles, and at laſt diſpirited them to ſuch a

Degree, that they no longer kept the Field; upon which he determined to lay Siege to *Bagdat*.

While he was before this Place, he received Advice, that *Mahommed Kan Balluche* had revolted, and declared for *Shah Thamas*, and made himſelf Maſter of *Shiras*. Upon this he raiſed the Siege immediately, marched directly againſt this General, whom he treated as a Rebel, had the good Luck to defeat him; after which he plundered the City of *Shiras*, and put Numbers of People to Death. He then returned to *Iſpahan*, from whence he ſoon after marched into *Georgia*, reduced the City of *Teflis*, which is its Capital; over-run *Armenia*, and by the very Terror of his Name, frighted the *Ruſſians* out of *Gilan*, which Province they had ſeized during the Troubles in *Perſia*.

After all theſe Victories, he ſummoned the Chief of the *Perſian* Nobility to his Army, which then conſiſted of 150,000 Men, and there, partly by Fear, and partly by Promiſes, made them conſent to the total Subverſion of their Conſtitution, both in Church and State, by agreeing to make the Crown hereditary in his Family, to renounce for ever the ancient Line of their Princes, and to admit an Union between the two Sects of the *Sunni*'s and the *Schia*'s, which being oppoſed by the *Mullah Baſhi*, in a ſet Speech, he anſwered his Arguments, by ſtrangling him upon the Spot, and on the 21ſt of *March*, 1736, he cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed Sovereign of *Perſia*, by the Title of *Nadir Shah*. The firſt publick Act of his Adminiſtration was to ſeize, or, as he was pleaſed to call it, reſume all the Church Lands in *Perſia*; but finding that the Clergy were irreconcileable to him, he thought the Diſpute would be leſs dangerous, if they were ſtript of their Property, which was very conſiderable, their Revenues amounting to a Million of *Tomans*, which is upwards of three Millions Sterling.

In *June* following he was crowned at *Caſbin*, and from thence he marched to *Iſpahan*, where he ſtaid about ſix Months, during which Time he was acknowledged by the Grand Signior and the Great Mogul. He ſpent his Time in preparing for his Expedition againſt *Khandahar*, and marching thither in the Beginning of 1737, he appointed his eldeſt Son *Reza Kuli Mirza*, to govern *Perſia* in his Abſence, who fixed his Reſidence at *Meſched*, whither *Shah Thamas* was afterwards conducted, and, as it is ſaid, by Order of the young Prince, who no doubt acted therein by his Father's Direction, was there put to Death, to prevent, as far as poſſible, any future Revolts in his Favour, or in Support of any of his Family. *Nadir Shah* was as fortunate in his Expedition againſt *Khandahar*, as in any of his former Undertakings, reducing it much ſooner than could have been expected, conſidering the great Strength of the Place. And it was while he lay before this Place, that he received an Invitation from ſome of the Mogul's Miniſters, to invade that Empire. As we have given a very large and full Account of this Tranſaction in our former Volume, in ſpeaking of the Succeſſion of the Deſcendants of *Timur Bek*, in the Empire of *Indoſtan*, we ſhall not inſiſt farther upon it here, but content ourſelves with firſt giving the Reader a ſhort View of the Life of this extraordinary Perſon, and then reſuming the Hiſtory of his Reign, at his Return from the *Indian* Expedition.

10. We have had various Reports in *England* concerning the Birth of this famous Conqueror, and tho' they are now grown ridiculous, there was a Time when they were better received. It muſt be allowed, that on one Hand, it is extremely difficult for us to obtain any true Accounts from Places at ſo great a Diſtance, and it is no leſs true, on the other Hand, that we are extremely careleſs in our Endeavours to procure them. The *Dutch* at *Batavia* require their Factors at different Forts throughout *India*, to ſend them Intelligence, and it is from theſe Letters, that they judge of the Abilities of the Perſons they employ, ſo that by this Method they are able to give their Maſters in *Holland*, a tolerable View of the whole State of Affairs in the Eaſt, once in the Year. It is but very lately, that we have had any diſtinct and true Account of this Hero, who was the Son of the Chief of one of the Clans of the *Afshars*, a *Turcoman* Tribe divided into three Families, of which his was the ſecond, and inhabited a Diſtrict of the Province of *Choraſan*. He was born in the Year 1688, and as he was the eldeſt Son of his Father, was conſidered, according to the Laws of that Nation, as his apparent Succeſſor. In order to form a right Notion of this, the Reader is to be told, that there are ſeveral Tribes of the *Turcomans*, who inhabit this and other Provinces of *Perſia*, where they live after their own Manner, in Conſideration of certain Services that from Time to Time they are called upon to render to the Government of *Perſia*; and the particular Service of his Family was to defend a Fortreſs commanding the Valley which they inhabit, againſt the *Uſbeck Tartars*. As to his Father's Name, we know it not; but that which he beſtowed upon his Son at the Time of his Circumciſion, was *Nadir Kuli*, which ſignifies literally, the Slave of the Wonderful, but the true Senſe of it is, the Servant of God.

His Father dying in his Minority, his Brother, the Uncle of *Nadir*, became, according to the Cuſtom of the *Turcomans*, the Tutor of his Son, and the Chief *pro tempore* of the Clan. He took Care of the Education of the young Man, whom he bred up a zealous *Mahometan*, according to the Sect of the *Sunni*'s, who are looked upon by the *Perſians* as Hereticks, and who, on their Side, conſider that whole Nation in the ſame Light; he cauſed him likewiſe to be taught his Exerciſes, and ſhowed him, for ſeveral Years, a great deal of Kindneſs and Reſpect. But when he came of Age, and would have taken upon him the Command of the Fortreſs and of his Clan, his Uncle did not care to reſign; and being a Man of great Art, he had brought the People into ſuch a Dependance upon himſelf, that his Nephew found they were little inclined to do him what he called Juſtice; and the Spirit of the young Man was ſuch, that ſcorning to live in Subjection, in a Place where he conceived it his Right to rule, he reſolved to put himſelf into the *Perſian* Service. It was for this Reaſon he went to *Meſched*, which has been conſidered as the Capital of *Choraſan* ever ſince Shah *Abbas* the Great inſtituted Pilgrimages thither, on Purpoſe to hinder his Subjects from viſiting the Tomb of their Prophet at *Mecca*, before which Time the City of *Herat* had that Title. *Nadir Kuli* was well received by the Governor, who gave him a ſmall Poſt in his Family, and another ſmall Poſt in the Army. His Behaviour here was very regular, and very inſinuating; he ſhowed all poſſible Reſpect for his Superiors, was very kind and condeſcending to his Inferiors, and very exact in the Diſcharge of every Branch of his Duty.

By Degrees he gained the Confidence of the Governor to ſuch a Degree, that he was raiſed to the Rank of a *Mim Baſhi*, a Command equivalent to that of a Colonel of Horſe in our Service; and then it was that he began to diſplay the extraordinary Qualities he received from Nature. He affected a very different Conduct from that of his Brother Officers, for he was as attentive to Diſcipline as they were negligent in it; he deſpiſed Perquiſites, kept his Corps conſtantly full, and by doing ſtrict Juſtice to Merit, made his Soldiers not only content with their Lot, but pleaſed with their Profeſſion. He was often employed in Service, and was always ſucceſsful, which was chiefly owing to two Things, the ſtrict Diſcipline of his Troops, and his keeping them complete, which gave him a vaſt Advantage of the *Tartars*, and diſtinguiſhed him from all other Officers, who for that Reaſon hated him heartily. The Confuſion in the latter Part of the Reign of *Shah Huſſein*, as it encouraged the *Uſbecks* to make frequent Incurſions into *Choraſan*, ſo it gave him many Opportunities of raiſing his Reputation, by repreſſing their Inſolence, and obliging them often to retire, notwithſtanding their Superiority of Numbers. But in 1720, the *Uſbecks* invaded the Province with a numerous Army, to which the Forces of the Governor were ſo unequal, that in a great Council of War, the Officers were unanimouſly of Opinion, that it was impoſſible for them to look the Enemy in the Face; and therefore they adviſed the Governor to retire into the Heart of the Province, and act wholly upon the defenſive. *Nadir Kuli* oppoſed this, he magnified the Spirit and Courage of the *Perſian* Cavalry, and inſiſted, that notwithſtanding their Superiority of Numbers, if they marched and attacked the *Tartars*, inſtead of waiting for them, there was the greateſt Probability of their giving a Check to their Expedition in its Beginning; which might ſtop their Progreſs, and ſave the Country from Ruin. The Governor, who was a Man of Spirit, cloſed with his Sentiments, gave him the Command, and he very fortunately executed, even more than he had promiſed; for he totally defeated the *Tartars*, and purſued them with ſuch Vigour in their Retreat, that not one half of them eſcaped into their own Country.

The Governor promiſed to uſe all his Intereſt at Court to procure *Nadir Kuli* a Recompence from the *Shah* equal to his Service; but the reſt of the general Officers repreſenting to the Miniſtry, that this new Hero was no Friend of theirs, an Order was procured to the Governor for diſpoſſeſſing him of his Command, and giving it to that Nobleman's Nephew, who had never ſeen Soldiers in his Life but at a Review. *Nadir Kuli* was at this Time thirty two Years of Age, and yet his Reſentment was ſo much ſtronger than his Reaſon, that taking Things according to their firſt Appearance, and without ſtaying to enquire how far the Governor had been juſt to him, he went and expoſtulated with that great Man, in ſuch rough Terms, that he ordered him to be baſtinadoed on the Soles of his Feet, and turned him out of his Service. He was now totally undone, without Fortune, without Friends, and without Hopes. In theſe diſmal Cirumſtances he picked up a Couple of Fellows as deſperate as himſelf, and with them robbed a ſmall Caravan, which put them in Poſſeſſion of a conſiderable Sum of Money; with this they bought Horſes, Arms and Ammunition, and in a ſhort Time, they aſſociated twenty daring and undone Fellows, with whom they committed many Robberies, and in the Space of a few Months, encreaſed their Number to five hundred Men. At the Head of theſe, he not only committed Depredations through the greateſt Part of the Province, but laying hold of the Confuſion of the Times, encreaſed his Forces to ſuch a Degree, that the Government, inſtead of being in a Condition to puniſh him, really ſtood in Awe of him.

Things were in this Situation, when a Commander of Shah *Thamas*'s Army being traduced to his Maſter, and in Danger of his Life, fled to *Nadir Kuli* with fifteen hundred Horſe. His Uncle having Intelligence of this, thought it was high Time to take ſome Method to reconcile himſelf to his Nephew; in order to which, he made Uſe of his Intereſt with the Shah to procure his Pardon; which was no ſooner intimated to *Nadir Kuli*, than he promiſed his Uncle to repair to him, in order to make ſuch Submiſſions as were neceſſary to cancel the Memory of his former Offences. This, however, was all Artifice; for being of an implacable Nature, he ſurprized his Uncle's Caſtle the firſt Night he lay in it, and put him to Death; notwithſtanding which barbarous Action, he was now become ſo formidable, that the Shah, to ſave himſelf the Trouble of reducing him, confirmed his Pardon, and took him into his Service.

We have already ſhewn, how grateful and loyal a Return he made for this undeſerved Favour, and in what Manner he aſſumed the Title of *Shah* in 1736; as alſo the principal Tranſactions that followed till ſuch Time as he invaded the Mogul's Territories. He returned from hence in the Year 1739, contenting himſelf with the Ceſſion of all the Countries to the Weſt of the River *Attock*. He knew very well, that it was impoſſible for him to have preſerved his Conqueſts in *India*, if he had intended it; and he knew as well, that if he did not keep them, it was impoſſible for him to provide better for his own Security, than by leaving them in the Hands of their own Poſſeſſor Sultan *Mohammed*, a weak, inactive Prince, and conſequently leaſt likely and leaſt able to incommode him. Shah *Nadir*, on his Return to *Perſia*, meditated ſeveral great Deſigns, but executed none of them effectually, except that of transferring the Capital to *Meſched*; for though he carried on the War againſt the *Turks* ſucceſsfully, defeated them in ſeveral Battles, and wintered with his Army in their Dominions; yet he found himſelf ſo often diſturbed with Inſurrections, that he was never in a Condition to proſecute or improve his Victories.

He turned his Arms ſometimes againſt the *Leſgis*, the *Curds*, and the *Georgians*, but without any Succeſs, and theſe Diſappointments increaſing the natural Haſtineſs and Severity of his Temper, he began to make himſelf odious by a continual Series of Cruelties, ſome of which he exerciſed upon his own Family, cauſing his eldeſt Son *Riza Mirza* to be put to Death, at the Age of thirty two; and ſome Accounts ſay, that his ſecond Son met with the ſame, or a worſe Fate, that of having his Eyes put out. He grew inſatiable alſo in Reſpect to Money, oppreſſing his Subjects to the laſt Degree.

He was always partial to his own Country, and to his own Nation. His little paternal Caſtle of *Calot* he endeavoured to render impregnable, and there he laid up all his Treaſures; the Guard about his Perſon was entirely compoſed of *Aſſhars*, as ſuppoſing nothing could corrupt their Fidelity to their Chief. In this however he was miſtaken, for his Nephew, who revolted againſt him, who is the Son of that Uncle he ſo baſely murdered, had ſuch an Intereſt among them, that he engaged them to make *Shah Nadir* Priſoner, and this occaſioning a Diſturbance, thoſe who had ſeized him, to put an End to it, and to ſecure themſelves, cut his Throat when he was in the twelfth Year of his Reign, and the fifty ninth of his Life. He had the two Sons that have been already mentioned, by Wives whom he married while he ſerved as a *Mim Baſhi*, under the *Beglerbeg* of *Khoraſan*; by the Siſter of *Shah Huſſein*, whom he married at the Time that *Shah Thamas* declared him Generaliſſimo, he had only one Daughter; but by other Ladies in his *Haram* he left three Sons that were very young at the Time of his Deceaſe, and of whom we ſhall have Occaſion hereafter to make Mention.

11. When his Oppreſſions and Cruelties had rendered the very Name of *Shah Nadir* odious in all *Perſia*, and when it was viſible, that even his Soldiers rather feared him than loved him, many of the great Men began to conſider whether it might not be poſſible, under Colour of Attention to the publick Good, to pluck the Crown from his Head. Theſe Intrigues could not be ſo ſecretly carried on, but that he diſcovered ſome, and was informed of others; which produced ſuch bloody Executions, that at Length, the Diſaffection to him became ſo general, as to induce *Ali Kuli Kan*, his Nephew, to think of ſetting up for himſelf; to which he was chiefly moved by three Conſiderations; the firſt, that the Diſcontent was become general amongſt the Army, as well as the People; the ſecond, that he was himſelf at the Head of a conſiderable Corps of Troops, on whoſe Fidelity he knew he might depend; the third, that his Uncle was grown ſuſpicious of him, ſo that Submiſſion was to the full as dangerous as Rebellion. Excited by theſe Conſiderations, about the latter End of laſt Year he began to recruit and increaſe his Army, to pay no Regard to the Orders that came from *Shah Nadir*, and to carry on a cloſe Correſpondence with ſome of the Officers that were near the *Shah's* Perſon.

Amongſt theſe was *Mahomet Kouli Kan*, *Kourtſchibachi*, to whom, when he was in Readineſs to march towards *Meſched*, he ſent Orders to make himſelf Maſter of the Perſon of the *Shah*, which he performed; but finding that there was no keeping him with Safety, and that there began to be great Cabals amongſt the Officers who commanded under him, he took a Reſolution of putting him to Death, which he executed without Delay, and immediately diſpatched an Expreſs to *Ali Kouli Kan*, intreating him to haſten his March to *Meſched*.

On his Arrival there, that Prince was immediately ſaluted *Shah* by all the great Officers of the Crown, and the chief Commanders of the Army: He took Care to make himſelf Maſter of the Fortreſs of *Calot*, where he found all the immenſe Treaſure of his deceaſed Uncle, by raiſing of which he had made himſelf ſo many Enemies, and by a wiſe Diſtribution of which, his Succeſſor has made a Multitude of Friends.

The new Monarch, at the Time of his Inauguration, took the Name of *Adil Shah*, which ſignifies the juſt Prince, and one of the firſt Acts of his Reign was to publiſh a Manifeſto, from whence we have taken moſt of theſe Particulars, and in which, after inveighing bitterly againſt the Mal-Adminiſtration of his Predeceſſor, who, he ſays, received the juſt Reward of a Tyrant, he remits to the People all Arrears of the extraordinary Taxes impoſed upon them, exempts them from every Impoſition for two Years, and promiſes ample Reſtitution to ſuch as have had their Eſtates confiſcated under the former tyrannic Government. He is ſaid however to have thought it neceſſary to his own Security, firſt, to put out the Eyes, and then to poiſon his three Nephews. Time will ſhew whether this was an Act of Neceſſity, or whether it flowed from a Blood-thirſty Diſpoſition: In the mean Time he has given the ſtrongeſt Aſſurances to the Grand Signior, and to the *Czarina*, of his Intention to maintain the Peace and Friendſhip, ſubſiſting between their Empires and his own, and is at preſent exerciſed in ſettling his new acquired Sovereignty upon the only ſolid Baſis, that of the Zeal and Affection of all his Subjects.

CHAPTER III.

A Deſcription of the *North-Eaſt* Parts of *Aſia*, and the extenſive Empire of *China*, with the Countries dependent thereon, and the Manners and Cuſtoms of the ſeveral Nations that inhabit them.

SECTION I.

The Travels of his Excellency E. YSBRANTS IDES, Aambaſſador from *Peter* the *Great* to the Emperor of *China*, through *Great Uſtiga*, *Siriana*, *Permia*, *Siberia*, *Daour*, &c. to the Frontiers of *China*; containing an exact Deſcription of the Extent and Limits of thoſe Countries, the Nations by which they are inhabited; with a curious and copious Account of their Religion, Government, Marriages, Dwellings, Diet, daily Occupations, *&c.*

Faithfully tranſlated from the Author's Original Journal, printed under the Direction of the Burgo-maſter Witzen, *the greateſt Critick of his Time in* Holland, *and dedicated to the late Czar* Peter *the* Great.

1. *An Introductory Account of the Author, and of the Character and Credit of his Work; with the Reaſons for inſerting it in this Collection.* 2. *The Manner of his ſetting out from* Moſcow; *his Voyage down the River* Dwina, *with a curious Account of the Inhabitants of the Province of* Sirene. 3. *His Paſſage from thence to* Solikamſkoi, *with a large Account of the Salt-works in the Neighbourhood of that City.* 4. *The Author enters* Aſia, *and viſits the Country of the* Wogulſki Tartars, *whoſe Manners and Cuſtoms he deſcribes.* 5. *That Subject continued and concluded.* 6. *He continues his Journey through the Country of* Tumeen, *the Woods of which abound with a Kind of Animal that furniſh the richeſt Furs in* Ruſſia. 7. *A Deſcription of the City of* Tobolesk, *the Extent of the Country of* Siberia, *and the Manner in which it was reduced under the Power of the* Ruſſians. 8. *The River* Irtis *deſcribed; the Manner of training Dogs to draw Sledges, and a Deſcription of that Kind of Carriage over the Snow.* 9. *The Author's Arrival at the City of* Surgut; *an Account of the adjacent Country, and of the Foxes, Beavers, and other wild Beaſts.* 10 *The Courſe of the River* Oby *deſcribed; an Account of the* Oſtiacks *who inhabit its Banks, their Cuſtoms and Manner of Living.* 11. *The Author viſits one of their Princes, and gives a large Detail of the miſerable State of him and his Family.* 12. *The difficult and dangerous Paſſage of the River* Keta, *and the extraordinary Riſk the Author ran of periſhing thereon.* 13. *A very copious and curious Relation of the Manner of finding* Mammut's *Teeth, with Conjectures concerning the Nature of that Beaſt, which is inviſible during its Life-time.* 14. *An Account of the* Skammanſkoy *or* Negromantick *Water-Fall, and of the Manner in which Ships paſs down and are towed up it.* 15. *Our Author makes a Viſit to the* Schaman *or* Necromancer; *a large Account of him, and of the Methods he makes uſe of in deceiving the* Tunguſians, *with a Detail of the Manners and Cuſtoms of theſe People.* 16. *The Author's Arrival at* Buratſkoy; *the* Burattians, *a Pagan People, deſcribed, and a particular Account of their ſtrange Ways of Living.* 17. *A very large and diſtinct Account of the* Yehiam *or* Muſk-goat, *with the different Manners uſed in preparing that rich Perfume.* 18. *An Account of the Lake of* Baikol, *and a ſingular Inſtance of the Author's good Senſe and Courage.* 19. *He continues his Journey to the City of* Telimba; *his Adventures in that Journey, with an Account of the Country he travelled through, and the People he met with.* 20. *His Journey to, and a Deſcription of the City of* Nerzinſkoy, *the adjacent Territories deſcribed, as alſo the two Nations of* Tunguſians, *their brutal Manners and barbarous Cuſtoms.* 21. *Our Author proceeds to the utmoſt Limits of the* Ruſſian *Dominions in* Aſia; *of the Frontiers of which Empire he gives a very curious and copious Deſcription.*

1. AFTER giving an Account of the *Perſian* Empire, it was requiſite, that as we had deſcribed that of the *Mogul* in the former Volume, and given the Succeſſion of Princes down to our Times, to proceed to the fourth great Sovereignty of *Aſia*, the moſt extenſive and moſt celebrated Empire of *China*. But at the ſame Time we had this in View, it ſeemed alſo no leſs requiſite to give ſome Account of the Countries that lie between *Ruſſia* and *Perſia*, and the Frontiers of that vaſt Empire, the Omiſſion of which would have left a great Part of *Aſia* unſurvey'd. In order to attain this End, there ſeemed to

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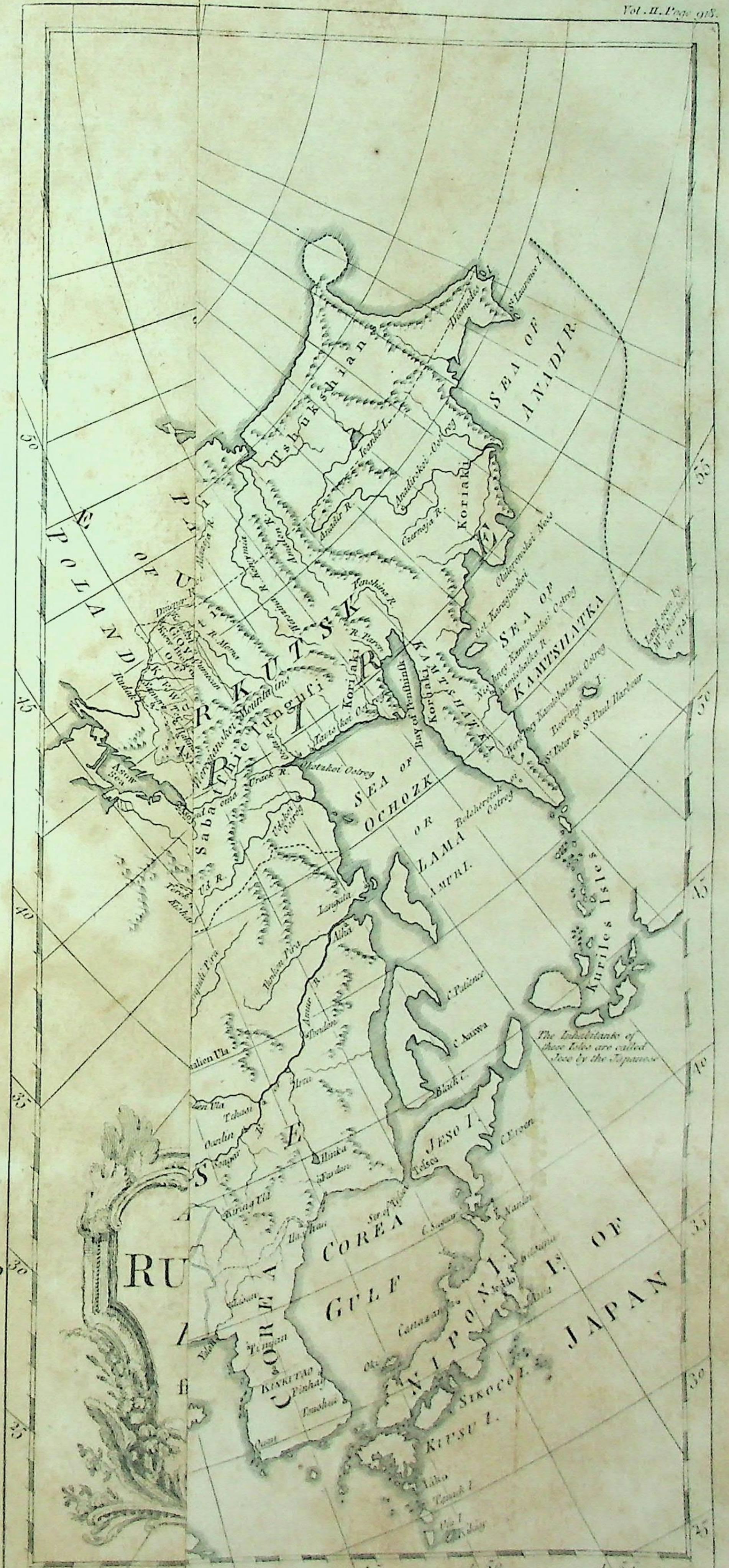

RU
A
fi
POLAND
OF U
PA
IRKUTSK
Tshukshian
SEA OF ANADIR
St. Laurence I.
Diomedes
Ieanko L.
Anadir R.
Anadirskoi Ostrog
Czernaja R.
Koriaki
Oluterovskoi Noss
Ost Karaginskoi
SEA OF KAMTSHATKA
Nizhney Kamtshatkoi Ostrog
Kamtshatka R.
Werkney Kamtshatskoi Ostrog
Beerings I.
St. Peter & St. Paul Harbour
KAMTSHATKA
Koriaki
Bay of Penshinsk
Penshina R.
R. Paren
Tungusi
Werchojanskoi Mountains
R. Mona
Tauiskoi Ostrog
Ochotskoi Ostrog
Urack R.
SEA OF OCHOZK OR LAMA
AMURI
Bolsheretsk Ostrog
Udskoi Ostrog
Ud R.
Langala
Albazi
Amur R.
Saba
Azow Sea
Land seen by Mr. Tshirikow in 1741
Kuriles Isles
The Inhabitants of these Isles are called Jeso by the Japanese
C. Patience
C. Aniwa
Black C.
JESO I.
C. Eroen
Telsco
Hinka
Tchaoi
Ooelun
Songari
Kirin Ula
COREA
GULF
Str. of Nifan
C. Sugaar
Nanbu
Catanazawa
NIPON I.
Jeddo
Miaco
Oki
SEA OF JAPAN
SIKOCO I.
KIUSU I.
KINKITAO
Tengan
Pinhay
Tsushai
Tanack I.
Kikaig
50
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145
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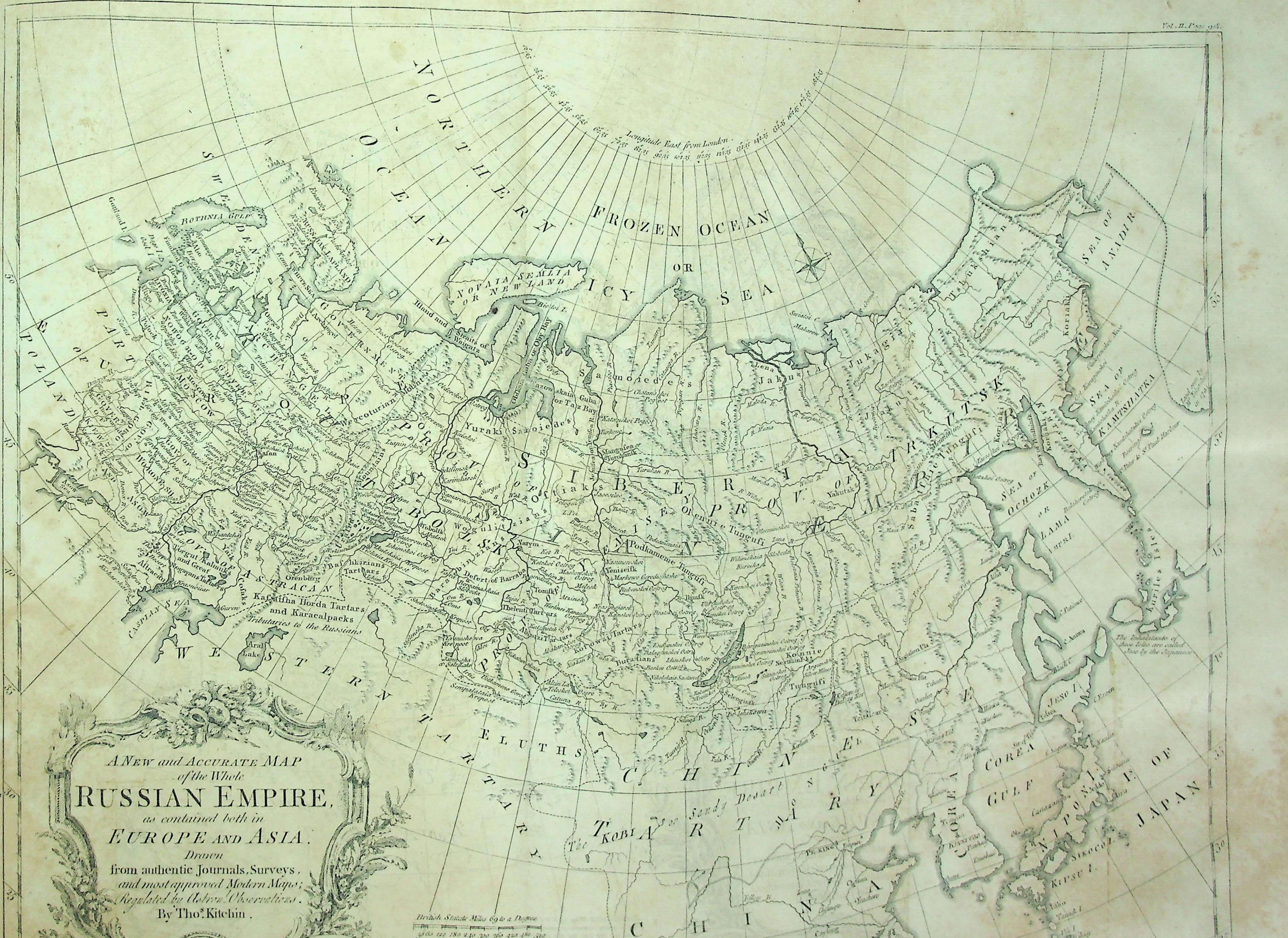

A New and Accurate Map
of the Whole
RUSSIAN EMPIRE,
as contained both in
EUROPE AND ASIA.
Drawn
from authentic Journals, Surveys,
and most approved Modern Maps;
Regulated by Astron^l. Observations.
By Thos. Kitchin.

NORTHERN OCEAN
FROZEN OCEAN
OR
ICY SEA
Longitude East from London
NOVAIA SEMLIA OR NEWLAND
BOTHNIA GULF
SWEDEN
RUSSIAN LAPLAND
ARCHANGEL
GOVERNMENT OF MOSCOW
PART OF POLAND
CASPIAN SEA
ASTRACAN
Aral Lake
Kassatsha Horda Tartars and Karacalpacks Tributaries to the Russians
WESTERN TARTARY
ELUTHS
TOBOLSK
SIBERIA
PROV. OF JENISEA
PROV. OF IRKUTSK
Yakutsk
Samoiedes
Podkamenie Tungusi
Jukagiri
SEA OF ANADIR
SEA OF KAMTSHATKA
KAMTSHATKA
SEA OF OCHOZK OR LAMA
Kuriles Isles
The Inhabitants of these Isles are called Ieso by the Japanese
JESO I.
COREA
GULF OF COREA
SEA OF JAPAN
NIPON I.
SIKOCO I.
KIUSU I.
CHINESE TARTARY
The KOBI or Sandy Desart
PEKING
CHINA
British Statute Miles 69 to a Degree
60 120 180 240 300 360 420 480 540
Longitude E. from Ferro
80 85 90 95 100 105 110 115 120 125 130 135 140 145 150 155
50 45 40 35 30 25

to be no Method ſo proper, as giving the Travels of a Perſon who had paſſed through theſe Countries with a publick Character, who ſurvey'd them at Leiſure, had very extraordinary Opportunities of examining every Thing that was curious and worthy of Notice, and who afterwards compoſed his Work for the Information and Satisfaction of the Czar *Peter* the *Great*, of glorious Memory, to whom it was dedicated, and who was ſo well pleaſed therewith, that he teſtified his Reſpect for the Author, by honouring him with the Office of a Privy Counſellor. It is however requiſite to obſerve, that in 1699, there was printed at *Amſterdam* an Account of this Embaſſy, and the Travels of the Ambaſſador, by one Mr. *Adam Brand*, who accompanied him in his Journey as one of his Domeſticks; but whether it happened through Want of Care in keeping an exact Journal, from a natural Incapacity in the Author, or from his entring into too great Liberties, grounded upon the Licence that Travellers take, more eſpecially ſuch as paſs through unknown Countries, or from whatever Cauſe it fell out, ſo it was, that this Relation contained a Multitude of Things equally inconſiſtent with Probability and Truth; notwithſtanding which, it gained Credit for a Time, and paſſed current for a true Relation of this celebrated Embaſſy. But when our Author's own Work appeared, the Folly and Weakneſs of this ſurreptitious Account became manifeſt to the whole World, and *Brand*'s Romance has been ever ſince as much decried as the following Performance has been univerſally eſteemed. There is no Need of ſaying any Thing more, either by Way of Introduction or Recommendation of a Piece that has been long in Poſſeſſion of the higheſt Character from the propereſt Judges. All therefore that we ſhall add is, that the Reader has it here entire in the Author's own Words, compared with the laſt and beſt Edition of the Original.

2. The moſt illuſtrious Czars, *John* and *Peter Alexowitz*, having reſolved to ſend a ſplendid Embaſſy to the *Great Bogdaichan*, or Sovereign of the famous Kingdom of *Kitai*, by *Europeans* commonly called *China*; this obliged me with a favourable Opportunity of travelling through Part of the famous, but hitherto unknown *Siberian* and *Kitaian* Countries, and informing myſelf by credible Witneſſes of the Remainder of thoſe Lands, as well as obtaining certain Knowledge of ſeveral Things with which the World hath not been hitherto truly acquainted. For by God's paternal Providence, and the particular Favour of their Czariſh Majeſties, I obtained the great Honour of being diſpatched their Envoy to the *Chineſe* or *Kitaian* Court, furniſhed with ſufficient Credentials and other Neceſſaries.

The Preparation of my Retinue and Equipage took me up ſo much Time, that I did not ſet out before the 14th of *March*, 1692, when I went from *Moſcow* in a Slead. The Beginning of my Journey proved very uneaſy by the violent Rain which accompanied us from *Moſcow* to *Vollogda*, and occaſioned ſuch an Inundation, that our Sleads almoſt ſwam over the remaining Ice of the Rivulets and Brooks, and deep Roads. However, by the Divine Aſſiſtance, though not without Difficulty, we reached the City of *Vollogda*, where I reſted three Days in Expectation of better Weather, which happened according to my Wiſhes; for within two Days it froze ſo hard, and ſnowed ſo violently, that all the Water was froze up in four and twenty Hours; ſo that we could eaſily paſs all the Rivulets and Ditches in our Sleads, without any Apprehenſion of Danger. The 22d of the ſame Month, I ſet forwards from *Vollogda* to *Suchina*, where I arrived on the 23d, and without ſtopping, advanced to the City of *Great Uſtiga*, where the River *Suchina* and *Irga* unite, and thereby compoſe the famous River *Dwina*; the Name of which imports a double River.

The Courſe of the *Suchina* is almoſt full North, thro' a fertile Country, and its Banks on each Side are adorned with well inhabited Villages, beſides *Totma*, an indifferent City, ſituated on its left Shore; and ſeveral Travellers annually paſs this River, going from *Vollogda* to *Archangel*, in ſmall Ships well laden, as long as the River is open: But the Stream running in a ſtony Channel, thoſe Ships which paſs it muſt be provided with good Plank at both Ends, by reaſon of the hidden Rocks, and the Rapidity of the Stream, which would otherwiſe ſink them to the Bottom. At the Mouth of this River is ſituated the City of *Great Uſtiga*, where I was obliged to ſtay about twenty-four Hours. Leaving that Place, I came the 29th of *March* to *Solowitzjogda*, a very large City, inhabited by many conſiderable Merchants and curious Artificers, eſpecially in Silver, Copper, and Bone. Here are alſo a great many Salt-pits that yield vaſt Quantities of Salt, which are tranſported to *Vollogda*, and all over the adjacent Countries.

I ſet out from this Place on the firſt of *April*, and the ſame Day reached the Province of *Sirene* or *Wolloſt Uſgy*; the Inhabitants of which ſpeak a Language that has not the leaſt Affinity with the *Muſcovite*, but is ſomewhat like the barbarous *German Livonian* Language; for ſome of my Retinue who underſtood that, could underſtand a great Part of the Speech of theſe People. They are of the *Greek* Church, and ſubject to his Czariſh Majeſty, to whom they pay their Tribute; though they are not under the Juriſdiction of any Viceroy or Waywode, but chuſe their own Judges amongſt themſelves, and important Cauſes which cannot be decided before them, are removed to the foreign *Poſolſche* or Miniſters Court at *Moſcow*, to be determined. The Stature and Habit of both the Men and Women are not very different from thoſe of the *Ruſſian* Peaſants; all which conſidered, I cannot but think that theſe People might anciently tranſplant themſelves hither from the Borders of *Livonia* or *Coral*. I aſked ſome of them out of Curioſity, concerning their Original; but they were not able to give me any Account, whether their Anceſtors came thither out of foreign Countries, or not; nor could they give any Reaſon why their Language has no Affinity with the *Ruſſian*. They generally live by Agriculture, except that Part of them which are employed in the Manufacture of Grey Furs, near the River *Zizol*. They inhabit a conſiderable Tract of Land, which extends to the City of *Kaigored*, and is about ſeventy *Sumkas* long, each *Sumka* being a large *German* Mile. Theſe People do not live in Cities or Towns, but for the moſt Part in ſmall Villages built in the large Woods, and their Houſes are like thoſe of the *Ruſſians*.

This Country terminating in a great Foreſt, we were again infeſted with a violent Rain, and ſuch a Thaw, as in the Space of one Night ſwelled the Waters to that Degree, that I could not paſs them without great Difficulty. In this uneaſy Condition I remained four Days, during which Time I was obliged to ſtruggle with all the incident Inconveniencies; our Sleads ſwam continually, and the Rivulets and Brooks on each Side of the Woods poured in upon us, ſo that, as though we had been in a Sea, we could neither proceed forwards, nor return backwards: Nor would the Ice of the great Rivers bear any longer; notwithſtanding which, by the Help of Bridges and other proper Means, at laſt, on the 6th of *April*, I reached *Kaigorod*, an indifferent large, but very ſtrong City, on the River *Kama*.

3. From thence I deſigned to have ſet forwards immediately to *Solikamſkoi*, the chief City of *Great Permia*, in order to proſecute my Journey to *Siberia* over the Mountains of *Werchaturia*; but the Thaw at the End of Winter continuing, forced me to alter my Reſolution, and ſtay there ſeveral Weeks, till the opening of the River *Kama* favoured my Departure by Water; during which Time I made all neceſſary Preparations for my Journey. Another Thing which occaſioned my Stay, was the great Damage that the City of *Kaigored* had ſuffered lately by Robbers.

This Misfortune, which fell upon the Commandant of the Place who had that Poſt when I was there, happened in the following Manner: On a *Sunday* about Noon, ſeveral well mann'd Barks, with flying Colours, Drums and Hautboys, came ſailing on the River *Kama* to the City; the Men leaped on Shore, whilſt the innocent Inhabitants ſuſpected no Harm in Time of Peace, and in a quiet Country, but took them for Friends and Acquaintance from the neighbouring Villages, met together to divert themſelves; but the Robbers ſet the South Part of the City on Fire, and falling upon the Inhabitants of the North Quarter, cut all of them to Pieces that came in their Way, and at laſt went to the *Waiwod*'s Apartment, which they plundered, and committed all Manner of Inſolences and Outrages on his Servants; after which, carrying off whatever they pleaſed, they returned to their Boats, and ſailed down the *Kama*. But diligent Search being made after theſe Birds of Prey, they were found to be a Rabble of runaway Servants got together, ſome of which were at laſt taken, tortured, and puniſhed according to their Crimes. I cauſed Wood for Firing to be brought to warm me, and kept ſtill upon my Guard, appointing ſtrong Watch by Water and by Land.

After my Veſſel was equipped, and the *Kama* free of Ice, on the 23d of *April* we ſet forwards, and ſafely arrived on the 27th in the City of *Solikamſkoi*, from whence I ſhould have gone over the Mountains of *Werchaturia*, which is only practicable in Winter; the Multitude of the Moraſſes, and Deepneſs of the Roads, rendering that Way utterly impaſſable in Summer; for which Reaſon all Officers, as well as Merchants, are obliged to lie ſtill the whole Summer in *Solikamſkoi*, till they meet with hard Winter Roads. It is true indeed, that it is poſſible to ſail round theſe Hills; but for certain Reaſons that Paſſage is abſolutely forbidden, neither Commanders nor Merchants being allowed to go that Way. Notwithſtanding which, the Governor of *Solikamſkoi* knowing that my Embaſſy would admit of no Delay, ordered me to be ſupplied with as many ſmall Barks as were requiſite to paſs the River *Suzawaia*.

Solikamſkoi is a very fine large and rich City, where ſeveral very conſiderable Merchants reſide. Here are alſo many Salt-works or Pits, and very near fifty *Saline* Springs, from twenty-five to thirty-five Ells deep, out of which great Quantities of Salt are taken and boiled, and thence ſhipped off in great Tide-ſhips built for that Purpoſe; each of which will eaſily ſtow from one hundred to one hundred and twenty thouſand *Poeds*, that is, from one thouſand ſix hundred to two thouſand Tun; mann'd with about ſeven or eight hundred Sailors, and Labourers, and furniſhed with Kitchins, Bagnio's, and all Sorts of Conveniencies. Theſe Veſſels are from thirty-five to forty Ells long, and carry a Maſt; to which is fixed a Sail of thirty Fathom broad, which they make uſe of to ſail up the River when the Wind is good; but when they go down, they only row, and that chiefly to keep the Ship's Head right, which the Rudder alone is not ſtrong enough to do. They are flat bottomed, and have no Nails, or other Iron-work in them, but are made entirely of Wood. They float along the *Kama* with the Tide, till it falls into the famous River *Wolga*, where they are forced to be towed up againſt the Tide, or ſail up if the Wind be favourable; but the Salt is unladen from *Kaſan* to *Niſna* on the *Wolga*, and at ſeveral convenient Places.

The 14th of *May* I ſet forwards from *Solikamſkoi* by Water, and paſſed on the *Uſolkat*, a ſmall River about half a Mile from the City, again into the *Kama*: On which River we drove entirely out of *Europe* into *Aſia*. So on *Whitſunday* I went on Shore, and upon a high and beautiful green Hill eat my laſt Dinner in that Part of the World on the Graſs. And after I had drank a Glaſs of Wine, as a Farewel to dear *Europe*, I immediately returned on Board, in order to proceed on our Voyage along the River.

4. Having thus entered the *Aſiatick* River *Suzawaia*, we found it far leſs agreeable than the beautiful *Kama*; which is a fine River, abounding with all Sorts of Fiſh, and from *Solikamſkoi* to this Place, adorned with very fine large Villages and Towns, ſeveral very expenſive Salt-works, fertile Corn Grounds, fruitful Lands, ſpacious Fields beautified with all Sorts of Flowers, Woods, &c. all wonderfully pleaſant. But tho' the Banks of the *Zawaja*, which falls weſtward into the *Kama*, are not leſs beautiful and fruitful; yet we found our paſſing this River very tedious; for by the high Water we made but a very ſmall Progreſs in ſeveral Days, being obliged to be towed along with a Line; however, at laſt, after twelve Days, and tireſome tugging againſt the Stream, we came to, and touched at a pleaſant Shore on the 25th of *May*, amongſt the firſt *Siberian Tartars*, called *Wogulſki*. I muſt acknowledge, that the well-peopled Countries on the Sides of this River, deſerve to be reckoned amongſt the moſt charming in the World. And when in the Mornings or Evenings I ſtepped on Shore to divert myſelf, and went within Land towards the Hills, I every where found the moſt beautiful Flowers and Plants, which emitted a moſt agreeable fragrant Scent, and all Sorts of wild Beaſts running about in great Multitudes. But the *Wogulſkian Tartars*, to which this River led us, are ſtupid Heathens, which induced me to pry more narrowly into their Religion, Manner of Living, and other Circumſtances; and for this End I went on Shore, and lodged a Night amongſt them.

They are naturally robuſt, and have remarkably large Heads. Their whole Worſhip conſiſts in making an Offering once a Year; when they go in Crowds into the Woods, and kill one of each Species of Beaſts, of all which they prefer the Horſe and Tyger as beſt; they flea off the Skins, hang up the Carcaſs on a Tree, and fall proſtrate to the Earth, and in their Way pray to it; after which, they eat the Fleſh together, and return Home; which done, they are free from the Trouble of praying for that Year. What Need of praying any oftner than once a Year? ſay they. They are not able to give the leaſt Account of the Original or Import of their Faith, but only that their Forefathers did ſo, and they think good to follow their Example.

I aſked them concerning their Knowledge of God; Whether they did not believe that there was a God and Lord in Heaven above, that had created, preſerved and governed all Things, and gave Rain and fair Weather? To which they replied; we may very well believe that, for we ſee, that the Sun and Moon, thoſe two bright Lights which we worſhip, and the Stars alſo are in Heaven, and there is one which rules them. They would not in the leaſt hear of the Devil, becauſe he never appeared, or revealed himſelf to them. They acknowledge a Reſurrection of the Dead, but are ignorant what Sort of Rewards to expect, whether corporal or not. When any of them die, they bury the Carcaſe without any Grave-ſtone; and be it Man or Woman, all his or her beſt Apparel and Ornaments, beſides ſome Money, according to the Ability of the Deceaſed, are buried with the Corps; to the End that he may have ſome Cloaths on, and ſomething to ſpend at the Time of the Reſurrection. They cry over the dead Corpſe in a diſmal Manner, and the Huſband is obliged to continue a Widower a Year after the Death of his Wife. If a Dog dies, that in Hunting or any other Way has been ſerviceable to them, they erect in Honour of him, a ſmall wooden Hut, on four Props of Earth; in which they lay the dead Dog, and ſuffer him to continue there as long as the Hut laſts. They take as many Wives as they can keep, and when any of theſe is pregnant, and near her Delivery, ſhe is obliged to retire into a Hut in a Wood, erected for that Purpoſe, where ſhe is delivered; and the Huſband and ſhe are not permitted to come near each other for the Space of two Months after.

5. When a Man deſires to marry, he is obliged to buy the Bride of her Father. They have very few Marriage Ceremonies beſides treating the neareſt Relations; after which the Bridegroom goes to Bed to the Bride. They have no Prieſts, nor marry any nearer than the fourth Degree of Conſanguinity. Amongſt other Diſcourſe I admoniſhed them, that it was Time to acknowledge Chriſt the Saviour of the whole World, and turn to him; which would ſecure their temporal and eternal Welfare. To this they anſwered; As for what concerns Temporals, we daily ſee vaſt Numbers of Poor *Ruſſians*, that can hardly get a Piece of dry Bread, and nevertheleſs ſome of them believe in Chriſt; and as for the eternal Things, they left them to themſelves; and at the ſame Time declared, that they would live and die in the Opinion of their Forefathers, whether right

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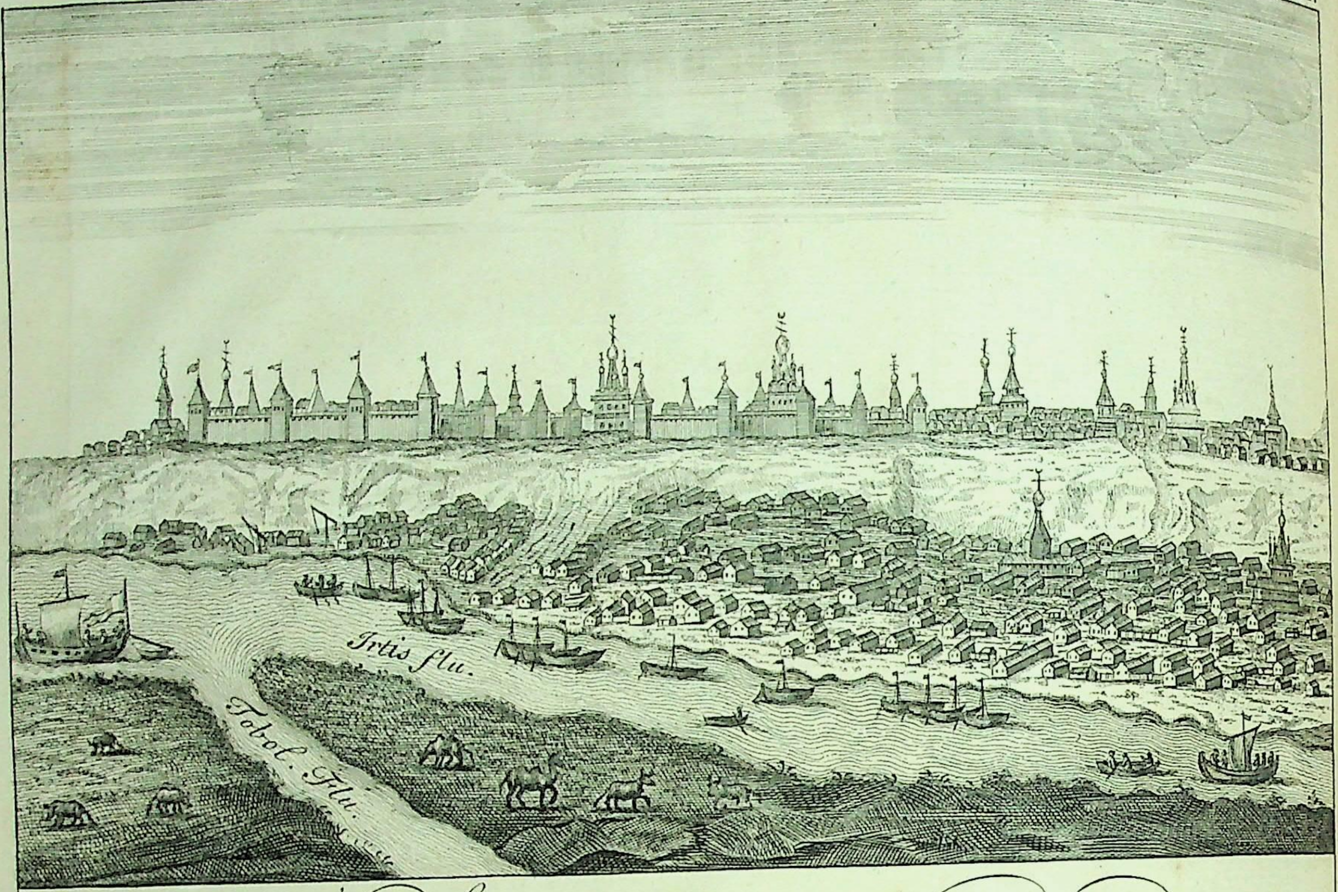
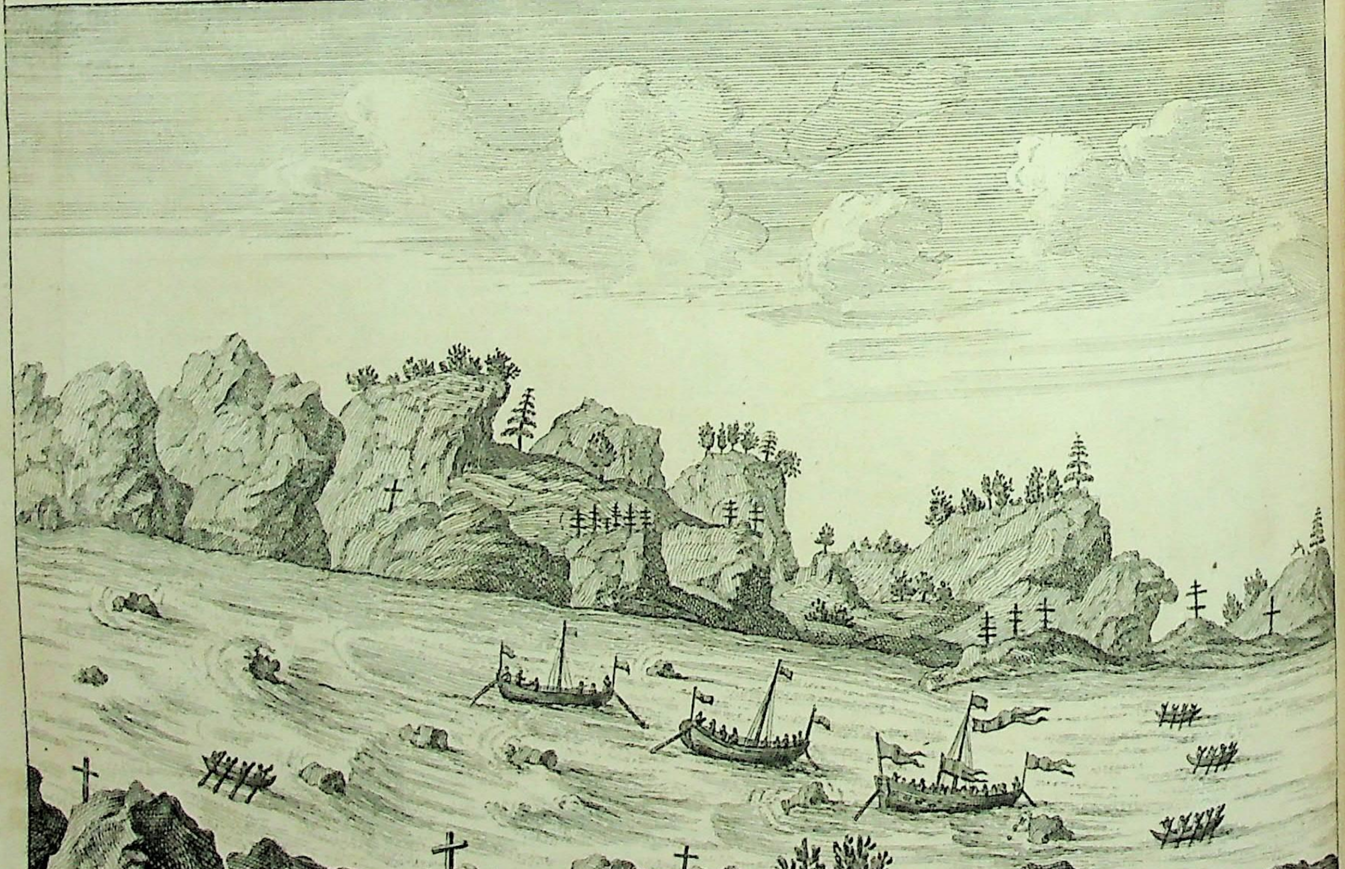

Irtis flu.
Tobol. Flu.

Toboleski The chief City of SIBERIA.

pa. 928.



The Great rocky Waterfall call'd Skamanskoy right or wrong. The Habits of Men and Women, as well as theirs and their Childrens Shape, are expreſſed by the annexed Cut, which ſhews they are neither extravagant nor ridiculous.

Their Dwellings are quadrangular wooden Rooms, like thoſe of the *Ruſſian* Peaſants; only inſtead of Ovens they uſe Hearths, on which they burn Wood, and dreſs their Victuals. The Smoak-hole which is in the Roof, is covered with Ice, as ſoon as the Wood is burnt to a Coal; which keeps the Warmth in the Room, and the Light ſtrikes through the clear Ice. They have no Chairs, but inſtead of them a broad Bench round the Room, about an Ell high, and two Ells broad, on which they ſit like the *Perſians*, with their Legs acroſs under them, and ſleep on them at Night. They live upon what their Bow and Arrows furniſhes them. Their chiefeſt Game are *Elks*, whole Herds of which are found here; theſe they cut in Pieces, and hang in the Air round their Houſes to dry; if it happens to rain upon them, and they begin to ſtink abominably, they dry them again, and eat them as a Delicacy. They do not eat either Cocks, Hens, or Hogs. They have a pleaſant Way of catching wild Beaſts, for they place a Sort of great Bows in the Woods, faſtning a String to them, to which they fix ſome Corn, or other Bait, leaving only a Place for the Game to enter, ſo that the *Elk*, or any other Beaſt that comes in there, cannot paſs by without touching this Snare; and when the Bow lets fly, the Arrows enter the fore-part of the Body, and he preſently falls down. They alſo dig great Pits in the Woods, which they cover with Reeds and Graſs, ſo that if any Beaſt comes thither, he falls in and is taken. Theſe *Tartars* live in their Villages all along the River *Iuzawaia* to the Caſtle of *Utka*, and are under the Protection of his *Czariſh* Majeſty, to whom they pay Tribute, and live in Security and Peace. The Extent of Land, which they inhabit, reaches about 800 *German* Miles in the North part of *Siberia*, and even to the North *Samojedes*.

6. After leaving theſe Heathens, we arrived at the Caſtle of *Utka* on the firſt of *June*. This Place is a Frontier Fortification againſt the *Baſkirian* and *Uſſimiſchian Tartars*. When I was there, an *Uſſimiſchian Tartarian* Gentleman, an Inhabitant in his *Czariſh* Majeſty's Dominions, came thither in Search of his Wife, to whom he had been long married, and who had eloped without any Provocation. But when he could not find her amongſt the Peaſants, he comforted himſelf, ſaying, that he was the ſeventh Huſband ſhe had left, who were all alive; by which it ſeems that the Lady was lucky enough to meet often with new Lovers.

On the 20th of the ſame Month, ſetting forwards from *Utka* in Waggons drawn by Horſes, we paſſed the Caſtle of *Ajada*, and croſſed the River *Neuia*, which runs round it. After which we proceeded by the River *Reeſch* to the Caſtle of *Arſamas*, and from thence to the Caſtle of *Neuianſkoi*, on the above-mentioned River *Neuia*. This Journey by Land to *Neuianſkoi*, proved one of the pleaſanteſt in the World, ſince I met therein with moſt charming Fields, Woods, Brooks, and ſtanding Waters, as alſo extraordinary fertile and well tilled Grounds, perfectly well inhabited every where by *Ruſſians*, and furniſhed with all Neceſſaries at a very cheap Rate. At *Neuianſkoi* I again took Water, and we drove with the Tide, betwixt two populous Shores, adorned with well built Villages and Caſtles, inhabited by *Ruſſian* Chriſtians, down to the River *Tura*, which terminates Weſtward in the River *Tobol*.

On the 25th of the ſame Month we reached the City of *Tumeen*, which conſidering its Situation is ſtrong and populous, moſtly inhabited by *Ruſſians*; and the Remainder being about one fourth Part, with *Mahometan Tartars*, who drive a conſiderable Trade to the *Kalmick* Countries, *Bucharia*, *&c.* Great Numbers of theſe live diſperſt all round in the Country, ſubſiſting on Agriculture and Fiſhing. This and the neighbouring Places do not afford any Quantity of other Skins, than thoſe of red Foxes, Wolves and Bears; but a few Miles diſtant is a Wood called *Heetkey-Wollok*, which abounds with the very fineſt Grey Squirrels, that keep their Colour both Summer and Winter; they are as large as the common Squirrels, beſides which the Leather prepared from them is very ſtrong, and they are not to be found any where in the whole *Muſcovite* Empire beſides. It is forbidden under a great Fine, to ſell them to Merchants; for they are ordered to be preſerved for the Uſe of the Czar. Theſe Beaſts are ſaid to have the ſtrange Quality of killing and eating all other Species of Grey Squirrels, that come into their Wood.

Whilſt I was in this City, its Inhabitants and all their Neighbours were in great Fear of the *Kalmakian* and *Koſack-Orda Tartars*, who had joined and made an Irruption into *Siberia*, laid ſeveral Villages waſte, cut the Inhabitants in Pieces, and alſo threatned this City, from which they were not above fifteen Miles diſtant. But the Governor very expeditiouſly raiſed a conſiderable Force out of *Tobolſka* and other Cities, and ſent them againſt theſe roving *Tartars*, whom they ſoon drove back with great Loſs.

For this Reaſon, I was not willing to ſtay any longer here, but as ſoon as I had obtained freſh Rowers, and Soldiers for Convoy, I left that Place on the 26th of the ſame Month, and went farther down the River *Tobol*, the Shores of which on each Side are low and moiſt Ground, which in the Spring is under Water, ſo that it is ſcarce, if at all inhabited; though for ſeveral Miles farther in Land on each Side, it is abundantly peopled, partly by *Mahometan Tartars*, and partly by *Ruſſians*; and the River produces all Sorts of excellent Fiſh.

7. On the firſt of *July*, I arrived ſafe at *Toboleſk*: Which City is ſurrounded with a large Stone Cloyſter, with high Watch-Towers, which may paſs for a Fortification. This Place is ſituated on a high Hill of a vaſt Circuit about, the Bottom of which, along by the River *Rhitiſch*, is inhabited by the *Mahometan Tartars*, and *Buchars*, who drive a great Trade up the *Rhitiſch* or *Irtis*, into the *Kalmakian* Territories, and carry their Goods to *China*; ſo that if it were ſafe to travel the *Kalmakian* Country, the moſt expeditious Way to *China* would be to paſs the *Jamuſchowa Oſera*, or *Jamuſchian Lake*.

Tobolеſk, *Tobolſka*, or *Tobolſkoi*, is the chief City of *Siberia*, whoſe Juriſdiction extends Southward beyond *Baraba*, from *Werchaturia* to the River *Oby*; Eaſtward to *Samojedia*, Northward to *Oſtiaſki*, and Weſtward to *Uſſa* and the River *Zuzawaja*. This Province is every where very well peopled, as well by *Ruſſians* who depend on Huſbandry, as by all Sorts of Nations, particularly *Tartars* and Heathens, which pay Tribute to his *Czariſh* Majeſty. Corn is ſo very cheap there, that 100 *German* Pounds of *Rye* Flour may be bought for ſixteen *Cops*; and as for Fleſh, the Price of an *Ox* is commonly from two *Rixdollars*, to two and a half, about eleven Shillings *Engliſh* Money; and that of an indifferent large *Hog* is from thirty to thirty five *Styvers*. Beſides, the River *Irtis* produces ſuch a prodigious Quantity of Fiſh, that a Sturgeon, weighing forty Pounds, may be there bought for five or ſix *Styvers*; and theſe Fiſh are ſo far from being lean, that when they are boiled, their Fat appears of the Thickneſs of a Finger. Here are great Plenty of all Sorts of wild Beaſts, as, Elcks, Stags, Deer, Hares, *&c.* and of wild Fowl, *viz.* Pheaſants, Partridges, Swans, wild Geeſe, Ducks, and Storks; all which are cheaper than Beef. This City is defended by a ſtrong Garriſon, which upon Order from the Czars, can bring 9000 Men into the Field; beſides which are ſeveral Thouſands of *Tartars*, who ſerve all on Horſeback on Occaſion.

Incurſions into the Weſt Frontiers, are very frequently made by the *Kalmucks*, the *Koſack Orda*, and the Subjects of the *Teſtickam* or Governor of the *Bucharian Tartars*: Beſides which the *Uſſimur* and *Bakirian Tartars* commit ſuch like Inſolences ſometimes; but theſe are immediately oppoſed and repulſed by the *Tobolеſkians*. This City is alſo the Place of Reſidence of the Metropolitan or chief Eccleſiaſtick, who is ſent from *Moſcow* hither, and exerciſes ſpiritual Juriſdiction over all *Siberia* and *Dauria*.

About an hundred Years ago, this City and the whole Province of *Siberia* became ſubject to the Czar, by the following Accident. *Jeremak Timeſeiewitz*, a very famous Robber in the Reign of Czar *Ilam Waſilewitz*, having plundered theſe and all the adjacent Countries, had greatly injured the Subjects of his *Czariſh* Majeſty; when he was purſued, he and his Companions fled up the River *Kama*, and from thence into the River *Iuzawaja*, which falls into the *Kama*, where lie the Lands of *Stroginoff*, famous for his vaſt Eſtate and Iron Works, which take up the greateſt Part of the Shore, and ſtretch to the Length of ſeventy *German* Miles. It was this rich Man's Grandfather that he applied himſelf to for Protection, and begged his Intereſt in obtaining his *Czariſh* Majeſty's Pardon, offering at the ſame Time by Way of Attonement, to reduce the whole Province of *Siberia* to be ſubject to the Czar. Purſuant to which he alſo obtained from the above-mentioned *Stroginoff*, Aſſiſtance of Barks, Arms, and neceſſary Workmen; and thus provided and accompanied with his Fellow Robbers in light Barks, he paſſed up the River *Serebrenſkoy*, which runs by the North-eaſt Part of the *Werchaturian* Hills, and falls into the *Iuzawaja*; thence he conveyed his Equipage by Land to the River *Tagin*, on which he ſailed into the *Tura*, took the Fort of *Tumeen*, ſituate thereon, razed it to the Ground, and advanced up the River *Tobol* to *Tobolſka*, where then reſided a *Tartarian* Prince, aged about twelve Years, whoſe Name was *Altanai Kutzjumowitz*, whoſe Deſcendant is ſtill honoured with the Title of the *Siberian Czarewitz*. This City he likewiſe attacked and took with ſmall Loſs, after which he carried the Prince Priſoner to *Moſcow*, and put the conquered City into a better Poſture of Defence.

After this Succeſs he proceeded down the River *Jetiſch*; but was ſet upon in the Night by a Party of *Tartars*, not far from *Tobolſki*, who cut off a great many of his Men, and he himſelf endeavouring to ſtep from one Bark into another, leaped ſhort, and by Reaſon of his heavy Armour, ſunk to the Bottom; his Body was carried away by the Force of the Stream and never found. In the mean while *Stroginoff* had obtained the Czar's Pardon for *Jeremak*, and ſeveral hundred *Muſcovite* Officers and Soldiers came and garriſoned the Places which he had taken; and from this Juncture the Czar's Sovereignty over *Siberia* is to be dated.

The *Tartars* that live round *Tobolſka*, for ſeveral Miles, are all *Mahometans*. I being ſomewhat curious to ſee their religious Worſhip, the *Waiwode* went with me, and by Virtue of his Authority, gave me an Opportunity which they will not allow another Perſon. Their Metſchets, called by other Authors Moſques, or Churches, had large Windows round them, all which were ſet open: The Floor was covered with Tapeſtry, beſides which there was no other Ornament. All Perſons at their Entrance leave their Shoes or Slippers at the Door, and ſet themſelves down in Rows, with their Legs under them: The Chief-prieſt ſat there in a white Callico Habit, and a white *Turkiſh* Turbant on his Head. Then I obſerved one behind the People cry with a hoarſe loud Voice, and after he had ſaid ſomething to them, they all fell on their Knees; then the Prieſt uttered ſome Words, and afterwards cried out, *Alla*, *Alla*, *Mahomet*, which the whole Aſſembly roared out after him three Times ſucceſſively, proſtrating themſelves on the Ground. This done, the Prieſt looked into both his Hands, as though he deſigned to read ſomething there, and repeated *Alla*, *Alla*, *Mahomet*: Then he looked firſt over his right Shoulder, then over his left, which all the People did after him, and ſo their ſhort Devotion was ended.

The *Mufti* or *Chief Prieſt* is an *Arabian*, whom they highly reverence; and they very much eſteem any Perſon that can either read or write the *Arabick* Language. This Prieſt invited us to his Houſe, which was near the *Metſchet*, and treated us with a Diſh of Tea. There are alſo in this *Calmackian* Country great Numbers of *Tartars* that are uſed for Slaves; as alſo ſome long impriſoned *Calmackian* Princes; all which are the Conſequences of Wars, which one Tribe of theſe barbarous Nations have carried on againſt another, and this in a deſert Country, more than wide enough for them all.

8. After I had provided myſelf with Barks, Soldiers for Convoy, and other Neceſſaries, I ſet forwards in the Name of God, on the 22d of *July* from the City of *Tobolſki*, falling down the River *Irtis*; paſſing *Tartarian* and *Oſtackian* Villages, and the Towns *Demionſkoy*, *Jamin*, &c. all on the South-ſide, where *Pennonka*, a ſmall River, falls into the *Irtis*. On the 28th of the ſame Month, we arrived ſafe at *Samaroſky-Jam*, where I took in freſh Rowers, and ordered the Maſts to be erected in our largeſt Veſſels, in order to ſail up the River *Oby*, if the Wind proved favourable; for the *Irtis* diſcharges itſelf into the *Oby*, not far from this Town of *Samaroſky-Jam*.

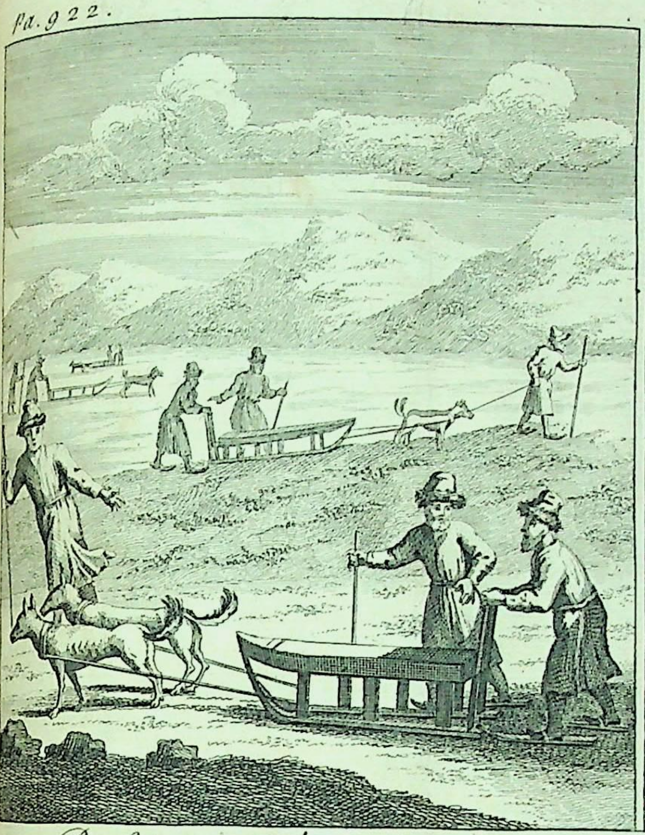
The River *Irtis* appears to be a white light Water; it riſes from the Hills into the *Kalmackian* Country; its Courſe is from the South to the North-Eaſt; and it paſſeth down through the two Lakes of *Kabako* and *Saiſan*. Its whole South-Eaſt Shore, from Beginning to End, is all high Hills, on which grow ſome Cedars diſperſed here and there. The North-Weſt Shore is low Paſture Ground, and on this Side are a prodigious Number of great Black Bears, Wolves, and Red and Grey Foxes. Not far from *Samaroſkoy-Jam* is a Rivulet, called *Kaſunka*, which runs into the *Oby*, and upon its Banks affords the beſt Grey Squirrils in all *Siberia*, (except only the Wood of *Heetkoy Wollock*) which are called from the River, *Kaſunka*.

Here I am to relate what the Inhabitants told me as a Truth: That laſt Year, in Harveſt-Time, early in the Morning, an extraordinary large Bear broke into one of the Cow-Houſes in this Town, ſeized a Cow, held her faſt by the Shoulder with his two fore Feet, and carried her off, going on his hinder Feet only. Upon the Lowing of the Cow, the Owner and ſeveral of the Neighbours came out, ſaw it, and all run at the Bear with Fire-Arms and Clubs; notwithſtanding which, he would not part with his Prey till they fired and killed the Cow.

Moſt of the Inhabitants here are *Ruſſian Jemſkicks*, who are in the Pay of his *Czariſh* Majeſty, for which they ſupply the *Waywodes* that are ordered this Way, and all other Perſons who travel on the Czar's Affairs in *Siberia*, with free Carriages and Men to work; and are obliged to carry them by Water in Summer, and over the Ice in Winter, as far as *Surgut*, ſituate on the *Oby*, at a very reaſonable Price. Theſe People keep great Numbers of Dogs, which they make uſe of to travel with in Winter, for it is utterly impoſſible to paſs this Country with Horſe Sleads, by Reaſon that ſometimes the Snow on the *Oby* is above a large Fathom deep, ſo that no Horſe could travel.

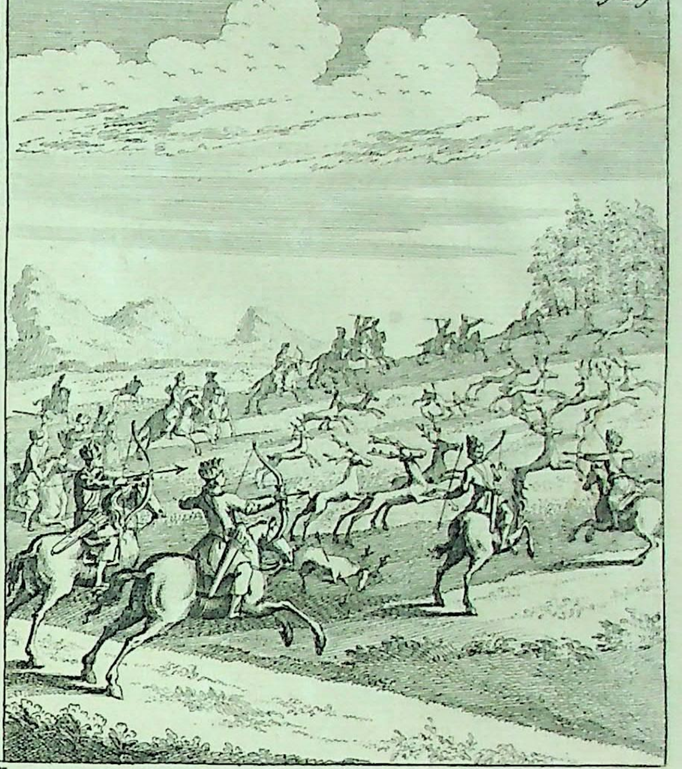
Theſe Dogs are yoaked two to each Narta or Slead, which is for that Purpoſe made very light and thin; and carry from two to three hundred *German* Weight. The Slead nor the Dogs are not hurt by the Snow, but both run very ſwiftly over, leaving a Trace only of the Depth of a Finger's Breadth. Some of theſe Dogs know beforehand, whether there is like to be any Work for them, as we were vainly told; and if they are likely to be employed, they herd together in Crouds, and howl in a diſmal Manner, whence their Maſters draw their Preſages. If when they are on the Way, they are inclined to hunt, the Maſter takes his Gun on his Shoulder, and puts on his long ſliding Shoe, with which he goes over the Ice, takes his Dogs with him, and ſteps a little Way into the Wood, turns up all Manner of wild Game, perhaps a fine black Fox; and then they divide what is taken fairly, for the Skins of the Game are the Maſters, and the Fleſh belongs to his Dogs. Thus they make a very profitable Uſe of theſe draught Dogs; which are middle ſized, ſharp noſed, with long erected Ears, and carry their Tails crooked; ſome of which are very like Wolves or Foxes, inſomuch that as they lie aſleep in the Woods, they are ſometimes by Miſtake ſhot for one of thoſe two Species: To countenance which, it is alſo affirmed, as a Thing certain, that theſe Dogs mix their Strain, by a promiſcuous Copulation with that of Wolves and Foxes;

Pa. 922. Vol. 2. Page 922.



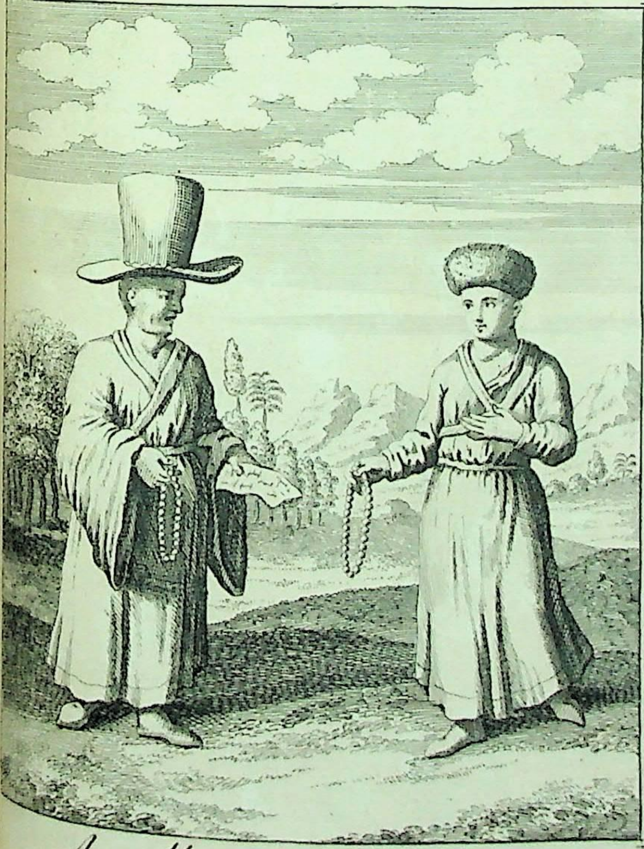
Ruſsians Traveling with Dog Sleads in Siberia

Pa. 929.



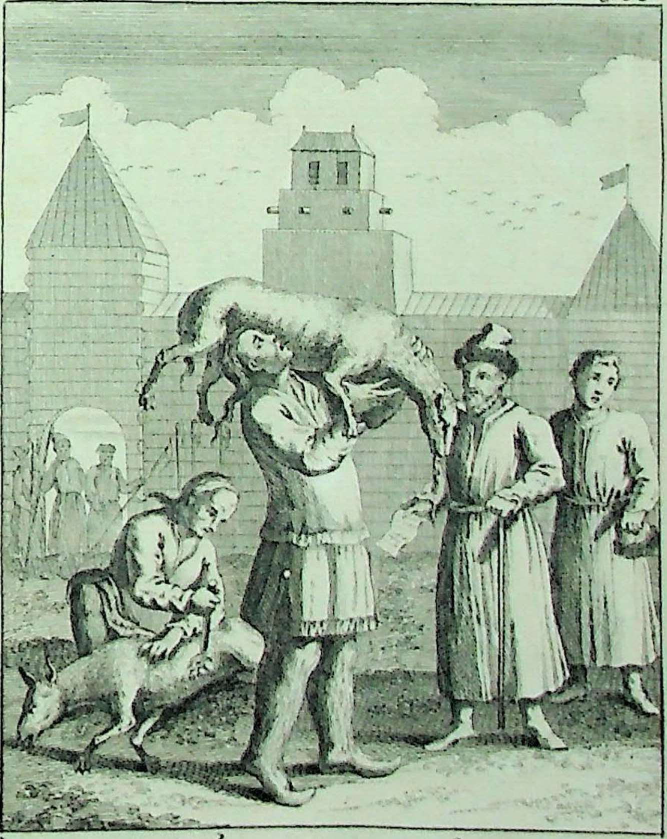
Burattians Hunting

Pa. 930.



A Mongalian Lady and Priest

Pa. 933.



A Tunguzian taking a Solemn Oath

Foxes; whence, as our Informer aſſerted, whenever a Courſing Match happens among the Inhabitants, they find a great Number of both Species near the Villages, as has been frequently obſerved.

Having all Things prepared by the *Samaroſiſchian Jemſkicks* in order to advancing on my Journey, I departed thence on the 29th of *July*, and with my two large *Doſchenicks* or Tide Ships, I drove down the moſt convenient Arm of the *Irtis*, to the celebrated River *Oby*, which I reached early the next Day. I found her Eaſtern Shores abounding with Hills; but the Weſt intirely flat Land, as far as was viſible to us. The *Oby* was half a Mile over at this Place.

9. On the 6th of *Auguſt* we reached the City of *Surgut*, ſituate on the Eaſtern Shore of the *Oby*: The inland Country for ſome Diſtance Eaſtwards of *Surgut* as alſo farther up the *Oby*, about or near the City of *Narun*, produces Sables, ſome of which are pale, and others as black as Pitch, the fineſt and largeſt Ermines in all *Siberia* and *Ruſſia*, and above all black Fox-Skins, which are the very fineſt and richeſt any where: Among the beſt of theſe Fox Skins, which are reſerved for his Czariſh Majeſty, there are ſome which are valued from two to three hundred *Rubles* a Skin, that are ſo very black, that the blackeſt *Daurian* Sable is not comparable to them. Theſe Foxes are caught by Dogs; of which the Inhabitants related the following very remarkable Accident, in ſtrong Terms, but let the Reader believe as he pleaſes.

Laſt Year, near a Village adjacent to *Surgut*, by Day-light, an extraordinary fine Fox diſcovered himſelf, upon Sight of which a Boor let looſe his Dogs: The Fox was within Sight of the Peaſant, and the Dogs ſoon got up to him; but when this ſubtle Animal ſaw that it was impoſſible to eſcape the Hounds by Flight, he fawning run to meet them, tumbled on his Back before them, and licked their Mouths, run backwards and forwards and played with them; the unexperienced Dogs ſoftned by his fawning Treatment, did the ſly Fox no Manner of Hurt, but ſuffered him to eſcape into the Wood; ſo that the poor Peaſant having no Fire-Arms at Hand, notwithſtanding all his Vigilance, did for that Time loſe Sight of this rich Booty.

But two Days afterwards the ſame Fox returned to the ſame Place; which the Peaſant was no ſooner aware of, but he took another, and his beſt Dog with him, which was white haired; and full freight with freſh Hopes of this rich Game, he runs this Dog at the Fox, but the black Dogs flew towards him, and while he was fawning on them, the white Hound was ſo cunning as to fawn at firſt, but being come within Reach, he took a good Leap at him, and had certainly ſeized him, if he had not, by leaving a Piece of his Side behind him, ſprung nimbly from him, and eſcaped into a thick Wood, where it was in vain to look for him.

The Boor was at laſt however too hard for this ſubtle Fox, for he coloured his white Dog all over black, that the Fox who was become ſhy of him, might not know him; which done he went the third Time on this Courſe with his dy'd Dog, and was ſo fortunate that his Hound ſmelt him out; upon which the Fox ſeeing the diſguiſed Dog, fawn'd on him without the leaſt Fear, taking him for one of the firſt black Hounds, with whom he deſigned to play again; and in this Poſture they approached each other, when the Dog watching his Opportunity, graſped the careleſs Fox, and ſo caught this ſly Beaſt with his fine Skin, which proved very well worth the Peaſant's Trouble, he ſelling it for an hundred Rubles.

Here are great Numbers of thoſe which are called Croſs-Foxes, whoſe Skins are of a mixt black and grey, but very few perfect black. Red Foxes and *Hyæna's*, as alſo Beavers are very plentiful in this Country; but the *Hyæna's* are very miſchievous and live on Prey.

They, like the *Linx's*, place themſelves in the Trees, lie very ſtill and cloſe, till a Hart, an Elk, a Doe or an Hare runs under the Tree; from which they leap upon him, eat a Hole in his Body, and continue gnawing, till the Beaſt by Force of Pain falls down, and conſequently comes to their Share. One of the *Waiwods* kept a Hyæna alive for his Diverſion, which he put into the Water, and let two Water Dogs looſe at him; but he immediately leaped upon the Head of one of them, and held him ſo long under Water till he drowned him; after which he ſwam to the other, whom he had treated in the ſame Manner, if he had not been interrupted by throwing Wood at him, till the Dog, taking his Opportunity, ſwam out.

But with Regard to the Beavers, which herd here in great Numbers, ſome very ſtrange Particulars are related as Truths, though they ſeem ridiculous; wherefore I take it to be worth my Pains to touch a little on their Properties, of which the following are all ſeriouſly averred to me. The greateſt Part of their Food being Fiſh, they harbour on the Shores of thoſe Rivers which abound moſt with Fiſh, and which are not much troubled with Paſſengers. In the Spring they not only herd together, but aſſemble themſelves into a Society, and pick out ſome, and ſeize others as Priſoners, whom they carry to their Holes, and oblige them to ſerve as Slaves. They fell Trees with their Teeth, carry them to their Dwellings, and there hack out their Wood to a certain Length, which they artificially fix together like Joyners-work, and Cheſts, and there they lay up ſeparately all their Summer-ſtore of Proviſions. And about the Seaſon of this Preparation, the Time of the Female Beavers Bringing-forth approaches; upon which the Inhabitants told me improbable Things of their Practices. They ſay, that againſt that Juncture the whole Neighbourhood go together, and frequently gnaw a Tree of above an Ell Circumference, for the Length of above two Fathom, even to the inner Pith, till it falls down; that they are expert enough to bring it to their Holes by Water, and that they can rear it upright before the Entrance of their Holes, ſo artificially, that the Tree ſtands perpendicularly in the Water above an Ell deep, and yet touches no Ground; and that ſo firm and immoveable in its Line or Centre, that though the Wind blow ever ſo hard, the Tree remains firm in its Place. All which ſeems unnatural; and yet all the *Siberians* that I ever diſcourſed unanimouſly affirmed it; and added ſeveral other Things concerning theſe Beaſts, which ſeem rather the Effects of human Reaſon, than within the Compaſs of that Inſtinct which guide irrational Brutes; all which I ſhall not trouble myſelf to deſcribe at large.

At the ſame Time, ſome aſcribe this Erection of the Tree before the Beaver-holes, to the Conjuration of the *Oſtiacks*, and other Heathens, who live in all Parts thereabouts. Whether it is ſo or not, God knows; but it is certain, that theſe Beaſts have Slaves amongſt them, which in all Parts here are known to the Peaſants, by reaſon they are lean, and their Furr worn off by Labour.

The *Ruſſians*, as well as the *Oſtiacks*, which go out a Beaver Hunting, always avoid the Deſtruction of a whole Neſt or Kennel; for if they kill or ſhoot all the reſt, they leave a Couple, Male and Female remaining, in order to furniſh them with freſh Game in the ſame Place the next Year.

10. Having paſſed ſeveral Miles up the *Oby*, Part of which we ſailed, and towed the reſt with a Line, on the 13th of *Auguſt* we paſſed by the Mouth of the *Wagga*, which riſeth out of the *Truganian Mountains*. This is a large River, its Water is brown, and its Courſe North-North-Weſt into the *Oby*, on this Side of *Narun*, at which City we arrived on the 24th of the ſame Month. It is ſituated on the Side of the River in a fine Country, and is provided with a Fortreſs or Caſtle, and an indifferent Garriſon of *Coſſacks*. All the Country around this City abounds with Croſs and Red Foxes, Beavers, Ermines, Sables, &c. which afford fine Furs.

The Banks of the *Oby* to this Place are inhabited by a People called *Oſtiacks*; who worſhip Terreſtrial Gods, but acknowledge, that according to Nature there muſt be a Lord in Heaven, that governs all; nevertheleſs, they do not pay any Worſhip at all to him, but have their own Gods made of Wood and Earth, in ſeveral human Shapes. Some of the richeſt amongſt them dreſs theſe Deities in ſilken Cloaths, made after the Faſhion of thoſe of the *Ruſſian Women*. All of them have theſe Idols placed in their Huts, which are made of Barks of Trees, ſewed together with Harts Guts. On one Side of the God hangs a Bunch of human and Horſe Hair, and next that a wooden Veſſel with Milk Pap, with which they daily ſupply their Idols, and thruſt it into their Mouths with a Spoon made for that Purpoſe; but in as much as theſe Idols cannot ſwallow this their Milk Diet, it runs out again at both Sides of their Mouth, down their whole Bodies, in ſuch a filthy Manner as is ſufficient to diſguſt one from eating of that Food. When this nice God is to be worſhipped or prayed to, his Adorers ſtand bolt upright, and toſs their Head up and down, without bending their Backs in the leaſt; beſides which, they chirrup or whiſtle thro' the Lips, as we do when we call a Dog; and in theſe Fooleries conſiſt their Devotion.

They call their Gods *Saitan*, and might indeed very well ſay *Satan*. Once ſeveral *Oſtiacks* came on board the Ship in which I was, to ſell us Fiſh, and one of my Servants had a *Nurenburgh* Bear in Clock-work, which, when wound up, drummed and turned his Head backward and forward, continually moving his Eyes till the Work was down. Our People ſet the Bear at play a little; and as ſoon as ever the *Oſtiacks* ſaw it, all of them performed to it their cuſtomary Religious Worſhip, and danced exceſſively to the Honour of the Bear, nodding their Heads, and whiſtling at a great Rate. They conſidered our Bear as a right *Saitan*, crying out, What are our *Saitans* which we make? If we had ſuch a *Saitan*, we would hang him all over with Sables and Black Fox Skins. They alſo aſked, whether this Clock-work was to be ſold; but I ordered it out of their Sight, to avoid adminiſtring any Occaſion to Idolatry.

As for what farther concerns theſe Heathens, they have as many Wives as they can maintain, and marry their near Relations without any Scruple: If a Relation dies, they cry inceſſantly for ſeveral Days, covering their Heads, and ſitting on their Knees in their Huts, and will not ſuffer themſelves to be ſeen; but they carry the Corps on Poles to the Ground to be buried. They are a poor People, and live very miſerable in ſorry Huts. They might, indeed, live very happily and well, ſince all Parts near the *Oby* abound with great Quantities of rich Furrs; beſides that, there is extraordinary good Fiſhing in that River, in which are very fine Sturgeons, Jacks, *&c.* inſomuch that twenty great Sturgeons may be bought of them for three Penny-worth of Tobacco; but they are ſo horrid lazy, that they do not deſire to get any more than will barely ſuffice them annually for the Winter: For when they travel, they eat moſtly Fleſh, eſpecially when they are on the Water fiſhing, for then they live on nothing elſe. They are all of a middle Stature, moſt of them yellowiſh or red hair'd, and their Faces and Noſes diſagreeably broad; they are weak and unable to labour hard, not at all inclined to Wars, and unfit for Military Exerciſes. Bows and Arrows are their Weapons, with which they ſhoot wild Beaſts, tho' they are not much addicted to this neither. Their Cloaths conſiſt of Sturgeon and other Fiſh Skins; they uſe neither Linnen nor Woollen; their Shoes and Stockings are faſtened together, and they wear a ſhort Coat with a Cape and Hood, which in Caſe of Rain they pull over their Heads. Their Shoes are alſo made of Fiſh-ſkins, and are ſowed faſt to their Stockings, but not cloſely; ſo that their Feet muſt neceſſarily be always wet, when they are upon the Water. Notwithſtanding the Thinneſs of their Cloathing, they will bear extraordinary great Cold; for if it be but a common Winter, they are no better clad than has been mentioned; but if the Winter prove hard, thoſe who are thus clad are compelled to put another Coat of the ſame Sort of Fiſh-ſkins over that; and they expreſs this ſevere Weather amongſt one another, by ſaying, *Do you like the Winter that forces one to wear two Coats of Skins?* They ſometimes go a Hunting in the Winter with a ſingle Coat only, and their Breaſts bare, depending upon warming themſelves quickly with ſliding and running over the Ice in their Schaits or ſliding Shoes; but if, as it ſeveral Times happens, they are overtaken by an extraordinary ſevere Froſt, and it ſeems utterly improbable to eſcape it, or ſave their Lives, they with the utmoſt Haſte throw off their Fiſh-ſkin Coat, fling themſelves into the deep Snow, and voluntarily freeze to Death; the Reaſon why they pull off their Coat is, only that they may die the ſooner, and with leſs Pain.

The Womens Cloaths are almoſt like the Mens; the Mens greateſt Diverſion is Bear-hunting, to which Sport they gather together in Crowds, armed with no other Weapon than a ſharp Iron like a large Knife, fixed to a Stick about a Fathom long. As ſoon as they have put up a Bear, they run at him with theſe ſhort Spears, and having killed him, they cut off his Head, ſtick it upon a Tree, run round it, and pay the profoundeſt Reſpect to it: After which, they run to the dead Body with repeated Cries, aſking the Bear, *Who killed you?* The *Ruſſians*, they anſwer, themſelves. Who cut off your Head? *A* Ruſſian *Ax.* Who cut up your Belly? A Knife which a *Ruſſian* made. And more ſuch-like Follies. In a Word, the *Ruſſians* bear all the Blame, and they are entirely innocent of the Murther of the Bear.

11. They have a Sort of Petty Princes amongſt them, one of which is called *Kneſka*, or Prince *Kurza Muganak*, whoſe Authority extends over ſome Hundreds of Huts; and he lays on and collects the Tribute which they are obliged to pay to the *Waiwodes* of his Czariſh Majeſty. This Potentate came with all his *Princely* Family and Servants on board me, paid his Compliment, and brought me a Parcel of freſh Fiſh as a Preſent; which I requited by preſenting him with ſome Brandy and Tobacco, with which he went on Shore very well contented; but returned immediately, and invited me to his Princely Palace. I being very curious to ſee this great Lord in his ſumptuous Place of Reſidence, went thither, though I had no great Appetite to his Entertainment. Coming on Shore, the introductory Ceremonies were not very particular. He acted the Maſter of the Ceremonies himſelf, and without much Solemnity brought me to his magnificent Apartment, which, like the other Huts of the *Oſtiacks*, was compoſed only of Barks of Trees ſlightly ſewed together. I found here four of his Wives, two old and two young; one of the young ones had a red Cloth Coat on, and was ſet off with all Sorts of Glaſs Corals about her Neck and her Middle, and in the Curls of her Hair, which hung down on both Sides of her Head in two Rows; ſhe had alſo in her Ears great Thread-wrought Rings, with long Strings of Coral hanging at them. Each of theſe Princeſſes preſented me with a Barrel made of Birch-Bark ſewed together, and full of dry Fiſh; but the youngeſt gave me a Barrel of Sturgeon Fat, which was as yellow as Gold. After I had received theſe Preſents, I cauſed them to be treated with Brandy and Tobacco, which is a great Delicacy amongſt them. In this whole Princely Building, I ſaw no other Furniture than ſome Cradles and Cheſts made of Barks of Trees ſewed together, in which the Bed-Cloaths lay, being of planed Wood-Shavings, which yet were almoſt as ſoft as Feathers. Theſe Cradles ſtand at one End of the Hut, to avoid the Fire which is kindled in the Middle, and the Children lie naked in them. I alſo ſaw a Copper Kettle there, and ſome other Veſſels compoſed of Barks of Trees ſewed together, in which they boil their Victuals on the live Coals or Embers, for in the Flame they cannot do it.

To ſmoke Tobacco, (to which all, both Men and Women, are very much addicted) inſtead of Pipes they uſe a Stone Kettle, in which they ſtick a Pipe made for that Purpoſe, and at two or three Drawings, after they have taken ſome Water in their Mouths, can ſuck out a whole Pipe; and they ſwallow the Smoak, after which they fall down and lie inſenſible, like dead Men, with diſtorted Eyes, both Hands and Feet trembling for about Half an Hour. They foam at the Mouth, ſo that they fall into a Sort of Epilepſy; and we could not obſerve where the Smoak vented itſelf, and in this Manner ſeveral of them are loſt. For as they

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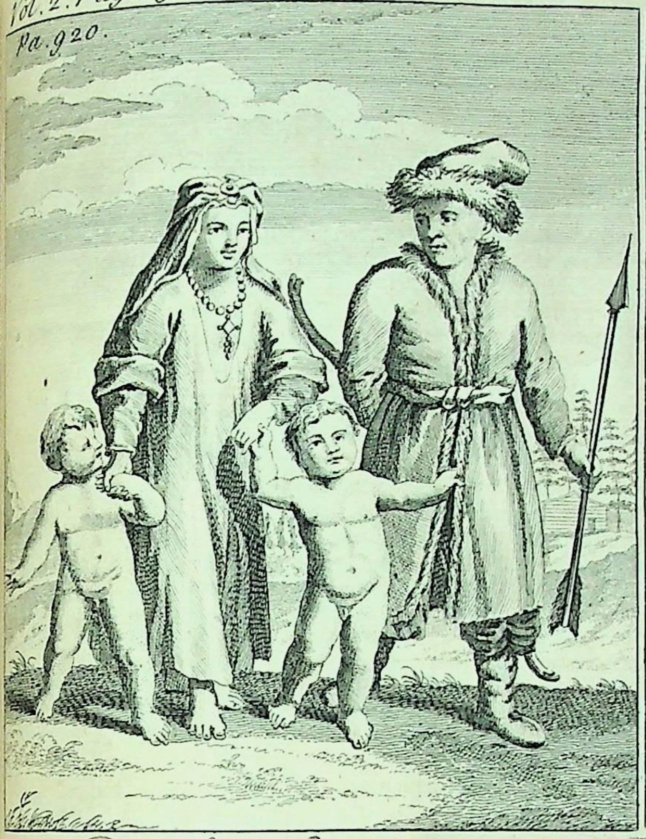
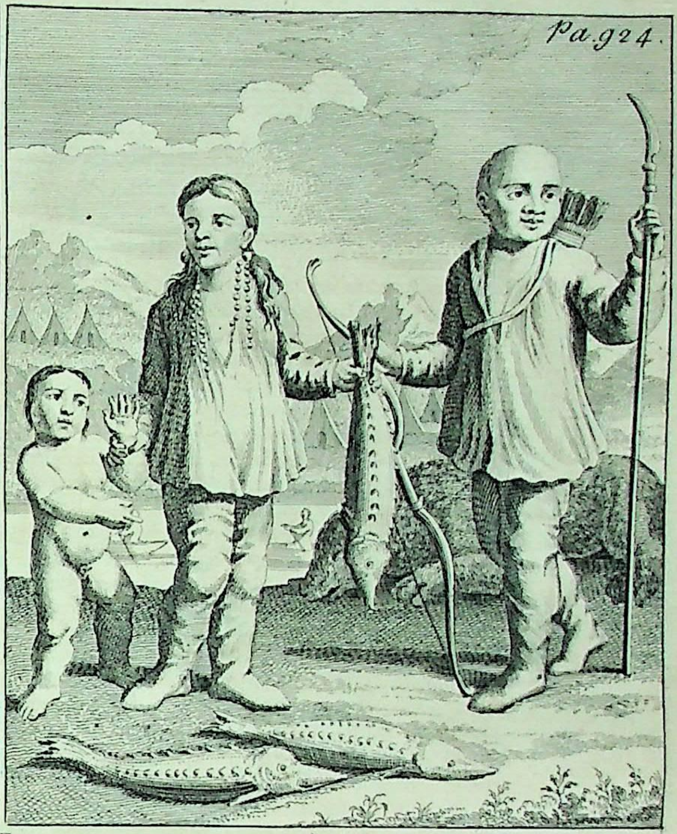
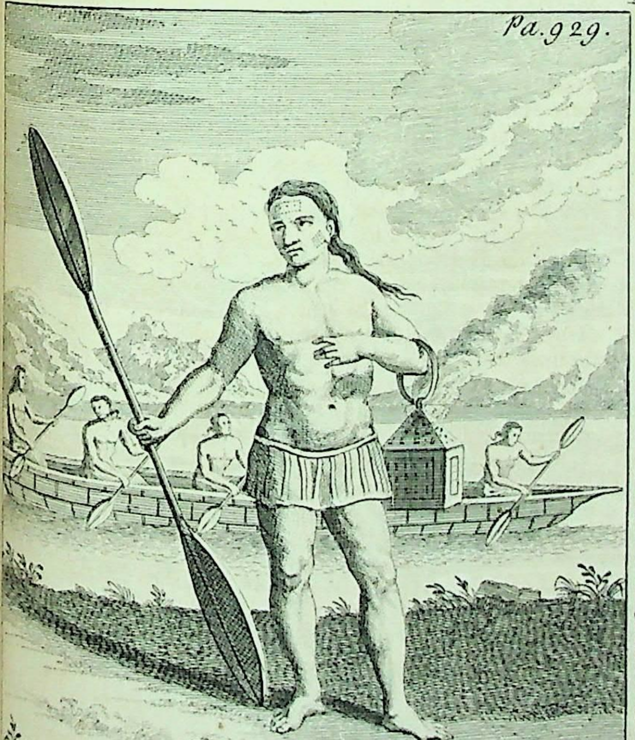


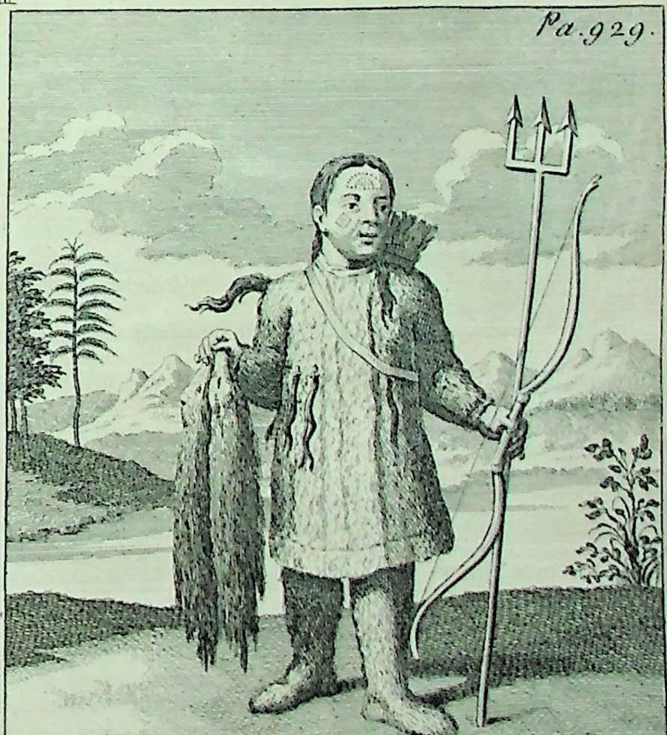
Wogulski Tartars on the Frontiers of Siberia



Ostiacks on the Banks of the River Oby



Nisovian Tunguzians in their Summer Dreſs



A Nisovian Tunguzian in his Winter Habit

they are upon the Water travelling, or ſitting by the Fire, ſome of theſe violent Smoakers fall into the Water and are drowned, or into the Fire and are burned; but ſome, after they have ſucked in the Smoak, let it out at their Throats again, and theſe are in a better Condition than the other, tho' ſome weaker Conſtitutions are ſometimes ſuffocated even thus with the Smoak which they let down into their Bodies.

It is further obſervable, that they are very angry, if any of their Relations, though long dead, are named or mentioned. They are utterly unacquainted with all Things before their own Life-time, and do not pretend to give any Relation of them; nor can they either write or read; and though they are very fond of Bread when they meet with it, they never trouble themſelves with the Tillage of Land, or Culture of Gardens.

They have neither Temples nor Prieſts. Their Shipping or Boats, on the Outſide, are Barks of Trees ſewed together, and the Inſide Ribs of very thin Wood; theſe are two or three Fathom long, and but an Ell broad; and yet they can ſecure themſelves in them in great Storms till they get on Shore. In Winter-time theſe *Oſtiacks* live entirely under Ground, there being no other Entrance to their Caves, but a Hole left open on the Surface of the Earth to let out the Smoke: If, as is frequent, a great Snow falls, and it happens that, as (according to their Cuſtom) they lie aſleep naked round the Fire, Part of their Body which lies a little diſtant from the Fire, is two or three Fingers thick covered with Snow; when they perceive themſelves cold, they turn about to the Fire, and beſtow the beſt Place on the cold Part of their Body a little while, and ſo take no more Notice of it, being a very hardy People in reſpect to the Variation of Weather.

When an *Oſtiack* is jealous of one of his Wives with another Man, he cuts ſome Hair from the under Part of a Bear's Skin, which he carries to the Man whom he ſuſpects: If he be innocent, he then accepts it, but if he be guilty, they believe he dare not venture to touch it, but muſt acknowledge the Truth, and then amicably makes up the Buſineſs with the Huſband, and the Wife is ſold; for if any ſhould preſume to be ſo raſh as to take the Hair though he was guilty, they tell us they are aſſured, that the Bear's Skin from whence that Hair was cut off, will again become a living Bear, which, after the Expiration of three Days, will appear in the Wood, and tear the perjured Wretch to Pieces. On this Occaſion they invoke Bows, Arrows, Axes, and Knives, and firmly believe that if the guilty Perſon takes any of theſe, he ſhall certainly be killed by thoſe individual Inſtruments which he accepts, within the Space of a few Days; which is not only averred by themſelves, but unanimouſly vouched alſo by the *Ruſſians* who live in the Neighbourhood of theſe Parts. But enough of theſe *Oſtiacks*. The Shore of the River *Oby*, on which they live, is all untilled Land from the Sea to the River *Tom*, by reaſon of the extreme Cold; ſo that no Corn, Fruit, or Honey, is here produced; there being only a few Nuts which grow on the Cedar-trees.

12. After having paſſed ſome Weeks on the River *Oby* amongſt the barbarous *Oſtiacks*, we went by the City of *Keetſkoy*, ſituate on the River *Keta*, which falls North-weſt into the *Oby*. On the 28th following, I paſſed by the Cloiſter of St. *George*, and the 3d of *October* I went by the Village of *Worozeikin*; and on the ſame Day died *John George Weltſel*, a Painter, one of my Retinue, who was born at *Steſwick*, after he had kept his Bed fourteen Days on Account of a Swelling juſt above his Heart, which was aggravated by a Fever.

On the 7th of *October*, I ſafely arrived at the Village *Makofſkoi*, and there cauſed *Weltſel's* Corps to be buried on a Hill near the River, in the Middle of the Village. I muſt own that this Voyage upon the River *Keta* was more irkſome and melancholy than all the whole Way before; we were obliged to labour for five Weeks againſt the Stream, without ſeeing ſo much as any Man, beſides now and then an *Oſtiack* that appeared, and immediately hid himſelf in the Woods. This Sort of *Oſtiacks* ſpeak a different Language from thoſe on the *Oby*; but their Idolatry is the ſame.

In this tedious uneaſy Paſſage, I was expoſed to much Care and Anxiety; for our Proviſions, and eſpecially the Meal, grew very low, by reaſon I had not recruited otherwiſe than with Fiſh ſince my Departure from *Tobolſka*, and had been too charitable to the *Oſtiacks* on board our Ship, who, when we found it requiſite, were obliged to tow us along with a Line; by which continual Fatigue they were become ſo weak, that we were obliged to keep a perpetual Watch over them to prevent their Deſertion.

Notwithſtanding all this Care, no Day paſſed in which ſome did not run away. And at laſt the Coldneſs of the Seaſon, and their perpetual Labour, render'd them perfectly unſerviceable; and if I had not before-hand written to the Governor of *Jenizeſkoy* for Men to aſſiſt me, which he diſpatched away to meet me with the firſt Opportunity, I and my Retinue had been probably loſt; for not being within thirty Miles of the Village when the Aſſiſtance came, we had been certainly frozen up in the River, and had periſhed by Famine, and the deep Snows which fall there; for this River is utterly unnavigable in Winter.

I was ſcarce got from *Makoſſkoi* before the River froze up. The Courſe of this River is, for the moſt Part, through an even Country, abounding with Woods and ſmall Shrubs; the Water in ſome Places runs in ſuch a crooked Channel, that where we dined at Noon, we were obliged to ſup at Night, or at leaſt not far from thence. Here are great Quantities of Woodcocks, Pheaſants, Partridges, and other Wild fowl; and it was a very diverting Sight to ſee great Flocks of Woodcocks and Pheaſants come to the Brink of the River to drink, which gave us an Opportunity of ſhooting as many as we pleaſed in our Paſſage, and when our Proviſions grew ſcarce, afforded us no ſmall Aſſiſtance. Here grow alſo Strawberries, black and red Currants and Black-berries; but the River doth not yield great Quantities of Fiſh.

13. Amongſt the Hills which are ſituate North-eaſt of, and not far from hence, the *Mammuts* Tongues and Legs are found, as they are alſo particularly on the Shores of the Rivers *Jenize*, *Trugan*, *Mongamſea*, *Lena*, and near *Jakutſkoi*, even as far as the *Frozen Sea*. In the Spring, when the Ice of this River breaks, it is driven in ſuch vaſt Quantities, and with ſuch Force by the high ſwollen Waters, that it frequently carries very high Banks before it, and breaks off the Tops of Hills, which falling down, diſcover theſe Animals whole, or their Teeth only, almoſt frozen to the Earth, which thaw by Degrees. I had a Perſon with me, who had annually gone out in Search of theſe Bones; he told it to me as a real Truth, that he and his Companions found the Head of one of theſe Animals, which was diſcovered by the Fall of ſuch a frozen Piece of Earth. As ſoon as he opened it, he found the greateſt Part of the Fleſh rotten, but it was not without Difficulty that they broke out his Teeth, which were placed in the Fore-part of his Mouth, as thoſe of the Elephants are; they alſo took ſome Bones out of his Head, and afterwards came to his Fore-foot, which they cut off, and carried Part of it to the City of *Trugan*, the Circumference of it being as large as that of the Waiſt of an ordinary Man. The Bones of the Head appear'd ſomewhat red, as though they were tinctured with Blood.

Concerning this Animal there are very different Reports. The Heathens of *Jakuti*, *Tunguſi*, and *Oſtiacki*, ſay that they continually, or at leaſt, by Reaſon of the very hard Froſts, moſtly live under Ground, where they go backwards and forwards; to confirm which they tell us, that they have often ſeen the Earth heaved up when one of theſe Beaſts was upon the March, and after he was paſſed, the Place ſink in, and thereby make a deep Pit. They further believe, that if this Animal comes ſo near to the Surface of the frozen Earth as to ſmell the Air, he immediately dies, which they ſay is the Reaſon that ſeveral of them are found dead on the high Banks of the River, where they unawares came out of the Ground.

This is the Opinion of the Infidels concerning theſe Beaſts, which are never ſeen.

But the old *Siberian Ruſſians* affirm, that the *Mammuth* is very like the Elephant, with this Difference only, that the Teeth of the former are firmer, and not ſo ſtraight as thoſe of the latter. They alſo are of Opinion, that there were Elephants in this Country before the Deluge, when this Climate was warmer, and that their drowned Bodies floating on the Surface of the Water of that Flood, were at laſt waſhed and forced into ſubterraneous Cavities; but that after this univerſal Deluge, the Air, which before was warm, was changed to cold, and that theſe Bones have lain frozen in the Earth ever ſince, and ſo are preſerved from Putrefaction till they thaw, and come to Light; which is no very unreaſonable Conjecture. Though it is not abſolutely neceſſary that this Climate ſhould have been warmer before the Flood, ſince the Carcaſſes of the drowned Elephants were very likely to float from other Places ſeveral hundred Miles diſtant, to this Country, in the great Deluge which covered the Surface of the whole Earth. Some of theſe Teeth, which doubtleſs have lain the whole Summer on the Shore, are entirely black and broken, and can never be reſtored to their former Condition: But thoſe, which are found in good Caſe, are as good as Ivory, and are accordingly tranſported to all Parts of *Muſcovy*, where they are uſed to make Combs, and all other ſuch like Things, inſtead of Ivory.

The abovemention'd Perſon alſo told me, that he once found two Teeth in one Head that weigh'd above twelve *Ruſſian* Pounds, which amount to 400 *German* Pounds; ſo that theſe Animals muſt of Neceſſity be very large, though a great many leſſer Teeth are found. By all that I could gather from the Heathens, no Perſon ever ſaw one of theſe Beaſts alive, or can give any Account of its Shape; ſo that all we heard ſaid on this Subject, ariſes from bare Conjecture only.

But to return to my Travels, in which I durſt not venture to proceed any farther by Water, but was obliged to go by Land from the abovementioned Village of *Makofskoy*. After I had advanced ſixteen Miles, on the 12th of *October* I ſafely arrived at the City of *Jenizeſkoy*, where I reſted for ſome Time, being obliged to wait till the Roads were ſufficiently frozen to be paſſable with Sleads; though in the Interim, I prepared to proceed on my Journey as ſoon as I ſhould be informed that the Rivers *Tunguſka* and *Jenizea* were intirely frozen up. This Delay furniſhed me with an Opportunity of thoroughly obſerving the City of *Jenizeſkoy*.

It is ſo called from the River, and in Order to make the adjacent Country the more diſtinctly known. The River which runneth by and below the City, is called *Jeniza*, ariſeth out of the *Calmackian* Mountains, and takes its Courſe Northwards, almoſt in a direct Line, to the *Tartarian* or *Frozen Sea*; very different from the *Oby*, which diſcharges her Water out of her Boſom, which is afterwards conveyed to the Sea by indirect Branches. Below the City the River is a full third part of a Mile over; its Water is white and light, but doth not much abound with Fiſh. Somewhat above ſeven Years paſt the Citizens of *Jeniz ſkoy* fitted out a Ship, and ſent her on the Whale Fiſhery; but the Enterpriſe did not ſucceed, and they never yet heard where their Ship was loſt. Wherefore they imagine that it was ſwallowed up in a violent Inundation of Ice. But from the City of *Fuganai*, ſituated lower down this River, ſeveral Perſons go out yearly on the Whale-Fiſhery; but they carefully watch their Opportunity, when the Wind blows from the Land, and the Ice drives towards the Sea, at which Seaſon they purſue their Fiſhing very ſucceſsfully, and without Danger. The City of *Jenizeſkoy* is large and populous, and the Fortreſs indifferently ſtrong. Several Villages and Cloiſters extend themſelves for the Space of ſome Miles round the City: And the Land is very proper for Agriculture. Corn, Fleſh, Cattle, and wild horned Beaſts, and Fowl are very plentiful here. Subject to the Juriſdiction of this City are ſeveral *Tunguzian* Heathens, who moſtly live on the *Jenizea*, *Tunguſkay*, and the Inland Neighbouring Country. Theſe pay a Tribute of Furs to the Czar for every Bow, taking that to be a Man and Woman reckoned together. No large Fruit-Trees grow here, by Reaſon of the extream Cold, and the only Fruits are black and red Currants, Strawberries, Gooſeberries, and ſuch like.

14. After a long Stay at this Place for the Sake of Refreſhment, I ſet forwards in a Slead, and on the 20th of *January* reached the Iſland *Ribnoy*, which ſignifies *Fiſh-Land*. This Iſle is ſituated in the Midſt of the River *Tanguſka*, which is plentifully ſtored with Fiſh: Here are Sturgeon, Jacks, and Roach of an extraordinary Size. The Iſland is chiefly inhabited by *Ruſſians*. On the 25th of the ſame Month we came to the City of *Ilinſkoy*, ſituate on the River *Ilni*, which runneth from the South South-Weſt to the North North-Weſt, and falls into the *Tunguſka*. Thus far the River *Tunguſkoy* is a little inhabited by *Tunguzians* as well as *Ruſſians*.

Some Days Journey from hence is the great rocky Waterfall, called *Schaman Schamanſkoy*, or the Necromantick Fall, becauſe of a famous *Schaman* or *Tunguſchian* Conjurer who lives there. This Waterfall is a Deſcent of half a Mile long. Its Shore is covered with high Rocks, ſo that the whole Ground of this Water is pure Stone, which indeed affords a hideous Proſpect, and makes ſuch a diſmal loud Noiſe, that its rapid Courſe over both viſible and inviſible Rocks, may in ſtill Weather be heard at the Diſtance of above three *German* Miles. The *Doſchanicks* or Ships which are obliged to come up againſt the Stream, require five, ſix or ſeven Days, though empty, to tow up this dangerous Water, by caſting of Anchors and the Help of ſeveral Men; nay farther in ſome ſhallow Places where the Water is very low, and the Rocks lie high, they are obliged to tow a whole Day before they can get forwards ſo much as a Ship's Length, and the Ship frequently ſtands an End on the Stem; a Thing incredible almoſt except to Eye Witneſſes.

The Ships which paſs up and down, are always unladen, and their Cargoes carried by Land till they get paſt this dangerous Place, when they are again loaded. I have myſelf ſeen the Ships which ſailed down this Torrent, perform it in twelve Minutes; ſo prodigious rapid is this Deſcent: And there are very few either *Ruſſians* or *Tunguzians* that know how to bring down the Ships, which muſt be provided with a Rudder fore and aft, and Rowers on both Sides; the Pilots give their Orders very dexterouſly to the Rowers by a Handkerchief; for no Voice can be heard, by Reaſon of the Noiſe of the Water. The Ships are alſo cloſe ſhut every where, that the Waves which frequently fly over them, may not find Entrance into, and conſequently ſink them. Several Ships, notwithſtanding theſe Precautions, are caſt away here every Year, eſpecially when unexperienced Pilots undertake the bringing them down, being very often ſhattered to Pieces againſt the hidden Rocks. And the Men are in ſuch Caſes inevitably loſt, and immediately ſtifled by the rapid Stream, or daſhed to Pieces by the Rocks; wherefore their Bodies are very rarely found; and the Shores are full of Croſſes, erected in Remembrance of thoſe drowned there. In the Winter Seaſon, the Water of this River is ſo high that it ſtands almoſt level with the Flood, and it hath been ſo overflowed from the Icy-Sea, that ſeveral have paſſed over it with Ice-Sleads: But in the Summer the Water is very low, as we have already hinted.

Some Miles from hence live ſeveral *Tunguzians*, amongſt others, their famed *Schaman* or *Diabolical Artiſt*. The Reports which paſſed concerning this Cheat made me very deſirous to ſee him. Wherefore, in order to gratify my Curioſity, I went to thoſe Parts, to viſit him and his Habitation. I found him a tall old Man, that had twelve Wives, and one who was not at all aſhamed of the Art he pretended to: He ſhewed me his Conjuring Habit, and the other Tools which he uſed. Firſt I ſaw his Coat, made of joined Iron-work, conſiſting of all Manner of Repreſentations of Birds, Fiſhes, Ravens, Owls, &c. beſides ſeveral Beaſts and Birds Claws, and Bills, Saws, Hammers, Knives, Sabres, and the Images of ſeveral Beaſts, &c ſo that all the Parts of this Diabolical Robe, being fix'd together by Joints, might

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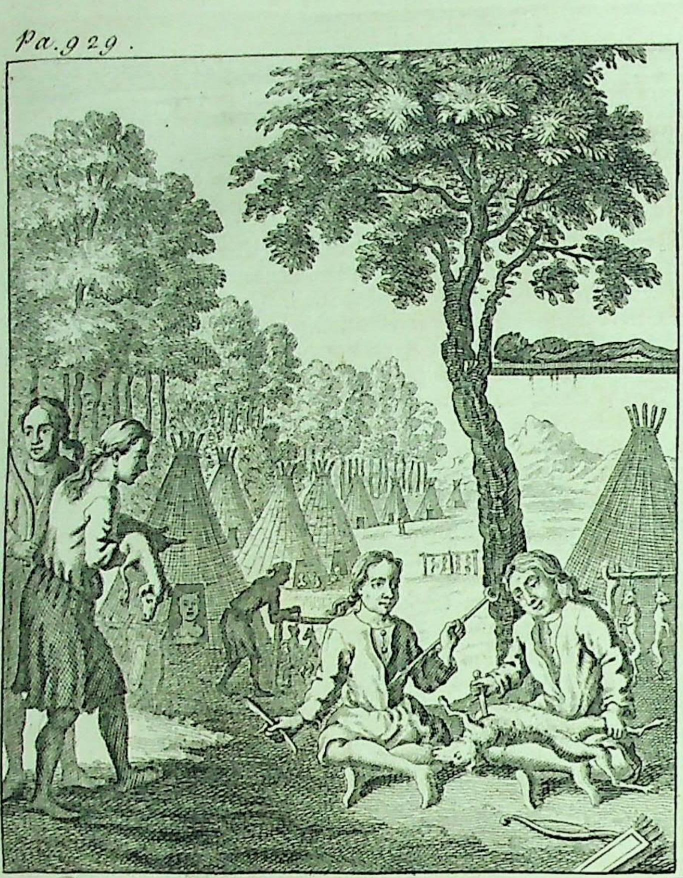

Religious Ceremonies of the Nisovian Tunguzians

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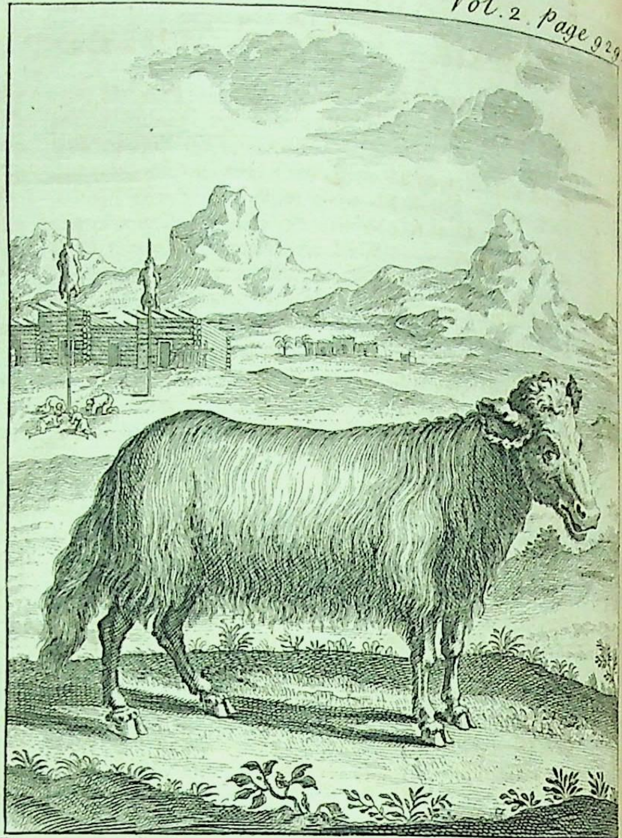

The Hairy Bull of Buratskoy

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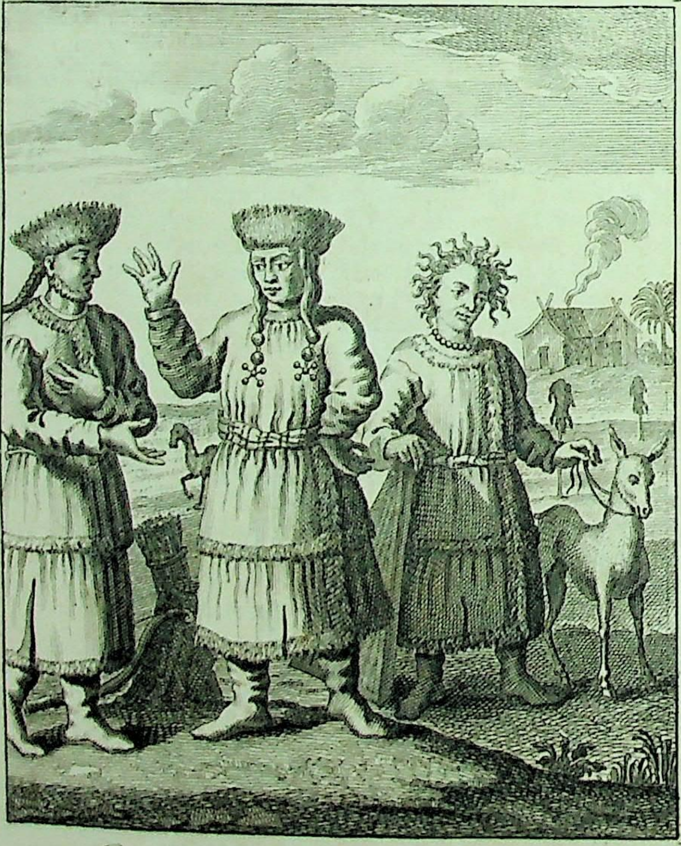

Inhabitants of Buratskoy

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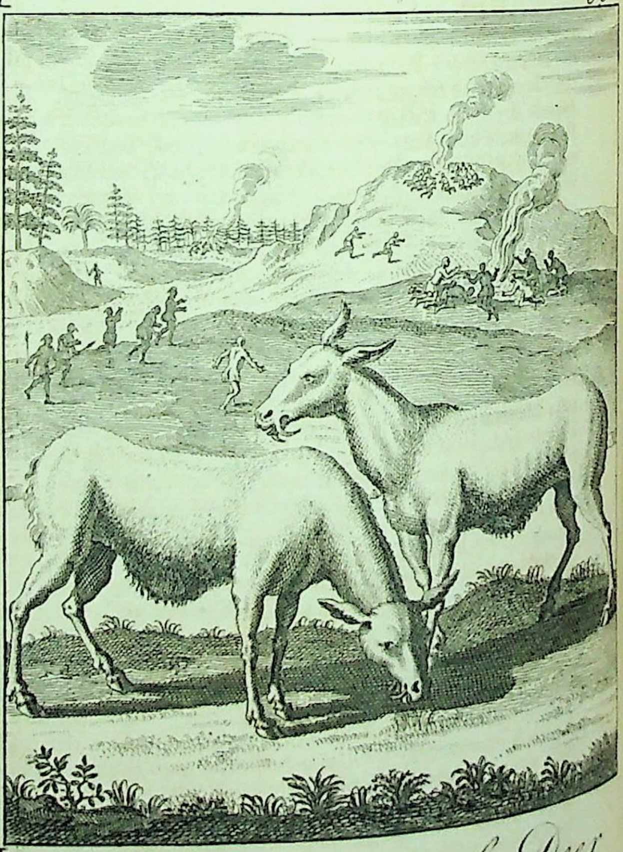


Yehiam or Musk Deer

might at Pleaſure be taken to Pieces. He had alſo Iron Stockings for his Feet and Legs ſuitable to his Robe, and two great Bears Claws over his Hands. His Head was likewiſe adorned, with ſuch like Images, and fixed to his Forehead were two Iron Bucks Horns. When he deſigns to conjure, he takes a Drum made after their Faſhion in his Left-Hand, and a flat Staff covered with the Skins of Mountain-Mice in his right Hand; thus equipped he jumps croſs-legg'd, which Motion ſhakes all theſe Iron Plates, and makes a great Clangor; beſides which, he at the ſame Time beats his Drum, and with Eyes diſtorted upwards, and a ſtrong beariſh Voice, makes a diſmal Noiſe. Theſe were the Prologues: But his Conjurations were performed in the following Manner.

If the *Tunguzians* have any Thing at any Time ſtole from them, or deſire to be informed of any Thing, in the firſt Place, he muſt be paid before Hand: After which he plays ſuch Tricks as are already related, jumps and roars till a Blackbird comes and ſits on the Top of his Hutt, which is open above to let out the Smoak: As ſoon as he gets Sight of the Bird, he falls into a Swoon, and the Bird vaniſhes immediately: After he hath remained bereft of his Senſes for about a Quarter of an Hour, he comes to himſelf, and tells the Queriſt who hath robb'd him, or anſwers his Queſtion of what Sort ſoever; and they tell us, that all that he ſays proves true. His Robe was ſo heavy, that I could ſcarce lift it with one Hand. This Conjurer had a great Quantity of Cattle, which Crouds of People that flock to him from very diſtant Places had preſented him, they always giving him his full Demands.

Theſe Heathens are called *Niſovian Tunguſians:* They are tall and ſtrong Men, and have long black Hair, which being bound up in the Shape of a Horſe's Tail, hangs upon their Backs: They are broad-faced, but their Noſes are not ſo flat, nor their Eyes ſo ſmall as the *Calmackians.* Both Men and Women go naked in the Summer, except only a leather Girdle of three Hands Breadth, that they moſtly cut in the Shape of Ribbands, which they wear about their Waiſt, and cover their Privities. But the Women adorn their Hair with Coral and Iron Figures. Both Men and Women carry a Pot on their left Arms, continually furniſhed with old ſmoaking Wood; which preſerves them from the Biting of the *Moſchitoes*, or *Gnatts*, with which the Country along the River *Tunguſky* and the Woods are ſo abundantly peſtered, that if not only the Face, but the Hands and Legs are uncovered, their biting becomes inſupportable; which however the Natives do not feel ſo much as Strangers, becauſe their Skin being all over bitten by them becomes thereby hardened. Theſe People are Admirers of Beauty, according to their Notion of it. To improve which, they adorn their Foreheads, Cheeks and Chins in the following Manner: They with a Needle run Threads greaſed with black Greaſe through the Skin, in Repreſentation of ſeveral Figures, and leave the ſaid Threads therein for ſeveral Days; after which they draw out, and leave their Traces behind them, and very few of them are without this Embelliſhment.

Their Winter-Habit is a Coat made of Doe-ſkins, which is bordered at the Extremities with Dog-ſkins, beſides which they have alſo a Breaſt-piece hung with Tails of Horſe-hair. They are wholly unacquainted with either Linen or Woollen Cloaths; but to ſupply their Neceſſities, they make Nets and ſowing Thread of Fiſh-ſkins. Inſtead of Caps on their Heads, they wear a Roebuck's Skin, with the Horns ſticking upon the Crown of their Heads, eſpecially when they go a Buck-hunting; by which Means they eaſily deceive their Game, which they creep cloſe to in the Graſs, and the unwary Animals miſtaking them for their own Species, void of Fear, never remove their Station, whilſt they having their Bow and Arrow ready, and being gotten ſo near, are ſure to ſhoot him down. When they are inclined to divert themſelves together, they form themſelves into a Ring; and one of them ſtands in the Middle, having a long Staff in his Hand, with which, in turning round, he ſtrikes at the Legs of one of the Company, who ſo nimbly lifts them up, and ſo dextrouſly avoids the Blow, that it is very ſeldom that any of them are hit; but if any one is touched, he is duck'd till he is all over wet.

They lay their Dead upon the Trees, and after they are rotten, their Bones are buried in the Earth.

They have no other Prieſts but their Conjurers. They have in their Huts carved wooden Idols, about half an Ell long, with the Repreſentation of human Faces, which they feed as the *Oſtiacks* do, with their beſt Sort of Food, which runs out of their Mouths over their Bodies. Their Huts are hung round with Horſes Manes, Tails, and other Baubles, and are made of Birch-Bark: Before which they hang their Bows and Quivers, and very few of them are found without ſeveral dead young Dogs hanging near them. Their Boats or Canoes are made of Birch-Bark ſewed together, which notwithſtanding will carry ſeven or eight Perſons; they are long, ſlender, and without any Benches; they ſit in them upon their Knees, and make uſe of a Sort of Oars broad at both Ends; which they hold in the Middle, and row or paddle, firſt with the one, then with the other End; and when they row all together, the Boat goes at a great Rate. With theſe ſlight Canoes they can bear up againſt violent Storms without any Danger. They generally ſubſiſt themſelves in Summer by Fiſhing, and in Winter by hunting all Sort of furred Game, Bucks, Does, *&c.*

16. I left theſe People without any other Occurrence remarkable, and arrived on the 1ſt of *February* at the Fort *Buratz*; which Place, and all along to the Lake *Baikal*, is watered by the River *Angara*, and inhabited by the *Burattans*, a *Pagan* People.

On the 11th of the ſame Month we reached the Fortreſs of *Bulaganſki* in this Country, ſituate between the Hills and the Vallies, in a Champion Ground, on which live ſeveral *Burattians*, who are ſtocked with Cows, and a hairy Sort of Bulls. They all live in low Dwellings made of Wood joined together, and covered with Earth; on the Tops of which a Hole is left to let out the Smoak. Their Fires are made in the Midſt of theſe Apartments. They are utterly ignorant of all Sorts of Agriculture, or the Management of Gardens: Their Houſes, as in Villages, ſtand next each other, and are commonly ſituated near the River; but they do not change their Habitations like the *Tunguzian*, and other *Heathens.* Cloſe by their Doors ſeveral Poles are ſtuck into the Ground, on ſome of which are ſtuck Bucks, on others Sheep, and ſome faſten Horſe-hides on them. In Spring and Autumn they go out by Hundreds in a Troop on Horſeback, to hunt Stags, wild Sheep, and Roebucks, which they call *Ablavo.* When they have found a Place where there is Game, they range themſelves in a circular Order, ſo that they can eaſily come near one another, by which in ſuch a Ring they will hunt together and encompaſs ſome hundred of Beaſts; and having once got them within the Reach of their Bows, every one lets fly, ſo that very few eſcape, each Hunter being ſo well provided as to make thirty Shot ſucceſſively.

After the Hunting, each Sportſman eaſily finds his own Arrows by their peculiar Mark; but there is a very great Misfortune which attends this Way of Hunting, which is, that in ſuch a confuſed Mixture, they unawares frequently ſhoot one another, and ſeveral Horſes are wounded. They flea their Game, cut the Fleſh from the Bones, and dry it in the Sun; on which Proviſion they live as long as it laſts, and when it is done, go out a Hunting again. Here are vaſt Quantities of wild Beaſts, and I have for the Diſtance of a Quarter of a Mile been able to ſee nothing elſe but wild Sheep, which like Snow covered all the Hills; but in the Country for five or ſix Miles round hereabouts, very few furred Beaſts are found, except only a few Bears and Wolves, which ſometimes appear, but very rarely.

Thoſe who want Oxen or Camels of an extraordinary Largeneſs for their travelling to *China*, are obliged to buy them of theſe People, who will not deal for Money, but receive in Exchange of the Buyers, pale Sables,

bles, Pewter, Copper Baſons, red *Hamburg* Cloths, Otters-Skins, *Perſian* ſhaggy Silk of all Colours, and Gold and Silver Bullion: In which Commodities the Price of an Ox that weighs from 800 to 1000 *German* Pound Weight, is not above four or five Rubles, and a Camel is not valued at more than ten or twelve Rubles. Both the Men and Women of this Country are robuſt, large, and, according as Beauty goes here, have handſome Faces, being a little like the *Chineſe Tartars*. In the Winter both Sexes wear long Coats made of Sheeps-ſkins, with a broad Girdle tipped with Iron. They have a Sort of Caps that they call *Malachaves*, which they can draw over their Ears in cold Weather. In Summer ſeveral of them wear Coats of ſlight red Cloth. Comparatively ſpeaking, their Faces and their Bodies look like young Devils, by Reaſon that they know, or at leaſt practiſe, Nothing of Waſhing at any other Time than when they are born; nor ever cut the Nails of either their Hands or their Feet.

The Virgins whole Head of Hair ſticking faſt together in Plaits, ſtands on End, and makes them look juſt as Envy is repreſented by the Painters. The Women have only two Plaits, which hang down on each Side of their Heads, adorned with all Sorts of Tin Figures. When any of them die, they are buried with their beſt adorned Cloaths, Bows and Arrows. Their Religion conſiſts in the worſhipping dead Bucks and Sheep, which are ſpitted upon the Poles before their Doors, at ſeveral Times in the Year, as long as they continue unputrified. Their Adoration of them is performed by bowing the Head, whilſt they ſit on their Knees with claſped Hands, without either Prayers or ſo much as ſpeaking one Word. This is the only divine Service that they are acquainted with, nor will they ever hear of any other: They have indeed ſeveral Prieſts, which, when they think fit, they kill firſt, and afterwards bury them, together with Cloaths and Money, alledging, that it is neceſſary to ſend them before to pray for them, and that, leſt they ſhould be driven to Neceſſity, they ought to have Money to ſpend, and Cloaths to wear.

If they are obliged to the taking of any Oath amongſt themſelves, they go to the Lake *Baikol*, near which is a Hill that they eſteem ſacred, to which they can ride in two Days. Upon this high Mountain they take their Oath, and firmly believe the falſe Swearer ſhall never come down alive. To this Hill they frequently offer up all Sorts of ſlaughtered Cattle, and have paid a Veneration to it for many Years. But upon what Tradition this Reverence is built is not known.

17. In this Neighbourhood *Muſk-Cats* are alſo found, which are ſhaped more like a Goat. This Animal is almoſt like a young Buck, without Horns, with this Difference, that its Hair is a little black, and the Head inclines more towards that of a Wolf. The Muſk is contained in a certain Swelling at the Navel, like a little Purſe, which is compoſed of a thin Skin, covered with a very fine Hair. The *Chineſe* call this Animal *Yebiam*, which is *Muſk-Hart*, by Reaſon of its Likeneſs to a Stag; but beſides the Diſſimilitude of the Head, it hath alſo two Tuſks like thoſe of a wild Boar, which ſtick out of its Mouth.

Philip Martinus, in his *Chineſe Atlas*, reports, that this Animal is chiefly found near the City of *Leao*, in the Province of *Xanxi*; as alſo in that of *Xenxi*, and more eſpecially in that of *Hanchungfu*; and that there are alſo ſome in the Province of *Suchuen*, the ſecond Diviſion of *Paoningfu*, about the City of *Kiating*, near the ſixth fortified City *Tienciven*; in ſeveral Parts of the Province *Junnan*, and ſeveral other Places Weſtward. He further gives us the following Deſcription, which may contribute to the Satisfaction of the curious Reader. "The Muſk Cat, ſaith he, is almoſt like a young Hart or Doe, only that he is ſomewhat browner, and ſo ſlow and unactive, that the Hunter's greateſt Difficulty is to put him up; for that once done, he is immediately ſhot, for he ſuffereth himſelf tamely to be killed, without either defending himſelf or ſtirring. The Muſk, of which there are various Sorts of different Value, is prepared from this Beaſt in the following Manner;

"After he is taken, all his Blood is drawn off and reſerved; and from under his Navel is taken off a Bladder, that is filled with Blood, or ſome other odoriferous Liquor there concreted; after which the Animal is flea'd and cut to Pieces.

"When the *Chineſe* deſign to make the beſt Sort, they take the hinder Part of the Animal, beginning from the Kidneys, which they ſtamp and bruiſe to a Jelly, which they dry, and therewith fill the ſmall Bags, which they make of the Skin of the Beaſt.

"But if they deſire a ſlighter Sort of Muſk, which ſhould yet be very good, and not at all ſophiſticated, they then beat all the Parts of the Animal together, without any Diſtinction, to a Jelly, with a little of his Blood, in a Mortar, with which, as before, they fill up the Bags made of the Hide.

"Beſides theſe two, there is another Sort of Muſk, which is alſo highly valued, though not ſo good as the precedent. This is prepared from the Fore-part of the Animal to the Kidneys, which they particularly lay by the reſt of his Body in order to make the common Muſk; ſo that none of this Creature is thrown away, but all Parts of it are good; whence it is ſaid to be better dead than alive." Thus far *Martinius*; but whether theſe Barbarians make the ſame Uſe of the Muſk-Cat as the *Chineſe*, is not certainly known.

After travelling ſome Days amongſt this Nation, I arrived at *Jektuſkoi*, a City ſituate on the River *Angara*, the Courſe of which is from the North to the South, but its original Source is the *Baikol-Meer*, about eight Miles diſtant from this Place. This City not long ſince was rebuilt and ſtrengthened with very ſtrong Fortifications. The Suburbs are very large: All Sorts of Grain, Salt, Fleſh, and Fiſh are very cheap here, a hundred Pound (*German* Weight) of Rye not yielding above ſeven Kopties or Styvers; for round about this City, and to *Wergolenſko*, ſome Miles diſtant from thence, the Land is very fruitful, and Corn grows in great Abundance; beſides great Numbers of *Ruſſians* have ſettled here, and taken up ſome hundreds of Villages, all which with great Induſtry and Succeſs promote Agriculture.

Oppoſite to the City on the Eaſt-ſide is a *Burning-Cave*, which for ſeveral Years burnt very violently, but now ſeems extinct, very little or no Smoak iſſuing out at preſent. It is a large Cleft in the Earth, whence the Flame formerly aſcended vehemently, which now ceaſes; but if a long Pole be put into it, it feels very warm.

Over againſt this City, where the River *Jekut* falls into the *Angara* and ſo runs to the *Meer*, is a very fine Cloyſter. Earthquakes are here frequent in Autumn, which yet don't prove very prejudicial. Here reſided a *Taiſſcha* or *Mongalian* Baron, who had put himſelf under the Protection of their Czariſh Majeſties, and embraced the *Greek* Chriſtian Religion.

He had a Siſter, which, according to the *Mongalian* Cuſtom, lived in the devoted ſpiritual State, and was almoſt enclined to receive the Chriſtian Faith. When ſhe was diſcourſed on that Subject, ſhe replied, "I am ſatisfied that the Chriſtians God muſt neceſſarily be a ſtrong God, ſince he hath beaten our God out of Heaven: But he will return thither, though he ſhall the ſecond Time be beaten down." When ſhe enters the Chamber, ſhe ſalutes no Perſon, as the *Mongalians* are yet accuſtom'd to do, but her Order doth not admit of it. She had a Roſary or String of Beads in her Hand, which ſhe continually paſſed round through her Fingers. I found a *Lama* or *Prieſt* with her, who had alſo ſuch a String of Beads in his Hand, according to the *Mongalian* and *Calmackian* Faſhion, which he very ſwiftly and inceſſantly turned over through his Fingers, continually moving his Lips, as though he were at his private Devotions; and with this perpetual telling of his Beads, his Thumb was worn through the Fleſh and Nail up to the Knuckle; which rubbing off by ſlow Degrees did not at all pain him.

After a ſhort Stay to reſt myſelf in *Jekutskoi*, on the firſt of *March* I ſet forward by Land in Sleads, to the Lake or *Meer* of *Baikol*, which I reached on the 10th of the ſame Month, and found it frozen up very hard.

I paſſed over this Lake and ſafely arrived at *Kabania.* This *Meer* is about ſix *German* Miles broad, and forty long: The Ice in it was full two Ells thick, and is very dangerous when the Paſſengers are overtaken by a great Snow, or a high Wind; and the Horſes which draw the Sleads muſt be very ſharp ſhod, by Reaſon the Ice is all over very ſlippery, and even on Land here is no Snow found to lie, but it is immediately driven away by the Winds. Here are ſeveral broken Places or Wind-holes, that are not frozen up, which prove very dangerous to Travellers when ſurpriſed with tempeſtuous Winds; for the Horſes, if not ſharp ſhod, by the Fury of the Winds are driven on ſo violently that they cannot tread ſure, but ſliding and falling on the glib Ice, are hurried on by the Wind, till they and the Slead too are ſwallowed up in one of theſe open Places; by which ſeveral Men and Horſes are loſt: Beſides, to augment the Danger, the Ice of this Lake is ſometimes torn open ſeveral Fathoms by ſudden Winds, which make a Noiſe as loud and terrible as Thunder-claps, but after the Expiration of a few Hours, the Ice joins again, and becomes quickly as cloſe as before.

The Camels and Oxen, which Travellers take with them for their Journey to *China*, are alſo obliged to go this Way from *Jekutſkoi*, in order to which the Camels have a Kind of Boot tied about their Legs, which is very ſharp at Bottom: The Oxen alſo are provided with ſharp Irons ſtruck through their Hoofs, without which it would be impoſſible for them to go forwards. The Water of this Lake taſtes very freſh, is clear, and yet of a deep Green, like that of the Ocean. Where the Ice was open we often obſerv'd a great many Sea-Dogs, all blackiſh, and not variegated, like thoſe in the white Sea. Here are alſo great Multitudes of Fiſh, as large Sturgeons and Jacks, of which I have ſeen ſome that weighed two hundred *German* Pounds. The only River that iſſues from this Lake is the *Angara*, whoſe Deſcent is to the North-North-weſt: But amongſt the Rivers which fall into it, is the *Silinga*, the principal River, the Source of which is in *Mongalia*; the Remainder are ſeveral Rivulets which fall from the Hills: There are alſo ſome Iſlands in this Water. Its Shore and adjacent Country is inhabited by *Burattians*, *Mongalians*, and *Outkotians*. In all Parts hereabouts there are very fine black Sables, and *Caberdines* are alſo frequently caught here.

I obſerved, that when I entered upon this Sea, and left the Cloyſter of St. *Nickolas*, ſituated at the Entrance of the *Angara*, on the Sea-ſhore, I was very zealouſly entreated by ſeveral Perſons, that when I came upon this dangerous Water, I ſhould not call it a ſtill Water or Lake, but a Sea; alledging, that formerly ſeveral conſiderable Perſons, who had been on this Sea, and ventured to call it an *Oſer* or ſtanding Water, were immediately overtaken by violent ſtormy Winds, and were in Danger of their Lives: But I could not help laughing at this wild Notion, that the Waters ſhould reſent Affronts, and ſtand up for their Honour. However I went forward in the Name of God, and being got to the Middle, I called for a large Glaſs of Sherry, and drank a Health to all ſincere honeſt good Chriſtians, and my Friends in *Europe*, adding, *which I take you* Oſera, *or ſtill Water, to witneſs*; and the Wine proved very refreſhing, and I obſerved, that the farther I went, the Wind, which before was ſomewhat rougher than ordinary, began to decreaſe; ſo that I landed with Sun-ſhine and clear Weather, at the Caſtle of *Kabania*, the firſt *Daurian* Fortification beyond the *Meer*, without having the leaſt Satisfaction taken of me. I heartily laughed at the Folly of thoſe, who gave Credit to ſuch ridiculous Superſtitions, and truſt not in God, who created and governs all Things, to whom the Sea and all the Winds are obedient, either to ſerve or deſtroy them for their Sins, or perhaps to chaſtiſe and terrify them to Righteouſneſs; ſince otherwiſe the Sea is deaf and ſtupid, and utterly incapable of reſenting or revenging.

19. Leaving the Caſtle of *Kabania* the following Day, on the 12th of *March* we arrived at *Ilinſkoy* or *Bolſoy Saimka*, a very large Town, moſt of whoſe Inhabitants are *Ruſſians*, which in the Winter go a Sable-hunting, not tilling any more Ground than Neceſſity requires; wherefore the Land is every where deformed with great barren Hills, which, by an induſtrious People, might be rendred pleaſant and fruitful.

Departing thence, on the 14th of the ſame Month, we reached the Caſtle of *Tanzienſkoy*, which was provided with a ſtrong Garriſon of *Coſſacks*, to cover this Country from the Incurſions of the *Mongalians* which border on it. Without any Delay I went forwards with the firſt Slead that went off, and on the 19th Inſtant came to *Udinſkoy*, which City or Fortreſs is ſituated on a high Hill; but moſt of its Inhabitants live below the Fortreſs, at the Foot of the Hill, on the River *Uda*, which falls into the *Silinga*, about a Quarter of a Mile Weſtward below the City, which bordering on the *Mongalians*, is conſtantly ſupplied with a ſtrong Garriſon of *Ruſſian Coſſacks*.

The City of *Udinſkoy* is accounted the Entrance of the Province of *Daur*, and in Summer-time the *Mongalians* frequently come hither, and carry off the Horſes of the Inhabitants, which are graſing in Sight of the City; and beſides a little Paſture, this Land, which is every where mountainous, is very improper for Tillage; tho' it plentifully abounds with Cabbages, Turneps, Carrots, and ſuch-like Vegetables, which belong to the Culinary Garden: But here is not a Tree to be ſeen.

After having reſted here ſome Days, one Night at Nine of the Clock happened a violent Earthquake, which terribly ſhook the Houſes of this City, thrice within the Space of an Hour, but went off without any Damage.

The River *Uda* yields very little Fiſh, beſides a few *Jacks* and *Roach.* But annually in *June* from the Lake *Baikol*, great Shoals of a certain Fiſh ſwim hither againſt the Tide: The Inhabitants call them *Omuli*; they are as big as Herrings, and proceed no higher up this River than the End of this City, by a fallen Mountain, where they ſtay ſome Days, and then return back. During which Time they ſwim ſo incredibly thick and cloſe, that the Commandant told me, he threw ſeveral Lime-ſtones into the Water, which did not ſink, but continued lying on the Shoals of Fiſh. When the Inhabitants are deſirous to catch them, they uſe no other Net than a Bag, a Shirt, or a Pair of Linen Stockings; with which they go to the Shore, and draw greater Quantities than they want of theſe Fiſh on Land. I was obliged to a tedious melancholy Stay here, before my Camels and Horſes were ready, and was indeed very glad, that at laſt I got from hence on the 6th of *April.*

On the 26th of the ſame Month we travelled by Land to the River *Ona*, which flows from the North-North-weſt, and falls into the *Uda.*

On the 27th I reached the River *Kurba*, which alſo proceeds from the North-North-Weſt, and falls into the *Uda*. We travelled hither upwards on the River *Uda*, at about half Flood, but were frequently obliged to go off from it, and ſometimes to ſuch a Diſtance, that we loſt Sight of it.

On the 29th of the ſame, I had the good Fortune to put an End to my Travels in this uncouth, uninhabited Road, and to reach the Fortreſs of *Jarauna.* I was not a little glad that I once more came within Sight of Towns, for from *Udinſkoy* to this Place is wholly uninhabited, and we were obliged to travel over high and diſmal Rocks. The Caſtle of *Jarauna* is garriſoned by *Coſſacks*, and alſo inhabited by ſeveral *Ruſſians*, who depend upon Sable-hunting. The Heathens, which poſſeſs this Country, are called *Konni Tunguzi*, being a Sort of *Tunguzians* which live along the Banks of the River *Angara*; though their Language is entirely different from all others. If any one of them die, he is buried with his Cloaths and Bows under Ground; upon his Grave, Stones are laid, and a Pole erected, to which is faſtened his beſt Horſe, being firſt ſhot to Death. They live entirely on Sable-hunting, and the

Furrs of theſe Animals are extraordinary black in this Place: Here are alſo very fine Linxes, and a Sort of Squirrels, the Furrs of which were formerly taken off by the *Chineſe*. On the North-ſide of this Caſtle are three large Lakes near one another, each of which is full two Miles in Circumference, and are plentifully ſtored with Fiſh, more eſpecially with Jacks, Carps, Pearch, and ſuch-like. From hence there are two Roads which lead to *Zitinſkoy* or *Platbiſcha*. I ordered Part of my Retinue to go one of theſe Roads; but the Caravan and Convoy went directly Southwards, along the Lake *Schackze-Oſer*, which plentifully abounds with Fiſh; and the other proceeded forwards over the *Jablusnoy* or *Apple-Mountains*, on which, though they bear that Name, there grow no Apples, but only a Sort of red Fruit on the Trees, which indeed taſte very like them. But I myſelf, accompanied with a Retinue of Forty Men, took the other Road, which proved very moraſſy, and lay betwixt high Rocks, which continue all the Way from *Jarauna* to the City of *Telimba*. In this laſt Fortification live ſeveral *Ruſſians*, who in Winter go out a Sable-hunting; and indeed this Country yields ſuch rich black Sables, that better are not to be found in the whole Province of *Siberia*.

Lodging here one Night, a *Tunguzian* Knezets or Prince, whoſe Name was *Lilulka*, came to viſit me; he had prodigious long Hair, which for that Reaſon he bound up in a Leathern Band, and wound three Times about his Shoulders. I was very curious to ſatisfy myſelf, whether his Hair was really ſo long as I was told; to which Purpoſe I cauſed him to be intoxicated with Brandy; by which Civility I obtained the Favour of having his Hair looſened, and I found it to be all his natural Hair only, for I examined it very narrowly, and meaſuring it with an Ell, to my great Surpriſe, was convinced that it was four *Dutch* Ells long. He had a Son of ſix Years of Age, whoſe Hair growing in Imitation of his Father's, hung down over his Back the Length of an Ell wanting an eighth Part. This Sort of *Tunguzian* Heathens live on the Hills in great Multitudes. Part of them grow rich by catching the moſt fine and beautiful Sables, for which they receive great Sums of Money.

We were obliged to travel two Days from hence over high rocky Hills, running North-Weſt and South-Eaſt. Very far Northward there riſes a Spring, from whence the River *Konela*, afterwards called the *Wittim*, proceeds, which runs North Eaſt, and falls into the River *Lena*, that empties itſelf into the North *Frozen-Sea*; and about half a Mile beyond the high Hills, the River *Zita* ariſes, which falls into the River *Ingoda* or *Amur*, and purſues its Courſe on to the *Amuriſchian* or *Eaſtern Sea*, into which it flows.

Arriving ſafely on the 15th of *May* at *Platbiſcha*, which Place the Caravan alſo reached the next Day, having run through ſeveral Dangers, by Reaſon that the withered dry Graſs was burned off the Fields every where, the Fire of which was very prejudicial to the Caravan, and often catched the Horſes Tails; beſides which, the Beaſts wanted Forage, and were frequently obliged to go a Mile out of the Way in Search of ſome Graſs, which was not yet burned on the Side of the Hills, to relieve the poor Cattle.

We were obliged to ſtay ſeveral Days in the Village *Platbiſcha*, ſituate on the River *Zita*, partly to refreſh our Beaſts, and partly to make Floats, to drive down the Rivers *Ingoda* and *Schilka*, to *Nerzinſkoy*, this being a very ſhallow Water, on which no other Sort of Shipping can be made uſe of. And even theſe Floats can ſcarce paſs over the rocky Places without Danger, two of ours being broken to Pieces in our Paſſage, ſo that we had Trouble enough to ſave our Goods.

20. All Things being ready, I cauſed the Camels, Horſes, and Oxen to go firſt over the Mountains for *Nerzinſkoy*; but I went from thence on the 18th of the ſame Month, and on the 19th reached the River *Onon*, which runs Northward, taking Riſe in the South out of the *Mongalian Pool*, and, after it is united with the *Ingoda*, takes the Name of *Schilka*. The Water of this River is very white, and its Shore is inhabited by great Numbers of *Mongalians*, who make frequent Incurſions over the *Schilka* to *Nerzinſkoy*, though not always with Succeſs; for ſometimes they are not only driven from their Prey, but catched themſelves, and puniſhed as Robbers; and the *Ruſſian Coſſacks* themſelves, by way of Repriſal, make Sallies up the *Onon*, deſtroying whatever comes in their Way.

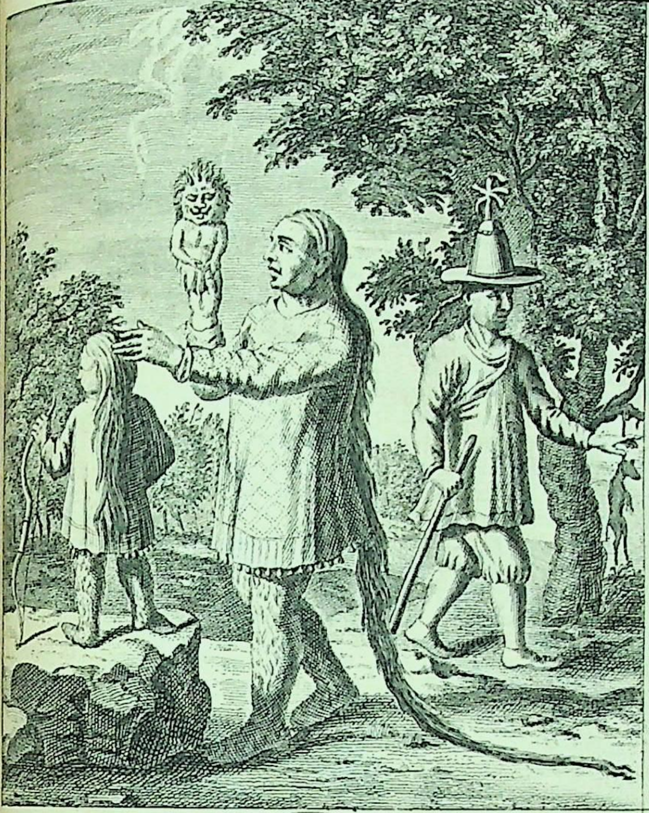
But through Divine Mercy we arrived, without being once attacked, on the 20th Inſtant at *Nerzinſkoy*, which lies on the River *Nerza*, that runs from North-North-Eaſt, and about a Quarter of a Mile from the City falls Southward into the *Schilka*. The City is tolerably ſtrong, provided with ſeveral Braſs Guns, and a great Garriſon of *Daurian Coſſacks* both Horſe and Foot. It is ſituate between high Mountains, notwithſtanding which it has Champion Ground enough for the Inhabitants to graze their Camels, Horſes and Cows; and ſome Parts of the Hills afford Spots of Ground a Mile or two over, that are very proper for Tillage, and afford Room to plant and ſow enough to ſupply their Neceſſities.

From four or five Miles upwards to ten, below on the River *Schilka*, live ſeveral *Ruſſian* Gentlemen and *Coſſacks*, who ſubſiſt on Tillage, Grazing of Beaſts, and Fiſhing: Amongſt theſe Hills, and round the City, are likewiſe ſeveral very fine Garden-Trees and Plants, as alſo *Rhaponticum* or *Baſtard Rhubarb*, of an extraordinary Thickneſs and Length, and very fine white and yellow Lillies. Here are vaſt Quantities of red, and alſo of Snow-white *Pæonies*, which diffuſe an extraordinary fragrant Scent, and ſeveral other Flowers, with which I was unacquainted. Here are Roſemary, Thyme, Marjoram, Lavender, and ſeveral other odoriferous Plants unknown to me, which grow ſpontaneouſly in great Abundance: The Fruits here are only red and black Currants, *&c.* agreeable to the Climate.

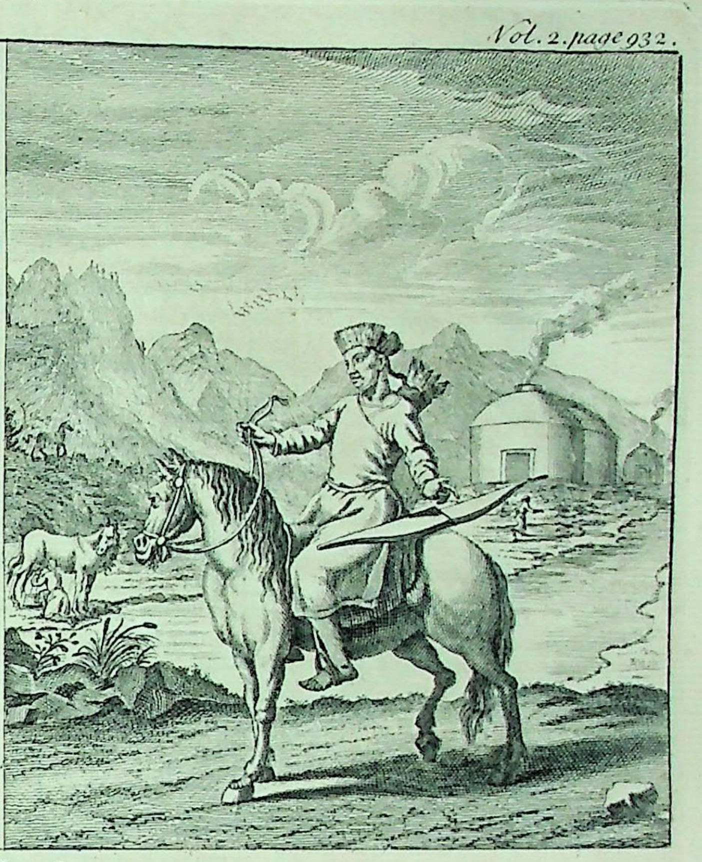
Here are two Sorts of Heathens which have for a long Series of Years lived in Subjection to the Czar; the *Konni-Tunguzians*, and *Olenni-Tunguzians*: The former of which are obliged to be ready on Horſeback, at the Command of the *Waywode* of *Nerzinſkoy*, or whenever any Incurſions are made on the Frontiers by the Roving *Tartars*. And the *Olenni-Tunguzians* are obliged on all Occaſions to be ready on Foot, and appear armed on any Exigence in the City. The Chief of the *Konni-Tunguzians* is the *Knees Paul Petrovitz Gantimur*, whoſe *Tunguzian* Name is *Catana Gantimur*, born in the Country of *Nieuhcu*; he is an old Man, that was formerly a *Taiſcha* or Baron there, ſubordinate to the Emperor of *China*; but falling into Diſgrace, and being diſplaced, he, attended with his entire *Horde* or Clan, retired to *Dauria*, put himſelf under the Protection of their Czariſh Majeſties, and embraced the *Grecian* Religion. This *Knees Paul Catana* can on any grand Occaſion in one Day raiſe three thouſand Horſemen, well equipped and provided with good Bows, all which are valiant and fearleſs Soldiers, of whom it is frequently obſerved, that fifty of them attack four hundred *Mongalians*, and very frequently beat them. All of theſe Heathens which live near the City ſubſiſt themſelves by grazing, but thoſe on the River *Schilka* and *Amur* depend on Sable-hunting, becauſe the Beaſts in the Foreſts are there very black, and their Furrs valuable.

They all live in Huts, called in their Language *Jurten*, the Inſide of which is compoſed of wooden Poles jointed together, that whenever they are willing to remove their Dwellings, as they frequently do, they may conveniently pack them up and carry them altogether.

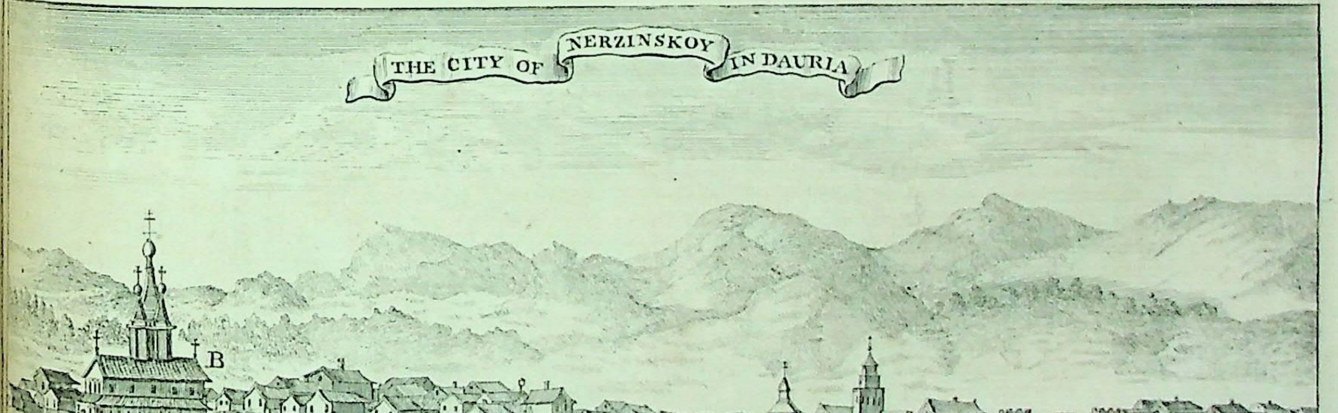
This wooden Work when ſet up is thatched all over with Hair and Rubbiſh, except only the Smoak-hole left open at the Top. They place their Fire in the Midſt of their Huts, and ſit round it upon Turves. Their Religion is the ſame with that of the *Dacra* or *Daurians*, from whence they pretend to be deſcended: So that indeed throughout all Great *Tartary*, to the Beginning of the *Mongalian Tartars*, there is a very great Similitude in Religion, as I ſhall hereafter evince. Both Men and Women in this Country are very ſtrong, broad faced, and both Sexes, not excepting the young Girls,



A Tunguzian Prince whoſe Hair was Four Dutch Ells long and his Son's near an Ell long.



The Knez Paul Petrowitz Gantimur Chief of ye Konni Tunguzians Subject to the Czar.


THE CITY OF NERZINSKOY IN DAURIA
B
A
River Nerza

A *The* Wooden Caſtle *Inhabited by the* Governor. B. *The Church*

The Inhabitants of this City are all Soldiers who trade to China & have great Immunities.

ride on Horſeback, and are equally armed with Bow and Arrows, in the Uſe of which they are very expert. The Female Dreſs is the ſame with the Male; of both which our Print drawn from the Life is an accurate Repreſentation. Their common Drink is Water; but the better Sort drink *Kara't Za*, or Black Tea, which is a particular Species of that Plant, the Infuſion of which, inſtead of greeniſh, tinctures the Water blackiſh. They boil it in Mares-Milk and Water, to which they alſo add a little Lard or Butter. They alſo draw off a Sort of Brandy from Mares-Milk, which they call *Kunnen*, or *Arak*, and is diſtilled in the following Manner. The new Milk is firſt boiled, then put into a Fat, to which is added ſome ſtale Milk, and this Mixture is ſtirred every Hour: After which this ſoured Milk is put into a Pot, and cloſely covered with another Pot which ſhuts tight upon it, into which a Reed is ſtuck, and the Pot firmly luted, and ſet over the Fire to diſtill as in *Europe:* But the Spirit muſt be twice drawn off; then it is fit to drink, being as clear, and ſtrong, as Malt Spirits, and very ſoon intoxicates. It is really very ſurpriſing that none of the Cows in *Siberia* and *Dauria*, as long as their Calves ſuck them, will ever permit themſelves to be milked, nor will they after the Calf is removed from them give any more Milk: Which is the Reaſon why Mares-Milk is ſo much uſed by theſe People, which is alſo richer and more agreeable than Cows-Milk.

In Spring and Autumn theſe Heathens go a Hunting, like the *Burattians*, in order to provide themſelves againſt Summer and Winter with ſufficient Store of Fleſh, which they alſo as well as that Nation dry in the Sun. Inſtead of Bread they gather the Pods of yellow Lillies, which they call *Sarana*, and having dried and beaten them to Meal, they dreſs them ſeveral Ways to eat. They are very expert at Shooting Fiſh in the Water with a Sort of Arrows, which are round, ſolid, and about three Fingers thick at the Head; at the End of which, under the Iron Point, is a Ball of Bone bored through, which occaſions a loud whiſtling Noiſe in its Flight. Theſe Arrows are ſo heavy that they do not ſhoot them farther at moſt than fifteen or twenty Fathom, and chiefly at large Fiſh, as Jacks and Trouts, which harbour in clear Water on the rocky Ground near the Shores. And when theſe Arrows hit, they make a ſurprizing large Orifice, which looks as if it were a Cut given by a Hatchet.

Theſe Heathens have a very odd Cuſtom of taking ſolemn or teſtimonial Oaths: An Inſtance of which appears in the following Story of two noble *Tunguzian* Hoſtages at *Nerzinſkoy*. To illuſtrate which Relation, the Reader ought to be informed that it is uſual on theſe frontier Places (by Reaſon a great many Sorts of People put themſelves under his Czariſh Majeſty's Protection, which live diſperſed in *Siberia)* to keep ſome Children of the principal Men, and, if they are very great, themſelves, in the *Amandiver-atſkoy* or Hoſtage-Court for ſome time, all the while providing them amply with Eatables and other Neceſſaries; which is done by Way of Security that they ſhall not deſert, and that when they have ſtaid ſometime, others ſhall come in their Places. It happening that two of theſe *Tunguzian* Hoſtages falling out, one accuſed the other before the *Waywode*, of having conjured his deceaſed Brother to death. The *Waywode* aſked the Accuſer if he would, according to the *Tunguzian* Cuſtom, put the Accuſed to his Oath? To this he anſwered in the Affirmative; after which the Accuſed took a live Dog, laid him on the Ground, and with a Knife ſtuck him into the Body, juſt under his left Leg, and immediately clapped his Mouth to the Wound, and ſucked out the Dog's Blood as long as he could come at it; after which he lifted him up, laid him on his Shoulders and clapped his Mouth again to the Wound, in order to ſuck out the remaining Blood, as the Print expreſſes it. An excellent Drink indeed! And this is the greateſt Oath, and moſt ſolemn Confirmation of the Truth amongſt them; ſo that on Credit of this the Accuſed was ſet free, and the Accuſer puniſhed for his falſe Accuſation. Thus far concerning the Cuſtoms of theſe Heathens, which, barbarous and ridiculous as they are, plainly prove theſe People apprehend the Neceſſity of Oaths to determine Differences, and that Providence will interpoſe to preſerve Innocence, and puniſh Perjury. Thus we clearly diſcern, that the Brutality of this Nation does not ariſe from their Want of intellectual Faculties, but from their Supineneſs, Negligence and Nonuſage of thoſe Faculties.

21. I was obliged to ſtay ſome Weeks at *Nerzinſkoy*, and furniſh myſelf with Camels, Horſes, Oxen, Proviſion and all other Neceſſaries for the Proſecution of my Travels. All which being carefully performed, I ſet forwards from thence in God's Name, on the 18th of *July*, paſſed the following Day by the River *Borſchofska* over the *Schilka*, and after ten Days travelling, on the third of *Auguſt* ſafely arrived at the Caſtle of *Argunſkoy*; which is the laſt Fort and utmoſt Frontier of the Czar's Dominions, towards the Eaſt Country. This Fortreſs is waſhed by the River *Argun*, which flows from South-Weſt to North-Eaſt, and falls into the River *Amur*, and divides his Czariſh Majeſty's Territories from thoſe of the Emperor of *China:* And on the other, or Eaſtern Side of the River, the great uninhabited *Tartarian* Wilderneſs hath its Beginning. I was obliged to ſtay here ſome Days, to get a good Number of Carts with two Wheels, for the farther Purſuit of my Journey; and this was the firſt Time that this Way from *Argun* through *Tartary* was ever travelled with Waggons.

The Way from *Nerzinſkoy* hither was moſtly over high, ſtony, and mountainous Land, though in ſome ſcattered Places interſected by fine large Valleys, and little Rivulets, which Intervals are richly overſpread with all Sorts of fine Herbs, Flowers, Graſs, lofty Cedars, and Woods of Birch-trees. This Country is alſo very populous, by Reaſon the *Tunguzians* (which, though Heathens, are all ſubject to his Czariſh Majeſty) live in great Multitudes throughout all Parts of this Country where there are Rivers, and pay a voluntary Tribute to that potent Emperor.

In ſeveral ſcattered Places in the Valleys, I obſerved Hundreds of old, and, in Part, fallen Caſtles, built with Rock-ſtones, which, as the *Tunguzians* told me, were built by ſeveral Warriors long ſince, when the *Mungalian* and *Weſtern Tartars* made joint Incurſions into this Kingdom of *Nieucheu*. Which Monarchy, according to their Computation, comprehended the whole Land from *Nerzinſkoy* to *Nieucheu*, as the *Chineſe* call it, and from the River *Amur* down to the *Albanian* Mountains and *Leaoting*. And it is not long ſince that Waggon Wheels bound with Iron, and large Millſtones, were found in this Country; from whence I conjecture, that the *Nieuchbeuers*, which border on the ſaid Province of *Leaoting*, formerly followed their Trade and manual Employments in this *Ruſſian Dauria*, ſince they make uſe of theſe Waggon-wheels bound with Iron, which are no where elſe to be found amongſt the *Mongalians*, &c.

I alſo ſaw ſeveral *Tunguzian Tombs* covered with many Stones, by which great Stakes were placed, and ſeveral dead and putrified Horſes upon them. Beſides which, I obſerved that the River *Argun* ſeparates two very different Sorts of Lands. On our Way to this River, the Hills abounded with Woods, but on the other Side of it Nature varies, and very few or ſcarce any Woods are to be ſeen, but only inconſiderable Numbers of ſcattered dry Trees.

About eight Miles from *Argunſkoy*, from which I departed the 5th of *Auguſt*, the River *Zerebrenkoy*, or the Silver River, called in the *Mongalian* Dialect *Mongagol*, falls into the River *Argun*. This Silver River is ſo called, becauſe that formerly, about two Miles up that Water, there were Silver Mines, out of which the *Nieuchbeuers* and *Mongalians* dug immenſe Quantities of that Metal; and great Numbers of Pits, in which the Metal was melted, are at preſent to be ſeen; but theſe Mines, by the Courſe of Time, and lying unwrought for many Years, are now fallen in, and covered with the Hills which have tumbled upon them. Notwithſtanding all which, I brought a Proof of their Metal into *Muſcovy*, and doubt not but to reſtore them, if his Czariſh Majeſty would immediately order a Beginning to be made, it being very well worth the Pains, and they are very conveniently ſituated in a Place where there is no Want of Wood.

In the Year 1693, on the 8th of *Auguſt*, we were obliged to croſs the River *Argun*, and paſs two whole Days on our Way with the Merchants which were with us; and on the 9th at Night, we again travelled South Eaſtward, upwards in the great *Tartarian Wilderneſs*, all the Way betwixt Hills and Vales, and next Day reached the River *Calabu*; which being but a ſmall one, we eaſily forded it with our Horſes, Camels, and Waggons. This River ariſes out of the Hills, and falls Weſtward into the *Argun*. It was obſervable, that it was ſo cold this Night, that the Ice froze the Thickneſs of a Crown-piece.

On the 12th of this Month we reached the River *Terbu*, which is alſo but ſmall and ſhallow, and likewiſe falls Weſtward into *Argun*. On the next Day we came to the River *Gan*, which occaſioned us a very troubleſome Paſſage, it being ſo deep by reaſon of the ſwollen Waters, that no Camel could reach the Bottom; ſo that we were forced to ſearch for Trees, (in this deſolate uninhabited Wilderneſs, where no other Hope was left) which having felled, we bound in Couples, to carry over our Goods and travelling Proviſions: And for our own Paſſage we alſo made a Sort of Boats of ſmall Twigs, which we covered with Ox-hides ſewed together, which proved tolerable Barks, and would carry about a thouſand Pounds Weight. The Horſes, Oxen and Camels were ſwam over, which indeed the laſt did very eaſily; for as ſoon as they loſe Footing on the Ground, they turn themſelves on one Side, without ſtirring their Feet, like a floating Leathern Bag; no more Care being neceſſary, than to bind five or ſix of them faſt together by the Bridles and Tails, and let ſome body ſwim a Horſe before them, which is faſtened to the Bridle of the firſt, and conſequently towes him along, without which Precaution they would drive ſeveral Miles down the Stream before they got over; and even notwithſtanding this, they drove conſiderably downwards. This tedious, uneaſy Paſſage coſt us ſome Days Time, the River being broad, and the Tide rapid and ſtrong. This River comes out of the Eaſt, and falls Weſtward into the *Argun*.

Breaking up from thence on the 19th of the ſame Month, on the 21ſt we reached the River *Mergeen*, which admitted us without the leaſt Uneaſineſs or Interruption to ford it, being but ſmall and ſhallow. It alſo comes from the Eaſt, and falls Weſtward into the *Argun*; and thus we travelled to this Place off and on, betwixt Eaſt and South. On the 23d we came to another River called *Kailar*, the Water of which being low, we paſſed it without any Trouble. This River falls alſo from South-South-Eaſt, Weſtward into the *Argun*. On the 25th we as eaſily paſſed the River *Zadun*, which riſeth in the South-Eaſt, and falls North-Weſt into the *Kailar*.

Before this Book of our Author's was publiſhed, we had no diſtinct or clear Account at all of theſe Countries, the very Names of which were ſcarce mention'd in our Hiſtories, and the Countries themſelves appeared only as a vaſt Deſert in our Maps. Yet here we find, that theſe Parts are very far from being either uninhabitable or uninhabited, and that though their Cities are not very thick, yet ſome of them are pretty conſiderable Places, as for Inſtance, *Nerzinſkoy*, of which we have lately ſeen his Deſcription, and which, though the very Name of it may be new and ſtrange to us, is ſo well known notwithſtanding in thoſe Parts of the World, that there are few Places more famous. In this City was held a Congreſs for determining the Diſputes between the *Chineſe* and *Ruſſian* Empires, the laſt of which was in 1689, when Father *Gerbillon* ſigned a Treaty of Peace there, by which the Limits of both Empires were plainly ſettled, and the River *Amur* made the common Boundary on that Side.

As this River falls into the Eaſtern Ocean or Sea of *Japan*, the *Ruſſians* were always very deſirous of being entirely Maſters of it, and for that Reaſon they attempted, notwithſtanding the Treaty, to ſettle on the other Side of the River, ſuppoſing that the *Chineſe* would be ſometime before they had perfect Intelligence of this Infraction of the Treaty, and that they would not incline to commence a War immediately, but rather ſet on Foot a new Negociation, for amicably terminating their Differences. In this it ſeems the *Ruſſian* Miniſters were, however, ſomewhat miſtaken, for the *Chineſe* quickly made Complaints of the Progreſs of the *Ruſſian* Troops; and finding theſe Complaints made no Impreſſion, they ordered their Subjects the *Mongals* to take Poſſeſſion of the Country lying on the South of the River *Amur*; and as this intirely overturned the Schemes of the Court of *Peterſbourg*, they found the Taſk of Negociating turned upon themſelves, which was one of the principal Motives to their ſending our Author on this Embaſſy.

The Reader, perhaps, may not be diſpleaſed at meeting with theſe Remarks at the Cloſe of the Section, which we choſe to place here, rather than interrupt the Thread of our Author's Narration, who, in this Part of his Travels which we have already given, has deſcribed the *Ruſſian* Dominions lying in *Aſia*, with much more Accuracy than any other Writer whatever: The making ourſelves acquainted, at leaſt in ſome Meaſure, with theſe hitherto ſo little regarded Countries, will be very ſoon found to be both of great Uſe and conſiderable Importance, ſince it is on this Side that the *Ruſſians* are proſecuting thoſe Diſcoveries, upon which the Eyes of all *Europe* are turned at preſent. In theſe Countries likewiſe they have, within theſe few Years, diſcovered very rich Silver Mines, of which we have a Hint in our Author; and if theſe can be wrought, it will quickly change the Face of Things on this Side, and, in the Space of forty or fifty Years, our Poſterity will find ſome of theſe Countries repreſented in a Manner very different from that in which they have been heretofore ſet forth. But let us now return to our Author's Travels, and attend him in his Progreſs through the *Chineſe* Dominions.

SECTION II.

Travels through the Countries of the *Mongal Tartars*, lying between the *Ruſſian* and *Chineſe* Empires, the Paſſage thro' the famous Wall, and from thence thro' ſeveral conſiderable Places to the City of *Peking*, the Capital of all *China*; with Obſervations Hiſtorical, Phyſical, Topographical, Critical, and Political, on the ſeveral Nations converſed with by our Author, and the Countries by them inhabited; with ſome Conjectures alſo as to their former Inhabitants.

Taken from the Original Journals of his Excellency Everard Yſbrants Ides.

1. *The Author's Reception at the firſt* Chineſe *Guard, an Account of the* Targaſinian Tartars, *their Cuſtoms and Manner of Living, with a brief View of the beautiful and pleaſant Country they inhabit.* 2. *He is met by a* Chineſe Mandaryn, *at the Village of* Xixigar; *the great Civility and Politeneſs of his Reception, and of the mutual Courteſies that paſſed between the two Miniſters.* 3. *A Deſcription of the Country of the* Mongals, *and of the Inhabitants, their Hoſpitality, reſpectful Behaviour, and the Manner in which they live under the* Chineſe *Emperors.* 4. *The Author, in Company with the* Chineſe Mandaryn, *paſſes through a Country in which there are ſeveral decayed and abandoned Cities, of which he gives a very curious and copious Account.* 5. *They arrive at a* Chineſe *Village inhabited entirely by* Lama's *or* Tartarian *Prieſts; a Deſcription of it, and of the Country round it.* 6. *The Manner in which the Emperor of* China *hunts annually in this Neighbourhood for ſome Weeks, with an Account of the Game, and other Particulars.* 7. *The Author's Arrival at the famous* Chineſe *Wall; a very curious and circumſtantial Deſcription of it, and of the Materials of which it is compoſed.* 8. *The Author's Arrival at* Galkan, *his magnificent Entertainment there by a* Chineſe Mandaryn, *the Cuſtoms of the* Chineſe *People of Quality on ſuch Occaſions, and an Account of a Play he ſaw acted.* 9. *The City of* Xantunnung *deſcribed, the Idol Temple of* Jugangu, *and a City which is inhabited entirely by the Emperor's Concubines.* 10. *He proceeds to the Cities of* Kixu *and* Tunxo; *a Deſcription of the latter, and of the famous Market for Porcelain or* China *Ware that is held there.* 11. *A Digreſſion in reference to the Excellency, Origin, and Hiſtory of that Manufacture; interſperſed with ſeveral new and curious Obſervations, by way of Supplement to the Author.*

1. THE Plainneſs and Simplicity of our Author's Relation gives us the greateſt Reaſon to believe, that he pays a ſtrict Regard to Truth; for it is worth obſerving, that he never magnifies his own Courage or Conduct, or talks loudly of the Dangers he has run through; but very modeſtly ſets down what occurred to him in his Journey, and very carefully diſtinguiſhes between what fell immediately under his own Inſpection, and what he received from the Report of others. What is contained in this Section, relating to that vaſt Tract of Country bordering upon *China*, appears to me extremely curious, becauſe out of this Country originally proceeded that famous Race of *Mongal Tartars*, which aſſumed the Empire of *Aſia*, and, after conquering *India*, *Perſia*, *Aſſyria*, and a conſiderable Part of *Europe*, threaten'd an Irruption into *Germany*; and had very probably conquered all *Muſcovy* and *Poland*, if they had not been diverted partly by their Civil Wars, and partly by the Invaſion of *China*. One cannot help therefore being pleaſed with our Author's Deſcription of the original Seat of theſe mighty Conquerors, at the ſame Time that it very much confirms what we meet with in the Writings of *Marco Polo* and other ancient Travellers, whoſe Relations we have inſerted in our former Volume. We may from hence be taught not to be too raſh in cenſuring what we cannot immediately reconcile either to our Reaſon or our Experience: One of the beſt Leſſons that the former teaches us is, its own Weakneſs; and there is nothing that we learn with ſo much Certainty from the latter, as that without due Care we may be eaſily deceived. All that has a plauſible Appearance is not therefore to be accounted Reaſon; nor is every Thing that we hear or read, to be looked upon as Experience. If there is nothing abſurd or impoſſible in what a Man of a fair Character relates as an Eye-Witneſs, his Teſtimony ought not to be ſlighted; and when we ſit down to learn what paſſes, or what has paſſed in Countries with which we have been hitherto unacquainted, it is irrational to expect, that all we meet with ſhould be ſmooth, clear, and intelligible. When we are Children, we read with Aſtoniſhment of the great Actions of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, and theſe are impreſſed upon our Minds ſo, that as we grow up, they paſs for inconteſtable Proofs; yet read theſe Hiſtories to illiterate People, and they will make more Difficulty of believing them, than we do at receiving what is delivered concerning the Natives of theſe Eaſtern Countries, where Empires have riſen without our Notice; and, after flouriſhing for many Ages, have ſunk again before they came to our Cognizance. But let us dwell no longer on Reflections, it will be better to attend our Author on his Journey, who, in ſpeaking of the Proſecution of it towards *China*, proceeds thus.

On the 1ſt of *Sept.* I came to the *Jaliſchian Mountains*, lodged there, and found my Poſt-Meſſenger, who was a *Ruſſian* Gentleman that I had diſpatched to *Xixigar*, was returned and arrived here before me, and had already waited ſome Days for me. He was accompanied with a *Chineſe* Captain and ten Men, which were ſent to meet me. When I ordered him to be brought to me, he complimented me from his Lords, who had expreſsly ſent him to meet me; and in their Name preſented me with ſome neceſſary Refreſhments, as fifteen Sheep, ſome Tea, Loaf-Sugar, and twenty Horſes for my Uſe, which I thankfully accepted, and in Return made the Captain ſeveral Preſents.

Theſe Hills are called the *Jaliſchian Mountains*, from the River *Jalo*'s riſing amongſt them; its Source being united to ſeveral Rivulets which fall from the Hills; and the Head of this River being not above two Fathom broad. As we climbed up theſe high Mountains, on the North Side we found them not one third Part ſo ſteep as at our Deſcent on the South. Beſides which, we obſerved a very remarkable Alteration of the whole Country on the South-ſide of the Hills.

From the River *Kailar* to theſe Mountains, we travelled thro' ſteep Rocks and high Hills, with which the Valleys, which we paſſed thro', were encompaſſed on both Sides. There are alſo a few ſmall Thickets ſcattered up and down, beſides which the whole Way is void of all Trees or Wood; which ſometimes gave us the Trouble of carrying the Wood which we wanted for our Kitchen, from one Lodging-place to another.

Theſe Valleys are wholly covered with fine Graſs, as the Mountains are ſtocked with all Sorts of Herbs and Flowers; beſides which, this Country plentifully abounds with large Harts, Roebucks and wild Sheep, which frequently appear in great Herds of many Hundreds together. Here are alſo large Flocks of wild Geeſe, Ducks, wild Turkies, and Partridges; but none of the Rivers, which I paſſed from the *Argun* to this Place, abound with Fiſh, excepting only Roach and Jacks. The Air is temperate, or rather cool. But on the 2d of *September*, quitting the Hills and travelling along the Side of the River *Jalo*, we were entertained with the Sight of very fine Oak and Lime-trees, as well as a great many Hazel Buſhes, which did not grow above an Ell above Ground, and yet bore vaſt Quantities of Nuts. We proceeded two Days in ſuch an agreeable Road, and on the 4th Inſtant, to our mighty Satisfaction, reached the firſt *Chineſe* Guard, which was placed upon a high Mountain, that afforded them a very large View, and commanded the whole adjacent Plain. As ſoon as this Watch eſpy any Perſons, they ſummon them, and conduct them to their main Guard, under their Commanders on the *Mergeen*, as they alſo did by us.

Without any farther Interruption, we proceeded on our Journey, and on the 5th Inſtant got Sight of the firſt *Targazinian* Huts; and the next Day we paſſed by the laſt of them. The *Targazinians* are a ſeparate independent Hord or Clan, which are obliged to pay Tribute to the Emperor of *China*: They are governed by their own Chief, but obey thoſe who are moſt potent in *Tartary*. They are an Infidel Heathen Nation, and are ſaid to worſhip the Devil: They are of a middle Stature, and broad-faced like the *Mongalians*. Their Summer-dreſs is compoſed of Blue *China* Callicoe and Tanned Leather; but it being cold betwixt the Mountains here in the Winter, they wear Coats made of Sheep Skins. Their Language is very little different from the *Tunguzians*; and they live in Huts made of thin *Bamboes* or Reeds. They depend chiefly on the Tillage of Land for the Production of Barley, Oats, and Millet; the Remainder of what they do not conſume themſelves, they tranſport and ſell amongſt the *Xixigarian* Villages. Their Cattle are chiefly Horſes, Camels, Bulls, Cows and Sheep; the laſt of which are very fine and large, the Tail being a large Span thick, and two Spans long, all of which is fat, and they are ſo very heavy, that they cannot go faſt, much leſs run. Theſe People ride very commonly upon Oxen; and are very expert Archers; they make great Quantities of Bows, which are eſteemed the very beſt in all *Tartary*, and are therefore ſold very dear. We paſſed by theſe People on our Journey on the charming Banks of the River *Jalo* with the utmoſt Pleaſure; but now turned our Eyes from thence downwards towards the South. I cannot help owning, that the Side of this River is perfectly a Paradiſe, as conſiſting of beautiful Paſture-Grounds, Silver Streams, and the pleaſanteſt Woods in the World; and the moſt delicious Entertainment of the Eye is not a little improved by the Proſpect of the riſing Ground, and beautiful towering Hills, which offer themſelves to our View, at about a Mile and half Diſtance on each Side, and are a perfect Warren or Park of Wild Game; Great Numbers of Wild Swine, Harts, and vaſt Herds of Tygers and Panthers harbouring under theſe ſhady Mountains. Here are Multitudes of Wild Ducks; a ſmall Sort of Geeſe called *Turpani*, adorned with all Sorts of variegated Feathers, like thoſe in *India*; and a particular Sort of extraordinary beautiful Partridges, the Feathers of which are of ſeveral Colours, their Tails about an Ell long, which prove very delicate, being in Taſte, as well as Size and Shape, like Pheaſants: They harbour in plain Fields, in the long Graſs, and in low Nut-buſhes; and being ſprung, in their Flight clap their Wings with a Noiſe as loud as a Stork.

On the above-mention'd Day being obliged to leave this charming River, I turned off on the Left, from it to the South-Eaſt, and ſpent the 8th, 9th and 10th Days in Travelling betwixt Mountains and Rocks on each Side, where we were afflicted with the Want of Wood and Water, being obliged to content ourſelves with what the Pits yielded of the latter, which was of a deep brown Colour and almoſt ſtunk. But on the 11th we got out of the Hills, and came to a Plain, but ſo barren a Field, that nothing at all grew upon it; the beſt was that we had but one Day's Journey to *Xixigar*, to paſs in this deſert Field, ſo that we held our Night Encampment this Evening not above half a Mile from that Place.

2. Having under the Protection of Heaven reached the Borders of *China*, I immediately diſpatched away a Meſſenger Poſt to the *Adaganda* or *Mandaryn*, who had been ſent from *Pegu* to receive me, and on the 12th, early in the Morning, I ſet forwards, having ranged my Retinue in good Order; and was quickly informed by the Return of my Meſſenger, that the *Mandaryn* accompanied with eighty Men, would ride from the Town of *Xixigar* to meet me, and was already advanc'd on his Way.

We approached each other but ſlowly, and met about a Quarter of a Mile ſhort of the Town, where I was very civilly welcomed by the *Mandaryn*; and after mutual Compliments were paſſed, we rode forwards together in Order, (making a very good Appearance) till we reached the Town, where a very good Houſe was provided for me, and thoſe of my Retinue were well lodged ſuitable to their Characters, as well as the *Coſſacks* which I had with me, in the beſt Houſes in the Town.

This Province is ſituated in a very variable, and withal unwholeſome Climate. About Noon generally riſes a high Wind, that continues about two Hours; but otherwiſe the Sky is very ſeldom overcaſt, ſo that the Sun continues to ſhine very hot almoſt always, by Means of which, and the conſtant Wind the Earth is ſo dried, and driven upwards, that the ſubtile white Duſt is ſcarce ſupportable. I was very particular in my Obſervation of the Alteration of the Air, when I came from betwixt the Hills. About five Miles from *Xixigar*, I perceived the Air to be cloudy as far as the Mountains extended; but no farther; and particularly, where the Hills ended, the Air was clearly and viſibly ſeparated by a windy Arch, from the Weſt to the Eaſt, towards the *Albanian* Mountains; a very extraordinary Phænomenon, which I aſſert as an Eye-witneſs.

As for what happened to myſelf, the *Mandaryn*, who was an agreeable well bred Man, very civilly invited me to take a Meal with him on the 14th Inſtant, at which I was received with particular Expreſſions of Kindneſs, and ſplendidly treated: The Entertainment was compoſed of good Soops, ſavoury Herbs, roaſt and baked Meats, all which were followed with a Banquet of Sweet-Meats and *Chineſe* Fruit. His Men and Soldiers were all diſpoſed in the beſt Order, each as perfectly and reſpectfully knowing and taking his Station as is poſſible in *Europe*. What alone was very uneaſy to me, was, that I was obliged to ſit with him on the Tapiſtry, with my Leg acroſs and under me, which is to Strangers a very troubleſome Cuſtom.

On the 15th, I treated the *Mandaryn* in Return, having cauſed him to be invited the Day before. I entertained him in the *European* Manner, and put a Glaſs of good Sack briſkly about, cauſing the Trumpets and other Muſick to play; all which wonderfully pleaſed this Gentleman, ſo that he and his Company returned Home pretty mellow, and mightily ſatisfied with *European* Civility.

On the 25th, the ſame *Mandaryn* again entertained us,

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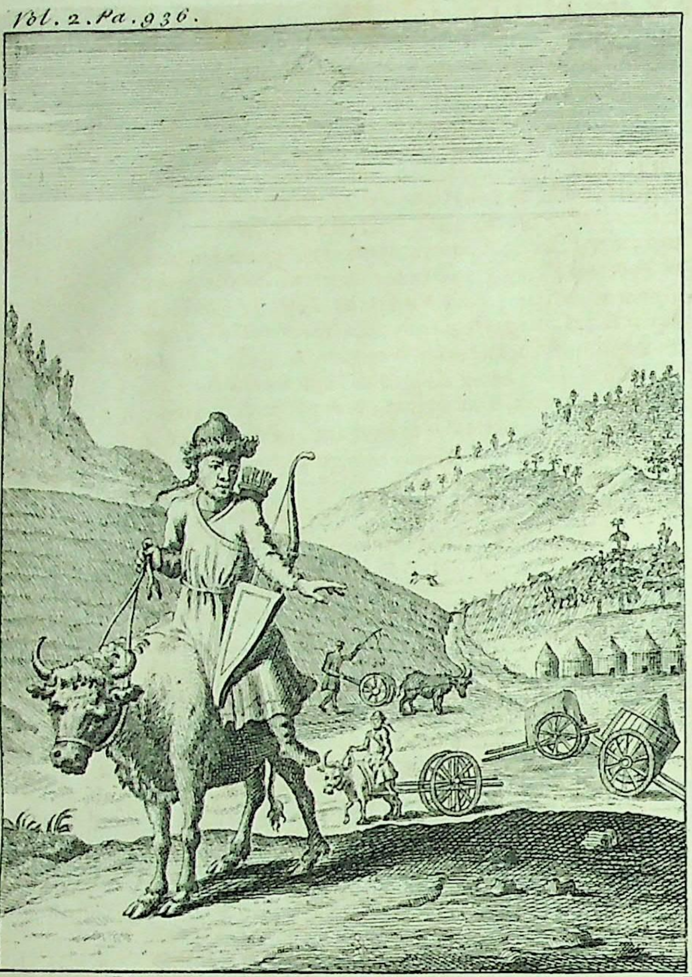
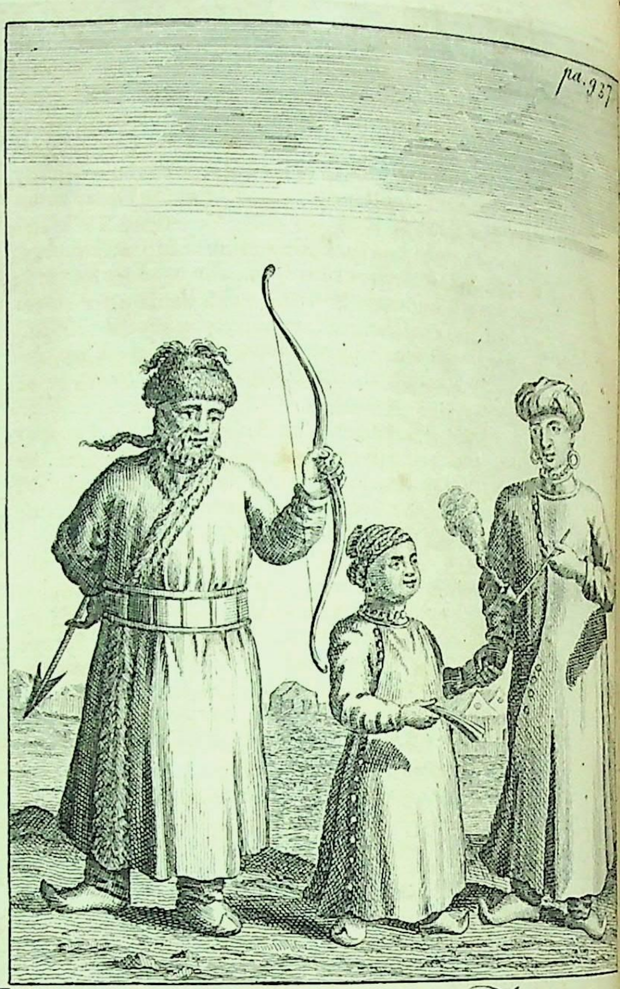
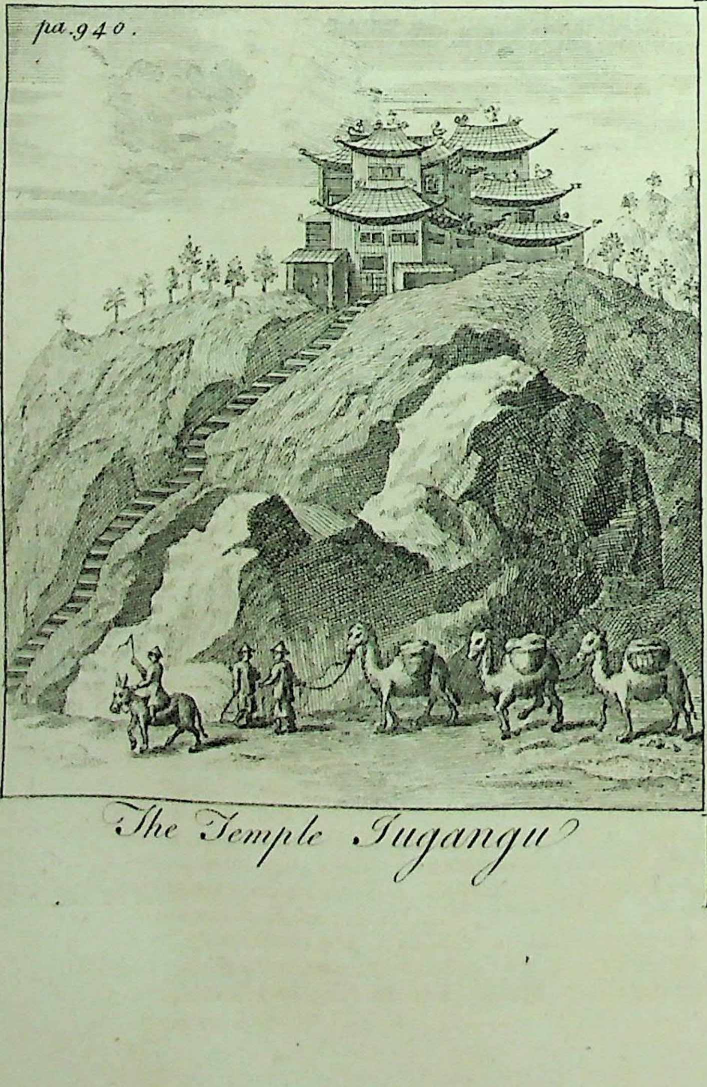


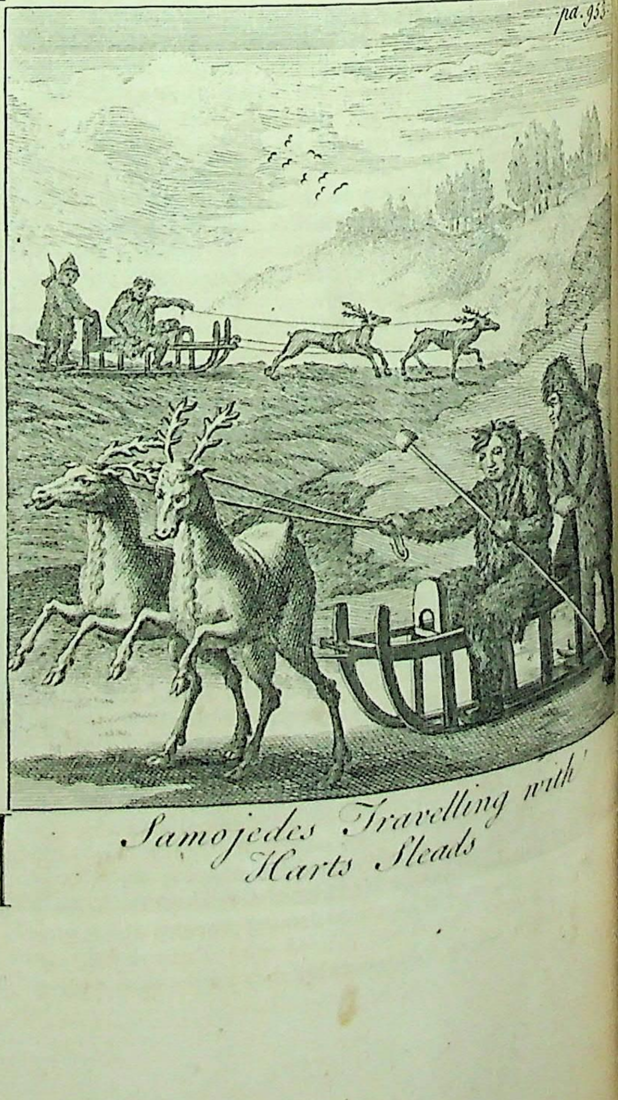
Targazinian Tartar
on Ox-Back



Xixigarſchian Tartar
with his Wife and Daughter



The Temple Jugangu



Samojedes Travelling with
Harts Sleads

us, and the following Day dined with me. During which Interval of Time, I cauſed all neceſſary Preparations to be made for me and my Retinue, in order to our Proceeding on our Journey to *Peking*. I informed the *Mandaryn* that I was ready, who immediately anſwered very civilly, that, purſuant to the Order of his *Amologda Chan* or King, as many Coachmen or Waggoners as were neceſſary were prepared to wait on me, if I pleaſed to accept of his Company, and ſet forwards on the 28th Inſtant. Before I invite the Reader to accompany me in this Journey, I think myſelf obliged in few Words to deſcribe what appeared to me remarkable amongſt the Inhabitants of this Province of *Xixigar*.

3. About a Quarter of a Mile from this Frontier Town, runs the River *Naun*, on which is ſituate the City of *Naunkoton*, lately built, and encompaſſed with earthen Walls, well lined, and covered on the Outſide with maſſy Timber. The Inhabitants of this City, and the ſix large Southern Villages ſubordinate to it, are call'd *Daori* or *Old Dauri*; and at preſent this Country is called *Dori*, by the *Tartars* which inhabit all along the River *Nauna* and *Jallo* to *Albazin*. Theſe People have very rich manured Lands, and all Sorts of Garden-Fruits, and ſeveral Tobacco Plantations; but their Religion is impious and Diabolical; for according to their own Report they are all *Schammans* or Conjurers, which invoke the Devil. Several Neighbours of both Sexes frequently aſſemble together about Midnight; one of them lies with his Body extended on the Earth, and the By-ſtanders with exalted Voices make a diſmal Howl: Others beat on a Sort of Drums; which ceaſing for a ſmall Interval, the Howl is renewed, and ſometimes laſts for two Hours, until he that lies on the Earth, ſeems returned to his Senſes, and after a tedious Howling, riſes up and relates where he hath been, and what he hath ſeen and heard; after which, whatever any of the Company are deſirous to be informed of concerning future Events, or other Particulars, is propoſed to him; and while I ſtaid there, no Night paſſed without this hideous Howling of theſe Diabolical Miniſters.

They keep their Dead three Days in their Houſes, then bury the Corps in a high-rais'd Grave in the Gardens or Fields; after which it is daily viſited by the Relations of the Deceaſed, a Hole being left open at the Head, to which Place they bring the Dead all Sorts of Victuals and Drink, conveying theſe Edibles by a Spoon made for that Purpoſe to the very Mouth of the deceaſed; but leave the Drink ſtanding in ſmall Tin Cups round the Grave: This Practice laſts for ſeveral Weeks; which ended, they bury the ſtinking Carcaſs a good Way deeper in the Earth.

They live in Houſes of Clay or Earth, covered with Reeds or ſmall Bamboes, ſomewhat like the Peaſants thatched Houſes in *Europe*. The Walls on the Inſide are partly white, being plaiſtered with Lime. The Middle of the Houſe is furniſhed with an erected Pillar, about which are wound the Entrails of Beaſts, by which hang a little Bow and Arrows, Pikes and other Arms; to all this they ſometimes, by bowing and Proſtrations, pay an idolatrous Sort of Worſhip. Their Houſes are not partitioned into Chambers, nor have they any Garrets; but almoſt one half of the Houſe cloſe to the Walls is taken up all round with a large Bench of an Ell high, and about two Ells broad, covered with red Matts; under theſe Benches paſs a Chimney, through which the Fire is kindled by the Door of the Houſe, and the Smoke goes out at the other Side of it. And this Chimney in Winter ſerves inſtead of a Stove, though the Habitation is not much warmed by it; but the Inhabitants which ſit on this Bench in the Day Time, and lie on it at Night, are indeed ſomewhat the better for it. There are conſtantly in theſe Dwellings two fixed Iron Kettles, in one of which is warm Water to make Tea, and the other is reſerved for Boiling of Victuals. The Houſe is all round provided with ſquare Windows, which are latticed with Paper inſtead of Glaſs, and in warm Weather they are ſet open with a Stick to make Way for the cool Breezes to paſs through the Apartment.

Theſe People are generally well-ſhap'd, but more eſpecially the Women. The Men, Women and young Girls, wear the ſame Habit as the *Manſiourian Tartars* in *China*. The Secretaries of the *Mandaryns*, which are in the Service of the *Chan*, and are ſent hither or to any other Place in *Tartary*, whenever they are inclined to Venereal Pleaſures, ſeize for their own Uſe as many Wives as well as young Virgins as they like, at Pleaſure; and I have frequently ſeen them carry off the moſt beautiful Creatures on Waggons, as to the Slaughter. Some Men being obliged to ſend their Wives after theſe Courtiers, boaſt of it as a very particular Favour, that they have the Honour to have ſuch a Lord for their Brother in Law; but others, though perhaps not very well ſatisfied with this Cuſtom, for Fear of falling into Diſgrace and being puniſhed, are obliged to bear it patiently, though a barbarous Practice, eſpecially amongſt a polite People.

Leaving this frontier Nation on the 28th Inſtant, and ſetting forward with the *Mandaryn* from *Xixigar*, by the Evening we reached a Village where we paſſed that Night. On the 29th we paſſed through ſeveral Villages, and arrived on the other Side of the *Jalo*, where it falls into the *Naunda*. We forded the *Jalo* without any Difficulty, it being but ſhallow, but the *Naunda* is very broad, ſtrengthened with a high Sand and Earth Bank on each Side. The Stream is not very rapid, by reaſon it is deep; its Water looks brown; it abounds with Sturgeon, Jacks, and ſeveral Sorts of ſmall Fiſh; and ſeveral Mother of Pearl Shells are found on its Shoars.

On the 30th we turned off from the River *Naunda*, and left it on the Left; its Courſe is farther extended downwards, Eaſt-South-Eaſt, between large Mountains; but we travelled over Mountains of Sand and Earth till the Evening, when we firſt reached the *Mongalian* Rivers. Theſe *Mongalians* are ſubject to the Emperor of *China*. Here we were obliged to content ourſelves with the Water we took out of Wells or Pits, which did not indeed look very well; and about twenty Huts were erected in the open Field, and covered with Felts, for me and my Retinue; in each of which Cottages an Iron Kettle was ſet on the Fire, and a *Mongalian* appointed for our Service.

Near this Place we found three *Ooſeres* or ſmall Lakes of ſtanding Water, which were utterly uſeleſs, by reaſon the Water was brackiſh in Taſte, and in Colour as white as Milk. Here the Land began to appear high and mountainous towards the Weſt, whilſt Eaſt and Southward the Low-downs preſented themſelves to our View; and we were forced to make ſhift with Well or Pit-water, which was very bad, there being no Rivers near.

4. After four Days travelling without the Sight of ſo much as one Houſe, we came to an old ruined City, encompaſſed with a Quadrangular Mud-Wall, about a *German* Mile in its Circumference. The Land appear'd hitherto both Eaſt and Weſt as before; and after ſix Days more travelling over a Hilly Country utterly deſtitute of Houſes, we reached another old deſolate City, called *Taimingzingh*, fortified with a ſquare Wall, and Bulwarks: There are in it two Towers or Turrets, one very high and the other leſs: The largeſt was an *Octagon*, the Front of which was built with Brick, and about ten Fathom from the Ground, there was, on each of the eight Sides, Stones placed, on which were carved ſeveral Hiſtories. Upon ſome of them are expreſſed ſome great Perſonages or Kings, as big as the Life, ſitting with their Feet under them, and Attendants on each Side of them: Others ſhew us ſeveral Figures which ſeemed to repreſent Queens folding their Hands together, with their Servants on each Side; the Queens having Crowns on their Heads, and the other being adorned with Rays or Luſtres, as Saints are commonly painted, and alſo folding their Hands; all which ſeems to hint that this Tower muſt be built by Chriſtians.

Other Parts of it repreſented Warriors with Pikes, after the *Chineſe* Manner, and the King bare-headed, in the middle with a Scepter in his Hand, and all the By-ſtanders appearing with hideous Diabolical Viſages, and the Proportion of all theſe Images ſo exactly obſerved, that they looked like the Works of *European* Maſters.

This Turret was perfectly cloſe on all Sides, with no Kind of Aſcent without, or Entrance into it. Several large Heaps of Bricks lay in the City, beſides a great many Stone Statues as big as the Life, in the Figures of Men and Idols, Grave-Stones, great Stone Lions, and Tortoiſes of an uncommon Largeneſs; by all which this ſeemed to have been a Place where ſome *Chan* or King had formerly reſided.

One Part of the City was divided from the other by an earthen Wall; the Bulwarks were extraordinary large and high, and this great City had but four Ports or Entrances, into which ran Multitudes of Hares, as far as the Graſs grew, there being ſcarce any Men in the Town, or rather Village erected within the Town of late by the *Tartars*.

The *Chineſe* relate, that many hundred Years paſt, *Utaichan*, or *Un-Chan*, a *Tartarian* King, governed here, but was conquered and driven out of his Country by a *Chineſe* King. The City, as near as I could gueſs, was above a *German* Mile in Circuit.

In ſeveral Places amongſt the Mountains we obſerved Brick Turrets ſtanding, which ſeemed to be ancient Burying-places of the *Tartars*. In theſe Hills I obſerved an infinite Variety of known and unknown Plants, extending for the Space of ſeveral Miles as thick with Thyme and Marjoram as Graſs.

After having travelled four Days farther, we came to *Burgan Koton*, or *Idol* City, as it is called, which is likewiſe utterly laid waſte: It takes its Name from being a Place where formerly only the principal Heathen Prieſts lived. It had a Mud-Wall, moſt of which is at preſent fallen down. In the Middle of the City is a high octangular Stone Turret, built in the *Chineſe* Manner, and hung with ſeveral hundreds of ſmall Iron Bells, which whenever the Wind riſes a little, chime with a Silver Sound, which is very agreeable. There was an Entrance into this Steeple, by which I ſent ſome of our People up, to ſee what was to be found in it: They informed me, that in ſeveral dark Holes, they ſaw many thouſands of *Chineſe* or Heathen Idols of ſeveral Shapes and that they were very glad they were got back again. On one Side of this Turret were ſeveral Holes, out of which the Stones had fallen by the Decay of Time; and theſe Holes were filled with Inſcriptions by the *Mangols*, in the *Eaſt Tartarian* Language, which were placed there by the Travellers that paſſed by that Way, particularly by their *Lama*'s or Prieſts; for others who cannot write ſatisfy themſelves with ſetting up Figures moulded in Clay.

5. Half a Mile from hence is a *Chineſe* Village, moſtly inhabited by *Lama*'s, (for where the Corps is, thither the Eagles flock) they entertaining all *Tartars* travelling this Way, and inſtructing them in the dark Errors of their ancient Idols. We paſſed on over ſandy and downy Land, on which was a low Hill, with ſome old Birch-Trees ſtanding on it: This Hillock is according to their Manner eſteemed ſacred by the *Mongalians* and the Neighbouring *Tartars*. And thoſe who travel by it, as a religious Offering in Honour of this Place, in order to obtain a good Journey, hang ſomething which they have about their Body here, either Caps, Cloaths, Purſes, Boots, Breeches, Shirts, Switches, *&c.* upon the Trees, which from the Top to the Bottom are ſo full charged with this Trumpery, that they ſeem to be Shops; and it is thought very ſcandalous to remove any of them, for they muſt hang and rot upon the Principle of their Religion.

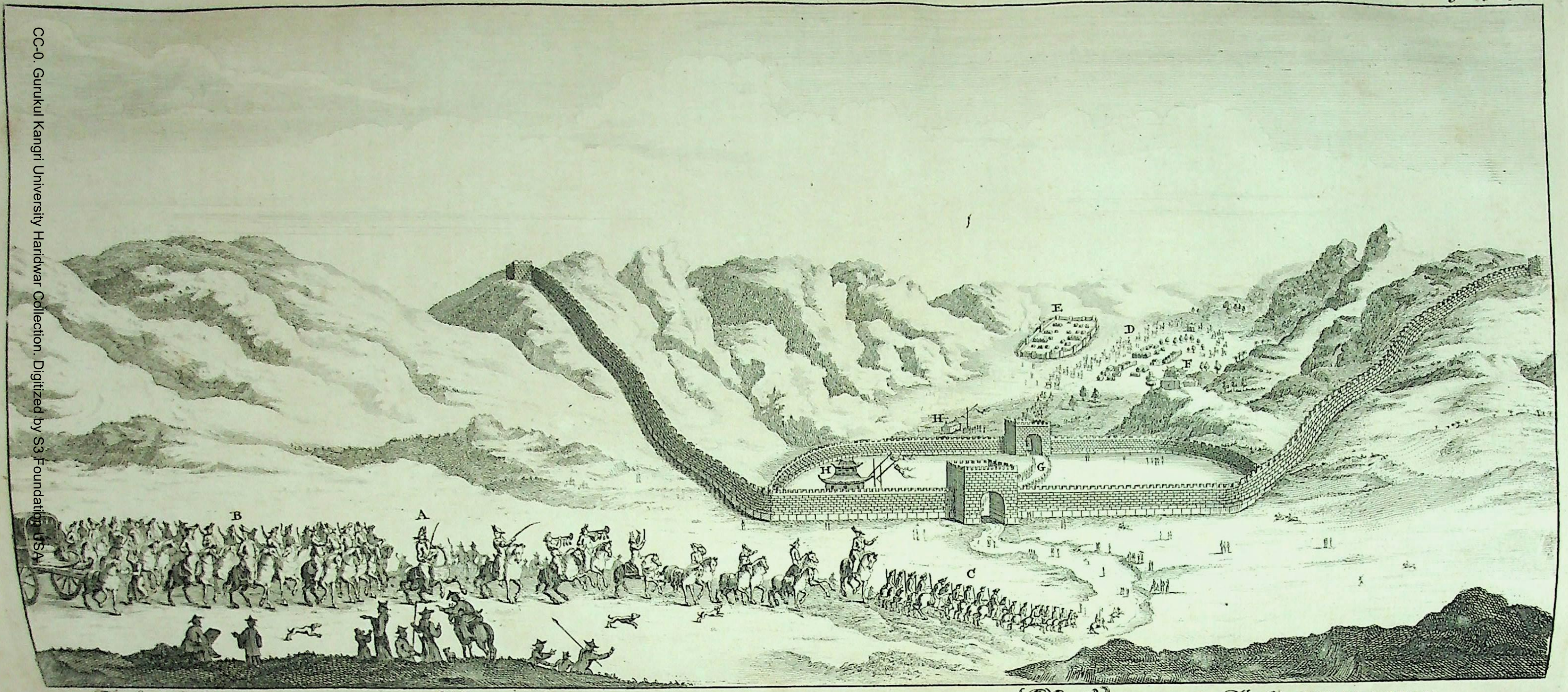
At laſt we came to the River, which is called *Schara Murin* or *Yellow Horſe*; which proceeds from the Weſt, and falls Eaſtward into the River *Karga:* It is about thirty Fathom broad, and fordable with Camels and Horſes. Advancing farther we came to the River *Logaa*, which riſes in the South, and falls into the mentioned *Schara Murin*. The Land here on each Side is rocky, but in the Valleys are ſome fine Villages, and well cultivated Grounds. Proſecuting our Journey we came to a large Village, in which was an old fallen *Chineſe* Idol-Temple, without any *Idols* in it; as alſo another in which a great Lord lived, who was married to one of the reigning Emperor of *China*'s Daughters. After this we reached a ſmall City called *Kara-Katon* or *Black City:* Which is Quadrangular, and encompaſſed with Oaken Palliſadoes driven into the Ground; which ſerve rather to defend it from Tygers and Leopards than the Enemy: The Land all about being covered with high Rocks, on which grow Thickets of Oaks, and great Quantities of Graſs, where Multitudes of thoſe Beaſts harbour, as well as wild Swine and Harts; for which Reaſon, from hence to the great Wall, is thought ſo dangerous, that no Perſons venture to travel it by Night: And all the Horſes, Aſſes, Camels, and Cows have Iron Bells faſtened about their Necks, which ſomewhat frightens the Tygers. The Inhabitants told us alſo, that frequently, Men that have only gone amongſt the Hills in Day time, have been torn to Pieces: Wherefore the *Mandaryn* cautioned me to give Order that none of my Attendants ſhould venture to turn out of the Road, or go amongſt the Hills, that they might not be devoured by theſe wild Beaſts, who by Day harbour on the Mountain Tops, and by Night go in ſearch of their Prey, and are then exceſſively bold and ravenous.

6. The Emperor of *China* annually in *Auguſt* comes a Tyger-hunting to this Place, accompanied with two or three thouſand of the beſt Archers in *Tartary*, and a Party of Lancers. When the Tygers are to be put up, the Emperor himſelf goes to the Foot of the Hill along with the Men that attend him armed with Lances, Bows, and Arrows, who inveſt the Hill, and beſet it very well up to the Top; and when they find the Tygers there, they ſeeing themſelves beſet, endeavour by Leaping to break through the Croud, but are hunted with Drums and Bells till they come to the Place where the Emperor himſelf is, who ſhoots down the Game with Bow and Arrow, without any Hazard of his Perſon; for if there happen but the leaſt Danger, he is encompaſſed with ſo many Men, that they eaſily defend him from the wild Beaſt with their Lances. The Emperor paſſes ſome Weeks in this Sport; by Intervals putting up alſo ſome edible wild Game, as Swine, Harts, Roebucks, Hares, beſides Wolves and Foxes. And this I have heard not only from the Inhabitants, but from the Jeſuits, two or three of which were obliged to go this Progreſs with him.

We obſerved hereabouts, in the Fields and Trees, a Sort of Birds, in Size and Shape very like a Heron, the Feathers of which are very beautiful, their Neck and Breaſt being white, their Wings and Tail of a bright Scarlet, their Fleſh firm and very good Meat; we ſaw alſo another Bird which was as big as a Parrot, his Bill crooked, his Tail a full Ell long, and chequered with all Sorts of fine Colours, but he is ſo very wild that he will not ſuffer any to come near enough to take him: Here are likewiſe Partridges with long Tails and beautiful variegated Feathers.

Not far from hence we came to a ſteep Rock, the Aſcent of which was very crooked and winding, and was far above two hundred Fathom hewn through by Men, and a Way cut which was ſeven Fathom broad, probably for the Convenience of Travellers, the other Side of this Rock, by Reaſon of the deep Moraſs, being impaſſable. We paſſed hereabouts continually by ſteep Rocks, furniſhed with Oaks and Limes, and in the Vales Cheſnut and large Nut-trees as well as Vines grew Wild. From hence we went forwards and came to a very high Rock, ſharp-pointed at the Top, and, by reaſon of its Steepneſs, impoſſible to be climbed: On one Side of which, about half Way up, is an Idol Temple hewn out of the Rock: It hath four Windows, and inſtead of Idols, we ſaw four Stone Statues in a ſitting Poſture. It is not a little to be wondered how it was poſſible for Men to come there, and perform ſuch a great Piece of Work; the Rock on that Side being ſo extraordinary ſteep, that a Mouſe cannot get up it. This Temple, according to the Report of the Inhabitants, hath been built ſeveral hundred Years.

7. On



A. The Embaſsador.
B. His Retinue.
C. Convoy of Daorſchian Cozacks.
D. The Caravan of Laden Horſes & Camels.

THE EMBASSADORS ENTRY THROUGH
THE FAMOUS CHINESE WALL
Near 1200 Miles in Length.

E. The City XOGON KOTON.
F. An Idol Temple.
G. The Chineſe Guard & Watch Towers.
H. Idol Temples on the Walls.

7. On the 27th of *October* we reached ſome Watch-Towers on the Pinacles of the Rocks, from whence we got Sight of the *Zagan Crim*, that is, the great Wall, which we came to on the ſame Day. This really ſeems to be one of the Wonders of the World. About five hundred Fathom from this famous Wall is a Valley, each Side of which was provided with a Battery of hewn Stone, from one of which to the other a Wall about three Fathom high is erected, with an open Entrance. Paſſing through this Fore-wall, we came to the Entry of the great Wall, through a Watch-Tower, about eight Fathom high, arched over with hewn Stone, and provided with maſſy Doors ſtrengthened with Iron: The Wall runs from Eaſt to Weſt, acroſs the Valley and up extraordinary high Rocks, and about five hundred Fathom diſtant from the other hath on the Rocks on each Side of it a Tower built on it. The Foot of this Wall was of large hewn Quarry-ſtone for about a Foot high, and the remaining upper Part was compoſed of Brick and Lime, but, as far as we can ſee, the Whole was formerly built with the ſame Stone. Within this firſt Port we came into a Plain full one hundred Fathom broad; after which we came to another Guard-Port, which had a Wall on each Side, and like the firſt Wall, was carried quite acroſs the Vale; and this, as well as the firſt Port, was guarded by a Watch of Fifty Men. On the firſt or great Wall ſtands an Idol-Temple, with the Enſigns of the Idol and the Emperor flying on the Top of it. The Wall is full ſix Fathom high, and four thick, ſo that ſix Horſemen may eaſily ride a-breaſt on it, and was in as good Repair as if it had not been erected above twenty or thirty Years ſince; no Part of it being fallen, nor annoyed by the leaſt Weed or Filth, as other old Walls are obſerved to be.

8. After this laſt Watch-Tower, we came into a Vale about three hundred Fathom over, on which grew ſome large Willows, and on the Weſt-ſide, at the Foot of the Rock, was a magnificent Temple; a Muſquet-ſhot from whence we came to the City of *Galchan*, which is encompaſſed with a high quadrangular Wall, but is not very populous. Here I was welcomed by the Diſcharge of three Iron Guns, and continued all Night in the Suburbs. The Streets were ſo beſet with the Concourſe of People, that it was difficult to paſs them, being drawn together by the Sound of our Trumpets and Bagpipes, which ſeemed very ſtrange to them, they never having heard any ſuch Muſick before. In the Evening the *Mandaryn* ſent to compliment me, and invited me to ſup with him at the Royal Palace, where the Emperor reſides when he paſſes this Way. Upon my coming thither, beſides the *Mandaryn*, I found there the Governor and the greateſt Officers of the City; and after we had drank ſome Diſhes of Tea, I was entertained with a noble Supper, all the Action of a Play, and a Specimen of Muſick, after their Faſhion, conſiſting of all Sorts of Kettle-Drums and ſtringed Inſtruments, which made a hideous, confuſed Noiſe; ſo that I could have rather wiſhed myſelf at a Diſtance, than near it. They ſate on Stools by Couples, no more than two at each Table. Theſe Tables were finely japanned, and covered with exquiſite Needle-work Silk Carpets. They uſe no Table-cloths, Napkins, Knives, Forks or Plates; but only two ſmall round Sticks of Ivory or Ebony were laid upon the Table, which was its whole Furniture; but indeed they are ſo wonderfully expert in the Uſe of theſe Sticks, that they can with them take up any Thing, though of the Size of a Pin's Head. They hold them in the Right-Hand betwixt the Thumb and the two Fore-Fingers. All their Victuals, whether Soops, Rice, ſtewed or roaſted Meats, are brought to Table in *China* Veſſels, and not in Diſhes: Each Sort of Roaſt is ſerved up alone, cut into ſmall Pieces; but the Banquet of Sweet-meats and Fruit was diſhed up in little *China* Baſins. Their Soops and Pottages are extraordinary grateful to the Taſte, as being enriched with very delicious Herbs and Spices, as Mace, Cinnamon, *&c.* The Herb they boil in their Soops grows on Rocks in the Sea, and, being boiled, appears ſlimy, and when dried is green, as it alſo looks in the Soops. This Plant hath no Leaves, but grows with interwoven Branches, and is of a very agreeable Taſte, and eſteemed very wholeſome; ſome think it to be abortive *Satyrion* or Birds-Neſt. They alſo dreſs ſtripped Shrimps, and Pigeons Eggs with the Whites tinged red and yellow; they have beſides fine Salleting, eſpecially Endive cut in ſmall long Slips, being very agreeable both to Taſte and Smell; this they lay uppermoſt in their former Diſh. Their Soops are not to be mended by our *German* Cooks, or perhaps any other.

Inſtead of Saltſellers, they have ſmall Saucers of Pickle or Brine, into which the Meat is dipped. By reaſon they uſe no Spoons, each Perſons takes the Cup of Soop ſet before him, and ſups it up; but that Part, which is too groſs, he guides to his Mouth with the round Sticks, that nothing may run beſides or foul their Cloaths, uſing no Napkins, though indeed their Handkerchiefs hang by their Sides, with which they only wipe their Mouths.

In the publick Eating-houſes or Ordinaries the Carver ſtands at the Table with the Roaſt-Meat before him, which, in Preſence of the Gueſts, he cuts into ſmall Bits, puts them into little Cups, and ſets them on the Table. This Carver makes Uſe of no Cloth to wipe his Hands, but cuts off what is beſt dreſſed round the Bone as long as he can, and tears off the Remainder with his Hands, which are greaſed up to the Elbows ſo plentifully, that the Sight of them alone is enough to give the Spectators a Meal, more eſpecially ſuch as have ſqueamiſh Stomachs.

Their Drinks are Brandy, which they call *Arakka*, and a Sort of Wine they drink warm, called *Taraſu*, which is a Decoction of green or half-ripe Rice; and after it hath been kept a Year or two, in Colour, Taſte, and Strength, is very like the beſt *Rheniſh* Wine.

Whilſt we were at Table, the Maſter of the Band of Players upon his Knees preſented the *Mandaryn* with a Book of red Paper, containing a Liſt of Plays written in black Letters; which the *Mandaryn* peruſing, told him which Play he choſe; after this, bowing his Head to the Earth, he aroſe and began the Performance immediately.

Firſt entred a very beautiful Lady, magnificently dreſſed in Cloth of Gold, adorned with Jewels, and a Crown on her Head, ſinging her Speech, with a charming Voice, and agreeable Motion of the Body, playing with her Hands, in one of which ſhe had a Fan. The Prologue thus performed, the Play followed, the Story of which turned upon a *Chineſe* Emperor long ſince dead, who had behaved himſelf well towards his Country, and in Honour of whoſe Memory the Play was written. Sometimes he appeared in Royal Robes, with a flat Ivory Sceptre in his Hand, and ſometimes his Officers ſhewed themſelves with Enſigns, Arms, and Drums, *&c.* and by Intervals a Sort of Farce was acted by their Lacqueys, whoſe antick Dreſs, and painted Faces, were as well as any I have ſeen in *Europe*; and, as far as was interpreted to me, their Farce was very diverting, eſpecially Part of it, which repreſented a Perſon who had in his Marriage been cheated by a debauched Wife, and fancying her conſtant to him, had the Mortification to ſee another make Love to her before his Face. They alſo, according to their Manner, danced to the Lute; and after three ſeveral Plays were acted, and it grew towards Midnight, I took my Leave, rid Home, ſet forwards on my Journey the following Day, and over a floating wooden Bridge paſſed the River *Lungo*, which comes from the Weſt, and flows South-Eaſtward into the Sea of *Corea*.

9. Upon my Arrival at the City of *Xantunnung*, near that of *Lania*, we were welcomed by the Diſcharge of ſeveral Guns, and lodged in the Suburbs. The *Mandaryn* ſent to compliment and invite me to Supper, a Compliance to which, in Company with the Governor and principal Officers of the City, I went accordingly, where I was ſplendidly entertained at the Emperor's Country Palace, and again diverted with Farces. On the ſame Day we paſſed the *Xungo*, which alſo riſes

in the Weſt, and flows Eaſtward near the City of *Lania*, and happily reached the City of *Xantunnung* Time enough to lodge there, where, as in the other Cities, I was entertained by the *Mandaryn* at the Imperial Apartment with a Supper and Play till Midnight. Next Day I went on, and paſſed a Moraſs, over which lay a very fine Stone Bridge, with numerous Arches, all of ſquare Stone, and adorned with all Sorts of Imagery, but eſpecially Figures of Lions. We paſſed through ſeveral conſiderable Towns and large Villages, all of which were very populous, and very conveniently provided with Horſes and all Manner of Neceſſaries for Travellers; here we obſerved more eſpecially great Numbers of Inns, Cooks-Shops, and Tea-Houſes. In the Evening we came to the City of *Xungunxa*, where the *Mandaryn*, as before, invited me to Supper; but being indiſpoſed, and very much tired with a tedious Day's Journey, I civilly refuſed him, and ſtaying at Home, refreſhed myſelf with the charming Fruits of that Country, ſuch as Grapes, Limons, Oranges, Apples, Pears, Cheſtnuts, large and ſmall Nuts, &c. all exquiſite in their reſpective Kinds.

The following Day we travelled up a high Rock, paſſing by the Temple called *Jugangu*, the Front of which appeared very beautiful, being all of ſquare Stone, and ſeemed to be a ſtrong Fort or Caſtle. Next Day we paſſed on the left Hand or Eaſt Side over a high Mountain, by a beautiful Cloyſter, and ſeveral Towns and Villages. This Temple is in the Province of *Peking*, and very famous, by Reaſon the Image of an ancient *Chineſe* King, or falſe God, is kept there, which induces ſeveral Huſbandmen, not only from the neighbouring Villages, but even as far as the great Wall, to come hither in Pilgrimage in the Spring to implore a fruitful Summer, and after Harveſt to thank their Deity for a good Crop; to perform which Office whole Villages and Families reſort hither with their Prieſts. The Women, being dreſſed in their beſt Apparel, ride on Aſſes in the Middle of the Proceſſion. The Prieſts carry painted and metallick Repreſentations or Images of ſeveral Idols; and ſome of the Men carry a Sort of long Trumpets, others Flutes, Drums and Kettle Drums, with which they make a horrid Noiſe. They are all followed by a *Lama* or Idolatrous Prieſt, with a Baſket faſtened to his Body, in which he carries triangular folded Papers, ſome gilded and others ſilvered over; theſe he ſcatters on the Way about 100 Fathom from the Cloyſter, in Honour of this *Wonder-worker* or *Idol*. Another carries burning perfum'd Tapers, which laſt till they come to their deſigned Place. Theſe Pilgrims ſtay ſeveral Days there, paſſing their Time in all Manner of Diverſions as well as Devotions.

Proſecuting our Journey we paſſed by a City inhabited only by the Emperor's Concubines, and their Retinue, where that Monarch ſtays ſeveral Days when he goes a Hunting. The City is not large, but hath a great many fine Stone Palaces covered with red Tiles; is full of Idol Temples, and encompaſſed with a high Stone Wall. About three Cannon Shot Weſt of this Place is a Spring of boiling hot Water, of which a hot Bath is made.

10. After having paſſed many Towns and Villages, we came the next Day to *Kixa*. Here the Hills on both the Eaſt and Weſt Sides of us began to diſappear; though on the Mountains, on the South-Eaſt and Weſtern Sides, we could yet ſee the great Wall. Going from hence we paſſed over a Stone-Bridge on the River *Xangu*, and repoſed that Night at *Xangole*.

On the 2d of *November* we paſſed through ſeveral Towns and Villages, and over a Stone Bridge over the River *Tungo*, which brought us to the City of *Tunxo*, which is fortified by a great Wall, and is ſituate cloſe to the River *Tungo*. About as far as the mentioned Bridge, the Governor of the City and principal Officers, with a great Train of Horſemen, came to welcome me. The *Mandaryns* told me that this Governor was a very great Nobleman, by Birth a *Mongalian*, or *Eaſt-Tartar*, and a very affable, well-bred Man. He invited me and the *Mandaryns* to Dinner, and gave us a noble Entertainment, ſuitable to his Quality and Character.

The City of *Tunxo* is very large, populous, and a Place of great Trade, by Reaſon of the Water-Carriage from thence to *Japan* and the Provinces of *Nanquing* and *Corea*. On this River, and haled on Shoar by its Sides, lie a great many Jonks; beſides ſeveral which belong to the Emperor, and are richly adorned with carved Work, Galleries, and Windows. In theſe Barges the Governors of Places are carried to their appointed Cities, landed, and afterwards brought Home again. Thoſe Jonks which are haled on Shoar are inhabited in Winter like Houſes, though there is indeed but very little Winter here, nor doth the River ever freeze up, though ſometimes Ice appears on the Shoar. Theſe Jonks or Barks are indifferent large, and built very ſtrong. When they lie on the Wharfs the Joints, inſtead of Pitch and Tarr, are ſtopped and ſmeared over with a Sort of Clay mixed with ſome other Ingredients, which once dried keeps faſter and firmer than any Pitch. The Maſts are a Sort of *Bamboes*, hollow within, but yet very ſtrong; and ſome of them are as thick as an ordinary Man's Waiſt. The Sails are a certain Sort of Ruſhes woven together, that when furled, fold up as pliable as Flags, which is ſomewhat ſurprizing. The Forepart of theſe Ships is very flat, being built Archwiſe from Top to Bottom, and very conveniently fitted for the Sea. Inſomuch that, according to the Report of the Inhabitants, with a good Wind, in one of theſe they can reach the *Koreæſchian Sea* in three or four Days; and ſuppoſing the Wind favourable, can in four or five Days Sail, gain from thence to the Kingdom or Empire of *Japan*; ſo little are they Novices in Sailing.

Paſſing thro' this City, I rode thro' the *China* Earthen Ware Market, where I ſaw vaſt Quantities of the fineſt *Porcelain* in the World. I alſo obſerved Abundance of *Pagods* or *Idol Temples* and Cloyſters; and after I had lodged a Night in the Suburbs, and got every Thing in good Order, departed next Day, and proceeded forward till I entred *Peking*, this being the laſt Lodging-Place in my Way to that celebrated Capital of this extenſive Empire.

As our Author contents himſelf with ſpeaking only of thoſe Things that he has ſeen, and ſays no more of them than what he has ſeen, I thought it would not be diſagreeable to the Reader, if, upon his mentioning ſo great a Market for *China* Ware, I took the Opportunity of inſerting a ſhort Memorial, that has lain ſome time by me, upon this Subject, as it may otherwiſe run the Hazard of being loſt; and as I am perſuaded, that, upon Peruſal, it will be thought worthy of a better Fate, the rather, becauſe at preſent we have nothing very diſtinct or very methodical upon this Subject, except in *Du Halde*'s Hiſtory of *China*, where it is ſpun to ſuch an exceſſive Length, that very few People will be at the Pains to read it, and I know ſome that have repented of their Perſeverance. Without farther Introduction then take this Memorial, which runs thus.

" There are very few Subjects that deſerve more Attention or Care to be beſtowed upon them, than " the Efforts of the human Underſtanding, in producing " and perfecting uſeful Arts. Amongſt theſe there are " but few that deſerve the Preference of Porcelain or " *China* Ware, ſo univerſally admired upon its firſt Ap" pearance, which has kept its Credit now for the Space " of two Centuries, and which is generally eſteemed, not" withſtanding the vaſt Quantities of it that are con" tinually imported, as much as when it was firſt known. " It is indeed true, that a great Part of its Value is " derived from the Opinion of the Ladies; neither can " I think that this is any Objection to it, for on the " one Hand, they are the moſt converſant with it, and " on the other they are the beſt Judges.

" Their Sentiments therefore ought to fix it in our " Eſteem; but while they conſider it in the Light of " a beautiful Curioſity, it may deſerve our Pains to " enquire into the principal Points that regard it, which " cannot be done without a tolerable Share of diffe" rent Kinds of Learning. I dare not therefore preſume " to hope I ſhall be able to ſet the Subject in the ful" leſt and moſt perfect Light; but if I lead the Way, " and trace out a proper Method of Handling it, " I conceive that I ſhall not loſe my own Time, and

" that

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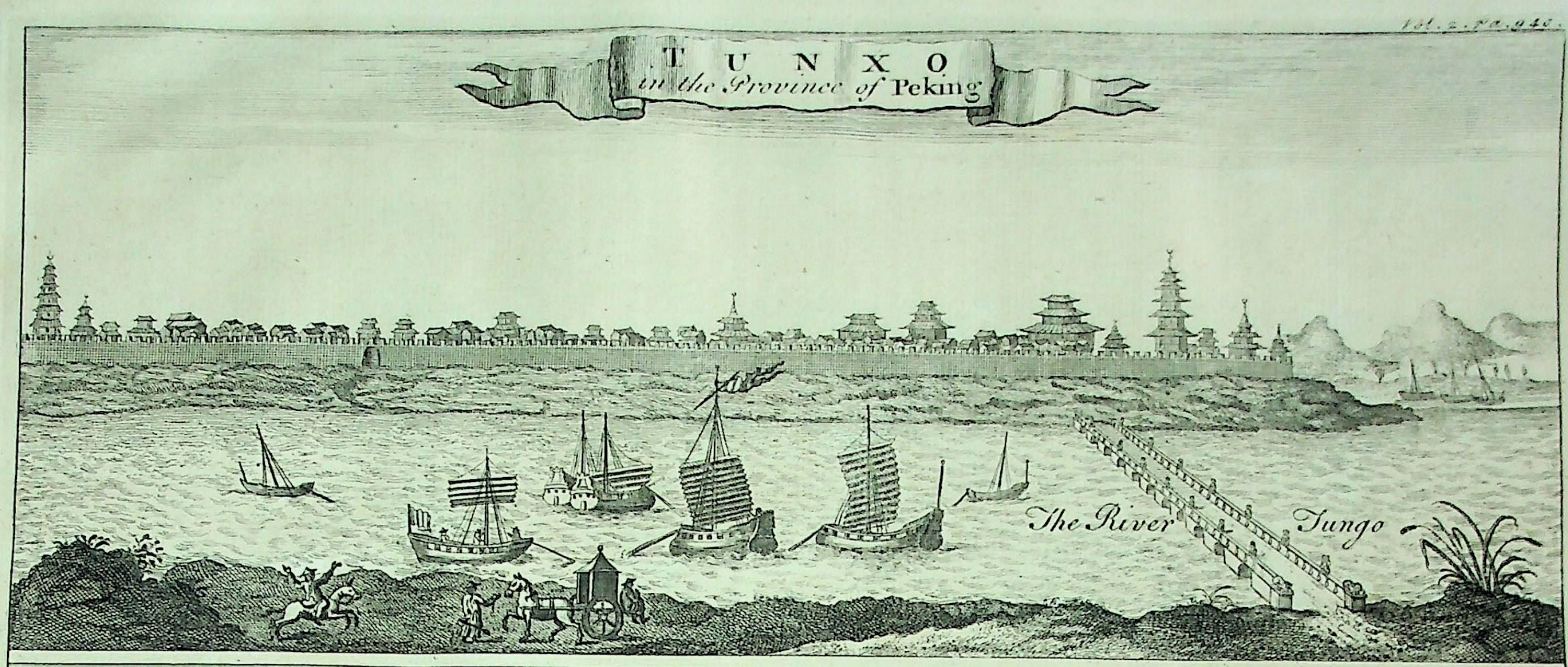
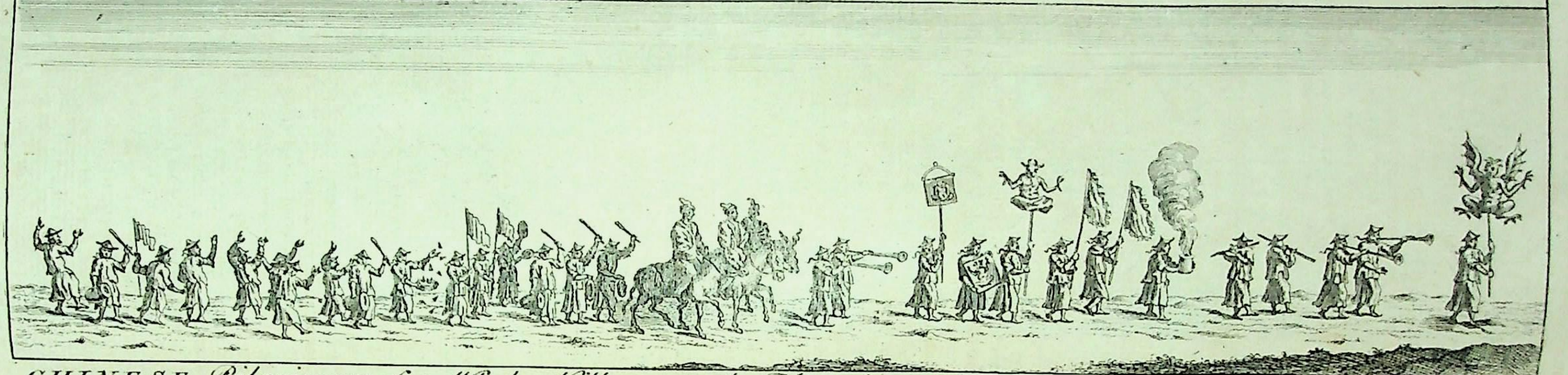

TUNXO
in the Province of Peking
The River
Tungo


CHINESE Pilgrimage of a Whole Village to the Temple JUGANGU to obtain a fertile Year

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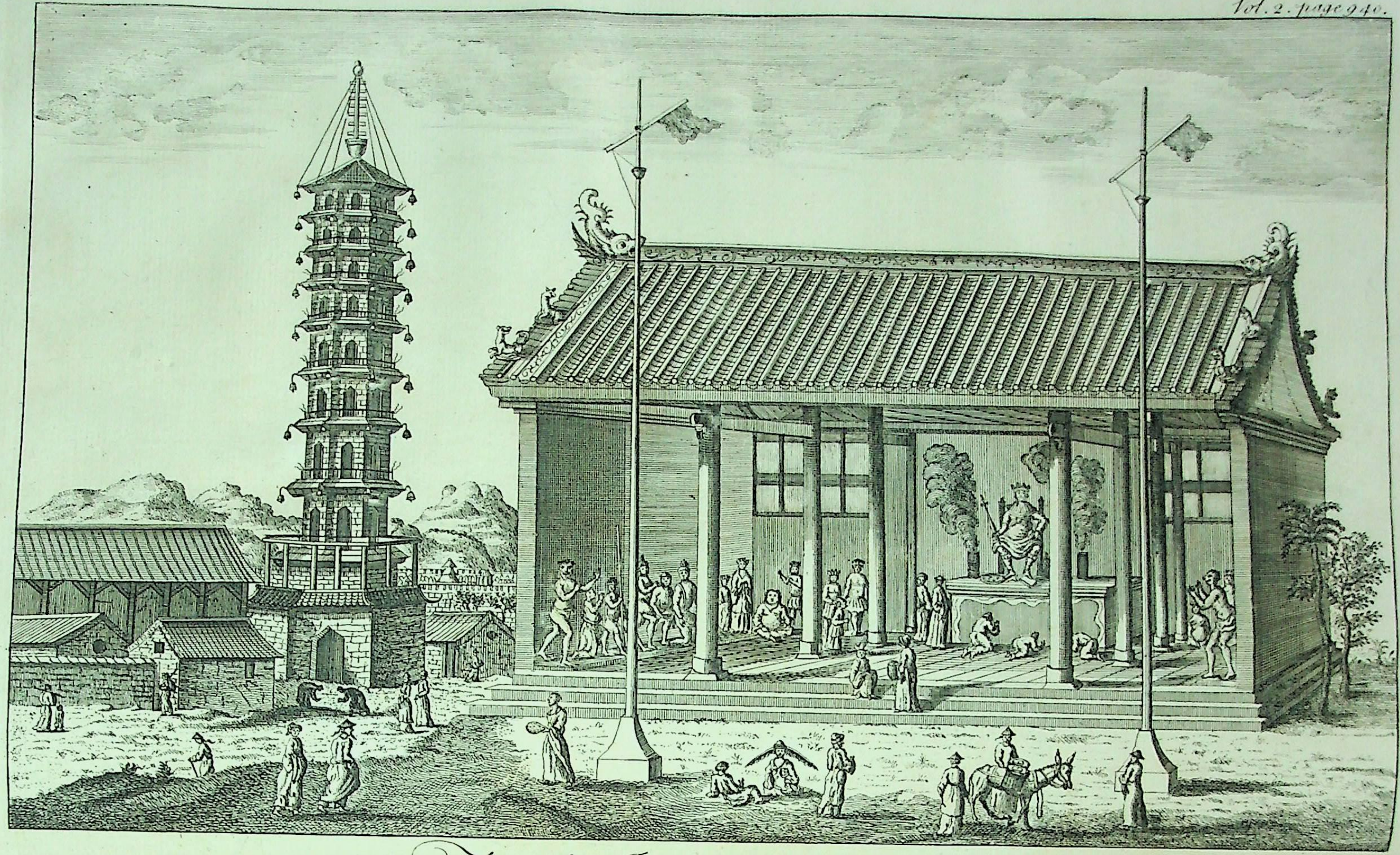


Inside of the Temple Jugangu in the Province of PEKING.

“ that poſſibly I may excite ſome Maſter of a better Pen to do it that Juſtice which ſo entertaining and uſeful a Subject deſerves.

“ In the firſt Place, we will conſider the Excellency of *China* Ware, a Thing that has ſtruck ſome of the learned ſo much, that according to their uſual Cuſtom, they would needs entitle the Ancients to it, juſt as they have beſtowed upon them the Uſe of the Compaſs and of Teleſcopes, without conſidering that their leaving no clearer Teſtimonies of their Titles to ſuch admirable Inventions, does them infinitely more Diſcredit than the Notion of their Want of them. According to the Sentiments, or rather to the Whim of thoſe who doat upon Antiquity, the *Vaſa Myrrhina* ought to be tranſlated Veſſels of fine *Porcelain*. Theſe were firſt ſeen at *Rome* in the Triumph of *Pompey*, and were afterwards eſteemed valuable, I might ſay invaluable Curioſities.

“ This gives us indeed a very high Notion of the Excellency of *China* Ware, but I am very much afraid no very juſt one; for if *Pliny*, who with Reſpect to Things he had ſeen, was certainly a very juſt and a very exact Author, has given us a right Deſcription of theſe Veſſels, they were of a Kind of precious Stone, which had a white Ground, interſected with Veins of different Colours, which Stone was found, as the ſame Author tells us, in ſome Parts of *Perſia*; ſo that, except their being very fine, of a vaſt Price, and coming from the Eaſt, there are no Arguments to prove that they were *Porcelain*. But however that Matter may be, moſt certainly if the Ancients had any Knowledge of this Kind of Ware, they thought it inimitable, for as yet I have not met with any Antiquary that has ventured to aſſert the *Romans* themſelves made any Thing of this Kind, and yet they were not Novices either, in the Art of Earthen Ware.

“ It is true, that in *Perſia* they carried ſuch a Manufacture to a great Height, neither is it yet loſt among the Inhabitants of that Country, who make a very fine Sort of Earthen or Stone Veſſels, which would be imported, and highly valued in *Europe*, if, notwithſtanding their Beauty, they did not fall very far ſhort of *China*. In *America* alſo, and eſpecially in the very Heart of *Mexico*, they make extraordinary handſome Veſſels, of a Kind of red Earth, little, if at all inferior to that of the ſame Kind which we receive from the *Indies*; but ſtill this is nothing to the Purpoſe, for with Reſpect to the Fineneſs of the Grain, the perfect Tranſparency, the ſnowy Colour of the White, the wonderful Beauty of the other Colours, Blue eſpecially, the Dexterity with which they are laid on, or rather wrought in, and the Strength and Soundneſs even of the thinneſt Pieces, no Manufacture that has been hitherto ſeen, can be truly ſaid to vie in Excellency, if I may be permitted that Expreſſion, with the Ware of *China*.

“ The *French* indeed have boaſted, for what is there which they will not boaſt? that they have come up to it; but it is in their Eyes only. At preſent great Part of the World is perſuaded to prefer the *Dreſden* Manufacture, for which, the beſt Reaſon that can be given is, that it is more coſtly. But with regard to the Properties before-mentioned, for as to other Properties I conteſt not, *Chantilli* and *Dreſden* muſt both yield. Yet if we conſider what a Spirit of Imitation the bringing over this Ware has excited, what wonderful Advances our Potters have made, and what a new Field of Induſtry this has opened in *Europe*, I preſume there are few Politicians who will not agree with me, that we have no great Reaſon to regret the Silver it has coſt us. In this Light, when we conſider Luxury, we perceive that the Wiſdom of Providence continually extracts Good from Evil, and that Nicety, Elegance, and even Profuſion, are made the Parents of Labour, Diligence, and a comfortable Subſiſtence to the Poor, who at firſt Sight ſeem to be injured by thoſe Vices, which, in Reality, and without the Intention of the Vicious, turn to their Benefit and that of the Publick.

“ But not to dwell too long upon moral Reflections, which however have their Uſe, and ſerve to convince very well-meaning People, that the Notions they receive, under an Appearance of Truth, are at the Bottom frequently groundleſs. I ſay, to leave theſe Reflections, let us conſider next the Antiquity of *China*. It was firſt imported by the *Portugueſe*, and came from *Liſbon*, in very ſmall Quantities, to the ſeveral Courts of *Europe*. *Cavendiſh*, the famous Traveller in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, is held to be the firſt that preſented his Royal Miſtreſs with Veſſels of that Ware, which came directly to *England*. Thus far our Journey is eaſy, but at the ſame Time, it is very ſhort: We have traced its Naturalization, but the Difficulty is to fix its Origin in its native Country, which is a Point of Difficulty indeed. Thoſe who pretend to be beſt acquainted with the *Chineſe* Story, cut the Knot which they cannot untie, and tell us very bluntly, that there are no Records of this Invention extant. Men of more Modeſty perhaps would have ſaid, that hitherto no ſuch Record had reached their Hands, for ſome other Accounts that they give us, leave us not altogether without Hopes, that this Tale may be one Day contradicted.

“ A Perſon, well verſed in *Chineſe* Learning, aſſures us, that there is not a Province, a Diſtrict, not even a City of *China*, where they have not a natural, a civil, and a political Hiſtory of the Place; in the former, they ſet down all that Nature produces, and all the Improvements made upon her Productions by Art. In the Second, they give Place to all the remarkable Perſons, Male and Female, that, in the Courſe of Ages, have dwelt therein, and the Acts for which they became famous. In the third, they preſerve the Succeſſion of their Governors, the moſt remarkable Events that happen, the Privileges they obtain, and the Misfortunes they ſuffer. Now and then, it is ſaid, that a Purſe of Gold dictates to the Scribe; but a ſpecial *Mandaryn*, who is a native of the Place, is ſent once in forty Years by the Emperor, who, in Conjunction with the Perſon then intruſted with the Adminiſtration, reviews theſe Memoirs, and ſtrikes out all the Paſſages that there is any Reaſon to ſuſpect ought to have been writ in Gold Letters.

“ In Records ſo curious, and written with ſo much Circumſpection, we might expect that a Line at leaſt ſhould have been ſpared to ſo eſteemed and ſo important an Invention. It may be, there is ſuch a *Memorandum* as this, tho' hitherto it has eſcaped the Curioſity of the Jeſuits, yet one of theſe Fathers, more happy than his Fellows, has come pretty near it, and aſſures us, that ſince *Anno Domini* 442, the *Chineſe* Emperors have taken this valuable Manufacture more immediately under their Care, and have appointed two *Mandaryns*, to inſpect all that is furniſhed for the Imperial Uſe. With this then we muſt reſt ſatisfied, till we receive ſome better Information.

“ But here I muſt have Leave to obſerve, that tho' *Porcelain*, and *China* Ware, are with us ſynonimous Terms, yet they are not ſo in that Empire, in all the Provinces of which they make Earthen Ware, but not in above two or three they make *Porcelain*, or what we call *China*. The Place where it is made in the greateſt Perfection, in the *Chineſe* Manner of Writing, is called *Kim te tchim*; the laſt of theſe marks only the Nature of the Place, and ſignifies, that tho' it is much beyond a Village, yet it is not a City. It would lead us too much out of the Road to explain this largely, and therefore it may be ſufficient to ſay, that it is a great Town, and, like *Mancheſter* in our own Country, owes the Figure that it makes to the Ingenuity and Induſtry of its Inhabitants. It ſeems there is ſomething peculiar to this Place, which renders it fitter for the Manufacture of the fineſt *China* than any other; for when many of the Inhabitants, for the Sake of Gain, removed to *Amoy*, then the only Port open to Strangers, in Hopes of carrying on their Trade to greater Advantage, they were able to make nothing of it; and when by

“ the Emperor's Command, they were removed to *Peking*, and all imaginable Care taken to furniſh them with proper Utenſils and Materials, to intitle the Capital to ſo valuable a Branch of Trade, the ſame Miſfortune happened to them, and the Emperor very wiſely determined thereupon, to leave the *Porcelain* Manufacture where Chance or Nature placed it.

“ Thus much may ſuffice in Regard to the Origin and Antiquity of this elegant Manufacture; for tho' more may be expected, yet I know not where it is to be found: Perhaps in Time, when the *Chineſe* Learning comes to be regularly ſtudied in *Europe*, we may come to have a clearer Inſight into this Affair; ſince though the beſt *China* be made at *Kim te tchim*; yet as Perfection is not attained at once, it is very highly probable, that the Art was invented elſewhere, and that the particular Hiſtory of the Place of its Invention may hitherto have eſcaped the Inquiries of the *Europeans*. We will now ſay a Word or two as to the Name of this Manufacture. Some have imagined that *Porcelain* was either a Derivation or Corruption of the *Chineſe* Appellation; but this is ſo far from being true, that the *Chineſe* have no ſuch Sounds in their Language, and conſequently no Characters to expreſs them. The Word is abſolutely *Portugueſe*, and in their Orthography is writ *Porcellana*. It ſignifies literally and ſtrictly ſpeaking a Cup, a Baſon, or a Saucer, and was firſt applied to thoſe Kind of Shells which we call Cowries, and which paſt for Money on the Coaſt of *Africa*. The Inſide of theſe Shells having a gloſſy, beautiful white Colour; when the *Portugueſe* firſt ſaw this admirable Earthern Ware, they beſtowed upon it the ſame Name, either becauſe they thought it would give their Countrymen an Idea of its Beauty, or poſſibly from a Perſuaſion that it might be made of ſuch Shells, or of ſome Compoſition that reſembled them. As for the *Chineſe* themſelves, the Word they commonly uſe to expreſs what we call *China*, is *Tſeki*, or rather, according to their Manner of Writing and pronouncing it, *Tſe ki*.

“ We will now come to the Ingredients of which it is compoſed. We had heretofore very ſtrange Notions in *Europe* upon this Head; ſome People were perſuaded that Egg-Shells were the principal, if not the only Matter of *China*, and that the *Chineſe* were extremely careful and ſecret as to the Method of preparing it. After this another Fable was invented, of a Kind of Clay, that was ſuffered to rot for one hundred Years, after which Time, and not before, it was fit to make *Porcelain*. This Story, it is thought, took Riſe from the ſuppoſed Difference between new and old *China*, which was to be accounted for thus; the former, for the Sake of Expedition, and to ſupply the increaſed Demand for this Kind of Ware, was made, if we may be allowed the Expreſſion, of half ripe Clay, and therefore, fell ſhort in Beauty of the latter, compoſed of Clay that had rotted its full Time. Some other Notions I have met with in *German* Writers, which are not worth repeating, as being founded, like the former, purely in Fancy and Conjecture.

“ What I have to offer as more ſatiſfactory, has never yet appeared in our own Language, and is taken from a ſhort Treatiſe written upon this Subject, by *Dennis Kao*, a *Chineſe*, converted to the Chriſtian Religion, and is the more likely to be true, becauſe it is very ſimple and intelligible. There are, excluſive of the Colours, three principal Ingredients in *China*; and not to trouble the Reader or myſelf with *Chineſe* Terms, which neither of us would underſtand, I ſhall tell him in plain *Engliſh*, that theſe Ingredients are a dry Earth, a moiſt Clay, and a ſtony Oil. It is very remarkable, that not one of theſe Ingredients is to be found in the Neighbourhood of *Kim te Tchim*, where the beſt *China* is made, but are brought thither from ſeveral Places; and it is thought that the Situation of that Place, ſurrounded, though at a moderate Diſtance, with Hills of a conſiderable Height, has ſomething ſo peculiar in the Temper of the Air, and in the Quality of its Waters, that theſe Ingredients, wrought with ever ſo much Diligence and Circumſpection in another Place, never ſucceed ſo well. Be this as it will, we will keep cloſe to our Subject, and ſpeak diſtinctly of each Ingredient.

“ That which is ſtiled a dry Earth, is in Reality a kind of Fire-Stone cut out of Quarries, and ſent by Water to the Place where the Manufacture is carried on.

“ There it is beat to Pieces, and reduced into a groſs Powder; then with an Iron Peſtle it is beat in a Braſs Mortar till it becomes as fine as poſſible; but they do not give themſelves the Trouble of Sifting, from an Apprehenſion that the fineſt Parts would fly off in the Operation. On the contrary, they throw it, thus beaten, into Water, and giving it Time to ſettle, ſkim off, with great Niceneſs and Dexterity, the Cream; and this, in their figurative Way of ſpeaking, they ſtile the Fleſh of the *China*. As for the moiſt Clay, it is undoubtedly a kind of Fuller's Earth, for they deſcribe it to be of a greyiſh white, very even, clammy, and, in ſhort, a Sort of natural Soap. This is likewiſe brought by Water, and is, generally ſpeaking, made up in the Form of Bricks; but as the *Chineſe* are, for the moſt Part, ſtrongly tinctured with the Spirit of Fraud, they very often adulterate this precious Clay, though it is not of a very great Price, with other Things that are however of leſs Price; and this obliges the Manufacturers to be at a great Deal of Trouble in refining it, which is done by the Help of Water; for it is a ſettled Rule, with Reſpect to theſe two Ingredients, never to make Uſe of Fire.

“ This moiſt Clay is intermixed naturally with a Sort of ſparry Subſtance, which, to the Eye, looks like the Inſide of Oyſter-Shells, and with which the whole Maſs is ſo thoroughly impregnated, that when it is purified and cleanſed from all other Mixtures, the ſmalleſt Particle of it, if broken, will diſcover Specks of this ſparry Matter. This ſecond Subſtance, when perfectly pure, they diſſolve in Water till it has acquired the Conſiſtency of the former, and this they call the Bones of the *China*. For the fineſt Sort theſe Materials are equally mixt and incorporated; for the middle Sort, there are three Parts of dry Earth to two of moiſt Clay; for the coarſeſt *China*, they mix three Parts of the former with one of the latter.

“ The third Ingredient is the Oil, which is drawn from the dry Earth or Stone, by a very curious Proceſs, and this they mingle with another Oil extracted from Lime ſeven times burnt. There is a very great Art in making this Mixture; for in certain Proportions theſe Oils will incorporate, but thoſe Proportions vary continually, according to the Nature of the reſpective Liquors. The great Point therefore is to hit this exactly, and when this is done, there reſults from theſe two Oils a third, which is the laſt Ingredient, and ſerves for a Varniſh to the *China*.

“ In the Manufacture the ſeveral Pieces go through different Hands, but the moſt troubleſome Part is preparing the Paſte, compoſed of the two firſt Ingredients, which are kneaded together upon Tiles, or rather upon Floors made of Tiles, till they become ſo cloſe and even, that, upon breaking, there does not appear the leaſt Vacuity; for a Hair, a Grain of Sand, the ſmalleſt Fragment of any Metal, if taken up in the Paſte, will infallibly ſpoil the Piece into which it happens to light.

“ When all this is performed, it comes into the Hands of the Potters, who firſt adjuſt the Weight of what they are to make, and then raiſing it in a rough Way, paſs it from Hand to Hand, every Man taking that Share of the Work, in which his particular Talent lies; ſo that one applies it to the Mold, another pares it with the Chiſſel to a proper Thinneſs, a third ſmooths its Edges, and, in this Manner, a Cup and Saucer ſhall ſometimes paſs through ſeventy Hands. When it is clear of the Potters, it comes to thoſe who give it the Oil or Varniſh, and with them it paſſes from Hand to Hand, according to their various Capacities, and their Addreſs in finiſhing different Sorts of Work.

“ The Body of Painters receive it next, and as ſlight as we make of them, for indeed they have no other Inſtructor than Nature, yet it is very wonderful how much Care and Pains they take. One traces the Border, another gilds it, he who draws the Outlines of a Flower never colours it, one Hand paints Clouds, another Water, a third Animals, a fourth Inſects, a fifth human Figures, and ſo on. Laſt of all it arrives at the Furnace, and is committed to the Care of the Bakers; neither are their Taſks leſs difficult than thoſe of the other Workmen, for an exact Knowledge of the Degrees of Fire, how to raiſe, how to diſtinguiſh, how to heighten, how to reduce them, are requiſite in theſe People, who poſſeſs wonderful Talents in their Way.

“ Beſides the five ſeparate Corps, which make up what may be ſtiled the regular Workmen in this Manufacture, there are a Variety of Branches belonging to it, that occupy as great a Number of People, ſuch as thoſe who prepare the ſeveral Ingredients, thoſe that make the ſeveral Inſtruments and Tools that are required in the Progreſs of the Work; thoſe that diſtil an Oil from tranſparent Flints for the ſuperfine *China*, of which none comes to *Europe*; thoſe that extract and prepare the Colours, who are alſo exceeding ſkilful in their Way, are incomparable in their Preparations of Blues and Reds, and underſtand perfectly the Art of compounding, ſo as by a judicious Intermixture of the primary Colours, to produce all the reſt with Truth and Beauty. After what has been ſaid, the Reader perhaps will not think it altogether incredible, when he is told, that in *Kim te tchim*, there are not fewer than one thouſand Furnaces or Laboratories; to each of which belong diſtinct Companies of Workmen; that the ſettled Inhabitants amount to eighteen thouſand Families; and that the Number of Souls maintained by, and depending upon this Manufacture in this Place, is computed to fall very little ſhort of a Million.

“ If this had been laid down ſimply, and as a direct Matter of Fact, without premiſing any Circumſtances, or bringing the Reader to reflect on the Method in which theſe kind of Works are carried on, it muſt neceſſarily appear a very improbable, if not a very incredible Aſſertion; whereas now, when the Thing is better underſtood, and we have ſome kind of Grounds for our own Computations, it will wear quite another Appearance, and the cloſer we look into it, the more we ſhall incline to believe that thoſe, who have affirmed this Fact, were neither impoſed upon themſelves, nor had any Inclination to impoſe upon others.

“ It is allowed, that vaſt Quantities of this Ware are exported annually to *Europe*, which, like moſt other Branches of their Commerce, muſt be extremely beneficial to the *Chineſe*, who in Point of Oeconomy, muſt be acknowledged the wiſeſt Nation upon the Face of the Globe: for tho' they love Magnificence, are no Enemies to Pleaſure, and indulge Softneſs and Luxury to a very great Degree, yet what the *French* call their *Police*, is ſo extremely well regulated, that theſe ſeldom or never create any Difficulties to the State. They encourage and work by *European* Patterns, from a very wiſe and judicious Notion of pleaſing their Cuſtomers; but beſides the *European* Market, they vend vaſt Quantities of *Porcelain* elſewhere; as for Inſtance, they ſupply the whole Empire of *Japan*, they ſend vaſt Quantities by the Caravans into different Parts of *Tartary*, they ſupply all *India* and *Perſia*; and the *Dutch* and *Portugueſe* take off very large Aſſortments for the *European* Settlements in the *Eaſt-Indies*, and for the other Countries with which they trade.

“ But notwithſtanding this, the fineſt, richeſt, and moſt valuable *China* remains in that Empire, and is not exported at all, or at leaſt very rarely; there is particularly a yellow *China*, which is deſtined to the Imperial Uſe, and is prohibited to all others, tho' we are told, that the Grand Signior always eats out of this kind of *Porcelain*; but how he comes by it, is a Secret I have not been able to penetrate. They have a kind of Crimſon *China*, which is very fine and very dear, becauſe great Quantities of it are ſpoiled in the Baking. They have another Sort of a ſhining White, purfled with red, which is done by dextrous blowing the Colour through a Gawſe, ſo that both the Inſide and the Out is equally beautified with Crimſon Spots, no bigger than Pins Points, and this muſt be exceſſively dear, ſince for one Piece that ſucceeds, a hundred are ſpoiled. They have *China* purfled in the ſame Manner with Gold, which is highly valuable for the ſame Reaſon. They have a kind of *China*, which by drawing Lines with a Hair Pencil, dipped in Oil of Flint, before it is varniſhed, looks like *Moſaic* Work, or as if the *China* had been cracked thorough in a thouſand Places, and was ſet together again without Cement. They have a kind of Violet-colour'd *China*, with Figures compoſed entirely of green Specks, which is done by blowing the Colour at once through a Figure pierced full of Holes, and this ſucceeds ſo rarely, that a very ſmall Baſon is worth two or three hundred Pounds. They have a kind of white *China*, exceſſively thin, with blue Fiſhes painted on the Metal between the Varniſh, ſo that they are inviſible but when the Cup is full of Liquor.

“ It is reported that the Secret of making this *China* is loſt, and that vaſt Sums have been ſpent in endeavouring to recover it. I muſt confeſs I doubt much of this, as well as of another Circumſtance univerſally believed, which is, that the old thick, and as the *Chineſe* very properly call it, ſilent *China*, becauſe though perfectly ſound it will never ring, is a Curioſity not to be attained in our Days. Father *Anthony Solis*, a *Portugueſe* Miſſionary, who reſided forty Years in *China*, and died at *Macao*, wrote a Treatiſe which was never printed, tho' it very well deſerved it, of the Frauds of the *Chineſe*, and amongſt theſe he reckons old *China*. He tells us, that no Country in the World abounds ſo much with *Virtuoſi* as this, and that theſe People, by giving high Prices for antique *China*, have brought it into great Credit, but that by the Help of a yellow Clay, Oils of ſeveral Kinds, ſome of which are metallick, and laying the *China* for ſome Months in Mud as ſoon as it comes from the Furnace, they produce the very ſame Sort that is ſo highly valued by the Vulgar, for being five or ſix hundred Years old. But after all, it is a moſt high Perfection in this Ware, that it is capable of enduring ſo long, not only without Loſs, but with an Acceſſion of Beauty; for tho' the Luſtre of the Colours decay, yet this is more than compenſated by that Softneſs and Mellowneſs, which reſults from that kind of Fading; and the Art of procuring this Degree of Elegance in a ſhort Space, is a wonderful Proof of the Application, as well as Ingenuity of this Nation.

“ There is but one Thing more that I ſhall add to this Diſcourſe, and that from the ſame Author; it is a Deſcription of an ancient Painting making one Side of a Summer-houſe, thirty-three Foot in Length, and ſeventeen in Height, which ſeems to be a ſingle and perfect Plate of *China*, though it is certain, that they can bake nothing of any Thing like that Size in a ſingle Piece. But upon a ſtrict Inſpection, it appear'd to be a Wall made of *China* Bricks, the Face painted, varniſhed, and thoroughly baked by a Fire raiſed before it, and kept up a proper Time. It appeared by the Hiſtory of the Town, that the *Mandaryn*, at whoſe Expence it was done, failed twelve Times in the Attempt, and that this was the thirteenth Wall of this kind that had been erected.

“ Every Trade in *China* has its peculiar Deity, or rather Idol, and therefore it cannot be ſuppoſed, that ſo noble, ſo gainful a Manufacture ſhould want one, and yet this was the Caſe for ſome hundreds of Years; at laſt a bold Potter formed the glorious Deſign of deifying himſelf, and giving his Profeſſion a Protector, as other Trades had. The Fact happen-

“ed thus; A certain Emperor ordered a Number of Veſſels to be made of a Size ſuperior to any in Uſe before his Time, and many Trials were made to no Purpoſe; for notwithſtanding they increaſed the Thickneſs of the Plates to ſeveral Inches, yet when the full Heat was given, they melted and ſunk down into a ſhapeleſs Maſs. At this the *Chineſe* Workman was at Length ſo much provoked, that growing frantick with Deſpair, he threw himſelf into the Furnace, and was there conſumed to Aſhes in a Moment; and what was ſurprizing, the Attempt that was next made ſucceeded happily; and the *Chineſe* Emperor had, according to his Wiſh, ſuch *Porcelain* as never adorned the Tables of his Predeceſſors. To reward the Courage of ſo great a Hero, of which by the Way there are but few in this Country, and to perpetuate the Memory of ſo extraordinary an Action, it was agreed, that he ſhould be honoured as the tutelary God of *China*-Ware, and his Idol is to this Day worſhipped by all the Fraternity of *Porcelain-makers*, under the Name of *Pou ſa*, to which they offer Prayers, cut Paper, and Incenſe, as to the other Idols.

“We ſhall however be much miſtaken, if we conſider *Pou ſa* as the only Martyr of this Trade, for in Fact there have been many thouſands, or rather Millions; for the Fatigues which they endure in every Branch of the Manufacture, but more eſpecially ſuch as attend the Furnace, is ſo great, that a quick Succeſſion in their Labours is occaſioned thereby. The Hills which ſurround the famous Town of *Kem te tchim*, are crouded with the Graves of theſe poor Labourers; but though ſuch Numbers are buried there, yet there are far greater Numbers that die ſo poor as not to leave wherewith to bury them at all. For the Reception of theſe unhappy Wretches, there are vaſt Pits dug at the Bottom of the Hills, into which their Bodies are hurled without either Ceremony or Covering, except it be quick Lime, of which half its own Weight is beſtowed on every Corpſe. By this Means the Fleſh is quickly conſumed; and once a Year, the *Bonzes*, from a Principle of Charity, as they pretend, come and collect the Bones which are burnt, and the Pit being purified by vaſt Fires, becomes again a Repoſitory for theſe Relicks of Mortality.

“Thus we have purſued the Hiſtory of this Manufacture, and the Manufacturers thereof, as far as we can well go; we have ſeen how long it has been in Uſe, what Miſtakes have been made upon it, how remote theſe Miſtakes are from the Matters of Fact they were invented to explain, what real Excellencies belonged to this Trade, what a prodigious Inſtance of Induſtry the State of it exhibits in *China*, from how many various Quarters Wealth is derived, from the Sale of this admirable Ware; while yet the fineſt and the beſt remains behind, which ſhows the Wealth of this Country to be by far ſuperior to that of all other Countries with which it engages in Commerce. Theſe and many incidental Circumſtances may ſerve to exerciſe the Thoughts, and excite the Curioſity of the Reader to a cloſer Enquiry into all the Branches of this comprehenſive Subject, the Heads of which, if we have ſo touched as to merit Attention and Pardon, it is all that we expect; for as to Approbation and Applauſe, they are the ſupreme Rewards of Learning, and ought to be beſtowed upon Works of greater Labour, and greater Extent, and which muſt be conſequently the Product of a ſuperior Genius.”

SECTION III.

The Author's Reception at the Court of *China*, the great Civilities paid him there; the wonderful State and Magnificence of the Imperial Palace; the Ceremonies of a Publick Audience; the Perſon and Manners of the Emperor deſcribed. An Account of the Curioſities of the City of *Peking*; the grand Eſtabliſhment of the Jeſuits there; Civilities paid by them to the *Ruſſian* Miniſter; remarkable Things obſerved by him during the Time of his Stay in the Imperial Reſidence; the pompous Ceremonies of his Audience of Leave; his Return from *China* by Land; the Accidents attending his Journey; the many and great Hardſhips he ſuſtained therein, notwithſtanding his Intereſt in both Empires, and his ſafe Arrival, after ſo many Hazards, and enduring ſo great Fatigues, at *Moſcow*.

From the Original Journal of his Excellency EVERARD YSBRANTS IDES, *Plenipotentiary from their* Czariſh *Majeſties* John *and* Peter, *to the Emperor of* China.

1. *The Author's Entrance into the Imperial City of* Peking, *with an Account of his Reception and Entertainment there, and the many Civilities paid him till the Emperor was ready to give him Audience.* 2. *He receives his firſt Audience, is there ſumptuouſly entertained, and eats in the Preſence of the Emperor of* China, November 16, 1693. 3. *The Civilities uſed by his Imperial Majeſty at his Departure. A Deſcription of his Apartment, Retinue, Perſon, and the Behaviour of thoſe about him.* 4. *He viſits the City of* Peking, *and is ſhown every Thing remarkable therein by the Emperor's expreſs Order.* 5. *An Account of the annual Feſtival which laſts for three Weeks, as alſo of the Author's Audience of Leave, from which he returns to his own Apartment in a Carriage drawn by an Elephant.* 6. *He is invited, by the Emperor's Permiſſion, to viſit the Jeſuits, who entertain him in a moſt ſplendid Manner. He viſits the Emperor's Stables, and ſees there Abundance of Curioſities.* 7. *The Author leaves* Peking *on the 19th of* February, 1694. *An Account of his Journey through the* Chineſe *Territories, and the Accidents that attended*

attended it. 8. His Arrival at the River Sadun, *where he is joined by a* Chineſe *Envoy, and the great Hazard they run of being burned in their Tents. 9. The Difficulties and Inconveniencies to which they were expoſed in this Journey, from the great Scarcity of Proviſions and other Accidents, together with the Methods they uſed to alleviate them as much as poſſible. 10. They relieve themſelves in ſome Meaſure by Hunting and Fiſhing. His Interview with a* Tunguſian *Conjurer, and the Succeſs of an Expreſs ſent to* Argun *for a Supply of Proviſions. 11. The long-expected Proviſions arrive, by which they are delivered from all their Difficulties. The Ambaſſador continues his Journey through the Territories of the Czar, and at length arrives ſafely at* Moſcow *on the Firſt of* January, 1695, *after having ſpent two Years and ten Months in his Travels.*

1. ABOUT Ten in the Morning we approached within half a Mile of *Peking*, and went by ſeveral magnificent Country Seats, belonging to the Inhabitants as well as *Mandaryns*; both Sides of the Way were adorned with theſe noble Buildings; before which were wide Channels, which ſerved to carry off the falling Water, with ſmall Stone Bridges over them oppoſite to the Houſes. The Gardens were moſt of them fenced with Stone-Walls, and adorned with carved Gates, and very fine Garden-Houſes; the largeſt Paths were planted on each Side with Cypreſſes and Cedars, which afforded a charming Proſpect and Paſſage through them. The Gates of the fineſt Gardens were ſet open, I ſuppoſe on my Account. Theſe pleaſant Seats continued on each Side the Way to the Entrance of the City. It is alſo obſervable, that from the great Wall to *Peking*, at the Diſtance of about every half Mile, are Watch Towers, in each of which are five or ſix Soldiers, who Night and Day diſplay the Emperor's Flags and Enſigns, which are yellow: Theſe *Turrets*, like Beacons; ſerve on Occaſion of any Enemy appearing from the Eaſt, to light Fires on, to convey Notice of it to the Emperor, which is done ſo expeditiouſly, that in a very few Hours it reaches *Peking*.

The Land from the City of *Lania* hither is plain, and good arable Ground, on which grows Rice, Barley, Millet, Wheat, Oats, Peaſe and Beans, but no Rye. The Roads here are very broad, perfectly ſtrait, and very well kept; for if but one Stone be found on them, it is immediately thrown to the Side by Perſons expreſly appointed for that Purpoſe. In all the Villages we ſaw Pails filled with Water ſtanding ready for the Camels and Aſſes to drink: And to my no ſmall Wonder, I obſerved that the great Roads through the Country, were as noiſy by the Multitudes of Travellers and Waggons, as if they were the crouded Streets of a populous City. So wonderfully ſtocked is this vaſt Empire with Inhabitants.

After I had cauſed our Caravan with all the travelling Baggage to be diſpatched into the City an Hour before, I rode on in order with my Convoy, and thoſe who were ordered to ride before me, making in all ninety Perſons, beſides ſeveral *Coſſacks*. The Croud at the Gates, and the Concourſe of People with which the Streets were lined, gave us ſome Interruption at our Entry into the City. Notwithſtanding there were ſeveral of the Emperor's Boſchy, or Harbingers, apponted to make Way for our Paſſage; yet they had enough to to do to make us bare paſſing Room; the *Chineſe* being very curious to ſee Novelties. Being come near to the Ambaſſadors Court, ſeveral *Mandaryns* came to meet and compliment me on my Arrival. Both Sides of the Streets were lined with Soldiers as well as the Court. Riding through which, they brought me to my Apartment, where not myſelf only, but all my Retinue were inſtantly ſtocked with all Manner of Proviſions and Refreſhments. And we every Morning returned Thanks to the great God, who after a long and difficult Journey of one Year and eight Months, had at laſt conducted us ſafe and well to our deſired Place, without the Loſs of any more than one Man, whoſe Death for that Reaſon has been particularly mentioned.

2. After a Repoſe of three Days, I expected to be informed when it would pleaſe the Emperor to admit me to Audience: And, according to the Cuſtom of this Country, that Day the Emperor's Orders came for me to appear, and receive a Welcoming or Meal. Upon which I prepared myſelf, and ſeveral great *Mandaryns* were appointed to conduct me up into the Caſtle, where the Viceroy, *Sungut Doriamba*, Uncle to the Emperor, and four of the greateſt Lords of the Empire, received and welcomed me. Here the Floor was overſpread with Carpets, upon which having ſeated myſelf with them, the Viceroy, in the Name of the Emperor, acquainted me that the Emperor his Maſter preſented me with this Table or Entertainment; and though he could not himſelf be preſent, yet deſired I would accept this Meal, as a Welcome after ſuch a long Journey. After which the Table was covered with cold Meats, as roaſt Geeſe, Chickens, Pork and Mutton, beſides all Sorts of Fruit, and Confections; the Table appointed for me alone was about an Ell Square, upon which the Diſhes, that were all of Silver, and piled one upon another, amounted, as I told them, to the Number of Seventy.

They were entertained with Tea, and I with Taraſoen and Rheniſh Wines. The Viceroy and other Lords diverted themſelves by Smoaking Tobacco, and he made his Compliment to me in the following Words; He deſired, that I would accept of this Entertainment, as a Teſtimony of the Emperor's Favour, and expect his Orders in a few Days, to bring their *Czariſh* Majeſties Credentials, and receive my publick Audience; upon which riſing up and thanking him for the Emperor's Favours, I return'd to the Ambaſſadors Court.

On the 12th of *November* the Viceroy ſent ſome *Mandaryns* to give me Notice to appear with their *Czariſh* Majeſties Credentials next Morning in the Caſtle; for which I accordingly prepared myſelf. At Eight in the Morning three principal *Mandaryns* came to adviſe me that it was then a proper Time to wait on the Emperor: Beſides their common Habit, they were alſo dreſſed in Robes, which were embroidered, ſome with Dragons, others with Lyons, and a third Sort with Tygers and Cranes on the Breaſt and Back, work'd with Gold Thread: They brought with them fifty Horſes for my Retinue. According to the *European* Mode, I advanced with their Czariſh Majeſties Credentials, and was attended by my Retinue in good Order towards the Court.

Coming to the outer Gate of the Caſtle, there is a Pillar, with ſome Characters engraven on it, where I was told I muſt alight, according to their Cuſtom; ſo that I went on Foot through five outer Courts to the Caſtle itſelf. I found a great Number of *Mandaryns* at the Court, all cloathed in their richeſt Embroidered Robes, ſuch as they wear in the Emperor's Preſence, who waited for me.

After we had mutually exchanged Compliments, the Emperor appear'd on his Throne; upon which I delivered his Czariſh Majeſty's Credentials, and after the uſual Ceremonies, and a ſhort Speech, was conducted back.

On the 16th of the ſame Month, I was informed that I was invited to eat before the Emperor: Wherefore in the Morning, accompanied with the *Mandaryns* thereto appointed, and the chief Gentlemen of my Retinue, I rode to Court. And in the ſixth Court, a great many Lords and *Mandaryns* were ſtanding in Rows in their beſt Robes; and ſhortly after an Order came for us to appear above in the Palace. As ſoon as I entred, the Emperor aſcended his exalted Throne, having near him ſome Perſons who played very finely on the Fife, and a Life-Guard of twelve Men with gilt Halbards without any Point to them, but adorned with Leopards and Tygers Tails. As ſoon as the King was ſeated, the Muſic ceaſed, and the Halbardiers ſeated themſelves croſs-legg'd on each Side below the Throne. The Emperor's Table was furniſhed with cold Meats, Fruits and Sweetmeats, ſerved up in Silver Diſhes, and the whole covered with yellow Damaſk. The Viceroy the Emperor's Uncle, and two other of the principal Nobles ſtood on each Side of his Imperial Majeſty, and I was placed on the Right-Hand of the Throne, about four Fathom diſtant from the Emperor; who looking very earneſtly at me, ordered the Viceroy (who received his Commands on his Knees) to bring me nearer. Upon which he took me by the Hand, and placed me about two Fathom diſtant from the Emperor, and my Retinue were placed about ſix behind me. The Emperor a ſecond time ſent the Viceroy to me with the utmoſt Reſpect, to aſk after the Health of their Czariſh Majeſties; to which I returned the proper Anſwer. Then he cauſed his Table to be uncovered by taking off the Damaſk Covering, and deſired me to eat; a Table being ſpread for me only: The other Lords and *Mandaryns*, about two hundred in Number, took their Places according to their Quality, ſitting two at each Table, in the *Perſian* Manner, upon Carpets, with their Legs under them; which Cuſtom I was obliged to comply with, as it is not to be diſpenſed with here.

The Emperor ſent me from his Table, a roaſt Gooſe, a Pig, a Loin of very good Mutton, and ſoon after ſeveral Diſhes of Fruit, and a Sort of Drink compoſed of boiled Tea, fried Meal and Butter, which looked not unlike Bean or Coffee Decoction: Having received all which, with due Reſpect, his Majeſty ordered the Viceroy to aſk me, what *European* Languages I underſtood? To which I anſwered, I could ſpeak the *Muſcovite*, *German*, *Low-Dutch*, and a little *Italian*.

Upon which he immediately diſpatched ſome Servants to the hinder Part of the Palace; which done, there inſtantly appeared three Jeſuits, who approached the Throne. And after Kneeling, and performing their Reverence to the Emperor, he commanded them to riſe. One of theſe was Father *John Francis Gerbillon*, a *Frenchman*; and the two others were *Portugueſe*, one of them called Father *Anthony Thomas*. The Emperor ordered Father *Gerbillon* to converſe with me; who coming towards me, ſpeaking *Italian*, aſked me in the Emperor's Name, how long I had been travelling from *Moſcow* to *Peking*, and which Way I came, by Waggon, on Horſeback, or by Water? To which I returned ſatisfactory Anſwers: On which, returning to his Majeſty, he informed him; who immediately anſwered, *Gowa, Gowa*, which is, Very well. The Emperor then ordered the Viceroy to acquaint me, that it was his moſt gracious Pleaſure, that I ſhould approach nearer the Preſence, by coming up to the Throne; upon which I ariſing, the Viceroy taking me by the Hand, after having led me up ſix Steps, ſet me at the Table oppoſite to the Emperor. After I had paid my moſt humble Reſpects to his Majeſty, he talked with Father *Gerbillon*, who again aſked me, How long I had been on the Way hither? In what Manner I travelled? and, in what Latitude *Moſcow* was ſituate, and how far diſtant from *Poland*, *France*, *Italy*, *Portugal*, or *Holland*? To all which I obſerved my Anſwer proved very ſatisfactory. Upon which he gave the Viceroy a Gold Cup of *Tartarian* Liquor called *Kumis*, in order to hand it to me; which with due Reſpect I accepted, and having taſted, return'd it. This *Kumis*, according to the Report of the Attendants, is a Sort of Brandy diſtilled from Mares Milk. After this, the Emperor ordered my Retinue to advance within three Fathom of his Throne, and entertained them with the ſame Liquor; which being done, I paid my Compliment in the *European* Manner, and the Viceroy took me by the Hand, conducting me to my former Place, where after ſitting for a Quarter of an Hour, I was deſired to riſe.

3. After this the Emperor aroſe, and having ſaluted me, deſcended from his Throne, and went out of the Audience Hall by a Door on the Left-hand, in order to go to his Royal Apartment. As he was leaving the Hall, he ſent the Viceroy to aſk me, whether I had heard any News out of *Europe* concerning Father *Grimaldi*, who had been diſpatched thither on the Emperor's Affairs: To which I anſwered, that when I left *Moſcow*, I was informed that he, with a Retinue of twenty-five Perſons, arrived at *Smyrna*, and reſolved to proſecute his Travels through *Perſia* and *India*. He replied, I am informed he is ſafely arrived at *Goa*, and is upon his Departure thence in order to his Return hither, and it is ſeven Years ſince he left *China*. Hereupon I took my Leave, and retired to my Apartment.

Deſigning to take another Opportunity to give an Account of what I could obſerve concerning the Court, I ſhall at preſent only deſcribe the Outſide of the Palace, and the Throne on which the Emperor ſate. The Palace is an oblong quadrangular Brick Building, which is twice as long as broad, and the Roof covered with yellow glazed Tiles, on which were fixed Lions, Dragons, and all Sorts of Imagery; the Height of this Building to the Roof was about eight Fathom; the Aſcent to the Hall was up ſeveral Steps, and the farther Part or Entrance of it was provided with certain open Places or Windows, which were not glazed but peaked with Paper. At the Ends of this Hall were two Doors, the Tops of which were adorned with a Sort of carved Work, ſomewhat like a Crown, which was extraordinary well gilt. This Building hath neither any Room over it, or arched Roof, but the Height of the Room is to the very Top of the Roof, which was compoſed of curious Pannels, beautifully colour'd, japann'd, and finely gilded. This Hall is about thirty Fathom long, and ten broad. The Floor, according to the *Tartarian* Mode, was covered with Carpets, adorned with Landſkips and Figures.

The Throne is placed oppoſite to the Eaſtern Entrance, againſt the back Wall, and is about three Fathom broad, and as many long; before it are two Aſcents, with ſix Steps each, adorned with Rails and Repreſentations of Leaves very well gilt: On the right and left Sides were alſo Rails of caſt Imagery, which ſome report to be Gold, and others Silver, which are alſo extraordinary well gilt. Exactly in the Middle of this raiſed Place is a Throne, ſomewhat like an Altar, which opens with two Doors, and in it the Emperor's Seat, about an Ell high, covered with black Sables, on which he ſate with his Legs acroſs under him. This Monarch was then aged about fifty Years, his Mien was very agreeable, he had large black Eyes, and his Noſe ſomewhat riſing: he wore ſmall black Muſtachoes, but had very little or no Beard on the lower Part of his Face; he was very much pitted with the Small-pox, and of a middling Stature. His Dreſs conſiſted of a common dark-colour'd Damaſk Waiſtcoat, a Coat of deep blue Sattin, adorn'd with Ermines; beſides which, he had a String of Coral hanging about his Neck, and down on his Breaſt. He had a warm Cap on turned up with Sable, to which was added a red Silk Knot, and ſome Peacocks Feathers hanging down behind. His Hair plaited into one Lock, hung behind him. He had no Gold nor Jewels about him. He had Boots on, which were made of black Velvet.

Whilſt he was at Dinner, ſuch a reverential and profound Silence was obſerved amongſt the *Mandaryns*, that not only no Noiſe was heard, but they forbore ſo much as ſpeaking to one another, all ſitting very ſtill with modeſt down-caſt Eyes, amongſt them the higheſt Mark of Reſpect.

4. On the next Day the Emperor ſent two *Mandaryns* with fifty Horſes for my Retinue, and a Meſſage, importing, It was his Majeſty's Pleaſure, that if I deſired to ſee the City, all that was worth my View ſhould be ſhewed me. Purſuant to which, I cauſed my Horſe to be ſaddled, and rode out with theſe *Mandaryns*, who, by the King's Command, brought me to a Sort of Play-houſe, or Court of Diverſion, which was a very lofty and capacious Building. In it was a great Stage, adorned with carv'd Imagery, finely painted, which the Players had the Uſe of for an annual Rent. In the Middle of this Palace was an open Place encompaſſed with Galleries, in which the *Mandaryns* deſired us to ſit down on Chairs; and having entertained

me with Tea and *Tharaſin* Wine, I and all my Retinue were treated with a Comedy, and the Diverſion of ſeeing a great many different Sorts of exquiſite Juglers, who, by a dextrous Slight of Hand, ſeem to produce not only all Sorts of Fruits, as Oranges, Limons, Grapes, *&c.* but live Birds and Crabs, and perform all the Dexterities of that Kind practiſed in *Europe*. Others ſo nicely played with round glaſs Balls, as big as a Man's Head, at the Point of a ſharp Stick, toſſing them ſeveral Ways, without breaking or letting them fall, that it was really ſurprizing. After this a *Bamboe* Cane, about ſeven Foot high, was held upright by ſix Men, and a Boy about ten Years old crept up to the Top of it as nimbly as a Monkey, and laid himſelf on his Belly upon the End of it, turning himſelf ſeveral times round; after which riſing up, he ſet one Foot on the *Bamboe*, holding faſt to it with one Hand, and then looſing his Hold, clapped his Hands together, and run very ſwiftly down, and ſhewed ſeveral other Feats of Agility, which were very wonderful as well as highly entertaining.

The Comedies had alſo a very good Effect, by reaſon they were acted in the beſt Manner by the Emperor's Players. They frequently appeared in Changes of very rich Dreſſes, embroidered in Gold and Silver; and the Plot turned on the Story of a Triumphant Hero, in which was brought in their Idols, and a late Emperor, whoſe Face was painted of a Blood Colour; which was intermix'd with a Farce, or diverting Entertainment, of two young Women richly dreſſed, who ſtood each on a Man's Shoulder, and nicely play'd with their Fans, bowing to one another, and keeping Time to the Muſick as exactly as if they had danced on the Ground. Two little Boys played *Hoſticki* or *Harlequins*, in very fantaſtick Habits, and recited their Parts very well. After the End of the whole, I thanked the *Mandaryns* and returned home. On the ſame Day the Emperor went out a Tyger-hunting, without the great Wall, purſuant to his annual Cuſtom, and returned in a few Days to *Peking*.

On the ſame Day I was invited to a Repaſt by the Viceroy, or *Sungut Doriamba*, with which Invitation I complied, and after ſome Diſcourſe paſſing betwixt us, he led me by the Hand out of his Bed-chamber into his beſt Hall, or Parlour, where ſeveral Tables and Stools ſtood ready; the Tables were adorned with rich Tapeſtry, Carpets of Silk and Gold, which were full wrought with Figures. I was ſeated on one, and the *Mandaryns* on the other Side of the Viceroy. The Tables were alſo ſet off with very fine Flower-pots, full of Flowers of all Sorts of Colours, worked in Silk, which not only looked very beautiful, but very natural; Crimſon Velvets, and the moſt charming coloured Silks being choſen to make them, it being Winter, when no natural Flowers were to be gathered: On the Fore-part of theſe Tables were alſo placed Silver Cups, in which was laid lighted Pieces of the fragrant Wood *Kalamba*, which afforded a very good Perfume; next which ſtood fine Wooden Images, and variety of ſmall Figures or Puppets finely painted and gilt. The Chairs or Stools on which the Viceroy and I ſat, were, according to the *Tartarian* Faſhion, hung at the Back with Leopard and Tyger Skins, which appeared very magnificent; and a larger Diſh of Tea than ordinary, in which was put peel'd Walnuts and Hazle-nuts, with a little Iron Spoon to take them out on Occaſion, was placed before each Perſon. After the Tea was drank off, which taſted very agreeably, ſeveral little Agate Cups, filled with Brandy mixed with diſtill'd Waters, were ſerv'd about; and after that, ſeveral Diſhes, or rather Cups, of fry'd or broil'd Fiſh, cut into ſmall Pieces, were ſet in Heaps one upon another, garniſhed with fine Herbs and Flowers, and as an Ornament ſet on the Fore-part of the Table in a Row; by them were placed ſix Cups of very agreeable Soops, diſh'd up with very fine ſtew'd Fleſh and Fiſh; and when we had eaten of theſe, we were regaled with ſeveral Courſes of the richeſt Edibles, which were followed by all Sorts of fine baked Meats; and after this laſt Courſe all Kinds of delicious Confects, as candy'd Grapes, Limons, Oranges, Cheſnuts, and Shell'd Nuts.

During our ſitting at Table in the Room where we eat, was acted a Play, interlarded with Songs and Dances, by little Boys dreſſed in Girls Clothes, who very ſkilfully meaſured their Steps in Proportion to the Time of the Song, and played on the Flute, withal diſtorting their Bodies into antick Poſtures, and playing with a Fan in their Hands. His Lady and Daughter alſo appeared at the farther Part of the Hall, ſtanding at a Door, which was but half open: They were very richly dreſſed according to the Mode of the *Mongalian Tartars*. After I had very agreeably ſpent three Hours there, accompanied by my Retinue, I rode to my Apartment.

Some Time after I was invited to the Houſe of the Treaſurer of the Empire, who is called *Schi'oy*, where I was ſplendidly entertained. His Hall was very well furniſhed according to the *Chineſe* Faſhion: The Floor of it was laid with a Sort of fine Stone, at three Corners of which, on Ebony Feet, were three extraordinary white Marble Tables naturally ſhaded with black Veins, which repreſented beautiful Woods, Mountains, and Rivers: On theſe Tables were placed high Silver Flower-pots, very naturally adorned with all Sorts of fine Flowers. The Pillars, clear up to the Roof, were painted with very fine Colours. While we ſat at the Table we were entertained with a Ball, and after this very agreeable Entertainment, I aroſe and took Leave, extremely ſatisfied with all the Civilities that were paid me.

When this Lord accompanied and conducted me through the principal Markets, where Silk, Cloth, Gold and Silver, Jewels, and all Sorts of fine Manufactures, were ſold, I was deſired to alight, and conducted to the Emperor's Diſpenſary, which I was willing to make ſome Scrutiny into, it being richly ſtock'd with all Sorts of Roots, Herbs, and Medicines. I was here treated with a Diſh of Tea, and obſerved while I ſtaid there, that according to the *European* Cuſtom, ſeveral Preſcriptions of Phyſicians were brought in, which were methodically prepared. Next to this was a Toyſhop, which I entered, and bought what I liked. The Maſter of it had a very fine Garden-Houſe, in which were all Sorts of Flowers, young Stocks, and Limon-Trees, in Pots: And amongſt other Things, he ſhew'd me a large Glaſs full of Water, in which were ſeveral living Fiſh about a Finger's Length, which naturally looked as if they had been gilt with the fineſt Gold; and the Scales of ſome of them being fallen off, diſcovered, to my great Surprize, the Colour of their Bodies to be the moſt beautiful Crimſon in the World.

After we departed from thence, we went through all the Markets; each Shop had a great Board ſet before it, on which is very orderly written the Shopkeeper's Name, and the Commodities which he deals in. We alſo went through the Fiſh-Market, in which are all Sorts of living Fiſh, but more eſpecially Carps, Caroeſſes, and Water-Snakes, (which they eat here) Crabs, Shrimps, *&c.* all which ſtand in Tubs to be ſold, in great Abundance. Paſſing through another Market, I ſaw great Numbers of Harts, Roebucks, Hares, Pheaſants, Partridges, *&c.* and ſeveral other wild Game, to be ſold.

5. On the 7th of *January* the cuſtomary annual Feſtival happened, which they obſerve for three Weeks. It began late at Night with the Appearance of the new Moon, and firſt the great Bell at the Emperor's Court was rung, and their large Drums, expreſly kept for, and uſed, in their idolatrous Worſhip, were beaten, and ſeveral Cannon diſcharged; upon which all the People in the City, of what Degree ſoever, according to their Ability, expreſs'd their Joy by Rockets, Serpents, and all Sorts of Fire-works, to which they alſo added the Beating of an infinite Quantity of Drums, and, according to their Cuſtom, the Sounding of Trumpets by the *Lama's*, or idolatrous Prieſts, in their moſt innumerable Temples and Cloiſters; inſomuch, that from ten at Night till next Day Noon, there was as great a Noiſe, as if two Armies of one hundred thouſand Men were in the Heat of Battle one againſt another. In the Day-

time the Streets were crouded with all Sorts of Proceſſions, with their Idols, which were carried in various Shapes, and the *Lama*'s marched by them with Incenſe-Pots, and Strings of Beads; the Drums and Kettle-Drums beating, Trumpets ſounding, and other Muſick playing, was endleſs. The carrying of theſe Diabolical Images, followed by a great Train of People, as well as a vaſt Number of *Lama*'s or Monks, which preceded them, laſted three Days, during which Time all the Shops were ſhut, and all Merchandizing forbidden, on Penalty of ſevere Puniſhments. During this Time alſo the Streets were crouded with People of both Sexes, but more eſpecially Women, who rode on Aſſes, or Chaiſes with two Wheels, covered all round, only before left open. The Servant Maids which ſat behind, ſung, ſome of them, whilſt others blew on a Sort of Horn-Pipe; and ſome Ladies ſat publickly taking a Pipe of Tobacco. The Women never appear in Publick thro' all *China*, except in the Province of *Peking* only, and more eſpecially the City, which is inhabited by *Tartars*; the *Chineſe* being obliged to live all about the City Wall, and the Suburbs, where all the chief Markets, and publick Places of Sale are.

Some Days after this, the Emperor ſent two *Mandaryns* to deſire me to be ready to receive my Audience of Leave the next Morning two Hours before Day: And accordingly three Hours before Day, three *Mandaryns* came to me on Horſeback, and we rode to the uſual alighing Place; whence being conducted to the third Court, and deſired to ſit down, I was entertained with a Sort of Bean Decoction or Coffee, uſually drank here in the Mornings. In the fourth Court appeared all the principal Officers in their richeſt Robes, dreſſed after the *Eaſt Tartarian*, or *Mongalian* Mode. At break of Day I was introduced into the fourth Court, and ſeated amongſt the *Mandaryns*, who, according to the particular Rank of each of them, were placed on the Eaſt and South Sides of the Court. After waiting half an Hour, we heard the Emperor approaching, accompanied with an agreeable Conſort of Fifes, and a Sort of Lutes. This was not the Hall in which I had my former Audience, but here was a Throne erected, and hung with yellow Damaſk, on this Occaſion. On each Side of it were two great Drums, curiouſly gilt and painted, each of which being two Fathom and a half long, they lay upon a Stool made on Purpoſe for them. After the Emperor was ſeated, by his Command, the Herald which ſtood before the Throne, went to the Preſence-Chamber Door, directed himſelf to the Lords which ſat without in the Court, and uttering ſome Words with a ſhrill Voice, he thrice ſucceſſively cried, *Bow down, bow to the Earth*. Whilſt this was three Times done one after another, the Bells were rung, the Drums were beaten, the Lute was touched, and three Pipes made for that Purpoſe, were very loudly ſounded. Then two principal Lords were, by the Emperor, ſent to acquaint me, that it was his Majeſty's Pleaſure, that I ſhould approach nearer the Preſence; accordingly they led me by the Hand, from the Place where I was, being about eight Fathom diſtant from the Throne, where my Retinue were left ſitting: And I ſat down on one Side, about three Fathom from the Royal Throne, betwixt two great Lords, which were *Wannes* or Princes, and by Birth *Tartarians*; and after having paid a reſpectful Compliment to the Emperor, his great Bell was rung, and the large Drums on each Side were beaten, which made as great a Noiſe as a Volley of Guns; the Flutes were alſo played on, and the beforementioned Pipes nine Times ſounded: Upon which I was deſired to ſit down; which having done, a Diſh of Coffee or Bean Decoction, was preſented to me, which I accepted and drank up. And after I had diſpatched the Affairs of their Czariſh Majeſties, with the Emperor, I roſe up, and having paid my Compliment to him, he alſo aroſe from his Throne, and went out at the Weſt-Door to his Apartment.

The Emperor's Life-guard ſtood in this fourth Court; they were cloathed in red Callicoe, printed with red Figures as big as a Rixdollar; they wore ſmall Hats adorned with yellow Feathers, that being the Imperial Livery Colour. They were arm'd with Scimiters by their Sides, and fine Lances, with Colours fixt to them, and ſtood ranked at a Diſtance from the Throne, on each Side of the Court, where alſo ſtood eight white Saddle-Horſes for Shew. In the third Court of State, were alſo placed four extraordinary large Elephants, one of which was white. They were all covered with rich Gold embroider'd Cloaths; and all their Trappings, as Bridles, Cruppers, &c. were covered with Silver, and gilt; and on their Backs was placed a very fine carv'd wooden Caſtle, or Gallery, ſpacious enough for eight Perſons to ſit in. In this Court alſo ſtood the Emperor's Waggons with two Wheels, and his Chaiſes, all hung with yellow Damaſk Curtains: Beſides all which, there were there placed ſeveral Stands, or Stools, for Drums, Kettle-Drums, Idolatrous Inſtruments, &c.

Being got out of the Caſtle, I mounted one of the Emperor's Waggons, and was drawn to my Apartment by an Elephant; on each Side of which ran ten Perſons, with a thick Rope in their Hands, faſtned to each Side of the Elephant's Mouth, by the Help of which they lead and govern him: On his Neck alſo ſat a Man with an Iron Hook in his Hand, which alſo contributes to hold him in and guide him. He went but at his ordinary Rate, which put his Leaders to run as ſwift as poſſibly they could in order to keep Pace with him.

6. A few Days after I was invited by the Jeſuits, with the Emperor's Leave, to viſit their Cloyſter; purſuant to which, two *Mandaryns*, according to Order, attended on, and conducted me thither. I was then introduced into the Cloiſter, which was encompaſſed with a high Stone Wall, and provided with two exquiſite regular Stone-Gates after the *Italian* Manner. On the left Side of the Entrance, under Shelter of a Roof, made for that Purpoſe in the Court, ſtand the cœleſtial and terreſtrial Globes, of an extraordinary Size, each being about a Fathom Diameter. From hence we proceeded on to the Church, which is a very beautiful *Italian* Building, furniſhed with a large Organ, made by Father *Thomas Pereyra*: And the Church itſelf ſuitable to the *Roman* Catholick Uſage, was richly adorn'd with fine Images and Altars; and was withal large enough to contain two or three thouſand People. On the Top was a Clock and Chimes. Having ſeen the Church, the Fathers brought me into the *Muſæum*, which was compleatly furniſhed with all Sorts of *European* Rarities. After which they conducted me to an Apartment on one Side of it, where being aſked to ſit down, I was treated with all Sorts of Confections and Preſerves: Nor did we forget, according to their Cuſtom, to drink the Healths of all the Chriſtian Princes of *Europe*, in rich Wines: And after a conſiderable Stay, I rode to my Apartment, very well ſatisfied with the Entertainment of theſe Fathers.

About this time, two *Mandaryns* came from the *Cham* to invite me to take the Diverſion of ſeeing the City: Accordingly I mounted with my Retinue, and theſe *Mandaryns* conducted me to the Emperor's Elephant-Stable, where ſtood 14 of thoſe Beaſts, one of which was white: Having thus ſeen them that was not enough, but they muſt ſhew ſeveral Tricks, and at the Command of the Maſter of the Stable, they roared like a Tiger, ſo diſmally loud, that their very Stable ſeemed to tremble: Others lowed like an Ox, neighed like a Horſe, and even ſung like Canary-birds; but which was moſt ſurpriſing of all, ſome of them imitated a Trumpet. After this they were obliged to pay their Reſpects to me on their four Knees; to lie down firſt on one Side, then on the other, then to riſe up. When they lie down, they firſt ſtrike out their Fore-legs forward, and then throw out their Hind-legs backward, and by this Means lie with their Bellies flat upon the Ground. One of theſe was not broken, and, by Reaſon he was very unruly, he was loaden with heavy Chains on two Feet, and, for the whole Time he had ſtood there, had not been removed from his Place; and a great Pit was dug before his Stall, that in caſe he broke looſe, he ſhould fall into it, and be prevented from coming into the Court to do any Miſchief. All theſe Elephants were extraordinary large, and the Teeth of ſome of them were a full Fathom long. The *Mandaryns* told me, that they came from the King of *Siam*, who annually ſends ſeveral, by Way of Tribute, to the Emperor of *China*. Their Food was only Rice Straw bound up in ſmall Truſſes, which they take up one after another with their Trunk, and convey to their Mouths.

After a ſatisfactory Sight of what I deſired, I rode with the *Mandaryns* to my Apartment; and as we were on our Way, I obſerved at the Door of a conſiderable *Mandaryn*, and a great Officer, ſome Perſons fleaing of a fat Dog; upon which I aſked the *Mandaryn*, wherefore that was done? Who anſwered, That it was a healthful Sort of Food, eſpecially in Summer, it being very cooling. After I had handſomely treated theſe *Mandaryns*, they went away.

Next Day the Viceroy ſent a Tyger, or Panther, in a Cage, to the Ambaſſador's Court, to be ſhewn to me; as alſo ſeveral Juglers with Monkeys and Mice, which had been taught ſeveral Tricks. Theſe Apes, at their Maſter's Command, did really ſome very ſtrange Things; they filled a Baſket with Stuff Coats of all Colours, each of which an Ape took out ſingly at his Maſter's Command, never miſſing the Colour which he was ordered to take out and put on, always varying his Grimace with his Habit; after which, he not only danced upon the Ground, but on a tight Rope, in a very diverting Manner. There were alſo two Mice faſtened to their Chains, who, at their Maſter's Command, ſo entangled themſelves in them, and immediately got looſe, that it deſerved Admiration: But what was moſt ſtrange to me, was the odd Motions of theſe Vermine.

The Jeſuits once told me, that about three Years paſt were ſent to the Emperor as a Preſent, from an Iſland in the Eaſtern Sea, four Animals as big as ordinary Horſes, each of which had two ſharp Horns prominent before; and that theſe Fathers were ſent by the Emperor's Order to his Park, about ten Miles from *Peking*, to ſee theſe Beaſts, in order to inform his Majeſty, whether they had ever ſeen any of them in *Europe*; but returning, they affirmed, that they had never before ſeen any of that Species. I was indeed very deſirous to have ſeen them, yet it being too far out of Town, and the Time of my Departure approaching, it was impracticable.

After I had ſent my Compliment to the Viceroy, I deſired that I might be advertized of my Departure eight or ten Days before the Time when it ſhould pleaſe the Emperor that I ſhould leave the Court and Royal City, which, purſuant to my Requeſt, was accordingly done ſome Days after.

7. Upon which, having made all neceſſary Preparations for ſuch a long Journey, and latterly, according to former Cuſtom, having one Morning in a Week eat at the Emperor's Table, I left *Peking*, accompanied out of the City Gate, with a numerous Train of Great Officers of State, and *Mandaryns*, on the 19th of *February*, 1694, and on the 25th reached the City of *Galgan*, cloſe to the *Daarian* Wall. From thence we went on to *Naun*, and paſſed through ſeveral *Xixigarſchean* Villages, to the *Tartarian* Frontiers, and the great Deſerts, where we encamped and lay ſtill ſeveral Days, and provided Saddles for our Camels, and all other travelling Neceſſaries, by reaſon that to *Argum*, on the Frontiers of their Czariſh Majeſties Dominions, I was obliged to provide me with all Neceſſaries on my proper Coſt, which I conſidered when in *Peking*; and Camels and Mules being very cheap there, I carried a good Number of the laſt looſe along with me, they, as well as the whole Caravan, travelling free at the Expence of the *Chineſe*, hitherto, as well as myſelf and whole Retinue, who eat at the Emperor's Charge thus far.

If I had not made this Proviſion before-hand, but had depended on the Camels and Horſes which I left at *Nuna*, we ſhould have fared but indifferently, for of all that I left there, ſcarce eight hundred remained, all the reſt, which were a very conſiderable Number, being killed by the ill Forage and unwholeſome Graſs.

On the 2d of *February*, being ready to ſet forwards on my Journey, I treated the *Mandaryn* and his Retinue, who, by the Emperor's Command, had accompanied me thus far; after which, taking very civilly Leave of each other, we parted.

On the 26th Inſtant, in God's Name, we entred the great Deſert, about the River *Sadun* and *Kallar*, being obliged to be on our Guard, by Reaſon that four *Mungeſſian Taliſchi*, or *Lords*, with about three thouſand Men, who waited for me, were ready and willing to try their Fortunes with us: Upon which I gave all neceſſary Orders, and in the Night cauſed a ſtrong Watch of ſixty well armed Horſemen to be kept; but not encountring any Thing from that Quarter, we next Day ſet forwards on our Journey. Reaching the *Jaliſchian* Mountains, we found our Forage grew worſe the farther we went, and our Saddle as well as Carriage Beaſts began to look thin. Having travelled a whole Day over theſe Mountains, the Night proved very cold and ſnowy, and the Graſs grew yet worſe, being that of laſt Year, which was dried up in the Field; ſo that the Camels, but more eſpecially the Horſes, though they eat their Fill, were not much ſtrengthen'd by it. I here deliberated whether I ſhould take the old Way, or a By-way, which was the ſafeſt Method that could be taken to eſcape the *Tartars* who lay in Wait for us, and again proceed on Eaſtwards; preferring Certainty to an Uncertainty, I pitch'd upon the laſt, which proved very incommodious, eſpecially for the Cattle.

We travelled but ſlowly through theſe ſteep, mountainous and deep moraſſy Ways, and that Day twelve Camels and fifteen Horſes ſunk under Foot, and for ſixteen Days after we were obliged to wreſtle with theſe difficult Ways, which daily occaſioned ſeveral Camels and Horſes to ſink under their Loads and die; which happened from the heavy Burdens they were obliged to carry, as well as from the ſapleſs and dry Graſs, which afforded them no Nouriſhment. But our Difficulties increaſed with reſpect to Forage, for our Cattle had Graſs hitherto, which, though dry and not ſufficient to ſatisfy, yet ſerved to keep them alive; but now we came to Fields that were entirely burnt up by the *Tartars*, which forced us, how feeble and uncapable ſoever our Beaſts were to perform it, to diſpatch two Days Journey this Day, in order to come to a Place where there was ſome Graſs left.

Several of our Merchants, who loſt their Saddle-Horſes, their others being ſufficiently laden with Merchandizes, were obliged to go on Foot; and if many of them had not been provided with ſpare Horſes and Camels, we ſhould have been obliged to have left a great Quantity of their Goods behind in the Wilderneſs.

8. After various Fatigues and Miſeries, with the greateſt Difficulty in the World, we at laſt reached the River *Sadun*, where our Quarters began to mend, in ſome Meaſure, and the tender Graſs to ſprout up a little. We lay ſtill two Days by this River, in order to refreſh our Camels and Horſes, which were unable to have held out any longer. During this Repoſe, a *Chineſe* Envoy with an hundred armed Men, came up to me, who, by the Command of the Emperor of *China*, was, by the Viceroy of *Tartary*, diſpatched from the City of *Mergeen*, with Orders to accompany me to *Nerzinſky*, there to treat, concerning ſome Affairs, with the Governor. The Arrival of this Company was very welcome to us, for now we could make out full ſix hundred Men, and conſequently had no Reaſon to fear any ſtrolling Parties of Robbers. On the 15th of *March* we arrived at the River *Kailaar*, which we forded, the Water being low; and paſſing about a Mile farther in a Dale, we pitched our Tents there, though there was but little Forage to be found: Yet we paſſed the Night here, and in the Morning diſcovered a terrible Smoke to ariſe out of the North-weſt, which gave me ſome Apprehenſions, that the *Tartars* having burnt

up the old Graſs, lurked under theſe Pillars of Smoak, in order to obtain an Opportunity to ſet upon us with great Numbers. To provide againſt this, I cauſed the Camels and Horſes which were left us in this horrible Deſert, betimes, to be drove to a Place where there was ſome Graſs, and which being behind a high Mountain, was ſecurely ſhelter'd from the Fire. After which I cauſed an hundred Men to provide themſelves with the Felts with which the Camels were covered, and be in Readineſs, if the Smoak approached us, to diſperſe and drive it from our Camp as much as poſſible. Within the Space of half an Hour, the Air was wholly darkned with the Smoak, and the Fire, driven on by a ſtormy Wind, flew ſwifter than a Horſe could run, into the Vale, where the Dry Graſs was about half an Ell high; ſo that it was ſcarce poſſible either to eſcape or quench ſuch a rapid Flame: The Fire flew, or rather flaſhed by our Camp, as ſwift as Lightning, ſo that whilſt I turn'd myſelf round, it was got to the ſhort Graſs, and behind the Brow of a Hill: Notwithſtanding its ſpeedy Flight, we did not clearly eſcape it, for the Flame laying hold of our foremoſt Row of Tents, immediately ſent ten or twelve of them burning into the Air: Great Quantities of our Merchants Goods were conſumed, and fourteen Men ſtruck down by it which were miſerably burnt, and ſome of them taken up for dead; but after neceſſary Care was taken for their Recovery, only one *Perſian* died. I was myſelf in great Danger, and if I had not in time run to a Hill where there was ſcarce any Graſs, and been aſſiſted by two Servants, which covered me with a Felt, to keep off the Heat, I ſhould not have eſcaped better than thoſe abovementioned.

The Flame was no ſooner paſt us than it viſited the *Chineſe* Ambaſſador, who was encamped at ſome Diſtance from us, amongſt the Hills, where, to his good Fortune, there happened to be very little Graſs, ſo that the Fire paſſed about and over the Hill, but was not violent enough to catch hold of any thing, ſo that their Horſes Tails only were a little burnt, or rather ſinged.

Before it was poſſible to have told two hundred, this Fire had reached the River *Kailaan*, (which was a Mile from our Encampment,) where it was quench'd by the Interruption of the Water. After this Burning, the Land, as far as we could ſee from the Hills, was quite bare of Graſs, and every where Coal-black. Upon this Diſaſter, I ſent out my Guide, to try whether he could diſcover any Place for us to encamp for that Night; he return'd the next Day, with Information, that for two Days Journey all round, there was no Forage, the Fire having conſumed it all; for though there were ſome few ſcatter'd Places which had eſcap'd the Flame, yet there was not half Graſs enough to ſatisfy ſuch a Number of Camels and Horſes as ours; which was but melancholy News for me and the whole Camp.

Wherefore I conſulted, whether it was not moſt adviſeable to repaſs the River *Kailaan*, where the Graſs had eſcaped untouched; but in Oppoſition to this, the Danger of being fallen on by the *Tartars* which were on that Side of the River, offered itſelf; ſo that I rather inclined to chuſe the travelling two Days in Want of Neceſſaries, than once more run the Riſque of expoſing ourſelves to the Inhumanity of theſe Barbarians.

9. In the Morning then we broke up our Camp, which we pitched late that Night near a great Moraſs, after having endured a great Deal of Miſery and Fatigue that Day, by paſſing through Moraſſes and over ſteep Hills; which Hardſhip fell heavieſt on the Cattle, inſomuch that in this Day's Journey only eighteen Camels and twenty two Horſes ſunk into, and remained in the Moraſſes, not being able to ſtir a Step further, which fell very hard upon us, and the farther we went, rendered us the more uneaſy, ſince we were as unwilling to leave our travelling Neceſſaries and Proviſions behind us, as the Merchants were to throw away their Goods; wherefore the Remainder of the Beaſts muſt neceſſarily be the heavier laden.

The next Day we alſo paſſed through Moraſſes, Vales, and over ſteep Hills, and came to the River *Mergeen*, where the Graſs was not burnt off. Having forded this River, and proceeded on our Journey, though in a miſerable Condition, as well by Reaſon of the ill State of our Cattle, which daily ſinking under their Loads, obliged us to leave them behind, as on Account of the Scarcity of Proviſions for ſo many Men; our Stock being at preſent very low, and conſiſting barely in a few lean live Oxen, which Travellers generally take with them in theſe Sort of Journeys, but not either Bread, Peas, Barley, or other Proviſions, becauſe the Merchants and *Coſſacks* wanted Beaſts for the Carriage of their Goods, and it would have been too chargeable to lade Camels with Proviſions.

There being but a ſmall Number of Oxen in our Camp, the People began to be very anxious, conſidering it was not poſſible to reach *Argum* on the Frontiers in leſs than ten or twelve Days; ſo that each Perſon, according to the Company he was engaged in, began to compute, how long what they had would laſt, and contrive how to manage his Share beſt.

On the 18th of this Month, with great Difficulty and Fatigue, we at laſt reached the River *Gan*, which at low Water we forded, and on the other Side found freſh Graſs for the Beaſts, with which we were very well pleaſed, and mightily encouraged. Here I reſolved to lie ſtill three Days, and would have reſted longer, if the Merchants, *Coſſacks*, and Workmen, had not complained that they were pinched by Hunger, and that there was but a very ſmall Number of Oxen remaining, conſidering how many hundred Men were to be ſubſiſted by them, and they, by Example, ſhewed me the beſt proviſional Methods which could be taken to prevent an entire Famine; for as ſoon as an Ox was killed, they ſaved his Blood, and boiled it to the Conſiſtence of Liver; this they eat inſtead of Bread. Others cut the Hides into Slips, ſhaved the Hair off, and toaſted them at the Fire, and this paſſed at that Time for good Food. Nor were any Part of the Entrails thrown away; ſo that if the Scarcity had endured longer, poſſibly their Nature had been changed into that of *Caffers* or *Hottentots*, who eat not only raw Fleſh, but even the Excrements alſo.

10. In this Strait, being informed that the Country all about this River abounded with wild Game, as Harts, Roebucks, *&c.* I ordered ſome expert Archers to go a Hunting; which proved ſo ſucceſsful, that they ſhot about fifty Roebucks, which were afterwards diſtributed to our famiſh'd Company, who greedily devoured them half dreſſed and half raw, and gave convincing Proof that Hunger, as 'tis commonly reported to be, is really a ſharp Sword; but beſides it muſt be owned that the aſſuaging it when it hath continued long, and is grown outrageous, is one of the greateſt Pleaſures of Life; though indeed a tedious Thirſt is more intolerable and painful to human Nature.

In this Strait I ſent a Gentleman, accompanied with eight *Coſſacks*, to *Argum* the frontier Place, charg'd with a Letter to the Governor, requeſting that he would immediately ſend us a Parcel of Oxen, Sheep, Bread, Meal and other Proviſions, under Convoy, by Reaſon we were driven to the laſt Extremity; and this Meſſage did not prove unſucceſsful, though the expected Relief did not arrive ſo ſpeedily as we wiſhed; each Day on theſe melancholy Occaſions commonly appearing an inſupportable Year.

Having diſpatched this Meſſenger with his Orders, I thought it neceſſary to break up from the River *Gan*, and in the Interim to advance as far on our Way, and ſtruggle as much as poſſible with our Uneaſineſs. And after we had travelled three Days, the hungry Complaints of our Company became inceſſant; the Roebucks were but a Morſel amongſt ſuch a Number of People, and no Edibles were to be bought for Money in this Wilderneſs. During which Affliction we were obliged to make a Virtue of Neceſſity, and bear as well as we could what we were not able to remedy. In this Condition, diſpirited and faint, we arrived at a Brook, which flowed from the Hills, and was richly ſtored with large Jacks, Trouts, and other Fiſh, of which we ſhot many with Bow and Arrow; for in clear Water the *Coſſacks* and *Tunguſians*

Tunguzians, of both which I had ſeveral, are ſuch expert Archers, that with their double-pointed Arrows they very ſeldom miſs the Fiſh they aim at, and but once touching, generally pierce through them, which inſtantly cauſes them to float on the Surface of the Water. This Fiſhery afforded a very conſiderable Refreſhment to our Camp, which was alſo increaſed by ſome Bucks being ſhot that Evening and dreſſed as before.

Our Hunters diſcovered a Hutt amongſt the Hills, where lived a *Schaman* or Conjurer and his Companion. This Magician was Uncle to our Guide, and a *Tunguzian*, which Nation abounds with ſuch Pretenders, as we have already hinted. About Midnight I was waked by a horrible Noiſe, upon which running out of my Tent, and aſking the Centry that ſtood there, what it was? He told me our Guide was making merry with his Uncle; which excited my Curioſity to that Degree, that led by one of the Centries, I ſtole thither ſoftly to ſee what they were doing; approaching the Entrance of the Hutt, I found that they were conjuring after their Manner; and though the greateſt Part of it was over, I yet obſerved him ſitting with an Arrow in his Hand, the Head of which was inclined towards the Earth, and the Point he held under his Noſe; after which he roſe up, making a louder Outcry, and after leaping all round, laid himſelf to ſleep. In the Morning the *Coſſacks*, whom I had ſent a Hunting, and whom he had accompanied, told me that this Conjurer came to meet his Nephew, whom he in their Preſence conjured out of their Sight, or carried away; which might eaſily be done without any Diabolical or other Aſſiſtance than the Darkneſs of the Night, and the uneven hilly Ground. My Meſſenger returned with the agreeable News, that within three Days we ſhould be furniſhed with all Sorts of Proviſions from *Argum*; the Approach of which appointed Time was not a little longed for amongſt us.

11. On the 3d Day Heaven favoured us with our promiſed Aſſiſtance, which conſiſted of twenty five Oxen and Cows, Millet and Bread; but the Sutlers that brought this Convoy of Proviſions, made the Merchants pay ſo very dear for it, that their Relief looked more like Extortion than Charity; they taking a *Rixdollar* for one Loaf, and for all the reſt in Proportion; however, coſt what it would, this Supply was very welcome to us at that Juncture.

Thus invigorated, and alſo encouraged to find that the farther we advanced on our Journey the Graſs grew better, on we went, till through the Mercy of God we got to the End of this barren Deſart, in which we had ſuffered ſo many Miſeries, and ſtruggled with the greateſt Difficulties in the World.

On the 27th Inſtant we joyfully reached the River *Argum*, which with the whole Caravan we paſſed: And on the 31ſt arrived very ſafe at the City of *Nerzinſkoy*, returning our Thanks to Heaven, that through ſo many Dangers we were thus far advanced on our Way, and had got out of the reach of pinching Neceſſity.

After having refreſhed the Camels and Horſes with good Graſs, and reſted ourſelves for a convenient Time, we departed from *Nerzinſkoy* on the 5th of *Auguſt*, and proceeding forwards by Land along the River-ſide, came on the 8th Inſtant to the City of *Udinſkoy*; where we furniſhed ourſelves with Barks, and aſſiſted by an ebbing Tide, and a good Wind, in one Night reached the Frontiers of *Siberia*, and on the 12th arrived ſafe at *Jekutſkoy*.

On the 17th we left that Place, and after running a great Riſque by wading through the great Quantities of Water which were fallen, arrived ſafe at *Jenizetſkoy*.

On the 26th we went by Land from this City, and travelled through a Wood twenty Miles long, in which were harboured ſeveral wild and ravenous Beaſts, that at our Approach took their Flight.

After which we arrived at the Village *Makoſkoy*, where finding as large a Store of Shipping as I deſired, we all embarked, and driving down the River *Keta*, on the 28th of *September* we reached the Caſtle of *Ketſkoy* on the *Oby*; on which we drove down without meeting any Thing remarkable, and on the 16th of *October* came to the Town *Samoroſſkoy Jam*, at the Mouth of the River *Jalis*, on which Stream I ſpent fourteen Days in waiting for Sleads to purſue our Journey by Land. I took the very firſt Opportunity, ſo that on the 29th I ſafely reached *Tobolſkoy*, where we reſted three Weeks to refreſh ourſelves, and to provide ourſelves with new Cloaths.

After which we ſet forwards with all poſſible Expedition, being very deſirous to put an End to ſuch a tedious Journey, and once more ſee the imperial Metropolis.

On the 24th of *November* we travelled through the City of *Wergaturia*, without encountering any Thing obſervable, and through the Mercy of God, arrived in Sleads ſafe at *Moſcow* on the firſt of *January*, after having ſpent two Years and ten Months in theſe Travels, and endured ſeveral fatiguing Miſeries, partly occaſioned by Scarcity of Proviſions, as already hinted. We returned Thanks to Almighty God for graciouſly preſerving us in ſuch imminent Dangers, and at laſt conducting us to the Place from which we were ſent by their Czariſh Majeſties.

SECTION IV.

A very copious and no leſs curious Account of the North-Eaſt Part of *Aſia*; comprehending a diſtinct, particular and authentick Deſcription of all that has hitherto paſſed under the general Name of *Siberia*, ſhewing the Extent and Situation of the ſeveral Diſtricts thereof, their Climate, Soil and Produce, the Riſe and Courſe of the principal Rivers, Deſcriptions of all the great Cities upon their Banks; of the ſeveral barbarous Nations that inhabit near theſe Rivers; of the Value of their Furrs and Fiſheries, with the Manner of their Commerce, and a clear and full Explanation of a Multitude of leſſer Circumſtances, as well as material Points of Fact, which contribute to the perfect underſtanding the Condition of this hitherto unknown Country, and all its Inhabitants. To which is added, a ſuccinct Recapitulation of the State of the *Chineſe* Empire towards the Cloſe of the laſt

Century; with ſome very impartial as well as judicious Remarks on the Temper, Genius, and boaſted Oeconomy of that famous Nation; with a free Cenſure of thoſe Hyperbolical Panegyrics that have been beſtowed on the Progreſs of Science amongſt them.

Being the Concluſion of his Excellency EVERARD YSBRANTS IDES's *Travels by Land from* Muſcovy *to* China, *and of his Return from thence.*

1. *The Author's Account of* Siberia, *the Extent and Situation of that Country, the Motives that led him to think of making a Map of it, the Methods uſed by him for that Purpoſe, and the Reſult of his Pains upon this Subject.* 2. *The Country of the* Samojedes *deſcribed, with an Account of this Nation, their Food, Carriages, Government, Arms, Religion, Marriages, Poetry and ſtrong Diſpoſition to Magick.* 3. *An exact and excellent Deſcription of the Streights of* Weygats, *how far they are navigable, the* Ruſſian *Fiſhery in them, Privileges that Nation formerly enjoyed, which are now taken away.* 4. *An ample and curious Deſcription of the Mountain of* Pojas, *or Back of the World: Of the South Boundaries of* Siberia, *and of its principal Rivers,* viz. *the* Jaka, *the* Tobol, *the* Oby, *the* Jenizea, *and the* Selinga. 5. *The Source of the River* Kugur, *Deſcription of the* Uſſinian Tartars, *and their Neighbours, the Nature and Produce of their Countries, the Stature, and Complexion, Habits, Language, and Religion of theſe People.* 6. *Of the* Kalmucks *or* Kalmacks, *who inhabit between the* Tobol *and the* Oby. *The Lake of* Jamuſchowa, *famous for the excellent Salt it produces. The Country of* Barabinſy, *its Nature and Produce, the People that inhabit it, their Manners, Cuſtoms, Arms, Government, Religion, and Trade.* 7. *Of the famous Town of* Tomſkoy, *its Inhabitants and Commerce, of the ſhort Route from thence to* China, *and a conciſe Account of the Country between this City and that of* Jenizeſkoi. 8. *Of the Country of the* Kirgiſes, *the Hiſtory of that People, and of their Neighbours: Of the frontier Places belonging to the* Mongals, *with an Account of the three Princes by whom they are governed.* 9. *Of the Country about the Caſtle of* Argum, *of the People who inhabit theſe Parts, and of the River* Gorbiſa, *which ſeparates the Dominions of the* Czar *from thoſe of the Emperor of* China. 10. *Of the Rivers* Tugur *and* Uda, *and of the Inhabitants of certain Iſlands that come thither to trade, extremely curious, and which occur in no other Author.* 11. *The City of* Kamſatka *deſcribed, with an Account of its Inhabitants, the Climate about the* Icy-Cape, *the Fiſh taken there; the Manner in which the People live under Ground, and of the vaſt Mountains of Ice in the Sea.* 12. *Of the River* Lena, *and the City of* Jekutſkoi, *Capital of the Northern Parts of* Siberia, *the Fiſhery there, the Nations that inhabit on the Side of this River, their Cuſtoms, Religions, Habits and Language. Of a certain Idolatrous Nation in theſe Parts. A Deſcription of other Rivers that ariſe in this Country, and of the Lands they water.* 13. *A Deſcription of the City of* Wergolenſkoi, *the fruitful and pleaſant Country about it: An Account of the River* Jenizea *from its Source to its Mouth, with a Deſcription of the People that inhabit the Banks of that and other Rivers.* 14. *A ſuccinct but curious and exact Deſcription of* China, *with Remarks on the Genius, Temper and Diſpoſition of the People.* 15. *Of the Author's Converſations with them, in Reference to religious and philoſophical Subjects; with other curious Particulars.* 16. *The Author's Sentiments with reſpect to the high Notions that have been entertained in* Europe, *of the Wiſdom, Learning, Policy, Arts and Manufactures of this Nation.* 17. *Obſervations Hiſtorical, Political, and Critical upon the foregoing Section.*

1. THE great Value of theſe Travels ariſes from their Plainneſs, Perſpicuity, and apparent Veracity; for it is eaſy to ſee that our Author had a true *German* Sincerity, and was far from allowing his Imagination to co-operate with his Judgment in the Compoſition of this Work; what he ſaw with his Eyes, he has faithfully ſet down with his Pen, without Increment, without Diminution. But upon his Return to *Muſcovy*, and communicating his Journal of his Travels, many Queſtions were aſked him, and many Inquiries made, from which he was convinced, that a moſt uſeful and entertaining Supplement might be added to his Work; and this it was that put him upon writing what compoſes this Section. It had been a very eaſy Thing for him, by digeſting his Travels afreſh, to have brought all his Obſervations and Remarks into their proper Places; and this, without Doubt, would have render'd his Performance more elegant at leaſt, if not more uſeful. His Love for Truth, however, was ſo great, that he reſolved Things ſhould appear as they really were, and inſtead of taking that Step, has given us his additional Remarks in that Order to which he was directed by the above-mentioned Enquiries; by this Means he was obliged to retrace his whole Journey, which however he has done in ſuch a Manner, as to mention little or nothing that he had given us before, and has taken ſuch a Method, as will enable every attentive Reader to become abſolutely acquainted with this great Country never deſcribed before, and of which all Deſcriptions that have been made ſince fall very far ſhort of his. Thus much I thought neceſſary to premiſe, without taking away any Part of his own Introduction, becauſe I thought it but juſt to acquaint the Publick with this Author's real Merit, which in Point of Accuracy and Regard to Truth, I look upon as ſuperior to moſt, and not inferior to any; and I perſuade my ſelf, when he has peruſed it, that the Reader will be entirely of my Opinion, and will only regret, that in Collections of this Nature, ſo few Pieces of this Kind can be inſerted.

In the paſt Relation of our Travels, ſolely aiming at Truth, we have repreſented her naked, without any hyperbolical or ornamental Illuſtrations to render her the more agreeable and ſurpriſing, according to the common Practice of Writers of Travels, who magnify Trifles, and croud in various Particulars on the uncertain Reports of others, in order to furbiſh up the Book. This is indeed what I have all along carefully avoided in the Deſcription of my Journey; but finding I have not been ſo methodical as I could have wiſhed; that I have omitted ſome Particulars worth the Reader's Cognizance, or at leaſt not related them as they ought; for the firſt I beg Pardon, and ſhall endeavour to make ſome ſmall Amends for the latter by a ſhort Review.

My Travels then were through the whole Provinces of *Siberia* and *Dauur*; the Towns, Countries, and Rivers of which that I have paſſed through, or over, are already exactly deſcrib'd. The Courſe of our Journey was from the North to the Eaſt, that is, from *Weygats* to *Amur*; and from the Weſt from *Uffa Baſkiria* to the *Mongalian* Country, and from thence from the Weſt to the South.

As for what relates to the Frontiers of *Siberia* in general, they are every where garriſoned with well armed Forces by his Czariſh Majeſty, who are not indeed very ſolicitous to ſubdue the Southern *Tartars* inhabiting the *Geliſeeſchian* Plains to his Majeſty's Obedience, by reaſon it would not turn to any great Advantage. The Circuit of this Kingdom of *Siberia*, and the circumjacent Country is very large, as appears by our accurate Map, with regard to which I muſt acquaint the curious Peruſer, that he ought to guide himſelf only by the Degrees; but as for the Diſtances betwixt Countries, Cities and Rivers, they are not to be expected exactly placed to a Mile: For this Country having never been travelled by Geographers, much leſs meaſured by Miles, I have only, as carefully as I poſſibly could, taken the Altitudes with a Mathematical Inſtrument, and from thence marked the Places, leaving to my Succeſſors in theſe Attempts, the more thorough Search and Diſcovery of theſe untravelled Countries. I have indeed broke the Ice for them, being the firſt *German* that ever went through this vaſt Country to, and returned from *China*.

I muſt acknowledge that I am obliged for the firſt Light of a good Sketch of a general Map of theſe Lands, to the highly honourable and worthy *Nicholas Witſen*, Preſident Burger-maſter of the City of *Amſterdam*, whoſe Memory will be perpetually reverenced by all the learned World; he having firſt diſcovered to the *Europeans* all *Siberia*, the *Calmuckan*, *Mugalian*, and other Provinces, to the *Chineſe* Wall; and deſcribed them by a Map. This Map I made uſe of as a Guide throughout my Journey, and as a Foundation, on which to build that annexed to my own Book. A ſhort Sketch of my Journey is as followeth:

2. Firſt, we began our Travels in the North, in the *Samojedian*, which he before called *Sirenian* and *Waguliſſian* Countries, which are alſo under the *Siberian* Government, being ſubject to the *Waiwodes* of *Pelun*, as far as the Sea. It is obſervable that there are various Sorts of *Samojedes*, very different from each other in their Language or Expreſſion, as are the *Bereſoffkians* and *Puſtoſerſians*, which believe themſelves alſo to be the ſame Nation: After theſe are thoſe who live on the Sea-Coaſt beyond the Eaſt Side of the *Oby* to *Truchamſkoy*, or *Mangazeiſkoy*; as alſo thoſe which for the greateſt Part of the Year reſide about *Archangel*, near the River *Dwina*, though indeed in Summer they ſet up Hutts by the Water-ſide, and in the Winter far in the Woods: This laſt Sort are the Scum of thoſe People who formerly lived together by the Sea-ſide, which now are come to this Country.

Beſides theſe, are the *Samojedes* that inhabit all along the *Ice-Coaſt* of the Province of *Siberia*, which are a People that have not much more to pretend to than a human Face and Figure; they have but a very ſmall Share of Underſtanding, and in all other Particulars are very like Wolves and Dogs, for they eat all Manner of dead Carcaſſes, whether of Horſes, Aſſes, Dogs or Cats, which die a natural Death; as well as Whales, Sea-Cows, Sea-Calves or Horſes, &c. which are thrown upon the Shore by the Ice; nor do they take the Trouble of dreſſing theſe Meats, but devour them raw; and if they had but Wings they would certainly take their Flight to *Greenland*, and diet with the white Bears and Malmucks (a Sort of Birds of Prey) which feed on the flea'd Whales Carcaſſes: And notwithſtanding all this, they inhabit a Country that richly abounds with wild Game, Fiſh and Fleſh; but moſt of them are too idle to provide themſelves with it.

They have a Sort of Governors amongſt them, to whom they bring their Tribute, and theſe are obliged to carry the ſame to the Cities or Winter-Places of his Czariſh Majeſty. A Gentleman who ſtaid ſome time at *Poſtoi Oſer*, told me, that their Hart-Sleads were very convenient, and that with them they went prodigiouſly ſwift over the Mountains covered with Snow. (The Faſhion of theſe Sleads, their Manner of Travelling, and their Buckſkin Habit with the hairy Part outwards, together with their Bow and Arrows, are expreſſed in the annexed Print.) He added that he had ſeen the abovementioned Governors in ſuch Sleads as theſe, to which were ſometimes harneſſed ſix or eight Bucks; the Governors are commonly cloathed in Scarlet-Coats, but their Retinue in the Habit already deſcribed. Their Arrows, inſtead of being pointed with Steel or Iron, are only headed with the Bone of a Sea-Calf, or ſome other Animal.

They make a very diſagreeable Figure all over, inſomuch that I may venture to affirm, that ſuch a ſhocking ill looked People are not to be found on the Surface of the whole Earth. Their Stature is ſhort and flat; they have broad Shoulders and Faces, flat and broad Noſes, great blubber hanging Lips, and frightful Eyes like thoſe of the Lynx. They are very brown all over, their Hair is diſhevelled, ſome of it being red or pale, but moſt of it is as black as Pitch; they have very little Beards; their Skin is brown and hard, and they are very ſwift Runners. The Roebucks, which they uſe to draw their Sleads in Winter, are horned and ſhaped like Harts, but have crooked hanging Necks, like thoſe of Dromedaries; beſides which, what is obſerved of them is very particular, that they are as white as Snow in Winter, and greyiſh in Summer: They are fed with Moſs, which grows on the Ground in the Woods.

Theſe *Samojedes* are groſs Idolaters, who have no Notion of any Religion otherwiſe than that, like the *Perſians*, they worſhip the Sun and Moon, by bowing their Bodies Night and Morning; beſides which, they keep near and in their Tents Idols that hang on Trees; ſome of them are wooden Images repreſenting human Figures; others made of Iron, to which they ſhew ſome Reſpect: Their Tents are cover'd with Birch Barks ſew'd together, and when they remove them, as they frequently do in Winter as well as Summer, they ſet up the Stakes round with the Points together, and upon theſe they lay the Covering of the fore-mentioned Bark over them, leaving a Hole at the Top for the Paſſage of the Smoke. Their Fire is made in the Middle of their Tents, round which they lie at Nights naked both Men and Women. They lay their Children in Boxes or Cradles made of Birch Bark ſewed together, filled with Shavings of Trees which are as ſoft as Wool, and covered with Buck-ſkins.

They marry within the Degrees of Conſanguinity without the leaſt Scruple, and buy one another's Daughters for Wives, giving for them Bucks and Hides; and according to the Cuſtom of ſeveral Eaſtern Nations, they take as many Wives as they can keep. When they deſign a Merry-making, they ſtand in Couples oppoſite to each other, throw up one of their Legs, and mutually clap the Soles of their Feet ſo hard with their Hands that it may be heard at a Diſtance. Inſtead of Singing, they make a howling Noiſe like that of Bears, they neigh like Horſes, or chirrup like young Birds. They have a Sorts of Conjurers that ſhew all ſorts of diabolical Tricks, moſt, if not all of which are fraudulent Deluſions. But here taking our Leave of theſe monſtrous *Samojedes*, we ſhall turn our Diſcourſe to another and more pleaſant Subject.

Near this Coaſt, as far as *Weygats* and *Meſeem*, are all Sorts of Quadrupeds, particularly Wolves, Bears, Foxes, and Harts, &c. The Fowls are Ducks, Partridges, &c. being Snow-white in Winter, which is ſo very ſevere, that about *Samojeda* I have myſelf ſeen Rooks and Magpies fall down dead in their Flight, being killed by the piercing Froſt.

3. A great deal hath been ſaid concerning the *Weygats*, by *Engliſh*, *Danes*, and *Hollanders*, who with Ships have endeavoured to bore through this icy Channel, which hath been done indeed once or twice, but then thoſe who did it were repulſed, and forced to return to their own Country by the vehement Current of Ice in the South or Icy Sea; of which Mr. *Nicholas Witſen*, *Burger-maſter* of *Amſterdam*, treats at large, that Gentleman having obtained an exact Account of whatever is remarkable, from ſeveral Perſons who have been there; all which Obſervations he hath incomparably well digeſted in his Chart of *Weygats* and the Sea-coaſts, to

the River *Oby*; by which it plainly appears, that from *Weygats* to the *Icy* or *Holy Cape*, the Sea is utterly unnavigable with Ships, and ſhould a ſecond *Chriſtopher Columbus* appear, and point out the Courſe of the Heavens, he could not yet drive away theſe Mountains of Ice: For God and Nature have ſo invincibly fenced the Sea-ſide of *Siberia* with Ice, that no Ship can come to the River *Jeniſea*, much leſs can they come farther Northwards into the Sea. Not to mention the Voyage from the *Icy* or *Holy Cape*, round *Japan* and *Jedzo*, I ſhall only inſert what I have collected from the Informations of the *Ruſſians*, who ſeveral Times have ſailed through the Streights of *Weygats* to the *Oby*.

We go, ſay they, with our *Koiſkt*, (a Sort of Barks fitted for the Sea) to the Streights of *Weygats*, to fiſh for Sea-Calves, and if they do not meet with great Quantities of Fiſh, we ſail directly into the *Weygats*; but if the Wind blows from the Sea, the whole Coaſt is covered with Ice, and we are obliged to put into ſome of the Creeks or little Rivulets which run inland, and withal not to venture too far, but ſtay there till the Wind turns about and blows from the Shore towards the Sea; upon which theſe Streights are ſo perfectly cleared of all their Ice, that it ſoon drives ſeveral Miles out of Sight at Sea; and making uſe of that Opportunity, we ſail along the Coaſt till the Wind turns contrary, when we are again forced in, in Search of a Creek to ſhelter us; which if we fail of, the Bark is ſhatter'd to Pieces by the Clots of Ice.

About fifty Years paſt, the *Siberian Ruſſians* had free Liberty to fetch their Proviſion, as Corn, Meal, *&c.* from the Sea-ports, and to carry their *Siberian* Commodities thither through the *Weygats*, ſuppoſing that they paid the proper Toll to his Czariſh Majeſty: But theſe *Siberians* abuſed their Sovereign's Favour to a very great Degree, and made uſe of it to bring in great Quantities of Goods by other Ways and Rivers into *Ruſſia* by Stealth, whereby his Majeſty ſuffered very much in his Revenue; for which Reaſon, ever ſince, the Importation of any Goods through the Streights of *Weygats* have been abſolutely prohibited; but all are obliged to be brought over *Bereſova*, the *Kamenſkoy*, or the rocky *Pojas*; which Paſſages are not attended with ſmall Difficulties, for when they leave *Bereſova*, the Carriers are obliged to cut their Boats (which are cut out of a Tree) acroſs in two, and in thoſe half Boats draw themſelves and their Goods over the high Mountains, and having ſpent ſome Days in this irkſome Way of Travelling, till they are come to the North-ſide, they again faſten their Boats together, ſtopping the Joints cloſe with Moſs, and therewith purſue their Voyage to *Archangel*, or the other Places in *Ruſſia* ſituated on the River *Oby*.

4. I ſhall now turn my Diſcourſe to the *Pojas*, or *Ridge of the World*; which is a vaſt Quantity of Rocky Hills, that in their parting, according to the exacteſt Obſervation, make a Sort of *Ridge* or *Pojas*. This *Ridge* begins from *Petzerkay Oſer*, or *Pezerſe Lanis*, and extends, without any Diviſion, through the Province of *Wergaturia*, under which is compriſed the *Wergatcerſchian Wolok*; and this Maſs of Hills is no otherwiſe to be travelled than by drawing over it. From thence it runs Southward by the Caſtle of *Utka*, to the *Uſſinian Tartars* Country, out of which Mountains the River *Uſſy*, and Eaſtward the River *Nitra*, *Tuna*, &c. originally riſe, and the laſt falls North-Weſtward into the *Kama*. From hence this mountainous Ridge takes its Courſe Southwards, to the *Kalmockian Borders*, out of which *Pojas*, the large River *Jaica*, ſo rich in Fiſh, riſes Weſtwards, and diſembogues itſelf into the *Caſpian* Sea, and the River *Tobol* riſes out of the North Side of it. Its Courſe Eaſtwards is along the *Kalmuckian* Country, and the Borders of *Siberia*, paſſing by *Aſero Saiſan*, and *Oſer Kalculan*, two Lakes; from the firſt of which the vaſt River *Oby* ſprings, and from the ſecond *Irtis*. From this great Lake *Oſer Kalculan*, this Ridge of Mountains turns off again Southward, where the River *Jeniſea* riſes, which diſcharges itſelf into the *Tartarian Icy Sea*.

Farther Southwards this *Pojas* or Ridge of Hills inclines in the Shape of an Elbow to the North-Eaſt and South. It runs along by the River *Jenizea* Northwards, and Southwards by the *Oſer* or Lake *Koſogol*, out of which riſes the River *Selenga*, which falls into the Lake *Baikal*. From hence the *Pojas* extends to the *Sandy Deſert*, in the *Mongalian* Country, and being interrupted by ſome Days Journey through the mentioned Deſart, proceeds onwards to the South, as far as the *Chineſe* great Wall, and then turns off Eaſtwards to the *Careeſchian Sea*, as is delineated in our Map.

5. But to come to the Deſcription of the People of theſe Provinces, and to inform the Reader to whom they are Tributaries. The Country from *Pelim* to *Wergaturia*, all along by the River *Zuſawaja*, to the Province of *Uſſinia*, is moſtly inhabited by the *Woguliſchian* Heathens, whoſe Tenets and Manner of living are already above deſcribed. The River *Kugur*, where the *Uſſinian* Habitations begin, riſes out of the *Uſſinſchian* Juriſdiction, betwixt the Rivers *Zuſawaja* and *Uſſa*, and falls into the *Kama*. On this laſt River is ſituate the City called *Kungun*, in which his Czariſh Majeſty hath a Garriſon. Theſe *Uſſinchian Tartars*, as alſo another Sort called *Baſkinzians*, inhabit near the City of *Oeſſa*, and live diſperſed in Villages and Towns, all which are well built after the *Ruſſian* Faſhion, along the Weſtern Shore of the River *Kama*, and by the *Wolga* Side, almoſt as far as the Cities *Sarat* and *Sarapul*, both which are ſituate on the River *Wolga*, and garriſoned by his Czariſh Majeſty, in order to the collecting of his Tribute, and to keep the *Tartars* in Awe. This Tribute they pay in Furrs and Honey; and are a Sort of People that will not bear being too roughly handled by their Governors, but if ſo treated by them are ſure to rebel, of which there have been ſeveral Inſtances formerly; but for a long Time they have not been guilty of any Diſloyalty.

South-Weſtwards, in the Diſtrict of *Aſtracan*, there are alſo other ſmall Clans or Hords of that Nation, who being an independant People, in Conjunction with the *Kalmockians* bordering on *Aſtracan*, rob and pillage in the Province of *Siberia*. Beſides which, by Way of ſupplemental Maintenance, they apply themſelves to the Tillage of the Ground, chiefly for the Production of Barley, Oats, and Buck-wheat: And as ſoon as the Corn is reaped, they prepare a Threſhing-Floor in the Field, threſh it out, and ſtow it in the Barn. This Country as plentifully flows with Honey as any Part of the World. Moſt of the Men's wearing Cloaths are made of *Ruſſian* white Cloths, the Coat being about the ſame Faſhion with thoſe of the *Muſcovite* Peaſants, with long Flaps hanging down on their Backs. The Women, when the Seaſon is not too cold, cover the upper Part of their Body with a Shift only, which is curiouſly ſtitched with Silk of all Colours by Way of Stripe, from the Top to the Bottom; and about the lower Part of their Body they wear Petticoats, and a Sort of Shoes which not only cover their Feet, but reach above their Ancles. Their Head-dreſs conſiſts in a Sort of Fillet about a Hand-breadth, which they wear on their Foreheads, and faſten it behind. This Fillet is ſtitched with Silk of ſeveral Colours, and adorned with a Sort of variegated Glaſs, in Imitation of Coral, which is ſtrung, and hangs dangling near the Eyes. Some have theſe broader than others, as being full two Spans long, and of one Hand-breadth, and ſtitched through with Silk; theſe look like a thin Plank, and are adorned with Corals of all Sorts of Colours, which cover their Forehead. When they go abroad, they cover their Head-dreſs with a ſquare Linen Handkerchief, ſtitched with Silk, and edged with Silk Fringe.

Theſe *Uſſinſchian*, as well as the *Kaſkierſchian Tartars*, are a valiant, warlike People; they ſit their Horſes well, and carry no other Arms than Bows and Arrows, in the Uſe of which they are extraordinary dextrous. They are vigorous and large Men, their Shoulders are broad, and they ſuffer their Beards to grow to a good Length. The Hair of their Eye-brows is ſo very thick and long, that it hangs over their Eyelids, and generally runs ſo far croſs the Forehead as to unite the two Eye-brows. They have a Language peculiar to themſelves, yet can partly underſtand the *Aſtracan Tartars*. Their Religion is Pagan, though indeed they partly incline to the *Mahometan*, which they have borrowed from the *Crim Tartars*, with whom they formerly converſed very much.

6. The Country betwixt the Rivers *Tobol* and *Oby*, to the *Jamuſchowa Oſer*, is inhabited by *Kalmockians*. This *Oſer* or Lake plentifully abounds with hard Salt, and lies under the *Kalmockian* Juriſdiction; notwithſtanding which about twenty or twenty five *Dochenicks*, or *Ruſſian* Veſſels, guarded by a Convoy of 2500 well armed Men, come annually from *Toboleſk*, up the River *Irtis*, from whence they travel by Land to this *Oſer* or Lake, where they dig up the Salt like Ice from the Shore, and load their Ships with it. Indeed they generally have ſome Skirmiſhes with the *Kalmockians*, who will not allow of this Practice: But yet, whether they will or not, they are forced to ſuffer it.

Inclining lower down from this *Jamuſawaian Lake*, near the River *Irtis*, lies the City of *Torre*, adjoining to the River *Tara*: This is the laſt Frontier Place which belongs to his Czariſh Majeſty, bordering on the Territories of the *Kalmockian* Prince *Buſtuchan*. The Inhabitants of which are called *Barabinſy*, and ſtretch themſelves Eaſtward from the City of *Torre*, to the River *Oby*, oppoſite to the River *Ton*, and the City of *Tomſkoy*. This Country of *Barnabu*, is paſſable in Summer as well as Winter; but chiefly in the latter: For the *Oby* at *Surgut* and *Narin* being unpaſſable in the Winter, Travellers generally go this Way to *Siberia*, by *Tomſkoy* and *Jenuſeeſchs*. This Nation, which is called *Barabinſy*, conſiſts of a Sort of *Kalmocks* which pay Tribute equally to the Czar, and the *Buſtuchan*. They have amongſt them three Governors or *Taiſchi*; the firſt of which is called *Karſagaz*, the ſecond *Baikiſch*; and the third *Baiduk*: Theſe three Lords receive the Tribute of the *Barabinzes*, and bring the Czar his Portion. The *Karſagaz*, the firſt of them, brings his Part to the City of *Tora*; *Baikiſch*, his Portion to the *Ruſſian* Caſtle of *Teluwa*; and *Baiduk*, the Remainder to the Caſtle of *Kulenba*: All of theſe Tributes being paid in Furrs. Theſe are an inſolent villanous Sort of People; they live in low built wooden Houſes, like thoſe of the *Siberian Tartars*; they are not at all acquainted with the Uſe of Stoves or Ovens, but make Uſe of a Sort of Chimnies or rather Smoak-holes. When their Wood is burnt, they ſtop the Smoak-hole, and warm themſelves by the Coals as long as any Heat remains in them.

Their Houſes are ranged into Villages; they ſet up high Hutts in the Summer, but in Winter retire into their warm wooden Dwellings. They are tolerably ſkilful in Agriculture, and ſow Oats, Barley, Millet, and Buck-wheat, but are not fond of either Rye or Rye-bread: And though they like the Taſte of it well enough, yet they chew it ſo awkwardly, and roll it upon their Tongues as if they had Dirt in their Mouths, and ſpitting it out, ſcrape the Remainder off their Tongue as after a Thing which they cannot ſwallow. They ſteep their Barley in Water, dry it a little, and then threſh off the Huſk; after which they dry, or rather fry it in a very hot Iron Pan or Kettle; by which Management it becomes as hard as Bone; and this is their Bread which they daily eat, and is ſo hard and dry, that it craſhes betwixt their Teeth. They alſo eat the *Saranna* or Bulb of yellow Lillies, dried, ſtamped, and boiled with Milk, as a Sort of Milk-pap. They drink *Kumis*, a Sort of Brandy extracted from Mares-Milk; and *Karaza*, i. e. *Karatcha*, or black Tea, which is brought thither by the *Bucharians*.

Their Arms are thoſe common to the greateſt Part of the *Tartars*, *viz.* Bows and Arrows. They keep great Numbers of Cattle, particularly Horſes, Camels, Cows and Sheep: But neither keep nor will eat Hogs. Their Country abounds with fine Sables, Martins, Squirrels, Ermins, Foxes, Hyena's, Beavers, Minks, Otters, *&c.* in which they pay their Tribute. This Country extends from *Tora* to the Rivers *Oby* and *Tom*; is not mountainous, but plain even Land, abounding with Woods of beautiful Cedars, Larch-Trees, Birch and Pitch-Trees, which are interſected by ſeveral Cryſtalline running Streams. In the Habits of both Men and Women, they follow the *Numgolſchian* and *Kalmockian* Faſhion; and marry as many Wives as they can maintain. When they go into the Woods in order to hunt furred Animals, they carry their *Saitans* along with them; which is a rough Image, as well carved in Wood as they can do it with a Knife: This they cloath in a Stuff Dreſs of all Sorts of Colours, in Imitation of the Habits of the *Ruſſian* Women, and place him upright in a ſmall Caſe, and carry him upon a particular Slead, both made for that Purpoſe; and to him they offer up their firſt Capture of what Sort of Beaſt ſoever it prove.

When they have killed great Numbers of their Game, they return Home very merrily, mount their Idol in his Caſe, to the higheſt Place in the Houſe, and hang him behind and before, above and below, with Sables, Martins and all Sorts of Furrs, in order to expreſs their Acknowledgements to him for rendring their Hunting ſo ſucceſsful; and all theſe rich Furrs muſt hang there to be ſpoiled and putrified, they believing it a moſt unpardonable Crime to take off or ſell any of theſe dedicated Hides; whence it is that we daily ſee ſo many fine Skins placed by theſe Images, that are eaten up by the Worms, which it is indeed a great Pity are not better employed.

7. Croſſing the River *Oby* from hence, we come to *Tomſkoy*, which is alſo a Frontier Place belonging to the Czar, ſituate on the *Buzuk*, and is a very fine and vaſt large City, ſtrongly garriſoned by *Ruſſian* and *Coſſackian* Soldiers, to prevent the Incurſions of the *Tartars* into *Siberia*; and in the Suburbs over the River live great Numbers of *Bucharſian Tartars*, who pay Tribute to his Czariſh Majeſty. This City lies on the River *Tom*, which riſes in the *Kalmockian* Territories, and from hence the Subjects of the *Buſuchtu Chan*, and the *Bucharſians*, drive a very conſiderable Trade to *China*, ſeveral *Ruſſian* Merchants being concerned and ſharing with them. This Way to *China* is very expeditious, it being practicable to go thither in twelve Weeks, and return back in as ſhort a Time; but it is withal expoſed to the greateſt Inconveniencies and Difficulties in the World; for the Travellers are obliged to carry all Neceſſaries along with them upon Camels, nay even Water and Wood to dreſs their Victuals. They go directly through *Kalmockia*, and through *Cokoton*, a *Chineſe* City without the Wall. But it is utterly impoſſible for *Ruſſians* or other Nations to travel this Road, by Reaſon that it is infeſted with ſeveral Gangs of Robbers, which ſet on the Paſſengers, and very often deprive them of all that they have gained by ſo tedious and fatiguing a Journey.

From *Tomſkoy* down to the City of *Janiſeeſch* is utterly deſolate and uninhabited Land; the Country is an even Plain, on which appear ſome ſcattered Thickets: Alſo all about the two Rivers *Kia* and *Zuwin*, to as far as the Cities *Kuſnezkoy* and *Kraſnajar*, is very little or not at all inhabited, any where beſides the Frontiers. The firſt peopled Country we find here is that of the *Kirgizens*, which are the Subjects of the *Buſuchtu Chan*. The City of *Kraſnajar* is very large, and defended by a ſtrong Garriſon of *Coſſacks* placed in it by his Czariſh Majeſty, and they are always obliged to keep a very ſtrict Guard to prevent the Incurſions of the *Kirgizens*, for which Reaſon twenty Horſes both Day and Night ſtand conſtantly Saddled and Bridled, in the Market-place, before the Governor's Houſe: For the *Kirgizens*, though at Peace with the *Siberians*, are a People who are never to be truſted. For frequently when they are not expected, they come in Parties, and ſteal both Men and Horſes under the very Walls of the City, and out of the neareſt of the *Siberian* Villages: But the *Coſſacks* generally make ſevere Reprizals on them, by often killing and carrying off, ſeveral hundreds of Men and Horſes from their *Hords* or Clans.

8. Theſe *Kirgizens* extend their Habitations South-Eaſtwards as far as the *Mongalian* Diſtricts. They are a warlike Nation, being generally vigorous, tall, and broad-faced Men, ſomewhat like the *Kalmockians*. Their Arms are Bows and Arrows, but they never go out in

Queſt of Booty without very good Coats of Mail and Lances, which they draw along by the Horſe Side, with their Points on the Ground. They generally live in the Mountains, which naturally ſerve to defend them from Surprize. The greateſt Part of their Language is *Kalmockian*, but they alſo ſpeak a great deal of the *Crim Tartarian* Idiom, which the *Turks* partly underſtand.

From *Kraſnoy* along the River *Jeniſea*, as far down as *Jeniſeeſch*, is inhabited by ſome *Tunguzians*; but chiefly by *Burattians*. This laſt-mentioned Caſtle juſt touches on *Mongalia*, and borders on the Ridge of Rocks between *Tunkinſkoi* and the City of *Selinga*. The Frontier Fort butting on *Mongalia* is not large, but provided with a very ſtrong Garriſon, chiefly of Horſe, in order to defend the Weſtern-ſide againſt the *Mongalians*, and their ſubordinate *Tartars* the *Mirottians*, *Milyans*, and *Burattians*. Near this City grows a Sort of *Santalum* or *Sanders*, which is prodigious hard. The *Burattians*, which are under the Protection of his Czariſh Majeſty, formerly inhabited the Country all about *Selinga*; but by Reaſon ſome of them, at the Inſtigation of the *Chineſe*, began to fly over to the *Mongalians*, the Remainder were, for greater Security, tranſplanted to the *Baicaſſian Lake*, round which they now live in the Mountains, and pay their Tribute to his Czariſh Majeſty in Sables and other rich Furrs.

From this City to the Lake *Baikal* runs a continued Ridge of Hills, where are found very fine Sables and Cabardins. From the Lake *Koſogel* Eaſtward to the Sandy Deſart, and from thence to *Dway*, or the *Mongalian Lake*, and ſo on to the Province of *Argun*, and thence again North-weſt as far as the Rivers *Onon* and *Sikoy*, is the Circumference and Boundary of the whole *Mongalian* Territories, or, as hath been formerly ſaid, of the *Juriſdiction of the Race of* Gog *and* Magog, which is governed by three Regents, the Chief of which is the *Kuttucht*, who is alſo the High-prieſt of the Nation. The ſecond Brother is the *Azirci Sain Chan*, and the third is *Elict*, whoſe Boundaries border on the Weſt *Tartars*. The firſt two Brothers inſeparably hold together, but the third robs and plunders wherever any Booty is to be come at; and is ſo bold as to venture ſometimes even to the *Chineſe* Wall with his Troops, carrying off all that comes in his Way, not ſparing even the Emperor of *China*'s Money which he ſends as a charitable Preſent to the neighbouring *Tartars*, to engage them to a firm Continuance in their Allegiance. *Kuttucht*, otherwiſe call'd *Koetoegt*, and *Azirci Sain Chan* his Brother, though their Country is of vaſt Extent, have yet put both themſelves and that under the Protection of the Emperor of *China*, out of their great Fear of the *Baſuchtu Chan*, Prince of the *Kalmockians*, from whom they ſuffered very much in the Years 1688, and 1689.

9. But to ſtay no longer on the Frontiers of his Czariſh Majeſty's Territories, and to take a Turn Eaſtwards of *Ardum* Caſtle, which Fortreſs is built on the Weſt-ſide of the River *Argum*, and garriſoned with *Ruſſian* Forces; the People inhabiting all round are *Tungaſi Konni*, who pay their Tribute to his Czariſh Majeſty in Sables, Linx, and grey Ferrets Skins, which there prove very fine. The *Tunguſians* are a fierce, warlike People, and can, on Occaſion, from theſe Borders only, bring into the Field four thouſand Horſemen armed with Bows and Arrows; inſomuch that no roving *Mongalians* dare ride or appear hereabouts, otherwiſe than by Night, when they ſometimes drive away a few Horſes and Cattle out of the Field. Their Winter Cloaths are Sheep-ſkins, and their Boots like thoſe of the *Chineſe*. Their Caps are turned up with broad Borders of Furr, which they can turn up or pull down as rainy or fair Weather gives Occaſion. They wear about their Waiſts a Girdle of about a Hand's Breadth, faſten'd with thin Iron Plates, and an Arrow, upon which they make a Sort of piping Muſick. In Summer-time they generally ride with bare Heads, ſhaven all round, leaving only one Lock hanging behind, like the *Chineſe*. Their Summer Dreſs is made of blue *Chineſe* Callico quilted with Cotton; but as for Shirts they wear none. They naturally have very ſmall, or indeed ſcarce any Beards, are broad-faced like the *Kalmockians*, and very ſtrong Men.

When they labour under Want of Proviſions, they go in whole Hords or Clans out a Buck-hunting, where they encompaſs and ſhoot vaſt Quantities of them, and whatever they take, they ſocially divide, and rarely ſhoot but they hit their Game. The Wives are cloathed much in the ſame Manner as the Huſbands, being chiefly diſtinguiſhed by two plaited Locks which they wear on each Side of the Head, and hang down on their Breaſts, and are tied with Silver or Tin Rings. They marry as many Wives as they can keep, and buy them of one another, not being very nicely concerned at their having lived with another Man. They believe and acknowledge a God in Heaven, but they neither pay any Worſhip, nor addreſs any Prayers to him. In the Night they apply themſelves to the *Sutkur* or *Sattan*, by beating of Drums and performing of Exorciſms, eſpecially when they are going a Hunting, or upon any Robbing Deſign, to enquire whether they are to expect good or ill Succeſs. Their Liquor with which they make merry, is *Arak*, a Sort of Brandy diſtilled from Mares Milk, which they ſuffer to turn acid. Inſtead of a Cauldron they draw off this Liquor in two Pots, one ſet upon the other, and well luted together, there being a wooden Pipe in one of them. This they draw off twice or thrice, and this Operation produces good Brandy; which even Girls, as well as Men and Women, ſip to that Exceſs, that they become inſenſible and motionleſs for a long Space of Time. Their Wives and Daughters ride on Horſeback, arm'd with Bows and Arrows, as well as the Men. Their Bread is a refined and dried Sort of Flour of yellow Lilly Bulbs, of which they make a Sort of Pap; beſides which, they have no other Bread: But they alſo eat the mentioned Bulbs dry out of Hand, and are utterly unpractiſed in and ignorant of Agriculture. The Trade or Barter which ſome of this Nation drive with the *Targaſinians* and *Xixigarſians*, which live under the *Chineſe* Juriſdiction, is chiefly trucking Furrs againſt blue Callicoes, Linens, and Tobacco, and proves very advantageous to them, as it generally doth to all who follow it. They believe themſelves to be the Deſcendants of the *Targaſinians* of *Daorzi*, with ſeveral of whom they keep up an amicable Correſpondence.

Near the before-mentioned Caſtle of *Argum*, about half a Day's Journey from it, amongſt the Hills, is a Silver Mine, and it plainly appears, that formerly the People of *Nieuchieu*, or *Daourzen*, had ſeveral Foundaries and Works there, which are at preſent run to Ruin. From hence to *Nerzinſkoy*, the chief City of *Daour*, it is ten Days Journey by Land with Camels, and is alſo a fine Country, very conveniently watered with ſeveral running Brooks. Upon and betwixt the Hills, grow the moſt charming Herbs and Flowers which Imagination can ſuggeſt: And the Vallies are covered with long Graſs about half a Man's Height. Tillage is not very much practiſed here, by reaſon the Inhabitants are chiefly his Czariſh Majeſty's *Tartars*.

10. But leaving the River *Argum* again, and croſſing over the vaſt River *Amur*, I come to the River *Gorbiza*, which ſeparates the Dominions of his Czariſh Majeſty from thoſe of the Emperor of *China*; from the Haven of the *Gorbiza* Eaſtwards to the Sea being ſubject to the *Chineſe*, and the Weſtern as well as the Northern Side of the ſaid River belonging to his Czariſh Majeſty. If we ſteer Eaſtwards from the *Gorbiza* to the Rivers *Tugur* and *Uda*, which riſe Northwards of the *Amur*, and fall Eaſtwards into the *Chineſe* Ocean or *Amurſchian Sea*, we find the Country betwixt thoſe Rivers yields great Quantities of black Sables, and the Shores of theſe mentioned Streams are inhabited by *Tunguzians*, *Alemurians*, and *Koreizians*; which laſt Nation ſeems originally to come from *Corea*, that Country lying not far diſtant from thence, it being eaſy to reach it in a ſhort Day, with a favourable Wind. They are reported to have ſettled along the Banks of the River *Amur*, and afterwards ſpread themſelves farther. Those who live on the Sea-coaſt depend chiefly on Fiſhing; but there are many of the Inland People very rich, great Num-

bers of the beſt Sables and richeſt Furrs being found here. This Country is ſubject to the Governor of *Jakutskoy*, and the Woods in this Neighbourhood are all ſtrongly guarded, in order to prevent the *Chineſe Tartars* from hunting any Sables here.

To the Shores of theſe two Rivers, there come annually a Sort of People out of the Iſlands which lie in the Sea, but ſo near the Shore, that from thence they may be eaſily ſeen. Theſe People appear very well dreſſed in very fine Furr Surtouts, under which they wear ſilken Coats almoſt as rich as thoſe of the *Perſians.* They are tall, have large Beards, and make a noble manly Figure. They come in ſmall Barks to the *Siberian Tartars*, and buy Girls and Women of them, of which they are very fond, giving for them rich Sables and black Fox-ſkins; which they report they have in great Quantities on their Iſlands, and earneſtly ſolicit the *Siberian Tunguſians* to come and trade with them. They pretend that the Province of *Jakutskoy* was formerly ſubject to them; and their Language bears a little Similitude to the *Jakutſchian*.

11. Northwards of theſe two Rivers riſes the River *Ogota*, betwixt which and the *Uda*, near the Shore, and all along in the Sea, as far as the *Icy Cape*, abounds with Whales, Sea horſes, and Sea-Dogs. *Kamſatka*, and the Country farther along by the Sea ſide, is inhabited by a People called *Xuxi* and *Koeliki*, each of which have a Language peculiar to themſelves. Thoſe who live near the Sea are cloathed in Seal-ſkins, and dwell in ſubterraneous Caverns; but thoſe who inhabit the inland Country are generally rich, and very much accuſtomed to Hart-hunting; they eat all their Fleſh and Fiſh raw, and waſh themſelves with nothing elſe beſides their own Urine; and are a very ſly, treacherous People, that never keep their Words. Their chief Arms are Slings, in the Uſe of which they are very dextrous, and can throw a great Way. All hereabouts, near the *Icy Cape*, the Winter Snow lies on the Ground, though it is not very deep, and chiefly falls in the Beginning of the Winter, all the remaining Part of that Seaſon being free from Snow. There is a Gulf which comes up to *Kamſatka*, that affords prodigious Quantities of Sea-Horſes, and other Sea Fiſh, which are alſo caught in great Numbers.

If we put to Sea at the *Icy Cape*, we find, that the farther out we ſail, the Courſe of the Sea is ſtill the more interrupted by the Multiplicity of Iſlands; and not far above *Kamſatka* is a Paſſage which the Seal-Fiſhers and others make very good Uſe of. All *Anadieskoy* and *Sabaliska* are inhabited by the already deſcribed Nations called *Xuxi* and *Koeliki*. The River *Salaza* abounds with fine Herrings, Sturgeon, Sterbeth, and Nebna. And in the Inland Country ſomewhat diſtant from hence, all along by the *Simaniko*, are ſeveral Winter-houſes, which are inhabited by his Czariſh Majeſty's *Coſſacks*, who collect his Taxes and Tolls. But notwithſtanding that ſeveral Sables and Linxes are caught in this Province along by the ſeveral Rivers, yet the *Simonikoe* of *Muskoy* yields the moſt conſiderable Revenue, the greateſt Quantity of Sables being caught there. The Climate of this Icy Cape, called in *Muſcovite* Dialect, *Swetoinos*, otherwiſe the *Holy Cape*, is extraordinary cold, it freezing ſo hard, that the Sea is covered with thick Ice in ſeveral Places, which driven into mountainous Heaps by the Wind from Year to Year, increaſes and ſticks ſo faſt together that it ſeems but one Clot: From which, according as the Wind ſits, are ſometimes broke off great Pieces, which diſperſe themſelves, and in Proceſs of Time, in a boiſterous Sea, become new Mountains of Ice: It ſometimes happens that this Sea is frozen up for two or three Years ſucceſſively, and it was obſerved that it continued ſo from 1694 to 1697.

12. From hence let us proceed farther on to the great River *Lena*, which riſes out of the South-weſt near the Lake *Bakail*, where the Provinces of *Siberia* and *Daour* are divided from each other. Upon this River lies *Jakutſkoy*, the Capital City of this Northern Province: From which Town in Summer-time, it is cuſtomary for ſmall Barks to coaſt it along by the Shore Side, and go through the Cape to *Sabazia*, *Onadieſkoy*, and *Kamſatka*, in Search of Sea-Calves Teeth and Train Oyl, *&c.* The Neighbouring Heathens, or *Tartars*, make Uſe of little Leathern-Boats on this River, which are very ſwift. The Country about the City of *Jakutskoy*, and the River *Amga*, is inhabited by a Sort of People called *Jakutiſians*, whoſe Habit is very particular, their upper Coats being made of various colour'd Furrs ſewed together, and the Edges bordered all round, with a Border about a Hand's Breadth of Buck's Hair, but in every Thing elſe made ſomewhat like the *German* Faſhion, and open at the Sides and behind. They have long Hair, wear no Shirts, and believe that there is a great Being above in Heaven, who gave them Life, and ſends them Food, Wives, and Children. And they celebrate a great Feſtival in the Spring, in which they make Offerings of *Kumis*, or *Arak*, diſtill'd from Milk, to this Being: And during the Continuance of this Feaſt, they do not drink themſelves, but make great Fires, and continually ſprinkle this *Kumis*, or *Arak*, towards the Eaſt; which is their Manner of Offering. When any one of them dies, his neareſt Relation is buried alive with him; from the ſame Principles that, in ſeveral Places in *India*, the Women accompany the dead Bodies of their Huſband on the flaming Funeral-Pile, in order to enjoy their Company in the other World.

About one half of their Language agrees very well with that of the *Mahometan Tartas* near *Tobolskoy*, which is derived from the *Bulgarian*. They take as many Wives as they can maintain. Their chief Beaſts of Burden are their Stags, upon which they alſo ride, and thereby in a little Time go a vaſt Way: They are a valiant and a quick-witted People, and ſeem to be great Lovers of Truth. When the Governor of *Jakutſkoy* proves to be a Perſon who governs remiſsly, they do one another all poſſible Miſchiefs, by robbing, pillaging, and all other Exorbitancies: But when they have one that holds the Reins very tight, they are quiet and obedient, and no Outrages are heard of amongſt them; but they praiſe his great Wiſdom, and wiſh he may continue long in that Poſt. They venture to tell us, that their Anceſtors originally came from *Kalmockia*, from whence they were driven by the *Ruſſians*, and forced to take up their Quarters in the cold Parts of this Diſtrict. They are very much afflicted with the Scurvy, which they ſoon drive away, by eating raw Fiſh, and taking of *Deugti*, which is a Sort of Tar.

13. The *Jugogayers*, a Sort of Heathens alſo which inhabit Part of this Country, uſually, when any of their Relations die, cut off all the Fleſh of his Corps to the Bones, dry the Skeleton, and hang it with Glaſs-Corals of all Colours, carry it round their Hutts, or Dwellings, and thus pay Idolatrous Worſhip to the deceaſed. Along by this River *Lena* are annually found ſeveral Mammuts Teeth and Skeletons, which fall off from the Mountains, and out of the frozen Earth near this River; theſe Hills, by the Current of Ice from the high-ſwoln Waters in the Spring looſing great Pieces, which are tumbled down into the River. The ſeveral fine Rivers which deſcend from the South and fall into the *Lena*, are the *Witim*, *Olekina*, and *Maja*, along which are great Multitudes of fine black Sables, and other Furrs: In Winter 1000 Ermins being to be bought of the *Tartars* for three or four Roubels. All about the River *Maja*, as alſo at the Source of the *Lena*, at *Wergolenkolſo* and *Kirenga*, grows all Sorts of Corn, the Land being very fertile, and ſerving to ſupply the Province of *Jakutſkoy*, and that at ſo cheap a Rate, that an hundred Weight of Rye-Meal is commonly ſold for ten or twelve Pence, and all Sorts of Cattle are proportionably cheap; ſo that living here doth not coſt much, but Money is very ſcarce.

To take our Progreſs further along this Sea-Coaſt, from the *Lena* to the River *Jeniſea*, which Extent hath not yet been travelled further by any, either by Water or by Land, than to the River *Tarſida*, by Reaſon the Sea is too full of Ice, and is utterly unnavigable: Moſt of the Inhabitants between *Tarſida* and *Jeniſea* are found to be *Samojedes*, and a Party of *Tunguſiabian Tartars* and Heathens: What their Opinion is, has been hinted above. But the River *Jeniſca* is, all along its Shores, moſtly inhabited by *Ruſſians*, and riſes in the South-part of *Tartary*, in the *Kalmockian* and *Kirgizenian* Territories, and very plentifully abounds with Fiſh: Three very fine Rivers fall into it, which are the *Wergnaja Tunguſka*, *Podkamenna Tunguſka*, and the *Niſnaja Tunguſka*; on the Sides of all which dwell great Numbers of a barbarous, wild ſort of *Tunguzians*, which may very well be ranked with the *Samojedes*, the latter being only larger and ſtronger than the former. The *Tartars*, whenever they have wounded an Elk with their Bow and Arrows, (all their Arms) follow him by the Tract of his Feet, accompanied with their Wives and Children, ſometimes for eight or ten Days, in the Woods, and taking no Proviſions with them, but relying ſolely upon their Capture, they have a Sort of Stomacher, or Breaſt-Cap, which, by Reaſon of Hunger, they lace one or two Fingers Breadth cloſer; and having at laſt caught their Game, they kill it, pitch a ſlight Tent, and ſtay upon the Spot till no Part of the Beaſt but the bare Bones are left: But in the Interim if they get any Furrs, they immediately repair to the *Ruſſian* Villages and Towns in order to ſell them. Here are great Numbers of white and brown Foxes, Multitudes of Squirrels, but very few or no Sables. On this River are ſituate the two Cities of *Taugviſkoy* and *Mungaſeia*, both which drive a very great Inland Trade in Furrs, Sea-Horſe and Mammuts Teeth; and in Summer-time ſeveral Boats go from theſe Places to the Sea-ſide at the Mouth of the River, in order to catch Sea-Horſes or Sea-Calves and Seals.

Believing we have in ſome Meaſure attained our End, and performed what we propoſed in the Deſcription of our Travels, we ſhall now ſubjoin a ſhort, but very accurate, Deſcription of the mighty Empire of *China*, written by a Native of that Country, whom I brought hither with me: This Deſcription, which was never before printed, I have cauſed to be illuſtrated with ſeveral pertinent Annotations, extracted out of the beſt Deſcriptions of that Empire, in order to clear up ſome Difficulties, and ſatisfy the Reader; and this was not done by an illiterate Pen.

Notwithſtanding which, before I take Leave, I am in ſome Sort obliged to ſay ſomething in general, which is the Reſult of my own Obſervation, concerning that vaſt Empire, and was omitted in the Relation of my Travels.

14. The Empire of *China*, ſo far as I ſaw of it, to and in *Peking* its Metropolis, I muſt indeed acknowledge ſeems to be a Land peculiarly bleſſed by Heaven; and I believe, that as this City is the Capital, ſo it lies under the beſt and moſt healthful Climate of all *China*. The Men there are vigorous, healthy, and tall: Corn, all Sorts of Fruits, Herbs, Roots, and indeed whatever is either neceſſary or convenient to human Life, very plentifully abounds there, except only that no Tea grows in that Province, nor are any ſilk Manufactures or Porcelain made there. In Winter it freezes ſo hard here, that the Ice will bear the People going over it; and the Summer Weather is but moderately hot; whereas on the contrary, in the other Provinces, whole Summer Days are uſeleſs, by Reaſon of the intolerable Heat. The preſent Deſcendants of the ancient *Chineſe* are more ſincere than the *Manſures* or *Man tcheou Tartars*. They live temperately and frugally; are very neat and clean in their Cloaths; are very greedy of Preſents, and ſhameleſs in their Trade, and have Addreſs enough to ſuit themſelves to all Humours. They religiouſly obſerve their ancient Laws, in which appear ſome Traces of Barbarity. They never alter the Faſhion of their Dreſs, nor ſuffer the Introduction of any new Laws; and ſome of their principal Lords told me, that no Chan or King, for the Space of twelve thouſand Years, hath been empowered to make even the leaſt Alteration in their Religion, Laws, or Habits.

So that it ſeems that the preſent Emperor *Ammologgan Kambi*, is the firſt who hath diſcovered a ſlight Opinion of the old barbarous Cuſtoms, and accordingly began a good Reformation of their Religion and Law, when in the Year 1692, he cauſed publick Proclamation to be made in all his Empire, That whoever was deſirous to become a Chriſtian, had thereby free Liberty to apply himſelf to the *Romiſh* Clergy, and be baptiz'd. This was a grievous Thorn in the Eyes of the *Bonzies*, or Idolatrous Prieſts, but they were yet forced to bear it patiently, and be Eye-Witneſſes to the Converſion of Thouſands yearly to Chriſtianity; and which is more, the Emperor himſelf is, in his Heart, a good Chriſtian, but cannot poſſibly quit any of his 1236 Wives. He is a more abſolute Legiſlator than we hear any of his Predeceſſors were; for, by Virtue of his deſpotick Authority, he is ſo formidable to his Subjects, that he governs them, without the leaſt Reſtriction, according to his arbitrary Will and Pleaſure.

15. The *Chineſe* obſtinately perſiſt in denying, in their Map of the World, that there is any larger Country on the Surface of the terreſtrial Globe, than their own; to confirm which prepoſterous Aſſertion, their Maps never mention any more than their own, and one great Sea, in the Middle of which they aſſign a ſmall Point of Land, which faintly appears to the Eye, like one of the ſmalleſt Stars, for the reſt of the Earth.

They honour their Prince like a Deity, calling him a *Son of Heaven*, and a *Terreſtrial God*. Their Religion is perfect Pagan Idolatry, as appears by their hideous diabolical Images, expoſed to View in their Pagods or Temples. They have frequently replied to Queſtions which I put to them concerning the Immortality of the Soul and eternal Life, That they were utterly ignorant of any ſuch Thing; and that ſince their Forefathers did not believe it, ſo they could not. Their chiefeſt Pleaſure conſiſts in keeping ſeveral Wives, to which they are extreamly addicted. They have no Notion of Sin, but whenever they have been guilty of any villanous Crime, for which they happen to be ſeized and brought to Juſtice, they take the Puniſhment inflicted by the Judge, for only a very ſmall Scandal, without ſhewing any Remorſe for the Wickedneſs and Diſhoneſty of the Fact.

Their Adminiſtration of Juſtice, and Judiciary Deciſions, and whatever of that Nature which they take to be civiliz'd and reaſonable, are indeed but rude and barbarous. Their Manufactures are principally thoſe of Silk Stuffs, Porcelain, and varniſhed painted Works, which, conſidering their great Diſtance from *Europe*, are ſomewhat ſurprizing. Their Wars are carried on by the ſole Dint of Numbers, they very ſeldom taking the Field before they are two or three hundred thouſand ſtrong, as they did when they were engaged againſt *Buſucktuchan* the Weſt *Tartar*, from the Years 1686 to 1693; in which Wars, when their General *Allıganibo* happened to be killed in a Battle, they all fled, and each Man endeavoured to ſecure his Life by making all poſſible Haſte to his own Home. They carry with them good Field-pieces, and are indifferent expert in the Uſe of them; but their Hand-arms are very wretched, the beſt of them being their Bows and Arrows. Their Horſes are provided with very good Saddles, but when they ride, they cover them with Pillows, and Mattraſſes above them; ſo that they ſit very high and looſe from the Horſe's Back. In a Word, as their military Affairs are managed in a confuſed and diſorderly Manner, ſo their Battles being utterly void of all Conduct, they act like wild Men; for they run headlong together with their whole Force upon the Enemy, by which Means they frequently are entirely routed.

16. In ſhort, from my own Obſervation I conclude, that the great Share of Wiſdom, Arts and Sciences, for which they are ſo highly extolled by many Writers, comes far ſhort of the *Europeans*; though indeed ſome few *Chineſe*, by the aſſiduous Diligence of the Jeſuits, are inſtructed in the Mathematicks, Aſtronomy, and other Sciences; and therefore publiſh their Maſter's Fame to the World. The preſent *Ammolog Chan Kumſli*, or King of *China* and *Tartary*, is an Eaſt *Tartar*, or *Mongalian*, born at *Nieuchen*, near the River *Sagalien Oula*, or *Amoer*; he governs his Subjects very well, though he doth not heartily love the *Chineſe*, but on all Occaſions prefers his own Nation before them: And whenever a *Chineſe* ſolicits to obtain any impor-

tant Poſt from the Chan, he is obliged to naturalize himſelf a *Manſur* or *Tartar*. Moſt of the Inhabitants within the Walls of *Peking* are *Tartars*, and the principal *Chineſe* Markets and Goods are kept without in the Suburbs. All rich People keep a certain Number of Slaves for the Emperor's Service, for which they receive an annual Stipend from him; and theſe Men, in Time of War, are obliged to be kept ready armed, cloathed, and mounted on Horſeback. The Jeſuits who were at *Peking* when I was there were but eight; of which two were *Spaniards*, three *Portugueſe*, two *Frenchmen*, and the laſt a *Roman*.

The *Chineſe*, but eſpecially the Courtiers, retain a very great Reſpect for theſe Fathers, and the other Eccleſiaſticks; but the *Bonzies* look upon them ſomewhat obliquely. It muſt indeed be owned, that the *Romiſh* Clergy diſcover a very great Zeal for the Propagation of their Religion. The *Ruſſian* Nation hath alſo built a Church at *Peking*, and have converted and baptized ſeveral conſiderable Perſons to the *Greek* Chriſtian Religion. I do not think it at all neceſſary to touch on the Races of the Monarchs which have hitherto reigned in *China*, ſince the curious Part of the World may find an entire and exact Liſt of them in the *Chineſe* Chronology, publiſhed by *Chriſtian Menzelius*, Councellor and Phyſician of the Body to the King of *Pruſſia*, printed at *Berlin* in 1696.

As for what relates to the *Great Wall*, which encompaſſes Part of the Empire of *China*, I ſhall only add in ſhort, to what I have already ſaid of it, that it is a prodigious Work, but not ſo much to be valued on account of any extraordinary Art ſhewn in the building of it, as the ſurprizing Labour and Expence employed in the erecting of it by the Emperor who raiſed it; for which the *Chineſe* curſe him to this Day, by reaſon he thereby thoroughly ruined the Empire. The Jeſuit Father *Alexander* informed me, that by the Emperor's Order he travelled all along by this Wall, from the Weſt where it begins, to the South-eaſt, as far as the *Corſiſkan* Sea, and found it to be three hundred *German* Miles long, and had it ſtood all on a Level, it would certainly have ſtretch'd to four hundred Miles; but it is carried over ſeveral high Mountains, and hath four Entrances, *viz.* the *Leatongian*, *Daourian*, *Lelinger*, and *Tibetſchian* Gates; beſides which, it is ſo broad, that eight Horſemen may eaſily ride a-breaſt upon it.

I do not think it proper to offer any more Particulars concerning *China*, ſince my Reſidence there was not long, but deſire the Reader favourably to accept this little, and give me Leave to refer him to the ſuccinct Deſcription annexed, in which he will find ſeveral Things very well worth his Attention.

17. It is very remarkable, that even in theſe Obſervations our Author very modeſtly excuſes himſelf from the ſhort Stay he made in *China*, and from his Manner of living there, as to giving any diſtinct, methodical and regular Account of that vaſt Empire and its Inhabitants. We very open meet with Writers, who, without having any of theſe Advantages, preſume to enter into particular Deſcriptions of Countries and Nations, as if it were credible that in the Space of a few Months, a Man ſhould either ſee, or hear, or read ſufficient for that Purpoſe. There is another Thing no leſs extraordinary, our Author, though he is ſo circumſtantial in every Thing that he ſays relating to both his Journies, and to what paſſed at his ſeveral Audiences of the *Chineſe* Emperor, yet he does not ſo much as drop a Syllable of the Buſineſs upon which he went. He ſays nothing of the Commiſſion given him by their Czariſh Majeſties, of the Succeſs of his Negotiation, or of the Advantages he procured thereby to the Court of *Ruſſia*; and yet if he had been a vain Man, he might have done all this without any great Injury to Truth. A third Singularity there is which alſo deſerves to be remembered. He acknowledges the Country to be one of the fineſt in the World; he admits that no body could be treated more politely, or with greater Reſpect than he was; but for all this he does not ſuffer himſelf to be led away with thoſe fond and enthuſiaſtical Notions with which many Travellers are poſſeſs'd, and to which the World owes all thoſe romantick and extravagant Stories they have been told of this Country and People.

The Character he gives of both is very ſimple, natural, and intelligible, and he gives it not with any Air of Sufficiency or Confidence, but barely as his own Sentiment, the Reception of which he leaves entirely to his Reader, after he ſhall have examined it with the like Care and Candour with which it was delivered. It muſt ſeem not a little ſtrange to ſuch as have read other Deſcriptions of this Country, to find our Author advancing two Things that ſeem to be directly oppoſite to all we have ever heard of this Empire and its Inhabitants. The firſt is, that the *Tartars* are wiſer and more polite; the ſecond, that the *Chineſe* have naturally more Probity than the *Tartars*. But notwithſtanding this, many Reaſons may be alledged in Support of our Author's Opinions, and perhaps it will not fatigue the Reader much if we mention two or three. In the firſt Place, let it be conſidered, that the *Chineſe* were ſo much attached to their old Laws and Cuſtoms, that without regarding either the original Motives upon which they were eſtabliſhed, or how far they were agreeable to that Situation of Affairs which the Changes and Revolutions that all Things, great and ſmall, are liable to in this World, bring about, they perſiſted with inflexible Firmneſs, or rather incorrigible Obſtinacy, in ſupporting them, without the ſmalleſt Alteration, from a Notion that any Thing of this Kind was the higheſt Inſtance of Impiety.

The *Tartars*, though they very wiſely adopted the *Chineſe* Conſtitution as the fitteſt for that Country, and by which alone it could be governed, yet they would never ſubmit to this Notion of unalterable Laws; but on the contrary, made no Scruple of changing what either Reaſon inclined them to think wrong, or Experience had taught them to be ſo; and to this their Intercourſe with other Nations, their opening their Ports to all Strangers without Diſtinction, and their ſending and receiving Miniſters, are ſo many inconteſtible Inſtances. Whoever conſiders theſe Points with any Degree of Attention, will very plainly perceive, that our Author had Reaſon to prefer the Policy and civil Prudence of the *Tartars* to that of the *Chineſe*.

Another, and yet a ſtronger Argument of the Juſtice of this Preference, may be taken from the Hiſtory of the two Minorities which happened in this Empire immediately after the laſt Conqueſt of it by the *Tartars*. *Tſong té*, who ſubdued *China*, died in the Year 1644, almoſt as ſoon as he was ſeated on the Throne, and left the Empire to his Son *Chun tchi*, who was but ſix Years old, and confided the Care of the young Prince to his Brother *A ma van*. One would have imagined that this muſt have been fatal to a new and half eſtabliſhed Government; and not only our Hiſtories, but even thoſe of the *Chineſe*, by which I mean the natural and native Inhabitants of that Country, ſeem to confirm this; but it proved quite otherwiſe, the Protector finiſhed the Conqueſt of *China*, in the Space of about eight Years, without the leaſt Prejudice to the Authority of his Nephew, and upon his Death the Adminiſtration was put into the Hands of his younger Brother, with the Aſſiſtance of a Council, in which it did not continue long.

They perceived very clearly that this kind of Rule was by no Means ſuited either to the *Tartar* or to the *Chineſe* Conſtitution, and therefore with a Wiſdom and Honeſty, of which there is ſcarce any Parallel to be met with in Hiſtory, they laid down the Enſigns of their Power, and deſired the Young Emperor, who was then about fourteen, to take the Reins of Government into his own Hands. This was another Criſis that would have been fatal in almoſt any other Country, but it was favourable here, and the Emperor governed for ten Years with great Wiſdom and Capacity.

Upon his Death ſucceeded *Cang Hi* his Son, who was no more than eight Years old, and according to the Direction of the deceaſed Emperor, the Regency was put into the Hands of four of the principal Miniſters, and one would naturally apprehend, that this muſt have proved the Source of private Cabals, of various Factions, and in a ſhort Space of Time of Diſcord and

Confuſion. Yet nothing like this happened; the Council of Regency acted not only with Prudence and Unanimity, but what was more extraordinary ſtill, with the utmoſt Vigour; they found that there were ſome Diſorders in the State that needed Redreſs, that the Power of the Eunuchs was become too great, and that there was juſt Ground to fear, that the Emperor being a Child theſe Evils might encreaſe, or, which was worſe, might grow irremediable. To prevent which, they, without Heſitation, cut off the Guilty, removed all ſuſpicious Perſons, and by maintaining a wiſe and virtuous Conduct at Court, gave a good Example to the *Tartars* and *Chineſe* in general. But as this kind of Government is never ſubmitted to in that Country, from any other Motive than Neceſſity, ſo this Emperor, like his Father, was very early called to the ſole Management of the Affairs of his Empire, to which he ſhowed himſelf always equal, as well in the tender Years of his Youth, as in declining Age.

It was to him that our Author was ſent, and he governed no leſs than threeſcore Years, in which Time he gave all the Marks of a truly great Genius. At the Entrance of his Reign, the *Chineſe* rebelled, and it coſt a long and bloody War to reduce them. The Emperor appeared in thoſe Days rigorouſly ſevere, or rather cruel; he puniſhed the ſmalleſt Faults with Death, gave a conſtant Preference to the *Tartars*, and expreſſed a ſtrong Diffidence and Diſlike to the *Chineſe*. Under ſuch a Prince, it might have been apprehended, that the Empire would have been very unhappy; it fell out quite otherwiſe, his Severity made every Body attentive and circumſpect, the *Chineſe* were glad to abandon their own and affect the *Tartar* Cuſtoms, that they might become agreeable to the Emperor, who in the Midſt of his Severity, had a ſtrict regard to Juſtice. When he ſaw that the Empire was thoroughly ſettled, the two Nations perfectly incorporated, and the riſing Generation for the moſt part *Tartars* in Habit and Manners; he let fall his Severity by Degrees, and for the laſt thirty Years of his Life was acknowledged to be the mildeſt and juſteſt Prince that ever ſat upon that Throne. His Son and Succeſſor proves as extraordinary a Monarch in every Reſpect, and this by the Confeſſion of the Miſſionaries, notwithſtanding that he has driven them not only from the Court, but in ſome Meaſure out of his Dominions. He has taken Pains to reform all the Abuſes in the ſeveral Provinces of his Empire, applies himſelf wholly to the Cares of Government, receives every Memorial that is offered to him, reads and gives Anſwers to them all; ſuch a Succeſſion of Princes does Honour to a Nation. It is almoſt without Example in the *Chineſe* Annals, and therefore it is a convincing Argument of our Author's Penetration, with Reſpect to the Superiority in Point of Political Talents, of the *Tartars* over the *Chineſe*.

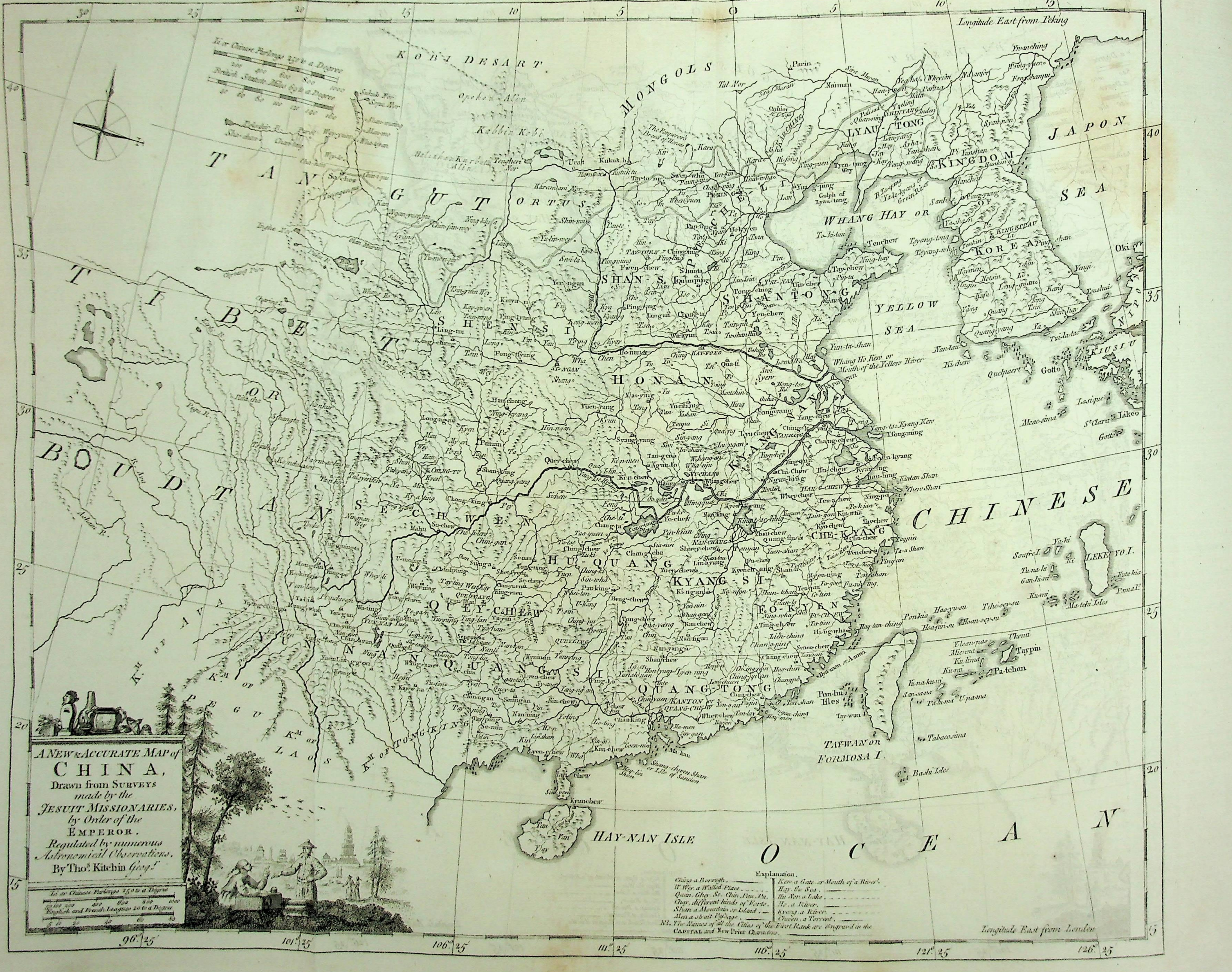
A third Proof of this may be taken from their Conduct towards Foreigners. Before the Time of their becoming Maſters of *China*, it was very difficult, indeed almoſt impoſſible for Strangers to find Admittance at the Imperial Court; that is now quite altered, and as theſe Travels plainly ſhew us, a Miniſter from a *European* Court is not only received and treated with Reſpect at *Peking*, but allowed to negociate whatever Buſineſs he comes about as at any other Court. It is very true, that this is not only contrary to the old Cuſtoms of the *Chineſe*, but is ſo very diſagreeable to their Humour, that they never ceaſe to oppoſe it, as much as in them lies; ſo that nothing but the Emperor's abſolute Authority could get the better of their Obſtinacy in this Reſpect, which very ſtrongly confirms the Truth of his Obſervation.

It is remarkable, that our Author gives the Title of *Bogdoy Khan* to the Emperor of *China*, but he does not explain the Reaſon of this, and therefore it is fit we ſhould. The *Ruſſians* called thoſe *Tartars* who are now Maſters of *China*, *Bogdoyes*, and therefore it is natural for them to preſerve that Way of ſpeaking with Reſpect to the *Tartar* Emperor, though he now reſides in and governs *China*. Many of our modern Writers call theſe *Tartars*, *Manſeurs*, which is only a barbarous Corruption of that Appellation which they have beſtowed upon themſelves, and which in their own Language is written *Man tcheou*; and this is no more than the proper Name of the Father of that great Conqueror by whoſe Valour and Prudence they were eſtabliſhed in *China*, and is a Mark of the Reverence and Reſpect which this whole Nation bear to his Memory. We may obſerve, that this Cuſtom of calling themſelves by the Name of ſome particular Perſon, from a Principle of Gratitude, has been common in moſt of the Nations of the Eaſt, but has been particularly ſo amongſt the *Tartars*, and, like many other of their Cuſtoms, prevails through all their Tribes, how remote ſoever in Point of Relation or of Reſidence.

We have an Inſtance of this among the *Crim Tartars*, which, as it is ſingular and curious, I will relate for the Amuſement of the Reader. The reigning Family in that Country was, about a Century ago, by civil Wars, reduced into very diſtreſſed Circumſtances, ſo that at length there remained only one Heir Male, and he was concealed and bred up privately in the Houſe of a very mean Perſon. The *Mirza*'s or *Tartar* Chiefs, that had thus got rid of their *Khans* or ſupreme Lords, fell out amongſt themſelves, and by their Feuds, the whole Country came to be filled with Blood and Confuſion. To remedy this, a general Council was called, in which both Princes and People lamented the Loſs of the Royal Family, and confeſſed that they were juſtly puniſhed by theſe dreadful Effects of their own Diſobedience. The old Man, who had bred up the only ſurviving Prince in his Houſe, took this Occaſion to produce him, and he was immediately acknowledged *Khan*, and his Succeſſors have governed *Crim-Tartary* to this Day: So great a Service demanded an extraordinary Reward, and the *Khan* offered his kind Protector to do for him whatever he pleaſed. The old Man, whoſe Name was *Guiery*, only deſired that his might become the Surname of the Royal Family, which was readily complied with, and all the Princes of the Blood Royal of *Tartary* bear it accordingly.

But to return to the *Tartars* that are in Poſſeſſion of *China*; they are properly ſtiled *Moungals* or *Nieuchen Moungals*, to diſtinguiſh them from the *Calcha Moungals*. By theſe Words there is nothing more underſtood than Eaſtern and Weſtern *Moungals*, and this in Reſpect to the Situation of their Countries with Regard to *China*. The former of theſe Nations, *viz.* the *Nieuchen Moungals* were, as we have ſhewn in another Place, once before Maſters of that Empire, out of which they were driven by the native *Chineſe*, *Anno Dom.* 1363. At preſent they have not only recovered the Dominion of this extenſive Empire, but have alſo brought the Weſtern *Moungals* to be dependant upon them, which the old *Chineſe* Emperors could never bring to paſs.

Our Author, that he might to the utmoſt oblige his Readers, and make his Work as perfect as they could deſire it, thought proper to add to it a Deſcription and Hiſtory of *China*, written by a Chriſtian Native, one *Dennis Kao*, who was a Surgeon by Profeſſion in his own Country, and had alſo practiſed his Profeſſion in ſeveral Parts of the *Eaſt-Indies*. The Reaſon that induced Mr. *Everard Yſbrant Ides*, to do this, was the Succinctneſs and Accuracy of that Performance, which, that he might render the more uſeful, he procured Remarks and Obſervations upon it, to be collected from the moſt eſteemed Works that were extant, and by this Means, made it, without extending it too much, a very compleat Thing, as we hope the Reader will allow upon peruſing it, as it ſtands in the next Sections, with ſome additional Remarks, diſtinguiſhed by inverted Comma's.



A NEW & ACCURATE MAP of
CHINA,
Drawn from SURVEYS
made by the
JESUIT MISSIONARIES,
by Order of the
EMPEROR.
Regulated by numerous
Astronomical Observations.
By Thoˢ. Kitchin Geogʳ.

Longitude East from Peking
Longitude East from London
KOBI DESART
MONGOLS
TANGUT
TIBET
OR
BOUDTAN
ORTUS
LYAU-TONG
KINGDOM OF KOREA
JAPON
SEA
WHANG HAY OR YELLOW SEA
SHAN-SI
SHEN-SI
SHAN-TONG
PE-CHE-LI
PEKING
HONAN
KYANG-NAN
SE-CHWEN
HU-QUANG
KYANG-SI
CHE-KYANG
FO-KYEN
QUEY-CHEW
YUN-NAN
QUANG-SI
QUANG-TONG
KANTON
Kᴹ. OF AVA
Kᴹ. OF PEGU
Kᴹ. OF LAOS
Kᴹ. OF TONGKING
HAY-NAN ISLE
TAYWAN OR FORMOSA I.
LEKEYO I.
KIUSIU
NIFON
CHINESE OCEAN
Whang Ho Kew or Mouth of the Yellow River
Yang-tse-Kyang Kew
Gulph of Lyau-tong
Li or Chinese Furlongs 250 to a Degree
English and French Leagues 20 to a Degree
British Statute Miles 69½ to a Degree
Explanation.
Ching a Borough.
W Wey a Walled Place.
Quan. Ghey. Se. Chin. Pou. Pu. Chay, different kinds of Forts.
Shan a Mountain or Island.
Men a strait Passage.
Kew a Gate or Mouth of a River.
Hay the Sea.
Hu Nor a Lake.
Ho. a River.
Kyang a River.
Chwen. a Torrent.
NB. The Names of all the Cities of the First Rank are Engraved in the CAPITAL and New Print Characters.
96°. 25'
101°. 25'
106°. 25'
111°. 25'
116°. 25'
121°. 25'
126°. 25'

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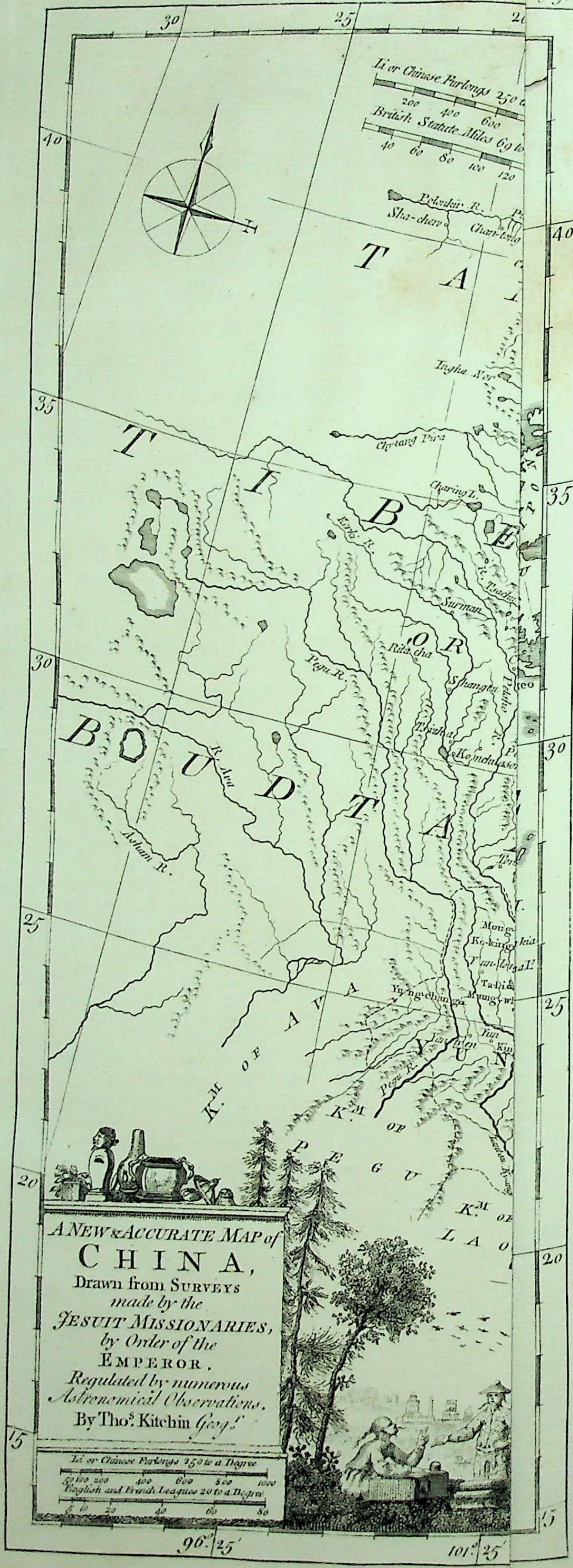
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TAR
TIBET OR BOUDTAN
K.M OF AVA
K.M OF PEGU
K.M OF LAO
YUN
Pelenkir R.
Sha-chew
Chan-tong
Ingha Nor
Chrtang Pira
Charing L.
Surman
Rita cha
Shangtu
Pegu R.
R. Ava
Acham R.
Tsiatka
Kombuse
Mongwa
Yong chang
Yun
Pegu R.
96.d 25'
101.d 25'
40
35
30
25
20
15

SECTION V.

A Geographical Deſcription of the extenſive Empire of *China*, and of the Sixteen Provinces into which it is divided. In which is contained a ſuccinct View of the Situation, Bounds, Produce, remarkable Curioſities, and whatever elſe is worthy of Notice in each Province, taken entirely from the Writings of the *Chineſe* themſelves, and more eſpecially from their authentick Records and natural Hiſtories penned by Direction of the State; with ſuch incidental Accounts of their Antiquities, and of the perſonal Hiſtory of the moſt famous Emperors, Heroes, Stateſmen, and Philoſophers, as have been born or flouriſhed in any of thoſe Provinces through the Courſe of many Ages.

By DIONYSIUS KAO, *a Native of* China. *Illuſtrated with many curious Obſervations and Remarks drawn from the beſt Authors who have treated of the Affairs of this Empire, both ancient and modern.*

1. *An Introductory Account of the Author of this Work, and of the Nature, Accuracy, and Uſefulneſs of the Work itſelf.* 2. *A general Deſcription of the vaſt Empire of* China, *and of the Sixteen Provinces into which it is divided.* 3. *The Province of* Peking, *and the Imperial City of the ſame Name, particularly deſcribed.* 4. *A large Account of the* Great Wall, *with Remarks thereupon from ſeveral Authors.* 5. *A Deſcription of the Province of* Xantung, *and of the famous Philoſopher* Confucius, *who was a Native of this Province.* 6. *The Province of* Xanzi, *with an Account of the great River* Huango, *and other Curioſities in that Diſtrict.* 7. *Of the Kingdom of* Xienxi, *with ſome Account of the Progreſs made both by the* Chriſtian *and* Mahometan *Religions in that Empire.* 8. *The Province of* Honan *deſcribed, with an Account of the Manner in which the chief City, and moſt other Places of Note, were deſtroyed, and remain ſtill in a ruined Condition.* 9. *Of the Province of* Leatung, *and of the original Inhabitants before it made a Part of the* Chineſe *Dominions.* 10. *An Account of the Conqueſt of* China *by the* Tartars *for the laſt Time.* 11. *A copious Deſcription of the Province of* Nanking, *and of the famous City of that Name, formerly the Capital of the Empire.* 12. *The Province of* Chekiang, *and the Cities therein deſcribed.* 13. *Of the Province of* Kiangſi, *including the Hiſtory of* Porcelain *or* China-ware, *as formerly given by the Miſſionaries.* 14. *A copious Deſcription of the Province of* Huquang, *including ſeveral other remarkable Particulars.* 15. *An Account of the Province of* Suchuen, *which is the ſmalleſt in the Empire.* 16. *Of the Province of* Queicheu, *and of the Number of Cities therein, and the Commodities for which the Country about them is famous.* 17. *The Kingdom of* Junan *deſcribed, with Remarks upon the Accidents that have befallen it.* 18. *An Account of the Province of* Quoangſi, *the Manner in which it became annexed to the Empire.* 19. *A copious Deſcription of the Province of* Quoangtung, *or* Canton, *with ſome very curious Particulars relating both to Civil and Natural Hiſtory.* 20. *The noble Kingdom of* Fokien *deſcribed, and the Manner in which it was reduced under the Power of the* Chineſe. 21. *A Digreſſion, containing the Hiſtory of the Iſland of* Formoſa, *the Conqueſt of it by the* Chineſe *Fugitives from the* Dutch. 22. *The preſent State and Condition of the Province of* Fokien. 23. *Of the Boundaries and Diſtances of the ſeveral Kingdoms and Provinces of* China; *the Diviſion of them into Inland and Maritime, larger and leſs; the whole intended as a Supplement to the Author's Deſcription.* 24. *The political Anatomy of the* Chineſe *Empire, from an* Italian *Manuſcript.* 25. *Remarks and Obſervations, Hiſtorical, Phyſical, and Philoſophical, upon the principal Events in the foregoing Section.*

1 THERE is ſcarce a Country in the World, that, laying all Things together, deſerves to be ſo perfectly known, as this which our Author has deſcribed; and for this Reaſon, without all Doubt, ſo many Pens have been exerciſed in making Deſcriptions; there are, however, three Particulars that ſeem to recommend this of our Author in an extraordinary Degree; the firſt is, that being a native *Chineſe*, and bred up to Letters, he muſt have had greater Opportunities both with reſpect to Books and Converſation, of knowing his own Country than any Stranger, much leſs any Traveller could pretend to, and at the ſame Time muſt be leſs liable to commit Miſtakes, even ſuppoſing he ſet Things down as they occurred to him, than they could be with all the Circumſpection and Care in the World. In the next Place, as he had ſtudied Phyſick, practiſed as a Surgeon, and had travell'd from Province to Province for many Years amongſt the Chriſtians, he muſt have had great Opportunities of ſeeing Things; that is, muſt have improved his Knowledge and Judgment very much. Laſtly, his Deſcription, after being often reviewed by his Excellency Mr. *Yſbrants Ides*, was judged to be the beſt he had ſeen, and ſeems to have appeared ſuch in the Eyes of others, ſince it was tranſlated into *Latin* and *High Dutch*, before it was printed in *Low Dutch*, with the Remarks that are now added to it, by the Care, and under the Direction of the famous Mr. *Witzen*. It may not be amiſs to inform the Reader, that it was penned about the Year 1694, and that the Author, who alſo wrote ſeveral other Pieces, was eſteemed a very worthy, honeſt, and pious Man, and appears to have written very impartially without any overweaning Fondneſs for his Countrymen, or ſlaviſh Dependance upon the Jeſuits.

What Additions were neceſſary have been very carefully added by the *Dutch* Editor himſelf, and we have alſo taken Pains to improve theſe as far as we were enabled to do it from ſubſequent Accounts, only as to the *Chineſe* Orthography we muſt own ourſelves not a little at a Loſs, there being as yet no Rules fixed that can enable us to reduce the different Ways of Spelling, to any rational Standard; only this we know, that as the *Chineſe* uſe no Monoſyllables, latter Writers generally follow that Method, though our Author ſeems to have neglected it for the Sake of keeping near the *Portugueſe* Pronunciation.

2. This extenſive potent Empire comprehends fifteen Provinces, which may more properly be called Kingdoms: For before they were united under one Head, above three thouſand Years paſt, each of them had its peculiar King: As at preſent every Province hath its Viceroy, all which are ſubordinate to one ſupreme Sovereign, the Emperor. The Province of *Leaotung*, though ſituate without the great Wall, is alſo reckoned amongſt the reſt, and paſſeth for the Sixteenth.

“ *Nieuhoff* places this Province within the Wall, in his Map affixed to the Relation of his Travels, and is herein followed by *Martinus Martini*; but are both clearly refuted by the convincing Teſtimony of our Author. The Jeſuits *Le Comte*, *Bouvet*, and *Gobien*, unanimouſly confirm our Author's Aſſertion, they all affirming that the Province of *Leauton* is only ſeparated from part of *Corea* by an Arm of the Sea, and is on that Side of the Great Wall, *viz.* the Side on which *Corea* is: Though Father *Martinus* the Jeſuit, in his *Chineſe* Atlas, hath not placed it on that Side, but within the Wall, and thereby miſled almoſt all the Geographers ſince, they having very induſtriouſly continued his Blunder.

“ Formerly all Authors reckoned but fifteen *Chineſe* Provinces; but after the *Leaotungers* aſſiſted the *Tartars* in the Conqueſt of *China*, that became one of the Provinces of that Empire, and doth accordingly enjoy all the Privileges of that Nation.

“ *Le Comte* ſpeaks yet plainer on this Head. The Geographers (ſaith he) are groſly miſtaken in their Accounts of *China*. Firſt they place the whole Province of *Leauton* on this Side of the Great Wall; though it is certain that it lies not within, but without it; notwithſtanding which it always belonged to *China*. This is an undoubted Truth, to be ſatisfied in which no more is requiſite than to have been on the Spot as well as we.

“ And yet farther he goes on, I do not take in as belonging to it (he is ſpeaking of *China*) the Iſlands of *Formoſa*, *Hanan*, and ſeveral others, which united would make a great Monarchy, any more than *Leauton*, which lies without the Great Wall.”

Theſe Provinces are divided into North and South.

The **North** (under which is alſo *Leaotung*) are *Peking*, *Xantung*, *Xanſi*, *Xienſi*, and *Honan*, in all ſix. And the South Kingdoms or Provinces are the following ten: viz. *Nanking*, *Chekiang*, *Kianſi*, *Huquang*, *Suchuen*, *Queicheu*, *Junan*, *Quoangſi*, *Quoantung* or *Canton*, and *Fokien*.

Beſides theſe, ſeveral Kings and Kingdoms are obliged to pay their annual Tribute to the Emperor of *China*: Of which Number are *Tunkin*, *Cochinchina*, *Laos*, *Liukin*, and *Chaoſien*. The two laſt of theſe are Iſlands, ſituate very near *Japan*. *Corea*, *Japan*, *Siam*, and *Pegu*, were alſo formerly ſubject to this Empire, though not at preſent. I deſign to deſcribe all theſe Provinces and neighbouring tributary Kingdoms ſeparately, and geographically, as they butt and bound Eaſt and Weſt, North and South, as briefly as poſſible.

Peking lies Eaſt of *Xanſi*, as *Xanſi* does Weſt of *Peking*, and the Great Wall ſerves as a Northern Boundary common to them both.

Xantung is Southwards of *Peking*, and Northwards of *Nanking*; it borders Eaſtwards on the Sea, and Weſtwards on *Honan*.

Xanſi, as is above hinted, lies Weſtwards of *Peking*, Eaſtwards of *Xienſi*, Southwards of *Honan*, and bounds Northwards on the Great Wall.

Xienſi, the largeſt of all the ſixteen Provinces, is ſituate Weſt of *Xanſi*, Eaſtwards of Weſt *Tartary*, whence the *Lama*'s come; Southwards of *Suchuen*; and Northwards of the *Tartars* at the End of the Great Wall. And the Source of the yellow River *Hoango* is alſo in the Weſt part of this Province.

Honan is in the Middle of *China*, butting towards the South on *Huquang* and *Kiangſi*; Northwards on *Peking* and *Xanſi*; Eaſtwards on *Xantung* and *Nanking*; and Weſtwards on *Suchuen* and *Xienſi*.

Leaotung borders Northwards on *Xantung*, which declines Southward from it; Eaſtwards it is oppoſite to *Corea*; it extends alſo Southwards to the Great-Wall, and Northwards to *Tartary*.

Nanking is bounded by *Chekiang* on the South, and *Xantung* on the North; it ſtretches Weſtwards to *Honan* and *Huquang*, and Eaſtwards to the *Ocean*.

Chekiang touches on *Nanking*, from which it lies Northwards, as it doth to the South of *Fokien*; the Sea waſhes it Eaſtwards; and Weſtwards of it lies *Kiangſi*.

Kiangſi borders Eaſtwards on *Chekiang* and *Fokien*; Weſtwards on *Queicheu* and *Honan*; Southwards on *Quantung*, and Northwards on *Nanking*.

Huquang is bounded Northwards by *Honan*; Southwards by *Quantung*; Weſtwards by *Zuchuen* and *Queicheu*; and Eaſtwards by *Kiangſi*.

Zuchuen butts Eaſtwards on *Huquang*; Weſtwards on *Tibet*; Northwards on *Xienſi*; and Southwards on *Queicheu*, and *Junan*.

Queicheu lies Northwards almoſt on *Quanſi*; Southwards on *Zuchuen*; Eaſtwards on *Huquan*, and Weſtwards on *Junan*.

Junan looks Eaſtwards and Southwards to *Quoangſi*; Southwards to *Gannan*; Weſtwards to *Laos*, and Northwards to *Zuchuen* and *Queicheu*.

Quoangſi or *Quamſi* hath *Quoantung* on the Eaſt; *Cochinchina* on the South; *Junan* on the Weſt, and *Queicheu* on the North.

Quoantung or *Canton* is bounded on the Eaſt and North by *Fokien*, on the Weſt by the *Yellow* Sea; farther Northwards by *Quoangſi*, and Southwards by the Ocean.

Fokein looks on the Eaſt and South-Eaſt to the Sea, and the Iſland of *Formoſa*; Weſtwards of it lies *Kianſi*; Southwards *Canton*, and Northwards *Chekiang*.

3. *Peking* is a Royal Province, ſubordinate to which are nine leſſer Provinces, or great Cities, with their dependant Diſtricts, all which are diſtinguiſhed by the additional Name of *Fu*. And theſe nine large have ſixteen leſſer Cities ſubjected to their Juriſdiction, which are alſo diſtinguiſhed from them by the Appellative of *Cheu*; and the leſs conſiderable Places which are under the Government of the laſt Sort are denominated *Hien*.

The firſt Imperial City of this Province is *Xuntien Fu*, otherwiſe called *Peking*; it hath twenty-ſix other Cities ſubjected to its Juriſdiction.

“ *Xuntien Fu* is the the ancient and true Name of this City; but ſince the Seat of the Empire was tranſplanted from *Nanking* to this Place, it hath aſſumed the Name of *Peking*; which imports the *North Court*, as *Nanking* ſignifies the *South*. We ſhall ſpeak of the Courts preſiding at *Nanking* in our Deſcription of that Province and City. This Metropolis however very juſtly lays claim to two Names, it being at preſent grown into two Cities, a new one being built near the old one: For when the *Tartar* eſtabliſhed himſelf on the Throne, he ſo crouded this Place with ſuch Numbers of his own Nation, that the *Chineſe* were neceſſitated to build a new City without the Walls of the old one. This new built Town is full as large as the ancient one, which laſt is a perfect Square, of about four Miles Compaſs, and being inhabited by *Tartars* alone, is called the *Tartar* City: The new Town is as big as the other, but more populous, and is called the *Chineſe* City: And both of them take up the Compaſs of ſix large Miles about, each Mile being reckoned at 3600 Paces, as appeared when it was meaſured by the Em-

“ peror's

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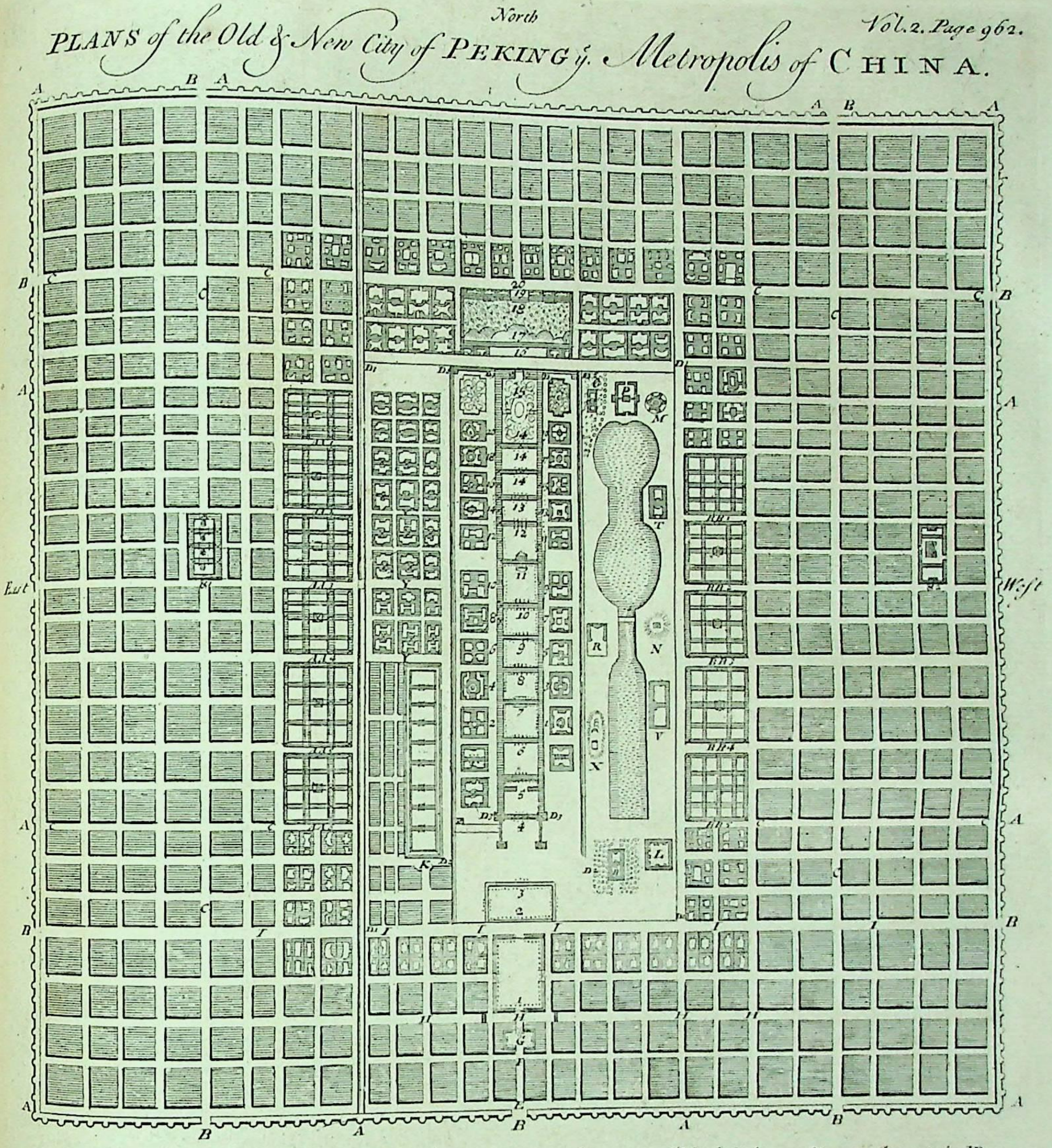
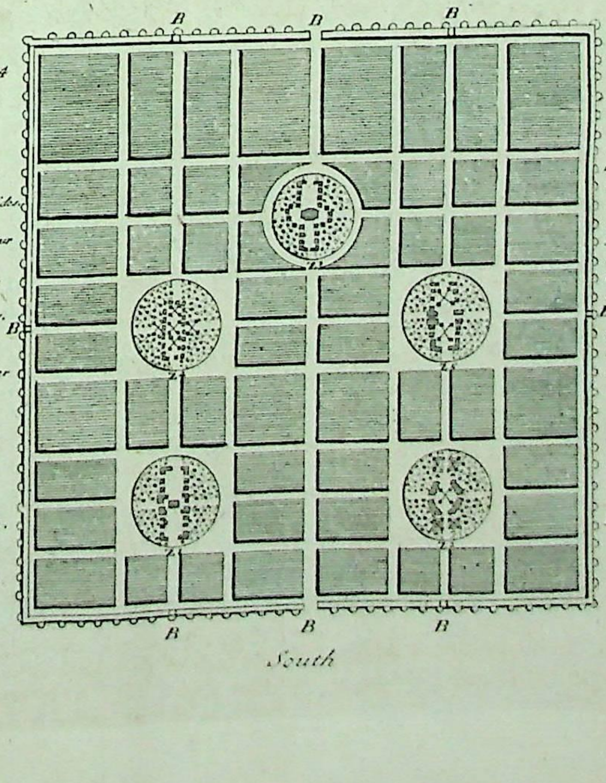
PLANS of the Old & New City of PEKING ye Metropolis of CHINA.



A Scale of 10 Chinese furlongs wch amount to 2730 Geometrical Paces one Chinese furlong making 273 Geometrical Paces



An EXPLANATION of the Plans of the City of PEKING

A The Walls of the antient City of Peking near 4 leagues in Circuit.
B The 9 Gates of the same Wall.
C The Streets of the City.
D1 The first Inclosure of the Palace two leagues in Circuit.
D2 The second Inclosure.
D3 The third Inclosure where the Emperour resides.
E The south and principal Gate of the City.
F The first street wch you pass through upon your entrance into the City.
G A Palace incompassed with a Marble Ballustrade.
H The second street wth two Triumphal Arches.
I The first Apartment.
1 The street of perpetual repose.
2 2d Apartmt wch is the first within the outer inclosure of the Palace.
3 3d called the Portal of the beginning.
4 4: The second Inclosure.
5 5 Called the Supreme Portal.
6 6 Called the supreme Imperial Hall.
7 7 Called the Hall thrice exalted.
8 8 Called the Supreme Hall in the Middle.
9 9 The Hall of Sovereign Concord where the Emperour sits in Council wth his Colaos.
10 10 The Portal of Heaven.
11 11 The Mansion of Heaven in wch and ye two next the Emperour lodges himself.
12 12 The Beautifull House.
13 13 The House which receives Heaven.
14 14 Courts and Gardens.
15 15 The last of the Inner Inclosure.
16 16 The High raised Portal on the south side with a place to manage Horses.
17 17 The Park and artificial Mountains.
18 18 Consisting of three Houses.
19 19 The Portal on the north side.
20 20 The Inclosure called ye Portal of repose
1 2 3 to 20 Are 20 particular places belonging to the Emperour for several uses.
K The first Palace between the two Inclosures.
L The second Palace.
M 3 Palace upon the Lake.
N 4 Palace upon a Mountain.
O 5 Palace near the Lake.
P 6 Palace near the Lake.
BQ 7 Palace.
R 8 Palace of the Fortress.
S 1 Temple of ye 4 within ye Palace.
T 2 Temple.
V 3 Temple.
X 4 Temple.
Y 24 Places for the Mandarins.
Z 5 Temples in ye new City marked 1 2 3 4 5.
& 1 Temple in the Old City.
& 2 Temple in the Old City.
AA The 6 Tribunals marked 1 2 3 4 5 6 wth AA.
BB The 5 Tribunals of ye military Mandarins.

peror's expreſs Command: It is indeed a large City, but not to be compared to *Nanking*."

The ſecond, *Junging Fu*, hath ſix Cities under her Command.

The Third, *Chinding Fu*, hath twenty-ſix Cities.

The Fourth, *Quoamping Fu*, preſides over ſix Cities.

The Fifth, *Thiemming Fu*, is chief of eleven Cities.

The Sixth, *Funming Fu*, governs ſix.

The Seventh, *Hokien Fu*, governs ſeven.

The Eighth, *Paoding Fu*, ten Cities.

The Ninth, *Xunte Fu*, hath nine inferior Cities.

From this Rule, Superiority, and Power, which the great Cities as well in this, as in all the following Provinces, have over the leſſer, though large and populous Cities, plainly diſcover the Ability of each Province, and taken together diſplay the vaſt extended Power of this moſt glorious Monarchy.

The Soil of this Province is not very fertile in any Thing but Corn, yet even of this it doth not yield ſufficient to ſupply its own Neceſſities; but is obliged to be furniſhed with what falls ſhort in their own Growth, from other Countries.

Formerly *Nanking* was the Metropolis and Imperial Seat: But the Incurſions and Outrages of the neighbouring *Tartars*, occaſioned the Removal of the Imperial Court to *Peking*, in order to be nearer the Great Wall and the Enemy.

" The Emperors of the laſt Race before the *Tartarian Mancheou* (the Family or Nation which now reigns in *China*, and of which the preſent Emperor *Cangby* is the third) tranſlated the Seat of the Empire to *Peking*, for the Reaſon hinted by our Author, that the Troops of the Houſhold being ſeveral thouſand ſtrong, might be immediately ready and near the Enemy: But neither this Precaution, nor the Great Wall, of which we ſhall ſpeak preſently, could prevent their being forced, or rather hinder Prince *Tſon tè* (who was invited into *China* to oppoſe a Tyrant and Uſurper) from eſtabliſhing himſelf on one of the moſt auguſt Thrones in the World."

4. This Wall, which is of a prodigious Length and Thickneſs, was built above 260 Years paſt, by the *Chineſe* Emperor *Chien Chuvoang*, by Way of Proviſion againſt the Incurſions of the neighbouring *Tartars*; and accordingly it covers the three Provinces of *Peking*, *Xanſi* and *Xienſi*. This Wall, exactly meaſured with a Line, in Length, is above ſix hundred and fifty *French* Miles, or Hours travelling; (and by the Way, the Reader is deſired to take all Miles mentioned in this Tract for *French* Miles of an Hour's March each.) But if all its crooked Windings were meaſured, it would appear to be above one thouſand Miles long; it being carried over very ſteep Mountains and Rocks. Upon the higheſt of theſe it is provided with Fortreſſes and Towers, four of which are placed within the Space of every Mile throughout the whole. Beſides all which, it is full broad enough for eight Horſes to gallop abreaſt without any Danger.

" This Wall is reported to be built by the Emperor *Chius*, about 250 Years before the Birth of Chriſt; to the Performance of which ſuch a vaſt Number of Men were allotted, that the whole was finiſhed within the Space of five Years, and was ſo extraordinary firm, that no Nail could be driven into it. To raiſe Men for this great Work, that Monarch abſolutely commanded throughout his Dominions, that three out of every ten Men ſhould work at it, and afterwards two out of every five were compelled to labour at this Undertaking: it is alſo ſaid, that though the Inhabitants of each Province wrought as near their own Abode as they could, yet either by the Length of their Journey, or the Difference of the Climates, almoſt all thoſe employed in this Building died ſuddenly; which raiſed a Tumult in the Empire, that proceeded ſo far as to murther the Emperor and his Son *Agutzi*, in the Fortieth Year of his Reign.

" The Jeſuits, who enjoy the Ear and Favour of the Emperor, are very expert in the Art of Menſuration, as their printed Books diſcover; amongſt theſe are the above-mentioned *Le Comte*, *Bobet*, and *Gobien*, and they tell us, that the moſt formidable Enemies the *Chineſe* ever feared were the Weſtern *Tartars*; wherefore an ancient *Chineſe* Emperor built this Great Wall to keep them off.

" I have (ſaith *Le Comte*) four times traced and obſerved it very near Hand, and without any Hyperbole dare aver, that the ſeven Wonders of the World are not to be compared to it, and that Fame repreſents it leſs in *Europe* than I found it to be.

" Two Particulars, continues he, ſurprized me very much.

" I. That this Wall, in its long Extent from Eaſt to Weſt, is in ſeveral Places carried, not only directly through vaſt and deſolate Plains, but alſo over very high Mountains; over which it ſeems to advance by ſlow Degrees, the intermediate Vacancies betwixt being ſtrengthened with great Towers, which ſtand about two Bow Shot diſtant from each other. I meaſured the Height of one of theſe, and found it one thouſand ſeven and thirty Geometrical Feet above the Horizontal Line; and it is not eaſy to conceive how ſuch a prodigious Bulwark could be raiſed to ſuch a Height, in dry mountainous Places, to which Water, Stone, Lime, and all other Materials, muſt of Neceſſity be brought from Places far diſtant.

" II. That this Wall is not carried on in a direct Line, but in ſeveral Places winds and turns, according as the Shape of the Hills required, ſo that one would be apt to ſay, that three Walls inſtead of one, cover a great Part of *China*."

He farther ſaith, " That the *Chineſe* have exceeded the Antients in Fortification; that they call this Wall *Vauli Tcham Tchin*, that is, of ten thouſand Furlongs: That its Extent is from the Oriental Sea to the Province of *Xanſi* or *Chanſi*: That though it is certain that it is not ſo long as Report makes it, yet all the Turnings and Windings conſidered, it cannot be much leſs than five hundred Miles long: That whereever it ſeemed moſt eaſy to be forced, two or three Ramparts are clapped up one behind the other, ſo that the hindmoſt can eaſily contribute to the Defence of the foremoſt: That it is carried over the higheſt Hills, or raiſed or ſunk in Proportion to the uneven Ground it ſtands on; for (ſaith he) it is not to be imagined that it is every where level, but that whenever it takes its Courſe over lofty Mountains, it is extraordinary high, but otherwiſe it doth not exceed the Height of common City Walls; and notwithſtanding Writers ſo widely diſagree about its Breadth, it is not above five or ſix Foot."

He adds, " That it is built with Brick, but the Work ſo good, that though it hath ſtood ſo many Ages, it is yet ſound and almoſt intire. That as this Undertaking was the greateſt in the World, it was alſo the moſt ridiculous Attempt that ever was made; for admitting, that Prudence obliged the moſt feaſible Inlets to be ſhut up, and fortified, it is nevertheleſs abſurd, to raiſe a Wall to thoſe Mountain Tops which are ſo high, that a Bird can ſcarce fly over them, much leſs could the *Tartarian* Troops climb them, and to leave ſome Places ſo low and defenceleſs as they are. It is indeed to be wondered at, how they found ſuch excellent Artiſts and proper Inſtruments, to convey the Materials ſo high; and more Workmens Lives were ſacrificed in this Building, than the utmoſt Outrages of the *Tartarian* Armies would ever have killed them."

5. The Kingdom or Province of *Xantung* lies Southwards of *Peking*, and extends Eaſtwards towards the Sea; and through this Province, or that of *Leaotung*, the Inhabitants of *Corea* bring their annual Tribute to *China*. The Soil is fertile, producing all Sorts of Corn and Fruits in ſuch Plenty, that one Year's Crop is ſufficient to provide the Inhabitants of this Country for ten Years. All Sorts of Edibles, tending to the Support of Luxury, as well as ſupplying Neceſſity, bear but a very low Price here; and this Province abounding with Rivers, Canals, and Lakes, this is the Rea-

ſon that Fiſh is here prodigious plenty; as alſo the Fleſh of all Sorts of tame and wild Beaſts. Nor are the Silk-worms backward in yielding great Quantities of Silk. But withal this Country is more infeſted with Robbers and Thieves than the other Provinces of *China*, and they herd together in ſuch Numbers, that they can raiſe a ſmall Army. Subordinate to this are ſix great Cities, diſtinguiſhed by the additional Appellative of *Fu*, the Signification of which is explained above.

And ſubject to theſe ſix are fifteen leſſer Towns, diſtinguiſhed under the Title of *Cheu*, under which are eighty-nine yet leſſer, called *Hien*.

The principal City is *Zinan Fu*, which hath under its Juriſdiction four *Cheu*, and ſixteen *Hien*, which have again twenty under their Command.

The ſecond large City is called *Junchu Fu*; it hath twenty four *Cheu*, and three and twenty *Hien*.

Tungchang Fu, the third large City, preſides over three *Cheu* and fifteen *Hien*.

Cinceu Fu, the fourth, hath ſubordinate to it fourteen *Cheu* and as many *Hien*.

Tengcheu Fu, the fifth great City, commands one *Cheu*, and ſeven *Hien*.

Laicheu Fu, the ſixth, governs two *Cheu*, and five *Hien*: And theſe are the ſix great Cities of *Xantung*.

The moſt excellent *Chineſe* Philoſopher *Ciungfuſius*, drew his firſt Breath in this Kingdom or Province.

This *Ciungfuſius* or *Confutius* left ſeveral Philoſophical Tracts behind him, for which not only the *Chineſe*, but alſo the neighbouring, polite, and knowing People, expreſs the greateſt Veneration, and carefully preſerve them, as the moſt ſacred and valuable Writings in the World; he is ſaid to have flouriſhed about five hundred Years before Chriſt. The *Chineſe* ſo highly reverence him, that they bow down to the Ground at the very Sight of any Table or Plank, *&c.* dedicated to his Memory, and on which his Name is inſcribed. Though indeed this Practice doth not always obtain, but at certain Solemnities, at certain Times and Places, that the Memory of ſuch a learned Man and great Benefactor to Mankind may not die; to preſerve which they make an Idol of him.

There are ſome ſmall Iſlands which are alſo dependent on this Province, among which the following three, *Fuxu*, *Xamuen*, and *Tenneng*, are the moſt conſiderable; and the laſt very remarkable for having five hundred *Chineſe* Philoſophers murthered there, though it is not ſo much rever'd on this Account as *Xantung* is for having given Birth to the great *Confutius*. The Story of that ſingular Maſſacre is this:

The Emperor *Xius* or *Chi Hompti*, who built the great Wall (mentioned in the Deſcription of *Peking*) being very much addicted to War, and an accompliſhed Soldier, but an utter Enemy to all Philoſophers, whom he had peremptorily reſolved to put to Death; commanded them all to repair from all Parts of his Kingdom to a particular Place, on the ſpecious Pretext of diſcuſſing ſome very important Point; and they all being aſſembled together, he ſhipped them off to the mentioned Iſland, and cauſed them all to be murdered in a very inhuman Manner, though others ſay they drowned themſelves. He was ſuch an inveterate Enemy to all Literature, that he ſtrictly commanded all his Subjects, on Pain of Death, to burn all the Books in the whole Empire, except only thoſe which treated of Agriculture, Phyſic, and Necromancy or Magick.

Through this Province runs the River *Luen*, of which the Inhabitants relate very ſtrange Things, many of which are found to be true.

" *Nieuhoſ*, amongſt other ſurpriſing Things reports,
" That if nine Sticks are thrown into it, ſix of them
" will infallibly drive Southwards, and three to the
" North; and that himſelf tried the Experiment and
" found it ſucceed" *Sed credat qui vult.*

In this and other Provinces, is obſerved a Sort of Fiſhing Bird called *Louwa*, which is ſomewhat leſs than a Gooſe, and not unlike a Raven; having alſo a very crooked Bill towards the End. The Manner of Fiſhing with them is as follows: the Fiſhers having rowed themſelves in their Boats to a proper Place, throw theſe Birds over-board, who immediately dive, and the very Inſtant they have caught their Game, dart up to the Surface of the Water, when their Maſters immediately ſeize them, and very expeditiouſly pull the Fiſh out of their Crops, it not being poſſible for it to deſcend lower, becauſe it is ſtopped there by a Ring fixed about the Bird's Neck, which is removed when the Sport is over, and the Birds let looſe; after which they go a Fiſhſtealing with open Throats, and having ſatiated themſelves, return to their Boats.

" *John Gonſales de Mendoſa* ſays, they are faſtened
" under their Wings to a long Rope before they are
" thrown into the Water, and that they fiſh every third
" Day in the proper Seaſon, after the Fiſh have ſpawn'd.

Near the City of *Chincheu*, or *Junchu Fu*, a Stone called *Nieuhoang*, is obſerved to grow in the Stomach of the Cows, which ſome take for a Sort of *Bezoar*, and is very highly eſteemed by the *Chineſe* Phyſicians, being an efficacious Remedy againſt Catarrhs, and other phlegmatick Diſorders.

6. *Xanſi* lies Weſtwards of *Peking*, extending Northwards to the Great Wall, and is divided into two Parts by a large rapid River which runs through it, though it riſes in the Weſtern Part of *Xienſi*, from whence it turns Southwards, ſhortly after it winds to the North, and laſtly, inclining again Southwards, diſembogues itſelf into the Sea.

" Writers differ very ſtrangely concerning the
" Names of this Province, City, River, *&c.* Our Au-
" thor calls the Province *Xanſi*, another calls it *Chanſi*;
" the chief City he names *Honang Fu*, others *Caiſung*;
" he calls the River *Huango*, another makes it *Hoamſo*;
" and there is alſo a Difference, though not a very wide
" one, concerning its Source. *Le Comte* tells us, that
" the *Hoamſo* riſes at the farther End of thoſe Moun-
" tains which cover the Weſt Part of the Province of
" *Suchcuen*; from whence it throws itſelf into *Tartary*,
" where having run its Courſe without the great Wall,
" it repaſſes through it into *China*, betwixt the Pro-
" vinces of *Chanſi* and *Chenſi* (or *Xienſi*,) after which
" it waters the Province of *Honang*, and running through
" the Province of *Nanking*, having compleated its
" Courſe of above 600 Miles laſtly empties itſelf, not
" far diſtant from the large River *Kiam*, into the Ori-
" ental Sea."

It runs through four Provinces, beginning with Weſt *Xienſi* where it riſes, and paſſes through that Side of that Province; after which it runs through *Xanſi*, *Honan* and *Nanking*, where it falls into the Sea. The Breadth of this River in ſome Places is a *French* Mile, or a Mile and half, and in others, two Miles over; and by the Violence of its Tide, and Force of this great Maſs of Waters, it very much damages the adjoining Lands, by ſometimes overflowing not only particular Houſes, but whole Villages and Cities, twenty or thirty Miles diſtant, ſweeping before it Men, Cattle, or whatever it finds. In the *Chineſe* Language it is called *Huango*, which ſignifies the yellow River, by Reaſon the Water looks yellow or reddiſh, which is occaſioned by its Paſſage over, and carrying along with it a Sort of yellow Earth on the *Tartarian* Mountains, that imparts its Tincture to it: For this River runs through Part of *Tartary* without the Great Wall, and after taking a winding Courſe there re-enters the Wall. It is in many Places very deep, but yet in moſt Parts of it unnavigable.

" This River hath formerly made vaſt Devaſtations,
" and obliged the *Chineſe* to keep off its Water, by
" caſting up high and ſtrong Dikes or Banks; which
" after all proved inſufficient to the ſecuring of the Ci-
" ties from the ill Effects of its overflowing. Beſides
" which, the Cities in *Honang* are all fenced round,
" about a Quarter of a Mile from the Town, to pre-
" vent an Inundation, in Caſe of this rapid River's
" breaking through all its Banks, as it did above fifty
" Years ſince. For the Emperor, in order to raiſe the
" cloſe Siege laid to *Caifung*, the chief City of *Honang*,
" by the Rebel *Lihuang* (who had perfectly block'd it up
" from all Relief,) and to confound his Army, cauſed
" the Banks to be cut through. But their Delivery
" proved more fatal to them, and did them more Miſ-
" chief than the utmoſt Rage of the Enemy could:
" For by that Means not only the City itſelf, but al-

“ moſt the whole Province, and ſeveral other Towns
“ and Villages were laid under Water: So that above
“ three hundred thouſand Men, amongſt which were
“ ſeveral Miſſionaries, who had then a numerous Chri-
“ ſtian Congregation in the ſaid City, were all drowned
“ and deſtroyed, loſing at once both their Church and
“ their Lives.

“ *Le Comte* ſaith, I have ſailed on ſeveral Parts of
“ this River, and found it every where broad and ra-
“ pid, but ſhallow, and ſcarce navigable.”

This Country is very mountainous, and though leſs than other Provinces, yet it is very populous and fertile; its Juriſdiction extends over ſix *Fu*, eleven *Cheu*, and ninety-five *Hien*.

The metropolitan City of the firſt large Diſtrict is called *Thayenſu*; the ſecond *Pauteſu*; the third *Pingiangfu*; the fourth *Zugenſu*; the fifth *Funcheuſu*; and the ſixth *Tatinſu*.

All theſe have ſeveral ſmall ſubordinate Cities, which not affording any thing very remarkable, to avoid Prolixity I ſhall not enlarge on. But it is very obſervable, that in all Parts of this Province are found fiery Wells, which very conveniently ſerve for the Boiling of their Victuals in the following Manner; they cover them cloſe with a Lid in which is left a Hole, to ſet the Kettle or Pot on, by which Means whatever is contained in it is boiled without any other Aſſiſtance.

The valiant Warrior and great General *Quan'nchang*, was born in this Province. This Hero had three Boſom Friends, all of them great Lords, who had ſworn a mutual and inviolable Friendſhip, and to whom he proved very ſincere and faithful. They were all three highly eſteemed by the Emperor, but one of them was his peculiar favourite: And it happening that the Death of the Emperor occaſioned a Civil War, this Hero and the others endeavoured to ſet their Friend on the Throne; in Purſuit of this End he ſeveral Times proved victorious, and won ſeveral Battles; but it happening once that the enemy had carried off his Friends Wives and their Attendants; the News no ſooner reached his Ears, than with utmoſt Haſte and equal Bravery, he reduced his Men to Order, beat the Enemy, and delivered the captive Ladies, and retired before and in Sight of a vaſt approaching Army, which purſued him cloſe at the Heels for two Days and two Nights; notwithſtanding all which, he defended and preſerved them from all Danger, and delivered them inviolate and untouched to his Friends. And for this glorious and gallant Action he is highly revered by his Countrymen; in Remembrance of ſuch ſublime Virtue they adore him as a God, and ſet up Images in their Idol Temples in Honour to him. It is but ſeldom that they will ſhew this Image, the Face of which is of a very deep Blood-Colour, like a Hero not debauch'd by *Bacchus*. And the military Men highly eſteem that Sort of Countenance; nay, the whole *Chineſe* Nation imagine him very proditious to them, and fancy that ſuch a fiery flaming Face will inſpire them with Valour, and enable them to acquit themſelves well.

7. *Xienſi* or *Xenſi*, is the largeſt of all the *Chineſe* Provinces, and had formerly three Viceroys, though at preſent it hath but two. Its Breadth from Eaſt to Weſt is three hundred and fifty, and its Length four hundred Miles. Its Plains as well as Hills are very fertile, and here are vaſt Herds of Kine, and large Flocks of Sheep.

“ This Province breeds as many Cattle of all Sorts
“ as any Country in the World; the Sheep and Goats
“ come on ſo kindly, and thrive ſo well, that they are
“ ſhorn thrice every Year, and their Wool is wrought
“ into very fine Cloths and Stuffs, fit for Cloathing or
“ other Uſes. This Country alſo produces great Quan-
“ tities of Muſk, which is extraordinary good, and
“ grows at the Navel of an Animal like a Hart, with-
“ out Horns; their Navels ſwell moſt in their Rutting-
“ time, when they are taken and killed, the Navel,
“ and what is contained in it is cut, and that proves
“ the beſt unadulterated Muſk; a more particular Ac-
“ count of which, illuſtrated with a Print, is inſerted
“ in Mr. *Yſbrants Ides*'s Travels to *China*.”

This Province lies Weſtward of *Xanxi*, the Great Wall terminates in it; it alſo borders on *Weſt-Tartary*, from whence the *Lama*'s come, which are *Tartarian* Prieſts that wear yellow or red Habits.

“ The great or chief *Lama*, in their Language *Dalai*
“ *Lama*, is the Head of their Religion, and him they
“ honour as a Deity. When the firſt Embaſſy, ſent by
“ the *Dutch Eaſt-India* Company to *China*, was at *Pe-*
“ *king*, there was alſo an Envoy from him; and by
“ Reaſon, ſaith *Nieuhoff*, they had formerly lived in
“ *China*; but before the *Tartar* had conquered that
“ Empire, had been by the laſt *Chineſe* Emperor driven
“ out of it: Their Errand was then to requeſt a Per-
“ miſſion for the Return of their baniſh'd Eccleſiaſticks
“ on the old Foot, and a free Exerciſe of their Reli-
“ gion.”

This Province alſo borders on the upper Principality of *Tibet*, which extends itſelf to the Territories of the *Great Mogul*, from whoſe Dominions great Numbers of Merchants come to the vaſt trading City of *Zunning*, in the Kingdom of *Xienſi*: And the Door of Commerce being for ſome Time opened here, and Liberty granted to them, as well as *Muſcovites* and *Tartars*, to trade there, they have with their Wares and Trade introduced the *Mahometan* Religion, which, as Weeds grow apace, is ſpread over all *China* to that Degree, that there appears more of that accurſed Seed than of the true Doctrine of Jeſus Chriſt, which from Experience I ſpeak with Sorrow.

In this Province are eight large Cities, which have an hundred and ſixteen under their Juriſdiction. The principal City is *Sigan Fu*, which is not only large in Size, but alſo very fine; the reſt are *Hanchang Fu*, *Fungiang Fu*, *Pingliang Fu*, *Linxiu Fu*, *Vachan Fu*, *Hingang Fu*, and *Singang Fu*; theſe are the eight, ſubordinate to which, as I above hinted, are all the others.

Not far from *Sigan Fu*, ſomewhat above ſeventy Years ago, a monumental Table was found, upon which a Croſs and ſeveral Letters were cut, whence the Eccleſiaſticks prove, that the *Chriſtian Religion* was anciently known in *China*, and that St. *Thomas* the Apoſtle, or ſome of his Diſciples, were there.

“ The Jeſuits *Kircher*, *Le Comte*, *Gobien*, and others,
“ ſpeak largely of this Croſs and Table; but I ſhall
“ only make a ſhort Extract of the principal Things
“ which they treat of at full. They ſay then, that it is
“ a long Marble Table, on the Top of which is engra-
“ ven a Croſs; that in the Year 1625, ſome *Brick-*
“ *layers* digging the Ground near *Siganjou*, in the Pro-
“ vince of *Chienſi*, found a long Piece of Marble, which
“ formerly had been ſet up as a Monument, but Time
“ had ſunk it under the Earth. This Stone was ten
“ Feet long and five broad, and was the more narrowly
“ examined, by Reaſon a well engraven large Croſs ap-
“ peared at the Top of it; and ſomewhat below it a
“ long Inſcription in *Chineſe* Characters, with ſome
“ ſtrange unknown Letters, which were found to be
“ *Syriack*. The Emperor being informed of it, cauſed
“ a Copy of it to be given out, and afterwards com-
“ manded the Monument to be kept in a Pagode,
“ where it is at preſent, about a Quarter of a Mile from
“ *Siganfou*. The Inſcription, which is too long to be
“ tranſcribed here, mentions the *Meſſias*, and imports
“ that an Angel brought the Tidings of his coming,
“ and that *Olopouen* departed from *Judea* in the Year
“ 636, and came to *China*; that he being examined,
“ his Teſtimony was found good, and that the Empe-
“ ror publiſhed a Declaration and Command in his
“ Favour, in order to the building of a Church, &c.”

8. *Honan* is ſituated in the Middle of *China*, borders Southwards on the Provinces *Huquang* and *Kianſi*; Northwards on *Peking* and *Xanxi*, Eaſtwards on *Xantung* and *Nanking*, and Weſtwards on *Suchuen* and *Xienſi*. Anciently, before all *China* was ſubjected to one Monarch, and each Province or Kingdom was governed by its own Prince, this was accounted the middle Kingdom, and diſtinguiſhed by that Name, which is at preſent given to *China*, by reaſon it is ſituated in the Middle of ſeveral Kingdoms: And accordingly the *Chineſe* frequently ſay,

South

Southwards lie the Kingdoms of *Tunking* and *Siam*; Eaſtwards *Japan*, and ſome other Iſlands; Weſtwards *Pegu*, and the Country as far as *Bengal* and *Tartary*; Northwards are the *Barbarian Tartars*, which formerly paid Toll and Tribute as Subjects. Whilſt *China* lying in the Middle of all theſe, is juſtly called in *Chineſe*, *Chung Iuoi*, that is, the Middle Kingdom.

This Province conſiſts of flat Land, without Hills, which is very fruitful, yielding a vaſt Plenty of Rice and other Corn, all which are to be bought here very cheap; a hundred Pound of Rice being frequently ſold for no more than twelve Pence. In this Country was born the famous *Tchcon Tſong*, who, according to the *Chineſe* Annals, invented the *Mariners* Compaſs a thouſand Years before the coming of Chriſt.

It contains eight large Cities, which have ſubordinate to them an hundred and eight Towns or leſſer Cities. The principal City is called *Schaifung Fu*.

This formerly was the Royal Court, but was overflowed and covered with Sand by a great Inundation; and at preſent a City is built oppoſite to it. *Quinte Fu*, *Hinℓte Fu*, *Vecſe Fu*, *Vaking Fu*, *Honan Fu*, *Nining Fu*, and *Hojang Fu*, are the Names of the remaining Cities, making all together eight, having Juriſdiction over the above-mentioned hundred and eight.

“ By this Inundation is to be underſtood the cutting
“ of the Banks already mentioned in the Deſcription of
“ *Xanxi*, of the River *Hoanga*, which was done by the
“ Emperor to deliver the City from the Siege which the
“ Rebel *Lihuang* had laid to it, and to drown him and
“ his Army: But alas! it proved the Drowning and
“ Deſtruction of this chief City, and ſo many hundred
“ thouſand Men. I ſhall only add, that the Cham-
“ paign Ground of this Province hath continued ever
“ ſince like a Pond or Moraſs: Projects have indeed
“ been thought on to drain it, and reduce it to its
“ priſtine State; but the Undertaking is almoſt above
“ human Ability, the Expence is unmeaſurably great,
“ nor is it poſſible to accompliſh it; wherefore the
“ Court hath given over all Thoughts of it; yet Time
“ has done much towards it, and Things are now much
“ altered for the better.”

9. *Leaotung* lies Northward of *Xantung*, Eaſtwards of *Corea*; but Southwards of *Tartary*. Through this Province the preſent *Tartar* Conqueror came into *China*. In the Reign of the Emperor *Vanli*, about the Year of Chriſt 1590, the *Tartars* alſo broke into *Leaotung*, but were repulſed by that Monarch. This was about the Time that Father *Matthew Ricci*, the Jeſuit, came into *China*. This Emperor *Vanli* governed, and peaceably poſſeſſed *Leaotung* for forty-nine Years: But after his Death the *Tartars*, by the Aſſiſtance of ſome exiled traiterous *Chineſe*, that lived in this Province, the utmoſt Boundary which divided *China* from *Tartary*; the *Tartar*, I ſay, aſſiſted by theſe Traitors who had before behaved themſelves ill at Home, again entred this Country. This happened when the Emperor was but young, and all the publick Affairs were directed by his Viceroys and Eunuchs. So they grew more potent in this Province. And about the Year 1630, one *Lichuang*, a perfidious Rebel, roſe up againſt him in the Province of *Xienſi*, of which he not only made himſelf Maſter, but alſo over ſeveral others, before the Emperor ſo much as knew of it; his Eunuch Commanders induſtriouſly concealing it, ſo that the ill News never reached his Ears till it was too late to remedy it, that is, till this Rebel was advanced with his Forces ſo near *Peking*, that he entered it the next Morning.

“ He was the laſt of the Race of *Taiminga*, whoſe
“ Name was *Zungchi*: Of which Family *Chu* was the
“ Founder. He drove out the *Tartars* who then lord-
“ ed it over the *Chineſe*; and his Deſcendants enjoyed
“ the Empire for ſeveral hundred Years.”

Upon the News of which the Emperor clapt his Hand to his Sword, not out of manly Reſolution, but hurried thereto by Deſpair only, in order to kill his Imperial Conſort, Concubines and Daughter, who expreſſed their Grief in Tears and Lamentations ſufficiently pathetick to have moved the moſt obdurate Heart. Having thus prevented their future Miſery by preſent Death, himſelf climbed to the Top of a Mountain, within the Walls of the Imperial Palace, and to provide againſt falling into the Hands of this baſe Rebel, choſe rather to die by his own, and accordingly hanged himſelf on a Tree.

After which *Lichuang* aſcended the Throne, and eſtabliſhed himſelf in the Poſſeſſion of the Monarchy, as Sovereign Ruler of the People, but deported himſelf like a Tyrant and Uſurper; for he began his Reign with Cruelty: He commanded the Father to the Prince and General at the great Wall, and ſeveral other Noblemen to be put to an ignominious and painful Death, for no other Reaſon than becauſe he could not bring over his Son to the Rebels Side; who afterwards not only attempted the Revenge of his Father's Death, but alſo to deliver the Empire from this Uſurper.

For he then went to *Leaotung*, and invited the *Tartars* to his Aſſiſtance: But they very much diſtruſted him at firſt, to remove which, he promiſed them, on the Word of a General, to be faithful to them, confirming his Promiſes with an Oath on the naked Sabre. After which he led them as their General, and they boldly followed him. The prevailing Uſurper was come without the Wall, and alſo requeſted Aid of the *Leaotungers*, but in vain.

“ From this and what follows, as that *Lichuang* went
“ without the great Wall to requeſt the Aſſiſtance of
“ the *Leaotungers*, it clearly appears that *Leaotung* lies
“ without the mentioned great Wall, ſince this Princely
“ General, by ſome called *Uſangeii*, and by our Author
“ *Vii Sangquei*, who then commanded, went from the
“ great Wall and applied himſelf to the *Leaotungers* as
“ well as the Uſurper, and on the ſame Account. But
“ in the Beginning of this Tract, to which we refer the
“ Reader, this is ſo clearly proved, that no farther Evi-
“ dence is in the leaſt neceſſary.”

This Heroick General bravely faced his Enemy, and in the firſt Place revenging the Murther of his Father, after an obſtinate Reſiſtance, he routed, put him to flight, and purſued him and his flying Army as far as *Peking*, where his Enemy made no ſtop, but after he had taken out his hundred and ninety Concubines, and the richeſt Furniture and Jewels, ſet Fire to the Imperial Palace. The General purſu'd him, accompanied with his own Forces, and ſome *Tartars*, leaving the reſt at *Peking*.

10. The *Tartarian* Chan or Prince, though but invited, in order to aſſiſt the *Chineſe*, having with him about ſeven or eight thouſand *Tartars*, beſides the *Leaotungers*, made Uſe of this fair Opportunity to mount the Throne of this mighty Empire. This happened about ten Years before the worthy Father *John Adam Schalt* ſettled in *China*.

The General returning from the Purſuit of his Enemy, found the *Tartar*, whoſe Aſſiſtance he had implored, ſeated on the Throne, and himſelf obliged to obey him: And complying with Neceſſity, he conſented to become his Relation by Inter-marriage. And the new Emperor created this Prince King of *Junan*.

The Bond of Affinity was yet too feeble, and the Crown of *Junan* too mean, to ſatisfy and reſtrain within Bounds this aſpiring Prince, who aimed at the Empire itſelf. And accordingly after the Expiration of a few Years, he roſe againſt the Chan; and ſtiled himſelf Emperor, by the Name of *Vii Sangquei*; reduced ſeveral Southern Provinces to acknowledge his Sovereignty: And after having carried on a vigorous war againſt the Chan, and conquered near half the Empire, he at laſt died, being arrived to a very great Age.

His youngeſt Son who ſucceeded him in his Pretenſions, was, at the Time of his Death, a Minor, and as it generally happens in Revolutions, an irreconcileable Diſſention aroſe amongſt the Princes, which prevented his maintaining his Claim to the Empire: The eldeſt Son kept his Court at *Peking*, was by Marriage allied to the Emperor, and had three Sons; but though he was thirty-five Years of Age, yet he and his three Sons were put to Death. And ever ſince the whole Empire of *China* hath been ſubject to one Sovereign, who is the Chan of the *Mantcheou Tartars*.

“ There is a Law in Force in *China* which extends the Puniſhment of Rebels to the ninth Generation. The preſent Emperor *Canghi*, who is a mild Prince, and diſcovers a very great Averſion to Cruelty, found himſelf oblig'd, in Compliance with the Laws of the Land, to put to Death the Children and ſome other Relations of *Ouſangeii*, by Reaſon he was convicted of Rebellion: But to teſtify his Averſion to any ſuch Practice, he cauſed Proclamation to be made before-hand, that it was not he that had condemned them, but that he was conſtrained by the rigid Laws of the Empire, the general Aſſembly of the Princes of the Blood, and the ſupreme Courts of Juſtice of the Land, not to delay the Puniſhment of any Perſon who was convicted of Rebellion.”

It is indeed true, that not long before ſome Lords roſe up againſt the Emperor, and carried on a War againſt him, which did not prove ſucceſsful, by Reaſon of their mutual Diviſions: Yet incredible Numbers of Men were killed; ſome talk of forty Millions, others ſay four Millions: Inſomuch that human Blood (in an unheard of Manner) ſtreamed from Mountain Tops; that the deep Channels were filled with dead Bodies, and the deeper Vales piled up and levelled with the Hills. This happened during the Minority of the preſent Emperor *Canghi*, he being then not much above fourteen Years old.

As his Father's Acceſſion to the Throne was not accompanied with any Fatigues or Uneaſineſs, ſo his Reign was very peaceable; leaving the greateſt Difficulties for his Son to ſtruggle with, who, by his great Wiſdom, heroick Courage, Royal Virtues, and exalted Endowments, hath overcome them all.

We ſhall now turn towards the Southern Provinces, and take Leave of theſe Northern Countries, with ſaying that *Leaoutung* is a very fine though ſmall Province, containing not above twelve as well large as ſmall Cities: And adding that in this Province grows the famous Medicinal Root *Ginſeng*, acknowledged by the Phyſicians to be an excellent Cordial Reſtorative. The *Chineſe* Doctors uſe it in Hectick Peſtilential Fevers, and ſeveral other dangerous Diſeaſes: It is prepared by Mixture with ſeveral other Drugs. Thoſe of theſe Roots which are large, bright and weighty, are choſen as the beſt; they wrap them up in Paper, and keep them in dry Earth, and alſo in Pepper: They commonly boil two or three Grains of it, minced ſmall, in Chicken Broth, or in fair Water: But particular Care muſt be taken that the Pot be cloſe covered, by Reaſon that in an open Kettle a great Part of its Virtue evaporates.

“ The Reader will naturally expect to have ſome Account of this famous Plant, beyond what our Author, to whom it was common and familiar, has thought proper to ſet down here. The *Ginſeng* is a perennial Root that produces an annual Stalk of the Size of a large Quill, which riſes not very high, and opens with five Leaves. Some ſay, that this Plant bears white and beautiful Flowers; others, that it produces no Flower at all. The Root, which is the Part moſt valued, is of the Size of a ſmall Parſnip, not very unlike it, and generally divides itſelf into two. It is held to be the greateſt Reſtorative in the World, and the *Chineſe* Phyſicians have written whole Volumes about it, in which they tell us many Things that ſeem to ſurpaſs all Credit. It is however to be obſerved, that the figurative Stile, and the very conciſe Deſcriptions in theſe Sort of Books, very often hinder *Europeans* from comprehending their true Senſe; ſo that we are apt to reject, as a ridiculous Romance, what with them paſſes for a well-wrought Allegory, or a uſeful Fable. The Miſſionaries, generally ſpeaking, agree that it is both an uſeful and an efficacious Medicine; that it removes Vapours, raiſes the Spirits, ſupplies Strength, and promotes Secretions in a wonderful Manner. The Leaves are uſed as Tea, and have a very great Effect that Way, but the Root is far preferable, and the true Way of uſing it is thus. Divide an Ounce of *Ginſeng* into ten Parts, by breaking it, for it is affirmed, that Experience ſhows it loſes much of its Virtue by being cut with a Knife: One of theſe Portions is ſufficient for a Doſe, and is to be put into an earthen Pot, with a Pint of Water, and being cloſely covered, muſt be ſet upon a ſlow Fire, till by ſtewing, it is reduced to about a Quarter of a Pint. This Liquor is to be ſweetned with white Sugar Candy, and ſo drank moderately hot. Then half that Quantity of Water may be put upon the ſame Root, and being half conſumed, the Liquor is to be taken in the like Manner. The former ſhould be taken in the Morning, faſting, the latter in the Evening, and nothing eat after it. There are various Reaſons why this Drug does not anſwer in *Europe*; one is, that bearing a high Value, we are often cheated, and ſome other Root ſent us, inſtead of *Ginſeng*; another and a better Reaſon is this, that the Root itſelf is very apt to corrupt and ſpoil, ſo as to loſe all its Virtue. I knew a Phyſician that made Uſe of a Tincture of it, brought by the *Chineſe* to *Batavia*, with great Succeſs; but this Tincture was extravagantly dear, ſince at the firſt Hand it coſt three Pounds an Ounce. The *Ginſeng* commonly grows in woody Places, under the Shade of large Trees. It has been plentifully found in *Canada*, where it was diſcovered by a *French* Jeſuit, one Father *Lafitau*. It is alſo found in *Maryland*, and under the Title of the *Maryland* Plant is very well deſcribed by Mr. *Ray*. There is another Plant more common in Phyſick, the *Latin* Name of which is *Hepatica Nobilis Tragi*, that is held to be very little inferior in its Virtues to the *Ginſeng*, and ought therefore to be more in Uſe. It were to be wiſhed that ſome of the Jeſuits ſettled in that Empire were well verſed in Chemiſtry, and then there is no Doubt they would be able to prepare Extracts from this famous Root, that would reſtore and eſtabliſh its Credit in *Europe*, and prevent our Phyſicians from believing, that the *Chineſe* Doctors, either through Ignorance or Prepoſſeſſion in Favour of their Country, have extolled this Drug far above its Deſerts. But till this be done, it would not certainly be amiſs to make ſome Experiments on the *American Ginſeng*, of which we might have conſiderable Quantities from *Maryland*; and as to the Liverwort before-mentioned, one can hardly believe that ſo good a Judge as *Schroder* ſhould commend it to ſuch a Degree, if it had not really ſome very conſiderable Qualities; but we are too apt to neglect Simples, and leave them entirely to the Vulgar and to Quacks, who very often perform ſuch extraordinary Cures by them, as not only raiſes their Credit, but is prejudicial to that of regular Phyſicians, who are more enamoured of Botany as a Science, than attentive to its Conſequences, as it is a Branch of the Art of Medicine.”

11. Having deſcrib'd the Northern, we come to ſpeak of the Southern Provinces or Kingdoms of *China*.

Nanking, which we named firſt, is very large, and is governed by two Viceroys: The chief City is called *Nanking*, or rather at preſent *Kiamning*, the *Tartars* having changed its Name. This was formerly the Metropolis; and the Imperial Court, now kept at *Peking*, antiently reſided here. This is the largeſt City in *China*; and at preſent is ſixteen or ſeventeen *French* Miles in Compaſs; but formerly contain'd three Circuits. The firſt or outermoſt and largeſt Circuit was thirty Miles; but ſince the Tranſlation of the Seat of the Empire, it is run to Decay, and become ſo far deſolate, that its ſecond Circuit contains but ſixteen or ſeventeen Miles, in which Compaſs are above thirty Hills.

“ The Footſteps of theſe Walls yet remain viſible; and ſeem rather (ſaith *Le Comte*) to have been the Bounds of a Province than a City: And though *Peking* is large and very populous, and *Nanking* very much declined from its former Grandeur, it is ſtill more populous than the other. The Reaſon of the Removal of the Court is hinted in the ſecond Chapter.”

“We ſhould alſo here add, that this City was within one Night of falling into the Hands of *Coxinga* or *Couefius*; but our Author having mentioned it in the Chapter where he is treating of *Fokien* and the Iſland *Formoſa*, I refer the Reader thither. And as for the third Circuit, (which our Author barely mentions, without any Deſcription) we gather from other Writers, that it was the ancient Imperial Palace, where the *Chineſe* Emperors formerly reſided in as great Splendor as at preſent at *Peking*; it was on the South-ſide of the City, and encompaſſed by a Wall, which at preſent encloſes the principal Part of the City. Each of its four Sides were an *Italian* Mile long, and conſequently required above an Hour's time to go round it, being by *Nieuhoff* compared to *Haarlem* in *Holland*.”

This moſt charming City far ſurpaſſes all the reſt; beſides which it is adorned with a lofty Tower of the fineſt Porcelain of various Colours, and ſet off on the Outſide with very fine Imagery: It is nine Stories high, and within is full of Stone Figures, richly gilt.

“The Difference amongſt all Authors in the Orthography, in Writing concerning *China*, is very ſurpriſing, they not agreeing in Names, the Senſe of them, nor even in Things; one writes *China*, another *Sina*; this *Xanſi*, *Xienſi*, that *Chanſi*, *Chienſi*, and alſo *Chenſi*: One calls the Emperor *Canghi*, another *Kamhi*; one writes *Ouſangouei*, whilſt others have it *Uſangejus*, or *Viiſonguei*; and all mean the ſame Thing or Perſon. So we find the like Difference concerning the Porcelain Tower, in, or more properly without, *Nanking*. Our Author ſaith, the Porcelain on it is of the very fineſt and beſt Sort; others ſay, that this Tower is but plaiſtered with Porcelain; and though the Rain and Duſt hath decayed the Beauty of it, the Remains are yet ſufficient to determine that it was Porcelain, and not the fineſt, but a coarſe Sort. Nor do Writers vary leſs about the making of Porcelain, which will be treated of in the Courſe of this Work. But before I take Leave of this Tower, I ſhall add what *Nieuhoff* ſaith, *viz.* That Seven hundred Years paſt this Tower was built, to the great Grief of the *Chineſe*, and as a pompous Monument of the *Tartars* being then Lords of *China*, of which they left this Memorial. *Le Comte* on the other Side ſaith, it is about three hundred Years ſince this Tower and the Temple of Memory were built by the Emperor *Yonlo*: And farther, ſpeaking of Towers, ſaith, That the Spire, which is one of its fineſt Ornaments, hath fixed on the Top of it a gilt Ball, or Pine Apple, of an extraordinary Largeneſs; and *Nieuhoff* tells us, that the *Chineſe* report this to be all maſſy Gold. Thus (*Le Comte* goes on) you have a Deſcription of the Porcelain Tower, which ſome *Europeans* would call a Brick Turret: But indeed the *Chineſe* are wonderfully expert in beautifying their Stones with all Manner of Ornaments: And as it is, it is undoubtedly the neateſt, moſt compact, and beſt Piece of Work at preſent remaining in the Eaſt.”

The Streets of *Nanking* are very ſpacious and wide, as well as clean and neat, and there all Sorts of Rarities and fine Wares are expoſed to Sale; but what is moſt amazing is the almoſt incredible Number of Men which are obſerved to be there. The Inhabitants are computed to be eight Millions, Houſekeepers or Maſters of Families, ſo that the Croud of People there ſeems juſtly enough ſaid to be incredible to thoſe who have not ſeen it.

Cloſe by, or about the City, runs a River of two *French* Miles over, which in the *Chineſe* Language is called *Tangſku Kiam*, that is, the Son of the Sea, and is navigable through all *China*. This River runs by and cuts through ſeveral Lakes and Rivulets, which all by its Aſſiſtance are conveyed to, and by that Means diſcharge themſelves into the Sea: Wherefore this River is very richly laden with innumerable Ships, and leſſer Craft, which are very fine within, and richly gilt without; beſides this, they are adorned with extraordinary fine painted Flags, and above Deck provided with all Manner of convenient Seats, Tables, and Couches, for the Convenience of Travellers, and they are withal well victualled.

“It is reported to be ſo deep that no Bottom is to be found; whence proceeds that *Chineſe* Proverb, *That the Sea is without Bounds, and the* Kiam *without Bottom*. And ſome who have been there, affirm upon their own Experience, that no Ground was to be diſcovered by Sounding. But they alſo add, that their Line was but fifty or ſixty Fathom, and that if they had made uſe of one of two or three hundred Fathom, they ſhould have given another Account of it.”

The Jeſuits, who have ſeen the vaſt Numbers there are of theſe Ships, ſay that there are enough of them, (proverbially ſpeaking) to make a Bridge from *China* to *Europe*.

The Juriſdiction of this Province extends to fourteen very large and magnificent Cities, all which are vaſtly rich, and have ſeveral ſmall, and they again ſeveral leſſer ſubordinate to them, as in the other Provinces.

The ſecond large City of this Province is *Suchen*, which is the moſt illuſtrious, largeſt, and moſt famous of all the reſt, being a Place of the greateſt Trade of any in the whole Empire; and Ships, as well as Men, appear there as numerous as Sand on the Sea-ſhore.

The Emperor receives from hence five Millions of *Laens*, each of the Value of two Rixdollars, beſides the Corn, Rice, and Fruit, which is tranſported from hence annually to *Peking*, in nine thouſand nine hundred and ninety nine Jonks or large Ships; each of which is capable of carrying three or four hundred Weight: Not to mention all Sorts of Silks and other Commodities yearly carried to the Emperor.

The Ships are ſix Months on the Way; and as ſoon as they are come to the End of the great Water, they come into navigable Rivers, cut by human Labour, with a Sluice at the Diſtance of every *French* Mile, to preſerve the Water on Occaſion.

“Travellers, in the Deſcriptions of their Voyages, call them Sluices, but repreſent them widely different from ours; for they are a Sort of Waterfalls, over which the Ships are forced by the Aſſiſtance of a great many Hands and Windleſſes. It is indeed ſtrange, that the ſubtle *Chineſe* have not yet invented ſuch as ours are, which if they once ſaw, they would be forced to acknowledge, that we are not ſuch clumſy dull Wretches as they and other Nations repreſent us there; and that they themſelves ſeem rather like unthinking People, when they are forced to make uſe of ſo many Hands, and are ſo fatigued to force over their Ships, which we do with the greateſt Eaſe in the World.”

The Names of the other Cities are, *Ninchueu Fu*, *Thaiping Fu*, *Ganking Fu*, *Sun Kiang Fu*, *Chin Kiang Fu*, *Geancheu Fu*, *Jungjan Fu*, *Chingan Fu*, *Lucheu Fu*, *Quongte Fu*, *Chancheu Fu*, and *Kingcheu Fu*. Theſe fourteen, the two former being included, exerciſe Juriſdiction over a hundred and thirteen other conſiderable Cities.

12. The Kingdom or Province of *Chekiang* borders on *Nanking*; and the *Chineſe* ſay, that next to that, it is the *Indian* Paradiſe of Arts, and the Paradiſe of the Gods; by reaſon it plentifully flows with all good Things. Throughout this whole Country are deep cut Channels, by Help of which all Parts of this Province may be eaſily travelled over as well by Water as by Land. The Bridges have all of them very fine Stone Arches; and the Number of Barks or Boats there is as vaſt as that of Men in the great Streets of *Peking*, that is, innumerable; which is the leſs to be wondred at, ſince this Place is frequented by Merchants from all Parts of the World.

It contains eleven large Cities, the chief of which is *Hancheu*, and is the fineſt of them all, being provided both within and without with deep and navigable Channels, and almoſt all the Corners of the Streets are adorned with lofty triumphal Arches. Not far diſtant Weſtward from the City Wall, there is a very fine Lake, the Circumference of which takes in ſeveral Miles; its Water

ter falling into it from the Hills is very bright and clear, and is conveyed into the City by the above mentioned Channels.

Eaſtwards alſo, near the City Wall, there runs a great River called *Zhien Tangkiang*, which at that Place is two Miles over, or as broad as the River *Kiam*, but not ſo deep, nor doth it extend ſo far, as paſſing through but one Province.

The other large Cities of this Province are, *Kiaking Fu*, *Xanking Fu*, *Nimpo Fu*, *Kiunchieu Fu*, *Venčteu Fu*, *Niencheu Fu*, *Chinchem Fu*, *Kingkoa Fu*, *Taicheu Fu*, and *Nincki Fu*; the whole Number being eleven. They preſide over ſeventy ſix leſſer Cities; to which is added *Viicheu Fu*, a City not leſs conſiderable than any of the reſt, and from it are brought very great Quantities of Silk.

13. *Kiangſi* is a large Province, which plentifully abounds with all Neceſſaries to human Life: It borders on *Nanking*. A Lake or ſmall Sea of three hundred *French* Miles in Bigneſs, called *Phojang Fu*, takes up the greateſt Part of it, and is as navigable for great Ships as the main Sea, and is ſurrounded by a Multitude of fine Towns and Cities. All the Rivers of this Province flow into this Meer, which diſcharges itſelf into the *Nankinſian* River, and by Means of that is conveyed to the Ocean.

This Province contains thirteen large Cities, the chief of which is *Nanchang Fu*, which, though a great City, is now ruined and reduced to a deſolate Condition by the Wars. *Vieicheu Fu*, a City where the *Porcelain* or *China* Earthen-ware is made, is alſo in this Province.

“ That this Porcelain is a common Manufacture in *China*, is acknowledged by all; and that the oldeſt is eſteemed the beſt, few are ignorant, partly on account of its beautiful Whiteneſs, partly for its Antiquity, and by Reaſon none ſo good is at preſent made; becauſe that the Emperor appoints a *Mandaryn* at the Places where it is wrought, in order to chooſe for his Uſe the fineſt Pieces, for which he notwithſtanding pays but a very mean Price; wherefore the Manufacturers, not being able to ſet their own Rate, or perhaps being but very ill paid, are diſcouraged from making it better than ordinary, and will neither take Pains, nor endeavour to ſhew any great Art in the manufacturing this Ware, without being richly rewarded. Our Author here relates the Manner of its Compoſition in his uſual plain Manner. But others *(J. G. de Mendoſa)* tell us, that it is made of Chalk, which being beaten is thrown into a Pond cloſely walled in, in which it diſſolves and boils up, a thin Skum ariſing, of which the fineſt Porcelain is made, and the coarſer of the Remainder; for the nearer the Bottom it grows, it becomes ſtill coarſer. They work this into what Shapes they pleaſe, in the ſame Manner as we do, and gild or paint them according to their Fancies, which Colouring or Gilding never fades. This, ſaith he, is what we know of our own Obſervation, and is more probable than that it ſhould be compoſed of Sea Shells which have lain a hundred Years under Ground to putrify, and are taken up, beaten, and then baked. *Nieuhoff* ſaith that it is made of a Sort of Earth which is brought from a certain Hill in the Province of *Nanking*; that this Earth is not moiſt like Clay or Chalk, but dry like fine Sand; that they diſſolve it with Water, but not that of *Hoeicheu* in *Nanking*, or the neighbouring Parts, it being impoſſible to work it in that Water; the Truth of which they have frequently been convinced of by unfortunate Experience; but it is ſucceſsfully tempered with the Water of *Vieicheu Fu*, and the adjacent Places. That having wrought it into Veſſels of all Shapes and Sizes at Pleaſure, they firſt dry them in the Sun, before they venture them in the Oven, after which they put them into the Furnace, and let them bake for fifteen Days, and ſtand fifteen Days after that to cool, before they take it out, *&c.* *Le Comte* ſaith, That it is made of a more ſolid Earth than ordinary, which is found in the Stone Quarries of this Province: That this being cleanſed and beaten to a fine Powder, is moiſtened and made into a Maſs, which is long and thoroughly mixed and beaten, in order to clear and refine it: That it is probable this Earth is moulded into ſeveral Forms at Pleaſure by ſuch a Wheel as is uſed for that Purpoſe in *Europe*: That after this it is carefully dried in the Sun, when the Ground and Paint is laid on, and then is put into the Furnace, which is kept to a moderate even Heat; and, that being baked enough, after a long Time ſtaying there, and becoming perfectly cold, it is taken out.”

This Porcelain is compoſed by the Mixture of certain Sorts of moiſt and dry Earths: The dry comes from the Province of *Nanking*: From theſe two Ingredients this *China* Earthen Ware is prepared, moulded into ſeveral Shapes, dried and baked; and when it is become cold, or rather almoſt cold, the Colours are laid on, and it is glaſed, once more put into the Oven, and baked in the Shape the Artiſt deſires it ſhould remain.

The other large Cities are *Kincheu Fu*, *Suicheu Fu*, *Nanhang Fu*, *Quoangſin Fu*, *Quienchang Fu*, *Linkiang Fu*, *Chungkue Fu*, *Tungcheu Fu*, and *Nangan Fu*.

Theſe large preſide over ſeventy eight leſſer Cities.

14. *Huquang*, and *Xienſi*, already deſcribed, are the two largeſt Provinces of *China*. This contains in its Juriſdiction fifteen Cities, and more plentifully abounds with Rice, Corn and Fiſh than all the reſt; being alone very well able to furniſh the whole Empire with ſufficient Quantities of Corn. For the Space of ten Years, this Province was miſerably infeſted with civil Wars and Diſcord, which have cut off incredible Numbers of Men.

The factious *Licbuang*, already mentioned in the Deſcription of *Leaotung*, was the Cauſe of all this Bloodſhed when he poſſeſſed himſelf of this Province.

And after an Interval of only a few Years, Prince *Vii Sanguei* (who invited in the *Tartars* to his Aſſiſtance) made himſelf Maſter of a great Part of it, and for the Space of ſeveral Years carried on a vigorous War againſt the Emperor.

There is a Lake in this Province, the Circumference of which is above four hundred *French* Miles, into which ſeveral Streams and Rivulets fall: And at the Mouth of it are ſeveral Mountains and ſmall Iſlands, from whence and from its boiſterous Waves, it is not unlike the main Sea. It is frequented by an incredible Quantity of Ships, and from it deſcends a very large River, which falls into the famous *Nanquingian* River.

On the four Corners of this Province are ſituate four Cities: The firſt of which is called *Jocheu*, and lies at the Mouth of the River, and is very ſtrong, and the Key of all the reſt. *Vii Sanguei*, King of *Junan*, took it. The Emperor's Brother, whom he had created King of this Province, aſſiſted by the Imperial Forces, ſat down before it with a very great Army, and very cloſely beſieged it, loſing a great many Men before it. It happened one Night, either in this Streight to rid themſelves of uſeleſs People, and unprofitable Mouths, or elſe in order to convey a great Number ſafe over the Meer, they embarked on board three hundred Ships, but ſuch a fatal Storm aroſe, that all the three hundred Ships and fifty thouſand Souls were ſunk to the Bottom.

But after the Death of *Vii Sanguei*, this City, as well as the whole Empire, fell entirely into the Emperor's Hands. There are in this Province fifteen large *Fu*, ſubordinate to which are an hundred twenty-five leſſer.

Vii Chang Fu, the Principal, is a very large City, which is interſected by a River, frequented by Multitudes of Ships that drive a very conſiderable Trade here.

Cotton grows here in ſuch vaſt Abundance, that it is tranſported from hence to all other Places almoſt throughout the whole Empire.

The other large Cities are *Hanjang Fu*, *Huangcheu Fu*, *Gangling Fu*, *Sangiang Fu*, *Juniang Fu*, *Tegan Fu*, *Jangiang Fu*, *Jocheu Fu*, *Changxa Fu*, *Paoking Fu*, *Xincheu Fu*, *Changte Fu*, *Hangcheu Fu*, and *Jungcheu Fu*; the whole Number being fifteen, whoſe Juriſdiction extends over one hundred and twenty-five other Towns.

15. The Province of *Suchuen*, which hath been ruined and laid Waſte by ſeveral Wars, is the leaſt of all the *Chineſe* Provinces, and is mountainous. It produces Quickſilver, Tin, Wine, and a conſiderable Quantity of Rhubarb, all which are exported to other Countries. But the Rhubarb is not eſteemed the beſt, nor are great Quantities of it either uſed or ſent Abroad.

There are in this Country nine large Cities, the chief of which is *Chingtu Fu*; which is a very great and conſiderable City, but reduced to a very low Eſtate by numerous Wars.

The others are *Langan Fu*, *Xunking Fu*, *Hunghing Fu*, *Paoning Fu*, *Chungching Fu*, *Lingcheu Fu*, *Hiengcheu Fu*, *Mahu Fu*, and *Taoy Fu*; the Whole making up the Complement of Nine, which preſide over one hundred and three leſſer Cities.

16. The Province of *Queicheu* is a mountainous Country, which produces great Quantities of Quickſilver, Copper and Tin; and contains fourteen large Cities, ſubordinate to which are twenty-four leſſer.

Though this Province hath but a very few Cities, its Circumference is very extenſive; but it is alſo depopulated and ruined by deſtructive Wars.

The chief City is *Queijang Fu*, and the reſt are *Gangxun Fu*, *Tugven Fu*, *Cinquen Fu*, *Laiping Fu*, *Suchuen Fu*, *Sunan Fu*, *Xecang Fu*, *Tungin Fu*, *Pinjung Fu*, *Pingiuen Fu*, *Thaiding Fu*, *Veineng Fu*, and *Meſi Fu*; amounting together as above to fourteen large Cities, which preſide over twenty-four leſſer.

17. *Junan*, the farthermoſt Province of *China*, borders Weſtward on the Kingdom of *Lao*; Southwards on the Kingdom of *Tunkin*, and was formerly accounted amongſt the *Chineſe* Provinces; but now is only tributary to that Empire.

Cochinchina and *Tonquin* alſo formerly made one Kingdom; but were afterwards divided into two, and diſtributed to two Brothers, who carried on very bloody and obſtinate Wars againſt each other.

This Province produces Gold, Silver, Copper, and Tin, in great Abundance, and its Mountains, Rivulets and Streams afford ſeveral precious Stones, eſpecially Rubies.

This Kingdom is very large, and was formerly, together with the Title of King, and the abſolute Power of governing it at his Pleaſure, beſtowed on Prince *Vii Sanguei*. He alſo kept his Royal Court, and built a very magnificent Palace there; but after his Death the whole Kingdom as well as the Court fell to Ruin and Deſolation. The Country is partly mountainous, and partly even Ground; the Air healthful and temperate, being neither too hot nor too cold; and in this Province is a Lake which is ſtored with Fiſh of different Kinds.

This Kingdom comprehends twenty large, ſubordinate to which are ſixty-eight ſmaller Cities. The chief City is *Junan Fu*, a charming pleaſant City, where Apples, Pears, Peaches, Plumbs, and all Sorts of Fruits, are incredibly plentiful.

The other great Cities are *Quongſi Fu*, *Kaihoa Fu*, *Cinſung Fu*, *Chingkian Fu*, *Quagnan Fu*, *Ivenking Fu*, *Chekiam Fu*, *Viiting Fu*, *Tali Fu*, *Manghoroa Fu*, *Junchang Fu*, *Li Jikang Fu*, *Hoking Fu*, *Kintung Fu*, *Juning Fu*, *Xunning Fu*, *Xingan Fu*, *Tungoha Fu*, and *Sinkoa Fu*: Theſe are the twenty above mentioned Cities which preſide over ſixty eight.

18. The greateſt Part of *Quoangſi* is mountainous, but the Remainder very fertile; one Point of it borders on the Kingdom of *Cochinchina*. Abundance of Cinnamon grows here, as doth alſo a certain very uſeful Wood to dye Red; which the *Portugueſe* call *Sapao*; and which grows alſo very plentifully in *Siam*. Here are likewiſe ſeveral excellent Sorts of Wood fit for the making of all Sorts of Cabinet, Joyners or Carpenters Work; beſides which, great Quantities of Rice are tranſported from hence to *Kanton*.

There are thirteen large, and eighty leſſer Cities in this Province.

Queiling Fu, the chief City, is very agreeably ſituated in a pleaſant Plain. This Province was formerly governed by a King, who was a Prince of the ancient Imperial Blood; but he dying without any Heir, his Dowager governed it for ſome Time; but after her Death, the Royal Court was ruined and demoliſhed; in which State it is at preſent.

The remaining great Cities are, *Pingeo Fu*, *Viichen Fu*, *Zincheu Fu*, *Nanning Fu*, *Taiping Fu*, *Sunun Fu*, *Teucheu Fu*, *Zhincheu Fu*, *Singuen Fu*, *Chincheu Fu*, (near which grows a certain Plant, of which is made a Sort of Stuff that is worth more than Silk) *Suchin Fu*, and *Chingan Fu*: They altogether commanding eighty leſſer Cities.

Very good *Porcelain* is alſo made in this Province; but the Earth from which it is prepared (as we have already ſhewn) comes from one Place, and the Water from another: Poſſibly by reaſon that it is more efficacious, and breaks the Earth finer, or incorporates better with it, or for other hidden, though natural Reaſons: Thus one Place borrows from another what it ſometimes doubly reſtores.

As the greateſt Part of *China*, ſo this Province is very populous, being alone capable of raiſing a Million of Men able to bear Arms, and containing near two hundred thouſand Families.

19. *Quoantung*, called by the *Europeans*, *Canton*, is the moſt Southern Province in *China*; is bounded by the Ocean, and is provided with a very good Haven at the End of a River which is navigable by great Ships up to the City of *Canton*. The whole is a fertile Country, plentifully abounding with all Neceſſaries, which draws a very conſiderable Trade hither, as well with the *Indians* as *Europeans*, from which latter above one hundred *Engliſh*, *Dutch* and *Portugueſe* Ships annually come to and go from hence.

The laſt mentioned Nation having made themſelves Maſters of *Macao*, a neighbouring Peninſula, have there a very fine Haven, from whence they drive a great Trade to *Canton*, but are obliged on that Account to pay annually 50000, ſome ſay 500000 Laens to the Emperor, each Laen amounting to two *Rixdollars*.

" *Macao*, ſaith *Le Comte*, is famous for the vaſt Com-
" merce of the *Portugueſe* formerly carried on there,
" before the *Hollanders* juſtled them out of almoſt all
" *India*: And at preſent they are not able to keep
" many Forces there. Here is a very good Road for
" Ships to ride; the Haven indeed is very ſmall, but
" ſafe and very commodious. All Cuſtoms on import-
" ed Goods are the Emperor's: And though the *Por-*
" *tugueſe* have ſtill a Sort of Government there, yet
" they are ſubject to the *Mandaryns* in all Caſes which
" concern the Emperor."

They have poſſeſſed this Iſland above an hundred and ten Years: (Our Author wrote about the Year 1694.) and they have ſtrongly fortified and built ſeveral Churches and Monaſteries upon it. The Commodities for which they chiefly trade with the *Chineſe* are Pepper, Cinnamon, Cloves, Sanders, (very uſeful in dying) Callicoes: The Medicinal Wood *Pucho*; Ebony, Red Dying Wood; Wine, and a Sort of Birds Neſts found in the above-mentioned Iſland. Theſe Birds Neſts are eſteemed a very good Reſtorative Medicine: They are commonly boiled for a Quarter of an Hour, and not longer, in Chicken Broth; for if it be ſuffered to boil longer, the whole would diſſolve: Each Pound of this coſts three, and ſometimes four Laens; and the white is eſteemed beſt. *Arecca*, being the Fruit of a certain Palm, which is hard, bitter and aſtringent, is alſo brought hither to be ſold: The *Indians* commonly chew it with the Leaves which they call Betel, which waſhed in a little Lime-water become red: And the Spittle of thoſe who chew it is of a Blood-Colour: And any Perſon not accuſtomed to this Uſage, upon trying of it, becomes very red in the Face, and as it were inebriated, or half fuddled.

This Plant is very much uſed in *India*; both Sexes biting and chawing it the whole Day, as ſome ſmoak Tobacco in other Places: It is hot and dry, warms the Stomach, and helps Digeſtion. It is alſo boiled in Water, and being aſtringent, is uſed in Caſe of Fluxes. There are alſo brought hither Rhinoceros's Horns, Ivory, Furrs, and red Lacca, from whence the fineſt Sticks of Sealing Wax are prepared: This Drug is the Excrement of a Sort of Worms or Ants, which ſticks to the Leaf and Wood of the Plants. We ſhall hereafter treat of the Fruits.

This Province abounds with white and brown Sugar; and great Quantities of Silk are wrought here, of which all Sorts of Goods are made, and tranſported hence to *India* and other Places. The *Indians* alſo buy here great Quantities of Procelain, Tin, Iron, and Copper-work, Paper, and ſeveral other Merchandiſes and Rarities, moſt of which are paid for in Silver; but on the other Side a great deal of Gold is tranſported from *China* to *India*.

The chief City of this Kingdom is called *Quangcheu Fu*, an extraordinary fine City, which is ſtocked with and trades in all Sorts of *European* and *Indian* Commodities. About four *French* Miles diſtant from this City is a Village called *Fuxan*, where the greateſt Trade in all *China* is drove: For the Inhabitants keep conſtantly vaſt Magazines of all Sorts of Manufactures: And it is reported that ſixty thouſand Families live in this Village.

This Province hath ſuffered very much by War. In the Beginning of the Revolution of the Empire, the chief City was beſieged by two petty Kings, Princes of the Imperial Blood, with a very great Army, and for above the Space of one whole Year, furiouſly aſſaulted and bombarded with Cannon and great Pieces of Artillery, by which Part of the Wall was demoliſhed; notwithſtanding which it was not taken by that Means, but delivered by the Treachery of a Perſon, to whom the chief Command of one of the City Gates was entruſted, who, tempted by a large Sum of Money, and larger Promiſes, let in the Enemy; after which he received the juſt Reward of his Treaſon; for inſtead of the promiſed Riches, he was ſtifled in Sand, after the Enemy had cut all to Pieces that came in their Way, and plundered the whole City: And after this they over-run the whole Province.

"These Princes were afterwards, one of them King of *Quantong*, and the other of *Fokien*: But thoſe Monarchies were but of ſhort Duration; nor did they devolve on their Heirs; for all theſe, one after the other, were accuſed of ſome Crime or other; but indeed the true Reaſon of their Fall was, that Reaſons of State would not permit the jealous *Tartar* to ſuffer any Princes of the ancient Race, of which the *Chineſe* were not a little fond. This was alſo the chief Reaſon why *Oſangouei*'s Poſterity were killed, whatever ſpecious Pretences were made Uſe of to colour the Barbarity; ſuch were thoſe drawn from the rigorous *Chineſe* Laws, which directed the Puniſhment of Treaſon to the ninth Generation, and that they were thereby forced to it."

This City was computed to contain eight hundred thouſand, or near a Million of Families: And without the Fort or Caſtle is two Miles in Compaſs.

One of theſe Princes was made King of this Country, and built a magnificent and Royal Palace in the City; but being afterwards accuſed of foul Practices againſt the Emperor, he was deprived of his Life. And the other Prince, in reward of his heroick Actions, was created King of *Fokien* by the Emperor then reigning.

The firſt Prince or King being killed, his Family, houſhold Goods, and royal Treaſure, by the Emperor's Order were carried to *Peking*. His Treaſure indeed very juſtly deſerved the Name of Royal; for that alone amounted to above one hundred Millions, beſides other valuable Effects, and the moſt ſplendid Furniture of the Court.

This Province comprehends ten large Cities, which exerciſe a ſuperior Juriſdiction over ſeventy four, that are ſubordinate to them. The ſuperior Cities are *Quangcheu Fu*, already deſcribed; *Nankiang Fu*, *Xancheu Fu*, *Hoycheu Fu*, *Xanking Fu*, *Kiaocheu Fu*, *Lutcheu Fu*, *Liencheu Fu*, *Chaucheu Fu*, and *Kincheu Fu*, ſituate on the Iſland *Ainan*, which is very conſiderable on Account of the great Trade driven there with the Kingdoms of *Tonkin* and *Cochinchina*. The Compaſs of this Iſle is three hundred Miles, and on it are thirteen leſſer Cities. Here is alſo a very fine Pearl Fiſhery; and Aloes are very common. That Plant grows like a Sort of Reed or Flag, about a Finger thick, but forty or fifty Yards in Height, and is a very good Medicine on ſeveral Occaſions.

Le Comte, whom we have ſo often quoted, relates, "that there is upon this Iſland of *Ainang* or *Hainang*, a ſtanding Water, in which Fiſh petrefy. I have myſelf (ſaith he) thrown Crabs into it, and obſerved the Claws to be conſolidated and ſo far changed, that they differed very little from Flints. But theſe Miracles of Nature are not ſo peculiar to *China*, for we meet with them elſewhere (adds he) and withal a great many more Prodigies, and occult Qualities of Nature are obſervable there, but yet all the *Chineſe* ſay muſt not be believed; for though there may be ſome Truth in what they relate, yet in the diſhing up they are too apt to interlard it with ſo much fabulous Stuff, as frequently inclines us to queſtion the Truth of the whole Story. However, the Reader ought not to doubt of the Truth of the Petrification of Crabs and other Things, by Reaſon that he may at Pleaſure ſee that, and other ſuch-like Metamorphoſes, in Mr. *S. Schynvoet*'s *Muſæum* at *Amſterdam*."

20. The Province or Kingdom of *Fokien* hath ſuffered very much by ſeveral Wars; and before the preſent Viceroy governed it as a Viceroyalty, was ruled by a potent Prince, who when the *Tartar* ſeized the Empire, would neither ſurrender his Realm, nor acknowledge any Subjection to him: but being treacherouſly invited to Court, on the Pretence of treating concerning ſome important State Affairs there, though he was forewarned and ſmelt the Deſign, he reſolved to venture thither, leaving the Regency in his Son's Hands; being the leſs ſuſpicious, as he thought, that having left the Government in the Hands of ſo brave a Prince as his Son was known to be, the Court therefore would not dare to injure him; and accordingly he went to the Emperor's Reſidence, but was kept there. The more prudent Son, though daily invited, perſiſted to refuſe that Favour, being at the ſame Time convinced his Father was become an involuntary Priſoner at Court: At which being highly incenſed, he began and for ſeveral Years bravely carried on a vigorous War againſt the Emperor; who on the other Side being impatient to reunite this Province to the Empire, was not wanting in the Uſe of all Means tending to compaſs that End; purſuant to which he raiſed a vaſt Army in order to ſubdue the young Prince: Who ſeeing this numerous Force approach him, and finding himſelf unable to reſiſt ſuch a potent Emperor, repulſe his diſproportionate Force, and gain his Point, though at ſeveral Times he gave them very ſevere Blows, at laſt reſolved to quit his Country and ſhip himſelf off. He accordingly prepared a Fleet, embarked with his Forces, and ſteered with them to *Tajoan* or the Iſland of *Formoſa*; where he landed, drove out the *Dutch*, and made himſelf Maſter of that charming Iſle. This Prince is by the Natives called *Quoſing*, but by others *Coxinga*.

The *Dutch Eaſt-India* Company had poſſeſſed this Iſland, and had very ſtrongly fortified it.

At the Time of the *Chineſe* Commotions, and the great Revolution of that Empire, it was utterly neglected and abandoned to the next who pleaſed to give himſelf the Trouble to reduce it. The *Spaniards* of the *Manilhas* or *Luſong*, being but fifteen or twenty Miles diſtant, and being informed hereof, ſeized, built and fortified a City on it; which was afterwards conquered by the *Dutch*, who becoming Maſters of the whole Iſland, built ſeveral other Forts upon it; and deſigned, on Account of its very commodious Situation, to have made it one of the moſt conſiderable Places in all *India*, and the Centre of their Commerce with the adjacent Countries.

21. *Formoſa* is indeed a very beautiful Iſland, which is naturally fruitful, and the Air healthful as well as temperate, very commodiouſly ſituated in the Neighbourhood of *Japan*, *China*, and the *Manilhas*, fit for managing Trade both Eaſtwards and Weſtwards; it being ſo-

ſible for Ships to come thither, and go from thence, the whole Year round.

When the above-mentioned *Chineſe* Prince *Quoeſing* or *Coxinga* landed, there were ſeveral large as well as ſmall Ships in the Haven; and upon the Iſland there were ſettled nine or ten thouſand *Hollanders*, who were as rich, and lived as well as any where beſides. But notwithſtanding the *Dutch Eaſt-India* Company was ſo ſtrong there, the *Chineſe* left their Native Country, and blocked up the Haven with their Fleet; they bravely attached the *Netherlanders*, and their Fortreſſes, and conquered, burnt or deſtroy'd them: So that at laſt they took the City, Forts, and the whole Iſland: They alſo exerciſed ſeveral Cruelties on their conquered Enemies, of whom they killed ſeveral, and cut off the Hands and Feet of ſome, and the Ears and Noſes of others; after which, they ſent theſe miſerable Wretches on board three Ships to *Batavia*. This we muſt underſtand as taken from the *Chineſe* Accounts.

After this Succeſs, they diſpatched away an Envoy to the *Spaniards* at the *Manilhas*, in order to demand a Recognition and Tribute of them; threatening withal, if they refuſed, to treat them as they had done the *Dutch*. But the *Spaniards* ſlighting their Menaces, peremptorily refuſed to comply with their Demands. Before we take our Leave of this Subject, we ſhall relate another Circumſtance that happened to this Prince. He had diſpatched three Ships freighted with Silver, under the Conduct of ſome of his Officers, with Orders to unlade it at *Taioan*. Theſe Officers, inſtead of carrying it where it was bound, bring it to the Emperor of *China*, who appoints them ſafe Conduct, and praiſes the Enterprize. But this Prince being very much enraged at the Treachery, raiſes an Army of above an hundred thouſand Men, and equips an innumerable Fleet, on board of which, with the utmoſt Diſpatch, he ſhipped his Forces, and unexpectedly ſailed up the great *Nankingſian* River, beat both Army and Fleet, by Water and by Land, reducing the Places round about the City of *Nanking*. To which he alſo laid ſuch cloſe Siege, that he plainly ſaw that it was feaſible, and therefore he abſolutely intended to maſter it in a very few Days: Which he had certainly done, had he not declared to his Army, that it was his Pleaſure, that a certain Day ſhould be celebrated with all Manner of Mirth and Jollity, in Remembrance of his Birth-Day, which accordingly began with all imaginable Expreſſions of exceſſive Joy, but ended with a bitter Farewel; for the *Nankingers* having Notice of it, and being informed of the Negligence of their Guards, (thoſe upon Duty, as well as thoſe who were not, being all drunk) took that Opportunity to make ſeveral vigorous Sallies on the Beſiegers from all Parts, fell upon them in the Midſt of their Debauch, beat them out of their Trenches, and killed the greateſt Part of the Army, a few only eſcaping, who ſerved to carry the News.

The Prince with his ſmall Remainder returns to his Iſland, and is reported to be ſo much affected with this ſcandalous Loſs, that running diſtracted he bit off a Piece of his Tongue, which Wound occaſioned ſuch a Flux of Blood, as could not timely be ſtaunched, ſo that he died of it.

His Son, who ſucceeded him, being young, and very little experienced in Military Affairs, his Father's Loſs remained unrevenged; and thus the faireſt Opportunity imaginable of taking *Nanking* was irretrievably loſt by an unſeaſonable Rejoicing, and a ſcandalous Debauch. [Our Author ſpeaks here in the true Language of a native *Chineſe*.]

On the other Side, the Emperor could not reſt, till, in order to revenge the atrocious Affront offered to him and the late Imperial Metropolis, by this unexpected Incurſion, and to prevent any ſuch Attempt for the Future, had mann'd out a Fleet of four hundred and fifty Sail, and embark'd on board them Forces enough to take *Taioan*, which was entirely encompaſſed and blocked up by the Fleet. But contrary to all Expectation, the young Prince taking the Advantage of a favourable Wind, though he had but forty Ships in all, yet by the Aſſiſtance of his excellent Sea-Officers, he heroically attacked, beat, utterly ruined moſt and deſtroyed the Emperor's great Fleet. That Monarch, who thus by dire Experience was inſtructed not to have too mean Thoughts of his Enemy, ſoon reſolved to take juſter Meaſures: Accordingly he renews his Attempt the next Year, and not only ſends more Ships and Forces, but took Care that they ſhould more cautiouſly encompaſs and cloſely ſhut up all the Avenues to the whole Iſland, and kept it in this blocked Condition. Mean while the Prince ſlipping no Opportunity to gall his Enemy, imagining the Coaſt clear, though provided with a very ſmall Number of Ships, boldly flew at his too powerful Enemy; but was beaten out of the Sea, and forced to fly back to his Iſland, where he bravely defended himſelf the Remainder of that Year: But the Coaſts being encompaſſed, and conſequently a Stop put to all Commerce; beſides which, it was alſo afflicted with a very great Drought, there having been no Rain for five Years; and no Relief appearing, he at length being driven to the laſt Extremity by War and Famine, found himſelf forced to ſurrender his Country, and ſubmit himſelf to the Emperor's Mercy, who ordered him to be brought to *Peking*. At Sight of him the Emperor (touched by the tender Years, and the heroick Deportment of the Princely Youth) not only ſpared his Life, but afterwards made him a Preſent of the before-mentioned Iſland, and the Title of King of *Formoſa*, which he accordingly at preſent governs.

Thus the whole Empire of *China*, in the Year 1682, was again ſubjected to one Sovereign, and the Iſland *Taioan* or *Formoſa* ſubmitted to the Juriſdiction of the Province of *Fokien*, with the additional Appellative *Fu*, and is accordingly number'd amongſt the great Cities of that Province.

Its Compaſs takes in a Circuit of five hundred Miles: Sugar and Buck-ſkins are the prime Commodities there, and this Iſland is reckoned about forty Miles diſtant from the firm Land or Continent of *China*.

22. *Focken Fu*, that beautiful and large City, is the chief of this Province, and is very famous for its Commerce with the *Japoneſe*, *Indians*, and *Europeans*, tho' this of late has declined.

This Province contains nine large Cities, amongſt which, as is already hinted, the above-mentioned Iſland of *Formaſa* is reckoned as one. Three of theſe nine are very conſiderable and large, to which is added another Iſland, *viz.* *Haimui*, which is about eleven or twelve Miles in Circuit, is bleſſed with the fineſt Haven in the whole Province, and formerly was poſſeſſed by the above-mentioned Prince of *Formoſa*, and for a long Time bravely held out againſt the Emperor; but ſome time afterwards it was conquered by one of the two Kings, which, as is before related, governed, the one *Canton*, the other *Fokien*. Both of them were rewarded for their great Actions with Donatives; but the King of *Fokien* rebelled againſt the Emperor.

This King of *Fokien* at the ſame Time proſecuted a vigorous War againſt the Prince of *Haimui* by Sea, and the Emperor by Land; who being too feeble to reſiſt them both, ſubmitted himſelf to the Emperor, on whoſe Command being come to *Peking*, he and his Son were put to Death.

In theſe Civil Diſſentions in this Empire, there fell, by the above-mentioned Wars, above Forty Millions of Men. The Names of the remaining large Cities are, *Zhivencheu Fu*, *Hinghoa Fu*, *Chaboen Fu*, *Jenping Fu*, *Quien Fu*, *Tingcheu Fu*, *Changeſu*, and *Taioan Fu*, or *Formoſa*. Theſe nine Capital Cities preſide over ſixty others.

The Number of Cities in the whole Empire amounts to ſeventeen hundred; to particularize the Names of all which would take up too much Time, and tire the Reader, wherefore we have only mentioned the Chief of them. I have barely touched on ſome Events, the Story of which is very well known, happening moſtly within the Compaſs of our Remembrance, and during the Reigns of the laſt *Chineſe* and the preſent *Tartarian* Families; for it would have taken up too much of the Reader's Patience, to have deſcended to Particulars:

Wherefore I choſe rather to ſupply this ſhort Deſcription moſtly from my own Knowledge and Obſervation, having in the mean Time, in the acquiring of one, and making the other, ſuffered great Scandals and Afflictions for Chriſt's Sake, as well as frequently put up my Supplications to him, and implored his Aid in Time of Need, as alſo that he would pleaſe to make his Grace known to the World, which I hereby do, through his great Mercy; deſiring the Reader to give as much Credit to theſe few Pages, as he would to a Perſon that chiefly writes the bare Reſult of his own Knowledge and Obſervation, by which Rule his Pen hath been guided, as it will be in the future Part of this Tract.

I proceed now to treat of the Diſtances of Provinces, and at the ſame Time to deſcribe the People of the Country, the Progreſs of the Chriſtian Religion; the Rivers, Lakes, Shipping, Bridges, and Walls; the *Chineſe* moral Precepts, Education of their Children, Compliments, good Manners, and Learning; their Trees, Fruits, and Vegetables; neighbouring Iſlands, Provinces, Kingdoms and People; concluding with the Nations that have been ſubdued or were annexed to *China* by the preſent Emperor *Canghi*.

23. The Metropolis of the Empire, *Xuntien Fu*, otherwiſe called *Peking*, is ſituated two hundred Miles diſtant from *Leaotung* and *Xantung*; about one hundred and ſixty Miles from *Peking*. *Xanſi* is one hundred and ſixty, *Xienſi* two hundred and fifty, *Nanking* two hundred and ſixty, *Honan* one hundred and thirty, *Kiangſi*, four hundred and thirty, *Chekiang* three hundred and fifty, *Suchuen* ſix hundred and fifty, *Huquang* three hundred and fifty, *Queicheu* eight hundred, *Junan* one thouſand, *Quoangſi* eight hundred and fifty, *Quantung* eight hundred, and *Fokien* ſeven hundred and fifty Miles or Hours from *Peking*. This is the Diſtance of all the Provinces from the Court, computing from the Metropolis of the whole Empire to each Capital City of the reſpective Provinces.

From *Nanking* to *Xantung* is reckoned two hundred Miles, to *Honan* one hundred and eighty, to *Huquang* two hundred, to *Chekiang* one hundred, to *Kiangſi* one hundred and ſixty. This is the Diſtance betwixt *Nanking* and the mentioned capital Cities.

Xienſi is diſtant from *Honan* two hundred Miles, from *Xenſi* one hundred and fifty, and from *Suchuen* two hundred.

Huquang is diſtant from *Chiangſi* one hundred and thirty, from *Honan* one hundred and ſixty, from *Suchuen* two hundred, from *Quoangſi* three hundred and ſixty, and from *Canton* four hundred Miles.

Chekiang lies two hundred Miles diſtant from *Kiangſi*, and above three hundred from *Peking*.

Canton is three hundred and fifty Miles from *Fokien*, four hundred from *Quoangſi*, and three hundred and eighty from *Kiangſi*.

Junan is diſtant from *Quoangſi* three hundred Miles, from *Quiecheu* three hundred and thirty, and from the Kingdom of *Laos* three hundred. Theſe are the reciprocal Diſtances of the capital Cities, computed according to the common Land Meaſure.

The Maritime Provinces are, *Zantung*, *Nanking*, *Chekiang*, *Fokien*, and *Quantung* or *Canton*.

Nanking, *Chekiang*, *Hucvang*, *Kiangſi*, *Junan*, *Canton*, and *Fokien*, are eſteemed the fineſt Provinces.

Xantung, *Xanſi*, *Xienſi*, *Peking*, *Honan* and *Leaotung*, are of the middle Sort.

But *Queichieu*, *Suchuen*, and *Quoangſi* are accounted the worſt of all, by reaſon they are very mountainous, and very much impoveriſh'd by the Wars.

The largeſt Provinces are *Xiengſi*, *Huquang*, *Nanking*, *Junan*, *Kiangſi*, and *Chekiang*; each of theſe larger Provinces is above three hundred Miles wide, and much longer. Compared with theſe, the middle-ſiz'd Provinces are *Peking*, *Xantung*, *Quaongſi*, *Queicheu*, *Honan*, and *Fokien*, and ſo accounted, becauſe they are not above two hundred Miles broad; and alſo *Quantung*, which is but one hundred and fifty Miles long, but full three hundred Miles broad; by which Rule, *Xanſi*, *Leaotung*, and *Suchuen*, are likewiſe reckoned but ſmall Provinces, ſince they are but about one hundred and fifty Miles broad, and one hundred and ſixty in Length.

The principal Maritime Trading Cities, Towns, and Places, which are frequented by the *Indians*, *Japoneſe*, and *Europeans*, are the following ten, *viz.* *Canton*, the Iſles of *Macao*, *Hainan* and *Chaocheu*; all which belong to, and are dependant on the Province of *Quoantung*; and belonging to *Fokien*, are *Fochen Fu*, and the Iſlands *Haemui* and *Tajouan*, or *Formoſa*; theſe drive on a vaſt Trade with the *Europeans* and *Indians*: Beſides which, there are alſo two Cities in *Nanking* and *Xanhai*, and the City *Nimpo* in the Province of *Chekiang*; all which have a very conſiderable Trade with the *Japoneſe*. In the Province of *Xinſi* or *Xienſi* is the great City of *Zinning*, which is a moſt noble Emporium, being the Centre of a vaſt inland Commerce with the Weſtern *Tartars*, *Moungalls*, *Tibetts* and *Ruſſians*.

“ The Iſland of *Macao*, which is mentioned above, belongs to the *Portugueſe*; and they have upon it a Fort and City, if that Name may be given to a few Houſes, which are not encloſed by any Wall: This Place is famous for the Trade which the *Portugueſe* drove there before the *Dutch Eaſt-India* Company chaſed them out of *India*. What they at preſent poſſeſs is by Favour of the *Chineſe*, to whom they are obliged to pay ſervile Obedience, if they intend quietly to enjoy what they hold: All Cuſtoms for Goods imported here are paid to the Emperor; and though the *Portugueſe* preſerve a Sort of Government here, their Power extends no farther than to Caſes which do not concern the *Chineſe*; for they are otherwiſe ſubordinate to the Juriſdiction of the Mandaryns of *Quoantung* or *Canton*.”

24. It may poſſibly contribute to the Information, as well as Entertainment of the Reader, to peruſe the following very ſuccinct and comprehenſive Account of this Empire, written within theſe few Years, by an *Italian* that has reſided upwards of thirty ſeven Years in the Empire, for the Satisfaction of an illuſtrious young Prince, whoſe Inclinations leading him to procure the moſt certain Intelligence, as to the preſent State of all Nations, had found Means to requeſt this Favour of one, who of all others, had the greateſt Opportunity of ſatisfying his Curioſity. There is nothing taken from the Piece except the introductory and concluding Compliments, which having nothing to do with the Matters of Fact, it was thought neceſſary, for the ſake of ſaving Room, to ſtrike them out.

“ As to the Extent of this Empire, it is not eaſy to ſpeak of it with Certainty, for with Regard to the *Europeans*, they have no Opportunity of examining the Frontiers on every Side, in ſuch a Manner as might enable them to decide on this Head, with any Degree of Exactneſs; and as for the *Chineſe*, they have fewer Occaſions, and much leſs Abilities for a Work of this Sort. To ſay the Truth, the Thing itſelf is ſcarce practicable, there being nothing more difficult, than to fix the Extent of the Territories of the *Tartar* Princes, dependant upon this Empire, and yet without this, there is no doing any Thing. It is true, the old *Chineſe* Writers tell us, that their Empire was formerly much greater than it is at preſent; that *Japan* was once ſubject to them, as alſo the Kingdoms of *Tunkin*, *Siam*, &c. and part of the Dominions of the Great Mogul; but for all this, I am apt to believe, that ſince the *Tartars* became laſt Maſters of *China*, which is now a compleat hundred Years, the Empire is to the full as large as ever it was. Its bounds at preſent are the Dominions of the *Ruſſians* on the North, the Ocean on the Eaſt, and on the South, for I look upon the Peninſula of *Corea* as dependant upon this Empire; on the Weſt, they have great Deſarts, and the Countries under the *Contaiſh Khan*, which ſtretch as far as the *Ruſſian* Territories; and this is all I am able to ſay, as to the Extent of this Empire, except that according to a Perambulation that I have ſeen, the Line of their Boundaries is computed at about ſeven thouſand Miles, which, as far as I am able to judge, does not exceed the Truth.

“ I can ſpeak more particularly, as to the Climate; it extends from 18 Degrees of Latitude to 55, and conſequently takes in all the Climates from the third to the tenth, ſo that the longeſt Day in the moſt Southern Parts is thirteen Hours and a half long, and in the moſt Northern about ſeventeen Hours. The Heat is great in the Southern Provinces, and the Cold very ſevere in the North. As to the former, I have been upon the Coaſts of *Bengal*, and I think it not at all warmer than in *China*. I have been alſo in *Poland*, and did not find it ſo cold there as in the Northern Parts of *China*, or rather of *Tartary*, about the River *Amur*. By this Means they have at *Peking* all Sorts of Fruits, by which I do not mean every Kind of Fruit, but of thoſe different Sorts that are peculiar to the warmeſt and coldeſt Climates; as for Inſtance, the moſt high flavoured Oranges and well-taſted Apples; but there is this Difference between them, that Nature brings the Southern Fruits to the higheſt Perfection, with little or no Culture, whereas thoſe of the North require a great Deal, which however the *Chineſe* never beſtow upon them; hence therefore three or four Sorts of Apples, and five or ſix of Pears, is all they can boaſt; and as for Cherries, they have them both red and black, but they are neither of them good, though they might have them, if they were at Pains, in the utmoſt Perfection.

“ It is eaſy to diſcern from hence, that there are no Kind of Commodities or Manufactures wanting in this Country, and a very few Specimens will convince you of the Truth of this; they have the very beſt Silks of all Kinds in the World, and in a vaſt Abundance; they have very rich Furs, which I take to be the oppoſite of Silk; they have alſo prodigious Quantities of Cotton, and are not deficient in Wool. They have Metals of all Sorts in great Plenty, except Lead; they have likewiſe all Kinds of Wood, Sugar in the utmoſt Abundance, and Spices ſufficient for their own Uſe, and yet they uſe a vaſt deal. It was from a true Senſe of their own Abundance, that the ancient *Chineſe* were averſe to Foreign Trade; and if the *Tartars* permit it, it is upon this Principle, that their Subjects are vaſt Gainers by it; for except Toys and Lead, there is nothing comes to a good Market in *China*.

“ At preſent the Empire of *China*, excluſive of its Dependencies, is divided into fifteen Provinces. Thoſe of *Chenſi*, *Chanſi*, and *Petcheli*, in which laſt is the Imperial City of *Peking*, are bounded by the famous Wall which divides *China* from *Tartary*; thoſe of *Chan tong*, *Kiang nan*, in which is *Nanking* the old Capital, *Tche kiang* and *Fokien* lie on the Eaſtern Ocean; thoſe of *Quang tong*, *Quangſi*, *Yun nan ſe tchuen*, lie on the South, and on the Weſt; *Honan*, *Hou quang*, *Koei tcheou*, *Kiang ſi*, are Midland Provinces. They divide their Towns into four Ranks, which it is impoſſible to deſcribe; the three firſt have Names, the laſt are ſuch as are under the Juriſdiction of the reſt, and conſequently have no particular Denomination. The great Cities they ſtile *Fou*, and of theſe they reckon one hundred ſeventy three. The larger Towns they call *Tcheou*, and of theſe they reckon two hundred thirty five. They give their biggeſt Boroughs the Name of *Hien*, and of theſe they reckon eleven hundred and ſeventy three; as for the ſubordinate Places, I dare not call them Villages, for many of them are walled, and ſome of them contain fifty thouſand Souls; theſe, I ſay, are without Names, and without Number.

“ They pretend to be very exact in their Computations of the Number of their People, and from the beſt Enquiry I have been able to make, though the Thing muſt appear romantick and ridiculous in *Europe*, I am convinced that they are not much beyond the Truth, in affirming that their Emperor has ſixty Millions of Souls in his Dominions.

“ One would imagine that vaſt Difficulties muſt ariſe to the Government, from ſuch a Multitude of Subjects; but it is quite otherwiſe, for Government is with them a ſyſtematical Thing, reduced under certain Rules, with which, ſo far as he is concerned, every Man in the Empire is acquainted, and moſt of them no farther. The Emperor himſelf has his Circle of Buſineſs, which he is obliged to go through, and which cannot be done for him, and therein conſiſts the great Secret of their Policy. He has always the State of ſome Province or other under his Inſpection, and when one is finiſhed, Nobody knows which will be the next; but all theſe Inſpections are made with great Strictneſs and Severity. It is true, that in ſome Province or other, Corruption prevails perhaps for twenty or thirty Years, but it is as true, that ſome Time or other all this is redreſſed, and Things are brought back again to their original Inſtitution. The firſt Maxim in the *Chineſe* Syſtem is, that the Emperor acts as the Father of his People, he may indeed be a bad Father, but he would be ſoon told of that; by his abſolute Power he might diſpatch this Monitor, but that would quickly produce more; there are always many Patriots in *China*, who for the Sake of that Glory, which reſults from doing good to the Society, are ready to lay down their Lives; yet after all, Things are ſeldom puſhed to this Extremity, and it is more common to ſee the Emperor confeſſing his Faults and Weakneſſes in his publick Edicts, which are generally calculated to repair them, and are uſually concluded with many fair Promiſes for the Future.

“ It is certain, that the People are very corrupt, and that this Corruption runs through all Ranks; but their Scheme of Government is ſo wiſe, that ſooner or later theſe Corruptions are met with; ſo that Vice ebbs and flows, and is driven out of one Province, when it gains Ground in another; but ſtill there is ſuch a Stock of Virtue, as ſerves to preſerve the whole, and to keep the Machine moving. Capital Puniſhments are very rarely inflicted, for there are more Executions in a Year in *Naples*, than in all *China*; one Year with another, there are not three in *Peking*, but there is a kind of Puniſhment more exemplary, and more uſeful than Death, that is very common; their Mandarines, even of the higheſt Order, may be degraded, and he who had Yeſterday a Train of twelve hundred Men, ſhall be To-day upon a Level with the meaneſt of them, but never without Cauſe; for though there is Injuſtice enough in all their Tribunals, yet the laſt Reſort is pure, and the *Tartar* Emperors have been hitherto the Fathers of their People, in almoſt all, but in that Reſpect more eſpecially. Their Armies are very numerous, and according to their Mode very well diſciplin’d, yet their Fire-Arms are but indifferent; it is their Numbers that ſecure them from any Danger from their Neighbours; in one Thing they are ſingular, their Motions create no Diſorder, a Body of fifty thouſand Men will traverſe the whole Empire without taking an Egg or an Apple by Force. Their Traders are all Cheats, and their being ſo is no great Inconvenience or Detriment to Commerce, for it makes them all very expert and attentive; ſince their Maxim is, that it is not the Perſon who does the Wrong, who impoſes upon another, but he that is outwitted that does wrong himſelf. As great as their Country is, the Number of People that are in it would ſoon be reduced to Starving, if every Spot was not cultivated that will admit of it, and every Hand employed that can work.

“ This is a ſhort but a true Repreſentation of this Empire, and of thoſe that compoſe it. It is not like to extend itſelf, but it will certainly laſt for many Ages. The *Chineſe* never will make Conqueſts, or puſh their Foreign Commerce beyond its preſent Bounds. *Ningpo* will be the Center of the *Japaneſe* Trade, *Amoy* of the *Indian*, and *Canton* of the *European*, as long as they continue a Nation. They have been long free from inteſtine Commotions, but in ſucceeding Times they may be expoſed to them; and yet thoſe Revolutions, though deſtructive to Individuals, can hardly be dangerous to the Empire. The Proſperity of their own Government is the ſole Object of their Conſideration; their Stateſmen, and more eſpecially their Emperors, are far from being

“ to

“ ſo ignorant of Foreign Affairs as is imagined; they “ know enough of them for their Purpoſe, and they “ have neither Leiſure, Occaſion or Inclination to know “ more; they are naturally civil to Foreigners, but at “ the ſame Time they are naturally jealous of them. “ To ſum up all, they look upon themſelves to be the “ Wiſeſt, the Greateſt, the Richeſt, the Happieſt, and “ the moſt Powerful of all Nations; and, excluſive of “ their Spiritual Concerns, thoſe who are beſt ac- “ quainted with them, will think them the leaſt miſ- “ taken.

25. After this conciſe Detail of the *Chineſe* Affairs, it is Time to haſten to the End of this Subject, by giving our Readers the remaining Part of *Dionyſius Kao*'s Deſcription and Account of his own Country, which is written in ſo plain, ſo diſtinct, and ſo juſt a Manner, that it will be eaſily perceived it differs as much from the Accounts given us by the Jeſuits, as it is poſſible for Pieces to do that are written upon the ſame Subject, and neither of which can be ſaid to be abſolutely void of Truth: For moſt of the Deſcriptions given us by the Miſſionaries, are penned in a high-flown rhetorical Stile; and every Thing in them is repreſented ſo much beyond the Life, that either we do not conceive it at all, or the Notions we form are quite beſide the Truth. But what our *Chineſe* writes is in an eaſy, ſimple, and familiar Way, and in ſuch a Way as leaves us in no Doubt that he tells us the Truth, and nothing more or leſs than the Truth. In his Account, the Reader will obſerve a Clearneſs and Candour that is ſcarce to be found in any other Thing of the like Nature, as well as a Strain of ſincere Piety, that has very little in it of Superſtition, and nothing at all of that Hypocriſy, and Cant with which moſt of the Deſcriptions of *China* are burthened. The Contents of it will very fully ſupport and confirm what is delivered in the foregoing Memorial, and afford a Picture at whole Length, of what is there repreſented only in Miniature.

Before we put an End to this Section however, I crave Leave to make one Obſervation of my own, which I flatter myſelf will enable the Reader to deliver himſelf from a difficulty that has hitherto been thought almoſt inextricable. It is this: Some Writers, very well acquainted with *China*, repreſent its Inhabitants as the moſt ingenious, the moſt penetrating, and the moſt happy in their Inventions, of any People in the World; while others again, who pretend to know them full as well, poſitively aſſert, that their Notions are narrow, their Inventions mean, their Execution very incorrect, and that, in ſhort, they fall full as much below the *Europeans*, as their Admirers would place them above them. Now common Senſe ſeems to teach us, that one of theſe opinions muſt be abſolutely falſe, and yet it is not very eaſy to diſtinguiſh which, ſince the Authorities on both Sides are pretty nearly equal. On the ſtricteſt Enquiry I begin to think, that both theſe Notions, properly underſtood, are reconcileable enough to Truth, and even to one another. If we compare the Arts and Sciences of *China* with thoſe of *Europe*, there is no Doubt that in moſt Things they fall very far ſhort; and yet compared with the reſt of the Eaſtern Countries, their Knowledge and their Performances are very extraordinary.

But on the other Hand it is to be conſidered, that the *Europeans* have had much greater Experience, and much better Maſters: For as to the former it is notorious that we have all the Lights which various Countries and various Ages can beſtow, what the *Greeks* left unfiniſhed to the *Romans*, what the *Romans* farther perfected, and what, upon the Revival of Arts and Sciencies in *Italy*, was cultivated with that Zeal and Diligence, which is natural when Arts are emerging out of Barbariſm, at once excites and directs our Endeavours in theſe later Times. But beſides all this, there is and has been a vaſt Spirit of Emulation in the different Parts of *Europe*, and what has been firſt ſtruck out in one Country, has been altered, improved and carried to the higheſt Perfection in another. By this Means we are become, in moſt Things, infinitely ſuperior to the *Chineſe*; but if we conſider Things in another Light, we muſt allow them to be ſuperior in their Turns.

They have been always a diſtinct and detached Nation, having nothing to do with the reſt of the World, or at leaſt nothing to do with them in this Reſpect; all that they have acquired, with regard to Science, all that they perform, in reference to Arts, is ſolely of their own Invention, Proſecution, and Improvement; and therefore they deſerve in this Senſe the higheſt Praiſes. If Printing, Artillery, the Uſe of the Compaſs, and many other Things, ſeem very rude amongſt them, in Compariſon of that Neatneſs and Perfection to which they are arrived with us; yet we cannot deny, that they had them long before us; and after all, there may be many Things ſaid in Excuſe of that State in which they are found here; for their Manner of expreſſing their Language in Characters, the Method they uſe in Printing is better than ours; their Artillery are ſufficiently ſerviceable for any the Purpoſes to which they employ them; and as to their Navigation, conſidering the Maxims upon which their Commerce is carried on, it may be very doubtful whether they wiſh, and conſequently we need not wonder, that they are not ſolicitous to arrive at any farther Perfection.

Thus I apprehend this Knot is fairly untied, and the Diſpute ſettled, as to the Proficiency of the *Europeans*, and the Ingenuity of the *Chineſe*; if the former excel in the one, ſo do the latter in the other; and if we know Things better, we have this Knowledge from others; whereas they have all from their own Stock, and had all they have much earlier than we.

SECTION VI.

A copious, accurate, and authentick Account of whatever is moſt remarkable in Regard to Perſons or Things throughout the whole Empire of *China*; more eſpecially the Number of the Inhabitants in general, and of the Chriſtians in particular; the Rivers, Shipping, Lakes, Bridges, &c. The different Religions that prevail, and have prevailed, amongſt the People; their Manners Ceremonies and extraordinary Politeneſs. Of the remarkable Trees, rich Fruits, and valuable Drugs in this Country; together with a ſuc-

cinct Account of thoſe Kingdoms, that either now depend, or formerly depended upon it.

By Dionysius Kao, *a Native of* China.

1. *An Account of the vaſt Numbers of People in this Empire, together with Proofs of, and Reaſons for, its being ſo populous.* 2. *An Account of the Progreſs of Chriſtianity, and of the Number of the Chriſtians in* China *towards the Cloſe of the laſt Century.* 3. *The Situation and Extent of the famous* Chineſe Wall; *the famous Rivers, and prodigious Quantity of Shipping in this Empire.* 4. *Of the moſt famous Lakes, the moſt remarkable Bridges, and the moſt celebrated Ports in* China. 5. *The Religious and Philoſophical Opinions of the* Chineſe, *more eſpecially thoſe of* Confucius *and his Followers.* 6. *Of the breaking out of a deteſtable Hereſy that ſtill prevails in this Empire, and of the Entrance and Progreſs of Idolatry amongſt the* Chineſe. 7. *Of the Prevalence of Atheiſm in this Country, the Nature of it, and the pernicious Effects of their ſuperſtitious Regard for Antiquity.* 8. *Of Deiſm, or Natural Religion, as profeſſed and practiſed by the wiſeſt and beſt Sort of People in* China. 9. *Of the Eſtabliſhed Religion among the* Tartars, *their Lama's or Prieſts, and of the* Dalai Lama, *or Living God; with the ſurprizing Progreſs of this abſurd Superſtition.* 10. *Of the Ceremonious Civilities and Compliments eſtabliſhed by Law in* China; *and of the Rules preſcribed to all Ranks of People in Reference to Things of this Nature.* 11. *Of the Marriages amongſt the* Chineſe; *of their Manner of Living in their Families, and other Things of that Nature.* 12. *Of their Funeral Solemnities, their long Mourning, and the ſuperſtitious Honours paid to Perſons deceaſed.* 13. *Of the Lanthorn Feaſt, and of other publick and private Feſtivals obſerved by this Nation.* 14. *Of the Trees, Fruits, Flowers, Herbs, Drugs,* &c. *in* China. 15. *Of the Animals, Mines, Metals and Minerals in this Empire.* 16. *The Author's Account of* Japan, Corea, Formoſa, Tunkin, *and* Laos. 17. *Of other Countries formerly dependent on, or that have been lately ſubjected to the Emperor of* China.

1. IN the Villages and Towns, as well as Cities in *China*, the People are reckoned not by ten or hundred thouſands, but by Millions: Their Numbers are ſo vaſt, and *China* ſo prodigious populous, that it really ſeems incredible; and thoſe who have taken a View of this Country from an exalted Place, have always compared the Number of Men to that of Ants creeping in Crouds amongſt one another. They are indeed ſo numerous, that common and very indifferent Houſes are charged with five or ſix Families: And the Roads, Streets, and Lanes, are ſo crouded, that it is ſcarce poſſible to paſs without juſtling one another. All this will appear yet more ſurprizing, if it be conſidered, that no Woman appears in Publick in any Part of *China*, except at *Peking*; they never go on Foot, but are carried in covered Seats or Chairs, wherever they pleaſe.

The moſt populous Cities are *Nanking*, *Hangcheu*, *Sucheu*, *Peking*, *Jungcheu*, *Canton*, *Fochen*, *Viichang Fu*, *Chengcheu*, and *Zuencheu*, beſides ſeveral others. Not to mention the fabulous Relations concerning the firſt planting and peopling of Countries, I am of Opinion that the firſt Inhabitants of this Empire were the Deſcendants of *Shem*, *Noah*'s eldeſt Son; for in the Diviſion of the World they ſeem to be all diſtributed in *Aſia*, of which *China* is Part: And at the Confuſion of *Babel*, traverſing that Quarter of the World, probably ſettled here, becauſe they found no Part of it better than this, which is bleſſed with a healthful Air, temperate with Regard both to Heat and Cold: The Fertility of the Paſture Grounds, which richly feed all Sorts of Cattle, invited their Choice, and in a Manner forced them to take up their Abode here. After which, Experience confirmed the Happineſs of their Choice, by their being amply provided not only with all Neceſſaries to human Life, but even with whatever Luxury could wiſh. Induſtry, Art, and Prudence, improved the natural Liberality of the Soil, and engaged their Neighbours to think *China* the Garden of the Univerſe, and its Inhabitants the wiſeſt and moſt polite People in the World; and that thoſe of their Neighbours, who ſucceeded beſt in the Imitation of them, were next them eſteemed the moſt intelligent People of *Aſia*. Buoyed up by this vaſt Reputation, they extended the Limits of their Empire far beyond the Bounds of *China*: And not only *Tunchin*, *Cochin-China*, and *Laos*, beſides ſeveral neighbouring Iſlands; but the Kingdoms of *Siam*, *Pegu*, Part of *Tartary*, *Camboja*, and *Japan*, have been ſubordinate to them, as may be ſufficiently proved by their complying with and continuing to make Uſe of the ſame common Cuſtoms; which is alſo confirm'd by the *Chineſe* Empire, being known to be above one thouſand Years old, and to have always retained the ſame Language, Doctrine, Government, and Habit, down to this Time. Though indeed one Exception lies to that General Rule, which happen'd about fifty Years paſt; and that was the changing their Faſhion of wearing their Hair, when the *Tartars* overpower'd their Monarchy; but that Alteration was a coercive Acknowledgment of their wretched Slavery.

The *Chineſe* formerly wore long Hair, of which they were not a little proud, adorning it with Gold Wire, and firmly believing that they ſhould be drawn up to Heaven by it; which doubled the Severity of the Command that obliged them to part with it, and comply with the *Tartarian* Faſhion; and engaged them rather to ſuſtain the Fatigues of a cruel War, at the Expence of a great many Lives, than ſuffer their Hair to be cut off: But the *Tartar* had proceeded too far to be oppoſed. However the Prudence of the Emperor, and the Mildneſs of his Government, permitting the *Chineſe* Men of Quality, called Mandaryns, quietly to enjoy their important Poſts, ſomewhat alleviated the melancholy Reflections, occaſioned by this Loſs, and their Slavery; for the *Tartars* having ſubjected *China*, did not ſhew themſelves ſolicitous to make any Alteration in its ancient Form of Government; and, as I juſt now hinted, the *Chineſe* Mandaryns remained in the ſame State and Character as before, only having an equal Number of *Tartars* added to them: And by theſe ſubtle Meaſures the foreign Power, which they were always jealous of, ſtole in upon them. And this Maxim was ſo well obſerved, that all the Courts of Juſtice, from the higheſt to the loweſt, were equally ſupplied with a *Tartarian* and *Chineſe* Judge; and indeed the whole Government is jointly entruſted in the Hands of *Tartarians* and *Chineſe*, and to this preſent Time, peaceably adminiſtred in Subordination to the Commands of the Emperor of *China* and *Tartary*.

In the Reign of the preſent Emperor, the Chriſtian Religion is more freely indulged than ever; ſo that we ought not to deſpair, but that the whole Empire of *China* may in Time embrace that Faith which only leads to Salvation. And from the firſt Entrance of the Miſſionaries into that Empire, they have continually uſed their utmoſt Induſtry, to engage this ſubtle Nation to embrace Chriſtianity, and plant that ſaving Doctrine, which is at this Time very widely ſpread in *China.*

Kanghi, the preſent reigning Emperor, in the Year 1692, granted to the Miſſionaries and Jeſuits, Freedom for all the World to worſhip God in their Churches, which is the ſame as to become Chriſtians; and this Edict, purſuant to the Emperor's Pleaſure, was ratified by the Supreme Court of Juſtice of the Empire; and empowered thoſe, who thought fit to cauſe themſelves to be baptized, afterwards freely to exerciſe the Chriſtian Religious Worſhip, without the leaſt Interruption, which before that Time was prohibited; a Favour that had long been earneſtly deſired, and before which the Chriſtians had run through many ſevere Perſecutions: But now by the Divine Goodneſs, we are delivered from ſore Afflictions and Oppoſitions, for which we continually return our Thanks to Almighty God.

About the Middle of the ſixteenth Century, *Francis Xavier*, deſigning to plant the Goſpel here, died in Sight of Land, as he was coming from *Japan:* After him ſeveral Miſſionaries and Prieſts came into this Country with the ſame Intent, *viz. Martinus Xerrada, Geronimo Marino, Michael Rugieri, Piedro Alſaro*, and *Matthias Ricci*, beſides ſeveral others, who a little before the Year 1600, laid the firſt Foundation of this good Work in the Reign of the Emperor *Vanlie.* Father *Ricci*, whom we named laſt, diſtinguiſhed himſelf above all the reſt; he converted ſeveral of the Nobility, and acquired a very great Reputation; he perfectly underſtood, and fluently ſpoke the *Chineſe* Language; and being a ſedulous and faithful Labourer in the ſpiritual Vineyard, made the moſt ſucceſsful Beginning, on which Account he hath always been thought the firſt of the Miſſionaries.

Whilſt this Father *Ricci* was in *China*, and in the Reign of the Emperor *Vaile*, the *Tartars* made an Irruption into *China*, took ſeveral Cities, and conquered ſeveral Countries; but were ſhortly repulſed by that illuſtrious Prince; after which he ruled in perfect Peace, and in the Year 1620, the eight and fiftieth of his Age, and forty-eighth of his Reign, he died. Not long before, about the Year 1615, aroſe a furious Perſecution, which threatened the utter Extirpation of the Faith that was ſo lately planted. Theſe exorbitant Cruelties were principally puſhed on by *Chinkio*, one of the chief Magiſtrates of *Nanking*; and by a malicious Cunning the Shepherds were the moſt vigorouſly attacked, in order the more ſucceſsfully to deſtroy the Flock; but after they had ſuffered great Afflictions for the Space of ſix Years, their Perſecutor was puniſhed by Death, and the Church recovering her former Liberty, began to encreaſe daily, eſpecially after the Arrival of Father *John Adam, Schaal* or *Scaliger*, whoſe Learning, Mathematical Knowledge, and prudent Conduct, acquired for him one of the chief Places in the Emperor's Favour, and the good Opinion of the whole Court; which furniſhed him with an Opportunity of farther propagating and confirming Chriſtianity. And though in the Interim the great Revolution happened, which transferred the Crown to the *Tartarian* from the *Chineſe* Family, by the Death of *Zunchi*, the laſt of the Race of *Taiminga*, which had ſwayed the Imperial Sceptre for the Space of two hundred and eighty Years, and produced in that Time ſixteen Emperors; yet the ſagacious Father *Adam Schaal* rendered himſelf ſo agreeable to the new *Tartarian* Court, that he became Preſident of the Tribunal of Mathematicians, and continued, though not without Envy, the Emperor's Favourite; and after having enjoyed that Poſt for ſeveral Years, died in 1665.

2. *Yamquamſien*, the wicked Inſtrument of the moſt cruel Perſecution that ever was in *China*, ſucceeded Father *Adam Schaal* in his Preſident's Charge: But his Reign did not continue long, being oppoſed by Father *Ferdinand Verbieſt*, who clearly demonſtrated his Abilities for that Poſt to be far ſuperior to thoſe of his Perſecutor; wherefore he was promoted in his Place, and *Yamquamſien* fell into ſuch a Diſgrace, that he narrowly eſcaped a Sentence of Death, as the Reward of his Perſecution againſt Father *Adam*; a Stop being put to that Perſecution by the eſpecial Mercy of the Emperor.

After the Death of Father *Ferdinand Verbieſt*, in the Year 1688, which was lamented by the Emperor himſelf in a Funeral Elegy, he was ſucceeded in the beforementioned Charge of Preſident of the Mathematical Tribunal by Father *Philip Grimaldi*, who filled that Poſt as honourably as his Predeceſſor, and advanced himſelf to ſuch a high Place in the Imperial Favour, that in the Year 1689, he was ſent Ambaſſador from the Emperor into *Europe*, to adjuſt ſome important Affairs in *Muſcovy* with the Czar; his Preſident's Poſt in the Tribunal being worthily ſupplied till his Return by the Fathers *Thomas Pareira* and *Anthony Thomas.*

" This is the ſame Father *Pereira*, who, in Con-
" junction with Father *Gerbillon*, was twice ſent, they
" being dignified with the Title of *Mandaryns* of the
" third Rank, as Interpreters in the great Embaſſy and
" Treaty of Peace at *Nepchou*, by the *Muſcovites* called
" *Nerzinſkoy*, and of whom it is reported, to their great
" Honour, that they ſuggeſted the Meaſures which ren-
" der'd the Treaty of Peace betwixt the *Muſcovites* and
" *Chineſe* ſucceſsful. To which Purpoſe, *Gerbillon* went
" ſeveral Times alone to the *Muſcovite* Camp, and ſo
" far convinced that Nation of their true Intereſt, that
" the Treaty of Peace betwixt the two Empires was
" ratified and ſworn on the 3d of *September*, 1689."

The Number of Chriſtans daily increaſed, from the Reſpect paid to the Jeſuits by the Court, and the Emperor's zealous Inclination for the *European* Arts and Sciences, inſomuch that the leaſt Number of Chriſtians computed to be in *Peking* was ſixteen thouſand; in *Nanking* an hundred thouſand. In the aboveſaid large trading Village or Town *Xanghui*, there were but ten thouſand; in the Province of *Chekiang* are reckoned ſeven or eight thouſand; in *Koangſi* they amount to about ten thouſand; in *Huquang* there are ſix or ſeven thouſand; in *Canton* about ten thouſand; in *Fokein* about five thouſand; and in *Xienſi* about three thouſand. The whole Number of Chriſtians throughout the whole Empire being computed to amount to two hundred thouſand. But the Number of Shepherds which carefully watch this Flock, and ſedulouſly endeavour the Converſion of others, is not above ſixty.

3. The prodigious Wall which covers this Empire, is called by the *Chineſe* in their own Language, *Vauli Tcham Tchim*, and was built ſome Centuries before Chriſt's Time by the *Chineſe* Emperor, *Chien Chu Voang*, in order to prevent the Incurſions of the Weſtern *Tartars:* For which End it is extended from the *Leaotungian*, or oriental Sea, far beyond the Middle of *Xienſi*, and includes the Provinces of *Peking*, *Xanſi*, and almoſt all the Country of *Xienſi:* Its Length is computed directly as a right Line at above 650 *French* Miles, but reckoned as a Curve Line amounts to one thouſand: Whence its *Chineſe* Name was derived, which imports a thouſand Miles: It is full eight El's thick, and ſix high. It is not a little ſurprizing to ſee this bulky Wall in a Manner ſkip over the moſt terrible and ſteep Hills, and to obſerve three or four lofty Towers or Forts within the Compaſs of every Mile, as well as its having run through ſo many Ages, and its being in ſuch good Caſe at preſent, which is owing to conſtant Surveys, and timely Repairs. The two principal Rivers in this Empire are, the Yellow River, in *Chineſe* called *Hoangſo*, and *Yangſu Kiang*, that is the Son of the Sea, ſo called on Account of its vaſt Depth and great Breadth, it being full two Miles wide: It is alſo called the *Nankingſian* River, becauſe it runs through the Province, and cloſe by the City of that Name. This laſt River is navigable throughout the whole Empire; ſeveral ſmall Lakes as well as ſeveral Rivulets fall into it, which riſe in the Provinces *Kiangſi, Huquang, Quangſi, Quantung, Chekiang, Suchuen* and *Honan*; and there are beſides, Paſſages cut and rendered navigable from this to the other principal River. The Courſe of the Yellow River is extended to a very great Length, and runs thro' ſeveral Countries, it is alſo very deep, broad in ſome Places and narrow in others: It riſes out of the Lake

in the Weſtern Quarter of *Tartary* and runs through the Provinces of *Xanſi*, or *Xienſi*, *Honan* and *Nanking*, where at laſt it falls into the Sea. This River is ſcarce navigable by Reaſon of its prodigious Rapidity, and the vaſt Floods which frequently deſcend into it from *Tartary* and the Northern Parts, (through which it runs;) and ſometimes prove very miſchievous to both Men and Cattle, by carrying away Houſes, Hutts, Fields and whatever is upon them, and at other Times ſweeping away whole Villages and Cities.

Beſides theſe two Principal there are other Rivers, as *Zhientangkiang* which is very broad, but not comparable to the two former in Length or Depth; running only through the Province of *Chekiang*, and then falling into the Sea. The remaining Rivers, though ſome of them are large, are much leſs conſiderable than theſe which have been deſcribed.

Beſides the natural Streams or Rivers, here are ſeveral artificial large navigable Channels; moſt of the Provinces are provided with one of theſe broad Channels of long Extent, for a Conveyance from one Province or River to another: They are commonly cut in a direct Line, paved with flat Stones, and adorned with beautiful lofty Stone Bridges, the Arches of which afford a very fine and regular Proſpect. Some are of Opinion that the Yellow River was cut by human Induſtry, above three thouſand Years paſt, by Order of the Emperor *Juvoang*: And to ſtrengthen their Aſſertion, they add, that the Land whereabouts it riſes was overflowed by a vaſt Inundation of Water, and that the Emperor, in order to draw it off, cauſed a very wide and very long Channel to be dug, which making Way for this Deluge, it broke through, and diſcharged itſelf with ſuch Force into theſe artificial Channels, that it compoſed the Yellow River. But this meets with a very cool or rather no Credit; it not being poſſible for the Flux of Waters occaſioned by ſuch an Inundation perpetually to ſupply a River, whoſe Length is above ſix hundred Miles, and the Current of which is ſo ſtrong, beſides its vaſt Depth and Breadth.

There are navigable large and convenient Canals to all Places of the Empire, except only in the Provinces of *Suchuen*, *Queicheu*, *Xanſi* and *Xienſi*.

In *China* the Quantity of Ships is innumerable as the Sand of the Sea: Thoſe which carry Corn only to *Peking* amounting to 9999 large Ships, ſufficient to carry above thirty or forty thouſand Weight: And their Paſſage from *Nanking* to *Peking*, being ſeven or eight hundred *Italian* Miles, moſtly through artificial Channels, take up full ſix Months time. Beſides theſe, there is an equal Number of Ships made uſe of to carry Silk Stuffs and other Goods thither; ſo that they are prodigiouſly numerous, beſides the Ships which belong to particular Merchants: So that it is not only feaſible to ſtep from Ship to Ship as on a Water-Key, from *Nanking* to *Peking*, but as the Jeſuits expreſſing their incredible Number ſay, if it were but practicable in other Reſpects, here are Ships enough to make a Bridge from *China* to *Europe*.

“ The ſame Number of Nine thouſand nine hundred
“ ninety nine being before-mentioned, we will explain
“ both Paſſages here: *Le Comte* ſaith that the Barges
“ from eighty to an hundred Tuns Burthen, make this
“ Voyage once in a Year; but in another Place he tells
“ us, That 9999 are always kept in a Readineſs; to
“ which he adds, ſo runs the common Report of the
“ People, by Reaſon that ſuch a Sort of Expreſſion in
“ their Language imports a much larger and indefinite
“ Number, which may fairly be conſtrued ten thou-
“ ſand.

“ The ſame *Le Comte* calls it a watry Road, deſtined
“ for the Tranſportation of Grain and Stuffs from the
“ Southern Provinces to *Peking*. The Number of Ships
“ (ſaith he) is ſo large, that whenever one ſees that nu-
“ merous Fleet paſs by, one would be apt to ſay, they
“ were laden with all the Tribute and Treaſures of
“ the Eaſt, and of all their Monarchs, and that one of
“ their Returns would furniſh ſufficient Stores of Pro-
“ viſion to ſupply all *Tartary* for many Years.”

Beſides theſe ſmaller Veſſels, there are at *Nanking*, and alſo ſeveral other Havens of the Empire, Ships which are twice as large as theſe, being of ſeventy or eighty thouſand Weight Burthen; and theſe ſerve to carry Salt to every Port in the whole Country. There are alſo Abundance of magnificent Barks or Ships which belong to the *Mandaryns*, Governors, and others of the Nobility, which are provided with ſpacious Halls and Apartments, very richly furniſhed, as alſo with Galleries, Rails, Windows and Doors, for Convenience and Pleaſure; they are beſides finely gilt, lacquered, and beautifully painted with the fineſt Colours. There are likewiſe ſeveral Pleaſure-Boats, made Uſe of by the *Chineſe* only for Diverſion and Merry making; theſe are alſo provided with Chambers and Apartments which are finely painted, lacquered and gilt both within and without; ſo that indeed they deſerve rather to be eſteemed Floating Houſes than Ships: Beſides all which, all Parts are abundantly provided with all Sorts of neceſſary Barks or Boats for Travellers: For there is ſcarce a City whether large or ſmall, to which there is not a Paſſage by Water. And what is yet more, here are a Sort of driving Floats, on which whole Families live, by keeping Ducks, or following ſome other Trade: So that indeed, when one ſees ſuch various Sort of Craft in one Vehicle, they ſeem ſtrongly to reſemble a floating City, in which the Veſſels run together like Ants.

4. There are in *China* ſeven or eight famous Lakes or ſmall ſtanding Seas; three of which are the largeſt and moſt celebrated.

The firſt called *Tungtinghu* is in the Province of *Huquang*, and is four hundred Miles in Circuit.

The ſecond is in the Province of *Nanking*, not far from *Sucheu*, and is alſo about four hundred Miles in Circuit: This Sea is beſides very deep, and hath in the Middle of it an Iſland called *Thaihu*, which is about ſeven or eight Miles in Compaſs and very mountainous.

The third is in the Province of *Kiangſi*, its Circumference is about three hundred Miles. Theſe Lakes, by Reaſon of their towering hollow Waves and Roughneſs, appear to the Sight like the boiſterous Ocean. The other Meers are in *Nanking*, and are about two or three hundred Miles in Circuit. We are told prodigious Stories concerning ſome Lakes in *China*, *viz.* That the Waters of that in the Province of *Canton*, annually exchange their Colour; that there is a Lake of green Water in *Fokien*, which tranſmutes Iron to Copper; that there is alſo a Palace on the Shore of another and not very diſtant Lake, where a Ringing of Bells is always heard againſt ill Weather; and ſeveral other like Reports are ſpread, the Truth of which we entirely leave to the experimental Examination of others, having had none ourſelves.

There are great Numbers of fine built Stone Bridges in *China*, which are ſupported by Stone Arches: Two of theſe Bridges are the moſt conſiderable and extraordinary, being built over an Arm of the Sea: One of them is called *Loiang*, and the other *Fungiang*; and each of them is above an Hour's Journey, or a *French* Mile long. The firſt contains nineteen Arches, of ſuch an extraordinary Height, that large Ships may ſail under them with their Maſts up. Each of theſe Arches is ſhut by two Stones, each twenty Ells long, above two broad, and three thick. The Jeſuits, and other *Europeans*, who have ſeen and been upon them are aſtoniſhed at the Sight of them; nor can they comprehend what Inſtruments could be uſed to raiſe ſuch great, heavy and long Pieces, all which are of ſolid white Marble, to ſuch an extraordinary Height. The ſecond Bridge, though not ſo high, is as broad and as long.

There is alſo a third extraordinary Bridge in the Province of *Quanton*, not far from the City of *Chaceu*; but this is carried over Land from one Mountain to another, and is as long as the former. And throughout the whole Empire there are ſeveral of theſe Stone Bridges, which though not ſo ſurprizing as thoſe already mentioned, are yet very elegantly and artificially built; and are every where carried a-croſs the Channels for the Traveller's Convenience, that he may come to all Villages and Towns by a ſtreight Road and without going a great Way about.

In watry or moraſſy Places there are alſo high Banks or Cauſeways raiſed, to ſerve inſtead of Roads, and when any Hills or Mountains obſtruct theſe Roads, no Coſt or Labour is ſpared to level, cut through, or render them paſſable. The Road from *Siquan Fu* to *Hamtcheou* is cut through a Mountain, which was very rocky and ſteep, and propped up with large Pieces of Timber, ſo that betwixt the Air and the Mountain, it looks like a pendant Gallery of Clouds, and appears very diſmal to thoſe who are not uſed to travel it: But they have bred and ſo accuſtomed their Mules to ſuch Sort of Roads, that they will climb up the moſt rough, fatiguing and almoſt inacceſſible Ways, as eaſily as if they were in ever ſo eaſy and good Roads.

On the high Ways, at the Diſtance of every half Hour's Journey, are a Sort of arched Gates about ten Ells high, on which, for the Direction of Travellers, are written in large Letters, the Diſtance of one Place from another, and an Account to what City, Town or Village that Way tends. In all Parts of *China* there are great Numbers of Marble Triumphal Arches, commonly containing three arched Doors, the largeſt of which is in the Middle, and the Sides are adorned with great Lions and other Sorts of Imagery; the Gates are every where beautified with very fine carved Images, Trees, and Foliages; and their Number in ſome Cities mounts ſo high, that the Streets are rather incumber'd than adorned with them.

China hath alſo very good Havens. That of *Nanking*, into which the *Nankingian* River falls, is much celebrated on Account of its Depth, Breadth, and the prodigious Quantities of Goods which paſs from thence to the City of that Name, and higher up to *Peking*, and all over *China*, but do not paſs ſo cloſe by the City, ſince the famous Robber before-mentioned beſieged, and had taken that City, if he had not been hindred by his own Negligence and Luxury.

The Haven of *Quantung* or *Canton*, on the Ocean, which waſheth this Province Southwards. Before the Entrance of the City of *Canton* are a great many ſmall Iſlands, the moſt conſiderable of which is *Macao*, which hath a very good Haven, and is very famous for the great Commerce of the *Portugueſe* formerly there, by reaſon of its Neighbourhood to *Canton*, to which great Ships could eaſily come, and where all Sorts of Merchandize and Proviſions are very plentiful.

Fokien is alſo provided with a very fine Haven, in which any Ships may ſafely ride, and come almoſt cloſe to the Shore, the Sea being very deep, and the Harbour bounded on the other Side by the Iſland *Emoni*; and a very great Trade is driven here with Foreigners.

The Haven of *Nimpo* or *Ningno*, in the Province of *Chekiang*, is famed for the great Trade which is there driven with the *Japoneſe*, becauſe from thence it is but a ſhort Voyage to *Japan*; but no very large Ship can well come in there by reaſon of Shallows and ſmall Rocks, which render the Paſſage very difficult.

In the Province of *Zantung*, joining to *Chekiang*, where it runs out Eaſtward on the great Ocean, there is alſo an indifferent good Haven and Trade with the Inhabitants of *Corea* and *Japan*; but neither the one nor the other are ſo large and conſiderable as the Harbour and Commerce at *Nimpo*, though that Province is very well watered; there being there, as well as in almoſt all Parts of *China*, very convenient navigable Channels, provided with Sluices and Locks; without which, the Ground not being every where level, and the Water tending downwards, and all theſe Channels dug, they would ſoon be dry; which Neceſſity put them upon inventing thoſe Sort of Waterfalls to let the Water through intermitting Pieces of Land, and keep it at an equal Height, and to wind or pull over them the Boats, Barges, *&c.* by the Help of Ropes and Windlaſſes.

5. The *Chineſe* are perfectly well inſtructed and trained up in the Principles of their Religion from their Youth. The Parents ſend their Children to School at the Age of ſeven or eight Years, to learn Reading, Writing, and good Manners, that is, Rules which teach them to pay the ſubordinate Reſpect and Obedience due to their Parents and Superiors. They begin their Studies and Exerciſes with the Inſtructions and Rudiments of their famous Inſtructor in Wiſdom, Policy, and good Manners, *King* or *Confucius*, called in *Chineſe*, *King fu*, and highly reverenced amongſt them. Theſe firſt Principles, as we have already hinted, conſiſt chiefly in directing them to obey and love their Parents, to reſpect and honour thoſe older than themſelves, to live honeſtly and virtuouſly, to do no Perſon any Wrong, or what they would not have done to themſelves, to give every Perſon his Due, and ſuffer him to keep it. All theſe Leſſons are comprized in five Books, which in their tender Years they are obliged to learn by Heart. After which they diligently learn the Arts of Writing, Arithmetick, and Oratory; in which having made proper Advances, they are queſtioned and ſtrictly examined in what they pretend to have ſtudied; and then being adjudged capable, they by Degrees become Bachellors, Maſters, and Doctors of their higheſt Knowledge, and are alſo raiſed, not only to that of *Mandaryns*, but the more elevated Dignities of the Empire, in Proportion to their Worth, Learning, and Capacity to ſerve the Publick, either in the Government of Provinces and People, on the Bench as Judges, or in the Exerciſe of ſeveral Political and Civil Offices entruſted to them.

This learned and venerable *Confucius* lived ſeveral hundred Years before the Birth of *Chriſt*, was born in the Province of *Xantung*, as is hinted before in the Deſcription of it, and died, according to ſome, in the Seventy-third, or according to others, in the Sixty-third Year of his Age. His Memory is very highly honoured by all intelligent and learned Men. In all Cities and Villages honorary Temples are erected in Remembrance of him; though his Image is not placed in the interior Part of them. His Virtue and honeſt Principles are very famous, his Precepts are reverenced like the Word of God, though he is acknowledged to have been but a Man, a Lawgiver and Preceptor; in Honour of whoſe Memory, the *Chineſe* have erected a Pyramid, not of Stone, but in their Hearts, and they annually diſcover Signs of Gratitude and Acknowledgement. Some of his Deſcendants are at preſent living in *China*; who are by Donative endowed with the perpetual Inheritance of a City, with all its Incomes, Rights and Lordſhips; and for the more auguſt Preſervation of his Memory, their Right of Exemption from all Tolls and Taxes hath been, and is, inviolably obſerved to this Day. He had ſeventy (others ſay five hundred) Pupils, which enforced his Doctrine with the Teſtimony which they bore in all Parts, that his Zeal was perfect, and nothing was to be added to the Purity of his moral Leſſons: Beſides which, they ſometimes rather eſteemed him as an Inſtructor of the new Law, than a Man educated in the Corruption of Nature.

6. For above two thouſand Years paſt, or, to full five hundred Years before Chriſt's Birth, the *Chineſe* have acknowledged the Lord of Heaven and Earth, abſtracted from all Idols; which appears from their Hiſtories, and the Books of the above-mentioned illuſtrious *Confucius*, in which we read, *Kiao xe chi li ſoy ſu xang tie*; which imports, that our Duty obliges us to make Offerings to the Lord of Heaven and Earth; almoſt and only like the *Jewiſh* Sacrifices of a Calf or Lamb to the Lord, in the Holy Scripture. Notwithſtanding which, their Knowledge and Idea of God was not ſo clear, but on the contrary much more obſcure and confuſed than that of the *Jews*. But the primitive Knowledge of God declined rather than encreaſed, and that more eſpecially after *Li Laokim*, a certain Philoſopher, and one of *Confucius*'s Diſciples, appeared in the World: He indeed wrote ſome good Books, but withal taught, that the Supreme Deity was corporeal, and governed the other Deities as a King doth his Subjects, and that Man might be immortal: It was then that Idolatry crept in under the Shew of good Manners, and corrupted the Minds of Men; and Conjuring, and other Diabolical Arts, came into Requeſt, in order to prevent Death. Temples were built to the Honour of

Li Laokim, and as much was conſecrated to his Memory as to that of a Deity, though he died; and every Man, by Covenants with Satan and other deviliſh Practices, was earneſtly bent in Queſt of that Immortality which their great Maſter could not find. Time ſtrengthened the falſe Doctrine, and increaſed the Number of its Teachers, who by their ſeducing Practices, drawing of Lots, and other Frauds, have even to this Day wonderfully poſſeſſed the Hearts of the Populace; who being miſled to, and ſtrengthened in that Opinion, continually ſearched for that on Earth, which is not there to be found.

The *Chineſe* alſo relate, that long after that Time, an Emperor named *Fanvang*, dreamed or was informed by Revelation, that there was a Saint in the Weſt, whoſe Religion we ought to embrace; and this without wreſting may be underſtood to be ſpoke of CHRIST and his Doctrine. They alſo relate, that this Emperor diſpatched a Perſon thither, in order to bring this Doctrine to *China*; but the Envoy miſtaking his Way, fell into the South Country, where he met with the *Bramins*, (a Sort of idolatrous Prieſts, which worſhip the Image of one of their Kings) and having declared the Reaſon of his Coming, he was ſo well entertained by theſe diabolical Engines, that they at once preſented him with an Image, and with the Syſtem of their helliſh Doctrine, both which he brought to *China*, and to which they at preſent cleave, that Idolatry being firmly retained, and numerous Temples every where erected to that Idol, inſomuch that the Number of theſe wicked Prieſts is infinite. They are called *Bonzi*'s, and pretend to abſtain from Fleſh and Marrying; but Experience convinces us of the contrary, and that they ſacrifice to their Luſts in private; ſo that now they are not very much reverenced even by the *Chineſe* themſelves, though they have ever ſince that Time worſhipped that Deity, and the Images repreſenting him.

“ *Le Comte* calls this Emperor *Minti*, and tells this Story thus: That *Confucius* frequently ſaid, That the true Holy One was to be found in the Weſt; that this his Aſſertion was continually in the Mouths of the Learned; and that the Emperor *Minti* being diſturbed at theſe Reports, and excited by the Image of a Man coming out of the Weſt, and appearing to him in his Sleep, diſpatched Ambaſſadors to the Weſt, with Orders to travel that Way till they found this Saint, which Heaven had revealed to him about ſixty-five Years after the Birth of our Lord: That theſe Ambaſſadors were forced, by the Danger of the Sea, to remain on a certain Iſland; and that they found there the Idol *Fo* or *Foe*, which had perverted *India* ſeveral Years before with his diabolical Doctrine: That theſe Miniſters cauſed themſelves to be perfectly inſtructed in the Superſtitions of that Country, and carried them back with them to the Emperor and his Subjects; and that through thoſe Means and from that Time, this impious Doctrine was ſpread throughout the Kingdom.”

Anciently they worſhipped the Images of ſeveral illuſtrious Men, as in treating of the Province of *Xanſi*, Mention is made of a valiant and potent Hero, which ſprung out of that Country, whom they honour and pray to as a Demy-God, which revives their Courage and excites their Magnanimity; and the *Tartars* themſelves, at preſent Maſters of *China*, likewiſe offer up their devout *Oraiſons* to it; though indeed this is no Point of their Religion, Faith or Doctrine: But the Idolatrous Worſhip and Religion of the *Bonzi*'s is ſpread over all *Eaſt-India*, through the Kingdoms of *Pegu*, *Laos*, *Siam*, *Cochinchina*, *Japan*, and all over *Tartary*.

7. Several of the moſt learned Perſons amongſt the *Chineſe* are Atheiſts, who believe neither God nor Devil, deny a future State, and in Raillery aſk, who hath ever ſeen or been either in Heaven or Hell? Or once came out of either of them? And boldly tell us they are meer idle and brainleſs Imaginations. But the Image-worſhippers believe a Heaven and a Hell; that the ancient, virtuous, and happy Dead are great Spirits or Souls in Heaven; that placed there as ſuperlunary Princes, they tender and do good Offices to Mankind; whilſt themſelves abound in Riches and Proſperity, and perpetually divert and entertain themſelves with the fineſt Wines and all Manner of Delicacies. That on the contrary, the Souls of wicked and impious Men either go to Hell, or tranſmigrate into other Animals, which are either better or worſe, in Proportion to their Merit. So that at preſent the *Pagan*, *Mahometan* and Chriſtian Religions prevail in *China*.

I ought not to omit that in Paganiſm, the firſt of theſe, the Reaſon of State or Policy is the ſupreme and prevalent Deity in *China*, to which all Principles and Practices are adapted: And whatever does not fall in with the political Intereſt is condemned as downright Sin, and conſequently not to be tolerated. The *Chineſe* are utter Enemies to Novelty, and are ſtrangely fond of all ancient Cuſtoms, ſolely on Account of their Antiquity; and abſolutely reject, or at leaſt are hardly prevailed with to allow any modern Uſage: This Fondneſs for Antiquity prevails not only in Temporals, in which they dare not preſume to alter any Cuſtom without the Emperor's ſpecial Command: But more particularly in Spirituals, though it really ſhould be, and they themſelves were convinced it was for the better. Hence it is that they reject the *Chriſtian* Religion, becauſe in Proportion to the Antiquity of their Empire it is too recent, and hath too lately appeared in the World, as tho' Antiquity alone were ſufficient to triumph over Truth, and it were a Crime to hinder the perpetuating of thoſe ſtupid Errors which could only pretend to have prevailed for numerous Ages.

“ It is a fundamental Axiom in the *Chineſe* Policy, ſaith *Gobien*, That the Prince is primarily obliged to preſerve Peace, Repoſe, Plenty and Eaſe; for which the Subjects ſhould acknowledge their Obligations to him, and he cauſe them to be inſtructed that they are indebted for all this to him. For all Attempts to keep the Subjects within the Bounds of their Duty would be vain, without the effectual Performance of the primary Condition of Obedience: Since the Laws themſelves would be but a weak Bulwark, if oppoſed to the Force of Arms: And all Inſtructions would make but ſmall Impreſſions on the Minds of a People, that are hurried on to diſprove them by Want and Miſery. *And he tells us elſewhere*, That the true Foundation of the Authority of the Œconomical and State Government conſiſts, with Regard to Families, in the due Obedience and Reſpect to Parents and to Maſters; with Reſpect to Government, that the Subjects be faithful to the Prince, and that he be tender of his People: A prudent Conduct, the Love of our Neighbours, Virtue and Juſtice are its Eſſentials; an exact Obſervation of mutual Civilities helps to fill up the Meaſure: But the ſavoury Laws of a good Government afford Means for compleating the whole.”

8. There are beſides ſeveral other Sects of Religion in *China*; for ſome of them believe that there is a ſupreme, eternal and omnipotent Spirit, which governs and directs all Things: This Being they acknowledge for the Lord of Heaven and Earth: And before Idolatry prevail'd, they worſhipped him under the Name of *Chamti* or the Lord of Heaven: But ſince the Sowing of that profligate Seed, this Opinion obtains only amongſt a few, but thoſe indeed are moſt of them great Men: The Emperor himſelf is ſaid to eſpouſe this old Sentiment; and it is not improbable, that it is owing to this, that he is not averſe, but rather inclined to the *Chriſtian* Religion and Doctrine, and probably would not reject, but eaſily be induced to embrace it, if not reſtrained by political Reaſons, and a Fear of creating thereby Tumults and Inſurrections in his Empire.

There are others alſo who acknowledge Nature to be the ſole Deity; underſtanding thereby the Force or Power and natural Operation, which being the efficient Cauſe of Motion and Reſt, produces, maintains and preſerves all Things: They look on Dame Nature as the Fountain of all and every particular Being: And that ſhe is able to appoint and to alter the Order of all Things: They take her to be the one Soul which univerſally informs Matter, by Virtue of which ſhe produces all Things; thus attributing to Nature almoſt all that the Ancients aſcribed to Heaven, or we acknowledge in the Deity: They call her a Principle independent of all others; ſeparating her from the Imperfections and Deficiencies of all corporeal and ſenſible Matter. Thoſe who incline to this Sect believe, that the World had a Beginning, and ſhall have an End: But ſhall afterwards begin and end again as before, and ſo perpetually and interchangeably renew and periſh. And according to their Opinion numerous Worlds have already exiſted, and thoſe after this to an infinite Number ſhall ſucceſſively make Room for one another.

Though theſe Hypotheſes and Opinions concerning Nature are but groundleſs Imaginations, yet the moſt learned *Chineſe* are very fond of them, as affording Matter for ſeveral Speculations no Way diſagreeable, which may tend to the Improvement of their Intellectuals.

9. We have already mentioned the *Bramins* and *Bonzi*'s in this Chapter; they are not very different from the *Lama*'s, (which are *Tartarian* Prieſts) in any Particulars beſides the external yellow Cloathing, and ſome peculiar ſuperſtitious Ceremonies: Both worſhip the ſame God *Fo*; their religious Worſhip, Opinions and Faith is very near the ſame: However the *Lama*'s in *China* are only *Tartarian* Prieſts, but in *Tartary* they act the Part of the *Lama*, God or Gods of the People: It is there that *Fo* has his Throne, it is there he appears in the Shape of an immortal rational Animal, whoſe Place at leaſt is perpetually ſupplied by a living Creature; for as ſoon as one Man dies, another like him is ſubſtituted in the divine Throne in the Temple, in order to keep up and promote the ridiculous Opinion of the Immortality of this God. To this Purpoſe he is honoured with religious Worſhip by great Crouds of *Lama*'s, whoſe Number is ſo large, and the Eſteem of this Doctrine (though not for the Prieſts of it) is ſo imprinted on the Minds of the People of all *Tartary* and *China*, that it is thought to withhold the Emperor himſelf from diſcovering any farther Inclinations to favour the Chriſtian Religion for Fear of a Revolt.

We have already ſpoken concerning the Chriſtians, the Time of their firſt beginning to ſettle here, their planting of the Faith, the bitter Afflictions they have ſuffered, and in what State Chriſtianity ſtands at preſent. It now only remains that we ſay ſomething of the *Mahometans*; of whoſe Principles and Practices I ſhall only obſerve, That their Number is not very great in *China*, though they are more numerous than the *Chriſtians*, as having inhabited that Country much longer, that is, above ſeven hundred Years longer in ſeveral Provinces of this Empire, where they were indulged with Liberty, which they neither did, nor do miſuſe, by preſſing others to embrace their Religion, or zealouſly aiming at the making of Converts; for they quietly live together, and are moſtly allied by Marriage, Intereſt, or Converſation; and, in ſhort, live in a Sort of Covenant, like the *Jews* in other Countries. But their Religion is very much ſpread here ſince their Original, and hath taken very deep Root more eſpecially ſince the free Trade with the *Muſcovites*, *Tartars*, *Mogols*, and other Nations. And as Weeds ſoon ſprout up and grow apace, this pernicious Seed of impious Doctrine hath ſo increaſed, that the Sprouts of it are, as I have ſaid, much more numerous in *China* than the Chriſtians.

10. The *Chineſe* in general are very well bred, and they are obſerved to be very civil in Words and Actions; when they entertain any Perſon, though below them, they always give the Gueſt the upper Hand, which in the Southern Provinces is eſteemed the Right, but in the Northern is taken to be the Left. They alſo utterly differ from the *Tartars* in their Manner of Sitting; for the former ſit down on the Earth, but the *Chineſe* make uſe of Chairs and Stools. In Viſits, the Maſter of the Houſe, ſeeing his Gueſt approach, goes out well dreſs'd to meet him, and with his Head covered, (uncovering the Head being a Salutation never uſed in *China*) advances half Way of the outer Court before his Houſe, where he and the Viſitant meet, and exchange Compliments in the following Manner: The Gueſt takes the Right Hand of his Entertainer (or Left, according to the above-mentioned Difference in the Northern or Southern Provinces) who conſequently ſtands on the other Hand; then they both very reſpectfully bow very low three or four Times, lifting up their Hands and Arms, (which whilſt they are going they fold in their wide Sleeves) in a Sort of ſtately Manner, and afterwards as decently letting them fall; after which they ſpeak to one another in a very civil and engaging *Chineſe* Tone: This done, ſometimes they change Places, he that was on the Right taking the Left Hand, in order to repay the received Civilities. After which they enter the Houſe, where the viſited Perſon always takes the lower, and gives his Gueſt the Upper Hand. Being entered and ſat down, a Diſh of Tea, with a Piece of Sweetmeat in it is ſet before each Perſon; he that ſits at the upper Hand being firſt ſerved, and the reſt ſucceſſively in Order. Before they ſit down, even betwixt Perſons of equal Condition, ſeveral ceremonious and engaging Conteſts ariſe about the Refuſal of the ſuperior Place; the moſt worthy and higheſt eſteemed Perſon is placed uppermoſt, and he among thoſe of equal Character is the oldeſt; but Strangers, and thoſe who come from diſtant Countries, are ſet above all the reſt.

The Ceremonies at Departure are almoſt the ſame with thoſe at the Entrance. The Maſter of the Houſe, with ſeveral Bowings of Head and Body, and moving the Hands, accompanies his Gueſts, firſt to the inner Door, then to the Middle of the outer Court, and laſtly to the outermoſt Gate, out of which he alſo goes; during all which Time the Viſitants are complimenting and thanking their Entertainer with the ſame Reſpect; after which, they either mount their Horſes, or get into their Chariots as they came; then a Servant is ſent after them by the Maſter of the Houſe, to compliment and wiſh them a good Journey in his Maſter's Name; upon which they ſend their Servants back to the Entertainer, to thank him for his laſt Civility. The Ceremonies in paying and receiving of Viſits amongſt great Officers or Perſons of Quality, muſt not be done in their common Cloaths, but in Robes of State; and in Caſe the Viſitant ſhould fail in this Particular, the Viſited would be apt to be diſguſted at it, and not give him Entrance, at leaſt before he had changed his own Dreſs: And in like Manner, if the Maſter of the Houſe ſhould attempt to receive his Gueſt in a meaner Robe than he hath on, the other would not enter the Houſe. For which Reaſon, Perſons of Condition always take Care to be provided with theſe viſiting Robes, and cauſe them to be carried after them, in order to make uſe of them in Caſe of any ſudden Accident; for even in chance Meetings, the Compliments are delayed if one of them have his Robe of State on, till the other can put on his. The *Chineſe* abound in theſe and ſuch like Grimaces and Geſtures, which they reckon an Honour to their Nation, and ſay that they are Signs of good Breeding, in which they excel other Nations, as much as Men do Beaſts.

In Caſe of a Salutation or Viſit betwixt Perſons who have not for a long Time ſeen each other, they both fall on their Knees, and thrice bow ſo low as that their Heads touch the Ground. And it is in the very ſame Manner that even the meaner Sort welcome one another. This is likewiſe the Poſture of Servants ſpeaking to their Maſters, and the Populace to the *Mandaryns* or high Officers. The like Bowings of the Head thrice ſo low, as to touch the Ground, are alſo uſed in the worſhipping of their Idols.

I forgot to mention, that the Viſitant, always before he makes any Viſit, diſpatches a Servant to the Perſon to be viſited, with a Piece of red Paper in his Hand, in which is written the Name of the Perſon his Maſter intends to viſit: With this he goes to the Houſe and delivers his Meſſage; but if the Maſter of the Houſe be abroad, or engaged, he ſtill leaves that Paper in Diſcharge of his Order, and returns with the Anſwer to his Maſter.

The Ceremonies obſerved in Feaſts and Entertainments are very great; after the cuſtomary Compliments of Salutation, each Perſon is placed according to his Condition at a ſeparate Table, without either Napkin, Knife or Spoon, but is preſented with a Couple of long Ivory or Wooden Scures tipt with Gold or Silver, to aſſiſt him in the Conveyance of the Edibles, which are all cut in Pieces, to his Mouth; and they are ſo dextrous in the Uſe of theſe, that they can very ſpeedily clear the Diſh even to a ſingle Corn of Rice. As I have already hinted, they make uſe of fine Chairs, Stools, or Benches, quite different from the *Tartars*, who, equally void of Civility and Manners, clap down on the Earth, without any other Geſticulations than what they now obſerve in the *Chineſe*, and begin to learn from the very Alphabet to the Book of Manners. The *Chineſe* have alſo very fine Beds and Couches; but the *Tartars*, on the other Side, having neither the one to lie, nor the other to reſt themſelves on, make uſe of a Board or Plank laid flat on the Earth. The firſt Diſh is commonly ſome Sort of Haſh, and a Glaſs or Cup of Wine, which yet is not ſo much as taſted before the Maſter of the Houſe leads the Way; which is followed by the Servants crowding in Diſhes and Wine, none of which are taken away, but piled up pyramidically, to the Number of twenty or twenty four, or more. Each Perſon drinks out of his own Cup, and is ſure to follow his Leader; and though the Wine may be very briſkly and continually put about, there is no Danger of intoxicating very ſoon, ſo ſmall a Quantity being filled into the Cups, and the Wine itſelf not being very ſtrong. A ſerious Gravity is always obſerved at Meals, the *Chineſe* diſliking all immoderate Laughter. After, and ſometimes alſo during their Meals, ſeveral Tumblers, and ſuch like, ſhew their Agility of Body, ſeveral Farces are acted, and other Diverſions added: Beſides which, they alſo play amongſt themſelves, and he that loſes is obliged to drink, and is, but within the Compaſs of good Manners, rallied by the Company.

11. Marriages in *China* are very ſplendidly celebrated, and accompanied with Plays and Diverſions during ſeveral Days. As for the Preliminaries to Marriage, the young Perſons who intend to enter into that Eſtate, have not the Opportunity by converſing together to ſound one another's Inclinations; for they are never permitted to come together, but the whole is managed by their Parents, who frequently promiſe their Children long before they come to be married, regarding Nothing ſo much as that their Years agree, or at leaſt be not very diſproportionate: And though their Sons and Daughters happen to be advanced in Years, yet they make the Matches without ſo much as the Conſent of the Perſons to be married. But there is yet a great Difference on this Head, betwixt the Conduct of People of Quality, Middling Perſons, and thoſe of the loweſt Condition. Amongſt Perſons of the firſt Quality, no Marriages are concluded without the Emperor's Conſent, great Care being taken that young People are always matched to Perſons of equal Deſcent. Thoſe alſo of a lower Degree are deſirous of allying with and marrying into as good Families as their own; but their Concubines they either take or buy from their mean Parents, and this to an unlimited Number. The lawful Wife is only honour'd as Mother or Miſtreſs of the Family, and reſpected and attended by all the reſt as Chambermaids; and on her Death the Concubines Children are obliged to a three Years Mourning, which they are not obliged to for their own Mothers. The Children of the loweſt Rank of People are in like Manner married by their Parents, and the Girls are in a Manner ſold; for it is the Huſband which gives the Portion, and the Bride hath only a few Trifles, though when ſhe is led to the Bridegroom's Houſe, ſhe ſeems to bring a large Share of Houſhold Furniture along with her; but all of it is bought before by the Bridegroom; beſides which, he gives the Parents a Sum of Money in Proportion to their Character, for their Daughter, whence he is or may be ſaid to buy his Wife. If a Nobleman or Perſon of Quality dies, the Widow muſt not marry again; but this perpetual Widowhood is not ſo much regarded by Perſons of meaner Condition, though even amongſt them, the Widows, which yield to a ſecond Marriage, thereby loſe, or at leaſt leſſen, their Reputations. Though ceremonious good Manners and the Authority of the Parents run ſo high amongſt the *Chineſe*, the Children will not yet endure a Father-in-Law, or pay him any other than ſuperficial Obedience; wherefore almoſt all the Widows end their Days in that State. The mature Years for Marriage are twenty, or two and twenty for the young Men, and eighteen or twenty for the young Women.

The *Chineſe* Wives utterly ſeclude themſelves from the Sight of all Men beſides their Huſbands, not allowing themſelves to be ſeen even by their Father-in-law, their Huſband's Brother, or any of the Male Sex, their Huſband's youngeſt Brother only excepted, and that in the Time of his Childhood only: But all her own Male Relations are abſolutely excluded from all Sight of or Acceſs to her. Nor do the *Chineſe* Women ever appear in the Streets throughout the whole Empire, except in *Peking*, the Metropolis, where they are carried whither they pleaſe in cover'd Coaches or Sedans, as we have before obſerved.

12. The Piety which the *Chineſe* expreſs towards their Parents is incredible; which yet on no Occaſion ſhines brighter than at or after their Deceaſe. The Mourning and Funeral Solemnities are very numerous; which conſiſt in the lamenting, keeping the Corpſe above Ground, burying, and what is afterwards done in Remembrance of them. When they put themſelves into Mourning, they differ from other Nations who make Uſe of black, and wear all white Cloaths; in which Dreſs they keep a long Time for any of their Relations; and for a Father or Mother they mourn thus three Years. A Wife alſo continues in Mourning as long for her Huſband. But the Huſband does not hold it above a Year on Account of his Wife's Death; which is the Term commonly obſerved by a Brother or Nephew for their reſpective Brothers or Uncles. Children for at leaſt one hundred Days after the Death of their Father or Mother, are obliged to avoid lying on any Bed, but repoſe themſelves on the Earth, and daily celebrate their Remembrance in Tears; beſides all which, they are obliged, for three Years, to avoid all matrimonial Converſation with their Wives; and if any of them ſhould happen to be pregnant in that Time, they are liable to be puniſhed. They ſequeſter themſelves from Treats, Nuptials, and other Entertainments; they confine themſelves to their Houſes, without ever ſtirring abroad, and lay down their Offices for above a Year, and ſome for three Years. Whenever they are abſolutely obliged to go Abroad, they cauſe themſelves to be carried in Coaches or Chariots covered all over with cloſe Mourning to the intended Place.

Their Obſequies are not much different from their Converſations, with Reſpect to Ceremonies: What firſt appears in the Funeral Parade, is the Repreſentation or Figures of Men, Women, Lions, and other Animals painted on Paper, which are carried in State; the Bearers of theſe are followed by ſeveral Incenſe Carriers, next which comes the Bier and Coffin, borne by ſeveral Men, and is followed by the Sons, and all other Relations and invited Gueſts: The Sons are dreſt all in white, and carry Wands in their Hands; next which comes the Women in cover'd Chariots or Chairs, hung with Mourning ſo cloſe, that no Perſon can ſee them. The Graves or Tombs are all without the City, ſome of them are magnificently adorned with Marble, like a Palace, encloſed on the Outſide, and planted with ſeveral Trees in the Way to the particular Burying-place: To which being come, the Corpſe, incloſed in a Coffin of coſtly Wood, after the Paper Figures and Images are burned, is laid in the Tomb, and upon it are placed ſome Stone Figures, and an Inſcription in Praiſe of the Deceaſed. And at certain Set-times of the Year the *Chineſe* viſit theſe Tombs, offering there Meat and Drink, Tears and Lamentations, in Remembrance of the Dead.

" There are, ſay the Jeſuits, three Seaſons when the
" Dead are honoured in different Manners in *China*:
" Firſt, before the Interment, when the Corpſe are ex-
" poſed to View, or laid in State, together with a wood-
" en Image, with the Name of the Deceaſed, which " is

" is placed upon a Table with burning Candles and Perfumes about it: They ſalute and honour the Corpſe by Kneeling and Proſtrations, according to the Cuſtom of the Country. The ſecond Seaſon is obſerved from ſix to ſix Months, in a particular Chamber of the Houſe called their Anceſtors Apartment, in which every Spring and Autumn all the richeſt Delicacies that could be prepared for a Prince, are ſerved up in Remembrance of the Dead. The third ſolemn Time happens but once each Year, and is obſerved at the Tombs; all of which being without the City, they viſit them about *May*, when they pluck up Graſs and green Herbs out of the Earth, expreſs by ſeveral Tokens of Lamentations their Eſteem for the Dead, and then having ſet their Victuals and Wine on the Grave, renew their Mourning Feaſt."

The *Chineſe* obſerve ſeveral Feſtivals, but none more ceremoniouſly than that of the New-Year. This Day or Days, for it laſts three Days, are by Perſons of all Ranks, paſs'd in very ſplendid Mirth and Jollity; they then dreſs themſelves as fine as poſſible, viſit, and make Preſents to each other: There is no End of Plays, Entertainments, and other Diverſions, and all are then equally rich and happy. Buſineſs is at a Stand, the Poſts and Meſſengers ceaſe, all civil and criminal Courts are ſhut up, and according to their common Phraſes, the Seal ſhut, as indeed it is incloſed in a Cheſt: And this Seal is of ſuch Force, and the Judge ſo far obliged to regard it, that though his Prince, fully ſatisfied of his Sufficiency, ſhould ſign his Commiſſion, yet he would not dare to act till he had found the Seal, if once loſt.

13. The Lantern Feaſt obſerved on the following full Moon (for the new Moon begins with the Year) is not leſs famous; nor is there one Houſe in all *China* which is not illuminated at that Time; the Lanterns (ſome of which are ſo very large as to admit of Theatrical Repreſentations within them, acted by living Perſons inſtead of Puppets) are ſo filled with Lights, and ſo numerous and cloſe to each other, that the Cities and Towns ſeem to be in a perfect Flame; nor are Fireworks and Gunpowder ſpared to add Flame to Flame: The Clangor and thundering Noiſe of ſmall and great Shot, mixed with the loud Acclamations, Singing, Roaring and Hollowing of the raving Populace, look as if the whole World rejoiced at that Time.

There are alſo Feſtivals obſerved in Spring and Autumn, in Commemoration of the ſo much celebrated *Confucius*: The Ceremonies of which conſiſt in Kneeling before a Board erected on a Table, with this Philoſopher's Name, encompaſſed with beautiful Leaf-work, written on it. Kneeling before this Inſcription, they nine Times proſtrate themſelves ſo low, till their Heads touch the Earth, and ſerve up Wine, Victuals, Fruit, *&c.* much in the ſame Manner as is above related, that the genteeler Sort and rich People commemorate their Parents and deceaſed Friends with Mourning Feaſts. Anciently this Philoſopher's Image was honoured in this Manner: But the Emperors finding the People fall off to Idolatry, and that they either actually did, or probably would, pray to and adore him as a God, they ordered theſe Sort of Boards, with the bare Inſcription of his Name, to be placed in all the Schools and Colleges, inſtead of his Image: And the ſhewing of this commemorating Reſpect hath occaſioned ſeveral warm Contells betwixt the *Jeſuits* and *Dominicans*; the latter charging this Practice with downright Idolatry, whilſt the other urge in their Defence, that it is barely the Cuſtom of the Country, and a civil Ceremony paid to the Memory of every dead Perſon; and not only that, but the ſame is given to the living *Mandaryns* of the Empire in common Viſits and Ceremonies.

The *Chineſe* always obſerve and paſs their Birth-day in Diverſion; and as all happy Wiſhes of numerous Years added to that, Panegyricks, or whatever elſe can contribute to Pleaſure, are not ſpared on the one Side, ſo grateful Acknowledgements due to ſuch Compliments on this happy Day are not wanting on the other. In ſhort, this Day is wholly ſequeſtred to civil Entertainments, *&c.* and ends with good Wiſhes.

14. The Northern Provinces of *China* do not produce the Fruits which grow in *India*, but the Southern yield them in the greateſt Abundance. The common arboriferous or Orchard Fruits are, Apples, Pears, Peaches, Plumbs of all Sorts, Grapes, Olives, and ſeveral Sorts of Figs, *viz.* the *Chineſe*, *Indian*, and *European*; the *Chineſe* are as large as Apples; the Skin is ſoft and ſmooth; they are variouſly ſhaped, ſmall or large, round or oval. If they are dried in the Sun, they may be kept a long Time good; their Stem is rough and ſtrong. The *Indian* Fig being perfectly ripe, when the Skin is taken off is longiſh, ſoft, and of a ſweet Taſte, though there are indeed various Species of them, and what they grow on cannot properly be called a Tree, but rather a Sort of overgrown Shrub or Plant, not unlike Box, the Sprouts of which are covered with a thin Film, not much different from the Skin of an Onion; the Leaves are extraordinary long and broad; the Trunk bears its Fruit, which hangs by a ſingle Tendril; its Bloſſom is a Liver-colour'd Flower, of which it is obſervable, that whenever it appears like the Infant from the Womb, it burſts and forces its Way from its proper Root; whenever the Fruit is pluck'd, this Plant dies, but is ſucceeded by freſh Sprouts which ſhoot from its Root: It is found to grow in the South Parts of *China* only, but in all Parts of *India* it abounds. Theſe Southern Provinces alſo produce great Quantities of Oranges, ſufficiently known in *Europe*, and diſtinguiſhed by the Name of *China Oranges*.

" The *Portugueſe* brought this delicious Fruit into *Europe*. And the very firſt Orange-Tree from whence all the reſt ſprung, we are told, is yet in Being in the Earl of St. *Laurence*'s Garden at *Liſbon*."

The *Licia*, a charming Fruit, alſo grows there; it is red and contained in or fenced with a ſharp or prickly Shell; the Kernel is of a bright white Colour, very ſweet, warm, and ſo perfectly agreeable, that it ſurpaſſes all other Fruit, not only in Taſte, but Colour: The Tree on which it grows is alſo very fine, large, and full of Branches and Leaves, which render it very agreeable to the Sight: The Fruit, which grows in Bunches, though not crouded together, but on long Stalks, is about the Size of an ordinary Plumb or Nut, and there are alſo various Species of it. If eaten to Exceſs it inflames the Body, and raiſes Ulcers; for which Reaſon it is generally dried in the Shells, and like preſerved Fruit, is ſerved up in a Diſh of Tea, and by Reaſon of its agreeable Acidity preferred before Sugar; the interior Part of the Kernel diſſolving like Sugar in the Mouth; for which and other Reaſons it is ſtiled the *King of Fruits*.

The Fruit called *Lurgan* or *Onjeu*, is almoſt like the *Licia*, but not ſo large, and of a very different Taſte; their Kernel is of a ſhining white, and their Shell of the ſame Colour; their Taſte is agreeable and refreſhing, but not ſo hot as the *Licia*, and not prejudicial to Health even if eaten to Exceſs: They are alſo very good dried, though not to compare to the freſh. The Tree which bears them is like that on which the *Licia* grows; and a well taſted Wine is preſſed out of this Fruit whilſt freſh.

The *Jacca* is a Fruit which grows to the Bulk of forty and ſometimes fifty Pounds; but there are alſo ſmall ones, of an oval Shape, with a ſharp prickly Sort of a Shell: The Kernel or Pulp is not firm but fibrous, taſtes very ſweet, and is of a Gold Colour; and the Shell Green: This Fruit of the great Sort, grows to the Foot of the Stem or Root, otherwiſe the Branches (though ſtiff and ſtrong, the Tree being very large) would be too feeble to bear their Weight. The Shell of this Fruit is ſo very hard, that it can no otherwiſe be opened than by a Hatchet. The Inſide is full of ſmall Cavities, in which are contained a yellow Juice, and the Nut, which when ripe, eats better than a roaſted Cheſnut: The Leaves are rough and broad; and at the Branches grows alſo a Sort of Fruit, more agreeable to the Taſte, and more healthful than the *Jacca*: The Aſhes of the Shells burned are uſed by the *Chineſe* as a Ley to cleanſe Linen or Woollen.

Anana's are a well-taſted Fruit when ripe; they are yellow or red, and emit a very agreeable Scent: The Plant ſhoots its Leaves (ſomewhat like Aloes) to the Height of ſix or ſeven Feet; the Leaves are three Fingers broad, alſo hairy or woolly; and of them whilſt tough a Sort of Clothes or Stuffs are made, which in Fineneſs equals Silks: The Fruit ſprouts out in the Middle amongſt the Leaves, and when come to Maturity is very near as large as a Man's Head; it is ſweet and acid on the Tongue, though very delicious; at a Diſtance it looks like an Artichoak: On its middle Stem grow ſeveral young ones, which are clapped into the Earth, by thoſe who gather the Fruit, and in a Year's Time produce ripe Fruit. The ſharp and corroſive Nature of this Fruit is ſo violent as to work even on Iron and Copper, and it alſo renders the Throat by ſwallowing it very rough.

The *Petchi* likewiſe grows here, at the Side of, or in the Water; and the uppermoſt Paring being taken off its Root, there appears a Sort of Whiteneſs which taſtes almoſt like a Hazle-nut, and is endowed with the Virtue of ſoftening Copper in the Mouth.

Le Comte ſaith, " That he had an Account of an " Experiment made to that Purpoſe by one of their " Society; by rubbing a Copper Coin with this Root, " one of us, ſaith he, which had good Teeth, bit it " into ſeveral Pieces, but the Fragments ſtill remain" ed hard, which made us apt to think that this Root " was naturally more efficacious to the fortifying of " the Teeth, than ſoftning of Copper."

The *Cocao-nut* is the Fruit of a Tree which ſhoots upright: They grow in the Province of *Junan*, on the Iſland of *Hainan*, and in other Places in *China*, but in *India* they are incredibly plentiful; the Nuts are as big as a Man's Head, the external Part of the Shell is hairy, and the Subſtance of it ligneous, being in the whole about three or four Inches thick, and in the Core or innermoſt Part of it full of Juice, which the ligneous Cruſt being pierced through, runs out to the Quantity of a Cup-full: The Kernel is white and firm, and being ſhaved or ſcraped, and mixed with fair Water, it turns it to a lacteous Colour, not unlike Milk from a Woman's Breaſt, only a little thicker, as if it had been turned with Rennet; it is alſo very good Food; it corroborates thoſe who are weary and faint, refreſhes Sea-faring Men, fatigu'd with the Scurvy and other Diſeaſes after long Voyages; for which Reaſon they are very fond of it, being well acquainted with its Uſes. It is boiled with Rice, or in Fleſh ſoops: Beſides which a very fine Oil is drawn from it, not inferior to that of Almonds, and is not only uſed in Medicinal Preparations, but eaten as Sauce like Oil of Olives. The exterior Shell is ſo hard, that the Kernel being taken out, it is uſed as a Cup or Bottle. The Trunk on which the Fruit grows, ſhoots directly upright to the Height of fifty Feet, like the Maſt of a Ship; the Wood is hard, and through it runs oleaginous Veins in the inner Part of it which is ſpongy: Its Root doth not pierce deep, nor is it large, ſo that it is very ſurprizing that ſuch lofty Trees, laden with the heavy Weight of Fruit and Leaves, ſhould not be blown up by the Roots by the Winds. The Branches and Leaves are very beautiful and long, the former being full charged with the latter both without and within; and both regale the Eye with a very agreeable Proſpect. No Part of this excellent Tree is uſeleſs; the very hairy Covering, which encompaſſes the Nut-ſhell, ſerves inſtead of Tow to caulk and ſtop Ships: Cups and other Veſſels are made of the Nutſhells; the Leaves are made into Paper and Cloth; the Wood is worked into Maſts, Planks, and Rudders; the Bark furniſhes Sails and Ropes, and its Fruit lade our Ships, and is uſeful alſo in Phyſick.

Arceka, of which I ſpoke in treating of the Province of *Canton*, is an *Indian* Fruit, tranſplanted thence to *China*: The Tree bears ſome Sort of Similitude to the *Coco*, but is neither ſo thick, nor loaded with ſo many Leaves; both Fruit and Tree are called *Arceka*: The Fruit is hard, bitter and acrimonious; it is chewed with *Betel*, and a litle ſoftened with Lime, and the Spittle tinctures the Mouth and Lips red. The *Indians* chew it inceſſantly, and are moſtly followed herein by the Inhabitants of *Quantung*, *Junan*, and *Quoanſi*, which is indeed to be wondred at, conſidering how little the *Chineſe* are addicted to Travelling, and conſequently the few Opportunities they have of catching foreign Cuſtoms; but finding by Experience that it is good for their Gums, keeps their Mouths clean as well as moiſt in hot Countries, and beſides cauſes a ſweet Breath, hath drawn them into this Cuſtom, as well as ſeveral others which they borrowed from the *Europeans*, being now convinced, that they are full as clear-ſighted, if not more, than themſelves.

The Fruit *Jambua*, is a Sort of Lemon and Orange blended, as big as a Man's Head; the Peel or Rind is all round a Finger thick; the Fruit is white and red, ſpongy, and of a bitter Taſte; its Inſide is almoſt like that of Oranges, with this Difference only, that the Kernels or Seeds are larger: The Juice of ſome of them is ſweet, and of others ſour: The Trees are much larger than Lemon-trees, and their Leaves are broader and rough; they are prickly or thorny like the above-mentioned Lemon-tree, which they alſo reſemble in their Bloſſom; they afford a very grateful Smell, as hath alſo the Water extracted from them by Decoction.

The *Indians* call this Fruit *Pampelmans*.

The *Pepper-tree* is but a Shrub, which, like Beans or Hops, climbs up Poles or Stakes, and, when got to the Top, like them, inclines downwards. There is a ſecond Sort of Pepper, which is round and long; both of them, whilſt green, grow in long Bunches cloſe to the Stalk, but when ripe the Fruit turn black, is ſtript off and dried in the Sun; and if the black Skin falls off, as it is eaſily made to do, it is white, and taſtes much hotter. The *Long Pepper*, which is more uſed in Pharmacy than Cookery, grows much in the ſame Manner, but creeps more on the Earth, and climbs about lower Stakes, wherefore it becomes more moiſt, and if that Humidity be not dried up, becomes worm-eaten; the long Sort is dearer and harder than the round; and the Leaf of the former differs ſomewhat, but not much from the latter, which is ſofter, and of a deeper Green than the other, ſomewhat like Ivy. The Leaves, Branches and Roots are all hot and dry, enflaming both Tongue and Throat, though not to ſo great a Degree as the ſmall Corns.

Here grows likewiſe a Plant or Berry called *Maluei* (in the *Indian* Language *Carambole*:) This Fruit ſprouts from large Plants or Shrubs, about three Ells in Height: The Berries are like thoſe of *Palma Chriſti*; they are a very ſtrong Purge, four or five Grains being a Doſe large enough for the moſt robuſt Man; they operate on tough Phlegm, and pituitous Humours, and are good againſt a foul Stomach, cleanſing the Entrails: The Leaves, as well as the Berries, are inflammatory to a high Degree; wherefore thoſe who pluck them are obliged carefully to avoid putting their Hands (when gathering them) to their Face or Eyes, which would immediately inflame them. This Plant, mixed with Rice or Dough, and thrown into the Water kills the Fiſh. It grows in *India* as well as in ſeveral Provinces of *China*: It is alſo preſerved in Pots with Sugar, and ſo tranſported; and by Reaſon of its cordial Virtue, made uſe of againſt a cold Stomach or ſtinking Breath. There are alſo Nutmeg-Trees, in ſome Parts of *China*, but they are not near ſo plenty there as in other hotter Places in *India*, from whence they are brought thither. This Tree is almoſt like a Pear or Apple-tree: It ſprouts free enough and grows wild. The Nut which follows the Bloſſom joined to the End of the Branch, is at firſt green and rough, but when ripe changes its Colour, and becomes pointed all over, and chop'd on the Outſide, being very ornamentally encompaſſed by the Mace, which perfectly ripe, is three or four times annually gathered, and is of ſeveral Sorts and of different Natures with Reſpect to its Virtue and Worth.

Grinoffel, or *Clove-Trees* are by no Means ſo plentiful here as in other Places in *India*, from whence they are imported hither in vaſt Quantities. The Tree on which they grow is, when young, about as large as the former, and ſo encreaſes to a great Thickneſs; the

Leaf is longiſh like that of the *Pear-tree*, and full of Fibres; at the End of which the Cloves grow in Bunches, and out of their Heads ſprout the Bloſſoms, which, as well as the Cloves, afford a very ſtrong Scent; the Bloſſoms are of various Colours, and like the Fruit change in Ripening; for the Cloves are not black or brown at firſt, but green; and accordingly the Flower is firſt white and then red. The Cloves are plucked or beaten off, and then gathered; and if any happen to remain on the Tree, they fall on the Ground without any farther Trouble, and from thence ſhoot up young Sprouts, which are nouriſhed by the Soil, and thrive without Culture. I ſhall not ſay any Thing more of this Tree, becauſe it is very well known all over the World, and ſhall only lightly touch on the *Cinnamon* Tree.

I have already hinted, that *Cinnamon* grows in vaſt Plenty in the Province of *Quoangſi*, and not only ſmells very well, but is alſo very ſharp upon the Tongue. The Tree on which it grows is like that which bears Lemons, but its Leaves are ſomewhat like thoſe of Lawrel. This Plant hath a very fragrant Bloſſom, which afterwards affords us a Fruit like a Plumb; but neither the Fruit, Bloſſom, nor Leaf, agree in any one Particular with the Bark; which is the *Cinnamon*, and is alone endowed with the ſpicy and odoriferous Virtue, for beſides that, the Tree is a perfect inſipid Wood, whoſe Fruit is of no other Uſe than to be eaten by the Apes. This Bark, which clings cloſe to the Tree, when the outmoſt Rind is ſcaled off, appears green, is dried in the Sun, and after it is cleanſed and thoroughly dried, it turns to the known Colour. The Tree being ſtripped of its Bark, does not die, but, after the Expiration of ſome Years, obtains a new Bark, and flouriſhes again.

“ The *Indian* Writers tell us, that theſe Trees grow
“ in ſuch prodigious Abundance in *Ceylon*, that if vaſt
“ Woods of them were not burned, the whole World
“ could not conſume the Cinnamon which grows there.
“ And *Nieuhoff* adds, that though this Iſland is ſo very
“ fruitful in Cinnamon, yet neither Clove nor Nutmeg
“ Trees will take there.”

There is yet another Tree in *China*, which indeed grows more luxuriantly in *Goa*, and is by ſome called the *Indian* Fig-tree, and it accordingly produces little Figs, full of ſmall Seeds like other Figs, but not very much eſteemed, by reaſon of their diſagreeable Taſte. This Tree or Trunk ſhoots up very high, and the Branches afterwards turn down towards the Earth, and take Root again; after which, like the Main Trunk, they ſhoot up, and then down again; ſo that a ſingle Tree becomes a great Wood, and the firſt Stem is hardly to be diſcovered.

The *Fat* or *Tallow-tree* is the moſt ſurprizing Plant of all that grows in *China*; it yields a very fine Leaf and Flower; it is of a moderate Height, and its Stem is but low, its Branches thick, and covered with long Leaves ſhaped like a Heart, and its Bloſſoms white, which are followed by the Fruit; and this, when ripe, reſembles a Cheſnut or Walnut, with one Cleft. Round about the Stone, which is very like that of a Cherry, is the Greaſe, or that which in Colour, Smell, and all its Characteriſticks, exactly agrees with Greaſe, except only that it doth not foul the Hands like it; round the Stones (of which each hath three ſeparated by Films) is the Pulp, which melted makes a Candle as white as the whiteſt Capon, and is ſupplied with a Weik of Wood run through it inſtead of Cotton. From the Stone or Kernel, which is full of Moiſture, is drawn an Oil, which, by Reaſon of its ſtrong unſavory Smell and Taſte, is not eaten, but ſerves for Lamps. The red Leaves and white Bloſſoms of this Tree render it very agreeable to the Eye.

Cotton grows here in great Abundance, notwithſtanding which, as is hinted a little higher, they do not uſe it for Candle-Weiks, but make ſeveral Stuffs of it. It grows on a very thick, lofty, and crooked Tree, which is not overloaded with Branches, and its Bloſſom is a yellowiſh Flower, from whence proceeds the Fruit not unlike a common Apple, that when ripe, opens and diſcovers the Wool, which when prepared is tranſported to all Parts of the World. There are alſo Shrubs and Sprouts which produce this Wool, and are not very different from this Tree; but their Bloſſoms are of a deeper Yellow, and their Leaf more rugged; beſides which, the Cotton which theſe laſt yield is better and finer, and of that are made the white Callicoes. The Stems of theſe ſecond Sort of Plants, which are like Reeds, run up to a good Height; when come to Maturity, they are cut down, thrown into the Water to rot, and afterwards peeled. The Province of *Fokien* yields prodigious Quantities of this Shrub, of which the beſt and fineſt Callicoes are made. Here are alſo whole Thickets of Canes or tough Oſiers, which the *Portugueſe* call *Kota*; they grow ſpontaneouſly, ſpread very kindly, and are very tough; of them are made all Sorts of Ropes or Cords, Hurdles, Baſkets, Chairs, Stools and Coaches, which in Summer are very cool, and for that Reaſon are very much in Uſe amongſt the *Chineſe*.

Sugar-Canes grow in great Abundance in the Province of *Suchuen*, and produce the beſt Sort of Sugar; beſides which, other Provinces yield very good; and this proves a very valuable Commodity.

Bambooes grow here wild, on waſte and untilled Lands; and though they are but a Sort of Canes or rather Reeds, ſome of them grow to ſuch a vaſt Thickneſs, that ſmall Boats are made of them, which both the *Chineſe* and *Indians* make Uſe of and row very dextrouſly: But the chief Uſe which is made of the Bambooes is, that of ſerving for Stakes or Poles for the Pepper to grow up and cling round. When they are young, the ordinary People draw from them a Juice of an agreeable Taſte; from whence they prepare their *Achar*, which is a very delicious Sauce.

Though Mulberries are a Fruit univerſally known, yet the Mulberry Trees in *China* are managed in a Manner abſolutely different from all other Countries, for they are kept low, and lopped annually, as the Vineyards are in *Europe*, and the Reaſon is, becauſe the young Sprouts contribute to the Production of the beſt Silk; and indeed the Difference betwixt the Silk produced by thoſe Worms, which feed on the firſt Leaves, and that of the Worms feeding on the latter Growth, when they are much harder, is very conſiderable.

Though Ginger grows in ſeveral Parts of *India*, yet is there no Country produces greater Plenty of it than *China*; nay farther, it yields that Spice in a greater Degree of Perfection than any other Part of *India*. There are two Sorts of it, a larger and a ſmaller Species; the Leaves and Root of the latter are leſs than the former, and therefore termed *Male*, whilſt the other is called *Female-Ginger*. The ſlender Stalk, to which it grows, is like a ſmall Reed when it firſt ſhoots out of the Ground. And the Roots are not all of one Sort, but the heavieſt are the beſt: Whenever they are dug, one or two of theſe Roots are left in the Earth, which moderately cultivated, watered, and dunged, ſpread luxuriantly, and next year are dug out of the Earth with great Advantage. This Plant is alſo produced in another Manner, by cutting off the Ginger or Root from the Trunk, and reſetting it in the Earth, which by the next Year ſpreads and ſends forth young Shoots. The freſh or green Ginger is not ſo hot as the dried. It is medicinally uſed againſt flatulent Diſtempers, Fluxes, and other Diſeaſes of that Claſs.

Tea, the Infuſion of which is the common Drink, as well as the entertaining Liquor of *China*, grows there in great Abundance; but ſince this Plant is univerſally known, I ſhall ſay no more concerning it, nor intermeddle with the Diſputes of its Virtue, farther than to inform my Reader of a Matter of a Fact, which is, that Rheumatiſms and Gouts, the Stone and Gravel, are Diſtempers which none of the *Chineſe* are ever afflicted with. Whether this is owing to Tea, warm Water, or the Nature of the Climate, or Temperament of the People, I ſhall leave to be diſcuſſed by others, and proceed to the Deſcription of ſeveral wholſome Roots.

The Root *China*, though it grows plentifully in all Parts of of the Empire, yet is not of equal Virtue; for the Province of *Suchuen* produces the beſt, and the wild Sort thrives every where. The firſt Sort grows out of a Sap or Gum, which adheres to the Root of a *Pine tree*, which renders it ſuch an excellent and efficacious Remedy, and ſo famous on that Account in all Parts of the World. Theſe Roots increaſe to an extraordinary Size, ſome of them being as big as a Man's Head. The wild Root, though far ſhort of the Virtue of this, is not leſs eſteemed. We have already deſcribed the Root *Ginſeng*, and its cardiacal Virtues, in our Acount of the Province of *Leaotung*, where it grows; and therefore we refer the Reader thither.

China abounds with great Quantities of Rhubarb, but no Place produces better than the Province of *Suchuen*, as I have already hinted in the Deſcription of that Country.

“There are two Sorts of *Rhabarbarum* or Rhubarb ſold, an *Oriental* imported from *China*; and this is ponderous, diſtinguiſhed by gold coloured and red Veins, bitteriſh and aſtringent, ſweet ſcented, rather of a yellow Colour, and being moiſten'd ſtains the Hand with a Colour like that of Saffron, and is much eſteemed for its Virtues. The other Sort comes from *Ruſſia*, and is ponderous, and of a darker Yellow, and leſs valued than the other.

“Rhubarb is a mild and gentle Purger of yellow Bile and viſcous and tartarous Phlegm from the Stomach and firſt Region. It is a Specifick for the Liver, cures a Jaundice, and for its aſtringent Quality is commended beyond other Medicines; for all Diſorders proceeding from Relaxation, as a Diarrhœa, Dyſentery, and the like.

“This Root was unknown to *Dioſcorides* and *Galen*; and therefore ſome are very erroneous in confounding the Rha or Rheum of the Ancients with our Rhubarb, for the Rheum of *Dioſcorides* has leſs of a cathartick Quality, and wants the Characters of the true Rhubarb, which is a compact Subſtance, ponderous and dry, of a bitter Taſte, and acrid Smell, of a reddiſh Colour on the Outſide, and of a light Red inclining to Yellow within, with ſome Veins of deeper Colour, and, being macerated or chew'd, dyes of a Saffron Colour. Rapontic, on the contrary, is not of a cloſe but thin Subſtance, and not ponderous, but light, and wants the ſweet Scent of Rhubarb.

“The Virtue of the Root conſiſts in the Mixture of a ſubtle and acrimonious Salt, with mucilaginous and earthy Particles; thoſe ſaline and acrimonious Particles, in Proportion as they are more or leſs diſengaged from the Mixture of mucilaginous and earthy Particles, in which they ſtuck and were entangled, the more or leſs they exert of their ſtimulating Force. Sometimes they excite ſo great a Commotion, as to preſs upon the Liver itſelf, and eſpecially the Gall Bladder, whence may follow a double Excretion of Bile, which proves the Root of extraordinary Efficacy in the Jaundice, as was before obſerved. Its Cathartic Virtue conſiſts in its Salt, and not at all in its Reſin or oleous Particles, as appears from its Tincture, which is extracted with Water.

“Now it is clearly demonſtrated from Chymiſtry, that Water can never reſolve reſinous nor oleous Subſtances; and beſides, the Tincture extracted by Spirit of Wine is not ſo potent a Cathartick as what is extracted with Water; nay, the Water itſelf, after Mixture, does not become Milky, as it happens in all other Tinctures which are extracted from oily and reſinous Subſtances; and it is further to be obſerved, that the ſaline Principles may be ſo diſſipated or diſſolved by the Quantity of Liquids, as to be incapable of exerting their Force. The Root, when it is dried up with Age, loſes its Acrimony, and all its Cathartic Virtue, as it does alſo in Boiling. The Smell of it, in ſome, provokes to Stool. It is of Service in a *Gonorrhœa*, by allaying the Heat of Urine, expelling the Malignity, and ſtopping the Flux. It is uſually preſcribed in Subſtance, from half a Dram to two Drams; the Doſe of the Extract is two Drams, of the Tincture one Dram. The Root roaſted or dried is aſtringent, and as effectual in a Dyſentery as *Terra ſigillata*, and being mixed with Nutmeg and *Laudanum*, proves an excellent Remedy for an immoderate Flux of the Belly, its aſtringent Virtue diffuſing itſelf into all Parts. *Pechlius* employed it for Hæmorrhages of the Noſe, and ſuch like Caſes. The Root is ſometimes hurtful in a Vertigo; it deſtroys Worms, and is an Ingredient in many officinal Compoſitions.

“*Alexander Trallianus*, in the Opinion of Dr. *Freind*, was the firſt Phyſician that mentioned Rhubarb, who recommends it in a Weakneſs of the Liver, and a Dyſentery, though Monſ. *Le Clerc* tells us, that the *Arabians* indeed, in tranſlating *Dioſcorides* and the *Greek* Phyſicians, confound this Root with the *Rhaponticum*, and aſcribe the Virtues which the Ancients have obſerved in this latter to what is properly the *Rhabarbarum*, as may be evident to any who will look into the Deſcription which *Rhazes* gives of it. And I believe *Alexander* himſelf, though it is plain *Rhubarb* was known in his Time, was in the ſame Miſtake, for he mentions it only as an Aſtringent, as the elder *Greeks* deſcribe the *Rhaponticum* without the leaſt Hint of its purging Virtue. *Paulus* ſeems to be the firſt who takes any Notice of the Purging Faculty of the Rheum (he calls it ſimply ſo) and tells us how we may make ſome laxative Medicines ſtronger by the Addition of this. And *P. Alpinus* ſays, that ſome have obſerved, that even the *Rhaponticum* would ſometimes purge, though in a leſs Degree than *Rhubarb*.

“The modern *Greeks* gave this Root the Name of *Barbaricum*, not from the Place of its Growth, but from the Place it was imported to, for the Country in the Upper *Æthiopia*, was called *Barbaria*, as *Salmaſius* well obſerves from its lying upon the *Sinus Barbaricus*, in which were many great *Emporiums*, particularly *Rhapta*, the Metropolis of this Region. This Gulph upon the Eaſt, joins with the *Indian* Ocean, and therefore *Actuarius*, and after him *Myrepſus*, calls this Plant *Reon Indicon*. No doubt in thoſe Times it was imported this Way to *Alexandria*, and ſo might be known to theſe latter *Greek* Phyſicians. However I muſt obſerve, that *Salmaſius* does not take Notice of *Alexander*'s mentioning *Rhubarb*, but quotes *Paulus* for it, who does not mention it, but only in general ſpeaks of and deſcribes the *Rha*. *Garcias ab Horto*, Phyſician to the *Spaniſh* Viceroy, tells us, he had learnt in *India*, that all the *Rhubarb* which was imported thither, and into *Perſia*, grew in *China*, that was brought thither by Sea and Land, but that the latter Way of bringing it over *Tartary* to *Ormuz*, was much the beſt, for by Sea Carriage it was more ſubject to rot.”

15. In Reference to the Animals in *China*, though the Natives relate ſtrange Things of them, yet there are indeed very few ſo extraordinary in their Kind, as to deſerve mentioning. In ſome of the moſt mountainous and worſe cultivated Provinces of the Empire, there are Troops of very large Apes that live to a great Age, notwithſtanding they are often attacked by the Natives; theſe by obſerving frequently the Actions of Men, and imitating them aſſiduouſly, perform many Things, which to Strangers would appear very ſurprizing. The *Chineſe* call this Animal *Sin Fin*, and from their Deſcription one would imagine, that theſe were a Race of wild dumb Men, and that perhaps Pains would not be thrown away in endeavouring to reclaim them. After all, the Truth of the Matter is, that the *Chineſe* love to magnify every Thing they deſcribe, and above all, every Thing that relates to their own Country, for at the Bottom, the *Chineſe* Baboons are as much Brutes, and ſenſeleſs Brutes, as any other Baboons upon the Earth.

There are alſo in ſome of the Woods, on the Sides of high Mountains, a particular Species of Bears, of a moſt enormous Size, and capable of doing a great deal of Miſchief. Theſe, without any View to Raillery or Wit, the *Chineſe* call Men-Bears, to expreſs their Superiority and Strength, which however it ſeems to do but obſcurely. As for the Horſe-hart, there is nothing in it wonderful, or even ſingular; except that it is of the Size of a little Horſe; but they have a Kind of Deer that never grow any bigger than an ordinary Dog, which from the Beauty of their Shape, and Cloſeneſs of their Hair, are real Curioſities. As to the Horſe Tyger, that lives in the Water, and is covered with Scales as thick and as hard as Tortoiſe-ſhell; it is a mere Invention, contrived to impoſe upon weak People, and to make wiſer Men laugh. But all theſe Kind of Tales begin to be exploded, for the *Tartars* are a Sort of People that do not at all affect them, but deſpiſe the *Chineſe* for believing and telling gravely known Falſehoods and palpable Abſurdities.

There are ſome wild Elephants in *China*, but not many; the Emperor has a Stable of fifteen or twenty of them, which are Preſents from Foreign Princes. Their Horſes are of middle Size, the ſtrongeſt and moſt serviceable come from *Tartary*; there are alſo Mules and Camels, Oxen, Cows and Buffaloes, alſo Wolves, Bears, Tygers, and other Beaſts of Prey in the mountainous Parts of the Country. Their Sheep are like thoſe of *Turkey* with great Tails that weigh ſeveral Pounds. Deers and Hares they have in great Numbers. Their Hogs are black, and have Bellies that reach the Ground, they are eſteemed very good Food, notwithſtanding the Heat of the Country, for indeed this is made no Objection to Hog's Fleſh in the Eaſt.

Geeſe, Hens and Ducks, and all Sorts of Poultry, are mighty cheap; their Eggs are hatched in Ovens or Dunghills in moſt Places: As to the Birds of *China*, they have Paroketes extreamly beautiful in their Colours, and that are as eaſily taught to ſpeak as thoſe that come from *America*. They have alſo a Kind of Hawks, which they call *Hai tſhing*, larger than our Falcons and ſtronger, but theſe are very ſcarce, and are ſeldom ſeen but in the Emperor's Court. It is very true, that in *Chineſe* Writers there are very curious and copious Deſcriptions of Birds that reſemble the Phœnix of the Ancients, but then it is chiefly in this Particular, that though often deſcribed, they were never yet ſeen; ſo that there is no Need of ſwelling this Chapter by inſerting ſuch Deſcriptions. The firſt Miſſionaries however were very excuſable in giving Place to them in their Writings, becauſe it was impoſſible for them to perceive, but in Length of Time, how little Credit was due to thoſe Authorities. Geeſe, Hens, and Ducks, as we obſerved, and indeed all Sort of Poultry, are exceſſively plentiful, and prodigiouſly cheap, throughout the whole Empire, and yet there are numberleſs Families that live by Feeding and Selling them. As for the Ducks, thoſe that deal in them, become almoſt as much Aquaticks as the Commodity they deal in, for their Houſes are fixed upon Barges, and as the Ducks live in, ſo they and their Families paſs their Lives upon the Water, and their Children are often three or four Years old before they ſet their Feet upon the Land. Wild Fowl are alſo plenty, and they may very well be ſo, for with reſpect to thoſe, as well as to Animals, the *Chineſe*, without Ceremony, eat all that come to Hand, let them breed or feed how they will.

There are Butterflies in *China* of an extraordinary Beauty, and of a very extravagant Size, but they are found only on a ſingle Mountain in the Province of *Quangtoung*; and theſe too are generally ſent to the Emperor. They ſtick upon Trees and Flowers in the Day immoveable, with their Wings cloſe; but if once diſcovered, are eaſily taken: Towards Evening they fly about like Bats, and the Extent of their Wings is very little if at all inferior to thoſe of Bats in *Europe*. The Colours in their Wings are beautiful almoſt beyond Deſcription, finely and regularly variegated with White, Green, Blue and Crimſon; the Body, which is almoſt as thick as a Man's little Finger, is cover'd with a yellow Down as bright and as reſplendent as burniſh'd Gold. There are a ſmaller Sort of Butterflies taken in the Mountains of *Sichang*, not far from *Pekin*, which have very vivid Colours, but are far inferior to thoſe enormous Butterflies beforementioned, and which make Part of the Furniture of the Imperial Cabinets.

Graſhoppers are exceeding troubleſome in *China*, and frequently devour the Fruits of the Earth in ſome Provinces; there are alſo ſeveral Kinds of Serpents, particularly the *Cobra Capella*, or hairy-headed Serpents, which have been deſcrib'd in our Accounts of *India*. Fiſh abound in their Rivers and Canals, and beſides Nets and other Engines, which are uſed in *Europe* to catch them, they breed up large Fowls like *Herons*, which are as much under the Fiſherman's Command as our Dogs and Hawks are under the Huntſman's; they keep them perched on the Sides of their Boats, and when they give a Sign, every Bird takes its Flight to look for the Prey, and will divide themſelves the whole Breadth of a River or Lake; when they have ſeized a Fiſh they bring it to their Maſter, and if it be too big for one, they will help one another; it is ſaid, when they have brought it to the Boat, they immediately take their Flight again in Search for more; but they have a String about their Necks, which prevents their Swallowing the Fiſh, till the Maſter thinks fit to leave off his Sport, and then they are ſuffered to prey for themſelves.

There are alſo all thoſe Kinds of Fiſh in their Waters, which are met with in *Europe*, and many more, particularly one, which is called the Gold and Silver Fiſh, which is wonderfully beautiful, and kept by the Quality in large Baſons in their Gardens. They are about the Length and Bigneſs of one's Finger, the Male of a fine red, from the Head to the Middle of his Body, the reſt with the Tail is of ſuch a bright and glittering Gold Colour, that no real Gildings can come near it. The Female is of a pure Silver White, the Tail of either of them is not flat, but gathered thick like a Noſegay, which is an Addition to their Beauty. They are a very tender Animal, and ſoon ſenſible of the Alteration of the Weather; therefore Contrivances are made to ſhelter them from the Heat, and their Water often changed. And if they are to be removed from one Baſon to another, great Care is taken not to touch them, for the leaſt Touch, it is ſaid, will kill them, as will ſometimes the Noiſe of great Guns, loud Thunder, or an offenſive Smell, ſuch as Pitch or Tar. But it is needleſs to inſiſt longer on this Subject, ſince Numbers of theſe Fiſh have been of late Years brought over into *Europe*, and even into *England*, which has afforded the Curious an Opportunity of ſeeing that, though the *Chineſe* often exaggerate, yet ſometimes they keep at leaſt pretty near the Truth.

The Mountains of *China* are held to be the richeſt in the World; ſome ſay, on Account of their Mines of Gold and Silver; but perhaps their Character may be maintained, even ſuppoſe their Title to theſe rich Metals could not be made out. Yet this is very far from being the Caſe; for it is certain there are two Silver Mines open, one in the Province of *Se tchuen*, and the other in that of *Yu nan*, which ſtill produce conſiderably, and were formerly exceſſively rich. The Emperor *Can ghi* cauſed another Silver Mine to be opened and wrought for ſome time, but it was afterwards diſcontinued. It is believed alſo that they have very rich Gold Mines; at leaſt it is very certain, that in the Mountains on both Sides of *China* there are very rich *Lavadores*, as the *Spaniards* call them, that is, Places where Gold Sand is waſhed out of the Rocks. The *Chineſe*, who are equally reſerved in their Politicks and in their Books, and who in their Converſation ſpeak Truth or Falſehood, juſt as it ſuits their Purpoſes beſt, affect to ſay, that though they have rich Mines of theſe Metals, yet they lie in Places inacceſſible, and where it would coſt more to come at them, than ever Gold and Silver are worth.

This, however, is but a Pretence, ſince the very Mine they laſt wrought was diſcontinued for being too rich; and the Secret of this Policy lies here: The Emperors of *China* have ſixty Millions of Subjects, and at preſent the Country being perfectly well cultivated, they are plentifully ſupplied with Neceſſaries, Conveniencies and Elegancies; ſo that Induſtry is rewarded by Abundance. But as there is no eating either Gold or Silver; as wearing it is of very little Conſequence; and, as there is already enough for all Sorts of Plate and Manufactures; to open Mines therefore would be a Means of diverting the People from their more neceſſary Labours, would raiſe the Price of all Commodities, and inſtead of being a Source of real Riches, would actually become the Cauſe of Want and of Diſtreſs. Beſides, in no Country upon the Face of the Earth the true Value, or rather the true Uſe, of Gold and Silver is better underſtood than in *China*; and therefore they hold it to be, as it certainly is, much better Policy to draw theſe Metals into the Empire by Commerce, than to dig them out of Mines; and from theſe Principles they aim chiefly at two Things, one is to export their Commodities and Manufactures into other Countries, by which they obtain a Balance of Gold and Silver; and the other is, to keep it when they have got it: In both which Schemes, as indeed in almoſt every Scheme they form, they have been very ſucceſsful.

Add to all this, that as Indigence creates Induſtry, ſo Indigence and Induſtry, taken together, are the ſtrongeſt Motives to Obedience. A rich and idle People may be and generally are prone to rebel; but a poor and active People are commonly dutiful and ſubmiſſive. This is the Caſe of the Bulk of the *Chineſe* Nation, who get wherewithal to live, and live pretty well; yet with all their Sharpneſs and Dexterity, this is as much as they can get; and to ſay the Truth, this is what makes them ſo ſharp. But if War, Famine, Inundations, or any other publick Calamity happens, they are preſently ſet a Starving; and in this Situation the Wiſdom and Equity of their Government appears, for to the Emperor they apply as to their common Parent, and they never apply in vain. He takes all they feel upon himſelf; he aſcribes their Diſtreſſes to his Errors, their Misfortunes to the Judgments of Heaven upon his Sins; and therefore, beſides imploring the Mercy of the Supreme Being, and giving large Alms to the Poor and Needy in his Capital; he relieves thoſe who are thus diſtreſſed in the Provinces, not only by a temporary Supply of Food and Raiment, but by remitting their Taxes for a certain Number of Years, and creating a Demand for their particular Manufactures by Dint of that abſolute Power, ſo terrible in other Countries, and uſeful and beneficial in this alone. But to proceed.

The Mountains of *China* furniſh prodigious Quantities of Coals, inſomuch that no Country in the World is better ſerved with them, and the Iſland of *Great-Britain* excepted, perhaps none ſo well. They have alſo Iron and Tin in Abundance, and ſtill greater Plenty of another Metal, called *Tutenague*, which is highly valuable, and of which one Mine produces them Hundreds of Quintals in a Day. They have alſo great Quantities of Copper, of the ordinary Sort, and beſides this they have two very ſingular Kinds of Copper, which are ſcarce found, more eſpecially the firſt of them, in any other Part of the Univerſe. The *Chineſe* call this wonderful Metal *Pe tong*, which is as much as to ſay, white Copper, and it is very properly ſo called, for it is as white as Silver, and they make all kind of Veſſels of it; the only Fault it has, is its Brittleneſs, ſo that in the Hands of careleſs People, it is apt to break. To remedy this Defect, they employ one ſixth Part of *Tutenague*, which makes it tougher, but if they were to uſe twice that Quantity of *Tutenague*, the Metal would be much better, and the Reaſon that they do not uſe it, is becauſe it ſpoils its Luſtre, and not its Colour, as the Jeſuits commonly write; for it remains as white as ever, but it is a dead, lifeleſs, tinny white. Four Parts of this Metal, and one of Silver, makes a Metal equal in Luſtre to Silver itſelf, and is fit for any thing but Money; for upon the Application of a Stamp it cracks. The other Kind of Copper, the *Chineſe* very properly call *Te ſe lai tong*, that is *Self-made Copper*, becauſe it is found like Gold in Grains, or in large Pieces, waſhed out of the Mines by Torrents; properly ſpeaking it is red Copper, and very rich. The *Chineſe* have Chemiſts amongſt them, or rather Alchemiſts, but their Skill in Metals does not reach ours; for it is certain, that their red and white Copper, mixed with *Lapis Calaminaris*, in a proper Quantity, will produce a Metal as high coloured as Braſs, and almoſt as malleable as Silver.

Their Mountains alſo afford them moſt excellent Quarries of various Sorts of Stone, and amongſt others a Kind of yellow Stone, ſo ſoft, that they work it into any Kind of Veſſels, paint it with Vermillion, and ſell it very dear. They have alſo *Lapis Lazuli*, but not in any great Quantities, and Rubies, but they are very ſmall, though very fine, and ſeveral Kinds of Agate and Jaſper. Rock Cryſtal they have in vaſt Abundance, and they make various Kinds of Utenſils of it, which are extremely beautiful, as well as all Sorts of Toys. Marble of ſeveral Kinds is common, but they know not how to to poliſh it, at leaſt to ſuch a Degree as is common in *Europe*. As for Stones proper for Building, and Earth fit for Bricks, they have as much as they want, and indeed every thing in this Empire is at a low Price, which is owing to the Wiſdom of the Government, and to the Facility of Water Carriage, by which the Commodities and Manufactures of all the Provinces are to be found in every Province, and at reaſonable Rates.

So that it may very truly be ſaid, that *China* plentifully yields not only whatever is requiſite to the Reſtauration of Health, ſupplying the Neceſſities and ſuſtaining of Mankind; but likewiſe all Things which can contribute to gratify the luxurious Wiſhes even of an Epicure: Nor do any of the *European* or *Aſian* Countries produce any one Commodity, which is not here to be found; or at leaſt the Deficiency is doubly ſupplied with equal or much better Subſtitutes: But to particularize and deſcribe all the Roots, Herbs, Fruits, Shrubs, Trees, Plants, or whatever elſe of the Botanical Kind, which is either neceſſary or agreeable to the Tongue or Eye, would be to tranſgreſs the Limits of our ſhort Account of this Country; wherefore we have contented ourſelves with barely pointing them out, and ſhall proceed to diſcourſe of what we next promiſed.

16. *Japan* is juſtly preferred to all the Eaſtern Iſlands: and (though its Natives unwillingly hear it) was formerly ſubject to *China*: Their Manner of Living is like the *Chineſe*, they learn and read their Books; and alſo eat with two Ivory Sticks or Scewers; but ſit upon the Ground, wear a different Habit, Leathern Boots, and long Hair.

" *J. D. de Mendoza*, alſo aſſures us, that the *Chineſe*
" were formerly poſſeſſed of the whole Continent from
" *China* to the moſt remote Part of *India*: That of this
" there are yet ſeveral conſiderable Remembrances on
" the Coaſt of *Cormandel*, particularly a Caſtle called
" the *Chineſe Caſtle*, by Reaſon it is ſuppoſed to be
" built by them: That at preſent in the Kingdom of
" *Calicut*, there are ſeveral Fruit-trees which the Inha-
" bitants own to be planted by the *Chineſe* when they
" governed there, and were alſo Maſters of *Malacca*,
" *Siam*, &c. He adds, that at the ſame Time they were
" Maſters of *Japan*, as appears by ſeveral Monuments,
" as well as the common Uniformity betwixt the Man-
" ners and ſome of the Laws of both Nations."

This Iſland is an independant Sovereignty, governed by a Prince who aſſumes the Title of Emperor. It is a hundred and fifty or ſixty Miles broad, and three hundred or three hundred and fifty in Length. It very plentifully produces Gold, Silver and Copper, as well as whatever can be wiſhed to ſupply both Neceſſity and Luxury; it lies amongſt and is parted from ſeveral leſſer Iſlands, in 34 or 35 Degrees of Latitude. The Natives are very ſubtle and fraudulent in their Dealing, and thoroughly verſed in the Art of Politicks: They are very jealous of their Liberty, and treat all other Nations with the utmoſt Suſpicion; purſuant to which, they are ſo very cautious of any Thing that barely ſeems to contribute to their Strength, that they unrig and take away the Rudders of all foreign Ships in their Havens. They are very neat in all Particulars, and rally the *Chineſe* on that Head, believing themſelves very much to exceed them. Before the cruel and outrageous Perſecution which fell upon the Faithful, almoſt half the Natives were converted to Chriſtianity, but at preſent no one Perſon who is but ſuſpected to be a Chriſtian, is ſuffered to enter any Part of that Empire, before he hath trampled upon a Crucifix, as a Teſtimony that he is not of that Religion. Notwithſtanding which, we are told that there are ſome who privately retain that Belief in their Hearts, and confeſs it to God alone. But the very Name of Chriſtian is here ſo deteſtable, that, even thoſe of that Religion which do but trade here are obliged to conceal it; and the *Hollanders*, which drive a great Trade here, being aſked by them whether they are Chriſtians, never fail to reply that they are *Hollanders*, by which indirect Anſwer they ſhun the dangerous Rock, that would ſhipwreck their Hopes of Gain.

The ſecond Iſland or Peninſula, (for it is doubted whether it be ſeparated from the firm Land) is called *Corea*, but the *Chineſe* Name is *Caoli*; it annually pays a Tribute to the Emperor; and lies Eaſtwards of *Peking* and *Xantung*. When the *Coreans* carry the abovementioned Tribute to the Imperial City, they moſt commonly go by Way of *Leaotung*, but very rarely through *Xantung*. In their Habit, Writing, *&c.* the Natives follow the old Cuſtoms of the *Chineſe*; but they differ from them in their common Converſation with Reſpect to Women, who are here allowed to come freely into the Company of Men; on which Account the *Chineſe* ridicule them as a barbarous and unpolite People: And this Difference alſo occaſions another in their Marriages, which are here the Effects of Choice. This Country is larger, but not ſo rich as *Japan*: It plentifully produces all Sorts of Corn, and according to the Report of the *Chineſe*, is four hundred and ſixty Miles long, and one hundred and ſixty broad. Though this Country is very commodiouſly ſituated, and richly provided with all Things, yet its Inhabitants at preſent drive no conſiderable Trade with any other Nations than the *Chineſe* and *Japoneſe*. Here are very rich Gold Mines, and the Root *Ginſeng*, of the Virtue of which I have already ſpoken, grows here; as alſo the red Colour which the *Chineſe* call *Cil*, or *Sandaracha*, the beſt Sort of which is prepared here by Expreſſion out of the Bark of a certain Tree, and is of a Conſiſtence like Pitch or Glue; whatever it is laid on with a Bruſh is tinctured red, and ſhines as bright as a Looking-glaſs; fine Pencils and Paper are likewiſe made of it.

Beſides this there are two Iſlands ſituate near *Japan*, one of which is called *Chaoſien*, and the other *Linkin*: The Princes of both which Kingdoms pay Tribute to the Empire of *China*, though in Habit and Manners they approach much nearer to the *Japoneſe* than *Chineſe*: Theſe Iſlands are large, but not to be compared with *Japan*.

The Iſland *Taion*, otherwiſe called *Formoſa*, is alſo ſubject, as has been ſaid, to *China*, and is accounted one of the nine great Cities of the Province or Kingdom of *Fokien*. The Iſland *Hainan* lies South of the Province of *Canton*, and, as is already ſaid, is numbered amongſt the Cities of that Province: It is two hundred and fifty Miles in Circuit.

There are alſo ſeveral other Iſlands, which are Dependants on or Members of the Province of *Canton*, as that of *Sanciam*, where *Francis Xavier* died and was buried: *Macao*, where the *Portugueſe* have a Fortification and Port; together with the three Iſlands under *Xantung*, one of which was famous or rather infamous for the lamented Deſtruction of the *Chineſe* Philoſophers, as has been mentioned. Theſe, beſides ſeveral others, are ſubject to this vaſt Empire, all which united under one Dominion, would by themſelves amount to a very potent Monarchy, and furniſh Matter for a particular Deſcription. But we ſhall content ourſelves with barely naming them as they lie in our Way, and conclude this Chapter with an Account of ſome ſubordinate and adjacent Kingdoms.

The Kingdom of *Tunking* lies Weſtward of *China*; and formerly was ſubject to and a Province of that Empire: But is at preſent only tributary to it; and is divided into the two Kingdoms of *Tunking* and *Cochinchina*; ſubject to their reſpective Kings, who are two Brothers, that continually make War againſt each other. And though this Kingdom, or more properly theſe Kingdoms, are very diſtant from *Japan*, they yet follow the Faſhions and Manners of the *Japoneſe*: They are inſtructed by and read *Chineſe* Books, which they, like the *Japoneſe* and *Coreans*, are very well verſed in. Several Chriſtians live amongſt them; and the *Engliſh*, *French*, *Dutch* and others, trade very conſiderably with the Inhabitants of both Kingdoms.

The Kingdom of *Laos* borders on the Province of *Junan*, and is alſo tributary to *China*: Its Metropolis is *Lanchang*: It borders Southwards on *Siam*, and Weſtwards on *Pegu*: But is a Country of no Manner of Commerce.

Siam is a very large Kingdom, which has been frequently infeſted with Foreign Wars and Domeſtick Confuſions: It was formerly ſubject and tributary to this Empire, but taking Advantage of its diſtant Situation, and the various Revolutions of the *Chineſe* Monarchy, that Kingdom hath, like *Pegu*, ſhook off the Yoke. This is a Kingdom of very wide Extent, but the Land is waſte, untilled and uninhabited; and its People living moſtly in Woods and Wilderneſſes, behave themſelves rather like wild Beaſts than reaſonable Creatures. They build or erect Huts made of Hides, and the whole Country abounds with Woods, which harbour Elephants, Rhinoceros's, Buffloes, wild Oxen, Tygers, Bears, and ſeveral other wild Beaſts. Here are great Herds of Apes as big as Children. The Woods are very cloſely crouded with lofty Trees, of the Height of forty or fifty Ells; ſome of which are alſo ſo thick, that ſeven or eight Men holding Hands can hardly begirt them, and one Trunk is large enough to hew out a Boat. Here are innumerable Crocodiles, which devour Men alive, and are four or five Ells long; which renders Travelling, either by Water or Land, very dangerous in all Parts of this Country; as it is alſo in *Pegu*, *Laos*, *Camboja*, *&c.* The Inhabitants of all which Countries wear the ſame Sort of Habits, and very nearly agree in their Cuſtoms and Manner of Living: but differ in their Language and Way of Writing. They are all Heathens, and extravagantly reverence or rather idolize their Prieſts. Their Pagods or Temples are all of Brick, but very numerous and ornamental; their idolatrous Images are large, beautiful, and finely gilt, ſome of them being about ten Ells high. The Streets and ſeveral ſpacious Places are adorned with large Turrets about fifty or ſixty Ells high, gilded all over on the Outſide. Theſe Idols were brought by the *Bramins* (ſo their Prieſts are called) out of *India*.

The King keeps his Court at *Jutia*, which is alſo called *Siam*; this is a large, and upon an exterior View, ſeems a very fine City, but is very far from being ſo within. The *Dutch* have a Houſe or Factory at the City of *Ligor*, and the *Engliſh*, *Portugueſe*, *Mogols*, *Perſians*, and *Chineſe*, trade very conſiderably here; nay, ſeveral *Portugueſe* live in the City. Formerly the *Europeans* enjoyed great Immunities here, but are now abridg'd of ſome of them, and this on the following Occaſion.

One *Conſtance*, a *Greek*, that had long reſided amongſt the *Engliſh*, came to *Siam*, and became ſuch a Favourite of the King's, that, in a ſhort Time, he got into the beſt and moſt honourable Poſts, and climb'd to the higheſt Step in the Adminiſtration; the King left the whole Government of his Realm to him, and he conſequently became the Spring of Action. During this Time the News happen'd to reach the King's Ear, that *France*, then at War with the *Dutch*, had obtain'd a great Victory over the States; upon which that Prince, who look'd on the *Hollanders* with jealous Eyes, as a People that might one Day do him an Injury, reſolved to ſend an Ambaſſador to the King of *France*. And he accordingly diſpatched one of his *Mandaryns* on that Errand in 1677, on board a *French* Ship; but it is to this Day unknown what became of either the Ambaſſador or the Ship, nor was the leaſt News of them ever heard. The King, however, purſuing his firſt Deſign ſent other Ambaſſadors, in a *French* Ship, to the Court of *France*, where they ſafely arrived, and were very well received. They, by Order of their Prince, entreated the *French* King's Friendſhip, as well as made Proteſtations of their Maſter's tender Regard for his Moſt *Chriſtian* Majeſty; and withal requeſted, that he would pleaſe to ſend him ſome Forces to remain in his Country for the Defence of it. And after the Expiration of ſeveral Years, the King of *France* ſent Ambaſſadors, and three Ships to *Siam*, where they ſafely arrived, and were very well received and ſplendidly entertained; beſides which, large Privileges were granted to the *Chriſtians* on their Account; for beſides the Ambaſſadors, in the three Ships, there came over with them a *French* Biſhop with ſeveral Monks, which, together with three or four hundred Men deſigned for the Defence of the King and Kingdom, were by the Ambaſſadors left behind.

This very much diſguſted the Populace, but more the Prieſts; and ſeveral of the Chief of the Nobility look'd awry at it; as did the *Mahometans*, who gave the King Poiſon, of which he ſicken'd and died.

After which, the General and others roſe up in Arms againſt the Regent or Adminiſtrator, maſtered the City, and cut the above-mentioned *Greek* to Pieces; and the King dying without Heirs, leaving only one Daughter, and this General having forcibly got into the Throne, deſigned the immediate Deſtruction of the *French*; but they perceiving his Intention, retired to a ſtrong well-fortified Place, which they ſo bravely defended, that he was obliged to permit them to depart freely, and furniſh them with three Ships for their Voyage.

17. *Tartary* borders North and North-weſt on *China*, from which it is divided by the Great Wall: Theſe Nations are divided into *Eaſt* and *Weſt Tartars*; the latter conquered *China* at the latter End of the Twelfth Century; but about eighty Years afterwards were driven out of that Empire; and the *Eaſtern Tartars* are at preſent poſſeſs'd of it, having ſeated themſelves on the Throne in the Year 1643. They are called *Eaſtern Tartars*, not with Regard to *China*, of which they lie Northwards, but with reſpect to the other *Tartars*, which lie Weſt of them, and are called *Weſtern Tartars*.

The *Eaſtern Tartars* were ſeparated from *China* not only by the Wall, but by the Province of *Leaotung*, which was not a *Chineſe* Province before the *Tartars* came through it into that Empire; but being ſituated without the Wall, it lay as a Barrier againſt the Incurſions of the *Tartars*; and before it became a Province of *China*, was a Place of Exile, whither all baniſhed Perſons were either ordered or fled of their own Accord for Refuge. Theſe and other Exiles aſſiſted Prince *Ouſangouei*, who, with the Help of the *Tartars*, drove the Uſurper *Li* or *Licoung* from the Throne, which the *Tartars* then aſcended. After which, the Province of *Leaotung*, in grateful Acknowledgment of its introducing the ſaid *Tartars* into *China*, was incorporated to the Empire, and declared the ſixteenth *Chineſe* Province, enjoying the ſame Rights, Privileges and Immunities with the fifteen ancient Provinces; all whoſe Tribunals and ſuperior Courts of Juſtice are ſupplied by an equal Number of *Tartars* and *Chineſe*, as are alſo all the Preſidentſhips.

Since the *Tartar* conquered *China*, he hath extended the Frontiers of his Dominions in *Tartary*; for being formerly but one of the petty Kings of the *Eaſt Tartars*, he hath not only obliged the other *Eaſtern* Princes, but even the *Weſtern Tartars*, to ſubmit to, obey, and for the moſt Part, acknowledge him their Sovereign Prince. And the Union of theſe two mighty Kingdoms and Nations, has ſwelled this Empire to an extraordinary Bulk, and rendred it one of the nobleſt Sovereignties in the World. By Means of this wide Extenſion of this Monarchy, *China*, or more properly *Tartary*, ſtretches its Borders to *Muſcovy*, by which it is bounded Northwards. And by the Peace betwixt the Czar and the Emperor of *China*, concluded in the Year 1689 at *Nipchou*, by the Ambaſſadors of both Emperors, it appears that the Borders on both Sides are fixed by Agreement in the Latitude of 55 Degrees; which appeared very ſurprizing even to Geographers themſelves, they ſcarce believing that *China* and *Muſcovy* were become Empires confining on each other by the Addition of *Tartary*. And the Ambaſſadors could not reach the before-mentioned Frontier City, ſituated on the utmoſt Borders of *Muſcovy* from *Peking*, in leſs than ſix Weeks Time, the Diſtance being three hundred Leagues.

The Empire of the *Great Mogul*, and ſeveral other Monarchies, were in like Manner formerly Provinces obedient to the *Chineſe* Empire, as is amply evinced by the preſent remaining Monuments in ſeveral Parts of *India*: But either their diſtant Situation, political Intereſt, or the *Chineſe* Seditions, have long ſince torn them from that Monarchy. The Empire of the *Great Mogul* extends over all the Kingdoms and Countries betwixt the Rivers *Ganges* and *Indus*, to the Gulph of *Bengal*. The Inhabitants of *Cambay*, *Bengal*, and other ſubordinate Countries, drive a very great Trade with the *Chineſe*, and have alſo with their Merchandize introduced their own, that is, the *Mahometan* Religion. The Metropolis, where the *Great Mogul* keeps his Court, as alſo the Province in which it is ſituated, is called *Delli*; the Countries ſubject to him are very fertile, and what by reaſon of the Gulph or Arm of the Sea, and the Rivers which on both Sides run by it, very commodiouſly ſituate for the Tranſportation of the Produce of that Country. Beſides vaſt Plenty of Corn and Fruit-trees which that Land yields, it affords alſo great Quantities of Wax, Frankincenſe, Spices, and Drugs, as well as Diamonds and other precious Stones. The Number of Elephants is here ſo great, that they are not computed by Hundreds, but Thouſands; and according to the Cuſtom of this Country, the Horſe and Foot capable of taking Arms, and which upon a ſhort Warning may be raiſed, are reckoned by Hundreds of Thouſands. The Commodities with which they chiefly trade in *China*, are rough and other Diamonds, Jewels, Elephants Teeth, Wax, *&c.* The Emporium to which they and other *Indians* coming out of the Weſt reſort, as is already hinted, is *Zunning*, a very great and commodious trading City, frequented by all Nations; for though anciently no Foreigners were permitted to come to or trade in *China*, yet the wiſer *Tartars* regarding their own Intereſt much more than obſolete Cuſtoms, have allowed almoſt all Nations to trade amongſt them. All the *Indians* are ſwarthy, and go naked, except only a Cloth, which both Men and Women wear about their Waiſts.

It was thought beſt to inſert the Whole of our Author's Account of the Kingdoms, anciently and at preſent depending upon *China*, juſt as it ſtands in his Book, and without any Remarks, that the Reader might perceive at once what the Situation of Things was at the latter End of the laſt Century. We may very eaſily diſcern from his Manner of Writing, that he was a very warm Friend to the Glory of his Country, and very deſirous of repreſenting it as infinitely more glorious in former Times than it is now. It is not eaſy to ſay, what his Sentiments would have been, of an Opinion that prevails amongſt ſome very learned Men, if he had been acquainted with them, *viz.* that the *Chineſe* themſelves are but a Colony from *Egypt*. On one Hand indeed, this Notion derogates much from their Glory, as it makes them appear ſo far below what they eſteem themſelves, and of which they continually boaſt, that they are an original Nation; that many Nations have deſcended from them, and that before the Conqueſt of their Country by the *Tartars*, their Race was in a good Meaſure unmixed; yet conſidered in another Light, this Notion ſeems to do them Honour, for if we reflect on the Accounts given us by *Herodotus*, *Diodorus Siculus*, and other antient Writers, concerning the Government, Cuſtoms and Manner of Living amongſt the original Natives of *Egypt*, they muſt be owned for one of the wiſeſt and moſt polite People of whom there is any Record in Hiſtory.

In Matters of this Nature, however, it is not enough to aſſert, there ought likewiſe to be ſome kind of Proof, and thoſe who give into this Sentiment, endeavour to ſuſtain it by three Arguments. The firſt is, that the ancient *Egyptians* poſitively aſſert it, their having ſent, in the moſt early Times, vaſt Armies into the higher *Aſia*, who left behind them conſiderable Colonies, of which, however, the *Greeks* tell us rather Fables than any Thing that can be called Hiſtory, as to the Remnants they met with in *India*. So that ſuppoſing the Travels of the *Egyptian Bacchus* to have ſomething of Truth, though buried under a Load of Fiction, we may likewiſe ſuppoſe that he penetrated into *China*, and in that Country rather than in *India*, left his Colonies. The ſecond Argument is deduced from the great Conformity between the two Countries, for if *Egypt* has its *Nile*, *China* has its great River of *Nanking*; if the former abounds with Canals and Cutts of Water, from Town to Town, for the Sake of an eaſy and commodious Communication, ſo does the latter; and if in *Egypt* there are many Monuments of great Antiquity, the like are alſo to be found in *China*. The third Argument is taken from the Reſemblance of their Governments, and the Maxims upon which they are founded; the Likeneſs between the ancient Hieroglyphicks, or rather ſacred Character of the *Egyptians*, and that of the *Chineſe*; the Averſion and Contempt which both Nations have for Foreigners, flowing from an arrogant Opinion of their own Superiority in Science, and in every Thing elſe; the Notions the *Egyptians* had of the Excellence of their Country, which is exactly copied by the *Chineſe*, and in fine, the pacific Diſpoſitions of both Nations, ſpringing from the Principles of their Policy, immutable through the Courſe of many Ages. How far theſe Arguments reach towards eſtabliſhing the Probability of this Sentiment being true, we pretend not to determine, it being our Aim only to give the Reader as ſhort and clear an Account of the Sentiment itſelf as was in our Power; and having done this, we leave it entirely to his Deciſion.

But it may not be amiſs to add, that the *Japoneſe*, the *Simceſe*, and other Nations mentioned by our Author, have actually ſuch a Tradition amongſt them as he contends for, and are ſo far from denying that they were formerly under the ſame Dominion with the *Chineſe*, that on the contrary, they boaſt of being deſcended from them as a very high Honour, and appeal to their Cuſtoms and Manners for the Proof of it, ſuppoſing that their Learning and Knowledge of what Nature ſoever it may be, could be derived to them only from that People, who they eſteem the wiſeſt and moſt polite Nation in the Eaſt. We are not therefore to regard what our Author ſays, as the pure Effects of Vanity, but as an Opinion that is current amongſt the ſeveral Nations of which he ſpeaks.

It muſt look very ſtrange after what has been ſaid, that theſe Countries are no longer under the Dominion of the *Chineſe* Emperor; for it ſhould appear extremely eaſy to preſerve Territories, the Inhabitants of which have a Pride in being Subjects; but the Riddle is not hard to be diſcloſed, and as the Solution is neither unprofitable nor unpleaſant, it may not be amiſs to inſert it. The *Chineſe* Monarchs of the laſt Race, before the Country was ſubdued by the *Tartars*, were deſirous rather of keeping than of extending their Dominions; and for this Reaſon they choſe the natural Bounds of Seas and Mountains, together with the artificial Fortification of the Great Wall, which had been raiſed by their Anceſtors, and raiſed from that very Maxim which they now purſued.

By this Means the fifteen Provinces of *China*, though of ſuch a vaſt Extent, were perfectly well covered from foreign Invaſion. On the Eaſt or South they could be attacked only by a maritime Power, and a Power capable of attacking them, they very well knew ſubſiſted not in that Part of the Earth; ſo that their Coaſts were perfectly ſafe, even ſuppoſing they had not been ſo defenſible as they really are. To the South-weſt they have a long Chain of impracticable Mountains, on the other Side of which lie the Kingdoms of *Laos*, *Tonkin*, *Cochinchina*, and *Siam*; from the People of which they knew by Experience they had nothing to fear; and they were wiſe enough alſo to know, that it would be much eaſier for them to aſſiſt theſe Nations in Caſe they were attacked, than to defend their reſpective Countries as Provinces. On the Weſt they are likewiſe covered by Mountains, and on the North by the famous Wall, beyond which they have the Country of *Leontong*, which they kept as an Outwork againſt the *Mantcheou Tartars*.

This Policy of theirs was ſound and good, and muſt for ever have ſecured *China*, if their own Civil Diſſentions had not opened a Way to that Revolution which the *Tartars* compaſſed by ſuperior Skill rather than Force. As Things now ſtand, there is Reaſon to believe that on the one Hand the *Tartars* will not be eaſily diſpoſſeſs'd, becauſe their Force daily increaſes in Compariſon of the native *Chineſe*; and as to any Attempts of other Nations they are leſs to be feared than ever, becauſe the *Tartars*, heretofore their moſt formidable Enemies, are now become a kind of Out-guards, as willing and more capable to defend them than the proper Subjects of the Empire.

As this Obſervation is obvious, and as the *Chineſe* have Penetration enough in this Reſpect, we have Reaſon to wonder that our Author has taken no Notice of it; but a little Reflexion will diſcover the Cauſe. He was not of *Tartar*, but of *Chineſe* Extraction, and therefore if this Notion occurred to him, he would certainly ſuppreſs it as deſtructive to the Honour and Reputation of his Country, which it is viſible enough from his Manner of Writing he meant to raiſe as high as he could. At the Time he wrote, the *Tartars* had not been Maſters of *China* above fifty Years; and it is very natural to believe, that the *Chineſe* ſtill retained Hopes of being ſome Time or other able to throw off the Yoke; and in ſuch Caſes, thoſe who are well verſed in the Diſpoſitions of Men, which are pretty much the ſame in all Countries, will eaſily conceive, that all Things muſt appear to them in falſe Lights, becauſe on one Side, the flattering Expectation of becoming once more free and independent, heightened the Opinion of their own Strength; and on the other, their Averſion to Foreigners hindred them from perceiving that the *Tartar* Power was continually increaſing, and at the ſame Time, their Ability of reſiſting declining apace.

But to deſpair, and to deſpair in ſo capital a Point as this at that Time, muſt have been thought by every *Chineſe*, was what he muſt wiſh to avoid, and whatever Men wiſh with Regard to ſpeculative Points being always in their Power, they ſeldom fail of bending their Belief to their Wiſhes. We have various Inſtances of this in other Countries than *China*, and Inſtances that in Point of Time reach very far beyond that wherein they have even now been Subjects to a foreign Power; a Circumſtance every where alike hateful, and which therefore amongſt all Nations will ever have the like Effect, till ſuch Time as the Cauſe imperceptibly wears out, that is, till thoſe who were conſidered as Strangers become Natives, and ſo the Will to expel them is gradually loſt. In all human Probability this Time is already come in the Country of which we are ſpeaking, and if we had a Hiſtory of it written by a *Chineſe* at this Day, we ſhould find him place the Subject that we have been diſcuſſing, in the very ſame Light that we have done.

We muſt not however diſſemble that there are various Paſſages in his Accounts which might be corrected, and ſome which without Prejudice to his Performance might have been omitted, but it is to be conſidered, that theſe Miſtakes are not very conſiderable, either in their Nature or in their Number, that he wrote at a Diſtance of Time, when Slips of the like kind would have been very pardonable, even in an Author on this Side of the World; that there is ſomething uſeful in ſeeing what miſtaken Opinions gain Ground in thoſe Parts; and laſtly, that there is not the leaſt Danger that a Perſon, who has peruſed the former Volume of this Work, ſhould be miſled by what he ſays. Add to all this, that as we have hardly ſeen any *Chineſe* Writer before, ſo it would not become us to play the ſevere Criticks now. The Knowledge our Author had, like that of his Countrym was all of his own acquiring, and what he has co nicated, is written with that Freedom and In uity, that it is highly reaſonable we ſhould aff it a favourable Reception, and make many A vances for the many Diſadvantages he muſt neceſſarily labour under.

The ſame Excuſes, though perhaps in a more extenſive Degree, muſt be likewiſe offered for what ſtill remains of his Account, which it is very poſſible may not be altogether ſo exact as the modern Accounts of the Jeſuits, but at the ſame time, they are very well worth preſerving for many Reaſons. He had a Mind to give the People of *Europe*, a very ſhort Account of the two great Revolutions that had happened in *China*, ſince they became acquainted with that Country, and alſo an impartial View of the State that Empire was in at the Time he left it; this very Deſign has ſince employed the Pen of a very celebrated *French* Jeſuit, and yet upon comparing their Works we may ſafely affirm, that though our Author is not a tenth Part ſo long, it contains as much Matter, many Circumſtances that are not to be met with in his, explains the Cauſes and Conſequences of theſe Revolutions as clearly to the full, and affords a better Picture of the reigning Emperor, than that drawn by the *French* Father.

It was for theſe Reaſons, that after mature Deliberation, we gave it a Place here, ſo that the Reader has now the intire Work of *Dionyſius Kao*, and in a better Dreſs than it has hitherto appeared. Some of our Readers indeed might poſſibly expect a larger Hiſtory of *China*, but beſides that, this would have run us into much too great a Length, it would have been alſo foreign to, and quite beſide our Deſign; for all we aim at, is to give our Readers a juſt Idea of Countries as they ſtand at preſent, and if we ſometimes ſtep back into more remote Times, it is only with a View that from the Accounts we give of theſe, the preſent may be the better underſtood.

Taking Things therefore upon this Footing, what our Author has delivered is preciſely what we wanted; it is a Sketch of the *Chineſe* Hiſtory, within that Period of Time which fall immediately under our Notice, and accounts for the principal Events which have happened ſince it was viſited by *Marco Polo*, the firſt *European* that ever wrote about it, and whoſe Travels are inſerted intire in our former Volume. One Thing more is to be obſerved upon this Subject, before we leave it, and it is this, that whatever Diſlike our Author might have for the *Tartars*, he found himſelf obliged to ſpeak of the Emperor reigning at the Time he wrote, in as high Terms as it was in his Power to invent; from whence we diſcover two Things of ſome Importance, with an equal Degree of Certainty; the firſt, that the Monarch of whom he ſpeaks, really deſerved the high Character he gave him, for otherwiſe it is impoſſible that ſo many Writers of different Nations and Intereſts, ſhould agree in it. The ſecond, that it plainly appears from hence, that our Author had a juſt Regard for his Proteſtations, and did not ſuffer either his Fondneſs for his own Country, or his Averſion to the *Tartars*, to miſguide him from the Paths of Truth. From this extraordinary Inſtance therefore of his Veracity, of which we have the fulleſt Proof, we learn what Credit is due to the reſt of his Performance, and that it is not without Reaſon we have commended his Writings ſo much, to which it is now high Time to return.

Tho' the *Chineſe* Empire is by all the Learned of that Nation, without the leaſt Scruple, poſitively aſſerted to have continued for above the Space of four thouſand Years, under the Government of two and twenty Imperial Families; and others believe it poſſible to trace its Origin five hundred Years higher; yet to this Day, or rather to the Middle of the ſixteenth Century, the *Chineſe* have not made any Alteration in their Humour, Morals, Learning, Habits, Manner of Government, or Language. It is indeed true, that Seditions, Civil Wars, Inſurrections and Revolutions have happen'd, which have made a temporary Alteration of the exterior Form, but they ſoon diſappear'd, and all Things returned to their former State: For one while the Empire was divided into one hundred, nay three hundred Parts, then reduced to ſeven, afterwards to three; and at laſt returned to the primitive State of an entire Empire, ſubject ſolely to one Sovereign.

According to the *Chineſe* Chronology, the abovementioned two and twenty Royal Families have produced two hundred and thirty ſix Emperors, computed to extend to the preſent Monarch, and beginning with the firſt Emperor *Fohi*: Which Prince, agreeably to this Chronology, and the unanimous Atteſtation of all learned Men, is acknowledged for the undoubted Founder of the *Chineſe* Sovereignty. This is particularly confirmed by thoſe appointed to examine into it by the Emperor himſelf, and his chief or moſt able Miniſters. We are told that this Emperor was a Prince of an exalted Genius, great Courage and Experience; that he projected their Laws, declared good Education and good Manners to be the beſt Foundation of the Publick Good, and beſtowed his utmoſt Praiſes on thoſe who by virtuous Means preſſed forward to the higheſt Degree of Wiſdom; whilſt on the other Side, he baniſhed all Sloth, and ſet a very high Value on thoſe, who by their Parts and Induſtry diſtinguiſhed themſelves from the reſt of Mankind. His illuſtrious Reign, crown'd with venerable Age and Experience, tranſmitted to his Deſcendants ſuch a ſtrong Impreſſion of his real Excellencies, that his Maxims, Inſtructions, and Laws, are regarded as divine Precepts, and thoſe who have ſtudied them, have found them ſo ſuperlatively excellent, that they have juſtly deſerved as well as retained their exalted Fame amongſt the *Aſiatick* Nations.

Fohi was ſucceeded by *Chunming*, and he by *Hoangti*, who was ſucceeded by *Xao*, and ſeveral others in order, which according to the ſame Chronology were elective Kings; and being as long-liv'd as the *Noachian* Patriarchs, each of theſe is ſaid to have reigned above one hundred Years; though like the *Antediluvians* mentioned in holy Writ, they declined in Proportion to the Time of their Flouriſhing. The ſame Chronologies aſſign *Yvus* as the firſt Monarch which followed theſe elective Kings, and whoſe Son and Race ſucceeded to the Crown; ſince which Time it has remained hereditary to this Day.

The preſent reigning Monarch of the Houſe of *Taicin* or *Taicou*, (as we have already hinted) is the third *Tartarian* Emperor, whoſe Grandfather, after the Death of *Zunchi*, the ſixteenth and laſt Emperor of the Race of *Taiminga*, which had ſwayed the Scepter for the Space of two hundred and ſeventy ſix Years, ſeized or rather ruſhed into the imperial Throne, after the Defeat and Expulſion of the traiterous Uſurper by Prince *Ouſangouei*, aſſiſted by the *Tartarian* Forces.

The ſame Writers inform us, that in the Reign of the Emperor *Xunus*, the *Tartars* made their firſt Incurſions into *China*, but that Prince bravely repulſed them, and ſettled the Empire in a quiet State: So that this Event, which happened long before Chriſt's Time, was rather an Incurſion, than a War of any Duration. But in the twelfth Century, the *Tartars* conquered this Empire in the Reign of the laſt Emperor of the Houſe of *Sung*, which Family had then reigned four hundred Years: They then entred and ſeized the Empire, by the traiterous Aſſiſtance of *Zinghay*, one of the Nobility: For this Traytor, watching his Opportunity, introduced the *Tartars* during the Emperor's Minority; and they quietly enjoyed the Empire about eighty Years: But in Proceſs of Time, the Peace, Eaſe, and Plenty in which they wallowed, debauched that warlike Nation to the luxurious, ſoft, and lazy Way of living of the *Chineſe*: Valour and Order were diſplac'd, and Reputation vaniſhed: The Soldier became leud, and tranſgreſſed his Orders with Impunity: And the great Remiſsneſs of the Commanders occaſioned the greater Miſchief, of Robberies on the Highways, and in the Streets, and Murthers; which Current of Crimes running high, Fear of Puniſhment produced Conſpiracies, extending to whole Battalions, which at firſt ſculking and diſperſing themſelves throughout the whole Empire, rendred all *China* very dangerous either to live or travel in: Eſpecially when they grew ſtrong enough to appear in the Field in Troops, and at laſt in ſmall Armies.

The *Chineſe*, tired with this foreign Power, which grew to inſupportable Tyranny, as appears by what followed, murmured at it, and raiſed Commotions throughout the whole Empire, but none of the Nobility ſtirred in it, notwithſtanding which they were delivered from the *Tartarian* Yoke in the following Manner.

A certain Boy, born in the City of *Fajangfu*, in the Province of *Nanking*, that had loſt his Parents by the Plague, to eſcape that raging Diſtemper, as well as thro' Want of Bread, and in Hopes of bettering his Fortune, left his native Place, and retired to a Pagod, or idolatrous Temple, and put himſelf into the Service of the *Bonzi's*, which are their Idolatrous Prieſts: But they treating him ſomewhat ſeverely, he ran away from them, and became a Herdſman; and in Proceſs of Time, being advanced to maturer Years, he liſted himſelf a Soldier amongſt the Robbers before-mentioned, which were now grown to a formidable Body: And what contributed to his continual and gradual Advancement amongſt them was, that one of their principal Commanders was his Uncle, who finding him acquit himſelf well, took Care to raiſe him: And becoming himſelf a General, he died ſometime after, and was ſucceeded by this Nephew: Who had not been long General before (having encreaſed his Forces to his deſired ſufficient Number, and being aſſiſted by the *Chineſe*) he ſo expeditiouſly, vigorouſly, and ſucceſsfully made War againſt the *Tartars*, that in the Space of ſeven or eight Years, he obliged them to evacuate the whole Empire of *China*. He fixed himſelf on the Throne, was proclaimed Emperor, kept his Court at *Nanking*, and died after having reigned thirty three Years, aſſuming the Name of *Hunguil*, i. e. the Excellency of Arms. He was the firſt of the Houſe of *Minchao*, (or *Tamincha*) which governed that Empire about two hundred and eighty Years. His Son ſucceeded him in the Empire, and removed the Imperial Seat from *Nanking* to *Peking*, in order to be nearer the *Tartars*, upon whom he fell with all his Force, and pierced through all *Tartary*, deſtroying all to which Side ſoever he turned his victorious Arms, and ſparing Nobody, purſuant to the Reſolution he had made if poſſible to extirpate all the *Tartars*; but finding none able to oppoſe him, he returned to *China*, where after a long and peaceable Reign he died; and his Deſcendants continued in the Throne till in or about the Year 1644, at which Time the Reign of that Family ended in the Emperor *Zunchi*, who by his miſerable End made Way for the *Tartar* to aſcend the Throne. It is indeed remarkable, that the very Family which about three hundred Years before had drove out the Weſtern, was driven out by the Eaſtern *Tartars*.

Before we enter upon the preſent Government and Revolution of the Empire, we ſhall by the Way only hint, that the *Tartars* in the Reign of the Emperor *Vanli*, one of the laſt of the *Taiminchian* Race, who died in 1620, aged 58, after a Reign of forty-eight Years, made an Irruption into *China*, and were repulſed by him: And that about the Year 1680, in the ſame Emperor's Reign, the Chriſtian Religion began to be received in *China*. *Francis Xavier* attempted firſt to travel thither from *Japan*, in Hopes of promoting the Kingdom of Chriſt; but died on his Way in the Iſle of *Sancham*, a Place dependant on the Province of *Canton*. Then the Fathers *Herrado*, *Marino Alfaro*, and ſome *Franciſcans*, viz. *Martin Egnatio*, *Rogero*, *Paſio*, *Ricci*, and other Fathers, undertook this Work with the ſame ardent Zeal; but Father *Ricci* proved the moſt ſucceſsful of any of them, for having long reſided at *Macao*, having ſtudied the Religion, Laws and Cuſtoms of that Empire, and being very well verſed in their Language, theſe Accompliſhments gained him the Eſteem of the Emperor and the whole Court, and rendered his Miſſion ſucceſsful; he obtained a Grant of buying a Houſe and a Burying-place, as alſo Leave to ſettle there, which was the firſt Foundation of the ſpreading of the Goſpel here. But the Lord's Vineyard at *Macao*, was once very near an utter Extirpation by a cruel Perſecution, if the Hand of God had not ſtopped it by puniſhing the Perſecutors.

After the Death of the Emperor *Vanli*, reigned his Son *Taichan*, a valiant Prince, who by raiſing a great Army againſt the *Tartars*, that began to be in Motion, diſcovered his earneſt Deſire of heroically attacking them, but his Deſign was fruſtrated by his ſudden Death, after a Reign only of four Months. He was ſucceeded by his Son *Thienſki*, who not in the leaſt degenerating from the Valour of his Anceſtors, as ſoon as he was on the Throne, aſſiſted by his Allies, beat the *Tartars* out of *Leaotung*, in which Province they had made an Irruption and maſtered ſeveral Cities, and after a Reign of about ſeven Years Duration died in Peace, and was ſucceeded by his Brother *Zungchi*, a mild negligent Prince, who, fond of Eaſe, repoſed too great Truſt in his Officers, who inſtead of a faithful Service repaid his Credulity with Treachery, and after an unfortunate Reign brought their Maſter to a miſerable End, which was followed by the Empire's falling into the Hands of a foreign Family.

“ The Cauſes of the Revolution in *China*, and the utter Extinction of the laſt Race of *Chineſe* Emperors, beſides thoſe alledged by our Author, are by ſeveral Writers obſerved to be: That the Court (or the Emperor) was plunged in luxurious lazy Eaſe; his only Care being employed how to paſs his Days with the greateſt Pleaſure, with the beautiful Virgins which were ſelected for his Uſe all over the whole Empire: For the Prince being abſolute, it was forbidden to marry any young Women before they were proffered to him. This Courſe has ruined more Courts than one, it naturally adminiſtring Occaſions for Inſurrections within, and Foreign Invaſions, whilſt the Emperors, drowned in ridiculous Pleaſures and Diverſions, never trouble themſelves with the Government, but intruſt it in the Hands of worthleſs Eunuchs. Others add, that this Prince was alſo very covetous.”

The *Tartar* was driven out of *Leaotung* and *China* by the abovementioned Emperor *Thienſki*, and beſides made a Tributary to him; but the Sparks of civil Diſſention were not ſo extinguiſhed as to prevent their breaking out into a more raging Flame, which was kindled by the *Chineſe* Governors exorbitantly treating and plundering the *Tartars* and *Tartarian* Merchants, and not in the leaſt ſcrupling the Practice of any Manner of Injuſtice againſt them, in order to exaſperate that Nation, and oblige themſelves with the Opportunity of fiſhing in troubled Water. The Merchants and others that were abuſed by the Governors, petitioned againſt them; but the Emperor and the Court turned a deaf Ear to all their Complaints. The *Tartarian* King, in Reſentment, armed himſelf, and at the Head of his Army diſpatched a Letter to the Emperor, before he had Recourſe to coercive Means, or backed his Words with his Sword. He laid before him the unjuſt and partial Practices of his Governors and Officers; and ſet forth, that all the Remonſtrances of his Merchants were ſlighted at Court; deſiring the Emperor would be pleaſed to puniſh his Governors and exorbitant Robbers, and provide againſt ſuch pernicious and corrupt Practices for the Future, and excuſe him his annual Tribute, in order to reimburſe him the Military Expences he had been at; upon refuſal of which he declared, that he ſhould be obliged to take ſuch Meaſures as the continual Complaints of the Violence and Injuſtice daily exerciſed upon his Subjects ſhould oblige him to. The Emperor, inſtead of examining into this Affair, utterly diſcharges himſelf of it, and leaves it to his Council; who, keeping him blind, play'd their Game according to their own Pleaſure, and without any great Oppoſition ſuffer'd the *Tartar* to ſeize Part of *Leaotung*. After the Conqueſt of which, he endeavoured to ſubdue the whole Province, but was interrupted in his Career by a too vigorous Reſiſtance; and the War betwixt the two Nations laſted a long Time, Victory ſometimes inclining to one, and at other Times to the other Side: But at laſt the Strife ended in a Peace, in Favour of the *Tartar*, the Emperor being obliged to leave him in the quiet Enjoyment

ment of his Conqueſts; by reaſon that the Robbers and ſeveral of the Nobility had made ſuch a formidable Inſurrection, that the Emperor ſeemed to apprehend more Danger from them than from the *Tartars* themſelves: Which was indeed afterwards confirmed by the Event; for the Robber *Licoung*, after taking ſeveral Cities and whole Provinces, grew ſo inſolent as to preſume to attack even the Emperor himſelf in *Peking* his Metropolis, which he knew to be empty of Forces, or at leaſt, that thoſe there were commanded by thoſe who would betray their Prince. The Emperor finding himſelf betray'd on one Hand, and deſerted on the other, being unwilling to fall into the Robber's Hands alive, after he had killed his Daughter with his Sword, ended his own miſerable Life with a Rope.

The Conqueror attempted to fix himſelf on the Throne; but Prince *Ouſangouei*, who commanded the Army at the Great Wall, and kept a Watchful Eye on the *Tartar*, deſigning either to fall on him with his great Force, or engage him on his Side, gained over to his Party the *Leaotungers*, and all thoſe who were either baniſhed, or had fled to that Province; but though they were added to his Army, he did not think himſelf ſtrong enough to deal with the almoſt infinite Numbers, and conſequently ſuperior Force of the Uſurper: Wherefore he, by a Treaty with *Tſonte* or *Zunte* the *Tartarian* King, obliged him to join his Forces againſt the Uſurper, in order to revenge the Death of his Father, whom the Robber had cruelly murthered: He ſucceeded in his Deſign, and after a bloody Fight perſued him; and it is at preſent utterly unknown where *Licoung* periſhed. During this Purſuit of the Robber, *Tſonte* enters the Empire, in order to ſupport Prince *Ouſangouei* on Occaſion, to clear the Empire of *Licoung*'s Followers, and diſperſe the Conſpirators. He advanced to *Peking*, where finding the Coaſt clear, and the Throne empty, he aſcends it, and, aſſiſted by his *Tartarian* Forces, cauſed the *Chineſe* (whoſe Hearts he had already won by his engaging Deportment) to proclaim him their Emperor, without making any other Alterations in the Government, than putting it in the Hands of an equal Number of *Tartars* and *Chineſe*, and introducing the *Tartarian* Habit and Hair, to which he had in a Sort inured and engaged the *Chineſe* by dreſſing them in that Manner, by a martial Stratagem, in order to deceive the Enemy, and the eaſier to beat *Licoung*.

“ What *Nieuhoff* relates of this Prince is very re-
“ markable, and conduces to the Illuſtration of this
“ Story. This Prince, (ſaith he) ſeemed naturally en-
“ dowed with all Manner of Perfections, and if he
“ had any vicious Inclinations, he very artfully cor-
“ rected them by Practice. Before he aſcended the
“ Throne, he gave plain Indications of his Excel-
“ lencies. In his tender Age his Father ſent him in
“ *Chineſe* Habit into *China*, under the Direction and
“ Care of ſome of his Counſellors. He there learned
“ not only their Language, which his apt Capacity
“ ſoon muſtered, but became ſo tinctured with their
“ politer Manners and Morals, that he ſeemed utterly
“ to have forgotten the *Tartarian* Roughneſs and Bar-
“ barity. As ſoon as he was got into full Poſſeſſion of
“ the Throne, he changed the rigid Manner of go-
“ verning into a milder, knowing very well that the
“ former would prevent his gaining his Ends on the
“ *Chineſe*. He ſo eſtabliſhed himſelf on his new
“ Throne, rather by his Tenderneſs and good Man-
“ ners than by Arms, which endeared the Hearts of
“ his Subjects to him. He careſſed the *Chineſe* that
“ came over to him, as much as his own Countrymen;
“ thoſe he took Priſoners, if they pleaſed, he enter-
“ tained in his Service, and ſuffered thoſe who were
“ unwilling, to depart, diſmiſſing them with obliging
“ Expreſſions and a ſafe Conduct; thus he won their
“ Hearts, and tendered a kind Refuge and Protection
“ to the Exiles, or thoſe who had before fled out of
“ their Country; and they indeed were very aſſiſtant
“ to him in gaining the Empire. There were alſo
“ ſome amongſt them, which had diſtinguiſhed them-
“ ſelves in his Service; theſe he rewarded with Places
“ or Preſents that far exceeded their Expectations.”

After this, *Ouſangouei* returning from the Purſuit of his Enemies, finds the *Tartar* upon the Throne, and, purſuant to the Treaty concluded betwixt them, the Empire being now in Peace, and the Rebel totally defeated, deſired him to return to *Tartary*, tendering him the Preſents promiſed for his Aſſiſtance at the Beginning of the War. To this the Emperor putting on an obliging Air, anſwered, that it was yet too ſoon, ſince the Rebel was not ſo enfeebled, but that hearing of his Departure to *Tartary*, he might poſſibly attempt a freſh Inſurrection, and carry all before him; which he ſhould not be able to prevent, as not being at Hand to help them; wherefore it was much better firſt to deſtroy utterly the Rebel and all his Adherents, and revenge on him all the Evils which he had drawn on his Kingdom as well as the *Chineſe* Empire; and withal, to reduce them to ſo low a Condition, that it ſhould be impoſſible for them to make any new Attempts. The Prince either was or pretended to be ſatisfied with this Anſwer, and applied himſelf to the Deſtruction of the Rebels, which he ſo warmly purſued, that he did not leave the ſmalleſt Body of them together, but reſtored the Peace of *China*.

The Emperor *Tſonte* was ſcarce well ſettled on his Throne before he died in the Year 1644. He was the firſt of the Race of *Taicim*, who annexed the Imperial Crown of *China* to his Royal one; and govern'd both his own Nation called *Mantcheou*'s and the *Chineſe*, thereby tracing out a Way for the greater Glory of his Deſcendants.

He left a Son named *Chunchi*, who was but ſix Years of Age, to ſucceed to his Crown, and committed the Care of his Perſon and Education, as well as the Government of the Empire, to his Brother *Amavang*; who was as careful in the farther Subjection of the refractory Provinces on one Side, as *Ouſangouei* was in the Purſuit of *Licoung*, in order to take his juſt Revenge of him on the other: And we are accordingly told by ſome, that in an Engagement *Ouſangouei* himſelf cut *Licoung* to pieces, in Sacrifice to the *Manes* of his Father.

Amavang, to whom was entruſted the ſupreme Direction and Adminiſtration of the War and Empire, acquitted himſelf with ſo much Honour in all his Undertakings, that the Reduction and Maintainance of the Empire is to be aſcribed to him as much as his Brother: He gave continual Proofs of his Wiſdom and Prudence in the Direction of the State, and Forbearance of his Enemies: As he did alſo of his Valour and amazing Vigilance, in Beating of Thouſands of his Enemies; but he gave yet greater Evidences of the true Senſe of the moſt exalted Honour which animated his elevated Soul, utterly untainted with any ſiniſter Ends, or private Intereſt, in ſurrendering as willingly and freely the Empire to the young Prince as ſoon as ever he came of Age, as he had reduced, governed and preſerved it to that Time. This Action alone is ſufficiently famous, becauſe there are very few parallel Examples can be produced.

Chunchi's Reign was but ſhort, for he died in 1662, and after his Entry upon the Government, met with very few other Difficulties than thoſe common to the Exerciſe of Sovereign Juriſdiction, and the Care of the State. In his Intervals of Relaxation he diſcovered a ſtrong Propenſity to Arts and Sciences, particularly to thoſe which were Mathematical: It was this that engaged him to promote Father *Adam Schaal* to be Preſident of that Tribunal, and graced him with his Favour, notwithſtanding that he was a Stranger, and a Chriſtian; this gave Encouragement to hope that the Chriſtian Religion would encreaſe; for when Princes begin to beſtow their Favours on its Teachers, it opens a Door to their ingratiating themſelves not only with the Commonality, but with the Nobility themſelves.

“ *Le Comte* ſaith, that the Emperor *Chunchi* came in
“ Perſon to viſit Father *Adam* above twenty Times within
“ the Space of two Years, that he granted him Leave
“ to

“ to build two Churches in *Peking*, and conſented to
“ every Thing that might contribute either to the Eſta-
“ bliſhment or Propagation of the Faith; inſomuch
“ that prodigious Advances would have been made, if
“ a too violent Paſſion had not made an Alteration, by
“ depriving us of this Prince, at a Juncture when we
“ moſt wanted his Protection. He died, ſaith he, of
“ Grief for the Death of one of his Concubines, who
“ ſo ſtrongly inclined him to the Service of the falſe
“ Gods, that he would not hear of any other; upon
“ which followed a ſevere Perſecution, the Ground of
“ which was laid by his Miſtreſs. Nor did ſhe ſtrike
“ at the *Chriſtians* alone, but her Reſentment was alſo
“ fatal to the *Bonzi*'s, who narrowly eſcaped utter De-
“ ſtruction by her Means.”

His Son *Cambi*, or *Canchi*, which ſignifies *Peaceable*, ſucceeded him, being but eight Years of Age when his Father died. This is the preſent Emperor, whoſe Reign is crowned with ſuch univerſal Elogies. He is a Lover of Arts and Sciences, and hath indulged to the Chriſtians ſuch great Immunities all over *China*, that it is to be hoped this mighty Empire, may in Time, through the divine Grace, be wrought upon entirely to quit their erroneous Pagan Doctrine, and embrace the ſaving Faith of Jeſus Chriſt; which the good God grant.

His Father ſaw in his Infancy his excellent Endowments, and therefore paſſing by all his elder Brothers, declared him his Succeſſor in the Imperial Throne. During his Minority, the Chriſtian Church was in a ſuffering Condition, the four Regents being bitterly incenſed and prejudic'd againſt that holy Religion; and then the Chriſtians were obliged to try their Patience. Father *Adam Schaal* was thrown into Chains, and condemned to Death; but mercifully delivered by the wonderful Hand of God; and he died not long after, full of Years and Honour: whilſt his Enemies fell into Diſgrace, and ſome of them being caught in their own Traps, died ſhameful Deaths. After his Deceaſe Father *Verbieſt* came into the Favour of this preſent Emperor, and held the ſame Place in his Grace to his laſt Hour, as well as that of Preſident of the Mathematicks. And after his Death Father *Grimaldi* ſucceeded in his Stead, and to the Favour of this Prince, whoſe Praiſes are below his real Merit.

For if thoſe Perſons may be believed, which ſpeak their own Experience, and nothing but what they are Eye and Ear-witneſſes of, he is a Monarch of whom it is much better to be ſilent, than to ſay but little. His Virtues are too great to be comprehended in a narrow Compaſs, and my Pen too mean to do him or them Juſtice. Wherefore I ſhall by my Silence excuſe myſelf from this too difficult Taſk, and only repeat and ſum up the Lives of the Princes of his Race, that have ruled the Empire. His Grandfather *Tſonte* ſcarce enjoyed his new Acquiſition ſo long as was requiſite for him to travel through it, and died in 1644, leaving to ſucceed him *Chunchi*, a Prince of ſix Years of Age, but great Endowments, who died in 1662, after that he had declared the preſent Emperor his Heir, the greateſt Action that he ever did, or could do. He was eight Years of Age at the time of his Father's Deceaſe. *Canchi*, or *Peaceable*, is his Name, who now quietly enjoys and rules his Empire, and is equally honoured, feared, and loved by his Subjects. In the Beginning of his Reign he ſtruggled with ſeveral dangerous and rough Seas, which moſt young Princes are obliged to break through before they reach a ſafe Harbour. Shortly after, and when he had ſcarce reached the Age of twenty, Prince *Ouſangouei* roſe up in Arms and carried on a vigorous War againſt him; and *Canchi* being by Deſcent a *Tartar*, and on the other Side *Ouſongouei* a *Chineſe*, and conſequently more agreeable to the Populace, they the more blindly followed him, and ſuch Numbers crouded to join him, that it was not a little ſurprizing, that having already one half of the Empire, he did not carry the Remainder. But the young Emperor, by his extraordinary Qualifications, ſo engaged the Hearts of his Subjects, that he at laſt concluded an honourable Peace with this Prince, which held ſeveral Years; and after his Death the Emperor was wiſe enough to allure his Sons to Court, and make a proper Uſe of their Weakneſs to his own Advantage; and thus by one Means or other he again ſubjected all Parts of this Empire under one Head, and is now their ſole Emperor. The Kings of *Canton* and *Fokien* alſo took Advantage of *Ouſangouei*'s Inſurrection, and began to make War againſt him; but he knew how to draw off their Forces, and to raiſe Diſcord amongſt theſe three Princes, (to which *Coxinga* may be added as a fourth) to divide them, and make them help to pull down each other; whereas poſſibly if they had all drawn one Way, how brave a Soldier, and how accompliſhed a Stateſman ſoever he is, he had been defeated, dethroned and expelled. Thus by his wiſe Conduct, and great good Fortune, gaining of Time, and outliving his Enemies, he hath poſſeſſed himſelf of their Kingdoms. After the Death of their Fathers, alluring the young Princes to him, or ſubduing them as ill Neighbours, he clear'd his Field of all the Seed that might infeſt it, and thereby reaped a full Harveſt of Obedience.

Having reduced his Empire to a peaceable State, he applied himſelf to the perfect Regulation of it; to which End he choſe the beſt Men for his Miniſters and Officers, honouring thoſe that did well, and puniſhing thoſe who miſbehaved. He ſhewed them, by his own Example, how great his Averſion was to Idleneſs, and how well-diſpoſed he was to Induſtry and Action. After the diſpatching of State-affairs, he employs himſelf either in Hunting, Fiſhing, or the Study of the Sciences; for being a learned Prince, he protects and favours thoſe who excel in the learned Arts, whether his Subjects or Strangers, preferring them to the higheſt Dignities, and not diſdaining to make uſe of the *Europeans* in the moſt important Services, and to beſtow on them the greateſt Poſts; nor is he aſhamed to learn from them Aſtronomy, and other Mathematical Arts, Anatomy, Medicine, and Natural Philoſophy; in all which the Jeſuits are his Inſtructors, from whom he daily condeſcends to receive Leſſons; *Grimaldi*, *Gerbillon*, and *Pereira*, are three of that Society whom he has made uſe of in Embaſſies. The firſt of them was ſent alone to *Muſcovy* in 1686, and the two latter were added to the great Embaſſy which proved ſo ſucceſsful by their Negociations in 1689, for the adjuſting all Differences betwixt the Great Czar and this Emperor at *Nogovium* or *Nipchou*. The Fathers *Schaal*, *Verbieſt*, and ſome of the above-mentioned, he hath diſtinguiſhed by the honourable Charge of Preſidents of Tribunals, and the Dignity of *Mandaryns*, and himſelf as well as the Prince his Son, always heard them diſcourſing of Arts and Sciences with the utmoſt Pleaſure.

This mighty Emperor is not content perſonally to excel in Arts and Sciences, but endeavours to implant them in his Children, eſpecially *Heangtaiſe* the Prince, his Heir-apparent, whom he himſelf particularly inſtructs. And the Education of Children, and reverencing their Parents, being one of the fundamental political Maxims of the *Chineſe*, this great Prince pleaſeth himſelf with it; and the Son diſcovers ſuch pregnant Signs of a good Genius, that far from degenerating from his illuſtrious Father, he gives juſt Reaſon to hope that he will make as great Advances in Wiſdom as his ſo great Predeceſſor.

Whence it is, that if it ſhould pleaſe God, that the *Chriſtian* Religion ſhould ever take Root in the Hearts of this great Father and Son, it might reaſonably be hoped that *China* would ſoon ſubmit to the Obedience of the Croſs. The Learning of the Jeſuits furniſhes them with an Opportunity to endear themſelves not only to theſe two Princes, but likewiſe ſeveral others, who by the Reſpect paid to theſe Learned Men, grow into a favourable Opinion not only of their Perſons, but of their Doctrines, which is heightened by their Abilities manifeſted in both the former *Muſcovite* Embaſſies, which was the Foundation of the favourable Edict promulgated in 1691, (about three Years before the writing of this) relating to the *Chriſtian Religion*; by which a Door is opened without Diſtinction to all Perſons of all Degrees,

Degrees, to embrace that holy Faith. And what enhances the Value of this Favour is, that if *China* could be converted with the Bleſſing of God, we may unqueſtionably expect the Converſion of all *India*, and all the more remote and diſtant Nations; of which *China* being the Head, the leſſer Members, as Politicians obſerve, would of Courſe follow; to which the Lord give his Bleſſing.

In this Manner our Author concludes his Work, written in the true Patriot Spirit of a *Chineſe*, and with all the Piety of a Chriſtian, ſhowing himſelf equally concerned for the Proſperity of his Country, and for the Propagation of the Goſpel in his Country, which is a new Argument in Favour of his Writings, ſince publick Spirit, and religious Zeal, without Views of Intereſt, which cloſely conſidered, will be found to be very near the ſame Thing, are the true Springs of the moſt noble and heroic Conduct, as well as the moſt candid and ingenious Writings; and though theſe may be ſometimes diſſembled, yet to do this, ſo as to deceive, requires a much greater Meaſure of Art, than our Author ſeems, from his Book, to have been endowed with by Nature, or to have acquired by Practice. It remains to compleat our Author's View, and the Deſign of this Section, to continue this Hiſtory as low as we can, that the Reader may be acquainted, as near as poſſible, with the *Chineſe* Hiſtory down to the preſent Times.

This great Emperor *Canghi* reigned about twenty ſeven Years after the Concluſion of our Author's Hiſtory, and in that Space of Time, had ſeveral Diſputes which were terminated by as many Negotiations with the late *Czar*, *Peter* the Great. The Deſigns of theſe two mighty Monarchs were in a Manner oppoſite; the *Chineſe* Emperor was deſirous of preventing the Encroachments of the *Ruſſians* upon his Territories, and on the other Hand the Czar propoſed to himſelf the eſtabliſhing a regular Commerce in *China*. It was in order to accompliſh this, that by a new Treaty he regulated the Confines of the two Empires, upon Condition of a free Paſſage for the Caravans from *Ruſſia* to *Peking*, which ſubſiſted, tho' not without ſome Interruptions, during the Reign of *Canghi*, who, directly contrary to the *Chineſe* Maxims, admitted a *Ruſſian* Reſident to remain conſtantly at *Peking*. The *Sieur de Lange* who had that Character, has publiſhed his Memoirs, but they contain nothing that is very material; on the contrary, they conſiſt chiefly of his Diſputes with the Emperor's Miniſters, who on the one Hand diſliked the Trade by Caravans upon the old Principle of deſpiſing all foreign Trade, which produced a Balance in Favour of Foreigners, and on the other were in a Manner diſtracted at having a *Ruſſian* Miniſter in their Capital, who ſometimes had Audiences of the Emperor, whoſe Notions with Reſpect to theſe Matters were not at all agreeable to his Miniſters, that Monarch foreſeeing, that without ſome Conceſſions in Favour of the *Ruſſian* Trade, he ſhould ſometime or other be expoſed to a War with a Prince, capable of giving him infinitely more Trouble than the reſt of his Neighbours; of which however the *Chineſe* Mandaryns, wedded to their old Maxims, and preſuming on the irreſiſtable Power of their Armies, had not the leaſt Conception.

All this Time the Emperor of *China*, was engaged in an obſtinate and bloody War with the Weſtern *Tartars*, which was ended by a compleat Victory gained in the Year 1720. in Conſequence of which the far extended Country of *Thibet*, and all its Inhabitants ſubmitted to and acknowledged him for their Sovereign, by which Peace was eſtabliſhed on that Side. This was a Thing of prodigious Conſequence to the Empire, as well as an Event remarkably glorious for the reigning Monarch. In the ſucceeding Year, the *Chineſe* Inhabitants of the Iſland of *Formoſa*, reſolved to make a briſk Effort, in order to ſhake off the Yoke of the *Tartars*, in Hopes that lying at a Diſtance, they might be able to preſerve their Independency, and by the Acceſſion of their Countrymen from different Provinces, become powerful enough to eſtabliſh themſelves in the Dominion of that and the adjacent Iſles. In Conſequence of this wild and ill concerted Scheme, they made a ſudden Inſurrection, murdered all the *Mandaryns*, and drove the Imperial Troops out of moſt of the Cities in that Iſland. When the News of this Revolt was brought to *Peking*, the Miniſtry would have perſuaded the Emperor; that the People had been excited to it by the *Dutch*, and this with a View to irritate him againſt Foreigners, but he was too wiſe to entertain any ſuch Notions, and immediately ordered Part of the Forces in the Provinces oppoſite to *Formoſa* to be tranſported thither, which in a very ſhort Space of Time extinguiſhed the Rebellion, by extirpating the greateſt Part of thoſe who had any Concern in it, and forcing the reſt to fly for Shelter into the Mountains, where they lived by Rapine and Plunder, till by Degrees they were rooted out as Robbers and Thieves; inſomuch that this, like all Rebellions, that are ſuppreſſed, ſerved only to fix the Government, they intended to throw off, more ſtrongly. The Year after the Suppreſſion of this Rebellion, the Emperor being at his Country Palace, mentioned by his Excellency Mr. *Ysbrants Ides*, and going according to his uſual Cuſtom to hunt early in the Morning in a very rigorous Winter, he found himſelf ſuddenly ſtruck with a Chilneſs, which diſabled him from continuing on Horſeback, ſo that returning to his Palace, he took his Bed immediately; and his Phyſicians declaring that his Blood was coagulated, and that there was no Hopes of his Life, he ordered his principal Miniſters to attend him, and appointed his fourth Son to be his Succeſſor in the Government, ſoon after which he expired. This happened on the 9th of *September* 1722. according to our Stile, about eight in the Morning, in the ſeventieth Year of his Age, and the next Day his Corps was tranſported to *Peking*.

The new Emperor, who was about forty five Years of Age, took the Name of *Yong Tching*, which ſignifies, ſettled Peace, and from the Day of his Acceſſion, diſcovered not only great Abilities, but a very ſteady and reſolute Temper; he found the Imperial Family very numerous, and many of his Brethren were poſſeſſed of the firſt Employments in the Government, in which relying on the paternal Tenderneſs of the late Emperor, they had not behaved with ſo much Circumſpection as they ought, more eſpecially the ninth Brother, who had the Direction of Part of the Publick Revenues; him the Emperor called to a ſevere Account, and not ſatiſfied with his reſtoring Part of what he had embezzled, he cauſed him to be baniſhed into *Tartary*, where he died not long after. Another of his Brothers, who was at the Head of the Army, had likewiſe the Misfortune to incur his Diſpleaſure, was deprived of his Poſt, and otherwiſe puniſhed. Theſe Acts of Juſtice, his conſtant Application to Buſineſs, and his great Tenderneſs to his Subjects in general, gained him univerſal Reputation, and procured him the ſtricteſt Obedience. In his Father's Life-time he had never ſhewn any Liking to, or Confidence in the Miſſionaries, but on the contrary, behaved towards them with great Coldneſs and Reſerve, and yet the Jeſuits themſelves confeſs, he was as great a Lover of Learning as his Father, and as much inclined to protect and promote the Sciences as any of his Predeceſſors.

There is a great Probability, that the Reaſon of his Diſlike to the Chriſtian Fathers was owing to their Influence over the deceaſed Monarch, and of his obſerving that they made Uſe of that Influence, not only in regard to publick, but even to Family Affairs, and a Jealouſy perhaps they were averſe to, and had employed their Intrigues for preventing his Succeſſion. We find this aſſerted by one who was in the Train of a *Ruſſian* Miniſter at his Court, and it is the more probable, becauſe an *Italian* Monk, of great Simplicity of Manners, of exemplary Piety, and who amuſed himſelf with Painting, continued ſtill in his good Graces, and was not removed out of the Palace. Nay, Father *Kegler*, who was Preſident of the Tribunal of Mathematicks, enjoyed alſo his good Graces, and was treated not only with all the Reſpect due to his Character, but even promoted to a ſuperior Rank; which ſhews that he diſtinguiſhed between Religion and Manners, and knew how to ſet a juſt Value upon worthy Men, notwithſtanding they were of a different Religion.

Whatever the Cauſe might be of his Diſtaſte to the Jeſuits, it was not long before it became fatal to the Chriſtians in general; and yet this did not immediately ſpring from his own Will and Pleaſure, but from a Memorial preſented to him by one of his chief Miniſters, ſetting forth abundance of Enormities of which theſe Men had been guilty, more eſpecially in the ill Uſe they made of their Favour with the late Emperor, and of the Influence they had over their Converts, which they repreſented as highly prejudicial to the State, and dangerous too, if not deſtructive of their ancient Conſtitution. This Memorial was followed by ſeveral others of the ſame Nature, and not long after by a much warmer Paper, tranſmitted by the Viceroy of *Fokien*, containing his Reaſons for expelling the Miſſionaries out of that Province; and concluding with a Requeſt, that the Emperor would iſſue his Orders for exiling them out of all the reſt of the Provinces, and ſend them either to Court or to *Macao*.

This laſt Memorial was referred to the Tribunal of Rites, and by their Advice the Prayer of the Petition was complied with, notwithſtanding all the Endeavours the Jeſuits could uſe, and the Interceſſion of their Friends and Patrons, who in this unlucky Situation could do them no farther Service than to procure a ſmall Alteration in this Meaſure, which was to ſubſtitute *Canton* inſtead of *Macao*; and accordingly all the Miſſionaries throughout the Provinces were obliged to abandon their reſpective Places of Reſidence, and were either ſent to the laſt mentioned City, or to *Peking*. Not long after this, a Proſecution was commenced againſt a Prince of the Blood and all his Family, purely on the Score of their being Chriſtians, which notwithſtanding it was very numerous and deſcended from an elder Brother of the Founder of the Empire, was carried ſo high, that by the ſupreme Tribunal of the Empire they were condemned to ſuffer Death; which however the Emperor was pleaſed to commute, and ſent them into perpetual Exile, as ſome ſay, or as others aſſert, directed them to be kept Priſoners during Life.

One would imagine from theſe Accounts, that the Emperor *Yong Tching* was of a very ſevere Diſpoſition, and had either conceived ſome frightful Idea of the Chriſtian Religion, or thought he had good Grounds to ſecure himſelf againſt any Attempts that might be made to the Prejudice of his Authority by ſome of his own Family. Yet nothing of this Kind ever appeared, for with reſpect to the Chriſtians that made uſe of *Chineſe* Prieſts, and performed their divine Worſhip without Oſtentation, he allowed them much the ſame Kind of Indulgence they had under his Predeceſſors; ſo that it ſeems it was not the Precepts of the Jeſuits, at leaſt in a Religious Senſe, that he feared, but their Dominion over Conſciences, their ſecret Intrigues and hidden Practices. As to the Imperial Family, he behaved towards ſuch as were in a private Condition, with all the Reſpect and Tenderneſs due to his Relations; but in regard to ſuch as were in publick Stations, he expected from them as clear and as candid Accounts as from others in the like Employments, and if theſe were wanting, he puniſhed them without any Reſpect to their being of his Blood, which he conſidered only as an Obligation on them to be more circumſpect in the Diſcharge of their Duty. An Inſtance there was which put the Rectitude of his Behaviour entirely out of Diſpute. The next Brother to him had been thought of for the Succeſſion, being a Prince of great Wiſdom and Prudence, and he was ſet aſide only from his affecting a ſedentary Life. Yet the Emperor his Father admitted him into his Cabinet Council, took his Opinion upon all Matters of Importance, and very ſeldom or never acted contrary to his Advice. This Brother, when *Yong Tching* came to the Throne, he made the Partner of his Cares and of his Power; he did nothing but according to his Counſels, and was ſo conſtant in this Reſpect, that he ſeemed rather his Brother's Miniſter than his Prince.

When he died, which was in the Month of *June*, 1730, *Yong Tching*, according to the Cuſtom of the Country, ſhewed his Reverence and Eſteem for the Deceaſed, by the Solemnity of his Funeral, and the Length of the Mourning, both of which rather ſuited the Companion of his Throne, than the Prince of his Blood. After the Death of this Prince, the whole Weight of Affairs devolved upon the Emperor, and he attended to them with Patience beyond Example, and behaved, whenever he gave Audience, with an Affability beyond the Reach of Deſcription. The Jeſuits at *Peking*, who would have been glad to have diſcovered any Miſtake in his Conduct, or Error in his Policy, very freely acknowledge this, and that inſtead of indulging his Eaſe, or purſuing his Pleaſures, he was temperate in the higheſt Degree, and dedicated more Hours to Buſineſs than almoſt any Man in his Dominions. He made uſe of his Revenues purely for the publick Service, and in Caſe of Dearths, or any other publick Calamity, he was ſure to prevent any Applications for Relief by an early and adequate Aſſiſtance. He gave an extraordinary Inſtance of his paternal Affection for his Subjects on the happening of an Earthquake, *November* 19, 1731, by which a great Part of the Imperial City of *Peking* was demoliſhed, and upwards of a thouſand People buried in the Ruins. He was at the Time it happened at one of his Palaces in the Country, not far from that City, and was taking the Air in a Boat upon one of the Canals, from whence he had the Mortification to ſee the greateſt Part of the Buildings, which had coſt his Predeceſſors immenſe Sums, ſubverted in an Inſtant. Upon this he immediately went a-ſhore, proſtrated himſelf upon the Ground, implored the Mercy of the Great God of Heaven and Earth for his Fellow Creatures, and beſought him, if that Puniſhment was due to any Crimes of his, that he might rather be removed, and become the Object of the Divine Vengeance, than that it ſhould fall upon an innocent People, criminal only from their being his Subjects.

As ſoon as the Danger was over, forgetting the Ruin of his Palace, he appointed Commiſſioners to enquire into the Loſſes which the People of *Peking* had ſuſtained, relieved the Families of thoſe who were killed, and iſſued a prodigious Sum of Money for repairing the Houſes, and rebuilding the publick Edifices that had been thrown down, and which is a very ſtrong Proof of his having no Pique or Prejudice to the Chriſtian Religion; being informed that the great Church of the Jeſuits was in a Manner totally ruined, he ſent for the Miſſionaries, treated them with great Humanity and Tenderneſs at their Audience, recommended to them the Repair of their Church as ſoon as poſſible, and made them a Preſent of one thouſand Taels in Gold, which amounts to 666 *l.* of our Money, for that Purpoſe.

We need not wonder that a Monarch, who reigned ſo worthily, ſhould be beloved and revered, as well as obeyed with the utmoſt Submiſſion by all his People; and it is univerſally allowed, that the *Chineſe* ſhewed their Duty to this Prince in a Manner ſuitable to the Obligations which he daily conferred upon them, and teſtified upon all Occaſions as ſincere and tender Affection for him, as if he had been their natural Parent. We have no certain Accounts ſince theſe, except only the Misfortune that befel the Chriſtians in 1732, when the Miſſionaries that had been hitherto allowed to remain at *Canton* were of a ſudden ordered to retire to *Macao*. They had this Notice given them on the 6th of *Auguſt*, and on the 9th they were embarked, to the Number of thirty Perſons, and thoſe who accompanied the Miſſionaries, were treated with the utmoſt Indignity; the only Reaſon aſſigned was, becauſe, contrary to the Emperor's Orders, they had endeavoured to propagate the Chriſtian Doctrine. But various Diſputes having ariſen between the *Dominicans* and the *Jeſuits* reſiding in *China*, and ſeveral Books having been lately printed in *Popiſh* Countries relating to theſe Diſputes, we may from thence in ſome Meaſure gather what have been the Motives to this new Perſecution.

In order to ſet a Matter ſo obſcure, in a Light as diſtinct as may be, it will be, in the firſt Place, right to obſerve, that it is not abſolutely certain, whether it can be, with greater Propriety aſſerted, that the *Jeſuits* have taught the *Chineſe* a new Religion, than that the *Chineſe* have taught them one; it is very reaſonable to believe, that the firſt Miſſionaries, even of this Order, ſtudied the *Chineſe* Literature very innocently, and only with a View to enable themſelves to preach the Faith of Chriſt more effectually. But by Degrees, it ſeems, they have taken ſuch a Liking to the *Chineſe* Philoſophy, and the *Chineſe* Manners, that they indulged their Diſciples in Practices, which they ſtile idle Ceremonies, but which the *Dominicans*, who ſeem to have no farther View than barely doing their Duty, conſider as rank Idolatry. This has occaſioned a long and warm Controverſy at *Rome*, which has been at laſt decided againſt the *Jeſuits*, who notwithſtanding proceed ſtill in their own Way, without paying that Reſpect to the *Roman* See, of which they boaſt ſo much in *Europe*.

In a Word, the *Jeſuits* finding that the Study of the *Chineſe* Learning was the high Road to Preferment in that Country, and that theſe Ceremonies were neceſſary to the acquiring it, could not find in their Hearts to block up either their own or their Diſciples Way to Power, to Credit, and Court Intereſt. Their Politicks, to be ſure, were right; but the Queſtion is, Whether they were conſiſtent with their Religious Intereſts; or whether it would not have been full as well for Chriſtianity, if they had been more ſolicitous about teaching the People the Path to Heaven, and leſs careful about their Succeſs at Court? Certain it is, that the great Influence this Order always have over the temporal Concerns of thoſe to whom they become ſpiritual Guides, is ſufficient to awake Attention, and even to alarm any Government, and more eſpecially a Government ſo watchful and ſuſpicious as that of the *Chineſe*. Their particular Applications to Women alſo, and that Itch which they too frequently diſcover of gaining Wealth to the Church, cannot but be prejudicial to them in the Opinion of all ſenſible People, more eſpecially when they find it ſo apparently repugnant to the Principles of that Doctrine they pretend to teach.

We may be allow'd alſo to obſerve, that the Propenſity of theſe Fathers to a Relaxation in Morals in Favour of thoſe who are intirely at their Diſpoſal, is another unlucky Circumſtance in Regard to the Propagation of the Goſpel, which has always prevailed moſt, where Men's Lives have been ſtrictly agreeable to its Precepts, and where the Converts to the Faith have ſhewn themſelves rather ſolicitous of obtaining the Bleſſings of another Life, than the Conveniencies of this. At leaſt two Things are very certain; one, that, by purſuing their particular Plan of promoting a temporal as well as ſpiritual Intereſt, that Perſecution was brought on in *Japan*, which extinguiſhed Chriſtianity, and therefore a like Conſequence may be juſtly feared in *China*. The other is, that in *Paraguay* the Jeſuits have actually eſtabliſhed, under Colour of promoting the ſpiritual Intereſt of the Natives, a temporal Dominion ſo abſolutely independent of the Crown of *Spain*, that it is very doubtful whether the People have the leaſt Notion of their being his Catholick Majeſty's Subjects. Now whatever Motives that Monarch may have to wink at this Behaviour of the Jeſuits, and to ſuffer them to maintain ſuch a diſtinct Kind of Government in *America*, it cannot be conceived, that the *Chineſe* Emperors will ever enter into any ſuch Notions of falſe Policy, or permit the Obedience of their Subjects to be withdrawn in this World, under Colour of conſulting their Happineſs in the next.

Theſe Hints will very probably lead the Reader to the Knowledge of the true Cauſes of the ſudden Change that has happened in the Condition of the *Chineſe* Chriſtians, and will account for a Perſecution, by a Monarch, who even thoſe whom he thus perſecutes, acknowledge to be a Prince of great Equity and Moderation, and neither an Enthuſiaſt nor a Bigot.

To ſpeak impartially, the Jeſuits themſelves do not much diſſemble theſe Things in their Memoirs. We ſee throughout, that they are charmed with their Court Life at *Peking*, the Reſpect ſhewn them by, and their Influence over the Emperor, the Titles with which they are honoured, the great Employments to which they are advanced, their living within the Walls of the Palace, and being admitted to the Imperial Preſence, at the Seaſons, when ſo great a Monarch is moſt diſengaged, the Preceptors of his Studies, the Companions of his literary Amuſements, the Perſons (who as Foreigners) are chiefly called upon to fill up the Vacancies in his leiſure Converſations. All theſe Particulars they relate at large, with a long Train of Circumſtances, and in Terms which moſt evidently ſhew their Senſibility with Regard to the Things which they relate. So that on the whole, we cannot help ſeeing that all the loud Boaſts of the Popiſh Writers, as to this Miſſion of the Jeſuits, are built upon a very ſandy Foundation, and that the Converſions they make are very precarious Things, reſembling rather the Gaining Men over to a Faction, than reconciling them to a new Religion, and conſequently tending to awaken the Suſpicions and Jealouſies of the moſt dark, ſubtle, and deſigning People on the whole Earth, except it may be——the Jeſuits themſelves.

As it is impoſſible the Goſpel Doctrines ſhould be effectually ſpread by theſe Miſſionaries, who are ſo much taken with the Kingdom of this World, ſo it is not at all likely, that the *Chineſe* Trade will ever become beneficial to this Part of the World, till it falls under ſome new Regulation. In Reality, Nobody trades there upon a free or equal Footing, but in a ſubmiſſive ſlaviſh Manner, by the Grace and Favour, as it were, of the Emperor, and upon ſuch Terms preciſely as he is pleaſed to preſcribe; by which ſuch Advantages are ſecured to his Subjects, that the Profits of a *China* Voyage reſult entirely from the Sale of the Goods returned, and conſequently are gained, by *Europeans* from *Europeans*; a very conſiderable Balance on each Cargo being in the firſt Place left behind in *China*. Theſe are plain and unqueſtionable Facts, and therefore deſerve to be maturely weighed, and thoroughly conſidered, by ſuch as look upon Commerce as a Thing of the utmoſt Importance. If the *Dutch* had remained Maſters of *Formoſa*, or if we had continued our Factory at *Chuſan*, Things might have changed their Face, and the Trade to theſe Countries been carried on in a more advantageous Manner.

As it ſtands at preſent, I will venture to hazard a Thought of my own, which I deſire may not be deſpiſed, till the Arguments I offer in Support of it are clearly refuted. It is this, I am apprehenſive that while we are contending about the Balance of Power, and ſacrificing each others Trade to a Spirit of mutual Jealouſy, Trade itſelf will remove to the North; and when it is too late we ſhall perceive that not only the *French* and *Spaniards*, but the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, have been doing the Buſineſs of the Nations bordering upon the *Baltick*, and putting it in their Power to become rich and potent at our Expence. For to me, it is a Thing paſt all Doubt, that if the *Swedes* had not an actual and immediate Benefit accruing to them annually from the Trade with *China*, they would not carry it on, ſince *Sweden* is a Country that cannot afford to export great Quantities of Bullion, as all the other Nations engaged in this Trade actually do; and if by the bare vending their own Manufactures, they can make this Trade turn to Account, it muſt be viſible to all who have a true Inſight into Commerce, that ſooner or later they will become entire Maſters of this Branch of Traffick, or at leaſt, whatever Share we have in it, muſt be a dead Weight upon us, as furniſhing the Inſtruments of Luxury only in Exchange for our Coin; and when once this comes to be the Caſe, we may pleaſe ourſelves with the Thoughts of the *China* Trade, but conſidered in a national Light, it would be better for us that we had none.

There is nothing more common, than for ſuch as are actually concerned in Commerce, to ſmile at and deſpiſe Speculations upon that Subject; but I believe it would on due Search be found, that though Companies of Merchants and private Traders may be enriched by purſuing their own Schemes, and contriving to make the Management of them an impenetrable Myſtery; yet with Reſpect to National Advantage, the Notions of ſpeculative Men have been, generally ſpeaking, right. It is agreed on all Hands, that Trade is a Thing of a nice and delicate Nature, that from ſecret and imperceptible Cauſes it ebbs and flows, is poſſeſſed now by one Nation, and then by another; and that when it is once loſt, it is very hard to be regained. If therefore we obſtinately perſiſt in the old Road till the Northern Nations actually become poſſeſſed of this and other Branches of Traffick, and in Conſequence thereof, of a great Naval Force, it will be to no Purpoſe to look back, or to conſider by what Means this might have been prevented. There is a natural Vigour that attends an increaſing and growing Trade; and there is alſo a natural Supineneſs and Negligence which accompanies the Declenſion of Trade; ſo that when Nations in theſe different Circumſtances come to contend with each other, it is no difficult Thing to perceive which muſt go to the Wall.

We well know, that there was a Time when we had very little Trade, that it was with great Difficulty we firſt raiſed and then extended it, and that our doing this, made Way for the Declenſion of the *Spaniſh* and *Portugueſe* Trade, which have never recovered ſince. We alſo know, nay we even remember, when the *Swedes* and *Danes* had little or no Trade, and when themſelves conſidered it as impracticable for them to interfere with us, or the *Dutch* in the Trade of the *Eaſt-Indies*; but we now learn from Experience, that they are able to do it, and we cannot but be ſenſible, that the greateſt Obſtacles to ſuch Endeavours are felt at the Beginning; and that when theſe are once got over, as in Reſpect to them, they are already got over, Things go on a-pace, that is to ſay, Exportation increaſes, Navigation is extended, Wealth rowls in, Shipping multiplies, and a naval Power is ſuddenly raiſed. The Buſineſs therefore is to reflect in Time, and to make Enquiries into the propereſt Means for preſerving what we have got, while it is yet in our Hands. Opportunities once ſlipt, are never to be retrieved; we are ſtill a naval Power, and a great naval Power; but if we imagine that this depends upon the Nature of our Government, upon the Supplies granted for the Navy, and the Orders iſſued from the Admiralty, we ſhall very ſoon become ſenſible of our Miſtake. *Philip* II. of *Spain* fell into this Miſtake; he fancied that naval Power might be maintained, as well as employed, by Policy; but what followed? In 1588, the Efforts of *Spain* were terrible to *Europe* in general, and to us in particular; in leſs than twenty Years the Returns from the *Indies* became abſolutely precarious, the *Spaniſh* Fleets were the Contempt of their Enemies, and in half that Time both we and the *Dutch* inſulted the Coaſts of *Spain*. The Source and Support of a naval Power is Commerce, and if we cannot keep this, we muſt loſe that, let the Adminiſtration in this Country be ever ſo honeſt, or ſo wiſe; from whence my Concluſion is, that though there may be other very important Concerns, yet the moſt important of all is our Trade; and may Providence incline us to ſee this in Time!

But that we may not ſeem to be always complaining, and never thinking of any Means of removing the Evils of which we complain, let us conſider a little with ourſelves, if ſomewhat may not be thought of, which may afford us rational Hopes of preſerving the Commerce we have left, and even of extending it. Such an Attempt as this would be ſerviceable many Ways; it is peculiarly adapted to our preſent Situation; we have a rich and powerful Company, who are intruſted with the Commerce in theſe Parts, and who might be excited by the Deſire of expreſſing their Gratitude to the Publick for what they have received, to try what might be atchieved on this Side.

We have in the former Volume mentioned ſomewhat of the Poſſibility of venturing once more into the Iſland of *Japan*. But if that ſhould be thought too hazardous, what can hinder ſome of our Ships from viſiting *Formoſa*? a fruitful, pleaſant, and well ſituated Iſland. Are there not a thouſand Pretences that may be ſuggeſted for putting in there? and if the Veſſel that makes this Attempt be a Ship of Force, and well manned, is there any Reaſon to doubt, that ſhe would be able to procure that Reſpect which would make way for Trade? It may be replied, that the *Chineſe* Laws are ſo ſtrict, that there is no Trading in *Formoſa* without the Emperor's Leave. To which I reply, that it is very well known the *Chineſe* inſiſt upon their Laws in the moſt peremptory Manner, where they are ſure they have Force enough to ſupport and carry them into Execution. On the other Hand, where this is not to be done, they are very ſlow in coming to Extremities, and had rather bate ſome of their Punctilio's, than run the Hazard of a Diſpute that might be attended with bad Conſequences.

In Times paſt, the *Dutch* made the Conqueſt of this Iſland, or rather the *Dutch Eaſt-India* Company made it, and kept Poſſeſſion of it in Spite of the whole Force of the *Chineſe* Empire. I am very far from ſaying, that this ſhould become a Precedent to our *Eaſt-India* Company, or that they ought to attempt either a Conqueſt, or a Settlement by Force; all I contend for is, that if the *Dutch Eaſt-India* Company conquered it, the *Engliſh Eaſt-India* Company might find a Way to trade there. They would find their Account in it, and the Nation would find their Account in it; and though it might coſt ſome Time and Trouble to bring it about, yet this very Time and Trouble would, for ſo long a Space, exclude other Nations, and we might perhaps find a Means of putting the Trade there on ſuch a Foot as to keep it wholly and for ever to ourſelves.

If we never try, it is certain we ſhall never ſucceed; and if the *Swedes* or *Danes* had been diſcouraged by ſuch Obſtacles, there is no Doubt that they had never brought that Trade to bear which they now enjoy. Beſides, when our *Drakes* and *Cavendiſhes* undertook thoſe perilous Voyages in the Dawn of our Navigation, they had much greater Difficulties to ſtruggle with, and much leſs Aſſiſtance to hope for, yet they overcame them all; and to their Boldneſs and Intrepidity we owe that Figure we have ſince made as a Maritime Power. If therefore a Spirit of this Kind could be raiſed, or rather revived, why ſhould not we expect ſome ſuch-like Effects? or why ſhould we reſt ſatisfied with the preſent State of Things, and lay aſide all Thoughts of improving or extending our Commerce, when we ſee other Nations, far leſs able and powerful than our own, and under much greater Difficulties than we have any good Grounds to fear, making ſuch Attempts, and making them with Succeſs?

But to put this Matter out of all Doubt, and to ſet the Thing in ſo clear a Light that every Reader of tolerable Underſtanding may be able to judge of it, I have added another Section, which relates to a Country that hitherto we have little or no Knowledge of, with which we never attempted any Trade, and to which, notwithſtanding there is the higheſt Probability that an advantageous Commerce might be carried on. Whether this be practicable or not; whether it will be ever attempted by this Nation; or whether the Hints here given may prove uſeful to ſome more conſiderate and enterprizing Nation, muſt remain in the Womb of Time.

Yet till this ſhall be diſcloſed, I ſhall have the Satiſfaction of knowing that I have done my Duty; and that with infinite Pains and Trouble I have collected and reduced into their proper Order, all the ſcattered Hints and Paſſages relative to a very large and fruitful Peninſula, not leſs wealthy, not leſs populous in Proportion to its Bigneſs, than *China* itſelf, and of which there is not hitherto extant any regular or tolerable Deſcription in any Language; ſo that if I ſhould miſs in my great Aim, and which ought to be every Man's Aim, that of doing Good to and improving the Trade of my Country, I ſhall at leaſt ſucceed as an Author, by enriching with a new and curious Section this great Work, which I commit to the Peruſal and Conſideration of Poſterity, and more eſpecially of thoſe heroick and enterprizing Spirits deſtined to ſtrike o[illegible] of the common Path, and to acquire immortal G[illegible]y by bringing new Advantages to Mankind.

SECTION VII.

A curious and conciſe Deſcription of the Country, Hiſtory of the Inhabitants, and Account of the preſent State of the Kingdom of *Corea*, together with ſome Hints of the Eaſe with which Commerce might be eſtabliſhed in its Ports, the Benefits that might be expected from thence, the great Likelihood of Gaining an Entrance from thence into *Japan*, or at leaſt an Intercourſe with the *Japoneſe*; and many other entertaining and inſtructive Particulars relative to this Subject, and the Trade that is or might be carried on in the Dominions and Dependencies of the Emperor of *China*.

Collected chiefly from Memoirs hitherto unpubliſhed, and compared with all the printed Hiſtories and Travels, in which any Mention is made of this Country, its Commerce or Inhabitants.

1. *Of the Situation, Extent, Climate, and Boundaries of the Kingdom of* Corea, *with Remarks and Obſervations.* 2. *Of the Hiſtory of this Country, as delivered in the* Chineſe *and* Japoneſe *Authors, which, for any Thing that is hitherto known, are the only Writers upon that Subject.* 3. *Of the Soil, Produce, Commodities, Manufactures, and Riches of this noble* Peninſula. 4. *Of the Provinces, Cities, Ports, Fortreſſes,* &c. *in* Corea, *and of the Iſlands that lie upon its Coaſts.* 5. *Of the Inhabitants, their Stature, Complexion, Habit, Cuſtoms, Manners, Temper, Learning, Diverſions,* &c. 6. *Of the Commerce of the* Coreans *with the* Chineſe, *the Commodities they import and export, and the Reaſon why the laſt mentioned Nation are ſo exceſſively jealous of them.* 7. *Of the Commerce of the* Coreans *with the* Japoneſe, *the Commodities and Manufactures they export and import, and of the natural Averſion between the two Nations.* 8. *An Enquiry into the Probability of the* Coreans *trading by Stealth into other Countries, and ſome Conjectures of the Countries to which they trade, and the Commodities for which they deal.* 9. *Reaſons why it is not at all impoſſible to enter into a Trade with the* Coreans, *as alſo why this Commerce might anſwer, notwithſtanding any Umbrage it might give to the* Chineſe. 10. *Some Arguments tending to prove, that a Trade with* Corea *is the moſt probable Method of recovering ſome Degree of Intercourſe with* Japan; *with a few Hints of the Means by which this might be effected.* 11. *A ſuccinct Repreſentation of the Advantages that might reſult from ſuch a Commerce as this, with Reference to the Diſcovery of unknown Countries, that are probably richer than any to which we trade at preſent.* 12. *A Hint that we may receive Satisfaction this Way, as to the Poſſibility or Impoſſibility of finding a North Eaſt Paſſage.* 13. *Miſcellaneous Remarks and Obſervations on the principal Points mentioned in this Section.*

1. THERE are two different Methods by which Commerce may be promoted, the one derived from the Improvement of the Lights afforded by Experience, which is indeed certain and ſure, but generally ſpeaking ſlow, and producing only a moderate Profit; the other ariſing from Science, and the endeavouring to ſtrike out a new Road to freſh Markets, by a comprehenſive Knowledge of Coſmography, Navigation, and the Manner of conducting foreign Trade. In Reference to the firſt, the *Spaniards* reſolved to attempt a diſtant Navigation, after the Example of the *Portugueſe*; the *Dutch*, when oppreſſed by the *Spaniards*, and denied a Share of the *India* Trade in *Europe*, reſolved to attempt a Paſſage thither themſelves; and in like Manner, when we perceived the Advantages reſulting to *Spain*, from her Colonies in the *Weſt-Indies*, determined to try what might be done in the ſame Way. In Regard to the latter, *Columbus* was the firſt, who had the Courage to propoſe going in Queſt of all thoſe Iſlands and Continents, that his own Sagacity had diſcovered on the other Side the Globe, and we very well know, what mighty Things followed from the Queen of *Spain*'s accepting his Propoſal. In like Manner, *John Cabot* firſt formed a Notion of a North weſt-Paſſage, which hitherto has not, but I perſwade myſelf will, ſometime or other, be diſcovered. *Ferdinand Magellan* was happier in his Project of going to the *Indies* by a South Paſſage, which he accompliſhed; all theſe were with Reſpect to the human Species in general, and with Regard to the Inhabitants of *Europe* in particular, very great and important Diſcoveries, and thoſe chiefly that in the Eye of important Reaſon ſet this Part of the World in a much fairer and better Light than any of the reſt.

But notwithſtanding the manifeſt Advantages reſulting from this high Prerogative of viſiting and commanding in all the other Quarters of the Globe, it ſeems in this laſt Century to have been leſs regarded. Far from proſecuting that noble Plan, which in the Midſt of ſuch Obſcurity our Anceſtors had the Wiſdom to draw, and the Courage to carry into Execution, we are diſpoſed rather to make the moſt of what they have left us, and even to quarrel with each other about our Shares; ſo that *Aſia* and *America*, inſtead of wondering, as they were wont to do, at the Boldneſs of our Voyages, and the Expertneſs of the *Europeans* in whatever relates to Traffick, are juſtly aſtoniſhed at our Feuds, and ſee with Amazement, that we labour to deſtroy Settlements already planted, inſtead of making new; that we employ our Pains in decrying and diſcrediting each other, in publiſhing our Imbecilities and Misfortunes, and in exciting the *Indians* to ſhake off that Fear, which the Exploits of the *Europeans*, in the two laſt Ages, impreſſed, and to exert that Power, which themſelves always poſſeſſed, but hitherto have been afraid to employ, in thruſting out thoſe, who, not contented with trading, have ventured to play the Maſters ſo far from Home.

If inſtead of ſo weak, ſo raſh, and ſo impolitick a Behaviour, we had forborn every kind of Diſpute, ſupported each others Settlements, and gone on in making Diſcoveries, we had been in a much better Condition by this Time than we are. Theſe diſtant Countries would have furniſhed us with Places enough to have diſcharged thoſe uſeleſs Hands that we have employed, not to terminate, but to continue our Diſputes with each other. By their Labour, our Power, our Wealth, our Fame might have been extended, and theſe Countries that are now poor and deſolate, might have been then rich, populous and happy. It is ſome Excuſe for Barbarians, that they live in continual Enmity againſt, and in perpetual Wars with each other; but in us who pretend to have Policy that teacheth us better, and profeſs a Religion that requires a Conduct oppoſite from this at our Hands, it is as impious and iniquitous as it is ridiculous and abſurd. We diſclaim by this Behaviour, all Title to Wiſdom, Moral or Divine, and put ourſelves upon a Level with the Savages; we deſcend to, or rather ſink ourſelves beneath them, by doing preciſely thoſe Things, for which we eſteem them Savages and deſpiſe them.

The only Apology we ever hear made for ſo irrational a Practice, is a very ill grounded Pretence of Neceſſity; our Anceſtors, it is ſaid, have done ſo much, that there is nothing left for us to do; they diſcovered, they conquered all, and thereby made Way for our Diſputes with each other about Titles; in ſhort, they were fortunate and glorious, and we unhappy, and precluded from acquiring Fame.

But theſe are all the ſimple Pretences of Indolence, or the falſe Colours of Avarice, which when we come to examine with impartial Strictneſs by the Light of Truth, will totally diſappear. Amongſt other Diſcoveries of our Anceſtors, we may reckon this as none of the leaſt important, that they diſcovered, that after all they had done, much more remained to be diſcovered. What a Scandal is it then to us, that having not only their Example to encourage us, but their Conjectures to inſtruct us, we have neither followed the one, nor made uſe of the other. They left us an exact Survey of the beſt Part of *America*, and we have left the reſt totally unſurvey'd. They ſaw Reaſon to believe that a South-weſt Paſſage might be found to the *Eaſt Indies*; they attempted and diſcovered it; they left us better Reaſons to prove that there is a North Weſt Paſſage, and though by Fits and Starts we have made Trials, yet ſtill it remains undiſcovered. If we ſet down and conſider with Attention, in how ſhort a Tract of Time, from the finding a Paſſage by the Cape of *Good Hope* to the *Eaſt Indies*, all the ſubſequent Diſcoveries were made, how ſuddenly they ſtopt, and how long it is ſince any thing has been done of this Kind; it muſt induce us to believe that we either fall very far ſhort in Point of Courage and publick Spirit of our Forefathers, or that there is ſome ſecret Reaſon why we are ſo backward in ſpite of the Encouragement we have received. This ſecret Reaſon is no other than our managing our Trade into theſe diſtant Parts by excluſive Companies, ſuch as the *Eaſt India*, the *African*, the *South Sea*, and the *Hudſon's Bay* Companies, the Diſcoveries under the Auſpices of all which, may I preſume be contained in a Volume of no exorbitant Size. It may be aſked, Do our Companies reſtrain the reſt of the World? To which I anſwer, No: But their own Companies do, and that Diſcoveries are attempted in no Kingdom in *Europe* by an old Company, but either where there are no Companies, or by a Company expreſly erected for that Purpoſe.

Now to ſhew that ſomething may be done, without any mighty Hazard, towards extending our Trade and our Knowledge at the ſame Time towards the North Eaſt, I have, by the Aſſiſtance of Lights and Memoirs communicated to me from Abroad, compoſed the following Deſcription and Hiſtory of the Peninſula of *Corea*; from whence it will appear, that it is a fine and fertile Country; that it is exceedingly populous, and inhabited by a civil, humane, and courteous People; that they are much given to Commerce, and would in all Probability rejoice at, and encourage any Attempt made by us to commence a Trade with them; that this Trade might be made highly beneficial to the Nation; that it is far from being improbable it might procure us both *Chineſe* and *Japan* Goods at a more reaſonable Rate than we have them at preſent; and laſt of all, that it muſt open a Paſſage to Diſcoveries of much greater Conſequence than any that have been yet made.

2. The *Peninſula* of *Corea*, ſo little known to, and therefore ſo little conſidered by the *Europeans*, is one of the largeſt, and in all Reſpects one of the fineſt, nobleſt, and beſt ſituated *Peninſulas* upon the Globe. The *Tartars*, who are at preſent poſſeſſed of *China*, and who, before they conquered that Empire, were Maſters of the Country of which we are ſpeaking, call it in their Language *Solbo Kouron*, which is as much as to ſay, the Kingdom of *Solbo*. There is no Doubt that they have ſome ſufficient Reaſon for this Appellation, though for Want of being acquainted with the *Tartar* Hiſtorians, we are able to ſay no more, than that they are reported to call it ſo by the *Chineſe* Geographers. As for this laſt mentioned Nation, they have been pleaſed to beſtow upon this Country the Name of *Kao li koue*, which we ſhall endeavour to explain as well as we can. This *Peninſula* was originally inhabited by various Nations, each governed by its particular Chief, until they were all reduced under the Subjection of one Monarch, whoſe Name was *Kao*. As for the Word *li*, it has many different Significations in the *Chineſe* Tongue, and amongſt the reſt, it implies *obeying*, being ſubject to, or under the Obedience of. The Word *Koue* is properly tranſlated by that of *Kingdom*; ſo that taking this Title as it ſtands in the *Chineſe* Maps *Kao li koue* altogether, it may be very faithfully rendered thus, *the Kingdom ruled by* Kao, or, in our Manner of ſpeaking, *Kao's Kingdom.* It is true, that in the modern Records of the *Chineſe*, it is called *Tchao ſien*, from another Prince, or rather from another Race of Princes; but however this Name has never grown into common Uſe; but the *Chineſe*, whenever they mention it in Converſation, or in Writing, call this *Peninſula Kaoli*, which they pronounce in ſuch a Manner, that from thence by Corruption the Word *Corea* has been formed, by which it is univerſally known in *Europe*.

After adjuſting as well as we can the Name, let us proceed to ſay ſomewhat of the Nature of this Country, which has been variouſly repreſented to us by different Authors, ſome treating it as a Kingdom diſtinct from, others, as a Part of *China*; many affirming it to be an Iſland, but the beſt modern Writers aſſerting it to be what it really is at this Day, a *Peninſula*. At firſt Sight theſe Differences ſeem to be the Effect of Ignorance, but at the Bottom there is ſome Colour of Truth for every one of theſe Repreſentations. According to the moſt ancient *Chineſe* Hiſtories, though the Thing is not affirmed in direct Terms, yet it may be fairly inferred, that *Corea* was once joined to *China* on the Weſt-ſide, though it is now divided from it by a large Gulph. For thoſe Hiſtories ſay, that the Ocean broke in with great Violence on that Side, and overwhelmed a vaſt Tract of Country, and when this happened, it is not at all improbable, that *Corea* became an abſolute Iſland. For the ſame Hiſtories ſay, that a very ancient Emperor, whom they call *Yu* the Great, formed a Deſign of recovering at leaſt a Part of theſe Countries, by drawing Canals to a vaſt Channel, and by piercing a Mountain, opened a Paſſage for the great River *Hoang ho*, which finding by this Means a Vent into the Sea, carried off a great Part of the Inland Waters, and the eby left the Northern Country dry, which now connects *Corea* with the Continent; and in this Manner we are told it became a Peninſula.

This Country in the State it now is, is bounded on the North by the Country of *Nieuchew*, or the ancient hereditary Dominions of that *Tartar* Monarch, who is now Emperor of *China*; on the Weſt it has the Gulph of *Leao tong*, which ſeparates it from the Provinces of *Petcheli* and *Chan tong*, which are Part of *China*; on the Eaſt lies the Sea of *Japan*, and on the South it is waſhed by the Ocean. It extends from th[illegible] four Degrees thirty Minutes, to forty two Degrees thirty Minutes, of North Latitude, and from one hundred and forty two, to one hundred forty ſeven Degrees of Longitude; it is in Length from North to South, four hundred and fifty of our Miles; in Breadth from Eaſt to Weſt, about three hundred; the Form of it is that of a Parallelogram, the upper Part towards the North being ſomewhat narrower than the Southern Part of it. It is from hence apparent, that it lies in the fifth and ſixth temperate Climates, the moſt Southern Part of it being in the ſame Parallel with *Perſia*, *Cyprus* and *Barbary*, and the moſt Northern in that of *Portugal*, *Sicily*, and the *Maderas*; the longeſt Day in the South is fourteen Hours and a Quarter, and in the North about fourteen Hours three Quarters.

The preſent Capital of it *Han ching*, is in the Latitude of thirty ſix Degrees North, and in the Longitude of ten Degrees Eaſt, from the City of *Pekin*, the Capital of *China*. It is repreſented by all the *Chineſe* Geographers, as a Country full of Mountains, more eſpecially towards the North, or rather towards the North-weſt, where there is a Ridge of high Hills that ſeparates it from that Part of *Tartary* which depends on *China*, and theſe Hills are rocky and barren, but the other Mountains, more eſpecially thoſe towards the South, are of eaſy Aſcent, covered with a fine Turf, ſhaded by beautiful Groves, and refreſhed by a Multitude of pleaſant Brooks. It is alſo furniſhed with ſeveral large and navigable Rivers, of which we ſhall take particular Notice only of four; the firſt is the *Yalou* on the North-weſt Side of *Corea*, which falls into the Yellow Sea, or that which divides this Country from *China*; the Mouth of this River is in the Latitude of forty Degrees North, and is there about thirty Miles over. The River *Li* falls alſo into the Yellow Sea, and is a large, beautiful and navigable Stream; the *Tatong* falls into the Eaſtern Sea, or the Sea of *Japan*, and at the Mouth of it there is a noble Port; the River *Han* is in the South Part of *Corea*, and falls into the Ocean, and is alſo large and navigable; in a Word, when we conſider that this Country is waſhed by two great Seas, and by the Ocean, and that its Coaſts are fifteen hundred Miles in Extent, we cannot Doubt of the Excellency of its Situation.

3. It is very certain, that the People of *Corea* are much inclined to Letters, and that they have very ancient and very authentic Hiſtories, and ſome Books ſtill more ancient, but theſe are full of Romances and Fables. They are very ſenſible of this, and ſay that they contain ſome inſtructive Truths diſguiſed, of which having loſt the Key, they are no longer able to decypher them. Thoſe which they regard as true Hiſtories, go between two and three thouſand Years higher than the Birth of *Chriſt*, and yet are ſaid to contain nothing in them that carries the leaſt Air of Fiction or Falſhood. They aſſert that their Country was at firſt inhabited by three or four different Nations, which however they admit to have been of *Tartar* Original; that theſe in a long Courſe of Years, and after various Wars with different Succeſs one againſt another, were at laſt reduced under the Power of one Monarch. That his Poſterity degenerating from the Virtues of their Anceſtors, behaved themſelves ſo ill as to occaſion civil Wars, which weakened the Country to ſuch a Degree, that it fell under the Dominion of the *Chineſe* Emperors, who ſometimes governed it as a Province, and at others, appointed Kings, from whom they received only an annual Tribute.

It is remarkable that theſe ancient Hiſtories ſpeak of the Capital of this Kingdom, a thouſand Years before *Chriſt*, as ſituated in *China*; from whence it ſeems highly probable, that this muſt have been before the Inundation that has been mentioned, for otherwiſe it is not eaſy to conceive, why this Prince, even ſuppoſing him Maſter of that Part of *China*, ſhould chuſe to reſide in a narrow Slip of Country, divided by a wide Sea from the reſt of his Dominions. The ſame Hiſtories ſpeak of a Country lying to the North-Eaſt, but ſtill on the ſame Continent, from whence one would imagine, that ſome Alteration has happened on that Side, and that ſome Earthquake or Inundation ſeparated *Corea* from the Land of *Yedſo*, which is no other than the Southern Part of that great Peninſula, known to the *Ruſſians* by the Name of *Kamkatſka*. The greateſt Part of their Hiſtory is taken up in accounting for their Diſputes with the *Chineſe*, from whom they often revolted, and were as often reduced; and in them likewiſe they give a large Account of their having attacked and ſubdued the *Nieuchieu Tartars*, or at leaſt a Nation that formerly inhabited their Country.

Towards the latter End of the fifteenth Century, the *Japoneſe* invaded *Corea*, and were at firſt very ſucceſsful, driving the King from his Capital, and becoming Maſters of the greateſt Part of his Dominions; but he having Recourſe to the *Chineſe*, they, after a long and bloody War, drove out the *Japoneſe* from all except two Provinces. Soon after this, another great Army landing from *Japan*, the War was carried on with greater Vigour than ever, but at laſt the *Coreans* and their Confederates had ſo much the better of theſe Invaders, that they concluded a Peace, and agreed to quit the Country, which they did. Before this Time, the *Coreans* and *Japoneſe* had always lived, not only in Peace, but in perfect Harmony with each other, inſomuch, that many of both Nations were reſpectively ſettled in the others Country; but theſe Wars occaſioned ſuch an implacable Spirit of Reſentment, which ſometime after the Concluſion of the laſt, the *Japoneſe* took an Opportunity of maſſacring all the *Coreans* that were ſettled in their Dominions. All theſe Events, and many more are found in the *Japoneſe* Chronicles, and are briefly ſet down in the Hiſtories of that Country, written by the Chriſtian Miſſionaries, which is a very ſtrong Confirmation of the Veracity of the *Corean* Hiſtories.

About the Beginning of the laſt Century, the *Man tchou Tartars*, after they became Maſters of *Leontong*, attacked and reduced the Kingdom of *Corea*, that is, obliged the King to acknowledge their Khan for his Sovereign, and to pay him Tribute; which the *Coreans* reſented as the moſt grievous Indignity, having, as we obſerved before, been once Maſters of this Country themſelves; but ſince theſe *Tartars* have reduced *China*, the *Coreans* no longer conſider their Subjection as a Diſgrace, but remain well ſatisfied with their Condition, as indeed they have good Reaſon, ſince it has preſerved them for the Space of one hundred and fifty Years, in a State of conſtant and ſettled Peace. All the Marks of Submiſſion required from them, is, to ſend annually an Embaſſador, or rather an Embaſſy, for ſometimes there are three or four Perſons charged with equal Powers to *Pekin*. Theſe have alſo a Commiſſion in Reference to Trade, are intruſted with all the Commodities and Manufactures which the *Coreans* are allowed to tranſport into *China*, and are impowered to ſettle and receive the Price or Equivalent for them.

The only ſenſible or uneaſy Mark of Dependance which this Nation feels, ariſes from the Uſage this Embaſſador and his Retinue meets with, for they are aſſigned a Dwelling-Place in *Pekin*, which the *Chineſe* are pleaſed to call a Palace, but from its Outſide Appearance, and the Care with which it is guarded, it might better paſs for a Gaol; there they remain from the Time they come, to the Time they leave this Capital of the *Chineſe* Empire, without ſo much as ſtirring, except to Audience, and without ſeeing any but ſuch as are firſt examined by their Guards. The Reaſon of all this Jealouſy, which of late Years has increaſed rather than abated, is the Dread the *Chineſe* are under of the *Coreans* coming to have any Intercourſe with the *Ruſſians*, who are their very near Neighbours, and might find an eaſy Acceſs into their Country, in Caſe they had Notice of it, and of the Advantages that might accrue from their ſettling a Trade with theſe People.

The *Chineſe* are the more uneaſy about this for two Reaſons; firſt, becauſe they know that the *Coreans* are naturally hoſpitable, deſirous of ſeeing Strangers, and very willing to entertain and trade with them; and ſecondly, becauſe this would place the *Ruſſians* on both Sides their Empire, and in ſome Meaſure between them and *Japan*, which is what they could not bear, and muſt be attended with a long and dangerous War, to remove an Evil of which they are ſo apprehenſive. It was for this, and no other Cauſe, that they inſiſted ſo peremptorily on making the River *Amur* the Northern Boundary of their Dominions, becauſe they judged that this would effectually cut off all Communication between the *Ruſſians* and the *Coreans*, or rather all Poſſibility of a Communication, as by Land it really does. But they made uſe of a very plauſible Pretence, which was, that the *Ruſſians* diſturbed them in their Pearl Fiſhery in that River, a Thing in itſelf of no great Conſequence to either Nation, and which therefore the *Ruſſians* readily gave up in Hopes of a ſettled and quiet Trade with *China*. This was alſo the ſecret and true Reaſon, why the *Chineſe* Miniſters would not long endure the Preſence of a *Ruſſian* Reſident at *Pekin*, notwithſtanding that they kept him in full as great Reſtraint, as they do the *Corean* Ambaſſadors, and at laſt led them to inſiſt upon the ſending away the *Sieur du Lange*, who had that Character from the Czar of *Muſcovy*. But after all, theſe Precautions need be no Bar to the *Ruſſians*, whilſt the Paſſage is open and eaſy by Sea, as will be ſhewn hereafter; the *Coreans* themſelves making Uſe of it to carry on a ſmall and inconſiderable Trade with the Subjects of *Ruſſia*, without knowing from what Country they come, or of what Nation they are.

4. The Reader has been already told, that there is Reaſon to believe, this Country made formerly quite a different Appearance from what it does at preſent; and that the whole Gulph, which ſeparates *Corea* from the oppoſite Coaſt of *China*, and which extends to full ſeven Degrees of Longitude, was formerly dry Land. The Reader has been alſo told, that in the moſt ancient and authentick Hiſtories, this Country is ſaid to have been inhabited by various Nations; and in the Accounts we have of the Provinces into which *Corea* is now divided, we are told to which of theſe ancient Nations they belonged; but at the ſame Time we find the Names of other Nations whoſe Dwellings are not to be found, and who from the Actions recorded of them appear to have been all ſettled on the Weſt Side of the *Peninſula*, which affords another Argument to prove, that a vaſt Tract of Country was anciently either ſubverted by an Earthquake, or overflowed by the Sea.

Our preſent Buſineſs is with what remains, and with the Kingdom of *Corea* as it ſtands at this Day, when it is divided into eight Provinces; the firſt of theſe is *Hien king*, which is as much as to ſay, *the proſperous Court*; it is the North-eaſt Quarter of *Corea* ſtretching all along the Sea of *Japan*, which by the Way is almoſt as cloſe ſhut up as the *Black Sea*; and this is the Reaſon that when there are any Kinds of Winds, the Navigation is extremely dangerous, the Waves running exceſſively high, and beating with prodigious Fury upon the Coaſt, which is but bleak and inhoſpitable, except at its very Extremity, where it is divided from the Country of the *Man tcheou Tartars* by a very large River, on the Banks of which are ſeveral good Towns, and the Diſtricts round them are very well cultivated. This Province was the native Seat of the *Kaſkiuli*, a Nation that in Proceſs of Time overcame all the reſt, and ſtretched their Sway over the whole Country. It is from this Province, 'that the Inhabitants in their ſmall Veſſels glide along the Coaſt under a Notion of Pearl Fiſhing, but in Reality that they may trade with their Northern Neighbours, and ſometimes with the *Ruſſians*, who take them for *Japoneſe*.

The next Province to this is that of *Ping ncan*, which makes the North-weſt Side of *Corea*, or, ſtrictly ſpeaking, of the Continent of *Corea*, for this with the Province before-mentioned, lie to the North of the *Peninſula*, and make a Part of the great Continent of *Aſia*. This Province, the Name of which ſignifies *the peaceable Land*, or *the Country of Quiet*, is bounded on the Weſt by the Province of *Leaotong*, and on the South by the *Yellow Sea* or *Corean Gulph*. It is through this Province that the River *Yalou* rolls its Courſe, till it falls into the *Yellow Sea*; and it may not be amiſs to obſerve; that according to the *Chineſe* Cuſtom of diſtinguiſhing their Rivers by the Colour, this has received the Name of *Yalou Kiang*, that is as much as to ſay, the *Green River*, from the Tincture of its Waters, which are ſuppoſed to be mineral, and are therefore ſeldom drank till they have been boiled, and have ſtood ſo long as to precipitate a Kind of yellow Sediment. This is a very large, populous, and well-built Province, which is chiefly owing to the River, that is navigable above ninety Miles, and has ſeveral large trading Towns upon its Banks. It was the ancient Habitation of the *Tchao ſſien*, which, as we have heretofore obſerved, is the Name now beſtowed in the Records of *China* upon the whole Country of *Corea*.

The Province of *Kitang yuen* lies on the North-eaſt Side of the *Peninſula*, and the Name ſignifies the River's Source; it ſtretches along the Sea of *Japan*, and has under its Juriſdiction a great Number of ſmall Iſlands, inhabited chiefly by Fiſhermen. The Climate of this Country is remarkably pleaſant, being neither exceſſively cold in the Winter, nor ſcorching hot in the Summer. It is finely diverſified with Hills and Plains, and the beſt Timber in *Corea* for Houſe and Ship-building grows here. It is very populous, but the People live moſtly in Villages and ſmall Towns, as being addicted chiefly to Paſturage, Tillage, and Fiſhing. In the Time of the Wars between the *Japoneſe* and *Coreans* this Country was the principal Scene of Action, and conſequently ſuffered extremely; and therefore to this Cauſe we may reaſonably refer there being no Cities, and but very few great Towns within its Limits; and perhaps to this likewiſe is owing the Activity, Hardineſs and martial Genius of its Inhabitants, who are all well diſciplined, and remarkably ſkilful in military Exerciſes. This Province is likewiſe famous for a good Breed of ſmall but ſerviceable Horſes.

The oppoſite Province, or the North-weſt Side of the *Peninſula*, is ſtiled *Hoang hai*, which is as much as to ſay, *the Yellow Sea*, from its ſtretching along the Coaſts of it. It extends Northwards as far as the Mouth of the River *Yalou*, and ſtretches from thence Southwards for the Space of two hundred Miles. It is for the moſt Part a flat and fruitful Country, abounding with People who live in Cities and large Towns, and are much addicted to Trade and Manufactures; on the Coaſt there are ſeveral very large Iſlands, particularly, *Tſiao tong* and *Tſiang hoa*, the latter deriving its Name from a great City, the Inhabitants of which are chiefly employed in making a Kind of Stuffs that are very thin and light, but withal very cloſe and warm. This was anciently the Seat of a Nation called *Mahans*, tho' they ought rather to be regarded as a Tribe, for the true Name of the Nation was *Han*, the largeſt of all thoſe ſeparate People that originally inhabited this Country, and therefore divided into three Tribes, inhabiting as many different Diſtricts.

The middle Province is called *King ki*, the former ſignifying, as we have often before obſerved, a *Court*, the latter a *Region*, *Province*, or *Diſtrict*; and it is ſo called, becauſe the City of *Kingki tao*, which was the ancient Capital of this Country, ſtands therein. This is the only Inland Province in *Corea*, and lies preciſely in the Heart of the Country, being about two hundred Miles from North to South, and near an hundred from Weſt to Eaſt. There can be hardly imagined a Country more pleaſant, more fruitful, or better peopled than this is, full of large Towns and almoſt innumerable Villages, and containing beſides ſeveral great and well-built Cities. The Inhabitants are remarkable for Learning and Politeneſs, and the Buildings in this Country are little, if at all inferior, to thoſe of *China*, even in its beſt Provinces. The King has in this Country m[illegible] noble Palaces, adorned with fine Gardens, and ſp[illegible]ous Parks well ſtocked with Game. The People [illegible] this Province are a Mixture of all the Nations tha[illegible]ormerly inhabited *Corea*, and it appears from the[illegible] Hiſtories, that this is a new Province taken out o[illegible] the reſt, and peculiarly ſubject to the Tribunals of [illegible]e Royal Cities, from whence Mandaryns are ſent t[illegible] govern the ſeveral

Diſtricts into which it is divided; but the chief Cities are under the Direction of particular Mandaryns, and the Troops both here and in the reſt of the Provinces, are commanded by the Nobility or Perſons of Eſtates, who raiſe them amongſt their Vaſſals, holding moſt of their Lands from the King by a Sort of Military Tenure. The Corn and Fruits that grow in this Country are the beſt in *Corea*, which perhaps is chiefly owing to the great Care taken in their Cultivation.

The South-eaſt Province of *Corea* is called *Kin chan*, which is bounded on the Eaſt and on the South by the Sea of *Japan*, abounds with Cities and great Towns, and there are five large and commodious Ports in this Diſtrict; the Southern Extremity, which is directly over-againſt the two great Iſlands that form what we call *Japan*, is diſtanced from thence about one hundred Miles, and there are Veſſels that paſs regularly from one Country to another thrice in a Week. It is neceſſary to obſerve, that in theſe Streights which ſeparate *Corea* from *Japan*, there lie two ſmall Iſlands, *Key* and *Der*, which are as it were in the Middle; from the Mountains, in both of them, the Coaſts of each Country are very eaſily diſcovered. Theſe Iſlands are ſmall but very fruitful, and it would be no difficult Matter to erect on either a Fortreſs capable of reſiſting any Force that theſe People could employ againſt it; ſo that if any *European* Nation ſhould ſettle themſelves here under the Direction of a wiſe and prudent Governor, and with a competent Body of ſeaſoned Troops, he might maintain himſelf, and provided he attempted Nothing upon the oppoſite Continents, might very ſoon compaſs a free Trade with one, if not both Nations.

The Province of *Tchu ſin* occupies the South-weſt Side of the *Peninſula*, lying over-againſt the Province of *Chan tong* in *China*, from whence the North-eaſt Extremity of it is diſtant about forty Leagues, whereas the South-weſt Point of it is full two hundred Leagues diſtant. The Name of this Province ſignifies *Ever Faithful*, and alſo *without Blemiſh*; and it was ſo called, becauſe in the Wars with the *Japoneſe* it was never conquered. The Air here is ſoft and temperate, for the moſt Part, and though their Summers are pretty hot, the Soil is very fruitful; it is watered by ſeveral fine Rivers, and beſides a Multitude of Villages, and a great Number of good Towns, there are in it four great Cities. The People are very induſtrious, not only in the Cultivation of their Land, but alſo in Manufactures, in Navigation and Fiſhing, which makes them very ſtout and hardy, ſo that the beſt Infantry in *Corea* are thoſe raiſed from thence. There are ſeveral conſiderable Iſlands along the Coaſt, and at the Diſtance of about ten Leagues from the South-weſt Corner is the great Iſland of *Fong* or *Fong ma*, which is near ſeventy Miles in Circumference, and upon which, if the *Europeans* could make a Settlement, it would lie conveniently enough for the Trade of *China* and *Japan*, as well as *Corea*, ſince it is not above eighty Leagues from the former, and not quite ſixty from the latter.

The eighth and laſt Province in this Country is *Tſuen lo*, which lies between the two Provinces laſt mentioned, and takes up the Middle of the Southern Extremity of the *Peninſula*, the Ocean waſhing its Coaſts, which extend about one hundred and fifty Leagues. It was anciently the Country of the *Pien han*, which was the third Tribe of that Nation, and is at preſent inhabited by a very robuſt and induſtrious People, who are naturally civil and courteous to Strangers, and much addicted to Commerce. The whole Courſe of this Country is, as it were, covered with Iſlands, ſome of which are rocky and uninhabited, others equally fruitful and populous. There are many great Towns, and two large Cities, in this Province, and it is generally believed that there is more ſhipping belonging to it than to any of the reſt. The Iſland of *Ke'paert* lies about twenty four Leagues due South from its Coaſts, and is much larger than any of the Iſlands hitherto mentioned, but notwithſtanding this great Diſtance, it is in a Manner united to *Corea* by an *Archipelago* of Iſlands that lie to the North-weſt of it, and reach to the very Shore. We ſhall have Occaſion to mention this Iſland hereafter, and ſhall not therefore dwell any longer upon it here.

Thus the Reader has as clear and diſtinct a Geographical Deſcription of the whole of this Country as we have been able to give him, after comparing together a Multitude of different Accounts, ſome of which were written above an hundred Years ago, when it ſeems that *Corea* was better known to the *Europeans* than it is at preſent. Within the Compaſs of theſe eight Provinces they reckon forty Cities, to whom *Mandaryns* are ſent directly from the Court, and of which there are generally three in each. Beſides theſe, there are thirty three great Towns of the firſt Order, like thoſe which in *China* are called *Fou*, upon which are depending ſixty of the ſecond Order, equivalent to thoſe which the *Chineſe* call *Tchou*, and no leſs than ſeventy *Hien*, or Towns of the third Order, every one of which has at leaſt ſix or ſeven, ſome of them upwards of twenty Villages in their Diſtricts. The Northern Provinces are mountainous, and the Air ſharp and cold, notwithſtanding which they produce all the Neceſſaries of Life, have Woods of moſt excellent Timber, in which are Abundance of wild Beaſts that produce Furs, little if at all inferior to thoſe of *Siberia*; and on the Frontiers of thoſe Provinces towards *Tartary*, the greateſt Plenty of *Gin ſeng* is found, of which they make a great Profit by ſelling it to the *Chineſe*. There are alſo Mines of all Sorts, and even of Gold, of which a conſiderable Quantity is annually ſent to *China*. The Southern Provinces, that is to ſay, the three laſt mentioned, are as rich and fruitful in Grain and Corn as any in the World.

The Reader is to obſerve, that when we ſpeak of Corn, it is to be underſtood, in the Northern Parts, of Barley, and in the Southern Parts of Rice; and though they want not other Grain of various Sorts, they have alſo excellent Roots, ſome of which in Taſte reſemble the Potatoe, but are of a much larger Size. As for Fruits, they have thoſe of *Europe*, ſuch as Apples and Pears, in the Northern Provinces, and the richeſt Fruits of *China* in the Southern. As for their Timber, it conſiſts of Oak, Cheſnut, Pine, Fir, and of ſeveral Sorts that are not known in *Europe*. Silver and Lead they have in great Plenty, but the latter is not ſo good as that of *Europe*, which in all Probability is owing to their Want of Skill in managing the Ore, for its Defects conſiſt in being hard and brittle. Horſes and Cows are in vaſt Abundance, and they make uſe of Oxen to plough their Land, and to draw their Carriages; in the Woods they have Bears and Foxes, Zibbelins and Caſtors, wild Boars in great Numbers, a good Breed of tame Swine, chiefly black. Their Rivers are well ſtored with Fiſh, and would be much better ſtocked if they were not infeſted with Crocodiles, and thoſe too of a moſt enormous Size, ſome of thirty Foot long. They have alſo great Plenty of all Sorts of Fowl, ſuch as Swans, Geeſe, Ducks, Storks, Herons, Pidgeons, Woodcocks, Pheaſants, and tame Fowl, that are excellent. They have likewiſe Eagles, Falcons, Kites, and other Birds of Prey, and many Kinds of very beautiful Birds, which are not known in *Europe*, ſome of great Value, with party-colour'd Feathers in their Tails which are three Foot long, and theſe are commonly either exported to *China* or *Japan*, and make alſo Part of the annual Preſent ſent to *Pekin* for the Emperor.

5. The Inhabitants of the Northern Provinces are generally tall, active, well ſhaped, healthy, robuſt People, with very little about them of the *Tartar*; but thoſe of the South are of a more ſickly Complexion, weaker Bodies, and in their Perſons and Temper very much reſembling the *Chineſe*. In the Northern Provinces, moſt People wear a Kind of Furr Caps, ſilk Veſts, which in the Winter are lined with Lamb-ſkin; and the Women wear their Jackets and Petticoats flounced and fringed with Gold Lace. Moſt Perſons of Quality affect to have their Robes of Violet-colour'd Silk; in the other Provinces both Men and Women are dreſt in painted Linen or Chinces, but are, generally ſpeaking, adorned with Silver and Gold Ornaments notwithſtanding. As they have Hemp and Flax in the Nor-

thern Parts in Plenty, they make vaſt Quantities of Cloth, but none of the Memoirs that I have ſeen make any Mention of Cotton. They are very neat in their Dreſs, and the better Sort affect Magnificence, yet they are far from being vain, and can be hardly ſaid to have any Faſhions amongſt them. Their Cities are walled and fortified, but neither ſo ſtrongly nor ſo neatly as in *China*; their Houſes are commonly no more than one Story, with a Kind of Cock-loft over them, in which their Merchants keep their Goods; and in private Families they ſerve for their Fruit. In their Villages they build with Earth, but in all their great Towns and Cities with Brick; but they thatch every where either with Straw or Reeds, which is the only Kind of Covering they have. The People are courteous, modeſt, and well behaved, yet their Morals are not quite ſo regular as in Times paſt, when Robbery, Murder, and Adultery, were Crimes unknown amongſt them. They have common Women amongſt them as in *China*, and none of their young Men are aſhamed of converſing with, or being ſeen in their Company. They allow their Wives much greater Liberties than in *China*; and for this Reaſon the *Chineſe* eſteem them *Barbarians*, though in all other Reſpects they ſpeak of them not fairly only, but with Reverence.

In point of Learning they fall little, if at all, ſhort of the *Chineſe*; and here, as well as in *China*, none but Scholars are preferred to Employments. They beſtow Degrees once in three Years, and all who are Candidates for them undergo a very rigorous Examination; ſo that it is very difficult to obtain any Promotion but by Merit. With Reſpect to Religion, People of Diſtinction are generally bred up in the Sentiments of *Confucius*, and are a Sort of moral Deiſts, who make an uncorrupted Probity their Point of Honour. The common People are Idolaters of the *Indian* Sect, and have amongſt them a vaſt Number of *Bonzes*; they have alſo Monaſteries of both Sexes, where People lead ſingle Lives, but are reſtrained only by their own Choice, for they may marry if they think fit, and ſometimes they do.

As to their Eſtates, the King has the ſole Property in the Land, which is granted out to every Man in Proportion to his Family, but perſonal Eſtates deſcend from Father to Son. The *Mandaryns* have alſo Lands aſſigned them for the Support of their Dignity, which they let out in Farms, but receive their Rent in Kind and not in Money. The Monarchs of *Corea* are abſolute, except the Homage they pay to the Emperor of *China*, from whom they receive the Inveſtiture of their Dominions by their Ambaſſadors; and though the Heir apparent enter immediately on the Adminiſtration from the Deceaſe of his Predeceſſor, yet neither he nor his Conſort aſſume Regal Titles till they have the Emperor's Conſent, which is always given; and as the whole Ceremony upon this Occaſion is very exactly regulated, as well as the Tribute paid, which amounts to eight hundred Taels; ſo there never happens any Diſputes.

Each Province maintains a certain Number of Horſe and Foot, except that in which the Capital City ſtands, and which is exempted on the Score of maintaining the Court. The Troops of each Province ſerve annually about the King's Perſon, ſo that he ſees the whole Force of *Corea* once in ſeven Years; but proportionable Detachments are ſent from every Province to guard that whoſe Forces are about the King. They are remarkably mild in their Puniſhments for common Crimes; they are bamboo'd or baſtinado'd, but with more Modeſty and leſs Severity than in *China*. Adultery, Murder, and Treaſon, are puniſhed by Beheading; and for other Offences capital in their Nature, the Criminals are baniſhed into the adjacent Iſlands.

Poetry and Muſick are their principal Amuſements, more eſpecially publick Spectacles, ſuch as Comedies, Tragedies, and Operas, in the Performance of which they ſpare no Expence. It has been ſurmiſed that they were very ignorant, becauſe they fetched their Kalendars annually from *Pekin*, but in Reality this is a Point of Submiſſion to the *Chineſe* Court, which is alſo paid by the Inhabitants of every Province of that Empire from political Conſiderations, and they go in the tenth Month of every Year to receive their Kalendars for the next. The People of *Corea* are the moſt dutiful in the World to their Parents; it is ſaid that Diſobedience is capital by the Laws, but that there has been no Inſtance of any Puniſhment of that Sort, the very Law preventing any ſuch Offence. They mourn for their Fathers and Mothers three Years, during all which Time the Corpſe is kept embalmed in their Houſe; at the End of that Space the Body is interred, and the Wearing Apparel, Horſes, Dogs, and whatever elſe belonged to the Perſon of the Deceaſed, are diſtributed among the Relations at the Funeral. The Mourning for a Brother laſts in the ſame Manner for three Months.

The common People are plainly clad, and ſo are their Soldiers, who carry a Pole-axe, a Firelock, and have a Sabre at their Sides; they live, generally ſpeaking, ſoberly, though they have great Plenty of every thing, and make very good Ale, or if you pleaſe to call it Wine, of Rice, from whence alſo they diſtil Arrack, which is preferable to that of the *Eaſt-Indies*, being a clearer and ſtronger, as well as a better flavoured Spirit. Tea is much drank in the Northern Provinces, but leſs uſed in the South, where their Rivers are bright and clear, ſo that they have every where good Water, which is wanting in *China*, and of which there is alſo a Scarcity in *Japan*.

6. We have obſerved, that the Subjection of the *Coreans* to the *Chineſe*, is very far from being burthenſome to them, but this muſt be underſtood of their Condition in their own Country; for in Reference to the Deputies that are ſent once a Year into *China*, and who are generally accompanied by about threeſcore Merchants, they are certainly treated with as much Severity and Indignity as People well can be. The Months in which they travel are *March* and *Auguſt*; in the former they ſometimes croſs the Gulph of *Corea* upon the Ice with their Carriages; but in *Auguſt* they come in pretty large Veſſels, and having debarked their Cargoes, convey them by Land to *Pekin*. The Commodities they bring are principally theſe that follow:

A coarſe Kind of Paper made of raw Silk, very thick, ſmooth, even, and ſtrong, which is made Uſe of in *China* inſtead of Glaſs to cover their Windows. A very fine, thin, white, and ſmooth Paper for Writing. A third Sort of Paper thick like the firſt, and ſmooth and fine like the laſt, with large Figures emboſſed in Gold and Silver, made uſe of for Hangings. It may not be amiſs to obſerve here, that eight hundred Years ago the *Chineſe* had that black ſhining Stick Ink, which they now make themſelves, from the *Coreans*, and they acknowledge that they were three hundred Years before they arrived at the Art of making it in the ſame Perfection. Umbrelloes of all Sorts, very ſtrong and very neat. Fine Matts, beautifully wrought and of many Colours. Tobacco of a ſmall Cut for Smoaking; this they had from the *Japoneſe*, to whom it was brought by the *Portugueſe*; it is of the *Brazil* Kind, and the *Chineſe* eſteem it much more than their own. Striped Cottons of ſeveral Kinds, Furrs of various Sorts, dried Fiſh, which are taken out of large Shells in the Sea of *Japan*.

They bring with them likewiſe vaſt Quantities of Silver and Gold, Part in Ingots, and Part in *Spaniſh* Piſtoles. They are cloſe ſhut up, as in a Priſon, all the while they remain at *Pekin*; and the *Mandaryn* who has the Guard of them, ſells the Liberty of trading with the *Coreans* to the Merchants who give moſt; and yet theſe have not the Liberty of conferring with them but in the Preſence of a Soldier and two Interpreters. Whenever they ſtir abroad they have a Guard about them with Whips in their Hands, who laſh any that come near, or offer to ſpeak to them.

The Goods they purchaſe are fine Silks in prodigio Quantities, but raw; a Kind of Damaſk, which y take off alſo in great Quantities; a Sort of ve thin Silk for Linings, which the *Chineſe* call *Fa*; Tea and China-ware, white Copper Veſſels of al orts, vaſt Quantities of Cotton, Part of which the anufacture in ſuch a Manner, that they bring it b and ſell it in *China* at a high Price.

The *Coreans* likewiſe bring as Curioſities, fine Pencils made of the Hair of their Wolves Tails; a Sort of yellow Varniſh that ſhines like Gold, made of the Gum of a Kind of Palm-tree, as alſo ſeveral Iron and Steel Wares. Once in three or four Years, when the Seaſon affords them a ſafe Paſſage over the Mountains, they bring their Caravans by Land, and in them great Quantities of Silver, that they may buy up the more raw Silk, which they manufacture for their Trade, though the *Chineſe* prohibit them dealing with any foreign Nation whatever, and have a *Mandaryn* at the King of *Corea*'s Court to ſee that this Probibition is obſerved; and he is very careful in this Particular in all Caſes but where he is largely paid for not being ſo.

It is not eaſy to enter into the Reaſons why the *Chineſe* are ſo exceſſively jealous of the *Coreans* having any Commerce with Strangers, except the Dread they have of Foreigners eſtabliſhing themſelves in that Country, from whence they might ſo eaſily paſs over into *China* itſelf. But of all Nations they moſt dread the *Ruſſians*, and it is not ſo much through Ignorance as Cunning, that all their Maps of the Frontiers of *Corea* are ſo incorrect. But this Kind of Precaution can only be of Uſe in deceiving the *Europeans*, for as to the Natives of *Corea*, they have ſo much of the *Chineſe* in them, that they have falſified their Maps and Charts likewiſe, and repreſent the North-eaſt Coaſt of their Country as utterly innavigable, on Account of Shallows, Rocks, and Banks of Sand, which is only with a View to cover their Trade on that Side, in which they employ a great Number of Veſſels under the Pretence of the Fiſhery. For in the *Japoneſe* Sea there are Shell-fiſh of a moſt enormous Size, which being broke ſo as to get out the Fiſh, they hang up and dry it, ſprinkling it from Time to Time with Salt Water; this dried Fiſh, which in Taſte reſembles Codſouns, are held a great Delicacy in *China*, and are ſold at a pretty good Price; but the *Coreans* will tell you that they get Millions by them, which alludes to their clandeſtine Trade, that is chiefly covered by Preſents of theſe Fiſh made to the *Chineſe Mandaryn* reſident in *Corea*.

7. In ancient Times, as has been already obſerved, the Intercourſe between the People of *Corea* and of *Japan* was very great, and highly beneficial to both Countries; and we have likewiſe ſhewn how this Intercourſe was interrupted, and the Means by which it was followed with Hatred as implacable on both Sides, as their former Friendſhip was cordial and ſincere. In Proceſs of Time however, and by a Suſpenſion of Injuries on all Sides, this Enmity is again in a great Meaſure wore out, at leaſt among the People of both Nations, for the Governments ſtill keep at their old Diſtance, the *Japoneſe* from political Jealouſy of all Strangers, and the *Coreans*, becauſe the Court of *China* has ſtrictly forbid all Traffick between them and the *Japoneſe*.

But for all this, the Commerce is conſtant, regular, and even public enough between the two Nations, and the Manner in which it is managed is this: There is a pretty large Iſland between *Corea* and *Japan*, but nearer to the Coaſts of *Japan*, which in our *European* Map is called *Suſima*, but by the *Coreans Tui la tao*; and this by the *Japoneſe* Government has been yielded to the King of *Corea*, with an evident Intention to facilitate the Trade between their Subjects, notwithſtanding the Prohibitions on both Sides. In this Iſland, the Property of which, as we have obſerved, belongs now to the *Coreans*, the *Japoneſe* Merchants have vaſt Magazines, ſo that all Ships that come hither are very ſpeedily laden; and on the other Hand, the *Coreans* have their Magazines at *Tſin tchſion*, in the Province of *Tſuen lo*, from whence they are brought by two navigable Rivers, one of which falls into the other, and the Mouth of the latter is directly over-againſt the Iſland of *Tui la tao*, at the Diſtance only of eighteen Leagues.

It remains now to give an Account of the Merchandize in which the Traders of both Countries deal; and firſt with Regard to the *Japoneſe*; their Magazines are conſtantly full of Pepper of *Sapan*, and other ſweet-ſcented and fine Woods, Bouffiers Horns, which the *Coreans* burn, and uſe the Powder in making their Ink; of Deer and Goat-ſkins, and of various *European* Commodities, which they purchaſe partly from the *Dutch* in their own Country, and partly from the *Chineſe*. The *Coreans*, on the other Hand, barter with the *Japoneſe*, Tyger Skins, Furrs, Lead, Ginſeng, ſeveral Sorts of Varniſh; and the Balance of this Trade, generally in Favour of the *Japoneſe*, is paid in Ingots of Silver. They likewiſe change their Ingots for *Spaniſh* Ducats, upon which they receive a Premium of Six or Seven *per Cent.* and the Deſign of this is to carry theſe Ducats to *China*, to conceal the better that Plenty of Silver which they have of their own; but the Ducats produced by this Trade are believed not to amount to a tenth Part of what the *Coreans* carrry to *China*; and how they come by the reſt will be explained hereafter.

Beſides this Trade with the *Japoneſe*, they carry on a Sort of ſmuggling Commerce at the Iſland of *Kelpraet* or *Quelpraet*, where there are alſo Magazines of both Nations, but not near ſo great as thoſe of *Tui ta lao*; for, as we ſhall hereafter inform the Reader, this Iſland is chiefly remarkable for a Kind of Smugling or contraband Trade, for which there never was a Place better ſituated or diſpoſed by Nature, as having convenient Ports on all Sides. Some modern Writers ſay, that the *Coreans* exchanged this Iſland with the *Japoneſe* for that of *Tui ta lao*, which is a Point that hitherto is not ſupported by ſufficient Evidence. The *Dutch* Seamen that were ſhipwrecked here in 1662, and whoſe Account of *Corea* is almoſt the only one publiſhed, make this a Place of much too great Conſequence to be exchanged; and as other Accounts we have from the *Philippines* admit there are great Numbers of *Japoneſe* ſettled here, perhaps this may be thought Foundation enough for ſuch a Report.

It is indeed very certain, that the printed Relations of all theſe Countries are very ſuperficial, and are to be read with great Caution; the Miſſionaries in *Japan* were able to give no Account of *Corea*, but as they met with it in *Japoneſe* Books; ſince they fairly acknowledge, that none of their Fathers ever went there, and if they had, perhaps they would not have learned much more than thoſe who went to *Jedzo*, and yet were not able to ſay whether it was a Continent or an Iſland. The laſt of the Miſſionaries Account of *China* admit, that what is contained in the *Chineſe* Maps and Books concerning *Corea*, cannot well be depended upon. His Excellency Mr. *Yſbrants Ides*, who with vaſt Pains and Difficulty made a large Map of his Travels, which he ſent to Burgomaſter *Witzen*, and who ſettled his Geographical Faith upon it, though he is very accurate in deſcribing the Countries through which he paſſed, is miſerably miſtaken in all thoſe that he has ventured to lay down from Information. As for *Corea*, he makes it a ſmall Iſland, with a Strait to the North between it and *China* almoſt as broad as the Gulph, by which it is really divided from that Country on the Weſt; and as to the North-eaſt Continent of *Aſia*, it is laid down within the ſame Longitude with *Corea*, whereas the Country of *Kamſkatſka* ſtretches ſeveral Degrees to the Eaſt, and if produced, would lie in a Manner parallel to *Corea*, as the *Peninſula* of *Corea* lies parallel to the Continent of *China*. The *Dutch*, while they were poſſeſſed of *Formoſa*, had great Opportunities of becoming acquainted with the Coaſt of *Corea*, and accordingly, by the Favour of a very worthy Perſon, I have ſeen ſeveral remarkable Paſſages in the Journals of a Perſon in a diſtinguiſhed Station at *Formoſa*, which are vaſtly clearer than any Thing publiſhed of late Years, though written above a Century ago.

As far as I know, there is Nothing of this Sort printed; and as for the Shipwreck of the *Dutch* Seamen on *Quelpraet*, it will be a uſeful Thing to thoſe who have read this Section, becauſe they will then ſee the Reaſon of the Treatment thoſe Seamen met with from the *Coreans*, and of the great Dread theſe People had of the *Tartars*, by whom they had not then been ſubdued full thirty Years. We might expect ſome tolerable Account of theſe North-eaſt Parts of *Aſia* in the *Spaniſh* Hiſtories of the *Philippines*, if there were any ſuch, of modern Date, but we know only of one, and that printed at *Madrid* in 1733, and ſuppreſſed for

Reaſons of State. The Truth of the Matter is, that the *Spaniards* are as ſuſpicious and jealous of that Colony as the *Chineſe* are of *Corea*; and with ſome Reaſon, for *Manila* is incredibly rich, and the Trade driven there is not of a Nature to be diſcloſed, as appears from ſome Memoirs lately tranſmitted from *Batavia*, in which we are told, that if this Country was in the Hands of any but the *Spaniards*, it would produce as much Benefit to *Europe*, as all the other trading Settlements in the *Eaſt Indies* put together.

8. After what has been already ſaid of the many Difficulties that occur in obtaining Accounts that may be depended upon of the Commerce of the *Coreans*, the Reader will, no Doubt, be pleaſed with whatever can be rationally given him upon this Subject, though it is not quite ſo full, ſo clear, or ſo certain as either he could deſire, or we could wiſh; but upon this he may depend, that we ſhall ſet Things before him in a juſt Light, and leave that to his Deciſion, which perhaps ſome Writers would have delivered with a greater Degree of Confidence, and conſequently leſs Reſpect to Truth. In the firſt Place, we lay it down as a Thing abſolutely certain, that notwithſtanding all the Precautions of the *Chineſe*, the *Coreans* carry on a very large Trade; which appears thus:

They purchaſe vaſt Quantities of raw Silk in *China*, beyond the Degree of Conſumption in their Country, which they muſt manufacture and diſpoſe of ſomewhere, otherwiſe their Trade with *China* would have declined, whereas it increaſes. They take off large Quantities of manufactured Silks in *China*, more eſpecially of that Sort of Damaſk, which from its being chiefly in Demand from them, the *Chineſe* call *Kao li Toanza*, i. e. *Corean Damaſk*, very little of which however is worn by them. They pay for moſt of their Goods in *Spaniſh* Silver, which *Spaniſh* Silver muſt be acquired by Trade. They purchaſe no *European* Commodities at *Pekin*, and yet they are common enough all over *Corea*; they muſt therefore have them ſome other Way. They purchaſe ſome ſmall Quantities of *Ruſſian* Furrs, when they are to be had, in *China*, and yet the fineſt *Ruſſian* Furrs are commonly worn by Perſons of Diſtinction in *Corea*, which therefore they muſt obtain by ſome other Channel. They have Spices and other *Indian* Commodities amongſt them, though none of theſe are bought from the *Chineſe*; and they have alſo Amethiſts and Emeralds, which is a Proof of their having Correſpondence with ſome Nations that trade to *America*. We will endeavour to give a probable Account of the Manner in which they come by all, or at leaſt moſt of theſe Commodities and Manufactures, and in ſeveral Inſtances we ſhall confirm our Conjectures by indiſputable Teſtimonies, which in a Matter of this Nature is all that we pretend to do, and is much more than has hitherto been done.

The Country of *Corea*, or to ſpeak with Strictneſs and Propriety, the *Peninſula* of *Corea*, excluding the two Provinces that belong to it upon the Continent, is very carefully laid down in the modern Maps of *China*; but the ſame thing cannot be ſaid of the adjacent Countries to the Eaſt and North-eaſt, as will appear to any competent Judge who will compare the ſeveral Maps of thoſe Countries that are extant, hardly any two of which are alike, and conſequently, tho' it is very poſſible they may be all falſe, yet it is impoſſible they ſhould be all true, and more than probable the greateſt Part have no Reſemblance to Truth.

In the Sieur *Bellin*'s Map, of the laſt Diſcoveries made by the *Ruſſians*, there is a large Gulph which he calls the Gulph of *Kamſchatſka*, which ſeparates that Country from the Continent to which *Corea* is joined, and from this Map it appears to be very eaſy for the *Coreans* to ſail along the Coaſt as high as the River *Amur*, the Mouth of which is there laid down in the Latitude of 46 Degrees, and paſſing up this River they trade with the Subjects of the *Ruſſians*, and ſometimes with the *Ruſſians* themſelves, as appears from what Mr. *Ybrant Ides* tells us of People who come thither dreſt in Robes of blue Silk, with long Beards, who pretend that they dwell in an Iſland lying North-eaſt of that Coaſt. Now, in the firſt Place, we know that the *Coreans* actually dreſs in this Manner, and on the other Hand it is very certain, that the Inhabitants of any Iſland lying to the North-eaſt of the River *Amur*, could not well have Silk of their own Growth, or purchaſe it in *China* without our hearing of them.

The Reaſon why the *Coreans* make uſe of this Method to deceive the *Ruſſians*, is to prevent their Commerce coming to be made known to the *Chineſe*, which they are very ſtudious to avoid, as the *Chineſe* appear to be much more jealous of the *Ruſſians* than of any other Nation. It may be enquired, how it is poſſible for them to avoid a Diſcovery, ſince the *Chineſe* Dominions are now extended to the River *Amur*? To which the plain Anſwer is, That theſe Countries do not belong to the Emperor of *China* in that Quality, but as he is the Sovereign of the *Man tchou Tartars*, and theſe People are not of ſo jealous and ſuſpicious a Nature as the *Chineſe*, and therefore content themſelves very probably with ſuch Accounts, as for their own Conveniency the *Coreans* are pleaſed to give. It is alſo not at all unlikely that they may trade with the Inhabitants of the oppoſite Coaſt of *Kamſchatſka*, but what Commodities they obtain from them we cannot pretend to ſay.

After having thus ſhewn how they obtain rich Furrs, and other Northern Commodities, we will endeavour to deſcribe their Trade to the South, in reference to which the Reader is to obſerve, that under Colour of ſailing to the Iſland of *Quelpraet*, they take in from the Magazines there full of *Chineſe* Commodities, a proper Cargo for the *Philippines*, and paſſing behind the Iſland of *Formoſa* by the Help of the proper Trade Wind, they come ſafely to the Port of *Manila*, where they trade under the Name of *Chineſe*, and by this Means it is that they obtain ſuch Quantities of *Spaniſh* Silver, without which they would find it very difficult, if not impracticable, to carry on their *Chineſe* Trade. Here likewiſe they purchaſe Spices and other *Indian* Commodities; nor is it at all improbable that they trade in their Paſſage home with the Inhabitants of thoſe Iſlands that lie between *Manila* and *Formoſa*.

It may be aſked, What Certainty we have of this? To which I anſwer, That ſince we are certain they have *Spaniſh* Silver, and ſince we are as certain that no *European* Nation trades with them in their own Ports, we may be ſure that they have it this Way, becauſe they can have it no other Way. Beſides, I am ſure they did carry on this Trade above an hundred Years ago, and this from the Lights given me by ſome Papers relating to the melancholy Maſſacre at *Amboyna*, ſeveral of thoſe who were ſtiled *Japoneſe*, and who ſuffered with the *Engliſh* for their pretended Conſpiracy againſt the *Dutch*, were in Reality *Coreans*. If therefore they were expert enough to enter into this Navigation then, what Reaſon is there to doubt that they carry on the ſame Commerce now; more eſpecially ſince we know, that ſo late as the Year 1702, their Merchants brought a large Quantity of *Spaniſh* Silver to *Pekin*.

It may alſo be enquired, how the *Coreans* eſcape being diſcovered by the *Chineſe* at *Manila*? And the Anſwer to this is very ſhort and eaſy. The Trade to *Manila* is as much a contraband Trade to the *Chineſe* as to the *Coreans*, and therefore it would be impoſſible for them to diſcover ſuch an Offence to their Government, without confeſſing themſelves guilty of the ſame Crime; and every body knows that the *Chineſe* are much too cunning to do that. I foreſee alſo that it may be demanded, why, if they trade to *Manila*, they may not alſo trade to *Batavia*? To which I can only ſay, that there are no Proofs of it, nor any great Probability, whereas with Reſpect to their other Commerce we have both Evidence and Probability.

I have already obſerved, that we are far from having diſtinct Accounts of the Commerce at *Manila*, we only know in general Terms, that Veſſels from almoſt all the Countries in the Eaſt reſort thither, not only for the Sake of trading with the *Spaniards*, but with each other. It may indeed be ſaid, that *Macao* lies more conveniently for the *Coreans*, and that they might be furniſhed there with *European*, and perhaps alſo with *Indian* Commodities. But when it is conſidered that this Place is under the Power of the *Chineſe*, who have a *Mandaryn* conſtantly reſiding there, it will appear no proper Port for *Corean* Veſſels; and therefore their not making uſe of it, cannot be eſteemed an Objection of any Weight to the Truth of what I have delivered; neither am I conſcious to myſelf of having concealed any thing that might make againſt the Account which I have given, and which therefore I hope will be thought to deſerve Credit, at leaſt till we can obtain a better.

9. The Pains taken to deſcribe this Country, to digeſt the ſcattered Remains of the Hiſtory of its Inhabitants, to explore their Manners and Cuſtoms, and to inveſtigate the Nature and Circumſtances of their Commerce, might paſs for a very rational Amuſement, even ſuppoſing no higher End to be propoſed, than that of ſupplying the Deficiency of other Writers, and placing in a tolerable Point of Light a Subject that had remained in the Dark before. But I muſt confeſs this was not my Motive, or at leaſt it was not my only Motive; and when I ſay this, I perſuade myſelf that the Reader will not be at all at a Loſs to diſcover what was my Motive. At the Time when an Application to Parliament was deſigned for altering the Method of collecting the Duties upon Tea, which ſince that has in ſome Meaſure taken Place, I remember, among other Suggeſtions this was one, that for many Years paſt our Trade to *China* was declining; and this firſt put me upon enquiring whether there might not poſſibly be ſome Method found of ſupplying this Deficiency in our *India* Trade; and this Hint produced the Thoughts of carrying on a Commerce on the Coaſts of *Corea*; for which I ſought and procured Materials, with an Intent to have publiſhed them by themſelves; but after engaging in this Work, I thought they might be better preſerved here.

The Reaſons which induced me to think a Scheme of this Sort practicable, were chiefly theſe: The Situation of the Country, which being a *Peninſula* with a vaſt Extent of Coaſt, made it probable that ſome convenient Port might be met with to which *Britiſh* Ships might reſort. If upon Trial this ſhould be found either impracticable or difficult, it appeared to me, that as the whole of this Coaſt was ſurrounded by Iſlands, ſome of them might afford ſuch a Port, without the Hazard of navigating a Coaſt which I know ſome of the *Dutch* Charts repreſent as very dangerous, though I am not altogether certain that theſe Charts are to be abſolutely depended upon. Something of this Kind might undoubtedly be undertaken, for as theſe Iſlands are very numerous, it is not to be conceived that in none of them a good Port, a tolerable Bay, or a ſafe Road ſhould be found; becauſe Experience ſhews us, that there is no ſuch Thing to be met with in the reſt of the habitable World. When I found, upon Enquiry, that the *Coreans* were much addicted to Trade, and very deſirous of correſponding with Foreigners, which obliged the *Chineſe* to take ſo many Precautions to prevent their Deputies from indulging this Propenſity during their Stay at *Pekin*; I concluded, that if an Attempt of this Sort was made with proper Care and Diligence, it could not well fail of ſucceeding; and that though very poſſibly the firſt Trials might not be attended with any great or any extraordinary Profit, yet they muſt of Neceſſity afford us great Lights, and enable us by Degrees to open a new Branch of Trade, which in the End muſt tend greatly to our Benefit.

I was confirmed in theſe Notions, by conſidering, that the Inhabitants of the Northern Part of this *Peninſula* live in a very cold Climate; for all the Writers of Credit, in Relation to the Affairs of *China*, agree, that the upper Part of the *Corean* Gulph is entirely froze over almoſt every Year; that therefore the People might very probably be pleaſed with ſome Kind or other of our Woollen Manufactures; and I was the rather induced to entertain this Opinion, when I found that we formerly ſent conſiderable Quantities of Cloth to *Japan*. It occurred to me farther, that as the *Coreans* had a great many valuable Commodities and Manufactures much eſteemed in *Europe*, the Returns could not but be valuable in Caſe ſuch a Trade could be brought about; or if we found ourſelves diſappointed in that Reſpect, as it is certain that theſe People have amongſt them Plenty both of Gold and Silver, we could not fail of being very well paid, in Caſe our Commodities and Manufactures could be introduced. I was indeed aware of the Umbrage this might give to the *Chineſe*, and that very poſſibly it might put them upon taking every Meaſure in their Power to diſtreſs, and even to deſtroy this Trade; but on the other Hand, when I reflected, that in Spite of the Endeavours of the *Chineſe*, the *Coreans* were in actual Poſſeſſion of a conſiderable domeſtick, and no very deſpicable foreign Trade, this did not appear any formidable Objection, there being no Reaſon why the *Chineſe* ſhould exert themſelves with greater Vivacity to hinder the *Coreans* from trading with us than with the *Japoneſe*, which they tacitly permit, though they openly prohibit; and as they are a very ſubtle Nation, I could not help thinking they might be rather induced to connive at our Trade, in Hopes of its deſtroying, in a great Meaſure, the Inclinations which the *Coreans* are known to have for carrying on a Correſpondence with the *Ruſſians*.

It is very eaſy to penetrate the Cauſes that alarm the Government of *China* upon this Head; and as they have been before ſet forth, there is no Occaſion for repeating them here; but whoever conſiders them, muſt at the ſame Time diſcern, that our Trading upon the Coaſts of *Corea* would be attended with none of thoſe Inconveniencies. It could not be feared that we ſhould aim at diſcovering in order to conquer the Country; it could not be apprehended that we ſhould excite the *Coreans* to revolt; it could not be ſo much as ſuſpected, that under Pretence of Commerce we ſhould attempt any thing to the Prejudice of thoſe Rights which for a long Courſe of Years the *Chineſe* Emperors firſt, and the *Tartar* Monarchs ſince, have eſtabliſhed over this Kingdom and its Inhabitants. I am well enough acquainted with the *Chineſe* Government, to be very ſenſible that Nothing of this Kind can be ſuggeſted by any Ambaſſador in our Favour; but I know very well, that whatever we may imagine in *Europe*, there are no Reſolutions taken in the Cabinets of the *Chineſe* Monarch till the Conſequences are thoroughly conſidered; and therefore we have good Reaſon to believe, that amongſt other Circumſtances attending a new Trade, theſe might fall under their Cognizance; and as the Inference I make is drawn from their own Maxims, there is Nothing abſurd in ſuppoſing that they may ſee it as well as we; but I muſt deſire the Reader to obſerve that what I contend for is not a Permiſſion, or a Toleration to trade to *Corea* in the ſame Manner as we do to *Canton* in *China*, but a bare Connivance only, founded upon prudential Motives, which to be ſure the *Chineſe* will not think proper to declare, and into which it will be as little neceſſary for us to enquire. But beſides all this, let us but remember a little what paſſed in former Times. The *Dutch* actually poſſeſſed themſelves of *Formoſa*, when it was more ſtrongly connected with *China* than *Corea* is at this Day; nor does it appear from any thing recorded in Hiſtory, though I muſt confeſs that we are pretty much in the dark as to what paſſed in this Iſland, that the *Chineſe* Government ever made any conſiderable Attempt to recover it out of the Hands of the *Dutch*; but it was taken from them at laſt by a Multitude of deſperate Perſons, who, when they were themſelves driven out of *China*, were to ſeek for a Habitation, and reſolved to fix themſelves here, which however not with great Difficulty they did.

It is indeed true, that we have ſome imperfect Accounts of an Attempt made by the *Dutch* to fix themſelves at *Amoy*, on the Continent of *China*, in which they were repulſed with conſiderable Loſs; but as the Point I am labouring is not at all of this Nature, and as I do not apprehend there is or will be any Occaſion for proceeding to Force in order to fix a Trade, or even an Eſtabliſhment in one of the Ports, or on ſome of the Iſlands about *Corea*, there will be no Danger of a Quarrel with the *Chineſe*, though if there were, I preſume that their naval Force, which never appeared terrible to any other *European* Nation, would not very much alarm us; and yet nothing but a naval Force, and that too, acting at ſome Diſtance from their Ports, could be employed to diſpoſſeſs us of this Trade, in Caſe we were once poſſeſſed of it.

Taking therefore the whole of this Matter together, there is nothing viſionary, romantick or abſurd, in ſuppoſing that it might be worth the while of our *Eaſt-India* Company, to make an Experiment of this kind, in which if they ſucceeded they could have no Cauſe to repent; and if they did not ſucceed, we ſhall hereafter ſhew, that the Diſcoveries with which ſuch an Attempt muſt be attended, would very well compenſate the Expences which ſuch a Tryal would require. I likewiſe beg leave to add, that it would be no bad Policy for a great trading Company to make now and then ſuch an Attempt, for the Sake of National Advantage, becauſe it would be a juſt and rational Recommendation of their Intereſts to this, as to a trading Nation, and take off in a great Meaſure that Load of Envy, which has long ſat hard, and muſt otherwiſe continue always to ſit hard upon every excluſive Company.

10. Whenever a Deſign of this Sort ſhall come to be maturely weighed, in order to its being put in Execution, it will be natural to endeavour at deriving from it all the Advantages that are poſſible, and amongſt theſe I apprehend there is none more obvious, than the reviving thereby in ſome Meaſure our Commerce with *Japan*, which has been now interrupted for a long Series of Years, and I believe was never ſo much as thought of, at leaſt as a Thing any way practicable, ſince the Reign of King *Charles* II. We have already ſhown how the Trade is carried on between *Corea* and *Japan*, and from thence, I think, there naturally ariſes a Proſpect of no leſs than three different Methods of making an Attempt of this Sort, favourable to ſo important a Scheme. In the firſt Place, we might hope for ſomething by eſtabliſhing a Factory upon the Iſland of *Quelpraet*. It is very true, that the *Dutch* loſt a Ship there, in the Year 1653. but according to the Deſcription given us by thoſe that eſcaped that Shipwreck, there is a tolerable Harbour on the South-ſide of that Iſland, and more than one good Road on the Eaſt-ſide towards *Japan*.

If therefore we could introduce a Trade there, we might in all Probability either enter into a direct Commerce with the *Japoneſe* who frequent that Iſland, or at leaſt purchaſe many of their Commodities from the *Coreans*, out of their Magazines. This I ſay is the firſt Method, and we are pretty ſure that no great Difficulties could attend it, for by the Help of the *Dutch* Charts, and we might poſſibly have the Help of *Dutch* Seamen too, this Navigation either is or might be very ſoon tolerably well known, and therefore I ſhould imagine that this might be firſt tryed. The ſecond Method is attempting the Iſland of *Tui la tao*, which, as I have ſhewn, is the direct and capital Seat of Commerce, between the *Coreans* and the *Japoneſe*, and if upon this Iſland we could make a tolerable Eſtabliſhment, there can no Doubt ariſe, that we ſhould be from thence able to carry on both the *Corean* and *Japan* Trade with equal Advantage, and this without giving any Umbrage either to the *Chineſe* or to the *Japoneſe*. For with Reſpect to the former, they have never hitherto pretended to conſider this Iſland as dependant upon them, and therefore could not take any juſt Colour of Offence at any Nation's trading thither, and as for the *Japoneſe* they ſeem to conſider this Iſland in the ſame Light, and as a Place that affords their Subjects an Opportunity of gratifying their Deſire for foreign Commodities, without Danger to the State; one might therefore hope, that from the ſame Views we might eſtabliſh a Factory there, without being at all expoſed to thoſe uneaſy and mortifying Circumſtances that attend the Commerce of the *Dutch* in *Japan*, and which perhaps have been the chief Cauſes, that for ſo long a Tract of Time, no other *European* Nation has ever judged it expedient ſo much as to attempt interfering with them.

The third Method by which we might poſſibly come to a good Concluſion in this Affair, might be by ſettling upon one or other of thoſe two little Iſlands, that lie to the Eaſtward of *Tui la tao*, and which in the *Chineſe* Maps are ſtiled, *Doro ſima* and *Key ſima*. Theſe are indeed very ſmall Iſlands, but withal they are very conveniently ſituated, are within a Day's Sail of one of the beſt Ports in *Corea*, in leſs than a Day's Sail of the *Japoneſe* Coaſts, and ſo near *China*, that it would be very eaſy to detach an annual Ship from thoſe that are conſtantly ſent to *Canton*, and for that Ship to join the Company's Veſſels from that Port at *Macao*, in order to return in Conſort to *Europe*. With Reſpect to this third Method, I do not think it difficult, though at the ſame time, I muſt confeſs, I ſhould not adviſe it to make a Deſcent upon, and a Conqueſt of which ever Iſland ſhould be held moſt convenient. We have already mentioned more than once, the *Dutch* Conqueſt of *Formoſa*, which in Compariſon of either of theſe Iſlands, is much the ſame as *Jamaica* and St. *Chriſtophers*, or of *Ireland*, and the Iſle of *Man*; ſo that methinks, if the *Dutch* Company could undertake and maintain ſuch a Conqueſt as the former, there is nothing unreaſonable in ſuppoſing we might be able to atchieve the latter. Beſides, the ſmaller our Acquiſition was, the leſs Umbrage it would give, and the eaſier it would be to keep.

It may indeed be objected, that if any Thing of this Kind was practicable, it is highly probable the *Dutch* would have long ago undertaken it. At firſt Sight, there is ſomething in this plauſible enough; but, when thoroughly examined, this Objection will be found to have very little in it. For the *Dutch* have no Temptation to a Thing of this kind, as they are already poſſeſſed of a ſettled and profitable Trade with *Japan*; and we are too well acquainted with the wiſe Maxims of that People, to ſuppoſe that they would riſk a Certainty for an Uncertainty, or quit the Monopoly, which they now enjoy, for a kind of Trade in which they might be rivalled by ſome other Nation. But this is not at all our Caſe; we had formerly a Share in this Trade as well as they, from which we are now excluded, and are like to remain forever excluded, unleſs we ſhould make ſome ſuch Attempt as this to recover it; and though perhaps at firſt, the *Japoneſe* might be a little intractable, and forbid their Subjects holding any Correſpondence with us, yet by Degrees, and in Proceſs of Time, we might very well hope to overcome their Jealouſy and Averſion; for when they found that we aimed at nothing farther than a Settlement for the Sake of Trade, and did not propoſe any Encroachment upon their Dominions, they might be brought to conſider us in the ſame Light they do the *Dutch*, and admit, for their own Sakes, a regulated Commerce, under certain Reſtrictions; at leaſt there are two Things morally certain, firſt, that if we were ſo eſtabliſhed, we might be able to ſubſiſt by our Correſpondence with the *Coreans*, who have a natural Propenſity to Trade, whether we had any Intercourſe with the Inhabitants of *Japan* or not; and ſecondly, that lying thus at a Diſtance from their Coaſt, we ſhould be in very little Danger from the whole Force of the *Japoneſe* Empire; which was not the Caſe, when we were actually ſettled on the Continent by their Permiſſion, and under their Protection.

We may likewiſe add, that the Caſe of the *Portugueſe* at *Macao*, is a kind of Parallel to ſuch an Eſtabliſhment; and though it is very true, that in its preſent Situation, that muſt be allowed to be both a ve mean and a very precarious Settlement, yet it was ot always ſuch, nor is the Force of the *Portugueſe* the *Eaſt-Indies* at this time any way comparable t ours; ſo that if they, even with the little Power y have, are ſtill in a Capacity of maintaining th ſelves on the Coaſt of *China*, we who have a much eater Power, might very well hope to compaſs an upport a better Settlement upon the Coaſts of *apan*. At leaſt, there is no Harm in thinking of it in ſtating the Arguments in Favour of ſuch a ing, or in looking into and enquiring after the A vantages with which it might be attended.

If the *Europeans* had never entertained much bolder and more romantick Schemes than theſe, we had never known more of *Japan* than what was handed to us in *Marco Polo*'s Travels; and why our Anceſtors in Cock-Boats, in Compariſon of our Ships, and with few or none of the Advantages which we poſſeſs, ſhould attempt Diſcoveries, eſtabliſh Colonies, and make Conqueſts that we ought not ſo much as to entertain any Thoughts of, is paying ſo high a Compliment to them, and throwing ſo depreciating a Character upon ourſelves, as with all our Faults I think we can hardly deſerve. But ſuppoſe we did take it for granted, that we were ſuch mean-ſpirited daſtardly Creatures as this Compariſon would make us, let us not expect that our Poſterity muſt follow our Examples, or that we are to decline and grow downwards to the End of Time. If ſoftened by Luxury, if enervated by Corruption, if hampered by private Intereſts, and the Chains of excluſive Companies, the preſent Generation dare act nothing that is great and noble, let us at leaſt preſerve our Thoughts free, and diſcover, ſettle, and conquer in Imagination; nor need we debar ourſelves the poor Pleaſure of hoping that thoſe who come after us may be better than we, as well as thoſe that went before us.

11. When ſuch a Race of Men ſhall ariſe, the Advantages that we have already propoſed will in all Probability appear ſufficient to engage them either to chuſe one of theſe Methods which we have offered, or to think of ſome other which may be preferable to any of them, and which at the ſame Time may do Honour to their own Invention. They will alſo in all Probability puſh Things ſtill farther, and entertain Hopes of new Diſcoveries, when they once find themſelves ſettled on the Frontiers, as it were, of the known World. I beg my Readers will now reflect, that I ſpeak of thoſe who ſhall live when we are no more, and that I do not pretend to expect any modern Supercargoes, who can make great Fortunes in two or at moſt three Voyages, Factors at *Buenos Ayres*, *Panama* or *Jamaica*, who in the Space of a few Years can riſe from Indigence to Opulence, though now and then their Practices may plunge the Nation in a ſeven Years War or ſo; or thoſe active and buſy Spirits, who know how to fiſh golden Treaſures out of the troubled Waters of *'Change-Alley*; I ſay, I do not expect that theſe ſhould ſo much as reliſh my Propoſals, much leſs concern themſelves in their Execution; indeed I ſhould be ſorry if they did, for I ſhould then have the Mortification to ſee the Trade to *Corea* made a Bubble; or, the Revival of our Commerce to *Japan*, a Job. No, I pleaſe myſelf with the Proſpect of a new Race of Men, who when our Confuſions are over, and our Animoſities buried in Oblivion; when Parties, Factions, Intrigues, Corruption and Stockjobbing ſhall be no more, may inhabit under a new Heaven as it were on a new Earth.

It is from theſe Men, full of the good old *Engliſh* Spirit, that ſent *Drake* and *Cavendiſh* round the World, that inſpired the great Sir *Walter Raleigh* with the View of peopling *Virginia*, and even in our degenerate Times, excited another Gentleman I need not name, to an Attempt which will be the Wonder of future Ages, as the Neglect of it will be the Reproach of ours; from theſe Men, I ſay, I expect that when they have fixed ſuch an Eſtabliſhment as I have been ſpeaking of, that they would conſider what it is makes the *Japan* Trade ſo dear to the *Dutch*, in Spite of the Dangers, the Difficulties, and the diſagreeable Circumſtances with which it is attended. They will find, that it is the rich Copper they receive from thence, by which they always make fourſcore, and ſometimes *Cent. per Cent.* that it is the Silver of which they likewiſe make a Profit, and that a great Part of the former, and almoſt all the latter, came to the *Japoneſe*, from Countries to the North-eaſt of their own, and of theſe Countries, wherever they lie, I make no Doubt but ſuch *Engliſhmen*, upon theſe Informations, will go in Queſt.

Theſe Countries muſt be inhabited, otherwiſe their Mines could not be wrought, and from the Climates in which they lie, the People muſt ſtand in Need of warm Cloathing, ſo that without Queſtion, our woollen Manufactures would be very acceptable to them; when theſe Countries are found, they will lead to the Diſcovery of new, for Countries without doubt there are, from *Japan* to *California*; and as the wiſe *Columbus* rightly foreſaw, that a Weſt Courſe muſt of Neceſſity carry Men from *Europe* to the *Eaſt-Indies*; ſo with equal Security we may pronounce, that this North-eaſt Navigation will ſooner or later bring them to that North-weſt Paſſage, which, whenever it is diſcovered, will ſet the Name of *Dobbs* on a Level with that of *Magellan*. I do not wiſh that theſe Diſcoveries ſhould lead to Conqueſt, or that the *Engliſh*, like the *Spaniards*, ſhould employ their Force in ſubduing the Natives, and bury Millions in digging to ſupport their Luxury. No, from ſuch Men I expect better Things, and that they will place their Glory in what all-wiſe Providence has made their Intereſt, in civilizing the Savages they may find, in teaching them Humanity, and the Truths of the Goſpel, and in Exchange for the Bleſſings their own fruitful Countries enjoy, bring back the Tribute of thoſe new diſcovered Lands.

Theſe are high and noble Sentiments, which, however ſlighted and deſpis'd by ſuch as have no Principle but Gain, and no God but Gold, are thoſe that tend to make a People truly great, and to eſtabliſh that Greatneſs upon a Foundation never to be ſhaken. If the modern, narrow and ſelfiſh Notions had prevailed in former Ages, the *Eaſt-Indies* and the *Weſt* had ſtill remained unknown; and if they had not been propagated in ſucceeding Times, there would not remain at this Day a full third Part of the habitable Globe to be diſcovered. At the ſame Time that we know this with as much Certainty as it is poſſible that a Thing of this Nature ſhould be known, we cannot but be ſenſible that it is ridiculous to complain of Want of Trade, while ſo many Branches remain unopened; we likewiſe know, that within a ſhort Time after their being firſt diſcovered, Trades are the moſt profitable, and are at the ſame Time eaſieſt kept, as appear'd by our preſerving for a long Time our Commerce with *Ruſſia*, in Conſequence of our finding the Route thither by *Archangel*, and our quiet Enjoyment of the *Hudſon*'s Bay Trade, in Virtue alſo of our being the firſt Diſcoverers.

To ſuch Men as I have deſcribed, to thoſe who have ſound Heads and honeſt Hearts, theſe will be perſuaſive Arguments; and far from conſidering the Revival of the Trade to *Japan*, as the utmoſt Limits of their Hopes and the *Britiſh* Commerce, they will embrace every Opportunity to carry their own Knowledge, and the Commodities of their Country farther, and try every Method that Art can dictate, or Genius can deviſe, for gaining freſh Information. Nor will they have any Apprehenſions that their Labours may prove fruitleſs, or their Diſcoveries ineffectual, ſince this will be ſuſpecting Providence, and ſuppoſing that God would create Countries, and place Men in them beneath the Notice, and unworthy the Converſation of their Fellow-Creatures; which, impious at it is, may be agreeable enough to the Pride of corrupted Minds, but muſt ſeem equally abſurd and ſhocking to every well ſeaſoned Underſtanding. Beſides, Experience tells us, that never any Diſcovery was yet made, which proved utterly uſeleſs or ineffectual, when properly purſued.

The Coaſt of *Guinea*, when firſt viſited by the *Portugueſe*, did not promiſe any mighty Things, and yet it proved the Way to the *Indies*. The Country about the Cape of *Good Hope* was deſerted by more Nations than one, as abſolutely worthleſs and incorrigible, and yet in the Hands of the *Dutch* it is a kind of terreſtrial Paradiſe. We may ſay the ſame of the Shores of the *Magellanic Straits*, which are inhoſpitable to the laſt Degree; but they open into the *South-Seas*, and are, if I may be allowed the Expreſſion, the Gates to a new World. As theſe are Wonders diſcloſed by paſt Diſcoveries, they may well provoke Men of high Spirits and true Courage to proſecute the ſame Road, and endeavour, by freſh Expeditions of the ſame kind, to rival

val the Reputation of old Diſcoveries, by the more ſurprizing Scenes they unfold, in making new.

12. It is a very juſt Obſervation of the wiſe Lord Chancellor *Bacon*, that there are many People, who chuſe to put the moſt material Part of their Letters in their Poſtſcripts; I muſt confeſs, I do not enter into the Reaſon of the Thing, though without adverting thereto, I have fallen into the Practice, of which I ſhall give the Reader very ſincerely and without Reſerve my Motives. When I undertook to give this Hiſtory of *Corea*, and to recommend an Eſtabliſhment upon the Coaſts of it, I propoſed to ſpare no Pains in order to recommend it to my Countrymen, as a Thing highly advantageous, and that could not poſſibly fail of amply rewarding their Endeavours; but at the ſame Time it was my Intention to have concealed the capital and ſtrongeſt Reaſon, which had induced me to preſs this Matter ſo warmly, not out of the leaſt ill Will or Jealouſy of my Countrymen, not from any private View to my own Advantage, but becauſe I was apprehenſive, that the diſcloſing this Matter might give other Nations an Opportunity to profit, by an Invention which I could wiſh to ſee in the Poſſeſſion of the *Britiſh* Nation alone. This I the rather apprehended, becauſe of that ſupine Indolence, which for many Years has locked up our Faculties, with Reſpect to Diſcoveries, while other Nations that we ſeem to deſpiſe have crept ſo faſt into Naval Power, as already to tread upon our Heels; for the *Swedes* this very Year have deſtined thirty five thouſand able Seamen for the Service of their Navy, and at the ſame Time have renewed the Charter of their *Eaſt-India* Company for twenty Years, and diſpatched two large new Ships to *China*.

But being well informed, that thoſe worthy and publick-ſpirited Men, who were at the Expence of the laſt Expedition, for the Diſcovery of a North-weſt Paſſage, continue in their Reſolution to proſecute that Deſign, which ſooner or later I am convinced will be attended with Succeſs; I was from thence determined to alter my Plan, and to acquaint the World, fairly and truly with the Secret of this Buſineſs; and the principal Reaſon of my contending ſo much, not only for the Expediency, but even for the Neceſſity of making an Attempt on this Side, and ſecuring a ſolid Eſtabliſhment on ſome or other of the Iſlands between *Corea* and *Japan*. The ſetting this Affair in a clear and proper Light will take up ſome Room, and require a little Attention; but every ingenious Reader, I am confident, will allow me the one without complaining, and gratify me in the other with Pleaſure, ſince what I have to offer, carries along with it the prevailing Charm of Novelty, at the ſame Time that it is equally curious and important.

The Hopes of diſcovering a North-eaſt Paſſage have been long laid aſide, from a great Variety of Reaſons, but chiefly on Account of thoſe advanced by the laſt Adventurer for that Diſcovery our Countryman Captain *Wood*, who like many other great Navigators, having failed in his Expectations, conſoled himſelf for that Diſappointment, by labouring to take away Expectation itſelf. I muſt confeſs, that this Method, however common, is very far from being ſatisfactory to me, inſomuch that I could wiſh it was diſuſed, and that ſuch as are for the future employed in any Expeditions of this Kind, would content themſelves with the Vindication of their own Conduct, in giving a fair Detail of their Miſcarriages, without laying it down as a Thing certain, or even probable, that no Man ſhould ever ſucceed where they failed. But notwithſtanding all the Diſappointments, and, I muſt confeſs there have been many of them in attempting this North-eaſt Paſſage, the Reaſons for believing it remain yet unanſwered, and particularly a Matter of Fact which belongs properly to the Subject of this Section, and therefore I will report it in the Author's own Words.

The Perſon, whoever he was, that wrote an Account of the Shipwreck of the *Dutch* Sailors on the Iſland of *Quelpraet*, has added a ſhort Deſcription of the Kingdom of *Corea*, in which he has the following very remarkable Paſſage. "On the North-eaſt it is bounded by the vaſt Ocean where there is every Year a great Number of Whales taken, ſome of them found with the *French* and *Dutch* Harping-Irons, thoſe People uſing to follow that Fiſhery. There are Abundance of Herrings alſo catch'd there in *December*, *January*, *February* and *March*. Thoſe taken the two firſt of theſe Months, are as large as ours in *Holland*, but what they catch afterwards are ſmaller, and like thoſe in *Holland*, called Frying Herrings, which are eaten in *March* and *April*. Hence we infer, that there is a Paſſage above *Corea*, *Japan* and *Tartary*, which anſwers to the Streights of *Weigats*. For this Reaſon we often aſked of the *Coreſian* Seamen, who uſe the North-eaſt Sea, what Lands were beyond them, and they all told us they believed there was nothing that Way but a boundleſs Ocean."

This very Paſſage is alledged by Captain *Wood*, as one of the ſeven Reaſons which induced him to attempt finding this Paſſage, but as at the Time of Writing his Book, he had two very different Objects in View, *viz.* the Showing that he did not venture upon the Expedition without good Grounds, and the Proving that, notwithſtanding their fair Appearance, theſe were in Effect no Grounds at all; he is ſo far from citing the Paſſage as I have done, that he gives a very inaccurate, I might ſay, falſe Account of it; for he ſays, that the *Dutch* Writer reports, that in a certain Bay of the Kingdom of *Corea*, dead Whales drive in with *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Harping-Irons in them, which, if true, he owns had been a great Argument of a Paſſage.

The Reader may ſee, that the *Dutch* Writer ſays no ſuch Thing, and if he had ſaid it, the Abſurdneſs of theſe dead Whales floating ſo far, would have rendered the Paſſage ridiculous; and this, very poſſibly, Captain *Wood* intended by making the Change. Of the Herrings he ſays not a Word, and therefore giving him up the dead Whales for his own Uſe, I preſume the living ones, and the Herrings, may ſtill paſs for two very ſtrong Arguments of ſuch a Paſſage, and in its proper Place, I have produced theſe and many more. If therefore there be any ſuch Paſſage, it is very manifeſt from hence, that making ſuch a Settlement as I contend for, is the likelieſt Method to find it. For ſuppoſing that we had a good Colony, or at leaſt a ſtrong Fort and Factory, upon the Iſland of *Tui la tao*, we might from thence annually endeavour to diſcover along the Coaſts of *Kamſchatſca*, at the moſt favourable Seaſon of the Year, and thereby obtain a fairer Opportunity than has yet offered, of getting round into the *European* Seas; for as *Dampier* very rightly ſaid of the Northweſt Paſſage, that it was more likely it ſhould be found by thoſe who attempted it from *California*, than by ſuch as ſought it from *Hudſon's-Bay*; ſo I may ſay, with Regard to this Diſcovery, that they have infinitely a better Chance, who ſeek this Paſſage from *Japan*, than thoſe who proſecute it from the North of *Scotland*; and for the very ſame Reaſon, becauſe this is proceeding from the Unknown to the Known, and making the latter Part of the Voyage ſafe and eaſy, which in the other Way is always dangerous and uncertain; to which we may with much Probability, attribute moſt of the Diſappointments that have been met with.

But if, contrary to all Appearances, if in Spite of all the Reaſons, Phyſical, Phyloſophical and Coſmographical, that countenance this Opinion, and which hitherto remain altogether unrefuted, there ſhould, after all, be none ſuch, we ſhould make this negative Diſcovery earlier, and with greater Certainty than other People and even from hence there might very great Advantages ariſe, that have not hitherto been conſidered; for though it would be impoſſible to tranſport Goods, yet Letters and Intelligence might be carried over Land; a Sloop in the Space of three Weeks, with a fair Wind, in much leſs Time, might proceed from *Quelpraet*, up the River *Amur*, and ſo the Packets might be conveyed to *Nipchou*, from whence there are frequent Opportunities of ſending to *Moſcow*, and by this Means, in the

Space of ſix Months, Letters would reach *Hamburgh*, from a Factory upon the Coaſt of *Japan*; in this there is nothing dark or unintelligible, nothing that reſts upon Suppoſition or Conjecture, the whole is juſt as certain, as that the Dominions of the Czarina border upon thoſe of the Emperor of *China*.

Thus then, whether a North-eaſt Paſſage, or no Paſſage, ſuch a Settlement would be highly uſeful, highly advantageous, and highly convenient. But I have ſomething farther to ſay, ſuch a Settlement as this might be of Uſe, if not to the Diſcovery, yet to the Preſervation and Improvement, even of a North-weſt Paſſage; for though I am not ſo ſanguine, as to imagine, that thoſe who ſhall be ſo lucky as to make that Paſſage, would afterwards have the Courage to make ſuch an enormous Stretch, as from *California* to *Japan*; yet I preſume, that in Proceſs of Time, ſuch a Diſcovery being once made, Endeavours might be uſed on both Sides, by diſcovering to the Eaſt one Way, and to the Weſt the other, to facilitate a Junction in ſome middle Port; for to me it appears a Thing certain, that there are Countries, at leaſt Iſlands all the Way. This double Diſcovery would lay open the Whole, in half the Time that would be otherwiſe neceſſary, perhaps in leſs than half the Time, for in both Caſes our Seamen having reaſonable Hopes of reaching an *Engliſh* Port, would make infinitely greater Efforts than could be expected from them in a State of Uncertainty, and proceeding conſtantly through unknown Seas, without any View of being ſafe at laſt.

It is to be obſerved, that all I have advanced under this laſt Head, is abſolutely independant of what was ſaid before; ſo that if the Advantages firſt propoſed are ſuch as may encourage the attempting ſuch a Settlement, by proving the great Probability there is of its being advantageous to the *Britiſh* Nation, then theſe additional Conſiderations ought very much to ſtrengthen and confirm the Reſolution of doing ſomething of this Sort in Time, and before any other Nation lays hold of what we neglect. To ſome poſſibly this may appear highly improbable, but to remove that, as I would willingly do every other Objection, I beg Leave to take Notice of three Things, which, in my Apprehenſion, are ſufficient to ſhew, that a Suſpicion of this kind is not altogether groundleſs, much leſs chimerical. In the firſt Place then, I preſume Nobody will doubt, that if we are ſo happy as to find the North-weſt Paſſage, it will excite a great Spirit of Emulation, in all the trading Nations of *Europe*, more eſpecially, if we ſhould, as there is great Probability we muſt; reap very great Advantages from that Diſcovery. Now to balance this, the moſt natural Expedient they could recur to, would be attempting the Diſcovering of the North-eaſt Paſſage, towards which, the finding the other would be the ſtrongeſt Encouragement.

But, ſuppoſing this to be utterly impracticable, yet without any greater Knowledge than they have already, the *Ruſſiaus* might be tempted to make Uſe of the Advantages they already poſſeſs, in order to be beforehand with us, in opening a Commerce with *Japan*, and thereby precluding us from thoſe Benefits, which from a little Induſtry and Pains we might now ſecure to ourſelves againſt all other Nations, at leaſt for a conſiderable Space of Time, during which we might eſtabliſh ourſelves ſo effectually, as to preſerve thoſe Advantages for ever, in Spite of any Attempts to diſpoſſeſs us.

My ſecond Obſervation is, that the *Ruſſians* have this very Point already in View, that it is what they aim at by all the Diſcoveries they have been for many Years making; that this is confeſſed in all the Accounts, that they have hitherto publiſhed of their Progreſs; that it is the true and only Reaſon of their not making their laſt Diſcoveries as publick as they did thoſe of Captain *Behring*; and though I am very far from ſaying, that we have any Right to take this ill, or to be offended with the Conduct of the *Ruſſians* in this Particular, yet I cannot help thinking, that it is worth our Obſervation, and that there is full as good Reaſon we ſhould make Uſe of the Experience and Advantage, derived to us from our *Eaſt-India* Trade, as the *Ruſſians* of the Situation of their Territories, and the Diſcoveries which they have made by that Means.

In the third Place, I muſt remark, that ever ſince the *Swedes* ſucceeded in their Attempt of opening a Communication with the *Eaſt-Indies*, they have had ſomething of this Kind in their Head, I mean making a Settlement upon ſome Iſland near the Coaſt of *China*, or to the Eaſt of it; nor are we at all certain, that the Ships which have ſailed from *Gottenburgh*, while this very Section was printing, may not have Inſtructions to make, or at leaſt attempt making ſuch a Settlement. Why then we ſhould ſit ſtill with our Arms before us, while other Nations, more eſpecially the Northern Nations, who are avowedly and earneſtly endeavouring to render themſelves maritime Powers, uſe ſo much Vigilance and Activity to compaſs their Ends; or why, according to the old, but true and ſenſible Proverb, *We are to take no Care of the Stable-Door, whilſt the Steed is unſtolen*, I am at a Loſs to comprehend? Sure I am, that whatever Reception theſe Remarks may meet with at preſent, it will not be many Years before the World will ſee, that I am not altogether miſtaken in my Eſtimate, and that the rich Goods of *Japan* will find their Way to *Europe* in ſome other Bottoms than thoſe belonging to the *Dutch Eaſt-India* Company; and I am ſatisfied, that the *Dutch* themſelves will not blame me, for wiſhing, that in ſuch a Caſe they might be freighted in *Britiſh* Veſſels.

There is a natural Connection between the Intereſts of the maritime Powers in the *Indies*, as well as in *Europe*, and though it is certainly true, that as Trade is our common Miſtreſs, we muſt in many Caſes be conſidered as Rivals; yet it is no leſs true, that if our Intereſts be well underſtood, we ought to avoid Quarrelling even upon that Account; for though it may be in our Power to deſtroy each other, yet we have this Comfort, that if it is never in our Will, we may preſerve our Commerce and our Naval Force in Spite of all our Enemies; and this is a Topick that can never be too much preached upon, either in *England*, or in *Holland*; and as a Proof of this, we need only conſider, that ſuch as are Enemies to both, never fail to inſinuate the contrary. Whoever looks into the Pamphlets, publiſhed here in the Reign of King *Charles* the IId, and whoever has read, and remembers the celebrated Letters of *Van Hoey*, cannot but acknowledge the Truth of this Obſervation, which I the rather make, becauſe in ſome Parts of this Work, I have expreſſed myſelf very freely, in Regard to the Practices of the *Dutch* in the *Eaſt-Indies*; but I deſire that it may be underſtood, that I diſtinguiſh between the Servants of the *Eaſt-India* Company, and the Subjects of the *States-General*; for though they are the ſame Men, they are under different Directions, and this Diſtinction is none of my coining, but one I learned from my old Maſter *John de Witt*, whoſe Maxims firſt gave me a true Notion of Trade, and taught me to look upon it, not in the narrow Light of a Scheme to acquire Wealth, but as a generous Syſtem, of diſtributing through all Climates the Bleſſings beſtowed by Nature, and thereby promoting the common Happineſs of Mankind.

13. After having thus finiſhed the Buſineſs of the Section, with the Readers good Leave, we will take the Liberty of making a few Remarks and Obſervations upon it. It conſiſts in a Deſcription of *Corea*, which is entirely new, and conſequently cannot be thought either uſeleſs or unentertaining. It ſhews from the Deſcription laid down of this Country and its Inhabitants, that there is nothing improbable, in ſuppoſing that we may become better acquainted with them; it is true, we lie a great Way from them, but we viſit the *Chineſe* very often, and theſe ſame *Coreans* live but at next Door: It exhibits alſo ſome Reaſons that may induce us to think of calling upon them, and amongſt others, that of opening by their Aſſiſtance the Way to renew our Acquaintance with the *Japoneſe*, with whom we had ſome Dealings in Times paſt. It farther lays open ſome additional Advantages that may reſult from our entering upon this Commerce; and finally it brings to Light ſome very curious, and if they were well weighed, ſome very cogent Reaſons for our not ſleeping over

an Affair, which, if well managed, may be attended with ſo many good Conſequences.

The Plan, it is true, is very extenſive, and I will readily grant is much ſooner conceived and thrown out upon Paper (though that too has coſt a good deal of Time) than carried into Execution. But it may be a very good Plan for all that, and I have the better Opinion of it, becauſe it may be executed Step by Step, and be made to bear its own Charges into the Bargain. If the Trade to *Corea* ſhould be found practicable and profitable, I ſhould certainly incur no Blame for pointing it out; but ſay, that Experience ſhould juſtify the former only, and not the latter: In that Caſe I ſhould think we might eke out Matters from *Japan*, not in two or three Years perhaps, but in half a Score much might be done; and in the mean Time ſome Trials might be made towards other Diſcoveries. The old Proverb ſays, that *Rome was not built in a Day*, and this Proverb was never better verified than when applied to Trade, to Settlements, and to Colonies. They are, to be ſure, neither adjuſted, fixed, or rendred beneficial in a Moment; but in Matters of this Nature, Time and Patience will do all. Let us look at *Virginia* and *New-England*, thoſe Siſter Plantations, that have grown up to be fine comely Perſonages, though they were ſomewhat difficult in the Rearing; and let us remember how often this Nation was told, while they were at her Breaſts, that it was all Labour in vain, and that they would never live to go alone. But Thanks be to God, we were not terrified by theſe old Womens Prophecies, we continued our Care of them notwithſtanding theſe untoward Prognoſtications, and we have had no Cauſe to repent of it; the young Women, as they grew up, throve apace; they have been long ſince able to get their own Living, and have made us very grateful Returns for the Pains we took in nurſing them.

The Danger is not ſo great in undertaking extenſive Projects, as that which ariſes from the Folly of abandoning them too ſoon. We ought moſt certainly to examine Things maturely before we reſolve upon them; as I ſaid once before, I am not vain enough to imagine, that I have pointed out all the Methods, or even the beſt Methods for accompliſhing this Deſign, but if upon Trial it ſhould be found that I have been ever ſo much miſtaken, and that the Thing muſt be gone about in quite another Way, it will not afflict me much provided the Thing can be done. That, and that alone, is my View; let the Project be decried, let the Projector be thought a Fool, if his Folly proves an Inſtrument to his Country's Good, and his Countryman's Glory, that Fool will be happier than all the *Indies* could make him. The Vanity of knowing much, the Ambition of making a Figure in the learned World, the aſpiring Hopes of ſtriking out new Paths, are Weakneſſes without Doubt, but they are Weakneſſes that are often beneficial to Mankind, and in that Light are excuſable. I deſire this may be conſidered in no other, though in Truth I am not much concerned in what Light it is conſidered, if it is but productive of any Good.

Extenſive as the Plan is, yet we ſee plainly that it conſiſts of Parts; though it is propoſed at once, yet it may be effected by Degrees. We are told that *Milo*, a famous Lubber of Antiquity, began with carrying of a Calf, and was able to jog about with it upon his Shoulders when it grew up to be an Ox, which he afterwards knocked on the Head with a Blow of his Fiſt; and then I think the Story ſays, he eat it, not at a Meal, I preſume, but in Joints. This ſhews us, that Time and Application will atchieve Wonders, and provided we make an Eſſay to take up the Calf all in good Time, we may come to have many a good Dinner out of the Ox. But we muſt ſet our Shoulders to it, that was *Milo*'s Beginning, and it muſt be ours. If we can but carry the Calf, and do not fling it down in a Paſſion, there is no doubt of its becoming an Ox, or that our Strength and his will keep Pace, and that we ſhall be able to carry him when he is an Ox. The Compariſon is familiar and coarſe, but it is very apt, and if I was ſure that the Criticks would not be angry, I would ſay that *Homer* himſelf has made uſe of ſome that are not a bit more clumſy or leſs cleanly.

It may be farther objected, and indeed I cannot deny, that though I ſtile it a ſingle Propoſition, yet there is a great Variety of Objects pointed out; but if from this Conceſſion it ſhould be ſaid that any Diſtraction ariſes, againſt that I ſhall enter my Proteſt. It is very certain that one Machine may anſwer a Variety of Purpoſes, and therefore becauſe a Man affirms, that if a certain Thing be done, it may prove the Means of doing many other Things, it does not at all follow that what he propoſes is the more difficult, much leſs that it is impracticable. To judge of this, we muſt conſider the Relation between the Means he propoſes, and the Ends which he affirms may be anſwered by them: for if there be a proper Connection between them, he may be ſtill in the right, tho' at the firſt Appearance he may ſeem to promiſe large. To apply this general Doctrine. When I ſay that *Corea* is happily ſituated for Trade, the Reader need only turn to a Map to know whether I ſpeak Truth. When I affirm that the Inhabitants are addicted to Commerce, he may have Recourſe to the Authorities I have cited, and upon due Examination the Witneſſes will be found to ſpeak my Senſe. When I lay it down that there are Iſlands very conveniently ſituated between *Corea* and *Japan*, I mention alſo their Names, ſo that it may very eaſily be ſeen, whether I imitate that Painter, who to gratify his Wife that did not love to ſee ſo much white in one part of the Globe, ſprinkled a few Iſlands through it, which are called the Painter's Wife's Iſlands to this Day. When I hold forth about Countries beyond *Japan*, I muſt confeſs I am a little aſhamed to appeal to Father *Charlevoix* and his Brethren the *Jeſuits*; but however, if their Teſtimony ſhould be rejected, I believe I could produce ſome Proteſtant Witneſſes to the ſame Facts. And laſtly, when I talk about a North-eaſt Paſſage, there is Captain *Wood* will bear me out in all that I have advanced. Thus I reconcile my Means to all theſe ſeveral Ends, or at leaſt I put it into the Reader's Power to ſee whether I reconcile them or not.

In the next Place it is to be obſerved, that I do not pretend to ſay, that the Moment a Settlement is fixed, it will fulfill all that I have promiſed in its Behalf, or that it is requiſite we ſhould attempt to fulfill them the very Inſtant that we have made ſuch a Settlement. This I am ſo far from affirming that the principal Reaſon of my introducing this Remark, is to ſhew that it ought not to be expected. I maintain that there is a Connection between this Settlement and all the Ends I have alledged it may anſwer; but we muſt touch but one String at a Time, otherwiſe we ſhall produce Diſcord inſtead of Harmony. We muſt take each in its Order, and if we do not immediately ſucceed, we muſt drop that Deſign for a Time, and drive only the Nails that will go, and thus by Degrees there is no Room to fear we ſhall come to drive them all at laſt.

When the *Canaries* were firſt diſcovered, and toſſed about from Hand to Hand, whoever thought that from thence a new World might be diſcovered? Why truly *Columbus*. And what then? He propoſed it to the *Portugueſe*, who were thought to be the beſt Judges of ſuch Projects, and they rejected it as an idle Dream. But as good Judges as they were, they miſtook the Point, and as much as they thought him miſtaken, he hit the Mark. Not at once indeed, but gradually; he firſt reached the *Bahama* Iſlands, then the Continent of *America*, and as ſoon as he heard of a *South Sea*, he pronounced that the *Indies* he ſought lay beyond that. By Degrees every End was anſwered, and the Spices brought home in *Magellan*'s Ships, though many Years after *Columbus*'s Death, proved that his firſt Conceptions were right; and give me Leave to ſay they would have been juſt as right if *Magellan* had not ſucceeded in his Voyage. All the Ends of a Propoſition may not be anſwered in a very long Tract of Time, and yet they may be all truly laid down. We have not yet ſquared the Circle, but the *Dutch* Mathematician that had a Line and half of Decimals inſcribed upon his Tomb went very near it.

Without doubt many a one will ſay, that the Scene is laid at a prodigious Diſtance, that there are a Multitude of Obſtacles lie in the Way, and that it would be a wild Waſte of Wealth to undertake any of theſe enormous Schemes, which are out of the Reach of any but whimſical People's Obſervations. As to the Diſtance, I proteſt I can't tell what to ſay. It is moſt certain, that I can't bring *Corea* nearer, but where it is there Providence placed it; and if it had been placed any where elſe, it would have been ſo much the worſe, for all the Ends that I have propoſed, and I muſt even have had Recourſe to any other Country that ſtood in its Room. But then if a North-eaſt Paſſage ſhould be diſcovered, though it would not bring *Corea* nearer, or ſhorten the Diſtance a Yard, yet we ſhould get ſooner there by very near two thirds of the Time. Well then, there is ſomething in Alleviation of the Diſtance; and as to the Difficulty, why that is not much greater than muſt be got over to get at a Pound of Hyſon Tea, and not ſo great as is actually got over, before *Europeans* can make themſelves Maſters of a *Japan* Tea-board. Whence I infer, that any Body who ever drank Tea upon ſuch a Tea-board muſt allow that the Thing may be done.

King *Philip* the IId, who was a very wiſe Man, framed far more extenſive Projects, and durſt think of encountring Difficulties, to which all that I have mentioned are but Mole hills. He conceived an Idea at leaſt of univerſal Monarchy in *Europe*, and a Monarchy as univerſal on the Ocean. He knew all the poſſible Paſſages to the *Indies*, and reſolved to be Maſter of them all; with a View to this he actually attempted to fix a Settlement, and build a City on the miſerable Coaſt of the Streights of *Magellan*, where one of our Men of War's Boats Crew could not ſubſiſt during their Paſſage; and it fell out with Reſpect to his Colony, as might be expected, that is, ſuch as did not drown or hang themſelves were fairly ſtarved. He had it likewiſe in his Head to put it out of every Body's Power to look either for North-eaſt, or North-weſt Paſſages, by reducing the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, the only Nations that had thought of ſuch a Thing. Nay to ſuch a Degree did he carry this kind of Imperial Madneſs, that he was even for locking up the *Baltick*, and with that View actually took Meaſures for making himſelf Maſter of the Sound.

Theſe were prodigious and impracticable Projects, and yet they enter'd into a very wiſe Man's Pate; they were purſued with the utmoſt Vigour, and with the Aſſiſtance of as much Power as *Europe* ever ſaw, and yet they miſcarried. But all this happened by aſſigning to their Accompliſhment the Life of a ſingle Man. Had *Philip* contented himſelf with framing his Plan, executing any one Part of it, and by cultivating the Arts of Peace, raiſed the Power of his Subjects to a Degree proportionate to the next Branch of his Scheme, what he left unaccompliſhed, might have been performed by his Poſterity, ſuppoſing them to have made no more Haſte than good Speed in compleating this ſtupenduous Fabrick, which like the Tower of *Babel*, being conſecrated to the Uſe of Slavery, the divine Juſtice of Providence tumbled to the Ground. Thus the Reader ſees, that there are great Projects practicable, and greater Projects impracticable; that wiſe and powerful Kings may be miſtaken and defeated; and that an Adventurer, like *Columbus*, without a Freehold as big as his Hat, or Half a Crown in his Pocket, may bring his Deſire to bear, even when that Deſire was ſo ſeemingly improbable, as to look for a new World. But after all, the Difficulty in this Caſe is not ſo great as to exceed the Power even of the *Eaſt India* Company; they can do much more than I have propoſed; that they will do it, though I am bold enough in prophecying, I ſhall not venture to foretel.

There is another Thing that I apprehend may be called in Queſtion, and that is the Streſs I lay upon the Expeditions made by the Northern Nations to the *Eaſt-Indies*. What does this Fool mean, will ſome great Politician ſay, by being in ſuch a Panick about the *Swedes* and *Danes* ſending now and then a Ship to *China?* Will erecting an *Eaſt-India* Company eſtabliſh a Maritime Power? Truly I can't ſay that, but this I will ſay, and can prove, that no Nation ever carried on a Trade to the *Eaſt-Indies*, but became a maritime Power. I have written half a Folio Volume to evince this, and I defy all the Men in the World to ſhew the contrary. Within the Compaſs of theſe laſt five hundred Years, did not the *Venetians* and *Genoeſe* become maritime Powers by the *Eaſt-India* Commerce, though they carried it on at ſecond Hand. What made *Portugal* a maritime Power, but the *Eaſt-India* Trade? What made *Spain* a maritime Power, but the Deſire of the *Eaſt-India* Trade, which threw the *Weſt-Indies* in her Way? it is true, ſhe ſtood ſtill to pick them up, but then ſhe went on, as the *Philippines* will bear me Witneſs? What made us? What made the *Dutch* maritime Powers? This very Trade. And when have all maritime Powers declined? When they loſt their Trade to the *Eaſt-Indies*. Judge then Reader for yourſelf, whether my Conjectures be raſh or vain, or whether I have not too good Grounds to ſuſpect, that thoſe who have overcome greater Difficulties, than in Reſpect to Navigation was oppoſed to other Nations, will in a ſhort Time become maritime Powers alſo.

I may be miſtaken, and ſhould be glad to be miſtaken; I ſay no more, and I wiſh I had never had Occaſion to ſay ſo much. Yet even this affords a Juſtification of my Scheme; for if I point out the Diſeaſe, I have likewiſe preſcribed a Remedy. If there be any Maxim in Politicks, certainly it is this, that if a maritime Power does not increaſe, it muſt quickly decline. We are every Day complaining that our old Branches of Trade fail, that one turns to no Account, that in another we are ſupplanted, that a third is quite wore out. What Medicine then ſo natural, and at the ſame Time ſo eaſy as to ſtrike out new Branches? We have Strength and Power enough to do that, but whether we have Force ſufficient to abet ſuch an Attempt as that of King *Philip's*, I mean to reſtrain all the reſt of the World from Trading, I ſuppoſe, I need not ſay; but if we really had, that very Force would ſink and crumble to Pieces in the Attempt. This Remedy then or none muſt cure us; it is the Tar-Water of the State, and if it will not help us, we may die according to the regular Practice, as other maritime Powers have done before us.

Theſe are melancholy Conſiderations, but however they may lead to a merry Purpoſe. There is a Time for every Thing, and we muſt be ſometimes grave as well as gay; and if heretofore we had no Rival but the *Dutch*, we muſt not now flatter ourſelves that we have no other Rival, when every *Dutch* Mail that brings us Papers and Letters from the North, ſhow the contrary. I might ſay ſomewhat of the *Pruſſian* Pretences, but I don't care to talk of Lovers in Leading Strings, or pretend to think of ſtrangling a hopeful Babe in its Cradle, for fear when he grows up he ſhould prove our Rival too. Yet it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that while there is a ſtrange Spirit gone Abroad, and that while every Body is looking after Trade, it becomes us who ſubſiſt by it, to look about it too. This indeed is a very obvious Remark, but the more obvious it is, the more neceſſary; if none but a blind Man could miſs ſeeing it, what muſt he be who miſſes the right Uſe of it? The Queſtion is eaſily anſwered, and it is the Anſwer that I will recommend to the ſerious Conſideration of our Superiors.

One Obſervation more and I have done; ſome Objection may be made as to the Seaſon in which I made this Propoſal; we are engaged in a dangerous, doubtful and deſtructive War, this therefore cannot be thought fit Time for thinking of new Schemes, or for aiming at Diſcoveries. But alas, I am ſorry this is ſo eaſily anſwered; we have already loſt a great deal of Time, and it is our own Fault that we did not think of theſe Things ſooner; that we ſhould not chuſe ſuch a Time as this, I will readily agree; but it is not left to our Choice, the Situation of Things has made it neceſſary, and as Neceſſity, in Fact, has no Law, ſo Neceſſity in Argument will admit of no Anſwer.

It is indeed true, that in a Time of War the Thoughts of our Stateſmen are much occupied, and Money is not eaſily found for Expeditions of this Sort, where neither immediate Neceſſity, nor inſtant Gain ſeem to require or excite them. But Men who ſee further will perceive, that notwithſtanding theſe and ſome other Inconveniencies that might be pointed out, yet upon the whole a Time of War may be eſteemed the moſt proper, becauſe Ships of Force may be diſpatched into thoſe Parts, firſt without Suſpicion, and next without any Loſs; for the Situation of Things is Reaſon ſufficient to account for our ſending Ships of Strength to the *Indies*, without leaving it in the Power of any to diſcover what our true Intentions in ſending them may be; and next they may actually render ſuch Service to our Commerce in thoſe Parts as may effectually indemnify us for our Expences in fitting them out, even if we ſhould be ſo unlucky as in the firſt Trial not to ſucceed. Beſides, whatever Acquiſitions we make in Time of War, may be fortified and ſecured by a ſubſequent Treaty of Peace, ſince none of our Neighbours are ſo much intereſted in thoſe diſtant Parts as to refuſe to accomodate us, if in Return we gratify them in Matters in which they have a nearer Concern, and which it is very poſſible, may not affect us, or at leaſt not ſo much.

For though, without Doubt, we have a very high Intereſt in the Balance of Power, and therefore ought to be careful in ſecuring it, yet there is no Means ſo ſure for compaſſing this as enlarging our Trade, and thereby extending the Foundation of our Naval Force. Whatever therefore tends to this Point is our higheſt Concern; and if there be any thing that merits more than ordinary Expences, even at a Juncture when we have ſo many good Reaſons to be frugal, moſt certainly Projects of this Sort ought to be regarded in that Light. We ſhould be the more ſenſible of this, if we would but conſider ſeriouſly, and reflect frequently upon what firſt gave us that wide Power, that high Credit, that great Influence amongſt our Neighbours, of which we have been ſo long poſſeſſed. It was not moſt certainly the deep Schemes of our Miniſters, for theſe have been ſeldom laid, and when-ever they were laid, have been commonly diſappointed; for though no Nation has a greater Proneneſs to talk Politicks than the Inhabitants of *Great Britain*, yet ſince the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, we have had no great Reaſon to boaſt of very refined Stateſmen; nor at the Bottom, perhaps, has this been any Misfortune to us, any more than to our Neighbours. It was not our military Exploits that raiſed us to this envied Station, for though the Bravery of *Engliſh* Troops was never conteſted, yet we have ſeldom ſeen it employed ſo much in our own Service as in that of our Allies. But the Foundation both of our Grandeur and of our Glory has been, on the one Hand, our great maritime Force, which, generally ſpeaking, whether well or ill employed, has maintained its Superiority; and on the other, our immenſe Wealth, accruing from an extenſive Commerce, of which indeed we have ſeen many, and ſome very large Computations made, and yet I am convinced, that none of them exceeded the Truth, from this plain Reaſon, that as yet we are not undone, after waſting in other Folks Quarrels ſuch a Proportion of Wealth, as Nothing but foreign Trade, ſuperior even in Profit to what it was ever thought, could poſſibly have ſupplied.

This then ſhould be our great Concern, for if we ever hope to diſcharge our Debts, to leſſen our Taxes, and thereby recover thoſe Branches of Commerce that have been loſt in *Europe*, it muſt be by opening new Channels, through which, notwithſtanding the Burthens they have upon them, our Manufactures may be carried to Markets where we may ſet upon them what Value we pleaſe. This Point is of all others that of which we ought to be moſt jealous; for if our Neighbours ſhould get the Start of us in this, we ſhould find our Misfortunes grow upon us, and our Proſperity decline apace. It is neceſſary therefore that we ſhould be very ſtrict in examining what others may do, and what it is in our Power to do, while we have yet a ſuperior Naval Force; for to provide early, and to prevent Miſchiefs, is the Part of a wiſe and of a prudent People; but to ſtay till they come upon us, is the very Reverſe. It is very evident, that notwithſtanding the vaſt Profits of our Commerce, we have been compelled to run in Debt; and it is as plain, that other Nations, fully poſſeſs'd of Naval Stores and valuable Commodities, are now ſetting up Manufactures, and launching into a Commerce more diſtant from them than *Japan* is from us. Does it not then become us to weigh the Conſequences of ſuch a Conduct, both with Regard to them and to ourſelves? Would it not be right to prevent the Effects of their Induſtry by reſuming our own? Is there any Thing that can better employ the Thoughts of ſuch as are at the Helm? Can they anſwer it to their Country, if they neglect Matters of ſuch high Conſequence, for the Sake of Things that are nearer, but at the ſame Time inconſiderable when compared to theſe? Or can we have any Right to blame them, if from a ſenſeleſs Spirit of Faction, a groundleſs and unreaſonable Oppoſition, we keep them continually upon the Watch for their own Safety, and leave them not either Time to contrive, Power to provide, or Means to execute what is required for the Publick Good? How many Nations have been undone by ſome or other of theſe Miſtakes? And if we purſue their Errors, what Reaſon is there to expect, or even to hope, that we ſhould eſcape their Fate?

I muſt indeed acknowledge, that in point of Compoſition I have offended greatly, by recurring ſo often to Remarks of this Kind; I am ſenſible that in this I have acted weakly, ridiculouſly, abſurdly, as an Author; but alas! what is my Character in that Reſpect to the Duty I owe my Country? Periſh all private Advantages, all Views of Intereſt, all Hopes of Fame, when it comes in Competition with a Nation's Good. Let every Man who has the happy Fortune to gain the publick Ear, in any Meaſure, in any Manner, or upon any Terms, ſtrive to turn that Attention to the publick Benefit. Let his Endeavours at leaſt ſpeak him a Patriot, whatever his Succeſs may do; and let me have Leave to remember by Way of Excuſe, for what may be accounted my Failing, the Anſwer of the *Athenian* Philoſopher who was charged with the ſame Fault, *I repeat*, ſaid he, *over and over again my Admonitions, to a People, who commit over and over again, the ſame Faults.*

SECTION VIII.

A diſtinct Account of Part of the North-eaſt Frontier of the *Ruſſian* Empire, commonly called the Country of *Kamſchatka* or *Kamſchatska*, including the Voyages of Captain *Behring* for diſcovering towards the Eaſt; with many curious and entertaining Circumſtances relating to thoſe diſtant Countries and their Inhabitants; and alſo an Enquiry into the Probability of the Country which he diſcovered, being connected with *North America*; with a Variety of other Points of great Conſequence in Relation to the Deſigns now on Foot in various Parts of *Europe* for making a thorough Diſcovery of the ſuperior Parts of the Northern Hemiſphere, which would be of the utmoſt Conſequence to Trade and Navigation in general, and to thoſe of *Great Britain* in particular.

Collected from the beſt Authorities both Printed and Manuſcript.

1. *A general Introduction, in which is ſhewn the wonderful Change made in the Affairs of* Ruſſia *by the Czar* Peter the Great, *and his having firſt conceived a Notion of opening a Trade between his Country and* North America. 2. *A Deſcription of the Country of* Kamſchatſka, *as deſcribed by the* Ruſſians *in the Time of* Peter I. *ſhewing its ſuppoſed Situation, Boundaries, and Extent.* 3. *The Motive of Captain* Behring's *Expedition, his Departure from* Peterſbourgh, Feb. 5, 1725, *and Journey through* Siberia. 4. *An Account of the Preparations and Expeditions made for furthering his Diſcoveries in the Year* 1726, *with various other Circumſtances relating to the Produce and Inhabitants of the Countries through which he paſſed.* 5. *A Detail of the many Miſeries and Hardſhips ſuſtained by this Gentleman, and the Inferior Officers and Soldiers under his Command, to the Time of his Arrival at* Kamſchatſka, 6. *A large Account of the Country, the* Ruſſian *Settlements, Fortreſſes and Garriſons there at the Time of Captain* Behring's *Arrival.* 7. *His Preparations in order to proſecute his Diſcoveries to the Eaſt; and an Account of his Diſcoveries and Return to* Peterſbourgh. 8. *Some Account of this Gentleman's ſubſequent Expedition, and of the Diſcoveries that have been ſince made on that Side by Direction of the* Ruſſian *Court.* 9. *A Repreſentation of the new Hypotheſis ſaid to be built upon theſe Diſcoveries, collected from the Memoirs of the Royal Society.* 10. *The Improbability of that Hypotheſis fully ſhewn, from a great Variety of Circumſtances, which amount to a Proof, that nothing advanced on this Subject ought to prejudice our Hopes of finding a North-weſt Paſſage.* 11. *Hiſtorical, Phyſical, and Critical Remarks upon the principal Points in this Section.*

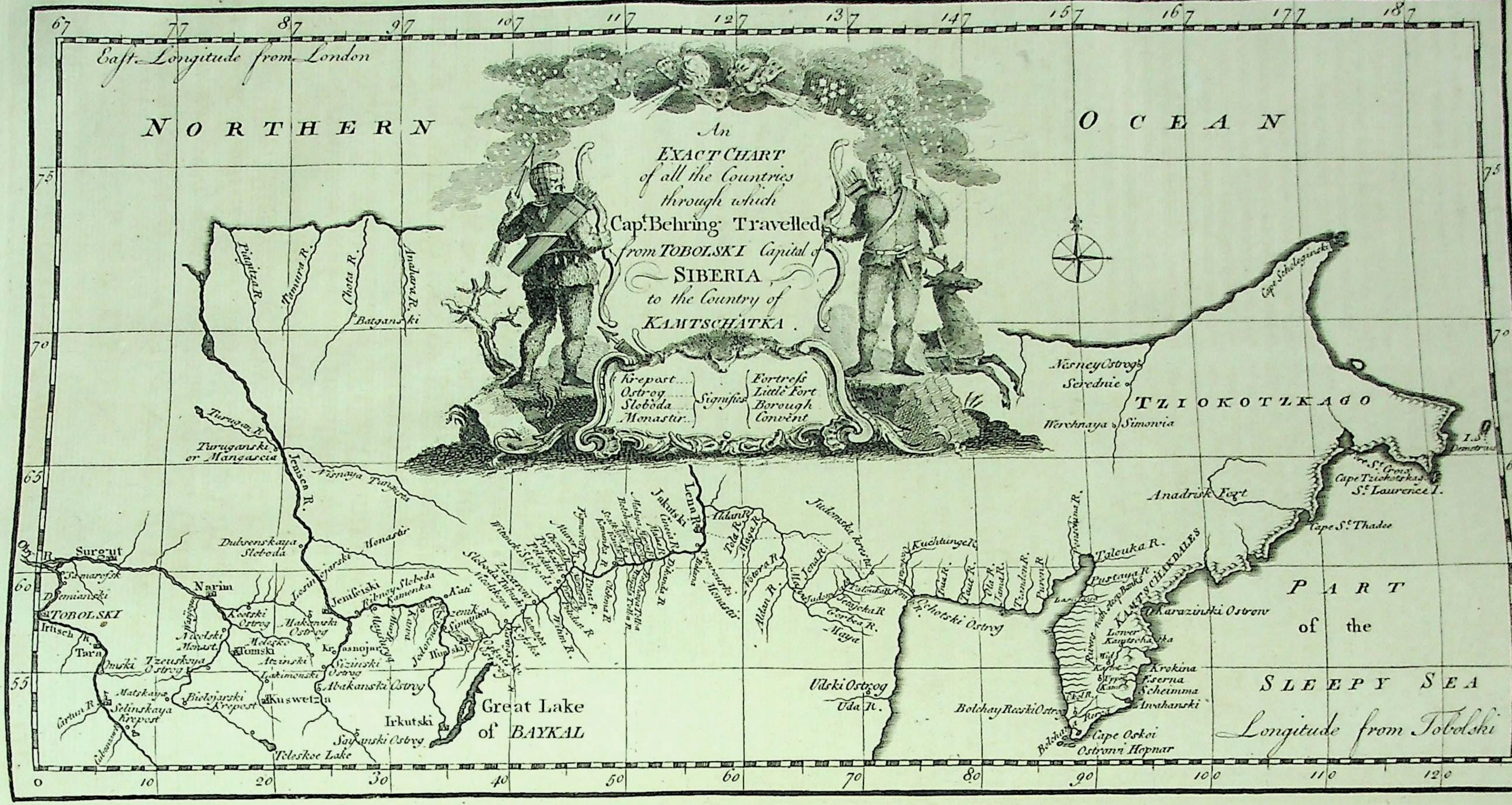
1. THERE could not be a more proper Subject choſen for the ſhutting up a Collection of this Kind, than the Hiſtory of the Diſcoveries made by the *Ruſſians* in the Northen Parts of their Dominions. In Point of Matter they are far more important than any which have been attempted within our Memory, the finding out a North-weſt Paſſage only excepted. In Point of Time alſo they are later, for the laſt Account of their Diſcovery is, if I may be allowed ſo familiar an Expreſſion, dated but the other Day, and theſe Diſcoveries are ſtill proſecuted, perhaps with greater Skill and Conſtancy, and with more Vigour and Induſtry than has been commonly imagined.

It is generally looked upon as the Foible of inquiſitive Minds, that they are apt to make ſuch Excurſions into the Realms of Fancy, as ſometimes to fall under the Power of Superſtition, and to be enſlaved by Enthuſiaſm at others. I am very much afraid I ſhall run the Riſque of one, if not both Imputations, from what I am going to ſay; but that gives me little Concern, for I had rather be laughed at for ſpeaking what I take to be Truth, than applauded for diſſembling it.

There ſeems then to me to have been a very ſingular Kind of Providence diſcernable in all the Diſcoveries that have been hitherto made, by which I mean, that from their Conſequences they appear to have been conducted by another Spirit than that of human Wiſdom; for in Proportion as the Nations who made Diſcoveries have abuſed the Advantages they derived from them, thoſe Advantages have gradually ſunk, and that Spirit of Diſcovery has been loſt, of which I could give various Inſtances, if it was not wholly unneceſſary, ſince upon the bare Mention of the Fact the judicious Reader will inſtantly recollect them.

It is from the conſidering Things in this Light, that I am led to apprehend the late Czar *Peter the Great*, of glorious and immortal Memory, was one of thoſe ſignal Inſtruments, raiſed up by the immediate Power of the Divine Ruler of all Things, to fulfil the great Purpoſes of his unſearchable Providence. Before his Reign, the People who inhabited the vaſt Country of *Ruſſia*, were very little or ſcarce at all known to the reſt of the World by their Actions or Performances. It was owing to that Spirit of Diſcovery which reigned here in the Time of Queen *Elizabeth*, that the Importance of their Situation came to be at all conſidered. The *Dutch* indeed quickly followed the Lights we gave them, and converted to their own Advantage that Route which with infinite Pains and Hazard we firſt deſcribed.

But this great Monarch was born to be not only the Governor, but the Legiſlator of his People; his Genius was the Gift of Nature, or to ſpeak with greater Piety, and at the ſame Time with more Propriety, the Gift of the great Author and Lord of Nature, and appeared


An
EXACT CHART
of all the Countries
through which
Capt. Behring Travelled
from TOBOLSKI Capital of
SIBERIA,
to the Country of
KAMTSCHATKA.
Krepost … Ostrog … Sloboda … Monastir … Signifies Fortreſs Little Fort Borough Convent
East Longitude from London
67
77
87
97
107
117
127
137
147
157
167
177
187
NORTHERN
OCEAN
75
70
65
60
55
Piagitza R.
Tamura R.
Chota R.
Anabara R.
Batganski
Turugan R.
Turuganski or Mangascia
Jenisea R.
Nisnaya Tunguska
Dubsenskaya Sloboda
Monastir
Oby R.
Surgut
Samarofsk
Demianski
TOBOLSKI
Irtisch R.
Tara
Omski
Tzeuskaya Ostrog
Narim
Ketzki Ostrog
Nicolski Monast.
Tomski
Makoffski Ostrog
Jeniseiski
Ribnoy Sloboda
Kimenka
Krasnojarsk
Abakanski Ostrog
Kuswetzn
Bielojarski Krepost
Matzkaya
Selinskaya Krepost
Cartun R.
Teleskoe Lake
Sayanski Ostrog
Irkutski
Great Lake of BAYKAL
Ilimski
Jakutski
Lena R.
Aldan R.
Tola R.
Maya R.
Judomska Krest
Ochotski Ostrog
Udskoi Ostrog
Uda R.
Kuchtungel
Inia R.
Taui R.
Ola R.
Yama R.
Tzanden R.
Puren R.
Pentschina R.
Taleuka R.
Pustaya R.
KAMTSCHADALES
Karazinski Ostrow
Lower Kamtschatka
Krokina
Fserna
Schetnuma
Inahanski
Bolchay Reczki Ostrog
Bolchaia
Cape Oskoi
Ostrowi Hopnar
Anadrisk Fort
Nesney Ostrog
Serednie
Werchnaya
Simonvia
TZIOKOTZKAGO
Cape Schelaginski
I. St. Demetrius
St. Grois
Cape Tziokotzkas
St. Laurence I.
Cape St. Thadee
PART of the SLEEPY SEA
Longitude from Tobolski
0
10
20
30
40
50
60
70
80
90
100
110
120

appeared with all the Luſtre worthy of its Author. That knowing, that well-meaning, that Patriot-Monarch of the North, drew, or rather forced his Subjects out of that Obſcurity in which for many Ages they had remained. He enlightened them by his Exhortations, he animated them by his Example, he compelled them by his abſolute Power to ſhake off the Chains of Barbarity, to come forth out of a State of inſenſible Ignorance, and to appear upon the bright Theatre of the Univerſe, not only as a great and powerful Nation, but as one of the greateſt and moſt powerful Nations that have been the Object of Hiſtory.

He it was that made the World know the Importance of the Country he poſſeſſed, and this in Spite of Obſtacles that would have amazed and terrified an Inferior, that would have tired and overcome a leſs vigorons Genius. It was this wiſe, this active, this heroick Prince, that raiſed his People from being the loweſt to the higheſt of the Northen Powers. It was he that taught them to triumph by Land, and opened them a Paſſage to the Sea; In ſhort, it was he that conceived and executed the amazing Project of making them a Maritime Power, and this too in a ſurprizing Extent.

From a People unacquainted with a Veſſel bigger than a Bark, and who knew no Navigation but that of their own Rivers, he not only taught them the Uſe of Ships, but put it into their Power to build and to equip them; nay, he did more than all this, he was not content with opening Ports on one Side only, he opened them on all; his Frigates, ſecured him the Poſſeſſion of the *Caſpian* Sea, his Men of War ſurprized with their Appearance the Nations inhabiting the Coaſts of the *Black Sea*, and even the ſupine Pleaſures of an Eaſtern Prince were diſturbed by the Thunder of his Cannon, that alarmed the Inhabitants of *Conſtantinople*; after trying theſe Experiments, he aſpired to ſtill greater Things, and not only built the City of *Peterſbourg*, but opened various Ports upon the *Baltick*, which he covered with his Fleets, and came in Perſon as their Admiral to *Copenhagen*, where not ſome Ages only, but ſome few Years before, they would have as ſoon expected a Viſit from the Emperor of *Japan*.

His Predeceſſors hardly comprehended the Extent of their Dominions, but the Czar *Peter* not only diſcover'd that his Dominions were the moſt extenſive in the World, but that he had a Mind more extenſive than theſe. He ſaw the Advantages that might be made of every Province, every Port, and every River in his Empire, and in the Courſe of a ſhort Reign, a very ſhort Reign indeed, compared with the great Events to which it gave Birth, he convinced his Subjects, his Neigbours, and all the conſiderate Men in every Part of the World of the Truth of this; and that he perfectly knew how to have puſhed his Greatneſs on all Sides, if the puſhing it had not exceeded the Strength and Limits of a ſingle Life.

But within the Compaſs of that ſingle Life what did he, or rather, what did he not! He exhauſted the Power of *Sweden*, the only Means of taming the lion-like Spirit of his Enemy *Charles* XII. He put it out of his Power to conquer, for to conquer him was not even in *Peter*'s Power. He protected *Poland*, to which before his Time his Empire was inferior. The *Tartars*, to whom his Predeceſſors were Tributaries, he frighted into Quiet. He encountred alone, and when they had no other Enemy to deal with, the Forces of the *Turks*. He extended his Dominions on the Side of *Perſia*. He ſometimes encroached upon their Territories, he ſometimes ſought to conciliate by Conceſſions, the Friendſhip of the *Chineſe*.

He did more than all this, for after making himſelf firſt known, and then admired in all Parts of the civilized Earth, he began to look beyond the Bounds of the habitable World itſelf, and to propoſe after ſhowing his Subjects ſo many new Seas and new Countries, to point them out the Way to the *Eaſt Indies* and to the *Weſt*. Such were the Cares that occupied the Thoughts of this great Prince, while other Monarchs were complimented with high Titles for diſturbing the Peace of Mankind about Trifles, for ſtealing little Provinces, and buying now and then a Town.

It is very true, that he did not live to perfect his laſt great Deſign, but that he framed it was ſufficient for his own Glory, and to amaze all who are capable of forming a competent Judgment of the Circumſtances that muſt attend the perfecting this Deſign when-ever it ſhall be brought about. To ſhew that this is no Chimera, but a very wiſe and well laid Scheme, and which ſooner or later will be certainly carried into Execution, is the Buſineſs of this Section, in which we are to ſpeak of the North-eaſt Limits of the *Ruſſian* Empire, and of the Country of *Kamtſchatka* or *Kamtſchatska*, for it is written both Ways, of which though we have but lately heard, it imports us as much to be well acquainted with as any Country upon the Face of the Globe; for though we cannot boaſt much of the Figure it makes at preſent, yet as it is the Poſſeſſion of this Country that put it more in the Power of this Nation than any other to make Diſcoveries, and as the moſt important Diſcoveries that ever were made, may very probably be made from hence, we muſt be content to take a little Pains in the Explanation of this Point, and in becoming Maſters of a Subject, as curious and entertaining as it is uſeful and important; ſo that however great they may be, we ſhall have no Cauſe to regret the Labour they coſt, to think our time ill beſtowed, or our Trouble not well laid out.

2. It is not eaſy to diſcover at what time the *Ruſſians* became acquainted with that Part of their own Dominions which borders North-eaſt upon the *Icy Sea*; but it ſeems very evident, that though the Name of *Kamſchatska* was given to ſome very remote Parts of their *Aſiatick* Dominions, then commonly included under the general name of *Siberia*, yet were they very indifferently and very indiſtinctly known at the Cloſe of the laſt Century, as appears by the Map of Mr. *Ysbrant Ides*, which is very far from agreeing with later Diſcoveries. But after the Czar *Peter* had travelled, and had acquired a competent Knowledge of Coſmography and Geography, he began to be extremely deſirous of having theſe Parts more thoroughly examined, as having now ſome Notion of their Importance. He took great Pains to make himſelf well acquainted with the Route to *China*, and alſo cauſed a very accurate Map to be drawn of the Countries lying about the River *Amur*, as far as the *Peninſula* of *Corea* on the South, and as high as he had any certain Accounts of his own People to the North.

He likewiſe directed the ſtricteſt Enquiries to be made into the State of *Nova Zembla*, and the Country about the Streights of *Wygatz*, and ſo along the *Icy Sea* as far as poſſible to the Eaſt; and of theſe alſo he had Maps, in which the Mountains and Rivers that had been carefully examined, were laid down; but the whole was not compleated at the Time of his Death; ſo that he enjoyed not the Satisfaction of beholding a diſtinct Repreſentation of his Dominions on that Side. He had the Pleaſure however of diſcourſing frequently of the Diſcoveries that might be made, and of the Trade that probably might be carried on from theſe Countries, bounded by the Sea of *Japan*; and as he would ſometimes diſcourſe of theſe Matters a little hyperbolically, which was however no more than neceſſary to awaken the Curioſity and Attention of his Countrymen and Subjects; ſo by Degrees it had Effect, and many of his Miniſters, eſpecially Prince *Menzikoff* and Admiral *Apraxin*, entered pretty well into his Sentiments, and endeavoured all they could to puſh their Colonies as far as *Kamſchatska*.

It was however with infinite Difficulty that they prevailed, and the Relations that were tranſmitted from thence ſeemed to deſtroy all Hopes of doing any thing there to the Purpoſe; for the Soil was repreſented the moſt ſterile that could be poſſibly imagined, the Climate ſevere beyond Expreſſion, binding not only the Brooks and Rivulets, but even the Earth itſelf in ſuch Icy Chains, that it was as practicable to dig a Rock, as to make a Spade enter it. It was ſaid that Wild-fowl were frequently killed by Cold, and that ſometimes even the wild Beaſts periſhed by the exceſſive Severity of the Weather; neither do the very lateſt Accounts that we have received contradict this, though they lay the Scene of theſe tragical Effects of Cold on Countries to the North-eaſt of *Kamſchatska*.

The firſt Accounts of *Kamſchatska* that had any Appearance of Clearneſs or Certainty, reached this Part of the World about the Year 1723, and were brought by an *Engliſhman*, whom the Czar *Peter* had employed in erecting a Glaſs-work; and they amounted to no more than this, that it was a vaſt Tract of Country, extending from the Polar Circle down to ſixty Degrees of North Latitude, I make uſe of the Perſon's Words from whom I had it; that it contained thirty Degrees of Longitude; and that the North-eaſt Extremity was either a Promontory ſhooting into the *Icy Sea*, or the Beginning of a long Ridge of Mountains that were ſuppoſed to run out Eaſtward, and join the Continent of *North America*.

Wild and extravagant as this Account may ſeem, I am very certain it was the beſt that at this time could be given by the moſt experienced Perſons in *Ruſſia*; and that from this Account, and the Conjectures founded upon it, a Reſolution was taken for puſhing their Diſcoveries on that Side in Hopes of ſome beneficial Conſequences. It was allowed, that no Country could be more wretched than this, that it produced only a few Roots, that no Kind of Grain would grow there, and that a ſmall inſignificant Colony of *Ruſſians*, that had been forced thither in Obedience to the Czar's Orders, ſubſiſted entirely upon Fiſh, and ſuch ſmall Supplies of coarſe Rye Bread as could from Time to Time be ſent them; that it was certain they had not any Black Cattle, Horſe, or Deer, but that however ſome Animals they had, of the Skins of which they made their Cloathing. This was the Sum total of what was known of this Country before the Expedition of Captain *Behring*; upon which we are next to enter, and of which I ſhall give as clear and plain an Account as it is poſſible.

3. It was in the laſt Year of the Life of *Peter* the *Great*, that Captain *Behring* received Orders from Count *Apraxin*, Admiral of *Ruſſia*, to traverſe the vaſt Country of *Siberia*, to penetrate its utmoſt Extremities to the Eaſt or North-eaſt, in order to obtain a diſtinct Notion of its Bounds, and of the Diſtance between them and the Continent of *North America*. The better to enable him to fulfil theſe Inſtructions, which were given him in the Month of *February* 1725, a Lieutenant was diſpatched with twenty five Men, and ſuch Baggage and Tools as could be carried upon twenty-five Horſes before him; and as ſoon as he could make the neceſſary Preparations, the Captain followed with a Retinue of about thirty-three Perſons. He came up with his Lieutenant at *Wologda*, and continued his Journey to *Tobolsky*, which is looked upon as the Capital of *Siberia*, where he arrived on the 16th of *March*.

The Seaſon being too far advanced for him to make an immediate Progreſs, he continued there for two Months, and then having received a conſiderable Reinforcement, he proceeded on his Expedition on the River *Irtiſh* till it falls into the River *Oby* or *Obb*, and then remounted that River as far as the Town of *Narin*. All the Country through which he paſſed was inhabited by the *Oſtiacks*, formerly *Pagans*, but a little before converted to the Chriſtian Faith by the Care of the Metropolitan of *Tobolsky*. He proceeded from thence to the Monaſtery of *Makofsk*, and from thence went by Land to the City of *Jeniſciski*. He embarked there with thirty Perſons on board of four ſmall Barks, in order to continue his Voyage on the River *Jeniſa*, and afterwards on that of *Tunguska*; from whence with much Difficulty he reached *Ilimski*.

There he determined to winter, and to ſend his Lieutenant to make the neceſſary Preparations for continuing their Voyage upon the *Lena*, directing him to employ his Time in conſtructing a ſmall Squadron of Barks for that Purpoſe. The Captain himſelf, during the Winter, took all the Care he could to inform himſelf of the Countries that he had ſtill to paſs through, before he reached that which was the proper Object of their Enquiries. And the Accounts that he received, were ſuch as gave him to underſtand that a more difficult Taſk could ſcarce be impoſed on any Man than that which had been lain upon his Shoulders. The Country where he now was belonged to the *Tunguſees*, a Nation of *Pagans*, who lived very miſerably along the Sides of the great Rivers, which they navigated in ſmall Boats, or rather Canoes made of the Barks of Trees. When the Severity of the Seaſon was a little over, he reſolved to proſecute this tedious and dangerous Expedition with all the Diligence and Caution in his Power.

4. In the Beginning of the Spring he began to deſcend the *Lena* with his ſmall Squadron of fifteen flat-bottom'd Boats, and arrived ſafely at *Jakutsky*. Both Banks of the *Lena* below the River *Witem*, are inhabited by the *Jakuts* and ſome few *Tunguſees*. As for the former, they are well provided with Horſes, and have great Herds of Black Cattle, that is to ſay, ſuch as are in a tolerable Situation in the World; and as for the poorer Sort, they maintain themſelves as well as they can by Fiſhing. As for their Religion, they are Pagans and groſs Idolaters, worſhipping the Sun and Moon, and ſome Kind of Birds, ſuch as the Swan, the Eagle, and the Crow. They are famous for having many Conjurers among them, and for praying to a Sort of diminutive ugly Idols, called in their Language *Saitans*. In other Reſpects they reckon themſelves, and are eſteemed by others, a Tribe of *Tartars*. Upon his Arrival at *Jakutsky* the Captain demanded a Reinforcement, and having obtained it, he gave Inſtructions to a Lieutenant to proceed with the beſt Part of his Troops and all the heavy Baggage upon the *Lena*, to its Confluence with the River *Aldan*, in Order by remounting that, and the Rivers *Maya* and *Judoma*, to reach *Judomska Kreſta*, that is, the little Fort of *Judomska*, and by this Route he was in Hopes of leſſening the Fatigue of ſo long and toubleſome a Paſſage.

As for himſelf, he ſet out on Horſeback, attended by the few People that were left about him, and ſome Horſes laden with Proviſion, to go by Land to *Ochotski*, though the Road was very far from being tolerable. The Captain alſo left a Lieutenant at *Jakutski*, with Orders to paſs the Winter there, and to follow him at the Beginning of the Spring over Land to *Ochotski*. Upon his arriving in Perſon at that Fortreſs, he found it in a very poor Condition, and no more than ten *Ruſſian* Families reſiding there or in its Neighbourhood. About the End of the Month of *December* he received Advice from his firſt Lieutenant, importing that he had been ſurprized by the Ice at his Entrance into the River of *Gorbea*, diſtant above one hundred Leagues from *Judomska*; and that this obliged him immediately to conſtruct ſome long and narrow Sledges for the Carriage of his Proviſions and Baggage; but as for himſelf and his Men, they continued their Rout on Foot. Upon receiving this News, the Captain thought proper to advance from *Ochotski* to receive his Lieutenant, carrying with him a Convoy of Proviſions laden upon large Dogs. By this wiſe Precaution he brought his Lieutenant and the Remainder of his Detachment ſafe to *Ochotski*, upon *New Year's Day* 1727.

5. The Account which this Officer gave him of the Miſeries they ſuſtained in their March was equally melancholy and ſincere. They quitted the River of *Gorbea* on the 4th of *November*, and not being able to carry with them a ſufficient Quantity of Proviſions, were very quickly conſtrained to feed upon the Fleſh of their dead Horſes. They afterwards burnt off the Hair from their Skins with Lime, and then converted them into Coats and Shoes. They were forced to abandon their Baggage in three different Places, and had certainly periſhed at *Judomska Kreſta*, if it had not been for a ſmall Quantity of Meal which the Captain had been obliged to leave there by Reaſon that ſome of his Horſes died. The Nation of *Jakuts*, who inhabited the Banks of the *Lena*, dwell alſo on thoſe of the Rivers *Aldan* and *Maya*, but on the Sides of the River *Judoma*, and in the Neighbourhood of the Fortreſs of *Ochota*, reſide the Nation *Lamutki*. Theſe People have tame Rain-Deer, which they employ in drawing their Carriages, as well as to furniſh them with Cloaths and Subſiſtence. In the Neighbourhood of the Lakes and of

the Sea, dwell the *Tunguſes*, for the Conveniency of Fiſhing. Theſe People are as barbarous and as much Idolaters as the *Jakuts*.

In the Beginning of the Month of *February*, the Captain diſpatched a Lieutenant and 90 Men, with ſome Dogs, to fetch off the Baggage that had been abandoned in the Manner before-mentioned; he returned with a part of it in *April*; and another Detachment being order'd on the ſame Service, they brought the reſt back in *May*. In this Country the Snow falls in ſuch prodigious Quantities, that it commonly lies about two Yards thick, and ſometimes more, upon the Ground, which obliges People, for three or four Months, to travel on Foot, and to drag their Baggage on little Sledges, which will carry 6 or 700 Weight. In this Manner the Lieutenant marched that came to *Ochotski*, and during his whole Paſſage, the poor People had no other Relief in the Night-time, or when the cutting icy Winds blew, than to cover themſelves as deep as they could in the Snow. This is practiſed on the Coaſts of *Hudſon's Bay*, and in other cold Countries as well as here; and if Credit may be given to ſeveral Narrations written by thoſe who have viſited theſe frozen Climates, it is a very convenient and effectual Screen from the extreme Fury of the Weather, which will be the leſs wondere'd at, if we conſider, that both Gardeners and Huſbandmen acknowledge very diſcernable Heat in Snow, by which Corn, Fruit and Flowers, are defended from the Rage of Winter, in the Earth, and are enabled by this kindly Covering to puſh out and diſcover that they are alive in the Spring.

On the 30th of *June* the Captain ordered Lieutenant *Spanberg* to croſs the Gulph to the Mouth of the *Balchaia rerca*, or Great River; he was to perform this Voyage in a new ſtout Veſſel built by their own Workmen, and had Orders to carry over with him the ſecond Architect, and a ſufficient Number of Men to cut down Timber, and to build a new Veſſel there, which when they had performed, they were inſtructed to give the Captain Notice of it at *Ochotski*. While they were thus employed, the other Lieutenant *Creziboff* returned, bringing with him 2300 Pound of Meal, that is about 800 Weight, which was immediately embarked on board the new Veſſel that was returned from *Kamſchatska*. The Captain then ordered all the heavy Baggage and Proviſions to be embarked without Delay, and on the 21ſt of *Auguſt* he went on board himſelf for the Port before-mentioned. He left behind him a Pilot, and a ſmall Number of Perſons, with Inſtructions as to the recovering and ſecuring the Proviſions that had been left behind, which they were to bring with them if they could, but if not, they were to deliver them to the Goverment of *Jakutsky*, and to take a Diſcharge for them; after which, the Pilot, and thoſe under his Command, were to join the Captain; and bring with them a ſmall Supply of Proviſions, Iron, and Tar. However, he ſaw nothing of them till the Year 1728.

The Captain being come to the Mouth of *Bolchaya rerka*, tranſported his Proviſions and other Neceſſaries to *Bolchay reeski oſtrog*, or the Habitation of the Great River. The heavy Baggage was from hence conveyed in ſmall Boats, that were drawn againſt the Stream for 120 Werſts, to the higher Settlement in *Kamſchatska*. This Journey they performed themſelves by Land, making uſe of the little Sleds before-mentioned, that were drawn by Dogs, for the Carriage of what was neceſſary for them during the Journey. On this Occaſion, they had thorough Experience of the extreme Rigour of the Climate, being obliged to have Recourſe to the Method before-mentioned, that is to ſay, towards Night, or when-ever thay had a mind to reſt, they run a very deep Trench or Ditch through the Snow; at the Entrance of this Trench they hung up Deer Skins, and then lay down under the Snow, either to ſleep or to take Repoſe. The Intent of hanging up the Skins, is to prevent thoſe ſudden Storms which are common in theſe Parts, and to which they give the Name of *Purgi*, from being fatal to them, as they often are to leſs cautious Paſſengers, by bringing with them ſuch prodigious Quantities of Snow as bury theſe unfortunate Victims under it, paſt all Poſſibility of extricating themſelves or eſcaping.

As we have now conducted the Reader into that Country which is the proper Subject of this Section, and which, for any thing that is yet known, ſeems to be the very Extremity of the Continent, on this Side, tho' there is a very wide Country behind it, extending directly North for above 15° of Latitude. I ſay, as we have followed him hither, the next thing is to ſee what Account he gives us of this ſtrange Place, which lies ſo far out of the Reach of the reſt of Mankind, and which could never have been viſited, much leſs planted and poſſeſſed by any but the *Ruſſians*, and even theſe had not been long fixed there at this Time.

The *Ruſſians* have three Settlements, or to ſpeak with greater Propriety, have occupied three Poſts in this Country. In the Fortreſs which is in the upper *Kamſchatska*, there are ſeventeen, in the lower Fortreſs there are about fifty *Ruſſian* Houſes, excluſive of thoſe that are about the Church, which may be about fifteen in Number. At the Mouth of the River before-mentioned, there were at this Time fourteen Houſes. In theſe three Poſts there were about 150 Soldiers in Garriſon, and the principal Point aimed at by fixing them here, was to collect the Tribute from the neighbouring Nations. The Captain, to reward thoſe that had aſſiſted him in tranſporting his heavy Baggage, his Stores and Ammunition, and who had likewiſe furniſhed him with Carriages, gave them about an hundred Weight of Train Oil, which he extracted from a Whale the Sea left upon the Coaſt at the warm Seaſon of the Year; and with this and a little *Chineſe* Tobacco, they were better contented than if he had given them Money. To the South of this Country inhabit the Nation of the *Kuriles*, and to the Northward dwell the *Kamtſchadales*, the Languages ſpoke by theſe Nations are ſo different, that they hardly underſtand each other; ſome of them are addicted to Idolatry; among others there are no apparent Signs of any Religion; and to ſay the Truth, hardly any convincing Tokens of Humanity.

The *Ruſſians* that are ſettled in *Kamtſchatska*, as well as the Natives or original Inhabitants, are deſtitute both of Cattle and Corn; inſtead of the former they make uſe of Dogs, which are very large and ſtrong; and by the way, this is likewiſe the Cuſtom in *Groenland*, and in the Countries bordering upon *Hudſon's-Bay*. As to Proviſions, they live chiefly upon Fiſh, Roots, and Pears; they have likewiſe Carrots and Beans, and in ſome Seaſons of the Year tolerable plenty of Wild-fowl. As to their Cloaths, they are made of Dogs-ſkin; it is however worth obſerving, that in the Country about the Convent of *Pakuſſiska*, which is not far from the Church, they have a little Barley, as alſo ſome Hemp and Radiſhes, and in the Plantations about the *Ruſſian* Houſes, they have Turnips of a prodigious Size, that is to ſay, of five or ſix Pounds Weight apiece. The Captain, while he was there, cauſed ſome Rye and Oats to be ſowed, but he did not ſtay long enough to ſee whether they came up. The Froſt ſets in here very early, and the People, who are tributary to the *Ruſſians*, pay their Taxes in ſeveral Sorts of Furs.

The Cuſtoms of theſe People are barbarous in the higheſt Degree, of which a very few Inſtances may be ſufficient to convince the Reader. If a Womrn happens to have two Children at a Birth, one of them is deſtroyed as ſoon as it is born, and it would be eſteemed a Crime to preſerve it. Nor are they cruel only to Children, for if the Father and Mother of a Family happens to fall ſick, tho' the Diſeaſe does not appear to be mortal, yet they drag them away preſently to a Wood, let the Weather be what it will, and there they leave them, not indeed without Proviſions, for they commonly carry them as much as will ſerve them for a few Days, but they very ſeldom hear any more of them. When People die ſo ſuddenly that they cannot be thus removed, they drag the Body into the Woods, and leave it there to be devoured by the Dogs. There ſeems to be a good deal of Superſtition in this, for ſome of them will quit the Place of their Reſidence, if a Man happens to breathe his laſt in it. The Nation of the *Koratkes* burn their Dead, and though they have been often admoniſhed to leave off this Practice, yet hitherto there has been no breaking them of it.

Since the Time our Author wrote, it appears from ſeveral Books that have been publiſhed at *Petersbourg*, that this Country, at leaſt the *Ruſſian* Settlements in it, have been greatly improv'd; ſo that in the Latitude of 56, and even higher, they have Barley, Oats, and Rye, in tolerable Plenty. The Number of Houſes alſo are greatly increaſed, and the Fortreſſes are in much better Order, which is owing to the Hopes that are ſtill entertained of opening on this Side, ſome Time or other, a very advantageous Commerce. We have been promiſed, and were in Hopes of receiving a large and accurate Deſcription of this Country in its preſent Condition, but as yet it has not been publiſhed; many People may poſſibly think, that conſidering the Rigour of the Climate, the Barrenneſs of the Soil, and the Thinneſs of its Inhabitants, that it is no great Matter whether it be ever publiſhed. Yet notwithſtanding all this, it is not impoſſible, or even improbable, that in Proceſs of Time Things may change their Face here, for the Country now Called *Kamtſchatska*, is not that vaſt Northern Continent that extends from 60 to 73 Degrees of North Latitude, which was formerly included under that Name, but the Peninſula only which extends from the Latitude of 51 to 60, and lies between 80 and 95 Degrees Longitude Eaſt from *Tobolski*; ſo that if a ſufficient Number of People were ſent thither to cut down the vaſt Foreſts with which it it incumber'd, and enabled to till, manure, and cultivate the Earth, it might be render'd a Place far enough from being deſpicable; and then the great Importance of its Situation would very quickly appear. But to return to our Narrative.

7. Upon the Captain's Arrival at the lower Fortreſs, he found Wood enough cut for the building a Veſſel, which was put upon the Stocks *April* 4, 1728, and was intirely finiſhed the 10th of *July* following. It is certain that a properer Perſon could not well have been employed, ſince he thought nothing a Difficulty, nor was afraid of any kind of Hardſhip or Danger that ſtood in the Way of the Execution of his Orders, but with infinite Addreſs, and almoſt incredible Patience, got over thoſe Difficulties, that to another Man would have appeared unſurmountable. All the Timber that was uſed in Building, was conveyed to the Place where his new Veſſel was conſtructed, upon Sledges drawn by Dogs, and conſequently with infinite Pains and Trouble. The Supply of Tar he expected not being arrived, was another great Inconveniency, but the Captain, who had a Brain very fertile in Expedients, obſerved a Tree there, called by the Natives *Liſniſchink*, which he fancied would ſupply them either with Tar, or ſomething like it; accordingly he cauſed great Quantities of it to be cut and burned, and, as he expected, the reſinous Matter that run from it anſwered the Ends of Tar, if not perfectly, at leaſt tolerably.

The Veſſel being built, the next Thing was to victual her, and that for a Voyage, the Length of which was altogether uncertain; and to do this in a Country in a Manner deſtitute of Proviſions, was none of the eaſieſt Undertakings. The Captain however went about it, and, in the firſt Place, having collected a vaſt Quantity of Plants and Herbs, he diſtilled from them a pretty ſtrong Spirit, upon which he was pleaſed to beſtow the Name of Brandy, and of this he laid in a plentiful Stock. Inſtead of Meal or Corn, he furniſhed himſelf with Carrots or other Roots. By Boiling the Seawater, he procured as much Salt as he wanted. Fiſh Oyl ſerved inſtead of Butter, and dry and wet Salt-fiſh took the Place of Beef and Pork. Theſe Proviſions, ſuch as they were, he embarked in ſuch Quantities as would ſerve his Crew, conſiſting of forty Men, for a whole Year.

Thus equipped, he undertook the Execution of the Inſtruction given him by his Sovereign *Peter* the Great, under his own Hand, and of which the following is a Copy taken literally from his Journal.

I. You ſhall cauſe one or two convenient Veſſels to be built at *Kamſchatska*, or elſewhere.

II. You ſhall endeavour to diſcover, by Coaſting with theſe Veſſels, whether the Country towards the North, of which at preſent we have no diſtinct Knowledge, is a Part of *America*, or not.

III. If it joins to the Continent of *America*, you ſhall endeavour, if poſſible, to reach ſome Colony belonging to ſome *European* Power; or in caſe you meet with any *European* Ship, you ſhall diligently enquire the Name of the Coaſts, and ſuch other Circumſtances as it is in your Power to learn; and theſe you ſhall commit to Writing, ſo that we may have ſome certain Memoirs by which a Chart may be conſtructed.

On the 14th of *July*, having recommended himſelf to the Protection of Almighty God, he ſailed out of the River of *Kamſchatska*. On the 8th of *Auguſt* he found himſelf in the Latitude of 64 Degrees, 30 Minutes, and being perceived by the Inhabitants on Shore, eight Men put off in a Boat made of Skins, and came to the Veſſel, that is to ſay, to the Side of it, where they enquired whence he came, and to what Purpoſe. After he had anſwered them, they acquainted him in their Turn that they were *Tzuktſchi*, which is the Name of a Nation with whom the *Ruſſians* have been for ſome Years acquainted. It was with ſome Difficulty that he got one of them to come to him, but he was ſoon followed by the reſt. They informed him that the Coaſt, for a conſiderable Extent, was inhabited by their Nation, and that the Land tended to the Weſt. They likewiſe gave him Information of an Iſland that was not far off, which he accordingly found on the 10th of *Auguſt*; and as that is the Feaſt of St. *Lawrence* in the *Ruſſian* Kalendar, he thought fit to beſtow that Name upon the Iſland. He ſent an Officer on board a Shallop of four Oars thither twice to examine it, but he could not find any Inhabitants, though there were ſome Houſes upon it; which ſufficiently ſhewed that it was inhabited, though the People, out of Fear, or from ſome other Motive, thought proper to conceal themſelves.

He continued his Courſe to the 15th of the ſame Month, when he found himſelf in the Latitude of 67 Degrees 18 Minutes, and conceiving that he had now fully executed the Emperor's Orders, as he ſaw no Land, either to the North or to the Eaſt, he reſolved to return, as thinking it to no Purpoſe to continue his Voyage towards the Weſt, or to run the Hazard of being driven by a contrary Wind beyond the Poſſibility of getting back during the Summer to *Kamſchatska*, and to winter in a Country where he was ſure of meeting with little or no Wood, and which might very poſſibly be inhabited by ſome Nation, Enemies to the *Ruſſians*, was, in his Opinion, running a very great, and, at the ſame Time, unneceſſary Hazard.

From the Mouth of the River *Kamſchatska*, to the utmoſt Point of their Voyage, they ſaw nothing upon the Coaſt but great Ridges of Rocks, the Tops of which were covered with Snow, though it was Summer. They traverſed, according to their Computation, about ten Leagues of Latitude, and thirty of Longitude, that is to ſay, the fartheſt they ſailed Eaſt, was 372 *German* Leagues. On the 20th of *Auguſt*, in their Return, they ſaw forty Perſons on board four ſmall Boats rowing towards them from Shore with all their Force; they lay by for them, and upon their coming near them, they concluded them, from their Appearance, to be of the Nation called *Tzuktſchi*. They had with them a good Quantity of dry'd Fleſh, Fiſh, and Water contained in Whales Bladders, 15 Fox Skins, and four Narval's Teeth, which they ſold, or rather exchanged for Pins and Needles with the Seamen. Theſe People told them, that their Nation travelled with Rain Deer as far as the River *Koblima*, which runs into the North Sea, but that they never had attempted any Paſſage by Sea. That their Nation inhabited a very long Tract of Country upon that Coaſt, and had been poſſeſſed of it for many Years; one of them particularly ſaid, he had been at the Fortreſs of *Anadirſki*, where they had traded with, and been very well treated by the *Ruſſians*. They had very great Hopes of obtaining conſiderable Intelligence from this Man, but notwithſtanding all the Queſtions they propoſed, they could gain from him no more than a Confirmation of what they had formerly learned from the *Tzukiſchi*.

On the 29th of *Auguſt* they met with a great Storm, attended with a thick Fog, by which they were driven upon the Coaſt of ſome Country Eaſt of *Kamſchatska*, and where they were oblig'd to come to an Anchor. Upon their endeavouring to weigh it the next Day, their Cable broke; however, they were ſo lucky as to eſcape with no other Loſs than that of their Anchor. On the 2d of *September* they arrived ſafely in the Mouth of the River of *Kamſchatska*, where they landed, and having ſecured their Veſſel in a Creek, went to the lower Fortreſs, where they paſſed the Winter. There they met with the reſt of their Companions, who brought them a conſiderable Supply of Proviſions, which, after the Fatigues they had ſuſtained, were very acceptable. In this Place they ſpent the Winter, without meeting with any thing worthy of our Notice. On the 5th of *June* 1729, they repaired their Veſſel and put to Sea, ſteering due Eaſt from the Mouth of the River *Kamſchatska*, in Hopes of diſcovering that Land, which the Inhabitants affirm'd might be ſeen in a clear Day; which, however, they were not ſo happy as to meet with, though they continued that Route for 30 Leagues, and then meeting with a Storm at Eaſt-North-Eaſt, they were obliged to return to the Mouth of the *Bolſchay reeſchi*, after having paſſed round the South Point of *Kamſchatska*, which was a Voyage that was never performed before. They went from thence by Sea to the Fortreſs of *Ochotsky*, where they delivered up their Stores of Proviſion, conſiſting of Flour, dry'd Fleſh, and Salt, to the proper Officers. On the 20th of *July* they arrived at the Mouth of the River *Ochota*, where they delivered up the Veſſel, with the Materials and Tools on board her, to the Governor. The Captain then hired Horſes for himſelf and Company, to go by Land to *Judomska kreſta*; thence they proceeded by Water in ſmall Boats and Rafts, along the River *Aldan* to the Paſſage of *Beloya*, and thence they went on Horſeback to *Jakutski*; all this they performed exactly in a Month, arriving there on the 29th of *Auguſt*.

On the 20th of *September* they left that Place, and went in two Veſſels up the River *Lena*, as far as the Village of *Peledun*, where they arrived on the 10th of *October*, and there they were obliged to ſtay for about ten Days, becauſe the Rivers began now to be covered with Ice. The Snow falling in great Quantities, and the River being thoroughly froze, they ſet out on the 29th of *October* for *Ilimski*, and from thence by the Rivers *Tungus* and *Jeneſci*, which where now covered with Ice, they came to the Town of *Jeniſckiski*; from that Town, paſſing through ſeveral Villages of *Ruſſians* and *Tartars* newly converted, they reached *Tomski*, and paſſing over the great Deſerts of *Bambinski*, they reached *Tara*, and from thence mounting the River *Irtiſch*, they came to *Tobolski*, *January* 10, 1730. In this City they remained till the 25th of the ſame Month, and then ſet out by the Road before deſcribed, for *Petersbourg*, where the Captain ſafely arrived on the firſt of *March* following.

This Detail which we have given our Reader, is not barely copied from the Accounts that have been publiſhed in *German*, *Low-Dutch*, *French*, and other Languages, but hath been compared with a Copy of Captain *Behring*'s original Journal, which has been of very great Service; we have alſo examined his Map very carefully, and conſidered, at the ſame Time, how far it was conſiſtent with prior and with poſterior Diſcoveries, of which more ſhall be ſaid hereafter. At preſent I will crave Leave to add here, from a Manuſcript Copy of the Journal, a very curious Table of the Places mentioned therein, with their Latitudes and Longitudes from *Tobolski*, the rather, becauſe it has never been publiſhed, at leaſt ſo far as I know, and becauſe it will ſerve as a Kind of Teſt, by which all ſubſequent Accounts may be tried with reſpect to their Veracity; for I make no Doubt at all, that this Table was framed with the utmoſt Care and Circumſpection, becauſe I find it was tranſmitted by the Author to the *Ruſſian* Court in 1728, immediately after his Return from his Voyage for Diſcovery, and while he remained at the Lower Fortreſs of *Kamſchatska*.

It is alſo neceſſary to take Notice of the Meaning of the *Ruſſian* Words made uſe of in this Table, which, as they are but very few, cannot burthen the Reader's Memory. *Krepoſt* ſignifies a Fortreſs, *Oſtrog* a little Fort, *Sloboda* a Borough or Place bigger than a Village, *Monaſteria*, a Convent or Monaſtery. It is true, we might have avoided theſe, and have given the Places in plain *Engliſh*, but as the Deſign of this whole Section is to facilitate the underſtanding ſuch Accounts as may be hereafter received of the *Ruſſian* Diſcoveries, I thought proper to preſerve the Names for that Reaſon, as well as becauſe we find them frequently occur in the Maps. Theſe Points being premiſed, the following Tables will be very plain and perſpicuous.

Names of the Remarkable Places.

	Latitude.		*Longitude from* Tobolsky.	
The Town of *Tobolski*, which is the Capital of *Siberia*,	58	5	—	—
Samarofsky Jam, upon the River *Obb*,	60	17	—	30
The Town of *Surgut* upon the River *Obb*,	60	51	5	18
The Town of *Narim* upon the ſame River,	58	48	14	35
Keetsky Oſtrog,	58	19	16	60
Loſinojarski Monaſtir,	58	17	22	—
Makowski Oſtrog,	58	3	23	13
The Town of *Tenriski* upon the River *Teniſci*,	58	20	25	12
Caſchin Monaſtir,	58	37	32	—
The Town of *Timakin*, near the Mouth of the River *Ilim*,	57	25	35	16
The Town of *Ilimski*,	56	40	36	44
Utkutsky Oſtrog,	56	40	38	23
Kirinski Oſtrog,	57	50	41	1
The Town of *Jakutski* upon the River *Lena*,	62	8	57	53
Ochotski Oſtrog, at the Mouth of the River *Ochota*,	59	13	76	7
The Mouth of the *Bolſchoyan Retſchka* in *Kamſchatska*,	52	48	89	51
Werchnoi Kamſchatska Oſtrog,	54	48	91	—
Niſchnoi Kamſchatska Oſtrog,	56	11	98	30
The Mouth of the River of the Apoſtle *Thadeus* and the Cape,	56	3	96	10
The Elbow of the River *Swetoi Kreſt*,	62	20	111	32
Eaſtern Point,	65	35	115	15
The Elbow of the *Swetoi Preobrazensky*,	65	1	120	30
The Eaſtern Point of *Sucbotski*,	64	25	122	55
The Iſland of St. *Lawrence*,	64	—	122	55
The Iſland of St. *Demetrius*,	66	—	125	42
The Place from which the Captain returned,	67	18	126	7
The Southern Point of *Kamſchatska* or *Oskoi*,	51	10	89	51

It may perhaps contribute to make this Matter ſomewhat eaſier to the Reader, if we obſerve that *Tobolski* is 86 Degrees of Longitude Eaſt from the Iſland of *Fero*, and about 68 Degrees Eaſt from *London*; ſo that to find the exact Longitude of any of the Places mentioned in the Table, there is nothing more neceſſary than to add the reſpective Numbers before-mentioned to thoſe which he has ſet down. As for Inſtance, the Place from whence he returned, is, in his Table, 126 Degrees 7 Minutes Eaſt from *Tobolski*; if therefore we add to this 86 Degrees, we find the Longitude from *Fero*, which is 212 Degrees, 7 Minutes, and in the ſame Manner by adding 68 Degrees, we find that Place to be 194 Degrees Eaſt from the Meridian of *London*.

It will not appear to one who barely peruſes this Account, without weighing and conſidering it attentively, that there is any thing in it very extraordinary; and yet to ſpeak impartially, there is hardly any thing more ſo in the Compaſs of this Collection; for, in the firſt place, this Gentleman was charged with a moſt arduous Employment, that of conducting a Number of Men over the greateſt Tract of Land that is perhaps in the World; in doing which he was to undergo the greateſt Hardſhips, as he actually did, and arriving at his Journey's End, found himſelf in one of the moſt inhoſpitable Spots upon the Globe, there he was to build a ſtout Veſſel, where hardly any but himſelf could have found Materials, and victual it in a Country where there were not a Duſt of Meal, or any other Animal but Dogs; and in this Veſſel, when finiſhed, he was to make Diſcoveries on an unknown Coaſt through an unknown Sea. It is very evident that he did all this with the utmoſt Spirit and Vigour, and without the leaſt Loſs of Time, and yet it was ſomewhat more than five Years before he reached *Petersbourg* again; which, excluſive of the Difficulties he met with in Travelling, will appear leſs ſtrange, if we reflect, that going and coming his Journey was very little ſhort of eighteen thouſand Miles.

He has likewiſe given us a Table of the Nations inhabiting the Countries through which he travelled, that is very curious, and which is a Circumſtance of ſtill greater Value, ſeems to be very accurate and authentick, and therefore I ſhall give it the Reader in the beſt Manner I am able, and as a Thing that may be of Uſe towards explaining any future Diſcoveries that may be made on this Side, the Credibility of which, as I hinted before, ought to be regulated by their Conſiſtency with his Accounts.

Table of the ſeveral Nations inhabiting the Countries between Tobolſki *and* Kamſchatſka.

Oſtiaks, living in Villages from *Tobolski* to the *Slaboda Domianska*.

Different Tribes of the ſame People on the Banks of the River *Irtiſch*.

Different Tribes of the ſame People in the ſix Villages on the Banks of the River *Oby*, from *Surgut* to *Narim*.

Different Tribes of this Nation intermixed with others as far as *Jeniſchiski*.

Tunguſes in one large Town, and twenty little Villages as far as the River *Tongus*.

The ſame Nation, amongſt whom there are two Fortreſſes, one Monaſtery, and thirty Villages of ſeveral Sizes to the Mouth of the River *Ilim*.

The ſame Nation, inhabiting one large Town and twenty-ſeven Villages, as far as the Town of *Ilimski*.

The ſame Nation, inhabiting forty-three Towns and Villages, of different Sizes, as far as *Kermya*.

The ſame Nation and the *Jakuts*, among whom there are two large Towns, two Fortreſſes, two Convents, and thirty Villages of different Sizes, along the River *Lena* to *Jakutski*.

Tonguſes, *Jakuts*, and *Lamutski*, from thence to the *Ochotski Oſtrog*.

Kamſchales and *Kutiles*, amongſt whom are two Fortreſſes on the River *Kamſchatska*.

From the Mouth of the River *Kamſchatska*, ſteering North-eaſt, the Coaſts are inhabited by the ſeveral Nations of *Kamſchatdales*, *Kurackes*, and *Tzuktchys*.

The North-eaſt Cape is diſtant from *Tobolski* ten thouſand five hundred and twenty-nine Werſts, twelve thouſand nine hundred and ſeventy eight from *Moſcow*, and thirteen thouſand one hundred and eighty-eight from *Petersbourg*.

We ſee from hence the true State of theſe vaſt Countries, and may from hence form to ourſelves, at leaſt, tolerable Ideas, as well of what they produce at preſent to the *Ruſſian* Government, as of the Improvements of which they are capable, in Caſe *Kamſchatska* ſhould be more fully ſettled, and the Diſcoveries made from thence render'd ſome way or other uſeful in reſpect to Trade. It is very poſſible, that within a few Years we may have very extenſive Hiſtories, or at leaſt very copious Geographical Deſcriptions of all theſe Countries made publick with the Stamp of Authority, and then by comparing them with theſe Tables, we may be very well able to decide whether they have alſo the Sanction of Truth, ſince at the Time Captain *Behring* wrote his Journal, the Scheme of concealing Diſcoveries was not adopted.

8. We need not at all wonder, that after the Return of this Gentleman, and the Relation of his Diſcoveries was made publick, it occaſioned much Speculation and a great Variety of Enquiries at *Petersbourg*, in Conſequence of which, it is ſaid, that they obtained certain and diſtinct Accounts of coaſting Voyages made by Sea from the Mouth of the River *Lena* by Cape *Suetonios*, or, as I find it laid down in Captain *Behring*'s Map, Cape *Shelleginski*, which he places in the Latitude of 72 Degrees 30 Minutes, and in the Longitude of 112 Degrees from *Tobolski*, and ſo down to the Coaſts which he had viſited. Upon ſome Memoirs of this Kind, I mean of theſe Voyages from the Mouth of the River *Lena*, the Sieur *Bellin* publiſhed at *Paris* in 1735, a Chart of theſe Diſcoveries, which the Reader may find in Father *Charlevoix*'s Hiſtory of *Japan*; but upon a ſtrict Examination, I think a proper Judge of theſe Matters will agree, that there cannot be any thing more romantick or incorrect. Inſtead of that vaſt Continent that Captain *Behring* lays down to the North-eaſt of *Kamſchatska*, we have this Peninſula enlarged vaſtly beyond its due Bounds, and hardly any thing of that Continent appears; and whereas Captain *Behring* poſitively lays down the moſt Southern Point of that Peninſula round which himſelf ſailed, in the Latitude of 51°. 10 Minutes, in this Map it is brought as low as 41, and by that Means appears to be the ſame Country heretofore called the Continent of *Jeſſo*, divided only by a narrow Channel from *Nephon*, the largeſt of the *Japan* Iſlands. As this Peninſula is produced ten degrees farther South then it ought to be, ſo the Continent is removed 12 or 14 Degrees Weſtward farther than it ought; and, in ſhort, the Whole of this extrordinary Piece, notwithſtanding the Accuracy that is pretended to, is equally abſurd and chimerical. It muſt however be allowed, that it was not poſſible to diſcover this without the Aſſiſtance of Captain *Behring*'s Voyage, and of ſome later Diſcoveries; and therefore the Author of that Chart is the more excuſable, and all the Concluſion I mean to draw from what I have advanced is, that we ought not to be too haſty in giving Credit to ſuch kind of Performances, for there is a very wide Difference between Charts drawn from Conjectures, and thoſe laid down by Men like Captain *Behring*, from their own Experience. But if the Reader will be directed to a better View of theſe Countries, I would recommend him to the Northen Hemiſphere publiſhed by Mr. *William Deſlile*, in which theſe Countries are very accurately laid down.

Before I ſpeak of the ſecond Expedition of Captain *Behring*, it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that if there be any Truth in the Accounts of Veſſels ſailing from the Mouth of the River *Lena* in the Manner before-mentioned, it amounts to a direct Demonſtration, that the *Dutch* Ships employed to diſcover a North-eaſt Paſſage in 1670, advanced far enough to have made that Paſſage; nor is it poſſible to admit one Fact and deny the other, which may deſerve Conſideration, ſince I think at this Day the North-eaſt Paſſage ſeems, without any juſt Reaſon, to be treated as a Thing known to be impracticable; and as from the Diſcoveries made by Land, we may in a great Meaſure perceive, that this is a Judgment made at Random; ſo there is the higheſt Probability, that if Diſcoveries by Land were properly puſhed, the very ſame thing would appear with reſpect to the North-weſt Paſſage. The ſudden Alterations of Government that have happen'd in *Ruſſia*, may be look'd upon as the principal Cauſe why theſe important Diſcoveries have not been proſecuted to the utmoſt; and yet it muſt be allowed that they have not been altogether neglected, as appears from the ſending Captain *Behring* back into thoſe Parts better ſupported than before.

It is not in my Power to ſay at what Time this was done, or to give any diſtinct Account, either of his Inſtructions or his Expedition. All we know of the Matter amounts to no more than this, That in the Month of *January* 1740, an Account arrived at *Petersbourg* from Captain *Spanberg*, who ſerved as a Lieutenant under *Behring* in his former Attempt, and who commanded a Veſſel now, importing, that at the Cloſe of the Summer of 1739, he had diſcovered, after ſailing fifteen Days, thirty-four Iſlands, ſome large, and others ſmall; that upon his approaching them, the Inhabitants ſent ſix of their Veſſels to obſerve them; that however he came to an Anchor, and they ſuffered him to land without any Reſiſtance; that in other Reſpects he met with a tolerable Reception; but as he knew nothing of their Language, ſo he was able to learn very little from them by Signs, only they ſhewed him conſiderable Quantities as well of Gold as of Copper Coin; and ſome Pieces of the latter he obtained from them, and ſent by the Courier who brought his Diſpatches to *Petersbourg*.

Mr. *Swartz*, who was then and is now Miniſter from their High Mightineſſes the States General at that Court, gave at that time the following Account, in a Letter dated from *Petersbourg*, *Jan.* 13, 1740, *O. S.* "On *Saturday* laſt arrived here an Expreſs from *Kamſchatska*, with the News, that Captain *Spanberg* having ſailed from thence with four Ships, after being fixteen Days at Sea, diſcovered thirty four Iſlands of different Sizes, the Inhabitants of which ſent ſix Gallies to reconnoitre him, notwithſtanding which they ſuffered him to land, and received him with great Affability; but as he underſtood not their Language, he could not converſe with them; however, they ſhewed him a conſiderable Quantity of Gold Coin. This was all that Officer would communicate to Commodore *Behring*, deſiring to come hither himſelf, in order to diſcover to her Imperial Majeſty Things of the laſt Importance, which may be highly advantageous to her Intereſt, and which he was reſolved to diſcover to no other Perſon. Upon which the Commodore ſuffered him to return, and he is expected here in the Spring. It is believed that theſe are Iſlands belonging to *Japan*. The Courier has brought hither with him ſome of the Money of this Country, of which I have ſeen a Piece; it is of a red Copper, round, and about the Size of a *Holland* Doit, but a little thicker, ſurrounded by a ſmall flat Border, and in the Middle there is a little ſquare Hole, on each Side of which, upon the Face of the Coin, there is imprinted a *Chineſe* or *Japon* Character; but on the Reverſe it is quite ſmooth.

Captain *Spanberg* at the ſame time wrote to one of his Friends, and the Reader will, no doubt, be glad to ſee an Extract of that Letter, which however is without a Date, and conceived in the following Terms. "I employed all the Month of *Auguſt* in the laſt Year in cruizing upon the Sea of *Great Tartary*. Amongſt the Iſlands I diſcovered, there were many that were only full of wild Beaſts. I anchored however near one that ſeemed more conſiderable than the reſt. There we thought fit to go on Shore, and ſoon after met with Inhabitants, who from their Figure and Dreſs appeared to be Savages. As ſoon as they ſaw us they made their Eſcape into a Wood. We did all that was in our Power to ſurprize ſome of them, but found it impoſſible to ſucceed in that Deſign. When they ſaw themſelves purſued, they fled into the thickeſt Part of the Wood and ſet up the moſt dreadful Cries. The Inhabitants of ſome of the neighbouring Iſlands were more communicative, as I have ſhewn in former Relations. I found the Country every where extremely fertile, and embarked on board my Ship large Quantities of the Fruits and other Productions of thoſe Iſlands. The Jonrnal which I ſhall publiſh of my Diſcovery, will contain Matters very ſatisfactory to the Curious, at the ſame time that it will render it evident, that the Commerce of the *Ruſſians* with the Inhabitants of *China* and *Japan*, will receive great Benefit thereby."

It is probable, that after this Captain returned to *Kamſchatska*, Commodore *Behring* continued his Voyage, of which all that we know is this, that he ſailed Southward to the Iſles of *Japan*, and from thence Eaſtward about eighty Leagues. At that Diſtance from *Japan* he diſcovered Land, which he coaſted North-weſt, ſtill approaching towards the North-eaſt Cape, without going aſhore until he came to the Entrance of a great River, where ſending his Boats and Men aſhore, they never returned, being either loſt, kil'ed, or detained by the Natives, which made his Diſcovery incompleat, his Ship being ſtranded, and he afterwards died in an uninhabited Iſland. Without doubt, the *Ruſſians* are endeavouring to improve and extend theſe Diſcoveries, and we very well know that Members of the Academy, Perſons of great Knowledge, and animated by the Deſire of Glory, and ſupported by whatever Aſſiſtance they can deſire from the Government, have been employed in this far diſtant Country; and, as I have before obſerved, Deſcriptions of it thus obtained have been actually compoſed, and may very probably be publiſhed at *Petersbourg* before this Time.

There is no Queſtion that this is a very right, as well as a very regular Method; for without knowing exactly the Situation and Bounds, the Climate and Soil, the Mountains and Rivers, in any Country, it is ſimply impoſſible that any Juſt Notion ſhould be formed of the Means by which it may be render'd uſeful; but that notwithſtanding all this Care and Caution, and notwithſtanding all the Lights they may have received from thence, and from any Accounts they may have had of ſubſequent Attempts, they are not yet very far advanced in reſpect to real Diſcoveries, may be eaſily ſhewn from the Notions that they ſtill entertain about them (ſuppoſing them in earneſt in what they ſay) which may be clearly demonſtrated to be altogether vain and chimerical, even from the very Lights that they themſelves have afforded, and from the Facts which they inſiſt upon as Proofs in Support of thoſe Notions.

We know from a Multitude of Inſtances, that there is no Weakneſs to which the human Mind is more ſubject, than to run into new Errors by running away from the old, notwithſtanding that both Reaſon and Experience teach us, that Truth ſeldom lies in the Extremes, but generally ſpeaking, in the Middle. When firſt the *Ruſſians* began to enquire carefully into the Extent of that Part of their Empire which lies in *Aſia*, they found it went much farther to the Eaſt than they had ever imagined, and the farther and the more carefully they ſearched, the greater Certainty they obtained of this Fact, and were ſtill carried farther and farther. In order to underſtand this clearly, it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that according to the beſt Maps of *Ruſſia* made thirty Years ago, the Town of *Jakutski* upon the River *Lena* was placed in the Latitude of 64 Degrees 50 Minutes, and in the Longitude of 120 Degrees, the firſt Meridian being placed in *Fero*; but according to the lateſt Obſervations, this Place actually ſtands in the Latitude of 62 Degrees 8 Minutes, and in the Longitude of 143 Degrees 53 Minutes. It was at that Time believed, that Cape *Noſs*, or the Icy Cape, laid down in the Map by the Name of Cape *Suitenos*, extended very far to the North-eaſt, and, as has been before hinted, might poſſibly be jointed to *America*. In Proceſs of Time however, this was diſcovered to be a Promontory only, and was placed in the Latitude of 66 Degrees, and in the Longitude of 160; but in the Chart of Captain *Behring*'s Voyages and Travels, where it is called Cape *Scheleginski*, it is laid down in the Latitude of 72 Degrees 38 Minutes, and in the Longitude of 198 Degrees 30 Minutes; ſo that it appears to be almoſt ſix Degrees farther North, and 37 Degrees and a half farther Eaſt than it was imagined.

But after all, this is not the fartheſt Stretch of the *Aſian* Continent; for the North-eaſt Cape, diſcovered by Captain *Behring*, runs almoſt 14 Degrees farther, lying, as he found by a very exact Obſervation of a Lunar Eclipſe, in the Latitude of 67 Degrees 18 Minutes, and in the Longitude of 212 Degrees 7 Minutes. This altered the Notions of the Mathematicians at *Petersbourg* extremely, ſince it appeared from hence plainly and certainly, that their Empire extended 48 Degrees farther Eaſt than it was held to do thirty Years ago, that is, upwards of 384 Leagues, and more than a thouſand Miles, which greatly ſtrenghthened the Opinion which they had before entertained, that the Extremity of their North-eaſt Frontier was at no vaſt Diſtance from the Continent of *North America*. They were indeed thus far right, that from theſe Diſcoveries it was put out of Diſpute, that the North-eaſt Cape was much nearer to the Coaſt of *California* than had been formerly imagined; but ſtill the Diſtance was very great, and not the leaſt probable Ground to believe that there was only a Paſſage of inconſiderable Breadth between them. Yet as this was the original Suggeſtion of the Czar *Peter* the Great, who very probably had no other Reaſon for giving it out, than to excite the Deſire of his Subjects to co-operate with his Views of diſcovering on this Side, by making them imagine they might by this Means become Maſters both of the *Eaſt Indies* and of the *Weſt*; they remained fixed in their Belief of it, ſeeing, as they thought, ſuch ſtrong Reaſon brought from theſe Diſcoveries to ſupport it. They flattered themſelves, perhaps, that as ſuch an enormous Miſtake had been made in ſettling the Geography of their own Country, it was not impoſſible but that a like Miſtake might be made as to the North-weſt Continent of *America*; and this indeed might have leſſened the Diſtance very conſiderably. Yet if they had reflected, that the neareſt Coaſt of *California* had been viſited and examined by Strangers, whereas their own North-eaſt Coaſt was totally unknown to every other Nation but themſelves, and but a little while before unknown to them too, they would have ſeen juſt Reaſon to reject ſuch a Suppoſition.

But ſo natural it is to ſee clearly what makes for our own Hypotheſis, and to ſee whatever makes againſt it, either doubtfully, or not at all, that we need not be much ſurprized at this Turn of Mind in the *Ruſſian Virtuoſi*. That this is really ſo, and that from hence there is a great Probability of their concealing moſt Part of their Diſcoveries for the future, will ſufficiently appear to any attentive Reader, from the following very curious Extract printed in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions*, N° 482. Page 421. being Part of a Letter from Mr. *Leonard Euler*, Mathematical Profeſſor, and Member of the Imperial Society at *Petersbourg*, to the Reverend Mr. *Charles Wetſtein*, Chaplain and Secretary to his Royal Highneſs the Prince of *Wales*, dated from *Berlin*, *Dec*. 10, 1746, which I ſhall take the Liberty of entirely tranſcribing.

“ As you are deſirous to hear ſomething more particular concerning the *Ruſſian* Expeditions to the North, and North-eaſt of *Aſia*, I will here give you an Account of all that has come to My Knowledge relating to the ſame. But as I ſhould, on the one Hand, be very glad that theſe Obſervations might give any Light concerning the Paſſage now ſought through *Hudſon*'s Bay; I ſhould, on the other, be very ſorry, if Mr. *Behring*'s Opinion, who believed that the new Land he had diſcovered was joined to *California*, ſhould rather lead us to doubt of the Succeſs of that glorious Undertaking. I wiſh however, that a happy Experiment may ſoon inform us certainly of the Truth. In the mean Time, you will not be ſorry to be acquainted with the Reaſons upon which Mr. *Behring*'s Suſpicions were founded, notwithſtanding the Objections you have been pleaſed to make, and to communicate to me upon that Head.

“ *Firſt*, This new Land which he fell in with at the Diſtance of 50 *German* Miles from *Kamſchatska* towards the Eaſt, was followed by him and coaſted for a great Way, though I cannot ſay how far: From whence alone it will appear, that an Abatement muſt be made in the Diſtance of 30 Degrees, or thereabouts, which you ſuppoſe to be between the laſt known Headland of *California* towards the Weſt, and the fartheſt Extremity of this new diſcovered Land towards the Eaſt. *Secondly*, Captain *Behring* having had the Opportunity of obſerving an Eclipſe of the Moon at *Kamſchatska*, concluded from the ſame, that that Place lay much farther off to the Eaſt than is expreſſed in any Map; and that to repreſent it truly, it ought to be transferred into the other Hemiſphere; as its Longitude is more than 180 Degrees Eaſt from the Iſle of *Fero*; for this Reaſon, Captain *Behring*'s new Land will be conſiderably approached to the laſt known Part of *California*, and will not indeed appear to be many Degrees from it.

“ What we have therefore ſtill to hope, is only that in this unknown Diſtrict there may be found ſome Streight, by which the Pacifick Sea may freely communicate with *Hudſon*'s Bay; but if it ſhall appear that there is no ſuch Paſſage, it muſt then be concluded, that whatever further Progreſs may happen to be made through *Hudſon*'s Bay, the Opening at laſt muſt only be into the Frozen Sea, from whence there could be no paſſing into the *Pacifick* Ocean, but by the Neighbourhood of *Kamſchatska*; and this Way would, without doubt, be too long and too dangerous to be maſtered in the Courſe of one Summer.

“ I very much doubt, whether the *Ruſſians* will ever publiſh the Particulars of their Diſcoveries, either ſuch as have been made from *Kamſchatska* towards *America*, or ſuch as have been made upon the Northern Coaſts of *Aſia*. And indeed it is but very much in general that I know the Succeſs of this laſt Expedition. What I do, was communicated to me by Order of the Court from the College of Admiralty, for me to make uſe of it in the Geography of *Ruſſia*, with which I was at that Time charged.

“ They paſſed along in ſmall Veſſels, coaſting between *Nova Zembla* and the Continent at divers times in the Middle of Summer, when thoſe Waters are open. The firſt Expedition was from the River *Oby*, and at the Approach of Winter the Veſſels ſhelter'd themſelves by going up the *Jeniska*, from whence the next Summer they returned to Sea in order to advance further Eaſtward, which they did to the Mouth of the *Lena*, into which they again retired for the Winter Seaſon.

“ The third Expedition was from this River to the fartheſt North-eaſt Cape of *Aſia*. But here they loſt ſeveral of their Boats, and a great Part of their Crew, ſo as to be diſabled from proceeding, and from making the whole Tour ſo as to arrive at *Kamſchatska*.

“ It was however thought, that a further Attempt was then unneceſſary, becauſe Captain *Behring* had already gone round that Cape, ſailing Northward from *Kamſchatska*.

“ The *Ruſſians* have not attempted the Paſſage round *Nova Zembla*, but as they have paſſed between that Land and the Coaſt of *Aſia*, and as the *Dutch* did formerly diſcover the Northen Coaſts of *Nova Zembla*, we may be now well aſſured that that Country is really an Iſland.”

There are ſeveral Points in this Letter that are very well worth our Obſervation. In the firſt Place, it is very evident, that from Captain *Behring*'s Diſcoveries the *Ruſſians* look upon it as a Thing certain, that a ſhort Paſſage may be opened from their Dominions to *North America*;

America; and that the Senſe they have of the great Advantages that may be derived from thence, is the Reaſon that induces them to think of concealing what may be diſcovered for the future, eſteeming ſuch Lights as they may receive thereby as Secrets of State, to which no Strangers have a Right to be admitted. In the next Place we may obſerve, though the Profeſſor ſpeaks very modeſtly, that he looks upon Captain *Behring*'s Syſtem as abſolutely deſtructive of our Scheme for diſcovering a North-weſt Paſſage through *Hudſon*'s Bay; which indeed is ſo far well founded, as that granting his Premiſes, and that the new diſcover'd Country of *Behring*'s lies contiguous to *California*, cannot be denied. *Laſtly*, It may be obſerved, that though he ſpeaks very cautiouſly, and therefore indeterminately of the Poſition of the North-eaſt Cape, which he ſays ought to be carried into the other Hemiſphere, as indeed it ought, yet he plainly enough inſinuates, that if this be duly conſidered, it will overturn the Arguments formerly offered in Favour of the North-weſt Paſſage. So that on the whole, if we attend to the Spirit rather than the Letter of this ſhort Diſcourſe, we muſt plainly diſcern, that the *Ruſſians* look upon themſelves as in full Poſſeſſion of that great Secret, ſo long and ſo ineffectually ſought by the Northen Maritime Powers, of a Short Paſſage to the *Eaſt Indies* and the *South-Seas*, and that too excluſively of other Nations, from a Perſuaſion, that by diſcovering this Paſſage, they have diſcovered alſo that the North-weſt Paſſage, by which only we could interfere with them, is impracticable.

10. But in the next Number of the *Philoſophical Tranſactions, viz.* 483. Page 471. there is a very curious Letter from the ingenious *Arthur Dobbs*, Eſq; to the before-mentioned Mr. *Wetſtein*, in which all this Reaſoning is very fully and fairly refuted; and it is chiefly from the Arguments advanced therein, that I ſhall be enabled to make good my Promiſe to the Reader, by ſhewing, that in the firſt Place, there is no Reaſon to apprehend that Captain *Behring* has made any Diſcovery at all, at leaſt with regard to the Point we are examining; by which I mean, that he has given no new Light whatever as to a new Continent, which may be reaſonably preſumed contiguous to *California*. *Secondly*, That the Argument drawn from the advanced Situation of the North-eaſt Point of *Aſia*, is abſolutely inconcluſive, and does not at all prove ſo much as the Probability of there being any ſuch Continent as the *Ruſſians* ſeem to be ſatisfied they have found. *Thirdly* and *Laſtly*, That taking every Thing they have advanced, as through this whole Section, I have taken them for indiſputable Truths, yet the North-weſt Paſſage by *Hudſon*'s Bay remains not only as probable as ever, but is in reality rendered more probable than ever from theſe very Diſcoveries. All this I hope to make out to the intire Satisfaction of the ingenious, inquiſitive, and impartial Reader, ſo as to leave not the leaſt Scruple upon his Mind in reference to this *Ruſſian* Syſtem.

As to the firſt Point; as there are no Longitudes or Latitudes mentioned in reference to Captain *Behring*'s ſecond Voyage; all we can poſſibly know of it amounts to this, that he ſailed South from *Kamſchatska*, as low, or pehaps lower than 50 Degrees, and there found Land 80 Leagues North-eaſt from *Japan*, for otherwiſe by coaſting it North-weſt, as it is expreſly ſaid he did, he could not poſſibly have approached the North eaſt Cape; to do which, had it lain due Eaſt from *Japan*, he muſt have ſailed North-eaſt. Now there is the higheſt Probability, not to ſay an abſolute Certainty, that this is the very ſame Land that was diſcovered by *Gama* ſo long ago, and is likewiſe that very Land to which *Martin Heritſzoon* of *Uriez* gave the Name of the *Company's Land* in the Year 1643, making the Weſt-ſide of the Straits of *Uriez*, which lie ſeven or eight hundred Leagues Weſt of any known Land in *America*, and above a thouſand Leagues Weſt of any Land in the Latitude of *Japan*; and conſequently, whether Continent or Iſland, there is Room enough for a very large Paſſage between this Country and *America*; neither did Captain *Behring* coaſt it ſo far as to come at any Kind of Certainty whether it was Continent or Iſland; all therefore that can poſſibly be collected from this Account, is no more than a Confirmation of the two former Diſcoveries, and perhaps of a third; for, as Dr. *Cromwell Mortimer* has very judiciouſly obſerved, the *Japoneſe*, in their Maps, have laid down two Iſlands, each as large as *Ireland* in this very Tract, as appears from the Map Dr. *Kempfer* brought from thence in 1666, and which is now in Sir *Hans Sloan's Muſeum*.

Taking therefore the whole of this together, what we learn from Captain *Behring*'s ſecond unfortunate Voyage, is ſo far from ſhewing that he diſcovered a Continent continuous to *America*, or that probably might be ſo, that, on the contrary, he only touched upon a Country which ſeveral *Europeans* had viſited before, and which there are very ſtrong Reaſons to believe is not a Continent, but an Iſland. Neither is this ſaid with any View of diſparaging the Induſtry or Abilities of that adventurous, brave, and indefatigable Perſon, whoſe Memory ought always to be revered, and to which I have raiſed the beſt Monument I was able; but in Things of this Nature, Truth is to be regarded before any other Conſideration; and there can be nothing plainer than this Truth, that his Diſcovery does not warrant any ſuch Suppoſition, as that the Country he touched was a great Continent making Part of *North America*; and if in any Accounts he left behind him, he ſurmiſed any thing like this, he muſt have been miſtaken.

As to the ſecond Point, the Argument drawn from the Proximity of the North-eaſt Cape, and the moſt weſtern diſcovered Coaſt of *America*, is eaſily diſcuſſed; for though, as has been already obſerved, the Diſcoveries and accurate Obſervations made by Captain *Behring* in his firſt Voyage, have really altered the Face of Affairs extremely, and ſhew us Things in quite a new Light, by proving that the North-eaſt Part of *Aſia* is a Country of much larger Extent, than, till it was thus examined, was ever ſuſpected, or would ever have been ſuppoſed true, if it had been ever ſo ſtrongly aſſerted without Proof; yet for all this, the North-eaſt Continent of *Aſia* has ſome Bounds, and Captain *Behring* has very accurately fixed thoſe Bounds, by aſſuring us, that the moſt North-eaſt Cape of the *Aſiatick* Coaſt is in the Latitude of 194 Degrees Eaſt from the Meridian of *London*. There might indeed have been ſome Diſpute about this, as Captain *Behring* did not examine the Coaſt any higher than to the Latitude of 67. 18 Minutes, if the Account which Profeſſor *Euler* has publiſhed had not plainly proved him in the right, by aſſuring us that his Obſervation was confirmed by thoſe who ſailed round Cape *Suitonos* to the North-eaſt Cape of Captain *Behring*, by which it was render'd perfectly certain, that he has fixed the Longitude of the Extremity of the *Aſiatick* Continent.

If therefore we add to its Longitude from *London* the Longitude of *Churchill* River in *Hudſon*'s Bay, which the ingenious Captain *Chriſtopher Middleton*, by a very accurate Obſervation fixed at 95 Degrees Weſt; I ſay, if we add theſe two Longitudes together, they will amount to 289 Degrees; and if we ſubtract this Sum from 360, there will remain 71 Degrees of Longitude, which is the Diſtance between the North eaſt Cape and that Part of *Hudſon*'s Bay. In order to reduce this into Leagues, we may compute a Degree of Longitude in the Parallel of 65 Degrees at the Rate of eight of thoſe Leagues, of which 20 make a Degree of Latitude; and from thence it will appear, that there are 568 ſuch Leagues, or upwards of 1700 of our Miles between the Extremity of the North-eaſt Continent of *Aſia* and *Hudſon*'s Bay; and this ſurely is Space ſufficient for many larger Iſlands, and a conſiderable Paſſage between the neareſt Coaſt of *America*, and the moſt Eaſtern of thoſe Iſlands, ſuppoſing all theſe Lands to lie in that Parallel, which however is a Suppoſition we are not obliged to make, there being not the leaſt Shadow of Proof of any Countries or Iſlands hitherto diſcovered ſo far to the North.

But farther ſtill from the ſettled Longitude of the North Cape of *Japan* in 40 Degrees Latitude, which is pretty exactly known from the Obſervations made by the Jeſuits at *Peking*, and is about 150 Degrees Eaſt from *London*, and from the beſt computed Longitude of *California* in 40 Degrees North Latitude, it lies in 130 Degrees Longitude Weſt from *London*, making together 280 Degrees, leaves 80 Degrees for the Diſtance of *California* from *Japan*, allowing 17 Leagues to a Degree of Longitude, in 40 Degrees North Latitude, the Diſtance would be about 1360 Leagues: By the ſame Calculation, *California* muſt be at leaſt 7 or 800 ſuch Leagues from the North-eaſt Cape of *Aſia*; ſo that in ſo great a Space there may be very great Countries or Iſlands, without ſuppoſing the new diſcover'd Country continuous to *California*, and might well allow of an open Channel or Sea from 50 to 100 Leagues wide between the diſcovered Coaſt and *California*.

The two Inſinuations, of which we have undertaken the Diſproof, have a viſible Connection with each other; and if either of them had been well founded, it might have been urged as an Evidence in Support of the other. But examining them ſeparately, we have ſhewn, that the Country diſcovered by Captain *Behring* in his ſecond Expedition, whether Continent or Iſland, does not render it at all probable, that the Land of which it makes Part, is continued to the North-weſt of *America*, and joined there either to *California*, or to the Continent lying farther to the North-weſt of that Country, now known not to be an Iſland, but Part of the main Land. What we have urged upon this Subject, is farther ſupported and rendered more credible by the Diſproof of the ſecond Suggeſtion, *viz.* That the Diſtance is but very ſmall between the North-eaſt Cape of *Aſia*, and the North-weſt Part of *America*; for with reſpect to this we have proved, and that from Captain *Behring*'s own Obſervations, the direct contrary, and have not only made it evident that the Space between them is very great, but have likewiſe ſhewn what that Space is; ſo that the Reader can decide for himſelf as to the Probability of this Poſition, that there is only a Paſſage by Sea between *Aſia* and *America*, near the Confines of the *Ruſſian* Dominions, and that the reſt of the Space is taken up by the North-weſt Continent of *America*, Part of which was coaſted by Captain *Behring* in his ſecond Voyage.

But we have undertaken to do ſtill more than this, and to make it appear that the *Ruſſian* Diſcoveries are ſo far from yielding any Colour of Proof as to the Probability of that Suppoſition that has been advanced from them, that in reality they rather prove the contrary, and add Weight to the oppoſite Opinion, which is a Point of very great Conſequence, becauſe it removes that Bar which has been thrown in the Way of our diſcovering a North-weſt Paſſage, which is a Thing of the higheſt Importance to us as a trading Nation. Of which, if we ſtood in need of Arguments to prove it, this alone is no inconſiderable Reaſon; that almoſt all foreign Nations are inclined to repreſent it as a Chimera, which is a Notion dictated to them by their Intereſts, and therefore ought to contribute to make us ſenſible of our own. When I ſay this, I have not the leaſt Intention to repreſent ſuch an Inſinuation as the Sentiment of the Profeſſor *Euler*, who ſpeaks as an indifferent Perſon, and in the Language of a Gentleman, and a Man of Learning; for I am only labouring to refute thoſe after whom he ſpeaks, whoſe Objections he has heard and repeats, and to which he ſhews himſelf very willing to hear what can be ſaid in Anſwer. To come to the laſt Point, and to ſhew that theſe Diſcoveries of the *Ruſſians*, inſtead of juſtifying their Notion of a North-eaſt Paſſage only, of which they look upon themſelves in Poſſeſſion, rather favour the oppoſite Sentiments, and afford probable Grounds to believe, that the Space between the North-eaſt Cape of *Aſia* and the oppoſite Continent of *America*, is filled up by broken Lands, and conſequently that there is alſo a North-weſt Paſſage, I ſhall make uſe of ſeveral different Methods.

In the firſt Place then, I muſt obſerve, that the concluding Paragraph of the Profeſſor's Letter evidently proves that he is of the ſame Opinion with me, in reſpect to a North-eaſt Paſſage, that is to ſay, that from the Expedition of the *Dutch* Ships in 1670, the coaſting Voyages of the *Ruſſians* from the Mouths of the Rivers *Obi*, *Jeniſca*, and *Lena*, and from the late Diſcoveries made by Captain *Behring* in his firſt Voyage, there is an inconteſtable Proof of ſuch a Paſſage. Now from hence I make two Inferences; the firſt is, that if the North-eaſt Paſſage, ſo long ago given up, and that too, if Captain *Wood*'s Arguments had ſignified any thing upon what might be called direct Evidence, as chimerical and impracticable, be at this Day known to be real and practicable, ſince every League of it has been ſailed over, I ſhould be glad to know, why even without the leaſt Degree of Evidence, it is to be thought reaſonable to conclude in the like haſty Manner, againſt a Poſſibility of finding a North-weſt Paſſage? It is an uſual and a very juſt Method of Argument, that after detecting one great Miſtake, one ought from thence to be doubly cautious of committing another of the ſame Kind; but it is a new and ſtrange Reaſoning to conclude, from the Detection of a Miſtake, into which Men were drawn by ſome kind of Evidence, that they may, without Danger of miſtaking, conclude the ſame Thing with Regard to another like Point, and this without any Evidence at all. My ſecond Inference is, that as the ſame Kind of Reaſoning is applied, I mean with reſpect to Coſmographical Topicks, to the North-weſt as to the North-eaſt Paſſage, and it is now found by Experience, that thoſe Arguments were well and rightly applied with reſpect to the Oeconomy of Providence in reference to one Paſſage; this ſhould therefore be taken, not as Evidence indeed, but as a very probable Indication that the ſame Arguments have not been wrong applied in regard to the other Paſſage. It is indeed true, that Nature effects the ſame End, when aimed at under different Circumſtances, by ſeveral Means; and this ſhews at once the Wiſdom and the Power of Providence, but in like Caſes ſhe generally takes the ſame Means; and therefore this being conſidered, our having a Certainty of a North-eaſt Paſſage, which Certainty is derived from theſe Diſcoveries, becomes a ſtrong analogical Argument for there being a North-weſt Paſſage.

I ſhall now beg Leave to offer quite another Method of Argument, and that ſhall be taken from the Nature of the Whale-fiſhing, or to ſpeak with greater Propriety, from the Nature of the Whale. Thoſe Fiſh reſort at a certain Seaſon of the Year from warmer to colder Climates, and the Reader is very well acquainted that it was urged as a ſtrong Reaſon why there ſhould be a North-eaſt Paſſage, that Whales were thrown upon the Coaſt of *Corea* with *Dutch* Harpoons in them. We now ſee that this was a juſt and a right Argument; for Captain *Behring* tells us, that he met with Whales caſt aſhore on the Coaſt of *Kamſchatska*, and I ſuppoſe no body can doubt that theſe Whales went thro' the North-eaſt Paſſage, now that ſuch a Paſſage there is known to be. But Whales are found, even in the latter End of the Summer, in the *Welcome* in *Hudſon*'s Bay. Inſtinct being an unerring Principal, I ſhould be glad to hear where theſe Whales muſt be going at that Time of the Year, if not into the *South-Seas*, and if into the *South Seas*, whether there muſt not be a Paſſage between the North-weſt Continent of *America*, and the Countries, whether Continents or Iſlands, between that and the North-eaſt Cape of *Aſia*. For to ſuppoſe that theſe Whales ſhould go round ſuch a vaſt Continent as that muſt be, if the new-diſcovered Land was continuous to *America*, and were to enter by that Paſſage in which Captain *Behring* was, is a palpable Abſurdity, becauſe in the advanced Seaſon of the Year, and in ſo high a Latitude, thoſe Seas would be frozen. This Argument I muſt inſiſt upon to be in a Manner deciſive; we know there are Whales upon the Coaſts of *Spitzbergen* and *Nova Zembla*; we now know that theſe Whales go through the North-eaſt Paſſage, and ſo deſcend into the warm Seas of *Japan*; we know that

Whales are found in the North Part of *Hudſon*'s Bay, and not in the South, why then ſhould we not think, or rather, how can we avoid thinking that they alſo find a Paſſage round into the warmer Seas?

Another ſtrong Motive there is to believe that this Country, upon which Captain *Behring* touched in his ſecond Expedition, muſt be an Iſland, and not any ſuch Continent as he is ſaid to have imagined, is this, that being ſo near *Japan* as himſelf places it, it is impoſſible the Subjects of that Empire ſhould not have been long ago acquainted with it, and with its Inhabitants; yet we are well enough verſed in the *Japoneſe* Hiſtory, to be thoroughly ſatisfied they know of no ſuch Continent; but on the contrary, have laid down two pretty large Iſlands in this Tract, one of which, in all Probability, Captain *Behring* coaſted. If all the Space between the North-eaſt Continent of *Aſia*, and the oppoſite Continent of *America*, is partly Sea, and partly Iſlands of ſeveral Sizes, we may very eaſily account for their remaining ſo long unknown to the *Spaniards* in *America*, and in the *Eaſt Indies*, as well as moſt of them are to the *Japoneſe*; whereas if the Continent of *America* extended in ſuch a Manner as the *Ruſſians*, ſeem to imagine it does, it muſt appear almoſt an Impoſſibility that it ſhould not have been long ago diſcovered, conſidering how often, in a long Series of Years, the annual Ships from *Manila* to *Aquapulco*, muſt have been driven out of their ordinary Route (which it muſt be confeſſed is not calculated for Diſcoveries) either outward or homeward bound. Yet nothing of this Kind has been ever heard of; but all the flying Stories we have of Diſcoveries made in theſe Tranſits, relate only to Iſlands, and thoſe too none of the largeſt, as appears from the Difficulty of meeting with them again.

One might add to all this, that the Conſideration of the vaſt and enormous Extent of this new Continent, which upon this Suppoſition would contain 140 Degrees of Longitude, renders it highly improbable, and this more eſpecially, if we conſider the Diſpoſition of other Parts of the Globe, and particularly that Part of *America*, the Coaſt on both Sides of which are perfectly well known. It was this uniform and wiſe Diſtribution of Sea and Land, that firſt induced Men of penetrating Parts and great Experience to expect, that ſo many different Paſſages might be found from one Part of the Globe to the other; and as we ſee that theſe Expectations have been perfectly anſwered in reſpect to the Paſſage into the *South Seas* by Cape *Horn*, and are now convinced that there is a Paſſage by the North-eaſt; ſo till they are abſolutely certain of the contrary, it cannot be ſuppoſed that the ableſt Coſmographers will be diſpoſſeſſed of the Notions they have entertained of finding a Paſſage by the North-weſt, to which I hope I have fully ſhewn, that theſe new Diſcoveries are ſo far from raiſing an inſuperable Bar, that on the contrary, they have made it more probable than it was before. For it muſt be obſerved, that the Advocates for a North-weſt Paſſage are very far from diſputing any of the Points that are actually ſettled by theſe Diſcoveries, and are only engaged in a Controverſy about the Probability or Improbability of this imaginary Continent, which is no Part of thoſe Diſcoveries, but a Suppoſition raiſed in Conſequence of them, without any juſt Grounds.

If it ſhould be enquired, why, conſidering the Induſtry and perfect Underſtanding of Captain *Behring*, with reſpect to Matters of this Nature, he ſhould be ſo deſirous of ſetting up a Fiction, like this, without any juſt Foundation or Authority, the Anſwer is not very difficult. He was inſtructed to find ſuch a Continent as we have already ſeen; ſo that he ſet out upon his firſt Expedition, with a Prepoſſeſſion that perhaps he could never get over. We have already ſeen in the Beginning of this Section, that before the North-eaſt Coaſts of the *Ruſſian* Dominions were thoroughly known, a Notion prevailed, that poſſibly they might be continued in ſuch a Manner as to join and make the ſame Continent with *America*; and when this was found to be falſe, notwithſtanding their extending ſo far into the other Hemiſphere, then his other Opinion was taken up; and becauſe Captain *Behring* had fully diſcovered that there was an open Paſſage round the North-eaſt Continent of *Aſia*, by his firſt Expedition, and the Conſequences that attended it; and becauſe in his ſecond Expedition he diſcovered new Land ſtill farther to the Eaſtward, it was from thence preſumed, that this muſt be Part of that Continent he was ſent to look for, becauſe had it been ſo, he would have fully executed his Inſtructions, and have found what the Court of *Peterſbourg* were deſirous he ſhould find. This is a very clear and candid Account of the Matter, and what I am inclined to flatter myſelf, will ſatisfy every ſenſible and impartial Reader.

But to make it ſtill plainer and more ſatisfactory, if poſſible, I will beg Leave to cite a parallel Caſe, which has been frequently mentioned in the Courſe of this Collection. The great *Chriſtopher Columbus*, as wiſe a Man, and as experienced a Coſmographer as he was, when he firſt framed his Scheme of Diſcovery, propoſed nothing more than to find out a new Route to the *Eaſt Indies* by ſailing Weſt, and when he met with the *Bahama* and *Lucaya* Iſlands, he flattered himſelf that he had obtained what he ſought, that he had performed what he promiſed, and that he had put the Crown of *Spain* in Poſſeſſion of a Part of the *Indies*; and from this Perſuaſion, when the Error was diſcovered, the Name of the *Weſt-Indies* aroſe, to diſtinguiſh theſe new-found Countries from the old, of which they now appear to be no Part. Thus we ſee how *Columbus* was deceived in imagining, that by ſailing directly Weſt he could not fail of meeting that Eaſtern Continent, which was then the Object of the Wiſhes and Searches of all Diſcoveries, by which indeed he made a great and glorious Diſcovery, that will and ought to perpetuate his Name; but at the ſame Time that he did this, he diſcovered his Miſtake, and that he was very far from having reached thoſe Countries for which he originally ſought. Yet he ſtill retained his firſt Purpoſe, and in ſome Meaſure his firſt Notion; for when he heard of a great Continent lying ſtill Weſt from thoſe Iſlands, his Hopes revived, but it was not long before he perceived that he was again miſtaken, and then finding there was a narrow *Iſthmus* which connected the Northen and Southern Parts of this Continent, he flattered himſelf there might be ſtill a Paſſage, and under this Perſuaſion he died.

Now, as the Criticks ſay, there is ſomething divine even in the Dreams of *Homer*; ſo in reſpect to the Sentiments of *Columbus*, of whoſe Memory I never ſpeak but with the utmoſt Reverence, there was always ſomething great and noble; and if I might be indulged ſo bold an Expreſſion, I would venture to ſay that there was ſomewhat of Truth in his Errors, and of Wiſdom in his Miſtakes; for notwithſtanding he was wrong with reſpect to Circumſtances, he was right in the main; for had there been no ſuch Continent as *America*, he might undoubtedly have failed, as he propoſed, from *Spain* to the *Indies*, though hardly with ſuch Veſſels as thoſe in which he made his firſt Diſcovery. However, it was upon his Thought that ſucceeding Diſcoverers built; it was from his Diſcourſes they collected thoſe Lights that led them to all they afterwards performed; and it was from the Scheme of *Chriſtopher Columbus* that Sir *John Cabot*, (for he was the Knight, and not his Son *Sabaſtian*) took the Hint of a North-weſt Paſſage, which is yet undiſcovered; that *Sebaſtian Cabot* framed his Deſign of finding a North-eaſt Paſſage, which has been but of late known to be poſſible; and that *Ferdinand Magellan* gathered thoſe Obſervations from whence he has ſo confidently undertook, and ſo happily accompliſhed, the finding a Paſſage to the *Spice Iſlands* through the *South Seas*.

In Matters of this Nature, as it is very eaſy to miſtake, as well as very hard not to miſtake ſo there is nothing ſhameful or injurious to a Man's Reputation, who from real Diſcoveries falls into erroneous Suppoſitions; the only Danger is, that the Fame and Credit of the Diſcovery ſhould give Weight and Authority to ſuch Suppoſitions; and this makes it both neceſſary and laudable to examine them with the ſtricteſt Attention, which muſt be my Apology to the Reader for the Pains I have made him take upon this Occaſion, in order, through all this Miſt of Obſcurity, to bring him out again into the Light, and to enable him to make the proper Uſe of Captain *Behring*'s moſt admirable and moſt important Diſcoveries, without being led away by that vain and idle Deluſion to which they have moſt unaccountably given Riſe. We may from this Examination of the Matter, very eaſily, and with ſome tolerable Degree of Certainty, perceive, what will be the Iſſue of this Deſign, in Caſe the *Ruſſians* ſhould continue, as in all Probability they will, to proſecute theſe Diſcoveries. What I mean by this, is, that in the Courſe of a few Years, they will probably find out all that is yet to be found on that Side, and paſs from one Iſland to another, till they have obtain'd an abſolute Certainty as to the Situation, Size, and Nature, of the Countries that Providence has placed between *Aſia* and *America*, amongſt which, I will not preſume to alledge there may not be one more conſiderable than the reſt, and extending much farther to the North, which in that Reſpect may deſerve to be ſtiled a Continent; neither will I diſpute, that when this ſhall be done, it may be both poſſible and practicable for the *Ruſſians* to obtain a Share in the Commerce of *America*, though for many Reaſons, ſome of which I ſhall hereafter mention; this ſeems to be a Thing far enough from being probable.

We may likewiſe diſcern from what has been ſaid, how very little the reſt of the World have to apprehend, from any Pains this Nation may employ to conceal their Diſcoveries; for, in the firſt Place, if they ſhould prove conſiderable in themſelves, and advantageous in their Conſequences, that will be a Thing abſolutely impoſſible; for whether they derive thoſe Advantages from Conqueſts, or from Commerce, they cannot be hid; and if we once learn that theſe Advantages are derived to them, the Manner in which they are derived cannot long remain a Secret. On the other Hand, if they proceed ſlowly in theſe Diſcoveries, and reap no great Profits from them, they need not take much Pains about the Matter, ſince no Secret is ſo eaſily kept as that which is hardly worth the knowing. But as we have already explained the true Cauſe of that erroneous Notion of the Continent of *America* being at no great Diſtance from the North-eaſt Coaſt of the *Ruſſian* Dominions, ſo it will be no hard Task to find out whence this other Sentiment of the Poſſibility of concealing Diſcoveries has its Original; the *Ruſſians* have, for the two laſt Ages, employed themſelves in making Diſcoveries and Conqueſts to the North-eaſt, and theſe they have taken great Care, and not without conſiderable Succeſs, to conceal, which they might very eaſily do, ſince it was not poſſible for any other Nation but themſelves to reach them. Yet while they were thus concealed, they proved of no mighty Conſequence to them; and the only Fruits of their Induſtry, in that Reſpect, at leaſt ſo far as we can learn, were Want of real Improvements, or ſo much as acquiring a juſt Notion of their Importance. When the Czar *Peter* came to have right Ideas, in reſpect to Government, Power, and Commerce, this little narrow unprincely Scheme of concealing was immediately baniſhed, and he not only took all the Methods poſſible to make himſelf and his Miniſters thoroughly acquainted with the remoteſt Parts of his Dominions, but with equal Care and Induſtry publiſhed the Reſults of his Enquiries to all the World; and from thence it was that he not only raiſed a juſt and never-fading Reputation, but likewiſe reaped many Advantages, in a very ſhort Space of Time, that otherwiſe muſt have coſt whole Ages in the Form of ſlow and ſilent Methods to attain. By this Means principally he reached the great Point at which he aimed, and came to have a right, diſtinct, and thorough Notions of the Value of the Diſcoveries made in the Reigns of his Predeceſſors, which were not known to them from their being addicted to that barbarous Policy of hiding and making a Myſtery of what muſt be uſeleſs in the very ſame Proportion that it is concealed.

This ſhews the Folly and Abſurdity of ſuch a Principle, while confined to Diſcoveries upon the Continent, in which it was very poſſible it might be purſued with Succeſs; but there is nothing eaſier than to ſhew, that it is not barely ridiculous, but abſolutely impracticable, with reſpect to ſuch Diſcoveries as are made by Sea. We already know enough of their Diſcoveries not to be much, if at all in the dark, as to the Sources of any Advantages they may reap from them hereafter; and, as I obſerved at the Cloſe of the former Section, ſo long as we preſerve our Naval Force, it will be always not only practicable, but a very eaſy Thing for us to acquire a Share of theſe Advantages, let them be what they will, in ſpite of any Pains, or any Means they can poſſibly uſe to prevent it. For it will be always poſſible for us, while we have ſuch large Poſſeſſions in the *Eaſt-Indies*, to fit out Ships; or if it was neceſſary, Squadrons of Ships, and that with as great or greater Advantage than can be done by the *Ruſſians*, and with theſe we may at any Time retrace all their Diſcoveries, and make them our own, in Caſe there ſhall appear any good Cauſe to expect that Expeditions of this Kind may turn to our Profit.

Neither is it Reaſon alone that teaches us this; for the ſame Leſſon may be learned in the School of Experience. The *Spaniards* and the *Portugueſe* were the original Diſcoverers of *America* and the *Eaſt Indies*, but how long did they remain the ſole Proprietors of thoſe valuable Poſſeſſions? And yet they were poſſeſſed of an Advantage which the *Ruſſians* have not, and which it is in a great Meaſure out of their Power to attain; that of being the greateſt Maritime Powers in *Europe*, indeed almoſt the only Maritime Powers in *Europe*, at the Time they made them. Therefore if with this ſingular Advantage, and when making Diſcoveries was a Thing new, thoſe Nations found it impoſſible to conceal their Diſcoveries, or to exclude Strangers from ſharing with them, how ſhould the *Ruſſians*, who on this Side of their Dominions neither have, nor in any reaſonable Space of Time, can raiſe any formidable Naval Force?

Yet after all that has been ſaid, I muſt confeſs, that if the *Ruſſians* continue to proceed in theſe Diſcoveries, with that Vigour which their great Importance deſerves, and which the Succeſs they have lately met with may well incourage them to do, they may poſſibly make a Diſcovery of the higheſt Conſequence, and perhaps conceal it to, and that to the great Advantage of themſelves, and the great Detriment of the reſt of the World, and of the *Britiſh* Nation in particular; and to this I attribute all that Air of Darkneſs and Myſtery that has been of late thrown over moſt of their Relations. In ſhort, I apprehend, and am very ſure, that I have good Reaſon for my Apprehenſions, they are already pretty well ſatisfied; or rather, the few judicious Heads amongſt them, are convinced, not of the Poſſibility or Probability, but of the Reality of a North-weſt Paſſage; and this it is that makes them ſo very deſirous of promoting a Belief of the running out of the two great Continents, till they almoſt meet each other, and hath alſo put them upon the Scheme of ſtifling their future Diſcoveries, that they may make the moſt of what they have already diſcovered, and not lead others to the Knowledge of a Route, which would make them Maſters of theſe Diſcoveries, and of many more.

XI. After having examined as thoroughly as poſſible theſe *Ruſſian* Diſcoveries, which have made ſo much Noiſe in the preſent Age, and which it is not impoſſible may make ſtill more Noiſe in the next, let us proceed to a few Obſervations on what has been ſaid in order to render it more uſeful and more intelligible to the Readers. It is now about two hundred Years ago, ſince our finding out the Navigation to *Ruſſia*, was conſidered, as a more ſurpriſing Diſcovery, than any of which the *Ruſſians* are now in Purſuit; but then it muſt be conſidered that they had no Dominions upon the *Baltick*, nor hardly any Intercourſe with their Neighbours, except the *Poles* and the *Swedes*. It was preſently foreſeen, that from *Archangel*, which was the Port frequented by us, a Paſſage might be conveniently ſought round *Nova Zembla* to the *Eaſt Indies*, and accordingly various Attempts were made that Way, as in its proper Place has been ſhewn. It could however hardly be foreſeen, that ſo long a Series of Years ſhould elapſe, before the *Engliſh* Nation received any Certainty as to the North-eaſt Frontiers of this ſpacious Empire, and yet it is purely owing to the great Wiſdom and ſuperior Genius of the Czar *Peter* the Firſt that we are acquainted with them now, ſo late have we been inſtructed as to the real Boundaries of that Part of the Globe, with which, during ſo long a Space, we have had almoſt a conſtant Correſpondence.

But now we are acquainted with them, let the Queſtion be put, What are we the wiſer or the better for this Piece of Knowledge? For that is the Touch-ſtone of all Acquiſitions of this Sort; ſince if our Knowledge ſerves only to amuſe the Learned, and to ſurpriſe the Ignorant, it is of very little Conſequence, and indeed hardly deſerves the Name. If, on the other Hand, it gives us a juſter Notion of Things than we had before, delivers us from the Miſts of ancient Errors, affords us a Proſpect of new Truths, and enables us, by theſe Helps to decide judiciouſly of our own Intereſts, and thoſe of other Nations; then, without doubt, our Enquiries are to ſome Purpoſe, and the Iſſue of them may be well ſtiled uſeful and ſolid Knowledge.

In the *firſt* Place then, we are now able to rectify our Miſtakes, which to be ſure were great enough concerning the Country of the *Ruſſians.* We conſidered them heretofore as a rude and barbarous Nation, thruſt up into a Corner of the Globe, of little Conſequence to their immediate Neighbours, and who were almoſt in a State of Inability of making themſelves ſo much as known, much leſs reſpected and feared by the reſt of the World. We ſee them now in quite another Light; we ſee, that in Point of Extent and of Compactneſs, no Empire, either ancient or modern, can enter into Compariſon with that of *Ruſſia*, which is at once equal to any *European* Power, and ſuperior to that of any Potentate in *Aſia*. We ſee, that inſtead of being unknown or diſregarded, even by her Neighbours, ſhe has made herſelf courted as well as reſpected by the greateſt Powers in both *Europe* and *Aſia*, as being equally formidable to the *Turks*, the *Tartars*, the *Perſians*, the *Chineſe*, and, it may be, the *Japoneſe*, on one Side, and to all the Powers in the North, on the other.

We may from hence learn how eaſy ſuch Miſtakes are, and how much Time and Pains it coſts to rectify them; which ought to render us more careful in other Reſpects, how we ſuffer ourſelves to be impoſed upon by crude and indigeſted Opinions, or how we give into that common Source of great and dangerous Errors, the haſty rejecting as weak, abſurd, and chimeral, ſuch Propoſitions, of which, from their Novelty and the Want of preſents Lights, we cannot immediately ſee the clear and diſtinct Grounds. Of this I ſhall preſently give a very ſtrong, and hitherto unnoticed Inſtance with reſpect to this very Nation, and the Conſequences of our Correſpondence with them. It is very well known, that but a few Years ago, an Act of Parliament was obtained in Favour of the *Ruſſia* Company, to enable them to carry on, through that Empire, a Trade with *Perſia*; and that this was not obtained without Oppoſition, though the Advantages of ſuch a Trade were then ſet in a very clear Light, and have been ſince felt by Experience, notwithſtanding the unforeſeen and inevitable Difficulties to which this new Trade has been ſubjected by the great Troubles and frequent Revolutions in the Country laſt mentioned. It would be no difficult Thing to ſhew, that Projects of the ſame Kind had been many Years ago ſet on Foot in *Italy* and in *France*, but I believe it will be News to moſt of my Readers, that it was with a View to an Eſtabliſhment of this Sort, that King *James* the Firſt propoſed to ſend Sir *Thomas Overbury* into *Muſcovy*; and that ſome who looked upon themſelves as very penetrating People, and above the ordinary Rank of Politicians, valued their own Sagacities in ſeeing through this Project, as they imagined, and treating it as a Thing altogether impracticable; and fit only to amuſe the Minds of Speculatiſts; by which, very probably, the Nation was defrauded of a Branch of Commerce that might have proved highly beneficial.

I am too well acquainted with the Temper of the preſent Age to advance ſo ſtrange, and, to moſt People, ſo unheard-of a Thing as this, without Proof; and therefore I ſhall cite a Letter from Mr. *John Chamberlain* to Sir *Ralph Winwood*, preſerved among that Gentleman's State Papers, who was afterwards Secretary. It is dated *May* 6, 1618, and the Writer having firſt obſerved, that it was the urging Sir *Thomas Overbury* to go to *Muſcovy*, that drove him to that peremptory and unmannerly Anſwer for which he was committed to the Tower, he proceeds thus: "Indeed we have great "Doings in Hand, and ſtrange Projects for that Place, "which I doubt will all prove Diſcourſes in the Air, "for they be grounded upon certain Speeches of ſome "of the Nobility to an *Engliſh* Merchant about two "Years ſince; but *tempora mutantur*, and the Caſe is "much altered there ſince that Time. Yet the King "apprehends the Buſineſs very earneſtly, and hath "cauſed Sir *Henry Nevile* to confer with ſome of the "Council about it divers Times, wherein, they ſay, he "hath ſhewed great Sufficiency, and diſcourſed at large "what Commodity might ariſe by bringing the whole "Trade of *Perſia*, and the Inland Part of the *Eaſt* "*Indies* up the River *Hydaſpes*, and ſo with a ſhort Cut "down the River *Oxus* into the *Caſpian* Sea, and then "up the River *Volga* to a Straight of Land that will "carry all into the River *Dwina*, that runs down to "St. *Nicolas* and the Town of *Archangel*, the ordinary "Port and Station of our Shipping in thoſe Parts. "Theſe are goodly ſpecious Diſcourſes of Things not ſo "eaſily done as ſpoken." If we have found a nearer, ſhorter, and more expeditious Method of carrying on and improving this Trade, it is becauſe, as our Author ſays, *Tempora mutantur*; and that with regard to us and the *Ruſſians* alſo, we are no longer under the Neceſſity of making the long Voyage to *Archangel*, nor are they obliged to take the Courſe before laid down for bringing *Perſian* Commodities into the Heart of their Empire. Yet for all this, it is no hard Matter to diſcern this Project was both very poſſible and very practicable at that Time, and might have been attended with very great Advantages to both Nations.

We may learn from the Contents of this Section, more eſpecially if we compare them with thoſe of the foregoing Sections, what are the true Reaſons why, with all the ſeeming Advantages of which the *Ruſſians* are now poſſeſſed, they make, notwithſtanding, but a very ſmall Figure in Commercial Affairs. It is very true, that from the advantageous Situation of their Empire, they have a Variety of different Proſpects of extending and promoting their Trade; but perhaps this Variety has been, and ſtill is rather detrimental than beneficial. We find them ſometimes intent upon eſtabliſhing their Navigation on the *Black Sea*, and in a few Years this is dropped, and their Efforts are made upon the *Caſpian*; then the trade by Land with *China*, and the ſuppoſed Advantages that may be derived from regular Caravans ingroſſes their Thoughts, till on a ſudden they are turned to more diſtant Diſcoveries and a Naval Correſpondence with *Japan*, which is again dropped for the Sake of purſuing, a ſtill more diſtant, and more uncertain Scheme of opening a new Route to the Coaſts of *America.*

Thus by running from one Thing to another, and by a prepoſterous graſping at many Things, Nothing is attained, if we except this, that from theſe Attempts it has been made very apparent, that all, ſave the laſt, might have been attained. For while *Peter* the Great was poſſeſſed of *Aſoph*, he not only opened to his Subjects the Commerce, but, as we hinted before, eſtabliſhed a Naval Force in the *Black Sea*, and thereby terrified the Grand Signior in his Seraglio, but this however inſpired the *Turks* with a Reſolution of depriving him of that Fortreſs, and of the Power of making him uneaſy on that Side; which they had the good Luck to accompliſh; yet there may come a Time, when, if the *Ruſſians* ſhould be content to proſecute one Point at once, they may again become Maſters of *Aſoph*, and of that advantageous Commerce that might be carried on from thence. Nay, it is not at all impoſſible that they may conquer *Crim Tartary*, which, with reſpect to Trade and Naval Power, would be the moſt important Acquiſition they could make; but it would require much Time and no ſmall Application to render ſuch a Conqueſt as advantageous as it might be made to their Empire, and indeed to the Chriſtian World in general.

On the *Caſpian* alſo *Peter* the Firſt built Veſſels of various Sizes, and conquered ſome of the moſt valuable Countries in *Perſia*; he likewiſe formed Projects of Diſcovery in the moſt diſtant Part of that Sea; where, for the Encouragement of his People, he gave out there were Gold Mines; but all theſe Projects, partly by other Accidents, but chiefly by his Death, came to nothing. The ſame great Emperor actually opened a Trade by Land to *China*, of which we have given a large Account, and of the Reaſons of its Declenſion. Reaſons that ſtill ſubſiſt, and will always ſubſiſt, while the *Chineſe* Goverment is carried on in Conformity to the Maxims that having prevailed there for many Ages, are not likely to be laid aſide in haſte. It remains that we ſhould examine the Cauſes that have hindered the Accompliſhment of the two laſt Deſigns.

With reſpect to theſe, there is nothing clearer than that the vaſt Diſtance of *Kamſchatska*, the preſent Condition of that Country, and the great Difficulty of eſtabliſhing any certain and eaſy Communication between it and the weſtern Provinces of the Empire, are Obſtacles of ſuch a Nature as muſt render it very hard to ſurmount. On the other Hand, we are very well apprized of the ſettled Averſion which the *Japoneſe* have to any Correſpondence with the *Europeans*, which there are good Grounds to believe may riſe higher with regard to the *Ruſſians*, whom, notwithſtanding their vaſt Dominions in *Aſia*, they will always conſider in that Light. I ſay, that we have good Grounds to believe, that their Averſion will riſe higher againſt them than any other Nation, becauſe their Apprehenſions, in reſpect to their Power, will be greater and better founded. Thus we ſee that there is no great Cauſe to be ſurprized, that the Court of *Petersbourg* has not been able to make any great Progreſs hitherto in that Commerce, of which Captain *Spanberg* gave them ſuch mighty Expectations.

Yet great as theſe Obſtacles are, they ſeem to be ſtill inferior to thoſe that lie in the Way of this ſo much wiſh'd-for Commerce with the Northen Continent of *America*; for which, as we have ſhewn, they are utterly unqualified, until ſuch Time as *Kamſchatska* is much better improved than we have any Reaſons to believe it is at preſent; becauſe, as we have already ſhewn, the Space is much larger between the two Continents than they apprehend; and if it were much leſs, it is not very eaſy to conceive either with what Commodities they would trade from *Kamſchatska*, or where they would find Men to undertake any thing in the Way of Conqueſt. The Reader will obſerve, that I ſtate theſe only as a very great Difficulties, which it will be hard, but not impoſſible to overcome. The Method they are now in of ſurveying theſe Countries, diligently inquiring into their Produce, and framing from thence natural Hiſtories, tracing the ſeveral Rivers from their Sources to their Mouths, bringing the barbarous Inhabitants under Obedience, and uſing every other Means poſſible to come at an exact Knowledge of their vaſt Dominions, though very ſlow, is out of Compariſon the ſureſt to attain Succeſs.

It is not at all improbable, that in Proceſs of Time they may find either Mines or Drugs, or ſome other Commodities of Value, that may make the Plantation and Improvement of theſe Places, at leaſt bear the Expences, and ſo by Degrees extend their Settlements and Fortreſſes in a regular Manner from *Tobolski* to *Ochotski*; and then, no doubt, the peopling and improving *Kamſcatska* will be found far eaſier than is generally imagin'd; for, as I hinted before, there ſeems to be good Reaſon to believe, that there is nothing, either in the Climate or the Soil, ſo incorrigible, as to take away all Hopes of making it a tolerable Habitation. It is indeed true, that ſome Hints have been given of taking a ſhorter Way, by ſettling a Port at the Mouth of the River *Lena*, and opening the Navigation to *Kamſchatska* by Veſſels of conſideradle Burthen. I might object to this, what *Ysbrant Ides* tell us of the Northen Seas being choaked with Ice for ſeveral Years together, ſo as to render ſuch a Paſſage abſolutely impracticable; but as I am ſtrongly inclined to doubt the Truth of this, I cannot think it fair to alledge any ſuch Thing. But ſuppoſing the Paſſage to be always practicable in the Summer, which is the utmoſt that can be contended for, yet the thorough ſettling of *Kamſchatska* will remain a Thing abſolutely requiſite before any Diſcoveries of Importance can be undertaken with any tolerable Advantage on that Side, ſince after ſo long a Voyage as that round the North-eaſt Cape, it cannot well be imagined that Veſſels ſhould be in a Condition to proceed, without putting into ſome Port for Refreſhment.

If therefore this could be done at *Kamſchatska*, and proper Magazines of Proviſions and Naval Stores were erected there, no Doubt need be made, that in the Courſe of a few Years, Things in this Part of the World would change their Face, and a Commerce of very great Conſequence might be ſoon ſettled. Whenever this ſhall be effected, and ſuch a Navigation from Practice and a Perfect Knowledge of the proper Seaſons made common, if not convenient, I cannot help hazarding a Conjecture, that the Court will call to Mind a Project formerly ſet on Foot for reviving and reſtoring the Trade of *Archangel*. It may be ſaid, that to ſuppoſe the Poſſibility of an eaſy Paſſage to the North-weſt of *Nova Zembla*, which muſt be the Courſe from any Port eſtabliſhed at the Mouth of the River *Lena*, is abſurd and romantick, but this is eaſier ſaid than proved; the *Dutch* Ships that were ſent in 1670 for the Diſcovery of the North-eaſt Paſſage, actually paſſed round *Nova Zembla* the other Way, and therefore it is very plain the Thing is not at all impoſſible; and to People who inhabit the Country that borders upon the Sea, have an Opportunity of making Choice of the fitteſt Seaſon, and may have ſuch Aſſiſtances from the Nature of their Government, as cannot be expected in Places, where not only the Climate, but the Laws are milder; this may, in Proceſs of Time, and that no very long Time neither, be render'd very practicable, and *Archangel* become once more the Centre of the *Ruſſian* Trade, as in former Times. The Reaſon that the Czar *Peter* the Great, who delighted ſo much in Improvements, made it in ſome Meaſure a Point to ruin *Archangel*, by withdrawing the Trade from it, may be very eaſily learned. In the firſt Place, it had been inſulted by the *Swedes*, which made him apprehend, that the Richer this Port grew, the more likely it would be to tempt his Neighbours to make it ſuch Viſits. Beſides this, he was very intent upon whatever might contribute to the eſtabliſhing, enlarging, or enriching of the new City of St. *Petersbourg*, which he was building, and which he was equally deſirous of rendering the Centre of Commerce, and the Capital of his Empire.

Both theſe Reaſons are, in a great Meaſure, taken away; for with Regard to the Power of the *Swedes*, and the Safety of *Archangel*, there are no longer any Apprehenſions, or indeed the leaſt Grounds for them; and with reſpect to *Petersbourg*, it will always remain the Center of the *Baltick* Trade, as well as the Weſtern Capital of the *Ruſſian* Empire; ſo that inſtead of ſuffering, it would in reality receive great Advantages by the Revival of the Commerce at *Archangel*; and ſtill greater, if ſuch a Communication could be opened, as that which I have deſcribed. We were heretofore very well acquainted with that Port, as having a regular as well as conſtant Navigation thither; but of late we ſpeak leſs of it, and conſequently, are ſo much the worſe Judges of its Conſequences, which is in reality very great, ſince there is no Place in the whole Dominions of *Ruſſia* that lies ſo conveniently for uniting the Commerce of the moſt diſtant Countries in the Eaſt with that of *Europe*. Of this a remarkable Specimen has been given from our own Hiſtory, and that too in a moſt extraordinary Period, as I could very eaſily ſhew, if it was proper at this Time; another I have exhibited from my own Conjecture, in Caſe theſe Diſcoveries to the North-eaſt ſhould be proſecuted with Effect; and a third ſhall be taken Notice of hereafter, but in the mean Time, I believe it may contribute to the Amuſement and Relief of the Reader, and at the ſame Time prove no great Interruption to the Courſe of our Reaſoning, if we inſert a very ingenious and lively Deſcription of this Port, when in its moſt flouriſhing Condition, written upon the Spot by Sir *Dudley North*, a Man of remarkable Abilities, and no leſs diſtinguiſhed for his Accuracy in obſerving, and his Veracity in relating whatever he met with worthy of Notice, in the many Years that he ſpent Abroad.

This Gentleman, after a very pleaſant and humorous Deſcription of this Voyage, which not being to our Purpoſe I paſs by, proceeds thus in ſetting forth the State in which he found the Port that is now under our Conſideration. “ We went aſhore to live in Houſes built with Trees laid along one upon another, and let in at the Ends, the Streets are paved with Trees, and the Houſes covered with Birch Bark. The Ground where the *Engliſh* are appointed to dwell, is paled round with great Trees ſet upright; the like there is for the *Dutch* and *Hamburghers*. The Emperor of *Ruſſia* ſends down every Year a Governor, and a Gort or Judge to keep the Peace, and decide all Differences. Their Law is in their Heads, and what comes out of their Mouth is without Controul or Appeal. So that whatever Difference ariſes between one Man and another, it is ſure to be fully decided in leſs than an Hour. After the Parties have once ſpoke, he gives the deciſive Stroke, and there's an End.

“ Now this is a fine Place to live in, Victuals of all Sorts plenty, and brave Sunſhine Weather: As we ſailed along the Coaſt of *Norway*, I fancied the Clouds, though loſt in the Horizon, were but a ſmall Diſtance from us, which this place confirms, elſe one place could not be ſo very ſerene, and another ſo cloudy, and that almoſt conſtantly. For at the North Cape it is rare to ſee the Sun, and here at *Archangel*, about two hundred Leagues diſtant, not a Cloud to be ſeen for ſeveral Months together; when we were two Leagues diſtant from the huge Mountains on the Coaſt of *Norway*, we could plainly diſcern the Clouds to paſs between the Mountains and us.

“ One of the Inconveniencies that lie on thoſe who dwell in this Country, is, that the People are ſo given to Naſtineſs, that nothing can be eaten out of their Hands; you ſhall have perhaps four Brothers and as many Siſters, with their Father, Mother, Huſbands, and Wives, all dwell in one hot Houſe, (*Wisbe*) they call it. They have nothing but a little Straw ſtrewed on the Ground to lie upon. They wear looſe Garments above, with Linnen Drawers, which go down to their Heels, and a ſhort Shirt underneath like a Coat. To this in the Winter, they add a Caffian as they call it, which is an Under-Coat, the Upper they call a Shube. And for their Boots, and huge thick Stockings, and double Mittens for their Hands, they never alter but continually wear them. The Women I think are the moſt deformed Creatures that ever were ſeen, generally ſhort, and by Reaſon of their lying in Wiſbies and Baſtoes, very ſwarthy. Their Wear is for the labouring Women, Boots, but for them that keep Houſe, neither Shoes nor Stockings; they wear a Linnen looſe Garment next their Skin for the moſt part, without any Thing elſe, but ſometimes they have another of blue Callico over the former, but that is all.

“ The Men account it a Sin to have either long Hair or a ſhort Beard. They are extremely ſuperſtitious, every Man has his Object of Worſhip, but ſome twenty or more. They are Commodities ſold in the Market, and they will not ſell any to a Stranger, or ſuffer him ſo much as to touch them. Theſe are Pictures of the Saints, and that of our Saviour. The great Men burn Lamps before them Day and Night, and adorn them richly with Gold and Pearl, but when theſe are worn out, and they cannot ſee any Thing of them, they hold it not lawful to burn them, but in a ſolemn Manner carry them to the Sea, and there ſet them a-drift to ſhift for themſelves.

“ Theſe People are generally Thieves from the firſt to the laſt, and ſteal not only from Strangers, but Neighbours; and Poſſeſſion is all the Law they have among themſelves. Drinking is their only Paſtime, and he that is not drunk on a Holiday, or Sabbath-day, is not either a Friend to their God, or Emperor. They are all left to get their Livings the beſt Way they can. He that is a Carpenter To-day, is a Labourer To-morrow. Every Man breeds up his own Sons, and it is a Shame to be wiſer than their Forefathers.

“ This Town of *Archangel* ſtands on a Bog, and if you offer to walk out of Town, (except one Way, which is by the Water-Side, leading to a ſmall Grove of Trees, that are of a competent Height, and moſtly Pine, Fir, and Birch) if the Way be not paved with Planks, as ordinarily is done, to make a Paſſage from the Town to ſome Windmill, you are preſently over Shoes and Boots. Among the reſt of the Iſlands, ſome are very good Grounds, and bear Corn of all Sorts, which after it is turned Colour, as it will in five Weeks after it is put in the Ground, they cut down and lay in the Sun to ripen or harden, and thus they often have two Crops in a Year.

“ You ſhall not ſee in all this Country, one hundred Acres of good Ground without a Monaſtery or two or three in Sight of it; who will may ſhave himſelf a Fryar, but it is ſeldom done unleſs in Sickneſs, for they think, whoever dies without the laſt Unction cannot be ſaved, and he that recovers, and lives after he hath received that Sacrament is a Friar all the reſt of his Life.

“ In this Country the Huſband is the ſole Commander of the Wife, who differs very little from his Servant. Many will marry their Sons very Young to luſty Baggages, on Purpoſe to gain able Servants.

“ I ſhall add (though not very material) the Proceſs of making Tar, the Product of this Place. They dig a Hole in the Ground of a competent Size, ſome two or three Fathom deep, and a little lower than the middle they make a Platform of Wood, and thereon heap Earth about a Foot deep, except in the Middle, where an Hole is left in the Form of a Tunnel. Then they fill the Pit with Fir Billets, piled up from the Platform, and riſing about a Fathom or more above Ground, which part they wall about with Turf and Clay to keep in the Fire. They command the Fire by quenching, for which Uſe they make a *Lixivium* of the Aſhes of Fir. When all is ready they ſet Fire a-top, and keep the Wood burning, but very leiſurely, till it comes within a Foot or two of the Partition, and then they heave out the Fire as faſt as it is poſſible, for if it once lay hold of the Tar, which is ſettled down into the lower Pit it blows up all forthwith. Theſe Tar-Pits occaſion a great deal of Trouble, and require many Men to tend them during the Time of their Burning, that the Fire may deſcend even and leiſurely, whereby the Tar may have Time to ſoak out of the Wood, and ſettle down into the Pit. As it comes from the Wood it is pure Tar, but in the Pit it mixeth with Water, which iſſues from the Wood alſo, therefore it muſt be clarified from it once or twice.

“ The Manner of their Baſtoes or Baths is worth Notice. They are made as a ſquare Room, in one Corner of which is built a Sort of Oven, the Top of which is covered with great round Pebble-

" Stones laid very thick one upon another, without any " Mortar. In this Oven they burn an Arm-full or two " of Billets, and, during the Fire, leave the Door open " for the Smoke to go out, which elſe could not paſs " for the Cloſeneſs of the Room. When the Fire is " out, and the Stones thoroughly hot, you go into it " ſtark naked, and the Heat is ſo extraordinary, that " in leſs than a Quarter of an Hour the Sweat ſhall " run from you like Water, and the Heat almoſt ſtifle " you. There are ſeveral Benches, which are the De- " grees of Heat; on the Ground it is tolerable, but " very few are able to hold up their Heads to the Top " of the Room, to ſtand upright. They heat the " Room to what Degree you pleaſe, by daſhing cold " Water upon the Stones, which doth wonderfully " augment it. Theſe Baſtoes are ſuch common Things, " that there is ſcarce an Houſe, however poor, that " wants one. They ſeldom or never lie with their " Wives but in the Baſto; the Women are always " brought to Bed in it. It is common to ſee Men " ſtand at the Church Door, not daring to enter, be- " cauſe they have not waſhed ſince they lay with their " Wives, ſo nice is their Devotion.

" All the Tools they work with about Wood is an " Hatchet, and all of a Bigneſs, ſo that the largeſt " Trees, and ſmalleſt Pieces of Wood are wrought " upon with the ſame Tool. I believe they are the beſt " Hatchet-men in the World, for except a Shave, they " have no other Tool to do all Manner of Work. " Moſt Houſes in the Country are of Wood, and have " no Sort of Materials elſe about them: And ſome " again, as at the City of *Moſcow*, for Prevention of " Fire, have not a Stick of Wood about them, the " very Doors and Windows are of Iron. Moſt of our " Warehouſes here have Fire-houſes under them; it is " a perfect Houſe under Ground, built as others are, " and covered with great Trees, with a Fathom of " Earth laid over it. The Door is deep and laid " round with Brick. When a Fire happens, the " Goods are flung down at that Door, and there al- " ways ſtand ready about a Dozen Barrels of Sand, " which ſerve to dam up the Door. Then the Houſe " may be burnt to the Ground, and all the Goods re- " main ſafe."

This ſhort and entertaining Account demonſtrates to us ſufficiently the Poſſibility of rendring *Archangel* a very commodious Place, a good Port, and a well fortified Town; ſo that in all theſe Reſpects it might very well ſerve as a middle Place for the Reception of the Commerce of *Europe* and *Aſia*; and if the *Ruſſians* can tell how to bring it thither, of all the Iſlands between *Aſia* and *America*, and even of *America* itſelf. It has been before hinted, that another Propoſition has been made for ſettling the Trade of the Eaſt here of late Years, that is, in the Reign of the Czar *Peter*, of a different Nature from either of thoſe which the Reader has yet met with; the former, he muſt remember, went upon this Suppoſition, that the Commodities and Manufactures of the *Indies* might be brought through *Perſia* to the *Caſpian* Sea, and ſo by various Rivers to *Archangel*. The other ſuggeſts a Poſſibility of carrying on a Trade from *Kamſchatska* to the Iſlands near *Japan*, to *Corea*, *China*, *&c.* and carrying the Produce of this Trade round by Sea to *Archangel*.

This other Propoſal goes upon the old Suppoſition, that a North-eaſt Paſſage was impracticable; and therefore two Merchants laid a Scheme before the Senate, to make a Communication between ſeveral navigable Rivers and Lakes, by the Means of which, the *Ruſſian* Merchants might carry their Goods from *Archangel* to the Eaſtern Ocean, and ſo by an eaſy and ſhort Way trade to *Japan* and the *Eaſt Indies*, to the incredible Advantage of the *Ruſſian* Dominions. The Connection was to be by the Rivers *Dwina*, *Faſta*, *Irtis*, *Oby*, *Keta*, *Teniſra*, *Angur*, the Lake *Baikal*, the Rivers *Schulka*, and *Amur*, the latter of which runs through *Dauria* into the Eaſtern Ocean. It would perhaps be no difficult Thing to ſhew, that though this Scheme is not impoſſible or impracticable, yet it would be much harder to accompliſh, than that of opening a Communication by Sea; and the only Reaſon I mentioned it was to ſhew how many different Methods have been contrived to transfer the *Eaſt India* Trade, at leaſt in a great Meaſure, to the *Ruſſians*; according to all which, *Archangel* has been the Port preferred; ſo that ſome Time or other, perhaps, it may obtain what has been ſo long ſought, in different Times, by different Heads, and from ſuch different Ways.

To conclude this Subject, and to ſhew how great a Sacrifice was made in the eſtabliſhing of *Petersbourg*, I ſhall preſent the Reader with a Memorial, ſhewing the Inconveniencies that would ariſe by transferring thither the Trade from *Archangel*. It was drawn up by a Committee of Merchants, who were the beſt acquainted with the Intereſt of *Ruſſia*, and of the reſt of the Nations in *Europe* trading thither, and though it had no Effect, yet the Facts contained therein are very curious; they were briefly theſe:

1. That at *Wologda* only, a Town ſituate between *Moſcow* and *Archangel*, there are three *German* Merchants, who at their own Charge maintain 25000 Perſons and upwards in dreſſing and preparing Hemp to be ſent to *Archangel*, and from thence into foreign Countries: But ſhould they be obliged to keep ſuch a Number of People at *Petersbourg*, where every Thing is five Times as dear as at *Wologda*, that Trade not only would turn to no Account at all, but they would even be Loſers by it. 2. That the greater Part of the Exportation of *Archangel* is of the Growth of the neighbouring Country of *Wologda*, from whence thoſe Commodities are with a great deal of Eaſe carried by Water to *Archangel*; whereas were they to be tranſported to *Petersbourg*, it muſt be done a great Way over Land, and with far greater Expences to the Merchants. 3. That the Soil at *Petersbourg* is ſuch, that the Hemp cannot be kept there a few Months without growing damp.

It is hoped, that from theſe Remarks and Reflexions, the Reader will be led to a perfect Acquaintance with the Conſequences of the *Ruſſian* Diſcoveries, the Nature of the ſeveral Projects that have been formed for improving and extending the Commerce of that Empire, and the Effects that theſe muſt neceſſarily produce upon the Trade of *Europe* in general, in caſe they ſhould ever be brought to any tolerable Degree of Perfection, than which it would be hard to find a Subject more uſeful or more entertaining to ſuch as are deſirous of acquainting themſelves with the real and ſubſtantial Knowledge that is, the Reſult of Enquiries into the paſt and preſent State of diſtant Countries, and of learning from the Compariſon of the Situation and Products of the ſeveral Parts of the Globe, how they may be beſt connected and made uſeful to each other.

But it may poſſibly be objected, that all theſe Things are at a very great Diſtance, in as much as hitherto the *Ruſſians* have ſcarce entered into any Kind of Commerce with other Nations, or at leaſt with other Nations who inhabit Countries lying at a Diſtance from them; ſo that to conſider them in the Light of a naval and commercial Power, ſeems a little premature; and conſidering alſo the Viciſſitude of human Affairs ſomewhat chimerical. But to this it is very eaſy to give a full and ſatisfactory Anſwer. It is ſcarce half a Century ſince this Nation became thoroughly known to the reſt of *Europe*, that is to ſay, known as an independent and great Power, capable not only of holding the Balance of the North, or rather of preſcribing to the Powers there, but alſo of having a conſiderable Influence upon the general Syſtem. Yet within this ſhort Space, and notwithſtanding ſeveral Revolutions in their Government, they have acquired, and that very juſtly, a very high Degree of Reputation, as well by a ſucceſsful War againſt the *Turks*, as by their important Conqueſt from the Crown of *Sweden*; and excluſive of this, have twice within the laſt twenty Years, given Check to the Power of the Houſe of *Bourbon*, and Peace to *Europe*, by marching their Troops into *Germany*, exactly in the ſame Manner, as when the over-grown Power of the Houſe of *Auſtria* engaged the *Swedes* in an Enterprize of the like Nature, and with the like Succeſs. If therefore it cannot be denied, that in ſo ſhort a Time, and notwithſtanding the many Obſtacles they had to ſurmount, this Nation has carried its Power to ſo unexpected a Height, and render'd its Authority and Influence ſo very extenſive, why ſhould we doubt, that upon turning their Thoughts to the promoting of Induſtry, encouraging Manufactures, and improving their Trade, all which, it is very certain, are Points that have for ſome Years occupied their Thoughts; I ſay, why ſhould we doubt, that in Proceſs of Time they ſhould become as ſucceſsful in this, as in the aggrandizing themſelves by their military Expeditions, and their political Negociations, for both which they were thought infinitely more incapable, but forty or fifty Years ago, than they can be now, with reſpect to Improvements in Trade and Navigation?

I know very well, that it has been eſteemed the Foible of this Nation, that they eſteem themſelves abſolutely Maſters of any Science, by that Time they have acquired the firſt Principles of it, and are apt to boaſt of Things as accompliſhed almoſt as ſoon as they have formed a Deſign of undertaking them; but as this is natural to all Nations, upon their firſt emerging out of a State of Barbarity, it may be probably concluded, that this is in ſome Meaſure worn off, and that in Conſequence of their being more familiar with the Sciences, and having a greater Intercourſe with other Nations, they are become both more knowing and more polite; which if it was at all neceſſary, might alſo be made good with reſpect to Facts, and that from the moſt authentick Evidence. But ſuppoſing they have ſtill ſome Remains of this Humour ſticking upon them, as has been before admitted in the Caſe of Diſcoveries, where, without queſtion, their Concluſions have been a little too haſty, and their Expectations not a little too ſanguine, yet this is no kind of Proof that they ſhall not ſucceed by Degrees, or that they may not acquire a very profitable and extenſive Commerce, though not quite ſo profitable and extenſive perhaps, as they have flattered themſelves.

For if we reflect, that notwithſtanding the Rigour of the Climate, and the Sterility of the Soil in ſome Parts of their Territories, yet there is within the Dominions of *Ruſſia*, not only as rich and fertile Countries as any in *Europe*, but a much larger Quantity of rich and fertile Ground than in the Poſſeſſion of any *European* Power whatever, we ſhall ſurely ſee ſome Cauſe to alter our Opinion. Another ſtrong Argument to this Purpoſe, may be drawn from the Staple Commodities of *Ruſſia*, which are very numerous, of general Uſe, and of great Value; they have Hemp, Flax, and Timber; Tar, Wax, Hides, Tallow, *&c.* in vaſt Quantities; and if their Lands were improved, they might have as great Abundance of Corn as any Nation in the World; neither are the worſt part of their Dominions unproductive of very rich Commodities, ſuch as vaſt Quantities of the fineſt and moſt valuable Furs, Iron in the greateſt Plenty, Salt, and many more Things than we have either Leiſure or Neceſſity to enumerate, ſince enough have been already mentioned to prove that they are in a Capacity of exporting as many and as valuable Commodities as their Neighbours, from the immediate Produce of the ſeveral Provinces of their vaſt Empire.

But farther ſtill, a third and no leſs weighty Argument may be advanced from their Inland Commerce, which is very conſiderable, as will appear from the Places in which their great Cuſtom-houſes are erected, and which are become ſo many Staples for different Branches of Trade. As for Inſtance, there is a Cuſtom-houſe at *Kiow* in the *Ukrain*, to which City there is a prodigious Reſort of *Turkiſh*, *Tartarian*, *Poliſh*, *Armenian*, and *Ruſcian* Merchants. At *Tomski* in *Siberia*, there are likewiſe great Magazines of rich and valuable Commodities, brought thither by all the various Nations inhabiting the Heart of *Aſia*, and with whom no other *European* Nation have any Intercourſe or Trade. Thither alſo and to *Tobolski* are brought the Commodities and Manufactures of *China*, *Corea*, and of all the Nations which inhabit to the North and North-eaſt of the River *Amur*. The City of *Aſtracan* is the Center of the *Perſian* Trade, and of what is derived from other Nations that inhabit either on or near the Shores of the *Caſpian* Sea; and from all theſe Places there is a conſtant and prodigious Reſort to the great City of *Moſcow*, where a very large Traffick is driven by Merchants of all Nations. I ſay nothing of the *Lapland* Trade, which centers at *Archangel*, or of what is ſtill carried on at *Novogorod* from *Courland*, *Poland*, *Lithuania*, and other Places; from all which it manifeſtly appears, that excluſive of their own, the *Ruſſians* may be able to export very large Quantities of foreign Commodities and Manufactures, which they procure in the Way of Exchange, and may conſequently enlarge their Trade that Way.

It may be indeed objected againſt what has been advanced, that as Luxury increaſes as faſt or faſter in *Muſcovy* than in almoſt any other Country, the Balance of Trade is not like to be much in their Favour; but to this it may be anſwered, that the general Notions about Luxury are very falſe, both with reſpect to the Thing it ſelf, and in regard to its Conſequences. In common Speech, we take Luxury for the Deſire of enjoying many Things that are not abſolutely neceſſary; whereas in Truth, Luxury only conſiſts in the Abuſe of Things, whether neceſſary or not neceſſary; and tho' it be true, that Luxury taken in either, or in both theſe Senſes, impoveriſhes and brings to Deſtruction particular and private Families, yet it may be juſtly queſtioned, whether Luxury is highly deſtructive to a Nation; for if we conſider it ſeriouſly, it will be found, that ſuch as aſſert this Talk in a Circle, and having firſt confounded their own Notions, labour next to diſturb thoſe of others. For what is it that encourages and promotes Induſtry amongſt the lower Sort of People, but the Luxury of their Betters? What has been the Source of all fine Manufactures at Home, of importing rich Goods unmanufactured or manufactured from Abroad, but Luxury? Or what Juſtice is there in reproaching a Nation as barbarous, that in their Entertainments, Cloaths and Buildings, fall infinitely below their Neighbours, and then charging them with Luxury for endeavouring to live like their Neighbours?

The Truth of the Matter is this, that if the *Ruſſians* confine themſelves to the bare Search of Neceſſaries, they may find them with very little Trouble, and remain as poor, as idle, and as barbarous as before the Reign of *Peter* the Great; or ſuppoſe they would confine themſelves to the bare Purſuit of Conveniencies, theſe alſo may be had without any great Dealing with their Neighbours. But if in Conſequence of travelling abroad, of receiving Foreigners hoſpitably at home, and of imitating ſuch as paſs for the wiſeſt and moſt polite Nations, they come to enlarge their Circle of Conveniences, and thereby create innumerable Wants that they never knew before, what will the Conſequences of this be? Not living in Huts, leaving their Lands untilled, and ſpending their Lives in eating dry'd Fiſh, and drinking Malt Spirits, or Mead, as they were wont to do; but in ſetting themſelves to improve their Country, to increaſe its Produce, to bring their Commodities to Light, to vend them to Strangers, and thereby acquire thoſe Goods that they want, or which is exactly the ſame Thing, thoſe Goods they think they want, from Strangers. That Spirit of Luxury therefore that is ſaid to prevail in *Ruſſia*, is ſo far from being an Impediment to their becoming a trading Nation, that in Reality the Prevalence of this Spirit will make them ſo.

Another Argument which plainly proves that this Nation begins to have a Turn, and that a very ſerious one too towards Commerce, is the ſeveral Treaties they have concluded both with *European* and *Aſiatick* Nations, for the encouraging, ſecuring, and promoting it; of which Treaties many Inſtances might be given. It is true, that by their laſt Treaty with the *Turks*, they are reſtrained from Trading in the *Black Sea*, except in *Turkiſh* Bottoms; but this is only an accidental Reſtriction ariſing from the Circumſtances of their Affairs at the Time the original Treaty in which this Clauſe is inſerted, was concluded. Before that Time, the Czar *Peter* had no leſs than 200 Sail of Men of War, Gallies and Brigantines of his own upon that Sea, and we need

no

not doubt, that the *Ruſſians* preſerve the Memory of this, and will take the firſt Opportunity that offers, of recovering a Trade which they once proſecuted with great Diligence and Spirit.

I will add to theſe Arguments but one more, and that is, the prodigious Pains taken, and the immenſe Expence the Czar *Peter* and his Succeſſors have been at in the Improvement of Roads, cutting Canals, rendring Rivers and Lakes navigable, purely for the Sake of facilitating the Communication of the different Provinces of their Empire with *Petersbourg*, and each other. Theſe are manifeſt Inſtances both of the Rectitude of their Conceptions on this Head, and of the Sincerity of their Intentions, which have been alſo attended with ſurprizing Conſequences; ſo that at preſent there is hardly a Country in the World where Carriage is either cheaper or more expeditious than in *Ruſſia*; and this in Winter more eſpecially, when by the Help of the Snow, their Sledges make an eaſy Paſſage from *Petersbourg* to *Moſcow* in four Days, tho' the Diſtance between theſe two Cities is between four and five hundred *Engliſh* Miles, a Thing that would be ſcarce credible, if it was not ſupported by as authentick and indubitable Proofs as any Fact whatever; ſo that as the Summer is favourable to their Navigation and foreign Commerce, the oppoſite Seaſon of the Year is no leſs ſo to their Inland Traffick, which is a very great Advantage; and tho' it is already much improved, is ſtill capable of being rendered more commodious.

But there may be another Objection ſtarted, which will at firſt Sight ſeem ſubverſive of all that I have been ſaying, and that is taken from the Nature of their Conſtitution, by which their Nobility, and indeed all Perſons of Property, are abſolute Lords over their Peaſants, who for that Reaſon abhor Induſtry, conſidering it as an Obligation to Labour, not for their own Profit, but that of their Maſters. In Support of this Objection, it may be likewiſe urged, that theſe Lords, who have ſuch a boundleſs Power over the miſerable People that live upon their Eſtates, are in their Turns expoſed, upon very trivial Offences, to feel the bitter Effects of the Reſentment of their Government; ſo that from this double Conſideration it cannot be reaſonably expected, that either the Peaſants ſhould alter their Courſe of Life without any Encouragement, or that the great Lords, from a meer Principal of Beneficence, ſhould put their Dependants upon a better Foot than themſelves.

But tho' it muſt be confeſs'd, that there is much more in this than in any other Objection that can be made upon this Subject, yet it is very far from being unanſwerable. For by Degrees, as a new Spirit prevails in the *Ruſſian* Government, and among the *Ruſſian* Nobility, new Maxims muſt alſo of Neceſſity take place; and as, on the one Hand, the great Men will find it requiſite, from no higher Principle than that of Intereſt, to deal more kindly, or at leaſt more humanely with their Vaſſals; ſo on the other Hand, the Government alſo will relax in its Severity; for in Proportion as the great Lords come to employ themſelves in attending to their own Affairs, managing their Eſtates, and taking Meaſures to live decently at home, and magnificently at Court, they will contract new Habits and new Notions, that will hinder them from running into Conſpiracies or deſperate Deſigns, and will conſequently contribute to fix their Government upon a firmer Foundation; and this by Degrees will beget a milder Adminiſtration, and in Proceſs of Time produce a better Conſtitution.

Thoſe who are acquainted with the preſent Situation of Things in *Ruſſia*, are very ſenſible that conſiderable Alterations have been made already, and that the Clemency of the preſent Reign has had very ſingular Effects, more eſpecially if we conſider, that as yet it has been of no long Duration. One Thing is particularly worth obſerving, that the Government is now altogether in the Hands of the Natives, from whence ſeveral Inferences may be drawn. Firſt of all, that evil Spirit which reigned among the People, and made them ſo averſe to all Kinds of Improvement, from a Notion that it ſerved only to ſubject them to Strangers, is in a great Meaſure worn out, and their natural Readineſs to pay an implicit Obedience to their Superiors, provided they are of their own Nation, makes them chearfully undertake thoſe Things to which they were formerly dragged with great Violence. In the next place it is evident, that the *Ruſſian* Nobility alſo have got pretty well rid of their Prejudices, begin to embrace other Notions, and to act upon Principles very different from thoſe by which they were governed in former Times. *Thirdly* and *Laſtly*, The happy Conſequences that theſe Alterations have produced, as well by eſtabliſhing great Regularity and a new Face of Things at Home, as by rendering them eſteemed and reſpected abroad, may be very well ſuppoſed to have raiſed ſo ſtrong a Barrier againſt their ever relapſing into their former Eſtate of Barbariſm, that we may rather expect to ſee them animated by a warm Ambition of carrying to the utmoſt Degree of Perfection that new Stile of Life, if I may be allowed ſo Metaphorical an Expreſſion, from whence they have already received ſo many and ſo conſiderable Advantages.

It may perhaps be alledged, and that with ſome Foundation of Truth, that there are ſtill many great Obſtacles to be got over in their Manners, Policy, and Views, both in private and publick Life; but when one conſiders how much greater Difficulties have been already overcome, and how much eaſier a thorough Reformation is effected when once well begun, than the ſlighteſt Alterations made, while a People are univerſally barbarous, we cannot ſuffer ourſelves to be much moved by any ſuch Repreſentations. Beſides, it is very well known, that the Impreſſions given us of the *Ruſſians*, by ſome who have remained ſeveral Years in that Country, in reference to theſe Points, have been falſified by Facts; for it is not a long Time ago that ſuch People inſiſted very poſitively on the abſolute Incapacity of the Government to march any conſiderable Body of Troops out of their own Territories, and this, notwithſtanding an Inſtance to the contrary freſh in every body's Memory, which has however proved an abſolute Untruth, that large Body of Auxiliaries having marched with greater Eaſe and Expedition, with more Chearfulneſs and Alacrity, and with better Diſcipline than the like Body of Men of almoſt any other Nation could have done, the Seaſon of the Year and other Circumſtances conſidered.

It is therefore better to found our Opinions upon Facts, than upon Conjectures; and we ſhall be leſs liable to be miſled, if we form our Sentiments of what this Nation may hereafter do from what they have already done, than from what Stateſmen or Travellers may believe, or pretend to believe, they can or will do.

But now it is high Time to collect from all that has been ſaid, ſome few Concluſions that may be applied to certain uſeful Purpoſes. It has been ſhewn, that notwithſtanding that Spirit of Diſcovery which has of late appeared in *Ruſſia*, and which in many Inſtances has been proſecuted with Zeal, Induſtry, and Vigour, yet there is little Reaſon to ſuppoſe that any great Progreſs can be made in ſuch Diſcoveries during our Times, and that for a Variety of ſtrong Reaſons which have been already given. That tho' from the Situation of this vaſt Country there reſult many, and thoſe too very conſiderable Advantages with reſpect to Commerce, yet there are many Difficulties that lie in the Way, and muſt render the turning theſe Advantages to any great Account, a Work of Skill, Time, and Labour. That notwithſtanding all this, there is a very high Probability theſe Difficulties will be got over, and that the beſt Uſe may be made of many, and in Length of Years, of all theſe natural Advantages, ſo as to render the *Ruſſians* by degrees a trading People, and that from theſe gradual Improvements, as well of the interior State of the Empire, as of its Intercourſe with Foreigners, the Face of Affairs will be continually altering for the better.

It is indeed no way impoſſible, that either from foreign Wars, or domeſtick Commotions, theſe Improvements may ſuffer ſhort Interruptions; but it ſeems to be a Thing abſolutely improbable, that the *Ruſſians* ſhould ever fall Back into their former State of Obſcurity,

rity, or relinquiſh that high Rank to which they have raiſed themſelves amongſt the Powers of *Europe*. Now if this ſhall be the Caſe, the preſent Syſtem of the Commercial World will be entirely altered. The bringing *Eaſt India* Commodities through *Ruſſia* into *Europe*, would as effectually ruin the Commerce now carried on by the Way of the Cape of *Good Hope*, as the Diſcovery of this demoliſhed the *Venetian* Trade by the Way of *Alexandria*, after it had ſubſiſted in the Hands of different Nations for the Space of ſeveral Ages, and for the very ſame Reaſons. When this is reflected upon a little, it will appear at once both evident and certain.

For firſt, with reſpect to the Evidence of it, whatever Method is taken, and I have ſhewn there may be three ſeveral Ways employed, two of which are not in the leaſt incompatible with each other; I ſay, which ever of theſe Courſes are taken, the Conſequence will be, that the Commodities and Manufactures of *India* will come at a more moderate Price at any Mart the *Ruſſians* ſhall eſtabliſh, than in the Way they are now brought into *Europe*, except, it may be, Spices, and a very few other Things hardly worth mentioning; and therefore, as the *Portugueſe* firſt, and the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* ſince, have ſupplanted the *Venetians* and the *Genoeſe* in this moſt valuable Commerce, thoſe who firſt fall into a Way of dealing with the *Ruſſians* for the Produce of *China* and the *Indies*, will in all Probability get the Start of other Nations, and thereby procure great Advantages to themſelves, notwithſtanding that the *Ruſſians* muſt alſo find their Account in this Manner of Dealing.

It may be indeed ſurmiſed, that all the Methods I have mentioned being attended with many and great Difficulties, and requiring a conſiderable Space of Time to be ſpent in Carriage, this will go near to render the Time of the Paſſage as long as that which is now in Uſe. But when we come to examine this Objection cloſely, it will not be found near ſo ſtrong as at firſt Sight it ſeems; for if this Trade can be carried on entirely by Sea, it would be no difficult Thing to prove, that Commodities might be tranſported from *Kamſchatſka* to *Archangel* in one Summer; and in Proceſs of Time, by raiſing proper Magazines in that Country, Supplies might be annually brought to *Archangel*, from whence this Paſſage is far from being long to certain Countries that I ſhall have Occaſion hereafter to mention. But if inſtead of taking this Method, they ſhould be brought, by embarking them on different Rivers to *Moſcow*, and from thence to *Archangel*, there will appear no Kind of Abſurdity in ſuppoſing this may be done in thirteen or in fifteen Months at the moſt; and after this Commerce ſhall be effectually ſettled, much ſooner. We muſt likewiſe conſider the Cheapneſs of Carriage through this Empire, and that Eaſe and Expedition with which the Court can bring any thing to paſs that is practicable, and may be attended with Profit.

I might upon this Occaſion take Notice of the Poſſibility there is, that the *Ruſſians* may one Day become Maſters again of *Aſoff*, or perhaps may conquer *Crim Tartary*, or at leaſt ſecure a Forteſs and Port there, which would open to them a new Channel for this Trade, as was ſhewn in the former Volume, in ſpeaking of the different Methods by which the Trade to the *Indies* is now, and has been formerly carried on. I preſume the Reader will eaſily grant, that if any one of theſe Attempts met with Succeſs, it would be an Encouragement to make more, and not only ſo, but would likewiſe furniſh the Means of making them, as well as raiſe the Spirits of the *Ruſſian* Court, and induce it to beſtow greater Attention upon Projects of this Kind, and make ſtronger Efforts for carrying them into Execution than it has hitherto done.

But it may be ſaid, To what Purpoſe is all this? Why ſhould we trouble ourſelves with foretelling or foreſeeing theſe Things, in regard to which, in the firſt place, there is great Uncertainty; and in the next, it is Time enough to concern ourſelves about them, when they ſhall actually come to paſs. To this I anſwer, That whoever has well weighed what has been advanced from the beſt Authorities, in this Section, will very plainly ſee, that the pretended Incertainty refers only to Time; for that the *Ruſſians* have turned their Thoughts this Way already, and that they have actually Variety of Means in their Hands to bring almoſt any Schemes of this Sort they can form to bear, are Points out of Diſpute. All that is in Doubt amounts to no more, than whether they ſhall fall into a Share of the *India* Trade within theſe ten Years, or whether another ten Years ſhall elapſe before they obtain it. This, I ſay, is the ſingle Queſtion upon that Head, and I refer it to the Conſideration of thoſe who make it ſo much a Queſtion, whether the Improbability of their attempting and ſucceeding in this Way, is near ſo great as that the *Swedes* ſhould attempt and ſucceed in the other Way, which we ſee they have actually done, and that their Trade to *China* is every Year increaſing.

Beſides all this, let it be remember'd that two new *Eaſt India* Companies are on the very Point of being ſet up, one at *Embden* in *Eaſt Frieſland*, under the Auſpice of his *Pruſſian* Majeſty, now become Sovereign of that Country; and the other at *Leghorn*, under the Protection of the Emperor in Quality of Grand Duke; and that it is no Secret there are Adventurers enough ready and willing to advance large Sums of Money for the Support of theſe Undertakings. Shall we imagine then, that ſo many Examples will not rouze the *Ruſſians* to look about them, and to put in their Claim, where they have at leaſt as good a Title as any; or ſhall we imagine, that thoſe who have the greateſt Advantages, ſhall be the only Parties in ſuch a Struggle that will meet with Diſappointments? No, certainly, whenever a Deſign of this Sort is heartily undertaken and vigorouſly purſued, it will not only ſucceed, but ſucceed ſooner, and in a higher Degree than can be eaſily imagined.

Now to the moſt material Point, which is to ſhew how far this touches us, and why we ought to intereſt ourſelves therein, ſo far as the early Conſideration of theſe Points may be called intereſting ourſelves rather than our Neighbours, tho' in Fact perhaps that may not be our Caſe, ſince we have not been of late over-ready in ſeizing Commercial Advantages that lay more immediately in our Way, than I muſt confeſs this does at preſent. I ſay then, it behoves us to be very attentive to what paſſes of this Kind in *Ruſſia*, for this plain and ſtrong Reaſon, *viz.* that we have better Grounds to hope we might avail ourſelves of ſuch a Change in the Commercial Syſtem than any other Country in *Europe*.

In the firſt Place, the Situation of our Iſland renders it very eaſy for us to carry on a large Trade with that Empire with mutual Advantage to both Nations? and in caſe it became very conſiderable in Compariſon of what it now is, we might very eaſily provide for the carrying it on ſucceſsfully, by enlarging and improving the Ports we have in the North-eaſt Part of this Iſland, by opening new ones, and by eſtabliſhing Magazines in proper Places; which by extending Navigation, promoting Induſtry, employing Thouſands of our Countrymen and Fellow-Subjects in ſeveral Ways beneficial to the Publick, who are now either idle and uſeleſs, or if at all employed, are in the Service of our Enemies, would turn to the great Profit of this Iſland, and to the inconceivable Advantage of its Credit and Influence. For there is Nothing we want ſo much as a due Diſtribution of Trade and Manufactures, that Wealth may circulate freely through every Part of the Iſland, and thereby diffuſe a kindly Warmth and lively Spirit, for Want of which, ſome diſtant Parts ſeem cold and uſeleſs, like decayed Limbs, which has tempted ſome Quack Politicians to talk of cutting them off, without conſidering that ſuch Amputations in the Body Politick are as abſurd and ridiculous as they are impracticable and unſafe.

Another Reaſon we have to expect that we might be preferred to moſt other Nations in ſuch a Caſe as this by the *Ruſſians*, is the many Years that not only a fair Correſpondence, but a cloſe Friendſhip has ſubſiſted between the two Nations; for from the Reign of Queen *Mary* to theſe Times, that is, from our firſt opening a

Paſſage to *Ruſſia* till now, we have dealt with its Inhabitants on the Foot of perfect Amity, except during the Uſurpation that followed after the Murder of King *Charles* I. when out of their Abhorrence of that Fact, all Intercourſe with this Empire, was ſuſpended. But after the Reſtoration, our Commerce with that Country again revived, and has continued ever ſince with little or no Interruption. It was here that the Czar *Peter* acquired the Rudiments of Ship-building, and from hence he drew moſt of thoſe Artificers which he employed in that and other Arts; not to mention the high Reſpect paid him by King *William*, and the many good Offices done to himſelf and his Family, by the Poſſeſſors of this Throne ever ſince.

We may indeed, with great Juſtice mention our Naval Power as a third Argument in Favour of what has been aſſerted; for, without all Queſtion, this muſt ever intitle us to be very highly conſider'd by ſuch as adminiſter the Affairs of that Empire, in as much as Experience has ſhewn what great Effects the Appearance of *Britiſh* Fleets have had in the *Baltick*, and how ſure that Cauſe is to triumph which they eſpouſe. As there is nothing clearer, than that the moſt certain Method of obtaining the conſtant Aſſiſtance of *Great Britain*, is to favour her Commerce, which *Sweden* heretofore, and *Portugal* has lately felt, ſo we may reaſonably preſume, that a Thing of ſuch Notoriety muſt be well known to the Politicians of *Ruſſia*, and cannot but have a proper Influence on their Councils, more eſpecially if we remember, that as *Ruſſia* has all things to hope from our Friendſhip, ſo ſhe has nothing to fear from the aggrandizing our Power.

This will be another Motive to increaſe her Readineſs to ſhare her preſent and future Advantages with us, becauſe it is impoſſible, from any Alteration of Circumſtances, or as far as can be foreſeen from any Viciſſitude to which all ſublunary Things are liable, that ever our Intereſt ſhould come to claſh with theirs; which is more than can be ſaid for almoſt any other Power in *Europe*. For this is one of the many Benefits that we draw from our being an Iſland, *viz.* that our Intereſts, as a great Power, muſt always be the ſame with our Intereſts as a trading Nation. It is indeed very poſſible, that ambitious enterpriſing Stateſmen may ſometimes pretend to divide theſe, and may perhaps find their Account in it; but as it is impoſſible the Nation ſhould, ſo it is at leaſt highly improbable that ſuch unnatural Notions ſhould long prevail. The *Ruſſians*, who have Senſe enough to know, and who have hitherto ſhewn Spirit enough to adhere to their true Intereſts, cannot fail of being ſenſible of this, and of affording due Weight to a Circumſtance of ſo great Importance which concerns them ſo nearly, and is of ſo permanent a Nature.

As Reaſon teaches this, ſo it has been hitherto juſtified by Experience, ſince in the ſeveral Revolutions that have happened there in our Times, every Government and every Adminiſtration have made it their firſt Care to renew their Engagements with *Great Britain*; and as they have always hitherto found their Account in ſo doing, we may from hence infer, that it will become a ſettled and unvariable Maxim in their Syſtem of Politicks.

Laſtly, in Conjunction with theſe there is another, and that no inconſiderable Argument, to induce the *Ruſſians* to grant us, rather than any other trading People, a Participation in whatever Advantages may accrue to them from the future Advancement of their Trade, or Improvement of their Dominions; and it is this, that we are moſt likely to take all their Commodities off their Hands, at the ſame time that we are able to ſupply them with whatever they can want or wiſh in Return. This is the natural Conſequence of that extenſive Commerce which we already poſſeſs, and which puts it fully in our Power to accommodate them with all thoſe Things which either Neceſſity requires, Convenience renders valuable, or Luxury deſireable; and all theſe too, ſuppoſing them enriched by a Correſpondence with the *Eaſt Indies*, in Exchange for other Commodities and Manufactures, without draining them of their Specie, and conſequently to the reciprocal Benefit of each Nation. Any one of theſe Arguments taken ſingly, might afford us very rational Hopes of attaining all that is propoſed; but if we take them all together, I think it will be very difficult for any one who is well acquainted with the true State of Commerce in general, and of theſe two Nations in particular, to avoid yielding to the Force of this Reaſoning, or not to confeſs that we have much to expect, and very little to apprehend from any Progreſs that the *Ruſſians* may make in the enlarging and Improvement of what Intercourſe they have at preſent with the Eaſtern Nations.

Yet I do not deny that ſome plauſible Objections may be made to this Syſtem; and to ſhew that I have thoroughly conſidered it, and to prevent the Reader's being much moved when-ever he ſhall hear them mentioned, I will briefly ſtate and remove them; yet I do not apprehend that any Syſtem, well ſupported by affirmative Arguments, ought to be rejected and treated as chimerical, even if there ſhould be ſome Difficulties incapable of a concluſive Anſwer; which however, in the preſent Caſe, I will be bold to ſay there are not. For it muſt be granted me, that all the Objections that can be made to this will either ariſe on their Side or on ours. I will begin therefore with ſuch as may be taken, or rather ſuch as may be ſuſpected, from the Syſtem of Power in *Ruſſia*, or from the natural Diſpoſiiton of the Nation.

In the firſt Place it may be ſaid, that if ever this comes to paſs, it will be a vain Thing to expect that the *Ruſſians* will take the Pains, which from what is laid down in this Section, it is apparent they muſt take, in order to obtain the Commerce of the *Indies*; and then from a Notion of Friendſhip and Alliances, transfer the Benefit of this hardly acquired Traffick to another Nation, which by exporting they might keep to themſelves. Now in Anſwer to this it may very well be obſerved, that as it muſt be a Work of Time, Application and Labour, for the *Ruſſians* to obtain this Trade, ſo the obtaining it will very fully employ their Endeavours, and leave them without either Leiſure or Abilities to attempt another and yet a harder Scheme to accompliſh, of opening a Trade to the other Countries of *Europe* at the ſame Time. Beſides, the one is very natural and agreeable to the People, who without ſtirring beyond the Limits of their own Territories, may convey all that is brought to them by their Subjects or their Neighbours to *Moſcow*, *Archangel*, *Petersbourg*, or ſome other Mart; where, no doubt, they will be glad to receive from another Nation ſuch Commodities and Manufactures as they really want or very much eſteem, in Exchange for the Superfluities of the Eaſtern Commerce, which would otherwiſe lie heavy upon their Hands. We ought likewiſe to reflect that tho' the Multitudes of barbarous Subjects they have, may be eaſily led, or if that ſhould be requiſite, without much Difficulty, be compelled to aſſiſt in promoting ſuch an inland Traffick, yet it will be a Thing morally impoſſible to make Seamen of theſe Savages, or to think of dragging them out of their Deſerts, which however horrible to others, are moſt deſireable to themſelves, in which, as a Matter of Fact, all Travellers agree.

In the next Place it may be ſuggeſted, that there is no Quality for which the *Ruſſians* are more remarkable, than their Jealouſy and Suſpicion of Strangers; and that therefore it is highly improbable they ſhould make it their Choice to deal excluſively with any one Nation, which I muſt confeſs ſeems to have much greater Weight than the former Difficulty. However, when it is maturely conſidered, it will be found to open a fair Anſwer to itſelf. For let the Jealouſy and Suſpicion of the *Ruſſians* be ever ſo great, it can only determine them not to deal with Nations that may be capable of turning what they acquire by their Trade to the Prejudice of their Intereſts, and to encourage the Commerce of any Nation that is in a Capacity to aſſiſt, and never can be under a Temptation to diſtreſs them, which we have already ſhewn to be preciſely the Caſe of the *Britiſh* Nation. This therefore, whatever it may be in Appearance, is in Reality and at the Bottom ſo far from being a concluſive Objection againſt my Syſtem, that in Fact it is a good Argument in its Favour; ſo that the better founded it is, the more Reaſon we have to believe, that their Succeſs, in regard to the *Indian* Trade, may become very beneficial to us, unleſs we are wanting to our ſelves.

The laſt Objection that I can foreſee, muſt be taken from the Nature of their Government, and in Reference to this it may be ſurmiſed, that there is no guarding againſt the ſhort Turns that may be made by a very ſelfiſh and a very arbitrary Power, and in ſupport of this, I know that ſeveral Matters of Fact may be urged, ſuch as, that *Peter the Great*, when he made his laſt Journey to *Holland*, ordered all the *Ruſſia* Leather to be delivered to his Factors at a certain Rate, and then ſold by them at a ſet Price to ſuch as would pay for it in Bills drawn upon *Amſterdam*. But this was in the firſt Place a very ſingular Thing, and if we ſtay till a *Ruſſian* Sovereign makes ſuch another Journey, it is not very likely to happen again. In the next Place it is very certain, that the *Czar* himſelf ſoon found the Inconveniency of that Proceeding, and revoked his Order, ſo that allowing it to be a Precedent, it appears at the ſame Time, a Precedent not like to be followed. Some certain Commodities there are which belong to, and are entirely appropriated to the Sovereign, who ſells them to the higheſt Bidder. This will hardly be the Caſe of *Indian* Commodities, for that would cramp the Trade, and turn to the Prejudice of the Sovereign. The new Trade to *Perſia* has been already once ſuſpended, which looks like a Caſe in Point. But when we remember, that this laſt Suſpenſion was occaſioned by an *Engliſhman*'s entering into the Service of *Shah Nadir*, and undertaking to build Ships of Force for him upon the *Caſpian* Sea, we ſhall not be much ſurprized at ſuch an Event, or fall into any Fear of our Countrymens traverſing *Siberia*, and the Countries beyond it, or tranſporting themſelves from *Kamſchatska*, into *Japan*, and creating Diſturbances there. Without doubt Difficulties may happen in this and in all other Trades; but for all this, Treaties of Commerce wiſely made, and punctually executed on our Part, will ſecure us from any real Danger, in caſe we are once poſſeſſed of this Traffick, from ever having it taken out of our Hands.

Thus far we have inſiſted only upon the Reaſonableneſs of Things, but there would be no Difficulty in ſhewing, that Experience is alſo in our Favour. In Reference to the firſt Objection we ought to reflect, that the *Swedes* and *Danes* actually diſpoſe of all their *Indian* Commodities to Strangers, and conſequently ſo muſt the *Ruſſians*. If we do not buy from them, it is becauſe it is not our Intereſt, and if we ſhould deal with the *Ruſſians*, it has been ſhewn, that it muſt be our Intereſt to buy, and theirs to ſell. As to the ſecond Objection, Treaties of Commerce have been ſet on Foot between *Ruſſia* and *France*, and between *Ruſſia* and *Spain*, but the Jealouſy of the Miniſters at *Petersburg*, and the Inconveniencies that were foreſeen, and in ſome Meaſure felt from thoſe Treaties, have rendred them ineffectual, whereas nothing of that Kind has happen'd to us. With reſpect to the laſt, we are towards the Cloſe of the ſecond Century of our Correſpondence with this Empire, and in that long Space, have not experienced any conſiderable Inconveniencies, from the ſhort Turns made by their arbitrary Government, and conſequently there is the leſs Room to fear for the Time to come; more eſpecially as the *Ruſſians* are ſo much altered, as their Cuſtoms are ſo much changed for the better, as the Intereſt of the two Nations are ſo thoroughly conciliated by repeated Alliances, and as we have all the Reaſon in the World to apprehend, that their Miniſters will conſult the Intereſt of their own Country, which while they do, they muſt be always Friends to ours.

We will now take a View of thoſe Objections that it may be ſuppoſed may ariſe on our Side, and as I have ſtated the former in their full Force, ſo I ſhall do the ſame Juſtice to the latter, as I have no other Thing in View, than to find Truth, and to point it out to others. It is not at all impoſſible, that, notwithſtanding all that has been or can be offered upon this Subject, the old Objection will ſtart up, and we ſhall be told, that ſuch a Trade as this would be altogether unneceſſary, that the Nation has no Need of it, that little Profit could be drawn from it, and that therefore it is wild and chimerical to talk about it. As this is abſolutely begging the Queſtion, I might very fairly diſpenſe with giving any Anſwer to it all.

But as I deſire to leave nothing unanſwered, I ſhall not make Uſe even of this allowable Advantage, but ſhall conſider it, as far as it is poſſible ſuch a Suggeſtion can be conſidered. We have already explained the Cauſes from whence it is probable, that, if ever a Trade is eſtabliſhed from *Ruſſia* to *China*, or the *Indies*, the Produce of that Trade will come cheaper than in the preſent Courſe of Things, and I preſume, it will be no difficult Matter, for an intelligent Reader to perceive, that it will behove us to think of finding out the cheapeſt Market, when ſo many new Companies are ſet up, by which it will be put out of our Power to vend the Commodities we bring directly from the *Indies* at a high Rate. An Opinion is propagated with great Warmth, that however is altogether erroneous, which is this, that the *Swediſh*, *Daniſh*, and other new Companies are under very great Difficulties for the Want of Settlements, that this renders their Trade very precarious, and has alſo a great Effect in diminiſhing its Profits. All this is very plauſible, and ſerves to give us hope, that theſe new Companies cannot long ſubſiſt, but in Reality the Caſe is far otherwiſe. The Want of Settlements is ſo far from being a Diſadvantage in Reſpect to National Commerce, that it is quite otherwiſe. We know very well, that the *Oſtend* Company, ſo long as it ſubſiſted, made large Dividends; we know that the *Swediſh* Company have ſometimes divided near Forty *per Cent.* and if this is thought at all incredible, or if credible, that there is ſomething of Art in it, let the inquiſitive, impartial, and judicious Reader, conſult the Table of Dividends of the *Dutch Eaſt-India* Company, inſerted in the Volume of this Collection, and he will find, that in the ſame Proportion the *Dutch* Company became potent in the *Indies*, their Dividends to their Proprietors have leſſen'd. My Inference from this, is, that when there comes to be a real Competition in Trade, the new Companies will be able to underſell the old Ones, and then I ſuppoſe the Neceſſity will pretty plainly appear, of having Recourſe to the cheapeſt Market, if we intend to preſerve this Trade at all. Now it has been ſhewn, that whenever the *Ruſſians* can bring their Deſigns to bear, they will have very great Advantages over their Neighbours; for either they will not be obliged to make any Settlements at all, or if they are obliged to make them, they will be made in their own Dominions, that is, either at the Mouth of the River *Amur*, or upon the River of *Kamſchatska*. In either of theſe Caſes, the Expence will not be very large, and whatever it may be, as it will be entirely laid out amongſt themſelves, it will in Effect be no Expence at all, as to the Nation. Theſe Circumſtances therefore maturely conſidered, will I preſume, go a great Way towards ſatisfying the candid Reader, that there is nothing chimerical, in ſuppoſing that before the End of the preſent Century, the *Ruſſians* may divert to themſelves, a very large Proportion of the *Eaſt-India* Trade, and when this comes to be the Caſe in Fact, which is now ſo only in View, what I have advanced upon this Subject, will be thought very well worth the Reading.

The ſecond Objection that may be raiſed in reſpect to ourſelves, will be taken from what is ſtiled a Fundamental Law in reſpect to our Commerce, by which I mean the Act of Navigation, which I very readily admit, is directly in the Teeth of what I propoſe, ſince the *Britiſh* Subjects are reſtrained by this Act, from importing Goods from other Countries, than thoſe in which they grow. Now in Anſwer to this, I do not pretend to ſay, that the Act of Navigation ought to be repealed, or that the Principle upon which it was made was wrong in it ſelf, or miſtaken by thoſe who made it; but this I ſay, that all Laws made upon a general Principle, are ever liable to ſome neceſſary Exceptions, as this Act has often been, and for that very Reaſon has been diſpenſed with. As for Inſtance, in the firſt *Dutch* War, under the Reign of King *Charles* II. that King by Proclamation gave Leave for all Foreigners to import Artillery, Ammunition, Timber, Hemp, and Flax, and in ſhort, all Sorts of Military and Naval Stores, in their own Bottoms; which if he had not done, that War could not have been carried on; and therefore this is among the Number of the few Actions in that Reign, which we find approved and commended by Mr. *Roger Coke*, who certainly was no Flatterer, either of that Monarch, or any of his Family. I might add to this ſeveral other Inſtances, but that I look upon them as unneceſſary, ſince there is an unwritten Law in regard to Commerce, as truly fundamental as the Act of Navigation, *viz.* That whatever will promote it, either is lawful, or ought to be made ſo. It is an abſurd Notion to ſuppoſe, that while Trade remains a fluctuating Thing, which it ever was, and ever will be, there can be any Laws made about it that ought to remain invariable.

It is indeed true, that with reſpect to the Act of Navigation, as with regard to every other Act made upon right Motives, and with due Deliberation, we ought to be very cautious in making Alterations; but provided they are made with Caution, no doubt ſuch Alterations ſhould be made when they appear neceſſary, or which is the ſame Thing, advantageous. This has been always thought allowable in Time of War, when done by the Royal Authority only, notwithſtanding the juſt Apprehenſions that have been entertained of allowing too great Latitude to the Prerogative; but with ſenſible People the Laws and the Prerogative both will ſtand upon the ſame Foot with regard to the publick Good; that is to ſay, it will be expected, that either, or both of them ſhould give Way upon ſuch an Occaſion, and the proper Judges of this Occaſion, are, without doubt, the Legiſlature. The Humour therefore of giving a peculiar, and, as it were, ſacred Authority to particular Acts, and treating them as ſuperior in their Nature to the reſt of our Laws, is, to ſay the beſt of it, no better than political Enthuſiaſm, which may be attended with very bad, and can be very ſeldom productive of any good Conſequences. There is no Doubt, that while Things remain in their preſent Channel, or any thing near it, and while there is no Danger that any of our Neighbours may ſupplant us, by drawing to themſelves the Diſtribution of *Indian* Commodities and Manufactures brought into *Ruſſia*, it would be very abſurd and chimerical to make any Change in the Act of Navigation relative to this Point by Way of Precaution. But on the other Hand, if ever ſuch a Trade through *Ruſſia* ſhould become practicable, it would be to the full as abſurd and ridiculous to pretend that no Alteration ought to be made in this Law, but that we muſt ſtill remain tied down to the old Method of carrying on this Commerce, though ever ſo much to our Diſadvantage.

I dare ſay, that no body will diſpute this with me at preſent, but will as readily grant the latter as I do the former; neither is it impoſſible that ſome may think it is to no Purpoſe to dwell upon this Head, which of itſelf is ſufficiently clear. So for any thing I know it may be, but when the Paſſions of Mankind are moved, when their Prejudices are thwarted, and both theſe happen when-ever their particular Intereſts are ever ſo lightly touched, all Things change their Faces, and what before was thought as clear as the Sun at Noon-day, begins to be obſcured, and in a very little time is not ſo much as diſcernable. So many Inſtances of this Sort have happened within the Compaſs of my own Obſervation, that I cannot help providing againſt them; and I muſt deſire my Readers to obſerve, that whatever Conceſſions are made me now, will remain juſt as reaſonable, when ſome People, for Cauſes that will be then viſible enough, may take it in their Heads to retract them, and ſet up once more this Notion, that the Act of Navigation is a fundamental and conſtitutional Law, no Part of which is to be repealed or altered on any Pretence, or for any Reaſon whatever.

The third Objection on this Side, will in all Appearance ariſe from the Privileges of the *Eaſt India* Company; and indeed, this I think by much the moſt formidable Objection of all, becauſe it is the moſt reaſonable. It will be ſaid that this Company hath great Merit; that it has rendered great Services to the Nation; that its Proprietors are a very conſiderable Body; that they have received high Immunities from the Favour of the Crown; and that theſe have been confirmed to them by the Legiſlature. To all this it might be anſwered in general, That all Privileges, thoſe of excluſive Trade not excepted, are granted in Truſt for the publick Benefit, and that tho' this may not be expreſs'd, yet it is always to be preſumed and underſtood; for a Law made for private Advantage to the Detriment of the publick, is void in itſelf; neither is this any Impeachment of the Power of the Legiſlature, becauſe it muſt be ſuppoſed that it was obtained by Deception, that is, by giving falſe Colours to Things, to which the higheſt Tribunals may be ſubject, becauſe the higheſt human Aſſembly cannot be infallible. Upon theſe Topicks, I ſay I might inſiſt, in order to furniſh a general Anſwer; but I declare I do not rely upon them, tho' at the ſame Time, I am very far from admitting that they are not juſt and reaſonable, for the Good of the whole ought certainly always to take place, and no Body of Men, however conſiderable, can have a Right to any Thing that is either dangerous or deſtructive to the Nation.

Yet the Anſwer I depend upon is this, That in ſuch a Caſe, Expedients are to be ſought for that may reconcile the Intereſts of the Company to thoſe of the Nation; neither will it be difficult to find ſuch Expedients; for when ſuch a Trade ſhall be found beneficial, Care may be then taken, firſt to fix it by a Treaty of Commerce, and then the Benefit of that Treaty may be made over to the Company, provided always due Care be taken that this Privilege ſhall not be abuſed, or ſo managed, as to turn to the Emolument of that Company, and the Prejudice of the Publick.

Thus I have taken the Liberty of diſcuſſing this Matter thoroughly, not from any preſumptuous Opinion of my own Judgment, or from a Deſire of dictating in a Matter of ſo high Importance, but merely becauſe I think any Man may ſpeak and write freely as to a Caſe that he thinks may happen, and which others, who are perhaps wiſer than he, will conclude may never happen. One of the moſt judicious Hiſtorians of Antiquity thought his Time not thrown away in examining a Matter ſtill more chimerical than this, which was, Whether *Alexander* the Great would have ſucceeded, if he had attempted to ſubdue the *Romans*? Some great Criticks have imagined, that all he meant was to pay a Compliment to his Countrymen. I ſhould be glad to have the ſame mild Cenſure fall for the preſent upon this Diſcourſe, in which I think it is moſt evident that I can have no private Views, and therefore hope it will be no inexcuſable Piece of Vanity, if I flatter myſelf upon this Occaſion, with, having thought for the Publick.

If after all I have ſaid, it ſhould fall out that nothing of this Kind ever happens, why then it is plain, that whatever I have advanced can do no Hurt. But if, on the other Hand, my Conjectures ſhould happen to hit the Mark, or even to come near it, no body will deny, that the previous Conſideration of the Subject may be of Uſe; for theſe Arguments, how little Authority ſoever they may derive from their Author, muſt neceſſarily carry with them this Weight, that they proceeded purely from a Spirit of Reaſoning, and were not dictated from any particular, private, or ſelfiſh Conſideration. I muſt alſo deſire it may be remember'd, that I have already conſider'd the Point of ſecuring, improving and promoting our *Eaſt India* Trade in many other Lights, which evidently ſhews my ſincere Deſire that we may avail ourſelves of our own Skill, our own Lights, our own Naval Power, and our preſent Circumſtances, rather than wait, till by our Indolence and Neglect we come to fall under the Neceſſity of being ſome way beholden to others. Until ſuch Time as this ſhall become the Caſe, there is no Need of recurring to this Syſtem; but if ever it ſhould become the Caſe, there will be no Harm in having this Syſtem to recur to, and in all Probability it will not then be thought a Crime that ſuch Notions as theſe, once upon a Time, enter'd into a ſpeculative Head, for the Benefit of thoſe who confine their Thoughts intirely to Things preſent, and care not to look forward into Futurity, or to trouble themſelves with contriving Schemes for the Service of Poſterity.

However I ſhall conclude this Section, with a full Proof, that I am far enough from being bigotted to any Syſtem of my own. For after all that has been advanced from Matters of Fact, from the Conſideration of *Behring*'s Diſcoveries, from the Hints that we have received of ſubſequent Diſcoveries, and from the Conſequences that we might rationally conclude may attend them, it muſt be acknowledged, that if we continue to proſecute that Deſign, which is the Glory of the preſent Times; I mean, the endeavouring to diſcover a North-weſt Paſſage, we ſhall infallibly deliver ourſelves from all Apprehenſions of ſeeing either the *Eaſt* or the *Weſt-India* Trade ingroſſed by any other Nation, but on the contrary, may have well grounded Hopes of extending our Commerce, and preſerving our Naval Power to the lateſt Times, and as long as we ſhall continue a Nation.

That there have been probable Motives to eſtabliſh the Belief, and conſequently to encourage our Endeavours for finding out a North-weſt Paſſage, I have ſhewn at large in its proper Place, have occaſionally inſiſted upon them elſewhere, and particularly in this very Section; that all the Diſappointments we have hitherto met with, ought not to deſtroy this Belief, or deter us from carrying our Enquiries as far as they will go, has I think been very clearly made out by others; but whether all that has been done and written upon this Subject, will be ſufficient to keep up that Spirit, which in the End muſt bring this long-hid Secret to light, is in the Womb of Time. However, as no Man wiſhes more to ſee it diſcloſed, or has done more within the narrow Sphere of his Capacity towards the promoting of it, without any Motive of Intereſt than myſelf; I cannot but think it my Duty, though it may ſeem a little out of the ordinary Manner of Writing, to finiſh this Section, by giving the Reader notice of ſome new Arguments, perſuading the Poſſibility, Probability, and Reality of this North-weſt Paſſage.

For who can tell into what Hands this Book may fall? Part of it has already travelled to the laſt diſcovered Parts of *Hudſon*'s Bay, and ſerved for an agreeable and not uſeleſs Companion to the Gentleman who carried it. It may be, that what I have farther to ſay, will be no leſs fortunate, perhaps more ſo, for what is there impoſſible, in ſuppoſing it may amuſe the leiſure Hours of him, who is ſo lucky as to make the Diſcovery? At leaſt this I will hope, and in the Warmth of that Hope, ſet down thoſe Reaſons, that, to the beſt of my Knowledge, have, in the long Courſe of this Diſpute been wholly omitted.

To begin then with an Argument of the Poſſibility of ſuch a Paſſage, that learned Naturaliſt, and moſt candid Enquirer after whatever had any Relation to rational Coſmography, Mr. *Ray*, in his excellent Diſcourſe upon the Deluge, aſſures us, that *Eaſt-India* Fruits have been found waſhed on Shore, on the North-weſt Iſlands of *Scotland.* Now if this be a Fact, as I believe indiſputable Evidence might be brought to prove it ſuch, then I preſume, it may be ſtil'd an Argument for the Poſſibility at leaſt of ſuch a Paſſage. Whoever conſiders how reaſonable and how natural it is to ſuppoſe, that theſe Fruits, of whatever Kind they be, are waſhed from the neareſt *Indian* Coaſt, to that upon which they are found, will readily confeſs, that a North-weſt Paſſage is the moſt likely Way for them to come. If we ſhould ſuppoſe that many Iſlands, great and ſmall, are ſcattered in the Space between *America* and *Aſia*, then it might be more probable, becauſe ſuch Fruits might be preſumed to grow in thoſe Iſlands, and being driven to the Coaſts of *California*, be forced by the high Tides that are now known to flow there into the Paſſage, and ſo round to the North-weſt Iſlands before-mentioned.

I treat this as an Argument of the Poſſibility only of ſuch a Paſſage, becauſe there are other Ways, by which theſe Fruits may be ſuppoſed to come; but then there are infinitely greater Difficulties that lie in the Way of ſuppoſing other Paſſages than can be poſſible objected to this. I will name only one. There can be no Reaſon in the World aſſigned, if they come by any other Paſſage than this, of the North-weſt why they ſhould not be found in other Places, and that in the ſame Plenty, or rather more ſo, than in theſe Iſlands of *Scotland*, which is however a Fact, that I never heard ſo much as pretended. But be that as it will, and allowing that there are other Paſſages by which they may come, it is at moſt but poſſible they ſhould come by theſe Paſſages, and I think no Man that is a Judge of the Subject, will deny, that till we have full Evidence of there being no ſuch Thing as a North-weſt Paſſage, it is likewiſe poſſible they may come that Way. Now though in itſelf, this is no very weighty Argument, yet in Conjunction with others it may become ſo; for in all Enquiries of this Nature, the firſt Step in the moſt regular and certain Method, is to prove that the Thing ſought for is poſſible, and the next, that it is probable.

In Reference to this alſo, I think, I can offer another Argument, that is in a good Meaſure new, and it is this. The moſt judicious Coſmographers are unanimouſly of Opinion, from the wiſe Diſtribution of Land and Water, in the Structure of this Globe, that not only the Centre of Motion, and the Centre of Gravity, but the Center of Magnitude alſo is very nearly the ſame, and conſequently that the Center of the Convex Superficies of the Sea is the true Center of the whole terreſtrial Sphere. It was from this Argument, that before any Diſcovery was made of a Southern Continent, of which a large Account has been given in the former Volume, it was judged highly probable, that ſuch a Continent there might be, and as we now very well know, that ſuch a Continent there is, it certainly adds both Weight and Strength to this Way of Reaſoning.

Before it was known that the Continent of *Aſia* extended ſo very far to the North-eaſt, we might with equal Probability have conjectured, that either it really was ſo, or that the Continent of *America* projected very far to the Weſt, in order to form a due Proportion between Land and Sea. But now that the Thing is put out of Diſpute, on one Side, and we have all the Certainty that can be deſired, that the North-Eaſt Continent of *Aſia*, extends above thirty Degrees of Longitude into the other Hemiſphere, there is the higheſt Probability, that the Balance of Sea is preſerved on the *American* Side, and that there is no ſuch projecting of that Continent, as till this Diſcovery was made, might with equal Reaſon have been preſumed. From this Conſideration therefore, one hath as good Cauſe, as the Nature of the Thing will allow, to aſſert, that the Space between *America* and *Aſia* is chiefly Sea, as we actually know it to be, between *America* and *Europe*, on the other Side.

This will appear ſtill the more probable, if we conſider the vaſt Breadth of *America* from the Coaſts of *Canada*, or of *Hudſon*'s Bay, to *California*, and how ſtrangely diſproportionate this would be, if the Continent ſhould be ſtill extended farther on that Side towards *Aſia*. I cannot tell what Degree of Evidence this may carry to other People, but I confeſs, it weighs very much with me, and I flatter myſelf, that whoever will ſeriouſly conſider the Figure of the Globe, with the new Diſcovevies of the *Ruſſians* properly laid down thereon, will incline to think as I do, and ſee plainly, that the Suppoſition of ſuch an extended Continent would in a great Meaſure deſtroy that Proportion between Land and Sea, which, for the Cauſes before aſſigned, we have the greateſt Reaſon to believe ſhould be always preſerved. If therefore this be ſo, it cannot be thought, that I carry Things too far, in alledging that this is a probable Argument in Favour of a North-weſt Paſſage.

To this I beg Leave to add another Conſideration, which will carry the Thing much farther. The greateſt Philoſophers have differed, at leaſt heretofore, about the Origin of Rivers; but in this I think they all agree, that as Rivers fall at length into the Sea, ſo from thence they are in a great Meaſure derived, whether by ſecret or ſubterraneous Paſſages, and the Percolation of Waters through the Earth, by the condenſing of Vapours, or the falling of Rain. I ſay, which ever of theſe Ways we ſuppoſe Springs, Fountains, and Rivers, to ariſe, or by a Conjunction of them all, ſtill the Vicinity of the Sea is neceſſary; and it is obſerved, that the Size of Rivers depends, in a great Meaſure upon the Extent of the Country thro' which they run, and of the Diſpoſition of the Seas in reſpect to that Country, of which *America* is a very pregnant Inſtance, for that Continent having a vaſt Ocean on each Side, the *American* Rivers, are the largeſt in the World.

If therefore the Continent of *America* ſhould be ſo extended as to join to that Land which was lately ſeen by Captain *Behring*, and before him by others, it would not be eaſy to conceive how ſuch a Continent as this ſhould be furniſhed, in any Proportion, with Rivers, in as much as there would be but a narrow Sea between that and *Aſia*, and its Diſtance from thoſe that we ſtile the North-Seas, would be prodigiouſly great. But if the Caſe, as I ſuppoſe it to be, is quite otherwiſe, and the Space between the two Continents is a great Ocean, interſpers'd with Iſlands of different Sizes, then the Diſpoſition of this Part of the Globe will correſpond perfectly well with the Diſpoſition of other Parts, and theſe Countries may be at once as rich, as beautiful, and as pleaſant, as any that are hitherto known, either in the Old World, or in the New.

Thus I have aſſigned two probable Reaſons in Favour of this Paſſage, or rather, I have ſupported one good Argument by another; for in Reality, this ſecond Reaſon is no more than aſſigning the Reaſon of the firſt. When we ſay that the Globe is ſo diſpoſed as to form a Ballance between Land and Sea, becauſe this ſeems to be neceſſary, or at leaſt expedient to preſerve the Equability of the Earth's diurnal Motion, we give a reaſon that reſpects the World in general; but when we ſay that Continents muſt be of a moderate Size, in order to render them convenient Habitations for Men, we give a Reaſon that accords to, and agrees with every known Portion of the Globe, and conſequently is more capable of being thoroughly examined and perfectly underſtood. I might add to this, as perfectly conſiſtent and agreeable to my Notions, the Obſervations made by thoſe who were laſt ſent to diſcover in *Hudſon*'s Bay; who finding the Rivers there ſhort in their Courſe, and of no great Breadth, very judiciouſly concluded that the Country could not be very broad, or the Rivers of a greater Length that fell into the *South Seas*. I ſay, I might inſiſt upon this, but as I have promiſed to dwell only upon new Arguments, I ſhall content my ſelf with the bare Mention of it.

From poſſible and probable Arguments, we will proceed, with the Reader's Permiſſion, to ſuch as actually prove a Paſſage, for ſuch there are, and thoſe likewiſe new, and hitherto not inſiſted upon. It was long ago obſerved, that the Tides in the Northen Parts of *Hudſon*'s Bay were ſo high, as put it out of Doubt that they could not be propagated from the *Atlantick* Ocean; it was then pretended by thoſe who oppoſed the Sentiment of there being a North-weſt Paſſage; that theſe extraordinary Tides were raiſed from a Communication with *Baffin*'s Bay and *Davis*'s Streights; in Anſwer to which, it has been ſhewn, that the Tide in the *Welcome* roſe 17 Feet, and not above 9 Feet in *Davis's* Streights; from whence it is juſtly concluded, that ſuppoſing ſuch a Communication, it would by no Means prove what it is brought to prove, becauſe the Effect would be then ſuperior to what is ſuppoſed to produce it.

Thus, I ſay, the Caſe has hitherto ſtood in reference to the ſeveral Opinions that have been advanced upon this Subject. For my Part, upon mature Deliberation, I am inclined to a Sentiment different from all theſe; for I think that there is a Communication between *Hudſon*'s Bay and *Davis*'s Streights, and that the Height of the Tides in the latter is not otherwiſe to be accounted for, than by allowing a free Paſſage into the *South-Seas* near the *Welcome*. I ſhall endeavour to prove this to ſuch as are Judges of the Thing, and well acquainted with the Facts, in very few Words. Captain *Baffin*, in his Letter to Sir *John Wolſtenholme*, obſerves, that the Tides in *Davis*'s Streights keep an equal Courſe, and riſe to about eight or nine Feet. Now this being the Fact, I ſay it is impoſſible that this Tide ſhould come from the *Atlantick* Ocean; for at *Cary Swan's Neſt* it riſes but ſix Feet, and therefore in *Davis*'s Streights ought not to riſe above three or four. Neither is it at all likely that it ſhould come from any Northern Ocean; for upon the Coaſt of *Nova Zembla* the Tide riſes but one Fathom, or ſix Feet, and not above half ſo high at *Spitzbergen*.

This equal and regular Tide therefore up *Davis*'s Streights, declining gradually till it riſes only a ſingle Foot in *Baffin*'s Bay, is as much out of the ordinary Courſe of Things, as the high Tides in the *Welcome*. As therefore ſuch extraordinary Effects muſt have a proportionable Cauſe, and as we have hitherto looked on every Side for ſuch a Cauſe in vain, it remains that a Paſſage by the North-weſt into the *South Sea*, is that Cauſe, for that will fully and perfectly account for both theſe Appearances. It ought, according to the known Law of Tides, to make them in the *Welcome* at the Time in which they are found to riſe, and if they are propagated from *Hudſon*'s Bay by any Communication into *Davis*'s Streights, they may very well enter from the Southward, that is, through ſome Paſſage on the Weſt-ſide of *Davis*'s Streights, and ought to riſe and to decreaſe in the very Manner which they are found to do; and if this will not paſs for an actual Proof of a North-weſt Paſſage, I am at leaſt intitled to expect from him who denies it, to give a more ſatisfactory Account than I have done, of the Tides both in the *Welcome* and in *Davis*'s Streights, for till this is done, I ſhall continue to look upon this Argument as unanſwerable.

As to the common Affectation of treating this Matter as a Chimera, and behaving towards thoſe who think it otherwiſe, as if they were either very credulous or viſionary People, ready to rely upon any Authority, or apt to be led away by whatever has ſo much as the Appearance of an Argument; I muſt ſay, that it is either an inſolent, or diſingenuous Way of treating them. Inſolent, if it comes from thoſe who have not ever looked into the Merits of the Cauſe, or are not competent Judges if they have; or diſingenuous, if being competent Judges, they haughtily reject an Opinion ſupported by ſtrong Reaſons, without deigning to refute thoſe Reaſons, which they ought to do if they are able, and if they are not able, they ought to confeſs it.

But I now haſten to a Concluſion, and ſo to leave the Reader in Poſſeſſion of all the Arguments that I can offer him in Support of this, which I am not aſhamed to own, is a favourite Opinion, becauſe I look upon it as equally tending to promote the Honour of Science, the Welfare of Mankind, the Extenſion of Commerce in general, as well as the Glory and Good of this Country in particular. How far ſoever this latter Conſideration may move us, who have, or ought to have, an extraordinary Zeal for whatever may turn to the Benefit of the Place of our Birth, yet I preſume it cannot be ſuppoſed that foreign Writers can lie under any Influence or Biaſs of this Kind, and therefore I ſhall crave Leave to mention a very ſingular Matter of Fact, inſerted by the very curious, and no leſs learned Father *Charlevoix*, in his Chronological Series of Diſcoveries, prefixed to the firſt Volume of his Hiſtory and Deſcription of *Japan*; in which he tells us, that in the Year 1609, he has read in ſome Memoirs, that a certain Ship ſailing from the Port of *Acapulco*, in the Kingdom of *New Spain*, in order to proceed in the uſual Courſe to the *Manilas*, being an annual Ship, was ſurprized almoſt as ſoon as ſhe was out of Port by a Tempeſt, that laſted long, and with ſuch Violence, that her Crew were forced to give her up to the Mercy of the Winds, which in two Months Time brought her upon the Coaſt of *Ireland*, and into the Harbour of *Dublin*; from whence ſhe ſafely returned to *Lisbon*, where, by Order of the King of *Spain*, all the Pilots Journals were taken from them and burnt, in order to prevent Strangers from becoming acquainted with ſo ſhort a Cut into the *South-Seas.* I have not added or altered, magnified or diminiſhed this Relation in the leaſt, but have reported it exactly as I find it my Author.

It is indeed to be wiſh'd, that we had a better Account of the Memoirs from which this Fact was taken, becauſe in them, perhaps, there might be other Circumſtances worth knowing, and which might be of Uſe to fix the Matter of Fact beyond Diſpute. In the mean time I muſt obſerve, that this has no Correſpondence whatever with the Relations heretofore publiſhed of Perſons who have made that Paſſage. The *Portugueſe* Pilot *Martin Chacke*, who publiſhed in 1573, an Account of his Return from the *Eaſt Indies*, through the ſame Paſſage to *Ireland*, from whence he went to *Lisbon*, places his Voyage in the Year 1567, and therefore it is abſolutely impoſſible that theſe two Voyages ſhould be confounded, as at firſt Sight might be imagined, from the Circumſtance of their both putting into *Ireland*, and returning from thence to *Lisbon*; on which, for the Reader's Satisfaction, it may not be amiſs to inſiſt a little farther.

In the firſt Place, There is a very wide Difference in the Place from which the Ships ſailed, the former from the *Eaſt Indies*, the latter from the *Weſt*; the Size of the Ships alſo are very different; the *Portugueſe* Veſſel was of the Burthen only of 80 Tons; the *Acapulco* Ship near ten times as big; the *Portugueſe* Pilot ſailed in Company with four Ships of very large Burthen for *Europe*; the *Spaniſh* Ship ſailed alone for the *Eaſt-Indies*; the *Portugueſe* did not put into *Dublin*, but into a Port on the North-weſt of *Ireland*, from whence he returned to *Lisbon* a Month or five Weeks before the other Ships in Company with which he ſailed from the *Eaſt Indies*: And beſides the Great Difference in Point of Time, which is no leſs than two and forty Years, it is very remarkable, that the *Portugueſe* Pilot returned home, and publiſhed his Book under the Reign of *Don Sabaſtian*, King of *Portugal*; whereas at the Time the *Spaniſh* Ship arrived at *Lisbon*, the Kingdom of *Portugal* was under the Power of the Crown of *Spain*; of all which Circumſtances the Reader may be convinced, by comparing this Relation with the Certificate relating to the *Portugueſe* Voyage, inſerted in this Volume, Page 401.

I muſt further obſerve, that if there be a North-weſt Paſſage, there is nothing incredible in the Voyage being performed in ſo ſmall a Time; for from the *Welcome* in *Hudſon*'s Bay to *Ireland*, is a Voyage only of three Weeks; and if there be a Paſſage, the like Time might have ſufficed for their coming through it from *Acapulco.* I might take Occaſion to add to this, what is mentioned by that great Mathematician Mr. *Henry Briggs*, of a *Spaniſh* Captain reported to have ſailed this Way to the *Moluccas*, in the Service of the Emperor *Charles* V.; but, as I am perſuaded, that he only made ſuch an Offer, and did not really attempt to perform it, I ſhall ſay no more of it. Upon the whole, having ſhewn the Poſſibility, Probability, and Reality of ſuch a Paſſage, by Arguments as concluſive as the Nature of the Thing either requires or will admit, I have Nothing more to add but my good Wiſhes, that the Spirit lately raiſed for Diſcovery may not be allowed to ſink, or the Light we have already obtained be left to extinguiſh, before this Matter be proſecuted to the utmoſt Extent, and all the Places thoroughly ſearched, where, with any Degree of Probability, ſuch a Paſſage may be look'd for. The Succeſs of ſuch an Undertaking would indeed contribute effectually to raiſe our Hopes, and efface our Apprehenſions, by opening not only a new, ſhort and eaſy but a commodious, pleaſant, and wholſome Paſſage to the *Eaſt Indies*, which would at once contribute to encourage and promote our Induſtry at Home, and extend our Commerce abroad, as well as increaſe our Shipping, and improve our Navigation.

Beſides all this, we have great Reaſon to hope, that ſo fortunate an Enterprize would recover us out of that State of Supineneſs and Luxury into which we are fallen, and inſpire us with a noble Deſire of tranſmitting Wealth and Reputation to our Poſterity, rather than live as we do at preſent upon the Riches derived to us from our Anceſtors, and the Credit that their known Succeſs in Trade has given us with all our Neighbours. Theſe are Conſiderations truly important, ſuch as ought to make Impreſſion on the Minds of all who have the Intereſt of their Country at Heart, who wiſh to ſee her thrive beyond, and yet not at the Expence of other *European* Nations. Theſe are Conſiderations that relate alike to all Ranks and Degrees of People, becauſe all Ranks and Degrees will receive Benefit from it, if properly weighed, carefully attended to, and puſh'd with Spirit and Succeſs, theſe Conſiderations would lead to the only effectual Methods of repairing paſt Miſtakes, and opening a wide Proſpect to future Advantages, the Conſequences of them would ſpeedily enable us to diſcharge our Debts, and thereby afford the Means of taking off our Taxes; they would alſo extinguiſh Party Animoſities, diſſipate Faction, and by opening ſuitable Employment to every different Genius, afford a proper Scene of Action to all, without giving Diſturbance to any.

It may be therefore juſtly preſumed, that thoſe whoſe peculiar Intereſt it is that their Countrymen may be made rich and happy by their Wiſdom and Care, and tranſmit the Memory of their glorious Adminiſtration to lateſt Times, will have a juſt Regard to whatever hath a Tendency to promote ſuch a Diſpoſition as this, which is always neceſſary, and which, however, may be ſaid to be more eſpecially neceſſary at this Juncture, when we receive repeated Accounts of the Pains, every where taken, to point out the Benefits of Diſcovery, to magnify the Advantages of Commerce, and to kindle a Spirit of Induſtry amongſt thoſe who have been remarkable for the Want of it through a long Series of Ages. How poſſible it is to enlighten even the cloudieſt Heads, how practicable to warm even the coldeſt Mind; and how ſoon ſuch an heroick Flame gathers Force and Strength enough to carry all before it, the former Part of this Section has fully demonſtrated. Neither would it be near ſo hard a Task to ſhew how eaſily Commerce may decline, how certainly Virtue may wear out, and how ſpeedily Frugality and Induſtry may decay, if not warm'd and cheriſh'd by proper Attention and due Encouragement, which are full as requiſite to preſerve them as Food to Animals, Fuel to Fire, or Exerciſe to Health.

Thus after a long but not unpleaſant Excurſion, I return again to my Subject, and having largely ſhewn when and how the firſt Notions of Diſcovery roſe, and how they have been conducted in *Muſcovy*, by what Hopes they have been promoted, how far they have been carried, what they have really brought to Light, what lies within, and what without their Reach, why they have been ſo much retarded, whence, at other times they have been advanced, what Improvements are practicable, and what Schemes of Extention are at Bottom but Chimeras; where the Aſſiſtance of their Government may be applied with Effect, and where all the Force that could be exerted would fail, what other Nations have to apprehend from this new Turn of their Temper, how probable it is that we are not amongſt the Number; and that on the contrary, we might ſhare in whatever Profits they obtain; I have, laſt of all, ſet before the Reader, the only Means of anticipating their Views, by bringing the Riches of both the *Indies*, by a ſhorter Route to all the Markets in *Europe*, than they can pretend to do, even if all their Efforts, ſhould be crowned with all the Succeſs they can wiſh; yet be it far from me to mingle with theſe Reflections any Spirit of Peeviſhneſs, Prejudice or Partiality; they have a Right, no doubt, to all the Acquiſitions they can make, but then we have the ſame. I repine not at their Power, their Projects, or their Progreſs; all I aim at, is to make a right Uſe of their Example, in order to hinder my Countrymen from changing Place with the *Ruſſians.*

CONCLUSION.

A retroſpective View of this whole Collection, in which its particular Advantages are explained, and an Account given of the Uſes to which the Contents may be applied.

I. *A general View of the whole Work, its End and Intention, and a Method propoſed for diſcovering how far this has been anſwered, not only in the Groſs, but in every Part ſeparately, throughout the Performance, as a Key to the Uſes of the Book.* II. *The Plan of the Hiſtory of the* Circumnavigators, *intirely new, and abſolutely comprehenſive; Advantages derived from that Hiſtory thus chronologically digeſted; and the Reaſons for rejecting two Works, that ſeem at firſt Sight to come within the Plan.* III. *The Scheme of the Hiſtory of the* Eaſt-Indies, *briefly and fully repreſented; the Probability of a late Suggeſtion, that the* Arabians *firſt opened this Commerce, ſhewn, and a ſhort Review of the Principal Points regarding the Commerce of the Antients in the Eaſt.* IV. *The Uſes that may be drawn from this regular Series, how they contribute to fix the Excellencies and Deficiencies of the Ancients compared with the Moderns; together with a curious Remark as to the Riches of* Spain *in ancient Times.* V. *The Care taken to relieve the Reader's Attention, by interſperſing the Deſcription, Natural Hiſtory, and moſt remarkable Curioſities of thoſe famous Countries; the Benefits reſulting from that Method, and the great Help it affords of bringing much uſeful Knowledge within a little Room.* VI. *The Manner in which the Hiſtory of Commerce is purſued after the Declenſion of the* Roman *Empire, and the ſinking of that of* Conſtantinople; *Digreſſion as to the Riſe, Progreſs, and Decay, of the Republicks of* Venice *and* Genoa; *and Remarks on their preſent State.* VII. *How the modern Hiſtory of the* Eaſt-Indies *is conducted; the Rules by which the Choice of Materials has been made; Difficulties and Deficiencies common amongſt our lateſt Writers; what might be reaſonably expected from them, and an Example given of the right Method of reporting Facts.* VIII. *A ſuccinct View of the Uſes ariſing from the Matters treated of in the firſt Volume, to Perſons in different Ranks and Stations, and a political Diſquiſition as to their Importance to the Nation in general, more eſpecially at this critical Conjuncture, when ſo many Attempts are making in all Parts of* Europe *for erecting new Companies to trade to the* Eaſt-Indies. IX. *A Review of the ſecond Volume of this Collection, in which is firſt ſhewn what was propoſed in treating ſo particularly the Diſcovery, Conqueſts, and Settlements made by the* Spaniards *in* America. X. *A ſhort Repreſentation of the Uſe of our Hiſtory of the ſubduing the Empire of* Peru, *the ſurpriſing Boldneſs and amazing Succeſs of that Attempt, with the famous Sir* William Temple's *admirable Survey of the Laws and Government of the* Ynca's, *the old Sovereigns of* Peru. XI. *The Manner in which the other* European *Settlements in* America *are treated, more eſpecially thoſe of the* Engliſh *and* French, *with an Acknowledgment of Communications receiv'd, and Approbations ſhewn of this Part of the Work, and an Apology for ſome Freedoms taken therein.* XII. *The Contents of the ſecond Book explained, the Rules eſtabliſhed in ſelecting the Voyages and Travels neceſſary to give a competent Idea of the Northern Parts of the Globe in general, and of the particular Countries in* Europe, *and the Reaſons of thoſe Rules ſet in a clear Light.* XIII. *The Scope of the third Book, and a diſtinct Detail of the ſeveral Pieces that regard the Deſcription, Hiſtory, and Commercial Concerns of the* Aſiatick *Empires; the Authorities on which they are founded, the Motives on which they were admitted, and the Means of applying them ſo as to anſwer the great End of this Collection.*

I. WE are now arrived at the Cloſe of a very large Work, undertaken upon a Plan more regular, and of far larger Extent than was ever propoſed, either in our own, or any other Language; and of the Execution of which many have deſpaired in the Progreſs of its Publication; but by the Bleſſing of God it is now finiſhed, and finiſhed with the very ſame Spirit with which it was begun; for I am perſuaded, the moſt critical Reader will allow there has been as much Pains taken with the laſt Section, as with any in the whole Collection. What now remains, is to caſt our Eye back a little, in order to diſcover what all this Enquiry, Labour, and Expectation, has produced.

A large Work of this Kind may be very well compared to a publick Structure erected for the Service of Society, as well as at the common Expence, and of the Value of which we may, with tolerable Certainty judge, by conſidering the Scheme or Ground-plot, that is to ſay, the Plan upon which it was erected, the End propoſed by it, and the particular Advantage that every Peruſer may expect from it. With regard to the original Scheme, there were never many Objections made to it, except that the Bounds were too large, the Materials hard to be acquired, and the Labour of putting them together a Thing ſcarce to be effected; ſo that ſpeaking with Propriety, theſe could not be ſaid to relate to the Work, but to the conducting of it; and our Buſineſs here is not to ſay only, but to prove, that if the Outlines were drawn as they ought to be, the Edifice has been finiſhed according to the Draught.

The great End propoſed, was reducing within a tolerable Compaſs the Subſtance of a Multitude of Books, well written upon uſeful Subjects, in order to render them thereby more eaſily purchaſed and read. Now it is hoped that this has been alſo done in as great a Degree as the Size of this Collection, and it is no ſmall one, would permit; and that due Care has been taken to make ſuch a Choice of our Materials, as that by the Peruſal of this ſingle Book, the Reader may acquire the practical Knowledge of Coſmography, obtain a perfect Notion of the Situation of different Countries in all Parts of the Globe, together with their Relation to, and Diſtance from all other Countries, the Manner of their Correſpondence, the Commodities furniſhed, and thoſe wanted by them.

In reference to the more particular and immediate Buſineſs of the *Engliſh* Reader, which we may ſuppoſe to reſpect the Intereſt and Commerce of his own Country, it may with great Truth be affirmed, that ſo much upon that Subject, and that too in ſo many different Lights, is not to be met with elſewhere, ſince within the Compaſs of this Collection lies all that has occurred within the Space of twenty Years, to one who has had his Head ever turned that Way, and has likewiſe had it no leſs at Heart, which will appear particularly from his never eſpouſing the Cauſe of any Party, but regarding the Independency, commercial Concerns, and Naval Power of *Great-Britain*, as her moſt eſſential Intereſts; which, if well minded, all other incidental Matters will fall in happily of Courſe. Thus much as to the Work in general; we will next conſider the Parts of which it is compoſed, from whence its Correſpondence with the Plan propoſed will manifeſtly appear.

II. The firſt Thing deſigned and executed, was the Hiſtory of the *Circumnavigators*, which the beſt Judges of Works of this Kind had always repreſented as equally important and neceſſary; ſo that it had been greatly deſired, often attempted, but never in its full Extent performed, in any Collection extant in any Language, which was owing to certain Difficulties that are occaſionally taken Notice of in the Progreſs of that Part of the Book, and therefore not neceſſary to be repeated here. It is ſufficient to obſerve, that this Hiſtory is abſolutely compleat, and that all the *Circumnavigations* in the Space of 225 Years, are particularly, circumſtantially, and impartially written.

The Merit of firſt forming this Deſign of ſailing round the Globe, is juſtly attributed to the great *Columbus*, and it is fully ſhewn, that to him of right it belongs, tho' he was not ſo fortunate, tho' very fortunate in other Reſpects, as to execute it. The Reaſons that induced him to think it practicable, and the Motives that led him to attempt it, are fully explained from the moſt authentick Memoirs, and the Obligations which Mankind owe him in that Reſpect, are ſet in a True Light. The particular Advantages ariſing from the Diſcoveries made by each of the *Circumnavigators* are conſtantly attended to, and from thence the gradual Extenſion of Commerce, and with it our moſt perfect Acquaintance with the Situation of the different Parts of the Globe, are manifeſtly ſhewn. But as it fell out that various of theſe Diſcoveries, which were only touched upon in theſe general Voyages, afforded afterwards Occaſion to cloſer Enquiries, and more diſtinct Deſcription of Countries very far diſtant, by particular Expeditions undertaken with that View, the moſt accurate and conſiderable of thoſe Expeditions are thrown in as Appendices in their proper Places, to render the great Point in View as clear and as perſpicuous as it was poſſible, ſo as that the Reader may be perfectly informed of what has been found, what there is good Reaſon to believe may be found, and what ſtill remains abſolutely unſurveyed and unknown.

In ſome Caſes, the Memoirs of *Circumnavigators* were ſo involved and confuſed, that their Names were ever hardly heard of as ſuch; as for Inſtance, the Officers in the *Naſſau* Fleet, that ſailed from *Holland* in the Year 1623, and Captain *John Clipperton*, who ſailed from *Plymouth* in the Year 1719, theſe we have drawn out of the dark, aſſembled all the Circumſtances relating to them, the beſt we could, and have given them as entire as it was poſſible, under ſuch Difficulties, to collect them. As for the Voyage of Commodore *Roggewein*, which, take it altogether, is one of the moſt entertaining, curious and inſtructive Pieces that was ever publiſhed, it never appeared in our Language till now, and never in any Language ſo fully as in this Collection, as we had an Opportunity of conſulting a very candid, and knowing Perſon, who made that Voyage and who was very deſirous that upon every Part of it, the Publick ſhould receive as ample an Account of it as poſſible.

We have likewiſe given, ſo far as was neceſſary, and ſo far as we could come at, with any Degree of Certainty, the principal Points of the perſonal Hiſtories of all the *Circumnavigators*, which cannot but be very ſatisfactory to the inquiſitive and judicious Reader, ſince there is nothing ſo natural as to deſire to know, what became of a Man who ſo remarkably diſtinguiſhed himſelf as by conducting an Expedition of this Sort, of which there have not been more than fifteen in the whole, from that of *Ferdinand Magellan*, who ſailed from *Seville* in *Spain*, *Auguſt* 10, 1519. to that of the preſent Lord *Anſon*, who ſailed from St. *Hellens*, *September* 18, 1740.

The Diſpoſition of all theſe Voyages, in their regular and natural Order, renders them infinitely more uſeful, than when read ſeparately, as they reflect reciprocal Lights upon each other, and at the ſame Time afford an Opportunity of throwing out many needleſs and uſeleſs Repetitions. It was upon theſe Principles that two Pieces, which from their Titles might ſeem to claim a Right of being conſidered in that Part of our Work, were, after mature Deliberation, rejected.

The firſt of theſe is in the Voyages and Travels of Dr. *Gemelli Carreri*, a very large Work, already tranſlated into our Language; ſo that the judicious Reader will eaſily judge of the Solidity of thoſe Arguments upon which it was left out. In the firſt Place, what-ever the Title Page may ſay, this cannot, ſtrictly ſpeaking, be conſidered as a Circumnavigation, ſince the Author went from Place to Place by Land, and embarked as his Occaſions required, or his Inclinations led him, aboard ſeveral Veſſels which carried him from Port to Port, and the Sum total of theſe Travels and Voyages, is what he is pleaſed to call a Tour round the World. All our *Circumnavigators* were other Sort of Men, and made their reſpective Voyages on board the Veſſels they commanded, or of which they had the Direction, ſo that each Account is the Hiſtory of a diſtinct Expedition, and not a Detail of Adventures by Land and Sea. In the next place, the Doctor is a very voluminous Writer, and takes in ſuch a Variety of Matter, beyond what it was poſſible ſhould fall under his own immediate Knowledge and Inſpection, as render'd his Performance very improper to be ranged with thoſe in which there is little or nothing related but from the Authority of Eye Witneſſes. Laſtly, it has been aſſerted by Authors worthy of Credit, who inquired upon the Spot in *China*, more eſpecially, as to the Opportunity the Doctor had of ſeeing thoſe Things which he relates, as very particularly examined by himſelf, that they were thoroughly informed that he took them upon Truſt. Beſides, there is nothing to be met with in all his large Work, which is not to be found in this Collection, digeſted in its proper Place, from the Memoirs of Authors of indiſputed Credit.

The other Piece is in *French*, written by Mr. *de la Barbinais le Gentil*, and printed at *Paris* in 1728. The Author embarked at a *French* Port, and in a *French* Veſſel, *Auguſt* 20, 1714, but for ſome Reaſons which he does not diſcloſe, he conceals both the Name of the Port, and of the Veſſel. He proceeded to *Chili*, and after making ſome Stay in *South America*, embarked on board another Veſſel, in which he went to the Port of *Amoy* in *China*, from whence he returned into *Europe* in the Year 1718, touching by the Way at the *Brazils*. The whole of this Relation is digeſted into fifteen Letters, written in a very pleaſant and entertaining Stile, agreeable to the Deſign of the Author, who travelled only out of Curioſity, and of which we have made the beſt Uſe we were able, by extracting every Thing that is curious, and inſerting it in the Accounts we have given of *Chili*, *Peru*, *China*, and the *Brazils*, which appeared to be more ſuitable to the Nature of our Deſign, than making a profeſſed Tranſlation of a Piece, which the Author himſelf acknowledges to be made up of occaſional Remarks and curſory Obſervations; which he thinks is a ſufficient Reaſon for its being defective in other Points, that had however been abſolutely neceſſary to intitle him to the Honour of being a *Circumnavigator*, in the ſtrict and proper Senſe of the Word.

There is no Doubt, that after all much is wanting to render this Kind of Hiſtory compleat; but to make it abſolutely perfect, future Diſcoveries muſt contribute; and there is no Doubt that *Circumnavigations* by new Routes, that is, by the North-eaſt and North-weſt Paſſages, will afford a noble Supplement to what has been already done. Yet the moſt important, the moſt curious, and the moſt entertaining Circumnavigation would be through both thoſe Paſſages, for we ſhould then have a diſtinct Account of the Countries that lie between *Aſia* and *America*, with which the Inhabitants of *Europe* are moſt deſirous of being acquainted, and towards obtaining of which we have done all that lies in our Power, by labouring to ſhew, that ſuch a Circumnavigation is not either impoſſible or impracticable, notwithſtanding what has been alledged by ſome very underſtanding Perſons to the contrary.

III. The Plan upon which the HISTORY *of the Commerce of the* INDIES is written, the Publick muſt be ſatisfied is entirely new; and as it is very extenſive, taking in the Accounts of the remoteſt Antiquity; ſo, upon reviewing it, there appears to be ſome Room for Emendation. There is not the leaſt Doubt to be made, that the firſt Mention we have of *Indian* Commodities, is the Traffick carried on in *Spices* by the *Idumeans*; and we have ſaid in general Terms, that they carried on a Trade with *Arabia*, *Perſia*, and *India*, from which we have no Reaſon to depart; but perhaps that Matter is not quite ſo clearly explained as it might be, and as the beſt Lights that can be obtained from Hiſtory confirm it, ſo there is much Probability in the Conjectures offered upon this Subject, ſince the Publication of this Work, that the firſt Traders by Sea in the World were the *Arabians*. We will therefore lay hold of this Opportunity of inſerting a very curious Paſſage from a late Treatiſe on Trade and Commerce, which will very much illuſtrate, though it does not in the leaſt contradict what is advanced in the third Section of the ſecond Chapter of our firſt Book; that Paſſage runs thus:

“ It is a Point as yet undecided by the Learned, to what Nation the Invention and firſt Uſe of Commerce belonged; ſome attribute it to one People, ſome to another, for Reaſons that are too long to be diſcuſſed here. But after mature Reflection, I muſt confeſs it ſeems moſt probable to me, that the Inhabitants of *Arabia* were thoſe that firſt made long Voyages. It muſt be allow'd, that no Country was ſo happily ſeated for this Purpoſe as that which they inhabited, being a *Peninſula* waſhed on three Sides by three famous Seas, the *Arabian*, *Indian* and *Perſian*. It is alſo certain, that it was very early inhabited, and the firſt Notice we have of any conſiderable Trade, refers it to the *Iſhmaelites*, who were ſettled in the higher Part of *Arabia*. To them *Joſeph* was ſold by his Brethren when they were going down with their Camels to *Egypt* with Spicery, Balm and Myrrh.

“ It may ſeem ſtrange to infer from hence, that Commerce was already practiſed by this Nation, ſince Mention is here made of Camels, or a Caravan, which certainly implies an Inland Trade; and it muſt be likewiſe allowed, that Balm and Myrrh were the Commodities of their Country. But whence had they the Spicery? Or how came *Arabia* to be ſo famous in ancient Times for Spices? Or whence proceeded that Miſtake of many great Authors of Antiquity, that Spices actually grew there? Moſt certainly becauſe theſe People dealt in them; and that they dealt in them the firſt of any Nation that we know of, appears from this very Inſtance: *Strabo*, and many other good Authors, aſſure us, that in ſucceeding Times they were very great Traders; they tell us particularly what Ports they had, what prodigious Magazines they kept of the richeſt Kinds of Goods; what wonderful Wealth they obtained; in what prodigious Magnificence they lived; and into what Exceſſes they fell, in reſpect to their Expences, for Carving, Building, and Statues. All this ſhews that they were very great Traders; and it alſo ſhews that they traded to the *Eaſt Indies*, for from thence only they could have their Spices, their rich Gums, their ſweet-ſcented Woods, and their Ivory, all which it is expreſly ſaid that they had in the greateſt Abundance. This therefore proves they had an extenſive and flouriſhing Commerce, and that they had it earlier than any other Nation, ſeems to me evident from their dealing at that Time in Spices.

“ Beſides, there is much leſs Difficulty in ſuppoſing that they firſt diſcovered the Route to the *Indies*, than if we aſcribe that Diſcovery to any other Nation; for in the firſt place, they lay neareſt, and in the next, they lay moſt conveniently; to which we may add *Thirdly*, That as the Situation of their Country naturally inclined them to Navigation; ſo by the Help of the *Monſoons*, they might make regular Voyages to and from the *Indies*, with great Facility; nor is it at all unlikely that this Diſcovery might be at firſt owing to Chance, and ſo ſome of their Veſſels being blown by a ſtrong Gale to the oppoſite Coaſt, from whence they might take the Courage to return, by obſerving the Regularity of the Winds at certain Seaſons. All theſe Reaſons taken together, ſeem to favour this Opinion, that Commerce flouriſhed firſt among them; and as to its Conſequences in making them rich and happy, there is no Diſpute about them.

The ſame Author having mentioned the *Phœnicians* in Terms perfectly agreeable to what we have ſaid of them, proceeds to ſhew what Uſes were made of their great maritime Skill by *Solomon*, and takes Occaſion from thence to confirm what he had before advanced in reference to the *Arabians*; the Paſſage is not long, and withal equally curious and inſtructive, it runs thus: “ It is very certain, that *Solomon* made uſe of their Aſſiſtance in equipping his Fleets at *Elath* and *Ezion Geber*, and it is very probable that they put him upon acquiring thoſe Ports, and gave him the firſt Hints of the amazing Advantages that might be derived from the Poſſeſſion of them, and from the Commerce he might from thence be able to carry on. Theſe Ports were moſt commodiouſly ſituated on the *Arabian* Gulph, and from thence his Veſſels, manned chiefly by *Phœnicians*, ſailed to *Ophir* and *Tharſis*, where ever thoſe Places were: Some Writers will needs have them to be *Mexico* and *Peru*, which is certainly a wild and extravagant Suppoſition; others believe, that we are to look for *Ophir* on the Coaſt of *Africa*, and *Tharſis* in *Spain*; but the moſt probable Opinion is, that they were both ſeated in the *Eaſt Indies*.

“ By this adventurous Navigation he brought into his Country, Curioſities not only unſeen, but unheard of before, and Riches in ſuch Abundance, that as the Scripture finely expreſſes it, He made Silver in *Jeruſalem* as Stones, and Cedar Trees as Sycamores that grow in the Plains. The Metaphor is very bold and emphatical; but when we conſider that it is recorded in this Hiſtory, that the Return of one Voyage only to *Ophir* produced 450 Talents of Gold, which make 51328 *lb.* of our *Troy* Weight, we cannot doubt of the immenſe Profit that accrued from this Commerce. It is alſo obſervable, that the Queen of *Sheba* or *Saba*, which lies in that part of *Arabia* before-mentioned, ſurprized at the Reports that were ſpread of the Magnificence of this Prince, made a Journey to his Court, on purpoſe to ſatisfy herſelf, whether Fame had not exaggerated the Fact, and from the Preſents ſhe made him of 120 Talents of Gold, of Spices in great Abundance, and precious Stones, we may diſcern the true Reaſon of her Curioſity, which proceeded from an Opinion, that no Country could be ſo rich as her own. And there is another Circumſtance very remarkable, and which ſeems ſtrongly to fortify what we have advanced in the Beginning of this Diſcourſe, it is added, *neither was there any ſuch Spices as the Queen of* Sheba *gave to King* Solomon; which ſeems to intimate, that the *Arabians* had penetrated farther into the *Indies* than even the Fleets of this famous Prince, and brought from thence other Spices (perhaps Nutmegs and Cloves) than had ever been ſeen before.

“ It was by his Wiſdom, and by his ſteady Application to the Arts of Peace, all of which mutually ſupport each other, as they are all driven on by the Wheel of Commerce, which ſupplies every Want, and converts every Superfluity into Merchandize, that this Monarch raiſed his Subjects to a Condition much ſuperior to that of any of their Neighbours, and rendered the Land of *Iſrael*, while he governed it, the

“ Glory and Wonder of the Eaſt. He made great Acquiſitions without making Wars; and his Succeſſors, by making Wars, loſt thoſe Acquiſitions. It was his Policy to keep all his People employed, and by employing them, he provided equally for the Extention of their Happineſs and his own Power; but the following Kings purſued other Meaſures, and other Conſequences attended them. The Trade of *Judea* ſunk almoſt as ſuddenly as it roſe, and in Proceſs of Time they loſt thoſe Ports on the *Red Sea*, upon which their *Indian* Commerce depended.”

After this, there is nothing dark or intricate in that Part of the Hiſtory of the Commerce of the Ancients, of which we have undertaken to treat. It appears very clearly, that from the earlieſt Times, even the remoteſt Countries of the Eaſt have been the Sources of all the Advantages derived from Trade, and the Poſſeſſion of this particular Branch of Traffick has conſtantly given the Aſcendant to the Nation in whoſe Hands it was. In tracing this Hiſtory we have made it apparent, that the moſt conſiderable Points in the Syſtem of Commerce, conſidered as a Kind of Science, were both very well known, and very ſteadily practiſed in ancient Times, and produced exactly the ſame Conſequences then that they do now; or, in other Words, enabled People to heap up immenſe Riches, induced them to encourage Arts and Sciences, by rewarding plentifully ſuch as excelled in them, propagating Magnificence and Luxury, from whence, in Proceſs of Time, aroſe Indolence, Effeminacy, and a total Depravation of Manners, which made Way either for foreign Conqueſts, or ſuch a Declenſion of Morals at home as produced Ruin and Poverty, and from which hardly any of the ancient States ever recovered.

We have ſhewn the true Source of that incredible Wealth, for which, in the earlieſt Times of which, Hiſtory affords any Record, the *Egyptians* were renowned; and we have ſhewn alſo how all this was transferred to the *Perſians*, in Conſequence of their becoming Maſters of *Egypt*, and of the Means by which its Inhabitants amaſſed ſuch prodigious Wealth. This leads us to conſider the Conqueſts and the Views of *Alexander* the Great, in a Light very different from that in which they have been hitherto ſeen, and from which it is unqueſtionably evident, that he was a much greater and wiſer Prince than he has been repreſented, not by Hiſtorians only, but by Panegyriſts, that his Views were of quite another Nature than are commonly imagined; and that his Notions were incomparably more juſt and more extenſive than that of any other Conqueror, either ancient or modern, ſince he did not barely aim at eſtabliſhing an univerſal Monarchy, but was alſo deſirous of making this turn to the univerſal Benefit of Mankind, by ſettling a conſtant and regular Intercourſe amongſt all the Nations he ſubdued, and rendring them thereby uſeful to each other; to facilitate which, he formed Projects impracticable indeed with Regard to their ultimate Intention, but which, notwithſtanding, were deſigned with wonderful Sagacity, and from their Conſequences in ſuch Parts as could be executed, fully anſwered all that he expected from them.

It was by making uſe of the Lights afforded him by this great Monarch and his indulgent Maſter, that *Ptolemy* erected a *Greek* Empire in *Egypt*, which in point of Strength and Duration, as well as Magnificence, ſo much exceeded all the reſt that were formed out of his Conqueſts. We have had many large and well-written Hiſtories of that Empire, conſidered in a political Light, but there was ſtill wanting a Commercial Hiſtory of *Egypt*, which we have endeavoured to ſupply, and from the attentive Peruſal of which the Reader will ſee, that nothing can contribute ſo much to the Power and Splendor of Sovereigns, and at the ſame Time to the Welfare, Happineſs and Tranquillity of a People, as commercial Maxims well applied. All the other Succeſſors of *Alexander* lived as it were upon the main Stock, and only waſted in fruitleſs Projects, and wild and extravagant Expeditions, the Riches which they extorted from their Subjects, and which they continued to extort, till by totally exhauſting them, they were no longer able to maintain that Power which was requiſite to ſupport their Tyranny. Whereas *Ptolemy* and his immediate Succeſſors, by following in their Dominions the judicious Maxims of *Alexander*'s Policy, kept their Countries full of People, and by providing for the Happineſs of thoſe People, were able to keep up larger Armies, to maintain greater Fleets, and to live with infinitely more Magnificence than thoſe Monarchs, whoſe Dominions were much larger, and who, till they ruined them by their Exceſſes, might have been more powerful and conſiderable, and might have made their Empire as permanent as his.

It is true, that at length the Government of *Egypt* ſunk and fell into Confuſion from its falling under the Dominion of weak Princes, and from the prevailing Corruption of Manners, againſt which Accidents human Policy affords no Defence. Yet it appeared great even in Decay, and its Magnificence was apparent in its Ruin. The *Romans*, when they became poſſeſſed of it, were very ſoon made ſenſible of its Importance, and of the Wiſdom of thoſe Maxims by which its Monarchs ruled in better Times. They therefore adopted thoſe Maxims, and not only purſued but improved the Methods formerly employed to make this Country the Center of Commerce, and the great Magazine of the civilized part of the World. All theſe Points we have at large explained, by which it appears, that the Splendor and Glory of the *Roman* Empire was chiefly built upon this important Conqueſt, and the Conſequences that attended it. That in Proportion as the *Roman* Affairs were wiſely and prudently, or weakly and indiſcreetly managed, the Concerns of *Egypt* were attended to or neglected; and that the great Blow given to the real Power and internal Force of the *Roman* Empire, was transferring this Province to the Princes that reigned in the Eaſtern parts of that Empire, and fixed their Seat at *Conſtantinople*.

We have deſcribed, tho' very conciſely, what were the Effects of this Change, and how the Imperial Reſidence laſt mentioned became ſo large, ſo beautiful, and ſo immenſely rich as it was, by drawing thither, in a great Meaſure, the Trade of the whole World. The gradual Ruin of the Eaſtern Empire, and the Growth of the *Arab* or *Saracen* Power, did not make a greater or more univerſal Change in the political Affairs of *Europe*, than in the commercial; for *Egypt* falling early under the Power of thoſe Barbarians, ſince however learned they became afterwards, they certainly deſerv'd that Title, when they ſubdued *Egypt*, all Thoughts of Commerce were laid aſide. At that Time War was their Trade, and they knew no other Way of making Acquiſitions than by the Sword. The Countries of which they became Maſter, were exceedingly rich and populous, and they had no Views beyond ſeizing the former by Force, and impoſing Slavery upon thoſe whom they had deprived of their Property. But by Degrees, Experience, which is the proper Miſtreſs of ſuch Sort of People, taught them, that Force and Violence were not the ſureſt Means of maintaining Empire, and therefore they had Recourſe to Learning and Arts; and though they did not apply themſelves to Trade, yet they encouraged and promoted that of their Subjects, and allowed Strangers to deal with them, but upon ſuch Terms as were highly advantageous to theſe Conquerors, who were never at a Loſs how to ſqueeze the Money out of the Purſes of their Subjects, provided they had any to be ſqueezed out.

IV. This regular Series of Hiſtory is extreamly uſeful in a great Variety of Caſes, and is at the ſame Time exceedingly entertaining; it at once raiſes and ſatisfies our Curioſity, it informs us of what is to be found in the moſt diſtant Countries, and the Uſes that have been in all Ages made of this Propenſity to viſit other Countries, and to bring back their Produce to our own. But above all, it ſerves to deſtroy thoſe weak and vulgar Prejudices, by which Men are inclined to fancy, that in former Ages Mankind were abſolutely deficient in Learning, Politeneſs, and above all, in underſtanding the Nature, and conſequently acquiring the Advantages deducible from Commerce. But upon examining this Hiſtory, we ſee preciſely in what the Ancients excelled, in what they came up to, and in what they were defective, when compared with the Moderns. From hence alſo we diſcover; to what all this was owing, what were the natural, what the accidental Advantages they had over us; and, on the other Hand, what we really and certainly poſſeſs, which were inacceſſible to them. To give a few Inſtances of both.

The Ancients ſeem to have carried the Art of cultivating and improving Countries to a Height of which we have hardly any Comprehenſion. In the earlieſt Times *Egypt* was wonderfully cultivated, admirably improved, and exquiſitely adorned. We cannot form a Notion of an Agriculture more perfect than what was practiced by the ancient *Egyptians*; their Temples, Palaces, and other publick Structures, were magnificent in the higheſt Degree; and if we incline to doubt the Veracity of the Records that relate to them, the very Ruins that ſtill remain afford us Teſtimonies that are abſolutely inconteſtable. The Contrivances made uſe of for ſupplying Water, and the Conveniency of Water Carriage, not only to all the great Cities, but to every Town and Village, ſurpaſs any thing that is to be ſeen at this Day in the moſt civilized Part of the World, unleſs perhaps we except *China*. This ſhews that the Ancients excelled alſo in Policy, or the Art of eſtabliſhing right Rules for the Government of Mankind, which are beſt diſcovered from their Effects, the true Criterion of Government being the Exerciſe of human Induſtry about uſeful Things; for without Queſtion that Nation is beſt governed where Individuals are beſt employed, that is, where, on the one Hand, the Laws provided ſuitable Encouragements for the active, and by a right Direction and Diſtribution of Authority, prevent any from being idle. The Ancients excelled alſo in all the Sciences that depend either on the Quickneſs of Parts, or the Solidity of Judgment, and in all the Arts that furniſh the Neceſſities, procure the Conveniencies, or exhibit the Elegancies of Life; the Proofs of all which are to be found in their Writings, in the Hiſtory of their Manners, and in the Remains of their Buildings, Utenſils, Coins, Curioſities, &c.

On the other Hand, they were certainly defective in thoſe Sciences that depend upon Experience, as well as Sagacity and Genius. Their Coſmography was equally narrow and erroneous; the ſame may be ſaid of their Aſtronomy, which was not either accurate or well applied. Hence it came to paſs, that their Navigation was uncertain, ſlow, dangerous, and confined. Neither had they any Notions of managing Commerce by Factories or Settlements. In theſe and many other Things we certainly ſurpaſs them, but then it muſt be alſo allowed, that they could, and we cannot do without them, which perhaps is the real Cauſe of their Defects, as well as of our Proficiency.

But there is one Advantage they had, which is very little attended to, and yet it was the principal Source of that Wealth, the very Relation of which appears to us almoſt incredible; I mean that amazing Fertility in valuable Commodities which ſeveral Countries enjoyed, and of which there are ſcarce any Traces to be met with now. Several Inſtances of this, with regard to the Regions of the Eaſt, occur in our Hiſtory of them; but becauſe we had no Opportunity of mentioning it elſewhere, it may not be amiſs to ſet down a Teſtimony here that is very well worth Conſideration. The *Phœnicians* conſidered *Spain*, and with very good Reaſon, in the very ſame Light that *Spain* now conſiders *Mexico* and *Peru*, that is to ſay, they drew from thence in Return for Merchandize of ſmall and inconſiderable Value, immenſe Quantities of the richeſt Metals, and of Silver more eſpecially.

If we may credit *Ariſtotle*, they not only found wherewith to load their Ships, but when that was done, they forged Anchors, Bolts and Bars of Silver, to ſupply the Place of Iron, that they might carry away the more of it. *Diodorus Siculus* aſſures us that it was chiefly owing to the prodigious Riches they drew from *Spain*, that the *Carthaginians* were able to ſet on Foot ſuch numerous Armies, to equip ſuch potent Fleets, and to raiſe ſuch ſtupendous Fortifications, as made them at once the Wonder and the Terror of their Neighbours. In a Word, one might produce good Authorities to prove, that there was hardly a maritime Province in *Spain*, from *Algarve* and *Andaluſia*, to *Galicia*, *Aſturias*, and the *Pyrenean* Mountains, but what abounded in Gold, Silver, Copper, Tin, or ſome other valuable Metal. Yet except a Silver Mine in *Portugal*, of which the Reader has had a very particular and authentick Account in this Volume, there is not the leaſt Sign or Token of theſe vaſt Treaſures, excluſive of the Appearances that yet remain of the Works that were carried on for maintaining them.

V. But though we have attended cloſely to the Commercial Hiſtory of the *Indies*, yet we have not neglected or omitted what might be thought as uſeful or more entertaining. We have drawn together, from the beſt and moſt authentick Writers, whatever would contribute to the true Repreſentation of the Religion, Government, Hiſtory, Laws and Cuſtoms of the ſeveral Nations of *India*, and have been more eſpecially ſolicitous in ſetting forth the Learning, Diſcipline, Offices, Way of Living, and peculiar Privileges of the *Brachmans*, now called *Bramins*, and have taken the Pains to ſet forth the principle Doctrines of their Theology and Philoſophy. We have been as ſolicitous about the natural Hiſtory of the *Indies*, and have compared what ancient Authors have recorded, with the Remarks made by modern Travellers upon that Subject.

By this Means we have given the Reader, in a very narrow Compaſs, and in ſuch a Manner, as that Things of a like Nature are all placed together, what would have coſt very great Labour to aſſemble out of the different Books in which they are diſperſed, and yet to preſerve, as far as poſſible, all the Advantages that ariſe from a Variety of Reading, we have, generally ſpeaking, made uſe of the Author's own Words, and have cited the Places where they are to be found in the Notes. We have very frequently taken Occaſion, from this Manner of handling the Subject, to diſtinguiſh Fables from true Hiſtory, and to ſhew ſometimes, that there is a great deal of true Hiſtory in what many haſty Criticks have rejected as Fables. For if, on the one Side, it be true, that Ignorance is the Mother of Credulity, one may very much doubt, whether Incredulity be not her Daughter alſo. This will be the more eaſily apprehended, if we conſider that there is a Kind of Similarity between Extreams, and that different Deviations from Truth may very well ariſe from the ſame Cauſe. For, after all, what is Credulity, but believing without Evidence? And what Incredulity, other than believing againſt Evidence? And whence can either of theſe ariſe more naturally than from Ignorance. If this mean and deteſtable Vice occupies the Breaſt of one of a mild and placid Spirit, he believes without examining whatever he hears; and again, if Ignorance be coupled with Obſtinacy, there is hardly ſuch a Thing as driving Belief into a Mortal, whoſe Mind is over-run with ſuch Maladies.

It is very poſſible, that notwithſtanding all the Care we have taken, ſome Miſtakes may be diſcovered in this Part, by thoſe who have been ſo happy as to obtain better Light; but a diligent Enquiry, and a ſtrict Examination, were the only proper Methods to be employed to prevent ſuch Miſtakes, and they were employed to the utmoſt of our Power. We may add to this, another and a very juſt Apology, that in this Tract we were without any Guide, all who had gone before us chuſing rather to ſave their own Pains than that of the Reader, and to heap up Relation upon Relation, Extract upon Extract, by which they multiplied their Volumes, and neither repreſented Things diſtinctly themſelves, nor left it in the Power of a Reader, who had not uncommon Leiſure, to form any diſtinct Notion of what was really worth knowing, in that vaſt Load of Materials that they exhibited to his View. In ſhort we ſaw very plainly, what was amiſs in the Compilations that went before us, and we were very willing to take Warning by their Miſcarriages, which put us upon purſuing another Method, and if we have miſſed of Perfection in that, we have at leaſt this to plead, that we meant well, and have done our beſt.

VI. After ſhewing how Commerce was in a Manner totally overwhelmed in the Eaſt, we proceed next to point out the Methods by which it was in ſome Meaſure revived by the Subjects of the two trading Republicks of *Venice* and *Genoa*; and we have taken great Pains to diſcover the different Ways, by which, at ſeveral Times, and under various Circumſtances, the Commodities and Manufactures of the Eaſt were brought into *Europe*. But as the Manner of our treating that Subject would not allow us to digreſs there, ſo far as to give any Account of the Riſe of thoſe two celebrated States, it cannot be amiſs, in this Review of our Performance, to ſupply that Defect in as conciſe a Manner as it is poſſible.

When the Weſtern Part of the *Roman* Empire was over-run by *Barbarians*, and Arts and Sciences ſunk with that Power which had cultivated and protected them; Commerce alſo viſibly declined, or to ſpeak with greater Propriety, was overwhelmed and loſt; for in Times of Confuſion and publick Deſolation, when the Giant WAR ſtalks abroad, overturns great Cities, tramples down the nobleſt Improvements, and lays whole Countries waſte, it is impoſſible that Trade ſhould continue; or rather, it is highly probable, that on the very Approach of theſe Dangers ſhe muſt have already fled. It is a common Saying, that Riches are the Nerves of War, rather, I think, the Food of it; and therefore where War devours, there Commerce cannot ſubſiſt, which is a perpetual Reaſon why all Trading Nations ſhould avoid offenſive Wars; for by thoſe that are abſolutely defenſive they can never be hurt. But to keep to the Point; when that Irruption of various Nations had driven the *Roman* Policy out of the greateſt Part of *Europe*, ſome ſtraggling People, either forced by Neceſſity, or led by Inclination, took Shelter in a few ſtraggling Iſlands that lay near the Coaſt of *Italy*, and which would never have been thought worth inhabiting in a Time of Peace.

This was in the Sixth Century, and at their firſt fixing there, they had certainly nothing more in View, than living in a tolerable State of Freedom, and acquiring a Subſiſtence as well as they could. Theſe Iſlands being divided from each other by narrow Channels, and thoſe Channels ſo incumber'd by Shallows, that it was impoſſible for Strangers to navigate them, theſe Refugees found themſelves tolerably ſafe, and uniting among themſelves for the Sake of improving their Condition, and augmenting their Security, they became in the Eighth Century a well ſettled Government, and aſſumed the Form of a Republick.

Simple and mean as this Relation may appear, yet it is a plain and true Account of the Riſe, Progreſs, and Eſtabliſhment of the famous and potent Republick of *Venice*. Her Beginnings were indeed weak and ſlow, but when the Foundation was once well laid, her Growth was quick, and the Increaſe of her Power amazing. She extended her Commerce on all Sides, and taking Advantage of the barbarous Maxims of the *Mohamedan* Monarchies, ſhe drew to herſelf the Profits of the *Indian* Trade, and might in ſome Senſe be ſaid to make *Egypt* a Province, and the *Saracens* her Subjects.

By this Means her Traffick ſwelled beyond Conception, ſhe became the common Mart of all Nations, her Naval Power arrived at a prodigious Height, and making uſe of every favourable Conjuncture, ſhe ſtretched her Conqueſts not only over the adjacent *Terra Firma* of *Italy*, but through the Iſlands of the *Archipelago*, ſo as to be at once Miſtreſs of the Sea, of many fair and fruitful Countries, and of Part of the great City of *Conſtantinople* it ſelf. But Ambition, and the Deſire of Lording it over her Neighbours, Paſſions equally fatal in publick and private Life; to States and Empires, as well as to great Men, and to great Families, brought upon her thoſe Evils which firſt produced a Decay of Trade, and then a Declenſion of Power. General Hiſtorians indeed aſcribe this to the League of *Cambray*, when all the great Powers in *Europe* combined againſt this Republick; and in Truth, from that Period the ſinking of her Power is truly dated; but the *Venetian* Writers very juſtly obſerve, that though this Effect followed the League, yet there was another, a more latent, but, at the ſame Time, a more effectual Cauſe, which was the falling off of their Commerce.

Her Subjects were become leſs frugal, and leſs wealthy, and, at the ſame time, more ambitious and more profuſe. It was impoſſible, in ſuch a Situation, that the State ſhould maintain itſelf when ſo warmly attacked; a Man in a Conſumption cannot ſtruggle with the ſame Force as in Health; and though By-ſtanders may attribute the Fall he receives to the Strength of his Adverſary, he cannot help knowing, that it proceeds ſolely from the failing of his own Strength. This was the Caſe of the *Venetians*, and they have ever ſince been more indebted to their Wiſdom, than their Power, to the prudent concealing of their own Weakneſs, and taking Advantage of the Errors of their Enemies, than to any other Cauſe; for their keeping up that Port which they ſtill bear, and which had been loſt long ago by any other Nation but themſelves.

At the ſame Time that *Venice* roſe, as it were, out of the Sea, another Repuplick was erected on the Coaſts of *Italy*; there could not well be a worſe Situation than the narrow, marſhy, unprofitable and unwholſome Iſlands in the *Adriatick*, except the rocky, barren, and inhoſpitable Shores of *Liguria*; and yet as Commerce raiſed *Venice the Rich*, on the one; ſo ſhe erected *Genoa the Proud* on the other. In Spite of ambitious and warlike Neighbours, in ſpite of a confined and unproducing Country, and which were ſtill greater Impediments, in Spite of perpetual Factions and ſucceſſive Revolutions, the Trade of *Genoa* made her rich and great. Her Merchants traded to all Countries, and throve by carrying the Commodities of the one to the other. Her Fleets became formidable, and beſides the adjacent Iſland of *Corſica*, ſhe made larger and more important Conqueſts. She fixed a Colony at *Caffa*, and was for ſome Time in Poſſeſſion of the Coaſts on both Sides of the *Black Sea*.

That Emulation which is natural to neighbouring Nations, and that Jealouſy which riſes from the Purſuit of the ſame Miſtreſs, Commerce, begat continual Wars between theſe Rival Republicks, which after many obſtinate and bloody Battles, was at laſt terminated in Favour of *Venice*, by that famous Victory of *Chiozzi*, gained by her Doge *Andrew Contarini*, from which Time *Genoa* never pretended to be Miſtreſs of the Sea. Theſe Quarrels were fatal to both; but what proved more immediately deſtructive to the *Genoeſe* was their Avarice, which induced them to abandon the fair Profits of Trade, for the Sake, by that vile Method, of acquiring Wealth by Uſury.

This leads us to mention another Subject that has a cloſe Connection with Commerce, and that is, the Buſineſs of Exchanges. This, tho' in many Caſes uſeful to Commerce, concerns alſo many other Things, ſuch as Tranſactions of State, and of War, the Removal of Families, or the Deſcent of Succeſſions upon Strangers; all of which create the Neceſſity of removing Money from one Country to another, which ſometimes cannot be done at all, and in moſt Caſes muſt be attended with Inconveieniency, if practiſed in the plain Way of Tranſportation. The *Lombards*, one of the many Nations that eſtabliſhed themſelves in *Italy* after the Ruin of the *Roman* Empire, and who have beſtowed their Name on one of the fineſt Countries in it, deviſed a Method for removing, in a great Meaſure, this Inconvenience; for they obſerved that Money was very often wanting reciprocally in ſeveral Countries, and therefore they imagined, that if a Way could be found to eſtabliſh a Correſpondence capable of ſupplying their mutual Wants, it might prove very advantageous to the middle Perſons, and this produced that Kind of Practice now known by the Name of *Exchange*; which, as it was invented by, ſo it continued long in the Hands of the *Lombards*. For this Purpoſe, they ſettled themſelves in moſt of the great Cities in *Europe*, and having a ſtrict Correſpondence one with another, they managed this new Branch of Buſineſs, of drawing and remitting Money with vaſt Advantage to themſelves; and to do this the more effectually, they enter'd into Partnerſhip, kept large Houſes, and had vaſt Capitals, which were ſtiled *Banks*; and as it was their Cuſtom (as indeed it was of all Sorts of Merchants) to live together, ſo the Street in which they reſided in this City, acquired from thence its Name; and tho' Things are long ſince changed, yet it is ſtill inhabited by *Engliſh* Bankers, and retains its old Title of *Lombard ſtreet*.

We may diſcern the wonderful Effects of Induſtry in this Invention, for the *Lombards* inhabiting an inland Country, drew by this Means to themſelves a very conſiderable Profit out of foreign Trade, and made *Milan* and other great Cities in which they reſided, populous and opulent, by their becoming the Center of their Exchanges. But when the *Genoeſe* fell into it, they began to carry it farther, for they not only drew and remitted Money, but lent it alſo, and by this Means, as their Profits increaſed, they began to ſlight their foreign Trade or rather their Capitals, however large, becoming unequal to the double Demands of Commerce and Banking, the former gave Way to the latter, as the moſt ſecure if not the moſt profitable; and by this Alteration Individuals became immenſely rich and great, while the State grew weak and poor; and thus the Republick of *Genoa* dwindled into a low Condition, and by Degrees was obliged to pawn almoſt all its Revenues to its own Bank of St. *George*, which amidſt a long Series of foreign Wars and domeſtick Seditions, remained unhurt and inviolable, till the laſt taking of that City by the *Auſtrians*, when the Bank of St. *George* met with the ſame Fate with the Common-wealth, and whether either of them will recover their former Luſtre, is a Problem that muſt be left to Time to reſolve.

While the *Venetians* were able to maintain their Commerce in *Indian* Commodities, and while the *Genoeſe* had any Kind of foreign Trade, they maintained a conſiderable Naval Force, and frequently made Attempts to retrieve, at leaſt in ſome Meaſure, the Figure they had formerly made; but in Proceſs of Time, as other Nations purſued the Route diſcovered by the *Portugueſe*, new Maritime Powers aroſe, and the whole Syſtem of Commerce in *Europe* was thereby changed in ſuch a Manner, as to leave hardly any Hopes of Recovery to theſe *Italian* States. I do not ſay abſolutely that they are without hopes, for if ever the *Ruſſians* ſhould make themſelves Maſters of the *Black Sea*, but more eſpecially if they ſhould ever conquer *Crim Tartary*, this may alter Things again, and prove the Means of reviving the Trade of *Italy*.

VII. The new Commerce to the *Eaſt Indies* by the Way of the Cape of *Good Hope*, takes up the remaining Part of the firſt Volume; by Way of Introduction to which, we have given the Reader the Travels of *William Rubruquis* and *Marco Polo*, which gave this Part of the World the firſt Knowledge of *Tartary*, *China*, and *Japan*. We intended likewiſe to have given the Travels of our Countrymen Sir *John Mandevile*, but finding that theſe ancient Accounts were thought very dry Reading, we deſiſted from that Deſign. To ſay the Truth, his Travels are rather Matters of Curioſity than of Uſe; for though it is very certain, that many Circumſtances of his Narration may be ſo explained as to juſtify them from being abſolutely fabulous, yet he is not, upon the whole, a Writer that deſerves to be commended, becauſe of that ſtrange Propenſity he had to repreſent every thing as marvellous, and to make his Book rather a Collection of Wonders than of Travels. It is nevertheleſs certain, that from the Peregrinations of adventurous Perſons by Land, the *Portugueſe* received thoſe Lights that enabled them to find their Way to the *Eaſt-Indies* by Sea; and therefore it is of great Importance where Diſcoveries may be proſecuted by Land as well as by Sea, to make uſe of both Methods; upon which Subject we ſhall have Occaſion to ſay ſomething very curious hereafter.

The Voyages we have given by the Way of the Cape of *Good Hope*, are the beſt that we could ſelect, and in Conjunction with thoſe that are contained in the firſt Book, will afford the Reader as clear, as copious, and as comprehenſive an Account of the paſt and preſent State of thoſe Countries as he can reaſonably deſire; and therefore it would have been to little or no Purpoſe to have ſwelled our Collection with a greater Number of Voyages and Travels, which muſt unvoidably have made Way for numerous Repetitions, equally fatiguing and diſtaſteful. Inſtead of theſe, we choſe to inſert an authentick, regular, and compleat Hiſtory of the *Mogul* Empire, from the earlieſt to the preſent Times, which though much deſired, was ſtill wanting. By this Means we had an Opportunity of ſhewing the Progreſs of that extenſive Empire, together with the Means in, and the Manner by which it has ſwallowed up many of thoſe ſmall Kingdoms that were heretofore famous in theſe Parts of the World. Yet it is not at all impoſſible that the next Age may ſee that Empire diſſolved, and either the old Kingdoms revived, or new ones erected out of its Ruins. For it is viſible enough from this Hiſtory, that the *Mohametan* Power declines greatly in the Eaſt, and that the Native *Indians* begin to retrieve their Strength, and to affect an Independency, which they will find it the more eaſy to eſtabliſh, if they continue to apply themſelves, as they have done during the current Century, to the Cultivation of a Naval Force.

It is indeed very highly to be regretted, that we have not ſo much as a tolerable Account of the preſent Princes of *India*, whom we affect to treat with Contempt, and who are generally repreſented in modern Travels as Robbers and Pirates; whereas if we would but conſider that they are the native Proprietors of the Countries which they inhabit, and have as much Right, at leaſt, to retrieve what has been taken from them, as thoſe who took it have to keep what they have got, we ſhould in all Probability, change our Notions. There was indeed, ſome Years ago, an Account of Mr. *Mathews*'s Expedition into the *Eaſt Indies*, publiſhed, in which ſomething of this Kind was contained, but it was written by a common Sailor, and the proper Names more eſpecially, ſo terribly disfigur'd, that it was a difficult Matter to pick out any thing from it with Certainty; of which I will leave the Reader to judge from one ſingular Inſtance only. An *Indian* Prince, well enough known in better Books by the Name of *Seva Rajah*, he is pleaſed to call throughout the whole of his Relation, the *Sow Roger*, and in the ſame manner he confounds every Thing elſe. We have been promiſed by the *French* more diſtinct Accounts of theſe Matters, and ſome little Hiſtories we have had from them that are, though of an ancient Date, very curious and entertaining.

But our People have ſo many more and better Opportunities, that if ſome of them who have Abilities and abundant Leiſure, would attempt it, they might certainly give us a better *Indian* Hiſtory than is yet extant in any *European* Language. Mr. *Frazer*, who is at preſent in the *Indies*, and to whom we are indebted for an excellent Account of *Kouli Kan*, would be the propereſt Perſon in the World to undertake a Work of this Kind; and one would imagine that if he did undertake it, he might meet with proper Encouragement. That we are at preſent but very indifferently inſtructed as to the Temper and Diſpoſition of many Eaſtern Nations, and therefore ought to be willing to get better Accounts, is out of all Doubt, and might be fully demonſtrated from the very lateſt Books that are publiſhed.

Our Writers commonly repreſent the *Arabs* on the Sea Coaſts as Pirates, juſt as our Travellers, when they ſpeak of them by Land, treat them as a whole Nation of Thieves; but Men of Candour and Senſe ſpeak otherwiſe from their own Experience, as may be ſeen from the following Relation of a Perſon who ſpent many Years in the *Indies*, and did not affect to treat all as Barbarians whom he converſed with there. The *Muskat Arabs* (ſays he) are remarkable for their Humility and Urbanity. I had one Inſtance of their Civility. As I was one Morning walking the Streets, I met accidentally the Governor of the City, by them called the *Waaly*, and, according to my Duty, I went into the Door of a Shop to let him and his Guards have the Street, which generally are narrow; but he obſerving by my Complexion and Garb that I was a Stranger, made his Guard to go on one Side, and beckoned me to come forward, and ſtood ſtill till I paſſed by him. And for an Inſtance of their cool Temper in hearing Debates, and rectifying Miſtakes between Parties diſagreeing about Commerce, a Perſon of my Acquaintance was Commander of a Ship from *India*, and had freighted her to *Muskat*. The Freighter, who was a *Mohamedan*, delay'd paying the Freight long after it was due by the Tenor of the Charter-party; upon which he being in a Paſſion with the Freighter for his continued Delays, went to the *Waaly* to complain. He obſerving by the Gentleman's Countenance that his Mind was diſcompoſed, anſwered him, That being at that Time very buſy about ſome of the King's Affairs, he had not Time to ſend for his Freighter, but deſired that he would come ſome other Time, and he would hear him and order the Payment. The Delays ſtill continuing, the Captain went again in an angry Mood to make his Complaint, but was ſtill put off with gentle Excuſes; but at laſt, addreſſing the *Waaly* with Coolneſs, he was deſired to ſit down, and he would ſend for the Freighter; which accordingly he did, and on his Appearance, the *Waaly* ask'd him, why he did not comply with his Contract as was ſtipulated by the Charter-party? And his Excuſes being thought inſufficient, he was ordered to make Payment forthwith, or go to Priſon; but the Freighter choſe rather to bring the Money, and end the Diſpute. The Captain ask'd the *Waaly* why he did not do him Juſtice ſooner; who returned for Anſwer, That it was his own Fault for coming drunk to make Complaint. The Captain proteſted that he had not been drunk in many Years; but the *Waaly* replied, That he ſaw him drunk with Paſſion, which was the moſt dangerous Sort of Drunkenneſs. This ſufficiently ſhews of what Nature thoſe Accounts are which we really want, as well as the juſt Reaſon we have to complain of too many of thoſe that we have already.

VIII. The Detail we have given of the Hiſtory of the Affairs of the *Europeans* in the *Eaſt-Indies*, is the firſt Attempt of its Kind, and is as methodical, regular and copious, as we could make it. It ſhews at what Time each *European* Nation entered the *Indies*, what Succeſs they met with, where and how they eſtabliſhed themſelves, and what ſubſequent Fortune has attended their Commerce and their Settlements. All this is undoubtedly of very great Importance in reference to the acquiring with Facility an extenſive Circle of intrinſick and uſeful Knowledge. We ſhall be the more ſenſible of this, if we conſider how many different Sorts of Perſons may reap conſiderable Benefit thereby.

In the firſt Place, for ſurely his Station intitles him to that, the Stateſman will be the better for our Labours. This is a Subject of which he will be obliged often to think ſeriouſly, and may ſometimes be obliged to enquire into it carefully. Now what we offer to his View, may be eſteemed a general Introduction to all that can be known upon this Head; and if he afterwards examines Projects for Improvement or Diſcovery, he will be the better able to judge whether they are chimerical, grounded upon private Intereſt, or really calculated for the publick Good; and he will likewiſe be able to form a ſhrewd Gueſs whether they are practicable or not. If he is under a Neceſſity of examining Treaties, or the Pretenſions of different Nations, he will receive ſuch Lights as may render them perſpicuous without much Trouble; or if it imports him to learn what is the true State of Things in that Country, and how Power, Poſſeſſion and Commerce are divided amongſt the Nations intereſted in the *Indies*, he will find a Scheme of all this ready drawn up to his Hands.

A young Adventurer, who is on the Point of being ſent into theſe Parts to raiſe his Fortune, will, doubtleſs, wiſh to go thither with ſome general Notions of what he is to expect, what may merit his Attention, and what may deſerve his Enquiries. Here he will find all theſe Matters drawn together to his Hand, and ready digeſted for his Peruſal; ſo that without any Loſs of Time, he may acquire a larger Stock of uſeful and applicable Knowledge, than he could poſſibly have fiſh'd out even from a well choſe Collection of Voyages and Travels, which however are not eaſily made, more eſpecially by a freſh Man, or one who has but juſt turned his Thoughts to ſo extenſive a Subject. Not to multiply Inſtances, a Gentleman who deſires to gain, with as little Trouble as may be, a competent Notion of thoſe Topicks that enter frequently into Diſcourſe, will find in this Hiſtory what will effectually anſwer his End, and ſet him upon a Level at leaſt with moſt other People in reference to theſe Matters, which ever were, and ever will be thought of great Importance. Beſides all this, we perceive every Day new Cauſes and new Inducements to attend to Things of this Sort, from beholding what Effects they have upon the wiſeſt Heads in other Nations.

It is a Thing ſo recent, that few People can have forgot to how great a Degree the Affairs of *Europe* were influenced by the Emperor's ſetting up an *Eaſt-India* Company at *Oſtend*, which actually produced a total Change in the Syſtem; and as it began with an Alliance between the Courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid*, ſo it brought about a Conjunction as extraordinary between *France* and the Maritime Powers. This Conjunction indeed proved too hard for the Alliance, and brought about at length the Subverſion of that Company; but this only removed, it did not eradicate the Evil with reſpect to the Maritime Powers, ſince the *Swediſh* and *Daniſh Eaſt-India* Companies roſe up inſtead of this of *Oſtend*. If they affected us leſs at the Beginning, it was ſo far from being an Alleviation, that in Reality it was an Aggravation of our Misfortune, becauſe it hindred the Maritime Powers from perceiving immediately the Conſequences of theſe Eſtabliſhments. It was indeed alledged, that the Remoteneſs of the Navigation, their Inexperience with regard to Commerce, and Diſappointments they had already met with in Schemes of this Sort, would make them very quickly weary of ſuch Kind of Projects, and conſequently deliver the Maritime Powers from all Apprehenſions of this Sort for the future.

We ſee however, that theſe Allegations were without Foundation, and the Event forces us, whether we will or not, to diſcern that theſe Obſtacles are not inſurmountable, and which is ſtill more, that this Trade has preciſely the ſame Effects in thoſe Countries, that it had when firſt engaged in by the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, that is to ſay, it has put the *Swedes* and *Danes* upon erecting Manufactures, opening other Branches of Commerce, and enabling them thereby to become Maritime Powers.

The Hiſtory of all this, which will become every Day more and more worthy of our Cognizance, is to be found here, and here only; for hitherto Collections of this Kind had been made, rather with a View to Amuſement than Inſtruction, and were better calculated to entertain the idle, than to inſtruct the Induſtrious; which in a Nation like this, that derives its Grandeur, Independency, and Influence from Trade, was equally melancholy and ſurprizing. We may add to all this, that whatever we may think of the Matter, who in Fact are moſt concerned to think of it, if the Welfare and Proſperity of our Country be at all our Concern, the Succeſs of theſe new Companies have made a very ſenſible Impreſſion upon other Powers, in ſo much that the King of *Pruſſia* is meditating the Eſtabliſhment of an *Eaſt-India* Company at *Emden*, which, if carried into Execution, as what is there that he has contrived and not carried into Execution, will infallibly diminiſh the *Eaſt-India* Trade of the United Provinces, not without ſome Detriment alſo to ours.

It is moreover no Secret, that his Imperial Majeſty, in Quality of Great Duke of *Tuſcany*, has likewiſe a Deſign of ſetting up a new *Eaſt-India* Company at *Leghorn*, which will very ſenſibly affect our *Italian* Commerce, not only by furniſhing immediately and directly all the Countries bordering on the *Mediterranean*, with *Eaſt-India* Commodities, but ſtill more by its remoter Conſequences in promoting and encouraging the ſpeedy Erection of new Manufactures in thoſe Countries, which cannot but leſſen very greatly our Exportations, and circumſcribe our Trade in a Manner eaſily apprehended, and which at preſent it is needleſs to deſcribe.

But if upon this Occaſion it ſhould be demanded what Remedy there is for theſe Things, we can only anſwer, that all the Remedy in the Power of private Perſons, is to foreſee and point out the Cauſes of ſuch Evils; and by acquainting their Countrymen with the real Importance of this Commerce, to awaken and excite their Diligence, to preſerve what is yet left, and if poſſible, to open new Channels, which may balance the Deficiencies that muſt naturally ariſe from the loſing thoſe Branches of Trade, which, by theſe new Attempts, are likely to be cut off. All this the Reader will find regularly digeſted to the utmoſt Extent of our Power, and throughout the ſeveral Sections which relate to them, interſperſed with a great Variety of probable Expedients, by which theſe great and important Ends may be attained.

It is not at all in ours, or indeed within the Compaſs of private Peoples Abilities, to carry Things of this Nature any farther; but the Rectitude of carrying them thus far, and of publiſhing and making manifeſt the mighty Advantages that would reſult from directing our Councils to the Improvement of our Commercial Concerns, rather than the ſettling the Intereſts of other Nations upon the Continent, which perhaps the better they are ſettled, the leſs it may tend to our Benefit, ſince we ſee that the firſt Conſequence of their Independency and Security is to proſecute Projects for the Benefit of their own Trade, and to the Prejudice of ours, is put out of all Diſpute.

Thoſe who affect to treat theſe Things either as Chimera's or Trifles, Points of inconſiderable Moment, or remote and incertain in their Conſequences, are either really or affectedly Ignorant; and which ever they are, ſo far as they can carry their Opinions and Influence, the moſt dangerous and moſt deſtructive Enemies to their Country; for to propagate Notions of Security, and to rock us as it were in the Sleep of Indolence, while other Nations are awake and full of Attention to the Means of improving Traffick, and laying the Foundations of Maritime Power, is to enervate and deſtroy us, more eſpecially, if at the ſame Time we are exhauſted by Taxes, which neceſſarily render our Manufactures dear, and give thereby great Advantage to our Rivals, and oppreſſed with Debts, a very large Proportion of which being due to Foreigners, muſt ſpeedily and infallibly draw the laſt Shilling out of theſe Kingdoms, if freſh Supplies of Wealth are not regularly and conſtantly brought in by foreign Trade.

Theſe are the Subjects chiefly inſiſted upon in the firſt Volume of this Collection, diverſified by a great Variety of pleaſant and entertaining Reading, ſo diſpoſed as to heighten Inſtruction, and not to diſtract the Mind, by aiming at no uſeful or perceptible End. We come next to ſpeak of the Contents of the ſecond Volume, and to ſhew how far they are likewiſe calculated to anſwer the ſame uſeful, important and national Purpoſes.

IX. As an Intercourſe and Commerce with the *Eaſt Indies* was the great Concern both of the Ancients and Moderns, to the Time that AMERICA was found out, ſo that DISCOVERY, and the great Conſequences that have attended it, have been the juſt Subjects of the principal Attention of the trading Nations in *Europe* ever ſince; and hence the examining every Thing relating thereto in its proper Order, became naturally the next Object of our Care. We begin with a copious and circumſtantial Relation of the ſeveral Expeditions of the great *Chriſtopher Columbus*, in which we have fully explained the Motives upon which they were grounded, the many Diſcouragements he met with, and the various Difficulties he encountered before he was able to bring Things to bear. In treating theſe Subjects, we have taken the Liberty to intermix ſome Reflections on the Detriments that *Spain* received from the early Interpoſition of Stateſmen in the Management of the new Colonies, from whence many Miſchiefs aroſe, and the Profits of thoſe early Eſtabliſhments were very much leſſened, and their future Progreſs greatly checked.

We then proceed to the intermediate Expeditions between thoſe of *Columbus*, and the Conqueſt of *Mexico* by *Ferdinand Cortes*, which affords the Reader an ample Proſpect of the mighty Difficulties that Men will go through from the Hopes of Gain, more eſpecially, when it is to come immediately to themſelves, and they are not circumſcribed either by the unreaſonable Power or particular Views of Companies, to which alone is to be aſcribed the rapid Progreſs of the *Spaniards* in thoſe Countries where their Conqueſts in our Times, when nothing is done but at an immenſe Expence of Time, Men and Money, appear incredible. The Paſſage being now open, we go on to the Conqueſt of *Mexico*, and to ſhew from the beſt Authorities, how a very great and powerful Empire, governed by a wiſe and brave Monarch, and ſupported by numerous Armies of faithful Subjects, was nevertheleſs ſucceſsfully attacked, and in the End totally over-turned by a very handful of Men, and thoſe too all the Time caballing, conſpiring, and quarrelling amongſt themſelves, ſo that the proſperous Event of that marvellous Expedition, is intirely due to the incomparable Abilities, indefatigable Labours, and ſingular Virtues of the Commander in Chief; to whom however there was but very little Gratitude ſhewn by his Countrymen, who reaped all the Benefits of that moſt important Conqueſt.

After recording his Actions, the Reader will find a ſuccinct Account of the Manner in which the *Iſthmus* of *America*, and the Country adjoining, were ſubdued, and of the Diſputes that aroſe amongſt the *Spaniſh* Officers, or rather Adventurers that undertook and effected thoſe Conqueſts, which, how fatal ſo ever they might be to themſelves, turned notwithſtanding, as much, or more, to the Benefit of the *Spaniſh* Crown and Nation, as if they had proceeded with all the Harmony and good Underſtanding poſſible; ſo valuable a Principle is Activity, and ſo advantageous to the Publick a buſy and enterprizing Spirit, when employed at a Diſtance, whether well or ill conducted, by which very often prodigious Conqueſts are made abroad by thoſe of reſtleſs and turbulent Minds, that very probably had ſtirred up Rebellion and Confuſion, if they had ſtaid at home. We may enter farther into the Truth of this Obſervation, if we conſider how little has been done in theſe Parts in ſo long a Courſe of Years, in Compariſon with what was then done in ſo few; from whence it is viſible, that as Example excites and encourages vigorous Meaſures, ſo it likewiſe countenances Indolence, and by degrees fixes and eſtabliſhes it by Habit.

X. The *Conqueſt* of PERU was not at all the Effect of any deep laid Scheme of Policy, or of Meaſures taken in Conſequence of Orders from *Spain*; on the contrary, it aroſe from a Kind of Agreement or Compromiſe between two or three enterprizing Adventurers, and thoſe too in deſperate Circumſtances. All the Force they could muſter up was ſo inſignificant, as ſcarce to exceed a Modern Independent Company; the Veſſels on which they embarked, were ſtill meaner than the Forces they carried; and as for the Funds which were to defray the Expences of this Expedition, they were equally inſignificant in Money and in Credit. What is ſtill more extraordinany than all this, theſe Undertakers had little or no Intelligence; they knew that the Country they were to attack was very large, and well peopled, but they knew very little of its Government, and ſtill leſs of the Cuſtoms and Manners of thoſe People. We are not to imagine from hence, that the Inhabitants of *Peru* were wild and barbarous Savages, or that they were defeated and ſubdued for Want of a Conſtitution, Laws and Policy; for this was ſo far from being the Caſe, that Sir *William Temple*, than whom there hardly ever was a better Judge of Things of this Nature, has given us, within a very narrow Compaſs, a moſt excellent Syſtem of the *Peruvian* Empire, which having had no Opportunity to inſert elſewhere, it cannot be diſpleaſing to our Readers, upon this Review of the whole Work, to find it here, more eſpecially, as it is juſtly eſteemed the Maſter-piece of that polite Writer, who has therein given us both Facts and Obſervations that might very well furniſh Matter for a conſiderable Volume. “ The Empire of *Peru* deduced its Original “ from their great Heroes *Mango Copac*, and his Wife and his Siſter *Coya Mama*, who are ſaid to have firſt appeared in that Country, near a mighty Lake, which is ſtill ſacred with them upon this Occaſion. Before this Time, the People of theſe Countries are reported to have lived like the Beaſts among them, without any Traces of Order, Laws, or Religion, without other Food than from the Trees, or the Herbs, or what Game they could catch, without further Proviſion than for preſent Hunger, without any Cloathing or Houſes but dwelt in Rocks or Caves, or Trees, to be ſecure from wild Beaſts; or on Tops of Hills, if they were in Fear of fierce Neighbours. When *Mango Copac* and his Siſter firſt came into theſe naked Lands, as they were Perſons of excellent Shape and Beauty, ſo they were adorned with ſuch Cloaths as continued afterwards the uſual Habit of the *Ynca's*, by which Name they called themſelves.

" They told the People who came firſt about them, that they were the Son and Daughter of the SUN, and that their Father taking Pity of the miſerable Condition of Mankind, had ſent them down to reclaim them from thoſe beſtial Lives, and to inſtruct them how to live happily and ſafely, by obſerving ſuch Laws, Cuſtoms and Orders as their Father the Sun had commanded theſe his Children to teach them. The great Rule they firſt taught, was that every Man ſhould live according to Reaſon, and conſequently not either ſay nor do any Thing to others, that they were not willing others ſhould ſay or do to them, becauſe it was againſt all common Reaſon to make one Law for ourſelves, and another for other People; and this was the great Principal of all their Morality. In the next Place, that they ſhould worſhip the SUN, who took care of the whole World, gave Life to all Creatures, and made the Plants grow, and the Herbs fit for Food to maintain them; and was ſo careful and ſo good as to ſpare no Pains of his own, but to go round the World every Day to inſpect and provide for all that was upon it, and had ſent theſe his two Children down on purpoſe for the Good and Happineſs of Mankind, and to rule them with the ſame Care and Goodneſs that he did the World.

" After this, they taught them the Arts moſt neceſſary for Life; as *Mango Copac* to ſow *Mayz*, or the common *Indian* Grain, at certain Seaſons, to preſerve it againſt others; to build Houſes againſt Inclemencies of Air, and Danger of wild Beaſts; to diſtinguiſh themſelves by Wedlock into ſeveral Families; to cloth themſelves ſo as to cover at leaſt the Shame of Nakedneſs; to tame and nouriſh ſuch Creatures as might be of common Uſe and Suſtenance. *Coya Mama* taught the Women to ſpin and weave both Cotton, and certain coarſe Woolls of ſome Beaſts amongſt them. With theſe Inſtructions and Inventions they were ſo much believed in all they ſaid, and adored for what they did and taught of common Utility, that they were followed by great Numbers of People, obſerved and obeyed like Children of the SUN ſent down from Heaven to inſtruct and govern them.

" *Mango Copac* had in his Hand a Rod of Gold, about two Foot long and five Inches round. He ſaid that his Father the SUN had given it him, and bid him, when he travelled Northward from the Lake, he ſhould, every Time he reſted, ſtrike this Wand down into the Ground, and where at the firſt Stroke it ſhould go down to the very Top, he ſhould there build a Temple to the SUN, and fix the Seat of his Government. This fell out to be in the Vale of *Cuſco*, where he founded that City which was Head of this great Kingdom of *Peru*. Here he divided his Company into two Colonies or Plantations, and called one the *High Cuſco*, and the other the *Low*, and began here to be a Law-giver to theſe People. In each of theſe were at firſt a thouſand Families, which he cauſed all to be regiſter'd, with the Numbers in each. This he did by Strings of ſeveral Colours, and Knots of ſeveral Kinds and Colours upon them, by which both Accounts were kept of Things and Times, and as much expreſſed of their Minds as was neceſſary in a Government where neither Letters, nor Money, or conſequently Diſputes or Avarice, with their Conſequences, ever entered.

" He inſtituted Decurions through both theſe Colonies, that is, one over every ten Families, another over fifty, a third over a hundred, a fourth over five hundred, and a fifth over a thouſand; and to this laſt they gave the Name of *Curaca*, or Governor. Every Decurion was a Cenſor, a Patron, and a Judge or Arbiter in ſmall Controverſies among thoſe under his Charge. They took care that every one cloathed themſelves, laboured and lived according to the Orders given them by the *Ynca's* from their Father the Sun, among which one was, That none who could work ſhould be idle, more than to reſt after Labour; and that none who could not work by Age, Sickneſs, or Invalidity, ſhould want, but be maintained by the others Pains. Theſe were ſo much obſerved, that in the whole Empire of *Peru*, and during the long Race of the *Ynca* Kings, no Beggar was ever known; and no Woman ever ſo much as went to ſee her Neighbours but with their Work in their Hands, which they followed all the Time the Viſit laſted. Upon this I remember a Strain of refin'd Civility among them, which was that when any Woman went to ſee another of equal or ordinary Birth, ſhe worked at her own Work in the other's Houſe; but if ſhe made a Viſit to any of the *Palla's*, which was the Name by which they called all the Women of the true Royal Blood, as *Ynca's* was that of the Men, then they immediately deſired the *Palla* to give them a Piece of her own Work, and the Viſit paſſed in working for her.

" Idleneſs ſentenced by the Decurions, was puniſhed by ſo many Stripes in publick, and the Diſgrace was more ſenſible than the Pain. Every Colony had one ſupreme Judge, to whom the lower Decurions remitted great and difficult Caſes, or to whom, in ſuch Caſes, the Criminals appealed. But every Decurion that concealed any Crime of thoſe under his Charge above a Night and a Day, became guilty of it, and liable to the ſame Puniſhment. There were Laws or Orders likewiſe againſt Theft, Mutilations, Murders, Diſobedience to Officers, and Adulteries; for every Man was to have one lawful Wife, but had the Liberty of keeping other Women as he could. The Puniſhment of all Crimes was either corporal Pains or Death, but commonly the laſt, upon theſe two Reaſons which they gave; firſt, That all Crimes, whether great or ſmall, were of the ſame Nature, and deſerved the ſame Puniſhment, if they were committed againſt the Divine Commands, which were ſent them down from the Sun: Next that, to puniſh any Man in his Poſſeſſions or Charges, and leave him alive, and in Strength and Liberty, was to leave an ill Man more incenſed or neceſſitated to commit new Crimes.

" On the other Side, they never forfeited the Charge or Poſſeſſions of a Son for his Father's Offences, but the Judges only remonſtrated to him the Guilt and Puniſhment of them for his Warning or Example. Theſe Orders had ſo great Force and Effect, that many Times a whole Year paſſed without the Execution of one Criminal. There is no Doubt, but that which contributed much to this great Order in the State, was the Diſuſe of other Profeſſions than what were neceſſary to Life, and the eminent Virtue of their firſt great Hero or Legiſlator, which ſeemed to have been intailed upon their whole Race in the Courſe of their Reign: So as in the whole Length of it, it is reported among them, that no true *Ynca* was ever found guilty or puniſhed for any Crime. Thus particular Qualities have been obſerved in old *Rome* to be conſtant in the ſame Families for ſeveral hundred Years, as Goodneſs, Clemency, Love of the People, in that of the *Valerii*; Haughtineſs, Pride, Cruelty, and Hatred of the People in that of the *Appi*; which may come from the Force of Blood, of Education, or Example.

“ It is certain, no Government was ever eſtabliſhed and continued by greater Examples of Virtue and Severity, nor gave ever any greater Teſtimonies, than the *Ynca's*, of an excellent Inſtitution, by the Progreſſes and Succeſſes, both in the Propagation and Extent of Empire, in Force and Plenty, in Greatneſs and Magnificence of all publick Works, as Temples, Palaces, Highways, Bridges, and in all Proviſions neceſſary to the common Eaſe, Safety, and Utility of human Life: So as ſeveral of the Jeſuits, and particularly *Acoſta*, are either ſo juſt or ſo preſuming, as to prefer the civil Conſtitution of *Mango Copac*, before *Lycurgus*, *Numa*, *Solon*, or any other Lawgivers, ſo celebrated in the more known Parts of the World.

“ To every Colony was aſſigned ſuch a Compaſs of Land, whereof one Part was appropriated to the Sun, a ſecond to the Widows, Orphans, Poor, Old, or maimed, a third to the peculiar Maintenance of every Family according to their Number, and a fourth to the *Ynca*. In this Order the whole was tilled, and the Harveſt or Product laid up in ſeveral Granaries, out of which it was diſtributed by Officers to that Purpoſe, according to the ſeveral Uſes for which it was deſigned, and new Seed iſſued out at the Seaſon for the new Tillage. Every Decurion, beſides the Office of a Cenſor and Judge, had that likewiſe of a Patron or Sollicitor, for Relief of the Neceſſities or Wants of thoſe under his Charge. They were bound to give in to the publick Regiſter, an Account of all that were born, and of all that died under their Charge. None were ſuffered to leave the Colony or People he was born in without Leave, or to change the Habit commonly uſed in it (by ſome Parts or Marks whereof thoſe of each Province was diſtinguiſhed); none to marry out of it, any more than the *Ynca's*, out of their own Blood.

“ The *Ynca* that reigned was called *Capa Ynca*, which the *Spaniards* interpret *Solo Sennor*, or *Only Lord*. He ever married the firſt of his Female Kindred, either Siſter, Niece or Couſin, to preſerve the Line the pureſt they could. Once in two Years he aſſembled all the unmarried *Ynca's* Men above Twenty, and Women above Sixteen Years old, and there in publick married all ſuch as he thought fit, by giving each of their Hands one to the other. The ſame was done among the Vulgar by the *Curaca* of each People. Every Family at their Time of Meals, eat with their Doors open, ſo that all might ſee their Temperance and Order. By theſe and ſuch other Laws and Inſtitutions, *Mango Copac* firſt ſettled his Government or Kingdom in the Colonies of *Cuzco*, which were in Time multiplied into many others by the willing Confluence and Recourſe of many ſeveral People round about him, allured by the Divine Authority of his Orders, by the Sweetneſs and Clemency of his Reign, and by the Felicity of all that lived under it; and indeed the whole Government of his Race of the *Ynca's*, was rather like that of a tender Father over his Children, or a juſt, careful and well-natured Guardian over Pupils, than of a Lord or Commander over Slaves or Subjects. By which they came to be ſo honoured or adored, that it was like Sacrilege for any common Perſon ſo much as to touch the *Ynca* without his Leave, which was given as a Grace to thoſe who ſerved him well, or to new Subjects that ſubmitted to him. After the Extent of his Kingdom into great Compaſſes of Territory round *Cuzco*, by voluntary Submiſſion of the People, as to ſome Evangelical rather than legal Doctrines or Inſtitutions, *Mango Copac* aſſembled all his *Curaca's*, and told them that his Father the Sun had commanded him to extend his Inſtitutions and Orders as far as he was able for the Good and Happineſs of Mankind; and for that purpoſe, with armed Troops to go to thoſe remoter Parts that had not yet received them, and to reduce them to their Obſervance. That the Sun had commanded him to hurt or offend none that would ſubmit to him, and thereby accept of the Good and Happineſs that was offered him by ſuch divine Bounty, but to diſtreſs only ſuch as refuſed, without killing any that did not aſſail them, and then to do it juſtly in their own Defence.

“ For this Deſign he formed and aſſembled Troops of Men armed, with offenſive, but chiefly with defenſive Weapons. He caſt them into the Order of Decurions, in the ſame Manner as he had done the Families; to every ten Men was one Officer, another to fifty, and another to one hundred, a fourth to five hundred, and a fifth to a thouſand. There was a ſixth over five thouſand, and a ſeventh as a General over ten thouſand, of which Number his firſt Army was compoſed. With this and other ſuch Armies he reduced many new Territories under his Empire, declaring to every People he approached, the ſame Things he had done firſt to thoſe who came about him near the great Lake; and offering them the Benefit of the Arts he had taught, the Orders he had inſtituted, the Protection he had given his Subjects, and the Felicity they enjoyed under it. Thoſe who ſubmitted were received into the ſame Rights and Enjoyments with the reſt of his Subjects. Thoſe who refuſed, were diſtreſſed and purſued by his Forces, till they were neceſſitated to accept of his Offers and Conditions.

“ He uſed no offenſive Weapons againſt any till they attacked them, and then defenſive only at firſt, till the Danger and Slaughter of his Men grew otherwiſe unavoidable; then he ſuffered his Forces to fall upon them and kill without Mercy, and not to ſpare even thoſe that yielded themſelves after having ſo long and obſtinately reſiſted. Thoſe who ſubmitted after the firſt Threats or Diſtreſſes, or bloodleſs Oppoſition, he received quickly into Grace, ſuffered them to touch his ſacred Perſon, made great and common Feaſts for them and his own Soldiers together for ſeveral Days, and then incorporated them into the Body of his Empire, and gave to each of them Cloaths to wear, and Corn to ſow.

“ By theſe Ways and ſuch heroic Virtues, and by the Length of his Reign, he ſo far extended his Dominions as to divide them into four Provinces, over each whereof he appointed an *Ynca* to be a Viceroy, having many Sons grown fit to command, and in each of them eſtabliſhed three ſupreme Councils; the firſt of Juſtice, the ſecond of War, and the third of the Revenue, of each of which an *Ynca* was likewiſe Preſident; which continued ever after.

“ At the End of a long and adored Reign, *Mango Copac* fell into the laſt Period of his Life; upon the Approach whereof he called together all his Children and Grand-children, with his eldeſt Son, to whom he left his Empire, and told them, that for his own Part, he was going to repoſe himſelf with his Father the Sun, from whom he came; that he adviſed and charged them all to go on in the Paths of Reaſon and Virtue which he had taught them, till they followed him the ſame Journey; that by this Courſe only they would prove themſelves to be true Sons of the Sun, and be as ſuch honoured and eſteemed. He gave the ſame Charge more eſpecially and more earneſtly to the *Ynca* his Succeſſor, and commanded him to govern his People according to his Example, and the Precepts he had received from the Sun, and to do it always with Juſtice, Mercy, Piety, Clemency, and Care of the Poor; and when he the Prince ſhould go in Time to reſt with his Father the Sun, that he ſhould give the ſame Inſtructions and Exhortations to his Succeſſor. And this Form was accordingly uſed in all the Succeſſions of the Race of the *Ynca's*, which laſted 800 Years with the ſame order, and the greateſt Felicity that could be of any State.

“ I will ſay nothing of the Greatneſs, Magnificence, and Richneſs of their Buildings, Palaces, or Tem-

"ples, eſpecially thoſe of the SUN, of the Splendour, of their Court, their Triumphs after Victories, their Huntings and Feaſts, their military Exerciſes and Honours. But as Teſtimonies of their Grandeur, mention only two of their Highways, whereof one was 500 Leagues, plain and levelled through Mountains, Rocks and Vallies; ſo that a Carriage might drive through the whole Length without Difficulty. Another very long and large, paved all with cut or ſquared Stone, fenced with low Walls on each Side, and ſet with Trees, whoſe Branches gave Shade, and the Fruits Food to all that paſſed.

"I ſhall end this Survey of their Government with one Remark upon their Religion, which is, that tho' the Vulgar worſhipp'd only the SUN, yet the *Amanta's*, who were their Sages or Philoſophers, taught, that the SUN was only the Miniſter of PACHACAMAC, whom they adored in the firſt Place, and to whom a great and ſumptuous Temple was dedicated. This Word is interpreted by the *Spaniards*, *Animador del Mundo*, or, He that animates or enlivens the World, and ſeems to be yet a more refined Notion of the Deity than that of the *Chineſes*, who adored the Spirit and Soul of the World. By this Principle of their Religion, as all the others of their Government and Policy, it muſt, I think, be allowed, that human Nature is the ſame in theſe remote, as well as the other more known and celebrated Parts of the World.

"That the different Governments of it are framed and cultivated by as great Reaches and Strength of Reaſon and Wiſdom as any of ours, and ſome of their Frames leſs ſubject to be ſhaken by the Paſſions, Factions, and other Corruptions, to which thoſe in the middle Scene of *Europe* and *Aſia* have been ſo often and ſo much expos'd. That the ſame Cauſes produce every where the ſame Effects; and that the ſame Honours and Obedience are in all Places but Conſequences or Tributes paid to the ſame heroick Virtue or tranſcendent Genius, in what Parts ſoever, or under what Climates of the World it fortunes to appear."

This may ſatisfy the moſt critical Reader, that the old Inhabitants of *Peru* were far enough from being Barbarians; though at the ſame time it muſt be confeſs'd, that they were very much degenerated before they were delivered up by Providence to that ſevere Correction they have received from the haughty *Spaniards*, under which they ſtill groan, and ſuffer their Slavery with infinite Grief and Pain of Mind; neither have they forgot the Splendor of their ancient Empire, but in certain Songs ſet to melancholy Tunes, deplore its Downfall and Ruin. After deſcribing the capital Settlements of the *Spaniards*, we proceed to examine how they ſpread themſelves into the remoteſt Parts both of the Northern and Southern Continents, ſet forth the Regulation and Dependency of their ſeveral Governments, compare the Value of their ancient and modern Revenues extracted from *America*; lay down the Manner of their working their Mines, give a true Account of the Commerce carried on amongſt their Settlements, as well as of that to *Europe*, and the contraband Trade.

We have likewiſe omitted nothing that might give the Reader intire Satisfaction as to the preſent State of Things in that Part of the World, and of the true Sources of that Feebleneſs and Decay which is inconteſtably viſible in all the *Spaniſh* Settlements, and which is gradually increaſing; ſo that if a Stop is not quickly put to this Declenſion by an abſolute and thorough Change of Meaſures, which however is hardly to be looked for, the whole of their Power muſt crumble by Degrees, at leaſt in the Extremities and in the Iſlands, and leave thoſe Countries in other Hands better diſpos'd to make a right Uſe of them.

XI. In the Execution of the remaining Part of our Plan, we give the Riſe, Progreſs, and preſent State of the Settlements of all the other Powers that are now fixed in that Part of the World, *viz.* the *Portugueſe*, *Engliſh*, *French*, *Dutch*, and *Danes*. With reſpect to the firſt, we have drawn together out of an infinite Number of Books in which they are ſcattered, the Materials that are requiſite to form a ſuccinct Hiſtory of the great Country of *Brazil*; and this obliges us to enter into the Detail of the Conqueſt of that Country, once made by the *Dutch*, a Thing of very great Importance, and yet never thoroughly treated in our Language; we have alſo ſhewn, how the Recovery and Improvement of this Country became the principal Cauſe of the Declenſion of the *Portugueſe* Power in the *Eaſt-Indies*; that Nation finding it too hard for them to combat ſo great a maritime Power as the Republick of *Holland* was become; in both *Indies* at once. We have alſo endeavoured to ſet in a clear Light the preſent State of that Country, which is of ſo great Importance, not only to its preſent Maſters, but to all the trading Nations in *Europe*; and though in the Courſe of the whole Work there was nothing that gave greater Trouble, yet it is hoped that it now appears in a tolerable Light; and that with reſpect to the Gold and Diamond Mines eſpecially, much more has been ſaid than will be eaſily met with elſewhere, for which we are greatly indebted to the Communications received from ſeveral Perſons to whom we are not permitted to make any more particular Acknowledgements.

As to the *Britiſh* Plantations, both on the Continent and in the Iſlands of *America*, we have been almoſt as copious as the Subject required, and have laboured with indefatigable Diligence to ſet the prodigious Advantages derived from them, and their very high Importance to this Crown and Nation, in a true Light. To ſpeak freely, there is no Part of this Collection that we had ſo much at Heart, or in the compiling of which we proceeded with greater Induſtry, Care, and Freedom of Spirit, without having the leaſt Regard to any private Intereſt, or the Senſe of this or that Body of Men, who might be oblig'd or offended by our Manner of treating certain Subjects one Way or other. We were ſenſible that the Intereſts of the Publick ought to be dearer to us than any other Conſideration whatſoever; and we dare confidently affirm, that to the utmoſt Extent of our Knowledge, and to the beſt of our Skill and Judgment, theſe Subjects have been treated with the utmoſt Zeal and Impartiality; and as they have had the Honour to be commended and approved by thoſe who were beſt acquainted with our Plantations abroad, and thoſe who have moſt at Heart the promoting their Welfare here at home; ſo we look upon this as the higheſt Reward, as indeed it was the only one ſought by this Performance, which if at preſent or hereafter it ſhall any Way contribute to the Eaſe, Security, or Benefit of thoſe diſtant Parts of *Great Britain*, for ſo they ought ever to be eſteemed, will afford us infinite Satisfaction.

The *French* Power in the *Weſt-Indies* has been of late Years the Subject of much Diſcourſe; one would wiſh to ſay that it had been likewiſe the Object of much Care and Attention, which it moſt certainly deſerved, as it is more likely to claſh with our commercial Intereſts than any other. It is for this Reaſon that we have repreſented it as fully and as truly as it was poſſible; that we have ſhewn its Advantages and Diſadvantages, the Probability there is that the former may be promoted, and the latter removed; the Methods neceſſary to be employed in both Caſes, and the Remedies that may be applied to prevent the Conſequences of thoſe Improvements from becoming prejudicial to our ſelves. In doing this, we have likewiſe taken Occaſion to mention the Precautions that may be uſed to ſecure our Settlements from running any Risk from the Vicinity of theſe ambitious, enterprizing, and dangerous Neighbours; neither have we omitted to ſet in a juſt Light our preſent Superiority, that it may appear we are not in ſo much Danger, either from the Power or the Capacity of our Rivals, as for Want of Circumſpection, Unanimity and Prudence in our own Conduct; and that conſequently, if we do ſuffer, there will be no body ſo much to blame as ourſelves.

Neither have we been afraid to profeſs our Senſe of the Chimericalneſs of ſome Apprehenſions, and the too great Sanguineneſs of others, or of aſſigning our Reaſons for both; whence we hope it will be ſufficiently apparent, that nothing but unexpected and unexampled Vigour and Vigilance on their Side, and inexcuſable Indolence and Inattention on ours, can poſſibly cauſe any great Alteration in the preſent Situation of Things between the two Nations in that Part of the World during our Times. All which is delivered, not with the leaſt Intention to render us careleſs and ſecure, but to keep up the Spirits of our People, and to introduce and maintain a right Opinion of our own Strength and Capacity of maintaining and extending our Commerce, notwithſtanding the Growth of that of *France*, and the Pains taken to improve and encourage it. This we conceive to be a Spirit that ought to be excited in our Plantations, as of all other the moſt capable to enliven their Hopes, invigorate their Conduct, and give Succeſs to their Endeavours.

The Poſſeſſions of the *Dutch* in the *Weſt Indies*, are in themſelves far enough from being conſiderable, and yet through the Induſtry of their Inhabitants, and that Wiſdom and Dexterity with which they manage their clandeſtine Trade with the *Spaniards*, they are of no ſmall Conſequence, as we have largely ſhewn. It is indeed true, that ſince the Writing of that Part, we have been aſſured from very good Hands, that the Colony of *Surinam*, which we gave them in Exchange for their Settlements at *New York*, is very much improved, and is improving daily; nor can there be much Doubt of this, if we may believe what the *French Gazettes* have told us of the Value of the Prizes taken by their Privateers in that ſhort Space that actual Hoſtilities were exerciſed between the Subjects of the two Powers, which according to thoſe Accounts amounted to between two and three hundred thouſand Pounds; and this too in the actual Commodities and Manufactures of that Colony. This is the more ſurprizing, becauſe there has been a general Opinion, though I doubt not very well grounded, that the *Dutch* were not very expert in making Settlements in that Part of the World; however it muſt not be concealed, that the modern Improvements of *Surinam* are ſaid to have been in a great Meaſure owing to the Planters receiving great Aſſiſtance from the *Engliſh* and *French*, that from *Cayenne* and the Leward Iſlands have come and ſettled amongſt them, and have taught them new Methods of manuring their Lands, of raiſing Sugar, and other valuable Commodities.

The Court of *Copenhagen* has for two Reigns applied it ſelf with ſo much Attention and Diligence to commercial Affairs, that we cannot at all wonder at the Reports which are daily ſpread of the *Danes* having an Intention to extend their Commerce in the *Weſt Indies*; but conſidering that the ſmall Iſland of St. *Thomas* is all that they poſſeſs there, and is in itſelf incapable of being render'd much more beneficial than hitherto it has been, we cannot eaſily apprehend, how any Pains that can be taken about it, will be brought to yield any adequate Returns; unleſs there ſhould be ſome Truth in what has been likewiſe intimated from *Denmark*, that there is a Scheme on Foot for reviving their *African* Commerce, with a View of tranſporting their Negroes to the Iſle of St. *Thomas*, and ſupplying from thence the *Spaniſh* Plantations. Time will ſhew whether this Project has any Foundation, and alſo whether it is poſſible for the *Daniſh* Government to bring it to bear.

XII. The *ſecond* Book conſiſts of a Deſcription of the *Northern Parts* of the Globe, and of Travels thro' moſt of the Countries in *Europe*. We have handled the firſt Part of the Subject very largely, and that chiefly for this Reaſon, becauſe it had been very much overlooked and neglected by others. We have alſo taken the Opportunity of giving very compleat Hiſtories of the Attempts made for diſcovering the North-eaſt and the North-weſt Paſſages. With reſpect to the firſt, it was our Misfortune not to receive any certain Intelligence with reſpect to the *Ruſſian* Diſcoveries, till long after that Part of the Work was finiſhed and publiſhed; but we have endeavoured to ſupply that Defect, as far as poſſible, in the laſt Section, as being willing to run the Hazard of ſome Impropriety, rather than bury in Oblivion thoſe curious and important Paſſages that came ſo lately to our Notice.

In reference to the North-weſt Paſſage again, we were ſtill more unlucky, as not having an Opportunity to ſee the Account of the laſt Voyage, made with a View to that Diſcovery, till many Months after that Hiſtory had been in the Hands of the Publick. But it gives us great Pleaſure to find, that the Event of this laſt Voyage is ſo far from deſtroying the Credibility of what we have advanced upon that Head, that it agrees in all Reſpects with what we have delivered, and adds much greater Strength to our Conjectures than we could well have hoped for or expected. This too has encouraged us to add ſome farther Thoughts upon that important Diſcovery in the laſt Section, which we flatter ourſelves will not be diſapproved by our Readers, and which, we have little Doubt, will be alſo confirmed by the Event of the next Voyage, when-ever it ſhall be undertaken, which for the Honour and Welfare of our Country, we hope will be very ſoon.

As to the Voyages on the Coaſts of *Norway*, *Lapland*, and *Muſcovy*, the Accounts of *Sweden*, *Denmark*, and *Poland*, and the Remarks upon them, they will be found to give as much Light into the preſent State and Condition of the Countries to which they relate, as any thing that could be extracted from what has been publiſhed about them; and if any who peruſe them think that we have carried Matters a little too far, with reſpect to that very extenſive View which we have given of the commercial Improvements in the North, all the Favour we deſire is, that they will ſuſpend a deciſive Judgment for ſome Time, and we ſhall then both readily and patiently ſubmit to any Cenſure that ſhall be grounded in Reaſon.

Of the Travels thro' the middle Parts of *Europe*, particularly the *United Provinces*, the reſt of the *Low Countries*, *Germany*, *Italy*, *Switzerland*, &c. we can only ſay, that they are ſuch as were poſſeſſed of the publick Eſteem long before they enter'd into this Collection; and as we have given them very faithfully, and with no other Corrections than what relate to their Stile, and ſome Part of their Diſpoſition with a View to prevent tedious and needleſs Repetitions, we have no Cauſe to fear any Strictures upon our Conduct in relation to them.

The ſame Care and Fidelity was ſhewn in the other Travels through *France*, *Spain*, &c. and ſome Merit we aſſume from recalling to the Eye of the World, the Travels of Dr. *Edward Brown* through *Hungary*, *Auſtria*, and other Countries, even to the very Frontiers of *Europe*, which, without Queſtion, are in all Reſpects as worthy of Attention and Credit as any Thing of their Kind in our Language. What Additions we have made, more eſpecially in regard to the preſent State of *France*, and the reigning Syſtem of Policy in that Kingdom, will be found very agreeable to Truth, and not at all unworthy of the Reader's Notice.

The great End of this Sort of Reading, is the very ſame that is ſought by actual Travelling, that is to ſay, the ſhaking off thoſe narrow Notions; and, if I may be allowed ſo familiar an Expreſſion, thoſe clowniſh Conceptions which ſuch People have, as have never ſuffered either their Bodies or their Minds to make any Excurſions beyond the Limits of their own Countries, or to acquire a general Idea of the principal Nations about us, as well as ſome tolerable Notions of the Countries they inhabit; the Manners, Cuſtoms and Policies of the one, and the Climate, Soil and Produce of the other.

Such Books therefore as were moſt likely to anſwer theſe Intentions, were fitteſt for our Purpoſe, and were therefore taken into this Collection in Preference to ſuch as were written perhaps in a more elevated Stile, and were fuller of that Kind of curious Learning which renders them the Delight of Antiquaries and *Virtuoſi*; not that theſe are not alſo valuable in their Kind, but that they are leſs fit for general Reading, leſs uſeful to the

Bulk of Mankind, and leſs likely to invite the Peruſal; and then to fix the Attention of thoſe, who, it is probable, will reap the moſt Benefit from this Kind of Reading, and who may afterwards, if they think fit, peruſe thoſe more refined Travels with much greater Satiſfaction and Pleaſure.

XIII. The *third* Book, and, as Things ſtand at preſent, the laſt in this Collection, takes in the entire Deſcription of *Aſia*. In order to effect this, we have made uſe of thoſe Writers that have the higheſt Character in Point of Accuracy, Sincerity and Abilities; and, wherever the Subject required it, or the Helps received from later Writers put it abſolutely in our Power; we have improved, explained, and continued their Performances down to the preſent Times. Thus in Reference to the Cuſtoms, Manners, Laws, Policy, and preſent Condition of the *Turks*, we have augmented the Author from whom our principal Collections were made very conſiderably, and this for two Reaſons, firſt, becauſe it was impoſſible that in the ſhort Space of Time which a Man ſpends in his Travels, or even tho' he reſides a little longer in a Place, he ſhould enter deeply into the Concerns of a great Nation; and ſecondly, becauſe at the Time Mr. *Thevenot* travelled through the *Turkiſh* Empire, the *Ottoman* Power was far greater than it is at preſent. We have therefore to his Remarks, joined thoſe of a moſt worthy and intelligent *Turkiſh* Merchant, who reſided a long Time in that Country, and many Years at *Conſtantinople*; and we have alſo, after proving that the Opinion of the Declenſion of the *Ottoman* Force is well founded, pointed out the real Cauſes of that Decay, and aſſigned the Reaſons which render it very probable this Empire is ſick of a mortal Diſeaſe, from whence it is ſcarce poſſible it ſhould recover.

The Travels of the Reverend and learned Mr. *Maundrell* through the *Holy Land* are ſuperior to Correction, and all we could do was to bring them within proper Bounds, ſo as to ſuit with our Deſign; in order to which, we have done little more than was neceſſary to reduce the Copiouſneſs of the Stile, that we might bring the Matters of Fact cloſer to each other.

The Travels through *Perſia*, and the very full Deſcription of that extenſive Empire, was drawn from ſeveral Authors, but the beſt Parts of it from the incomparable Writings of the late Sir *John Chardin*, the laſt *French* Edition of whoſe Travels is certainly one of the beſt Books of its Kind that ever was publiſhed. The ſuccinct Hiſtory we have given of that Empire, was in ſome Meaſure without our Bounds, and ought to be conſidered as a Preſent made to the Publick, not the leſs valuable for being voluntary. It happened that while this Part of the Work was in the Preſs, the famous *Shah Nadir*, better known by this old Name of *Thamas Kouli Kan*, was murdered, and thereby a new Revolution brought about in that Country. This excited the Curioſity, and awaked the Attention of the Publick; we were willing therefore to gratify the one, and do our utmoſt to ſatisfy the other. At the ſame Time we did this, we afforded a Specimen of the Poſſibility of bringing a modern Hiſtory, even for a long Series of Time, and fruitful of great Events, within a very moderate Compaſs. In this, and in the other Parts of the Collection relating to theſe oriental Regions, we have not failed to keep in View our primitive Purpoſe, of giving, from the beſt Materials we could obtain, an Account of their Commerce; and if this is not altogether ſo accurate or ſo ample as we could wiſh, it cannot but prove acceptable, ſince for the moſt Part it is entirely new, at leaſt in regard to our Language, and the Fruits of thoſe generous Communications which the Concern we expreſſed for Things of this Nature, drew from ſeveral Perſons of as great Candour and Modeſty, as of Knowledge and Experience.

The Deſcription, the Hiſtory and Trade of the *Eaſt Indies*, and more eſpecially of the *Mogul* Empire, having been explained at large in the preceding Volume, there was no need of our repeating any Thing here, which is the Reaſon of our paſſing directly to thoſe Travels that lead us to the great Empire of *China*. Yet not ſo directly, but that we take the vaſt Countries between *Ruſſia* and *China* in our Way, theſe Countries which have been hitherto the leaſt known of any in *Aſia*, except the North Eaſt Regions within the Arctick Circle, and which however deſerve to be as well known as any, notwithſtanding thoſe Reproaches of Stupidity and Barbarity which the Nations that inhabit them lie under, and which perhaps ariſe full as much from our own Prejudices as from their Ignorance.

The Deſcription of theſe Countries we owe to the indefatigable Pains of his Excellency *Ysbrant Ides*, Embaſſador from the late Czar *Peter* the Great, in the Beginning of his Reign, to that famous *Chineſe* Emperor, equally remarkable for the great Length of his Reign, the Equity and Moderation of his Temper, and his Contempt of thoſe invariable Rules the *Chineſe* Policy preſcribes, even to their Emperors, by which the moſt abſolute Sovereigns are kept, as it were, in Chains. As the Account of *China* by that illuſtrious Traveller is very ſhort, he, and we following his Example, have ſubjoined an ample Deſcription of *China* by a Native; and have alſo interſperſed throughout the Whole, ſuch explanatory Remarks as were either communicated to us, amongſt which we acknowledge that excellent Diſſertation upon the making of Porcelain, or that we had an Opportunity of collecting from other Writers. We have alſo given many curious and entertaining Accounts from the Journal of the Sieur *du Lange*, who reſided for a long Time in *China* with the Character of Envoy from the Court of *Petersburgh*, not that ſhort and meagre Journal which had been formerly publiſhed in *Engliſh* by way of Appendix to the preſent State of *Ruſſia*, but from the Author's own original Memoirs, in which we have a far better Account of the interior and exterior Commerce of that Empire, than are to be met with elſewhere; the great Collection of Father *Dubalde* not excepted.

The Deſcription, Hiſtory and Diſcourſes relative to the *Peninſula* of *Corea* are entirely new, and are not to be met with either in our own, or in any other Language, ſo that it is hoped they will be found as pleaſant and entertaining as they are uſeful and important; more eſpecially as they tend to excite a Spirit of making new Diſcoveries for promoting Navigation and improving our Commerce. The laſt Section, in which the Reader has an Account of the lateſt *Ruſſian* Diſcoveries, compleats the Hiſtory of *Aſia*, and of the whole trading World.

It is true, that in preparing it, we treſpaſſed not a little on the Patience of the Publick; but when it is conſidered from how great a Diſtance Part of the Materials were to be expected, and how much Care and Caution were requiſite in diſpoſing and digeſting them, we ſhall ſtand in ſome degree excuſed; more eſpecially, if now, when they are all put together, they ſhould afford the Generality of the World a Variety of new Lights in reference to the Poſſibility of opening freſh Channels of Trade, and thereby in a great Meaſure changing the whole Commercial Syſtem.

There are indeed ſome who think this Point driven rather too far, and that we have carried our Reſpects for Trade beyond its due Bounds. But if theſe Criticks imagine that this proceeds from a particular or overweening Fondneſs for a Favourite Subject, they are at leaſt in that Circumſtance very much miſtaken. In the Dedication prefixed to the firſt Volume of this Work, we have at large aſſigned the Reaſons why Commerce ought to be conſidered in the Light that we have placed it. We have there ſhewn, that it procures moſt of the real and ſubſtantial Bleſſings which Mankind can either hope for or enjoy; and that the only Way to avert the Evils and Miſeries to which we are expoſed, is to cultivate and promote it. As there is in every Man a Spark of Ambition, there is and muſt be the ſame in Nations. Now this natural Deſire of Greatneſs and Fame, can be gratified only by an inceſſant Application to War, or by a conſtant and uniform Regard to Commerce. The former may indeed, though it ſeldom does, render a

Nation rich and powerful by the Spoil of others; but then it carries the Seeds of Deſtruction in the very Principles of its Greatneſs; for where Military Power is the Source of Grandeur, there muſt be perpetual Hazards, not only as to the Iſſue of Foreign Conteſts, but from the frequent Convulſions of inteſtine Troubles, as not only Reaſon teaches, but Experience vouches. Moſt of the ancient Empires were ſubverted by this Means. That of the *Greeks* laſted but for a ſingle Life; the great Captains of *Alexander*'s Army thought they had the ſame Title to be Kings, that he had to rule over Kings. The *Roman* Hiſtory is, at the Bottom, no other than a Record of foreign Expeditions, to gratify the Thirſt of Dominion, and of Civil Wars ariſing from the ſame Cauſe. But an Application to Commerce cannot be charged, at leaſt not juſtly, with any of theſe Inconveniences. We may trade with People without ſubduing them, and we may become potent, rich and happy, from the Effects of our Induſtry, without injuring; but, on the contrary, exerciſing our Beneficence towards our Fellow Creatures. It is indeed true, that ſome, or to ſpeak the whole Truth, moſt trading Nations, have purſued a contrary Conduct; but as in this they deſert the Principle that we recommend, ſo it affords no real Objection to what we have advanced, nor are we under any Neceſſity of defending them. Factories are very neceſſary, and in diſtant Countries ſo are Fortreſſes; but the Humour of ſubduing thoſe with whom we trade by Force is rarely beneficial. In Countries thinly inhabited, or by Savages, Plantations may be made agreeable to the Law of Nature; and theſe will be found equally honourable and profitable to the Nations that make them. By a due Diſtribution therefore of Factories, Fortreſſes, and Plantations, and by a juſt Regard to Maritime Power, a Nation wiſely governed may preſerve a Correſpondence with every Part of the Globe, without Injury to the Subjects of other Powers, and without Danger to their own Independance; which Plan comes the neareſt to political Perfection of any that has been laid down. Providence has diſpoſed large Chains of Mountains, and other natural Fortifications, to check warlike Ambition, but the Seas are every where open to promote Commerce between the moſt diſtant Countries; and navigable Rivers, or artificial Canals, ſerve in civilized Nations, to nouriſh and maintain Trade amongſt themſelves, as the Notion of communicating with each other, and thereby reciprocally removing Want, is the very Source of Civility itſelf. Conquerors we may be, and Barbarians ſtill, but a Race of barbarous Traders is at once a Soleciſm in Language, and an Abſurdity in Nature.

Thus, by giving the Reader firſt a ſuccinct Detail of the Scheme, the End and the Aim of this Work, and by proceeding afterwards to an expreſs Enumeration of its ſeveral Parts, and exhibiting their Relation to and Connection with each other, we have put it in his Power to judge how far we have executed what was originally propoſed and promiſed, and that too within the Bounds which were aſſigned it by the Proprietors Stipulations with the Publick. He will alſo ſee what the peculiar Advantages are which ariſe from the very Nature of this Collection, and from the known Characters of the ſeveral Pieces of which it is in a great Meaſure compoſed; he will farther enter into, and it is hoped, will at the ſame Time approve, the Reaſons for which ſuch Pieces as are of dubious Authority, contain Matters of mere Amuſement, are filled up with extravagant and uninſtructive Adventures, and have nothing to recommend them but Livelineſs of Thought and Vivacity of Stile, have been rejected; to which we may add, that he will be alſo ſenſible of the great Uſefulneſs of the Introduction, in which the Principles of thoſe Sciences, ſome Tincture of which was abſolutely neceſſary, to the underſtanding both the Hiſtorical and Argumentative Part of this large Collection, are laid down with ſuch Plainneſs and Perſpicuity, as to render them obvious to every Underſtanding.

Theſe Conſiderations, as they were of continual Weight with us in the compiling, diſpoſing, and adjuſting that great Variety of Treatiſes which in Whole or in Part have been admitted into this Performance, it was equally reaſonable and requiſite they ſhould be brought to the View of every Peruſer; which being done, there remains nothing farther but to wiſh the great Purpoſes that have been honeſtly purſued in the Execution of this Deſign, may be ſucceſsfully promoted thereby, and that the Publick will afford a kind Reception to Labours that have been moſt ſteadily, as well as moſt ſincerely, dedicated to their Service.

FINIS.

A

GENERAL INDEX

OF THE

Kingdoms, Countries, Rivers, Cities, Fortreſſes, *&c.* Together with the moſt remarkable Proper Names that occur in both Volumes of this Work.

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